Appendix

Distinguished Federal Judge Holds Naturalization Court Sermon in Hollywood Bowl Armistice Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, thanking you and all of my distinguished colleagues in this great legislative body for heretofore granting me unanimous consent so to do, I am pleased and honored to herewith place in the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of the remarks made by Hon. Peirson M. Hall, United States district court judge for the southern district of California, at Los Angeles, Calif., on November 11, 1954, at the famous Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles, Calif.

The honorable judge on that historic date, November 11, held an outdoor special session of the naturalization court. Needless to say, the hundreds of new American citizens who were there in attendance and took the oath of American citizenship, together with the thousands of visitors to this unique court session, will not forget either the occasion or the few words by the distinguished Federal Judge Hall.

I have the special pleasure in presenting the news of this unique special session of the naturalization court with the judge's remarks, because Hon. Peirson M. Hall and I were classmates in Los Angeles law study class, and we took the California State examination before the Supreme Court of the State of California together to enter into the practice of the profession of law.

SPECIAL SESSION OF NATURALIZATION COURT, HOLLYWOOD BOWL, NOVEMBER 11, 1954

The court is meeting today as a naturalization court in special session.

Before administering the oath, I would like to say a few words which the occasion requires. Each of you, by seeking to become citizens of the United States, has made a free choice.

A free choice is of special significance in the world today because there are two basic conflicting ideologies at large in the world today engaged in a contest for men's minds and lives. One is godless and material, and uses all of the arts of deception and force to impose itself upon all the peoples of the world. The other is that which has found its highest expression in the Americas, and especially in this great land of ours.

All of you have been to school and have learned sufficiently of the Constitution, the laws, and the system and method of our government to pass the required examination. There are, however, some fundamental concepts which underlie our way of life and our system of government to which I would like to advert for a moment before administering the oath.

We, of course, look to our Constitution as the basic law; we look to the acts of Congress as providing the means for carrying that Constitution into effect. We look to the judicial department to interpret the Constitution and laws, and to the executive department to enforce them. However, if you look for the concepts which underlie our system and method of government and the freedom which is ours, you must look beyond the mere words of documents, and search for the spiritual quality which makes men free. So, may I suggest, that if you take the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States with its amendments, I believe that in them you will find the written words for the concepts upon which this country was founded, and under which people, millions of them, just like you, who over the last 150 years have come from every land, have turned what theretofore in the entire history of time had been a desert into this productive and prolific country. To all of them it was, and today it still is, what Daniel Webster described as "The last best hope of mankind," for a system of government to secure the dignity and liberty of individuals under the rule of law.

The first and the one great concept which pervades our way of life is that there is a power which is greater than man, either individually or collectively, whether expressed in the form of government, or otherwise. That power some people call God; some people call it nature; some people call it the power of the universe; or whatever they wish. It may be beyond the reach of human reason. But the first concept is that that power does exist. And those of you who have been in travail, who have been in deep and heavy trouble, know that if you exercise some communion with that power which some people call prayer that you will receive a source of strength from it which tides you over whatever grief or care or burden or obstacle may confront you, or gives you the courage to face your troubles and to take the consequences, whatever they may be.

Another is, that individual man, the individual human being, is the most perfect creature which God created of all the creatures of the earth and the sky and the seas; and that all things created by man must be made to serve the needs of man. That is to say, if man creates a machine, that machine must be used and made to serve the needs of mankind, not to control him. Far more so, if man creates a government, that government must be created and used to serve the needs of mankind and not destroy him or enslave him, either to the state, the government, or to other human beings. States and governments, being the creatures of man, are lesser, ultimately, in the long run and in the whole pattern than the dignity of the individual person.

Another is that man can attain the natural dignity which he was intended to possess by his creator as an individual, by the preservation of individual liberty under law; and, that to love liberty, one must first love order; to want order is to desire the rule of law; to desire the rule of law, one must be willing to yield to the dominance of law.

And when I say yield to the dominance of law, I do not mean to yield to the wishes or desires of any individual or group who proclaims that his or their wishes is the law, or, the state or government, but the rules of law itself. And furthermore, that to yield to the dominance of law one must be willing to give up some individual liberty for the sake of liberty itself and for the sake of liberty of other people. Indeed, many thousands of people have given up their lives for the preservation of our concepts of liberty.

Law is not just a rule of action prescribed by a superior which an inferior is bound to obey, but law is the application of reason to the conduct of mankind based upon the experience of mankind in his search for liberty.

Another concept is that the end and aim of government must ever be to preserve liberty for human beings; not just the name of liberty but the fact of individual liberty.

And next, that howsoever the settings or circumstances of civilization, whether by gadgets or otherwise, which may change from generation to generation, or from day to day for that matter, these principles for the preservation of human liberty ever remain the same.

Another concept is that peace alone, without the fact of liberty, can be slavery, as indeed it was, and is in the whole vast area of the world's surface today where liberty and democracy and freedom are mere words that are used to conceal and further the purpose of the most brutal and barbaric absolutism and philosophy in its most highly developed form that has been known in modern times, if not in all history.

Another is that the touch of the infinite within each individual, which some people call conscience, or spirit, is the greatest force for justice and right among men that has ever been discovered by human beings.

Another is that no official—I or any other—has, or can have any personal power. I, and every official, must be limited to official power; that is to say, the power which has been granted to the office by the law, as no power can be granted to the man.

Another is that three equal departments of the Government are necessary to maintain checks against the seizure and abuse of power by any branch of the Government; whether the legislative over the executive and judicial; whether the executive over the judicial and legislative; or whether the judicial, by expansion of power and self-declarations, attempt to seize the power of the legislative and executive. Thus, we can prevent the occurrence of that pattern so familiar to the founders of America, and which is being followed today in too many places in the world where, under false pretenses and delusions offered to the people in one form or another, the people are first deceived, then they are vilified, and then they are enslaved.

Another concept is that the rights guaranteed to the individual shall not be distorted, by their abuse, into weapons to destroy those very rights; that human hunger and disease and despair and confusion shall not be created, and if existing, shall not be used as weapons for the destruction of liberty or the creation of absolutism, but that the elimination of these apocalyptic horsemen is the concern constantly of the whole people and of all mankind.

Finally, if I could sum it up in a few words, I should say that the philosophy of our Government is founded on four principles: The principle of love—I mean brotherly love—faith, reason, and truth. And as against that philosophy, there is the cruel

and monstrous attempt to force on all the peoples of the world today, a philosophy where hate is substituted for love, fear substituted for faith, force substituted for reason, and ignorance substituted for truth.

Someone once said that liberty was an eternal compact between the living with those who are dead and with those who are yet unborn.

So to all of you who are about to take the oath and to all of those who are present, let us join in keeping the faith of that compact made by that little band of men in 1776, who struck off the immortal words of our Declaration of Independence, and concluded with the majestic phrase: "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

I shall now administer the oath.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK A. BARRETT

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, I had the privilege of attending the annual convention of the National Wool Growers' Association at Salt Lake City early in December. Longtime members told me that it was one of the best conventions ever held by the association.

Mr. O. R. Strackbein, chairman of the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, delivered an outstanding address before the convention. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY O. R. STRACKBEIN, CHAIRMAN, THE NATIONWIDE COMMITTEE OF INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, AND LABOR, ON IMPORT-EXPORT POLICY BEFORE THE NATIONAL WOOL GROWERS ASSOCIATION, SALT LAKE CITY, DECEMBER 8, 1954

LOOK OUT FOR THE GATT—IT IS LOADED

When I was asked to provide a title for the present address I was at something of a loss, because I felt that I should talk to you about GATT, because of its great importance at this time. GATT is the short name of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It struck me, however, that not many people knew about the general agreement. A few people had perhaps read about GATT without knowing what it is. Considering the character of GATT and what it has been up to, it seemed to me that a pun on the name itself would help to alert you to the dangers that lurk in that international organization. That explains the title: "Look Out for the GATT—It Is Loaded."

Somebody will be sure to ask, what's wrong with GATT? And that is the question that I hope will be asked. We hope that it will be asked all over the United States. The conclusion will then be reached that GATT is loaded, indeed.

What is GATT? Where did it come from? Where is it headed?

GATT did not just happen. It is the brainchild of people whose names are quite surely not known to you. Definitely it is not the product of Congress. It was conceived 7 or 8 years ago in the Department of State and other executive departments who had one thing in common, namely, the planning of world trade and its regulation by an international organization dedicated to the principles of free trade. Seven or eight years ago, it will be recalled, the idea of world economic planning was in full bloom.

To keep the record straight we will have to provide you with a little background.

GATT, i. e., the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a tariff-cutting conference, was negotiated in 1947 and signed on October 30 of that year in Geneva, Switzerland. Some 21 or 22 countries adhered to the agreement. Today the number is 34.

However, sometime before GATT came along the planners in the State Department and other departments drew up what was called a "Proposal for the Expansion of World Trade and Employment." This was an ambitious proposal to take on and make over the economy of the world. That was in 1945. Ideas of world planning and world government were in the ascendancy at that time. I want to emphasize that.

This proposal was revised and emerged as a proposed charter for an International Trade Organization. After 3 more revisions over a period of nearly 3 years the ITO Charter, as it became known, was signed in Habana, Cuba, in March 1948 by more than 50 countries, including the United States.

It would have set up a governing or executive board on which the United States would have had 1 vote out of 50 plus. The objective was free trade through progressive reductions of the tariff and other trade barriers, and guiding the world's industrial, agricultural and mineral resources into the most productive channels.

The provisions of the charter went so far beyond the powers delegated to the President in the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, which empowered him to enter into trade agreements, that it was regarded necessary to submit the document to Congress for ratification.

Now let us go back to GATT and trace the relationship between GATT and the ITO Charter.

While the ITO Charter was still being revised and negotiated, it was decided to enter into a general trade agreement with a large group of countries. This was done in 1947, as already said, i. e., about 6 months before the ITO Charter was signed in March in Habana.

The plan was to turn administration of the General Agreement (GATT) over to the ITO or International Trade Organization when the charter was ratified by a sufficient number of countries. GATT was then to dissolve and pass out of the picture. No one bothered to present GATT for legislative ratification even though it was also given powers that went far beyond those delegated under the Trade Agreements Act to the President. After all, once the ITO came into being it would replace GATT.

Obviously GATT should also have been sent to Congress for ratification, but this was never done.

Then the unexpected happened. The ITO Charter was sent to Congress for ratification but never came out of committee. It was submitted to both the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House held hearings on the charter in 1950 but never issued a report to the House. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on its part, failed to hold any hearings at all.

This was the legislative as distinguished from the executive reception given to the ITO. It was a revealing demonstration of how much Congress liked the ITO Charter. Disowned and spurned so unceremoniously by the legislative branch, the charter died quickly and has not been resurrected. No other country felt inclined to push the organization.

But while Congress was so emphatic in rejecting the charter the State Department went on with GATT as if nothing had happened; in fact, acted much as it might have done had Congress ratified the ITO.

Obviously GATT, not having been submitted for ratification at any time, had no legal standing with the possible exception of the schedule of tariff concessions which it contained. Nevertheless, it went right on with additional conferences and held periodic meetings at which disputed tariff and trade actions of the different members were reviewed.

Without bothering you with further details let me tell you that GATT has in the meantime come to act as the supreme arbiter over our tariff and similar matters. It has reviewed several sovereign acts of the Congress and the President and continues to do so. Also it bound member countries against unilateral withdrawal of concessions granted in the agreement. It bound them further against using import quotas except as a defense in balance of payment difficulties or to avoid breaking down government sponsored agricultural programs.

This is rather high-handed action to be exercised by an illegitimate organization; but GATT is not easily abashed.

I will give you 1 or 2 examples.

In 1951 Congress by law directed the President to withdraw all trade agreement concessions from the Communist-controlled countries. The State Department complied expeditiously by notifying Russia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc., but held off with respect to Czechoslovakia. Something stood in the way. Why could the State Department not notify Czechoslovakia as in the other cases of our withdrawal of trade agreement concessions? It was because Czechoslovakia, although Communist-controlled, was (and still is) a member of GATT.

Although Congress had passed a law and although the President had signed it, the United States had lost its freedom of action so far as Czechoslovakia was concerned. We had signed away our freedom of action—i. e., the State Department had signed it away in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Did you know this? Did any of you know it? No. It could be said that the American people did not know it. The State Department did not want anyone to know it.

Yet the fact is that the United States had to wait until the next meeting of GATT in the fall of 1951 before proceeding with the congressional mandate. We had to lay the question of cancellation of our trade agreement with Czechoslovakia before GATT so that GATT might decide the question for us. Fortunately, after hearing the arguments for and against, GATT said that we were free to do what Congress had directed the President to do. In a very short time we withdrew from our trade agreement with Czechoslovakia—but not before getting GATT's O. K.

In other words, Congress is no longer the supreme legislative body for this country. Did you know that? Were you aware that we had clothed an international body with a veto over our tariff and trade questions?

This was not the only case that demonstrated this fact. In another case we raised the duty on women's fur felt hats after a hearing by the Tariff Commission under the escape clause. That time, as it happened, Czechoslovakia was also the protestant and contested our action. GATT appointed a working party to make a study of all the circumstances and to make a report. The working party made a detailed study and submitted an elaborate report. We were found by GATT to be justified in our action once more and we accepted the GATT decision.

Now, the Department of State denies that we are bound by GATT, and denies that

GATT has the power of review over acts of the United States that fall within the purview of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

How good is this denial?

It is obviously worthless as a practical matter. In the first place, the State Department wants GATT to have these powers—otherwise it would never have entered into the agreement in the first place.

Secondly, it would otherwise have submitted GATT to Congress for ratification. Evidently the Department, for good reason, feared the same result for GATT as was accorded the ITO Charter.

Thirdly, the denial is without effect because we have as a member of GATT accepted its jurisdiction in tariff and trade disputes. Moreover, we helped write the agreement in the first place and took part in and agreed to the procedures set forth. We are therefore in a poor position to repudiate its actions.

Fourthly, we accepted the two important decisions cited above. They were both in our favor. How could we then in good conscience or in good honor refuse to abide by GATT decisions if they went against us? The State Department knows that we are bound to accept such decisions and intends that we should.

Where does that leave Congress?

Out in the cold, so far as the tariff is concerned—or at least on the outer edges.

But the Constitution placed the regulation of our foreign commerce and the laying of taxes and duties squarely on the shoulders of Congress. The purpose was to keep control of these matters closely in the hands of the people. The effects of the acts since 1947 have been in the opposite direction. Congress is being elbowed out of the way to make room for the State Department.

What is happening and what has been going on is this:

The State Department has sought to cut Congress out of control of the tariff because that Department wants to use the tariff as a pawn of diplomacy. If Congress controls the tariff, even if only indirectly, as through the Tariff Commission, the State Department is handicapped in its moves. Congress might assert its authority and embarrass the Department.

The State Department is concerned with foreign relations and is properly interested in the economic factors that bring about good relations. On the other hand, the Department is entirely too prone to lose sight of the interests of the people back home in the factories and on the farms and ranches. That is why the system of executive domination of the tariff leads to a sacrifice of domestic producers in favor of considerations of diplomacy and in favor of foreign producers.

That is not as it should be for several reasons. One is that the pawns of diplomacy are rather shifty and transient. What looks good today may go sour tomorrow. Another is that when we seek to woo friends through economic concessions, these friends have a habit of becoming insatiable. Instead of appreciating what we have already done they resent it when we try to call a halt. Economic concessions too easily deteriorate into economic appeasement—unless they are carefully watched.

In its designs to wrest tariff control from Congress, the State Department has given assurances abroad that were not in its place to give; or made agreements that lay beyond its powers. Then the Department has expected Congress to make good on the promises and agreements. Congress was to consent to its own handcuffing and like it.

This represents a form of coercion that is properly resented by Congress; because the State Department cannot bind the Congress in any field of its constitutional powers against legislating as it sees fit. Each new Congress is free to repeal, amend, or leave alone any previous act of that body and the State Department is completely out of bounds when it seeks to bind Congress as it has done in GATT.

The machinations of the Department in the field of tariffs and trade have been high-handed to say the least and devious to boot.

We have seen how GATT sits in judgment on tariff cases and similar disputes brought before it. We have seen how the State Department has worked hand in glove with this procedure by submitting cases to GATT and participating in the procedures. Also, we have witnessed State Department acceptance of the results.

And now, as if to prove what they have previously denied, that Department is seeking the strengthening of GATT by taking part in a revision of the general agreement designed to give it more teeth. Right today a conference is going on in Geneva, attended by some 50 countries. GATT is being revised and the new version will probably be ready in January or February. This time a left-handed move will be made to bring the revised GATT before Congress for ratification. This looks like something new—like a change of heart.

But look out. The scheme is loaded.

The announced intention is to submit only the organizational features of the new GATT to Congress—not the part that counts, that is, the contents, such as the ban on import quotas, the provisions on valuation, the binding of rates against unilateral change, and so forth.

Should the organizational features, innocent as they are, be ratified, GATT would have the semblance of legality and would no doubt grow in its arrogation of powers with the full blessings of the State Department. Congress would find it ever more difficult to reassert and recapture its constitutional power; and the Department of State would describe congressional rebelliousness as evidence of irresponsible tendencies and instability. It would say that if Congress did not go along with the State Department design we would lose our friends abroad and be left high and dry and alone in the world. We would have to face Russia alone.

That is the gamut and that is the trap. So, I say, look out for the GATT—it's loaded.

What do we propose as a substitute?

Some bills were introduced in the past session of Congress that embodied our objectives. A few simple changes would be made.

Tariff changes would only be made if given individual rates could be shown to the satisfaction of the Tariff Commission to be too low and causing or threatening serious injury to domestic producers; or if export or import interests could demonstrate that individual rates are higher than necessary.

The Tariff Commission would hold hearings and make investigations as now, but its recommendations would go to Congress rather than to the President. The Department of State would have the right to send a report to Congress for its consideration along with other factors.

In this way the control over the tariff that has been usurped so deviously by the State Department would be broken and Congress would recapture its constitutional authority. Unless this is done all tariff legislation will be futile because it will be nullified by international procedures. You as wool growers might then just as well forget about electing men to the House and Senate, so far as the tariff is concerned, because they would be helpless. There would be no point in talking to them, sending them your complaints or asking their help. And, of course, as for going to Geneva itself—that is, to the new source of power—you would be voiceless for sure and completely ignored.

That is not the way the Constitution-makers wanted things to be. So let's take the cartridge out of GATT and unload it.

Tribute to Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McLain and Arthur Garfield Hays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, with a profound sense of personal loss and with deep regret I announce to the Senate the death of Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McLain, who passed away at Walter Reed Hospital on December 14, 1954.

General McLain was a distinguished American who attained outstanding success in business and as a military man.

He began his brilliant military career as a National Guardsman, serving as a private, corporal, and sergeant in the Oklahoma National Guard from 1912 until he was commissioned as a second lieutenant in 1914.

He was the first National Guard officer ever appointed brigadier general with permanent rank in the Regular Army, and the first civilian soldier in either World War I or II to command an Army corps.

He started at the bottom and his outstanding record should be an inspiration to all young Americans to strive to sustain our American ideals.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an obituary from the Army and Navy Journal of December 18, 1954, which gives General McLain's record as a soldier and civilian, and also an editorial from the Pittsburgh Press of December 17 which combines tributes to General McLain and to Arthur Garfield Hays.

There being no objection, the obituary and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Army and Navy Journal of December 18, 1954]

LT. GEN. RAYMOND S. MCLAIN, UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED

Military services at the Fort Myer, Va., Chapel were held, on December 17, for Lt. Gen. Raymond Stallings McLain, United States Army, retired, distinguished citizen-soldier, who died at Walter Reed Army Hospital, on December 14, of acute leukemia, after an illness of only 2 weeks. Burial was at Oklahoma City, Okla.

Born in Washington County, Ky., in 1890, General McLain served as a private, corporal and sergeant in the Oklahoma National Guard, from 1912, until he was commissioned as a second lieutenant 2 years later. In 1916 he served on the Mexican border, and in World War I, he went overseas with the AEF, participating in the Champagne and Meuse-Argonne campaigns. When the 45th Division of the Oklahoma National Guard was formed in 1924, General McLain became its first operations officer, later serving in turn as chief of staff; commanding general 70th field artillery brigade; and artillery commander.

General McLain's World War II service included a spectacular succession of commands. He led the attack on Vittoria in the 45th's amphibious operations in Sicily; saw renewed action at Salerno; personally led a breakthrough of German lines, when the 179th Infantry was cut off and isolated near

Persano, and, with another officer and two enlisted men, made his way to the surrounded regiment, reorganized its defense and reestablished its communications. He continued with the 45th in the Italian campaign, in its drive to the Cassino district, when the division was diverted for the landing at Anzio in January 1944, where, despite severe losses, it succeeded in turning back prolonged German tank attacks.

In April 1944, General McLain assumed command of the 30th Infantry Division Artillery, landing in France on June 10, and participated in heavy fighting north of St. Lo. The following July, he was placed in command of the 90th Division, which formed part of the spearhead of General Patton's Third Army's smash across France and ultimately helped close the Falaise pocket. In October 1944, General McLain was named commander of the XIX Corps, then in the final stages of reducing the Aachen pocket, and under whose command, during the Bastogne breakthrough, the corps took over the Hurtgen Forest sector. He led the XIXth in the crossing of the Roer, the fall of the Julich Fortress, in its drive to the Rhine, its capture of the Muchen-Gladback industrial area and the Ruhr, when the corps was relieved in order to drive on Berlin. The first to reach the Elbe, the corps, under General McLain's command, was all set for the Berlin drive, when it was halted and ordered to hold its position.

In June 1945, General McLain was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general, and 1 year later was commissioned a brigadier general in the Regular Army, the first National Guard officer to be so distinguished by Presidential appointment. In the period since World War II, he served as Chief of Information of the Army, Comptroller of the Army, on duty with the Defense Department's special staff as liaison officer between the Department and the President's Advisory Commission on UMT, and as a member of the National Security Training Commission. He was retired for statutory age in April 1952, when he returned to his former position as president of the American First Trust Co. of Oklahoma City.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Bertha McLain, of 1709 Pennington Way, Oklahoma City; 2 sons, Mr. Raymond S. McLain, Jr., and Robert Duncan McLain; and 4 daughters, Miss JenAnne McLain, Mrs. Betty Beloin, Mrs. Norman Guazzo, and Mrs. Dorothy Rogers.

A joint statement issued in the name of the National Security Training Commission, by Mr. Julius Ochs Adler, Mr. Warren Atherton, Mr. Alfred L. Hays, and Adm. Thomas C. Kinkaid, United States Navy, retired, said in part:

"General McLain's contributions to the Nation as one of our greatest civilian soldiers, as a distinguished and devoted public servant, as a successful businessman, and as a warmhearted individual have been great and can never be lost to us. Perhaps more than any other individual since the end of World War II, he has devoted himself to the cause of the training of civilian soldiers—to the cause of national security through trained manpower. Sacrificing time which he could have given to his private business in Oklahoma City, he remained in Washington after World War II to work on the problem of building a better trained Reserve. His work in this field was so active that he was one of the original five Commissioners appointed to the National Security Training Commission in 1951 when this Commission was established to study the problems of military training. He has devoted himself selflessly to the task ever since.

"The Commission proudly salutes General McLain's devotion to duty, his vision, his humanity. His life and his works will be an inspiration to all who follow him."

[From the Pittsburgh Press of December 17, 1954]

GENERAL AND LAWYER

On the same day this week, two distinguished men died.

One, and probably the better known, was Arthur Garfield Hays, the New York lawyer. The other was Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McLain, an Oklahoma banker.

For more than 30 years, Mr. Hays had been general counsel for the Civil Liberties Union. In this capacity, he had represented, for free, hundreds of persons in cases involving constitutional liberties.

Mr. Hays led a double life in the law. He made (from fees) and spent several fortunes as attorney for Wall Street corporations and wealthy clients. But he devoted most of his efforts to the feeless cases of those whose rights he thought were being infringed upon.

He was, as he said, a nut on the Bill of Rights. The politics, backgrounds, opinions, or alleged offenses of these nonpaying clients were not so important as the question of whether they were getting a fair shake. Mr. Hays' career was born of a detest for intolerance and censorship and faith in the right of dissent.

General McLain was the first National Guard officer ever appointed brigadier general of permanent rank in the Regular Army, the first civilian soldier to be given battlefield command of a corps. He is the general who might have captured Berlin, except for orders from the top to stop.

But he also was an effective advocate of a system of universal military training, and had been since 1912, in his belief that service and sacrifice were the responsibility of all, not just some.

The thing about these men is that, despite bountiful success in their personal vocations, they had the mettle and the devotion to give their time and talents to the causes which were at the heart of their convictions. Of such does our country grow strong and right.

Participation of United States Marine Band in Commemoration of the Victory at Yorktown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Newport News-Hampton-Warwick Daily Press, in regard to the commemoration, on October 19 last, of the American victory at the battle of Yorktown. The headline of the article is "Marine Corps Band Steals Show in 3-Hour Ceremony."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARINE CORPS BAND STEALS SHOW IN 3-HOUR CEREMONY

YORKTOWN, October 19.—With a flare of drumsticks and blare of bugles the trim, blue-uniformed Marine Corps musicians became the "show stealers" during a 3-hour tribute commemorating American victory in the Revolution here today.

The 35-man corps, led by M. Sgt. W. O. Nickell, had a well-rehearsed selection of French martial airs including the French national Fe-File and French Foreign Legion airs. Another tune, oddly enough, had a title, "Downfall of Paris."

They waited patiently for their Commandant, Gen. Lemuel Shepherd, to arrive by police escort at the French grave site, 3 miles below Yorktown.

Asked if he was used to playing for the Marine chief, one youthful bugler replied: "Sure, this is old stuff for us."

Later, when the same Marine snapped to rigid attention as the famed general passed, the mouthpiece dropped from his bugle.

This was, without a doubt, the most widely covered Yorktown Day in history.

On hand, not to mention a battery of Tidewater news and cameramen from both the civilian and military, was Robert Franc—special events officer for the French division of Voice of America.

Franc captured most of the speaking and musical program on wire records. It will be played, via short wave, and picked up by the French National Network Saturday. Beret-wearing Washington correspondents for the Paris "Figaro" and the French News Agency were Nicolas Chatelain and George Wolff, respectively.

SPECIAL DINNER

The midday program included the long-awaited cornbread and bean dinner on the site where Rochambeau's 4,000-man army dined Surrender Day on the same date 173 years ago.

The food was prepared and a mobile kitchen supplied and manned by members of the 32d Truck Company of Fort Eustis under Lt. Col. Robert Smoak and Capt. Richard Bergstrom.

Bonnet had expected difficulty managing his American field mess gear, but seemed to enjoy the novelty of it.

General Shepherd, next in the line of honor guests at this unique luncheon, grumbled good-naturedly for "some of that cornbread."

Behind Shepherd was Rear Adm. B. L. Austin, commander of Cruiser Division Two from the USS *Roanoke*. It was an unusual array of service brass to be seen in a mess line.

The advance notices said the menu would consist of bread, beans, and coffee. Fort Eustis cooks, however, sent along a tray of cheese and a tub of lettuce to round out the meal.

In the line of parade were the Marine musicians, playing Semper Fidelis and the Marine Hymn as they approached the reviewing stand on Main Street; two companies of naval and Marine personnel from the Naval Mine Depot here, and two units of soldiers from the 744th Transportation Company, Fort Eustis.

The entire parade was marshalled by Lieutenant Colonel Lipot, commanding officer of the Marine Detachment at the Naval Mine Depot—followed by an eight-man color guard of depot marines in modern and both French and Colonial period uniforms.

NAVY BAND

After assembly call by a Marine bugler at the monument, the colors were brought forward. At this point the Navy's Cruiser Division Two band from the *Roanoke* struck up the national anthem and Marseillaise.

A trumpeter played church call before the Reverend Arbrose Brown, retired Episcopal Bishop of Southern Virginia, pronounced invocation.

Charles Parmer, Rochambeau Commission chairman, introduced State Senator John A. K. Donavan, of Falls Church—chief proponent of Rochambeau legislation in the Virginia General Assembly.

Colors were retired and the benediction given by the Reverend Chester P. Michael, of Williamsburg.

The Navy had a "walkie-talkie" system in use to coordinate developments at the mon-

ument with crews at a 3-inch salute gun on the Roanoke.

As the band sounded the last note of Marseillaise a Roanoke crewman, with a radio strapped to his back, barked the order to commence fire into his phone set. Thirty seconds later the first puff of smoke belched from the cruiser lying below the cliff.

His code signal for communication with his ship was "George"—as in Washington.

PERENNIAL VISITOR

A perennial Yorktown visitor who returned today was Mrs. John Hubbard, of New York—the lone American woman to wear the French Commander ribbon—a Legion of Merit degree awarded for outstanding service to France. She was given the decoration during 17 years in various activities there.

Members of the Rochambeau group attending were Glen Mower, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Granville Gray Valentine, president of the Colonial Dames of Virginia; Major General Charles Landon, of Alexandria, and Mrs. R. M. Reese, commission historian of Alexandria.

Other guests: Mrs. John P. Harrison, chairman of the Sarah Constant Chapter of Colonial Dames on the Peninsula; Mrs. Logan Billingsley from Connecticut; Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Jackson, of the Friends of Lafayette; Col. Catesby A. Jones; George Waller Blow, of the Society of the Cincinnati; Col. S. S. Ballentine, commanding officer of Marine Barracks, Portsmouth Navy Yard; Capt. A. T. Walker, commanding officer of the Naval Mine Depot; Col. T. B. Tufte, chief of staff to Maj. Gen. Frank S. Besson at Fort Eustis; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Harrison De Frise; Jean Baube, aide to Bonnett and members of the Yorktown Day Association.

Establishment by Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., of a Foundation To Make Grants to Educational Institutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an announcement by the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., of the establishment of a foundation which will make grants to the educational institutions from which the executive personnel have graduated.

I have long felt that the business institutions in this country should recognize the responsibility to their colleges, and I am pleased to note that CBS has originated a practical way to put the idea into effect. I sincerely hope that other business leaders in this country will follow this example.

In this connection, I should like to request also that following the announcement there be printed in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the New York Herald Tribune for December 28, 1954, commenting favorably on the establishment of the CBS Foundation.

There being no objection, the announcement and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CBS MAKES EDUCATION GRANTS IN NAME OF KEY PERSONNEL—CBS FOUNDATION GIFTS RECOGNIZE JOB PERFORMANCE OF EXECUTIVE STAFF

A plan of making financial contributions to privately supported colleges and universities from which key CBS executive personnel have been graduated was announced today by CBS Foundation, Inc., the agency for making charitable and educational grants on behalf of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., and its divisions.

A total of 14 colleges and universities are included in the first-year grants, which are being made on behalf of 16 CBS executives. The group was selected solely on objective standards which do not involve any appraisal or evaluation. The formula used by the foundation is not to be made public, but includes minimum service of 30 months on a continuous basis and promotion to or beyond a specified level of responsibility. Graduation from an accredited privately endowed educational institution is also required.

The 16 executives in the first group under the CBS plan are drawn from two classifications, those who met the standards in 1953 and those who had met the same standards prior to 1953. Not all of the CBS executives who had qualified prior to 1953 could be included in the first-year group, and their individual names and their colleges and universities will be announced in succeeding years on a seniority schedule.

Consultants in the foundation and educational field said they believed this type of plan on a general basis is unique in the history of financial aid to higher education by business and industry in this country.

CBS Foundation will not confine itself to this one approach to giving to educational institutions, though it intends to follow its formula as its primary method of general aid to education.

The foundation's decision to limit its performance grants to privately endowed institutions was based in part on the support CBS already gives to publicly supported colleges and universities through taxes at its various locations throughout the country, and in part because of the special problem and privately endowed universities are recognized to have as a result of their almost complete dependence on private funds. If this plan were applicable to State, municipal or public institutions, three such institutions would also have been included in the first-year grants.

"In adopting this plan the CBS Foundation is attempting to do more than express CBS's appreciation to the institutions from which key executive personnel have been graduated," Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, Inc., and a member of the board of CBS Foundation, said. "We believe it is a way of demonstrating our belief in, and support of, the American system of privately endowed higher education. These colleges and universities all across the land need support from private sources, from individuals, and companies and foundations, if they are to continue to produce the informed and trained citizens on which our political and industrial democracy depends.

"These institutions have a special financial problem which separates them from the tax-supported State and other public institutions, which likewise play a most significant and vital role in our educational system. But because of the different basis of support on which our privately endowed institutions depend, we are concentrating our contributions in this area to help assure the continued service of these institutions to our national life as well as to our business and professional needs."

Members of the board of CBS Foundation, Inc., are all directors of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. Besides Dr. Stanton, they are: J. A. W. Iglehart, a partner in W. E. Hutton & Co., and president of CBS Foundation, Inc.; Ralph F. Colin, member Rosenman, Goldmark, Colin & Kaye; Dr. Leon Levy, of Philadelphia; and Robert A. Lovett, general partner in Brown Bros., Harriman & Co., and former Secretary of Defense.

The 1954 contributions under the new plan go to five colleges and universities on behalf of executive employees who met the requirements during 1953. In addition, nine other institutions were included because of executive employees who met the standards in earlier years. The recipient colleges and universities and the CBS employees on whose behalf contributions are being made (with the year in which each joined the company) are:

Brown University: Hubbell Robinson, Jr., vice president in change of network programs, CBS Television (1947).

Columbia College: Louis Hausman, vice president, CBS-Columbia (1940).

Cornell University: Henry Untermeyer, WCBS sales manager (1937).

Dartmouth College: Harry S. Ackerman, vice president in charge of network programs—Hollywood, CBS Television 1948; and James B. Conkling, president, Columbia Records (1951).

Denison University: John Hundley, manager of CBS Television Program Service, (1938).

Duke University: George Klayer, Chicago sales manager, CBS Television (1946).

College of the Holy Cross: Daniel T. O'Shea, vice president, CBS, Inc. (1950).

University of Kansas City: Edward P. Shurick, director of station relations, CBS Television (1950).

Knox College: J. Kelly Smith, administrative vice president, CBS Radio (1931).

New York University: Norman A. Adler, general attorney Columbia Records (1951).

Ohio Wesleyan University: Dr. Frank Stanton, president, CBS, Inc. (1935).

University of Pennsylvania: William S. Paley, chairman of the board, CBS, Inc. (1928); and James M. Seward, administrative vice president, CBS Radio (1933).

Princeton University: Adrian Murphy, president, CBS Radio (1936).

Wesleyan University: Harry Ommerle, director of programs, CBS Television (1950).

The grants are unrestricted as to use, so that the recipient institutions can if they wish apply them to general fund operating needs they consider most important.

Dr. Stanton said the experimental plan could be modified or expanded in future years, on the basis of experience with its actual operation. A sum of $32,000 is provided in the first-year grants representing a contribution of $2,000 on behalf of each of the 16 individuals. The sum, Dr. Stanton pointed out, approximates the extra "cost of education" which the college or university bore from endowment or other funds and which was "over and above the tuition and other fixed charges the individual was asked to pay at the time he was a student." While the amount of each contribution under the foundation's pilot-plant plan is not large, Dr. Stanton said it was hoped the pattern of widespread support on the principle adopted would assist the fund-raising efforts of accredited privately endowed institutions in all parts of the country.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 28, 1954]

REPAYING THE COLLEGES

Industry has found many ways to help the country's privately supported colleges and universities; but none could seem happier than that which has been put into effect by the CBS Foundation, Inc. As a kind of repayment to the colleges from which CBS executives are drawn, the foundation is offering to the alma maters of 14 of its of-

ficers a sum roughly equal to the difference between the tuition fees and the actual costs of the education which these men received. This sum is figured at $2,000 per man. Originally the difference was made up out of endowments and scholarships.

One can imagine the satisfaction of the individual colleges on receiving such grants; and the gift is made the more delightful in that the graduates who have come to be CBS executives can rightly feel a share of pride. It would perhaps be too much to suggest that industry is only paying a due debt when it returns to the colleges these sums which have made their top men what they are. Yet there is a symbolic fitness in the deed: industry does owe much to the liberal arts colleges of the land. Without them, the sources of their growth, their inspiration, and their progress would run dry.

The plan is to be continued in other years. Perhaps it will also be taken up by other companies. Here is an occasion where imitation would not only be flattery but a real boon.

Woodrow Wilson's Legacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Woodrow Wilson's Legacy," which was published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on December 29, 1954, as a reprint from the Manchester Guardian, together with an article by Bernard M. Baruch, which appeared in the January 2, 1955, edition of the New York Times.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of December 29, 1954]

WOODROW WILSON'S LEGACY

World War I President was isolationist turned internationalist by history, Britton writes; not the best politican, he succeeded as prophet when Nation neglected him and League of Nations; it took America 20 years to catch up with Wilson's ideals.

MAX FREEDMAN IN THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, REPRINTED FROM THE BEDSIDE GUARDIAN, ANTHOLOGY OF WRITINGS AND CARTOONS PUBLISHED IN LONDON AND EDITED BY IVOR BROWN

Today is the 98th anniversary of the birth of Woodrow Wilson, December 28, 1856. The following article was first printed in the Manchester Guardian on February 3, 1954:

"Thirty years ago today Woodrow Wilson died in Washington. It seemed as if his career had ended in tragedy.

"The country had turned against him in 1918 and chosen a Republican Congress; the Senate had refused to ratify the peace treaty; America had slumped into isolation, ignoble and indolent, symbolized by Warren Harding's election with a record majority. President Coolidge, in his first message to Congress, said that 'The League of Nations is a closed incident.'

"Yet the last word did not belong to the cynics and the scoffers. The second war came, as Wilson had foretold with tragic accuracy, and even before peace returned the United States had taken the lead in trying to establish a new system of collective security, as he also had predicted with brave faith.

"From the grave his ideals ruled the future. Balfour, thinking of the mistakes of Versailles, said the League was born in sin and dedicated to sainthood. Perhaps so; but if Wilson failed as a politician he succeeded as a prophet.

"There is one episode of his last phase on which Franklin Roosevelt liked to dwell. In 1920 Roosevelt was the Vice Presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket, with Governor Cox, of Ohio, as Presidential nominee.

"The party strategists warned them with cruel iteration they would be crushed if they continued to outrage the temper of the country by their vain defense of the [League] Covenant. Finally the two candidates went to the White House to consult with the President.

"Wilson, crippled by the stroke from which he never recovered, was wheeled in, and with unforgettable grace thanked his two friends for risking their careers by refusing to quit the standard of honor even under the pressure of vindictive prejudice. * * * So, with honor, they met inevitable defeat at the hands of Harding.

"Years passed, and Roosevelt, now President, took up Wilson's interrupted tasks. Both parties, amid public acclaim, supported the United Nations. Isolationism was dead.

"When Mr. Truman in 1950 pondered the aggression in Korea his chief adviser was Mr. Acheson. Now Mr. Acheson had once been secretary to Mr. Justice Brandeis, appointed to the Supreme Court by Wilson over unprecedented protests from the leaders of the American bar, who hated Brandeis' radical opinions. Mr. Acheson derived his faith in collective security not only from his knowledge of America's need but from his admiration for Wilson.

"The members of the free world, amid the harsh quarrels of the Korean war, had reason to be thankful for his unshaken faith in collective action.

"Mr. Stevenson proudly walks today in Wilson's tradition, and President Eisenhower is at his best in defending America's partnership in the great enterprise to save the peace of the world by united strength and wisdom. Was not Wilson correct in what he told a friend just before his death?

"'I am not sorry,' he said, 'that I broke down. As it is coming now, the American people are thinking their way through, and reaching their own decision, and that is the better way for it to come.'

"Could a more adroit politician have reduced the period of waiting? The short answer is that Wilson was not Roosevelt, and Lodge was not Vandenberg.

"A deeper answer—and the one which explains the true significance of Wilson's career—is that Wilson was a supreme isolationist with a genius for repentance. In 1914 he resented the war as a savage interruption to his social reforms. He knew little, and cared less, about Europe's quarrels.

"Only slowly did he come to see the moral issues at the heart of the struggle. Then he led America into battle and tried in vain to lead her into a partnership for peace.

"The lonely man in the White House forgot how much he had learned in those tragic and tremendous years of the war. He thought the same lessons were stamped with equal clarity on the American mind. Years later he complained that America had betrayed the League because of 'a slump in idealism.'

"That was only a fragment of the truth. American thinking had to catch up with his convictions. It took something like 20 years."

[From the New York Times Magazine of January 2, 1955]

WILSON'S WORDS—WORDS FOR TODAY

(By Bernard M. Baruch)

Like a mighty mountain, the figure of Woodrow Wilson, seen from the distance of a generation, is more impressive, more imposing than ever, towering over his time and casting his shadow down through the years.

Almost a century has passed since he was born—three decades since he was laid to rest. The world has changed greatly since his day and, in many ways, regrettably, not at all. Perhaps in the thought and spirit of that singular man we can find the key to the problems, old and new, which confront us—and at the same time replenish our minds and hearts.

Woodrow Wilson offers us the rare example of the practical dreamer. He as much as any man in our history, epitomized the idealism upon which, for all our pragmatism and materialism, the American heritage rests. At the same time, he was endowed with a stern sense of realism.

Although more than half of Wilson's life was spent in the realm of scholarship, it was not confined to an ivory tower. As a student of government and politics, he was concerned not with the "abstract and occult," as he wrote, but with the "practical and suggestive"; not alone with the theory of government but with its actual operation, too. He was interested in affairs, not doctrines.

Thus he was equipped, when he assumed public office, with a knowledge and an understanding of government which few Chief Executives have possessed. He knew the real workings, potentialities, limitations of government—and of men. He knew that human affairs do not lend themselves to theories, no matter how persuasive they may appear in the solitude of the library.

"Life is a very complex thing," he said. "No theory I have ever heard will match its varied pattern, and the men who are dangerous are the men who are not content with understanding, but go on to propound theories * * * which will make a new pattern for society and a new model for the universe. Those are the men not to be trusted. Because although you steer by the North Star, when you have lost the bearings on your compass, you must nevertheless steer a pathway on the sea—you are not bound for the North Star."

Wilson indeed steered by the North Star, but his goal was not so distant. It lay always within the grasp of men if they would but extend themselves. Of a well-known theorizer who sought to remake the world, Wilson once wrote, "I know of no man who has more perverted the thinking of the world than Karl Marx."

Wilson's goal was a better America, a better world, not a perfect one. He knew that men might achieve much, but not perfection. And he knew that progress comes by slow stages, that you cannot throw off the habits of society immediately any more than you can throw off the habits of an individual immediately. "You cannot in human experience rush into the light," he wrote. "You have to go through the twilight into the broadening light of day before the noon comes up and the full sun is upon the landscape."

He sought ever after the warm sun of peace, freedom, and justice, and sought a place beneath its rays for all men.

As Governor of New Jersey and as President, Wilson helped to clear away the rank growth of political inequality and economic and social injustice which was stifling American life, at the same time he prepared the ground for a new growth of opportunity and freedom, whose fruits we enjoy today. The best of contemporary American liberalism derives from him.

Despite the clamor raised against Wilson's program of tax, tariff, and electoral reforms, of restraints against monopoly and irresponsible business practice, of concessions to labor and aid to agriculture, there was nothing radical in it. Wilson did not seek change for the sake of change or ride "booted and spurred * * * the wild horses of reform," to win the applause of the multitude.

Indeed, as with every true liberal, there was a deep conservative instinct in him. His reforms were not intended to remake the American political and economic system but to conserve its essence. They were designed to strengthen it, to preserve it, to protect it (from itself, in many respects) by correcting and eliminating abuses which had grown up about it. He sought new means to preserve old ends. "The new freedom," as he said, "was only the old revived and clothed in the unconquerable strength of America."

Wilson devoted his life to preserving, strengthening, and extending democracy. Democracy, he said, was the most difficult form of government, yet he knew that it was the best ever devised by the minds of men. He knew that to survive, it must constantly adapt itself to changing circumstances. If it remained static it must wither and decay, and die under the impact of forces, destructive and disorganized, which would spring up. "Liberty is not something that can be laid away in a document, a completed work," he wrote. "Democratic institutions are never done—they are like the living tissue, always a-making."

The torch of liberty that burned so bright in Wilson made him a beason to which men and nations turned their eyes. Passionately as he was devoted to it, he knew that liberty was not an end in itself. Rather it was the catalyst which released human energies, the key which unlocked the door of opportunity and thus permitted men to achieve their potentialities. He knew, too, that liberty, unrestrained by disciple and responsibility, is anarchy. "Liberty," he said, "is not itself government. In the wrong hands—in hands unpracticed, undisciplined—it is incompatible with government."

The First World War transformed Wilson from an American leader into a world leader and he responded nobly to the challenge and the opportunity. Under his direction America mobilized all her resources of men, material, and spirit and threw them into the conflict. He was an inspiring war leader, but he fought for peace, not military victory. And it is as a champion of international peace and order that his reputation is most luminous.

The concept of an international organization to enforce peace was not original with Wilson. For centuries men had proposed it. He was the first to translate the idea into a reality. "What we seek," he said, "is the reign of law based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

He knew that without such a reign of law civilization itself might crash in ruins in another outburst of lawlessness. In the debate in the United States over the League of Nations, he said: "I can predict with absolute certainty that, within another generation, there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it." How true that prophecy was we well know.

Wilson's quest for a reign of law among nations failed. But the failure was not his. As the late Jan Christiaan Smuts said, the failure was humanity's. In the United States, partisanship, selfishness, and blindness prevented our joining the League and doomed it to failure. Without the force of American example and leadership other nations gave only lip service to the principles of the League and pursued their separate ways which met finally in catastrophe. As Ray Stannard Baker said, in the League Wilson gave the nations of the world an instrument for expressing good will, but he could not give them good will.

Critics of Wilson have charged him with responsibility for America's failure to join the League of Nations. They argue that had he been less stubborn he would have compromised with his opponents and accepted half a loaf.

This characterization of Wilson as dogmatic and uncompromising is wholly inaccurate. He compromised often and without embarrassment. Compromise is the essence of democracy. No man can lead a nation who cannot reconcile divergent views. The list of compromises he accepted in the Treaty of Versailles is long. But while he would compromise readily on detail, on method, on pace, he would not compromise on principle. And he was right.

The controversy over the treaty, in the last analysis, centered around article X which contained the pledge to preserve the territorial and political independence of all members of the League. This was the heart of the question. To abandon this article, as his opponents demanded, would have been to create a cardboard structure that would topple at the first thrust of an aggressor. The League, said Wilson, was the "indispensable instrumentality of peace." It was necessary to guarantee that peace. Article X was the guaranty.

The very same issue confronts us today in the question of the control of atomic energy, disarmament, and peace. There must be a guaranty. Declarations of intent and good will are not enough. Agreements which fail to provide for direct and effective control of the atom and close supervision of disarmament are meaningless and worse, incalculably dangerous.

To enter such agreements while abandoning the principle of international inspection and control would mean the dismemberment of our strength, while other nations, without our moral compunction, could maintain, behind the cloak of duplicity, the strength to destroy us. We cannot gamble with our survival. As Wilson refused to compromise on the essence of the League, we must stand fast on the principle of effective atomic control. In that case and this, half a loaf is not better than none.

Wilson left the White House broken in body, but not in spirit, his faith in men and in his own ideals untarnished. He did not live to see his somber prophecy fulfilled. But his principles were at last adopted. It is his spirit which animates the United Nations, and if we can recapture his spirit we can make that as yet imperfect instrument succeed.

Woodrow Wilson will be an example and an inspiration to men as long as we admire greatness. Greatness, he once observed, is a word which we Americans use loosely. Yet who deserves that accolade more than he? Gifted as few men are, the true source of his greatness lay not so much in his intellect, his eloquence, his courage, or in all the other qualities with which he was endowed. It lay in the fact that he devoted these qualities not to his own interest but to the interests of humanity.

We need men such as he; men devoted to democracy, who seek the sure road of progress while avoiding extremes; men who are ambitious to serve in government without serving themselves. We need men of courage and integrity, men who love humanity but understand it. We need men with vision enough to see the mountaintop and ability enough to lead us there.

For that is our goal—the mountaintop where men may breathe the clear, pure air of freedom and peace and justice. We will not reach it unless we link our arms together and pull together up the long, hard slope. Even if we ourselves do not reach that summit, we will, at least, have marked the way for others.

"All through the centuries," wrote Wilson, "there has been this slow, painful struggle forward, forward, up, up, a little at a time, along the entire incline, the interminable way. What difference does it make if we do not reach the uplands? We have given our lives to the enterprise, and that is richer and the moral is greater."

The Dixon-Yates Contract Hearings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Dixon-Yates Hearings End; Court Fight Likely," written by the brilliant young reporter, Charles Bartlett, and published in a recent issue of the Chattanooga times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DIXON-YATES HEARINGS END; COURT FIGHT LIKELY

(By Charles Bartlett)

WASHINGTON, December 25.—The five members of the Securities and Exchange Commission closed their hearings on the Dixon-Yates contract this week without providing any concrete clue to their reaction to this political hot potato.

The 3 Republicans and 2 Democrats who sit on this quasi-judicial body made it clear only in the 13 days of hearings that they recognize their decision in this matter as a very important test of their abilities that cannot be handled lightly. Each of the five was in constant attendance through every minute of the long sessions and a staff of at least 8 other commission lawyers was maintained in the room for every word of the testimony.

Private lawyers in Washington who are accustomed to obtaining easy access and fast action from the SEC for their clients have been disturbed to find that very little is being done there these days that is not connected with Dixon-Yates. Companies anxious to make stock issues before the end of the year have been crying aloud with little prospect of relief.

SENSITIVE TO INTEREST

The Commission is clearly sensitive to the newspaper interest in their deliberations on these matters and to its own evolution from the financial to the front pages. A pressroom was created for the hearings and the 8 or 10 reporters who covered the sessions were accorded conveniences normally restricted to sportswriters.

A quasi-judicial commission is a curious arm of the Federal Government in that it cannot deal in the give-and-take area of politics and yet does not enjoy the lofty sanctity of the judiciary. The Commission is responsible to its own integrity and to possible review by the courts and yet its members must face the necessity of reappointment by the politicians at 5-year intervals. Membership is not for most Commissioners and staff members an end in itself but in most cases a stepping stone either to higher political office or business preferment.

In the earlier chapters of the contract controversy, some of the less sophisticated of the public power group were shocked by evidences that the utility lawyers deal on a highly informal basis in all but the most

formal aspects of the Commission's normal activities and there was much dark muttering that this was no body to make an honest decision on this matter. Some of these people would probably have been shocked if they had heard Edgar Dixon, president of Middle South Utilities, Inc., turn to SEC Chairman Ralph Demmler as they both walked out of the final session on Tuesday and say, "I've been very pleased, Ralph, by the way these hearings have been handled."

However this familiarity between the judge and the judged is a natural outgrowth of the Commission system with its specialization and tremendous amount of detail that required long and informal deliberations between the Government and the applicant. Every specialist lawyer in Washington of any stature is familiar with the top individuals in the commissions with which he deals and these relationships are not only natural but generally beneficial if the men involved are decent. The fact that the SEC Commissioners are friendly with the utility people, with whom, after all, they have constant dealings, should not, in itself, prejudice their ability to make an impartial determination.

It is true, however, that three of the Commissioners, Chairman Demmler, J. S. Armstrong, and A. J. Goodwin, were selected by the Eisenhower administration from strong business backgrounds. Demmler and Armstrong were corporation lawyers in Pittsburgh and Chicago and Goodwin was a banker from Anniston, Ala. The two Truman appointees who remain on the Board, Paul Rowen and Clarence Adams, were in contrast appointed from the field of government.

It is further true that all three of the Eisenhower appointments were made on the initial recommendation of George Humphrey, the Secretary of the Treasury. This fact would seem to provide any assurance that might be needed that none of the three are blind to the interest of the business world.

There has been some talk of the fact that Goodwin's appointment had to be cleared through the Alabama Republican chairman, Claude Vardaman, who works for the Alabama Power Co. Research has disclosed, however, that Vardaman had no voice in the selection and that the two met only briefly just before the President sent the nomination up to the Senate. Goodwin is an Eisenhower Democrat.

Demmler spoke for the Commission in every instance during the hearings and while the body has not yet ruled on a number of the efforts by the contract's opponents to extend the consideration of the case, Demmler's motions showed a definite inclination to restrict that consideration to exclude some of the aspects of public interest that have been included in the political debate on the contract. While the Holding Company Act forbids utility acquisitions that may be detrimental to the interest of consumers, the hearings closed with no indication whether the interest of the TVA consumers is to be considered pertinent to the decision.

The SEC decision in the valley's interest in the contract will be an important one because the act specifically provides that the Commission must find that a utility acquisition serves the public by tending toward the economical and efficient development of an ingrated public-utility system. If the TVA system is not to be considered, the only hope for the contract's opponents will lie in the remote chance that the SEC may decide that the contract will tend toward interlocking relations or a concentration of control of private utility companies.

The circumstances of the Commission and of the hearings suggest strongly that the real hope for the opponents of the Dixon-Yates contract will lie in an ultimate court review of the matter rather than in the pending decision of the SEC.

The Farm Cooperative Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in the current issue of Cooperative Digest, the national magazine of farm business, there appeared a splendid article portraying the tremendous extent to which the fine farm cooperative movement has taken hold in our country.

The co-ops have become an indispensable part of the American scene, particularly in serving the needs of United States agriculture. My own State, I am glad to say, is one of the strongest co-op States in the Union, particularly with respect to its great dairy industry.

Co-op organizations at Federal, State, and local level have become invaluable aids to farmer and consumer alike. I refer in particular at the national level to the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, to the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., the American Institute of Cooperation, the National Milk Producers Federation, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, the National Livestock Producers Association, and other important groups.

I send to the desk the text of the article in the Cooperative Digest, preceded by a series of inspiring quotations from comments by the President of the United States in praise of the co-op movements. I ask unanimous consent that this material be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the comments and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EISENHOWER SPEAKS—PRESIDENT'S POSITION ON FARM COOPERATIVES

In statement and action, President Dwight D. Eisenhower has given his approval of farm cooperatives. He has indicated his support of the principle of bona fide farmer-owned, farmer-operated cooperatives. The following statements indicate the President's and the administration's position on farm cooperatives.

"We must always be concerned with strengthening farmer cooperatives, which have done so much to build progressive farming areas, up-to-date farm-to-market roads, rural electrification, and phone service." (Kasson, Minn.)

"Cooperation is the means by which freemen solve problems or tackle jobs too big for the individual. Farmer cooperatives are an essential device for maintaining the independent family farm. We will not let them be endangered. We shall aid farmers to strengthen their own institutions.

"Another farm program in which we must increase farmer participation and control is that of the Farm Credit Administration. * * * A Federal Farm Credit Board, elected by farmer-members, should be established to form credit policies, select executive officers, and to see that sound credit operations will not be endangered by partisan political influences.

"For the record I should like to emphasize certain facts. During the past year, the progress of the Rural Electric Administration has been exceptional. The administration considers these REA programs great advances for rural America; they have made our farms more productive; they have greatly enriched the lives of our country's economy."

Since the above statements have been made, the 83d Congress authorized the establishment of the Farm Cooperative Service as a separate and vital agency in the Department of Agriculture. And at the same time, this Congress gave independence to the Farm Credit Administration and provided for eventual control by the farmers themselves.

WHAT ARE TRUE FARM COOPERATIVES?

Since the establishment of man's society—community life—the need for and essence of cooperation has been readily understood. As man has progressed along the path of civilization his society living has become more complex and the subsequent need for cooperation has increased proportionately to his progress. Consequently, today, there is no phase of modern living regardless of how simple or how complex that is not dependent on cooperation.

Thus it appears only natural and quite logical to refer to that organizing of the farmer society within a civilization for the purpose of doing together what cannot be done as individuals as the cooperative movement. And the divisions within the movement, which are determined by the various types of farming and farmers' needs as cooperatives.

FIRST CO-OP MET IN 1811

In the community—using the term loosely—referred to by foreigners and by one-hundred-and-sixty-million-odd natives as the United States of America, the cooperative movement got its earliest recorded start among America's farmers when a cooperative, generally referred to as co-op, was organized in Missouri in 1811.

Thus created on the heels of a revolution, which was fought to answer needs of a society in general, the first American farmers' cooperative was organized to meet the needs of a specific group within the general framework of American civilization.

More co-ops were formed as the need arose with the expanding new country and its ever-complicating society. In 1913 the United States Department of Agriculture estimated there were a little more than 3,000 farmer cooperatives with about 650,000 farm members.

Post-World War I era co-op boom

Despite their rapid growth in numbers, farm cooperatives did not begin to affect the Nation's farm economy to any appreciable degree until after World War I. Only after the cessation of hostilities did the agricultural cooperatives gain strength as one unit which could and did influence the agricultural economy specifically and the national economy generally.

The "why" of this sudden growth influencewise may be seen in the fact that following the war the Nation's farmers were suddenly faced with a drastically reduced market. They had produced to "the sky's the limit" during the war years, but now were confronted with surpluses, no markets, and an ever-increasing cost of production. Thus they turned as individuals to each other and as groups developed cooperatively.

1922 hails co-op magna carta

Legislatively they, farm cooperatives, made their greatest gain in 1922 when the late Senator Arthur Capper guided the magna carta of farmer cooperatives—the Capper-Volstead Act— through Congress. This legislation gave the Nation's farmers the go-ahead to increase the scope and operation of their cooperatives—their off-the-farm tool—

for it meant co-ops were no longer subject to the antitrust laws.

However, the vertical growth—in numbers—of co-ops reached its peak in 1925–26 when 10,800 cooperatives were recorded. This peak era marked the close of a 50-year period which represented the greatest growth curve in co-op history.

More members than farmers

Although vertical growth was deterred, cooperative horizontal growth has continued with a little more than 10,000 farmer co-ops today boasting a membership of more members—some 7.4 million—than there are farmers in America.[1] This statisical contradiction is explained by duplication of membership.

Horizontal growth of the farmer cooperatives is also seen in a comparison of business done on a dollar-volume basis. In 1913 this amounted to about $310 million, whereas today's farmer cooperative business totals some $12 billion annually.

Co-ops go specialized

As the role and influence of the Nation's agricultural economy has changed drastically since the 1920's, so have the farmer-financed cooperative associations changed in their scope of activities. These changes have resulted in agriculture and cooperatives becoming specialized businesses respectively.

Specialization within the co-op field has resulted in three distinct types of cooperatives with which farmers are associated. First there are the marketing co-ops which market the commodities produced by their farmer-members. Purchasing or farm supply cooperatives are the second type of association and they handle the supplies needed for members' farm production.

Thirdly, there are the service cooperatives such as the artificial cattle breeding associations, rural electrification, and telephone co-ops and insurance mutuals.

Work outside specialty

The following statistics will give a general breakdown of the number of cooperatives, membership, and approximate annual dollar volume business within each of the three categories in which cooperatives operate. However, it should be understood that some marketing cooperatives are also engaged in purchasing and the converse may be true of the purchasing and service associations. In other words a cooperative may be classified as one type but do business in more than one category.

Consequently total figures will not necessarily reflect exact amounts or numbers in some cases because of the duplication of operation factor. An example of this type of differentiation is found in the fact that there are some 3,300 purchasing cooperatives listed as such, but almost 7,500 associations are carrying on purchasing operations at the present time.

MARKETING COOPERATIVES

Today, there are more than 7,000 cooperatives engaged in marketing which do a volume business of $9.25 billion annually. However, the readjustment figure, necessary because of duplication, indicates that some 6,500 specifically designated marketing cooperatives do a gross business volume of almost $7.5 billion annually for more than 4 million farmer-members.

Some of the principal categories in which marketing cooperatives function are as follows:

Cotton and cotton products co-ops

Approximately 550 cotton cooperatives, with a membership of some 380,000 members, do an annual business volume of more than $375 million. However, total cotton and cotton products operations carried on by nearly 570 cooperatives amount to more than $435 million yearly.

Although their principal function is handling loan cotton, these associations have broadened their service to farmers by handling farm supplies, warehousing, compressing cotton, and processing cottonseed.

Dairy products cooperatives

Dairy marketing carried on by all cooperatives grossed nearly $2.6 billion annually with 90 percent of this sum being netted by bona fide dairy associations—nearly 2,000—for more than 825,000 members.

Dairy co-op functions are divided into three phases. Some handle fluid milk, some engage in manufacturing dairy products, and a third group merchandises the finished product.

Three-fourths of all the milk sold under Federal marketing orders—which is about one-fourth of United States market milk—is handled by fluid milk cooperatives. Dairy associations handle about two-fifths of the butter, one-sixth of the cheese, more than one-half of the nonfat dry-milk solids and about one-tenth of the evaporated milk produced in this country.

Next to the grain co-ops, dairy cooperatives do the largest volume of marketing business for farmers.

Grain cooperatives

The largest single type cooperative is represented by the grain co-ops. Currently they number about 2,200 representing some 900,000 members. Their total annual business volume grosses around $2.3 billion with a $2.5 billion volume being done by all cooperatives handling grain.

The dominant grain associations handle not only grain, but dry beans—including soybeans and soybean products—and rice. Their principal functions are to handle, merchandise, and provide storage space for all types of grains. The latter function explains the increase in the number of country elevators, new grain terminals and addition of more storage facilities at most grain handling points.

Livestock cooperatives

Today, nearly 550 cooperatives devoted basically to livestock and livestock marketing functions do an annual business of approximately $1.75 billion for some 900,000 members which represents about 98 percent of the total livestock marketing done by all cooperatives.

The principal functions of these cooperatives are shipping, auctions, sales, meat packing, locker plants with slaughtering and processing facilities and research. Their primary objective is to provide producers with more satisfactory markets for their livestock and to carry such products closer to the customer.

Nut cooperatives

There are approximately 40 nut cooperatives serving a membership of more than 43,000 farmers which market gross $126 million in nuts—including tree and peanuts—yearly. This dollar volume figure represents about 98 percent of the total nut market transacted by about 75 associations.

Principal nuts handled are walnuts, almonds, pecans, and peanuts. Nut associations are located in the South and on the west coast. Today's nut marketing finds the nut cooperative utilizing the latest merchandising techniques in carrying their members' product all the way to the consumer. A few are engaged in processing peanut butter and peanut oil.

Poultry and poultry-products co-ops

Only about 18 percent of the cooperatives marketing poultry products, according to latest tabulations, are classified poultry-products marketing associations. A total gross sales of more than $350 million is indicated annually for this market with the recognized associations—about 140—doing more than $225 million worth of this volume.

Poultry cooperatives first specialized in eggs, which still make up the bulk of the business volume in this field, but they are now building volume in handling large quantities of chickens, turkeys, ducks, and other fowls, as well as providing chick-handling services.

Poultry co-ops are strongest in the West, but the broiler business has seen the advent of thriving cooperatives in the East.

Fruit and vegetable cooperatives

Slightly more than 800 fruit and vegetable cooperatives do a yearly gross business volume of approximately $900 million for some 138,000 members. This dollar figure represents better than 99 percent of the total fruit and vegetable business carried on by all cooperatives.

Fruit and vegetable associations are credited as being pioneers in their respective industries—in nationwide sales service, trade names, grading, processing, and merchandising.

They are continuing to pioneer in developing new food products, particularly in the juice-concentrate fields and in prepackaging.

Tobacco cooperatives

Twenty-nine tobacco cooperatives, handling the product of more than 700,000 members, do an annual gross business volume of approximately $173 million. The business of these associations is reported as predominantly tobacco with no interassociation business—other co-ops in tobacco as a sideline—contracted.

Tobacco cooperatives engage in sales-promotion programs, facility expansion, and in the development of new uses of tobacco.

Wool and mohair cooperatives

Latest reports indicate that there are more than 100 wool and mohair cooperatives in the Nation doing about $40 million worth of business annually for almost 100,000 members.

They have provided woolgrowers with substantial benefits from freight-rate reductions, expansion of existing storage-in-transit privileges, changes in trap-car services, and absorption of switching charges.

Two hundred other marketing cooperatives

Marketing cooperatives falling into other categories which have not been discussed number about 200 and do an annual business of approximately $340 million gross for some 77,000 members.

These categories include beans and peas co-ops, rice, sugar products (including sugar beets), forest products, and other miscellaneous associations.

Also included are those handling several types of commodities or furnishing special marketing or related services.

PURCHASING COOPERATIVES

Almost 7,500 cooperatives purchase supplies annually which gross some $2.8 billion in sales. However, "legitimate" purchasing co-ops, of which there are about 3,300, gross $2.2 billion of this amount in carrying out their primary function for over 3 million farmer-members.

The $2 billion plus gross sales is transacted by three types of purchasing cooperatives. They are the large regional associations or federated type, the local associations, and those which are called purchasing and marketing.

Feed $1 billion item

These cooperatives supply their farmer-patrons with more than 5,000 different commodities. The largest single item is feed, of which a gross volume of over $1 billion is realized yearly. This volume—in tons, 7 million—is attributed to some 4,000 co-ops which handle feed. However, over $800 million is grossed on feed by approximately 1,800 purchasing co-ops alone.

Petroleum products, which have of late taken precedence over fertilizer, rank as second largest volume item handled by pur-

[1] The 1950 Census lists some 5.9 million farmers in the United States.

chasing co-ops—or some 20 percent of all the petroleum products used on American farms. Fertilizer annual gross volume sales now run close to $300 million.

Other volume products

Other large volume items are seed, insecticides, dusts and spray materials, bags, machinery, automotive supplies, tools, electrical equipment, household appliances, livestock remedies, foodstuffs, coal, paints, roofing, barn equipment, farm implements, and machinery and building materials.

SERVICE COOPERATIVES

Although there are only a few more than 250 service cooperatives listed as such, latest tabulations indicate that over 4,000 associations are performing functions which may be classified in the services category.

Total receipts for all cooperatives performing service functions total more than $114 million annually on the gross side of the ledger. Contributing the largest rate to this volume figure is ginning services performed by slightly more than 500 co-ops at a gross annual volume of about $21 million. Fruit packing and picking, rice and rice drying, and livestock trucking services contributed substantially in the order listed to the total service gross volume figure.

Operations numerous

Other services performed by service co-ops and other associations performing operations in this category include drying grain, fruits, eggs, and milk; handling loan papers; repairing machinery; and other miscellaneous services.

The McCarran-Walter Immigration and Naturalization Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine column on the McCarran-Walter Act and our immigration and naturalization policies, which was published in the Post-Star of Glens Falls, N. Y. The column was written by the Honorable Nathaniel P. Davis, who had a brilliant career as a Foreign Service officer and American diplomat, and who is now making his mark in upstate New York as a civic leader and as a commentator on affairs local, State, and national.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEN SKETCHES

(By Nathaniel P. Davis)

One of the most important, most intricate, and at the same time most controversial acts of the 82d Congress was the McCarran-Walter immigration and naturalization law. Conceived as a modernization and streamlining of a hodgepodge of laws dealing piecemeal with various aspects of immigration, it finally emerged from long and bitter debate, and surmounted a veto by President Truman, just about the time the 1952 campaign was getting under way. Both Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson criticized some features of the act and promised remedial action if elected; and in at least one message President Eisenhower has recommended amendments, but so far nothing has been done.

Criticism of the law falls into two main categories: The first is that it continues the system of restricting immigration on the basis of national origins. That is a matter of policy and can be argued for or against with good conscience. The second is that it denies to foreigners, immigrants and temporary visitors alike, the equal protection of the laws and treats them as "some kind of second-class human beings not entitled to the normal amenities of a civilized social order." (The quotation is from a recently published statement by our own attorney general-elect, Mr. Javits.) That is a matter of morality and in my opinion is indefensible.

Section 242, for example, authorizes the Attorney General of the United States to arrange for appropriate places of detention" for aliens who for one reason or another have not been cleared for admission by the time their vessel docks. With the decrease in immigration to this country and the extension of pre-examination procedures by immigration inspectors stationed abroad and on board the larger liners, Ellis Island has been little used of late and recently it was closed as an immigration station.

In carrying out his obligation to provide an appropriate place to house immigrants and visitors awaiting final clearance the best thing Mr. Brownell could think up was to lodge them in the Westchester County jail. What a greeting for foreign visitors to the land of the free and the home of the brave. It is one thing to jail a man who has been ordered deported upon conviction of some violation of the immigration laws, or who is being held for trial on legally filed charges of violation or attempted violation. It is quite another thing to imprison him while the complicated and sometimes time-consuming administrative procedures under our immigration laws pursue their normal course; and it is a matter of record that most of the immigrants and temporary visitors denied admission in recent years have been held up for technical and administrative reasons and that few of them have been excluded on final review of their cases. To lock such persons in jail on the mere say-so of an immigration inspector without the filing of criminal charges and without recourse to bail is scarcely in accord with our traditions.

This action by the Attorney General, which the McCarran-Walter Act authorizes, raised a storm of protest in letters to the New York Times, and in two editorials in that newspaper. Whether or not in deference to those protests, the Department of Justice announced a few days ago that it had rescinded the order to hold detained aliens in jail, and that they will henceforth be housed in a hotel. That is all to the good, but it should not be forgotten that in issuing the order as well as in rescinding it the Attorney General was acting within the absolute discretion conferred on him by law. The incident is a heartening demonstration of the power of public opinion; but it also demonstrates the un-American quality of a law which permits human beings—any human beings—to be thrown into jail at the discretion of an administrative officer.

American Jews are now celebrating the 300th anniversary of the founding of the first Jewish community in this country. That is a short time in the long history of Jewry, but it goes back to the days before the United States was born. I am not aware that the arrival of those immigrants attracted any particular attention at the time or that there were any Dutch immigrration officials in New Amsterdam to go over their papers and with authority to put them in jail while they did so. But the English colony of Massachusetts had a restrictive immigration law, forbidding the entry of Quakers on pain of death. Just about the time the first Jews were entering New York a group of Quakers entered Boston. They were imprisoned and four of them were hanged. It may be argued that they got no more than they asked for since they knowingly entered the colony in violation of law.

Be that as it may, the treatment accorded them was harsh, to say the least, by any modern standard of decency. We have progressed a little bit since then. We no longer hang illegal immigrants; we imprison and then deport them after conviction by due process of law. But in this supposedly enlightened day we are closer to our Massachusetts forebears than to the New Amsterdam Dutch when we pass laws empowering officials of the executive branch to imprison those who are applying for admission, who are not charged with any crime, with no right to bail and no recourse to habeas corpus.

Many people, even among those who favor the tightest kind of restriction on immigration, feel that there are other provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act which are widely at variance with American concepts of fairness and standards of decency. Since the President has already urged amendments to remove what he has called discriminations and injustices it is to be hoped that he will again bring the matter up in his state of the Union message next month. And the Congress could do a lot worse than demonstrate its bipartisan approach to questions of national importance by doing something about it.

Right To Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article entitled "Right to Work Laws," written by Arthur J. Goldberg, general counsel, Congress of Industrial Organizations, and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of Tuesday, January 4, 1955.

The article is as follows:

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

In a letter published on December 28, 1954, former Congressman Fred A. Hartley attacked the Washington Post and Times Herald for supporting Secretary of Labor Mitchell's views on the so-called State right to work laws. He accuses you of either calculated cynicism or a failure to understand the issue. The accusation is more properly made with respect to Mr. Hartley's letter, although failure of understanding may seem unlikely in the titular coauthor of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The fact is that under the Taft-Hartley Act a union which is freely selected by secret ballot by a majority of employees in any unit is obliged by law to bargain for all of the employees, whether or not they are members. The benefits secured by the union must, under the law, be given to all of the employees. When a union asks an employer—not the Government—to agree voluntarily to a union shop it asks only that all of those who are legally entitled to the benefits secured by the union pay their share of the cost of securing those benefits.

This does not mean union monopoly. Only a union which has been selected by a majority of the employees is permitted by law to negotiate for a union shop provision. And the majority of the employees have the right, under the law, to select another union or no union by secret ballot at appropriate

times, and, indeed, to revoke at any time the union's authority to negotiate for a union shop.

Showing equal lack of understanding is Mr. Hartley's comment that members can be expelled from unions "at the whim of union officials" and that, therefore, their livelihood is endangered if a union-shop agreement is in effect. Members cannot be so expelled, but, even if they could be, their livelihood would not be endangered because the law provides that under a union-shop agreement only failure to pay dues can be a ground for discharge or other discipline.

Mr. Hartley says that the repeal or nullification of the State laws would throw the weight of the Federal Government on the side of union compulsion. To the contrary, the present Taft-Hartley Act throws the weight of the Federal Government against unions. It permits the 17 or so States which forbid the union shop to enforce their laws but it prevents unions from negotiating for a closed or preferential stop in the 30 States which approve of such agreements. The present Federal law thus permits States to enforce laws which restrict union security more than the Federal law but prevents them from enforcing laws which are more liberal than the Federal law.

Finally, Mr. Hartley commends to the Post and Times Herald the comments of Mr. Justice Brandeis against the closed shop. It is unfortunate that he did not quote all of what the late Justice said on the subject. Justice Brandeis opposed the closed shop because he favored the preferential shop, an arrangement much more advantageous to unions than the union shop. In Brandeis' own words:

"The preferential shop is this: It is a shop in which union standards and conditions prevail, and in which the employer agrees, other things being equal, that he will employ union men—that he will give the union man a preference over a nonunion man.

"I should say to those employers who stand for the open shop that they ought to recognize that it is for their interest as well as that of the community that unions should be powerful and responsible; that it is to their interest to build up the unions, to aid as far as they can in making them stronger, and to create conditions under which the unions shall be led by the ablest and most experienced men. * * * As nearly as possible union existence should be assured so that the efforts of the leaders might be devoted to solving the fundamental and difficult problems of discipline and organization, and the working out of other problems of the trades."

It is unfortunate that the law which Mr. Hartley helped write forbids unions, irrespective of State laws, to negotiate for the preferential shop which Brandeis so strongly favored. But, at the very least, the words of the late Justice should not be quoted out of context to make it appear that he favored the open shop.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG,
General Counsel, Congress of Industrial Organizations.
WASHINGTON.

Christmas, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, December 18, 1954:

It may seem a long way from the manger at Bethlehem to a New York penthouse high in the sky.

From a camel to a jet plane.

Across the distance of 1,954 years.

And yet the stars above seem the same.

While the life of a person who lives to be 80 is only a brief moment of awareness.

The world today is in fearful worship of atomic energy, the primitive pagan deference to a terrifying force that we have not learned to control, just as our so-called uncivilized ancestors made sacrifices to the powerful but vengeful gods of the sun and the sea.

Man, with all his proud, material accomplishments, faces the future with greater uncertainty than ever before.

For now his finger rests lightly but nervously on the trigger of a mechanism, the two-edged weapon that could sear his whole world with fire and leave the few survivors in prehistoric darkness.

Ignoring at this Christmas of 1954 the miracle that took place at Bethlehem over 19 centuries ago, the miracle of love that is always available to save him from his weakness and his cruelty, if he will only try to live his life as God intended that he should.

Christmas, 1954, with its message of peace on earth to men of good will is an inspiring religious festival.

That brings faith and hope and purification to hundreds of millions of people.

To others it is but the commercial climax of the year.

While heads of government search for answers to the unknown in the danger and the darkness beyond the neon-lighted streets, far off in the secret recesses of the brains that rule Moscow and Peiping, and plot to master the world by force and fraud and terror in place of God's redeeming love, we in the United States can be thankful for many blessings on this Christmas of 1954.

That we live in freedom under governments responsible to us, the sovereign people. Without masters, or slaves.

With signs of progress all around us as America builds upward and outward. The only servants are machines, tens of millions of them, that we control most of the time. Motor cars and planes, a loved one speaking to us across a continent, and pictures coming to us through the air as science gives us the magic eye and ear to be present at great events, no matter where they happen.

In laboratories, hospitals, and universities new miracles are unfolding to bring us health and happiness and greater understanding.

Everything quickens with life as express highways arch over our cities to expedite trade and travel, and people find the elbowroom for sunlit homes instead of dark tenements, in the countryside that is growing more ranch houses than crops.

And you think how wonderful it is to be 20 years of age and standing on the threshold of man's greatest progress.

Here in America, where all the machines and tools and techniques are banishing the poverty and the back-breaking toil, and the worry, that have stunted the growth of many.

We are thankful for the schools and churches of our land. For the good that people do, because they are free to develop the best within them without fear of Government reprisals. Freedom to think, and speak, and do, and pray.

With these liberating powers, we can eventually solve any problem—if we have enough time.

We Americans have weathered many storms—for independence, for unity, for progress, and survival.

We suffered hardship and despair, but our faith in what is right gave us the strength to surmount all difficulties.

Sometimes our leaders made tragic blunders. Sometimes we were late in waking up to the betrayers; to those who put money, power, and pride above all else; to the fanatics of the right and of the left.

In spite of these dangers, the good commonsense of the average American, his decency, and his regard for other people, managed to keep us on a steady course.

These are the gifts we have received from freedom under God, for which we are grateful at this Christmastide, as we commemorate the Birthday of our Saviour whose life on earth pointed the way to brotherhood and peace to men of good will.

Most of the world longs for peace and equality of opportunity, but a few evil men are not satisfied with this. In the name of the false god of communism, they would enslave mankind, stripping their fellow humans of mind and soul and dignity—to satisfy their consuming lust for power and to heal the sickness of their own insecurity.

We could be sorry for these tyrants because their desperate cruelty is a confession that they are lost and are trying to cut through the jungle of their own hates and fears.

We could be forgiving but for their present brutality and their continuing aggressions.

On December 10 Molotov declared before a rally of would-be conquerors—and I quote: "There is no force in the world strong enough to stop the march of communism."

Mr. Molotov is in error.

There are forces to crush the Communist assault upon humanity, if we had the determination to employ them effectively.

One is military: The use of our presently superior weapons to win a quick and decisive preventive war.

Another is economic: Aid to free nations that will enable them to develop a higher standard of living—and, by contrast, expose the failures of communism—similar to the progress of West Berlin as compared with the rundown condition of East Berlin, which is under Soviet control.

A third is moral: Reaching through to the captive peoples under the hammer and sickle, with the beliefs and the aspirations that we share in common, encouraging them to prepare for the day of their own liberation.

As to military means, time is the diminishing factor.

The United States, which has a clear superiority in nuclear weapons and the means of bringing them on target, did not unleash this overwhelming power against communism. Instead, it asked Russia and other nations to join in a workable plan, guaranteed by inspection and supervision, to outlaw nuclear weapons as a step toward disarmament and genuine world peace.

The Communists rejected this generous offer.

Why?

There can be only one answer.

Communist Russia is playing for time to assemble a sufficient supply of A-bombs and H-bombs, and long-range aircraft and guided missiles, that will force Europe and Asia to capitulate to its demands, thereby isolating the United States.

Our positions would be reversed.

The Nation would be at the mercy of the Communists, and no clear-thinking person could expect them to exercise the charity and forbearance that is guiding our foreign policy today as time, that is now on our side, is running out.

What should we do before it is too late?

The power advantage may be ours for 2 or 3 or possibly a few more years.

How are we going to use it in order to establish a foolproof peace?

By helping other nations to become materially strong and confident as a bulwark against communism.

By carrying psychological warfare to the Russian people, so that they will rise up to overthrow their despotic rulers?

By preventive war now to destroy the Communist regimes in Russia and China and replace them with governments representative of the Russian and Chinese peoples, who will cooperate with the United Nations to outlaw aggression forever?

This last is a hard alternative.

It may be the only one if the other alternatives do not show results, and soon.

Even preventive war is a choice that is limited by time.

Once Communist Russia catches up with us that chance is gone.

If anyone thinks that the Communists will change their design for world conquest if we will only be nice to them, or believes that we should just wait for a revolution by the oppressed peoples of Russia and China, then that person should consult a psychiatrist.

We will not survive without leadership and without a positive program to defeat communism.

Perhaps, as some suggest, we should serve an ultimatum upon the Communist tyrants through the United Nations while we still have the upper hand, establishing a deadline before which they must agree to a universal program of disarmament, made effective by U. N. inspection and control, or suffer atomic annihilation of their military and industrial centers.

Drastic? Yes.

But the need to establish and enforce an international system of law and order is imperative if the world is to escape enslavement or utter destruction, as time is running out for this as well as other alternatives.

How can we reach through to our fellow human beings behind the Iron Curtain now to build a common cause that will forever outlaw aggression?

So many of these captive peoples treasure the meaning of Christmas, hoping for freedom as they pray before home altars, safe for the moment from the secret police.

Christmas, 1954, is but 1 week away.

When freedom and slaves ask for the greatest gift of all—the way to find peace with honor for all men of good will.

Research in Blinding Eye Diseases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, because those disease of the eyes which result in blindness have been brought close to home to me, my interest in the research programs being carried on has certainly increased.

Recently a group of doctors conducting research in retrolental fibroplasia, an eye disease which has affected 50 percent of those premature infants weighing 3½ pounds or less at birth, discovered a practical prevention of almost all of this disease. There is no doubt that this discovery is far more important to the people of our country than any other medical discovery; as this might well pave the way for the eventual cure of the majority of our eye diseases.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a short statement with reference to this discovery.

Today, we are spending less than $2 million for medical research in the blinding eye diseases—a group of conditions which more than any other group stakes a claim on the American taxpayer—for the education, training, and support of the blind. What we are spending for research today is just a little more than we have been spending for the past decade—in spite of the overwhelming evidence that such research can either prevent or cure disorders of the eye.

Last year and, indeed, the year before, I asked that the appropriations of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness be increased with a view toward strengthening the weak national research programs in both the neurological and sensory disorders. As you know, those increases were given, so that now the budget of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness stands at $7,600,000 and the number of investigations on blinding eye disorders conducted throughout the United States has burgeoned by 25 to 30 percent.

This research attack is still pitifully small, but to the citizens of this country, Congress' action on the Institute's appropriations may well be a source of deep gratitude. In the short span of 2 years, rapid progress has been made against eye disease; modes of prevention and treatment have been developed with the results that thousands now are escaping the helpless fate of darkened vision and the economic burden of their care, which is the country's responsibility, has been lightened.

Let me illustrate just one of the many achievements made under the eye research programs of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. This achievement represents the virtual conquest of retrolental fibroplasia, a blinding eye disease which affected 50 percent of those premature infants weighing 3½ pounds or less at birth. Retrolental fibroplasia may be an unfamiliar disease to you, but for 5,000 mothers in this country whose children have completely lost their sight because of this condition its name spells constant despair. It is the leading cause of blindness in children; and each of the 5,000 children individually costs the community, State, and Federal governments more than does a single victim of any other disease—$100,000 for education, training, and support from birth to death, or for all, a grand total of $500 million.

This past month, however, the practical prevention of almost all retrolental fibroplasia became a dramatic reality. On September 14, Dr. V. Everett Kinsey of the Kresge Eye Institute in Detroit, summed up the results of a 1-year study of retrolental fibroplasia before a large gathering of eye specialists from all over the United States and from all over the continent as well. What he had to say was simple—the major contributing cause of the disease was oxygen, the oxygen which was routinely administered to premature children in hospital incubators. The way to stop retrolental fibroplasia was to stop using oxygen, except where urgently needed in crisis.

Dr. Kinsey, I should point out, was speaking on behalf of more than 75 pediatricians and ophthalmologists who during the past year have worked in close coordination in 18 hospitals throughout the United States to come up with the answer. The answer was made possible by the Government through support of the study by the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. The answer—oxygen—perhaps sounds simple to you, yet it represented the end of what had been a long, hard 12-year hunt for the cause of the disease on the part of hundreds of scientists.

Their quest may prove as interesting to you as it is for me. Retrolental fibroplasia, I should tell you, was first described in the United States in 1942 by a Dr. T. L. Terry. Dr. Terry, himself, tried to explain why the blood-carrying tissues of the eyes were affected in retrolental fibroplasia. He thought the condition was due to factors affecting the mother during pregnancy—possibly toxemia or hemorrhage. Many others believed as Terry did, though they could not find sufficient evidence to support their beliefs.

Retrolental fibroplasia mysteriously continued to grow in incidence from 1942 on, and it began to appear as well in England, on the Continent and elsewhere. More and more it became evident that the disease was probably not related to the condition of the mother during pregnancy but to the changing care of infants in hospitals. Many causes for the disorder were suggested—nutritional deficiencies in the infant or, again, nutritional excesses; irritation of light on the infants' eyes or possibly not sufficient light; mother's milk was first implicated, then cow's milk. As one set of facts were established to support a given theory, another set arose to contradict them. None of them were statistically sound.

By 1951, oxygen had also been suggested as the cause of retrolental fibroplasia—too little oxygen, however, not too much. At the same time, one hospital had noted that the incidence of retrolental fibroplasia seemed to parallel the increasing introduction and use of oxygen-bearing incubators in their maternity wards. But the real possibility that oxygen was the contributing cause could not be substantiated elsewhere.

In 1953 the first real breakthrough came. Dr. Arnall Patz, of Georgetown University, working with newborn rats, proved that constant oxygen administration, such as was routinely given to premature infants in our hospitals, could cause retrolental fibroplasia. Dr. Patz' work was supported by the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness.

Whether what was true for animals would prove true for humans remained to be proved. A clinical study of premature infants weighing 3½ pounds or less at birth posed a major problem. Such a study, if conducted at a single hospital, might take 3, 4, or even 5 years

before enough premature infants were born so that results of the study would be statistically valid. If the vital answer were to be obtained as rapidly as possible—and with children blinded each day by retrolental fibroplasia, speed was essential—then a number of hospitals working on the same problem at the same time under the same strict scientific rules of evidence would be needed.

Such a study as this would require considerable funds. The National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness with its increased appropriations could now make most of the funds available. Just as important, to muster the combined research strength of a large number of distinguished investigators would require organizational capacity of a high order. Through its grantees, however, the Institute had access to some of the leading scientists in the country who might participate in the investigation. With the creation of a subcommittee composed of some of those scientists who worked closely with the Institute, so was born one of the broadest research studies on a single medical problem ever conceived.

The results of this study you now know. That study, you should know, cost the Government just $40,000. To this sum was added another $11,000 by the National Foundation for Eye Research and the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. It appears that the cause of blindness for 5,000 babies has been prevented at a cost of $51,000—$10.50 per baby blinded from this cause in this country. The cost of care for 5,000 blind babies will be, for our generation, 100,000 times the cost of the prevention for the future. It appears that we have also removed one more source of pain and misery from the world.

The scientific attack on disease is not always so productive so rapidly. Yet there can be no question that the more effort science can devote to medical problems, the more successful science can be. Let science, through us, in short, attack the dreadful problems of glaucoma, cataract, and diabetic retinopathy on the scale these problems deserve and we count on their answers too—sooner rather than later.

Higher Pay Scale Could Improve Congress Caliber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to note a substantial amount of recent discussion of the oft-mentioned but oft-postponed salary increases for Members of Congress. Every responsible group which has recently studied this question has recommended substantial pay increases. It is my personal feeling that Members of Congress should receive the same pay as Members of the President's Cabinet.

Because it demonstrates an intelligent understanding of this problem, I am inserting herewith an editorial written by Gib Koenig, which appeared in the Waukesha (Wis.) Freeman, my hometown newspaper:

HIGHER PAY SCALE COULD IMPROVE CONGRESS CALIBER

A much needed and long overdue pay increase for Congressmen and Federal judges may meet with favor in the new Congress. Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, announces he will introduce a bill raising congressional pay from $15,000 to $27,500, with larger expense allowances. The judges will profit by increases of $12,500 to $14,500. This would give some judges salaries as high as $40,000; others would be close to $30,000. These sums will raise an outcry from the unthinking who themselves have never been paid $25,000 a year, and see no reason why anyone else should. They would be willing to serve in Congress for $15,000, and think the present Representatives should not mind doing so. They overlook the fact that men of real competence could earn more than that in private practice of their businesses or professions. While public spirit causes many to hold office at a sacrifice, public spirit does not move many to stay in politics when it means hardships for their families.

All congressional pay is not pure velvet. Many expenses go with the position; $15,000 is not nearly so large a sum for Congressmen as it looks.

Is Our Defense Policy Based on the Nation's Needs or on Questionable Campaign Promises?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to a column by Mr. Roscoe Drummond which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on January 5, 1955. Mr. Drummond predicts that the administration's cut in military manpower will not go unchallenged and states that he has information that the proposed cut in military manpower was not approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of the Army, or the Secretary of the Navy, and that these cuts were originally opposed by the Secretary of Defense until he was ordered to approve them. Mr. Drummond states that the only reason given for making the cuts was the desire of the administration to bring the budget more nearly into balance.

The defense of our country must not be jeopardized for the purpose of attempting to place certain campaign promises of the administration in a more favorable light. The article to which I refer appears below:

WHY THE DEFENSE CUT?—REAL REASONS HELD NOT GIVEN

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The Eisenhower administration is not yet giving the American people either a candid or a full explanation of why it is reducing by 400,000 the manpower strength of the Armed Forces by June 1956.

It will have to be franker and more persuasive than it has thus far if it is to convince the country and the Congress that its drastic reduction is wise at this time.

The administration will have to lay out its real reasons at its own initiative—or Congress will extract those reasons, painfully and piecemeal, from uncomfortable witnesses when the military committee goes to committee.

Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL (Democrat, Georgia), who, with the convening of the new Congress, resumes his post this week as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, is quite properly calling for an inquiry into why we are making such a large cut in the Army at a time of atomic stalemate.

"We are certainly going into this very thoroughly," says Senator RUSSELL, himself one of the most responsible men in the Senate, "and get the views and the reasoning of those who are proposing the reduction."

Senator RUSSELL does not say he cannot be persuaded that this manpower reduction is sound, but it is plain that he is not satisfied with the reasons so far advanced.

And what are those reasons?

Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson cited as reason for the proposed cuts the assumption that the danger of war in the visible future has lessened.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles cited as reason for the reductions the view that the technological improvements in weapons makes it possible to achieve equal defense with fewer men.

It does seem odd that the two leading spokesmen of the administration should give such divergent reasons for cutting the Army, Navy, and Marines. Are they offering half-truths, which means that they are half untrue? Or are they incidental truths but not the controlling reasons? Why do the official explainers diverge so in their explanations?

The explanations are not, I believe, half-truths, but even when added together are not more than two-tenths of the whole truth.

The argument can be made that there is less danger of war than there was a year ago, but this is a very speculative judgment which could not possibly be a controlling basis for national policy.

There are technological improvements in weapons, but at a time when we may not always find it in our national interest to use atomic weapons to defend against possible aggressions; it is doubtful that these improvements constitute a controlling reason for sharply reducing the size of the Army.

If these reasons are not controlling, what then? Why does the administration propose to drop 400,000 men out of the Armed Forces during the next 18 months?

My information is:

That the proposed manpower reduction does not have the support of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

That it is opposed by the civilian Secretary of the Army, Robert T. Stevens, and the civilian Secretary of the Navy, Charles S. Thomas.

That the Pentagon decision against such cuts was originally indorsed by Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, who held to it until ordered otherwise.

That the only reason given to the Pentagon for making the cuts was the desire of the administration to bring the budget more nearly into balance.

Perhaps a case can be made to hold up that it is more important to our economy to trim the size of the Army than it is to our security to maintain the size of the Army, but this case has certainly not been made. Perhaps President Eisenhower, viewing our defensive capacities from his long career as

a military commander, can certify to the Nation that the manpower cuts are prudent. But there can be no doubt that Mr. Eisenhower as President and as Commander in Chief must soon begin to expound his decision frankly and explicitly.

Moro Province Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I reintroduced in the House today the bill which is commonly known as the Moro Province bill.

This bill is designed to provide long-delayed justice to a small group of less than 500 war veterans and to less than 300 of their dependent widows and children.

The 500 veterans who will benefit from this legislation fought valiantly and nobly 50 years ago in the Moro Provinces and in the islands of Samar and Leyte in the Philippines. They have been deprived of pensions all of these years due to a minor technicality. The injustice done them can be corrected only by an act of Congress. To correct that injustice is the purpose of my Moro Province bill.

That the members of the Veterans' Committee, who have studied this bill closest and know most about the case, believe an injustice has been done and should be corrected is indicated by the fact that the House Veterans' Affairs Committee four times has approved unanimously bills to provide pensions to the Moro Province veterans.

In the 78th and 79th Democratic Congresses, the Veterans' Committee unanimously reported a Moro Province bill similar to the one which I introduced today.

In the 80th and 83d Republican Congresses, the Veterans' Committee, like the ones in previous democratically controlled Congresses, unanimously reported favorably bills similar to the Moro Province bill I have introduced.

In the 78th Congress, the Moro Province bill was passed by both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by President Roosevelt. In the 79th Congress, the House again passed this bill, but it died for lack of action in the Senate.

In the 80th and 83d Congresses, the Veterans' Committee again unanimously approved a Moro Province bill. The Rules Committee, however, held up these bills, and they never were reported for House action.

The cost of the Moro Province bill for its first year was estimated at about $700,000. This figure will decrease rapidly after the first year since the Moro veterans are of an average age of 78 years.

The case for the Moro Province bill is this:

Technically and legally, the war with Spain and the Philippine Insurrection ended on July 4, 1902, when the President issued a proclamation of peace. Actually, however, the fighting did not stop. It continued for several years in the Moro Provinces and on Leyte and Samar. American soldiers fought there. A total of 1,548 casualties and deaths from disease occurred. Soldiers engaged in this fighting received 13 Congressional Medals of Honor.

Despite the severity of the fighting and the many casualties these veterans never have been recognized as wartime fighters and have been denied veteran pension rights. Half a century has elapsed since the hostilities. The Moro Province bill which I introduced today would merely provide delayed justice to the handful of Moro veterans who are still alive. The cost is very small.

These veterans have been denied war status and pensions because officially the war had, by proclamation, been terminated. Recently, soldiers in Korea have been granted war and pension rights even for services rendered after the fighting had stopped. Here in the Moro Province and on Samar and Leyte, where the fighting continued after the proclamation of peace, veterans are denied pensions.

Obviously, justice to these Moro Province war veterans has been overlooked. This injustice should be corrected even if Congress is 50 years late in doing so.

I hope that the House Veterans' Committee will report my Moro Province bill favorably and that the Rules Committee will permit it to come to a vote. I am sure that if it is permitted to come to a vote the Moro Province bill will, as it did in two previous sessions, be approved unanimously or almost unanimously.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERE COOPER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

CHAIRMAN JERE COOPER OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS INTRODUCES H. R. 1, PROVIDING FOR A 3-YEAR EXTENSION OF THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO ENTER RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS

Chairman JERE COOPER, Committee on Ways and Means, today introduced H. R. 1, which would extend for 3 years the President's authority to enter trade agreements. The bill is patterned along the lines of the President's recommendations to the last Congress on foreign economic policy of the United States, which were based on the findings and recommendations of the Randall Commission.

In addition to the 3-year extension, H. R. 1 would authorize the President to reduce duties in three alternative ways: (1) 15 percent below the July 1, 1955, rates by reductions of not more than 5 percent in each of the 3 years under the extension; or (2) to 50 percent of the rate existing on January 1, 1945, in the cases of items which are not being imported or which are being imported only in negligible quantities; or (3) to 50 percent ad valorem, in the case of any rates now in excess of 50 percent ad valorem.

As under the first alternative, the reductions under the other alternatives would be gradual with no reduction becoming effective until the previous one had been in effect for a year. In the case of the first alternative authority, no decrease could be made effective after June 30, 1958.

The bill would also require the President to report annually on the trade-agreements program, and would authorize the President to reduce duties by 50 percent below the January 1, 1945, rate unilaterally in the case of products which are not being imported or which are being imported only in negligible quantities.

Mr. COOPER stated:

"Our trade-agreements program is now at the crossroads. Through such programs as economic aid, technical assistance, and our efforts to bolster production in the free nations of the world, we have helped reestablish their war-torn economies. These nations are now in a position where they can and are willing to stand on their own feet. We must try to, on our part, help lay the foundations on which a stable foreign trade can be built. If we do not permit the free nations to trade with us, they will be forced to trade elsewhere, and in many cases this can only mean Russia and her satellites.

"Our reciprocal trade agreements program occupies a prominent place in our overall foreign policy, and it is essential that we reaffirm at this time our determination to continue and to liberalize this program in the interest of constructive and cooperative international effort and relations. The foreign policy of the United States depends to a great extent upon the cooperation of strong and healthy free nations. Our tariff and trade policies are especially significant because of our outstanding position of leadership and economic importance. We must help the free nations in every way possible to find the means with which to earn dollars by which to buy our exports. Otherwise their shortages of dollars will force them to restrict imports from us, and this will result in a further loss of our export markets which will mean less wages to labor, profits to businesses and farmers, and taxes to our Government.

"The main way in which we can help provide dollars to the free nations with which to buy our goods is to buy imports from them. With world conditions being what they are today, none of the free nations can afford to become either economically, politically, or militarily isolated from the others. One of the best known tenets of communism is that the way to divide and conquer the free nations of the world is through trade wars. Russia and the countries which she dominates are making an all-out effort to encourage the free nations to trade with them.

"A realistic foreign trade policy on our part will contribute to an expanding world economy, establish and maintain in all the free countries rising levels of employment and real income and create economic conditions which are conducive to world peace. We must strive, in making our decisions on foreign-trade policy, to base them to the maximum extent possible on our national interests. Such a policy will benefit all segments of our economy—agricultural, labor, and industrial alike.

"In my opinion, H. R. 1 is a modest though realistic step in the direction of an expanded market for our exports, while at the same time permitting free nations to earn their own way by increasing their exports to us. I do not now, nor have I ever, advocated the surrendering of our markets to foreign goods; however, I do feel that we can—through enactment of H. R. 1—greatly strengthen the economies of the free world as well as our

own, while at the same time still providing realistic protection for our own industries and agriculture.

"A realistic and constructive foreign-trade policy on the part of all the free nations of the world is more important today than it has ever been in the past. If we fail on our part to do our share to bring about such a foreign-trade policy, the other free nations of the world will despair in their cooperative efforts with us to fight communistic aggression and subversion. Our position of leadership in the world today demands that we be a moving factor in expanding world trade."

Keep Your Guard Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ERRETT P. SCRIVNER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, on December 18, 1954, I had the pleasure and privilege of making the dedicatory address at the ceremony dedicating the Kansas National Guard Armory, at Ottawa, Kans., the future home of Headquarters Battery, 127th Field Artillery Battalion, Capt. Thomas E. Gleason, commanding.

As I began my remarks, which follow, jet planes, flown by Air National Guard men, roared over in salute:

If I were to give my remarks any title—I would call it "Keep Your Guard Up," for in this world of international conflict, just as in the fight ring, any relaxation in our defense might very well give any determined enemy the opening he has looked and waited for. Those jets which have just roared overhead are proof of the modernization of the National Guard.

To many, a small local unit of the National Guard may seem unimportant. If it were the only such unit it might be—but this battery is but one of thousands throughout the country—all of which put together makes up 27 divisions of ground troops, to which we can add 27 Air National Guard wings—a very vital and important part of our entire national defense.

The National Guard is not new—it is the successor to the old militia—the Minute Men of the Revolutionary War—and the advance made in those long historic years is made evident in this very unit.

Once we heard the phrase that we can "call a million men to arms overnight." If that ever was true, even in the day and age of the soldier armed with a musket, it certainly is far from true today.

For today, the National Guard man, as you have seen in the parade, is equipped with modern complex weapons, which require skill to operate—and skill to maintain; motor vehicles by the thousands, instead of foot travel or animal traction; radio and other complex communications equipment, instead of the simple semaphore flags; complex electronic computers, instead of pencil and pad of paper; radar detection, instead of far-flung outposts, or clumsy observation ballons.

All of these new weapons, not to mention automatic hand weapons, recoilless artillery and so many other items including the Honest John rocket and NIKE antiaircraft installations require time to master their effective operation; they require adequate efficient classrooms, such as you'll find here.

Too much credit cannot be given these citizen soldiers of the National Guard, who give up their time from pleasures and families during the week, and their vacations in summer—all that this Nation may be secure. No one knows when again our Guard units will be called into Federal Service. Maybe tomorrow—maybe not till next year, 10 years from now; perhaps never. But whenever it is they will again perform their services as they have in the past.

In World War I, over one-quarter of the troops in combat in Europe were National Guard troops—including the 35th Division from Kansas and Missouri, in which I served as a private first class.

World War II saw 9 National Guard units in Europe, again the 35th was there, and 9 units in the Pacific. All of these turned in magnificent records of combat.

From the ranks of the National Guard came officers and noncommissioned officers to train new troops.

In fact, the contribution of the National Guard in both those wars was so great that one shudders to think what might have happened to our country without them ready to answer the call of their country.

Again, Korea made the need of National Guard units quite apparent.

With all of our Regular troops withdrawn from this country—National Guard troops were ready to defend the continental United States, if needed, just as they have always been, and now are ready to do.

Citizens of Ottawa can well be proud of their national guardsmen—and proud of themselves for the part they have played in making the new fine armory available—not only for training of this local unit, but available for community affairs of many kinds.

Looking at it from a selfish angle, you have made a good investment, not only in having well-trained military men in your midst, but from a financial angle as well. Every 3 months new money in the form of drill pay comes into town—and it turns over 7 times, which here in Ottawa means new business. It means greater national security, upon which the security of each individual depends.

So, I join with you in the joy you have in dedicating this building to the services of our State and Nation, to be used for the training of the youth of your community for service in time of peace—or war. Young men, who I am sure, will—in the future, as their fathers in the past—serve with loyalty, courage, and skill—serving in such a fine manner that they, and you, will have great pride in them and their exploits.

Though they will be prepared, and better prepared, with these facilities, than they would have been otherwise, let us hope—yes—let us fervently pray—that they need never be called upon to serve in time of war.

In conclusion, as a part of this dedication ceremony, I wish to present to Captain Gleason, battery commander, a United States flag, which, at my request, was recently flown over the United States Capitol.

This flag, no different from any other, is more than mere threads of red, white, and blue. In its folds are contained all of the past and future of this great Nation.

And, as Francis Scott Key said, in those closing words of our national anthem—

"Long may it wave o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

And it will wave long, because this is the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Free because our men are brave.

Brave because they have faith.

Faith in themselves.

Faith in their country.

Faith in its future.

And above all because they have an abiding faith in God—the divine providence that has guided and guarded our beloved Republic.

Soil Conservation Service Should Not Be Crippled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, for myself and on behalf of my colleague, the distinguished senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNINGS], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "If Soil Conservation Service Is Crippled, Conservation Will Be Set Back by 20 Years," relating to the Soil Conservation Service. The article was written by one of the great farm leaders of Missouri and of the entire country, Mr. Fred V. Heinkel, president of the Missouri Farmers Association, and was published in the Missouri Farmer for January 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IF SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE IS CRIPPLED, CONSERVATION WILL BE SET BACK BY 20 YEARS

(By Fred V. Heinkel, president, Missouri Farmers Association)

Unless Congress intervenes, it looks as though the Soil Conservation Service may soon be broken up into 48 pieces, and its constructive program of conserving and rebuilding our valuable land resources wrecked.

The wrecking of Soil Conservation Service has been recommended by a subcommittee of President Eisenhower's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The recommendations of this subcommittee, which will be studied by the big committee, would discontinue Soil Conservation Service as a Federal program and pass it on to the 48 States, with funds to be on a matching basis. A transition period of 5 years is recommended for making the changes.

The subcommittee recommends that the transition to a grant-in-aid basis be effected along the following lines: (a) The transition period to be spread over a 5-year period; (b) during the first year Soil Conservation Service technicians to be transferred from Federal to State rolls, with the States receiving 100 percent Federal grants during this period; (c) the second year, an adjusted matching arrangement is to be provided for between the Federal Government and the States; (d) the third and fourth years, provision to be made for shifting over to an equalizing grant basis with Federal funds allocated on a formula giving weight to such factors as area and type of farmland, farm population, per capita income, etc., with a sliding scale for matching to run from one-third to two-thirds, depending upon State fiscal capacity as measured by State per capita income.

Membership of the subcommittee which made the recommendations includes R. I. Nowell, vice president of Equitable Life Associations Society; Edward J. Condon, vice president of Sears, Roebuck & Co.; Dr. Frederick Lawson Hovde, president of the Association of Land Grant Colleges; Phillip Aylesworth, USDA; Fred B. Glass, National Association of County Officials; W. C. Jacobsen, director of agriculture, State of California; John A. Logan, president of National Association of Food Chains; Herschel D. Newsom, master of the National Grange; Robert A. Rowan, chairman, R. A. Rowan &

Co., Los Angeles; and Senator Andrew Schoeppel, of Kansas. Mr. Newsom was the only farmer on the committee, and he was the only member who voted against the recommendations.

The big committee, to whom the recommendations were made and which will in turn report to President Eisenhower, is chairmanned by Meyer Kestnbaum, president of Hart, Schaffner & Marx (clothiers). Nearly all the other 25 members are far removed from agriculture.

Briefly, the Soil Conservation Service, a branch of USDA, furnishes technical and other services in soil and water conservation to soil-conservation districts and individual farmers who are cooperators in such districts. Local soil-conservation districts are established as local units of government, and conduct their operations in accordance with State enabling legislation.

Soil-conservation practices which are undertaken by the farm operator are paid for by the operator. The Federal Government furnishes technical advice and assistance, such as laying out terraces, farm ponds, and making farm plans.

Approximately 2,500 of the Nation's 3,000 counties had soil-conservation districts at the end of 1953. Missouri has only 32 districts. As a result of our State not having districts in all its 114 counties, Missouri has been passing up approximately $1 million each year in Federal funds that have been available to us. Soil Conservation Service funds do not require matching by States, counties, or individuals.

It will be a colossal mistake for Congress to allow Soil Conservation Service to be divided into 48 pieces, as now recommended by the subcommittee of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Before Soil Conservation Service was established by the Federal Government the 48 States were doing very little about soil conservation; and I predict that if this recommendation is carried out, very little money for continuing the work will ever be appropriated by the States, including Missouri.

The initial responsibility for conserving the soil rests with the individual farmers; and they are doing their best to save their soil. But there are serious limitations to what individual farmers can do in soil-conservation operations. Because of limited financial means, equipment, and technical knowledge, they must have help from Government. The responsibility for that help does not belong on the States; it belongs squarely on the Federal Government.

The need for food is universal. Everybody has a stake in soil conservation, because everybody is interested in products of the soil. The areas of concentrated population and the areas where food products are raised very seldom lie within the same State. It is the responsibility of the Nation to see that the soil in the growing districts is saved from erosion and loss of fertility if the people in the thickly populated districts are not to go hungry.

This proposal to shunt soil-conservation responsibilities to the individual States is a typical example of the general trend among Federal Government officials these days. They are constantly advocating shifting burdens and responsibilities to the States, but never do you hear one of them recommend lowering the Federal taxes in order to give the States a chance to increase their revenue.

For instance, our State income tax here is relatively low. However, we canont increase it because the citizens of our State are paying such high income taxes to the Federal Government. The same is true of tobacco, liquor, and many other taxes. I am not advocating it, but I contend that if the State of Missouri were permitted to keep the income taxes that now go to the Federal Government, we in Missouri could get along fairly well on our own.

We have made a lot of progress with soil-conservation work since Soil Conservation Service was established by the Federal Government in 1935. But the point has not yet been reached where we have arrested the decline in soil fertility. In spite of the miles of terraces we have built, the ever increasing number of tons of plant foods we have used, and all the other good soil conserving practices we have employed, the loss in fertility still has not been overcome. We should now be accelerating our pace instead of taking a step backward, as proposed.

If Soil Conservation Service is crippled, as recommended, it is my firm belief that soil conservation will be set back by 20 years. The Missouri Farmers Association will urge Missouri's delegation in Congress to resist any such reorganization of the Service.

Moreover, we shall support the soil districts association in Missouri in its efforts to amend our own State soil districts law so as to make it easier for farmers to establish soil districts in Missouri.

Farmers living in counties where soil districts exist report to us that they use, appreciate, and are highly pleased with the services they have been receiving from soil district technicians. It is unfortunate that farmers in other counties of our State have been unable to enjoy such services.

It is also most unfortunate for Missouri farmers that our State has been passing up $1 million in Federal funds that would be available if every county had a soil district. These funds which we have not been using have been going to other States. If Missouri farmers had received the money, it would have made no difference in our tax bills. As of now we are simply paying taxes to help farmers in other States.

Our population is growing at the rate of 2 million per year. If these on-coming generations are to be well fed, the general public had better join forces with us farmers to do everything possible to conserve our soil and build up its fertility.

Wanted: A 49th State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, our forefathers who founded this Republic fought a costly and bloody war to free themselves from the tyranny of taxation without representation. Yet we, their descendants, today, impose taxation without representation upon the 523,000 inhabitants of Hawaii.

Hawaiian youths are drafted to serve in the Armed Forces of our country. The Hawaiian people must pay the same tax rates as those levied upon the citizens of our 48 States. The Hawaiians must abide by our laws. But Hawaiians have no vote in the making of draft laws, in the fixing of tax schedules or in enacting any law.

This obviously is unfair and not in keeping with America's historic traditions. The situation should be speedily remedied by the enactment early in this new session of Congress of a law that will make Hawaii the 49th State.

The people of Hawaii, during the past year, paid a greater amount of taxes into the Federal Treasury than did the citizens of 11 of our present States; these being Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and Wyoming.

Hawaii, today, has a greater population than four of our States; these being Delaware, Nevada, Vermont, and Wyoming.

Some say Hawaii is too remote from the Capitol in Washington, but she is closer to it, in travel time, than was Nebraska or Kansas at the time of their admission to the Union.

Congress should act quickly to right an old injustice by voting statehood to Hawaii soon so that her people may exercise the American right of voting for citizens to represent them in the Congress and for others to be President and Vice President of the Republic.

His Holiness Pope Pius XII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an address by His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, to the members of the governing body of the International Labor Organization.

I am particularly pleased because the ILO has been under attack at various times in this country, and in this Congress, on what was termed favoritism to communism. Having been a member on four different occasions as a delegate to the International Labor Organization, I am familiar with its activities and acquainted with its top personnel; and I can personally vouch, therefore, for their thorough patriotism and their intense dislike for communism, and I have expressly said so many times.

POPE PIUS TELLS LABOR TO AIM HIGHER

(Address by His Holiness Pope Pius XII on the occasion of the audience granted to the members of the governing body of ILO)

Although we have frequently had the opportunity in the course of this year to meet representatives of widely different occupational associations and to inform each of them of our interest and solicitude, it is particularly agreeable to us, gentlemen, to receive the delegates of the International Labor Organization, which truly represents the great masses of workers with their cares, their difficulties, and, above all, their desire for a better and juster world.

For more than 30 years you have patiently, untiringly, built up a structure of which you may be justly proud, not only because you have contributed to the progress of social legislation in the various countries, but above all because you have united governments, employers, and workers in brave and fruitful cooperation.

You have brought them to master every passion, every feeling of bitter resentment, every obstinate refusal to face an inevitable development, and to listen to one another calmly to weigh the facts of an extremely complex problem and jointly to propose the necessary improvements. You have thus cre-

ated a kind of international forum, a place of exchange where all necessary information and useful suggestions are assembled, tested, and published.

It is enough to compare the present state of labor legislation with what it was at the time of the First World War in order to appreciate the magnitude of the work accomplished. In the last century there was already a feeling that a coordinating body was needed to unify the efforts of the workers in their fight against the inhuman conditions in which they were struggling. There was indeed awareness that measures of social defense and protection would impose economic burdens and would thus place countries which decided to apply them in an inferior position.

Our predecessor, Leo XIII, had a clear perception of the great importance of international collaboration in labor questions. As early as 1890, 1 year before the publication of the encyclical rerum novarum, he wrote, in connection with the international conference about to meet in Berlin, to seek means of improving the conditions of the working classes, that it responded to "one of his dearest wishes," and he added: "Conformity of views and legislation, at least to the extent permitted by differing conditions in places and countries, will contribute greatly to the advance toward a just solution of the question."

In 1900 the International Association for the Legal Protection of Workers was created, but the war soon came to interrupt its work. However, this was only a private venture. More serious hopes could be based on an institution officially recognized by the various states. This unanimous wish was finally realized in 1919, and the International Labor Organization has since that time continued to respond ever more adequately to the expectations of workers and of all men sincerely devoted to justice.

While the International Labor charter aimed above all at the suppression of abuses and laid down your main objectives at the time of the foundation of the organization, the Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944 was designed to adapt these objectives to new circumstances.

Among all the fields in which your efforts are deployed today, particular attention must be drawn to the relations between employers and workers, which is one of the most delicate points in the evolution of modern society. The International Labor Organization has already concerned itself with collective bargaining, conciliation and arbitration, and collaboration between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking.

The efficiency of your institution and its authority result mainly from its respect for the profound ideal which moves the promoters of a civilization which is fully the just aspiration of the workers. The International Labor Organization has not wished to represent only one social class nor to become the means of expression of one tendency exclusively. It welcomes everything that is constructive, everything that meets the real needs of a harmoniously constructed society, and that is why our predecessor, Piux XI, did not hesitate to draw attention to the remarkable resemblance between the principles set forth in the labor code and those of the encyclical rerum novarum.

The Christian trade-union movements on their side have given their full support to the International Labor Organization and consider it an honor to take part in its work.

What is at stake is not only the interests of the working class and its accession to the full exercise of its responsibilities, but the future of human society as a whole. The labor movement cannot rest satisfied with material success, with a more perfect scheme of guarantees and security, and with a greater measure of influence on the economic system.

It cannot visualize its future merely in terms of opposition to other social classes or to the excessive ascendancy of the state over the individual. The end it pursues must be sought on the very plane on which the organization has placed it, that is to say, on the plane of universality—as the Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno proposed—in a social order where material prosperity results from the sincere collaboration of all for the welfare of all and serves as a support for the higher values of culture, and, above all, serves the indissoluble union of minds and hearts.

We wish you all success in your work at the 127th session of your governing body. Continue tirelessly to consider the problems which face the world of labor so that you may add to the material already existing some additional parts which will complete and consolidate the whole structure. May the Master of all things, who became a divine workman in order to bring to each His message of peace and brotherhood, continue to watch over your activities and to grant you the courageous perseverance which overcomes all obstacles. As a pledge of His good will and as a proof of our high consideration, we grant to you and to all the collaborators of the International Labor Organization our apostolic blessing.

Pray for Christians in Captivity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, may I bring to the attention of the Congress and the American public an editorial prayer by Irving E. Rogers, president of the Eagle-Tribune Publishing Co., of Lawrence, Mass., appearing in the Evening Tribune, Lawrence, Mass., Friday, December 24, 1954.

Publisher Rogers takes for his theme, the moving Christmas message of Richard J. Cushing, Catholic archbishop of the Boston diocese, whose tireless spirit and abundant good works have won the esteem and cooperation of all men of good will, irrespective of race or creed.

With the great charity of which he is the living symbol, the archbishop asks us to think of the unforunate in other lands, so that the bond of faith between us may overcome the tyranny of communism, and lead the world to peace, freedom, and happiness.

Publisher Rogers merits our thanks and appreciation for bringing our hearts and minds to dwell on the spirit of Christ as the essence of Christmas.

Under unanimous consent, I include his editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The editorial follows:

URGES PRAYERFUL SYMPATHY AND CHRISTIAN LOVE

Peace be on earth to men of good will.

Christmas Day, the anniversary of the birth of the Christ child in Bethlehem, will, on the morrow, be celebrated by millions of Christians the world over.

It was 1954 years ago that Mary became mother of Jesus in a little manger in a stable adjoining an inn at Bethlehem. Increasing millions continue to celebrate the anniversary of the occasion that brought the shepherds, the Wise Men, and the faithful from near and far into the little town of Bethlehem.

Christ proclaimed that there would be peace on earth to men of good will. That peace was never more threatened than it is at the present time. There are too many men who are not of good will who are striving to destroy the peace of the world, godless men who would destroy the love of God and the decency of God's way of life.

Richard J. Cushing, Catholic archbishop of the Boston diocese, has issued his annual Christmas message. It is most timely and appeals to us all to "remember with prayerful sympathy and Christian love" persecuted families in other lands who are living under programs of hatred, persecution, and tyranny.

I recommend for brief Christmas Eve reading the Christmas message of the beloved prelate. It follows:

"I pray that our families will remember with prayerful sympathy and Christian love those other families for whom persecution is a special title of kinship with the Holy Family of Bethlehem.

"Driven underground by the hatred of God that links them closely to Christ's own lot, they bear a special resemblance to the Holy Three who were no sooner united at the nativity than they were driven into flight and exile by Herod's persecution.

"On this Christmas Day, when our families here at home are free to commemorate Christ's birth and to surround with beauty their adoration of Him, we must be no less mindful of our Christian brethren in other parts of the world who suffer a new tyranny."

IRVING E. ROGERS,
Publisher.

Four-Year Tenure for Members of the House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a joint resolution to amend the Constitution to provide for the election of Members of the House of Representatives for a 4-year tenure.

The 2-year term provided for Members of the House of Representatives written into the Constitution in 1787, in the days of limited communication, was designed to keep the Members in close touch with their constituents. The authors of the Constitution, who wanted the Government to be controlled by the people, also felt that such control would be more effective if all Members of the House of Representatives were compelled to stand for reelection every 2 years.

They feared that a long term in this important body of the Congress might cause the Members to disregard the will of the people to a greater degree, and become more dictatorial as a legislative body.

With the rapid development of travel by train, on paved highways, and by air, and with the rapid development of

communications through the press, the mails, and the radio, the people are so well advised on legislative matters as to make biannual elections of the Members of the House of Representatives unnecessary in the future.

In fact, the authors of the Constitution when this subject was under discussion said that the frequency of elections of the Members of the House of Representatives must depend upon a variety of circumstances, and that experience should be the guide to follow.

Through experience we now know that the Senate with 6-year terms has worked well; that the Senators, due to rapid communications, are in close touch with their constituents, as are Members of the House. Modern communications now enable the Members of the House and Senate to preserve the close tie between legislator and constituents that the framers of our Constitution thought was necessary.

The 2-year term for Members of the House has become antiquated. Too frequent elections of Members of the House of Representatives with our increased population, business growth, and the complexity of problems coming to the Congress for solution has reached the point where the biannual election of Members of the House places an unnecessary burden upon such Members, and is a deterrent to better and more efficient governmental service in such capacity.

Mr. Speaker, if the Members of the House are given a 4-year tenure, a much greater amount of their time can be employed in the study of legislation and the investigation of governmental problems. If a 4-year term of office is provided, a Member of the House, when elected, will have at least 3 years in which he can give all of his attention to the problems of government before he has to give a part of his time to the consideration of his reelection.

If the Members of the House are provided a 4-year tenure, it will give them greater resistance against the powerful pressure groups that have developed in our politics, which seek to influence the voting of the Members of the House by their power of numbers rather than by the merit of the proposed legislation they are supporting. It will place the Members of the House in a position where they can courageously support and pass legislation which they know to be in the interest of the Nation, and in which they know such legislation will have time to demonstrate its value in the public interest, and become acceptable to the majority of the people before they have to stand for reelection again.

For instance, Members of the House who voted for the Taft-Hartley law were marked for defeat by the big labor leaders who falsely branded the legislation as a "slave-labor law," and many Members had great difficulty and some failed at election because the law had not had time to become sufficiently understood by the rank and file of labor. This is only one instance in many which points out the necessity of giving the Members of the House a 4-year tenure, and the benefits it will bring to the people in better government.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution provides that the 4-year tenure will become effective on the year we elect a President. The people elect a President for a 4-year term. If this resolution becomes law, they will elect all of the Members of the House at the time they elect the President. Generally, under our two-party system of government, if the people lose faith in an administration, they put the other party in power, seeking to hold it responsible for the ensuing 4 years.

If a Republican President is elected, he has a right, and the people generally want him, to have a majority of his own party, so that they may hold that party responsible. If a Democrat President is elected, they want him to have a majority so that they can hold that party responsible. This is one of the great advantages of the two-party system, and if this resolution is adopted, it will strengthen the two-party system for the future, which will be of untold benefit in the future to our processes of government, as it has been in the past.

We cannot hold a party responsible, we cannot achieve the best in government for the people with the President of one party, and the legislative branch controlled by the opposite party.

In closing, may I say that there is utterly no sense, rhyme or reason for the continuance of the election of the Members of the House for a 2-year term. The time and expense of election is a burden that prevents more able men from being willing to enter public service. It is a deterrent to good progressive government, is antiquated, and I sincerely hope that this Congress will take the great and progressive step toward better government that a 4-year tenure for Members of the House of Representatives would assure.

The Hatch Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolution furnished me my Mr. Anthony J. Novicki, secretary-treasurer, New England Conference, International Association of Machinists:

HATCH ACT

Whereas the right to fully participate in the election of representatives at Federal, State, and community levels is the inherent right of every American citizen; and

Whereas this basic right is denied to the Government employees under the provisions of the Hatch Act: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the International Association of Machinists support or cause to be introduced legislation to modify the Hatch Act in order that Government, State, and municipal employees may enjoy the same rights and privileges of other citizens of this country to fully participate in the election of representatives at Federal, State, and community levels; and be it further

Resolved, That the New England Conference of Machinists, assembled in Boston, October 16 and 17, 1954, adopt this resolution and the secretary-treasurer send copies to the grand lodge, district 44, Government lodges in the New England area, and to the New England congressional delegation.

Submitted by:

ARSENAL LODGE No. 150, IAM.

A Lady Named Lieu Beats Miss Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the Tupelo (Miss.) Journal on December 7, 1954. The editorial follows:

A LADY NAMED LIEU BEATS MISS TAXES

One of the loudest—and most successful cries of the private utilities in their campaign against TVA and other public-power projects is that public power pays no taxes.

"Low cost electricity sounds all right," the critics of TVA tell citizens of towns interested in rate cuts, "but think what your town would lose in taxes if you were served by public power."

Well, the Journal got to wondering just what was being saved in these towns which keep getting this kind of propaganda in the battle against TVA.

And so the city tax collector at McComb, which is nearer to Tupelo's size than any other town in the State, was contacted.

McComb in the last census showed a population of 10,400 compared with 11,527 in Tupelo. The potential market for electricity, therefore, is practically the same in both cities.

In the matter of tax payments, received from their power distributors, however, they are so far apart that one would never realize they were anywhere near the same population bracket.

The Tupelo electric department, being municipally owned, pays no actual taxes, but each year it makes a payment to the city treasury in lieu of taxes.

And during the past year that payment was $41,181.

The Mississippi Power & Light Co., which serves McComb, paid that city, however, a total of only $10,884 in taxes.

This difference in city income from taxes paid by power distributors is one reason McComb has a higher tax rate on property than Tupelo does. For if Tupelo's electric department paid no more taxes than the Mississppi Power Co. pays McComb, our tax rate in Tupelo would have to be almost 2 mills higher than it is.

When a difference of $30,000 for the municipal treasury is involved, we might ask the people of McComb or other cities swallowing the usual power-company propaganda about lack of taxation in the TVA area, "Do you prefer Miss Taxes or a lady named Lieu?"

The truth about Tupelo's electric department is that it pays almost twice as much in taxes as all the public utilities serving the city.

In 1952, the telephone company, gas company, Frisco Railroad, and G., M. & O. Railroad combined paid the city of Tupelo $20,273.

In the same year the city's electric department paid into the municipal treasury $35,513 in tax-equivalent payments.

Not only does our local electric department pay approximately 10 cents out of every dollar it receives in tax payments to the city, but it performs various services to the city that would cost thousands of dollars a year if the city had to pay to get the work done.

The electric department has just completed putting up the most beautiful set of Christmas decorations Tupelo has ever had. And its cooperation with the merchants' committee of the Community Foundation in this work saved local businessmen a large sum of money.

In spite of its high tax payments and its beyond-the-call-of-duty services performed for the city and civic groups, Tupelo's efficiently operated city light department showed a net profit during the past year of $82,000 after allowing for depreciation, tax payments, and all operating expenses.

People fortunate enough to live in a city which has such a good electrical program just don't pay much attention to the private utilities' propaganda about no taxes. And others would be less critical of our TVA area if they knew the full story of the benefits provided by our system.

Liberation of European Countries Under Communist Dominance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following constructive editorial from the Boston Sunday Herald, January 2, 1955:

NEM MEANS NO

The Iron Curtain is rusty. There is dissatisfaction among subjected peoples. There is opposition to the Soviet-backed regimes. That opposition is aided and abetted by the free world.

Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Press, both American sponsored, have joined ranks with Hungarian patriots to oppose the Red regime in Hungary. The patriots call their organization the National Opposition Movement. In Hungarian the initials come out NEM which, appropriately enough, spells "no" in that language.

The movement is not an open one in Hungary, of course. But, according to NEM's manifesto, it is not a conspiracy or an underground organization either. NEM believes that liberty can be won and the Communist darkness dispelled by legal means.

At first this sounds compromising or naive. How can you play fair with a bunch of Communists and be sincere, or, if sincere, get anywhere? But NEM's goals are unmistakably democratic—they demand the things which are guaranteed in our Bill of Rights. And they have drawn blood.

Operation Focus, as the NEM campaign is called, began October 1. By November, according to news from behind the Iron Curtain, it had been denounced by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry; by the Soviet Union; by every other satellite country, and by almost every Communist radio, newspaper and important public official. Teachers were ordered to instruct their pupils not to touch the leaflets which were wafted into the country by balloon (they were "germ-laden"). Soviet military planes were reportedly engaged in destroying the leaflet balloons in the air. And the leaflets were being bought and sold for high prices in regions where the balloons had not landed.

The really significant part about the NEM technique is that it has had little of the cloak and dagger about it—it is all quite aboveboard. No kidnapings. No little guns with poison bullets. No violence at all. NEM's line is truth and passive resistance, the weapons which Gandhi and his followers used so successfully in India.

Perhaps this is the means to bring about the liberation of European countries under Communist dominance. We have neither the weapons nor the will to embark upon a war to accomplish this objective. The Communists are as well-schooled in military techniques as we are. Passive resistance, however, is a difficult thing to put your finger on. And communism has no defenses against truth.

Haym Salomon Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a resolution which would authorize and direct the President to proclaim January 6 of each year as Haym Salomon Day.

Haym Salomon is possibly the least known patriot of the American Revolution. Today is the anniversary of the death of this great Jewish-American who helped to bring this country into being.

He came to this country from Poland, settled in New York, and there engaged in business. He became active in the Sons of Liberty which was organized in the colonies for the purpose of breaking away from Britain and setting up an independent country, which subsequently was set up as the United States of America. In 1776 he was arrested by the British and confined to jail. He was released a year later and immediately reengaged actively in the effort to set up this country as a free and independent nation.

He was arrested again in 1778, court-martialed for spying and sentenced to be hanged. With the aid of his fellow patriots, he escaped to Philadelphia, where he continued his activities on behalf of the cause of liberty and freedom.

When the efforts of the Founding Fathers were at their lowest ebb, when their leaders did not know where to turn, Haym Salomon came to the front and contributed his entire fortune to finance the continuance of the Revolutionary War.

He gave to the cause $640,000, his entire wealth. While it is a small sum, as we look at money today, it was a tremendous sum in those days. In addition to that, he went out and pledged his personal credit and borrowed additional sums.

General Washington and others of that day have given him credit for having financed the successful continuation of that war, as a result of which our fine Nation came into being and has since grown into a great and prosperous country. Neither his estate nor his descendants were repaid the loans he made to our Government nor those guaranteed by him. Haym Salomon died penniless.

I think that we could do little less than honor his memory by asking or authorizing the President of the United States to proclaim each year January 6 as Haym Salomon Day in commemoration of that great American patriot, not by making it a national holiday but by proclaiming it as a day of commemoration and directing that the United States flag be flown on all Government buildings on that day.

The Program of the United States Information Service in Italy, Spain, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, With Specific Information Concerning Rome, Naples, Palermo, Madrid, Barcelona, Algiers, Casablanca, and Tunis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the following is an outline of the program of the United States Information Service in Italy, Spain, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, with specific information concerning Rome, Naples, Palermo, Madrid, Barcelona, Algiers, Casablanca, and Tunis:

ITALY

In Italy the job of the United States Information Service—USIS—is to win Italian support for the development of free world strength and to help expose and defeat the Communist conspiracy. We are trying to show the Italian people that the policies of the United States are based on interests compatible with Italy's own legitimate aspirations, and wherever possible we are trying to stimulate the Italians to a more vigorous defense of their own democracy. In Italy all the media of the agency are employed in accomplishing our objectives, namely, radio, press, motion pictures, libraries, and exhibits.

USIS Rome, where Ned Nordness is public affairs officer and John MacKnight his deputy, has, with the Italy branch offices, been concentrating in recent months on a special cultural program to counter the still widely held concept among Italians of United States immaturity and cultural barrenness. USIS officers, through cultivation of key personalities in Italian education, have been instrumental in the establishment of, or in initiating procedures for establishing, chairs in American studies at 4 major Italian universities—1 in Venice, 2 in Florence, 1 in Rome—thus placing American studies for the first time on an equal footing with other academic subjects in the Italian university curricu-

lum. The Atoms for Peace Exhibit, which opened in Rome last June and by now has toured some 20 other Italian cities, has been a tremendous success in stimulating Italian awareness of the President's atoms for peace program and of the United States commitment to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Walter Wien is public affairs officer in Naples, a post that is especially important not only as the center of NATO naval effort but as one of the principal cities, along with Palermo, of a vast economically backward and previously isolated area which offers the greatest danger today for Communist growth. Here an economic development and reform program, set in motion by democratic Italian governments since the war, is producing a slow awakening which the Communist Party is attempting to exploit to its own advantage.

Paul Wheeler is acting public affairs officer in Palermo, a post that is faced with special problems in serving an isolated, in many ways still backward, island community.

SPAIN

In Spain, Morrill Cody is public affairs officer in Madrid, and William Hart is public affairs officer in Barcelona. Our USIS program there has made increasingly active and effective use of all media—radio, press, films, exhibits, and our library centers. We are concentrating in Spain on helping to insure the success of the United States aid agreements with that country by bringing about a clear understanding of their purposes. We are trying also to convince the Spaniards of the importance of the Western European Community and the value of international cooperation and collective military strength. The Madrid office is increasing its efforts in areas of defense activity and is giving special support to the United States military program for establishing good troop-community relations.

In Barcelona, which is the center of the rapidly developing industrial area of Catalonia, a special effort is being made, under the educational exchange program, to increase the number of leader and specialist grants to Catalonian industrialists in order to give those who will have a hand in developing the area a broader point of view.

ALGERIA

The strategic importance of Algeria, together with Tunisia and Morocco, in western defense and its vital contribution to the economic health of France are among the reasons for a USIS program in this country. Communist propaganda strives constantly to deepen the differences between the French and the Arab population on the "colonial issue" and to create suspicion and hatred of the United States.

Mr. John Rhodes is public affairs officer in Algiers. The United States Information Service works through an information center, press and publications, and radio to expose Communist motives and strengthen confidence in the United States. The past year has featured a successful effort to extend the influence of the program into a growing number of population centers throughout Algeria.

TUNIS

Although the political situation in Tunisia is restrictive, as in Morocco, the atmosphere of conciliation permits association with many Arab groups. The fact that the public affairs officer is fluent in Arabic, and well as French, and had established association with the Arab population prior to the period of violence, further increases the program opportunities.

Mr. Leslie Lewis is public affairs officer at Tunis. Through the use of the four media—press, radio, films, and the library—the USIS operation in Tunis explains and exploits American foreign policy with regard to Tunisia in particular, founded on the Byroade statement regarding American foreign policy in colonial areas. This is directed at the mixed middle-group audience of politically conscious French-Tunisians, Arab-Tunisians, and minority groups—Italians, Jews, Corsicans, Maltese, and so forth. The program is not directed to the political extremists, which are an unlikely audience because of the exclusiveness of their interests.

MOROCCO

The USIS American staff in Morocco consists of a country public affairs officer, Mr. James Carter, and two subordinate public affairs officers, Mr. Donald R. Norland, at Rabat, and Miss Annadele Riley, stationed at Casablanca. The activities at Casablanca are conducted by Miss Riley, under the supervision of Mr. Carter, who visits Casablanca frequently.

In addition to this American complement, which is assigned to carry forward the aims of the United States Information Agency among the Moroccan population, the International Broadcasting Service—IBS—of the Agency, known as the Voice of America, maintains a relay station at Tangier which transmits short-wave programs to Europe and Iron Curtain countries. No programs are broadcast to Morocco, this being technically impossible because the short-wave radio beam rides over the area adjacent to the transmitters.

The present political situation in Morocco, and resulting restrictions imposed on the Information Service by the local French administration, severely limits the scope of the USIS activities there. There is virtually no possibility of personal association with the Moroccan population. The realities of the local situation permit factual news reporting by press, radio, and films and the publicizing of American cultural activities through the Information Center. These programs contribute to United States objectives by displaying the United States in a favorable light, and through its subject matter tends to enlist the cooperation of the French and Moroccans.

My experience with the United States Information Agency is that insufficient appropriations have been allotted to this Agency. This is an agency which is involved in the battle of men's minds, and ideas are more important than bullets. We appropriated $77,114,000 for propaganda purposes, which included funds for the Voice of America and the United States Information Agency. Against this figure, it is interesting to note that the Soviet Union spends about one and one-third billion dollars on propaganda. In comparison, our expenditure is minuscular.

In my contact with the United States Information Service, I wish to state that I have found the staff both here and abroad to be made up of hardworking, painstaking, and patriotic public servants.

The President, significantly, in today's state of the Union message urged enhancement of our USIA information facilities.

The Fight Against Illegal Narcotics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, there is one battle in the cold war of today which is in critical need of attention by this House. I am speaking of our country's continuing fight against the vicious and deadly traffic in illegal narcotics, a traffic which has apparently become one of the major weapons of the international Communist conspiracy throughout the world.

Although our small Government forces in this specialized field are fighting valiantly and tirelessly, the battle is not being won. On the contrary, as recently as June 1 of 1954, the United Nations Bulletin reported:

> The Commission on Narcotic Drugs noted that there was a high level of illicit traffic in narcotic drugs which seemed to be increasing.

The Honorable Harry J. Anslinger, United States representative on this Commission, has issued several reports in recent months which paint an alarming picture of the extent and danger of this illicit traffic, which is worldwide in its scope and devastating in its effects upon the health and morale of its victims.

Yet, in the face of abundant evidence that the danger is mounting throughout the world, the 83d Congress was responsible for further cuts in the already slender manpower of the United States customs inspection force, the Border Patrol, and other agencies having some responsibility in this vital field of law enforcement and protection of our Nation.

The same Congress, I regret to say, failed to take any action on the numerous bills before it which called for a strengthening of existing penalties for narcotics violations, especially in the field of second and third offenses.

If this new Congress does nothing else in the field of law enforcement, we owe it to our children to restore at the earliest possible date a fully effective customs inspection and border patrol force, as our coastal line of defense against illegal importation of nar-

cotics. We should also act immediately to strengthen the penal provisions of our narcotics laws, particularly for criminal repeaters who destroy the very souls of American manhood and womanhood through their evil traffic.

I believe we also have an obligation to our Armed Forces and civil servants in occupied areas, as well as to humanity in general, to investigate to the fullest extent the organized and depraved conspiracy of international communism in its effort to subvert free people through promotion of narcotics addiction.

Continuing and complete exposure of this evil practice, with the documentation and human evidence available to us, will not only serve as a true and effective answer to the false propaganda of germ warfare still being circulated by Moscow and Peiping, but will also point the way to more efficient countermeasures by the free world.

To these ends, I have offered a House resolution authorizing a full and complete investigation of illegal narcotic traffic as an instrument and weapon of the international Communist conspiracy, and have also reintroduced the bill which I sponsored as H. R. 4453 in the 83d Congress, which would increase the penalty provisions of certain acts dealing with narcotics.

At the proper time, I trust that many Members will join with me in sponsorship of whatever amendments are necessary to restore our first-line fighting strength in the battle to stop illegal narcotic traffic in our ports and along our borders.

The cost of these measures will be small. The cost of our failure to take them—in terms of increased crime and broken lives—could be too great to reckon.

Dolph Camp, Educator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article which has reference to a close personal friend of mine, the Honorable Dolph Camp, president of Southern State College, Magnolia, Ark. I commend it to the Members of this body with particular reference to Mr. Camp's use of funds appropriated by the Congress under the George-Barden Act:

DOLPH CAMP IS A FIGHTER IN BEHALF OF GOOD EDUCATION FOR STATE

(By Dick Ratliff)

Dolph Camp bears scant resemblance to a gladiator, but he's been fighting a battle for the people of Arkansas all his adult life. He has won more campaigns than he has lost, but the crucial battlefield has always been the same—in the field of education, where he thinks Arkansans deserve more than they're getting.

A native of Columbia County, Dr. Camp's first battle for education was a very personal one—to get a high school education. He got it on the campus of what is now Southern State College at Magnolia, the institution where he now works as president.

Dolph Camp was 22 years old when he finished high school. He worked his way through in the college farm at the wage of 10 cents an hour.

Since that time, he has climbed to a position of national and international prominence as a leader in the field of school guidance and counseling. As Arkansas State director of guidance services, he established what has come to be recognized as the Nation's model program of school guidance.

After he received his high school diploma on the Magnolia campus in 1920, Dolph Camp took his bachelor's degree at Hendrix College, his master's degree at Peabody Teachers College, Nashville, Tenn., and his doctorate at Syracuse University. With all these alma maters, Southern State continued as his first love. When he had time to get away from his work at Little Rock for a football game, it was the Southern State Muleriders he preferred to see in action. He had played center for the Muleriders back in the days when the college was a high school. So he remained an enthusiastic visitor to the campus.

In 1950, when Southern State was preparing to launch its senior college program and Dr. Charlie S. Wilkins, then president, decided to take over the vice presidency of an oil company, Dolph Camp was the natural choice to become third president of Southern State College. He liked the idea, because it would give him a chance to fight against what he considered the shame of Arkansas—a poorly supported system of higher education.

"Many Arkansas didn't know then and still don't know how inadequate has been the State's contribution toward supporting the colleges," he declares. "With a little time and in cooperation with other presidents of State colleges, I hope I may help them learn how a dollar invested in higher education is returned manyfold to the taxpayer. If this should be my only achievement in this world, I think my time will have been well spent."

This is spoken with the enthusiasm of a man who has fought the cause of better schools even in the National Capital. When Camp was struggling against fiscal obstacles in setting up Arkansas' school guidance program, and serving as president of the National Association of Guidance Supervisors, he outlined a plan of action which took him to the Halls of Congress.

He was one of a small group of educators who sat in a continuous lobby pushing for equal benefits for educational guidance programs. Congress was balky but if Dolph Camp and his friends hadn't won that fight, Arkansas youngsters today wouldn't be reaping the benefits of the State's excellent program for school guidance.

Camp had taken with him to Washington a clear idea of what all the school children in the United States needed at the high school level—trained counselors to help them achieve peace of mind concerning postschool plans. He and his group of schoolmen busied themselves with throwing key blocks before bluff legislation sponsored by opponents of the George-Barden Act.

The George-Barden Act was passed. The law provided for an increase in Federal funds for vocational education and made it possible for those funds to be used to pay part of the salaries of high-school counselors. Incidentally, the 83d Congress has increased appropriations under this act approximately $5 million. Arkansas youngsters will benefit from this increase.

After he had established the Arkansas program of public-school guidance, Dr. Camp was summoned to England to interpret American practices, including tools and techniques, to British educators. That was about the time, he was called to Magnolia to take over as head of Southern State College. "It didn't take me long to make a decision to stay home, since I feel the job I have taken at home and Magnolia will be all I can handle for a time," he said.

At Southern State, he busied himself among other things, with a goal to establish an outstanding college-guidance program. That program is well underway but still incomplete, he admits.

Dolph Camp this year got a second chance to work with the educators of the British Isles. With all expenses paid for him and his wife and a modest stipend to boot, he spent 8 weeks this past summer lecturing school people at Reading University. He also visited the schools and worked with the teachers and headmasters, leaving with them the best American guidance practices and bringing home with him the best ideas he found in practice there.

C. H. Dobinson, dean of the College of Education at Reading University, followed up Dr. Camp's work there with a letter using these words:

"The task I had in mind for you was one requiring infinite tact, patience, and good will, and in all these respects you achieved more than I could have expected. You have left behind you, wherever you were, good friends, and appreciative listeners. You have also left behind you stimulating thoughts which will go on growing in the minds of the people who heard you for years and which finally, I am sure, will bring forth good fruit.

"Your own great modesty and wide understanding of human beings has been one of the principal factors in the success of your work for us, for without these the knowledge at your disposal could not have been made available acceptably to the audiences you have had."

As one of the Nation's leading authorities in his field, Dr. Camp is in great demand as a teacher at leading universities. In recent years, he has taught at the University of Arkansas, Bradley University, and Peabody Teachers College, University of Illinois, and the University of Syracuse.

As a student at Southern State, Dolph Camp met and later married Florence Crain. They have 2 children, and 1 granddaughter. Their blond daughter, Mrs. Pamela Warren, was named "Miss Arkansas of 1947."

If, over the long haul, Dolph Camp should be remembered at Southern State for a single trait, that trait will be sincerity. No glad-hander, he might be mistaken in a crowd for a Methodist preacher. His sincerity is based on a burning desire to do the right thing for the youth of Arkansas, tempered by a shadow of concern over the realization that he, too, makes mistakes in day-to-day decisions.

But he has a zealous respect for the value of education, and a smoldering contempt for those who pay it only lipservice, or exploit it selfishly, and pay it nothing in return. "It is they who are killing the goods," he pleads.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, the Congress of the United States can ill afford to lose men like DWIGHT ROGERS. There was little difference in our ages and he started his service in the Congress

only a short time after I did. From the beginning it was abundantly evident that he was a fine American and a worthy Member of the House of Representatives.

His was a gentle character, with a keen sense of humor, a devotion to duty which was outstanding, and a facility for making friends which won many to him. His love for his country and his abiding faith were equaled by few men, and his was a distinct contribution to the preservation of good government and the American principles of liberty and freedom. A large part of his life was devoted to public service, and being recognized as a leader among men, he held many positions of trust. He performed his duties with zeal and fidelity and would not compromise with evil. I glory in the fact that we were friends, and it is nothing less than the truth to say that the world is richer for his life.

My warm sympathy goes out to his family at this time, and I trust that the tender mercies of Almighty God may assuage their grief.

Milk Pricing—Housewives Pay for Outmoded Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, one of the things that has deeply concerned those of us who are keenly interested in the dairy industry—and surely all of us from Wisconsin are in that category—is the increase in the spread between the return to the milk producer and the price to the consumer.

It is true that while prices paid to farmers for producing milk steadily declined during the 2-year period preceding this autumn, the price per quart to the housewife declined little if at all. There can be little doubt that a major cause has been the existence of monopolistic and discriminatory practices, regulations, and laws.

It is my hope that the 84th Congress will continue the work which the Senate Agriculture Committee, under the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], has begun. That committee has made preliminary findings relating to the margin between prices paid to farmers and retail prices of milk. The problem merits further inquiry. Only through the removal of artificial restrictions to permit maximum consumption of milk at reasonable prices will the problem of surplus dairy products be solved.

So long as the desirable use of dairy products is hampered, there will be a serious problem of low prices for milk at the farm level—a problem that cannot be solved permanently by the equally artificial measure of high price supports.

Mr. Speaker, I insert a thought-provoking article on this subject which appeared in a recent issue of Time magazine:

MILK PRICING—HOUSEWIVES PAY FOR OUTMODED CONTROLS

At the White House last week, President Eisenhower held a special luncheon for dairymen and heads of civic organizations. The purpose of the luncheon, featuring dishes prepared with milk, was to help the crusade of Agriculture Secretary Benson to increase milk consumption. Even though the United States expects a 5.5 billion pound milk surplus this year, Americans, by and large, do not drink all the milk they need. But the Eisenhower-Benson campaign alone is not enough to increase milk-drinking. The big reason United States milk consumption is no higher is that milk markets all over the Nation have been saddled with monopolistic controls that create artificially high prices, thus cut consumption.

As milk prices keep going up, United States housewives are beginning to rebel against these restrictive State controls. In Oregon, voters repealed the State law setting arbitrary prices at the doorstep and grocery counter, thereby sent prices down 2 cents a quart. Yet farmers are still collecting as much, or almost as much (10.9 to 10.2 cents a quart) as before, and consumption is headed up. In Florida, after voters failed to abolish their milk-control board, they brought pressure on the legislature for more consumer representatives on the board. In California, Safeway Stores, which preach firm prices for farmers and free competition among bottlers, are leading a campaign to throw out a State law that sets retail prices, thereby guarantee a profit to all bottlers, efficient or not. Even in dairy-rich Pennsylvania, big-city legislators have set out to abolish the State's milk-control commission.

Last week the Senate Agriculture Committee took out after the processors. It found in a study of 10 representative processing plants around the United States, that the margin between prices paid the farmer and retail prices had increased as much as 27.9 percent in 3½ years, and a "very substantial portion of the increased spread went into greater profit taking."

Milk controls were born during the depression, when farmers were forced to sell milk for as little as 1 cent a quart. In all, 26 States passed laws to protect farmers and bottlers. Some later junked the laws, but 16 States still maintain strict controls. In addition, Federal controls can be applied if a majority of the milk producers in an area petition for them. As a result, 3 of every 4 United States citizens drink price-controlled milk.

The State controls, which are far more restrictive than the Federal system, are a patchwork of politics and protection for local milk producers. Alabama, for example, prohibits distributors from increasing out-of-State milk purchases except during a severe shortage, fixes the grocery price of milk 1 cent higher than the home delivered price, even though it usually costs nearly 3 cents a quart less to sell through a grocery. Thus milk is 26 cents a quart in Birmingham, but in Chattanooga, a freely competitive market about 4 hours away by truck, milk is only 16 cents a quart. Wisconsin, because of highly efficient mass production and distribution methods, claims it could deliver fresh milk in Manhattan for 11.2 cents a quart wholesale (almost 1 cent less than the New York price). But a New York State control law keeps all Wisconsin milk out.

University of Illinois Agricultural Economist R. W. Bartlett surveyed milk pricing in 50 United States cities last year, found that prices were invariably higher where State controls existed. In 17 cities with free milk markets, grocery stores charged an average of 20.1 cents a quart, 3.1 cents less than the average home delivered price. In 18 State-controlled markets, the grocery price averaged 23.6 cents a quart, only 2 cents less than the home delivered price. Says Economist Bartlett: "Modified Federal regulation is absolutely essential to prevent chaos in milk markets. But State control of consumer prices constitutes a legalized monopoly which is definitely against the public interest."

For health's sake, United States families are forced to buy milk, whatever the price. But consumers have demonstrated that they buy more milk when the price goes down. For example, when the price dropped as much as 3 cents a quart in Kansas City, Mo., last year, sales of milk promptly rose 7.4 percent.

Washington State's Agriculture Director Sverre Omdahl has successfully fought off all attempts for a State-control law because he believes "fixing farm and retail prices favors the inefficient producer and makes for a basically false and unhealthy milk market." What Agriculturist Omdahl advocates, along with other milk experts, is more use of the Federal Marketing law which protects the dairy farmer, but allows the efficient distributors to pass their savings on to housewives. There is little doubt that freer, more flexible milk markets would bring lower prices and increase milk drinking. This would not only help dairy farmers, but it would also do much to improve the health of the entire Nation.

Impact on Veterans' Benefits of Presidential Proclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the proclamation of the President terminating certain benefits now available to veterans of the Korean conflict was issued last Saturday—January 1, 1955. Its effective date is January 31. One of the results of this proclamation is to bar accumulation of eligibility for education or training under Public Law 550, after this cutoff date. I have introduced legislation which will permit all those members of the armed services on January 31, 1955, to gain the full education benefits if they serve for as much as 2 years after that date. Many recruiting offices have promised the full benefits of the GI bill of rights to those men now serving and unless legislation such as my bill is enacted, the Government will not make good on its promises. I am sure that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs will give this subject early action.

I am indicating below some of the results flowing from the proclamation:

Basic service period: Korean service, by the terms of the proclamation, has been officially set as on or after June 27, 1950, and through January 31, 1955.

Education and training: Public Law 550 of the 82d Congress authorizes 1½ days of education or training for each day of service performed during this basic service period with a maximum of 36 calendar months of entitlement. The proclamation means that no additional

eligibility may be accumulated under this law after January 31, 1955, and persons first entering service after such date acquire no eligibility for the benefits. The proclamation also ends eligibility for training under the vocational rehabilitation laws.

Compensation: Today disabled veterans of the Korean conflict are entitled to service-connected disability compensation ranging from $17 per month for a 10-percent disability to $181 per month for total disability. In certain severely disabled cases special rates may go as high as $420 per month. Any veteran who has a service-connected disability as a result of service after January 31, 1955, will be entitled, as a peacetime veteran, to 80 percent of the rates mentioned previously. Certain presumptions of service connection in chronic disease cases will not be available to veterans separated from service after January 31, 1955. After that date eligibility for service-connected death compensation will also be on a peacetime basis, with rates based on 80 percent of the wartime rate.

Pensions: Veterans of World War I, II, and Korea today are entitled under certain conditions to non-service-connected disability pension at rates of $66.16, $78.75, or $135.45, depending upon age, condition, and other factors. Service after the date of January 31, 1955, will be considered peacetime, but any veterans serving, for example, as little as 1 day prior to the delimiting date and 89 additional days continuously thereafter will be eligible for non-service-connected disability pension under the existing laws.

Widows and children of veterans of the Korean conflict period—June 27, 1950, through January 31, 1955—are eligible for pension based upon the non-service-connected death of such veterans. The basic rate for a widow is $50.40 per month. This program will not be available to dependents of persons first entering the service on or after February 1, 1955.

Automobiles: Veterans of exclusive service after January 31, 1955, will not be eligible for the benefits of Public Law 187, 82d Congress, which provides $1,600 toward the purchase of a specially equipped automobile for service-connected veterans who have suffered the loss or loss of the use of one or both hands, or feet, or who are blind as defined.

Hospitalization: No entitlement to VA hospitalization for non-service-connected disabilities where the service of the veteran is solely after January 31, 1955.

Insurance: The proclamation does not affect in any way provisions of Public Law 23 which automatically insures any serviceman in the amount of $10,000 while in active service. It is payable over a 10-year period to beneficiaries defined in the law.

Housing: The issuance of the proclamation means that in order for a veteran to obtain a loan guaranty—maximum $7,500—the loan must be made prior to February 1, 1965. So long as there is service prior to January 31, 1955, additional service to complete the required 90 days may be had after that date, if continuous.

Mustering-out payments: Mustering-out payments in the amount of $100, $200, or $300, depending upon the length and place of service will no longer be available to veterans who serve exclusively after January 31, 1955.

Public housing preference: Those serving exclusively after January 31, 1955, will no longer enjoy preference in the occupancy of low-rent public housing. They also will not have the benefits of certain provisions of the National Housing Act and certain assistance in the acquisition of family-size farm under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act.

Unemployment compensation: Public Law 550, 82d Congress, makes veterans serving on or after June 27, 1950, eligible for unemployment compensation of $26 per week not to exceed 26 weeks. This program is administered by the States. The proclamation ends this right as of January 31, 1955, for those serving exclusively after that date.

Income tax: Enlisted men serving in combat zone defined in Executive Order 10195, December 20, 1950, did not have to pay taxes on their pay. Executive order issued in conjunction with proclamation terminates this tax exemption.

Legislation To Make Tax Free the Gain on the Sale of a Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I dropped a bill in the hopper to amend section 112 (n) of the Internal Revenue Code to provide that gain from the sale or exchange of the taxpayer's home will not be taxed whether or not he replaces it with another residence.

The purpose of this bill is to rectify a longstanding situation which now places an unfair financial burden on the parents of our Nation, when they find it necessary to dispose of a large home after the children have grown and married and have families of their own.

Most young married couples rent an apartment at first. Then, when they have children, they buy a modest home. As more children come along and grow up, it is necessary to purchase a larger home which becomes the scene of many happy hours which include birthday parties and holiday festivities as well as courtships and weddings. When the father and mother have completed the lifelong task of rearing their children and the days of the past are fond memories, they desire to move to a smaller home or an apartment to enjoy the peace and rest that is due them.

This is when the Government steps in to levy a huge tax bill on the total profit realized by the sale of the former homes. This is penalizing the parents who brought into this world our future citizens who will play an important part in the progress and growth of our Nation.

This situation should be changed and it is my hope that the Congress will enact proper legislation to alleviate the hardship resulting from the present law.

Peaceful Coexistence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address made by me at the banquet of the New England Regional Tax Conference of Public Accountants, December 10, 1954, Hotel Bradford, Boston, Mass.:

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Uppermost in the minds of our people, and of countless millions of others throughout the world, is the desire for permanent peace—for a world of peace. It is only a small group of evil-minded men, through their domination of countries and of peoples, who prevent world peace of a lasting nature being established.

The world of today is confronted with a condition and not a theory.

You and I know that the evil forces of atheistic communism are bent on conquering the world and subjecting all peoples to communistic enslavement, persecution, and even, death.

We must face the fact that we are dealing with a cold, ruthless, destructive force, the leaders of which are possessed of the minds of what might well be termed "world killers."

If we permit ourselves to be deceived, or to become complacent, or disunited, or frustrated, it might prove dangerous to us. It is therefore imperative that we think calmly, rationally, and soundly, and in order to do so, the American people should be given all information possible.

The American people, when told the facts, are willing to make any sacrifice necessary for the best interests of our country. And our people should be given as much information as possible so that they may understand, and may be able to evaluate the situation, and form a sound, healthy, public opinion. For in a democracy, public opinion is the most necessary, pertinent, and powerful factor.

Under dictatorships, public opinion is suppressed and unable to assert itself because of fear.

And our people should be informed so that a sound, rational public opinion might be developed.

The withholding from our people of information that could and should be released tends to create uncertainty, confusion, frustration, fear, and disunity—and that is an unhealthy condition to have existing, and should be avoided.

For example, we read a great deal about peaceful coexistence. We all subscribe to that in principle. We would like to see it accomplished in fact—not only peaceful coexistence but peace of a lasting nature.

But what do you and I know, even to the slightest extent, about this new policy which could easily lead to appeasement, and how it can be brought about?

What does peaceful coexistence mean to the Kremlin?

Can peaceful coexistence, whatever it means in fact and in results, be accomplished unless the Communist leaders change their minds and their intent to ultimately conquer the world? Does peaceful coexistence

to the Kremlin mean submission to them and their ideology, which would result in slavery, persecution, and death? Does peaceful coexistence mean that the hopes of the people of Poland, of Lithuania, and other Communist-dominated countries to regain their independence and liberty are to be destroyed and these countries permanently frozen into the Soviet Union?

These, and many other questions, are involved and should be discussed publicly, and should be considered seriously by the Congress of the United States in order that the facts and the truth can be ascertained so that a sound public opinion can be developed in favor or against this policy before our country becomes committed to it.

I am talking about facts and information that can and should be made known to our people.

For unnecessary secrecy could be a dangerous road for a country like ours to travel.

And let me ask you what I consider to be a pertinent and proper question. Can peaceful coexistence be accomplished if the Communist leaders are still bent on world aggression? The answer to that question seems to me to be emphatically "No."

The evidence clearly shows that aggression is still the Communist policy; that while their strategy might temporarily change, their intent of world domination has not; that the Communists are using the slogan of peaceful coexistence as another deceptive move in their efforts to divide and conquer.

It was only a few days ago on November 23, that the President in a press conference said that while "The Russians have lately been talking a different tone than they had for sometime past" and that "there was one underlying, unchanging motive, world revolution and the dominance of a Communist centrally controlled world state."

And on November 11, while appearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Secretary Dulles said, in relation to the aggressive intent of Red China, and I quote, "That Communist China is showing aggressive intent in Asia which belies its protestations of peace."

On the same day that the President, talking in Boston, said in substance that "Peace was nearer now than it has been for many years." And at the same gathering, Ambassador Lodge said that the "U. N. is succeeding despite unending Soviet attempts to sabotage it."

It is difficult for me to reconcile these statements. It is difficult for me to believe that peaceful coexistence can be brought about with the Kremlin still determined to conquer the world; with its ally and present junior partner, Red China, persecuting and imprisoning American airmen; shouting defiance to the dignity and honor of our country and making preparations for another shooting conflict.

For once committed to a policy, we must follow it through.

It therefore seems to me that before our country is committed to this policy, we should view it and all of its implications with extreme caution having in mind always the national interests of the United States of America.

One of the main purposes of diplomacy, where differences exist between countries, is to try and reduce as much as possible the area of differences. That is a wise policy for diplomats to follow.

However, this involves good faith on the part of both sides to try to solve or reduce the area of differences.

It is most difficult for me to believe that any real progress can be made where bad faith exists on the part of one of the negotiating countries.

And mark you, I am discussing a major matter—not a minor one—of concern to our people.

We have traveled from the policy of liberation and of massive and instant retaliation to that of impending peaceful coexistence.

We had better stop, look, and listen and thoroughly inquire and deliberate before we become committed to this policy, where the results of a mistake or a wrong guess is a picture that I would not want to paint.

I think that the old saying, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" would be a better one for us to follow. Whether we like it or not, whether we want to or not, we must face the fact that the only thing the Communists respect is what they fear, and that is military force and power greater than they possess.

The Communists do not fear God, because they do not love Him. In fact, they hate Him and are fighting God and His natural law on earth. Their god is materialism and power, carrying with it the imposition of their vicious ideology, and in its wake, imperialism, slavery, persecution, and death.

But even Communists, despite the fact that they attempt to deny it, are subject to the law of self-preservation, just the same as is any other person. And in the hidden resources of their minds, the Communist leaders know that the law of self-preservation applies to a nation just as well as it does to an individual.

And the one thing that they will respect, because of fear—fear of defeat and destruction—is military power and strength greater than they possess.

And in relation to our diplomats dealing with the diplomats of such a force and movement, the Soviet Union, the weapon that will enable us to carry out our national objectives in the field of foreign affairs is the strength and power of our military force. And the strength and power of our military force must be in relation to the strength and power of the Soviet Union and its satellites and dominated nations.

For if we are stronger, respect through fear will exist, with favorable results.

If we are weaker, arrogance and contempt will exist with other results.

There is no question but that we possess strong military strength and power—in our Army, our Navy, and our Air Force. There is no question of the genius of our scientists, our engineers, our businessmen, our workers, our members of our Armed Forces, particularly in their specialized training, of our people as a whole, and of our will and determination to remain a free people.

But the principal question is not whether we are militarily strong—but is our overall military strength and power greater than that of the potential enemy? Is it such as to command respect through fear so as to deter attack and prevent another general conflict and to make a contribution toward ultimate world peace?

There are many among us, military men, Members of Congress, and among our people who feel that we should be stronger, having in mind the military strength possessed by the forces of world revolution and aggression.

In order to determine if our military strength and power in relation to that possessed by the Soviet Union is powerful enough to instill respect through fear, there must be not only an understanding of our own strength but of the strength of the Soviet bloc.

While it is difficult to obtain definite information, there is enough reliable information available to give us a current appraisal of the Soviet strength. It is known that from 1947 to the present time the numerical strength of the Soviet ground forces of 175 divisions has remained fairly constant. Nevertheless, significant changes have been made in favor of increased mechanization with sturdy and efficient modern equipment. It is reliably understood that 65 divisions of their present establishment are tank and mechanized divisions, that rifle divisions have been provided motorized equipment, and that they also have organic tanks and additional artillery. This means that the mobile and fire power have been increased through the introduction of improved weapons and equipment.

The Soviet Union, Eastern Germany, and Eastern European satellites today have over 6 million men under arms. Approximately 4,500,000 of these are in ground forces, with a high state of preparedness maintained as a result of a rigorous training program. It is known that the number of satellite divisions have almost doubled since 1947, bringing their total to at least 80 divisions.

The Soviet Union has a readymade spearhead for a rapid advance into Western Europe, if that decision is ever made. This spearhead is composed of at least 22 Soviet divisions in Eastern Germany. The bulk of these are armored divisions with nearly a complete complement of tanks and self-propelled guns—and behind this spearhead, there are additional 60 Soviet divisions located in the Eastern European satellite countries and in western Russia. This does not take into account satellite country divisions.

It is also known that their mobilization system is exercised periodically to insure its effectiveness by the ability of the Soviet and satellite ground forces to quickly increase to 400 divisions.

The numerical strength of the Soviet air force in recent years has been constant, having been stabilized at about 20,000 aircraft, but the rapid increase in Soviet air potential is shown by the rate of changeover to jet aircraft. For example, in 1951, about 20 percent of their fighters were jet types. By the year 1954, almost all of their fighters were jet types.

In connection with the light bombers, a similar development has occurred.

For example, in early 1951, jet bombers had not been introduced by the Soviet into operational units. By 1954, well over two-thirds of their light bomber force were jets.

In the medium bomber category, the TU–4's, which are similar to the United States B–29, the Soviets have doubled the number of this type in operational units since 1951, and still newer types of medium bombers, including jet models also have been observed.

The development of a comprehensive aviation training program, according to information received, has been one of the most significant contributions in Soviet postwar program to improve the capability of its air power.

The program for airfield construction has been and still is in progress with attention in recent years being directed to the construction of fields with very long runways. In the past 4 years, the Soviets have almost tripled the number of major airfields in eastern Europe that will accommodate jet fighters.

It is known that the combat value of the satellite air forces has increased significantly since 1951. In 1951, their aircraft was obsolete. By 1954, the numerical strength of satellite air forces had been doubled with one-half by jet fighters, with their facilities improved and the training, from a military angle, having reached a fairly satisfactory standard.

The Soviets have attached great importance to providing an effective air defense belt along the western perimeter of Russia through the construction of airfields throughout eastern Europe, and of aircraft control, warning systems, and antiaircraft artillery.

They have also since the end of World War II, improved their potential for the use of airborne troops and weapons.

From a naval angle, the information available is most striking. Their principal naval threat is the submarine capability. They

are building other types of naval vessels at the same time. It is known that the Soviet Navy has over 300 submarines in service, and that about one-half of them are large or medium oceangoing types, and that the current large-scale naval construction program lays emphasis on the continued production of large oceangoing submarines.

It is known that the Soviet bloc has developed a strong capability in the special fields of atomic, chemical, and biological warfare, as well as in the field of guided missiles. The stockpile of the Soviets is of such a tremendous size, that they have more than enough tanks, mortars, and antitank guns for some three-hundred-odd Soviet divisions, with a stockpile of sea mines, field artillery, and antiaircraft artillery that is amazingly large, with the annual production of these items continuing at a sizable rate.

These facts have been made public at one time or another, but I am giving them to you in collected form because I feel that it is information that should be given to our people. It is information clearly showing the military strength and power of the Soviet and its satellites. And I might add that this does not include Red China.

If our people are made aware and awakened, I know that a sound public opinion will be developed as a result of which steps in connection with the increasing of our military strength and power will be taken.

You will remember, that our policy of a few years ago was the building of an Air Force to 143 air-wing groups by latter 1955. That policy was scrapped in 1953 by reducing our objective to 120 air wing groups. This reduction was fought in Congress, and I was one of the Members who opposed it. But the reduction took place. Many outstanding military leaders opposed it as unwise, as a sign of weakness, and as too great a calculated risk to take for budgetary reasons.

Fortunately, a year later, the present administration changed its policy in this respect, and recommended appropriations to increase our Air Force to 137 air-wing groups by the middle of 1957. In doing this, however, for budgetary reasons, our Army has taken a sharp reduction during this fiscal year from 20 divisions to 17 divisions. A second year reduction had been ordered, but has, fortunately, been canceled.

There were a number of Members of Congress who expressed deep concern in this reduction, having in mind the known military strength and power of the Soviet bloc and their sinister purposes. We felt it was too great a calculated risk to take. Able military leaders also expressed their concern.

There was also a reduction in our Navy during this fiscal year. That is now taking place.

There is no question but that we have the advantage today in the possession of destructive bombs and other weapons of destruction and in our ability to produce them, as well as an advantage in the means of delivering them, if necessary, to determined targets. But the information available shows that the Soviet Union is narrowing down the advantage we possess in this field of offensive military action.

I am sure that you were amazed not so long ago to read in the newspapers that 90 to 95 percent of attacking planes from abroad could get through to their targets in the United States. In other words, the defense of our cities and our people from air attack was so weak that only from 5 to 10 percent of attacking planes, carrying their terrible instruments of destruction, would probably be intercepted and shot down.

This was information that not only amazed me but stunned me.

I am glad to advise you that as a result of speeches made in Congress, and I have made several of them, appropriations have been made to improve this situation. But we have a long way yet to go, and we should move faster.

While it is known that no defense can be built that will prevent any plane from getting to a target, it is known too that we can build defenses against air attack that would be reasonably certain of destroying anywhere from 40 to 50 percent of attacking planes. If such defenses were built, it is felt by competent authority that the "kill" to attacking forces would be so great that they would think and hesitate long before attacking.

It would seem to me to be of imperative importance that the most effective continental defense should be constructed as rapidly as possible. However, I repeat, that decided improvements have been made in this respect during the past year.

If we err, it is better that we err on the side of strength than on the side of weakness.

It is better for us to have too much military strength and power and not need it than to have too little and need it.

As long as the Kremlin adheres to its policy of world revolution and enslavement, the most effective way, as I see it, to stop Communist aggresison, to deter war, and to ultimately bring about peace is through strength.

And I close my remarks with the statement that I have already made, and which I have made in and out of the Congress on a number of occasions, and which, as an American, I shall continue to make because I consider it my duty to do so, that the only thing the Communists respect is what they fear, and that is military power and strength greater than they posseas.

And with such a force, with the spiritual values of America, with public opinion when aroused, and a united America, we can approach the trying days that lie ahead with confidence and success.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH
OF
HON. BENJAMIN F. JAMES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, notice of the untimely passing of our late colleague, the Honorable DWIGHT L. ROGERS, came to us, I know, and to all of his many friends, with grievous and stunning impact.

I join with all those whose lives have been brightened by his friendship and whose days have been saddened by his death, in sorrow.

It has been my great privilege to be DWIGHT ROGERS' closest neighbor in the House Office Building since the day I came into this body 6 years ago, and the memory of his helpful attentions and courtesies to me as a freshman will stay with me forever.

A friendly man by nature and a kindly man, he made friends easily and held friendships securely. Pleasant memories of Mr. ROGERS, we may be sure, will long remain in the minds and in the hearts of all those whose great privilege it has been to know him.

I extend to his devoted wife and his splendid sons my most profound sympathy in this time of their bereavement.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH
OF
HON. PRINCE H. PRESTON, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. PRESTON. Mr. Speaker, I was in Montevideo, Uruguay, when our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. SCOTT] informed me of the passing of my beloved friend, DWIGHT ROGERS. Being 6,000 miles away, unable to reach his family, unable to attend the funeral, I somehow felt the shock to a greater degree than I would have had I been able to go to the family and present my feelings to them.

Mr. Speaker, I did feel a keen shock in the passing of DWIGHT ROGERS. I had a reason to. DWIGHT was born in my district. The majority of his family live there yet. He came from good stock; honest, God-fearing people. When I came to Washington, DWIGHT took on interest in me because, representing his old home county, we became very fast friends. I think DWIGHT'S greatest attribute was his capacity to love people. One cannot be loved unless he has himself the capacity to love others. DWIGHT had a heart big enough to permit him to love many people, and he did not fail to let people know that he loved them. I suppose he was about as popular an individual as we had in the House of Representatives. He perhaps had more warm friends than anybody in the House. He had many friends on the Republican side. He associated just as much with the Republicans as he did with the people in his own party. So, he was loved by many people.

Mr. Speaker, little can be said to add anything to what has already been said about him. I think this eulogy here today has perhaps been as warm as any I have ever heard since I came to Congress 9 years ago. But he deserves everything that has been said. I know that the House will be glad to know that his son, Paul, who is very much like his father, is likely to succeed him. That district historically has been a Democratic distract. He has no opposition from the Democratic Party, and on next Tuesday it is most likely that he will be elected to succeed his father, and we will come to love him, I am sure, as we all did DWIGHT ROGERS. We hope he will be up here by next Wednesday to assume his office.

I certainly want to express my deepest sympathy to all of DWIGHT'S family and those in my district as well as his immediate family in Florida. I talked to his son, Paul, when I came through returning from Montevideo. He is a resident of the city of West Palm Beach and is one of the outstanding young men in that community.

So, in conclusion I would like to express the hope that the House can be blessed with more men like DWIGHT ROGERS, because he shed a lot of sunshine among his colleagues here in this body. He converted some dark hours into happiness for us by his good humor and his wit.

Free World Neglects Fight Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by Editor H. B. Snyder, of Gary (Ind.) Post Tribune, reveals that we overlook one of our greatest weapons in winning the minds of millions against Communist tyranny:

MAKE HOPE A REALITY FOR REFUGEE

One of the Western World's greatest weapons in its contest with communism is the hope we can offer to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, or the Bamboo Curtain of the East—hope of freedom; of independence in thought, freedom to work, and to worship.

But in many ways we are failing to make the most effective use of this weapon. We have not carried through on our promises to many of those who have escaped from the totalitarian world. They have risked life, they have sacrificed their possessions. They have not found hope a reality in the free world.

Every day the press of te world—and the Communist radio, too—carries reports of disillusioned and discouraged refugees whose freedom turned out to be the freedom to rot in refugee camps surrounded by barbed wire, to go without work, to be treated with hostility or indifference. In desperation, many have gone back behind the Iron Curtain.

West Germany has virtually closed the door to refugees from Soviet control. The average refugees now are destined for a German concentration camp, with little hope of release. There is no place for them in the Bonn Republic; there is slim opportunity for them to go on to new homes in the Western World.

A serious problem is present on the other side of the globe. A half million Vietnamese have fled south of the 17th parallel into free Vietnam. Their exodus was encouraged by the United States. Our warships were converted into transports to carry them from the area the Reds were occupying. They represented a major psychological victory for the western nations in Asia.

There are thousands of potential leaders among this throng of Vietnamese refugees—3,000 university and high-school students, 200 university professors, hundreds of secondary-school teachers, former civil servants, small-business men. They can be of great value in rebuilding community life, strengthening the Government.

They need housing, furnishings, clothing; they need medicines, classroom and technical supplies. They are short of food. For them, the needs are great. For us, pitifully small amounts of money and supplies will make them independent and self-supporting once more. We have the obligation to do something, and quickly.

One organization that is doing something about it, that is equipped to do something because of 21 years in the field—activity dating back to the early years of the Nazis in Germany—is the International Rescue Committee, of 62 West 45th Street, New York 36.

Its freedom fund has been established to help anti-Communist refugees throughout the world. The IRC is competing with communism. When it has enough resources, it is winning. Support of its freedom fund is an effective way of strengthening the free world.

Canton Student Strolls in Red Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, there is a constituent of mine from the 16th District of Ohio, who is making a fine record as a Fulbright scholar studying at the Free University in Berlin, Germany. She is Miss Sue R. Barthelmeh, of Canton, Ohio, the daughter of Mrs. Wilda Barthelmeh and the late Common Pleas Court Judge A. C. L. Barthelmeh. I am quite proud of this young lady. She is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of DePauw University and is preparing for a career in Government service.

She has written an excellent article for the Canton Repository, one of the newspapers in my district, about a trip into the Soviet sector of Berlin. It is well written and shows some of the wonderful opportunities given to Fulbright students to study and learn at first hand of the ways others in this world must live without the magnificent freedoms we enjoy in this Nation.

It is pleasing to see that American students can objectively view these other ways of life for only through understanding can we break down the barriers to world peace.

I should like to call this fine article to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives. Under unanimous consent, I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

CANTON STUDENT STROLLS IN RED BERLIN

(By Sue Barthelmeh)

BERLIN.—Several weeks ago, Gretchen Putnam of the Repository staff described her trip by bus into the Soviet sector of Berlin.

I can add to her descriptions from a student's point of view because I have made several trips into the Red sector since my arrival here in October as a Fulbright student.

If my fellow Cantonians came to visit me here, I would be glad to take them on a typical student excursion to the East. Our program for the day would be similar to this:

We would make a quick stop at a money exchange house in the West sector to buy some eastmarks. For 4.40 westmarks you can obtain 20 eastmarks, even though the Communists claim the official rate is two east to one west.

We would wear drab clothes and take the subway to the stop before the border. From the Kockstrasse subway station, we would walk the short block to the border and then casually walk across as if we did it every day. Guided tours are fine, but you are spotted as a foreigner immediately.

East Berlin is the biggest hole in the Russian Iron Curtain. Our American passports are our entry cards and 9 times out of 10, you will not be stopped at the control points.

If you are, it is never by the Russian soldiers, but by the hated People's Police, or Volpos, as the Berliners call them. As soon as you pass the sign welcoming you into the "People's Republic" you enter an entirely different world.

On the eastern side of the street are the gray bombed-out hulks, spiattered with bright red propaganda signs, and Berlin's former railroad center, now a graveyard of rusting, unused equipment. Behind you, not 500 yards away, stand the new modern apartment houses of West Berlin.

Except for Saturday afternoons or at the end of the working day, we would not meet many people on the street. We could spend our time strolling and reading the posters claiming what a wonderful place it is and what warmongering capitalists the Americans are.

We could even walk in the streets if we wanted to because there is no traffic to dodge. There just aren't that many automobiles on the streets.

We would probably go into some of the stores although without a special passport from the Red authorities we are not supposed to purchase anything other than food that can be consumed on the premises, or cultural materials.

Some of my American student friends have purchased gifts and clothing simply by showing the Russian translation of their travel orders through the Soviet Zone. It is amazing what the sight of any document with Russian printing upon it will do for you in the East sector.

At the newsstands, we would be sure to purchase the magazine "U. S. in Words and Pictures." From this we could read the latest "authentic" reports of how the United States is abusing its pepole, with doctored photographs to substantiate the twisted words.

After a while the drab streets would lose their appeal so we would journey to Alexanderplatz and the Red's showplace, Stalin Allee.

Stalin Allee is the only section the Communists have rebuilt and here you find Moscow architecture, along green boulevard and many people and cars.

On one of the corners stands a strange piece of machinery. It is billed as the latest thing for harvesting grain, a present from the Soviets to the DR to celebrate Russian-German friendship. It looks like some of the pictures I have seen of McCormick's original reaper.

When it was time for dinner, we would dine at the Warsaw or the Budapest—Government-owned restaurants that only East Berlin's 400 could afford. The high prices wouldn't bother us, however, because of the favorable rate of exchange for our West money.

Both restaurants are nicely furnished and the food is fair. But you have to remember there are few East Berliners who can afford to eat in them. After dinner, we would still have some time before the opera began.

We could buy some books or records of that popular song Ami Go Home, or wander past the grocery stores where the people are lined up to buy baked goods, butter, or sugar on sale that day for a high price and no precious ration stamps.

Going to the opera is an experience. East Berlin becomes a true ghost town at night. A scattered light here and there dimly outline the wide, deserted streets. I could not guarantee that the production I would take you to would be just as the author wrote it although La Boheme, which I saw recently, was in its original form.

You can be sure the artists will be exceptionally good. They are lured over to the East by very high salaries.

But you won't escape the propaganda signs even inside the opera house. The audience would seem less gay and relaxed than in the West, yet receptive. If we had a car, there would be plenty of space in the parking place.

The last stop of the evening would probably be the Hotel Adlon, formerly Berlin's most prominent hotel used by all visiting dignitaries. Today it's third rate. We would have to climb stairs to get to the restaurant.

Inside, a radio plays quietly, waiters in tails and dress shirts scurry around, a few potted palms vainly try to add color, and

most of the tables are occupied by men in dark uniforms that can mean anything from people's police to streetcar conductor.

This feeble attempt to appear as an exclusive night club is sad and ridiculous at the same time. I once ordered an omelet. After much bowing and scraping, the waiter began a long apology that he had no fresh eggs, only powdered ones. No fresh eggs in the Hotel Adlon of all places when East newspapers were proclaiming abundance in the worker's paradise was a calamity difficult to explain.

My natural student curiosity sends me to East Berlin every 2 weeks or so to see if anything new has developed and better to understand the problems of the East Germans. I find life much more free and pleasant on the western side.

Many of my German friends cannot accompany me to the East in fear that their names may be included in the black ledgers of the Communists as politically dangerous.

Yet, the risks that many of them have taken to help relatives in the sector and zone and to continue the fight for freedom deserve credit and all the praise that has been given to West Berlin, the isle of freedom in the Red sea.

Fireman of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is always a privilege to do honor to those who devote their lives to the service of others. Men and women who find happiness in doing what they can to make life a bit easier for others and to bring encouragement and faith to the stricken are great people, the kind of people who make our country great. Such spirit of service is common among the members of our police and fire departments which are made up of brave men, always prepared to risk their lives in the protection of ours. These thoughts are prompted by a member of the District of Columbia Fire Department who has recently been selected as Fireman of the Year, and I consider it a privilege to do honor to this man.

Charles M. Chamberlin, Jr., assigned to No. 1 platoon of engine company 16, and presently detailed to the deputy fire chief, has received this honor and he richly deserves it. Mr. Chamberlin has been a member of the District Fire Department for more than 17 years, during which he served in different engine and truck companies, and 5 years with rescue squad No. 1. He also acted as aide to various battalion fire chiefs, and for the past 3 years he has been aide to Deputy Fire Chief Handback. Let me quote from a statement made about him by one of his superior officers:

Private Chamberlin has always demonstrated a keen interest in the Fire Department and is always ready to give his time to help others, from the lowest private to the highest ranking officer. When any member is sick or wounded he can always count on a visit from Charlie or "Doc" as he is called by all members who know him. In this respect he is largely responsible for the starting and smooth operating of the firemen's blood bank. His interest in this respect is not confined to the Fire Department alone since his record shows he has donated 52 pints of blood through the American Red Cross for the use of the Armed Forces or for other purposes for which they need it.

Private Chamberlin is a family man with a wife and one son. He is an active member of his church, a Mason, and has served as den father to a Cub Scout pack and on the executive committee of the Boy Scouts of America. He is popular with his comrades and is recognized as one who is always ready to help in a good cause.

I am proud to be able to speak of Charlie Chamberlin as my friend, and it is indeed a privilege to know him. The inspiration received from a character with such high and unselfish standards makes us very proud and eager to do our own tasks better and in a more cheerful spirit.

Persons Serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, Should Be Entitled To Continue To Accrue Educational Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has acted under the provisions of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 and issued a proclamation declaring the emergency period at an end on January 31, 1955. The effect of this declaration will be that persons in the Armed Forces will cease accruing eligibility as war veterans on January 31, 1955.

Entitlement to education and training is on an accrual basis. Entitlement is accrued at the rate of 1½ days of education or training for each day of service during the emergency period; therefore, the President's proclamation has the effect of discontinuing accrual of educational entitlement on January 31, 1955, for all persons in service on that date. This will mean that those individuals who have entered the armed services during the past few months will not have the opportunity to accrue sufficient educational entitlement to be of any practical value. A great many persons entered the armed forces during the past few months with the belief that they would have the opportunity of accruing the maximum entitlement to education. Some of these persons maintain that they were urged by armed services recruiters to enter the service and discharge their military service obligation as soon as possible and at the same time gain entitlement to a free college education. I have received letters from service personnel contending that armed services recruiters appeared in high schools last June and urged high school graduates to join the service and stated that they would be entitled to maximum educational entitlement if they entered the service promptly.

In order that those individuals who have entered the service during a recent period will be dealt with fairly, I am introducing a bill which will permit an individual in the armed services on January 31, 1955, to continue to accrue entitlement to education and training on the basis of 1½ days educational entitlement for each day of service up to the date of his discharge or until he accrues maximum entitlement. Enactment of this bill will permit individuals who have been in service less than 24 months on January 31, 1955, to continue to count their service for the purpose of accruing educational entitlement up to a maximum of 24 months service.

I believe that enactment of this legislation will eliminate the possibility that any individual has been mislead or has been dealt with unfairly and at the same time will serve the basic intent of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952. I hope that the Veterans' Affairs Committee can give prompt consideration to this question as soon as it is organized.

Modernized Canal Put Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the adjournment of the 83d Congress without acting on the interoceanic canal question has become a topic of considerable public discussion as illustrated by a news story in the September 3, 1954, issue—Atlantic two-star edition—of the Christian Science Monitor by Capt. Frederick L. Oliver, United States Navy, retired, the distinguished naval correspondent of that paper.

Attention is invited to previous articles of Captain Oliver in the Christian Science Monitor on the canal question, which were republished in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 82d Congress, 2d session, volume 98, part 10, May 1, 1952, page A2659, and 83d Congress, 1st session, volume 99, part 9, February 12, 1953, page A605.

As an experienced seaman and a respected student of national policies, Captain Oliver's writings always reflect views derived from his broad background of study and observation.

The text of the news story follows:

MODERNIZED CANAL PUT OFF

(By Capt. Frederick L. Oliver, United States Navy, retired)

Congress has again adjourned without giving more than passing attention to the need for making the Panama Canal adequate for present-day requirements.

Meanwhile, nature has taken a hand in the past few months by opening wide the long-neglected fissure on Contractors Hill. This sizable rift could result in a tremendous slide toppling into Gaillard Cut, clos-

ing the canal to shipping for an indefinite period.

For almost 15 years a group of prominent engineers has been advocating alterations to the canal to correct present deficiencies. Several years ago, interested Congressmen introduced legislation designed to initiate the necessary changes. But thus far Congress has failed to even take action on a bill authorizing the appointment of a commission composed of men with wide engineering, operating, and business experience, to investigate present conditions and recommend the best solution.

The average Congressman apparently does not realize the seriousness of existing conditions, and believes the canal is adequate to carry out its designed purposes.

DREAMS OUTSTRIPPED

When plans for the canal were drawn nearly 50 years ago, it was thought the locks would be large enough to handle any ship the future would produce.

But ship design outstripped the wildest dreams of prognosticators of those days, and today there are a number of ships afloat too large to use the canal locks, with other "too-large" ships under construction and projected.

In addition, the United States Navy has many ships whose design was severely limited by the lock dimensions. Built as large as possible, these vessels are so tight a squeeze in the locks that, in order to minimize the danger of damaging lock structures and ship hulls, undue time is required for their transits.

During World War II, the inability of vessels of the *Queen Mary* class to pass through the canal interfered with planned operations at times.

ALTERNATE PLANS

Although the need for increasing the capacity of the canal is recognized by those acquainted with existing conditions, there is a difference of opinion among them concerning the manner in which changes should be accomplished. These differences seem to have crystallized into two alternatives, (a) altering the present canal into a sea-level type or (b) increasing the capacity of the present canal by installing new and larger locks together with certain other changes. The consensus appears to favor the retaining lock-type canal.

After making a detailed study of geophysical conditions along the route of the canal, geologists agree almost unanimously that any large-scale underground disturbance can cause slides or bottom bulges in the cut through the Continental Divide, and the deeper the cut, the greater the danger that disturbances of this character will result.

A sea-level canal would require an enormous amount of excavation to attain a designed depth of 135 feet below the water level of the present canal. There is no possible way to determine accurately how new stresses and strains set up thereby would affect the physical formation of the area around the deep cut, but many experts believe that 2 or 3 times the estimated 1,069,000,000 cubic yards of excavation would be required to attain a condition of stability.

Proponents of the sea-level canal have largely based their contention on the vulnerability of lock structures to severe damage by bombing. There is no question but that bomb damage, regardless of how the bombs arrive at their objectives, would put the entire canal out of commission for a considerable length of time if a pair of locks were seriously damaged.

However, this argument has been greatly discounted by results now attainable with H-bombs. Regardless of which type of canal is adopted, a properly placed H-bomb can put it completely out of service for an extended period, if not permanently.

This development has strengthened arguments for the enlarged lock-type plan. It is also far cheaper to construct and much quicker to complete than the sea-level type.

Estimate of cost for the enlarged lock-type canal run from $600 million to $750 million, the work to be done in from 5 to 10 years, depending upon the urgency attached to the project. It is anticipated that the changeover could be effected with little or no interference with normal operations of the canal.

SEA-LEVEL CANAL

The sea-level type will be vastly more expensive, estimates of cost ranging from $2½ to $10 billion. While work is in progress, the use of the canal would be disrupted. Estimates of the time needed for conversion vary, but there is no question but that it would be much longer than the time for completing the lock-type changeover.

Buy American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following letter and brief I have received from Banjamin G. Hull, vice president to the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, A. F. of L., which constitute an interesting and illuminating view on the subject of the large influx of foreign goods upon our shores.

The letter and brief follow:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIES,
BOARD OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION,
Boston, January 4, 1955.

Hon. THOMAS J. LANE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR TOM: I was deeply interested and certainly appreciative of the remarks you made in reference to foreign-made bicycles at our recent luncheon of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor. Everyone who has had the pleasure of meeting and knowing you, knows your deep, sincere interest in those who toil for a living, for you know the hard knocks of life, as you have been through the mill.

I am enclosing a copy of a brief I filed before the United States Tariff Commission, as you probably know that I appeared before that Commission last September. You also know that a resolution was unanimously passed condemning the large quotas of foreign imports at the Massachusetts Federation of Labor convention last August in Worcester. I am going to quote some figures for you, which I'm sure will be of interest. These figures were compiled by the American Tariff League from data supplied by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, as of October 1953.

Country	Hourly earnings	Per hour wage differences
United States	$1.78	
Belgium	.48	$1.30
France	.46	1.32
Germany	.44	1.34
Italy	.37	1.41
Japan	.19	1.59
Switzerland	.57	1.21
United Kingdom	.47	1.31

You readily can see from these figures that the American industry certainly cannot compete. It is because of these figures that the foreign-made bicycle is selling at $15 to $18 below our retail price. Five years ago, 17,000 came into this country. Now, I am going to call your attention to the latest figures which I received yesterday by telephone, which surely are shocking. Last November 1954—get this TOM—120,000 bicycles were shipped to our shores. Just look at this staggering amount. Over 900,000 were shipped here last year, 1954. As a result, the Westfield Manufacturing Co., makers of bicycles for over 75 years have closed their doors completely, throwing approximately 500 employees out of work. Now, these 500 employees cannot buy products that are made by other workers, which in turn retards other businesses. It is my firm opinion that if the quotas on foreign imports are not drastically reduced immediately, that we are going to face a depression that will make the last one look like a piker.

I don't have to remind you what happened to the watch industry, nor the shoe industry, and is now happening to the fish industry. Here, hundreds of boats are tied up at the wharves and thousands of workers in the fish industry are idle. I could go on and on naming industries that are being affected by foreign countries who are reaping a harvest from this country, at the expense of our industries and workers.

I believe in reciprocal agreements, but these agreements should not be allowed to throw our country into a horrible depression such as we recently went through. Our industries have to prosper in order to pay the taxes to keep this Government on the high standard that our boys have fought on the battlefields to preserve from the days of 1776.

With kindest regards, I remain,
Most sincerely yours,
BENJAMIN G. HULL,
Associate Commissioner.

BRIEF BY BENJAMIN G. HULL, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS FEDERATION OF LABOR, A. F. OF L., ON INVESTIGATION NO. 37 IN RESPECT TO BICYCLES

To the Honorable Board of the United States Tariff Commission:

Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, I am indeed grateful that you, as Commissioners, accorded me the privilege to appear at the recent hearing, and voice my views on the bicycle situation. I also appreciate the privilege of filing this brief.

I have personally been interested in the importation of foreign-made goods for a number of years, going back as far as the time when Japan was at war with China some 15 years ago. At that time Japan was shipping bicycles to the Pacific coast at $6 apiece, and to the Atlantic coast at $7 apiece. I contacted the late Senator David I. Walsh and Congressman Allen T. Treadway. Each of them informed me that there wasn't much that could be done. I immediately filed a resolution with both the Massachusetts and American Federation of Labor conventions, which in both instances, were passed unanimously, condemning the importation of Japanese-made goods. Incidentally, this resolution on foreign imports was the first one passed at the A. F. of L. convention held in Denver, Colo., at that time.

At the present time we are being swamped with hundreds of thousands of foreign-made bicycles, which are seriously affecting the jobs of thousands of American workers, and when our workers are unemployed it means our Government is losing Federal income taxes. These unemployed workers losing their earning power seriously jeopardize many thousands of workers' jobs, because the unemployed worker cannot buy what his fellow-American is producing, which finally injures industry, which in turn lessens the revenue for State and Federal taxes.

Thousands of displaced persons have arrived in this country to join with our Amer-

ican workers, and their jobs are also being jeopardized. History has proven to us the results of such action; for instance, the tragic situation that our watch industry has suffered by low tariff and large quotas. Thanks to your Commission and the President of the United States, relief has been given to this industry. Now, the workers of the bicycle industry are facing the same situation, and before it becomes too late I urgently request that your Commission take such action as will protect this industry of long standing.

As far as I am concerned, this question is not a political or a party issue; it boils right down to the fact, are we going to protect the workers of our country who enjoy the standards that this country has worked so hard and for so many years to obtain? Are we going to protect our industries, the workers in which furnish a large part of the revenue to keep America on the high level it now enjoys?

The Massachusetts Federation of Labor, A. F. of L., believes we should protect these standards and therefore over 600 delegates assembled at its recept convention in Worcester, Mass., unanimously passed a resolution condemning the large influx of foreign goods upon our shores, causing undue hardship on the workers and our industries. Over 6,000 citizens in the western part of Massachusetts signed a petition asking for action to be taken to protect their jobs. The Honorable Governor Christian A. Herter, the members of the House of Massachusetts, the Honorable Senators Leverett Saltonstall and John F. Kennedy, and many Congressmen of this State have signified their stand on this question of foreign imports. All of these believe in a fair reciprocal trade agreement, but they do protest such a huge amount of products that causes many of our industries to close their doors, thus throwing their employees out of employment.

I, as associate commissioner of labor and industries of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, vice president of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, and finally president of the Westfield Central Labor Union, plead with your most honorable Commission to grant the request of the bicycle industry in order to help this industry take part in keeping this Government on the continual road of prosperity, peace, and contentment.

Respectfully submitted.

BENJAMIN G. HULL,
Associate Commissioner Labor and Industries, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Pray for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I reintroduced a bill to authorize the Postmaster General to provide for the use in first- and second-class post offices of a special canceling stamp, or postmarking die bearing the words "Pray for Peace."

An identical measure which I introduced in the 83d Congress was passed in the House on August 18, 1954, but Congress adjourned before the Senate took action. It is my hope that the bill which I introduced yesterday will be enacted into law during this Congress. This legislation would send the message of "Pray for Peace" on United States mail throughout the land, and to the far corners of the world. It would remind the world of our dependence upon God.

Residual Oil Imports: The Achilles Heel in Our Defense Structure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the residual oil imports issue affects both the domestic economy and the national security, I believe it important that new Members of Congress be advised promptly of the necessity for action on this vital matter. Those of us who served in the 83d Congress had an opportunity to learn of the great harm that excessive imports inflicted upon the coal industry and affiliated businesses—hardships that were steadily intensified from the time the deluge began several years ago through the first half of 1954.

Here we are, 6 months and more than 60 million barrels later, and we find that for the second straight year the equivalent of more than 30 million tons of bituminous coal has been imported into the United States in the form of residual oil. The result is that more coal miners are out of work, more railroaders whose jobs depend upon coal freight tonnage are also unemployed, and more families in West Virginia and throughout other coal-producing States are impoverished. Furthermore, as a consequence of foreign residual oil's illicit trespass upon coal's markets, the coal industry is not now in position to meet the enormous demands that would be made upon it if an emergency were to develop.

National policies which tend to bring hardship to large groups of American citizens, and which are in disregard of the security of our country, must be revised at the earliest possible moment. The responsibility for bringing about the necessary changes in prevailing policies lies with Members of the 84th Congress. Foreign trade policy is one of the first such issues that needs be corrected. By enacting proper limitations on the amount of residual oil that may be imported into this country from refineries in foreign lands, the Congress will be placing a protective covering for what could very well be the Achilles heel in our defense structure, for such a move would help immeasurably in bringing coal's productive capacity to a level in conformity with the Nation's mobilization base requirements.

There are a number of other matters affecting coal which will be discussed from time to time before the new House of Representatives. As representative of the largest coal-producing district in the entire country, I shall apprise my colleagues of conditions in this great industry and, when it is desirable, I shall relay to this legislative body the suggestions of the miner and his union officials as well as the operator and his appointed spokesmen.

Today I ask unanimous consent to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a recent statement by L. C. Campbell, president of the National Coal Association, and vice president of Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates, whose operations include mines in Boone and Raleigh Counties, which are in the Sixth Congressional District of West Virginia. Later I shall request permission to place in the RECORD the actual resolutions passed by the National Coal Association's board of directors at a special meeting last month.

Mr. Campbell's statement follows:

COMPETITIVE FUELS POLICY STATEMENT BY L. C. CAMPBELL, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION

L. C. Campbell, president of the National Coal Association, announced today the appointment of a special committee on competitive fuels and other matters relating to the meeting of the board of directors of the association held in Washington on December 9 and 10.

Mr. Campbell stated that, "acting under authority of the members in convention at Pittsburgh, November 17 and 18, 1954, I have appointed a special committee on competitive fuels." Those named on that committee are: Raymond E. Salvati, president, Island Creek Coal Co., Huntington, W. Va.; Kenneth A. Spencer, president, Ptitsburgh & Midway Coal Mining Co., Kansas City, Mo.; D. W. Buchanan, Jr., president, Old Ben Coal Corp., Chicago, Ill.; L. Russell Kelce, president, Sinclair Coal Co., Kansas City, Mo.; George H. Love, president, Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; A. R. Matthews, president, Pocahontas Fuel Co., Inc., Pocahontas, Va.; C. J. Potter, president, Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co., Indiana, Pa.; L. C. Campbell, vice president, coal division, Eastern Gas & Fuel Asociates, Pittsburgh, Pa.; and Harry LaViers, president, South-East Coal Co., Paintsville, Ky.

Mr. Campbell further announced that "pursuant to the authority granted by the members, plus appropriate resolutions adopted by the board of directors in Washington on December 9, the committee held its first meeting on the ninth at Washington and reviewed some of the problems confronting the industry. After careful deliberation, it announced the following objectives, to be viewed in the nature of principles to govern the committee's action:

"1. The coal industry is unnecessarily and severely injured by the importation of residual oil. Therefore, we favor a quantitative restriction on such imports and an equalization of tariffs on residual oil with other petroleum products.

"2. The coal industry is against and will fight the dumping of natural gas at a price less than the average cost at the point of consumption, plus a reasonable profit.

"3. The coal industry is for the control of importation of natural gas to prevent it from supplanting domestic fuels."

Mr. Campbell also stated that "the committee gave consideration to the so-called Phillips decision, dealing with the regulation of the producers and gatherers of natural gas, but the committee at this time has taken no position on the question of whether or not that decision should be retained or reversed."

Mr. Campbell said that "the committee named Tom Pickett, of the NCA staff to act as executive secretary of the committee and he was designated by the committee as its spokesman and the individual through

whom all matters pertaining to the questions under consideration must be cleared."

Mr. Campbell also stated that, "as a result of the action taken by the coal executives, the members of the National Coal Association in convention, as well as its board of directors, and in order to avoid any confusion among any elements interested in coal, this special committee is the only group now designated to speak authoritatively for the coal producers of this country on the problems heretofore enumerated."

Mr. Campbell said that "a brief preliminary conference was held by the members of the committee and spokesmen from the oil and gas industry in order that those representatives might understand the objectives of the coal producers as heretofore outlined."

Mr. Campbell further said, "We expect our committee will receive the active support and assistance of all segments of the coal economy. We will enlist their aid in pushing a legislative program that is to be developed within the framework of the policy decision of NCA's board of directors, adopted on December 9, and the three principles outlined herein."

Mr. Campbell stated that any person or interested parties who feel that they have anything to contribute to the problems under consideration by this committee should communicate with Tom Pickett, executive vice president of the National Coal Association, Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 17, 1954.*

Westerners Support the TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the recent controversy over the TVA has made very clear the mutual interest that the far West and the TVA area have in a sound water and power development program. The McClatchy newspapers, the outstanding newspaper chain in the Central Valley of California, have long been among the most vigorous advocates and defenders of the TVA. I include for the special interest of those in the TVA area and for the other Members of the House generally, a recent editorial in the Modesto Bee, one of the McClatchy newspapers, of December 30, 1954, entitled "Does TVA Pay?":

DOES TVA PAY?

The Tennessee Valley Public Power Association has prepared an interesting report which answers effectively the question of whether TVA contributes its fair share of revenues to local and State governments in the area in which it operates.

The association made a minute study of all the taxes paid on land utilized for reservoirs and on power properties purchased from private operators.

These amounted to $3,226,132 in the last year of private operation.

For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1954, in lieu payments and taxes to the various governments by the TVA and the distributors of TVA power totaled $9,074,356.

In other words, under the publicly owned operation the payments to local and State governments were almost three times as much as under private operation.

Moreover, industries attracted to the area by low-cost power, the thousands of new homes, the improved farms and the higher level of income all contributed enormously to local, State and Federal tax collections.

The New York Times pointed out recently that the financing of TVA power facilities costs the Federal Government nothing, since the money is reimbursable with interest.

Of the Federal investment of $803,500,000 in TVA, said the Times, $81,000,000 already has been repaid to the United States Treasury.

The Federal Government in fact contributes nothing to TVA. Rather TVA contributes to the Federal Government. Somebody ought to show these figures to President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Prayers of the Reverend Dr. Edward L. R. Elson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL M. HARDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mrs. HARDEN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I wish to call the attention of the membership of this House to a series of prayers offered by the Reverend Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, pastor of the National Presbyterian Church, on the occasion of the reconvening of the Congress, Wednesday, January 5.

It was my privilege to attend this fine service, along with many other Members of this body and the President of the United States. We gained much from the service, and I ask that the prayers offered by Dr. Elson be printed in the RECORD. They follow:

PRAYERS OF THE REVEREND DR. EDWARD L. R. ELSON AT SERVICE OF INTERCESSION AND HOLY COMMUNION, JANUARY 5, 1955, THE NATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON, ON THE OCCASION OF THE RECONVENING OF CONGRESS

PRAYER FOR THE NATION

Almighty God, our Creater, Redeemer and Judge, bless this Nation with righteousness and truth. Confirm what is right, correct what is wrong, and prosper all such efforts as shall promote Thy Kingdom. Visit our cities, towns, and countryside with a new and lofty patriotism and with pure religion. Abide in our hearts and in our homes. Endow the people of this land with nobility and virtue. Strengthen our institutions; deepen the root of our national life in everlasting righteousness. Protect us from enemies without, and weakness and unworthiness within. Enable us to trust one another and to fear only Thee. Make us equal to our high trust, reverent in the use of freedom, just in the exercise of power, and generous in the protection of the weak. In all the decisions of the coming fateful days, grant that we may ever remain a Nation whose God is the Lord; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER FOR THE PRESIDENT

Almighty God, in whose sovereign will is the destiny of men and nations, guide by Thy holy spirit and uphold by Thy might the President of these United States. Grant unto him health of body, serenity of soul, soundness of judgment, sanctified stewardship of office, and a constant and confident faith in Thee. Make him a channel of Thy grace and an instrument of Thy power upon the earth, that righteousness and truth, justice and honor may be promoted and upheld among men and the nations of this world. Let goodness and mercy follow him all his days; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER FOR ALL IN AUTHORITY

Lord God Almighty, guide we pray Thee, all those to whom Thou has committed the Government of this Nation—the Vice President, the Members of the Cabinet, all in positions of executive responsibility, and the judiciary. Grant to them at this time special gifts of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and strength, that they may obey Thy will and fulfill Thy divine purpose; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER FOR THE CONGRESS

Most gracious God, we humbly beseech Thee, as for the people of this Nation in general, so especially for the Senators and Representatives in Congress assembled; that Thou wouldst be pleased to direct and prosper all their consultations to the advancement of Thy glory, the good of Thy Church, the safety, honor, and welfare of the people; that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavors, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, virtue and piety, may be established among us; through our most blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.

PRAYER FOR THE EMISSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

We remember before Thee, O Lord, the emissary of the United Nations on special mission to negotiate for the deliverance of men from captivity, remembering that our Lord Jesus Christ came to preach the deliverance of captives and, recovering the sight of the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised. We beseech Thee to grant unto him and to all whom he consults, high and holy insights, that relations between nations may be lifted into the spirit of Thy Kingdom and a higher way be found for the life of the nations of this earth; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER FOR WORLD PEACE

Almighty God, from whom all thoughts of truth and peace proceed: Kindle, we pray Thee, in the hearts of all men the true love of peace, and guide with Thy pure and peaceable wisdom those who take counsel for the nations of the earth, through Thy Church, through the United Nations, and all other agencies; that Thy Kingdom may go forward, till the earth be filled with the knowledge of Thy love; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER FOR COURAGE AND STRENGTH OF CHARACTER

We ask Thee, O Lord, not to take from us our burdens, but to give us strength to carry them; not to deliver us from our problems, but to give us wisdom to solve them, and power to execute the solution; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE LORD'S PRAYER

Our Father, who art in Heaven: hallowed be Thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever. Amen.

Judicial and Legislative Pay Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending

my remarks to include editorial comment from the two morning newspapers of Chicago on the legislation to increase judicial and legislative salaries proposed by the Citizens' Committee.

The Chicago Sun-Times of December 31, 1954, said:

Pay raises for the legislators, and especially for the judges, are long overdue. Congress should have the courage to do something about it in 1955.

The Chicago Tribune of December 31, 1954, said:

In our opinion, it is a good idea. • • • The incomes of a body of men and women who can vote themselves a raise any time they feel like it have rather lagged behind the average increase in a period of rising salaries and wages. • • • It proves that they (men in public office) are timid. In this matter, we suspect, they were needlessly alarmed, because the great majority of the voters will approve the proposed increase.

Unjust Discrimination Against Members of the Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced a bill to correct an inequity of our tax laws which results in an unjust discrimination against members of our Armed Forces.

Last year, in our work on the mammoth new tax law, the House included a provision, section 37, which provided a tax credit equal to 20 percent of retirement incomes up to $1,200 for individuals aged 65 and over. When the bill reached the other body, this section was amended to provide similar treatment for individuals under 65 with respect to pensions received from a public-retirement system. However, the amendment made by the other body specifically defined the term "public-retirement system" so as to exclude a retirement system operated for the benefit of the Armed Forces. That amendment with the exception I have just described finally prevailed in conference.

As a result, under the law as it now stands, a retired schoolteacher, policeman, fireman, or other civil servant is entitled to the retirement income-tax credit even if he retires before age 65. On the other hand, a member of our Armed Forces who similarly retires before age 65 is not entitled to equivalent treatment. I can find no justification whatsoever for continuing this type of discrimination against individuals who have served in their country's uniform. The bill which I have introduced today simply removes the exclusion of the Armed Forces from the definition of public-retirement system. The amendment would be effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 1953, the effective date of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Communist Aggression Against Ukraine and Other Non-Russian Nations in U. S. S. R.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, during the hearings conducted by the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, a number of Americans who are expert on the subject of the nations enslaved by communism appeared before the committee. One of those experts was Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of political economy, Georgetown University, and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Dr. Dobriansky appeared before the committee on October 18, 1954, at the Chicago hearings, and presented a most informative analysis on the enslavement of Ukraine by the Communists. In his statement Dr. Dobriansky points out that the current threat of aggression from Moscow can be traced back in its roots to Russian imperialism which has plagued civilized mankind for well over 300 years. A warning is also raised on the grave dangers that confront us if we fall for the Moscow trap of peaceful coexistence.

Because of the importance the statement of Dr. Dobriansky bears to bringing about a better understanding of the real nature of international communism, I insert his statement in the RECORD.

COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AGAINST UKRAINE AND OTHER NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS IN U. S. S. R.

(Testimony by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of political economy, Georgetown University; president, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, at hearings of House Select Committee on Communist Aggression, United States Courthouse, Chicago, Ill., Monday, October 18, 1954)

It is a veritable privilege and honor for me to appear before this singularly outstanding and unique committee of the United States House of Representatives which now is investigating Communist aggression against Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations held captive in the Soviet Union. The distinction of this opportunity to testify on this crucially important subject is sharpened by the fact that these hearings are being conducted here, in Chicago, a great midwestern metropolis which, significantly, is also a midway point for the widely distributed communities and branches with affiliations and membership in the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, of which I am the president. As a thoroughly American organization, representing one and a half million citizens of Ukrainian ancestry, this national body has for over a decade dedicated itself to the prime tasks of informing the American public about Moscow-centered communism in practice, and of broadening its warm understanding concerning the vital and strategic importance of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union to the fundamental interests and security of our Nation.

In all sincerity, and solely with objective thought, we join with countless others, in this country and abroad, in complimenting this select House committee and its staff on its extraordinary endeavors and superlatively constructive work in factually unmasking the expansion of Red totalitarianism and its colonial empire and in establishing a solid and secure groundwork for sound foreign policy formulation. It is a simple rule of balanced political behavior that before we can act with intelligent purpose and clear vision and courage we must first come to know, understand, and judge the data and elements with which we are dealing. The sterling contribution of your committee and its investigative work over the past year lies in the full maintenance and enforcement of this rule. It is doubly magnified by the fact that the revealing disclosures of your investigations of Communist aggressions in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and elsewhere come at an anxious moment when an increasing number of people, sucked in by Moscow's new peace offensive under the tattered Soviet banner of peaceful coexistence are being being lulled into a false sense of security and world peace. The total significance and import of your monumental work will doubtlessly be felt with keener impression and appreciation once the constant, mortal threat of Communist aggression commences to assert itself again in bold, overt strokes of conquest and domination.

Every impartial observer and student of the activities of this committee agrees that its recent second interim report consists of one of the finest and most authoritative summaries of the nature and content of aggressive communuism.[1] It is based upon a wealth of concrete, empirical evidence obtained from the direct, horrible experiences of people representing all strata of the slave society and all nations reduced by force under the tyrannical yoke of Moscow. It reflects an investigative approach satisfying every critical test and criterion of comprehensive factfinding, and the salient facts and generalizations presented in this official document are worthy of careful study in all of our educational institutions. The able and distinguished chairman of this committee, the Honorable CHARLES J. KERSTEN, of Wisconsin, whose name is honored throughout the free world and consistently reviled in the Red empire, deserves every measure of commendation and praise for his untiring efforts in the cause of freedom; and the people of Milwaukee, whom he so brilliantly represents, have every right to take pride in his preeminent achievements and international reputation.

GROUNDED PERSPECTIVES ON NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS IN U. S. S. R.

Contrary to popular impression, facts do not speak for themselves. For their meaning and true proportions they require intellectual insight and evaluation, the exercise of rational measurement, and a coherent arrangement in an intelligible pattern of thought. This committee is in its remarkable way accumulating valuable information and documentary material relating to Communist aggression against the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Such data begin to assume meaningful significance for our knowledge and our political action in the field of foreign policy only when, according to their self-evident factual determinations, they are rationally ordered in terms of the life-process of a nation, in terms of its vicissitudes, indicated aspirations and goals of development. Testimonies on national genocide, mass deportations, terrorism, man-made famines, religious persecution, thought control, underground resistance and general political tyranny refer not to isolated historical phenomena but broader political contexts of national struggle for self-preservation, freedom, self-government and independence—the only contexts in which these basically related experiences can attain to intelligible meaning.

Being intimately familiar with a good deal of such data, it is my sole purpose here to present certain grounded perspectives with

Footnotes at end of speech.

regard to Communist aggression against the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, chiefly from the overall viewpoint of its crucial relationship to the national interests of our country. These perspectives are amply supported by the types of evidence being furnished this committee, and represent generalized working conclusions of innumerable objective studies on the many non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Indeed, the investigations of this committee into Communist aggression against these particular non-Russian nations cannot but reinforce these perspectives and thus constitute a salutary contribution to American public understanding of the nature and complex of the Soviet Union and also to our military and political capacity to capitalize on its patent vulnerabilities and weaknesses.

The first major perspective is that the Soviet Union is not Russia, but, in a real sense, an empire within an empire. It consists of Russia, which itself is a federated Republic made of of different peoples and known as the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), and a large number of non-Russian nations which, in the forced context of this primary empire, have been established as individual republics. According to current estimates, in addition to some 100 million Russians, there are about 115 million non-Russians, of which the Baltic nations, White Ruthenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cossackia, and Turkestan roughly account for over 90 percent. Inhabiting in their individual countries the broad, strategic periphery of the Soviet Union, these non-Russian nationals not only compose in toto the majority of the total population of the U. S. S. R. but also make up overwhelming majorities in their respective native lands. It is, therefore, a current fallacy, born either of habitual error or purposeful misinformation, to view these non-Russian nations as national minorities. If Poland, for example, were nominally annexed to the Soviet Union, would it be logically sensible to regard this nation as another minority? Obviously not, when we are dealing with nations, peoples, conscious and rightfully proud of their national individualities.

The average American is familiar with the Baltic nations largely because they were fortunate to enjoy a longer period of national independence than these other non-Russian nations with whom, as yet, he is not so familiar. But, in fact, except for this relative release from foreign domination and annexation for scarcely two decades, the experiences of the Baltic nations have been, both prior to the collapse of the Czarist Russian Empire and since 1940, substantially those of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, and the other non-Russian nations. All possess their individual national histories, distinctive cultures, separate languages, and an unbreakable bent toward national freedom and independence. Each has had glorious periods of such freedom and independence prior to its forcible absorption into the Czarist Russian Empire. Each strives for it today in a wave of enlightened nationalism that is global in character and not restricted merely to Asia.

On the basis of the evidence provided this committee it is utterly essential to understand that the year 1917 was the historical moment not only of the Russian Revolution but also of the non-Russian Revolution that led to the creation of the free and independent national republics of Ukraine, Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia, and others. The collapse of the Russian Empire was crystallized by this sweeping non-Russian revolution, and it seemed on the basis of typical Communist avowals and pacts that this dark empire was at last finished. For instance, never tiring in his early advocacy of the principle of national self-determination, Lenin wrote "that Russian Socialists who fail to demand freedom of secession for Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, etc., etc., are behaving like chauvinists, like lackeys of the blood-and-mud-stained imperialist monarchies and the imperialist bourgeoisie."[2] As a further example, concerning Ukraine, both Lenin and Trotsky addressed themselves through the Council of Commissars of the Russian people on December 4, 1917, as follows: "So far as the international rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people are concerned, we the Council of People's Commissars, recognize them without reservations and unconditionally." It was not long after that Trotsky's Red army invaded Ukraine and the other non-Russian republics to commit the first act of Russian Communist aggression against foreign states and nations. Long before the West learned to distrust Communist words and contracts Ukraine, Georgia, and others painfully experienced the infamy of Moscow's chicanery.

In historical perspective, then, which is as essential and determining to nations as trained backgrounds are to the understanding of persons, except for the more fortunate Baltic States, the non-Russian nations now in the Soviet Union were the first true victims of imperialist Communist aggression staged in the period of 1919–22. The onslaught upon the Baltic States 20 years hence and, soon thereafter, the aggressions against Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and others in what we unrealistically call "the satellite area" represented additional links in the extended imperialist chain of Muscovite expansionism. The pattern of Russian Communist aggression did not originate, as many erroneously believe, at the start of World War II but actually soon after the close of World War I. The Red empire was not founded with the forcible annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia but actually established its foundations with the conquest and involuntary incorporation of Ukraine, Georgia, White Ruthenia, and others in the Soviet Union in 1922–23.

It should also be observed that Russian Communist involvement in the wars of independence with Ukraine and the other independent non-Russian republics indirectly contributed heavily to the formation and maintenance of the independent Baltic States and Poland after World War I. Trotsky's Red armies advanced sufficiently to knock at the gates of Warsaw, only to be repulsed by combined Ukrainian and Polish forces. We need only contemplate what the course and alternative conditions of history would have been since 1918 had the West supported these new, democratic non-Russian republics; had it understood that this is in reality a century of the demise of empires, as the forces of freedom surge forth among all nations. Indeed, much human life, tragedy, treasure, and blood would surely have been spared as communism would have been forced to face the prospect of asphyxiation in the realm of its origin and genesis; only had we the knowledge, vision, and courage which even today we in great degree need.

Without these guiding perspectives, the tragedies, genocide, national purges, man-made famine, underground resistance, deportations, etc., that have occurred in the non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union since the twenties have in the largest measure no meaning. They are not, as simple and misinformed conceptions would have them, mere internal problems of a state. For within the framework of an empire, whereas in the dark past, nations are uneasily bound together by force, coercion, and terror, such problems and evidences are always of an international character. On all counts, for anyone who carefully reviews the evidence brought before this committee, Moscow-centered communism is in essence a destroyer of nations, including the potentialities for democratic existence and growth of the Russian nation itself.

Viewing the overwhelming evidence presented on Ukraine alone, one cannot but be constanly impressed by these ruling perspectives. After displaying with courageous strength and passion its undying aspirations for national freedom and independence, Ukraine was given nominal significance as a republic in the Soviet Union, and in the period of the 1920's numerous concessions were made, contributing to a freer cultural activity than ever existed before in the Russian Empire. For example, the rewriting and official censoring of Ukrainian history, which was an old institution of the Tsarist Russian Empire, lapsed as the leading Communist historical school under the famous Russian historian, Mikhaylo Pokrovsky, acknowledged the true facts of the history of Ukraine since the 9th century. By 1930 this institution was in full swing again as Pokrovsky was sharply censured, his works abolished, and old-styled Russification was renewed by the Communists. The phase of the 1930's highlighted by the famous Kharkov trials, the man-made famine of 1932–33, the purges of 1937 and the Vinnitsia massacres, was, by contrast, one of terror and oppression.

It is no wonder that a full, national reaction to these inflicted experiences burst out upon the German invasion of Ukraine and the Caucasus in the early 1940's. The invasion was largely into these areas rather than Russia itself, and the story is nowhere better summarized than in the work of the German correspondent who witnessed it all. "The steady flow of Ukrainian volunteers for the German forces we ignored. * * * The millions of Ukrainians who by themselves could have turned the scales in the east, were not only being left unused, but were actually being repulsed and disillusioned. * * * Police methods were replacing the great and splendid idea of the liberation of the east. In place of national independence and freedom, the bit was being drawn tighter."[3] The consequences of this colossal German blunder were many, not least of which was the price paid by countless Ukrainians for their devotion to country and freedom. "There are many Ukrainians in the Uzbek desert towns," writes a New York Times correspondent from a recent visit there, "some of them settled forcibly there as far back as the time of the collectivization program nearly 25 years ago. Others were sent east on charges of failure to resist the Germans or Rumanians when their lands were occupied. As in the case of the Caucasian mountaineers many of the Ukrainians must have had little or no enthusiasm for what they regarded as primarily a Russian cause."[4]

The formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1942 and its heroic exploits to the present day are unparalleled in Eastern Europe. Its fight was against both Nazi German and Russian Communist totalitarianism, and by 1945, Moscow concessions were in order again, paramount among which was Stalin's support of the admission of Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. As Stalin revealed to Stettinius and others, it was done to appease the intense nationalism raging in these areas; and when some, as Senator WILEY last month, seek to reduce the votes of the U. S. S. R. on the spurious notion that these two countries are like the States of Texas and Arizona, they simply do not know what they are talking about and, worse still, are playing into the present hands of Moscow. For, after another phase of purges on the score of "bourgeois nationalism" and the non-Russian significance of the Beria case, Moscow launched at the beginning of this year upon a 6-month celebration of the Perevaslav Treaty in 1654; significantly, rewriting the history of the relations between Ukraine and

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Russia these past 300 years in terms of the former's historic struggle for national freedom and independence.[5]

FROM ASSEMBLED EVIDENCE TO INTELLIGENT ACTION

The story depicted above is in substance the story of Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Lithuania and others. It is the brutal story of Communist aggression against nations, the stark details of which form the massive evidence of this committee. "We have the story, what now?", is the proper and appropriate question that every thinking American should raise. The assembled evidence is surely not for academic purposes alone, but rather it should serve as a working basis for intelligent political action, for a sound foundation of policy. With this picture of successive and planned Communist aggression in mind any thinking person could begin to comprehend the explosive centrifuge that exists in the Russian Communist Empire. It provides weapons of political warfare and psychological success that lay at our disposal while we still have time to exploit them.

One would think that at this stage of the cold war, our Government has formulated and carefully worked out a policy toward the Soviet Union and the many nations imprisoned there. Except for our tenuous position concerning the Baltic States, there is no evidence of any such policy, no guide of action to strike at the empire within an empire. The tremendous evidence assembled by this committee stands to provide us with a policy that, as always, must be in accord with the moral and political principles of our Nation, as best expressed in our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. It stands to save us from merely drifting along, waiting to see what happens next, always passively adapting ourselves to changed circumstances contrived by a menace that is admittedly planning our destruction.

Second, this ammassed evidence serves as a bulwark of knowledge thwarting the desperate attempts of Moscow and even some professed anti-Communists with undemocratic totalitarian preconceptions to becloud, tarnish, and mutilate this true picture to the detriment of our own national interests. Some intellectuals, like Corliss Lamont and Owen Lattimore, have presented the Moscow line on the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. in its false entirety. To quote from one of Lattimore's works, "The success of the Russian policy toward minority peoples has made the Soviet Union as a whole not only a standard, but the standard of progress from the Ussuri and Amur Rivers to the Pamirs."[6] Other disinformers, even anti-Communists and usually of Russian origin, make a practice of hoodwinking officials unacquainted with the facts through deceptive semantics on the peoples of Russia, dismemberment of country (meaning, with false intent, U. S. S. R. is Russia and all therein are Russians), and other terminological twists that also appear in the Moscow line.[7] Another occupies an important post in the Voice of America, testifies regularly in this disinforming vein, and has painted the German episode in Ukraine with this semantic distortion.[8] Some prepare official documents with similar misleading semantics as national minorities, etc.[9] Still others in this county, writers, advertised as experts on Russia and communism contribute disinformingly to a distorted picture of the known story; one even unreservedly accepting and employing the official Communist concept of Homo Sovieticus.[10]

These examples of methodical disinformation, which the direct, experiential evidence gathered by your committee counters, may be easily extended, and if one were to survey at length the futile activities of the American Committee for Liberation From Bolshevism—ostensibly a private organization on which, significantly, two of the quoted experts serve—the American public would be amazed to know as to what is going on. There is good reason to believe that these activities fall in part within the jurisdiction of the assignment given Gen. Mark Clark. Moreover, if one were to inquire into the real, ultimate sources—the why— of these disinforming tactics, it would necessarily involve one in a study of institutional pathology which, fortunately, is being undertaken by students in many quarters in this country.[11]

However, to gather an essential idea of the major source of this detrimental phenomenon, no one, perhaps, portrays it more vividly and cogently than one who suffered much in treasure and kin at the hands of the Communists, namely, Alexander, Grand Duke of Russia:

"It was clear to me then, in the eventful summer of 1920, as it is now in the quieter days of 1933, that in scoring a decisive victory over the Poles the Soviet Government had done what any truly national government would have been obliged to do. However ironical it might appear that the unity of the Russian state had to be defended by the members of the Third Internationale the fact remains that from that day on the Soviets were forced to pursue a purely national policy which happens to be the age-old policy introduced by Ivan the Terrible, crystallized by Peter the Great and brought to a climax by Nicholas I: To defend the borders of the State at all costs and step by step to fight toward the neutral frontier in the west. I feel certain that my sons will live to see the day when not only the nonsense of the independent Baltic Republics will be brought to an end, but Bessarabia and Poland will be reconquered by Russia and a considerable remapping of the frontier will take place in the Far East."[12]

This totalitarian, empire complex, that has wrought so much harm and misery not only upon the conquered non-Russian peoples but also the long enslaved masses of the Russian nation, that functions as a common denominator in the political behavior of both the Russian Communists and some anti-Communists, is, on evidence, not the sole property of a monarchist like Alexander. For example, identifying Russia and the U. S. S. R., and perhaps more, Mr. Kerensky writes: "Russia, a geographical backbone of history should exist in all her strength and power no matter who or how he is ruling her. From this comes his (Millukov's) testament for us: to be on watchful guard of Russia—no matter what her name is—absolutely, unconditionally and to the last breath."[13] Another, in much of the evidence that can be cited, writes: "They (the Bolsheviks) are despots and tyrants, they are dictators and fire-spreaders; they are guilty of many crimes against the people save one: they did not dismember Russia,"[14] which in the imperialist Russian jargon means empire.

The practical importance of this assembled evidence and its effective use becomes even more clear when we think in terms of necessary political warfare and psychological advantage. Its significance is summed up in the conclusion of one of our leading political analysts who took pains to familiarize himself with much of this evidence: "Our proposal must be for the freedom of all nations: a Ukrainian has the same right to freedom as a Pole or a Russian. Only this universal interpretation, which is recommended alike by expedience and justice, will release the centrifugal energy of all the peoples of the Soviet empire, a power which if given a chance to express itself can shatter the imperial structure. It would be ludicrous to interpret the struggle against communism as a fight to preserve the Russian empire. If Russians who claim to be anti-Communists refuse to extend the goal of freedom to non-Russians, then we must wonder whose side such Russians will be on when the showdown comes."[15] With this conclusion no American can disagree: with this conclusion the full significance of the assembled evidence comes into bloom.

Finally, this assembled evidence is the factual groundwork for a sane and sound American policy of liberation toward all nations, including the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Anyone scanning this evidence cannot but leave with the disturbing thought that behind their neatly staged facade of "peaceful coexistence," a colossal bluff now being perpetrated upon the free world, the Communists are busily engaged consolidating their empire, chiefly through the medium of systematic national genocide. In their calculus of world conquest, this genocidal consolidation is primary and basic. With millions of human robots at its disposal, Moscow will have achieved its psychological basis of a reasonable expectation of success in this calculus. Given the initial advantage of attack, it does not even have to regard the second essential variable in the calculus, namely, quantitative superiority in arms, as an indispensable requisite for such expectation; although, with concentrated specialization, it may easily obtain it, both absolutely and relatively, as we are forced to dissipate our resources in sideshows. The third basic variable, its fear of retaliation, will then be inversely related to its estimated ability to create regionalized Pearl Harbors. By allowing the first and dangerously gambling through unprincipled containment on the second variable, we are contributing heavily to their lessened fear of the third variable and to the prospect of a third world war.

Time, to achieve this consolidation, favors Moscow, not the free world. In 1952 both political parties in this country repudiated and disclaimed the policy of containment. Yet this policy is in effect today, allowing the time for Moscow to consolidate and form its springboard for world conquest. Only through a policy of liberation—the real and practical alternative to preventive war, the Soviet-inspired myth of peaceful coexistence and myopic containment—can we obstruct this consolidation for war, sustain the sources of enlightened nationalism and patriotic resistance throughout the Soviet Empire, enhance the insecurity of Moscow within its own imperial realm, and thereby maximize the chance against a global conflict. Once the ultimate Communist calculus of world conquest is understood, little comfort can be taken in the knowledge that we are equipped to retaliate with material power. Moscow possesses such power, too, and may substantially reduce our sources of retaliation. To follow the present policy means to lose the strength and power of our natural allies behind the Iron Curtain and to dangerously expose ourselves to the prospect of defeat in the event of a showdown, no matter how closely bound we may be to our allies in the free world.

The American public has every right to know why, in view of the stand taken in 1952, our Government still pursues the self-defeating policy of containment. It should be given every opportunity to read and study the evidence accumulated by this committee. It should also have the opportunity to ponder and act upon the preliminary recommendations of the committee. Although there is a tactical question concerning its recommendation on the withdrawal of American diplomatic representatives from behind the Iron Curtain, these proposals are girded to fact and evidence as concerns communism in practice rather than hollow theory and

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

are thoroughly in the tradition of our moral and political principles. The basic question is: Are we as a nation prepared to trade for a few illusory moments of "peace" under the bluff of peaceful coexistence at the long-range risk of grave disadvantage in possible war, even at the risk of our defeat as a nation? This investigating committee, on the basis of its accumulated evidence, can render only one rationally possible verdict.

---

[1] Second Interim Report, Select Committee on Communist Aggression, August 9, 1954.

[2] V. I. Lenin, The Right of Nations to Self-Determination, International Publishers, New York, p. 83.

[3] Erich Kern, The Dance of Death.

[4] Harrison E. Salisbury, New York Times, September 28, 1954.

[5] Theses on the Tercentenary of the Reunion of Ukraine with Russia, 1654–1954, Tass, U. S. S. R. Home Service, January 13, 1954.

[6] Compass of the World, 1944, p. 391.

[7] Strategy and Tactics of World Communism, hearings, Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, May 18, 1954 (p. 6); June 10–17, 1954 (pp. 121–157).

[8] Overseas Information Program of the United States, hearings, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, p. 1455.

[9] Tensions Within the Soviet Union, Senate Document 69, pp. 42–50.

[10] Eugene Lyons, e. g., Acheson's Gift to Stalin, the Freeman, August 27, 1951: I. Levine, e. g., A Weapon for the West, Life, March 23, 1953.

[11] E. g., Dinko Tomasic, the Impact of Russian Culture and Soviet Communism, 1954.

[12] Always a Grand Duke, 1933, pp. 129–130.

[13] Miliukov, Novy Zhurnal, No. V, 1943.

[14] R. Abramovich, Socialisticheski Vestnik, New York, Nos. 1–2, 1950.

[15] James Burnham, Containment or Liberation? New York, 1953, p. 236.

Our Ambassador to Italy Proves an Effective Force Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a news article by the Associated Press which appeared in the Bridgeport (Conn.) Post, an article which underscores graphically the splendid, realistic job that the United States Ambassador to Italy is doing to help swing the balance against Communist inroads in that traditionally friendly and historically strategic country.

We are all familiar with, and grateful for, the statesmanlike role Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce played in helping effect a solution to the difficult Trieste situation, which was, until its settlement, recognized as a powder-keg of tension and potential disaster to the Free World.

This Associated Press article reflects another facet of her determined and sagacious conduct in the interests of United States and Free World welfare. It show how she has insisted on measures that will militate against the inroads of communism in the life of Italy. It demonstrates astute understanding of the complex problems facing our envoys overseas—the perpetuation of help to our friends but the firm insistence that no crumbs of benefit fall to the enemy of all free peoples everywhere—international communism.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to insert in the RECORD this eloquent testimony to the dynamic, sensitive work of our Ambassador to Italy, and I am especially proud to call attention to this exemplary statesmanship because she is a resident of the district I have the honor to represent and is a former Member of this great assembly.

The article follows:

MRS. LUCE'S POLICY HURTS REDS IN ITALIAN FACTORIES

ROME, December 26.—A United States policy of no aid contracts for factories dominated by Red workers is hitting Italian communism where it hurts.

More and more the men at the benches are voting for non-Communist representatives in shop elections. They want work—and Uncle Sam is handing out no offshore procurement contracts where the Communist-controlled Italian Federation of Labor is in the saddle.

United States Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce pioneered this get-tough policy 4 months ago. She ordered an $18-million ammunition contract canceled after Communists gained strength among workers of the Officina Vittorio Meccanica, near Milan.

Two months later, to prove that the United States meant business, a second contract was withdrawn at Palermo, Sicily. For $7,528,000, this order would have provided Italy with a new 1,500-ton destroyer escort at American expense. Cancellation came after factory workers increased the Communist majority on the factory committee even after the United States order.

LEADER WORRIED

Prime Minister Mario Scelba is a Sicilian, and his Christian Democratic government is worried about Communist gains on the island. Neither wanted unemployment. As a result, Italy blunted the moral impact of the American cancellation by letting a big contract to the Palermo shipyard.

Nevertheless, word got around among Italian workers fast.

Ever since World War II the Communists have controlled the Italian Federation of Labor (CGIL), which claims 3½ million members. This is nearly double the membership in anti-Communist labor groups.

The Communists have been able to wield their strength by electing Communist-controlled workers' commissions in the factories. Shop stewards and union officials chosen for office were handpicked from the Italian Communist Party, which has 2 million members and is the largest outside the Iron Curtain.

Now the workers know there will be no offshore procurement orders for factories whose workers vote these Communist commissions and union officials into office.

United States officials report that since Mrs. Luce's crackdown factory elections have been running strongly anti-Communist. Anti-Communists have won even in many former Communist strongholds, they say.

Only last week there was a dramatic example. Fiat's big "Avio" aviation parts plant near Turin had a Communist-controlled worker's commission in the past. Last week the workers voted again—1,920 against the Communists and only 77 for them. The Reds failed to win a single seat on the 20-member commission.

TO PROTECT CONTRACTS

Experts concede that a man might vote for a non-Communist factory council in self-interest, to protect the contracts which keep him employed, while still voting Communist in national elections.

But they say once Communist discipline is broken, the tendency is for workers to swing away from the Communists in more and more ways. Many voted for the Communists because they believed Red-led unions were the most militant defenders of their economic interests. Now that the workers see their economic self-interest lies elsewhere, according to this line of reasoning, there should be a growing trend away from communism among them.

Behind the scenes, the United States is quietly trying to assist this shift by persuading Italian employers that improved treatment of workers, as well as more workers' benefits, will bring increased production and cut Communist strength.

Italian industry is notorious in Europe for backward labor practices, although there are such bright spots as the Olivetti company. In the last 2 years, under quiet American pressure, such firms as Fiat have stepped up workers' benefits and improved labor relations.

Mrs. Luce also authored this affirmative policy. Firms with good labor relations and practices are more likely to get United States aid contracts than others. Knowing this, the smart industrialists are getting their labor practices into line.

The results in employee goodwill is beginning to show gradually—and that, too, means fewer Communist workers in Italy.

A Bill To Have the Members of the House of Representatives Recite the Pledge of Allegiance on Flag Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, during the 83d Congress, you will recall that my bill, House Joint Resolution 243, to include the words "under God" in the pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, received unanimous approval and it is now Public Law 396, signed by the President on Flag Day, June 14, 1954. Yesterday, I introduced a House resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives by inserting after "First. Prayer by the Chaplain" the following: ", pledge of allegiance to the flag by the Members," led by the Speaker, to be recited annually, when the House is in session on Flag Day, June 14.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Congress Charts a New Course for Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, on December 15 I had the honor of delivering an address at the annual convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation in New York City. I ask unanimous consent that my address be incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS CHARTS A NEW COURSE FOR AGRICULTURE

(Address by Hon. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, of Florida)

I am happy, indeed, to be the guest of the American Farm Bureau Federation and to appear on your program today. I was sorry that I was forced, by a very bad throat, to cancel my visit with you at Chicago last year. I count it a very special courtesy that you have invited me a second time.

My association with your splendid organization has been, to me, a succession of pleasant and helpful experiences. At the national level I have found my own thinking on agricultural legislation, in most instances, in quite close accord with your official positions, and I have frequently sought and obtained valuable assistance from the members of your exceedingly capable Washington staff. When you have not agreed with me you have always been courteous and tolerant.

On the State level there is no other organization besides the Florida Farm Bureau which contains strong representation from all branches of our highly diversified Florida agriculture, and which can therefore speak with such authority for the agricultural groups in our State as a whole. In my opinion your approach to all questions, both National and State, has been both constructive and well informed, and I look forward to a permanent continuance of my friendly association with you.

I am glad, too, that my appearance today happens to be at the same time as your visit from the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson. I feel that Mr. Benson has rendered very great service to American agriculture and that his leadership has been fundamentally in the right direction. The sooner we all realize that agricultural problems are economic problems of great national importance and that they may never be dealt with upon any narrow partisan basis, the better it will be for American agriculture and for the American people. In my judgment, Secretary Benson's approach has been courageous and essentially nonpartisan, and I think that Congress has been similarly broad in its reaction. Both Houses of Congress have given Mr. Benson bipartisan support, which is as it should be.

A noted speaker once said that no greater misfortune could befall any speaker than to be on a program where everybody present knows more about his subject than he does, yet that is precisely the situation in which I find myself. I shall hope, however, that my point of view, as a legislator, may contribute some small new light upon the problems of American agriculture—my subject being "Congress Charts a New Course for Agriculture."

The 83d Congress, during its 2 years, 1953 and 1954, has probably passed more legislation than any earlier Congress which vitally affects agriculture. It is timely to analyze this mass of new legislation to determine what has been the general philosophy of this Congress in enacting laws for agriculture. I shall leave for later discussion the price-support programs, which are included in the Agriculture Act of 1954, the most important single law passed by us. At this time I shall mention three general fields of legislation which the 83d Congress evidently regarded as of great importance to agriculture.

1. EMPHASIS ON INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

It is quite clear that the Congress placed much emphasis on the responsibility of the individual farmer and made available additional tools which farmers can use, either individually or collectively, in solving their own problems relating to the production of their crops or to the distribution of their crops in the American market.

The Water Facilities Act, for instance, was expanded and enlarged so as to apply to all areas of the Nation, rather than simply to the arid and semiarid States of the West as heretofore. This legislation will enable and encourage the expansion of conservation practices and improved use of soil and water throughout the Nation by allowing substantial loans to any individual farmer or rancher for water facilities and general conservation development, and much larger loans to associations of farmers. The extended Water Facilities Act also sets up a new program under which, in addition to direct Government loans, many loans for these same purposes may be insured by the Government, thus making commercial loans much easier to obtain. This act should be of great importance everywhere, but particularly in drought areas or where reclamation or drainage is under way.

A second act which creates new tools for the use of farm producers is the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act. Its purpose is to recognize the fact that the Federal Government has an interest, in the upper watersheds of streams, in doing those things that go beyond ordinary soil-conservation practices which already receive some repayment out of Federal funds. As to those things which require collective action, such as the building of dams over the upper steams, where the question is not one of direct flood control, navigation, or waterpower, this act makes it possible to bring about better practices above the dams and improved conditions downstream. This act requires an integrated community approach to the development of small watersheds. The Federal Government participates in the planning and the cost, but the work is done and the project administered by the local soil conservation district or some similar public body, which must also have State approval.

A third new measure, which gives added encouragement to the adoption of conservation practices by farmers, is a section of the general tax revision law under which, for the first time, an income-tax deduction is permitted to the farmer for his reasonable cost of conservation practices up to 25 percent of his gross income.

Additional tools are also given to various groups of producers by two interesting amendments of the law relating to marketing agreements and orders. In the case of grapefruit producers, the law was changed so as to permit the bringing of grapefruit for canning within the terms of a marketing agreement which formerly could only control grapefruit consumed as fresh fruit. If used, this provision will afford an interesting test of whether or not two-thirds of the producers of the fruit, who are equally interested in the sales price of their raw product, regardless of whether it is to reach the consumer in fresh form or in cans, may, with half of the canners joining them, bring to an end a situation under which their processed fruit has sometimes brought them only salvage prices.

Another interesting change in the Marketing Agreement Act, which is applicable in the case of tomatoes, Irish potatoes, avocados, grapefruit and other fruits and vegetables which meet with direct competition from fresh foreign imports, should make the marketing agreements and orders much more useful by applying to imported competitive products the same standards of grade, size, quality and maturity which the marketing agreements impose on the domestic products.

Still another change in the law which makes the farmers much more the masters of their own destiny than heretofore is that by which the Farm Credit Administration is taken out of the Department of Agriculture and made an independent agency governed by a board of 13 members, of whom 12 are named from lists nominated by the farmers who make up the various regional farm credit organizations.

To close on this point, it seems clear to me that the changes in law which I have mentioned, and others which were enacted by the 83d Congress, greatly accentuate both the responsibility and the opportunity of farmers to handle their own problems and also greatly increase the effectiveness of the various helpful tools and devices which are given to them by Federal law.

2. EXPANSION OF RESEARCH

I am sure that every American farmer knows that not only the 83d Congress, but also the present national administration, has placed great emphasis on the expansion of agricultural research and education. This step is in complete accord with the recognition of greater individual responsibility for the farmers, as already mentioned, and is the best method of developing new information which, when passed on to individual farmers, should enable them to produce more economically, more abundantly, and in higher quality, thus giving them increased opportunity to solve their own problems. The plan of reorganization for the Department of Agriculture which was developed by the present administration and approved by Congress combines into one major division—called the Agricultural Research Service—the many agricultural research activities which had been scattered through various divisions under the earlier hodgepodge organization. The fixing of responsibility in one place, as well as the assignment of major importance to the Research Service, properly reflect added emphasis upon the benefits of research as

well as upon the educational process by which the new information is communicated to the farmers.

To keep in step with the increased emphasis given to research activities, the Congress appropriated for the current fiscal year 1955 increased funds for research in the amount of $12,311,000 above fiscal year 1954, much of which is for expanded work in the State experiment stations, and also increased funds for education in the amount of $8,248,000, most of which goes to the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service, making a total Federal increase of more than $20½ million for research and education above the amounts appropriated for last year.

In a further effort to assist the Department of Agriculture in the field of research, a bill was passed in the second session of the 83d Congress which authorized the Department of Agriculture to contract with private persons and agencies for production research, which relates to growing crops in the fields, plant diseases, etc. The Department had already been authorized in the Research and Marketing Act of 1946 to contract for utilization and marketing research and presently is contracting approximately $1,700,000 in this research, and now that the contract authority is extended to include production research, the amount of contracted research should increase substantially to the benefit of all agriculture.

It is my feeling that the important new emphasis which has been placed on research activities by the 83d Congress will be further expanded in the future, since the benefits of research have been so pronounced in the past, and since there can be no possible question as to the propriety of organizing, operating, and financing increased research activities by Government. Individual farmers and even groups of farmers are rarely in position to handle research programs adequately, and it is inconceivable to me that there should be any difference of opinion on the fact that we are on sound ground in enlarging the research program for the Federal Government, as well as in its cooperation with the several States, and in expanding the educational machinery by which the benefits of research may be promptly communicated to individual farmers so that they may make effective use of new and valuable information. This, then, is but another important method by which farmers are enabled to help themselves.

3. EXPANSION OF FOREIGN MARKETS FOR FARM PRODUCTS

One of the most important fields of new legislation enacted by the 83d Congress is that of expanding the use of our agricultural products in foreign markets. Agriculture has been acutely conscious of the fact that the major part of the loss in the export trade of our Nation in recent years has fallen on agriculture, despite the fact that many friendly peoples have actual need of our products.

One important accomplishment was the transfer of agricultural attachés in our foreign Embassies from the State Department to the Department of Agriculture. We have had many disappointing experiences in recent years growing out of the fact that the agricultural attachés have been completely controlled by the Department of State. It is, of course, true that the State Department is unfamiliar with agricultural problems and that it has the heavy burden of handling many problems which relate directly to its primary field of foreign diplomatic relations. Nevertheless, our agricultural people have been keenly disappointed that they have been unable to take advantage of promising openings in foreign markets, particularly for the greater export of perishable commodities. Now it will be possible, I hope, for such matters to receive prompt and sympathetic handling by persons experienced in agricultural trade, and I am confident that our foreign markets will be enlarged thereby.

There are now 59 agricultural attachés assigned to 44 posts in 42 countries. They will continue to be stationed at our Embassies, but their activities will be reported directly to the Department of Agriculture, and they will devote their full time to representing United States agriculture. I am sorry to hear that already there is some indication that State Department redtape is reappearing, and I think we should be most diligent to prevent the thwarting of the completely clear intent of Congress in this matter.

The extension of the International Wheat Agreement and the inclusion in the new Mutual Security Act of 1954 of a provision earmarking $350 million to finance the export and sale of surplus agricultural products both constitute important machinery for the disposal abroad of substantial additional amounts of American wheat and other American farm products.

Perhaps the major effort of the 83d Congress, however, in the field of expansion of foreign markets was the enactment of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, which makes available for a 3-year period the sum of $1 billion for the expansion of foreign use of our agricultural products. Of this, $700 million is provided to expedite the acceptance of foreign currency for our products by allowing the Federal Government to absorb the difference in exchange, a factor which has heretofore discouraged the sale of our farm products to foreign nations whose currencies were softer than ours. A major difficulty we have experienced heretofore has been not to find markets, but to absorb the loss required by unfavorable exchange rates.

To a certain degree, this large sum will represent a new subsidy of our foreign agricultural exports, but much of the investment will not be lost in view of the fact that we have need for foreign exchange in connection with the maintenance of our military forces, our embassies, and other activities in many friendly foreign nations and also in the purchase of needed strategic materials. And so we have strong hope that this Federal financing of $700 million to increase the use of agricultural commodities for export will enable our Nation to sell more of its surpluses and our private traders to trade more effectively with foreign nations by allowing the Federal Government to absorb the loss resulting from unfavorable exchange rates.

I am happy to report that the Department of Agriculture is pushing this program and, with the cooperation of the State Department, is now negotiating with various nations under the authority of this law. In November it was announced that Turkey was the first to sign a surplus disposal commodity agreement, which provided for Turkey to take $35½ million of our surplus wheat and feed grains. At about the same time the Department announced the details of a $85 million surplus commodity program for Japan. I hear that similar negotiations are nearing completion with Pakistan and Yugoslavia.

The remaining $300 million under the Agricultural Trade Development Act, available, also, for the next 3 years, will permit the President to use our own surplus commodities in said amount in doing errands of mercy, or of strategic national importance, such as those which we have done in East Germany, Pakistan, and India. The President may donate commodities from our overabundance if he determines that such will alleviate human suffering, or will serve our cause in our worldwide conflict with communism.

Still another program coming out of the 83d Congress may not have been noticed by you. We made an appropriation of $5 million at the request of the President, which is to be used to give our agricultural and other industries the opportunity to exhibit in trade fairs all over the world in an effort to show foreign purchasers what great things are being accomplished through American genius. In his message, the President stated that he hoped to go into not less than 30 of the 75 great trade fairs which are to be held this year. Our Florida delegation has asked for processed citrus to be represented in these fairs because we are proud of the progress which we have made in citrus processing and want our achievements to be better understood by the rest of the world. I am sure that there are similar values in various other industries represented by this great group of producers which would justify exhibits in other lands so that the people there may be more impressed by the fact that free men know how to get things done.

Then, too, our program is expanding for the export of agricultural products through the payment of subsidies from section 32 funds. I shall not enlarge upon this subject, but will say that large sums of money are still available for such use and that they are being helpfully utilized in greater measure than heretofore.

I am sure that all of you recognize that the very large program for the expansion of our exports of agricultural products, which is covered by the measures which I have mentioned and by other acts of the Congress, represents an aggressive and extremely worthwhile effort through which the Nation should enlarge its disposal of surplus commodities acquired under its price-support programs, and at the same time private initiative will be encouraged, through the use of these new tools, to vastly enlarge its activities in foreign markets. It seems self-evident that much further expansion in this field must be accomplished in the future. The furnishing of more food and other farm products to the people of other nations not only serves a good domestic purpose, but it also enhances our standing abroad, since there is no doubt whatever that millions of people within our sphere of influence badly need the food and other values which flow from our agricultural abundance.

OUR PRICE-SUPPORT PROGRAMS

The principal agricultural measure enacted during the 83d Congress is, of course, the new general price-support law, known as the Agriculture Act of 1954, which, in my opinion, could not have been passed without the vigorous support of your fine organization. I strongly commend your leaders and particularly your president, Mr. Kline, and your legislative counsel, Mr. Woolley, for the strong and effective support which you gave this legislation.

Except for the production of sugar, by producers of both beets and sugarcane, this act, taken in conjunction with the Anderson Act of 1949, which it amends and supplements, covers all agricultural production throughout the Nation, and is therefore of very great importance to agriculture as a whole, to those industries which supply agriculture, or handle or process agricultural products, and to the general public. This act is the most exhaustive effort to accomplish stabilization of agriculture in time of peace that has ever been enacted by any Congress.

So many different devices and formulas for different branches of agriculture are set up by the act that I can make only brief reference to those programs which apply to the principal agricultural groups. I mention first the program for wool, under which production payments are authorized at a rate not to exceed 110 percent of parity. Since wool is a storable product, of high strategic importance, and since we produce only a fraction of what we need for our own use, this wool program must be strongly differentiated from the other programs which deal with major crops which are already in surplus production or could quickly become in surplus. As to wool alone, we are endeavoring to substantially increase our domestic production.

In the case of only one of the so-called basic crops, tobacco, was the high rigid price support of 90 percent continued as embraced in earlier law. There are compelling reasons for this distinction between tobacco and the other basic crops, chief of which is that tobacco has become such an important crop from the standpoint of the vast public revenue from excise taxes which it makes available to the Federal Government, the States, and the municipalities. It is now a matter of important national concern that a fairly constant level of tobacco production shall continue without heavy surplus or deficit, and that the producers of tobacco shall have a stable economy so that there will be minimum fluctuation of the volume of tobacco production. You know, I am sure, that the annual tax revenue derived from tobacco is about $2¼ billion, which is about equal to the farm price for a bumper crop of wheat. The 83d Congress increased the penalty for the overplanting of tobacco, but otherwise left the 90 percent rigid price support structure undisturbed, with all of its regulations and controls.

In the case of the other five basic commodities, wheat, cotton, corn, rice, and peanuts, the rigid 90 percent price support program was replaced by a flexible support base, which is at the rate of 82½ to 90 percent of parity for 1955 and 75 to 90 percent in subsequent years.

Of course this return to a flexible price support base was the issue which produced the heaviest controversy, and which also proved to be most highly emotional. I cannot at this time discuss in detail this grave issue, with which I am sure most of you are completely familiar. Suffice it to say that until World War II flexible price supports had been regarded as the proper and most helpful approach. The 1938 law, which was the most generous peacetime law on the books, prescribed a support program at from 52 to 75 percent of parity. The 90 percent rigid price support program was a war device which was designed to greatly increase production to meet war needs, and which accomplished that end.

When extended into peacetime, the high rigid price support program continued this greatly increased production, which rapidly created large surpluses in the hands of the Government. The losses sustained by the Government in connection with these surpluses became heavy and even greater losses were impending. The warehouse expense to the Government for storing surpluses reached about three-quarters of a million dollars a day. The confidence of the general public and of large segments of agriculture which produce nonbasic supported crops or unsupported crops was also greatly impaired, and dangerous divisions appeared among agricultural leaders and groups.

It seemed clear to me and apparently to the majority of Congress that restoration of a peacetime flexible price support program had become of primary importance, from the points of view of protecting agriculture itself and of being fair to the general public. A flexible price support program had been voted by Congress in 1948 and again in 1949, but its effect had been postponed in recent years. Furthermore, the measure which we enacted this year has for its minimum or floor rate 75 percent of parity, which was the ceiling or highest rate under the 1938 law. It seems to me that this fact alone increases the inducement to farmers to reasonably control their production rather than to continue excessive production in order to sell their products to Uncle Sam.

Three other features in the new law were of maximum effect in their application to these five basic commodities, though they also apply to other crops. These three features are, first, the gradual transfer to modernized parity so as to bring the computation to the immediate past rather than to leave it in the unrealistic, remote past, under which it had generally been based on prices obtaining from 1910 to 1914; second, the provision for so-called set-asides which operate to remove substantial quantities of the surpluses from consideration in figuring the current carryover of supplies for price support purposes; and third, the provision for control of acreage which will be diverted from the excessive amounts of land which were being used in the production of the surplus crops, particularly wheat, corn, and cotton. It is obvious. I think, that these three major provisions in the new law were designed to make the law more reasonable, to cushion the impact of the application of the flexible price support structure to the five basic crops which were affected, and to give greater protection to that vast number of agricultural producers who do not produce either the basic crops or any other price-supported commodity. In passing, I think it is necessary that we shall always remember that the value of the five basic crops now affected by the flexible program is less than 20 percent—less than one-fifth—of the total value of our national agricultural production.

It is obvious that the flexible program will allow, at least in part, for essential differences among the several basic crops which were not being recognized under the rigid price support program, and this is highly important. Each basic commodity has peculiar characteristics or unique competition which sets it apart from other basics and from other crops in general, and require for it a distinctive support program. To some extent flexible price supports should allow for these differences. Flexible supports should also greatly increase the responsibility of farm groups which produce basic crops to better adjust their production to the needs of the market and to bring to an end the recent excessive production and dumping on the Federal Government which has given the whole price-support program a black eye and has threatened its very existence.

Many hours could be spent in discussing details of price support for milk and milk products, which presented one of our most perplexing problems. These commodities were not price-supported until wartime, but thereafter the 90-percent support rate was allowed them for some years even though they did not come within the basics, nor within any group on which a rigid 90-percent support was ever contemplated. Milk products are, in some respects, much like Irish potatoes and eggs, on both of which price-support programs proved to be so expensive, so wasteful and so indefensible that those programs were abolished.

Dairy products present a spotty problem, existing on a large scale in relatively few areas where generally local production greatly exceeds the demands of nearby milksheds. This problem pertains to an industry which has not done, for itself, anything like what it should do in decreasing costs, in research, in better distribution and marketing, in diversification, in advertising and in increasing good will and average consumption. Too frequently dairying has played second fiddle to its processors.

And yet the dairy industry presents a very large public problem, vitally affecting many thousands of good people and numerous splendid communities. It received much attention from this last Congress and certainly will receive much attention in the future. The reactions of prices in the industry to the 75 percent price figure which I think was correctly applied by Secretary Benson under the law will be awaited with anxiety. The Congress did not, in this field, change the support setup under the old law because of our feeling that the old provision fairly gives to dairying its full recognition as compared with other price-supported agricultural industries.

As you know we did enact several helpful additions to the dairy products program, apart from direct supports. And we likewise required an intensive study of dairy problems by the Secretary of Agriculture and his report and recommendation of the best available support program, or alternative programs, by January 3, 1955, which is next month.

Frankness compels me to say that many in Congress favor the entire abolition of price support for dairying—just as was true earlier in the case of Irish potatoes and eggs. There is certainly much public sentiment to that effect. I personally feel that more than any other industry covered by the 1954 law, dairying must show greater alertness, as well as greater willingness and ability to help solve its own problems than it has yet manifested. I shall hope strongly to see indications of such an attitude in the near future, and I congratulate the dairy industry on the good beginning which it is now making.

I regret that time is lacking to discuss the various other programs for price support which are embraced in the new law. Suffice it to say that this new law, together with the Sugar Act, will afford many oportunities for comparison and contrast of differing types of price-support programs, some directly fixed by law and some growing out of the administration of the law by the Department of Agriculture. I am sure that additional progress is possible, which will be reflected in subsequent legislation or changed administrative handling or both. In summary there are certain observations which I wish to make on this vastly important field.

First, products under the flexible program for both basics and nonbasics are not barred by the new law from having 90 percent price support, but to the contrary such support is within reach, if the producers use such cooperation and restraint in production as to prevent the accumulation of disturbing surpluses. I hope that we may never lose sight of this open invitation to agriculture to cooperate more fully with Government as a good partner.

Second, though there are very great differences of opinion in this controversial field of price support, I hope that they may not bring about any further postponement of the use of the flexible price support provisions. It is manifestly in the Nation's interest that a full and fair trial be given to the flexible program, as well as to all the other programs, so that we may have a clear comparison of results upon which to base future decisions. I shall strongly insist upon such a full and fair trial. No one contends for a moment that we have yet attained perfection.

Third, every emphasis must be placed on confining Government controls and regimentation to a minimum and leaving the producer the maximum amount of freedom of action, always assigning greatest importance to his willingness to use restraint and self-discipline. In every program and for the overall effort, no unnecessary curbs must be placed on private initiative and on the opportunities for practical and scientific advancement by the development of more economical production methods, improved products, wider consumer demand, new uses of products, better distribution and selling and every other improvement which can be attained in the American way by keen and ambitious producers. A frozen or static agricultural industry cannot long remain prosperous. We must not forget that for many farm commodities high prosperity already prevails, despite the absence of price support or regimentation. It is my hope that as a result of the great and varied effort which will be under way, and the numerous contrasts and comparisons which will be available, agriculture will be assisted to make tremendous and permanent advances, but al-

ways by leaving to the individual farmers a high degree of private initiative.

At this point, I want to say that regardless of strong differences of opinion which led our Senate Committee on Agriculture to divide, for instance, on an 8 to 7 basis on the flexible price-support program, I recognize that all members of our committee are sincerely devoted to the cause of agricultural producers and are equally anxious to work out the best possible program for a stabilized and prosperous agriculture. I am sure that this same observation applies generally to Congress as a whole, to the personnel of the Department of Agriculture, and to all of the interested producing groups throughout the Nation.

Surely by the combined efforts of all of us, and by taking full advantage of all of the new facts which will be developed in the many and varied programs which will be under way, we shall be able to come up with answers which will bring sound permanent conditions for agriculture, which will be wholly compatible with American traditions.

Historically, American agriculture has always been one of the strongest bulwarks and one of the proudest illustrations of what the American system of private enterprise can accomplish. I strongly hope, and I deeply feel, that it must always remain such a bulwark and such an illustration. It is my unyielding conviction that only in this way can agriculture continue to make its maximum contribution to our great American experiment in self-government.

The Heritage of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Pennsylvania Society of New York, which is the oldest and largest State society in America, held its 55th annual dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, on December 11, 1954.

Each year the society awards its Distinguished Service Medal to an outstanding American in recognition of notable achievement. This year it was conferred upon Maj. Gen. Richard K. Mellon, of Pittsburgh, Pa., for his brilliant leadership in civic, business, and military affairs.

The presentation was ably and eloquently made by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Honorable George M. Humphrey. It was accepted by the distinguished recipient in a manner which truly exemplified his humility and sincerity as a real American, serving in the ranks, regardless of his great attainments.

The address of the evening was delivered by Robert T. McCracken, Esq., of Philadelphia, chairman of the board of trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, and a distinguished lawyer. His eloquent address was received with exceptional enthusiasm. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. McCracken's remarks on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, when your president asked me to speak to you this evening I inquired from him what I should talk about. He replied "about 15 minutes." That is all the help I got from him. So in thinking the matter over it occurred to me that it might not be amiss to talk to the members of the Pennsylvania Society a little about the State of Pennsylvania. For if there is any gathering in the United States before which a native son of that great Commonwealth might do a little justifiable boasting it is this magnificent assembly.

This, by the way, is a practice rarely adopted by the citizens of Pennsylvania. Indeed, I approach it with considerable timidity in the presence of the distinguished gentleman from our sister State of Ohio, a State well known as the mother of Presidents and of outstanding Cabinet officers. Yet it is a practice not unknown to the proud denizens of some other parts of the country. For many years it has been quietly self-assertive in New England; delightfully superior in New York; stubbornly tenacious in Virginia and South Carolina; trumpeted to the sky in Illinois and points west. There is still no lack of it in California, and it is to be encountered without difficulty in what is still called by the loyal citizens thereof the Republic of Texas. But somehow it is rarely exhibited by Pennsylvanians. Rather we are prone to belittle our heritage, or at least not to dwell upon it, and to deprecate whenever we refer to our present situation.

That this is unjust, unfair, and stupid in the extreme, any student of American history and of American economy will instantly proclaim. To begin with, the founding of Pennsylvania, or rather the delay in its discovery, was almost a miracle. It was the next to the last of the Thirteen Colonies to be settled. New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, were all more or less thriving communities when, in 1681, William Penn persuaded the King to grant him the province of Penn's Woods in payment of a debt owed by the King to his father. And what a province it was. The mystery is that it had been so long overlooked. Bounded by two great rivers and bisected by a third, affording a port on the Atlantic and one leading to the Gulf of Mexico, and with a direct port on the Great Lakes, its commercial potentialities were apparent from the beginning. Of a temperate climate and with a soil so rich that some of its counties are still, after 250 years of cultivation, the most productive agricultural districts of the Nation. Crossed by two mountain ranges which shelter much of it from the destructive winds and devastating storms coming down from the northwest, it presents, among those forest-covered uplands, some of the finest natural scenery in the East. And how could even this far-sighted Quaker have guessed that, hidden in those very mountains, were almost unlimited deposits of coal, of iron, and of oil, the three dominating elements of a future economy, which placed the State in the forefront of American production from the moment their use was discovered, and which caused the settlement and growth of populous cities and thriving communities throughout its length and breadth. No wonder that the First and Second Continental Congresses met in Philadelphia, to forge the Declaration of Independence; that the Convention assembled there to draft the Constitution; that Philadelphia became the first Capital of the young Republic; that it was at the time second in population only to London among the English-speaking cities of the world.

Moreover, our State is possessed of another heritage—a thing more subtle, more delicate, yet in its own way quite as influential as those factors which I have just referred. Pennsylvania was founded by a great gentleman. In mentioning this I do not mean to detract for an instant from the rugged virtues, the dauntless courage, or the indomitable energy of the settlers of other colonies. They built staunchly and well, and their spirit did much to make America. Nor were those qualities wanting in the settlers of Pennsylvania. They were present in full measure in the English and Welsh Quakers, the Germans from the Palatinate, the Scotch-Irish from Ulster. But the province of Pennsylvania was almost unique in that its proprietor was a cultivated English gentleman, with all that term implied in the seventeenth century—a friend of two kings and of many of the noblemen of the realm; endowed with an appreciation of the art of gracious living, of a liberal education, a tolerant spirit, a broad vision. These qualities were immediately apparent in the establishment of the way of life in his "greene country town" of Philadelphia. In point of fact, it is said to have been the first town in the world to be consciously and systematically planned, with its long straight streets running north and south, east and west, its generous gardens, its open squares, its sedate brick houses.

Not satisfied with this, Penn went up the Delaware, chose a favorite site, and built for his own residence the stately mansion of Pennsbury, which became the prototype for the countless dignified and comfortable country houses now to be found in every section of the Commonwealth. Here he lived in state, like an English squire in the midland counties, entertaining lavishly, yet without estentation; enjoying his life in his own domain. The house still stands, recently reconstructed and refurbished, and a journey to it is well worth the time and the very slight effort involved.

Of course, the primary and most significant characteristic of the young colony was the civil and religious freedom which Penn's charter proclaimed and which was from the first consistently observed. Hither came settlers from all parts, worshiping God in many diverse fashions, yet all welcome and free to obey the dictates of their own conscience. Small wonder, then, that Pennsylvania attracted men of unusual attainments—that it became the cultural center of the Colonies and the new Nation. Foremost among them was a young Bostonian, Benjamin Franklin by name, who arrived in Philadelphia scarcely more than 20 years after Penn's departure. He came as a runaway apprentice, and he remained to become the first citizen of the province and one of the most remarkable and influential men of all time. And there were many others, men whose influence in the early years of the Nation was profound.

Such was the beginning of this remarkable colony. It was the brightest jewel of the crown. It still is. What other State possesses so great a wealth of natural resources? In what other State are to be found so many productive communities? Or so extensive a system of forest parks, teeming with game of every species? Or so many institutions of higher learning, extending their influence throughout the land?

As I said a few moments ago, we are a modest people, we citizens of the Keystone State; we rarely boast, but instinctively we value our heritage. At least, we desire to retain and enjoy it. Few of us migrate. True, some of the bolder spirits have found their way over here to Manhattan in search of high adventure. They were among the founders of this society, and they preserve it in its full vigor today. But, by and large, we are content with what we have, for, indeed, we have so much. We have neither the golden canyons of lower Manhattan nor the Golden Gate of San Francisco, but we do have the Golden Triangle of Pittsburgh, and we have the rolling hills of Montgomery and Chester Counties; the pleasant watered

valleys of the Brandywine country, where fox hunting still flourishes in all its glory; the rich soil and the bursting barns of Lancaster County and the Cumberland Valley; the wild grandeur of the Alleghenies and the counties of the northern tier; the stately Old World aspect of the countryside of the Delaware and Schuylkill Valleys. Once again the many streams, long the carriers of waste and pollution, are pure, sparkling, transparent, and the natural habitat of trout and bass. Still there is more game for the hunter than in any other State in the Union. Now, more than ever before, a network of perfect highways beckons to the traveler, and does not beckon in vain. In few other communities are the joys of healthy outdoor life so emphasized. Still the amenities of gracious living are observed, hospitality is generous, the arts appreciated and cultivated, culture encouraged and honored. We have a priceless heritage, a heritage to be cherished and preserved.

Perhaps the most generous acclaim which this great State has ever received from a foreign man of letters is to be found in the closing stanza of a poem by the late Rudyard Kipling. It is included in the collection of stories entitled "Rewards and Fairies." Many of you doubtless know it, but I will close with it nevertheless:

"If you're off to Philadelphia this morning
And wish to prove the truth of what I say,
I pledge my word you'll find the pleasant land behind
Unaltered since Red Jacket rode that way.
Still the pine woods scent the noon
Still the catbird sings his tune,
Still autumn sets the maple forests blazing,
Still the grapevine through the dusk
Flings her soul-compelling musk,
Still the fireflies in the corn make night amazing.
They are there, there, there with earth immortal
(Citizens I give you friendly warning)
The things that truly last, when men and times have passed,
They are all in Pennsylvania this morning."

The President's State of the Union Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a brief statement which I released on January 10, 1955, regarding the President's state of the Union address, and the comments contained therein on the role of the Federal Government in developing hydroelectric power.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, OF OREGON

In his state of the Union message on January 6, 1955, President Eisenhower abandoned the pretense of an impending Federal power monopoly, which has so long served as a political scarecrow for the opponents of continued public power development in the Columbia River Basin.

Inasmuch as the likelihood of a Federal power monopoly has been cited by Secretary McKay as a main reason for abandoning the magnificent Hells Canyon power site to the Idaho Power Co., I call upon the Secretary to reverse his stand.

At McNary Dam in Oregon, on September 23, 1954, the President warned against Federal operation of a gigantic, overwhelming nationwide power monopoly.

On November 4, 1954, Budget Director Hughes warned against committing the Nation to a policy of establishing a nationwide Federal power monopoly.

In campaign speeches in Oregon, the Secretary of the Interior likewise warned frequently against this so-called Federal power monopoly.

But in his 1955 state of the Union message to the Congress, the President flatly declared that "Federal hydroelectric development supply but a small fraction of the Nation's power needs."

I think this is symbolic of the administration's confusion in the field of power. It emphasizes why our great public-power program in the Pacific Northwest has come to a standstill under this administration. For many months the President and his leading subordinates warned us of the imminence of a Federal power monopoly. Now the President himself tells the Nation that the Federal Government generates only a tiny portion of the country's waterpower.

This, of course, is the true situation, rather than the misleading talk of Federal monopoly used to swing votes last fall. The Federal Government today generates only about 13 percent of our electricity, as contrasted with 81 percent by private utility corporations.

With the President recognizing that Federal kilowatts are but a small segment of the national total, Hells Canyon cannot be considered as in any way contributing toward a possible Federal power monopoly.

Thus the state of the Union address effectively repudiates one of the principal arguments used to oppose and block a high multipurpose dam in Hells Canyon—the kind of dam advocated in the famous 308 report of the Army engineers.

I urge authorization of such a project by the 84th Congress.

States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. SMITH
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I today introduced a very brief and comprehensive bill (H. R. 3) on the subject of States rights, with particular reference to the present rule of the United States Supreme Court that where Congress has enacted legislation on any subject, the States are deprived of all power to enact or enforce similar laws on the same subject even though not in conflict with the Federal act.

What the bill seeks to do is to modify this doctrine so as to permit concurrent jurisdiction in order that the State act, where not in conflict with the Federal act, can be also enforced in the State courts for the protection of the State and its citizens.

The bill reads as follows:

That no act of Congress shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which such act operates, to the exclusion of all State laws on the same subject matter, unless such act contains an express provision to that effect. No act of Congress shall be construed as invalidating a provision of State law which would be valid in the absence of such act, unless there is a direct and positive conflict between an express provision of such act and such provision of the State law so that the two cannot be reconciled or consistently stand together.

For a long time the Supreme Court has held that whenever the Congress enacted legislation on any subject, its jurisdiction becomes exclusive and no State law can be enforced. In late years, as you know, Congress has legislated pretty well all over the waterfront. Congress has stretched the Interstate Commerce laws and the general welfare laws to the point where they cover all the ills of mankind, while the Supreme Court has consistently held to its original decision that when Congress acts all State laws are nullified, whether in conflict with the Federal law or not.

I do not quarrel with the Supreme Court about its consistency in its decisions. As a matter of fact, I devoutly wish that that Court would stand by its own decisions so that we lawyers could know not only what the law is today, but what it will be tomorrow.

Understand, please, that this doctrine that the Federal jurisdiction is exclusive in all cases is not due to any constitutional provision.

On the contrary, the 10th amendment to the Constitution especially reserves to the States all powers not granted, and the Constitution itself only gives to the Federal courts jurisdiction in a very limited number of subjects. You will all recall from your study of history that a great stumbling block in the adoption of the Constitution lay in the stubborn reluctance of all the Colonies to relinquish any of their sovereign powers, and during the debates preceding the adoption of the Constitution in the various States there developed a general understanding that in order to further protect the sovereignty of the States and the rights of individuals there would immediately be proposed the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights. The 10th, and final, amendment was the one that specifically reserved to the States and to the people all of the powers not granted to the Federal Government. The principle which I am now discussing and seek to modify is a rule of law enacted by the Supreme Court and has come to have as much force and effect as if it had been adopted as a part of the Constitution. The principle was debated and discussed in numerous early decisions of the Supreme Court, but the final decision which so drastically changed the intent of the framers of the Constitution was decided in 1842 in the famous case of Gibbons against Ogden, and was even then regarded as of such doubtful validity that it was adopted by a divided Court of 5 to 4, and that decision established the flat theory that when Congress passed a law Congress intended that all State laws should be superseded. I seek by this bill to have Congress say it had no such foolish intention in any case unless it said so.

Let me illustrate the iniquitous results of such a doctrine. I will use the decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania that caused me to introduce this bill. I am the author of the Smith Act that, among other things, makes it a crime to teach or advocate the overthrow of the Government by force. Forty-seven of the 48 States have some kind of laws against sedition and subversion. Pennsylvania undertook to prosecute a notorious Communist who was a citizen of that State under the State Sedition Act. The Supreme Court of that State, following the decisions above referred to, decided that as Congress had enacted the Smith Act it had withdrawn from all of the States the power to protect themselves from treasonable acts, and nullified all State laws on the subject whether the Congress intended to do so or not.

I was asked to introduce an amendment to the Smith Act to say that Congress in enacting the law intended no such harmful construction of it.

Obviously that case was merely a symptom of a dangerous disease that threatened to destroy completely the sovereignty of the States and was not the disease itself, and I decided to offer a separate bill to seek a cure of the whole malady.

The bill I have read is the result. To illustrate further, in a similar case of Cloverleaf Co. against Patterson, the State of Alabama for the protection of the health of its citizens sought to inspect the product of the Cloverleaf Co., which was engaged in the renovation of butter, some of which was shipped in interstate commerce and subject to inspection under the Federal Pure Food and Drug Act. The Supreme Court held that as Congress had enacted the pure food laws it has assumed entire jurisdiction over the subject and the States were powerless to enforce their laws for the protection of the health of their citizens. I mention that case because the best argument I can think of for my bill is contained in the dissenting opinion of Justice Frankfurter who can, by no stretch of the imagination, be called a reactionary. He said:

> The Department of Agriculture not only urged the enactment (of the Federal statute involved in the case), it drafted its provisions. If the Department wanted Congress to withdraw from the States their power to condemn unsanitary packing stock and to confide such power in the Federal Government, it could easily have made appropriate provision in the draft submitted by it to Congress. However, the Department did not do so. It did ask Congress to make some restrictions upon the authority which had been exercised by the States in regulating the manufacture and sale of butter for the protection of their citizens. But the restrictions did not include withdrawal from the States of the power to condemn unhealthful packing stock butter. The sponsors of this legislation, the experts of the Department of Agriculture, could have submitted to Congress appropriate language for the accomplishment of that result. They did not do so. The Court now does it for them even though the Department has no such desire.
>
> To require the various agencies of the Government who are the effective authors of legislation like that now before us to express clearly and explicitly their purpose in dislodging constitutional powers of States—if such is their purpose—makes for care in draftsmanship and for responsibility in legislation. To hold, as do the majority, that paralysis of State power is somehow to be found in the vague implications of the Federal renovated butter enactments is to encourage slipshodness in draftsmanship and irresponsibility in legislation.

It must be obvious to you that with the multitude of subjects which the Congress is now dealing, that it is inevitably merely a question of time before the States will be deprived of practically all power and sovereignty in enactment and enforcement of laws for the protection of the health and welfare of their local citizens. In many Federal laws action to remedy wrongs must be initiated by some Federal bureau. Under present law, if the Federal bureau fails to act or refuses to act, the citizen is without remedy. In many instances adequate remedy requires immediate injunctive relief. Delay incident to bureaucratic redtape or indifference can mean financial ruin. Such instances have occurred and are occurring with more frequency.

Under present conditions, if the Federal authorities fail or refuse to act, the citizen is utterly without remedy.

The overall objective of the bill was well stated by the President when speaking on the subject of States rights. He made the following statement:

> I want to see maintained the constitutional relationships between the Federal and State Governments. * * * For, if the States lose their meaning, our entire system of government loses its meaning. And the next step is the rise of the centralized, national state in which the seeds of autocracy can take root and grow. * * * We will see that the legitimate rights of the States and local communities are respected. * * * We will not reach into the States and take from them their powers and responsibilities to serve their citizens.

I hope the measure may have the support and active aid of all those who believe in the sovereignty of their States, who believe that local self-government is the best government, and who believe, as expressed by the President, that the rise of the centralized national state creates the atmosphere in which "the seeds of autocracy can take root and grow," to help me to help the President to put life and meaning into his inspired words.

Fair and Reasonable Farm Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. DEMPSEY
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that I have introduced legislation which will authorize the Farm Credit Administration to make what were formerly known as Land Bank Commission type of loans—H. R. 35—and to authorize extension of the period for making emergency livestock loans by the Farmers Home Administration—H. R. 90—I believe the following editorial from the Roy Record of December 31, 1954, published at Roy, N. Mex., carries valuable information for the Members of the House of Representatives. This editorial is written by an editor, Mr. Karl Guthmann, who has firsthand, accurate knowledge of the needs of the farmers and stockmen, particularly in those areas which have been plagued by drought conditions for several years. The serious drought condition which has extended into its sixth year in many parts of the great Southwest is reported by agriculture experts as being even worse now than a year ago. Manifestly it is the obligation of this Congress to take cognizance of this grave situation and legislate fair and reasonable assistance for this important segment of the Nation's economy which is confronted with serious damage, even ruin, because of conditions beyond its control.

The editorial from the Roy Record follows:

> Taking the lead at the recent national convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation, attended by more than 8,000 farmers from across the Nation, was the New Mexico delegation which secured the approval and adoption of a resolution which would be of immeasurable benefit to farmers and stockmen over a wide area. In this it is noteworthy to realize that because of unprecedented drought no less than 914 counties in 17 States of the Nation have been designated as being within the disaster area. Realizing the plight of the smaller operator within this hard-hit realm, the Farm Bureau resolution recommends that in areas designated by the Secretary of Agriculture moves will be taken by the Government to preserve the family enterprise.
>
> First, the resolution proposes that the time limit for making emergency loans should be extended beyond the present 2-year period which expires next July. Who is there who can say that the emergency will have passed within a few months and the rolls will be cleared of those in need of a Government loan in order to forestall disaster and bankruptcy? As a provision of the loan facility, the Bureau recommends a policy which would permit the orderly liquidation of emergency loans over a 10-year period, where such time is needed. Present plight of many of the farmers and stockmen in the disaster area gives ample proof that rejuvenation is something not just around the corner, but an obstacle which will require many months, and even years, for adjustment and salvation. Not an iota out of line is the Farm Bureau's resolution in recommending that emergency loans be made at the lowest possible rate of interest. When it is considered that billions in international loans made by our Government years ago have drawn no interest, along with a forgotten principle, it is reasonable that the loan made to preserve those of distressed agriculture be made as easy as possible. An interest rate covering the actual carrying charge—say 3 percent—would be a gesture which would make it possible for many of the hard-pressed ones to survive. Too, meritorious is the Farm Bureau resolution provision that a loan program should be set up through FHA which would enable farmers and ranchers to consolidate into one item all their financial obligations, excluding real estate mortgages, but including interest on real estate loans and taxes. It is recommended that provision should be made in the emergency loans to permit the borrower, where necessary, to make reasonable land payments from the sale of farm products. Taking up the provision which has been sought locally for many months, to aid the smaller operator on farm and range, the Bureau resolution asks Congress to provide additional farm mortgage credit com-

parable to the former Land Bank Commissioner loans in drought and disaster areas. It is noted that a bill which would reestablish the Land Bank Commissioner loan passed the Senate in the last session of Congress, but died in House committee.

An important point of the Bureau's resolution is that which would revamp the method of distribution of emergency feed, this being of particular concern to the stock-raising area where livestock feed brought in from distant fields is no little item of expense. The program laid down for distribution has been found unworkable and burdensome in certain areas, and for this reason the Bureau advocates a broad and more equitable method. It is certain that this objective will be accomplished if our lawmakers in the Nation's Capital will provide laws with the provisions set forth in the resolutions adopted by the national convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Right To Work Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, because of the right to work laws which are in effect in various States of the Union, and because the subject is now receiving a great deal of attention from labor unions and management, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very excellent editorial published in the Wall Street Journal of January 5, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK

ONLY ONE QUESTION

Our Mr. Galpin reports from Washington that what may be the biggest labor issue of 1955 is now building up a full head of steamy debate. The fight is over the right-to-work laws now in force in 17 States and to be introduced this year in many more State legislatures.

The State laws ban compulsory union membership under powers granted in the Taft-Hartley Act. Thus the unions face a battle on three fronts: They will try to have the Congress repeal that State authority and so legalize compulsory membership; they will try to have these State laws repealed where they have been already enacted, and they will try to prevent enactment in other States.

Other groups which support the right of the States to ban forced membership in unions are on the other side in the fight; their purpose is to retain these State powers and to promote enactment in those of the 44 State legislatures which will meet this year.

The unions, Mr. Galpin reports, say that those who advocate such right-to-work laws have but one objective: To weaken the unions so that labor costs may be kept down. The union leaders say that the laws do weaken their powers. They say that if a man doesn't have to belong to a union, it will cut down dues collections and also hamper new organizing. Because of the laws, local union leaders must devote more time to educating workers to join unions and to stay in them. This, they say, is lost time; union organizers ought to be occupied in organizing new plants, promoting the growth of the labor movement, and thus making for stability. Since these are the tasks of labor unions, it is unfair to make them more difficult by passage of right-to-work laws.

Let us, for the moment, suppose that everything the unions say about those who support legislation banning forced union membership is correct.

Let us suppose that their true purpose is to keep down labor costs; the purpose of unions is to get more wages, more fringe benefits, and shorter hours for their members, all of which successfully pursued bring labor costs higher. These controversies are a natural outgrowth of the protective instincts of both unions and management. So it is neither unusual nor wrong for businessmen to seek to keep their labor costs within reason.

Let us also suppose that the right-to-work measures will hamper organization, collection of dues, and make more troublesome the running of a union. It would be extremely pleasant for union leaders if union affairs were so well organized that they had little or nothing to do, and so we don't blame them for trying to make their task easier. But the purpose of a union is not to make easier the tasks of the leaders; the purpose should be to serve the best interests of the members. And the union's task is to convince men that the union serves their interests.

The difficulty here, however, is that none of this argument has anything to do with the basic issue at hand. The reasons the unions give for opposing the right-to-work laws and the reasons they ascribe to those who support such laws are far off the mark.

The issue is not whether the laws banning compulsory union membership make it easier for management and troublesome for unions. Plainly, it is a moral issue, and plainly stated we do not think it a difficult one to decide.

Only one question need be answered: Should a man be forced unwillingly to join a union in order to earn his keep?

REA Co-ops Pay Their Share of Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it was with keen interest that I read an article in the January 1955, issue of the Wisconsin REA News entitled "Electric Co-op Members Pay Whopping Tax Bill." Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert this news article in the RECORD.

Before I insert this article in the RECORD, I should like to comment briefly on the REA cooperatives of Wisconsin and other States. The REA cooperatives have done an outstanding job of bringing power to rural America, electric power which means that farmers can enjoy some of the conveniences previously reserved for the people in urban areas. In addition to the power factor, REA cooperatives have also brought billions of dollars worth of business to the main streets of hundreds of small towns.

On top of this, REA cooperatives also pay taxes—something which is never given too much publicity. As the article from Wisconsin REA News indicates, the 32 electric co-ops in the State paid a total of $386,541.29 to the State of Wisconsin in 1953 on power purchases.

The congressional district which I have the privilege of representing is one of the strongest REA areas in the Nation. I note that the 10 electric cooperatives in the 9th District of Wisconsin—which serve 11 counties—paid a total of $114,000.97. This figures out to 29.8 percent of the total payments.

The Wisconsin REA News article, which I commend to my colleagues for their study, is as follows:

ELECTRIC CO-OP MEMBERS PAY WHOPPING TAX BILL

The 85,000 members of Wisconsin's 32 rural electric cooperatives made the largest State tax payments in their history when their organizations remitted a whopping $386,541.29 to the Wisconsin Department of Taxation on 1953 power purchases.

The payments are made on a license fee assessed at 3 percent by the cooperatives on both wholesale and retail gross dollar sales.

The payments were almost 11 percent higher than a year ago when payments totaled $348,862.37. These taxes are actually paid by the rural people receiving co-op service in the State—inasmuch as the tax represents an expense of providing the service.

The money will be shared by 53 counties and their tax units—cities, villages, and town governments. Again largest payments will go to Grant County, where $33,206.57 will be shared by the tax units. Other substantial payments include Buffalo, $27,069.16; Vernon, $22,475.21; Rusk, $16,258.10; Clark, $18,876.09; Barron, $14,935.19; and Chippewa, $14,621.72.

Cooperative members served by organizations purchasing wholesale power from Dairyland Power Cooperative actually pay the tax twice inasmuch as it applies to both wholesale and retail sales. Dairyland's total license fee payment was $117,051.12.

Largest distribution cooperative payment was made by Vernon, for $17,313.59; closely followed by Barron, $17,253.30.

Below is the list of payments and gross receipts:

	Gross receipts 1953	License fees, at 3 percent
Adams-Marquette Electric Cooperative	$274,946.07	$8,248.38
Barron County Electric Cooperative	575,109.93	17,253.30
Bayfield Electric Cooperative, Inc	228,014.00	6,840.42
Buffalo Electric Cooperative	291,452.49	8,743.57
Central Wisconsin Electric Cooperative	205,382.06	6,161.46
Chippewa Valley Electric Cooperative	298,998.90	8,909.97
Clark Electric Cooperative	539,849.50	16,195.49
Columbus Rural Electric Cooperative	257,335.61	7,720.07
Crawford Electric Cooperative	176,092.49	5,282.77
Dairyland Power Cooperative	3,901,703.86	117,051.12
Dunn County Electric Cooperative	401,723.10	12,051.69
East Rutland Electric Cooperative	6,819.30	204.58
Eau Claire Electric Cooperative	311,286.90	9,338.61
Grant Electric Cooperative	470,305.13	14,109.15
Head of Lakes Co-op Electric Association	129,201.08	3,876.03
Jackson Electric Cooperative	286,083.63	8,582.51
Jump River Electric Cooperative, Inc	266,088.26	7,982.65
Lafayette Electric Cooperative	259,156.32	7,774.69
Oakdale Cooperative Electric Association	458,415.70	13,752.47
Oconto Electric Cooperative	270,057.27	8,101.72
Pierce-Pepin Electric Cooperative	383,299.09	11,498.97
Polk-Burnett Electric Cooperative	424,114.71	12,723.44
Price Electric Cooperative, Inc	223,933.88	6,718.02

	Gross receipts 1953	License fees, at 3 percent
Richland Cooperative Electric Association	$240,646.76	$7,219.40
Rock County Electric Co-op Association	296,965.92	8,908.98
St. Croix County Electric Cooperative	314,983.12	9,449.49
Taylor County Electric Cooperative	193,849.93	5,815.50
Trempealeau Electric Cooperative	398,418.96	[1]11,977.57
Vernon Electric Cooperative	577,119.67	17,313.59
Washington Island Electric Cooperative, Inc.	37,239.22	1,117.18
Waushara County Electric Cooperative, Inc.	187,283.49	5,618.50
Total	12,883,876.35	386,541.29

[1]Includes $25.00 late-filing fee.

Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN WELKER
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, in my opinion, Judge Jim Gossett, who publishes his articles in the Gooding (Idaho) Leader, is one of the greatest columnists whose writings it has ever been my privilege to read.

He has written four excellent columns on the subject of our foreign policy.

I ask unanimous consent that the first of these articles, published on December 9, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

(By Judge Jim Gossett)

The deadliest threat to these United States in the cold war is not the menace of armed aggression to ourselves or to other free peoples of the earth: it is the increasing evidence of willful blind ignorance being the basic factor upon which our attitude towards the Communists is being shaped. It is the persistence in the top levels of the executive branch of our Government in giving wishful thinking priority over reality in forming our foreign policies, and in allowing the influences of other countries to take precedence over considerations for the best interests and security of this country.

This danger is being compounded and gravely worsened by the calculated propaganda being broadcast throughout the land raising high hopes for peaceful coexistence, for it is raising in the breasts of our people a great hope that is based upon nothing except an illusion. It was this same illusion that led to the dreadful betrayals of Tehran and Yalta; it was this same illusion that led to the American diplomatic rape in Korea; and it is an indication of the absolute determination of our leaders to impute to the character of the Communists something that just is not there.

Your correspondent is a Republican, but under no circumstances would we present to our readers the idea—or even the suggestion of the idea—that we consider the present American foreign policy to be any better, or stronger or less wavering than it has been for the past 20 years. In fact we think that it is a continuation and a sort of deteriorated continuation of exactly what we suffered under Truman and Roosevelt. This peaceful coexistence idea has received the attention of many writers in every part of the country—usually the unfavorable sort of attention.

No one wants war, it is true. But from the attitude of our State Department one would think that the Communists are the exception to this; that they want war and will seize the first opportunity to begin one. However, nothing could be further from the truth. The Communists desire a world war even less than do we, for at least three vital reasons. They are: First the Communists are getting what they want without a war; secondly, the Communists do not think that they can win a war with us at this time; and thirdly, it is never the policy of the Communists to resort to open warfare when there is hope of achieving their aims by any other means.

The apologists for our milk-sop reactions insist that we will alienate our allies by any warlike acts that we commit. And while it is admittedly true that there is some fear in parts of Europe and in Southeast Asia that we might start a preventative war against the Reds, this uneasiness is far outweighed by the loss of face we have suffered in Asia from being duped, outbargained and just plain being abused by the Reds. As we pointed out in another article our defeat in Korea and the humiliation of our French allies in Indochina are but two of a series of prestige-shattering incidents of which we have been the victim.

Our presitge in the Orient, if any such we have left, is at a new all time low. American citizenship and a United States passport offer less protection than a paper parasol. Worse, the uniform of our Armed Forces seems now to be an invitation to violence rather than an emblem of respect and protection in Asia. Mao, the Red boss of China, is reportedly using the Peping radio to scornfully broadcast that America is not even capable of protecting her own citizens and men in uniform. And current events in East Asia are lending credibility to his words.

The State Department is attempting to show that we must act as we do because we are the leaders of the free world; that we must set an example of patience and tolerance to those who are counting heavily upon us. May we point out here that any leader, to be effective, must command the respect of those he is seeking to lead. And no people create respect for themselves by allowing others to shove them around and make fools of them. There is one hell of a lot of difference between forbearance and timidity.

Now, on top of the thousands of lives lost in Korea, on top of the unspeakable brutalities inflicted on American servicemen taken prisoner in that military tragedy; and on top of the treachery and violations of the terms of that peace that the Reds have perpetrated, we have an American warplane shot down by Russian fighters and 11 American airmen (prisoners of war who should have been returned to us long ago) imprisoned as "spies" by the Chinese Communists.

Secretary Dulles says that this country will "react vigorously" but "without allowing ourselves to be provoked into action which would be in violation of our international obligations and which would impair the alliance of free nations." What will we do? Protest as we have done a thousand times before to no avail? In the name of the Almighty, what sort of "international obligations" and "alliances of free nations" are these that would force us to submit "protesting" to these outrageous acts?

Dulles has said further that we are bound by the United Nations charter to settle "international disputes" by exhausting every "peaceful means." Is the shooting down of an American plane and the killing of an American soldier an "international dispute"? Or is it murder? Is the imprisonment of 11 American servicemen who should have been sent home long ago an "international dispute"? Or is it kidnaping and a deliberate violation of one of Dulles' high-sounding "international obligations" duly entered into by and between this country and the Reds?

Is the primary duty of the United States Government to the people of this country, by whose leave and for whose purposes it solely exists? Or is its supreme loyalty to the United Nations, of which our deadliest enemy is a member? What do you think the answer would be if the question were asked of the "next of kin" of those slaughtered in Korea, killed (murdered is better) in "incidents," and either missing or imprisoned behind the iron and bamboo curtain?

Next week I'm going to tell you the truth about this pipe dream of "peaceful existence"; I'm going to use the words of the Reds themselves, and of our British allies who want us to "quiet down."

Right-To-Work Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article entitled "Labor Trains Guns on Right To Work," written by Joseph A. Loftus, and published in the New York Times of this morning.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR TRAINS GUNS ON RIGHT TO WORK—REPEAL OF STATE LAWS CURBING UNIONS IS NOW NO. 1 TARGET, REPLACING TAFT-HARTLEY

(By Joseph A. Loftus)

WASHINGTON, January 9.—Organized labor's No. 1 target today is not what it used to be.

Instead of the Taft-Hartley law, the most emotionally loaded issue for union leaders is the so-called State right-to-work laws.

Campaigns to repeal these laws, and to resist the threat of others, are going forward with an intensity that rivals the conflicts over the Taft-Hartley measure.

The campaigns have eluded the national notice that the fight over Federal legislation commanded because they are diffused among the 17 States that have such laws and a few others where advocates propose to enact them. Maryland is one of the major battlegrounds between the unions and those who would put a right-to-work law on the statute books.

PROPAGANDA LABEL SEEN

A right-to-work law forbids the closed shop, the union shop and any other form of compulsory union membership. The name given to these laws has been chosen by its advocates. The unions regard the name as a propaganda label, since few persons care to be in the position of saying flatly that an individual does not have the right to work.

All that such laws purport to guarantee is a right to work where a job vacancy exists and the employer wishes to hire or retain an individual employee, union member-

ship requirements to the contrary notwithstanding. The unions contend the laws are designed for only one purpose—"to weaken labor unions and to lower standards of wages and working conditions."

Clergymen of all faiths have been brought into the controversy, so intense are the campaigns. The Machinist, weekly publication of the International Association of Machinists, AFL, is devoting lead articles on three successive weeks to Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergymen who find that these laws are immoral.

MUCH MATERIAL PUBLISHED

The American Federation of Labor published an illustrated booklet and other material to combat the State laws, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations published a 172-page book analyzing them.

Some impetus for this drive comes from a high officer of the Eisenhower administration, James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, contends that the laws do not aid industry in the States that have them, contrary to opposite beliefs.

It is noted that only a few of the States with right-to-work laws are Republican-controlled. In general, the laws are more apt to be repealed in the Republican rather than the Democratic States. The latter are chiefly southern States in which antiunion sentiment is stronger.

With the right-to-work States predominantly Democratic, Secretary Mitchell asks in effect: Which political party is the better friend of organized labor? Labor leaders reply that Mr. Mitchell and the administration could demonstrate their good faith by pushing a Taft-Hartley amendment that would make the State laws inoperative.

Nevada and Arizona are exceptions. Nevada's average hourly earnings in manufacturing in 1953 were $2.08, Arizona's $1.88. These compare with $1.97 in California, $1.77 in Connecticut, $1.79 in New York, $1.82 in New Jersey, $1.65 in Massachusetts, $1.79 in Pennsylvania, and $1.77 for the country as a whole.

In the right-to-work States, corresponding figures included $1.69 in Iowa, $1.31 in Florida, $1.23 and $1.24 in North and South Carolina, $1.40 in Virginia, $1.14 in Mississippi, and $1.21 in Arkansas.

The States now having the law are: (Republican-controlled) Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nevada; (Democratic-controlled) Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Arizona.

The best chances for repeal, it is believed, are in Iowa, a Republican State; Alabama and Arkansas. Fights also are brewing, or are in full swing, in Missouri, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, Kentucky, California, Colorado, and Maryland.

PER CAPITA INCOMES RISE

The States with these laws have been industrializing in recent years and their per capita incomes have been rising. But data available at the Labor Department show that in average hourly earnings, they run far behind such States as California, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and others, where the union control laws do not exist.

The unions have not abandoned their fight to make substantial changes in the Taft-Hartley law, but they do not expect much success before next year's election.

The narrow margin of Democratic gains in the House and Senate, although providing control, is not believed enough to help adopt such revisions.

In the meantime, the unions are concentrating on another threat, which they presumably regard as greater and where prospects of success look better.

The Hudson Division of the American Motors Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last Wednesday, January 5, was an important landmark in the history of the American automotive industry and in the history of industry in the State of Wisconsin.

The first automobiles of the Hudson division of American Motors Corp. were at that time produced in my State. American Motors is, as everyone knows, the new enterprise formed from the merger of two great-name companies—Nash-Kelvinator and Hudson. Important civic ceremonies marked the landmark event in the cities of Milwaukee and Kenosha.

The great American auto-traveling public wishes well for the American Motors Corp., and we, of Wisconsin, proudly welcome Hudson to our State. We wish American Motors prosperity in serving America's ever-expanding transportation needs. Vigorous, healthy competition, as furnished by strong, vital companies, is the key to an ever higher standard of iving for America.

I send to the desk a writeup of the January 5 event, as carried in the Thursday, January 6, issue of the Milwaukee Journal, along with an editorial from the same issue.

I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal of January 6, 1955]

HUDSON WELCOMED BY TWO STATE CITIES—NEWCOMER'S FIRST PRODUCTION IN MILWAUKEE, KENOSHA MARKED BY CIVIC AFFAIRS

The impressive record of firsts for Hudson automobiles was joined by a rookie Wednesday and Thursday, as the Hudson division of American Motors Corp. officially produced its first cars in Wisconsin.

In Milwaukee and Kenosha, where the American Motors automotive plants are major factories, evidence of the occasion was exhibited by civic affairs in which community leaders welcomed the newcomer to Wisconsin manufacturing activity, and company officials pledged their efforts to be good citizens of Wisconsin.

In its 45-year history under the Hudson Motor Car Co. name, the Hudson organization pioneered many mechanical improvements in the automobile and built more than 4 million Hudsons.

Transplanted from its native Detroit as a result of the Hudson and Nash-Kelvinator Corp. merger last May, Hudson has raised its sales goal for 1955 to a substantial 125,000 units.

OUT FOR MORE SALES

Offering a restyled line of 1955 models bearing various engineering advances, including a V-8 engine for the first time, Hudson is determined to capture a bigger share of the auto market, according to N. K. VanDerzee, vice president in charge of the division's sales. He made that promise in two talks Wednesday in Milwaukee and was expected to repeat it at the ceremonies to be held in Kenosha Thursday.

For the two Wisconsin cities, the 2 days foretold increasing importance in automotive manufacture. Competition in the industry admittedly is rugged, but American Motors officials—from president George Romney down—are convinced that the corporation's products can win public acceptance.

Employment in the AMC factories here and in Kenosha now is approaching 9,000, and workers are being taken on steadily as production schedules of 1955 cars are stepped up. Before the new Hudsons and Nashes are shown in dealers' showrooms in early February, several thousands must come off the assembly lines to stock the dealers.

FIRST BY DESIGNATION

In the brief ceremonies at the Milwaukee body plant Wednesday morning, bodies representing the "first" made here were rolled down conveyor lines and "dropped" onto the big trailer trucks that shuttle them—six at a time—to the Kenosha assembly plant.

Actually production started about mid-December, with the "first" designation being reserved for Milwaukee and Kenosha output Wednesday and Thursday, respectively, for the sake of having a starting point.

Thus, in Kenosha Thursday, a sparkling light-blue Hudson Hornet Hollywood hardtop sedan was to be recognized as the first production car. This vehicle, fully equipped with all optional equipment, was to be presented by Hudson to Alan Ameche, the all-American football player from Kenosha who has starred for the University of Wisconsin for the last four seasons.

SEAMANS ARE PRESENT

E. W. Bernitt, vice president in charge of manufacturing and procurement of American Motors; VanDerzee; Joseph Mueller and John Weiland, works managers of the Kenosha and Milwaukee plants, respectively; Mayor Frank Zeidler, William A. Mann, president of the Milwaukee Association of Commerce; William H. Wagner, chairman of the association's industries committee; and Milton J. McGuire, president of the Milwaukee Common Council, appeared Wednesday as the speakers at the body plant program and at a civic luncheon sponsored by the association of commerce at the Schroeder Hotel.

Among the guests were Harold and Irving Seaman, Milwaukee brothers whose family founded the former Seaman Body Co., a company which subsequently became the body plant for Nash Motors. That plant today is the body plant wherein both Nash and Hudson bodies are fabricated.

CAR TO BE SHOWN

By resolution of the Milwaukee Common Council, Wednesday was Welcome to Hudson Day in Milwaukee.

Kenosha city officials likewise have issued a proclamation welcoming Hudson to that city, where the observance was to get underway Thursday afternoon.

A tour of the assembly plant was to be followed by a brief program in which Ameche was to participate. His presence for the event involved a bit of hasty traveling, as he has been practicing with the North team of gridiron stars which will play the South team Saturday in the Senior Bowl game at Mobile, Ala.

BERNITT THE SPEAKER

The so-called first Hudson then was to be put on display before the Kenosha Eagles hall, where a civic dinner Thursday night was expected to attract about 750 persons.

Expected to be among the Thursday night guests was Governor Kohler. Bernitt, who

was works manager of the Kenosha plant until his advancement last fall to vice president of manufacturing and procurement for AMC, was to give the principal address.

Winding up the evening and the program was to be a stage show of top talent.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of January 6, 1955]

STATE'S PLACE IN AUTO INDUSTRY

The start of production of Hudson automobiles in Wisconsin has been officially recognized with ceremonies in Milwaukee, where the auto bodies are being manufactured, and at Kenosha, where the sleek new automobiles are being assembled.

The start of production is just that—a beginning. It offers promise, but not yet fulfillment, of a bigger and broader role for Wisconsin in the automotive field. But the potential now exists for more jobs, expanded payrolls and a stimulation for all business.

Under the new name of American Motors Corp., the fortunes of Wisconsin's 50-year-old Nash organization and the 45-year-old Hudson company are joined. The new company has vigorous leadership. It has received pledges of support from the business community and government and assurances of cooperation from highly skilled labor.

But success of the expanded venture lies in public acceptance of the product. For in the highly competitive auto world, only sales count.

As a hopeful partner, all Wisconsin wishes the new company success and prosperous years in which their constantly improved products will continue to be manufactured and sold in increasing numbers.

American-Flag Vessels Under Foreign Registry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from a recent issue of the New York Times on the subject of our merchant marine and its importance to our country.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEW SHIPS

During the past year 163 new ocean-going ships showed their pennants in the port of New York and received the harbor's traditional warm welcome. The world's merchant marine long ago passed the pre-war mark in tonnage, and in most of the maritime nations the shipwrights and joiners are still busy, with more orders waiting.

There is significance in the fact that only a few of last year's roster of new vessels flew the flag of this country. Our own shipyards are hungry, with labor forces diminished and few private orders in prospect. Moreover, the merchant marine is being whittled down by the transfer of many United States-flag ships to the so-called refugee flags of other nations, notably Liberia, Panama, and Honduras. These are ships that are of no commercial value under our flag because high operating costs make it impossible for them to compete with tonnage of other nations.

With these discouraging facts before us it is heartening to read the recently announced joint project of American President Lines and the Federal Maritime Board to expand this world-girdling company's fleet over a 10-year period at a minimum cost of $175 million. In time, some of these 19 ships will complete their global maiden voyages and show up at the roadstead off Ambrose Channel entrance, and come in for their whistled greetings. We all respond to the sight of a new ship standing in from the sea, and especially so if it is our own.

Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN WELKER

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the third of a series of four articles on our foreign policy, written by Judge Jim Gossett and published in the Gooding (Idaho) Leader of December 23, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Judge Jim Gossett)

One cannot but wonder what catastrophe will eventually halt the headlong rush of this country and her allies into a permanent policy of all-out appeasement toward our implacable enemies, the Communists; towards certain disaster. One must wonder, too, how much more of the free world must be sacrificed to prove to our policymakers that moral pressure alone cannot influence the actions of people to whom there is no such thing ar moral pressure—for the simple reason that they have no morals.

Why, we cannot but ask, if we are complete internationalists whose every action and attitude must be governed by the dictates of the United Nations Charter, must we look only to the prohibitions imposed upon us by that charter and ignore the few positive courses of action permitted us under its terms? Why shall its influence upon us always be negative in that it always tells us what we cannot do instead of positive in telling us what we can or should do?

To a large extent, it is the fault of our leaders—certain of our leaders, that is. Even the fantastic idealism that inspired and imbues the U. N. Charter occasionally touched its feet to the ground in making some practical provisions for situations which must inevitably occur that cannot be solved by a sweet smile, a few million dollars, or a self-righteous "turning of the other cheek." We are in one of those situations now with Red China and, unbelievable but true, we have available to us under the terms of our sacrosanct U. N. Charter a forceful, effective measure.

I refer, of course, to the naval blockade of Red China that has been proposed by Senator KNOWLAND of California. (And for which suggestion, I may add, he has had his ears figuratively boxed by the White House et al.) The naval blockade has been endorsed by all four members of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, which, significantly, includes Gen. Matthew Ridgway. The idea was vetoed by President Eisenhower on foreign-policy grounds. Doubtless this veto is intended to fit into the Eisenhower-Dulles statements of "vigorous" actions within the framework of the U. N. Charter; the White House had said that the President feels that a naval blockade would be "war action."

But a naval blockade is within the provisions of the U. N. Charter. Article 42 of the charter sets forth that the Security Council "may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of members of the United Nations." And the United States is a member of the United Nations. We are never for one instant permitted to forget it.

And, of course, it is well known by our military that a naval blockade against Red China would be very effective—and President Eisenhower is the top military man in the land. Our civil authorities denied us the fruits of just such an action in the Korean war; the reason being given was that we did not want to get into a "war" with China. For some reason, the fact that around a million Chink Commies were in North Korea killing American soldiers did not seem sufficient provocation for us to "risk" a war with China.

Now once again comes this ignoble representation that we cannot risk a war with Red China; that we cannot defend our citizens and servicemen by militant action. Are we deemed so utterly stupid as to not know that in actuality, we are at war with Red China right now? What we signed in Korea to stop the shooting was not a peace treaty; it was an armistice—an agreed cessation of active hostilities to allow for the arrangement of the terms of a final peace.

The Chinese Communists have deliberately and openly violated the written pledges of that armistice in at least six different ways and on numberless occasions, any single one of these violations would justify the U. N., before the world and under international law, in resuming a shooting war against the Reds at any time. Our cautious, almost timid, policies would indicate that we alone are afraid of war; that our adversaries will eagerly seize on any pretext to start a war. Why is this?

The evidence right in Washington is all to the contrary. Ambassador Chip Bohlen, just back from Russia, has stated clearly that the Kremlin is in actual terror of an atomic war, that they are in mortal dread of the hydrogen bomb, and they admit it. And Admiral Strauss, Chairman of our Atomic Energy Commission, has lately released an interview in which he states that we are appreciably ahead of Russia in the H-bomb.

Secretary of Defense Wilson has just made a most significant public release to the effect that the United States is stronger than the Soviets. He said further: "Too much has been said about the rising power of the Soviets and too little about our own strength." He said also, that Americans should speak out more about their own strength, and political ideals and less about the power and beliefs of Soviet Russia. Could not these statements of his be much more appropriately directed at the White House and the State Department than at us?

Are we lacking allies in the Far East if we become embroiled with Red China? What about Syngman Rhee's magnificent ROK army that is straining at the bit? What about Chiang Kai-shek's 600,000 Nationalist Chinese soldiers on Formosa that are crying for the chance to hit at the commies? Are we afraid we will not be supported by the British and French—our so-called principal allies—over there? To get down to earth, with the exception of their ridiculously small token forces, how much help have they ever given us in the Far East?

The Senate majority leader, the very able Senator KNOWLAND, of California, is doing the American people an incalculably great service by speaking out in the Senate in protest against our policies of futility. He at least has not forgotten that we are the most powerful nation on earth, perhaps the most powerful nation in recorded history.

Drawing a Line on Federal Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a fine editorial which was printed in the Phoenix Gazette of Wednesday, January 5, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

DRAWING A LINE ON FEDERAL CONTROL

What could be a major crossroads in the struggle to preserve free enterprise from too much Federal regulation faces the new Congress. It will consider legislation amending the Natural Gas Act of 1938.

The key point of this legislation will be to exempt from the Federal Power Commission's control the gas sold by independent producers to pipeline companies which transport it across State lines. It is not a new point. The Kerr bill in 1950 did the same thing but was vetoed by President Truman.

But the need for such legislation now has new urgency. Last June the Supreme Court ruled that the 1938 act does apply to independent producers as well as to the pipeline companies. Unless the act is changed, the FPC will have the unwanted and virtually unworkable function of trying to set prices of gas produced under widely differing conditions. For every well brought in, many dry holes may have been put down by a producer at high cost. Some wells produce both oil and gas, others only one or the other. Different lease and royalty prices complicate the pricing base, and there is also the conflict between State and Federal regulation.

Yet these practical considerations, baffling as they are, come second in importance to the danger of another long step on the road to socialism. If independent gas sales can be regulated, oil sales almost have to be, too, since the two resources exist side by side. The philosophy of such regulation could logically be extended to coal, or to almost any commodity.

At the heart of the situation is the basic reason for any Government regulation of industry in a democracy during peacetime. This regulation is consistent with democracy when a monopoly or semimonopoly exists. A utility company marketing gas or electricity at retail comes in that category. So does a pipeline company transmitting gas. But the gas-producing industry, with many separate units large and small, is one of the most competitive and nonmonopolistic enterprises.

Moreover, as in the production of oil, its initial stage is exploration. Millions of dollars can be sunk in failures before a paying well is struck. Obviously the threat of price fixing at the wellhead puts a straitjacket on this highly speculative venturing.

If the Federal act is not amended, price fixing with respect to sales of gas transmitted interstate could lead to production for sale only within the producing State. Five States—Texas, Kansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and New Mexico—have 88 percent of the proved gas reserves and 84 percent of the Nation's current production. States like Arizona, which produce no natural gas but share in the growing nationwide use of this fuel, would be starved out of the picture.

The Court ruling has shown up a weakness in the law which must be corrected. Competition will keep natural gas prices down. Price fixing will only endanger the growth of a vital industry, with the long-range threat of unlimited Federal control.

Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN WELKER
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the fourth and last of a series of articles on our foreign policy written by Judge Jim Gossett and published in the Gooding (Idaho) Leader of December 30, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Judge Jim Gossett)

Five days ago we celebrated the greatest of the Christian holidays with the warmest of all sentiments, Christmas at home. We enjoyed at the festive board and in the gifts under the tree all of the material blessings of free people. In the bright, gay comfort of our homes we experienced, perhaps somewhat subconsciously, the spiritual exultation and harmony of feeling that is inherent in any great religious festival. We savored deeply of the rapt, eager faces of our children, transported in the enchantment of the occasion.

Two days hence we celebrate again a joyous event—the new year. The new year—a time for sweeping aside the disappointments and unhappiness of the past with the new broom of brave resolutions and new hope for the future. A new year in which the failure of yesterday shall be but the lessons which will teach us how to improve tomorrow. A time for looking ahead with renewed hope.

Except for their families and a few friends, how many of us have had the beauty of the season darkened by thoughts of those 13 boys in the uniform that have made and kept us free, who are spending this Christmas and New Year's in the bleak wretchedness of a foul Chinese prison thousands upon thousands of miles from those they love and all that they hold dear? What sort of bright hopes and brave resolutions are surging through their breasts. How light and gay are their hearts as they, mayhap, close their eyes and seek in their imagination to escape the dank filth of prison?

What hymns of love and faith are ringing in their ears? What star of Bethlehem is shining before their eyes and gladening their hearts? Can they now have a burning belief in the goodness of man and the greatness of God to see them through? Or do they feel the hopeless melancholy of those who have been forsaken—forgotten? How hollowly must ring in their memories these words from the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

And even more emptily must echo these words with which the Declaration ends: "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

Now my friends and fellow Americans, are we acting like people who have pledged our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor? We, the greatest power among nations, permitting 13 Christian boys in the uniform of the United States of America to rot in a heathen jail—to lie in degradation, the power of life and death for them clutched in the blasphemous fists of the godless Chinese Communists?

What are these boys doing? They were not foolish businessmen whose greed kept them over long in a place against which they had been warned. They were not irresponsible tourists who heedlessly and needlessly placed themselves in jeopardy. They were soldiers in the honored uniform of their country carrying out their duty in the defense of you, and of me and of their fatherland and all for which it stands. They are illegally held, against all the laws of God and man and in defiance of international agreement and the solemn pledges of armistice.

They are in all verity kidnaped from our bosom by brigands—international pirates—who have demonstrated their disregard for honor and law and justice by this their very act. Does the law negotiate with criminals? Do honorable men contract with thieves and cutthroats? Do the courts accept the word of convicted perjurers? Does a brave man submit to the dictates of a pickpocket?

Shall we negotiate until most of these boys are dead or mad? Shall we continue to permit these boys to be used as instruments to force diplomatic dignification of these international highwaymen? Shall we negotiate away still further the slim margin of honor and security our people still have—and end up once more in a disgraceful ransom deal? Shall these boys be allowed to believe that they have been abandoned by their God and their people to the brutality of barbarians?

The Communists in China have denied God, law, honor, morals, ethics, and truth. How can we negotiate, in any conscience and to any effect, with the beasts of field and forest? Their regimes are founded on force and violence, they exist by force and violence, they govern by force and violence, and they believe in and respect only force and violence. Shall we deny them their chosen dish by refusing to tell them: "Our boys now or the iron fist of American might in your teeth."

As that warm feeling comes over you when you notice the resemblances, the mannerisms—the vague little grin— in your child that remind you of dad, turn your thoughts to the families of those 13 boys across the Pacific Ocean. Each of these resemblances and mannerisms—these little smiles—that are filling you up with love and pride are inflicting burning wounds on those families, a desperate rush to hide from the children the bitter, scalding tears of utter unhappiness. They are reminders of the loved one who isn't there—who may never be there.

I believe in the words in our Declaration of Independence, "we pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor," were intended to mean just what they say; I believe in the Constitution which implements them; and I believe in the God which has graced us with the power to carry out our mandates. And I do not believe that the obligations of our Government to the British, the French, or to anyone else supersede its obligations to our own people.

Excerpt From Report of AFL Executive Council on Taft-Hartley Act Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, during the 2d session of the 83d Congress certain amendments proposed to the Taft-Hartley Act were recommitted to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. I have often wondered why that was done and what the facts behind the action were.

This morning my question was answered when I read the AFL executive council's own words, reprinted from pages 67 and 68 of its report to the convention of the AFL held at Los Angeles on September 20, 1954. The excerpt explains how the AFL blocked the Taft-Hartley Act changes.

I ask unanimous consent that the excerpt from the report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

As reported, a few minor, favorable proposals were contained in the bill, but the major proposals were so objectionable it was necessary for us to oppose it in its entirety.

Many amendments, most of them very objectionable, were pending when the Senate began consideration of the bill on May 3, and as the Senate then had 36 Senators who voted against labor previously for Taft-Hartley and only 13 who voted favorably with the remaining Members divided 17 favorable, 17 unfavorable with 13 doubtful, it was realized the bill could not be defeated as the Senate stood 30 favorable, 53 unfavorable, and 13 doubtful, so it was decided to endeavor to recommit the bill.

Not having the votes to do this we realized, before the Senate began debating the bill, that we would be obliged to resort to parliamentary maneuvers to accomplish our purpose.

When debate began in the Senate on the bill, after Chairman SMITH had made his speech in behalf of it, Senator GOLDWATER presented his very objectionable amendment. This amendment turned all labor matters back to the States. This was most objectionable to practically all Democratic and Republican Senators from Northern States as there are now 17 States, mostly in the South, who have right-to-work, non-union-shop laws, and the amendment would have given further impetus to the migration of industry to these Southern States, and we were advised that if the Goldwater amendment was adopted that all southern Senators would be obliged to vote for the bill. We, therefore, permitted the debate to continue for a couple days and then Senators IVES and LEHMAN presented fair labor practice amendments. This, of course, put the southerners on the spot because they were obliged to oppose this and it also did the same for the Republicans who, as a party, are supposed to favor the proposal. The A. F. of L. was opposed to a FEPC proposal being added to a labor bill.

We then made arrangements with Senator HILL to offer the motion to recommit before any amendments were voted on and as all factions were fearful and more or less confused, they voted to recommit the bill, 50 to 42.

Senator HILL did a magnificent job in presenting his recommittal motion and every Democratic Senator voted for recommittal with Republican Senators LANGER, MALONE, and YOUNG joining them, as did Independent Senator WAYNE MORSE.

Prior to all this, President Meany presented a statement to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in regard to the bill. He also sent an analysis of the bill, with a letter, to all national and international unions, State federations of labor, central labor unions, and Federal labor unions, requesting them to contact their Senators in opposition to it. Also he sent a letter to all Members of the Senate just prior to the time the vote came on recommittal, asking them to vote for recommittal.

The leading newspapers of the country have stated that the recommittal of this bill was the greatest legislative defeat President Eisenhower has received in either session of the 83d Congress.

The bill is dead for this session.

Imports of Foreign Residual Fuel Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to establish quota limitations on imports of foreign residual fuel oil. This bill is designed to check the present unfair competition now facing the coal industry of the United States. The continued unrestricted flow of cheap, foreign residual fuel oil created this unfair competition.

The depression now existing in the coal producing areas of the United States is unprecedented in the history of the entire industry. It is heartbreaking to see the mass unemployment; workers denied the right to employment through no fault of their own in one of America's major and most important industries. This unemployment, with its resultant unrest, has also spread to the railroads and other major industries dependent upon the production of coal.

On a recent trip to Europe I had an opportunity to see at first hand a number of communities where industrial recovery has been slow and real prosperity is still not in sight. Let me point out, however, that nowhere did I find the economic stagnation that has enveloped the coal producing communities of West Virginia since foreign residual oil began its relentless surge into the fuel markets of the east coast.

To my way of thinking, our first obligation is here at home, and for that reason I would say that the time for action is long since past due. From experience we know that the executive branch of government will not correct this grossly unjust situation. In fact, it has yet to take the first effective step to limit this importation of foreign residual fuel oil. Therefore, this limitation of imports must come through Congressional action and we must act now.

In conclusion, let me point out that this same foreign product has washed out coal production capacity that is vital to a defense program. If an emergency should come, none of the platitudinous statements about high levels of trade will be of any value in meeting the demands of a stepped-up industrial effort in a fuel-hungry mobilization economy. We will need coal and more coal, but we will not get it unless we act now to keep our coal mines open in the interim period.

Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN WELKER
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the second of a series of four article dealing with our foreign policy, written by Judge Jim Gossett and published in the Gooding (Idaho) Leader of December 16, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Judge Jim Gossett)

Now how about this peaceful coexistence idea that has been spouted out of Washington all over the country? Is there now or has there ever been any possibility of Russia honestly giving any thought to that concept, except strictly on a temporary basis as fitted their needs and as worked into their master plan as a necessary tactic? Our State Department seems won over by the idea that they are acting nasty but they are talking softer, on the side, than they have been doing.

Is that something new? Is this the first time the Kremlin has talked nice and offered to play along with the boys? Is it possible that the Russian Government really means what it is saying in spite of what it is doing? Their actions speak for themselves; they give reason to believe that the Soviets are determined to keep on killing Americans and stirring up every conceivable trouble for the United States as long as they can get away with it. They say they are going to be good boys from here in through. I repeat, can we believe them?

Flatly, positively, and absolutely no. The Communists themselves have been telling us that ever since they existed as a recognizable "ism." To use the words of their original and greatest dupe in this country, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, they have told us "again, and again, and again." In 1847 Karl Marx, the father of communism, wrote into his Communist manifesto: "The Communists disdain to conceal their aims and views. They openly declare that their ends can be obtained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

In the collected works of Lenin we find the following: "International imperialism disposing of the might of capital cannot coexist with the Soviet Republic. Conflict is unavoidable, and here is the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its greatest historical task, that of provoking the international revolution."

There is one high-flying phrase in that quotation that needs explaining. Just what does Lenin mean by "international imperialism disposing of the might of capitalism"?

Any nation that is non-Communist is one that is "disposing of the might of capital"; any nation that has become the object of Communist subversion, aggression, or destruction is imperialist.

The best example of all is our own United States. We are certainly a big nation "disposing of the might of capital," and we are called imperialist a thousand times each day by the Commies, in spite of the fact that we wish no territorial gains, political aggrandizement, or have no selfish world motives at all. And in spite of the fact that we annually give away billions of dollars in money and goods to promote the welfare of other nations.

Now what has the late Joe Stalin had to say in this regard? For just one example (and there are thousands) let us take the often quoted passage from his letter to young comrade Ivanov of February 12, 1938, which is: "The existence of the Soviet Republic next to a number of imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. In the end either the one or the other will have the better of it." (Never forget that any and all nations become automatically imperialist according to Communist doctrine simply by virtue of being capitalistic and, therefore, non-Communist.)

All right, you say, that was Marx, Stalin, and Lenin. Couldn't they have changed? How's about right now? Here is what Mr. Sam Watson had to say on October 21 last about a conversation he had just had with Nikita S. Khrushchev, the number two man in the Soviet Union. (Mr. Watson is a British Labor Party executive and a Mine Workers Union representative just returned from Soviet Russia and Red China.)

Mr. Watson says: "You can rest assured that the following paragraph sums up correctly the outcome of my conversation with Nikita S. Khrushchev." And here's what Khruschev said: "Coexistence in the field of trade—immediately; coexistence militarily and diplomatically—on terms; coexistence ideologically—never." (Ideologically means beliefs, aims, basic philosophy, reason for existing.") In this connection you must remember that the Communists do not believe in the Almighty—they are strict atheists. Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, and Molotov are their gods.

You must also always remember that the only reason for the existence of the Reds is world communism, accomplished by violent world revolution. The words of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, etc., are their supreme law, their religion, and the only thing in which they believe.

Referring to Khrushchev's words: "Coexistence in the field of trade—immediately"; the Soviets are not able to produce such things as consumer goods, locomotives and machine tools in the quantities they need. It is temporarily to their advantage to trade with us; as to "coexistence militarily and diplomatically—on terms," it means on their terms they have everything to gain and nothing to lose because they are winning in the diplomatic field now.

You may ask: "But do the Communists deliberately talk one way and act another, never meaning what they say; saying and doing things purely for a temporary advantage?" Read this from the 27th volume of Lenin's collected work, pages 84 and 85: "that history usually moves in zigzags, and that Marxists (Communists) must make allowances for the most complex and whimsical zigzags of history is indisputable. • • • Every zigzag of history is a compromise, a compromise between the old, which is no longer strong enough completely to reject the new, and the new, which is not yet strong enough completely to overthrow the old. Marxism deems it necessary to resort to compromises."

In other words, saying or doing anything that is, or seems, inconsistent with their avowed aims is absolutely O. K. for the time being, so long as it serves their purposes. Hence their "peace offensives," their talk of coexistence—or their nonaggression pact with Hitler. Lies and deceit are, admittedly, one of the basic tools of the Commies—used to throw the other guy off balance. We will close with a splendid example—that of Yalta.

When the puppet government in Poland got worried about Stalin's promise at Yalta of "free" elections in Poland to replace them, Stalin sent this word to them by Bulganin, while the Yalta Conference was still in progress: "The Yalta declaration is a scrap of paper. It was necessary to satisfy Roosevelt and Churchill—but we will not abide by it." And, of course, that didn't.

What in heck do they mean by peaceful coexistence?

Reliable Allies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful column by Walter Lippmann, which appeared in the Washington Post of last Thursday.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
RELIABLE ALLIES

At the end of last week when M. Mendes-France had just managed to push the Paris accords through the Assembly, official Washington let it be known that they were sick at heart about the instability of France and full of doubts about her reliability as an ally. Now it may be interesting to know how these officials feel. But it would be even more interesting if they showed that they had given the problem more serious thought. For the problem is not new, it is very serious, and it is highly complicated. To make it known to the world that you do not trust your ally is a remarkably poor way of promoting an alliance. For your ally will repay your distrust with his distrust.

The best way, it seems to me, to begin thinking about French instability and reliability is to realize that the French, and not by any means the French only, have been sick at heart about the instability of the United States and full of doubts about our reliability as an ally. The decline of American prestige has been very great in the past 3 years. The decline is directly related to the instability of the Executive in relation to Congress during Truman's last year and Eisenhower's first 2 years. We are shocked, and rightly so, at the irresponsible destructiveness of the French Assembly. But we must realize that our friends throughout the world have been no less shocked by our own version of this same kind of irresponsible destructiveness.

Our own instability is not so obvious as the French because the President does not resign as does the French Premier. But our own instability, which is having enormous consequences, comes from the same malady. It comes from the enfeeblement of the executive power in relation to an aggressive and aggrandized Assembly. This produces an instability which has caused doubt about the reliability of the alliance. The instability in France has raised the doubt whether the French would resist a Soviet aggression. The instability in Washington has raised the doubt whether we might let ourselves be unilaterally pushed or provoked or seduced into taking the steps that would bring on a world war.

It is much easier to cure the instability under the American than under the French Constitution. For our Constitution was carefully designed by the Founding Fathers to avoid this particular instability. The Constitution was designed to produce a government in which the initiative and the leadership are in the President, in which the Congress advises, refuses, consents, inquires, but does not itself govern and administer. The system is weighted in such a way that normally a President can take the initiative and hold the leadership, and in doing so win general national support. The Government works well when it is operated as a Presidential Government. It works very badly when the President is weak, and when he appeases a Congress which is in a mood to usurp the executive power. The Government worked very badly for these very reasons in reconstruction after the Civil War, under Harding after the First World War, and under Truman and Eisenhower since 1951.

The French Constitution, on the other hand, is designed to produce a weak executive who is no match for an all-powerful Assembly of Deputies. The drama of M. Mendes-France has been his attempt to make work an unworkable constitution, to wring decisions out of an Assembly which is so set up that its whole intent and energy are against the taking of national decisions. M. Mendes-France has performed a remarkable personal feat. But a country cannot be made stable and be governed well by personal feats. It is hard for the observer to see how France can achieve stability without a reform of the constitution.

As for the reliability of alliances, the best insurance is not to forget that no alliance is ever absolute, that all alliances are relative to historic circumstances and subject to the vital interests of the country. There is no such thing as an alliance which will work automatically at all times under all conditions. Even in the very closest alliances there will always be in time of crisis a moment of decision, when in fact it has to be decided whether the people will support the war in the form in which it is proposed to them. We are, for example, closely and intimately allied with Great Britain. But the alliance would not be automatic for a war which began in the Far East and took the form of an American intervention.

When we think about the reliability of an alliance, we are really asking ourselves how far and under what circumstances it would work automatically. The answer to that question is of the greatest consequence in military planning, and we can be quite sure that it is a question that the Russians never forget to think about. We can be sure, too, that if they are planning a military aggression, they will plan it in such a way as to prevent the NATO alliance from working automatically. They will produce a confused situation which divides the allies, not a simple and obvious situation—such as a march toward Paris—which unites them automatically.

Thinking about the reliability of our allies we shall, therefore, do well to shun moral judgments and to translate our doubts into a cool appraisal of how far, in which of the possible situations, the alliance will work automatically. For when an alliance is not automatic, which is almost all the time, good diplomacy consists in taking nothing for granted, in taking no one, no matter how fashionable and popular he may be at the moment, as definitely lined up, and in recognizing that an alliance is a tie that has to be renewed continually.

Resolutions of East Atlanta Post, No. 159, American Legion, Department of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on September 28, 1954, the members of East Atlanta Post, No. 159, of the American Legion, Department of Georgia, adopted two resolutions, dealing respectively with the usurpation of legislative functions by the executive and judicial branches of the Federal Government, and with the length of the terms of office of Members of the United States House of Representatives.

On December 7, 1954, that post of the American Legion, Department of Georgia, adopted a resolution protesting the trial of members of United States military forces by the courts of foreign countries under provisions of certain treaties.

Under unanimous consent granted, I insert these resolutions herewith:

Whereas article 1, section 1, of the Constitution of the United States reads as follows: "All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives"; and

Whereas in recent years the powers of the Congress of the United States is being usurped by the executive and judicial branches of our Government to the detriment of our people and to the Government itself; and

Whereas George Washington in his Farewell Address said: "If in the opinion of the people the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates, but let there be no change by usurpations for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed": Therefore

Resolved, That members of East Atlanta Post, No. 159, the American Legion, Department of Georgia, memorialize the national executive department to petition the United States Congress to rededicate its Members to the duties of legislative powers vested in it by the Constitution, before usurpation by the executive and judicial branches of our Government causes the Congress to be abolished, since the Senate and House of Representatives are elected by the people to serve in this capacity; further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished our representatives in Washington, D. C.

Unanimously adopted this September 28, 1954.

J. H. DRUMM,
Commander.
W. B. JONES,
Adjutant.

Whereas the Constitution of the United States provides that Members of the House of Representatives shall be elected by vote of the people in their respective district every 2 years; and

Whereas at the time of the adoption of the Constitution traveling and communications were remote, and the 1800 census shows United States population at 5,308,483; and

Whereas in this new age of wireless radio and television communication being instantaneous, travel by airplane makes ready connection with a population of 150,697,361 shown in the 1950 census: Therefore

Resolved, That members of East Atlanta Post, No. 159, the American Legion, memorialize the national executive committee to petition the United States Congress to adopt necessary legislation to provide that the Constitution be amended to elect Representatives to Congress every 4 years, which will give a Member elected to Congress a more reasonable chance and more time to devote to constructive legislation rather than spend so much time each 2 years campaigning for election. Effective with the 84th Congress; further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished our Representatives in Washington, D. C., and to the Atlanta Journal and Constitution.

Unanimously adopted this September 28, 1954.

J. H. DRUMM,
Commander.
W. B. JONES,
Adjutant.

Whereas the ratification of the international treaty law of July 15, 1953, by the United States Senate which places the United States military in foreign lands under the jurisdiction of foreign courts; and

Whereas this law if permitted to continue in effect can be detrimental to all troops in foreign lands by being arrested on trumped-up charges simultaneous with an attack, which would dwarf the Pearl Harbor attack beyond comprehension: Therefore

Resolved, That members of East Atlanta Post, No. 159, memorialize the department executive committee to petition the national executive committee to investigate the effect of the July 15, 1953; ratification by Congress of the NATO status of forces treaty law, which we are advised supersedes the Constitution for men drafted by the United States Government and placed in foreign lands, to be governed by the courts of said lands without the protection of the United States Constitution, while in uniform defending our Constitution; further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished our Representatives in Washington.

Unanimously adopted December 7, 1954.

J. H. DRUMM,
Commander.
W. B. JONES,
Adjutant.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend and colleague the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CARRIGG].

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, in expressing my sympathy to the widow of DWIGHT ROGERS on the passing of her husband and in expressing my sympathy to the delegation from the great State of Florida, I can only say that DWIGHT ROGERS and I were geographically and politically as far apart probably as the poles, he being a Democrat and I being a Republican, and he being from the great State of Florida and I being from the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. But during the last year, I have the privilege of living with him very closely for a week or 10 days on one of the committee trips throughout the West, and I came to know DWIGHT ROGERS as one of my fondest friends. I know there is a saying that it is holy and wholesome to pray for the dead. My prayer today is that Almighty God in his charity and mercy will grant to the soul of DWIGHT ROGERS eternal peace and also grant strength to Mrs. Rogers that she may carry the heavy cross which has been bestowed upon her.

Commonsense About Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, Alaska was honored to have as a visitor in November Mr. Ralph D. Paine, Jr., publisher of Fortune magazine. Mr. Paine traveled widely in the Territory, and I still am receiving letters from different communities expressing the pleasure of the writers at having had the opportunity to meet and talk with Mr. Paine. During the course of his stay with us he addressed the Alaska Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Paine's analysis of the Alaska situation was factual and practical. It was most interesting to me and to many others that he came to the conclusion that statehood is essential if Alaska is to make the progress to which its resources entitle it.

I take pleasure in offering here the text of Mr. Paine's talk before the Alaska Chamber of Commerce:

[From the Anchorage Daily Times of November 15, 1954]

FORTUNE PUBLISHER CITES NEED FOR STATEHOOD

(An address delivered to the Alaska Chamber of Commerce by Ralph D. Paine, Jr., publisher of Fortune magazine)

It is a very real pleasure for me to be here tonight. To see Alaska for the first time is an experience too few Americans have enjoyed. I expect to see more of this great frontier in the next few days, as much as I possibly can. And I do not expect it to disappoint me.

In preparing for the honor or addressing you tonight it didn't take long to see that I would look pretty silly if I did not say something about Alaska statehood. And finally I was forced to put it up to my associates in this fashion: "If Time, Life, and Fortune do not have a position on statehood, I don't have a speech."

One fact grew on us as we studied the questions that we felt had never been given proper weight. It is a simple fact and an easy one to remember. If it were properly publicized in the United States, I believe you would gain immense support in no less than 47 States. And that is the fact that the instant Alaska achieves statehood the Lone Star State of Texas ceases to be the biggest State in the Union.

This was obviously not a determining factor. But after further study and much discussion we came to a conclusion. This conclusion can be stated quite simply. As of tonight, Time, Life, and Fortune are in favor

of statehood for the great frontier Territory of Alaska.

Now I know the question of statehood is not a simple one. Able and honest men differ on it. The differing arguments are powerful and persuasive. Certainly the conditions in the two Territories seeking admission to the Union, Hawaii and Alaska, cannot be compared.

I share the general American respect for President Eisenhower's military judgment, but I cannot believe that he has been adequately informed on Alaska. If there are any real military advantages to Territorial status, I have never seen a convincing case. If Hawaii presents no military problems, it is hard to see how Alaska would.

It may be of small comfort to you but the admission of new States has always been bitterly opposed. At the Constitution Convention in 1787, Gouverneur Morris, an eminently sound Philadelphian, foreseeing the creation of many new States west of the Alleghenies, argued for a rule of representation which would secure to the Atlantic States a prevalence in the national councils.

A little later, in the debate over the admission of Louisiana which led to further debate about the next tier of Western States seeking statehood, an impassioned Congressman from Massachusetts cried: "You have no authority to throw the rights and property of this people into a 'hotch-pot' with the wild men on the Missouri."

But the wild men of the frontier would not be downed. One of the early petitions for statehood is also reminiscent. With the wit and wisdom of the true frontiersman the unknown author of this petition addressed Congress thus: "Some of our fellow citizens may think we are not able to conduct our affairs and consult our interests; but if our society is rude, much wisdom is not necessary to supply our wants, and a fool can sometimes put on his clothes better than a wise man can do it for him."

The frontier shaped and determined American political philosophy, American society and the American economy. Our democratic ideals, our individualism, our extraordinary ingenuity and adaptability and our energy are the product of 3½ centuries of ever changing frontier experience. We need the frontier. We need Alaska in our national life.

These values which have so enriched our national life derived from the experience of succeeding generations of men and women—not necessarily ladies and gentlemen—in their assault upon the wilds and the wilderness. No other word is appropriate. The assault upon the frontier of North America was conducted with the zeal and determination of a great and victorious army.

It is fashionable today to bemoan and regret the excesses of the pioneers; to talk of the spoliation of the continent, the rape of its resources. How else could this job have been done; the settlement and development of most of the continent in a short 100 years?

What is so often forgotten today is that the incessant, driving energy of American frontier society was lightened and animated by enduring ideals. They were ideals which we, their descendants, take for granted and call by such trite names as "the American way of life" or, that sorry commonplace, "the free-enterprise system." It was a free-enterprise system all right, but the frontiersmen saw it in perspective in terms of means to ends, and the ends were not just the good society but the ever better society. Each generation of sacrifice in this never-ending effort to improve the common lot, contributed to the most revolutionary force in the world, then and now, the American achievement. What stirs the masses of Asia, the so-called working classes of Europe, or the peons of Latin America, even the natives of Africa? Communism? No. Communism promises, falsely and wickedly, a shortcut to the American achievement, and with all our faults, those ideas are more closely approximated in the United States of America today than at anytime in history.

When the rough, tough job of populating the continent was finished, it was time to take stock, and only then. And the beginnings of the conservation movement date back to the closing of the continental frontier. Perhaps policies suitable to the continental United States today are not wise for this new frontier of Alaska. Perhaps Alaska, the 49th or 50th State, should restudy the creative forces loosed upon the continental frontier between 1790 and 1890.

It would be wasting your time to catalog for you the known and suspected resources of Alaska. At this convention you have heard many experts who know far more about them than I will ever know. This territory, one-fifth the size of the continental United States, is one of the true frontiers remaining on the face of the earth. There are parts of Africa which offer Europe its last best chance to regain economic and social vitality. There is the vast interior of South America. There is Siberia which the Russians like to think is their Great West. And there is Alaska, and the friendly territory of Canada. History tells us that the development of Canada and the development of the United States generally run parallel courses, and we should study our neighbor closely; Canada is in an extraordinary period of development.

However rich these last great frontiers are, they all share in the same deficiencies, people, and capital.

If you look to the east—here I mean to the west to Siberia—you can see some spectacular development going on. The methods may be effective but they will never be our methods. If we arrested millions of citizens and shipped them to Alaska; if there had been a total disregard of the relative economic value of investment, Alaska, too, might boast of its Yakutsk and its Magadan or its Kola Peninsula, all based on forced labor. Perhaps Russia's Arctic scientists may have something to offer us, but for the rest I suggest that we will have to look elsewhere.

More particularly, I suggest that the best place to look for guidance in developing a new frontier is to look to our own unique American experience. After all, we are history's greatest experts on continental development, socially and politically as well as economically. The advance of the American pioneers from the original tidewater colonies to the shores of the Pacific is the epic of settlement and development.

And in the next few minutes I would like to recall for you a few of the things that contributed to successful settlement and development of the continental United States. These first principles, evolved in the trial and error of American frontier history, may still be valid for an Alaska which is the present American frontier. I suggest that, as citizens of a future State, you consider these two things: first the importance of land policy and second the question as to whether conservation policies which are valid in the continental United States are applicable to a frontier like Alaska.

Let us consider first the importance of land policy.

For nearly 200 years land policy was a burning issue in American politics and had the attention of 6 or 7 generations of leading statesmen. As early as 1650 the frontier towns of Massachusetts, towns that are now the suburbs of Boston, were complaining bitterly about absentee ownership. The marks of different land policies can be seen to this day by simply driving from New York State across the border into Connecticut, Massachusetts and Vermont. Eastern New York developed under a system of landed proprietors and tenant farmers; New Englanders were freeholders, and the pride and industry developed by the New Englander can still be seen in the contrast between eastern New York and New England in the villages and countryside on either side of the State lines.

Squatting was always a thoroughly respectable method of land disposal. Grants and sales of large tracts for development were highly successful. Federal policy went through various phases in various places, culminating in Lincoln's Homestead Act. The phrase "land office business" became a permanent part of the American language. But whatever the particular policy at any particular time, whether it was by sales, by grants, by preemption or by homesteading, the objective of the policy was always the same; get the land into private ownership.

I am not competent to specify land policies for Alaska. I do, however, believe that the objective should be to get land into private hands, as speedily as possible. And I suspect that no one policy will suffice. Alaska is almost a subcontinent, so large and so varied that many methods will be necessary to get a substantial amount of land into private hands.

A cursory reading of the Interior's Bulletin on Information Relative to the Disposal and Leasing of Public Lands in Alaska, suggests that the present laws might be improved. The idea of the 160-acre homestead seems to me to be totally obsolete. The economics of modern agriculture require tremendous investments in machinery and equipment and large acreage to use them on. The capital requirements of an ordinary independent farmer in Iowa or Illinois today are around $200,000. In the milksheds of the East it is not considered economic to operate a dairy farm with less than 100 milking cows. There are cattle areas in the Mountain States where one is foolish to operate less than 10,000 acres and 50,000 is safer.

To talk of homesteading 160 acres is like talking about 40 acres and a mule. It would be more realistic to start talking about 1,000 acres and a bulldozer. I am under no illusion that Alaska's destiny is to be a great agricultural state. But agriculture is always important.

Another aspect of land policy that should be reconsidered is land speculation. Land speculation is as old as America, an honored tradition. George Washington died the richest man of his time and most of his fortune was made in land speculation.

Land speculation should carry no opprobrium in a frontier country. Nine-tenths of the towns and cities of the continental United States owe their origins to bold, courageous, and farsighted men engaged in land speculation.

Thus the first guide from American history to successful settlement and development is sound land policy. The objective is to get land out of the public domain and into private hands. Make it easy but above all make it profitable.

And frontier land policies at this late date are better handled by a State than by the Federal Government. When you get statehood get as much land as you can. The Department of the Interior is the law in 35 percent of the land in the 11 Western States; in Nevada it runs to more than two-thirds of the total. Texas, which is not only big but also smart, made local ownership of all land a condition of entry into the Union.

The second guide to frontier development is to be found in the 19th century attitude toward natural resources. This attitude runs directly contrary to most contemporary thought on the subject. The phrase of the day is: "It belongs to the people." I'm not sure I know what that phrase means—if it means anything. It is clear that the monu-

ments, parks, and any other elements of the national historical heritage should be preserved, not as wealth or assets with a dollar value but as a service to the American people.

Largely by accident the Federal Government is the owner of certain remnants of the total stock of resources which for the most part has long since passed into private hands. In certain cases, notably the national forests, this came about by deliberate choice. And, again, I am not talking about the preservation of national monuments or the maintenance of national parks.

But that is far different from treating straight economic assets as a trust for the economic benefit of the general populace. If private individuals can see ways of exploiting resources, the Government should dispose of them in an equitable fashion. Everyone will gain; what makes this subject a political issue, of course, is that some will gain more than others. Throughout the history of the continental frontier sheer envy of this kind was rare. As long as everyone gained, the fact that some gained more than others was not regarded as particularly wrong or wicked. Indeed it was rather applauded.

The revenues from Federal operation in the economic field at best are peanuts in the budget. Far better the Government enjoy the added taxes from successful exploitation by private individuals or corporations.

Another concept which runs along with the "belongs-to-the-people" thesis is orderly development. The development of the United States was a very disorderly affair. Our system allows for a great many mistakes but it does have the supreme advantage of preventing total mistakes. There is continuous self-correction; there are always alternatives.

It is my impression that there is a tendency on the part of the Great White Father in Washington to believe that Alaska should be developed in an orderly fashion—that is, planned from the top down. I say let the Alaskans plan for themselves.

In the opening and exploitation of the frontier, many hard choices have to be made. After the Civil War when the American frontier was moving across the Great Plains, the choice had to be made between the settlers and the buffalo. As the slaughter of the buffalo mounted, cries of outrage arose from the East. Gen. Phil Sheridan, then in command of the Southwest, said bluntly: "Either these plains are to be opened to the settlers or they are to be left to the buffalo. They cannot accommodate both."

Again, let me emphasize that I'm in complete sympathy with sound conservation policies. I'm even in sympathy with deliberate preservation of great tracts of wilderness, just for the sake of wilderness. But I'm inclined to think that people can get overly worried about these matters. Northern New Hampshire and Maine are still wilderness after 300 years, actually increasingly so as the old farms are abandoned and revert to forest land.

I am also for reasonable regulation of private exploitation. But this again is not a matter for worry. This is not the 19th century when the great corporation and large-scale enterprise was wholly new. Today the potential control of private enterprise is almost complete. Federal power over corporate enterprise is assured and absolute.

Moreover, the great modern corporations have changed and developed a sense of their social obligations and a broadened concept of their own longtime interests. No modern pulp or lumber company wants to strip the Tongass Forest. If nothing else deterred them, their own sense of self-preservation would dictate the practices of sound forestry.

Alaska should make every effort to attract the great corporation. For the corporation of today is prepared to make the tremendous investments that Alaska needs. Look what is going on in Kitimat in British Columbia. There the Canadian Aluminum Co. is pioneering on a scale never before witnessed on this continent—and all with private capital. And British Columbia will never regret it.

If the United States people wish to keep Alaska as a sort of jet-age supercolossal national park, then the Department of the Interior is the logical keeper of the park. But the American people have never expressed that desire, and never will. The American people want to see Alaska developed as all our other frontiers have been developed. If Alaska needs help from the Federal Government for its development, there is plenty of precedent. There is plenty of precedent right at home in the western States today.

So I say, if Alaska wants statehood Alaska should have statehood. Moreover, when it gets statehood I predict that things will start to happen here. Americans have always shown bursts of creative energy when they were released from political and social conditions to which they were opposed.

Alaska's present dependence on Washington is not healthy; it is certainly not healthy for Alaska and it's not healthy for the Union. Every effort which can be made to cut down, dispense and diffuse the fantastic empire of the Department of the Interior is sound and constructive statesmanship. This is said with no personal feeling whatever. Interior is full of devoted and intelligent public servants. But the history of the Department as a whole has been one of relentless aggrandizement of Federal power. The purpose set forth over the years by the Congress was for Interior to service not rule.

The kind of people that Alaska needs are people who find the pervasiveness of the Federal Government in domestic affairs irksome and discouraging. The kind of people Alaska needs are people who want fresh opportunities. The publications of the Department of the Interior would persuade me to go to Canada, not Alaska. There is too much Federal Government in Alaska to tempt anyone with the pioneering spirit.

And I would like to see Alaska a pioneering land, feeding back to the older States something they have lost and which they need—a fresh infusion of frontier experience. The continental United States of America is growing crowded; there are too many people crowding in upon the great metropolitan areas. The traffic problem, now to be found in every town and hamlet, will not be cured by superhighways and slum clearance. America needs space. The necessities of a highly complex society, the terrible pressure of urbanization, have made deep inroads into the independent spirit of our country. And the independent spirit, as we have known it in America, is a product of frontier traditions.

Let Alaska's contribution to our national life be not only gold and salmon and forests and minerals. Let Alaska's contribution be the revitalizing of the independent spirit in America.

So far this evening I have talked of Alaska only in terms of its relations to the other 48 States. I would be remiss if I did not at least mention the larger role of Alaska, the role of Alaska and the world. I was billed on this very broad subject, and if I have neglected it, it is only because I believe it is imperative that Alaska's relations to the Union be settled first. This is of paramount importance.

But in conclusion I would like to open the focus upon Alaska and the world. And I wish to do it not in my own words but in those of the great historian of the American frontier, the late Frederick Jackson Turner. This magnificent Harvard historian gave the commencement address at the University of Washington in June 1914, just a few weeks before the world of our fathers disappeared into the nightmare of World War I, the true opening of what Sir Winston Churchill has called this terrible century.

Standing before his audience in the Northwest on the eve of Europe's disintegration, this historian, this eastern historian, who understood America as few Americans ever have, Frederick Jackson Turner uttered some rare and prophetic words.

Remember, please, that this is 1914, before the incident at Sarajevo at a time when America was still preoccupied by its internal development. Remember, too, that the speaker was the man who wrenched the teaching of American history away from the stale chronicles of foreign and domestic dates, and channeled it into a true understanding of the frontier as the dominant force in the creation of the United States of America.

The words I will leave with you in conclusion are the words of Frederick Jackson Turner on a June morning in 1914 to the graduating class at the University of Washington. These were his prophetic words:

"In the Pacific Northwest the era of construction has not ended, but it is so rapidly in progress that we can already see the closing of the age of the pioneers. Already Alaska beckons on the north, and pointing to her wealth of natural resources asks the Nation on what terms the new age will deal with her. Across the Pacific looms Asia, no longer a remote vision and a symbol of the unchanging, but borne as by mirage close to our shores and raising grave questions of the common destiny of the people of the ocean.

"The dreams of Benton and of Seward of a regenerated Orient, when the long march of westward civilization should complete its circle, seem almost to be in process of realization. The age of the Pacific Ocean begins, mysterious and unfathomable in its meaning for our own future."

God bless the State of Alaska.

Thank you very much.

Pius Is Ranked Among Greatest Popes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a column by Drew Pearson, paying his respects to the life and work of Pope Pius XII.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

(By Drew Pearson)

PIUS IS RANKED AMONG GREATEST POPES

I shall never forget my audience with Pope Pius XII. It is difficult to describe one's impression upon meeting him—great gentleness, great depth of understanding, deep insight. But most of all I came away thinking that if our governmental leaders could have his understanding, peace would not be the elusive thing it is today.

I have been thinking about that audience during the Christmas season—obviously not a very happy Christmas for those in the Vatican worried about His Holiness' health.

The Vatican is a matchless setting for this entirely different and equally compelling man. You pass by the Swiss guards with their striped uniforms, holding their efficient-looking halberds, then up a broad flight of stairs, across a courtyard and up more stairs to a reception room filled with soldiers, whose uniforms, designed by Michel-

angelo, become progressively more magnificent as you move from one room to another.

Then, after a wait in the final anteroom, His Holiness entered. You could not help contrast the magnificence of the room with his simplicity, his ascetic face, his magnetic personality.

It was easy to understand why students of the Vatican agree that Pius XII will go down in history as one of the greatest pontiffs in the 2,000-year tradition of his religion, as well as one of the most brilliant men of his time.

The Pope's Humor

It was also easy to understand the truth of a story told about his audience with a group of Genovese pilgrims, when a small boy, kneeling for his blessing, suddenly looked up at the kindly pontiff and blurted out:

"Holy Father, when I grow up I'm going to be like you. I'm going to be pope."

There was a shocked silence. But Pius smiled.

"Ah, my son, you do not know what you wish for yourself," he said.

The Pope's sprightly sense of humor also manifested itself when, at Castel Gandolfo, the Vatican summer residence, a great throng of pilgrims had gathered for his blessing.

Pius spoke so many languages that he seldom had need of an interpreter. So he began addressing each bloc of pilgrims in their own language. He spoke to one group in French, another in German, another in Spanish, until the meeting became like a game, with various foreign contingents humorously challenging the pope to say something in their tongue.

Pius joined in good-naturedly, continuing the linguistic welcomes until he had spoken in English, Polish, Hungarian, Dutch, and Portuguese. Finally a pilgrim with a River Liffey accent standing in a group the pontiff had overlooked spoke up:

"Your Holiness, we from Ireland."

With a laugh, the pope promptly said, "Cead mile failthe," Gaelic for "A hundred thousand welcomes."

His economic views

Pius XII is frequently compared with his predecessors, Pius XI and Leo XIII, both of whom were known for their social consciousness. All three thought along the same economic and political lines and did not hesitate to speak with great frankness.

Leo XIII and Pius XI were noted for their "de rerum novarum" and "quadragesimo anno" encyclicals, which spoke out against economic exploitation of the workingman and the unfair distribution of wealth. Pius XI was quite blunt on the subject, declaring:

"The discrepancy between wealth and misery cannot be tolerated by the Christian conscience."

Decrying a system that recognized the rights of property at the expense of the individual and the family, Pius XI called for a fairer distribution of income and wider participation by labor in economic life. It is the duty of the state, he said, to stimulate increased productive enterprise and a more equitable distribution of the national income.

Pius XII, his successor, expressed himself in the same or related vein, but he branched out as well on other economic problems affecting underprivileged working classes. He is a strong advocate of a just law for "healthy housing," and even favored socialized medicine, provided it didn't conflict with the moral principles of respect for man and family.

Pius XII kept up the battle against Hitlerism and fascism begun by his predecessor, Pius XI, and won the gratitude of Jewish peoples by aiding in their escape and opening the doors of the Vatican to Nazi refugees.

Pius and communism

Pius XII had his first, personal brush with the Communists back in 1919 when, as Archbishop Pacelli, he was papal nuncio to Bavaria, where the Reds had seized power in Munich and set up a Soviet republic. When Communist bullets crashed through a window of his residence, the man who was to become pope calmly faced his attackers and refused to leave, even when a loaded pistol was shoved against his chest.

"Here I am and here I will remain," declared the future pope. "There is no power on earth which can move me."

Faced down by the archbishop's unflinching glare, the Red leader lowered his gun and departed.

Though he entered the priesthood relatively late in life, Pius' roots had been in the Vatican for generations. His father was a Vatican lawyer, while his grandfather, Marcantonio Pacelli, founded the Vatican newspaper, L'Osservatore Romano, about 95 years ago.

His visit to the United States in 1936 as the Vatican Secretary of State will long be remembered, as will his admiration for America.

"I have seen the sources of America's inexhaustible strength," he declared after his visit here. "I have seen the industrial centers and the limitless natural wealth, the development of which are eloquent of the genius of America, a country great in the high destiny God has assigned to it.

"And I pray to Almighty God that the influence of the United States may always be exerted for the promotion of peace among all peoples."

Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, in the month of December I headed a group committee representing the National Rivers and Harbors Congress which had an audience with the Bureau of the Budget, in Washington, regarding the civil functions at the coming session of Congress. This group included representatives from the States of California, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Iowa, and the District of Columbia, and they undertook to state the case for flood control and rivers and harbors work to the Bureau of Budget for every section of the Nation. Following this, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress sent out to its members a newsletter, a copy of which is presented for inclusion in my remarks. I think this matter is an extremely important one and will be of interest to every Member of the Congress. The newsletter is as follows:

NATIONAL RIVERS
AND HARBORS CONGRESS,
Washington, D. C., December 27, 1954.
To the Members of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress:

During the course of the current month, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress took strong action to help build up the budget recommendations for civil functions in the coming session of Congress. President OVERTON BROOKS led a strong committee from the National Rivers and Harbors Congress which called up the Budget Bureau and talked to its officials for over an hour. On this committee were representatives from the States of California, Florida, Maryland, Louisiana, Idaho, and the District of Columbia; and the committee therefore spoke for the entire country.

We pointed out to the Bureau of Budget that for the last 4 years budget recommendations for rivers, harbors, and flood control work had been steadily falling in the face of further inflation which constantly lessened the purchasing power of the dollar. We further pointed out that the needs of the country have been steadily increasing with our growing population and that the pressure due to long delay in starting projects had been steadily increasing. We showed that this was the case although our national policy had been to pour billions of dollars into foreign aid, neglecting or postponing the development of internal improvement in our own Nation.

Your committee recommended to the Bureau of Budget three important policies, namely:

1. A larger yearly budget for civil functions until this recommended budget shall reach the figure of $650 million per year.

2. A policy of recommending new starts in order that many projects approved for years may be given the green light.

3. The build-up of a backlog of new projects badly needed by this country in the rapid development of our internal resources. In other words, waterway development should keep pace with road, highway, and airway development.

Officials of the Bureau of Budget to whom we talked made no comment regarding the backlog. In reference to the first suggestion, namely, an increased overall budget, these officials indicated that some relief could be expected in recommendations made year after next to the Congress. During that year, some of the very large multiple-purpose dams will be completed and funds will then be available.

Mr. Carl H. Schwartz, Chief, Resources and Civil Works Division, made the statement in reference to the second suggestion that consideration was being given to "new starts" to be recommended to Congress for approval for the coming fiscal year; and that information regarding this matter would be released to the public during the early part of 1955. While we did not get all that we wanted, I feel that our committee accomplished a very useful mission on behalf of our membership and as your president, I am passing this information on to you.

Yours for a happy and prosperous New Year,

Cordially yours,
OVERTON BROOKS,
President.

New Orleans Housing Improvement and Slum Prevention Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, New Orleans is blazing a trail in housing rehabilitation.

Our program is being conducted with complete cooperation at all levels of government. It is headed by a public-spirited citizens committee. I believe

that the Members will be interested in reading a summary of the program and its operation, which is included herewith:

GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE OPERATION AND HISTORY OF THE NEW ORLEANS HOUSING IMPROVEMENT AND SLUM PREVENTION (REHABILITATION) PROGRAM

Here in New Orleans, where we are operating a rehabilitation program on an area basis, it became evident soon after we launched mass inspections in our designated areas that securing good contractors, and honest ones, was going to be a real problem. A cursory examination of the situation showed that there were no more than a round dozen firms contracting 90-percent, or thereabouts, of all of the work in these areas.

The problem, therefore, was to reach contractors who might be interested, tell them our story, get them to agree to do the work we were requiring them to do, to do it satisfactorily, and at fair prices. An added problem too was that as this program is functioning under the guidance of the city of New Orleans, none of its staff personnel could be permitted to single out individual contractors in making recommendations to property owners. After a series of conferences and small meetings between staff members of the city's division of housing improvement and slum prevention, small contractors, large organizations engaged in the building trades and the rehabilitation committee of the New Orleans Chapter of the National Association of Home Builders, it was decided to call an open meeting of all interested contractors, or individual tradesmen, to discuss the situation. Approximately 200 men attended the meeting held in July 1954 to listen to speeches by members of the city housing division of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Housing Improvement and Slum Prevention. They were submitted copies of a fair practices code and were asked to sign it, in return for the privilege of being listed as eligible for work in rehabilitation areas. The code, attached, gave the necessary license to the list, which numbered some 65 names originally. The list is used to satisfy requests of property owners for recommendation as to contractors. The owners must choose their own, and they are free to ignore the list. Within 30 days over 100 contractors had been placed on the list, and within the same period one was dismissed from the list for doing defective work. The list is being policed by the property owners and by the contractors themselves. It is helping to bring about a greater awareness of the need for good work done at a fair price. Competitive bids are, and always have been, urged for all property owners in rehabilitated areas in New Orleans.

FINANCING ORGANIZATION

It became evident early in the program also that while the city fathers and the small group of citizens who had pledged their zeal in rehabilitation were thoroughly convinced of our program's merits, someone would have to tell other important facets of community life how the program affected them. Financing, to the rehabilitation-minded workers, could be managed, for the bulk of the properties to be rehabilitated. The problem, however, was to convince sufficient lending agencies of the economic value of rehabilitation area loans. In June 1954, the citizens' committee invited every lending agency in the city to send representatives to a meeting for the specific purpose of telling this story to the lending agencies. As a result, 17 New Orleans banks and savings and loan associations today are making a steady practice of catering to rehabilitation area property owners. These lending agencies have been provided with maps indicating where the rehabilitation areas are located. And, as a regular service, the agencies are kept informed of any changes or additions made to these areas in operation.

The homesteads soon thereafter appeared before the citizens' committee executive group and presented this problem:

What is to be done in the case in which a regular client goes to the homestead and expresses an interest in a piece of property for sale, but states he is not interested in buying that property if, later on, the property would become encumbered should the city's minimum housing requirement be enforced in the property's area?

After much deliberation, the executive committee decided and urged the housing improvement division to extend an inspection service to take care of such individual problems, but to waive requirements for enforcement of the minimum housing laws, until such time when the area in which the property is located comes under rehabilitation.

Today, because of this service, the lending agencies naturally feel that the threat of new requirements being placed on much of the city's old property in the foreseeable future is no longer a danger to their business.

SUBSIDIARY COMMITTEES

Established as working subsidiaries of the citizens' advisory committee are the following committees: Relocation, technical, financing, public relations and education, legal.

Individual members of the executive committee have been assigned as liaison for one of the specific committees listed above, as follows: Walter M. Barnett, legal; Ivan M. Foley, financing; Edgar B. Stern, Jr., and Adm. W. F. Riggs, Jr., public relations and education; Clifford F. Favrot, technical; F. Poche Waguespack, Sr., relocation.

Relocation: The relocation committee has arranged for 100 units in public housing and works through other organizations and with owners of large quantities of rental property in providing units for temporary and permanent relocation of persons displaced as a direct or indirect result of the program's operation.

Technical: Members of the technical committee have revised the fence ordinance in cooperation with the staff personnel.

They have given advice to owners on specific structural and repair problems; advice on contracts, zoning violations, and solution through the informal hearings scheduled for homeowners.

They serve as technical counsel to the legal committee in the framing of new ordinances.

Financing: The financing committee is, of necessity, composed of a larger number of members than any of the other working committees. Its members serve regularly (dividing the workload among themselves) as advisors to the division and property owners at hearings held for property owners.

The committee has framed proposals for a "fight blight fund" method of financing hardship cases which, in time, will form the operational procedure when the need for such a fund becomes necessary.

The committee members, individually, assist property owners in the work of financing by advising them on procedures of financing. The interests of the property owners are represented by this committee, primarily.

The committee also serves as liaison between the program and the city's lending agencies. (At present, there are 11 members on this body. All are officials of lending agencies or related organizations.)

Public relations and education: The public relations and education committee has accomplished the almost herculean task of selling every group of community life, important in the work of rehabilitating the city's blighted housing, on the idea that the program is necessary and vital to them.

This has been done through package programs in neighborhoods where rehabilitation is about to begin. A similar procedure is scheduled for the postrehabilitation period in each area. The prerehabilitation program works in this manner:

Approximately 3 weeks before inspections begin in an area designated by the city planning commission for rehabilitation, meetings are called for all of the property owners in the area. A package program, consisting of addresses by citizens' advisory committee and staff members, literature, and project slides, is presented. Following this is a question-and-answer period. This package is designed to inform completely the property owners who attend on everything that is to be done in their neighborhood under the program, and everything they are expected to do. Following these meetings, which are held as often as is necessary to reach all of the property owners, the same procedure is used for all of the tenants, except that a "package for tenants," which is tailored to suit the interests of tenants only, is presented. In these tenants' sessions the audiences are told that in return for all of the conveniences and advantages of modern living they are to receive, they should expect to pay more. What is a fair rate? The program spokesman, in effect, states that the tenant should expect to pay 20 percent, or $1 out of every $5, he earns on his living quarters. If he is paying more than that rate he is living too well and should find more economical quarters. If he is paying less than 20 percent, he and his family are entitled to better quarters. The tenants are urged to follow the 20-percent rule of thumb. It is gratifying to reveal that proponents of the program have found that prevailing rents in rehabilitation areas before repairs are approximately only 5 to 10 percent of the occupants' incomes. Therefore, sizeable increases do not cause the hardship which many critics are inclined to claim. There are exceptions, of course. There always are. We would say that in 85 to 95 percent of the cases in any particular area that is what we find. In instances where the rents are high before repairs, it is usually easy to convince the owner that he will find himself out of the market if he increases his rents.

Subsequent meetings are held during rehabilitation for purposes of (1) encouraging owners who are delaying repairs; (2) bring owners of adjacent property together to solve their mutual fence problems; (3) to conduct hearings in the areas for the convenience of owners who cannot appear at the downtown office during regular office hours.

Sequence of all presentations, except hearings, is as follows:

A citizens' committee member gives the principal address, followed by a projected slide talk and address by staff members. The slide talk is done by the assistant chief, in charge of education, who also MC's the program. A question and answer period follows all meetings.

Legal: The legal committee overseas and assists in the preparation of all laws pertaining to the proper functioning of the rehabilitation effort. It does this with the cooperation of the division staff and of the city attorney's office. In addition, this committee is responsible for much of the investigative work necessary in the interpretation of existing laws which pertain to housing, Federal financing, and so forth.

Executive: The executive committee, which meets once a week, is composed of six members, elected by and from among the members of the citizens' advisory committee. The chairman and two vice chairmen serve for both the mother group and the executive committee.

Members of the executive committee pass on all matters pertaining to the entire program. They interest themselves in matters of operation as well as of broad policy.

Where investigative, or technical knowledge and work is required, this committee often delegates matters to one or more of the subsidiary committees. In general, it is the responsibility of the division staff, therefore, to concern itself principally with operational matters. The three top officials participate in all weekly executive committee meetings as well as most of the subsidiary committee meetings.

Members of the executive committee serve as principal spokesmen for the program in all matters involving other city government organizations or agencies.

OTHER ADVISORY ORGANIZATIONS

The city officials' advisory committee: Members of this group, who, like members of the citizens' advisory committee, are appointed by the mayor and approved by the city council, meet once a month with the mother organization—the citizens' advisory committee. This group functions as one composed of representatives of specific agencies which are, by nature, related to the rehabilitation program. Unlike the membership of the mother committee, which is on an individual basis, the city officials' committee members may send proxy representatives to the regular monthly meetings.

Miscellaneous: From time to time, other civic organizations of the city render certain minor services to the program. Among these groups are the Council of Social Agencies, the League of Women Voters, the Young Men's Business Club.

Enforcement activities: A total of 55 squares are being surveyed preliminary to application through HHFA for the renewal assistance offered under the Housing Act of 1954. This will be the first concrete application of Federal assistance to the renewal area, as defined by President Eisenhower's study committee and the HHFA staff.

Prevention of new slums; coordination of other department activities: Members of staff and citizens' committee are well aware of the threat of evergrowing new slums which, in most cities, come into existence faster than existing blight can be stamped out. Many tours of suburban areas of the city where such conditions were underway 6 months ago have been made by rehabilitation program workers. It was decided by the citizens' committee that this problem could be solved through strict enforcement of existing laws. The departments of the city government charged with enforcing these laws were informed, and their officials taken on these tours.

Training new personnel: One month of training with veteran personnel serving as instructors in classroom fashion was given to 14 young general inspectors. Veteran field inspectors, who were to serve as their supervisors, acted as instructors in the fields of plumbing, electrical work, building construction, fire prevention, health and sanitation. Following this month indoors they spent the next 60 days in the field performing supervised inspection routines by the veteran. The workload for the enforcement supervisor is such that detailed analysis of inspection has been impossible.

The inspectional staff with the rental combinations by so many of the homeowners have already outstripped the capacity of the supervisory staff.

The president of the New Orleans chapter of the National Association of Cost Accountants has appointed a committee of 3, composed of 1 partner in a public accounting firm, the assistant treasurer of public utilities, and a staff member of another accounting firm, to assist the department in the development of statistical methods and reporting. It is estimated that the cost of rehabilitating the housing that is inspected in the New Orleans area will run between $9 million and $18 million per year, or a total for the 45,000 units of $90 million to $180 million. This does not take into consideration the amount of every construction work, such as streets, drainage, sewerage, sidewalks, public building and playgrounds that will be developed as a corollary to the rehabilitation of the houses. Retail buying of home merchandise and similarly "educated" expenditures can only be guessed at, but should approximate the same levels found in many of the better areas.

HISTORY OF THE NEW ORLEANS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

The present operation of a rehabilitation program designed to eliminate through conservation and reconstruction all housing blight in New Orleans, as well as to prevent the growth and spread of future slums, was no spontaneous achievement.

Months of research and planning by a citizens' study committee on housing, a group appointed by the mayor and approved by the city council, led to the creation of the necessary legislation and the new division of city government to cope with the big problem. The chamber of commerce, in the spring of 1953, instigated the initial move by petitioning the city for action through a citizens' group. The study committee was appointed as a result.

This committee enlisted the aid of the Tulane University Urban Life Research Institute, which group made a detailed study and report on the city's housing needs. Members of the committee went on junkets to other cities, principally Charlotte, N. C., and Baltimore, Md., to study rehabilitation programs firsthand.

On the basis of all findings, the committee recommended the following to the mayor: (1) Pass the necessary laws for establishing a separate department of city government to enforce all laws pertaining to good housing and to educate the public on the need for good housing in order to obtain the greatest amount of voluntary rehabilitation possible; (2) budget for and establish the necessary departments; (3) create a permanent citizens advisory committee to replace the study committee.

All of this was done. The city employed G. Yates Cook, author of the Baltimore plan for housing rehabilitation, to help the city and the citizens' advisory committee organize the program.

A permanent staff, composed entirely of workers protected under State and city civil service laws, was recruited and trained.

Heading the citizens' advisory committee is Mr. Clifford F. Favrot, a New Orleans capitalist with a flare for directing large operations. Heading the staff is Col. Shelton P. Hubbard, a retired Army colonel whose last assignment was director of operations for the port of Pusan during the Korean conflict. Hubbard formerly had served the city as director of the department of street sanitation.

Birthday Anniversary of the Honorable Sam Rayburn

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, from the North Star State to the Lone Star State I want to extend to the Speaker not only my own personal congratulations, and wishes for many more happy years to come, but speaking for the Minnesota delegation, we all join in sending our congratulations to that great leader from the Lone Star State.

4–H Clubs Have Origin in Newton County Corn Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on October 30 an important milestone was reached in Georgia in the activities of 4–H Club work. A magnificent 4–H Club center was dedicated at Rock Eagle Park in Putnam County.

It was my pleasure and privilege to attend this dedication in company with Sid Truitt, of Fulton County, who has been one of the greatest friends to 4–H Club members in the State of Georgia. It was a beautiful day, and many thousands of people from Georgia, and some from other States, were present to witness and participate in the ceremony.

A splendid article concerning this 4–H Club center and concerning the origination of 4–H Club work was written by Mr. J. O. Martin, of Atlanta, and published in the Covington News on October 28, 1954. This is a very interesting article, and I include it herewith as a part of my remarks:

4–H CLUBS HAVE ORIGIN IN NEWTON COUNTY CORN CLUB—HISTORY OF CLUB RECALLED ON CENTER DEDICATION EVE

(By J. O. Martin)

On October 30, Georgia will dedicate her 4-H Club center at Rock Eagle Park in Putnam County. This project has been under construction for several months and has cost $2½ million. It will accommodate 1,200 club members at any one time. The 4–H Clubs in the United States have a membership of approximately 3 million, the largest youth membership in the world. It succeeded the Boys Corn Club, which had its origin in the Newton County Boys Corn Club organized in 1904. The history of this club, written in 1911, although never published, is printed below.

THE ORIGINAL BOYS CORN CLUB OF THE SOUTH

Practically every county in the Southern States has had a Boys Corn Club and now have a 4–H Club, and the question is often asked, How did it all come about?

It happened in this way: In the issue of the Covington Enterprise, published December 23, 1904, there appeared the following notice, headed, "A Corn Contest." "It gives me pleasure to announce that during the coming spring there will be a contest among the school boys of Newton County as to who can make the best showing in corn culture. This will be a contest to interest the farmer boys and have them show their fathers how we can succeed on the farm, even when cotton is 7 cents per pound. Several handsome prizes will be offered." Signed: G. C. Adams, County School Commissioner, Newton County.

RULES

On February 3, 1905, there appeared in the Covington Enterprise this item, under the caption "Rules of the Corn Club."

1. The contest is open to all Newton County boys between the ages of 6 and 18 who shall have been enrolled in one of the county's public schools during the present term.

2. Notice of entering the contest must be given to G. C. Adams, county school commissioner, by March 15.

3. All work of raising the corn, such as preparing the soil, fertilizing, planting, and

cultivating must be done by the contestant himself.

4. There are no limitations as to the variety of corn planted, kind of land, or extent of field. It may be grown on upland or bottom, on 1 row or 10 acres.

5. The corn must be pulled and weighed by disinterested committees, when thoroughly dry.

COMMENT BY COMMISSIONER MERRITT

When the above plans were discussed with W. B. Merritt, State school commissioner, he said: "I think it an excellent plan. I had hoped to introduce more of an agricultural feature in many of the schools in the State, and this is a good way to begin. We will see how it succeeds in Newton, and if it succeeds there it will be introduced all over the State."

INTEREST CREATED ELSEWHERE

On March 31, the Enterprise said: "No contest ever inaugurated in the county has aroused the interest and enthusiasm that the corn contest has among the boys of the public schools of Newton County. There are 101 boys enrolled at the office of Commissioner Adams. Beyond the borders of Newton a live interest is being taken in the contest and every mail brings letters asking for particulars and details of the contest. These letters come from many States. The two great agricultural papers of the North, the Country Gentleman and the American Agriculturist, have requested details for publication."

The Houston (Tex.) Daily Post of April 5, said: "Many good things come from Georgia and not the least meritorious is that of the corngrowing contest in Newton County, inaugurated by the county school commissioner, G. C. Adams. The plan is to give a suitable prize to the farmer boy who raises the best crop of corn. The southern farmers have devoted so much time, area, and attention to cotton that corn production has been very much neglected. Even Texas with annual production of 150 million bushels is frequently compelled to import corn from the North. A yield of 200 million bushels in Texas would not be too much. The Post would like a number of contests similar to this one in Georgia. They would tend to stimulate interest in corn production and eventually in the upbuilding of our stock industry."

Among the State papers that commented editorially was the Atlanta Journal which said: "This is an excellent idea. As a means for stimulating the activity of the farmers in raising other things besides cotton the Newton County scheme appears to be an excellent one. It should be tried in every county in the cotton States and not only corn contests should be inaugurated but several farm product contests as well." The Atlanta Constitution gave a long editorial under the heading: "The Germ of a Great Idea."

PLANS FOR CONTEST OUTLINED

In September, Mr. Adams sent the following notice to the boys who were contesting: "You will please gather your 20 ears of corn in the presence of a disinterested person by October 1. It must be shucked, sacked, and nailed in a ratproof box and brought to Covington not later than October 7th. It will be weighed on very sensitive scales and the exact weight marked on each box. The exhibit will be held in the county courthouse, October 16. Congressman L. F. Livingston will speak, and others.

You will please write out as much information as you can about the time of planting, kind of soil, distance, kind of corn planted, kind of fertilizers used, how cultivated, number of ears that grew to the stalk, and any other information of interest.

THE EXHIBIT

Thirty-two boys exhibited corn and the following were awarded prizes:

1. George Plunkett; weight of corn, 29.9 pounds; prize, Oliver Chilled plow, donated by J. R. Stephenson.

2. Tom Greer; 27.8 pounds; prize, Farmers' Encyclopedia, donor American Agriculturist.

3. Paul and Walter Cowan; 25.4 pounds; prize, Country Life in America, donated by Prof. W. L. Weber.

4. Oscar Owens; 24 pounds; prize, Farmers' Book, donated by American Agriculturist.

5. Phonso Rogers; 23.9 pounds; prize, sack of fertilizer, donated by Virginia-Carolina Chemical Co.

6. Marvin Payne; 23.9 pounds; prize, one sack Newton County High Grade Fertilizer, donated by A. H. Hays.

7. Abbie Ogletree; 22.13 pounds; prize, subscription to American Agriculturist, donated by same.

2. Henry Edward; 22.13 pounds, prize, book on corn.

The judges were: Clerk of court, Maj. John B. Davis; ordinary, Capt. J. D. Heard; and Tax Collector W. S. Ramsey.

The speakers of the occasion were: Congressman F. L. Livingston, J. C. McAuliff, I. S. Payne, Prof. H. H. Stone, and P. D. Coffee.

CONTESTANTS

The following boys who are in the picture below had exhibits at the show, October 16, 1905:

Tom Greer, Ethridge Hay, Carl Adams, Fay Peek, Frauk Elliott, Phonso Rogers, J. D. Boyd, Jr., Willie Savage, George Plunkett, Alva Adams, Walter Wingate, John Crew Sullivan, Laudy B. Harwell, Forest H. Treadwell, Henry Adams, Abbie Ogletree, Robert Beam, Joe Stone, Perlis Blackstock, Charles Ogletree, Wilbur L. Davidson, Oscar Owen, Joe Lasseter, T. S. Eason, Henry Edwards, Paul and Walter Cowan, Marion R. Payne, Henry Elliott, William Middlebrooks, Roy Peek.

OTHER EXHIBITS

In addition to the corn exhibits, there were the following private exhibits:

M. R. Paine, a stalk of Brazilian silk cotton, said at that time to be worth 20 cents per pound.

T. H. Hardman, stalk of cotton with more than 300 bolls on it; also a beet, weighing 6½ pounds.

A. M. Owen, a bushel of Long Tom and Owen's Choice Corn, grown on upland, weighing 60 pounds.

John M. Dearing, Japanese cane.

D. T. Stone, Stone's Corn, showing from 3 to 5 ears to the stalk.

R. E. Everett, garden products, tomatoes, peppers, etc.

Capt. J. M. Pace, stalk of celestial pepper, 2 feet high and 2 feet wide.

A. A. Crutchfield, Georgia gourd whose handle was 4 feet 9 inches long, with bowl with one-half gallon capacity.

John P. Thomson, hickory nuts, said to be largest in the country.

E. H. Plunkett, bunch yams.

REPORTS READ BY PRIZE WINNERS

George Plunkett: "I selected a piece of second-year bottom land, then took a 2-horse plow and broke it thoroughly. One month later I broke same with a 1-horse plow, then laid off rows with a 2-horse middle burster, making rows 5 feet apart. Used 1 load of barnyard manure, putting it in very thick in bottom of lay off furrow, and then took a 4-inch scooter and subsoiled the land, mixing the manure with soil. Then put in a mixture of acid phosphate and cottonseed meal at the rate of 200 pounds per acre, dropping corn 3 feet in drill, which was covered with a 2-inch scooter. I first ploughed it with a 3-inch scooter, 2 furrows to the row, using a left hand wing; I then gave it a second ploughing, listing the middles with a turner and siding with 18-inch scrape. Did not replant or hoe the corn at all." This won first prize.

Tom Greer: "On May 29 I broke my land and harrowed it until thoroughly pulverized. On May 31, it was laid off in rows 4 feet apart, and manured with stable manure and commercial fertilizer. The corn was dropped in hills 3 feet apart in the drill and covered with a small plow. June 15 it was hoed and thinned to 1 and 2 stalks to the hill. On June 26, it was plowed again as before; the third ploughing was given on July 8, when a turn plow with scrape attached was used. The wing was turned toward the corn so that the dirt would be thrown toward the row. The variety was large, with cob and grown on bottom land." This won second prize.

Paul and Walter Cowan: "Our corn was grown on chocolate loam soil and it was medium poor. We turned and subsoiled the land April 25, and the next day we laid off rows 5 feet apart. A liberal amount of stable manure was used with 300 pounds of commercial fertilizer per acre. The hills were planted 3 feet apart, and cultivation by hoeing and harrowing was done as rapidly as possible. No ploughing was done at all. We quit working it June 4. Just before a rain we scattered potash and nitrate of soda on the ground at the rate of 50 pounds, to the acre. The variety planted was Kelly's Choice. From 2 to 3 shoots grew to the stalk, but we pulled off all but one." This method won third prize.

Oscar Owen: "I broke my land close and deep and made my rows 3½ feet wide; put 35 pounds of guano on one-fourth of an acre and planted the corn 3 feet in the drill. This was done April 18. At the first plowing I put six furrows to the row, with a small scooter plow and then hoed and replanted the corn. When I plowed it the second time, I put 2 furrows to the row, with a sweep, and the third plowing 4 furrows to the row. It was then hoed thoroughly. There were 1 and 2 ears to the stalk." This method won fourth prize.

In editorial comment, following the contest, the American Agriculturist said in part: "We take pride in sending the news abroad and the accomplishments of these schoolboys are known wherever English farm literature is read." During 1906 the State University of Georgia organized a Statewide club. In this connection it is a fact, worthy of note, that through the leadership of Mr. Adams two other innovations made their imprint in 1902, in the new era of education in the South—namely, the construction of the Mixon Consolidated School, the first in the South where children were transported, and the organization of the Newton County oratorical contest, the first county school meet anywhere.

Mr. Adams was 1 of 13 children whose father was a farmer and local minister. His schooling was academic and he married and became the head of a family while in his teens. However, he yearned for an education, so sent a younger brother, Homer, to Peabody College who, after graduating lived with him and taught him every lesson that he had learned. Thus Mr. Adams became known as a Peabody graduate by proxy. He was then elected principal of Classical Palmer Institute at Oxford where he taught higher math and foreign languages to the children of the professors of Emory College at Oxford. From then on his record of achievement stands as follows: Superintendent of Newton County schools; principal, Fifth District Agricultural and Mechanical School, Monroe, Ga.; member Newton Board of Education; again superintendent Newton County schools; member Georgia State Legislature; and one term as commissioner of agriculture.

Who Promoted Peress?—Light at Last

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 9, 1955:

WHO PROMOTED PERESS?—LIGHT AT LAST

Who promoted Peress?

Who was responsible for advancing this fifth amendment captain to a fifth amendment major in the United States Army? Who decided to give this New York dentist an honorable discharge even after his record of Red affiliations was specifically brought to the Army's attention?

At long last, in a 10,000-word Army report, we have an answer which says something. Not everything. But something. And for the first time responsibility in the Peress case is fixed, as follows:

Responsibility for the promotion falls on Army routine, in which many of the 61 officers noted were involved.

Responsibility for giving Peress an honorable discharge rests on Counselor of the Army John G. Adams and Lt. Gen. Walter L. Weible.

Responsibility for the hush-hush secrecy falls upon Secretary of the Army Stevens, who says he now makes the names public because his previous action "was misinterpreted in some places."

In evaluating this Army report on the Peress case, it may be useful to recall briefly, some of its history. Peress was commissioned as a captain on October 15, 1952. He went on active duty on January 7, 1953. Meantime, he had invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer loyalty questions in an Army questionnaire. This led to an Army probe which started February 5, 1953.

The following October Peress was promoted to major. That is now explained as routine. Not explained is why the Army probe of Peress did not interrupt the routine.

It was in January 1954 that Peress appeared before the McCarthy investigating committee and invoked the fifth amendment 33 times. He refused to say whether he had tried to recruit soldiers into the Communist Party, or whether Red meetings had been held at his home.

On February 1, in the light of the above, Senator MCCARTHY notified the Army of the situation and urged a court-martial. Adams and Weible conferred, decided to give Peress an honorable discharge anyway.

Why wasn't Peress court-martialed? Army lawyers doubted there was sufficient evidence. But there seems to have been no real effort to get any. Why wasn't Peress given a dishonorable discharge? It is argued that the procedure would have delayed his departure from the Army.

But certainly an honorable discharge from the United States Army ought to mean more than a piece of "Boxholder" mail to be handed out willy-nilly, far and wide. It is supposed to be a badge of honor.

What happened after that was equally stupid. One effort after another was made to cover up. On February 23, 1954, Stevens anounced a new regulations which would prevent a repetition of the Peress case. But not until October 30, 1954, did Stevens give MCCARTHY a list of 30 officers involved in the case, and that was "confidential."

Now we find the list of 30 has grown to 61. Now we find the Army's own official inquiry on Peress got the facts, but that no real attention was paid to them.

Despite the 10,000 words, this is not the end of this case. It should be borne clearly in mind that the issue here has nothing to do with the Army-McCarthy hearings, which ignored the Peress matter. The issue here has nothing to do with the methods of the MCCARTHY committee, his abuse of witnesses, or his condemnation by vote of the Senate.

The issue here is not only Peress but one of elementary good faith. Had the Army laid the facts on the line at the outset, had it been frank instead of evasive, all those long Senate hearings and the subsequent bitter controversy never would have occurred.

Among the several lessons of the Peress case none is more important than its demonstration of the right of the American people to the truth about public affairs.

Unemployment in Pennsylvania Coal Fields

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following press release:

Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, expressed concern, in a statement made today in Washington, with the failure of the President's state of the Union message to deal with the chronic unemployment problem in the coal fields in Pennsylvania. Congressman FLOOD, who represents Luzerne County in the anthracite coal fields in northeastern Pennsylvania, made the following statement:

"I was terribly disappointed that the President, in his state of the Union speech, failed to mention, in any way whatsoever, the desperate economic problems which are well known by the Government to exist as a chronic unemployment condition, in the anthracite and bituminous coal fields in Pennsylvania, and in particular am I concerned with this situation in the anthracite coal fields in northeastern Pennsylvania centered in Luzerne County.

"In his message to the joint session of the Congress, I quote, '1954 was the most prosperous year in our country.' Yet in the 1954 year end, total nonfarm employment is about 1 million below the level of the previous year. The average unemployment in 1954 was nearly 2 million higher than in 1953.

"In Luzerne County we have over 25,000 unemployed men between the ages of 18 and 60, who are employable and eager and anxious for jobs. Seventy-five percent of these men are veterans of our Armed Forces. I had hoped that the administration would recommend a public-works program, on a standby basis for the Nation at large, but for immediate application to any distressed area if and when the percenteage of unemployed to the employable population reaches a danger mark to be determined by the United States Department of Labor in conjunction with all other United States Government agencies and State agencies which would be concerned also with this specific problem. It is said that the world cannot be free as long as any of its people anywhere are slaves. I say that this Nation cannot be considered as prosperous as long as the Government ignores and refuses to help the Nation's basic fuel industry and fuel potential, which is coal; and at the same time being indisputably aware of all the facts, fails at this time to propose and use all its influence, the great prestige of the President himself, to pass legislation in the form of a public-works program to give immediate employment to all who seek employment in these distressed areas.

"Without going into detail, I would like to make it clear that by public-works program I mean an intelligent, constructive and desirable plan of necessary and essential and worthwhile projects which will contribute to the permanent general welfare such as schools, hospitals, sanitariums, and so forth.

"I have given much thought to this matter and I am preparing now the necessary legislation which I will introduce in the House within the next 30 days."

Coexistence Calls for Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, last week the committee investigating Communist aggression filed its final report. If every Member of Congress would read the findings of the great work done by this special committee and if its recommendations are followed, Communist aggression would be greatly curtailed and the people behind the Iron Curtain would be given much-needed encouragement in their fight against Soviet slavery.

The following editorial by Mr. H. B. Snyder, of the Gary Post-Tribune adds some more helpful suggestions to this problem:

COEXISTENCE CALLS FOR STRENGTH

There has been a lessening of Russian talk about peaceful coexistence. As has been the Reds' habit, when one propaganda campaign fails to score, they turn to another one.

The coexistence story had some takers for a while. But recently it has been losing them, and the West has put coexistence on a basis the Russ don't like so well. For the western nations are recognizing that there can be peaceful living alongside Russia only so long as the West is sufficiently strong to defend itself and its friends.

This week brought two interesting comments on the coexistence talk, from far different sources.

In a delayed Christmas address, Pope Pius XII in Rome warned that it can become real peace only when the West stands up for its beliefs and the East allows truth to cross inside the Iron Curtain.

In Washington a special House committee, on which Gary's Representative RAY J. MADDEN has served, cautioned that accepting the Soviets' offer of peaceful coexistence will only give them time to destroy the world. And the committee urged increased funds to take the message of the free world to the peoples of Red-dominated lands.

Russia's aim, the committee said, was to gain time, delude the free world as to its real intentions and destroy the alliance of non-Communist nations. Red actions since ratification of the Paris agreements became probable have confirmed the committee's view.

Of course there can be coexistence, but it can be a safe coexistence for the West only when we maintain both the military and economic strength to hold back the Reds in both fields of action. If we weaken in either

area, we give them the opportunity to move in. They have demonstrated they will seize either opportunity whenever it is presented, and in this hemisphere as well as the other.

As for the captive peoples, we owe them a sincere effort to tell them the facts about what the free world is accomplishing, to keep up their hopes and keep alive the spirit of resistance to tyranny. Our concern is not that of trouble making for the Russians, but of keeping faith with peoples who lost first in a fight for freedom against the Nazis and now have fallen victim to another totalitarian regime. If the unrest in the satellite lands is a worry to Moscow, the worry is of the Kremlin's own making.

We can give no hope to the satellite peoples and can gain no security for ourselves, however, in any coexistence that is not based on the free world's ability to stand strong and unafraid.

Is UNESCO Subversive?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert an article by the distinguished writer, Mr. Roscoe Drummond, entitled "Is UNESCO Subversive?" Mr. Drummond's article follows:

WASHINGTON
(By Roscoe Drummond)
IS UNESCO SUBVERSIVE?

Isolationist groups in the United States are continuing to try to whip up hostility to the United Nations. One of their principal targets is UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), and in their book it ought to be put on the Attorney General's list as subversive.

Is UNESCO subversive? Is it really engaged in some conspiracy to poison the minds of free peoples or undermine the governments of the free nations? Is it wittingly or unwittingly a tool of the Iron Curtain countries?

For the answer to these questions it seems to me useful to turn to some one whom we should have reason to trust and who is close to its operations. Such a person is 1 of the 2 United States congressional advisers to the 8th Conference of UNESCO which has just concluded its meetings at Montevideo, Uruguay. He is Representative HUGH SCOTT, Republican, of Pennsylvania, himself a former chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Mr. SCOTT has just been spending a month at the UNESCO sessions, familiarizing himself with its work and becoming well acquainted with its personnel. I have received extensive correspondence from Mr. SCOTT while he was on the spot in Montevideo, and his answer to these questions is a considered and unequivocal no.

No; UNESCO is not subversive in any way; quite the opposite. It is engaged primarily in countries where education and science are relatively undeveloped, and where the experience and skills of other nations can be helpful. It has neither the wish nor the power to impose its activities upon any country, and is not presently carrying out any program at all in the United States.

UNESCO is an organization of 72 independent, sovereign states—except so far as the Soviet satellites are neither independent nor sovereign—connected with the U. N. as one of its specialized agencies. It sends technical advisers to member countries on request, but it does not give material aid except in small amounts for demonstration purposes.

Representative SCOTT reports the following as among its most valuable activities:

UNESCO has helped 40 countries increase their educational opportunities for children and adults, train teachers and improve their educational system. It has been especially active in the education of adult illiterates so that, as he says, "They can take a more responsible part in community development."

It has given some financial aid and conducted fund-raising campaigns to help rebuild schools, colleges, and libraries in war-ravaged lands.

UNESCO has helped train scientists in less developed countries, aided scientific research for improvement of economic conditions, and set up international research centers.

UNESCO assists in the exchange of knowledge in such fields as history, philosophy, and languages, and stimulates development of libraries and museums. It has arranged exhibitions of famous paintings, and aided in the translation of great works of literature. More than 300 artists and writers took part in a UNESCO meeting in 1952 in the interest of the "freedom of artists."

UNESCO awards fellowships and study grants to educators, scholars, writers, youth leaders, trade unionists and other specialists. These fellowships are used particularly to help specialists in less-developed countries prepare themselves better to take the lead in programs of educational and scientific development.

Not very subversive.

Representative SCOTT reports that at the Montevideo conference, the Soviet Union led its usual drive to force the admission of Red China, and that the UNESCO nations defeated the move by 41 to 6.

Not very subversive.

Representative SCOTT reports that at Montevideo, the UNESCO countries amended by a vote of 49 to 9 the UNESCO constitution to make sure that its executive board can take no initiative to go beyond the policy directives passed by the general conference.

Representative SCOTT emphasizes that UNESCO not only has no intention but has no authority to impose its will on member states, that member states "are free to carry out its suggestions and programs as they see fit."

Sorry, but UNESCO just doesn't seem to be subversive.

Don't Bankrupt the American Crabbing Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, Japan, last year, supplied about 60 percent of all the canned crab that was sold in the United States. American producers supplied only about 40 percent.

Despite the fact that there is, under existing law, a 22½ percent ad valorem—on value—tariff on imported canned crab and a 15 percent ad valorem duty on fresh and frozen crab, Japan dominates the American crab market. Japan is able to do this because wages in canned food industries are 8 cents an hour for women and not more than 19½ cents for men. American wages in the crabbing industry are many times those paid workers in Japan. In fact, most workers in the American crabbing industry are paid more for an hour's labor than the corresponding Japanese worker is paid for an entire day's work.

Despite the fact that Japan already sells 60 percent of all the canned crab marketed in the United States, the Committee on Reciprocity Information has announced that it will consider at an international conference at Geneva in February granting reductions in the existing 22½ percent tariff on canned crab and 15 percent on fresh and frozen crab. If these crab tariffs are reduced, I am convinced American crab producers will lose most of the 40 percent of the domestic sales they still enjoy. If this happens the American crabbing industry will face ruination and bankruptcy.

American canners have invested millions of dollars in building fine, modern, and sanitary canneries that are a model of cleanliness for the packing of crab. Fishermen have invested other millions in fishing boats and gear. A lowering at Geneva of the existing tariffs on crab will wipe out most of these investments. The fishermen and the cannery workers are not the only ones, however, who will suffer if the American crabbing industry is wrecked, as it surely will be, if existing crab tariffs are lowered.

Boatbuilders, the manufacturers of crabbing gear and those who supply goods and services to fishermen and cannery workers also will suffer.

Even under existing tariffs, Japanese producers are giving the American crabbing industry a tough time. In 1950, crab imports from Japan were 1,761,000 pounds and by 1953 had increased to 3,860,880 pounds. Crab imports from Japan more than doubled in those 3 years.

During the same years, the American canned crab pack declined from 137,490 cases to 114,886 cases, a decrease of more than 20 percent.

In short, during the years 1950 to 1953, the latest years for which complete statistics are available, Japan increased her shipments of crab into the United States by more than 100 percent and our domestic American pack of crabmeat declined 20 percent.

There is a strong feeling among most Americans that our country should do nothing that in any way will aid or strengthen Russia whose leaders, nowadays, are doing everything they can to embarass and harass the United States. If we, at Geneva, lower tariffs in an effort to aid Japan, we are apt also to be helping Russia.

If additional markets for Japanese crab are opened in the United States by lower tariffs on crab imports, Japan, then naturally, will seek to expand her crab take and crab production. Under the Yalta Treaty the Allies gave to Russia great areas of the crabbing waters which Japan, previously, had owned, controlled, and fished.

Japan to fill orders for the expanded American market, which will be created

for Japanese crab if tariffs on crabmeat are lowered, undoubtedly, will buy crab from the Russians and pack it under a canned-in-Japan label and then ship this Russian crab into the United States. Or, if not that, Japan could obtain from Russia at a price fishing rights for Japanese fishermen to fish the waters that once belonged to Japan but which we, at Yalta, gave to Russia. Thus, opening our American market to increased imports of crab by lowering existing tariffs could prove to be of great financial benefit to the Russians.

The American crabbing industry is not the only American industry which will suffer from the increased influx of foreign crab meat which the lowering of crab tariffs will encourage. All American shell fish industries—oyster, lobster, and shrimp industries—also will be hurt.

If Japanese shipments of crab into the United States increase due to lowered tariffs—and these shipments will increase if tariffs are lowered—the imported crab produced by low-wage, low-living standard Japanese labor, will be sold at prices below that of shrimp, oysters, lobsters, and other shellfish. As a result of low priced Japanese crab flooding our market, the price on crab cocktails will drop below those made of other shellfish. Oysters, shrimp, and lobster will have to meet these lower Japanese crab meat prices which American oyster, lobster, and shrimp producers cannot do because they, like those in the American crabbing industry, cannot compete with Japanese cannery labor which is paid as little as 8 cents an hour.

We also have a great and growing oyster industry on the Pacific coast which if the import duty on oysters is lowered at Geneva will suffer in the same ways the American crabbing industry will suffer.

In one community on Willapa Harbor, named Nahcotta, there are 5 oyster canneries, each of which employs 50 to 70 people. Other canneries operate on Willapa Harbor. This oyster industry is rated as a $10 million one. It can be greatly weakened, even wiped out, by further growth in the oyster imports from Japan.

Most of those who are engaged in the oyster and crabbing industries of the Pacific coast have their life savings invested in canneries, boats, and gear. Their continued activity is of utmost importance to all the people in the fishing communities where these businesses operate. Lowering of tariffs on Japanese crab and oysters very well might make ghost towns out of these fishing communities.

Rules of Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, when the rules of the 84th Congress were before the House for adoption I proposed an amendment in the form of House Resolution 61, a resolution which was approved by the Subcommittee on Legislative Procedure of the Committee on Rules of the 83d Congress. This subcommittee was composed of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CHENOWETH], the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH], and myself as chairman.

Since this amendment was not adopted at the beginning of the session I plan to request the Committee on Rules to hold a hearing on this proposal.

House Resolution 61 provides as follows:

House Resolution 61

Resolved, That paragraph 25 (a) of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended by striking out "standing" and by adding at the end thereof the following: "The rules of committees are hereby made the rules of subcommittees so far as applicable. Committees and subcommittees may adopt additional rules not inconsistent with the Rules of the House."

SEC. 2. Paragraph 25 (e) of such rule is amended by inserting ", finding," after "measure."

SEC. 3. Paragraph 25 (g) of such rule is amended by striking out "standing committees or their subcommittees" and inserting in lieu thereof "committees."

SEC. 4. Paragraph 25 of such rule is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(h) Unless otherwise provided, committee action shall be by vote of a majority of a quorum."

SEC. 5. (a) Paragraph 26 of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended by inserting "(a)" after "26." and by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(b) No person shall be employed for or assigned to investigative activities until approved by the committee.

"(c) Unless otherwise provided, subpenas to require the attendance of witnesses, the giving of testimony, and the production of books, papers, or other evidence shall be issued only by authority of the committee, shall be signed by the chairman or any member designated by the chairman, and may be served by any person designated by the committee, the chairman, or the signing member.

"(d) No witness shall be compelled to give oral testimony for broadcast, or for direct reproduction by motion picture photography, recording, or otherwise in news and entertainment media if he objects.

"(e) Oaths may be administered and hearings may be conducted and presided over by the chairman or any member designated by the chairman. Unless the committee otherwise provides, one member shall constitute a quorum for the receipt of evidence and the taking of testimony; but no witness shall be compelled to give oral testimony before less than two members if, prior to testifying, he objects.

"(f) Witnesses shall be permitted to be advised by counsel of their legal rights while giving testimony, and unless the presiding member otherwise directs, to be accompanied by counsel at the stand.

"(g) Witnesses, counsel, and other persons present at committee hearings shall maintain proper order and decorum; counsel shall observe the standards of ethics and deportment generally required of attorneys at law. The chairman may punish breaches of this provision by censure or by exclusion from the committee's hearings, and the committee may punish by citation to the House as for contempt.

"(h) Whenever the committee determines that evidence relating to a question under inquiry may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate persons called as witnesses therein, the committee shall observe the following additional procedures, so far as may be practicable and necessary for the protection of such persons:

"(1) The subject of each hearing shall be clearly stated at the outset thereof, and evidence sought to be elicited shall be pertinent to the subject as so stated.

"(2) Preliminary staff inquiries may be directed by the chairman, but no major phase of the investigation shall be developed by calling witnesses until approved by the committee.

"(3) All testimony, whether compelled or volunteered, shall be given under oath.

"(4) Counsel for witnesses may be permitted, in the discretion of the presiding member and as justice may require, to be heard briefly on points of right and procedure, to examine their clients briefly for purposes of amplification and clarification, and to address pertinent questions by written interrogatory to other witnesses whose testimony pertains to their clients.

"(5) Testimony shall be heard in executive session, the witness willing, when necessary to shield the witness or other persons about whom he may testify.

"(6) The secrecy of executive sessions and of all matters and material not expressly released by the committee shall be rigorously enforced.

"(7) Witnesses shall be permitted brief explanations of affirmative or negative responses, and may submit concise, pertinent statements, orally or in writing, for inclusion in the record at the opening or close of their testimony.

"(8) An accurate verbatim transcript shall be made of all testimony, and no alterations of meaning shall be permitted therein.

"(9) Each witness may obtain transcript copies of his testimony given publicly by paying the cost thereof; copies of his testimony given in executive session shall be furnished the witness at cost if the testimony has been released or publicly disclosed, or if the chairman so orders.

"(10) No testimony given in executive session shall be publicly disclosed in part only.

"(i) Whenever the committee determines that any testimony, statement, release, or other evidence or utterance relating to a question under inquiry may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate persons who are not witnesses, the committee shall observe the following additional procedures, so far as may be practicable and necessary for the protection of such persons:

"(1) Persons so affected shall be afforded an opportunity to appear as witnesses, promptly and at the same place, if possible, and under subpena if they so elect. Testimony relating to the adverse evidence or utterance shall be subject to applicable provisions of part (h) of this rule.

"(2) Each such person may, in lieu of appearing as a witness, submit a concise, pertinent, sworn statement which shall be incorporated in the record of the hearing to which the adverse evidence or utterance relates.

"(j) The chairman or a member shall when practicable consult with appropriate Federal law-enforcement agencies with respect to any phase of an investigation which may result in evidence exposing the commission of Federal crimes, and the results of such consultation shall be reported to the committee before witnesses are called to testify therein.

"(l) Requests to subpena additional witnesses shall be received and considered by the chairman in any investigation in which witnesses have been subpenaed. Any such request received from a witness or other person entitled to the protections afforded by part (h) or (i) of this rule shall be considered and disposed of by the committee.

"(m) Each committee conducting investigations shall make available to interested

persons copies of the rules applicable thereto."

SEC. 6. Rule XXII of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"7. All bills and resolutions to authorize the investigation of particular subject matter shall define such subject matter clearly, and shall state the need for such investigation and the general objects thereof."

Mr. Speaker, I have also included copies of various reports of our Subcommittee on Legislative Procedure containing these and other recommendations which will be found elsewhere in this issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Rules of Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I would like to have the following report of the Subcommittee on Legislative Procedure of the Committee on Rules of the 83d Congress inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

House Resolution 571 has been reintroduced as House Resolution 61 of the 84th Congress.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE

(Statement by Mr. SCOTT to the Committee on Rules, May 1954)

Your subcommittee was appointed June 10, 1953, to make a study of legislative procedure with particular reference to procedure governing the conduct of investigations by congressional committees. This summary of findings and recommendations which I am submitting today is in the nature of an interim report. In the past 11 months we have held extensive hearings, have studied various pending proposals and suggestions made to us, and have developed a proposed set of rules which is submitted, in its latest version, herewith.

A formal analysis and report, intended to accompany the proposed rules, is in preparation. This latest revised draft is submitted meanwhile, for consideration by the full committee, in order to expedite its being reported out in final form at an early date. A copy of House Resolution 571 is attached.

I am deeply appreciative of the contributions of both my colleagues, Mr. SMITH and Mr. CHENOWETH, have made throughout this undertaking. We have differed among ourselves from time to time, so our conclusions—in which we all now concur—have resulted from deliberation, discussion, and a good measure of amiable give-and-take. The end product of our efforts is doubtless much improved on this account.

THE NEED FOR RULES OF PROCEDURE

Public interest in problems relating to congressional investigations has been growing steadily. In recent years, the entire Nation has been made conscious of the sweeping powers vested in Congress for the purpose of conducting factfinding inquiries. It is unfortunate that the public knows so little of the scores and hundreds of routine investigations which are quietly and efficiently conducted each year by committees of Congress, and that only the most sensationaly and controversial fall under the spotlight.

But because of this distorted observation, and because a few regrettable episodes have been so widely publicized, a large segment of the public has come to believe that congressional investigations are not frequently unfair, or even outright abusive of the rights of persons affected.

At the same time, and this impressed your subcommittee very much, both Members of Congress and responsible members of the public at large seem urgently aware that the coin has another side, that persons called as witnesses before these congressional bodies have sometimes contrived, in their turn, to affront the investigators, to defy their powers, and generally to frustrate the investigative purpose without being in any way penalized or punished therefor.

So the apparent need for rules of procedure is twofold, to satisfy everyone concerned that proceedings before investigating committees will be held to reasonable standards of fair play, on the one hand, and to assure potentially defiant witnesses that congressional committees have adequate powers to get tough if they need to, on the other. As will be emphasized hereafter, the danger of weakening the necessary powers of committees has been kept in view throughout this work; your subcommittee adopted as a starting premise the proposition that no rules of procedure would be proposed which could operate in any way to impair the legitimate investigative activities of congressional committees.

Thus while a need for rules of procedure exists, and while the promulgation of such rules is strongly recommended, yet we note that even the word rules is almost too restrictive in its connotations. What is called for seems more accurately describable as principles, i. e., precepts of fair play, set forth for the guidance of committees and the reassurance of witnesses.

Your subcommittee heard more than a score of witnesses, including 10 Members of Congress and representatives of bar associations, labor groups, church groups and veterans' organizations. The testimony was overwhelmingly in favor of an exercise of Congress' rule-making powers in this field, though we were repeatedly warned of the danger already noted, i. e., the danger of unduly restricting Congress in the process.

One witness, the Honorable George Meader, urged upon us the proposition that under the doctrine of *Christoffel* v. *U. S.* (338 U. S. 84 (1949)), any rules whatsoever, promulgated to govern the conduct of investigations by congressional committees, would subject committee action pro tanto to review by the courts. Representative MEADER therefore opposed all rule-making efforts. We have given this point careful study, and have concluded that the doctrine of the Christoffel case (wherein the Supreme Court relied upon a rule of the Senate for guidance in interpreting and applying a Federal perjury statute) would be inapplicable to rules of the type it is recommending.

In sum, it is concluded that rules of procedure for committee investigations are both necessary and proper—with the reservation that such rules should be conservatively cast to serve as standards of guidance without imposing burdensome procedural restrictions. Committees are not courts. It is a mistake to equate committee hearings with the highly technical and formalized procedures that have been developed in the judicial domain. Your subcommittee has carefully rejected proposals and suggestions which appeared to be cast in the rigid form of judicial rules.

Furthermore, we have taken a relatively conservative position in other respects as well. The original version of House Resolution 447, prepared to consolidate all the seemingly meritorious ideas and suggestions which had been submitted in the hearings and in earlier bills and resolutions, contained a number of features which have subsequently been deleted. The version submitted herewith by your subcommittee is the product of repeated revisions, so that it represents a fair minimum, and in no sense a radical maximum.

At the end of this presentation we shall summarize briefly, for your information, the more important additional suggestions which have been considered and rejected in our deliberations.

Finally, in concluding this presentation, we shall note briefly three pending bills which would strengthen the hands of investigating committees, and which are deemed appropriate for consideration and endorsement by your subcommittee since they also concern procedures, and tend to complement the rules proposed herein.

EXISTING RULES

The power of each House of Congress to determine its own rules of procedure is directly conferred by the Constitution (art. I, sec. 5, cl. 2). It seems clear that this is the appropriate power to be called into play for the instant purpose. Determining procedures to be followed by its committees is within the province of each House of Congress, and should not be attempted by joint action of the two Houses; for even if uniformity between the two were insisted upon and achieved at the outset, each would remain free to depart from the uniform pattern at any time. Rules currently in force in the Senate differ materially from those now observed by the House of Representatives.

Indeed, it is precisely this absolute, unqualified, and continuous control by each House over its own rules that provides ultimate assurance against the dangers of unduly hampering House proceedings, if the new provisions are adopted as House rules. No rule thus adopted will be enforcible, as a practical matter, if the House does not wish to enforce it; and no rule will remain binding, as a precedent or otherwise, if the House wishes to drop it. This is the status of existing rules. It is the status properly to be accorded the new provisions recommended by your subcommittee. Even the rights directly conferred on witnesses (and there are only three—see paragraph 26 (d), (e), and (f) of the draft) would merely operate to excuse witnesses who relied on them from compulsion, i. e., from punishment for contempt. They do not create any basis for outside intervention.

The present rules of the House of Representatives number 42; of these, only 3 relate to committees. Rule X governs the creation and composition of the House's 19 standing committees; rule XI determines the powers and duties of committees; and rule XIII concerns procedures for the calendaring and consideration of the reports of standing committees.

Matter pertaining to the investigative function thus logically belongs in rule XI. This rule contains in turn 29 numbered paragraphs, of which only 2, paragraphs 25 and 26, presently relate to the general factfinding powers and functions of committees.

The amendments which your subcommittee proposes are therefore designed to be incorporated within paragraphs 25 and 26 of rule XI. The existing text of these two paragraphs is unaffected, except for slight editorial changes. Thus the structure of the rules is undisturbed and the entire proposal (except the slight addition to rule XXII, on the subject of resolutions) consists only of enlarging 2 subdivisions of 1 rule.

ANALYSIS OF PROPOSED RULE

The changes proposed to be made in the present text of paragraph 25 (i. e., by the draft attached), are indicated in the following full reproduction thereof; their purpose needs no elaborate explanation. They merely broaden the paragraph so as to make it ap-

plicable to special and select committees and to all subcommittees, as well as to standing committees:

"25. (a) The rules of the House are hereby made the rules of its committees so far as applicable, except that a motion to recess from day to day is hereby made a motion of high privilege in said committees. The rules of committees are hereby made the rules of subcommittees so far as applicable. Committees and subcommittees may adopt additional rules not inconsistent with the rules of the House.

"(b) Each committee shall keep a complete record of all committee action. Such records shall include a record of the votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded.

"(c) All committee hearings, records, data, charts, and files shall be kept separate and distinct from the congressional office records of the Member serving as chairman of the committee; and such records shall be the property of the House and all Members of the House shall have access to such records. Each committee is authorized to have printed and bound testimony and other data presented at hearings held by the committee.

"(d) It shall be the duty of the chairman of each committee to report or cause to be reported promptly to the House any measure approved by this committee and to take or cause to be taken necessary steps to bring the matter to a vote.

"(e) No measure, finding or recommendation shall be reported to the House from any committee unless a majority of the committee were actually present.

"(f) Each committee shall, so far as practicable, require all witnesses appearing before it to file in advance written statements of their proposed testimony, and to limit their oral presentation to brief summaries of their argument. The staff of each committee shall prepare digests of such statements for the use of committee members.

"(g) All hearings conducted by committees shall be open to the public, except executive sessions for marking up bills or for voting or where the committee orders an executive session."

The new subsection (h), added at the end of paragraph 25 (by sec. 4 of the draft) establishes the general principle, "unless otherwise provided," that all committee actions shall be taken by vote of a majority of a quorum of the committee. This is a very generalized provision intended to suggest that committee authority must not be usurped by the chairman or by any individual member, unless the same has been specifically delegated.

The present language of paragraph 26 of rule XI, incorporated into the rules from the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, is unchanged by the draft, and reads in its entirety as follows:

"26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government."

The meat of the proposals contained in the draft are incorporated in the new subsections to be inserted immediately after the present text of paragraph 26. These begin at page 2, line 9 of the draft, and will be briefly explained in the order in which they appear.

26 (b). This recognizes a new problem which has proved acute in some instances, namely, the authority of any single member to select people to go forth as investigators and to deal with the public in the name of the committee. It is believed that the committee itself should have the final say in this matter, at least in the rare instances when controls become important. Note that regular professional staff members hired by standing committees are already subject to a similar requirement (rule XI–27 (a)).

26 (c). This subsection on the issuance and service of subpenas is paraphrased from the special provisions in rule XI which control the subpena powers conferred specially on three standing committees (rule XI–2 (b), 8 (d), and 17 (b). Such subpenas are to be issued "only by authority of the committee" unless the committee makes other provisions and, in effect, delegates its authority to the chairman or a single member. The terms as to signature and service are intended to be as broad as possible to defeat any purely technical attack on the validity of a committee subpena.

26 (d). This is the first of the three absolute rights conferred personally upon witnesses appearing before committees. It is the right to be spared compulsory appearances in news and entertainment broadcasts via television or radio, if the witness interposes an objection. It is noteworthy that some of the views expressed to the subcommittee on this point supported a far stronger rule, namely, an unqualified prohibition against such coverage of committee hearings. Your subcommittee believes that the instant middle-of-the-road provision affords adequate protection.

26 (e). The first sentence of this subsection affirms the statutory power of any member to administer oaths, and resolves all questions as to who may preside over committee hearings. The second sentence deals with the thorny problem of whether one member may sit alone to hear witnesses and receive evidence. It is very desirable to establish the validity and regularity of the one-man quorum in ordinary circumstances, because of the holding in the Christoffel case alluded to above. But at the same time so-called one man subcommittees have been severely criticized from time to time. The proposal therefore contains two safeguards: It is specified that the committee may "otherwise provide," i. e., may pass a rule of its own imposing a more rigid quorum requirement; and—the second absolute right conferred on witnesses—no one may be compelled to testify before a single member if he makes timely objection. In the latter event, at least two members must be present to hear the testimony. Consideration was given to requiring the presence of more than two members and/or members representing more than one political party, but it was concluded that two would suffice to prevent the abuses sometimes charged to one alone, while the requirement as to partisan representation might make it possible for a minority to block a committee's work entirely by merely absenting itself.

26 (f). This is the third absolute right of witnesses, to be "advised by counsel of their legal rights." Counsel may also accompany the witness at the stand "unless the presiding member otherwise directs." The last-noted limitation is to make it perfectly clear that counsel may be ordered to stand aside if he indulges in the commonplace practice of coaching the witness so that the latter is in effect merely parroting the testimony of his adviser.

26 (g). This subsection merely prescribes general standards of behavior for counsel and other persons attending the hearings. The chairman's right to punish by censure or exclusion and the committee's right to cite offenders to the House are specifically noted.

26 (h). Into this subsection have been gathered all the seemingly meritorious protections which have been urged from time to time for the special benefit of witnesses involved in investigations aimed at their own reputations or possible guilt. Emphasis on the fact that the rules are really mere precepts and principles of fair play are obviously most apposite here.

It will be noted that the introductory language of subsection (h) leaves complete and absolute discretion in the committee as to the application of all which follows. The entire subsection applies only "whenever the committee determines" that some particular evidence to be adduced may tend to injure some particular person or persons to be called as witnesses—and even after such a finding the committee is bound only to follow the specified procedures "so far as may be practicable and necessary for the protection of such persons." Thus, it will be seen that the sudivisions of subsection (h), numbered (1) through (10), truly have the force of suggestions of fair play, and nothing more.

Subdivisions (1) through (3) of 26 (h) are self-explanatory. Subdivision (4) pertains to the rights of counsel (i. e., under these circumstances, where the witness is somewhat in the position of a defendant), and it will be noted that here, out of an excess of caution, still further qualifications have been added: "in the discretion of the presiding member" and "as justice may require." The rights, so diluted and qualified, are: to be heard briefly by the committee in argument, to examine their own clients briefly for clarification, and to question other witnesses by means of written interrogatories submitted through the committee.

Subsection 5 provides that to the extent necessary to shield the witness and other persons about whom he may testify, testimony should be taken in an executive session, if the witness is willing. The last clause is in recognition of an opposite consideration, namely, the possibility of affording protection to witnesses against potential abuses of the secret session, which your subcommittee considered and abandoned. Subdivisions (6) through (10) appear to be self-explanatory.

26 (i). This subsection is designed to protect persons who, while not called as witnesses, may nevertheless be injured by evidence adduced before a committee. Note that the same elaborate modifications, reducing the entire subsection to a mere affirmation of principle, are incorporated in the introductory language. The two subdivisions that follow merely give persons so affected a double option: to appear as witnesses in their own behalf (and to enjoy the benefits and protections conferred by 26 (h) if they do so), or to submit a sworn statement in lieu of such appearance. The words "under subpena" have been added merely to assure payment of mileage fees, etc., which are available only to witnesses appearing under compulsion, in case extensive travel is necessary to enjoy the benefits of the provision.

26 (j). This is another provision which is rendered advisory only by insertion of the words "when practicable," and which is narrow in its application but potentially important when it does come into play. Whenever investigating committees approach fields where Federal law-enforcement agencies are active, there is danger that the former may defeat efforts of the latter. An unimportant Communist hanger-on, for example, called as a witness by an investigating committee, might easily defeat long-laid plans to apprehend and prosecute his important bosses; and the same is true of other Federal law enforcement, including the enforcement of regulatory statutes and the punishment of tax evasion. This subsection therefore suggests that a representative of the committee should confer with Federal law-enforcement agencies involved, and should report the results of such conference back to his colleagues before the committee plunges into the field.

26 (k). This provision concerns a problem which occasionally presents itself where

a witness, or a nonwitness involved in a particular hearing, believes he has a meritorious case for demanding that the committee should call additional witnesses on his behalf. It is simply specified that such requests shall be considered by the committee itself if they emanate from a person who has been found to be threatened with injury under subsections (h) or (i).

26 (i). This requirement is self-explanatory. It is contemplated that if rules such as those proposed here are adopted, a single standard print could be made available for use and distribution by all committees having need of them.

Finally, the new paragraph proposed to be added at the end of rule XXII—which pertains not to procedure but to the form and content of petitions, memorials, bills, and resolutions submitted to the House—is offered as a suggested improvement in the investigative process at another point, namely, in relation to the subjects upon which investigations are authorized in the first place. Resolutions calling for special investigations are presently sometimes worded so generally that it is not clear what is sought to be studied, and the suggested language would enjoin the sponsors of such measures to take pains to reveal and justify the objects which they are pursuing.

ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS REJECTED

As has been emphasized already, the draft resolution analyzed in the foregoing discussion is conservative in scope and operation. Several of the proposals now pending in the House go further. Your subcommittee studied all of these with care, and considered, besides, numerous suggestions offered in the course of the testimony it heard.

The features which are noted hereafter were rejected during the deliberations of your subcommittee, and are not contained in the final version of our draft resolution. Nonetheless, several of the most interesting are discussed briefly, since it is believed they will likely be the subjects of further discussion when the final version of the draft is reported.

Generalizing the investigative power: Under present rules of the House of Representatives, as established by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, only three standing committees enjoy subpena powers—Appropriations, Government Operations, and Un-American Activities. Other standing or select committees desiring to send for persons or papers must seek and obtain special authorization from the House for this purpose. It is noted that such powers are vested in all committees of the Senate by a single blanket provision. While a similar provision would make for greater uniformity of authority and practice among House committees, it would, at the same time, remove a potentially important check, i. e., the necessity of affirmative action by the House before any but the three named committees is entitled to make use of these investigative prerogatives.

The witness' absolute right to be heard in public: There is some basis for urging that witnesses should be entitled, if they insist, to be interrogated in public rather than before a secret session. It was suggested to your subcommittee that secret hearings could be used as star chamber proceedings to place the witness at a very unfair disadvantage. Nevertheless, the opposite consideration seemed more weighty: Certain witnesses, especially uncooperative individuals summoned from the executive branch, could seriously embarrass certain inquiries by demanding publicity. The executive session is more frequently a device for protecting witnesses than a threat, and it is to be hoped that other safeguards, such as the requirement of an accurate transcript in the case of witnesses whose reputations are in jeopardy, etc., will prove adequate. Note that the phrase "the witness willing" has been retained in subsection (h) (5) (draft, p. 4, line 13), as a suggestion that the witness' desire to be heard publicly ought always to be taken into account.

Appeal, review, or enforcement machinery: It has been suggested that reference should be made to the manner in which rules governing the conduct of investigations might be enforced. Proposals embracing elaborate enforcement provisions were considered. It is recognized that enforcement problems in connection with rules of procedure differ slightly from problems relating to general rules of the House in that personal, adversary interests of outsiders are not at stake in usual applications of the latter.

Nevertheless, we believe elaborate machinery and detailed procedures should not under any circumstances be considered for this purpose, for essential flexibility would be sacrificed thereby. At most, an informal submission of problems arising under such rules might be made at the outset to some body less than the full House, e. g., to the Rules Commitee or a similar House group. This matter seems best left open for further consideration after experience has been accumulated with actual problems of enforcement, etc.

The right of cross-examination: Opinions are widely divided on whether counsel for a witness should ever be permitted to cross-examine his client or other witnesses directly. After carefully considering the alternatives, your subcommittee decided to recommend the use of written interrogatories only. In appropriate circumstances, the committee could still permit limited cross-examination if it wishes to do so; thus the omission merely serves to discourage potential abuses by contentious advocates.

RELATED PROPOSALS IN PENDING LEGISLATION

In conclusion, we wish to note briefly three bills now pending before the House, which deserve consideration in connection with these proposed rules of procedure: H. R. 4975 and H. R. 6899, introduced by Mr. KEATING, and H. R. 7955, introduced by myself.

H. R. 4975 would greatly improve the machinery now available to congressional committees to deal with persons who refuse to testify or otherwise to comply with committee subpenas and orders. At present, the only recourse for a committee when so defied is to submit a resolution citing the defiant person for contempt before the full House, after which, if the resolution is passed, the matter must be referred to a United States attorney for prosecution as a criminal offense under title 2, United States Code, section 192.

The result is delay, often amounting to months or even years, before the issue comes to trial. And in consequence, contempt convictions under this statute are very rare; defying the authority of congressional committees has become relatively safe; excepting the cases of Communists, Federal courts have bent over backward to exonerate persons hailed before them under this statute. Under Mr. KEATING'S proposal, the committee would be given another alternative. It could address itself forthwith to a Federal district court, and make application for an order of the court compelling obedience to its own subpena, etc. If the relief sought by the committee were improper for some reason, the defiant witness would be entitled to a hearing and to immediate exoneration; if the committee's position proved sound, immediate compliance would be compelled, by the sanctions of the court's own plenary contempt powers. It is noteworthy that the proposal has ample precedents. Federal agencies such as the FTC, the SEC, the ICC, etc., have long enjoyed precisely this power in aid of their fact-finding prerogatives, and have found it to work admirably for all parties concerned.

Mr. KEATING'S second bill, H. R. 6899, is an immunity measure, aimed at reviving the powers once enjoyed by Congress under title 18, United States Code, section 3486, but which have been virtually dead for many years. With such powers, congressional committees could once again overcome pleas of privilege under the fifth amendment by granting immunity for any incriminating effects of testimony sought to be compelled. Such legislation in slightly different form has already been favorably acted upon by the Senate, (S. 16, 83d Cong.). H. R. 6899 has the unqualified endorsement of Attorney General Brownell, and has also been formally approved by the American Bar Association. The passage of such immunity legislation would tend to reduce or eliminate a number of difficulties now encountered in congressional investigations dealing with controversial matters.

My bill, H. R. 7955, makes a simple change in the existing congressional contempt statute, title 2, United States Code, section 192, by adding the offense of misbehavior. At present, a witness whose affront consists not in defying the authority of a committee but in offensive conduct in its presence, etc., is not punishable under the statute. Committees have occasionally been obliged to put up with very serious abuses on account of this deficiency. H. R. 7955 corrects the situation, so that such offenders can be properly dealt with in the courts.

Rules of Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I insert the following statements concerning House Resolution 571, 83d Congress. This resolution has been reintroduced as House Resolution 61, 84th Congress.

RULES OF PROCEDURE, HOUSE RESOLUTION 571

Representative HUGH SCOTT, Republican of Pennsylvania, today introduced a revised version of the proposed rules of procedure for committees in the House of Representatives being developed by a subcommittee (SCOTT, chairman; CHENOWETH, Republican, of Colorado; SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia) of the House Rules Committee. The new resolution is House Resolution 571. SCOTT emphasized that this final version has yet to be considered by the full Rules Committee of the House. He added that he had been assured of such consideration by the full committee (of which he is a member) in the near future.

Said SCOTT, "This is the product of more than a year's work; we have been through four revisions, and I feel that we are very close to a final version which should be acceptable to everyone."

The Scott subcommittee was created in 1953 to make a study of House Resolution 29 (introduced by Representative KEATING, Republican, of New York) and other proposals then pending on the subject of rules of procedure. After holding extensive hearings, the subcommittee introduced a set of rules incorporating its own views, together with ideas and suggestions it had received. This was House Resolution 447, introduced on February 17, 1954. Subsequently, House Resolution 447 was widely circulated for criticism, and modified in successive revisions. House Resolution 571 is the result.

Senate Resolution 253, introduced on May 24, 1954, by Senator BUSH, Republican, of Connecticut, for revision of the Rules of the Senate, closely follows the Scott subcommittee's proposals for House Rules revision. The similarity between the two resolutions may serve to expedite action during the present session of Congress. Both SCOTT and BUSH are urging their respective Houses to take action on these proposals at once.

"I think the administration tends to share our viewpoint; the American people want something to be done to insure fair play before congressional committees. And current interest is at an all-time high because of the televised hearings which have attracted so much attention to the whole investigative process. There is a widespread feeling that the pursuit of desirable ends requires clear statement of the ground rules governing the means (i. e. the methods) employed.

"In both Houses, rules proposals have become so popular that there is no serious question of partisan disagreement. Our subcommittee's work has proved more timely and fruitful than we dared hope. My only regret is that we did not have the benefit of so much support and emulation earlier, when the calendar was less crowded with priority items.

"The only substantial difference between House Resolution 571 (and Senate Resolution 253) and those currently sponsored by our Democratic colleagues is in the matter of enforcement of the rules we propose. Our subcommittee considered suggestions as to special enforcement procedures and rejected them—at least for the present—on the ground that the mere adoption of a real set of ground rules will probably suffice. When everyone knows the rules, no one will be likely to flout them. The whole trouble now is that there is no accurate standard to measure by. The American people have a very strong sense of fair play. If we give them something definite to judge by, they will insist on reasonable compliance. And of course Congress already has ample enforcement machinery if it wants to compel obedience to its rules by its own Members."

SCOTT explained that his resolution is proposed for adoption by the House of Representatives only, since the existing rules of the House and the Senate differ in some particulars and since neither House could be expected to surrender exclusive power over its own proceedings. The resolution is thus in the form of an amendment to the existing rules of the House (a feature accepted in the Bush resolution in the Senate).

In brief summary, the resolution provides:

1. All committees and subcommittees of the House are to be subject to uniform rules of procedure.

2. All committee action must be approved by a vote of a majority of a quorum of the committee (or subcommittee).

3. Committee personnel to be assigned to investigative activities must be approved by the committee.

4. The committee shall have control over the issuance of subpenas, unless it expressly delegates this power.

5. Witnesses shall have the absolute right to bar television and radio broadcasting of their testimony if they object to it.

6. One-man quorums are allowed only if the witness is willing to give his testimony before a single member; otherwise, on demand of the witness, at least two members must be present. This is designed to meet criticism of the so-called one-man subcommittees, without, at the same time, unduly hampering committees in the conducting of routine hearings.

7. Witnesses are given an absolute right to legal counsel.

8. All participants in a hearing must observe proper order and decorum, subject to censure and punishment.

9. Whenever a witness is likely to be injured in his reputation or defamed or incriminated, by the nature of the inquiry, the committee will be expected to follow certain additional procedures:

(a) The subject of each hearing must be clearly stated and all evidence adduced must be relevant to the subject.

(b) No new line of investigation can be developed until the committee approves it.

(c) Everyone appearing in such proceedings must testify under oath.

(d) Counsel for witnesses may address the committee briefly and may ask questions of his own client to clear up points on the record. Questions to other witnesses, when pertinent, may be submitted in writing.

(e) Executive sessions must be used to protect the witness when necessary.

(f) The secrecy of executive sessions must be protected.

(g) Witnesses will be permitted to submit brief-written statements for inclusion in the record.

(h) An accurate transcript must be kept.

(i) Transcript copies must be made available to the witness.

(j) No testimony heard in executive session shall be released in part only.

10. Anyone, not being called as a witness, who is named in a derogatory or irresponsible fashion in a hearing shall be entitled to appear promptly as a witness and testify in his own behalf, in refutation of charges or alleged "smears," or to submit a written statement for incorporation in the record. This provision is designed to protect innocent persons from unwarranted assaults upon their reputations by any participant in, or before, an investigative committee.

11. The committee will be required to consult with law-enforcement agencies, such as the FBI, before undertaking investigations into areas where they might conflict with law-enforcement activities. The purpose of this is to avoid blundering into criminal cases which the enforcement agencies have already prepared—a real danger where extensive undercover work has been done but not yet presented to a grand jury.

12. The committee will entertain proper requests to call additional witnesses, from witnesses or others who feel that such additional testimony is necessary in their behalf.

13. The foregoing rules of procedure shall be freely available to all interested persons. It is essential that witnesses be advised of the "ground rules" relating to their rights and responsibilities.

14. Resolutions introduced in the House for the purpose of authorizing investigations must specify exactly what is proposed to be investigated and what is expected to be accomplished by the investigation.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE HUGH SCOTT, CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE, HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 571, AND INTERIM REPORT RELATING THERTO

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am submitting today an interim report on the work of our subcommittee in developing rules of fair play to be proposed for congressional committees.

Because of the heavy workload that always falls on this committee during the last weeks of a session, it has not been possible to secure an earlier hearing. Also, we have wished to avoid any interpretation of these proceedings as being in anyway in conflict with hearings before a committee of the other body. The objects of general rules of fair play are much broader than any of the issues that attracted so much attention during recent hearings; it would have been harmful to confuse the two—just as, I think, it was greatly harmful to let people confuse the televised proceedings with courtroom standards or practices as much as they did.

I aimed from the outset to be able to have a set of rules revision proposals considered by our full committee and reported out to the House before this session ended. That is still my hope. The American people are concerned with the problem; the President has alluded to it a number of times; and it is an exclusive, internal responsibility of ours which must be met, in recognition of the need for clarification of existing rules.

The full analysis and formal report referred to in our interim report has been deferred to await this presentation. But we can complete it rapidly if you wish to act before adjournment.

Otherwise, I suggest that you authorize us to prepare and submit our formal report on or before the opening day of the first session of the new Congress. If I have the honor to serve again next year, and if we have not achieved our goal before then, I intend to offer these revisions of the rules as the first order of business when we reconvene.

We have worked long and carefully and our proposals are sound. One additional item, which has been developed in the deliberation of the recently-formed Senate subcommittee addressing itself to the same subject, is a special limitation on the creation of subcommittees—whether the chairman can do it or whether only the full committee ought to have the power. In my opinion this would have to be "committee action," subject to the rule we propose at lines 3 and 4 of page 2 of House Resolution 571. But you might wish to consider it specially.

In concluding, let me reaffirm my strong disagreement with the estimable people who have suggested from time to time that all new rules are undesirable. To some of these, the existing rules are seemingly as sacred and inviolable as the Ten Commandments; to others any efforts to establish principles of fair play raise the terrifying spector of total interference and total failure of the workings of Congress. These attitudes are totally unrealistic.

Here, for example, is an excerpt from this immutable body of precepts, House rules XIV, paragraph 7, provides (and has always provided) that "during the session of the House no Member shall wear his hat." This ironclad pronouncement is unqualified by any limitation as to the places where it applies, nor does it make any exception for our charming lady colleagues. So, literally and in the inflexible tradition urged upon us, we wear headgear anywhere in or out of the Capitol during a session at the peril of clashing head-on with the overbearing wisdom of our ancestors in the matter. And worse than that, any John Doe opposing a law we have enacted, if he can show a hatted Member at the time of the vote would have a clear argument that we were acting in violation of our rules—ergo, the law is not a law at all. Incidentally, while our rules forbid wearing hats, there is no prohibition against the carrying of firearms.

Despite my respect and affection for some of the people who have expressed similar alarm over our proposals, I think it may be fairly observed that there is nothing sacroscant about the rules governing the conduct of the House. If the occasion arises for improvement in our laws, we change the laws. If our present rules do not meet present day situations, it is worse to endure them supinely than to change them intelligently.

Rules for Investigators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I would like to have the following editorial from the Washington Post

and Times Herald, dated Sunday, January 9, 1955, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

The editorial follows:

RULES FOR INVESTIGATORS

Floods of advice and suggestions on how to control congressional investigations are sweeping in upon both the House and Senate. Especially notable on the House side is the proposed fair code of procedure that Representative HUGH D. SCOTT tried without success to get before the House when it adopted its rules on the opening day. It is the product of extensive study by the previous Congress. On the Senate side, the Jenner subcommittee and Senators WATKINS and HENNINGS are competing for the spotlight on the reforms they have offered. Mr. WATKINS' suggestions grew out of the experience of his select committee which recommended the censure of Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. HENNINGS drafted his set of rules after studying the recommendations of the American Bar Association.

The important point is that both Houses have before them thoughtful studies of investigative procedure and a wealth of advice as to the reforms that should be adopted. Not all of this advice is sound, as witness the Jenner subcommittee's self-serving defense of one-man hearings. But Senators WATKINS and HENNINGS have shown how the one-man-hearings problem can be handled without danger of impeding any important inquiry. If the new Rules Committees would bring together the best of the proposals that have been made, they could give witnesses much-needed protection and save Congress from at least some of the discredit that now clings to it because of uncontrolled investigations.

No doubt the new leaders feel that the Republicans, having failed to impose restraints on their investigators when some of them were running wild, should not be allowed to put over the neglected regulations just as the Democrats take the helm. The greatest pressure for reforms of this sort usually comes from the minority. But many Democrats are also clamoring for the adoption of rules for investigating committees, and in any event partisanship should not stand in the way of an important reform. The Democratic Members complained bitterly about the license assumed by some GOP investigators. They cannot now turn their backs upon corrective measures without raising a large question as to their sincerity.

Address of Joseph H. Cohen, General Manager, Atlantic Gelatin Division of General Foods Corp., at Woburn, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter and address by Mr. Joseph H. Cohen, general manager of Atlantic Gelatin Division of General Foods Corp., located at Woburn, Mass.

Thirty-five years ago Mr. Cohen began the making of gelatin in Woburn. Today the industry he established then has become the largest of its kind in the world.

To visit this fine industry is indeed an event of memory. The physical properties, plant, grounds, and equipment are of the finest. The management is excellent and the employees are of the best. Throughout the entire industry there seems to be a spirit of happiness and cooperation. The men and women associated with Mr. Cohen have worked loyally together to make their industry the best of its kind.

The people of Woburn, Mass., are very grateful and very proud of the achievements of Mr. Cohen and the men and women of Atlantic Gelatin.

On this 35th birthday celebration, I extend my congratulations and my best wishes for another 35 years of successful, happy industrial operation in our community.

ATLANTIC GELATIN,
DIVISION GENERAL FOODS CORP.,
Woburn, Mass., October 4, 1954.

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: It was indeed a privilege to have you as our guest at the 35th anniversary celebration of the founding of Atlantic Gelatin, and I sincerely appreciate your participation and interest in this happy event.

As you requested, I am enclosing a copy of the address I made on this occasion. I am deeply honored that you wish to have my remarks published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and thank you for your thoughtfulness.

I hope that you can visit us again soon.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH H. COHEN.

ADDRESS BY JOSEPH H. COHEN, GENERAL MANAGER OF ATLANTIC GELATIN DIVISION OF GENERAL FOODS CORP., WOBURN, MASS., AT THE 35TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE COMPANY ON OCTOBER 2, 1954

I am happy to have this opportunity to welcome you today. Birthday celebrations are always joyful occasions and I am indeed glad to be able to participate in one at any time. This particular birthday, however, is something very special—something that has meant a great deal in my life and the lives of many good people of this community.

Atlantic Gelatin is celebrating today the 35th anniversary of its organization. A charter was granted to this company on September 25, 1919, and ground was broken for the construction of the plant in October.

As in any business starting out, it was necessary to have money for a factory, materials, and equipment, as well as for other expenses. Fortunately, as founder of the company, I was able to enlist the support of five important tanners to back me in this enterprise. They shared my belief that gelatin could be made and sold at a price that customers were willing to pay and that the business would grow and prosper. These backers were: Widen-Lord Tanning Co., Creese & Cook Co., Northwestern Leather Co., Thayer Foss Co., and J. S. Barnet & Sons. To these people we owe our very existence. It took imagination, it took initiative, it took courage, and it took cash.

As I look back at the beginnings of the Atlantic Gelatin Co., I marvel at our ability to have evolved such a fine, handsome, and stable industry as we have today. Although the plant was a good one in those early days, many changes have been made. It stands today as the best gelatin manufacturing plant in the world, embodying the latest developments from the fields of chemical engineering and food technology. Our problems of production and quality manufacture at first were very great. But we persevered, bringing to all of these problems the wisdom and light of science until we could say proudly that we manufactured a good, clean, wholesome product of outstanding quality. Quantitatively, we have made excellent progress too. For starting with a productive capacity of a million pounds a year we now have the capacity to produce over 24 million pounds of gelatin a year. Today we represent the largest gelatin manufacturing concern in the world. We are also a member of General Foods Corporation, the largest manufacturers of processed foods in the world.

An organization like Atlantic is not an impersonal abstract institution. On the contrary, it is a very live, human, throbbing enterprise. It is like a large family; the welfare of the whole is reflected in the welfare of each individual member. Those who have participated in our growth and development should have a sense of achievement over what they have helped to create. To each member of our company—in factory, office, sales, and laboratory, I want to extend my heartfelt thanks for the contribution he or she has made to our general welfare. It would have been impossible to record this splendid record of growth and achievement without the loyalty and devotion of the men and women of Atlantic Gelatin.

I also want to pay a long overdue tribute to the wives of our employees. Too often we are inclined to overlook the part they play in our great industrial civilization. Experience points out very clearly that an employee who comes from a home where contentment, happiness, family solidarity and a feeling of security reigns, is a good employee. We recognize the fact that the ladies of our homes are the helpmates who see to our comfort and happiness, and peace of mind.

Probably the most important reasons for the rapid growth of Atlantic Gelatin was the happy business and friendly relationship that developed between the company and its customers and suppliers. We have been most fortunate in this respect. In order to obtain an adequate supply of satisfactory raw materials, it has been necessary to purchase throughout the world. Similarly, in order to sell our product, it has also been necessary to have loyal friends. Those who have had business relations with us have learned that they can count on our integrity, on our sense of decency and fair play, on our willingness to help our customers solve their production problems and on our human interest in their welfare. This attitude has brought rich and satisfying dividends, not only in profits but also in the host of friends for Atlantic all over the world. Such relationships are of inestimable value in the smooth and successful functioning of a business as interesting and as complex as the manufacture and use of gelatin.

One of our first customers was the Genesee Pure Food Co., of Leroy, N. Y., which later became the Jell-O division of General Foods Corp. This company soon became our biggest customer and today take two-thirds of our total gelatin production. Ours, indeed, has been a fortunate company. At times in other industries, when the wheels of production were slowed down and people were thrown out of work, we continued to offer steady employment and to operate our plant on a 24-hour basis. We have been fortunate in other ways, too. Not only have we had an increasing demand for our product but the officers and staff of General Foods have stood by loyally with advice and technical support and with that moral encouragement which is so essential for growth and success. On this occasion I want to pay tribute to them.

It may well be said that the development of the gelatin industry in the United States has paralleled the remarkable growth of our country as a whole, and that Woburn has contributed toward this achievement more

than any other American community. Woburn was, in fact, the logical place for a successful gelatin company because it was for many years the world's largest hide and leather center and therefore a great source of supply of raw material for the production of gelatin. Massachusetts is the gelatin capital of the world.

I want to say that we at Atlantic Gelatin have always had a sincere desire to carry our share of the load as a responsible member of the community and to contribute as individuals and as an organization to the welfare of the community. You have all been wonderful friends and neighbors to us and I assure you that we intend to continue our efforts to make you feel that Atlantic Gelatin is as good for Woburn, Stoneham, Winchester, and other neighboring communities as these communities are for Atlantic Gelatin.

In closing, I want to say that I feel excited and happy over this occasion. I hope that you will find our house in good order, that you are pleased with the reception and treatment you receive, and that you will go away with a warm glow of kindly, friendly interest and affection. I hope too that you will have a sense of pride in the achievements in which you have played a part and a feeling of confidence in our future.

We have built our house on faith, on courage, on hard work, on good will, and on happy human relations with all concerned. Our foundation is secure. Our house is substantial. The future beckons. Let us look to this future with the hope that labor, management, and stockholders will continue to work together to make a still bigger and better Atlantic Gelatin. With an excellent record of achievement behind us to serve as a stimulus, I am confident of our continued success and growth.

A Department of Urbiculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker I am today reintroducing my bill for the creation of a Department of Urbiculture at Cabinet level to deal with the special problems and welfare of municipalities. These include such economic and social problems as slums, dope, juvenile delinquency, housing, and smog.

Smog, fast becoming a nationwide problem in metropolitan areas, was mentioned by the President in his state-of-the-Union message as a problem in need of a strengthened combative program. This would fall under the jurisdiction of the new department, if created.

The bill, which I introduced last July shortly before adjournment of the 83d Congress, has created tremendous interest among Washington legislators, who feel it could lead to the solution of one of the most important problems of American cities.

When the Department of Agriculture was established in 1862, 80 percent of the population lived on farms. Now the situation is reversed, with 85 percent in urban communities and only 15 percent rural.

It is only natural then that Government emphasis should be placed on solving the problems of this new majority of urban dwellers as it formally was for the majority of rural dwellers.

The bill, which has received extensive press coverage on a national scale, has brought forth a volume of correspondence from interested citizens and groups approving the action.

The term urbiculture was a coined word to describe a "new science" which would result from the discovery and application of natural law to the utilization of urban lands.

The new department would consolidate the urban functions of various other Federal agencies—notably Home Finance, Housing, Public Health, Department of Justice—which have dealt with areas of the problems of city folk.

Size and Weight Limitations on Parcel Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege in the 83d Congress to sponsor in the House of Representatives a bill designed to repeal the discriminatory Public Law 199 of the 82d Congress, and restore parcel-post size and weight to the historic limits in effect for 20 years prior to January 1952.

Eight days of hearings were held a year ago this month on the subject of parcel-post size and weight limitations by the St. George Subcommittee on Postal Operations. Ninety-four witnesses submitted statements to the subcommittee urging repeal of Public Law 199. They represented all segments of business; two farm organizations and other agricultural and consumer groups. There were spokesmen from the Post Office Department; a witness appeared for a postal workers' organization, and one from a housewives' organization—all urging repeal of the law. There were only five witnesses appearing in opposition, all representing the Railway Express Agency, or the railroad interests—the only interests in all the world that stand to gain anything under this inequitable law that operates to the inconvenience and expense of all senders of small parcels.

Letters poured in to the Members of this body, urging passage of my bill. Many of my colleagues told me of their hope that my bill would be favorably reported in committee so they could vote for its passage on this floor. The advisory council to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in the other body said quite forthrightly that Public Law 199, 82d Congress, should be repealed, and weight and size limitations should apply uniformly to all post offices.

But, in spite of the overwhelming support for my bill, it was never reported out of committee.

On Wednesday, January 5, 1955, I again introduced a bill to restore the parcel-post size and weight limits to the reasonable limits the postal patrons of this country had come to look upon as standard through 20 years of use.

Enactment of my bill will be looked upon as desirable by the vast majority of the people of this country, including the Post Office Department, whose own figures show that its financial position would be bettered by some $70 million a year by repeal of Public Law 199. Enactment of my bill will greatly facilitate the flow of goods to market and to the ultimate consumer, with a maximum of convenience and economy through the use of the nationwide distribution system now held by the Post Office Department and paid for by the users of parcel post, with the ultimate savings in distribution costs going to the consuming public.

I know that the beneficiaries of the special advantages under Public Law 199 will again wave the banner of free enterprise. But, Mr. Speaker, the only interests who stand to benefit by retaining Public Law 199 on the statute books are not really free enterprise at all; they are a wholly owned monopoly.

On the other hand, my bill will have the support of at least two of the major farm groups. It will be upheld by the housewives of America, many of whom trudged back home with their relatively small packages in the recent Christmas season, because Public Law 199 had denied them the use of their own postal facilities for mailing those packages of good cheer. My bill will have the support of all businessmen, but particularly the small businessmen who are unable to hire traffic experts or cooperate in joint shipping endeavors to save themselves heavy transportation expenses. My bill will have the support of such business organizations as the National Retail Dry Goods Association, which is very well known for its espousal of ideas for good government, and which is on record for not opposing any postal rate increases necessary to put the Post Office Department on a self-sustaining, efficient operating basis.

Mr. Speaker, I ask for the support of every Member of this body for my proposal to repeal Public Law 199. Passage of my bill would be to place the interests of 160 million American people above those of a single special interest.

Health Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the 84th Congress I introduced several bills to make available means by which facilities to promote the health of our people would be more generally available than at the present time.

The seven bills I have introduced are designed to help the American people to bear the burden of hospital and medi-

cal expenses and to provide for a more effective use of available Federal funds in promoting the health of the American people. These bills are the result of very extensive hearings and committee consideration of health programs proposed to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce during the 83d Congress during which I had the privilege of being chairman of the committee.

My first bill—H. R. 397—is a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide mortgage-loan insurance for hospitals and medical facilities. The purpose of this bill is to stimulate investment of private capital in the construction of hospitals and medical facilities and thus to increase the availability of adequate medical facilities in which health services may be rendered to the American people. This bill would supplement the hospital-construction amendments—Public Law 482, 83d Congress—by channeling private funds into the construction of hospitals and medical facilities.

My second bill—H. R. 398—is a reintroduction of the bill, H. R. 7700, introduced by me during the 83d Congress.

This bill is based on the same principle as my first bill, but the mortgage-loan insurance provided for in the bill for hospitals and medical facilities would be available only for hospitals and medical facilities used in connection with voluntary prepayment health plans. These plans, of which the Kaiser Foundation in California and the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, and Group Health Association, Inc., of Washington, D. C., are outstanding examples, have been particularly successful in furnishing comprehensive medical care to the members and subscribers of these plans in return for monthly premiums paid by the members and subscribers.

My third bill—H. R. 399—which is a reintroduction of H. R. 6950, 83d Congress, is designed to assist nonprofit associations offering prepaid health service programs to secure necessary facilities and equipment through long-term interest-bearing loans advanced to such associations by the Federal Government.

While the first three bills introduced by me are designed to facilitate the construction of hospitals and medical facilities, my fourth bill—H. R. 400—is designed to provide improved protection for an increased number of our citizens under prepayment health plans. This bill is a reintroduction of H. R. 8356 which was reported favorably by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee during the 83d Congress. The bill would establish a limited Federal reinsurance service with a self-sustaining fund derived from reinsurance premiums paid by the sponsors of health service prepayment plans participating in the program.

My fifth bill—H. R. 401—is a reintroduction of the bill, H. R. 6949, introduced by me during the 83d Congress. Like my fourth bill, it is designed to expand health services through the medium of Government reinsurance. However, the bill is limited to non-profit associations which render or secure medical and hospital services and does not extend to commercial health insurance companies. This bill is of particular importance, I feel, because it sets forth minimum standards which insurance plans must meet in order to become eligible for reinsurance under the plan proposed by the bill.

My sixth bill—H. R. 402—would amend the Internal Revenue Code and authorize a deduction up to $100 for income-tax purposes for any taxpayer, and $100 for each of his dependents for insurance premiums or fees paid to health insurance companies and voluntary prepayment plans. This deduction would be in addition to deductions for medical expenses now authorized under the Federal income-tax laws. This deduction would stimulate individuals to prepay their medical expenses by participating in health insurance plans.

My last bill—H. R. 403—is a reintroduction of H. R. 7397 introduced by me during the 83d Congress. This bill was reported favorably by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and was passed by the House of Representatives. The purpose of this bill is to promote and assist in the extension and improvement of public health services by providing for a more effective use of available Federal funds.

It is my hope that this series of bills will enable the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce—and in the case of the tax deduction bill, the Committee on Ways and Means—and the House of Representatives to give careful consideration to plans designed to ease the economic burden which illness, and particularly prolonged illnesses, places on the American people. The 83d Congress enacted much-needed amendments to the Hospital Survey and Construction Act. It is my hope that the 84th Congress will follow up the action of the 83d Congress by enacting several of the measures which I have introduced.

A Corkscrew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Punxsutawney Spirit:

A CORKSCREW

Does the Tennessee Valley Authority provide an honest yardstick of the rates that should be charged by the power industry in general?

It doesn't—in the view of a man who certainly should know—Brig. Gen. Herbert Vogel, newly appointed TVA head.

Speaking before the Memphis Engineers Club, General Vogel said that if TVA "were to assume the obligation of paying interest at any reasonable and proper rate" it would have to increase its charges for power or cut payments to the Government. He said also that if TVA is to be a true yardstick consideration will have to be given to paying interest and to at least allowing on paper for taxes. Then he added, "Yardsticks also include profit, which any industry is entitled to make."

In other words, TVA rates are cheap only because TVA's customers are, in effect, subsidized by all the rest of us. The authority pays no interest on its huge investment, pays no Federal taxes, and makes only small token payments in lieu of taxes to State and local governments.

This is an especially timely matter now, with all the hubbub over the contract whereby a private, taxpaying utility group is to build a $107 million plant to supply power to an atomic energy installation in Arkansas. It is argued that the power could be provided at a lower rate if funds were given TVA to expand and produce it. Actually, the difference in rate is accounted for by the tax and interest factors.

Under present conditions, to sum up, the TVA yardstick has the shape of a corkscrew.

Penalty for Sale of Narcotics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill which provides for the death penalty or life imprisonment for anyone convicted of the sale of narcotics or marihuana to minors.

Selling narcotics to young people, in my estimation, is the most vicious crime that can be committed and it must be stopped through drastic Federal legislation calling for the death penalty for violators.

I feel that the introduction and distribution of narcotics to teen-agers in the Nation's high schools condemns them to a fate worse than death and should be punished by death or life imprisonment to offenders.

My decision to introduce the bill has been endorsed in statements from numerous parents throughout my San Mateo County district and environs.

A typical parent wrote a letter in which she said:

My son is now 26 years old but has been on the stuff since he was a teen-ager, and if this bill is passed it will not only protect my son from further contamination from this evil, but also save many boys and girls from a slow death.

She went on to state:

My son is at present serving a term in prison for forgery. Of course, he wanted money for this stuff and would do anything to get it.

Several doctors have written me their enthusiastic endorsement of the bill.

I also propose that marihuana, not now included as a narcotic under Federal definition, be incorporated in its definition by this bill.

I cite the logic of the Lindbergh law, which has virtually stopped kidnaping in the Nation through fear of the death penalty, in strong support of the bill.

Hon. George Holden Tinkham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, some years ago one of our Members was George Holden Tinkham, of Massachusetts. He was a recognized student of history and economics. His advice was often sought and found of great value. Since retiring from Congress, he has continued his travels over the world and this year was the subject of a special article in the well-known London News Chronicle. The article follows:

HE'S LOOKED US OVER SINCE 1888, AND NOW—THESE WISE OLD EYES SEE DANGER—HE'S OFTEN RIGHT

(By Michael Gilderdale)

To look at him you might be tempted to call him Rip Van Winkle. For George Holden Tinkham, Esq., of Boston, Mass., aged 83, has a fine gray beard and eyes that gaze mildly on the world, as if they had been closed long years in sleep.

But when you listen to his soft New England drawl and see his eyes brighten and twinkle in animated discussion, the name that springs to mind then is Lincoln—or even Gladstone.

The resemblance is not farfetched, for Mr. Tinkham was, and indeed still is, a politician in the grand manner, a man who took his seat in Congress as a Republican for 28 years, and whose eyes sighted political truths long before the facts confirmed them.

SIXTY-FIVE YEARS TRAVELING

Yesterday in London, on his annual visit to England—he has visited Europe almost every year since 1888—he talked modestly about himself, about the warning he gave and which we in Britain and they in America never heeded.

On February 17, 1933, Lincoln's birthday, he rose in the House and in a carefully prepared speech told his fellow Americans that within 6 years there would be a world war precipitated by the Polish question and involving, through Britain, the United States.

Mr. Tinkham was right, just as he was in 1912 when he foresaw the First World War, and later the 1929 slump that hit his own country.

He predicted the failure of the Versailles Treaty, and yesterday apologetically but categorically stated:

"Neither can the United Nations succeed. There are too many nations participating, too many divers philosophies which cannot be reconciled.

"Since the Napoleonic era there has never been an arms race that was not followed by war. And now we have the greatest arms race of all time."

DIFFERENT FEARS

Of our differences with our American cousins he said: "The United States fears communism more than war. Europe fears war more than communism."

But this prophet is not a philosopher of gloom. His well-based opinions stem from, originally, a study of history at Harvard University and an intimate acquaintance with the world and the ways of man.

He was one of the first to voice a persistant 10-year opposition to prohibition. "Drink? No, sir—not at 83. But in my day I drank most anything, and liked nothing better than your English ale."

He likes to think the reason for this is his Anglo-Saxon blood, for his Devon forebears went West in 1620 with those other stalwarts in the *Mayflower*.

LIKE GIBBON

Marriage never came his way.

"Women," he says, "you can't live with them and you can't live without them. But if I had married I could not have done all that I have done."

And "all" includes hearing Gladstone speak in the Commons in 1888.

One regret only has this gentle elder statesman. An ambition he could never realize: "I would have liked, more than anything else, to have written history the way Gibbon did."

The National Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Kane Republican of Kane, Pa.:

THE NATIONAL INTEREST

Where does the national interest lie?

If we take the freely-given and largely-unsolicited advice of some groups, it would appear that the national interest doesn't lie in the same direction as the interest of Northwestern Pennsylvania and the community of Kane.

A case in point is the recent announcement by the Committee for Economic Development. It says, to wit: "It is in the national interest of the United States to continue a policy of gradual and selective tariff reduction. As the strongest economic power in the free world, the United States has a special responsibility for liberalizing trade—the responsibility of leadership."

All right, so we have a responsibility to the world. What about our responsibility to the American workingman? Haven't we some responsibility, for instance, to the coal miner, the workers in the Pennsylvania oil fields and to the manufacturing employees of the area? It would also seem that we have some responsibility for the future security of the United States.

Right at this moment, the hard-pressed coal industry and the Independent Petroleum Association are striving vainly to convince the Government that some curbs should be placed on the flood of foreign oil which is pouring in on the United States. Their argument is that the foreign products are competing unfairly with those of American firms. The result is less work for Pennsylvanians and a limiting of domestic operations. This latter concern is more serious than appears on the surface. For, in the event of an emergency, such as war, we couldn't count on that foreign fuel. We'd have to rely primarily on what we could produce in this country. If we are forced to limit production of our fuel in peacetime, it will be that much harder to expand it to the required capacity to meet demands of another global war.

We have no quarrel with sane and sensible tariff revision so long as the welfare of the American workingman and the Nation's security are well protected. However, experience has taught us that too many of the freer trade advocates are more concerned with the welfare of other nations than is good for the United States.

Certainly at this time of domestic unemployment and world uncertainty, the best interest of this area does not lie in the direction of any general reduction in the tariff structure. We've just had 20 years of such reductions and the process is beginning to hurt. Especially since the nations to which we have been so magnanimous have shown little, if any, disposition to reciprocate.

Dangerous Gamble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the usually conservative Globe-Democrat, recognizing the danger that accompanies a recommendation of one of President Eisenhower's commissions, is editorially supporting the views of President Fred V. Heinkel of the Missouri Farmers Association who has so forcibly emphasized the mistake that would be made if the United States Soil Conservation Service be discontinued.

I hope that this administration will thoroughly consider all of the basic factors involved and which are so clearly pointed out in the accompanying editorial before considering the recommendation of this special commission. I further hope that the Members of Congress will join in the views expressed by President Heinkel which have been further endorsed by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, as follows:

DANGEROUS GAMBLE

There are many functions usurped by the Federal Government in recent years which should be returned to the States. We have supported some of the proposals to decentralize governmental functions and put the responsibility where it belongs, at the State or local level. However, there are other functions which can best be administered by the Federal Government. One of these vital functions is the conservation of this Nation's soil and water resources.

A subcommittee of President Eisenhower's Commission of Intergovernmental Relations has recommended that the United States Soil Conservation Service be discontinued and the responsibility for saving our soil passed on to the 48 States with funds to be on a matching basis. A transition period of 5 years is proposed for making the change. It is significant that only one representative of the farmer, who is most vitally concerned, is a member of the subcommittee. He is Hershel D. Newsom, master of the National Grange—and he voted against the recommendation.

In our judgment the subcommittee has failed to consider several basic factors in making its recommendation. The United States Soil Conservation Service, which is an agency of the Department of Agriculture, furnishes technical and other services to soil conservation districts and to farmers who are cooperators in the soil districts. The Soil Conservation Service assists in planning conservation practices, which are carried out by the farmer and paid for by him. It furnishes no financial aid. In short, the SCS is an agency comparable, say, to the United States Public Health Service, which no one thus far has suggested abolishing as an infringement on State rights.

Until the SCS was established in 1935, little was done about soil conservation in this country. Under the leadership of the SCS, progress has been rapid in the last 2 decades. There are now soil districts in 2,500 of the Nation's 3,000 counties. Approximately 60 percent of the farmland of the country is now receiving benefits from the SCS's constructive program.

Fred V. Heinkel, president of the Missouri Farmers Association, warns in the Missouri Farmer that if the SCS is crippled as is proposed in the recommendation, soil conservation in this country—and in Missouri—will be set back at least 20 years. The United States cannot afford such a setback. Our population is growing at the rate of 2 million a year—and at the same time our good farmland is being taken out of production because of erosion at a rate of 500,000 acres a year. Today we have just a little over two acres of tillable land per capita. Unless we can preserve our natural resources of soil and water and increase the fertility of the land, we will face the danger of being a have-not nation in food within the lifespan of this generation.

The subcommittee proposes in effect that we gamble by dividing the conservation program into 48 pieces. It is a risk we cannot afford to take. Instead of delaying the program of conservation, we need to accelerate it by strengthening the work of the SCS.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I would join in the remarks of my distinguished colleagues from Florida in expressing my sincere regret and the sense of deep loss that has come to our State with the passing of one of its outstanding leaders and great Congressmen, DWIGHT L. ROGERS. It was not my pleasure to know him well. It was my privilege to have met Mr. ROGERS and to have known well his many great efforts in the Florida legislature and in these Halls of Congress. From his many close friends and associates I feel that I have been privileged to learn of the many great achievements that are counted in his long record of service. Mr. ROGERS was an outstanding Floridian whose great personal charm and friendly nature made friends for himself and our State wherever he went. He was counted among the most able men in this legislative body and the reflection of his labors for Florida and the Nation is clearly shown in the development of our State and the dignity of our country. Such men are not to be replaced. We who serve here now may only persevere in emulating their patterns of achievement and devoted service.

At this time I would express my humble regret and join with all his many friends and neighbors in bereavement over his passing.

To his widow and devoted family I extend my deepest sympathy.

Make the Most of the New Tax Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend, including excerpts, I am inserting in the RECORD an article entitled "Make the Most of the New Tax Law—Uncle Sam Gives Farmers an Income-Tax Break This Year," by H. L. Tinley, which appears in the January issue of the Country Gentleman, the magazine for better farming.

I wish to state in connection with this insertion in the RECORD that the proposed attempt to repeal this law will have my firm opposition. The article is as follows:

MAKE THE MOST OF THE NEW TAX LAW

After 75 years of tugging and hauling at the old tax code, Congress finally got around to passing a new law in 1954, and now that you're ready to start figuring how it affects you, you'll be more pleased than otherwise.

You don't have to file your final return and pay the tax until April 15, 1955, provided you have filed an estimate by January 15. If you don't file an estimate, your return and tax are due on January 31.

Now you can charge the expense of soil and water conservation off against current income. You can deduct, in an amount up to 25 percent of your gross income, the construction expense of drainage ditches, ponds and earthen dams, water courses, leveling, grading and terracing, contour furrowing, construction and maintenance of diversion channels, removal of brush and planting of windbreaks. If these costs exceed 25 percent of your gross income, you can carry the excess over to the following year.

Several methods can be used to speed up depreciation, instead of using the so-called straight-line method which, in the case of a building worth $10,000 with a 10-year life, calls for $1,000 to be depreciated each year. Speedup cannot exceed, as a rule, taking more than double the straight-line depreciation amount the first year, then lesser amounts in each succeeding year, so not more than three-fourths the cost is recovered in first half of your asset's useful life.

The grain-storage-depreciation law is important. You can write off new buildings and equipment built or purchased in 1954 used for this purpose within 5 years, at 20 percent a year. The USDA sponsored this idea to get more on-the-farm storage built, and it really worked. Incidentally, don't try to apply this fast depreciation schedule to other buildings.

You now can carry back net operating losses for 2 years, or carry over, or forward, up to 5 years. This law, formerly a 1-year carryback, was a lifesaver to some feeders when the bottom fell out of the market in 1953. Here's an example that shows how it might now work for you:

Let's assume that in 1953, John Angus, a Nebraska feeder, had a net profit of $10,000 but in 1954 he showed a net operating loss of $5,000. When he paid his 1954 tax, John could go to his internal revenue director, and ask to carry this $5,000 loss back to offset some of the $10,000 profit he made in 1953—and he probably can do it. His 1953 tax then would be based on $5,000 net income and he would be entitled to a refund. Let's make the situation worse: Suppose John lost $50,000 in 1954 instead of $5,000. He could go back 2 years and wipe out first the $12,000 profit he made in 1952, and the $10,000 profit he showed in 1953, then—providing the internal revenue people agree with him—he would be entitled to the full return of all of his 1952 and 1953 taxes. Though he can only go back 2 years, he can go forward 5 years, and could offset the balance of his 1954 loss, some $28,000, against the first profits to come during the next 5 years. Here's a word of warning. When you start fishing for a tax refund, Uncle Sam is likely to put on his bifocal glasses and give your last year's return an exhaustive study.

So much, then, for the parts of the new law that particularly affect farmers. You'll also benefit from the provisions that apply to all taxpayers, such as:

MEDICAL EXPENSES

In the past you could only deduct medical expenses in excess of 5 percent of your adjusted gross income; now they need only be 3 percent. Maximum medical deductions have been doubled. Now the limit is $2,500 for each individual named on the return, before it was only $1,250. Along this same line, this year you can only deduct the cost of medicines and drugs when they exceed 1 percent of your adjusted gross income. But here's a word of warning. Just because you bought tooth paste, face powder, and mouth wash from a drugstore, don't show their cost as medicine and drugs on your tax form; you're asking for trouble if you do.

CHILDREN'S EARNINGS

Congress finally licked this problem, and it's been a real headache in the past. Now if your youngster is under 19, don't worry if he makes over $600 a year. When this happened in the past, you lost a dependent. Even if he or she is over 19, it's still O. K. to deduct if they are a full-time student at an educational institution during some part of 5 months of the year.

DEPENDENTS

This year you can claim as a dependent—with a $600 exemption—any individual dependent upon you for over half of their support, and providing that individual is living with you. Relationship is no longer so important.

CONTRIBUTIONS

The limit for charitable contributions is hiked this year from 20 percent of the "adjusted gross income" to 30 percent. There's a string attached, though. This extra 10 percent must be given to churches, schools, or hospitals.

When you start figuring your tax, here are some "Do's" and some "Don't's:

Be sure you keep operating expenses separate from personal expenses. Charity, alimony, and doctor bills are personal deductions. Machine hire, feed, taxes are operating deductions.

Be sure you and your wife file jointly; it's generally advisable.

Be sure, if you're buying a farm, to have your real-estate agent give you a report showing the purchase price allocated to each item such as house, barn, and so on, with its estimated life.

Be sure if you're selling your farm to see if it isn't more profitable taxwise to sell before the crops are harvested; usually it works out that it is. The selling price allocated to these crops is then treated as long-term capital gains—not as ordinary income.

Be sure you keep accurate records. Nothing will get you into trouble faster than poor records, and nothing will bail you out of trouble quicker than good ones.

And here are the don'ts:

Don't pay unrealistic wages to small children who do typical farm chores. Nothing makes revenue agents more curious.

Don't claim capital-gains treatment on purebred heifers that are sold in the usual course of your business of raising and selling purebred stock. However, there is a good way of getting around this—let the heifers drop a calf first.

Don't try to catch up on depreciation of items overlooked in previous years by deducting too much depreciation this year. If last year's was forgotten, you can't pick it up this year.

And here's a final suggestion. As Uncle Sam is making a pretty decent profit off your farm, it's good to know how he figures out his share. There isn't much you can do about changing the lease you have with him, but there is a lot you can do in figuring out which are his dollars and which are yours. Get a tax expert to line up your farm, and give you a series of recommendations that you can follow all year.

Agriculture Must Tell Its Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I submit herewith a copy of a speech which I made at the annual meeting of the National Grange at Spokane, Wash., on November 16, 1954:

AGRICULTURE MUST TELL ITS STORY

(Address by Hon. CLIFFORD R. HOPE, of Kansas)

I greatly appreciate the honor which you have conferred upon me by inviting me to address this 88th session of the National Grange.

I am a member of many organizations, but in none do I value my membership more highly than in the Grange. I must confess that I am not a working Grange member. I am proud to have been a member of the Pioneer Grange near Lakin, Kans., for more than 20 years, but my work in Washington makes it impossible for me to attend many meetings. That is my loss.

In Washington I have enjoyed and profited by my association with the officers and representatives of the National Grange at national headquarters. I have had the privilege of working with three great Grange leaders—National Master Louis J. Taber, National Master Albert Goss, my dear friend for many years, and now with our present able and distinguished National Master, Herschel Newsom, and his associates in the Washington office.

Today as always the Grange represents the best in American rural life. During almost a century of service it has exerted tremendous influence for good in the life of farmers throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Since 1867, the Order of Patrons of Husbandry has adhered to the covenant of its declaration of purpose so well stated in these words: "To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves; to enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits; to foster mutual understanding and cooperation; to maintain inviolate our laws and to emulate each other in labor; to hasten the good time coming."

There is something inspiring and stirring in these words. They ring with a constant reminder that while we have just pride in the accomplishments of our fraternity, the challenge of the work yet ahead transcends all else.

We are meeting here in Spokane in the midst of a critical period, both for this Nation and for the world which today is divided into armed camps in a state of cold conflict.

Bombs are not falling, but the men in the Kremlin are frank to tell us that they are waiting for the day when the economy of this and other free countries will collapse; when people will be hungry and ragged in the streets.

On that day they hope communism will ride triumphantly over freedom.

I do not know whether we can keep Russia from dropping bombs on this country. I do know our best hope is to maintain a position of strength.

That means not only military strength, even more important, it means economic and moral strength.

I sincerely believe that while we must maintain our defenses in a military way, our greatest protection against Communist domination throughout the world lies in the field of economic and moral strength.

Even more than on force, the Kremlin is betting that America does not have the economic and moral strength to win a cold war.

This puts a great responsibility upon the men and women who live and work on the farms of our country.

Historically, we know that depressions begin on the farms.

The lessons of history teach us also that the moral strength of every nation has found its greatest bulwark in the people living on the land.

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that agriculture in this country remain the strong economic and moral force that it has been in the past.

Whether it does or not constitutes a great challenge to such an organization as the National Grange, because all is not well with agriculture. For several years past our national income as a whole has been increasing; our population is growing by leaps and bounds; but at the same time farm income is declining and people are leaving the land.

A hundred years ago almost 70 percent of our people were farmers, and even as late as 1910 a third of them were directly engaged in agriculture. Today less than 14 percent live and work on our farms.

It is a great tribute to the industry and efficiency of our farmers, however, that, although their numbers have been declining both relatively and actually, since 1939 we have increased our over-all agricultural production by more than 40 percent.

This has enabled us to not only take care of the needs of an increasing population for food and fiber, but it has enabled us also to carry on a great moral and economic battle against communism because we have had food and fiber to feed and clothe hungry and distressed people in all parts of the world.

If we win the cold war the part played by the farmers of America will stand out in bold relief.

Along with the decline of agricultural population great changes have taken place in the whole economic structure of agriculture.

Until comparatively recently farming was largely a self-contained industry. The farm itself produced most of the family food; woodlots and forests most of the fuel; horses and oxen produced on the farm furnished the power. They were fueled by hay and grain grown on the farm. The farm produced its own fertilizer.

There was little expense for hired labor, because families were large, and work was interchanged with neighbors.

Taxes were negligible.

Capital investment was low.

Interest charges were unimportant.

In other words, until comparatively recent times the farmer had little need for cash income.

Contrast that with the situation of the farmer today—not only the big farmer and the medium-sized farmer, but even the little farmer requires a heavy cash outlay to carry on his operations.

He must purchase his power on the farm in the form of tractors and other equipment.

He must buy gasoline and distillate as fuel.

He must buy fertilizer.

Hired labor is costly, if he can get it.

His large investment in plant and equipment, and necessary working capital makes interest charges an important item.

He has a heavy outlay for insurance and taxes.

In other words, the farmer today is in the same position as any other businessman.

He must have substantial cash receipts to meet his current operating expenses, and his prices must be high enough to pay for these charges and lay aside a reserve for depreciation, to say nothing of the reasonable profit to which he is entitled as legitimately as any other businessman.

So while the market price of farm products may have been unimportant in the past, today it is everything and it determines whether or not a farmer is going to be able to stay in business.

Thus one of the greatest if not the greatest problems of the farmer is to have something to say about the prices of the things he buys and the things he sells.

With few exceptions his costs are determined by someone else. He has no bargaining power to enable him to reduce them.

If he consumes electric power, the price is fixed by a public commission.

The wages of his hired labor are fixed by competition with industrial enterprises where wages, hours, and working conditions are determined by collective bargaining between well entrenched labor unions and industries which can pass high labor costs on to consumers.

His taxes, his transportation costs in getting his products to market centers, his insurance rates are all fixed by the action of State and Federal agencies.

The price of his fuel, his fertilizer, and his farm machinery and equipment is not the subject of bargaining as far as he is concerned.

He pays what the seller demands.

On the other hand, with certain unimportant exceptions, and in the absence of help from farm programs the farmer has nothing to say about the price of his products. If he ships his cattle and hogs to Kansas City or Chicago he takes what the buyers offer him, and they all offer him substantially the same.

His alternative is to ship his livestock home again.

When he takes his grain to market he doesn't say how much he will take for it.

He says, "How much will you give me?"

Furthermore, the farmer is subject to all the vagaries of the weather as well as the destructive effects of plant diseases and insect pests. These factors very largely determine his yields, and his unit cost of production depends upon the yield.

His corn may make 80 bushels an acre one year and 40 bushels the next. In the latter case, assuming that his expenses are the same, the cost per bushel is twice as much as it was in the previous year.

That is not to say that good farming does not pay or that efficiency does not reduce costs. The point is that no farmer can tell in advance what his costs are going to be.

What other businessman could stay in business if his costs and selling prices were determined by someone else and the quantity and quality of his product was determined in most cases by weather and other factors beyond his control?

It is the recognition of these facts which has brought about Government farm pro-

grams in recent years. The fundamental purpose of these programs has been to enable farmers to maintain some balance between supply and demand in connection with the marketing of their products.

Most of these programs have been on a trial and error basis. We have been dealing with something new, and have had to feel our way as we went along, but they have been reasonably successful. Changes have been made as we went along, and a considerable variety of programs has been developed.

I do not want at this time to get into the controversy over price-support programs except to say that experience has demonstrated as we have gone along that the Grange position is right, and that our greatest mistake as far as farm programs is concerned, is to attempt to apply one magic formula, one cure-all, that will answer the problems of all agricultural products.

Furthermore, I think we have to recognize that there are some commodities which do not adapt themselves to direct price-support programs.

That great man in agriculture, Albert Goss, warned us years ago that there is no such cure-all and that there are almost as many problems as there are commodities.

I remember he used to tell our committee that just as we can't cure appendicitis with castor oil or smallpox with surgery, we must have a bag full of remedies as a country doctor carries a bag full of different pills, so to speak.

Our experience has demonstrated the value of attempting to tailor a program to meet the needs of a particular commodity.

Take the case of sugar, with which many of you are familiar. The sugar program stands by itself. It was worked out to meet the particular needs of that commodity, and it has worked more successfully, perhaps, than any other program.

The same can be said of the tobacco program. Ninety-percent price supports with strict controls have worked so well on that commodity that practically everyone has agreed—no matter what his views might be as to other commodities—that such a program should be continued for tobacco.

In the last Congress, recognizing the fact that wool has peculiar problems of its own, we set up a wool program to meet the needs of that commodity.

All of this is in accord with the views expressed by President Eisenhower in his message to Congress on January 11, 1954, entitled "Recommendations Affecting the Nation's Agriculture."

In that message he said, and I quote: "No single program can apply uniformly to the whole farm industry. Some farm products are perishable, some are not; some farms consume the products of other farms; some foods and fibers we export, some we import. A comprehensive farm program must be adaptable to these and other differences, and yet not penalize one group of farmers in order to benefit another."

In the farm bill which the House Committee on Agriculture reported to the House, we carried out the policy recommended by the President in this regard. That is, we provided for keeping tobacco supports at 90 percent of parity with strict controls. We set up a separate program on wool. We did not deal with the sugar program because that has always been carried out as separate legislation.

But we went further than this in applying the principle laid down by the President, in that we set up a plan for wheat along the lines of the cerificate form of a two-price system.

We set up some special provisions for the dairy industry and directed the Department of Agriculture to make a study of two price plans for rice.

The Senate did not go along with us with respect to the new program for wheat nor with most of our provisions relating to the dairy industy.

In conference we were able to keep many of the dairy provisions, however; among them a provision directing the Secretary to make a special study of dairy price-support programs, including the self-help plan proposed by dairy producers.

The final form of the bill also contained the direction to the Department of Agriculture to make a study of a two-price system for rice.

In these matters we had the invaluable support of your great leader, Herschel Newsom, one of America's greatest farm leaders of all times, who speaks with a strong, clear voice on all agricultural problems.

To sum it up, I feel, that while agriculture in the overall may be one big industry, contained in it are a great many smaller industries, some of which are in a degree in conflict with each other.

No one plan can meet all of the many problems.

In the overall program, we must keep and use the best tools we can devise but at the same time we must constantly study and test new approaches, always keeping in mind the interests of both farmers and all of our citizens.

Personally, I want to use fixed supports when fixed supports work best. I want to use flexible supports in areas where they work best. I want to employ marketing agreements and orders where they work best.

I want to manage and remove surpluses in such a way as will be in the best interests of farmers, consumers, and taxpayers.

However, while I feel we should be flexible as to the tools and methods that we use, in our objectives where agriculture and the good of this country are concerned, we should be rigid and inflexible.

What I want to see is economic equality; that is, a fair share of the national income for agriculture. I believe that this is only simple justice, and furthermore I am convinced that the health of the whole economy and the well-being of all our people depend upon it.

There are of course many vital Government programs in agriculture besides those relating to price supports, including soil and water conservation, adequate credit, research, education, cooperative marketing, expansion of markets, crop insurance, rural electrification and telephones and many more.

I shall not go into them at this time, but there is one thing we must stress in all of our programs: that is the encouragement and preservation of the family type farm.

We hear too much talk now about getting rid of the so-called inefficient farmer, of consolidating his land with somebody else's and sending him to town to look for a job. I am afraid this may cause some people to believe that a small farmer is an inefficient farmer. Quite often the case is directly the contrary.

One great motivation, one of the strengths of our free-enterprise system, is the hope of every young man that some day as a reward for his labor and frugality he may have his own farm or his own small business.

We have long since realized the dangers of monopoly in business through enactment of our antitrust laws. It is equally as important that we protect the opportunities for individual ownership in agriculture.

So it would behoove all of us to talk less of liquidating the so-called inefficient farmer and put greater emphasis on improving the position of the family farm. We should do everything possible to improve and adapt machines, methods, and programs to make this the most productive and prosperous unit of agriculture. Otherwise we will be losing one of our greatest moral assets, both in agriculture and in the Nation.

I mentioned a while ago that those engaged in agriculture now represent less than 14 percent of our population. That poses a real danger for agriculture, because it means that only a comparatively small number of our people understand its problems. And so great have been the changes in agriculture that even men and women who grew up on farms a generation ago and have since gone to the cities know little about agriculture and its problems today.

I think it is entirely possible that at least 80 percent of the people of this country have little or no knowledge of the problems which now confront the farmers of this country. This is a dangerous situation because the farmer must depend upon the understanding of the people in the cities if he is to obtain economic equality and justice through fair and just laws and economic policy.

Moreover there seem to be influences at work that tend to separate the interests of rural and urban peoples, and which are even building conflicts among the farmers themselves.

Our Committee on Agriculture took note of this in presenting to the House the Agricultural Act of 1954, when in our report we said, "the committee deplores any tendency in the consideration of farm programs toward a separation of the interests of the farmers and our great consuming population of the cities. These interests are one and the same. They are inseparable. Stability of agriculture is equally as important to urban people as to people on farms."

Many thousands of fine people whom we respect differ with us on the nature or even the need of a farm program.

They are intelligent people.

They are fairminded people.

But they have been misinformed.

We of agriculture are largely at fault because we have the poorest public relations of any large group in our national life. That is the situation which must be changed not only in the interest of agriculture but of the country as well.

Frankly I am amazed at some of the misconceptions which exist in the minds of nonfarmers with respect to farming.

There is no use denying that this misinformation exists.

What we must do—all of us who are interested in agriculture—is to frankly face the situation and then take steps to build up better public relations for the farmers of this country.

It isn't a difficult thing to do provided we get out and do it, because all that needs to be done to refute the erroneous impressions which exist is to tell the truth—the real truth about farmers and their problems.

What are some of the misconceptions that we find in the minds of nonfarmers?

Well, for one thing we find an impression among a lot of people that farmers as a class are getting rich.

We find that there are many who think that farm prices and food prices are high with respect to other prices.

There are others who think that farm programs have worked to the disadvantage of consumers.

There are still others who are convinced that agriculture is being subsidized in vast amounts by the Federal Government and that Government subsidies are exclusive to agriculture.

Not one of these misconceptions is based upon fact, and their very existence demonstrates that in some way agriculture has failed to get its story across to the country.

Take the first misconception I mentioned: that farmers as a class are getting rich.

I know of no reason why the opportunities which other Americans have to achieve

material prosperity should not also apply to farmers, and it is true that some farmers through frugality and good management have achieved a competence.

But the answer to those who think that farmers are getting rich as compared to the rest of the population is given by the cold statistics compiled by the Department of Agriculture. These figures show that in 1953 the farm population had a per capita income of $882, including cash from marketings, Government payments, value of home consumption, and rental value of buildings.

For each person in the nonfarm population the average income was $1,898.

Thus the average income of a person on the farm is less than half of that of the average person living off the farm.

But tell that to your nonfarm friends and see how many of them believe it.

Now perhaps the greatest resentment against farmers and agriculture comes from the prevalent fallacy that farm prices and food prices are high with respect to other prices. Before going into that, I think it should be pointed out that of each dollar spent by the American housewife for domestically produced food, 57 cents now goes for processing, marketing, and transportation charges. The farmer receives 43 cents.

That figure has been going down year by year since 1946, when the farmer's share was 52 percent and the processor's and distributor's share was 48 percent.

This is reflected in the fact, as shown by a study made by the Committee on Agriculture, that as of last July farm prices had fallen approximately 19 percent since 1951 while in contrast, retail food prices remained right at the postwar peak.

Since 1948 the price of wheat has declined 32 percent, but the price of bread has advanced 23 percent. The amount of wheat in a 17-cent loaf of bread comes to 2¾ cents.

In June, New York and Chicago housewives paid 25 cents per quart for milk delivered at their doors, while farmers who supply milk to the Chicago market received 6½ cents per quart for class I milk and farmers participating in the New York City market received 9½ cents for this milk.

Similarly, there is less than 30 cents worth of cotton in a $3.95 cotton shirt.

In the case of tobacco, Federal, State, and local taxes on the 1953 crop amounted to almost three times as much as farmers received for that part of their crop consumed in the United States.

The Grange had something to say about middlemen in its declaration of purpose written in 1874 and now called the Farmers Declaration of Independence: "For our business interests, we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers, and manufacturers into the most direct and friendly relations possible, hence we must dispense with the surplus of middlemen, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits."

We want no surplus of middlemen or unfair profits among them at the expense of the producers on the farm. In all fairness, however, the consumer should understand the essential part distributors, processors, and transporters play in the drama of food and that much of the costs added to food after it leaves the farms is due to the consumer's demand for better processing, new mixtures, improved sanitation and more convenient and attractive packaging, plus increased labor costs in processing, distribution, and marketing.

The food industry must continue to give consumers what they want and what they are willing to pay for. But at the same time the industry should let consumers know that these increased costs occur after the products leave the farm and do not add to the income of the farmer.

And that brings me to the third fallacy I mentioned a while ago, namely, that farm programs have worked to the disadvantage of consumers.

The fact is consumers get more and better food today with an expenditure of a smaller percentage of their total income than at any other period in history.

Figures prepared by the Department of Agriculture show that in 1929 the average factory worker could buy 6.4 pounds of bread with an hour's earnings. Today the average hour's earning will buy 10.3 pounds.

The average hour's wage would buy 1 pound of butter in 1929 and 2.6 pounds today; 3.9 quarts of milk in 1929 and 7.9 quarts today; 1.4 dozen eggs in 1929 and 2.9 dozen today; 17.7 pounds of potatoes in 1929 and around 30 pounds today; 4.4 No. 2 cans of tomatoes in 1929 and 10.3 cans today; 1.2 pounds of round steak in 1929 and 2 pounds today, and so on down the list.

Our earliest farm programs began in 1929. Thus it will be noted that this large reduction in the price of food in relation to wages has occurred during the years of the development of the present program, which has for its overall aim a parity of income for agriculture.

In other words, it is clear that consumers have gotten the greatest real reductions in prices of food and fiber during the time of growth toward farm income stability.

And then we come to the belief that agriculture is being subsidized in vast amounts by the Federal Government and to a greater extent than other industries.

While it is the hope of all of us in agriculture that modifications of our programs which will better balance supply and demand, and the tailoring of specific programs to meet the needs of particular commodities, plus improved marketing policies and practices will reduce and perhaps in time eliminate most agricultural subsidies, I think we should point out to our friends in the cities that the subsidy is the oldest economic principle known in our Government, and only in fairly recent years has it been used to any appreciable extent to protect agriculture.

The First Congress in 1789 set up a subsidy program to encourage the development of an American merchant fleet. Many billions in subsidies have gone to business and industry. The House Appropriations Committee in January 1954, published figures indicating subsidies amounting to about $45 billion have been paid to business and to consumers during and since World War II. A large part of this was in business reconversion payments.

In contrast, farm price supports and surplus removal operations for the 20 years up through 1953 cost only $3,500,000,000, or 1 percent of the value of crops and livestock marketed.

What is the answer to all of this? I think it has very largely with agriculture itself.

I think it should be the first duty of the Department of Agriculture, of farm organizations, of the farm press, and of the agricultural committees in Congress to tell the truth about agriculture and to point out to those who are misinformed on these matters just what the facts are.

We must plant a new crop—a universal crop with a universal harvest—a harvest of understanding. We must tell the people in the cities what they do not know—tell them of the fallacies that tend to separate us.

Let them know that the people on the farms have less than half the average income of people who live elsewhere.

Let them know that fewer than half the farm homes in the United States have running water. They perhaps will be surprised at this, but it is true.

Tell them that farmers cannot conserve their soil and maintain its fertility for future generations unless they have adequate incomes with which to do it.

Emphasize the social and moral values as well as the general economic necessity of maintaining the prosperity of the family-size farm.

Tell our city friends why we need the farm program, that as an individual the farmer has no control over the prices he receives and no adequate way of adjusting his production to the total market demand for his commodities.

Ask how long our free-enterprise system would last if all industry operated as must the producers of major crops in agriculture producing 11 months in the year and selling on overflowing markets at one season, not at what producers fix as a fair price as an industry, but at what buyers are willing to pay.

Tell them the safety of the consuming population requires that we have on hand more food than can currently be used, that this margin of safety is known as a surplus in the market place and constantly depresses the farmer's prices unless we have a farm program.

Tell them that one carload of potatoes on the market in New York City—just one more car than is needed—can depress the price of potatoes all over the United States.

Impress upon all our friends that we must recognize the interdependence of all segments of our economy; that what we are talking about is a tremendous economic problem affecting every phase of our national life; that any farm program must be fair to farmers and consumers alike and serve the best interests of all our people.

All of us who are interested in agriculture must have a part in this public relations program to convince the consumers that the farm problem is everybody's problem.

I know of no organization or group better fitted to undertake leadership in such a program than the National Grange. With its background of almost 100 years as a great farm organization, its record of standing for the solid, traditional American virtues, with the prestige that comes from generations of wise leadership, and with the respect in which it is held by farmers and nonfarmers alike—the Grange and its officers and members can do much to bring about that sympathetic understanding by everyone of the problems of the people who live on the land.

I am sure that this is a matter which has been given consideration and attention by the officers and leaders of this great fraternity. I am bringing it up today because I am convinced of its urgency and importance.

It is a problem which canot be met in a passive way. It constitutes a challenge and an opportunity which I am sure must appeal to you as leaders in agriculture and as good citizens who are striving to make a better nation of this great land of ours.

Hon. Sam Rayburn

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOE M. KILGORE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, you have been honored on the occasion of your birthday by many of this great Nation's most esteemed people. I hope that it is not presumptuous of me, as a freshman Congressman, to speak at least

for me and the people of Texas' great 15th District in offering congratulations on your anniversary and a prayer that many more years are yours to serve our Nation and guide this, the greatest deliberative body the world has yet known.

It has never before been my pleasure to serve with you, but it has been my pleasure to closely watch you and your activities through my comparatively few years. It is my extreme pleasure to now be a Member of this body and to be among those to wish for you, on behalf of the 15th District of Texas, many, many happy returns of this memorable day.

Post Office Department Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following excerpt of an article by Mr. Jerry Kluttz, of the Washington Post and Times-Herald, which appeared in the November-December 1954 issue of the Postmasters Gazette, gives a fine synopsis of the accomplishments that resulted from the recommendations made by the Subcommittee on Postal Operations of which I had the honor to be chairman during the 83d Congress.

My colleagues on this subcommittee were Messrs. Withrow, Gross, Bonin, Broyhill, Jarman, Dowdy, Boland, and Reams. I am sure they are as gratified as I am with the work and accomplishments of our subcommittee.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT REPORT

The House Postal Subcommittee, headed by Representative KATHARINE ST. GEORGE, Republican, of New York, conducted a management survey of postal operations and its recommendations already placed into effect have saved Uncle Sam an estimated $70 million annually.

The St. George group took the lead in urging the Department to set up a personnel division, a promotion plan for its employees, and a classification plan for its jobs.

It recently asked the Post Office Department to report to it the action taken on each of its recommendations. A summary of them follows with the Department's comment on each.

1. A review of the qualifications of the supervisory force.

Post Office Department reported: "A study is being made of the most practical manner to accomplish this."

2. Uniform pay for custodial employees in the Federal service, including postal employees.

Post Office Department reported: "New grades and salaries will be proposed for them."

3. Postmasters be required to take leave during their terms of office.

Post Office Department reported: "Liquidation of leave applies to postmasters."

4. Procurement of qualified transportation specialists in the postal servicee.

Post Office Department reported: "The Bureau of Transportation is headed by an Assistant Postmaster General. The policy is to fill all key positions in the Bureau with qualified specialists."

5. Separation of management function from the Inspection Service.

Post Office Department reported: "Creation of a new organizational element in the service dealing with management studies and procurement of several qualified management aides to make specialized management studies (estimated saving, $23 million)."

6. Revision of labor-management relations in the postal service, including elimination of job-ticket procedures in the Chicago Post Office.

Post Office Department reported: "A major objective of the Bureau of Personnel is improvement in management-employee relationship. Job-ticket procedures at Chicago eliminated."

7. Revision of procedures and use of cost-ascertainment system.

Post Office Department reported: "Studies of the cost-ascertainment system have been made and action taken as indicated from studies."

8. Establishment of a firm policy with respect to management of post-office cafeterias.

Post Office Department reported: "Investigations were conducted and corrective action as indicated taken."

9. Establishment of a forms-control program.

Post Office Department reported: "A forms-control program has been inaugurated and is in effect."

10. Conference of postmasters and key supervisors.

Post Office Department reported: "Such conferences have been held and contemplated in the future."

11. Visits of top policy officials to large post offices.

Post Office Department reported: The Department favors this recommendation and it is being carried out."

12. Postmasters should have more authority to act on management problems.

Post Office Department reported: "Decentralization has helped accomplish this recommendation. Postmasters have been given authority to act on many additional matters."

13. Addition of qualified technical personnel to handle the research and development program.

The Post Office Department reported: "Qualified engineering personnel have been engaged from private industry and other governmental agencies to work on this program."

14. Analyses be made of space utilization in the major post offices, including possible establishment of parcel-post processing units outside congested areas.

The Post Office Department reported: "Buildings Management Section, under a newly created Division of Real Estate, is setting up a space assignment and utilization unit which will have this responsibility. Regional supply centers will be established in large cities removed from the main post office."

15. Discontinue storage of 35 million paid postal-savings certificates.

The Post Office Department reported: "Public Law 487, approved July 14, will bar all claims on certificates after 6 years. This will permit destruction of the 35 million certificates now in storage (estimated saving, $8,000)."

16. Revision of administrative examination of postal-savings business.

The Post Office Department reported: "Central examination has been discontinued, now under authority of the regional accounting offices (estimated saving, $100,000)."

17. No certificates for postal savings be issued for less than $25 (stamps could be used).

The Post Office Department reported: "Two-dollar certificate eliminated; $1,000 and $2,500 certificates provided, thus eliminating a large number of $500 certificates."

18. Limitations on exchange of postal savings certificates of at least 60 days.

Post Office Department reported: "Law requires certificates be payable on demand. However, a charge of 10 cents for each certificate is now being made if they are cashed within 30 days of issuance (estimated saving, $300,000)."

19. All claims of $25 or less be settled by local postmasters.

Post Office Department reported: "The Department believes all claims should be handled by specialists. Requirements have been liberalized and the Department feels this has greatly improved this matter."

20. Analysis be made of fourth-class post offices whenever vacancy in office of postmaster occurs to determine if office should be continued.

Post Office Department reported: "One thousand fourth-class post offices have been closed in 12 months."

21. Consolidation of fourth-class post offices on light rural routes.

Post Office Department reported: "Nine thousand five hundred and one extensions to rural routes were placed in effect in fiscal year 1954, resulting in closing of small post offices in many instances."

22. Longer periods between visits of inspectors to fourth-class post offices (now annually).

Post Office Department reported: "Department did not concur in this recommendation."

23. Establishment of a ratemaking board with the Post Office Department.

Post Office Department reported: "Department concurs but feels it should be established by law. A Division of Postal Rates has been set up within the Department."

24. Uniformity in size and weight of parcels sent through the mail.

Post Office Department reported: "The Department concurs in this recommendation."

25. Simplification of budgetary, allotment, and payroll procedures and controls in the Department.

The Post Office Department reported: "Such a project is now underway."

26. Elimination of accounting and reporting by small post offices.

The Post Office Department reported: "This is being studied and corrective action taken where deemed advisable."

27. Requirement that third-class mailers sort their mail by zones for delivery in large cities.

The Post Office Department reported: "The Department is constantly urging zoning numbers on mail and furnishes zone information on mailing lists without charge."

28. Arrangements should be made for late pickup at selected letter boxes in most large cities.

The Post Office Department reported: "This has been accomplished in most large cities."

29. Modification on restriction on giving overtime work to regular employees.

The Post Office Department reported: "This was accomplished at Christmas time when it was felt it was more effective."

30. Consolidation of responsibility for financial management of the Post Office Department under a top-level management official.

The Post Office Department reported: "This has been accomplished by a newly organized Bureau of the Controller."

31. Establishment of an internal audit organization to report to highest authority in the Department.

The Post Office Department reported: "A Division of Internal Audit has been established with the Director reporting directly to the Controller."

32. Concentration of accounting activities at points where operations are controlled.

The Post Office Department reported: "Regional controllerships are being established."

33. Development of work-measurement standards.

The Post Office Department reported: "Projects are underway."

34. Accounting personnel should be hired under general schedule classifications.

Post Office Department reported: "This is being carried out."

35. Reduction of the number of allotment accounts.

Post Office Department reported: "This is being effected."

36. Centralization in one office of final authority to grant allowance to the field.

Post Office Department reported: "This is being studied."

37. Elimination of formal accounting by district post offices.

Post Office Department reported: "Plans are underway to accomplish this."

38. Establishment of a pay lag.

Post Office Department reported: "Department recommend Congress pass a biweekly pay bill."

39. Centralization of payroll operations of small post offices in regional accounting offices.

Post Office Department reported: "This recommendation is being carried out."

40. Elimination of duplication of retirement records.

Post Office Department reported: "This is being studied and will soon be accomplished."

41. Discontinuance of payment of salaries in cash.

Post Office Department reported: "Payments to departmental employees and mail equipment shop employees are now being made by check."

42. Centralization of departmental payroll operations.

Post Office Department reported: "All payroll and leave functions for departmental employees have been transferred to the Bureau of the Controller."

43. Delegation of authority to effect automatic promotions.

Post Office Department reported: "Studies are being made of this matter."

44. Adoption of a biweekly pay period.

Post Office Department reported: "The Department is supporting a bill to accomplish this."

Political Exaggerations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the January 6, 1955, issue of the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper. It sets the record straight and I commend it to my colleagues:

POLITICAL EXAGGERATIONS

The righteous indignation expressed by Democratic congressional leaders over GOP campaign language is an amusing hypocrisy.

We're aware that the virtue of intellectual honesty has taken beatings on occasion from members of both political parties. And we don't think evil on one side justifies evil on the other. But it is only fair to keep the record straight.

The Democratic leaders complain of alleged remarks that they interpreted to be the impugning of the loyalty of Democrats, and they even want some apologies. Their sensibilities were not so easily shocked in past times when genuine and unmistakable insults dropped upon Republicans.

It is strange that the men who tolerated the campaign language of their colleague, Harry Truman, in 1948 and 1952 are so sensitive to the relatively mild utterances of Vice President NIXON in 1954.

Their main complaint is that NIXON recharged them with disloyalty. NIXON repeated the disputed remarks during a campaign visit to Long Beach, and we made no such interpretation. He did charge the administration of Harry Truman with evading the issue of communism in Government, but the charge was laxity and obstinacy, not disloyalty. The evidence NIXON submitted consisted of repeated remarks by Truman that investigations of communism in Government were mere red herring tactics.

If apologies are due, perhaps the Democratic congressional leaders should consider a sort of bargain deal.

They could apologize for Harry Truman's charge that the Republican 80th Congress aided the power lobby in "crudely and wickedly cheating" the people; or for his charge that the House Un-American Activities Committee was "more un-American than the activities it is investigating"; or that "powerful forces" like those that created European fascism were "working through the Republican Party" to "undermine" American democracy; or for his comparison of "all this Republican talk about communism" with the anti-Catholic "whispering campaign" of 1928.

Exaggeration, as we see, is a familiar tool of political campaigning.

It is a tool which the Democratic leaders have already begun to use in the campaign of 1956. The fact is that they want the people to believe that the Democratic Party has been grossly insulted, in order to gain sympathy.

We may expect more of this sort of thing, from both sides, as 1956 draws nearer, even though it does seem incongruous for politicians to appeal to the sense of fair play of the public by unfairly distorting the position of the opposition.

The only defense the public has against such tactics is to judge candidates by what they say, not by what their opponents say they say.

Red "Soldiers in Smocks" Perverting United States Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an article written by William F. Alder, of California, on the subject of Communist infiltration of American art.

This may not be a new subject called to the attention of Congress and the American people, but the article does indicate clearly how far Communists have already penetrated art in the United States and is in support of my own efforts during the last few years on the same subject. I addressed the Congress 3 or 4 times on different occasions in order to expose this danger and to preserve legitimate art in the traditional American way as we have always known it in our land. I commend this article to the reading of every Member of Congress.

RED "SOLDIERS IN SMOCKS" PERVERTING UNITED STATES ART

(By William F. Alder)

As one studies the record of Communist infiltration into every facet of American life, there can be no doubt as to its aim, its penetration to the very grassroots and the pattern of its approach.

As stated in my previous article, art offers a blatant example of this. William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of America at the time, made this statement in the April 23, 1946, issue of the Communist magazine New Masses:

"There must be a clear understanding that art is a weapon in the class struggle. That not only is art a weapon but a very potent one as well. Moreover, rising revolutionary social classes instinctively realize the importance of art as a social weapon, have always forged their own art and used it to challenge that of the existing ruling classes."

Foster's association of art with the ruling classes is indicative of the Communist's true grasp of its potency, for its victims—the proletariat—cannot be counted as potential purchasers of fine art. Only in a lesser degree than formerly are the artists of today dependent on patrons for their livelihood. In the days of Da Vinci, the real artists were given the full patronage of princes and wealthy merchants. Likewise today, our outstanding artists become renowned because of the recognition of their talents by persons of wealth whose patronage confers the accolade of fame.

In every walk of life there are those misfits who would substitute the position of others for their own out of envy for the apparent ease by which a contemporary gains wealth and high public regard. This was the motivating cause of the original movement by would-be artists, hacks and failures, in Europe who attempted to organize a guild—a trade union—of professional artists and thus gain control of the profession and eventually starve out of existence the reigning successful members of their craft. Unable to exist out of their own talents, these would-be artists followed the course of iconoclastic members of any calling who cannot out of themselves compete with highly skilled and therefore continuously employed craftsmen. They see in a tightly knit, self-serving organization controlled by themselves, the only feasible safeguard for their hapless mediocrity.

ART'S PIED PIPERS

Thus was the Artists' Equity Association formed under the leadership of this William Z. Foster, who is enlisting the big names in art necessary to act as Pied Pipers—the Rockwell Kents, Paul Robesons, et al.—for the rabble, was careful to mask his ultimate purpose under the customary party line, "the liberation of the proletariat."

In this lies the danger to the innocent American artist in his career who unknowingly joins this Artists' Equity Association. These young artists, however, soon learn that unless their art conforms to the unorthodox standards of modernism they cannot secure even honorable mention at the vast majority of exhibitions held in the United States.

This Communist-front Artists' Equity Association was formed at the Modern Museum of Art, New York City, in April 1947. It is an extension of the American Artists' Congress, which is listed in our Government printed pamphlet Citations as a Communist-created and controlled organization.

Another leading protagonist of this organized movement is one William Gropper, a clever cartoonist, but an infinitely more clever revolutionist, who has a House Un-American Activities Committee record of 60 radical affiliations. He is a regular contributor of subversive cartoons to the Communist newspapers, New Masses, New

Pioneer, The Worker, Daily Worker, and Soviet Russia Today.

A letter by this Gropper, addressed to his superiors to Moscow, points unmistakably to the meticulous attention every section of the country, including California and the entire west coast, is receiving from the organized hierarchy channeled through the Museum of Modern Art and the John Reed Club, its alter ego, in the city of New York.

Quoting Gropper's reply to Moscow, in part:

"In reply to your cable requesting me to report on my activities and action in fighting the imperial war, allow me to state, in short, as follows:

"1. I have held exhibitions of cartoons, drawings, and paintings on the imperialist war and the defense of the Soviet Union throughout the west coast of the United States of America, like Berkeley, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and in galleries in New York City.

"2. At present I am at work on a mural painting to be exhibited in the Museum of Modern Art, which thousands of people visit weekly, and shall register my protest by exposing the war plot against the Soviet Union in this painting.

"3. I am also organizing, through the bureau of the John Reed Club, a counter exhibition to be held in the galleries of the John Reed Club by its members. The artist group of the John Reed Club has also been active in painting postcards and streamers for demonstrations.

"With revolutionary greetings,

"WILLIAM GROPPER."

SOLDIERS IN SMOCKS

One could continue at great length to enumerate the present-day active soldiers in smocks in conjunction with the presently militant, subversive organization known as Artists' Equity.

The Communist art that has infiltrated our cultural front is not the Communist art of present-day Russia. The Communist-inspired art we Americans call modernistic is communism's weapon of destruction. It was exported to us as a part of Russia's program for world domination. Present-day art in Russia has return to the traditional, representational form, for only such art can be used for constructive propaganda.

The art of the isms with which we are now submerged, it must be remembered, is not an American conception, but was imported for the sole purpose of overawing, overriding and overpowering the fine arts of our traditional inheritance.

If one but stops to consider the appearance of the suffix "ism" in the American vernacular, he will instantly realize that it stemmed from Europe and is not an American word form as regards its application to art. It started with such terms as dadaism, futurism, constructivism, suprematism, cubism, expressionism, surrealism and abstractionism, just to name a few, all of which have no place in American art, but are strictly invidious imports from an effete and wholly decadent, immoral coterie of European nihilists.

The leaders among this movement to clamp confusion and false premises upon the minds and lives of all Americans were, of course, Picasso, Braque, Leger, Duchamp, Dali, and sculptor Alexander Archipenko. Believe it or not, Archipenko recently was added to the faculty of Oregon State University to teach sculpture.

Archipenko is notorious also for his specialty of flame-like, nude female torsos, usually sans arms, legs, and even heads.

Way back in 1935, Earl Browder, as general secretary of the Communist Party in America, helped implement the next sinister act of the Moscow plot to gain control of art and literature in the United States as part of its plan to destroy and take over he whole American economy. This was the formation of the League of American Writers as an active section of the International Union of Revolutionary Artists and Writers with headquarters in Moscow. Its affiliate, the American Artists' Congress was organized the following year.

Membership of the League of American Writers included most of the radical minded art and book critics.

Attorney General Tom Clark, in letters to the review board, cited the League of American Writers as Communist and subversive.

That this plan is being carried out with dedicated persistence and characteristic stealth of a movement now gone underground, as FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover warned, there can be no doubt. Communist Gropper's personal invasion of the west coast on behalf of the "imperialist revolution" is but a drop in the bucket as regards the continuous and constantly augmented attacks on west coast thinking and ethical standards.

OJAI VALLEY VISIT

The most recent example of this proselyting in Ventura County centered in Meiners Oaks, Ojai Valley. Here we find a group of gullible Americans listening with rapt attention to a lecture by a traveling, self-styled Marxist missionary notorious for his anti-American subversive activities, Joe R. Starobin, who was invited to attend a meeting of so-called Progressives in the home of Mrs. Elma Kays.

Asked by a reporter whether he was a member of the Communist Party, Starobin said his political views are well known but that his beliefs are his own business. So, just to keep the record straight and tag this Starobin for what he is, we cite from the Fourth Report of the Joint Fact Finding Committee to the 1948 California Legislature.

On page 186, Joseph Starobin is listed as being a member of a subsidiary Communist front created by the notorious American Youth for Democracy, parent of a number of innocent sounding organizations. He was among the leaders of the Friends of the Campus branch. Again, on page 226, Joseph Starobin is listed as one of the sponsors of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, along with Gerhart Eisler, William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, and a host of others.

Again, on page 3377, he is cited as being editor of the New Masses, a notorious Communist publication which was the monthly organ of the National Student League which headed a revolutionary movement among the students of high schools, colleges, and universities. Again, regarding the New Masses, he is listed as being connected with the combined magazines, Main Stream and New Masses, under the title, "Masses," which was suppressed by the Government for its subversive policies.

Among the names listed with his in this connection were those of William Gropper, John Howard Lawson, Paul Robeson, the late Vito Marcantonio, and a dozen others. Again, on page 342, Starobin appears in the role of a newspaper writer for the People's Daily World which is the west coast mouthpiece of the Communist Party.

It was a matter of pained admission by the Joint Fact Finding Committee of California that the People's Daily World "utilizes the service of the United Press, and on many occasions garbles the press items furnished by the United Press in bending the news to the Communist Party line. Apparently the United Press can do nothing about it."

So, if there is any lurking doubt as regards the underlying purpose of the meeting held in the home of Mrs. Emma Kays in Meiners Oaks, Ojai Valley, the concluding words of the editorial printed in a Ventura newspaper of July 9, 1954, would seem to cover the situation. It said: "If Ventura County doesn't have a trifle of Communist hang-over in its midst, it will do until a redder one comes along."

Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Case for Severing Relations With Soviet Rulers," written by David Lawrence, and published in the U. S. News & World Report of December 17, 1954. The article traces the diplomatic relations of the United States with the Soviet Union.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the article is estimated to make 7¼ pages of the RECORD at a cost of $580.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CASE FOR SEVERING RELATIONS WITH SOVIET RULERS

(By David Lawrence)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Is it time to break diplomatic relations with Communist Russia? Has United States only aided Soviet rulers by recognizing a Government that openly seeks to overthrow this Nation? For 16 years American Presidents avoided relations with the Kremlin. For the last 21 years recognition has been extended. All through this period official records show agreements violated, hostile acts committed, warnings of Soviet intent to injure United States. The American Government today is talking of peaceful coexistence and still hopes to do business with the Communist rulers of Russia. What follows is a study of official records—the warnings that began 35 years ago. They read as if they were written yesterday.)

I. WHY RECOGNITION WAS WITHHELD IN THE 1920'S

To understand what is fundamentally involved in the question of severing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, we must reexamine the facts of our own troubled relations with Soviet Russia—the facts in the period prior to the resumption of diplomatic relations with Moscow in 1933.

We must study especially the basis on which recognition was originally extended, and review particularly the solemn agreements and pledges made by the Soviet Union which have since been flagrantly violated.

As we look at the history prior to the initiation of our present diplomatic relations with the present Soviet Government in Moscow we find a remarkable record. It is evident that few people today who discuss the question have ever read the actual documents in the case.

In the first place, 16 years elapsed while this very question of resuming diplomatic relations was argued, not only in the forums of the world, but in the diplomatic correspondence between the United States and various governments, other than Russia.

The first document which it is important to note was a message sent on August 2, 1920, by Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State in the Democratic administration of President Woodrow Wilson, to the American Ambassador in Great Britain, Norman Davis. It read in part as follows:

"It is the feeling of the American Government that recognition of the Soviet regime or negotiations with it involves sacrificing moral strength for the sake of material gains,

advantages which will prove to be temporary and bought at a very high price. This Government feels that no permanent and just settlement of eastern European affairs can be thus attained. The revulsion felt by the civilized world against the tyranny now holding Russia in its power is shared by this Government. This tyranny disregards all principles upon which dealings and relations between nations are founded and is not freely chosen by any considerable part of the people of Russia. A permanent and wise solution of the problem of Russia, it would seem, cannot be reached until there is put into effect a plan whereby all elements of the Russian people will be represented effectively for the consideration of the reciprocal needs, political and economic, of the different regions which made up imperial Russia."

On August 10, 1920, Secretary Colby, in a communication to the Italian Ambassador in Washington, who had inquired on behalf of the Italian Government concerning the views of the United States with respect to the Russian advance into Poland, wrote as follows:

"That the present rulers of Russia do not rule by the will or the consent of any considerable proportion of the Russian people is an incontestable fact. Although nearly 2½ years have passed since they seized the machinery of government, promising to protect the Constituent Assembly against alleged conspiracies against it, they have not yet permitted anything in the nature of a popular election. At the moment when the work of creating a popular representative government based upon universal suffrage was nearing completion the Bolsheviki, although, in number, an inconsiderable minority of the people, by force and cunning seized the powers and machinery of government and have continued to use them with savage oppression to maintain themselves in power.

"Without any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people, or to suggest what kind of government they should have, the Government of the United States does express the hope that they will soon find a way to set up a government representing their free will and purpose. When that time comes, the United States will consider the measures of practical assistance which can be taken to promote the restoration of Russia, provided Russia has not taken itself wholly out of the pale of the friendly interest of other nations, by the pillage and oppression of the Poles.

"It is not possible for the Government of the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a Government with which the relations common to friendly governments can be maintained. This conviction has nothing to do with any particular political or social structure which the Russian people themselves may see fit to embrace. It rests upon a wholly different set of facts.

"These facts, which none dispute, have convinced the Government of the United States, against its will, that the existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith, and every usage and convention, underlying the whole structure of international law; the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals.

"The responsible leaders of the regime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. This attitude, of disregard of obligations voluntarily entered into, they base upon the theory that no compact or agreement made with a non-Bolshvist government can have any moral force for them. They have not only avowed this as a doctrine, but have exemplified it in practice.

"Indeed, upon numerous occasions the responsible spokesmen of this power, and its official agencies, have declared that it is their understanding that the very existence of bolshevism in Russia, the maintenance of their own rule, depends, and must continue to depend, upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other great civilized nations, including the United States, which will overthrow and destroy their governments and set up Bolshevist rule in their stead. They have made it quite plain that they intend to use every means, including, of course, diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries.

"It is true that they have in various ways expressed their willingness to give 'assurances' and 'guarantees' that they will not abuse the privileges and immunities of diplomatic agencies by using them for this purpose. In view of their own declaration, already referred to, such assurances and guarantees cannot be very seriously regarded. * * *

"In the view of this Government, there cannot be any common ground upon which it can stand with a power whose conceptions of international relations are so entirely alien to its own, so utterly repugnant to its moral sense. There can be no mutual confidence or trust, no respect even, if pledges are to be given and agreements made with a cynical repudiation of their obligations already in the mind of one of the parties. We cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of a government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions; whose diplomats will be the agitators of dangerous revolt; whose spokesmen say that they sign agreement with no intention of keeping them."

The foregoing note was delivered to all embassies and legations of the United States abroad. This was the deliberate opinion of the Department of State under a Democratic administration.

Let us look now at the viewpoint of the United States Government as expressed in a Republican administration when the Secretary of State was Charles Evans Hughes, who had served previously as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and was later to become Chief Justice of the United States.

Mr. Hughes, on March 21, 1923, addressed a delegation of the Women's Committee for Recognition of Russia. During that address he said:

"As I said to the representatives of your organization a year ago, the fundamental question in the recognition of a government is whether it shows stability and a disposition to discharge international obligations. Stability, of course, is important; stability is essential. Some speak as though stability was all that was necessary. What however would avail mere stability if it were stability in the prosecution of a policy of repudiation and confiscation? In the case of Russia we have a very easy test of a matter of fundamental importance, and that is of good faith in the discharge of international obligations.

"I say that good faith is a matter of essential importance because words are easily spoken. Of what avail is it to speak of assurances, if valid obligations and rights are repudiated and property is confiscated? This is not a question of the rich or of the poor. It's a question of principle. * * *

"Here is a simple test. We have in this case no need to speculate, as of what avail are assurances when we find properties taken, without compensation or restoration, obligations repudiated—properties of all sorts, the investments of one of our great life insurance companies, for example.

"Not only would it be a mistaken policy to give encouragement to repudiation and confiscation, but it is also important to remember that there should be no encouragement to those efforts of the Soviet authorities to visit upon other peoples the disasters that have overwhelmed the Russian people. I wish that I could believe that such efforts had been abandoned. Last November—last November Zinoviev (head of the Communist International) said: 'The eternal in the Russian revolution is the fact that it is the beginning of the world revolution.'

"Lenin, before the last Congress of the Third Internationale, last fall, said that, 'The revolutionists of all countries must learn the organization, the planning, the method and the substance of revolutionary work.' 'Then, I am convinced,' he said, 'the outlook of the world revolution will not be good but excellent.'

"And Trotsky, addressing the Fifth Congress of the Russian Communist Youths at Moscow last October—not 2 years ago, but last October—said this: 'That means, comrades, that revolution is coming in Europe as well as in America, sytematically, step by step, stubbornly and with gnashing of teeth in both camps. It will be long protracted, cruel and sanguinary.'

"Now I desire to see evidences of the abandonment of that policy. I desire to see a basis for helpfulness. We want to help. We are just as anxious in this department and in every branch of the administration as you can possibly be, to promote peace in the world, to get rid of hatred, to have a spirit of mutual understanding, but the world we desire is a world not threatened with the destructive propaganda of the Soviet authorities, and one in which there will be good faith and the recognition of obligations and a sound basis of international intercourse."

A few months later in the same year, July 9, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, wrote to Secretary Hughest and asked for an expression of his views on the American position regarding the Russian Soviet power. The labor leader said it had been the consistent contention of the American Federation of Labor "that the Soviet power cannot be recognized because it is an autocracy forced upon the people of Russia without their consent and against their will and maintained in the same manner."

Mr. Gompers added that he could not see where good crops or an improving economic condition, including an acknowledgment of Russia's financial obligations, could change the American position regarding recognition "as long as the principle of tyranny remains."

Mr. Hughes, on July 19, made a lengthy reply in which he said in part:

"The fundamentals of the Russian situation are pretty generally understood in the United States and have made a profound impression upon the thought of our people. We are constantly made aware of this in the Department of State by the various ways in which public opinion makes itself felt in the seat of Government. We learn of the hope of America that Russia should have the opportunity of free political expression and that she should be enabled to restore her economic life and regain prosperity and once more to take her place among the nations on the basis of mutual helpfulness and respect.

"There can be no question of the sincere friendliness of the American people toward the Russian people. And there is for this very reason a strong desire that nothing should be done to place the seal of approval on the tyrannical measures that have been adopted in Russia or to take any action which might retard the gradual reassertion of the Russian people of their right to live in freedom. * * *

"We are not concerned with the question of the legitimacy of a government as judged by former European standards. We recognize the right of revolution and we do not attempt to determine the internal concerns of other states. * * *

"When there is a question as to the will of the nation it has generally been regarded as a wise precaution to give sufficient time to enable a new regime to prove its stability and the apparent acquiescence of the people in the exercise of the authority it has assured. The application of these familiar principles, in dealing with foreign states, is not in derogation of the democratic ideals cherished by our people, and constitutes no justification of tyranny in any form, but proceeds upon a consideration of the importance of international intercourse and upon the established American principle of nonintervention in the internal concerns of other peoples.

"But while a foreign regime may have securely established itself through the exercise of control and the submission of the people to, or their acquiescence in, its exercise of authority, there still remain other questions to be considered.

"Recognition is an invitation to intercourse. It is accompanied on the part of the new government by the clearly implied or express promise to fulfill the obligations of intercourse. These obligations include, among other things, the protection of the persons and property of the citizens of one country lawfully pursuing their business in the territory of the other and abstention from hostile propaganda by the one country in the territory of the other. In the case of the existing regime in Russia, there has not only been the tyrannical procedure to which you refer, and which has caused the question of the submission or acquiescence of the Russian people to remain an open one, but also a repudiation of the obligations inherent in international intercourse and a defiance of the principles upon which alone it can be conducted. * * *

"What is most serious is that there is conclusive evidence that those in control at Moscow have not given up their original purpose of destroying existing governments wherever they can do so throughout the world. Their efforts in this direction have recently been lessened in intensity only by the reduction of the cash resources at this disposal. * * *

"While this spirit of destruction at home and abroad remains unaltered the question of recognition by our Government of the authorities at Moscow cannot be determined by mere economic considerations or by the establishment in some degree of a more prosperous condition, which of course we should be glad to note, or simply by a consideration of the probable stability of the regime in question.

"There cannot be intercourse among nations any more than among individuals except upon a general assumption of good faith. We would welcome convincing evidence of a desire of the Russian authorities to observe the fundamental conditions of international intercourse and the abandonment by them of the persistent attempts to subvert the institutions of democracy as maintained in this country and in others. It may confidently be added that respect by the Moscow regime for the liberties of other peoples will most likely be accompanied by appropriate respect for the essential rights and liberties of the Russian people themselves.

"The sentiment of our people is not deemed to be favorable to the acceptance into political fellowship of this regime so long as it denies the essential basis of intercourse and cherishes, as an ultimate and definite aim, the destruction of the free institutions which we have laboriously built up, containing as they do the necessary assurances of the freedom of labor upon which our prosperity must depend."

The diplomatic documents in the foreign relations of the United States are filled with episodes confirming, incident by incident, the views expressed by Secretary of State Hughes. Operations of the Communist Party throughout the world were the subject of many interesting communications which are printed in the records.

There were even denials by the Russian Government that it was intimately connected with the Communist International, and there was a time when Moscow endeavored to creat the impression that it no longer favored international operations by the Communits Party abroad.

II. MISGIVINGS ABOUT RECOGNITION IN 1933

We come then to the period immediately preceding the recognition of the Soviet Government in 1933. The published documents of our diplomatic history show that, during the period of 16 years in which the United States Government refused to extend recognition, there was no evidence of any important change in the policy of the Soviet Government. But the economic pressure inside Soviet Russia became intense, and it was evident that the Moscow Government needed the recognition of the United States in order to carry on trade with this country and other countries. So a determined effort was made by the Communists to try to impress the new administration in Washington, the Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, that the time had come for recognition and a change.

Notable is the document prepared by Robert F. Kelley, Chief of the Division of Eastern European Affairs in the Department of State, dated July 27, 1933, which was handed to President Roosevelt by the Acting Secretary of State on that date.

Having determined to take a chance on recognition and the resumption of diplomatic relations, there was a desire, at the same time, to impose conditions so as to achieve, through the very act of recognition, some of the agreements which it had not been possible to attain before.

The Kelley memorandum said:

"In order that the United States may derive from the recognition of the Soviet Government the benefits which normally follow the recognition of a foreign government, the recognition of the Soviet Government should involve the establishment of relations with Russia on a basis which would render possible the maintenance of friendly cooperation between the Governments of the United States and Russia, and the development of trade and intercourse between the two countries.

"The experience of countries which have extended recognition to the Soviet government has shown pretty conclusively, it is believed, that there are serious obstacles in the way of the establishment of the relations with Russia on such a basis, and that so long as these obstacles remain, official relations, established as a result of recognition, tend to become, in view of the extraordinary nature of these obstacles, the source of friction and ill will rather than the mainspring of cooperation and good will.

"It should seem essential, therefore, that every endeavor should be made to remove these obstacles prior to the extension of recognition. Until a substantial basis of mutual understanding and common principles and purposes has been established, official intercourse, with its increased contacts, is bound to lead to friction and rancor.

"Formal diplomatic relations may be established, but the substance of a useful relationship will be lacking, as much for the Russians as for ourselves, unless and until we have cleared up the existing difficulties through mutual agreement and work out a modus vivendi for the future."

This document is of transcendent significance. It shows not only the basis on which recognition was extended, but it justifies in every respect the withdrawal now of that recognition through the severance of diplomatic relations because the original conditions became an integral part of the act of recognition.

The Kelley memorandum went on to say:

"The fundamental obstacle in the way of the establishment with Russia of the relations usual between nations in diplomatic intercourse is the world revolutionary aims and practices of the rulers of that country. It is obvious that, so long as the Communist regime continues to carry on in other countries activities designed to bring about ultimately the overthrow of the government and institutions of these countries, the establishment of genuine friendly relations between Russia and those countries is out of the question.

"Even when these activities do not constitute a present menace to the established order, the systematic interference of a foreign power in the domestic affairs of a country constitutes ipso facto a source of deep resentment and unavoidable friction. The persistence of such interference after diplomatic relations have been established leads inevitably either to the rupture of relations—as has taken place in the case of England, China, and Mexico—or to serious tension and the reduction of the existing diplomatic relations to a barren, meaningless relationship—as has taken place at times in the case of France, Germany, Poland, et cetera.

"It would seem, therefore, that an essential prerequisite to the establishment of harmonious and trustful relations with the Soviet Government is the abandonment by the present rulers of Russia of their world revolutionary aims and the discontinuance of their activities designed to bring about the realization of such aims. More specifically and with particular regard to the United States, this prerequisite involves the abandonment by Moscow of direction, supervision, control, financing, et cetera, through every agency utilized for the purpose of Communist and other related activites in the United States."

The memorandum pointed out furthermore that the Soviet Government had been unwilling to observe "certain generally accepted principles governing the conduct of nations towards each other," because it refused to respect the rights of citizens of other States, and that international obligations had been rejected, which the experience of mankind "has demonstrated are vital to the satisfactory development and maintenance of commerce and friendly intercourse between nations."

Cordell Hull, Democrat, who was Secretary of State at the time, requested Judge Walton Moore, Assistant Secretary of State, and William Bullitt, who subsequently went to Moscow as the first American Ambassador, to prepare memoranda on the more important "conditions and understandings that might be considered significant in connection with the development of plans for the recognition of the Russian Government."

Mr. Bullitt, in his memorandum, said:

"Whatever method may be used to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government, it seems essential that formal recognition should not be accorded except as the final act of an agreement covering a number of questions in dispute. Before recognition and before loans, we shall find the Soviet Government relatively amenable. After recognition or loans, we should find the Soviet Government adamant."

Mr. Bullitt wrote that there were three important conditions which in his opinion had to be met before recognition could be forthcoming. He outlined these as follows:

"1. Prohibition of Communist propaganda in the United States by the Soviet Government and by the Comintern.

"2. Protection of the civil and religious rights of Americans in Russia which are inadequately protected under current Russian practice (e. g., 'economic espionage').

"3. Agreement by the Soviet Government that the act of recognition shall not be

retroactive to the foundation of that Government (which is the usual practice), but shall take effect only from the day on which it may be accorded. This is essential to protect both our Government and many citizens and corporations from suits for damages."

The Bullitt memorandum said further:

"There are, of course, scores of other questions involved in resuming normal relations with Russia. Our position would be strongest, I believe, if all these questions, whether of a legal, economic, or financial nature, should be handled as a unit in one global negotiation, the end of which would be signature of the agreements and simultaneous recognition."

Negotiations proceeded, and by an exchange of notes in the latter part of 1933 recognition was formally extended.

The exact language of the exchange of notes is of vital importance to examine now, because the documents are equivalent to a treaty which must be honored by both nations if the signatures are to mean anything.

When formal recognition was finally extended on November 16, 1933, the action was taken through an exchange of letters between the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinov (who came to Washington especially for the occasion), and the President of the United States.

The language of the two notes is identical. Mr. Litvinov wrote:

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to inform you that coincident with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two Governments it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

"1. To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its Territories, or possessions.

"2. To refrain, and to restrain all persons in Government service and all organizations of the Government or under its direct or indirect control, including the organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquillity, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States, its Territories, or possessions, and, in particular, from any act tending to incite or encourage armed intervention or any agitation or propaganda having as an aim the violation of the territorial integrity of the United States, its Territories, or possessions, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its Territories, or possessions.

"3. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which makes claim to be the government of, or makes attempt upon the territorial integrity of, the United States, its Territories or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support, or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its Territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups.

"4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its Territories or possessions."

It is interesting to observe that President Roosevelt in acknowledging receipt of this note in his letter to Mr. Litvinov gave exactly the same assurances as the Soviet had given to us in the numbered paragraphs above.

It is significant, too, that on the same date separate letters were exchanged, on the subject of religious freedom, in which Mr. Roosevelt said to Mr. Litvinov:

"As I have told you in our recent conversations, it is my expectation that after the establishment of normal relations between our two countries many Americans will wish to reside temporarily or permanently within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and I am deeply concerned that they should enjoy in all respects the same freedom of conscience and religious liberty which they enjoy at home. * * *

"The Government of the United States, therefore, will expect that nationals of the United States of America within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be allowed to conduct without annoyance or molestation of any kind religious services and rites of a ceremonial nature, including baptismal, confirmation, communion, marriage and burial rites, in the English language, or in any other language which is customarily used in the practice of the religious faith to which they belong, in churches, houses, or other buildings appropriate for such service, which they will be given the right and opportunity to lease, erect, or maintain in convenient situations. * * *

"We will expect that religious groups or congregations composed of nationals of the United States of America in the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be given the right to have their spiritual needs ministered to by clergymen, priests, rabbis, or other ecclesiastical functionaries who are nationals of the United States of America, and that such clergymen, priests, rabbis, or other ecclesiastical functionaries will be protected from all disability or persecution and will not be denied entry into the territory of the Soviet Union because of their ecclesiastical status."

Again Mr. Litvinov wrote to President Roosevelt assuring him that the right "to free exercise of liberty of conscience and religious worship" and protection "from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith or worship" was guaranteed by the fixed policy of the Soviet Union and that it was supported by various laws and regulations existing in the various republics of the Soviet Union.

Almost immediately after the acts of recognition occurred, the Soviet press declared that the United States had been "compelled" to restore diplomatic relations and there began a series of events which showed clearly that those who had had misgivings before were not wrong in their assumptions as to what might happen after diplomatic relations had been resumed.

We find Ambassador Bullitt shortly afterward writing to Secretary of State Hull "in regard to several instances in which the Soviet Government does not seem disposed to carry out understandings between it and the Government of the United States."

We note on August 14, 1934, Mr. Hull writing to Ambassador Bullitt in Moscow as follows:

"Since recognition was accorded the Soviet Government the Department has followed the Communist movement in the United States for the purpose of ascertaining whether the propaganda pledges contained in Mr. Litvinov's note to the President of November 16, 1933, are being observed. Furthermore, various individuals and organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor, have laid before the Department evidence tending to show violations of the pledges.

"The Department believes that the following transactions, evidence of which seems indisputable, constitute such violations and in particular of the pledge covered by paragraph 4 of Mr. Litvinov's note. * * *

"You should emphasize that, as Mr. Litvinov is certainly aware, the American people are most sensitive with respect to interference from foreign governments in their domestic affairs and that our Government is hopeful that the Soviet Government will take appropriate means to prevent further acts in disregard of the solemn pledges he gave in its behalf."

Ambassador Bullitt reported from Moscow on October 5, 1934, as follows:

"In accordance with the instruction contained in your August 14, I protested today to Litvinov orally and informally with regard to direction from Moscow of the activities of the Communist movement in the United States. I informed Litvinov that if at the Cominterm Congress, which is scheduled to take place in the month of January, there should be attacks on the Government of the United States or indications that the Communist movement in the United States is being direced by Moscow the most serious consequences might result; that the Government of the United States was as sensitive as the people of the United States to any interference in our internal affairs by agencies of foreign countries. Litvinov replied that he did not even know that the Comintern Congress would take place and that he was not aware of any activities of this nature. * * *

"I think I might go so far as to intimate to Litvinov verbally that we might sever diplomatic relations if the Comintern should be allowed to get out of hand. * * *"

Then on October 8 Secretary of State Hull sent a note to Ambassador Bullitt in which he said:

"Without making any statement to Litvinov that diplomatic relations might under certain circumstances be severed, it is highly desirable to give him the impression that in case of a violation of pledges he made when here and failure to agree to that settlement on such reasonable terms as we have proposed, the relations between the two Governments will inevitably be less close and friendly than anticipated, and the reason for our Government doing many things contemplated may disappear."

Again we find Ambassador Bullitt on July 19, 1935, writing to Secretary of State Hull as follows:

"Contrary to the comforting belief which the French now cherish, it is my conviction that there has been no decrease in the determination of the Soviet Government to produce world revolution. Diplomatic relations with friendly states are not regarded by the Soviet Government as normal friendly relations, but 'armistice' relations, and it is the conviction of the leaders of the Soviet Union that this 'armistice' cannot possibly be ended by a definitive peace but only by renewal of battle. The Soviet Union genuinely desires peace on all fronts at the present time, but this peace is looked upon merely as a happy respite in which future wars may be prepared.

"I feel sure that the Department must have received many reports that the Soviet Government has abandoned the idea of world revolution and that the convictions I have expressed above may seem ill founded. I can only say that my own observations, without exception, have convinced me of the accuracy of my statement. I have yet to converse with a single leader of the Soviet Union who has not expressed his belief in the necessity of world revolution."

This was the view of Ambassador Bullitt, who had gone to the Soviet Union with a very friendly attitude toward the regime there, and who had indeed participated in the negotiations leading to the extension of recognition. But he was quickly disil-

lusioned when he came into actual contact with the Russians in Moscow.

Ambassador Bullitt on August 21, 1935, in a message to the Department of State, pointed out how Litvinov's pledges had been violated and describing in detail the meeting of the Communist International, together with the attacks made upon the United States at that meeting. Urging that President Roosevelt make a speech giving utterance to his views concerning the activities of the Communists inside the United States, Mr. Bullitt wrote:

"I venture to suggest that henceforth the law excluding Communists from the United States should be applied rigidly and that you should instruct all American Missions to refuse visas to Soviet citizens unless they present entirely satisfactory evidence that they are not and have never been members of the Communist Party or Communist International, and are not candidates for admission to the Communist Party or Communist International and are not members of the Profintern."

Instead of a speech by the President, a note was sent to the Russian Government on August 25, expressing the protest of the United States. Attention was called to the Litvinov pledge and to its violation at the meeting of the "All World Congress of the Communist International," and the note added:

"The Government of the United States would be lacking in candor if it failed to state frankly that it anticipates the most serious consequences if the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is unwilling, or unable, to take appropriate measures to prevent further acts in disregard of the solemn pledge given by it to the Government of the United States."

The Russian Government answered the note on Aguust 27 by saying that it could not take upon itself "obligations of any kind with regard to the Communist International."

Secretary of State Hull on September 1, 1935, issued the following statement to the press:

"The recent note of this Government to the Government of the Soviet Union and the reply of that Government raises the issue whether that government, in disregard of an express agreement entered into at the time of recognition in 1933, will permit organizations or groups operating on its territory to plan and direct movements contemplating the overthrow of the political or social order of the United States. For 16 years this Government withheld recognition—as did many other governments—mainly for the reason that the Soviet Government had failed to respect the right of this Nation to maintain its own political and social order without interference by organizations conducting in or from Soviet territory activities directed against our institutions.

"In 1933 this Government, observing the serious effects upon peace and prosperity of the many partial or dislocated international relationships throughout the world, took up anew the question whether the United States and the Soviet Union, two of the largest nations, could not find a way to establish more natural and normal relations, which would afford a basis for genuine friendship and collaboration to promote peace and improve material conditions both at home and abroad.

"After various stipulations in writing had first been carefully drafted and agreed upon by representatives of the two governments, recognition was accorded to the Government of the Soviet Union by this Government in November 1933. One of the most important provisions of the agreement thus reached was the pledge of the Soviet Government to respect the right of the United States 'to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its Territories, or possessions.'

"The essence of this pledge was the obligation assumed by the Soviet Government not to permit persons or groups on its territory to engage in efforts or movements directed toward the overthrow of our institutions. * * *

"In its reply of August 27, 1935, to this Government's note of August 25, 1935, the Soviet Government almost in so many words repudiated the pledge which it gave at the time of recognition. * * * If the Soviet Government pursues a policy permitting activities on its territory involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, instead of 'preventing' such activities as its written pledge provides, the friendly and official relations between the two countries cannot but be seriously impaired."

III. "LISTENING POST" OF DOUBTFUL VALUE

Already, by November 24, 1937, we were finding that the value of an American Ambassador in Moscow as a "listening post" had been very much exaggerated. In a memorandum written on that date, George F. Kennan, of the Division of European Affairs in the Department of State, said:

"The Soviet policy in general: When this Government has sent ambassadors to the Soviet Union it has had a right to expect that they would be welcomed with something more substantial than formal words, and that they would be accorded by the Soviet authorities that measure of cooperation which is essential if their missions were to contribute to advancing American-Soviet relations. But the experience of the two Ambassadors [William C. Bullitt and Joseph E. Davies] who have represented the United States in the Soviet Union, compels one to the conclusion that the Soviet Government has made it a policy to place every possible restriction on the activities and contacts of foreign missions in that city. The Soviet leaders appear to welcome the presence of foreign envoys in Moscow as something contributory to Soviet prestige; but they make it very evident that in their opinion these envoys—like well-trained children—should be seen and not heard.

"In this they have little cause to fear retaliation on the part of foreign governments. The Soviet diplomatic missions abroad constitute only one (and not always the most important) of the channels through which Russia's foreign affairs are directed. The situation in many countries—and particularly in the United States—is such that it is an easy matter for Moscow to circumvent the governments of these countries and to deal directly with private individuals, firms, and organizations. It has its trade delegations, its local Communist parties, its foreign newspaper correspondents, and its various disguised agents, to help it in these efforts. Thus the Soviet leaders have been able to proceed to curb the scope of activity of the Moscow diplomatic corps, confident that no retaliatory measures which might follow could effectively disturb their own business with the outside world. * * *

"The presence of an American Ambassador in Moscow has apparently led to little if any change in the activities carried on in the United States by the Communist International. In 1934 (1935) this Government was compelled to make formal protest in connection with the meetings in Moscow at the Seventh All-World Congress of the International. Despite this protest there is evidence that Soviet leaders are continuing to exercise authority over a certain political group in this country and are requiring members of this group to serve political interests which have nothing in common with those of the United States."

Secretary of State Hull reveals his record of a conversation on January 13, 1938, with the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, when he read to him a memorandum which said in part:

"Ever since diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were established the American Government has earnestly sought to make a real contribution toward maintaining them on a close and friendly basis by effecting solution of a number of matters which have been the source of irritation if not, indeed, of friction. That success has not attended its efforts is due, in part at least, to the attitude that has been evidenced by the Soviet authorities. * * *

"Indeed, the American Government has been constrained, in view of the conditions under which the American Embassy in Moscow has functioned ever since it was established, to consider whether the value to it of that mission is sufficient to warrant the maintenance of the Embassy on the present scale."

There are many references in the foreign relations documents showing that American Embassy officials abroad were experiencing more and more difficulty in dealing with the Soviet Government. Thus, Loy Henderson, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow, wrote to Secretary of State Hull on February 1, 1938, as follows:

"1. It should be considered as axiomatic that the ruling forces of the Soviet Union have always considered and still take the view that the presence of foreign diplomatic representatives in the Soviet Union is an evil which world conditions force them to endure;

"2. In order that the effects of this evil may be reduced to a minimum, they consider it advantageous to follow a policy which will tend to restrict the influence, prestige, and effectiveness of the diplomatic missions in Moscow;

"3. This policy is expressed in part by the adoption of measures, the purpose of which is to discourage the maintenance of large missions, to cause the population of the country to look with suspicion or at least with lack of respect upon these missions, to restrict the activities, freedom of movement, and number of contracts of members of these missions, and to cause members of these missions gradually to acquire a feeling that if they forfeit the good will of the Soviet authorities by fearlessly and resolutely defending the interests of the Governments which they represent they are likely to encounter increased difficulties in operating their chanceries and households with a reasonable degree of effectiveness and economy and in performing the various duties imposed upon them by their Governments, and are even likely to be attacked openly or privately as saboteurs of Soviet relations with their respective countries;

"4. One of the most effective instruments which the Soviet authorities possess for the execution of this policy is their power to decide by means of the formulation and interpretation of customs regulations the conditions under which diplomatic missions may bring articles into or take them out of the country;

"5. The Soviet customs, laws, and regulations are deliberately so worded that if given a strict interpretation the life of members of diplomatic missions in the Soviet Union would be so unpleasant and the cost of the upkeep of such missions so expensive that comparatively few governments would endeavor to support diplomatic representation in that country;

"6. Since in present world conditions, the Soviet Government feels that it is necessary for it to maintain diplomatic relations with other countries, it follows the policy of interpreting and applying the customs regulations in such a manner as not to cause foreign governments to withdraw their missions from the country;

"7. The Soviet authorities apparently are of the opinion that at the present time most diplomatic missions in Moscow are maintained by governments which feel that under existing world conditions their representations in the Soviet Union must not be withdrawn even through the conditions under which such representations are compelled to work are difficult;

"8. This opinion and the rise of anti-foreign feeling, particularly noticeable during the past year, undoubtedly partially explains the increasing degree of strictness with which Soviet customs regulations are enforced;

"9. This strictness will increase until it runs counter to opposition of a nature that will cause the ruling forces to find it to be the best policy to call another temporary breathing spell;

"10. If, therefore, the American Government and other governments maintaining diplomatic missions in Moscow permit without protest curtailments of the courtesies accorded by Soviet customs officials to their diplomatic representations, new and more serious curtailments of such courtesies may be expected in the future;

"11. In view of the impossibility of obtaining in Moscow supplies for office and household and of the exorbitance of Soviet import and export duties, the matter of customs courtesies is much more serious in the Soviet Union than in most countries; and

"12. Since merchandise in the United States is plentiful and since exports are not subject to export duties, customs courtesies mean much more to the American Embassy in Moscow than they do to the Soviet Embassy in Washington."

Discourtesy to envoys

This same situation is discussed further between Secretary Hull and the Soviet Ambassador. Here is a quotation from a memorandum by Secretary Hull written on March 26, 1938:

"After talking on another subject, the Russian Ambassador then brought up the question of the complaints in the memorandum which this Government handed to him some weeks ago relative to unsatisfactory treatment of our officials and employees and American travelers in his country. He undertook generally to deny most of these complaints, adding that he would soon present a memorandum on the subject.

"I stated that disagreeable as the small pinpricks were, there was a worse phase that our Government has in mind and that is the atmosphere created there of inconvenience and indifference and of more or less uninviting hospitality to those who go into Russia, including the constant espionage and interference with Russian employees of American citizens in the Embassy and Chancery at Moscow; that it prevents this country from improving the relations between the two countries as we are so desirous of doing, especially from the standpoint of promoting peace and mutual welfare; that regardless of the accuracy or inaccuracy of the charges presented, we are seriously handicapped in this broad way and I consider that extremely important.

"I concluded by saying that if, after we had recognized Russia, that country and this country and Great Britain and France had gone forward in the exercise of normal relations and in developing their combined moral influence for peace, the unpleasant experiences in both the Far East and in Europe would have been reduced at least 50 percent, whereas the present policies of Russia in these small ways are seriously handicapping such supremely important efforts. * * *"

The most authoritative commentary on what happened before and after diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia were formally begun in November of 1933 is to be obtained from a reading of the Memoirs of Cordell Hull (published in 1948 by the Macmillan Co.).

Mr. Hull's analysis

Mr. Hull reviews the events leading up to the negotiations for the resumption of diplomatic relations and tells how, in advance of the step, he had called to the attention of the President that the United States should face the practical considerations concerning the conduct of the negotiations. He writes in his book:

"Consequently, I told the President we had two powerful weapons which can be used to bring about a favorable settlement of some, if not all, of our outstanding problems with the Soviet Government.

"I am convinced, from the experience of other countries, that, unless we utilize every available means of exerting pressure on the Soviet Government in order to obtain a settlement of outstanding problems, there is little likelihood that such problems can be satisfactorily solved. It is evident that if loans of any considerable amount should be extended to the Soviet Government, except as a part of an agreement involving a satisfactory settlement of such problems, one of our most effective weapons would be taken from our hands—possibly the most effective—since the Soviets, it is believed, prefer at the moment credits to recognition. I concluded by recommending that no loans be extended except as part and parcel of a final settlement of our relations with Russia.

"Thus our approach to the question was different from that of other nations then maintaining diplomatic relations with Russia. Those nations recognized Russia first and then began to discuss the questions in dispute between them. The results were generally disappointing. Having obtained part of what she wanted, Russia became less disposed to make concessions to obtain the remainder.

"In some respects we stood to gain more than Russia by a restoration of diplomatic relations. Without relations, the Russians were probably much better informed about conditions in America than we were about the situation in Russia. The Soviets were in close touch with what was going on here through their Amtorg, or trading office, in New York, an information bureau in Washington, and the American Communist Party."

Mr. Hull describes the negotiations in the agreements that were formally signed and then writes:

"But our efforts toward closer relations were again to be negated. The Communist International, with headquarters in Moscow, continued to support Communist propaganda and activities in the United States. We made verbal complaints to Moscow, without result. Finally Russia permitted the holding of an All-World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow from July 25 to August 20, 1935. American Communists attended and took part in discussions and plans for the development of the Communist Party in the United States. Here was a flagrant violation of the pledge of noninterference given us on November 16, 1933, and we could not let it pass without protest. By agreement with the President, I sent through Ambassador Bullitt a strong note to the Soviet Government:

" 'The Government of the United States would be lacking in candor if it failed to state frankly that it anticipates the most serious consequences if the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is unwilling, or unable, to take appropriate measures to prevent further acts in disregard of the solemn pledge given by it to the Government of the United States.'

"But the Soviets replied with the astounding assertion that 'it is certainly not new to the Government of the United States that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics cannot take upon itself and has not taken upon itself obligations of any kind with regard to the Communist International.' They refused to accept the protest. In other words, the Communist International, although intimately connected with the Soviet Government, could do what it wanted in American internal affairs without interference from that Government.

"In publishing both notes, I issued a statement in which I said: 'In view of the plain language of the pledge, it is not possible for the Soviet Government to disclaim its obligation to prevent activities on its territory directed toward overthrowing the political or social order in the United States. And that Government does not and cannot disclaim responsibility on the ground of inability to carry out the pledge, for its authority within its territorial limits is supreme and its power to control the acts and utterances of organizations and individuals within those limits is absolute * * *. If the Soviet Government pursues a policy of permitting activities on its territory involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, instead of "preventing" such activities, as its written pledge provides, the friendly and official relations between the two countries cannot but be seriously impaired.'

"We were now back almost to where we had started. We had official relations with Moscow, but they rested on no bedrock of friendship and cooperation. Try as I might, I could not establish the sound relationship I deemed so necessary not only for the two countries but also as a counterweight for peace in the scales tipping more sharply toward war."

IV. A ROAD TO NEGOTIATION

The foregoing record demonstrates conclusively that we can utilize the severence and possible resumption of diplomatic relations as an instrument of policy and that it can be, moreover, the basis for extensive negotiations.

By severing diplomatic relations with all the countries behind the Iron Curtain, the United States will in reality be adopting a policy that could prevent war and lead to a state of peace in the world.

Severance of diplomatic relations with the government at Moscow actually means opening up the road to negotiation for peace. It means, in effect, negotiation with the only sovereign that can make peace, namely, the people of Soviet Russia.

Such a policy should not be put into effect in a mood of pique, as if it were related to a single act that had produced irritation in our midst. It should stem from the moral force that has been the root of American idealism throughout our history.

Many persons who have conscientiously opposed this course when it has been suggested do not take into consideration the fact that severance of diplomatic relations, like its predecessor step, the opening of diplomatic relations, is a fundamental concept which can have a constructive aim. They fail to realize that it can be a constructive, rather than a destructive move and that it can conceivably awaken the world to the ways by which we can avert the outbreak of war. It can accomplish more than threats or counterthreats to use military force alone.

While it is true that severance of diplomatic relations has sometimes immediately preceded the outbreak of war, this has not at all been true in those instances where the diplomatic break has been based upon differences in fundamental policy, as contrasted with instances where some overt act led to the break itself.

History shows more instances in which a diplomatic break is an intermediate step toward peaceful intercourse rather than a final step toward war.

Within the last 2 years, Soviet Russia severed diplomatic relations with both Israel and then Australia; episodes in the evolution of her international policies. It didn't lead to war in either case.

It is contended that there are advantages in maintaining a listening post behind the Iron Curtain and that this factor is of such importance as to outweigh all moral considerations. While such an argument has some merit it suggests an excuse for inaction rather than a basic reason. For too often the philosophy of moral cowardice, which consults its fears rather than its conscience, winds up with the self-same crisis that a policy of timidity and forbearance sought to avoid.

If every time we contemplate some step in the evolution of our moral policies we are urged not to offend the other side, to repress our indignation, and so to conduct ourselves as not to antagonize tyrants who are every day oppressing millions and millions of people, then indeed it may be that western civilization has started on the road to decay and disintegration. There is no obligation resting upon us to consult our enemies about what to do about our enemies. We must not be frightened by our own self-created bogeys.

No better demonstration of the power of moral force in world policies could be given than that which occurred during the administration of President William Howard Taft, when the government of the Czar refused to honor the passports of American citizens if they happened to be Jews. To the credit of the Taft administration be it said that the United States notified the Russian Government that an American passport applied equally to all citizens and that there could be no discrimination between them, if the treaty which had been signed by the Russian Government were to be honored.

The Russian Government refused to change its policy, and the United States denounced the treaty as no longer in effect.

Nobody suggested at the time that by offending the Russian Government we would create a situation of international tension which could lead to war. Nobody suggested that the United States yield to expediency and recognize a practical situation, because the anti-Semitic policy was an internal problem in Russia at the time.

As to the argument that it is valuable to have American diplomats behind the Iron Curtain to listen, the record there proves this is an advantage of dubious value.

Very little information that comes through official quarters is any different from that which is broadcast by the Moscow radio or the radio stations of its satellities. Most of the information that has been obtained by the United States Government concerning conditions in Russia has come from sources other than the Embassy. Naturally the most valuable facts about internal conditions come from the hundreds of thousands of persons who travel across the borders during the course of the year in business, professional, and cultural pursuits of various kinds. It is obvious that Americans living in a restricted area in Moscow are not necessarily the best sources of information about Russia. The nationals of various countries who travel back and forth are better qualified to keep us informed, particularly those who have contacts with former residents of the Soviet Union, namely nationals of Soviet Russia now in exile.

Severance of diplomatic relations would impress the Soviet people, but much would depend upon exactly how the policy was executed. If it appeared as a mere manifestation of anger it would lose its moral force.

If our argument were focused, however, on the pledges that have been broken and on the agreements that were entered into by the Soviet Government and dishonored, it would profoundly impress the people of Soviet Russia.

With the opportunities we now have for disseminating our point of view throughout the globe, it would be practicable for our own Government to make a forceful presentation of all the reasons for the severance. The very debate would draw attention to the moral issues which have so long been neglected.

The severance of diplomatic relations, therefore, would be not a negative but an affirmative act. It would mean that the American people had opened their hearts and minds to the peoples of Soviet Russia and dealt with them directly in an effort to find some means of bringing about peaceful relations between the peoples. It would give hope where there is now despair. The Red army in particular, which must make the major sacrifice in the event of war, would be especially interested to learn why America had found it impractical to deal with the present rulers in the Kremlin. For the Moscow government has never been portrayed inside Russia as the big obstacle to world peace.

Obviously this obstacle, namely a government in Moscow which dishonors pledges, is something which, if emphasized to the Russian people would in due time make them realize they were being represented by a government that can suddenly plunge them into war. It is a government which does not give the people an opportunity to express their wishes—a government which has become a menace to them and to mankind.

It will be said that, with the censorship of the press inside Russia, the documents sent forth by the United States would not be printed, but as news about them came over the radio this in itself would direct attention to the restrictions upon the relations between the two countries growing out of the censorship and the suppression of the free flow of opinion. Radio and word-of-mouth would give it full publicity in the end.

The severance of diplomatic relations would permit a minute review of all the experiences, incidents, episodes, and controversies between the United States and the Soviet Union beginning in 1933.

The mere narration of these events would be enlightening to the public opinion of the world.

It would reveal America as acting in self-defense against the encroachment of Communist agents and saboteurs.

It would constitute the greatest blow that could be struck by means of moral force, thus demonstrating to the world that the decent opinion of mankind can be more important as a means of bringing peace than the threats to use military force alone.

For when we sever diplomatic relations because of the breaking of pledges, dishonoring of agreements and the disregard of international obligations, we base our action on the highest standards of human conduct.

Our spokesmen, on the one hand, declare frequently that we do not want war. We cannot, on the other, fail to use the weapons of moral force which reach into the hearts and minds of people to prevent war.

It takes courage to exercise moral force. Even the counsel of those who propose the exercise of moral force is rejected as "leading to war." Yet the only road really open to those who shrink from the use of moral force is more and more appeasement, and finally war, because the overt acts of an arrogant enemy inevitably produce war.

V. WOULD THE ALLIES JOIN US?

The question will be raised as to the practicality of such a step in the event that our allies do not take similar action.

American leadership cannot be forfeited, nor can our expression of our free opinions be restrained merely because temporarily there is no agreement with us on the part of other countries.

Precisely because other governments may not concur at once, our opportunity for debate would be widened. It would lend emphasis to the discussion. On the so-called practical side—to those who believe that it is important to have a "listening post behind the Iron Curtain"—it should be mentioned that the American Government would have ready access to any of the diplomatic reports of any of the other governments during the interval while we who have severed diplomatic relations wait for the others to do so.

But this very interval would be of far-reaching importance. We would be urging upon our own allies that they take a course of action similar to ours. This debate would have a profound effect inside the Soviet Union. For the discussion itself would afford an opportunity anew to draw attention to the spy rings and infiltration campaigns which actually have been carried on by Soviet agents in the United States, Canada, Australia, Guatemala, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and almost every one of the free countries.

It would not be necessary for the debate to be limited in length. It might go on for several months, with the United States pressing powerfully on the morale-force side, and with the allies one by one coming to our side as they gradually recognize the futility of further negotiations with the Kremlin government itself, or else as they perceive a change in government control there and finally an attitude which could conceivably bring about a new and better understanding between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world.

The Soviet Government itself is outwardly indifferent nowadays to the problem of maintenance or discontinuance of diplomatic relations with non-Communist countries. It believes evidently that the western world would maintain them no matter what happened. Our failure to exercise more leverage in this situation by raising the question of whether we care to continue diplomatic relations has recently brought repeated instances of disrespect for our representatives in Moscow.

Today we seem to be unconcerned about exercising any leverage at all against the Soviet Government. We appear to be passively acquiescing in every act of the Soviet Union. We find ourselves in a strait jacket because we, of course, will not precipitate a war, and the phrase "likely to precipitate war" is directed inside America against any policy except abject acquiescence.

Those who argue against precipitating war cannot have it both ways. They cannot, on the one hand, urge that our Armed Forces be immobilized, and on the other hand insist that we shall not take any steps to advance our cause in the court of world opinion.

Wielding moral force

Our only opportunity today in the court of world opinion is to mobilize moral force. And the biggest instrument of moral force is in our hands, namely, the severance of diplomatic relations. It is logical, legal, and clear cut and can be carried on to assure in the end the peace of the world.

Precisely as we laid down the basis for recognition by written conditions, so we can lay down the basis for the withdrawal of that recognition or the severance of diplomatic relations, and also the basis for resumption when the original conditions of 1933 have been fully met by the Soviet Union.

When there is an opportunity for the resumption of diplomatic relations we would be in the position of discussing a new state of affairs in which the Soviets would be making concessions to the rest of the world. We would not remain in the fixed position in which we are today taking affront after affront without really doing anything to impress our enemies that we might make a countermove that could be effective.

We shall not cease to express our own Government's views merely because of the dis-

continuance of one form of technical communication between the United States Government and the Soviet Government. With radio and newspapers and the reports of those who go back and forth across the border there are many ways to discuss our relations with Russia and to bring home to the people there our views besides the method of formal diplomatic notes, which have really grown less and less effective anyway in recent years.

Basis for new policy

The true meaning of the severance of diplomatic relations, moreover, would not be lost upon the world as a whole. It would have a significance far more than the actual change which involves the withdrawal of a few diplomats from Moscow. For it could form the basis for a new policy in negotiating with the Russian peoples—a new setup as between the United States and Soviet Russia.

America must take the leadership in such a moral cause. Those who say it is theoretically right to discontinue relations with the Soviet Government but not expedient are unintentionally condoning evil and destroying the hopes of the oppressed peoples.

The Soviet Government today has only contempt for vacillation in an adversary. That's because again and again we have been pushed back and insulted without showing the slightest bit of spirit in protest.

The long history of the periods prior to the outbreak of war shows that when a nation fails unequivocally to express its viewpoint and to maintain its honor and insist upon the fulfillment of solemn pledges it gives the impression of craven weakness, and ultimately it is overrun by an enemy, which miscalculates and thinks that it can win an easy victory.

The way to prevent world war III is to assert our moral position and to indicate clearly and persistently to the peoples of Soviet Russia that it is their government which is pushing us slowly but surely into a larger conflict.

As a warning against such a large conflict the severance of diplomatic relations can have a sobering effect. It can focus attention on the real issues between our Governments and the dangerous steps that have been taken by the Kremlin government to infiltrate our own territory in an attempt to set up agencies to overthrow our Government. Our Department of Justice, our Federal courts, our congressional committees for the last 10 years have recorded in official testimony the acts of Soviet agents on our territory.

The question naturally will be asked as a corollary: What effect would the severance of diplomatic relations have upon our relations with the United Nations?

Strictly speaking, the question of the maintenance or severance of diplomatic relations with a particular government is not related in the legal or diplomatic sense to the membership which a particular nation may have in an international organization set up for specific purposes. Thus many governments now in the U. N. recognize Red China although it has not been admitted to the U. N. Conversely, there are governments recognized by the United States and diplomatic relations are maintained with those governments, but they are not members of the United Nations, though of course eligible for such membership.

It cannot be denied, however—and in fact it should be emphasized—that there is a moral relationship between the position of the United States with respect to the severance of relations with the Soviet Union and continued membership of the Soviet Union in the United Nations.

For example, all of the arguments we have made for the nonrecognition of the Government of Red China and for its nonadmission into the United Nations are on all fours with those which can logically be made for our severance of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and for its expulsion from the United Nations.

It is not logical, on the one hand, to say that we will not admit Red China to the United Nations because of its aggressive policies and at the same time permit the Soviet Union to remain in the United Nations while it continues its aggressive policies toward other members of the United Nations.

It has been frankly acknowledged by the representatives of the Soviet Union in a formal meeting of the United Nations Assembly that the Moscow government sent arms and ammunition to the Chinese and North Korean Governments, and thus aided and abetted in that aggression, even though the United Nations by formal resolution had called upon all its members to refrain from sending arms to assist the aggressors.

In this connection, a few weeks ago Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, in a CBS radio-television discussion with some newspaper correspondents, was asked the question concerning the membership of the Soviet Union in the United Nations. The colloquy ran in part as follows:

"Question: Mr. Ambassador, could we get back to that word 'peace-loving' for a moment? Now, do we understand that a country, to be a U. N. member, must be peace-loving—by implication be part of a club of very peaceful, law-abiding nations? It seems, for example, to begin with, Russia wasn't one in 1945, and Russia was one of the original signers of the U. N. Charter——

Mr. LODGE. "Well, I think that in 1945 and 1946, at San Francisco, the United States assumed that Russia was a peace-loving nation, and the whole United Nations was based on the assumption that the alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union would continue, which, of course, was a very false—tragically false—assumption. Certainly, if we had thought at that time that the Soviet Union believe in war as an instrument of national policy, we would not have joined the United Nations with her."

From the foregoing it is clear that the Soviet Union has no moral right to continued membership in the United Nations. The League of Nations did expel the Soviet Union from that organization. The United Nations ought to have the moral courage at least to suspend the membership of the Kremlin tyrants. The seat can be declared vacant by the action of the Assembly.

It is this moral issue which is raised not only in the continued membership of an aggressor nation in the United Nations, but also in the refusal of all forward-looking nations to countenance the admission of Red China into the United Nations for the same reasons.

So by a single stroke in severing diplomatic relations we would be reopening the whole question of whether the present government of the Soviet Union should remain in the United Nations. This probably would not be decided immediately. But the moral effect of a thorough discussion would be felt around the globe. Step by step the moral forces of mankind would concentrate on evils which are now upsetting the peace of the world.

VI. AN ACT OF SELF-DEFENSE

So, to summarize, the severance of diplomatic relations is an act of self-defense. It is a step taken to prevent the encroachment by the agents of foreign governments upon our territory in their attempt to infiltrate our institutions. Every democratic government has a right to resist such measures, by banning the use of its own territory for the the conduct of operations hostile to itself.

What we say, in effect, is this: "We are not interfering with your internal affairs, but we are resenting the use of your power externally to the injury of the United States."

Sooner or later the Western World must recognize that the policies of Soviet Russia are actually hostile to them, as is proved by the many processes of subversion and internal infiltration that have characterized the so-called cold war.

By severing diplomatic relations we also take the necessary steps toward the shutting off of all trade relationships with the United States. We can stop the flow of money to the many Soviet consulates and agencies in various countries, which are the centers of espionage. Unquestionably the Latin-American governments would eventually follow our lead, and a very important opportunity that the Soviets now have to upset Latin-American governments would be eliminated. That would be consistent with our Monroe Doctrine and the recent pronouncements of the Organization of American States.

It is obvious that the subversive movements throughout the world, conducted by the Soviet Union, could not be financed except with Russian rubles cabled to its agents in embassies everywhere, who bribe officials, newspapers, and other media of communication, especially in Latin-American countries, to help them do their work of subversion.

We know that on the continent of Africa, and in various parts of Asia, the Communist agents are busily engaged in moves to upset existing regimes, and to capitalize on existing controversies. But the money for such exploits would not be forthcoming if diplomatic relations and trade relations were cut off.

What we are advocating here is a policy of nonintercourse with the Soviet regime, which when fully explained to the people of the Soviet Empire must inevitably result in some internal change. This is the hope of the world, and we must contribute toward that end by shaping our policies in self-defense against those who have made war upon us.

For the severance of diplomatic relations is merely a logical sequel to the acts of offense which have been committed by the Soviet regime upon the territories of free peoples. To condone these evils is to compound them and to deprive free peoples of their only means of protection against an enemy in the modern world which disregards all rules of sovereignty, all rules of international law, all obligations and agreements solemnly entered into and signed in formal agreements, and all assurances and guaranties given to respect the rights of others.

By interrupting diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union we would be telling the entire world that the United States of America, which has always stood in the past on moral principle, is continuing vigorously to pursue the course of morality, and that it will not resume diplomatic relations with any government which has violated its pledges to the United States Government, and which gives no practical evidence of any change in its attitude.

No evidence of good faith

We have called in the last few years for "deeds and not just words" from Soviet Russia. President Eisenhower has spoken publicly of the importance of concrete evidence on the part of the Soviet Union that it will act in good faith, but no such evidence has come forth. Under those circumstances we have no choice but to develop a policy of nonintercourse, with the definite assurance given by us that this policy will be gradually modified and relations with a new Government established in Soviet Russia as soon as the Russian people express their will freely and put into office a government that will respect international obligations.

There are, of course, only two ways by which the present government in the Kremlin can be altered—that is either by external military action or internal force.

External force is out of the question because we don't wish to give the Communists an opportunity to consolidate their position inside the country and light the fires of patriotism and nationalism.

Internal force is the logical instrument. Revolution or peaceful change is the only means by which a despotic government can be removed without bringing on an external war.

Again and again in recent history we find that revolutions are short-lived or that the impact of pressure from the people will without bloodshed cause the resignation of unpopular rulers.

When a great nation like the United States lays the case before the world and tells the people of Soviet Russia what its Government has done to impair the peace of the world, the people there must inevitably learn the truth about the danger that they face. For the real danger is that the Kremlin will involve them in a war which will require great sacrifices from the very people who only recently suffered so heavily on the battlefield.

Kremlin creates war fear

The fear of war grips everybody in the world, and the people of Soviet Russia are no exception. It is a hazard that the present rulers in the Kremlin have created which is dangerous to the future of all peoples. That is why we must never enhance the prestige of the present rulers of the Kremlin. We must not engage in high level conferences which can be played up in the Soviet press as examples of how the western nations are bowing to the great rulers in the Politburo. We must not treat the leaders in the Kremlin as if they were our equals in the world and respectable representatives of a great nation. On the contrary, we must do as Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes advised in 1923 when he said:

"Nothing should be done to place the seal of approval on the tyrannical measures that have been adopted in Russia, or to take any action which might retard the gradual reassertion of the Russian people of their right to life in freedom."

Only by a severance of diplomatic relations can we give convincing evidence to the people behind the Iron Curtain of the dangerous course which the evil men in power in Moscow have chosen to pursue.

When diplomatic relations have been severed and the debate begins throughout the world, the moral force of all the oppressed people will be strengthened and stimulated so that they will in their own way bring into being in Moscow a free government which will have the respect of the rest of mankind. Such a free government will have earned not only recognition, but a rightful place in the family of nations, and, of course, in the United Nations itself.

Address of Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway Before the West Point Society of New York

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the views of Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Chief of Staff, United States Army, whenever expressed, are always worthy of profound consideration and study.

I include in my extension an address made by General Ridgway on December 14, 1954, in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, before the West Point Society of New York.

Every part of his address is significant and particularly when he said:

It is only through possession of adequate military strength that the efforts of the splendid leaders of American diplomacy can realize their fullest success.

I have stated in and out of the House that "the strength and power of our military force is the main avenue by and through which our national objectives in the field of foreign affairs is attained."

There are many Americans, of which I am one, who are very much concerned with the reduction in our Army in recent months, and particularly with the sharp reduction proposed during the next 18 months. I have a feeling of confidence that General Ridgway is also one of those Americans.

It is a pleasure and a privilege for me to be here today with you who share the deep love of country and the ideal of service which West Point engenders and exemplifies. The words "duty," "honor," "country" express tersely the soldier's ideals of purposeful service, ennobled by high standards of personal integrity and personal dedication. These are times when ideals or spiritual values of the highest type are called for, if our Nation is to endure, and its precious heritage of freedom is to be preserved unimpaired. Our Nation's spiritual resources, more than its material resources, will be the ultimate determinant of our place in history.

Our Nation today is faced with a military threat unique in its history. It is a threat, though, which menaces, not our Nation alone, but every nation outside the Communist bloc. The military strength of the Communist world is such that if it were thrown against us, an adequate defense could only be through the combined efforts of those free nations who see the peril for what it is and who have therefore allied themselves, with their combined strength, in unswerving opposition to it.

The alliances that add strength to the free world were formed in the face of this common danger. If they are to endure, they must be nourished by mutual trust and confidence arising from mutual understanding and common interest.

These alliances, and their military significance to us, form my topic today.

The military man is deeply concerned with the strength of our alliances because he appreciates full well the contributions to our Nation's security which such allies can make. Our national goals of deterring war by all honorable means, and of achieving victory should war be thrust upon us, are best attainable within a framework of effective alliances.

Were we as a nation to rely solely upon our own industrial and manpower resources to defend ourselves against the full military strength of militant and aggressive communism, our Nation might find the task desperately difficult. The threat against us is total in its maleficence, and in the various areas in which its influence is being exerted—in the psychological, economic, sociological, diplomatic, and cultural fields—as well as in the purely military.

Perceiving the comprehensive nature of the defenses we must erect in all these areas of human activity, and fully realizing their interdependence—I should like to discuss with you some of the military implications of our alliances, and the extent to which the security of our Nation is bound up with the security of our allies—how much they contribute to our military strength, as we contribute to theirs.

In any approach to a military problem, a logical starting point is the military capability of the potential adversary as revealed by his forces in being in reserve, and in his capability to employ those forces against us.

The catalogue of Soviet military strength in being is an impressive list. Briefly stated, the Soviets have 175 divisions, and there are a million men in the armies of European captive states under varying degrees of Soviet control. In addition, the Red Chinese Army boasts 2½ million men. This Soviet-controlled ground strength, then, represents a military force far exceeding purely defensive needs. Its existence, in the light of the clearly demonstrated aggressive policies of the men of the Kremlin constitute a grave threat to world peace. And not only in ground strength, but at sea and in the air the Soviets continue to increase the effectiveness of their armed forces. The Soviet Navy is now estimated to be the second largest in the world with much of its strength concentrated in submarines. In the air the Soviets are estimated to have a total of 20,000 active planes, with an ever-increasing effort devoted to the production of jet fighters and long-range bombers, and a continuing buildup in the air strength of their satellites.

These formidable military forces respond to the orders of a small clique of powerful and ruthless men whose avowed aim is world domination and who, on the record, respect only force as the ultimate arbiter in the affairs of men. Their basic philosophy, abhorrent to us, stands revealed in historical record by their willingness to expend human lives on whatever scale the achievement of their aggressive aims demands.

Now the Soviet and satellite governments have certain military advantages which derive from the physical resources they control. The have an advantage in freedom of action which dictators always enjoy over democratic nations responsive to public support, and to the conscience of God-fearing peoples.

The Soviet bloc controls more than one-fourth of the earth's land surface. Applied to military considerations, this is an extremely significant fact.

Wars are fought, not for control of the seas or control of the air. These are but intermediate steps toward attainment of the final objective. That final objective is control of land and of the people living on it. Control of essential land areas is vitally necessary to the effective exercise of sea and air power, since seapower is dependent upon the continued use of land bases, and air forces upon the continued availability of landing fields. I scarcely need point out, however, the essential role of sea and air power in modern war, particularly in our case, with a continent to defend and worldwide allies to support. Yet, I do wish to put in clear and proper perspective the vital role of land power and the decisive instruments of land power—ground forces or armies—in the sum total of armed strength.

The more land an aggressive force controls, the more sea, air, and land power it can sustain. With the land comes the food for the armed force, the steel and coal to forge its weapons, the oil to power its engines of war, the industrial capacity to enlarge its warmaking potential, the manpower to labor for its aggrandizement. Moreover, with conquered land comes space to add depth to the defense of an aggressor's homeland from retaliation.

It is not only that more land, with all the resources of that land, becomes available to strengthen the aggressor, the conquered land, and the people on it, are unable to join with those powers which would normally be its allies. Thus, to the extent an aggressor can establish and maintain his control, the conquest of more land strengthens and enlarges his capabilities for further aggres-

sion, while simultaneously weakening the capabilities of every other power successfully to resist him.

At present, Kremlin-led Communist control is exercised over some 800 million human beings—roughly, one-third of the earth's population, inhabiting one-quarter of its land surface. Beyond the periphery, this force continues to infiltrate and attempt to subvert the governments of free countries. It seeks to exploit every weakness. Those who direct it have only too often stated their basic aim of world domination, and the pattern of their deeds continues clearly to support their words. They would, if able, destroy the institutions and ideals which have enabled man, with God's guidance, to achieve new heights of dignity. These men would, if they could, extinguish the light of freedom itself, for in their basic attitude toward life there is no place for freedom, no purpose of man, except to serve them and the state they represent.

It is, therefore, with due regard for the broad nature of the Communist threat and the urgency of that threat, that our Nation must build and maintain its defenses. It is enlightened self-interest for us to recognize that our safety is joined with the safety of other free peoples, that our strength is augmented by theirs and theirs by ours.

Only a part of the free world's important production centers and important sources of vital raw materials are located in the United States, or even in the Western Hemisphere. Other continents are rich in the materials on which our security and the continued progress of civilization depend. Africa holds much of the uranium required for our defense effort. Southeast Asia is a primary source of natural rubber and a rich source of tin. More than half of the world's known oil reserves are located in the Middle East. Japan, while short of many raw materials, possesses an industrial capacity of increasing importance. And in Western Europe there are rich deposits of coal and iron, as well as a population of 300 million, closely akin to us, with a high proportion of skilled workers and technicians.

All other considerations apart, the importance of such resources and capabilities to the strength of the free world makes it urgent that they remain on our side. If a Kremlin-launched war should succeed in seizing and controlling the vast productive capacity of Western Europe, the balance of military power would swiftly shift to our grave disadvantage. Then, even if many industrial centers behind the Iron Curtain were to be destroyed by allied retaliatory efforts, the seizure of Western Europe by the Soviets would have compensated, perhaps much more than compensated them, for what they had lost.

Besides the resources which we and our allies can contribute collectively to mutual defense, there are other distinct military advantages which accrue from our united efforts.

In a world in which time and space continue to shrink, our regional defense groupings would give more timely warning of aerial attack, more precious time to alert our collective defenses, both here and overseas. Bases on allied soil would enable the United States to employ its striking power against aggressors in any part of the globe. Land, sea, and air bases in the European and Mediterranean area and in the Far East make a vital contribution to the security of these coalitions, and no less so to the security of the United States. These numerous dispersed bases offer added insurance against the possibility of successful multiple surprise attacks, by which an enemy might seek to deliver a knockout punch, before the free world's men and planes and ships could retaliate.

Another advantage of mutual benefit is the increased effectiveness of combined intelligence efforts, so essential to the conduct of successful military operations. Further, our forces overseas are daily gaining familiarity with the language and characteristics of the nations with which we are working, and of the characteristics of the terrain over which we may be called upon to fight. Such knowledge is of scarcely less importance in peaceful pursuits than in time of war.

Obviously, one of the great contributions of our allies is in the military forces which they contribute to the common cause and which, combined with ours, constitute a deterrent to Soviet armed attack and, if launched, an obstacle to its advance.

In proportion as the menace of Kremlin-inspired aggression has become more apparent and the power of Kremlin-controlled military strength a more ominous and obvious threat to world peace, the free nations of the world have increasingly recognized their common danger and the necessity for combining their military strenth. Unfortunately, the converse has likewise been generally true. The more the Kremlin has disguised its designs and preached of peace, the more the Western World has tended to relax its efforts and drop its guard. Nothing could better serve the Kremlin's cause, or more injure our own.

The military contributions of Western Germany would add still further strength to Western Europe's defenses, and it is for this reason, among others, that so much significance attaches to the continuing efforts to bring Western, and ultimately all of, Germany into NATO, efforts which have come closer to realization through signature of the recent London and Paris agreements.

The military arrangements I have mentioned are dependent for their motivating power on much more than a mere pooling of our military and other material resources. There must likewise be some pooling of spiritual forces in support of the principles we all profess, some meeting of the minds in a great moral purpose—a purpose sufficiently idealistic to lift it above the purely material, yet sufficiently practical to promise true progress if fulfilled. In the moral factor lies that vital spark of vision and strength and determination which alone can bring our efforts to flower into a finer civilization. The destruction of our moral and spiritual standards therefore remains the final deadly aim of the Kremlin-controlled communism.

It well recognizes the importance and significance of cooperation—spiritual as well as military—among the nations of the free world. Wherever it operates, it strives to turn our allies against us, and to destroy the strength of the alliances that its own aggressive policies have forced into being. One theme is consistent through all the devious twists and turns of the Kremlin line, the "Hate America" theme. Simultaneously, the attempt is made to lull the peoples of the free world into complacency by constant repetition of hypocritical offers of world peace.

By propaganda, psychological warfare, subversion, and all methods short of open war, the struggle to isolate the United States continues. Its success would vastly increase our difficulties and our peril.

It is well, therefore, for the citizens of our Nation to appreciate the contributions of our allies and their importance to our national security. We should realize that alliances require both "give" and "take." We must likewise realize the necessity for patience and understanding, and bear in mind that the issues which unite free nations are far greater than those which divide them.

Any alliance—and, of course, I am here dealing with military alliances—must be of mutual benefit to the parties concerned. Trying to get something for nothing is no more praiseworthy or practicable in international than in personal affairs. Efforts to do so are rightly regarded as unethical. That our alliances meet the test of practicality is indicated by the fact that they were voluntarily entered into by free governments with the support of their respective peoples.

I have had occasion to serve with our allies in both Europe and Asia. I have served both here in the United States as well as in the Caribbean, with the military representatives of our Latin American allies. The degree of unity and cooperation which I have observed in all those regions among the military men of the nations concerned, is a highly encouraging sign of the mutuality of interest that prevails and of a strong aspiration to achieve a common objective of strength through unity. It is an asset of intangible yet incalculable value.

Since military commitments are a necessary part of military alliances, international military arrangements by the United States must be carefully scrutinized to ensure that our commitments do not exceed our capabilities and that the benefits expected to accrue are worth the commitments. Obviously, perspective is required. The capabilities of our Nation, while enormous, are not unlimited, and selfishness still rides high in this practical world.

Yet, we can take pride in the leading and enlightened role our statesmen have played helping to forge a structure of international, or collective defense the better to safeguard our own national security.

American military men have played a prominent part, advisory in the formulation and executive in the implementation, of these arrangements. They have added greatly to the prestige and high reputation that our Nation's military forces enjoy in the world. Because our military capability is an important element of our diplomatic effectiveness, the significance of a potential enemy's respect for the capabilities of our military forces should be obvious. It is only through our possession of adequate military strength that the efforts of the splendid leaders of American diplomacy can realize their fullest success.

American officers of all our armed services are working with allied officers in all parts of the free world as partners in an international effort to preserve principles and to defend ideals, which basically have a great deal in common. In 39 countries of the world, officers of the United States Army, though relatively few in number, are helping to train and supply the fighting forces of our allies. These officers are securing excellent results in assisting allied military establishments to contribute more effectively to their own defense and so to ours, and perhaps of even more importance, in interpreting our way of life by precept and example. Our two United States field armies overseas—the Seventh in Europe and the Eighth in the Far East, together with their associated fleets and air forces—are conclusive evidence of our Nation's determination to help our allies to resist aggression, and to participate as a full partner in the common defense.

The great efforts we are exerting to secure world peace in partnership with the free nations of the world—efforts in which the United States Army is proud to have a major share—have for their goal the preservation of the freedom we have inherited from our forebears, the freedom we are determined to preserve for our children and our children's children, the freedom we continue to seek to extend by peaceful means for all men to enjoy everywhere.

For the sake of all of this, we must not isolate ourselves. He who advocates such a course is, I think, a dangerous counselor.

Eighty-fourth Congress of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, all of us who are honored to serve our great people in their Federal Congress, are of course, and properly so, the recipients of large amounts of mail from them. Indeed, it is traditional in our land for the citizen to write to his Congressman or his Senator on the least provocation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, too many of us upon whom rests the responsibility for our legislative affairs are inclined to ignore the importance of these letters. Nothing could be more foolish. These letters are, in a very real sense, instructions from our employer; and, if we want to be good and faithful servants, it behooves us to take heed of the counsel with those who employ the people of the United States. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, one of these letters, which I am sure has been received by all of my distinguished colleagues, is the inspiration for this address. The gentleman who wrote it, Mr. Bluford H. J. Balter, is an outstanding citizen of my own State, although not of my district. He is no personal friend of mine, although I wish that he were. I do know, however, that this patriotic man has spent a fortune in his efforts to aid in the survival of his country. Is it any wonder, then, that his letter has inspired this address? Mr. Speaker, the letter of which I speak is worthy of a permanent place in our national archives, and I make it a part of this address.

All experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

The little-noticed words quoted above were inserted in our Declaration of Independence before the meeting of the First Congress of the United States of America. They gave clear and ringing notice to the world that Americans, though disposed to be long suffering in the face of governmental oppression, did have within them a point beyond which no king nor potentate might proceed in interfering with their inalienable rights.

When His Britannic Majesty, George III, disregarded this warning from his American subjects they proceeded to turn from long-suffering subjects of a European nation, to violent and aggressive citizens of their own free and independent nation, determined to preserve their freedoms with their lives, and responsible only to their God for their actions. Now, 179 years later, that same grave and portent warning is in order. Our Nation again stands in grave peril; whether or not it survives may well depend upon the strength and integrity of the men and women who make up the 84th Congress of these United States.

Our valorous Founding Fathers rose up and "abolished the forms to which they are accustomed" because they valued the freedom and honor of themselves and their descendants more than they feared the horrors and sufferings of war. That freedom might not perish from the earth, they did not hesitate to face death as traitors if they failed in their high endeavor. They did not fail.

Having won their fight for human freedom and human liberty, our great forefathers on this continent then proceeded to draft, adopt, and promulgate the Constitution of the United States, one of the greatest documents ever devised by the mind of man. That Constitution and its first 10 amendments guaranteed to all Americans for all time that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" that was promised in the Declaration of Independence. Today, after some 164 years of the existence of our Constitution, we have life but precariously, dependent upon the whim of the brutal rulers of those governments who have embraced atheistic communism; if we have liberty at all, it is at the whim of some government functionaire, intent upon taking of our sustenance in order that the habitants of foreign shores may live better than we, and who fails to exercise the absolute power that government has wangled and decadent judges have affirmed, to take all of our property and all of our earnings to satisfy the needs of an ever-expanding worldwide giveaway program, designed to enrich and strengthen our enemies while pauperizing us; and if we may pursue liberty at all, we are pursuing only an unobtainable myth, made unobtainable by unreasonable, unconstitutional, and confiscatory taxes that are driving our people to desperation, and which will inevitably destroy our Nation just as they have already destroyed the individual initiative that has made our country great.

Where along the way did we lose the freedom and independence for ourselves in the present and the hope for our descendants in the future, so carefully created and nurtured by our valiant forefathers on this continent? We have more than once demonstrated our valiance in war and our magnanimity in victory.

During the years 1941–45 our country, rightly or wrongly, was at war, and our people labored long and hard, and without thought of themselves, to carry the immense financial burden imposed upon them by the necessities of their native land. They did so gladly and cheerfully. With victory in Europe and Japan, our people continued giving of their sustenance without complaint in order that the enemies they had just made prostrate might have food and drink and continue to live. But now some 14 years have elapsed, during which the people of the United States of America have carried the financial burdens of most of the world, and with what results? In 1940, before we began our wasteful giving, we had friends all over the world. Today we have hardly a friend outside our own hemisphere.

But even with this dismal background our thoughtless leaders in our National Capital now propose to tax our people even more grievously and to assume now the additional burden of the support of the uncounted masses of the great land mass of Asia. What fools we are. If our generosity made only enemies among the Christian peoples of Europe, by what logic may we expect friends as a result of foolish give-aways in hostile, non-Christian lands?

Our great Constitution guarantees us the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. All of these guaranties become meaningless in the face of illegal and confiscatory taxes. We could serve the cause of communism no better by sending them vast shiploads of armaments than we do by senseless spending ourselves into chaos and national bankruptcy.

Too long have we played the fool. Our national survival depends upon a sane reappraisal of the policies of folly that have made our continued existence a serious question at this tense moment of history.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I tender the letter from my fellow citizen of our wonderful State of Louisiana, Mr. Bluford H. J. Balter, the letter which was the inspiration for this address, and I ask that it be made a part of this address and take its place in the historical archives of our great Nation as witness to the fact that in our great land of the United States of North America the humble citizen as well as the statesman is aggressively determined that our free land shall survive and that our descendants shall enjoy, under our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that freedom and liberty to which we ourselves were born and which we are obligated to hand on to them undefiled.

NEW ORLEANS, U. S. A., *January 1, 1955.*

HON. GEORGE S. LONG,
United States Represenetative from the Eighth Louisiana Congressional District, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN; Exercising that inalienable right of free men to petition their government for redress of wrongs, as guaranteed by your illustrious predecessors gathered in constituent assembly to frame the Constitution of the United States, I now address you and implore you to save the very existence of our beloved Nation.

The Declaration of Independence, that great document by means of which our ancestors cast the die for freedom rather than tyranny, promises to us, as inalienable rights, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

After the bitter struggle for independence was won, that promise was made reality in the Bill of Rights comprising the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, and especially the due-process requirement of the fifth amendment.

Living under the Bill of Rights from 1789 to 1913, the United States of North America attained the highest standard of wealth, of living, and of culture that the world of man has ever known.

Then an iniquitous blight was impressed upon our constitutional system, the 16th amendment, declaring, in effect, that all the earnings of the citizen belonged not to him, but to the Government. Whatever amount of his earnings he was allowed to keep was by the grace of his all-powerful Government and not by reason of his natural and inalienable rights.

The 16th amendment had within itself the seeds that have now turned a proud Nation of free men into a Nation of ignominious slaves and regimented robots. The graft and

corruption in high places, the mink coats and the freezers, yes, even the alleged action of Alger Hiss, Harry White, William Remington, and the Rosenbergs, as documented by the House Un-American Activities Committee, all are byproducts of a Nation of slaves, a people devoid of all hope of ever living in the blessed light of freedom and exercising the dignity inherently possessed and rightly expressed by all men who live not under tyranny.

For 14 years our people have supported from their earnings most of the rest of the World. During the great war that ended in 1945, they did so gladly; at the end of the decade that has since elapsed, they find the burden intolerable and the proposal to spend untold billions upon the teeming masses of Asia unthinkable.

History will hold to stern account the 84th Congress of these United States. It is to you that we look for the restoration of freedom and sanity in our beloved Nation. If you continue giving of our wealth and earnings to ungrateful and indifferent Europeans who give us only hate and ridicule in return and if you saddle us with the burden of supporting hordes of atheistic Asians, then truly we shall die as a free nation. If you take the first step toward returning us to sanity and Americanism, then shall you see a miracle among us. If you will but restore to us the right to use the fruits of our labor and our undertakings as we choose, limiting the arbitrary power of government to confiscate our wealth to some reasonable and predetermined amount, then shall you see American initiative and ingenuity come to the fore again and raise our living standards and our national prosperity to such undreamed-of heights that the rest of the world will live better than it ever has on the mere byproducts of American civilization.

Members of the 84th Congress:

If you fail us we die. If we die you and the hopes of mankind everywhere die with us.

Respectfully submitted.

BLUFORD H. J. BALTER.

Production of Wheat for Feed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill which will permit the farmers of the Nation to produce wheat for feed, without penalty, if all of the wheat produced is fed where grown and no price support is desired.

Under the present law, when marketing quotas have been voted for wheat, farmers who harvest wheat in excess of their allotment are subject to penalty. Farmers who produce wheat only for feed and who do not want price support on their wheat or any other crop are forced to curtail their operations and are in violation of the law and subject to penalty if they fail to do so. This is true even though the farmer uses his entire production of wheat solely to feed his own cattle or poultry. This situation is an intolerable and unnecessary interference with the operation of our country's farms and has been the source of widespread dissatisfaction among our farmers.

The ridiculousness and downright injustice of the situation are obvious. Many small farmers who raise wheat solely to feed their own cattle or poultry are forced to put that wheat into storage and then buy the wheat they need for feed purposes. This is an indefensible example of Government regulation run wild.

Wheat used for feed on the farm where produced does not enter any marketing channels. Its production does not affect the operation of price supports and, therefore, should be exempted from marketing quotas. My bill will accomplish that purpose. I shall press for its early consideration by the Congress.

How We Served as Partners in a Purge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, since the end of World War II there have been many stories to the effect that the American Government went beyond the terms of the Yalta agreement when returning displaced Russian nationals to the Russian Government, due to the zealousness of some of its officials. It has been charged that this phase of the repatriation program returned these people to their deaths.

A very interesting article on this subject, written by Julius Epstein, was published in the December 1954 issue of the American Legion magazine. The article is entitled "How We Served as Partners in a Purge," and is as follows:

HOW WE SERVED AS PARTNERS IN A PURGE

(By Julius Epstein)

During the night before they were packed into army trucks and carted off to Stalin's slaughterhouses, the 4,000 prisoners of war slept peacefully. They had again been reassured officially that there was no intention to deliver them against their will to a red vengeance.

The reassurance was a cruel trick. Before dawn that Sunday morning their camp was surrounded by armed troops under command of grim-faced officers. Though the war had ended more than 9 months before, all was in readiness for one of its bloodier—and morally most shocking—operations.

At about 6 the prisoners, awakened by searchlights suddenly flooding the entire camp, were hustled out of their barracks. They were frisked for weapons—not weapons of assault but of suicide. Those who resisted were beaten up; skulls were cracked, and ribs smashed. Despite careful planning of the macabre business, many of the victims succeeded in slashing their wrists and throats with concealed razor blades and jagged glass. Quickly the air was filled with cursing, wailing, and the agonized moans of the wounded.

In batches the men were driven onto the waiting trucks, each guarded by soldiers flaunting rubber clubs and machine pistols. Hour after hour, the trucks hauled away their freight of betrayed prisoners, some of them bleeding and dying, to the Communist fate they dreaded far more than death.

Even in this age of mass violence, this scene has a nightmarish quality. Who were the unfortunate prisoners? What was their crimes? Who were their captors, so intent upon providing targets for Stalin's firing squads?

For Americans with a conscience the answers to such questions are deeply distressing. Yet they must be faced. Whether crime or blunder or both, we can cleanse the national record on this score only by acknowledging the unpleasant facts.

The scene I have described took place on Feburay 24, 1946, in an American camp for Soviet war prisoners at Plattling, Germany. The bloody job of forced repatriation was carried out by United States troops. The victims were veterans of Gen. Andrei Vlasov's Russian Army of Liberation, which had fought under German auspices in the desperate hope of overthrowing the Red despotism in their homeland. Knowing that torture and death awaited them in the Soviet Union, they had surrendered to the American victors, in the naive belief that they would be accorded political asylum.

Plattling was a typical episode in what one American writer has called the hush-hush bargain at Yalta under which Allied bayonets and machineguns were enlisted in the noble task of driving Soviet citizens back into their prison land. No less gory dramas of violence were being played out at dozens of detention points for displaced Soviet citizens in Germany, Austria, Italy, France, England, and even the United States.

Nor was the brutality unleashed only against those who, like the Vlasov men, had donned German uniforms. It was directed also against the vast number of Red Army war prisoners liberated from Germans camps; against millions of civilians, including women and children; in short, against all Soviet nationals who at the war's end, though they loved their native land, refused to return to the Kremlin yoke.

One must pause to savor these extraordinay facts. The democratic governments in their hour of victory used force—ranging from deceitful persuasion and threats to raw violence—to return men and women against their will to Stalin's mercies.

The British and the French, too, shared in this ugly enterprise, but the main job, alas, was done by the Americans. In all, according to the best estimates, about 2 million who wanted to remain on the freedom side of what would soon be called the Iron Curtain were forcibly repatriated.

In his book, Our Secret Allies, Eugene Lyons calls it a moral obscenity. Another book, Soviet Opposition to Stalin, by George Fischer, calls it an indelible blot on the West's tradition of ready asylum for political exiles. In the minds of anti-Communist Russians, whether inside or outside the Soviet Union, it is an inexpungeable memory of betrayal by the free world.

How did the enormity come to be? Who was responsible, and why? Even at this late date the affair remains shrouded in secrecy and embarrassed silences. By dint of long research I have uncovered some of the pertinent documents. But much must still be exposed and explained. It is primarily in the hope of stimulating a congressional inquiry of the whole subject that I have written this article.

Some years after it had carried out forced repatriation on a huge scale, the United States was destined to take a gallant, principled stand against that vicious practice. Again the occasion was an effort by Communists to get their claws on men who had chosen freedom. This time our Government, backed by all the 15 nations taking part in the Korean war, stood firm. It rejected the Communist demand, which had become the stumbling-block in the Korean truce negotiations. Our officials, press, radio, and pulpit were unanimous in denouncing the Moscow-Peiping insistence on the coerced surrender of war prisoners as illegal, immoral, barbarous.

We held unswervingly to the view that to repatriate a single prisoner against his will would be a crime against humanity. On October 24, 1952, Secretary of State Dean Acheson defended this view before a com-

mittee of the United Nations Assembly, with Comrade Vishinsky in the audience, and drew the applause of the whole civilized world.

"It was quite unthinkable to the United Nations Command," he declared, "that it should use force to drive into the hands of the Communists, people who would be resisting that effort by force." In this address he marshaled arguments in ethics and in international law. Analyzing the Geneva Convention of 1949, Mr. Acheson showed that it contained nothing "which would lead one to believe that a prisoner of war must be forced at the end of a bayonet, fighting, perhaps dying, to go back where he does not want to go." Forty years of international practice, he demonstrated, left no margin for doubt on the basic principle, namely:

"If a prisoner believed that it was dangerous for him, that he might die if he were sent home, and if he claimed asylum, and if the detaining state thought that it was an honest, bona fide claim, the detaining state could grant asylum."

The bitter irony of the speech, though few noted it, was that its every argument, its every appeal to the law of God and the law of man, applied also to the forcible repatriation of Soviet nationals after World War II. That, too, had been a crime against humanity by our own definition and standards. It had been, in Mr. Acheson's words, "wrong, improper, illegal, and unnecessary to return prisoners by force." The impropriety and illegality, indeed, had been compounded by the fact that the victims included hordes of civilian fugitives, among them women and children.

The courageous American position with respect to anti-Communist prisoners in Korea is an implicit admission of our guilt from 1945 forward. If the crime is to be atoned, if the political blunder is to be repaired, the admission must be made explicit. The evil was too great, the political consequences have been too harmful, to justify continued silence on the issue.

Forced repatriation, it has been generally assumed, was agreed upon at Yalta by Roosevelt and Churchill under the spell of the wily Stalin. The truth is even more damaging.

Perhaps there was an off-record verbal understanding that the democracies would, if need be, drive his reluctant subjects back into Stalin's prison-house with bayonets and rubber truncheons. But so far as the written commitments go, including the secret portions, we played the cruel game with far more zeal than was called for even by the Yalta agreement on the subject.

That agreement, made public 13 months later, provided for repatriation of "prisoners of war and civilians" of any of the Allies liberated by another ally. It glossed over the real problem: what to do about prisoners and civilians who refused to go home. It contained no reference, open or implied, to the employment of force. That, for reasons beyond normal understanding, was an extra, a bonus tossed in by American officials strangely eager to help herd Russians into Soviet torture chambers and concentration camps.

The secret Yalta Agreement on repatriation was signed on February 11, 1945, by Maj. Gen. John R. Deane for the United States of America, Maj. Gen. A. A. Gryzlov for the U. S. S. R. Article 1 simply stipulated that each of these nations would gather liberated nationals of the other "in camps or points of concentration until they have been handed over to the Soviet or United States authorities."

Article 2 provided that Soviet and United States repatriation officers "will have the right of immediate access into the camps and points of concentration where their citizens are located," as well as "the right to appoint the internal administration and set up the internal discipline and management in accordance with the military procedure and laws of their country."

The Soviets immediately violated these terms. As recorded in his book on The Yalta Conference by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., "The Soviet Union after Yalta would not allow a United States mission to function behind the Soviet lines." Soviet missions, by contrast, not only enjoyed free entry to American camps holding their citizens but were allowed to propagandize and often to terrorize the inmates into accepting repatriation.

On March 8, 1946, in releasing the agreement to the press, the State Department also issued a statement on the implementation of that document. It declared that the United States "is facilitating the repatriation to the Soviet Union of only those persons who were citizens of and actually domiciled within the Soviet Union on September 1, 1939," which is to say at the start of the war. It went on to specify that "repatriation of Soviet citizens is not facilitated unless they so desire," except in the cases of members of Soviet armed forces and those who had voluntarily collaborated with the enemy.

That implementation thus went far beyond the letter of the agreement. In effect it undertook to send back vast categories of men and women even if they did not "so desire." In practice, moreover, our military authorities, and also UNRRA, violated the State Department's own rules.

For instance, citizens of the three Baltic republics certainly had not been "domiciled within the Soviet Union on September 1, 1939." Yet we turned over hundreds of thousands of Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians—and even Poles—to the Soviets.

The record shows that the principle of forced repatriation was accepted and acted upon by the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) as early as April 1945, weeks before the war's end. This and other disturbing information on the subject is spelled out in an official, heretofore unpublished 156-page document entitled: "The Recovery and Repatriation of Liberated Prisoners of War, Occupation Forces in Europe, 1945–46." It was compiled under authority of the Army chief historian, Col. Harold E. Potter, by the chief archivist, Gillet Griswold, Frankfurt-am-Main.

This document proves to the hilt that not only SHAEF but the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington deliberately chose to use force to drive Soviet nationals to their doom; not because they had to but because they wanted to. On page 64 we read:

"The principle of forcible repatriation of Soviet citizens was recognized in supreme headquarters in April 1945. Although the Yalta agreement did not contain any categorical statement that Soviet citizens should be repatriated regardless of their personal wishes, it was so interpreted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. On instructions from the latter, theater headquarters ordered repatriation regardless of the individual's desire with only two exceptions, namely, Soviet citizens captured while serving with the German armed forces and unwilling to resign their status as prisoners of war, and Soviet citizens known or suspected to be war criminals."

This statement bristles with puzzles that only Congress can solve. Fortunately two members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Marshall and Admiral King, are still alive to testify, along with scores of lesser officers involved in making and executing the amazing decision.

If Soviet soldiers who had served with the German forces but were unwilling to resign their status as prisoners of war should not have been forcibly repatriated, how come that nearly all of them, including hundreds of thousands of Vlasov men, were surrendered to Stalin? Surely not one of them in his right mind would have given up his prisoner-of-war status.

The greater puzzle, clamoring for an answer, is why SHAEF and the Joint Chiefs decided to invoke force against Soviet soldiers and civilians despite the fact that the Yalta agreement did not make this obligatory. Who was so anxious to rid the world of anti-Communist Russians, and why? What we have learned in recent years about the infiltration of our Government agencies and the White House itself by Soviet agents makes a clear solution of the mystery urgent and inescapable.

The same document reveals another telltale detail. On August 25, 1945, the Seventh Army, under General Patch, requested from theater headquarters specific instructions on the use of troops to turn over unwilling repatriates to the Soviets. Despite its decision in favor of force in April, SHAEF referred the inquiry to Washington. Meanwhile General Patch, presumably because, like most field commanders, he hated the brutal chore, suspended the use of force.

Washington took 4 months to answer. In their reply on December 20, 1945, the Joint Chiefs of Staff set forth the policy of unstinting force in repatriation that was to remain effect deep into 1947. It was a policy in nowise dictated by the Yalta agreement (which the Soviet authorities were violating right and left in any case) and even more outrageous in its cruelty than the State Department's statement on implementation. The order was signed: "By command of General McNarney: L. S. Ostrander, brigadier general, United States Army Adjutant General." But the authority derived from the Chiefs of Staff. And it is unlikely that a decision involving the lives of millions was made without consulting the Commander in Chief.

Another highly revealing document—still classified—is now in the custody of the Historical Record Section of the Army in Alexandria, Va. It bears the file No. 384.7-14.1 and is entitled: "Forcible Repatriation of Displaced Soviet Citizens—Operation Keelhaul."

This document, issued on September 1, 1948, probably holds the clues to the ghastly secret which took a toll of hundreds of thousands of Russian lives—the secret which has muddied and bloodied our relations with the peoples, as distinct from their hated Communist masters, behind the Iron Curtain. Along with all other classified materials on repatriation resting in Alexandria, Kansas City, Mo., and other military repositories, it should be opened to the daylight of public knowledge.

As a vital aspect of the cold war, we are today addressing the Kremlin's subjects through the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberation, and various unpublicized channels. How can we expect them to believe in our friendship, our assurances that we consider them potentially our allies, until we purge ourselves of the guilt of forced repatriation?

Perhaps it was anxiety to butter up the Politburo which led our top-shelf officials to commit that atrocity. Perhaps the policy was foisted on them by the machinations of Alger Hisses and Harry Dexter Whites at control points in the Government. Whatever the motivations, it is a story compounded of moral callousness made worse by sheer confusion and ineptitude.

What, for example, went on in the addled heads of officials who in April 1945 decided to drop leaflets urging Soviet nationals to surrender to Americans for "speedy return to their Russian fatherland." Speedy return, as any tyro in the business should have known, meant speedy liquidation by firing squads. Meanwhile other leaflets and broadcasts addressed to Russian enemies of the Kremlin promised that they would never be sent back; many of those who believed that promise would soon pay for it with their freedom or their lives.

Our Psychological Warfare Division, headed by Gen. Robert A. McClure, with C. D. Jackson as his deputy, cannot slough off its share of responsibility for confusions and deceits of this character. The pattern, however, was set at much higher levels. It was a pattern such as Moscow itself might have prescribed. For its effects were (1) to turn the Soviet peoples, in particular the enemies of the regime, against the democracies; (2) to convince the Kremlin's internal foes that it was futile to count on the understanding and help of the West; and (3) to strengthen Stalin's hand as against the population in his difficult postwar period of readjustment.

It was a pattern ethically unclean and politically obtuse. Those who carried out the policy in the face of the fugitives' protests, desperation and self-destruction can claim that they were merely obeying the orders of superiors—except that this alibi was ruled out at the war-criminals trials in Nuremberg and Japan.

The forced repatriation undertaken after V-E Day continued for more than 2 years. It was extended also against the thousands of Red soldiers and officers in the Soviet occupation zones who deserted and sought asylum on our side; these were summarily handed back to the Red commands for execution.

I do not have the space here for a detailed inventory of the piled-up horrors. A few samplings must suffice.

Once, more than a thousand whom we were transporting to Linz, a Soviet detention center, jumped out of the windows of the train as it passed over a bridge near the Austrian frontier. They perished. As the train approached Linz, hundreds more of the doomed prisoners jumped into the Drava River.

This story repeated itself at other concentration points, such as Dachau, Passau, Kempten, Plattling, Bad Eibling, St. Veit, Marburg. Operation Keelhaul became Operation Suicide. When Soviet officials came to take them over from American custody, prisoners in some cases locked themselves in churches or their barracks, to which they then set fire. Our GI's stood guard while Stalin's agents dragged out their "liberated" nationals, clubbed them without mercy and carted them off to the Red limbo. We shall never know how many cheated the Soviet executioners by taking their own lives, or how many died in transit before they reached the Soviet borders.

The British role, though secondary, was no sweeter. Thousands of Soviet prisoners taken to Britain were then forced to board British vessels to be sent to Odessa. Suicides abounded. Many jumped overboard and drowned. In one case it took 3 days in Odessa for Soviet police to drag the prisoners ashore.

A small part of the tragedy unfolded even on American soil. Many liberated Soviet soldiers were brought to the United States, chiefly to camps in Idaho. Virtually without exception, after the war, they begged for political asylum. But they were forced to board Soviet ships in Seattle and Portland. Over a hundred who resisted successfully were brought to a New Jersey camp. In the end these, too, were surrendered to Stalin, though we had to use tear gas to dislodge them from the barracks.

Hundreds of thousands of Soviet fugitives who evaded repatriation by our military monitors ended up in DP camps under UNRRA control. Again force was used—not outright violence now but propaganda, threats, lies, pressures—to make them go home. Eugene Lyon writes:

"The role of UNRRA in riding herd on Stalin's enemies, both under HERBERT LEHMAN and Fiorello LaGuardia, was hardly one to make Americans proud of their statesmen. LaGuardia in particular showed himself insensitive to the fears and grievances of the Kremlin's runaway subjects. Since UNRRA was widely infiltrated by Communists and fellow travelers in any case, the plight of would-be nonreturners was far from enviable."

Senator LEHMAN in a letter to me shows that, as first Director General of UNRRA, he did not know what his subordinates were doing. At meetings of the UNRRA Council in Montreal in 1944 and in London in August 1945, he writes, "Russia tried to insist on the forced repatriation of Soviet citizens," but the non-Communist members voted against such a policy.

Nevertheless hordes of DP's in American hands were cajoled and frightened into going behind the Iron Curtain. Under LEHMAN'S successor, LaGuardia, came the notorious secret Order No. 199. This, to quote Lyons again, "not only instructed DP camp officials to effect speedy return of Soviet nationals to their home land in accordance with the Yalta agreement but outlined pressures and hinted at punishments toward that end."

Between 1945 and 1947 the American press from time to time published reports on gory episodes of forced repatriation. A dispatch in the New York Times of January 20, 1946, for example, described a riot in Dachau precipitated by impending repatriation. It told how Russians in a frenzy of terror committed suicide—10 died, 21 were hospitalized, and "many suffered cracked heads from the nightsticks wielded by 500 American and Polish guards." The dispatch added: "Even though threatened with rifles and carbines, they refused to leave the shelter, begging GI guards to shoot them rather than carry out the extradition order."

But no official voices were raised in protest against the staggering indecency. Worse; the military and UNRRA personnel in the field, like the public, were allowed to believe that in applying moral and physical force without stint we were carrying out a Yalta agreement. To reveal that the responsibility lay less in Yalta than in the inhuman and pro-Soviet interpretations of the agreement arbitrarily made by Washington would have given the nightmare an additional dimension of horror.

To this day officialdom on all levels has maintained a stubborn silence. Probably only Congress can break through it. The evil and the stupidity cannot, of course, be undone. But it can be faced, apologized for; its lessons can be learned.

A respected German journalist, Jurgen Thorwald, has written a book indicting his own country for its failure to make allies of the peoples in the Soviet Union against the Soviet regime. He relates a conversation between General von Koestring, as a prisoner, and an American colonel who was interrogating him. Von Koestring had opposed Hitler's mistreatment of the Soviet population. Now in defeat he tried to warn America. He said:

"We Germans surely have—through stupidity, inefficiency, and ignorance—destroyed the greatest capital which has ever existed in the world in the fight against bolshevism. * * * You will not understand me now, when I tell you that you have destroyed this capital for a second time. * * * It may well be that you will desperately call in the very near future for what you have now destroyed."

The capital he had in mind was the friendship and help of the Russian people in the struggle against communism. We were squandering it by surrendering Russian patriots to the Soviets. Today, as von Koestring foresaw, we are seeking to regain the good will we then sacrificed. An indispensable first step is to purge ourselves of what we have ourselves identified, in the Korean context, as a crime against humanity. Only then will the road be open to an understanding with our secret allies behind the Iron Curtain.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Future of American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last night it was my privilege to deliver an address in Philadelphia on the subject of the Future of American Foreign Policy.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

It is a great privilege to speak to you in this distinguished forum.

It is a particular pleasure to share the platform with my able colleague from the State of Washington, a man young in years but broad in experience, one who has already contributed significantly to the effective functioning of the United States, the Honorable Henry Jackson.

It is most appropriate to consider with my colleague and with you, tonight, the future of American foreign policy as the new 84th Congress gets underway.

Here, in Philadelphia, hallowed birthplace of American liberty, we will contemplate how best we may preserve our own liberty and others' liberty throughout the world.

With the new Congress but 5 days old, we are entering into a new chapter of American history, a continuing chapter in unfolding American foreign policy.

NEED FOR BIPARTISAN TEAMWORK

The presence of my colleague here tonight, emphasizes perhaps the most important single point which I or anyone else, can make tonight. It is simply this: The success of foreign policy—now more than ever before—depends upon genuine teamwork—not lip-service teamwork between the two major political parties. I am certain that we are going to have genuine, effective teamwork.

I am certain that under the leadership of our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and our able Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, that friendly constructive liaison will be maintained so that there is real consultation on the major issues involved in the future conduct of our foreign affairs.

No one here tonight need probably be told that never before has it been more important that we, as a people, be truly united at the water's edge.

In this atomic-hydrogen age, this age of jet propulsion and soon, possibly, this age of an intercontinental ballistic missile, we cannot have a "Republican foreign policy"; we cannot have a "Democratic foreign policy"; we must have an American foreign policy.

That is precisely what we are going to have.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR GEORGE, CONGRESSMAN RICHARDS

We are fortunate indeed in having two statesmen on whom much of the legislative burden will fall in foreign affairs in the new Congress. I refer to the Honorable WALTER F. GEORGE, of Georgia, President pro tempore of the Senate, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the Honorable JAMES RICHARDS, of South Carolina, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. They are men of the highest caliber. They are legislative leaders in the finest sense of the word, deeply aware of their responsibilities to their Nation.

I know, too, the other members of both the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees, and I can assure you that they, too, are deeply sensitive to their obligations to carry out a constructive foreign policy.

That is especially the case with our distinguished committee Member, our Senate minority leader, WILLIAM KNOWLAND, and it is the case with the Senate's Majority Leader Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, who has already contributed much particularly inter-American relations.

CURRENT CHALLENGES AND PERILS

Against this background, let me say that in my judgment the outlook for our future foreign relations is bright.

To be sure, it is full of immediate challenges, full of critical dangers.

You are all aware of these perils. You are aware of the continued crisis in southeast Asia, notably in southern Vietnam.

You are aware of the nationalist ferment which is sweeping North Africa—site of several of our strategic bases—as well as the tension in many other underdeveloped areas of the world.

You are perhaps aware of recent Soviet diplomatic-economic developments with regard to Afghanistan and Finland, to cite two widely separate points, which give us cause for concern.

You are aware of the problem raised by the position of the new Japanese Government. It is a position which, I feel, in all frankness and friendship, is not sufficiently realistic about the danger of Communist aggression, the danger involved in the fake Soviet trade offensive—an offensive which is being used as a crude disguise for Soviet penetration of underarmed Japan.

DANGER OF SOVIET VERSION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

You are aware of how significantly the Soviet Union is emphasizing the worldwide propaganda theme—the supposedly soothing lullaby—of "peaceful coexistence."

Now, by our United States definition that concept—those two words—can be sound. But, the Soviet definition of "peaceful coexistence" implies a great deal more than the ordinary definition, a great deal which is absolutely unsound for the free world.

It implies compulsory neutralism to keep in the good graces of the Kremlin; it implies breaking up the western alliance; it implies ignoring the fact that international communism is still bent upon ruthless conquest.

No realistic power can, therefore, accept the misleading Soviet definition of peaceful coexistence with all its dangerous implications.

But, every realistic person believes we must do everything within our power to prevent a nuclear Armageddon—a terrible world war III.

War can be prevented. It will, I believe, be prevented, provided—I emphasize, provided—we are strong, provided we are prepared, provided we are united. Peaceful coexistence—yes, but only through free world strength, free world unity, free world realism.

Peaceful coexistence through actual, ironclad Soviet demonstration, for the very first time, that she means what she says and says what she means, that is what the West must seek.

Glib Soviet promises, meaningless Soviet gestures, more Soviet soft-soap, of these we have had our fill. We are not going to heed more of the same.

We insist on hard and fast and irrevocable Soviet actions truly aimed at peace. In other words, let's see the Soviet Union agree to the sound Austrian state treaty. Let's see the Soviet Union agree to absolutely free and uncontrolled elections in East Germany and in North Korea and to an enforceable system of gradual world disarmament.

Let's see if the Soviet Union will do these or any of the other constructive deeds which she has so consistently refused.

PEACE PROGRESS EXPECTED

These, then, my friends, are some of the problems before us.

And, yet, as we review them, I am convinced that in spite of them, in the next 12 months, we are going to make further tremendous progress in helping to assure peace and prosperity. The Senate is going to ratify overwhelmingly the very helpful Southeast Asia Treaty Organization Pact. Moreover, at the meeting in Thailand late in February, I am convinced that SEATO is going to be strengthened. It must be strengthened.

We are going to ratify our mutual defense arrangement with the Republic of China.

We are going to witness final ratification of the Western European Union. Thus far, only 3 of the 14 NATO powers have ratified West Germany's admission. But, I am convinced that in spite of all the pitfalls ahead for WEU, in spite of all the roadblocks and traps which we are certain the Soviet Union will try to set in order to sabotage the setting up of the new West German Army—I am convinced that we are definitely on the high road toward the bringing into being of the Western European Union with West German membership.

I am conviced, too, that there is forthcoming new vitality in cooperation in our own Western Hemisphere and in particular in the Organization of American States. We are going to see a greater emphasis on sound inter-American relations—political, cultural, economic, defensive.

I believe, and so stated at the recent Inter-American Conference at Rio, that there is going to be far more abundant private American investment in Latin American lands. Thrilling new frontiers for the world, and particularly for these countries themselves exist in the lands below the Rio Grande. There are magnificent opportunities for growth, development, and exchange. Standards of living within the next few years

are going to be tremendously raised there.

What is needed is, of course, a favorable climate for greatly expanded American and other foreign investment, and I believe that it will be forthcoming in many of these Latin countries.

GREAT PROMISE IN ATOMS-FOR-PEACE

And there is other progress that is going to be made. Few avenues offer brighter promise than the famous atoms-for-peace plan offered by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

This is one of the most dramatic, one of the most inspiring, one of the most fruitful channels of international cooperation now lying before us. It will be fruitful in the field of medicine, fruitful in the field of industrial power, fruitful in the field of overall scientific advancement, fruitful in helping to ease East-West tensions.

All this lies before us, and it is capable of realization.

So, we are moving ahead. We are doing so in spite of the pessimists, in spite of the "spreaders of gloom," in spite of some morbid people who almost seem to prefer predicting crisis rather than making realistic predictions of good things to come.

I, for one, have never believed in over-optimism, but I do believe in faith: Faith in ourselves, faith in our allies, faith in our chances for peace, faith in our Creator. And that is why I believe that we are going to continue to have a successful bipartisan foreign policy in time to come.

Let me say, too, that we are going to expand our program of technical assistance particularly in free Asia. This program, with modest expenditures, has already done incalculable good in helping to reduce illiteracy, disease, malnutrition, in helping to improve housing, sanitation, agriculture in a great many countries. I believe that this program should be expanded, not only through our own efforts, but, through the medium of the United Nations because it pays off in a thousand and one constructive ways for the good of mankind.

And, speaking of the U. N., I believe that the United States Senate will submit important suggestions for strengthening of the U. N. Charter.

I do not believe that they can or will be very radical proposed changes, but they may affect such vital matters as helping to broaden membership in the U. N., more effective Pacific settlement of disputes, and other phases which definitely do lend themselves to improvement, in spite of the possibility of Soviet veto.

This, then, is the partial shape of some of the things to come, as I see it. I am not a prophet or the son of a prophet, but I believe that all that I have mentioned thus far is feasible.

Tomorrow will bring changes. The scenes on the world stage are constantly in flux. Great political personalities rise and fall, party coalitions change, circumstances unfold, new facts come to light, but these goals I have mentioned are all attainable.

In anticipating our future foreign policy goals, I should like to stress several principles which I think can be a sound guide to our action.

AMERICAN ACTIONS OBSERVED BY WORLD

The first principle which we must follow is that our own domestic actions here at home will, to a great extent, determine our success or failure abroad and that we have got to watch our step.

The eyes of the world are on America. The eyes of friends and neutrals and foes. We may, in George Washington's words, "raise a standard to which the wise and the honest may repair," or we may drag down our cause by folly and error and by being untrue to our own principles of fair play.

I must frankly state to you that the bungling initial decisions in the so-called Ladejinsky case did us no good in the eyes of the free world.

I say that any man who can win the confidence of Gen. Douglas MacArthur or that of one of my own leading colleagues like Congress WALTER JUDD, any man with almost two decades of unblemished service is entitled to a fairer "shake" than this Government employee apparently got in the initial arbitrary handling of his case. I say to you further that certain of our immigration policies have done us little good in the eyes of the free world.

I am not of course reflecting on a blanket basis on our security program, either with respect to our own Government servants or with respect to screening would-be immigrants to our land.

On the contrary, no sensible patriotic person would want us to ignore the obvious serious security problems which we face, and which for too long, was given little consideration.

But neither would a sensible person want a security system to be distorted or mismanaged to such an extent that it harms our own country at home and abroad.

I recently released a report summarizing the candid reactions of members of our Foreign Service. That report reflected the deep concern which these patriotic men and women feel over the administration of our present security system. That does not mean that they want a single genuine security risk to tarnish the Foreign Service. But neither does it mean that they want this system to impair the effective functioning of their own Foreign Service to which they are dedicating their lives. These officials in our diplomatic corps are entitled to our respect and faith, as are the uniformed men in our armed services. Both groups are in the front lines of our worldwide defense. They are entitled to fair dealing, and I am sure that our outstanding Secretary of State, a man who has labored so long and so well for the success of our foreign policy will do everything he can to help relieve the concern in the minds of our Foreign Service workers.

PATIENCE AND JUDGMENT

2. The second principle is that we must be patient in our foreign policy dealings.

There is too much of a tendency among some Americans to want to seek a quick decision always. There is too much of a tendency in some unofficial quarters toward hasty, ill-considered impulsive action.

And let me say, there is too much of an "either/or" philosophy. "Either the Soviets do this or else. * * *" "Either an allied or neutral power does this or else. * * *"

There is too much of a tendency to ignore the fact that diplomacy is an art of patient, careful, detailed, often necessarily quiet negotiation. It consumes a great deal of time, particularly with an adversary like the Soviet Union and its satellites, as we learned at the lengthy Korean peace discussion at Panmunjom. So, we have got to get out of the immature habit of toying with "ultimatums" and arbitrary deadlines. We have got to realize that we cannot solve all our problems overnight.

In stressing this point, I am not arguing for delay or inaction or "donothingism" or weakness. On the contrary, there are issues which definitely require speed, decision, and strength and vigor of expression and action.

But, we must not assume that every single policy question lends itself to those characteristics. Our problems have been a long time in the making. They will be a long time in solving.

ALLIED TEAMWORK ESSENTIAL

3. The principle that we must bear in mind is that our strength is a team strength.

A teammate does not try to order the rest of the team, even if he is a captain. He works with his men as their equal. He is respected because of the rightness of his position, the intelligence of his decision.

We of the United States have never sought, do not now seek, a master-servant relationship with our allies. They are our sovereign equals. They are entitled to and will receive our respect and consideration.

There is too much of a tendency among some Americans to want to go off "half-cocked" every time the United Nations, or the Organization of American States, or NATO, or our partners in any of the other multilateral or bilateral groupings may not want to do something precisely as we suggest.

But, let's now act like team players and let's continue to urge our allies to do likewise.

WATCH POSSIBLE CHAIN REACTIONS

4. The fourth principle that we must follow is that we must think through our actions and ponder where our actions may lead.

There is too much of a tendency for some people to suggest some reckless action without giving the slightest thought to where that action might plunge us. The fact of the matter is that not even in nuclear physics are there more dangerous chain reactions than in the field of diplomacy. A diplomatic decision on our part may cause reverberations throughout the world—so vast as to be almost uncontrollable.

To cite an illustration, take the instance of those who loosely suggest that today—right now—we break relations with the Soviet Union and the satellites.

Now, we keenly recognize why there is so much clamor for severance—the fact that the Soviet and satellites embassies are invariably beehives of espionage and subversion. We fully recognize the extreme difficulties which our own embassies are placed under inside the Iron Curtain and we recognize many other disadvantages of the status quo. But, the fact of the matter is that the whole world hungers for peace and diplomatic contacts for peace and symbols of the possibility of peace. There are few free powers on earth which do not want us to explore reasonable bases with the Soviet Union to try to work out an equilibrium of peace.

For us rashly and independently to sever relations would be tending almost to confirm some of the worst lies in Soviet propaganda. It would be like our saying, "we don't want to explore, we don't want to negotiate." It would tend to give unjustified credence to false Soviet propaganda to the effect that all we allegedly want to do is "to rattle atomic bombs."

Nothing could be further from the truth. No one wants peace more than we do. No one wants more than we to achieve peaceful use of the miracles of nuclear energy.

And so we should maintain our contacts, our listening posts, while protecting our own security here at home from espionage.

We must not drive the neutral powers toward the Soviet orbit by our own ill-considered action. We must impress upon the neutrals the truth that it is the Soviet Union which has consistently sabotaged all genuine diplomatic negotiations for peace, particularly by its hollow demands for phony new conferences which get nowhere.

In the spring, 30 Asian-African nations will meet in Indonesia. It is up to us to strengthen our record so that all will see that it is we, contrary to the Soviets, who are leaving no stone unturned in our efforts for peace and prosperity and security and freedom.

EVENTS COMPLEX AND INTERRELATED

The fifth principle that I want to mention is that we must realize the complexity and the interrelation of foreign events.

There is too much of a tendency to give snap reactions to particular problems on the foreign scene, as if these problems existed in isolation. A great many people who have hardly given the slightest study to certain key questions, are always offering "packaged" solutions.

Let me just mention a few key problems. Any man who thinks that any one of these problems is simple or can be solved all by itself had better go back and do some homework.

Here they are: The Cyprus question, the New Guinea question, the Morocco-Tunisia-Algeria question, the Kashmir prolem, world disarmament, and the general agreement on tariffs and trade.

I could cite 20 or 30 more key problems.

But I think that you can appreciate the fact that the State Department, in seeking the solution of these problems and of the big overall problem of East-West tensions, has a tremendous job on its hands. It is a difficult, complex, detailed, challenging job.

We should first seek to understand that job, to understand these interrelated problems before we offer snap criticisms or snap solutions.

LEARN PAST LESSONS

6. The sixth and final principle that I want to mention tonight is that we have got to learn from the past, to learn from our successes, and yes, from our failures. But we must also learn that we cannot try identically to duplicate successes under greatly dissimilar conditions.

Now, what illustrations do I have in mind?

Well, we should have learned from the lessons of Indochina that there is no country in this world which can be defended today unless a native government has the respect and eager support of its own population. No amount of foreign armies or foreign aid can hold any underdeveloped or other country unless the domestic population is eagerly committed to its own defense.

The loss of northern Vietnam was a serious loss, but what now about our successes? Well, the Marshall plan, which contributed so magnificently to the revival of western Europe, was a great success.

But for us to attempt to duplicate the Marshall plan, with its outpouring of billions of dollars in an area like southeast Asia, would be utter folly. The countries there are obviously in a different state of development than the highly industrialized countries of what was then war-ravaged western Europe. The capacity of native governments efficiently to administer aid programs is far more limited in southeast Asia. What southeast Asia needs particularly is technical assistance, greatly expanded, for improved health, improved housing sanitation, education, administration, shelter.

Of course, they need firepower, too, defensive firepower, against the internal and external foe, and we have got to help them get it. But guns are of little use unless there is the will to shoulder them on behalf of a cause in which one truly believes.

KEEP OUT PARTISAN POLITICS

Thus, I have referred to six basic principles.

Obviously, by no means are they the only basic principles in the conduct of our foreign policy, but, at least, they may help serve as a guide to some of our future actions.

I should like to conclude with the thought that the greatest obligation upon all of us in public life is this: To think of the next generation rather than the next election.

Both parties obviously are squaring off for the 1956 Presidential election. There is nothing wrong about the two major parties laying plans so as to put their best foot forward in November 1956.

But I submit to my own party and to the Democratic Party that to put their best foot forward they must put America to the fore. The American people will continue to insist that we keep partisan politics out of foreign policy.

NEITHER PARTY IS FOR TREASON OR WAR

We can't do so if irresponsible, unfair criticism is made by one party of another party; if in ill-tempered, ill-justified zeal, one party is falsely tagged a "party of treason" or another party "a war party."

I say that both parties are patriotic; both parties are for peace. Of course, there are substantial differences within and between parties, but that is no excuse for misrepresenting the others' stand.

Let's stick to the issues. Let's get away from personalities and from false tags on people or parties. Let the facts speak for themselves. Let's fight our political campaigns far more fairly than has been occurring in some places heretofore.

The American people won't tolerate low blows. We believe in sportsmanship—in playing hard but clean—in playing to win, but not in using any foul means to do so.

And may I submit, too, that the American people will ask that all of us stand behind the great man who occupies the White House and his Secretary of State. That does not mean that there should not be intelligent scrutiny of the administration's foreign policy actions and proposals. Obviously this Congress, or any other Congress, must fulfill its constitutional obligations, including careful review of appropriation requests and evaluating how past appropriations have been spent.

But, we have seen in certain foreign countries, notably in our long-time ally France, how the executive branch, time after time, has been paralyzed by irresponsibility and pettiness and partisan chaos in the legislative branch.

I do not want to see that recur among our French friends or, particularly, to see it happen in this country. And for the reasons which I stated earlier in this address, I definitely do not believe that it will happen here.

I do not want the legislative branch to usurp the prerogatives of the executive branch, nor the executive branch to usurp those of the legislative branch. I believe to the depth of my being in a government of checks and balances, of three separate coequal and independent branches of Government.

I do not believe that any member of the legislative branch can or should set himself up as an omniscient alternate Secretary of State. I do not believe that any member of the legislative branch should attempt to interfere with the constitutional obligation of the Chief Executive of our land to spearhead the conduct of foreign relations.

The Founding Fathers of this Nation knew what they were doing in allocating the division of powers.

Let us oppose any move from any quarter in any party which would impair the vitality of that division of power.

In so doing, we will adequate to the challenge of our times. We will advance the welfare of the next generation, and each of us will have made a record which will command the respect and admiration of the American electorate and most important, of our own conscience.

Thank you.

Tariffs on Textiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement on behalf of the New England Governors and the New England Textile Committee before the United States Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information by Seymour E. Harris:

TARIFFS ON TEXTILES

I. INTRODUCTORY

1. The occasion of this brief: Brief of Seymour E. Harris on behalf of the Conference of New England Governors and the New England Textile Committee appointed by the New England Governors in re the United States Tariff Commission investigation No. 2 and public information hearings under section 3 of Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended, and section 332 of the Tariff Act of 1930, in connection with proposed trage-agreement negotiations with Japan and other countries. This brief is also submitted for hearings of the Committee for Reciprocity Information in relation to the hearings on anticipated negotiations under GATT.

2. Credentials: The occasion for my being here is suggested by the following letter from the Conference of New England Governors:

NOVEMBER 22, 1954.

Prof. SEYMOUR HARRIS,
Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

DEAR MR. HARRIS: As you are no doubt aware, the trade and tariff policies of the United States are a matter of deep concern to New England.

We understand that these matters will be considered both from a legislative point of view before congressional committees and in hearings before the Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information in connection with the negotiations with Japan and other nations scheduled to begin in February at Geneva.

Your familiarity with our New England economy, and particularly its textile industry, as well as your knowledge of international trade problems, make your peculiarly well qualified to represent us at these hearings and to work with our textile committee, which is vitally concerned with these matters.

The Governors, at their conference on November 18, voted to ask you to represent us and the textile committee before the congressional and other committees referred to above in order that the interests of New England and her textile industry shall be properly protected from destructive low-wage foreign competition.

Your acceptance of this task will be greatly appreciated by each of the Governors.

Very truly yours,

JOHN LODGE,
Chairman,
New England Governors' Conference.

May I add that I have written this brief and am appearing before the Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information without compensation as a public service on behalf of the New England region. I am a professor of economics and a member

of the graduate school of public administration faculty at Harvard, though, of course, I do not speak for the university. At Harvard, I have taught for more than 30 years, have taught international economics for about 20 years. I have also written many books in international economics. I was also chairman of the New England Textile Committee appointed by the Conference of New England Governors, which wrote the Report on the New England Textile Industry (1952).

3. Main outlines of the argument: In this brief and supplementary remarks, I shall try to prove that further reductions on tariffs on textiles would be injurious to New England and would be contrary to the national interest. I shall support this position by showing (1) that national policies in the last generation have already greatly injured the New England economic position, and that tariff policy is to be considered as one facet of national policy; (2) that New England, and especially her textile industry, is suffering from serious transitional difficulties and for that reason any costs or concessions made through tariff policy should be put upon the more thriving regions and industries, not upon New England and textiles; (3) that the Government can clearly seek solutions of the disequilibrium in international markets to a greater extent in policies other than tariff reductions; (4) that the Japanese problem is much more than a United States tariff problem, and that many other approaches to the Japanese problem should be considered.

II. NATIONAL POLICY, THE NEW ENGLAND REGION, AND THE NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE INDUSTRY

4. Tariffs, one kind of interference with the free market: For a generation now, New England has suffered from Federal policies which have tended to advantage other regions at the expense of New England. This point is relevant because interference with the free market has been involved, and the argument against the tariff is always that a tariff results in uneconomic allocations of factors of production and hence higher costs. But in a world of all kinds of interferences with the pricing system and the free market tariffs cannot be condemned merely because they involve interference with the pricing system.

5. Government agricultural and related policies and New England: The fact is that through agricultural policies, the Government has increased the price of the food New England consumes and the raw materials she processes. (This region devotes only a few percent of its employment to agriculture, fishing, and mining and therefore as a region can survive only insofar as she can sell manufactured products primarily and services secondarily for food and raw materials.) Not only has the Government increased these prices for New England consumers and producers, but even in 1954, the Farm Act included a provision for raising domestic output of wool by one-third, thus increasing the price of a product indispensable for our woolen industry, which is now in the midst of a fight for survival against man-made fibers; and in a recent ruling the President provided an artificial market for nonferrous metals thus contributing to higher prices of these raw materials which New England processes.

6. Other policies of the Government adverse to New England: But it is not merely the higher prices of food and raw materials that the Government is responsible for. Even as it raises these prices, it acts to depress those of manufactured goods through removal of tariff restrictions. Moreover, the operations of the Treasury tend to take money out of this region to build up its competitors. In 1 year as much as $1 billion was taken out of New England net, or about 7 percent of its income. Under the accelerated amortization tax relief, the main competitors of New England profited at the expense of New England. I can document this position more fully and shall be glad to do this in the hearings. (I shall say nothing here of the tendency of the Government to subsidize competing regions nor of the abuse of tax exemption privileges by some Southern States, a practice which is used to attract northern management and capital). The Tariff Commission and the Reciprocity Committee may find much additional testimony on this issue in the reports of (1) the Committee on New England Report to the President and (2) the New England Textile Committee, two committees on which the writer served, and his book on the Economics of New England.

III. ECONOMIC TRENDS IN NEW ENGLAND AND IN NEW ENGLAND TEXTILES

7. Explanation of trends in New England: For many reasons, New England grows less rapidly than other regions. Among the more important explanations are its early industrialization, its great dependence on textiles and shoes, the two slowest growing of all census industries in the last 50 years, its location in the northeast corner of the Nation and therefore its inability to attract industries which require bulky raw materials and produce products expensive to transport, and finally certain institutional factors and notably those related to politics, Federal policy, etc.

8. Trends: Here are some figures which show the trends in New England:

(a) Percentage rise of nonagricultural employment, 1939–53: United States equals 63.3; New England equals 37.4 (lowest of all 10 regions).

(b) Percentage change in nonagricultural employment, 1939–53:

	United States	Northeast	West North Central	South Atlantic	Pacific
Construction	124	79	102	119	210
Manufacturing	71	35	98	54	140
Government	68	39	32	94	139
Trade	60	32	51	89	75
Service	59	49	48	65	84
Finance	49	51	61	104	79
Transportation and public utilities	46	26	52	53	70
Mining	1.4	−79	29	−1.7	−11

Again New England's gains are less than those of all other regions with few exceptions, other than in finance. But it is especially in the last 10 years that New England's relative losses have been large. Her nonagricultural employment rose only by 4.9 percent as compared with 20.7 percent for the country.[1]

9. Trends in New England textiles: In textiles the trends are more serious as they are, though not to an equal degree, in leather and shoes. In 1919 New England accounted for 440,000 textile jobs; in 1947, 283,000. There was little change from 1947 to 1951 (net) but by 1954 the total seems to have fallen by about 100,000 additional. Hence the net decline since 1919 is considerably more than 200,000 jobs, or more than one-half of the textile jobs available in 1919. Earlier in the century New England had accounted for about 80 percent of the cotton spindles; her proportion of spindle activity now seems to be less than 10 percent. Total United States employment in textiles seems to have been relatively stable from 1919 to 1951. Again, in the last few years, New England has experienced serious losses in woolens, an industry in which she maintained her relative position almost unchanged from 1919 to 1947. Even in recent years textile employment accounted for about 10 percent of the employment in New England, and of course in terms of the secondary effects of losses of a textile job perhaps 20 percent of all jobs are involved.[2]

10. Trends, New England textiles, 1951–54: Since 1951, the textile industry has suffered substantial losses in the country, though especially in New England. Note in this same period all industrial production rose by about 10 percent and real gross national product by about 12 percent. The table below reveals a significant downward trend from 1951 to 1954. In fact, total textile jobs declined by 268,000, or 20 percent; in New England by 107,000, or 38 percent; and in the South by 41,000, or 7 percent. Generally New England's relative losses are several times those of the South but in fine goods New England's output fell by 31.5 percent in 3¼ years, while the South gained 10.6 percent.

Footnotes at end of speech.

TABLE 1.—*Percentage change in textile activity, 1951–54, United States, New England, and South*

	Change, September 1954 from January 1951			Change, September 1954 from September 1953		
	United States	New England	South	United States	New England	South
Cotton consumption (per working day in bales)	−22.2	−48.9	−19.0	−7.6	−21.6	−6.5
Spindle activity in cotton fibers (average hours per working day)	−16.1	−47.3	−10.0	−8.0	−25.7	−5.1
Spindle activity in synthetic fibers (average hours per working day)	−5.7	−9.1	−5.9	+13.4	−16.7	+17.5
Production, fine goods (millions of linear yards)	[1]−11.2	[1]−31.5	[1]+10.6	[2]−4.3	[2]−13.3	[2]+2.7
Production, synthetic broad woven fabrics (millions of linear yards)	[1]−25.4	[1]−41.4	----	[2]−16.4	[2]−10.8	----
Employment (in 1,000's):						
(a) Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fibers)	----	−48.2	[3]−7.7	----	−26.7	[3]−4.6
(b) Textile mill products	−19.9	−38.2	−7.2	−9.7	−20.3	−3.6

[1] Change 1st quarter 1951 to 2d quarter 1954.
[2] Change 2d quarter 1953 to 2d quarter 1954.
[3] Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.
Source: Adapted from Northern Textile Association Study. (Based on Census Facts of Industry.)

11. Concentration in textiles: These heavy losses in textiles are serious, and especially because they are so heavily concentrated. A substantial part of the livelihood of such textile towns as Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, and Fall River in Massachusetts, Woonsocket, R. I., Nashua and Manchester, N. H., and Lewiston, Maine, are dependent upon textiles. In 1950, 20 percent of all jobs in Rhode Island were in textiles and in Lawrence no less than 55 percent.[3]

Footnotes at end of speech.

12. The problem of mobility and adjustment: Time and again it has been pointed out that labor mobility in the textile industries is low. The theory of free trade or of the harmlessness of tariff cutting rests on the assumption that those who lose their jobs then obtain jobs in the growing industries, either as they migrate or as new industries move in. But both New England and British experience show that the movement is slow, and the loss of textiles brings serious problems. Unsatisfactory demand in textiles in itself is a depressing influence.

Any Government policies tending to open up the markets of the United States further to textile products would further depress the industry. It has been shown time and again that unemployed textile workers do not move easily, in part because women are a large part of that labor market, and in part because, when there is a concentration of racial stocks, movement is slow. Failure to move would not be serious if new industries moved in to take the place of the departed ones. But the new industries tend to avoid textile towns, with their depressingly empty mills, high tax rates, with labor relations aggravated by declining markets. When the new industries do move in, they are frequently low-paying industries, paying much lower wages than in textiles. The textile towns tend to attract the low-paying apparel industries and electronics and rubber, employments paying wages in New England way below the national average in these industries.

13. Some facts on adjustments of displaced textile workers: In the most careful study yet made of the mobility of textile works, Dr. Miernyk, in tracing the subsequent history of employees of 6 mills that shut down in 6 textile towns in New England, found that 45 percent were presently employed, 43 percent were unemployed, and 12 percent had abandoned the labor market. He also found that about one-third of those who obtained jobs moved on to other textile jobs, suggesting that in view of the declining employment in the textile industry they merely squeezed other textile workers out. The employees of closed mills generally found their new job less satisfying than their textile employment, and suffered a deterioration of skills used and a reduction in pay.[4]

14. Limited openings for displaced workers: Transfers of workers are a troublesome problem even in our highly prosperous economy since 1940. In times of depression the situation of course becomes much more serious. But the long continued problems of such textile towns as Lawrence, Fall River, and Manchester, show that these problems are not solved overnight. When employment in the declining industry is large, the problem is aggravated. A relevant factor is that there are distinct limitations on the alternative employments that may be offered to the displaced textile worker. This is particularly true since growth is largely in other regions or at best in other parts of the textile State. In a paper that I read before the American Economic Association in 1953, I tried to point out some of these difficulties. Allow me to reproduce several paragraphs from this paper, the main point made being that employments are largely localized and hence to a considerable extent do not offer openings to those who have lost jobs in declining industries. That really means we must wait for growth; but unfortunately New England is a slowly growing region and the growth is generally not in the depressed places.[5]

"Obviously, most sales are at home. In fact, a large part of all sales are within the region or even city of production. This is perhaps even more true of services than of movable goods. A large part of our services are almost exclusively free of interregional competition—medical, local, and State government, public utilities, domestic service, local transport, public education, etc. Here competition outside the city or region is distinctly limited. This point is of importance because it underlines the limited area within which adjustments in response to losses in interregional competitive position must be made.

"It is well to remember that manufacturing income in 1952 accounted for but 31 percent of all income. The major adjustments in the competitive position of a region have to be concentrated to a considerable extent on this part of the economy. Hence, large losses in interregional competition, say in textiles and shoes, if they are to be made goods in substitute exports, must largely be made goods in improvements in manufacturing export industries.

"Contract construction, 5 percent; wholesale and retail trade, 17 percent; services, 9 percent; finance, insurance, and real estate, 9 percent; transportation, 5 percent; communication and public utilities, 3 percent; government and government enterprises, 12 percent—these all have elements of regional competition, but, to a considerable extent, they are necessarily localized. An estimate of the approximately 40 items included in the employments listed in this paragraph and accounting for 60 percent of all income suggests that only about 10 percent of all income and corresponding employments included here are largely subject to interregional competition. Thus for retail trade, public utilities, transportation, telephone services, most other services (education, religion, cinema, private households), local and State government, and a large part of Federal Government, the location of activities for the most part are determined by the present distribution of population and income. Only as population and income are redistributed will the services be redistributed. They are determinates, not determinants. Substantial parts of wholesale trade and of insurance are examples of services subject to interregional competition.

* * * * *

"If a manufacturing region loses heavily in exports, its losses must be recouped largely in manufactures, with some help from services. Yet even in manufactures there are segments where adjustments are not easily made. For example, in 1951, the distribution of manufacturing employment was as follows:

"1. Seven industries with location predominantly determined by access to raw materials (and to some extent to proximity to markets) accounted for 35 percent of the value added in 1951.

"2. The location of 7 industries accounting for 46 percent of the value added was determined to a substantial degree by the need of being near the raw materials.

"3. The other five industries (textiles, apparel and related, printing and publishing, leather and leather products, instruments and related products) accounting for 19 percent of value added were industries which might be located largely independently of the proximity to the sources of the raw materials.

"The last group would especially be subject to pressures for any adjustments that have to be made."

15. Declining and growing industries: Part of New England's difficulties stems from the fact that expansion in the growing industries is not adequate to offset the declines in the weak industries. Note, for example, that from 1899 to 1951 the share of jobs in textiles, apparels, and shoes dropped from 28.5 percent to 19.4 percent.

"From 1919 to 1947, New England added 162,000 jobs in the 10 manufacturing industries growing most rapidly, or about 4 percent of the additional jobs in these industries in the Nation, a proportion much below the region's 9–10 percent of all manufacturing jobs. The figures point to difficulties in adjusting. In this same period, the region had lost 200,000 jobs in textiles and shoes. From 1947 to 1952, New England lost no less than 61,000, or 22 percent, of its textile jobs. But the region gained 25,000, or 2 percent, in all jobs in industry. The major gains were in transportation equipment (28,000) and electrical machinery (26,000)."

16. In short: In short, textiles are a declining industry, even in prosperous times. But on top of that the severe competition with the South, which pays much lower wages and enforces standards of public services and social services much below the national standard (though the South also has some real advantages), results in large losses for New England textiles. No sovereign government would have stood by while its people lost jobs at the rate of New England textile losses since 1919. Is it fair to impose additional losses on New England textiles and on New England in the light of these adjustment problems, which are made much more serious by unusual interregional competition, slow growth in New England, and various Federal policies? Would any Federal agency be wise to recommend increased foreign competition for an industry which, if it continued to lose as many jobs as from 1951 to 1954, would be out of business in the Nation in 15 years and in New England in 8 years?

IV. TARIFF REDUCTION AND OTHER APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL EQUILIBRIUM

17. The pressure to cut tariffs: Undoubtedly the current pressure to cut tariffs springs in part from the disequilibrium in the dollar market. The original pupose of the trade agreements legislation was to expand the total amount of trade—both exports and imports. Obviously, this kind of agreement would do little good in solving the dollar problem. Insofar as it has contributed toward narrowing the dollar gap, the explanation is that American negotiators have been outsmarted by foreign negotiators. If the objective of our reciprocal trade agreements is to increase imports and not exports, then this should be clearly stated.

18. Restrictions on trade in the United States and abroad: It certainly must be clear to all that the United States is the free trade country among the larger nations. Our tariffs have been cut by about two-thirds (even granting all the points raised against this kind of comparison, the declines have been large). The dollar is the only major currency that is convertible, and hence the dollar can be freely used to buy anywhere. Though we have a few quotas, our dependence on quantitative restrictions is small; on exchange control and on multiple exchange rates we rely not at all. In the last 15 years, the average depreciation (weighted by trade) of all currencies vis-a-vis the dollar has been about 90 percent. Each devaluation of course improves the competitive position of other countries. Indeed, often this is an offset against a relatively large price rise abroad. But there have been many instances in which a trade agreement has been followed abroad by a devaluation, an export subsidy, an introduction of exchange control, or quantitative restrictions which has nullified the concessions made to this country. Obviously, if GATT now has jurisdiction only to reduce tariff rates and the United States relies almost exclusively on tariff rates for restricting trade, and her trading partners rely largely on other types of restrictions, the trade agreements made are of limited significance, and United States negotiations are at a great disadvantage.

19. Tariff policy; the dollar shortage: Indeed, there has been a serious dollar shortage and both on political and economic grounds it is necessary to solve this problem. For this reason, the case for tariff reduction is greater than it otherwise would be. But it should be noted that though the dollar problem is probably not solved for all time, nevertheless there has been a great improvement in the last few years. For example, the gold holdings outside of the United States and Canada increased by close to $2 billion from December 1952 to the middle of 1954; and gold and foreign exchange hold-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

ings by about $2.3 billion. Moreover, the recent relaxation of trade barriers against dollar goods by the nondollar world is also evidence of a less stringent dollar market. Hence the case for tariff cuts as a means of solving dollar shortage is much weaker than it was a few years ago.

20. Alternative solutions of the problem of dollar shortage: There is general agreement that the dollar problem may be solved by reduced restrictions on trade, by a reduction of United States exports and by United States foreign loans and assistance. I do not here consider a factor of greater importance than tariffs in determining imports, namely, the high level of activity in the United States. From prewar to 1953, United States imports had risen by 60 percent in volume, from $2.6 billion in prewar to $5 and $11 billion in 1946 and 1953 respectively, and from 9 to 15 percent of world imports. Let us consider these alternatives in turn.

21. (a) Reduced restrictions on trade: The use of this approach tends to put the burden of the adjustment upon the industries that compete with foreign products. The dollar problem is one that concerns the entire economy, since it is tied to fundamental economic and political considerations. Hence it is unfair to put an excessive burden on any one group. Thus why should textiles with 1,300,000 out of 65 million workers assume a large part of the adjustment required to provide Japan with necessary dollars? Furthermore, insofar as the adjustments are made through removal of restrictions on trade, the division of the burden should be related to other policies and conditions affecting particular regions and industries. On that score, it is clear that textiles and New England should not contribute through further tariff cuts on textiles. The burden should be put on growing industries and growing regions. It would be the greatest folly to introduce artificially new competition for an industry (the New England textile industry) which at the rate of liquidation of the last 3 years would largely disappear in 8 years. Could anything be more cruel? Even the national industry in the last 3 years lost ground at a rate, if sustained, which would destroy the industry in 15 years. If tariffs have to be reduced, a greater relative burden should be put on such industries as chemicals, petroleum, and rubber, where employment relative to 1899 has risen 150 percent above that in textiles, apparels, and shoes, or on 5 major metal and metal fabrication industries, where relatively to these weak industries employment from 1939 to 1951 had risen by 47 percent.[7]

Protectionism is not expressed merely in tariffs. Conditions set for competition in Government procurement, export subsidies, shipping subsidies, etc., are also relevant. Thus, why not allow the British to compete an equal terms on Government procurement with the great electrical equipment corporations which have been so vocal on the issue of tariff reduction in order to expand exports and yet protest vehemently when a foreign bidder greatly undercuts the American producer and gets the contract?

22. (b) Reduction of exports: Perhaps the most fruitful attack on our dollar problem would be through a cut in our exports. This is a sensible way out in part because over the last 40 years considerably more than $100 billion of excess of exports over imports (and about $5 billion annually in the postwar) have been subsidized through Government loans and assistance and through private loans (not repaid) and gold imports. The result is that exports are at a highly inflated level. These are the industries which generally can afford a reduction in markets with a minimum of losses. What is also important is the point that the major export markets of Western Europe and Japan lie not in the United States but elsewhere. Western Europe sells only 10 percent of its good in the United States and even Japan sells less than 20 percent of its exports in this market. Moreover, in response to economic deterioration abroad and large loans and assistance by the United States, United States exports as a percentage of world exports rose from 15 percent in prewar to 21 percent in 1953, or 40 percent.[8]

23. (c) Foreign loans and assistance: Since 1945 the major adjustments in the dollar market have come (aside from increased imports associated with our growing economy) through a rise of exports of the nondollar world to nondollar countries, and foreign loans and assistance by the United States. This does not mean that United States imports have not risen greatly. They have. In 1953 imports in volume were one-third above the 1945 level; and in value, by about 160 percent. But the striking fact concerning the rise of imports is its association with income movements in this country. The case for recourse to loans and assistance rests on the fact that the burden is more widely distributed as compared with relaxation of tariffs. It is possible to work out a long-range assistance and lending program which would put a relatively small burden on the taxpayer and yet greatly lengthen the period during which this economy has to adjust to a rise of imports vis-a-vis exports. Even assistance to Asia, Latin America, and Africa would greatly strengthen the economic position of Western Europe. The underdeveloped nations would use their additional dollars and higher income in part to purchase more goods from Western Europe (and also Japan).

24. In summary: Tariff reduction was not proposed as a weapon for solving the dollar problem. Contrary to the spirit of the Trade Agreements Act, reciprocal trade agreements may have been used for this purpose. A major point made in this section is that tariff cuts are only one approach to lifting of trade restrictions, and since this is our major weapon we are at a disadvantage with countries using all kinds of restrictions on trade. We do not adhere to the view that an additional burden should be put on textiles nor that a major part of the adjustment in the dollar market should be concentrated on the weak or on a small minority of all wage earners. Hence the proposal to deal with the problem in other ways.

Footnotes at end of speech.

V. THE JAPANESE PROBLEM

25. Need for helping Japan: It is obvious to all that the Japanese are having great difficulties in balancing their international accounts; and it is equally obvious that it is to the advantage of the United States that a solution to this problem should be found. A failure to do so would greatly weaken the defenses of the free world in Asia.

26. The Japanese balance of payments: From the table below, it is evident that the Japanese trade balance has tended to deteriorate in the last few years. The explanation of a deterioration in current accounts after credit balances of $104, $217, and $257 million in 1950, 1951, and 1952, and a debit balance of $221 million in 1953 lies primarily in the large expansion of imports of $1,227 million from 1950 to 1953 as against an expansion of exports of but $473 million. The deficit on current account is found despite the fact that Government outlays provided $623, $786, and $780 million in 1951, 1952, and 1953, as compared with $153 million in 1950. (These apparently include largely procurement by United Nations forces.) But it should be noted that United States grants, which amounted to $534, $361, and $15 million in 1949, 1950, and 1951, were not available at all in 1953. To meet the deficit in 1953, Japan imported short-term capital primarily, inclusive of drawing on sterling balances ($125 million) and borrowed from various sources. In the years 1949–52 Japan had built large credits on short-term account.

TABLE 2.—*Balance of payments of Japan*

[In millions of United States dollars]

	1949	1950	1951	1952	[1] 1953
1. Goods and services					
2. Exports, f. o. b	533.3	821.3	1,353.6	1,276.0	1,294.2
3. Imports, f. o. b	−728.1	−822.0	−1,645.2	−1,685.6	−2,049.6
4. Trade balance	−194.8	−.7	−291.6	−409.6	−755.4
5. Total, current account	−306.4	70.2	158.4	193.3	−212.2
6. Cumulative total, inclusive of private financing	−320.1	103.6	216.9	257.4	−221.3
7. Total, official financing	516.3	361.3	155.1	5.4	
8. Total, long-term capital	−17.5	−.2	−2.4	−71.7	−12.0
9. Total, short-term capital	−175.8	−460.9	−365.2	−203.0	235.7
10. Monetary gold	−2.9	−3.8	−4.4	11.9	−2.4

[1] Preliminary.

Source: I. M. F., International Financial Statistics, October 1954, p. 201.

27. Prewar and postwar trade of Japan: As compared to prewar, the United States proportion of Japanese imports has increased, whereas there has been a large decline of Japanese imports from other sterling countries (exclusive of United Kingdom and dominions). The explanation of this trend is undoubtedly the large part played by United States aid and military operations. But the Japanese market in the United States has declined, and there has been some improvement in relative sales to other countries. This, of course, points up again the great importance of dollar-weak countries finding markets elsewhere.

TABLE 3.—*Japanese trade, prewar and postwar: Proportions (percent) to groups of countries*

	1937		1951–3		1954—1st quarter	
	Exports to	Imports from	Exports to	Imports from	Exports to	Imports from
United States and Canada	[1] 21	[1] 36	18	40	17	45
Other sterling	22	25	33	22	23	15
Rest of world [2]	29	20	29	19	38	19

[1] In 1937 and 1938 (average) Japanese exports to the United States were 18–19 and imports 34 percent. U. N., IMF, I. B. R. D., Direction of International Trade, 1937, 1938, 1948–52, p. 34.

[2] Exclusive of above and exclusive of Latin America, United Kingdom, EPU countries, and EPU dependencies.

Source: IMF, International Financial Statistics.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Country by country, the large relative gains of Japan's imports were from the United States, Canada, Australia, Mexico, Philippines, and Thailand; the large declines, China (from 21 to almost 0 percent), Indonesia, Germany (7 to 1). The major change in Japan's exports was registered by China: a decline from 43 to almost zero percent. The largest relative increases were in a sense fictitious: Hong Kong (½ to 4+ percent), Formosa (0 to 5 percent), Pakistan (0 to 9 percent), India and Pakistan together (7 to 13 percent), Korea (0 to 4 percent), and Ryukyu Islands (0 to 4 percent). Note that in large part the gains are explained to some extent by including as international trade what was formerly regional trade.[9]

28. Textile production and trade: Japan's output of textiles is much below prewar:

[1,000 metric tons]

	Cotton yarn	Woven cotton fabrics	Wool yarns	Rayon staple	Rayon filament yarn
1937	60.0	336	5.59	6.6	12.7
1938	46.2	230	4.48	12.4	8.09
1948	10.4	64	.92	1.3	1.35
1952	29.4	156	5.71	9.9	5.37
1953	34.5	196	7.06	13.5	6.17
1954 (6 months)	40.0	223	6.68	16.5	6.76

Source: U. N., Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, November 1954, pp. 41–44.

It will be observed that, though output is below prewar, it has been steadily rising and especially since 1948. By the first half of 1954, output was about four-fifths as great in cotton yarn as in 1937–38 (average), three-quarters in woven cotton fabrics, four-thirds as much in wool yarns, five-thirds as high in rayon staples, and three-fifths for rayon filament. Japan's output is lower than in the prewar, both absolutely and relatively. According to Mrs. Lovasy, Japanese production, in 1951, of cotton textiles averaged 2,216 million square yards as compared with 4,794 and 3,297 million square yards in 1937 and 1938. The export percentages were 55 and 66 percent in 1937 and 1938 and 49 percent in 1951.[10] According to another study, Japanese exports of textiles amounted to $361 million in 1952, or 29 percent of total export trade.[11] Since the prewar there have been large changes in relative production and exports of textiles.

29. Japan's trade trends in textiles: Total trade in textiles (quantity) declined by 1.2 billion yards from 1937 to 1951, or 18 percent. The major changes in relative export trade in textiles are suggested below:

TABLE 4.—*Percentage of export trade in textiles, 1937 and 1951*

[Percent]

	1937		1951	
	Cotton textiles	Synthetic fiber goods	Cotton textiles	Synthetic fiber goods
United States	+3	2.5	14	17
United Kingdom	28	5	16	16
Japan	38	65	20	27
India	2	------	14	------
Italy	------	12	------	19
France	------	5	------	9

Source: G. Lovasy, op. cit., pp. 49–50 (my calculations).

30. Other aspects of the Japanese economy: In a table below, I have summarized for the years 1949 to 1954 several relevant variables. They show above all that the Japanese have been experiencing a large inflation. This is evident, for example, in a rise in wholesale prices of 70 percent, of monthly wages of 74 percent (as compared with an increase in the cost of living of but 28 percent). This rise of prices is associated more with monetary expansion than with government deficits. With exchange rates at 360–361 yen per dollar from 1949 to the summer of 1954 and with wholesale prices rising but 12 percent in the same period in the United States (only 17 percent as much as in Japan), it would be expected that Japan would be confronted with serious deficits in the balance of payments. Obviously, trends in prices and exchange rates since 1949 suggest that the Japanese competitive position has deteriorated. In view of relative price and exchange movements, Japanese goods had become much more expensive and foreign goods much cheaper. It is well to recall also that most sterling countries experienced a depreciation of 30 percent in 1949 and many other countries experienced a decline in the exchange rates in 1949; and most other competitors experienced a reduction in the foreign value of their currency.

TABLE 5.—*Various aspects of the Japanese economy, 1949–53 and latest month, 1954*

	End of year					1954	
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	Amount	Latest month
1. Exchange rate (yen per United States dollar).	[1] 360.0	[2] 361.0	361.0	361.0	[3] 360.8	360.8	July.
2. Government gold and foreign exchange (millions of dollars).	225.0	564.0	924.0	1,051.0	844.0	714.0	Do.
3. Money supply (billions of yen)	678.3	789.0	1,047.9	1,264.7	1,438.8	1,262.0	Do.
4. Government finance, deficit (billions of yen).	−109.4	125.0	−88.4	−52.4	26.5	−16.0	Do.
5. Market discount rates	10.10	9.52	9.49	9.38	8.88	9.13	Do.
6. Wholesale prices (1950=100)	85	100	139	141	144	144	Do.
7. Cost of living (1950=100)	107	100	116	121	130	137	August.
8. Wages (monthly earnings) (1950=100).	92	100	128	148	168	160	April.
Unit value of trade:							
9. Exports (1950=100)	116	100	155	146	130	130	May.
10. Imports (1950=100)	107	100	143	126	109	106	Do.
11. Manufacturing production (1950=100).	84	100	140	156	186	201	August.
12. National income (billions of yen)	2,737	3,361	4,535	5,282	------	------	

[1] Beginning Apr. 25.
[2] Beginning Jan. 16.
[3] Beginning Jan. 12.

Source: IMF, International Financial Statistics, October 1954, pp. 120–122.

31. Japan's international position and textiles: Japan's imbalance in her international accounts is serious. There are many explanations of this imbalance: Monetary and wage inflation; failure to adjust exchange rate to the inflation; the damage done by war to capital plant and sources of food supplies, with unfavorable effects on exports and increased need for imports; much uneconomic investment; loss of shipping and fishing income associated with the war; the loss of markets as the result of the war, losses not easily recouped; and, finally, the termination of United States aid and the ending of the Korean war. Obviously reductions in United States tariffs on textiles or generally will not solve the international problems of Japan. It will be necessary to use many cures. First, there is much need for assistance. Japan will not solve her problems until she is able to increase her savings greatly and import much more capital. Then she may be able to cut down her imports and increase her exports. Second, Japan will have to reduce inflationary pressures which weaken her competitive position. Additional savings, a more moderate wage policy, and foreign loans and assistance will reduce these pressures. Third, Japan will have to turn more to Asia and even the Iron Curtain countries for trade. With improved East-West relations this will be possible; and even without them Japan could increase her trade in nonstrategic items with China without damaging the position of the West. Certainly, increased imports by the United States of Japanese products will not offset Japan's losses in Asiatic and some European and even Latin American markets. Fourth, Western European countries will have to accept part of the responsibility for providing markets for Japan. So far several of them have been most reluctant to accept even limited Japanese competition. Fifth, higher incomes both in Western Europe and the United States should contribute toward higher imports from Japan. Sixth, with increased productivity and higher output in Japan, her exports should increase.

32. Reduced tariffs on textiles not the solution: The concessions in tariffs, if made, should be concentrated not in textiles but on other products where increased imports would not raise serious problems of adjustments. In 1952, textiles were less than 30 percent of Japanese exports. Metals and machinery and transport accounted for about 35 percent of Japan's exports. When one considers that United States imports of cotton cloth from Japan in the years 1935, 1937, and 1939 averaged 68 percent of all imports of cotton cloth in quantity but only 36 percent in value and but three to four million dollars yearly, it can be seen that the major adjustments in the Japanese trade balance will have to be found elsewhere.[12] Surely textile imports, even though Japan alone of foreign countries seems to be on a competitive basis pricewise with this country in textiles, will not close a significant part of a gap on current account of $221 million (1953). Should we exclude military operations and the like, then the deficit would be close to $1 billion.

VI. CONCLUSION AND SUMMARIES

1. The major conclusion in this brief is that a reduction in tariffs on textiles would be unjustifiable. No administrative agency could defend tariff relaxation for an industry which, if it continued to lose the average number of jobs of the last 3 years, would be gone in 15 years; and which on the same basis would disappear from New England within 8 years. (This position holds even if the decline since 1951 were not held entirely indicative of trends.) It is to be hoped that this rate of decline will be stopped or at least slowed down; but it should be noted that New England is now entering a phase in woolens which is reminiscent of the interwar period in cottons.

2. A second major conclusion is that tariff policy is but one facet of national policy; that interference with the free market by the Government has greatly injured New England's competitive position—for example,

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

through Federal agricultural and tax policies. It would be the height of folly for the Government now to revert to free-market principles through tariff cuts with injury to New England when interference with the free market has hurt New England. The Government should look at overall policies.

3. A special case can be made for textiles and New England in that this industry and the region face serious adjustment policies which would become more evident once military outlays are cut. Unfortunately, major growth is outside of New England and outside of the depressed textile and shoe towns, and hence the mobility of capital and labor upon which the theory of tariff reduction rests is not to be found.

4. Dollar shortage, which has become one of the strongest motives for tariff cuts, does not justify the contemplated tariff cuts. First, because the shortage is less serious than it was a few years ago. Second, because the major markets of the dollar-short countries lie not in the United States but elsewhere; and hence the case for adjustment through a reduction of United States exports which have been inflated to the extent much more than $100 billion over 40 years through various kinds of subsidies. Dependence on this way out puts the burden on the strong, not the weak. Third, because since dollar shortage is a problem of great importance for our economic and political security, its solution should be the responsibility of the entire Nation, not of a few vulnerable industries. Surely the weak textile industry responsible for 1.3 million out of 65 million jobs should not be asked to effect a significant part of the adjustment. Hence there is some case for putting a greater part of the burden on the taxpayer or on lenders generally. A proper assumption of responsibility by the Nation in this way would contribute much more to dollar equilibrium than tariff cuts. Besides, such policies extend the period during which adjustments have to be made. It is a happy omen that the Eisenhower administration seems to be moving in this direction. Fourth, there are many ways of making dollars available to our friends abroad through a more sensible commercial policy than tariff cuts—for example, competition for United States procurement, reduced shipping, and even reduced agricultural subsidies. Fifth, the solution of the dollar problem lies much more in rising income here, as our rise from 9 to 15 percent of world imports since 1938 suggests, than in tariff cuts.

5. Some questions can be raised concerning the whole reciprocal trade agreements program, which in many ways has become an anachronism, however justifiable it was in 1934. It either canont be used to solve the dollar problem, because in theory under this program more imports must be balanced by more exports; or it has been used to solve the dollar problem, which is contrary to the spirit of the legislation. (And in my view it has been so used.) Furthermore, the United States depends almost exclusively on tariff rates as the weapon of commercial policy; but since the rest of the world is much more protectionist and relies on exchange controls, export subsidies, exchange depreciation, multiple exchange rates, quotas, etc., more than on tariffs, the United States is at a great disadvantage in bargaining to cut tariffs. In many instances, concessions granted to the United States in reduced tariffs have been obviated by the introduction of a nontariff type of restriction (e. g., depreciation of the foreign exchanges, which acts like a tariff and cuts export prices of the depreciating country).

6. Finally, all will admit that the Japanese situation is serious; and for our security, her problem of the balance of payments should be solved. But her ailments are many and deep, not the least of which are the loss of the Chinese market formerly accounting for about one-half her exports, the destruction of capital plant in the war, unwise investment policies, the large money and wage inflation not offset by a corresponding depreciation of the exchanges, the abandonment of United States aid, the loss of territory with corresponding losses of export potential and increased need of food imports, the continued rise of population accompanied by increased need of imports of food and raw materials, the loss of dollar income associated with reduced shipping and fishing income, and the unwillingness of Western Europe to open their markets to Japan. In the light of these fundamental changes, it is not likely that tariff concessions at the expense of one of the United States major weak industries is going to contribute in any important way toward the solution of Japan's dollar problem.

---

[1] All figures are from the BLS Monthly Review, July 1954, pp. 740–743.

[2] Figures from report of the New England textile industry by committee appointed by the Conference of New England Governors, 1952, p. 96, and United States Census, Facts of Industry.

[3] Report of the New England textile industry, p. 94.

[4] W. H. Miernyk, Inter-Industry Labor Mobility: The Case of the Displaced Textile Worker, Boston, Mass., especially chapter II (mimeographed and preliminary).

[5] S. E. Harris, Interregional Competition: "With Particular Reference to North-South Competition," Proceedings of the American Economic Association, 1954.

[6] Ibid., p. 12.

[7] Proceedings, op. cit.

[8] All figures from International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics, October 1954.

[9] All figures calculated from U. N., Yearbook of International Statistics, 1952.

[10] G. Lovasy, Rise in United States Share of World Textile Trade, I. M. F. Staff Papers, April 1953, p. 56.

[11] U. N., Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1952, pp. 200–202.

[12] U. S. Tariff Commission, Cotton Cloth, 1947, pp. 88–89.

Tribute to a Mason: Dr. Abraham Shaoni, Grand Master of Masons of the State of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Dr. Abraham Shaoni, grand master of Masons of the State of Israel, and a distinguished citizen of that country, is now visiting in the United States. On Wednesday next he is to be honored at a reception tendered to him by Benjamin Franklin Lodge, No. 50, F. A. A. M., of the District of Columbia.

On this occasion there will be present the grand master of Masons of the District of Columbia, Gregor Macpherson, who is also one of the Official Reporters of Debates of the Senate, and many other Masonic dignitaries from this and other jurisdictions.

It is a pleasure to me to join in a tribute to this distinguished visitor to our shores.

Dr. Shaoni has traveled throughout Europe and the United States, gaining friends and recognition for himself and his grand lodge. His visit to the United States is in pursuance of that objective.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a brief description of some of the highlights in the career of this distinguished man.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Dr. Abraham Shaoni is an attorney of scholarship and distinction who has the degree of doctor of jurisprudence. He was one of those pioneering and energetic lovers of freedom who helped found the new State of Israel. His dedication to the principles of liberty led him to an active Masonic career beginning on April 18, 1935, when he was initiated into Moriah Lodge. On February 9, 1942, he ascended to the throne of King Solomon as the 10th master of Moriah Lodge. On April 24, 1944, he was elected as grand junior deacon and as member of the Grand Lodge of Israel. On March 18, 1946, he was elected grand senior warden. On May 13, 1953, he was elected to the greatest prize that the Masonic order can bestow upon its brethren, the office of grand master.

Sixth Anniversary of the Arrest of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following speech which I made in New York on December 26, 1954, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the arrest of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty:

SPEECH OF HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, OF MICHIGAN, IN CONNECTION WITH SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF ARREST OF CARDINAL MINDSZENTY

I feel greatly privileged and honored to have been invited as guest speaker at the ceremonies commemorating the sixth anniversary of the arrest and imprisonment of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty which took place on December 26, 1948. I am also happy to have this occasion to deliver some of my thoughts regarding the present problem which besets the Hungarian nation and all the rest of the 800 million people who today find themselves living under Communist slavery.

We have all of us seen in the papers the past few days rumors and reports emanating from Austria to the effect that the cardinal has recently been released from prison. I have been informed by official sources of our Government that there has been no confirmation or substantiation of such reports. Naturally all of us would rejoice if these rumors were found to have some basis in fact. But lacking this, we must assume that Josef Mindszenty is still languishing in a Communist prison, in the power of the same ruthless force which seized upon his person 6 years ago today.

I well recall the events which took place in Hungary at that time so far as they were

known to the general public. Most of you know that I was then in Budapest, attached to the American Legation there. Although we heard of the arrest almost as soon as it had occurred, not a word appeared in the government-controlled press until 2 days later, December 28. The brief communique from the Ministry of the Interior merely said: "Josef Mindszenty, Archbishop of Esztergom, has been arrested by police authorities under charges of low (petit) treason, conspiracy to overthrow the republic, and currency violation." The announcement must have been somewhat unexpected as only one paper, Szabad Esti Szo, commented editorially on the announcement that day. It took at least 24 hours for the rest of the Communist press to get into the act.

Many will have noted and remarked on the fact that the arrest took place on the day after Christmas, incidentally, also on a Sunday just as it is today. The explanation is, of course, due to the fact that the Communists feared to touch him before the holiday, knowing that demonstrations in his favor might have occurred on Christmas Day when millions of Hungarian Christians would be attending the church of their faith. News of the arrest, of course, did not reach the people until well after they had returned home from Sunday worship.

The story of the arrest, imprisonment, interrogation, trial, and subsequent confinement has been told and retold, and I will not further develop it here. It was my privilege to address the United States House of Representatives last February on the fifth anniversary of Mindszenty's sentencing, at which time I reviewed the facts regarding these developments as they have become known to the world outside. I think it appropriate, however, to comment briefly upon one of the cardinal's most oft-quoted remarks, an answer he so often gave to those who tried to persuade him to take refuge in the free world.

All of you have heard of this statement many times. It is very brief: "Now men are needed here."

There are with us today many persons, formerly prominent in their own occupations in Hungarian life, who have escaped from the country of their birth and have sought shelter in these United States, the traditional home of refugees and exiles even long before the time of Louis Kossuth. There is no criticism intended in my remarks for such persons, either from Hungary or from any other Iron Curtain country. They are performing a vital function here in America by their tireless efforts to keep the memory of the enslavement of their people constantly before the American public. They have also many other useful tasks to perform which they are doing ably and well. Not only their own homelands but the entire free world owes them a debt of gratitude for their work, a debt which I hope will one day be repaid in full. Such individuals are needed, and will continue to be needed.

But the human memory is of such frailty that it is not enough to need exiles and refugees. To keep the awareness of these terrible events alive in the conscience of the free world and of the slave world, we also need martyrs. Their task is immeasurably harder for in many cases they die or vanish almost unknown and unsung. But, fortunately, there are those, such as Mindszenty, whose bravery and courage is known everywhere and who will never be forgotten. We need such martyrs as examples to all of us, no matter on which side of the Curtain we live.

Cardinal Mindszenty knew he was a man in a peculiar position. He knew that at any time he could have become an exile or a refugee and continued his fight against communism from abroad. But he also knew that that was not enough, that his country and the cause of freedom everywhere needed men to remain at home, men who were willing to face the terrors of communism, men who were willing to suffer martyrdom, even of the degrading kind which he underwent. And he knew that, because of his peculiar position that his martyrdom would leave such an indelible impression on the conscience of the world that the cause of communism would be the loser thereby even though his mind would be perverted by drugs into self-confession and denial of the principles he had formerly championed. He knew that the complete contrast between Mindszenty the cardinal and Mindszenty the prisoner in the dock would be so revealing of Communist barbarities that the conscience of the free world would be aroused as perhaps nothing else could arouse it. And knowing this, he deliberately chose martyrdom, knowing that his cause, the cause of freedom, would be the stronger thereby. In such a belief, he was eminently correct.

I wish now to speak briefly to the captive peoples, not only of Hungary, but everywhere behind the Iron Curtain. Recently there has been much talk in the press of peaceful coexistence between this country and the Soviet Union. Some have interpreted such talk as an indication that we have abandoned the captive peoples to their fate, that we are willing to sit down with the Soviet ruler and divide the world into so-called spheres of influence, that we are prepared to permit the Communists to have Hungary, let us say, if they will agree to abandon their infiltrative efforts in perhaps Guatemala or Chile or Brazil. I want to answer such interpretations this afternoon.

I say to all those who hear my voice that the policy of this Government toward the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain has not changed one iota nor will it change under our present administration. Under date of December 16, merely 10 days ago, I have the following assurances from the State Department, from which I quote: "This Government is not reconciled to the present fate of those peoples; it will not be a party to any arrangement or treaty confirming or prolonging their subjection to Soviet despotism, and it seeks by peaceful means conditions permitting these enslaved national groups to recover genuine freedom and independence."

You may have heard or read of the recent speech which Secretary of States Dulles made in Chicago in which he stated, and I quote: "The scope of conferences with the Soviet Government is necessarily limited by our attitude toward the captive peoples, for the Soviets know that we will not make any deal which would condone and perpetuate the captivity of men and nations." And the State Department has personally assured me that our objective remains unchanged which is to work in all peaceful ways for the creation of a Europe in which the captive peoples will again enjoy governments as well as social and economic institutions of their own free choice.

I hope that these official statements of policy on the part of our Government will act as a reassurance to the captive peoples that they are not and will not be forgotten and that no so-called deal will be made with the Soviets that would in any sense of the word be an acceptance on our part of their conditions of bondage. Moreover, I will say that I am convinced that the great majority of the American people are desirous and hopeful that the eventual day of liberation will come and that it will come soon.

I wish to make one thing clear about which there has been much misunderstanding. There will be no so-called war of liberation in its literal sense. The American people are not prepared and do not intend to fight a war solely and simply for the liberation of the captive peoples. The horrors of an atomic and thermonuclear war are to great for us ever to seek war of our own choosing. But if, in spite of all our efforts for peace, war should be thrust upon us we will not shrink from its horrors, however catastrophic they may be.

All the peoples of the world ardently desire peace. No one wished for peace more than Cardinal Mindszenty himself. But on the other hand we will not pay any price, however unworthy, to buy peace. And I am convinced that if war with the Soviets should come, albeit not of our choosing, we would not hesitate but would wage it until the power of international communism, everywhere, was beaten and trampled into the ground.

So, I tell you that, while there may be talk of peaceful coexistence, a concept which I personally believe can never be realized, the policy of liberation is still as much a part of our national objective as it ever was. And there are peaceful means and ways in which we can work for this liberation and I want to discuss some of them briefly.

In working for peaceful liberation, I believe we would be, in effect, working toward a victory over the Soviet Union in the only way which would avoid either shameful surrender to the Soviets or an all-out atomic war in which there would be neither victor nor vanquished. Therefore, you can see that the achievement of liberation by peaceful means would be very much in the interest of our own national security, and therefore, must of necessity be and remain a part of our Government's international policy toward the Soviets.

Before we can deal effectively with the Communists abroad, we must first settle with them here at home. There can be, and should be, no room in the United States for anyone who has sworn prime allegiance to the Soviet Union and who acts as a traitor and fifth columnist within our midst. Many effective steps have recently been taken against the American Communist Party and its members, I hope that these steps will be continued and increased to a point where communism, as an internal threat and menace, no longer exists in our midst. Outlawing of the Communist Party, expatriation and deportation of its members, Government seizure of its assets, the most ruthless steps to root out and eradicate its influence from every part of our economy and our way of life, these are some of the steps which I would suggest in the interest of our own national self-preservation. Once we have dealt effectively with the Communist menace here at home, then, and then only, can we logically turn our attention abroad.

In this connection I would hope that we use all our influence, political and economic especially, to urge our friends and allies to take similar steps against the Communist organizations in their own countries. The great worth of friendship with this country, to say nothing of military and economic assistance which may have been received from us, would not make this too unreasonable a demand on our part. But we should definitely take the leadership in this respect. We cannot, in good conscience, ask any free country to take action with regard to their own problem of domestic communism which we have been unwilling or unable to take in regard to ours.

The weapon of trade can be an important one in our hands. I have been greatly distressed recently to read that current restrictions are being loosened to permit the exportation of more and more articles behind the Iron Curtain. Excuses have been made that these are merely articles for domestic consumer consumption. But it is important to bear two theses in mind. In the first place, whatever is done to raise the standard of living of the captive people, even assuming that the average person is able to buy such consumer goods, thereby merely entrenches the Communist regime in power. In the sec-

ond place, to the extent that the Soviets can import consumer goods from abroad, to that extent can they divert their industrial production from consumer to industrial and armaments production. We have had clear-cut evidence that trade embargoes have in the past seriously embarrassed and hampered the Soviet economy. I do not believe that our efforts in that direction should now be relaxed. There is no such thing in my language as a distinction between strategic and nonstrategic goods; even foodstuffs are strategic when used to the ultimate benefit of your enemy.

Legislation has been introduced into the Congress in the past and will be reintroduced in the future to provide some means of assistance and encouragement to Communist escapees, defectors, etc. Difficult as it is today, ways can still be found to cross the Iron Curtain. I am sure that the fear of insecurity and uncertainty in the free world acts as a great a deterrent to the would-be refugee as do all the mines, barbed wire fences, and other physical impediments. Every encouragement should be given to those persons who defect from Soviet communism not only to benefit the acquisition of valuable information on our part but also to increase the feeling of mutual distrust that the Reds hold toward one another. Every assistance should be given to those refugees who successfully pierce the Iron Curtain with assurances of resettlement and the chance to earn a decent livelihood. As I have said before, some must remain but those who do emerge from slavery into freedom should be considered and treated as welcome immigrants, not as fugitive criminals.

In this connection, I should make particular mention of the military units which are authorized to be formed in Western Europe from among those escapees of military age. Although large sums have been appropriated for such a purpose, progress has so far been disappointingly slow. I believe the presence of so-called legions of freedom from each of the satellite countries, as well as the Soviet Union itself, in Western Europe would act as powerful magnets to draw more and more of the Communist military manpower from behind the curtain. The existence of such groups under their own national, patriotic standards could serve as rallying points for freedom-loving exiles everywhere. It should also be worthy of note that they could contribute immeasurably to the defense of free Europe itself and would thereby enable us to relieve ourselves of some of our own weighty commitments in that continent.

The shameful treaties of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam which delivered so many of the captive peoples into Soviet slavery should be carefully reviewed by our Government. It is my belief that the Soviets should be presented with an ultimatum to honor immediately the broken provisions of these treaties, especially with regard to Germany, Austria, and Poland. Should this ultimatum be rejected, I believe our Government would be completely justified in denouncing these treaties and declaring to the world that they no longer exist as far as the United States of America is concerned. It would be my sincere hope that our British allies would feel able to join us in such a course of action.

Much has been said about the possibility of a top-level conference with the Soviet leaders in the near future. I can conceive of only one excuse for our attending such a conference and that would be to present further proof to some of our wavering allies as to the complete and utter futility of ever reaching any agreement with the present Soviet rulers. We have had too many sad experiences in the past to hope that some benefit might be derived from a new meeting. Even if a satisfactory solution to many existing problems could be reached with the Communists, what guarantee, based on the lessons of history, would we have that an agreement could or would be honored on the part of the Reds? In my opinion it is next to useless to negotiate with a government whose standards of international morality are so completely at variance with our own. The only language the present Soviet rulers appear to understand and respect is that of forceful pressure and no international meetings are needed to make use of that application.

I now come to a question which has been much debated in public circles recently and is certain to be revived again and again—the matter of severing diplomatic relations with the Soviet and satellite governments. I have recently had occasion to make some study of the reasons for which this Government refused to recognize the Soviet Union in the decade following World War I. Chief among these, of course, was the manner in which the Bolshevik minority seized power in that country and established a tyrannical government so obviously unrepresentative of the majority of te Russian people. The unmistakably amoral standards of the Soviet leaders in the conduct of international relations also played a large part. The lack of good faith, the failure to recognize normal international obligations and the noncooperativeness in regard to all forms of intercourse were also weighty considerations. But reluctant as this Government was to indicate its approval of the tyranny which had settled over the people of Russia, that in itself was not the principal reason for our failure to extend diplomatic recognition. It was rather the fact that the Soviets openly supported and directed movements of international communism everywhere which were nothing more than flagrant interferences into the internal and domestic affairs of every free country in the world, not excepting this one. It was felt that no possible indication of approval could be given such unprincipled conduct on the part of an alleged member of the family of nations.

Even after such misgivings had been overcome and diplomatic relations between the two countries had been established in November 1933, the Soviet Government merely increased its activities in this regard. The Soviet leaders themselves openly boasted of the inevitability of world revolution through the Communist fifth columns throughout the world. When they were reminded of their solemn promises in this respect and their pledges to refrain from any such activities which had been undertaken at the time of recognition, they repudiated, for all intents and purposes, such pledges by declaring that they could undertake no obligations with respect to the Communist International. Such barefaced violations of solemn international commitments very nearly caused the rupture of relations as early as 1934. Had it not been for the emergence of the Nazi menace which threatened both countries equally and forced a form of modus vivendi, it is probable that American-Soviet relations would have been strained to the breaking point.

Much has been made of the value of so-called listening posts provided by the American embassies and legations behind the Iron Curtain. Having served myself at one of these posts for more than 2 years, I state it as my personal opinion that such value is of extremely limited content. Much, if not all, of the information thus acquired is readily available through other sources and can hardly compensate for the intense propaganda and espionage activities carried on in this country by Soviet diplomatic officers. Further, as I have reason to know from personal experience, it is official Soviet policy to place every conceivable handicap and hindrance in the way of the operations of our Government representatives in Communist-controlled countries. The indignities and hardships, many of a personal nature, which our people are forced to undergo there are not only degrading to them as individuals but are even more degrading to the prestige and influence of this country. It must be extremely difficult for the captive peoples to retain any degree of respect or admiration for the United States when they see its servants treated with the scorn and contempt which has been the custom ever since we have been officially represented behind the Curtain.

It is my firm and sincere conviction, therefore, that a complete severance of diplomatic relations with the Soviet and satellite regimes would be one of the best steps which this Government could take to reassert its position of moral leadership of the free world. Regardless of whether or not all of our allies joined us in such action immediately, we would have asserted, not only to the free peoples but also to the captive peoples, our determination that a course of ruthless and deliberate violations of international agreements will not be endorsed by continued diplomatic recognition. Much as we dislike and disapprove of the manner in which the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. are conducted, it would not be for this reason that we would take the step of breaking relations. It would rather be due to the systematic course of interference in our own domestic affairs which the Soviet Union has pursued ever since its inception.

If we are determined, as we are, to do all possible to avoid an open clash with the Soviet Union, the weapons of international morality are among the strongest which remain in our arsenal. The fullest exertion of moral force is perhaps the only way in which a change can be achieved in the present policies of international communism. No one realized this better than the man in whose honor we are gathered here this afternoon.

By his willing martyrdom, Josef Cardinal Mindszenty succeeded in rallying the moral indignation of the free world against Communist barbarity and tyranny as perhaps no other single individual has been able to do. When he was arrested and imprisoned 6 years ago today, he knew of the possibility of death, of the likelihood of degradation. Whatever his fate was to be, he faced it as bravely and courageously as the martyrs of imperial Roman times faced the lions in the amphitheater of the Colosseum. And the fate which befell him has done more to advance the cause of freedom which he so passionately and earnestly championed than any other single action on his part could possibly have accomplished.

Only the Communists know whether or not Mindszenty will ever emerge alive from his prison. Regardless of this we can only hope that somehow some word may have reached him that his dauntless sacrifice was not in vain. But it will only continue to be of avail if the example of moral leadership and moral courage which he left us will continue to be remembered long after he is gone.

I earnestly hope that my words today will be heard in captive Hungary. To those who may receive them I urge you to carry on the spirit of moral resistance to the Communist domination which Mindszenty so splendidly typified. Your country has suffered foreign domination before, many times in its long and glorious history. But the spirit of men such as King Bela IV, John Hunyadi, Louis Kossuth, and many others always kept the flame of freedom and independence alive and Hungary always eventually threw off her foreign shackles and emerged triumphant. Josef Mindszenty now takes his place among the heroes of Hungarian history as one whose deeds and words will inspire those who survive to carry on the fight and insure that Hungary will not forever remain crushed and downtrodden. Remember the spirit of your ancestors. Remember the example of Car-

dinal Mindszenty. Get off your knees and hold up your heads again. Talpra Magyar.

And for those of us who carry on the fight in the world outside, be we Americans or Hungarians or of any other oppressed people, let us also never give up the fight against the forces of godless, totalitarian communism. Let us be firm in our faith that right and justice will one day triumph everywhere. Let us continually keep before the eyes of free peoples the plight of the captive nations and let us insure that the great examples of moral strength and courage displayed by such men as Mindszenty are never forgotten. For such an undertaking, no effort on our part is too great. We should be eternally grateful that we have men like Mindszenty who are willing to contribute so much and we should on our part be grateful that we have the opportunity to contribute our little, our bit, to bringing freedom again to the slave half of the world, to seeing that justice will again triumph and to insuring that peace will return to reign over us. May the good Lord bless and strengthen us in this, our crusade.

Statement of Counterpart Funds Charged to Committees of the House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, on January 27, 1954, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement with reference to the history and use of counterpart funds by Members of the House of Representatives who had traveled abroad on official committee business. I also inserted in the RECORD at that time a preliminary report received from the Secretary of State listing the names of the countries in which counterpart funds were available, together with a series of tables showing the amount of counterpart funds expended by members of committees of the House of Representatives for the fiscal year 1954 insofar as information was available at that time.

On January 3, 1955, as chairman of the Committee on House Administration, I received from Assistant Secretary of State Thruston B. Morton a statement based on reports to the Department of State by United States disbursing officers abroad, giving the total net amounts of counterpart funds drawn by committees of the House of Representatives from July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954, expressed in United States dollar equivalents. While it is believed that most of the obligations incurred by committees which traveled during the fiscal year 1954 were liquidated during fiscal year 1954, and are reflected in this statement, it is possible that additional payments have been or will be made on behalf of these groups during the current fiscal year 1955, and have not as yet been reported to the State Department. Any such payments will be included in the fiscal year 1955 reports and designated as payments against 1954 travel. The statement furnished by the Department of State follows:

Statement of counterpart fund charges to committees of the House of Representatives, July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954

[Expressed in United States dollar equivalent values]

Total net charges:	
House Appropriations Committee	$48,914.29
House Armed Services Committee	14,713.28
House Committee on Foreign Affairs	19,965.34
House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce	20,265.70
House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs	1,020.18
House Committee on the Judiciary	52,587.61
Grand total of net charges	157,466.40

Public Law 665, 83d Congress, provides that any committee of the House of Representatives which uses counterpart funds shall make a full report thereof to the Committee on House Administration, showing the total amount of such currency so used in each country and the purposes for which it was expended.

What the Farm Vote Showed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I enclose for the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial entitled "What the Farm Vote Showed," from the November 5, 1954, issue of the Indianapolis Star:

WHAT THE FARM VOTE SHOWED

In one of his major farm addresses President Eisenhower told his audience he had been warned that his program of flexible farm price supports was not good politics at a time of widespread concern over falling prices of agricultural commodities. To this Ike replied that if his program was good for the country it was good politics. This courageous judgment turned out to be the smartest thing politically that the administration did in the entire campaign, as the results showed.

The highly touted farm revolt, fanned so exuberantly by Democrats like Senator KERR, of Oklahoma, in telecasts paid for by the CIO, simply fell flat on its face. In Iowa, Senator Gillette, a perennial winner for the Democrats, made the mistake of challenging the Eisenhower-Benson program, and thereby lost to Republican MARTIN, a strong Benson supporter. In Kansas, Senator SCHOEPPEL, a strong foe of rigid price supports, easily won reelection. In Indiana, the rural vote held back the big off-year shift to the outs that the Democrats were banking on.

Ike won on the farm front because he staked his political prestige plainly on the outcome. He made the fight over flexible supports his own fight, backing up his battling Secretary of Agriculture to the hilt. Considering how narrow the Democratic margin of victory turned out to be, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Ike could have had his Republican Congress if he had fought just as hard on nonfarm issues.

New England Textile Committee Report on the Subject of Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following New England Textile Committee Report on the Subject of Tariffs, December 14, 1954:

The importance of tariff rates to the New England textile industry and the current activity of the Federal Government relative to same have prompted the New England Textile Committee to conduct hearings for the purpose of discussing and studying this issue. This statement of the position of the New England Textile Committee on the tariff issue, for presentation to our New England governors, Congressmen, and to the general public, is the product of this careful study.

This report consists of a definition of the textile industry in New England, discussion of characteristics of the industry, the need for tariff protection, present tariff legislation, and recommendations of the New England Textile Committee.

NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The textile industry is one of the most important industries in New England. New England mills constitute about 20 percent of the cotton, silk, and synthetic textile industry,[1] about 60 percent of the woolen and worsted textile industry,[2] and a sizable percentage of other textile industries including manufacturers of lace goods, felt goods, coated fabrics, cotton cordage and twine, hats, carpets and rugs, knit goods, thread and yarn. The New England Textile Committee represents all of the textile-mill products industries.

Over 16 percent of the people employed in New England manufacturing industries are directly employed in textiles, approximately 220,000 people in 1953.[3]

Another 220,000 people are indirectly dependent on the textile industry, as the loss of a textile job in a community may mean the loss of one additional job when the worker and his dependents cut their purchases from the grocer, the druggist, the department store, and the professions.[4] Thus, 1 in every 6 jobs in New England is directly or indirectly dependent on the welfare of the textile industry.

The New England textile industry represents capital investment in excess of $1½ billion,[5] value added by manufacture in 1952 of $1,154,000,000,[6] and would require investments of about $3 billion to substitute new manufacturing jobs for textile jobs.[7]

The textile industry is not only essential to New England but is of great importance to the national economy. The total industry employs aproximately 1.25 million workers, has an annual gross product value of $12 billion, pays taxes of $1.25 billion annually, and has an investment at the end of 1952 of $5½ billion with total assets of about $9 billion.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDUSTRY

The characteristics of large employment, small size of units, geographical dispersion, high percentage of labor costs to other costs, free price competition, and military value make it mandatory that present tariff rates

Footnotes at end of speech.

on textile-mill products be maintained or increased in the interest of national welfare.

LARGE EMPLOYMENT

In addition to being one of the largest employers of labor, the industry is characterized by the fact that mills employ a relatively high proportion of the workers in the labor-market area where they are located. Many mills are situated in small towns where they provide either the sole or principal source of outside income to the community. Other mills are located in textile centers such as Rockville and Danielson, Conn.; Sanford, Biddeford, and Lewiston, Maine; Fall River, New Bedford, Lawrence, and Lowell, Mass.; Manchester and Keene, N. H.; Woonsocket and Providence, R. I.; and Winooski, Vt., where they represent a large proportion of the total manufacturing employment in the area.

SIZE OF UNITS

The textile industry typifies small business which the Federal Government is currently trying to assist on the one hand through the Small Business Administration and is permitting to be injured on the other through reductions in textile tariffs.

The average number of employees in textile mills is very low in New England as well as in all regions of the United States and in all branches of the industry. In the United States, 43 percent of the textile mills employ less than 20 persons and 73 percent employ under 100 workers.[8] The total industry is composed of over 9,000 mills, of which over 1,500 are in New England.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISPERSION

Only a relatively small number of textile mills are located in large metropolitan areas where there is a diversity of manufacturing and employment. Most of the mills are small, widely distributed, and located in small towns where a change or shift in demand for their output causes particular hardship on textile workers.

LABOR-ORIENTED INDUSTRY

The entire industry is noted for its relatively high percentage of labor costs to other costs. In 1953, salaries and wages of the wool textile industry represented 63 percent of the total value added by manufacture.[9] In the case of the cotton and rayon broad-woven fabrics field, salaries and wages represented 67 percent of the total value added by manufacture in 1952.[10] This labor cost is particularly important when one considers that raw-material costs are just as low or lower to other producers throughout the world. Government price-support policies tend to raise the cost of raw materials to American producers above the prevailing prices in the world market.

Uncontrolled competition from low-wage foreign producers can seriously damage the New England textile industry, the New England economy, and the national textile industry. In competition with foreign producers, the wage differential varies between 200 and 1,400 percent, and this in a labor-oriented industry.[11] As a result, during 1953 textile products were entering the United States, duty paid, at prices substantially below those of domestic producers.[12]

The Government considers an area with 6 percent or more unemployment a surplus labor area. As an example of what can happen in a short period of time in textiles, let us consider the case of the lace manufacturers, predominantly located in the Blackstone and Pawtuxet Valley areas of Rhode Island. In the 2 years following the reciprocal trade-agreements program with France, in conjunction with the devaluation of the French franc, which in substance meant still further tariff reduction, the lace industry in Rhode Island found itself with 66 percent of its workers unemployed and the remaining 34 percent working on an average of 14½ hours a week.[13] This shows how quickly foreign competition affects the textile industry.

PRICE COMPETITION

The outstanding characteristic of the textile industry is its highly competitive nature with the resulting low free market price of textiles to the consumer. In recent years textile profits as a percent of sales have been running below the average earnings of manufacturing industries generally. The textile industry is not making profits at the expense of the consumer under the protection of the present tariff.

MILITARY VALUE

Maintenance of a domestic textile industry is vital to our national security. During the 4 years, 1942–45, 51.4 percent of the production of cotton broad-woven goods in the United States went to the armed services.[14] In the woolen industry, during the peak production years of 1942-43, 51.5 percent and 48.8 percent, respectively, of domestic production went to the armed services.[15] Any injury to the New England textile industry through tariff reductions could jeopardize national security.

TARIFF PROTECTION

In the interest of New England, our national security, and the national economy, present tariff rates on textile products must be maintained to protect the textile industry and its various segments from injury and unemployment caused by low wage foreign competition. When foreign imports cause or threaten to cause unemployment in any branch of the textile industry, tariff rates on the goods imported should be raised to prevent further injury and unemployment.

Textile workers laid off as a result of mill closings find it difficult to find jobs. Older textile workers are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding new jobs and if total textile employment declines it will be increasingly difficult for them to find any sort of employment according to a recent survey conducted by Northeastern University.[16] Any reduction in tariff rates will only serve to aggravate the already serious problem of unemployment in some New England textile centers.

The textile industry is one of the first industries to develop in new industrial areas and in rehabilitated countries. Since World War II United States textile machinery manufacturers have equipped many foreign mills. As a consequence, many foreign producers have machinery which is more modern and more efficient than the older machinery in many mills in the United States. With low wages, modern machinery and techniques, foreign producers can and will capture our domestic markets. Any advantage we enjoyed in the past in greater productivity and efficiency have been equalized by sharing our knowledge with our foreign neighbors. Fine-combed cotton goods from Western Europe and Japan, Italian and Japanese velveteens, English typewriter cloth, English tweeds, and other foreign textiles are coming into this country in increasing numbers.

Since the inception of the textile industry, the Government has provided protection against foreign producers through the medium of the tariff. Under these conditions the industry has grown and developed a scale of wages commensurate with the American standard of living. Through reciprocal trade agreements during the last 20 years there have been large reductions in tariff rates on textiles. Any further reduction would be injurious to the industry and New England. The New England Textile Committee favors protection for workers, stockholders, and the public from the low-wage competition of foreign countries.

TARIFF LEGISLATION

Under present tariff rates, textile products are being imported in increasing quantities while domestic industry suffers from unemployment. The woolen and worsted industry is the prime example of this situation.

The Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, popularly known as the Randall Commission, has recommended further tariff reductions to the President. The New England Textile Committee is opposed to any further tariff reductions on textile products.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The New England Textile Committee recommends:

1. That there should be no further reductions in tariff rates on any of the different classes of textiles.

2. That tariff rates should be raised on textile products where foreign imports cause or threaten to cause unemployment in any segment of the industry.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] Statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Northern Textile Association on the Subject of Tariffs before the New England Textile Committee, March 10, 1954.

[2] Bureau of the Census, 1949.

[3] Statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufaoturers and Northern Textile Association, March 10, 1954.

[4] Report on the New England Textile Industry by Committee Appointed by the Conference of New England Governors—1952, May 1, 1953.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Northern Textile Association, March 10, 1954.

[7] Report on the New England Textile Industry, May 1, 1953.

[8] U. S. Department of Commerce and Federal Security Agency, County Business Patterns, First Quarter, 1949.

[9] Statement submitted to the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy by the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, December 1953.

[10] National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Northern Textile Association, April 1954.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Testimony of National Association of Lace Manufacturers before the New England Textile Committee, March 10, 1954.

[14] Statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Northern Textile Association, March 10, 1954.

[15] Statement submitted to the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy by the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, December 1953.

[16] Bureau of Business and Economic Research at Northeastern University, January 25, 1954.

The President's Message on the State of the Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I enclose for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement as given to the Indiana press following the state of the Union message of January 6:

I join President Eisenhower in his estimate and evaluation of the 83d Congress as expressed in his state of the Union message. I am glad to have been a Member of that body that did so much for everybody and that helped to produce the greatest prosperity that this country ever has seen, with peace at the same time.

I believe that the President will be very realistic in the matter of tariffs and the extension of reciprocal trade agreements. The industries of the United States do not ask for selfish protection but for equalization of tariff rates. It is realized that reciprocal trade agreements must work two ways and that we should be entitled to the same consideration from all other nations that we, in turn, extend to them.

In regard to the spending for defense, I certainly join with President Eisenhower instead of Speaker RAYBURN. The present administration has proven that more defense can be secured for less money. Apparently, the proposal of the Democratic Party, as stated by Speaker RAYBURN at the time of his installation as Speaker, will be to spend for the sake of spending with no mention about the waste which everybody knows must be watched.

I also raise the question whether or not foreign aggression might be invited by excessive saber rattling on the part of our country or on the part of any other country. President Eisenhower has had a lifetime of experience and prefers peace prudently secured instead of aggression by provocation.

The President's concern about Communist infiltration and subversives should be shared by all. Both major political parties will do well to clean their house immediately of any extremist groups.

Revision of the McCarran Immigration Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today an immigration and naturalization bill to revise our present immigration laws. The title of my bill is "Immigration and Citizenship Act of 1955," and it is intended to replace the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

Let me state at the very outset that the chief objection to the McCarran-Walter Act is that is based on the national-supremacy doctrine which maintains that the people of some nations were superior to others. According to the McCarran-Walter Act, this idea is reflected in our present immigration policy. Needless to say, it is a fallacious theory because there is no such thing as a superior race or a superior people. A law reflecting such outmoded ideas has no place on our statute books and should be removed as soon as possible. We need an immigration law that will conform with American concepts of justice, fair play, and basic traditions.

Mr. Speaker, I represent a cosmopolitan district in the city of New York. The people of our great city are for the most part of immigrant stock. They are either immigrants themselves or children and grandchildren of immigrants. Their roots are solidly planted in this country. They are intensely loyal and patriotic citizens of the United States. It is because they have known the adversities of life abroad at firsthand that they can best appreciate the American way of life.

They and many millions of others throughout our country are intensely interested in the problem of immigration and are anxious for the United States to follow a liberal policy in the matter. I recall that during my service in the 82d Congress I had been approached by numerous people to help them in their immigration matters. Some of these were very tragic cases: Parents who wanted to be united with their children; broken families because the husband or the wife could not come here; deportation of the husband which left an entire family without support, and similar other cases. I did my utmost to help these people in every possible way.

Unfortunately, our immigration laws in recent years have been rather harsh, discriminatory, and often inhumane. The McCarran-Walter Act was intended to be a codification of all previous immigration and naturalization laws, but actually turned out to be a codification of all the discriminations and the prejudices against immigrants thought up during the past few decades. I am referring particularly to the quota system, the method of selecting immigrants who seek entry to this country, which dates back to the early 1920's when it was first enacted in an atmosphere of isolationism and hatred of all foreigners.

Under the quota system a total of 154,000 immigrants may be admitted annually to the United States. The original law enacted in 1921 set up the quotas on the basis of the 1910 census. It also contained the obnoxious implication that the people of southern and eastern Europe are inferior to those of northern and western Europe. In 1924, the law was amended and made even more discriminating against those of southern and eastern European origin. Quotas were reduced from 3 to 2 percent, and the census basis was moved back from 1910 to 1890, the reason being that immigration from southern and eastern Europe had hardly begun by 1890. Naturally, the quotas for those countries were drastically reduced. Thus, Italy's quota was cut from 42,000 under the 1921 law to less than 6,000 under the 1924 amendments; Poland's quota was reduced from 31,000 to 6,500, and the same was true for other countries.

Mr. Speaker, when a codification of our immigration laws was undertaken several years ago, million of our citizens had hoped that the biased and intolerant laws would be eliminated and a new approach toward the selection of immigrants would be established, but those who drew up the McCarran-Walter bill included the worst and most obnoxious features which had accumulated on our statute books over the past 30 years. The restrictive quota system was retained, large quotas were again assigned to countries unable to use them up, and the unused portions of the quotas were wasted instead of permitting low-quota countries to use them.

So much for the quota system. Now, let us examine briefly another set of regulations in the McCarran-Walter Act which constitute an insult to all Americans who believe in the concept of equality. I mean the provisions which deal with naturalized citizens. Under the McCarran-Walter Act it is easier to deprive such people of their citizenship and deport them from the United States. In the past it was necessary to provide proof of fraud at the time of naturalization, but now it merely needs to be shown that a person failed to mention some minor incident in his past and he stands to lose his citizenship. It is a threat which hangs over his head for the rest of his life. This, in effect, sets up two classes of citizenship, since no naturalized citizen can ever feel secure of his citizenship status any more; it is something which we have never before had since this Republic has been founded.

There are many other injustices in that act, perhaps too numerous to mention. Suffice it to mention the findings of a Presidential commission, named by President Truman in 1952 to study the act. In January 1953 this commission reported its findings of the McCarran-Walter Act as follows:

First. It discriminates against human beings on account of their national origin, their religious belief, and their color.

Second. It is based on hatred and distrust of all aliens.

Third. It ignores the needs of the United States in domestic affairs and foreign policy.

Fourth. It contains unnecessary and unreasonable restrictions and penalties against individuals.

Fifth. It is badly drafted, confusing, and in some respects unworkable.

In the 2 years since the Eisenhower administration is in power and in the 83d Congress nothing was done to wipe out the inequities of the McCarran-Walter Act and to restore sanity and dignity to our immigration system. The President has made no effort to keep his 1952 campaign pledge to support legislation to revise the McCarran-Walter Act. The 83d Congress, likewise, made no attempt to amend the act, but adopted the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 to admit 214,000 European refugees over a 3-year period. By now, many of us are aware that this act turned out to be a hoax, since its many restrictions make it so unworkable that only about 10,000 persons have been admitted under this law which went into effect on August 7, 1953. This is a separate issue to which I hope to return in the very near future with some constructive suggestions.

Many of my colleagues, I am sure, will recall that I was strenuously opposed to the McCarran-Walter measure when it came before the House in 1952, and then when President Truman vetoed it I voted to uphold the President's veto. Since then I have followed all developments in connection with this act; I have sought means and ways of revising it, and I have given the matter much thought and study.

Here are some of the major changes recommended in my bill:

First. The so-called national origins quota system is abolished as a basis for admission and in its place is proposed a unified quota system to be comprised of three groups of eligible immigrants:

A. Those coming under the family unification preference, but not more than one-third of the quota numbers are to be allocated for this purpose;

B. Those coming under occupational preference, which is to be limited to 10 percent;

C. The remainder shall be allotted to newcomers, including those seeking religious or political asylum, and those needed here in the national interest.

Second. There is to be no discrimination against any person seeking to enter this country as an immigrant, because of national origin, religion, race, or color.

Third. The number of annual quota visas is to be established on the basis of one-sixth of 1 percent of the United States population according to the 1940 census, the last prewar decennial census. On this basis a total of 220,000 immigrants may be admitted annually, which is about 75,000 more than under the present quota system. Furthermore, the allocation of quotas for all countries would be more equitable because the 1940 census is more representative of our population now than is the census of 1890.

Fourth. The allocation of visas to the above three groups and the quotas assigned to each nation shall be determined by an Immigration and Naturalization Commission, proposed in the bill, and with the approval of the President. The Commission is to operate as an independent agency, thus avoiding much of the confusion now existing.

Fifth. Unused quotas are to be pooled and distributed among those countries whose quota allotments had been used up. It will be of interest to note that since 1924 only about 40 percent of the quota numbers have been used, namely, 1,500,000 entered the United States under the quota system while 2,500,000 visa numbers remained unfilled and unused.

Sixth. Aliens shall not be deported if they were admitted before their 14th birthday, or have lived in the United States for 20 years or more. The bill also provides that no alien can be deported by reason of conduct which occurred more than 10 years prior to the institution of the deportation proceedings.

Seventh. Several provisions are contained in the bill which would permit an alien who is under a final order of deportation to seek judicial review under the Administrative Procedure Act or the Declaratory Judgment Act. In this way it is hoped to eliminate the contradictory standards of justice applied to alien residents in this country and the severe penalties meted out for minor errors and infractions of the law.

Eighth. All distinctions and discriminations between native-born and naturalized American citizens are eliminated and equality of all citizens under the law is established. In a democracy such as ours there is no room for second-class citizenship nor is discrimination against the naturalized citizens to be tolerated. The grounds for deprivation of citizenship, whether acquired by b..th or naturalization, are remedied.

There are numerous other changes and remedies suggested in the bill to improve our immigration laws, which I trust will be adopted at an early date so that the United States will be able to maintain its tradition as the haven of the oppressed and the asylum for the persecuted. Continuation of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act on our statute books is a blot on the good name of our country. If we permit this discriminatory measure to remain unaltered and unrevised, then much which is precious to American ideals and traditions is destroyed.

Mr. Speaker, I maintain that the McCarran Act is not a true reflection of the thinking and the spirit in this country, or that it represents American opinion concerning the immigrant. The McCarran Act is not the proper law for a nation which has been settled and developed by immigrants throughout its history, and which has been built to its present greatness and world leadership with the help of immigrants.

For the sake of America's greatness, its international prestige, and its position of moral leadership among the nations of the world, I urge this Congress to take swift action to undo the wrongs of the McCarran-Walter Act and to adopt my proposed revision of it.

Let Us Cling to the Pattern of Life That Has Brought Us Where We Are That We May Continue To Go Ever Forward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, approved by the House, I am including in the RECORD an interesting address by a great American, James A. Farley, former Postmaster General of the United States. Mr. Farley is now chairman of the board of one of the big, expanding industries of the United States. The address was delivered in Wichita, Kans., on October 18, 1954, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the industry which he heads.

Incidentally, General Farley attributes his success in the business world to opportunity afforded under a Government that encourages thrift and individual initiative.

The address follows:

I have been privileged to visit Wichita on many occasions and have always enjoyed it. I am told that the early Plains Indians who were your first settlers, called this territory Kansas—or "People of the South Wind." To me that has always seemed a most appropriate designation for your fine State—for it suggests the warmth and refreshing reception I have always received here. But I am particularly happy to be here tonight because it affords me an opportunity to participate in an event which can happen only once in a lifetime of a man or a business—the marking of a 50th anniversary.

In my own lifetime, I have come away from many celebrations, such as this, impressed not so much with the great economic and historic factors which were discussed but with the people whose ingenuity and fortitude gave root and flower to the real meaning of why we are here.

In Wichita the Coca-Cola saga has been written boldly in the record pages of a growing city, as it has been etched into the progress of great communities across the Nation and throughout the world. You, my friends, are the authors, the builders, the men of vision and integrity who have created here a lasting monument—a thriving, respected, and revered business—from something so humble and simple as a pleasant-tasting, wholesome, nickel soft drink.

Now what does it take? What magic power must you have to attain this splendid achievement? Perhaps the answer may be found in this basic concept. It may be that aside from your abiding faith, your business acumen, and your merchandising resourcefulness, the formula for your success is contained in the one word "character." In the words of the old saying: "Sow an act and you reap a habit, sow a habit and you reap a character, sow a character and you reap a destiny."

I prefer to believe that you are not exceptional geniuses, but rather you are plain, straightforward, kindhearted, law-abiding citizens—men with healthy consciences, hearty appetites, and I hope good digestion, with cheerful but dogged determination to do your part in the sphere of life to which God has called you. It is a truism that no man who continues over the years to add something to the material, intellectual, and moral well-being of the place in which he lives is left long without proper reward. In bringing this business from nothing to its present impressive stature, through the trials and vicissitudes of more than seven times the normal life span of the average American corporation, you are deserving of recognition, not only by your associates but by your fellow builders of Wichita as well.

It is appropriate at this time also, for me to remind you that deep in the fabric of Coca-Cola's mantle of success is the name of Browne. To the Coca-Cola organization, Browne is synonymous with builder. The Browne vision and integrity helped cement bricks of acceptance in the solid foundation of public confidence laid down by the parent company. Because there are men among you in the Browne mold, the trademark Coca-Cola and the product and institution which it identifies, will continue to hold its position in world favor and renown.

Just as here in Wichita, so in any American city or town the Coca-Cola man is to his neighbor the personification of the institution itself. Through his efforts and through his dedication to the principles of what has been called the Coca-Cola pattern of business, this product benefits and sustains and develops each and all of the communities in which it is bottled and distributed. In the store and in the village, in the city and the Nation, Coca-Cola is a builder.

In fact, to call it a builder may be something of an understatement. Few products have had such a dynamic effect on the whole economy of the country. Because its growth and development have been so nearly concurrent with your own, let me refresh your recollection of some of its highlights.

It took 51 years to sell the first half billion gallons of Coca-Cola sirup, but only 7 years to sell the second half billion. And 1953 passed the second billion gallon mark.

When the Coca-Cola Bottling Co., of Wichita, came into being 50 years ago, total daily sales of sirup everywhere were only 2,400 gallons a day. Today and every day, more than one-third of a million gallons are moved out from our sirup plants. Fifty years ago, total sales everywhere were slightly more than 300,000 drinks a day. Now they have reached 50 million drinks a day.

Those are dramatic figures, but their real significance lies not merely in their size but in what they mean in terms of people employed and in the wages, salaries, and dividends they provide.

It is good to remember also that the division of what the consumer pays for this drink—among all those who participate in making delivery to him—is such that everyone, from the manufacturer of the original sirup to the ultimate retailer of the finished beverage, derives a fair return and legitimate profit from doing so. This product has enriched many; it has impoverished none. Every retailer of Coca-Cola has the comforting consciousness that it gives him a faster turnover, draws more people to his door, and creates more secondary sales in his store than anything else on his shelves. As for the manufacturer and bottler, the published values of the operations and facilities of each bear eloquent testimony to a common and basic interest which united them—unites us—in a common bond. I know of no other industry in which the manufacturer and the retailer have found so broad an area of mutuality in their economic interests. The Coca-Cola Co. and the bottlers of Coca-Cola throughout the country have been singularly fortunate in their people. You may remember the banner displayed not so long ago at a convention of Coca-Cola bottlers that read: "The answer is men." There is no question in my mind that it has been men, and these men have been a dedicated lot. They have not looked upon their enterprise primarily as a means of making a fast dollar on a quick turn. They resisted the temptation to skim the cream of swift profits. They have been long-term operators, building for their communities and for their grandchildren. They have had an institutional attachment and a product loyalty that is legendary.

As another outstanding factor making Coca-Cola what it is, let us not overlook the exceptional system of distribution that carries sirup through 1,800 jobbers to 140,000 fountain outlets and through one-half dozen parent bottlers to more than 1,000 bottlers and from them to more than 1,500,000 bottling outlets all over the United States. Geographically, that system covers the Nation almost as completely as the Post Office Department. But the truly significant thing about it is that, at both the wholesale and retail levels, it is short through with economic independence. One hundred percent of the retailers are independent; 100 percent of the jobbers are independent; over 95 percent of the bottling plants are under ownership independent of the sirup-manufacturing company. There is no better example of the free-enterprise system than the mutually interested by individually independent businesses and organizations which produce and distribute Coco-Cola.

What developed in this country over the past 50 years is now repeating itself the world around. The qualities that have brought local and national acceptance to Coca-Cola here are carrying on toward global popularity. We now have Coca-Cola in 86 countries of the globe.

It may surprise you to know that Coca-Cola sales in Manila are greater than those in Chicago; that sales in Buenos Aires are the same as those in St. Louis and that sales in Brussels equal those of Birmingham.

It might be supposed that a product such as ours would not lend itself to the use of foreign trade. But just the opposite is true. Exports of finished products, of course, have a utility to the foreign country receiving them. But a greater value and a greater benefit is realized by that country when the article of international commerce is the kind that generates a series of secondary local activities. It is in this respect that Coca-Cola differs from many others. For it stimulates in the foreign country a great variety of local enterprises all calling for local management, local personnel, and local material.

A great virtue of this product to an overseas country is that a minimum of important material galvanized new and supplementary domestic developments on a widespread front. For example, crowns for Coca-Cola bottles are manufactured in 15 countries now; the bottle itself in 18 countries. In one colonial territory the erection of a botling plant costing 60 million francs was made possible by the importation of equipment costing only $150. In another area, a new bottling plant entailed the building, also, of an ice plant, a sugar mill, and factories to produce carbon dioxide, caustic soda, soda ash, paperboard, ice coolers, and bodies for electric coolers. When a public official welcomed Coca-Cola to Cape Town, South Africa, he emphasized that with a single exception, everything used in the manufacture of Coca-Cola is of South African origin.

Yes, wherever it goes, at home or abroad, Coca-Cola "belongs." It belongs to the man on the street, a native product and a creator of other native products.

So much for the highlights of Coca-Cola. Now let us return to the purpose of this gathering tonight.

While traveling out here from New York, I thought about how cities are built, how businesses are built and how completely entwined is the simultaneous growth of each and how each is interdependent—one upon the other. A city starts with a plot of ground, sometimes by accident, as when two trails cross and a small store is built to accommodate the weary traveler. Sometimes it starts because of some material foundation or blessing of nature such as a lake, navigable river, or good harbor. In the beginning there is nothing but the ground, and then a man comes. He may build a home or a store and then other men come and get others, and there are added to the ground, houses for the people and the people produce the demand for business and the two grow hand-in-hand from a village to a town, to a city.

There may be those in this room tonight who can go back to Wichita 50 years ago. Then, it was a young city—of only 34 summers. Yet for more than 300 years it had been recognized as a likely spot to make a community. History tells us that Coronado and his Spanish explorers paused here on his return from Pecos Pueblo in 1541. And even then he found the Plains Indians lived in villages of round straw houses and growing maize and beans and melons. These—we are told—were the home-loving Wichitas from whom your city took its name.

Then later, on, when the white man came from the East he too found this spot—where the Little Arkansas meets the Arkansas—a pleasing place to live and grow and even to build a city.

When Wichita was chartered in 1871 the founding fathers may not have envisioned fully the great stature it would some day attain. But they could be sure it had great possibilities, for all the signs pointed to growth in greatness. It furnished a market for the products, a supply base for the area, and a banking, jobbing, manufacturing, and distribution center for Kansas and parts of Oklahoma. A spirit and an atmosphere pervaded that set Wichita apart to itself as a great thriving section of the country. And it did grow and it flourished. For its people had faith; they had energy and endeavor and they applied them. They had convictions; and, through good times and bad, they stood firm for the verities of life.

And so, also, did this business. It started in a very small and insignificant way. But being an integral part of the community it partook of the community spirit. It was warmed by that spirit and it caught step with the strides of the community. It kept pace and developed and grew as the community grew. So, tonight, in this celebration we must also pay high tribute to Wichita, to the citizens of Wichita, and to this State, for a climate in which a business of quality and character could flourish and for their patronage and support of this business. On behalf of the Coca-Cola Co., and I am sure I also speak for the Wichita Coca-Cola Bottling Co., I wish to express to Wichita and its people our great thanks and deep gratitude.

In the growth of this city, in the growth of this business, and in the growth of the men and women of this city, we have the miracle that is America, multiplied by innumerable communities throughout the land—the miracle that has made this Nation the greatest nation on the face of the earth. It is the obligation of those here, and of those to follow, to cling to this pattern of life that has brought us where we are that we may continue to go ever forward.

We stand to night upon the dividing line between the first and second halves of a century. We reverently return thanks to Almighty God for the past and with hopeful promise walk forth upon sure ground toward the future. And 50 years from today, some other man will be here to pay tribute to this organization and to this city. And then he will remind you, as I do tonight, that the past is prologue. And in the words of the philosopher, he may say again to you: "Build out of the past, live in the present, work for the future."

An Explanation of Health Bills Introduced in the 84th Congress by Congressman Wolverton, Republican, of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, as previously stated I introduced on the opening day of this 84th Congress, January 5, 1955, several bills, the underlying purpose of which is to provide improved facilities and ways and means to promote the health of our people. I believe each of these bills, or bills similar thereto, and, embodying the fundamental principles thereof, would have a very beneficial effect in meeting the present tremendously high cost of hospitalization and medical attention.

In order that these bills may have the fullest possible understanding and thereby create sufficient interest to bring about enactment, I am making an explanation of each of them, as follows:

H. R. 397, A BILL TO AMEND THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT TO PROVIDE MORTGAGE-LOAN INSURANCE FOR HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

The principal purposes of the bill, H. R. 397, are:

First, to stimulate lending institutions, through Government insurance of mortgages, to loan funds for the construction of privately owned medical centers, hospitals, clinics, and other health facilities operated on a self-sustaining basis; and

Second, to encourage the extension of voluntary prepayment health plans providing comprehensive medical and hospital care of high quality to the people at reasonable costs within their means.

In order to accomplish these purposes, the bill would create a Health Facilities Mortgage Insurance Fund. The amount of contingent insurance liability would be limited to $200 million, except that with the approval of the President, such amount may be increased by additional amounts aggregating $150 million. Mortgages on qualified health facilities would be insured (subject to 10-percent co-insurance) up to 80 percent of the value of such facility. Interest would be fixed at 5 percent with a maximum of 6 percent if the Secretary finds the higher interest rate necessary.

Title II of the bill would set aside for a period of 2 years after the date of the enactment of the bill not less than $40 million of the total insurance liability authorized by the bill for the insurance of mortgages covering health facilities used primarily in connection with the operation of group prepayment health service plans. This reservation is designed to make certain that a sufficient share of the fund will be available to encourage the extension of group practice prepayment health plans.

The principal objective of the bill, H. R. 397, is to encourage the flow of private capital into the construction and equipment of hospitals and medical facilities. This bill would supplement the Hospital Construction Act, as broadened by the 83d Congress, Public Law 482, which makes available Federal funds for the construction of hospitals and medical facilities.

The bill is based on the extensive experience which the Federal Government has had with the insurance of mortgages on residential housing, including single-family residences and apartments, and contains all of the legislative safeguards provided for in the Housing Act of 1954, enacted by the 83d Congress—Public Law 560—designed to prevent certain abuses which were discovered in connection with the housing program.

H. R. 398, A BILL TO AMEND THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT TO PROVIDE MORTGAGE LOAN INSURANCE FOR HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL FACILITIES USED IN CONNECTION WITH VOLUNTARY PREPAYMENT HEALTH PLANS

H. R. 398 is a reintroduction, in substance, of the bill H. R. 7700, introduced by me on February 3, 1954, during the 83d Congress. The purpose of the bill is to stimulate private lending institutions, through Government insurance of mortgages, to loan funds by which medical centers, hospitals, clinics, and other medical facilities operated in conjunction with voluntary prepayment health plans, can be constructed and operated on a self-sustaining basis.

The further purpose of the bill is to increase the opportunities and facilities by which doctors may associate themselves together in groups, partnerships, and other private initiative arrangements of their own choosing, in order to broaden the distribution of high quality medical care through general practitioners and specialists working together, making the most efficient use of medical schools, facilities, and equipment and emphasizing preventive medicine, detection of diseases, and early diagnosis.

The bill, H. R. 398, is based on the extensive experience of prepayment plans offering comprehensive services in many parts of the country today, as for example, the Kaiser Foundation in California, the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, and Group Health Association, Inc., of Washington, D. C.

The bill would create a medical facilities mortgage insurance fund. The amount of contingent insurance liability at any one time may not exceed $300 million, except that with the approval of the President, such aggregate amount may be increased at any time by additional amounts aggregating not more than $150 million. Mortgages on qualified health facilities would be fully insured up to 90 percent of the value of such facility. Interest would be fixed at 5 percent with a maximum of 6 percent if the Secretary finds the higher interest rate necessary.

The bill is based on the extensive experience which the Federal Government has had with mortgage loan insurance in the field of residential housing, including both single family residences and apartments.

H. R. 399, A BILL TO ASSIST VOLUNTARY NONPROFIT ASSOCIATIONS OFFERING PREPAID HEALTH SERVICE PROGRAMS TO SECURE NECESSARY FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT THROUGH LONG-TERM, INTEREST-BEARING LOANS

H. R. 399 is similar to H. R. 6950, 83d Congress which was introduced by me on January 6, 1954. The purpose of the bill is to stimulate the organization of additional, and assist in the expansion of existing, voluntary nonprofit prepayment health associations by making available long-term Government loans. The bill would authorize the appropriation of $5 million each for the current and following fiscal years and $10 million for each of the next 3 succeeding fiscal years.

The bill H. R. 399 is designed to supplement other bills introduced by me which are intended to stimulate the flow of private capital into the construction of health facilities used by voluntary health associations.

The bill would be administered by the Surgeon General acting with the advice of the Health Services Facilities Council. The Council would consist of representatives of the Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor, and 12 members to be appointed by the Surgeon General with the approval of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare who are recognized as leaders in the field of medical economics, medical administration, or public affairs.

H. R. 400, A BILL TO IMPROVE THE PUBLIC HEALTH BY ENCOURAGING MORE EXTENSIVE USE OF THE VOLUNTARY PREPAYMENT METHOD IN THE PROVISION OF PERSONAL HEALTH SERVICES

This bill is similar to H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, in the form in which that bill was reported favorably on July 9, 1954, by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee—House Report 2106. H. R. 8356 was introduced in the House by me on March 11, 1954, to implement President Eisenhower's recommendations contained in his health message submitted to the 83d Congress on January 18, 1954.

The present bill, H. R. 400, provides for the establishment of a health reinsurance program in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It creates a reinsurance fund and authorizes an appropriation of not to exceed $25 million to provide advances of working capital for the fund. The fund would be built up over a period of time from reinsurance premiums and from earnings of the fund. Reinsurance would be available on a voluntary basis and upon payment of a reinsurance premium, to private insurance companies, voluntary nonprofit health associations, such as Blue Cross and other organizations offering prepayment health insurance plans. The proposal is designed to encourage private insurance organizations to experiment in providing broader voluntary health insurance to more people.

The bill also provides for technical and advisory information services to health service prepayment plans.

The bill H. R. 400 incorporates certain provisions, which were adopted by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in reporting favorably H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, to meet questions raised by various witnesses in the course of the committee hearings held during the 83d Congress. The most important of such questions was based on the fear that the bill could be interpreted to permit some degree of Federal regulation of the health-insurance industry. This bill seeks to remove any and all fear in that respect.

The central philosophy of the bill is one of building on our existing system of voluntary insurance and of providing supporting services and a financial backstop for private effort toward the expansion of prepayment protection. The bill, if enacted, would not of itself directly provide insurance coverage for individuals. Its goal is the removal of obstacles to the extension of coverage for broader ranges of benefits and to additional groups of people.

H. R. 401, A BILL TO FACILITATE THE BROADER DISTRIBUTION OF HEALTH SERVICES, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

The bill, H. R. 401, is similar to H. R. 6949, 83d Congress, introduced by me on January 6, 1954. A similar bill was first introduced by me at the close of the 81st Congress—H. R. 8746.

Like H. R. 400, it is designed to expand health services through the medium of Government reinsurance. However, the bill makes eligible for reinsurance only nonprofit associations which render or secure medical and hospital services and does not extend to commercial health insurance companies.

The bill H. R. 401 differs from H. R. 400 in other important respects. H. R. 401 sets forth detailed standards which must be met by a voluntary health association in order to be eligible for reinsurance. Subscription fees charged by the asso-

ciation must be fixed as a percentage of income. The association must accept any nongroup applicant subject to certain limitations with regard to subscribers residing outside the geographical area which the association serves. Additional hospital and physician's charges to subscribers must not exceed 25 percent of benefits. Subscribers must pay $1 per day, or 5 percent, whichever is less, of any hospital bill incurred by the subscriber. The association must provide for payment of 75 percent of the cost of 12 doctor visits during any year, excluding however the first visit. The association must pay 95 percent of the cost of all medical services rendered to subscribers in hospitals.

Eligible associations would pay as reinsurance premium 2 percent of their premium income. They would be reimbursed out of the reinsurance fund to the extent of two-thirds of any claim in excess of $1,000 submitted by a subscriber to an association. The reinsurance fund would be administered by a Government corporation to be known as the Federal Health Reinsurance Corporation.

H. R. 402, A BILL TO AMEND SECTION 213 OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954 TO PERMIT THE DEDUCTION OF CERTAIN PAYMENTS FOR HEALTH INSURANCE WITHOUT REGARD TO THE 3 PERCENT LIMITATION CONTAINED THEREIN

The bill, H. R. 402, is similar in principle to the bill H. R. 6952, 83d Congress, introduced by me on January 6, 1954. The bill is designed to provide an inducement to individuals to prepay their medical expenses by participating in health insurance plans. H. R. 402 would amend section 213 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit deduction from adjusted gross income of up to $100 for amounts paid for health insurance and, similarly, up to $100 for health insurance paid for each of the taxpayer's dependents. This deduction would be without regard to the 3 percent limitation now contained in section 213 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

H. R. 403, A BILL TO AMEND THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT TO PROMOTE AND ASSIST IN THE EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES, TO PROVIDE FOR A MORE EFFECTIVE USE OF AVAILABLE FEDERAL FUNDS, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

The bill, H. R. 403, is similar to H. R. 7397, 83d Congress, in the form in which that bill passed the House of Representatives on April 27, 1954.

The bill, H. R. 403, is designed to provide a simplified formula for the distribution of Federal funds among the several States for public health programs and to permit the States to use greater initiative and to take more responsibility in the administration of these programs.

Under existing law, six separate grant-in-aid programs to assist the States in developing and operating public health services are administered by the Public Health Service. One of these is a grant program for general public health services. The other programs are each for a separate disease category: venereal disease, tuberculosis, heart diseases, mental health, and cancer.

The bill, H. R. 403, would consolidate and simplify the public health grant-in-aid system. In lieu of the general public health category and five separate disease categories, the bill would establish three new types of grants:

First. Support grants to assist the States in maintaining basic public health services;

Second. Extension and improvement grants to assist the States in meeting the cost of adding to and improving their public health services; and

Third. Special project grants to assist States or political subdivisions in meeting emergency public health problems in specific geographical areas, or public health problems common to several States, or public health problems for which the Federal Government has a special responsibility.

Support grants would be distributed in accordance with the present Hill-Burton formula.

Extension and improvement grants would be made on the following basis: During the first 2 years of a project, the Federal share would be 75 percent; during the second 2 years 50 percent; and during the final 2 years 25 percent.

No allotment formula is prescribed in the bill for special project grants. Instead, such awards are made by the Surgeon General on the basis of the comparative importance and immediacy of the various projects.

Eastern Orthodox Faith Preference Designation Asked for Servicemen of That Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of this Congress, I introduced H. R. 581, a bill to allow certain members of the Armed Forces to designate the Eastern Orthodox faith as a religious preference on their identification tags. The bill has been referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

I was genuinely pleased to introduce this measure, the purposes of which were first brought to my attention at a banquet at Bridgeport, Conn., on Sunday, December 19, 1954. The affair was sponsored by eight Eastern Orthodox churches in the community, comprising the Carpatho-Russian, Russian, Ukrainian, Rumanian, Greek, Syrian, and Albanian nationalities. In attendance was His Eminence Archbishop Antony Bashir, Metropolitan of the Syrian Antiochian-Orthodox Church in America, who officiated at morning services signifying the founding of the new St. Nicholas Syrian Orthodox Parish, which also became affiliated with the Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches of Greater Bridgeport. The banquet also celebrated the feats of St. Nicholas, archbishop of Myra and Wonderworker.

During the program, speeches were made by the pastors of the participating churches and Mayor Jasper McLevy. Following this, there was the presentation of a resolution which was unanimously approved by the large number of persons in attendance. I then commented upon the procedures that had to be followed in order to bring about the passage of a bill to accomplish the objective.

Incidentally, Rev. John Kivko, pastor of the Holy Ghost Russian Orthodox Church, informed me that he was the first chaplain of the Eastern Orthodox faith in the armed services during World War II.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the resolution as adopted. Senator SALTONSTALL, of Massachusetts, introduced S. 106, a companion measure. Together, we shall request earliest possible consideration of this meritorious request.

Whereas Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL will introduce in the Senate and Congressman ANTONI N. SADLAK will introduce in the House of Representatives, in the 84th Congress, a bill to allow certain members of the Armed Forces to designate the Eastern Orthodox faith—one of the major Christian faiths in the world—as a religious preference on their identification tags:

Resolved, That the Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches of Greater Bridgeport, representing approximately 25,000 Eastern Orthodox Christians of the Albanian, Carpatho-Russian, Greek, Rumanian, Russian, Syrian, and Ukrainian nationalities:

1. Highly approves of such bill, which the council firmly believes will beneficially contribute to the spiritual welfare and morale of the many Eastern Orthodox servicemen in the Armed Forces of the United States; and

2. Strongly recommends to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress that such bill be enacted into law; and

3. That the council undertake whatever measures it may deem necessary or appropriate to lend its fullest support to the passage of such bill.

Unanimously approved by the Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches of Great Bridgeport this 19th day of December 1954:

Rev. JOE G. SIMKO,
Chairman.
SERGEI M. GUDEN,
Vice Chairman.
JEANETTE SKIRKANISH,
Secretary.

Why This Gloomy Note on Economic Outlook?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the Mobile (Ala.) Press-Register dated January 9, 1955.

It is time for these prophets of gloom to join with those who look at the bright side. Then they will be telling the truth and adding to the well-being of everybody—including themselves:

WHY THIS GLOOMY NOTE ON ECONOMIC OUTLOOK?

President Eisenhower reported in his state of the Union message that the Nation's economic outlook is good.

On the heels of this statement by the President, a Government report on employment, issued jointly by the Commerce and Labor Departments, showed:

Employment in the United States declined by more than a million jobs in December. Nearly four-fifths of this was accounted for by winter curtailment of farming operations.

In spite of this decline, the December total was larger than that of December 1953. Also, December was the only month in 1954 in which employment figures equaled the level of the corresponding month of the preceding year.

Emil Rieve, chairman of the CIO economic policy committee, took a look at the employment report for December and commented that "the figures tell a story of economic stagnation so far as jobs are concerned."

As viewed by Mr. Rieve, the figures "show that the economic outlook isn't so good."

He is quite within the bounds of his privilege in reaching that conclusion.

We remind him, however, that when he uses this report alone as ground for a pessimistic estimate of the economic future, he disregards a number of other facts which in our opinion should be considered in appraising the outlook.

We also remind him that his conclusion is in sharp contrast to a long list of other opinions expressed in recent weeks about the economic picture.

President Eisenhower has plenty of company in the optimism he expressed in his state of the Union message to the new Congress.

Moreover, this widely expressed optimism is supported by a much wider base than Mr. Rieve, of the CIO, uses for his pessimism.

Their joint report on employment was not the only report issued jointly by the Commerce and Labor Departments the past week.

It so happened that these two departments issued a joint report showing that construction operations in the United States reached a new high last year, expenditures for construction being larger in each of the 12 months than in the corresponding months of the year before.

"The total was 5 percent above the 1953 figure and made 1954 the eighth straight year in which construction activity set a new record," the United Press relates.

Does this indicate to Mr. Rieve as chairman of the CIO economic policy committee that "the economic outlook isn't so good"?

We invite Mr. Rieve's attention to these excerpts from a New York Times article of January 3:

"Lock a jury of retailers in a room and the chances are that they will quickly return with an optimistic verdict about 1955's business. A survey * * * of some of the Nation's leading retailers found them unanimous in expecting higher sales in 1955 than in 1954."

One more example of economic optimism: In that same issue the Times reported that "a billion-dollar program of new construction and expansion is planned for 1955 by the Nation's gas utilities and pipeline companies."

The fact is that examples of optimism over the economic outlook are almost endless—until, of course, we find Mr. Rieve isolating himself in a glum corner and surrounding himself with gloom.

Everybody to his own opinion.

For our part we prefer to go along with the vast procession looking at the bright side.

And while we are at it we can't help wondering whether Mr. Rieve, of the CIO, would be equally depressed over the economic outlook if the so-called Fair Dealers hadn't been voted out of the White House a little more than 2 years ago.

In other words, is it possible that Mr. Rieve's unhappiness in the last analysis stems more from the presence of the Republicans in the White House than from the Government report on employment for the past December?

Meanwhile, if Emil Rieve or anybody else in the CIO is on the eve of breaking down and shedding economic tears for Britain, things are looking up there, too. Unemployment in Britain the past December was at the lowest level of any December since the end of World War II.

The Anniston (Ala.) Star's Man of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, recently the Anniston Star, a leading newspaper in the State of Alabama, nominated Col. George O'Connell as its "man of the year." The selection of Colonel O'Connell is a well-deserved recognition of one of Alabama's most outstanding citizens, and I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the staff of this fine newspaper for its wisdom. His devotion to the people of Calhoun County and the surrounding counties can never be forgotten.

After a long and brilliant medical career which began in 1916 as acting chief surgeon of the Alabama National Guard, he organized and took command of the First Alabama Field Hospital, No. 122. He served overseas with the AEF and upon his return from France he became regimental surgeon of the Fifth Cavalry of El Paso, Tex.

After service in several important posts of duty, he was retired, January 31, 1947, at Camp Gordon, Ga. However, retirement did not mean the end of unselfish service for this outstanding citizen. Colonel O'Connell became head of the county health office which serves Calhoun and Cleburne Counties.

A man of boundless energy and ability, he has been active in a multitude of civic endeavors. He has interested himself in veterans, in youth activities, and in practically every cause for the betterment of his community, State, and Nation. The accounts of his activities are set forth in the following newspaper article and editorial from the Anniston Star of January 2, 1955:

COLONEL O'CONNELL NAMED STAR'S MAN OF THE YEAR—REPORTER SKETCHES CAREER OF NOTED LOCAL CITIZEN

(By Sam Jones)

Having come in close contact with him during the years when I reported the proceedings of the county health office here, I was pleased to concur in the Star's decision to name Col. George Albert O'Connell the man of the year for 1954.

All other members of the Anniston Star staff join heartily in this first designation of honor for one of Anniston's most worthwhile and unselfish citizens.

Colonel O'Connell has since his retirement from the United States Army Medical Corps in January 1947, after 34 years of distinguished service—served Calhoun and Cleburne Counties as district health officer.

But his competent work in this capacity has been overshadowed by his constant and unstinting service in scores of civil undertakings.

His energies and influence have been felt in every segment of our society, not alone during 1954, but in all the 8 years he has lived among us.

HIS ACTIVITIES MANIFOLD

He is chairman of health and safety for the Choccolocco Council, Boy Scouts of America, and has given unusual service for several years.

The colonel is physical examiner for Boy Scout campers at Camp Zinn each summer and for Girl Scouts at Camp Cottaquilla and campers for the Salvation Army.

In 1951 he served as March of Dimes chairman for Anniston. The following year he was county chairman of that annual campaign.

Active in Post 26, American Legion, and Voiture 1201, 40 & 8, Colonel O'Connell has always interested himself in affairs of veterans and servicemen.

He has taken leading parts in the local chapter of the American Red Cross and the county civil defense organization.

In 1954 he was made adviser for the March of Dimes in eight northeast Alabama counties (Calhoun, Cleburne, St. Clair, Talladega, Etowah, Jackson, DeKalb, and Cherokee).

HELPS OUT AT M'CLELLAN

He has been vitally interested in the activities of the Fort McClellan Post Hospital, which he directed in its tremendous growth during his Army years as its commanding officer.

In addition to his strenuous work in various endeavors, Colonel O'Connell has inspired the youth and fellow citizens of Calhoun and Cleburne Counties by delivering numerous addresses.

He spoke to Anniston High School students on Armistice Day 1953 on "What My Flag Means to Me."

This stirring testimonial was placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in March 1954 by Senator LISTER HILL.

During the past year he also addressed many civic and PTA groups, the Baptist Brotherhood, and the Lions Club at Heflin, and gave a graphic talk on The Plague of Death on Our Highways to the Anniston Exchange Club and other groups.

Colonel O'Connell has always been ready when called on for any civic task, and hundreds know him as friend and confidant.

WAS BORN IN MONTGOMERY

George Albert O'Connell was born and reared in Montgomery, the third son of John C. and Lucy Merritt O'Connell.

Dr. L. L. Hill of that city was Colonel O'Connell's preceptor before he entered medical college in 1902. He received his doctor of medicine degree from Tulane University in 1906.

After internship at St. Vincent's Hospital, he did postgraduate work in Philadelphia and New York, specializing in diseases of the eye, ear, nose, and throat.

He began the practice of his specialty in Mobile in 1907, moving to Birmingham in 1909. He was a member of the medical corps of the Alabama National Guard before entering the United States Army.

Ordered into active duty in 1916, he was then acting chief surgeon of the Alabama National Guard. Before the guard became part of the 31st (Dixie) Division, he organized and took command of the First Alabama Field Hospital No. 122.

SERVED 9 MONTHS OVERSEAS

He served 9 months in the American Expeditionary Force as commanding officer field

hospital, director of the field hospital, 106 Sanitary Train. He later commanded Camp Hospital 110 at La Suze, France.

On his return from France, Colonel O'Connell became regimental surgeon of the Fifth Cavalry at El Paso, Tex. A year later he went to Fort Sill, Okla., as chief of the eye, ear, nose, and throat department of the station hospital.

After 4 years there, he was transferred to Tripler General Hospital, Fort Shafter, T. H., as chief of the EENT department for 3 years.

His subsequent service is summarized briefly as follows:

Four years as chief of his specialty at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

One year as commanding officer, general dispensary, United States Army Base, Boston, Mass.

Six and a half years' duty followed at station hospital, Fort Bragg, N. C.

In 1938 he moved to Fort McClellan, where he remained for 5½ years. During this period he was surgeon and commanding officer of the station hospital and witnessed the base's growth from a battalion post to one of about 45,000 troops.

In 1943 he went to Thayer General Hospital, Nashville, Tenn. Transfers followed to Fort Barrancas, Fla.; Mississippi Ordnance Plant; Camp McCain, Miss.; Camp Sibert and Camp Rucker, Ala.; and to his last duty station, Camp Gordon, Ga., where he was retired January 31, 1947.

Except at Nashville, he was post surgeon and commanding officer of the station hospitals.

MARRIED IN BIRMINGHAM

Colonel O'Connell was married to Lollie Gilreath, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Belton Gilreath, of Birminghom.

They had 6 children, 3 sons and 3 daughters. All but one daughter are living. There are six grandchildren.

The eldest son, Col. Belton O'Connell, is on temporary retirement at Gulf Shores because of ill health.

Navy Capt. George O'Connell is serving in an important United States Navy position in Paris, France.

Maj. Courtney O'Connell is stationed at Fort Sill, Okla.

Daughter Elizabeth is the wife of Col. Samuel W. Horner, on an Army assignment in Naples, Italy.

Miss Margaret O'Connell is librarian at Fort McPherson, Ga.

The honored citizen recalls that he is the sole survivor of those present when Dr. L. L. Hill (father of Senator HILL) performed successfully the first operation on the human heart.

PORTRAIT TO BE HUNG

Colonel O'Connell's portrait will be placed at Fort McClellan and Camp Gordon, Ga., in recognition of his outstanding service as commanding officer of the hospitals at those installations.

The colonel is a member of the Calhoun County Medical Society, Alabama Medical Society, American Medical Association, a fellow of the American College of Surgeons and a charter member of the Alabama and North Carolina Academies of Opthalmology, Aural, Rhino-laryngeal Societies.

THE ANNISTON STAR'S MAN OF THE YEAR

Androcles, the Roman slave who befriended a lion and later thereby saved his life, as well as furnishing the idea for a famous play by George Bernard Shaw, once said that "gratitude is the sign of noble souls"; and it is about a noble soul that we are pleased to write today, one to whom we all owe a debt of gratitude that we never fully can repay.

We have reference to Dr.-Col. George O'Connell, if we may borrow the German use of a double title. He is currently serving as public health officer for Calhoun and Cleburne Counties, for which he gets a relatively small annuity; but it is his service beyond the call of duty that has endeared him to people here at home and far away, and by reason of which he has been designated as Man of Year by the Anniston Star.

This paper many times has expressed a word of appreciation to the men and women of the armed services who for many years have tabernacled here in Calhoun County and become, to all intents and purposes, local citizens. But it is to those officers and men and their families who have chosen this city as their place of retirement and permanent home to whom we owe a special debt of appreciation.

Gen. Robert E. Noble, the noblest Roman of them all, has made it one of his avocations in life to encourage more of the men of the services to cast their lot with us, and none of them who has made that decision has been a better citizen than the man whom we honor today—one whose retirement is but nominal, as he continues to serve both the civilian and the armed services personnel.

If it had not been for George O'Connell, it is doubtful if the people of Anniston and Calhoun County would have been able today to enjoy the facilities of Memorial Hospital, for which he helped draw the plans and obtain the necessary funds for construction. Moreover, but for his activity in maintaining public health, we might not now have Fort McClellan and the Anniston Ordnance Depot.

This paper had heard of George O'Connell long before he came to Fort McClellan. For even while he was serving as an apprentice, as it were, to the great Dr. Luther Leonidas Hill, of Montgomery, and as medical officer with the Alabama National Guard, it became evident that he was a man of destiny as a physician and surgeon. And so it was that we heard of his skill from across the Pacific Ocean.

One of our great American physicians stated publicly in a recent address that any practitioner who is not a disciple of the Great Physician and addicted to prayer is robbing himself of his greatest source of power. George O'Connell evidently has believed this to be true for many years, as he once told us of a surgical patient that apparently was saved by prayer after he and attending specialists had given up hope of his survival.

Elsewhere in the Anniston Star today, there is to be found a relation of some of the high spots in the career of this great man whom we are honoring because he has honored us with his presence as a citizen and has served us so effectively in so many ways down through the years.

It is because of his humility, his sense of dedication, his unfailing good humor, his indefatigable energy; because of the catholicity of his interests, the efficiency of his manifold services, or in a word, the magnanimity of his personality, that we nominate George Albert O'Connell—physician, surgeon, and humanitarian—man of the year for Anniston, Ala., anno Domini 1954. May his tribe increase.

Social Security Benefits at Age 60

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, today in this wonderfully productive country of ours, some 6 million people between the ages of 60 and 65 are being denied the right to social-security benefits on the arbitrary grounds that they cannot receive such benefits until their 65th birthday. Last year we made a number of revisions and improvements in the social-security system. But for some reason, which I fail to understand, no change was made in the eligibility age of 65 years which was adopted away back in 1935. Very simply, this restriction says to millions of Americans over age 60 who are physically unable to work—or who are unable to persuade any employer to hire them—that they must starve until they reach their 65th birthday.

I have long been concerned with this gross inequity in a system which is designed to provide at least a minimum of security for our senior citizens, and have introduced several bills which would right this inequity. Because I believe a lower eligibility age is the logical next step in improving our social-security system, I have introduced a bill, H. R. 703, which will pay benefits at age 60 instead of the present age 65.

Surely it is clear that no one can predict the precise day or year in which he will be completely disabled by a devastating illness. Neither can anyone predict that he or she will be able to continue in his job at least to a 65th birthday. Can there be any doubt in our minds that the need for retirement benefits varies greatly with individual circumstances? Some of us are able to work far beyond our 65th birthday. Others, through no fault of their own, are forced to retire from their job at much earlier ages. There is certainly no reality, then, to this idea that the need for retirement benefits begins only at age 65, and not before. Can we then, in equity, continue to perpetuate this antiquated idea that the 65th birthday is the proper criterion as to eligibility for old-age benefits?

I have asked this question repeatedly—and the only answer I get is that such a liberalization of the system would cost money. For example, when an amendment which would have lowered the eligibility age to 60 years was introduced on the floor of the Senate during the last Congress we were told that the purpose of the amendment was laudable; that everyone hoped the retirement age could be reduced to age 60—but that it must be rejected because it would cost money.

Mr. Speaker, let us ask ourselves in all seriousness—what is the basic purpose of the social-security system? Is the major purpose of this program to provide a minimum of security for those of us who can no longer work because we are too old by the standards of our industrialized economy? Or is its major purpose to save money?

Now I recognize that no organized social-security system can be without some limitations. But I say to you that the crucial test with regard to such limitations should be chiefly concerned with the needs of our senior citizens as they change with the times. Let us be clear about the reasons why it is appropriate at this time to lower the eligibility age, because of changes in our economy. All

studies show that a phenomena of America's industrial expansion is the fact that the average worklife has been shortened. For example, in 1890, about two-thirds of all men aged 65 and over were in the labor force. By 1950 this proportion had dropped to less than two-fifths. Even under the pressure of a wartime labor market in the 1940's, many employers were reluctant to take on older workers until supplies of younger men were exhausted.

The changes in the national economy which have added so remarkably to the total wealth of the country and to the improvements in our standard of living have also, then, had the net effect of restricting employment opportunities of older workers. The shift from a rural to a highly industrial economy is reflected in the long-term decline in farm employment and in the expansion of such occupations as semiskilled operators and clerical and sales workers. And these two expanding occupational fields use the lowest proportion of workers who are over age 45.

The problem of older workers in finding and holding jobs has been thoroughly documented in hundreds of careful studies and dozens of symposiums. Recently Ewan Clague, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, summed up the situation in the following significant sentences:

Industrial change is proceeding at a rate faster than ever before in history—

He said.

The new process of automation (which substitutes machines and energy for manpower) is sure to bring about the decline and disappearance of many jobs and occupations. • • • Industries will naturally prefer younger people whom they can train and develop. Furthermore, the average business concern will have enough older people on its rolls already, so that they will hesitate to hire any more.

Now, I agree with those people who are working to increase the job opportunities for older workers as one means of counteracting this trend. But let us not delude ourselves by believing that jobs for our senior citizens can ever provide any kind of a total solution. If we are realistic about it, I think we will all have to agree that it is only a piecemeal solution which will gradually benefit only those fortunate older people who are able to work, and are fortunate enough to find an employer who is willing to hire them.

For the majority of older people, who have been retired from their jobs because they are unable to work, increased job opportunities for the elderly are, of course, no solution at all. I am, then, here concerned with the elderly carpenter or machine-tool operator who is forced to retire from a lifelong job because he had a heart attack, or other ailment which makes it impossible for him to continue to work. I am concerned with women widowed at age 60, after a lifetime of making a home, who must, under our present system, wait 5 years until they are eligible for social-security benefits. I believe, further, that we must lower the eligibility age in order that we may increase job opportunities for younger workers.

I urge your support of my bill, H. R. 703 on the ground that it is a necessary revision of our social-security system to bring it in line with the dynamic economic conditions of today. I am convinced we must adjust that system to the changes in the average work life which I have described. But most of all, I believe we must lower the eligibility age by at least 5 years because, in so doing, we will be increasing the protection offered to those of our aged people who need it most—and that, as I understand it, is the major purpose of our social-security system.

The Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. HILL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, Members of the House, recognizing the importance of keeping the doors to opportunity for small businesses open, are grateful for the wholehearted support for this policy given by President Eisenhower in his message on the state of the Union this January 6. It will be recalled that in his message to the joint session of the Senate and House, the President said:

The prosperity of our small business enterprises is an indispensable element in the maintenance of our economic strength. Creation of the Small Business Administration and tax laws facilitating small-business expansion are but two of the many steps this Government has taken to encourage smaller enterprises. I recommend that Congress extend the Small Business Act of 1953 now due to expire next June.

Since I had the honor of introducing into the House of Representatives the bill which finally resulted in the legislation that established the Small Business Administration, my interest in the President's message is apparent. Last week I introduced a bill, H. R. 521, to continue the SBA, which I hope this body soon will be considering, and in view of this we will want to examine the record of this Agency to consider how its services may be broadened and strengthened.

The Small Business Administration in a large measure is pioneering in a field of Government service, specializing in assistance to owners of small businesses. Obviously some time was required to staff the agency and to develop policies and programs. An examination of the record, I believe, will satisfy anyone that encouraging progress has been made. Wendell B. Barnes, the Administrator, and his coworkers have given excellent public service.

In a New Year message to all employees of the Small Business Administration, Administrator Barnes summarized results in the major programs. With the thought that Members of this body would be interested in seeing this letter from the Administrator to his coworkers as contained in Small Business Action, the agency's intraoffice information bulletin, the full text is presented to you:

ADMINISTRATOR'S NEW YEAR LETTER TO ALL EMPLOYEES

DEAR SBA COWORKER: At the opening of a new year, I would like to write you directly to thank you for your loyal and energetic work during the past year. You and your associates in the Small Business Administration have responded so promptly and energetically each time one of the Deputy Administrators or myself have called upon you for extra effort on our programs that the Agency has been able to compile a noteworthy record.

Work has been accomplished in spite of the fact that you were at times handicapped by a heavy workload and a large backlog, lack of sufficient coworkers and the fact many people could only be given temporary employment status. The extra hours that you worked and the interest you took in our programs are deeply appreciated by me and by the Deputy Administrators, office heads, and regional directors.

I know that you were pleased to hear President Eisenhower say in his message to Congress:

"The prosperity of our small-business enterprises is an indispensable element in the maintenance of our economic strength. Creation of the Small Business Administration and recently enacted tax laws facilitating small business expansion are but two of many important steps we have taken to encourage our smaller enterprises. I recommend that the Congress extend the Small Business Act of 1953 which is due to expire next June."

I am confident that the quality of your work will also be recognized by the Congress during this session, when its committees review the accomplishments of our agency.

The compiling of a good record is not the result of the work of any one office. All have contributed. An organization can operate effectively only if the mail clerks, the administrative services employees, the filing and stenographic clerks as well as the financial specialists, production specialists, and executives all do their part. That has been the situation during the past year, and the record must be considered the result of the work of each employee in the agency.

It is not possible to review in detail each of the activities, but I would like to point out to you a few of the things in which you can have a feeling of pride for having contributed your part.

CERTIFICATES OF COMPETENCY IMPORTANT

The certificate of competency program of the Small Business Administration is one of the most important functions in the Agency. Through it small companies obtain prime contracts with the Department of Defense which they otherwise would be denied, due to disqualification by a procuring office regarding capacity or credit, or both.

Requests for certificates of competency are initiated by a small-business concern when its low bid on a specific procurement has been rejected by a contracting officer. The small company submits an application for certification to the Small Business Administration regional office. A careful and thorough plant survey and financial analysis are then conducted by the field engineering and financial staff. The regional report is then sent to the national office for review and evaluation. The Administrator's committee makes a final determination and recommendation as to whether the certificate of competency is to be issued.

This part of the program, namely, the processing of applications, is probably the most important single item in determining whether the certificates of competency program is to be a real help to small firms. Applications must be scrutinized with the greatest care in order to insure that only

those companies that can actually produce are awarded certificates.

GOVERNMENT SAVED $425,235.23

As of December 31, 1954, the Small Business Administration received 113 applications totaling $25,930,957. Of this number, 53 certificates were granted, which had a value of $6,745,610. Of these 53 cases, 15 contracts have been completed, including 8 which were completed ahead of schedule. The cumulative savings to the Government resulting from these certified contracts as of December 31, 1954, amount to $425,235.23. These certificates all were awarded after the most careful analysis of application data, and each contractor's progress is followed closely for any situation arising where the Small Business Administration production specialists can offer technical assistance which would be helpful in completing a contract.

The majority of the cases to date have been from the Department of the Air Force, followed closely by the Department of the Army. Some of the types of military defense items procured under these certified contracts include rocket launcher assemblies, smoke generators, aircraft platform assemblies, grenade launchers, bomb slings, bomb racks, bomb trailers, boats and tents.

The certificate of competency program of the Small Business Administration has been in operation since the start of the agency in August 1953. In addition the Small Business Administration assumed the responsibility at that time for 91 active certificates of competency from its predecessor agency, the Small Defense Plants Administration. Of those 91 certificates, 21 are still in active status as of December 31, 1954. Of the 21 cases, 16 are behind schedule in their production. They are behind schedule, in spite of the fact that we have worked with the companies holding these certificates originating with SDPA just as hard as we work for those which hold our own certificates.

I do not mean to make invidious comparisons of our work with that of the Small Defense Plants Administration or the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, but the figures we have are the only ones available by which we can measure the work of our agency.

What do we find regarding the 53 certificates of competency issued by the Small Business Administration in the past 18 months?

SBA RECORD GOOD

Fifteen of these have been completed, including eight ahead of schedule. Twenty-seven of the contracts are active at the present time and, of these, 23 are ahead of, or right on, schedule and only four contracts are behind schedule. Contrast that with the 16 behind schedule in the inherited cases.

These figures should give assurance to the Department of Defense procurement officers that they may rely on action taken by the Small Business Administration and we, of course, should continue to regard our power to issue certificates as a serious responsibility to be exercised only when we are informed and certain of all the facts in each particular case.

Negotiations have recently been concluded with the Department of Defense making it mandatory for contracting officers to indicate those situations where a certificate of competency application would be in order.

JOINT DETERMINATION PROGRAM

Under our joint determination program with the Department of Defense more than $360 million in Government contracts have been reserved for exclusive award to small firms. More than 2,300 individual contracts, totaling $160 million already have been awarded to small firms as a result of representations made by employees of the Small Business Administration to the Department of Defense. The tremendous total of more than 150,000 notifications to small contract firms of Government bidding opportunities has been made by offices of our agency.

In addition each month our field offices have made approximately 1,000 referrals to small firms of opportunities for subcontracts. It is difficult to measure what this means in increased employment and greater business volume, but we can be certain that this work has kept many small firms active and in a healthy condition and has brought pay checks to many thousands of American workers.

PRODUCTS ASSISTANCE

Through our products assistance program, we have been able to assist several hundred firms which are turning from defense work to the production of civilian products and in many cases this provides as much opportunity for a small firm as does a defense contract.

PRINTED AIDS

The Small Business Administration management publications are reaching a wider circle of small businessmen each month.

By the close of 1954, 262,832 copies of the 16 titles in the small business management series, were sold by the Government Printing Office. During the past 6 months, 112,608 copies were sold. Most popular titles were "Cost Accounting," "Cutting Office Costs," and "Human Relations."

Over 1,193,000 copies of management-aid leaflets have been distributed to date, more than 900,000 of them free of cost. Of the number, 314,000 were requested during the last 6 months of 1954. The most popular of the 57 titles are: "Loan Sources in the Federal Government," "How to Set Up Sales Territories," and "How Small Plants Can Sell to the Federal Government."

Distribution of technical aids on shop problems total 448,000 to date: 93,000 over the past 6 months. The most popular titles are "Sharpening of Drills, Lathes, Tools, and Milling Cutters," "Proper Alinement of Machine Tools," and "Precision Measurement of Work Pieces." The number of aids distributed does not tell the whole story, since many of them have been republished by trade associations, many of which regard this as one of the most helpful of our programs. Of the other publications which are sold at a small cost we have learned that more than 260,000 have been sold by the Government Printing Office and through the Department of Commerce offices. The proceeds of these sales have returned $80,000 to the Treasury which has paid in full the cost of printing these publications.

MANAGEMENT COURSES

Following two successful experimental administrative management courses, held last spring at Richmond, Va., and University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, Wis., 35 similar courses, cosponsored by the Small Business Administration are being offered this school year by 30 educational institutions ranging from Boston to Los Angeles and Chicago to Norman, Okla.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

A year ago we had 36 financial specialists and in 3 months had approved 26 business loans and 37 disaster loans for a total of 63. We had taken action on 89 cases. Twelve months later at the close of December 1954, we had staffed our offices with 180 financial specialists and during the calendar year had taken action on 4,104 cases.

We are now administering 5,341 loans amounting to $80,125,405. We have approved 2,091 loans, which included 1,122 business loans for a total of $59,400,433, of which more than two-thirds are in participation with banks.

We have also approved 969 disaster loans for a total of $5,553,834. Of the total, the remaining 3,252 are disaster loans transferred to the Small Business Administration for collection.

SOUND LOANS

One of the most significant figures indicating the quality of the loans made during the past year is the record of delinquent loans. If a loan installment is not received within 3 days of the date the installment is due, we list it as delinquent. As of December 31, 1954, only a single borrower was more than 30 days delinquent in meeting his loan installment payments.

Of course, our experience in the collection field is still brief but when one realizes that every office in the country had to cooperate to compile this fine record of loan administration, one can feel a sense of pride in the work being done by all of the other offices.

BACKLOG REDUCED

You were asked to make every effort to get the loans in from the field by December 20 in order that we could clear up the backlog during the calendar year and end with the best possible record. You will be interested to know that after the loans came in from the field, the loan examiners in Washington and the review committee worked long and hard, even during the holiday season, to complete the job.

The result is shown in the figures given above for the year 1954.

This record should be compared not with the last year of operation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, during which many more employees were available than we have had, but with the first calendar year in which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was authorized to make business loans.

In 1935 the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had 2,392 applications for business loans. In that year they approved 1,171 loan applications, of which direct loans were $70,930,288 and the participation loans amounted to $12,146,351.

Of course, there was no fixed limitation on the amount of loans, but it is apparent that approximately one-sixth were participation loans as compared with the two-thirds figure for the Small Business Administration loan program.

STILL ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT

In reciting some of the matters about which we can take pride, I do not mean to imply that there is not still room for improvement. We are working on improvements in each of our programs and should resolve to do an even more effective job during the coming year. I ask each of you to join with me in resolving that we will find improvement and ways to increase efficiency each in his own position during the ensuing year.

In closing, I once again want to thank you and each of your coworkers for the contribution you made to the accomplishments of our agency during the year 1954.

Sincerely,

WENDELL B. BARNES,
Administrator.

Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, during the 83d Congress eight Republican and Democrat members of the Judiciary Subcommittee of the other body issued a unanimous report entitled "Interlocking Subversion in Government Depart-

ments." The document lifted the lid on over 20 years of Communist conspiracy inside our Government.

Inasmuch as there has been considerable wailing and weeping from certain quarters during the past few weeks relating to the conduct of the 1954 election campaign, I feel impelled to set before my colleagues a summary of the factual record as it was disclosed officially and unanimously by these Democrat and Republican Members of the other body.

This report reveals that previous administrations were guilty of laxity, evasion, and obstinacy in dealing with the issue of communism in government. When read in light of recent political exaggerations expressed by Democratic Party leaders of GOP campaign language, it most positively dispels their complaint that the Democratic Party was charged with disloyalty.

Contrarily, it fully substantiates the laxity, evasion, and obstinacy allegations that were the sum and substance of GOP charges.

The report begins by describing the activities of the Soviet conspirators in the following language:

When the principal concern of the Government was economic recovery, they were in the AAA, the NRA, and new sections of old departments. During the war they joined such wartime agencies as the Board of Economic Warfare, the Foreign Economic Administration, the OSS, and the like. Toward the end of the war and in the postwar period, they were operating in the foreign policy field. At the end of the war they gravitated toward the international agencies.

Speaking of Government employees involved in the conspiracy, the report says:

They colonized key committees of Congress, helped write the laws, conducted congressional hearings, and wrote congressional reports.

They advised Cabinet members, wrote speeches for them, and represented them in Government conferences, staffed interdepartmental committees which prepared basic American and world policy.

They traveled to every continent as emissaries of the American people; attended virtually every international conference where statesmen met to shape the future, influenced the State Department with disastrous results.

There was an interlacing combination of these people in almost every agency which had to do with labor.

The Senators investigated how subversives got key Government posts and reported:

They used each other's names for references, hired each other, promoted each other, raised each other's salaries, transferred each other from bureau to bureau, department to department, assigned each other to international missions, vouched for each other's loyalty, protected each other when exposures were threatened.

The committee heard a former courier for the conspirators say:

We didn't have too much trouble (in moving agents). Two of our best (avenues for placing people in positions) were Harry Dexter White and Lauchlin Currie. Once we got one person in, he got others, and the whole process continued like that.

On the extent of this penetration into the United States Government, part of the report reads:

According to the evidence in our records, those involved in the secret Communist underground included an Executive Assistant to the President of the United States (Lauchlin Currie), an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (Harry Dexter White), a United States Treasury attaché in China (Solomon Adler), the Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs for the State Department (Alger Hiss), the Secretary of the International Monetary Fund (Frank Coe), a member of the National Labor Relations Board (Edwin S. Smith), Secretary of the NLRB (Nathan Witt), chief counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Civil Liberties (John J. Abt), Treasury Department representative and adviser in Financial Control Division of the North African Economic Board, in UNRRA and at meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow (Harold Glasser), Director, National Research Project of the Works Progress Administration (David Weintraub).

On the question of when the plot started, the Senators found:

The first organized subversion encountered was that accomplished by the Harold Ware underground cell of the Communist Party in the early 1930's. The subcommittee took testimony from two members of this cell. They were Whittaker Chambers and Nathaniel Weyl. In setting forth the members of the Ware cell we are listing how they testified when they were subpenaed: Nathan Witt (invoked constitutional privilege that he could not be compelled to bear witness against himself), Lee Pressman (admitted Communist membership before House Un-American Activities Committee), John J. Abt (invoked privilege), Charles Kramer (invoked privilege), Henry H. Collins, Jr. (invoked privilege), Victor Perlo (invoked privilege), Harold Ware (deceased), Alger Hiss (denied Communist Party membership before House Un-American Activities Committee.

The report publishes for the first time part of a secret memo dated November 25, 1945, prepared by an intelligence agency of the Government, identifying other and later espionage groups. It reads in part:

The head of (one group) was N. Gregory Silvermaster, now connected with the United States Treasury. Another member is William L. Ullman, a major of the Air Force stationed at the Pentagon, who has been obtaining and photographing classified information regarding United States Government war plans and also reports of the FBI which had been furnished to G–2 of the Army. Other members of this group included A. George Silverman, a civilian employee of the War Department; Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Lauchlin Currie, Administrative Assistant to the President, and lesser figures.

The head of the next group of Soviet espionage agents was Victor Perlo, of the War Production Board. Members of this group were introduced to (Elizabeth) Bentley at the apartment of John Abt in New York City. The individuals in this group include Charles Kramer, an investigator for Senator KILGORE's committee; Henry Magdoff, of the War Production Board; Donald Wheeler, of the Office of Strategic Services. There were various other minor Government employees in this group, including employees of the UNRRA.

On the distribution of the above 1945 secret memo, page 1 of the report says:

(It) was circulated among several key Government agencies and made available to the President of the United States.

Assessing the damage done to our country by the operation of these conspiracies, the Senators wrote:

How many priceless American secrets have been conveyed to Moscow through the tunnels of the American Communist underground will never be known.

The report uses testimony of ex-Communists to show how American policy could be influenced from a key position. Example:

Question. What you say is that (the Morgenthau plan) was a Communist plan to destroy Germany, weaken her to where she could not help us?

Answer. That is correct. She could no longer be a barrier that would protect the West • • •

Question. You say that Harry Dexter White worked on that?

Answer. And on our instructions he pushed hard.

Question. And that Mr. Morgenthau, who was Secretary of the Treasury, was used by the Communist agents to promote that plot?

Answer. I am afraid so; yes.

Question. He was unsuspectingly used?

Answer. Of course, the way the whole principle works is like dropping a pebble into a pond and the ripples spread out, and that is the way we work.

Commenting on the activities of the FBI, the report carried these lines:

(The conspirators) stayed in their jobs, received promotion, and influenced policy for several years after impressive information had been marshaled.

The FBI cannot expose and cannot force action once it has reported the results of its investigation.

There is ample evidence that the FBI and other agencies learned the underlying facts of the Communist conspiracy and time and time again performed their duty and notified the proper administrative agencies.

The Senators sought to determine precisely what aspect of the loyalty machinery failed during these former years and concluded:

Primarily, the breakdown came in the failure on the part of the responsible executive agencies to act on the information which was available.

Describing its experience with witnesses, the committee had this to report:

In public session 36 persons about whom it had substantial evidence of membership in the Communist underground in Government [were examined]. All of them invoked the fifth amendment and refused to answer questions. Many refused even to acknowledge their own signatures on official Government documents in which they had sworn to nonmembership [in the Communist Party] in the past.

All who invoked the fifth amendment were unyielding, uncooperative, and even abusive. All assumed a cloak of innocence that was inconsistent with the record and with their refusals to testify.

The record is replete with instances of identified Communists appearing who have sworn on Government applications they have never been members of the Communist Party. In many of the cases it was apparent there was false swearing when the oath was taken, but the statute of limitations provided that no action could be initiated after 3 years from that offense.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me admonish those guilty of misstatements about the 1954 campaign carefully to reread the foregoing and carefully to reread what was charged during the 1954 campaign by Vice President NIXON and others. Let them also contemplate the monstrous losses of life and substance America has suffered by reason of these recorded derelictions in dealing with the issue of communism in government.

The Tributes to Max Abelman on His Retirement From the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Max Abelman, a man I have long known and admired for his selfless devotion to the field of health and welfare, recently retired as secretary to the president of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn and as its director of public relations. For the past half century his creed, "Do something kind for somebody every day," has led him into farflung activities which have bettered the lot of people without regard to creed, color, race, or national origin. Several years ago I addressed the graduating class of the nursing school of Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, and will always remember the surge of hospitality reaching out to me from the large community audience gathered there.

Although Mr. Abelman has relinquished his formal ties with the hospital, he is still considered "Brooklyn's ambassador of good will."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting newspaper accounts of the dinner given on the occasion of his retirement and some of the messages of greeting he received:

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of October 9, 1954]

A TRIBUTE TO MAX ABELMAN

A well-merited tribute was paid by the medical board of Jewish Hospital to Max Abelman, who has retired after many years as secretary to the president of the hospital and as director of public relations for that fine institution.

It took the form of a dinner at the Unity Club and was attended by many prominent Brooklynites as well as officials of the hospital and the members of its staff. Hailed as Brooklyn's ambassador of good will, Mr. Abelman was highly praised by many who know of the unselfish work he had done for the hospital through the years. Outstanding, however, were the letters of praise that were received and read to the gathering. Among others, those who wrote were Governor Dewey, Lord Halifax, Archbishop Molloy, Senator Lehman, Eleanor Roosevelt, Ralph J. Bunche, former Vice President Wallace and General Bradley. It was a most unusual occasion.

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of October 1, 1954]

BOROUGH LEADERS PAY TRIBUTE TO ABELMAN

Some 150 of Brooklyn's leading citizens from all walks of life last night paid tribute to Max Abelman in recognition of his 50 years of humanitarian community service.

Sponsored by the medical board of Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, the dinner was held at the Unity Club, 101 Eighth Avenue.

Mr. Abelman, who has been called Brooklyn's ambassador of good will by Borough President Cashmore, recently resigned as public relations director of the hospital. He had been associated with the hospital since 1909, and had been named secretary to the president of the hospital in 1931.

Mr. Abelman was lauded as a nonpolitical, nonsectarian fund raiser who, through 14 years as executive director of the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities, did much to establish the principle of federation in collecting money for charities. He has been credited with voluntary fund raising of more than $100 million in Brooklyn during the past 40 years.

Mention was also made that Mr. Abelman organized a dinner in 1941 at the Waldorf-Astoria for the Most Reverend Thomas E. Molloy, on this 20th anniversary as a Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese of Brooklyn.

Dr. Louis J. Morse, president of the medical board, presented Mr. Abelman with a scroll in recognition of his contributions to the growth of the Brooklyn institution, and said:

"Max, you have been an inspiration to all of us. You have never hesitated to help those of high or low estate. You have really lived your creed of 'Wherever there is a human being, there is an opportunity for human kindness'."

Mr. Abelman, in acknowledging the honors heaped upon him, paid tribute to Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious leaders who, he said, had been an inspiration to him.

"I don't believe in talking tolerance, but in living it," he said, "and this I have tried my best to do."

Among the speakers were Council President Abe Stark, City Court Justice A. David Benjamin, Dr. Irving M. Pallin, secretary-treasurer of the medical board and dinner chairman; Dr. Lewis H. Baretz, vice president of the board and toastmaster; Dr. Adolph P. Raab, president of the Junior Staff Society of Jewish Hospital.

Also, Dr. John J. Masterson, former president of the Kings County and New York State Medical Societies; Supreme Court Justice Maximilian Moss, Appellate Division Justice John MacCrate, Supreme Court Justice George A. Arkwright; Frank D. Schroth, Sr., publisher of the Brooklyn Eagle, and Victor F. Ridder, newspaper publisher; James G. McDonald, first United States Ambassador to Israel, and Dr. Frank Kingdon, radio and news columnist.

Also, former City Court Justice Jacob J. Schwartzwald, former Supreme Court Justice Emil N. Barr, a former president of the hospital; Isidore Leviton, president of the hospital; County Judge Hyman Barshay.

Congratulatory letters were received from Governor Dewey, Senator HERBERT H. LEHMAN, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Ralph Bunche, Gen. Omar Bradley, Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine Ambassador to the United States; Archbishop Molloy, Lord Halifax, Matthew Wohl, vice president of the AFL, and James A. Farley.

The following are some of the letters of greeting he received:

STATE OF NEW YORK,
Albany, September 30, 1954.

DEAR MAX: I am delighted to add my voice to those of your associates and your many friends assembled on September 30 in your honor on the occasion of your retirement from the board of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn.

I know of no person who more thoroughly deserves such a public expression of appreciation than yourself. For nearly 50 years you have devoted your energies, your time, and your efforts unstintingly for the good of your fellow men, regardless of race or creed.

Your activities for the benefit of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn are beyond praise. It is most appropriate that the medical alumni of the hospital should name you as the first honorary member. You unquestionably have earned the title "Doctor of Humanity."

With warm regards and best wishes,
Sincerely,

THOMAS E. DEWEY,
Governor.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., September 24, 1954.

MY DEAR MR. ABELMAN: Word comes to me that the medical board of Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn will give a dinner in your honor September 30 on the occasion of your retirement as director of public relations.

Half a century of faithful service. What memories this must bring, and what joy in the knowledge of the good things that have come about through your efforts—not just to the hospital there in Brooklyn, but to the community as a whole. How far-reaching the blessings of the many Jewish philanthropies which have felt the touch of your tireless devotion.

I recall so vividly the delightful dinner we had together 2 years ago—you, the trustees and friends of Jewish Hospital—when I addressed the graduating class of young nurses. Hardly a department of that great institution which has not benefited from your energies as public relations director. I can understand the reluctance of the hospital to part with your services, but know that it will always have your devotion as a friend of humanity.

May the years ahead be rich in blessings for you and yours.

Always with kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCES P. BOLTON.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., *September 25, 1954.*

DEAR MR. ABELMAN: As I am now living in California and have just returned from a long trip, I am unable to attend the dinner being given in your honor. This is a fit tribute to your long service to your fellow men. All best wishes.

Sincerely,

OMAR BRADLEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
September 26, 1954.

DEAR MAX: I regret that I cannot attend the dinner to be given in your honor by the Jewish Hospital medical board on September 30.

You have rendered your country a great service. You have really been an ambassador of good will of Brooklyn. You have extended your help and hospitality to many of my countrymen and I want you to know how grateful I am to you for your kindness.

With my best wishes for your continued good health, I am

Sincerely yours,

CARLOS P. ROMULO.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, September 24, 1954.

DEAR MAX: I am going to be away from Washington the end of this month and therefore unable to attend your dinner. I can think of nothing which would please me more than to be on hand and to express in person the high regard I have held for you throughout the long years of our acquaintance.

The testimonial dinner is a fitting expression of the sentiment in the hearts of those who will gather together in your honor, and I want to add my congratulations and my continued good wishes.

Sincerely,

JAS. M. MEAD.

UNITED NATIONS,
New York, September 23, 1954.

DEAR DR. ABELMAN: I deeply regret that a prior official commitment does not permit me to join with your many friends in paying well-deserved tribute to you on September 30.

May I take this occasion to express to you my admiration for you because of the generosity of your heart; your tireless efforts for more than a half century which have benefited countless thousands, irrespective

of race, color, or national origin; the spirit of unfailing good will with which you have served your community.

In all that you have undertaken you have fed the steady flame of democracy and brotherhood among your fellow men.

May the years ahead return to you in good measure the health and happiness which you have earned.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH J. BUNCHE,
Director, Department of Trusteeship.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *September 22, 1954.*

MY DEAR MR. ABELMAN: Permit me to assure you that I was delighted to learn regarding the coming fulfillment of a program of honorable recognition of your very worthy life and beneficent services in our midst particularly during the past 50 years.

Your most generous disposition to offer unselfishly and unstintingly your time, talent, and energies for the fulfillment of countless works of beneficence richly merits the impressive tribute of public acknowledgment and grateful appreciation.

You have given indeed a most impressive and edifying manifestation of your genuine love of your fellow human beings regardless of race, color, or creed.

I desire to offer to you an expression of well-merited commendation at this particularly happy and eventful period of your blessedly useful life and, at the same time, to express the hope that God will continue to grant you His most precious gifts for the welfare of yourself, your family, and the fortunate beneficiaries of your kindly interest and generous good will.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

THOMAS MOLLOY,
Bishop of Brooklyn.

THE SURGEON GENERAL
OF THE NAVY,
Washington, September 21, 1954.

DEAR MAX: I am reminded by my secretary of my tentative acceptance of an invitation to a party which is being tendered for you at the Waldorf on the night of September 30. In my response to your invitation, some doubt was voiced as to my ability to join you upon the occasion in point because the date falls within a period during which we had contemplated being on leave. It so happens that the leave idea has gone by the board. However, I am obliged to remain in Washington on the night of the 30th because of the fact the season's Guest Lecture Series opens at Bethesda upon that night at which time a doctor from Stockholm, Sweden, will speak and my presence there is strongly desired and I suppose distinctly indicated.

Anyway, Max, I will be with you in thought but will regret my inability to be there in person. It is not exactly clear to me from your letter what constitutes the occasion for the party in your honor, but regardless of whether it is to punctuate a birthday or just any day, I am highly in favor of it. If it measures up in quality, as I am sure it will, to the guy for whom it is being given, it should be a swell affair.

I think I could sum up my sentiments no better than by simply saying I hope your cup of pleasure will be filled to overflowing and that you will remain between those two eternities, "yesterday" and "tomorrow" for a long, long time during the entire duration of which you may have what you like.

Sincerely yours,

LAMONT PUGH.

GARROWBY, YORK, *September 21, 1954.*

DEAR MR. ABELMAN: I am greatly obliged to you for your letter of September 14 and am very glad to learn that the medical board of the Jewish Hospital is giving a dinner in your honor.

Your many friends will be happy to feel that your long and notable service, rendered over so wide a field, is thus recognized.

With all good wishes, and kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

HALIFAX.

NEW YORK, N. Y., *September 21, 1954.*

DEAR MR. ABELMAN: I wish I could attend the dinner in your honor on September 30 but I deeply regret I will be out West lecturing for the American Association for the U. N.

I would like to take this opportunity to send you my congratulations and respect for all you have done, and my warm good wishes for the future.

Very sincerely yours,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1954.

DEAR MAX: There has come to me the announcement from the medical board of our Jewish Hospital of the dinner that is being tendered in your honor on the night of September 30.

You, in the light of our long years of friendship are entitled to an explanation for what I know will be my enforced absence from the dinner.

Quite some time ago I accepted the invitation of the Benjamin N. Cardozo Lodge of B'nai B'rith to be their guest speaker at their meeting on the night of September 30 at the Plaza Hotel when they will honor Mr. Irving Engel, the president of the American Jewish Committee. Had it not been for this, Max, you may be assured that I would have been present at the dinner. You well deserve the tribute that the doctors purpose to pay to you in recognition of your many years of self-sacrificing labors for the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn.

Sadie and I join in the hope that you will have many years of health and happiness before you.

Cordially yours,

MEIER STEINBRINK.

SOUTH SALEM, N. Y.,
September 24, 1954.

DEAR MAX: It was most thoughtful of the board of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn to ask me to the dinner given in your honor on Thursday, September 30. You are richly deserving of this honor and I know of no one serving in a capacity similar to yours who has made more friends among people of all faiths and all walks of life. The capacity to make and hold friends, which is yours to an amazing degree, has greatly served the community which you have so deeply loved and helped build.

I do wish I could be with you and your dear friends at the Unity Club Thursday night but unexpected family events foreclose that possibility. If there should be any change I shall phone you at once.

With the very warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. A. WALLACE.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE SURGEON GENERAL,
Washington, September 22, 1954.

DEAR MAX: Thank you very much for your invitation to be present at the dinner to be given by your friends in your honor on September 30, 1954, at the Unity Club of Brooklyn. I am sorry that a previous commitment of long standing precludes my attending.

Though I cannot be there in person, I should like to send my best wishes to be added to those of your associates on that occasion.

With warm wishes for a long and happy retirement, I am

Sincerely,

GEORGE E. ARMSTRONG,
Major General,
The Surgeon General.

MCGILL UNIVERSITY,
Montreal, June 9, 1954.

DEAR MAX ABELMAN: Thank you very much for your letter of May 31 and for the advance news of the dinner which will be given to you by all your colleagues at the Jewish Hospital on September 30 at the Waldorf-Astoria. Naturally, I am very happy, indeed, at this additional honor which is to be shown you for your splendid work at the hospital by all your friends, and wish I could be there in person to add my felicitations.

Unfortunately, however, September 30 is the day that Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Vice President of India, arrives to be my guest and I could not possibly be absent from my desk at all during the 2 weeks of his visit. I am sorry.

With renewed good wishes to you as always, I remain

Cordially yours,

F. CYRIL JAMES,
Principal and Vice Chancellor.

Truth Greatest Weapon Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, when the Special Congressional Committee Investigating Communist Aggression held hearings in Europe last June, millions throughout the free countries and also behind the Iron Curtain received firsthand information from sworn testimony as to the real truth regarding Communist duplicity, deception, infiltration, tortures, mass murders, slave labor camps, and other barbarous methods used by the tyrants in the Kremlin to dominate the world. The final report of this committee will be off the press in a few days and should be read by every Member of Congress.

The following letter from Theodore C. Streibert, Director of the United States Information Agency, reveals the importance of the committee's report:

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY,
Washington, January 10, 1955.

Hon. RAY J. MADDEN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. MADDEN: I have read with deep interest the summary report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, and I should like to commend the members of the committee for the comprehensive and clear analysis that has been made of the motives, methods, and consequences of Communist domination of subject peoples. The report reflects the thorough, careful investigative work of the committee, and it is a document which could well be studied and restudied by peoples throughout the world.

The Agency is glad to have been able to render assistance to the committee and we appreciate the committee's acknowledgment of our work. As the report clearly indicates, the material compiled by the committee has been put to important use in our Voice of America broadcasts as well as in our library and press programs. We are planning a worldwide distribution of the report to our United States Information Service posts.

The Agency is particularly gratified at the committee's recognition of the effectiveness of the overseas information program and its recommendations for increased support of our operations. I wish to thank you as a member of the committee for the valuable contribution that has been made to promoting the objectives and mission of the United States Information Agency.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE C. STREIBERT,
Director.

Not for Partisan Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Ulm (Minn.) Daily Journal of November 22, 1954, entitled "Not for Partisan Politics":

The Minnesota Farm Union right now is making a lot of noise about the farm program, especially that portion of it that deals with supports. As there are people who hold with the union, so there are people who oppose what the union demands.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has been less vocal on the subject, apparently willing to sit back and see what Secretary Ezra Taft Benson's program will do for them, if permitted to continue to its conclusion.

Meanwhile, the farm program has been a political football between the Republicans and Democrats. During this time, there is one class of citizens—which includes Republicans, Democrats, DFLers and Independents—which has been largely overlooked. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to say they have overlooked themselves. They are the farmers.

Adoption and implementation of a workable farm program is not—at any rate should not—be a partisan affair. It should represent the best thought, the most sound and sensible program that can be devised by the combined presently contending forces.

One has but to drive through the Corn Belt for a few miles to be staggered at the sight of even more steel bins going up. Hundreds of millions of bushels are stored in Government bins today, where once it was held on the individual farms or at a few grain terminals. This is what is known as the "ever normal granary."

Since the ever normal granary program was inaugurated, new types of corn have been originated and developed. Production per acre has doubled and almost trebled, in face of the fact that demand has not trebled, nor even doubled. And still the contending political forces trying to woo the farm vote, seek more and more guarantees; the Government keeps on building more and more bins. Somewhere along the line the onward surge must come to a halt, and no one has a greater stake in the eventual outcome than does the farmer.

First problem to be solved, it would seem, is one concerning disposition of the present tremendous surpluses and to set up an effective control to prevent further increase in surplus. That, most certainly, will involve opening up the export field. It should be just as good business on the part of the Department of Agriculture to finance the purchase of corn and other farm products for export as it is for the United States to send billions of dollars to foreign governments which, in turn, send the money back here for munitions and armament.

The farm union, the farm bureau, Republicans and Democrats will never get anywhere pulling 40 separate ways from Sunday. The sensible thing, it would seem, would be for them to set up a joint committee, representing the best talent they can find, lock them in a conference room and hold the keys until they came out with a workable solution.

American agriculture is too important to continue as a political football. There is too much at stake. Farm prosperity is essential to the welfare of our Nation, quite as much as it is to the farmer.

Advancing Activities Which Will Make Our Civilization Endure and Flourish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, many millions of dollars and much talent and shrewd organizing brains are going into the Russian propaganda drive to picture the citizens of our great country as gum-chewing, insensitive, materialistic barbarians, without souls.

It was pointed out in the report on the 14 cultural bills considered by the 83d Congress that—

One of the major ways in which we might turn reluctant and uneasy military allies—and the 800 million of uncommitted people—into friends would be to earn their respect for our own culture. It is obvious, however, that if we have no respect for and are officially indifferent to our own best cultural efforts, if we show no concern as a people and as a nation with our own contemporary culture and our living artists, then the peoples of other countries are hardly to be blamed if they ignore and underrate the cultural contributions which we have to give the peoples of the world. We have only ourselves to blame, for they take their cues from our own Federal Government. In this situation the Communist parties in the various countries and the Russians find it extremely easy to spread their lies that we are gum-chewing, insensitive, materialistic barbarians.

One place to begin righting things is in the Federal City which is singularly underprivileged regarding cultural matters as compared with other capital cities of the world and even as compared with most of the leading cities of the United States. We find W. M. Kiplinger reporting in his book, Washington Is Like That, published in 1942, for instance:

Despite the wealth of national tradition attached to Washington, there is very little native culture. The city has never been a notable breeding place for art, or music, or literature. Unlike other great capitals of world thought, such as prewar London and Vienna and Paris, where the native-born leaders of the cities shaped the intellectual patterns which influenced the nation, Washington as a city has no homegrown culture. Its influence in cultural matters is not by Washington, but rather via Washington. Whatever culture there is here was started elsewhere and brought in and pasted on.

Some 10 Representatives and 6 Senators joined Congressman Charles R. Howell in presenting bills in the 83d Congress for a national cultural program including a cultural center in the Nation's Capital. Hearings were held on them, but they were rejected by the majority in a report that will surely go down in history as a classic example of disinterest in the cultural heritage of the West.

In a speech to the National Symphony Orchestra Association in September 1952, when he was given a testimonial scroll calling him the most musical President in the history of our country, former President Harry S. Truman said Washington should be developed into the greatest musical center in the history of the world. In urging an auditorium and opera house, Mr. Truman recalled that as a Senator he had twice helped to push through the Senate legislation providing such a building. But he said the bills had been murdered in the House by the efforts of lobbyists acting for cities around Washington. "They did not appreciate the fact that Washington was to be the capital of the world," he said.

Mr. Truman pointed out that he had seen show places in Mexico City, Paris, Rio de Janiero, and he remarked:

There isn't a reason in the world why Washington shouldn't have a place where the greatest symphony in the world can play for the public.

The gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from Montana, LEE METCALF; and the gentleman from Louisiana, JAMES H. MORRISON have joined me in introducing in the Congress H. R. 21, H. R. 630, H. R. 1822, and H. R. 1825, respectively—legislation "creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an inaugural hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center." Very broad support has been expressed for this legislation in principle by leaders in business, labor, education, recreation, city planning, libraries, and the fine arts generally. I cordially invite other Members of Congress, from both sides of the aisle, who may be interested in advancing the cultural status of our country, and our Nation's Capital as well, to join in sponsoring this legislation.

The bill would authorize an appropriation of $25,000 for the commission whose members would serve without pay in considering a suitable site, procuring plans and designs, and formulating a method of financing the civic cultural center on a self-liquidating basis. The people of the District of Columbia pay more than $170 million in Federal taxes and Con-

gress, in its role as the City Council of Washington, should sympathetically consider the city's need for a civic and cultural center. In this connection I would like to call to your attention the following splendid editorial which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 11, 1955:

ENCOURAGING THE ARTS

In the long view of history, a society is likely to be judged most definitively by its cultivation of the arts. American culture has frequently been criticized abroad—to a large extent unjustly and as a consequence of shrewd Soviet propaganda—as materialistic; but increasingly American artists have been making significant contributions in music, literature, drama, painting, and sculpture. What is perhaps lacking in the United States is a diffusion of the arts to the people. And it was no doubt to remedy this lack as well as to counter some of the current misconceptions about American culture that President Eisenhower promised in his state of the Union message to "recommend the establishment of a Federal Advisory Commission of the Arts within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to advise the Federal Government on ways to encourage artistic and cultural endeavor and appreciation."

Art is never likely to flourish under governmental direction. Nothing could be further from the American tradition, or from the thought in President Eisenhower's mind, we are sure, than the kind of Commissariat of Culture which operates in the Soviet Union to make art an instrumentality of the state. Artists cannot be mobilized. But they can be encouraged by recognition and appreciation of their work; they can be stimulated by increased public understanding of the arts and by expanded opportunities for the public to see and hear their work. In the promotion of popular interest in the arts, the Government can play a most helpful role.

We hope that the President will give consideration, in this connection, to the admirable proposal put forward sometime ago in a House bill by former Representative Charles Howell for the construction of an auditorium and art center in the Nation's Capital. There could scarcely be a more appropriate beginning for a Federal program to foster interest in the arts. Creation of the means through which music, drama, and pictorial art can be brought to the people is one important contribution which can be made by government. But the sine qua non, of course, is the propagation of an atmosphere in which innovation, experimentation, and unorthodoxy can find free expression.

A Great Big Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Rome Daily American dated January 1, 1955:

A GREAT BIG HAND

"How's Clare Boothe Luce doing?"

That's the first question usually asked by a visiting American, and any summing up of 1954 would be incomplete without an answer to the question.

What do you expect from an Ambassador?

Personality? The very fact that visiting Americans inquire with the familiar use of her name rather than her rank of Ambassador is a tribute to her personality, not a lack of respect to her position.

Diplomatic skill? In London recently a veteran American newspaperman baited us with, "Don't tell me you think Mrs. Luce settled the Trieste problem?" Our answer was that so far as we know Mrs. Luce has never claimed credit for the settlement—but she certainly was on the team that solved that knotty problem, and was still on the scene when Italy voted smashing approval of the Paris accords.

Courage? During the tense pre-Trieste settlement days, a hostile crowd gathered in front of the American Embassy to shout its protests on the delay in carrying out the Anglo-American decision to turn back zone A to Italy. Some Embassy personnel avoided the main entrance to the Embassy that morning to minimize the possibility of ugly incidents. Mrs. Luce arrived, stepped from her car and walked calmly through the hushed crowd to the front gate.

Insight? She has consistently avoided the many traps set for her by the Communists. She has never worn her religion on her sleeve.

Inspiration? She has won the admiration and loyalty of her own staff, which is also a mark of leadership. She has gotten out of a sick bed to attend both American and Italian functions which demanded her presence, and she has set an example for her Foreign Service family by devoting endless hours of hard work to her job. She has been a good listener as well as a good talker, and has always shown willingness to heed the advice of experienced career diplomats.

Kindness? A generous portion of her own personal fortune has been quietly, never ostentatiously, distributed to various Italian charities and institutions. She has taken time from a filled calendar to greet the children of old friends passing through Rome. And her private parties have included Americans from all walks of life in Rome—not merely the bankers and the businessmen.

Pressed for an answer to the visitors' question we shall reply:

The lady is doing quite well, thank you.

Statehood Is the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the case for Alaska statehood as the one way to solve the complex problems referred to in the state of the Union message could not be better or more concisely stated than in the editorial written for the Scripps-Howard newspapers which appeared in the Washington Daily News yesterday:

CHICKEN AND EGG

"As the complex problems of Alaska are resolved, that Territory should be expected to achieve statehood," said President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message.

That is somewhat like telling Alaskans that when they learn to swim they will be permitted to go into the water.

It ignores the overwhelming evidence that Alaska's "complex problems" are complex precisely because of the Federal Government's long neglect of the Territory and refusal to give it control over its resources. In that respect the present administration's record is no better than that of its predecessors.

Alaskans have been hearing vague promises like this for many decades. It is high time they were offered the concrete action they deserve. And statehood is the only logical answer.

Why I Want a College Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following essay written by John H. Henry, of El Dorado, Ark. John's essay on Why I Want a College Education was chosen as the best of hundreds entered in a contest zone embracing Arkansas and a portion of Texas. He was presented a $1,000 Lion Oil college scholarship, after winning first place in a Lion Oil scholarship fund essay contest. John is now a senior in the El Dorado, Ark., High School.

Under leave granted to extend my remarks, I include the essay:

WHY I WANT A COLLEGE EDUCATION

(By John H. Henry)

The old master worked continually and tirelessly on a rare but beautiful old vase. His strokes were firm but kind, for to him is was something of great value. Passers-by often inquired why he spent hours working only on that vase, hours of engraving and seemingly useless hours of shining it. The old man always replied that it takes years to perfect a masterpiece, to bring out its beauty, and to give it a dark and lustrous polish. What could deserve the painstaking polishing and delicate engraving more than life itself? Is it not a thing of great value?

A college education offers ample opportunity to polish, to engrave, and to bring out the abilities and beauties of nature that give meaning to life. The desired design and true tone of life can best be attained in a university that provides a broad and firm foundation on which to build. This is best provided by liberal arts courses. Such courses as languages, literature, history, philosophy, fine arts, mathematics, natural sciences, economics, government, and sociology give one a clearer view of the present by providing generous information of the trends of the past.

What is common to these subjects that makes it proper to group them together? They have a common aim. In contrast to the technical subjects, which are the acquisition of some specific skills, the liberal courses present an understanding of human nature and of the environment in which man lives. Their aim is to throw light upon the greater problems that confront mankind today. In our age the world demands young men and young women, who possess something of that understanding of man's world. It calls for young people who have been in contact with these liberalizing subjects, and which it is the business of the college to teach. I, therefore, choose a college education in favor of a technical school.

A college education is also essential in that it will help me to prepare for a career and to seek certain characteristics of life that I shall always endeavor to possess. First of all,

the ability to earn a living is important to the individual and to society. Thus, I must learn to fill some position with credit. The world today needs skilled and trained workers, and I want to be one of them. The second of the desired characteristics of life is that nothing is so significant as a clear conscious view of my own opinions and judgments. Third, education will help me to influence people, to come to an understanding with them, and to bear with them. I feel that these characteristics will give depths of tone and polish to my life.

It will take years of preparation, hard work, and painstaking thought to develop the intellect in order to prepare for an education for life. I shall always strive to live up to the old master's theory that it takes years to perfect a masterpiece, to bring out its beauty, and to engrave upon it the most desirable principles and ideals, that masterpiece being life itself.

How To Lose Friends and Customers for American Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include 2 articles, 1 from the Christian Science Monitor for December 29, and another from Barron's Financial Weekly, for November 1, reflecting disturbing reports from a country which has long been one of America's good customers. It is still not too late to remedy the harmful results of administration action in this field:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of December 29, 1954]

TARIFF AND ANTITRUST ACTION—SWISS SEE UNITED STATES IN ATTACK ON TRADE

(By Olwen Williams)

GENEVA.—The Swiss people and Government are still deeply disturbed by what they consider a United States attack on the Swiss watch industry.

When the United States, last July, increased its watch tariff by 50 percent, it was a hard blow for a people dependent for its economic existence on export. But, it was argued, the tariff weapon is one that must be faced in international trade.

The recent action of the United States Department of Justice, however, indicting a number of Swiss watch firms and several United States importers of Swiss watches and watch parts for violation of the antitrust law, has aroused a storm of protest from every section of the population. The indictment has been looked upon, with almost complete unanimity, as an attack on the commercial honor of Switzerland, and even possibly an attempt at interfering with Swiss sovereignty.

To understand this strong reaction, one must remember that the Swiss are proud of their watch industry. More than all other branches of industry, it is felt to typify the genius and efficiency of a people without natural resources or any other advantages than those derived from the character and diligence of its people.

HARD TIMES RECALLED

The Swiss watch industry has had its hard times before, especially between wars. Its postwar comeback owes much to the United States market. Today, the industry is strong and more consolidated than ever before. But, the Swiss do not forget the hard times and are determined to protect their best export business as far as possible against any future large-scale slumps.

The Swiss, therefore, look upon it as natural that their government and the representatives of the industry should have worked out measures for protecting the quality of the Swiss product, and for safeguarding the accepted watch producers from undercutting by irresponsible firms. The restrictions on new firms, agreements on costs, etc., in this highly organized, rationalized industry are thus within Swiss law, and are welcomed by all concerned.

Attacks in the United States press on the Switch watch industry for alleged underpaying of workers, exploitation and so on, are usually dismissed as an expression of hostility from certain sections, since the watch industry is among the best paid in this country.

PRESS INDIGNANT

It is unusual in a country that prides itself on its restraint and impartial comment to find the press almost unanimous in its indignant comment on the action of the United States Department of Justice.

An economic correspondent in the Gazette de Lausanne writes, for example: "The United States authorities, doubtless maneuvered by groups of interests, are going all out against the Swiss watch industry, which has the serious defect in their eyes of working at lower prices, but for equal quality, with the national product. After having had recourse of a few weeks ago to the customs weapon, they now seize the judicial weapon. In both cases, the arguments advanced seem very artificial, to say the least."

Statements have been issued not only from the Association of Watch Producers, and the Federal Government, but also from the Federation of Workers in Metals and Watches. There is a remarkable unanimity of views in all the statements.

STRANGE DISCOVERY

Maurice Vaucher, the president of the Association of Watch Manufacturers, representing some 550 independent firms, whose activities are strictly limited by Swiss law, asked the following question: "How can the United States continue to preach free enterprise, lowering tariffs, and so on, when it attacks the industry of a small democracy's vital industry? If the sovereign law of the United States is in conflict with that of Switzerland, it is strange that this is only now being discovered, since for the past 18 years Swiss practice has not varied, nor has it been challenged since 1936, the date of the last trade agreement with the United States."

M. Vaucher also made the point that legal action could have been avoided in the antitrust issue by negotiation out of court, in which the Swiss watch industry would have cooperated. This view is strengthened by the fact that the affair will, in any case be terminated by negotiations, and the signing of a "consent decree," embodying the new conditions for future trade exchanges.

OFFICIAL COMMENTS

Usually, the Swiss Government leaves all comment on disputed issues to its legation on the spot. This time, however, the issue was considered so important that the head of the Federal Foreign Affairs Department, Max Petitpierre, felt it called for a Government declaration.

For the moment, while Swiss legal experts are still stvdying the questions involved, he restricted himself to an interim statement, and mentioned the Government's strong views on the matter to the United States Minister in Berne, Miss Frances Wilson. The Federal Government also reserved the right to lodge a formal protest later.

[On December 22, Swiss President Rubattel told Parliament that the United States Justice Department's antitrust action against the watch industry was a violation of Swiss sovereignty and an interference in Switzerland's internal affairs, the Associated Press said.]

M. Petitpierre especially emphasized the bad effects of the latest United States move on the whole of United States-Swiss relations and hinted at the possibility of an appeal to international law.

AGREEMENTS HELD LEGAL

The central committee of the Federation of Swiss Workers in Metal and Watches also reacted strongly to the United States move. They summarized their views as follows:

1. The agreements criticized by the United States Department of Justice are quite legal in Switzerland. They have not harmed either the United States manufacturer or the consumer. On the contrary, these agreements have laid down the conditions of loyal competition, so that the quality of the product is not lowered.

2. The agreements made by common consent between Swiss manufacturers and United States importers have not resulted in high prices for the United States consumer. The proof of this is found in the fact that President Eisenhower found Swiss watch prices too low, compared with the home produced article—hence the 50 percent tariff increase.

From Government officials down to workers committees, the conclusion has been reached that whatever United States delegates may say at international trade conferences, the real attitude of the United States Government is shifting toward increased trade barriers.

[From Barron's Financial Weekly of November 1, 1954]

ECONOMIC WAR?—THE SWISS PREPARE TO FIGHT BACK AT UNITED STATES WATCH POLICY

(By John Crider)

WASHINGTON.—No enemy nation could do more to convince Uncle Sam's friends abroad that the United States does not practice what it preaches than did the White House and the Justice Department when they ganged up on the Swiss watch industry. Now the peaceful Swiss, who have fought no military wars in the century and a half since Napoleon trampled their soil, are pondering the pros and cons of economic warfare against the United States. Meanwhile, they are hoping the White House palace guard will finally awake to the global implications of the watch dispute.

Acting entirely from military considerations, the President first slightly raised the tariff on Swiss watch imports. Then, only a few months later, the Justice Department last week filed antitrust suits against the biggest importers and assemblers of Swiss watch movements. Altogether, 24 United States and Swiss concerns were sued for price fixing and restriction of markets. The purpose of the double-barreled action was solely to preserve the watchmaking skills of this country's three jeweled-watch manufacuring concerns, even though the State Department itself in past years had argued that this type of skill was amply present in the new aircraft precision instrument industries. Since that argument was made, however, the Eisenhower administration has given the three watch companies vital defense work to do. So the old argument now faces a fait accompli.

Nevertheless, the 2 United States actions, coming so closely together, left no doubt among the Swiss that the 3 United States watch companies had enlarged their influence over our Government and were intent upon crushing the Swiss watch industry which, for many years, has led the world in the manufacture and development of fine

watches. Consequently, Swiss consumers have recently been boycotting United States products, and American manufacturers have been complaining to the Swiss Legation here.

Although the Swiss Government denies having anything to do with the boycotting, there is no mistaking the fact that the American actions have created a major political, as well as economic, problem for the Swiss. This follows from the fact that 58,000 Swiss workers, 1 out of 10 in the little country's labor force, are employed in the more than 400 small factories scattered throughout the Jura Mountain district, where the watches are made. Moreover, about a third of all Swiss watch exports come to this country.

Among the many aspects of the current situation which perplex the Swiss, a practical-minded people, is the apparent failure of the United States Government to appreciate the profit derived by America from the Swiss watch trade. About two-thirds of all Swiss watch imports are in the form of movements which are assembled into watches by United States workmen. So much is added here in terms of value, moreover, that only about 15 cents out of every dollar spent for so-called Swiss watches in the United States gets back to Switzerland. Some 35,000 United States jewelers sell Swiss watches, and hundreds of our merchants are engaged in their importation and distribution.

Even more baffling to the Swiss is that Americans should expect every other government to have trade laws and habits like their own. The reason for the organization of Swiss watchmakers under their national laws happens to have been just the opposite to the reasoning behind United States antitrust laws. While the latter were addressed to the problem of undue industrial concentration, Swiss law undertook to deal with undue dispersion of industry. The watch factories were many and scattered, so that to capitalize upon this national skill there had to be an organization. And, for selfish commercial reasons, there had to be rules for foreign operations which would assure Swiss watches as much foreign-market domination as possible. It is, indeed, an industry almost wholly dependent on international trade, since about 95 percent of the output is exported.

All of this was undoubtedly known to the Eisenhower administration when it decreed that Swiss imports should be limited to around 75 percent of our market. But in so ruling for military reasons, it made our foreign friends (who seem also to have had some military value) look at United States in such terms as the following:

1. The competitive philosophy of the Sherman antitrust law has been preached by United States missions all over the world, but just let a better product at a lower price reach United States shores and the benevolent Uncle lets out a scream.

2. The United States has loaned and given billions of dollars to underdeveloped countries in the hope that they would become self-sufficient like Switzerland. But if we treat the economically exemplary and self-sufficient Swiss the way we do, what profit, these countries must be asking, is there in following the Swiss example?

3. The mere matter of relative size holds universal interest. To many foreign headline writers it must have been a temptation to write "North American Colossus Sits on Little Swiss for Competing." After all, they had been led to believe there was nothing Americans respected more than "the little guy who manages to get along."

4. The Americans apparently can't do business with countries whose industrial organization or trust laws are different from their own, but what about the United States oil companies and Iranian oil? About the time the Justice Department was winking at the domestic oil companies' joint venture with foreign interests in the Middle East, Attorney General Brownell said:

"For example, high on the priority list of problems demanding prompt solution is the entire problem of the extraterritorial application of the antitrust laws. This is a provocative subject, particularly in view of the oil case. * * * As has been well pointed out, if the rule be that American courts have jurisdiction over every action in the world that affects us, why does not every other nation have jurisdiction over our actions which affect them?"

Confused GOP Playing Dangerous Game in Decision To Cut Military Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial from the January 8 edition of the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette. This editorial reflects the questions that are being raised in the minds of people throughout the country in the wake of the proposed cut in military manpower. The proposal not only leaves this Nation wondering, but it also has elicited the raising of an eyebrow among our allies. The New York Times on January 9 stated the feeling of the British in these words:

The planned cut-down in American ground strength now and the reliance on baby atomic bombs to smash any Communist rush, if it starts, has the British worried.

It is interesting to note what Korean leaders are thinking about the announced step, and this is clearly brought out by the same edition of the Times. The excerpt is herewith included:

Authoritative sources reported that the Korean leaders were deeply concerned about the apparent tendency of the United States to reduce the number of ground troops while placing greater reliance on the Air Force and atomic power. They are said to fear that this trend of thought is about to reach Korea despite the continuous Communist buildup in the North.

The semiofficial Government newspaper Korean Republic today editorially criticized the United States policy of massive retaliation and the newly announced cutbacks in the United States Army's strength.

"This sharp reduction in divisional strength may leave the United States without the power to follow up any advantages it may gain through employment of less conventional weapons," the paper said.

Mr. Speaker, this is a matter of importance. History having taught the tragedy of meeting an enemy with too little and too late, let us hope that in the days before us we shall refuse to be stampeded into weakness, and that we shall never put dollars and cents or political expediency above national security and safety. Let us ever be prompted by the question, "Where is duty at this moment?"

The Gazette editorial follows:

CONFUSED GOP PLAYING DANGEROUS GAME IN DECISION TO CUT MILITARY MANPOWER

The announced cut in military manpower cannot but leave the Nation wondering just what is going on in the Government's program of defense.

First, comes the question of why the decision. Secretary of State Dulles, our expert on diplomacy, says that it is made possible by the improved weapons possessed by the military while the Secretary of Defense Mr. Wilson, our expert in defense, reports that it is made possible by the receding threat of war. Thus, the diplomat credits it to defense, while defense credits it to diplomacy. Could it be that neither one of them is very proud of this large scale cut in our defense potential at the present time and that both hope to disown it if it doesn't work out?

Is the administration thinking of returning to the policy of massive retaliation that seemed to have gone down the drain along with Dien Bien Phu, Hanoi, and the rest of northern Indochina in that memorable fiasco in the Orient? Surely that has been tried too often and failed too often for the administration to attempt a return to it now. Or is this a desperate and reckless attempt to balance the budget?

Obviously Gen. Matthew Ridgway has failed to convince the powers that be that war cannot be an "immaculate war" but must be a war fought out by men in the mud. General Ridgway tried hard and may have convinced some folks, but not those who do the top planning about this Nation's defense.

Result, the Army is to be sacrificed. It doesn't seem possible that to obtain this a reduction will be made in our overseas forces because if it is done, there it would spell appeasement to both friend and foe. It must be that the cut is to be made in the continental United States and carried out among the half strength divisions, the paper divisions, and the divisions whose units are scattered from Alaska to Puerto Rico and which constitute our only reserve or pretense of a reserve.

It is to be hoped that General Ridgway made an impression on the gentlemen in Congress and that when this new proposal to reduce the defenses of the country come before them they will take a long look at it before deciding to risk this country's safety on some new concept of defense. They must remember the Nation can and will pay for the defense it needs.

Federal Regulation of Production and Gathering of Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to comment concerning the fine address presented yesterday in the House by my colleague from Texas

[Mr. IKARD], who speaks with authority and accuracy in outlining the danger we are facing today in gas production. I join him in deep concern and recognize the need for legislation correcting the present interpretation of the Natural Gas Act. I wish to commend him for his presentation of the facts and his making clear the need for legislative action. I hope to join my colleague from Texas, as well as others, in this effort.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

Proposed Trade Agreement Negotiations With Japan and Other Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers:

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COTTON MANUFACTURERS BEFORE THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION IN THE MATTER OF INVESTIGATION NO. 2 AND PUBLIC HEARING IN CONNECTION WITH PROPOSED TRADE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES

This statement is filed pursuant to the United States Tariff Commission's public notice, issued November 13, 1954, of investigation No. 2 and public hearing under section 3 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended, and section 332 of the Tariff Act of 1930, in connection with proposed trade agreement negotiations with Japan and other countries.

Included in the President's list of articles imported into the United States proposed for consideration in trade agreement negotiations with Japan and other countries there are:

Schedule 9: [1] Cotton manufactures.
Schedule 11: [1] Wool and manufactures of.
Schedule 12: [1] Silk manufactures.
Schedule 13: [1] Manufactures of rayon or other synthetic textiles.

Because of the complexity of the textile industry and the competitive interrelationship among various fibers and fabrics, the position taken by the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers is applicable to all textile items included under the schedules listed above.

The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, founded in 1854, represents northern cotton and manmade fiber textile mills, located predominantly in New England. Cotton mills in this group generally manufacture fine combed cotton fabrics others produce carded goods, manmade fiber textiles, and silk textiles. New England mills also produce velveteens, blankets, bedspreads, towels, sheets, and pillow cases, yarn for gloves, and cloth for wearing apparel as well as miscellaneous other uses.

POSITION

The New England mills are opposed to any reduction in the present tariff rates on the items of textile manufactures specified on page 1 of this statement. The association also endorses the request of the domestic velveteen manufacturers for an increase in the duties on velveteens. Our mills are opposed to the invasion of the American market by Japanese or other imported cotton textiles. Present duties may not be high enough to prevent such an occurrence, but a further lowering of duties to permit entry of more textiles from Japan and other nations would result in the displacement of American fabrics, unemployment, and heavy losses to investors and to those dependent upon the industry as a source of income.

TRENDS OF DOMESTIC PRODUCTION AND SALES

1. Present conditions

The American market for cotton textiles is and has been in a depressed condition. Examination of the industry's economic indicators shows only too well the difficult conditions which have been experienced by the entire United States textile industry and which have been even more marked in New England.

Cotton consumption has shown the following declines:

	United States	New England	South
	Average per working day in actual number of bales		
1951—January	42,746	3,341	38,705
1953—September	36,022	2,180	33,523
1954—September	33,278	1,709	31,336
	Percent changes		
September 1954 from—			
1951—January	−22.2	−48.9	−19.0
1953—September	−7.6	−21.6	−6.5

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

Spindle activity of mills consuming 100 percent cotton fiber has dropped as follows:

	United States	New England	South
	Average hours per working day in millions		
1951—January	508.5	71.9	430.8
1953—September	463.7	51.0	410.9
1954—September	426.7	37.9	387.7
	Percent changes		
September 1954 from—			
1951—January	−16.1	−47.3	−10.0
1953—September	−8.0	−25.7	−5.6

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

Production of both cotton and manmade fiberbroad woven goods has declined significantly during the first half of this year as shown below:

	Cotton broad woven goods (all, except tire fabrics)	Fine cotton goods	Synthetic fabrics
	Millions of linear yards		
1951—1st quarter	2,835	350	705
1953—1st quarter	2,611	331	626
2d quarter	2,606	325	629
3d quarter	2,414	311	585
4th quarter	2,540	333	566
1954—1st quarter	2,480	321	537
2d quarter	2,451	311	526
	Percent changes		
2d quarter 1954 from—			
1951—1st quarter	−13.6	−11.2	−25.4
1953—2d quarter	−6.0	−4.3	−16.4
1954—1stquarter	−1.0	−3.1	−2.0

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, "Facts For Industry."

Manufacturers' sales of broad woven fabrics (cotton, manmade fiber and wool) have dropped considerably as shown in the following table:

All United States

	Sales	Inventories
	Seasonally adjusted in millions of dollars	
1951—January	757	1,706
1953—August	550	1,491
1954—January	489	1,385
February	503	1,399
March	508	1,396
April	531	1,376
May	576	1,374
June	516	1,396
July	526	1,354
August	526	1,355
	Percent changes	
August 1954 from—		
1951—January	−30.5	−20.6
1953—August	−4.4	−9.1

Source: Office of Business Economics, U. S. Department of Commerce, "Industry Survey, Manufacturers' Sales and Inventories."

Mill margins, the difference between cloth prices and prices for the average qualities of cotton used in the manufacture of the cloth, have been declining steadily for the past 2 years, and are now 9 percent below a year ago and 46 percent below January 1951. The following table shows that the drop in mill margins was caused by the combination of a decline in cloth prices and an increase in the cost of raw cotton to the manufacturer.

Indexes of cloth prices, cotton prices, and mill margins, 1953 and 1954

[January 1951 equals 100]

	Cloth prices		Cotton prices		Mill margins	
	1953	1954	1953	1954	1953	1954
January	72.5	67.2	76.8	78.7	69.2	57.5
February	72.5	66.6	77.9	80.7	68.3	54.7
March	71.4	66.3	78.8	80.8	65.5	54.0
April	70.6	66.0	78.1	80.3	64.4	53.8
May	70.8	65.8	78.8	80.9	64.4	52.9
June	71.7	65.8	78.8	80.4	66.1	53.4
July	71.7	66.1	79.4	81.1	65.6	53.3
August	71.7	66.1	78.5	81.1	66.4	53.4
September	71.1	66.2	77.6	82.4	65.9	52.3
October	69.5	66.5	77.2	81.7	63.3	53.6

Footnotes at end of table.

[1] As shown in Tariff Act of 1930, title I, dutiable list.

Indexes of cloth prices, cotton prices, and mill margins, 1953 and 1954—Continued

[January 1951 equals 100]

	Cloth prices		Cotton prices		Mill margins	
	1953	1954	1953	1954	1953	1954
November	67.8	66.2	77.8	80.5	59.6	54.0
December	67.2	------	77.6	------	58.6	------

NOTE.—Indexes based on following prices: Average cloth price of 17 constructions, and average price for the average qualities of cotton used in the 17 constructions as reported by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Source: Agricultural Marketing Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Cotton Price Statistics.

Of additional importance in evaluating the conditions of the industry is the decline which has taken place in the per capita consumption of textiles in the United States since 1950, as shown below:

Per capita consumption

[In pounds]

Year	Total	Man-made	Wool	Cotton
1950	40.3	9.1	4.4	26.8
1954	32.0	7.5	2.6	21.9
Percent decline	20.6	17.6	40.9	18.3

Source: Textile Organon, vol. XXV, No. 9, September 1954.

2. Measures of injury

In order to measure the extent of the damage which has already been done to the cotton and manmade fiber textile industry as the result of depressed conditions and as an indication of the even more serious damage which would result from a lowering of textile tariffs, it is necessary to examine the losses to employees, communities, and investors. One of the chief characteristics of the industry is the fact that it is composed of thousands of small- and medium-sized establishments with heavy employment concentrations in local areas. This characteristic magnifies the severity of losses to this industry.

The textile industry's present condition has resulted in a decline in employment of 268,000 jobs and in the cotton and manmade fiber textile industry of over 60,000 jobs since January 1951. In New England alone employment has fallen by 48 percent since 1951, and by 26.7 percent since September a year ago, in the cotton and manmade fiber textile mills.

Employment—Textile mill products

	United States	New England	South [1]
	In thousands		
1951—January	1,348	280	574
1953—September	1,196	217	553
1954—September	1,080	173	533
	Percent changes		
September 1954 from:			
1951—January	−19.9	−38.2	−7.2
1953—September	−9.7	−20.3	−3.6

[1] Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor for United States and New England data; State departments of labor for southern data.

Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fabrics)

	New England [1]	South [2]
1951—January	74,515	322,300
1953—September	52,674	312,100
1954—September	38,600	297,600
	Percent change	
September 1955 from:		
1951—January	−48.2	−7.7
1953—September	−26.7	−4.6

[1] Sample of New England mills reporting to the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and does not represent total New England employment.

[2] Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.

Source: State departments of labor for southern data and the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers for New England data.

The textile industry is currently capable of not only supplying the full domestic demand and maintaining exports, but of increasing its output within a few months by an additional 15 percent as it did under the stimulus of the Korean war in 1950.

Unlike a growing industry which might be able to share its growth with others, the cotton and synthetic textile industry of the United States has no growing market to partition. It would be forced to give up a market which is not big enough for its present capacity. This condition is due in large measure to the expansion of capacity and output which took place to meet war and immediate postwar needs.

(a) Unemployment: A substitution of foreign for American cloth would increase current unemployment to an extent which no agency of the Government should recommend or sanction. The decline in employment in New England cotton and synthetic textile mills since January 1951, over one-half of which has occurred since September 1953, has left a serious unemployment problem. In addition, many mills are operating and have been operating on a short-time basis of 3 or 4 days a week with temporary shutdowns of a week or more at a time.

The impact and extent of unemployment in textiles is severe because the industry is composed of a large number of small- and medium-sized establishments employing over 350,000 workers with heavy employment concentrations in local areas. The average number of employees in textile mills in the United States is low in all regions and all branches of the industry.

Employees per establishment

	United States	New England	Mid-Atlantic	South
1. Cotton and related broad woven fabrics	401	469	81	688
2. Yarn and thread mills except wool	188	212	74	250
3. Rayon and related broad woven	193	257	73	615
4. Woolen and worsted manufactures	217	249	173	305

Source: Report of the committee appointed by the New England Governors, 1952.

The textile industry, in addition to being one of the largest employers of American labor, is characterized by the fact that mills employ a relatively high proportion of the workers in the labor-market areas where they are located. Hundreds of mills are situated in small towns where they provide either the sole or principal source of income to their community. Other mills are located in textile centers such as Fall River and Lowell, Mass., where they represent a large proportion of the total manufacturing employment in the area.

In New England 1 out of 6 manufacturing jobs is in textiles; in Massachusetts, 1 out of 7; and in Rhode Island 30 percent of all manufacturing employees are employed in textile manufacturing. (See tables I and II attached, for the relative importance of the textile industry in our national and regional economy.)

The following table shows the concentration of cotton and synthetic-textile employment in typical New England textile communities:

Textile employment [1] as a percent of manufacturing employment

	Percent
Massachusetts:	
Adams	81.5
North Adams	23.2
Fall River	40.8
Holyoke	14.2
Lowell	37.1
New Bedford	25.9
Connecticut:	
Baltic	40.2
Stonington	26.8
Maine:	
Lewiston	42.9
Sanford	50.0
Biddeford-Saco	38.3
New Hampshire: Manchester	34.0
Rhode Island:	
Albion and Lonsdale	86.4
Anthony	99.0
Ashton	83.6
Warren	38.0
Warwick	31.5

[1] Predominantly cotton and synthetic textiles.

As the industry is made up of many independent units and is the principal source of employment in communities, unemployment causes unusual hardships. Textile workers displaced by foreign or domestic competition either remain unemployed or are forced to take lower paying jobs. Experience has proven that so-called growth industries do not absorb such workers. A study of 1,705 displaced New England textile workers recently completed by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University shows that less than half the workers were reemployed, and of this number two-thirds were earning less pay. Other textile mills provided the chief source of reemployment, a situation which makes the problem more acute if textile closings were to become widespread. The study concludes that "workers displaced * * * are not being absorbed in large numbers by the industries which have been expanding in this area."

(b) Loss to communities and areas: An area or community stranded by the loss of one of its principal industries does not attract other industries. In New England the textile-mill industry is still the largest manufacturing employer with 173,000 jobs. In each of the States in the area it is an important factor. The cotton and synthetic mills in the area annually provide a payroll in excess of $200 million a year, produce goods valued at $590 million, pay taxes of many millions, purchase supplies in the amount of $24.4 million per year in their own communities and $48.9 million in New England. In addition, New England cotton and rayon mills spent $185 million in modernizing plant and equipment between 1946 and 1953.

The impact of increased unemployment in this region would be increased sixfold in other areas of the country where the industry is larger and even more concentrated. It is no exaggeration to say that one textile job lost and not replaced means a loss to the community of twice the textile wages cut off." (Report of the committee appointed by the Conference of New England Governors.)

Many other New England industries, such as trucking, railroads, textile machinery, utilities, and the innumerable suppliers of goods and services, are dependent upon the well-being of the New England cotton and man-made textile industry for their health. Each year the New England mills support the region's railroads to the extent of nearly $2 million, and buy over one-half million bales of cotton.

(c) Loss to investors: Investment of over $3.2 billion in textile mills would be jeopardized by a lowering of textile tariffs. Investment in New England is estimated at $1.5 billion and replacement at $2.7 billion. The opening of our home market for textiles to the competition of low-cost Japanese mills would subject this investment to serious losses because textile-mill properties and equipment could not be profitably liquidated under such circumstances.

Cotton-textile concerns cannot long operate at a loss. Low-priced foreign goods even though not imported initially in large quantities nevertheless so curtail sales and depress prices that operations soon become unprofitable. In such a situation textile-mill managements have little choice but to cease operations altogether. This situation aggravates the losses out of proportion to the actual volume of imports and in turn creates a situation favorable to more imports.

(d) Unemployment losses will progress rapidly: Because of the nature of the industry overall and of the fine-combed goods industry in particular (50 percent of which is located in New England), the substitution of imported fabrics for our own will accelerate at a rapid pace. The industry is noted for the severity of its price competition. It is estimated that over 90 percent of American production of cloth is in staple items. Industries of other countries can and do produce these staple goods and will compete on a price basis with United States fabrics. Differences in cost of production and resulting level of prices which a producer can offer control the volume of his sales.

COMPETITIVE STRENGTH OF JAPANESE COTTON TEXTILES AND IMPORTS BY THE UNITED STATES

1. Competitive strength

The competitive characteristics of the cotton textile industry are basically the same throughout the world. Japan has access to the same raw materials, machinery, and techniques which are available to the American industry and has had years of textile experience.

According to the Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute of Tokyo, in its Survey of Economic Conditions in Japan, September 1954, "The Japanese cotton industry • • • is again competitive in overseas markets through the modernization of equipment and the process of rationalization. The reduction in costs through the use of raw cotton imported with low-interest American credit is also noteworthy." In the fine goods field, which uses Egyptian cotton, American manufacturers have to contend with a quota and duty on imported Egyptian cotton.

It is estimated that over 90 percent of American production of cloth is in staple items. The Japanese cotton textile industry can and does produce these staple goods and compete on a price basis with United States fabrics. Differences in cost of production and resulting level of prices which a producer can offer control the volume of his sales.

The cotton textile industry is a labor oriented industry in that it has a relatively high percentage of labor costs to other costs. This is particularly true of the fine combed cotton industry in which New England mills specialize.

(a) Wages: Wages and other forms of compensation are the most important factor in measuring the cost of producing fine combed cotton goods. In such goods, it is estimated that labor equals 43 percent, raw materials equals 40 percent, all others equals 17 percent.

A comparison of our wages with those of other major textile producing countries emphasizes the rapidity with which the American industry would be undermined by these enormous differentials.

Textile industry wage data—United States and principal textile-producing countries

Country	Gross hourly earnings [1]	Percent United States exceeds	Percent Northern States exceed
France	$0.393	226	259
Great Britain	.454	182	210
Germany (West)	.305	320	362
India	.094	1,262	1,400
Italy	.240	433	488
Japan	.119	976	1,085
Switzerland	.495	158	185
All United States [2]	1.28	----------	----------
Northern States [2]	1.41	----------	----------

[1] Data for foreign countries as of most recent months available in 1954 (some for 1953) except India where latest available data are for 1949.
[2] United States and northern earnings for July 1954.

Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, and Daily News Record of Oct. 5, 1954.

(b) Productivity and capacity: Productivity in Japan has been increasing steadily since the end of World War II and the index prepared by the Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute of Tokyo in its survey of economic conditions in Japan shows the following:

April 1950 equals 100.
June 1954 equals 224.5.

This index shows that productivity in Japan has increased by almost 125 percent since early in 1950.

Further affirmation of marked gains in productivity is found in the quantity of new machinery installed in Japanese mills and by the fact that the present rate of production in Japan is almost equal to prewar production, but with only two-thirds of the number of spindles in operation prior to the war.

The testimony, statement, and exhibits presented by Mr. N. M. Mitchell and Mr. Gilbert Van Blarcom, expert textile engineers, demonstrate the relatively high level of Japanese machine efficiencies and work assignments and further show that the large wage differentials between United States and Japanese mills far outweigh differences in productivity.

Since the bulk of Japan's old textile equipment and machinery was destroyed during World War II, relatively all of the current machinery is new and modern.

Operable machinery and production of fabrics, Japan's cotton textile industry

	Spindles [1]	Production (thousands of square yards)
1937	11,889,256	[2] 3,297,000
1947	2,899,306	[3] 337,872
1948	3,376,372	920,634
1949	3,700,964	981,683
1950	4,341,196	1,517,859
1951	6,366,501	2,077,931
1952	7,451,957	2,158,000
1953	7,663,487	2,709,197
1954	7,879,910	[4] 3,187,050

[1] As of December in each year except as of August in 1954.
[2] For 1938.
[3] Cotton spinners only, data from Independent Weavers not available.
[4] Estimated on basis of rate of production during January-June, 1954.

Sources: (1) Quarterly Review of Japanese Cotton Textile Industry (August 1952 and May 1954), Statistics of Japanese Cotton Textile Industry (September 1954) published by All Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, Osaka, Japan; (2) Industrial and Financial Statistics (June 1954) published by the Industrial Bank of Japan, Ltd.

The rate of increase in production during the past few years has been tremendously rapid, as shown in the preceding table. By 1952 production had increased 42 percent over 1950, and was equal to 65 percent of prewar production; by 1954, production reached 110 percent above that of 1950, and about equals prewar production. There is no indication that Japan's rapid expansion is going to halt.

2. Imports of Japanese cotton textiles

The experience of the American cotton textile industry with Japanese imports during the years 1934 through 1937 indicates quite clearly the ability of the Japanese textile industry to flood our country with imports as a result of the lowering of tariffs on such goods. The quantity of imports jumped from 1.1 million in 1933 to 77 million yards in 1936, and reached a high of 106 million yards in 1937.

United States imports of cotton textile fabrics from Japan, 1931–38

(Thousands of square yards)

1931	782
1932	792
1933	1,100
1934	7,286
1935	36,441
1936	77,015
1937	106,214
1938	33,533

Source: Textile Division, U. S. Tariff Commission.

Even under our present tariff rates, the quantity of imports of cotton textiles from Japan has been increasing with alarming rapidity during 1954. Imports of certain cotton fabrics during a 16-week period from the week ending September 1 through December 15, 1954, of approximately 28.7 million square yards exceeded total imports during the first 8 months of 1954 by 33 percent, and were only 1.9 million yards or 6 percent lower than total imports during the entire year of 1953.

United States imports of cotton textile fabrics from Japan, 1952–54

(Thousands of square yards)

1952	1,772
1953	30,665
1954	[1] 50,265
January–August	21,564
September 1 [2]	28,701

[1] 11½ months.
[2] Week ending September 1.

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, and Weekly Import Bulletin of the Journal of Commerce.

Many of the items which have been imported from Japan during the 16-week period cited above are combed goods of high quality which are being brought into this country at prices lower, duty paid, than those of American mills. Broadcloth, ginghams, and lenos are among such fabrics now being sold in New York. Between the week ending September 1 and December 15 of this year, a portion of the 28.7 million yards of cloth imported from Japan was made up of the following items which are directly competitive with the products of New England mills.

Imports from Japan

(Thousands of square yards [1])

Gray broadcloth	5,487
Gray shirting	3,538
Gray poplin	1,917
Handkerchief cloth	304
Gingham	994
Combed gingham	662
Velveteens	2,647

[1] Reported in bales and cases and were converted to yards by following factors: 1 bale equals 1,400 yards and 1 case equals 1,200 yards.

Source: Weekly Import Bulletin of the Journal of Commerce.

(For recent imports of additional fabrics, see table III attached.)

New England mills, which produce the higher grade cloths, are even more vulnerable to further reduction of duties because "On fine cotton cloths made of combed yarns, particularly those cloths made of imported long-staple cotton, the degree of protection is much less" than on other fabrics. (U. S. Tariff Commission Summaries of Tariff Information, vol. 9, p. 41.) Duties on higher grade cloths were reduced in 1939 with Great Britain, and confirmed and reduced further at Geneva and Annecy. These new rates are now being subjected to the test of competition for the first time, and the rate at which Japanese goods have been entering this country during the past few months tends to indicate that the rates are too low to offset the low-wage costs of Japan.

Although we have so far been unable to secure accurate information on the extent of Japanese production and capacity in combed and higher count goods, it is certain that she is now producing such goods, that her spindles spinning Egyptian cotton have increased 54 percent between January 1953 and January 1954 (United States declined 17 percent), and that at the beginning of this year Japan had almost one-half million spindles spinning Egyptian cotton. The Kureha Textile Review, published in Tokyo stated in 1953 that "We must endeavor to manufacture cotton goods of higher process as well as cotton of finer qualities together with devicing to make novel cotton textiles blended with other manmade fibers domestically produced."

Japan's production of carded and combed yarns, 1949–54

	Carded	Combed
	Metric tons	
Monthly averages:		
1949	12,570	504
1950	18,922	627
1951	26,009	834
1952	27,569	729
1953	31,351	1,207
Monthly totals:		
1954—January	33,724	1,456
February	36,212	1,695
March	34,855	1,643
	Percent	
Percent increase:		
March 1954 from—		
1949	177.3	226.0
1953	11.2	36.1

Source: Economic Counsel Board, Japanese Government.

CONCLUSION

It is our belief that a reduction of tariffs would stimulate an ever-increasing acceleration of Japanese imports. Our reasons for this are based not only on the character of the industry and the depressed conditions in the United States but also on the experience of the New England mills with the shift of the industry from that region to the Southeast.

"The major explanation of the New England decline in textiles is the large differential between wage costs" in that area and other parts of the United States. "In highly competitive markets an addition of a few cents a yard in the cost of producing cloth in any one area eventually means loss of sales and brings on operating deficits and resultant loss of employment." "Industries in which labor costs are an important part of total costs will gravitate where wages are low and labor productivity high. Labor costs are the most important costs in the textile industry other than raw-materials costs, the latter relatively not subject to revision, and the differentials in the cost of labor more than any other factor account for the threat to the New England textile industry."

The significance of the enormous wage differentials between our American cotton textile industry and that of Japan and other textile exporting countries is emphasized by the fact that our own industry shifted in response to wage differentials of much smaller amounts. Compare wage and compensation differentials within the country, which have varied from 20 to 30 percent, with foreign differentials of 200 to 1,200 percent. This loss happened to the largest employer in an industrially mature and competent region (New England) simply because wages were significantly higher than those in an area which was predominantly agricultural.

With differentials of 20 to 30 percent, the loss of New England textiles has been so great as to cause chronic unemployment in the area and a continued legacy of hardship to workers, communities, and stockholders. A flow of Japanese or other foreign textiles into this country would bring about an even more rapid liquidation of the American cotton textile industry than that which has occurred in New England.

A policy of encouraging Japanese imports would be a policy of encouraging production in low-wage areas. Government encouragement of low wages will retard improvement in technology and productivity and will foster low standards of living. A worldwide competitive struggle based on lower wages and lower standards of living in textile industries will only damage the United States and the free world.

The New England Governors have stated: "In view of the concentration of the industry in this country, in view of the overcapacity and frequent depression periods in the industry, and in view of the peculiar problems of New England, we urge the Government to concentrate tariff concessions on other products and, above all, to withhold trade concessions in this industry when unemployment prevails."

Respectfully submitted.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COTTON MANUFACTURERS,
WILLIAM F. SULLIVAN,
President.

TABLE I.—*Position of textile industry in national industrial structure, 1952* [1]

	Value added	Employment	Payroll
	Thousands of dollars		*Thousands of dollars*
All industries	108,477,364	15,944,379	60,659,211.
Nondurable goods	46,090,911	6,640,378	22,940,439.
Textile-mills products	5,256,507	1,134,680	3,342,647.
Cotton and synthetic textile mills	1,712,354	420,372	1,146,953.
Percent of all industries represented by textile-mill products	5	7	5.
Percent of nondurable goods represented by textile-mill products	12	17	15.
Percent of textile mill products represented by cotton and synthetic textile mills	33	37	34.
Rank of textile mill products in all industries	9th	6th	6th.
Rank of textile mill products in nondurable goods	4th	3d	2d.
Rank of cotton and synthetic textile mills in textile mill products	1st	1st	1st.

[1] Most recent year for which data are available.

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1952 Annual Survey of Manufactures.

TABLE II.—*Position of textile industry in New England's industrial structure, 1952* [1]

	Value added	Employment	Payroll
	Thousands of dollars		*Thousands of dollars*
All industries	8,988,857	1,497,026	5,372,606.
Nondurable goods	3,690,652	676,825	2,219,722.
Textile mill products	1,153,935	222,142	750,048.
Cotton and synthetic textile mills	295,560	70,000	200,340.
Percent of all industries represented by textile mill products	13	15	14.
Percent of nondurable goods represented by textile mill products	31	33	34.
Percent of textile mill products represented by cotton and synthetic textile mills	26	32	27.
Rank of textile mill products in all industries	2d	1st	2d.
Rank of textile mill products in nondurable goods	1st	1st	1st.

[1] Most recent year for which data are available.

NOTE.—Rank of cotton and synthetic textile mills not shown due to lack of data for other elements in textile industry.

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1952 Annual Survey of Manufactures, except that data for cotton and synthetic textile mills were estimated by the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers.

TABLE III.—*United States imports of cotton textiles and products from Japan—week ending Sept. 1, through Dec. 15, 1954 (16-week period)*

COTTON TEXTILES

[Thousands of square yards [1]]

Grey broadcloth	5,487
Grey print cloth	2,825
Grey shirting	3,538
Grey leno shirting	344
Grey poplin	1,917

TABLE III.—*United States imports of cotton textiles and products from Japan—week ending Sept. 1, through Dec. 15, 1954 (16-week period)*—Continued

COTTON TEXTILES—continued

Grey sheeting	200
Cotton piece goods (unspecified)	4,013
Ginghams	994
Combed ginghams	662
India prints	85
Piece goods (waterproofed)	107

TABLE III.—*United States imports of cotton textiles and products from Japan—week ending Sept. 1, through Dec. 15, 1954 (16-week period)*—Continued

COTTON TEXTILES—continued

Cotton velveteens:	
Grey	655
Dyed-waterproofed	1,992
Corduroy	13
Seersucker-poplins	66
Handkerchief cloth	304
Printed percale	140
Printed sheeting	270
Textiles unclassified	4,999
Total	28,701

[1] Reported in bales and cases. Converted into square yards by applying factors of 1,400 yards per bale and 1,.00 yards per case.

COTTON TEXTILE PRODUCTS [2]

	Bales	Cases	Cartons
Drawnwork		17	
Stenciled piece goods		58	
Handkerchiefs	292	283	
Dish towels	1,061	102	
Pillow cases	167	188	
Lena shirts		98	
Facecloth	20		
T-shirts	7	116	
Cotton-rayon bedspreads	189		
Cotton-rayon damask table cloth	192	3,592	60
Gingham shirts and blouses		679	154
Broadcloth blouses		116	125
Printed flannel shirts			1,401
Corduroy shirts		405	
Gingham blouses			72

[2] Conversion factors, to secure yardage, not available.

Source: Weekly Import Bulletin of the Journal of Commerce.

Luzerne County, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in Business Week of January 8, 1955:

Luzerne County, Pa., is typical only of a very small section of the United States. Other areas with which it may be compared are likely to be, as Luzerne is, richly endowed with coal deposits. Yet even so, because Luzerne's hills are seamed with anthracite, its hardships are extreme. The depression that has afflicted the coal industry generally since 1948 has had a longer history and taken a sharper bite in anthracite.

Thus the anthracite towns have had bitter and protracted experience with unemployment. Its impact on the communities—social, economic, and political—has been profound. And just as important, though less well known, has been its impact on traditional folkways and patterns of family life. What has happened in a Luzerne County town such as Plymouth, scene of these pictures, suggests what might occur in places elsewhere that have to adjust to large-scale male unemployment as the long-term prevailing norm.

One of the most striking developments in Plymouth has been the reversal of male and female roles. Many wives of unemployed miners have found jobs in the needle shops that have migrated from New York.

Like many another miner's wife and mother, Marian Narcum is now her family's only breadwinner. Her husband, Walter, has had to take over her home responsibilities. The pictures on these and the following pages tell their story. (Pictures are omitted.)

The pictures on these pages show what can happen to a man, his family, and his community when the industry in which they have built their lives gets into trouble.

Coal ran into trouble after World War II—trouble largely in the form of competition from oil and gas. Today, coal towns in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, and Kentucky are struggling with unemployment. Hit hardest is the anthracite area in northeast Pennsylvania, centering around Scranton and Wilkes-Barre. Higher production costs of anthracite have made the bite even deeper in this area than in the bituminous regions.

Hard-coal mines have been shutting down steadily since the end of World War II. Anthracite production has slipped from a high of 62.1 million tons in 1944 to 43 million tons in 1950, 29.7 million tons in 1953. Estimated production for 1954 is between 20 million and 22 million tons.

And the bottom has not yet been reached. Francis O. Case, president of Glen Alden Coal Co., estimates the industry will stabilize at between 15 million and 17 million tons.

COURTING INDUSTRY

There is hope in sight, however. Efforts are being made to soften the economic impact on the hard-coal counties of Lackawanna, Luzerne, Schuylkill, Carbon, and Northumberland. These counties all have heavy unemployment—running to 15 percent of the total labor force.

The problem is that these counties have little industry to sop up the surplus male labor. The lack of industrial opportunity for men in the area is laid at the door of the coal companies—many of which, until recent years, opposed bringing in industries that would compete for manpower.

Now, industry is being courted. So far, however, that hasn't provided jobs for the 16,800 unemployed men in, for instance, Luzerne County.

THE WIVES

Job opportunities for women in the area have softened the unemployment blow and can be credited with preventing a repeat of 1939, when the relief load in the county was $1 million a week. Today the relief load in Luzerne is running at a rate of $458,000 a month. One big difference is that when the husband loses his job in the mines, his wife is often able to find work in an apparel or textile plant. Such is the case with Walter Narcum and his wife.

This is possible because of the fact that while industry using male workers was being discouraged, plants using primarily female labor were attracted into the area. Lackawanna County has 136 apparel plants, employing 9,750—roughly 90 percent women. In Luzerne, 14,100 women work in over 100 apparel plants, 3,200 in textiles.

ROLES

With the wife the breadwinner, what happens to the unemployed husband?

In countless instances he has had to take over the woman's role in the home, as Walter Narcum has.

It's a role the man—heavy on Old World traits and used to being the boss—doesn't particularly like. But there is little he can do about it.

If he has worked in the mines for as long as 20 years, his chances of getting satisfactory employment are almost nil. The available industrial work goes to younger men.

If the unemployed man has silicosis (miner's asthma)—and most miners do have it in varying stages—he is a marked man, and no other industry will touch him. But he can't collect disability unless he is flat on his back. So few miners—even with third-degree silicosis—collect disability while they are alive.

LIFE

What's left for the unemployed miner?

He keeps paying his union dues into the United Mine Workers—$1 a month if unemployed—in hopes of collecting pension benefits at age 60. But the hard-coal miners are getting disillusioned about their pensions—originally $100 a month, but now cut to $50.

He registers at his local United States Employment Service office for work. Wilkes-Barre last month had 17,826 people hunting jobs. He can collect unemployment compensation for roughly 6 months. Then his only hope for income is odd jobs. So the miner with a wife or daughter who can get a dress-factory job at forty-odd dollars a week considers himself lucky.

TENSIONS

What's the sociological impact of this reversal of roles?

Raymond Bartow, director of the Luzerne County public assistance program, says it magnifies discord, creates tensions, and is breeding a second generation of public reliefers.

Mrs. Min Matheson, manager of the two International Ladies Garment Workers Union locals in Luzerne, says it is too early to measure the long-term consequences. But one consequence is already apparent, she says: "It's demoralizing to the man, leads to more drinking."

It's rough on the children, too. They are confused by the reversed roles of their parents, begin to wonder who is the "daddy" of the family. The reversal breeds delinquency; the father often doesn't keep the children in line so well as the mother. And it puts a brake on family growth.

The woman has become more and more independent. She is becoming the dominant force in the home. And she is playing a bigger role in community affairs. But it is an independence she doesn't relish.

"It's one thing to have an independent income if your husband is working," said an ILGWU chairlady (equivalent of a shop steward), but it is no fun being the breadwinner."

REMEDIES

Many coal communities are doing their best to reverse this trend. One town, Wilkes-Barre, has launched what it calls operation jobs. It is spearheaded by a civic-minded committee of 100, which concerns itself with trying to attract industry to the area.

Its biggest lure is Crestwood Industrial Park, a 1,500-acre site located 8 miles from the heart of Wilkes-Barre.

Two companies have located in Crestwood since 1952: Foster Wheeler Corp., employing 350 men; and King Fifth Wheel Co., construction for which began last spring, and which will employ 150. Some 1,200 acres of industrial sites are left.

A half dozen more nationally known firms have moved into other locations in the Wilkes-Barre area since 1952, bringing new jobs to around 4,000.

In Scranton, U. S. Hoffman Machinery Corp. began making shell cases for the military in September. It employs 800 now, hopes to reach 1,500 eventually. Also new in the Scranton area: Daystrom Instrument Co., specializing in gunfire control equipment for the Navy, employing 1,000; W. L. Maxson Corp., making calibrating machinery for the military, employing 1,000.

KING

But even with diversified industry, coal still is king in the area. It provides 40 percent of payroll in Luzerne County. There can be no real comeback until anthracite gets up off the floor.

Mining Usage of Public Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert therein two editorials from the Bakersfield Californian, a newspaper published in my district and possessed of a very learned editorial writer. These writings deal very competently with the subject of mining usage of public lands and the confusion existing in the present law with respect thereto.

I also wish to insert an article appearing in the same paper which was written by the kindly lady who is the president of the company which publishes the Californian. This article deals with the subject, I Am An American in a most inspirational manner.

The matters follow:

[From the Bakersfield Californian of December 27, 1954]

MORE ON MINING LAND PROBLEM

Conflict of interests on public lands is not new, but there is a greater awareness in the Nation concerning the need for more equitable laws or revision of the present laws to govern the proper use of the land, and to enable those who are charged by statute with the administration of these lands to accomplish their mission with more enlightened guidance and authority.

In Kern County, this problem is being encountered with greater frequency now that the rush for uranium has opened the way for the filing of thousands of mining claims that have sequestered a large amount of the land that had formerly been used for grazing and recreation and other purposes.

At a recent meeting, Forest Service officials reminded sportsmen and others who had raised some question regarding the claims and the possibility of interference with other users that the mining laws, while antiquated, are still in force and, until they are changed, the multiple use of the forests will continue to be hampered by unscrupulous employment of these laws in many cases to obtain land.

Throughout the country this situation has attracted considerable attention and one or two bills introduced in Congress to correct it, but so far this legislation has not made any progress, although the corrections are designed to protect the public interest and the legitimate miners.

The Forest Service has repeatedly pointed out that it can investigate only a fraction of the claims filed, and take action only on a few, since it does not have the manpower or the money available to do this. Therefore, choice homesites, cabin and retaurant and service station and other locations are established under the guise of mining claims, and the public loses. The multiple use theory of forest management is rendered impotent in the face of this condition.

An example of this trouble was cited recently by the San Francisco Chronicle, involving 40 acres of national forest land close to Lake Tahoe, which was claimed as a sand and gravel mine.

The Wildlife Management Institute comments on the case as follows:

"In successfully contesting this patent application, the United States Forest Service asserted that the land is far more valuable as a public recreation area than it would be as a mine. Despite the claimholder's statement that the mine was a paying proposition, a construction agent who leases a portion said that he "would go broke" if he had to depend on the operation for his sole income. Forest Service experts testified also that the sand obtained from the mine was substandard for construction and was of slight commercial value.

"Once a claim is staked, and after the claimant performs a minimal amount of development and proving work, application can be made to bring the land to patent. Once a claim is patented, the land surface and its products as well as the mineral beneath it are owned outright. The timber can be cut and sold and the land used for homesites or any other purpose.

"Had this patent application been approved, the claimants, for an outlay of $110, would have gained title to land worth from $8,000 to $9,000 bearing $3,500 worth of timber and Christmas trees."

These and other instances should compel attention to the need for corrective legislation in the Nation's mining statutes. The forthcoming session of Congress should prove to be an excellent opportunity to accomplish something in this direction.

[From the Bakersfield Californian of December 20, 1954]

PROTESTS MAY BECOME LOUDER

At a meeting conducted at Isabella recently, Federal officials heard complaints registered by hunters and fishermen and others that the great influx of persons interested in mining has created a problem due to the disappearance of land available for recreational purposes. This complaint is likely to become fairly common in the months to come, when the sportsmen who use the Kern Mountains for hunting and fishing and camping really begin to realize the extent to which the uranium boom has reduced the recreation areas.

There has been and undoubtedly will be more posting of land against hunting and trespassing in the Kern Mountains, because thousands of acres that formerly were open to hunters and campers and hikers have been taken over by prospectors and others seeking uranium riches, and under the mining laws of the country, the rights on these claims are closely akin to the property rights on land everywhere else.

The sportsmen will also find, when they conduct their searches for fish and game, that with the large area taken over in mining claims, the prospect for recreational projects will be greatly limited, and this will have a definite effect on the future of Kerns Mountain areas as a tourist and sports attraction.

The reservation, by mining claims, of so large an acreage in the mountains will also have some effect on the cattle business in the county, because just as the claim owner may post his area against hikers and hunters, he can fence it against cattle, and according to location notices on file, much of the best rangeland in the Kern Mountains has been covered by mining claims in the current uranium rush.

It is possible, also, that some timber operations may be affected by the transfer of land into mining purposes, because the law as it now stands fails to separate surface and subsurface rights. This may prove somewhat of a headaches later as more intensive efforts are made to develop the timber resources of this area.

Apparently, in the Kernville-Isabella district, the clash of interests has begun to be noticeable, and the meeting to air the differences brought little satisfaction from the authorities, according to reports from the session. The laws are not subject to the sort of interpretation that would benefit the sportsmen, and this fact is becoming painfully apparent as the amount of land available for recreational purposes diminishes.

The subject of mining claims being used as subterfuges for the establishment of installations having little or nothing to do with mining has been discussed often, and the United States Forest Service has pointed out many times the need for a change in the mining laws to prevent this. Legitimate mining men are in favor of this change also. Yet the present laws have permitted the possession of thousands of acres to pass to individuals who have no intention to develop mineral workings on these acres in spite of the fact that they were acquired as mining claims.

From the report of the meeting at Isabella, this matter has come into the area of discussion in the Kern County mountains, and those interested in the subject were given good advice by Supervisor Eldon Ball of the Sequoia National Forest, who recommended a thorough study of the mining laws as they exist today. When these laws are examined, and the abuses permissible under them appreciated, there will be a more concerted movement for reform in these laws, so that corrective action may be taken.

It is probable that the meeting at Isabella is the first of many to be conducted on the subject of the proper apportioning of land uses in the mountain areas, a situation thrown into considerable confusion by the sudden and extensive rush to stake out mining claims in the region that has also such heavy use by cattle for grazing, sportsmen and campers and fishermen for recreation and is beginning to contribute to the timber wealth of the county.

Perhaps a greater understanding of the laws governing the lands and the uses thereof, together with a better appreciation of the proper priority to be assigned, will help solve what seems now to be a grave problem.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?—I AM AN AMERICAN
(By Bernice Harrell Chipman)

When the foreign-born within our boundaries become citizens by naturalization they do it surrounded by some ceremony. The importance of the occasion is made clear to them, they have successfully passed a certain amount of instruction, they are congratulated and wished well, and their new status is emphasized as one of dignity and importance.

It seems to me that we who are born into our citizenship should at times give some thought to our enviable position, bestowed on us as a free gift of fortune, that of being members of the most wonderful country in the world. And what day better than New Year's Day to consider these circumstances, and to make the first of our New Year's resolutions that of serving our country as our place in life makes possible, and to give solemn consideration to some of those things which make the United States preeminent as a nation.

That this is a land of freedom should be our first reason for self-congratulation, no purges after elections, no coups d'etat, no military government, no imprisonment without trial, and no suppression of free speech. Let us keep it that way and with all of our powers fight any efforts to change this happy way of life and to regiment us into one mold.

That this is the land of opportunity is shown by more instances than one can cite. I know the children of an ignorant immigrant woman, five of them, all supported by her by cleaning by the day, who are in one generation all attractive, educated persons, all in prosperous businesses, with homes of their own, and each with a fine, hearty brood of young Americans coming along. I know a foreign couple who, coming to this country with nothing, and ignorant of the lan-

guage are now able to retire to a place in the country, living on the income they have accumulated. These examples are repeated all over this broad land in thousands upon thousands of cases.

A few days before Christmas I heard carols sung by a vested choir of young boys—all clean and shining in their white robes—all singing "Noel, Noel," in those wonderful boy soprano voices, and at least 10 of these happy youngsters were black, their eager eyes shining as the holy words came from their tuneful throats, and several were Chinese and 1 or 2 Filipinos. What a fine sight—and what a fine sound—just before that season which proclaims all men are brothers.

When we hear complaints by carpers that we have racial prejudice, let us look at the gains that have been made and hold firmly that we are a tolerant country bent and determined on solving the problem of minority groups. And let us give a thought to some of the individuals of these minorities who stand out as examples of the best of their group, and let us consider that they are honored and respected as here all men are honored who have won respect through character and achievement.

And if any of these same carpers should say the opportunities in America are in the past and there is now no such chance to get on in the world as there was for our forebears, I will give you a young man who but a brief few years ago, starting with a modest capital of $7,000 has, through industry and vision, worked up a business bringing in $20 million a year—and he is still a young man.

We live in a country where such things happen so often that they are hardly noticeable, a country where these successes are possible to those with will and intelligence—and industry. We have the greatest material prosperity in the world. But we do not live by bread alone. Let us not forget that we have, as well, a great reservoir of mutual helpfulness. Let anyone be in poverty or sickness or distress, and, if it be known, people everywhere will rally round with money and gifts and aid. Everyday deeds of helpfulness and charity are done for the less fortunate and there are scores of agencies that exist solely to do good to others.

And we may be proud that it is the policy of our Government that none shall suffer an old age deprived of the necessities of life, and that needy children are the responsibility of the State, and that the unemployed shall not become destitute. All these things, and so many more are the things to think of on New Year's Day. Let us resolve to let none decry our country. Let none say we are crass, ignorant, uncultured, material, without our taking our stand strongly that we are a part of the best the world knows. Let us also resolve to do our mite to correct what is not good, so that in 1955 we can be increasingly proud of our heritage.

Happy New Year. May it be for all of us an "I am an American day."

The Late Dwight F. Rogers

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, the State of Florida and the Nation have suffered a great loss in the passing of our colleague, DWIGHT F. ROGERS.

I shall personally miss Congressman ROGERS every time I attend a session of Congress as he was always present at practically every session of Congress since he was first elected to represent the great State of Florida in the National House of Representatives.

I certainly join with the Members of his fine family in mourning his untimely passing.

Congressman ROGERS was always interested in every piece of legislation pending before the House that had for its purpose the preservation of our Constitution and the betterment of the people of this country in general.

Again let me state that this Nation can ill afford to lose men of Congressman ROGERS' character and ability during these critical times.

Timepieces and Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the Christian Science Monitor of Wednesday, December 15, 1954, entitled "Timepieces and Tariffs," by Mary Hornaday:

TIMEPIECES AND TARIFFS—AN INTIMATE MESSAGE FROM NEW YORK

(By Mary Hornaday)

NEW YORK.—When the alarm on President Eisenhower's wristwatch went off during a press conference the other day, it was a happy moment for the peace-loving Swiss people, many of whom believe the United States has recently declared economic war on them.

Inadvertently, the President advertised the fact that, though he recently adopted a recommendation of the Federal Tariff Commission for a 50-percent increase in duties on Swiss watches and watch movements, and his administration launched an antitrust suit against Americans cooperating with the Swiss watch industry, he still wears a watch that only the skill of the Swiss has achieved thus far.

Newspaper reports from Switzerland since the administration action have been full of reports of watchworkers' mass meetings and proposed boycotts of American products.

This uneasiness has spread to other parts of Europe, too. On a recent Edward R. Murrow TV program, when Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, Republican, of Maine, asked a German industrialist whether he was trading with the East, he retorted: "Yes. Look what you have done to Switzerland. How can I feel sure about putting all my eggs in the West's basket?"

At the annual American Swiss Friendship dinner held in New York, the recently created economic tension between the two nations was uppermost in speakers' minds, with former Ambassador to Switzerland, Richard C. Patterson, urging patience and Swiss Ambassador to Washington, Charles Bruggmann, picturing the United States as a big Nation of unlimited and diverse possibilities bearing down mercilessly on a have-not country where large sections of the population and whole towns such as Bienne and Solothurn are dependent on this one industry.

It is evident from today's friction between Switzerland and the United States that these two "most private enterprise countries in the world" need to understand more about each other's watch industries and their significance in the divided world of today. Involved in the differences are not only national traditions toward jobs but attitudes toward war and peace.

Compared with Switzerland's 600 watch manufacturers, the United States today has dwindled down to 4, located 1 each in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New York. For 160 million Americans, their domestic industry turns out 1,700,000 watches a year at the present time, while for 4,500,000 Swiss, the Swiss watchmakers turn out 25 million a year which means most of the output must be exported—chiefly to Americans who have the wherewithal to buy them.

But the United States, at this point, is particularly interested in building up the precision know-how for western defense. Into this picture enters the whole Swiss tradition of neutrality and also the question whether its impressive Alpine redoubts can withstand the nuclear weapons of today.

The antitrust suit brought by the United States Department of Justice against 20 importers of Swiss watch parts is ironic in the fact that the very practices it complains of are ones the Swiss Government has built up over the years to keep its watch industry strong and healthy. Briefly, they are comparable to the help given industry in the United States to help it expand at the outset of World War II.

What can be done now to prevent such international jolts between two old friends in the future? That is what businessmen and international friendship groups are asking here. Citizen education can play a part.

One importer answered: "We would like to know if, when the American manufacturers reach the 2-million-watch-output-per-year 'defense potential' figure, the preferential tariff will be removed and free enterprise come into play again."

The Swiss, too, are doing some national soul-searching on the problem. They think perhaps that in their political neutrality they have been too aloof from other nations economically. They have a feeling that membership in GATT, for instance, might have made United States action against them more difficult.

Today the first flurries of angry reaction are over; certain American political figures with watchmaking constituents have been reelected, and the time seems ripe to begin to rebuild Swiss-American friendship fences.

Russia Rearms Germany Plus Its Former Axis Allies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article written by C. L. Sulzberger, appearing in the New York Times of January 12, 1955, giving important information in relation to the increase of the military forces and power of the Soviet Union and its satellites. This information is only a part of the

tremendous military machine of the Soviet Union and its satellites:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—RUSSIA REARMS GERMANY PLUS ITS FORMER AXIS ALLIES

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

VIENNA, January 11.—While complaining about West Germany's rearmament Moscow is unilaterally violating four international agreements restricting military forces. The Soviet Union has already created an East German army of 7 divisions, 3 of them mechanized. Thus it has long ignored quadripartite bans on German remilitarization. Likewise it encouraged Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria to create armies vastly in excess of peace treaty limitations. These three satellites were members of the defeated Axis alliance.

Hungary's army is now considerably more than twice the maximum specified in treaties signed 8 years ago. Bulgaria's forces are nearly three times the permitted size. Rumania's are roughly 75 percent above the figure agreed to by Moscow as well as Washington, London, and Paris. But the most blatantly cynical comparison between the U. S. S. R.'s peaceful declarations and belligerent activities remains in Germany itself.

Soviet propaganda argues that giving guns to Germans is both illegal and a threat to world peace. The Adenauer government patiently awaits ratification of the Paris accords before even allotting funds for training cadres. Yet, across the Iron Curtain in the Soviet Zone, 100,000 German soldiers formed into regular army units already parade under the not very convincing camouflage of garrison police.

This so-called K. V. P. was first formed in 1951. Supposedly a volunteer force, probably only at most 15 percent are genuine volunteers. The rest were blackmailed into enlisting by Communist authorities. As a result morale is bad. About 1 percent of total effectives succeed in escaping to the West each year. Many others try. If Moscow counters West German rearmament by East German conscription the defection rate will be enormous.

SOVIET STRENGTH IN EUROPE

It is clear why the West resolved to rearm Bonn when one analyzes the Soviet military establishment in Europe. This includes 30 Russian divisions: 22 in Germany and 2 each in Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania. It also includes approximately 82 satellite divisions, of which 18 are armored. The equipment of satellite units is Soviet—not the most modern but efficient. The puppets' forces are being increasingly motorized. The process has been virtually completed in Hungary and is well underway in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

The best satellite army is Bulgaria's. This is extremely well trained. Morale is excellent. Five years ago Sofia began to call up reservists twice or thrice yearly for maneuvers on a war footing. Mobilization plans are well prepared and many classes are available to add to the existing 12 infantry and 2 armored divisions. Exercises have been held on divisional, corps, and army levels. Hungary and Czechoslovakia probably have the next best armies in terms of training. Poland's force is still rather mediocre. There the Russians have placed Soviet officers in all high command positions, in the War Ministry and general headquarters. Elsewhere in the satellite world Moscow's military missions supervise but don't hold active commands.

These armies, backed up by the powerful Russian force already west of the Soviet border, menace the free world. The Bulgarians and Hungarians are already capable—in terms of training, morale, and equipment—of offensive operations. The rest could be employed defensively or sandwiched into Soviet corps. Only the Rumanian and Albanian divisions are still largely useless.

EFFECT OF AN EASTERN NATO

By now the satellite officers corps is limited to men loyal to Moscow. Many commanders are former partisans or veterans of Spain's international brigades. They are being constantly trained in Soviet military schools. The satellites have a combined tactical air force totaling 2,500 planes, mostly Russian MIG 15's. Czechoslovakia now manufactures these jet fighters. About 100 first-class airfields with long concrete runways have been constructed in East Europe.

This force has been developed by Soviet officers while Soviet diplomats have been screaming against Western rearmament. If Moscow decides to devise its own treaty organization as a counterpoise to NATO, the move will have little more than propaganda value. The armies already exist; they are politically and militarily coordinated with Russia; their weapons and plans have been standardized. An Eastern NATO might afford an excuse to announce conscription in East Germany—risky because of morale. It could serve Moscow as a pretext for establishing Soviet garrisons in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, where there now are none. But obviously the Kremlin doesn't require any such permission.

The elaborate Communist military establishment has been developing for a long time. It is no diplomatic secret that Soviet Germany started rearming 4 years ago and that Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria are unabashedly violating their peace treaties at Moscow's behest. The only extraordinary thing is that Allied propaganda has remained so much on the defensive when discussing Bonn's remilitarization. The world should be referred to the facts that made this necessary.

Veterans' Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1955, the President announced the issuance of a proclamation setting January 31, 1955, as the end of the period of eligibility for certain veterans' benefits of the Korean conflict administered by the Veterans' Administration and other Federal agencies.

However, on my own part, so long as the Government faces the necessity for drafting our young men for service in this country or overseas, I will favor full veterans' benefits for these men and their dependents, regardless of whether or not this country is actively engaged in war.

The issue is a moral one. So long as the Government asserts the right to draft young men for military service, I feel that it assumes, at the same time, sizable responsibilities for their future welfare. No one can tell what effect will be had upon the life of a young man, often less than 21 years of age, who has his normal life disrupted, and his own personal wishes and plans completely changed.

With many other Members of Congress, I am sure a majority, I deeply regret the necessity for drafting these young men, but in view of the present world situation, I do not see any workable alternative.

With this in mind, I shall do what I can to see that all veterans' benefits are continued on the present basis so long as men continue to be drafted.

Fight for Worker Over 45

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, on January 5, the opening day of the 84th Congress, I introduced House Resolution 54, which has as its purpose the creation of a select committee to investigate discrimination based on age by employers against those citizens who are between the ages of 40 and 65 years.

To me, Mr. Speaker, there is no more important employment discrimination problem in the Nation today and it is my hope that the Rules Committee will promptly and favorably report House Resolution 54. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD an article from the Newark (N. J.) Evening News of Tuesday, January 11, 1955, on this subject:

FIGHT FOR WORKER OVER 45—STATISTICS SHOW MANY FALSE—OFFICIALS ATTACK OLD PREJUDICES

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Department of Labor and State labor departments, in areas where unemployment is serious, are giving special attention to the man past 45 who cannot land a job because he is "too old." The following article describes how "age prejudice" afflicts our senior citizens.)

NEW YORK.—"First to be fired, last to be hired."

So goes the bitter refrain of the middle-aged and older worker in a world that places a premium on youth.

His lament is only partly true. Through union activity and industry's recognition of seniority rights, a man getting along in years has less reason today to fear he will be among the first to be laid off if his company tightens its belt during a recession.

"Job engineering," the shifting of an aging worker to a job of slower pace, also is helping keep older workers employed.

But the deck is still stacked against the man past 45, and the woman over 35, who walk into an employment office looking for a job.

As many as 80 percent of the jobs listed in employment bureaus carry a specific age maximum. The United States Department of Labor says 1 out of 7 placements involves this age group.

AGE PREJUDICE

Except in a tight labor market, when employers are grubbing for help, the older worker may indeed find himself last to be hired.

Employment service officials believe age prejudice is responsible for much of the reluctance to put older men and women to work. Employers rattle off stock arguments to justify their policies. But placement officials argue right back. Examples:

"Older people are more likely to get hurt on the job."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics surveyed 18,000 workers in 109 plants and found that disabling accidents involved as many men in the 25-35-age bracket as in the 45-plus bracket. The highest rate was among men between 35 and 45.

"Absenteeism is greater among older workers."

The same Federal survey showed absenteeism is lowest among workers 55 to 65, highest in the under-30 group.

If a man is unemployed at 45 he is probably a job-hopper and wouldn't work for us long anyhow.

Labor surveys show job-hopping is more prevalent among younger workers, who have less family responsibility and are more restless and ambitious.

As a man gets older he produces less.

Statistics aren't available to prove or disprove this, but such a generalization is defied every day in factories where white-haired men keep up with assembly lines as easily as their sons.

ZEAL VERSUS WISDOM

"We want young men with zeal and energy."

Energetic young men often do not have the sober judgment, wisdom, and experience that comes with age.

Another argument, not based on prejudice, involves pensions. Some companies say they cannot afford to put a new employee over 40 on the payroll without upsetting their pension program. He would be eligible for retirement too soon.

In some quarters it is suggested that compulsory retirement be done away with. Medical science has increased the life span to the point where 60 to 65 is no longer a realistic age to force a man to retire.

The problem of the older worker is being pressed home to industry and labor leaders—and political leaders—by the fact that increased longevity means the forty-five-plus group will make up half of America's adult population by 1975.

Reserve Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD a copy of an address made by Lt. Col. Bolton S. Pierce, United States Army, before the 10th anniversary of the national convention of AMVETS in convention at Miami, Fla.

In light of recent events and the obvious decisions to be made in the 84th Congress on our national defense effort, I think this address is very pertinent, and, under permission heretofore granted, I include it here so that my colleagues may have the benefit of Colonel Pierce's views on this important subject.

His address follows:

THE COMMUNITY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

Ladies and gentlemen, knowing of the prominent speakers who have been addressing this convention and those who are yet to come, I feel highly privileged to be able to spend this time to bring you a message I think is of utmost importance to our country at this moment. I would like to call it the Community and National Defense.

Having a representative-type government, a democracy, I think that we are inclined at times to feel that all functions of government are to be carried on by our elected representatives. We sometimes fail to realize that there are certain functions of government which we can only perform ourselves, as individuals. You are all acquainted, I am sure, with the old saying that has come down through the ages and as long as we have had a civilization, that the only positive thing about life is death and taxes. So with our type of government the two things that are required of the citizens, as an individual participation, is the payment of his taxes and serving when needed in the defense of his country.

You are all acquainted with the incidents of past years in which history has thrust this country into a position of world leadership, and you all know that at present we are faced with worldwide Communist aggression. I think that General Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, has well pinpointed what we face when he said, "The real issue is whether the rule of men who shoot their prisoners, enslave their citizens, and deride the dignity of man shall displace the rule of those to whom the individual and his individual rights are sacred; whether we are to survive with God's hand to guide us and lead us, or to perish in the dead existence of a godless world."

We have been fortunate, as compared to many other nations of the world, in that we have never, during this era of total war, had the mainland of our country under devastating attack, nor have we suffered too heavily in casualties in the wars in which we have been engaged throughout our history. It is not necessary to add that war with its attendant misery is studiously avoided by all thinking people. It is also possible that we might have avoided some of the wars in which we have been engaged if we had followed more closely the advice of our first President, George Washington, who cautioned, "that to be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace."

Today we are heeding that advice, and to the limits of our economy, we are maintaining large, well-trained, well-equipped defense forces. However, our economy cannot stand the size forces, on full-time basis, that would be indicated by the size of the forces arrayed against us. To draw the parallel, it is estimated that Russia and her satellites have equipped and under arms approximately 4 million men in their ground forces alone. At the present time it is estimated that we have in our Army approximately 1,200,000 men. I might also add that the number of men needed to support one front-line combat soldier is appreciably less in the forces of the Communists.

Our economy cannot only not afford the expense of the added manpower, but our industry could not stand the withdrawal of manpower from that field. The solution to this problem is the maintenance of a strong, well-trained Reserve.

Is is here that I would like to go back to my previous statement that national defense is one of the individual acts required of the citizen and, as such, it is a community problem that affects us all. We cannot dismiss this responsibility nor can we push it on to our elected representatives, except that they shall provide the organization and implementation.

We have to build up a new patriotic awareness among our people, particularly among our young people. We are a healthy, well-fed, well-educated nation, and as such any statement that we are becoming soft as a nation is ridiculous. However, it is possible that some of our thinking may be soft in that we feel that upon any aggression we can all spring to arms and win a resounding victory. Ladies and gentlemen, it takes 3,000 hours of training to prepare an infantry division for combat; this is approximately 1 year. Manpower is precious to this country, not only in individual lives but also as a commodity for defense. We are approximately 160 million strong today, and the population of the countries arrayed against us totals over 1 billion. Coupled with their disregard for human lives it is more formidable.

The education of our people I believe is a project in all communities that you are a part. The part-time soldier in the various State National Guards, the units of the United States Army Reserve, and our institutional military units of the Reserve Officers Training Corps in our high schools and colleges, are a necessity to our survival. I know that you may point out that the annual amount of training received by these men does not even approximate that amount of time that it is required to place a fighting force in the field; but military training is one thing, one type of education that a little is better than nothing. Rifle marksmanship, unit and individual tactical training, working as a team; for even a short period of time pays off when these men are needed. Encouragement and support of these activities also build better citizens, and instills and maintains that patriotic awareness that this country must have toward their national defense. You are acquainted with our present selective service system, by which after 2 years of training in the Regular Army our young men are released to their homes and kept for an additional 6 years in a reserve status. These men are vitally needed not only to maintain their trained status through participation in our Reserve programs, but they are also needed to train the younger men who can be encouraged to join these units. Since this selective service system has been in effect we have had released from service approximately 1 million men, of this number only a little better than 4 percent have performed their service obligation by joining a Reserve unit. Of course there are certain discomfitures in connection with military life, but life in any phase has its discomfitures. Our young people of military age have not fully realized that at the time they are called for service, and it is for you more mature veterans to assist in an early development of this wisdom that comes with years.

I recently had the pleasure of making an inspection tour of a number of our high-school ROTC units in the southeastern United States. As you know, these high-school students receive approximately 5 hours of military training per week. That amount of time neither adequately trains a man, nor is it of an amount that we have to worry about developing what has been termed as a "military mind." It was revealing to find that in exposing these young people, starting at 14 years of age, to military training, that they were enthusiastic about it. To those not previously exposed, the college group are less enthusiastic, and again, the group at the 19½- and 20-year-old level, who are inducted under selective service are the least enthusiastic. It is this attitude toward service for our country that has to be combated in the community. We can draft our young men for service during peacetime, as we are doing. It is indicated that we may have to take action to make compulsory some type of reserve service so that we may have that strong reserve which is mandatory, but we cannot make them like it. This citizen duty should be considered a privilege, instead of a chore. Although funds are not available at this time for the expansion of the ROTC program with full-time Army personnel as instructors, there is a type of ROTC which is supervised by the Army known as the 55C program, named after that paragraph in the National Defense Act, wherein equipment and training aids and texts are furnished by the services, and uniforms and instructors are furnished by the schools. I urge you all to investigate

this program for your own communities. Those of you who have high-school ROTC programs in your communities, I urge you to become acquainted with what they are doing; community recognition of this training will go far toward developing a proper attitude of citizenship among our young people.

As General of the Army Omar Bradley observed in 1949, "We have neglected to tell our young people that democracy is a two-way street—that with its benefits comes the necessity for also giving service."

Many of our country's leaders in the past have indicated the things that we should do in order to preserve the democracy that we all enjoy; they are as pertinent today as they were the time they were made. I would like to leave you with a quotation from the Star Spangled Banner, written by Francis Scott Key in 1814; and found in the first lines of the fourth and last stanza of our national anthem:

"Oh! Thus be it ever, when free men shall stand
Between their loved homes and war's desolation!"

Thank you.

Greenwood Men in Hall of Fame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, at an interesting meeting of the Greenwood (S. C.) Chamber of Commerce held on January 4, citations to two new Members of the Hall of Fame for the Living were presented to Messrs. Dewey H. Johnson and F. E. Grier.

A report of the annual meeting of the chamber and of the presentation of the two citations were carried in the January 5 issue of the Anderson (S. C.) Independent. Under unanimous consent previously granted, I insert this newspaper story herewith:

GREENWOOD MEN IN HALL OF FAME

(By Jim Blessing)

GREENWOOD, January 4.—Deserved honors showered tonight on two eminent leaders of Greenwood—citizens whose careers since days of youth have been marked by hard work, the will to succeed, and an unselfish spirit of cooperation with and faith in their fellowman.

Named to the South's "Hall of Fame for the Living" and presented plaques during the annual Chamber of Commerce banquet were: F. E. Grier, 55, Carolinas and Mississippi textile executive, and Dewey H. Johnson, banking and business wizard of the Carolinas and Georgia.

Hubert F. Lee, of Atlanta, editor and founder of the Dixie Business magazine which sponsors the awards, presented the handsome plaques to J. C. Self, Sr., of Greenwood, a member of the "Hall" and 1952 man of the South, who in turn presented them to Johnson and Grier.

Wives of the recipients were among the capacity gathering attending the program at Oregon Hotel, which also featured an address by Dr. R. S. C. Young, widely known educator of Atlanta.

Grier, a native of Due West, is president and treasurer of Abney Mills chain and chairman of the board of Erwin Mills, in North Carolina. The industrialist holds numerous positions of leadership in industry and community life. A native of Due West, in Abbeville County, he has resided in Greenwood since 1930. Former president of the Bank of Greenwood, he has been president of Abney Mills since 1942. He is treasurer of Erskine College, his alma mater, and a trustee of Lander Foundation.

Johnson, a native of Aiken County, entered the banking field as a messenger runner after graduating from high school in 1917. After 24 years with Citizens and Southern Bank in Aiken, climbing to the vice presidency, he went with Auto Finance Co., and in 1943 acquired interest in the Bank of Greenwood, serving as its president since. Under his leadership the bank has established branches in Aiken, Ninety Six, Ware Shoals, New Ellenton, and Harris and Mathews communities here. He serves as an officer or director of several successful insurance companies in the Southeast, and is a member of the South Carolina Education Finance Commission, which approves all new school buildings. He has long promoted the livestock industry in South Carolina and Georgia.

The chamber of commerce body heaped commendation on retiring President S. Whitfield Perry, who has led the trade body through a fruitful 1954 for the entire community. Gifts were presented to him and to Mrs. Perry by Nat Watson, retiring first vice president of the chamber.

R. B. Curry, Jr., was introduced by Perry, who served as master of ceremonies, as 1955 chamber president. Other new officers and directors introduced included J. W. Bradford, Jr., first vice president; G. E. Moore, second vice president; John B. Sloan, treasurer; and E. A. Baumel, general manager.

Directors include Julian Bolton, Howard Burns, R. B. Curry, Jr., D. Wellsman Johnson, G. E. Moore, Charles R. Walters, W. D. Wilkinson, Alex Woodle, C. B. Barksdale, J. W. Bradford, Jr., George H. Davis, F. E. Grier, Dewey H. Johnson, Ernest R. Rosenberg, J. C. Self, Jr., John S. Sloan, and S. W. Perry.

Dr. Young, director of admissions at the University of Georgia's Atlanta Division, spoke on "Why I Am an American." A native of Scotland who came to this country as a young man after World War I, reminded the 250 attending the meeting of their rich heritage and deep obligation for the privileges and opportunities of their country.

"We are in danger of losing these wonderful things—our freedom, our opportunities, our national character—unless we teach our children to appreciate, respect and revere them," he said, pointing out that adults have a tendency to enjoy these marvelous advantages while taking them for granted and doing little to promote or preserve them.

"America was built," Dr. Young told the group of industrialists, businessmen and civic leaders, "by men and women who asked for nothing but elbow room—men and women who weren't afraid to work hard."

"Today," he lamented, "too many people are asking for 'pensions' instead of opportunities to work." He criticized sharply the educators and others who tell young students that "they're entitled to something." Such a philosophy, breaking down the time-honored pattern of work and its rewards, can wreck the American way of life, he contended. "The curse of our age," he continued "is the easy money given to people who don't work for it."

One of the most striking characteristics of Americans, Dr. Young said he discovered when he came to this country, is the consistent willingness of persons to help others.

Other highlights of the program, which climaxed a year of unusual achievement for the chamber, included invocation by the Reverend J. A. Bowers, pastor of Greenwood First Baptist Church and dinner music by Mrs. Carolyn Rhodes with a vocal solo by Miss Evelyn Martin.

Distinguished guests introduced by retiring President Perry early in the program included A. D. Asbury of Greenville, president of the South Carolina State Chamber of Commerce; Dr. and Mrs. R. C. Grier of Greenville; Mr. and Mrs. Wilton E. Hall, of Anderson; Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Self, Sr.; Greenwood Mayor and Mrs. R. E. McCaslan, United States Representative and Mrs. Bryan Dorn, State Senator G. P. Calliso.

Basque Shepherds Prosper on United States Ranches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article written by Lawrence E. Davies, which appeared in the January 9 issue of the New York Sunday Times. This article contains implicit praise for the California Range Association and for John Bidegaray and Robert Franklin, of Fresno, Calif., both of whom are friends of mine. The discourse should be interesting to all Members of this body because it lays to rest many of the fears expressed by some Members of this body with respect to the admission of Basque sheepherders to this country. It is apparent from this factual article that such immigrants are well treated and make a major contribution to the economic life of this country.

The article follows:

LONELY BASQUE SHEPHERDS PROSPER ON BIG UNITED STATES RANCHES—MEN LIVE FOR MONTHS IN SOLITUDE CARING FOR GREAT FLOCKS—RIGHT TO BRING MORE HERDERS FROM SPAIN SOUGHT IN WEST

(By Lawrence E. Davies)

FRESNO, CALIF., January 1.—Pedro Azcarate, as he herded a few sheep in the Pyrenees near his home in the Spanish Province of Navarre, dreamed of coming to the United States.

He dreamed about it "because I know I could earn money here and live the right way." The dream persisted while he served his hitch in the Spanish Army.

Back at his sheepherding occupation last September, at the age of 26, the friendly, black-haired young Basque got a call from an airline representative. Three weeks later he reported at Bilbao and was questioned by the American consul about his experience and skills. A Spanish doctor gave him a physical examination.

Pedro went home to await developments. On October 27, he left Paris by plane and 3 days later was herding a band of 1,000 sheep in California's San Joaquin Valley.

His case is illustrative of those of hundreds of young Basques who are being brought into this country under special legislation designed to give the American wool industry help by furnishing skilled labor to increase production.

M'CARRAN SPONSORED BILLS

The late Senator Pat McCarran, Democrat, of Nevada, sponsored a series of special laws—aside from the McCarran-Walker Immigration and Nationality Act itself—under which

the importation of a total of 1,135 skilled sheepherders has been authorized since 1950.

The wool industry is hopeful of getting an adjustment in legislation at the forthcoming session of Congress so that out of Spain's annual quota of 250 immigrants, about 100 would be skilled sheepherders. Under the immigration law the first 50 percent of the quota of any country is available for first preference to persons whose skills are needed.

That would enable up to 125 sheepherders to be brought in from Spain every year. But under the special legislation of 1950 and 1952, half of the 750 sheepherders authorized to be imported in those years were borrowed against Spain's quota in future years.

As the statutes now stand, this debt cannot be wiped out until the late 1950's. The industry, however, would like to have the loan canceled by the 84th Congress.

Sheepmen blame the lack of skilled herders for a substantial part of the production slump since the early part of World War II.

The number of stock sheep on western ranges and farms was down this year to about 27 million head from 53 million in 1942.

Basque herders are especially prized because they are contented for long periods with only a band of sheep for company, and because of their intelligent and sympathetic regard for the welfare of their sheep.

The wages paid the Basque sheepherders are the prevailing wages collected by Americans or others doing the same jobs. Sheepmen say they have had cordial relationships with labor union officials because sheepherding is not attractive to American union members.

The average American assertedly does not care to live the lonely simple life of a sheepherder, with responsibility for perhaps 1,000 sheep on a 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week (including holidays) basis.

Sheep herding is considered a demanding occupation, calling for skills usually attributed only to veterinarians. There are predatory animals ready to devour sheep. The herder must be on the alert for noxious grasses and weeds. Many lambs and ewes are lost with improper handling of ewes by unskilled sheepherders at lambing time.

When the 1950 legislation, authorizing the importation of 250 sheepherders, was passed each grower in the west had to bring in his own herders, through travel agents, attorneys, and other media. Soon the industry sought a better method.

In December 1951, the California Range Association, which was formed the year before to meet the labor needs of sheep growers in this State, was designated to do the job nationally.

Its president, John Bidegaray, himself a Basque, has two Basque partners, Ray and Mike Segardia, both of whom formerly were sheepherders. They have one of the large operations in the San Joaquin Valley, with 25 herders on the payroll and with present holdings of about 12,000 ewes and 15,000 lambs.

Mr. Bidegaray flys over to Spain as the association's unpaid president with the association's secretary, Robert Franklin, whenever it is necessary to iron out problems.

There are no recruitment drives and no contracts, as in the case of Mexican nationals who are brought into the country to harvest crops. The program works like this:

RANCHER PICKS HERDER

A sheep rancher who wishes to become a member of the association—there are now about 350, representing an estimated 70 to 75 percent of the lamb and wool production—pays annual dues of $25. When he needs one or more sheepherders and cannot find competent help through State employment services, he notifies Mr. Franklin and designates, by name, the herder he wants.

Almost invariably this herder has a brother, an uncle, or a friend already herding sheep in America, and he himself has been aching to get over here. The association asks State wool grower associations to look into the asserted need of the grower for additional sheepherders.

Once satisfied, Mr. Franklin applies to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for permission to bring in the specific herder requested or a skilled substitute. When clearance is granted, one of the two airlines, Pan American and Trans-World, with which the association contracts to fly the herders by coach plane over the Atlantic, is notified. Its agents in Spain contact the herder and look after the clearance details there.

Meanwhile, the sponsor has deposited with the association a total of $711.10 for each herder. Of this, $561.10 covers the cost of transportation and $150 takes care of expenses of the procurement, taxes, and so on.

The herder is to pay back to his employer this total sum out of his earnings, which range from $185 a month in California up to $225 in the more rugged Idaho terrain. He also gets his "found," that is, his food and lodging, and, except on his annual vacation, if he takes one, he has no places to spend his money.

"One of my herders, who has been here 7 years, has more than $12,000 in the bank," Mr. Bidegaray said.

"His uncle, an old retired sheepherder, asked that the boy be brought over. The uncle himself still lives in a cookshack, though he is well to do. Many of these herders hope to have their own bands of sheep some day. Usually they send some of their money back to their families."

The average San Joaquin Valley sheepherder's trailer, not dissimilar from those elsewhere in the West, is 8 by 18 feet, has a cot, a two-burner gasoline stove, cupboards, and radio. The invariable goatskin filled with wine hangs by his table. The herder has a dog or two, usually "Basque-speaking" Australian shepherds in this area.

Those who are admitted for the sheepherding jobs come on a permanent basis. So far, according to Mr. Franklin, about enough have come in on the present program to herd 1 million sheep.

A cooperative investigation by the association and the Immigration and Naturalization Service indicates, it was estimated, that not more than 5 percent leave the herding jobs for other occupations. Yet the wool industry, it was contended, will need at least 100 or so additional herders every year for an indefinite period to keep going.

The association is trying to figure out a way for the new sheepherders, out on their lonely vigils, to learn English and study for citizenship.

A United States Academy of Foreign Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill calling for a school for the training of the diplomatic corps of the Nation.

The purpose of the bill will be "to promote peace, greater understanding, and good will throughout the world, and to provide for a trained force for the Foreign Service of the United States."

We have schools for training our future Army, Navy, and Air Force leaders, but we leave to chance the training of our diplomatic corps personnel who must skillfully deal with representatives of all other nations of the world.

The United States Academy of Foreign Service, title of the proposed school, would be located in the Washington area, and entrance would be by competitive examination, with students chosen according to a system of State allocation.

In addition to intensive instruction in Government, the curriculum would include select liberal arts offerings, studies in comparative culture, and military and naval observation. Graduates would be required to spend a year of in-service training in a foreign country.

A Question of Good Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I urge upon every Member of this body to read the following editorial in the Chicago Daily News of January 10, 1955, and to join in mobilizing the full strength of decency to the end that faith shall be kept by the Congress and the Government with the men and women in the armed services:

A QUESTION OF GOOD FAITH—UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT CUT OFF GI RIGHTS OF MEN SERVING NOW

In the announcement at Washington of a Presidential proclamation a week ago, there was a big bungle. It spread confusion in Veterans' Administration offices, recruiting offices, and among young men of military age pondering whether to enlist or to wait and be drafted later.

This proclamation terminated on January 31, the period of eligibility for certain veterans' benefits under the Korean war GI bill.

The Government spokesman said that those who enlisted or were inducted before February 1 would get all the customary rights under the GI bill.

The confusion arose with regard to education benefits. The announcement was widely interpreted to mean that those entering the armed services up to January 31 would be able to get up to 36 months of college training at Government expense after leaving the service.

Within the 36-month limit, the training time has been accumulated on the basis of 1½ days of education for each day of service. To be eligible at all, the veteran would have to have at least 90 days of active service.

Believing the plan would be in full effect for those entering by January 31, a good many youngsters rushed to enlist in one of the services or another. They thought they were safeguarding an educational benefit worth thousands of dollars.

It was not until Friday that the Veterans' Administration office here and the several recruiting offices received an authoritative interpretation of the proclamation.

It then turned out that those who had rushed in to hold down the educational bonanza had been deceived. The period for accumulating days useful in calculating educational benefits ends January 31, under the President's proclamation.

What could be accumulated in the remainder of the month would, actually, be of

negligible effect, certainly not enough, by itself, to give much incentive for hastening induction.

Not only were last week's enlisters deceived, but so (in varying measure) was anybody who enlisted in recent months.

There is no way of telling how many of them had been led by recruiting officers to believe that they would have the privilege of accumulating educational benefits up to the maximum throughout their whole service. Whether they got that idea spontaneously, or were persuaded by Government agents, most of them certainly had it.

The same idea assuredly prevailed among men who were drafted, too, though they had waived their option to pick the time of entry.

Recent inductees will share in the disappointment, notwithstanding the fact that they had relied on no specific Government promise except a promise to put them in jail if they did not show up at the appointed hour.

Those who have entered or do enter on or before January 31 will get, under the President's order, certain GI benefits not available afterward. We recommend that young men confronting the big decision seek a detailed explanation. We would not venture a guess as to how great an incentive the young men will find in these other benefits.

One example: The man in service before January 31 will be eligible for home, farm, or business loans partially guaranteed by the Government after he leaves service; the man who enters service afterward will not.

It may be doubted whether the prospect of a slight interest saving on a loan years hence will motivate many enlistments. But the educational provisions have been a powerful incentive.

The Government ought not to leave any of the men in its armed services suffering from a feeling that the Government has deceived or defrauded them.

Therefore, it should permit anybody now in service to accumulate the full potential of 36 months of educational benefits, even if the days on which the computation is based are served after January 31.

Because of the confusion about the new order, still not quite dispelled, this privilege ought to be extended in full to anybody, drafted or enlisted, entering the service prior to February 1.

We hope that Congress will promptly enact legislation so providing.

It may be that the Government has been too generous with its educational benefits all along. It may be proper to curtail them or to eliminate them entirely (after proper notice) with respect to men entering the service hereafter.

But the Government should never misrepresent to its soldiers and sailors and airmen the terms on which it is dealing with them.

If Congress does not modify the effect of the Presidential proclamation, a very large proportion of them will have been deceived.

The Late John G. Cooper

SPEECH
OF
HON. OLIVER P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in an expression of respect and regret at the passing of the Honorable John Gordon Cooper, who served in this body with honor and distinction for nearly a quarter of a century. He had been a member of this body for 14 years when my father began his first term here. As dean of the Ohio delegation, John Cooper was looked up to by the younger members for his fairness, fatherly counsel, and kindliness. He represented his district for a total of 22 years until 1936, yet there are many, many of my constituents in the counties of Ashtabula and Trumbull who still have close personal remembrances of him, their last Republican representative for 16 years. I extend to his family my sympathy for their loss, but they can be proud, I know, of the mark he made in his four score years of devoted service to his country in these halls.

A Veteran Thanks America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from Mr. Louis Teplitsky showing his faith in America. I hope that many may have the opportunity to read it.

The letter follows:

A VETERAN THANKS AMERICA

"I am a disabled, honorably discharged veteran of World War II. A concert tenor by profession, due to a disability caused by the war my career was interrupted.

"However, I have now recovered and am about to resume my singing career.

"I wish to state that I am deeply grateful to the Veterans' Administration for the excellent care I was given in the form of treatment and training. I am also thankful to the people of the United States who made it possible. There is no country in the world that has contributed as much to the welfare of veterans as did the United States. I am proud to be a United States citizen for the justice, liberty, and freedom I have enjoyed all these years since I came to the United States from Russia in 1930. I wish from the bottom of my heart the people of the United States health, happiness, peace, and prosperity. A Merry Christmas and a very Happy New Year. May God bless our country and its people.

"LOUIS TEPLITSKY.

"BRONX, N. Y."

MY FELLOW CITIZENS: This ad appeared in the New York Times December 22, 1954.

I have received numerous letters, telephone calls, and telegrams from American citizens who have read my message. Many commented that this message of faith in America ought to be reported by the press and broadcast over the radio and television to our people all over the United States and by the Voice of America throughout the world. I was so deeply touched and inspired by their remarks that I have reproduced this message.

I have worked thirty 10-hour days of labor to pay for this message at a cost of $211.68. It is the best investment I have ever made. It has brought me much happiness, as I love our beloved country, and this is only a small token in comparison with what America has done for me. I am proud of my adopted country and its people, who have contributed so much to the world with their lives, their wealth, science, medicine, culture, literature, art, and music for the betterment of mankind and for freedom everywhere.

I left Communist Russia because of tyranny, brutality, slavery, and persecution. America gave me a home when I was homeless; I was given food when I was hungry; I was given medical attention when I was sick; and I was given freedom to worship my religion. For all this I am very grateful. I pray to God that this small effort on my part for my country, which has done so much for me, may inspire us to think and search within ourselves so as to reinforce our faith in America, and make us happier as individuals and happier as a nation. May God bless you all.

Sincerely yours,

LOUIS TEPLITSKY.

Rev. Dr. David M. Cory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct attention to Brooklyn's Man of the Week, Rev. Dr. David M. Cory, as chosen by the Brooklyn Daily Eagle on January 9, 1955.

The article is as follows:

BROOKLYN'S MAN OF THE WEEK—PROTESTANT COUNCIL CHIEF URGES THE FORWARD LOOK IN RELIGION

(By Beatrice Jones)

When the Reverend Dr. David M. Cory, minister of the Cuyler Presbyterian Church, formerly assumed, as of January 1, the post of executive secretary of the Brooklyn division of the Protestant Council of the City of New York, it involved just a move across the hall into more spacious quarters. For Dr. Cory has been performing many of the duties of that office at 252 Fulton Street ever since his election last October at a meeting of the board of directors of the council.

The appointment was made necessary by the death of the Reverend Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, his predecessor, last June 17. At that time, the Reverend Dr. J. Blaine Fister, director of Christian education of the division, was made interim staff executive, filling in until the board meeting.

No stranger to the community, having been pastor of the Cuyler Church since 1926, Dr. Cory is well acquainted with the problems of the borough's changing population and has definite ideas on how the church can meet its challenge.

DEPLORES BACKWARD THINKING

Deploring backward, nostalgic thoughts of old Brooklyn in church matters, Dr. Cory urges that leaders and congregation members of churches look ahead to the opportunities of the present and future.

"Instead of looking back to the good old days, the aim should be," he points out, "to look forward to the opportunities of the present to serve the in-migrants who have come to the community in the last 2 decades. Many of our fine old churches have a unique opportunity in this changing pattern of life to administer to the needs of new groups who have moved into the old areas of the city, and the effective city church must slant its program to meet the need of the people living in its natural area.

"This can be done in many cases by existing local churches and in other instances on

an interdenominational basis by the opening of community churches," he declared, citing the Church of the Open Door in the civic center area as a fine example. In his own parish, Dr. Cory and the officers of the church have developed an inclusive program to meet the needs of a changing community.

FORESEES PROTESTANT EXPANSION

In listing favorable factors for Protestant expansion in the borough, Dr. Cory names four groups of what he terms "in-migrants": southern Negroes, who are traditionally Protestant; West Indian Negroes, who are largely Protestant; Puerto Ricans, whose traditional background is Catholic, but who reveal a large number of Protestant followers (about one-third), and displaced persons, mainly from the Baltic countries, Hungary and Germany, who are largely Protestant.

As executive secretary of the council's Brooklyn division, which is a clearing house and voice for the Protestant groups of the borough, Dr. Cory plans emphasis on a program which will strengthen the work and leadership among these new Protestant groups.

LIKE DAD, HE'S INTERESTED IN INDIANS

Dr. Cory, who was born in Manhattan on February 10, 1903, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. David Cory. His father is the well-known children's author, whose books on Sioux Indian life, The Little Indian series, have proven popular through the years. Dr. Cory has followed his father's interest in Indians and when several hundreds of Mohawks moved into the neighborhood of Cuyler church from the Canadian reservation, Caughnawaga, about 20 years ago, he planned a program to meet their needs.

Monthly services were held at the church in Iroquis, a language which Dr. Cory learned to read and speak, as he puts it, "after a fashion."

HARDY MEMBER OF ICEBERG ATHLETIC CLUB

He still finds time to be involved in many other activities, calling himself "chief trucking man" at the council's office, personally performing the duty of picking up dolls and other toys contributed for church collections for children.

Surprisingly, Dr. Cory is also a vice president of the Iceberg Athletic Club, a brave group which finds great pleasure in dipping into the Coney Island surf all the year around. He has not missed a weekly dip in 8 years and sometimes has had 2 icy plunges a week to "cool him off."

Next June he and his wife, Mina, an enthusiastic worker at the council's office, will observe their 26th wedding anniversary. Their children, David H., a second officer with the United States Lines; Mina E., a secretary with WNBT; Daniel T. and John M., both pupils at Friends School, will help them celebrate.

The Late Senator Burnet R. Maybank

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, South Carolina and the Nation have just lost one of its greatest citizens in the passing of Senator BURNET R. MAYBANK, of Charleston, S. C. I, with 2 million other South Carolinians, mourn the passing of this great American. Senator MAYBANK was a statesman and gained the respect of all his colleagues in the Senate and every other person privileged with his acquaintance.

I became acquainted with Senator MAYBANK while he was serving as mayor of the city of Charleston, S. C. I watched his career very closely from that time until his untimely passing. Senator MAYBANK made South Carolina one of its ablest governors and since that time has served with distinction as a Member of the United States Senate.

I wish that every person in the State of South Carolina had been privileged to know the late Senator MAYBANK as intimately as I was privileged to know him. He was a man with high principles, a heart of gold and a character of steel. He would never compromise any principle.

I shall greatly miss Senator MAYBANK as we assisted each other on numerous occasions in solving mutual problems. I remember very distinctly having Senator MAYBANK accompany me through the Pentagon Building on 2 or 3 distinct occasions in connection with securing an Army airbase for Florence, S. C., and Myrtle Beach, S. C., during World War II. He was also of great assistance to me in securing a Marine base at Georgetown, S. C., and in solving numerous other problems affecting the people of my District.

Senator MAYBANK called on me to assist him on a number of problems affecting our State and Nation. We usually saw eye to eye on the majority of the problems affecting our State and country. Our State and Nation can ill afford to lose many men of Senator MAYBANK'S character and ability. I feel extremely honored to have been considered one of Senator MAYBANK'S friends.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL BROWN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of our colleague, DWIGHT L. ROGERS, his district, his State, and the Nation lost a valuable public servant.

He was honest and honorable and highly respected by Members on both sides of the aisle. I do not think he had an enemy anywhere. He loved people. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to help someone.

He was born and reared in the State of Georgia, and graduated from the University of Georgia. A young man in his teens when he entered the university, he was admired by all and was elected president of the freshman class. Following his graduation at the university he practiced his profession for many years in Ocilla, Ga. He was a brilliant lawyer and highly esteemed by the judges and the lawyers.

His life was not a life spent in a mad struggle for material wealth. He possessed dignity without arrogance, and firmness without intolerance.

DWIGHT ROGERS will be greatly missed by all who knew him. I feel that I have lost one of my dearest friends. He always looked for the best in man and found it. Throughout his wonderful career I have never heard anyone speak ill of him.

I think every Member of this Chamber who knew DWIGHT ROGERS loved him and feels a great loss in his passing.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his beloved wife and children.

Christians in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the men of my hometown, Bryan, Tex., conduct what is called the layman's prayer meeting, which is a 45-minute devotional held every Friday morning in a local meeting place. It is composed of men from all walks of life and from all religious denominations. The various denominations take turns in conducting a 15-minute devotional period and program.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a paper entitled "Christians in Politics," prepared and read at one of these meetings by a young friend of mine, the Honorable Brownrigg H. Dewey, Jr., who at the present time is a member of the Texas State Legislature, representing my hometown. Brownrigg is an exceptional and able legislator, and I feel the following article is indicative of the honest and sincere feelings which this young man harbors with respect to his position. Who can fear for the future of America when we have young men of this caliber in public life. I commend the article to each and every Member of this body:

CHRISTIANS IN POLITICS—GOD-FEARING PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT

It is a pleasure for me to be here this morning and to talk to you a few minutes on Christians in politics or God-fearing people in government.

Each one of us has his own definition of a Christian. Mine is, a Christian is one that believes in Jesus Christ, that he died for our sins and that anyone who really believes in Him shall have everlasting life. Of course we know of our Jewish friends' belief in God. In this great country of ours we really have freedom of religion, and we each worship our God as we please.

Of course, our definitions of politics are many and varied. A law dictionary says "politics is a science of government, the art of practicing or administering public affairs." A science of civil government. We have what we call political sentiments, political law, political questions all dealing with politics. We think of campaigning, voting, and paying our poll tax as politics.

In America we have the greatest democracy in the world, and it has been said that the soul of a democracy is the Christian religion. Democracy is a reality for us and a vague

dream for others. No people can be free who do not maintain the privilege of paying their own bills.

Plutarch on Socrates said "They are wrong who think that politics is like an ocean voyage or a military campaign, something to be done with some particular end in view. Something which leaves off as soon as that end is reached. It is not a public chore to be got over with. It is a way of life. Politics and philosophy are alike, all your life, all the time, in everything you do, whatever you are doing, it is the time for philosophy. And so, also, it is of politics."

Why is it that a Christian is called to be a politician? We live in a time when many moral issues are won or lost in the arena of politics. It is our responsibility. We cannot run away from politics, it is immoral to do so. We have a tendency to forget or deny that all men are of sacred worth and that all are sinful. We must be humble and be concerned for others. The test, of course, is supreme loyalty to God and not to party. The independent voter counts only once in November, but a party voter counts twice, once in the primary and once in November.

Someone has said our most potent weapons are the BB's of Christian democracy: Bibles, backbone, brains, and ballots. Probably the reason America has done so well is that we have used our Bibles and ballots.

We are always saying that there are not enough hours in the day to get our work done and hardly enough money in the paycheck to give 20 to 35 percent to Caesar and 10 percent to God, and when we are needed in a meeting of the city council, school board, as well as in prayer meeting, it is hard for a Christian to draw the line between his duty to Caesar and his duty to God. We have a duty to both.

More than 700 years ago the Italian poet Dante said: "The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality."

We talk a lot about Communists in Government and we should be worried about the number of Christians in Government.

We are in for many an ethical dilemma where either choice means compromising some important value. Someone said, "What is wanted is an ethical sense of timing coupled with the capacity to work with practical politicians without being taken in by them."

Jesus used three figures of speech to describe the influence of Christians in society. He said, "They are like salt, preserving it from decay, (2) like light driving out the darkness of ignorance and sin, (3) like leaven pervading the whole mass, giving moral tone to all human relationships."

If Christians are to be effective in these ways, they must surely accept the responsibility of Christian citizenship.

We must realize that we are all politicians of one kind or another. One who abstains from taking part in the running of his country is simply an ineffective politician. He is a tool of all who would use politics for evil ends, the bosses, the peddlers of influence, the criminal element who live upon corruption in politics. You can be influential for good or bad, but you cannot avoid being influential. You may make little effort to know the issues and conditions and do something about them, but regardless of whether you make any effort or not you are bound to be affected by the state of things which prevail in your community.

Indifference to wrongdoing is still another attitude that keeps us from being Christian citizens. We are so engrossed in our own affairs and desires and ambitions that we do not make the problems of the city and the State and the Nation our concern.

Another reason for being a Christian citizen is that our public officials need your help. Most of them are inherently decent people. They would like to do a better job, and would if only the general public showed more positive interest in government and gave them year-round support. A question for us in what can the Christian citizen do?

1. He can understand that one person can be crucial in the democratic processes of government. One vote is important.

2. He can work in his local precinct and bring his sense of Christian spirit to these meetings.

3. He can study the issues and try to understand the problems of the day.

4. He can vote and get others to vote.

You can learn to distinguish propaganda which is inspired by hate, vindictiveness, narrowness, suspicion, and fear from the real facts and information.

When we speak of politics, we think about getting elected, campaigning, voting, passing special legislation, and keeping before the public. Anything you do to help yourself, some people say, is politics.

What are the essentials of a democracy?

1. Belief in work of the individual.

2. Democracy rests on the foundation of no class distinction.

3. Characteristic freedoms: freedom of opinion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, academic freedom, and freedom of religious faith.

4. Democracy relies on tolerance.

5. Democracy means hard work.

6. Democracy believes that governments determine their powers from the government.

7. Democracy consists of an indefinable spirit. It is a spirit of give and take, of live and let live. Fight for the candidate of your choice and accept the elected opponent.

Government is your job to make it good. One of our late Presidents said, "We must not be confused about the issue which confronts the world today. That issue is as old as recorded history. It is tyranny versus freedom. Tyranny has, throughout history, assumed many disguises, and has relied on many false philosophies to justify its attack on human freedom. Communism masquerades as the doctrine of progress. It is nothing of the kind. It is, on the contrary, a movement of reaction. It denies that man is master of his fate, and consequently denies man's right to govern himself. And even worse, communism denies the very existence of God. Religion is persecuted because it stands for freedom under God. This threat to our liberty and to our fate must be faced by each of us."

The Gallup poll says that 67 percent of American parents do not want their children to go into politics. One of the reasons being that the whole field of politics is bad. However, 81 percent of those parents held that unless people with good ideas do go into politics and into government "democracy will die." Today we face the problem of driving Communists out of Texas and the United States, and the question is whether you believe in human freedom or whether you believe in a police state.

How can we make ourselves better Christians in politics?

1. Know your officials, city commissioners, county commissioners, etc.

2. Know your Congressmen.

3. Follow the voting records of your Congressmen, legislators, and commissioners. Keep abreast of the issues before your local, State, and National Government. Join civic groups, register and vote. Encourage people to be interested in Government. Be interested yourself.

What are some of the National Christian political issues?

1. Unemployment.
2. Social security.
3. Soil conservation.
4. Slums.
5. Old-age assistance.
6. Health and accident insurance.
7. Simple honesty in Government. A political issue surely.
8. War or peace. World law or world anarchy, or world dictator.

Henry Clay once said: "Government is a trust and the officers of government trustees, and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people." This idea represents the hope and aspiration of all people who believe in a government of, by, and for the people. In government we always have the conflict between public and private interest, and, as Herbert Hoover puts it, "the absence or loss of the old virtues of integrity, truth, and honesty in public officials."

We know that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Thomas Jefferson said, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Britain's Catholic historian, Lord Acta, said: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power currupts absolutely." I would like to give you Bible of Americanism by Dr. Daniel L. Marty, former president of Boston University, which he calls the American canon:

1. The Mayflower Compact—our genesis.

2. The Declaration of Independence—our exodus.

3. Constitution of the United States—our book of law.

4. George Washington's Farewell Address—the greatest of our major and minor prophecies.

5. The Star-Spangled Banner—a national psalm.

6. Abraham Lincoln's Inaugural Address—the gospel of true Americanism.

7. Woodrow Wilson's last article, The Road Away From Revolution—the greatest of our epistles.

I would like to close with reading a prayer that was made by George Washington many years ago which is very applicable to this day and time.

"Almighty God, who has given us this good land for our heritage, we humbly beseech Thee that we may always prove ourselves a people mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will. Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning, and pure manners.

"Save us from violence, discord, and confusion; from pride and arrogance, and from every evil way.

"Defend our liberties and fashion into one united people the multitudes brought out of many kindreds and tongues.

"Endure with the spirit of wisdom those whom in Thy name we entrust the authority of government, that there may be peace and justice at home and that through obedience to Thy law, we may show forth Thy praise among the nations of the earth.

"In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble suffer not our trust in Thee to fail. All of which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

I challenge each of you to be better Christian citizens and take more interest in your government—local, State, and national—and your church.

JANUARY 7, 1955.

Four Days Is Short Notice for California Witnesses on H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN PHILLIPS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today, under unanimous consent, to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two

telegrams which were received in my office this morning, protesting the scheduling of hearings on the proposed reciprocal trade agreements, and H. R. 1, to begin next Monday the 17th. That is only 4 days away, which is hardly time to get Californians to Washington, let alone to prepare themselves adequately for the hearing.

I have written the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. COOPER], calling his attention to this situation, which I am sure was unintentional. I know that the hearings will be extended to give an opportunity for our people to prepare themselves and appear. The situation will affect various commodity groups in California, although the walnutgrowers and the almondgrowers are the only two from whom I have as yet received wires:

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., *January 13, 1955.*

Hon. JOHN PHILLIPS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Vigorously protest hasty scheduling of hearings by Ways and Means Committee on reciprocal-trade agreements, H. R. 1, beginning next Monday, because does not allow interested parties adequate time to prepare presentations. Tree-nut industries constantly endangered by excessive import competition, and believe committee exhibits prejudice against our viewpoint.

CALIFORNIA WALNUT GROWERS ASSOCIATION.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., *January 13, 1955.*

Hon. JOHN PHILLIPS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Rush hearings on H. R. 1 as set for January 17 are indicative of attempt to railroad measure seeking to dissipate existing congressional tariff authority. We earnestly urge you exert your fullest possible opposition to such steamroller tactics. Letter follows.

D. R. BAILEY,
General Manager,
California Almond Growers Exchange.

A Program of Financial Aid to Students in Higher Education and the Crisis in Western Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am joining with the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, CARL ELLIOTT, in sponsoring a bill to establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education. This bill was first developed by the United States Office of Education about 2 years ago in cooperation with some 30 leading national organizations in the field of education.

The Federal Government has now, as it has had in the past, an active responsibility for the education of our youth. This means not only institutional support as under the Morrill Land-Grant College and University Act of 1862, and special programs on a regional basis in such fields as public health and veterinary medicine, but also a concern for the post-high-school education of this Nation's students, who are not able, otherwise, to continue their formal schooling. The Federal Government's responsibility is not merely residual, as has been maintained by some who have held important national positions during the past 2 years but must, for the good of the Nation, be conceived of as a dynamic one where the national interest is directly involved. Federal funds should be available for this purpose where State and local support is lacking in view of the fact of the high percentage of young people who, though qualified in all other respects, are financially unable to continue their education. The active participation of the Federal Government may be needed in a variety of ways, for instance, to assist in identifying needy students who should be helped.

It should be obvious to everyone that the minimum need for this Nation in the world of today is to hold its own in all ways against Russian communism and to attempt to win friends in other countries. These efforts must include all fields of knowledge such as the natural and social sciences and the humanities.

In 1900 the United States spent $2 per capita on general governmental tasks as compared to $1 per capita on education. In 1953 the Federal educational effort was $76 per capita while general Federal expenditures, including defense, was $467 per capita. In other words, the ratio of educational to general Federal expenditures, which in 1900 was 1 to 2, had declined, in the intervening 50 years, to a radio of 1 to 6. This has taken place at a time when Russian communism has risen to commanding power leading a totalitarian power bloc of hundreds of millions of people. The correlation between these facts seems fairly evident.

It is very important that we develop ways and means to bring to the hundreds of millions of people who are still free and who look to us for leadership a true picture of our form of government so that in the struggle that is going on for the loyalty, the minds, the hearts, and the souls of men throughout the world they will turn to us rather than to the Russians. Strong and courageous leadership is needed. This bill will assist in the development of the kind of leadership without which we may well lose the cold war. A short summary of the provisions of the bill I am sponsoring follows:

SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSED STUDENT AID ACT OF 1955

Under the bill, Federal aid would be made available to selected students in higher education in the form of scholarship stipends. The bill would also provide for Federal insurance of loans to students made by institutions of higher education. The institution, however, could assign its rights under such insurance to a financial institution as security to obtain funds for making loans to students.

Any high-school graduate would be eligible to apply for a scholarship. From among those applying, those showing greatest promise would be granted certificates showing that they are American scholars. Stipends would be granted to the neediest among these scholars, the amount of the stipdend varying with the demonstrated need of the recipient, but not exceeding $800 per acedemic year. The recipient could attend any bona fide college or university of his choice which admits him; and so long as he continued in good standing at the educational institution, his stipend would be paid directly to him in installments suited to the demands of the academic year.

During a time of active hostilities or when found by the President to be necessary in the interest of national defense, at least 60 percent of the stipdends must go to students engaging in studies which are determined in a manner prescribed by the President to be related to the national defense or defense-supporting activities. Scholars receiving stipends thus earmarked must, in general, contiue their studies in the designated fields if they wish to continue receiving stipends.

The stipends are subject to annual renewal for the normal course of time necessary to complete the work for the first posthigh-chool degree, the amount of the stipend being fixed each year in terms of the financial need of each student.

The bill would authorize appropriations not exceeding $32 million for scholarship stipends for the fiscal year 1956, $64 million for the next year, $96 million for the third year, and $128 million thereafter. Each State would be allotted a proportionate share of the funds available each year, the amount being based on the number of high school graduates in the State and the number of youths between the ages of 18 and 21. The number of persons aided would depend on the amount of money appropriated by Congress; but the bill contemplates that when the program is in full operation approximately 50,000 to 60,000 men and women will enter college or university each year with the aid of Federal stipends of varying amounts.

Scholarship commissions in each State would receive applications from students, conduct the objective examinations to select the abler among the applicants, assess the financial need of those qualifying as scholars, and certify to the Commissioner of Education the persons eligible to be certified as scholars and those among the able whose financial need justifies the payment of a stipend, with the amount of the stipend in each case.

A national council on student aid, composed of 12 persons representative of individual, organizational, and professional interests in education and of the public, would advise and assist the Commissioner in the development of principles to guide the State commissions in the selection of persons for scholarship certificates and stipends, and on other important policy matters arising in the administration of the act. Provision is also made for consultation between the Office of Education and the

various Federal agencies, such as the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Science Foundation, and the Department of Defense, which operate special programs of aid to undergraduate and graduate students. The bill is so drawn as to assure full coordination of the Federal scholarship program with other federally supported programs which aid students in higher education.

The loan insurance program would eventually be self-financing, with the participating colleges and universities paying insurance premiums in to a revolving fund established in the United States Treasury, out of which 80 percent of the loss on each insured student loan would be paid. The interest rate charged the student would be geared to the average interest paid on marketable United States Treasury obligations. The institution would be permitted to charge the student this rate plus an additional amount of not more than 1 percent, plus the insurance premium charged by the Federal Government.

The student would not have to start repaying the principal of his loan until 4 years after he completes his education, and then would be given an additional 6 years to repay it. The institution could charge an additional 1 percent interest beginning at the time payments on the principal become due.

With their losses thus insured by the Federal Government, it is expected that the educational institutions would have no difficulty in borrowing money from banks or other financial institutions with which to make loans to students. They could, if they wished, use their own funds or student loan funds over which they have control.

Any student would be permitted to borrow from educational institutions up to $600 a year and up to $2,400 in the aggregate. The total principal amount of new loans to students covered by insurance under the act in any fiscal year would be limited to $10 million.

Mack Resubmits Moro Vets Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the National Tribune-the Stars and Stripes, of January 13, 1955, entitled "MACK Resubmits Moro Vets Bill:

MACK RESUBMITS MORO VETS BILL—WOULD PENSION THOSE WHO FOUGHT TO 1914—IDENTICAL MEASURES DROPPED IN HOPPER

A new version of the Moro-Leyte-Samar veterans' bill, House Joint Resolution 65, was introduced in the House of Representatives on January 5 by Representative RUSSELL V. MACK, World War I veteran, of Washington. Identical bills were also introduced by Representatives GEORGE S. LONG, of Louisiana; BARRATT O'HARA, Spanish War veteran, of Illinois; ROY W. WIER, World War I veteran, of Minnesota, and EDITH NOURSE ROGERS of Massachusetts.

The new bill, according to Jack Kyle, national legislative representative of the 1902–14 Philippine Command Committee, is designed to overcome numerous objections to similar bills in previous Congresses. The old bills, Kyle said, undertook to write a new principle into veterans' legislation. Under their provisions, he said, pension payments would have been limited to those who could clearly establish combat service. Kyle pointed out that no such restriction or limitation is contained in the Spanish-American War Service Pension Act which House Joint Resolution 65 would extend to all who served in the Moro Province and in the islands of Leyte and Samar after July 4, 1902, and prior to the day following the last armed engagement in the province or islands in which they served, but no pension would be payable for any service after December 31, 1913.

The insular forces of the Philippines—the Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts—are specifically included in House Joint Resolution 65, but there was considerable doubt in the minds of many that they were covered in most of the bills in earlier Congresses.

MACK ISSUES STATEMENT

Congressman MACK issued a brief statement when he introduced his legislation which would grant to some 500 veterans of the Philippine Insurrection and an estimated 300 dependents the same benefits as are now available to Spanish war veterans.

"This legislation would apply to those members of the Armed Forces who served in the Moro Province, including Mindanao, or in the islands of Leyte and Samar between July 4, 1902, and January 1, 1914," he said.

"Similar bills have been approved on four occasions by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee. On two occasions the House of Representatives has passed similar legislation. During the 78th Congress, such a bill was also passed by the Senate but vetoed by President Roosevelt.

"The Philippine Insurrection, which followed the war with Spain, was officially terminated by Presidential proclamation on July 4, 1902. The actual fighting continued, however, and between that time and January 1914 some 103 engagements were fought. The intensity and extent of the fighting is indicated by the fact that the Army awarded 11 Congressional Medals of Honor to members of the armed services for service in this area during this period. The number of casualties during the same period was about equal to those of the Spanish-American War itself."

A similar bill, H. R. 5380, was unanimously reported by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the 83d Congress, but was killed in the House Rules Committee.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

House Joint Resolution 65 reads as follows:

"Whereas the Philippine Insurrection was ended by the Presidential proclamation of July 4, 1902, in all parts of the Philippine Archipelago except in the country inhabited by the Moro tribes, to which the proclamation did not apply; and

"Whereas it was necessary for the Government of the United States to employ its Armed Forces, including insular forces, against numerous inhabitants of the country inhabited by the Moro tribes who were in armed insurrection against the authority of the United States and/or political subdivisions thereof until in the year of 1913; and

"Whereas notwithstanding the aforementioned proclamation, armed hostilities did continue in the Islands of Leyte and Samar after July 4, 1902, necessitating the employment of the Armed Forces of the United States, including insular forces, against numerous inhabitants of the said islands who were also in armed insurrection against the authority of the United States and/or political subdivisions thereof; and

"Whereas it has ever been the policy of the Congress to enact uniform and all inclusive pension legislation for the relief of former members of the Armed Forces who were employed in upholding and/or enforcing the authority of the United States and its political subdivisions in the States, Territories and insular possessions thereof: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved, etc.*, That any person who served in the Armed Forces of the United States in the Moro Province, including Mindanao, or in the Islands of Leyte and Samar, after July 4, 1902, and prior to the first day following the last armed engagement between the Armed Forces of the United States and inhabitants of the Philippine Islands in the province or island in which he served, and who was honorably discharged from the enlistment in which such service occurred, and the surviving unremarried widow, child, or children of such person shall be entitled to pension under the conditions and at the rates prescribed by the laws reenacted by Public Law 269, 74th Congress, as now or hereafter amended: *Provided*, That no such pension shall be paid for service after December 31, 1913.

"SEC. 2. For the purpose of this act, the Armed Forces of the United States shall include the Armed Forces of the insular Government of the Philippine Islands.

"SEC. 3. This act shall be effective on the first day of the calendar month in which it is approved."

Coexistence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I enclose an editorial appearing in the December 31, 1954 issue of the Catholic Standard, the official publication of the archdiocese of Washington. The editorial is a well considered and prepared one, expressing views worthy of deep consideration, particularly by Members of Congress:

COEXISTENCE

The dedication of the past Sunday, the feast of St. Stephen, as a special day of prayer for the persecuted, presents more than a solemn reminder to Christians of their duty to pray for those who are following the glorius example of St. Stephen. It also presents to Christians still free the problem of coexistence with this evil, communism.

Communism has proclaimed to the world its essential evil in a repetitious, ghastly pattern: the 10,000 Polish officers and priests slain like cattle at Katyn; the murder of Jews in Russia under the new crime called cosmopolitanism; the torture of American Protestant missionaries in China to extort accusations against their fellow prisoners; the shooting of manacled American prisoners of war in Korea; the clubbing of men, the snatching of babies from mothers in Vietnam, despite a solemn agreement in Geneva a few days previous, to prevent their seeking freedom in South Vietnam; the mass deportations that have terrorized and depopulated Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania; the imprisonment of the cardinal primates of two great

Christian nations, Poland and Hungary, one cardinal being imprisoned immediately after his elevation so that the red hat became a symbol of his destiny. These are a few, but typical, glimpses of the horrifying and stupendous evil that has condemned to slave camps 15 million souls and has throttled the freedom of 800 million people living in nationwide prisons.

CHARACTER OF COMMUNISM

Look where we may at communism throughout the world, it presents the continuing denial of God's existence and His image in the sacred character of human personality. It could not be otherwise, for communism is complete materialism and matter yields only to force; it recognizes no rights except those granted exclusively by the state.

So long as these realities persist, we must remain skeptical when we hear that the new rulers of Russia are reasonable men whose only aim is peaceful coexistence. The acid test for such assertions was given years ago by our Divine Savior, "By their fruits you shall know them." In this spirit, our own President asked for deeds, not words, as evidence of change of attitude. (November 23, 1954, press conference.)

We do not deny that some apparent changes have occurred. Only recently powerful leaders of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union rebuked their followers for intemperate attacks upon religion. The secretary of the party addressed friendly words to a Catholic priest who spoke to him on the subject of religious persecution. In area after area, there are carefully planted hints that a new regime is now in power and that moderation, peace, and friendliness will now be the order of the day. The lion shows no change in his nature, but he is now ready to coexist with the lamb. Peace is to reign in the world again.

MEANING OF TRUE PEACE

Peace is a word that we all welcome. We are followers of Him who is called the Prince of Peace. The angels who greeted His coming promised peace to men of good will. Yet our Divine Savior did not embrace the idea of peace at any price. At one time He even said, when a conflict of principle was involved, "Do not think that I came to send peace upon the earth; I have come to bring a sword, not peace. For I have come to set a man at variance with his father, and a daughter with her mother * * * and a man's enemies will be those of his own household." (St. Matthew 34–36.) Of course, we know that our Lord does not desire war or discord. But He does place principle above mere harmony. Those who follow Him must at times accept strife, even death, rather than deny the high ideals He has given them.

We pray for peace. But our prayer is for the real peace of Christ, not the conformity that rules within prison walls or the cowed submission of a weakling in the face of the attacks of a bully. Our peace is one of honor, of justice, of strength. As our President, speaking for our country, said before Christmas, "She speaks for peace based upon decency and human rights. But let no man think that we want peace at any price; that we shall forsake principle in resigned tolerance of obvious evil; that we may pawn our honor for transitory concession."

These thoughts we must remember in the months ahead, as leaders of the world debate the thorny question of coexistence. They will need our prayers in this difficult task. But more than that, they will need the guidance of religious men everywhere, to encourage them to live up to high principle and not to sell the priceless heritage of man's freedom for honeyed words and empty promises.

MEANINGS OF COEXISTENCE

Coexistence, by itself, is a term of many meanings. It can be used to mean something beneficent, such as the harmonious living together of many different strains and cultures in the unity of our great Nation. We live and work together, Protestant, Jew, and Catholic; immigrants and descendants of the pioneer settlers; men and women of many races, all united in the knowledge that our democracy respects man's God-given rights.

But coexistence could also mean another Munich, appeasement of the dictator in the hope of buying him off at the expense of helpless peoples. It could mean trades and deals that practically recognize the ruthless regimes of communism, thus defiling our honor and betraying the hopes that untold millions have placed in us. It could involve acceptance of words instead of deeds, a grasping at a temporary peace that could lead to our certain ultimate destruction. Let us always have the wisdom to look behind the label and see precisely what is the meaning of this term we use so glibly.

CONDITIONS FOR NEGOTIATION

To safeguard ourselves from the acceptance of a ruinous coexistence which means, in practice, denial of principle, we should insist on the fulfillment of the following conditions during any negotiations with the Communists:

First, that we continue to negotiate on the basis of principle, not appeasement; of strength, not weakness. We do not seek war nor welcome it, but we would rather undergo war than become slaves to a godless dictatorship. We will not buy peace at the price of slavery.

Second, that any program of peace and disarmament consider all forms of war and all causes of war. Military conquest is not the sole means of enslaving peoples today, nor are conventional or atomic arms the only ways of conquest. Intrigue, subversion, propaganda and economic pressure are also weapons in the struggle of our age. They are weapons which have been used to diabolical perfection by the enemy of God and man. We must insist, therefore, not only that disarmament be carried out by them as a condition for disarmament by us but that they also desist from the nefarious means they have used to subvert and conquer nations.

Third, that no agreement be reached at the price of sanctioning past, present, or future injustice. We may not, short of war, be able to correct the gross injustice visited upon many peoples in the last decade. We may feel that the evils of such a war would be greater than the good it might accomplish in liberating the oppressed. But, as the President said, "we dare not forget crimes against justice, denial of mercy, violation of human dignity. To forget is to condone and to provoke new outrage." We should at least unleash the moral strength of the world by calling tyranny and oppression by its right name.

Fourth, that any relaxation of barriers be truly reciprocal. If we are to lift restraints upon dealings behind the Iron Curtain and give even greater freedom to the emissaries of communism, we should in turn demand equal rights to meet freely with the oppressed peoples and to tell them of our ideals and practices. We need not fear any such exchange. We may hope that it may lead to a gradual removal of the shackles which now bind these hapless victims or the curtain which hides their plight.

Fifth, that we who believe in God and honor His name should cautiously await to see if the words of the Soviet promising religious toleration are matched by deeds. When freedom is given equally to all faiths in all parts of the Soviet empire, when ministers of religion may teach the children as well as hold services for adults, when they are allowed to speak freely the word of God, when they may communicate without restraint with other believers throughout the world—Jew with Jew, Protestant with Protestant, Orthodox with Orthodox, and Catholic with Catholic—then only can we believe that there is reality behind the honeyed words of Mr. Krushchev.

CORRECT ATTITUDE AND OBLIGATION

Only if these conditions are fulfilled, can we hopefully accept coexistence with the Communist world, whether Soviet or Yugoslav. We can tolerate present coexistence as an alternative to the unlimited destruction of modern war, fearing that possibly total war may bring an increased evil, not its alleviation. We cannot admit the present coexistence as an acceptable, correct political arrangement in the same sense that democracies accept coexistence with principled monarchies or other legitimate governments. We should not live with communism on its own terms. We should never condone warlike actions as peace; tyranny as a people's democracy; injustice as right; or falsehood as truth. Men sometimes are helpless before brute force, but those who are free should never hesitate to speak the truth.

Now is the time for this Nation to offer moral leadership to the world, as it already enjoys political, economic, and military preeminence. The ultimate battle in our struggle with communism is in the realm of the spirit. We face a conflict for men's minds and men's souls. Too often we have lost segments of this war by default. We have seemed to other peoples to be a materialist, godless, undisciplined, and sensual nation.

MEANS OF MEETING OBLIGATION

Against this distorted view, alas not wholly false, let us first affirm the spiritual foundations of our democracy. Let God and His law be honored and effective in our political life, in our schools and universities, and in the great media which mold public opinion here and throughout the world. Surely all of us, of all religious faiths, can increase our efforts in this regard. Fruitful beginnings of such action, seen in a national conference held in this city last month, should be an encouragement to even more ambitious achievement. Religious leaders of all faiths here found a ground for harmonious discussion and a field for united action.

As the practical application of this truth, we must keep before our eyes and proclaim fearlessly the God who made us. We must not only pray to God, we must carry prayer into action. The Holy Father emphasized this need in his impassioned plea at Christmas, "Lastly, to all peoples, to their rulers, to those who bear the responsibility of the world's destinies, may the message of goodness and peace of the Son of God made man reach out—and be welcomed in the sincerity of deeds." This is a duty at any time; its fulfillment is more urgent now. In the words of a noted international authority, "What disturbs the Communist rulers is not the phraseology of religion, the lip service that may be paid to it, or the speeches and declarations made in its favor. They are apprehensive before the profound social consequences of a religion that is carried into practice." Our own Benjamin Franklin stated this truth more succinctly, "He who shall introduce into public affairs the principles of primitive Christianity, will change the face of the earth."

Further, we must reaffirm the spiritual nature of our struggle against communism. Surely if God-fearing men throughout the world realized the real nature of this menace there would be no neutrality in the present world crisis. Men might still disagree about the wisdom of particular political, military, or economic measures. But they would be united in their determination to stand firm against this godless tide. Here also is a cause in which we can stand together, regardless of differences in our religious beliefs.

Therefore, we must avoid as self-defeating the use of Communist terminology and

thought in combating communism. When the sufferings of large groups of persons become an impersonal problem, when we enlist the selfish interest of certain blocs of society, or even use religion as a military auxiliary in the fight against communism we have lost sight of the real conflict. Communism is not wrong simply because it will confiscate the fortunes of the wealthy or because its industrial system produces less goods—it is wrong because it denies man's freedom, man's will, man's soul.

Finally, let us be patient and understanding with those who must deal with other nations in making the momentous decisions of our time. The pace of international progress may be too slow in the judgment of many of us, but we should not overlook the fearful responsibility thrust upon the leaders of state at this hour. Allies may seem to disappoint us; the work of the United Nations may appear less effective than we hoped; the urge for simple, dramatic, and drastic decisions may be strong. But the stakes are high in the fateful decisions of today. Decisions reached may literally be world-shaking. Let not lack of decisive progress impel us to intemperate and ill-considered action. Above all, let us avoid strife and political aggrandizement at home that puts party or personal advantage above national interest.

PRAYER NEEDED

We face difficult years ahead. But all things are possible to those who believe and pray and carry prayer into action. As we face the challenge of moral leadership let us pray in the spirit of Archbishop Carroll, who invoked God's blessing upon our beloved country:

"We pray Thee, O God of might, wisdom, and justice, through Whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted, and judgment decreed, assist, with Thy Holy Spirit of counsel and fortitude, the President of these United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness and be eminently useful to Thy people over whom he presides.

"Let the light of Thy divine wisdom direct the deliberations of the Congress, and shine forth in all the proceedings and laws framed for our rule and Government; so that they may tend to the preservation of peace, the promotion of national happiness, the increase of industry, sobriety, and useful knowledge, and may perpetuate to us the blessings of equal liberty.

"We recommend likewise to Thy unbounded mercy all our brethren and fellow citizens, throughout the United States, that they may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy most holy law; that they may be preserved in union and in that peace which the world cannot give; and, after enjoying the blessings of this life, be admitted to those which are eternal."

New Front in the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following article from the December 13 issue of Time magazine which carries some pungent comment on our search for a workable foreign economic policy:

NEW FRONT IN THE COLD WAR—THE UNITED STATES SEARCHES FOR A WORLD ECONOMIC POLICY

The United States is preparing to open a new front in the cold war—an economic front. On presidential instructions, former Budget Director Joseph M. Dodge hastened back to Washington from his Detroit bank to undertake a sweeping review of "the entire field of cold war economic strategy." Secretary of State Dulles is pressing for a huge expansion of United States investments abroad; Foreign Operations Director Harold Stassen, whose department is slated to go out of business next summer, has proposed an ambitious scheme which is already being called a Marshall Plan for Asia.

The air is full of plans, but they have yet to undergo a purification by budget. Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, a hard man with a dollar and a weighty man in the Cabinet, is against any large-scale foreign spending; banker Dodge thinks Harold Stassen's plans are dangerously dreamy. The foreign aid enthusiasts think Humphrey and Dodge are dangerously unimaginative. But despite individual differences, the Cabinet is unanimous in its belief that the character of the cold war is changing, and that the United States urgently needs to reshape its foreign policy. The objective is to shift the emphasis of United States world strategy away from military containment, which leaves the initiative with the Communists closer to economic "liberation," with the emphasis on advance.

PAX ATOMICA

Currently, United States policy suffers from what one State Department man calls a heavy military bias. Too many United States officials have fallen into the habit of measuring progress or security exclusively by the number of nuclear explosions, the number of divisions mobilized. The result is that the United States is stuck with a war-like vocabulary (e. g., "massive retaliation"), while the Communists, who continue to aggress, have stolen the words of peace (e. g., "coexistence").

President Eisenhower is convinced that there is no longer any alternative to peace. The British believe that the world is entering a period of pax atomica, based on a recognition by both sides of a nuclear standoff. The new phrase spreading in both London and Washington is competitive coexistence.

In the next 10 years, warned the State Department last week, the main cold-war battleground may well be economic. "The leaders of the Soviet Union," said one of its experts, "are apparently proceeding on the theory that economics is the Achilles heel of the West." To meet this challenge, which in a period of cold peace might prove more dangerous than all the fleets and armies of Moscow and Peking, the United States needs to prove that democracy and capitalism have more to offer—in terms of freedom, justice, and plenty—than the Communists ever can. What is needed is no less than a new world economic policy.

The challenge is immense; it conjurs up a vision of United States capital and skill flowing out to far-off lands to dam great rivers, dig new mines, so that millions who know only hunger may share in the freedom and plenty that Americans take for granted. But the businessmen in the Eisenhower Cabinet are not interested in a return to expensive giveaway programs. Their WEP is based on spreading abroad the practices and philosophy that have made the United States the wealthiest, most progressive nation in history. Foreign investment is to the advantage of other nations who lack the capital to develop their resources; it is also to the advantage of the United States.

FOUR MILLION DEPENDENTS

With but 6 percent of the population, the United States produces and consumes almost 50 percent of the world's annual output of goods and services. Yet if Americans tried to make do without foreign trade, their standard of living would dwindle overnight. There would be no coffee, tea, or bananas in the United States shops; sugar and pineapples would be priced sky-high. Telephones (which need 48 different materials from 18 foreign countries), automobiles (300 items from 56 foreign countries) and shoe polish (8 items from abroad) would be scarce and more expensive. Said Harold Stassen last year: "The United States depends on the outside world for 100 percent of its tin, mica, asbestos, and chrome, for 99 percent of its nickel, 95 percent of its manganese, 93 percent of its cobalt, 67 percent of its wool, 65 percent of its bauxite, 55 percent of its lead, 42 percent of its copper."

Still more does United States prosperity depend on export markets. Four million Americans work directly for overseas customers. In 1952 United States foreign sales of earth-grading machinery were equal to 30 percent of production; tractors, 23 percent; textile machinery, 22 percent; typewriters, 19 percent; trucks and buses, 16 percent; refrigerators, 13 percent; cotton textiles, 9 percent. United States farmers exported the produce of 40 million acres of land—between one-quarter and one-half of all their cotton, tobacco, corn, and wheat. About 30 percent of all United States farm marketings are dependent on foreign buyers, and in 1951 farm-export income, divided evenly among United States farmers, equaled $1,100 per farm.

OFF THE UNITED STATES DOLE

Every year, still more Americans become dependent on foreign trade. United States productive capacity is outrunning United States domestic demand, and the result is that thousands of businessmen are seeking bigger outlets abroad. But if overseas customers are to buy more United States goods, providing more jobs for United States workers, they must obtain the dollars with which to pay for them. In the years after World War II, United States foreign-aid programs helped provide these dollars, 35 billion of them, not counting military spending. But the era of donation diplomacy is past. "The world must soon stand on its own feet," says Clarence B. Randall, chairman of the United States Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. "It must come off the American dole, as it wants to do, and earn its own way, as it is determined to do."

To help the rest of the world stand on its own feet, against poverty and communism, is the principal objective of a world-economic policy. Such a policy requires two simultaneous economic offensives: (1) a vigorous expansion of free-world trade; (2) a drive to raise living standards in the underdeveloped lands of Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

EXPANDING WORLD TRADE

Since 1939, world trade has been out of joint. Buffeted by war and cold war, it limps along a narrow defile between the face of the Iron Curtain and the perils of the "dollar gap." This year there has been marked improvement. Europe is back on its feet (Time, November 29), and 11 of its trading nations, accounting for three-quarters of its imports from North America, are quietly dismantling their restrictions on free trade. In some cases (e. g., Benelux) controls have been removed on almost 90 percent of all dollar imports. The vast sterling area, which accounts for 40 percent of all world trade, is slowly and cautiously approaching the day when the pound (and with it, most other currencies) will be declared freely convertible into dollars.

What happens next rests squarely with the United States. "As the strongest economic power," said the influential Committee for Economic Development last month "the direction which our tariff policy takes will • • • determine whether the free world moves ahead to widening markets and expanding production."

CHEESE AND SCARVES

Many United States tariff policies are still geared to the outdated habits of a nation trying to get onto its economic feet. Others are contradictory, and even self-defeating. Examples:

United States Marshall plan experts helped the Danes expand their blue-cheese industry, so that Denmark could earn the dollars it needed to buy United States goods. But when the Danes started selling their cheese, the United States imposed a quota to keep all but a sliver of foreign blue cheese out.

The United States lays great stress on the 1921 Anti-Dumping Act, which protects domestic markets from the unfair competition of foreign products sold below cost. Yet under the burden of its surpluses,[1] the United States is peddling abroad $1.4 billion worth of food, some of it in 6 million Christmas parcels to be distributed free by United States troops, much more at cut-rate prices that undermine its allies' markets.

Complaints about these, and countless other anomalies, pour into Washington each week. Last month 33 out of the 34 members of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) censured the United States for restricting dairy imports by quota. The London Economist wrote: "The United States is seeking two worlds—one where it can sell its surpluses freely, and another where no other country can sell farm products freely to it." Said a Japanese businessman: "The Americans tell us not to trade with the Communists, then they turn around and raise their duties on silk scarves. It doesn't make sense."

Foreign businessmen consider these the biggest United States obstacles to expanding world trade.

The United States tariff wall. Yearly, the United States imports about $11 billion worth of goods: of these, half enter duty free, and two-fifths pay duties of less than 30 percent. Yet cheap sun glasses pay 335.7 percent ad valorem, pocket knives with folding blades 89.5 percent, concentrated lemon juice 85 percent.

The Buy American Act, which prohibits the United States Government from buying foreign products unless the equivalent United States product costs at least 25 percent higher. Cost to the United States taxpayer in unnecessary Federal expenditures: $100 million per year. Already, in individual cases, the Eisenhower administration is seeking ways to get around this depression measure.

United States customs procedure. "Many goods take longer to pass through customs than it took Columbus to discover America," said a 1953 United States Government report. There are 20 different chargeable rates on fine animal hair; half a dozen for leather gloves, depending on whether the seam is sewn by hand or by machine. Charges often vary as much as 25 percent between New York and New Orleans, and at the end of 1953 there were some 750,000 unsettled customs entries—the equivalent of a full year's work—pending on inspectors' desks.

ADVICE TO CONGRESS

To remedy the worst of these abuses, the Randall Commission proposed a cautious middle-of-the-road program (Time, Feb. 1). It advised Congress to:

Extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for at least 3 years.

Empower the President to cut all tariff rates by 5 percent each year over a period of 3 years.

Authorize the President to slash existing tariffs to not more than 50 percent ad valorem at his discretion.

Simplify tariff classifications and customs procedures.

Change the Buy American Act to permit foreign companies to bid on United States Government contracts without discrimination.

The timidity of the Randall Commission's recommendations was rooted in the notion that a bolder program could not get past high-tariff Republicans in Congress. President Eisenhower did not back the Randall proposals with his full prestige, and protectionists in Congress killed the program anyway. But Ike has decided to try again in January, and he should have more luck, since low-tariff Democrats will occupy the key committee chairmanships in both House and Senate.

RAISING LIVING STANDARDS

What Europe needs is trade; what Asia, Latin America, and Africa need is capital and know-how. Perhaps 1 billion people in these continents are experiencing what economists call a revolution of expectations. A fairly simple western notion—that poverty, disease, and illiteracy are not inevitable—is spreading like fiery crosses among folk who for centuries have remained apathetic to advance. Having emancipated themselves from colonialism, millions of human beings are consumed by an aching need to pull themselves up from economic servitude. They look to industrialization as a magic panacea.

This blind and touching belief, and the rising expectations that impel it, have been seized upon by the Communists as a powerful lever of influence. From Moscow and Peking, communism is held out as a shortcut to material progress. Recently John Foster Dulles warned Americans that the Communists' "cruel system • • • does have a certain fascination for the peoples of underdeveloped countries who feel that their own economies are standing still." The danger is that those who compulsively hunger for economic advance will opt for the Communist alternative, if democracy's methods are too slow.

PARTNERSHIP FOR GROWTH

To meet this need and challenge, the Eisenhower administration is considering an imaginative proposal originally offered to the Government by MIT's Center for International Studies. Backed by a powerful segment of the State Department and by FOA's Harold Stassen, it calls on the United States to launch and lead a free world partnership for economic growth.

To start it going, the United States would earmark between $2 and $3 billion a year (about one-fifteenth of its arms budget) for the next 5 years, to provide an investment fund for underdeveloped nations. Britain and other industrial nations would be asked to supply additional billions; private investors, most of them Americans, would be encouraged to add to the kitty. Loans from this giant fund would be made available to the have-not nations without military or political strings, but each borrower would be expected to concentrate on those industries for which climate and resources best fitted it: there would be no partnership money to set up uncompetitive prestige industries, which might require high-tariff protection.

FAVORABLE BATTLEGROUND

Partnership protagonists in Washington expect to avoid the big error of the Marshall plan—that of handing over United States aid on a government-to-government basis. As soon as the pumps are primed, partnership loans to governments would be quickly tapered off, and the building of dams and factories left to private capital, operating for profit. The partnership would also provide United States and European technicians, to teach Indians, Bolivians, Egyptians, how modern industry is run. United States experts believe that atomic-energy reactors might be used efficaciously to provide some of the power for industries in fuel-scarce areas.

State Department planners have accepted as a target MIT's cautious estimate that, once started World Partnership for Growth would make possible an overall 1 percent annual increase in income per capita for the underdeveloped nations of the world. Considering the poverity and vast size of the populations involved, this is no mean target. But it is easily within the giant capabilities of the United States.

Together with the President's program for expanding world trade, some such world-investment program is indispensable to (1) the security, and (2) the future prosperity of the United States. For if the West loses the struggle for one billion in-betweens, on three continents, the balance of world power may go in favor of communism.

There will be resistance to a world economic policy—at home and abroad. But economics, a field in which Americans excel, is a battleground which the United States might gladly choose to fight on.

[1] As of September 30, the United States was holding history's greatest hoard of unsold food and fibers: $6.4 billion worth, including 377 million pounds of butter, 550 million pounds of cottonseed oil, 743 million bushels of wheat, 2 million pounds of tobacco.

Max Abelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following articles from the Brooklyn Eagle of June 5, 1954, and June 6, 1954, and the Jewish Daily Forward of June 26, 1954, which are a fine tribute to a distinguished Brooklynite, Max Abelman:

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of June 5, 1954]

ABELMAN IN NEW ROLE, SALVAGING MARRIAGES

Max Abelman, long identified with philanthropic and hospital work in Brooklyn, has set his sights on another of the borough's—and for that matter the Nation's problems—effecting reconciliation of couples about to terminate their marriages in the courts.

The public-relations wizard, who recently retired as secretary of the board of Jewish Hospital and long a leading figure in many other charitable causes, volunteered his services to Supreme Court Justice Maximilian Moss. The latter is currently sitting in the matrimonial part of Brooklyn Supreme Court.

Since he began his work about 2 weeks ago, Abelman has effected three reconciliations of couples about to be divorced or legally separated.

He has also managed to prevent several drawn-out court battles by conciliating differences about alimony, property rights, etc., even though the marriage itself was beyond repair.

Justice Moss explained that he, like other jurists, asks the lawyers in each case if there is any chance of reconciliation and, if there is, he talks to the couple privately without their lawyers.

However, these conferences frequently delay the trial of other cases, so Justice Moss asked Abelman to preside over a reconciliation conference. Abelman's success and enthusiasm for the job prompted the jurist to ask him to continue.

As a result, the 67-year-old fund raiser has been spending several hours a day for the past 2 weeks in Justice Moss' chambers attempting to patch up marriages.

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of June 6, 1954]

ONE MAN SAYS

(By Robert M. Grannis)

Months ago, when Max Abelman retired as public-relations director of the Jewish Hospital, I had a feeling that this great humanitarian was incapable of calling it a day. As long as there is life and a will and such devotion to the community, the final curtain on a busy life cannot descend. And it was no surprise to me at all when I learned that my good friend for so many years was lending his services to Supreme Court Justice Moss in the needed work of attempting to patch up broken marriages. And he has done well in this volunteer role because Max is a gentle guy who understands people and their problems, and to him I say "Bless you, Kid, and stay active," because there are too few Abelmans on the scene and none can be spared.

[From the Jewish Daily Forward of June 26, 1954]

MAX ABELMAN HELPS BRING TOGETHER COUPLES WHO HAVE QUARRELED

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Brooklyn Jew who helps a supreme court judge smooth out family quarrels—his name is Max Abelman, and they call him the Ambassador From Brooklyn. He spent 50 years in community work; in 40 years he raised $100 million for the Government and for Jewish organizations, and now for a talk with him.)

(By S. Regensberg; translated by Sylvia Haironson)

In Brooklyn supreme court sat the Jewish judge, Maximilian Moss, the former president of the board of education, worried. Couples who have quarreled are brought before the judge, fathers and mothers of children, who are unfriendly toward each other. The judge doesn't want to help them part. He asks the lawyers on both sides if there is a hope that the couple will make up. If the lawyers say "Yes" he leaves them in the court, and has a session with the couple privately. Such a procedure, however, delays the progress of other cases. Several weeks ago, the supreme court judge noticed a friend of his, Max Abelman, with whom he worked for many years in various organizations, sitting in his court. He called him over and invited him to sit down near him on the bench. Just then they brought in a couple who had quarreled. The judge's urging that the man and wife make up because of their children did not help and he turned to his friend and said, "Max, take this couple into my private chambers and see what you can do with them." In a half hour, the couple came out of the judge's office, smiling, arm in arm. Since then, Max Abelman, who is thought of as the unofficial ambassador of Brooklyn, every day sits by the side of the judge, whom he helped to reconcile many couples.

Who is this Max Abelman, who has a more convincing influence than the judge and the lawyers? Max (Melech) Abelman is 67 years old. He devoted 50 years to doing good. He didn't save up any money from his work, but he possesses good friends among whom are most prominent Jewish and American personalities.

His parents brought him to America from Jassy, Rumania, when he was 5 years old. For many years, Max Abelman has been thought of as an expert fund raiser. In 40 years, he collected $100 million, almost half for Uncle Sam in Liberty bonds in the First World War. Jewish charity organizations in New York and other cities in the country ask his advice on how to raise money for their organizations. He helped not only Jewish, but also Protestant and Catholic organizations, and through this became so beloved in the Jewish and Christian worlds that he was given the name "Good Will Ambassador of Brooklyn." Mr. Abelman came to America 62 years ago. His father, Abram, brickmason, and he wrote some shows for the Jewish theater, a number of which were actually produced. In 1916 his father died and he had to help his mother. Forty-five years ago, Max Abelman came to Brooklyn. He went to Abraham Abraham, the founder of Abraham & Straus. There was no job for him there, but Abraham sent him to Nathan S. Jonas, president of the then Citizens Trust Co., which later became part of the Manufacturers Trust Co. Jonas also had no job for him, but advised him to work for the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities, the first charity federation in Brooklyn, which was being organized. Abelman took on a position as clerk in this charity organization, and remained there for 14 years. He worked out so well in this position that Felix Warburg invited him to help organize the New York charity organization. In 1920, Mr. Abelman told the writer, leaders of the Brooklyn charity federation needed $1 million for a special building program. They didn't think they could support a new drive, so they wanted, since Mr. Abelman already had experience along these lines, that he give them advice. When Mr. Abelman said it was nothing to raise $1 million, and that it could be raised in one night, they thought he was joking. They nodded their heads and complimented him by saying that if he said it could be done, it probably could. Mr. Abelman rolled up his sleeves, and arranged a big dinner, at which $1 million was raised. That same year, Abelman called together a conference of bankers and in one night sold them $25 million of Liberty bonds. This was the largest sum sold in the country. Several years later, he called 44 bankers to a dinner and in one night sold them $49 million of bonds.

Between Mr. Jonas and Mr. Abelman, there developed such a strong friendship that when the Abelmans had a son, they named him after Jonas, the man who gave Max his first chance and who later wrote a book Through the Years in which he praised Abelman highly. For 10 years, Abelman held an important post in the Manufacturers Trust Co. When he left for the charity federation, they gave him a dinner, at which were present judges, rabbis, and priests. In 1932, Jonas influenced Abelman to go to the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, and there as assistant to the president, and secretary to the board of directors, he performed wonders. One day, passing through the children's wards of the hospital, he noticed the children laying there, looking at the bare walls, in a very melancholy way. He went home and thought all night about this. Looking at the bare walls of his room, he too became melancholy. He decided to do something about this. He went to the artist, Albert Cugat, brother of bandleader Xavier Cugat, and told him the story. Cugat came to the hospital and on the walls of the 16 children's wards painted 16 murals of characters in children's stories, such as Snow White, Pinocchio, Goldilocks, Red Riding Hood, Alice in Wonderland, Humpty-Dumpty, and others, which gave the children much joy. When the murals were done, Abelman invited several famous personalities to visit the children's wards and autograph the murals. There came Eleanor Roosevelt, General Riley, Carlos P. Romulo, General Marshall, General Bradley, Eddie Cantor, James Farley, Ralph Bunche, other diplomats, movie stars and opera singers. With every prominent personality that came to the hospital, there followed reporters, writers, etc. The hospital made a name for itself all over America, and bathed in money, and grew larger and larger. Soon the personnel of the Jewish Hospital will give Max Abelman a testimonial dinner. He will receive from the hospital a life pension, but a testimonial dinner is nothing new to Mr. Abelman. He would rather they would let him make banquets for others. This he has done for hundreds of famous Jewish and American people. The writer asked him which of the banquets he made stands out in his memory. He said that 12 years ago, he arranged a banquet for the Roman Catholic Bishop Molloy in Brooklyn. There came to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant guests. Abelman feels that he not only preached tolerance, but practiced it his whole life, and as a result he showed that Jews and Christians can live together as friends and work together for worthy causes.

Mr. Abelman, who feels that Brooklyn should not be a borough, but a city in itself, showed the writer a whole batch of articles about him which were written into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The former first American Ambassador to Israel, James G. MacDonald, is one of his most intimate friends. His popularity in Brooklyn is so great, that he can run for any office and he would be elected. But Abelman is not interested in politics. He regrets that he allowed himself to be retired. He is now writing a book about fund-raising for philanthropic causes.

To the writer's question as to whether there has been any follow-up in this new undertaking in which Judge Moss gave the role of peacemaker, Abelman smiled and said, "Today, I am meeting with a well-known psychologist, who charges his patients large fees. He is having family difficulties, and having read the newspapers about my work with Judge Moss, he made an appointment with me. Maybe I'll be able to help him also. I hope so, because I consider saving a life as though you're saving the world."

A Veteran Thanks America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension the following ad which appeared in the New York Times of December 22, 1954, and paid for by one of my constituents, Mr. Louis Teplitsky, of 3181 Rochambeau Avenue, Bronx, N. Y., as an expression of his appreciation for benefits received from the Veterans' Administration. Mr. Teplitsky is a naturalized citizen and his expression of gratitude for favors received from his adopted country is most commendable. This is his message of thanks:

A VETERAN THANKS AMERICA

I am a disabled, honorably discharged veteran of World War II. A concert tenor by profession, due to a disability caused by the war, my career was interrupted.

However, I have now recovered and am about to resume my singing career.

I wish to state that I am deeply grateful to the Veterans' Administration for the excellent care I was given in the form of treatment and training. I am also thankful to

the people of the United States who made it possible. There is no country in the world that has contributed as much to the welfare of veterans as did the United States. I am proud to be a United States citizen for the justice, liberty, and freedom I have enjoyed all these years since I came to the United States from Russia in 1930. I wish from the bottom of my heart the people of the United States health, happiness, peace, and prosperity. A merry Christmas and a very happy new year. May God bless our country and its people.

LOUIS TEPLITSKY.

Our Merchant Marine: Is It Adequate for Defense?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, an excellent and timely article by Helen M. Gibbs appeared in the July-August 1954 issue of the National Defense Transportation Journal. Miss Gibbs is an authority on ship transportation and is coauthor of a book entitled "Ocean Transportation." Her article merits the attention of every Member of Congress who is interested in the problems of national defense, and I insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order that it may be made available to them.

The article follows:

OUR MERCHANT MARINE: IS IT ADEQUATE FOR DEFENSE?

(By Helen M. Gibbs, research consultant and author)

In two world wars, this Nation was singularly dependent upon merchant shipping to transport men and materials to the combat areas overseas. The enemy, well aware of this, did all that could be done to destroy the United States merchant marine.

During the Battle of Norway, Winston Churchill declared: "It is no use thinking of this war in terms of the last war." To think of a future war in terms of the last one would prove equally futile. However, certain lessons concerning wartime employment of merchant ships can be learned from experience.

For months after the United States entered World War II, production of war materials ran well ahead of the ability to move them. President Roosevelt summed up the situation in a 1942 message to Congress on lend-lease: "With available cargoes in excess of available ships, loading and routing become matters of strategic selection among conflicting needs."

In his report covering combat operations up to March 1944. Adm. Ernest J. King specially stated that even if the Nation had not suffered such severe losses at Pearl Harbor, it still would not have been possible to proceed to Manila, as many people supposed, because we did not have the means—the merchant ships—to carry out the undertaking. The Navy alone could not carry the war to the enemy.

During 1943 and 1944, United States shipyards delivered over 3,400 ships—sufficient to carry the war to the enemy. In the latter part of 1944, the United States was supplying forces that had landed in Europe in June and building up for the assault on the Philippines. During this same period, nearly 3.5 million tons of lend-lease cargo was shipped from the United States to the Russian Army on the eastern front, where it bolstered the successful winter campaign.

Even during the latter stages of the war, there was never a surplus of merchant tonnage, so great are the demands of modern overseas campaigns. One example will tell why: In the center of the great amphibious force that bore toward Okinawa were 1,213 vessels carrying 182,000 assault troops and their gear of war.

THE FLEET TODAY AND ITS ADEQUACY

On March 31, 1954, according to the Maritime Administration, the United States merchant marine consisted of 3,349 ships of over 36 million deadweight tons. Although an appreciable drop from the 5,529 ships in the fleet on January 1, 1946, when approximately 62 percent of the world's merchant tonnage was under the Stars and Stripes, it is still the largest fleet under the flag of any nation, representing roughly 25 percent of the world's ships and 30 percent of the tonnage.

This fleet in reality is two fleets: One of 1,157 ships and 14 million deadweight tons that is active and in operation, and a Government-owned fleet of 2,192 ships and roughly 22 million deadweight tons, most of which is in mothballs.

In any attempt to measure the adequacy of the two segments of the composite fleet as an instrument of national defense, one question always arises: "To what extent can the United States depend on American-owned foreign-flag tonnage?"

As all the world knows, considerable vessel tonnage under foreign flags is owned by American citizens or American companies. To secure exact figures is difficult, but at the end of 1952, American oil companies or their affiliates owned 342 tankers totaling 4.5 million deadweight tons registered under more than a dozen foreign flags. For the most part, this tonnage is registered under the laws of sovereign powers that will definitely want to control their merchant fleets during war or emergency.

The experience of World War II supports this. Only 145 foreign-flag ships were available for use by the United States through requisition, title, purchase, or charter.

Only the American-owned tonnage registered under the flags of Panama, Liberia, Venezuela, and Honduras is considered to fall in the category of shipping termed "effective United States control." On December 31, 1952, the total considered available consisted of 45 freighters and 137 tankers.

Cooperation among allies is another matter. During World War II, the position of a ship rather than the flag was the determining factor in vessel employment, and hundreds of thousands of American troops moved overseas in the *Queen Elizabeth* and *Queen Mary*.

In the tally of assistance among allied nations, however, the United States furnished more than was received. Throughout World War II, our allies furnished us 715,000 gross tons of shipping, against 5.5 million that was furnished them. The U. S. S. R. still has 83 ships of 785,000 deadweight tons furnished under lend-lease.

Korea furnishes further evidence that, in times of war or emergency, our allies are far more likely to be dependent upon us than we on them. True, many of the 700 ships withdrawn from the back channel following United Nations intervention in Korea were employed between the United States and the Far East, where the United States was furnishing the bulk of the men and material and the ships to transport them. But a substantial number of reactivated ships were employed in the direct interests of our friends and allies. At one time during the winter of 1951–52, a 10,000-ton coal ship left the United States every 2 hours day and night for Europe. Other ships were utilized to carry grain to Europe and India and also ores from Africa to the British Isles.

The Department of Defense holds that the combined fleet of roughly 3,350 ships is close to adequate to meet initial defense requirements insofar as number of ships is concerned but gravely deficient in other respects. In a statement made a year ago before a congressional committee investigating the merchant marine, Rear Adm. R. E. Wilson, Deputy Commander and Chief of Staff, Military Sea Transportation Service, said: "While the total national-defense fleet (active and reserve) is deficient only to a minor degree to meet initial defense requirements from a quantitative point of view, there is a serious deficiency from a qualitative point of view."

RESERVE FLEET

The principal deficiency of the national defense reserve fleet, which is entirely Government owned, lies in its composition. Out of some 2,000 ships, more than 1,500 are slow 10-knot Libertys.

A second deficiency concerns condition. Ships reactivated underwent voyage repairs before they were returned to reserve. If these vessels were again required for service, little or no delay would be encountered. But, according to the Maritime Administration, the custodian of the fleet:

"The remainder * * * are in various conditions of repair. During the first 2 or 3 years following World War II, voyage repairs (other than to insure watertight integrity) were not made at the time vessels entered the reserve fleet as it appeared that there might be as many as 1,000 to 1,200 ships in excess of the requirements for national defense. It was not then considered justifiable to expend funds for repair while there existed the probability that many of the ships would be scrapped."

Recently, there have been proposals for use of a limited number of these vessels. Early this year, the Maritime Administration called for bids to place a gas turbine engine in one of the Libertys to test the feasibility of modernizing and speeding up the slow-moving ships for future emergency.

The reserve fleet needs to be viewed realistically. The country should not feel that it is adequately taken care of because it has a fleet of old red-leaded ships. On the other hand, it has been deemed wise to hang onto the bulk of them until better ships are available.

ACTIVE OPERATING FLEET

The active operating fleet is facing block obsolescence. In the main, this is a privately owned fleet (1,047 ships out of the total of 1,157). Most of the ships owned by the steamship lines before the war were either worn out in war service or lost, and American owners replenished their fleets by purchasing from the Government's war-built fleet. As a result, the bulk of the active fleet has passed the halfway mark of its life.

Moreover, the Department of Defense has indicated that it considers the active operating fleet deficient in the following respects: 261 notional dry-cargo freighters of 10,000 cargo-measurement tons and 10 knots; 26 notional tankers of 16,500 deadweight tons and 15 knots; and 8 passenger ships of the Independence type.

The notional ship is, in reality, only a convenient term for the discussion of ship needs, and does not represent what the Department of Defense wants. The national freighter is approximately equal to the Liberty, and Defense has been most specific that it wishes "no truck" with the Liberty or any other 10-knot ship. For national-defense purposes, freighters should have speeds of at least 18 knots, tankers at least 20 knots, and passenger ships (troop ships) at least 24 knots.

Defense has a reason for being particularly interested in the active fleet and its expansion. All planning asumes that, if war comes, it will be precipitated by an act of aggression without warning from the enemy nation or nations. Hence, few if any of the reserve ships will have been reactivated in anticipation of the outbreak.

Almost immediately, there will be demands on ship repair facilities and manpower (1) to service United States active ships both merchant and naval, (2) to service allied ships, (3) to repair damage resulting from enemy action, (4) to reactivate laid-up naval ships, and (5) to reactivate laid-up merchant ships. Circumstances will undoubtedly determine priority.

From the joint of view of national defense, it is highly desirable that the United States have as large an active fleet as possible. This poses a problem that can be summarized in two words—more cargo.

NEEDED—MORE CARGO

For a number of years after the war, American-flag ships encountered little or no difficulty in keeping busy. Recently, trade conditions have changed.

Government-financed cargoes, 50 percent of which are required by law to move in American-flag ships, have shrunk to a fraction of their former level. This includes out-bound shipments of coal and wheat, which provided hundreds of cargoes. They have dwindled to a trickle. In addition, American-flag ships are encountering tough competition from ships of foreign countries that have been rapidly rebuilding their merchant marines with competitive ships.

Signs of the trend are numerous. During the first 3 months of this year 21 Government-owned and 56 privately owned ships were withdrawn from active service. By the end of March 192 privately owned ships were idle. Since no charters have been forthcoming for the Mariners delivered recently, MSTS is operating them to meet the 6 months' operating provision of the construction contract. In June, one of the larger steamship companies applied for permission to enter the intercoastal trade, and it was reported that the company was doing so in an effort to keep its ships busy.

In view of declining cargoes, the addition of large, fast, and expensive ships suitable for defense employment becomes a tough problem. It has been suggested that the Government construct the desired ships and stockpile them. That virtually is what is now happening with the mariners.

Mariners. When the first of the 36 Mariners, built at a cost of $350 million, were delivered, they entered active service under charter arrangements. The first of them to enter the reserve fleet went in early this year. By June, 12 were in mothballs, with 14 more scheduled to go.

These ships are the only freighters built in the United States since the war. So far 1 company his signed with the Maritime Administration to purchase 3 still under construction, and other companies are expected to purchase Mariners to meet requirements of their agreements with the Government. The adjusted sales price has been announced at between $4.1 and $5 million.

For national-defense purposes these are our best freighters. With speeds of 20 knots, they are fast enough to travel out of convoy during wartime, they can be mass produced, and need no conversion for wartime employment. Vice Adm. E. L. Cochrane, Maritime Administrator, at the time the building program was initiated, has said of their military use:

"The advantage of the speed of the Mariners is that if you plan to arrive on an enemy coast at dawn, which is the usual thing then the width of the darkness zone that you have to make the final approach on is much quicker in a 20-knot ship—twice as much—as in a 10-knot ship. You are out that much farther and have that much more security against the enemy."

A 60 SHIPS A YEAR PROGRAM

In April the Maritime Administration in the Department of Commerce announced a shipbuilding program calling for the construction of 60 ships a year over the next 20 years. This is a step in the right direction. In the planning of the program not only the ships were considered but also its effect on the shipbuilding industry.

Shipbuilding: Maritime has determined that 60 ships a year will provide work for 36,000 shipyard workers, a number judged sufficient to provide a nucleus work force capable of expansion to meet estimated wartime mobilization requirements of around 430,000 workers. Plans call for construction in yards on all three coasts—Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific.

The industry is definitely in need of orders if it is to be preserved as a nucleus for possible wartime construction. Since the war it has literally survived by constructing three passenger liners (the *Constitution, Independence,* and *United States*), the Mariners, tankers, and a few seatrains. The only ships now under construction are the last of the Mariners and tankers. Unless orders are forthcoming, the Maritime Administration estimates that employment in our coastal shipyards will drop to 1,200 workers by 1955.

Experience should have taught us that a far more active industry is needed as a nucleus for expansion for wartime construction. Although the Maritime Commission had been building ships at the rate of 1 every 2 days before we entered the war and there were over 770 ships either delivered or on the ways in October 1941, great difficulty was encountered in stepping up production to the 4½ ship per day rate maintained throughout 1943 and 1944.

The ships: The 1,200 ships produced over the 20-year period will be sufficient to replace virtually the entire active fleet of the present time. It is planned that the program works something like this:

New ships will replace active ships which, traded in, can take the place of some poorer ships in the reserve fleet which, in turn, will provide scrap for the construction of new ships.

The program, properly implemented, can go a considerable way toward: (1) breaking the bottleneck of block obsolescence in both the active and reserve fleets, (2) replacing currently operating ships such as the present 14–16½ knot freighters with ships which are faster, more modern, and more adequate to national defense, and (3) upgrading the reserve fleet.

This is not to say that there will not be knotty details to work out. The Maritime Administration recognizes the crucial period through 1965, which is really two crucial periods.

Between 1955 and 1962, roughly 175 ships now operating will reach the ripe age of 20 years. If the first ships are delivered in 1956 (which is probably too soon for construction), ship production will run 420 ships. Hence, to get the new ships into active service—into the hands of private operators—it will be necessary to induce shipowners to turn in some of these ships, say 12-year-old or older ones, on new ships.

During the 3 years 1963 through 1965, nearly 900 ships will be 20 years old. If all of them are replaced during that period, a new block of obsolescence will be created to plague the merchant marine during the 1980's.

Even if construction is maintained at a 60-ship-a-year level 1956 through 1965, production will run to only 600 ships, whereas a total of close to 1,100 of the ships now operating will become obsolescent between 1955 and the close of 1965. Unless some adjustment is made, the fleet of 1966 could include roughly 500 slow and obsolescent ships.

Cost is going to be an item in the disposition of ships to private operators. In this respect, two classes or groups of shipowners need to be considered. (Incidentally, it is assumed that the Government will build the ships under much the same arrangement as that employed in the mariner program.)

Under the law now in effect, the Government can sell ships to all shipowners operating in our foreign trade, including tanker owners, at what is called an adjusted price. In essence, that price is the cost of construction in a foreign yard, minus the cost of national-defense features.

The 17 steamship companies operating on what are called United States essential trade routes have entered into agreements with the Maritime Administration that require them to utilize ships not more than 20 years old. These companies can be and are required to replace obsolescent ships. However, this provision does not apply to the nonsubsidized operators offering service in foreign commerce.

The second group of shipowners are those whose ships operate in the domestic trades, coastwise, intercoastal, and to noncontiguous territories. These shipowners are not at present eligible for assistance in acquiring new ships.

Shipowners operating domestically have, in general, been hard pushed, and the oldest operator completely withdrew from the intercoastal trade about a year ago. Since most of these shipowners are having difficulty operating ships that cost between $600,000 (the statutory sales price for the Liberty) to around $1 million to $1.2 million (the cost of C-type vessels), one can only wonder how the domestic fleet can absorb its share of the 1,200 ships and remain in operation.

The problems of modernizing and of maintaining an American merchant marine adequate to national defense are knotty ones. But they are not insoluble if they are recognized frankly and if the shipping industry and the Government cooperate for the best interests and safety of the Nation.

The Congressman's Congressman: Mr. Sam Rayburn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include two outstanding journalistic comments about the personality and accomplishments of our very able, beloved, and humane Speaker.

The first is an editorial from the Fresno (Calif.) Bee of December 27, and the second an article from the January issue of the Democratic Digest. I am certain that nearly every Member of this body will recognize and applaud the deserved praise stated therein.

The articles follow:

[From the Fresno (Calif.) Bee of December 27, 1954]

A 1913 TEXAS FRESHMAN HAS COME A LONG WAY

March 4, 1913, was a gala day for the Nation's Democrats. Woodrow Wilson, the second Democratic President since 1857, was inaugurated.

And the political upturn of the preceding November had sent a lot of new and unknown men to the Congress, especially the House of Representatives. One of these was a soft-spoken Texan.

Of the 96 Members of the Senate and the 417 Members of the House present on that far-off occasion, only he has the distinction of still being a Member of Congress.

In the Senate his closest competitor in length of service is WALTER F. GEORGE, of Georgia, sworn in on November 8, 1922.

This veteran legislator is SAM RAYBURN, soon again to become Speaker of the House, an office in which he already has served longer than any man in American history.

Before being elected to Congress he had won the distinction of being the youngest man ever elected Speaker of the lower house of the Texas Legislature.

And the national speakership being what it is RAYBURN will become in January one of the most influential men in Washington for the next 2 years.

Often called the greatest compromiser since the days of another famous Speaker, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, RAYBURN likes nothing better than to work quietly behind the scenes in shaping legislative history.

A whispered conversation here, a bit of personal counsel there or a quiet word where he thinks it will do the most good—for these he is best known.

Although his own speeches in the House are a rarity, he started the custom of letting Members speak for 1 minute before the House gets down to its regular business. That permits them to get the always popular extension of remarks printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Said RAYBURN:

"A politician has to have publicity to live."

Perhaps this incident helps to explain RAYBURN'S eminence in Washington and also why he never has been the center of any fierce personal struggle. He is beloved by Republicans as well as Democrats.

It takes a man of exceptional character to play the stellar role without exciting either the envy or the jealousy of those cast in the lesser roles, especially on the political stage.

What memories RAYBURN must have as he looks back through the years.

[From the Democratic Digest of January 1955]

THE CONGRESSMAN'S CONGRESSMAN: MR. SAM RAYBURN

(By Eric Sevareid)

After January the American Congress will continue to be very evenly divided; no strong philosophy can dominate, but strong personalities can. There is no longer a Taft or a Vandenberg in the Senate, and after January, most surely, the single most dominating personality will be "Mister SAM," Mr. SAM RAYBURN, once again Speaker of the House, who has already broken Henry Clay's record of tenure in that powerful office. If anyone around the Congress feels any regret at the reaccession of Mister SAM, it will be only because Speaker JOE MARTIN must step down—a man so much like RAYBURN, not only in his bachelorhood, but in his plain, old-fashioned honesty, as unpretentious as the leather and horsehair furniture of his office.

The people and page 1 will be getting reacquainted with Mister SAM, and if those not yet acquainted wonder what it is in this small, stocky Texan with the strong, sad face that has made him an institution in our parliament, I can do no better, perhaps, than to repeat some former words on this welcome subject:

"It comes down to the ultimate test, which politics, like all forms of social life, makes in the end—the test of character. A few men have learned to love SAM RAYBURN, many like him; all have learned to respect him. They respect him for his absolute fairness, his patience, his mastery of his job. But there is more to it than that—when they come to know him even a little, they sense in this homespun man a deep, inexpressible faith in other men, an unarticulated love of his country, in its past and its present and a natural, unquestioning belief in its future. Most men are a little bit lost, most men of present politics are confused, in this time of high-pressure techniques, of showmanship, of fear and witty disbelief, and they sense in this man RAYBURN something firm and clear, something that one can cling to.

"It occurs to no one to call RAYBURN a conservative or a liberal. He meets the test of no handy label, because he is not a man of political theory and doctrine at all. He follows the facts, wherever they may lead. But because he feels that too many men live too meager a life, the facts generally lead him to conclusions that are liberal, in the best, the moral sense of that word.

"His friend, David Cohn, once wrote of Mister SAM: 'When pressed to define his political and economic convictions * * * this small man with the sad, shrewd face * * * is likely to say, without any touch of fraudulent piety, "Well, a little applied Christianity wouldn't hurt anybody."' Cohn describes a gathering in which somebody complained that hard-up farmers were riding around in cars. RAYBURN said, 'Many a time when I was a child and lived way out in the country, I'd sit on the fence and wish to God that somebody would drive by in a buggy; just anything to relieve my loneliness. Loneliness consumes people. It kills 'em eventually. God help the lonely. I'm glad to see farmers have cars and use 'em.'

"RAYBURN was lonely and wretchedly poor, and he has not forgotten what that is like. And if anybody called his attitude New Dealism or socialism or do-goodism, he wouldn't know what they were talking about. As Cohn wrote, 'RAYBURN was born on the farm in the prepackaging era, when folks got their cheese off the big round and their crackers out of the barrel and so * * * he clings to the outmoded concept that the contents are more important than the package.' His voice doesn't quaver when he speaks about 'the people,' said Cohn. 'He doesn't bait labor or capital, quote the Bible, or call the farmer nature's nobleman * * * he doesn't think that a man is a saint because he wears overalls and chews Brown Mule, or that another is a devil because he is tailored by Savile Row and smokes coronas.'

"If SAM RAYBURN shares none of the contemporary hypocrisy about classes of men, it may be because, as a man, he is in a kind of class by himself."

Address by National Commander Seaborn Collins, American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a copy of the address made by National Commander Seaborn Collins of the American Legion before the house of delegates of the American Medical Association at the McAllister Hotel, Miami, Fla., November 29, 1954.

The address follows:

I am grateful for the courtesy which you extended to the 4 million members of the American Legion and its auxiliary in extending me an invitation to address your meeting.

In recent years, any meeting between the American Legion and the American Medical Association has revolved around one paramount issue. Before offering my considered remarks on this important subject I would like to point out that in many other important areas the resources, experience and abilities of our separate organizations are committed as they should be, to the common objectives of strengthening the security of our Nation and the welfare of all of our people.

Too often we're inclined to forget this fact. And, truly, we can't afford the luxury of such forgetfulness. At this critical time when the security of our Nation, internally and externally, demands the united, dedicated efforts of all of us, we must emphasize those things which bring and keep us together.

National defense, Americanism, child welfare, increased religious devotion—these are goals that command our common allegiance and dedication. Certainly, our separate efforts contribute toward the attainment of these common objectives.

I think it appropriate to mention, too, another area in which the principles and objectives of the American Legion coincide with those of the American Medical Association. You know, the American Legion's membership encompasses every shade of political and religious conviction and all strata of our economic life. We hold two things common to all our members—honorable service to country in war and stanch Americanism in the basic sense of that word—connotating the right and duty of every man to stand on his own feet and make his own way.

Legionnaires as a group measure up to the best traditions of rugged individualism. And it is, I believe, because of this tradition of self-reliance that the American Legion through the years has consistently assumed a position of firm opposition to any program that could be considered akin to socialized medicine. I would venture to say that the Legion's record on this subject has been as firm and uncompromising as that of the medical profession. The American Legion, by its very nature, sustains the principle of the right of the individual to choose his own physician in his own way and to his own satisfaction.

I believe the American Legion will continue to be found standing firmly on this principle. I would ask the medical profession to remember the value of having a strong lay organization allied with it in warding off periodic attempts to foist this evil scheme to the American people.

I want to emphasize, in my concluding remarks, those essential areas in which your efforts parallel and complement ours. Immediately, however, I would like to mention briefly that subject on which the American Legion and the American Medical Association have not yet reached agreement.

I use the words "not yet" deliberately because I, for one, am hopeful that the practice of exchanging views between our organizations, initiated with such high purpose and aspirations nearly two decades ago, may yet lead to agreement.

It seems to me that informed, reasonable men should be able to sit down around the conference table on any issue as long as there remains the need for understanding. Let me assure you that the American Legion is ready, and will remain so, to discuss with the American Medical Association and with any other interested group the system of hospital care for our Nation's war veterans.

May I try to formulate for you in a few words the position of the American Legion today on this subject?

The American Legion, because it is what it is—an organization of war veterans—bears a fundamental obligation to consider, study, and protect the welfare of our disabled comrades. Let me say, parenthetically, that I use the word "comrade" in its true meaning, and that we of the Legion refuse to surrender this fine old English word to the distortion of our Communist enemies. I am sure you can see and accept this obligation as ours, just as we accept your responsibility to study and to represent, as far as any group can, the needs and interests of the medical pro-

fession, and through them the betterment of our country and all of its people. Through the groups we represent, therefore, we both seek the betterment of America. In short, we are citizens first and doctors and veterans second.

Now the American Legion believes that both the obligation of the country, and the wishes of the American people for the Nation's war veterans, are fairly expressed in the provisions of Public Law 2, 73d Congress, as amended by Public Law 312 of the 74th Congress. The legislation provides:

"Any veteran of any war who was not dishonorably discharged, suffering from disability, disease, or defect, who is in need of hospitalization or domiciliary care and is unable to defray the necessary expenses therefor—shall be furnished necessary hospitalization or domiciliary care in any Veterans' Administration facility, within the limitations existing in such facilities, irrespective of whether the disability, disease, or defect was due to service."

The American Legion neither expects nor wants the Government to give carte blanche entitlement to medical care to all veterans. We have not asked for it. The Veterans' Administration's goal now is 128,000 beds—for more than 20 million veterans. We are not seeking any major increase in this goal.

At the same time, the American Legion does not want to see any war veteran who is sick and in need go without proper treatment. We know the medical profession doesn't either. Further, we believe that the war veteran with honorable service has earned such necessary treatment from the Government he served.

We believe that the obligation to bear arms in defense of the Nation is a basic obligation of citizenship—and we believe this obligation begets an equal obligation on the part of the Nation to protect the welfare of the citizens who have defended it.

You know, as do I, that most of our veterans—and most Legionnaires—pay their own way and meet their own expenses, medical and otherwise. This is the American way, and this is why our country is morally and economically sound.

But gentlemen, you also know, as do I, that a percentage of our citizens must inevitably ask for help—because of disaster, misfortune, and other circumstances beyond their control. Every doctor gives part of his time to charitable practice. It is an accepted phase of the pursuit of his noble profession. The American Legion simply believes that this percentage of our citizens, when they are honorably discharged war veterans, have earned the necessary care as beneficiaries of the Federal Government.

We believe that the American people have accepted, approved, and activated that philosophy through legislation enacted by the Congress. We further believe that the country does not want or expect its veterans to impoverish themselves beyond possibility of economic recovery before seeking needed medical care through the Veterans' Administration.

This, very simply, gentlemen, is the position of the American Legion. We hold that it is reasonable. Please accept my profound declaration of our sincerity. We are genuinely sincere in dedicating ourselves to the welfare within the structure of our economy as it is is now constituted. We offer as proof, if proof is needed, the fact that the Nation's veterans are the backbone of that structure, that we fought to preserve it as it is, and that we have the most to lose should it be threatened.

At the same time, we acknowledge the sincerity and honesty of approach of the American Medical Association in its evaluation of this subject. So do we respect the right of the American Medical Association to develop and present its opinion on this subject. After all, gentlemen, the reason we Americans fought a war was to sustain your right and mine to differences of opinion.

We of the Legion do not like to see hospitalized veterans made the victims of a controversy which casts unnecessary and unfounded suspicions upon their entitlement to hospital care. You do not like that either, you couldn't, and still honor your obligation to comfort and heal the sick.

If we agree on that point, then we ought to try in all sincerity to broaden the agreement—and remove this particular controversy from the area of name calling and propaganda.

It takes two to make an agreement. For my part, I am prepared to appoint a special committee of American Legion representatives who know the background and facts surrounding veterans' hospitalization to meet with a similar committee of your choosing and work toward a better mutual understanding of the problem. I earnestly hope that you will see fit to participate in such an undertaking.

If our two groups approach the subject of medical care for veterans in this sincere, honest, and reasonable fashion, I believe that we can resolve our differences or at least achieve an understanding of each other's position which will permit us to continue to collaborate and cooperate in those fields where we do agree.

As I have already indicated, I believe those fields are substantial.

Communism thrives on disunity and dissension. It makes no difference what causes Americans to be divided. It matters not that we may be united in our opposition to communism and to everything for which it stands, if other issues keep us apart.

As Americans, we have the obligation to recognize the other fellow's right to disagree—and to try to understand his viewpoint and sincerity. Today, more than before, we need also to strengthen our interest and active cooperation in behalf of the security of our beloved country.

The American Legion and the American Medical Association are united in our separate determination to protect this Nation from the insidious, destructive forces of communism. We are united in our determination to secure for America an adequate, economical program of national defense. We are united in our determination to imbue our citizens with a fierce love of their country and an abiding faith and confidence in the imperishable principles that are our heritage.

Let us make certain that nothing ever comes between us to imperil this essential unity of purpose and action.

Democrats Blast Nixon Because He Is Effective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article from the Washington Evening Star of January 11, 1955, that I believe is very worthwhile reading in light of recent, unfair, purely political criticism of our outstanding and very capable Vice President, RICHARD M. NIXON.

The article follows:

DEMOCRATS BLAST NIXON BECAUSE HE IS EFFECTIVE—SNIPING AT VICE PRESIDENT ALSO AIMED AT EISENHOWER

(By Gould Lincoln)

The concentrated Democratic attack on Vice President NIXON, which began immediately after the 1954 campaign and is now continuing with almost daily sniping, apparently has two basic and impelling reasons. The first is to rid the Democratic Party of the Communist issue—the Red issue—which has plagued the Democrats for years and has hurt them in a number of States. The second is to strike at the man closest to the White House and President Eisenhower himself—the Vice President of the United States.

So, beginning with former Democratic National Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell and continued by Adlai Stevenson, Speaker Sam Rayburn, Senator Richard L. Neuberger, and by other freshman Democrats in Congress, the drive is on to picture the Vice President as merely a smear artist and, as such, entirely unworthy, a man who hits below the belt. Their theme song is that he made the Democrats out to be a parcel of traitors over the last score of years, and disloyal at the very least.

CHARGED STUPIDITY

The facts in the case, as revealed by a perusal of the Vice President's campaign speeches, are that the Vice President did no such thing. What he did was to accuse the Democrats of stupidity because they did not recognize the Communist menace; that they did not take the steps necessary to check infiltration of the Reds, and that when cases were called to their attention they did nothing about them. For example, the case of Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White.

The Vice President said repeatedly that communism should not be a political issue, and that there was no difference between the loyalty of Democrats and Republicans—but he added some misguided officials of the Truman administration were blind or indifferent to the danger from the Communists. That is the kind of criticism which hurt—and which was effective against the Democrats in the 1950, 1952, and 1954 campaign. The Democrats don't want any more of it. They have, they think, disposed of Senator JOE MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin, in such a way that he will not be effective in his attacks on them. He took no real part in the last campaign. Now they have turned on Mr. NIXON—who made effective use of the Red issue and is capable of doing so again. They picture him as a character assassin, the lowest kind of politician. They hope to get away with it, by a consistent campaign, of attack upon him.

NEUBERGER VERSUS NIXON

Senator NEUBERGER, without mentioning the Vice President by name but plainly indicating Mr. NIXON was his target, recently criticized the latter's campaign against him, Senator NEUBERGER. As a matter of fact, Senator NEUBERGER was 1 of the 5 left-wing Democratic candidates singled out by Mr. NIXON in his Pocatello, Idaho, address on October 25, 1954, when the Vice President asserted that the gains that the Democrats would make, if they took over the 84th Congress, inevitably would come from the ADA left wing of the party. The other 4 were Glenn Taylor, of Idaho, who ran for Vice President on the Henry Wallace ticket in 1948; former Representative John Carroll, of Colorado; Senator O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, and former Representative Yorty, of California. "The people," Mr. NIXON said, "do not want to go back to the Truman policies which mean war, corruption, toleration of communism, and economic policies which were never able in 20 years to provide prosperity except during wartime and which were inevitably leading the Nation down the road to socialism." Whether it was Mr. NIXON's

campaigning or not, 3 out of these 5 Democrats were defeated in their races for the Senate.

NIXON HOLDS HIS FIRE

Mr. NIXON is for the present, at least, holding his own fire. His defense is being made by other Republicans, among them Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall. Mr. Hall said it should be clear to everyone who reads the papers and hears the TV and radio that there is now underway a "highly-organized campaign to besmirch the Vice President. The technique is to smear him by falsely accusing him of smearing others. This is one of the lowest tricks in politics and in this instance destructive only to its perpetrators. DICK NIXON is one of the most effective campaigners in history. It is because he tells the truth and is effective that he is under attack."

But should Mr. NIXON find it necessary to reply, he is quite capable. Further, he knows a lot more about the Communist activities in this country than do his detractors. He was mainly responsible for the conviction of Alger Hiss. No one is going to say to him "You never got a Communist."

Nor can the Democrats get away from the fact they were blind to what was going on when Hiss and White and others were active in the Government.

Costa Rica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a telegram I dispatched on January 12, 1955, to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and a copy of a press release which I prepared in connection therewith. They follow:

JANUARY 12, 1955.

Hon. JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.:

Grave situation in Costa Rica constitutes serious menace to the peace and security of the Panama Canal and of the entire Western Hemisphere. I respectfully urge immediate and vigorous action by the United States under your personal direction within the framework of the Organization of American States to bring about cessation of hostilities and needless bloodshed.

ALBERT P. MORANO,
Member of Congress.

Representative ALBERT P. MORANO, Republican, of Connecticut, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, has called upon Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to intervene in the grave Costa Rica situation to end a serious menace to the peace and security of the Panama Canal and the entire Western Hemisphere.

MORANO's message to Dulles said, "Grave situation in Costa Rica constitutes serious menace to the peace and security of the Panama Canal and the entire Western Hemisphere. I respectfully urge immediate and vigorous action by the United States under your personal direction within the framework of the Organization of American States to bring about cessation of hostilities and needless bloodshed."

Elaborating on his message, MORANO said, "The sending of a peace observation commission by the OAS is a good, positive first step. We must have the facts. However, all immediate steps must be taken to insure that the increasingly bitter struggle does not further expand into a major holocaust which will endanger the peace of the Western Hemisphere.

"I am in hopes that the situation can be settled swiftly through OAS action under the direction of our able Secretary of State."

The Southern Democrat Now Takes Over

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KEAN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. KEAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by William S. White from the New York Times Magazine of January 9, 1955:

THE SOUTHERN DEMOCRAT NOW TAKES OVER

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—The southern Democrat—and the genus will here be rather arbitrarily described as though it were one man—has returned to a place of unsurpassed power in the life of the United States. He bestrides the new Democratic Congress as so often, minority man though he is in his party, he bestrode Democratic Congresses in the past.

He has come back with the quiet, soft-voiced self-deprecation with which he is pleased to fool himself but not others; the others in politics have been on to him for a long time. They know that in political action he is as gentle as a paratrooper and that he is separated from his perquisites as easily as is a dowager from her duly appointed place at table.

He cannot run a national convention of the Democratic Party, but he can run the party in Congress and therefore to a considerable extent Congress itself when his party is in the majority. He cannot win a presidential nomination, but he can very nearly select, or at least hedge about, his party's presidential nominee. He cannot himself win a Congress, but when the dust and the smoke have cleared away, who is sitting at the top of Congress? The southern Democrat.

He is the Democratic boss in both Chambers of the new Congress. His face in the House of Representatives is the strong, lined, somewhat saturnine countenance of SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, who is now the Speaker. His face in the Senate is the broader, more amiable mien of Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, also of Texas.

The Rayburn-Johnson Texan, however, is not altogether the Southern Democrat. The southern Democrat is also the patriarchal Senator WALTER F. GEORGE, of Georgia; the gloomy, attenuated Representative HOWARD W. SMITH, of Virginia; the aloof, patrician Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia; the boomingly extroverted Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, of Alabama, a brilliant son of a sharecropper. And so on through a long list of men who vary much and yet, in another sense, vary not at all.

Some have said in acidulous jest that in Congress the South takes a recurrent and unending revenge in behalf of the long-dead Lee for Gettysburg. Those who say this are more often than not the frequently bewildered and sometimes frustrated Democrats of the other, or northern, breed. But the jest is not really the story. For in the last emergency—when the common Republican enemy's face is at length clear in the campaign gunsight—a GEORGE, of Georgia, will be found intoning the gravely considered view that a Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, who drew angry southern blood in 1948 by stampeding the Democratic convention for a compulsory civil-rights program, is a very sound young man; very sound, indeed, and worthy of every ally.

The southern Democrat is, in fact, actually a forgiving chap but for one thing, and this thing is an offense against personal manners. A RAYBURN will reach the point of livid fury when, for example, he hears it said by a Republican speaker that the Democratic Party represents "20 years of treason." But he will not necessarily sustain this anger forever, while his anger at a personal slur may stay with him to the grave.

It is this quality in the southerner—this and the sometimes unpredictable way in which he may define personal insult—that helps to keep him something of an enigma to his northern associates and to the Republicans as well. Equally, his political philosophy causes a good deal of trouble—this and the fact that, again in the last extremity, he will rarely permit that philosophy alone really to separate him from other southerners, no matter how heretical their political views. Often he thinks he will accept the final separation, but rarely will he really do so.

To describe the southern Democrat's philosophy, it is necessary first to subdivide both that term and him. For present purposes the collective southern Democrat will be defined by creating a photomontage absent from which will be all men like Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama (much too liberal for this image) and Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, of Mississippi (much too conservative).

On the other hand, Mr. RAYBURN is too liberal, too (he still unashamedly loves Harry S. Truman), but he must be, irrationally, included. He must be included because he is, like Texas at the start of the War Between the States, almost an independent republic but in spirit and in strength a part inseparable from the whole. This is not clear? Very well, put RAYBURN in anyhow, and say only that the rule must have its indispensable exception.

Now, the southern Democrat, corporeally, has been subdivided down to where there is in him little or nothing of HILL on the left or of EASTLAND on the right. But when it comes to subdividing the philosophy one must nevertheless bring in a little of HILL and a little of EASTLAND, too.

For the southern Democrat, as here in part defined, likes public housing, and so does HILL. He likes public power, and so does HILL. The truth is, he likes, in spite of himself, a good deal more of the welfare state than he likes to admit, even to himself. He is, up to this point, the most practically effective liberal in the Congress of the United States—and the most liberal, too, in the purely material sense of that word, in dealing with the allies abroad and in general, with "such as have none to pray for them."

But the southern Democrat, as here in part defined, deeply dislikes all Federal interventions into intimately social relationships; he will, beyond question, maintain so long as it may remotely be in his power such highly controversial concepts as racial segregation and the limited southern ballot. And so will EASTLAND.

The southern Democrat deeply and genuinely resents the Supreme Court decision in the school-segregation case; he is in great fear that the Court is becoming emotional and subjective in dealing with the race question in general. And, like him or not, and like his determination or not, he will, as time goes on, go pretty far to alter the atmosphere in that Court. He will not, however, go so far as to attempt to pack the Court. Here, and here alone, is where he

really first left the man who had been his greatest idol since Woodrow Wilson—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

He will not attempt to pack the Court, or otherwise violently intrude upon it, simply because, unlike all other politicians, he regards the Court as a higher place even than the White House and, in his heart, considers the law to be the only acceptable profession, except the more dignified pulpits of the land. As to business life, he puts plantation-owning first, even though he is as ready as the next man to smile at the sentimentalities of the magnolia tradition. Second in his regard is the brokerage trade—especially in commodities such as cotton and tobacco.

His whole political life and his whole political creed suffer from a split personality for which he is not himself responsible but which he stoutly fosters and rationalizes with great skill. It is not, intellectually, a tidy thing genuinely to support public housing and also to object to whites and Negroes living side by side in those houses built by tax money from both races. But there it is, and there he stands. It is not, intellectually, a tidy thing to have a genuine world view, a genuine concern for the success of such enterprises as the United Nations, and yet to live in a tradition that compartmentalizes a single country. But there it is, and there he stands.

Nor is it logical to dislike certain advanced liberals as much as he does and yet go with and beyond these same advanced liberals in attacking, at the end, such manifestations as what it is called McCarthyism. But there he is, and there he stands.

The southern Democrat, as he has here been brought together, believes: in internationalism; in the most scrupulous observance of the Bill of Rights save in what he considers to be the debatable area of civil rights; in Federal subsidies in aid of nearly all who really need them; in strict national observance of good order (no one could more hate lynching, of any sort); in something approaching free trade in the world; and, finally, in the Democratic Party—if it is patterned more or less in his own image.

He does not, however, truly understand certain of the practical necessities of that party and because he has so long and on the whole so faithfully (even, possibly, blindly) supported it, he feels remarkably free to denounce it and, when the spirit moves him, even to bolt it. Because there is no genuine party discipline locally in the South—and need not be—he has little instinctive grasp of the absolute requirement for such discipline in the inherited two-party system which, like all traditions, he consciously venerates so much but sometimes serves so poorly.

He has, on the other hand, an almost dynastic hereditary political skill (it is commonplace among congressional correspondents that the most hostile observers eventually discover this with great wonder). In consequence, he actually can deal more successfully, and more comfortably, with Northern political bosses than can many of the elected colleagues of those same bosses. A HARRY BYRD and a Jim Farley, for example, will understand each other a great deal better than might be supposed, for all that Mr. BYRD operates from a colonnaded ancestral seat in Virginia while Mr. Farley frequents the terrifying canyons of Manhattan.

The southern Democrat differs, in Congress, from his northern colleague in narrow, but very important, areas. The two, of course, are profoundly apart on civil rights but aside from this they are more apart on customs. The southerner as a practicing congressional politician alternates between a serene silence, in which he leaves the distinct impression that the matters at hand are for lesser men than he, and a vehement voice in debate that leaves his vis-a-vis all but windblown.

He expects people (meaning in practice the northern Democrats, for he has an uncomprehending tolerance and even affection for the Republicans as men from whom it would be foolish to expect much of anything) to understand certain political habits and prejudices that to the eye are rather complex. If he is a member of the party leadership—and, of course, he is—he assumes, for example, that others will instantly sense when he is speaking for the party hierarchy; when, again, he is speaking for himself, and, finally, when he is only speaking.

Because he has an almost tactile sense of the proper parliamentary procedure in a given circumstance, he is much put out when his northern colleagues act unsubtly. Sometimes he so far forgets himself and the amenities, which on the whole he himself so devotedly fosters, as to suggest to a nonsoutherner that it would be well if he just sat down.

He would never think of tolerating such a suggestion if made to himself—unless, perhaps, it came from a southerner senior to him. He is, in short, remarkably clannish and his unofficial caucuses, from which nontypical southerners are excluded by means as airy as a cloud but as cold as sleet, are like nothing so much as the far-spaced reunions of a large family of highly individualistic members who are nevertheless bound by the one bond.

Has Cousin Robert entered upon an unsuitable life (or got too close, say, to the CIO)? Well, this is deeply regrettable; but, after all, he is Cousin Robert. To break the clan spirit is the one thing Cousin Robert cannot do, just as it is the one thing a southern Democrat will not forget in another.

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee was defeated for the 1952 Democratic presidential nomination most of all because of a more powerful aspirant named Adlai E. Stevenson. It is a fact, however, that the literally implacable hostility of the southerners at the convention probably would have barred Mr. KEFAUVER in any event. What they held against him was no sort of even alleged crime, but to them it was unforgivable.

He had, first and most important, as a southerner taken what thye regarded as positions opposed to the sacred filibuster right. He had, secondarily, made crime investigations in Illinois at a time when the nonsouthern but popular Scott W. Lucas of that State, then Democratic Senate leader, was up for reelection. Mr. Lucas was defeated. Finally, Mr. KEFAUVER took unsouthern positions at the convention itself.

All this might suggest that our southern Democrat is a haughty type and perhaps too sure of his own ideas and dignity. Such a notion would be less than fair. For the same man who feels free to offer suggestions that he would not care himself to receive is also the man who over and over in the daily free-for-all in Congress will make gestures of the greatest generosity to his opposition and will stoically sit on to hear them with suitable deference while other men have thankfully fled to the cloakrooms. And it is this man, almost invariably, who is the private hero of nearly every Senate employee, of whatever personal political view.

In short, from his lofty seats of power (most of the committee chairmanships, which he holds because he has been here longer) the southern Democrat will run an 84th Congress of many mixed characteristics. It will not please a good many people; certainly that is so. But it will have a certain grace about it. And for all true watchers of the political drama it will be a show of the greatest professional virtuosity. These, indeed, are the pros' pros.

The Nation's Oldest Attorney Is Called by Death—Distinguished American Barrister Passes at Age 103

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to insert a memorial address given by the Honorable J. G. Waskom, of Marked Tree, Ark., honoring the late J. J. Mardis, of Harrisburg, Ark.

The address by Judge Waskom was given at memorial services held at the opening day of civil circuit court on December 13, 1954, with the Honorable Charles Light, of Paragould, presiding.

I have inquired of the records of the American Bar Association and with the Law Library of the Library of Congress, and it appears that Senator Mardis was the oldest practicing attorney in the Nation at the time of his death. J. J. Mardis was engaged in the active practice of law at the ripe age of 103 when death called him away from his duties.

Judge Waskom told the court at the time of the memorial services:

J. J. Mardis was born 3½ miles south of where Harrisburg is located. The county seat was then Boliver, the old site of which is a few miles north of Harrisburg. His father died when he was 5 years of age and he was reared by a widowed mother. He spent his early life working on the farm and raising stock. All the literary education he acquired was in going to the Farm Hill log schoolhouse some 2 or 3 months a year. After he finished school he borrowed law books and read at night by candlelight until he was admitted to the bar in 1882. When he was born on November 18, 1850, Millard Fillmore was President of the United States, who was succeeded by Franklin Pierce, who was succeeded by James Buchanan, who was succeeded by Abraham Lincoln.

When J. J. Mardis was born there were only 3 members of the Arkansas Supreme Court and Volume No. 10 of the Supreme Court reports had just been issued. Now there are 221. Mr. Mardis did not have the opportunity of attending a law school or studying in a law office but he knew the history of legislation, the principles that have been settled upon the field of war. He new the maxims—those crystallizations of commonsense, those hand grenades of argument. He was not a case lawyer—a decision index or an echo. He was original and thoughtful, with breadth and scope, resource and logic, and above all a sense of justice. He was painstaking and conscientious, anxious to know the facts—prepared for every attack, ready for every defense. He rested only when the end was reached. During the contest he neither sent or received a flag of truce. He was true to his clients, making their case his. He knew the boundaries of State and Federal jurisdiction and was familiar with those great decisions that are the peaks and promontories, the headlands and beacons of the law.

Mr. Mardis lived a long, long life, more than 103 years. He witnessed the greatest period of material development and progress in all human history. When he was born

there were no matches—fire banks were kept; no cigarettes, no cigars, but clay pipes; no heating stoves, but open fireplaces; no mowers, no reapers, no thrashers, but cradle scythes and flails; no educational institution in Arkansas except the schoolhouses; no telephones and telegraphy was in its infancy; no cotton gins except those operated by animal power; there was not a railroad in Arkansas; there were no typewriters, no electric lights, no conveyances except wagons and stagecoaches; no dynamos, no internal combustion engines, no photography, no airplanes, no atomic power.

Such were some of the conditions under which Mr. Mardis fought the battle of most of his early life, but by diligence and perseverence he contributed his part to his family, to his city, to his county, to his State, and to the maintenance of our matchless free Republic. He heard Lincoln's great proclamation and saw great numbers of slaves rove with joy the fenceless fields of freedom. He gave to every human being every right that he claimed for himself. He followed the golden mean between the two extremes. He fought the battle of life without bowing to place or power, with enmity toward none and charity to all.

On June 4, 1954, after a life well spent, with his every duty faithfully performed, the soul of J. J. Mardis, like a great and peaceful river, between green and shaded banks, flowed into the waveless ocean of eternal peace.

Mr. Speaker, the eloquence of Judge Waskom bespeaks his own great heritage of knowledge and the law, and indicates the love and the admiration he feels for the late Senator Mardis. Such men—both Senator Mardis and Judge Waskom—are a part of the great tradition of America—dedicated men to the operation of society along established rules of procedures to insure the greatest liberty for our citizens—zealous guardians of the power of the law.

Such men are inspirations to us all.

MRA Merits Admiration and Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to join in the sentiments expressed by the gentleman from California [Mr. SHEPPARD] and others with respect to MRA and wish to commend all of them for their statements. It has been my privilege to attend several MRA sessions and plays. To say that they have been most worthwhile is to state it mildly.

We live in a critical era—in a world filled with tensions and problems. People all over the world are seeking solutions to those problems which exist in almost endless number and in varying degrees of magnitude. We find nation pitted against nation, race against race, and class against class. Solutions must be found if civilization is to endure with a maximum of freedom and liberty for all people. But these solutions will be difficult, if not on occasion impossible, to find if our objectives are not higher than the mere material. The objectives must involve that of which our President spoke in his State of the Union message when he said "man is a little lower than the angels—holding dominion over the works of his Creator."

MRA points up the need of such objectives, and seeks to show contending forces how those objectives might but be achieved. MRA has accomplished what may be termed wonders throughout the world. It is an organization which merits the admiration and support of all of us.

Address of Hon. Francis B. Sayre in Tribute to Dr. John A. Mackay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, on September 30, 1954, the beloved president of Princeton Theological Seminary, Dr. John A. Mackay, was the honoree at the Upper Room annual citation dinner at the National Press Club. On that occasion Hon. Francis B. Sayre was the principal speaker, and his tribute to Dr. Mackay and his analysis of world conditions constituted a significant statement. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Sayre's address, as follows:

I feel very grateful for the privilege accorded me by Dr. Potts of being present at this gathering of friends of the Upper Room. The Upper Room has come to mean so much in the lives of thousands and thousands of Christians all over the world that I should like, if I may, on behalf of its readers and admirers, to express our debt and our profound appreciation to Dr. Potts and to his coworkers of the upper room for their unique contribution to the cause of Christianity.

I

Tonight we are gathered to do special honor to one of the great leaders of our generation. It is a joy to share in this outpouring of tribute to him. He has truly sensed the nature of the critical need of our present tortured world and the one direction in which to turn for effective help. All his days he has followed the Vision and has brightened it for us. He has not been content merely to pray "Thy Kingdom come," but has devoted the whole of his working life to the active building of that Kingdom. John Mackay is one of Christianity's great apostles to our generation.

I think of John Mackay, leader in so many areas of the church's outreach into our world, as a symbol of the kind of work that God is calling all of us in our generation to achieve. First, he has comprehended with clarity the present world need; next, with power he has set about influencing and shaping other lives so as to help effectively to meet that need. Bearing him in mind, I want for a few minutes this evening, if I may, to sketch in some of the stark realities of this international picture as I have seen it from many different fronts across the world.

II

Mankind today is harried with fear. The 19th century sense of security and prevailing optimism is shattered. Two world wars have wrecked many of our settled beliefs and cherished institutions. The world is filled with false creeds and lying propaganda. Mankind, disillusioned and frustrated, is groping for help. In which direction shall the hungering millions turn?

One of these false creeds, which in large areas of the world is eclipsing Christianity, is communism as taught and practiced by Russia today. While Russian communism preaches a better life for all mankind, it places all its faith in the supreme power of material force. It refuses to be bound or limited in the gaining of its materialistic ends by moral restraints. It ignores the fundamental God-given rights of individual men and women. It scoffs at the supremacy of spiritual and religious values. It laughs at any idea of an overruling God. There can be no possible reconciliation between the ideologies of Russian communism and Christianity.

The Soviet Union is like a great reservoir, piping out streams of contaminating communism throughout Asia. China has already become engulfed with it. India, with its backbreaking problems of poverty and ignorance and religious hatreds will remain an uncertain factor in Asia for years to come. But Japan with her great industrial potentialities, her strategic geographic position on the eastern seaboard of Asia and her hard-working, self-disciplined people, intensely loyal to such ideals as have been implanted in their hearts, is yet a power to be reckoned with. In many ways it is one of the most strategic spots in the world today. Will it be able to withstand the highpowered Communist propaganda which is flooding the countryside?

During the past year which I have been spending in Japan I have felt sometimes as if I were standing on a mighty battleground, watching God making history. A Christian Japan could turn the tide of history in Asia.

Can the mass of Japanese farmers and fishermen and city dwellers, be brought, before it is too late to understand and believe in the great teachings and concepts of Jesus Christ? That is the supreme question in the Asia of our generation.

In these fateful days we are watching the forces of communism sweeping across Vietnam. If Indochina falls, there will be but slender hope of saving Thailand; and from there direct routes lead south to strategic Singapore, northwestward into Burma and southwest into Indonesia.

Communism has engulfed already a third of all the people of the world. It is strongly advancing. Its banners fly the emblems of peace but its peace is only that of gaining world mastery through war and the denial of human rights.

Surely the forces of Christianity throughout the world must unite to fight, not the people of Russia, to whom we shall want some day to turn for comradeship and help, but the evil ideology which has gripped the Russian people and is threatening in Asia to eclipse Christianity. The forces of evil are compelling us these days to build military defenses to protect our lives; but these alone cannot conquer communism. Communism in the last analysis can be downed only by ideas, and these must be the ultimately conquering ideas and teachings of Jesus Christ. Nothing else can save.

That is one of the supreme things John Mackay is giving his life to teach.

We must not suppose that the conquest of communism will bring peace to mankind. Other profound issues and epochal changes are also convulsing our twentieth century world; these it would be fatal to forget or ignore because of our present acute struggle against communism.

One of these is the worldwide revolt against inhuman poverty. In most of Europe and America we have for centuries ignored the conditions of appalling human need which

exist in the greater part of Asia and Africa. In many areas of these, life expectancy at birth is only 32 years. One out of every three babies dies before reaching its first birthday. Those suffering from malaria in Asia today equal the total population of the Western Hemisphere—and every year some 3 million of these sufferers die. More people in Asia and Africa are unable to read a word from a printed book than inhabit the whole of Europe and of the United States.

The United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization has just submitted its report. "Fully half the world's people," says the report, "are still inadequately housed, clothed, and nourished."

We must see this portentous situation in its historical setting. Blighting poverty and need have in fact been the lot of all human beings except a very few in every age and in almost every society. Now in this epochal 20th century, with its unprecedented advances in scientific invention, in international communication and trade and travel, for the first time it has become possible significantly to raise the living standards of the vast majority of the world's people. And for the first time they are becoming aware that they need not continue in utter destitution and want. Something tremendous and withal essentially desirable is taking place. If the world of those who already possess can but give to these awakening people the Christian answer, the outcome can be magnificent. But if Christianity does not play its part now in effective movements for raising among many suffering peoples economic and social and educational standards through brotherly assistance of many varied kinds, most of Asia and Africa may rise in powerful revolt to overthrow existing governments and political systems. The resulting struggle could be more ominous and threatening even than our battle against communism today. Whether or not the world is to have peace during the 21st century depends in large measure upon how effectively we can at this critical juncture of world history bring into effective play the forces of Christianity before the chance has passed—in assisting the needy people of the earth to lift themselves out of the bondage of poverty, ignorance, and disease.

IV

A third profound issue which confronts our political world today is the revolt against racial discrimination and exploitation. The building up of materal power for a Nation's selfish ends through the exploitation of other peoples or the draining away of their natural resources will always lead to slow-burning resentment and world instability. So far as 19th century colonialism meant the exploitation of other peoples for material and selfish gain, it was bound ultimately to prove disastrous and self-defeating. Today in many parts of the world we are paying the dreadful price for our past sins of racial exploitation. In some future day the Russian people also will pay the price for their present exploitation of satellite and other Asian peoples.

The easy but superficial answer is prompt independence for all. But is this the Christian answer?

Genuine freedom cannot be achieved by a mere political grant or by a military victory. Freedom comes only as adequate political, economic, social, and educatoinal foundations can be prepared. Men can be as effectively manacled by economic and social forms of servitude as by political oppression. The real tragedy of Indochina today is that its people are not yet prepared and able to govern or to defend themselves. Through past decades there has been an unforgivable lack of educational and economic upbuilding.

The Christian answer to the problem of colonialism and alien rule must be based upon recognition of the inherent right of every people to freedom and thus to eventual independent or self-government. But Christianity demands far more than political independence. Christianity demands the active assistance of every underdeveloped people to build up the social and economic and educational foundations necessary for meeting the responsibilities of independence. It is a task of vast proportions to be carried on along innumerable fronts over a period of many years. It demands unbounded faith and perserverance and understanding kindliness. But its ultimate reward is peace and definite progress along the pathway to the coming of God's Kingdom. Christians must urgently be about these God-given tasks.

V

Communism, the present-day revolt against centuries-old poverty and colonialism or other forms of human exploitation, are not the only deep-seated causes making for catastrophic, revolutionary changes in 20th century life—changes which almost inevitably produce struggle and warfare. Another profound cause of present-day strife is the breakdown of the system of nationalism.

The political state in its modern form has slowly been evolving and building up power since the 13th century. Vast concentrations of power in the hands of certain peoples have resulted. Unhappily this power has been too often used, not for the welfare and advancement of the peoples of the world but for selfish national ends. Too often power corrupts.

The climax was reached by the end of the 19th century with the full-blown evils of emperialism and colonialism.

But as a result of our 20th century developments of international trade and travel, of mass production and the resulting dependence of almost every people upon foreign raw materials and world markets, of the cost and destructive power of modern armament, nationalism can no longer offer security to any people. Internationalism has become the price of survival. No nation single-handed and without allies and friends can possibly defend itself in any war of world consequence today.

True Christians must know that, whatever its value under bygone conditions, the self-seeking nationalism of the past cannot serve our basic needs because we are under God one human family. All barriers of nationality, of race, of color, must go. Together we must plan and build and if necessary fight for the fundamental rights of human brotherhood.

Just as in prior centuries the allegiance of men and women to their clans and city states had to yield to an allegiance to the nation, so today the allegiance to the nation must come to yield to an allegiance to the cause of all humanity.

We must more convincingly help the peoples of Asia and of Africa to feel themselves an integral part of the free world. The price of survival in our shrunken, interdependent world of today is a brotherhood of all free peoples.

Here is a prodigious new development in the slow advance of human thinking. Either men and women must now adopt the Christian teaching of world brotherhood—must unite to support such organizations as the United Nations, representing all humanity—or with the development of the atom and the hydrogen bomb be snuffed out.

VI

Along what lines can these explosive new world forces be wisely met? How are communism, the world-wide revolt against inhuman poverty, and the far-flung rebellion against human exploitation, the breakdown of a world built upon self-seeking nationalism—how are these to be countered so that mankind may go forward?

In our fight against communism the issues were defined 2,000 years ago. Jesus Christ taught that belief in the ultimate supremacy of material force leads only to disaster. He based the very essence of his teachings upon the transcendance of spiritual and moral values over purely material ones. And it is only by this faith that communism can be effectively conquered.

Concerning human poverty and need, also, Jesus' teaching took very definite form. To suffering humanity he gave the parable of the good Samaritan. He taught that the supreme values in the world are individual, human personalities. Only when welcomed in such a faith can the present worldwide revolt against debasing poverty be transmuted from a struggle of evil threatening disaster into an epochal step forward in human progress.

Jesus taught the equality of all men under God and the sacredness of each individual personality. How else can the evil of 19th century colonialism and present day forms of human exploitation be fought?

Jesus taught the eternal brotherhood of all men under God. Until we can replace the self-seeking, narrow nationalism of former days by the determination to achieve international brotherhood, how can we go forward?

Years of struggle on the front line of international politics and diplomacy have taught me and countless others that there can be no solution of the problems and successive crises which crowd upon us in the political arenas of the world except those based upon the teachings of Jesus Christ. His teaching points the only possible pathway to human progress, to world peace, to the ultimate satisfaction of the most profound instincts and yearnings of the human heart.

Are we beginning to sense the crucial significance and need of spreading throughout the world in these critical days before destruction is upon us a comprehension and understanding of the great saving concepts taught by Jesus Christ—that upon them alone can human progress or lasting peace be built?

VII

In his realization and teaching of these profound truths we can sense something of the stature of John Mackay, modern apostle of Christianity. His lifelong work in colleges and universities in South and Central America, in Scotland and in numerous institutions and seminaries of the United States, has been spent in witness to their truth. Dr. Mackay with winning eloquence is calling men and women in every country of the world into the great fellowship of Jesus Christ. As he said in his pregnant book Heritage and Destiny: "God and His purposes stand above the Nation and the Nation's interests, and the highest role a nation can play is to reflect God's righteousness in national policy. * * *"

He sums up his teaching in what he has written for the World Christian Fellowship Number of The Upper Room for Sunday, October 3: "Wide chasms divide men and nations. But on the horizon shines a star of hope. It is the existence of a worldwide fellowship of men and women who love and serve Jesus Christ."

In his potent work as president of the Princeton Theological Seminary, he is training and inspiring young men to go forth preaching the word with power. As chairman of the International Missionary Council, moderator of the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church and president of its board of foreign missions, and through his other missionary activities, he has strengthened immeasurably missionary work throughout the world and given new meaning to the words of Christ: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them. * * *" (Math. 28:19). In his outstanding ecumenical work he has been drawing ever closer the bonds of Christian fellowship and

love and thereby with telling effect breaking down the barriers of misunderstanding and of color and race prejudice.

I am convinced that the forces of Christianity today have it within their power with wise leadership and organized activity to play such a part in building for the coming Kingdom of God as Christian forces have never played before. If we, like John Mackay, but keep true to Jesus Christ, there can be no such thing as ultimate defeat. God is looking down upon us today with confidence and hope.

Are we ready to go forward?

Eisenhower Defends Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD an article by Mr. David Lawrence in which he discusses the defense of Vice President NIXON against politically inspired smears which have been directed at the Vice President recently. This article which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of January 13, 1955, and the President's statement should put at rest the unjustified attacks which have been perpetrated against Vice President NIXON. The article follows:

EISENHOWER WINS PRAISE FOR HIS DEFENSE OF NIXON

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, January 12.—President Eisenhower is beginning to get the feel of national politics and especially the way prejudices are built out of charges that have no foundation.

Instead of allowing his press conference to be used as a means of encouraging friction inside the Republican Party, the President answered firmly and courageously a question this week about Vice President NIXON'S speeches which had been the subject of criticism by Speaker RAYBURN and other Democratic leaders. Mr. Eisenhower made it clear that he didn't think Mr. NIXON had accused the Democratic Party of treason, as some Democrats tried to make it appear. By meeting this budding controversy in its incipient stages, the President prevented the Democrats from maneuvering him into a battle inside his own political family.

ATTACKS ON NIXON

For several weeks now—in fact, ever since the November elections—various Democratic Party spokesmen have been saying over and over again that Vice President NIXON conducted an unfair campaign because of his references to the handling of Communists in Government by the Truman and Roosevelt administrations. The criticisms have been repeated often in Washington, where there still is a predisposition in some quarters to believe what Democratic politicians say without ferreting out the facts.

The President asked one of the reporters if he was inquiring about Mr. NIXON'S speeches on the supposition that the Vice President had said what his critics claimed or on the basis of what Mr. NIXON really did say in the campaign. It tuned out that the query was based solely on the allegations of the Democrats.

PARTY OF TREASON

Mr. Eisenhower thereupon said he would give a few facts himself. First of all, he declared that he didn't consider any political party in America to be a party of treason and that only the Communist Party could be held to be treasonable. At its last session Congress by statute declared the Communist Party subversive.

Next, the President said no such sweeping condemnation of any major party had been made by Mr. NIXON. Mr. Eisenhower revealed that he has been assured by the Vice President himself that never, even by implication, had he tried to condemn an entire party but that the speeches which had been criticized contained references only to individual cases and to the way they were handled administratively. Mr. NIXON, the President said, had questioned good judgment but never loyalty.

What the Democrats have employed recently is not, of course, a new device—to raise a smokescreen in rebutting a charge of administrative incompetence. When Attorney General Brownell made a speech in October 1953, criticizing former President Truman for having been lax in handling the case of Harry Dexter White after the FBI had made specific reports concerning White's role in a Communist ring, there was a hue and cry to the effect that Mr. Brownell had questioned the loyalty of Mr. Truman.

Despite Mr. Brownell's prompt disavowal of any such inference, the Democrats stuck to the accusation, and to this day their speakers repeat the canard that Mr. Brownell questioned the loyalty of the former President.

PROPAGANDA SCHEMES

Now it turns out that the same game is being played in an effort to discredit Vice President NIXON. In the past, such propaganda schemes have not been perceived by Mr. Eisenhower, and some of his answers at press conferences have been susceptible of an unfriendly interpretation with respect to members of his own official family.

By coming out flatly and demanding that the accusers of Mr. NIXON give chapter and verse to support their criticism, the President is well advised. It shows he is recognizing the importancce of uniting the Republican Party and preventing political opponents from driving a wedge between him and other prominent Republicans.

If the Democrats think it politically desirable to pursue the controversy, they will in the long run be injuring themselves. For the last thing the Democrats should want to see happen is a rehash with klieg lights of all the cases in which the Democratic administrations of the past were remiss in ferreting out Communists and security risks in government.

The President is acting more like the leader of his party, and it is a healthy sign, because in 1956 a united Republican Party is a prerequisite to victory.

With a Faith and a Flag They Called It America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I am proud to include a speech delivered by Mrs. Roland Walter, president of the Iowa Department of the American Legion Auxiliary at their 1954 conference held at Council Bluffs, Iowa:

WITH A FAITH AND A FLAG THEY CALLED IT AMERICA

(By Katherine Watter, Lenox Iowa)

"God built a continent and filled it with untold treasures. He bedecked it with soft rolling prairies and pillared it with sweet-flowing fountains and long winding streams. He graced it with deep shadowed forests and filled the trees with songirds.

"These treasures would have meant little if hordes of people had not come to its shore, each bearing a gift and a hope. Our forefathers had a glow of adventure in their eyes, and the glory of hope in their souls. And out of them, fashioned a nation blessed with a purpose sublime. And they called it America."

Our forefathers worked hard to give us a land of plenty, a land of mechanical miracles and great scientific achievements. Our vast material blessings have no equal in the long turbulent history of civilization. We seem to be at the peak of our prosperity but we find ourselves beset with fears, doubts, and uncertainties. There are some things that we as Americans must labor to get back—habits of thrift and self-denial; courage to face new adventures; the serene faith that was ours in simple creeds and established traditions; the patriotism that has put America first; the unshaken belief that was ours in American institutions and American ideals. We must return to sturdy, clean, upstanding Americanism of our forefathers, who went forward with a faith and a flag.

Today we seem to be standing at the crossroads in the history of a great nation. In this crisis we have at our command the strength, the courage, and the inspiration of our forefathers. Faith in God, faith in ourselves, faith in our fellow men, faith in our freedom.

The men who signed the Constitution, the men who braved the prairies to pioneer the land, lived by these faiths.

Down through the ages faith in God has been an all-powerful force in the lives of men. When the Pilgrim fathers waded onto the shores of New England, there was no government to give them aid and comfort or support. All they had to sustain them was a deep and abiding faith.

Throughout civilization faith has persisted and is woven into the foundation and uprights of our Nation. It has given us strength when we have faltered. Recognition of a Supreme Power and the dependence upon that Power for guidance is contained in the Declaration of Independence, in our National and State Constitutions. So strong was that faith that on our coins the words, "In God we trust," is stamped.

Faith in ourselves: Each of us can revive the spirit which built our country, by renewing this faith in ourselves. We know it has paid off in richer, happier, and fuller lives for us. We know it has brought us the greatest outpouring of goods and services the world has ever known. We know, too, it can bring peace and security for us. The history of our country is a history of a people with faith in themselves.

In recent years we've lost some of that faith. We are leaning on the Government for assistance and for the solution of many of our personal and community problems.

Faith in our own ingenuity, our resourcefulness, and our ability to take care of our basic needs of life is essential to the preservation of human rights and personal liberties. Faith in ourselves—it is our responsibility to preserve it untarnished and undiminished.

Faith in our fellowmen: Our forefathers possessed this faith, too. They lived by it; fought for it; and died to foster it. They wrote it into the Declaration of Independence that all who followed would not forget these words, "With a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually

pledge our lives—our Fortunes—and our Sacred Honor."

Today, no less than years ago, we must seek the strength such faith in our fellowmen yields. The preservation of this basic faith—the foundation of brotherly love is our duty.

Faith in freedom: Personal freedom was believed in by our forefathers. It was not a dream. They believed that it was a God-given right and they believed it so deeply that they made freedom an established fact. That is why we have freedom. That is why we have been so richly blessed with the good things of life. Our Nation has become a land of plenty—in a world beset with poverty, hunger, and suffering.

Down through the years we have been free to dream, free to explore, free to invent, free to work, to achieve, and to accumulate, free to venture, free to earn and save, free to climb from lowly beginnings to positions of power, honor, and trust.

But as we enjoy these blessings, we should remember always that freedom can be lost and will be if we take it for granted. Freedom is a sacred trust which is ours to hand on to our children as a birthright.

Let us look at the letters in the word "free."

F—the faith to uphold the ideals upon which our country was founded.

R—the responsibility not to encroach upon the rights of others.

E—education, for education is the cornerstone of the brotherhood of man.

E—the experience of faith from which there is no substitute.

Putting the meaning of these letters together, we can and we will preserve our heritage.

Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have permission to extend my remarks to include testimonials to the untiring and intelligent work of Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

The first article is an editorial entitled "Inspiring Courage." It appeared in the Bremerton Sun, of Bremerton, Wash., on October 6, 1954. The second is from the Sunday Pioneer Press of St. Paul, Minn., appearing December 5, 1954.

In conclusion, I want to add the very fine writeup by Robert E. Baker, staff reporter of the Washington Post and Times-Herald, on December 30, 1954. Mr. Baker has captured part of the enthusiasm my old friend and colleague displays when he talks about his main interest in life: Hiring the physically handicapped is just good business.

[From the Bremerton (Wash.) Sun of October 8, 1954]

INSPIRING COURAGE

By word and by deed, a sightless war hero demonstrated during his visit here why he is the President's choice to head the Nation's program to hire the physically handicapped.

At two points in his tour of Puget Sound Naval Shipyard this week, Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, United States Marine Reserve (retired), impressed his hosts.

Who naccorded courtesy honors, General Maas moved briskly among the marines at attention as he had countless times in his military career. Stopping suddenly, he accepted an extended rifle and swung it skyward. His sightless eyes seemed to search the barrel. Aside, someone whispered, "He can smell a dirty rifle."

If General Maas' character flashed only briefly then, it was bared brightly in a naked moment aboard the U. S. S. *Missouri*. Because he had once visited aboard as a Minnesota congressman, Maas asked to be taken to the *Missouri's* famed surrender deck. There, without prearrangement, he knelt to touch, like braille, the raised lettering on the bronze plaque.

To those privileged to witness the event, Maas symbolibzed mankind's humble beings who are great through human dignity in the face of adversity. Still later, Maas displayed another quality necessary in the conquering of physical handicaps. He joked about his.

Relating how an Army general had expressed surprise when he remained on active duty awhile after becoming blind, Maas said the officer commented he must be the first blind general to serve his country. Maas' answer to the fellow officer was, "No, sir; just the first to admit he is blind." Then Maas, who had minimized his blindness, finally admitted he did have a handicap—false teeth.

By word and by deed, General Maas is doing a real job in job hunting for fellow Americans. He not only provides inspiration for his fellowman, he also demonstrates to employers that hiring the handicapped can, indeed, be good business.

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press of December 5, 1954]

ST. PAULITE TO BE HONORED—SIGHTLESS MAAS AIDS HANDICAPPED

(By Walter T. Ridder)

WASHINGTON.—Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas is a man who practices what he preaches. The former St. Paul congressman spends his time these days roaming the United States of American and foreign nations, talking to all who will listen to the doctrine that the physically handicapped make fine employees.

That Maas should have the interests of the physically handicapped close to his heart is not surprising. "Why, I'm physically handicapped myself," he will tell you with a broad grin. "I use false teeth."

Maas is returning to the Twin Cities this weekend to be honored at a series of ceremonies. At the naval air station Saturday it will be Mel Maas Day as the Marine Air Reserves salute him with mass formation of troops and a flyover of aircraft.

As father of Marine aviation in Minnesota, Maas organized the first Marine Squadron at the naval air station in 1931 and was its leader until 1940.

Civic and military leaders and a host of his friends will pay tribute to Maas Saturday night during a dinner in the Leamington Hotel, Minneapolis. Between 300 and 400 persons are expected to attend the function.

It is acceptance of physical disability with that kind of humor which Maas is constantly preaching, for in addition to the handicap of his false teeth, the St. Paulite in recent years has also lost his eyesight.

Three years ago, the light which had been fading, flickered out. To some, so stricken, the temptation might have been to call it a day and spend the rest of life being served and waited upon and making the darkness an excuse for doing nothing.

Not so Maas, who, one of his friends said, merely took a deep breath, reassessed his new position, and promptly lauched forth on a new career. As Maas himself recalls it: "I was so busy I never really thought about the blindness. I moved my telephone to the hospital and kept myself so busy that the question of how to readjust never came up."

Now as chairman of the President's Committee for Employment of the Handicapped, Maas argues that there is a definite relationship between being busy and adjusting oneself to physical handicap. "It shouldn't be just made-work," Maas says. "You've got to keep yourself busy on work which has a definite purpose."

The "definite purpose" to which Maas is now directing himself is trying to impress upon employers that the physically handicapped can pay their own way. "Why I've seen a blind man operate the most complex drill machine—and he can do it just as well and just as safely as the man with two good eyes."

In bringing his message to employers, Maas stresses two statistics. The first is that the accident rate among the physically handicapped employed in factories is lower than that among so-called normal persons; the second, absenteeism is much lower among the handicapped than among their healthy co-workers.

Maas himself is an example of the independence with which a handicapped person can carry out his assignments. Since January, Maas has traveled over 70,000 miles, has ranged from the West coast to Vienna, Austria, and travels alone. "On my first trip as a handicapped person, I had an escort," he recalls with a chuckle, "but the guy became sick in the airplane and I had to take care of him the whole way. After that, I decided I could travel easier all by myself."

One of Maas' Washington friends remembers seeing the former Congressman dashing down one of this city's main boulevards, his cane uncannily picking his route, and huffing behind him was a lady. "I said to myself," recalls the friend, "if she's his escort, she ain't doing him much good."

Nor is the job on behalf of the physically handicapped the only one to which Maas attends. Every three or four weeks he goes back on active duty with the United States Marine Corps. In his uniform of a major-general, he sits on the Reserve Forces policy board, an instrument of the Defense Department which advises and suggests on matters pertaining to America's reservists.

The Marine Corps has always been close to Maas' heart. He served in World War I as a marine flier and assiduously followed the Reserve training program in the years between the wars, ultimately rising to the rank of colonel, at which rank he served during World War II. He was present at the battles of Guadalcanal and Milne Bay, and commanded two marine air bases on Okinawa.

His 14 years in the House of Representatives as Congressman from St. Paul gave him an opportunity to fight gallantly on behalf of the Marine Corps. As a ranking Republican member of the then House Naval Affairs Committee Maas was able to help beat off the oft-recurring suggestions that the Marine Corps be abolished.

The recent shooting of several Congressmen by Puerto Rican fanatics reminded Capitol historians that Maas had played the major role in a similar attempt back in 1932. A father, temporarily deranged by the problems of the depression, invaded the floor of Congress and, brandishing a revolver, threatened the Congressmen.

St. Paul's Congressman Maas approached the man, talked to him, and succeeded in disarming him before any damage had been done. For risking his own life on behalf of his colleagues Maas was awarded the Carnegie Silver Medal for heroism.

Defeated for reelection in the 1944 political campaign, Maas settled in Washington, living in Silver Spring, a Maryland suburb.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of December 30, 1954]

BLIND MEL MAAS, EX-CONGRESSMAN, TRAVELS 100,000 MILES IN YEAR—SAYS FALSE TEETH ARE HIS CHIEF HANDICAP

(By Robert E. Baker)

"I am very seriously handicapped," said Mel Maas. "I wear false teeth."

The totally blind 56-year-old retired marine major general and former Congressman was showing off his specially equipped study in the lower level of his Somerset, Md., rambler.

Arranged around the soundproofed room were a braille typewriter, a regular electric typewriter, a talking-record machine, and many file slots. Maas sat down on a stenographer's chair, equipped with casters, and pushed himself from place to place, showing his prowess.

Then he plumped comfortably in a contour chair in the corner with the talking-record machine.

"This is where I sit at night, after the family's gone to bed, with a Scotch in one hand, a cigar in the other. And I just listen to the best books there are."

That's about the only time this remarkable man is still.

During this year he has traveled 100,000 miles alone and has made 280 speeches. "Being an oldtime politician, that doesn't faze me," he said. He belongs to 72 dues-paying organizations.

But his main interest these days concerns his job as chairman of the President's Committee on the Physically Handicapped. He gets no pay.

"That's the way I want it," he said. "I don't want to upset my amateur standing, and I do want to be able to tell anybody to go to hell if they're wrong."

Always known for his outspokenness, his agility with a quip, and his all-out vigor, Maas hasn't changed a bit.

"I don't feel a bit older since my sight vanished in August 1951," he said. "Probably because I can't see myself in the mirror."

A native of Duluth, Minn., he attended public schools in St. Paul and St. Thomas College and the University of Minnesota. He recently received an honorary doctor of laws degree from St. Thomas. "But nobody will call me doctor," he lamented.

After college, he went to Texas into the oil business, joined the National Surety Corp. in 1920, set up the Dmyer-Maas Co. insurance agency in St. Paul in 1925.

A year later, he was elected to Congress at the age of 28, as Republican Representative from Minnesota. It wasn't long before he grew a moustache, and sported pince-nez, which had window-glass lenses.

"I got tired of being referred to as the baby Congressman," he said.

He was known as the Flying Congressman, too, in those days. Maas was a marine flier during World War I.

Once, he buzzed the Capitol during a joint session of Congress with President Hoover. Wishing to show a plane could bomb the Capitol and wipe out the Government, he succeeded in cracking the skylight glass and sending the officials scurrying.

Then, before returning to Bolling Field in his P-1 biplane, he buzzed the White House, zoomed low over Pennsylvania Avenue, and thumbed his nose at policemen.

"I would have been sent to the penitentiary if I wasn't a Congressman," he said.

On December 13, 1932, a maniac flourished a loaded revolver in the House Gallery. Representatives dived for the nearest exit. Maas remained and explained to the youth it was against the rules to shoot a Representative.

The youngster tossed the weapon to Maas, who was awarded the Carnegie medal the next year.

During these years, Maas was a tireless advocate of bigger and better ships and guns. After World War II broke out, Maas raised a storm in November 1942, when he accused the Navy high command of concealing from the public that things weren't going right in the Pacific. Before his speech, a delegation of high officers visited him and applied pressure to at least tone it down.

"I told them where to go, of course," said Maas.

He got a leave of absence, served at Guadalcanal and New Guinea. In 1944, he was defeated for reelection, and promptly reported back to the Marines on Okinawa. After the war he was made special assistant to the board chairman of the Sperry Corp., and was with that firm when the Korean conflict broke out.

A severe critic of the Government's Reserve officer's programs, Maas was called back to work out a new program. His sight failed in August 1951, and he was retained on full active duty until his retirement in August 1952. Why blindness struck is unknown.

He had been serving on the President's Committee on the Physically Handicapped before his blindness. He sent in his resignation.

President Truman turned it down, saying: "Now you can get us inside information on the problem." Maas went into the work with customary vigor.

He reported to the Hines, Ill., Veterans Rehabilitation Center and learned how to get along without sight. He had company—Korean veterans. He's writing a book on this experience, called Soup With a Fork.

Maas is deadly serious when it comes to his job of trying to sweep away the prejudice and misunderstanding some employers have about employing handicapped persons. "We're getting more and more acceptance," he said, "but we've a long way to go."

Recently they held Mel Maas Day in St. Paul and Minneapolis. Dressed in uniform, Maas proceeded to troop two lines of a Marine honor guard at the Marine Air Reserve Training Station in Minneapolis.

Suddenly, Maas stopped in front of a marine in line, smartly yanked his rifle away and swung it skyward with his right hand. He held the barrel to his eye momentarily.

"It looks clean to me," he quipped, returning it to the marine.

National Affairs Platform of the American Veterans Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows the national affairs platform adopted by the American Veterans Committee at the eighth annual convention held in December 1954, at Boston, Mass.:

NATIONAL AFFAIRS PLATFORM

THE NATION'S FREEDOM

We reaffirm our belief in the traditional American freedoms embodied in the Bill of Rights. Legitimate measures designed to safeguard our national security and to combate espionage can be adopted, without permitting the erosion of our principles. These principles are the bulwark of our democracy and constitute our real strength and pride.

We oppose efforts to suppress criticism, dissent, and the freedom to read and think. We oppose censorship.

We deplore the present tendency to water down the safeguards of the present Bill of Rights. We reaffirm the importance to all Americans of the right to counsel, to freedom from unlawful search and seizure, and to due process of law.

We oppose resort to the "test oath" which cannot prevent, detect, nor protect against disloyalty. We urge Congress to enact legislation giving to each person whose loyalty or integrity is attacked before a congressional committee the rights to a bill of particulars of the charges against him, to make a timely defense against the charges, and to confront and cross-examine witnesses.

We recognize the considerable gains that have been made in the last year in the field of civil rights of certain minority groups, particularly of nonwhite Americans. We are, however, aware that such gains have been greatly offset by the general curtailment of civil liberties, induced by fear of the Soviet Union and of the Communist conspiracy. We assert that an increase in equality in a steadily decreasing field of freedom must result eventually in the equal sharing of nothing. With this warning in mind, but recognizing that the drive for abolition of second-class citizenship must continue, we urge:

1. The elimination of all statutes, ordinances, or regulations, whether civil or military, which require, encourage, or condone discrimination in civil life or in the Armed Forces, by segregation or otherwise, on the basis of race, color, ancestry, national origin, or religion .

2. The enactment of legislation to prevent denial of equal opportunity in employment, in the use of public facilities and places of accommodation open to the general public, and in participation in public life and to prevent the denial of human rights when such denial is based on discrimination because of race, color, ancestry, national origin, or religion.

3. The enunciation and the implementation by the executive branch of the Government of all affirmative policy directing all executive departments and administrative agencies to carry out their functions, programs, and services in a manner calculated to eliminate discrimination, segregation, and inequality based on race, color, ancestry, national origin, or religion in all phases of activity upon which they can have a direct or indirect effect.

4. Revision of the immigration and naturalization laws to eliminate racial and religious discriminations, to reform the outdated national origins quota systems and to do away with unwarranted distinctions in the treatment of native-born and naturalized citizens which stamp the latter as second-class citizens.

THE NATION'S ECONOMY

We believe that under our private enterprise system in which business, labor, and agriculture cooperate, the Government has an overall responsibility to act in such a manner as to maintain the national economy at a high level of activity and full employment in line with an increasing population and a rising standard of living. We are opposed to any fiscal policy which in the political attempt to be all things to all people would purport to carry out the provedly incompatible policies of balancing the budget, cutting personal and corporate income tax, and maintaining an adequate national defense and other Government service at one and the same time. Such a policy can only lay the foundation for future catastrophe. We are opposed to any present reduction of tax revenues. As a sound fiscal policy consistent with full employment permits further reduction in taxes, priority should be given to the reduction of those taxes which fall most heavily upon the lower income groups rather than those taxes which are borne principally by the higher income groups or by corporations.

Labor policy

We urge that a new labor law be enacted at the forthcoming session of Congress eliminating those unrealistic and unreasonable

provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act in derogation of the right of labor to organize, and also providing protection of the public interest and of the personal freedom of union members.

We urge revision of the unemployment insurance, workman's compensation, and sickness disability laws to provide for improved benefits and greater uniformity of benefits among the States.

Credit and monopoly

We are disturbed by the resurgence of the trend toward monopoly in the Nation's business. We recognize that our increasingly complex technological, manufacturing and distributive processes encourage that trend. We believe, however, that a democratic form of government is threatened as much by overconcentration of economic power in the hands of private individuals or corporations as it may be by overconcentration in the hands of Government itself. It is the duty and responsibility of our Government, under both our general philosophy and under the antitrust and antimonopoly laws to guard; and maintain a truly competitive free-enterprise system and to use its legislative, legal enforcement and vast purchasing power to that end. We urge the Government particularly in this time of merger and of disappearance and difficulty of small businesses, to establish credit facilities for small and medium size businesses, to utilize its purchasing power not only for efficiency in governmental expenditure but also to maintain a healthy economy to which the participation of small business is essential, and to rigorously enforce the antitrust and antimonopoly laws.

Foreign-trade policy

We call for a realistic policy of trade, not aid through the encouragement of freer trade through low tariffs and a stable tariff program.

Natural resources

The utilization of natural resources should benefit the American people as a whole. The Federal Government must obviously play a prominent role in planning their conservation and development. We deplore the all too obvious trend to grant exploitation rights, frequently on a monopoly's basis, in our great natural resources to private enterprises, without any or insufficient Federal safeguards or control. We believe such a policy represents a shortsighted surrender to the powerful interests and lobbies of the present without true regard for its future impact upon the Nation's economy, welfare, and defense.

We call again for the establishment of regional river valley authorities since private interests and Federal and States agencies have not yet provided sound interstate development programs.

We oppose the drive to reverse national power policy by renouncing Federal responsibility for governmental power development and low-cost supply of federally produced power to Federal and domestic consumers. Public-power districts, cooperatives, and municipalities should be assisted in the distribution of power at low cost in the interest of the people of the area served.

THE NATION'S WELFARE

Education

We agree with the basic principles stated by the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools:

"The problem of its children's schools lies at the heart of a free society. None of man's public institutions has a deeper effect upon his conduct as a citizen, whether of the community, of the Nation, or of the world.

"The goal of our public schools should be to make the best in education available to every American child on completely equal terms.

"Public-school education should be constantly reappraised and kept responsive both to our educational traditions and to the changing times."

We welcome the Supreme Court decision abolishing segregation in the schools, and pledge ourselves to work in our own communities to see to it not only that this decision is carried into effect but that every child, regardless of race, creed, or color, is given both the right and the opportunity to a first-rate education.

We deplore the lack of respect for the teaching profession, especially elementary and high school teaching, and urge increased remuneration for teachers corresponding to the important task which they fulfill, and greater recognition by the community of the teacher's status as a citizen and a free human being.

We urge the appropriation of State and local funds for public education, including the improvement and expansion of the overtaxed physical plant of America's public schools, for the granting of scholarships for both training and research, and for increasing teachers' salaries. We urge a program of Federal aid to education to assist in meeting these objectives.

We call upon Americans to participate actively in those organizations dedicated to the support and improvement of the Nation's public schools and to oppose the pressures upon schools and teachers by forces which seek to negate a basic principle upon which the American system of education is founded—free inquiry into and the discussion of the controversial problems of our times.

Health

We urge the expansion of medical insurance and group medical-care plans. We urge adoption of a plan of national health insurance to assure a higher national standard of health which will enable our people effectively to meet the mounting demands and challenges of citizenship.

Housing

We deplore the utter failure of Congress to recognize the continuing existence of a grave shortage of low-rent and middle-income housing throughout the Nation. We believe that approximately 2 million units a year will be required for the next 10 years in order to meet urgent and minimum housing needs. We urge the immediate enactment of legislation authorizing construction of 200,000 units per year of low-rent public housing as a bare minimum program. We urge a realistic Federal program designed to encourage the construction of middle-income housing by fostering expansion of a genuine cooperative housing program, including provisions for a broad program of Government expert and technical assistance to cooperators. We commend the program to aid urban renewal and redevelopment embodied in the Housing Act and call for its expansion. We urge in this connection rigid and adequate safeguards for a realistic relocation program designed to prevent the creation of additional blighted or substandard housing areas.

We endorse all the efforts of the Federal Government and State and local governments to provide assistance for low- and medium-priced rental housing and for home maintenance and renovation.

We urge, in the interests of a true slum-clearance program, that a plan be adopted which will provide construction of an adequate number of units on vacant land in proportion to the number of units to be constructed on presently improved property.

THE NATION'S GOVERNMENT

This country's form of government has proved democratically responsive to modern needs. A strong executive has greatly contributed to its success. We deplore the growing tendency of Congress to usurp functions which should properly be exercised by the executive branch of the Government. We oppose enactment of the Bricker amendment or of any substitute as contrary to the separation of governmental functions and as crippling the conduct of our foreign relations.

Congress

Experience since the adoption of the La-Follette-Monroney Act demonstrates the need for further modernization of congressional procedures. We support especially the bipartisan effort to establish a code of ethics and procedures for congressional investigations. We reiterate our belief that the Senate rules must be amended to bring filibusters under control and that the power of the House Rules Committee over legislation must be restricted.

Civil service

We are disturbed by recent evidences of a return to the spoils system in the field of Federal Government employment. We warn against any use in a security system for Federal employees, of spurious categories of so-called policy-making positions, or of partisan methods of recruiting personnel which would destroy the hard-won merit system in our civil service and which would place partisanship before competency or the legitimate rights of tenure.

We urge the President to provide additional safeguards for the rights and reputations of Federal employees in the conduct of the Federal security program, with particular reference to: the right to a fair, complete, and factual statement of charges, the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses, the right to subpena witnesses, the right to examine documentary evidence, the right to a reasonably speedy hearing at or near the employee's place of employment or residence before a hearing board untrammeled by extraneous political considerations. We urge the abolition of the present system of suspension without pay of Government employees pending final decision in security cases. We urge careful reconsideration and revision of the present standards established by the President's executive order for determination of security risk.

State and local government

We urge reapportionment of State legislatures to provide for representation based on current population distribution. We urge modernization of State and local governments to meet present day needs.

We warn against burdening the States with functions which they are not equipped to perform. Under no circumstances can we approve the excuse of States rights as a device for sloughing off the responsibilities of the Federal Government.

Proposed Tariff Reductions on Textile Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. FORRESTER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, the Committee for Reciprocity Information has been conducting hearings concerning tariff reductions on textile goods to be brought into this country from Japan and other countries.

This is most alarming inasmuch as these tariffs have been steadily reduced during the years of reciprocal trade

agreements, and this country is already flooded with goods manufactured in other countries.

To consider further tariff reductions on textile goods indicates that our leaders are not familiar with the fact that our American textile industries are already in a precarious condition and can be forced into bankruptcy.

In the district I represent there are many textile manufacturers and approximately 100,000 people earn their living by working in these factories. These mills are efficient and modern, but they made no money last year and they cannot stand more unfair competition from goods manufactured abroad by cheap labor. I am incorporating herein a letter written me by Hon. Henry W. Swift, executive vice president, Swift Spinning Mills, Inc., Columbus, Ga., who happens to be an outstanding textile man. That letter is completely sound and portrays eloquently the textile situation. The letter reads as follows:

SWIFT SPINNING MILLS, INC.,
Columbus, Ga., December 31, 1954.

Hon. E. L. FORRESTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TIC: I am quite sure that you are thoroughly familiar with the hearings now going on in Washington prior to the formal hearings to be held in Geneva in February of next year with respect to the overall tariff situation.

While there are always two sides to every question, I would like to tell you that in my personal opinion, anything that is done to hurt the textile business can very well be disastrous as we have been in a very serious recession for the past 18 months. You no doubt are familiar with the fact that Columbus is very dependent upon the textile industry and, as a matter of fact, there are over 100,000 people in the State of Georgia employed in the textile mills. Any downward revision of the present tariffs could have a very profound effect upon Georgia's overall economy.

The objective of these forthcoming tariff discussions is—and should be—to develop a sound world trade program and to strengthen the economy of our Allies. We in the cotton textile industry, far from having any quarrel with those objectives, are all for them.

But we do say that it would be the height of folly to take such steps as would undermine a large and important segment of our own economy and which, at the same time, would not accomplish the purpose for which they are designed.

The truth of the matter is that the American textile market already is the widest open of any great consumer market in the world. And what may not be generally recognized is that United States textile tariffs have been steadily reduced during the past 2 decades of reciprocal trade agreements.

Now what has been happening while we have been cutting our tariffs? Simply this: Every other country—with the important exception of Canada—has been violating the spirit and the ideal of reciprocity. Since the end of the last World War, many foreign countries have proceeded to impose import quotas, exchange controls, exorbitant tariffs, and numerous other artificial barriers to trade. And most of these actions have been aimed deliberately against the United States.

Now it seems to me that the objective of a sound foreign trade policy should be to correct this state of affairs—to induce these countries abroad to set their own economic houses in order. But instead of that, our policymakers seem determined to create an economic booby trap—a trap that will sacrifice our textile and apparel employees and workers in related industries, while actually benefiting nobody.

I don't want to bore you with figures, but figures prove beyond any doubt that the flood of Japanese cloth into this country is becoming increasingly great. Why can foreign cloth come into the United States and sell in the American market? For one reason and one reason only—because it is cheap. And why is it cheap? For one reason and one reason only—because it is made with cheap labor.

Our textile wage rates are 10 times those of Japan. Some folks may say: "Oh, well, the American industry can overcome this tremendous wage gap because its more efficient."

Let me say to that, that the Japanese textile industry has become a new textile industry since the war. The Japanese mills are modern in every respect. They are equipped or can be equipped with the same machines we have.

Far from being monopolistic, our textile industry is composed chiefly of small independent units which are highly competitive with one another. And we own no patents of any consequence. We have to be efficient—or we go out of business.

Compare this with our foreign competition, which operates under the cartel system or some system of State trading. The purpose of the cartel is usually to protect the least efficient of its members. And such systems facilitate the dumping of goods when and where the cartel or Government decides to dump them.

I say to you that if these proposed textile tariff reductions are put into effect, we here in the southeast will have to prepare ourselves for a catastrophe. Our mills will be forced out of business; our employees out of jobs, and our living standards and our economic strength will be lowered tragically.

And I say that instead of cutting further our already low tariffs, we ought to work for a positive foreign trade program that will eliminate artificial barriers and enable the underdeveloped countries to achieve a more abundant life.

This letter has been very lengthy; however, there was much ground to be covered, and I trust that you will do everything possible to look after our best interest.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes for the new year, I am,

Yours sincerely,

HENRY W. SWIFT.

Mr. Speaker, there is a limit to what we can do to build up other countries and we have reached that limit on textiles and on many other commodities. If further tariff reductions are ordered, Congress will have to correct the mistakes speedily, or witness the closing down of our textile mills with the textile laborers being without employment and suffering the humiliation of living off of Government doles.

As I understand the President's message on the state of the Union, the administration has envisioned that unemployment will result from tariff reductions, but that the unemployed will be given doles and handouts. That is tragic thinking and planning. I sincerely hope we will never do anything deliberately which will take work from our laboring masses on the theory that we can care for them through handouts.

A few days ago the United States Tariff Commission conducted hearings for the purpose of determining whether 200,000 tons of foreign peanuts would be brought into this country. If that permission is granted, it will be against the will of the Congress and will annul the laws of Congress, and it will be the first time this Government has willfully and deliberately caused a surplus. There are enough peanuts now in this country to fill the demands of all legitimate consumption until the 1955 crop is harvested.

Mr. Speaker, if there are any further tariff reductions on textiles and agricultural products, such as peanuts, or any other agricultural product, and if these products are brought into this country to compete against our textile factories, textile laborers, and farmers, we can all be certain that the economy of this country will suffer irreparable damage.

Pope's Warning to the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Orleans Item of January 10, 1955:

POPE'S WARNING TO THE WORLD

Pope Pius XII is perhaps the first world leader to look as far into the future as the end of the era of peaceful coexistence—which we only now have begun to discuss.

The pontiff told the world January 3 that the present coexistence in fear has only two possible prospects before it—war, or a true peace following the terms of the Divine moral order.

So far, according to the Pope's interpretation, the fashioners of the cold peace have taken many steps that lead in the direction of war. The reason: Both camps in the great world struggle are making errors.

Not identical errors, since the principles of each camp are so different. But distinctly different errors about the same considerations: nationalistic politics; overdependence on economic solutions to human problems; false ideas about the routes to permanent peace.

It is seldom that the Western camp can get as neutral an appraisal of itself as presented in the Pope's message. The Roman Catholic pontiff, an Italian, is of the West. But, speaking as head of his church, his expressed concern is for all human beings in all parts of the world.

The Western camp was told this about its errors—

It muffed the chance afforded by World War II to truly unify Europe. Instead, it revived nationalistic states, closed within themselves * * * unsettled * * * perilled.

Many observers interpret this passage of the Pope's message as lamenting the failure of EDC, and the substituting of the more nationalistic West European Union.

Secondly, the West, so rich economically, has lost sight of all other means of preserving peace. Economic wealth has exercised a fascination superior to its potentialities for producing a firm peace.

While so fascinated, the West has, thirdly, forgotten that it already possesses an idea that is true and has been successfully tested in the past—the sanctity of human rights, as defined by the divine moral law.

Pius XII believes that the West's errors are far less grievous than the East's—and its con-

tributions to a permanent peace immeasurably greater.

He said that many government leaders in our camp have already recognized the errors and are moving away from them and toward truth.

The next step toward peace: Building a bridge of truth between East and West. The flow of truth across that bridge would dispel the mutual disillusionment between the two camps—the climate of fear in which one side tolerates the existence of the other because it does not wish itself to perish.

The whole world will benefit if the message of Pius XII is studied closely in both coexisting camps. It ranks among the most significant pronouncements of the pope's 16-year pontificate.

Beloved Man of God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, when a Carolina mountain preacher rises to the top of his profession, it is appropriate for all of us to pay him homage.

Seventy-three years ago, Dr. J. Dean Crain was born under the shadow of Glassy Mountain in Greenville County, S. C. He obtained an education largely through his iron will and determination. His call to the ministry was so strong that he could not resist, and for almost half a century he fought the sins of man in every State of the Southland.

Not only was he loved and esteemed by his fellow preachers, but by all who knew him, and many referred to him as a Baptist institution. Throughout his ministry he was an outstanding Christian leader and true servant of mankind. His faith in God and man was unshakable, and his character was as strong as the hills from whence he came.

His primary purpose was to save souls, but his interest in local, State, and National Government never lessened. He realized a democracy is based on Christian principles. He was certain the strength of his country depended on the moral and spiritual strength of the individual citizen. He was a great minister of the gospel, but underneath it all, he was a great American.

I am including in my remarks an editorial from the Greenville News, January 11, 1955:

BELOVED MAN OF GOD

A long and useful life dedicated to the work of the church and to the cause of Christian education has come to its close in the death of the beloved Dr. J. Dean Crain.

Dr. Crain was a product of the hills of upper Greenville County. Public-school facilities were meager in his boyhood, but he took advantage of them and he was among the first students at what was then North Greenville Baptist Academy. After his graduation at Furman University in 1910 his active ministry began which was to last for more than half a century.

This man of God accepted every opportunity to serve that he could. He worked with his denomination's mission board to help Baptist schools, colleges, rural churches, and missions. He served for a time as head of North Greenville Baptist Academy which has become North Greenville Junior College. While serving as pastor in Columbia he also left the impress of his fine character on prisoners at the State penitentiary in the capacity of director of religious activities. For three decades he was a trustee of Furman University and he was active in the affairs of the State and Southern Baptist conventions for many years.

From 1930 until his retirement almost 3 years ago he was a valued member of the Greenville religious community in the capacity of pastor of one of the city's largest churches, Pendleton Street.

It is the privilege of few men to be blessed with the rare good humor, love of his fellow man and implicit trust in his Maker that characterized the everyday life of Dr. Crain. He combined these gifts to lift the low in spirit and to inspire all with whom he came in contact. He served man and God with equal devotion. As he goes to his rich reward a host of men, women, and children whom he loved and pointed to a better life will remember him with grateful appreciation.

Dean Crain, as he was affectionately known in his younger days, first saw the light in a mountain home on an October morning in 1881. It can be said in all truth that this man of God left the world better than he found it. And he leaves a leaven of inspiration and kindly humor to enrich the lives of thousands.

American Aid in Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the article I am placing in the RECORD at this point appeared on the front page of the New York Times of December 25, 1954.

The article tells a story that I hope will be read and carefully pondered by all Members of this House. It is the story of a man, a constituent of mine, Anthony Cucolo, who loves his fellow men and who uses his head as well as his heart in giving them the help they need.

We have gone all over the world giving away money, but we have done it impersonally and unintelligently, in most instances. This is amply proved by the results.

Here we see one man giving wisely, through the local officers of a village, giving the needful through the friends and neighbors who understand the problem. As a result, this small Italian village has turned away from the left and the blandishments of communism, more than any of its neighbors.

This one man has accomplished more than our Government, with all its wealth, has been able to do, in most of Italy.

We, as a people, must use our minds as well as our hearts if these programs are to succeed. Anyone who has been to Europe knows that much of our spending has brought only frustration and disappointment. Here is a real success story. Let us follow this path, spend far less and accomplish far more:

AMERICAN'S AID TO TOWN IN ITALY WINS 92-PERCENT VOTE FOR DEMOCRACY—GOVERNMENTS STUDY PLAN OF SUFFERN MAN THAT CURBED APPEAL OF THE REDS

SUFFERN, N. Y., December 24.—Both the Italian and American Governments are studying a method for feeding poor people that has resulted in a trend away from leftwing tickets in recent elections in one Italian community.

The method was developed by Anthony Cucolo, roadbuilder and philanthropist of this community. It has been put into practice to feed the poor during the winter months in Summonte, Italy, for the last 5 years.

Under the plan Mr. Cucolo sends about $2,000 annually to a committee in Summonte made up of a physician, the mayor, and another prominent citizen.

The committee purchases, locally, at low cost such staples as spaghetti, rice, potatoes, and sometimes meat. These foods are then distributed to those in need. Mr. Cucolo, who returned 2 weeks ago from Italy, discovered that his expenditures had resulted in a decisive result in the voting in Summonte. And Premier Mario Scelba notified Mr. Cucolo this week that he had ordered the Director General to investigate the plan.

When Mr. Cucolo was told the leftwing groups were using propaganda to influence votes, and he, without any motive except philanthropy had won the people of Summonte over to the cause of democracy, he decided to get in touch with the Italian Government.

"Local officials in Summonte told me the feeding of these people had been the deciding factor in their attitude on life," Mr. Cucolo said. "The American Government could carry out a similar plan in all the 5,100 villages in Italy at a cost of about $10 million annually.

"This has nothing to do with present State Department and Marshall plan expenditures, but I believe our American ideals could be furthered greatly by using this method of direct philanthropy."

A check of the balloting in recent elections shows Summonte citizens voted 92 percent for the party representing democracy and only 8 percent for leftwing candidates. Within a 3-mile radius the citizens in Monteforte Irpino voted 29.7 leftwing, while in the adjacent villages of Mercogliano, Ospedaletto, St. Angelo a Scala, and Pietrastornina the votes ranged from 19 to 23 percent leftwing.

Mr. Cucolo, who built the Storm King bypass, is now constructing the bridge-deck roadway for the New York State Throughway 3-mile bridge across the Hudson River between Nyack and Tarrytown.

Mr. Cucolo was the founder of the Rockland Voluntary Aid, a local plan of taking care of persons in temporary need that has been copied in many places. This plan received national attention because, like Mr. Cucolo's operation in Italy, it brought relief to a community at a minimum of cost.

In 1949, on a visit to Summonte, he observed women carrying water from a trickling fountain to their homes. It took hours to get a supply for a day. Through a United States Government agency he obtained an appropriation of $100,000 to build a waterworks.

Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce told Mr. Cucolo on his recent visit she would attend the dedication of the Summonte waterworks on July 16.

Mr. Cucolo has two sons, both graduates of West Point, who served during the war. Belmonte is an engineer on the Florida Throughway and Anthony, Jr., who recently returned from Korea, is now associated with his father. Mr. Cucolo also has two daughters.

"If the spirit of Christmas could be exemplified all year round and directed to the

people and international relations, I know we could accomplish more," Mr. Cucolo said. "I had no idea 5 years ago my small contribution to my village would have an influence on the people. I hope the American Government, at a small cost compared to the amount now being spent, will see the light."

The Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I would like to invite the membership's attention to a recent newspaper article by Morris Cunningham, a prominent newspaper writer for the outstanding Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tenn., and also to an editorial appearing in this paper concerning the Dixon-Yates contract and how it has been managed by the principals in the Atomic Energy Commission.

The article follows:

REPORT OF STRAUSS' SPEECH QUOTING UNITED STATES ENGINEERS ON DIXON-YATES FALSIFIED—OFFICIAL RECORD FAILS TO INCLUDE ENDORSEMENT AEC CHAIRMAN SAID CORPS HAD GIVEN TO WEST MEMPHIS POWERPLANT SITE

(By Morris Cunningham)

WASHINGTON, January 8.—By doctoring the transcript of a recent news conference the Atomic Energy Commission under Chairman Lewis L. Strauss has gone into the novel business of rewriting history.

The news conference was the one held by Admiral Strauss December 11 in which he said the Army Corps of Engineers had approved the site of the Dixon-Yates plant.

The statement was not true and it was not surprising that the Corps of Engineers reacted with strong protests after they read published reports of it.

The surprising aspect was that a man in such close communion with the Dixon-Yates deal as Admiral Strauss would offer the assertion to a roomful of newsmen as a statement of fact in the first place.

But the surprises did not end there. The latest came this week when a printed copy of the stenographic transcript of the news conference was distributed to Washington newsmen. More about that in a moment.

The morning after Admiral Strauss' news conference, Maj. Gen. Bernard L. Robinson, of Washington, acting chief of the Corps of Engineers, telephoned the writer a categorical denial that Army engineers had approved the site.

This automatically raised a question of whether Admiral Strauss had been quoted accurately.

After a telephone call to Morse Salisbury, AEC Information Chief, the writer and Richard Dudman, a reporter for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, taxied to the AEC offices and inspected a carbon copy of a transcript of the admiral's news conference.

The transcript was fresh from the typewriter of a stenographer and was made available by Mr. Salisbury.

STRAUSS NAILED

In the transcript the two reporters and Mr. Salisbury found this statement by Admiral Strauss, made, according to recollection, while the admiral was pointing to a chart:

"There has been some discussion of whether it was wise to have put the plant there in the first place. The Corps of Engineers and engineers retained by the sponsoring companies have examined some 16 sites on the river and have selected this as the preferable one.

"This elevation here shows the maximum flood record in the river, the 1937 flood. I understand that records have been made since 1880, or thereabouts, some 74 years of record, and the plant has been located at what the Corps of Engineers feel is a safe place."

Mr. Salisbury, aware of the denial from the Corps of Engineers, admitted the statement was erroneous. He called it a "slip of the tongue."

This week—almost a month after the admiral's news conference—the AEC quietly distributed printed copies of what purports to be an accurate stenographic transcript of the conference.

RECORD IS TAMPERED

On page 10 of the printed version there is this carefully doctored version of what Admiral Strauss is purported to have said about the approval of the site.

"There has been some discussion of whether it was wise to have put the plant there in the first place. Engineers retained by the sponsoring companies have examined some 16 sites on the river and have selected this as the preferable one.

"This elevation here shows the maximum flood record in the river, the 1937 flood, I understand that records have been made since 1880 or thereabouts, some 74 years of record, and the plant has been located at what our AEC engineers, after discussions with the Memphis District Office, Corps of Engineers, and review of the data, feel is the best place."

The revised version eliminates Admiral Strauss' statement that the site was approved by the Corps of Engineers. And had not two reporters seen the original, unedited transcript and obtained a statement from Mr. Salisbury, a question would be raised as to whether Admiral Strauss ever said it in the first place.

The changes were made in the printed version without any footnotes or other indications of revision.

The incident smacks of the procedures outlined by George Orwell in his satirical novel on totalitarian government entitled "1984." In this fantasy history was rewritten at will to suit the circumstances.

The incident also sets a novel precedent for Washington news handling. Newsmen may have to be on guard in the future, lest their reports—though entirely accurate—be refuted later by a carefully revised stenographic transcript.

Admiral Strauss was not the first to say the Corps of Engineers had approved the site. Similar inferences previously had been drawn by E. H. Dixon, a principal to the contract, on the Meet the Press television program, and by R. W. Cook, Assistant AEC Manager, in sworn testimony before the Joint Atomic Energy Committee.

ENGINEERS NOT APPROACHED

The fact is that the Army Corps of Engineers not only has not approved the site, but in fact did not even receive an application for a permit for construction of the plant until this week.

The incident, however, is only one of several of similar nature that have occurred during the course of the AEC's all-out advocacy and defense of the half-billion dollar contract.

It was such incidents that last November prompted Senator LISTER HILL (Democrat, of Alabama), to charge before the Joint Committee that AEC Manager K. D. Nichols had made misleading statements and offered incomplete data in the course of assaults upon TVA.

"General Nichols could have had only one purpose—to discredit the record of that fine agency which has done so much for AEC, to impugn the probity of the staff which had dared to question the basis for AEC's conclusions. Such reckless assaults are costly to the reputation of the public servants who launch them. I fear the AEC will pay a heavy price for its entanglement with Dixon-Yates."

Senator HILL, who will head the Senate subcommittee that controls AEC and TVA pursestrings in the new Congress, also had a word about Admiral Strauss.

"As a consequence of his willingness to usurp the authority of another independent agency of the Government [TVA], the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, representing only a minority viewpoint, has not only diverted the time and talent of his staff from the grave matters which are their concern, he has gravely damaged the prestige of the agency for which he has responsibility," Senator HILL told the joint committee.

QUESTIONS AEC'S VERACITY

"He has made us wonder if we can trust the AEC. We have learned that major members of his staff are careless with data, that their presentation of material is likely to be biased, that they are seemingly indifferent to the expenditure of millions of dollars a year.

"The Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, of which I am a member, must take on the burden of more careful analysis of every estimate, more skeptical appraisal of every argument.

"Before we can proceed in confidence that committee, and I am sure your committee and other committees, must determine why this Dixon-Yates proposal is advanced with such tenacity and stubbornness. What and who is behind it?"

This week, with the new Democratic-controlled Congress in session, Senator HILL and his fellow opponents to the half-billion-dollar deal were busily planning an investigation aimed at determining the answer to his question. Developments can be expected before the new Congress is much older.

AROUND THE HILL

Representative JERE COOPER, Democrat, of Tennessee, was 1 of 3 House Members picked to escort President Eisenhower to and from the rostrum for his state of the Union message this week. The others picked for the honor were House majority leader, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Democrat, of Massachusetts, and ex-Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., Republican, of Massachusetts. The selection of Representative COOPER was a tribute to his power and influence in the new Congress. Newsmen must have special passes on the days the President addresses Congress. Police surround the Capitol and visitors have to pass through one cordon after another. Northern Democrats have decided to bypass another civil rights fight for the time being. Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, Democrat, of Mississippi, is assured of the chairmanship of the important, Communist-hunting Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Representative JAMIE L. WHITTEN, Democrat, of Mississippi, won a victory when the Agriculture Department ordered a survey on the economic effect of cutbacks in cotton acreage. Representative J. PERCY PRIEST, Democrat, of Tennessee, has been named to the House Democratic steering committee. Tennessee's newest Congressman, Representative ROSS BASS, of Pulaski, is trying for an assignment to the House Agriculture Committee. Representative JAMES W. TRIMBLE, Democrat, of Arkansas, will be named to the House Rules Committee and will relinquish his post on the Public Works Committee. Representative

FRANK SMITH, Democrat, of Mississippi, will advance a notch on the Public Works Committee as a result. Chances appear good for favorable TVA representation on the Independent Offices Appropriations Subcommittees. Representative TOM MURRAY, Democrat, of Tennessee, chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, will play an important role in such major activities as pay raises for Government employees, elimination of the "junk mail" regulation, and the Democratic investigation of the administration's "numbers game" on the dismissal of subversives.

CHICANERY IN HIGH PLACES

On December 11, newspapermen heard Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, say Army engineers have approved location of proposed Dixon-Yates power plant.

K. D. Nichols was present and kept silent as Mr. Strauss spoke. Mr. Nichols, now AEC manager, has been an Army engineer general. He must have known how extraordinary it would have been if the Army engineers had advised Dixon-Yates to build anything anywhere.

As a matter of plain fact, the Army engineers had neither approved nor been asked to approve the site. The first connection of the Corps of Engineers with Dixon-Yates came nearly a month after the Strauss incident, when approval was asked for a part of the plans involving only the coal unloading and cooling water structures in the river.

Highest officials of the Engineer Corps protested strongly when they learned what Mr. Strauss had said.

A stenographic transcript made by the AEC showed that Mr. Strauss had said the Corps of Engineers took part in selecting the site as the best of 16 examined. He went further, according to the stenographic record, to say that after looking at flood records the Corps of Engineers considered the site to be safe.

But the AEC has now published its record of what was said and the Corps of Engineers has strangely disappeared from the remarks about examining 16 sites and choosing the west Memphis location.

The record has been doctored.

Who did the doctoring?

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, of few Members of this House could it be more truly said than of DWIGHT L. ROGERS that every colleague was his good friend. The late gentleman from Florida proffered his sterling friendship freely, and only a petrified heart could rebuff it. No matter how gray the day or grim the legislative task at hand, it seemed that he had always with him the essence of Florida sunshine to share with one and all.

Mr. ROGERS came to this House with a fine background in the law and substantial experience as a State legislator. He applied himself conscientiously to the committee tasks assigned him, and he won quickly the respect and confidence of his colleagues here. It was my privilege to serve with him for a time on the great Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and I profited from the association. I do not believe anyone could have failed to be the gainer from knowing DWIGHT ROGERS.

In the committee room, in the House Chamber, wherever he was in these halls of Congress, there was the spirit of genuine friendliness. This is not to suggest that Mr. ROGERS took his legislative labors lightly. He was a gentleman of natural dignity who demonstrated a deep consciousness of the honor and responsibility which were his as the Representative of the Sixth District of Florida.

The fine citizens who sent DWIGHT ROGERS to serve with us lost in his passing an earnest and effective legislator and a kindly and engaging ambassador of goodwill. All of us who knew and loved him were deeply saddened in the knowledge that we were to return to the Capitol and find him no longer here. Our sincere sympathy goes to his widow and sons.

Pay Increase for Postal and Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, one of my first duties after taking my oath of office as a Member of the 84th Congress was to introduce a bill to increase the salaries of all postal workers and Federal employees, including those in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Government, as well as those employed by the Government of the District of Columbia.

My bill provides for a pay increase of $1,000 per annum to all such employees; those who are employed on an hourly or part-time basis are to receive additional compensation at the rate of 50 cents per hour.

Mr. Speaker, the prime justification for this measure is to compensate the postal workers and Government employees for the inadequate salaries paid them in recent years. I have maintained all along that their salaries have never been adequately adjusted to meet the high cost of living, particularly since the war in Korea. This has resulted in real losses of actual earning capacity for them and caused great hardship to many of these employees who are unable to cope with such problems as the increased cost of food, higher rents, and other essentials.

During the past few years the salaries of postal and Federal employees have lagged behind those doing comparable work in private industry. Government employees in the lower income brackets are finding this situation almost intolerable as they struggle to maintain their family, upkeep of a household, education of their children. In many instances it was found that they had to supplement their income by part-time work outside the Government, or have their wives seek employment when they should give their full attention to the children and maintenance of the household.

I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues that, unlike other workers in private industry, postal and Government workers are prohibited by law from engaging in political activity in order to improve their situation. Furthermore, long before the United States Government inserted no-strike provisions in the laws affecting Federal employees, the postal workers had voluntarily relinquished all rights to declare strikes—which, as you well know, is one of labor's most potent weapons in its efforts to improve conditions for the laboring masses.

Mr. Speaker, I was extremely disappointed when the 83d Congress dragged out this issue until the very end of its second session and then adopted only a 5-percent increase in salaries, which was subsequently vetoed by the President. Surely, the 83d Congress could have taken earlier action in the matter and adopted a more adequate measure.

Postal workers and Federal employees are a conscientious and loyal group, hard working, industrious. They deserve full consideration. They deserve fair remuneration for the important services they perform to keep our Government functioning smoothly and efficiently. They should not be placed in a position of being forced to seek outside income to obtain the necessary essentials for themselves and their families. I want to stress as strongly as possible that the proposed pay increase will be used largely for meeting normal living expenses, and not for luxuries.

Mr. Speaker, we have started a new congressional session. Let us avoid the mistakes of the past by taking prompt and early action on this matter. Let it not be said of us that we ignore the postal and Federal workers whose pay increases are long overdue. Action today is worth more than all the promises for tomorrow.

House Resolution 18 To Establish a Select Committee To Investigate the Civil Aeronautics Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced House Resolution 18 to establish a Select Committee To Investigate the Civil Aeronautics Board. Such an investigation is desperately needed if American civilian aviation is to continue to advance.

In this connection I an enclosing herewith an editorial which appeared in American Aviation on December 20, 1954.

I will incorporate further information in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the next few days.

PERSONAL VIEW
(By Wayne W. Parrish)
DETERIORATION

For those who have known the Civil Aeronautics Board best through the years since its creation in 1938, its steady deterioration especially during the past several years, has been the source of increasing alarm and concern. Unless there is a positive change of direction, there can be nothing but trouble ahead—trouble which will be to the detriment of the entire air transport industry.

The Eisenhower administration has been aware of this deterioration. Many promises of corrective action have been made. But so far nothing has happened to halt the decline of this vital five-man Board which was created in 1938 as a quasi-judicial agency.

The sad truth is that CAB is no longer functioning as a quasi-judicial body. It relies on expensive and painstakingly prepared records only to support language and points for decisions which, in many cases, have been made months before the cases were even formally submitted to it, and sometimes before cases have even begun.

One observer who knows the CAB intimately has this to say: "All five members appear to be caught in the tide of an intangible force which compels them to put their personal reasons, ambitions, antagonisms, and political alliances ahead of the judicial reasoning which the Civil Aeronautics Act requires. At the present time not one member of the Board is voting as an impartial judge."

Another close observer commented recently that every case before the Board is like a crackerjack box—"a prize in every package." Weighty problems are getting only cursory attention. No real thinking is going into the votes. It isn't crookedness that prevails—it's a shallowness arising from the weight of pressures, personal feelings, and politics. For the past 6 months the situation has become more embroiled than ever through the rivalries of the 3 Republican members, 1 wanting to be reappointed, and all 3 wanting to be Chairman.

The airlines themselves are being criticized for the political and other pressures they're exerting on pending cases. Those who say they don't want to win cases by the back door insist they have to do so because their competitors do, so it's a matter of self-defense. There is considerable logic in the argument, for the Board itself has within its power the ability to stop backdoor maneuvering.

Those who want the Board to succeed and those who have watched it closely through the years are genuinely alarmed. Continuation of the present trend will lead to major trouble; the explosion won't be pleasant for anyone.

Hon. Pat McCarran

SPEECH
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, it is very difficult for me to contemplate Congress divested of the presence of the Honorable PAT MCCARRAN, of Nevada. With all deference to the other distinguished men who have been privileged to represent this great State of Nevada, it had seemed for more than 20 years that Nevada and PAT MCCARRAN were virtually synonymous in Washington. Nevada never had cause to complain that its interests were not being diligently and courageously represented. Senator MCCARRAN was the vigilant sentry, the tenacious battler.

Coming to Washington with a distinguished background as lawyer and jurist, he soon demonstrated that he was, above all, a lawmaker of great craftsmanship. He abhorred careless legislating. He believed that the great body of the law could and should be shaped and reshaped to serve the changing requirements of an ever-growing Nation, but he demanded the painstaking approach. His resistance to legal tinkering and experimentation was prodigious.

Senator MCCARRAN strove for orderliness in the complex of Federal statutes. His service as chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary gave him countless opportunities to work for sensible legal reforms, and he welcomed them as a passionate believer in the importance of firm legal basis for every action of Government.

Few Members of the Congress have had the capacity for so wide a range of legislative interests. Among the measures in which his authorship loomed large were the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, the first Urban Redevelopment Act passed by Congress in 1944, the Reorganization Act of 1944, the Federal Airport Act of 1945, the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946, the Internal Security Act of 1951, and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

Senator MCCARRAN was a dedicated patriot. He was born and reared among pioneers in a pioneering State. He knew from personal experience that the greatness of the United States of America was built by hard work. He could not abide apathy where the national interest was concerned. During most of his service in Congress, he lived and worked in an atmosphere of present or impending dangers.

He never underestimated the perverted skills of the agents of international communism, but he never doubted the ability of a republic to meet and best them without compromising its own liberties in the doing. Because he knew the measure of the Communist menace, Senator MCCARRAN fought for the improvement of domestic legal weapons against its operatives. In the field of diplomacy, his views were equally realistic. Never a warmonger, he believed in preparation against the horrible worst, and he advocated seeking allies among those who not only said they opposed communism but also gave evidence of their willingness to take up arms against the evil movement, should eventualities dictate.

It was my privilege to enjoy the counsel of Senator MCCARRAN on numerous occasions. As a fellow lawyer, I came to know and marvel at the breadth of his legal comprehension and the incisiveness of his thinking. His passing, an incalculable loss to the Nation and to his great State, represents a deep personal loss to me. My sympathy goes out to the fine family he left in moving on to his reward.

Saline Water Conversion Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation to amend the Saline Water Act of 1952, to provide for its uninterrupted continuation and to enable the officials in charge of the program to have the advantage of a limited amount of technical assistance from existing Federal scientific facilities. I authored the 1952 legislation which initiated the saline water conversion program. This program, under the direction of the Department of the Interior, has the objective of developing economically feasible processes for converting saline water to fresh water. I am concerned at all times over our diminishing water supplies, both in this country and throughout the world. As the water needs of our country grow and our available supplies dwindle, the importance of water to our well being and to our overall national economy is impressed upon us more and more.

I have followed closely the program which has been conducted under the 1952 legislation. Much progress has been made and it now seems clear that the results of the research and the studies now under way will, if given time, result in large-scale conversion of salt water to fresh water for municipal and industrial purposes. It also seems clear that, in time, conversion of sea water as well as brackish water for agricultural purposes in certain areas will be achieved. Although it had been thought that the extension of the program should be made toward the close of the initial 5-year period progress now indicates clearly the desirability of assuring at this time continuity and some minor expansion of activity to accommodate and make full use of the initial results now flowing in. There should be no slowdown or interruption in the program, and both the Department and private industry, which has assisted in the research, should be given assurance by this Congress that the program will be continued. For these reasons, I am introducing legislation at this time.

The Secretary of the Interior has just transmitted to the Congress his third annual report covering this program, and I am pleased to report briefly to my colleagues upon the progress that has been made.

The Department of the Interior accomplishes this saline water conservation program by conducting scientific research and development through federally financed grants and contracts, encouraging such development by correlating and coordinating efforts in this field, and stimulating the interest of private and public organizations and individuals in the problem. Private development of processes is being encouraged, and a few industrial firms have

undertaken independent research in this field during the past year, and the Department has received wholehearted cooperation from several organizations now engaged in these activities.

At the beginning of the program, the cost of converting sea water to fresh water by the best processes in use was about $400 to $500 an acre-foot. Accordingly, an arbitrary criterion was set for the intial phase of the program, for water for municipal and industrial purposes. This goal was $125 per acre-foot—38 cents per 1,000 gallons—which was believed, on the basis of available data, to represent about the maximum that could be borne by these types of use. It was thought that if this goal could be approached during the initial phase, further reduction might be possible in a second phase.

The work accomplished so far indicates that attainment of the first goal of obtaining fresh water from sea water at a price which municipal users and some industries might pay, and the conversion of brackish water to irrigation uses, seems to be in sight although much work will be necessary before either can be brought to realization. The task of converting sea water for irrigation is more difficult but the researches continually produce new ideas and one of these may well point a way to its attainment.

Some of the investigations initiated earlier in this program have been completed and the results described. Other research investigations are being continued and many new research and development problems are being studied. All of these are described in some detail in the third annual report covering the program.

The report indicates that during the past year 39 proposals for research were evaluated formally and several dozen additional suggestions were considered. Eleven new research and development contracts were let. Work under 11 other research contracts initiated earlier was completed with affirmative results definitely justifying further research in 8. Two processes give promise of converting sea water at less than half present costs, and one for brackish water has reached pilot-plant stage and is being field tested. Information has been obtained and exchanged on developments in this field in the United States and more than a dozen other countries from Europe to Australia.

I am advised that progress during the year has demonstrated the need for a central governmental program of this nature having no interest in the development of one industrial process over another. Few industrial firms appear to feel justified in carrying the development of saline water conversion equipment further than improvements in present equipment. However, to reach the ultimate objective of the program—demineralized water in large quantities at a small fraction of present costs for the general economic benefit—more than minor improvements in processes are needed. The governmental program would assure that research and development would be continued persistently, including minor local improvements in processes, until in time, low-cost water in large quantities was made available to the general public.

The report indicates that, during 1954, new light has also been cast upon the direction which the program should take in the development of unconventional energy sources for demineralization. The energy required for extracting 1 acre-foot of fresh water from sea water is about 900 kilowatt-hours. From research under the program, it has been estimated that the minimum that might be reached in practice would probably be 4 to 5 times that quantity. Thus the energy cost alone would not be less than about $20 per acre-foot at 5 mills per kilowatt-hour. The amortized cost of equipment and the cost of operation would probably at least equal the energy cost. This is for sea water, and the costs are generally less for brackish waters. Thus it becomes important that nonconventional low-cost energy such as solar energy, for example, be explored in connection with process development and use.

I am pleased to hear that the nine eminent members of educational, scientific, and industrial organizations who, at the beginning of the program, agreed to serve as advisers to the Secretary on broad policy matters, are all continuing to serve in this capacity and that they have provided some very substantial advice and assistance.

Lowering Our Tariffs on Japanese Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, one of the reasons why the proposed extension of the President's authority to enter into trade agreements assumes such vital importance to the American people at this time is the pending agreement with Japan.

Trade negotiations with Japan are expected to get underway shortly. They may have already begun. Included among the hundreds of items with respect to which tariff concessions will be considered are the products of many American industries which are already feeling the devastating effect of foreign competition. These include chemicals, china and porcelainware, glassware, optical instruments, machinery, fish, and a wide variety of textile products. There are many others.

I believe that up-to-date information on the negotiations with Japan is essential to our enlightened understanding of the issues presented by current trade legislation. For that reason, I am presenting for the information of each member a list of the items announced by the State Department to be subject to negotiation with Japan:

LIST OF ARTICLES IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED STATES PROPOSED FOR CONSIDERATION IN TRADE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES

TARIFF ACT OF 1930, TITLE I, DUTIABLE LIST

Schedule 1. Chemicals, oils, and paints

Paragraph 5: Ajinomoto and other monosodium glutamate preparations.

Paragraph 27 (a) (1) (5): Acetanilide not suitable for medicinal use alphanaphthol, aminobenzoic acid, aminonaphthol, aminophenetole, aminophenol, aminosalicylic acid, aminoanthraquinone, aniline oil, aniline salt, anthraquinone, arsanilic acid, benzaldehyde not suitable for medicinal use, benzal chloride, benzanthrone, benzidine, benzidine sulfate, benzoic acid not suitable for medicinal use, benzoquinone, benzoyl chloride, benzyl chloride, benzylethylaniline, beta-naphthol not suitable for medicinal use, bromobenzene, chlorobenzene, chlorophthalic acid, cinnamic acid, cumidine, dehydrothiotoluidine, diaminostilbene, dianisidine, dichlorophthalic acid, dimethyl aniline, dimethylaminophenol, dimethylphenylbenzylammonium hydroxide, dimethylphenylenediamine, dinitrobenzene, dinitrochlorobenzene, dinitronaphthalene, dinitrophenol, dinitrotoluene, dihyroxynaphthalene, diphenylamine, hydroxyphenylarsinic acid, metanilic acid, methylanthraquinone, naphthylamine, naphthylenediamine, nitroaniline, nitroanthraquinone, nitrobenzaldehyde, nitrobenzene, nitronaphthalene, nitrophenol, nitrophenylenediamine, nitrosodimethylaniline, nitrotoluene, nitrotoluylenediamine, phenylenediamine, phenylhydrazine, phenylnaphthylamine, phenylglycine, phenylglycinerotho-carboxylic acid, phthalic acid, phthalimide, quinaldine, quinoline, resorcinol not suitable for medicinal use, salicylic acid and its salts not suitable for medicinal use, sulfanilic acid, thiocarbanilide, thiosalicylic acid, tetrachlorophthalic acid, tetramethyldiaminobenzophenone, tetramethyldiaminodiphenylmethane, toluene sulfochloride, toluene sulfonamide, tribromophenol, toluidine, tolidine, tolylenediamine, xylidine, carbazole having a purity of 65 percent or more; all the foregoing products (not including phthalic anhydride, anthracene, or naphthalene) whether obtained, derived, or manufactured from coal tar or other source.

Paragraph 27 (a) (3) (5): All products (except products chiefly used as assistants in preparing or finishing textiles and except azo salts, fast-color bases, fast-color salts, and naphthol AS and it derivatives), by whatever name known, which are similar to any of the products provided for in paragraph 27 or 1651, Tariff Act of 1930, and which are obtained, derived, or manufactured in whole or in part from any of the products provided for in either of said paragraphs.

Paragraph 27 (a) (4) (5): All mixtures, including solutions, consisting in whole or in part of any of the products provided for in subdivision (1), (2), or (3) of paragraph 27 (a), Tariff Act of 1930 (except sheep dip and medicinal soaps, and except products chiefly use as assistants in preparing or finishing textiles).

Paragraph 41: Agar agar.

Paragraph 47: Licorice, extracts of, in pastes, rolls, or other forms.

Paragraph 51: Camphor, natural (crude and refined) and synthetic.

Paragraph 51: Menthol.

Paragraph 58: Oils, distilled or essential, not mixed or compounded with or containing alcohol: Sandalwood.

Paragraph 60: Safrol, not mixed or compounded, not containing more than 10 percent of alcohol, not marketable as cosmetics, perfumery, or toilet preparations, and not specially provided for.

Paragraph 66: Pigments, whether dry, mixed, or ground in or mixed with water,

oil, or solutions other than oil, not specially provided for: Vandyke brown and Cassel earth.

Paragraph 67: Barytes ore, crude or unmanufactured, or ground or otherwise manufactured.

Paragraph 83: Potato starch.

Paragraph 84: Dextrine, not otherwise provided for (not including dextrine made from potato starch or potato flour), burnt starch or British gum, dextrine substitutes, and soluble or chemically treated starch.

Paragraph 87: Cerium nitrate, cerium fluoride, and other salts of cerium not specially provided for.

Schedule 2. Earths, earthenware, and glassware

Paragraph 204: Dead burned and grain magnesite, and periclase, not suitable for manufacture into exychloride cements.

Paragraph 206: Pumice stone, wholly or partly manufactured.

Paragraph 210: Rockingham earthenware.

Paragraph 211: Earthenware and crockery ware composed of a nonvitrified absorbent body, including white granite and semiporcelain earthenware, and cream-colored ware, terra cotta, and stoneware, including all articles wholly or in chief value of such ware; any of the foregoing which are tableware, kitchenware, or table or kitchen utensils, however provided for in paragraph 211, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 211: Articles, other than tableware, kitchenware, or table or kitchen utensils, however provided for in paragraph 211, Tariff Act of 1930, if valued under $10 per dozen.

Paragraph 212: China, porcelain, and other vitrified wares, including chemical stoneware (but not including chemical porcelain ware, sanitary ware and fittings and parts therefor, or electrical porcelain ware), composed of a vitrified nonabsorbent body which when broken shows a vitrified or vitreous, or semivitrified or semivitreous fracture, and all bisque and parian wares, including clock cases with or without movements, plaques, pill tiles, ornaments, charms, vases, statues, statuettes, mugs, cups, steins, lamps, and all other articles composed wholly or in chief value of such ware; all the foregoing, however provided for in paragraph 212, Tariff Act of 1930, not containing 25 percent or more of calcined bone.

Paragraph 213: Graphite or plumbago, crude, or refined: Amorphous (except artificial).

Paragraph 218 (c): Illuminating articles of every description, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of glass, for use in connection with artificial illumination:

Chimneys, globes, and shades, and parts thereof, wholly or in chief value of glass.

Paragraph 218 (f): Table and kitchen articles and utensils, and all articles of every description not specially provided for composed wholly or in chief value of glass, blown or partly blown in the mold or otherwise, or colored, cut, engraved, etched, frosted, gilded, around (except such grinding as is necessary for fitting stoppers or for purposes other than ornamentation), painted, printed in any manner, sand-blasted, silvered, stained, or decorated or ornamented in any manner, whether filled or unfilled, or whether their contents be dutiable or free:

Christmas tree ornaments valued under $7.50 per gross;

Other articles or utensils valued not over $1.66⅔ each (except articles or utensils commercially known as bubble glass, if produced otherwise than by automatic machine but not cut or engraved and valued at $1 or more each, and except Christmas tree ornaments).

Paragraph 225: Spectacles, eyeglasses, and goggles, and frames for the same, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, valued not over $2.50 per dozen.

Paragraph 226: Lenses of glass or pebble, molded or pressed, or ground and polished to a spherical, cylindrical, or prismatic form, and ground and polished plano or coquille glasses, wholly or partly manufactured; all the foregoing (except lighthouse lenses and except eyeglass and spectacle lenses with edges unground and value at $10 or more per dozen pairs).

Paragraph 228 (a): Spectrographs, spectrometers, spectroscopes, refractometers, saccharimeters, colorimeters, cathetometers, interferometers, haemacytometers, polarimeters, polariscopes, photometers, ophthalmoscopes, slit lamps, corneal microscopes, optical measuring or optical testing instruments, testing or recording instruments for ophthalmological purposes, frames and mountings therefor, and parts of any of the foregoing, finished or unfinished.

Paragraph 228 (a): Prism binoculars having a magnification of 5 diameters or less and valued at not over $12 each; frames and mountings therefor, and parts of any of the foregoing; all the foregoing, finished or unfinished.

Paragraph 228 (b): Opera or field glasses (not prism binoculars), frames and mountings therefor, and parts of any of the foregoing; all the foregoing, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for (except opera or field glasses valued over $1 each).

Paragraphs 228 (b) and 1551: Photographic lenses, frames and mountings therefor, and parts of any of the foregoing; all the foregoing, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for (including cameras and parts of cameras of which a photographic lens is the component of chief value).

Paragraph 228 (b): Telescopes, valued not over $2 each; frames and mountings therefor; parts of any of the foregoing, suitable in type and not excessive in quantity for use with, and imported in the same shipment with, telescopes valued not over $2 each; frames and mountings for, and parts of telescopes and of frames and mountings therefor, imported separately; all the foregoing, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 228 (b): Azimuth mirrors, parabolic or mangin mirrors for searchlight reflectors, mirrors for optical, dental, or surgical purposes, projection lenses, sextants, octants, microscopes, all optical instruments (not including photographic lenses, opera or field glasses, and telescopes), frames and mountings therefor, and parts of any of the foregoing; all the foregoing, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 229: Incandescent electric-light bulbs and lamps, with or without metal or other filaments.

Paragraph 230 (b): Glass mirrors (except framed or cased mirrors in chief value of platinum, gold, or silver), not specially provided for, not exceeding in size 144 square inches, with or without frames or cases.

Paragraph 233: All articles composed wholly or in chief value of agate or other semiprecious stone (not including rock crystal), except such as are cut into shapes and forms fitting them expressly for use in the construction of jewelry, not specially provided for.

Schedule 3. Metals and manufactures of

Paragraph 301: Iron in pigs and iron kentledge, whether or not containing vanadium, tungsten, molybdenum, or chromium in quantities specified in paragraph 301, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 302 (c): Tungsten ore or concentrates.

Paragraph 302 (d): Ferromanganese containing 4 percent or more of carbon.

Paragraph 302 (n) Titanium.

Paragraph 312: Sheet piling.

Paragraph 329: Chains of iron or steel, used for the transmission of power, of not more than 2-inch pitch and containing more than three parts per pitch, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished; and all other chains used for the transmission of power, and parts thereof.

Paragraph 331: Upholsters' nails and thumb tacks, of two or more pieces of iron or steel, finished or unfinished.

Paragraph 343: Needle cases or needle books furnished with assortments of needles or combinations of needles and other articles.

Paragraph 343: Needles for knitting machines of every description, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 354. Cuticle knives, corn knives, nail files, tweezers, manicure or pedicure nippers, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, by whatever name known.

Paragraph 359: Surgical instruments, and parts thereof (except hypodermic and other needles, but including hypodermic syringes and forceps), composed wholly or in part of iron, steel, copper, brass, nickel, aluminum, or other metal (but not in chief value of glass), finished or unfinished.

Paragraph 359: Dental instruments, and parts thereof, wholly or in part of iron, steel, copper, brass, nickel, aluminum, or other metal, finished or unfinished: Dental burrs.

Paragraph 359: Surgical instruments and parts thereof and dental instruments and parts thereof, any of the foregoing in part of iron, steel, copper, brass, nickel, aluminum, or other metal, and in chief value of glass, finished or unfinished.

Paragraph 364: Bicycle, velocipede, and similar bells, finished or unfinished, and parts thereof.

Paragraph 365: Shotguns, valued over $25 each.

Paragraph 365. Barrels for shotguns, further advanced in manufacture than rough bored only; stocks for shotguns, wholly or partly manufactured; parts of shotguns, and fittings for shotgun stocks or barrels, finished or unfinished; and shotgun barrels, in single tubes, forged, rough bored.

Paragraph 366: Pistols and revolvers, automatic, single-shot, magazine, or revolving, valued not over $8 each.

Paragraph 372: Sewing machines, not specially provided for, valued over $10 but not over $75 each.

Paragraph 372: Parts of sewing machines, not specially provided for, wholly or in chief value of metal or porcelain.

Paragraph 372: Printing machinery; and parts of printing machinery, not specially provided for, wholly or in chief value of metal or porcelain: Duplicating machines (not including printing presses), and parts thereof.

Paragraph 372: Knitting machines (except full-fashioned hosiery and circular knitting machines), finished or unfinished, not specially provided for, and parts thereof, not specially provided for, wholly or in chief value of metal or porcelain.

Paragraph 382 (a): Aluminum foil less than six one-thousandths of 1 inch in thickness.

Paragraph 397: Articles or wares, not specially provided for, not plated with platinum (unless in chief value of platinum, gold, or silver, or colored with gold lacquer, whether partly or wholly manufactured.

Composed wholly or in chief value of lead.

Composed wholly or in chief value of base metal other than iron or steel: Screws, commonly called wood screws, having shanks not exceeding twelve-one-hundredths inch in diameter; and screws other than those commonly called wood screws, having shanks or threads not exceeding twenty-four-one hundredths inch in diameter.

Composed wholly or in chief value of platinum.

Schedule 4. Wood and manufacture of

Paragraph 404: Japanese white oak and Japanese maple: In the form of sawed boards, planks, deals, and all other forms not further manufactured than sawed, and flooring.

Paragraph 409: Split bamboo.

Paragraph 409: All articles not specially provided for, wholly or partly manufactured of rattan, bamboo, osier or willow (except tennis-racket frames, valued at $1,75 or more each).

Paragraph 410: Toothpicks of wood or other vegetable substance.

Paragraph 411: Porch and window blinds, baskets, bags, chair seats, curtains, shades, or screens, any of the foregoing wholly or in chief value of bamboo, wood, straw, papier-mache, palm leaf, or compositions of wood, not specially provided for (except baskets and bags wholly or in chief value of straw or willow or osier).

Paragraph 412: Bentwood furniture, wholly or partly finished, and parts thereof.

Paragraph 412: Folding rules, wholly or in chief value of wood, and not specially provided for.

Paragraph 412: Manufactures of wood or bark, or of which wood or bark is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for:

Brush backs.

Schedule 5. Sugar, molasses, and manufacture of

Paragraph 505: Levulose.

Schedule 7. Agricultural products and provisions

Paragraph 703: Hams and shoulders, prepared or preserved: If cooked and packed in air-tight containers, but not made into sausage.

Paragraph 710: Cheese, made from sheep's milk, in original loaves, not suitable for grating.

Paragraph 712: Birds, prepared or preserved in any manner and not specially provided for (except chickens, prepared by removal of the feathers, heads, and all or part of the viscera, with or without removal of the feet, but not cooked or divided into portions).

Paragraph 713: Eggs of poultry (except of chickens), in the shell.

Paragraph 713: Dried egg albumen, whether or not sugar or other material is added.

Paragraph 717 (b): Fish, fresh or frozen (whether or not packed in ice), filleted, skinned, boned, sliced, or divided into portions, not specially provided for: Swordfish.

Paragraph 717 (c): Fish, dried and unsalted (except cod, haddock, hake, pollock, and cusk, and except shark fins).

Paragraph 718 (a): Fish, prepared or preserved in any manner, when packed in oil or in oil and other substances: Tuna.

Paragraph 718 (b): Fish, prepared or preserved in any manner, when packed in air-tight containers weighing with their contents not more than 15 pounds each (except fish packad in oil or in oil and other substances): Tuna.

Paragraph 721 (a): Crabmeat, fresh or frozen (whether or not packed in ice), or prepared or preserved in any manner, including crab paste and crab sauce.

Paragraph 721 (b): Clams other than razor clams, and clams in combination with other substances (except clam chowder), packed in airtight containers.

Paragraph 721 (e): Oysters, oyster juice, or either in combination with other substances, packed in airtight containers.

Paragraph 727: Broken rice, which will pass readily through a metal sieve perforated with round holes five and one-half sixty-fourths of 1 inch in diameter.

Paragraph 730: Soy bean oil cake and soy bean oil-cake meal.

Paragraph 730: Vegetable oil cake and oil-cake meal, not specially provided for: Coconut or copra, linseed.

Paragraph 736: Berries, edible (except blueberries), prepared or preserved (not including berries in brine, dried, desiccated, evaporated, or frozen), and not specially provided for.

Paragraph 738: Cider.

Paragraph 743: Oranges, Mandarin, packed in airtight containers.

Paragraph 748: Plums, prunes, and prunelles, green, ripe, or in brine.

Paragraph 753: Lily bulbs.

Paragraph 760: Walnuts of all kinds, shelled, or blanched, roasted, prepared, or preserved, including walnut paste.

Paragraph 761: Cashew nuts, shelled (including blanched) or unshelled.

Paragraph 763: Grass seeds and other forage crop seeds: Clover, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 764: Tree and shrub seeds.

Paragraph 768: Mushroom, dried.

Paragraph 775: Vegetables (including horseradish), if cut, sliced, or otherwise reduced in size, or if reduced to flour, or if parched or roasted, or if packed in oil, or prepared or preserved in any other way and not specially provided for (not including dehydrated onions in any form of vegetables pickled, or packed in salt or in brine).

Paragraph 775. Soybeans, prepared or preserved in any manner.

Paragraph 775: Pastes, balls, puddings, hash (except corned beef hash), and all similar forms, composed of vegetables, or of vegetables and meat or fish, or both, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 776: Chicory, crude (except endive), or ground or otherwise prepared.

Paragraph 779: Rice straw, and rice fiber.

Paragraph 781: Curry and curry powder.

Schedule 8. Spirits, wines, and other beverages

Paragraph 804: Rice wine or sake.

Schedule 9. Cotton manufactures

Paragraph 904 (a) (b) (c) (d): Cotton cloth, however, provided for in paragraph 904, Tariff Act of 1930 (not including tire fabric or fabric for use in pneumatic tires).

Paragraph 905: Cloth, in chief value of cotton, containing silk, or rayon or other synthetic textile.

Paragraph 909: Pile fabrics (not including pile ribbons), cut or uncut, whether or not the pile covers the entire surface, wholly or in chief value of cotton, if velveteens.

Paragraph 910: Table damask, wholly or in chief value of cotton, and all articles, finished or unfinished, made or cut from such table damask.

Paragraph 911 (a): Blankets or blanket cloth, napped or unnapped, wholly or in chief value of cotton, whether in the piece or otherwise, if Jacquard-figured.

Paragraph 911 (a): Quilts or bedspreads, wholly or in chief value of cotton, whether in the piece or otherwise, not Jacquard-figured, if block-printed by hand.

Paragraph 911 (a): Towels, other than pile fabrics, wholly or in chief value of cotton, whether in the piece or otherwise, and whether or not Jacquard-figured.

Paragraph 911 (b): Sheets and pillowcases, wholly or in chief value of cotton.

Paragraph 911 (b): Table and bureau covers, centerpieces, runners, scarfs, napkins, and doilies, made of plain-woven cotton cloth, and not specially provided for.

Paragraph 912: Boot, shoe, or corset lacings, wholly or in chief value of cotton or other vegetable fiber.

Paragraph 915: Gloves and mittens, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of cotton or other vegetable fiber, made of fabric knit or a warp-knitting or other machine.

Paragraph 917: Underwear, outerwear, and articles of all kinds, knit or crocheted, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of cotton or other vegetable fiber, and not specially provided for (except knit underwear valued over $1.75 per pound, and crocheted underwear).

Paragraph 919: Clothing and articles of wearing apparel of every description, manufactured wholly or in part, wholly or in chief value of cotton, and not specially provided for (except coats valued $4 or more each; vests valued $2 or more each; dressing gowns, including bath robes and beach robes, valued $2.50 or more each; underwear valued 75 cents or more per separate piece; and except pajamas valued $1.50 or more per suit).

Paragraph 921: Rag rugs, wholly or in chief value of cotton, of the type commonly known as hit-and-miss; chenille rugs, wholly or in chief value of cotton; and all other floor coverings, including carpets, carpeting, mats, and rugs, wholly or in chief value of cotton (except cut-pile and hand-hooked floor coverings and imitation oriental rugs).

Paragraph 922: Rags, including wiping rags, wholly or in chief value of cotton, except rags chiefly used in papermaking.

Paragraph 923: Manufactures, wholly or in chief value of cotton, not specially provided for (except articles of pile construction other than terry-woven towels, and except bougies, catheters, drains, explorateurs, instillateurs, probes, sondes, and other urological instruments, yarns containing wool molded, cotton and rubber packing, and printers' rubberized blanketing).

Schedule 10. Flax, hemp, jute, and manufactures of

Paragraph 1001: Flax, hackled, including dressed line.

Paragraph 1001: Flax, not hackled.

Paragraph 1003: Jute yarns or roving, single; and jute sliver.

Paragraph 1006: Gill nettings, nets, webs, and seines, and other nets for fishing, wholly or in chief value of flax, hemp, or ramie, and not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1015: Fabrics with fast edges, not exceeding 12 inches in width, and articles made therefrom: Webbing wholly or in chief value of jute.

Paragraph 1019: Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics, suitable for covering cotton, composed of single yarns made of jute, jute butts, or other vegetable fiber, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, not exceeding 16 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, and weighing not less than 15 ounces nor more than 32 ounces per square yard.

Paragraph 1021: Common China, Japan, and India straw matting, and floor coverings made therefrom.

Paragraph 1021: Floor coverings not specially provided for: Grass or rice straw.

Paragraph 1022: Pile mats and floor coverings, wholly or in chief value of cocoa fiber.

Schedule 11. Wool and manufactures of

Paragraph 1101 (a), (b): Hair of the camel, however provided for in paragraph 1101, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 1111: Blankets and similar articles (including carriage and automobile robes and steamer rugs), made as units or in the piece, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of wool, not exceeding 3 yards in length.

Paragraph 1114 (b): Hose and half hose, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of wool.

Paragraph 1114 (d): Outerwear and articles of all kinds, knit or crocheted, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of wool, and not specially provided for:

Hats, bonnets, caps, berets, and similar articles (except infants' headwear), valued over $2 per pound.

Other (except infants' headwear and other infants' outerwear).

Paragraph 1117 (c): Floor coverings, including mats and druggets, wholly or in chief value of wool, not specially provided for, valued over 40 cents per square foot (except such floor coverings wholly or in chief value of hair of the alpaca, guanaco, huarizo, llama, misti, suri, or a combination of the hair of two or more of these species, or wholly or in chief value of hair of the Angora goat).

Paragraph 1117 (c): Floor coverings, including mats and druggets, wholly or in chief value of wool, not specially provided for:

Wholly or in chief value of hair of the Angora goat.

Schedule 12. Silk manufactures

Paragraph 1201: Silk partially manufactured, including total or partial degumming other than in the reeling process, from raw silk, waste silk, or cocoons, and silk noils exceeding 2 inches in length; all the foregoing, if not twisted or spun.

Paragraph 1202: Spun silk or schappe silk yarn, or yarn of silk and rayon or other synthetic textile, and roving, whether or not bleached, dyed, colored, or plied.

Paragraph 1205: Woven fabrics in the piece, wholly or in chief value of silk, however provided for in paragraph 1205, Tariff Act of 1930 (except fabrics with fibers wholly of silk, not bleached, colored, dyed, or printed, if Jacquard-figured; with fibers chiefly but not wholly of silk, not bleached, colored, dyed, or printed, if Jacquard-figured, or bleached, colored, dyed, or printed, whether or not Jacquard-figured; and except silk bolting cloth).

Paragraph 1208: Gloves and mittens, knit or crocheted, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of silk.

Schedule 13. Manufactures of rayon or other synthetic textile

Paragraph 1301: Yarns of rayon or other synthetic textile, singles or plied, not specially provided for (except single yarns weighing 150 deniers or more per length of 450 meters), and regardless of the number of turns twist per inch.

Paragraph 1302: Filaments of rayon or other synthetic textile, not exceeding 30 inches in length, other than waste, whether known as cut fiber, staple fiber, or by any other name.

Paragraph 1309: Gloves and mittens, knit or crocheted, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of rayon or other synthetic textile, valued under $1.50 per dozen pairs.

Schedule 14. Papers and books

Paragraph 1403: Masks composed of paper, pulp, or papier mache, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1404: Papers commonly or commercially known as stereotype paper, copying paper, or bibulous paper, not specially provided for, colored or uncolored, white or printed, whether in sheets or any other form, and weighing less than 10 pounds to the ream.

Paragraph 1405: Bags and other articles, except printed matter, composed wholly or in chief value of any of the papers provided for in any of the provisions of paragraph 1405, Tariff Act of 1930, preceding the provision for bags, and not specially provided for (not including boxes of paper or papier mache or wood covered or lined with any such paper).

Paragraph 1405: Sensitized paper to be used in photography.

Paragraph 1409: Hanging paper, printed, lithographed, dyed, or colored.

Paragraph 1409: Papers, not specially provided for (except stencil paper, unmounted, and except strawboard and straw paper, under 0.012 but not under 0.008 inch thick).

Paragraph 1410: Books, unbound or bound (except those bound wholly or in part in leather), and sheets or printed pages of books bound wholly or in part in leather, not specially provided for, if of bona fide foreign authorship: Prayer books and sheets or printed pages of prayer books.

Paragraph 1410: Blank books and slate books: Diaries, notebooks, and address books.

Schedule 15. Sundries

Paragraph 1502: Baseballs, and balls wholly or in chief value of rubber (except golf and lawn-tennis balls), finished or unfinished, primarily designed for use in physical exercise (whether or not such exercise involves the element of sport), all the foregoing, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1502: Tennis rackets.

Paragraph 1503: Beads of ivory; hollow or filled imitation pearl beads of all kinds and shapes, of whatever material composed; imitation solid pearl beads; and iridescent imitation solid pearl beads.

Paragraph 1504 (a): Braids, plaits, laces, and willow sheets or squares, composed wholly or in chief value of straw, chip, paper, grass, palm leaf, willow, osier, rattan, real horsehair, cuba bark, or manila hemp, and braids and plaits, wholly or in chief value of ramie, all the foregoing suitable for making or ornamenting hats, bonnets, or hoods, whether or not bleached, dye, colored, or stained, and whether or not containing a substantial part of rayon or other synthetic textile (but not wholly or in chief value thereof), except any of the foregoing (other than willow sheets or squares) not containing a substantial part of rayon or other synthetic textile and not bleached, dyed, colored, or stained.

Paragraph 1504 (b) (1) (2): Hats, bonnets, and hoods, wholly or in chief value of chip, paper, grass, palm leaf, willow, osier, rattan, real horsehair, cuba bark, or manila hemp, whether wholly or partly manufactured, not blocked, trimmed, or sewed, whether or not bleached, dyed, colored, or stained (not including any of the foregoing known as harvest hats and valued under $3 per dozen, or hats and hoods, not bleached, colored, dyed, or stained, wholly or in chief value of fiber of the carludovica palmata, commercially known as toquilla fiber or straw).

Paragraph 1504 (b) (2) (4): Hats, bonnets, and hoods, whether wholly or partly manufactured: Wholly or in chief value of straw or ramie, bleached, dyed, colored, or stained, but not blocked, trimmed, or sewed; or wholly or in chief value of straw, if sewed (whether or not blocked, trimmed, bleached, dyed, colored, or stained).

Paragraph 1504 (b) (3): Hats, bonnets, and hoods, composed wholly or in chief value of straw, chip, paper, grass, palm leaf, willow, osier, rattan, real horsehair, cuba bark, ramie, or manila hemp, whether wholly or partly manufactured, blocked or trimmed (whether or not bleached, dyed, colored, or stained).

Paragraph 1506: Toilet brushes (not including tooth brushes), the handles or backs of which are composed wholly or in chief value of any product provided for in paragraph 31, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 1506: Handles and backs for tooth brushes and other toilet brushes, composed wholly or in chief value of any product provided for in paragraph 31, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 1506: Hair pencils in quills or otherwise.

Paragraph 1506: Brushes, not specially provided for (except paint brushes).

Paragraph 1510: Buttons not specially provided for (except horn and composition horn buttons, buttons wholly or in chief value of any compound of casein and valued over 60 cents per gross, buttons wholly or in chief value of glass, buttons commonly known as Roman pearl, fancy buttons with a fish-scale or similar to fish-scale finish, buttons wholly or in chief value of wood, and buttons wholly or in part of textile material).

Paragraph 1511: Cork tile in the rough or wholly or partly finished.

Paragraph 1513: Dolls wholly or in chief value of china, porcelain, parian, bisque, earthenware, or stoneware, or wholly or in chief value of any product provided for in paragraph 31, Tariff Act of 1930, and parts of dolls (including clothing), and doll heads, however provided for in paragraph 1513, Tariff Act of 1930 (except dolls and doll clothing composed in any part, however small, of any of the laces, fabrics, embroideries, or other materials or articles provided for in paragraph 1529 (a), Tariff Act of 1930).

Paragraph 1513: Toys, and parts of toys (not including dolls or parts of dolls) composed wholly or in chief value of any product provided for in paragraph 31, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 1513: Toy games, toy containers, toy favors, toy souvenirs, of whatever materials composed; toy balloons; and toy books without reading matter (not counting as reading matter any printing on removable pages), other than letters, numerals, or descriptive words, bound or unbound, and parts thereof.

Paragraph 1513: Toys, not specially provided for:

Wholly or in chief value of china, porcelain, parian, bisque, earthenware, or stoneware.

Wholly or in chief value of rubber.

Toys having a spring mechanism (except figures or images of animate objects, wholly or in chief value of metal).

Stuffed animal figures not having a spring mechanism.

Paragraph 1513: Parts of toys, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1515: Bombs, rockets, roman candles, and fireworks of all descriptions, not specially provided for (not including firecrackers).

Paragraph 1516: Matches, friction or lucifer, of all descriptions, in boxes containing not over 100 matches per box.

Paragraph 1518: Artificial or ornamental fruits, vegetables, grasses, grains, leaves, flowers, stems, or parts thereof, composed wholly or in chief value of yarns, threads, filaments, tinsel wire, lame, bullions, metal threads, beads, bugles, spangles, or rayon or other synthetic textile, or composed wholly or in chief value of other materials (except feathers) and not specially provided for; and boas, boutonnieres, wreaths, and all articles not specially provided for, composed wholly or in chief value of any of the foregoing fruits, vegetables, grasses, grains, leaves, flowers, stems, or parts.

Paragraph 1523: Hair press cloth, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1526 (a): Hats, caps, bonnets, and hoods, trimmed or untrimmed, including bodies, hoods, plateaux, forms, or shapes, for such hats or bonnets, composed wholly or in chief value of fur of the rabbit, beaver, or other animals, and valued over $24 but not over $48 per dozen.

Paragraph 1527 (a) (2): Jewelry, commonly or commercially so known, finished or unfinished (including parts thereof), of whatever material composed (except jewelry and parts thereof composed wholly or in chief value of gold or platinum, or of which the metal part is wholly or in chief value of gold or platinum); all the foregoing valued over 20 cents but not over $5 per dozen pieces.

Paragraph 1527 (c) (2): Articles valued above 20 cents per dozen pieces, designed to be worn on apparel or carried on or about or attached to the person, such as and including cardcases, chains, cigar cases, cigar cutters, cigar holders, cigar lighters, cigarette cases, cigarette holders, coin holders, combs, match boxes, mesh bags and purses, millinery, military and hair ornaments, pins, powder cases, stamp cases, vanity cases, watch bracelets, and like articles; all the foregoing and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, composed wholly or in chief value of metal other than gold or platinum (whether or not enameled, washed, covered, or plated, including rolled gold plate), or (if not composed in chief value of metal and if not dutiable under clause 1 of paragraph 1527 (c), Tariff Act of 1930) set with and in chief value of precious or semiprecious stones, pearls, cameos, coral, amber, imitation precious or semiprecious stones, or imitation pearls (except cigar and cigarette lighters and parts thereof, buckles, collar, cuff, and dress buttons, ladies' hand-

bags set with and in chief value of rhinestones, mesh bags and parts thereof, all the foregoing valued above 20 cents and not above $5 per dozen pieces or parts; and except all articles and parts, other than cigar and cigarette lighters and parts, valued above $5 per dozen pieces or parts).

Paragraph 1528: Diamonds, rubies, and sapphires, cut but not set, and suitable for use in the manufacture of jewelry.

Paragraph 1528: Pearls and parts thereof, drilled or undrilled, but not set or strung (except temporarily), if cultured or cultivated; imitation half pearls, and hollow or filled imitation pearls of all shapes, without hole or with hole partly through only; imitation solid pearls and iridescent imitation solid pearls, unpierced, pierced or partially pierced, loose, or mounted, of whatever shape, color, or design.

Paragraph 1529 (a): Laces, lace fabrics, and lace articles, made wholly by hand and containing no machine-made material or article provided for in paragraph 1529 (a), Tariff Act of 1930, all the foregoing not wholly or in chief value of vegetable fiber other than cotton, if over 2 inches wide and valued not over $50 per pound, or if not over 2 inches wide, regardless of value.

Paragraph 1529 (a): Fabrics and articles (not wearing apparel), in part but not wholly of handmade lace and containing no machine-made material or article provided for in paragraph 1529 (a), Tariff Act of 1930, if all or part of the lace is over 2 inches wide and the fabrics or articles are valued not over $50 per pound, or if none of the lace is over 2 inches wide, regardless of the value of the fabrics or articles.

Paragraph 1529 (a): Fabrics and articles embroidered (whether or not the embroidery is on a scalloped edge), tamboured, appliqued, ornamented with beads, bugles, or spangles, or from which threads have been omitted, drawn, punched, or cut, and with threads introduced after weaving to finish or ornament the openwork, not including one row of straight hemstitching adjoining the hem; all the foregoing, and fabrics and articles wholly or in part thereof (not including fabrics and articles in any part of lace), however described in paragraph 1529 (a), Tariff Act of 1930; any of the foregoing if wholly or in chief value of cotton and included in subdivision [6] of paragraph 1529 (a) of "United States Import Duties (1952)" (but not including wearing apparel), or if included in subdivision [9] of paragraph 1529 (a) of said "United States Import Duties" (except gloves and mittens included in such subdivision [9] wholly or in chief value of wool and except other wearing apparel included in such subdivision [9] wholly or in chief value of cotton or other vegetable fiber or wholly or in chief value of rayon or other synthetic textile).

Paragraph 1529 (a): Bureau and table covers, centerpieces, doilies, napkins, runners, and scarfs, made of plain-woven cotton cloth, block printed by hand, and in part of fringe.

Paragraph 1529 (a): Quilts or bedspreads, wholly or in chief value of cotton, in the piece or otherwise, block printed by hand, and in part of fringe.

1530 (b): Upper leather made from calf or kip skins, rough, partly finished, or finished, but not cut or partly or wholly manufactured into uppers, vamps, or any forms or shapes suitable for conversion into boots, shoes, or footwear.

Paragraph 1530 (e): Boots, shoes, or other footwear, made wholly or in chief value of leather, not specially provided for: Slippers (for housewear).

Paragraph 1530 (e): Boots, shoes, or other footwear (including athletic or sporting boots and shoes), the uppers of which are composed wholly of in chief value of wool, cotton, ramie, animal hair, fiber, rayon or other synthetic textile, silk, or substitutes for any of the foregoing:

With soles wholly or in chief value of leather.

With soles wholly or in chief value of india rubber or substitutes for rubber.[1]

With soles wholly or in chief value of other materials (except boots, shoes, or other footwear with uppers wholly or in chief value of vegetable fiber other than cotton, or with uppers and soles both in chief value of wool felt, and except alpargatas with uppers wholly or in chief value of cotton).

Paragraph 1531: Bags, baskets, belts, satchels, cardcases, pocketbooks, jewel boxes, portfolios, and other boxes and cases, not jewelry, wholly or in chief value of leather or parchment, and manufactures of leather, rawhide, or parchment, or of which leather, rawhide, or parchment is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for (except straps and strops):

Belts and buckles designed to be worn on the person.

Coin purses, change purses, billfolds, bill cases, bill rolls, bill purses, banknote cases, currency cases, money cases, card cases, license cases, pass cases, passport cases, letter cases, and similar flat leather goods, not wholly or in chief value of reptile leather.

Women's and children's handbags or pocketbooks, not wholly or in chief value of reptile leather.

Leads, leashes, collars, muzzles, and similar dog equipment.

Wearing apparel (other than belts and buckles).

Bags, baskets, belts, satchels, pocketbooks, jewel boxes, portfolios, and boxes and cases, not jewelry (except articles named in any of the above subdivisions, whether or not wholly or in chief value of reptile leather).

Paragraph 1531: Articles provided for in paragraph 1531, Tariff Act of 1930, if wholly or in chief value of reptile leather and permanently fitted and furnished with traveling, bottle, drinking, dining or luncheon, sewing, manicure, or similar sets.

Paragraph 1532 (b): Gloves, wholly or in chief value of leather made from horsehides or cowhides (except calfskins), whether wholly or partly manufactured.

Paragraph 1535: Artificial flies, snelled hooks, leaders or casts, finished or unfinished; fishing rods, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for; fishhooks, artificial baits, and all other fishing tackle and parts thereof, fly books, fly boxes, fishing baskets or creels, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for, except fishing lines, fishing nets, and seines (and not including fishing reels and parts thereof).

Paragraph 1536: Candles.

Paragraph 1536: Manufactures of amber or bladders or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1537 (a): Manufactures of bone, chip, grass, sea grass, horn, straw, weeds, or whalebone, or of which these substances or any of them is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1537 (a): Manufactures of chip roping.

Paragraph 1537 (b): Manufactures of india rubber or gutta-percha, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for (including boots, shoes, or other footwear, wholly or in chief value of india rubber), except the following: Bougies, catheters, drains, sondes, and other urological instruments; gloves; gaskets, packing, and valves; golf-ball centers or cores, wound or unwound; nursing nipples or pacifiers; tires wholly or in chief value of india rubber; heels and soles for footwear wholly or in chief value of india rubber; hose and tubing; and other articles (not including automobile, bicycle, or motorcycle tires), wholly or in chief value of gutta-percha only.

Paragraph 1537 (c): Combs of whatever material composed, not specially provided for: Combs composed wholly of rubber or compounds of cellulose.

Paragraph 1541 (a): Musical instruments and parts thereof, not specially provided for: Stringed instruments (not including pianos) and parts thereof (not including bows).

Paragraph 1541 (c): Carillons containing not over 34 bells, and parts thereof.

Paragraph 1549 (a): Pencils of paper, wood, or other material not metal, filled with lead or other material, and pencils of lead, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1549 (a): Pencils stamped with names other than the manufacturers' or the manufacturers' trade name or trade-mark.

Paragraph 1549 (a): Pencil point protectors, and clips, whether separate or attached to pencils.

Paragraph 1550 (c): Mechanical pencils.

Paragraph 1551: Photographic cameras and parts thereof, not specially provided for (except motion-picture cameras and parts thereof and cameras, other than fixed-focus, valued $10 or over but not over $50 each).

Paragraph 1551: Photographic dry plates, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1552: Pouches for chewing or smoking tobacco, finished or partly finished (except pouches wholly or in chief value of leather).

Paragraph 1553: All thermostatic bottles, carafes, jars, jugs, and other thermostatic containers, or blanks and pistons of such articles, of whatever material composed, constructed with a vacuous or partially vacuous insulation space to maintain the temperature of the contents, whether imported, finished or unfinished, with or without a jacket or casing of metal or other material, and parts of any of the foregoing.

Paragraph 1554: Walking canes, finished or unfinished.

Paragraph 1554: Handles and sticks for umbrellas, parasols, sunshades, and walking canes, wholly or in chief value of wood and valued under $2.50 per dozen or wholly or in chief value of compounds of cellulose.

Paragraph 1558: Raw or unmanufactured articles not enumerated or provided for: Frogs (not including live frogs) and frog legs.

Paragraph 1558: Articles manufactured, in whole or in part, not specially provided for: Coconut shell char.

TARIFF ACT OF 1930, TITLE II, FREE LIST

Paragraph 1656: Coir yarn.

Paragraph 1677: Fish imported to be used for purposes other than human consumption: goldfish.

Paragraph 1686: Gums and resins:
Kadaya.

Natural gums, natural gum resins, and natural resins, not specially provided for: Talka.

Paragraph 1688: Hair of horse, cattle, and other animals, cleaned or uncleaned, drawn or undrawn, but unmanufactured, not specially provided for: goat and kid hair (except dressed soft hair).

Paragraph 1703: Joss stick or joss light.

Paragraph 1705: Kelp.

Paragraph 1731: Oils, distilled or essential, not mixed or compounded with or containing alcohol: camphor.

Paragraph 1754: Santonin, and salts of.

Paragraph 1756: Tuna fish, fresh or frozen, whether or not packed in ice, and whether or not whole.

Paragraph 1761: Shellfish, fresh or frozen (whether or not packed in ice), or prepared or preserved in any manner (not including pastes and sauces) and not specially provided for (except shrimps, prawns, lobsters, crabs, clams, quahaugs, unfrozen fresh scallops, fresh or frozen oysters other than seed oysters, and abalone).

[1] Listed subject to amendment of par. 1530 (e), Tariff Act of 1930, by Public Law 479, 83d Cong., approved July 8, 1954.

Paragraph 1762: Silk cocoons and silk waste.

Paragraph 1763: Silk, raw, in skeins reeled from the cocoon, or rereeled, but not wound, doubled, twisted, or advanced in manufacture in any way.

Paragraph 1768 (2): Spices and spice seed: Cardamom.

Paragraph 1796: Wax, vegetable, not specially provided for: Japan.

Paragraph 1803 (1): Sawed lumber and timber, not further manufactured than planed, and tongued and grooved, not specially prvoided for: Japanese white oak, Japanese maple, and teak.

The Late Senator Burnet R. Maybank

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I shall long remember the morning of September 1, 1954. For some unknown reason, I had failed to turn on my radio to get the early news as I ate breakfast that morning. On my way to work one of my neighbors stopped me in the street and said, "Did you know BURNET MAYBANK died last night?" I replied, "Oh, no. You do not mean it."

This sad news was not only shocking to me, but to all the people of South Carolina. We knew we had lost a most worthy representative and a real statesman.

I first knew BURNET MAYBANK when he ran for Governor of South Carolina. At our first meeting I was impressed with his abounding energy, strong personality, and firm, but friendly, handclasp. He never lost any of these attributes, but on the contrary, attained many more during his years of public service.

He gained new friends fast, because he knew how to be a friend.

Soon after coming to the United States Senate, it became evident to the people of South Carolina that BURNET MAYBANK was not only a man of ability, but also one of great influence. Although he represented a State solidly Democratic, some of his closest friends in the Senate and Nation were Republicans. They, like many of his own party, respected, admired, and esteemed him for his clear thinking, sound judgment, and complete integrity.

He was loved by all who knew him for his sincerity and devotion to duty. But of his many fine qualities I think his honesty stood out like a lighthouse to a struggling seaman. I am sure he never took a tainted dollar. He was absolutely honest, not merely in the business world, but honest in his political life as well. The spoils of high political office never infected his body or soul.

His willingness to accept responsibility and his capable and conscientious service to the people of South Carolina and the Nation made him almost invulnerable as a candidate in his home State. His constituents recognized him as the great Senator he was. In South Carolina, it is almost unheard of for a United States Senator to be unopposed in a primary election. But BURNET MAYBANK had just been accorded that honor a few weeks before his untimely death.

He loved his family deeply. Since I have been in Washington, he never saw me without inquiring about the welfare of his son who for several years has lived in my home city of Greenville.

The people of his State and Nation share with his family the loss of this great man.

A National Materials Handling Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct my remarks in behalf of my resolution proclaiming a National Materials Handling Week. Many of you may not be familiar with the term "materials handling" and what it constitutes. Actually, materials handling is just what the words mean—the handling of materials. It represents much, if not most of the physical activity in any plant. From receiving yard to shipping dock, materials are unloaded, moved, stored for minutes, moved, stored for hours or days, and moved again into manufacturing. Thereafter, they are moved from one process to the next, and so on, for 10, 20, or 100 such processes, each followed by another movement and often by one or more temporary storages. And, finally, comes movement to inspection, to storage, to shipping dock, and to common carrier, at which point they enter the distribution cycle—and that is a series of moves and waits.

The story is the same in steel mills and dairies, department stores, machine-tool plants, in arsenals and toothpaste factories. Handling materials is a large part, if not the major part, of the activity. It is large in man-hours absorbed and large in costs hidden in such things as inventory, space utilization, output per square foot of plant, and other such measures. It is the very heart of many industries, for example, mining, and the key to superiority in others, for example, automobile manufacturing.

During World War II, men engaged in this type of work were taken from industry and placed in positions where their all-round know-how of material handling, supply, warehousing, transportation and related operation and equipment, was utilized to great advantage in the battle of the supply lines. The familiar expression "get there fustes' with the mostes" is the epitome of materials handling during a national emergency. The Seabees carved the airfields out of the jungles of the Pacific Island with bulldozers, earthmovers and similar material handling devices. The derricks and cranes raised the sunken ships at Pearl Harbor; the forklift trucks moved vast mountains of materials to and from ships at dock-side operations; the tractor-trailer trains serviced the bomb-loading operations at airfields. The entire supply line of our Armed Forces was dependent upon material handling and material handling devices. Anything moved in any direction, whether fluid or solid, whether the device used is a pipeline, freight car, pneumatic tube, elevator, forklift truck, or a hand truck is a material handling operation.

Great strides have been made in the last 25 years because of the developments brought forth by the material handling profession. In the constant battle against occupational hazards and diseases, material handling equipment has been the basic factor in reducing these hazards. Today one can see conveyors miles-long bringing ore, coal and slag from mines far underground to the surface without back-breaking labor. The thousands of men of yesterday, old and broken before their time by exhaustive back-breaking labor, would be amazed today at the sight of a giant forklift truck moving through a steel mill carrying an 80,000-pound coil, with one man operating it as comfortably and effortlessly as the average man operates the family car.

Better methods of material handling have greatly benefited our way of life by adding to our comfort, well-being and leisure hours. As a matter of fact, the automobile, radio, television, electric refrigerator, washing machine and the supermarket are available to every individual in this country today because better methods of handling material have made them available.

Interchangeable parts manufacturing and mass production methods were used on the Springfield rifle during the Civil War. The punch press and automatic screw machine have been in existence for many years but the greatest strides in industry were not realized until better material handling methods were devised.

It is only since World War II that the materials-handling function has begun to get needed recognition. A few companies have made real progress and are reaping the benefits, and more companies have made a good start. The first independent technical group of its kind was organized in Pittsburgh in 1945 as the Material Handling Society. Another group was organized in 1946 as the Material Handling Society of Philadelphia and in 1947 the Indiana Material Handling Society was formed.

In 1947 the Material Handling Institute, an association of equipment manufacturers, helped to organize groups in various parts of the country. In the same year independent societies were organized in Boston and Cleveland. In 1948 other societies were organized in Chicago, Toledo, Detroit, Syracuse and Houston. An organization very similar in its aims and purposes, The Society of Industrial Packaging and Material Handling Engineers was incorporated and received its charter in June 1945 in the State of Illinois. The science of packaging is important to the handling of ma-

terial—consider the development of the waterproof package.

The American Society of Mechanical Engineers has a division devoted exclusively to material handling as does the Society for the Advancement of Management.

With the increasing interest in materials handling, it became evident that a national organization composed of local chapters was needed. So in January 1949, steps were taken to form the American Material Handling Society, Inc. A charter was obtained and temporary officers were elected. The first annual meeting was held in June 1949, and the society was formally organized and chapter charters were issued in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Indianapolis, Louisville, Pittsburgh, and Syracuse. Chapters in many other cities across the country have since been added. As a matter of fact, since 1949 the society has grown to 34 chapters in the United States from coast to coast, and 5 chapters in Canada. It is expected that with the beginning of the New Year there will be a total of 45 chapters, one of which will be in Mexico City, Mexico.

The scope of interest in materials handling is today truly international. In January 1954, the society affiliated with the Institute of Material Handling of London, England, whose membership approximates our own in size. The British society includes 88 members at large from 26 foreign countries.

The activities of the American Material Handling Society have included such things as the sponsorship of technical sessions at Material Handling Exhibitions in Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Chicago and regional conferences in every corner in the country. A national education committee and a college-industry committee cooperate with various colleges to increase the quality and scope of material handling education. For example, the New Jersey Chapter and Stevens Institute of Technology have cosponsored a forum for the past 3 years at Stevens Institute. The society has cooperated with the armed services to develop better material handling methods and personnel has been furnished to government agencies to assist them in specific investigations.

The aims and purposes of the American Material Handling Society, Inc., include: the advancement of the theory and practice of materials handling; the promotion of the welfare and future of the profession; keeping its members in touch with materials handling information and influence not ordinarily available through their individual occupations; conducting and promoting studies of the principles governing the art and science of materials handling; publishing technical, statistical and engineering data covering all phases of the profession; determining and encouraging the formation of operating and safety codes; cooperating with other engineering societies and educational institutions in furthering the interest of the engineering profession; and establishing a better understanding of the scope of the Materials Handling Engineers' field of operation.

Because materials handling is so basic to our whole economy, the economy of the greatest manufacturing country the world has ever known, the 4,000 members of this growing society and myself urge the enactment of this special legislation setting aside a "National Materials Handling Week", a week to pay tribute to the man who pushes the wheelbarrow and to all the men who contribute to our vast production lines. Each one of them is doing his share in making our life more comfortable and secure in peacetime and giving us greater protection in wartime.

Woodrow Wilson, by Bernard M. Baruch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I have the honor to include a timely and penetrating article from the January 2, 1955, issue of the New York Times magazine on the late great Woodrow Wilson. The article is written by that great American statesman and intimate associate of Wilson, Bernard M. Baruch. In a concise and interesting manner, Mr. Baruch emphasizes the greatness and genius of Wilson as a practical statesman and leader of men.

In 1956 we shall celebrate the 100th anniversary of President Wilson's birth in Staunton, Va., in the congressional district which I am honored to represent. For the appropriate observation of this anniversary, the Congress and the Commonwealth of Virginia have designated commissions, which, it is hoped, will soon be functioning in order that the Nation shall pay such tribute that the imprint of Woodrow Wilson on the pages of history justifies and requires.

The article by Mr. Baruch follows:

Like a mighty mountain, the figure of Woodrow Wilson, seen from the distance of a generation, is more impressive, more imposing than ever, towering over his time and casting his shadow down through the years.

Almost a century has passed since he was born—three decades since he was laid to rest. The world has changed greatly since his day, and, in many ways, regrettably, not at all. Perhaps in the thought and spirit of that singular man we can find the key to the problems, old and new, which confront us—and at the same time replenish our minds and hearts.

Woodrow Wilson offers us the rare example of the practical dreamer. He, as much as any man in our history, epitomized the idealism upon which, for all our pragmatism and materialism, the American heritage rests. At the same time, he was endowed with a stern sense of realism.

Although more than half of Wilson's life was spent in the realm of scholarship, it was not confined to an ivory tower. As a student of government and politics, he was concerned not with the "abstract and occult," as he wrote, but with the "practical and suggestive," not alone with the theory of government but with its actual operation, too. He was interested in affairs, not doctrines.

Thus he was equipped, when he assumed public office, with a knowledge and an understanding of government which few Chief Executives have possessed. He knew the real workings, potentialities, limitations of government—and of men. He knew that human affairs do not lend themselves to theories, no matter how persuasive they may appear in the solitude of the library.

"Life is a very complex thing," he said. "No theory I have ever heard will match its varied pattern, and the men who are dangerous are the men who are not content with understanding, but go on to propound theories * * * which will make a new pattern for society and a new model for the universe. Those are the men not to be trusted. Because, although you steer by the North Star, when you have lost the bearings on your compass you must nevertheless steer a pathway on the sea—you are not bound for the North Star."

Wilson indeed steered by the North Star, but his goal was not so distant. It lay always within the grasp of men if they would but extend themselves. Of a well-known theorizer who sought to remake the world, Wilson once wrote, "I know of no man who has more perverted the thinking of the world than Karl Marx."

Wilson's goal was a better America, a better world, not a perfect one. He knew that men might achieve much, but not perfection. And he knew that progress comes by slow stages, that you cannot throw off the habits of society immediately any more than you can throw off the habits of an individual immediately. "You cannot in human experience rush into the light," he wrote. "You have to go through the twilight into the broadening light of day before the noon comes up and the full sun is upon the landscape."

He sought ever after the warm sun of peace, freedom and justice, and sought a place beneath its rays for all men.

As governor of New Jersey and as President, Wilson helped to clear away the rank growth of political inequality and economic and social injustice which was stifling American life, at the same time he prepared the ground for a new growth of opportunity and freedom, whose fruits we enjoy today. The best of contemporary American liberalism derives from him.

Despite the clamor raised against Wilson's program of tax, tariff and electoral reforms, of restraints against monopoly and irresponsible business practice, of concessions to labor and aid to agriculture, there was nothing radical in it. Wilson did not seek change for the sake of change or ride "booted and spurred * * * the wild horses of reform," to win the applause of the multitude.

Indeed, as with every true liberal, there was a deep conservative instinct in him. His reforms were not intended to remake the American political and economic system but to conserve its essence. They were designed to strengthen it, to preserve it, to protect it (from itself, in many respects) by correcting and eliminating abuses which had grown up about it. He sought new means to preserve old ends. "The New Freedom," as he said, "was only the old revived and clothed in the unconquerable strength of America."

Wilson devoted his life to preserving, strengthening and extending democracy. Democracy, he said, was the most difficult form of government, yet he knew that it was the best ever devised by the minds of men. He knew that to survive, it must constantly adapt itself to changing circumstances. If it remained static it must wither and decay, and die under the impact of forces, destructive and disorganized, which would spring up. "Liberty is not something that can be laid away in a document, a completed work," he wrote, "Democratic institutions are never

done—they are like the living tissue, always a-making."

The torch of liberty that burned so bright in Wilson made him a beacon to which men and nations turned their eyes. Passionately as he was devoted to it, he knew that liberty was not an end in itself. Rather it was the catalyst which released human energies, the key which unlocked the door of opportunity and thus permitted men to achieve their potentialities. He knew, too, that liberty, unrestrained by discipline and responsibility is anarchy. "Liberty," he said, "is not itself government. In the wrong hands—in hands unpracticed, undisciplined—it is incompatible with government."

The First World War transformed Wilson from an American leader into a world leader and he responded nobly to the challenge and the opportunity. Under his direction, America mobilized all her resources of men, material, and spirit and threw them into the conflict. He was an inspiring war leader, but he fought for peace, not military victory. And it is as a champion of internatonal peace and order that hs reputation is most luminous.

The concept of an international organization to enforce peace was not original with Wilson. For centuries men had proposed it. He was the first to translate the idea into a reality. "What we seek," he said, "is the reign of law based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

He knew that without such a reign of law civilization itself might crash in ruins in another outburst of lawlessness. In the debate in the United States over the League of Nations, he said: "I can predict with absolute certainty that, within another generation, there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it." How true that prophecy was we well know.

Wilson's quest for a reign of law among nations failed. But the failure was not his. As the late Jan Christiaan Smuts said, the failure was humanity's. In the United States, partisanship, selfishness and blindness prevented our joining the League and doomed it to failure. Without the force of American example and leadership other nations gave only lip service to the principles of the League and pursued their separate ways which met finally in catastrophe. As Ray Stannard Baker said in the League Wilson gave the nations of the world an instrument for expressing good will, but he could not give them good will.

Critics of Wilson have charged him with responsibility for America's failure to join the League of Nations. They argue that had he been less stubborn he would have compromised with his opponents and accepted half a loaf.

This characterization of Wilson as dogmatic and uncompromising is wholly inaccurate. He compromised often and without embarrassment. Compromise is the essence of democracy. No man can lead a nation who cannot reconcile divergent views. The list of compromises he accepted in the Treaty of Versailles is long. But while he would compromise readily on detail, on method, on pace, he would not compromise on principle. And he was right.

The controversy over the treaty, in the last analysis, centered around article X which contained the pledge to preserve the territorial and political independence of all members of the League. This was the heart of the question. To abandon this article, as his opponents demanded, would have been to create a cardboard structure that would topple at the first thrust of an aggressor. The League, said Wilson, was the indispensable instrumentality of peace. It was necessary to guarantee that peace. Article X was the guaranty.

The very same issue confronts us today in the question of the control of atomic energy, disarmament and peace. There must be a guaranty. Declarations of intent and good will are not enough. Agreements which fail to provide for direct and effective control of the atom and close supervision of disarmament are meaningless and worse, incalculably dangerous.

To enter such agreements while abandoning the principle of international inspection and control would mean the dismemberment of our strength, while other nations, without our moral compunction, could maintain, behind the cloak of duplicity, the strength to destroy us. We cannot gamble with our survival. As Wilson refused to compromise on the essence of the League, we must stand fast on the principle of effective atomic control. In that case and this, half a loaf is not better than none.

Wilson left the White House broken in body but not in spirit, his faith in men and in his own ideals untarnished. He did not live to see his somber prophecy fulfilled. But his principles were at last adopted. It is his spirit which animates the United Nations, and if we can recapture his spirit we can make that as yet imperfect instrument succeed.

Woodrow Wilson will be an example and an inspiration to men as long as we admire greatness. Greatness, he once observed, is a word which we Americans use loosely. Yet who deserves that accolade more than he. Gifted as few men are, the true source of his greatness lay not so much in his intellect, his eloquence, his courage, or in all the other qualities with which he was endowed. It lay in the fact that he devoted these qualities not to his own interest but to the interests of humanity.

We need men such as he; men devoted to democracy, who seek the sure road of progress while avoiding extremes; men who are ambitious to serve in government without serving themselves. We need men of courage and integrity, men who love humanity but understand it. We need men with vision enough to see the mountaintop and ability enough to lead us there.

For that is our goal—the mountaintop where men may breathe the clear, pure air of freedom and peace and justice. We will not reach it unless we link our arms together and pull together up the long, hard slope. Even if we ourselves do not reach that summit, we will, at least, have marked the way for others.

"All through the centuries," wrote Wilson, "there has been this slow, painful struggle forward, forward, up, up, a little at a time, along the entire incline, the interminable way. What difference does it make if we do not reach the uplands? We have given our lives to the enterprise, and that is richer and the moral is greater."

Export-Import Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to the address of Mr. O. R. Strackbein, chairman of Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, which appeared in the press recently.

Mr. Strackbein points out the danger of a further slash in our tariff rates and deals with the great disparity of employment caused by mounting imports and with the dangerous policy of American exporters to maintain their foreign markets in face of a decreasing demand for their products.

The address is as follows:

THE WAGE EARNER AND FOREIGN TRADE

What would be the consequence if we followed the clamor of the export interests and slashed our tariff still more? Or if we repealed the escape clause of the trade agreements law?

Mind you, there is no point in blaming the exporters for wanting to sell as much in overseas markets as they did when the whole world cried for their goods. Exports were profitable and they did provide employment. But the situation has changed. Many of the foreign demands for our materials have been filled. The dollar gap is about gone. But for the shipment of military equipment to help arm Europe and other areas, the dollar gap is closed. Military shipments are not true exports in any case. They result from national defense policies and are no part of regular commerce. Yet our official export figures include these military shipments and create the impression that our total exports are much higher than our total imports. In 1953 our military exports amounted to $3½ billion.

In order to keep exports sky high the demand from the export interests today is to increase imports to the level of total exports by cutting the tariff still more.

Once again it should be said that there would be nothing wrong with this if it simply meant benefiting our export interests, the automobile industry, manufacturers of office equipment, iron and steel, industrial machinery, etc., and the farm crops such as wheat, cotton, tobacco, and rice.

But it is not as simple as that. We are already letting in duty-free, noncompetitive products, accounting for over half of our imports and have already cut our tariff by an average of 75 percent on the goods that do carry a duty. Obviously what is involved in further tariff reductions is a very serious question of how much damage would be done as against any benefits that would come from increased exports.

WHAT THE SHOOTING IS ABOUT

Here we come down to brass tacks. Or to put it differently, this is what all the shooting is about.

Many industries can already tell you what happens when the tariff is cut too deeply. We have previously pointed out that the Swiss have captured and held over 80 percent of our total market for watches. Imports of apparel wool have taken more than 60 percent of our market. The number of sheep in this country has dropped to a point lower than at any previous time since the Civil War. New England cod and haddock fisheries have seen imports in a matter of a dozen years grow from 10 to 50 percent of the market. The tuna fisheries of the west coast have watched Japanese imports grow from less than 20 million pounds per year to over 100 million pounds. Lead and zinc producers, manufacturers of bicycles, and others can relate similar experiences.

There can be no question, after all the theorizing about how our higher productivity leads to lower costs of production, that where our tariff is not high enough or if we have no quota to limit imports, our producers see their market taken away from them before their very eyes. Each year imports take more of the market and there seems to be nothing to stop them.

Of course, there was a day when the employer could put up a notice telling his workers that sorry though he was, he found himself forced to cut wages 10 or 20 percent to meet import competition. Is that what the export interests are really after? Is that why

they are joined by so many people who have no direct interest at stake, no job in a plant hit by import competition or no money in any such enterprise? As a way of beating down wages no weapon is more powerful than competition with low-wage products.

Very well, imports could be increased through further tariff cuts.

Let me say categorically that more people, more workers, would be hurt in this way than would be benefited. Only a part of our export employment could be affected because about half of our total exports owe their existence to the dollars received by other countries for the goods that we import free of duty. No tariff cut could help them because there is no tariff to cut.

At the outside from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 workers owe their jobs to making and servicing for export those goods that would benefit from further tariff cuts. The usual figure given is about twice that high; but those who use it overlook that part of our exports that arises from our duty-free imports. In other words, even if all our duties were so high as to exclude imports we would still have enough imports under the free list to give rise to about half our exports.

HOW WOULD WORKERS BE AFFECTED?

Now, how many workers would stand to get hurt by taking off the tariff or cutting it sharply below present levels?

Some of the crystal gazers have guessed that only from 100,000 to 200,000 workers would lose their jobs if the tariff were taken off entirely and all import quotas were abolished.

Of course, no one is Solomon enough to forecast what would happen, except professor type economists who thoroughly hedge what they prophesy; but ponder this:

The industries, mines, waters, forests, and farms whose products face import competition in varying degrees of severity employ directly 4,500,000 to 5,000,000 workers at production. These jobs give rise to twice as many who are indirectly employed in all service, professional, distributive, and other occupations—teachers, barbers, salesmen, bankers, insurance people, truckdrivers, railroad people, etc. That makes a total of some 10 million, which, if added to the 4½ to 5 million makes a total of nearly 15 million workers who stand to be hurt by increased imports resulting from any general tariff reduction. That compares with 1½ to 2 million who now owe their employment, direct and indirect, to those of our exports not accounted for by our free-list imports. The ratio is nearly 10 to 1.

The History of a 55-Year Struggle by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States in Behalf of the Veteran and His Dependent

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the history of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is truly the history of a dramatic 55-year struggle to keep the American people conscious of their patriotic obligations to the Nation's welfare—and to the men who have risked their lives in defense of America in time of war.

This tabulation of VFW historical highlights accents only a few of the significant milestones in the progress of this organization as a national body. Unfortunately, it is impossible to point up the countless thousands of examples of great good that have been accomplished by VFW posts deeply concerned with the betterment of the communities in which they exist.

To the younger members of the VFW—as well as to the old timers who have contributed so much personally to this glowing record of VFW achievement—this review of the past should serve as a magnificient inspiration—one that fully justifies continuous membership loyalty and support in the future.

Here is the record that gives millions of Americans good reason to say, "The VFW is a good outfit."

Eighteen hundred and ninety-nine: Founding of the Colorado Society of the Army of the Philippines, the American Veterans of Foreign Service in Ohio, and a similar organization with the same name in Pennsylvania. Composed of overseas veterans exclusively—these three groups established the tradition that men who fought together overseas in time of war should join together in an organization dedicated to the service of their country, and to the needs of their less fortunate comrades.

Nineteen hundred and fourteen: The amalgamation of the above-named groups to form one single nationwide organization to be known henceforth as the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

Nineteen hundred and seventeen: As urged by the VFW, Congress adopted the War Risk Insurance Act, under which compensation and pension benefits were created for World War I disabled veterans and the widows and dependents of the Nation's war dead.

Nineteen hundred and eighteen: Enactment of Public Law 178 marked achievement of another major VFW objective. For the first time in United States history, the Federal Government adopted the basic principle of vocational training for disabled veterans whose handicaps required special training for complete rehabilitation.

As advocated by the VFW, pensions were granted to widows and orphans of Spanish-American War veterans.

Nineteen hundred and twenty: Due primarily to the organized efforts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Congress passed the first pension bill for Spanish-American War veterans. Representative Thomas Crago, of Pennsylvania, author of this pension bill, served as commander in chief of the VFW in 1914–15.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-one: In response to VFW pleadings, Congress adopted legislation creating an independent agency known as the Veterans Bureau for the handling of all veteran affairs pertaining to hospitalization, compensation, pensions, training, and so forth.

As forerunner of the present Loyalty Day program, the VFW designated April 27 to be observed each year as National Americanization Day—a counterdemonstration to Communist May Day rallies each year on May 1.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-two: The VFW became the first veteran organization to launch a nationwide sale of symbolic memorial flowers made by disabled Veterans—the VFW buddy poppy—as a means of raising funds for veteran welfare and relief purposes.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-three: National headquarters of the VFW, located at 32 Union Square, New York, N. Y., was transferred to Kansas City, Kans.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-four: Enactment of the World War Veterans Act of 1924, as recommended by the VFW, authorized the establishment of approximately 100 regional offices of the Veterans Bureau throughout the country.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-five: The VFW national home for widows and orphans was founded at Eaton Rapids, Mich.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-six: At its 27th national encampment, El Paso, Tex., the Veterans of Foreign Wars became the first major veteran organization to adopt resolutions asking Congress to outlaw the operations of the Communist Party in the United States—and to establish a permanent system of universal military training.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-seven: Under VFW leadership, the national commanders of five major veteran organizations endorsed the following definition: "Americanism is an unfailing love of country; loyalty to its institutions and ideals; eagerness to defend it against all enemies; undivided allegiance to the flag; and a desire to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Nineteen hundred and twenty-nine: Vigorously urged by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Congress voted approval of a Gold Star Mothers' pilgrimage to the graves of World War I dead in France.

Nineteen hundred and thirty: As strongly recommended by the VFW, Congress authorized the consolidation of all Federal agencies handling matters pertaining to veterans under the control of one agency, the Veterans' Administration.

The offices of the National Headquarters in Kansas City, Kans., were moved to Broadway at 34th Street, Kansas City, Mo.

Despite opposition from other major veteran organizations, the VFW waged a single-handed victorious fight for the payment of disability allowances to non-service-connected disabled veterans with permanent disabilities. Under this law, veterans suffering with disabilities ranging from 25 percent to 100 percent received pensions from $12 to $40 per month. Although only 100 percent totally and permanently disabled veterans are entitled to disability pensions under existing laws—the precedent of pension payments to non-service-connected disabled World War I veterans was established by this law—marking a significant achievement to the exclusive credit of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The bodies of 86 American war dead buried in Russia were exhumed and returned to the United States for burial by a special VFW mission. In the absence of diplomatic relations between the

United States of America and Russia, the project to retrieve these American war dead was sponsored exclusively by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Nineteen bodies were shipped from Brooklyn to relatives in various States, with burial arrangements supervised by local VFW units; the bodies of 56 were shipped to Detroit, Mich., for burial under the auspices of VFW Polar Bear Post 436, Detroit, and the Polar Bear Association. Three of the bodies were buried in Arlington Cemetery, Washington, D. C., under VFW auspices.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-one: Climaxing an intensive Nationwide campaign conducted exclusively by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Congress enacted legislation that made The Star Spangled Banner the official national anthem.

In response to VFW demands for cash payment of World War I veteran adjusted compensation certificates (the so-called bonus) Congress enacted legislation granting 50 percent payment.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-three: VFW achievements in veteran welfare suffered a severe blow when the National Economy Act became effective on Black Friday, June 30. This law nullified disability pensions for about 400,000 World War I veterans; pensions for 170,000 Spanish-American War veterans; hospitalization and domiciliary care for countless thousands.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-four: A long standing VFW objective was accomplished when Public Law 484 was adopted, granting outright pensions to the widows and children of deceased World War I veterans, regardless of service connection.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-six: Acting again in response to persistent VFW demands, Congress voted to pay World War I veterans the cash balance due on World War I bonus certificates.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-eight: VFW posts gathered millions of signatures in a nationwide campaign petitioning Congress to create a national-defense system strong enough to keep America out of war.

Nineteen hundred and forty: In December 1940 the VFW launched the Speak up for Democracy series of monthly Americanism talks, a project that continues to earn the cooperation of approximately 800 radio stations.

Nineteen hundred and forty-two: At the request of the War Department, the VFW promoted an intensive drive for Air Force recruits through the sponsorship of a nationwide air cadet scholastic training program designated to assist enlistees in meeting eligibility requirements. Within 1 year the War Department gave credit to the VFW for more than 42,000 recruits.

The VFW contributed $150,000 to the War Department for the purchase of 15 trainer planes.

Nineteen hundred and forty-three: On March 17, 1943, Congress responded to VFW appeals for veteran-welfare justice by passing Public Law 10, creating benefits for World War II veterans and their dependents similar to those in force for World War I veterans.

Nineteen hundred and forty-four: Adoption of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, the so-called GI bill of rights, incorporating most of the basic veteran-welfare principles advanced by the VFW ever since its founding in 1899.

Nineteen hundred and forty-five: With VFW representatives serving as consultants, the United Nations Conference on International Organization met in San Francisco to formulate the Charter of the United Nations.

Nineteen hundred and forty-six: The 12-story office building in which the national headquarters is located in Kansas City, Mo., was purchased by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

For the first time in history, VFW membership passed the 1-million mark.

Nineteen hundred and forty-seven: The first VFW national marble tournament was held in Boys Town, Nebr.

Endorsed by the VFW, Congress voted for immediate cash payment of World War II terminal-leave bonds; a 20-per cent increase in Spanish-American War veteran pensions; unification of the Armed Forces.

Nineteen hundred and forty-nine: In observance of the 50th anniversary of the founding in 1899, the period of April 3–9 was celebrated as Golden Jubilee Week. Highlight of the week was a special hour-long NBC radio network show featuring Bob Hope, Dinah Shore, and Janis Page.

Another VFW Golden Jubilee project enlisted the cooperation of 637 radio stations and 850 newspapers in advertising the free distribution of more than 300,000 booklets listing the various benefits to which all veterans and their dependents were entitled under Federal laws.

Nineteen hundred and fifty: An organized American sovereignty campaign to combat the United World Federalist movement was launched by the VFW—a drive that has succeeded to date in persuading all but 3 of 21 State legislatures to rescind the adoption of favorable resolutions.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-one: With cash prizes valued at $35,000 the VFW inaugurated the most intensive nationwide community service campaign ever sponsored by any organization—one that produced a total of 503,000 separate VFW community service projects during the year 1953–54.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-two: The tradition of annually observing National VFW Week during the last week of January was established.

Donald D. Dunn, World War II veteran and a victim of the 1951 floods in Kansas, was picked as the winner of a $50,000 farm in the Columbia Basin reclamation project, Washington. The big search for the Nation's most deserving veteran to receive this prize was conducted by the VFW in cooperation with the Columbia Basin donors.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-three: Heroic VFW efforts forced administration leaders to abandon a nearly successful effort to make drastic reductions in the VA budget for disabled veteran care. The proposed reductions threatened a repetition of the evil effects of the National Economy Act of 1933.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-four: In response to widespread VFW demands on the post, State and national levels, the administration gave approval to the passage of two measures granting a 5-percent increase in compensation and pension rates for all disabled veterans, and the widows and orphans of deceased veterans.

Congress adopted legislation designed to outlaw the Communist Party in the United States—an objective the VFW has recommended since 1926.

Closing of Deputy United States Marshal's Office in Helena, Mont.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, last month I was informed that the deputy United States marshal now stationed in Helena, Mont., had been transferred to Great Falls, Mont. After inquiry, I learned that it was proposed to close the deputy United States marshal's office in Helena and have the branch office in Great Falls, together with the main office in Butte, serve papers and perform other duties of the marshal's office for the people in and around Helena.

At that time I wrote Attorney General Brownell protesting closure of this office in the State capital. I was joined in this protest by members of the Helena Bar Association, the president of the Montana Bar Association, and others. It was urged that the office remain open in order that service to the State and Federal agencies located in the capital be most efficiently maintained.

As yet I have not received a reply to my letter of protest, and, as far as I know, the other interested organizations and individuals in Montana have received no response to their letters. They have written me requesting further information on this proposed transfer.

As a result, I have joined with Senator MANSFIELD in sending the following telegram to Attorney General Brownell:

> Montana Bar Association, Helena, Mont., Chamber of Commerce, and local bar associations in Montana are continuing to press for your decision with respect to closing of the marshal's office in Helena, Mont., on February 1. May we have a reply to our letters of December 22, December 27, and January 10?

I have today introduced a bill to require the United States marshal to maintain an office in the State capital of every State so that in the future this situation cannot recur. Apparently only the passage of legislation can prevent arbitrary elimination of those needed facilities and require the Department of Justice to respond to the protests of the individuals and organizations such facilities are designed to serve.

No Coexistence of Religion and Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal these days about coexistence of one sort or another. In the field of religion we all know that coexistence with communism is impossible because of the godless philosophy of communism.

This was the theme of my address last Sunday, January 9, 1955, at the Holy Family Church in my district in Brooklyn, popularly known as the Slovak Church, which is celebrating the 50th anniversary of its founding. I was privileged to be the guest speaker at this celebration, over which Auxiliary Bishop Raymond A. Kearney presided.

The text of my address follows:

SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN VICTOR L. ANFUSO, ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 9, 1955, IN CELEBRATION OF 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF SLOVAK CHURCH

My fellow Americans, it is impossible for me—a Member of the Congress of the United States—to face this devoutly religious audience in this safe and free environment, and close my mind to the outrages that are being perpetrated, even as I speak, against the religious spirit of man wherever communism holds sway. For me the significance of the event we celebrate today—the 50th anniversary of this church—is symbolic of the eternal victory of the Christian Church that was born on the Rock of Peter. It is a manifestation of the challenge of the faithful to the enemies of Christendom, whose brutal strength in our day derives from the Communist total state. We here at this hour, in this church, in this community, are but a fragment—but I hope a potent one—of a monumental and historic world struggle. My assignment today in this celebration limits me to but a moment, and yet that moment will be rich in fruitfulness for the free religious world if I can associate this event, local as it is, with the holy cause into which world affairs have swept us all.

The cause of which I speak has to do with the religious soul of man and is not—for the moment—concerned with territorial aggression as such, with political or with economic considerations. And in that sphere—as perhaps in all spheres—let me make it plain, there can never be any coexistence of any kind, in any way, between the free and the slave world. The Communists themselves have thrown the gantlet into the face of God. Kopecky, the Iron Curtain's Minister of Information in Czechoslovakia, said in July 1952: "People who go to church demonstrate their opposition to the people's democracy" (people's democracy is their word for the total state). He goes on: "They gain courage in church to invoke American imperialism." "In the struggle against such enemies," says Kopecky, "we stop at nothing." Stalin put it just as baldly: "Communism," he said, "will agitate against both Catholicism and Protestantism, and against orthodoxy in order to bring about the triumph of the socialistic-world outlook."

To me, this church is one of the millions of fortresses against these openly declared enemies of God. I will not distress you with the antireligious tortures and the massacres and the purges, the confiscation of church property, and the deliberate, cunningly contrived misuse of the church itself, as an instrument of the total state. You know the cruelties that have been perpetrated upon Mindszenty in Hungary, upon Budkiewicz and Wyszynski in Poland, and upon saintly Slovak churchmen and Catholics generally beyond counting; in Czechoslovakia where the Catholics constitute 10 million out of a population of 12 million. Our job here is as plain as day. We must strengthen ourselves in our own faith. We must assure this religious edifice an enduring and a vital place as a voice in support of spiritual growth and freedom. The Slovak people have a long tradition of progress in architecture, in music, in literature, with which the whole of western civilization has enriched itself. And the very fiber and sinew of this great tradition of culture is the Catholic faith of the Slovak people.

The people of the Slovak racial strain are no newcomers to the struggle for liberty. When Czechoslovakia won its independence after the First World War, that struggle was part of a story that goes back to the Middle Ages, back to the ninth century even and to the great Moravian Empire. Masaryk and Benes carried in their hearts the fire of the ancients. You who know so well the story of Czechoslovakia's fight for independence in our own time, know also that much of the struggle was carried on here on this free American soil, so hospitable to human liberty everywhere. I urge you in the same way to let this church serve as a base for the strengthening of the faith. By paths that you know better than I, you must help the people of your racial strain in Czechoslovakia to surmount the crisis that now confronts them. They must feel confidence in your devotion to the altar of God at which in your hearts you both pray—you in freedom, they in slavery.

I hold that the degree of your devotion to the Roman Catholic faith is the degree of your weight and your valor in the fight against communism as, indeed, I believe it to be the degree of your faith in your country and your patriotism. For the 50 years of the existence of this church community are integrated into the 2,000 years of the existence of the Roman Catholic faith. And the Roman Catholic faith is beyond all peradventure of a doubt the most formidable weapon spiritually against the great antireligious conspiracy of communism. It is this conspiracy, which is indigenous to communism and to the total state, that points up the basic struggle between communism and religion. It makes what is called coexistence spiritually as impossible as it is incomprehensible. Communism and the church must remain forever mutually antagonistic.

To put it in a word, communism—now that nazism has been whipped—is today's embodiment of the total state. It coils its poisonous tentacles from its center in the Kremlin beyond the borders of the Soviet Union into the heartland of Europe and the Far East. It represents a clear and present danger to civilization itself. This danger goes to the very roots of life. It is political. It is geographical. It is economic. It is personal. It affects every department of living.

For for us the danger is above all—spiritual.

In our form of government there is no conflict between God and loyalty to country. Our literature is replete with such expressions as "This Nation under God." The two—God and country—represent an amalgam of the spiritual and the political. Our system of government accepts the supremacy of God. The Soviet state does not. There is the underlying difference.

You can divide geographically. You can share economically. You can endure politically. But no system has yet been devised for cutting the human soul in twain and making it serve two masters. Our soul belongs to God—and only to God. The total state is the absolute state. It has no room for God. It cannot share its monolithic authority with any other institution. Its basic credo forbids it to accept the supremacy of the people in government or the principle of obedience to God. With diabolical cunning—especially in recent months—it seeks to subvert religion and God to a position of subordination to the state. By raw tyranny, by defection, it is reducing religion to the position of serving as a creature and utensil of the state.

This is the most wicked element of all in the total fraud that is the total state.

This calls for war against a devastating enemy on the spiritual plane.

In such a spiritual war none of us can afford to rest.

It is a war that will have to be fought in the Halls of the Congress of the United States. It will have to be fought—as indeed in many ways it is being fought—in the United Nations.

It will have to be fought—and the campaign will have to be sustained—in institutions like this church. By giving voice to your faith, by meeting the crisis when the hour of decision arrives, by offering succor to your friends and relatives abroad, you will, all of you—perhaps in our own time—bring about the doom of the enemies of God. You who are so loyally American and have contributed so much in life, in treasure, in culture, to the upbuilding of this country, will serve its free institutions best by giving yourselves to your God and your country in the next 50 years as you and your forebears gave yourselves in the 50 years we celebrate today.

We who have faith know that regardless of its temporary gains communism will be eventually defeated and destroyed because of its godless philosophy.

Trade Agreement Negotiations With Japan and Other Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers before the Committee for Reciprocity Information in the matter of public hearings in connection with proposed trade agreement negotiations with Japan and other countries:

The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, founded in 1854, represents northern cotton and manmade fiber mills located predominantly in New England. Cotton mills in this group generally manufacture fine-combed cotton fabrics; others produce carded goods and manmade fiber textiles.

POSITION

The New England mills are opposed to the invasion of the American home market by Japanese or other imported cotton textiles. Present duties may not be high enough to prevent such an occurrence, but a further lowering of duties to permit entry of more Japanese textiles would result in the displacement of American fabrics, unemployment, and heavy losses to investors and to

those dependent upon the industry as a source of income.

Injury to the American textile industry would be an unwise method for the United States to pursue in connection with its policy toward Japan. The Trade Agreements Act of 1934 has among its purposes "restoring the American standard of living and overcoming domestic unemployment." Concessions on textiles to Japan would tend to lower the American standard of living and cause unemployment, a policy which our Government should not sanction, directly or indirectly. Maintenance of a healthy United States economy is of importance not only to ourselves, but to other free nations as well. The British Economic Survey, 1954, states that in assessing the course of world trade in the immediate future, "* * * the level of activity in the United States is likely to be the most decisive single factor. This is because the United States is such a large importer, and the changes in her demand for imports, which usually result from changes in industrial production, can have far-reaching effects on the export earnings of other countries, especially those which are mainly producers of food and raw materials."

UNEMPLOYMENT AND LOSSES

(a) Present conditions

Textile imports will displace American goods. The American market for cotton textiles is in a depressed condition. Cotton consumption has dropped 22 percent since January 1951, spindle activity has declined 16 percent, and production is off 13.6 percent. Production of broad woven synthetic goods has declined by over 25 percent in the same period. These decines have been even greater in New England where cotton consumption has declined 48.9 percent and spindle activity by 47.3 percent since January 1951. Synthetic broad woven production has dropped 41.4 percent since the first quarter of 1951. The past 12 months have contributed markedly to this decline. (See table I.)

Per capita consumption of textiles in the United States has declined by the following significant amounts since 1950:[1]

	Percent
Cotton	18.3
Manmade	17.6
Wool	40.9
Average	20.6

Sales of broad woven goods have dropped 30.5 percent since January 1951, and since August 1953 have dropped 5.2 percent.

This depressed condition has brought about a decline in employment in the textile industry of 268,000 jobs and in the cotton and synthetic textile industry of over 60,000 jobs since January 1951. In New England alone employment has fallen by 48 percent since 1951 and by 26.7 percent since September a year ago in cotton and rayon mills. (See table I.)

The industry is currently capable of not only supplying the full domestic demand and maintaining exports, but of increasing its output within a few months by an additional 15 percent as it did under the stimulus of the Korean War in 1950.

Unlike a growing industry which might be able to share its growth with others, the cotton and synthetic textile industry of the United States has no growing market to partition. It would be forced to give up a market which is not big enough for its present capacity. This condition is due in large measure to the expansion of capacity and output which took place to meet war and immediate postwar needs.

The textile industry would be a most unfortunate choice to carry the burden of Japan's dollar shortage. Serious unemployment and losses to communities and regions, as well as stockholders, would follow with great rapidity.

Footnotes at end of speech.

(b) Unemployment

A substitution of foreign for American cloth would increase current unemployment to an extent which no agency of the Government should recommend or sanction. The decline in employment in New England cotton and synthetic textile mills since January 1951, over one-half of which has occurred since September 1953, has left a serious unemployment problem. In addition, many mills are operating and have been operating on a short-time basis of 3 or 4 days a week with temporary shutdowns of a week or more at a time.

The impact and extent of unemployment in textiles is severe because the industry is composed of a large number of small and medium-sized establishments employing over 350,000 workers with heavy employment concentrations in local areas. The average number of employees in textile mills in the United States is low in all regions and all branches of the industry.

Employees per establishment

	United States	New England	Mid Atlantic	South
1. Cotton and related broad woven fabrics	401	469	81	688
2. Yarn and thread mills, except wool	188	212	74	250
3. Rayon and related broad woven	193	257	73	615
4. Woolen and worsted manufacturers	217	249	173	305

Source: Report of the committee appointed by the New England governors, 1952.

The textile industry, in addition to being one of the largest employers of American labor, is characterized by the fact that mills employ a relatively high proportion of the workers in the labor-market areas where they are located. Hundreds of mills are situated in small towns where they provide either the sole or principal source of income to their community. Other mills are located in "textile centers," such as Fall River and Lowell, Mass., where they represent a large proportion of the total manufacturing employment in the area. (See also tables II and III.)

In New England 1 out of 6 manufacturing jobs is in textiles; in Massachusetts, 1 out of 7; and in Rhode Island, 30 percent of all manufacturing employees are employed in textile manufacturing. The following table shows the concentration of cotton and synthetic-textile employment in typical New England textile communities:

Textile employment[1] as a percent of manufacturing employment

	Percent
Massachusetts:	
Adams	81.5
North Adams	23.2
Fall River	40.8
Holyoke	14.2
Lowell	37.1
New Bedford	25.9
Connecticut:	
Baltic	40.2
Stonington	26.8
Maine:	
Lewiston	42.9
Biddeford-Saco	38.3
Sanford	50.0
New Hampshire:	
Manchester	34.0
Rhode Island:	
Albion and Lonsdale	86.4
Anthony	99.0
Ashton	83.6
Warren	38.0
Warwick	31.5

[1] Predominantly cotton and synthetic textiles.

As the industry is made up of many independent units and is the principal source of employment in communities, unemployment causes unusual hardships. Textile workers displaced by foreign or domestic competition either remain unemployed or are forced to take lower paying jobs. Experience has proven that so-called growth industries do not absorb such workers. A study of 1,705 displaced New England textile workers recently completed by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University shows that less than half the workers were reemployed, and of this number two-thirds were earning less pay. Other textile mills provided the chief source of reemployment, a situation which makes the problem more acute if textile closings were to become widespread. The study concludes that "workers displaced * * * are not being absorbed in large numbers by the industries which have been expanding in this area."

(c) Loss to communities and areas

An area or community stranded by the loss of one of its principal industries does not attract other industries. In New England the textile mill industry is still the largest manufacturing employer with 173,000 jobs. In each of the States in the area it is an important factor. The cotton and synthetic mills in the area annually provide a payroll in excess of $200 million a year, produce goods valued at $590 million, pay taxes of many millions, purchase supplies in the amount of $24.4 million per year in their own communities and $48.9 million in New England. In addition, New England cotton and rayon mills spent $185 million in modernizing plant and equipment between 1946 and 1953.

The impact of increased unemployment in this region would be increased sixfold in other areas of the country where the industry is larger and even more concentrated. "It is no exaggeration to say that one textile job lost and not replaced means a loss to the community of twice the textile wages cut off."[2]

Many other New England industries, such as trucking, railroads, textile machinery, utilities, and the innumerable suppliers of goods and services, are dependent upon the well-being of the New England cotton and synthetic textile industry for their health. Each year the New England mills support the regions railroads to the extent of nearly $2 million, and buy over one-half million bales of cotton.

(d) Loss to investors

Investment of over $8.2 billion in textile mills would be jeopardized by a lowering of textile tariffs. Investment in New England is estimated at $1.5 billion and replacement at $2.7 billion. The opening of our home market for textiles to the competition of low cost Japanese mills would subject this investment to serious losses because textile mill properties and equipment could not be profitably liquidated under such circumstances.

Cotton textile concerns cannot long operate at a loss. Low priced foreign goods even though not imported initially in large quantities nevertheless so curtail sales and depress prices that operations soon become unprofitable. In such a situation textile mill managements have little choice but to cease operations altogether. This situation aggravates the losses out of proportion to the actual volume of imports and in turn creates a situation favorable to more imports.

(e) Unemployment and losses will progress rapidly

Because of the nature of the industry overall and of the fine combed goods industry in particular (50 percent of which is located in New England), the substitution of imported fabrics for our own will accelerate at a rapid pace. The industry is noted for the severity of its price competition. It is estimated that over 90 percent of American production of cloth is in staple items. Industries of other countries can and do produce these staple goods and will compete on a price basis with United States fabrics. Differences in cost of production and resulting level of prices which a producer can offer control the volume of his sales.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Wages and other forms of compensation are the most important factor in measuring the cost of producing fine combed cotton goods. In such goods it is estimated that labor equals 43 percent; raw material equals 40 percent; and all others equal 17 percent.

A comparison of our wages with those of oter major textile-producing countries emphasizes the rapidity with which the American industry would be undermined by these enormous differentials.

Textile industry wage data—the United States and principal textile-producing countries

Country	Gross hourly earnings [1]	United States exceeds	Northern States exceed
	Cents	*Percent*	*Percent*
France	39.3	226	259
Great Britain	45.4	182	210
Germany (West)	30.5	320	362
India	9.4	1,262	1,400
Italy	24.0	433	488
Japan	11.9	976	1,085
Switzerland	49.5	158	185
All United States [1]	$1.28		
Northern States [2]	$1.41		

[1] Data for foreign countries as of most recent months available in 1954 (some for 1953) except India where latest available data are for 1949.

[2] The United States and northern earnings for July 1954.

Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, and Daily News Record of Oct. 5, 1954.

Japan's present-day cotton textile industry is almost wholly new having been rebuilt after World War II and now consists of 7.8 million spindles and 336,000 looms. It is no secret that Japan is concentrating on the export of cotton textiles and has plans to increase these exports by 38 percent by 1956.[3] Japan has even carried this so far as to endeavor to increase the proportion of synthetic textiles used by the Japanese people in order to make available greater quantities of cotton textiles for export. There is no reason to believe that Japan, in striving for this objective, cannot and will not continue to expand her cotton textile capacity. There is no indication that Japan's rapid expansion of cotton textiles will cease. Japan has increased her production by 246 percent since 1948 and today produces cotton cloth at a rate commensurate with prewar production with only two-thirds of her prewar spindleage (see tables IV and V).

The competitive characteristics of the cotton textile industry are basically the same throughout the world. Japan has access to the same raw materials, machinery, and techniques which are available to the American industry and has had years of textile experience.

According to the Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute of Tokyo, in its Survey of Economic Conditions in Japan—September 1954, "The Japanese cotton industry * * * is again competitive in overseas markets through the modernization of equipment and the process of rationalization. The reduction in costs through the use of raw cotton imported with low-interest American credit is also noteworthy." In the fine-goods field, which uses Egyptian cotton, American manufacturers have to contend with a quota and duty on imported Egyptian cotton.

Japan's new cotton-textile industry is capable of producing combed goods of high quality which are currently being brought into this country at prices, duty paid, lower than those of American mills. Broadcloth, ginghams, and lenos are among such fabrics now being sold in New York. Between September 15 and November 17 of this year, quantities of certain of these fabrics imported from Japan are as follows: Grey broadcloth, 2,358 bales; grey shirting, 2,220 bales; grey poplin, 1,033 bales; handkerchief cloth, 159 bales and 18 cases; gingham, 312 bales and 108 cases; combed gingham, 366 bales; velveteens, 23 bales and 1,102 cases; handkerchiefs (cotton, rayon, and mixed), 137 bales and 245 cases.

(Source: Association of Cotton Textile Merchants of New York.)

Productivity in Japan's textile industry has been increasing steadily since the end of World War II, and the index prepared by the Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute of Tokyo in its Survey of Economic Conditions in Japan shows an increase in productivity from 100 in April 1950 to 224.5 in June 1954.

Although we have so far been unable to secure accurate information on the extent of Japanese production and capacity in combed and higher-count goods, it is certain that she is now producing such goods, that her spindles spinning Egyptian cotton have increased 54 percent between January 1953 and January 1954 (United States declined 17 percent), and that at the beginning of this year Japan had almost one-half million spindles spinning Egyptian cotton. The Kureha Textile Review, published in Tokyo, stated in 1953 that "we must endeavor to manufacture cotton goods of higher process as well as cotton of finer qualities together with devicing to make novel cotton textiles blended with other manmade fibers domestically produced."

New England mills, which produce the higher grade cloths, are even more vulnerable to further reduction of duties because "on fine cotton cloths made of combed yarns, * * * particularly those cloths made of imported long-staple cotton, the degree of protection is much less" than on other fabrics.[4] Duties on higher grade cloths were reduced in 1939 with Great Britain and confirmed and reduced further at Geneva and Annecy. These new rates are now being subjected to the test of competition for the first time.

If tariff reductions are used as a method of carrying out a policy of increasing Japanese textile imports, there will be no limit to the volume of such imports. A tariff which permits the profitable import of a million yards also permits the import of a billion yards.

Industrially mature Japan, equipped with a new textile industry, operating at wages vastly lower than the American standard, and backed up by an ever-growing supply of cheap labor, can be expected to expand her present large textile capacity if she has a reasonable prospect that American policy will not prevent her from invading the United States market. Her expansion will keep pace with our acceptance of her textiles.

It is our belief that a reduction of tariffs would stimulate an ever-increasing acceleration of Japanese imports. Our reasons for this are based not only on the character of the industry and the depressed conditions in the United States but also on the experience of the New England mills with the shift of the industry from that region to the Southeast.

"The major explanation of the New England decline in textiles is the large differential between wage costs" in that area and other parts of the United States. "In highly competitive markets an addition of a few cents a yard in the cost of producing cloth in any one area eventually means loss of sales and brings on operating deficits and resultant loss of employment." "Industries, in which labor costs are an important part of total costs, will gravitate where wages are low and labor productivity high. Labor costs are the most important costs in the textile industry other than raw materials costs, the latter relatively not subject to revision, and the differentials in the cost of labor more than any other factor account for the threat to the New England textile industry."[5]

The significance of the enormous wage differentials between our American cotton textile industry and that of Japan and other textile exporting countries is emphasized by the fact that our own industry shifted in response to wage differentials of much smaller amounts. Compare wage and compensation differentials within the country, which have varied from 20 to 30 percent, with foreign differentials of 200 to 1,200 percent. This loss happened to the largest employer in an industrially mature and competent region (New England) simply because wages were significantly higher than those in an area which was predominantly agricultural.

With differentials of 20 to 30 percent, the loss of New England textiles has been so great as to cause chronic unemployment in the area and a continued legacy of hardship to workers, communities, and stockholders. A flow of Japanese or other foreign textiles into this country would bring about an even more rapid liquidation of the American cotton textile industry than that which has occurred in New England.

A policy of encouraging Japanese imports would be a policy of encouraging production in low wage areas. Government encouragement of low wages will retard improvement in technology and productivity, and will foster low standards of living. A worldwide competitive struggle based on lower wages and lower standards of living in textile industries will only damage the United States and the free world.

The New England Governors have stated: "In view of the concentration of the industry in this country, in view of the overcapacity and frequent depression periods in the industry, and in view of the peculiar problems of New England, we urge the Government to concentrate tariff concessions on other products; and above all to withhold trade concessions in this industry when unemployment prevails."

(f) Losses to the military

Cotton textiles are as important to a war economy as to a peacetime economy. Losses to employees, communities, and stockholders are not the whole story. The quantity of cotton broad woven goods utilized for war purposes during the years 1942–45, inclusive, is illustrative of the vast military needs. During this period more than 20 billion yards of cotton broad woven goods, or 51.4 percent of total production, was used for war.

Cotton broad woven goods

[Thousand linear yards]

	War	Civilian	Total	Percent war
1942	5,485.3	5,623.0	11,108.3	49.4
1943	5,517.6	5,064.6	10,582.2	52.1
1944	5,789.6	3,757.1	9,546.7	60.6
1945	3,752.2	4,959.5	8,711.7	43.1

It is also important to note that the need for textile products in time of war grows at such a rapid rate that only existing, efficient operating facilities can meet the pressing need. An example of the urgency of the need for textiles is found in the fact that the military use of cotton fabrics jumped by over 800 percent in just 1 year—from 1941 to 1942. An additional example is the fact that during this same period the quantity of cotton goods devoted to military use increased almost 1400 percent over the pre-emergency year 1939.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Japanese textiles or the textiles of other countries should not be permitted to invade

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

the American market because the unemployment and losses caused in America will not only be great but will be rapid and will be of such a nature that no effective remedy can be devised.

Under the tariff system on cotton textile goods there is no way to limit the quantity of foreign imports once they are permitted to enter. Even though small quantities enter at first, they will so depress the market as to cause liquidations of mills and an ever-increasing flow of foreign goods.

The solution to Japan's dollar-exchange problems does not lie in the sacrifice of one of our basic industries. The workers, investors, and communities whose welfare depends upon this industry cannot effectively bear, nor should they be asked to bear, the burden of this problem.

The consequences of turning the American textile market over to foreign producers in order to assist in Japan's dollar problems will result in such losses to the United States as to compel a withdrawal of such concessions and a repudiation of such policy. Our experience with Japanese goods in 1936 is an example of this. In short, it is an impractical solution, and will be of little value to the Japanese.

Respectfully submitted.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COTTON MANUFACTURERS,
SEABURY STANTON, *Chairman.*
WILLIAM F. SULLIVAN, *President.*

TABLE I.—*Economic conditions in cotton and synthetic textile industry, September 1954 compared with January 1951 and September 1953*

1. COTTON CONSUMPTION

	United States	New England	South
	Average per working day in actual number of bales		
1951—January	42,746	3,341	38,705
1953—September	36,022	2,180	33,523
1954—September	33,278	1,709	31,336
	Percent changes		
September 1954 from—			
1951—January	−22.2	−48.9	−19.0
1953—September	−7.6	−21.6	−6.5

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

2. SPINDLE ACTIVITY—COTTON FIBERS

	United States	New England	South
	Average hours per working day, in millions		
1951—January	508.5	71.9	430.8
1953—September	463.7	51.0	410.9
1954—September	426.7	37.9	387.7
	Percent changes		
September 1954 from—			
1951—January	−16.1	−47.3	−10.0
1953—September	−8.0	−25.7	−5.6

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

3. SPINDLE ACTIVITY—SYNTHETIC FIBERS

	United States	New England	South
	Average hours per working day in millions		
1951—January	33.2	2.2	30.6
1953—September	27.6	2.4	24.5
1954—September	31.3	2.0	28.8
	Percent changes		
September 1954 from—			
1951—January	−5.7	−9.1	−5.9
1953—September	+13.4	−16.7	+17.5

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

4. QUARTERLY PRODUCTION OF COTTON AND SYNTHETIC BROAD WOVEN GOODS, UNITED STATES

	Cotton broad woven goods (all, except tire fabrics)	Fine cotton goods	Synthetic fabrics
	Millions of linear yards		
1951—1st quarter	2,835	350	705
1953—1st quarter	2,611	331	626
2d quarter	2,606	325	629
3d quarter	2,414	311	585
4th quarter	2,540	333	566
1954—1st quarter	2,480	321	537
2d quarter	2,451	311	526
	Percent changes		
2d quarter 1954 from—			
1951—1st quarter	−13.6	−11.2	−25.4
1953—2d quarter	−6.0	−4.3	−16.4
1954—1st quarter	−1.0	−3.1	−2.0

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

5. EMPLOYMENT

(a) Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fabrics)

	New England [1]	South [2]
1951—January	74,515	322,300
1953—September	52,674	312,100
1954—September	38,600	297,600
	Percent changes	
September 1954 from—		
1951—January	−48.2	−7.7
1953—September	−26.7	−4.6

[1] Sample of New England mills reporting to the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and does not represent total New England employment.

[2] Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.

Source: State departments of labor for southern data and the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers for New England data.

(b) Textile mill products

	United States	New England	South [1]	Percent in New England
	Employment in thousands			
1951—January	1,348	280	574	20.8
1953—September	1,196	217	553	18.1
1954—September	1,080	173	533	16.0
	Percent changes			
September 1954 from—				
1951—January	−19.9	−38.2	−7.2	
1953—September	−9.7	−20.3	−3.6	

[1] Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor for United States and New England data; State departments of labor for southern data.

6. AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS

Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fabrics)

	United States	North	South
1951—January	41.6	41.5	41.6
1953—August	39.2	39.9	39.0
1954—August	38.1	38.6	38.0
	Percent changes		
August 1954 from—			
1951—January	−8.4	−7.0	−8.7
1953—August	−2.8	−3.3	−2.6

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Report on Employment and Earnings.

7. AVERAGE GROSS HOURLY EARNINGS

Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fabrics)

	United States	North	South
1951—January	$1.28	$1.36	$1.26
1953—August	1.29	1.41	1.26
1954—August	1.29	1.41	1.26
	Percent changes		
August 1954 from—			
1951—January	+0.8	+3.7	0
1953—August	0	0	0

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Report on Employment and Earnings.

8. AVERAGE GROSS WEEKLY EARNINGS

Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fabrics)

	United States	North	South
1951—January	$53.37	$56.61	$52.25
1953—August	50.57	56.26	49.14
1954—August	49.15	54.43	47.88
	Percent changes		
August 1954 from—			
1951—January	−7.9	−3.9	−8.4
1953—August	−2.8	−3.3	−2.6

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Report on Employment and Earnings.

TABLE II.—*Position of textile industry in national industrial structure, 1952* [1]—Continued

	Value added	Employment	Payroll
	Thousands of dollars	*Thousands of dollars*	*Thousands of dollars*
All industries	108,477,364	15,944,379	60,659,211.
Nondurable goods	46,090,911	6,640,378	22,940,439.
Textile mills products	5,256,507	1,134,680	3,342,647.
Cotton and synthetic textile mills	1,712,354	420,372	1,146,953.
Percent of all industries represented by textile mill products	5	7	5.
Percent of nondurable goods represented by textile mill products	12	17	15.
Percent of textile mill products represented by cotton and synthetic textile mills	33	37	34.
Rank of textile mill products in all industries	9th	6th	6th.
Rank of textile mill products in nondurable goods	4th	3d	2d.
Rank of cotton and synthetic textile mills in textile mill products	1st	1st	1st.

[1] Most recent year for which data are available.

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1952 Annual Survey of Manufactures.

TABLE III.—*Position of textile industry in New England's industrial structure, 1952* [1]

	Value added	Employment	Payroll
	Thousands of dollars		*Thousands of dollars*
All industries	8,988,857	1,497,026	5,372,606.
Nondurable goods	3,690,652	676,825	2,219,722.
Textile mill products	1,153,935	222,142	750,048.
Cotton and synthetic textile mills	295,560	70,000	200,340.
Percent of all industries represented by textile mill products	13	15	14.
Percent of nondurable goods represented by textile mill products	31	33	34.
Percent of textile mill products represented by cotton and synthetic textile mills	26	32	27.
Rank of textile mill products in all industries	2d	1st	2d.
Rank of textile mill products in nondurable goods	1st	1st	1st.

[1] Most recent year for which data are available.

NOTE.—Rank of cotton and synthetic textile mills not shown due to lack of data for other elements in textile industry.

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1952 Annual Survey of Manufactures, except that data for cotton and synthetic textile mills were estimated by the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers.

TABLE IV.—*Operable cotton textile machinery in Japan before and since World War II*

	Spindles [1]	Looms [1]
1937	11,889,256	332,564
1947	2,899,306	156,474
1948	3,376,372	188,429
1949	3,700,964	217,753
1950	4,341,196	233,334
1951	6,366,501	287,372
1952	7,451,957	307,938
1953	7,663,487	330,424
1954	7,879,910	336,081

[1] As of December in each year except as of August in 1954.

Sources: (1) International Cotton Loom Statistics (July 1952), published by International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, Manchester, England. (2) Quarterly Review of Japanese Cotton Textile Industry (August 1952 and May 1954) and Statistics of Japanese Cotton Textile Industry (September 1954), published by All Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, Osaka, Japan.

TABLE V.—*Production of cotton fabrics in Japan before and since World War II*

	Thousands of square yards
1938	3,297,000
1946	[1] 144,993
1947	[1] 337,872
1948	920,634
1949	981,683
1950	1,517,859
1951	2,077,931
1952	2,158,000
1953	2,709,197
1954	[2] 3,187,050

[1] Production of cotton spinners only, data from independent weavers not available in these years.

[2] Estimated on basis of rate of production during January–June 1954.

Sources: (1) Quarterly Review of Japanese Cotton Textile Industry (August 1952 and May 1954) published by All Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, Osaka, Japan.

(2) Industrial and Financial Statistics (June 1954) published by the Industrial Bank of Japan, Ltd.

[1] Textile Organon, vol. XXV, No. 9, September 1954.

[2] Report of the Committee appointed by the Conference of New England Governors.

[3] Monthly Report of Japanese Cotton Spinning Industry, July 1954, p. 17.

[4] U. S. Tariff Commission Summaries of Tariff Information, vol. 9, p. 41.

[5] Report on the New England Textile Industry by committee appointed by the Conference of New England Governors, 1952.

Governor Johnson, of Colorado, Puts Some Cards on the Table

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in proposing the gigantic upper Colorado River project, the States of Utah, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming have cited the Colorado River compact as the law of the river, under which they are entitled to build the multibillion dollar development.

Congress is now being asked to consider the project (H. R. 270) and its satellite, the Fryingpan-Arkansas project (H. R. 412).

Former Senator Ed Johnson, now Governor of Colorado, is an authority on western reclamation. In a recent press statement he recited a number of facts about the upper Colorado River project that I believe should be studied by Members of Congress who must pass on it.

Governor Johnson showed that provisions of the bill now before Congress violate the acknowledged law of the river—the Colorado River compact, which Congress itself approved.

With documentary evidence, Governor Johnson shows that by building the two main dams of the project, at Glen Canyon and Echo Park, the upper Basin States are imperiling their entire share of the Colorado River.

Governor Johnson specifically points out that the compact denies any State the right to build a power dam when the water stored behind it cannot be used for agricultural or domestic purposes. The project bill proposes to do just that. It calls for the building of power dams to be used solely as cash registers to pay for irrigation projects far upstream.

I commend to my colleagues Governor Johnson's excellent analysis of this immense Federal expenditure which the Congress is now being asked to make.

The full text of Governor Johnson's statement follows:

STORAGE BELOW THE STATE OF COLORADO IS NOT THE ANSWER

(Statement released December 20, 1954, by Governor-elect Ed C. Johnson, of Colorado)

Interested persons on the eastern and western slopes of Colorado have expressed confidence in me, as Governor, to resolve the very controversial water problem that plagues both slopes. This is a tremendous responsibility and challenge but its vital nature demands my acceptance. Accordingly, I shall do my utmost to work out something which will benefit both slopes and injure neither.

However, before we begin the task of allocating Colorado's share of the water of the Colorado River system, we first must take stock of the quantity and the location of the water that is available to us. There are very serious misconceptions, widely held, in regard to the burdens placed on this State by the specific provisions of the seven-State compact and the official interpretations with respect to them. These limitations should be understood clearly by all parties concerned, since they are basic to any plan to develop the upper Colorado River Basin. It is with that purpose in mind that I have prepared this document. If my conclusions are in error I want to be shown wherein the error lies.

Either the seven-State compact specifically denies to the upper basin the right to withhold water which it cannot use for agricultural and domestic purposes or it does not deny us such a right. Either it denies to the upper basin the right to withhold water to develop power or it does not deny us that right. Let us look at the document which has been ratified by the legislatures of seven States for the correct answers to these pertinent questions.

Here is that irrevocable record:

"Article II:

"(h) The term 'domestic use' shall include the use of water for household, stock, municipal, mining, milling, industrial, and other like purposes, but shall exclude the generation of electrical power.

"Article III:

"(e) The States of the upper division shall not withhold water, and the States of the lower division shall not require the delivery

of water, which cannot reasonably be applied to domestic and agricultural uses.

The Honorable Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce of the United States, was appointed by the President to serve as Chairman of the Seven-State Compact Commission as the official representative of the Government of the United States, pursuant to an act of Congress. He was the Chairman of the Colorado River Commission that drafted and signed the seven-State Colorado River compact. In answer to the question propounded by Congressman Hayden these points in the compact were interpreted officially by him on January 27, 1923, before any State had ratified the compact, as follows:

Question 14: "Can paragraph (d) of article III be construed to mean that the States of the upper division may withhold all except 75 million acre-feet of water within any period of 10 years and thus not only secure the amount to which they are entitled under the apportionment made in paragraph (a) but also the entire unapportioned surplus waters of the Colorado River?"

Answer: "No. Paragraph (a) of article III apportions to the upper basin 7,500,000 acre-feet per annum. Paragraph (e) of article III provides that the States of the upper division shall not withhold water that cannot be beneficially used. Paragraph (f) and (g) of this article specifically leave to further apportionment water now unapportioned. There is, therefore, no possibility of construing paragraph (d) of this article as suggested."

Question 19: "Why is the impounding of water for power purposes made subservient to its use and consumption for agricultural and domestic purposes, as provided in paragraph (b) of article IV?"

Answer:

"(a) Because such subordination conforms to established law, either by constitution or statute, in most of the semiarid States. This provision frees the farmer from the danger of damage suits by power companies in the event of conflict between them.

"(b) Because the cultivation of land naturally outranks in importance the generation of power, since it is the most important of human activities, the foundation upon which all other industries finally rest.

"(c) Because there was a general agreement by all parties appearing before the Commission, including those representing power interests, that such preference was proper."

Question 20: "Will this subordination of the development of hydroelectric power to domestic and agricultural uses, combined with the apportionment of 7,500,000 acre-feet of water to the upper basin, utterly destroy an asset of the State of Arizona consisting of 3,000,000 horsepower, which it is said could otherwise be developed within that State if the Colorado River continue to flow, undiminished in volume, across its northern boundary line and through the Grand Canyon?"

Answer: "(d) The compact provides that no water is to be withheld above, that cannot be used for purposes of agriculture. The lower basin will therefore receive the entire flow of the river, less only the amount consumptively used in the upper States for agricultural purposes."

On December 15, 1922, Hon. Delph E. Carpenter, commissioner for Colorado, reported to Gov. Oliver H. Shoup his analysis of this compact which he helped to formulate. His comments and observations are especially pertinent. In this official report he said:

"Power claims will always be limited by the quantity of water necessary for domestic and agricultural purposes. The generation of power is made subservient to the preferred and dominant uses and shall not interfere with junior preferred uses in either basin."

On March 20, 1923, Delph E. Carpenter in a joint letter to Colorado senator, M. E. Bashor, and Colorado representative, Royal W. Calkins, said among other things:

"All power uses in both basins are made subservient to the use and consumption of such water for agricultural and domestic purposes and shall not interfere with or prevent use for such dominant purposes."

The interpretation of Hon. W. S. Norviel, commissioner for Arizona, published January 15, 1923, contains this language:

"The third principle established by the compact was to fix a time when the remainder of the water unallotted and unused might be apportioned.

"The fourth principle fixes a preference in agricultural uses over power.

"The fifth principle, that the upper States shall not withhold water that cannot be reasonably applied for agricultural uses."

Senator HAYDEN, Arizona, propounded 19 questions to Hon. A. P. Davis, Director, United States Reclamation Service, to which the Director made the following replies on January 30, 1923:

Question 10: "Is it true that, if the Colorado River compact is adopted, all of the water that Arizona will ever get out of the main river will be enough to irrigate only 280,000 acres of land, of which 130,000 acres are now embraced in the Yuma project and 110,000 acres in the Parker project?"

Answer: "The Colorado River company does not attempt to divide the water of the river between individual States. Except for rights already initiated by California and Nevada, there is nothing in the compact that will prevent the State of Arizona from taking from the river all the water that it can put to beneficial use."

Question 19: "Any further comment that you may care to make relative to the approval of the Colorado River compact by the Arizona State Legislature will be appreciated."

Answer: "The Colorado River compact provides that the lower basin shall be guaranteed an average of 7,500,000 acre-feet of water annually from the upper basin and all of the yield of the lower basin, and that any water not beneficially used for agricultural and domestic uses shall likewise be allowed to run down for use below."

It should be noted that these official interpretations were made before the compact was ratified by any State except Nevada and were not disputed by Colorado or any other State at the time it ratified the compact. Most certainly we are bound hand and foot by them.

At the tome the seven-State campact was adopted and ratified, it was contemplated that a treaty would be negotiated later between the United States and Mexico which would allocate to Mexico certain quantities of water defined in acre-feet, out of the Colorado River system. Furthermore, it spelled out just how that burden should fall upon the lower basin and the upper basin. The compact specified that to the extent there is surplus water in the Colorado River system, such surplus water would be utilized and the balance of the burden would be shared equally by the upper and lower basins.

Article III:

"(c) If, as a matter of international comity, the United States of America shall hereafter recognize in the United States of Mexico any right to the use of any waters of the Colorado River system, such waters shall be supplied first from the waters which are surplus over and above the aggregate of the quantities specified in paragraphs (a) and (b); and if such surplus shall prove insufficient for this purpose, then, the burden of such deficiency shall be equally borne by the upper basin and the lower basin, and whenever necessary the States of the upper division shall deliver at Lee Ferry water to supply one-half of the deficiency so recognized in addition to that provided in paragraph (d).

"(d) The States of the upper division will not cause the flow of the river at Lee Ferry to be depleted below an aggregate of 75,000,000 acre-feet for any period of 10 consecutive years reckoned in continuing progressive series beginning with the 1st day of October next succeeding the ratification of this compact."

If the upper basin States build storage reservoirs at the Glen Canyon and Echo Park sites as is now contemplated, the water withheld thereby will of necessity, be surplus water since the upper States cannot use it for agricultural or domestic purposes, and the upper States, therefore, must deliver such water to Mexico as is allocated to her under the provision of the seven-State compact.

Senator HAYDEN asked Chairman of the Commission, Herbert Hoover, about this and was answered as follows:

Question 15: "Does paragraph (d) of article III in any way modify the obligation of the States of the upper division, as expressed in paragraph (c), to permit the surplus and unapportioned water to flow down in satisfaction of any right to water which may hereafter be accorded by treaty to Mexico? Within any year of a 10-year period, could the States of the upper division shift to the States of the lower division the entire burden of supplying such water to Mexico?"

Answer:

"(a) No. It is provided in the compact that the upper States shall add their share of any Mexican burden to the delivery to be made at Lee Ferry, whenever any Mexican rights shall be established by treaty. By paragraph (c) of article III, such an amount of water is to be delivered in addition to the 75 million acre-feet otherwise provided for.

"(b) In the face of the specific provision of article III (c) that the burden of any deficiency must be 'equally borne.' I can see no possibility of placing upon the lower division the entire burden. If the surplus is sufficient, there is no burden on anyone. If it is insufficient the plain language is that it must be equally shared, with the equally plain provision that the upper division must furnish its half.

Delph Carpenter in his official report to Governor Shoup said:

"Any waters necessary to supply lands in the Republic of Mexico (hereafter to be determined by international treaty) shall be supplied from the surplus flow of the river. If the surplus is not sufficient, any deficiency shall be borne equally by the upper basin and the lower basin. * * *"

I am certain that Mr. Carpenter would have added, had he thought such a doubt were to be raised, "Water held in the upper basin to generate power and which for physical reasons could not be used by the upper basin for agricultural or domestic purposes is surplus water to the upper basin." Such an interpretation must be crystal clear to any student of the seven-State compact and the official interpretations of its provisions.

The upper and lower basins were each apportioned from the Colorado River system the exclusive beneficial consumptive use of 7,500,000 acre-feet of water per annum, and in addition the lower basin was given the permission to increase its beneficial consumptive use of an extra million acre-feet per annum of surplus water. However, the 7,500,000 acre-feet awarded to the lower States had a very clear priority over the 7,500,000 acre-feet awarded to the upper States. In reality, the compact gave the lower States 7,500,000 acre-feet of water per annum and the upper States that much water if there should be any water left in

the river, provided the upper States used that water only for domestic or agricultural purposes.

Article III:

"(a) There is hereby apportioned from the Colorado River system in perpetuity to the upper basin and to the lower basin, respectively, the exclusive beneficial consumptive use of 7,500,000 acre-feet of water per annum, which shall include all water necessary for the supply of any rights which may now exist.

"(b) In addition to the apportionment in paragraph (a) the lower basin is hereby given the right to increase its beneficial consumptive use of such waters by 1 million acre-feet per annum."

But here is the catch in this award:

"(d) The States of the upper division will not cause the flow of the river at Lee Ferry to be depleted below an aggregate of 75 million acre-feet for any period of 10 consecutive years reckoned in continuing progressive series beginning with the 1st day of October next succeeding the ratification of this compact."

The following quotes from the questions by Senator HAYDEN and answered on January 27, 1923, by Chairman of the Commission Herbert Hoover, leave nothing to the imagination with respect to the extra 1 million acre-feet of surplus water awarded the lower basin. The extra million acre-feet is to be met out of surplus waters over and above the 7,500,000 acre-feet allocated annually to each of the 2 basins and it does not take priority over the upper States award of 7,500,000 feet provided they use all of their 7,500,000 for agricultural and domestic purposes. If the upper basin stores water for power purposes at least a million acre-feet per annum must go to satisfy this demand.

Question 6: "Are the 1 million additional acre-feet of water apportioned to the lower basin in paragraph (b) of article III supposed to be obtained from the Colorado River or solely from the tributaries of that stream within the State of Arizona?"

Answer: "The use of the words 'such waters' in this paragraph clearly refers to waters from the Colorado River system, and the extra 1 million acre-feet provided for can therefore be taken from the main river or from any of its tributaries."

Question 22: "Does the Colorado River compact apportion any water to the State of Arizona?"

Answer: "No; nor to any other State individually. The apportionment is to the groups."

It should be noted, and I repeat, that Secretary Hoover's official interpretations were made before the compact was ratified by any State; furthermore it was not disputed by any of them when they did ratify it.

On December 15, 1922, Colorado Commissioner Delph E. Carpenter, in his official report to the Governor of Colorado, the Honorable Oliver H. Shoup, submitted several tables explaining the allocation of the water of the Colorado River System.

Table 4 reads as follows:

	Acre-feet
Upper division allocation, includes present consumption	7,500,000
Lower division allocation, includes present consumption	7,500,000
Lower division permissible increase in water consumption	1,000,000
Total allocated or permitted	16,000,000
Unallocated surplus (estimated)	4,500,000
Estimated average annual water supply	20,500,000

Mr. Carpenter also said in this report:

"At any time after 40 years, if the development in the upper basin has reached 7,500,000 acre-feet annual beneficial consumptive use or that of the lower basin has reached 8,500,000 acre-feet, any two States may call for a further apportionment of any surplus waters of the river. * * *"

On March 20, 1923, Colorado Commissioner Delph E. Carpenter in a joint letter to Colorado Senator M. E. Bashor and Colorado Representative Royal W. Calkins said, among other things:

"Paragraph (b), article III, permits the lower basin to increase its annual beneficial consumptive use of water 1,000,000 acre-feet. The two paragraphs permit an aggregate annual beneficial consumptive use of 8,500,000 acre-feet, and no more. The words 'per annum,' as used in paragraph (b) are not synonymous with the word 'annually.' No cumulative increase is intended by that paragraph."

On February 10, 1923, Colorado Commissioner Dolph E. Carpenter addressed a telegram to the Honorable Herbert Hoover, Chairman, Colorado River Commission, and received a prompt reply. On February 13, 1923, he addressed a telegram to the Honorable R. T. McKisick, deputy attorney general, Sacramento, Calif., and that same day received a reply.

These exchanges of telegrams are pertinent to an understanding of this phase of the compact and are inserted here:

DENVER, COLO., *February 10, 1923.*

Hon. HERBERT HOOVER,
Chairman, Colorado River Commission, Washington, D. C.:

Do you concur with me that the intent of the Commission in framing the Colorado River compact is as follows:

That paragraph (b) of article III means that the lower basin may increase its annual beneficial consumptive use of water 1 million acre-feet and no more?

DELPH E. CARPENTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 12, 1923.*

DELPH E. CARPENTER,
State Capitol, Denver, Colo.:

I concur with you, and shall so advise Congress in my report, that the intent of the Commission in framing the Colorado River compact was as follows:

Paragraph (b) of article III means that lower basin may acquire rights under the compact to annual beneficial consumptive use of water in excess of the apportionment in paragraph (a) of that article by 1 million acre-feet and no more. There is nothing in the compact to prevent the States of either basin using more water than the amount apportioned under paragraphs (a) and (b) of article III, but such use would be subject to the further apportionment provided for in paragraph (f) of article III and would vest no rights under the present compact.

HERBERT HOOVER.

DENVER, COLO., *February 13, 1923.*

R. T. MCKISICK,
Deputy Attorney General, Sacramento, Calif.:

Do you concur with me that intent of Commission in framing Colorado River Compact was as follows:

That paragraph (b) of article III means that the lower basin may increase its annual beneficial consumptive use of water 1 million acre-feet and no more?

DELPH E. CARPENTER.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., *February 13, 1923.*

Hon. DELPH E. CARPENTER,
State Capitol, Denver, Colo.

Am of the opinion that paragraph (b) of article III permits increase of annual beneficial consumptive use of water by lower basin to 8,500,000 acre-feet total or 1 million in excess quantity apportioned each basin in perpetuity by paragraph (a), article III, and no more. When both paragraphs are read together no other construction tenable. "Per annum" not synonymous with "annually."

R. T. MCKISICK.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., *February 15, 1923.*

DELPH E. CARPENTER,
Denver, Colo.:

My interpretation of article III and VIII well expressed in McKisick's wire of the 13th.

W. F. MCCLURE,
Seven State Compact Commissioner for California.

Utah commissioner, R. E. Caldwell, in his report to the Utah Senate, among other things said:

"The lower basin States, for the most part, when they divert their water, wholly consume it and they get no credit for use of return flow for it does not exist, and they are, therefore, limited to the diversion of 8,500,000 acre-feet and are held strictly to the requirement of 'consumptive beneficial use' of such as they do divert."

In the report to the Governor of California by Hon. W. F. McClure, commissioner for California, made January 8, 1923, appears this statement:

"In conclusion permit me to add that the terms of the compact do full justice to the States in interest, and the equitable division and apportionment of the use of the waters of the Colorado River system whereby the lower basin is allocated 7½ million acre-feet per annum, with an allowable increase of 1 million acre-feet per annum by reason of the probably rapid development upon the lower river, and fully guarantees to California an ample water supply to adequately care for the enormous future growth of the Imperial Valley and adjacent territory."

The Honorable Herbert Hoover, who, as I have said, was the chairman of the commission that drafted and approved by its unanimous vote the seven-State compact, said:

"The lower basin will, therefore, receive the entire flow of the river, less only the amount consumptively used in the Upper States for agricultural purposes."

The Honorable A. P. Davis, director of the Reclamation Bureau, on January 30, 1923, announced that "the Colorado River compact provides that the lower basin shall be guaranteed an average of 7½ million acre-feet of water annually from the upper basin and all of the yield of the lower basin, and that any water not beneficially used for agricultural and domestic uses (in the upper basin) shall likewise be allowed to run down for use below."

This data proves conclusively that the extra 1 million acre-feet of water per annum allocated to the lower basin is to be acquired from the surplus and otherwise unallocated water of the Colorado River system. The same is true of the 1½ million allocated annually by treaty to the United States of Mexico.

I am compelled to keep emphasizing that whatever water is stored in the Glen Canyon and Echo Park reservoirs will be surplus to the agricultural and domestic needs of the upper basin, and must be delivered to the lower basin to satisfy the award of 1½ million acre-feet to Mexico and 1 million acre-feet to the lower basin. Furthermore, should the lower basin require an additional supply of water for agricultural and domestic purposes the water stored in these reservoirs must be released.

Under the Seven State Compact the upper States must deliver at Lee Ferry in each 10-year period 75 million acre-feet to the lower States and 7½ million acre-feet to Mexico before they can use one drop of water for themselves beyond what they used before the seven-State compact was ratified. In the current 10-year period that will leave only 3,250,000 acre-feet per year for their total use. In the previous 10-year period they would have had 4,150,000 acre-feet a year. In 1902 the upper-basin States under

this formula would have had no water at all.

The Reclamation Bureau estimates that the proposed storage reservoirs in the upper Colorado Basin will cost the upper basin 880,000 acre-feet annually in evaporation. It will be charged to the upper basin as consumptive use. Colorado's portion of that loss would be 400,000 acre-feet.

Water still does not run uphill, and storage down the river from Colorado to generate electric energy, frowned upon by the Seven State Compact, cannot secure for us one drop of water, but to the contrary, will cost us 400,000 acre-feet annually in evaporation, which under the Upper Colorado Basin compact will be charged to Colorado as consumptive use.

Colorado is close to the bottom of the barrel insofar as Colorado River water is concerned. Colorado has a record of lavish generosity to all of her neighbor States. Now at this late date it will be State suicide unless she looks after her own interests with courage and wisdom. She positively cannot afford the loss of 400,000 additional acre-feet. She cannot afford to agree to a storage plan whose certain effect will be to create additional surplus water out of the upper basin's meager supply, which under the Seven State Compact must go to the lower basin. Colorado must insist that the 42 reservoirs surveyed in the high country of Colorado be authorized simultaneously with the authorization of the storage plan and which will give Colorado an absolute right to the water which is developed.

The Hill report prepared pursuant to a contract with the Colorado Legislature indicates there is something over a million acre-feet of unappropriated water in the Colorado River system in Colorado. However, the Hill report did not charge Colorado with the burden of Colorado's portion of the priority commitment to Mexico, which under the 7-State compact cannot be less than 375,000 acre-feet. And, another thing, if Glen Canyon and the Echo Park Reservoirs are built, Colorado's portion of the Mexican burden becomes not less than 750,000 acre-feet annually. Had Mr. Hill recognized these binding and irrevocable priorities and the evaporation of the down-river storage plans, which is to be charged to Colorado as consumptive use of 400,000 acre-feet, he could not have shown any unappropriated water whatsoever in Colorado for Colorado.

Colorado has entered into irrevocable compacts with all of the States to the east, west, north, and south. In each of these compacts Colorado has been generous to a fault. Now most of her water is lost forever, and yet her neighbors are asking her to surrender more and more of this most precious resource. The time has come when Colorado's dwindling supply must be guarded jealously and protected fully. That is a responsibility which I, as Governor of Colorado, must assume.

Who will say that the Glen Canyon Dam in the State of Arizona and the Echo Park Dam on the Colorado-Utah border are not extraordinary dams from an engineering point of view. Glen Canyon is the sort of project that makes an engineer's mouth water, and the Reclamation Bureau is a bureau of engineers. Who will say that these projects will not be of incalculable value to the lower basin. Glen Canyon, which will collect 100,000 acre-feet of silt a year, will extend the life of the Hoover project 500 years, but what I want someone to tell me is, "Why should they be built with Upper Colorado Basin funds at the water expense of the State of Colorado?"

There is only one route remaining for us to take. We must put our water to beneficial use in our own State if we are to gain any right to it. That is the plain language of the seven-State compact. It states that condition without equivocation. The Reclamation Bureau has explored 42 reservoir sites high up on the Colorado River system in Colorado. We cannot, we dare not, settle for less than their authorization now. Congressional authorization does not mean immediate construction, but it will give to these proposed reservoir sites an official priority. Colorado contributes 72 percent of the water of the Upper Colorado River Basin. Is it asking too much that we be allowed to use less than one-fourth of what we produce? If that is wrong, then I am wrong.

International Affairs Platform of the American Veterans Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows the international affairs platform adopted by the American Veterans Committee at the eighth annual convention held in December 1954, at Boston, Mass.:

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS PLATFORM

The unchanging goal of the United States is world peace and the defense of the free world. The position of the United States in the world has passed from a status of leadership to that of partnership with non-Communist nations. Within this concept the United States should pursue positive policies by strengthening all forces devoted to peace and democratic ideas.

The United States has two special temptations: The extremes of total withdrawal or of preventive war. As veterans of two world wars and Korea, we of AVC urge the United States to reject both of these extremes. The grave problems facing the world today cannot be solved either by withdrawal or by ruthless initiation of war.

We recognize the United Nations system as the world's most hopeful institution today, to and through which we can look for maturing and enduring peace.

In arriving at the decisions which must be made, we believe that the following considerations are fundamental:

ASIA

In Asia the danger of war is always imminent, and non-Communist nations face many problems. One involves the growth of stable political institutions under stress. Development of these institutions is handicapped by economic insufficiencies, by an anticolonial heritage which now also manifests itself in anti-Westernism and anti-Americanism, and by social and cultural disruption which those nations are now undergoing in the process of reforming their national existence.

The United States can help to develop democratic political institutions in these countries by means of adequate and long-term economic and technical-assistance programs, administered through the United Nations, where possible, and aimed at training local administrative and technical personnel to take over as rapidly as circumstances permit; an effort to repair and maintain friendships even though policies of Asian nations may diverge from that which the United States considers best advised; and a program to make our cause known to Asia through an intelligent, factual, and low-keyed information program.

A second problem in Asia is that of Communist aggression and subversion. The free nations face an aggressive and totalitarian Communist China. The United States, in cooperation with Asian nations, must establish firm safeguards against overt or covert aggression. These should be backed up by resolute military measures which may take the form of security organizations such as SEATO, or of other collective efforts by the free nations concerned, including the United States, and including the great neutrals—India, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia.

Such military measures must be limited to the size and scope of the aggression, a tough but necessary doctrine if we are to forestall aggression without bringing on a general war.

One of the festering sores in our relations with China, exacerbated by the recent sentencing of 13 United States Air Force and Government personnel, is the detention of American nationals in total disregard of civilized standards of international behavior. It is hard to see how relations between the United States and China can be improved so long as these men are held as political hostages. For this reason, among others, we, therefore, oppose the admission of Communist China into the United Nations at this time.

EUROPE

The main purpose of United States policy in Europe is defense of the West and preservation of peace. The best means for defending the West lie in the military and political integration of Western Europe already begun by the nations of that area. We welcome the additional steps taken toward that goal at the London and Paris conferences, but we emphasize the necessity of constant vigilance in connection with the rearmament of Western Germany. Accordingly, any program to rearm Western Germany must be tied inextricably to the collective organization of western democracies—be it NATO or otherwise—so that Germany be irretrievably committed to the interests of the free western world.

In Europe also the agonizing problem of the captive peoples continues to exist. We cannot abandon the people of Eastern Europe. The ultimate aim of western policy must be a free, non-Communist Europe.

LATIN AMERICA

United States activity in Latin America has often been characterized more by economic exploitation and dumping than by the good-partner policy we profess. The time has come for a real implementation of a good-partner policy by exerting a serious effort to enable the people of Latin America to achieve economic progress and a better standard of living. We should do our utmost to encourage democratic governments in Latin America and to conduct a vigorous program of anticommunism.

AFRICA

In Africa, there is a revolutionary ferment. There is rebellion against European domination and the false principle of white supremacy, yet there is not everywhere an adequate tradition or a political system to replace the government of the colonial powers. If the West does not act to satisfy legitimate native aspirations to self-government there will be chaos which will be exploited by the Soviets and from which only the Soviets can gain. It is the task—and the opportunity—of the United States foreign policy to help reconcile these aspirations with the political and economic interests of the colonial powers; in this way both the native African countries and the occupying European nations can realize the maximum benefits from the inevitable achievement of African independence and self-government.

Generally speaking, there is a vacuum in American popular opinion on the subject of

Africa. An active American interest in Africa is a compelling necessity. One need is for an educational program for training native leaders in the United States in order to afford them an opportunity to experience the values of democratic self-government.

NEAR EAST

Tensions between Israel and the Arab nations make this area a grave threat to world peace. United States policy should be aimed at reducing these tensions and minimizing the possibility of their being transferred into open warfare. We oppose the allocation of arms to any of the partisans in this controversy.

ARMAMENTS

The impending leveling-off of Soviet and American air-atomic power compels us to find a new policy for the use of nuclear weapons as a deterrent to war, as instruments of war, or for the abolition of nuclear war.

All plans which offer a genuine hope of disarmament, provided that they are accompanied by provisions for the general control of conventional as well as nuclear weapons, should be energetically pursued by our Government. This is the only real solution to the problem.

But if we must continue without international control of armaments, then these principles seem basic:

Instruments of war must be such as to destroy the political ends of national policy. That is, we cannot afford to use weapons in war which make peace impossible. While we must continue to maintain our air-atomic power in order to deter war, we must not follow a military policy of nuclear obliteration.

UNITED NATIONS

We reaffirm our whole-hearted endorsement of the United Nations and its family of specialized agencies.

We recognize the United Nations' present limitations, and we believe their remedy can be secured and corrected by national ratifications of the positive results coming out of such Charter Revision Conferences as may be held in 1956. We are aware that difficulties beset the eventual transformation of the United Nations' system into a body of limited sovereign powers and enforceable sanctions, and that, further, parliamentary chaos and untold damage to the U. N. may result if substantial changes are sought too early on an unwilling majority or forced on a significant minority of nations or peoples.

But we also know that only through such a strengthening of the United Nations with constitutional transfers, not surrenders, of the sovereignty and powers required for the job—can the yearning of mankind for a world with universal enforceable disarmament among nations and progressive technical and economic development among peoples become real.

We urge the strengthening of the UN and all its resources, so that all its efforts and activities may be directed toward the development of atomic energy for peaceful uses for the benefit and welfare of all the peoples of the world.

UNITED STATES FOREIGN SERVICE

The United States cannot conduct an effective foreign policy of any kind without a competent, intelligent and resourceful Foreign Service, selected by the highest standards of ability and loyalty. We deplore decisions or administrative actions which penalized foreign service officers for exercise of their judgment or honest reporting within the scope of their duties; such actions damage the prestige of our foreign service, and consequently, blunt a vital instrument of our foreign policy.

FORCED LABOR

Millions of human beings now under Communist rule are imprisoned in forced labor camps under conditions which are in utter violation of all standards of human decency. We urge intensified exposure of these conditions; and we seek the elimination of forced labor everywhere in the world.

FOREIGN TRADE POLICY

We urge a greater emphasis on economic aid for underdeveloped countries rather than relying so exclusively on military aid, and a long-range policy for strengthening the democratic countries through encouragement of freer trade through low and stable tariffs.

Shipbuilding and Ship Repair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, listed below is a talk on shipbuilding and ship repair which I believe will be of interest to the House. It is by Mr. J. J. McMullen, Chief, Office of Ship Construction and Repair, Maritime Administration, United States Department of Commerce:

THE MARITIME ADMINISTRATION'S SHIPBUILDING AND REPAIR PROGRAM

(Address by J. J. McMullen, Chief, Office of Ship Construction and Repair, Maritime Administration, U. S. Department of Commerce, American Merchant Marine Conference and 28th annual meeting of the Propeller Club of the United States, Miami, Fla., Wednesday, December 8, 1954)

It is with great pleasure that I am able to present to the panel a summary of what the Maritime Administration has accomplished and what these and future accomplishments mean in relation to the American shipbuilding and ship repair industries. Moreover, I am very pleased and proud to make this report because we who are administering the programs, as approved by the Congress, feel that we have carried out the programs in a commendable fashion and with rapid speed in order to benefit our shipbuilding and ship repair industries.

As you all recall, one of the most interesting of our new projects is the Liberty ship conversion and engine improvement program. This program has several purposes. First of all it will permit the Maritime Administration to evaluate the possibility of upgrading the vast numbers of Liberty ships which are now available in our reserve fleets. As you all realize, these are slow speed 10-knot ships, and while many will be serviceable at 10 knots, the demands of modern warfare require that any ship should have a speed of at least 15 knots. The secondary purpose of the program was to assist the American merchant marine in the development of propulsion plants and comparing these new types with those already in existence. It is intended that these new engine propulsion plants will not only result in improved fuel economy, but also in lower maintenance, replacement and operating costs. The third purpose of the program was to investigate the possibilities of improving the standard cargo handling techniques in existence by investigating new type cranes which will permit a reduction of in-port time for our cargo ships.

The Liberty ship conversion and engine improvement program is now well underway and as many of you have read in the various newspapers and periodicals, contracts have been awarded for the conversion of one ship to steam turbine. This ship will be converted by Ira S. Bushey and Sons, Inc., Brooklyn, N. Y. The steam turbines and gears to be used have been removed from our warehouses as an example of what could be acomplished by taking turbines and gears from existing stockpiles. The hull has not been lengthened in order that we could actually investigate the strength and speed characteristics of our existing Liberty ships at sea with the horsepower increased from 2,500 to 6,000 SHP. The cargo handling gear has been revamped in that we are installing MSTS type of cargo handling gear. This portion of the program was coordinated with the MSTS in order that we could fulfill many of their requirements.

A contract has also been let on the second Liberty ship which is to be converted to diesel propulsion. This conversion will be made at the Key Highway Repair Yard of the Bethlehem Steel Co. in Baltimore, Md. The present bow will be cut off about 110 feet aft and a new bow installed which will result in an overall increase of 25 feet in length. We did this in order to improve the sea-keeping qualities of the Liberty ship. All of the present propulsion equipment will be removed and two Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton 3,000 horsepower diesel engines driving through a reduction gear will be installed. These engines have been guaranteed to burn bunker C fuel. This conversion will also incorporate the experimental cargo gear which, in general, will consist of athwartship positionable cranes forward and longitudinally moving cranes aft. In this conversion the Maritime Administration set up only performance specifications and it is the responsibility of the industry to meet these performance requirements in the best fashion possible. In addition to these two actual conversion contracts, the contracts for the main propulsion equipment for the third and fourth conversions have been awarded. The General Electric Co. will supply a 6,000 horsepower two shaft regenerative type open cycle gas turbine driving through a reduction gear and a controllable pitch propeller, manufactured by the S. Morgan Smith Co., of York, Pa. The main propulsion equipment in the fourth conversion will be a free piston gas generator-turbine combination and the Cleveland diesel engine division of General Motors Corp. has been awarded the contract to supply 6 1,000 shaft horsepower gas generators driving through 2 3,000 shaft horsepower turbines, each fitted with the reversing elements, through a reduction gear and a fixed pitch propeller.

Other contracts which have been recently awarded by the Maritime Administration are for the four 25,000 ton DWT 18-knot tankers which the Maritime will construct for MSTS. Three of these ships will be constructed by the Sun Shipbuilding Co., and the fourth by the Ingalls Shipbuilding Corp.

In addition to the above tankers, the Maritime Administration was instrumental in instigating the trade-in-and-build program under which the Cities Service Co. has already signed contracts with the Sparrows Point Yard of the Bethlehem Steel Co., for the construction of two 32,000 DWT tankers with the third contract to be let on April 1, 1955. In addition, approval in principle, has been given to applications from the Esso Shipping Co. for the possible construction of two 35,500 DWT tankers.

Another program which has been administered in the last 6 months by the Maritime Administration is the emergency ship repair program. This has as its purpose two primary objectives; first, to survey and make the necessary repairs to those ships of our reserve fleet which have not been inspected since World War II; and secondly, to provide relief to the ship-repair industry of the United States during this critical period. As

you realize, it is always expedient to either build or repair ships during the period of a full when the work can be accomplished with speed at a low overall cost. The program is now approximately 50 percent completed, and we are proud to state it has progressed without a flaw. Actually we think this has been a great achievement because a program of this nature can become complicated. We have faced squarely the problems of split bidding, recapture clauses and allocations to various areas and feel that our decisions have been just and equitable.

We based the allocation of these vessels to various areas on the basis of existing manpower because it is our belief that the important thing in the ship repair facilities of the United States is to preserve skilled manpower. We can preserve facilities, but not men. The problem of split bidding has been, and always will be a controversial one, but there can be no question that this Nation will require all types of repair facilities in time of emergency and that it is equally important for us to preserve both the drydock facilities and the shoreside facilities. In this connection I might state that the entire shipbuilding industry should recognize this problem and rather than perpetuate a division between those yards with drydocks and those without, there should be some unity within the industry itself. As far as the recapture clause is concerned in the emergency ship repair program, we feel that in view of the need to allocate ships that it was found necessary to protect the Government's interests in those particular circumstances when competitive bidding would not insure the Government a fair price.

The above completes a very general resumé of what has been accomplished during the last 6 months and I should like to point out that in each one of these cases where the Maritime Administration controlled the funds, the programs were initiated and enacted promptly and swiftly.

Now, as for the contemplated ship construction for early 1955, I should like to briefly outline the possibilities. First, of course, we have the proposed new passenger-cargo ships of both Grace and Moore-McCormack Lines. The contract plans and specifications for these ships were submitted to the Office of Ship Construction and Repair in the Maritime Administration on December 1, and it is anticipated that after review and inclusion of national defense features that these ships will go out for bid about the end of January 1955. Permitting a bidding period of approximately 90 days, the contracts for these four passenger ships should be signed sometime in May 1955.

One of the associated problems before the award of these contracts is the determination of the foreign construction subsidy differential. The Maritime Administration is confident that this problem will be resolved on a fair and equitable basis and in a businesslike fashion. It must be pointed out in this connection that the purpose of the construction subsidy differential is to establish parity and that the American ship operator is entitled to what it would cost to build his vessel in a foreign port. Actually, the subsidy is to the shipyards of the United States and not to the ship operators. In the past there has been a great deal of misunderstanding because the differential has always been mentioned in terms of percentage. Actually the percentage can vary a great deal depending upon the relative "hunger factor" of the low cost foreign shipbuilding center and here in the United States.

In addition to these passenger-cargo ships, the Maritime will administer the construction of seven vessels for MSTS. The total funds for this program amount to $50 million, and it is expected that all seven ships will be awarded during the spring of 1955. These ships consist of four prototypes: (1) the roll-on roll-off ship, (2) the AOG—ice strengthened tanker, (3) the AK—ice strengthened cargo ship, (4) AKD—ice strengthened cargo ship dock.

In addition to the new construction outlined, there are also several conversions which will be out for bid early in 1955. These are the American President Lines conversion of four Mariners to suit the requirements of their round-the-world trade, and secondly, the conversion of two mariner-type ships to passenger ships for Oceanic. In addition to these the Pacific Far East Line, Inc., is presently completing three Mariners for service in their Far East trade. The first of the Pacific Far East Line ships will be delivered early in 1955.

It appears appropriate to mention the Maritime Subsidy Policy Report prepared by the Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation and the Maritime Administration, which indicated the need for maintaining a nucleus of 36,000 shipyard workers for mobilization purposes. It is interesting to note that the aforementioned shipbuilding programs will materially increase the present shipyard employment and assist in reaching the necessary mobilization requirements.

In other words, at this time, as the American merchant marine is being confronted with its block obsolescence, the Maritime Administration is vigorously pursuing a program of Government and private shipbuilding to insure orderly replacement. It is our intent that the ships of our future merchant marine will incorporate the most modern developments in hulls, machinery, and cargo-handling gear. A program of this nature must necessarily result in a more active and more stable shipbuilding industry for this Nation.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California, at Second International Student Exchange Dinner, Houston, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a speech I delivered last night at the second annual international student exchange dinner in Houston, Tex.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS OF A SPEECH OF UNITED STATES SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND BEFORE THE SECOND ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL STUDENT EXCHANGE DINNER, JANUARY 13, 1955, HOUSTON, TEX.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased to be here in Houston at the second annual international student exchange dinner and to be in the home State of my two able Senate colleagues, LYNDON JOHNSON and PRICE DANIEL.

In the year 1919 the founders of the Institute of International Education set forth the objectives of the organization. They are as applicable today as they were 36 years ago: "To enable our people to secure a better understanding of foreign nations, and to enable foreign nations to obtain accurate knowledge of the United States, its people, its institutions, and its culture."

Never was it more important that this aim be implemented by Government officials and leaders in education, business, agriculture, and labor, and by the average citizen who travels abroad and is in a sense an ambassador of our country.

Our press, radio, and television industry also has an important mission in reflecting a true cross-section of our country abroad. For the most part they carry out their function with responsibility.

During my last visit to India I had an opportunity to get up into the Punjab territory. This, as you know, is the home of the Sikhs. While visiting some of the projects that had received technical help from the United States, I met a young exchange farmer from Minnesota. His name was Peterson, and he had a Scandinavian background. He had done a fine job of public relations and fitting into the agricultural life of the area. When he came out to meet us he was well tanned and wearing a turban, with a reddish imitation of a Sikh beard, and the farmers in the neighborhood had renamed him Peter Singh.

Both as a member of the Senate and as a newspaperman I have had the opportunity to see some of the other exchange work being done in various parts of the world. As has been the case with a considerable number of American newspapers, we have had men from overseas come and work in our office at the Oakland Tribune for a period of time, and have had some of our people go abroad.

There have also been a considerable number of delegations, of educators, students, newspapermen, and public officials who have had the opportunity of coming to this country and seeing a cross-section of America.

Too often when our people visit abroad or when others come here they only see the capital city and perhaps the chief metropolitan areas. Visiting only Washington and New York certainly does not give a visitor a rounded picture of America and what has made it a leading world power.

All of our citizens desire to live in peace and to devote their efforts to the building of America so that we may leave it as a better land than we ourselves found. This has been the hope and aspiration of Americans ever since we became a Nation.

We recognize that where other nations believe in human freedom and the establishment of international law and order for the preservation of peace in the world for ourselves and our children, we can maintain close and cordial relations with them.

An example is our 3,000 mile frontier with our neighbor of Canada to the North, where for a long period of our history there has not been a single military fortification of any type or character along that whole frontier. We have also developed a comparable friendly relationship with our neighbor Mexico to the South.

However, the American people must be realistic enough to recognize that all nations are not as civilized or peace loving as are our neighbors, Canada and Mexico. Hence it becomes important that we remain as prudent as the early pioneers, who continued to hope and pray for peace but kept their powder dry.

This organization is to be complimented on the constructive work it does. The exchange of students is, of course, of great importance in the building of a better world. These young men and women will carry heavy responsibilities in the years ahead, and it is essential that they have accurate information regarding world affairs.

Even though the Iron Curtain exists between the free world and that of Communist tyranny, we should not consider all the people behind that curtain as being enemies of the free way of life.

As a matter of fact the people of Russia were the first victims of Communist tyranny from which we may hope they will some day be free. The enslaved people of the satellite states of Eastern Europe, of Asia and even of Russia may turn out to be among our stanchest allies in the event of Communist aggression.

Foreign and defense policies are and need to be the people's business. The decisions that are made in the months ahead may well determine whether we are to have a free world of free men.

The wise men who drafted our Constitution knew well the history of the world up to their time.

They knew that where people had lost their freedom it was because of the concentration of power in one agency of the government.

Not only did they set up three great coequal branches of the Federal Government as checks and balances one against the other but they made the Federal Government one of limited and specified powers, reserving to the several States or the people thereof all other powers.

Though a Republican, in each of the almost 10 years I have been in the Senate I have become more firmly convinced of the importance of preserving our States rights as a vital part of maintaining our way of life.

Some, though not all, of our present problems vis-a-vis the Communist world stem from the secret agreements of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam.

Without the knowledge or consent of either the American people or their elected Representatives in Congress commitments were made for the postwar period which enabled the Communist conspiracy to gain control of Eastern Europe, China, and North Korea.

Since the year 1945 which saw the end of World War II in Europe and Asia, international communism has made great strides.

In January of that year there were less than 200 million people behind the Communist Iron Curtain. Today, just 10 years later, there are over 800 million. The world's balance of power has been upset.

Thirty years ago Lenin said "the road to Paris is through Peking." What he meant was that China was the key to all of Asia with its billion and a half people. Once consolidated with the manpower and resources of Asia communism could turn with overwhelming power against the West.

Peace with honor is and should be the policy of the American people. This is certainly far different from a policy of "peace at any price." Unless this is thoroughly understood, we could be lured into a sense of false security by the words of the men in the Kremlin which do not conform to their actions or their policies.

We must never lose sight of the fact that communism is the most brutal, godless tyranny the world has ever known. As a temporary expedient they may change their day-to-day tactics, but their long-term strategy remains the same under Malenkov as it was under Lenin and Stalin.

Some time between 1913 and 1915 Lenin studied the works of Karl Von Clausewitz who is rated as one of the outstanding theoreticians of war. Clausewitz's statement that the conqueror always pretends to be peace loving because he would like to attain his objectives in a bloodless fashion (as indeed does the bank robber who kills only when resisted or distured in carrying out his mission) and that, therefore aggression must be presented as a defensive reaction of the attacking nation was considered by Lenin to be a good idea. This idea is still at the bottom of Communist pacifist propaganda—peaceful coexistence.

The Kremlin's basic strategy is that communism will dominate the world, and free institutions and enterprise as we know them will be destroyed. Neither as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee nor as a party leader in the Senate has the slightest reliable evidence been presented to me which would demonstrate that the Communist leopard has changed its spots.

We and the free world must not allow ourselves to be paralyzed while nation after nation in Asia and in Europe is brought behind the Communist Iron Curtain. In such an event we might ultimately find ourselves as an isolated island of freedom in an otherwise totalitarian world.

Under such conditions, though the difficulties would be great, we might exist as

sort of a continental Dien Bien Phu. However, we would not be able to maintain the same political or economic system which has enabled this country of ours to grow from a small colony of 3 million on the Atlantic seaboard to a world power of 162 million, the most productive industrially and agriculturally the world has ever known.

The doctrine of peaceful coexistence is being advanced by the men in the Kremlin, by the neutralist nations which do not desire to take sides as between freedom and slavery, and by some of our people who have not necessarily followed the full implications of what the Communists mean by peaceful coexistence.

Among some our associates abroad, and in some unofficial quarters in our own country, the term peaceful coexistence is becoming synonymous with peace at any price. Should such a condition become general, either here or abroad, it would be a fatal policy. It would almost assure the Communist conquest of all the peripheral countries.

There are some individuals who believe that if and when the condition of atomic stalemate is reached, this in itself will assure a period of peace. In dealing with the ruthless, Godless men of the Kremlin I believe that this is a naive approach. Two individuals may be placed in a room—each having a Colt .45. If one is a law abiding citizen who, because of his training and religion, values human life, and the other is a gangster, killer at heart, who places no value on human life, the equality of weapons does not assure that both will come out of the room alive.

Their basic policy is and has been that they would permit a nation to peacefully coexist for such a time as suited the Kremlin's convenience and until they could either be subverted by communism from within or taken over by Communist aggression from without. They have in mind for us the peaceful coexistence the Thanksgiving turkey has (well fed and housed) until the axe falls.

Whatever their station in political, economic, or academic circles those who lose sight of this basic fact endanger the freedom of this Republic and the hope of gaining or preserving a free world of free men. You could, of course, always buy temporary respite by a policy of appeasement, but the world should have learned at the time of Munich that the road to appeasement is not the road to peace. It is only surrender on the installment plan.

Proposals almost certain to be made if and when a Big Four Conference is held:

1. Recognition and approval of the present borders of the Iron Curtain.

2. Communist China in the United Nations.

This would mean the perpetual slavery of hundreds of millions of people without hope of ultimate freedom.

On November 15 in the Senate of the United States, in discussing coexistence, I raised a number of questions. They were:

"Are 'coexistence' and 'atomic stalemate' synonymous terms? If they are not, just what is the difference? Is the former merely an inevitable prelude to the latter? And what of our foreign policy and our defense policy when such an atomic stalemate takes place? Does not atomic stalemate mean inevitable Communist nibbling aggression, rather than peace in our time? How many years remain when we still have some initiative left? These are some of the basic questions before the Government and the people of the United States."

The United Nations has passed a resolution giving support to the American position relative to the 15 American airmen being illegally held by the Chinese Communists.

Both the resolution and the overwhelming majority by which it was adopted is most welcome.

However, the American people will judge the effectiveness of this resolution and the journey of the Secretary General to Peiping by whether or not these men are promptly released.

Since they have acknowledeged that they hold these 15 men in uniform, there is reasonable grounds for belief that they may be holding other unaccounted for Americans missing. During the Korean war there were 931 unaccounted for Americans in uniform who had fallen into Communist hands and were held as prisoners of war. Neither alive nor dead have they been returned to us in the exchanges made pursuant to the armistice. We also know that they have 28 American civilian citizens still in Communist jails, many of them having served there for 3 or 4 years. Some have been held in chains without any type of what civilized people would call a trial.

All of us will hope that the efforts of the Secretary-General may be successful. This Nation will want to know what additional steps the United Nations will promptly take to secure the release of the uniformed personnel without paying ransom or tribute. The fact that the bandit returns the loot does not entitle him to an award of the Legion of Merit.

Are they prepared to apply against the Chinese Communist regime economic sanctions as well as moral condemnation by resolution? If these are not successful, are they prepared to support a tight naval and air blockade upon the China coast?

The religions and cultural background of the free people of China made them "slow to anger." Their nation is today behind the Iron Curtain and millions have been liquidated, including teachers, small merchants, businessmen, and non-Communist workers and farmers. The free people of Czechoslovakia were "slow to anger," and are today behind the Communist Iron Curtain—though in the preceding election less than 20 percent of their people had voted the Communist ticket.

I cannot help but review some of our own history. What a great difference it would have been had the people of Texas, instead of rallying behind the cry "Remember the Alamo," followed the doctrine "after all, they have been liquidated and we shouldn't make much ado about it."

Some of our associates abroad apparently want to brain wash us of some of the history that has made America great.

We did not change from a small colony of 3 million on the Atlantic seaboard to the great nation of 165 million because we had the most people in the world. There have been a good many other nations that have had larger populations.

We did not reach our present place because we had the most resources in the world, for there are other nations which undoubtedly have greater material resources.

I believe that we came to our present position of leadership because the founders of this Republic gave us a heritage of courage and a written constitution that, better than any other document drafted by man, has given to our people the freedom—political and economic—without which this great progress could not have been made.

In this free atmosphere the American spirit had free reign. We were guaranteed the right to worship God, each according to his beliefs. To be sure, we have demonstrated time and time again that as a nation and as a people we are indeed "slow to anger."

But, there comes a time, as my old New England grandmother used to say, when we reach a point of righteous indignation, and out of this has come—cherished to each American generation, one succeeding the other—such terms as:

"Remember the Alamo."

"Give me liberty or give me death."

"Don't give up the ship."

"Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead." And "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition."

Despite the fact that in many instances we were faced with what appeared to be overwhelming odds, we have never found it necessary to sacrifice our national honor when a vital principle was at stake.

Nor must we ever permit any cabal or international organization to so dilute or undermine our spirit so that Gulliver becomes chained by the Lilliputians and we are unable to even protect our own.

In the final analysis, neither the American Government nor the Congress can escape the responsibility for taking whatever effective steps are necessary to secure the release of these men wearing the uniform of this country.

United Nations record in Korea. It was not effective security in action. The United States furnished 90 percent of the manpower. Only 17 out of 60 members supplied any manpower at all.

Soviet chairmanship of Security Council at intervals during Korean war was like asking town arsonist to head the fire department. The Soviet Union admitted supplying arms, ammunition, and moral support to the aggressor. With this prima facie case before it, the Soviet Union should have been expelled as a violator of the Charter they had pledged to uphold.

While it is perfectly proper to seek the moral and effective support of our associate in the Korean war, if they fail to take effective steps, our obligation is not discharged. By this time next week we shall know the success or failure of the Hammarskjold mission.

What is the test? The immediate release of all prisoners of war desiring to return home without any political or monetary price being paid.

It is my belief that there are conditions being brought back. An attempt will be made to jockey us into another Panmunjom-type negotiation. Days will pass into weeks and months while American uniformed personnel remain in Communist cells.

It is the American Congress under the Constitution which is responsible for raising and supporting our Armed Forces and passes the selective service and other laws under which our armed service personnel is secured. It is the Government of the United States that ordered these men to Korea to participate in a collective security action against aggression. These men are Americans. I shall not remain silent while a single one of them remains in Communist hands.

If we will only show the same courage and commonsense that motivated the men who sat in Philadelphia and under divine inspiration gave us first the Declaration of Independence and then the Constitution of the United States, there are none of our domestic problems we cannot solve and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

The Dixon-Yates Power Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in its issue of October 19, 1954, the Des Moines (Iowa) Register published an editorial entitled "Dixon-Yates Contract Needs Close Scrutiny." I call particular attention to the editorial because of the

fact that it appeared in a newspaper which I believe gave all-out support to General Eisenhower when he was a candidate for the Presidency. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIXON-YATES CONTRACT NEEDS CLOSE SCRUTINY

The proposed Dixon-Yates contract has now been made available to several newspapermen, although it has not yet been officially released by either the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) or the Joint Congressional Atomic Committee.

The contract, which is in technical language, is a 56-page affair, and accompanying it are 104 pages of pertinent documents. It will take even the legal and power experts considerable time to determine all the facts about this contract. However, enough has been revealed to show that some provisions are so questionable and controversial there should be a complete and thorough congressional hearing.

Senator BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, of Iowa, is head of the subcommittee of the Joint Atomic Committee which will conduct the hearing. He has set it for immediately after the election. Though this has displeased some Democrats, it seems reasonable to us, because the election campaign would make an impartial, complete hearing unlikely before November 2.

The contract provides for a company, formed by the Dixon and Yates private utility groups, to build a $107 million steam-electric plant at West Memphis, Ark. This plant would supply power to the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) system. TVA then would supply the same amount of power to the AEC's atomic-energy plant at Paducah, Ky. The contract calls for the AEC to buy power—from Dixon-Yates—for TVA.

The Eisenhower administration apparently meant this contract to be a shining symbol of its determination that the Government should not continue to expand in the field of public power.

Perhaps it seemed a clear case to the administration—that TVA couldn't supply the additional power needs of AEC without building a steam plant, and that private enterprise could just as efficiently, or more efficiently, build and operate a steam plant. So the administration, virtually by decree, is giving the contract to the Dixon-Yates group of private utility interests.

The public power against private power issue is involved here. But the method by which the contract is being awarded is also an issue. Terms and provisions of the contract also are proper questions for consideration by Congress.

The Eisenhower administration's goal of less government in business, of less "creeping socialism," as President Eisenhower at one time labeled TVA, won't be speeded by ramming through a questionable private power contract. Instead it could be set back decidedly.

Questions about the way the contract was agreed upon arise because: (1) Views of both AEC members and TVA directors who opposed the proposal—and apparently a majority of them did before recent appointments changed the composition of the groups—were ignored; and (2) apparently no alternative plans, including proposals from other private utilities, were given any serious consideration.

The provisions of the contract which need airing are those which virtually guarantee the Dixon-Yates group a 9 percent return on its $55½ million investment. The AEC would, in effect, pay the company's taxes, although the Senate has ruled out any direct rebate on taxes in such a contract. Increases in costs of fuel and labor also would be taken care of by the AEC. There may be good reasons for some of these provisions. No one would suggest that a private power company should lose money on an enterprise of this kind.

However, the provisions in the Dixon-Yates contract seem to add up to the utility company taking little or no risk, being guaranteed a handsome profit and the Government paying more for power—if critics of the contract are right—than it would if TVA had built the plant.

If the congressional hearing develops that this is the situation, the Dixon-Yates contract can't be regarded as any shining symbol of private enterprise. There will be little, if any, private enterprise involved in a project based on "all profit-no loss" provisions.

Instead, the contract will be an example of a bright idea gone wrong, because the proposal was handled without full and adequate discussion and consideration of everything that was involved.

Second Inaugural Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on Wednesday, January 12, 1955, Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin was inaugurated as Governor of Maryland for a second term. This is the first time in the history of Maryland that a Republican has ever been reelected as its Governor, which certainly is a tribute to Governor McKeldin's splendid administration of the past 4 years. In order that people of other States may read his inaugural address, I ask unanimous consent to have the full text of the speech inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN DELIVERED UPON THE OCCASION OF HIS SECOND INAUGURATION AS GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND ON WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1955

It is my happy privilege again to express my deep gratitude to my fellow citizens for electing to continue me in the high office of Governor of Maryland.

The keen realization of grave responsibility which I described in my first inauguration 4 years ago has not lessened.

Indeed, it has been enhanced by the passage of the years, and by my daily contacts with the many problems of government in this rapidly growing State.

Official tasks have been eased, however; encouragement has been constant, and accomplishments have been made well worthwhile by the magnificent sense of citizen responsibility demonstrated by you—the people of Maryland.

You have kept your Government aware of your hopes, your wishes and your sovereign demands. We, in the administration, have sought, I believe with a reasonable measure of success, to interpret them into executive action. Your representatives in the general assembly have responded admirably to the consensus of your voice. We have moved consistently forward. We continue to advance.

This is democracy at its best.

I have some specific proposals relating to the conduct of the State's affairs during the next 4 years. Some of them I have already submitted to the legislature and to the public for their consideration. Others I shall submit in the near future. But today it seems to me more appropriate and useful to turn from specific details of business and to consider some of the fundamentals on which all these details are based.

It is a common human failing to become so obsessed with the means that we forget the ends of our policies. It seems to me that such a moment is upon us. Let us in the solemnity of this occasion seek to gain clarity and perspective. It will stand us in good stead in deciding our course as Americans and as Marylanders.

The United States is confronted with perils both serious and numerous. So grave is the situation that we are spending two-thirds of the Nation's revenues providing safeguards against possible attacks, and it is inevitable that our thoughts should be largely concerned with the problem of military defense. But that is only the beginning. At present we are not being assailed by armed enemies, but only by clever propagandists, who are seeking to turn the minds of men against us; and that, too, must occupy our thoughts to a very large extent.

Maryland almost surrounds the National Capitol. We are, therefore, at the very heart of all this perturbation, and are bound to be affected by it. We are so strongly affected, indeed, that we are in danger of losing sight of the object of all our labor of hand and brain; and if we do that, we will lose the very thing that we are trying to preserve.

For this that we are defending, this Nation, and specifically this part of it that we call Maryland, is not a geographical expression, is not merely a certain part of the earth's surface, is not simply an area containing so many structures and so many people. If that were all, it would not be worth the tremendous effort we make to defend it. The greater part of it, the more valuable part, is an intangible thing, a compound of history and tradition, of manners and customs, of attitudes and ways of life, imperceptible by any of the five senses, yet more real than these buildings around us, more real than the solid earth on which they stand.

To perpetuate this invisible Maryland, this creation, not of our hands, but of our minds and spirits, we, no less than our forefathers long ago have pledged our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor. Most of the time we take it as a matter of course, the basis of our entire political and social system; but from time to time we should pause for a moment and examine it to renew our appreciation of its value; for, like the giant Antaeus whose strength was renewed whenever he touched the earth, we may draw a brighter courage, a stouter confidence, a firmer resolution whenever we remind ourselves of how much we have to defend.

The characteristic of the United States of America that makes it unique among the nations is its achievement of unity in diversity. "From many, one," the motto that we have stamped in Latin on our coins, is the ultimate American reality; so when I describe what I conceive to be the spirit of Maryland my words cannot be applied literally to any other State, and yet to the extent that what is Maryland goes to make up what is American, I am speaking of every one of the 48. The emphasis shifts as you proceed from State to State, but the ultimate meaning remains the same; so when I celebrate our own particular values, it is not in disparagement of those cherished by our sister States, but only to strengthen our determination to protect what belongs to us in particular and to all America in general.

Long before Maryland became a State one of the most important patterns of its life was already set. This was the tradition of tolerance which is, after all, nothing more than recognition of the brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of God. I like to think of its beginning with Father Andrew White, that sturdy priest whose ability to administer spiritual consolation to penitents did not interfere with his ability to swing an ax with the best of them when the forest was being cleared—father in God to burdened souls, he was at the same time brother to the woodsmen. I like to remember that in early Maryland Captain Cornwallis was seized by Catholic officers and punished by a Catholic governor because he had denied freedom of worship to his Protestant servants. I like to believe that it is still true in Maryland that a man who attempts to suppress liberty is worthy of punishment because he has denied the faith, whether that faith is Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or other.

The strong tradition of religious tolerance has resulted in making Maryland barren ground for the propagation of fanaticism of any kind. I do not claim that we have escaped entirely; our history has been punctuated from time to time by outbreaks of bitter oppression, but they have been only numerous enough to remind us that we, too, are vulnerable to the weakness and folly that beset other men and are under obligation to be forever on guard against the evil in our own hearts.

Yet I think it is true that the tolerance that began in affairs of religion has spread into social and political and economic activities. God has given us a pleasant land, and it would be ingratitude not to enjoy it; but it would be worse than ingratitude, it would be wickedness, while enjoying it ourselves to try to deny its enjoyment to others merely because their ways are not our ways. It is not our practice in Maryland to attempt to correct our neighbor's habits for his own good; we correct him only when his habits begin to threaten law and order, and that is for the good of all of us, not for our neighbors in particular. Sometimes the rigidly austere profess to be scandalized by this and demand that we use the power of the State to put down sin, as well as crime; but I deem it a higher morality that holds a man answerable to the State only for his crimes, and admits that for his sins he is accountable to God alone.

Nevertheless, while we have created here a tolerant society it is still a society, which means that a man incurs inescapable obligations by being a member. This implies that the strong are measurably responsible for the welfare of the weak, including the very young, the very old, and the very unfortunate. This responsibility varies with varying conditions, and there is always room for debate as to the adequacy with which we have met it; but nobody denies the principle and nobody denies our duty to meet new demands with new expedients.

I believe it is the sincere desire of the overwhelming majority of our people to perpetuate the thing that we have created and that we call Maryland. Please note that I said "perpetuate," I did not say "petrify." Maryland is a living organism, or it is nothing, and change is the law of life. If it were possible to assure the indefinite existence of Maryland exactly as it is, what we should have would be a mummy, utterly useless in a world of living men.

What we wish to perpetuate is not institutions, but the spirit that created them—first, liberty, then tolerance, then brotherhood. In assuming the responsibilities of the office of governor for the next 4 years I pledge to that purpose every vestige of strength, whether of arm, or of head, or of heart, that I possess. That is, if you please, a generality, but it is not a glittering one. On the contrary, the condition of the modern world makes it a somber one, not for me alone but for you, for every man and woman in Maryland.

For liberty, tolerance, and brotherhood are all under furious attack from many quarters. The merchants of hate are busy everywhere and some of them have risen to high places where their influence is exerted upon millions. When the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse are spurring hard, when war, famine, pestilence, and death are thundering across the world it is easier to be a Paladin, it is easier to be an Ajax or a Siegfried, than it is to remain a free, reasonable, and kindly man.

Maryland is in danger indeed, but the enemy bombers are still beyond the horizon. The danger that is directly over our heads is not a threat to any material thing, not to the things that might be destroyed by atom bombs, but to that greater part of Maryland that lives and moves and has its being in the minds and hearts of men.

My fellow citizens, I summon you to the defense of that Maryland even more energetically than you are now defending our cities and harbors and fields. I call you to arms against the forces of hatred and ignorance and prejudice, more insidious and more dangerous than any horde that the steppes once ruled by Genghis Khan might spew upon us. It may be that eventually foes will come upon us from across the sea, but fanaticism is already here, lurking in darkened minds and shriveled souls, ready to creep upon us the moment our backs are turned.

But as long as he is faced resolutely, that foe is important; and he will be faced resolutely as long as we remember how great is the treasure that we guard. The liberty that our fathers won for us we hold in trust for our sons; it must not be diminished by jot or tittle through any failure of ours, and it will not be while we remember how precious it is.

That is why I have devoted this speech to reminding you of it. With a confidence in the future born of the glory of the past, we shall preserve for the next generation and for the world that part of the wealth of Maryland impossible to coin at the mint because it is "the gold of a vision that angels cannot buy," and my counsel to you is so far from being new that it is older than Maryland itself, far older than all the dangers that threaten us. It is simply the ancient cry, "To your tents, O Israel," and let us, like the ancient Israelites, make of this time of stress the prelude to our era of greatest splendor.

And so once again I dedicate myself as the humble and loyal servant of God and the sovereign people of the State of Maryland. To be your twice-chosen governor is an expression of confidence which I shall ever cherish and seek to deserve. With the help of our Lord, I shall earnestly do my best to serve Him and you.

To have the opportunity of sharing in the creative development of our beloved State as its chief executive is a supreme privilege. I trust that all of us may consider ourselves as fellow workers in the constructive task of making this Commonwealth the home of an ever-happier and prosperous people. In her long and distinguished history our State has become famed for her great cities, her charming villages, her beautiful countryside, and lovely waterways. From the great bay to her hills, enshrouded in their mystic haze of blue, she is a lovely land—Maryland, my Maryland.

Let it be known, too, in every clime and to the ends of the earth, that on the soil of Maryland every man is of sacred worth as a child of God, and all share equally in the responsibilities and blessings of freedom. To that end we dedicate ourselves anew to the further advancement of human values as the greatest contribution we may make to our day and age.

Therefore I solemnly dedicate myself not only to preserve and uphold the constitution of our State but to maintain and strengthen its noblest traditions as well, the traditions of tolerance, brotherhood, and human freedom without limitation.

Sincerely and earnestly do I ask your prayers, my fellow citizens, as indeed I pray for all of you. God bless and guide the people of Maryland.

The Edward John Noble Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, the New York Herald Tribune of Monday, December 20, 1954, had a news story under the headline "Edward J. Noble Gives $5 Million to Fund." It told of Mr. Noble's fine gift to the Noble Foundation, a philanthropic agency founded in 1940 by Mr. Noble.

There are two interesting aspects of this news story to me. The first is the fact that the newspaper points out that Mr. Noble came from a poor family, supported himself at college, and then proceeded to build a very substantial fortune, giving evidence thereby that America still is the land of opportunity for those who are determined to recognize and take advantage of their opportunities.

Second, I am impressed by the fact that Mr. Noble hopes that his $5 million gift to the foundation may encourage other businessmen to give as individuals to charitable causes or to foundations "which strive to meet the constantly increasing needs of charities, of hospitals, and of educational institutions."

As one who has known Mr. Noble since his first venture in Government as Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority, I commend his charitable impulses and praise him for the lifetime of endeavor to be of help to his fellowmen, and ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the news story from the New York Herald Tribune.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDWARD J. NOBLE GIVES $5 MILLION TO FUND

Edward J. Noble, of Greenwich, Conn., has given $5 million to the Edward John Noble Foundation, it was announced yesterday. The foundation, a philanthropic agency, was founded in 1940 by Mr. Noble, who is chairman of the finance committee of the American Broadcasting-Paramount Theaters, Inc., and chairman of the board of Life Savers, Inc.

Last year Mr. Noble gave $2 million to the foundation, which has a large endowment, the income and principal of which support charitable, educational, and hospital institutions.

PHILANTHROPIC OBLIGATIONS

Mr. Noble said in an announcement yesterday that the $5 million gift was an individual effort to carry out a philanthropic obligation commensurate with the success that has come my way as an American businessman.

"I hope," he said, "that this $5 million

gift to the foundation, together with my previous gifts over the years to the endowment of the foundation, will encourage other businessmen to give as individuals to charitable causes or to foundations which strive to meet the constantly increasing needs of charities, of hospitals, and of educational institutions."

Mr. Noble said he intends to contribute to the foundation each year with the plan that the endowment will be of substantial proportions "by the time I'm 6 feet under." He said that "if there's any good I can do in this world I'd like to do it now, when I'm alive.

In the last dozen years or so, Mr. Noble and the foundation have contributed to charities and institutions in New York City and throughout New York State. Among beneficiaries of the foundation have been St. Lawrence University at Canton, N. Y., of which Mr. Noble was chairman of the board for 13 years, and North Country Hospitals, Inc., which operates as a unit, three hospitals at Gouverneur, Canton, and Alexandria Bay, all in northern New York State.

OTHER BENEFICIARIES

Other gifts have gone to charities in New York, such as the Salvation Army and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and to community chests and other charities in Greenwich, Conn, and in New York State communities such as Port Chester, Gouverneur, Watertown, Canton, and Alexandria Bay.

Mr. Noble, a former Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority and a former Under Secretary of Commerce, served as general chairman of the Salvation Army's maintenance appeals for 1947 and 1948 and was chairman of the Greater New York 1953 campaign of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. He was appointed to the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation last July by President Eisenhower.

In 1948, 1949, and 1950 the foundation was one of the principal contributors to the construction and operation of the Noble hospitals in Gouverneur, Canton, and Alexandria Bay, areas long in need of hospital facilities.

Born in New York State's north country, in Gouverneur, on August 8, 1882, Mr. Noble recalled that he spent summer vacations in the Thousand Islands and dreamed of making a fortune some day in advertising. This was before he attended Syracuse University. Coming from a poor family, he supported himself at Syracuse by working as a reporter for the Watertown Daily Times and as treasurer of the Gouverneur Athenian Society.

Later he went to Yale University and was graduated in 1905. At Yale he organized an eating club and accumulated a considerable financial surplus. After Yale, he entered the advertising business as a space salesman for the card advertising firm of Ward & Gow, of New York City.

His first success came in 1913 when he and a friend bought Life Savers for $1,900 from a Cleveland candymaker.

Mr. Noble has been chairman of the finance committee of the American Broadcasting-Paramount Theaters, Inc., since the merger of the two corporations in 1953.

Centennial of Land-Grant Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. MCNAMARA. Mr. President, I am informed that the Post Office Department is about to issue a special postage stamp commemorative of the centennial of the founding of land-grant colleges. It happens that Michigan State College was the first land-grant college, and I ask unanimous consent that some remarks of mine upon the subject be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MCNAMARA

The Post Office Department is about to issue a stamp commemorating the establishment 100 years ago of the first 2 land grant colleges in the United States—Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University. This centennial anniversary is a source of real pride to the people of Michigan; and I am particularly proud of the fact that the first of the two colleges to be established was Michigan State College, which is thus the oldest of the land-grant colleges in America.

Michigan State College was actually established before the Federal Land Grant Act, the Morrill Act, was adopted by Congress. It was established with money appropriated by the State legislature in compliance with a requirement in the new State constitution. While Michigan did not wait for Federal money to establish its college, the State was grateful for the aid received when Congress did adopt the Morrill Act in 1862 and made possible an increase of 100 percent in the service rendered to Michigan by the college.

This centennial celebration invites us to take another look at the history of Federal aid to education in this country and to contrast that history with the situation today.

The history shows that the first piece of major legislation in support of public education was adopted by our Federal Government as far back as 1785, even before the adoption of our Federal Constitution. This was the famous Northwest Ordinance, which initiated the policy of setting aside Federal land and Federal moneys to aid education. Since then more than 160 acts have been passed by the Congress to help the States support schools.

A list of the major acts is as follows:

Seventeen hundred and eighty-five: Ordinance of 1785.

Seventeen hundred and eighty-seven: Ordinance of 1787.

Seventeen hundred and ninety-six: Ohio Salt-Land Grant Act.

Eighteen hundred and two: Ohio Enabling Act.

Eighteen hundred and three: Ohio Enabling Act amendment.

Eighteen hundred and thirty-three: United States Deposit Fund Act.

Eighteen hundred and thirty-six: Surplus Revenue Loan Act.

Eighteen hundred and forty-one: Internal Improvement Act.

Eighteen hundred and fifty: Swamp-Land Grant Act.

Eighteen hundred and sixty-two: Morrill Act.

Eighteen hundred and sixty-seven: Department of Education Act.

Eighteen hundred and eighty-seven: Hatch Act.

Eighteen hundred and ninety: Second Morrill Act.

Nineteen hundred and six: Adams Act.

Nineteen hundred and seven: Nelson amendment to Morrill Act.

Nineteen hundred and eight: Federal Forest Reserve Fund Act.

Nineteen hundred and eleven: State Marine School Act.

Nineteen hundred and fourteen: Smith-Lever Act.

Nineteen hundred and seventeen: Smith-Hughes Act.

Nineteen hundred and twenty: Federal Mineral Royalty Act.

Nineteen hundred and twenty: Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation Act.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-five: Purnell Act.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-seven: Federal School Land Act.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-eight: Capper-Ketcham Act.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-nine: George-Reed Act.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-four: George-Ellzey Act.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-five: Bankhead-Jones Act.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-six: George-Deen Act.

Nineteen hundred and forty: Vocational education for national defense.

Nineteen hundred and forty-four: GI bill of rights.

Nineteen hundred and forty-five: Amendment to the Bankhead-Jones Act.

History reminds us that the States have not sat on their hands waiting for the Federal Government to do it all. As Michigan did in the case of its State college, the States have taxed themselves for their schools, only turning to the Federal Government for help over and above what they themselves were able to do. History shows also that even when Federal aid was generously given, it was given without any requirement that the States give up control over their school systems. This thing that some people claim to fear today—the loss of local control over education—just has not happened in the past. It need not happen today.

Today, surveys of school needs have made clear the fact that our children need more than $10 billion worth of school constuction. The facts have been presented over and again. The States are laboring to do their share to meet these needs. But the Federal Government, unlike some periods in the past, is sitting on the sidelines, waiting for the matter to be hashed over at 49 conferences before it decides how to act, if at all.

As one of those who has joined with the distinguished senior Senator from Alabama, Senator LISTER HILL, in sponsoring a bill to provide at least part of the needed aid now, I hope that this Congress will take both heart and instruction from the history of Federal aid to education, and begin immediately to meet our responsibilities in this crucial area of our lives.

Twenty-second Anniversary of the Lone Ranger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRICE DANIEL

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement relative to the 22d anniversary in radio of the program The Lone Ranger.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWENTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE LONE RANGER

(Statement by Senator DANIEL)

On January 30, 1955, The Lone Ranger, oldest continuous half-hour program in radio, will observe its 22d anniversary.

I extend my congratulations to Mr. Jack Wrather, of Dallas and Los Angeles, who now

owns this program. The Lone Ranger has long been, and will continue to be under Mr. Wrather's direction, an aggressive force for good, a fine example for the young men and women of America, and an excellent specimen of the kind of entertainment our American airways have to offer youth and adults alike.

This program has served as a vital factor in keeping alive in the minds of people, both in the United States and abroad, the traditions and ideals of the Texas Ranger organization and its work in maintaining law and order. As a radio and television program, it has received many national awards and citations from responsible organizations for its good work in fostering youth betterment and combating juvenile delinquency.

The Lone Ranger, hero of this program, teaches the principles of good citizenship. He fosters honesty, patriotism, fair play, tolerance, and a sympathetic understanding of human beings. Some 90,000,000 people throughout the world weekly feel his impact in one form or another of entertainment.

Although The Lone Ranger is classified as a children's program in radio and television circles, it is interesting to note that adults make up more than 55 percent of its listening and viewing audience. To this audience the program serves as a constant reminder of the American tradition as it was laid down by our forefathers—the tradition for which we fight today and which we strive on all fronts to preserve and defend.

Inaugural Address of the Governor of Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, last Monday marked another milestone in the history of Kansas when we inaugurated the Honorable Fred Hall as Governor of Kansas.

Governor Hall became the 33d Governor of the State of Kansas and is the youngest Republican Governor in the Nation today.

The inaugural exercises were unique, in that they were held on the steps outside of the statehouse, and it was the first outdoor inaugural since 1879.

While Kansas weather is very unpredictable, the elements cooperated. It was a clear, bright, sunshiny day.

The Governor in his inaugural message stressed the fact that "the continued success of our Federal system of government lies solely in the ability of the Federal and State Governments to cooperate with each other on problems where they each share a mutual responsibility. Competition between the two governments must give way to cooperation."

This statement is most important, in that it is necessary to preserve the position of our States if we are to continue as a strong democracy.

The natural tendency in the last decade has been toward an ever-growing and powerful Federal Government, often at the expense of the State governments.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have made a part of these remarks the inaugural speech of Gov. Fred Hall and the farewell speech of the outgoing Governor, the Honorable Edward F. Arn.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF GOVERNOR HALL'S ADDRESS AT INAUGURAL MONDAY

My fellow officers, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, as provided by the constitution of Kansas, we are gathered here for the purpose of inaugurating the men whom you have elected to perform executive and judicial functions of the State government.

The past 4 years I have served with most of these men. I congratulate them and look forward to working with them during the term of our respective offices.

The ceremony of this inauguration is taking place on the steps of our beautiful capitol building. It is the second time we have done so and the first time since 1879. The decision to do so again was a wise one. Since the beginning of civilization people have always manifested their faith through magnificent buildings and edifices—cathedrals to express their beliefs in a God—capitols to express their beliefs in themselves. This building is the symbol of our belief in Kansas and the United States of America.

The history of civilization is the history of the rise and fall of men and their beliefs. This history has all been written and it has been pages of tragedy. Only the shattered edifices remain to remind us of once great governments and civilizations—the temples of India and China, the pyramids of Egypt, the ruins of Athens and Rome.

On the occasion of this inauguration, we are writing, in a small way, a line in the history of all the United States of America. It is an experience we are sharing with most of the 47 other States in the Union who are having similar ceremonies.

The United States of America were founded and dedicated on the basic principle of freedom to all men. The Declaration of Independence declares: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

By the bloodshed of Revolutionary and Civil War we built a government to make this principle a reality. In America freedom has become a reality and by any standard of comparison the United States of America is the greatest nation in the world.

We are a blessed people. God has given us a fertile land. On it we have built a mighty agriculture and a mighty industry. Our land and our industry have been the tools by which we have lived, multiplied, and prospered—by which we have grown strong as a state and a nation.

With the good use of these tools we have grown up. Our national progress has been great, but our greatest progress is not alone the material standard of living which we have attained; it is the more magnificent fact that we are 165 million people continuing to hold the right to govern ourselves by this federation of 48 States and under the basic principle of freedom to all men, regardless of race, color, or creed.

The challenge to each of us today, as citizens of this state and this Nation, is to protect and promote our growth and our greatness, that when our page in history is fully written, it will not be the ghastly tragedy of another broken civilization.

The freedom of all peoples in the world is in imminent danger—in danger of the tyranny of a thing called international communism. It has brought us into the atomic and hydrogen bomb age. The tempo of these times, the importance of the decisions to be made, the speed with which adjustments must be carried through, have never been surpassed or equalled. It is putting another real test on the whole strength of America—its peoples and its Government. In fact, we are now at a time when failure or incompetency in government cannot be tolerated.

It is a fundamental observation that your governments must carry out their obligations to you the people. The only way we shall preserve our freedom is for governments to accept the responsibility to govern and to govern wisely. If we are to be strong abroad, we must be strong at home.

The problems of government are unprecedented in difficulty and magnitude. On the one hand, the Federal Government is confronted with the most dangerous international situation in the Nation's history. On the other hand, the States are confronted with all the complexities of a growing population and the dynamic development of the country.

Kansas certainly has its share of these problems. They are reflected in education, where we must face a tremendous increase in students and standards, at least for the foreseeable future; in social welfare where the number of elder citizens has increased by a large percentage, as well as those who are or will become mentally ill; in penal institutions where the rising rate of crime is crowding our facilities; in our highways where we have not been able to keep pace with increased traffic leads; in the needs of agriculture, industry and labor; in the shortage of water which now threatens the entire future development of our State.

The record of State government in Kansas has been good. In every important field of State function and responsibility, Kansas occupies a commendable position amongst the States. Our progress has been good but, as with all States, we are finding the new problems more difficult to solve. The fact of the matter is, that many of these problems facing our States today are beyond their administrative and financial capacities to solve. This is especially true so long as the Federal Government continues to preempt the major sources of tax revenue.

This situation is now forcing a complete reexamination of the balance of authority between the States and the Federal Government. Unfortunately the right to govern ourselves under the Federal Union has been distinguished more for competition than for cooperation. During our many years as a nation we have differed, argued, quarreled and fought over the rightful balance of authority between the two governments. The whole problem has a history, at times an explosive and violent one—the Articles of Confederation—Thomas Jefferson and States rights—Calhoun and Webster—Lincoln and Douglas—even the Civil War.

For the first 150 years we followed a very rigid concept of States rights. In the economic depression of the thirties the pendulum swung the other way. I believe too far the other way. The power and the place of the State governments declined. The Federal Government becamse all-powerful.

This experience taught us a hard lesson. It taught us that the United States of America is too big and complex for one big government. The wisdom of the Founding Fathers was again vindicated. Only under a cooperative system could the functions of government be performed beneficially and economically. Every level of government, both Federal and State, had its place. The lines were not too rigid but each had its rightful place.

I believe the continued success of our Federal system of government lies solely in the ability of the Federal and State governments to cooperate with each other on problems where they each share a mutual responsibility. Competition between the two governments must give way to cooperation.

In recent years there has been a strong trend in State leadership toward the more sterile and rigid concept of States rights

rather than the concept of cooperation. Some of this leadership finds great satisfaction in deploring the "do-gooders." Frankly, I think the real danger is with the "do-nothings." They are the leadership which deplore the situation confronting our Government, regretting tearfully that nothing can be done. They completely misjudge the pulse of the American people. We are a dynamic people in a dynamic country. We either go forward or we fail. We are not content to stand still. This policy can only lead us down a dead end road toward the ultimate destruction of our country.

We see this conflict going on today in the important fields of education and highways. These are two of the traditional functions of the States which may prove to be beyond the capacities of the States to solve. As a matter of fact, the President of the United States is offering to give additional assistance to the States on these functions. In this regard he has called a national conference on education and has established a President's commission on highways. Of course, any such solution would involve some Federal control and additional Federal financial aid. Those who espouse the strict doctrine of States rights are opposed to any such approach to our problems.

I wish to make my position very clear. I believe these are but examples of problems where the Federal and State Government may share a mutual responsibility. I believe in the doctrine of cooperation and I am not opposed to the consideration of these kinds of program.

I am not afraid of the policies of a President who shares my political faith. I am mindful of his statement to the Governors of our States a year ago when he said, "I am here for a very simple purpose. Because of my indestructible conviction that unless we preserve in this country the place of the State government, its traditional place, with the power, the authority, the responsibility and the revenues necessary to discharge those responsibilities, then we are not going to have America as we have known it; we will have some other form of government."

I have always believed in States' rights but I also believe that States' rights is a responsibility for action and not an excuse for inaction. During my administration as Governor, I intend to do everything possible to preserve and exalt the power and the place of State government. I know this can only be done by discharging the constitutional obligations of State government to the people.

I describe myself neither as a "do-gooder" nor a "do-nothing." For lack of a better term I describe myself as a "do-something." Perhaps I am what the President has termed a "progressive moderate."

As the Governor of this State, I am also considered to be the head of my political party. I should like to say this about party responsibility. Under the American system of government, it is fundamental that the political party which has been put in power by the people has not only the solemn obligation of service to the people—but to administer the affairs of government with efficiency and integrity. This carries with it the equally solemn duty of self-discipline, to police one's own house and to keep it in order. I give you my solemn pledge that so long as I am the head of my party we shall keep our house in order.

I am very grateful to all of you for the opportunity to serve you. I believe never before in our State has a Governor owed so little to so few, and so much to so many, as I do to you, the people of Kansas. I am under no obligation to no one but you. I have no master but you.

And now as I enter this high office, with all the humility at my command, I pray to God for the physical strength, the mental ability and the moral courage to discharge the responsibilities which are mine. I pray for these things as, together, we embark on this great and thrilling adventure in the history of our country—the 33d chapter of the State of Kansas.

Governor Arn's Farewell to Kansas Citizens

Before I bid you farewell, I want particularly to tell you how much Mrs. Arn, our daughters, and I have appreciated the hospitality we have received here in Topeka. Because of your kindness we shall always feel at home here in the capital city. And equally heartwarming, have been our visits to other cities of the State, and our reception there we also appreciate. I am grateful also for the help and cooperation I have received from so many fellow Kansans, both in the public service, and in private capacities.

I shall always be very proud to have served as your governor for these 4 years. It has been a rich experience. During that period I have traveled to every part and corner of our State; and such a tour of Kansas is a wonderful textbook on Kansas progress and history.

Of course, progress always leaves in its wake challenging problems—but I know Kansas and Kansans will meet any new problems just as they have been met in the past, resolutely, confidently, and successfully.

My visits with our people of the Sunflower State have strengthened my conviction that they are closer to the pioneer spirit and virtues than the people of any other State. And it is understandable that this should be so, for Kansas was not founded by men seeking gold, or hunting for a fortune; but by men in search of, and willing to die for, an ideal.

Do you remember the words of Whittier on that mural just behind the Governor's desk: "They crossed the prairies as of old the Pilgrims crossed the sea, to make the West, as they the East, the homestead of the free."

That spirit still lives in Kansas. It has been nurtured on our farms, in our towns and cities, and upon the broad plains.

Yes, we in Kansas proudly answer to being called a conservative State and a conservative people—yet we have made progress unequaled by most of our sister States. We have led the Nation in many fields of governmental progress, we have no debt, we operate on a pay-as-you-go basis, and our financial house is in good order.

I am certain it is that pioneer spirit that has guided us through flood and drought, good times and bad, and has helped Kansas to lead the way.

We are proud too, that in our Nation's Capital there is a Kansan, possessed of that same spirit, who is there leading the way—leading the way for a better nation, and a better world—at peace.

We have just concluded a holiday season during which, for the first time in nearly 20 years, war has not been in progress somewhere around the world. Our fellow Kansan in the White House is directly responsible for this accomplishment, and I know we all hope and pray that as that time draws near, President Eisenhower will again answer the call to continue his fine leadership of this great Nation. We will need him again, even more than we did in 1952.

And now, I leave the office of governor, with all of its honor and responsibilities with a feeling of humble pride—with deep gratitude to the people of Kansas and to my fellow workers, legislators and State officials.

And as I leave this capitol building today with great confidence that our State will continue its march of progress—I pledge my cooperation to our new governor and official family, with a wish to him and to them for every possible success as we all work together for an even greater Kansas.

Foreign Trade and Milwaukee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in a few weeks, this House will once again consider the question of United States foreign trade policy. In the belief that the information appearing below will prove of interest and help to the membership of this body in conjunction with that issue, I wish to place in the record the complete text of an informative study entitled "Foreign Trade and Milwaukee."

This study was initiated at my request during the early months of 1953, and it was completed and released on November 4, 1954. The survey was conducted under the general supervision of Dr. Howard S. Piquet, senior specialist in international trade at the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, with the collaboration and assistance of Mr. Harold T. Lamar, of the Senior Specialists Division of the Legislative Reference Service, who prepared the report.

I should like to express my sincere appreciation for the very fine work which Dr. Piquet and Mr. Lamar did on this study. We are also indebted to Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, Director of the Legislative Reference Service, without whose cooperation this study could not have been possible.

Much of the routine and clerical work incident to the gathering of the data for the report on "Foreign Trade and Milwaukee" was done at my office, and I have carefully followed each stage of the survey. The entire study consumed very much effort, and I sincerely hope that the resultant findings will prove of value to the Members of this body and to all other persons interested in the question of our foreign trade policy.

It should be mentioned at this point that this study was not intended to be all-inclusive. Its main emphasis is on the primary impact of foreign trade on manufacturing firms in the Milwaukee metropolitan area. Within this and other limitations described in detail below, the study constitutes, in my opinion, a constructive and valuable contribution to a better understanding of what foreign trade means to all of us.

The Library of Congress,
Legislative Reference Service,
Washington, D. C., October 14, 1954.

The Honorable Clement J. Zablocki,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Zablocki: We are pleased to submit herewith the report Foreign Trade and Milwaukee which we have prepared at your request.

As you know, this report was written in the Senior Specialists Division by Harold T. Lamar, under the general supervision of Howard S. Piquet, senior specialist in international trade.

We want to take this opportunity to thank you and your staff for the splendid coopera-

tion rendered to us in the preparation of this survey.

Cordially yours,

ERNEST S. GRIFFITH,
Director.

FOREIGN TRADE AND MILWAUKEE

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

This report was prepared by the Legislative Reference Service at the request, and with the cooperation of, Representative CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, of the Fourth Congressional District, Milwaukee, Wis.

Considerable attention is being given to United States foreign-trade policy. The time-honored arguments of the protectionists and free traders are still being used, but to many, the tariff remains a pretty dry subject. In these postwar days of renewed competition in world markets and the threatened splits in the economic solidarity of the free world the general public should have a clear idea, as individuals, of their economic position with regard to foreign trade. By examining the impact of foreign trade on their own communities, citizens will be better equipped to know the direction in which their interest lies as between encouraging imports and exports by lowering trade barriers and maintaining import barriers when necessary to protect industries whose continued healthy operation is in their own interest.

Surveys or studies of the impacts of foreign trade upon particular cities, counties, and other political subdivisions have been criticized by some on the ground that they do not present a picture of the full impact of foreign trade. These areas are hardly ever self-contained economic entities, and economic forces in other parts of the economy inevitably affect the local situation. Admittedly, it would be difficult to trace all of the indirect effects of foreign trade on a particular region's economy.

This is a survey of the initial impact of foreign trade on the Milwaukee metropolitan area. The word "initial" is emphasized because a study covering all the ramifications of the effects of foreign trade on Milwaukee would entail much more exhaustive and detailed analysis than time or available tools permit. Since no field work was possible in connection with this survey certain aspects of Milwaukee's foreign trade position have possibly been overlooked.

As a survey of the initial impact of foreign trade the main emphasis in this study has been on the manufacturing firms and their employees in the metropolitan area. The less direct effects of foreign trade on other sectors of the economy such as transportation, trade and services are less adaptable to a detailed analysis on a community basis. Since Milwaukee is a manufacturing center the direct effects of foreign trade on agriculture are not of immediate concern. The manufacturing firms and their workers in the area produce goods that are exported, or that are competitive with imports. They also use the raw and semifinished materials that are imported.

The 145,000 workers employed in the 180 manufacturing firms that responded to the questionnaire represent about three-fourths of all manufacturing workers in Milwaukee. The manufacturing workers covered by this survey also account for one-third of all employees in the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

No attempt has been made to analyze the extent of the interests of the workers, as between exports and the displacement effects of imports, upon an individual company basis. To attempt to do this would lead to blind alleys and would involve a risk of logical error. The proportion of a company's output that is exported cannot be used to measure the export interest of that firm any more than can the displacement effects of highly competitive imports, in the final analysis, be measured by the number of workers affected in the first instance.

The logical presumption, throughout, is that segments of an economy that have no direct interest in foreign trade will be benefited by the achievement of the greatest good for the greatest number of those who are affected directly by changes in imports and exports. Thus, if the industries that are on an export basis were to suffer from a loss in exports, the effects would be felt in all parts of the economy of the area in question and in adjacent areas. Similarly, companies which are forced to contract their operations in whole or in part because of import competition would transmit that effect throughout the community and the adjacent economy.

If, then, the companies which are confronted with import competition employ more workers than those which would be benefited by increased exports, the presumption is that the economy of the entire area would suffer if competitive imports were to increase—at least insofar as immediate effects are concerned. Contrarily, if companies which export some of their products or which, in importing raw materials, employ more workers than do the companies protected by import barriers, the presumption is that the economy of the area would suffer if foreign trade were to contract.

To study the secondary, tertiary, and more indirect effects of increased foreign trade both with regard to exports and import competition would necessarily involve, ultimately, a study of the economy of the entire Nation. The parts of the national economy are all tied together, and a stress or strain anywhere is felt everywhere in greater or less degree. What would be gained by more completeness of logic would be lost in terms of closeup facts at the community level. Just as a stone thrown into a lake makes an initial splash with ripples extending to all shores, so would the economic fact of a substantial change in imports or exports reverberate throughout the economy. Those who emphasize the displacing effects of increased imports, or those who, on the contrary, stress the indirect expansive effects of increased exports, are sometimes prone to concentrate entirely upon the one set of effects at the expense of the other. In the lake analogy, just alluded to, it would be incorrect to concentrate on the ripples extending to only one shore of the lake. A complete picture would require that the ripples extending in all directions be studied. That is to say, the indirect effects of increased imports should not be studied unless, at the same time, similar attention is devoted to the positive and indirect effects of increased exports.

Yet, the fact that it is not feasible to analyze all of the indirect effects of changes in foreign trade is no reason why, at the community level, we should not know as much as possible, in concrete terms, about the immediate impacts of foreign trade. The size of the initial splash, to revert to the analogy, has much to do with the size and the extent of the ripples in both directions. If the initial impact is not great the chances are that the indirect effects will not be great either.

On the basis of the replies to the questions contained in the questionnaire it appears that about 3½ percent of the workers employed by manufacturing establishments answering the questionnaire in the Milwaukee area work for companies that are conscious of direct competition between the products which they produce and imports. (See table I.) Another 33 percent of the workers are employed by companies that are conscious of such competition, but which also export some of their own products to foreign countries. Here the interest is mixed and it would be incorrect to count the entire number of workers as either protected or as on the export side of the question.

TABLE I.—*Summary: Workers in manufacturing firms of Milwaukee classified according to reported interest in foreign trade, 1953*

[Derived from replies to questionnaires, representing about three-fourths of all manufacturing workers in the Milwaukee area]

Type of interest	Number of firms	Number of workers represented in survey	
		Number	Percent of total
I. Faced with import competition	15	4,933	3.4
II. Mixed interest (interested in both exports and in import competition)	42	48,158	33.2
III. Export interest	54	76,630	52.8
IV. No expressed interest (no direct interest in export or in import competition)	69	15,435	10.6
Total	180	[1]145,566	100.0

[1] Accounts for about 75 percent of all manufacturing workers in the Milwaukee area.

TABLE II.—*Percentage distribution of workers in manufacturing establishments of Milwaukee, classified according to foreign trade interest of industry groups* [1]

[Derived from replies to questionnaires, representing about ¾ of all manufacturing workers in the Milwaukee area]

Industry group	Foreign trade interest				
	I Faced with import competition	II Mixed (interested in both exports and import competition)	III Export interest	IV No expressed interest	Total
Food products	0.8	25.9	62.6	7.2	100.0
Textile products	11.3	66.2	1.5	21.1	100.0
Wood and paper products	23.3	5.9	33.7	37.1	100.0
Chemical, petroleum, clay products, etc	34.0	17.0	41.4	7.6	100.0
Leather products	17.6	53.1	19.5	9.9	100.0
Metal products	3.1	19.2	31.0	46.7	100.0
Machinery	.1	33.7	63.5	2.7	100.0
Miscellaneous	4.7	55.0	39.8	.5	100.0
Total	3.4	33.2	52.8	10.6	100.0

[1] For actual number of workers see table "Summary of number of workers of replying firms on basis of exports and competitive imports" in section on "Results of the survey."

Almost 53 percent of the workers, however, are employed by manufacturing establishments that export some of their products to foreign countries and which are not concerned about competition from imports. About 10½ percent of the workers are employed by companies that express no interest in either exports or in import competition. This last-named group to which should be added mercantile workers, transportation workers, professional people, and others, would be affected to lesser or greater degree by increased exports or increased imports presumably only to the extent that such changes in foreign trade would make for greater, or less, prosperity in the economy of the city as a whole.

In table II these facts are broken down according to industry groups. The upper section of this chart shows the importance of these eight groups, in terms of number of workers. Largest of all is the machinery group, with over 89,000 workers employed. Next are the metal products and the food products groups, with about 16,000 workers in each.

The lower portion of the chart shows, in terms of percentage distribution, the proportion of workers in each industry group according to the interest of the firms in the group with regard to exports and with regard to import competition.

The greatest percentage of workers who are employed in firms likely to be affected by import competition are in the chemical, petroleum, clay, and glass products group. Next in importance are the wood and paper products, leather products and textile products groups. It should be noted, however, that these are the four groups that have the smallest number of workers, as is indicated in the upper portion of the chart.

The export interest is dominant, on the other hand, in the machinery group, which accounts for over 89,000 workers, the food products group and the metal products group, and the miscellaneous groups. Even in the wood and paper products, and the chemical products groups, however, the export interest is considerably greater than the import competitive interest. In the leather products group the export interest is only slightly greater than the competitive import interest.

From table II, it is clear that some industries have a high proportion of firms and workers which have a mixed interest as regards exports and competitive imports. As pointed out previously, there has been no attempt to measure the extent of interest in exports or imports on an individual firm basis. Companies and industries which encounter import competition are more inclined to raise questions of protection from unfair competition or cheap labor imports than are exporting firms inclined to stress the importance of markets abroad. On the other hand, the immense size and potentials of the American market are such that internal market considerations often outweigh the attention which might be given to the possibility of export markets in the future resulting from a reduction in trade barriers.

The availability of dollars abroad, the maze of currency restrictions and other import barriers which American exporters face, the resurgence of competition in export markets, both in terms of well-made highly competitive goods and in terms of extensive credit facilities used by other exporting countries, are all mentioned in the replies to the questionnaire as of significance to Milwaukee manufacturers.

Finally, many firms in every industry in Milwaukee need and use goods produced abroad. Imports of hops and malt for the breweries, newsprint for the paper industry, special hides and leather for the leather goods industry, nickel and many other metals and alloys for the metal products industry, special lenses and instruments for the instruments industry, all link Milwaukee with the rest of the world. The facilities of its excellent deepwater harbor, the opportunities to be provided by the St. Lawrence seaway, and its advantageous position in regards to routes of the major railroads, give Milwaukee a deepening interest in foreign trade.

METHOD AND LIMITATION

Method

Since Milwaukee's economy is devoted largely to manufacturing, the main emphasis of this study is on manufacturing firms in its metropolitan area. By consulting census data as to sizes of firms, types of industries, and total manufacturing employment a fair idea of the industrial make-up of Milwaukee was developed. With this industrial picture in mind a list of 250 firms was selected to be surveyed by correspondence.

A letter was sent to these 250 firms, explaining the purpose of the survey and asking their cooperation by answering the following questions:

1. What are the principal products produced by your company?
2. What was your annual output of these principal products in 1953? (in value and in units of quantity, if possible).
3. With which of your products do you regard imports as competitive? Which imports?
4. Which of your products do you sell for export abroad? (In value and in units of quantity, if possible).
5. Are any of the materials used by you imported from abroad? If you do not have this information will you please furnish us with a list of materials that go into your products?
6. What is your total average employment?
7. We shall appreciate any comment you may care to make regarding the significance of (a) exports and (b) imports to:

(i) Your own company.

(ii) The industry of which your company is a part.

(iii) The city of Milwaukee.

About three-fourths (180) of the firms replied. Responses to the letters differed as to the completeness of their answers. Some firms merely supplied short answers to the questions 1–6. Others commented at length on the importance of exports and imports to their own firms, to their industry and to the city of Milwaukee.

For the purpose of analyzing the impact of foreign trade on the present or potential markets of the products of Milwaukee's manufacturers the 180 replies were classed into the following broad categories:

1. Firms which stated that imports are competitive with their products and which do not export.
2. Firms with a mixed interest which stated that imports are competitive with their products and which also export.
3. Firms which export and which are not concerned with import competition.
4. Firms which stated that they do not export and do not consider imports to be competitive with their products.

By totaling the number of workers of the firms in each of the four categories a quantitative measure of the importance of each category was established. Also analyzed were the commodities produced abroad on which Milwaukee manufacturers are dependent.

Other sources have also been utilized to throw light on the position of Milwaukee with respect to foreign trade, especially businesses and workers in transportation and in the trade and service industries. Census data, as previously mentioned, directories, State and private publications, magazine articles, and general reference works were all used.

Limitations

Economic forces in operation throughout the entire country have an impact on the economy of Milwaukee. This is especially true in the case of this city since it is a center of capital equipment industries, often designated as "feast or famine" lines of activity. It is probable that some producers in Milwaukee are affected by import competition indirectly through the customers which they supply in other parts of the country. Likewise, in some instances, Milwaukee manufacturers sell their products to other industries which have a substantial export interest not apparent to the supplying firms in Milwaukee. These relationships often are not apparent, although several such situations were indicated in the replies. When such information is not available, it is impossible to note, much less to trace, these secondary and tertiary effects of foreign trade on the region.

The effects of competitive imports, exports, or dependence on imports is less clear on such industries as transportation, trade, and services than on manufacturing industries. To the extent that the reverberations from the initial impact of foreign trade are not traceable the scope of this survey and the conclusions which might otherwise be drawn are limited.

Another limitation inherent in this study and closely related to the one above is the lack of field work. There was no opportunity for first-hand interviews with the people in industry and labor in Milwaukee. Census tables are an inadequate substitute for personal inspection of the economic character of a city or community. Neither is correspondence altogether satisfactory as a means of collecting information. Fortunately, a substantial number of firms replied to the questionnaire, and many of the replies were fully expository as to the importance of foreign trade to the area.

The interest of a number of manufacturing firms and industries with respect to foreign trade is divided. On the one hand, they export a substantial proportion of their products; on the other hand, part of their production is apparently faced with keen import competition. This appears to be true of some firms manufacturing heavy electrical equipment which is said to be facing stiff competition from Britain, and to a lesser extent from Germany and Italy. Without more facts than are presently available it is not possible to measure the balance of interest in these cases. Indeed, for the country as a whole, it would appear that many of these industries and firms have themselves not arrived at a complete answer as to the effects of foreign trade on their operations.

Finally, it must be added that the extent and direction of adjustments in domestic industries and firms is not foreseeable if exports were to be sharply curtailed or if imports were to be allowed to compete freely with domestic production.

To conclude that a particular community has, in fact, an export interest on the basis of the number of workers in exporting firms, and, therefore, an interest in lower trade barriers and higher levels of trade does not take into account the adjustments that might be necessary if imports were to be allowed to compete more freely by reducing import barriers. Or to say that a region faced with import competition of a damaging magnitude has an interest in higher import barriers and a protected domestic market merely on the basis of the number of firms and employees clearly threatened by import competition, again, does not take into account the adjustments to the economy that would be necessitated by a curtailment of exports.

Too many other economic forces are at work in a dynamic economy to allow characterization of a community as proof positive of the benefits of freer trade or as an infallible example of the advantages of protection. The purpose of surveys such as this is to place in more local and, it is hoped, more understandable, terms the problems that the

United States faces in finding and following a foreign trade policy in the national interest.

THE ECONOMY OF MILWAUKEE

Milwaukee is the largest metropolitan area in Wisconsin. It is located 85 miles north of Chicago, Ill., on the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan and has a population of approximately 900,000. The metropolitan area embraces the whole of Milwaukee County.[1] Besides the city of Milwaukee, which accounts for 73 percent of the area's population, such cities as Cudahy, South Milwaukee, West Allis, Wauwatosa, and others are also included in the metropolitan area.

In terms of population Milwaukee is the 16th ranking metropolitan area. In recent years it has ranked eighth or ninth among metropolitan areas in terms of "value added by manufacture."

The Milwaukee metropolitan area has a labor force of over 380,000 workers.[2] According to the 1950 Census of Population the labor force is engaged in the following types of employment.

TABLE III.—*Labor force employed in the Milwaukee metropolitan area, 1950*

Industry	Number employed	Percent of total
Agriculture, mining, and forest and fisheries	2,604	(1)
Construction	18,966	5
Manufacturing	160,545	43
Transportation, trade, and services	192,640	51
Total	374,755	100

[1] Less than 1 percent.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. United States Census of population: 1950 vol, II, Characteristics of the population, pt. 49, Wisconsin. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952: 61.

Agriculture, forest and fisheries, and mining

Employment and economic activity in agriculture, forest and fisheries, and mining are very limited in the Milwaukee metropolitan area. Of the 2,600 workers employed in these 3 industries in 1950, approximately 2,200 were engaged in agricultural pursuits. For Milwaukee County the value of all crops sold was $6.5 million in 1949 (the latest agricultural census). Horticultural specialists, $3.1 million, and dairy products, $1.1 million, together, accounted for two-thirds of the total value of farm products sold in Milwaukee County.[3] Within the metropolitan area itself farming is very limited, although Milwaukee, as a commercial center, services the products of the rich farmland to the west. The initial impact of foreign trade on Milwaukee is of little direct consequence to agriculture in the region. The same can be said for the mining and for the forest and fisheries industries.

Transportation

Approximately 17,500 workers were engaged in the transportation industry of Milwaukee in 1950. The city's transportation facilities are good and include 3 major railroads, 11 airlines, numerous trucking firms, convenient warehousing terminals, and modern port facilities serving an excellent deepwater port.

The three major railroads that serve the Milwaukee metropolitan area are the Chicago & North Western Railway System, the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad Co., and the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Sainte Marie Railroad Co. Milwaukee's proximity to Chicago, the Nation's railroad hub, puts the area within reach of most major rail lines, and Milwaukee's freight rates to the east are the same as Chicago's. This freight rate advantage is due, at least in part, to the efficient car ferry services which cross Lake Michigan between Milwaukee and the Michigan cities of Muskegon and Ludington. The car ferry lines are operated by the Grand Trunk Western Railway and the Chesapeake & Ohio, which give Milwaukee direct rail connections to the east across Lake Michigan.

The trucking firms which serve the Milwaukee metropolitan area include: Advance Express, Cushman Motor Delivery, Hancock Trucklines, Interstate Dispatching, Interstate Motor Freight, Trans-American Freight, Ziffrin System, and Olsen Service. These companies and others in the area are used extensively to handle the freight which moves over the docks of the port, especially fuels and building materials. Trucking firms also provide a more than auxiliary transportation service connecting Milwaukee with other commercial and industrial centers in the Midwest.

With a new terminal to be completed in the fall of 1954, it is said that the modern facilities at General Mitchell Field in Milwaukee will match most of the airfields in the country. The field is operated by the county. Milwaukee is also fortunate in having an airport conveniently located near its business district. The terminal facilities at the Maitland airfield include accommodations for seaplanes, amphibian, and land-type aircraft. With a growing emphasis on air cargo and air travel, Milwaukee is at present well served by such airlines as: American, Capital, Flying Tiger Air Freight, Northwest, United, Emory Air Freight, Acme Air Cargo, Wisconsin Central, Anderson Air Activities, and Braniff.

The port of Milwaukee

Milwaukee's port, one of the leading Great Lakes ports, handles a large volume of bulk traffic, mainly coal. In recent years, petroleum products have been increasing in importance as a bulk commodity in the port's commerce. Included in an annual average of 8 million tons, in addition to bulk traffic, is the car-ferry traffic and foreign commerce. Package freight on the Great Lakes has been considerably reduced since the beginning of World War II.

The port itself consists of an outer basin or harbor of refuge, and the inner commercial harbor located in the three rivers, the Milwaukee, the Menominee, and Kinnickinnic, and a system of artificial slips and canals which flow throught the city. It is said that the port of Milwaukee is commercial rather than industrial in character.[4] It remains to be seen whether, in conjunction with the planned development of the port and the growing industrialization of the region, the port will acquire a more industrial flavor. The position of the port of Milwaukee in foreign trade is discussed below.[5]

Commercial and financial services

Milwaukee is also an important commercial and financial center. Although its nearness to Chicago probably has discouraged development to some extent, Milwaukee's commerce has grown with the increased tempo of its manufacturing industries. It is estimated that the Milwaukee metropolitan area has an effective annual buying income of $1.9 billion. Retail sales are estimated to have reached $1.2 billion in 1953, while wholesale sales amounted to an estimated $769 million.[6] Milwaukee's 30 banks and 12 branch banks have resources of $1.3 billion. At least five of Milwaukee's banks have foreign-trade departments. With the advantages of its excellent transportation connections to the east and the vast marketing area to the west as far as the Rocky Mountains, Milwaukee probably will continue to grow in commercial importance.

Manufacturing

Milwaukee's manufacturing industry is highly diversified. Among its products are turbines, trucks, farm machinery, automobile bodies, bulldozers, and many other kinds of earth-moving machinery, motorcycles, gasoline and diesel engines, outboard motors, beer, leather and leather products, iron pipe and high-pressure steel pipe, and many types of special machines such as food-product machinery and baling presses. The following table shows employment and value added by manufacture for 1947 and 1953 (estimated):

TABLE IV.—*Manufacturing establishments, manufacturing employment, and value added by manufacture for the Milwaukee metropolitan area, 1947 and 1953 (estimated)*

Industry group	Establishments, 1947 [1]	All employees		Value added by manufacture	
		1947 [1]	1953 [2]	1947 [1]	1953 [2]
				Thousands of dollars	*Thousands of dollars*
Food and kindred products	248	19,532	19,800	176,240	255,000
Tobacco manufactures	15	153	100	(3)	(3)
Textile mill products	31	4,368	4,600	20,033	21,000
Apparel and related products	90	5,324	3,200	21,882	15,000
Lumber and products	52	1,188	1,800	5,467	11,000
Furniture and fixtures	47	1,216	1,200	5,632	8,000
Paper and allied products	34	3,455	4,000	22,235	33,000
Printing and publishing	247	9,051	9,200	48,727	62,000
Chemicals and allied products	119	2,909	3,100	21,111	32,000
Petroleum and coal products	8	703	800	5,387	7,000
Rubber products	9	210	(3)	(3)	(3)
Leather and leather products	76	8,962	8,600	47,065	50,000
Stone, clay, and glass products	79	1,368	1,300	7,137	10,000
Primary metal industries	81	13,755	15,300	73,211	122,000
Fabricated metal industries	217	12,957	14,500	74,407	120,000
Machinery (except electrical)	390	53,690	54,900	262,546	422,000
Electrical machinery	65	20,679	26,600	123,018	200,000
Transportation equipment	32	14,775	19,000	65,395	127,000
Instruments and related products	20	992	1,200	4,897	10,000
Miscellaneous manufactures	103	1,915	(3)	7,525	(3)
Total	1,963	177,202	199,800	973,335	1,502,000

[1] Census of Manufactures: 1947, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, vol. III, Statistics by States, table 5, pp. 648, 649.
[2] Sales Management (New York), May 10, 1954, pp. 58–78.
[3] Not available.

A study of the table shows that the six major industry groups—machinery, except electrical; food and kindred products; electrical machinery; transportation equipment; fabricated metal and primary metals—account for over three-fourths of the value added by manufacture as well as three-fourths of total manufacturing employment. Other important manufacturing industries are leather and leather products, printing

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

and publishing, and paper and allied products industries.

According to the 1950 census, approximately 43 percent of the labor force in the Milwaukee metropolitan area is engaged in manufacturing and over two-thirds of the manufacturing employment is in the durable-goods field.

Milwaukee, as a manufacturing center, has a high degree of skilled labor. It has excellent supplier-consumer relationships in the primary to fabricated metal to finished machinery and equipment industries. Indicative of its skilled workmen are the successes of Milwaukee's inventors; Milwaukee can claim such early "firsts" in machines as the first practical typewriter, the outboard motor, a recording meter, and a pig-iron casting machine. These and many other inventions and innovations mark the substantial contributions that have been made to the advancement of business and industry by the industrial skills of Milwaukeeans.

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

The letters that were sent to 250 firms elicited 180 responses. These 180 firms employ over 145,000 workers, or almost three-fourths of all manufacturing employment in the metropolitan area.

Every major type of manufacturing enterprise in Milwaukee is represented in the replies that have been received. Practically every shade of opinion has been expressed regarding the importance of foreign trade to the Milwaukee manufacturing community. Opinions are to be found among the replies ranging from extreme indifference to well thought-out statements of company or industry position on foreign trade and foreign trade policy.

Exports and competitive imports

The following analysis is concerned with the effects of foreign trade on manufacturers of the Milwaukee area with respect to markets and sales. The extent to which the manufacturers of Milwaukee are dependent upon imports of raw and semifinished materials will be discussed below.[7]

It is clear that a number of the firms in the area are faced with import competition. In other cases a division of interests exists in that the firms which export also produce commodities with which imports are competitive. On the other hand, many firms which export do not find imports to be competitive at all. Finally, many firms do not export and do not produce commodities which compete with imports.

The replies are broken down into the following categories:

I. Firms which are confronted with import competition and which do no exporting.

II. Firms with a mixed interest, in that they export and are also confronted with import competition.

III. Firms which export and which are not concerned with import competition.

IV. Firms which reply that they have no interest in exports and that they are not concerned with import competition.

The replies have been tabulated on the basis of the information contained in the replies. If a firm states in its reply that imports are competitive and that it has no exports it is placed, automatically, in category I. If the reply states that the company exports and produces commodities competitive with imports it is placed in category II, etc. No attempt has been made to go beyond the reply in order to force a company into any category.

In summarizing the replies under the categories above in quantitative terms, the number of employees is used since the number of employees is the only common denominator in the replies. The following table shows the results of the analysis of the replies on the basis of the above categories by number of workers.

Footnotes at end of speech.

TABLE V.—*Summary of number of workers of replying firms on basis of exports and competitive imports*

Industry groups	Number of workers in firms with—				Total
	Import competitive interest (I)	Mixed interest (II)	Export interest (III)	No expressed interest (IV)	
Food and kindred products	125	4,855	10,300	1,180	16,460
Textile mill products, and apparel and related products	770	4,530	100	1,443	6,843
Lumber and wood products, paper and allied products	1,100	278	1,590	1,747	4,715
Chemical and allied products, petroleum and coal products, and stone, clay, and glass products	801	400	975	180	2,356
Leather and leather products	1,487	4,490	1,650	835	8,462
Primary metal and fabricated metal industries	510	3,150	5,100	7,666	16,426
Machinery, including electrical and transportation equipment	100	29,985	56,575	2,380	89,040
Miscellaneous	40	470	340	4	854
Total	4,933	48,158	76,630	15,435	145,156
Number of firms replying	15	42	54	69	180

Summary of the replies

Fifteen of the manufacturing establishments responding to the questionnaire state that imports are competitive with their products and that they have no export sales. These firms (designated category I) employ about 5,000 workers. There are 42 firms employing over 48,000 workers in category II, those which find imports competitive and which also export. In category III—companies with some interest in exports—there are 54 firms employing 76,600 persons. There are 69 firms which indicate in their replies that they neither export nor produce commodities which are competitive with imports. These firms (category IV) employ slightly more than 15,000 workers.

On an industry basis the replies give a closer picture of the impact of exports and competitive imports on Milwaukee manufacturers. The replies are classed in broad manufacturing industry groups since many Milwaukee manufacturers are fully integrated companies producing a variety of products.

Food and kindred products: Along with its beer, Milwaukee, once an important milling center, still has several millers and grain products manufacturers. Being in what the citizens of Wisconsin term, "the dairyland of America," dairy products are also an important item in the manufacture of food and kindred products in Milwaukee.

Replies were received from 17 firms (16,500 employees) in the food and kindred products industry in Milwaukee. Among the commodities produced by these companies are: beer, canned vegetables, meat products, malt, corn products, yeast and similar products, chocolate and cocoa products, candies, cookies, fountain topping, and chocolate dairy powders, dairy products, and nutritional supplements.

I. Import competitive interest: Only one firm in the food and kindred industry fell into the category of not exporting, but experiencing import competition. This firm producing chocolate and cocoa products states that cocoa powders in bulk are being imported from Holland, England, France, and Italy. The firm expresses its position in the following way:

"Cocoa powders from these various countries are not particularly troublesome in the city of Milwaukee, as much as they are in other parts of the country to which we ship. Even in Milwaukee, however, cocoa powder from Holland is being delivered at prices far below our cost. * * *

"These imports of foreign cocoa powders have cut deeply into the cocoa powder business of the entire American chocolate manufacturing group. Since the manufacture of cocoa powders also yields cocoa butter which is vital in the manufacture of chocolate products themselves disturbance to the United States chocolate manufacturers goes far deeper than any loss in cocoa powders business itself."

II. Mixed interest: Eight manufacturers of food and kindred products indicate in their replies that they find imports competitive and also export their products. Two malt manufacturers which consider imported malt to be competitive also export. One malt producer exports only 1 percent of total production, the other 8 percent.

A manufacturer of crackers, cookies, packaged candies, etc., evidently has very little export sales, with the exception of military sales abroad; the firm replies:

"Imports of European candies in boxes, bags, and also bars at lower prices than we can possibly manufacture for are now on the upgrade and commonly seen in the United States markets. This could seriously affect not only our sales picture but the sales of the entire candy industry in the near future."

A dairy which produces bottled milk, ice cream, evaporated milk, and powdered milk, considers powdered milk from Holland to be competitive. However, it also exports sweetened powdered milk in small quantities.

A producer of corn grits, corn meal, corn flakes (brewers and confectioners), core binder, processed flours, hominy feed, and corn oil considers various grains used for feeding to be competitive with hominy feed. Otherwise, this firm exports corn grits, meal, flakes, and core binder. The amount of exports is not known.

Two major meat and meat-products producers in Milwaukee consider canned hams as generally competitive. Both export lard, and one also exports dry salted pork, dry sausage, and smoked meats. One firm states that it "attaches no special significance to either imports or exports to (its) operations in Milwaukee."

A small firm producing food seed products for feeding cage and outdoor birds, and lawn-seed and grass-seed mixture, exports its bird products on a limited scale. This firm considers imports of both bird products and lawn seed to be competitive. It is, however, dependent on importations of niger, canary, poppy, sesame, poa trivilis, and fescues seed.

III. Export interest: Among the food and kindred product producers which export are three breweries. Although exports of beer do not appear to be very important to these firms, one beer company exported 5 percent of its production in 1953. It would appear on the basis of the replies that imports of beer are not considered to be of much concern, competitively speaking. A small firm manufacturing nutritional supplements exported 3 percent of its production to Can-

nda in 1953 and has no competition from exports.

The above firms employ 10,300 workers.

IV. No expressed interest: There are 4 firms manufacturing food and related products employing about 1,200 workers which state that they are not affected by import competition or availability of export markets. Among the products of these firms were canned vegetables, meat products, and yeast and similar products.

Textile mill and apparel and related products: Replies were received from 11 firms employing approximately 6,800 workers in the textile and apparel industries.

I. Import competitive interest: In the manufacture of apparel and related products two manufacturers having no export sales express concern about import competition. The first manufactures women's fabric gloves, made from nylon, cotton, and rayon materials, and men's and ladies' leather dress gloves. In answer to the question concerning import competition the company replies that:

"All of our products are in direct competition with imports. Our industry does not require a large investment in buildings, land, and machinery, but a substantial investment in the training costs of help. Because it is in the needle trades and does not require a large initial capital investment, it encourages many people as individuals to enter into the industry. Labor is a high percentage of the total cost, and because of the fact that there are such wide differentials in labor costs in foreign countries, we find that they are able to manufacture at substantially lower costs, even in spite of the nominal duty rates that exist at the present time."

With regard to the significance of foreign trade the company comments as follows:

"Exports are of no significance to our company or our industry, as long as we have to compete in those foreign markets with sources of supply that are paying labor rates of from $1 a week to 25 cents an hour. The city of Milwaukee obviously is interested in exports because many of the industries here are manufacturers of heavy goods and are interested in expanding their world markets. They are producing goods in an industry that requires a high capital outlay but one that does not have the competition on a worldwide basis that an industry such as ours has. Imports are highly significant to our company in our industry because they seriously compete with the products that we are making and jeopardize the possibility of our continuing to produce these items in this country. From that standpoint, it can well affect the economy of our city since the largest share of our employees are women, which helps to stabilize the labor force."

A very small amount of women's nylon dress gloves is exported by this firm, although the exports are insignificant in terms of total company operations.

The second firm, a manufacturer of millinery, although not affected directly, lists the following competitive imports: Wool felt (hat) bodies, fur felt and velour bodies (produced in Connecticut and Massachusetts), imported from Italy and France and at one time Czechoslovakia and Austria. The reply states further that, "Occasionally there are imported ready-to-wear felt and straw berets of various kinds, principally from Italy."

In commenting on the significance of foreign trade the company states:

"Being in a style business exportation of our product is not very practical. Because of the Canadian import duties it is not practical to ship millinery products into Canada as Canadian factories can undersell us. * * *

"We are largely dependent for raw materials, principally straw braids and bodies, on imported goods because the domestic manufacturers of these items have not developed, and even during the war, when domestic braid manufacturers tried to supplement the limited imports, they were not very successful. However, there are a few domestic manufacturers still producing yarn and belastraw braids for the industry. The millinery industry has declined in volume during the last 25 to 30 years because of increasing hat-less-ness, in spite of the increase in population, so that the industry is largely made up of many small factories. As for the city of Milwaukee there are at present only two factories doing a small percentage of the total volume."

This particular firm is dependent on imports of straw braids and bodies and other accessories. The competition from imports is only one of many factors affecting their total sales picture.

II. Mixed interest: Two hosiery companies manufacturing both men's and women's hosiery export both and consider imports of both men's and women's hosiery to be competitive. The replies indicate, however, that neither exports nor competitive imports are very significant in the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

III. Export interest: Only one small firm which has no import competition expressed any interest in exports. This firm manufactures cotton felt for automotive seat pads and women's sportswear. The reply states that seat pads are sent abroad directly by automotive companies, and the company has no idea how many are exported.

IV. No expressed interest: Among the manufacturers of apparel and related products there were six replies from firms indicating no interest in foreign trade. These firms employ about 1,400 workers and manufacture such things as cloth caps, infant underwear; junior dresses, suits, and sportswear; and hospital and institutional apparel. A manufacturer of truck and tractor seating is included in this group also.

Lumber and wood products and paper and allied products: These industry groups employ approximately 7,000 workers in the Milwaukee area with the paper and allied products industry apparently being the most important activity of the 3. Fifteen firms with about 4,700 workers replied to the questionnaire.

I. Import competitive interest: Two firms employing 1,100 workers find imports competitive and have no export markets. A producer of paperboard, corrugated, and solid fibre containers and folding cartons states that paperboard is the principal item produced by the firm which is competitive with imports.

"Exports are not important to our own company due to our location in the Middle West. We believe that this is generally true of most companies in our industry similarly located.

"Imports are an important factor as all grades of paperboard are manufactured in foreign countries with labor rates and similar costs substantially below those prevailing in the industry in this country. From this standpoint, the subject of imports is important to us."

No breakdown is available as to the importance of paperboard in the total production of the company, but the firm considers import competition to be an upsetting factor in the domestic marketing of their paperboard production.

A manufacturer of seasonal toys, sporting goods, advertising displays all manufactured from molded pulp considers the imports of papier mache toys from Europe, particularly Western Germany, and from Japan to be competitive.

II. Mixed interest: Two firms (280 employees) which have a small export interest consider imports to be competitive. A manufacturer of lace paper, paper cups, napkins, etc., considers imports to be competitive with about 10 percent of its production. The company exports less than 1 percent and considers exports to be unimportant to its operations. A second firm indicates that some of the local industries for whom they are a source of supply for paper requirements have been affected by competitive imports and states that, "Sales have been depressed to these accounts * * * (notably Harley Davidson)." The firm is concerned with exports because it furnishes some packing materials for the firms which export.

III. Export interest: The export interest of firms in the wood and paper products industry is expressed in the replies of two firms employing 1,600 workers. One is a producer of packaging materials, including cellophane, pliofilm, polyethylene, glassine, wax laminated glassine, foil acetate paper, various foil laminations, folding cartons, letterpress printing and lithography. Also produced by the firm are silk screen process printing, and fabricating bags, pouches, and tubes. This firm states that all of its products are available for export, but cites no figure of the amount of its production exported. The reply stated that, "Beginning with the year 1954 our plans are to take a more active interest in export sales. * * *"

A firm producing export boxing and crating, also manufactures food freezers and air conditioners. It states that its exports consist of "packaging and boxing of goods for export—freezers and air conditioners just beginning to enter the foreign market." This firm also states that:

"The significance of export trade to our company is quite apparent in view of the fact that boxing and processing of shipments for export constitutes the major part of our industry and without this we would almost be out of existence. This applies to our boxing and packaging industry as a whole as manufacturers could very well handle their domestic boxing and crating without the service which we offer. The exports are of extreme significance to the city of Milwaukee as it employs quite a number of people and fills in the low spots in production. It is significant that export business is usually greater when we have a slowing up of our normal business."

IV. No expressed interest: Replies from nine firms employing about 1,750 workers producing wood products and allied paper products indicated they had no import competition and no export sales. The products of this group of firms include: lace paper products; business supplies; stationery; posters, labels, displays, etc.; corrugated shipping containers; and paper boxes and cartons. Also included in this group is a manufacturer of television, phonograph, loud speaker and similar types of cloth-covered and painted plywood cabinets.

Chemicals and related products, petroleum and coal products, and stone, clay, and glass products: These three industry groups are considered together because some of the firms produce several products that are classed in all three industry groups. Replies were received from 9 firms employing about 2,200 workers in these 3 industry groups.

I. Import competitive interest: Two firms employing 800 workers state in their replies that imports are competitive with their products. Neither firm exports. One company producing paint, mirrors, and church windows mentions that stained glass and plate glass are competitive. However, this firm imports mosaic, stained glass, and plate glass, and it is not possible to ascertain just how troublesome imports are.

A manufacturer of coke, gas, tar, ammoniacal licuor and light oil products states that the products that they produce and which are affected by imports are principally tar and light oil. The company exported a very small amount of coke and

ammonia in 1953 and apparently considered these sales to be insignificant. The company feels that:

"Our own company is adversely affected by the low-price imports of creosote, naphthalene, and benzol. The United States coal chemical industry is also affected adversely by low-priced imports. Since benzol, toluol, and xylol are strategic materials, the importation of these products affecting their production in any way can prove detrimental to our war efforts. Also, unemployment in the city of Milwaukee is increased when the plant is not operating at capacity."

II. Mixed interest: A firm manufacturing flat glass products, paint, varnish, and lacquer products, soda ash, caustic soda, and chlorine considers flat glass products from Europe to be highly competitive with flat glass products produced in this country. This company also exports flat glass specialties, paints, varnishes, and lacquer products, soda ash, and caustic soda. Figures are not available for the Milwaukee operations separately, but on a national basis the company exports 3 percent of its production. It states that:

"We do little, if any, exporting of products made in the city of Milwaukee because of its distance from the coast. The market for our products in Milwaukee is little affected by imports for the same reason."

III. Export interest: Four firms employing about 800 workers, mostly in the chemical and allied products industry, export their products and do not find imports to be competitive. A small firm producing pharmaceutical specialties exports 24 percent of its production and seems concerned about its competitive position in export markets in regards to credit facilities available to exporters in other countries. A manufacturer of private label cosmetics states that some of its production of cosmetics for national distributors finds its way into export markets, but the firm has no way of knowing how much. Two small firms produce leather finishes and industrial finishes, including wax emulsions for the shoe industry, and leather dyes, oils, and soaps. One firm exports 1 percent of its production, the other 10 percent. On the significance of foreign trade, one of these firms states that:

"Improvement in both importing and exporting raw material could be obtained with a better port of Milwaukee facilitated by the St. Lawrence Waterway, which would enable larger ships and more frequent sailings."

IV. No expressed interest: Two firms, one a chemical company producing detergents, the other a manufacturer of storage batteries and paints and varnishes, state that they do not export and do not consider imports to be competitive with their products. These firms together employ 180 workers.

Leather and leather products: Milwaukee has long been an important producer of leather and leather products. This industry is still an important part of Milwaukee's manufacturing picture. Replies were received from 20 firms with 8,460 employees in the leather and leather products industry.

I. Import competitive interest: Three manufacturers of leather and leather products which do no exporting feel that imports are competitive with their products. A lambskin tanner and dyer states that, "Imports are a distinct threat despite present inadequate tariff; tariff reduction or elimination would invite disastrous consequences.

A manufacturer of men's dress shoes, growing girls' shoes, misses' and children's shoes feels that "Men's shoe imports are unfair competition at present." Men's shoe production accounts for well over half of this firm's production.

The firm comments that:

"Imports of men's shoes from England sometimes sold in two Milwauke department stores are priced below what they can be produced for here and are therefore unfair competition. Tannery and shoe factory labor in England is much below us."

Another firm producing men's shoes mentions that British men's shoes are competitive, but adds that "imports of footwear to this area are negligible."

II. Mixed interest: In the leather and leather goods industry in Milwaukee firms employing about 4,500 workers find some imports competitive and also export to some degree. A company which tans shearlings exports 6 percent of its production and considers imports of mouton competitive. A company manufacturing leather principally for use in shoes and gloves feels that imports are not very competitive, except on rare occasion in certain types of lining and strap leather. Exports of shoe splits amount to 1 to 2 percent of production annually. This company comments on the significance of foreign trade to the leather industry as follows:

"Exports are a very small end of our business, and imports as a general rule do not interfere directly with our business. As far as the leather industry [is concerned], the exporting of hides, during the last 2 or 3 years, because of the high world market, has had a tendency to firm our domestic hide market, which in reality has had an effect on leather prices. In this writer's knowledge, it is the first time that we have ever become an exporting nation, as far as hides [are concerned]. Normally we usually import more than we export."

Another leather manufacturer (calf and kip leather) exports less than 2 percent of its production and feels that "exports are not vital to either our company or our industry." As to import competition, the firm states in the reply:

"Importation of finished leathers is a grave threat to the industry, as our rates of pay are four times or more what our foreign competitors pay. During the period 1920 to 1930 when calf leather was on the free list we lost progressively up to 40 percent of the domestic market to sweatshop foreign produced leathers. I might add that the calf industry is far more vulnerable to cheap labor foreign competition because of the light weight and high value of our product. Heavier leathers of course benefit by higher relative transportation and distribution costs."

About the same comments were given by a leather manufacturer of cattle hide shoe upper leather which exports about 1 percent of its production and considers imports of cattle hide shoe upper leather from Europe and South America to be a particular threat in view of the subsidies on the part of exporting nations and low labor costs abroad.

Two shoe manufacturers, one making men's dress and work shoes, one making men's work and dress shoes and children's shoes, consider men's dress shoes to be competitive. One firm states that imports of medium high priced men's shoes directly compete with its potential marketing field. Both firms export, but the amount of exports is not significant.

Another firm making children's and growing girls' shoes maintains imports of both are competitive. Both types of shoes are exported. The amount exported or the degree of import competition is not known. A small firm making general footwear exports 2 percent of its production and considers all slipper items to be competitive with imports.

III. Export interest: One manufacturer of men's fine shoes exports 1 to 2 percent of total production and does not find imports to be competitive.

IV. No expressed interest: Nine firms manufacturing leather and leather goods which express no fear of import competition and no interest in exports employ about 850 workers. These firms manufacture tanned split leather; sideleather for the shoe and the leather goods industries; work gloves and work shoes; children's shoes; racing harness and accessories; industrial leather goods; hand luggage and sample cases.

Primary and fabricated metals industries: As mentioned previously, Milwaukee has an excellent supplier-feeder system in its metal industries. Replies were received from 38 firms in the primary and fabricated metals industries. These firms employ almost 16,500 workers.

I. Import competitive interest: In the primary and fabricated metals industry, three manufacturers feel that imports are competitive. A foundry supplies firm feels that no imports are competitive, except those which may harm our customers. In this connection the firm mentioned that imports are harmful to producers of motorcycles.

A firm producing hardware specialities, metal stamped specialities and carpet sweepers listed the following competitive imports: brass and alumium continuous hinges, hinge butts, ball bearings and wheel parts for velocipedes and baby carriages.

A manufacturer of brass plumbing goods states that imports are competitive to all brass plumbing goods. As to the significance of imports the firm comments as follows:

"As far as our own company is concerned, we experience some competition from Italy and Japan because of the importation of some items of brass plumbing goods. In general, the quality of the product imported was considerably under that of the American product, but on the other hand the price was very low.

"As far as the city of Milwaukee is concerned, being away from either coast there is less likelihood of some of the imported goods being shipped to the Midwest than there is on either seaboard. However, what affects the rest of the country, also affects Milwaukee."

II. Mixed interest: Seven firms in the general field of primary and fabricated metals employ approximately 3,150 workers and furnish their products to both exporting firms and import competitive firms. Four of these firms have no competitive imports nor do they export their products. All appear to be aware of the secondary effects of foreign trade.

A company producing malleable iron castings states:

"Our products are largely used on farm machinery, railroad, automotive, earth moving equipment, electrical equipment, etc. most of which are heavy capital goods. Anything that curtails the exportation and encourages the importation of such products concerns our business. At the present time one of our customers, a manufacturer of motorcycles, had their market for their product considerably curtailed by the importation of motorcycles to this country, and the loss of their export market. This has materially reduced the tonnage of castings that we used to make for them, and has decreased employment in the city of Milwaukee for this company."

Another company, also manufacturing malleable and gray iron castings, as well as railroad car handbrakes and other railroad car specialties states:

"The question of foreign trade and imports are tremendously important to us for our products are components which are incorporated into end products such as farm equipment, railroad equipment, road-building machinery, hardware specialities, miscellaneous machinery, automobile, trucks, etc. For that reason if our customers within this country are discriminated against whether in the possibility of their exporting their manufacture or protection against imports manufactured in countries where lower wages and lower standards of living prevail the level of our business and the possibility of our employing local labor will be affected.

A company making steel forgings reports that:

"About 60 percent of our output goes into farm equipment, principally 4-wheeled tractors. Some of these tractors are exported, but we do not have any information as to which of our products are included in these exports. * * * We also furnish forgings to the machine-tool industry. These people have direct competition from imports."

A manufacturer which does contract metal stampings and produces builders hardware, metal shower stalls, and metal toilet partitions regards imports as competitive with all of its products. This firm also exports metal toilet partitions, builders hardware, and metal shower stalls in small quantities. The actual dollar amounts are not available.

III. Export interest: Two firms which employ 5,100 workers export both primary and fabricated metal products. One large firm producing made-to-order forgings and high-pressure steel pipe fittings apparently considers exports to be important to the operation. This firm mentions meeting increased competition in the export markets of Cuba, Mexico, and Canada, which are importing these products from the United Kingdom, and more recently, from Germany.

A firm producing bronze castings, forgings, weldrods, wire pipe and condenser tubes, ingots, sheets and plates, fabrications and other bronze products now exports 2 percent of its total production. However, the firm comments on the significance of foreign trade as follows:

"We consider exports as well as imports to be of considerable significance to both our company and the city of Milwaukee. Our export business, while not large at the present time, is increasing yearly and we have coverage throughout Europe, Mexico, and South America. Imports of special metals, such as tin, are of course, quite vital to the foundry and metal industries and are naturally of very deep concern to us. As you know, the city of Milwaukee is one of the most important inland seaports and if the St. Lawrence Waterway project is ever completed, Milwaukee will be even more important and both imports and exports will be of vastly greater value to the city."

IV. No expressed interest: Twenty-six firms state that they do not export, nor do they consider imports to be competitive with their products. These 26 firms, employing 7,600 workers, produce: non-ferrous castings, steel castings, malleable iron castings, grey iron and semi-steel castings, drop forgings, electric processed steel castings, sheet metal fabrication, structural steel, including fabricated structural steel, steel tanks, wire, metal cans and other metal containers, stamping hardware, tools, dies, jigs, and fixtures.

Machinery, including electrical, and transportation equipment: These three industry groups account for over 50 percent of the manufacturing employment in the Milwaukee metropolitan area. They are considered together since the larger firms in Milwaukee are fully integrated operations producing several different products. Replies from 54 firms employing 89,000 workers were received.

I. Import competitive interest. A small firm manufacturing transformers, principally dry type, and substations, feels that its production is competitive with all imports coming principally from England, Sweden, Switzerland, and Germany. This firm states that, "Imports are a serious competitor to us and our industry and may result in reduced employment in Milwaukee." This firm exports but in negligible amounts.

II. Mixed interest. Eleven firms in the machinery and equipment field indicate that, although they export, they also find imports competitive. In a few cases it is not difficult to ascertain in which direction the interests of the firm are considered to be. In other cases the balance of interest as between exports and competitive imports is less clear.

Milwaukee is the center of production of motorcycles. The industry's position as regards foreign trade is well known since imports of motorcycles are considered to be a very serious threat to the domestic industry. In a very complete reply outlining the effects of imports, one company states:

"On September 18, 1949, European currencies were devaluated by 30½ percent and immediately prices of European motorcycles comparable to ours in performance dropped 25 to 30 percent in the American market. We have never been able to meet this competition pricewise. * * *

"Immediately imports went up and each year our domestic production went down."

This firm in years past exported as high as 40 percent of its production. The present export situation is described as follows:

"The situation so far as our exports are concerned is this. We are shut out of the British Empire except Canada. We find it almost impossible to do business in countries whose currencies are tied to sterling. Our exports to South America are sharply curtailed by the high prices of our motorcycles as compared to the lower priced comparable motorcycles from Europe. The motorcycles in Europe are lower priced because they pay anywhere from 35 cents to 58 cents an hour whereas in our factory with fringe benefits we pay $2.18 an hour. Our exports now represent between 7 percent and 8 percent of our total production."

Allis-Chalmers' plant in Milwaukee manufactures wheel tractors; crushing and cement machinery; electrical machinery; steam and hydraulic turbines; centrifugal pumps and condensers. This company is a multiplant organization as are several machinery manufacturers in Milwaukee. Total company export sales are approximately 9 percent of total billings in 1953 according to the annual report of Allis-Chalmers for 1953. Large hydraulic turbines, electrical generators and large power transformers are competitive with imports.

A company producing large herringbone and helical gears, flexible couplings, speed reducers, motoreducers, special drives including propulsion drives for different types of vessels, as well as steel castings and weldments states that imports are competitive with its standard product lines, such as flexible couplings, motoreducers, speed reducers and more recently propulsion drives in the tow and tug line. This company states that:

"We compete with foreign builders of ship propulsion drives in the same manner as American shipyards compete with foreign builders. Generally speaking, if a ship is built in this country it is equipped with a drive of domestic manufacture and, to the best of our knowledge, all ships built with American capital in foreign countries have been equipped with foreign drives."

As to exports the company replies that:

"Since we are essentially machine component manufacturers, we sell principally to other machinery manufacturers who in turn sell abroad. It is our guess that less than 10 percent of our products end up in foreign countries, most of which would be in the motor reducer, speed reducer, and helical gear lines."

As to the significance of exports and imports this company gave, perhaps, the most complete comment:

"We are essentially a jobbing company. We are not mass producers of any particular product or size of product (except for small flexible couplings) as even the standard lines are produced in batch lots. Furthermore, all of our products, except castings, and weldments, fall into the precision machinery class; therefore labor and supervision is a much higher percentage of cost than is material. Consequently, we are in an entirely different labor-wage market than are any foreign competitors and have little or no edge in technology, principally because of the lack of mass production. Obviously we have much more to lose than to gain if trade barriers were lowered; and were we to be washed out of the picture, the mass producers would suffer as we make much of the special equipment used by these people for high-volume production.

"The foregoing applies to all others in the gear and steel-casting industries. All of us are specialists in these fields and therefore serve the special requirements of other manufacturers—not users or consumers—and must be considered as a part of mass-production machinery manufacturers to the same degree as the tool and die makers, bearing manufacturers, etc.

"Any change in the balance of export-import trade would directly affect the economy of Milwaukee as its metropolitan area includes a dozen or more large manufacturers in the same category that we are in. It is well known that Milwaukee has a big concentration of skilled labor and it is because of this fact that manufacturers like ourselves can operate successfully in the precision machinery field. Were the economy to be upset downwardly it would cause a transfer and dilution of the skilled labor force which would be a detriment in normal times and a serious handicap in emergencies."

A manufacturer of air-cooled combustion engines exports 8 percent of its production. It finds imports competitive with its entire line. On the significance of foreign trade it states:

"If, and when, the St. Lawrence seaway becomes a reality it should certainly help Milwaukee because of its diversified industry, both for exports and imports, as well as place this country in a better competitive position in world markets."

A manufacturer of medical industrial and dental X-ray apparatus; X-ray supplies and accessories; and electromedical apparatus states that imports are competitive with its medical X-ray line which accounts for about three-fourths of its total production. This firm exports its complete line; exports amounted to about 10 percent of production in 1952.

A large electrical-control apparatus and electronic-parts manufacturer considers imports to be competitive to both to a small extent. This firm exports 2½ percent of its production. A small firm manufacturing industrial counting and measuring instruments also exports approximately 2 percent of its production. It stated that "about 20 percent of our product line has foreign competition." The same situation is applicable to a manufacturer of paper converting machinery and special machine tools.

A manufacturer of water meters stated its present competitive position in the following terms:

"Exports: As mentioned before, we used to export about $1,500,000 to $2,000,000 worth of meters a year. This has dried up to nothing only because we cannot compete with the European and Japanese watermeter manufacturers. During the time of an emergency, such as Korea and at the present, it seems to me it would be advantageous for the welfare of our Nation not to jeopardize the meter industry, considering the effective way its techniques were used in World War II for the manufacture of ammunition for the Armed Forces.

"Imports: It is obvious that any reduction in tariff barriers on our product could be catastrophic to our company. In fact, it could prove catastrophic to the industry as a whole. The only effect on the city of Milwaukee would be that our present employees would be idle."

A manufacturer of baling press equipment states that "We have lost sales re-

cently to * * * German competition involving some extremely large shipments." Exports of this firm "are very nominal."

III. Export interest: The major exporters in the Milwaukee area are the firms in the machinery and equipment field. Thirty-nine firms employing 56,000 workers indicate in their replies that they export some or all of their products and that they do not consider that imports are seriously competitive with their products.

A large manufacturer of overhead cranes, excavators, hoists, welders, electrodes, heavy-duty cranes, diesel engines, and prefabricated houses states that it exports excavators, welders, electrodes, hoists, and heavy-duty cranes. Some of these items are export commodities of a substantial degree.

A manufacturer of portable and stationary concrete mixers, truck mixers, and agitators states that all of its products are exported; the same situation applies to a producer of sawmill machinery, steam engines, and waterworks equipment. In both cases export figures are not available.

A milk-bottling equipment firm replies that it exports limited quantities of its products while a bottling machinery manufacturer states that all of its products are exported to some degree. It appears from the comment in the reply of this firm that as regards the export market, "competition in all foreign countries is becoming terrific." The reply states that:

"While no appreciable foreign competition is encountered by producers in the domestic United States market in our industry, the competition in all foreign countries is becoming terrific. From a situation when more than 50 percent of our entire output was shipped overseas 2 years ago, today foreign business has trickled down to only a nominal fraction of what it was formerly. The potential foreign business that is available, due to a combination of prices, terms, controls, etc., that restrict purchases from the United States is consistently being lost to American industry."

As to the importance of exports to the firm and industry, the bottling-machinery manufacturer replied:

"Certainly we and our industry are both directly and indirectly dependent upon foreign business to maintain production up to available capacity. With present high costs and high break-even point, larger volume of production is a necessity in order to keep operating in the black."

A manufacturer of baling presses, malting equipment, valves, and cylinders states that "a relatively small amount of all our products" are exported. A producer of railroad supplies (mostly small parts for locomotives and special lifting jacks) exports some locomotive parts. The firm stated that the exports are rather minor in terms of value, except for Canada. In several other instances manufacturers tend to treat shipments to Canada as part of the American market. Of course, insofar as foreign trade is concerned, shipments to Canada are exports in the same way as are shipments to Brazil or Indonesia.

A portable electric tool manufacturer exports its entire line. A manufacturer of diesel industrial and marine engines and diesel electric generators exports all of its products and spare parts, but the amount exported is not known.

A manufacturer of temperature regulation and air conditioning control systems stated that very little sales are made abroad. Electric ranges and electric water heaters are both exported by one firm but in a nominal sum; a firm making gas, oil and coal fired furnaces, along with cast iron boilers, cooling equipment, incinerators and dehumidifiers also exports a small amount of its total production. A small firm making automatic switches, manual controls and metal stamping, exports replacement switches, evidently a small item of its total business.

A firm making a standardized line of padlocks and hasps states that:

"Although we are not free to divulge all of the information requested, we can tell you that our export business has for years constituted a substantial portion of our total sales. We continue to actively promote the sale of our products in overseas markets and would suffer a serious blow if we were forced to discontinue our overseas business. It should be remembered that our export business helps pay for the general overhead and other fixed charges. Without the returns earned by our overseas business, our domestic business would have to carry the entire load, which would probably be reflected in price increases."

A firm producing magnetic separation equipment, magnetic clutches, disk brakes, etc., indicated that it has been meeting increased competition abroad, although the reply did not state the amount of total production that is exported. As to the export market this manufacturer comments as follows:

"We have, however, had serious foreign competition with respect to the sale of our products abroad. There is virtually an embargo on the shipment of our products to the sterling area. This was especially noticeable after the devaluation of the pound sterling a few years ago. German competition has been growing and this has affected our markets in South America and other parts of the world. We have about reached the conclusion that the only basis on which we can compete in foreign markets is licensing foreign concerns to manufacture our products under a lease or royalty contract.

"Our export market has shrunk considerably and this has therefore affected our growth, employment, and progress as well as having corresponding effect on the city of Milwaukee and our community."

Another firm making industrial motor control systems and accessories as well as low-voltage distribution apparatus, gas measuring and mixing equipment, and newspaper printing press drives and conveyor systems stated that:

"All of the products we manufacture here are sold for export in some degree. Here again it is impossible for us to establish any units of quantity due to the wide variety of these products so sold. Exports are a relatively minor activity with regard to our overall sales, but we consider it quite important. In this respect we do not feel it is possible to divulge the exact dollar volume of our exports."

On the significance of foreign trade to Milwaukee the comment was as follows:

"We estimate that to the city of Milwaukee exports are relatively important due to the broad diversification of capital equipment manufacturing organizations in this city. We are of the opinion, however, that imports are not particularly important to the city of Milwaukee except the basic raw materials unobtainable except by importation."

Another multiplant firm producing electrical distribution and transmission equipment stated that, the larger part of the export business is done from and through Milwaukee.

A producer of oil burners, road machinery, steam generators, and distillating units exports approximately 4 percent of its total production. This firm comments as follows:

"Our export market is principally Central and South America. All of our boilers are powered by either fuel oil or gas, and due to the lack of these materials in Europe, our sales on the Continent have been very small."

A manufacturer of crawler and rubber-tired shovels, cranes, draglines, clamshells, trenchoes and attachments and spare parts exports 3 percent of its production. The same ratio of exports to production was given by a producer of front end loaders and bull-clams for track type tractors. A producer of foundry flasks and wheelbarrows exports 4 percent of its foundry flasks to Canada.

A large manufacturer of 4-cycle, single cylinder, gasoline engines, as well as automotive locks and keys, switches and related equipment exports 3 percent of its production. This firm comments as follows:

"We and our industry are continuously promoting export business—greater availability of United States dollars would, no doubt, increase our exports materially. * * * We believe export business is good for Milwaukee. Opening of the St. Lawrence River to larger boats will, undoubtedly, make Milwaukee, a much more important export, import, seaport."

Another manufacturer of gasoline engines and air compressors also exports 4 percent of its production.

A firm manufacturing industrial control equipment, including switchboard apparatus, states that only about 1 percent of its production is exported. The export business is handled through an agency in New York which has informed the Milwaukee firm that their prices are often too far out of line with those of European concerns to expect that exports might amount to any appreciable value.

A firm which manufactures electrical, industrial, and laboratory heat-treating furnaces, dry-type transformers, and constant-current regulators exports about 2 percent of its total production.

A firm making drying tumblers for commercial and self-service laundries and dry-cleaning plants and other similar products exports 5 percent of its production. This firm believes that it could export more, but the currency situation in various countries prevents this.

A firm manufacturing automatic wire-measuring, cutting, and tipping machines, and other special products exports 5 percent of its production, mostly wire-stripping machines, although all the firm's products are exported.

A machine-tools manufacturer sums up its export situation as follows:

"The entire machine-tool industry, of course, has been historically dependent upon a large percentage of foreign trade. This trade has diminished greatly because of the economic situation in foreign countries and the problem involving currency exchange. Also great inroads upon the market have been made by machine-tool manufacturers on the Continent and in England, with the result that the percentage of exported machine tools from our company (and the effect has been industrywide, also) has been reduced to something approximating 5 percent in recent years. This compares with a normal export market of about 25 to 30 percent."

A manufacturer of outboard motors exports 9 percent of total production, while a very large firm manufacturing automobile frames and parts, vessels, electrodes, pipe, and oil-well casing, exports 6 percent of all of its products.

A large manufacturer of several products such as petroleum transport equipment, dump bodies and hoists, road machinery, dehydrators, oil burners, furnaces, boilers, stainless steel milk transport and storage tanks, and general steel fabricated products exports about 9 to 10 percent of its production. This firm states:

"With reference to question 7, the city of Milwaukee depends a great deal on the export of its manufactured products for its full employment. * * * Figures as to the total dollar volume and number of people employed for export products is available. * * * As the figures on the form will indicate, export means a great deal to our company, for virtually 10 percent of our civilian output goes into that field."

A manufacturer of shovels and cranes, pavers, mixers, dumptors, finishers, and mud jacks exports all of its products, exports amounting to 12 percent of production. Another large company's numerous products

include power transmission and conveyor chains, conveying machinery roller bearings, and construction machinery; exports are 12 percent of total production. This company replies that:

"Our export business is of substantial interest and importance to our company and by reason of its volume and the employment which it provides should be of fair importance to the city of Milwaukee."

A large manufacturer of power shovels, cranes, and draglines, oil well, water well and blast hole drills, and tractor equipment exports 25 percent of its production. Another large firm produces component parts for use in end products of other company operations. Diesel injection pumps, gears, forgings, and castings make up the bulk of the component parts produced. The end products of the receiving operations are motortrucks, farm implements, farm tractors, industrial tractors, and equipment refrigeration products, and related service parts. Approximately 27 percent of the Milwaukee plant's output is eventually exported.

A firm manufacturing magnetic separators, electromagnets of all types, permanent magnets and magnetic brakes exports about 20 percent of total sales. This firm comments on its export market as follows:

"Our export market amounts to approximately 20 percent of our total business, exports, including Canada, and needless to say 20 percent of any business is a rather healthy amount. From our observations of other companies in these specialty manufacturing industries, particularly those industries which have a large proportion of their products going to the mining industry, indicate that a 20 percent export market is about normal, in fact, a little bit less than some companies that specialize entirely in mining machinery."

IV. No expressed interest: Three firms employing 2,400 workers replied that they do not export and do not consider that imports are competitive. One firm, a manufacturer of machine tools states that, "Our machinery is of the special high production type used primarily by the automotive industry." A firm manufacturing automatic dishwashers, food waste disposalls, dehumidifiers and aircraft turbo-superchargers states that almost all of their production is for the domestic market and that, therefore, they are not affected by foreign trade. A third firm manufacturing a complete line of automatic temperature controls, does no exporting and does not consider imports to be competitive.

Miscellaneous manufactures: In this miscellaneous industry group there are eight firms with 850 employees.

I. Import competitive interest: A manufacturer of toys states that imports of toys are extremely competitive in individual price categories. The company does not export.

II. Mixed interest: Three firms in this group of manufacturers have an apparent export interest as well as import competition.

A manufacturer of vulcanizers, hot patches, and automotive accessories such as directional-signal lights and mirrors for passenger cars and trucks, aparently exported 80 percent of its production in 1953. However, because of increased competitive imports of tube patches from Germany in recent years, this firm states that it has lost an amount in domestic sales greater than its exports in 1953.

A small firm producing photographic darkrom equipment, dental equipment, and motorcycle accessories exports 6 to 7 percent of its total production valuewise, all of which is in photographic equipment. As to competitive imports this firm considers motorcycle accessories competitive. It also states: "Imports from Britain hurt sales of the Harley-Davidson Motor Co. very badly and naturally reflects on our accessory business."

A firm manufacturing engineers' levels and transits, builders' and farm levels, theodolites, astrolabes, alidades, army transits, stereo cameras, viewers, and productors states that imports are competitive with these products, particularly from Germany and Japan. Exporting 1 percent of its production this firm comments as follows:

Exports of photographic equipment are depressed because of world money status and lack of processing facilities for color film in foreign countries.

III. Export interest: Three firms indicate in their replies that they export and experience no competition from imports. A small manufacturer of industrial brushes for the beverage and food industry considers its export sales of 2 percent of production to be of minor importance. A producer of paint rollers and trays of all types and a manufacturer of inkstands and other desk equipment both export their products; the extent of exports of the two firms is unknown. The inkstand and desk-equipment manufacturer states that, "Exports are a very desirable part of our business and an essential part of the industry and the city of Milwaukee."

IV. No expressed interest: A small firm making latex rubber adhesives does not feel that exports or competitive imports are of any concern to its operations.

MILWAUKEE AS A CAPITAL GOODS CENTER

Milwaukee has been called the principal capital of the capital goods business in the world.[8] Almost two-thirds of the manufacturing employment in the Milwaukee metropolitan area is in the durable goods field. Of the replies received in this survey, about 90,000 workers are in firms in the industries producing machinery and equipment, including electrical machinery and transportation equipment. These 90,000 employees account for almost two-thirds of the workers in firms covered by this survey. If the workers of the replying firms in the primary and fabricated metals industries are included almost 75 percent of the workers covered by this survey are in these five industries: Primary and fabricated metals, machinery, including electrical machinery, and transportation equipment. This group of industries provides the products that go to make Milwaukee the capital goods center that it is.

A study was recently made of the export market for capital goods. The results of the study were published in a bulletin by the Council for Technological Advancement in July of 1953.[9] In summary, the bulletin gave the following general conclusions:

"1. Machinery and equipment comprises by far the largest group of commodities exported from the United States. The $3 billion of machinery and equipment exported in 1952 accounted for 20 percent of total United States exports, or almost 25 percent of nonmilitary exports. Thus capital goods manufacturers and Government have a great mutual interest in the formation and impact of national policy affecting foreign trade.

"2. The importance of export markets to capital goods producers is pointed up by the fact that during the past years about 11 or 12 percent of total machinery and equipment sales have been in these markets, ranging from 4 percent for railroad and transit equipment to almost 23 percent for tractors, parts, and accessories. A recent CTA survey of capital goods manufacturers revealed that exports of many individual firms were an even higher proportion of their total sales than the industry percentages presented here." [10]

The following is a list of ratios of exports to total national production for some of the more important products that are made by Milwaukee manufactures:

TABLE VI.—*Ratio of exports to production (1952)*

Commodity:	Percent
Electrical machinery and apparatus:	
Storage batteries	2.5
Primary batteries	10.4
Power and distribution transformers	3.8
Refrigerators	13.1
Industrial machinery:	
Internal-combustion engines	9.8
Industrial trucks and tractors	7.8
Construction and mining equipment	[1] 21.8
Graders	[1] 31.0
Machine tools	[1] 10.2
Food products machinery	18.9
Agricultural machinery and implements	13.0
Implements of cultivation	12.4
Harvesting machinery	12.8
Combines	20.2
Tractors	37.2
Tracklaying type	[1] 45.1
Contractors, wheel type	[1] 37.2
Other wheel type, except garden	[1] 16.7
Transportation equipment:	
Passenger cars	[1] 3.0
Motortrucks and coaches	[1] 15.7

[1] 1953.

Source: Foreign Commerce Weekly, June 28, 1954.

In line with the replies received in this survey it appears that, as a capital goods equipment center, Milwaukee shares in the importance of exports to the total production of capital goods in the country as a whole.

On the other hand, Milwaukee's capital goods manufacturers face import competition. Imports appear to be competitive with electrical equipment such as transformers, hydraulic turbines, large electrical generators, electric motors, and some electrical control apparatus and X-ray equipment. Imports are also competitive with motorcycles; internal combustion engines; large gears, propulsion drives and special heavy castings and forgings; water meters; and special machinery such as baling presses and paper-converting machinery.

Milwaukee, as a center of industrial skills, is a good example of the advancement and advantages of American industry that make its products so wanted and desired throughout the world. On the other hand, imports from countries where lower wages are paid can sometimes compete effectively with manufactures in Milwaukee that require highly skilled, highly paid labor, and where the manufacturing process is not adaptable to mass-production techniques.

However, export sales and competitive imports are not the only way in which foreign trade affects Milwaukee.

IMPORTS USED BY MILWAUKEE MANUFACTURERS

Manufacturers of Milwaukee use commodities originating in all parts of the world necessary to produce their finished goods. While some of these materials are obtainable within the United States, many of them are not produced in this country and must be obtained from abroad.

In the manufacture of food and related products Milwaukee manufacturers import cocoa beans for use in the manufacture of chocolate and cocoa products. Other manufacturers of cookies, cakes, and candies must import spices, nuts, dates, irish moss, coconuts, and coconut oil. Meat-product companies use spices, fuller's earth, and burlap, all import items. Malt manufacturers occasionally import barley, while the brewers of Milwaukee import hops. The beer, ale, and soft-drink producers also must have tin, for plating of cans, and cork for inserts in crowns and kegs. The United States is en-

Footnotes at end of speech.

tirely dependent upon imports for its supply of tin; very little, if any, cork is produced in the United States.

Leather tanners in Milwaukee import such items as chromium, sodium bichromate, quebracho, wattle, eucalyptus extracts, and other tanning materials. Some leather producers import calfskin, while shoe manufacturers import special calf, buck, and kangaroo leather, as well as shoe machinery from Germany and Italy.

The paper and allied products industry and the printing and publishing industry are dependent on newsprint from Canada and, to a lesser extent, on woodpulp imports. Smaller manufacturers of such items as automotive seat pads and truck and tractor seating import burlap, sisal and some cotton. One millinery producer imports straw hat bodies and braids.

Manufacturers of wax emulsion and leather finishes for the shoe and leather goods industries must import shellac, carnauba wax, ouricury wax, manila, gums, casein, castor oil, and other waxes. A cosmetic firm in Milwaukee also imports castor oil and carnauba wax, as well as candelilla wax.

Producers of hardware specialties and a manufacturer of industrial brushes imports hog bristles, as well as goat and horsehair, bass, bassine, and piasava fiber. While the manufacture of rubber products is a relatively small operation in Milwaukee, many machinery and equipment firms use rubber in some form. Natural rubber and other gums must be imported.

The primary metals, fabricated metals, and machinery and equipment industries are most dependent on imports of raw materials. Firms manufacturing iron and steel and other metal castings and forgings import manganese, nickel, copper, tin, chromium, cadmium, beryllium, zinc, lead, cobalt, titanium, lithium, phosphorous, magnesium, antimony, silicon, calcium, zirconite sands, ferromanganese, and other metal alloys, mica and various clays. These metals are used along with basic iron and steel in the manufacture of the machinery, electrical apparatus, and transportation equipment that are produced in the shops of Milwaukee.

In a study, Raw Materials: Area of Growing Dependency, it was pointed out that the United States is dependent on imports for 75 percent of its antimony and must import 95 percent of its asbestos consumption. There is also a 90-percent import dependency on beryl, a 99-percent import dependency on chromite, which is used extensively by the tanning industry in Milwaukee, a 90-percent dependency on imported cobalt, a 90-percent dependency on imported manganese, and a 99-percent dependency on imported nickel. These and other raw materials used extensively in the metal and machinery industries are examples of the strong ties that Milwaukee industry has with the rest of the world in terms of foreign trade.[11]

INCREASED COMPETITION IN WORLD MARKETS

Just as competition from imports has increased to some extent in the domestic market since the reconstruction and development of industry in Europe since 1948, it is evident that competition has increased in the world markets to which American manufacturers have been exporting many of their products in the postwar years.

From the replies received in this survey, it is apparent that Milwaukee manufacturers are experiencing increasing competition in world markets, especially from the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and Japan. Some of the exports from Milwaukee were financed by the foreign-aid program of the past 7 or 8 years; however, the amount of exports from Milwaukee under the foreign-aid program is not known. There is no doubt that with the decreasing amounts of foreign aid available exporters find it more difficult to make sales when payment must be made in dollars. The lack of dollars and the recovery of European industry weighs heavily upon the competitive position of American exporters in world markets.

One manufacturing company comments on increased competition in export markets as follows:

"While no appreciable foreign competition is encountered by producers in the domestic United States market in our industry, the competition in all foreign countries is becoming terrific. From a situation when more[1] than 50 percent of our entire output was shipped overseas 2 years ago, today foreign business has trickled down to only a nominal fraction of what it was formerly. The potential foreign business that is available due to a combination of prices, terms, controls, etc., that restrict purchases from the United States is being consistently lost to American industry."

A manufacturer of pharmaceutical specialties replies that:

"We have noticed an increasing competitive trend in our export business mainly from former German, French, and Italian manufacturers who were once predominant in the export pharmaceutical markets. We are able, thus far, to compete with these European manufacturers on a price basis. However, we find it increasingly difficult to compete with them on the terms which they are extending to our foreign distributors. Whereas formerly we sold on letters of credit or sight draft basis, we have been gradually extending this to time draft, 30, then 60, then 90, then 120 days. We now find that the European manufacturers are allowing terms as long as 1 or 2 years. Obviously, to extend such terms, they must receive some major subsidy from their governments. We cannot allow terms extending over that long a period of time without some comparable assistance on the part of our own Government."

Another company is also concerned with the terms which exporters from other companies are able to give. It comments as follows:

"The big problem confronting Milwaukee exporters—in fact all exporters today—is the inability to meet long term financing offered by foreign competition.

"We, of course, recognize that funds are available through such organizations as the Export Import Bank, but this organization, as well as other existing governmental organizations, is not in a position to take care of the majority of extended term orders offered manufacturers in this country.

"Because of such extended terms of 3 to 5 years offered by foreign competition, many orders which should come to the United States are going elsewhere, and unless some legislation is passed to permit banks and insurance companies, such as the Canadian plan, to carry paper without recourse for foreign countries, we are going to lose considerable business in the years to come. This is a serious situation and should have the immediate attention of our legislative groups in Washington."

THE PORT OF MILWAUKEE AND FOREIGN TRADE

Milwaukee is one of the leading ports on the Great Lakes and it is one of the most diversified. It has excellent facilities for handling such bulk cargoes as coal and petroleum products which make up the greater share, volume-wise, of the port's commerce. Grains, building materials, and other bulk commodities are also large items in total port traffic. The car ferry service across Lake Michigan adds to the diversity of commodities handled by the port, and this service aids Milwaukee in taking advantage of its location on the trade routes between the productive interior and the eastern sections of the United States.

It is said that the port of Milwaukee's facilities for handling foreign exports are superior to any other port on the Great Lakes. Although foreign commerce is but a small part of the 8 million tons annually that move across the docks it is of much greater value than is indicated by its volume. The following table gives the shipping weight and the total value of waterborne exports and imports for the port of Milwaukee for the years 1951–53:

TABLE VII.—*Shipping weight and value of United States waterborne exports and imports of the port of Milwaukee, 1951–53*

	Quantity (millions of pounds)		Value (millions of dollars)		Total	
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Quantity	Value
1951	441.4	54.6	17.9	5.9	496.0	23.8
1952	528.3	136.3	22.2	12.7	664.6	34.9
1953	983.6	76.7	36.3	15.4	1,060.3	51.7

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce. Waterborne Trade by United States Port. January-December 1952. Summary Report FT 972, May 19, 1953. Waterborne Foreign Trade Statistics, January-December 1953. Summary Report FT 985. June 15, 1954.

The amount of waterborne foreign commerce of the port has been increasing in recent years, and, although the Canadian trade is by far the greater share of the total, the increase in overseas sailing is indicative of the growth in overseas trade through the port.

Pioneers of the Great Lakes ocean services were the Fjell and Oranje lines of Norway and the Netherlands, respectively. The ships of these two lines were calling at Milwaukee before World War II. There were 45 sailings from Milwaukee to ports of Europe by these lines in 1939.

During World War II there were no foreign sailings from Milwaukee. With the revival of foreign trade on the Great Lakes in 1946, the Fjell and the Oranje lines started their services again. They were followed by the Swedish-American and Swedish-Chicago lines; Hamburg-Chicago, the first German line to service Milwaukee, and the Fabre lines of Marseille, linking Milwaukee with Mediterranean and north African ports.

In 1953 four new lines were added: the Metron Shipping, Inc., linking the Great Lakes with Hamburg, Antwerp, and Bremen; the Ahlmann Trans-Caribbean Line, sailing between the Great Lakes and Colombia and Venezuela; the West Line to Cuba and Haiti; and the Cuban American Line with direct service to Habana. In 1953 there were 154 sailings to foreign ports from Milwaukee and it is estimated that in 1954, sailings to overseas ports will increase to 170.

The commodities that are important in the foreign commerce of the port of Milwaukee differ as between overseas and Canadian trade. Overseas imports consist of fish and fish products; fruits and preparations; building and monumental stone; and iron- and steel-mill products (principally Swedish steel). Exports to overseas ports include meat and meat products; animal fats and oils; wheat flour; and distilled spirits and malt liquors. Machinery and vehicles are by far the largest items in terms of tonnage exports to overseas ports. In fact, Milwaukee is the leading overseas exporter of machinery on the Great Lakes.

Canadian waterborne trade appears to consist mostly of bulk items such as barley and rye, wheat and oats and newsprint that are imported, and corn and iron and steel scrap that are exported.

In a study of the port of Milwaukee, Mr. Edward Hamming summarized the foreign trade situation as follows:

"Although the Canadian trade is larger in volume than the overseas traffic, the more colorful aspects of the latter and the potentialities of that trade are highlights in the water-borne commerce of Milwaukee. It offers the Midwest manufacturer an opportunity to compete in foreign markets on an equal basis with eastern industry. The Great Lakes ports, however, do not have import-export rates similar to the ocean ports,

but application has been made to the western trunk line railways to allow more liberal demurrage regulations to permit more free time on railroad cars carrying export shipments. Whenever an improved St. Lawrence seaway becomes a reality Milwaukee, with its superior harbor facilities, is ready to serve the needs of any increase in overseas traffic. Besides, it is in a favorable position to draw the trade from the upper Midwest because the pull of the competing ocean ports is felt far more strongly in Chicago than in Milwaukee." [12]

Many people in Milwaukee have been ardent supporters of the St. Lawrence seaway. When Public Law 358, for the creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway Corporation, was passed in the 2d session of the 83d Congress there were many predictions of the economic effects of the seaway. The port director of Milwaukee expects to see the total foreign commerce tonnage to rise to 1 million tons annually. It would appear that the port of Milwaukee with its excellent facilities will certainly handle more foreign commerce after completion of the seaway since without the seaway the foreign commerce of the port has been increasing.

---

[1] Reference to Milwaukee in this study is to the Milwaukee metropolitan area and not to the city of Milwaukee alone.

[2] U. S. Bureau of the Census. United States Census of Population: 1950. Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, pt. 49, Wisconsin. According to the 1950 Census of Population, Milwaukee County in 1950 had a population of 871,047, a labor force of 374,755, and 160,545 workers engaged in manufacturing. The May 10 issue of the Sales Management, a survey of buying power, estimates that the 1953 population of Milwaukee County was 908,000 with 199,800 workers in manufacturing industries. The Bureau of Labor Statistics also estimates the manufacturing employment at about 200,000.

[3] U. S. Bureau of the Census. United States Census of Agriculture: 1950. Vol. I, Counties and State Economic Areas, pt. 7, Wisconsin. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952: 40–111.

[4] Hamming, Edward. The Port of Milwaukee. Chicago, the University of Chicago, Department of Geography, December 1952: 61.

[5] See p. 63 of this report.

[6] Survey of buying power. Sales Management, the magazine of marketing. (New York) May 10, 1954: 120 and 752.

[7] See p. 58 of this report.

[8] Made in Milwaukee. Fortune (New York), vol. XLII, November 1950: 7.

[9] Council for Technological Advancement. The export market for capital goods. (Chicago) July 1, 1953: 1 and 3. (Its bulletin No. 13.)

[10] Ibid., p. 3.

[11] U. S. Office of Defense Mobilization. Raw Materials: Area of Growing Dependency. February 1953 (pt. II, 8 p.).

[12] Hamming, Edward. The Port of Milwaukee. University of Chicago Press. 1952: 128–129.

Defense Mobilization Order Establishing Advisory Committee on Watch Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I was happy to note the announcement, today, that the Office of Defense Mobilization has established an Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry, which will recommend any necessary steps to keep the domestic watch industry in a healthy condition, and to preserve its essential skills for our national security, particularly as it pertains to essential skills for our national security. This action will help put into effect the unanimous findings and recommendations on this subject, as made last July by the special subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, which was headed by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DUFF]. It was my privilege to serve on that subcommittee. From that experience, I know the fine interest of the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], who today is unavoidably absent from the Senate Chamber. On his behalf, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a press release by the Director of Defense Mobilization, as well as an order of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

There being no objection, the release and order were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
OFFICE OF DEFENSE MOBILIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

Arthur S. Flemming, Director of Defense Mobilization, today issued Defense Mobilization Order IV–3 establishing an Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry. Its function will be to recommend to him any measures which should be taken to maintain the domestic watch industry in a healthy condition over a long period and to assure the preservation of essential skills of the industry at a level sufficient to provide for the Nation's mobilization base requirements.

The committee will consist of the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of customs matters, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (supply and logistics), the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for domestic affairs, the Assistant Secretary of Labor for employment and manpower, and the ODM Assistant Director for manpower (chairman).

Noting that the industry would be essential in the event of full mobilization, Mr. Flemming said national security requires that the facilities and skills of the industry be maintained at a level from which a quick and effective expansion of production can be made in the event of national emergency.

In announcing the establishment of the new committee, Mr. Flemming called attention to a study which had been made of the jeweled-watch segment of the industry by an Interdepartmental Committee. Principal findings of that committee, whose study was issued last year, were (a) that preservation of the skills of the American jeweled-watch industry is essential to the national security and (b) that the levels of production and employment in jeweled-watch manufacturing were then below the levels necessary to preserve those skills sufficiently for the industry to expand quickly and effectively to meet the requirements of full mobilization.

DEFENSE MOBILIZATION ORDER IV–3
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
OFFICE OF DEFENSE MOBILIZATION,
January 12, 1955.

Subject: Establishment of an Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry.

By virtue of the authority vested in me by Executive Order 10480 of August 15, 1953, and Reorganization Plan No. 3 of June 12, 1953, and in order to obtain advice which will facilitate the development of long-range policies and programs to further the preservation of the skills of the domestic watch-manufacturing industry which are required in the interest of national security, it is hereby ordered:

1. There is established in the Office of Defense Mobilization an Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry. The committee shall consist of the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of customs matters, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (supply and logistics), the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic Affairs, the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Employment and Manpower, and the Assistant Director for Manpower, Office of Defense Mobilization, who shall serve as chairman.

2. The Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry shall make recommendations to the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization with regard to any measures which should be taken to maintain the domestic watch industry in a healthy and vigorous condition on a long-term basis to the extent necessary to assure preservation of the essential skills of the industry at a level commensurate with mobilization requirements.

3. This order shall take effect on January 12, 1955.

OFFICE OF DEFENSE MOBILIZATION,
ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, *Director.*

The Dixon-Yates Power Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, a very interesting editorial appeared in the September 26, 1954, issue of the Huntsville Times, of Huntsville, Ala., a newspaper which gave all-out support to the Republican ticket in 1952. The editorial is entitled "The Dixon-Yates Power Deal Smells." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DIXON-YATES POWER DEAL SMELLS

The proposed Dixon-Yates contract with the Atomic Energy Commission to supply power to TVA consumers is receiving such a blasting from so many sources that it may never be consummated.

Both a Senate and a House committee are preparing to air this deal, which smells so badly that some action should be taken by President Eisenhower to join in a thorough investigation.

In the very beginning, a majority of the AEC opposed being put in the position of being a power broker between the Dixon-Yates combine and the TVA. An order from the President, however, compelled the Board, which is an independent agency, to hold its nose and proceed with the negotiations.

A majority of the TVA Board is against the proposal as costly and counter to the best interests of this Federal agency and its customers.

The past week, J. D. Steitenroth, secretary-treasurer of the Mississippi Power & Light Co., a subsidiary of Middle South Utilities, which Edward H. Dixon heads, revealed he had been fired because he stated publicly on September 19 that customers of the company were being charged excessive rates, because it is dominated by Middle South Utilities.

He also charged that 2 sets of books are kept by Mississippi Power & Light—1 at Jackson, Miss., for corporate purposes, the other in New York for tax purposes and for manipulation.

The charges were so caustic that the Securities and Exchange Commission would not grant permission for a Middle South Utilities stock issue, if any of the money were to be used to build the Dixon-Yates $100 million steam plant near Memphis, from which to supply power to the TVA, in return for electricity furnished to the AEC for its atomic-energy plants at Paducah, Ky.

In his 1952 campaign, President Eisenhower pledged himself to operate the TVA at maximum efficiency.

Unfortunately, he does not seem too familiar with the high finance that some of his friends seem to be trying to put over behind his back, and without his full understanding. They apparently have learned nothing from the fiasco of the Samuel Insull operations more than 20 years ago.

To clear the air, the President should put into the public record the proposed contract between the Dixon-Yates combine—it has been kept a deep secret so far—and join with the two congressional committees in investigating the entire deal.

If it will stand the spotlight of publicity, and is in the public interest, he will be vindicated; if it is shown to be a plain shenanigan, he should withdraw it and take some more direct route for supplying power at reasonable rates to the TVA and its customers.

Importance of the Air Force—The Motion Picture Strategic Air Command

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the cause of peace is served by the military power of the people of the United States. It serves free peoples everywhere. To the extent that all people are made aware of our great military strength, the likelihood of aggression by those who oppose freedom diminishes.

Through the genius of the great motion-picture industry of America, there has now been portrayed, for all to see, the power and might of the Strategic Air Force of the United States Air Force.

This week in Washington, the world premiere of the great new Paramont picture, Strategic Air Command, was shown to the Congress and to members of the Air Force. Two great actors, Mr. James Stewart and Miss June Allyson appear in the principal roles. It is a magnificent film story, but it is more than that. It will bring to those who view it a graphic and moving story of the power and might of our Strategic Air Command.

America today—

States the dedication for the picture—

is watching her skies with grave concern, for in these skies of peace the Nation is building its defense. To the officers and men of the United States Air Force, to the Strategic Air Command, whose cooperation is gratefully acknowledged, and to the young men of America who will one day take their places beside them, this motion picture is dedicated.

As a Californian, I salute what the motion-picture industry, located in our State, has done. Barney Balaban, Paramount president; Y. Frank Freeman, vice president; and Samuel J. Briskin, the producer, and the splendid actors have produced a film which portrays a vigorous and forceful lesson, namely, that America's strength in the air is a powerful deterrent to aggressive war.

Mr. President, Mr. James Stewart, of California, one of the actors having a principal role in the motion picture Strategic Air Command, spoke at the Air Force Association's symposium luncheon last summer, on August 20, 1954, at the Fontenelle Hotel, at Omaha, Nebr., where he was introduced by Gen. James H. Doolittle. I ask unanimous consent that a portion of the remarks made by Mr. Stewart on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY JAMES STEWART AT THE AIR FORCE ASSOCIATION'S SYMPOSIUM LUNCHEON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1954, IN THE BALLROOM OF THE FONTENELLE HOTEL, OMAHA, NEBR.—MR. STEWART WAS INTRODUCED BY JAMES H. DOOLITTLE

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Next I would like to introduce to you another very fine gentleman, comarade-in-arms of mine in England, a wonderful actor, a wonderful fightingman, a wonderful friend and wonderful fellow, Jimmy Stewart. [Applause.]

Mr. JAMES STEWART. Thank you, General Doolittle. General Kenney, Air Force Association members, you know movie actors are very often criticized for taking every personal appearance they make, every gathering they attend, every interview they give as sort of an occasion to put in a plug for their latest picture.

When I find myself in a sort of unique situation here, here I am in front of the members of the Air Force Association, I notice a lot of very distinguished Air Force personnel in the room, here I am in Omaha, the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command, and I just completed a picture about the Strategic Air Command, so it is just too good an opportunity to pass up. [Laughter.]

I would like to talk a little bit about my latest picture. The project started about a year ago. Bert Lowe and I came to General LeMay for an idea about a movie about the Strategic Air Command, and we were invited up here to Omaha. We had a 6-hour briefing by General Montgomery, and it is an experience I will never forget as long as I live, as far as enlightenment about airpower is concerned.

After hearing the briefing, and after getting General LeMay's ideas about what he wanted told and getting a story about the Strategic Air Command, well we suddenly felt we could do more than make just a movie with Air Force background. We could do something long overdue, something that should have been done a long time ago, and that is acquaint the American public with the accomplishments of SAC, with the problems she has solved, with the problems she has still, with the potential strength she has. We got General LeMay's information; we got the story started; I got Paramount interested in it, and after preparations we were ready to start. We were given permission to start shooting at Carswell Air Force Base in Fort Worth, Tex., and MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, Fla.

It was made very clear to us when we were given this permission that all the shooting that we did on these two bases was not to interfere with the training going on at that time, and I am very proud to say that we have received notice that it did not interfere in any way with the training at Carswell where the filming of that part of the picture had to do with the B–36. And while we were there and watching this airplane taking off and landing, I was reminded that not too many years ago the B–36 and crews that fly her and the command that operated her were in quite a controversy. Evidently, the American people had chosen to accept just so much information about the B–36, and that was that each 1 of them cost $5 million, and they were informed also that the United States Navy could shoot them down.

Well, at that time it was sort of very tough to present anything new without a precedent, the entire idea of a continental bomber was a very unfamiliar word and it is pretty hard to convince people about anything they don't understand or things they refuse to understand. But at that time, at the same time the Navy was presenting a problem of the big aircraft carrier.

I want you to know as I sat on the ramp at Carswell Field while these same B–36 sister ships were taking off with great crews to spots all over the world, with profile missions and were lifting almost incredible weights, climbing to almost incredible altitudes, it gave me a great deal of pride and satisfaction. It gave me a great deal of pride and satisfaction because these great B–36's and gallant crews are probably the reason Russia doesn't occupy the whole of Europe today.

Then we moved to MacDill Field for that part of the picture that had to do with the B–47, and see airpower at work as we did. The story of General LeMay's switchover to a complete jet long-range Air Force is a story that is one of the most inspiring of the air stories, almost as inspiring as the Air Force itself. And, of course, here again at MacDill it is very hard to sell people a new idea. When you start talking to people about knock numbers and tailpipe numbers in inflight refueling, oftentimes you don't get very far to them.

The Air Force Association in the past has been very quick to back legislation for appropriations for the finest of equipment and the finest of aircraft, of all types, but let's not lose sight of the fact that the real power behind airpower is still personnel.

Let's not lose sight of that fact, the flyboy is no longer a term that can be applied to the member of the Air Force, a crew member of the Air Force, any more than the floppy hat, the 300-hour-hat term can be applied to the Air Force. Now these men fly by slide rule, capable of very mature thinking, and very mature judgment, they are the result of back-breaking and meticulous training.

Now would not it be a great service for the Air Force Association to do everything in its power to encourage the young men in America to duty in SAC. Not just as a hitch in the Air Force, but as a career, but as his life's work. There has probably never been in any time a group of men who can compare with the combat crews of SAC, who must now be prepared in a single aircraft on a single sortie to perform a mission that in a few short years ago was assigned to a whole Air Force.

I personally believe that in every town and city in America these men should walk the streets with their heads held high in the knowledge that they are honored and cherished by everyone of us for whatever they are and their willingness to hold our survival in their bare hands.

The President's Message to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial from the Wall Street Journal of January 7, to be followed by an article written by Mr. Albert Clark, head of the Washington bureau of the Wall Street Journal.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal of January 7, 1955]

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK

IN OTHER HANDS

Early in President Eisenhower's message to Congress there is a spiritually stirring passage:

"It is of the utmost importance that each of us understand the true nature of the struggle now taking place in the world.

"It is not a struggle merely of economic theories, or of forms of government, or of military power. At issue is the true nature of man. Either man is the creature whom the Psalmist described as 'a little lower than the angels,' crowned with glory and honor, holding 'dominion over the works' of his Creator; or man is a soulless, animated machine to be enslaved, used, and consumed by the state for its own glorification."

Later in the message:

"The aspirations of most of our people can best be fulfilled through their own enterprise and initiative, without governmental interference. This administration, therefore, follows two simple rules: First, the Federal Government should perform an essential task only when it cannot otherwise be adequately performed; and, second, in performing that task, our Government must not impair the self-respect, freedom, and incentive of the individual. So long as these two rules are observed, the Government can fully meet its obligations without creating a dependent population or a domineering bureaucracy."

Then the President lists a number of specific recommendations for new legislation.

In the field of general welfare he renews a proposal for a Federal scheme of health reinsurance, a program to aid low income farm families, a strengthened Federal disaster assistance program, special Government aid to small business, additional Government subsidized housing, measures to improve the medical care of those already receiving Federal assistance, Federal action to build more schools, Federal action to combat juvenile deliquency and new ways to help veterans readjust to civil life.

In the economic sector the President endorses flexible monetary and debt management to help business. He approves of an extensive program of highway construction, a strengthening of the economy in key sectors by continued Government stockpiling and aid to shipbuilding, and the authorization of 6 new reclamation projects and 30 projects planned by the Army Engineering Corps.

It seems to us that these things constitute a considerable addition to the intervention of Government in the lives and in the business of citizens—an increase in an intervention which over a space of two decades has mushroomed.

Nor is it likely that the intervention of Government will stop with these things. If President Eisenhower, who wishes some restrictions on the role of Government, can endure such a program, who is then to resist the advocates of a more powerful state

We certainly have no intention here of questioning Mr. Eisenhower's sincerity. We would be willing to believe that if the Government were to remain in his hands, or in the hands of those who see the danger that the citizen may be consumed by the state for its own glorification, there could be achieved a tolerable balance between freedom and security.

But we have among us those who do glorify the State; those who believe that in some fashion they have been cast in a superior mold capable of guiding the citizen better than the citizen can guide himself; those who have little patience with the individual or his initiative; those who would create a domineering bureaucracy and a dependent population.

And how else will they use these instruments of power should they fall into their hands?

[From the Wall Street Journal of January 10, 1955]

IKE'S SHIFT—HE DRIFTS AWAY FROM CONSERVATIVE PROGRAM THAT MARKED ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST YEARS

(By Albert Clark)

WASHINGTON.—President Eisenhower now seems to have made a perceptible shift away from the conservative platform that swept him into office in 1952 and gave his party then a narrow control of Congress.

The shift is perhaps not abrupt, and the program he outlined for Congress last week is still more conservative than one that might have been offered by, say, former President Truman. Nevertheless a close reading of Mr. Eisenhower's state of the Union message shows some noticeable departures from his previously espoused political philosophy.

The President made it plain he is no longer so inseparably wedded to such conservative fiscal principles as the balanced budget. And he is now more attracted by schemes for liberal spending on public works, welfare, and aid to usiness.

WELFARE PLANS

Last week he put a great deal of emphasis on things the Government should do to promote business expansion. He proposed a multi-billion-dollar highway building program, more public housing, more public works, new help for low-income farm families. And he endorsed the idea that the Government monetary and debt-management policies should be kept flexible—i. e., manipulated to influence the economy.

The President also asked for a raft of measures designed to keep people healthy and care for the ill. Many of these were stated in general terms, but with a promise that he would spell them out in later special messages to Congress. For instance, "an affirmative program" for Federal aid in school building will be sent to Congress February 15.

Meanwhile, the President said nothing specific about what Uncle Sam should stop doing, or do on a smaller scale. The omission seems significant because this was one of the President's campaign themes in the 1952 campaign and he hit it hard in his first state of the Union message 2 years ago.

In sum, then, Mr. Eisenhower's message this year seemed to add up to a promise of more big government and even of a little bigger government—a very unlike-Ike promise.

What has brought on this change in emphasis?

STRUGGLE IN THE PARTY

Mr. Eisenhower has been under heavy pressure to line up with the liberal wing of his party ever since he returned from Paris to seek the 1952 GOP presidential nomination. Although the liberals backed him for the nomination, Ike looked like a conservative all through the subsequent campaign that won him the White House. He harped on the lavish spending, high taxes, and Government interference in business that characterized the previous administration.

Once elected, he both preached and applied the same philosophy. At least most of his proposals during the first 2 years in office were in line with his campaign promises. But all during this time there continued a struggle within the administration between the conservative and liberal wings of the party for the position of influence with the President. And with the passing of Senator Taft the conservatives lost their most intellectual, respected, and articulate spokesman.

The first tipoff that the liberal wing might be gaining in influence came last fall. In the September budget review, official figures showed that Mr. Eisenhower then planned to spend more for civilian Government in the current fiscal year, ending next June, than Mr. Truman spent in each of his last 2 fiscal years in office. This review also suggested that the goal of a balanced budget was receding in the distance.

This swing toward a more liberal policy became more noticeable during and after the 1954 congressional campaign in which the Republicans lost control of Congress. Anyway, since that election the President has talked increasingly of building the GOP along moderate progressive lines.

Last week's message made it fairly plain that Mr. Eisenhower has now, by and large, chosen the so-called liberal course. He made a few gestures toward the conservatives and repeated his statement that Government ought to do for people only what they cannot do for themselves. But when it came down to specific proposals, the liberals' views won out in nearly every case.

PAYING THE COST

The economic expansion theme threaded through the 6,700-word annual message. "If we as a people act wisely," he said, "within 10 years our annual national output can rise from its present $360 billion to $500 billion, measured in dollars of stable buying power." Government spending, and other Government aid to business, was offered as a lever for raising that national output.

To help foot the bill, the President asked for at least another year of high taxes; he wants to postpone corporate and excise tax relief scheduled for April 1 under existing law. Then he expects increased revenue from economic expansion to permit later tax cuts, perhaps in 1956 (which happens to be an election year).

It is true, of course, that this message contains few new measures, or at least none that had not been anticipated in Washington. Yet there is a tone that reflects the shift to a liberal view. It is hard to escape the conclusion that what the President has done is to write his party's presidential platform for 1956, and few observers doubt any longer that Mr. Eisenhower will be the candidate who'll run on it.

It hardly looks like the platform of 1952. The emphasis now is on things the Federal Government ought to be doing—and no longer on the things it ought not to do.

Very Nice Kind of "Ruin"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD,

I include herewith an editorial from the New Era, Reading, Pa.:

VERY NICE KIND OF "RUIN"

The Commerce Department is headed by Sinclair Weeks. He's an ultraconservative big-business man of the kind who like to talk about how the New Deal and Fair Deal ruined the country. Yet, this week, his Department published a report which completely contradicts such talk.

The report describes the amazing economic growth of the United States between 1929 and 1953, the last year for which figures are available, and the first year after the Republicans took over the White House and Congress. The comparison would have been still more striking if it had begun with one of the Hoover depression years—1930, 1931, or 1932—instead of with the peak boom year 1929. Nevertheless, the figures speak for themselves. Among other things they show:

"Gross national product"—total production of goods and services measured in dollars—much more than tripled. It rose from $104 billion in 1929 to $365 billion in 1953.

Even allowing for rising prices, by using 1947 dollars as the yardstick for measuring both 1929 and 1953 production, it increased by 105 percent. In the meantime, population grew by 30 percent, but the production of goods and services for each man, woman, and child in the country rose 57 percent during the New Deal and Fair Deal years.

And now note this, which is particularly important in view of all the talk that the country is being ruined by high taxes: The report shows that disposable income, which the American people had left after paying all taxes, soared from $83 billion in 1929 to $250 billion in 1953.

All that is reported by a Government department headed by one of the big-business men who have been telling the people that the New Deal and Fair Deal ruined the country.

Silver Anniversary Year for Washington State Public Utility Districts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the public utility districts of Washington State are this year celebrating their silver anniversary and 25 years of progress made under the plan adopted by my State in 1930.

We in Washington take pride in the accomplishments of the public utility district plan of development of electric power and the supplying of water by them to municipalities.

The December issue of Public Power News, published by the Washington Public Utility Districts' Association, tells of the advances made, in an article I believe will interest all of us. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PROGRESS UNDER DEMOCRACY

This month marks the beginning of the silver anniversary year of Washington's public utility districts. Twenty-four years ago December 3, the then Secretary of State certified the passage of initiative No. 1 to the legislature. Better known as the grange power bill, the initiative measure had been approved by a majority vote of the people of the State at the general elections held November 4, 1930. The measure, in accordance with provisions of the State constitution, became effective 30 days after passage, on December 4, 1930.

This law, now generally referred to as the PUD law, authorized the establishment of public utility districts, owned by the public and governed by their elected representatives, "to conserve the water and power resources of the State of Washington for the benefit of the people thereof, and to supply public utility service, including water and electricity for all uses."

While there have from time to time been amendments to the PUD law, in its essentials it remains pretty much as adopted 24 years ago.

Today there are 30 public utility districts in 29 of Washington's 39 counties (not counting the small, less-than-countywide Spokane County district which has been inactive for many years). Since the Whatcom County district began operating a short transmission line in October, 23 PUD's have been engaged in the electric utility business. About 210,000, or approximately 25 percent, of the State's electric customers are served by PUD's. In addition over 11,000 customers are receiving water service from PUD mains.

Washington has the lowest electric rates in the Nation. Over 99 percent of the farms in the State have been electrified. Rural electrification is more complete in only one other State—Connecticut. Average consumption of electric energy by consumers in Washington is amongst the highest in the Nation, if not the highest. This is a record of which we can justly be proud. The public utility districts and the PUD movement have played an important part, a deciding part, in making this record possible. 1955 does indeed mark 25 years of progress under democracy.

One Hundredth Anniversary of Lawrence (Kans.) Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, yesterday, January 13, marked the 100th anniversary of the Lawrence (Kans.) Post Office established in the territory of Kansas on January 13, 1855.

Postmaster Carmi W. Babcock was named the first postmaster for Lawrence by President Grant. Since that time we have had a succession of fine postmasters in Lawrence culminating in the recent appointment of James H. Parsons, one of the outstanding citizens of the community.

The Lawrence Post Office was served on the first mail contract in Kansas with mail being distributed from Leavenworth.

The growth of the Lawrence Post Office and the service it has given that community typifies the pioneer spirit of all our great State by desire to pay homage to Lawrence's Postmaster Parsons and the postal employees for their untiring efforts and contribution to the continued growth of the community.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the story published in the Lawrence Daily Journal World.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FAR CRY FROM HUMBLE BEGINNING—POST OFFICE HERE IS NEARLY 100 YEARS OLD

(By Ruth E. Love)

The Lawrence Post Office will observe its 100th anniversary Thursday. According to records in the National Archives a Federal post office was established here January 13, 1855.

In its 100 years the office has grown from a mere receiving place for the mail in a home on the raw bank of the Kansas River with a 1-man crew, to an installation in the large brick Federal building at Seventh and New Hampshire Streets, with a staff of 80 officials and employees. The present staff includes 27 city carriers and 5 rural carriers, plus a crew of supervisors, office clerks, substitute workers, and custodial workers.

Before the opening of the United States post office, citizens of Lawrence, realizing the need of a central point for distribution of mail, set up their own post office and appointed E. D. Ladd to serve as an unofficial postmaster.

An early day newspaper, the Herald of Freedom, described the action under dateline of January 6, 1855, as follows:

"We have no mails yet in this territory save such as are gotten up at private expense. Here in Lawrence we have a post office, kept by Mr. Ladd, who was appointed by the citizens to discharge that duty. The mail matter directed to individuals residing here is stopped at Kansas City or Westport, Mo., from which point it is brought, almost daily, by private individuals who chance to be traveling between the several points.

"We saw the other morning a gentleman residing 75 miles west of this, on the Kansas River, who had just traveled the entire distance on foot, to get the mail matter for individuals in that vicinity. Such is pioneer life in Kansas; but we trust Government will soon remedy these inconveniences.

"A post route should be established along the south side of Kansas River from Westport, Mo., to Fort Riley, Kansas Territory, and in a very brief space of time be a source of revenue to the Government. A bill will no doubt be passed in the present session of Congress establishing such a route, with others to various parts of the Territory."

Just 1 week after the printing of this article, a regular United States post office was established at Lawrence.

Severe weather was one of the handicaps of mail delivery in those early days, as the following item in the February 17, 1855, issue of the Herald of Freedom indicates:

"It seems impossible to get any news from the East. Our exchanges are almost wholly cut off, and of letters we have none of any account for weeks. It is said the snow is so deep and has drifted so high that the cars (trains) have been compelled to cease running. No eastern mail has been received in Chicago, says a dispatch, in 11 days, and none from Chicago has been received in St. Louis in 9 days. If these reports are true, we can readily account for the delay of our own mail matter."

Four days later it was recorded that about 400 letters arrived at the Lawrence office for local citizens.

The location of the first Lawrence post office and the first mail service is described in another Herald of Freedom item on March 3, 1855, thus:

"The post office for the present will be at the house of Mr. (William H. R.) Lykens on the levee. The mail carrier will leave this city every Monday morning at 8 o'clock, returning on Friday."

James Parsons, present postmaster, said the weekly trip of the carrier mentioned probably referred to a mail route from Lawrence to Kansas City and return. In seeking to establish a history of the local office, Parsons was aided by Dr. Robert Taft, of the University of Kansas. The postmaster also requested such information as could be obtained from the National Archives and Records Division at Washington, D. C., and was aided by Paul Lewinson, Chief Archivist there.

An excerpt from Lewinson's letter to Parsons says, "It is interesting to note that mail route contract No. 15233, from Fort Leavenworth (via Lawrence) to Fort Scott was let on October 10, 1855, to Charles B. Norris, 125 miles and back, once a week, for $1,100 per annum. The mode of transportation of mail service to Lawrence for the period prior to the use of the railroads is not shown. However, other Kansas mail route contracts for the same period show that mail had been delivered by 2-horse hack, 2-horse carriage, and 4-horse coach."

Carmi W. Babcock, a lawyer and real-estate dealer, was named the first postmaster for Lawrence and his office was placed in the store of Paul R. Brooks, on the west side of Massachusetts Street. Babcock also was the second major of Lawrence, and later was a ember of the Free State legislature. He served as Kansas surveyor under appointment from President Grant, and acted as contractor for the east wing of the State capitol. He served one term of 2 years as postmaster.

He was succeeded by James Garvin, who also served 2 years. The list of postmasters to the present time includes some of the town's most prominent citizens. Those who served, and their terms of office, are: Babcock, 1855–57; Garvin, 1857–59; Samuel K. Huson, 1859–61; Josiah Miller, 1861–63; John H. Shimmons, 1863–67; John R. Rankin, 1867–71; John H. Simmons, 1871–73; Lorenzo J. Worden, 1873–85; Osbun Shannon, 1885–89; Eugene F. Goodrich, 1889–94; George Innes, 1894–98; Eldie F. Caldwell, 1898–1903; George J. Barker, 1903–07; Irving Hill, 1907–11; Charles S. Finch, 1911–15; Charles C. Seewir, 1915–20; Charles E. Finch, 1920–24; Clitus B. Hosford, 1924–34; Roger M. Williams, 1934–52; Harry R. Barnard (acting postmaster), 1952–53; James H. Parsons, appointed in 1953.

From the seventies until the time the present post office building was erected, the office was located in the building at the corner of Massachusetts and Seventh (then Winthrop) Streets. The building was first known as Liberty Hall and afterward as the Bowersock Opera House. The entrance to the post office was on the Winthrop or Seventh Street side.

In 1906 the present Federal building was completed and the post office moved in. The following year it became a first-class post office. To achieve this, income from all sources had to reach $40,000 and the local office topped this by nearly $1,000 that year. By 1914 local officials were complaining that the office was too small for the town's needs. More business was being transacted here than in any other office in the State with the exception of Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita.

But it was not until some time later the funds were appropriated by Congress, and by that time receipts had reached an all-time high of $692,000 in 1953. In December of 1954 another record was established—the exceeding of 1 million cancellations in a month.

States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, we have all witnessed how States rights have deteriorated since 1933, and very few people have risen to the defense of States rights. Because the question is going to become one of the great issues in the coming years, I ask unanimous consent that a discussion, entitled "States Rights and the Supreme Court," by Dean Clarence Manion, delivered on Sunday, January 2, 1955, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATES RIGHTS AND THE SUPREME COURT

Bright and early yesterday morning, my favorite radio announcer came through with a brand new traffic safety slogan: "Stay alive in '55." But in spite of all warnings and precautions, traffic will be a big killer this year. So will cancer. The new year finds us still handicapped in our fight against cancer, precisely because we do not yet know exactly what cancer is. We can now detect its presence in its very early stages, but since we are uncertain about its cause, we are helpless to avoid its malignant impact. As long as we are confused about the nature and cause of cancer, we are doomed to live in dread of it.

Communism is the cancer of modern civilization. It destroys the normal pattern of rational growth and development in human society and dooms the body politic to a life worse than death. For those who are chronically complacent about the revolting menace of the Communist disease, I have a short, sure cure. Read the novel "1984," by the late George Orwell. One hour in this fictional yet obviously scientific chamber of horrors will make your blood run cold.

But unlike cancer, we know what the disease of communism is. We know what causes it, and we have the one effective means of immunizing the United States against it for all time to come.

One of the great assistants to the development of the communistic disease is the wise prevalence of faulty diagnosis. Communism is not a hunger in human nature for equality and justice. It is not a demand for the redistribution of wealth, land, and property. Communists represent communism as a crusade for social justice, precisely to distract its victims into administering the wrong medicine, while the ravages of their deliberately propagated disease take a firm hold. Communism is a malignant conspiracy for power. Its target is the tight concentration of complete control of all persons and all things into the hands of godless gangsters. The deadly germs of this disease are cultured and developed only in a climate of power concentration. Where governmental control over human beings is minimized, dispersed, disintegrated, and effectively kept that way, the germs of communism can never take hold.

In the world at this moment there is one effective shield against communism. It is found in the vigilant enforcement of the American constitutional system. The wide and ramified distribution of governmental power provided for in our State and Federal Constitutions is a scientific pattern for permanent immunity against communism. But this pattern is not self-executing. It depends for its effectiveness upon the conscientious restraint of every State and Federal officeholder. These officeholders will be so restrained only as long as we, the people, are as vigilantly and continuously devoted to our constitutional safeguards as we are to the elemental protections of our personal health and safety.

When our legislatures and administrators ignore constitutional restraints and raid our reserves of liberty, privacy, and immunity with arbitrary rules and regimentation, we have our constitutional resort to the courts for ultimate and final protection. Ours is the only country on earth where the individual citizen can thus make all the power and force of government stand back before the assertion of his personal, God-given, constitutionally protected right. In the last analysis, therefore, your constitutional right is only as good as the judge or judges before whom it is asserted. A great Justice of the United States Supreme Court once declared that while we are protected by the Constitution, we should always remember that "the Constitution is what the judges say it is." For all practical purposes, that statement is correct. Thus, when the Supreme Court decides what a selected provision of the Constitution means in a particular case, that decision, until it is overruled, becomes in effect a part of the Constitution itself. Lawyers then advise their clients to respect the decision. Legislatures and governmental administrators attempt to proceed within the limits of such constitutional construction. Lower courts decide and dispose of thousands of analogous cases upon the authority of the original Supreme Court decision. It is obvious that because of its important repercussions such a construction of the Constitution, once it is made by the Supreme Court, should certainly be respected and upheld by that tribunal down through the succeeding years.

For a century and a half the Supreme Court did just that. Since 1936 however, the judicial attitude of the Supreme Court in this, and in many other respects, has changed radically. Like the Constitution, which they are appointed to protect, the Supreme Court Justices are deliberately and securely walled away from the fickle pressures of popular opinion and political turnovers. It is becoming increasingly obvious, however, that the Justices are not only reading the election returns, but in many instances, are interpreting and projecting them like the astute politicians that many of them were, and to all appearances, still are.

In the last 15 years the Supreme Court has overturned and reversed more of its own judicially established constitutional constructions than were changed by that court in all the preceeding years of our national history. These reversals do not show the Supreme Court merely to be what Justice Roberts called the breeder of fresh doubt and confusion in the public mind. The showing is much more significant than that. The recent revolutionary reversals of judicial precedent fall ominously into a precise pattern for political centralization. By its decisions, during the last 15 years, the Supreme Court has removed practically every constitional restraint upon congressional and Federal executive power. At the same time, the Court has rebuffed and frustrated every important attempt by the individual States of the Union to assert the regulatory powers over subjects reserved to them under the 10th article of the bill of rights.

Constitutionally reserved State powers, crystalized by specific judicial constructions for more than 50 years, have been summarily swept away by the New Deal—Fair Deal—Middle-of-the-road—Progressive—moderate,

New Look that the Supreme Court now gives to everything. The Justices are not content to validate new extensions of congressional regulation into purely local business activities. In some instances the Court goes further by first disregarding the restraints that Congress itself has written into its own laws, and then extending the scope of that legislation by judicial decree.

For instance, in 1938 Congress passed what is known as the Natural Gas Act. Its obvious purpose was to regulate the State-to-State, cross-country, transportation of natural gas in the pipelines of transporting companies. The congressional act further provides this: "It shall not apply to any other transportation or sale of natural gas, or to the local distribution of natural gas, or to the facilities used for such distribution, or to the production or gathering of natural gas." The administration of the act was given, by Congress, to the Federal Power Commission. That agency consistently took the congressional act at its word, and refused to fix local gas prices of independent local gas producers. Nevertheless, some people kept insisting that the Commission fix this local producer's price. To settle the question, Congress in 1950 passed the Kerr bill, expressly reaffirming the original congressional intent to leave local, intrastate prices alone.

Although the Kerr bill was vetoed by President Truman, this congressional action, plus the expressed congressional withdrawal from the area of local gas prices, in the 1938 act, was a clear indication of the limit which Congress intended to place upon its own Federal regulation. Nevertheless, in June of 1954, the Supreme Court in the now famous Phillips case (*Phillips Petroleum Co.* v. *Wisconsin et al.* (347 U. S. 672)) decided otherwise. In exempting local gas prices from the regulatory powers of the Federal Commission, it could be assumed that Congress recognized at least some constitutional limitations upon the distance it could go into the regulation of purely State and local business. However, in its decision, the Supreme Court ignored the possibility of any such constitutional limitation. The only dissent and disagreement in the Court was on the question of congressional intention. The majority of the Justices held that, although the act said no, the legislative history of the measure showed congressional intent to go the full distance. Incidentally, in deciding the Phillips case as it did, the Supreme Court reversed 2 of its own previous decisions, 1 made in 1944, another in 1949. (*Federal Power Commission* v. *Hope Natural Gas Co.* (320 U. S. 591 (1944))); (*Fed. Pow. Comm.* v. *Panhandle Eastern Pipe Line* (337 U. S. 506) (1949))). Both of these cases had decided the identical question under the same congressional act in a manner exactly contrary to the decision in the Phillips case.

Thus what Justice Roberts called the breeder of confusion becomes more and more prolific. It is not, however, as the breeder of confusion but as the architect of centralized power that the Supreme Court now needs to be watched and feared. Not only does it now destroy the integrity of the States by widening the already broad exercise of congressional power, but, even more dangerously, it corroborates the power of the President—all by himself—to wipe out every vestige of reserved State power through the agency of secret international agreements.

In the most appropriately named Pink case, *United States* v. *Pink* ((1942) 315 U. S. 203), the Supreme Court held that President Roosevelt's agreement with Litvinov, which recognized Communist Russia in 1933, overrode the constitution and laws of New York as well as the 10th and 5th article of the Federal Bill of Rights. In the Pink case, the Supreme Court held that, notwithstanding the fact that the Litvinov agreement was not ratified by or even submitted to the United States Senate, the rule of legal supremacy for treaties still applies. The Court said: "From the very fact that complete power over international affairs is in the National Government, it is not and cannot be subject to any curtailment or interference on the part of the several States." The Pink decision then concluded, "in respect of all international negotiations and compacts, and in respect of our foreign relations generally, State lines disappear." Nevertheless the last clause of the Bill of Rights still says that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution * * * are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." Is the Supreme Court interpreting the Constitution or is it making it over? If the centralizing forces of Communist concentration are now too strong to be resisted by the Justices in Washington, then what chances do our American soldier boys have on their lonely vigils in Korea, Samoa, Spain, Ethiopia, and elsewhere?

Officially we are all out against communism. But regardless of the money we spend—the armies we raise or the American boys we bury all over the world—the fact nevertheless remains, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, "A concentration of governmental power is what always precedes the death of human freedom." By encouraging power concentration in Washington, we are nourishing the very disease we are trying to destroy. If constitutional freedom is to stay alive in 1955 and beyond, we had better take a good look at our Supreme Court.

Crusade for Freedom and Radio Free Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to see in the January 1955 issue of the Eagle magazine, published in Milwaukee, Wis., a fine writeup of the Eagle's new drive in support of the crusade for freedom.

The writeup refers specifically to the launching of another great balloon campaign carrying freedom messages behind the Iron Curtain. It rightly urges prompt communication with the president of the American Heritage Foundation, which sponsors the crusade-for-freedom drive. I am glad to point out that the president of this foundation is our noted friend, great soldier-stateman and leader, the able former Under Secretary of State, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith.

I believe that this latest fine Eagle campaign—symbolic of other efforts by other splendid American organizations—will be of interest to my colleagues. I send to the desk now the text of the Eagle article.

I append to it an article which is carried in the current issue of the magazine Retirement Life, published by the National Association of Retired Civil Employees. This article by Frank J. Wilson is entitled "Radio Free Europe Crashes the Iron Curtain." It tells graphically why it is so important that this particular phase of the crusade for freedom be given every possible support.

I ask unanimous consent that both items, preceded by a list of the distinguished officers and trustees of the foundation, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the list and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICERS OF AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Walter Bedell Smith, president; Henry Ford II, chairman of the board; Louis A. Novins, executive vice president; Barney Balaban, vice chairman; John L. McCaffrey, vice chairman; George Meany, vice chairman; Walter P. Reuther, vice chairman; Robert G. Sproul, vice chairman; Charles E. Wilson, vice chairman; Edwin L. Weisl, Jr., secretary; James G. Blaine, treasurer; George J. Waas, controller and business manager; and William A. Greene, national crusade chairman.

Trustees: Mrs. Oscar A. Ahlgren, William D. Askren, Barney Balaban, Don Belding, James G. Blaine, Harold W. Brightman, Thomas D'A. Brophy, Leo Burnett, Henry L. Corbett, John Cowles, John W. Davis, Fred F. Florence, Henry Ford II, Ford C. Frick, Bruce Gould, Philip L. Graham, Eric Johnston, Robert Lehman, Henry R. Luce, Charles Luckman, J. A. Martino, John L. McCaffrey, Timothy A. McInerny, George Meany, Harvey S. Mudd, Earl Newsom, Louis A. Novins, Irving S. Olds, Arthur W. Page, Mrs. Robert P. Patterson, T. S. Petersen, Samuel F. Pryor, Walter P. Reuther, Edward L. Ryerson, David Sarnoff, Paul R. Scott, McGregor Smith, Paul C. Smith, Walter Bedell Smith, Robert G. Sproul, Niles Trammell, Frank C. Walker, DeWitt Wallace, Thos. J. Watson, Edwin E. Wiesl, Charles M. White, Charles E. Wilson, and Robert E. Wilson.

[From the Eagle of January 1955]

EAGLES WILL AGAIN LAUNCH SYMBOLIC BALLOONS IN BIG CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM DEMONSTRATION—EACH AERIE URGED TO JOIN IN SPECTACULAR PROGRAM

Last year the Eagles staged a sensational and dramatic demonstration of the order's dedication to the cause of world freedom when many hundreds of aeries launched thousands of freedom ballons to bring home to all Americans the message of the crusade for freedom.

This year will see an even more spectacular project designed to gain support for bringing the message of freedom to those imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain.

Eagle Freedom Chairman Martin J. Mol, Detroit, recently returned from a trip to Europe, has announced that once again all aeries will be urged to participate in the program which gained front-page publicity in papers all over the continent last year.

On February 12, Lincoln's birthday, there will be a mass launching at Freyhun, Germany, of ballons which will be sent over the Iron Curtain to the people of Czechoslovakia. As a part of a great civic celebration, there will be launched a balloon for every aerie in the jurisdiction, each bearing a message from the crusade for freedom and greetings from the sponsoring aerie.

In addition to the mass launching in Milwaukee, freedom balloons will soar from the steps of every State capitol in the Nation, under State aerie auspices.

And every Eagle aerie is being asked to make plans for a balloon launching from the city hall of every Eagle city. To facilitate this, Mol recently announced, the grand aerie freedom committee will send a balloon to every aerie. Additional balloons may be ordered by the aeries by writing to Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, president, American Heritage Foundation, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Mol states that this year the balloons will be exact facsimiles of those used in Europe

to carry the message of freedom over the Iron Curtain. They will be approximately four times the size of the Eagle balloons sent aloft last year.

To eliminate the problem which arose last year when some of the helium supplies proved inadequate, the committee is suggesting this year that each Aerie contact a local source of gas.

Mol announces that January 15 is the deadline for securing additional balloons.

In addition to the chairman, other members of the freedom committee are William Hazelwood, Detroit, secretary; Joseph Starowski, Bremerton, Wash.; Chas. J. Fracisco, Livermore, Calif.; Elwood Devine, Terre Haute, Ind.; Ed Spangler, Freeport, Ill.; Steve Thomas, Pennsylvania; Carmen Corbisero, Ashtabula, Ohio; Tony Phelps, Denver, Colo.; Ew Kamas, Elmira, N. Y.; and Guy Porter, Davenport, Iowa.

[From Retirement Life]

Radio Free Europe Crashes the Iron Curtain

(By Frank J. Wilson)

(Editor's Note.—The American Heritage Foundation made it possible for Mr. Wilson and 71 other national leaders in the 1954 crusade for freedom to observe Radio Free Europe in action and to observe its intensive overseas facilities. Thousands of retirees have contributed to the crusade for freedom and are interested in it. President Wilson's account of the flight to Munich and his impressions there appeared in our December issue. This report on the RFE operation and its significance as he sees it completes his self-imposed assignment as a Retirement Life reporter at the front.)

Live as long as I may, I doubt if there will be another moment that can fully match the solid satisfaction that came to me in Munich. This was the moment when, before a microphone of Radio Free Europe, there came a sudden realization that I was about to have an actual part, however small, in a magnificent, extensive enterprise carrying to millions of freedom-loving people like myself, unwilling captives behind an Iron Curtain of a giant, inhuman Communist conspiracy, a message of hope and courage from the people of my own country.

I would not try to describe the emotion of that moment. I would not know where to find words. It was a mixture. Exactly what I would say into the microphone there before me had little to do with what I felt. The big thing was that when I would say it the chances were better than good that in spite of all the Red tyrants could do, the words would crash through their Iron Curtain. A realization of what that bare fact meant to those enslaved people—what it might signify perhaps for the whole world for centuries to come—was, literally, breathtaking. And uppermost, as I recall, was a sense of profound gratitude; gratitude that the RFE microphone should be there; for the vision and spirit of my countrymen who put it there; for the will and the power that lay steadily behind it.

BEGINNINGS

Perhaps if I go back a bit I can indicate in another way what I want, if I can, to share with every reader of this report. In 1950, the year following his return home after his service as United States High Commissioner to West Germany, Gen. Lucius Clay said this:

"When I left Germany in 1949, I came home with a very firm conviction that we needed in addition to the Voice of America a different, broader voice, a voice of the free people, a radio which would not speak the words of government but would speak to each country behind the Iron Curtain in its own language, and from the throats of its own leaders who had fled for their lives because of their beliefs in freedom. I found that one was already getting under way known as Radio Free Europe. It seemed to me that what it needed was a broad base of support from the American people. Then it would truly be a voice of freedom, representing the American people. Then it would truly be a voice of freedom, representing the free peoples behind the Iron Curtain, but sponsored by the people of America. That was the origin of the Crusade for Freedom."

DEVELOPMENT

Radio Free Europe went on the air in July 1950 with a mobile 7½-kilowatt shortwave transmitter and broadcast for a total of 10 hours a week. One by one, added stations were developed into a network: The Voice of Free Czechoslovakia, of Free Hungary, Free Poland, Free Rumania, and Free Bulgaria. When I was in Munich 22 short- and medium-wave transmitters were broadcasting 2,400 hours every week to the target countries. Very powerful transmitters broadcast each program simultaneously on different wavelengths, thus enabling enslaved patriots in satellite nations to tune in on many locations on their radio dials. So rapid has been the development.

TECHNIQUES

Radio Free Europe programs to the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain aim to sustain their hope of restoring their national freedom and individual liberties, and eventual return to the free world.

Radio Free Europe exposes the daily lies and distortions of the Communist regimes by simple truth and unvarnished fact. Listeners are continuously reminded of the power of their inherent strength, in contrast to the weakness of regimes which must rely on terror to maintain the power they have usurped. They are acquainted with the spiritual, political and economic values of America and other free nations where God is regarded as the Supreme Master. The broadcasts explain the benefits that would come from the reestablishment of governments of their own choice within a free, united Europe. The programs impress the need for all who desire to worship God and wish peace with freedom to unite against the tyranny of communism.

On each of the Radio Free Europe stations, exiles from the captive countries speak to their peoples in their own languages. Inspired by their devotion to the cause of freedom and democracy, they write persuasive scripts, and broadcast in their own styles. Letters to Radio Free Europe from listeners behind the Iron Curtain, which usually open with such phrases as, "My Fellow Countryman," "Dear Beloved Compatriots," or "My Dear Free Comrades," establish that the principle of operating "exile stations" is sound. Americans work closely with the exiles as partners allied in the common struggle. This partnership has resulted in vital, hard-hitting scripts—the sincere efforts of front-line fighters in the struggle against communism—heart-touching messages that show a profound understanding of life behind the Iron Curtain and that carry rays of cheer to the downcast.

I briefly described the balloon technique for overpassing the Iron Curtain in December Retirement Life. Confidential reports from a reliable source advise us that the balloons were being fired upon by Soviet occupation troops. The balloon activities are so effective that the enraged Communists commissioned a sly saboteur to sneak up on the station and set it on fire. The saboteur was apprehended outside the balloon field and this sinister Red plot to burn the plant was nipped in the bud. Alert and fierce police dogs continuously guard the plant.

PROGRAMS

Programs cover a wide range of subjects. World news is included in programs of many types, for the true nature of communism obviously cannot be made clear without relating it to life in the free world. News is broadcast around the clock, every hour, as the truth is a precious commodity in the war of words. Special programs are designed for youth, factory workers, farmers, women, war veterans, and even Communists.

Religious news and services go to listeners of all faiths. Culture and comedy, drama and music, forums and interviews are all included in programs aimed to attract more and more listeners. Strategically located all along the borders of the Iron Curtain, from Stockholm to Istanbul, a chain of 16 Radio Free Europe news bureaus provides a constant flow of information to prove that the cruel Communists are continuously conspiring to crush under the iron heel the freedom to worship God, and freedom of speech. Refugees produce plenty of current evidence for Radio Free Europe broadcasts regarding tyrannical conditions behind the curtain.

RESULTS

Is Radio Free Europe reaching the people behind the Iron Curtain with its message of hope, liberation, freedom?

Is the operation undermining the Communist totalitarian regimes and winning friends for the cause of a free world?

Are listeners actually influenced by the broadcasts?

These are questions which Americans have a right to ask, for Radio Free Europe is made possible by their contributions.

From what I have seen at close range and from careful study during the course of my tour, I am convinced that the evidence is all one way; that the answer to each of the questions is definitely "Yes." Two basic criteria allow us to appraise the effectiveness of Radio Free Europe operations. The first is the positive reaction to its programs by the listening audience. The second is the reaction by the God-hating, materialistic Communist regimes and their propaganda organs.

Reaction of listeners comes daily to Radio Free Europe in letters from persons of all ages and description. Most have praise for Radio Free Europe's fight for the cause of liberation and the freedom of all peoples to select governments of their choice, to worship God, to enjoy free speech, and to live in peace with their fellow men in other nations. Many contain reports of radio reception conditions. Others tell about the terrors of the police state. Some even chide Radio Free Europe for not advocating immediate war against Russia in order to set free the captive peoples.

The violence of the reactions of the Communist regimes is evidence fully as convincing. When the powerful Radio Free Europe transmitter went on the air to Czechoslovakia, Communist stations broadcast death threats to Radio Free Europe personnel, and the Prague regime dispatched official diplomatic communications to the United States Government vigorously protesting against the broadcasts.

In addition to positive reactions of this kind—proving Radio Free Europe's ability to influence its audiences—the satellite regimes were forced to disregard a primary rule of psychological warfare—namely, that hostile propaganda should not be dignified by reply. Communist spokesmen have constantly answered Radio Free Europe accusations and attacked its operation so as to counteract the impact of its broadcasts. A few of their favorite epithets are: "criminal rabble," "barking dogs," "hired slanderers," "pirates of the ether," "saboteurs," and "yakkity-yakkers."

Shortly after the death of Stalin, Rude Pravo, the official Communist paper in Czechoslovakia, angrily attacked Radio Free Europe's "inhuman monsters who raised their nauseating voices to try to exploit the

anguish of the people." The attack continued, "Our people will not forget that the most monstrous of these monsters were emigres whom our nation long ago cast from its midst." The "monsters" referred to were the exiles at Radio Free Europe who fled from Communist terror to become the front-line fighters in the struggle for a free world.

So it goes. So it was going when I was at Munich; and the efficient staff of Radio Free Europe remarked happily that so long as Moscow and her secret police regimes continue to bellow we can be certain that the attack goes well. Let me assure you that Radio Free Europe intends to continue to obstruct the march of Soviet imperialism. It is playing an important part to help the free world win the cold war. By winning a cold war, we can prevent a hot war.

With this necessarily brief and far from adequate report of Radio Free Europe in action, perhaps you will better understand and to some extent share my emotions on that moment before a microphone in Munich. As for the significance of the Radio Free Europe michophone itself, certainly it can be no better stated than it has been by our farsighted President:

"Through Radio Free Europe • • • men and women, who might otherwise have succummed to the philosophy that it is good to be slaves, still keep alive the spark of freedom in their hearts. This work serves not only the nations we seek to help—it serves the best interests of the United States."

President Eisenhower, our inspired leader, appeals to us "to rededicate ourselves to unselfish striving for the common betterment of mankind." You will agree that Radio Free Europe exemplifies that Christian doctrine to a high degree. It is a high privilege to be associated in such a humane cause. Let us as loyal citizens aid in the fight against our arch foe, communism, and demonstrate our Americanism by strong support of such worthy activities as the American Heritage Foundation, Radio Free Europe, and the crusade for freedom.

Gridiron Club Comment on Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on December 11, 1954, the famous Gridiron Club held its annual meeting in Washington, and at that time various matters were commented on and various persons were "placed on the griddle."

One of the most interesting skits presented on that occasion related to the Dixon-Yates contract. I ask unanimous consent that that portion of the Gridiron Club's program be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the program was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of December 12, 1954]

GRIDIRON SIZZLES AGAIN

Still another skit introduced Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols, its General Manager. Joining in on this one were Edgar H. Dixon and Eugene A. Yates, of the controversial Dixon-Yates power combine.

The announcer said:

"One hundred years ago the team of Mason-Dixon—and their line—rated national interest. Tonight the line leads to the new team of Dixon-Yates, and their interest rate. We take you to the Tennessee mountains where chained lightning has given way to chained power for the A-bomb, and the H-bomb."

The set opened with "Strauss and Nichols" tending a moonshine still. "Dixon and Yates" entered and this dialogue followed:

Dixon: "I'm Dixon and this is my partner, Yates. We're powerfully interested in something with power. Can we make a deal?"

Nichols: "Yes, siree. We like deals, but not with this stuff. We're cooking this for a couple of other friends."

Yates: "What we want is some of this guaranteed free enterprise."

Strauss: "What's that?"

Yates: "Why, something you get free from the Government."

Strauss: "We got lots of that, but you gotta make a bid first."

Dixon: "What's a bid?"

Strauss: "That's simple. Just tell us what you want and we'll let the boss persuade us to give it to you."

Yates: "O. K., then listen."

To the score of Make Believe, "Dixon and Yates" sang:

We could make believe they fooled us
Please don't make believe that you fooled me.
Others find profits high in pretending
Couldn't you?
Couldn't I?
Couldn't we?
When our kilowatts are blending
Dixon-Yates comes first—then two, or three.
Creepin' capitalists, here's a real hint
Get a high line to the mint.
We could make believe it's risky,
Nine percent's the least we'll take
Electricity's so stimulating—
Four for you
Five for I
Nine for we.
Guaranteed returns awaiting
In a year or two or three.
Never bid, but just try cultivating
Budget Bureau friends for we.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 8 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Let's Save America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in answer to a substantial number of requests, I submit for printing in the RECORD a copy of the remarks which I made to the 29th Women's Patriotic Conference at its sessions in Washington, D. C., last week.

These remarks follow:

LET'S SAVE AMERICA

Mrs. Good, delegates to this 29th Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, and distinguished guests, I appreciate the invitation to participate in your discussions here today.

You, and the organizations you represent, deserve the praise of all America for your efforts to defend our Constitution and the American way of life.

The task to which you have set yourselves is a difficult one, as all of you are well aware. But let me assure you that those of us in Congress who still believe the sovereignty of the Nation deserves first consideration are grateful for your work. I pray that more Americans will become alert to the dangers which threaten to take from us the liberties which our forefathers fought to secure and will join in your crusade.

Our first President, George Washington, warned that we must remain independent and steer a clear and sure course away from Europe's intrigues and quarrels. The great vision of Washington, as well as Jefferson, led to the American policy of nonintervention and the greatest free government on earth. On no other basis than the avoidance of foreign entanglements could this Republic have endured and on no other basis will it be sustained.

What everyone must understand, then, is that the end product of our foreign policy must be the protection and advancement of our national interests, not the least of which is the perpetuation of our individual rights and freedoms. In judging the results of the interventionist policy which we now pursue, those who advocate this course must therefore rest their case on what it has accomplished.

In less than 40 years, and the fighting of three gory wars, we look across the Pacific to a hostile Far East where once we had earned the respect of hundreds of millions of people. We look across the Atlantic—to the continent of Europe—and are hard-pressed to find a single country of any substantial area or population which is willing to make the sacrifices necessary to defend itself much less join in an international movement to suppress aggression.

Meantime, our young men grow up in the shadow of the draft, serving longer periods in active service and reserves than almost anywhere else in the world; our Federal debt alone far exceeds the combined debts of all the governments of the world, while our total debt, public and private, has rocketed to more than $600 billion. In this climate, savings and investments are constantly threatened by inflation, and we are burdened by a tremendous load of taxation, unprecedented in time of peace and legally unlimited.

By what stretch of the imagination can the one-worlders, Atlantic unioneers and international do-gooders claim that our national security and well-being has been enhanced by the foreign policy we continue to pursue?

FOREIGN GIVEAWAYS

Let us review briefly a few of the many foreign giveaway schemes which have drained from the pockets of American taxpayers some $150 billion in the last 15 years. Incidentally, it may be argued that some of that huge amount of money represents loans to foreign governments. May I remind you that our so-called foreign friends still owe us more than $17 billion as a result of loans during World War I. If our so-called allies haven't seen fit to repay this money in 38 years, is anyone naive enough to believe that any of them will make more than gestures toward paying their debts arising out of World War II and the postwar period?

In the last 15 years we have seen the fantastic spectacle of Americans providing scores of countries with funds for one purpose or another. No corner of the earth has been neglected in our mad scramble to finance the world.

We have made possible the building of air-conditioned, luxury apartments in the jungles of the Belgian Congo.

We financed the building of a railroad station in Rome that for sheer splendor makes Grand Central of Pennsylvania stations in New York look like tank-town facilities on a branch line railroad.

We sent an expert to Italy to show the Italians how to husk corn; we sent a Pennsylvania track coach to India to teach the Indians how to run although their chief mode of transportation is their legs, and we recently sent a delegation of eight, hand-picked American women to an assortment of foreign countries to pick a bevy of foreign women to visit this country. American taxpayers, of course, pick up the checks both ways for these international tourists. It's all part of the tub-thumping propaganda by the State Department, Foreign Operations Administration and United Nations to keep the multibillion dollar give-away show on the road.

COFFEE "EXPERTS"

We send experts to Brazil to tell the Brazilians how to raise coffee but we do nothing about the speculation in coffee that has gouged millions of dollars out of the budgets of American housewives.

We underwrite a super highway in Thailand and commercial aviation in Pakistan and Turkey. We build air bases in Great Britain under terms whereby the British can cancel American rights to the bases at any time, and with no provision whereby we can recover any part of our investment.

We build hydroelectric power dams in France and Italy, and we build power projects in Iran which authorities say are economically unjustifiable and when Iranian money is available for the work.

Besides the money that has been handed over to individual countries, we have given to such organizations as the European Payments Union, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, International Refugee Organization, Organization of American States, United Nations Rehabilitation Relief, and a score of others. And more frosting goes on the cake in the form of miscellaneous, overlapping programs.

Henry Wallace, in a flight of fancy during World War II, said the United States must make sure everybody in the world has the opportunity of drinking a quart of milk a day. His successors, if they have their way, will throw in a deep freeze for every Eskimo and a power mower with leaf-chopping attachment for every Hottentot.

Few Government agencies have been omitted in this dishing out of the taxpayers money to foreigners. The Defense, Commerce, Agriculture, State, and Treasury Departments have all been involved. Of course, Harold Stassen's Foreign Operations Administration, and its predecessor agencies, all bearing perfumed titles, have played the leading role.

And not only have the American people been called upon to financially support a good share of the world, but they are called upon to defend it as well.

UTTERLY FANTASTIC

Altogether, some 50 nations with a combined population of more than a billion people look to the United States to come to their defense militarily and fight their battles.

The spectacle of a nation with only a fraction of the land area and population of the world attempting to finance and defend peoples in every corner of the earth is utterly fantastic.

This policy is the handiwork of a small group in this country who either have spent a considerable part of their lives in England and France or who have business interests abroad. This group apparently finds it fruitful to support the decadent and tottering Empires of Great Britain and France, countries which are unwilling to join wholeheartedly with us in meeting the Communist world conspiracy. These internationalists, wealthy and influential politically, their influence stemming from interlocking directorates and vast control over business and industry, do not represent the American people. They have shown little concern over high costs of living or taxes as long as this country spends billions to subsidize their favorite foreign nations and stands ready to defend those nations when they won't defend themselves. It is these people or their hired hands who keep alive scores of organizations, each with a propaganda mill, to perpetuate the cruel fantasy that the American people have it within their capacity to solve all the ills and evils that exist in the world.

UNITED NATIONS

Let me now, and briefly, discuss the United Nations. I would remind you first of all that Alger Hiss, who recently completed a penitentiary sentence for lying about his Communist activities, was one of the chief archi-

tects of the United Nations Charter. I would also remind you that Harry Dexter White, who died suddenly and mysteriously while under investigation for his alleged Communist connections, was another of those who had a hand in drafting the United Nations Charter and in piloting it through the San Francisco Conference. Is there, then, anything strange or coincidental about the fact that Soviet Russia has three votes to our one in the United Nations General Assembly; that every possibility and every move to make this organization an effective instrumentality for security and peace is subject to a Communist veto?

If there was any virtue in the Korean war—and God knows the killing of more than 35,000 American boys plus the wounding of 100,000 more can be nothing but stark tragedy—it was the complete proof of dismal failure on the part of the United Nations. Not only did it fail to punish aggression for the aggressors still stand and thumb their noses from the ame vantage points they did in June 1950, but it demonstrated that collective action under the United Nations is a sham and a farce.

The proof of this is that Americans, despite all the eloquent phraseology of the U. N. Charter, did 95 percent of the fighting and dying and 100 percent of the financing of the war in Korea. I am speaking of U. N. participation. Please remember that South Korea was not and is not a member of the United Nations. The cold, bloody record of that war is that 45 member nations of the United Nations with combined populations of more than a billion persons, contributed not a single combat soldier. When the showdown came in the United Nations, there was then as now no real sense of moral obligation or responsibility.

PROFITS AS USUAL

On the contrary and at the height of the Korean war—while Americans were being slaughtered on the battlefields and suffering the agonies of Red Chinese prison camps—it was profits as usual for most of our alleged free-world friends. The British Supreme Court at Hong Kong, for instance, fined the President Steamship Lines more than $60,000 for refusing to deliver a consignment of medical supplies, including wonder drugs to the Red Chinese. American officials of the President Lines rightly held that these medical supplies were contraband and would be used to patch up Chinese Communist soldiers so they could be returned to the front and kill more Americans.

Does anyone in this room recall a single word of protest even from the United Nations or our State Department concerning this outrageous fine levied by the British upon an American firm which, unlike the British, refused to stab American soldiers in the back?

Only recently we witnessed another shocking defeat in the United Nations when $180,000 in back salaries and damages were approved for 11 American employees of the U. N. who were fired for refusing to answer either to a grand jury or the Senate Internal Security Committee as to whether they were Communists or engaged in Communist activities. The case of these 11 fifth amendment Americans was carried to the administrative tribunal of the United Nations and to the so-called International Court of Justice, both of which upheld the payments.

Henry Cabot Lodge, chief United States representative to the United Nations, described the huge awards as unjust and outrageous but he capitulated to the decision that the payment be made.

TOO MUCH RESPECT

Another representative to the United Nations was the first to capitulate and with the public assertion that he had too much respect for the International Court to oppose its decision. This statement despite the sordid fact that three Communist judges sit on the bench of the International Court and thus were in a position to pass judgment on 11 persons suspected of being part and parcel of the Communist subversive movement.

I wonder if this individual would have the same respect for an appeals court in this country on which sit felons, charged with passing judgment on American citizens?

In the closing days of the last session of Congress, the House and Senate passed a resolution stating in clear language that no funds appropriated then or thereafter from the United States Treasury could be used to pay the award of $180,000 to these 11 characters who sought refuge behind the 5th amendment. Then, you ask, how will payment be made?

We now discover payments will be made by the simple and shabby device, approved by the weak-spined United States representatives to the U. N., of levying an assessment upon the salaries of United Nations employees. This simply means that honest, loyal American employees of the U. N. are now to be taxed on their salaries to compensate 11 persons who were fired from their midst for alleged disloyalty to the United States. This is unbelievable.

Incidentally, Mr. Lodge will pay no part of the assessment. He informs me that his salary is paid by the State Department. I might add that it is considerably more substantial than the salary paid to a stenographer or some other underling at United Nations headquarters.. Of course, there will be no deduction from the salaries of congressional representatives to the U. N.

SOVEREIGNTY UNDERMINED

There are many more examples of how our sovereignty is being undermined in the United Nations. I shall mention only 1 or 2.

In 1952, the Government refused to issue visas permitting two foreigners to enter this country to attend a United Nations conference. In refusing, our Government presented to the U. N. a congressional reservation, which reserved the power of the United States to issue visas to aliens seeking to enter this country to attend meetings. What happened? The U. N. decreed that the congressional reservation had never been approved by the U. N. General Assembly. Then, dictating to the State Department of the United States, the U. N. demanded and obtained, entry permits for the two unwanted foreigners.

Another example is to be found in the recently published United Nations handbook on standards of conduct in the International Civil Service. This handbook states that the conduct of the international civil servant must clearly reflect his obligation to the international organization, and any appearance of disloyalty to that organization must be considered incompatible with his status. Under the circumstances, is it any wonder that disloyal Americans have been uncovered in the employment of the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations? Still another example is the World Health Organization decision last year which assessed the United States for $350,000 more than Congress had appropriated for this agency. The United States representatives protested but were of course outvoted. Here is an example of the ability of foreigners to levy taxes upon Americans.

In this brief discussion of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, the U. N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization also deserves mention for it is through this agency that the internationalists and one-worlders attempt to influence the people of America, especially our youth.

UNESCO PROPAGANDA

Typical UNESCO propaganda goes something like this, and I quote from a UNESCO publication: "Our children should be educated to prepare themselves for citizenship in a world society. As long as the child breathes the poisoned air of nationalism, education in world mindedness can produce only precarious results. It is frequently the family that infects the child with extreme nationalism. The school should therefore combat family attitudes that favor jingoism." Such propaganda has but one aim: To poison the youth of this nation against America and to prepare them for a role in the internationalists, one world.

What these propagandists find most difficult to overcome is the fact that in terms of culture, civilization, and consciousness this is not one world in which we live. And to try to make it one, against all the realities of life and nature, is far more likely to awaken the spirit of rebellion than the spirit of harmony. And when those in the United States work for world government on the premise that it will solve all the problems of the people of other lands, they refuse to recognize history which teaches that nations are rarely if ever benefited by what they do not do for themselves.

Probably no more flagrant instrumentality for the destruction of the constitutional rights of Americans is to be found than that which is embodied in the so-called Status of Forces Treaty.

Under this treaty, American servicemen stationed in certain foreign countries, who have taken an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, are subject to trial in foreign civil courts by foreign judges and incarceration in foreign prisons.

JAPANESE SENTENCE AMERICANS

Since this treaty became effective, it is reported that many American boys were brought to trial in foreign courts and some are now serving in filthy foreign prisons for various offenses, some of them minor and effectively stripped of their constitutional rights as American citizens.

Let us take the case of France where there are thousands of American troops and where communism is rampant. There is nothing to prevent a Communist cell from framing or bringing trumped-up charges against one or more American boys. In that case they would likely be arrested by American military police who would be compelled under the Status of Forces Treaty to turn the alleged offender or offenders over to a civil court for trial.

In Turkey, France, and other European countries American servicemen have been tried by the courts of those countries under procedures that are totally foreign to them. It may well be pointed out here that in certain countries of the Middle East the penalty for petty larceny may be the lopping off of a hand.

It should also be pointed out that as the result of another agreement entered into with Japan in 1953, at least 26 American servicemen are now serving terms ranging up to 15 years in Japanese prisons after being convicted in the civil courts of a country whose nationals only a little more than 10 years ago were practicing barbarity in almost every form upon American soldiers.

Perhaps these individuals were guilty. If so, there are American military and civil courts before which trial could be had. The point is that the Constitution of the United States either has meaning or those who are responsible for setting it aside, without benefit of amendment, ought to be decent enough to make sure that every American conscripted for military service and sent to duty in a NATO treaty country, is properly advised that he no longer has the protection of the Constitution which he has sworn to uphold and defend with his life, if necessary.

DECEPTION

Yes, the American people in the last two decades have been the vicitims of much de-

ception and have lost more in the way of sovereignty than many of us can comprehend.

The hour is late, but there is still time to save America if we will but return to policies that are first of all in the best interests of this country and its people.

In advocating such a return to reason and sanity, one is quickly branded by the internationalists as an isolationist. I asked these internationalists: Were Washington and Jefferson isolationists?

Our Founding Fathers were not isolationists, but rather vigorous advocates of international intercourse based upon reason and understanding, and I am sure all of us here today advocate the same course in our dealings throughout the world.

In this connection, permit me to quote a passage from a speech made in 1852 by Henry Clay. He said:

"By following the policy we have adhered to since the days of Washington, we have prospered beyond precedent; we have done more for the cause of liberty in the world than arms could effect; we have shown to other nations the way to greatness and happiness.

"But if we should involve ourselves in the web of European politics, in a war which could effect nothing, where, then, would be the last hope for the friends of freedom throughout the world? Far better it is that, adhering to our wise Pacific system, and avoiding the distant wars of Europe, we should keep our own lamp burning brightly on this western shore as a light to all nations, than to hazard its utter extinction amidst the ruins of fallen or falling republics in Europe."

These words as spoken by Henry Clay more than 100 years ago are as full of meaning and wisdom today as they were then.

CENTRALIZATION OF POWER

We have many important issues and problems in this country that desperately need consideration and solution but transcending all of them is what position we take and what we do as a matter of foreign policy. No other single issue has the impact of foreign policy upon every home and the lives of every man, woman, and child. Our forefathers understood this and wisely guided the young nation from the pitfalls that today confront us.

We must immediately adopt a foreign policy that is within the ability of the American people to honor and support. We cannot go on indefinitely financing and policing the world, piling up burdens which the children of tomorrow cannot possibly carry or endure.

No less important is the fact that the course upon which we are presently embarked means steadily increasing centralization of power in Washington. The great and free institutions under this form of government—economic, political, educational, religious, and cultural—all depend for their perpetuation upon a diffusion of power.

Another step that must be taken immediately is to revise the charter of the United Nations and make it an effective instrumentality for collective security or abandon it to those who are now using it as a lethal boobytrap.

It is distressing to note that even some who have seen the error of our ways in the last two decades now sadly say it is too late for us to turn back; that we have become so enmeshed in the affairs of nations all over the world that our course can't be altered.

The hour is late, but there is still time to trim the wick of our lamp and make it burn more brightly on our own shores and the shores of the Western Hemisphere. We not only can but we must turn back if we are to save this great constitutional Republic as we know it and as we cherish it.

Should Legislative Hearings Be Televised?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, November 20, 1954:

SHOULD LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS BE TELEVISED?

Congressional investigating committees are an essential part of the United States Government to serve as a check on the growing power of the executive department.

Even as I speak, this subject of investigating committees—their activities and conduct—is the real background for an unusual session of the United States Senate.

The development of television makes it possible for most American homes to watch the proceedings firsthand.

It also creates problems in turn.

The issue at present is concentrated on personalities and is highly charged with emotion.

In the larger sense we shall have to decide whether or not legislative hearings should be televised and, if so, under what conditions.

Perhaps most people want televised hearings.

On the other hand, the American Bar Association, the Federal Bar Association, and the New York State Bar Association are in opposition to them. An article by Church and Wasilewski throws much light upon the subject. It quotes John W. Davis, of the American Bar Association, as saying in the report of his committee: "The television camera is a force the power of which is only beginning to be appreciated. Granted that it greatly enhances the public interest in current events, it can also circulate with great speed baseless accusations which may be to the irreparable injury of the person accused. It may often, perhaps usually, be the case that this public view of any proceedings is only intermittent. The result may well be a distorted impression of the facts and a consequent prejudgment of the witness by the viewers, without regard to the legal presumption of innocence to which the witness is entitled."

"Your committee is well aware that newspaper reports may also by their necessary brevity give a distorted impression of the facts, but this regrettable circumstance affords no justification for further distortion incident to the use of television and broadcasting.

"Your committee is not prepared to say televising or broadcasting of an unwilling witness is such an infraction of his right of privacy as to be unlawful; yet even where the consent of the witness is invoked there would seem to be an element of unfairness in putting upon him the burden of consent or protest. His very unwillingness to consent might be treated in certain quarters as an unfavorable symptom. These unfavorable aspects become all the more true where the television or broadcasting is concentrated only on selected witnesses or incidents not calculated or intended to represent the proceedings as a whole."

That is the very careful and conscientious opinion of the legal fraternity.

However, public opinion has a different view.

There is no concern that people are misled by political campaign speeches with their exaggerations and their attacks upon the character of rival candidates. People seem to do pretty well in arriving at the truth regarding candidates and issues.

It does not seem logical that they should now be considered immature to witness the investigative functions of Government on the TV screen.

Such hearings are fact-finding proceedings. Their purpose is to show whether or not legislation is needed in a certain field or to expose such dangers to the security of the Nation as subversion or corruption.

The full publicity given to televised statements before congressional committees makes it impossible for a witness to lie, or blunder. Someone in the huge audience is sure to spot the contradiction and come forward with the true facts.

Representative government is not merely a schedule of free elections with no thought as to what happens in between. The people have a right and a duty to participate in government, and there is no better way than through the media of mass communications, which gives them a front seat to observe how public business is conducted.

We must never forget our constitutional guaranties of a public trial and a free press.

As the Messrs. Church and Wasilewski well state: "Members of congressional committees are elected. In televised hearings they appear before their constituents and make their records. It can be a record of fairness or of partiality, of courtesy or of abuse, but it is a personal record for which they must one day stand up and be counted."

It is too early to determine the effect of television appearances upon the political careers of investigatory committee members. Television, however, has led to a move for reform of legislative hearing procedures. Congressional committees, historically, have made their own rules. Witnesses have been treated with dignity, with frivolity, or with abuse, as the committee saw fit. Prior to the advent of television, the public and the bar showed little concern over such procedure. The presentation to the public, by television, of a relatively few hearings, seems to be the principal spur for demands that reform of congressional hearing procedures be undertaken. This has served to reawaken interest in government. It is an accepted fact that an informed and alert electorate is essential to the survival of a republic; yet, as government becomes centralized, vast, and complicated, personal participation dwindles. Television, by recreating in citizens a town-meeting sense of immediacy, can help reverse this trend. Communications media capable of stimulating such interest should not be curtailed.

It will come as a surprise to many people who regard the televising of hearings as something bizarre to learn that religious services have been televised from St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, and from the Cathederal of St. Peter and St. Paul in Washington, without any loss of dignity or reverence. Furthermore, the proceedings of the United Nations are telecast regularly, through camera equipment set up in an entirely separate room.

The argument is put forth that television cameras invade the witness' right of privacy.

This is nothing new.

Whenever a person becomes a part of a newsworthy event he is no longer anonymous. Newspapers have been reporting such matters and the persons involved in them for many generations.

Another criticism is that participants are encouraged to put on an act. Committee members are accused of badgering witnesses for the sake of impressing the folks back home. But it seems to me that this wide audience is the best protection for the wit-

ness. If unjustly treated that fact is given the widest publicity exactly as it happens. The American people have a genuine sense of fair play, and they can be counted on to react strongly against fakery or injustice.

Out in Oklahoma, they have had successful results in the telecasting of State legislative sessions and even of a murder trial.

In commenting on the latter, Trial Judge Van Meter stated, "The coverage was handled in such a manner as not to hamper or influence the trial in any manner. The attention of the attorneys, the jurors, the witnesses, and the court, was not distracted in any appreciable manner. So long as the court is informed of what is to be done and has control of the situation there should be no objection to this new means of informing the people. In my opinion, if television is used in an educational and factual manner as it was in this case, without any of the spectacular portrayal, it should be very helpful. There is no question in my mind but what there is a need for people generally to know more of their courts in action. Many people rarely have any contact with the courts. Too often what is said or shown about courts is not a true portrayal. If television can present courts as they actually function, this should be a real public service."

As to the legislature, one of the members noted a sudden improvement in behavior. "Not that the Oklahoma Legislature had any lack of it," he said, with tongue-in-cheek loyalty to his colleagues, "but the customary reading of newspapers while in session, feet on desks, small caucuses held in the aisles, etc., were nonexistent while the camera's red light was on."

Even today in committee hearing rooms of the Congress, apart from the few executive sessions, there are seats for the public and complete recognition of the right of as many people as possible to attend an open hearing as physical limitations of the room will allow.

It is hard to understand why there is so much to-do about extending the audience via television. The machine itself is not prejudiced, even though the human beings whose actions it transmits are not always so objective.

The fact that television's first reports have revealed some problems in legislative procedure should inspire us to correct them. So TV shall become, as it will soon, the most effective instrument in conjunction with press and radio for taking people into full partnership with their representative government.

Words Versus Actions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article which appeared in the Times Leader-Evening News, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., on January 13, 1955:

WORDS VERSUS ACTIONS

The charge of the Anthracite Institute that the Federal Government is unsympathetic to the hard-coal industry is supported by the record of the past four decades.

It is hard to understand, for anthracite has suffered under Democratic and Republican administrations. This is more than ordinary indifference; there have been occasions when it has been pretty close to being punitive.

It was bad enough when the authorities in Washington failed to do something for anthracite. These moves are infinitely worse since they actually injure the industry by furnishing unfair competition and depriving the product of local mines of markets.

And the region as a whole has fared no better than the industry. During the Second World War, the powers in Washington refused to utilize local manpower and facilities although they were pleading for production elsewhere and spending vast sums on housing and plants that were unused here. That mystery has not been explained and probably will not be.

When local delegations go to the Nation's Capital, they are invariably received with courtesy and given a hearing, but subsequent actions do not match words. Just when we think an understanding has been reached, the knife is plunged in the back again.

The area is more bewildered than the industry must be.

Beaumont Enterprise Praises Congressman Ikard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK B. BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave of the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert in the RECORD an editorial from one of Texas' leading daily newspapers, the Beaumont Enterprise. The Enterprise complimented most highly our distinguised colleague, Mr. FRANK IKARD, of the 13th Congressional District of Texas. The Enterprise recognized the importance of the splendid analysis our distinguished colleague made on January 10, 1955, concerning the regulation of natural gas by the Federal Government, and which appeared in the RECORD of that date. I feel privileged to insert in the RECORD this tribute to my fellow Texan.

The editorial follows:

NATURAL-GAS REGULATION

Representative IKARD, of Texas, voices the considered opinion of State producers and gatherers of natural gas in saying they should be exempt from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

What will be the outcome of the battle between the natural-gas industry on State levels and Federal bureaucracy in Washington cannot be predicted now but the industry has presented some convincing arguments to prove that the Federal Government should keep its hands off the producers and gatherers of natural gas inside the States. Speaking in the House, Mr. IKARD said:

"The effect of the Commission's order freezing gas prices at the wellhead has been practically to stop cold the industry's national expansion. * * * Consequently, some communities which would soon have been supplied with natural gas will go without it.

"If this and other heating fuels are subjected to the kind of regulation enforced by this order, competition will stagnate, and lack of competition is the best way to exploit consumers."

If Mr. IKARD is telling the truth, and there is no reason to suspect he is not telling the truth or what he believes to be the truth, Government has again invaded a field of private industry that should be left to State control, and the consequence of such action may be disastrous to all concerned.

Who benefits if the expansion of the natural-gas industry is stopped? Certinly not would-be consumers of natural gas, industries and individuals. Certainly not the gas industry itself.

The ostensible purpose of all regulation by Federal and State agencies of industrial operations, transportation, and so on, is to protect both the public interest and that of the industries regulated. No industry can stand still. It either expands or it declines, and the latter course leads to extinction.

A situation has been created in the natural-gas industry with which Congress should have the power to deal. There is the possibility, however, that legislation enacted by Congress to exempt natural-gas producers and gatherers from jurisdiction of the Power Commission will be pronounced unconstitutional by a liberal Supreme Court.

The Coming of the Poles to Texas and in Particular to Karnes County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the following remarks were made by Dr. A. P. Coleman, president of Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Pa., on May 7, 1954, in Karnes City, Tex., commemorating the centennial of Karnes County:

Judge Pickett, distinguished guests, citizens of Karnes County, Texans, the opportunity you have given me to address you on this great centennial occasion is one that will have a profound effect on my thinking, and perhaps on my actions, all the rest of my life. Coming here, I have been forced to think back to the origins of the Polish people, to reflect on what they have stood for in world history, and, above all, to weigh and appraise their peculiar contribution to the opening up of this great American land of ours.

Like most Americans, I suppose, I had taken the Founding Fathers and the pioneers for granted. But in order to achieve perspective in the various words I was expected to say to you in the course of this celebration, I had to go further and dig deeper than this. I had to think myself into the days of the pioneers' coming, and into the conditions on this continent and in Europe which, on this side invited, and on the other, made inevitable their great decision.

The sufferings of the Polish pioneers in untamed Texas have often been rehearsed, as have the sufferings of the Pilgrims in that first grim winter of 1621. The hill of death overlooking Plymouth colony is immortal in American symbolism. In Panna Maria there was no hill, but there was death, and the giant live oak tree there is our symbol, symbol of the spirit which overcame death.

As an historian, though of only amateur pretensions, what I find inspiring in the coming of the Polish pioneers to Karnes County, and to Texas generally, is not the sufferings they endured. After all, in the act of uprooting themselves from their Silesian homes they probably suffered more

acutely before ever setting foot beyond the home border than they did in all the hard, lonely years of struggle in Texas. That act of uprooting was the really great suffering. What I am interested in is the forces which impelled the pioneers to uproot themselves in the first place.

Behind the Poles' decision to migrate, and impelling them inexorably toward the decision, was the interplay of gigantic historical forces. Silesia, whence they came, had been occupied, and was being absorbed by the Prussians. Within Silesia, Germans and at least three different branches of the great Slavic family lived and labored together, and to all four elements, the local Germans and Czechs and Lusatians as well as the Poles of the area, Prussianism was something abhorrent, to be escaped from.

To the folk of Silesia the year 1848 gave momentary promise that Prussianism might be banished, in a great revolutionary upsurge of a more liberal spirit. But the hope was born only to be blighted. Tyranny and oppression reigned the more openly after 1848 than before, and it was this change for the worse that brought the pioneers of Panua Maria and Czestochowa to Karnes County.

In the struggle of the Silesian people during the last century the great motivating force was a deepseated yearning after freedom. Prussianism was a chain, and the chain must be broken: the folk must break free.

Slogans have come down to us from this period. Here is one of them:

"From the struggle we'll ne'er resign;
We've the strength of justice within,
By the might of that strength divine,
We'll fight to the end and win."

It was in this spirit that the pioneers of Karnes County, among them the fellow countrymen of my own ancestors, tore themselves from their ancient foundations and crossed the ocean seeking homes. These pioneers have been classed as belonging to the so-called economic immigration into the United States, and thus have been given a slightly lower rank in the hierarchy of our citizenry than such figures, for example, as Carl Schurz, or Generals Kosciusko and Pulaski, who were of the elite, political, or idealistic immigration.

As I study the case today, this seems a wrong view. Knowing what it was the pioneers of Karnes County were fleeing from in their desperate journey to our shores, knowing it was far from mere scarcity of bread that impelled them. I find these folk of the second or third wave of immigration hardly less idealistic than their predecessors. All, alike, sought liberty. All yearned to be free, to be caught no longer in the web of Europe's ancient caste system, its intrigue and stagnation of opportunity, its denial of full franchise to all.

On a later occasion I shall speak more specifically of the coming of the Polish pioneers to Karnes County, and in particular, of their part in founding Panna Maria. This time I shall rest content if I have implanted one thought in your minds, a thought possibly revolutionary to your previous thinking. A better life, a freer life: This was the objective of the Polish pioneers and their neighbors from Silesia. Is there, can there be, greater idealism than this? Do not these too deserve to be classed among the idealistic immigrations?

In a poem written between the two great world wars by a Silesian, about his own people, we find these lines:

"And so, behold, there comes toward me, out of the ages' abyss,
A man—one of those who sow with the spirit, appointed—
A man—worker, gigantic and nameless,
Who by lifting his hand can alter the pattern of history."

These men of Silesia, these pioneers who founded the earliest settlements in Karnes County, were men of that mold. By lifting their hands they did alter the pattern of history. They helped give us the great State of Texas, and bound it by ties of blood and sweat and their own tears into our glorious Union forever.

Peace Through Strength — McCormack Hits Peaceful Coexistence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a news item appearing in the December 16, 1954, issue of the Dorchester Argus-News, of Dorchester, Mass., entitled "Peace Through Strength—McCormack Hits Peaceful Coexistence," carrying portions of a speech made by our colleague from Massachusetts, Mr. McCormack, before the Kiwanis Club of Dorchester, Mass.:

PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH—MCCORMACK HITS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

In what may well be termed a major foreign policy address, Congressman JOHN W. MCCORMACK, speaking before Tuesday's meeting of the Dorchester Kiwanis Club, said:

"As long as the Communists hold to their intent of world aggression and domination the only thing they will respect is power. We are dealing with cold, ruthless, world killers."

The Congressman's words will have a strong bearing upon future United States foreign policy. The local Representative will surely hold one of the key posts in the next Congress, as majority leader of the House. In any case he will be one of the inner circle of congressional leaders to meet with the executive branch of the Government in planning our path through world affairs.

Congressman MCCORMACK went on to say:

"Of course, we must try negotiation. If we don't make progress this way and get affirmative information we will at least get negative information, by which we can better appraise our problems.

"In any case, the term 'peaceful coexistence' breeds complacency which is a very dangerous thing."

Describing the proposed policy of peaceful coexistence, the Congressman went on to say that we know what it means to us. We look forward to a world living in peace and harmony. "But what does it mean coming from the Kremlin? It means that they want a breathing spell. We are justified in examining this policy closely, but we must not forget that the Communists are out for world domination.

"Ideological communism is directly opposed to the natural law of God and the birthrights of freedom of man.

"To the Kremlin this policy means admitting Red China to the United Nations and freezing the status of Western Europe so that they can chain the Red-dominated countries in their present condition."

CITES PRESIDENT AND DULLES

Quoting from statements of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, Congressman MCCORMACK said that the President himself has said that he believes the Reds are intent on world revolution, while Dulles recently remarked that despite the protestations of the Reds' coexistence policy their deeds speak otherwise.

STRONG PUBLIC OPINION

"We are indeed fortunate that we are living in a democracy. Public opinion is one of our greatest weapons. Its power is greater than that of the President, Congress, and all elected officials. Public opinion can be sound and rational or it can be emotional. We must strive for the former.

"The importance of a sound public opinion cannot be overemphasized. In a dictatorship there is no such thing. In order to mold a sound public opinion the people must be given information so that they can properly appraise and evaluate the facts. With the facts we can outmatch, outthink, outproduce the Soviets even if we don't have their manpower. The will of our people to be free is our greatest asset," he continued.

HERE ARE THE KNOWN FACTS

"There is no secret about the fact that the Reds have 175 army divisions in Western Europe plus 80 satellite divisions. We don't know how many divisions the Chinese Reds have. Russia also has 300 reserve divisions that can be activated in 90 days. They have 300 submarines, and their overall naval tonnage is greater than that of Great Britain. Their air force is well on the way to be all jet equipped.

"When the American people are given the facts they are capable of making up their own minds. But these facts speak for themselves."

WHY HELP EUROPE?

Congressman MCCORMACK went on to say that many people ask him why we should help other countries. As a legislator, he said, he does not have the right to appropriate $1 to help other countries unless it is in the public interest of our country. He said that he often answers with a question, "What will happen if we don't?"

Elaborating on four major points, he continued:

"The Communist picture is that they are trying to take over Western Germany, Western Europe, in fact any country they can get their hands on by any means. In Western Europe they do not want the 200 million people for the population, but they do want the productive capacity and the brains. In overall productive capacity we are 3 to 1 over the Reds and Western Europe is 1½ to 1. Together we are 4½ to 1. But if the Reds had Western Europe's 1½ their capacity would be too close to ours for comfort.

"Whatever country dominates Western Europe economically also dominates Asia and Africa.

"Western Europe is our first line of defense. Military leaders have said that if we lose Western Europe we could never get another beachhead in Europe as we did in June 1944.

"If we lose Western Europe the probabilities are pretty good that we would also lose South and Central America with their weak ties to us and strong ties to the Old World."

In conclusion, the Congressman said:

"We are not yet committed to this policy of "peaceful coexistence." We must strike a happy medium between this policy and sound national defense. We now have a powerful offensive Air Force. What about our defenses? Will we have time in an atomic war to build our military power after a sneak attack as we did after Pearl Harbor?"

MUST BE STRONG

"As of today the Red leaders have not changed their intent of world domination, world aggression, world subjugation.

"If we are strong they will respect us through fear. Strength is what talks to the Communist leaders.

"The road to peace is through strength. It is much better to have strength and not need it than to need strength and not have it."

All Men Are Created Equal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following excellent editorial that appeared in the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., on January 16, 1955, which warrants the serious consideration of every Member of the Congress of the United States:

ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL

Did you know that current United States Government holdings of edible food surpluses are valued at $6 billion?

And did you know that the annual expense of storing this 26 million tons of foods is 4 times the cost of operating our Congress?

Further, were you aware that this vast surplus could feed every man, woman, and child in the United States for a full year—and that if it were loaded into 40-car freight trains, it would fill 100 such trains every day for a year?

To bring the picture down out of the atmosphere of virtual incredibility, can you comprehend that, if you were to go out into the highways and byways and find 100,000 starving people, you could feed them all they could eat around the clock for a whole year and still they would be able to consume only one-fifth of 1 percent of this fantastic surplus?

This isn't our word for it. The figures come from an organization known as the Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc. This is more familiarly known to you are CARE, which is carrying on a campaign to move this gigantic supply to the free world's hungry peoples, and claims that it can be done for a nickel a day and still give each person receiving it generous feedings loaded with calories.

CARE claims that such distribution would be one of the best counter-Communist moves this country could make, and we are inclined to agree, even though it is a common practice for people to bite the hand that is feeding them.

We are confounded by the figures. Our imagination is staggered. We are unable to comprehend the enormity of the supply. It is a mountain of food the like of which never before existed.

Every one of us, every day, eats his fill of the good things produced in this wonderful land of ours, and still we have so much left over that it costs us millions of dollars annually to store it.

Where does this surplus come from? It's a simple question and the answer is simple. If a man operates a farm and it produces 10 dozen eggs a day, and all he can sell in the market is 6 dozen, the Government buys the rest and stores them away. That keeps the price up and the farmer happy and reasonably prosperous. The same applies to milk, cheese, butter, corn, wheat—all the basics which are produced so abundantly in abundant America.

So, we can feed a good part of the hungry world. If we have the will to do it, we can send all this bounty beyond our borders to alleviate misery. And, by so doing, we would rid ourselves of a monumental economic headache.

So much for food. What about clothing?

We have $6 billion worth of food cached away. One billion dollars is $1,000 million. We have $6,000 million worth of extra food, for which the Government has paid the producers handsome subsidies.

But what about clothing? There isn't an ounce of woolen or worsted cotton material stockpiled by the Government in the form of surplus for which subsidies have been paid to producers. Material for clothing is not perishable in relation to foodstuffs. Yet the Government has steadfastly refused to listen to pleas to keep mills operating in labor-surplus areas by stockpiling textiles.

Is there some difference between an American who produces cloth and an American who produces dairy products? Isn't one as much entitled to subsidies as the other to earn his daily bread?

Once again this year Congressman THOMAS J. LANE has filed a bill calling upon the Government to set up a system of procurement of worsted fabrics by Uncle Sam which would help to keep looms turning in our textile industry, especially in areas of large-scale unemployment; and we believe that includes just about every textile-producing community.

How far will this proposed legislation get? The man is trying—has been for years. But, while nothing is done for the textile worker, we have accumulated six thousand millions of dollars worth of perishable food.

Who was it that said, a long time ago: "Want in the midst of plenty."

The Federal Government and the Anthracite Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the January 12, 1955, Anthracite Institute Bulletin, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE ANTHRACITE INDUSTRY

The most casual review of the attitude of various agencies of the Federal Government toward anthracite over the past few decades leads to the inevitable conclusion that it has been unsympathetic, to say the least. While the following is far from complete, it serves to illustrate how this industry has been hampered in maintaining its rightful position in the overall fuel economy.

In World War I, the Fuels Administration announced that anthracite would be denied to the West and South and other sections of the country which had ample supplies of other fuels. Thus, hundreds of thousands of anthracite consumers were forced, by Government edict, to convert from anthracite, despite their preferences.

In the early 1930's, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program resulted in admitting large tonnages of foreign anthracite into this country free of duty, at the very time our product was required to pay duties on entering Canada.

In World War II, the Solid Fuels Administration imposed restrictions on anthracite sales. This had the wholly arbitrary effect of changing the status of anthracite from a plentiful fuel for its then existing customers, who were compelled to share their supply with former users of competitive fuels which could not serve their peacetime customers.

Currently, the Department of State, through its General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), is permitting foreign oils to invade the very heart of the anthracite and bituminous coal markets in unlimited quantities. It is estimated that the foreign oil which entered the United States last year was the solid fuel equivalent of 59 million tons, and the volume of imports is increasing.

Also currently, the Federal Power Commission, by authorizing natural-gas pipelines to invade the northeastern States without regard to the effects on existing fuel and transportation industries is a further example of the influence of Government on the normal marketing of coal.

The latest incident occurred 2 weeks ago, when the Commission was persuaded by the testimony of two gas-utility witnesses, neither of whom reside in the region, that it was in the public interest to authorize the introduction of natural-gas service in communities where anthracite is mined. The proposal had been actively opposed by counsel and witnesses for anthracite producers, the United Mine Workers of America, the presidents of the affected railroads, the railroad brotherhoods, and the local chambers of commerce and industrial-development funds. No one who lives in this area appeared to advocate the future displacement of our product in our own area, yet our formal request for oral argument on the issues was denied by the Commission.

It is indeed difficult for the coal industry to determine just wherein the public interest lies under such circumstances.

It is increasingly apparent that the time is long overdue for the formulation and adoption of a national fuels policy, not only in the interests of conservation of energy resources for national security, but as an accepted guide to the determination of the public interest by governmental agencies concerned with regulation of fuels.

The Marble Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to the possible destruction of one of the Nation's old and well-established industries.

West Virginia is the center of the marble and novelty production in the Nation. The following article in the Parkersburg Daily News, January 9, 1955, is a graphic portrayal of what will happen to at least six plants, now operating, if the newly proposed Japanese treaty is approved in connection with the renewal of our Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

The article follows:

UNLESS SITUATION CORRECTED ALL MARBLE PLANTS WILL CLOSE JULY 1

(By Marie Wood)

Harassed for months by a United States foreign tariff policy that has seen United States small business sacrificed to Japanese interests, heads of the American marble industry, heads of the American marble inprecedented step.

All members voted unanimously to demand that Washington immediately "correct

the United States tariff situation in which the United States marble industry and 20 other small United States businesses are bearing the full cost of the United States foreign tariff policy," or the American marble industry will shut down July 1.

The action was preceded by many months of effort to convince official Washington that the American marble industry can't continue to operate in the face of a United States tariff policy which sees Japanese marbles shipped into the United States at prices that are below the cost of raw materials used in the American marble industry.

In making their demand of Washington, the representatives of the marble industry drew the following conclusions—predicated upon their own experiences over the past 5 years, plus the contents of the 37th annual report of the United States Tariff Commission for 1953.

1. That the American tariff policy has been one to sacrifice small industry to foster world markets for United States exports of large machinery—with the United States dollars which pay for these American exports acquired through the sacrificing of small business.

2. That the American tariff policy has been pointed toward a determination that Japan and other foreign countries not yet in the Russian orbit, shall trade with the United States rather than with Communist Russia and its satellites—a policy already a failure since one of the first things the new Japanese prime minister did upon taking office was to announce trade would be carried on with these countries.

3. That the American tariff policy aready has done more economic damage to West Virginia than to any other State in the United States, because of the type of industry in West Virginia, and it is damage which will materially increase.

4. That already West Virginia population has decreased 6 percent in the last 5 years with West Virginia business off 4 percent in the fact of increasing good business generally in the United States—and the big reason West Virginia's record is what it is, the tariff trade policy of the United States.

Specifically the marble industry heads cited such figures as these: Japanese marble imports have cost American marble plants 60 percent of their sales within the United States, plus all their foreign markets, with employment reduced from above 900 to below 300.

American marble production costs are 200 percent above those production costs in Japan due to low cost of Japanese labor, raw materials and taxes—with overall Japanese taxes 15 percent against United States Federal taxes of 52 percent, plus the various other taxes.

The average monthly wage of a skilled machine operator in a Japanese marble factory is $41.66 and unskilled wages at $16.66—with child labor frequently utilized at much, much less.

United States marble factories pay skilled machine operators an average of $300 a month and unskilled laborers approximately $200 a month, with American labor working 40 hours against Japanese workweeks of 50 to 60 hours.

Japanese marbles then are loaded as ballast with shipping costs to the United States $10 per 2,000 pounds and shipping costs on nonconference United States flag vessels and on Japanese flag vessels are considerably lower.

The marble industry heads yesterday said bluntly that they are halting purchases of raw materials and liquidating inventories.

This stop comes as a result of all efforts having proved futile after plea after plea to the Tariff Commission, Customs Bureau, and other Washington officialdom.

Six of the seven marble plants in America are located in West Virginia, the seventh in Ottawa, Ill., and all were represented except the Illinois plant which sent a proxy.

The companies are:

Parkersburg's Vitro Agate Co., largest marble plant in the world; Pennsboro's Champion Agate Co.; Cairo's Heaton Agate Co.; Ravenswood's Novelty Works, St. Marys' Marble King, Inc.; Clarksburg's Master Glass Co., and the Peltier Glass Co., of Ottawa, Ill.

Clinton F. Israel of the Clarksburg firm acted as spokesmen, with others attending including: H. A. Fisher, Herbert Spencer, and Howard Hildreth, of Parkersburg's Vitro Agate; Paul Cox, of Ravenswood's Novelty Works; Ralph (Pat) Michels, of the Pennsboro Champion Agate; Roger Howdyshell, of St. Marys Marble King; W. J. Heaton of Cairo's Heaton Agate.

Natural-Gas Ruling Hurts Free Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK B. BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in any consideration of the very important question of regulating this Nation's natural resources, we are obligated to examine closely the possible effect Federal regulation might have on our competitive, free-enterprise system, which enables both family and industrial consumers to benefit from competitive prices. Mr. Lewis H. Haney, writing for the New York Journal-American in the December 9, 1954, edition, has outlined the dangers of stifling free competition with overregulation in a short, concise article. Mr. Haney's article, dealing with the Supreme Court decision in the Phillips Petroleum case, is well worth our time and interest. Preserving our system of free competition is fundamental to Americans and, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Haney's article, as follows:

NATURAL-GAS RULING HIT
(By Lewis Haney)

Natural gas has grown in importance. Today 75 percent of American families depend upon gas service, and one-fourth of the Nation's energy needs are supplied by gas. Since the war demand for gas has more than doubled, mostly at the expense of coal. There are over 21 million natural-gas customers, supplied by over 4,000 producers.

This is why the recent Supreme Court decision in the Phillips Petroleum case is so important to all of us. It rules that the Federal Power Commission can fix the price of natural gas and otherwise control its production. For years the Natural Gas Act of 1938 was supposed to exempt competing producers from such controls, as was plainly the intent of Congress. Now a condition bordering on the chaotic has arisen. Gas sales across State lines are tending to be reduced, expansion of the industry to new areas checked, and many industries are considering moving to the Southwest, where the bulk of the gas is produced.

One result would be higher costs and prices for millions of consumers in other areas.

The court appears to have thought that because the distribution of gas by pipeline is regulated as a public utility service and a monopoly the Government should also regulate production of natural gas by the thousands of competing concerns which drill wells, collect the gas, and deliver it to the big distributing gas companies.

VIGOROUS COMPETITION

But the difference is plain. Instead of being a monopoly requiring a franchise to use a right-of-way and necessarily subject to rate regulation as a common carrier as are pipelines and railways, the thousands of relatively small gas producers compete vigorously. In Texas, the largest one supplies only 8.7 percent of the production. Of course, gas is competing with coal and oil.

If the court's decision about gas producers were right, why not subject the producers of coal and oil to Federal control and price-fixing? The producers of coal and oil also ship their product by pipeline or rail to consumers across State lines. But we let them run their own businesses as competitors, while regulating the rates charged by the railways and pipelines. This is as Congress intended it to be in the gas business.

DANGERS CITED

The case for competitive private enterprise in gas production is strengthened by the efficient large output and the low price of the product. As Hines Baker, president of Humble Oil & Refining Co., has shown, the supply of gas has increased as demanded, and the price has not risen as have the prices of coal and oil. It is the cheapest fuel.

Remember, only one-tenth of the delivered price of natural gas goes to the producer. The other 90 percent goes to the distributors, and this part is or should be subject to regulation.

The danger to our economic system of the court's decision is clear: Federal bureaucratic control would spread to coal and oil production—the total fuel supply.

The obvious remedy is to amend the Natural Gas Act of 1938, so as definitely to exempt natural gas producers from Federal price-fixing and production controls. Possibly the producers' present long-term contracts with gas companies could be made more flexible, and the transmission companies could be more carefully regulated as separate public utilities. But the main thing is to encourage the maximum production of natural gas at a competitive price, and this only competitive private enterprise can do.

Let's Make Employment and Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting editorial from the Boston Daily Record, Boston, Mass., October 5, 1954:

LET'S TALK SENSE

We are not greatly impressed by prosperity panaceas dreamed up in the middle of political campaigns.

Long experience—a good deal of it too bitter to swallow—has taught us that these enticing blueprints for a brighter future are apt to be nothing more than vote bait.

As soon as the polls are closed and the ballots counted, everything usually goes back to normal and we trusting souls can't be blamed too much if we suspect that the late Wendell Willkie did not stray far from the truth when he scoffed at campaign promises and dismissed them as meaningless hot air.

Political panaceas would not be necessary at this time in Massachusetts if we had received the things we wanted and did not get during the past 2 years.

Business and employment would have been stimulated tremendously by the construction of the $300 million aircraft carrier at Quincy.

But the contract for this mammoth vessel eluded us and went elsewhere.

The depressed textile centers of Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, and Fall River wouldn't be bothering much about politics if the defense orders they so eagerly anticipated had materialized.

But something strange and mysterious happened, and the orders never proceeded beyond the false hope stage.

So now, as the November election creeps up on us, we hear a lot of talk about attracting new industries, about rehabilitating old industries, about inducing investors to drop their spare cash on lagging cities, and about making it possible for additional thousands of jobless people to collect unemployment relief money.

But all this fanciful talk does not hide the drab fact that the $300 million carrier bypassed Massachusetts and the defense orders behaved similarly.

And that brings us to the real point of this whole editorial, which, simply stated, is:

If the politicians must talk, let them talk sense.

The men and women of this great State, with its wonderful tradition of free private enterprise, need work and wages.

They don't need another dose of socialism in the form of thinly disguised doles and handouts.

The dredging of the Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers would create employment in a few months for thousands of men and would, at the same time, equip those neglected streams for low-cost barge transportation.

Then, all the languishing manufacturing centers on their banks would become inland ports; and the various industries, made more accessible to the sources of raw materials and the markets of the world, would be in a position to compete much more easily and effectively with their rivals in the South and West.

And let's face it: The cost of the dredging would be considerably less than the amount of money which we have given away to France, India, and other foreign countries in a single week.

What the Bill of Rights Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent of the membership of this distinguished legislative body for me so to do, I am pleased to herewith present to your attention an essay entitled "What the Bill of Rights Means to Me," and to further inform you that this very splendid essay was written by Miss Joan Gordon, 12122 Cornish Avenue, Lynwood, Calif.; she being a worthy student of the Lynwood High School and a member of the senior class of this outstanding school, which is in one of the important communities of the great 23d district.

Recently this essay won first place in the essay contest sponsored by the Realtors Board, who have their businesses in the great 23d district, which I have the honor to represent, this my 5th term.

Because of her victory in competition last November, said essay is now to the attention of the National Association of Realty Boards. I am sure you, Mr. Speaker, and all of my colleagues of this 84th Congress join with me in congratulating her upon this unique and significant writing. I present it with pleasure and with the consent of the writer and of her parents.

The essay follows:

WHAT THE BILL OF RIGHTS MEANS TO ME

The Bill of Rights is a scrap of paper, some words.

The Bill of Rights is my brother speaking to the student council.

It's my mother handing out the clothes early in the morning, talking to the neighbor of anything and everything from the best place to plant camelias, to the national defense appropriations.

It's my father eating lunch with the men on the warehouse dock, discussing anything—the big fight, big game, big race—or communism.

It's my grandmother reading the Bible.

It's the pastor calling on our family with flowers from the Sunday service.

It's the fact that there are more than 27 different denominations meeting in my own little town.

The Bill of Rights is a group of 10 articles amending the Constitution.

It's the right to lock our door.

It's the boy we used to play hide and seek with on summer evenings, going off to boot camp.

It's his mother's tears, his father's pride.

It's the day my dad went off to jury duty and came with a renewed interest in our court procedures, even though he was never required to try a case.

It's the President shaking hands.

It's campaign promises and the poise of election time.

The Bill of Rights is the demand of our ancestors as they insured our freedom.

It's our neighbor as he collects signatures for a petition and presenting of it himself at the town meeting.

It's my dad taking off his coat after church and reading the Sunday papers.

It's my mother writing to our Congressman.

It's our town library, quiet, dignified; filled with volumes of ideas, thoughts, challenges.

It's the fervent excitement of our main street at parade time.

It's squabbling over the best ways to combat smog.

It's my father watering the lawn just before dark, relaxing after a day of labor for his family.

It's the flag in front of our school.

It's a teacher eating dinner with our family; afterwards talking about education, as he helps with the dishes.

It's the Cub Scouts having a cookout in the city park; a father coaching the sixth-grade hardball team; a recreation leader reading stories in the hot, summer afternoon to a group of quiet children.

It's the good, quiet feeling that comes after the high-school band plays the Star-Spangled Banner.

It's my grandfather telling about the old days—buffalo, Indians, wagon trains, and then switching on the TV for an hour of Hopalong Cassidy.

It's the sounds of Independence Day and the feeling of Chrismas, club meetings, milk on the back doorstep, our dog barking at the mailman, the washbasket full of clean clothes, smell of furniture polish on Saturday morning, popcorn banging in the skillet, my brother washing the car.

The Bill of Rights is a scrap of paper, some words.

It's freedom.

It's security.

It's liberty.

This is my Bill of Rights—It's America.

The Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, the condition of the coal industry has been discussed in this House upon many previous occasions by me and by other Representatives of coal-producing areas. Various proposals have been advanced as solutions to the economic ills confronting this basic industry, and I think it is worthwhile to call to the attention of the Congress some articles written on this subject by Mr. Monroe Worthington, of Beaver, W. Va. The articles recently appeared as a series in the Beckley Raleigh Register. I shall not insert all of the numbers in the series but, with the permission of the House, I shall present one of Mr. Worthington's articles today, and others will follow within the near future. The article herewith is entitled "Proposed State Canal Would Open New Market in Canada":

PROPOSED STATE CANAL WOULD OPEN NEW MARKET IN CANADA

(By Monroe Worthington)

There is a way West Virginia can get a lot more of the Canadian market, which is expanding, and the world market for coal. The same way would bring the State a far larger share of the steel production, and thus increase the State market for coal at the same time.

Will the State demand it? It's doubtful. For, while favors from either Democrat or Republican administrations are not passed out alphabetically, almost every State says "Me, too" in a louder, more convincing voice. While one dam project in Wyoming or California or Tennessee costs a quarter of a million dollars, a miserable $10,000 is appropriated to investigate the feasibility of a dam on Possum Hollow, W. Va.

STATE NEEDS CANALS

To get its share of the Canadian and world market for coal, as well as a far larger share of the Eastern and and Midwestern market, West Virginia needs a canal. This canal has been proposed before. It has been declared to be feasible and fully justified.

The Corps of Engineers, United States Army, has made exhaustive surveys of different routes. One which they declare is entirely feasible leaves the northernmost curve of the Ohio River, through its tributary, the Beaver River; through the Mahoning River past Youngstown, and Niles; through an entirely excavated canal to Farmington, then through the Grand River Res-

ervoir, which would be formed by damming up the Grand River, and to Ashtabula, and Lake Erie.

The report made by the United States engineers has been returned to the Pittsburgh office for revision. There were naturally objections to it, as there are to many proposed improvements. Owners of the land to be flooded were not all happy, for instance. But information given in the report, dated May 24, 1948, is still of interest.

The canal was to have a minimum depth of 18 feet, and a minimum bottom width of 200 feet. Two parallel chambers were to be provided at each lock, thus permitting one boat to proceed each direction at the same time. Marked economies would result in transport costs, the engineers found, and there would be substantial flood-control benefits. The total first cost of the project was then estimated at $439 million the Federal Government contributing all of it but $23 million.

Were it constructed, low-water freight rates on coal would be offered to West Virginia producers who would ship to Michigan, Minnesota, Indiana, Chicago, all the American and Canadian Great Lakes ports, all the cities served by the Erie Canal and the Hudson River; all the world reached by the now-being-constructed St. Lawrence seaway.

But it will hurt the railroads many coal operators will object, forgetting that the railroads have turned their backs on the coal industry; that much of the present curtailment in the production of fuel is due to the 150 million tons of coal no longer used by the railroads.

COULD BRING STEEL MILLS

One of the big reasons for constructing the St. Lawrence seaway was that it would let iron come to the Great Lakes from Canadian and South American points. While the steel industry is currently running at less than full capacity, it will be expanding again. When it does, consider that West Virginia coal and West Virginia limestone could meet this ship-carried ore at a West Virginia point, and produce low-cost steel most profitably for all concerned.

The limestone?

There's millions, even billions of tons of suitable grade along the Greenbrier River. And that suggests a project which may subject your reporter to ridicule and even abuse. But Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams, the Panama Canal, the TVA, and many another project, would never have been built had someone not stuck his neck out, years before construction actually started. So here goes.

If steamships are to be admitted to the Great Lakes, by way of Canada, with financial help from the United States in the hundreds of millions, then why not open up water transport from the Atlantic Ocean to the Kanawha River, with its connecting streams, the Ohio, the Mississippi, and Missouri, and their tributaries? It would add immensely to the Nation's wealth and security, furnishing many jobs during construction.

CANAL TO ATLANTIC URGED

How, you ask, could it be done?

River boats with 9-foot draft come up to Kanawha Falls; locks to the slack water at Kanawha Falls and Gauley Bridge would be easy to construct, the lift being about 21 feet. Canalize the New River to Hinton; the Greenbrier River to a little past White Sulphur Springs, which is 5 miles from the Virginia line. Construct either a canal with numerous locks and dams or a navigable lighted and ventilated tunnel through or over Allegheny Mountains, to link the closest tributary of the Jackson River. Canalize this to its junction with the James River, near Clifton Forge. Improve this to Lynchburg and to Richmond, where ocean liners can already travel. Tonnage over this course would be as great or greater than through the Panama Canal. A 9-foot draft would be sufficient to permit large-scale barge transport.

West Virginia coal, which is noncompetitive in the east coast markets because of competition of foreign oil, would find a larger market. There would be an immense market for West Virginia limestone and for the incredibly pure mountains of glass sand along the Greenbrier.

This idea is not original. The Virginia Assembly authorized an investigation of its feasibility 140 years ago. The report of the commissioners indicated that canalization of the Greenbrier would be comparatively easy (the fall is less than 7 feet to the mile), but "the velocity of the current and the enormous rocks which often interrupt it, the number and magnitude of the rapids and falls, the steepness, cragginess, and abruptness of the banks, constitute the great impediments which at present exist to navigation between the mouth of the Greenbrier and the Great Falls of the Kanawha."

CONSTRUCTION IS EASIER

This report was made 52 years before the invention of dynamite, a century before anyone dreamed of a bulldozer. Tasks which were almost impossible to a man with only a pick and shovel become comparatively easy with today's gigantic construction machinery. The greatest change has come in the past quarter century or less, for bulldozers are one of the latest blessings of man's ingenuity. So it is that even as late as 1925 the author of the Mercer-Summers-Monroe volume of the West Virginia geological survey thought the plan impracticable, although he, too, knew how advantageous it would be. It says: "From Meadow Creek to the junction of New River with the Great Kanawha at Gauley Bridge the total fall is 615 feet in 47.8 miles, or at the rate of 12.87 feet to the mile. This section would require more than 50 dams, hence the use of New River for steam navigation would be entirely precluded by the enormous cost."

The Panama Canal, which was seriously proposed by Balboa 400 years before it was actually built, has locks up to 30 feet high, at Pedro Miguel, although most of them are a little lower. No really high dams could be built along the New River without flooding the main line of the C. & O., obviously impossible. But if 30-foot locks were used, then 21, instead of more than 50, would do the job.

Since the river is narrow at points where locks are most needed, dam construction costs for such low structures would be comparatively small.

Canada, on its own, built the Welland Canal, linking Lake Erie and Ontario. It is 27 miles long, with a rise of 326 feet—just about that of the New River at its worst. The Welland Canal is 30 feet deep, 200 feet wide. Most of it was blasted out of solid rock. The New-Greenbrier-Jackson-James Canal would be far less expensive, per mile, because it would follow the rivers for most of the distance, with only scattered boulders to blast away. The swiftness of the water would disappear when they are impounded by dams.

The writer does not expect to see this canal completed during his lifetime; perhaps not even started. The battle over its feasibility, cost and advantages he bequeathes to engineers, politicians, and industrialists. But two more things should be said.

Steamboats have traveled on the New River. Evidence to this effect was brought out by the Federal Government, in hearings at Hinton, several years ago, when it was officially proven and declared to be a navigable stream.

COAL PUMP IS SOLUTION

Lest someone condemn this project, on the ground water would be needed along the wholly new part over Allegheny Mountain, and ask if kindly Mother Nature would be expected to rain the locks full of water, when a ship wanted to pass, this is not an objection. Water from the upper reaches of the Greenbrier, which veers northward from the desired path for the proposed canal near the Virginia line, would be impounded by storage dam on the Greenbrier. The same could be done on the Virginia side. Enough water to keep the canal filled, and to float ships, and raise and lower them through the locks, would be pumped. The city of London has for many years pumped perhaps a billion gallons of water from the Thames River with Humphrey pumps. They are operated directly by coal, without making steam, with no rotating parts, and little to wear out. Such a pump can easily have a 10 or even a 20 foot diameter discharge line if needed. They are inexpensive. The coal to operate them is at hand. The pumps are so efficient the TVA seriously considered using them to repump water so it would run repeatedly through its hydroelectric turbines.

So if you like the benefits to be derived from this project, work for it. If you think it fanciful and foolish, don't condemn past and future proposals to benefit the coal business in this State. Consider them too, on their merits.

Must Congressmen Have Additional Pay?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I hope I never get to the point where I think I know it all. I have been opposed to an increase in congressional salaries, because I was of the opinion that Members were getting enough to pay their way on a standard of living that would be commensurate with the dignity of the office. So many Congressmen were telling me that it was impossible for them to live as they should on the present pay. This concerned me, and I was anxious to know just how they lived.

I was told that the dignity of the office demanded that I go to parties, give parties, and dress for occasions befitting our station. It seems that clothes make the man here in congressional estimation. I determined to try out this course of dignity for 2 weeks and see for myself what money was needed. Fortunately, I was invited to many functions and fortunately had friends whom I wanted to entertain.

The first requisite was a formal suit and a hat of the established makeup approved by the President. My cow hat would hardly do, although it cost more than one of these muley Homburg hats. I inquired of a tailor about dress suits. He reported that $175 was about as cheap as he could furnish one, but said, "Don't worry, I will rent you a suit for $10." "Lord," I responded, "you don't mean to say that these august Members of Congress go to parties in rented clothes, do you?" "Why, yes," he responded, "a large percentage of the Members do that very thing." This was an eye opener for me to realize that these splendid mannish figures I had seen floating across the society surface of this Capitol were just ordinary men in rented suits. I thought what a sham

and a pity this was, and determined right there if I were going to do any buzzing around in society, by the Eternal, I would at least own the outfit.

Well, I rigged up, and while I looked like a cranberry merchant in the little Homburg hat, I felt at ease because I knew the society in which I was about to enter, approved.

I had more trouble with this spike-tail suit. When I tried it on, it seemed too tight and I did not dare to bend over. I complained to the tailor, and he said it was made that way so I would be stiff and formal in my appearance. It seems these tailors are used to building trousers for "cathamned" diplomats but not for he-men. I tried it on in the office and a lady came in. I graciously bowed as I supposed I should learn the Sir Walter Raleigh act, and to my astonishment I heard a good ripping noise under my coattail and quickly erected myself. When the lady went out I made a check-up of my outfit and found the trousers had split right down from the waist to the end of the seam. But my confusion ended, for the spiketail took care of all embarrassment. I then learned that this spike-tail was for. It will cover up a multitude of errors.

I went out to parties and gave them. I was quite stiff and starchy and unnaturally erect—on account of this trouser trouble—and my everyday friends thought I was getting "uppish" in long service in Congress. We took in nice places with nice people, and I remember the first party I entertained. There were eight people, the men all dressed lightly and the ladies much more so. I thought when I started to that dinner that $50 would do, but when the waiter began figuring, I lost heart—I knew I was stuck. The steaks were $32, the drinks $15, and the tips $3, plus taxi fares and tips again. These tip receivers do not have any mercy on a poor man under these circumstances, and the guests seem to pry in to your affairs and find out just how much you tipped. They probably want to know right from the beginning whether you are traveling under the orthodox requirements of a Member of Congress, or whether you are in fact a tightwad. Well, when I got the bill the $50 did not do, and I reached in my coat pocket—there was not room in my trousers for a billfold—and pulled out a $100 bill. I felt like impressing this party that I never carried any change less than that.

I kept up the rounds for a week, just to see what it cost a Congressman to live in proper style while performing his duties to the people. My invitations increased when that $100 was exhibited. I met many nice people I had not met before, I kept up the appearance of being very stiff and formal—I had to on account of my pants—and in all, I think I made the desired impression and convinced these people that I was a regular hard-working Member of Congress and of whom his friends were proud.

When the week ended I found I had spent $500, and it just occurred to me that I would have to abruptly end this profligate system of expense, or I could not live here in that fashion on $12,500 annually. I am back now on my standard of living, but feel that this experiment was worth all it cost. I would like to keep up that program, but I cannot do it on the salary I am getting. Probably $25,000 as the President demands for Members of Congress would not do the job either, because you know most of this $25,000 will be taken by the Government for taxes, especially when you have any other income to which this salary is attached for tax purposes.

I did not like to exclude myself from this gorgeous round of pleasure, but I finally asked myself this question: "What are you in Washington for, to work for the Nation and North Dakota, or to entertain?" I finally—I was compelled to—concluded that I had better go on just as I had done for many years, doing what I was elected to do and deny myself this grand and glorious society life. I am back now on ham and eggs and liver sausage, and at least feel at home. I will not continue this experiment for the second week—I would have had to borrow money if I did.

Please do not misunderstand me, I favor this social life. I would like to keep it up. When we are bawled out by the people if we do and do not on certain legislation a Member begins to feel like a worm, but this wormy feeling all disappears when you get into one of those formal affairs. The only time I have felt important since coming to Washington was when I wore one of these make-ups and was dishing out the money to everyone who came along. I am perfectly willing to try to do my work and do some society flitting, but I must have more pay to do it. If the people of North Dakota have no objection I will take this $25,000 or as much more as I can get to carry out the orthodox way of congressional living.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., Saturday, November 27, 1954:

ST. LAWRENCE POWER

Advocates of the St. Lawrence seaway, whenever confronted by well-attested arguments that the seaway would not benefit the commerce of the United States, except that it might cause shifts from the Atlantic Coast ports to the Great Lakes cities, usually fell back on the argument that, in addition to being an aid to shipping, it would bring a big increase in cheap electric power for New York and New England.

But Robert Moses, head of the New York State Power Authority, and a recognized expert, now says that the proposal to bring the St. Lawrence power down to New York City is ridiculous. He said the cost of the transmission lines would be prohibitive; that, even if New York City could obtain all the power, it would cost more than generation of the same amount of power in steam plants. As far as New England is concerned, our own experts here say that the St. Lawrence power, under the most favorable conditions, would not provide more than about 5 percent of our increased needs over the next 10 years. The St. Lawrence seaway may help Chicago, Cleveland and the other Great Lakes ports, but it will do so mainly at the expense of loss of business for Boston, New York and other Atlantic ports.

Social-Security Benefits for Widows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest traditions of our country is the sustained concern which Americans have always shown for the protection of widows and orphans. We are proud of our record in this regard.

But, if I may so, this is an area in which our social-security system is too often discriminatory. As this law is now written, a widow is entitled to a benefit only if she is at least 65 years of age or if she has minor children in her care. Because I am convinced that the widows of this country are entitled to full survivor benefit rights, without the above restrictions, I have introduced a bill, H. R. 2189 which will allow widows to collect social-security benefits whether or not they have reached the age of 65 and whether or not they have children under their care.

I wonder how often the Members of this House have had the unhappy task of explaining to widowed constituents that they will have to wait until their 65th birthday before they would be entitled to social-security benefits? How many times has the letter from a despairing widow described her tragic circumstances. Sometimes she is ill and unable to work. Sometimes she cannot find a job because of lack of work experience—for the good reason that she has spent her life in the home caring for her family. Sometimes she has managed to live for a time on accumulated savings—but has been unable to stretch those savings until her 65th birthday. Still the only answer we can make, under existing law, is to tell her she must get along somehow until she is 65.

My first consideration in introducing H. R. 2187, then, grows out of humanitarian reasons. I believe that appropriate benefits for the widows of wage earners should be part of any genuinely protective social-security system in America.

I am convinced, as well, that there are equally good reasons drawn from the cold facts of our time which call for enactment of my bill. Let me review them for you briefly.

First of all, statistics show that there is, on the average, a difference of about 3 years between the ages of husband and wife. Because wives are usually younger

than their husbands the family is often, under existing law, actually removed from the social security benefit role at the time of the death of her husband. For example, if the husband is over age 65 and receiving his own retirement benefit when he dies, that benefit is stopped at the time of the widow's bereavement unless she has also reached the age of 65. In too many cases, therefore, the widow is denied a benefit at the time she most needs one—at the death of the family breadwinner.

Secondly, all studies show that the average woman is less likely to have an adequate retirement income, from any source, than are men. The median income for persons with income is substantially lower for women than for men in all age groups. More specifically to the point, perhaps, is the data assembled in a recent survey of widows receiving old-age and survivors insurance benefits which showed that only 10 percent had independent money retirement income of $1,200 or more per year. In considering my proposal, therefore, I ask you to bear in mind the evidence that roughly 9 out of 10 of the widows of workers covered by the social security system are in need of the protection of its benefits because they do not have adequate income from other sources.

We know how difficult it is for older persons with little work experience to find a job. We know that it is especially difficult for the older woman to secure any work, other than the most menial, because of the many years she has devoted to the role of wife and mother. So we surely cannot believe that widow's benefits have been withheld until the 65th birthday for the reason that, without such benefits, they could easily take care of themselves.

The only argument which has been presented to me against the proposal made in H. R. 2187 for providing benefits for all widows of insured workers, is that it would cost too much. I am informed that the level premium cost of providing such benefits would run somewhat in excess of 1 or 1¼ percent of payroll. If this is the case, I maintain that such costs are warranted if we propose to have a social security system which offers any kind of genuine assurance against hardship caused by the death of the family breadwinner. For my own part, I believe such added costs are more than justified in the name of the kind of protection they would furnish the wives and mothers in our country at a time of great tragedy.

Let us remember that the breadwinner has, throughout his workng life, made regular contributions toward such protection for his family. He has had no way of anticipating when and how his death would occur. Is it equitable to say to one man: "Your wife will be entitled to benefits because she is 65 years of age"—and to another, "Your wife is not entitled to benefits because she is not yet 65 years of age."

Let us remember, as well, that because of his early death the breadwinner himself will usually receive no benefits at all whereas, if he had been fortunate enough to live to a ripe old age, both he and his wife would have been receiving benefits for each month beyond their 65th birthday. For this reason, alone, it seems only just to me to make up to the bereaved wife for the benefits her husband will never receive—in spite of his payroll contributions.

I urge your support for my bill H. R. 2187 in the names of the wives and mothers of this country. Surely reasons of humanity and of equity argue for the enactment of this legislation. In my confirmed opinion, we can never feel that we have provided really genuine security against distress caused by loss of wages until we have enacted this legislation.

The Defense Manpower Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial. I believe that a new long-range reserve program is essential to the safety of our country.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 15, 1955]

THE DEFENSE MANPOWER MESSAGE

The President's message on manpower for defense is necessarily a complex one. A nation of such size and diversity as the United States cannot form a plan for the training and mobilization of its youth on a simple, rigid formula. If the program is not to work unfairly and become too great a burden in peacetime, it must have flexibility. It must offer a variety of choices to men of military age while at the same time it distributes the duty of serving over as wide a field as possible.

The President pointed out that the general plan is intended to provide for armed forces in being, for trained reserves that can be mobilized swiftly in case of necessity, and for an additional pool of reserves with some training who could be brought in under a general mobilization. Extending selective service for another 4 years is a primary requisite if the first condition is to be met; so, too, are the pay increases which the President urges to attract professionals into the Armed Forces and to keep them there.

As for the Reserves, the President hopes to sharpen the distinction between those who would be ready and available to be called back when occasion should first demand and those who—because of combat service or possession of essential civilian skills—should be deferred until general mobilization is necessary.

Then there are to be various inducements, including outright compulsion, to supplement voluntary participation in reserve training programs. One group, composed of men between 17 and 19, will be allowed to enist for 6 months' active duty, on condition that they will take active part in the Reserve for the ensuing 9½ years. This is to insure a supply of younger men for the Reserve, as well as a core committed to follow the full reserve training program.

The National Guard will have its role in reserve training more clearly defined. It will be primarily a reserve group, composed of men who have had basic training, and the compulsions used to keep other active Reserve components at strength can be applied to the guard. At the same time, the States will be permitted to form another militia force, to take over the guard's peacetime duties of preserving order and to support civil defense whenever the guard is called into Federal service. It might seem that this last group could form the real State guard, and that the National Guard as such should simply be absorbed into the Active Reserve. However, there is practical value in maintaining the traditions, the organization, armories, and the camps of the guard, as well as avoiding the constitutional and political problems which a radical revision of the guard system would entail.

Congress is said to be willing to accept extension of selective service and additional pay for career soldiers without much dispute, but is more guarded over the fate of the reserve provisions of the President's plan. No doubt there is room for debate, perhaps for amendment, of the reserve plan. But the main point—a genuine Reserve, trained and ready—is an absolute essential.

Adjustment of Salaries for Judges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the views of my friend, Bernard A. Grossman, for the Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, on the subject of adjustment of salaries for judges:

FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, AND CONNECTICUT,
New York, N. Y., January 7, 1955.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman, House Judiciary Committee.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: We note with satisfaction, and with the pride of a friend who has been militant in the general councils in that direction, how the new session of Congress has opened, and has greeted the new year with the Celler bill and the Multer bill and the other contemplated legislation for proper salaries to our underpaid legislators and Federal judges. This association wants to be heard again on the subject, and wants to speak for at least the amount recommended by the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries.

We know how concerned you have been over the years with the inherent delicacy of the matter. But such concern is contrary to the laws of nature and to a realistic recognition of the problem, and it is not necessary.

I have watched the mother of the species feed and feed its young to overflowing—but there always comes a point at which she must take something for herself that she might carry on for the common good. I have seen the mother of a litter in my own kennels nuzzle her own portion over to a gobbling young one, and wear herself down unnecessarily in the midst of plenty—but there always comes a point where she must stop the sacrifice, or else incapacitate herself from serving the common good. I have seen the hostess at a social function lavishly fill and refill the plates, and embarrass the guests by her delicate inattention to herself.

So it is with a feeling of inherent delicacy as to increasing legislative and judicial salaries to what is proper in these times. It is a delicacy that violates nature and a realistic recognition of the problem.

As you know from the many, many Congressmen who have spoken with you over

the period, in our name, or about our activities, we have been campaigning for increases for many years. As far back as 1948, when financial needs were less, and savings not as badly invaded, we were proposing a schedule of $22,500 for judges and Congressmen, with $25,000 in the circuit courts and $27,500 to the senior circuit judges; $35,000 in the United States Supreme Court and $40,000 to the Chief Justice; $15,000 to referees in bankruptcy, and the putting of United States Commissioners on a salary basis. It seems we have now reached the point where increases will finally be provided for.

* * * * *

In that 1948–49 period, our representatives went to Washington to present our position for an increase across the country. They were well and helpfully received by your good self, and others. When hearings were held before Hon. FRANCIS E. WALTER, this association was represented by two of its members: Congressman EUGENE KEOGH and Congressman ABRAHAM MULTER. Hon. James F. Donnelly of this association also appeared for our special committee in the matter, and testified and presented a printed memo of our position. What they then said is substantially what we again say today, and what has been so ably and emphatically set forth in the report (1954) of the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries. The Commission, in short, has officially found what we and many others have always maintained unofficially: That by virtue of unavoidable double expenses, an average Congressman operates at a yearly deficit of $3,000 to much more, as far as his Federal salary is concerned; and that the Federal judiciary, which passes on every man's property, his reputation, and even his very life, more so today than ever, are not paid proportionate to their responsibility, nor to the scale of their brethren in city and State service, nor sufficient to uphold a standard of living appropriate to their position.

This is not a time nor a situation for inherent delicacy. It calls for a realistic recognition of the unfairness of the situation, and meeting it, on a realistic level. And so I say, for this association, that we note with satisfaction, and with the pride of a friend who has been militant in the general councils in that direction, how the new session of Congress has opened with the Celler bill, and the Multer bill, and with the other contemplated legislation for proper salaries to the underpaid legislators and Federal judges. And we trust the amount eventually fixed for them will be at least the amount recommended by the 1954 Commission on Judiciary and Congressional Salaries.

Earnestly yours,

BERNARD A. GROSSMAN
(For the Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut).

Congressman Hinshaw Reelected Chairman of California Delegation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, once again the California delegation has elected our colleague, CARL HINSHAW, as chairman. We from California are proud of our chairman and his splendid record of service in the House of Representatives during the past 15 years.

At this point, I wish to place in the RECORD an editorial from the Pasadena Star News of January 11, 1955, in which that newspaper pays tribute to our colleague. The editorial follows:

Representative CARL HINSHAW, Republican, of Pasadena, has been reelected chairman of the California delegation in the National House of Representatives. That this action by his confreres was expected takes nothing from the compliment paid the youngish Pasadena Congressman who is, nevertheless, dean of California Members of the House in terms of years of service.

The California Members of the House, both Republican and Democrat, organize in each successive Congress for the purpose of considering any legislation favorable to California and with no partisan politics involved. Mr. HINSHAW is an energetic chairman. It may be said also during all the time he has represented this district in Congress he has worked diligently for the best interests of the coast without regard to partisan considerations.

Irish Partition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following letter to the editor, by Mr. William J. Conlon, of Lynn, Mass., which appeared in the Lynn Telegram-News, Sunday, October 24, 1954:

LETTER TO EDITOR

DEAR EDITOR: I am sending you that letter on Irish partition that I mentioned in my previous letter to you. Its title is "Gratitude Where Gratitude Is Due." I am very pleased to note that 168 Members of the House of Representatives have recorded their opposition to England's enforced hold on the 6 northern counties of Ireland. The Democratic Representative JOHN E. FOGARTY, of Rhode Island, is seeking to have the Fogarty resolution immediately acted upon by the full House. That resolution, if passed, would express the sentiment of the House, namely, that the free Republic of Ireland should embrace not 26 but 32 counties and that the voters of all Ireland should be granted opportunity to declare themselves in this matter. During the premiership of Lloyd George, the 6 counties were cut off from their 26 sister counties without a legal mandate of all the Irish people.

Next to love of God, an Irishman loves his country. In County Armagh, as in County Wexford, County Tyrone, and County Tipperary, Irishmen look on Dublin, not London, as their capital city. They look upon the Republic of Ireland, not Britain, as their beloved country.

It galls the proud spirit of the Gael to be looked upon as a British subject. Well it may, for Ireland's civilization, her laws, and learning stretch far back beyond the establishment of England's Parliament.

Until the flag of the Irish Republic floats over all Ireland, Irishmen will not consider themselves free. America owes a big debt of gratitude to Ireland. Sons of Erin have proved their love and loyalty in America's every struggle since our tortured colonies began their fight for freedom from England's tyrannical oppression. The commander in chief of our successful Colonial forces titled a Wexford Irishman, one Jack Barry, "Father of the American Navy," and Commanding General George Washington publicly thanked their Irish troops for their heroism and bravery and loyalty. In our Civil War, it was an escaped so-called Irish rebel—he who delivered his classic sword speech from the dock in Tipperary, who led his soldiers, "nearest to the workers" in the dread struggle at Fredericksburg. Meagher's soldiers all wore their sprig of green. Barry and Meagher are but single examples of Irish help and valor in two of our country's struggles. Irish defenders of this country's Star Spangled Banner in every struggle everywhere would fill a book.

America is surprisingly slow to show her gratitude to Ireland. Our lawmakers have been importuned time and time again to speak out in condemnation of England's bold threft. America has given vast sums of money and thousands of precious young lives to other nations—here, there, and yon. (To our once tyrannical oppressor we have given most of all.) But for Ireland, our admirer, our friend and helper, we are slow to offer even a word of condemnation against Britain's foul imposition of a dividing line in the physically small but heroically great island nation. Speed the day when America's full House and Senate will publicly show gratitude where gratitude is due.

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM J. CONLON.

LYNN, MASS.

Danger of Lowering Tariffs on Japanese Crabs and Oysters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, an international tariff-negotiation conference will be held in Genava, Switzerland, in February under the sponsorship of the countries associated in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Committee for Reciprocity Information has announced that it will consider granting reductions in the present tariffs on imported fresh, frozen, and canned crab and on imported oysters packed in airtight containers. It is my opinion that any reduction in these present tariff schedules would have a disastrous effect upon the American crabbing and oyster industries.

At the present time there is a 22½ percent ad valorem tariff on imported canned crab and a 15 percent ad valorem duty on fresh and frozen crab. In spite of these tariffs, of the canned crab sold in the United States in 1954, Japan supplied about 60 percent while American producers supplied only about 40 percent. The situation has been growing steadily worse. For example, in 1950 crab imports from Japan were 1,761,000 pounds while in 1953 the figure had increased to 3,860,880 pounds—a more than 100 percent increase. Contrast this with the American canned crab pack which declined during these same

years from 137,490 cases to 114,886 cases—a more than 20 percent decrease.

Japan was able so to invade the American crab market not because of a superior product but simply because an average worker in the American crabbing industry is paid about as much in 1 hour as the average Japanese crab worker receives in 1 day. In order to maintain the high wages and standards of the American crab industry—which I believe must be done—the American crab industry must have the protection of the present tariff. Failure to provide adequate protection would take American crab—including the world famous Dungeness crab—off the market.

There is another great danger which would certainly come from the lowering of the present tariffs on crab. If additional markets were to be opened in the United States by lower tariffs on crab, Japan undoubtedly would seek to supply these markets. Crabbing waters which Japan had owned, controlled, and fished prior to World War II were given to Russia under the Yalta agreement. In order to increase her crab production, Japan undoubtedly would make a deal with Russia either to purchase Russian crab for sale on the American market or to obtain fishing rights from the Russians in Russian waters. Whatever course of action was followed would be to the financial benefit of the Soviet Union. I believe there is a great unanimity of opinion in this country that we should do nothing to aid or strengthen Russia. A further lowering of the tariff on crab might well have such an effect.

The American oyster industry also would be in grave danger were present tariffs on oysters in airtight containers reduced. At the present time, imported oyster products from Japan are selling for 25 percent under the prices of American producers on steamed canned oysters and up to 40 percent under American producers on smoked oysters, canned or in glass.

Again, in the oyster industry a great difference exists between the wages paid the American and Japanese oyster worker. Whereas in the Pacific coast oyster industry the lowest hourly wage is $1.55 per hour, in Japan the daily wage is 90 cents or less.

Furthermore, the American oyster grower is required to meet numerous State and Federal sanitary regulations in order to protect the American consumer fully. The added cost of complying with such regulations must be reflected in the final costs of the products. By contrast, Japanese oyster products are inspected and regulated only at time of entry. They are not required to meet the United States sanitary regulations at the point of production, and this in itself gives the Japanese oyster producers a very definite and unfair price advantage.

Actually, it would be to the disadvantage of Japan to have the American oyster industry destroyed, as the oyster industry in this country is a substantial purchaser of seed from Japan. If American oyster producers have to shut down, the Japanese seed-oyster industry most certainly will suffer.

Those who are engaged in the crab and oyster industries recognize the need for helping industries in other countries. But it seems foolhardy to give such help at the cost of survival of our American industries. The very livelihood of many of the residents of our small towns on the Pacific coast would be in jeopardy if the tariffs on Japanese crab and oysters were lowered. Fair play demands that these people not have their existence imperiled by actions taken by the United States Government.

Through the Peacetime Benefits of Atomic Energy We Have a Relatively Simple and Inexpensive Way of Adding Tremendously to the Numbers of Our Friends Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following address titled "Atomic Energy in Peace and War" was delivered by me before the 29th annual Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., January 14, 1955:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE THE 29TH ANNUAL WOMEN'S PATRIOTIC CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE, STATLER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 14, 1955

It is an honor to be invited to address the 29th Annual Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense.

For many years, I have followed your activities and have admired the courageous and unfaltering position you have maintained on many vital and controversial issues.

In my estimation, your activities in the field of true Americanism, national defense, and the preservation of the American form of government are entitled to public acclaim.

May I digress at this point to pay a well-deserved tribute to the chairman of your conference, Mrs. David Daniel Good, of Osceola Mills, Pa., who I am proud to number among my constitutents.

Mrs. Good's legion of friends in Pennsylvania are might proud of her for she is an ardent exponent of your principles of red-blooded Americanism.

When I tentatively accepted your chairman's invitation to address this conference, I first thought of selecting the topic—"Is the United States a Constitutional Republic or a Democracy?"

I had in mind at that time of discussing the highlights of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 when this budding Nation was constantly referred to as a Republic and not a Democracy.

The word "democracy" is not found in either the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution.

In fact, Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party always spoke of "the Republic" of "our republican form of government."

History tells us that when Benjamin Franklin was asked what kind of a government the Constitutional Convention had set up, he replied: "A Republic—if you can keep it."

In these trying days, as we fight to preserve our Republic, I would like to discuss atomic energy in peace and war, a subject that has occupied the attention of world leaders since that morning of July 16, 1945, when the first atomic weapon in the world was exploded at the Almagordo, N. Mex., test grounds.

Since that eventful morning of July 16, 1945, almost a decade has now passed during which the free world has depended for its security primarily on atomic weapons.

Government leaders and private citizens alike throughout the world are well aware of the growing strength in the United States stockpile of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Here in the United States we have taken great pride in the accomplishment of scientific and industrial miracles, for these accomplishments definitely have prevented World War III and have caused the men in the Kremlin to hold their ambitions in check.

At the same time, however, it is common knowledge that the Soviet stockpile of atomic and hydrogen weapons is ever-increasing; yet this fact seems to escape too many people.

When the Soviets had one weapon and we had many, there was good reason to believe that if they should attack our chances of being able to prevent any sizable amount of destruction to our own cities and military and industrial plants was good.

In addition, we had confidence in our own ability to retaliate with heavy atomic attack against the Soviet aggressor.

As the Soviet stockpile increased, it is no longer a secret that Russia's ability to wage an atomic war is now a definite reality.

Confronted with this threat of an atomic attack, neither an increase in our own stockpile of atomic weapons nor an increase in our own ability to insure massive retaliation can offset Russia's ability to engage in atomic warfare.

We are faced today with an absolute fact. If atomic war should come, many Americans would die in their homes and at their places of work.

I take little consolation in the continued assurance that we would be able to retaliate many times over.

That would be small comfort if New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington were smoldering ruins.

What needs to be done is not so much a matter of simple patriotism as it is preparation for survival.

If we are to remain a free and vigorous Nation, we must take the maximum steps to insure that we can minimize the effects of massive Soviet atomic attacks against the United States.

We must make certain that we can maintain our social, economic, political, and administrative structure in spite of such attacks and continue on as a free Republic.

The American people in general have been lax in responding to the appeal of Federal Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson to become civil-defense minded by realizing the devastating results of a Russian atomic-hydrogen attack.

It is my earnest hope that within the next few months Congress will appropriate the necessary funds so that Civil Defense Administrator Peterson will be able to improve and expand the present civil-defense program.

In my opinion, such a program must provide greater public education, for only if every American understands the threat with which he is confronted can we expect the support for a civil-defense program so essential to its success.

So far I have been talking about what might happen if the bombs should start to fall.

Frankly, it is a terrifying prospect and one we cannot ignore.

Yet falling bombs is only one small aspect of the total problem of living in an atomic age.

Therefore, we should not devote our attention to it and exclude the many other things which can be done.

One of the best ways to protect ourselves and our Nation against atomic attack is to see to it that war never comes.

I think there are two steps which must be taken simultaneously if we are to do all within our power to prevent an atomic war.

First, we must be prepared to absorb the worst an enemy can deliver and still strike back with terrible vengeance.

If we do that there will be no profit for the enemy in starting the attack at all.

Secondly, we must speed the development and application of peacetime atomic benefits.

By so doing, the standards of living and of health throughout the world will rise so rapidly that peace will be more attractive than war as a means of achieving the humanitarian ends men desire everywhere.

As a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy and the House Armed Services Committee, I have long had an active interest in both these necessary steps.

During the last 2 months I have devoted a great deal of time in pursuit of the second point, namely, the development and application of peacetime atomic benefits.

With other members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I visited 12 countries in November and December.

Most of these are backward countries where the people barely exist.

They never have enough to eat.

They never have enough to keep them warm and they have little hope for their own future or for their children.

The purpose of the trip was to see at first hand what we here in the United States might be able to do through atomic energy in order to raise the economic and health standards in these areas.

Our visit to these foreign nations was an aggressive and coordinated part of the "Atoms-for-Peace" plan launched by President Eisenhower over a year ago.

We intentionally went to countries which, for the most part, do not have a reputation for being in the forefront of modern scientific development.

Yet everywhere we went, we found large numbers of competent, well-trained scientists and technicians who were in close touch with their Government leaders.

We found that they have concrete ideas of what could be done through atomic energy for the betterment of their own people as well as the advancement of science.

In New Zealand we found that they had already used radioisotopes to study the growth of pasture land grasses.

As a result of their experiments they have made radical improvements in the number of sheep they can graze per acre.

As many of you know, a radioisotope is a chemical element charged in an atomic reactor and is easily traceable, whether in the human body, plant life, soil, or metals.

We saw New Zealand hills which we were told were brown 5 years ago because of the lack of certain vital trace elements in their soil.

Today they are lush and green as a result of atomic experiments which have proved exactly which elements needed to be added to the soil.

But the New Zealand program is seriously handicapped because the nearest sources of radioisotopes are in the United States and in England.

In New Zealand there is a real need for radioisotopes which will permit experiments to be conducted with radioactive elements.

In Australia we found a broad and vigorous atomic program manned by well-trained scientists, engineers, and administrators.

The problems confronting the Australians in the field of atomic energy are more nearly parallel to those of the highly industrialized countries of Europe.

This was in marked contrast with most of the countries we visited.

Throughout the countries of southeast Asia and the Middle East, we repeatedly observed an urgent need for agricultural experimental stations using radioisotopes to improve crop yields and to improve the crops themselves.

We studied the health statistics with the public health officers in these southeast Asian and Middle Eastern countries and saw for ourselves what the principal diseases are.

We recognized, from our own knowledge of the work here in the United States, how modern medicine using the tools of atomic energy could bring early relief to the people of these countries.

Malaria, tuberculosis, cancer, cholera, these are but a few.

And in every country we found men and women ready, willing, and able to do the job.

They need some equipment.

They need some guidance.

They need some assistance.

But the investment which needs to be made can be measured in a few thousand dollars in most cases, and the benefits which they stand to gain are scarcely measurable by any known standard.

The 83d Congress passed a revised Atomic Energy Act, which those of us on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy worked many months to prepare.

This new law authorizes agreements for cooperation on peacetime atomic development with friendly nations.

I know that everyone of us on the trip came back with renewed enthusiasm for pursuing an international atomic cooperation program.

All of us acquired a better understanding of what needs to be done and when it should be done.

Frankly, small sums spent now in the proper places and in the proper ways will be far more beneficial both to the people to whom they are given and in the improvements in American relations abroad, than will vast sums given too late and with too broad a sweep of the hand.

Therefore, the time for a foreign atomic program is now.

It need not be a multimillion dollar foreign giveaway.

What is needed is a few dollars wisely and discreetly spent.

I was particularly impressed on this trip by the fact that the United States and atomic weapons are frequently spoken of as almost synonomous in Asia.

This is primarily the result of Soviet propaganda but it can be counteracted.

We need to strengthen our bonds of friendship throughout the world.

In this atomic-hydrogen age we cannot stand alone.

Through the peacetime benefits of atomic energy we have a relatively simple and inexpensive way of adding tremendously to the numbers of our friends abroad.

It is an indisputable fact that patriotism is the keystone of a strong nation.

But patriotism to be effective must be intelligent.

Blind sacrifice of time, even of life itself, is not enough.

As patriotic Americans we must stand ready to expend our energies, our resources, even our lives, in such a way as to prove most beneficial to our country.

It is not sufficient to confine our acts of patriotism to buying savings bonds and engaging in the building of an adequate national defense.

We as a nation need to implement our efforts by developing friendly relationship with other countries so that should the horror of a third world war be visited upon us we will have stanch allies.

I should like to conclude my discussion by quoting former Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, who recently said:

"I consider it the sober truth to say that atomic energy has resulted in the greatest change in man's relations with nature since the fateful day in the Garden of Eden.

"Man has within his grasp an unlimited force, the very source of all energy in nature—atomic energy.

"The difficulty is that this force is a potential equally for death as for life.

"The misuse of atomic energy means death on a scale that staggers the imagination."

Goodhue and Sullivan: Pioneers for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to recognize, through publication in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the constructive achievements of two men—Lyle D. Goodhue and William N. Sullivan, Jr.—in developing the aerosol package, which has been a boon to American industry.

In an age that accents the evils of our times, rather than the good that is accomplished by patient, dedicated, and self-effacing men, it is a relief to note and pay tribute to the men who make progress possible.

I take particular and pardonable pride in the role played by William N. Sullivan, Jr., because he was born and brought up in my native city of Lawrence, Mass. I believe that the values and the vision he learned in this environment helped to inspire him in the work that won for Goodhue and Sullivan the 1954 achievement award by the Chemical Specialties Manufacturers' Association.

As a further honor, I ask that the following account of their accomplishment and their careers, as presented to the 41st annual meeting of the association in New York City on December 7, 1954, be published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

The CSMA achievement award is the second major recognition of the work of Dr. Goodhue and Mr. Sullivan in developing the aerosol insecticide principle. In 1945 the city of Philadelphia presented them with the John Scott Medal, awarded annually under the terms of a bequest in 1816 by Scottish chemist John Scott in recognition of useful inventions or scientific contributions to human welfare or industry. Other recipients of the John Scott medal have included Mme. Curie (1921) for the discovery of radium and its properties; Orville Wright (1925) for the development of flying machines; Thomas A. Edison (1929) for numerous inventions, and Sir Alexander Fleming (1944) for the discovery of penicillin.

LYLE D. GOODHUE

Born on a farm near Newton, Iowa, in 1903, Lyle D. Goodhue was educated in the public schools of Newton and received his bachelor of science degree in 1928 from Iowa State College, where he led his class in the division of industrial science. The following year he received his master of science degree in plant chemistry from the same institution.

In 1929, Dr. Goodhue joined the Du Pont Co. as a research chemist at the Parlin, N. J., laboratories of its fabrics and finishes department, where he specialized in development of lacquer formulations. Leaving the Du Pont Co. in 1930, he returned to Iowa State and served as a chemistry instructor while studying for his doctor of philosophy degree in plant chemistry which he received in 1934. He then joined the Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine as a research chemist in the Division of Insecticide Investigations. It was there that he met William N. Sullivan, and, in 1940, they began their research into aerosol insecticides. After trying smokes and finally thermal aerosols, they perfected the present liquefied gas-propelled aerosol in 1942.

Dr. Goodhue continued with the Department of Agriculture as a research chemist until 1946 when he joined Aerosol, Inc., of Neodesha, Kans., as a research chemist on aerosol problems. In 1947, he became associated with the Phillips Petroleum Co., in Bartlesville, Okla., where he is now engaged in research work on agricultural chemicals.

Dr. Goodhue has been granted over 40 United States patents on insecticides and methods of applying them and has authored more than 80 technical articles on the chemistry of insecticides. Along with Edouard H. Siegler, he won the annual medal of the Eastern Branch of the American Association of Economic Entomologists in 1948 for their paper on Effect of Particle Size of Some Insecticides on their Toxicity to the Codling Moth Larva. He also has received a number of Army and Navy citations for his work with Sullivan, and, in 1948, received the Iowa State College alumni award.

He is a member of the honorary societies of Phi Kappa Phi, Phi Lambda Upsilon, Pi Mu Epsilon, Gamma Sigma Delta, Sigma Xi, and Delta Mu Delta in addition to Alpha Chi Sigma professional chemical fraternity, the American Chemical Society and Entomological Society of America.

WILLIAM N. SULLIVAN, JR.

William N. Sullivan, Jr., was born in Lawrence, Mass., in 1908, received his early education in the public schools of that city, and was graduated from the University of Massachusetts, with a bachelor of science degree, in 1930. The following year he joined the United States Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine as a junior entomologist in toxicology at its Washington, D. C., laboratories.

In 1939, he received his master of science degree in entomology from the University of Massachusetts.

All of Mr. Sullivan's career has been spent with the Bureau of Entomology with the exception of 5 years during World War II when he served in the United States Army Air Force as a specialist in control of disease-carrying insects.

He was commissioned a first lieutenant in the Sanitary Corps of the Air Force in 1942 and assigned to Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio, where much of the research work in adapting the Westinghouse container to aerosol dispensing was carried on to perfection. After 3 months at Wright Field, Lieutenant Sullivan was attached to the Air Transport Command and assigned to introduce, and train personnel in the use of, the newly developed aerosol insecticide at United States air bases serving the north Africa and India theaters, in a move to combat spread of disease by insects among the Armed Forces. During the tour of duty, he traveled throughout British West Africa, north Africa, and to Karachi, India, in charge of disinsectizing United States planes to prevent their carrying the malaria-bearing anopheles gambia mosquito and other insects to South American air bases.

After 18 months of overseas duty Lieutenant Sullivan was transferred to the Army Air Force Center at Orlando, Fla., to develop methods of controlling mosquitoes in jungle areas by airplane spraying, and in July of 1946 he served as a radiological monitor on atomic-bomb tests at the Southwest Pacific atoll of Bikini. Released on inactive duty as a major in the Sanitary Corps of the United States Air Force in August 1947, he returned to the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine where his current assignment is in the field of disinsectization of aircraft.

Mr. Sullivan is a member of Sigma Xi, the Entomological Society of America, the Washington Entomological Society, and the Insecticidal Society of Washington, D. C.

Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address made by me at the annual dinner of the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers, Hotel St. Regis, New York City:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, this occasion on which you have so generously given me the opportunity to address you, affords me a most welcome chance to say some candid and informal words on the subject in which we are all vitally interested—immigration. I am grateful to you as well as greatly honored.

I can probably skip introducing myself. You know that together with the late distinguished Senator from Nevada, my dear friend, Pat McCarran, I am the coauthor of the much maligned piece of legislation sometimes called the McCarran-Walter Act and sometimes more scurrilous names—some of them not fit to be mentioned in this distinguished and, what is very important, mixed company.

Immigration is a vast part of the field of human relations, in which law can do as much harm as good. Immigration means people. Immigration affects human fate and human destiny. The law can help, but the law can hurt terribly. The law can inflict great hardship and on occasions it can hurt beyond possibility of remedy.

Men writing legislation in the field of immigration have to be more cautious than men writing laws that affect taxes, tariffs, shipping, banking, etc.

In the first half of the current century, a few words in a certain section of the immigration law of the United States meant the difference between life and death for many people escaping totalitarian brutalities. Conversely, mistakes in the enforcing of the law can mean untold human tragedies and suffering. An immigrant inspector on the New York waterfront is just as much a protector of our and our children's security as any soldier who, while on active duty, is in charge of protecting a vital military establishment. The same immigrant inspector may be guilty of causing harm to a human being—often, harm and damage beyond repair.

I could dwell long on the subject of immigration. This evening, however, is to be devoted to much more pleasant things than my speech, and I shall therefore ask your indulgence in permitting me to talk about but few aspects of the problem which have recently been brought to my attention.

Since its enactment in June of 1952, the Immigration and Nationality Act has been savagely attacked by various organized groups—in my opinion—almost invariably for wrong reasons and on false grounds. We all know that the only sane purpose of any immigration law is to regulate the admission of immigrants and to keep out aliens who may harm or weaken our country. Of course, carried to its logical extreme, such a policy could be inhumanly harsh. It would keep out all nonproducing foreigners—as they are kept out by many countries—even to the point that means separation of families.

As you know, we do not preach that policy and we do not practice it. The old, the infirm or the unskilled still find entrance to the United States along with their younger, more energetic and better trained relatives. More than that, we specifically accord preferential treatment to relatives of United States citizens and residents of the United States, regardless of age. In that respect, our immigration laws are certainly superior to those of many countries which are much less critically looked upon in discussions held in the world's press.

I would like to remind you that even enemies of our form of government are not necessarily forever barred from entering into our midst. You know well, that reformed totalitarians, including reformed Communists, can settle among us permanently and that active members or organizations which we hate and abhor can enter temporarily if they can show that their enmity toward our way of life does not carry immediate danger to our country.

Surely, that much of self-protection on our part is about the simplest minimum demonstration of common sense. But it is precisely on this point that baseless criticism is being leveled at the Immigration and Nationality Act.

One of the most brilliant minds of our era, that of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, has recently produced, over television, a new set of totally confused ideas. Appearing on Mr. Ed Murrow's program, Dr. Oppenhemier has ventured a few opinions regarding the purport and effect of our immigration laws. I had some correspondence with Dr. Oppenheimer since his execursion into the field of law, and I hope that I was able to explain to him how entirely wrong he was in what he said. Unfortunately, the false impression has been created in the public's mind, and I am, of course, unable to correct it, since I am unable to diffuse my mind as effectively as Mr. Murrow helped Dr. Oppenheimer to do it.

However, I would like to use tonight's fine forum for the purpose of suggesting to Dr. Murrow that he might want to have me on his show and ask me some questions regarding atomic energy. I would certainly be as qualified to answer them as Dr. Oppenheimer is qualified to answer the legal questions propounded by Mr. Murrow. The viewers and the audience would be equally edified, I assure you.

Dr. Oppenheimer's chief concern was the alleged exclusion of scientists and the impossibility of calling scientific meetings in the United States. Let me tell you without delay that I am just as eager as Dr. Oppenheimer to have all possible scientific meetings held in the United States, and I see no reason why they cannot be held here. It is a matter of record that not only persons who have allegedly associated with Communist organizations, but actual members of the

Communist Party, have been admitted to the United States temporarily under one section that this audience is certainly well familiar with, namely, section 212 (d) (3) of the act. It is also a matter of record that a chess team representing officially the Soviet Union, accompanied by, shall we say, trainers or masseurs—obviously they were secret policemen—were admitted to New York to participate in a tournament.

You also know about the group of clergymen from behind the Iron Curtain who were admitted to the Evanston, Ill., meeting last August and permitted to offer their totalitarian and heathen preferences to a Christian gathering.

There are hundreds and hundreds of less publicized cases of admissions of similar people. I am informed by the Department of State that most of our institutions of learning have established, very successfully, permanent contacts with the Department which permit to overcome difficulties and avoid delays in the admission under the provisions made for specially learned academicians.

I believe that it is time for those of us who are honestly concerned with matters of immigration, international migration, and the security of our country to take factual stock of existing immigration law without reference to personal bias or emotions fed on narrow, egotistic interests.

Another favorite target for criticism is the quota provisions of the present law. The trick in this is to make a sweeping statement that only so and so many immigrants entered in the preceding year, whereas in former years—unnamed—twice or thrice or more could and did enter, the blame, of course, being put on the iniquitous McCarran-Walter Act.

Now, there is dishonesty in this statement, perhaps an innocent dishonesty on the part of many who repeat the story.

The number of entries in 1954—both for permanent and temporary residence—show in overall numbers and by specific categories that our present immigration law has not curtailed the flow of aliens into the United States.

In the fiscal year 1954—that is, July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1954—208,177 aliens were admitted to the United States for permanent residence, which was 22 percent more than came in the preceding year. That figure includes the 821 persons who trickled in under the very strange provisions of the so-called Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

Half a million (566,613) entered as nonimmigrants, 25,000 of them as students, 61,000 of them on business, and over 400,000 for various other reasons, including tourist travel, visiting, etc.

Do those figures justify the cry that we have closed the doors to this country?

Sweeping or frivolous abuse heaped upon a carefully considered law is, in my view, unethical to the point of betrayal of our whole judicial and legislative system. It is treacherous because it seeks not to amend and perfect, but to destroy, and to destroy for dubious reasons, and often in promotion of self-interest. We have a duty to those who honorably seek shelter and opportunity within our borders, but we should not ignore our equal obligation to our fellow citizens who have built, developed, and defended this haven from tyranny.

I do not mean, of course, that every immigration law passed by the Congress is perfect and so, above rightful criticism. Not at all. As a dismal example of sloppy legislation, we have the so-called Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

Last week, when the 84th Congress convened, I introduced a bill to amend that abortive measure in the hope of actually getting help for some people.

I have never made a secret of the fact that I consider the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 a fraud and a phoney. For political reasons, the majority party in the 83d Congress rushed through the House and the Senate an ill-conceived and half-baked proposal which was designed to please everybody without achieving any practical results. In spite of my public warnings and in spite of my vigorous opposition on the floor, that unworkable law was enacted to the accompaniment of political drum beating.

The only thing that I was able to do last session in order to correct that deficient law was to insert a few amendments, permitting to reunite families and to permit close relatives of American citizens to join them in this country.

My new bill goes further in that direction in trying to make certain that people who need resettlement in the United States and are deserving of that privilege would get it.

I aim to:

Equalize the requirements in relative cases under the act with the requirements of the Immigration and Nationality Act so that the same evidence is needed to satisfy consular officers that relatives will not become public charges if admitted into the United States;

Eliminate the requirement that sponsors of immigrants keep suitable housing at a specific address open and available for, the entire period of time that the intending immigrant goes through the screening and processing machinery;

Prevent the extended separation of families in cases where all members of the family are not present to accompany the principal applicant to the United States from the place where the visa is issued;

Revise the requirement as to documentation which must be produced by an applicant in order to harmonize the requirements of the act with those of the Immigration and Nationality Act in this respect.

I hope that the enactment of my amendment will correct the ridiculous situation in which out of a total number of 209,000 immigrants authorized to come to the United States under the 1953 law, thus far 13,056 have come up to December 31, 1954, or during one-half of the law's entire lifetime.

Well, I hope that I have made my point clear. I have tried to tell you that I am for honest legislation, for honest administration of law, and for honest criticism of both.

A Cute Magazine Cover Horrified the Red Bishops

(By Eugene Gonda)

Four Hungarian Protestant bishops took the lead recently in a new kind of Red propaganda aimed at the United States.

The four—2 Lutherans and 2 Calvinists—were members of a Hungarian delegation which attended the assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, Ill., last August. The Lutherans were Laszlo Dezsery and Lajos Veto; the Calvinists, Albert Bereczky and Janos Peter.

Bishop Bereczky gave well-publicized lectures about his sad American experiences. Bishops Peter, Dezsery, and Veto wrote articles about the horrors of American life and the successes of Iron Curtain churches at the Evanston assembly.

The bishops agreed that the fingerprinting and other preliminaries to obtaining their United States visas were the most mortifying experience of their lives. "Humiliating treatment reserved only for gangsters," they described it.

Bishop Bereczky reported indignantly that New York customs officers even examined his shaving brush and squeezed a tube of toothpaste in their search for Communist propaganda in the bishops' luggage.

"In Hungary," Bishop Dezsery commented, "foreigners can go where they wish without being bothered by authorities."

Bishop Veto found fault with American food and food service.

"America cafeterias recalled production lines in factories," he said. "One of the slanders by the western reactionary press about Communist countries is that there people wait in line for food in collective restaurants. The truth is that America is the country of waiting in line in cafeterias.

"You can get only canned food in the United States," he went on. "It is not possible to buy beer in bottles there; even this is delievered in canned form. Milk is sold in square paper boxes. American food is tasteless and is permeated with all kinds of unpleasant odors of fish, metled butter, and food oil."

The bishops deplored the savagery of the American press, which they said is full of stories of murder, vice and flying saucers and of war propaganda. And they all cited the same horrible example in support of this charge.

Each of them described in his own way a picture on the cover of an unnamed American publication: "A father with two loaded guns terrorizing his young son in a sickbed and thus forcing him to take a bitter medicine."

The writer succeeded in identifying the picture which so horrified the Hungarian bishops. It was on the cover of American Weekly, and it showed a smiling young father kneeling at the bedside of his little boy, who was grimacing over a spoonful of castor oil. The father wore toy holsters and a toy sheriff's hat, and he was terrorizing the youngster with two cap pistols.

Bishop Bereczky was particularly upset over the ill-treatment of American children. He told of seeing a newsreel of babies forced to compete in a crawling contest, and he cited as typical the case of the Florida swimming instructor convicted of manslaughter in the death of his 5-year-old daughter for forcing her to dive from dangerous heights.

Bishop Bereczky was also shocked by the inscription on an Evanston war memorial which read: "1916–1919" and "1941– ." He protested: "Is it possible to proclaim with such ostentation chiseled in marble that World War II is not yet ended?"

Bishop Peter devoted an entire article published in many Hungarian newspapers to the Evanston memorial, and concluded that the United States was suffering from war hysteria.

(George Tomlinson, head of the citizens' committee which raised funds for the Evanston monument, explained last week that no terminal date had been added because there still had been no official ending of the war with Germany. Moreover, he said, the shaft was in memory of men who had fallen in all conflicts since the Civil War, and the names of some 25 men killed in Korea had still to be added.)

Bishop Peter was convinced that the bad attitude of the American press toward the Hungarian delegates at Evanston was directed by the State Department, and Bishop Dezsery was even more outspoken in his indictment of the Secretary of State.

"Secretary Dulles inadvertently blabbed out his hope of seeing the Evanston conference dominated by American propaganda," said Dezsery. "Therefore he tried to exclude the eastern churches from the assembly. He mobilized against us the American Legion, that Fascist organization of war veterans, and all kinds of European exiles. But he did not succeed."

Dezsery said that an American minister told him that his sermons were censored by police, and that an American engineer complained that he was always being bothered by FBI interrogators. "But all this could not prevent American sympathies toward us," the bishop added. "Many people came to see us secretly and shook our hands warmly in the absolute privacy of hotel elevators."

Bishop Dezsery described the plight of the United States in the words of one of his

American friends, a Protestant minister who now lives and works in Geneva, Switzerland. Dezsery quoted the anonymous clergyman thus:

"The country before your eyes is no more that of Lincoln, but that of McCarthy. America is dominated by a hysteria of fear. No European country would live in such fear. The country is a total political and diplomatic failure. Nobody knows what to do.

"The American people normally are very dynamic, but now they are in a state of wavering and great perplexity. President Eisenhower was elected on a program of peace and social progress. This has proved to be an empty illusion.

"Believe me, the American people have lost their faith in everybody; they are only anxious for their future. While reading a newspaper, the average American can do nothing but turn the chewing gum in his mouth."

The number of automobiles astonished Bishop Dezsery, but he had an explanation for the phenomenon. "Americans sweat all their lives to pay for their cars and the mortgages on their homes," he said.

He also explained the use of parking meters: "Cops are paid by corporations owning parking meters for fining those who refuse to pay for their parking."

This instance of collaborationist clergymen preaching Red propaganda is not unique since the death of Stalin, and it coincides with the frequent mention of religious topics on Red broadcasts, with the astonishing authorization to celebrate Christmas and with rumors of the liberation of Cardinal Mindzenty. Stalin's heirs seem to be following the almost forgotten pattern of the czars, who based their despotism on a close alliance between sword and aspergillum (a brush used to sprinkle holy water).

Hetch Hetchy Bill Beneficial to Both San Francisco and Mountain Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I have again introduced legislation which authorizes the Tuolumne County Water District No. 2 to develop the power potential of the Tuolumne River near the Hetch Hetchy Reservoir of the city of San Francisco.

The development would be partly on lands in the public domain, and the stretch of the river proposed to be developed is in the area covered by a license granted to the city of San Francisco in 1913 under the so-called Raker Act; thus development by the district requires action by the Congress.

The legislation I have introduced provides that the profits from this power development can be used only for assisting and expanding agricultural development and municipal water development in Tuolumne County. The legislation provides further that the electric energy from the development can be sold only to public agencies of the State of California and that the rights granted for the development cannot be sold, assigned or transferred to any private person or corporation.

This valuable power drop has been sitting idle for 40 years despite the great demand for electric energy that has existed in the area. It seems only right and appropriate that the local area, which furnishes the water, shares in the benefits from the development of its resources. Expansion of agriculture and the furnishing of low-cost electric energy to the power consumers through public agencies benefits not only the local area but our whole national economy.

When I introduced this legislation in the last Congress there was oposition from the city of San Francisco. I want to cooperate with San Francisco and have so stated to its officials. This legislation takes nothing away from the city—not a bucket full of water. As a matter of fact, the water available to the city would be increased as seepage and evaporation losses would be reduced to some extent. Financially, this proposal would benefit San Francisco as it would be paid for benefits from regulation of Hetch Hetchy Reservoir. Both San Francisco and Tuolumne County would benefit under this legislation.

San Francisco's development on the Tuolumne River has been a virtual gold mine to the city for over 40 years. The local area does not begrudge the city the benefits it has received. However, we do believe it is high time the local area look to its own future and therefore this Tuolumne County water district is requesting an opportunity to share in development of its own remaining resources.

Under the provisions of the Raker Act, San Francisco cannot develop this power potential itself but some officials have taken the view that no one else should be allowed to develop it. San Francisco has had 40 years to fully develop and operate the Hetch Hetchy project. It has failed to do this.

Congress in passing the so-called Raker Act of 1913 made clear its intention to limit the city and county of San Francisco in its use of the Tuolumne area to the requested purpose—water supply, and such incidental power as might thereby be developed; provisions were inserted requiring timely development by the city of as much power as was needed for municipal uses. The Hetch Hetchy project thus came into being, as a permissive use of Federal properties under tightly drawn restrictions, with limitations clearly specified. In other words, Congress passed the Raker Act to assist the city in meeting its water needs and the power development was incidental to the development of a water supply. Congress consented to the inclusion of power in the project only on the condition that it would be operated without private profit for the benefit of the power consumers of San Francisco and the power would not be sold or transferred to any private individual or corporation for the purpose of resale at a profit. Also, it was the intention of Congress that the people of San Francisco should be furnished low-cost electric energy, not that the city should use the project as a means of reducing its tax assessment. There is little possibility the Congress will amend the Raker Act to permit exploitation of the resources belonging to all the people.

I am confident that hearings on this bill will help determine, first, whether San Francisco, which is generating power under a Federal permissive use of Federal property, should be permitted, in perpetuity, to bottle up this power potential, at present undeveloped and being wasted and surplus to any foreseeable power needs of the city; second, whether city officials have complied with the restrictions and limitations of the Raker Act with respect to the development and disposal of power from the Hetch Hetchy project; and third, whether Congress, in the Federal and public interest and entirely in keeping with the restrictions and limitations of the 40-year-old Raker Act, should not reexamine that act with the view toward amending it to permit the people in the immediate watershed area to obtain benefits public in nature which will permit local agricultural and community development in Tuolumne County in the same manner in which the earlier Federal legislation involving the same area was intended to bring public, and I emphasize, public benefits to the city and county of San Francisco.

The Dredging of the Housatonic River Must Be Completed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of satisfaction that the budget presented to the Congress today contains a recommendation for an appropriation of $750,000 to complete the dredging of the channel to Culver's Bar in the Housatonic River.

This recommendation, if passed by Congress, means the end of a mission designed to bring reduced utility costs to individuals and manufacturers in Connecticut. The last budget submitted to Congress contained an item of $500,000 for this project. Subsequent action by the Congress reduced this amount to $400,000. Today's figure of $750,000 represents the Army Corps of Engineers' estimate of the amount needed to finish the work.

During last year's hearing on this project before the Civil Functions Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, testimony was presented by an official of the Connecticut Light & Power Co. that plans call for the expansion of the company's largest steam-electric generating plant located at Devon, Conn., 4 miles from the mouth of the Housatonic River. It was estimated that by 1960, the Devon plant will consume a total of 1 million tons of coal a year, compared with 640,015 tons in 1953. The improvement in the channel will permit the delivery of coal to

the Devon plant by larger barges and it is estimated that a saving in the delivered price of coal of 50 cents per ton will be achieved.

The project as authorized in House Document 449 of the 70th Congress provides for local contributions in the amount of $150,000 on the part of the Connecticut Light & Power Co. and the amount of $50,000 on the part of the adjoining towns in lieu of providing suitable bulkheaded areas for the deposit of dredged material.

Any savings in transportation costs to the power company are directly passed on to its consumers throughout the State of Connecticut by means of a fuel adjustment clause included in the rates of the company. Therefore, by the completion of this project, the taxpayers of Connecticut stand to gain as much as $500,000 a year by 1960 in reduced power costs. It is my sincere hope that this recommendation will be passed by Congress with no reduction in amount.

Situation in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, last year as chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin America of the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression, I repeatedly warned of the dangerous situation existing in Central America. The report filed by the subcommittee also pointed up this danger.

Since the issuance of the subcommittee's report, a war has broken out in Costa Rica; the President of Panama was assassinated; in Honduras the Congress has been dissolved and the situation there is tense.

Central America is extremely important to the United States and the free world. In this area, the Communists obtained their first beachhead in the Western Hemisphere when they were able to seize control of Guatemala until they were driven out last June.

The unrest and tension which grips this area today could benefit the Reds and undoubtedly efforts will be made to capitalize on the situation. It is my hope that our Government and the other governments represented in the Organization of American States will do everything possible to alleviate the difficulties which presently exist in that area. It is my hope too that we will be ever alert to any Communist attempts to gain a foothold in our own backyard.

I wish to call to the attention of the House, an editorial in the January 13, 1955, edition of the San Diego Union, which discusses this problem.

The editorial follows:

WAR IN COSTA RICA—LATIN UNREST IMPORTANT TO UNITED STATES

The importance of greater United States interest in Latin America is proved again by the invasion of Costa Rica.

The Costa Rican conflict supplies evidence of the growing unrest in central America.

Not long ago the United States discovered that the Communists were in control of Guatemala. A successful revolt has thrown the Reds out of the country. But other uprisings have followed.

A few weeks ago, Juan Manuel Galvez, Honduran president, was removed from office and then allowed to regain his post. More recently the president of Panama, Jose Antonio Remon, has been murdered under mysterious circumstances.

Now we have a small-scale invasion of Costa Rica, apparently from Nicaragua with Costa Rican opponents of the present government participating. A committee from the Organization of American States is investigating the conflict.

One of Costa Rica's proudest boasts has been that its teachers outnumber its soldiers. With an attitude such as this, it is ironical that the tiny nation now finds war within its borders.

The present troubles prove again that no nation can afford today to be without an army. The central American republic abolished its army in 1950. It now relies for defense upon its agreements with other countries and upon a police force of 1,000 to 1,500 men and coast and national guardsmen who number probably 500.

Costa Rica was adequately forewarned of the present invasion and probably gave its limited forces special training. But the nation commendably has in the past given much of its attention to education. With a population of 869,000, only a little larger than San Diego County, Costa Rica has devoted more than 12 percent of its budget to schools, an amount exceeded only by spending for public works and the nation's executive offices.

This is a nation which we normally would consider needing little attention. It is a nation making progress in numerous democratic fields.

In the past United States citizens have taken revolutions and small wars lightly when they flared up in Latin America. But this continued unrest provides a condition which today will be ideal for Communist agitators.

The United States is in a delicate position in which it will not want to step in with a military force. The Organization of American States, which includes 21 nations in this hemisphere, may provide the immediate means of quieting the trouble without widespread fighting. But there is an air of urgency to the proposals for the United States to become a closer partner with its neighbors.

Resolution in Favor of Reduction of Eligibility Age for Social-Security Payments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolution adopted by the House of Representatives, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States in favor of the passage of legislation reducing the age at which persons shall be eligible to receive social-security benefits

Whereas there is now pending before the Congress of the United States a bill sponsored by Congressman THOMAS J. LANE, of Lawrence, to reduce from 65 to 60 the age at which persons shall be eligible to receive social-security benefits; and

Whereas many persons who have reached the age of 60 years either have difficulty or cannot receive employment even though they are in good health; and

Whereas in many cases persons between the ages of 60 and 65 by reason of the lack of social-security benefits either become dependent upon relations or welfare agencies because of inability to secure employment: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the house of representatives respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to give favorable consideration and enact into law the bill reducing the age at which persons shall be eligible to receive social-security benefits; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the secretary of state to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, and to each of the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.

House of representatives, January 11, 1955. Adopted.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE,
Clerk.

A true copy. Attest:
[SEAL] EDWARD J. CRONIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

The National Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement made by me in regard to the national highway program as submitted by the National Advisory Committee.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. HARRY F. BYRD, OF VIRGINIA, RELATIVE TO THE CLAY COMMISSION HIGHWAY REPORT

I shall discuss the proposed new road plan at length in the Senate when the President submits it to Congress January 27. In this statement I am commenting briefly on the recommendations to the President by the National Advisory Committee for a national highway program.

The Committee's recommendations fall generally in two parts: (1) Continuation of the regular Federal aid to highways at the rate of $623 million a year, and (2) expenditure during the next 10 years of an additional $25 billion for the so-called interstate highway system. Federal expenditures on the 2 programs in 10 years would total $31 billion. Including the interest, the expenditure will be $42.5 billion.

The Committee estimates the $25 billion would construct 40,000 road-miles designated by the Federal Government as interstate highway. This would be little more than 1 percent of all public-road mileage. The average would be about 800 miles per State. For this the Committee recommends borrowing $20 billion at 3 percent interest and collection of $5 billion in fees from filling stations, motels, etc., operating on the rights-of-way.

If the 30-year taxable bonds recommended by the Committee can be sold at 3 percent interest, and if they are paid off on schedule—the last maturing in 1987—the interest would cost more than $11.5 billion. At this rate every dollar borrowed would cost taxpayers $1.55.

Based on all recent Federal experience, I submit it is a violent assumption to predict these bonds will be paid off at maturity. In effect, we have not paid off a single dollar of Federal debt in 25 years. Continuing increase in the Federal debt is in prospect for an indefinite period.

It may be expected that even before the 40,000 miles are constructed, the program will be expanded in mileage, scope, and amount. It is certain that the system will be thousands of miles greater than contemplated in the Committee report.

As we grow, population shifts, and the impact on specific roads changes, and therefore our road needs shift and change. There is no such thing as a permanent road because no one can predict years in advance what specific roads will carry the most traffic.

Actually the Committee recommends that the Federal Government assume virtually the complete obligation for the so-called interstate highway system (abolishing the 60–40 Federal-State matching requirement in this program) and that it be financed by methods which are unique so far as I know, and thoroughly unsound.

The Committee recommended to the President that the program be financed through a Federal corporation which, without either assets or income, would borrow $20 billion from the public. The Treasury, under a contract with the corporation, would guarantee the corporation's bonds, but the debt would not be included in the record of obligations guaranteed by the United States. Annual appropriations to meet principal and interest payments would be requested, but the request could not be refused or reduced by subsequent Congresses, for 30 years, if the faith and credit of the Government are to be honored. If financial difficulty should develop at any time, the corporation with no further authorization could make mandatory calls upon the Treasury for amounts up to $5 billion outstanding at any one time.

Such procedures violate financing principles, defy budgetary control, and evade Federal debt law.

If the Federal Government can properly borrow money for roads in this fashion, without regarding it as debt, and spend it without budgetary control, it may be expected that similar proposals will be made for financing endless outlays which may be desirable for education, hospitals, public health, etc. In fact I am informed that such a plan is now under consideration for school construction.

This would mean operating the Government on two sets of books: One set for activities financed by borrowing outside the debt and expenditures outside budgetary control, and the other set for activities financed by borrowing on the record and expenditures under budget control.

Count it as you will, as we spend more than our income we add to our debt. The least the Government can do, in fairness to taxpayers, is to keep books and accounts in a manner reflecting the true state of our fiscal affairs.

When the Government contracts a bona fide debt, but arbitrarily removes it from classification as public indebtedness, it creates fiscal confusion and disorder, and destroys confidence in Government credit.

You cannot avoid financial responsibility by legerdemain, and you cannot evade debt by definition. The obligations of the Federal Government and all its citizens will still remain.

There is another grave objection to this Federal road plan, of importance equal to those I have mentioned.

GROWTH OF FEDERAL GRANTS TO STATES

Since 1934, Federal grants to States have enormously expanded in cost and functions. Every Federal grant elevates the control of the Federal Government and subordinates the authority of the States. Nothing is truer than the rule that power follows the purse. When the Federal Government makes a grant it directs the exact manner in which the fund is expended, even though the expenditure is partly contributed by the States. Time and time again I have seen the iron hand of the Federal bureaucracy compel the States to do things that they did not desire to do, because of grants made by the Federal Government.

The growth in Federal grants is indicated by the fact that in 1934, 21 years ago, the total of such grants was $126 million, for 18 grants-in-aid programs. Now the total of Federal grants is $3 billion for 50 programs. This is an increase of 300 percent in programs and 2,300 percent in cost. Federal grants to States never end. They continue to expand.

The Committee's proposal contemplates the greatest increase in Federal grants suggested. A Federal agency will determine the location of the interstate road system, will fix the number and location of access roads, which may be considerable distances apart, will fix the fees for the activities such as filling stations, motels, restaurants, etc., that are located along the rights-of-way and will control construction standards, etc.

No one recognizes more fully than I the need of road improvement to meet the constantly increasing impact of modern-day traffic. A great deal of my public career has been devoted to the problems of a road construction in Virginia. As a substitute for the Committee's recommendations I propose:

1. That the 2-cent gasoline tax now being collected by the Federal Government be repealed, thus permitting the States to reimpose it.

2. Present Federal aid to primary, secondary, and urban road systems which, for many years has been integrated with State highway systems, be continued on the long-standing match basis. This amounts to $535 million.

3. That the lubricating oil tax now collected by the Federal Government be continued.

4. A ½ cent per gallon Federal gasoline tax. Revenue from this tax plus the Federal lubricating oil tax, according to estimates of increasing use, shortly will be sufficient to compensate the Federal Treasury for this Federal aid.

Under such a plan States would retain as much control over their roads as they have had in the past; $11.5 billion interest would be saved for additional road construction; and road revenue would be evenly distributed over future years to keep highways modernized to meet changing conditions.

Under the Committee plan principal and interest payments on the $20 billion bond issue would dry up gasoline tax revenue for 20 years, from 1966 to 1987, with the exception of about $600 million which is committed to matching funds of States for their primary, secondary, and urban systems.

In the next few days I will present on a yearly basis figures showing the plan I propose will result in more road development than can be accomplished under the Committee's plan; that it will avoid increasing the public debt, and that it will serve to preserve the soundness of the Federal budgetary system.

Foreign and Defense Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the speech I made yesterday in Chicago, Ill., before the Newspaper Advertising Executives Association.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, OF CALIFORNIA

Foreign and defense policies are and need to be the people's business. The decisions that are made in the months ahead may well determine whether we are to have a free world of free men.

The wise men who drafted our Constitution knew well the history of the world up to their time.

They knew that where people had lost their freedom it was because of the concentration of power in one agency of the Government.

Not only did they set up three great coequal branches of the Federal Government as checks and balances one against the other but they made the Federal Government one of limited and specified powers, reserving to the several States or the people thereof all other powers.

It was Thomas Jefferson who said, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

The times call for frankness and where there is an honest difference of opinion the American people should be presented the alternatives confronting them.

At the United Nations headquarters in New York a massive propaganda buildup is taking place to silence those who would analyze the facts of the recent visit of the Secretary General to Peking. The same arguments for voluntary censorship will be used later when the ultimate price of ransom is paid—lest we offend the killers in Peiping.

The Chinese Communist regime is the same one which committed the aggression in Korea; was responsible for inflicting 140,000 casualties upon us including 35,000 dead. That regime also killed in cold blood hundreds of Americans, with hands tied behind their backs, who were their prisoners.

It is the same regime which has consistently violated the Korean armistice and has prevented the neutral nations investigative teams from being anything but paralyzed, impotent examples of the free world's naive trust in a system which prides itself in treachery, assassination, and dishonor as legitimate weapons in the ultimate communization of the world.

Lest there be some who think I am not being slow to anger I will quote Lenin who said, "We must be ready to employ trickery, deceit, lawbreaking, withholding and concealing truth."

Communism is a global menace. It cannot be stopped if Europe if allowed free reign in Asia. Lenin stated the basic concept when he said, "The road to Paris is through Peking."

In this age of the airplane and atomic power this Nation could no more return to isolation than an adult could return to childhood.

We need and want stout allies but an alliance must be a two-way affair. A nation cannot buy friends any more than can an individual.

The mission of Secretary General Hammarskjold was not a success and, in my judgment, no service is done the American people or those of the free world by pretending that it was.

Mr. Hammarskjold has returned without either the release of the prisoners of war held in violation of the armistice agreement or any prospective date in the future when they will be freed. He personally favors the admission of Communist China into the United Nations and his government has recognized that regime. In China he did not go to see our men and the conditions under which they are imprisoned. His mission was a failure by any fair standard or yardstick that Americans can use.

This is attempted to be glossed over by the statement that "When tensions are eased the members of our Armed Forces may be released." We already know the standards which the Communist Government has set for the easing of tensions. They are:

1. The admission of Communist China into the United Nations.

2. Reopening of trade, including that of strategic materials with Communist China.

3. The reversal of the American policy which holds that it is not in our national interest or that of the free world to have the island of Formosa, with its 9½ million free Chinese, pass into Communist hands.

4. A reversal of our determination and of the free world to draw a line in the Pacific so that additional nations and their people will not pass behind the Communist Iron Curtain.

These surrenders will not be apparent all at once and for the most part, if accomplished, would be done despite the negative vote of the United States.

But first there will come the concessions which like paying other types of blackmail will be constantly enlarged:

1. Assurances to the Chinese Communists relating to limitations and restrictions upon our pending treaty with the Republic of China, now on Formosa, and other offshore islands.

This, I would point out to Mr. Hammarskjold is a dangerous game. The Chinese and North Korean Communists had understood from Mr. Acheson that the Republic of Korea was outside of our defense perimeter.

2. Assurances that while public opinion in the United States would not presently support Chinese Communist admission into the United Nations the Communist bloc and the neutrals would soon reward the Peiping regime for their generosity in releasing a fraction of our citizens held provided the American voice at home and abroad was throttled from telling the truth regarding the tyranny spreading its cancerous growth in Asia, Europe, and anywhere else they can subvert free nations.

Mr. Hammarskjold knows as well as does any other observer of the world scene that in Communist eyes there will be no lessening of tensions until the Communists are appeased in that manner.

What a vast difference the history books would records today if the men who gave us our Nation had not been prepared to take some risks. We would never have become or remained an independent free America.

How long can such a policy be followed without ending in disaster for ourselves as well as the other member states of the United Nations?

Our power was so diluted by the United Nations during the Korean action that the recommendations of our responsible military commanders were constantly vetoed or ignored and our joint venture prevented the winning of the Korean conflict.

The United Nations record in Korea was not effective security in action. The United States furnished 90 percent of the manpower. Only 17 out of 60 members supplied any manpower at all. We supplied 450,000 in armed forces to 45,000 supplied by all other United Nations members.

Soviet chairmanship of the Security Council at intervals during the Korean war was like having the town arsonist to head the fire department. The Soviet Union admitted supplying arms, ammunition and moral support to the aggressor.

Will the same joint venture prevent us from securing the release of our own men in the uniform of the American Armed Forces without paying tribute to the Chinese Communist regime?

Before Mr. Hammarskjold and his associates at New York or their home governments commit themselves to appeasement in conformity with the current Communist line let them understand: Any such appeasement will be subjected not only to the most searching scrutiny by the American Congress but by a far more potent solemn referendum of the American people in 1956.

The time may be coming in the not too distant future when the people of the United States may have to insist upon a second Declaration of Independence.

We did not change from a small colony of 3 million on the Atlantic seaboard to the great Nation of 165 million because we had the most people in the world. There have been a good many other nations that have had larger populations.

We did not reach our present place because we had the most resources in the world, for there are other nations which have greater material resources.

I believe that we came to our present position of leadership because the founders of this Republic gave us a heritage of courage and a written Constitution that, better than any other document drafted by man, has given to our people the freedom—political and economic—without which this great progress could not have been made.

In this atmosphere the American spirit had free reign. We were guaranteed the right to worship God, each according to his beliefs.

To be sure, we have demonstrated time and time again that as a nation and as a people we are indeed slow to anger.

The religion and cultural background of the free people of China made them slow to anger. Their nation is today behind the Iron Curtain and millions have been liquidated, including men of religion, teachers, small merchants, businessmen, and non-Communist workers and farmers. The free people of Czechoslovakia were slow to anger, and are today behind the Communist Iron Curtain—though in the preceding election less than 20 percent of their people had voted the Communist ticket.

Some of our associates abroad apparently want to brainwash us of some of the history that has made America great.

But, there comes a time, as my old New England grandmother used to say, when we reach a point of righteous indignation, and out of this has come—cherished to each American generation, one succeeding the other—such terms as: "Give me liberty or give me death," "Don't give up the ship," "Remember the Alamo," "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead," "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead."

Despite the fact that in many instances we were faced with what appeared to be overwhelming odds, we have never found it necessary to sacrifice our national honor when a vital principle was at stake.

Nor must we ever permit any international organization to so dilute or undermine our spirit to the extent that Gulliver becomes chained by the Lilliputians and we are unable to even protect our own.

The United Nations overwhelmingly passed a resolution giving support to the American position relative to the 15 American airmen being illegally held by the Chinese Communists.

While the Communists have acknowledged that they hold these 15 men in uniform, there are strong grounds for belief that they may be holding other unaccounted for Americans missing. During the Korean war there were more than 800 unaccounted for Americans in uniform who had fallen into Communist hands. We also know that they have 28 American civilian citizens still in Communist jails, many of them having served there for 3 or 4 years. We know some of these have been in leg and arm chains for months at a time.

This Nation will want to know what additional steps the United Nations will promptly take to secure the release of the uniformed personnel? How long are we expected to be patient while our men are in Communist cells?

Are they prepared to apply against the Chinese Communist regime economic sanctions as well as moral condemnation by resolution? If these are not successful, are they prepared to support a tight naval and air blockade upon the China coast?

Or is the plan to silence Members of Congress, have a form of censorship over our press, radio, and television, lull our people into a sense of false security lest it offend the Communist leader at Peiping who as successor to the emperors of the old middle kingdom expects the representatives of the free world to kow tow and bring tribute to his august presence?

Since when did it become sound policy to reward the gangster with the Legion of Merit because he returns a part of his loot?

In the final analysis, however, neither the American Government nor the Congress can escape the responsibility for taking whatever effective steps are necessary to secure the release of these men wearing the uniform of this country. They do not wear the uniform of the United Nations though they did serve in the United Nations operation in Korea. As long as a single American is held in a Communist prison I shall not remain silent.

Some, though not all, of our present problems vis-a-vis the Communist world stem from the secret agreements of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam.

We should not consider all the people behind the Iron Curtain as being enemies of the free way of life.

At a matter of fact the people of Russia were the first victims of Communist tyranny from which we may hope they will some day be free.

Without the knowledge or consent of either the American people or their elected representatives in the Congress commitments were made for the postwar period which enabled the Communist conspiracy to gain control of Eastern Europe, China, and North Korea.

Since the year 1945, which saw the end of World War II in Europe and Asia, international communism has made great strides.

In January of that year there were less than 200 million people behind the Communist Iron Curtain. Today, just 10 years later, there are over 800 million. The world's balance of power has been upset.

When 30 years ago Lenin said "The road to Paris is through Peking," he meant that China was the key to all of Asia with its billion and a half people. Once consolidated with the manpower and resources of Asia communism could turn with overwhelming power against the West.

Peace with honor is, and should be, the policy of the American people. This is certainly far different from a policy of peace at any price. Unless this is thoroughly understood, we could be lured into a sense of false security by the words of the men in the Kremlin which do not conform to their actions or their policies.

We must never lose sight of the fact that communism is the most brutal, Godless tyranny the world has ever known. As a temporary expedient they may change their day-to-day tactics, but their long-term strategy remains the same under Malenkov as it was under Lenin and Stalin.

Some time between 1913 and 1915 Lenin studied the works of Karl von Clausewitz who is rated as one of the outstanding theoreticians of war. Clausewitz' statement that the conquorer always pretends to be peace loving because he would like to attain his objectives in a bloodless fashion (as, indeed, does the bank robber who kills only when resisted or disturbed in carrying out his mission) and that, therefore, aggression must be presented as a defensive reaction of the attacking nation was considered by Lenin to be a good idea. This idea is still at the bottom of Communist pacifist propaganda—peaceful coexistence.

The Kremlin's basic strategy is that communism will dominate the world, and free institutions and enterprise as we know them will be destroyed. Neither as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee nor as a party leader in the Senate has the slightest reliable evidence been presented to me which would demonstrate that the Communist leopard has changed its spots.

We and the free world must not allow ourselves to be paralyzed while nation after nation in Asia and in Europe is brought behind the Communist Iron Curtain. In such an event we might ultimately find ourselves as an isolated island of freedom in an otherwise totalitarian world.

Under such conditions, though the difficulties would be great, we might exist as sort of a continental Dien Bien Phu. However, we would not be able to maintain the same political or economic system which has enabled this country of ours to grow from a small colony of 3 million on the Atlantic seaboard to a world power of 165 million, the most productive industrially and agriculturally the world has ever known.

The doctrine of peaceful coexistence is being advanced by the men in the Kremlin, by the neutralist nations which do not desire to take sides as between freedom and slavery and by some of our people who have not necessarily understood the full implications of what the Communists mean by peaceful coexistence.

Their basic policy is and has been that they would permit a nation to peacefully coexist for such a time as suited the Kremlin's convenience and until they could either be subverted by communism from within or taken over by Communist aggression from without. They have in mind for us the peaceful coexistence the Thanksgiving turkey has (well fed and housed) until the axe falls.

Whatever their station in political economic or academic circles, those who lose sight of this basic fact endanger the freedom of this Republic and the hope of gaining or preserving a free world of free men. You could, of course, always buy temporary respite by a policy of appeasement, but the world should have learned at the time of Munich that "the road to appeasement is not the road to peace." It is only surrender on the installment plan.

Proposals almost certain to be made if and when a big four conference is held:

1. Recognition and approval of the present borders of the Iron Curtain.

2. Communist China in the United Nations.

This would mean the perpetual slavery of hundreds of millions of people without hope of ultimate freedom. It would mean a complete repudiation of the doctrine of liberation.

On November 15 in the Senate of the United States, in discussing coexistence, I raised a number of questions. They were:

"Are 'coexistence' and 'atomic stalemate' synonymous terms? If they are not, just what is the difference? Is the former merely an inevitable prelude to the latter? And what of our foreign policy and our defense policy when such an atomic stalemate takes place? Does not atomic stalemate mean inevitable Communist nibbling aggression, rather than peace in our time? How many years remain when we still have some initiative left? These are some of the basic questions before the Government and the people of the United States."

These questions have not as yet been fully explored. They will be during the present session of the 84th Congress. Without partisanship or factionalism we must face up to the facts and the challenges of our generation.

If we will only show the same courage and common sense that motivated the men who sat in Philadelphia and, under divine inspiration, gave us first the Declaration of Independence and then the Constitution of the United States, there are none of our domestic problems we cannot solve and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

Conservation of Soil: Our Greatest Resource

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered at the National Agriculture Limestone Institute in Washington at noon today.

On this occasion, I spoke on the subject Conservation of Soil: Our Greatest Resource. If we are to preserve our productive capacity we must conserve our soil. We should ever remember the lesson of China, where neglect of natural resources contributed to impoverishment of its people, political instability, and social discontent. Such an example should teach us we cannot continually mine our resources without replenishment, that to do so would invite national disaster. We should remember that it can happen to us.

President Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress on the state of the Union, said we must direct greater attention to the needs of low-income farm families. Many of these farmers are being strangled slowly by intense competition in the farm markets today. They constitute the group leaving the farm today, causing a reduction in family-size farms.

A properly financed, continuously adequate soil-conservation program, with prominent roles for lime and fertilizer, would enable these farmers to produce better quality crops in greater quantity,

and permit them to compete more effectively with lower cost producers.

A betterment of his economic position would make farming more attractive to the low-income farmers and help keep them down on the farm. Further, the farmer's welfare is integrally bound to the Nation's welfare. He is a big buyer of finished steel products, oil, and chemical supplies. If we are to maintain a balance between agriculture and industry we should bend every effort to make farming a healthy, attractive, and thriving business.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. FRANK CARLSON, OF KANSAS, AT NATIONAL AGRICULTURE LIMESTONE INSTITUTE, STATLER HOTEL, TUESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1955

Mr. Chairman, it is a genuine privilege and a real honor to speak to the delegates and members of the National Agriculture Limestone Institute at its annual meeting. Your organization is representative of an industry that means much to the national welfare and the well-being of the American farmers.

It is most appropriate that I discuss with you the subject Conservation of Soil: Our Greatest Resource.

Your interests are not confined to soil conservation, but you have a direct and personal interest in the international and economic problems of the Nation.

I trust you will pardon me if I refer back to the Old Testament and use a verse of scripture as a text:

"And there saw we the giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the giants: and we were as grasshoppers in our own sight, and so we were in their sight." (Numbers 13: 33.)

These giants stand out as symbols of great difficulties—great obstacles. They are in every field of our activities. We meet them in our international problems—we meet them in our domestic problems—certainly we meet them in the field of agriculture. We must overcome them or they will overcome us.

Fortunately, our Nation has been blessed with men and women who had vision, great courage and an overcoming faith.

Two giants or obstacles in agriculture have been and are agriculture surpluses and production restrictions.

The stress of reduced demand during the depression years and the necessity for downward readjustments in agricultural output at the end of World War II have forced us to think a great deal about these two problems.

But as a long-run solution, acreage control of production of food, raw fibers, and the other products of our agricultural industry is as distasteful to the American mind as the restriction of output by an industrial monopolist would be.

Our greatest hope for the permanent solution of both the surplus and restriction problems thus lies in the direction of expanded consumption at home and abroad. Given sufficient time and a realistic approach to the problem of existing surpluses and the need for acreage diversions to prevent their continued accumulation, we can grow up to our present capacity.

It is entirely possible that within the not-too-distant future, instead of worrying about curtailment, we may be having to think and plan for increasing agricultural production even in peacetimes, just as we have had to do several times during war periods in the past.

When one considers the prospects of our working out of these surpluses and the surplus productive capacity from which they come, four points come to mind:

1. We are faced with a tremendous growth in demand resulting from an unprecedented increase in population.

2. We can hope and expect a continually rising standard of living for all these people.

3. With modern technology and research at work for us, there is almost no limit to the possible new uses and hence new demands for agricultural products which may be discovered.

4. Even though the export market for agricultural commodities has declined in recent years, there are still millions of underfed, underclothed peoples of the world who are anxious and willing to buy our products if they can find or be helped to find ways to pay for them.

Population growth, if we look far enough ahead, will alone have a tremendous impact upon the surplus problem. Population which today is 163 million is estimated at 190 million in 1965.

Within the next decade we shall thus be faced with substantially the situation which an excellent Department of Agriculture report, issued only a few years ago, entitled "The Fifth Plate," foresaw for 1975.

For every four people sitting down to a meal and consuming the products of agriculture today there will be another person, a fifth mouth, to be fed at the dinner table 10 and 15 years from now. While the figures on the rate of population increase have been variously presented, each time new estimates are made the earlier estimates seem to appear more and more conservative.

If all of us are to eat as well of pork products a decade hence as we have been doing, agriculture will have not only to produce as it did in 1950, but an additional amount equal to all of the pigs produced in Iowa and Nebraska in 1950.

If we are to do no more than maintain our per capita beef consumption, we will have to add to our national production an amount equivalent to the entire 1950 production of the great producing States of Texas, Oklahoma, and Minnesota combined.

With no increase whatever in lamb consumption per capita, we will need somehow to increase production by an amount greater than that of the combined production of Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Nevada.

On this population count alone, it looks like our surplus problem may, in due time, give way to one of trying to make every 5 of our present acres produce as much as 6 acres do today. That will call for larger and larger dosages of capital in the form of lime, fertilizers, better seeds and machinery, together with improved farming practices generally.

Incidentally, the report already referred to notes that we can build up acres by using lime and that the tons spread during the agricultural conservation program in the single year 1949 resulted in 20 million tons more hay and pasture forage which, if converted to beef, would equal 1½ billion pounds live weight.

In our great concern for the problems of this agricultural surplus era there is a danger that we may overlook other important phases of our agricultural policies and programs. We should be careful in our thinking not to deemphasize the agricultural conservation programs. We must be ever aware of our duty to preserve the Nation's soils for future generations in a sound and adequate manner even during this period of temporary surpluses.

Only a few years ago we exerted every effort to increase production of practically all crops to meet demand. Who can say the same situation won't face us again a few years from now? Our conservation efforts must remain on a level consistent with the needs of our soil today and in the years to come if we are to faithfully discharge our obligation to the welfare of our farmers and city dwellers today and to those yet unborn.

In addition to the growth in population, we all look forward to a continually rising standard of living for those who make up that population. And a rising standard of living means in part improved diets for those at every income level.

While Americans today are on the average the best-fed people in the world, we cannot be content with present standards. The whole trend in income distribution is certain to be such that those who must now live on restricted or inadequate diets will be enabled to raise their standards and partake of more and more healthful foods.

As costs of producing various crops are realined, the grains which in the short run present embarrassing surpluses may well be applied to greater uses as animal feed. Our increased population and our rising standard of living will call for increased consumption of meats which is one sure way of cutting into our recent cereal surpluses.

The third outlook which we may expect to help minimize our surplus problem over the years ahead lies in the development of new uses and new demands for agricultural products. New and better uses for our crops present several aspects all moving forward simultaneously.

By lowering the costs of production and distribution of established crops through technology, new markets are constantly being tapped. The discovery of wholly new products and wholly new uses for established farm crops is another way in which demand for the products of our farms can be increased.

Still another front lies in the development of new crops, thereby facilitating the acreage shifts necessary to reduce production in some of the older crops, such as wheat and cotton, which are currently in surplus.

The constant trend toward lower agricultural costs by improved strains and the utilization of wastes makes it increasingly possible to sell agricultural raw materials in competition with other materials in their fields.

It is not necessary to illustrate each of these types. It is only necessary to recall the shifts in acreage made possible by the expanding industrial uses for soybean oil.

Back in 1924 American farmers harvested just under 5 million bushels of soybeans. In 1954 our soybean production was a record-breaking 343 million bushels, with a market value of nearly $1 billion. Thus in the short space of three decades we have seen the development of a new major crop in this country and with it a new major industry.

We need only recall the expanded demand for products resulting from development of freezing and dehydrating processes, and such things as the spectacular use of hulls from rolled oats to produce furfural as a selective solvent used in the petroleum industry and as a raw material in the manufacture of chemical intermediates.

Who shall say what the future limitations may be upon our national development? In agriculture, what new crops will tomorrow bring? What new uses for old crops? In a world just now entering the atomic age, some of the most exciting laboratories ever known to man may be right on our farms.

While corn is not one of our surplus problems, the possibilities of readjustment are demonstrated in the shift from corn to new resistant combine grain sorghums in the southern great plains States and in central and western Kansas.

As an outgrowth of experiments conducted at the Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station in cooperation with the Kansas Industrial Commission, new types of hulling and milling equipment now permit the manufacture of flour and livestock feeds from grain sorghum, the flour being widely used in making gypsum lath or wallboard.

Varieties and suitabilities of grain sorghum have meanwhile been improved by research,

giving further impetus to the search for new uses of products and byproducts.

It was reported a few years ago that new industrial uses for grain sorghum had already provided added outlets for the crop from 2 million acres. The expansion would doubtless be even more dramatic if we had the later figures.

Last but not least among the ways which promise to help us work out from under agricultural surpluses is increased agricultural exports.

Export markets have long been vital to our farm population. These export markets have unfortunately suffered in recent years and would certainly have fallen off considerably more had it not been for our foreign aid programs.

As the President observed in his January 10, 1955, message on foreign economic policy, "no single group in America has a greater stake in a healthy and expanding foreign trade than the farmers."

During the recent year there has been some improvement in the export of farm crops, but during the past few years, agriculture has suffered a serious decline in the loss of foreign markets for farm products.

During the years 1951 to 1953, we lost the export markets for farm crops produced on 20 million acres of our farmland. The crops that suffered most from this loss of export markets were wheat and cotton.

The value of the farm crops exported for the years 1952 and 1953 declined from over $4 billion to $2,800,000,000, or a decline of 31 percent.

The average value of farm exports during the past 5 years has been $3,500,000,000.

The last session of Congress provided for a program of disposal of farm products under Public Law 480. This law authorized by the last Congress, provides for the disposal of $1 billion worth of farm surpluses during a period of 3 years.

It is estimated that during the fiscal year ending next June 30, we will have sold or given away abroad under this program $578 million worth of surplus farm products.

This program is functioning well and much credit must be given to the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, for the zeal with which he is pursuing it.

The long-run potentialities of foreign markets may be illustrated by the case of cotton, one of the products which in recent years has tended to be in surplus.

With a rapidly growing world population, there is no question that a need exists abroad for all of the cotton that can be produced in the United States, as well as in the countries which have lately become our competitors in this field of agricultural production. Per capita consumption of cotton in 1948 was, for example, 3.3 pounds in Asia, 6.2 pounds in Latin America, and 7.5 pounds in Europe, compared to 28 pounds in the United States.

Granting all that may be said about the increasing role of synthetic substitutes, it is still true that if per capita consumption of other parts of the world were brought up anywhere near levels prevailing in the United States, surpluses such as that of cotton might well give way to shortages.

The key to future exportation of more agricultural products is, of course, essentially a matter of imports. We ought not to hope to solve our agricultural problems permanently by aid programs, dumping, or giving away excesses.

The potential foreign buyers must be permitted to earn the wherewithal to pay for the grains and fibers which they need and would buy.

The problem of international trade and the making of reciprocal trade agreements is one that requires the most diligent study—keeping in mind the interests of agriculture, industry, and labor.

The President has submitted a program calling for an extension of the Executive authority to negotiate tariff reductions, the easing of customs administrative burdens, and steps to encourage United States investment abroad, as measures that should contribute to an expanded trade with foreign countries.

Action will be taken on this program in this session of Congress and as a member of the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, I hope to be helpful in writing a program that will give agriculture its proportionate share of the agricultural export market. The farmers are asking no more, and they are entitled to no less.

All of the ways I have discussed for increasing demand for our farm products will be reduced to empty talk if the soils of our country are not maintained in a condition which will help us produce to meet demand in years to come.

I am as concerned as anyone else over our surplus problem but for one additional and all-important reason—that our preoccupation with it will obscure the ever-present necessity to constantly maintain and increase our soil-conservation efforts.

We must step back from the individual trees and look at the entire forest—we must view the problems and values of soil conservation in proper perspective.

In discussing a conservation program we should not think of it so much as benefiting this or that class of farmers or that only certain groups of farmers deserve to participate. We are dealing here with a program in which the entire Nation—every man, woman, and child—has a stake. For the soil of our Nation is a large part of our real wealth—our strength in a day and time sorely in need of such strength.

Our soil has contributed immeasurably to our country's prosperity, to the health of its people, to the creation of the economic giant we are in the world today and to the universal prestige we hold because of our economic power. We believe our way of life represents a force for good in this world; the productive power of our soil and our industrial might have elevated us to world leadership and have given us an opportunity to influence, by our position, the rest of the world to a way of life which would mean peace and progress.

Considering soil conservation within this frame, who can say an appropriation of $200 million or $500 million or more is enough to accomplish an objective so interwoven with the welfare of this Nation?

It is disheartening to me to find so much emphasis being placed on the saving of dollars in connection with our soil-conservation program. Mere saving of dollars is false economy if this practice becomes a habit and our soil deteriorates to the point where it threatens our productive capacity and ultimately far greater expense becomes necessary in order to rebuild the fertility level.

Economy is important but in soil conservation, as perhaps in national defense, there are other values to consider. It is easy to say that so many billions of dollars can be trimmed from the defense budget. On the other hand, can anyone say positively that twice the expenditure isn't needed in view of the fast-changing race for the latest weapons of destruction?

Today we hear about the imminent possibility of intercontinental missiles which can destroy cities in a matter of minutes. When this becomes a reality the sums we are spending for defense today may be paltry in comparison with the outlays we may have to make.

The same may be said for soil conservation. The consequences of continually chipping away at appropriations for this vital program could be ghastly to behold in years to come.

If we could only visualize the specter of ruin which would face our farm communities and the resultant threat to our economy as a whole following in the wake of neglected and inadequately financed soil conservation practices we would not be so anxious to save dollars alone. We should conserve the real wealth of the Nation—the soil—and not so much the dollars that merely measure value.

In a sense the surplus era upon us gives us an opportunity to produce better quality crops. With fewer acres in production we can concentrate on greater and more intelligent applications of lime and fertilizer, producing higher quality crops in substantial quantity and at a reduced real cost.

There is another area in which an adequate soil conservation effort can be helpful in the maintenance of a strong agriculture. For many years farm population has been steadily declining. In 1800 about 75 percent of our total population tilled the soil; today less than 20 percent make a living from the soil.

President Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress on the state of the Union, said we must direct greater attention to the needs of low-income farm families. Many of these farmers are being strangled slowly by intense competition in the farm markets today. They constitute the group leaving the farm today, causing a reduction in family-size farms.

A properly financed, continuously adequate soil conservation program with prominent roles for lime and fertilizer would enable these farmers to produce better quality crops in greater quantity and permit them to compete more effectively with lower cost producers.

A betterment of his economic position would make farming more attractive to the low-income farmer and help keep them "down on the farm." Further, he farmer's welfare is integrally bound to the Nation's welfare. He is a big buyer of finished steel products, oil, and chemical supplies. If we are to maintain a balance between agriculture and industry, we should bend every effort to make farming a healthy, attractive, and thriving business.

The condition of the Nation's soil determines the quality of food products grown. Since we are what we eat, the fertility level of our soils has a direct bearing on the state of our health. Of the 4 forces determining the nutritious quality of food plants grown—air, sunshine, water, and soil—only 2, water and soil, are considered variable.

To the extent that we can control our water resources and the chemical components of our soil we will control the nutritive value of crops grown. When our soil becomes deficient in calcium, nitrogen, and other elements the deficiency shows up in crops and livestock.

These mineral-lacking food products give us a poorly balanced diet affecting our health. We cannot afford the chance that our soil would deteriorate to the point of endangering our health. We should remember that a nation is only as strong as the backbone of its people.

If we are to preserve our productive capacity we must conserve our soil. We should ever remember the lesson of China where neglect of natural resources contributed to impoverishment of its people, political instability, and social discontent. Such an example should teach us we cannot continually mine our resources without replenishment—that to do so would invite national disaster. We should remember that it can happen to us.

United States Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on Sunday night it was my pleasure to deliver an address on the subject of United States foreign policy.

At that time, I stated my vigorous opposition to any rash attempt on the part of the United States to impose a unilateral military blockade on Red China at this time.

I send to the desk the text of my Harrisburg address, supplemented by additional comments which I made to the press yesterday when this issue came up for further discussion.

I ask unanimous consent that both items be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address and press release were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEVEN KEYSTONES OF NONPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY

(Address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, ranking Republican, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in Harrisburg, Pa., at Jewish Community Center, at 100th anniversary of the center movement in the United States on Sunday, January 16, 1955)

I welcome this opportunity to survey with you current and future problems of American foreign policy.

It is particularly appropriate to come to the capital of the great Keystone State on so constructive an occasion as this—to consider the strengthening of nonpartisan foreign policy.

I shall refer to seven keystones of a sound international program for the United States—an enlightened modern program in this age of great challenge from international communism; this age of great opportunity; this contracted world of the jet-atomic era.

JUDGING STATESMEN OR DEMAGOGS

It seems to me that our fundamental mission in international relations is to construct keystones of peace and justice and prosperity.

It seems to me that the one great standard by which you or I should judge those who are active in the field of foreign affairs at home and abroad is this:

Have they, like statesmen, built for better relations? Or have they, like demagogs, tried to tear down the edifice of better relations?

Have they planted good will in the hearts of men?—America for her allies, and her allies for America?—good will for us in the more than 1 billion hearts of the uncommitted segment of the world? Or have they planted seeds of discord, poisonous dragons' teeth of hatred?

Have they contributed to a better, more rational, more clear-cut understanding of the difficult, complex problems of our time? Or have they—in the chronic habit of the demagog—served to becloud issues, inflame them with emotional fury, so that problems become more and more difficult to solve?

These are questions by which you or I or anyone else should judge not only the men in public life who work on foreign affairs, but individuals in private life who also participate in this crucial subject.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S NOTABLE SUCCESSES

With that standard, you and I are going to look at all the world's stage.

If time permitted, I would have liked to consider in detail some of the great advances which have been made during the past couple of years.

They represent successes which already assure for our distinguished Secretary of State an enduring mark in history as one of the greatest men who has ever held this high office.

I refer to such notable achievements as the settling of the Italian-Yugoslav dispute over Trieste; the English-Egyptian agreement on the Suez Canal problem; the settlement of the Anglo-Iranian oil dispute; the independent replacement of the Communist-dominated Government of Guatemala by a strong, able government representative of the will of those fine people; the great milestone represented in the Manila Pact; the very encouraging progress toward bringing into being of the new Western European Union; our mutual defense treaty with the Republic of China; and other impressive advances.

OTHER PROMISING FIELDS OF ACTION

I would have liked to discuss with you some of the current phases of our foreign policy program which are particularly promising.

One such program is the President's famous atoms-for-peace plan. It is one of the most promising of all suggestions for helping to resolve East-West tensions and to assure cooperation within the free world as well.

I should have liked to refer to the vital mission of our United States Information Agency which is doing such a fine job in our battle for the minds of men throughout the world—a peaceful battle using instruments of radio, press, motion pictures, and, yes, television.

In that latter connection, may I point out that in the last Congress; steps were taken toward the setting up of an International Telecommunications Commission, one of whose phases would be the development of international television. Action, unfortunately, was not completed by the Congress, although important spadework has been performed by an intra-Cabinet committee. I am hoping that the 84th Congress will flash the green light for international TV through the proposed Commission.

The use of the miracle medium of television throughout the world offers dramatic possibilities, particularly for dispelling lies and misunderstanding, generated by the Soviet Union against the free world.

DANGER SPOTS ON WORLD SCENE

And, too, if time permitted, I would have liked to take a detailed look at some of the specific danger spots in the world, particularly some of the scenes where force of arms is still the order of the day: Like the guerrilla war in Malaya; the border strife in the Holy Land; Mau Mau terrorism in Kenya; the fighting in Costa Rica; the air and sea strikes to and from Formosa and the Chinese mainland.

I would have liked us to consider problems which do not now involve clash of arms, but which represent sources of deep concern to us like the problems in southern Vietnam and elsewhere in southeast Asia; problems along the uneasy border of our devoted ally, the Republic of Korea.

But time does not permit us to look in detail at each of these specific phases, and so I should like to turn to some of the more general principles which do apply throughout the world. They are principles which will serve as guides to us in weighing the future foreign policy of our country.

SEVEN BUILDING BLOCKS FOR PEACE

I should like to refer to 7 keystones—7 building blocks for an effective foreign policy: They are, as I see them: (1) Nonpartisanship, (2) vision, (3) good will, (4) patience, (5) restraint, (6) partnership, and (7) spirituality.

NONPARTISANSHIP ESSENTIAL IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The first keystone is nonpartisanship.

Without this keystone, we cannot possibly speak with one clear, eloquent, firm voice to the world.

But fortunately, we are going to continue to do so.

And so, I want to pay tribute now to the responsible leaders of both our major political parties who will help assure continuing nonpartisanship, notwithstanding the overall political division between the executive and legislative branches.

The relatively smooth transition of legislative control is, in my judgment a remarkable commentary on the vitality and worth of our two-party system.

Here too, in Harrisburg, next Tuesday you will be inaugurating a new Democratic Governor. Your new legislature will in turn be divided—with each of the parties in control of one Chamber.

You look forward however to responsible two-party government, I am sure.

In Washington, we have already had our legislative transition. Just 3 days ago, at its first meeting the Senate Foreign Relations Committee formally changed hands, as have all the other committees on Capitol Hill.

The particular smoothness with which this transition was made in our own committee was, I believe, an inspiring demonstration of responsible party and individual leadership.

In this crucial field of foreign affairs there is (on both sides of Capitol Hill) going to be basic continuity, I am happy to say. There may, to be sure, be some changes, as the new majority exercises its prerogative of review. But in the broad outline of past and current foreign policy, in the basic attitude of full and wholehearted cooperation with the executive branch, I am delighted that there is going to be sincere and cordial continuity. There is continuity in staff. There is continuity in teamwork.

At our committee helm, a Republican Senator from the Midwest has been replaced by a Democratic Senator from the southland, the esteemed Senator WALTER F. GEORGE, of Georgia. Your speaker tonight was and is succeeded by this distinguished American, who has served in the Senate—as one of its most universally respected statesmen—who has done so longer than any other present man of that great body and who is now honored by serving as its President pro tempore.

I, in turn, who have been pleased to serve longer than any other current Republican but one—Senator BRIDGES—am honored to serve with Senator GEORGE and with a group of fine men which includes—as a neophyte, as a freshman for this Congress—the beloved Veep, our former Vice President ALBEN BARKLEY.

From men such as these and from our other associates, you can anticipate—with pleasure—the most responsible form of nonpartisan cooperation in foreign affairs.

VISION NEEDED TO BUILD THE PEACE

We turn to the second keystone.

In the Book of Proverbs, we read that "without vision a people perish."

Never has that been truer than in the dangerous world of the atomic-jet age. Without vision, as to the defense needs of our Nation, the economic-political, spiritual needs, this Nation could not survive.

Without such vision, indeed, this Nation could never have been born. But, 170 years ago the Founding Fathers had a vision—of a constitutional Republic, a Nation of checks

and balances, of separation of powers. And they had the courage and perseverance to bring that vision into being.

In our own time, far-sighted men had the vision of establishing a United Nations. It was to be an organization which would achieve goals which neither the League of Nations nor any previous similar effort in history had ever attained: the goal of a world of lasting law and order, of enduring peace and justice. And great progress has been made in this noble United Nations organization.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF VISION: UNICEF

And men had other visions as well. They had the vision of a United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund which would tend the innocent little victims of war and of poverty and disease.

UNICEF, founded in 1946, now operates in 80 countries. Its services are estimated to have reached 25 million children in 1954.

UNICEF surveys indicate that 600 million children, two-thirds of all those living, are without adequate food, clothing, shelter, sanitation, or minimum medical protection.

Millions of them will die in childhood or live warped lives for want of ordinary care. And to help meet this need, UNICEF (which is not a hand-out organization) draws contributions from nearly 100 countries and territories. It does so on a matching basis with the governments of the benefiting countries. Thus, it has provided vaccine for the inoculation of 30 million children; penicillin to cure 3 million children of yaws. It has protected more than 13 million against malaria. This work, it seems to me, is one of the most impressive illustrations of international humanitarian effort. Incidentally, it is backed unanimously by every member of the U. N.

In the not too distant future, a UNICEF movie made by the world-famous comedian, Danny Kaye, with the splendid cooperation of Paramount Pictures, will be released. It will afford another opportunity for men of good will everywhere to become better acquainted with this fine organization—this organization founded and administered by men and women of vision.

It was such men who are responsible, too, for the World Health Organization, which has done such outstanding work toward banishing epidemics and disease; the Food and Agricultural Organization, which has helped uplift farm production; the World Bank, which has helped assure credit for sound new enterprises.

And other men have had the vision to bring into being other vital parts of our system of collective security and international justice.

I refer, for example, to the Office for European Economic Cooperation and its 18 member nations—the Council of Europe, the pioneering Coal and Steel Community.

I refer to the builders of our worldwide system of defensive alliances—bilateral and multilateral—which have done so much to help achieve equilibrium in this troubled world.

Without this type of vision, our chances for peace would perish.

GOOD-WILL EMISSARIES NEEDED

I turn now to the third keystone—good will.

Here we need men and women who will build friendship, who will build warm understanding, who will combat the termites of racialism, chauvinism, provincialism.

We need men and women who will unite free men, irrespective of barriers of race and religion and nationality.

Fortunately, we have witnessed many fine examples of messengers of good will.

I am thinking now, for example, of the outstanding good-will trip which was made by the very competent brother of the Chief Executive of our country, Dr. Milton Eisenhower. It was a trip which inspired the people of Latin America. That trip was later successfully followed up by the work of Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, Henry Holland, and by the efforts of Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey and Under Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, and others at the Inter-American Conference at Patropolis.

I am thinking, too, of the able work performed particularly in the Far East by the Vice President of the United States when he and his charming wife visited 19 countries and 2 Crown colonies in one of the most successful and fruitful such visits ever made by a high-ranking officer of our Nation.

I am confident that DICK NIXON'S forthcoming trip to Central America, beginning on February 6, will be similarly productive of good will.

But harmony and good will are spread by private citizens as well. Hundreds of thousands of American tourists and servicemen traveling or living abroad, embodying courtesy, tact, and fellowship toward foreign peoples, contribute to this process.

Every American, too, who sends a CARE package to relieve foreign need, every American who writes a constructive letter to a friend or relative or business acquaintance beyond the seas, every American who attends a constructive international conference, such as the recent meeting in Vienna of the World Veterans Federation, or such as international church gatherings, fraternal, scientific, or other groups, dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom, can also serve to engender good will.

Likewise, I refer to every artist who serves to cement relations between our two peoples. I am thinking now, for example, of the spectacular success of the traveling troupe which has been presenting the folk opera, Porgy and Bess. This outstanding group of Negro artists has probably done more to dispel falsehoods about racial relations in the United States than an almost infinite amount of words on the part of diplomats.

I am thinking, too, of the great job which has been done by individual artists like the great Marian Anderson—in helping to establish a framework of good will for us throughout the world.

WE NEED PATIENCE, NOT ARBITRARY ACTION, TO RELEASE AIRMEN

The fourth building block is patience. This is one of the most difficult of all to achieve. It is often hard to be patient before injustice, before resisting international crime.

Such a crime has been committed in the imprisonment of 11 American airmen. There is no patriotic American who does not feel a burning moral indignation against this outrage.

And, yet, if we are to be true to the needs of these airmen; if we are to be true to the needs of our Nation and of the world, we must continue to explore every reasonable diplomatic channel through the United Nations for the orderly release of these men.

Naturally, we all regret that immediate release was not effected through the recent trip by the U. N. Secretary General. But the fact that it was not an immediate and complete success does not for one moment detract from the fact that it did effect progress toward our objective.

In any event, we must not rush into hasty ill-considered, impulsive action. I, for one, definitely and absolutely oppose at this time any arbitrary steps involving the use of force—such as a military blockade—to effect the release of these men. I particularly oppose any unilateral forceful action on our part at this time. Talks with Peking are going to consume more time. But remember that the problem of these imprisoned airmen is related to the problem of other Americans—civilian and uniformed—whom we have very strong reason to believe are still unjustly imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain.

I say, there is too much of a tendency for some of us to become so aroused by a single incident that we forget the overall picture, that we forget that hasty ill-considered action could start a chain reaction leading to diplomatic-military complications of the direst sort.

Nothing that is very good in this world is accomplished overnight.

Rome was not built in a day, nor was this American Republic.

The United Nations is today less than 10 years old. It has been learning, evolving, experimenting the hard way as has every similar institution.

Look back to our own history and consider the difficult conditions which prevailed in this land when we, as a nation, were but 10 years old. Remember that more than a half-century after we were established as a nation, not only had we not succeeded in solving our problems, but we were engaged in a long and bloody War Between the States.

Why, then, should we be so impatient when we are dealing not only with the Reds but with other men who do not speak the same language nor share the same geographic area as ourselves, diverse men and 60 diverse nations throughout the world—nations which are at different strata of development, nations which have different cultural, historical, religious, and political outlooks?

Let us indeed, as President Eisenhower has so eloquently suggested, have the courage of patience.

THE COROLLARY OF RESTRAINT

Hand in hand with the building block of patience is the building block of restraint. We are the world's greatest power, but if we are to be the world's wisest power, we must play our role with restraint. The world will all the more respect us if we use our position with discretion and judgment.

Perhaps the best recent illustration of intelligent restraint came during the recent dangerous days when our ally France was debating the Western European Union in her National Assembly. That occasion afforded a remarkable illustration of United States self-restraint and Communist wildness.

On the one hand, our United States officials scrupulously refrained from either any word or deed which might in any way have been misconstrued as affecting the right of the French nation to decide its own course. On the other hand, the Kremlin ordered all sorts of threats, demonstrations, all sorts of propaganda, to try to stampede the French National Assembly into rejection of the pacts. But the Kremlin's efforts backfired, and France rose to the occasion and the Assembly ratified the WEU.

There will be other occasions when we must be similarly patient, similarly self-restrained.

One such occasion remains, of course, right now in connection with the problem of our imprisoned airmen.

The situation remains delicate. We will not be contributing to its solution if we fail to keep check on our emotions.

That does not imply weakness on our part. Actually, restraint is an act of strength. It does not mean timidity; restraint is an act of courage.

It does not mean softness toward communism. Anybody can easily hurl well-deserved epithets and denunciations at the Reds—in Peking and Moscow. But it takes a man of character and judgment to work quietly for his objective, against the Reds, but through the appropriate means at the appropriate time.

WE WILL NOT APPEASE RED CHINA

Let there be no mistake.

We are not going to appease Red China or the U. S. S. R. We are not going to sur-

render to blackmail. We are not going to allow Red China to shoot her way or blackmail her way into the United Nations. We are not going to appease.

You may recall that when Neville Chamberlain flew to Germany in September 1938, that great prophet, Winston Churchill, remarked, "England has been offered a choice between war and shame. She has chosen shame, and she will get war."

We will never choose the course of shame. But neither will we choose a course of war if war can possibly be avoided, as we know it can.

Peace is our goal. Peace is our nature. Peace we will attain—with strength, with preparedness, but with restraint.

We approach now the two final keystones, as I see them, in the arch of peace.

TRUE PARTNERSHIP WITH EQUALS

The sixth keystone is genuine partnership.

We Americans must make up our minds that we are in this international picture as partners and, contrary to a few persons' ideas, not as commanders. As a matter of fact, we have never as a nation sought to order any nation around. We have sought to lead by inspiration, by the soundness of our position, by our willingness to sacrifice and respectfully to ask others to do likewise.

We are not going to arrogate unto ourselves all wisdom.

We are not going to try Atlaslike to hold up all the rest of the world. Every other free nation and group of nations must and will do its part.

One of the soundest features of the activity of our Secretary of State has been his clear recognition of the great contributions which foreign statesmen like Premier Mohammed Ali, of Pakistan, or President Magsaysay, of the Philippines, can make, have made, and will continue to make toward world peace and justice; the contributions which the statesmen of Europe similarly make.

At times, they will differ with us. But, as good partners, we will work with them and we will present the facts to them as we see them.

We will never try to order or boss them or anyone else around. It would not work, even if some people were so rash or blind as to recommend it to us. Some few Americans do unfortunately continue to seem to think we ought to adopt an "ordering" approach. But, they are wrong, they are in a very small minority; and they are completely unrepresentative of the sound thinking of the United States Government and of the American people as a whole.

I point out that the great neutral, uncommitted area of the world is especially not going to take orders from anyone. It is coming into its own. It is feeling its new strength. It has a right to have its position understood and to be given consideration. That we will do, and we in turn will ask that it join in its own enlightened self-interest in our partnership, in our team as sovereign equals.

SPIRITUALITY: THE GREATEST SOURCE OF POWER

And lastly, my friends, is the keystone of our spiritual strength. I need not elaborate on the fact that our greatest power is spiritual power—the rightness of our cause under God.

This power should never be underestimated, for it is the strongest power in the world.

CONCLUSION

It has been a pleasure to be with you this evening.

In this list of 7 keystones, I have not, of course, attempted to cover all of the necessary ingredients for a world of peace and justice and prosperity.

But I think that if we can develop these particular keystones, just as you have built this center, then our children and our children's children will say after us that "they did well of their responsibilities in their time."

SENATOR WILEY URGES SUPPORT OF EISENHOWER POSITION

(Statement by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, ranking Republican, Senate Foreign Relations Committee)

I want to emphasize that I remain 100 percent in favor of the patient position recommended by President Eisenhower and by Secretary of State Dulles who rightly oppose any rash unilateral action at this time to free our United States airmen.

I am convinced that the American people as a whole support the President's commonsense, restrained judgment and oppose any impulsive action such as a unilateral military blockade.

The chances are that for us to try to impose such a blockade at this time all by ourselves might (a) result in the immediate death of the airmen themselves; (b) cause neutral countries to unite against us and against the blockade; (c) cause a wide open split among our allies; (d) overcommit our available naval resources; (e) worst of all, possibly precipitate us into a war with Red China, which is probably just what the Kremlin desires.

Instead we must continue to explore every diplomatic channel available through the United Nations for the peaceful release of these men.

We must not allow our emotions to run away with us in our well-justified concern for our airmen. We must not let the Reds provoke us into an action which we might have deep cause to regret because of its possible backfiring against us.

Address Delivered by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, at the New York Democratic State Committee Victory Dinner

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address which I made at the victory dinner of the New York State Democratic Committee, at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City, last Friday evening, January 14.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

After 12 long years, we have again known victory in New York State. And all present evidence indicates that New Yorkers are pleased with what they did on November 2, and approve of the manner in which the men and women elected and selected for high office have gone about meeting the problems with which New York is faced.

We meet tonight to do honor to the men and women who led us to victory: the candidates and the hundreds and thousands of others at the county, district, and precinct levels—those who are here tonight and those who are not. We salute them all—the leaders and the foot soldiers of the Democratic Party. And let us not forget our friends of the Liberal Party, too, and those independents who belong to no political party, but to the party of good government.

As most of you know, it was my privilege to play an active part in the recent campaign. I had my heart as much set on victory last fall as in any other campaign in which I have taken part, either as a candidate or as an advocate. And I have participated in almost all of them, over the past 30 years. I am proud and glad for any contribution I was able to make to the election of Adrian Burke, Arthur Leavitt, George DeLuca, and Averell Harriman.

I am happy to know that the chair I had the great honor of occupying during 4 terms as Governor of this State is now filled by that distinguished American, that fine Democrats, whom I have long known as an old friend and outstanding public figure, Averell Harriman.

I am confident that he will add luster to the high traditions of the Democratic Governors of New York.

But as we rejoice in our success of last November and at the fact that our party now controls the State administration, let us pause and reflect on some of the implications of the event of 2 months ago.

Political victory is not an end in itself, although sometimes it has a regrettable tendency to become so. At the terminus of political victory is the beginning of responsibility. The test of victory is how we utilize it. It is one thing to command success. It is another to deserve it.

The people, the voters of New York, will sit in final judgment on the manner in which the responsibility now given our party is discharged. From here on our accounting is not within the party, but with the people.

We must account for the manner in which campaign pledges are discharged. We must account for the manner in which day-to-day actions are taken, and day-to-day decisions are made.

We must prove to the people that the pledges made during the campaign, and the platform agreed upon by the party and subscribed to by our candidates were seriously meant and will be redeemed.

If our leaders and officeholders will be guided by these rules of conduct, and I am sure they will be, our party, which is on trial before the people, will be judged worthy of responsibility and deserving of victory, both in the past and in the future.

The challenge we face as a party in New York State has a striking similarity with, and relationship to, the challenge we have taken up as a party in the Nation.

In Washington, we have assumed not executive but legislative responsibility.

But the basic requirement is the same, to discharge that responsibility in a manner which the people will judge worthy of the trust placed in us last November.

In Washington and in the Nation, as in New York State, too, there is within our ranks a strong sense of party unity. And a basic party unity is, of course, greatly to be desired in preparation for the great victory that beckons us in 1956, for in that year win we must and win we shall.

In November 1956 we are going to put an end to the giveaway regime, to the regime of bluster and blunder, of compromise and surrender, of privileges for the few and sacrifices for the many.

We are fortunately rich in leaders who can take us to victory in 1956, although my own preference has been and remains that great and eloquent apostle and leader of liberal democracy, Adlai Stevenson.

Yes, we will have party unity in 1956, and we will win in 1956. But our party unity must be based on principle. Let us beware of making party unity an end in itself, or of decreeing and enforcing it at the expense of basic principle.

The Democratic Party nationwide, as in New York State, is strong enough, and broad enough, to give shelter to differing views and to tolerate minority opinions, from both the right and the left, on even the most critical subjects. From the pull and haul of honest differences within a party comes political scope, development and vitality.

Let us not make a false or fatal confusion between party unity and party responsibility. A political party has an inescapable responsibility to facilitate, by every appropriate means, the practical fulfillment by party officeholders of the pledges and undertakings made by the party and its candidates at election time. A party has the duty to urge and induce its officeholders to abide by party principles and platform commitments and to justify to the public those departures which are made by reason of clearly demonstrated need.

But there is no warrant to throttle or stifle minority views, based on principle, within the party, or to discourage access to the free market place of ideas for the airing of party differences. Differences on public issues within the party can and should be met forthrightly and with forbearance. The final arbiter in such matters will be the people.

I recognize the necessity of being politically practical and realistic. It is important to get things done as well as to talk about getting them done. The encouragement of party unity as a means of making real progress in legislation and administration is clearly desirable. And often, it is better to take one step at a time, rather than none at all, and to walk slowly, when running proves impossible.

But let us never sacrifice, or try to justify the sacrifice, of essential principle on the altar of political expediency, and surely not when the object of the sacrifies is the false god of rigid party unity.

At the end of that road lies corruption of political integrity, and, instead of victory, only disaster and political repudiation.

Let me make clear that I am not attacking a present situation; I am only warning against a danger, a tendency which shows itself today as no more than a cloud the size of a man's hand on the horizon of our recent victory in the congressional elections.

The Democratic Party is the liberal party of the Nation. That is its tradition and its justification for being. The Democratic Party has been victorious in New York State and in the Nation only when it has stood by its traditions, and with outstanding candidates, has offered a clear program of liberalism to the people.

With specific reference to the Democratic Party of New York State, its role in the Nation is clear and unmistakable.

Its function is to cast its full weight—the weight of the 15 million people of this State—on the side of liberalism and progress within the Democratic Party.

Its role is to fight for liberal principles and liberal candidates for submission to the Nation as a whole.

I am confident that the Democratic Party of New York will continue to fulfill this function in the months and years ahead.

We must continue to battle ceaselessly for the principles of humanitarianism, for equal civil and political rights for all, for the development and conservation of our natural resources in the interests of the consumers and of all the people, for special consideration of the needs of the underprivileged, and for the advancement of the economic interests of the consumer, the worker, the farmer, and the small businessman. We must fight unyieldingly for freedom, and the practices of liberty.

These must be our banners, in domestic affairs, and we must irresistably uphold and advance them.

Surely we will go forward, under these banners, to victory in 1956, and to another and even greater victory, in New York State, in 1958. Just as surely we will fail if we compromise these principles or surrender them, in the name of political expediency.

We have had a fine victory in the State and in the Nation. Now we must redouble our efforts and develop to the utmost our resources of imagination, of courage, and of leadership. With God's help we will succeed in our purposes, to the greater credit of the Democratic Party, to the greater welfare of our people, and to the greater glory of America.

The President's Budget Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief statement prepared by me regarding the President's budget message with reference to natural resources.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR NEUBERGER

This is a budget which spells economic hardship and adversity for the Pacific Northwest.

Despite the urgent need for deepening the Columbia River bar to a depth of at least 48 feet, no funds are included for initiating this urgent project. The commerce and trade of Portland, Oregon's major port, are being choked by the shallow and dangerous shoals at the mouth of the Columbia.

The pledge of Federal assistance for new hydroelectric development is tied specifically to the discredited "partnership" scheme, under which private power companies would monopolize the bulk of revenues at the dams. This is a shotgun promise, telling the people of the region they must accept "partnership" or reconcile themselves to virtually no new projects at all.

In spite of the extravagant campaign promises made to the voters of southern Oregon by nearly every Republican candidate in the election of 1954, the Talent irrigation and power project in Jackson County receives not one cent in construction funds. Both Senator MORSE and I urged Secretary McKay to honor his party's campaign promises to southern Oregon, but our plea has gone ignored.

The Bonneville Power Administration, which has been the lifeline of Northwest hydroelectric production, is to receive in the coming fiscal year only 66 percent of last year's budget. This symbolizes the gradual decline of Bonneville under the present administration, which hopes to see the great Federal agency superseded by private power companies.

Furthermore, the $500,000 for advance engineering, which may go to John Day, does not even represent a full year's work under a normal program. I regret that the Governor of Oregon, who made many references to Congress in his inaugural message, never once recognized the fact that the budget is prepared wholly by the administration. Why was not the Oregon Legislature asked to urge upon the administration a budget which would do justice to Oregon?

It is alarming that the total sum to be spent on natural resources, which are the lifeblood of the Nation, is the lowest since 1950, amounting to $953 million, as contrasted with $1,358,000,000 in the 1953 fiscal year, for example.

Senator MORSE and I will try to add to this budget some funds for such urgent Oregon undertakings as Columbia River deepening, the Talent project, an accelerated John Day Dam, and authorization and eventually construction of Hells Canyon.

The total disregard of the desperate need to deepen the Columbia bar to 48 feet is an indication of the budget's inadequacy. For at least another year—unless we can amend this budget as it goes through Congress—Portland and Astoria will suffer in their competition with Puget Sound and California seaports.

Taxes on Cigarettes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the January 1955 issue of the Southern Planter entitled "Uncle Sam Takes 'King Size' Cut in Cigarettes."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNCLE SAM TAKES "KING SIZE" CUT IN CIGARETTES

Someone has said that the Lord made the year too short for the tobacco grower. About 14 months are required to grow, cure, and market a crop of tobacco. Starting in October and continuing into November and December, growers begin clearing plant bed sites; treating soil to kill weed seeds, insects, and disease. In late January and February, plant beds are fertilized and seeded. Then comes the tedious task of bed covering, weeding, and pest control. Plant beds in March and April are often sprayed or dusted 2 or 3 times a week to control blue mold, wild fire, and insect pests. Weeding is a time-consuming, back-breaking job. Watering is a regular chore. Plant pulling and transplanting time follows when the whole family must chip in to finish the job while soil moisture is available.

Meanwhile, the land has been prepared, the rows layed off on the contour to prevent washing, and plenty of plant food applied. In May, June, and July come hoeing, cultivating, side-dressing, worm control, suckering, topping and, finally, priming—all hand labor, requiring special skills that come only through experience. With all this work, the grower must worry over drought, floods, pestilence, and price.

The curing period in mid-summer is a day-and-night assignment—the hardest, hottest, and most highly skilled hand labor in southern agriculture. After curing, the leaf has to be packed, graded, and hauled to market. Before all this work is finally finished, it's Christmas and the New Year. Fourteen months of time, talent, and cash have gone into producing cigarette-type tobacco.

Yet, when the cigarettes appear on the market the farmer gets only 3.1 cents out of an overall average price of 22.7 cents per pack. The manufacturer who has aged the leaf for a couple of years; cut blended and rolled it into cigarettes and merchandised them to the American people gets 5 cents. The wholesaler receives 1.3 cents and the retailer who sells the cigarettes across the

counter gets 2.5 cents. State and local taxes take 2.8 cents. Then Uncle Sam steps in and takes a king size cut of 8 cents a pack.

Cigarette tobacco today is bearing a $2 billion Government tax burden. In some States cigarettes are now selling for 28 cents a pack. Chief Justice John Marshall said, "The power to tax, involves the power to destroy." With cigarettes being taxed 8 cents a pack by the Federal Government, and 41 States, the District of Columbia, and 300 municipalities now adding another 1 to 8 cents a pack, the unlimited power of Government at all levels to tax tobacco can eventually destroy this great southern crop. Cigarette consumption is already falling and foreign markets for leaf are faltering. Some relief at this Congress is imperative!

Tobacco farmers should concern themselves with this problem. They should demand some Federal cigarette tax relief at this session of Congress and halt immediately any efforts to tax cigarettes further at the State and local level.

City, State, and Federal taxes take 10.8 cents out of the average price of a pack of cigarettes. The farmer gets 3.1 cents.. For every dollar the farmer gets from cigarette tobacco, taxes get $3.48.

The Army's Handling of the Peress Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, on January 10 there appeared in the Washington Star an editorial entitled "A Sorry Performance." I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A SORRY PERFORMANCE

If it does nothing else, the Army's 10,000-word report of its handling of the Peress case reveals a classic example of not letting the right hand know what the left hand is doing.

Assuming that this report tells the whole story, there was nothing sinister in the promotion of Peress from captain to major. It was just that 1 branch of the Army concerned itself only with his professional qualifications, while another branch was spending some 14 months investigating evidence which made it immediately apparent that he was not fit to be an officer of any rank.

It may also be said that this report does two other things. One is to put Gen. Ralph Zwicker, target of Senator MCCARTHY's abuse, completely in the clear. It was no fault of General Zwicker's that Peress hung on as long as he did. The other is to introduce a certain element of extenuating circumstance into Senator MCCARTHY's attitude in this matter.

This chronological account discloses that the decision to speed the Peress departure from the Army via the honorable discharge route was made by Army Counsel John Adams and Lt. Gen. W. L. Weible after the McCarthy committee had started its investigation and in the face of a written demand from the Senator that Peress be retained in the service for court-martial. Perhaps the decision to let him out with an honorable discharge can be defended. But Senator MCCARTHY can hardly be blamed if he thought that the controlling motive was to get Peress out of uniform before he could look more closely at the handling of the case.

Statement by Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

This is in connection with the heading of an article which appeared in the Washington Daily News of Friday, January 14, 1955, entitled "How Admiral Strauss Doctored History."

This headline was withdrawn from later editions.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., January 17, 1955.

Hon. HARRY FLOOD BYRD,
The United States Senate,
Congress of the United States.

DEAR SENATOR BYRD: Following our telephone conversation on Friday, January 14, concerning the speech by Senator GORE, I promised to send you a factual account of the incident to which he referred.

The Washington Daily News on Friday published an article which was advertised by a front page headline in its early issue "How Admiral Strauss Doctored History." This article, in disregard of the facts, alleged that I caused the transcript of a news conference which I held on December 17 to be falsified for some improper reason. I am informed the headline was withdrawn in later editions.

The news conference was called for the purpose of explaining, in an orderly, detailed, comprehensive manner, the origin and provisions of the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. contract in order to put into proper perspective the misunderstandings which have been current concerning it. Each reporter who entered the conference room was given a formal, written statement of 36 pages, bearing my name; also reproductions of the charts, graphs, and tabulations dealing with the subject which were exhibited during the conference.

In my formal statement, pages 10 and 11, I discussed the manner in which the site at West Memphis, Ark., was selected and stated:

"The Corps of Engineers has reviewed the plot plan showing the proposed construction and made certain suggestions, all of which we are assured will be complied with in the final plans and specifications. They also have stated that the proposed construction appears to be acceptable to the Mississippi River Commission from the standpoint of navigation and flood control. The site also has been investigated by AEC engineers, has been discussed by them with representatives of the Corps of Engineers' office, Memphis district. They concluded, after reviewing all available data, that the site selected by MVGC is adequately protected from Mississippi River floods by the Corps of Engineers project levee."

The precise and factual account of the role of the Corps of Engineers was given to the reporters not only in my formal statement but also in two of the supplemental documents which accompanied the statement: (1) a reproduction of a drawing of the site which carried an inserted legend of explanation, and (2) a statement as to the manner in which the site was selected, including discussions which were held among AEC engineers, engineers of the sponsoring companies, and the Corps of Engineers.

After the 56 reporters attending the conference had received my formal statement, I turned to a large reproduction of the site drawing which had been affixed to the wall and mentioned again how the site had been chosen but this was only a passing reference, ad lib, since the subject had been covered thoroughly in the formal statement.

The ad lib quotation was as follows:

"The Corps of Engineers and the engineers retained by sponsoring companies have examined some 16 sites on the river and have selected this as the preferable one. This elevation here shows the maximum flood record in the river, the 1937 flood. I understand that records have been made since 1880 or thereabouts, some 74 years of record, and the plant has been located at what the Corps of Engineers feel is a safe place."

In this quotation, an obvious slip of the tongue was recognized as such by all except one or two of the fifty-six reporters present since in reporting the news conference they naturally relied on the prepared statement.

I left town following the news conference but in my absence the Public Information Division of the Commission corrected the stenographic transcript for grammatical errors, et cetera, and in the course of this process the transcript was conformed to the text of the formal statement. This was done in order to eliminate anything that might appear to be a contradiction. Any person speaking ad libitum, whether he be a Member of Congress, a witness before a committee, or a person conducting a news conference, is entitled to the assurance that the intent of his statements will be clearly reflected in a simultaneously presented written record.

These facts as I have stated them were ignored in the newspaper article and which purported to show that I had "doctored history," presumably for some insidious reasons. There was no word in the article about my formal 36-page statement, which is factually accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

I may be unduly sensitive but it seems to me that this whole incident has very little to do with the merits of the controversy over the contract.

Faithfully yours,

LEWIS L. STRAUSS.

Military Reappraisal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Military Reappraisal," written

by Joseph C. Harsch and published in the January 14, 1955, Christian Science Monitor.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF THE NATION

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

MILITARY REAPPRAISAL

WASHINGTON.—At first glance the remarks President Eisenhower made at his news conference this week on the subject of arms and war seemed to confuse more than to clarify the question.

He did not disclose decisions which would logically explain the sudden December cut in the Army budget. He did not make clear whether the United States is committed to the use of atomic weapons, or under what conditions, if any, they would be used. He upset a current tendency of soldiers to draw a distinction between tactical and strategic weapons and tactical and strategic use of weapons.

But there is, I suspect, an implicit disclosure of first importance in the very cloudiness and indefiniteness of what the President had to say. It lies, I think, in the fact that western soldiers, Viscount Montgomery of Alamein prominent among them, have increasingly been asserting that atomic weapons would be used in any future wars.

The pattern of such remarks during recent months indicates that western military thinking has been moving steadily for some time toward what might be called the point of no return on use of atomic weapons.

In the background of this military inclination is the fact that when the Eisenhower administration first undertook its New Look at the United States Military Establishment, the advocates of budget economy argued that the United States could not afford to maintain two armed forces, one geared to conventional warfare and the other geared to atomic warfare. In effect, the Pentagon was told by the Treasury Department way back in the early Eisenhower days to make up its mind which kind of war it would fight and to prepare exclusively for that kind of war.

Certainly the end result of a Treasury ultimatum to build one kind of an Armed Force or the other, but not both, was to push military thinking deeper and deeper into such dispositions and deployments as would take the United States in the end past the point of no return.

What President Eisenhower has in mind is certainly not entirely clear in any respect except that it does indicate a tendency on his own part to pull back from the point of no return. He has, it seems to me, gone through an agonizing reappraisal far more agonizing than any Mr. Dulles ever had to endure over France. He has taken military knowledge of his own, gained out of his own massive experience in warfare, applied this knowledge to the trend of military thinking, and come up with doubts and uncertainties.

For example, he knows from experience that there is no clear line between tactics and strategy. It follows from this that current military thinking is on dangerous ground when it contemplates using tactical atomic weapons on the theory that such use will not necessarily lead to strategic use of such weapons.

For another example, he knows that every military situation is unusual and different. Therefore he declines to commit himself to any general decision about how he would meet a specific situation.

Also, he has come to realize that political factors are as important in war as military factors. This implies that a military decision to use atomic weapons might well be vetoed at the last moment by overriding political considerations. Perhaps he has in mind here a possibility that the use of atomic weapons against cities would have political consequences which could well cancel out any immediate military gains.

It seems fairly clear that Mr. Eisenhower recognizes the impossibility of assuming the nonuse of atomic weapons. He has specifically given first priority to the twin tasks of building United States atomic striking power and of building a defense against such striking power in the hands of others.

At the same time, he says that in his opinion the use of light, mobile United States forces in local situations would normally not involve use of atomic weapons. And his own previous remarks on the utter horror of atomic war suggest the hope in his own mind that the ability of United States Armed Forces to strike and to defend in the atomic area will have the effect of preventing atomic war.

It would seem that Mr. Eisenhower has reversed the early assumption of his advisers that the United States can choose between atomic and nonatomic armed forces. Instead, he specifies the probability of nonatomic fighting in local situations. Apparently, there will be a nonatomic United States police force.

Apparently also Mr. Eisenhower is pulling back from the point of no return. This, in itself, is very important news for everyone.

Conditions in the Automotive Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, before the Automotive Warehouse Distributors Association, Chicago, Ill., on December 5, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Entering the automotive industry in the spring of 1909 and watching the development of that industry for nearly a half a century, its tremendous expansion in the transportation world, both in civilian and commercial use, it is necessary that all independent factors in that industry stop, look, and listen to where the independent members are headed. Will it be free competition or a controlled economy?

The indication is on the latter—with the reduced number of producers both in the automobile industry and in the rubber tire industry—both depending upon the other for successful operations with both the public and commercial users.

It is necessary for the public first of all to realize what would have happened in the essential automotive transportation field during the critical days of World War II if it was then found that there were few in number in independent ranks who would have served to maintain the necessary essential automotive transportation. If, at that time, there were few in number in the servicing field our Nation would have suffered tremendously.

It is necessary to recall the critical days of the rubber tire situation, and each and every one of us knows that if wheels were to move on the highways they could not have moved unless rubber tires were available.

It is necessary to note that the late William M. Jeffers, former president of the Union Pacific Railroad, then Rubber Administrator, warned the Congress of these United States of the necessity for keeping in existence many thousands of independent factors in the automotive servicing field, and he based his opinion on the fact that this Nation would face a most critical condition if there was ever another world war should we be deprived of the services of many thousands of independent servicing institutions in the automotive field.

It goes without saying that my observations are formed by contacts with a wide acquaintanceship with automobile dealers in many sections of the country. They are under a severe handicap from the control exercised by the car manufacturers as to the way the independent automobile dealer can operate. I saw this coming in the late twenties or early thirties "Do as you are told or there will be another agent." "You will take shipment of cars whether you need them or not, and you will buy your accessories and parts where we tell you, or it will be just too bad." In many instances the dealer was told where he could finance his cars and in some instances how much money he could draw out of his own individual business.

I warned many of my automobile dealer friends to take a position at that time to oppose the monopolistic moves, but unfortunately for their own good, they failed to act—resulting in ever increasing monopolistic control.

After the termination of World War II when automobiles started to become freely produced and the sellers market prevailed, a congressional committee held public hearings due to the complaints of buyers that cars were being loaded with unnecessary accessories, and it appeared in public print that the responsibility for such action was placed upon the automobile dealers throughout the Nation. At that time, in my official position with the National Federation of Independent Business, I saw fit to make our views known, placing the responsibility where it belonged in the first instance—with the dictatorial action of the car manufacturers forcing the dealer to take the equipment as furnished or it would be just too bad.

After the statement appeared in the public press I was commended by a national official of the Automobile Dealers Association for the views expressed, and I asked: "Why didn't your people make a similar public statement?" and he answered: "You know the situation."

Following such action can only lead up to one thing—captive organizations in the automotive industry, and that free enterprise will cease to exist.

It is to be noted as to the increasing monopolistic trend in the invasion of certain car manufacturers into the automotive parts business, that is destroying the business life of automotive jobbers who are a needed factor in the automotive servicing field.

This situation must be most serious—and it is—when in an unexpected communication from a top executive of one of the three major motor car producers early this year he wrote me, and I quote: "One of our competitors, for example, recently announced that it is strengthening its manufacturing and distribution system for parts and accessories. The company that intends to maintain its share of the market must, of course, meet moves of this nature."

In the rubber tire industry the control exercised by the four major factors to control the retail field is resulting in diminishing numbers of independent factors in that industry.

The National Federation of Independent Business, attempting to bring about a con-

dition of "the greatest good for the greatest number" has instituted major moves through new laws in the Congress to arrest the trend of manufacturers operating in the retail field, and if we are successful in our efforts through this legislation which has been pending before the Congress for these past 12 years, such action can result in beneficial effects for the independent members of the automotive trade.

It is the federation again, utilizing the present law, the Robinson-Patman Act, which has affected for the first time in the history of the law a section of the act, quantity discount rule, which would bring for the first time fair competition in the retail field for the rubber-tire industry.

If the automobile dealers are to be relieved of the pressure being placed upon them to take excessive inventories of automobiles, accessories, and parts, the correction must be made at the source, and never can be corrected through new legislation.

This problem facing the automobile dealers of the Nation is nothing new. It has been going on for over 20 years—excessive shipments of automobiles, irrespective of what way the dealer might get rid of them.

The independent members of the automotive industry of this Nation, through their accredited leaders, must take a determined stand on this monopolistic trend, increasing in leaps and bounds in the automotive industry. Lip-service action on their part is not going to help their future if they desire to remain a member of the automotive field. It calls for vigorous action upon their part—calling a spade a spade, and let the chips fall where they may.

If the independent members of the automotive industry, through their leaders, take this positive position it can result in a healthy future for their individual businesses throughout the Nation, through which the public will be the beneficiary, as will the industry itself.

The problem facing your people was presented to the national federation, and we have taken the necessary appropriate action, through Government law, to bring about the needed relief. I will go into that matter in detail extemporaneously. Your problem is a most serious one, and if not corrected through law would work untold injury to Nation's users of automotive transportation.

Shanks Village, Orangeburg, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD correspondence I have received from a representative of some 550 families presently living in Shanks Village, Orangeburg, N. Y. Shanks Village was originally a military post, used as a staging area during World War II. Following World War II, the military barracks were used to house veterans and their families.

The tenants are now under threat of almost immediate eviction. The attached letter from Mr. Paul F. Mundt and the article from the New York Herald Tribune of Monday, January 3, 1955, explain the situation.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ORANGEBURG, N. Y., *December 13, 1954.*

Senator HERBERT H. LEHMAN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LEHMAN: There are now approximately 550 families in Shanks Village. Of these, more than 60 percent work in local industry. The eternal problem these people face is to find decent, permanent housing. According to disinterested and professional observers, there are rarely more than five rental units available in Rockland County at one time. These rentals are usually beyond the reach of the average Shanks Villager. Carrying charges for homes offered in new housing developments are also beyond their reach; cheapest homes in the vicinity sell for $13,500. A fair-sized Negro population is prevented relocation, even in cases of high personal income, because of segregation practices. In a report prepared by Prof. H. Ashley Weeks during December 1953 and January 1954, it was concluded that the closing of Shanks Village would create a housing shortage in Rockland County of between 400 and 600 units. What are Shanks villagers doing about it?

First, they have financed legal action to the tune of $2,500-plus to prevent the sale of Shanks. A case is now pending in Washington, D. C., before the United States court of appeals on the issue whether the Administrator of HHFA is required by statute to extend the life of Shanks Village.

Secondly, and most important, is this second effort: They have formed a corporation known as New Village Cooperative, Inc. After consultation with prominent builders, Louis Pink, of the United Housing Foundation, and established architects, a plan has been proposed to build on part of the Shanks Village site approximately 200 units at an estimated cost of $9,500 per each 2-bedroom unit. The project would be interracial. In the opinion of these architects, etc., a very attractive project could be developed under FHA auspices and under section 213 of the National Housing Act.

While this plan was being organized, the attorney for New Village, Inc., Milton M. Carrow, had two conferences with officials of the Public Housing Administration in Washington. At both, they informed him the Administration was interested and would consider negotiating for a portion of the land when the plan became more concrete. On August 25, 1954, they were asked to open negotiations for the sale of 50 acres at market value. They refused, contending the site could only be sold as a part of the larger entity—Shanks Village.

Obviously, they knew villagers could not do this. In effect, the Administration refused to allow villagers to help themselves. At the same time, they threaten villagers with eviction. In a letter to Senator IVES, Commissioner Slusser of PHA states:

"The tenants of the temporary housing will be given a reasonable length of time to find other accommodations. Your attention is invited to the fact, however, that the tenants have known for at least 20 months that Shanks Village will be sold and the temporary housing subsequently removed."

This letter, written November 23, 1954, contains in this paragraph an inadvertent political admission. The period of at least 20 months corresponds closely with that during which the Republican Party has held power. In light of the refusal to sell villagers land upon which to house themselves, it is also a commentary on the Republican political philosophy. To translate it still another way, the Administrator is saying: "We would rather sell to 1 real-estate speculator (the few) than to the 500-plus families (the many)."

Support from Republicans as well as Democrats has been forthcoming in Rockland County. All favor the New Village Cooperative concept. The Rockland Journal-News has backed it editorially. But the Administration will not budge.

I am looking forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

PAUL F. MUNDT.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 3, 1955]

FOUR THOUSAND SHANKS VILLAGERS UNPREPARED FOR EVICTION

(By Lyn Fernbach)

SHANKS VILLAGE, N. Y., January 2.—A feeling of frustration bordering on disbelief marked the beginning of the new year this week end for 500 veterans and their families who were told by the courts last week that the Government has the right to evict them from their low-rent public housing units.

The 4,000 persons affected are residents of a temporary housing project created for veterans and their families in 1946 from military barracks which, during World War II, served as a huge staging area for American troops on their way to European battle theaters.

CAMP CONVERTED

After the war, Congress appropriated $12 million to convert the 8,000-acre camp site into an emergency housing project for 1,500 veterans and their families. The bill creating this project also provided that it be razed by 1951, but the date was postponed twice. In January 1954, the Public Housnng Authority finally served notice on the residents that they would have to vacate by July 1, 1954.

The veterans promptly formed the Shanks Village Residents Association and sued the Government in United States district court for an injunction against the eviction order on the ground that no equivalent housing was available to them.

When the tenants' request was denied, by the court, they appealed the decision in the court of appeals. This court rejected their plea unanimously on Thursday, leaving them only a faint hope that the United States Supreme Court would accept an appeal of the verdict.

NO DEFINITE DATE

Although no definite date for eviction proceedings against the tenants has been set by the Public Housing Administration, the agency has indicated that it is anxious to close the project, according to Milton M. Carrow, attorney for the Shanks Village Residents Association, and former tenant of the project.

Describing the court of appeals decision as erroneous and arbitrary, Mr. Carrow said yesterday that a request by the SVRA to buy a 50-acre site of the project for relocation of the tenants threatened with eviction had been turned down by the Government. He said the latter wants to sell the 8,000-acre tract only as a unit.

"The whole problem is just how we can make the Government understand that these people don't want a free ride, but just housing," Mr. Carrow said. He added that the tenants' attitude at the court's decision was neither one of anger nor violence but merely one of helplessness.

CAUGHT UNPREPARED

Most of the families still living at Shanks Village are in income groups which prevent them from finding housing within their means near their present jobs in Pearl River, Piermont, and Orangeburg, according to Mr. Carrow. Residents of Shanks Village inter-

viewed yesterday indicated that the court's decision caught them unprepared.

"I can't argue with the decision," Robert M. Levin, 34, a village tenant who earns $75 a week as a draftsman for the Gair Paper Box Co. in Piermont, said. "But I have checked everywhere, and I know that I just can't get a 3-bedroom apartment for less than $115 a month.

Mr. Levin pays $45 a month for his five-room home, including gas and electricity. He also enjoys the advantage of living in the country on a beautiful tract of land in the rolling country of Rockland County. It appears an ideal location for the Levins and their three children.

EARNS $71 WEEKLY

Frank McDonald, 44, a tenant who earns $71 a week as an attendant at Rockland State Hospital in Orangeburg, feels that as a Negro and father of six children he will find it impossible to get suitable housing near his job.

"I'll tell you what the situation is," Mr. McDonald said. "I have no place to go. It's tough for colored people to find housing, and especially if they have six children. I just don't know what to do."

Perhaps the villagers' sentiments were best expressed by a cartoon in the Shanks Villager, a weekly paper published by Shanks residents under the editorship of Mr. Levin. Showing a village family sitting by a Christmas tree, the cartoon's caption read: "Enjoy your Christmas tree this year—next year you may be living in it."

Commendable Reversal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article by Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive officer for the State commissioners and superintendents on school construction, appearing in the New Republic for January 17, 1955, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. Dr. Fuller is one of the Nation's outstanding experts on the need for school construction, in view of his association over many years with educational officials who administer education in all the States and Territories.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMENDABLE REVERSAL

(By Edgar Fuller)

What the public schools need from the Federal Government is substantial financial assistance for school construction, with full fiscal accountability by the States to the Federal Government but with State and local administration of all aspects directly affecting the educational programs of children. Every presumption should be made that the President's message marks a change in the administration's previous opposition to such a program. Better late than never.

The President's message at least makes it clear that there has been a change in the administration's 1953 position that Federal assistance for school construction must wait until after the White House Conference on Education late in 1955. Whether this is significant in terms of increased school facilities without further delay depends on the program the President will send to Congress on February 15.

On this basis there is little reason for optimism. Most of the influences in and around the administration have committed themselves deeply to the 1953 position. The commissions and committees appointed to make recommendations have been loaded with persons already known to be strongly opposed to Federal assistance for school construction, and their membership remains substantially unchanged.

The best evidence that the administration may yet go to almost any length to forestall the financial assistance needed came from the White House itself. The official text of the state of the Union message as released shortly before the message was delivered used the word "catalyst" in referring to the Federal responsibility for assisting school construction. At the last minute the word was changed to "agent." Webster says a "catalyst" accelerates a reaction but is itself recovered practically unchanged. What the Federal Government as an "agent" will do remains to be seen, but if it seeks to be only a "catalyst" it may easily damage rather than assist in the construction of schools.

Well substantiated verbal and printed reports in Washington indicate that the Federal gesture may be only a new Federal agency, set up in corporate form to insure State school construction bonds, encourage establishment of similar authorities in the States, and perhaps grant small doles to a few school districts judged to be most in need. This is essentially the catalyst approach. It lends itself well to public advertising, but it would be fundamentally objectionable to most educators and citizens closely associated with the public schools. It would violate the basic policies of the leading lay and professional organizations on Federal and State administration of public education, which call for Federal administration in the United States Office of Education and State administration in the State education agencies.

Special State school building authorities are unconstitutional in some States. Experience in a few States proves that they must pay much higher interest rates on school bonds than local school districts or the States themselves. Such authorities spend public funds without public responsibility. They complicate the work of superintendents and school boards by usurping such educational decisions as the location, type and character of the facilities for teaching. Even when legally organized, they would be mere subterfuges to avoid tax and debt limits and substitutes for forthright solution of the problem.

Elementary justice demands that the potential change in the administration's program result in substantial Federal funds for school construction. Last year it increased Federal funds for highways from cash grants of $585 million annually to $885 million annually, and on January 27 the President will urge further expansion in a special message to Congress. Federal financing of physical facilities has been greatly increased in many fields at the same time comparable assistance has been denied for schools. These Federal programs require increased matching funds in the States, thus providing powerful incentives to skim off State and local taxes and bonding capacity that would otherwise be available for school construction.

The national school facilities survey shows school building needs far beyond the practical ability of the States and local school districts to supply. There are serious needs in every State. Hearings of the Kearns subcommittee in the House in October 1954, brought testimony from 47 States and all but 1 Territory. The adverse testimony came from the National Association of Manufacturers and the administration.

Judging from the several bipartisan bills to provide Federal funds for school construction introduced during the opening days of the 84th Congress, it is unlikely that Congress will consent to further delays or to mere gestures in this field. Let us hope the President will participate in getting the affirmative action now he has called for, and that the program he sends to Congress on February 15 will be commensurate with the need and suitable for bipartisan enactment.

Fist Fight Led To Censure of South Carolina Members of Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the Charleston News and Courier of January 14, 1955, entitled "Nineteen Hundred and Two Fist Fight Led To Censure of South Carolina Members of Senate." The article was written by James A. Hoyt.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWO FIST FIGHT LED TO CENSURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA MEMBERS OF SENATE

(By James A. Hoyt)

WASHINGTON.—When the Senators from South Carolina, Tillman and McLaurin, engaged in a fist fight on the floor of the Senate they were both, by unanimous vote, declared to be in contempt of the Senate and both were suspended.

Later both were permitted to apologize to the Senate, thus purging themselves of contempt, and both were restored to their rights as Senators.

The incident, in 1902, precipitated an interesting debate, much of which is more or less pertinent to the situation in the Senate in 1954.

The debate, primarily, concerned the power of the Senate which constitutionally may expel a Member, or declare his seat vacant, by a two-thirds vote, to suspend a Senator for a definite period by majority vote, thus depriving a sovereign State of its equal representation in the Senate.

Senator John L. McLaurin, of South Carolina, had cast the decisive vote for the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain, the two-thirds vote being 56 to 27. The vote was in secret session, as the Senate rules then required. (One other Senator, James, of Nevada, was later permitted to record his vote in favor of ratification.)

Preceding the vote on ratification February 6, 1899, McLaurin had made a speech in the Senate opposing ratification. The day before the vote was taken the Aguinaldo insurrection had broken out in the Philippines. McLaurin said the "firing on the flag" presented an excuse for changing his position.

It is a matter of political history that President McKinley and his administration were very anxious to have the treaty of peace ratified, giving the the United States, besides other things, title to the Philippines. Mr. Bryan, the presidential nominee of the Democrats in 1896 and later in 1900, had advocated ratification, although opposing permanent retention of the Philippines. However, the

Democratic leaders in the Senate had strongly opposed ratification, and among them was Tillman, as well as Bacon, of Georgia, Daniel, of Virginia, and Chilton, of Texas. Some of their speeches in opposition proved to be prophetic, in the light of events 40 years later.

ACCOUNT OF VOTING

In its account of the voting on ratification, the Associated Press said:

"The call of the roll proceeded quietly until the name of Senator McLaurin was announced. He created the first stir by a speech in explanation of his vote for the treaty. This was the initial break in the ranks of the opposition. Mr. McLaurin made a brief statement in explanation of his change of position, giving the opening of hostilities in Manila as the reason for it.

"'I am as I have been from the first,' he said, 'irrevocably opposed to the expansion of our territory, and should have voted against ratification but for the news that has come to us over the cable in the past 2 days.'

"He then went on to say that the attack upon our troops had brought about a new condition of affairs, and that he should vote for the treaty."

This statement, said the Associated Press, created excitement, which was increased when McEnery, of Louisiana, said he had decided on the same course. He made no speech.

As a matter of simple historical fact, McLaurin thereafter under the McKinley administration controlled Federal patronage in South Carolina and his friends and adherents were appointed to the best Federal offices, such as Collector of Internal Revenue. McEnery had the same recognition in Louisiana. It was openly stated also that McLaurin was slated for appointment to the circuit bench, but if such appointment had been made confirmation would have been doubtful, perhaps impossible, and it may be also doubted that McLaurin wanted a judicial post.

He was a very ambitious man, and it is much more likely that he visioned a more active political career, in which he would be the evangel of new commercial democracy in South Carolina and the South. There was powerful, if not popular, support for such a movement among southern industrialists of that day, and they undoubtedly encouraged McLaurin in that aspiration. His conflict with Tillman wrecked that incipient movement and wrecked McLaurin's career and ambition as well.

It was undoubtely Tillman who spoke the sentiments of his constituency. Even his hitherto, bitterest critic, the State, approved his position and condemned McLaurin, to whom it had previously been at least friendly.

With Tillman and the State both against him, McLaurin was even then marked for slaughter if he came up for a second term (in 1902), but subsequent events made his candidacy impossible, as we shall see.

Reelected in 1900, Tillman was supreme in South Carolina politics. In the summer of 1901 he and McLaurin met at Gaffney in a joint debate on the issues on which they disagreed; principally McLaurin's commercial democracy. He was in high favor with the McKinley administration, which saw perhaps a chance to break the solid South at last, and South Carolina Democrats had not had any Federal jobs for many years. The Gaffney debate developed into a dispute as to which Senator really represented the sentiments of their constitutents. A challenge was made to submit it to the voters of the State and the challenge was accepted.

Each Senator submitted his resignation to the Governor.

Gov. Miles B. McSweeney, an amiable little gentleman, who had in 1899 as lieutenant governor come into the governorship on the death of Governor Ellerbe and who owed his election as governor the previous year, 1900, to Senator Tillman's support, was McLaurin's personal and political friend.

The Governor sent both resignations back to the Senators. What had promised to be a sensation turned out to be a fiasco. The Senators did not insist.

In 1902 the bill regulating the tariff for the Philippines was up in Congress. It, again, reopened the question of our ultimate policy.

On February 22, 1902, 40 years to the day from the time when President Franklin D. Roosevelt was to order Gen. Douglas MacArthur to leave the Philippines under siege, the bill was up in the Senate and Tillman had the floor.

He went back and reviewed the ratification of the peace treaty, 3 years before. He took up a statement by Senator Spooner as to Mr. Bryan's part in securing that ratification. Tillman agreed that the influence of Bryan was potent but insisted that even Bryan's influence had not been sufficient to induce the Senate to ratify the treaty. After Bryan had done all he could, he said, the Republicans still lacked the necessary votes.

"You know," he shouted in his strident voice, "how those votes were secured."

IMPROPER INFLUENCE

Spooner asked him how were they secured?

Tillman shot back that he had confidential information from the Republican side that improper influences were used.

"Name the man," said Spooner, who always delighted in baiting the Pitchfork Senator.

"I know," asserted Tillman, "that the patronage, the Federal patronage, of a State has been parcelled out to a Senator since the ratification of the treaty.

"What State?" asked Spooner.

"South Carolina," shouted Tillman.

"Then," said Spooner, "I leave you to fight it out with your colleague."

Tillman continued, asserting he knew that his colleague voted for the treaty.

"I know that improper influences were brought to bear," he said, and then concluded his speech.

The junior Senator, who had been absent from the Senate Chamber while the senior Senator was speaking, entered and rose to a question of personal privilege, he said he had been in a committee meeting and had been informed of what his senior colleague had said. He had previously, he said, denied the charge.

"I now say, he continued with distinct emphasis on every word, as the newspaper account of the day related, and half turning to Tillman, who sat now 3 seats away, "I now say that the statement is a wilful, malicious and deliberate lie."

Tillman sprang with tiger-like ferocity at his colleague. Senator Teller, between them, was swept aside, as McLaurin advanced to meet Tillman. Blows were exchanged, McLaurin being struck on the forehead and Tillman on the nose. The two South Carolina Representatives in the Senate of the United States clinced on the floor of that supposedly deliberative body. Senators separated them finally.

SECRET SESSION

The Senate immediately went into secret session, and after discussion, on a rollcall vote both were declared in contempt of the Senate 61 to 0. Later both were permitted to apologize. Tillman said he could not prove his charge, as McKinley was dead.

His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of Emperor Wilhelm II, the Kaiser, visiting the United States, arrived in Washington the next day, to be a guest of the President at the White House. He was accompanied, incidentally, by the Secretary of State for the Imperial Germany Navy, one Adm. Alfred von Tirpitz, whose namesake battleship roamed the seas in World War II.

The day after the fight the Prince and his party visited the Senate Chamber and were received in state but Admiral von Tirpitz could discover no signs of the land battle of the previous day. All was peace in the Senate. But the row was not over.

Col. Theodore Roosevelt, who was no slouch himself at hurling the lie, had become President, following the assassination of President McKinley in 1901. He had issued invitations to a state dinner at the White House in honor of Prince Henry, his royal guest. Senator Tillman, as became his rank in the Senate, was invited, and had accepted. After the fight, President Roosevelt requested Senator Cockrell, of Missouri, to suggest to Tillman that he withdraw his acceptance. Tillman spurned the suggestion. President Roosevelt then withdrew the invitation.

That incident had important repercussions in South Carolina, with tragic consequences which cannot be related within the span of this article. It can only be said that it led to a development which played its part in the playing of N. G. Gonzales, editor of the State, by Lt. Gov. James H. Tillman, nephew of the Senator, in January of the following year.

Increase in Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I have studied with great interest the President's state of the Union message and his subsequent messages, particularly those dealing with the budget, pay increases for Federal employees, postage rate increases, and foreign economic policy. It seems to me that in our efforts to obtain high levels of employment and prosperity through maximum encouragement to our business community, the present administration is very inconsistent. I specifically refer to the proposal to increase rates on business users of the United States mails.

In this connection, my attention was called to an article which appeared in the January 17 issue of Advertising Age under the caption "Mail Users Condemn Postal Rate Hike as Detrimental to Sales Promotion."

This report was submitted to the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, the Secretary of Commerce, through his printing and publishing subdivision, and is supported by economic data obtained from Department of Commerce sources. The report states, in part:

> As the Government has so definitely committed itself to helping people produce goods, so should the Government do everything it can to help in the creation of markets, in the sale and distribution of goods to the consumer.

I believe the time has come for continued study and appraisal of our Nation's postal policies before we rush headlong into a rate increase that will work serious hardship on our economy. I note

that such a study was undertaken in the 83d Congress, and feel the subject should be fully studied and the study completed as a basis for reaffirmation of the Congress' position on postal rate matters.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article published in Advertising Age.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAIL USERS CONDEMN POSTAL RATE HIKE AS DETRIMENTAL TO SALES PROMOTIONS

WASHINGTON, January 12.—Several groups of organized mail users joined today in a memorandum warning the Department of Commerce that proposals for increased postal rates may interfere with the development of sales programs which are needed to assure steady demand for the expanding output of the Nation's factories.

The groups contended that the Government has a big stake in everything that promotes an expanding economy. They pointed out that each 1 percent drop in national income—which might occur if advertising and sales are curtailed—would cut employment by 300,000 to 400,000 and clip $1 billion from the Government's tax revenue. "Conversely," the report said, "a 1-percent increase in market absorption will increase both employment and Federal tax revenues proportionately."

The sponsoring organizations asked the Commerce Department to:

"1. Provide the administration, the Congress, and the public with information showing the importance of advertising to the American economy.

"2. Oppose all legislation the adoption of which might impair legitimate advertising.

"3. Make a continuing survey of advertising in America to determine its effectiveness in fostering an expanding economy.

"4. Be prepared to advise on the following economic matters: (a) The contribution made by business mailers to the American economy through increased sales, the payment of taxes, the employment of individuals, and related economic facts; (b) the impact of postal rate increases on the volume of advertising, sales, profits, taxes, and employment; (c) the repeal of Public Law 199, which governs the size and weight of parcel-post packages, and the return of the fourth-class mail ratemaking power from the ICC to the Congress; (d) extent of the public service contribution made by the postal establishment.

"5. Cooperate with the Post Office Department in (a) the introduction of modern business practices; (b) obtaining the expanded use of postal facilities by business."

The memorandum was forwarded to Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks by Magazine Publishers Association, Direct Mail Advertising Association, Associated Third Class Mail Users, and Parcel Post Association. It reached the Secretary through the printing and publishing subdivision of the Commerce Department's business and defense services administration, which has been engaged in a study of the possible impact of postal rate increases on the printing and publishing industry.

"As the Government has so definitely committed itself to helping people produce goods," the memo says, "so should the Government do everything it can to help in the creation of markets, in the sale and distribution of goods to the consumer."

After pointing out that the printing and publishing industry is small business—with 29,000 of its 30,000 establishments employing less than 100 persons—the memo argues, "Of all the Government agencies none so assists business in the sale of goods as the Post Office Department. The selling messages carried by this agency create widespread demand for goods and services. Moreover, it serves as a major distributing agency to every citizen."

With charts and Government statistics, the memo points out that consumer buying has lagged behind the increase in total disposable income, and that the percentage of advertising volume has declined in relation to the early 1900's.

Warning that "the prosperity of the Nation requires an expanding economy," it declares, "That kind of prosperity is possible only if the demand for goods and services increases. Advertising creates increased demand. The volume of advertising is controlled in large part by postal rates."

Designed to recruit Cabinet-level interest in the business aspects of the postal-rate problem, the memo includes a Price, Waterhouse tabulation which suggests that the actual postal deficit is overstated by including subsidies and public services which should be charged to the general taxpayer. The tabulation was originally prepared for the special Senate Post Office Subcommittee which investigated postal-rate policy early last year.

Other portions of the memorandum discuss the current business problems of printed advertising media. Two charts, from Magazine Publishers Association, show magazine circulation at a peak of more than 160 million and daily and weekly newspaper circulation at 75 million per issue, but profits of 119 business, farm, and general interest magazines—which pay 45 percent of the second-class revenues, consume two-thirds of the paper, and carry over $500 million in advertising—down from an 8.3-percent peak in 1946 to 2.8 percent in 1954.

Another table, based on ANPA data, said that profits are shrinking because publishers have been forced to accept 104.8-percent increases in newsprint prices, and similar increases for labor since 1945. Data obtained from DMAA showed that a half-cent increase in the mail rate for third-class matter would throw many mailers into the red, and sharply reduce the profits of the remaining ones.

The memorandum also argued against any action which would damage parcel-post service, pointing out that parcel post is the only existing nationwide distribution service carrying small parcels anywhere in the country for a reasonable cost. According to the report, 6 out of every 10 parcel-post packages are received or mailed by individuals or ultimate consumers. In 1952, the report said, each farm family received or sent an average of 16 parcel-post packages.

Peress Dispute Still Boiling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, on January 10 there appeared in the Washington Star a most enlightening article by the distinguished columnist, David Lawrence. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star of January 10, 1955]

PERESS DISPUTE STILL BOILING—WRITER CALLS ARMY REFUSAL TO FIRE DENTIST CONTEMPT OF SENATE; VIEWS RELEASE OF WHOLE STORY AS VINDICATION OF MCCARTHY

(By David Lawrence)

"Better late than never" may still be a wise maximum for the guidance of those in Government who try to cover up their mistakes and then find themselves confronted after all with the necessity of making a clean breast of their errors—but in public controversies it is better to come clean at the outset.

Thus the office of the Secretary of the Army in making public a comprehensive report of exactly how the case of Major Peress, alleged Communist who got an honorable discharge, was handled clears up many a mystery and at the same time unwittingly vindicates Senator MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin.

For the Wisconsin Senator had insisted that the information sought by the Senate Subcommittee on Governmental Operations was not classified and did not involve security but concerned the administrative failures of an executive agency which are a proper subject for inquiry by Congress.

It turns out now—as the new report reveals—that the derogatory information about Major Peress was known inside the Pentagon at least a year before the McCarthy committee took up the issue. It develops also that General Zwicker knew all the facts and evidently the Wisconsin Senator knew that he knew them. Hence the refusal of General Zwicker to testify frankly before the Senate subcommittee appears now to have been either because he was ordered to cover up for his superiors or because he was gagged by his superiors who knew that if he told all the facts it would corroborate Senator MCCARTHY's line of inquiry.

If JOE MCCARTHY had not yielded to his exasperation that day to make a denunciatory comment about General Zwicker—or, if he had later withdrawn it but insisted that there was a cover-up for which the general was not to blame—the Wisconsin Senator would have been on sounder ground. For the facts he sought so desperately were bound to justify his side—if he could have been patient.

Likewise if the Department of the Army had told all the facts last January that it now tells the public there would have been no McCarthy-Army row as the headlines called it nor any sensational hearings on the television which cost the Eisenhower administration so many votes in various election contests last autumn.

Senator MCCARTHY's idea all along was that it was better for a Republican Senator to expose weaknesses in a Republican administration than to let the Democrats have a field day—which is what may happen now.

For the Democrats are still resentful that they lost votes in the 1952 election because of the charge that they had been soft on Communists in Government and now the Democrats will point to the handling of the Peress case as an example of how careless, if not soft, the Eisenhower administration has been in handling a Communist issue.

What is most difficult to understand is why somebody in the red tape list of 61 officers in the Army—now disclosed to have had some part in handling the Peress case—didn't raise cain when he saw a notation on the application of Dr. Peress declaring that he refused to answer questions about membership in subversive organizations.

The new Army report shows that on April 28, 1953, Lt. Col. Ronald F. Thomas, chief of the Counterintelligence Division, reported that there was adverse data on Peress and a letter about it was sent to the Surgeon Gen-

eral of the Army and to the Chief of the Intelligence Division of the Army General Staff.

This letter said that there was "sufficient evidence of disloyal and subversive tendencies to warrant removal of Peress from the service." It took several months for that letter to be acted upon and the delay is, of course, indefensible. Even when General Zwicker on October 21, 1953, wrote to the commander of the First Army that the retention of Dr. Peress was "clearly not consistent with the interest of national security" nothing was done for several months. Senator McCarthy got into the fray in January 1954 and demanded that Major Peress be court-martialed and his honorable discharge held up.

It now is revealed that a decision to ignore the Senate committee's request and give an honorable discharge to Major Peress was made by John G. Adams, Counsellor of the Army, and Lt. Gen. Walter L. Weible, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Administration. This was an action contemptuous of the Senate. It is perhaps the most flagrant case of disregard of a legislative committee by an executive official that has been recorded in a long time. One wonders what the Senate will do now to vindicate its honor, for it is plain that one of its committees was given the runaround.

Debt Payment by Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Britain Makes Debt Payment," by Mr. Ralph McGill, which appeared in the Atlanta Constitution under the dateline of January 1.

I agree with Mr. McGill that this financial transaction merits the attention of every American, for the reasons which Mr. McGill sets forth.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

BRITAIN MAKES DEBT PAYMENT

WASHINGTON, January 1.—Yesterday, which was the one written in the bond, Great Britain paid in full her annual payment of principal and interest on the 1946 loans made by the United States. It was a payment on the debt of $54 millions and interest in the amount of $84 millions for a total of $138 millions.

It seemed to me this financial transaction merits the attention of every American, who for so long has heard the whining accusations of the claque which hates the British and which has built up a feeling in this country that somehow the loans we make are never paid.

How much of a debt we, and every American citizen, owe Great Britain for standing alone as she did in all the desperate early months of the great war when the well-prepared and modernly equipped German army rolled to the channel, one cannot say. It is one of those gigantic intangibles which cannot be measured in terms of dollars or pounds. But owe it we do, and no honest person denies it, or wishes so to do. All western civilization owes her such a debt.

SAVED OUR CIVILIZATION

So, as she paid almost $150 millions, which represent the equivalent of the total value of 4 months of exports from her factories and mills, it seemed to me well to note the fact, and not leave it buried in a paragraph or so on the financial pages. Especially so, since much of the debt was for lend-lease, which we might have written off, since it was used to save our civilization in the days when we sang The White Cliffs of Dover and Britain fought alone.

The debt which Britain incurred in 1946 was for two purposes. First, $3,750,000,000 to provide dollars to buy goods from the United States; and, second, $650 million to settle Britain's outstanding debt to the United States on the wartime lend-lease arrangements.

Marshall aid to Britain ended in 1950.

From that time on the dollar aid which has been provided has been related exclusively to the joint defense effort. The object has been to cover marginal dollar purchases, so that Britain may undertake a larger defense effort than she could otherwise manage. This defense aid is now flowing to Britain at a falling rate. In 1953 it totaled $286 million. In the first half of 1954 the amount was $68 million.

Besides the annual repaying of the 1946 loans, Britain has been making, since 1952, regular half-yearly interest payments on the Marshall aid loans, totaling over $8 million annually. Capital repayment on the Marshall aid debts will begin in June 1956.

Meanwhile, Britain has made a strong effort to pay her way in dollars by increasing her dollar earnings through exports. As a matter of interest, in 1946 her exports to the United States were $140 million, and had risen in 1953 to a total of $450 million. But in 1953 Britain's imports from the United States (including shipping and insurance) were $711 million. There is, of course, a real need for Britain to export more goods to the dollar area, and it is her earnest hope that barriers impeding exports to the United States will be progressively lowered.

Gains in the Civil-Service Merit System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there appeared in the Sunday Star of January 16, 1955, an article entitled "Merit System Gains in 1954 Called Best in Civil Service Commission History," written by Joseph Young. The article is very enlightening, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

MERIT SYSTEM GAINS IN 1954 CALLED BEST IN CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION HISTORY

(By Joseph Young)

Civil Service Commission Chairman Philip Young declared last night that the past year has seen gains made in the merit system that are "without parallel in any comparable period in civil service history."

In a special statement commemorating the 72d anniversary of the civil service system, Mr. Young by indirection answered Democrats and Federal employee union leaders who charge the administration with systematically destroying the merit system.

The criticisms against the administration stem mainly from the White House job-clearance order concerning top civil-service jobs and various other merit positions. Under the order, agencies have to list these job vacancies with the Republican National Committee and freeze the positions for 30 days.

PRESENTS HIS CASE

Mr. Young presented the administration's case as follows:

1. The new career-conditional appointment system which goes into effect next week "opens the way to full careers under the merit system" for hundreds of thousands of indefinite employees who have been denied career status since 1950.

"I believe that the new system, as developed by the Civil Service Commission and issued by the President, represents the greatest advance of many, many years toward providing the American people with a strong and stable career force to carry on the essential and complicated functions of modern Government."

Mr. Young said that under the new system career appointments in the future will be made only through competitive examinations. In those few cases where the Civil Service Commission because of its inability to furnish a register of eligibles for a certain job, gives an agency authority to hire on the open market, the agency will be allowed to make only a temporary appointment which will continue only until the Commission can hold an exam for the job.

"It should also be noted that the Presidential Executive order establishing the new system includes a strongly worded and unequivocal prohibition against political discrimination in the competitive service," Mr. Young added.

2. The CSC has completed plans to bring 35,000 excepted overseas jobs under the merit system. "This will be one of the largest blocks of positions ever brought under the merit system at one time in the history of civil service in the United States," the CSC chief declared.

3. Many beneficial benefits were enacted into law for Government workers.

BENEFITS LISTED

Mr. Young listed such new benefits as the group-life-insurance program, the Government employees' incentive-awards program, modification of the Whitten rider, unemployment compensation benefits, longevity pay boosts extended to the higher grades, and the annual-leave-law restrictions modified.

"We are not resting on the achievements of the past year," Mr. Young said. "A progressive program for 1955 has already been announced, and the CSC is prepared to give it vigorous support. Among the objectives we have set for 1955 are the following: Salary increases and improvements in pay scales under the Classification Act; group health insurance for Federal employees, partially financed by the Government; more and better training for career employees, and improvements in overseas personnel administration."

Mr. Young concluded: "These and other measures proposed for this year will continue our progress toward strengthening and improving the civil service and making Government careers more attractive and satisfying for the high-caliber men and women our Government needs. The trend toward better government through a better career merit system is very clear."

Rochambeau Day and the Growth of a Friendship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Rochambeau Day and the Growth of a Friendship," by Salome Mandel, which appeared in the December 1954 issue of Freedom and Union.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCHAMBEAU DAY AND THE GROWTH OF A FRIENDSHIP

(By Salome Mandel)

On a bleak October morning, under a leaden sky, a small crowd stood at attention as the poignant sound of taps cut through the silence surrounding a lonely white cross, half hidden in the shrubs.

The date: October 19, 1954.

The site: A small Virginia town at the mouth of York River where, 173 years ago, Lord Cornwallis surrendered to the allied armies of Washington and Rochambeau supported by the French Fleet of de Grasse.

The grave: That of 50 unknown French soldiers, killed during the siege of the city.

The occasion: A tribute paid to their commander in chief, General Rochambeau, who had led the 6,000-strong French Expeditionary Corps from its point of embarkation at Brest, France, to Newport, R. I.; thence, in a long and strenuous march, through the States of Connecticut, New York (where they joined Washington's American Army), New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland to Annapolis; and finally, aboard ships provided by de Grasse, to Yorktown, Va., and victory.

A momentous result which, in the words of United States Marine Corps Commandant Gen. Lemuel C. Shepherd, "turned the dream of American independence into reality" and "was due in a large measure to the fact that France, in the form of the mighty fleet under Admiral de Grasse and the valiant men under General Rochambeau, provided General Washington the means to achieve victory."

Yet, while the youthful Lafayette's generous idealism and unusual military skill had caught the people's imagination, the name of the older man, who actually commanded the expeditionary corps and was his country's military representative in the United States, had somewhat faded from the memory of the public.

Already Jefferson, in a letter to Madison dated February 8, 1786, seemed to be disturbed by the thought that Rochambeau "has deserved more attention than he has received." He suggested that a bust of Rochambeau be set up in the Capitol.

Jefferson's suggestion met with no success. But time has not been able to erase completely from the heart of his countrymen the feeling that inspired it.

Some 2 years ago, a small group of history-conscious, fairminded Virginians decided to give this feeling concrete expression. This took the form of a resolution, introduced by State Senator Donovan and passed by the Virginia General Assembly, instructing the then Gov. John Battle to appoint a five-man, nonpaid Rochambeau Commission for the purpose of arranging, in close cooperation with the seven other so-called Rochambeau States, for the uniform marking of the route followed by the French Expeditionary Corps.

Chaired by Charles Parmer, the initiator and real soul of the project, the commission immediately went to work. As a result, Rochambeau celebrations have been held in several States. In Rhode Island and New York, for instance, public parks, named after Rochambeau, have been established. Finally, on October 19, 1954, in a Rochambeau Day celebration on the very spot of the allied victory, a model of the future bronze marker was unveiled and dedicated by General Shepherd, in the presence of Henri Bonnet, Ambassador of the French Republic; Senator Donovan; representatives of the States cooperating in the tribute; and numerous guests.

Among the highlights of the program, special mention should be made of the Huron March—the very march that greeted Rochambeau's aide, Chevalier de Chastellux when he visited Washington in his camp—as performed by the Drum and Bugle Corps of the United States Marines.

Frequently played in those days by French and American Army bands alike, the march—a part of Grétry's successful opera Le Huron—had since been completely forgotten in the United States. Is was rediscovered, on a hint from the French Embassy, by M. Sgt. W. O. Nickell, drum major of the Drum and Bugle Corps, who copied the score at the Library of Congress and arranged it for use on Rochambeau Day.

Another feature not to be forgotten was the lunch served by mess sergeants, under military tents, with a menu similar to the Rochambeau troops' V-Day rations: Cornbread and baked beans with cheese and lettuce to make it a real celebration. (Some of the guests wondered if history were to be thanked for the genuine French dressing served with the lettuce, instead of the shrimp-colored concoction usually served under that name.)

However important a man's achievements, his true greatness can be measured only by the capacity of survival and the impact of his life's work.

In this sense, it may be said that the highest tribute to Rochambeau and to his comrades in arms was paid by Ambassador Bonnet when he enlarged his address from the mere eulogy of a great compatriot to a global survey of the problems confronting not just the two ancient allies of the Chesapeake campaign but their new allies—their partners, as President Eisenhower would put it—as well.

The Franco-American alliance, Ambassador Bonnet said, "has proved its strength in times of peril in the history of both countries. It is based upon similar objectives in the international field, and upon a friendship which makes possible mutual frankness. It remains a permanent force in a world threatened by many perils in spite of the numerous sacrifices our two countries have made for the cause of freedom."

"The world," Mr. Bonnet went on, "is still deeply divided, at a time when all important problems have universal repercussions, and the solidarity of the free nations is more than ever the condition of their survival. No one of them, acting alone, can be assured of an independent future. In the absence of a global entente, it is by means of a balance of forces that security must be assured, as long as the Communist bloc will not show, by its actions, that it has renounced its expansionist plans."

DREAM OF LAFAYETTE AND WASHINGTON

This, of course, leaves us still very far away from the dream Washington outlined, in a letter (August 15, 1786) to his friend, Lafayette, of a mankind "connected like one great family in fraternal ties."

It comes much closer, instead, to the vision of another builder of the New World—Benjamin Franklin—who, in a letter dated October 16, 1783, actually proposed to David Hartley, British plenipotentiary for peace, the conclusion of a "family compact between England, France, and America."

As a matter of fact, such a compact, although still limited as to its implications, already exists in the form of the North Atlantic Treaty. It differs from Franklin's idea mainly in the fact that the "family" has lately considerably increased in size, so as to include not only most of the countries bordering that new Mare Nostrum—the Atlantic—but its hinterland as well.

The recently issued declaration of Atlantic unity, by over 150 distinguished citizens from 8 NATO countries, urging their governments to make this most challenging and constructive experiment succeed, clearly shows their deep belief in NATO's vast potentialities and in the leading part it could play as a stabilizing factor in a restless world.

However, Ambassador Bonnet warned in his Rochambeau Day address, "whether it pertains to the military security of the free world or to its economic and political security, the corresponding tasks require continuity of effort, patience in achieving results, and mutual trust among countries defending the same values."

These happen to be the very virtues which helped the two great leaders, Washington and Rochambeau, to achieve against all odds the success of that other challenging experiment: the first of all Atlantic alliances, signed in 1778 between the United States, still struggling to be born, and the old French nation, without whose contribution, said General Shepherd—himself a Virginian whose forefathers fought at Yorktown—"the issue of the independence of this Nation would have remained in doubt."

And as they lived and fought side by side "in perfect concert and harmony," as Rochambeau put it (an utterance echoed by Washington when he wrote, in a letter to Congress, October 12, 1781: "The greatest harmony prevails between the two armies"), there emerged, as a result of that intercourse, something even more durable than a military victory, fateful as it was.

That something, pioneered by both the leaders and their troops during the 1781 Chesapeake campaign, was a new pattern for international relationship, based no more on the domination of one ally by the other, but on a genuine partnership.

HOPEFUL PORTENT

That the Franco-American alliance has been able, since, to weather all storms, is mostly due to the fact that, except for a few temporary eclipses, the relationship between the two countries has steadily followed the pattern established by Washington and Rochambeau; a pattern that has proved sufficiently solid and sound to become the cornerstone of a great Atlantic alliance—the one already in existence, and the one still in the making. The lonely white cross, half hidden in the shrubs at Yorktown, Va., has pointed the road not toward death and desperation but toward a new life and hope.

Social-Security Law and Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, there appeared in the January 17 issue of the New Republic a very interesting analysis

of our social-security laws by Mr. Nelson H. Cruikshank, one of the Nation's leading experts on this subject, who is attached to the legislative staff of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Cruikshank, in his article, analyzes the implications of the references by President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message to social security and the level of social-security benefits.

I ask unanimous consent that this interesting and instructive article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOCIAL SECURITY—WHAT WAS NOT SAID

(By Nelson H. Cruikshank)

In contrast to those of 1953 and 1954 this year's state of the Union message does not call for significant changes in the social security legislation. The scant mention of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance program is devoted to a recitation of the achievements of the 83d Congress in broadening the coverage and increasing the benefit levels.

Actually the administration deserves credit for the leadership it exerted in this field during the last 2 years. Except for the President's endorsement of a postponement of the scheduled increase in the rates of contribution to the trust fund—a position which he later abandoned—the beguiling slogans of the chamber of commerce to "end discrimination among the aged" and for "pay as you go" failed to enlist adherents from among Government officials in support of their schemes to destroy the essential character of our contributory social insurance program.

It is unfortunate, however, that the President and those in his official family responsible for developing policy in this field (which includes the Council of Economic Advisers and representatives of the Treasury Department as well as the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare) should apparently feel that the modest improvements adopted last year represent a finished job. In this respect the message is more significant in terms of what was not said.

For example, there is the matter of the wage base. When the Social Security Act was passed in 1935, limiting to $3,000 the annual earnings on which contributions were collected and benefits computed, this was not serious as about 96 percent of all workers' wages came under this figure. The 1950 amendment raised this to $3,600 and last year's changes brought it to $4,200. In view of the opposition of insurance companies and the chamber of commerce the increase did indeed represent something of an achievement for a Congress not particularly distinguished for its record in the field of social legislation. But the $4,200 limit brings us up only to the 1949 level of wage increases. In other words, last year the administration asked Congress to do in 1954 what it should have done in 1949 if it intended to maintain the same level of wage coverage it established in 1935. Failure to move the wage base up to a realistic level acts to hold down benefits.

Still more significant is the failure of the message to acknowledge the remaining gaps in the protections afforded by our social insurance. The most glaring failure of our present system is in protection to the income of a family whose breadwinner becomes physically disabled. The half-way approach to this problem through State public assistance authorized in the 1950 amendments, with its means-test requirements and capricious determinations of levels of relief, has proved its inadequacy.

In the one area of social security where the message calls for positive action, namely the adoption of the Kaplan Committee recommendation for combining the protection of the civil-service retirement system and OASI for Government employees, the chances of accomplishment are not improved by the oversimplified argument offered in its support. There is a serious question as to whether it is really possible to provide social-security coverage for civilian Government employees "just as in private industry." While it may be theoretically possible, the question is whether it is politically practicable in view of the fact that the employer (in this case the Government) will have to make what amounts to voluntary contributions to two systems which is not true in private industry. Government employees will want to take a long look at what the President refers to as "certain adjustments in the present civilian personnel retirement systems" before agreeing to any wedding of the two programs.

The message's references to unemployment insurance are scanty but eloquent—again mostly in terms of what is left unsaid. If the Federal Government is to do anything at all to recover the ground lost in this field during the past 10 years it must start with the simple fact demonstrated at the time the programs started nearly 20 years ago, namely that State unemployment insurance acts respond primarily to direct financial incentives: employer experience rating on one side and offsets against federally imposed payroll taxes on the other. Specifically this means any improvement at the State level will come only when the meeting of Federal standards relating to benefits, and eligibility are made a condition of the offset.

Press Release of the National Federation of Independent Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a press release dated January 3, 1955, issued by Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business said today that it is the opinion of many Members of Congress that small-business problems will receive considerable attention during the entire life of the 84th Congress, which convenes in a few days.

Small business is aware of the opinions expressed by congressional leaders, and it is expected that the President, in his message to the Congress on the state of the Union, will give ample consideration to the increasing basic problems faced by small business throughout the Nation, and will make the corrective recommendations as to the needed help to small business.

Burger added, that due to nationwide polls of the entire federation membership, all independent business and professional men, numbering approximately 100,000, the polls disclosed and directed that a definite program be carried out by Congress to protect efficient small business.

1. A continuing vigorous enforcement of all antitrust laws: It is to be noted from the record that the present head of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, Hon. Stanley Barnes, has shown by his action, and not mere lip service, that his Department's actions in impartial and vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws is in keeping with the original intent of Congress, and for which it was constituted. Congress should recognize this, and give the needed appropriation to the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice.

The federation will urge such action on the new Congress.

2. Small Business Committees of the Congress: These committees, during the past decade, have proven the best business insurance in protecting the business life of small business. They must be continued and placed on parity with all other standing committees. Namely, standing committees' status with full legislative authority. It is to be noted that in the 83d Congress, 50 Senators urged such action in the Senate.

The federation will urge such action on the new Congress.

3. Small Business Administration: During its short period of operation the agency has proven its help to small business throughout the Nation. The agency must be continued as a permanent agency for small business, and with full control of its administration in the hands of the Administrator, subject only to the control of the Congress. No other agency head or member of the Cabinet should have the veto power on major operations of the agency.

The federation will urge such action in the 84th Congress.

4. Small business will expect tax relief, so that they will be able to build up reserves to meet any and all economic trends.

The federation will urge such action in the 84th Congress.

5. Small business will expect the new Congress to enact legislation that will make it mandatory upon the armed services to give small producers a fair and just share in Government purchases.

The federation will urge such action on the the new Congress.

Progress in Dairying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, on January 13 the Secretary of Agriculture delivered an address on the campus of the University of Minnesota, during the 53d annual Farm and Home Week. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROGRESS IN DAIRYING

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Benson)

It is a genuine pleasure to participate in this 53d annual Farm and Home Week here on the campus of the University of Minnesota. I am deeply impressed by the important contribution that meetings such as

this are making toward better understanding of our agricultural problems.

This occasion exemplifies the leadership which our educational institutions are taking in promoting group discussions and exchanges of ideas and information. I have long believed that research, education, and improved marketing practices offer the surest approach to our goal of a prosperous, stable, and free agriculture. It is encouraging to see that all of these steps are emphasized in your Farm and Home Week program.

I appreciate the opportunity to speak on this forum. For some time I have wished to talk frankly on several matters which are of major importance to Minnesota farmers. Your kind invitation to appear was doubly welcome for that reason.

Minnesota is fortunate in having the soils and climate which permit highly diversified farming operations. Only about 7½ percent of the cash receipts of farmers in this State come from the basic commodities which seem to get most of the attention in farm-policy discussions. Dairying, hogs, and cattle—in that order—provide the major sources of farm income here. The feeding of hogs and cattle has been relatively profitable during the past year. The dairy industry has undergone some serious readjustments. For that reason, I should like to talk primarily about this problem.

Sometimes it is necessary for us to look back to see how far we have come. Today I would ask you to look back for a moment—to the situation which faced the dairy industry of this Nation just 1 year ago.

Your Government was getting into the dairy business at an unprecedented rate. Milk production was booming toward new seasonal highs. Consumption was not only failing to keep pace but was trending dangerously downward, particularly in the case of butter. Surplus dairy products were piling up in Government storage at an alarming rate. The industry was being out-promoted by its competitors at every turn. 'Despite price supports at 90 percent of parity, net income of dairy farmers had declined by more than $200 million from 1952 to 1953. The dairy industry was sick. There were ominous rumblings that Government might be forced to invoke production controls.

All in all, it was not a very pretty picture. But this was, nevertheless, the situation which faced us just one short year ago.

Confronted by these facts and a law which specifically directed me to fix dairy price supports at a level which would assure an adequate supply, I announced a reduction from 90 to 75 percent of parity for the marketing year beginning last April 1. This decision was not lightly made. It was reached only after long and careful consideration. I had no illusions as to its immediate popularity with many dairymen. Yet I believed then in all conscience, as I do today, that this adjustment—painful though it might be—was in the best, long-term interests of the Nation's dairymen.

May I say now that I received plenty of advice on this matter. Much of it was sound and most of it was well meant. I gave full thought to all suggestions but one. I ignored the warning that the action constituted political suicide.

Now, as we begin this new year, the time has arrived to take stock—to strike a sort of balance sheet—of the dairy situation since price-support levels were adjusted 9 months ago.

The first, and most impressive fact, is that milk production shows definite signs of leveling off. In December 1954, milk production was 1 percent below December of a year ago. Meanwhile, per capita consumption of dairy products is on the upturn. This is of vital importance to every dairyman in America. It means that the day is approaching when supply and demand will be brought into balance—not through a distasteful and uneconomic program of production controls but rather through increased use of the healthful dairy products which our people need.

Milk production during 1954 reached an estimated 124 billion pounds—a record total. The leveling-off process of recent months suggests that it will be about the same this year. At the same time, per capita consumption of butter increased by about 5 percent in 1954—a sharp reversal of the long-time downward trend. The average American also ate a fraction of a pound more cheese and drank a little more milk in 1954.

When we add to this the fact that our population growth provides about 2.7 million additional consumers each year, it becomes evident that we are rapidly bridging the gap between dairy supplies and demand. Even without any increase in per capita consumption of dairy products, this population growth alone provides a market for nearly 2 billion pounds of milk each year.

During 1954, milk consumption in all forms totaled about 118.5 billion pounds. If production during 1955 remains at the 1954 level—as we anticipate it will—our surplus of dairy products will be smaller than in either of the two preceding years. If the stepped-up promotional and merchandising campaigns of the dairy industry, which are beginning to show real results, meet our most optimistic expectations, we may well see an approximate balance between production and consumption by the latter part of this year.

When that happens—as it inevitably will if all of us are determined to see that it happens—prices of manufactured dairy products will move above the support level. The support price will no longer be the ceiling price, as has been the case too long.

I am convinced that every dairyman in the Nation would prefer that to a system which makes the Government the market and ties the future of the industry to a mere formula. I am convinced further that this day will dawn for dairymen much sooner because the dairy industry and this administration elected to face the facts and refused to bow to political expediency.

Allow me to cite a few figures which support the conclusion that we are headed in the right direction now:

In December—last month—the Government bought not a single pound of butter. This was the first full month in 2 years in which no purchases were made. During December of 1953 we bought more than 11 million pounds of butter and the heavy flow was just beginning.

During the final 3 months of 1954, butter purchases totaled only half a million pounds, as compared with 15 million a year earlier.

Government buying of cheese and nonfat dry milk has also declined sharply in recent months. Last month cheese purchases totaled about 1¼ million pounds, compared with nearly 7 million for December of 1953. This was the smallest amount we had bought in any month for 2 years. We purchased 11.2 million pounds of dry milk in December 1954—less than one-third the amount of a year earlier—and the second smallest total acquired in any single month over a 2-year period. Only purchases for November were lower.

Normally I prefer not to incorporate many statistics in a speech. But figures sometimes tell an interesting story. With your indulgence, I should like to cite a few more because they represent good news for every segment of the dairy industry, for the Government itself, and for the public.

Less than 6 months ago, Commodity Credit Corporation had 466 million pounds of butter on hand. At the beginning of January this enormous hoard had been reduced to 266 million pounds. It is growing smaller by the day. This butter is moving into channels or consumption in the United States and abroad.

While it is true that most of these dispositions have been made at substantial losses, it is important that the butter is being used. It is also worth noting that nearly 20 million pounds of butter were resold into commercial-trade channels by CCC at prices which exceeded acquisition costs. Most of these sales were negotiated during the last 2 months. For the entire year of 1953, commercial-butter sales by CCC amounted to about 4 million pounds.

At the end of September 1954, CCC owned 435 million pounds of cheese. This inventory had been reduced by 100 million pounds by the year's end. Government sales of cheese in commercial-trade channels exceeded 116 million pounds in 1954, as compared with a bit more than 5 million pounds during the preceding year.

CCC had on hand 92 million pounds of dry milk at the beginning of this year. Eight months earlier the Government inventory stood at 600 million pounds.

Despite record-breaking purchases of dairy products during the early months of 1954, we bought less butter for the entire year than we did in 1953. Cheese and dry milk buying were up somewhat for the year but the trend during the final months of 1954 was sharply down.

Altogether, CCC disposed of approximately 1.5 billion pounds of dairy products last year, as compared with 352 million pounds in 1953; more than 4 times as much. About two-thirds of the butter and one-half of the cheese was moved after August 1, when Congress gave us broadened authority to deal with the entire surplus problem. Most of the dry milk was sold at substantial discount for use in mixed poultry and livestock feed.

Surplus butter holdings were distributed principally as domestic and foreign donations through school-lunch programs, church and welfare organizations, and charitable institutions. Millions of needy persons here and abroad shared in these donations. Some direct sales were made at reduced prices to foreign governments and United Nations agencies. Further distribution was made through Foreign Operations Administration activities. These various outlets absorbed 264 million pounds of butter in 1954, as against about 100 million pounds for the preceding year.

In addition, the Department of the Army obtained more than 28 million pounds of butter from CCC stocks in 1954, nearly double the amount for 1953. We sold butter for use as a cocoa butter extender and for liquid milk recombining abroad. Butter was also made available to the Veterans' Administration. None of these outlets was employed during the preceding year.

School-lunch donations and welfare distribution at home and abroad accounted for the movement of 161 million pounds of cheese in 1954, approximately 5 times the total of a year earlier. At the same time 400 million pounds of dry milk, more than double the amount for 1953, went into these programs last year.

The effect of these overall disposal efforts, combined with the increased commercial demand for dairy products, is reflected in improved milk prices during recent months. For the final quarter of 1954 wholesale prices received by farmers for all milk averaged 86 percent of parity, the same as in March of 1954, when price supports were still at 90 percent of parity. Seasonal factors, as well as our improved supply position, are partly responsible for this strength. If we can come this far in the space of a few months, there is every reason to be optimistic about the future of the dairy industry.

In fact, I find that optimism shared by many dairymen with whom I have talked and by representatives of other segments of the industry. They believe, as I do, that we have yet to see the full effects of the aggressive

merchandising and promotional campaigns which have been steadily building up for several months. They know they have the finest food product in the world to sell—and at a bargain price. They know that there is a vast untapped market for this most nearly perfect food right here in America and they are determined to reach it.

The story of milk is being told today far better than it has in the past—through every conceivable advertising medium. The dairy industry is successfully employing many of the promotional tactics of its competitors. Its leaders have also recognized that there are two important steps in merchandising. First, to create a desire for the product, and second, to make it readily available everywhere.

It's rather sad, but nevertheless true, that it's far easier for many Americans to buy a bottle of pop or even an alcoholic beverage than just a plain drink of milk. In my travels over the country—waiting in airports and railway stations—I find that I can purchase candy, chewing gum, a variety of carbonated beverages—I can even insure my life or test my skill on a pinball machine—all by simply inserting a coin in a slot. But I can't buy milk with the same ease.

Why until a few months ago—even in the Department of Agriculture, where lights burned late as we sweated over the dairy problem—you couldn't buy a drink of milk except in the cafeterias at certain hours. You can now. You can also buy milk in thousands of other places where it wasn't available until the dairy industry got its promotional campaign in gear.

We have had a magnificent response—here in Minnesota and elsewhere—to the new program approved by Congress which makes an additional $50 million available this year and next for an expanded school lunch milk program. The armed services are cooperating in a move to increase the use of milk and other dairy products. These efforts represent more than a current contribution to the better health of our young people. They create the milk-drinking habit. They build markets for tomorrow as well as for today.

I have sought here to summarize what I regard as definite advances on the dairy front during this marketing year. The various facts and figures which I have detailed represent an impressive total on the credit side of the ledger. They indicate clearly that we are on the right road.

At the same time, I would not create the impression that all of our problems are behind us. As our continuing, though greatly reduced, purchases of cheese and dry milk indicate, production is still outrunning demand. The flush season is ahead of us. It will be little short of a miracle if the Government is not called upon to increase its dairy support purchase program over the next few months. Yet I am confident that what buying we are forced to do will be on a much smaller scale than it was during this period in 1954. That situation, as it develops, will be further important evidence of the fact that we are clearly emerging from the serious crisis which gripped the industry such a short time ago.

I am not unmindful that dairy producers are caught in a perplexing price-cost squeeze. While final figures are not yet available, it is expected that they will show net income of dairy producers in 1954 was down some $180 million to $200 million from the preceding year, a decline of about 4 percent. Disturbing as this must be to all of us, it might be pointed out that dairy income declined even more between 1952 and 1953, despite supports at 90 percent of parity. To me this strongly suggests that the continuation of high level supports was not the answer, as some people have argued. If it were, the problem would never have developed.

I would rather think of the loss in dairy income as the industry's share of the cost of getting back on a sound foundation. The Government's share of that cost has been even greater. I do not regard either the industry's or the Government's contribution as an outright loss, however. Rather it is an investment in the future of dairying—an investment which will be returned many times in the years ahead if we have the courage and the determination to see this crisis through.

However much some individual dairymen may be pinched by the decline in income, they might well consider what their plight could have been had 90 percent supports been continued. Producers of the basic commodities who have been receiving price supports at that level have also been forced to take drastic production controls. In neighboring North Dakota, for example, 1954 wheat acreage was cut 20 percent below 1953. It will be reduced again in 1955.

I am sure Minnesota dairy producers are thankful they are not faced with that kind of a production slash. High level price supports inevitably breed production controls. We have them this year on every one of the six basic commodities. To argue that dairying could somehow have escaped a similar fate—had maximum supports been continued—is to deny the very plain evidence to the contrary. As one who was engaged in dairying for many years, I might add my conviction that farmers would be no happier under milk production controls than I would be in administering them.

As every dairyman knows, his business is particularly sensitive to the factor of volume. His constant objective is increased production at reduced cost. He knows through hard, practical experience that a drop in production can hurt him just as much as a drop in price. Virtually every advance in dairying efficiency, on the farm and in the plant, is geared to large production. The careful upgrading of the dairyman's herd, the improvements in his feeding and milking operations, the better techniques in handling and transporting his milk are all primarily directed toward large volume marketing.

Farmers in our principal dairying regions might well consider another effect of production controls upon their operations. Any attempt to impose such restrictions by law would almost certainly be accompanied by a move to exempt small producers—just as they are exempted from the control provisions of some basic crop programs. The backyard producer—the 1 and 2 cow owner—would be permitted to operate as before, because of the tremendous obstacles involved in the enforcement of milk production controls.

Nearly 29 percent of all farms producing milk have only 1 cow. Seventeen percent have only two cows. Sixteen percent have either 3 or 4 cows. Thus, it would seem to be a fair guess that perhaps half of the farms producing milk would be exempt from production controls. The full burden would fall upon the larger and more efficient producers. Productionwise, if only 1- and 2-cow farms were outside the program, about 11 percent of the milk produced in this country would be completely unaffected by controls.

There is nothing startling about the fact that the dairy industry is adjusting to new conditions and situations. Such adjustments are constantly taking place—and, to a considerable extent, independently of prevailing milk prices.

For example, between 1944 and 1949—when prices of milk and butterfat averaged above 100 percent of parity—the number of farms producing dairy products for the market in this country declined by 19 percent. Yet the change in total milk production was less than 1 percent. The sharpest drop occurred on farms with less than 10 cows. In Pennsylvania, 25 years ago, 47 percent of the total production came from herds of 9 cows or less. Today, in that State, only 18 percent of the milk comes from herds of that size.

There is a wide variation in dairy production costs in different areas of this broad Nation. There are even notable spreads among farms in the same area. One recent study in Pennsylvania revealed milk production costs ranging from $3.50 per hundred to as much as $9.50. I believe we need to ask ourselves whether we want an economic system that permits a producer with such almost unbelievable costs to provide our milk.

As all dairymen know, labor represents a large element of cost. Through the years the great emphasis has been upon obtaining increased production per cow and, with this, greater labor efficiency. To be more efficient, the dairyman need not necessarily work harder, faster, and longer. Rather the goal is to accomplish more, with less back-bending effort in a short time through planning, know-how, and laborsaving devices.

A survey by the Agricultural Experiment Station at Michigan State College pointed out opportunities for reducing milk-production costs by 45 percent, through the use of all available techniques and adjustments. This was done without increasing either the number of workers or the farm acreage. Gains were made primarily through the use of better-producing cows and improved practices.

Now, of course, not every dairyman can achieve such an increase in efficiency. Many producers are already using most of the techniques employed in this test. But even they may increase operating efficiency and profits by using all of the available know-how—the better breeds, feeds, and seeds and improved production practices. The dairyman who achieves only a part of the increased efficiency attained in the Michigan State test can offset the adjustment in price supports. It is still true in dairying, as in other segments of agriculture, that the individual farmer can do more for himself than Government can ever do for him.

Many would-be political leaders have been using high, fixed price supports as a smokescreen to cover up one indisputable fact—the fact that it was the unprecedended demands of war, together with inflation, that kept farm prices high during the 10 years following Pearl Harbor. The parity ratio averaged between 100 and 115 during those years. Actually, it was ceilings fixed by law at the top—not the 90-percent floor below—which set farm prices. Every farmer knows he would have received even more for his products during this period had there been neither ceilings nor price supports.

It has been apparent for some time that high, rigid, emergency supports were not the solution to our peacetime agricultural problems. These current problems have all developed under high, rigid price supports which remain in effect until the 1955 harvest. If farmers have experienced reduced prices and incomes, these reductions occurred under the old law which was supposed to prevent them.

There is nothing new or revolutionary about flexible price supports. They have been a part of our agricultural programs for nearly two decades. They have been endorsed at one time or another by every Secretary of Agriculture for 20 years, by the former occupant of the White House, and by both major parties.

The financial pangs which go with readjustment to a peacetime economy are not new to agriculture. We have suffered them following every war in our history. Just as farm commodity prices go up faster than the general price level under the stimulus of war and inflation, they also drop further and faster than most nonfarm prices while the economy is read-

justing to more nearly normal conditions. We are making the transition this time with fewer and less severe dislocations in agriculture and other segments of our economy than ever before.

The depression which was so freely predicted a year ago failed to materialize. From an economic point of view, 1954 proved to be the best peacetime year in history, although agriculture did not fully share in this prosperity. The changeover has hurt and is hurting most of our farm people.

Yet I believe all of the evidence indicates we have seen the worst. I am convinced that for agriculture the road ahead will be smoother than the one we have been traveling.

For several months now, most farm prices have been relatively stable. For the last 2 years, in fact, the parity ratio has averaged about 90, fluctuating narrowly between 94 and 86. It will be recalled that there was a 19 point plunge in the parity ratio during the 2 years preceding January 1953, when the new administration was installed.

We must not be content with mere stability of farm prices at current levels. But the price decline had to be halted before it could be reversed. The first half of that objective is being attained. The job at hand now is to get farm prices back into better balance with the general price level. This, I am confident, can be done under the Agricultural Act of 1954 which has as its goal a prosperous, stable and free agriculture.

Today I pledge anew to you and to all of our farm people that I will never knowingly sponsor or support any policy or program which I believe is not in the best interests of our farmers and all of our people, regardless of political pressure.

As the President pointed out in his state of the Union message: "Agricultural programs have been redirected toward better balance, greater stability and sustained prosperity. We are headed in the right direction. I urgently recommend to Congress that we continue resolutely on this road."

Now if I may leave one final thought with you, it is this: The future of American agriculture is bright—as bright as all of us have the will to make it. A kind Providence has blessed this choice land with vast natural resources—with soils and climate which, with American ingenuity, courage and freedom, have provided a standard of living unmatched elsewhere. May God guide us in the wise use of our abundance.

Proposed Interstate River Compact in the Pacific Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, two outstanding members of the Oregon State Legislature recently discussed the proposed interstate river compact in the Pacific Northwest, and demonstrated how it would react adversely to the State of Oregon and to the general progress of the region as a whole.

They cited book, chapter, and verse to show that the Federal power program should not be scuttled for a vague and nebulous structure, which could lead only to endless haggling and differences.

The TV and radio discussion by State Senator Robert D. Holmes, of Clatsop County, and State Representative Alfred H. Corbett, of Multnomah County, alerted many residents of Oregon to the dangers of the pending compact.

I ask unanimous consent that the discussion by Senator Holmes and Representative Corbett appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the discussion was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERSTATE COMPACT WOULD MAKE OREGON LOW MAN ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER TOTEM POLE

ANNOUNCER. The following program is sponsored and paid for by the Pacific Northwest Resources Forum, Kenneth Kraemer, American Bank Building, chairman. The first speaker you will see is State Representative Alfred H. Corbett.

Representative CORBETT. Good evening. I want to speak to you about the Columbia River Interstate Compact, which proposes the allocation of electric power and of water among the States in the Columbia River Basin: among Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon.

As low man on the Columbia River totem pole, Oregon stands to lose by this compact. You should think about it now, before final action is proposed, because the compact threatens to block Oregon's future development at least.

I was disturbed to learn that the Oregon delegation to the drafting committee cast its vote for the dangerously worded agreement. One member of that delegation had foresight enough to vote "No." I have asked that man, Bob Holmes, Democratic Senator from Clatsop-Columbia Counties, to discuss the compact with us tonight.

Bob, can you give us some background and tell how the compact came to be drawn?

Senator HOLMES. Actually the first exploratory work seeking such a compact was begun about 4 years ago. The Republican leadership of the Pacific Northwest States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana seemed to fear the suggestion of regional development under any type of a Federal program and were seeking some other means. Since that time, representatives of these States plus Wyoming, Nevada, and Utah have met in nearly 30 meetings, with this instrument as a result.

My Oregon colleagues on the Oregon compact committee know that I have opposed the suggested compact for several reasons:

First, I have felt that the overall committee was not representative of the people of the Northwest. Out of some 50 members there are only 3 or 4 Democrats, and while I certainly do not believe this should be a partisan issue, the very makeup of the committee in this respect seems to make it one. The thinking of the committee as a whole has not been representative. It has been dominated by the private power approach to the virtual exclusion of public power and middle of the road policies. Consequently I think that instead of trying to find out the best way to develop all of the resources of the Columbia River Basin • • • this committee has been trying to prove that the suggested way is the only way.

Second, while the intent of the commissioners was expressed again and again as that of making the whole compact recommendatory and advisory (which I might add is not in my opinion advisable if it is to mean anything), article 7, the apportionment of water and related problems, clearly establishes prior rights for upstream States for all beneficial consumptive uses of water as against nonconsumptive uses for downstream States, with a "look-see" clause setting the year 2000 as a time to see how it has worked out. And so I think that this section clearly is in complete violation with the tenor of the document.

Representative CORBETT. The compact draft has been released for comment. What happens next?

Senator HOLMES. The next step is for the compact as modified by any comments which may be accepted, to be presented to the State legislatures, and for a Federal consent bill to go before Congress. If these are passed, Oregon will be bound by the terms of the compact.

Representative CORBETT. Maybe we'd better look at the proposed compact. As I understand it, there would be a commission consisting of the seven member States, and the delegates to the commission would meet and try and work out the resources problems of the Pacific Northwest.

Senator HOLMES. That's right. The four States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana would each cast two votes on the commission, while Wyoming, Nevada, and Utah are given one vote apiece. Eight out of the eleven votes would be required to take action.

Representative CORBETT. Then Oregon alone, with two votes, could not block an adverse decision. We would have to swing two more votes. How do we make out compared to the other States?

Senator HOLMES. Oregon doesn't get anything we don't already have and we give up the possibilities of a bright future. The whole idea is wrong. As you mentioned, Oregon is low man on the Columbia River totem pole. We will make out better if we draw from a Northwest pool, than if the water and power resources are divided up among the States. I think this compact illustrates the dangers of a piecemeal State-by-State approach.

Representative CORBETT. Let's look at the sections dealing with the allocation of power and water.

Senator HOLMES. Article VI is important. It deals with the allocation of power among the States. It says in effect that the compact commission should recommend the manner of dividing the power among States. The method is to look at each new project—at each dam—separately and to decide how much power is developed from that project. Then each State is given at least as much power as is developed at all of the new dams located inside its boundaries.

Representative CORBETT. In other words, the compact would recognize the principle of giving to the State in which the power dam is located, all power from that dam. I mentioned during the last session of the legislature that the Seattle Chamber of Commerce wanted this principle established, and that Oregon would suffer.

Senator HOLMES. Yes, that is true. And the compact goes even further. It provides that the reservation of power to each State shall include (1) the full amount of prime power developed at site, (2) a fair share of additional power produced at site and at downstream dams, by reason of storage at the project. In other words, Montana would get all of the power produced at the huge Libby project plus all or part of the downstream power benefits which come from the release of water stored at that dam.

Representative CORBETT. That doesn't leave much power to be allocated to Oregon, if the upstream States and Washington should gang up on us.

Senator HOLMES. And that's more than a possibility. Washington has many more dam sites than we have in Oregon, and this formula is good for Washington as well as for the other upstream States.

Representative CORBETT. I have tried to work out this power allocation just to see

what might happen under the compact. It isn't favorable at all for Oregon.

To start out with I am assuming that the compact will not affect distribution of existing dams between Oregon and Washington across the Columbia, like Bonneville, The Dalles, and McNary or the Willamette Valley dams. Presently we are drawing approximately one-fourth of the generation from the Federal system, which amounts to the equivalent of about 800,000 kilowatts.

But when it comes to new dams we would suffer. The remaining dam sites are almost entirely upstream. The only sites remaining in which we might share are John Day, Hells Canyon, Mountain Sheep, and Nez Perce.

From John Day, if you subtract upstream storage we would get less than 200,000 kilowatts as our share.

As to Hells Canyon, if Idaho Power Co. receives a license to build the dams, I do not believe that Oregon under the compact could claim any power.

Mountain Sheep and Nez Perce, we would share with Idaho, providing the dams were built federally.

Insofar as I am able to get informed estimates, this means that out of the 30 million unharnessed power potential in the Columbia Basin, Oregon could look forward with assurance to receiving little more than 2 million kilowatts additional power, about one-fifteenth of the new construction. This is in bleak contrast to the one-fourth we are drawing now out of the Federal system.

Senator HOLMES. It is unfortunate we don't have exact figures. The Oregon delegation did not do what I requested, and that was to get an independent expert to tell us exactly how Oregon would make out under the compact arrangement. It seems to me vital that we have this information before going ahead any further.

I might also point out that if this compact is adopted it would also make it even harder for the United States to come to terms with Canada about Libby Dam. You remember that the United States complained because Canada insisted on being allocated substantial downstream power benefits due to release of stored water backed up into Canada. This compact would approve the principle of allocating downstream power benefits to the State—or the country—where the storage project is located.

Representative CORBETT. Now let's look at article VII dealing with the allocation of water.

Senator HOLMES. This part of the compact would give the upstream areas an absolute priority for almost 50 years for any consumptive use of water, over a nonconsumptive use of water in Washington and Oregon.

Representative CORBETT. Let me explain the terms. Consumptive use of water means municipal use, irrigation use or industrial use which results in substantial amounts of water being diverted or consumed and not returned to the river. Nonconsumptive uses which are given second place, are use of water for navigation, for generation of power, and for such other purposes as pollution control, fish propagation, and recreation.

Senator HOLMES. This means that upstream areas (defined as east of the Cascades) like whole areas in Idaho, could withdraw water for agricultural purposes, or for some water-consuming industrial purpose like a paper plant, even though it might severely cut down power production or make navigation increasingly hazardous in Oregon and Washington.

Representative CORBETT. Obviously we haven't discussed the whole scope of the compact. The power and water features are most important, and I think it is worth while summarizing them.

The power allocation proposed in the compact would cripple Oregon's future growth. Today and in the past 20 years, we have drawn power from the northwest pool. Cheap power has been available anywhere and everywhere in the Northwest. Oregon has attracted industries here based on this cheap power, based on our favorable ports, our labor supply, our climate, and other factors.

Under the compact, arbitrary State barriers would be drawn. Oregon would have difficulty in attracting industries because of the small amount of power which would be permanently allocated to this State.

Senator HOLMES. And I believe that the attempt to allocate priorities for use of water would intensify this movement of industry away from Oregon. Today as in the past, water rights are almost entirely based on first come first served. Oregon has as good a chance as any other State to use water. Some main-stem dams have certain priorities to the use of water. Under the compact, Dregon and these dams would lose their prior rights.

Representative CORBETT. The trouble is that the compact ignores the present needs and anticipated future needs of people for water and for power. Instead of letting water and power be divided among people in the whole region, the compact tries to impose arbitrary patterns on the economy of the Northwest.

The compact also adopts a dangerous policy, from Oregon's standpoint, of giving absolute priority for 50 years for consumptive use of water. While it may seem today that there is plenty of water, we don't know what developments will come in industry, nor can we envision all the schemes that may be thought of to siphon off water. Under the compact, Oregon would be signing away all rights to object to such consumption of water during the 50-year period.

Senator HOLMES. It seems to me the proposal to divide up the Northwest into competing pieces is all wrong. We have grown and prospered as a unit. As soon as we start breaking the Northwest into competing pieces, we start the process of State fighting State. All of us, especially those of us who live in Oregon, will suffer.

Representative CORBETT. I think people in Oregon who are most closely affected—the leaders of farm, labor, and business organizations, should get copies of the compact and study its implications. These are some of the dangers we see. Get copies and make up your own minds.

Senator HOLMES. You can get copies from Columbia Interstate Compact Committee, H. Calvert Anderson, 320 Symons Building, Spokane, Wash.

Read the compact and make your comments known. This is a problem which affects all of us in Oregon. Before anything as far reaching as this compact is adopted, there should be much more consideration of what is the best way to handle resources in the Northwest.

Representative CORBETT. Thank you, Senator Holmes, for being with us today and helping to discuss the proposed interstate compact as it affects Oregon.

Troubled Waters: The Formosa Strait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, there appeared in the January 13 issue of the weekly publication, the Reporter, which is published in New York, a very interesting and provocative special article written by the editor of that publication, Mr. Harlan Cleveland, entitled "Troubled Waters."

This article analyses and discusses the recently negotiated treaty of military alliance with the government of General Chiang Kai-shek. The article makes a number of cogent points which surely must be considered by the Senate when this treaty comes before it for consent to its ratification.

I am not, myself, yet ready to subscribe to the thesis presented in this article, but it has given me much food for thought. It raises questions which must be answered.

I commend the reading of the article to all my colleagues in the Senate and to the people of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TROUBLED WATERS: THE FORMOSA STRAIT

(By Harlan Cleveland)

In a few weeks' time, the United States Senate will take up the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China. Its reception may not be as smooth as the administration thinks. Nobody will attack the aim: To defend Formosa from the Chinese Communists. But the document Secretary Dulles has signed contains two traps that could prove fatal to its ratification.

There is both an American and a Chinese reason for having a treaty. When President Truman issued his original order neutralizing Formosa and sending the 7th Fleet into the Strait of Formosa, his action was justified by the Korean war. But the war in Korea is over—or anyway Washington assumes that it's over. The new treaty provides a new justification to keep the 7th Fleet patrolling the China Seas.

The Chinese Nationalists want this treaty as long-term insurance. They know it carries no tangible benefit they don't already have. They know that the leaders of both our political parties are determined to defend Formosa. But they want a solemn treaty saying so.

TRAP NO. 1

The treaty itself is short and simple. Following the NATO model, it says the United States and China will each act in accordance with its constitutional processes to meet the common danger created by an armed attack against the territories of either of them. For purposes of the treaty, China's territories are defined as Formosa and the Pescadores Islands.

There was so much political nonsense in this country 2 years ago about unleashing Chiang that the new treaty has been widely interpreted as releashing him. But he was never going anywhere without American support, and he at least has known it right along.

The treaty is not, however, a mere ratification of the obvious. The important point is that, for the first time in an instrument requiring Senate action, the United States formally recognizes that Formosa and the Pescadores are part of the Republic of China.

For the better part of 10 years, the United States has been carefully ducking every chance to say that Formosa belongs to China. At Cairo, to be sure, Roosevelt joined with Churchill and Chiang in declaring their "purpose" to restore to the Republic of China "all the territories Japan had stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores." But the Cairo Declaration did not require Senate action, and when we got around to signing a peace treaty with

the Japanese in 1951, there were two rival Chinese governments to reckon with. Our major ally, Britain, recognized the Communist one. We could therefore agree with the British on only a single sentence: "Japan renounces all right, title, and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores." We had to leave out the whole question of who was to inherit these strategic chunks of earth.

The point is not just a legal nicety. The Communists have repeatedly charged us with aggression for the help we have given to the Nationalists in defending Formosa. They regard their fight for Formosa as an internal Chinese matter, and the Soviet Union backs up the claim that Formosa is Chinese. Indeed, on this point the Nationalists agree. The juridicial status of Formosa is not an issue in China's continuing civil war. Both sides are sure the island belongs to China.

The question is, To which China? We recognize only one of the governments claiming the right to wear the China label, but we can't help seeing that our claimant is the less powerful of the two. We don't have the military strength to enable our man to establish his claim beyond the offshore islands he now controls. If we formally recognize Formosa and the Pescadores as territories of Chiang's China, won't our friends the British, who are stuck with their recognition of the Communists 4 years ago, be forced to consider the islands as territories of another China run by Mao Tse-tung?

In order to keep Formosa free from Communist control we may later want to argue that the island isn't necessarily part of the China that now controls the mainland. If instead we bind the islands to the mainland's fate by treaty, we tie our own hands and the hands of our allies in the Far East.

One trap in the China Treaty is thus the recognition of Formosa and the Pescadores as part of China. This may well have been inadvertense: The extraordinary fact is that this question was not even discussed in the negotiations leading up to the signing on December 2, 1954.

TRAP NO. 2

The other trap cannot be something the negotiators overlooked. It is the effect of the treaty in brushing aside the United Nations.

Suppose that tomorrow the Chinese Communists should launch a real attack on Formosa. Our treaty would obligate us to come to the rescue. But would we get any help, any military aid or moral support, from the British and other friends with interests and armed vessels and warplanes in the Far East?

The help is there for the asking, if we ask through the United Nations. Mr. Anthony Nutting, Britain's Minister of State at the United Nations, said it very clearly the other day: "A Chinese Communist attack on Formosa is an attack upon a member of the United Nations and would, no doubt, call for collective action by the United Nations in which we would, of course, be involved as a member of the U. N." This remark, made on the "Meet the Press" television program, whipped up a brief political gale in England, but Nutting's superiors took pains not to contradict what he had said.

How does the treaty deal with the United Nations? In a resigned sort of way, it repeats the 1949 NATO formula on the subject: "Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security."

By specifying the paralytic Security Council as the organ in which we would raise the matter, the treaty ignores the possibility of action by the General Assembly under the "uniting for peace" resolution worked out by Secretary Acheson in 1950. As now written, the treaty is a blueprint for going it alone.

We were able to act in Korea through the United Nations because it had previously guaranteed the integrity of South Korea. Now that the United States Government is clear that it wants a neutralized Formosa, not a Knowlandish adventure on the mainland, isn't it time for the United Nations to share with us the danger in the Formosa Strait?

The Chinese Nationalists would not be happy about the United Nations taking jurisdiction over their fight with the Chinese Communists, any more than the French wanted the United Nations in Indochina until it was too late. But in this era of unlocalized wars, Americans can hardly agree that Formosa is anybody's internal matter.

The American Association for the United Nations has already suggested a line of action that both the British and we could support. "The United States," says the American Association for the United Nations, "should join in sponsoring or supporting a proposal that the United Nations, without regard to the question of recognition, as to which its members are presently divided, should at once call upon both the authorities now in control of the government on Formosa and the authorities now in control of the government on the mainland of China to cease the use of armed force against each other in this area in the interest of world peace." Such an action would bring many of the free nations into the fray on the day a Red invasion force began its attack on Formosa. The backing of our friends in the United Nations, added to our own well-known determination not to let Formosa be taken over, should deter the invasion if any advance warning can deter it—and defeat it if the Chinese Communists were so rash as to ignore the collective warning. The Mutual Defense Treaty bypasses the United Nations, and makes it practically impossible for our Allies to help us even if they want to. The Senate will have to decide whether it wants to assert that we will go it alone in the world's No. 1 trouble spot.

IS THIS TREATY NECESSARY?

How did a treaty that so hobbles our freedom of action ever see the light of day? The real reason, which cannot be found in the official explanations, can be bluntly stated. The Eisenhower administration needs a treaty with the fire-eating wing of the Republican Party.

The Chinese Nationalists want to be reassured about the defense of Formosa, but they are in no position to insist that we codify our policy in treaty form. Senator KNOWLAND and his followers want the same assurance, and they have the political power to compel it.

Now it's entirely proper for the Secretary of State to wish for a peace settlement with the Senate Republican leader. Partisan passion about China has been a feature of our politics for too long already. Americans should be able to get together on the simple proposition that the Communists will be kept out of Formosa and the Pescadores—that, as Secretary Dulles has said, "Those islands are not for trade or bargain or anything else."

But let's not settle our internal fights by international treaty. For if the Mutual Defense Treaty is ratified as it stands, we shall have sealed ourselves in a puzzle box and thrown away the key. If there is war in the Strait of Formosa, we shall have blocked off the avenue of getting some help from our allies through the United Nations. And if there is peace, we shall have given the Reds a better claim to Formosa and the Pescadores than they could ever have thought up for themselves.

Universal Military Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most controversial issues facing the 84th Congress is the question of universal military training. I spoke in favor of it in 1947 when most of the people of my congressional district were against it. Now they are in favor of it because they understand the issues involved.

The following very fine article written by Myrick Land, which appeared in This Week Magazine on January 16, 1955, is worthy of the attention of every Member of the Congress:

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING IS ONE OF THE HOTTEST ISSUES IN WASHINGTON TODAY—CONGRESS FEARS IT, BUT HERE ARE FINDINGS THAT SHOW THE KIDS WANT UMT

(By Myrick Land)

This month as our new Congress goes to work the spotlight will focus on one of the strangest mix-ups ever to confuse Capitol Hill.

A new military training bill is almost certain to reach the floor. Until last month high administration officials spoke out in favor of a universal military training program requiring that every able-bodied 18-year-old boy take 6 months of military training.

But at present writing the administration is proposing a much more limited program. Apparently it has backed away from UMT because most Congressmen consider it political poison. They're convinced most Americans won't stand for it. Many of their constituents have the same impression.

Yet the strange fact is that the 18-year-old boys themselves—and their parents—are overwhelmingly in favor of UMT. I have two nationwide surveys to prove it.

This odd misreading of the public pulse by Congressmen may have serious effects upon our teen-agers. Many youth leaders say that if the present draft act remains in operation, boys will face years of military insecurity.

MARKING TIME

They will begin marking time at 18, waiting to see whether or not they will be drafted. They may have to wait as long as 4 or 5 years for their call. Some will give up plans for attending college. Nearly all will run into a blank wall when they start looking for decent jobs.

The unlucky ones may crack up during this nerve-racking period, according to specialists in youth problems. Military insecurity has been an important cause of teen-age crimes.

By taking one simple step, the 84th Congress could save our teen-agers from this difficult, sometimes dangerous, period of uncertainty. At the same time, Congress would begin strengthening our national defense.

The country's top military experts say that universal military training is the fastest and fairest way to build up our military reserves, which are now dangerously weak. Upon completing 6 months of UMT, many youngsters would be enlisted into the Regular Army. The hundreds of thousands not needed to keep the Army up to its authorized strength would go directly into a huge reserve force, and would be required to remain

in the Active Reserves for several years, taking a certain amount of refresher training from time to time.

Through UMT we could build up a ready-to-fight reserve of 2 million men in about 5 years. Eventually, we could maintain a 5- or 6-million-man reserve if that is considered necessary.

It isn't even necessary for Congress to pass a new law to bring this about. There's a perfectly good law on the books—the Universal Military Training and Service Act. This act was passed way back in June 1951, and promptly forgotten. Under the act, UMT was supposed to go into operation as soon as Congress gave the go-ahead sign. But Congress has never given the signal. The act will die on June 30, 1955—unless our new Congress gives it a reprieve.

In the past, high officials in the administration have spoken in favor of UMT. But this endorsement carried little weight with its traditional opponents. For 10 years UMT has been receiving high-level support from leaders of both parties. But no Congress has ever put a UMT law into effect.

What are the chances that the 84th Congress will take action on UMT this time? I put that question to Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas. Senator JOHNSON, the Senate's new majority leader, is noted for his ability to predict how Congress will vote weeks before a proposal reaches the floor. The Senator told me:

"I am afraid prospects for UMT are doubtful."

I checked with other Senators and Congressmen from various sections of the country. Without exception, they also doubted that the new Congress would dust off the half-forgotten UMT Act and put it into operation.

What will be the arguments for letting UMT die? Although the debate hasn't started yet, it's easy to answer that question:

"This is a democracy where the people rule, and the people are against UMT."

Those are the words of the widely respected Edwin C. Johnson, Colorado's new Governor, who was a bitter foe of UMT during his long senatorial career.

A surprisingly similar viewpoint was expressed recently by a strong supporter of UMT, Senator RALPH FLANDERS, of Vermont.

"The policy of universal military training has been one which the parents and children of America have come to view as the negation of the free life which is the ideal of western civilization," Senator FLANDERS said, in a speech favoring UMT.

Some economy-minded Congressmen are worried about costs at a time when the Government is pledged to a reduction in spending. But the feeling that the voters won't stand for the law is still the biggest roadblock.

What basis is there for this feeling?

I spent 6 weeks pinning down the answer.

I started by checking with the Institute of Student Opinion, an organization which concentrates on discovering what teen-agers think about controversial questions. It is sponsored by scholastic magazines, a major publisher of magazines for use in classrooms. The institute sends out printed ballots, and gets the help of thousands of teachers in its polls of the country's teen-agers. The students vote by secret ballot.

The institute's 1954 poll on universal military training was one of the biggest it has ever taken. The ballots were marked by 48,399 high-school students in 48 States.

AMAZING REPLIES

Here's how the institute phrased the question:

"Under present world conditions, do you favor the general principle of compulsory military training for all fit young men?"

And here are the amazing replies:

Sixty-six percent of the high-schoolers came out flatly in favor of UMT.

Eight percent hadn't made up their minds.

Only 26 percent—1 teen-ager in 4—opposed the idea of UMT.

Views of high-school girls included in the poll almost exactly paralleled those of boys.

These startling results among high-school boys sent me searching for a guide to adult opinion on the same question.

I examined the latest findings of Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion. Here's the way Gallup's pollsters put the question to a cross section of the Nation's voters:

"Would you favor or oppose requiring every able-bodied young man in the country, when he reaches age 18, to spend 1 year in military training and then join the Reserves?"

You'll notice that Gallup was asking the country's parents to make twice as great a sacrifice as the UMT bill provides—1 year of training instead of 6 months.

Yet, a whopping 72 percent of the adults said they favored this 12-month UMT program.

Six percent hadn't made up their minds.

Only 22 percent—approximately 1 voter in 5—opposed.

Most of the adults said they favored UMT because they felt it would keep the United States out of war. They thought the additional military strength would keep any potential enemy from risking war.

But what about the teen-agers? Why did 66 percent of them vote in favor of UMT? I started checking with youngsters in all parts of the country.

They soon convinced me that they knew why UMT had been proposed and how it would work. And they were able to tell me exactly why they favored it—or, in the case of a sincere and vocal minority, why they opposed it.

The 1 teen-ager out of 4 who disliked UMT seemed to settle on 1 of these reasons:

"UMT would be asking for war."

"It seems to me that this plan would make America look like an aggressor Nation."

"I feel that compulsory military training symbolizes the gradual swing of the United States toward command by force. I feel that the strength of a truly great nation does not lie in military might."

"Six months of military training wouldn't be of any value to either the boys themselves or to the country."

DANGLING MEN

The range of arguments brought up by the 66 percent who favored UMT was much wider. Here's how they shaped up:

1. They think it is necessary: "Let's face it," said "Butch" Fitzpatrick, of Salem, Ohio. "These are bad times—3 wars since 1914. I think we should train every 18-year-old who can pass a physical."

In Saginaw, Mich., Tom Dunning said: "If we have a war with Russia, we'll need all the men we can get."

"If a crook knows that a man has training in judo, and is proficient in it, he would think twice before he jumped him for his wallet," said Donald Schurman, of Baltimore. "I think the same principle applies in international affairs."

2. They're tired of being dangling men: "I like the UMT plan a lot better than the draft setup we have now," 17-year-old Hubert Gainer, of Philadelphia, told me. "Under UMT you'd go right in at 18, get your training over with, and get out. Under the draft, you just have to hang around and wait until the draft board decides it needs you. Once you get a draft card, you can't get a decent job."

Another teen-ager standing nearby chimed in: "Yeah. And that's when a lot of kids get into trouble. Nothing much to do, and feeling kind of mad at the world."

MILITARY INSECURITY

On this point, incidentally, a number of adults go along with the Philadelphia teen-ager's comment. William E. Titus, a former justice of the peace in Huntington, N. Y., named this feeling "military insecurity."

"'Military insecurity' starts at about age 16," Titus says. "Boys began to say: 'What is going to happen to me? Will I be drafted? How will Mom take it? Will my girl wait? And there are hundreds of other questions, all unanswered until Uncle Sam makes his final, often long-drawn-out decision.

"Youthful insecurity caused by the present draft law could be abolished in good measure by UMT and with it would go much of the juvenile delinquency which has arisen to plague us in recent years."

3. They think UMT is fairer than the draft: "I don't think the present draft system is fair at all," said Eugene Hatfield, of Norman, Okla. "There are men I know of that were drafted at an early age when they were still in high school. Then there are men running their own businesses that are physically fit that should have received their draft notices long ago. I can't understand why one gets drafted and the other doesn't."

"You don't have to worry about the draft if you're a politician's son," a Baltimore youngster told me. "The draft board manages to misplace your records."

"If you're a big brain, the draft board says, 'That's all right. You go on off to college.' Then you go to college, and get married, and have a couple of kids, and before you know it, you're out of the draft for good. Why don't they take the big brains?" a mournful Philadelphian asked me. "Don't the Army need any brains?"

4. They feel the military training will do them good: "Military training builds boys up physically," commented Ray Aceto, of Cleveland. "They have to learn to take orders and carry them out. And they have to learn how to get along with others."

"I'm for UMT because I feel every boy needs the strict training which is found in the Army and not found in the home any more," said Anthony Sepan, of Philadelphia.

On this point, "Butch" Fitzpatrick, the Salem boy, said: "We high school kids are just a little scared and afraid to admit it. This is a fast-changing world, and we're being pushed out into it without enough preparation. We are expected to know twice as much as our parents did—in the same amount of time. UMT would treat us all alike, and after finishing the training we would be a little older and a little better prepared to face this complicated world."

As I checked with students in high school after high school, I think I discovered the reason for Congressional timidity about UMT.

NOISY MINORITY

The whole idea of training every 18-year-old is opposed by a minority which manages to make enough noise to sound like a majority. I noticed that many youngsters who favored UMT were startled to learn that they were expressing a popular rather than an unpopular opinion.

By speaking up forcefully and frequently, the opponents of UMT have practically vetoed the UMT act. One result is that the United States now has a reserve force so small that Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson refers to the reserve situation as a scandal. Under UMT, we could quickly build up a ready-to-fight reserve of 2 million, 3 million, or even 5 million men.

For or against, the youngsters of America were not afraid to take a stand on UMT.

Will we be able to say the same about the Members of our 84th Congress?

Report of the CIO Standing Committee on Ethical Practices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on June 22, 1954, I introduced S. 3649, a bill requiring the public disclosure of certain information in order to strengthen the administration of labor-management health, welfare, and retirement plans. At the time I introduced the bill I made clear to the Senate that we were attempting to suggest a constructive proposal to help eliminate as much as possible abuses in this vital area of labor-management relations. The development of health, labor, and retirement funds in union-management agreements has been one of the great advances which collective bargaining has made in recent years and one of the best ways of safeguarding those advances was to be vigilant and guard against abuses of these funds by a few irresponsible and selfish people.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me to learn that the American trade union movement is taking concrete steps to stamp out the shady and dishonest practices that have come to its attention. It is my understanding that both the CIO and A. F. of L. are interested in cooperating with Government to help meet the need.

Within recent days I have had an opportunity to examine a report of a standing committee on ethical practices established by the CIO. It is a report which deserves wide distribution. The committee held extensive hearings, made a series of thorough studies, and has recently prepared a set of findings and recommendations which I desire to bring to the attention of the Senate.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from the report of the CIO Standing Committee on Ethical Practices relating to their findings and recommendations and conclusion.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the report were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIO STANDING COMMITTEE ON ETHICAL PRACTICES

(Jacob S. Potofsky, Chairman; Joseph Curran; James G. Thimmes; Arthur J. Goldberg, Director)

PART I. THE FACTS

The Congress of Industrial Organizations has always demonstrated deep concern with the ethical standards of our labor movement.

For a number of years the CIO convention has adopted a statement of ethical practices. The 1953 statement of ethical practices follows in part:

"In previous years, conventions of the CIO have adopted statements emphasizing the determination of the CIO and its affiliated unions to wage war on unethical practices within and without the trade-union movement, and to take all necessary steps to emphasize the democratic rights of individual trade union members. We reaffirm these statements of CIO policy as a fundamental basis for decent and effective trade unionism.

"Departures from morality and high ethical principles are evil and harmful to society, regardless of the circumstances or surroundings in which they take place. Public officials who betray their trust and businessmen who use corrupt methods and bribery to gain their ends are both equally guilty of wrongdoing; they can no more—and no less—escape blame for their actions than the racketeers who prey upon the labor movement, seeking to use its respected organizations as a front for nefarious personal gains.

"Each American loses an essential part of his rights and privileges as a citizen wherever corrupt practices flourish. High ethical standards are essential to our democratic way of life and the well-being of our people. Freedom from political corruption depends upon freedom from both moral and legal guilt.

"The CIO joins all decent Americans concerned for the future welfare of our Nation in expressing our unqualified opposition to such practices by individuals, corporations, special interests and organizations.

"As for our part, we in the CIO are determined to continue those policies which have made our organization clean, decent and honest, and to keep it so.

"We adopt this statement of principles on ethical practices and individual rights in the firm determination that our members shall not be denied their right to an honest, decent, democratic trade unionism singlemindedly devoted to the advancement of the interests of American workers and the welfare of the Nation. The strength of our dedication to this principle was demonstrated in our forthright action 3 years ago in expelling 11 Communist-controlled unions with a membership of almost 1 million.

"We call upon other elements of our society—particularly all branches of Government and industry—to act with equal vigor against dishonesty and unethical practices wherever they may be found within their ranks. We ask them to join with us in attacking and stamping out racketeering and immoral elements in American life.

"Morality is an individual as well as a social matter. An eternal vigilance by all segments of society against the weakening of moral standards within their ranks will bring a stronger democracy."

This statement of principle has never been a dead letter in the CIO. The officers and executive board of the CIO have implemented this statement as the occasion required.

Recently the officers and board have given specific attention to the implementation of the ethical-practices statement in the field of welfare funds.

This important area of union activity is one of vital concern to the CIO which pioneered in the development of welfare programs through collective bargaining. It was therefore natural that when the New York State Department of Insurance, investigating the administration of welfare funds in that State, disclosed that there had been in some instances abuses in administration on the part of leaders of a few local unions of a CIO affiliate, that the president of the CIO, Walter Reuther, moved promptly and forthrightly to rectify the situation.

President Reuther immediately sent a letter to President Max Greenberg, of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, calling upon him "to take prompt remedial action against the local officials involved in the malpractices disclosed at these hearings." President Reuther also said that he would expect "a full report of the corrective actions taken by your union against the individuals named in these hearings and any others against whom there is a legitimate charge of racketeering or maladministration."

President Greenberg, of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, reported to the October meeting of the CIO executive board as to what actions had been taken. As President Greenberg subsequently told the standing committee, the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union immediately took steps to protect the interests of the members of this handful of locals and also to demonstrate affirmatively that we in the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union will not for one moment tolerate any abuses of moneys held in trust for the benefit of our members. Accordingly the five local unions were suspended and administrators were appointed. Three of the locals acceded to the international's suspension order. In a fourth we had to take physical possession of the local offices, an action that was approved by the membership of the union at a meeting a few days later. The fifth local union was expelled from the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union for refusing to accede to the suspension and to the appointment of an administrator.

The international union executive board also adopted a resolution on ethical practices which commended President Greenberg for taking effective disciplinary action and condemning the abuses of local union funds.

The executive board of the CIO gave careful and thoughtful consideration to the entire question of ethical administration of welfare and other union funds and unanimously adopted a statement on this subject. This statement is as follows:

Statement of policy on the administration of welfare and other union funds

During the past several years, CIO unions have negotiated pension and welfare agreements with employers throughout American industry.

This precedent-making development has brought tangible and substantial benefits to millions of union members and their families. Through the collective-bargaining process, the unions of the CIO have thus been responsible for a major assault on the hazards of insecurity arising from old age, death, disability, and illness.

Thousands of these welfare plans, achieved through collective-bargaining processes, are now functioning. Hundreds of thousands of families have benefited, hundreds of millions of dollars in benefits have been paid out to workers and their families. People who might otherwise have suffered privation and want have been able to preserve their dignity, self-respect, and standard of living, despite family catastrophe. These welfare plans are a testimonial to the vitality and flexibility of the collective-bargaining process in the American free-enterprise system.

The administration of these welfare plans varies. Some are administered jointly by unions and employers; some by employers; some by the unions alone. Whatever the method of administration, the objective in all cases is the same—to provide the maximum benefits at the minimum cost to the workers and their families. It is a characteristic of all well-administered welfare funds that the cost of administration is a small part of the total income of the fund.

The vast majority of these welfare plans are administered as they should be, as a sacred trust on behalf of the beneficiaries. The CIO is proud of this record of constructive achievement on the part of its affiliates in this field of human welfare.

We have been determined from the outset that the administration of welfare funds shall meet the highest ethical standards for the handling of fiduciary funds.

Year after year CIO conventions have reaffirmed, in our annual statement on ethical practices, our determination to prevent any corruption in the handling of funds belonging to, or held in trust for, our members or their families.

We have said, and we now repeat, that there is no room in the legitimate labor movement for crooks or Communists.

In the recent past a few cases of financial corruption in the handling of welfare funds on the part of certain local officials have come to light.

These situations, few as they are in relation to the whole picture, cannot be condoned. Even a few are far too many. They are shocking and disgraceful.

We commend President Reuther for the prompt and effective manner in which he demanded and secured remedial action against these abuses, involving local unions of a CIO affiliate in the New York area.

We unreservedly approve his statement that the CIO does not recognize any autonomous right of crooks and racketeers to use the good name of the CIO as a cloak for their corruption. The CIO executive board will unhesitatingly use its powers, under the CIO constitution, to preserve the integrity of our movement and to keep it free from any taint of corruption.

At the present time several Federal and State agencies are investigating the administration of welfare funds.

The CIO unreservedly welcomes every legitimate investigation of welfare funds and their administration.

The CIO pledges complete cooperation, in the firm belief that the pitiless light of publicity should fall squarely on those who betray their trust in the handling of welfare funds—whether these betrayers be union officials, corporation officials, or insurance company officials. There is no place in the labor movement for corrupt union officials, and they should go to jail, along with every embezzler of welfare funds, regardless of position.

The CIO pledges its cooperation to all legitimate efforts on the part of law-enforcement officials to make certain that proper punishment is meted out to these malefactors.

The CIO, furthermore, will not delay action to prevent or remedy abuses until a case has been formally established in the courts. Just as we did in expelling Communist unions, we will, in accordance with our own democratic procedures, take prompt and effective action on our own initiative against financial corruption by union officials.

There is considerable discussion, as a result of recent revelations, of the need for remedial legislation. We have no illusion that a simple act of law will eliminate abuses in this area, any more than laws against murder eliminate killings.

There is, of course, no substitute for character and honesty in people in positions of trust. There is no substitute for internal union vigilance to insure that union office is held as a trust by responsible individuals.

Fair, thoughtful, and well-considered legislation, however—if inquiry demonstrates a need—can help minimize abuses in the administration of welfare funds.

The CIO pledges cooperation to all legitimate inquiries as to the need for legislation; and if legislation is demonstrated to be necessary, we likewise pledge full cooperation in formulating fair laws to help make certain that welfare funds are honestly administered. It goes without saying that the CIO will regard as inappropriate and antilabor any attempt to curtail the area of collective bargaining in this highly beneficial field of human welfare under the guise of preventing abuses in administration.

The CIO executive board empowers and directs the president of the CIO to appoint a special standing committee—

(1) promptly to investigate any charges or allegations of maladministration of welfare or other union funds within the CIO, and to report to the president and executive board of the CIO their recommendations for prompt remedial action; and

(2) promptly to formulate recommendations for standards for welfare funds; and if demonstrated to be necessary, for appropriate legislation to help make certain that welfare funds are honestly administered.

PART II

Findings

1. The standing committee has relied on an unusually authoritative body of facts as the basis for its findings and recommendations. The staff has examined the relevant literature in the field and reported on it to the committee; the questionnaire referred to above has provided a review of the practices of CIO unions in health, welfare, and retirement programs. The hearings gave the committee an unusually penetrating insight into the complex problems posed by these programs.

2. The extension of collective bargaining interests to the field of health, welfare, and retirement programs is perhaps the most significant development in industrial relations of the post-World War II period. These negotiated plans have undertaken to fill a serious gap in community resources for the protection of the individual against the hazards of ill health, old age, and unemployment.

3. The significance of these negotiated plans is stressed by the notable inadequacy of Government benefits to deal with these problems. And here again the labor movement is performing a historic task in a democratic society by seeking to deal with social problems through the medium of voluntary organizations. As the CIO has said in other places, these voluntary efforts at best are far from adequate to deal with the total problem of health and old age, and our concern with improving the administration of health, welfare, and retirement programs should not be construed as lessening our conviction that the Government responsibility is fundamental in this field.

4. It would be nothing short of tragic if the dishonesty and chicanery practiced by a few individuals were to obscure the monumental contribution of these health, welfare, and retirement programs to the security of people who work for a living.

And the fact is, virtually everybody who has had anything to say on the subject has said that the incidence of such dishonesty and shady practices is isolated to a few local situations. The vast majority of these programs have been efficiently, honestly, and conscientiously administered.

We reiterate, however, the position which the CIO has taken from the very beginning of the revelations of maladministration. Even though these instances are few and local it does not lessen our obligation to eliminate every opportunity for such dishonesty, to remove the evil doers from the labor movement, and from the business community; and to exercise every caution against the repetition of such instances.

5. The CIO is concerned with more than actions that may be technically illegal. There are practices which may be technically legal but which merit condemnation and extermination on the ground that they violate the basic tenets of trade union ethics and morality. Indeed, it is the concept of ethics and morality that has provided the motivation for the initiation of these programs in the first place and the effective administration of these programs in the overwhelming number of cases.

The CIO will move to root out any practice in the administration of these health, welfare, and retirement programs which makes it possible for individuals to derive unjustified personal profit or advantage from the administration of such programs. As far as unions are concerned, we must rely both on trade union morality and our own internal high standards to keep our programs beyond reproach. What we count on as our greatest asset is the dedication of millions of union members and their elected leaders to the great cause that the labor movement represents.

6. The recommendations that follow are concerned with standards of administration which, if adopted by this convention, will constitute CIO policy in this field for affiliated unions. The problem of legislation, if any, will be the subject of a forthcoming report by this committee.

7. We want to make it clear that the recommendations which follow are not meant to deal with the content of health, welfare, and retirement programs. In this highly fluid area of collective bargaining, there are no blueprints for health, welfare, and retirement programs that can be drawn for all unions at all times in all places. The historic autonomy of the international unions to run their own collective bargaining affairs, is not impaired by these recommendations.

The focal point of these recommendations is the administration of health, welfare, and retirement programs; and within the framework of administration we seek to set down recommendations that will make for better administered programs without in any way affecting the content of the programs. It is also fair to say that these recommendations represent the overwhelming consensus of the expert advice and guidance which the committee has received from all sources inside and outside of the labor movement.

8. The recommendations that follow are in the first instance necessarily directed at CIO affiliates with substantial administrative responsibility in connection with health, welfare, and retirement programs. This does not mean that only such CIO affiliates are concerned. On the contrary, we believe that the standards set forth in the recommendations can be studied with value by all the other elements in the health, welfare, and retirement field.

The CIO is determined to take all necessary steps needed to insure that health, welfare, and retirement funds are administered in accordance with the highest ethical standards. This is essential to the well being of the men, women, and children who are the beneficiaries of these beneficient programs.

The CIO is determined that these programs shall be clean, decent, and honest and they shall be kept so.

Recommendations

1. The trustees or administrators of health, welfare, and retirement programs, whether union, company, or joint, and all others exercising responsibility in connection with such programs, have the obligation to make sure that maximum benefits are provided from the money available. These plans should be administered as a sacred trust on behalf of the beneficiaries. Their administration should meet the highest ethical standards for the handling of trust funds.

2. All welfare funds should be audited at least semiannually by independent certified public accountants who should certify that the audits fully and comprehensively show the financial condition of the funds and the results of the operation of these funds.

3. There should be full disclosure and report to the beneficiaries at least once a year by the trustees or administrators of all pertinent facts concerning the administration of welfare funds, including detailed financial reports and audits which shall specify the salaries, expenses, and fees paid in connection with the administration of the program, to whom paid, and how much, and for what purpose.

4. Persons occupying full-time paid positions with unions or companies should not receive additional compensation for acting as trustees or administrators of their own organization's health, welfare, and retirement funds.

5. Where welfare benefits are carried through an insurance company, the carrier

should be selected through genuinely competitive bids on the basis of the lowest net cost for given benefits provided by a responsible company. The company should warrant that no fee has been paid directly or indirectly to any representative of the parties in connection with the coverage provided.

6. The insurance carriers should be required to file statements with the trustees or administrators of welfare programs, specifying claim experience, commissions paid by the carriers, to whom paid, retentions, and amounts of dividends received and to whom paid. This information should be made available by the trustees or administrators to the beneficiaries.

7. Brokers performing no service in connection with insurance coverage for welfare programs should receive no commissions or other fee payments. Laws, if any, requiring such commission payments should be repealed. Savings resulting from nonpayment of unearned commissions should be utilized for greater benefits for the beneficiaries of the program.

8. International unions which negotiate welfare programs, or whose locals negotiate such programs, should:

(a) Establish and enforce specific standards and conditions of performance relating to health, welfare, and retirement programs, incorporating the foregoing recommendations.

(b) Have expert advice available for the negotiations and administration of such programs.

(c) Provide for both internal and independent audits of welfare programs administered by locals and other subordinate bodies in order to insure proper administration.

(d) Provide training programs for union representatives in the techniques and standards of proper administration of welfare programs.

(e) Carry on educational programs for the members who are the beneficiaries of such programs as to the content of the programs and their rights thereunder.

(f) Act promptly to correct abuses in the administration of such programs wherever abuses occur.

CONCLUSION

This is only the first report of the standing committee. There will be additional reports, including one dealing with legislative proposals. And, of course, the standing committee stands ready at all times to discharge its mandate "promptly to investigate any charges or allegations of maladministration of welfare or other union funds within the CIO."

A Young American Is Looking Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the consent that has been given to me by the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a letter which I have received from Barry R. Billmann reading as follows:

WOODLYNNE, N. J., *January 10, 1955.*

Hon. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON.

DEAR SIR: I am only 10 years old but I am planning to join the Naval Academy. I read the item in the paper about new candidates, and I am very interested. Of course, I won't be out of high school till 1963, but I would like to get my name in early, as my daddy was in the Navy and he is a fine man, and I want to be like him. Hoping to hear from you soon, I am,

Very respectfully,

BARRY R. BILLMANN.

P. S.—If you want me before then my phone number is Woodlawn 4-9179.

I have replied to this young man that if it is my good fortune to still be a Member of Congress in 1963 I will be glad to honor his request and nominate him for admission to the Naval Academy. I am certain that any boy 10 years of age who is looking forward already to admission to the Naval Academy and who is not deterred by the years that must intervene is entitled to favorable consideration. He is the kind of stuff that America can depend upon in the future. I feel honored to have such a boy residing in the congressional district which I have the privilege and honor to represent.

Tariff Rates on Oysters Should Not Be Lowered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, oyster taking and processing is an important American food industry. In an average year about 60 million pounds of raw oysters, valued at $25 million to $30 million, are taken by American oyster fishermen from American waters. The value is further increased by the canning or deep-freezing of these oysters. The industry employs large numbers of people, both on fishing boats, on the oysterbeds, and in the canneries.

A proposal will be under consideration at the International Trade Conference in Geneva which starts next month to lower the tariff on imported oysters. If the present tariff rates on oysters are lowered, increased quantities of oysters, mostly from Japan, will flood the American market, thereby working great hardship on American oysterbed owners, oyster fishermen, oyster cannery owners and workers.

American oyster cannery labor cannot and should not be expected to compete with the low wages prevailing in the oyster canneries of Japan.

The Japanese women and girls who work in the oyster canneries of Japan receive a wage of only 8 cents an hour, compared to a wage of $1.50 an hour in the oyster canneries of the United States.

Men who work in the canneries of Japan at cleaning, shelling, smoking, and shoveling oysters receive an average wage of $0.197 or less than 20 cents an hour. In the United States, the average wage for similar labor is $1.50 to $1.78 an hour.

In short, the hourly wage paid in the United States is 15 to 20 times that paid in Japan. Unless reasonable tariffs or quota limits are imposed on Japanese shipments of oysters into the United States, Japanese oyster producers will drive the American oyster industry out of business.

The United States Tariff Commission should be proposing increasing the duty on Japanese oysters instead of the Committee on Reciprocity Information now considering lowering the tariff on Japanese oyster imports.

Will Congress Vote Raises?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, salary increases have been recommended to the Congress for armed services personnel, Federal workers, and Federal judges. The question now is, Will Congress vote a raise for themselves?

In that connection, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article, written by Doris Fleeson, which appeared in the December 31, 1954, edition of the Evening Star of Washington, D. C.:

WILL CONGRESS VOTE RAISES?—OPPORTUNITY SEEN FOR PACKAGE FEDERAL SALARY INCREASE FOR ARMY, JUDGES, UNITED STATES WORKERS, AND LEGISLATORS THEMSELVES

(By Doris Fleeson)

With pay raises in prospect in 1955 for a million Federal workers and the Army and with dignified but nevertheless plaintive urgings in this respect arising from the judiciary, Congress may get up enough nerve to get into the act with a raise of its own.

Although Congress is the only agency of Government with power to set its own rate of pay, it has always been notably reluctant to pay itself well. This modesty in dealing with itself has, employees of other branches of the Government complain, kept the whole level of Federal salaries low.

In 1946, Congress voted a $2,500 tax-free expense fund in addition to Members' regular $12,500 salary. The tax-free provision failed to set well with taxpayers and in 1953 Congress withdrew it. Now Members of both Houses receive $15,000, all of it taxable.

This may appear to be substantial in rural or small-town America. Yet Washington remains one of the Nation's most expensive cities, and running for office is becoming progressively more costly. Especially if he has growing children, a Member's salary does not go very far.

Some of the better known Members, especially Senators, eke out additional income by writing or lecturing, but these methods are by no means open to all. At times the means have run from the dubious to the outright illegal.

The judiciary also can make out a strong case for both salary increases and more money for general administrative expense. Federal judicial salaries have not been raised in 9 years, a period in which living costs have gone up sharply. District judges now receive $15,000 and appeals court judges $17,500. Lawyers point out that a man sufficiently able to serve on the Federal bench could make much more practicing law. They fear that low salaries for judges will dim the ambitions of the ablest men to serve and that the quality of Federal justice will be lowered.

Virtually the entire Federal bench is in agreement that Congress has been niggardly with the judicial branch. Complaints vary in importance from weakness of the Federal probation system enforced through lack of funds, to lack of typewriters and lawbooks. Sometimes, as happened in the last session of Congress, judgeships are created without provision for operations of all the new courts.

President Eisenhower vetoed the 1954 pay raise for civil servants which was passed by Congress. This year, however, he has announced he is for a raise and Congress almost certainly will pass the required legislation.

There is some hope that Congress will consider all the pay-raise plans together so as to avoid inequities.

Not much of this is calculated to bring happy thoughts to Treasury Secretary Humphrey as he struggles with the deficit. His hope of keeping it in the neighborhood of $3 billion may soon seem terribly optimistic.

Gallup Poll Shows Overwhelming Support for Alaska-Hawaiian Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, a recent Gallup poll shows that both parties in this country overwhelmingly favor statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii. According to the poll, the Republicans favor admission of Alaska by a 5 percent margin over the Democrats, and admission of Hawaii by a 6 percent margin over the Democrats. So the Republicans should support both statehood bills or a joint bill.

The article by George Gallup, which I include in the RECORD, points to some fear that admission of these two Territories would disturb the present balance in the Senate. It is not the intention of the authors of statehood legislation to make the election of Representatives and Senators from these two areas effective prior to the election in 1956. That procedure will relieve all misgivings on that score. The article by Mr. Gallup follows:

ALASKA, HAWAII BILLS IN FAVOR
(By George Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion)

Public sentiment in favor of admitting both Hawaii and Alaska to statehood in the Federal Union is greater than ever, according to the latest nationwide poll by the institute, despite the perennial failure of statehood bills in Congress.

A majority of the American people have voted in favor of statehood in every poll on Hawaii since 1941 and on Alaska since 1946. Today's poll, however, finds the majorities on both questions greater than ever, with 82 percent approving statehood for Alaska and 78 percent welcoming Hawaii into the Union.

President Eisenhower would give Hawaii priority over Alaska in the matter of statehood and many GOP Congressmen are opposed altogether to admitting normally Democratic Alaska, but rank-and-file Republicans across the country are even more in favor of admitting Alaska than are rank-and-file Democrats.

A representative cross section of the voters was asked separate questions about each Territory.

The vote:

	Alaska	Hawaii
	Percent	*Percent*
Favor	82	78
Oppose	9	12
No opinion	9	10

Here is the vote on Alaska's admission by party affiliation:

	Democrats	Republicans	Independents
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Favor	80	85	82
Oppose	10	8	8
No opinion	10	7	10

The vote on Hawaii by party affiliation:

	Favor	Oppose	No opinion
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Republicans	81	11	8
Democrats	75	14	11
Independents	80	9	11

President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message, urged approval of Hawaiian statehood, but advised against admitting Alaska until its "complex problems are resolved."

Statehood bills have been introduced at every congressional session for many years, but have met opposition from several quarters.

One important obstacle has been the fear of a shift in the political balance in the Senate in recent years over such issues as civil rights legislation.

If Hawaii, which is normally Republican, were to be admitted during the present session of Congress, 2 more GOP Senators would increase the number from the present 47 to 49.

That would make the composition of the Senate 49 Democrats (including Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, who has said he will vote with the Democrats on matters of organization) and 49 Republicans, leaving Vice President Nixon to break a tie vote in favor of the GOP.

However, if Alaska, which is normally Democratic, were also admitted during the present session, the Democrats would have 51 seats to the Republicans' 49.

The drive for statehood took on renewed impetus as a result of World War II, in which both Hawaii and Alaska played a strategic role, geographically. It was largely from bases in the Hawaiian Islands that the naval and air war against Japan was fought.

The islands in the Hawaiian group comprise only 6,407 square miles of land, but the census count of the population in 1950 was 499,794, compared to Alaska's 128,643. Alaska is more than twice as large as Texas.

Hawaii became a Territory in 1900, Alaska in 1912.

The Late Willis W. Bradley

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. ALLEN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. ALLEN of California. Mr. Speaker, it was with great regret that I learned of the death of my former colleague, the Honorable Willis Bradley. He and I came to Congress at the same time and were both assigned to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. We worked together closely during the entire period of his service. I learned to know of his great ability in the field with which he was concerned. Particularly in the field of legislation and information concerning the Panama Canal was he recognized as an outstanding authority in the United States.

It was a pleasure to work with him. It was equally a pleasure for Mrs. Allen and me to enjoy the company of Captain Bradley and his wife on the many occasions during which we were together. I extend my sincere sympathy to Mrs. Bradley. The country and particularly the district which Captain Bradley served has lost a very fine American.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

Inaugural Address of Gov. George M. Leader, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith the inaugural address of the Honorable George M. Leader, the new Governor of Pennsylvania:

My fellow Pennsylvanians, inauguration as Governor of Pennsylvania is a proud, a solemn thing.

I would not be frank if I did not confess a stirring in my heart and a challenge, bold and emphatic, in my spirit. This is a post I sought; this is an opportunity I asked of my fellow Pennsylvanians. And the people of Pennsylvania gave it to me.

Today, when I take office by their vote, I owe them the performance they were promised. With God's help, I will work unremittingly in my term of office, sparing nothing of my strength, to accomplish the full scope of the program for Pennsylvania which we set forth as my pledge and the pledge of the Democratic Party.

That program, in its essence, is a simple one.

It is the assemblage of the great resources of this State, of the energetic people of this State, of the wisdom and the hope and the God-given intelligence of our leadership in every phase of community endeavor, into a common effort which will benefit us all.

Our great, our overriding concern, is the economy of Pennsylvania.

Our effort is to find in that economy the source of a rising living standard, the full employment of our people, the provision of an environment which will bring today's opportunities to every home and every child in Pennsylvania.

I ask you today—you who wish me well, you who will work with me—to lift up your sights, to think of government as something more than a dreary contest for power and privilege, to think of our obligation to our present trust and to our future hope.

Pennsylvania through the years has made great progress, no matter who was governor or what party was in control. The energy of its people assures that much; the interplay of ideas, the effect of our enterprise, will bring us forward even when official leadership may fail.

But I take office in conviction that we can do more—much more.

It is my belief that there is a great potential of leadership in this sprawling framework of State government; that the stately words "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania" mean something more than a commission to an office or a party to a trial.

I intend to do all that is in me to summon up that leadership; to make it effective; to make it helpful; to make it imaginative and alert to the problems of the people of this State.

I see the State government as the coworker and friendly partner of local government and community agencies everywhere in Pennsylvania, helping them to develop their resources and overcome their obstacles.

I see the State government as a vigorous spokesman for Pennsylvania before the Congress and the national administration, acting quickly to protect our people's interests, calling on Federal agencies to treat us fairly, alerting the Nation to Pennsylvania problems which have national implications and with which we cannot deal alone.

I see the State government as the helpful friend of business and of labor, of the city and farm, as an agency which exists to help the people do, as Abraham Lincoln said, what they cannot do for themselves acting individually.

Good government acts to prevent injustice, to prevent exploitation, to guard the humble against oppression by the strong.

But, in a sense, those things are negative.

As this administration will see it, this State government will also be a positive force for accomplishment. We will not sit by, wringing our hands, while any phase of our community life deteriorates, or while whole regions slip into stagnation, chronic unemployment, and decay.

We consider that we have a positive mandate to act.

We will carry out that mandate.

We will act in the fields of social progress, the things of humane concern, such as public health, the care of retarded children, and the mentally ill, the advancement of public education, the prevention of discrimination among our people.

We will act to conserve and to develop for our wise use the natural resources of our State, to purify its streams, to increase its opportunities for outdoor recreation, to keep a sense of the forest and the field in our lives. The more complex, the more urban, our civilization becomes, the more we must preserve our right to restore ourselves by contact with the land and the water as God bequeathed them to us.

But all these good things have their source in one great fundamental—the enduring prosperity of the people of the State; the development of constantly increasing employment opportunities in our economy for today's population, and the rising population of tomorrow.

We must face the fact that growth and development are not automatic. We are in competition with other States and other regions. The relative growth pattern in this country is not necessarily favorable to us. We cannot depend upon the simple course of nature to protect us. We grew on a traditional energy source—coal. Others now share with us the newer energy sources—oil, natural gas, and the atom. We have in too many instances an aging industrial plant; newer industrial areas often gain an advantage in more efficient facilities.

To this date, we have not made a coordinated statewide effort to provide plant sites. Our effort, private and public, to attract new industry has not been emphasized enough, not been supported enough; it has been altogether too little.

But it is certainly not too late.

I pledge you today that the primary work of this administration will be to make Pennsylvania a good competitor, a winning competitor. This State must do more than hold its own. It must rescue its areas of distress; it must gain its proportional share of our national expansion.

This governor will be proud to be a salesman, an advocate, for Pennsylvania.

In that work, I am sure I will be joined by every Pennsylvanian.

In human affairs, there are times of passive resignation, of acceptance. In the stress of our daily lives, we may ignore community problems, regard them as something for others to solve or to ignore as they will.

Then of a sudden, a flame is kindled, an example set, an impulse stirred. That has happened in Pennsylvania.

Our period of passivity is ended.

Our time of flame, of concentrated endeavor, of tireless, ceaseless work has now begun.

For the 4 years of this administration, and I hope for unnumbered years to come, this will be the theme of the State government and those who staff its agencies.

The governorship confers on me the titular leadership of my party—the Democratic Party—in the State. I intend to exercise that leadership as boldly and as strongly as I can, so that our party meets its responsibilities, redeems its pledges, and is an effective instrument for Pennsylvania's progress.

I have every confidence that our party will not fail our program or the State.

Nor, while I concede cheerfully the right of the opposition to oppose, do I believe the Republican Party will adopt a policy of willful or malicious obstruction. I have too much confidence in Americans, regardless of their party, to fear their basic attitudes on grave matters of public interest. Particularly, I know my former colleagues in the Senate, men with whom I served.

I cannot conceive that they will not unite with us in the cause of Pennsylvania's future.

We may have differences. We'll try to thresh them out.

Where our views cannot be reconciled, we will have a mutual right to ask the people to judge between us.

It is known to us all that the State faces a crisis in its own structure. The outgoing governor, who shares this platform today, told the legislature a week or so ago, that his predecessor in office had not informed him of the burdens he was passing on, of the commitments made, the funds pledged, the lack of revenue to meet the State's needs.

I will plead no such surprise, because we campaigned on the statement that the succession of Republican administrations had each practiced some deception of the people and each other—that, in effect, the new administration would be a receiver in bankruptcy.

I must say today, however, that it is even worse than we thought.

As we must now forecast the deficit for this biennium, it will come to a staggering total of approximately $86 million. That huge deficit must be financed in the budget which the legislature will adopt for the biennium that is ahead.

The budget figures for the coming biennium, compiled by the outgoing administration, including the current deficit, indicate that the State's revenues would be more than $500 million short of covering its expenditures. Even if the general sales tax were reenacted, the revenue would still be $400 million short.

Two things are obvious:

The general sales tax enacted by the 1953 legislature does not produce even a scant fourth of the amount needed to cover the State's income shortage.

And secondly the people, in what amounted to a referendum in the governorship campaign, instructed us to let the general sales tax die.

And die it will.

Our first task will be to revise the budget figures assembled by the outgoing administration, and to cut them wherever it is possible. We have developed plans which I will submit to our new department heads for reducing operating costs. We are planning a revitalized and more stringent administration of our revenue department to increase our tax income.

But I cannot be so optimistic as to predict that these measures will solve our basic problem.

Past legislatures have made enormous commitments which are now the pledged faith of the State, and it has not enacted a tax program that is adequate to raise the money to honor those commitments.

That is the recipe for bankruptcy.

And, as might be expected, this administration inherits the full impact of a reckless fiscal policy in which each Republican governor in turn, and each Republican legislature, followed a policy of "after us, the deluge."

Well, the deluge is on.

But the people did not elect us, did not change their government after 16 years, so that we could rake over the past and bemoan our bad luck.

They elected us to solve the problem, and solve it we must and will.

It is our plain duty to attack the problem of the State's services and the State's finances all along the line. We can tolerate no more postponement. We must provide an answer, and it must be an answer which the people of the State are willing to accept.

For my part, I will oppose half measures.

And I suggest to our Republican colleagues that, inasmuch as their party bears the responsibility for the State's fiscal crisis, they join with us in an honest bipartisan statesmanlike attempt to reach a meeting of the minds on a finance program which will make Pennsylvania solvent once again.

I would like to say this as to the philosophy which will imbue our administration. It will not be an administration that believes in party feuding as the prime function of government; it will have no hate; but will have no vindictiveness. It will not adopt the political technique of exhuming the past to pollute the present. It will not follow the old game of politics as usual, in every situation, under every circumstance.

I am loyal to my party and want it to succeed.

But that very loyalty joins with my conscience to tell me that party success can only follow public success; that any party deserves to win and to hold office only if it attains the objectives which it has promised and gives a competent administration of the affairs which are committed to its trust.

I may say that I detest, and will not tolerate, laziness and sloppy performance of a public duty. No one in my administration, no matter who he is, is going to draw pay from the State without rendering a fair return in work performed. This administration will be no hayride for anyone; it is going to be work, hard work, and more work.

I will be impatient of failure.

It follows that I will be merciless toward corruption, and strictly judge offenses against ethics, even if they are within the letter of the law.

This administration will not suffer itself to be wrecked or sabotaged by self-seekers whose interest is not the State, not its people, and not the Democratic Party.

But again, those things are negatives.

They are the least that can be expected; they are the lowest common denominator of decent government.

It is an article of faith with me that government can do much more; that it can expand its views; widen its horizons; draft into public service and into public thought, the whole imagination and vision and skills of a great community.

It will be our cardinal principle to be always open to ideas; to seek the participation in our State's affairs of Pennsylvania citizens, regardless of their party, who have a zeal for public service; to set up new standards for the State's services; to improvise; to modernize; to excel.

We will have a sober respect for experience and tradition, but we will be unafraid of experiment, willing to take risks, ready to adopt bold measures if they promise to advance the interests of the State.

It is our desire, our promise, that we will pass the State government to our successors as a stronger government, a better government, a more solvent government than that which we receive.

The next Governor of Pennsylvania, so far as we can help it, will have no cause to complain that this administration has not faced its own problems.

And, above all, it is our desire, our premise, and our pledge that we will build toward an enduring economy in this Commonwealth—fruitful and prosperous farms, a rising living standard, new and expanded industry, more and more job opportunities for Pennsylvanians.

Let those who will call it idealistic, the stuff of dreams, visionary.

But in this Bible on which I took my oath today, these familiar words, from Proverbs, chapter 29, verse 18, appear:

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

In Pennsylvania, I promise you, there will be vision.

York County Boasts First Governor

George M. Leader today became the first York Countian ever inducted as Governor of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia leads all counties in the Commonwealth with seven chief executives sent to the statehouse in Harrisburg.

The next highest includes the counties of Luzerne, Allegheny, and Centre, with three each.

All but 3 of Pennsylvania's 38 governors have been native sons. The three born out of the State were Robert E. Pattison, Quantico County, Md., elected in 1882; Gifford Pinchot, Simsbury County, Conn., elected 1922; and John K. Tener, County Tyrone, Ireland, elected 1910.

The proximity of Governor Leader's birthday Monday and inaugural celebrations today has occurred twice before in the history of the Commonwealth.

Gov. James H. Duff was inaugurated in 1947 on the day of his 64th birthday, and Gov. William Bigler was sworn into office in 1852 just 9 days after celebrating his 38th milestone.

Federal Agency's Work Cuts Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the fine record made by the regional office of the General Services Administration under the direction of Robert Bradford. The regional office is located in San Francisco.

The General Services Administration does all of the irksome chores of Government housekeeping. Its operations and responsibilities are many. GSA stockpiles rare and essential materials so necessary in our defense effort.

Here is the first of two articles appearing in the Los Angeles Times outlining the work of this Agency:

FEDERAL AGENCY'S WORK CUTS WASTE—GSA ALSO CHARGED WITH STOCKPILING SUPPLY OF CRITICAL MATERIALS TO PREVENT SHORTAGES

(By Ray Zeman)

(This is the first of two articles about the General Services Administration, the agency created by the Hoover Commission to cut waste in Government.—EDITOR'S NOTE.)

If war comes tomorrow—or next month, or next year—factories throughout America will pour a flood of orders onto a new Federal agency, the General Services Administration.

It has stockpiled 93 different critical materials throughout the Nation to prevent crises like World War II's rubber and aluminum shortages.

Sometimes the pile is only a few pounds of some metal like platinum, whose production is controlled entirely by Russia.

Sometimes the pile is literally a mountain of crude rubber or ingots of aluminum, manganese or copper.

The size and location of these piles are secret. Someone in Moscow might like to know. But their value can be told. It's between $5,500,000,000 and $7 billion. And it's growing.

While increasing these stacks, the General Services Administration is tackling a different job in trimming 360,000 tons of Federal Government records.

Imagine these records on a train. They would fill 11,454 freight cars.

Imagine them in stacks. They would equal 13½ Empire State Buildings.

FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND CABINETS

Imagine the job of trying to get Government employees to quit adding to those stacks at the rate of 10 billion documents a year—enough to fill 500,000 filing cabinets costing $25 million.

That's the job the GSA is tackling—all the way from Administrator Edmund F. Mansure in Washington to Robert B. Bradford, regional director in San Francisco, to Mrs. Margaret H. Bayless, Los Angeles business service center manager.

The GSA sandwiches these little chores between others like supplying a pencil, 100 trucks, 40 miles of cable, or 1 million other items for other Federal agencies. It may buy or sell a defense plant or put one in mothballs. It's talking about a new $18,540,000 Federal office building and $3,950,000 customhouse for Los Angeles.

TOP OF THE TABLE

And, under Hoover Commission orders, it is eliminating the notorious 5-percent "gimme" men by laying all deals on top of the table, with no opening of bids in the back room.

It's making bidding on Government supplies and projects a one-stop service at 1031 South Broadway in Los Angeles, instead of runs all over town or to Washington.

Bradford, Mrs. Bayless, and Frank A. Chambers, regional director of GSA's business service centers, yesterday told how the redtape-cutting agency was started July 1, 1949, by the Hoover Commission on Government Efficiency and Economy.

The Hoover group arranged a three-way executive split. The Bureau of the Budget handles money, the Civil Service Commission handles people, and the General Services Administration handles property. Bradford adds that the GSA also gets "everything else."

NO TRADITION

"Our biggest advantage," Bradford said, "is that we haven't a lot of tradition to live down, going back to 1812."

All operations are decentralized to regional offices, with Washington handling policy only.

Bradford, 44, is a veteran of 20 years' Government service. During World War II he was with the War Production Board. Later he was a zone administrator of surplus property, disposing of war plants valued at hundreds of millions of dollars.

Nationally and locally, the GSA is putting business methods into government. It has a complete internal audit system like a corporation. Bills can be paid in the field without Washington approval. A standard 20-day discount plan is used.

FEDERAL HOUSEKEEPER

As the Government's landlord, the GSA is responsible for all public buildings, leasing, cleaning, and repairing them.

"The Government owns 17 buildings in Los Angeles and leases 185," Bradford said. "That's a crime. It's paying too much rent in this town. The only big building the Government owns is the Federal Building. It's paying about $1,500,000 a year rent in this city. When it gets through it doesn't own anything.

"We hope to get a general government office building for Los Angeles in the near future. The customhouse might be part of it or might be separate. All work will be done by private contract."

Bradford was referring to the $18,540,000 office building, a multiple-story structure to be erected in the area bounded by Commercial, San Pedro, Market, and Los Angeles Streets, and the $3,950,000 customhouse. Peter A. Strobel, United States Commissioner of Public Buildings, has suggested the customhouse be outside the civic center, perhaps somewhere in the area bounded by Olympic Boulevard, Los Angeles Street, Washington Boulevard, and Figueroa Street.

LEASE-PURCHASE BILL

Bradford praised Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL's subcommittee of the Senate Public Works Committee for getting passage—and President Eisenhower's signature—for a lease-purchase bill for acquisition of more public buildings.

"Until now, we've been limited to 5 years on leases," the GSA Director explained. "The Kuchel bill permits 10- to 25-year leases, with the option to purchase. This is just the way you buy a house on payment. The property stays on local tax rolls until the Government finishes paying for it and takes title."

California has 245,000 Federal civil service employees, more than work in Washington, D. C., or in any other State. Half of them are in the Department of Defense. Two-thirds are white-collar workers and one-third are blue-collar, without desks.

Nationally there are 2,400,000 Federal civilian employees but another 4 million are directly dependent upon the Government, such as workers in aircraft plants making planes for the Government.

CUT IN WRITING

The GSA is trying to get the Federal employees to cut down on the 1 billion business letters written by Government agencies every year at a cost of at least $750 million.

"Every carbon copy of a letter costs 8 cents," Bradford said. "If 5 copies are made, its 40 cents. We're trying to cut down.

"We're using what we call 'birth control' in trying to stop records before they start. Government agencies create nearly 10 billion documents a year.

"We have moved many records from downtown Los Angeles to a 54,000-cubic-foot storage annex at 2401 East Pacific Coast Highway, Wilmington.

"We released $176,250 worth of empty cabinets here for other use. The Federal Government has almost stopped buying file cabinets since this program started. Nationally, it bought 97,000 of them in 1951, about 38,000 in 1953, and 5,000 in the first half of 1954.

"The Hoover Commission estimated you save $27 a year for every file cabinet you empty and put the records in a storage center.

"The one at Wilmington has shelves 11 feet high. It's a low-rent warehouse, not in a congested area, and everything is stored in 6-cent cardboard boxes, under sprinklers. The Internal Revenue Bureau was choking to death with records in the Federal Building downtown. Now it—or any Federal Judge—can get records stored at Wilmington in a day or less."

Moving of files and other economies have resulted in office space trimmings so that the 114 square feet average per person in this region (California, Arizona, Nevada, Hawaii, and the Pacific) has been cut to 106 square feet per person since 1950. Bradford estimates the saving in office rentals at $2,400,000 a year.

STILL TOO MANY

Bradford summarized: "Too many Government records are still made, filed and kept too long, too expensively and too inefficiently."

Is the GSA making progress?

"We report to Congress every year how much we save," Bradford said. "The figure was $80 million year before last and $130 million last year in provable savings. This year it will be way over $150 million."

General of the Armies of the United States

SPEECH

OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, on January 26, 1955, a great American will celebrate his 75th birthday. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, who served as supreme commander in Pacific areas during World War II and in Japan in the years following the war, will be honored at a civic dinner in Los Angeles, Calif., on that date.

It is my thought, Mr. Speaker, that a grateful nation should take additional action to commend him for his years of service. To further that purpose, I am introducing a bill today to revive the office of General of the Armies of the United States. This is the rank which was conferred upon the late General Pershing following World War I. In such a position, the Nation had the benefit of his experience and advice in the years following his active service, including the period of World War II. To date, no such promotion has been given to any of the World War II officers, although a number of them hold the rank of General of the Army, the five-star rank which was created during World War II.

I urge that the Congress and its appropriate committees take prompt action to pass this bill with the hope that General MacArthur could be appointed to such rank on his 75th birthday.

My bill contains a limitation in that the rank would be conferred upon only one officer who served on foreign soil during World War II.

It is interesting to refer to the precedents which exist. In 1866 U. S. Grant was promoted to the rank of general as a reward for his service in the Civil War. Previously, in 1799, Congress passed an act authorizing the appointment of a general of the armies of the United States which would have allowed the promotion of George Washington to such rank but his name was never sent to the Senate. It would appear that General Pershing was the only Army officer appointed to the rank of General of the Armies. In view of the precedent of honoring our military commanders, I urge enactment of my bill.

The text of the bill follows:

A bill to revive the office of general of the armies of the United States

Be it enacted, etc., That the office of general of the armies of the United States is hereby revived, and the President is hereby authorized, in his discretion and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint to said office a general officer of the Army who, on foreign soil and during World War II, has been especially distinguished in the higher command of military forces of the United States; and the officer appointed under the foregoing authorization shall receive pay in the sum of $ per year and such allowances as the President shall deem appropriate; and any provision of existing law that would enable any other officer of the Army to take rank and precedence over said officer shall not be effective: *Provided*, That no more than one appointment to office shall be made under the terms of this act.

Benjamin Franklin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 18, 1706, a great American was born—Benjamin Franklin. I believe it is only proper that the anniversary of his birth be commemorated by refreshing in our memory a few of the highlights of a life devoted to public service.

With that thought in mind, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial, written by my good friend, Harry H. Schlacht, which appeared in the January 15, 1955, edition of the East Side News:

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

On Monday America will celebrate the 249th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin.

We salute his memory in humble and reverent tribute.

We pledge our renewed fidelity to our country for which he did so much to create.

Of him it may justly be said that a crown would have lost its splendor upon his brow, for it was adorned with the wreath of freedom.

In whatever light we address his character, it is replete with instruction and inspiration.

From whatever position we survey him, it is an inspiring and fascinating picture.

Yes, there never was another who lived a more virile and varied and masterful life in his day.

He may properly be called the godfather of our country.

His name is a sound whose charm was borrowed from his thoughts and deeds which gave it perpetuity.

No high-raised marble marks his birthplace.

No pilgrims kneel before his dust or offer incense on his golden shrine.

His life is one of the world's treasures.

The world was his school, and necessity was his teacher.

He rose from bare beginnings.

He owed nothing to parentage or patronage.

He enjoyed no early education, but he lived to stand before kings and parliaments.

He won his place in the front ranks of the world's scientists, diplomats, statesmen, men of affairs, and men of letters.

His public life ran the full gamut of activities.

It was he who, as a delegate from Pennsylvania, submitted his Albany plan of union to the first American Colonial Congress in Albany on June 19, 1754, thus laying the foundations for the birth of a United States.

His plan, which was unanimously adopted, was followed by a general resolution, declaring that a "union of all the Colonies is absolutely necessary for their security and defense."

In 1775 he was a member of the Second Continental Congress and also served on the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence.

In 1766 he appeared before the House of Commons to explain colonial opposition to the stamp tax.

In 1776 he was sent by Congress as one of a committee to negotiate a treaty with France.

He was welcomed by the French leaders and became immensely popular during his stay from 1776 to 1785.

He also signed a treaty of commerce and a treaty of defensive alliance with France.

He was appointed in 1781 commissioner, with Jay and Adams to negotiate peace with Great Britain.

He was later a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, and 3 years later he signed a memorial to Congress asking for the abolition of slavery.

He died at the age of 84.

His writings are still widely read after more than 2 centuries.

His utterances are engraved in our hearts as it is stamped on his soul.

They are known round the world and his life will be further emphasied when the Nation at large will be celebrating his 250th birthday in 1956 amidst a surrounding of patriotic color and pageantry.

We may not be able to achieve his greatness but we may strive to imitate his goodness.

What a glorious legacy to the youth of America is the history of his patriotism, of his faith and self-sacrifice in the service of his country.

Let young and old read his writings.

Let us all refresh our minds with the recollections of wise sayings and of his virtuous deeds.

May his spirit shelter us from all species of oppressions.

May his spirit preserve forever our liberty and the glory of our Nation.

West Virginia Pottery Industry Reports on Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement on behalf of the United States Potters Association presented before the United States Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information by Mr. Joseph M. Wells, secretary-treasurer of the Homer Laughlin China Co., of Newell, W. Va.:

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH M. WELLS, SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE HOMER LAUGHLIN CHINA CO., NEWELL, W. VA., IN BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES POTTERS ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION AND THE COMMITTEE FOR RECIPROCITY INFORMATION, DECEMBER 1954

This is my 15th appearance before a governmental body in the past 25 years, in an effort to obtain fair and adequate tariff protection for the pottery industry of the United States. So far all my efforts, and those of my many associates, have ended in complete and dismal failure with the result that, in spite of the enormous increase in population and buying power in this country in the past 40 years, there has been no significant increase in the production of dinnerware.

The only bit of apparent success we ever attained (which promptly proved entirely futile) was the addition, in the 1930 Tariff Act, of a few cents specific duty to the existing ad valorem rates. This was granted, we feel sure, only because the British pottery industry supported our petition, in an effort to give them a little protection in the American market against competitive Japanese exports to the United States. As soon as the law became effective, Japan depreciated the yen and both we and the British were in worse shape than before.

By 1935 imports of Japanese dinnerware were breaking all previous records and continued to do so until they were practically barred from our markets in 1938. This situation has been exactly duplicated since 1946, when our markets were again open to them. And remember, our imports from Japan are still subject, with exceedingly small exceptions, to the rates in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930.

We have studied the recent statement on United States tariff policy from the Committee for Economic Development. The conclusions arrived at should cause no surprise in view of the make up of the research and policy committee which produced it. Of the 32 men named as members of this committee, there is just one whose business would suffer directly from the tariff reductions proposed. I note that he and only one other dissented from the recommendation.

Early in the report the statement is made "The effectiveness of our efforts to expand world trade is not, of course, dependent on our policies alone. How other countries respond to our lead is equally important, and their response should condition the course of our tariff policy."

Just how long, may I ask, does it take our executive department to determine the response of foreign states to our lead? For more than 20 years we have been drastically reducing our tariffs until today our average tariff level on dutiable items is about 70 percent below the level of the 1931–35 period. No other country can exhibit a record approaching this, and the almost universal response has been for other countries to build higher and higher their barriers against the importation of American products. Where minor tariff reductions have been granted, they have been completely nullified by quotas, exchange controls, import licenses and currency manipulation and devaluation.

Later on in the report appears the following: "Adoption of a clear-cut policy of tariff liberalization would be signal evidence of our concern for the economic welfare of other free nations." It seems a little strange to the lay mind, that a clear-cut policy in effect for 20 years should still not be considered adopted. We are wondering when, after all these years of our great concern over the economic welfare of other nations we should start to show some concern over the welfare of the dozens of our own industries and hundreds of thousands of their employees who are suffering from the continually rising imports of competitive products at prices far below our costs of production.

Again the Committee for Economic Development says in one place that the tariff liberalization policy it recommends should be gradual and selective. And in another, "Situations of hardship can be anticipated and avoided in most cases if tariff reductions are preceded by a careful examination of the possible results, product by product and industry by industry." Now that is all we ask—but then they flatly recommend authorization for the President to reduce all tariffs by 5 percent per year through the period (a minimum of 5 years) of extension of the Trade Agreements Act. Also that he reduce any tariff now above 50 percent of an import's value, to that level. It would be interesting to know just when you should start, and how much you should reduce the 70 percent duty on decorated china without causing hardship, when at least two members of the Tariff Commission, on the recent application of the chinaware manufacturers for an increase, found that, in order to enable them to meet Japanese competition, the ad valorem rate would have to be raised to 284 percent.

The Committee for Economic Development report strains the point that the purpose of the peril point and escape clause is to prevent serious hardship rather than to prevent any reduction in domestic output. Then they attempt to define serious hardship as reduction in output and employment on a substantial scale, where a major part of the labor and facilities released would be unable to find suitable alternative employment or use within a reasonable time. Tell me, just who is going to develop satisfactory definitions for the words, "substantial," "major part," "suitable," and "reasonable time."

The Committee seems to recognize one of the fundamental weaknesses of its position in the following phrase, "Although it is doubtful that lower tariffs would increase our trade with Western Europe and Japan in the next few years, the longer run effects could be important if our tariff policy could be put on a stable basis so as to minimize uncertainty." There has been no time in the past that we have heard of, when the tariff policy of this or any other trading country has been on a stable basis. For more than a hundred years, up until the present administration, our tariff policy has regularly changed with each change of the party in power. This also has been true, to a lesser extent perhaps, in most other countries.

However, we should recognize that a change in the value of a country's currency has a much more serious effect on its foreign trade than any normal tariff adjustment. And just when, since the First World War, has there been any certainty of the value of the currency of any one of the great powers, including the United States?

We want to register our complete disagreement with the Committee for Economic De-

velopment's statement that "In general, increased imports at costs and prices below those involved in domestic production raise our standard of living."

Imports that undercut our market when it is in a surplus state will threaten the whole economic structure. They will go counter to all the special provisions made to cushion our economy against deflation, such as unemployment insurance, social security, minimum wages, obligatory collective bargaining, farm-price supports, bank-deposit insurance, etc. There are all well-imbedded interferences with a free market; but the reduction of tariffs is in the opposite direction and will tend to undo the effects of these measures.

Unfair foreign competition makes more difficult the planning of production; it puts a damper on investment and on plans to expand production facilities. Therefore it undermines the conditions necessary for continuing prosperity.

Also it must be realized that there are 4 or 5 times as many workers employed in industries and agricultural pursuits that are exposed to injury from imports in varying degrees than are employed directly or indirectly in production and servicing of goods for export. This is necessarily so since the manufactured products most vulnerable to foreign competition, almost without exception, require a very heavy labor cost in their production.

There is another situation of the greatest importance to our foreign trade that has been ignored entirely by the Committee for Economic Development. That is the steadily decreasing percentage of the dollars we spend for imports that is coming back to us in the purchase of our exports.

The trade policies of other nations are new clearly designed to accumulate dollar reserves for these nations. Our dollars are now considered more valuable for their own sake and what they will buy from other nonconvertible currency nations, than for what they will buy from us. In spite of the steady increases in United States imports, and of the growing demand abroad for United States products, our export of goods has not grown correspondingly. Our merchandise exports (exclusive of military shipments) decreased just about one billion dollars from 1952 to 1953, and for the first 8 months of 1954 there was a shrinkage of over $300 million dollars from the 1953 figures. Please note that during that 20-month period Western Europe, where our loss of exports was greatest, was enjoying the greatest improvement in general prosperity of probably any given period in all its past history.

It is all too clear that the mass production exporting industries and international bankers, so heavily represented on the Committee for Economic Development, are interested chiefly in increasing our exports and believe this can best be done by increasing our imports, regardless of what those imports consist and regardless of the effect of those imports on dozens of smaller American industries and millions of American workmen and farmers.

Those of us who believe the American producer should have a fair chance to meet foreign competition in the American market and who want the purchasing power of the American worker to be maintained, also desire an increase of imports—but of imports that do not directly compete with the commodities produced in our country. And we know the way to increase those imports far beyond anything in the past, and to increase the overall demand for the products of our exporting industries far in excess of any possible increase in the foreign demand, is to have full employment at our factories, farms, and mines with American rates of pay. Unfortunately, there is no possibility of full employment of our trained workers in the pottery industry under present tariff rates, and what further reductions will do to us is not hard to guess.

In all the circumstances, it is incredible that our State Department, who seem now to be in complete control of tariff policy, would be so hell-bent on building up individual industries in foreign countries, particularly Japan, at the cost of destroying similar industries in the United States. This becomes even more amazing when the records show that the enormous grants we have made to revive foreign industry have been used largely to enrich the owners and stockholders and at the expense of the workers. A special report prepared by the National Industrial Conference Board of the National Electrical Manufacturing Association shows wage rates in all European countries are now a smaller percentage of the American wage rates than they were in 1938. In 1938 British wage rates were 37 percent of those in the United States. In 1952 they were only 28 percent. In France the comparison was 43.3 percent in 1938 and 31 percent in 1952. In Italy it was 22.7 percent as compared to 19.5 percent. In Germany 46.6 percent as compared to 22 percent. In the Netherlands 41 percent as compared to 20.4 percent. Please note that in Germany and the Netherlands the gap between their wages and ours is more than twice what it was prewar. Is it any wonder that communism remains a constant threat in Western Europe, when the result of the use of the money we have given away, from the taxes of our citizens, for the rehabilitation and modernization of foreign industry, has resulted in the foreign worker getting a smaller and smaller share of the wealth he produces?

Now we are told we must further reduce our production and lay off additional employees so our foreign competitors will have still more dollars to use, inevitably, as they have used our gift dollars in the past. We cannot see how anyone can take the position that it is more important politically, economically, or morally for a Japanese potter to have a job than an American. It is only too evident that the health, happiness, and prosperity of the American potter is of no interest or consequence to the free traders and their amazing following in the administrative and congressional branches of the United States Government. What is not so clear is why these groups make the Japanese potter their fairhaired boy at the expense of the British and French potters. It is my impression the English and French were our allies in the last two wars and that it was the Japanese who despoiled Pearl Harbor and killed thousands of our young patriots.

British, French and German exporters are just as hard hit as our domestic producers by Japanese exports of china and earthenware to the United States. As a matter of fact, only a short while ago representatives of English exporters petitioned our State Department to do something to reduce American imports of Japanese china.

Exporters of dinnerware from Great Britain have already indicated their approval of the establishment of fair and flexible quotas by the United States on imports of china and earthenware. Every other country except Japan would obviously benefit by the establishment of such quotas.

So long as we maintain the "most favored nation" policy, and production costs vary from nation to nation, the quota is the only possible plan that will be fair to all countries. Nothing could be more unfair to England than to apply the same rates of duty to their exports as to those of Japan—when English wage rates are three times those in Japan.

Attached to the copies of my brief you will find a sheet showing combined operating results from 1947 to 1953, inclusive, of 23 United States plants manufacturing earthenware tableware. These plants are responsible for more than 85 percent of all earthenware tableware produced in this country. You will note the headings are: sales; earnings before taxes; earnings after taxes; total dozens shipped; total wages paid production employees; and total man-hours worked. The column of "total wages paid" does not include wages and salaries paid executives and supervisors.

Also you will find attached a copy of a report the Tariff Commission was kind enough to have prepared at our request last month. This report you will note covers United States production and imports for consumption of earthenware table and kitchen articles and chinaware household table and kitchen articles. The earthenware articles come under paragraph 211 of the Tariff Act of 1930 and the chinaware articles under paragraph 212. In each of these classifications, the report covers both dozens and dollars. This record covers the years 1935, 1937, 1939 and each of the years from 1947 to 1953, inclusive. Also the figures for the first 6 months of 1954.

On this report we question the figures that appear under the one classification "Earthenware Production in the United States." The footnote under this classification states that all figures are estimates except for the year 1947. For that year the reported United States production was 42,285,000 dozens. You will note under that year on our report we show our production as 27,293,281 dozens. Adding 15 percent to this figure to cover estimated production by companies not covered in our report, we arrive at the figure of 31,400,000 dozens. This is some 25 percent less than the Government figure; and, with all due respect, we believe our figure is more nearly correct than the one appearing on the report.

We also believe that the estimates that have been used for the later years, particularly for 1949 and 1950, are considerably wide of the mark. You will note the Government figure for both years is 45 million dozens, while our adjusted figure for 1949 would be less than 25,100,000 dozens, and for 1950, 26,600,000 dozens. We are confident the figures for these years, as reported by our companies, are correct.

The columns in our report to which we would particularly call your attention are "Earnings after taxes," "Total dozens shipped," and "Total man-hours worked." These are much more important in reflecting the trend in our industry than "Total sales." Sales figures being affected, of course, by price increases that have been necessary because of advances in wages.

Let us consider first what has happened to earnings in the 7 years covered by the report. These 23 companies reported earnings after taxes in 1947 as $4 million on sales of $56 million, or a profit percentage of 7 percent on sales. That figure dropped steadily, with the exception of a slight increase in 1950 over 1949, until in 1953 we show total net earnings after taxes of $255,815, or less than one-half of 1 percent on sales of $53 million. Of the 23 companies reporting, 12 showed actual losses for the year's operation. In 1952 the profit figure was $942,504, or 1.6 percent on sales. Those figures leave little doubt where the industry is headed financially. And remember 1952 and 1953 for industry generally were two of the most prosperous years in our history.

Now consider the figures on our report under the column "Total dozens shipped." Against 27,293,000 dozens shipped in 1947, we have slipped to 19,337,000 dozens in 1953—a loss of just about 30 percent. During that same period, our population increased more than 7 percent, and spendable income went up more than twice that percentage. Just how much faster must an industry lose its home market to qualify as being seriously injured?

Now consider what has been happening to our employees. From a total of 25,700,000 man-hours worked in 1947, we were able to supply for our employees only 16,700,000 hours of work in the generally prosperous year of 1953. A reduction of 35 percent.

As an indication of what we can expect in earnings and employment for the full year

of 1954 as compared to the very poor year of 1953, let me cite the experienec of my own company, the Homer Laughlin China Co., of Newell, W. Va., in unemployment compensation. We are the largest employer in the industry and have about 2,600 people on our payroll at present. For the first 10 months of 1953 we paid out in unemployment compensation $12,314. For the first 10 months of 1954 the figure was $78,263—just about 6¼ times as much as in 1953. We are quite sure this is fairly representative of the industry as a whole.

It is painfully evident we are far past the threatened-with-injury stage, and for at least 3 years have been suffering actual and serious injury. It is just as evident, in comparing import and domestic-production figures, that a major portion of that injury is due to imports under present tariff rates.

By way of contrast, let us see what has been happening during those years, in imports from Japan of earthenware table and kitchen articles. We find the first postwar year in which these imports appeared in any quantity was 1948. In that year Japan shipped us 185,000 dozen. The increases since then have been spectacular, until in 1953 they amounted to 2,245,000 dozen, or more than 12 times the 1948 quantities.

What is equally impressive and particularly pertinent to the proposed tariff reductions, is the increasing percentage of imports from Japan of this type of tableware, to total imports from all countries. In 1948, imports from Japan amounted to only 11 percent of the total and in 1953 to 62 percent. Even with the American industry in its usual role of the forgotten man, it is rather difficult to understand why we should make changes in tariff rates that can only result in giving Japan a still greater advantage over all other countries in the American market.

You will note from the chart that our import of Japanese chinaware, table and kitchen articles has followed the same pattern as the earthenware. From 54 percent of our total imports of this class of ware in 1948, the Japanese share has jumped to 80 percent in 1953. These imports from Japan are just as hurtful to us in the earthenware branch of the industry as are the earthenware imports. We find that comparably decorated dinner sets from our earthenware factories are selling in the department stores at approximately the same prices as china dinner sets from Japan. And no woman in her right mind is going to choose an earthenware set when she can get one in chinaware at the same price.

The ability of the retail merchant to offer these sets at comparable prices is explained when we see that the average price per dozen for china dinnerware in Japan is $1.30 per dozen and the average price the American manufacturer has to get for earthenware is $2.70 per dozen. It is our understanding that, with duty, freight, insurance, etc., Japanese chinaware lands at our ports at just about twice the factory price in Japan. So that the average price of Japanese china landed in the United States is $2.60 per dozen or 10 cents per dozen less than our average factory prices of earthenware.

Allow me to show you an example of this Japanese chinaware and American earthenware competition. Here is a plate showing a pattern made by the Homer Laughlin China Co., of Newell, W. Va., for exclusive distribution by the Montgomery Ward Mail Order Co. Here is a Japanese china plate with a comparable pattern, sold by the company. For a 100-piece dinner set in the American made earthenware pattern, their catalog price is $62.50. For the same set in Japanese chinaware their catalog price is $59.95, $2.55 less for the chinaware set. You will be no less surprised than were we, when we were advised that our set would be dropped from the next Montgomery Ward catalog.

A man, very active in our industry, has just returned from a tour of the Orient. During his stay in Japan, he was taken on a guided trip through the plant of the Noritake China Co. in Nagoya. This company is much the largest manufacturer of china tableware in Japan. He reports this plant and its equipment, as much more modern than the average American plant and in some respects, as well ahead of any plant in this country. Also in certain departments, with elaborate belt conveyor systems, the production per man hour is substantially greater than in our most modern factory. So that the differences in production per man-hour has practically disappeared and wage rates became directly comparable.

It is the difference in wage rates which constitutes the enormous advantage Japan enjoys in production costs. The average pay for the employees in the Noritake plant is just about $10 per week of 48 hours, or 20 cents per hour, and we are told this is more than is paid in any other pottery in Japan. The average rate for an employee in our domestic factories is $1.70 per hour with many men in the more skilled trades earning more than $3 per hour. This difference in wage rates acquires such enormous importance because more than 65 percent of our total cost of production goes to labor.

Our representative was told at the Nagoya Chamber of Commerce that all potteries had been working at full capacity for some years and several were at present considering an expansion program.

So, gentlemen, we have here now, in front of us, a situation that I dare to say has never been duplicated in all of history. An aggressor nation, which violated all the rules of humanity and war in its efforts to bring us to our knees, has a prosperous and flourishing dinnerware industry. In our own country the same industry is steadily losing ground. Yet, we have what appears to be a majority of the leaders of both our political parties determined to follow a course that will further benefit the Japanese and, to even a greater extent, injure the American industry. If any individual in any other country suggested such a national policy, he would be thrown in the nut house.

In view of all the circumstances, we cannot believe there is any possibility that your Commission will arrive at a peril point below the present rates of duty in paragraphs 210, 211, and 212. We do believe careful and serious consideration of all the facts will convince you that additional protection is necessary to prevent further serious injury to, and eventual extinction of, the American pottery industry. And that the only way to supply that protection, fair to ourselves and our foreign competitors, is through the establishment of a flexible quota.

Composite report from 23 American earthenware manufacturing companies

	Sales—Less allowances and returns, prepaid freight, packages, discount	Earnings before taxes	Earnings after taxes	Total dozens shipped	Total wages, production, employees, including all premium and vacation pay	Total man-hours worked, production employees
1947	56, 620, 850	6, 688, 246	4, 150, 350	27, 293, 281	32, 896, 817	25, 681, 738
1948	59, 409, 591	5, 552, 471	3, 428, 569	27, 466, 052	35, 796, 623	24, 895, 846
1949	52, 765, 241	1, 998, 548	1, 158, 447	21, 862, 812	31, 504, 426	21, 472, 919
1950	54, 881, 791	3, 467, 055	1, 951, 892	23, 365, 968	31, 505, 141	20, 596, 834
1951	59, 670, 911	3, 790, 339	1, 811, 416	22, 987, 942	34, 124, 409	20, 958, 997
1952	58, 789, 381	2, 275, 621	942, 504	22, 701, 589	34, 617, 634	20, 385, 137
1953	53, 508, 651	1, 026, 227	255, 815	19, 337, 151	31, 744, 522	16, 703, 501

Earthenware and chinaware household table and kitchen articles: United States production and imports in specified years 1935–53

Year	United States production		Imports for consumption							
			Earthenware table and kitchen articles [1] [3]				Chinaware household table and kitchen articles			
	Earthenware [1]	Chinaware [2]	United Kingdom	Germany	Japan	All countries	United Kingdom	Germany	Japan	All countries
	Quantity (1,000 dozen pieces)									
1935	22, 200	120	795	59	3, 764	4, 870	50	300	4, 545	6, 140
1937	24, 500	140	803	41	3, 934	4, 992	43	317	5, 379	6, 147
1939	27, 000	170	794	7	1, 874	2, 879	73	138	3, 122	3, 566
1947	42, 286	728	916	3	9	1, 237	188	118	206	655
1948	45, 700	874	1, 053	3	183	1, 645	292	487	1, 125	2, 070
1949	45, 000	908	1, 002	8	530	1, 877	350	410	1, 847	2, 773
1950	45, 000	857	1, 090	20	735	2, 173	534	350	3, 375	4, 459
1951	(4)	808	1, 122	46	1, 241	2, 778	623	446	4, 157	5, 354
1952	(4)	814	1, 035	49	1, 970	3, 396	556	427	3, 283	4, 347
1953 [5]	(4)	(4)	985	63	2, 245	3, 605	441	529	3, 915	4, 940
1954 (January–June) [5]	(4)	(4)	454	16	940	[6] 1, 710	216	242	2, 208	[6] 2, 899
	Value ($1,000)						Foreign value ($1,000)			
1935	22, 164	750	1, 099	70	1, 398	2, 836	220	506	1, 862	2, 986
1937	25, 711	930	1, 263	80	1, 313	2, 905	407	534	2, 796	4, 239
1939	29, 182	1, 200	1, 231	10	524	2, 045	308	242	1, 682	2, 598
1947	68, 144	7, 958	3, 141	31	26	4, 372	1, 604	371	414	3, 090
1948	73, 500	10, 606	3, 604	22	170	5, 004	2, 459	1, 862	2, 064	7, 124
1949	73, 000	11, 875	3, 310	55	411	5, 042	2, 783	1, 884	2, 564	7, 961
1950	78, 000	12, 542	2, 935	145	524	4, 802	3, 139	1, 566	3, 915	9, 339
1951	84, 000	13, 036	3, 417	168	906	6, 075	3, 946	2, 385	5, 767	12, 841
1952 [5]	84, 000	15, 621	3, 321	161	1, 252	6, 221	4, 066	2, 302	4, 751	11, 804
1953 [5]	(4)	(4)	3, 160	198	1, 420	6, 129	3, 105	2, 887	5, 148	11, 600
1954 (January–June) [5]	(4)	(4)	1, 399	80	657	[6] 2, 840	1, 489	1, 249	2, 950	[6] 6, 328

[1] Includes a very small amount of hotelware.
[2] Quantity estimated except for 1947; value estimated for years after 1947.
[3] Does not include kitchenware, or casual china; estimated from census and industry report for years before 1947.
[4] Not available.
[5] Preliminary.
[6] Imports by countries do not include individual entries for immediate consumption valued at $250 or less; figures for total quantities and values for January–June have been computed to include such entries.

Veterans' Administration Regional Office, Montgomery, Ala.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT RAINS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Harley A. Smith, who, for many years has been manager of the regional office of the Veterans' Administration at Montgomery, Ala., has done, and is doing, an outstanding job. At the beginning of January he sent a letter to the employees of the regional office of the Veterans' Administration which gives an overall picture of the work which is being done at the Veterans' Administration regional office. It points up such an outstanding job until I think it should be incorporated in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The letter follows:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
REGIONAL OFFICE,
Montgomery, Ala., January 13, 1955.

FELLOW EMPLOYEE: Another year has gone by. This is a time when we like to think of things ahead and make plans and resolutions for the new year.

It is also a time for reflection on what we did and how we spent our time in the days that are forever gone. On this score, we in this regional office of the Veterans' Administration can look back with pride in the amount of service we have brought to the veterans of this State.

The figures I recite below are not just figures. They are so many services that we have been privileged to bring to those who have earned it. Every single thing we did was done for the purpose of bringing a service to a veteran or his dependent.

All of us are interested in knowing, I think, that in the year just passed over 4,500 veterans, who had never done so before, filed a claim for compensation or pension. There were more than 40,000 actions taken by the rating boards and more than 14,000 other actions were taken on claims. Nearly 70,000 letters, including form letters, were written about claims for compensation or pension. At the end of the year more than 50,000 veterans in Alabama were receiving compensation or pension. Nearly 600 veterans made personal appearances before rating boards. Automobiles were awarded to 40 veterans in the State and more than 300 actions were taken by the committee on waivers.

In the year 1954 more than 7,500 veterans applied for guaranty of loans to buy homes and over 5,000 loans on homes were guaranteed. This brings the total of home loans guaranteed for veterans in Alabama to more than 44,000. During the year nearly 9,000 appraisals were authorized and over 12,000 appraisal reports were reviewed. More than 10,000 certificates of reasonable value were issued. More than 11,000 certificates of eligibility were issued. Over 700 applications for direct loans were received and nearly 500 such loans were made, making the total of direct loans in Alabama to date more than 2,000. Over 21,000 service actions on loans were made during the year and taxes and insurance were kept up on more than 3,000 properties. More than 20 homes were acquired and 175 were sold by this office of the VA. More than 1,100 homes have been acquired and nearly 900 sold since the beginning of the program and we still have nearly 300 owned by the VA. Over 500 mortgages were acquired during the year and at the end of the year the office held nearly 3,000 mortgages.

The finance division paid directly to veterans as compensation or pension, disability allowance, or subsistence allowance nearly $61 million. Over two million was paid to institutions for tuition, books, and supplies. About seven million was paid out for other purposes. Nearly 900,000 checks were certified for these payments. At the end of the year more than 72,000 veterans were being paid some benefit regularly. Nearly 60,000 actions were taken by the agent cashier in receiving and paying out money. Nearly 130,000 documents were processed in the accounting section. Over 90,000 vouchers were examined and more than 500 employee pay accounts were maintained.

Over 600 veterans or dependents of veterans had to be provided with a guardian or other fiduciary during the year, and at the end of the year more than 7,000 veterans or dependents were under fiduciaries. The value of the estates administered by such fiduciaries at the end of the year was more than $8 million, of which over three million was invested in Government bonds. More than 5,000 accounts from fiduciaries were audited during the year. Nearly 2,500 field examinations were made and about 800 legal opinions were written. Over 300 legal actions were taken in connection with loan-guaranty work.

A few more than 100,000 contacts were made by veterans and others, and over 45,000 telephone calls were received. Contact division made over 3,500 rating-board appearances, helped to fill out over 2,400 applications and prepared more than 26,000 pieces of correspondence.

More than 100 different items were maintained in stock at the end of the year. During the year over 20,000 items were received and more than 26,000 issued. Nearly 5,000 items were purchased at a cost of over $100,000.

Medical service was given in the clinic to more than 10,000 veterans, and over 12,000 were given service by hometown doctors on authorization of the regional office. The clinic brought dental service to more than 1,600 and authorized service to more than 66,000 through fee-basis dentists. In the medical service over 18,000 laboratory tests were made, more than 23,000 X-ray pictures were taken, and over 16,000 prescriptions were filled. The social service talked to over 6,000 veterans and members of their families. They conducted nearly 600 social surveys and made more than 1,500 other reports. Over 1,200 electrocardiograms were made in the clinic and more than 200 artificial refills were given. Nearly 900 appliances such as limbs, eyes, etc., were issued to veterans at a cost of over $46,000; and 902 appliances were repaired at a cost of $12,000.

In the year 1954 over 900,000 pieces of mail were received in the regional office and over 850,000 were dispatched. Over 600,000 veterans' files were pulled and refiled. A total of nearly 500,000 files on veterans (claims and R. and E.) were maintained. Over 16,000 new files were established, and nearly 60,000 new applications were processed.

More than 12,000 files were transferred out and nearly 10,000 were transferred in. Nearly 400,000 thousand index actions were taken. Almost 20,000 travel authorizations were prepared. Nearly 5,000 messages were sent and about 6,000 were received. More than 1¼ million impressions (mimeograph, etc.) were made. Over 6,000 requests for forms were filled. More than 1,600 different forms were maintained in stock. Over 400,000 tabulating machine cards were punched and the same number verified. More than 111 million cards were run through the machines in tabulating machine section.

In the year 1954 more than 2,000 veterans were given vocational counseling; over 500 entered vocational rehabilitation programs of training; and more than 200 were rehabilitated. Training officers made more than 10,000 personal supervision contacts. A total of more than 18,000 applications for education and training was received and more than 16,000 certificates of eligibility were issued. Nearly 15,000 veterans entered for the first time a program of education and training, and 26,000 interrupted their training. Over 60,000 authorization actions in education and training cases were taken. More than 800 surveys of education and training institutions and establishments were made. At the end of the year more than 20,000 veterans were in training.

In the year 1954 more than 800 personnel actions were taken, reflecting some change in status of an employee, and more than 100 different type positions were allocated by classification action. At the end of the year there were 504 employees on duty with the regional office.

These are striking figures but they are not just figures. They represent something we did to provide a service to a veteran—making somebody's life just a little more enjoyable.

I am proud of the volume of service you have rendered and still prouder of its high quality. I am proud of you as a fellow employee who enjoys with me the privilege of serving. As the administrator said when he was here, "What more satisfying job could we ask?"

HARLEY A. SMITH,
Manager.

Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the efforts of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights to promote good interracial relations in our community have been recognized and praised by many outstanding leaders both on the local and national scenes.

The Milwaukee Commission has made considerable progress in easing intergroup friction and in furthering cordial relationships between members of minority groups and the community as a whole. They have shown how much can be accomplished by sincere, voluntary efforts of citizens interested in safeguarding the rights of all individuals, without regard to race, color, or creed.

Last fall, the United States National Commission for UNESCO met in Milwaukee. On that occasion, certain members of the Milwaukee panel of the UNESCO Citizen-Consultation Group endorsed and submitted to the commission a statement prepared by Mr. Bruno V. Bitker, member of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish at this point to call to the attention of the membership of this body Mr. Bitker's statement, together with a letter of transmittal signed by Dr. Adolph Suppan, discussion chairman of the Milwaukee Citizen-Consultation Group, and by those members of his group who endorsed the statement. In addition, I wish to insert an editorial

which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal on June 6, 1953, describing the work of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights.

The matters follow:

OCTOBER 13, 1954.

To the Members of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, Municipal Auditorium, Milwaukee, Wis.

(Attention: Hon. George N. Shuster, chairman.)

DEAR SIRS AND MESDAMES: Article I of UNESCO's constitution provides for promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms among the nations. The need for the United States giving its full support to the principles of the United Nations Charter with respect to human rights is of obvious importance to the position of the United States before the world.

The attached statement prepared by Mr. Bruno V. Bitker, a member of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights, is being sent to you with the strong endorsement of those members of the Milwaukee panel of the UNESCO Citizen-Consultation Group, whose names appear on this letter.

We urge your consideration of this document.

Sincerely yours,

Adolph Suppan, Director of Extension, Wisconsin State College, Discussion Chairman, Milwaukee Citizen-Consultation Group; Mr. Maurice H. Terry; Rev. Everett W. MacNair; Mr. Sharon L. Hatch; Rev. Ensworth Reisner; Mrs. Margaret M. VanWagenen; Mr. Clem Kalvelage; Mrs. George P. Ettenheim; Mr. Charles Gruender; Mrs. Carl Romanik; Mr. Laurence F. Giese; Mr. Arthur W. Else, Jr.; Miss Virginia Huebner; Mr. George Hampel, Jr.; Mrs. Isadore Weiss.

STATEMENT OF BRUNO V. BITKER, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW AND MEMBER OF THE MILWAUKEE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BEFORE THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO, MILWAUKEE, WIS., OCTOBER 14, 15, AND 16, 1954

Prior to World War II, during the ponderous growth of international law, human rights were a matter of concern solely to the individual state. They were wholly domestic matters. But the ruthless denial of basic rights and the utter disregard of human life that were part of the Nazi practice, suddenly assumed international significance. Not only was there a general revulsion at the inhumanity of the dictatorships, but the world speedily recognized the connection between the brutal treatment by a state of its own citizens and the savage attacks upon other nations.

Tragically, the period since the close of war has furnished no assurance that the treatment by the present dictatorships of their own nationals will not again lead to aggression against the rest of the world. It is mid-20th century and long beyond the time to speak for man.

During the ages there has always been some who have attempted to establish, by force if need be, customs, rules, even laws which would deny basic rights to certain of their fellow humans. The same fight against the denial of these rights has been carried on by peoples as far apart in time and place as Vedantic India, classical China, the early Jews, the first Christians, by Greece, Islam, medieval Europe, right down to our time.

Through the years of history, written declarations of the rights of individuals as against each other as well as against the state, have appeared and reappeared. Long before the United Nations had formalized a statement of principles, written declarations had appeared in one form or another in early Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in the British Magna Carta (1215), in the Habeas Corpus Act in England (1697), in the American Declaration of Independence, in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.

More recent declarations appear in such documents as the Atlantic Charter (August 1941); in the Chapultepec Conference Act (March 1945); the Convention adopted by the Council of Europe at Rome (November 1950); the statements adopted at various international conferences of American states, including that adopted only a few weeks ago at Caracas.

The League of Nations may have been the first faint realization that an international political entity was more than a dream. But even the League of Nations failed to recognize that human rights were a matter not of mere local interest, but of international concern, a matter of world peace.

The failure of the League to provide international obligations for protection of human rights was thus described by Prof. Rene Cassin, the French delegate on the Human Rights Commission. He said, in part:

"I was personally present at the dramatic debates which took place at Geneva between March and October 1933. At this time, the only way in which the criminal actions of Hitler Germany toward her own nationals could be brought to the notice of the Council of the League of Nations was to resort to the indirect procedure of invoking the Polish-German treaty on the protection of minorities concluded in 1922. On the day on which the Assembly dared to refer to the general principles authorizing the legally organized international community to protect human rights, even in a sphere not covered by some special minority treaty, Hitler took advantage of the Third Reich's absolute sovereignty over its citizens and denied the League of Nations any right of inspection; and on October 14, 1933, Germany left the League. It is well known what attacks against the national independence and what massacres sprang from the impunity with which Hitler's first great crimes were committed."

It is little wonder that Gen. George Marshall, while Secretary of State, when referring to the significance to international peace of the obligation upon all states to observe human rights, commented that "governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other governments and other people and are likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international field."

It was natural that this obvious connection between maintaining world peace and observing human rights should find expression in the charter of the new world organization. When the charter was drafted in San Francisco in 1945, and as subsequently ratified by the United States Senate, its references to the recognition of human rights was so clear as to leave no doubt that human rights were within the province of the United Nations. Many of the delegates at San Francisco believed an international bill of rights should have been written into the charter itself. But the controlling number of governments then felt that such provisions could be considered separately and adopted subsequently by way of an appendix to the charter.

A few references to the charter provisions will indicate how much a part of the charter of the new international entity was the idea of protecting human rights. At the outset, as a means of promoting peace in the world, the charter preamble asserts that "We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined * * * to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights in the equal rights of men and women * * * do hereby establish an international organization known as the United Nations."

To Americans this has a familiar ring. Our own Declaration of Independence says that "All men are created equal * * * that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights * * * (and) that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men."

It is to secure these rights that governments are formed. And it is to secure these rights that the international organization, the United Nations, was formed. It is significant, too, to note that the United Nations Charter says, "We, the peoples of the United Nations," not "We, the sovereign powers," or "We, the emperors," but "We, the peoples." Again this is a familiar phrase to Americans. Our own Constitution opens with "We, the people."

I do not cite our Declaration of Independence nor our own Constitution merely to assert that because we used these words, they must be right. I cite them only because our use of these words and our assertion of the ideals of the equality of man has had a great effect upon the world. It has placed upon us a special obligation to further these principles within the family of nations.

Again and again the charter speaks of human rights. The purpose clause (ch. I, art. I) asserts that the United Nations is created to promote "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." The General Assembly (ch. IV, art. 13) is required to assist in the realization of these rights and freedoms and by articles 55 and 56 of chapter IX each member nation is required to promote observance of these rights and freedoms. Indeed, the Economic and Social Council (ch. X, art. 68) is directed to set up appropriate commissions "for the promotion of human rights." This appears to be the sole provision in the charter requiring the establishment of a specific commission.

Little wonder then that the President of the United States in June 1945, at the closing session at San Francisco, said:

"Under this document (the charter) we have good reason to expect the framing of an international Bill of Rights, acceptable to all the nations involved. That Bill of Rights will be as much a part of international life as our own Bill of Rights is a part of our Constitution. The charter is dedicated to the achievement and observance of human rights and freedoms, and unless we can attain these objectives for all men and women everywhere, without regard to race, language, or religion, we cannot have permanent peace and security."

Now, what is the record since 1945? On the side of collective security the program has been surprisingly better than many of the early critics of the United Nations had prophesied. Nor would I minimize the numerous other functions successfully carried on by specialized agencies of the United Nations. Above all, I could not forget that in Korea we did not fail nor did we repeat the shameful performance of the League in Ethiopia. But on the vital obligation, the duty of protecting human rights, the picture is one of slow disintegration from the proclamations and ideals of 1945.

During the first few years, considerable energy and time was devoted to bringing into being something akin to an international bill of rights, such as had been envisioned at San Francisco in June of 1945. It is true that a universal declaration of human rights emerged from the General Assembly in 1948. It is true, too, that a genocide covenant was finally approved and has since been adopted by the requisite number of nations to be effective as to the signatory nations. But even this treaty, designed to prevent the systematic destruction of people on racial, religious, or cultural grounds, exists on paper only. It has yet to see the light of day in our own Senate.

Political organizations at best are not eternal. Like manmade buildings, they can crumble with the passage of time. The United Nations will disintegrate someday.

But ideas never die, and perhaps we must settle for a mere declaration of principles instead of a series of formalized commandments. If nothing else comes out of this attempt to unite mankind, the universal declaration of human rights will stand as the record that there were men of good will in this day who recognized these inherent rights.

There is little doubt that the very adoption of the universal declaration marked a step forward. But the 5 years since that event have been years of retrogression in protecting the most elementary of human rights. This is true not only of Iron Curtain countries, but in Asia, in the Middle East, in South Africa, even in parts of Latin America. It is obvious that the efforts to achieve genuinely binding obligations toward protecting the simplest human rights have become increasingly difficult.

Perhaps the moment of greatness passed with 1945. It may be too late in this chapter of world's history to retrieve that loss. Fortunately, however, the charter has its own built-in retriever. This is the provision for a general charter revision conference in 1955. This could be our chance to move forward from the point where San Francisco left off.

It would be utopian to expect to spell out a covenant which as of now would be acceptable to all member nations. But there are some principles which should and must be recognized if the goal of universal peace is to be approached. These are the basic human rights which in some manner must become a world code of rights. They are simple and easily understood.

These fundamental rights encompass freedom of speech and of press; freedom of religion and of worship; freedom of assembly; freedom of petition; freedom from unreasonable search and seizure; freedom from arbitrary arrest and punishment; and, above all, the right of every human being to share these freedoms equally with his fellow human beings without regard to race, sex, language, or religion.

These are rights which human beings throughout the world have come to understand. They constitute the common denominator among all men upon the face of the earth. They come into existence with the birth of every man. They appertain to every man without regard to his nationality or color, or to the status of his parents or social beliefs, or to his store of or lack of knowledge. These rights are the clothing of dignity to every individual. Man now senses that he need not loathe himself because of his skin, or submit to punishment, or be denied basic rights by the fact of his birth.

When our Constitution was drafted in the early days of the new American Republic, it had neglected to spell out human rights. This defect was speedily cured with the almost simultaneous addition of the first 10 amendments, which we have come to know as the Bill of Rights.

Perhaps such an addition could be made to the charter. If nothing more, the rights so generally referred to, could be made more precise, be defined, even given names. If nothing more, the individual whose rights are violated should have the right of petition. If a judicial determination on a complaint through the International Court of Justice is now too visionary, perhaps some means of mediation could be established.

The failure to provide a means of receiving and acting on individual complaints, no matter how informally, is particularly disturbing. As the Secretary General of the United Nations reported, this defect in proceeding has brought "disappointment and disillusionment to thousands of persons all over the world who, through the publicity activities (regarding the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) have been led to believe that one purpose of the United Nations is the achievement of cooperation in promoting and encouraging of universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

At the session of the Commission on Human Rights held at Geneva in April 1953, our Government retreated from leadership in drafting covenants. It announced its proposal for a new action program to consist primarily of studies relating to specific aspects of human rights and for annual reports of the status of these rights in local areas, with emphasis on education.

It is unfortunate, however, that Secretary of State Dulles found it necessary to announce that the United States would not now seek ratification of the Genocide Covenant nor press for a final drafting of a human-rights covenant. Presumably he did so to appease the supporters of the Bricker amendment, which, in great measure, was aimed at the proposed treaties on human rights. But while Mr. Dulles paid the price of peace, the administration was forced nevertheless to go through a prolonged fight against the Bricker proposals.

Rules in some form must be adopted, recognized and observed. The adoption of an international bill of rights would not, for example, insure to an Iron Curtain national a fair jury trial. But then thousands of years have passed since the Ten Commandments were handed down and they are not yet universally observed. Their existence nevertheless has helped attain their objectives. Our own Bill of Rights does not guarantee that our civil rights are not at time violated. But their inclusion in our Constitution gives them legal status and our courts provide the means of attainment. So with an international bill of rights. These rights would then acquire the prestige of the charter. The fact of their existence would sooner or later pierce national barriers. Even the great debate that might precede the adoption or rejection of such a program would itself be educational toward a worldwide recognition of these inherent rights of man.

The United States is in the unique historical position of having demonstrated in a practical manner the effectiveness of a bill of rights. We are under a moral obligation to lead the fight for the recognition of human rights everywhere. This is a means of attaining the goal of world peace. I urge consideration to the proposals outlined herein.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of June 6, 1953]

MILWAUKEE HUMAN-RIGHTS GROUP IS CITED AS EXAMPLE TO BE EMULATED

The warmth with which Milwaukee is trying to build good intergroup relations in this community is being felt afar off. That is shown by a letter from Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., commenting on the 1952 report of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights.

Lodge hails it as showing how much can be accomplished by earnest voluntary effort of citizens to promote the rights of all individuals, regardless of race, color, or religious affiliation. He is a United States delegate to the United Nations and is calling the Milwaukee report to attention of the U. N. Human Rights Commission. It will help that commission in formulating a new action program to promote greater recognition of human rights, worldwide.

Those familiar with the work of the mayor's commission on human rights and that of other cooperating bodies and individuals understand that it covers a good deal more than combating discrimination against members of minority groups in housing, employment, or public accommodations. It aims higher than protecting civil rights under law or constitution.

The 1952 report of the Milwaukee Commission tells of progress in easing intergroup friction and in trying to remove the chief cause of that friction—prejudice. The commission tries actively to promote cordial relationships between members of minority groups and the community as a whole.

Hospitality to 10,000 Negro delegates to a Baptist convention here in 1952, for instance, was outstanding. Homes of whites as well as Negroes were opened gladly to these delegates in the City of Fellowship.

Milwaukee can justly take pride in its progress along these lines and the example it is setting. We can be proud of widening recognition of such achievements. All reflects credit on the community and the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights for the leading role it has taken.

Acadian Bicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, this is a most proud and happy year for the Acadians of Louisiana, as the State and Nation join in observing a yearlong bicentennial celebration marking the Acadian migration from Nova Scotia 200 years ago and paying tribute to the loyalty, courage, character, and accomplishments of their descendants who have had such an important part in Louisiana's history and development.

I have the special honor and privilege of representing the Third Congressional District of Louisiana where so many of these fine Acadian people reside and which is truly the center of Acadian life and traditions in this country. I have the further pleasure of making my home in St. Martinsville, the heart of Louisiana's Acadian area, where the bicentennial celebration will be climaxed with a pageant in Longfellow-Evangeline State Park, dramatizing the migration.

Launching the celebration in a most significant manner, members of a large delegation of Canadian business, civic, and cultural leaders have visited Louisiana this month as goodwill emissaries from the Canadian counterpart of the bicentennial year in Canada. Many events have been arranged in honor of the visitors and they have received a royal welcome. The Times-Picayune New Orleans States, in that newspaper's issue of Sunday, January 16, expressed the spirit and meaning of this visit and its background, in the following editorial:

WELCOME TO CANADIAN ACADIANS

Coming to New Orleans Monday and Tuesday after visits around the State in what Louisianians have long known as the "Acadian" country, are some 135 Acadians from Canada—descendants of some of those French colonists of Nova Scotia who either were not torn from their homes and families or who succeeded in returning when the scared Governor Lawrence had relaxed his ban. Included in the group to do honor to the 100 families who found hospitality and lands in Louisiana after 1755 when they were exiled from Acadia (Nova Scotia), are distinguished Canadian civic, governmental, religious, and social leaders. Some

of the visitors are Acadians from New England.

Until Governor Lawrence headed the British colony of Canada, the Acadians had been permitted to take a restricted oath of allegiance to the British crown—excepting only the requirement to bear arms against their former fellow countrymen. The British Lords of Trade and ministers had long accepted this limited oath. But Lawrence, panic-stricken by groundless fears of an uprising of French colonists during the bitter French and Indian War, decided to take action on his own.

The memory of Lawrence will be held in particular distaste during this Acadian Bicentennial Celebration for the ruthlessness with which he carried out the exportation of the Acadians. There was brutal disruption of families and complete disregard for the safety of an exiled people. Several ships foundered. The American colonies disallowed new settlements and most colonies even denied landing rights. The courage and perseverance of the Acadians in their attempts to survive and to reestablish their families is almost legendary.

Louisiana—in 1755 a Spanish colony of Frenchmen—gave generous hospitality. The first of many Acadian settlements seems to have been in St. James's parish in 1756 when the Mouton family reached there. Yet some of the refugees who were sent to Georgia and the Carolinas and then traversed the wilderness to the Mississippi and paddled downstream, may have settled just below Baton Rouge at an earlier time. The first official mention tells of 193 families arriving in 1765 from Santo Domingo where they had found temporary refuge, and given lands in the Opelousas district. Later arrivals spread throughout the Teche country and westward. The mision of distinguished visitors from Canada this week is far different from the first arrivals. They are joining with us in paying tribute to the great courage and accomplishments of the Acadians of both countries.

The newspaper in my hometown, the Teche News, edited and published by Mr. Marcel Bienvenu himself a member of a pioneer and greatly respected Acadian family, conveyed the following welcome in French, the language of the Acadians which is so frequently heard in southwest Louisiana:

VOUS ET LES BIEVENUES

Nous sommes heureux d'annoncer, pour samedi prochain (le 15 janvier), l'arrivée dans notre ville d'une dé legation de Canada français. Ces délégues, venant de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, du Noveau-Brunswick, de l'Isle du Prince-Edouard, de l'Ontario et du Québec, nous joindront nous autres Acadiens louisianais, pour célébrer avec nous le deuxième centenaire de l'expulsion des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Ecosse en 1755.

Sans doute leur visite ne manquera pas d'évoquer en nous un couvenir bien triste, notamment "le Grand Dérangement," cette expulsion qui força nos aïeux de quitter leur chère Acadie, d'abandonner les foyer où furent nés leurs enfants, de quitter une vie tranquille et heureuse pour affronter un avenir incertain.

Mais nous sommes convaincus également que la visite de nos amis canadiens nous apportera une très vive joie, car leur séjour parmi nous—malheureusement trop court—nous permettra de connaitre des personnes qui sont nos frères spirituels.

Les événements historiques et les frontières géographiques semblent nous distinguer comme Canadiens et Américains, mais ils n'ont pu rompre les liens du passé et même du présent: une langue commune (où devrait-on dire deux langues communes?), une religion commune et surtout les traits de caractère que nous ont transmis nos ancêtres. Ce peuple, noble, dévoué, patriotique, a bravé la mort plutôt que de renoncer à sa foi, à son pays; ce peuple nous a confié une foi inébranlable, une foi qui nous a soutenus dans toute les vicissitudes de la vie.

Voici donc l'héritage commun qui nous lie, les Canadiens français et les Acadiens louisianais, ce trésor spirituel légué par nos ancêtres, ces aventuriers intrépides. Il nous ont transmis un courage noble, une générosité de coeur, une fidélité à dieu et à la patrie et une foi chrétienne profonde. Travaillant dans une région sauvage ils ont façonné pour nous, leurs fils, "l'Amérique": les Etats-Unis et le Canada.

Soyez assurées, très distingués messieurs et mesdames de la délégation canadienne, que l'accueil que nous vous faisons est sincére et cordial, car ce n'est pas en qualité de touristes que vous venez nous visiter, mais votre visite a pour nous une valeur historique. Nous vous remercions du grand honneur que vous nous faites en venant parmi nous pour nous apporter l'amitié et la bienveillance de nos frères de Canada.

En vous offrant, messieurs et mesdames, le plus chaleureux accueil nous souhaitons que votre séjour à St. Martinville vous laisse un souvenir ineffaçable à votre retour au Canada.

Mr. Speaker, in just recognition of the services the Acadian people have rendered through their devoted and patriotic contributions to the Nation's welfare and prosperity, I feel that a tribute from Congress is most deserving and I have therefore introduced today a resolution which would carry out this purpose. I believe my colleagues will wish to join me in paying this worthy honor.

Federal Commission To Study Copyright Laws Proposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill creating a Federal commission to study the copyright laws and to make recommendations for their revision.

We are living in an age when every encouragement must be given to the free interchange of ideas. The development of methods of mass communication have provided the means of bringing creative work to millions of people simultaneously. These methods include books, periodicals, newspapers, and sheet music as well as motion pictures, radio, television, and phonograph recordings. A constantly growing part of the population of our country is being reached via these technological advances, and a constantly growing number of people are employed by the industries that have grown up in these fields.

With industries as large as those in the field of mass communications there are many problems of equity and justice involved. Performing rights in musical works were first recognized in 1897. The Copyright Act of 1909 imposed limitations as to musical compositions where performances were public and for profit. Legislation to end the exemption granted to jukeboxes by the act of 1909 has been introduced in nearly every Congress since 1926.

There seem to be certain important respects in which the copyright laws differ from the patent law which grants a patentee the exclusive right to make, use, and vend the invention or discovery. The inventor seems to be better protected than the author and composer, yet the advancement of science and the useful arts was written into the Constitution as one of the basic concerns of this Nation, and of the Federal Government.

If the arts are among those activities which make our civilization endure and flourish, as President Eisenhower declared them to be in his recent message on the state of the Union, then it is time that a study be made by an impartial, blue-ribbon Federal commission of the exceedingly complex subject of the copyright laws.

Some of the issues involved have been ably set forth in a series of three editorials which appeared in the Billboard magazine during the month of December 1954, and I include them here for their informational value.

The articles follow:

[From Billboard magazine of December 4, 1954]

LET'S JUST GET THE FACTS

(This is the first of a series of editorials on copyright legislation. The Billboard believes Congress should confine its 1955 legislation on this subject to appropriating money for a factfinding commission to be appointed by the President to explore changes in the entire Copyright Act of 1909)

Proponents of copyright legislation designed to remove the existing jukebox exemption have already laid plans for the introduction of bills in the new Congress convening in January. Thus, for the fourth time in as many years, legislation will have been initiated. And there is little doubt but what one or another of the proposed bills will reach the hearing stage; and so for the fourth time in as many years, jukebox operators on the one hand and licensing organizations (spearheaded by ASCAP) on the other, will be presenting the same old conflicting evidence.

Justice moves slowly, often necessarily so. Evolution in the copyright law, as in any major law, moves ponderously. And there is justice in this slowness; for it is difficult to undo the damage caused by a new law that is a bad law.

But those of us who have followed copyright hearings over the years cannot fail to wonder if this annual performance before Congress is not impeding, rather than contributing to progress. Is this series of return engagements the only way to cope with the problem? Isn't there something wrong—and futile—in repeatedly throwing at Congress the responsibility for resolving an issue so complex?

Can any useful purpose be served in going through the same routine again with the same principals—ASCAP on the offensive and the operators on the defensive? The same pro and con arguments will result. The same time and money will be wasted.

A new approach is needed. And the way to begin is to take Congress off the hook until the log jam of conflicting and biased testimony is broken by a factfinding commission working in an atmosphere that is free of pressure, bitterness and fear.

The Billboard believes the 1955 Congress should confine itself to legislation that en-

ables the President to appoint a factfinding commission to undertake the study of all facets of the Copyright Act of 1909. The jukebox exemption is only one important phase to be studied. There are others, some of which will be considered in next week's editorial, "Inequities Versus Interdependence."

[From Billboard magazine of December 11, 1954]

INEQUITIES VERSUS INTERDEPENDENCE

(This is the second in a series of editorials on copyright legislation. The Billboard believes Congress should confine its 1955 legislation on this subject to appropriating money for a factfinding commission to be appointed by the President)

It is dangerous to attempt to modernize the Copyright Act of 1909 by piecemeal legislation. There are many areas of the act which need clarification. More important, the music industry has grown under this 1909 law to vast proportions involving investments running into billions of dollars. We are only beginning to learn how sensitive is the interdependence of all phases of the music business, one upon the other. If piecemeal legislation upsets this balance, there is no quick way of determining in advance how extensively several phases of the music industry could be damaged economically.

How easily the existing balance in the music industry could be upset can be illustrated by a review of some of the previous efforts to correct what were considered inequities in the Copyright Act. Today, after the passage of years, many would argue that it was extremely fortunate that justice moved slowly, so slowly that many of the proponents of changes in the Copyright Act changed their minds before it was too late.

What were some of these areas of dispute, areas where modernization appeared necessary at one time but later became either undesirable or of questionable necessity?

THE PERFORMING ARTIST

Is the performing artist entitled to a royalty when his disks are performed over radio stations? There is a long history to this problem, involving many top artists. Court battles were fought to force radio stations to pay artists every time artists' records were broadcast. The National Association of Performing Artists tried to establish this principle on a national and then on a statewide level. For a time the American Federation of Musicians took an interest in the matter. Such men as Fred Waring and Paul Whiteman were principals in the tangled dispute, and attempts were made to license stations.

Compare the reasoning in those days—and it seemed mighty logical reasoning—to the attitude today. It is now common practice for the artist and publisher, and often the songwriter, to pay heavily to promote the use of their records on the air.

THE RECORD MANUFACTURER

If the performing artist was entitled to royalties for the performance of his records over the air, what about the disk manufacturer? Diskeries years ago claimed as much. Some even went so far as to prohibit the playing of their records on the air. Some threatened to license such use.

Compare the advantages they thought they would gain then to the present competitive practice of literally flooding radio stations with free records.

MECHANICAL ROYALTIES

Such royalties are limited by law to 2 cents per side manufactured, paid direct to publishers on the basis of sides sold and then divided between the publishers and songwriters. Publishers and songwriters have often argued that it is not enough. Yet every day these same parties, by mutual agreement with record manufacturers, revise the rate downward to give the manufacturers incentive to record their songs.

THE COMPULSORY LICENSING ACT

This is one of the most controversial phases of copyright. When a publisher issues a mechanical license to one record company to record his song, he must allow all other manufacturers the privilege of recording the same tune. There are some solid arguments in favor of a revision of this law. Many publishers and writers, for instance, feel that they can never adequately regain a rightful share of the control over their copyrights without the law being amended.

So where are we?

Why do artists no longer try to stop the playing of their recorded performances on the air?

Why has not the compulsory licensing provision been changed?

Why has not the songwriter and publisher pressed to get a raise in the 2-cents-per-side mechanical rate?

Why indeed? Very often, the original proponents of such changes experienced a change of heart themselves. They decided it was best, after all, to leave things as they were. In fact, had it not been so hard to achieve changes in the Copyright Act, damage far in excess of any good might have resulted. Often, the original proponents of change were protected by the very slowness of democratic legislative procedure.

And so we are on the verge of another attempt by ASCAP to amend the Copyright Act. What of that? Many who are aware of how attitudes have sharply changed in the course of years, feel it is best that the democratic process is grinding on ever so slowly.

These men feel that proponents are so bent on winning the simple piecemeal issue at hand—the end of the jukebox exemption—that they fail to view in its entirety the complex interdependence of the entire music industry. These cautious men cannot favor removing the exemption, when in their opinion, so much of the music business hangs in the balance—when it is possible that the intended beneficiaries of such legislation today may be sufferers tomorrow.

On the other hand, those in favor of removing the exemption argue that what is involved is the protection of a copyright—the right to collect a fee for performance of copyright songs for a profit. Widely held theory, among these proponents, states that a moral right to collect performance fees does exist and must therefore be exercised. Let the drive for revision lapse and they feel the entire principle of performance rights is in danger. These men hold that even should an amendment disrupt the current economic balance within the music business, the risk is worth taking in order to protect a principle so vital to performing rights and licensing societies.

Would another congressional hearing help to resolve this deadlock? Congress has heard the bitter pros and cons many times. The way must be found to gather facts and carry on research in an atmosphere free from pressure, bitterness, and fear. What is needed is a neutral factfinding commission.

Next week's editorial, Reasons for Fear, will discuss why a factfinding commission can—and should—dig deeper into all economic aspects of the music industry, if this issue is ever to be resolved.

[From Billboard magazine of December 18, 1954]

REASONS FOR FEAR

(This is the last of a planned series of editorials on copyright legislation. The Billboard believes Congress should confine its 1955 legislation on this subject to appropriating money for a factfinding commission to be appointed by the President)

Last week we discussed the dangers inherent in attempting to modernize the Copyright Act by piecemeal legislation—the dangers involved in upsetting the peculiar balance of the music industry. We noted that piecemeal legislation could boomerang on the very segments in the industry that think they could benefit from a copyright amendment removing the jukebox exemption. Pointing out that another congressional hearing could contribute little, we stated that a factfinding commission was needed to gather testimony and carry on research. Such a commission would operate in an atmosphere free from pressure, bitterness, and fear.

A commission will be able to go beyond the organized groups in the jukebox industry and beyond the licensing organizations in order to better understand the opinions and problems of the individual jukebox operator, songwriter, publisher, and record manufacturer.

OPERATOR'S VIEWPOINT

The point of view of the individual operator is important to explore. Very often he is a marginal operator. He honestly feels an unfair music levy would drive him out of business. Like any other businessman, he would resent being forced by an outsider to stand an expense which does not show a tangible return.

This feeling of fear and resentment is increased by reason of the intricacies of copyright law. Like other ordinary mortals, he cannot understand it all. Nine out of ten operators will either admit this, or prove by their misstatements that copyright is a mystery to them. And herein lies the strength of the Music Operators of America.

THE MOA'S STRENGTH

The MOA's strength is derived from the operator being dependent on that organization to protect him against ASCAP. If MOA gives the least evidence that it will do anything but give ASCAP 100-percent opposition, it will lose the confidence of operators and may even disintegrate.

This complete opposition is going to exist as long as licensing organizations seek to collect fees without giving the operator the assurance that such fees will be equitable, and in proportion to value received.

A factfinding commission is in the best position to study the basic issues. There is nothing a new congressional hearing will uncover about operating jukeboxes that cannot be found in the records of previous hearings. But a commission quite properly may find the jukebox operator is willing to pay more to songwriters and publishers if reasonable payments will spell the end of ASCAP's annual attempts to put the jukebox industry in the same category as radio, television, ballrooms, etc.

COMMISSION'S POWERS

Just as a factfinding commission can talk directly to operators, bypassing MOA, so can a commission talk directly to songwriters and pulbishers, bypassing the licensing organizations. Such a direct means of ascertaining the basic facts and the personal interests of individuals in all phases of the music industry would seem logical, in view of MOA's complete opposition to ASCAP, and the latter's insistence that the jukebox exemption must be removed.

A factfinding commission will be able to examine all the complicated economics of the entire music industry, including the types of music royalties and music uses which are part and parcel of this controversy.

For example, jukebox operators feel they are paying songwriters and publishers for the use of the music these men create and exploit. They believe they are doing this through the mechanical royalty, a fee fixed by law at 2 cents per side. In the minds of the operators, this royalty totals a considerable sum—for unlike radio, for the most part, or television, the operator buys his records. The jukebox, in other words, represents a

real record market in addition to its value as a promotional medium for songs. And because records represent a sizable business cost to the operator, he tends to brush aside the argument that what is involved is performance right rather than a mechanical right.

ASCAP OBLIGATIONS

ASCAP, in its allocation of funds, has felt morally obliged to provide an incentive for music on a broad basis. It never forgets its financial obligations to those writers who once were but are no longer productive. For this—as well as other reasons—it can be said that ASCAP's distribution goes into the pockets of writers and publishers, but the distribution does not go directly, or totally, into the pockets of the copyright holders of a specific song.

In contrast, mechanical royalties from a song go direct to the specific songwriter and publisher of that song. These royalties are paid by the disk manufacturer to the publisher, who divides them with the writer. ASCAP does not administer these royalties.

Only a factfinding commission is in a position to determine whether writers and publishers are getting their fair share; only such a commission can place in proper perspective the different types of royalties and music uses. Only such a commission can objectively weigh all the moral and technical issues and resolve the conflicting points of view.

SUGGESTED LEGISLATION

Legislation could propose the establishment of such a commission by the President. The membership of such a body generally includes impartial citizens, and could include, ex-officio, several Congressmen. At the discretion of the President, representatives of different segments of the music industry could be named. The initial legislation would also outline the commission's purpose—exploration of the Copyright Act's effects on all facets of the music industry.

What would be the commission's authority? It would have power to assemble a competent staff, work closely with individuals as well as all groups involved in the controversy, and prepare a report. It is customary to set a time limit for the report, and in the case at hand 1 year has been suggested as reasonable. This would give the Congress, which created the legislation calling for the commission, the opportunity to study the report and act upon recommendation therein.

We consider such a commission the best means of correcting inequities where inequities exist. Let us not repeat the same wasteful, abortive performance we have seen in past years.

Flood Control Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, members of the House Public Works Committee are very pleased to have CLIFF DAVIS once again as chairman of the important Subcommittee on Flood Control. We who work with him know CLIFF DAVIS for his devotion to this vital legislative problem which means so much to the welfare of the entire Nation. We are glad to note that his constituents are also aware of his accomplishments in this field, as reflected in the following editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

FLOOD CONTROL LEADER

The seniority of Representative CLIFFORD DAVIS rebounds to the benefit of the entire lower Mississippi Valley in that he is now chairman of the Flood Control Subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee. It is his group which must pass on all proposed flood control projects.

Representative DAVIS is a sincere and vigorous advocate of sound water resources development, as his support of the St. Lawrence Seaway and other approved major projects clearly indicates. His study of water resources problems is continuous, and he is equipped to give the Flood Control Subcommittee intelligent leadership.

Israel: An Adventure of the Human Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include excerpts from an address by Abba Eban, the distinguished Ambassador of Israel to the United States, at the University of Notre Dame, on January 11, 1955. The guest honors his host, as the host's invitation honors the guest. The extension of this invitation and the presence on this Catholic platform of this outstanding Jewish spokesman is in the finest traditions of our great Nation.

I commend it to the reading of all my colleagues. My only regret is that the limitations of space in the RECORD made a condensation of this splendid address necessary.

The excerpts follow:

ISRAEL: AN ADVENTURE OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT

Four thousand years of history have extended their span between Israel's first ascent to nationhood and her restoration to freedom at the turning point of the century. The redemption from Egyptian bondage must be regarded in any serious conception of history as one of the authentic points of climax in the progress of mankind. * * *

The flight across the Red Sea and Sinai preserved a resolutionary idea which could never have evolved in the idolatrous despotism of the Pharoahs. The idea was the sovereignty of God, the Ruler of the universe, omnipotent, one and indivisible, the embodiment of righteousness, and the loving Father of all creation. * * *

The narrative of this rebellion against idolatry by men charged with the custody of an irreplaceable idea also occurs in the history of thought in a more secular aspect. This is the original and classic episode of national liberation. The memory of Israel's first struggle for freedom has inspired and consoled many subsequent movements of national independence. When Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were consulted on the emblem of the future American Union, they suggested that the seal of the United States should represent the children of Israel fleeing across the parted waters of the Red Sea on their way to freedom. This portrayal was to be surmounted by an uncannily Hebraic slogan, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

THE DIMENSIONS OF HISTORY

It is not presumptuous to believe that future generations will conserve the memories of Israel's modern revival with a similar reverence and tenacity. This will certainly come to pass in the particular domain of Jewish history. Nothing since the miraculous redemption 4,000 years ago can compete in that history with this recent transition from martyrdom to sovereignty, this sudden ascent from the depths of agony to new peaks of opportunity and pride. * * *

I have come to this abode of Christian faith and learning to suggest that Israel's resurgence is an event to be conceived in the highest dimensions of history. It evokes from the past and may portend for the future a deep lesson concerning the potency and nature of spiritual impulses. * * *

There is nothing global, or even massive, about the State of Israel in political terms. The territory in which our independence has been fulfilled is great in history but pathetically meager in geography. It is the bridge between the three continents of the ancient world.* * * But in the strategic calculations of this atomic century this piece of earth is of humble measure. The bridge is fragile, the highway is narrow, and in the age of air transportation it no longer obtrudes itself inevitably athwart the paths of conquest and empire. The population directly affected falls short of 2 million. * * *

Clearly, if modern Israel is to be regarded as a historic incident of universal scope, this is because of a stature to be ascribed to it in a completely different dimension. If modern Israel is to have any elements of greatness then this quality must be vindicated in the spiritual realm.

THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

To say this is not to deny that some of Israel's material achievements are impressive and sometimes deeply moving. The collective survival of the Jewish people is itself a rare event of history. Many other peoples have lost their independence under the heel of invading empires; but no people, other than this, having been so engulfed has shown such a capacity for recuperation as to preserve amidst martyrdom and dispersion, all the elements of its union and identity—its language and tradition, its consciousness of attachment to the land of its origin, and the undying hope of eventual restoration. * * * The banner of a free Israel now flies proudly again in the family of nations from which it had been absent for so many tragic generations. * * *

Nor are these the only achievements which may be accounted remarkable in secular terms. There is the pioneering toil and sacrifice which have transformed the wilderness to a semblance of its ancient fertility. There is the epic of mass immigration which has brought hundreds of thousands of returning newcomers to our shores. There are great efforts, and at times, serious results, in the increase of industrial and agricultural resources. There is the formation of a new culture, welding many varied immigrant traditions, tongues, and experiences into the unified tapestry of a distinctive civilization, in the image of the ancient Hebrew past. There is the struggle against the ravages of pestilence and erosion which had debased the physical aspect of the land and degraded its historic reputation as "the perfection of beauty, the joy of the entire earth." There is the adventure of establishing within a region dominated by despotism and autocracy a sanctuary for the democratic way of life and the principles of free government. There are advances in literature, the sciences and arts, which without yet reaching the peaks of the ancient revela-

tion, are yet significant and promising in relation to the circumstances of time and of space in which they have been accomplished. Nor can we omit from the positive record of Israel's achievement the turbulent struggle for physical security of a small people besieged on all its embattled frontiers by an unyielding and comprehensive hostility. To have achieved so large a volume of international recognition within so brief a time and against such heavy challenge is not the least surprising of Israel's modern victories.

THE POWER OF WILL

If despite all this, we concentrate our gaze upon the spiritual aspects of Israel's achievement and destiny, it is not because we renounce our claim to sympathetic appraisal in political, economic, social, or even military history. • • • Rarely in history has any achievement been recorded against heavier calculations of chance. All the circumstances of time and of place argued against its success. A few decades ago the prospect that an independent Jewish state could be established in its ancient homeland appeared so fantastic, as to bring its advocates under the suspicion of insanity. Statesmen and diplomats to whom the idea was broached in the early years of the First World War were startled at hearing so eccentric an idea even submitted to their official attention. • • •

Yet within a single lifetime we had passed from a world in which the existence of an independent Israel seemed inconceivable into a world which seems inconceivable without its existence. I know of few more tangible testimonies in history to the power of the human will to assert itself against material odds. • • •

This belief in the power of the human will is a recurrent theme in Israel's history. The most distinctive attribute of Israel's character, the source of some weakness but of greater strength is this stubborn, tenacious refusal to recognize the distinction between imagination and reality. In the grammar of classical Hebrew there is none of the sharp differentiation possessed by modern languages between that which is and that which shall be.

This deliberate confusion between imagination and reality, between the will and the fact, has been illustrated at many stages of our history. In 1918 our first founding father, Dr. Weizmann went up to Mount Scopus, overlooking Jerusalem, to perform the ceremony of opening a new university. In its outward forms this resembled similar ceremonies whereby universities have been opened and dedicated in many parts of the world. There was only one incidental circumstance which made this particular solemnity in any way distinctive. This was that the university did not exist at all. It was unrepresented even by a cornerstone. • • • Yet because the establishment of a university in Jerusalem was for us a matter of intense and passionate will, the absence of the physical conditions necessary for its fulfillment was not an adequate reason to abstain from all the acts and gestures which should mark its dedication. Surely enough, within two decades the university existed, and the ceremony, even in retrospect, no longer appears quixotic. • • •

Just as the establishment of Israel proves the dominant power of the human spirit, so is this theme illustrated by many acts which have unfolded themselves within the general process. The most vivid example is to be found in our immigration movement. The dispersed Jewish communities from which this immigration came were utterly divergent in all material things. Their social, economic, political, and linguistic backgrounds had nothing in common. Unity and solidarity existed only in the plane of spiritual allegiance. • • • The spiritual unity had not merely to exist but actually to overcome a great aggregate of divisive material forces. That it did so triumph, and that hundreds of thousands responded by immigration to the call of Israel's sovereignty proved that unity will prevail against divergence, provided that the unity is truly spiritual and the divergence only material.

THE HEBREW TRADITION

Thus far I have spoken of Israel's establishment as a general victory for spiritual forces. But we also owe attention to the particular lineage of Israel's spiritual history. • • • Ancient Israel had taught individual morality, social justice, and universal peace. That the conditions in which that florescence had been achieved should once again be restored was a prospect that could not fail to appeal to any sensitive imagination.

THE FAMILY OF CULTURES

The community of nations is also a society of cultures and civilizations. Many modern states, whatever their formal relationship to established religion, exemplify and embody the Christian civilization in its various forms. Some 15 modern states are dominated by the heritage and outlook of Islam. Three or more sovereignties in the Far East are cast in the mould of Buddhist tradition. There are many states, as we know too well, which exemplify the various materialist heresies of our age. But until 1948 there was one culture, and one alone, which had no distinctive representation in the family of nations; one civilization which nowhere on earth had the opportunity to express its ideals by response to the challenge of statehood, society, and international relations. No single state spoke as the conscious champion or exemplar of the Hebrew tradition. • • •

In our age, for the first time since the legions of Titus subjugated Jerusalem, the Hebrew tradition has become embodied in free political institutions, on a level of equality with all other nations in the human family. By this act of remedy, the family circle of the world's free cultures has become complete. The community of nations is now a comprehensive symphony of the traditions and cultures of mankind.

It is, of course, true that the concepts of Hebraism continued to affect history after the destruction of the Jewish kingdoms. • • • The stream of Hebrew civilization nourished the great rivers of Christianity and Islam; but its own native waters continued to flow perennially fresh. We have escaped from the great handicap and reproach of homelessness. No longer need we poignantly recite: "They have appointed me to keep many vineyards, but mine own vineyard have I not kept."

ISRAEL IN INTERNATIONAL EQUITY

There are many aspects of Israel's revival which belong to the domain of political history, but which cannot be denied their place in a spiritual appraisal. The homelessness and martyrdom of the Jewish people was not merely a source of international political tension: it was also a heavy burden upon the Christian conscience. The weight of this burden became heavy beyond endurance by any sensitive mind in the aftermath of the Second World War, when the curtain went up on the burnt and mangled bodies of 6 million Jews including a million children. The Jewish people had fallen victim to the most fearful agony which had ever beset any family of the human race. A whole continent was saturated with its blood and haunted by its unexpiated sacrifice. As the world rose from the ravages of the Second World War, it came perilously near to creating an injustice more heinous than any which had been illuminated by the triumph of the Allied cause. It became horribly but seriously possible that every nation would be granted its freedom, amongst those which had suffered under the heel of Fascist tyranny, except the people which had suffered the most. If the world order had been established upon this discrimination, it would surely have been conceived with an intolerable measure of original guilt.

From this spiritual peril the community of nations cleansed itself belatedly, perhaps a little too grudgingly, but nevertheless decisively, when it ordained and later recognized the establishment of Israel. • • • The establishment of Israel's sovereignty, though ostensibly a fact of political organization, was, in the deeper sense, an act of universal equity.

REGIONAL EQUITY

The same consideration arises with particular force when we examine the problem of equity in its regional aspect. No people benefited more lavishly than the Arabs from the new inheritance of independence bequeathed by the Allies' victory in two world wars and the establishment of the United Nations. In an area where not a single free Arab or Moslem had lived in conditions of political independence four decades ago, there were now to be created 7, 8, or 9 separate Arab sovereignties extending over a vast subcontinent from Pakistan to the central Mediterranean, from the Taurus Mountains to the Persian Gulf. • • •

Here again the international conscience was faced with a burning problem of equity. Was it considered right for the Arab people to hold sway over a continent, and wrong for the Jewish people to establish its independence in a tiny fragment of that huge domain? Would it be the decree of history that the Arabs must be independent everywhere and the Jewish people nowhere—not even in the land which owed all its luster in history to its connection with the ancient Hebrew tradition? • • • Here again there was the peril of an award so one-sided, so monopolistic, and discriminatory in its nature as to weigh down the international conscience for generations to come. After many hesitations the world community cleansed itself of any such reproach. It rightly established and encouraged the emancipation of the Arab people on an almost imperial scale. But the benefit, nay the elementary right, which it conferred upon the Arab people in such abundant profusion, was also bestowed upon the Jewish people, albeit within meager and austere limits. • • • It would have been an indelible disgrace to the cause of international justice if a world which had bequeathed this vast liberation to the Arab people had begrudged the Jewish people its minute share of that inheritance. The morality expressed in the parable of Naboth's vineyard would have clouded the constitutional and political structure of the Middle East.

ISRAEL'S CULTURE

As we survey the origins of Israel's independence in spiritual terms, we cannot fail to let our minds linger in speculation on the question of Israel's cultural destiny. • • • As a military power, a political force, or an economic unit, Israel's horizons are restricted by deficiencies of material power. • • • But in these realms Israel will never compete with the might and influence of the continental or imperial powers. The only domain in which we are free to soar to the highest peaks available to any nation are those of scientific, cultural, and spiritual progress. However pressing are Israel's preoccupations with physical security and economic welfare, the challenge of cultural achievement cannot be set aside. Would we not be an extraordinary people if we were to devote all our efforts to those material fields in which, after all, our limitations are inexorable, and stand aside from the only areas in which, at least, the potentialities of greatness lie open before us.

Three elements are available to us in the formation of Israel's new culture. First, there is the Hebrew biblical tradition expressed in our incomparable language and

evoked by the physical associations of the country itself. * * * The sentiment of belonging, in the most intimate sense, to the great sweep of Israel's history in this immortal land has a far greater influence than is commonly realized in the formation of our national character. Our literary movement and recent discoveries in archaeology constantly remind our people of this primary element in their spiritual formation.

A second element in Israel's culture is the accumulated experience acquired by the Jewish people in its wanderings after the period of national independence. The generations of dispersion and persecution were also a period of constant interplay between the Hebrew mind and the cultures of Europe and the New World. The Rabbinical and Talmudical literature, the post-Biblical Hebrew poetry and philosophy, the traditional attachments of the Jewish people to the arts and sciences of the Western World, are all part of the reservoir from which modern Israel draws its sustenance.

The third element available for our cultural development is western civilization, with special reference to its political institutions and its scientific and technological progress. It is Israel's fortune to be the sole representative in its immediate region of political democracy and scientific progress, which are the two most distinctive achievements of European and American civilization. This western civilization is strongly expressed by the Anglo-Saxon tradition with which Israel has two links of special intimacy. First, the great bulk of the free and extant Jewish people is a part of the English-speaking world. Second, the tradition of the English-speaking people is not something alien or external to Israel's life and experience. It is itself morally derived from the original Hebrew tradition of which Israel is the modern representative and embodiment.

From the effervescence of these three elements—the Hebrew Biblical tradition, the broader Jewish experience, western science and political organization—the culture of modern Israel will emerge. * * * We have at least restored to our people the conditions of a creative culture—pride of soil; the sense of continuity; deep roots in a superbly aristocratic cultural tradition; and the special exaltation which attends a people in the formative hours of its national revival. Who can be certain that these conditions will not bring a message in the spirit and quality of our original inheritance.

THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE

I am certain that your invitation to me to discuss these high themes within this Catholic sanctuary reflects your conviction that the unfolding of Israel's new career as a nation is a matter of moment and concern to the Christian world. The great issue in this generation is drawn, not between Christianity and Judaism, or between Israel and the Christian nations. The frontier lies rather between those who assert and those who deny the supremacy of faith and of freedom. You and we occupy different areas of tradition, experience and outlook; but we occupy them on the same side of that fateful demarcation. Our differences are not insignificant, and we should not be disposed to obscure them. * * * But if the rise of Israel is a victory of the human spirit, a triumph of international integrity, a burden removed from the universal conscience, the addition of a new voice to the symphony of human freedom, then this is a victory for the Christian cause as well as a direct salvation for the Jewish people.

It is memorable and significant that the Christian world lent its sympathy to Israel's revival. The great Catholic countries of Europe and Latin America were amongst those who most ardently sustained Israel's struggle for independence and recognition. Our devotion to a kindred heritage, our common respect for human values, our unremitting resistance to tyranny, are unifying forces which transcend all secondary divergences of judgment or interest. The people of Israel who first in history rebelled against the might of barbarian and pagan empires, which raised the first voice against idolatry—this people in its new life of independence will never bow the knee to dictatorship.

* * * * *

THE HOLY PLACES

An understanding of the spirit of the Christian world ranks very high among Israel's chief aspiration. We are fully aware that many causes and assets sacred to Christianity lie within our control, and demand our most vigilant reverence. This consideration has led us constantly in recent years to proclaim our readiness to place under international influence the Holy places in Jerusalem which are the cradle and inspiration of the Christian faith. By such a solution, reconciling the full political independence of the people of the Holy City with international interest in that which is truly universal in Jerusalem, we could achieve a double purpose. We should prevent an encroachment on the political liberties of Jerusalem's population, while at the same time acknowledging the moral authority of the world community over the sanctuaries of your faith. * * * These are the considerations which have caused the Governments of the United States and of Israel to cooperate so constantly within the United Nations on behalf of solutions which respect both the sovereignty and secular independence of Jerusalem's population, and the rights of the Christian world to see its holy places kept immune from turbulence and desecration. I am satisfied that this attitude is now shared by a majority of the members of the United Nations.

In the same spirit, you will understand how devoutly we have welcomed the warm praise expressed by Msgr. Antonio Vergani, representative of the Latin Patriarch in Israel, by the Very Reverend Father Brunet and by visiting Cardinals and Prelates to the efforts of my government to ease the journeys of pilgrims, to effect a road link to Mount Tabor and to repair the ravages inflicted by war on some of the buildings and properties of the Catholic Church in Israel. In paying this tribute to the Government of Israel for its substantial subventions, enabling the rehabilitation of the Hospice of Notre Dame de France in Jerusalem. Father Brunet eloquently and devoutly concludes: "May God vouchsafe to us to see this edifice risen from its ruins, and pilgrims coming once again to recite their prayers on the soil of this Holy Land, where spiritual interests should bring all hearts together in peace."

This is the goal of Israel's spiritual adventure, in the freedom of its ancient home—to live a national life consecrated to the universal vision of fraternity and peace. If we serve this ideal, within the limits of our human imperfection, the new era of Israel's freedom will be not unworthy of the inheritance of the fathers.

Court District Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the San Diego Union for January 18, 1955, in support of legislation which I have introduced to provide for a separate Federal judicial district for the southern district of California.

The editorial follows:

COURT DISTRICT NEEDED

San Diego has grown to the extent where it should have a separate Federal judicial district with two judges.

For the third year running the local bar association is making a concerted effort for such legislation. During the past 2 years appropriation has been made for a new courtroom and provision has been made for a Federal grand jury. A separate district is the next logical step.

San Diego County has grown to the extent where it should not be a stepchild of Los Angeles. A separate district would eliminate many difficulties now caused by overloading the Federal court.

Man of the Year in Financial World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure I include as part of my remarks in the RECORD an article from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of December 31, 1954.

Mr. Cyrus Eaton is truly one of America's financial giants and one who has a deep and abiding interest in people. Many of my constituents have personally known of this due to Mr. Eaton's actions in helping to save the Follansbee steel mill for the Ohio River valley community, where it employs some 800 men from both Ohio and West Virginia. The people of my district wish Mr. Eaton and his associates well in this new venture as in all of his business activities.

I had the pleasure to point out at Follansbee at the banquet in the mill a few days ago that Cyrus Eaton is a builder who has confidence in the people of America and in the future of America.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer article follows:

EATON FINDS BUSINESS WITH SECOND WIND, HITTING STRIDE—C. & O. CHAIRMAN URGES TAX CUTS FOR LONG-TERM ECONOMY

(By John E. Bryan)

Business has its second wind, and the American economy again is hitting its stride. This was the outlook yesterday by Cleveland's famous financier and industrialist, Cyrus S. Eaton, who marks his 71st birthday this week and the winning of his own second wind this year.

The chairman of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, Steep Rock Iron Mines, Ltd., and West Kentucky Coal Co., and president and chairman of Portsmouth Steel Corp., stated:

"As the new year begins, the basic industries with which I am closely associated—railroading, coal, iron ore, and steel, are experiencing a heartening resurgence. All present signs point to a busy and prosperous 1955."

For a healthy and expanding economy over the long term, however, Eaton believes the American people must insist on fundamental and far-reaching reforms in Federal Government.

"There can be no permanent progress and prosperity under a system that taxes its citi-

zens to the point of confiscation in order to support a bureaucracy that smothers the initiative of those same citizens under mounting layers of redtape and regulation," he asserted.

RAGS TO RICHES

America grew to its giant industrial stature because it was the land of unlimited economic opportunity for everyone, he pointed out. The man who was willing to work strenuously and to risk such small capital as he might be able to assemble, could literally rise from rags to riches, Eaton adds.

"Today there is relatively little incentive for the spirit of venture. Security, supervised by the state, is the most likely lot of the common man.

"To those who have set aside some substantial store of worldly goods, the temptation is ever stronger to convert their wealth into tax-exempt municipal bonds, and to abandon the energetic empire of industry and risk-taking for the cult of carefree laziness in warmer climes."

The best minds in labor and agriculture, as well as business, need to be brought to bear on the vital problem of governmental reform to restore true free enterprise in the finest American tradition, Eaton urges.

IMPORTANT MOVES

Eaton, who also is a director of the Cleveland Cliffs Iron Co. and the Sherwin-Williams Co., and a breeder of fine cattle in Northfield, is being called one of the "men of the year" by the financial world as it recalls his many important moves.

He acquired working control of the C. & O. last January 19 from his friend, Robert R. Young, who is hailed by many as "the man of the year," for $9 million, enabling his predecessor as chairman of the railroad to win his fight for the New York Central.

The genial but shrewd financier, who has the vigor of a man of 35, also "came to the rescue" of the citizens of Follansbee, W. Va., when the State's Governor asked him to buy and operate the steel mill with the town's name, instead of allowing its equipment to be sold for removal by Republic Steel Corp., which Eaton founded.

In addition, Eaton has been adding to his vast holdings in Cliffs and has acquired the huge Ungava ore deposits. He is seen building another empire, perhaps greater than the one he started in the 1920s, which collapsed for him in the depression years.

More Than 1 Million Pupils in Los Angeles County Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present to this great legislative body the text of what I believe to be a most interesting and informative communication recently received by me from Mr. C. C. Trillingham, superintendent of schools in Los Angeles County in my native State of California. I present with it the letter by which Mr. Trillingham transmitted this information to me. Since the population status of Los Angeles city and Los Angeles County is so well known throughout our beloved Nation, and since the public school problem, and the lack of number of school buildings and, therefore, classrooms, is also well known and again this year is one of the most urgent of public matters which must be handled by this great Congress as promptly and fully as possible, I do not feel it necessary to specify the significance of these figures of Los Angeles County. I do wish to say, however, in the great 23d District of Los Angeles County, which I am representing this my fifth term in this great legislative body, there still continues a stressing shortage of adequate school facilities in many portions of this congressional district, which extends approximately from the north boundary of the city of Long Beach to within about 20 blocks of the city hall of the city of Los Angeles and easily has an estimated more than one-half million residents.

Mr. Speaker, not only should there be no place in America for the children and youth to grow up noticeably illiterate on account of lack of classroom facilities; but, Mr. Speaker, it is also crystal clear that the entire future destiny of our great Nation depends upon what the children of today are enabled by the adulthood of America to become. I firmly feel and believe that adult America will have cause for deep regret, if adult America does not forthwith and more adequately meet the manifest needs and deserts of our Nation, to the essential end that no group or segment of American children shall grow into adulthood, illiterate in their letters and lacking in the common advantages of reading and writing and ability to do simple figures because American adulthood has continued to fail to perform its reasonable duty to our own young offspring.

My own present-day convictions on this subject are necessarily partially formed by my experiences as a member of the California State Board of Education prior to coming to this Congress. I am always even more shocked when, as a member of the Committee on Armed Services, I note the figures specifying the thousands of American boys who cannot qualify in the very simplest of military examinations and requirements, because of their utter lack, in a great number of cases in the very simplest of schooling benefits. This lack, Mr. Speaker, naturally also definitely enters into the weakening of our national defense and our national security.

The communication follows:

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS,
Los Angeles, Calif., January 14, 1955.

Mr. CLYDE DOYLE,
Congressman, 23d District, California,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DOYLE: We thought you might be interested in the enclosed information about school growth in Los Angeles County.

On October 29, 1954, there were 1,053,042 pupils enrolled in the public schools of Los Angeles County. On November 1, 79,800 pupils were attending schools in part-time sessions.

Cordially yours,

C. C. TRILLINGHAM,
Superintendent.

Growth trends in Los Angeles County, October 1954

1. POPULATION OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

	Jan. 1, 1945	Jan. 1, 1950	Jan. 1, 1954
From regional planning commission: Estimates	3,375,150		{4,806,633 [1] 4,847,043
1950 census		4,151,687	
Rate of increase		23.01	[1] 15.78

[1] July 1, 1954.

2. NUMBER OF BIRTHS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

	1945	1950	1954
Number of births	66,888	88,888	109,834
Rate per thousand	19.2	21.3	23.4

3. NUMBER AND SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

There are 114 school districts in Los Angeles County.
There are 11 districts over 10,000 average daily attendance.
There are 28 districts over 5,000 average da ly attendance.
There are 80 districts over 900 average daily attendance.
There are 36 districts under 900 average daily attendance.

	Number	Percent
Total average daily attendance in Los Angeles city districts during 1953–54	393,287	47
Total average daily attendance in districts outside Los Angeles city districts	440,651	53
Total average daily attendance in Los Angeles County	833,938	100
Total average daily attendance increase in county over 1952–53	71,067	

This is an increase of 5,922 average daily attendance per month or nearly 1,500 per week on the average.

4. DISTRICTS EXCEEDING LEGAL MAXIMUM TAX RATES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Of the 114 school districts, 84 have voted to establish tax rates beyond the legal maximum, as follows: 58 elementary, 16 high school, and 10 unified.

4A. TOTAL AMOUNT AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT WARRANTS PROCESSED BY COUNTY OFFICE

	1945	1950	1954
Total amount	$82,956,219.44	$244,237,566.50	$531,177,463.77
Number of warrants		815,383	996,735

5. RESULTS OF SCHOOL BOND ELECTIONS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY FROM 1944 TO 1954

School year	Issues carried	Amount carried	Issues failed	Amount failed
1944–45	28	$17,836,000	6	$1,750,000
1945–46	43	18,133,000	3	139,500
1946–47	35	12,619,000	4	750,000
1947–48	49	24,581,500	4	3,085,000
1948–49	31	30,281,500	1	963,000
1949–50	57	23,415,000	5	842,000
1950–51	48	44,124,000	7	4,766,000
1951–52	35	156,386,000	12	23,876,000
1952–53	47	61,099,000	9	20,507,000
1953–54	49	44,635,177	3	4,222,000
Total	422	433,110,177	54	60,920,500

6. NUMBER OF STUDENTS ATTENDING SCHOOL IN PART-DAY SESSIONS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

1949–50	50,900
1950–51	91,072
1951–52	108,719
1952–53	54,235
1953–54	52,223

Survey for 1954–55 now under way.

7. TEACHERS NEW TO SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Teachers new to school districts of Los Angeles County which received coordination and supervision services from the office of county superintendent of schools in 1940: [1]

	Total teachers	New to district	Percent new to district
1954	5,840	2,190	37.5
1953	5,194	1,827	35.2
1952	4,504	1,729	38.4
1951	4,157	2,016	48.5
1950	3,595	1,637	45.5
1949	3,167	1,863	58.8
1948	3,090	1,743	56.4
1947	2,951	1,816	61.5
1946	2,475	1,648	66.6
1945	2,114	1,389	65.7
1944	2,006	1,106	55.1
1943	1,940	1,001	51.6
1942	1,936	1,007	52.0
1941	1,892	1,023	54.1
1940	1,759	975	55.3

[1] Does not include districts which were chartered city, unified, or elementary city districts in 1940.

8. SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY ON MAR. 31, 1954

Kindergarten	82,722
1st grade	86,210
2d grade	78,830
3d grade	64,775
4th grade	65,772
5th grade	65,097
6th grade	63,537
7th grade	56,884
8th grade	51,493
9th grade	50,883
10th grade	46,118
11th grade	37,696
12th grade	29,608
13th grade	[1] 24,218
14th grade	[1] 11,106

[1] Includes part-time students.

It will be noted that the number of pupils enrolled in the first grade exceeded by more than 5,000 the combined enrollments in grades 8 and 12.

9. MOBILITY OF POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

In 1949–50, there were 788,000 family moves in Los Angeles County. This degree of mobility has grave implications with reference to unstable family life, lack of membership in community organizations, general uncertainty and unrest, and juvenile delinquency.

Growth and mobility constitute two of the schools' most serious problems today.

Short Legislative History of Attempts To Amend the Copyright Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from Billboard magazine of December 4, 1954, giving a short legislative history of attempts to end the exemptions granted by the copyright laws. This article was written by Benjamin J. Atlas, chief of the magazine's Washington bureau.

The article follows:

JUKEBOX LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—ATTEMPTS TO END COPYRIGHT EXEMPTIONS DATE BACK TO 1926

(By Ben Atlas)

Legislative attempts to end the jukebox exemption from copyright royalties have had a long and wordy history on Capitol Hill.

Legislation to wipe out the exemption mandated by the Copyright Act of 1909 has been introduced in nearly every Congress since 1926.

There have been eight different hearings before congressional committees, most of them running to considerable length. The legislation reached the floor twice; it was debated on the House floor in 1930 and on the Senate floor in 1935. Since 1936, legislation on the subject has failed to emerge from committee.

Here is a rundown of the history:

Sixty-ninth Congress, second session (1926–27): Hearings held, bills left on scrap heap.

Seventieth Congress (1927–29): Legislation introduced, left on scrap heap.

Seventy-first Congress (1929–31): Legislation introduced, hearing held by House Rules Committee; House floor debate in 1930. A lot of the debate involved an amendment offered on the floor rewriting the section of the Copyright Act which specified an exemption for jukeboxes. The amendment was debated and tabled. The House subsequently defeated the amendment without debate. The bill went to the Senate without the amendment relating to coin-operated machines. The Senate Subcommittee on Copyrights held hearings in 1931 (3d sess. of the 71st Cong.). The Senate committee amended the bill, making it provide that the use of a machine for the reproduction of musical works was not a public performance for profit unless a fee was charged for admission to the place where the rendition occurred. After extensive debate, the amendment was agreed to by the Senate but the bill failed to pass.

Seventy-second Congress (1931–33): Hearings held by the House Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in 1932.

Seventy-fourth Congress (1935–36): Two bills introduced in the Senate, two in the House. Hearing held before Senate Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in 1935; hearing held before House Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in 1936.

Seventy-fifth through Seventy-eighth Congresses (1937–44): Bills were introduced almost every year in each of these Congresses but no hearings were staged.

Seventy-ninth Congress (1945–46): Two bills introduced. Lengthy hearings were staged by House Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks.

Eightieth Congress (1947–48): The battle centered on 3 bills, 2 of them to wipe out the jukebox exemption. The third bill, sponsored by Representative HUGH SCOTT, Republican, of Pennsylvania, who was also author of one of the jukebox royalty bills, proposed to permit copyrights on recorded versions of previously copyrighted material. Known as the interpretation bill, this would have authorized copyrights on individual arrangements of recordings. This legislation got lengthy hearings before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in 1947.

The issue got a going-over on another front in that Congress when the House Education and Labor Committee deliberated the question of uses of royalty funds. This question rose when the committee in rewriting the National Labor Relations Act called for outlawing welfare funds, then widely employed by James C. Petrillo's American Federation of Musicians, as well as John L. Lewis' United Mineworkers. Representative CARROLL D. KEARNS, Republican, of Pennsylvania, chairman of a subcommittee on Petrillo's activities, seriously sought to draft a bill proposing that phonograph records be labeled separately for commercial use only and for home use only. The idea was dropped as too cumbersome to administer, though it was revived briefly at a subsequent jukebox-copyright hearing.

Eighty-second Congress (1951–52)—Representative SCOTT at the outset of this Congress hopered a bill identical to his old one calling for outright repeal of the jukebox exemption. Soon afterward, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, introduced a more detailed bill. Four months later, a modified version of the Kefauver bill was hoppered by the late Representative Joseph C. Bryson, Democrat, of South Carolina. Two days later, KEFAUVER introduced an identical counterpart to the Bryson bill. The Bryson-Kefauver bill, which would have made the rendition of a copyrighted composition on a jukebox a public performance for profit, exempted single jukebox operators or owners. The bill provided that owners or operators of more than one jukebox must obtain a license and pay royalties. The bill would have allowed them to use records in the jukeboxes without first obtaining a license, provided that they subsequently paid 1 cent per record royalty to the composer of every copyrighted composition on each record inserted in any particular jukebox.

Lengthy hearings were held by the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks, headed by Representative Bryson.

FOR AND AGAINST

The line-up of witnesses was pretty much the same as in previous hearings, with the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers in the van of proponents, as it had always been. Other supporters: Broadcast Music, Inc., Authors' League of America, Songwriters' Protective Association, National Federation of Music Clubs, Music Publishers' Protective Association, National Music Council, American Book Publishers' Council, Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, the Register of Copyrights, the State Department, and the Librarian of Congress.

Opponents of the legislation this time included the record-manufacturing industry (spokesmen for Columbia, Capitol, RCA-Victor, MGM, and Decca Records). Some threescore witnesses were on hand against the bill, including manufacturers of coin-operated phonographs, such as David Rockola, president of Rock-Ola Manufacturing Co.; distributors, opertators' groups, such as the California Tavern Association.

Debate was so acrimonious that subcommittee members urged the participants to seek an industrywide conference to see if they could resolve differences.

The Bryson subcommittee failed to reach agreement after studying some suggested compromises of their own, including revival of the old Kearns idea of establishing separate home use and commercial use labels on disks, so as to impose jukebox royalties on commercial labels. An 11th-hour attempt by Bryson to get the bill favorably discharged from his subcommittee to the full committee failed, and the coauthor had to content himself with a minority report recommending the legislation.

Eighty-third Congress (1953–54): The battle shifted to the Senate side. The late Senator Pat McCarran (Democrat, Nevada) introduced a bill to extend the Copyright Act to jukeboxes but exempting operators of single jukeboxes. Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN (Republican, Illinois) hoppered a bill identical with the old Scott bill, but DIRKSEN made it known that he didn't want to press his bill. Lengthy hearings on the McCarran bill were held by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents and Trade-Marks. Both bills wound up on the shelf of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents and Trademarks.

Meanwhile, efforts to get a jukebox royalties exemption clause in the model global Copyright Treaty failed at Geneva, but pro-

ponents managed to insert a clause authorizing creation of an international commission to study the question at any time. The model Copyright Treaty was ratified by the Senate in the 83d Congress and was signed by President Eisenhower. Legislation bringing the Copyright Act into conformity with treaty provisions was enacted.

Here in a nutshell are the major arguments, pro and con, as debated at committee hearings:

PRO ARGUMENTS

Proponents argued that the jukebox exemption is:

(1) Anachronistic, since it was inserted in the 1909 Copyright Act when the phonograph was in a "primitive state."

(2) "Unreasonable," since it bars the copyright owner from asserting that the performance on a jukebox is for profit and thus denies the copyright proprietor from "participating in the proceeds derived from the public performance."

(3) "Discriminatory" against other users for profit who pay royalties to the composer, "as provided by the Constitution and carried out by the Congress." According to this argument, a person who buys a disk for home use pays a price which includes a royalty paid by the disk manufacturers, whereas the person who buys a disk for use in a jukebox pays no more than a private retail consumer.

(4) "Inherently unfair to the composer." According to this argument, the jukebox industry "breeds on the work" of creators of the music, exploiting the composer "without his permission" and without extra recompense to him for this exploitation.

CON ARGUMENTS

Foes of the legislation argued:

(1) The jukebox is "the greatest agency for popularizing music," contributing to widespread dissemination of works of composers and authors and therefore jukeboxes should not be charged any extra royalty for public performance for profit. This argument went on to declare that the coin-operated phonograph had already become well-known in the United States by 1909 when Congress wrote the Copyright Act exempting jukeboxes from royalties.

(2) Any hike in the cost of disks would produce an economic threat, drying up sales, penalizing disk manufacturers, hitting authors, composers, singers and other artists, directly affecting their incomes.

(3) The legislation would drive a large number of jukebox operators out of business. Their profit margin is low, the argument ran. This, in effect, would be discriminatory, especially since jukebox operators now pay for the music they use in the form of the 2-cent statutory royalties imposed upon disk manufacturers since 1909.

(4) The legislation is administratively impractical. Operators argued they would be required to file monthly reports to copyright owners. Individual operators testified they would be compelled to take blanket licenses from all performing rights, societies and independent composers or keep the records and make individual payment to individual copyright owners.

People's Prize

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Newark (N. J.) Evening News under date of January 18 entitled "People's Prize":

PEOPLE'S PRIZE

A few years ago it would have occurred to no one to award Newark a prize. Its municipal government was notoriously inefficient and extravagant, a condition that reflected discredit on the people of the city.

But these same people were to prove that they had been misjudged. They didn't like what was going on at city hall, either, and they got together to do something.

What they accomplished, through a series of bitterly fought elections, has attracted national attention. The new charter and the administrative code adopted by the city council are widely regarded as major advances in city government, and requests for copies of them come from all parts of the country. Now the National Municipal League and Look magazine, cosponsors of an annual competition, have named Newark an all-American city. The basis of the award is energetic, purposeful, and intelligent citizen action.

Newark was one of 10 municipalities so honored. The award states its purpose is to pay tribute to the people of Newark for ridding their city of a wasteful government and for making their community "a better place in which to live."

C. Willard Heckel, chairman of the citizens committee, the instrument of change, who pleaded Newark's case before the jury, says, "Newark is now a city that has found itself, and what was once a spirit of defeat has become a spirit of confidence and trust in the city's future."

It would be dangerous to assume that the fight for a good local government has been won. It has only begun, but it has made a good beginning. The people have shown they want good government and are willing to go to a lot of trouble to get it. They'll have to keep at it.

Set Net Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under Federal law, regulations governing the Alaska fishery are made and enforced by the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior. By custom and, it must be assumed, because conservation would best be served thereby, set nets, a form of gear for the taking of salmon, have been spaced at different distances in different sections of Alaska. Last summer a Federal judge of the district court for Alaska held that set nets are fixed gear within the meaning of the organic act concerning the Alaska fishery. The Fish and Wildlife Service immediately announced that as a consequence of this ruling 1955 regulations would require these nets to be not less than 1,800 feet distant one from another or a much greater distance than has been the case in most areas of Alaska.

It is generally agreed that this would create chaos, no less. Therefore bills have been introduced in the Congress seeking legislative cure. It is my understanding that in principle they are endorsed by the Fish and Wildlife Service, by the fishing industry, and by the fishermen who, to date, have made their views known. Thus we have what might properly be described an unparalleled situation in which all elements are in harmony as to what should be done, in what had the possibility of being a highly controversial Alaska fishery issue.

Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, of Washington, and I have introduced identical bills on this subject. The requirement now is for speedy action so that the law may be changed before the 1955 fishing regulations become applicable.

Only this morning I received from Clarks Point on Bristol Bay in Alaska a radiogram signed by a good many residents of Clarks Point and Ekok whose livelihood is directly concerned with the operation of set nets. The body of the message reads:

We, the undersigned, urge that the House of Reprsentatives and Senate approve legislation now before you to reduce distances between set nets from 1,800 feet to those distances that were in effect during the 1954 fishing season.

The message is signed by Joe Bermanon, Clara Clark, Joseph Clark, Nancy Wilson, Mary E. Shade, M. E. George, Aurora George, Rose Garcia, Matrona Javier, Verner Wilson, John W. Anderson, Annie Anderson, Ingvar D. Johansen, Peter Hamilton, Jr., Aliek Evon, Annie Evon, John Gardiner, Louise Gardiner, Annie Ramondos, Charles E. Wolfe, John R. Andersen, Peggy Andersen, Emil E. Endel, Messa Egeand, Andrew Roberts, Martha Hamilton, Steven Wassily, Mark M. Hiratsuka, Mary Hiratsuka, Dick Lopez, Victor Tumutak, Andres Javier, Matrona Debano, Peter Traust, Harry Barnes, Daisy Barnes, Domingo Sloresta, Mary Floresta, Mrs. Anita Lopez, Pete Debenno, Jack D. Howard, Lilla M. Howard, Henry A. Shade, Nick Nankon, Mary Echuck, Jacinto A. Blancaslor, Peter Heyano, Rosa Heyano, Gene F. Pillian, Charlotte Pillian, Jack Savo, Tikano Savo, Sakalie Talogan, Nick Hansen, Annie Hansen, Tarrey Nolly, Sophie Nolly, Susie Muneyasu, James Muneyasu, and Henry E. Shade.

Peter Campbell Brown: A Gallant Fighter in the American Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY A. FINE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. FINE. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the resignation of Peter Campbell Brown as chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, I was pleased to add my tribute to the many others paid him by both sides of the aisle for his qualities as a man, his sagacity as a lawyer, and his fidelity to the public service. I expressed confidence that his rulings during the entire course of the lengthy hearing over which

he so ably presided would be affirmed by the appellate courts.

A few short weeks ago the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia upheld the order of the Board of which Mr. Brown was the author. I was happy to join in the deserved tribute to him then as I am pleased to congratulate him now for a difficult job so well done which, despite the continued harassment to which he was subjected by the Communist Party, was accomplished in the American tradition of eminent fairness and without even a minute abridgement of any of the constitutional guaranties.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a column entitled "Only Human," by Sidney Fields, which appeared in the New York Sunday Mirror of January 2, 1955, which provides a further insight to this devoted public servant who, to the pride of all New Yorkers, now serves as the city's commissioner of investigation in the administration of Mayor Robert F. Wagner:

PETER CAMPBELL BROWN: HUNT WITHOUT HEADLINES

In the loyalty check now going on among nearly 200,000 city employees 6 have so far resigned and 5 have been dismissed from their jobs. The check is being conducted without hysteria or headlines by the city's chief security officer and commissioner of investigation, Peter Campbell Brown, a gentle, burly man, who moves with measured slowness and brilliant sureness. But 11 resignations and dismissals after a year of checking are hardly overpowering results.

"The fact is the vast majority of city employees are devoted and loyal Americans," Brown says, and then cautions: "But don't be swayed by numbers. One or two Communists can cause much damage. Remember the Rosenbergs and Klaus Fuchs."

Brown once served as chairman of the Federal Subversive Activities Control Board. Ten days ago the United States courts of appeals upheld the Government order to the Communist Party to register as a subversive organization dominated and directed by Soviet Russia. Nowhere in the endless accounts was Brown's name mentioned as the author of the opinion on which the court based its decision. He prefers it that way. And there is no better index to his character.

"Anyone doing a job against subversion doesn't make headlines," he says. "He doesn't have the time."

In his present job he must, among other things, make surveys and studies, at the mayor's orders, of the city government, or its departments; and he is required to investigate any complaint filed against the departments or their employees.

"It's been our experience that 9 out of 10 complaints are motivated by envy or jealousy," says Brown. "Besides complaints, our work ranges wide: Subversion; a thorough study of how the city can earn revenue from waste collection; or getting rid of such nonsense as those 13 hydrant inspectors. At least 2 of them made up to $10,000 a year."

THE WAR YEARS

Brown is 41, a devout Catholic, and was born in Brooklyn. His father, now retired, worked in the city controller's office, but with his modest salary made a teacher out of his daughter and a lawyer out of his son. Brown went to Fordham College and Fordham Law School, practiced for 3 years, and then enlisted as a private in the Air Force shortly after Pearl Harbor. He emerged a much decorated major 4 years later. Before he left for combat in Europe he married a pretty model. They now have three sons and a daughter.

"I didn't see my first born until he was a year and a half old," Brown says. "The same thing happened to Bob Wagner. We were in the same outfit together."

On his discharge Brown was appointed an Assistant United States Attorney General, and 13 months later started a 7-year stint in Washington: Chief of Internal Security in the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, First Assistant of the Criminal Division, Executive Assistant to the Attorney General, then a member and finally chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

As chairman he conducted the 2 years of hearings that pinpointed the Communist Party as a tool of Russia. During the long and harrowing hearings they tried every ruse and trick to break his patience and provoke him into an injudicious error that could later be used to reverse his findings. They failed. Later he summed up the experience with magnificent simplicity:

"We must always champion the freedom, which our Constitution guarantees. But we must make certain that the Constitution itself is not destroyed by those whose rights we seek to defend. * * * Liberty does not mean license. There is no such doctrine as absolute freedom of the individual. Where individuals by their teaching and conduct threaten our very existence as free people they should be restrained. * * * We shall conquer this godless doctrine of communism when we adopt the Judaic-Christian principles of equality, brotherhood, and freedom in accordance with the laws of the Almighty."

CELEBRATED SUCCESSORS

There was already one vacancy on the Control Board when he resigned. The two spots were filled by Thomas J. Herbert, an ex-Governor of Ohio, and Harry P. Cain, ex-Senator of Washington.

"In my wildest dreams," says Brown, "I never imagined a Brooklyn boy would be succeeded by a former governor and Senator."

He returned to New York and private practice, but remained at it only briefly because his friend, Bob Wagner, was running for mayor. It is the custom of the mayor to appoint a close and trusted friend as city commissioner of investigation, and after the election Wagner asked Brown to fill the $15,000 a year job. He brought to it one basic lesson he learned in Washington:

"I never want to be guilty of abridging or tampering with the rights of anyone."

His predecessor had started the loyalty check of city employees with a questionnaire. Brown discarded the questionnaire after much soul-searching, and decided to rely on face-to-face interviews.

The questionnaire was "rough" and "even insulting," and would not get at the hard core of Communists he was after. Face to face interrogation would. Interviews take place continuously.

"The manner and method of our loyalty program is the most important contribution I can make," Brown says. "But this is our most important task and we won't let up until it is finished."

The President's Budget Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, when we heard the President's budget message somewhat of a political stir arose over its contents. The Democrats seem to think the President made some misleading statements in the message. I examined it carefully, as I do all of his messages, and I failed to see where it was misleading. I think the President stated the matter as plainly as possible with what information he had. When the matter is considered by the Appropriations Committee defects will be detected, and, no doubt, many of the items will be reduced. JOHN TABER, on the Republican side, took about this position: That every request would be carefully scrutinized when the committee gets the message before it.

Probably some of the conclusions reached by the President were subject to debate. For example, on page 1, he stated:

Thus, we continue to progress toward a balanced budget.

On page 15 he made this statement:

Therefore, I have no alternative but to ask Congress for an increase in the public debt.

Of course, it is difficult to harmonize these two statements. Personally, I do not think it will be necessary to raise the debt limit. The old debt limit was $275 billion, and last session we increased it to $285 billion. On December 31 the debt was $278 billion, thus leaving a leeway of $7 billion, and this in the face of a big tax reduction. Unless we appropriate, and have to borrow, too much money for foreign aid, I do not see where we shall have to worry about raising the debt limit. I do not dispute the President's statement that the limit will have to be raised, but on the surface it would seem not to be necessary.

Sixty-five percent of the budget estimate of $62,400,000,000 will go for national security, and in this I have no complaint. We should spend all that is necessary for our own defense. This amount may have to be increased, because our security depends upon how well we ourselves are prepared to defend this country. In my judgment we have neglected ourselves too much, because we are just waking up to the fact that in the final analysis we shall have to do our own defending. In his message the President did not take up the subject of cutting down the size of the Army. I am sure objection will be raised to this when the time comes.

We are not on a peacetime economy, even though there is no war. We are still supplying billions to factories to to turn out war material. In other words, war or the fear of war, is still present, and we have no definite way of determining what our national condition would be if we were actually on a peacetime economy.

I will do as I have always done—strenuously object to handing over billions to foreign countries—but will support every move to prepare a full and adequate defense for ourselves.

Under present conditions I think the President said about all that could be said, and, as time passes, any mistakes in recommendations can be ironed out. These corrections are made to every budget, and have been ever since I have been a Member. What a department asks for is not necessarily what they will get.

The Tariff Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article written by George Sokolsky in a recent issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald regarding the economic effects of the proposal in Congress to liberalize and extend the present Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

Mr. Sokolsky's article, under the caption "Tariff Again," follows:

There are two ways of looking at President Eisenhower's tariff proposals which emanate from the Randall commission:

One is that as we are going to give away some of our wealth to foreign countries, anyhow, we might as well do it on an economic rather than on an eleemosynary basis.

The other is that if all of the President's proposals go through, certain American industries, such as coal, electrical equipment, watches, wallboard, bicycles, ceramics, etc., may have to be abandoned because they will be forced to compete in the American market with commodities that are made with cheaper labor that can employ American capital which has a 14-percentage-point benefit so far as income taxes are concerned, and that will come in at a reduced tariff.

The history of the tariff in the United States has in the past been principally the story of a conflict between manufactured goods and farm products, between the industrial East and the agricultural South and West. In 1955 that is not the conflict. The differences of view are between the great units of production—big business, as it is called—and the small manufacturer.

Big business is world-conscious. It not only hopes to sell universally, but it manufactures in many countries. Its capital is not only locally invested; it is invested in many countries.

That is not true of the small manufacturer. He makes goods for a local market, whether that market is the United States or some region of the United States. He may or may not produce a superior product to one made elsewhere on the face of the earth, but he employs American labor, pays taxes not only to the Federal Government but locally, and his price is geared to the American standard of living. If our smaller manufacturers are driven out of existence by faulty economic policies, the social damage could be enormous.

Those who are doctrinaire about the free market do make the point that if such American manufacturers cannot compete with foreign goods, they ought to go out of business, as an admission of their inefficiency. This position would undoubtedly have much virtue but when the Government subsidizes the export of American capital to manufacture competitive goods by a 14 percentage point differential, the advantage to the American manufacturing abroad with cheaper labor and cheaper costs all around is so great as to be noncompetitive. A free market is only possible if there are no subsidies, no rebates, no economic tricks.

In this struggle, big business will no doubt win the immediate battle. It has utilized great persuasive forces to convince the American people that we ought to have a lower tariff, easier customs procedures, and now a rebate on taxes for investments abroad, a tax differential that benefits them tremendously. But this does not solve the social problem of unemployment in the United States and that will have to be solved because the unemployed vote in elections as well as the employed do, and their votes count for as much. In such a State as West Virginia, where residual oil is knocking down the coal industry, unemployment can develop into a major political issue as it already is a social problem.

The present tariff proposals are the most radical in our history. Neither President Roosevelt nor President Truman—both low tariff men—dared politically to grant a subsidy for the export of capital. That has now been done and is before Congress for decision.

"Chamber of Smears"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in a recent edition of the Washington Evening Star. Much has been said recently with regard to the smearing of political parties and candidates for office. This subject was highlighted recently by the "chamber of smears" promoted by the Democrat National Chairman Paul Butler. It is somewhat difficult to understand how any remarks could carry greater stings than those inflicted by former President Harry Truman and Mr. Adlai Stevenson in comments they have made during their speeches. The article which appeared in the Washington Star on this subject is rather thought-provoking and it is repeated here for the information of those who may not have seen it:

"CHAMBER OF SMEARS"

The Democrats, with an impressive show of righteous indignation, have put together what National Chairman Paul Butler calls a Chamber of Smears. The purpose is to prove that Vice President NIXON, despite his disclaimers, really did smear the Democrats during the recent campaign, and that the President, by praising Mr. NIXON's efforts, has become a party to these smear tactics.

One might just as well concede at the outset that some of Mr. NIXON's comments, as reported by the Democrats, have many of the distinguishing characteristics of the political smear. Only a truly rugged Republican individualist like Mr. NIXON would contend to the contrary.

It is not enough, however, to be able to recognize a political smear when it emanates from Mr. NIXON. It is also desirable to be able to recognize political comments which do not come within the definition of a smear. And perhaps a good way to do this is to list a few of them.

Thus, it was not a smear when Harry Truman charged in the 1952 campaign that Mr. NIXON had paid with his votes in Congress for the $18,000 expense account he accepted from California supporters.

It was not a smear when, on the eve of the 1952 election, the Democrat, official organ of the party, falsely and by innuendo attacked the integrity of Mr. NIXON's mother, father, and brother. And since this was not a smear, no responsible Democratic leader can be linked to the attack merely because no one of them saw fit to repudiate it.

It was not a smear when Mr. Butler's predecessor, Stephen Mitchell, accused President Eisenhower in March of 1954 of having made "an unholy political alliance with Senator MCCARTHY for the purpose of the next election."

And of course it was not a smear when Mr. Mitchell, in one of his blasts at the Dixon-Yates contract, implied that the President was trying to steer some easy money toward his golfing friend, Bobby Jones.

Why do not these observations and others like them come within the definition of a political smear? The answer is obvious: A political remark becomes a political smear only when expressed by a prominent member of the opposing political party; never when expressed by a prominent member of one's own political party.

Perhaps there are those who will not be satisfied with this explanation. If so, one can only suggest that they should receive Mr. Butler's current lamentations with the proverbial grain of salt.

Hon. Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Fourth District of New Jersey is indeed fortunate in having acquired as its Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, of Trenton. Mr. THOMPSON has long been a leader in the State of New Jersey and served in the capacity of minority leader of the State assembly. I think it is appropriate to call the attention of the Congress to the high caliber of his work by inserting an editorial which appeared in the Trentonian on January 5. I would also like to point out the well-deserved tribute which is paid in this editorial to Mr. THOMPSON's predecessor, ex-Congressman Howell:

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, OF NEW JERSEY

Congressman-elect FRANK THOMPSON becomes Congressman THOMPSON down in Washington today, with many of his friends and supporters on hand to give him a send-off on his new career. We'd like him to know that he has our best wishes on this momentous occasion.

We believe that the new Representative from the Fourth District, comprising Mercer and Burlington Counties, is most suitably qualified for the high post for which he has been chosen by the voters, and we have every confidence in his ability to carry out the new duties he now undertakes.

At the risk, however, of belaboring nonessential facts, we must observe that it is obvious that the new Congressman takes office at a time when the district he represents is climbing near the top of the heap in industrial importance.

Mercer's rise in that category is well known. Burlington is right up there too, as a series of articles in the Trentonian has revealed. To THOMPSON, then, will fall the task of seeing that this increasingly important segment of the Nation is not overlooked in Washington. Particularly in legislation affecting the

deepening of the Delaware River will we have to depend on him to see that all questions are resolved fairly.

We hope, too, that he will continue the interest shown by his predecessor, Charles R. Howell, in the development of the Delaware Valley, Federal aid for schools, culture and many other matters of equal import.

While writing of THOMPSON and Howell, it comes to mind that we owe the latter a vote of thanks for his weekly report which the Trentonian has been pleased to publish. It was singularly well put together and highly informative. We are happy to know that THOMPSON intends to carry it on with a weekly report of his own, and again we shall be happy to present it.

We don't, of course, mean to imply that we expect his reports to start rolling in next week. It will take him a while to get his feet on the ground, and whenever he finds time to start writing his column, we'll be glad to get it.

In this matter, as in all others, we are confident that Congressman THOMPSON will acquit himself nobly.

Newspaper Flays Commonwealth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, not long since the Alaska Weekly under the editorship of Wilbur Irving gave editorial space to suggestions made to the newspaper that in the poll it has been taking seeking to determine Alaskans' preference as to political status that commonwealth be added to the ballot. The newspaper replied to this vigorously and emphatically in true frontier and true American spirit in these words:

We have been urged, at some length if not by a great number, to accord the question of an Alaskan commonwealth space in our ballot on the statehood issue.

We are not going to do any such thing. In fact, we hope that this will be the last space we must devote to serious discussion of such a ridiculous proposition.

It is beyond the power of the Congress to diminish by one whit or tittle the legal status of an integral part of the United States of America. Any measure which would deny the people of Alaska representation in Congress—even the voteless representation they now enjoy—would do violent injury to the Constitution.

Such a measure could not be sustained in the courts, as two of the best lawyers in the United States Senate not long ago pointed out. Senator Cordon, a Republican, and Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, a Democrat, both raised the issue of constitutionality when the commonwealth was proposed.

Alaska is an incorporated Territory of the United States. Some have hopes that Alaska soon will join the sisterhood of States. Others fervently hope Alaska will remain a Territory. Whatever happens, Alaska will remain a part of America, owned by Americans and peopled by Americans.

There is nothing better than to be an American. There could be nothing worse than to be an ex-American, paying no taxes to America, sending no representative to the Congress, denied any voice in the affairs of America.

We say to those who dream—fantastic as the dream may be—of taking Alaska out of America, we say this: your nightmare is not for us. Go, go to Russia, go to the land where a constitution is nothing but a scrap of paper. Or go to Argentina or Poland or any of the other poor, raped lands where men who have no respect for law and order duly constituted by the people have found it possible to bring their nightmares to a brief reality.

The years are long since the first Red October, but they will seem as fleeting in the eyes of history as the years since Munich must have seemed to a swine named "Hitler," trapped, dying, and on his way to hell. Some day, and the long years are shortening with every passing day, we, shall witness the destruction of communism and the liberation of the enslaved millions beneath the Red banners. There can be no such thing as a peaceful coexistence with the evil forces of oppression, any more than there can be a degradation of an American by his relegation to commonwealth citizenship.

America is in the fore in the battle for freedom, as she ever has been wherever the cry of liberty was raised. Every American wants to do his part in that battle.

No thinking American wants to slink off, relieved of the privilege of sharing the burden, denied the right to representation, forbidden to speak his piece.

No; Alaskans are Americans and Alaska is America. They are one and the same, now and forever, and the only good thing that can be said of the ridiculous commonwealth suggestion is that its very utterance proves that freedom of speech is still one of the rights of any American, no matter how lacking in commonsense.

Preaching Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

PREACHING COMPETITION

A few days before President Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize lower tariffs through the reciprocal trading method an unusually fine presentation of the virtues of competition appeared in the New York Times.

It was an advertisement in which more than half the page was used to picture an automobile of 1905 vintage, with brass-barrel lamps, straps to the windshield corners and a buggy top. The big type said, "How do you like the 1955 model?"

In smaller type we read, "That's probably what today's cars would look like if it weren't for competition.

"Competition makes things better, newer, cost less. Competition for your patronage gives you a wider choice, gives you more for your money.

"But competition is more than a way of doing business. It's a way of life.

"Freemen compete with each other, using ideas and points of view. The best one wins, for the benefit of all."

The reader is then told how Swiss watchmakers compete among themselves and sell their watches in competition for the market in the United States. Since the end of the war the Swiss have sold $425 million worth of watches and watchworks here, and the Swiss have bought here $1,300,000,000 worth of our automobiles, movies, medicines, chemicals, machines, and other products.

It is the advertisement of the watchmakers of Switzerland, but it is silent on the most pointed point of recent relations between the United States and Switzerland. The United States raised the import duty on Swiss watches by 50 percent last July.

President Eisenhower has an otherwise good record of resisting pressures for protective tariffs. But this one action has done severe damage abroad to our preaching of competition as the best way of life.

Benefits to a Massachusetts watchmaker and to the reelection campaign of a Senator from Massachusetts are trivial compared to protests of businessmen, including the business of putting cases on Swiss watchworks in the United States.

The President is being asked to reverse his action. His voice would be stronger on behalf of low tariff principles if he removes Swiss watches from the controversy.

But whatever the President does about it, or Congress does about reciprocal trade, we are indebted to the Swiss watchmakers for a clear picture of the competition in which we take so much pride.

Dillydallying on School Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article written by Columnist Doris Fleeson, in the Evening Star, January 13, 1955. This article contains undisputed facts concerning the desperate situation confronting our school system today which is depriving the children of this country of free public education.

The article follows:

DILLYDALLYING ON SCHOOL NEEDS—MRS. HOBBY PLANS LONG STUDY OF CLASSROOM SHORTAGE WHEN ONE TELEPHONE CALL WOULD GET THE FACTS

(By Doris Fleeson)

When Oveta Culp Hobby took office as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare 2 years ago, a survey of United States educational needs which Congress had ordered made was on her desk. It showed that an appalling shortage of classrooms and teachers existed and would continue to exist unless immediate steps were taken.

Today the survey has been brought up to date. It shows that despite real effort by most States, the shortage of classrooms is even bigger than it was. In the face of this, more than a million children entered school for the first time last year, and the census figures show that this enormous influx will continue for at least 6 more years.

Secretary Hobby's solution so far consists of plans to call a White House conference in 1955 to discuss the problem. The facts which will be put before it could be obtained with one telephone call, they are so well known to educational authorities.

The cause of the swollen school enrollment, of course, is the increased birthrate which came with the war and cold war. The American children who are being deprived of their birthright of free public education are the children of the men and women that President Eisenhower and Mrs. Hobby herself, as head of the Women's Army Corps, commanded in World War II.

In his state of the Union message, the President indicated that his heart and conscience had been touched by the situation. He said that the unprecedented shortage of schools required positive affirmative action now and promised to submit a program February 15.

This is a change of mood at least on his part. But the various commissions and committees so far appointed to make recommendations appear on their records to be opposed to anything resembling a cash program with Federal funds.

Because this is so, 30 Senators have sponsored a bill to appropriate $500 million annually for the next 2 years for school construction. In its expenditure the States would be fiscally liable to the Federal Government but States and localities would remain in full control of all aspects directly affecting the education of the children.

The group is anxiously awaiting the Eisenhower program. They hope he sees fully as great an emergency in the schools as in the highways for which he is soon to recommend a 10 year, $100 billion program.

Whether he does or not, they will fight for their bill. They propose to bring home to the American people the fact that American educational standards are going steadily down just at the time when the demands of society are the greatest they have ever been.

Senator LISTER HILL of Alabama is chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee which will conduct hearings on the bill. Joining with him in sponsoring it are most of the northern Democrats, the Democratic whip, Senator CLEMENTS, and seven other southern Democrats. North Dakota has furnished both Republican sponsors, Senators LANGER and YOUNG.

It is believed that many other Republicans are only waiting for the White House nod to get behind an immediate school program.

Interested Senators have frankly given up expecting help in health, education, and welfare from Mrs. Hobby. They find her bright and charming personality, but a States rights budget balancer politically.

They are nonplussed on two counts. They had planned with masculine fortitude to restrain her womanly emotions as a defender of the rights of women and children, the sick and the aged. They had expected to suggest to her the limits of her Cabinet authority as they have to so many male members of Presidents' Cabinets. This has not proved necessary.

The 72d Anniversary of the Civil Service Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 72d anniversary of the Civil Service Act. After a long, hard struggle, advocates of a merit system finally saw their efforts crowned with success upon the signing of the Civil Service Act on January 16, 1883, by President Chester A. Arthur.

Mr. Speaker, the longtime, career employee, newly appointed employees from competitive civil service lists, personnel trained, educated and skilled in their particular tasks form the backbone of an efficient, economical government. It has often been said that devoted, faithful government employees—men and women who have earned their positions through civil service examinations—are the Nation's bulwark against internal deterioration of the management end of democracy.

We should maintain constant vigilance to insure that the civil service system is protected against abuses. It is the duty of the Congress to strive to improve the system.

There is an obligation upon the department and agency heads to see to it that civil service employees are treated in accordance with the intent of the law and the intent of the Congress. Sometimes, I fear, there is a tendency on the part of some Government officials to attempt to circumvent the law. Particularly is this true in the matter of the shifting and transferring of long-time career personnel. Partisanship should not play a part in personnel policies. Consideration for the good of the service and the Government itself should be the only motivating forces in effecting transfers and reductions in force.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include these remarks, an editorial from the Springfield (Mass.) Union entitled "Civil Service Week" and an editorial from the Washington Evening Star entitled "Civil Service Anniversary," and an article by David L. Perlman, Federal Merit System Had Humble Start:

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union of January 19, 1955]

CIVIL SERVICE WEEK

On January 16, 1883, President Chester A. Arthur signed the Civil Service Act, which had enlisted the support of both political parties. This has been designed as National Civil Service Week, sponsored by the American Federation of Government Employees.

Commenting on the passage of the bill 72 years ago, the association's news service says: "It is interesting to note * * * that newspapers of the time credited the pressure of public opinion rather than reform sentiment among politicians for the passage of the bill. Public sentiment had been outraged by the slaying of President Garfield by a demented job seeker."

Whatever the main root of its origin, the civil service has become a valuable part of our national governing system. While popular opinion sometimes holds the service as a concentration of Uncle Sam's help in the city of Washington, Government employees are distributed widely throughout the country, with only about 10 percent of our Federal workers in the Washington area. Civil service workers are part and parcel of all major communities in the land, and of a good many minor ones.

While the civil service is not perfect—both from the outsider's point of view and that of the civil service worker—it is not difficult to imagine the chaos that would result with every change in administration if we had no large backlog of trained men and women who enjoy a reasonable tenure of their jobs and who perform them without regard to the political complexion of any administration.

The civil service has proved a stabilizing influence in Government employment and, to a great extent, has eliminated the evils of the old spoils system. The fact that it is vigorous and flourishing after 72 years is proof of its persisting importance as a merit system in our Government.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 19, 1955]

CIVIL SERVICE ANNIVERSARY

It was 72 years ago this week that the Federal Government launched an uncertain experiment, the substitution of merit for politics as a standard for personnel selection. Even the advocates of the reform were none too optimistic that the undertaking would be successful. David L. Perlman, editor of the Government Standard, organ of the American Federation of Government Employees, quotes in an article elsewhere on this page an editorial comment of the Star that was indicative of the restrained hopes of those who were fighting the spoils system. The editorial, referring to passage of the original civil-service law on January 9, 1883, said: "What the bill may accomplish depends largely upon the President. He is really invested with power enough to make it a fair success or a total failure."

Fortunately, President after President has supported the merit system and Congress after Congress has strengthened it, as weaknesses became apparent or developed under the stress of a growing Federal establishment. The program has stood up under the open or covert efforts of patronage interests to make inroads in the career field, the most recent of which have occurred under the present administration. But, when the showdown came, the President usually has stepped forward in defense of the integrity of the merit plan. President Eisenhower is no exception. Although some of his aids seem to have been slow in getting the word, he has made it plain that he will tolerate no tampering with the civil-service principles established back in 1883. It is no exaggeration to say that the system launched so uncertainly so many years ago is more than the fair success which the Star hoped for.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 19, 1955]

FEDERAL MERIT SYSTEM HAD HUMBLE START

(By David L. Perlman)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The author is editor of the official publication of the American Federation of Government Employees and has written this article in connection with the 72d anniversary of the signing of the Civil Service Act.)

On January 16, 1883, the friends of civil-service reform were beginning to wonder if they had, perhaps, been premature in celebrating the end of the spoils system in the Federal Government.

Just a week before, the House of Representatives had rushed through final passage of the civil-service bill—a bill that bore the name of Senator George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, but had actually been drafted by Dorman B. Eaton, leading spokesman for the reform movement.

The civil-service bill had passed the Senate by a resounding 33-to-5 vote, although the number of absentees were disappointingly large. When it reached the House, there were a few halfhearted efforts to recommit or amend the bill, but its supporters kept up a steady chant of "Vote! Vote!" until, after a mere 1-hour debate, the Pendleton bill passed without a change.

Since President Arthur himself had called for passage of a civil-service law, the reformers considered that they had every right to celebrate. But then came the disconcerting news that several top administration officials had challenged the constitutionality of the measure and were urging the President to veto it on the ground that it infringed upon his constitutional power of appointment. This issue was to be the chief topic for discussion at the Cabinet meeting on January 16.

As it turned out, the fears of the reformers proved to be groundless. The Evening Star of that date tells us that, at the Cabinet meeting, "The tenor of the discussion was favorable to the signing of the bill in its present shape."

Later that day, President Arthur affixed his signature. The merit system was to get its first trial in this county.

For more than a score of years, distinguished but isolated voices had been raised from pulpit and lecture platform against the corruptness of the spoils system. The "practical" politicians brushed aside this criticism with a mocking reference to "snivel service reformers."

But when President James A. Garfield was shot down by an assassin's bullet in July 1881, in the old Pennsylvania Railroad depot—where the National Gallery of Art now stands—people were no longer amused by jokes about the "snivel service" movement. The demented killer, Charles J. Guiteau, had been one of the thousands of jobseekers who had poured into Washington for the inauguration with claims of political service to be paid for by public office. To the man on the street, Garfield was a victim of the spoils system.

The congressional elections of 1882, which saw the defeat of several of the most outspoken opponents of civil-service reform, were the handwriting on the wall so far as Congress was concerned. Civil-service reform now became top-priority legislation.

The less starry-eyed of the reformers, however, were more restrained in their elation at the passage of the Pendleton bill.

That the battle for civil-service reform was not over—that it had, in fact, just begun—was made very clear in an Evening Star editorial following the passage of the Pendleton bill.

Since both the Democrats and the Republicans have, at various times, claimed credit for the enactment of the first civil-service legislation, it is interesting to read these comments from the editorial, dated January 10, 1883:

"The truth is that there was a good deal of insincerity in the support and passage of the bill, and it pervaded both parties about alike. The Democrats sincerely wanted the bill beaten. Since the November elections their hopes of success in 1884 have risen to the highest degree, and Democratic leaders knew that their followers look forward to the offices with an eagerness and a hunger born of over 20 years' expulsion from the public crib. But there was a public sentiment in favor of a reform in the civil service which Democratic Congressmen feared to defy.

"With the Republicans, there was just as much insincerity. They regarded the measure as one of policy rather than of principle. In the event of Democratic success in 1884, the law could serve to keep Republicans in office."

Not too hopefully, the Star editorial concluded: "What the bill may accomplish depends largely upon the President. He is really invested with power enough to make it a fair success or a total failure."

The new law was to take effect on January 16, 1883, 6 months after it had been signed by the President.

Only a comparatively few positions were specifically placed in the competitive service under the initial act. But the President had wide freedom to add other groups of jobs by Executive order.

The spoils system did not die overnight. Three months after the passage of the act, the classified columns of the newspapers still carried listing such as these:

Wanted: A position in one of the departments; will give $25 down and $5 monthly. Address S. T., Star Office.

Wanted: A gentleman of experience will pay $100 to anyone who will secure him a position in one of the departments. Address in confidence, Integrity, Star Office.

Meanwhile, the first Civil Service Commission, headed by Dorman B. Eaton, the most prominent of the reform leaders, moved into its first temporary offices. Even by the standards of those days, it was a modest beginning for a new agency. The first quarters were the front and back parlors of a private residence at 612 14th Street NW. The rent, including maintenance, heating and light, was $3 a day. When, some weeks later, more suitable offices became available at the Department of Agriculture annex, the Commission's first two employees, John T. Doyle and Matthew F. Halloran, moved the Commission's belongings in a pushcart.

The first civil service examination was given in July 1883, for clerkships paying $1,000 a year. During the next 6 months, 489 appointments were made from competitive registers.

From these humble beginnings, the merit system spread slowly but steadily throughout the Government. Sometimes gains would be made when an outgoing President placed groups of employees under civil service to try and protect them from dismissal in the new administration. But as turnover brought about the need for replacements, the replacements would come from civil service registers.

Even more important was the growing realization that the merit system meant good government.

By 1893, Theodore Roosevelt, in one of the last letters he wrote as a Civil Service Commissioner, could say:

"As a matter of practical experience, every Cabinet officer whom I have seen in Washington has, before the end of his term, come to the conclusion that if there was any bureau in which he needed special efficiency, he had to put it under the civil-service law."

Science and Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, on December 31, last, Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution and one of our preeminent scientist-statesmen, delivered an address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Berkeley, Calif. Although it is lengthy I am placing this address in our RECORD, as I feel it ranks as one of the significant public utterances of recent years. With keen insight and great wisdom, Dr. Bush examines the basic problems of our time as a scientist and citizen who is deeply imbued with our finest traditions. His comments deserve the widest readership, and leaders in and out of government might well give heed to his counsel.

The address follows:

Every man is entitled at one time in his career to declare himself regarding the idea of progress. It is an idea that in some of its aspects has been earnestly discussed by many men for over three centuries. And as usual in the case of debated subjects, the dispute turns largely on the matter of definitions. What is progress? How can it be measured? Is it a historical fact? If we have progressed, are we bound to continue progressing in the future?

When we speak of progress, we may have in mind several different conceptions of the word. Bury, in his classic Idea of Progress, traces the changes in its content and emphasis through the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. The idea is not an old one as ideas go. It had no place in the thinking of antiquity. Some ancient Greek and Roman writers held with Hesiod that the course of history was one of slow but steady decline from a long-past golden age. The Hebrew tradition of the fall reflects a similar point of view. Others among the Greeks and Romans believed that human history and the future of mankind followed a cyclical pattern, making no significant progress in any constant direction. Cities and empires were known to have risen and declined. Science and philosophy had flourished and faded, and flourished and faded again.

Through most of the Middle Ages the conditions of life were depressing, and men turned for their hope away from the disappointments and uncertainties of earthly existence to dwell on a roseate dream of life after death. Material improvements were sought and achieved, but their achievement was slow and unimpressive. Knowledge was looked upon as something revealed to men of great faith, to be learned by the study of accepted texts—the scriptures, the church fathers, Aristotle, the schoolmen. It was a revolutionary suggestion of Roger Bacon, and one that had no great influence in his time, that the phenomena of nature should be studied by first-hand observation rather than through received authority.

The Renaissance brought a spirit of renewed earthly joy and enthusiasm, which at first drew its inspiration from the great men of antiquity but gradually turned its eye to the present and the future and became, in the Age of Enlightenment, a spirit of hopeful expectancy. Francis Bacon, noting the dramatic achievements of a few centuries—gunpowder, the printing press, the mariner's compass—regarded science and all intellectual effort as a utility, justified only as it contributed to "the endowment of human life with new inventions and riches." He saw no limit to the possibilities of science and fully expected those possibilities to be realized. But he did not regard their fulfillment as inevitable or assured by the laws of nature.

Eighteenth-century philosophers commonly accepted progress as the normal course of history without making a particular point of the idea until the Marquis de Condorcet, in the midst of the French Revolution, wrote his Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind, explicitly setting forth the idea that human progress is continuous and will go on until human perfection is achieved. This became the common attitude of thoughtful people in the early years of the 19th century. It runs through the thinking of most of the Romantic and early Victorian poets, the scientists, and the philosophers. It drew strength from the rationalists, deists, unitarians, and universalists, who reacted with confidence in the perfectibility of man against the dour fatalism of the Calvinistic teaching that man is essentially corrupt and beyond redemption except through the unpredictable, seemingly capricious, grace of God.

As the 19th century advanced, the idea was elaborated and bolstered with new evidence and arguments. The innumerable advances of science and invention, the overthrow of despots and growth of constitutional liberty throughout western Europe and America, the adoption of humanitarian reforms—all could be pointed to as visible evidence that progress was a fact. And the principle of biological evolution (both Lamarckian and Darwinian) provided an argument of analogy that made progress seem very much like something founded in the nature of things.

Darwin voiced the idea temperately in the following words:

"As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Silurian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world. Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of equally inappreciable length. And, as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental environments will tend to progress toward perfection."

Even before the publication of the Origin of Species, Herbert Spencer had used the evolutionary analogy in his Social Statics, and in the course of the next three decades he carried the argument much farther than his scientific contemporaries were willing to do. He held that "Nature in its infinite complexity is ever growing to a new development" and further that "The ultimate development of the ideal man is logically certain, as certain as any conclusion in which we place the most implicit faith; for instance, that all men will die." The human progres that he envisioned was in all phases: In the minds and bodies of men, who, according to Spencer, would continue their biological change ever toward higher forms; in knowledge; in material facilities and conveniences; and in political and social structures. He regarded it not as conditional upon the deliberate efforts of men, but rather as an inevitable law of nature. Men's conscious actions might contribute to it, but those conscious actions would be only a secondary result of man's own progressive improvement.

The assumption of Darwin and Spencer that all evolution must be progress was of course only an assumption. But it was generally accepted by most of their contemporaries despite the criticism of Huxley in his later years. In the generally hopeful temper of the late 19th century the whole Spencerian dogma was eagerly taken up, with or without its claims of reason, by all classes of people in England and the United States. The prevailing mood of our society before the First World War was one of complacent expectation that all things would improve perpetually. Retrogression, at least, was unthinkable.

But the First World War shook our optimism, the depression shook it further, and the second war nearly destroyed it. Now, though we may still hope that our race will go forward in progress, we are confronted with facts that take all the former exuberance out of our hope, reducing it almost to a wish of despair. This is especially so with regard to moral and political affairs. For who can have confidence in humanity's future when he looks at events of the past 20 years? Belsen and Buchenwald were poor exhibits of humanitarian progress by any standards recognized in the 19th century. And it is difficult to see much to choose between the erratic tyranny of the Czars and the systematic tyranny of the present Russian Government, with its purges and brainwashings. Our wonted spirit of optimism has given way largely to a spirit of gloom, and some among us seem to be gradually moving toward a definite philosophy of pessimism.

In these circumstances it is perhaps well that we should look more closely at the idea of progress, take stock of the realities, and formulate a reasoned position as free as possible from both despair and wishful thinking.

Let me begin by distinguishing some of the elements of progress that we are considering. How can the fact of progress be judged or recognized? What does the word mean before it is expanded into Bury's "idea of progress"? As it is used in this phrase and as I am using it, the word carries a connotation not only of movement or even of movement in a constant direction, but of movement in a direction that is intrinsically good or desirable. Its meaning cannot be derived from experience or reason; for it is based solely on a dogmatic ethical assumption as to what constitutes the good or desirable, toward which all actions and all change ought to be directed.

Attempts have been made to define the word in such a way as to escape the element of dogma and give it a semblance of universality. But all such attempts have inevitably failed. Many writers have already pointed out that the measures of progress popularly applied to biological evolution are essentially arbitrary. Man may, indeed, have evolved from the primordial ooze, and this may be accepted as good if we assume that it is good to have complex life on earth, but this again is an arbitrary assumption. How many other species have evolved to a certain level of adaptation in relation to a given environment, only to fail of adaptation to a superseding environment? Why cannot the same fate be in store for human kind? We may grant that the evolution of man has been a local triumph in the universe, and yet doubt whether his further evolution is bound to lead to further triumph. We may say that evolution follows a pattern that tends always toward heterogeneity and complexity, and complexity may for a time have survival value. But in the long run how can we be sure that complexity will not prove fatal? Survival value cannot be appraised before the millennium, and therefore to define progress in relation to it is meaningless.

I shall be dogmatic at this point and state some of the standards of value that I have accepted for judging progress. I have nothing new to add, I can merely reiterate what has been said many times, and, having done so, add my comments on its meaning for the great problems we now face. I believe that it is good for mankind to gain knowledge and understanding without regard for their utility in relation to other ends. I also believe that it is good that our knowledge, for whatever reason acquired, should be used to improve man's health and increase his comfort and happiness. And from these primary standards I derive certain secondary values. It is good to preserve the individual freedom of all men for free men alone can think freely or freely acquire knowledge, and freedom is a part of the comfort and happiness toward which we legitimately aspire. It is good also to have peace, provided it is not bought at the price of greater values, for peace in ideal circumstances contributes to our comfort and happiness and in some degree to our freedom. But on the secondary level of values we must often make difficult choices. We must sometimes forego a measure of our earned comfort and happiness in order to avoid losing all of it. We must make sacrifices to sustain and defend the freedom of our institutions, the right to continue our experiment in democratic government and refine its underlying principles. We must sometimes even be willing to go to war for these reasons.

There is a risk in the pursuit of knowledge that must not be blinked at. In our partial knowledge and limited wisdom we can encompass our own destruction without meaning to do so. Fear of such self-destruction underlies all our thoughts and acts today, and with reason. But this fear often becomes distorted, being centered almost wholly on A-bombs and H-bombs because of their spectacular nature. There are other weapons that could prove just as deadly. Had there been no A-bombs or H-bombs, the danger would not be notably less. For if the nations of the earth continue to devote a large part of their productive efforts to the building of weapons, and to marshal for the purpose all the potentialities of science, engineering, and industry, they can create the means, whether of one sort or of another, which when fully exploited will be capable of erasing whole populations. Without the A-bomb, chemical warfare, as it was developed, though held in reserve, during the last world war, could have a terrible effect. Biological warfare could be far more terrible. New diseases created for the purpose and introduced among an unprotected population by an attacker who had acquired immunity to them could bring back the horror of the great plagues that once swept over the earth. The deliberate blighting of crops and herds could produce unprecedented famine. And as we now advance in finding chemotherapeutic means for the treatment of mental disorders and drugs that exert control over human emotions, these very means, in the hands of ruthless dictators, may constitute one of the greatest threats of all.

Some people in their unbalanced fear accuse the physicists of having brought the world to its present plight through the development of A-bombs and H-bombs. It is believed by some that physicists have a conviction of guilt, and some physicists by their own utterances have given grounds for this belief. But the guilt, if it is to be so regarded, must be shared by many who were not directly involved in developing the bombs. Every step in the advance of our knowledge that preceded the discovery of ways to release atomic energy contributed to the final result. If the result was a crime, then Newton must be counted as one of the arch criminals and Einstein as an accomplice. Nor should the scientists of the free world be held peculiarly responsible, for the general course of science has rendered the result inevitable; our scientists merely hastened the time a little and made it possible for us to determine the place and circumstances of the first release of atomic energy. We are fortunate that they were the first to succeed. For their success gave a temporary advantage to the free self-governing peoples of the world. Had Hitler's scientists solved the problem of exploding an atomic bomb early in the war, we might now all be under the Nazi's heel, with extermination camps ready to dispose of any group or nation that rebelled. Had the Russians found the solution at the end of the war, while we were still unarmed with atomic weapons, the sweep of their armies would not have stopped in the Balkans, the Baltic, and Czechoslovakia; and we should now face a huge totalitarian state bent on world conquest with all the industrial power of Europe at its command.

We sometimes hear that the natural sciences in general have outrun the social sciences and that the balance must be restored if we are to cope with our great new danger. It is too late in the day for any such remedy. We should, indeed, give every practicable support to social science and hope that some day it will produce answers to many of our human dilemmas. But the test is upon us now and will not wait. We must grapple with it, using the systems of social relation that we have and such wisdom as we can muster. Whether we come through the ordeal will depend upon whether we are sufficiently mature to map out a wise path and adhere to it. Looking for easy ways, mysterious formulas, or scapegoats will not help.

The dogmas that I have stated are not presumptuous ones. They are dogmas of humility. They do not pretend that we know all the answers. On the contrary, they recognize that we are still comparatively ignorant and very much confused. In our scientific endeavors we have correlated some of our simpler experiences, and this has led us into contradiction and confusion. We have hardly begun to correlate those experiences that involve the emotions. We see but through a glass darkly. Yet the race is young. In a thousand years we may un-

derstand more and be able to substitute dogmas that are more satisfying to our souls than the simple ones I have been propounding. Perhaps, indeed, in a thousand years men will abandon hope entirely. But let us not now, in blind anticipation of what they may then think, abandon hope for them.

We know vastly more than our ancestors did of what nature's forces can do, but we can hardly claim to have achieved any true or profound understanding as yet. Our theoretical explanations of observed phenomena have changed completely in the past 3,000 years. How can we say whether they have advanced or not, since they are not measurable by any ultimate standards? They can be judged only according to the degree to which they seem to be consistent with our accumulated experience and the range of experience which they encompass. We place increasing emphasis upon the pragmatic test of whether our theories work, and are little concerned with whether they express an absolute truth, or whether there is such a thing as truth to be expressed. The corpuscular theory of light served for a time until new observations seemed to require its abandonment in favor of the concept of waves passing through ether. Now we have revived the corpuscle under the new name of quantum, and find it useful as a means of rationalizing certain phenomena that could not be rationalized under the wave theory. We use both theories without attempting to reconcile them with each other. When we deal with the nucleus of the atom we work with a bizarre formula and care little whether it has a model to go with it.

Professor Dingle aptly states the case regarding theory in his essay Some Reflections on the History of Science:

"Amid all the changes of theories and pictures and conceptions, the relations remain and steadily accumulate. Franklin found that lightning was a manifestation of the electric ether revealed in laboratory experiments. The electric ether has disappeared, and other theories of electricity have in turn succeeded it and disappeared also, but the relation between lightning and laboratory sparks remains. Maxwell established a relation between light and electromagnetic oscillations. His ether also has gone, but the relation stays. All permanent advances in science are discoveries of relations between phenomena, and the factor in science that shows a steady uninterrupted growth is the extent of the field of related observations. World pictures are indispensable for progress but even the most satisfying has no hope of immortality."

We have progressed in our scientific knowledge and have the power to progress further. But I see no law of nature that makes such further progress inevitable. For the present we are limited only by our will to go ahead and our ability to preserve a world environment in which the search is possible. There probably are inherent limitations to our human mental capacities and to our conceptions of science that will eventually impede our further conceptual progress. We have come generally to question whether there can be any scientific certainty.

There never was, indeed, any true basis for certainty; but when we were in a more optimistic mood we sometimes allowed ourselves to suppose that there was. The present tendency of scientists to emphasize uncertainty is symptomatic of the times; it is perhaps their subconscious reaction as their former roseate vision of endless progress is dimmed by the louring aspect of the present state of world affairs. The great generalizations of Heisenberg and Gödel have but stated the fact more explicitly and completely than it had been stated before, and led us to see more clearly some of its implications. The inductive method of science, from which have emerged its great triumphs, can yield only a strong probability of truth in a restricted area. No matter how many confirmatory experiments may be made, or how closely they are in accord with a hypothesis, there is no guaranty that the next similar experiment will not contradict it, and no basis for its extrapolation into regions where test is impossible. Man may find order among his experiences and in so doing gain control over nature for his own ends, but he cannot in this way acquire certainty. Even the deductive method is severely limited, as Gödel has shown. No system, logically based on a set of premises, can be demonstrated to be free from contradiction without stepping outside of that system.

As we, then, accumulate generalizations to bind together the facts of experience into useful formulations, as we establish hypotheses and test them by experience, are we indeed coming closer to reality? We cannot know. We can gain mastery over the course of events and thus control our subsequent experience with a high probability of success. But we cannot say that we have arrived at truth with any more assurance than when we specify truth by dogma, without all the paraphernalia of experiment, logic, and mathematics. Thus science is, in these days, becoming more humble in its assertions.

We may feel that the ordering of our observations of the heavens by Newton gives us a grasp of the swinging of the planets about the sun that is closer to reality than the system of Ptolemy with its spheres, deferents, and epicycles, even if the latter were refined to be in full accord with observation, as it could be. We may feel that, having added Einstein's refinements, we are still closer to reality. But this is a feeling only, a faith if you will; and what constitutes the truth is not demonstrable by logic of any sort.

Yet there is more than mere utility in the endeavor to systematize the evidence of our senses, and this we may forget when the limitations of science are emphasized. The extension of our observations into space, the translation of our bindings into cosmological hypotheses, is pursued with intensity and satisfaction; and the motivation is not to learn a bit more about the nucleus of the atom just to make more powerful bombs or even to provide a new source of energy so that civilization may continue after it has exhausted its oil and coal. The musings and speculations of one who thinks in terms of receding galaxies or of primordial explosions are far different in content, though perhaps not in nature, from the ponderings of the peasant who sees the stars glued to a celestial sphere rotating over his head. Are they better or of a higher order? Have they a possibility of coming nearer to grasping eternal truths? This, too, we cannot know. We have only the evidence of a powerful, inner urge to pursue the path of inquiry, to learn more in the sense of extending and systematizing our observations and experiments over a wider field, to grasp more in the sense of greater generalizations—not so that we may be more prosperous, but so that our spirits may have a freer rein in those aspirations which transcend the mere mechanisms of existence.

The limitations upon our understanding have not yet, at any rate, begun to cramp our progress. Who can say that they are not themselves merely the expression of the limited view that we have thus far attained? We have not reached the boundaries of our finite capabilities, we have only proved for a time that the assumption of our fathers that they are boundless is probably false. We must go on until we can go no farther, for it is not in our inquisitive nature to abandon the quest for knowledge merely because we are told that we shall never know all that can conceivably be known or know anything with certainty. Must every adventurer be assured success before he will take a step forward? We are all born to die, and yet we spend every waking hour of our lives in striving as if we were to live forever. We may observe historically that man's progress has been intermittent and has alternated with retrogression; but observing this we do not sink back from effort in despair; it is not in our nature to do so. And the search for knowledge and truth has its daily rewards unrelated to any ultimate achievements.

Without any presupposition, then, of the inevitability of progress, we may reasonably expect each day to learn more and accomplish something in a material way that will add to the comfort or convenience of our living. These same material accomplishments will bring us new and more terrible instruments of death. But this fact will not deter us from further scientific inquiry. Our simple survival is not worth so much that it is to be purchased at the cost of intellectual stultification. Nor would the suppression of dangerous inquiry save us. Although the achievements of science may, indeed, throw us back into barbarism, the abandonment of our search for knowledge and material betterment would only make vegetables of us.

There is no certainty in either science or progress. The science and technology that have carried us so far toward physical comfort and prosperity may blow us back with an atom blast to barbarism, to wars and pestilence; to a world in which the pressure of population on primitive resources is controlled only by recurrent war and famine; to a world that offers only a tinsel glory for a few built on a pyramid of misery for the many. The application of science to warfare may put an end to the surge of scientific progress that began with Galileo. We may, indeed, throw ourselves into a war of extermination. Or, in an excess of caution, we may throw away our dearest freedoms in false and narrowly conceived measures of defense. Either way we lose utterly. The way to peace and continued progress is not clear. But neither confusion nor pessimism will justify inaction while there is so much that can and ought to be done. We can strive to work our way out of the confusion and not be panicked by it into rigid immobility. We need not be dismayed by the uncertainty of the outcome. We can gamble cheerfully on the course suggested by our best judgment today, and play the next turn according to our better—or perhaps only different—judgment of tomorrow. And there is a chance that we may continue our achievements in the realm of physical well-being and escape the worst dangers that we now so vividly see. We may reach the end of the wars that have been a scourge to man ever since he began to make tools.

In world affairs, as nearly as I can judge, we are headed for the moment toward a stalemate; and this is probably the best situation that can now be hoped for. The world will remain for a time evenly divided, its halves poised for mutual annihilation. Secondary wars will continue with restricted means, as in Korea and Indochina. The great bombing fleets will be held in leash. Always present will be the danger of their being unleashed by some mad action or by simple accident. Our nerves will become increasingly taut, and we shall be tempted to seek the delusive relief offered by totalitarian government, authoritarianism, obscurantism, thought control. We shall be ever threatened by the panic of fear. It is not a pleasant outlook. But I see no better one in the near offing.

We can at least strive to avoid mad actions and pray to be delivered from blind accidents. We can, in fact, do more than pray. We can all of us, whatever our special calling, keep informed about the course of public affairs, recognize that they are of personal concern to us, study public problems, and through the constant pressure of an enlightened public opinion prevent those who govern us from lapsing into carelessness. We

can by our indirect influence as well as by voting at the polls see to it that firebrands do not come into power. But let us not try to conjure away our fears by propitiatory witch hunts or by fatuous acceptance of the promises of political messiahs or the dazzling spectacle of the man on a white horse. We need alert yet sober leaders who can and will think their way through the problems that confront us, who can judge wisely and act decisively. We can have such leaders if we refuse to settle for less. Remember the adage of Plato's Republic that the punishment of wise men who refuse to take part in the government is to live under the government of unwise men.

The stalemate that I envision, however, will not be a true one if it is allowed to rest only on the equal striking power of the opposing forces. We must, of course, have striking power equal or superior to that of our enemy. But equal striking power does not constitute an equilibrium of forces when one side is limited in its use of such power entirely to retaliation. And our side is so limited and must remain so. For the one thing above all others that distinguishes us from the enemy and makes him an enemy is the fact that we do not have a totalitarian form of government capable of making a surprise attack. Our enemy has such a government and will not be deterred from making a surprise attack by our mere threat to retaliate, if he has a reasonable hope of destroying at one stroke most of the forces that we must rely on for sustained retaliation. Had the Japanese been as nearly matched to us in military strength as the Soviet alliance is, they would probably have won the war in the Pacific. The only true stalemate for us is one in which we have striking power superior to the enemy's and defenses that are strong enough to balance the inherent advantage our enemies must always have of striking first. At the very least we must protect our essential retaliatory means from destruction before they can be used. We have not thus far, in planning for defense, taken all the necessary possible measures to prevent such destruction. And, unless the military corrects its thinking soon, there is real danger that the stalemate upon which we depend for relative peace will prove to be altogether illusory.

This is not the first crisis in human affairs, although it is by all odds the most intense we have yet gone through and the fastest paced one. Yet a generation may suffice to resolve it. And the outcome will depend on how we react under almost intolerable strain. Society does not wish to commit suicide, nor does any part of it wish to do so. The question is whether it will commit suicide in spite of itself. If we can but weather this storm I believe that we may fairly hope to build a world in which there will be no more wars of any kind. The problems that cause wars—population problems, problems of access to resources—all such problems could conceivably be settled to everyone's advantage by other means than war, and science can contribute in an important way to their solution. The world's resources can be more effectively utilized and made more accessible to people by improved means of transport. The wild growth of populations can be curbed. Available materials that are not now made use of can be brought into profitable use just as has been done in the past with petroleum, natural gas, bauxite, and the magnesium in sea water. New sources of food may be found in organisms specifically developed to increase the total amount of the world's food supply.

Our future progress depends on how well free peoples have learned to govern themselves. The test is not one of how fast peoples who have been under a foreign yoke until recently will now establish democracy or succumb to the wiles of demagogs or the tyranny of dictators. The test comes primarily in the great democracies, with experience in parliamentary processes and the operation of courts, under a new type of threat and a gnawing fear. The test in this country is whether we can truly maintain our freedoms and guard our way of life against threats from without, against subversion within, and against our own errors and aberrations. Our recent performance in this regard is not encouraging.

The great asset of free countries in the present struggle is their freedom. The great disability of dictatorships is that they are always permeated with suspicion and distrust, conspiracy, personal spite, the deflection of justice for sinister ends, timidity in the expression of honest opinions. In a free world men may disagree and maintain their mutual respect; they may urge unpopular courses of action and be heard; it is assumed that they are loyal and seeking the best for their contry and their fellows unless they are proved to be traitors by due process in independent and impartial tribunals. In a police state men express the current party line; and, if they misjudge it, they disappear.

Here is an enormous advantage for the United States if it is kept unimpaired. It insures that the whole course of Government, our relations with other countries, our military policy, will undergo the full scrutiny of uncoerced public opinion. The advantage extends even into minor matters. When a new weapon is being secretly planned about a table, when the relative priority of alternative technical or strategic programs is being considered, our system assumes that the junior participants who have honest thoughts to contribute may express them without fear of retaliation from powerful men who think otherwise, or who have opposing vested interests. This great advantage of freedom to dissent makes the country genuinely strong in many ways. It must not be lost.

Our enemy relies chiefly on the weapons of penetration and subversion to weaken us so that later he can destroy us. His first objective is to steal our secrets. Among the thousands or even millions who have access to secret information there have been a few, a very few, traitors. We must guard against such traitors with all our skill and determination. But the importance of their acts has been exaggerated out of all reasonable proportion. Without their help we tell the world, voluntarily, nearly all we know; and our enemy has only to read and listen. In technical articles, in advertisements, in budget presentations, in the release of testimony, in open court hearings, we disclose to the enemy our technical plans and programs, the essential characteristics of new airplanes and weapons, the location and equipment of our military bases and our factories for producing military items. We freely print critical dissections of the technical controversies that arise over the explicit development of our major weapons. Skilled analysts assemble scattered information and synthesize it into speculative accounts of what is happening in areas of military development. There is very little left for an enemy espionage system to find out, and it can concentrate on that little with the full background handed to it on a platter. If we are honestly determined to keep the enemy ignorant of our plans and designs, we must, indeed, be careful to keep both the traitor and the spy out of our councils, laboratories, and factories. But, we need much more to draw a clear line between the information which the electorate must have for its reasoned judgment, and the technical and military information which is not necessary for that purpose; and having drawn the line we need to hew strictly to it. Until we do this, we are protecting, at great risk to our operations, only a small part of the information that should be protected. But this first objective of our enemy's actions is today less important to him than his other objectives.

His second objective is to penetrate our organizations and influence our decisions. There is not the slightest doubt that this was done successfully in the days when we were more gullible than we now are. It is difficult to recapture the atmosphere of the immediate postwar period, when we were a pushover for attempts of this kind. Russia had been our ally, a difficult one to be sure, but often a loyal ally under stress. Remember that when we landed in Normandy, we would have been highly vulnerable if Russia had concluded a separate armistice, or even relaxed its pressure, so that the full weight of German arms could be brought to bear on us. It might perhaps have been in Russia's interest thus to prolong the struggle and stand aside until the nations of the West had become exhausted.

After the war there was a strong hope that we could live in peace and understanding with our former ally. After all, Russia had plenty of land and resources and needed a generation in which to build industries and raise its standard of living. There was validity in our purpose to ease tensions and further good relations. It was some time before the free world realized that it had demolished one threat only to be faced with another, far more sinister and far more skillful in its operations. In the interim there was penetration into many organizations by men who took their orders from the Kremlin. Much harm was done by these men, with their own strange ideas of the future; undisciplined, arrogant men, who did not hesitate to undercut their superiors and their colleagues or to connive with a foreign power against the Nation. The danger from such men is much less today, for we are now alert, and we are no longer gullible. Their efforts still persist, but they are much less successful and are concentrated on auxiliary organizations rather than on the center of government. To combat their threat we must be relentlessly vigilant. But the change of attitude that has occurred in the last decade, the clear realization among loyal members of our various organizations, from Government bodies to labor unions, has rendered the efforts of those who would penetrate and influence our decisions and acts in favor of the enemy ineffective except in minor ways.

The third objective of the enemy is the most important one. It is to spread confusion and distrust among us. In this purpose he has been most successful and is more successful today than ever before. In fact, he has been so successful that he need hardly try further; we are carrying on the process now without his prompting, and the process grows by what it feeds on. Look about us. We have a system for the clearance of persons to do secret work, which seems almost calculated to destroy their reputations by innuendo and charges based on spite. We have adopted a principle, abhorrent to our own best tradition, of establishing guilt on the basis of simple association. We have men who contributed much to the war effort now placed in jeopardy because of the expression of unpopular opinions. We have useful men denied the opportunity to contribute to our scientific efforts because of their youthful indiscretions. Worst of all, we have the evil practice of ruthless, ambitious men, who use our loyalty procedures for political purposes. Suspicion and distrust are rampant in the land. We are on the verge of abandoning some of our most treasured freedoms; we have nearly lost our greatest advantage over the enemy in the current struggle—our mutual regard and trust as a people.

The enemy's actions in the cold war have been uncommonly successful. Their impact has been most severe on the scientific com-

munity, and there are several reasons for this. Scientists occupy a key position in regard to those secrets which should be most strictly kept. They have always been more involved in international relations than most men, for science is by its very nature international in character. Scientists are highly individualistic; otherwise they would not be scientists. Concentrating in one field, they are sometimes exceedingly naive in others. When we dreamed of a world of understanding to put an end to recurrent wars, there was a greater portion of gullible men among them than among most other groups. And there were traitors among them, though exceedingly few, who were capable of doing and did great damage to us. It was inevitable, therefore, that much of the hysterical witch hunt should have been concentrated on the scientific profession. Yet there is no place where it could be more disastrous to our national interest. In Russia today the scientist is respected and honored, too much so no doubt. In this country the scientist is under attack, viewed with suspicion; and young men hesitate to enter the profession or, once in, to participate in military programs because of the hazards to their reputations and careers. We had better reverse this trend if we wish to compete on even terms with the enemy.

Just as soon as this is said there are always several rejoinders. One of these is that the scientists seek special privileges. They do not. To seek a restoration of the principles of the Bill of Rights in all the procedures of government is not to seek special privilege in this country. To urge a revision of our present security system to remove its defects, which are applicable to scientists, lawyers, diplomats, and all others alike, is not to seek special privilege. There should be an end, for all who labor in the interests of the country's safety, of trial on the basis of unsupported charges, of actions by officials of Government which destroy reputation, of the assumption of guilt before trial. There should be a complete and final end of the use of the security system to discredit those who disagree. There should be a complete removal of the system from politics. To assert these things is to seek privilege, but only the privilege of all to live in a country which continues to be free.

A second rejoinder is that scientists will refuse to serve unless the system is changed to suit their wishes. It is true that many individual men shrink from entering Government duty under present conditions. A father who got caught in a Communist gathering when he was 20 and foolish will shield his sons from the ordeal of seeing him pilloried. Retiring persons to whom strife of any sort is emotionally impossible will avoid the hazard. Men in vulnerable positions, where a whispering campaign, or even a series of strange inquiries among their friends and associates would place their careers in jeopardy, may pull their punches and go along with proposals which they disapprove rather than stand up and be counted. All this is happening and is doing great harm to our national effort. But scientists in general, in Government, in industrial laboratories, in universities, working on military programs, are hard at work as usual, and are devoting their most conscientious efforts to the good of their country, sometimes at considerable risk to themselves. There will be no scientific strike. The scientists of the country, like all other professional groups, place the good of their country above their personal comfort or their personal fate. Among scientific groups today there is sadness and discouragement. They work assiduously, but they do not have the enthusiasm and confidence that they once had. They are making great technical progress in many fields, and they will continue to do so. But they yearn for a leadership in this country which would restore the old atmosphere in which there was a close-knit bond of mutual confidence and respect between them and the military, in which they could do their part toward the country's preservation, anonymously and without thought of personal gain, but without threat to their reputations as loyal workers.

The great question, as we try to envisage the future, is whether this madness of ours is a passing phase, or whether it will grow until the free world transforms itself into a replica of the captive world it opposes. If the latter is the outcome, the struggle will be over, for it will then not matter which tyranny prevails. The idea of progress then will no longer have any meaning. The question for us is whether we can conquer our fears, not abandoning them but rendering them sane and realistic, or whether our fears will feed upon themselves until we throw away our freedom in a wild attempt to preserve it.

There is a great threat from overseas. But the threat here at home is, for the moment, the greater one. This country has been through similar phases before, not as intense or dangerous, but bad enough. After the First World War we had an interval in which the guarantees of the Bill of Rights were disregarded by those in power, we had witch hunts, and we saw spooks in every shadow. From this we recovered without must permanent damage. The situation today is much more threatening. If all people knew the wide extent of the threat—which goes far beyond the few spectacular cases that make the headlines—if they undestood better how closely it fits into our enemy's designs, and how successful those designs are proving, then there would be a return to reason in a hurry. One thing we need to learn is that the enemy alone stands to gain from the spread of suspicion and distrust among us, and it is in our interest to create mutual confidence. One thing we need especially to learn is that a vigorous system for throwing out the Communists in our midst must be paralleled by vigorous executive action to detect those actions which are inspired by spite or attempts at thought control, to see that they are suppressed before they do real damage, and see that they backfire promptly on those who instigate them. Finally, we need to learn that the use of star-chamber proceedings for political purposes is dangerous in the last degree to the very foundation of a democracy.

I have spoken thus far of three elements of progress—the progress of biological evolution, the progress of knowledge and understanding, the progress of technology with its attendant dangers of self-destruction. There is one other form of progress that is often questioned but upon which I base my own strongest hopes. I refer to progress in the ethical conceptions and conduct of men.

How are we to judge of progress in this field? With respect to knowledge and understanding, I have already dogmatically stated my standard of values. It is good for mankind to advance in knowledge and understanding and to use his knowledge for the promotion of human welfare. I shall state dogmatically my acceptance of another standard of value by which I am willing to judge the very dogmas of the past. It is good for men to love and respect their fellow men and deal not only justly but also kindly with one another.

By this dogmatic standard, as I have previously suggested, we may see little evidence of a steady ethical progress in the last 150 years. But we can most certainly see much progress if we look back over the whole span of recorded history. We still lie, cheat, and steal as they did in the age of which Homer sang; but we do not write epics glorifying the wiles and tricks of unscrupulous national heroes. Dishonesty and unscrupulous behavior on the part of our leaders and statesmen may still pay temporary local dividends, but they lead at last to censure and in some cases to more substantial punishment and permanent disgrace.

The ethical codes subscribed to if not followed by all liberal and thoughtful men today, regardless of their religious faiths, are more humane than they were 6,000 years ago. Contrast the stern code of Draco with our present mild laws—mild, in the opinion of some, to the point of softness. Contrast the primitive ideal of conduct in the Song of Deborah, glorifying Jael, who enticed the fleeting Sisera into her tent and there drove a tent pin into his head, with the Sermon on the Mount. The ideal expressed in the Golden Rule, which we all yearn to follow, is from the point of view of peaceable human relations superior to the older rule of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

We are sometimes depressed by the fact that men, however fine their ideals, are now and have always been governed in large measure by evil, selfish impulses. Yet, if we stop to consider, we have made some small progress even in our behavior. Most of us have moved perceptibly away from the primitive xenophobia that hates all outlanders and strangers. We are not so callous to human suffering even as our European and colonial forebears of the 16th and 17th centuries. Mutilation and the pillory have passed out of our lexicon of punishments. No one would say with Defoe that a bankrupt who falsifies his declaration ought in justice to be hanged as a felon, or would regard the theft of a sheep or a shilling as a capital offense. We are not yet gentle in our relations with one another. But neither are we so savage as once we were. If we are at times discouraged, we must consider that the whole era of civilization has been but a moment in the largely unwritten history of mankind. On the whole, I believe, men feel more secure in their relations with one another than they did in the very early days when every man carried a club, or later when they substituted swords and daggers. Perhaps this is just an evidence of improved police protection. But it is progress of a sort. We are not, indeed, visionaries when we strive for harmonious relations among all nations of the world. Our children may live to see its advent.

In speaking of progress I have avoided the question of ultimate goals; the goals with which I have concerned myself are only those of men for their own and a few future generations. Can we suppose that for the ultimate goal of the cosmic drama man and man's works will have any significance? The species may long have been extinct before the ultimate, if we can in fact conceive of an ultimate, is reached.

I am thinking of a much smaller drama in which man is the hero. If we may hope that men will within the next generation and a reasonable number of succeeding generations become better and happier than they are, according to our present standards of judging what is better and happier, this hope is good in itself and is in no way diminished by the thought that men may never become perfect by those standards or that their standards of judging will change. We cannot wish for what we cannot imagine.

Indeed it is a grim world, and the future for the moment looks dark. We reconcile ourselves now to the loss of that sense of certainty which we too often falsely enjoyed, and we have lost the exuberance with which we once hailed a vision of never-ending progress. We struggle in confusion to maintain the privileges that were won by our fathers and that have been ours. But do we need to be glum about it all? The birds still sing in the trees; music still has the power to move us and to bring back happy memories. It is no new thing for man to confront perils in his upward struggle. Life has always been hazardous, civilization has always been threatened, our in-

dividual deaths have always been an inevitable certainty. But men have faced uncertain futures before with courage and even a light heart. Life, whatever else it may be, is not dull. We are privileged to share together in a great adventure, the very hazards of which should draw us closer together. With determination and wisdom our sorry old world may yet become a happy place to live in, where wars are no more, and where the spirit of brotherhood dominates all we think and do.

The Commentator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following editorial entitled "The Commentator," by W. K. Kelsey, which appeared in the Detroit News on January 13, 1955:

THE COMMENTATOR
(By W. K. Kelsey)

POSTAL METAPHYSICS

Argument about postal rates, at least in the United States, seems destined always to enter the metaphysical realm. When President Eisenhower says that "the services performed by the Post Office Department are of measurable value to their recipients," and bases on that theory a design for higher postal rates which he then admits to be subject to correction, he throws reason out the window.

Like the deputy of Achaia, Gallio, the average citizen cares for none of these things that bother the President and Postmaster General Summerfield. They are called to his attention often enough, but they will not worry him until he finds the first-class postage rate boosted to 4 cents an ounce.

Then he will ask why a one-third increase is levied on the letterwriter, when he is already more than paying the expense of handling the first-class mail, and when the entire deficit of the Department in fiscal 1954 was only 15 percent. If the services performed are of measurable value to their recipients, how has that value been increased to justify an upping of the rates in the one classification which already makes a profit?

The answer is that it is imperative to subsidize newspapers and magazines, chiefly the latter. Second-class mail is far from paying its way. If it were compelled to do so, periodicals would raise their prices, shifting the extra cost to recipients. That would surely prove unpopular. The real question then is whether second-class mail be subsidized from the general revenues of the Government, or by the senders of first-class mail, who are already paying more than the service they receive costs.

FIRST-CLASS POSTAGE

Having made this argument against what seems to be a wholly illogical position taken by the President and the Postmaster General, the Commentator will now weaken if not destroy it.

There was a time when most first-class mail consisted of private letters, on which postage was paid not by the sender but by the recipient. This was a boon to the addressee; he was generally glad to pay for a letter he could identify as being from a relative or a friend, and he could refuse one that looked like an invoice.

With the invention of the adhesive postage stamp, prepayment became the custom, and business began to use the postal facilities with increasing frequency. Today it is probable that business communications far exceed private letters. The cost of sending these business matters becomes a cost of trade, compensated either through the price of goods sold or not at all. So when you receive by first-class mail a bill from your favorite store, you are probably paying a part, though a small one, of the postage.

When one considers how the costs of mail service, except to the private and personal letterwriter, are capable of being passed on and spread, how can one believe that the services "are of measurable value to their recipients"? They are of value to the national community as a whole; but it is doubtful if they are of measurable value even so, because whatever their cost they have become utterly essential.

Therefore the logical question seems to be not what shares of cost should be paid by four different classifications and a number of other services, to keep each approximately solvent, but how the whole bill can best be met.

THE DEFICIT PROBLEM

When the proposition is put that way, the answer becomes easier. The postal service can be made to pay by increasing by one-third the rate of its only highly profitable activity, the first-class mail, and by raising other rates as much as the traffic will bear. The alternative is to continue running on an annual deficit, and having it paid by the taxpayer to the present tune of about two-thirds of 1 percent of the budget.

To a businessman like Mr. Summerfield, acceptance of the principle of continuing postal deficits is bad. It may lead to a careless disregard of costs, not during his administration, but when some dirty Democrat takes over. On the other hand, a too rigid economy in an effort to balance the postal budget can reduce services, lower efficiency, and make the administration unpopular. Therefore the Department should break even, and the way to make it break even is to increase the first-class rate, letting the cost to the people fall on whom it may.

Either you side with the administration theory, or you don't and to the Commentator it's six of one and half a dozen of the other. A 4-cent rate might boost his annual postage bill $5 directly, and a small amount indirectly; but eventually it might take a few cents off his income tax, or it might improve the service given him, though not to the extent of 33⅓ percent. He is quite satisfied with "the privacy, security, and swift dispatch of letter mail," etc., as they are, and he thinks Mr. Summerfield is performing miracles.

Case of the Gas Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in view of another anticipated legislative drive by the gas interests my colleagues from gas-consuming States will find interesting the argument of Hon. Joseph F. Grossman before the Federal Power Commission—docket No. R–142—in consideration of principles and methods to be applied in fixing rates to be charged by independent producers for natural gas sold in interstate commerce for resale.

Mr. Grossman, rated as one of the outstanding authorities of the Nation on municipal law, is the special assistant corporation council of the city of Chicago in public utilities matters. Following is his argument of today, January 13, 1955, before the Federal Power Commission:

Before concluding the arguments yesterday, Mr. Harry Begley, assistant attorney general of the State of Illinois, appeared in behalf of the Illinois Commerce Commission and urged regulation of rates by this commission applicable to independent producers of gas on the basis of the value of the gas in place. Before proceeding with my statement, I want this Commission to know that Mr. Begley does not represent the views of the consumers of gas in the city of Chicago. Mr. Begley represents the Illinois legal concept of rate regulation based upon its statutory law, which requires a fair value rate base in fixing just and reasonable rates for the utilities in Illinois. That is not the criterion established by this Commsson under the Natural Gas Act as construed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The city of Chicago is served by the People's Gas System which was represented here by Mr. Clarence Ross. There are approximately 1 million customers in Chicago, who consume about 400 million cubic feet of natural gas per day.

The position of the city of Chicago is stated in four brief paragraphs filed in this proceeding, which I ask the indulgence of your honorable body to read:

"City of Chicago respectfully submits that when any commodity or service is dedicated to public use and subject to legislative control and regulation the rates and charges for such commodity or service, if determined by competitive bids and offers, violate the fundamental principles of public-utility regulation.

"The very reason and purpose of rate regulation by authority of law is to substitute reason and justice for power incident to virtual monopoly of resources or privileges impressed with the public interest. Hence, the price of gas demanded by producers having a virtual monopoly of the source of supply in a given field upon which existing pipelines depend for public service in interstate commerce is not a lawful standard for rates and charges subject to regulation by the Commission.

"The field price for gas adopted by the Commission in the Panhandle Eastern Pipeline case before the United States Supreme Court decision in the Phillips Petroleum case is nullified by the Commission's assumption of jurisdiction to regulate independent producers as defined in rule 174B.

"The Commission should resort to the 'rate-base approach' in determining a fair and reasonable return for independent natural gas producers as well as for other natural gas companies subject to the Commission's jurisdiction."

We did not specify the kind of rate base which should be applied by this Commission because historically, regulation under the Natural Gas Act has been on a net investment rate base.

In the majority opinion, in *Phillips Petroleum Co.* v. *Wisconsin*, it was said:

"Regulation of the sales in interstate commerce for resale made by a so-called independent natural gas producer is not essentially different from regulation of such sales when made by an affiliate of an interstate pipeline company."

We know of no case wherein a separate or different rate regulation approach was applied to producers of gas affiliated with interstate pipeline companies.

From the beginning of the discussion in this proceeding, we have heard from producers of gas, from bankers who have a stake in financing gas producers and from pipeline companies who purchase gas for resale in interstate commerce. Their cry is that the only practical means available to this Commission in fixing just and reasonable rates for gas sold by producers is to accept the price and conditions of sale governed by competition in the field of operation.

Some of those advocates have even asserted that the commission should not enter upon an investigation of the propriety of the price agreed to by the producer and purchaser, both of whom are natural gas companies under the rule in the Phillips Petroleum case, but that such investigation should be instituted only upon complaint of a party affected, and that the burden of establishing that the price and conditions of the contract are unjust and unreasonable should be on the complaining party.

Indeed, the principle of competition in the purchase and sale of gas produced in a given field has been so stressed that the producers who claim the inviolability of their contracts of sale from the continuing power of regulation by the commission should have the right to increase their price for gas by renegotiation of old contracts to the current prices prevailing in the field offered by pipelines who seek a source of supply to satisfy their customer demands. In other words, the competitive factor which would govern the price would be the potential demand of ultimate consumers, or the maximum price which the traffic in natural gas can bear.

These are shocking concepts of regulation of business affected by the public interest and violate the fundamental principles and practices of rate regulation by public service commissions. The basic reason assigned for the departure from the long-established methods of price regulation by legislative authority in an administrative commission, requiring a reasonable return on the investment devoted to the public service, is that independent producers of gas are not the beneficiaries of a Government grant or franchise, protecting them from competition, and therefore are not subject to regulation as to service and rates. That is an argument which may properly be addressed to the legislative branch of the Government and not to the commission, which is governed by the act of Congress, as construed by the Supreme Court in the Phillips case.

The so-called independent producers of gas who sell it in interstate commerce are natural gas companies subject to the same legal obligations and regulations by the same commission, for the same purpose, under the rules and practices applicable to all other natural gas companies within the purview of the Natural Gas Act.

Integrated natural gas companies who produce, transport, and sell gas in interstate commerce are subject to the burdens of regulation, which are no different than the burdens of natural gas companies who are called independent producers of gas for sale in interstate commerce, and no different than the burdens of interstate pipelines who purchase their gas from independent producers. Each producer who sells to such pipeline, and each pipeline who buys from such producer, must secure a certificate of convenience and necessity from the commission to assure a certain quantity of gas supply from a source described, to a pipeline named for sale in interstate commerce to local distributors, in the quantities allocated by the commission for consumption in the territories served by the distributors.

By the process of certificates of convenience applied for by independent producers and interstate pipelines, the producers and pipelines are integrated just as effectively as natural gas companies, who own or control through a corporate affiliate both gas resources and pipelines. As to the gas committed by certificate of convenience, the producer has relinquished his independence and is subject to the same principles and methods of rate regulation as integrated natural gas companies. They are entitled to a reasonable return on their investment in the integrated facilities devoted to the service. It is the function of the commission to fix the reasonable investment which constitutes the rate base and the total cost of each service, including a reasonable rate of return. These elemental factors cannot be determined in a vacuum, as in a proceeding in which we are now engaged. They must be based upon the facts in each case when the question of the rates of each is properly before the commission.

It would serve no useful purpose for anyone to speculate on the details of establishing the cost of service properly apportioned to the production and transmission of gas sold in interstate commerce whether they are integrated by corporate control or by certificate control. It is sufficient at this time to say that the consequence of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Phillips case is that a rate base must of necessity be established to determine a reasonable return on the investment in producing and gathering properties used and useful in furnishing gas for sale in interstate commerce.

That is obvious from an unchallenged statement in the dissenting opinion of Justice Douglas in the Phillips case.

"If Phillips' sales can be regulated then the commission can set a rate base for Phillips. A rate base for Phillips must of necessity include all of Phillips' producing and gathering properties; and supervision over its operating expenses necessarily includes supervision over its producing and gathering expenses. We held in *Colorado Interstate Gas Company* v. *Federal Power Commission* (324 U. S. 581), that the Commission's control extended that far in the case of an interstate pipeline company which owned producing and gathering properties and so it had to be, if regulation of pipelines that owned their own gas supplies was to be effective."

It will be noted that the statement of Justice Douglas is in argumentative form supporting his dissent from the majority opinion in support of the power of this commission to regulate sales in interstate commerce made by so-called independent natural gas producers. Since the final judgment of the court was that Phillips' sales should be regulated by the Commission, the first sentence of the above quotation must be reconstituted to conform with the judgment of the court as follows:

"In regulating Phillips' sales the Commission should set a rate base for Phillips."

It has been argued that the rate base approach is not adaptable to a commodity as if it were property devoted to public service such as a railroad, a telephone system, an electric utility, or a manufacturing gas plant; that the cost of natural gas at the source must be determined by supply and demand and competition for the available supply. A supply of natural gas at the source is no different than a supply available for distribution to consumers. Should the competitive principle be applied to a retail distributor of natural gas where there are 100,000 or more applicants for space heating gas, as in Chicago, with a limited supply available?

The interest of the distributing companies, it appears, conflicts with the interest of the pipeline companies and the interest of the pipelines conflicts with that of the producers only to the extent that their respective profits may be affected. The retail distributing utility is also concerned with its own regulation by State commissions. Their own problem is to secure a value rate base, and therefore they advocate value consideration for their suppliers to be consistent with their own interest, provided that all costs based on value of the service can be passed on to their consumers. This commission, however, must consider the interest of the ultimate consumers, as well as the investors, at any stage of supply by natural-gas companies. We who represent the consumer interest have a problem in common with this commission and believe that the only fair rate-base approach is the net investment of each of the companies in the chain of supply to the consumer.

Aside from conflicting opinions at the State level as to the economic justice of the fair-value rule in rate regulation of services and commodities affected by the public interest, the universal experience is that a cost standard for such regulation is factual, less difficult to ascertain, more reliable, and more stable for both investors and consumers than a fair-value standard which depends upon fluctuating supply and demand, competitive factors, appraisals, and controversial opinion evidence.

Some Industries Do Need Tariff Protection Against Competing Products of Low Wage Foreign Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, we want to increase the flow of international trade to promote international economic strength and well-being of all nations including our own. Tariff reductions in some cases may contribute to that end. In some industries, such as the automotive, where products are made largely by machines, American industry can out-produce at lower costs any foreign competitor despite the low wages that prevail in many foreign nations.

All industries, however, are not in this fortunate and favorable economic position. Where American goods are the

product largely of man-hours of labor and not of machines, American goods cannot compete with the low wages paid labor in foreign nations.

The Committee for Economic Development reports that the annual wages and social benefits paid by British industry to each employee in 1951 averaged only about 32 percent of what American industry paid. The Belgium figure was 37 percent; in West Germany and France, 29 percent; in Italy, 17 percent; in Japan, 10 percent.

The oyster, the crab, and the edible nut industries are examples of domestic industries which cannot compete with foreign low wages. The harvesting and processing of canned oysters and crab is done mostly by hand labor and machine processes play but a minor part in the production of the finished product. The canned crab and oysters come mostly from Japan. Thus, in selling price it is largely a case of oriental labor versus American labor and with oriental labor paid only 10 percent what American labor receives, it is obvious that the American crabbing and oyster industries cannot survive without tariffs or quota limitations to protect them.

The same is largely true of the edible-nut industry, where 6 to 7 years of cultivation and care are required before a nut tree begins to bear and where the harvesting of the nuts eventually must be done not with machines but by hand labor.

Another danger in encouraging increased crab imports is that Russia now, due to the Yalta treaty, owns and controls some of the best crabbing waters. Russia cannot ship her crab into the United States directly. She should get it into the United States via Japan by the process of selling fresh crab to the Japanese and letting them can it or by selling Japan crab-fishing rights in Russian waters.

On the danger of Russia getting her crab into the American market, if tariffs on crab are reduced, the Seattle Times, one of the largest metropolitan dailies in Washington State, recently said:

IT MIGHT HELP RUSSIA

Among issues due to be discussed next month in Washington, D. C., in proposed revisions of United States customs duties on imports from various countries, is a slashing of the tariff rate on imports of canned crabmeat from Japan. The Pacific Coast crab-canning industry is particularly concerned over one aspect of this proposal.

The Japanese now are sending this country virtually all of their crab pack. As a result of the war, Japan lost much of its former crab-fishing area to Russia. Imports of crabmeat from Russia in the United States are barred. But a reduction of the present duty, in the opinion of men in the trade, could have the effect of starting a backdoor deal, under which Russian crabmeat, denied direct entry, would reach this country by way of Japanese canneries.

Members of the Washington congressional delegation, Republicans and Democrats alike, appear to be well informed as to this issue and have presented their views to the Tariff Commission. If there is indeed a serious likelihood that Russia would be the real beneficiary, this factor assuredly should be considered by our negotiators.

CANNERY UNION PROTESTS

Cannery workers of whom thousands are employed in the American crabbing industry of the Pacific, the Atlantic, and Gulf States and Alaska are fearful of losing their livelihood if tariffs on canned crab are reduced at the coming Geneva Trade Conference.

Mrs. Esther C. Cooper, president of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, Local 553, of the seacoast communities of Grays Harbor, Wash., under date of January 15 wrote me as follows:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MACK: Our jobs as workers in the crab industry are most certainly threatened by this latest plan to remove the tariff on Japanese canned crab which enters our United States markets.

The canneries of the Grays and Willapa Harbor areas, as well as Puget Sound, and for that matter the entire State of Washington have not been working at peak production. We who earn our living in this industry will definitely be injured if we are permitted less working hours through a further tightening of market conditions, and a really disastrous condition if the tariff is reduced or removed.

Our field analysis reveals that the American crab industry now gives direct employment to an estimated 34,000 people not including brokers, salesmen, and employees in industries supplying cans, cartons, equipment, and materials of all kinds. When you consider that each worker represents 2.5 persons in the family unit the impact affects a great many persons. Most of us who work in this industry are directly employed in small coastal towns where fisheries are the only means of livelihood. With conditions such as they are at the present moment and danger of a further letdown in the market for American processed crabmeat we see a closedown for not less than three major packing companies in our own immediate district.

May we urge that you assist us in every way possible with the Secretary of State and the President in protecting our jobs and families. This matter is due to be considered at the foreign trade-agreement negotiations to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, and immediate action will be needed before the representatives leave for that meeting. We are depending upon you to speak for us since we, ourselves, cannot be present. We trust you will give us your best efforts as you always do.

Yours very truly,

ESTHER C. COOPER,
President, United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, Local 553.

God Help the Poor Majority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the editor of Southern Advertising and Publishing has forwarded to me a copy of an editorial carried by that magazine in its June 1954 issue.

This article is entitled "God Help the Poor Majority."

Editor Porter is one of the millions of people outraged by the political and sociological opinion of the Supreme Court in the school cases, and recognizes, as so many others recognize, that the Supreme Court is endeavoring to usurp legislative functions which it in fact does not possess.

Under unanimous consent, I insert herewith a copy of the editorial mentioned:

GOD HELP THE POOR MAJORITY

Let's turn for a moment or two from the working and eating business of advertising and check into the social situation. It was on the social hinge that the Supreme Court appeared to swing the decision that separate schools for Negroes and whites were bad for the egos of the Negroes. No point was raised that the egos of the whites suffered, therefore no need for alarm is cited there. The whites are not developing inferiority complexes. Not yet.

Reading the opinion as handed down by Mr. Chief Justice Warren leaves us with the feeling that the real issues were either skirted or unweighed. Everyone knows that recently issues have been fanned by the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, and aimed at the South. The Supreme Court is a learned body and our last resort on matters of law. But when it hedges its findings about with such words as "feeling of inferiority," it appears to the lay mind to have gone into some other field than the law. For the sake of clarity, let's call it sociology.

This opinion is, we would estimate, about 50 years too late. Educational facilities are now being provided for the Negro. Hundreds of millions of dollars are being poured into his educational program. This money is now available and being spent in the South. And let it be remembered that 50 years ago we were poor folks in this Southland, whites and blacks. We had no money for schools—but now we have money and nowhere under the sun are finer schools being built for Negroes. Any Negro that has a bruised ego because he has to get his education in these schools has a tender ego indeed. The average Negro today knows this, many so express themselves.

No ruling of any court can ever equalize all factors bearing on mankind. There is no point of protection at issue, but that word pops out of the decision at every weak spot. There was a great racket created a short time back about the lynch laws. It also came too late—there has been no lynch problem in the South for a generation. Why is it that the Supreme Court has overlooked the fundamental law that the States have rights to tax, build schools, supervise education? What part of the Constitution gives the power of education to any other source?

No enlightened white person in the South, or elsewhere, denies to the Negro protection under the laws or privileges of education. But no decision of any court can equalize social status. Why not make it a crime or misdemeanor to send out a wedding invitation list that does not name some Negro who would like to attend, but who feels that he is snubbed because of his color? Do not say such is farfetched or not relevant. He can claim that it gives him a feeling of inferiority to be overlooked, left out, snubbed.

The opinion cited great records set up by Negroes as proof of their right to education. That right has not been questioned for many years, and the point is not well taken. Those records were made from the existing facilities and in the conditions that the court decried. We think this question is more fundamental: there are forces that work against all men,

black and white, seeking great success. Many things have to be overcome. Those who look for inequalities can see inequalities, those who look for opportunity, see it.

There is no new law involved. The judiciary was conceived to rule on the law with its right hand on the Constitution. Such experienced jurists as Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Howard Taft, Charles Evans Hughes, Louis D. Brandies weighed the issues—and then the educational facilities of the Negro were much worse. But they saw that solutions were in sight, and they evidently saw that much strife and turmoil might be avoided by allowing the historical stream to flow rather than to blast in the channel.

It might be about time to organize a society for the advancement of the white folks.

Ambassador Jefferson Caffery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of January 9, in reference to Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, who is retiring after an outstanding career in the diplomatic service of over 44 years.

RETIRING CAFFERY HONORED BY EGYPT—UNITED STATES ENVOY WINS RECOGNITION FOR MAJOR ROLE IN ENDING CAIRO-LONDON DISPUTES

CAIRO, January 9.—Jefferson Caffery, retiring United States Ambassador, received official recognition tonight for the major role he has played in improving relations among Egypt, the United States, and its allies.

The 68-year-old Ambassador, senior career diplomat in the United States Foreign Service, has been instrumental since 1949 in promoting settlement of disputes over the future of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the Suez Canal Zone that had embittered relations between Egypt and Britain and hence with most of the Atlantic alliance powers.

On the eve of his departure, the Ambassador and his wife were honored at a dinner given by Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser, attended by most members of the Cabinet and ruling Revolutionary Command Council.

Mrs. Caffery was awarded the Order of Perfection, the highest Egyptian decoration granted to women. The Ambassador, unable to accept a foreign decoration while still a United States official, received from the Premier a bronze statuette of the Egyptian sun god Ra dating from the 26th dynasty, about the 7th century B. C., found at the village of Mehiya in lower Egypt.

Mr. Caffery, an enthusiastic amateur archeologist, spent much of his last day in Egypt's capital taking a last look at recent major discoveries. In the afternoon he drove to Gizeh to inspect the newly revealed stern of the funerary bark of the Pharoah Cheops.

Mr. Caffery, a native of Louisiana, entered diplomatic service in 1910, served in 14 capitals in the Far East, Europe, and Latin America, and has been chief of mission for 29 years, probably longer than any other United States diplomat. He was Ambassador to France from the end of World War II until he was named to his present post.

Ambassador and Mrs. Caffery will go to Alexandria tomorrow for further official receptions, then will board ship Tuesday for Italy.

Our Federal Officials Should Have Better Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial from the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post:

OUR FEDERAL OFFICIALS SHOULD HAVE BETTER PAY

How much are leaders worth, in terms of dollars? How much should the richest nation in the world pay for statesmanship? The 84th Congress has to decide, for almost the first item in its order of business is the long deferred proposal to raise the salaries of Federal judges, and of Congressmen themselves.

The Hoover Commission recommended this increase; a Democratic and now a Republican President have urged it; editorials endorsing the salary raise have appeared in more than a thousand newspapers throughout the country. Leading columnists, radio commentators, labor-union groups, agricultural organizations, bar and professional associations, all have favored it. No substantial public opinion has been heard against it.

But Congressmen, by our constitutional system, are in the peculiar position of having to fix their own salaries, and time and again they have shied away from voting themselves increases, for fear of a cry of looting the Treasury. And because of a long custom, dating from the first days of the Republic, by which Federal district judges are paid the same salary as Congressmen, the whole judicial establishment of the United States is suffering from the same serious, almost critical underpayment that Congressmen endure.

The last Congress, anxious for public support, provided for the appointment of a nonpartisan Commission of leading citizens, drawn equally from labor, business, agriculture, and the professions. Under the chairmanship of Bernard G. Segal, chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association, this Commission made a full exploration of the standards by which a government should set salaries. What kind of people do we want for judges and Congressmen? the Segal Commission asked. And then it inquired, how much salary or income are such qualified people commanding in private life?

The Chief Justice of the United States, they discovered, receives only what a moderately successful lawyer in a middle-sized city might make. Private industry, for tasks less important to the Nation than Congressmen must discharge, often pays salaries 2 and 3 times greater. Union officials, successful professional men, junior executives in business, men from among whom we should find our public leaders of today and tomorrow, cannot become Congressmen except at an impossible financial sacrifice. Lawyers, however qualified, cannot ascend the bench unless they are willing to lower drastically their standard of living.

The Segal Commission heard a young Federal district judge in California say that he will have to quit the bench because he cannot support his wife, two children, and a third child soon to come, on a judge's salary. If he should die, his widow would receive no survivor's benefits, and his income permits only the smallest insurance program.

They heard the able and respected John C. Knox, chief judge of the Federal district court for the southern district of New York, probably the busiest Federal court in the land, tell of his financial struggles since he went on the bench in 1918. In all his 37 years, he has never had enough money to live on, has had to teach and write when he could to keep up his insurance and educate his daughter. New York State judges, even New York city judges and municipal judges in our larger cities, receive higher salaries than he does. And though he has refused appointment to State benches because of his lifelong experience in Federal jurisprudence, now, in his later years, he is unable to afford a nurse to care for his invalid wife, and must do nursing duty himself after his day's work in court is over.

The commission discerned that the day is long past when a Congressman could earn a living in a private business or profession while serving his constituents. Congress nowadays is a full-time job, 7 days a week, every week in the year. Congressmen must maintain 2 homes, usually 2 offices, pay most of their travel expenses, bear many costs which a corporate employer would pay for its executives. Their expenses have increased with the enlargement of their work, but their salaries have remained the same through the whole period of recent inflation, and have grimly decreased in buying power.

In its elaborate, searching report, the Segal commission recommended a scale of increases necessary to bring the salaries of judges and Congressmen into line with the practice of the Nation in all fields. The total cost of these recommended increases would be only $7,500,000. But the 83d Congress, facing an election, failed to act.

Now the election is over. The public is aware of the need; what the lawyers call the "last clear chance" is here. The 84th Congress, in its 2 years' existence, will spend more money for more purposes than any other body of men on earth. Commonsense and public interest alike require that they should devote a tiny fraction of their appropriations to making the major jobs of statecraft in a free nation financially possible for the men best fitted to hold them.

Crime: A National Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I have long been aware of the fact that organized crime is a cancerous growth upon our society and our way of life. In recent years, since the end of World War II, this situation is assuming alarming proportions in all parts of the country. The most deplorable manifestation of this problem is the growth of juvenile delinquency, the rise in the number of youthful criminals, and the serious offenses committed by them, which makes it a problem of grave national concern.

For many years I have studied the question of juvenile delinquency and the great menace it means for our youth. Coupled with that, I have given a good deal of thought to the means of effective crime prevention. In fact, back in 1936 I founded a crime prevention institution in New York, which is still in existence and is doing a noble job in my home city.

We all know that crime is not confined to any particular race, or nationality, or religious group. It is a social disease which results from many causes, such as poverty, slum housing, poor environment, neglect by parents, lack of family discipline, breakup of the family unit, and emotional disturbances. Juvenile delinquency, youthful criminals, teenage drug addicts, and the like are the outward manifestations of this social disease.

We should seek to know the social conditions which breed and encourage this situation to grow. I have felt for a long time that society is to blame for the large crime rate, and I am also of the opinion that our Government has been derelict in dealing with this problem from a preventative standpoint. What is wrong with our educational system that it is helpless in eradicating this evil when our children are still in an impressionable age? What is wrong with the neighborhoods and the communities in which we live that our young people are influenced by evil forces? What is wrong with our home life, our discipline, our associations? Where have we fallen down on the job of raising the young generation to be law-abiding, responsible, and dignified citizens?

These and many other questions are perturbing our serious-minded citizenry. There are many among us who raise this question: We are spending many hundreds of millions of dollars to fight crime and criminals by means of large prosecuting staffs, huge police forces, the courts and penal institutions, but what are we doing to prevent crime and to curb juvenile delinquency? True, we have had some investigations, we have had some well-meaning conferences, but the crime rate has not fallen off. The problem goes far deeper than that.

Police protection is not enough. Arrests and court warnings are not enough. Even jail sentences are not enough to curb this evil. This is a long-range problem which must be dealt with from a long-range point of view, if we seriously aim to protect our youth and to eradicate the evil of crime from our midst. It must be given nationwide attention through all media of information, the press, radio, television, the movies, also through our churches, schools, organizations, unions, and various public and private agencies and institutions. The American public must be aroused to this menace which is threatening our youth and is affecting us all.

I believe that Congress should give leadership and guidance to our people in dealing with the problem of crime. An aroused congressional interest in an anticrime campaign would be a valuable resource for all agencies and groups, for parents and teachers, for church leaders and Government officials, who are interested in checking the growth of crime and reducing it to a minimum. Congress has a responsibility to the people to do all within its power to seek a solution of this problem.

Mr. Speaker, in order to get to the roots of this problem, I am introducing two pieces of legislation. The first is a resolution calling for the creation of a fact-finding committee of five members of the House of Representatives to conduct, without regard to politics, a full and complete investigation and study of the causes of crimes committed in violation of the laws of the United States and of other crimes affecting the national health, welfare, and morals, and the methods of preventing such crimes. This investigation should include examinations of criminal records, a study of Federal and State penal institutions for the purpose of recommending new legislation to the Congress, an analysis of the relationship of local neighborhoods and schools with the causes of juvenile delinquency, and other factors which the committee may deem appropriate.

The other piece of legislation is a bill which is designed as supplementary to the resolution. The bill calls for the creation of a Bureau of Crime Prevention in the Department of Justice as a permanent agency to conduct a continuous study and investigation to seek methods for the prevention of crime and curbing juvenile delinquency. It requires the Bureau to establish an office in each State and to cooperate with State and Federal agencies in initiating crime-prevention programs.

I am convinced that the future of our country depends on how well we raise our youth and prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship. We live in a time of great stress and tension at home and abroad. It is imperative that we imbue our youth with an appreciation of our way of life, our communities, our institutions, and everything that is positive and constructive. We must make it crystal clear to them that crimes committed against society will affect their own future lives and undermine all their opportunities to become useful members of society. We must make them understand that they themselves will be the greatest victims of their criminal acts and that they stand to lose most.

The dollars we spend today for seeking ways to prevent crimes may be paid back a hundredfold not only in saving money which goes into fighting crime, but even more so in helping our youth become better citizens tomorrow. I urge the Congress to approve these measures as soon as possible so that immediate action can be started to deal with this problem.

Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., December 12, 1954, which I am confident is worthy of the consideration of the House and the American people:

THE WOOL OVER OUR EYES

On display for the Christmas season in stores in this region is a toy Santa Claus made of paper and clay and standing some 6 inches tall. It is a reasonable facsimile of the American conception of the appearance of Kris Kringle.

This toy is manufactured in Japan. It is shipped across the Pacific Ocean, then across the United States. The worker who made it had his wages out of it. The manufacturer made a profit. The shipping charges and tariff fees were paid on it. The American importer made a profit on it, and the stores in which it is sold in this country must make a profit on it.

Yet, this toy Santa Claus can be purchased over the retail counter here for 4 cents.

How abysmally low must be the standard of living of the Japanese worker to permit such a transaction? On the face of that, what could be closer to slavery?

But let us not stop at the toy Santa Claus. Let us get into the subject of woolen blankets, the material for which is one of the principal items of production of our shrinking New England textile industry.

Perhaps justifiably so in the light of world conditions, the United States is going overboard in its effort to assist in the rehabilitation of Japan. We need friends in the Orient. So it is now proposed to slash tariffs on a long list of items made in Japan so that they may be imported into this country for sale to Americans who are fabulously wealthy in the eyes of our Asiatic neighbors.

Included on this list is woolen blankets, and negotiations will start in February to open the gates to a floodtide of woolen blankets made in Japan to compete with the American product in the open market.

We do not know how much a made-in-Japan woolen blanket would cost in the United States. On the basis of the aforementioned toy Santa Claus, we can pretty well guess—and the guessing isn't difficult in contemplation of the fact that Japanese textile workers are paid 14 cents per hour.

We need not review the plight of the woolen industry in New England, and our situation is duplicated in all other textile-manufacturing areas of the country. Now a plan is afoot to strip us of even that measure of business which comes from the manufacture of blanket material.

American business depends for its survival upon the wages earned by our workers. When a foreign-made item undersells a domestic item in our market, it affects the income—the very jobs—of thousands of American breadwinning taxpayers.

Playing both ends against the middle is an old political practice. It pays off for a while, but it is never conclusively successful. Our American workmen are in the middle in this scheme of international trade, which obviously was born in that impenetrable sanctum of diplomacy from which came the deal that brought the Korean war to a stalemate—and left our Army in the middle.

The people of the United States spend millions of dollars each year just to sustain the American practice of opening the polling places so that our citizens can vote for those they think can best run the country.

When the elections are over, the schemers, the carpetbaggers, the string pullers move in and take hold of the elected officials, with the result that major decisions are reached in so-called smoke-filled rooms far from the hue and cry of the people, and beyond the reach of the ballot box.

If selling American industry, American labor, the American family, and the American standard of living short is good, sound diplomacy, then either we, the people, or they, the string pullers, must be mentally unbalanced.

It is time—or has the opportunity passed beyond recall—that we built a fire under our

elected governmental officials in Washington and at least have them make an earnest effort to save the jobs of thousands of American woolen industry workers which are now threatened by this incredible proposed tariff deal.

A Bill Designed To Encourage Private Insurance Organizations To Experiment in Providing Broader Voluntary Health Insurance to More People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a health bill, H. R. 2533, entitled "A bill to improve the public health by encouraging more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of personal health services." This bill is substantially identical to H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, in the form in which that bill was reported favorably on July 9, 1954, by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce—House Report No. 2106.

H. R. 400, which I introduced on January 5 and which has the same title as this bill, is substantially identical with H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, as originally introduced by me in the form in which that bill was recommended by President Eisenhower.

The present bill, H. R. 2533, provides for the establishment of a health reinsurance program in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It creates a reinsurance fund and authorizes an appropriation of not to exceed $25 million to provide advances of working capital for the fund. The fund would be built up over a period of time from reinsurance premiums and from earnings of the fund. Reinsurance would be available on a voluntary basis and upon payment of a reinsurance premium, to private insurance companies, voluntary nonprofit health associations, such as Blue Cross and other organizations offering prepayment health insurance plans. The proposal is designed to encourage private insurance organizations to experiment in providing broader voluntary health insurance to more people.

The bill also provides for technical and advisory information services to health service prepayment plans.

The bill H. R. 2533 differs from H. R. 400 in that H. R. 2533 incorporates certain provisions, which were adopted by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in reporting favorably H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, to meet questions raised by various witness in the course of the committee hearings held during the 83d Congress. The most important of such questions was based on the fear that the bill could be interpreted to permit some degree of Federal regulation of the health-insurance industry. The bill, H. R. 2533, seeks to remove any and all fear in that respect.

The central philosophy of the bill is one of building on our existing system of voluntary insurance and of providing supporting services and a financial backstop for private effort toward the expansion of prepayment protection. The bill, if enacted, would not of itself directly provide insurance coverage for individuals. Its goal is the removal of obstacles to the extension of coverage for broader ranges of benefits and to additional groups of people.

The Whittier News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Whittier News is celebrating its first year under new ownership. On January 15, 1955, in an editorial, this newspaper outlined some of its policies which I wish to commend to the Members of this body for consideration. I am happy to join the citizens of Whittier in extending greeting to the Whittier News on this anniversary.

The editorial follows:

A year ago today President Eisenhower was asking Congress for coverage of an additional 10,000,000 persons under social security. The Whittier College-Community Symphony Orchestra was preparing for the second concert of its season. The Western Powers had broken off their talks with the Russians on a site for a Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting. A spectacular auto crash on the Santa Ana Freeway in Rivera left a driver critically injured. A change in the ownership of the Whittier News was announced.

The foregoing paragraph is designed among other things to note that among many anniversaries taking place now, one involves Whittier's daily newspaper.

The owners who assumed operation of the News a year ago are deeply grateful that they have had the opportunity to move into this community. Their welcome has been warm and cordial. Their sojourn has been pleasant and their experience rewarding in many ways.

A natural consequence of any change in ownership of a newspaper is that other changes follow in its wake. The News, during the past year, has tried to improve its looks and to make itself more readable. It has tried to expand its news coverage and better its service to advertisers and readers alike. Its circulation has been rising steadily; a sound test of community acceptance.

Many folks have told the News that they like most, if not all, of the changes that have been made. Others have been frank to say they did not like them. Some have liked the News editorial policy; some have not. Some have said the News doesn't carry enough news; others have said we should have left out some that we have carried.

The News staff feels that as long as the newspaper draws criticism (or praise) from both sides it is performing with a sense of responsibility. It will never please everyone.

A year ago, today, this column included these words:

"The News will not always be right but it will always strive to be.

"It will not always please everyone but it will never stop trying to do so.

"Its stand on some questions may not be popular but it knows that its readers will grant it the right to differ; a right, too, of theirs which it will jealously safeguard."

During the past year the News has operated to the best of its ability under the guidance of those principles. It will keep on doing so in the future.

A year ago this column also pledged:

"The News, under its new ownership, will try at all times to be a fair newspaper, a decent newspaper, and a dignified part of the community.

"The News considers it vital to present all sides of any controversy within the limitations of its news space and to reserve for the editorial page those opinions it may have on the events and personalities of the day."

The News has undergone several tests of that policy and, itself, has been embroiled in controversy because it abided by that policy. It is still sound and sensible.

And as the year 1955 unfolds for this growing area the News is glad to note this anniversary, glad to look forward to another year of work in, and for, Whittier, and glad to be a part of Whittier.

Attacks on Nixon False and Reckless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by George Rothwell Brown, from the Albany (N. Y.) Times-Union of January 12, 1955:

ATTACKS ON NIXON FALSE AND RECKLESS

(By George Rothwell Brown)

WASHINGTON.—The false and reckless left-wing and New Deal attacks on Vice President NIXON have assumed the appearance of organized intimidation, to impair his availability as the running mate of President Eisenhower in 1956, and to weaken his leadership in the precariously controlled Senate.

The grudge against him is twofold. The Democratic Party is smarting from the vigorous thrusts at them in the congressional campaign of 1954 when he was by all odds the most effective speaker on the Republican side.

NIXON was largely responsible for stopping what the Democrats had boasted would be a victory of landslide proportions, and keeping it down to an edge so thin that but for the political apostasy of WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, the GOP would have controlled the Senate in the 84th Congress by the tie-breaking vote of the Vice President.

OLD FEUD

But the feud goes back farther than that, to the presidential election of 1952, when NIXON was a tower of strength to the Eisenhower ticket. The Democrats are out to frighten the Republican Party into dropping NIXON in 1956, compelling it to nominate a vice presidential nominee without NIXON'S national following.

Some Democrats, taking note of Washington rumors that in the event Ike should choose not to run for reelection the nod would go to NIXON, are understandably anxious to knock down so formidable a Republican Presidential possibility.

They are even trying to make out that DICK NIXON is juvenile.

"He was picked as a campaigner for his youth," said T. JAMES TUMULTY, JR., new Democratic "baby Member" from New Jersey, "and I think he has proved his immaturity."

It so happens that Vice President NIXON, now just entering his 43d year, is almost exactly the age of Theodore Roosevelt when he presided over the Senate as Vice President of the United States.

TAKES OFFENSIVE

It's about time the Republican high command took the offensive in defense of their Vice President. He is the whipping boy now because the New Dealers thus far have found no way to attack Eisenhower's legislative program, to much of which they are committed.

But if they knock down NIXON, the President will be the next target for the snipers.

Not only are the Democratic allegations against NIXON grossly exaggerated, as anybody can prove to his own satisfaction by reading his last year's campaign speeches—hard-hitting but strictly hewing to the line of truth—but he kept well within the limits of the bitter indictment of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations in the Republican platform on which Eisenhower, NIXON, and a Republican Congress were elected in 1952.

The Democrats are now denouncing NIXON for charging that the Democratic Party for 20 years was soft toward communism. Would they have him repudiate the platform of his own party? Here are a few statements from that platform, which the people endorsed at the polls:

"We charge that they have shielded traitors to the Nation in high places.

"By the administration's appeasement of communism at home and abroad it has permitted Communists and their fellow travelers to serve in many key agencies and to infiltrate our American life. When such infiltration became notorious through the revelations of Republicans in Congress, the executive department stubbornly refused to deal with it openly and vigorously. It raised the false cry of 'red herring' and took other measures to block and discredit investigations."

Knott's Berry Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert an article on the Knott's berry farm which appeared in the Indpendent-Press-Telegram, Long Beach, Calif., on January 9, 1955.

Knott's berry farm, which is located in my congressional district, is known not only to people in southern California but throughout the United States. I am sure this article will, for many, bring back memories of a wonderful holiday in California.

When I first knew the Knott family, faith, courage, and dreams were its main possessions. To see the dreams unfold into a great enterprise has been an inspiration to me and a true example of the American way of life. I am proud to know the Knott family and to pay tribute to the accomplishments and educational and entertaining attractions the Knott's berry farm has to offer to the American people.

The article follows:

KNOTT'S BERRY FARM BECOMES ONE OF SOUTHLAND SHOWPLACES

Take 900 courteous, efficient employees; add two parts organization, one part seriousness, three parts fun, then throw in a ghost town, haunted house, antique railroad, stageline, and hundreds of western relics.

Mix in flavoring from all corners of the land, add a shot of Hollywood glamor, garnish with a dash of mischievousness, brown well under a gentle sun, and spread over 200 picturesque acres of southern California.

You come up with the happy recipe for the phenomenal success of one of the Nation's fastest growing and most famous institutions—Knott's Berry Farm and Ghost Town in Buena Park. From Los Angeles it may be reached by driving out the Santa Ana Freeway to Buena Park (right 2 miles on Highway 39). From Long Beach go east on Seventh Street to Highway 39, then north to the farm.

TWO MILLION PER YEAR

Precedent shattering statistics and records are made to be broken and they are commonplace at Knott's. Seventeen hundred and fifty people can sit down to dinner at one time, 45,000 are fed per week, adding up to 2 million customers a year; 40 acres of free parking can accommodate 4,000 automobiles; 7 dining rooms are utilized at one time; at least 10,000 people are fed on a average Sunday, etc.

This fabulous enterprise, soon to celebrate its 35th birthday had its birth in 1920 when Cordelia and Walter Knott and their small children arrived here in an old model T Ford and rented a farm with a tiny roadside berry shed on it.

In 1927, the Knotts bought 10 acres on time and Mrs. Knott made berry pies, jams, hot biscuits, etc., for sale to customers. This activity helped pay the land commitments, but the depression years were rough ones.

In 1934, Mrs. Knott tried chicken dinners. She did the cooking and the girls served. There were eight dinners the first day but that was the turning point. The years ahead were busy ones with an ever increasing number of dinners.

THEN EXPANDED

By 1946, the war was over and the boys and girls were home again. Son-in-law Dwight Anderson, started the steak house, and son-in-law Ken Reafsnyder, took over the duties of the preserving kitchen. The chicken restaurant now seated 880 guests and the steak house 450.

Today, the growth has been awe inspiring. In addition to Mr. and Mrs. Knott's duties, the rest of the family pitches in and hold important posts. Russell Knott has a share of the overall management, son-in-law Ken Oliphant has taken over the preserving department, daughters Marion and Toni operate the sportswear and children's shop, daughter Virginia runs the gift shop, Dwight still has the steak house, and Ken operates the Ghost Town and Calico Railroad as well as heading the purchasing, maintenance, and public relations departments.

BUILDS GHOST TOWN

A major problem of how to entertain the waiting diners was solved in unique style by Walter Knott. An extensive ghost town was built among the giant eucalyptus trees on a part of his 200-acre ranch. Here are faithful reproductions of buildings and activities of every phase of life in the gold days of the Old West.

Through the crooked streets of the old town visitors with wide-eyed youngsters in tow will see a 4-minute showing of a Wagon Train Panorama depicting the hardships endured by early pioneers such as Walter Knott's mother; the gold mine, where visitors pan real gold in the sluice box to keep as a souvenir; covered wagon rides; a visit to Sad-Eyed Joe residing in the local hoosegow; the barbershop where characters like Handsome Brady and Whisky Jim hang out; hangman's tree; the wagon camp offering free entertainment in the manner of old-fashioned camp grounds, including square dancing, stories, and music.

Our Little Chapel by the Lake; the Indian Village on the Island; a stagecoach ride through the farm; the general merchandise store; the haunted shack by the railroad track; the Calico Railroads, and many more fascinating facets of a bygone day.

Be Thankful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following poem entitled "Be Thankful," which I received from Mr. Henry Kravetz, a former resident of my congressional district:

BE THANKFUL

(By Henry Kravetz, commissary department, United States Naval Hospital, Chelsea, Mass.)

Be thankful for the church bells
Proclaiming the glory of,
Creator, Creation.
For the Nation's faith in God,
For the gospel that redeems,
And brings salvation.

Be thankful for the privilege
To worship God, the way
Your forefather's did.
Remember the lands where the faithless
Command, offend, outroot, destroy,
Seed, and creed.

Be thankful to a land
That gives you more,
Than your daily bread.
You own machines, limousines,
Protected, sheltered, clad,
And well fed.

Be thankful to a system
Where you are not, forever poor.
No new orders—
Dictation! Starvation!
Just a sound government,
A home that is sure.

Be thankful you are in America
Where all are equal, free,
Upon your highlands, lowlands, cities, farms,
Where pasture, bush, sprout and glee.
This is your vineyard Americans.
Your family fig tree.

Be thankful to your flag,
Wherever you may be.
On foreign soil, in the air,
Or out to sea.
Old Glory is your pincer, no whip for ye.
America is your paradise.
Be thankful to Thee.

New Smear Attack Won't Hurt Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the January 16, 1955, issue of the New York Journal-American, New York City, N. Y. The author of the editorial is entirely accurate in his observations that slurs and smears will not, in any way whatsoever, detract from the superb record of the Vice President. The editorial entitled "New Smear Attack Won't Hurt NIXON," follows:

NEW SMEAR ATTACK WON'T HURT NIXON

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

I was on the move quite a bit during the past week, flying from here to Palm Beach and then over to New Orleans to speak before the annual meeting of the American Roadbuilders' Association and stopping off in Washington for a visit on the way home.

From what I picked up in Washington, and from some of the news stories and columns I've read in the past week, it's clearly apparent that a brand new smear campaign aimed at Vice President NIXON is now underway.

Practically the same cast of columnists and editorialists who kept up a running barrage at JOE MCCARTHY for 4 years have now trained their guns on DICK NIXON.

It seems that DICK's big crime is that he stressed the Commies-in-Government issue in the last campaign, this being an issue whose very mention throws the left-wing pundits into a tizzy.

The charge is made that, in effect, DICK NIXON called the Democrats the "party of treason," which he never did. What he did do was to point out that through either blindness or laxity, a dangerous infiltration of governmental agencies took place during the last two Democratic administrations.

Of course the Democratic Party is not the party of treason and its many distinguished leaders as well as rank-and-file voters who support it on Election Day have a right to resent such a label.

But many of these very same Democrats are the ones who feel the worst about the penetration of Washington offices by Communists during the Roosevelt and Truman regimes.

It was a great Democrat named Al Smith who popularized the expression "Let's look at the record," and a look at the record in the matter of Communist infiltration is enough to make any patriotic Democrat feel bad.

Let's run off a few of the names that come to me at random and see if DICK NIXON or any other Republican hasn't a valid case in denouncing Democratic laxity or blindness or both: Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Julian Wadleigh, Lee Pressman, John Abt, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, George Ullman, Judith Coplon, Virginius Coe, Edwin Smith, and many others whose names escape me at the moment.

Those are just the ones we know about, being either confessed Soviet agents or proven by substantiated, uncontroverted testimony to have played the Commie game while occupying governmental positions during Democratic administrations.

ASLEEP AT SWITCH

I'm not trying to rake over old scores or sores, but you can't get away from the conclusion that somebody was asleep at the switch in Washington between 1933 and 1952.

What makes the present furore all the more ludicrous, the Vice President's comments were in the form of campaign oratory as he swung through the West urging the election of Republican candidates.

Now Americans have traditionally supported tough, hard-hitting campaigns in which the rival candidates and parties took out after each other in the most forceful manner possible and brought up issues most calculated to embarrass the opposition.

The Democrats kept harping on the Hoover depression for almost a generation and never let the voters forget that the Teapot Dome scandal happened in the midst of a Republican administration.

The Republicans have a live issue in the Commies-in-Government question, and I can't blame the Democrats if they seek to belittle it as much as possible in the hope of making voters forget it ever happened.

But to act like they've been maligned because DICK NIXON gave them a hard time on the Communist issue is not in keeping with the American tradition of fighting campaigns as vigorously as possible and then letting bygones be bygones when the votes have been counted.

Here in New York, for instance, the Republicans got very rough with Averell Harriman about some ancient financial troubles which everybody had forgotten but the Republican research staff. It was poor politicking, because the material was old and not particularly significant.

But I'm sure Governor Harriman isn't sitting in Albany brooding about the remarks of Tom Dewey and IRVING IVES. And, so far as I can see, Harriman has never apologized for some rough campaign remarks about IRVING IVES.

HASN'T BEEN FORGIVEN

Vice President NIXON has taken the newest smears in stride, having been through similar experiences when he was exposing Alger Hiss. They tell me several Washington correspondents have never forgiven DICK for putting the finger on their old chum, Alger.

President Eisenhower spoke up stanchly for his associate at his weekly press conference, and National Chairman Len Hall also met the challenge squarely. Tom Dewey emerged from the White House with the statement that Eisenhower and NIXON would again be the Republican ticket in 1956. All over the country other Republican leaders echoed Tom Dewey's prediction.

The net result of the new assault on Vice President NIXON, from a political standpoint, was to solidify his position as Ike's running mate and closest political associate.

The leftwing attacks have developed into a boomerang, because they practically guarantee his renomination as Ike's partner 2 years hence.

DICK NIXON has chosen not to dignify his detractors with a reply, confident that the record speaks for itself. I think he is right in ingoring them.

So far they've only succeeded in making him a bigger light in the Republican firmament than ever before.

Health Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, as in the past, this body will be dealing with the problem of health insurance and reinsurance. While governmental and legislative machinery have been grinding inconclusively on the subject, professional men and citizens in my home community of Long Beach, Calif., have acted on their own initiative.

After 2 years of planning by a group of Long Beach physicians and their lay advisers, the Nation's first "full payment" health insurance plan allowing patients a choice of doctors and hospitals is now in effect for 600 employees of the Independent Press-Telegram Publishing Co. and their dependents. More than 1,300 persons, representing 95 percent of the newspaper's employees and their families are covered by the Long Beach plan which attracted national attention in the medical and health field when it was announced recently.

The plan's backers claim it is one of the most complete medical-surgical-hospital insurance programs ever devised, and describe it as "private medicine's answer to the critical problem of rising health care costs."

Underwritten by California Physicians Service—the familiar Blue Shield Plan—the new program guarantees beneficiaries that more than 1,000 participating physicians in the Long Beach area will accept the plan's fee schedule as full payment for all surgical and medical services in the contract.

Cost of the program for Independent Press-Telegram employees is shared equally by management and participating employees. Beneficiaries of the plan may use any hospital or any physician although the "full payment" guaranty applies only to participating physicians. Both medical and osteopathic physicians and surgeons have cooperated in the plan.

The unique program was developed and is directed by a nine-man board of local physicians elected by 300 participating Long Beach doctors. Dr. Orville Cole heads the Board and serving with him are Drs. Gordon Bateman, Ben Parks, Robert Helms, Arthur Buell, Sam Woolington, Maurice Rosenbaum, William Burns and John Cottrell.

Dr. Cole believes the plan will serve as a pilot plan for other medical units across the country. He states that for the present it will be offered to employee groups of 25 or more, but that a similar program for individuals may be offered later.

Technical problems in initiating the program were handled by Jake E. Hanstein of the Don Berry Insurance Agency.

As More Foreign Textiles Come In More American Jobs Go Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include

the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, January 15, 1955.

The address follows:

One of the first objectives of the administration at Washington is to convince Congress that the Trade Agreements Act should be extended. This sounds harmless. Most people agree that two-way trade is the best way to promote all-around economic progress and thus lessen international tensions, assuming, of course, that we are dealing with civilized nations. The Communist nations fail to qualify, because they cannot be trusted. Neither trade nor aid nor anything else will satisfy them—only conquest.

In our efforts to help our allies and to strengthen the free world, we have embarked on a program called reciprocal trade, which the President wants to extend.

When that program, however, strikes at those few American industries that are suffering from a depression it becomes altogether too generous. When it makes dangerous concessions that worsen the position of the fishermen, watchmakers, and textile operatives, all basic to the economy of Massachusetts, we must oppose it. Too many of the people employed by these industries are out of work.

We cannot, therefore, support a policy that would not only prevent them from getting their jobs back again, but might even increase unemployment in the affected industries.

Take the textile industry, for example. That makes one of the three basic necessities of life, cloth for clothing. For generations New England was the undisputed home of that industry. In recent years a number of mills have closed down or have moved away. Employment has declined by 268,000 jobs. In New England alone, there has been a 48-percent drop in this type of employment since 1951.

The textile industry is not only one of the large employers of American labor, but employs a higher percentage of the workers in the areas where it is centered. Hundreds of mills are located in small towns, forming typical one-industry communities. In many cases they are the sole or principal source of income. Textiles provide 1 out of 6 manufacturing jobs in New England. In Massachusetts, 1 out of 7. In Rhode Island, 3 out of 10. Workers who are displaced by domestic or foreign competition either remain unemployed or are forced to take lower-paying jobs. For the middle-aged and older people the chances of getting other employment in or near their hometowns become remote. The Bureau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University recently completed a study of 1,705 displaced New England textile workers. Less than half were able to find other jobs, and of this number two-thirds were earning less pay. It was hoped that new and so-called growth industries would absorb them, but the study concludes that, and I quote, "workers displaced are not being absorbed in large numbers by the industries which have been expanding in this area."

Wage and compensation differentials, varying from 20 to 30 percent, have enabled the Southern States to siphon much textile business out of New England, leaving us with the problem of chronic unemployment. This has meant hardship to workers, communities, and stockholders.

In view of this, it is difficult to understand why the administration should favor opening the door to an invasion by foreign textiles manufactured at low wages with which we could not possibly compete.

A comparison of our wages with those of other major textile-producing countries shows how completely the American industry would be ruined by these differentials.

Gross hourly earnings of the textile industry in France are 39.3 cents per hour. In Great Britain, 45.4 cents. In Italy, 24 cents. In Japan, 11.9 cents.

The textile-wage level in the whole of the United States exceeds that of Japan by 976 percent.

In the Northern States, principally New England, the rate is 1,085 percent higher than that of Japan.

Low-priced foreign goods, even though imported only in small quantities at the start, would so cut sales and depress prices as to put many more mills out of business. This would deliver a crushing blow to an industry that has been struggling to survive a serious depression. It would, under these circumstances, contradict the very arguments put forth by the administration to justify its so-called free-trade policy.

To encourage Japanese and other-nation imports would encourage production in low-wage areas. This would retard improvement in technology and productivity and would freeze low standards of living. A worldwide competitive struggle based on lower wages and lower standards of living in textile industries will pull down the strength of the United States and the free world.

One wonders if the unrealistic planners at Washington are considering the final sacrificial offering—that of opening our domestic market to the slave-labor products of the Communist empire under the illusion that this coexistence would bring peace. It could only bring disaster to the United States. As the New York Herald Tribune commented in part, on January 3, 1955, and I quote: "The depression in textiles in the early part of 1954 was one of the worst the industry has experienced. One of the big factors worrying the textile industry as the new year opens is what the Government intends to do about reducing tariffs on textiles and wearing apparel. The Government aim of making tariff concessions, particularly on textile products, in order to aid the economy of Japan, has thrown a real scare into all sections of the textile industry.

"Textile leaders point out that competition from the Japanese textile industry is beginning to hurt, and the threat of sharply stepped-up competition through lower tariffs at a time when the industry is just beginning to emerge from a prolonged depression could have disastrous effects. Just prior to World War II, they point out, Japan was dominating the world textile market and was pushing not only the United States but England onto the ropes.

"Textile leaders admit the necessity of stabilizing Japan's economy to prevent that country from falling under the influence of Soviet Russia, but they point out that the United States textile industry is not an 'expendable' industry. All sections of the industry have filed strong protests with Washington against any tariff action which would harm the American textile industry."

Time and again New England Representatives in Congress have asked for some relief, some assistance for our hard-pressed textile industry.

No one disputed the facts concerning empty mills or mills operating at a loss or chronic unemployment in textile communities.

Yet Washington remained strangely indifferent to our problems.

Now the administration proposes further sacrifices by our weakened textile industry instead of constructive help.

Some American industries, in order to secure foreign markets for their products, would sell out the domestic market in the United States for American textiles to foreign competitors.

How did this economic treason develop?

Article I, section 8, of the Constitution of the United States delegated to the Congress the regulation of foreign trade through adjustment of the duties, imports, or excises, commonly called tariffs.

This constitutional power was held by Congress until June 12, 1934, when the President prevailed upon Congress to amend the Tariff Act, thereby surrendering that power to the executive branch of the Government.

"Emergency" was the reason given to justify this transfer without benefit of constitutional amendment.

As emergency after emergency was used to secure extensions of this power grant to the President, a dangerous precedent was established.

The American watch industry was almost smothered by concessions made to Swiss-watchmakers. Other defenseless American industries were placed on the auction block of reciprocal trade.

At the same time we were giving billions of dollars taken in taxes from American workers to modernize the production plants and labor skills of other nations that now demand the right to undersell American products in our own home market.

There is, of course, some justification for strengthening the economies of our allies, but there is also a limit to such giveaway programs.

It was never intended by the American people that they should be required to give up their own jobs just to provide export markets for foreign goods in the United States.

Or to sell out an important segment of the New England economy, just to provide foreign markets for certain other favored American industries.

Or to enable big business, which has gone international, to maintain production plants abroad, taking advantage of low-cost foreign labor to produce goods which are then shipped back for sale in our domestic market, undercutting American manufacturers and American workers.

Unfair competition is no solution for our own problems or those of our allies.

How would the automobile industry react if we proposed the following trade swap?

That certain foreign nations be permitted to manufacture, export, and sell American-model cars in the United States for $2,000 and less in exchange for an American monopoly in the manufacture and sale of planes, radios, TV sets, and household appliances in those countries.

No; this is not the way.

Neither is the contemplated sell-out of the American textile industry or any other industry.

Reciprocal trade is justified only to the extent that it is constructive and not destructive.

New England must rally to oppose extension of the Trade Agreements Act, to save our textile industry from extinction.

The Constitution of the United States and the textile communities of New England are not up for surrender.

We urge the executive department and the Congress to reject economic appeasement that betrays our own people.

The United States Junior Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, I would like to make the following remarks:

Tomorrow will mark the 35th anniversary of the founding of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce. This organization, made up of young men aged 21 to 35, have made an outstanding contribution to the communities of the Nation. This organization's success in arousing the civic consciousness of our young men and the excellence of their leadership training program is widely recognized.

The citizens of Michigan are proud of the fact that we have 105 active jaycee chapters with a membership totaling over 5,000 members. Their record of accomplishment in many fields of civic endeavor is one to be proud of. We are especially proud of the fact that one of the most outstanding national presidents was Prof. Paul Bagwell, of Michigan State College. Knowing the record of our Michigan Jaycees, it is a pleasure for me to congratulate the national organization on the occasion of its 35th anniversary.

Some Reflections on Politics and Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech which was made by the Honorable Ross Rizley, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, to the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce, November 18, 1954:

When it was announced that I would speak here, one of your members is reported to have said: "That fellow Rizley? What's he running for now?"

May I hasten to assure you that I do not propose either to point with pride or to view with alarm today. While I must confess to some personal sadness over certain events which occurred on a very recent November 2, I am not here to advance any particular accepted meaning of the word.

It has been my privilege over a period of many years to participate in politics and government—in my county in the senate of my native State of Oklahoma, in Congress, and in the executive branch in Washington. It has been a rewarding experience—rewarding in friendships and in the sense of satisfaction which comes from being a part of the greatest government ever devised by man anywhere.

Through these years I have known the elation which comes with the first election to public office and the bitter disappointment which goes with political defeat. Looking back, I have a strong feeling that every politician needs to be taken to the woodshed by the voters now and then for his own good.

"Spare the rod and spoil the politician," might be offered as a revised version of the old adage.

On the whole, there are certainly greater rewards than disappointments in politics and government—that is, if you leave out the matter of financial reward. Our public officials, for the most part, are woefully underpaid by comparison with people holding jobs of similar responsibility in private business. Moreover, I see little real hope that the situation will be corrected in the immediate future. The stumbling block is the fact that the people who must vote government pay raises—members of State legislatures and of Congress—are also elective officials. Any legislator who votes to increase his own salary is likely to find his opponent making a political issue of it at the next election—but willing enough to accept the higher salary if elected.

When I first went to Congress, the salary was $10,000 a year. It is now $12,500, with an additional tax-free expense account of $2,500. When you consider, however, that the buying power of the dollar has been cut in two while taxes have skyrocketed it becomes apparent that a Member of Congress today has far less real take-home pay than he did even 12 or 15 years ago.

On the present congressional pay, it is impossible for a Senator or a Representative to maintain residences in Washington and in his home State, to support his family and to educate his children. This largely limits service in Congress to those who have some degree of financial independence.

Some of our more prominent legislators collect sizable fees as paid speakers. But even this avenue is closed to the freshman Congressman whose name is little-known outside his own district.

Other legislators reach the break-even point through farming or ranching, through family-operated businesses or through law partnerships. Still others—and the number is steadily growing—are people who turn to politics as a sort of hobby after they have reached financial independence.

I recognize there is a widespread belief that many Congressmen add to their income from other sources such as graft and bribery. It just isn't true. I could count on the fingers of one hand the crooks who managed to penetrate Congress during the years I served there. And I might add that they were brought to justice.

Congress jealously guards its own integrity. I know that the men and women there today, regardless of political party, are as honest, as dedicated to our form of Government, as any representative group of Americans. Certainly they are not without their individual weaknesses and faults. Neither are we who elected them. And if we do not always like the reflection we see in the mirror that is Congress, let us remember it is our own reflection.

But I was talking of higher pay standards for Government servants and now I find myself moralizing. Some years ago I was discussing a pending pay-raise bill with one of my colleagues in the House.

"I could certainly use the money," he told me. "But I don't like the argument that the higher pay would attract the services of better qualified men."

I know personally of a number of cases where able, conscientious men, who genuinely liked government service, have resigned to accept better paying pobs in private industry. They had to choose between government and the welfare of their own families.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to recruit qualified people for top Government jobs. Here it is not only a question of pay. Many men would make the necessary financial sacrifice but they rebel at the prospect of abuse, criticism, and vilification which often go hand-in-hand with some of our most important Government positions.

There is another important aspect of this financial question as it relates to elective offices. That is the high cost staging an effective campaign.

The advent of radio and then television completely revolutionized American political campaign tactics. Gone is the day when a politician can limit his activities to shaking a few hands, kissing the traditional quota of babies and passing out a pocketful of personal cards. I look back on those days with more than a little nostalgia, and a degree of sadness, too, when I reflect upon the fact that some of those beautiful Oklahoma babies whom I kissed must have grown up to be Democrats.

Yes, we are in a new era of political campaigning. The successful candidate of today must use every available means of reaching the public. He must use all of the old, conventional approaches plus television, radio, highway billboards, and even skywriting. To add a dash of the superspectacular he may even descend upon his audiences via helicopter. Any day now I look for some inventive campaigner to come drifting down from on high in a red, white, and blue parachute to the strains of the Star-Spangled Banner. I may even vote for him.

Now all of this takes money. A tremendous amount of money. It means that a man who would be governor of one of our great States or a United States Senator must be prepared to spend tens of thousands of dollars, or have friends who are prepared to spend it for him. It means too that the candidate and his friends must be prepared to wink at—yes, even make mockery of—the statutory limitations upon campaign expenditures.

Now here is the curious contradiction in this situation. The new media for reaching the people have made it possible for a candidate to place the issues before the public as never before. Voters are in a position today to know more about the candidate and his views than at any time in the history of political campaigns. That is all to the good. An informed electorate is the greatest bulwark of our Republic. At the same time, the very cost of bringing his message to the voters is enough to prevent most of our citizens' from becoming candidates for office in statewide and national elections.

Somewhere in this broad land of ours today there may be a boy who has the making of another Abe Lincoln. Unless he has had the foresight to pick a father who struck it rich—as Lincoln certainly didn't—this youth might be well advised to choose a career other than politics.

I do not pretend to have the solution to this problem. Yet, I believe it is one which deserves more careful thought and study than it is getting. It goes to the very heart of our system of representative government. Certainly, I would not restrict the complete presentation of campaign issues which is made possible by our effective, if costly, mass media. At the same time, I am deeply disturbed at this other trend which, if unchecked, will bar so many able citizens from becoming candidates for public office.

We should modernize our obsolete limitations upon campaign expenditures, fixing realistic ceilings, and then vigorously enforcing them. Today, our Federal election laws permit a candidate for the United States Senate to spend a maximum of $25,000 on his campaign in the more populous States. There is no limit whatever upon the amount that his friends may spend in his behalf through other channels. In Oklahoma, we cling to the legal fiction that a senatorial candidate may speed no more than $3,000 in a primary contest.

In actual practice, we know that a quarter of a million dollars, and even more, is frequently spent in behalf of a single candidate in contests for governor or United States Senator in many States. Here, in Oklahoma, no candidate for either of these offices could hope to ride through a hotly contested primary and then a general election unless he and his friends were prepared to spend in the neighborhood of $200,000. On that basis, politics is hardly a poor man's game.

It has been suggested that private-campaign contributions be abolished, with the Government allocating certain amounts to the political parties for campaign expenses.

This raises new questions. Would such a program prevent the formation of new political parties in the future or would the Government handouts encourage the organization of numerous splinter parties? Would it encourage countless candidates to file for office with the sole view of collecting a campaign expense check? How could it be effectively applied to primary elections where we now often have a dozen or more candidates for a single endorsement?

Certainly, the objections to such a system are formidable. The defects in the present system are glaring, too. Here is a field in which the chamber of commerce and other organizations could be of tremendous service; studying, discussing, and working toward improvements in our election laws and practices.

Now I would make it very clear that I have no prejudice against wealthy men in political office. Both parties have a sizable number of them. My own observation is that they vote as conscientiously on public issues as their less affluent colleagues. Yet, I confess some amusement when I hear one of them railing against the forces of entrenched wealth. And among the politicians with inherited fortunes I have yet to see one who looks really comfortable in those preelection news photos shaking hands with a workingman or pitching hay.

Since my boyhood days on the Panhandle of Oklahoma this world of ours has spun around quite a few times. Empires have toppled. The world balance of power has shifted enormously. We have had more wars than I like to think about and far less peace that the people of all lands yearn for. We have seen depressions and booms. The Nation has gone through a technological revolution on the farms and in the factories.

Since 1900 our population in this country has approximately doubled. In just the 15 years since before World War II started we have increased our agricultural productive capacity in America by some 45 percent. On the same acres we had 15 years ago we have a quarter of a million fewer farmworkers. In this same 15 years we have increased our steel production capacity by 40 percent. In this same 15 years we have doubled our electric power capacity, and in less than those 15 years we have discovered this whole new uncharted area of nuclear energy.

Yes; we have enjoyed remarkable growth as a nation. And perhaps the most amazing aspect of that growth has been in our own Federal Government.

Back in 1899 there were 208,000 employees of the Federal Government, and it cost just $605 million to run the whole show. Even as recently as 1931 there were only 617,000 Federal workers, and the annual cost of Government was $3.6 billion. By 1953 Government employment had soared to nearly 2.5 million, and Federal cash outlays for the year totaled almost $75 billion.

Some of our individual Government agencies have grown from comparatively small establishments to vast bureaucracies. In 1899 the Department of Agriculture had slightly less than 3,000 employees. It spent just $3.5 million. By 1931 this agency had more than 28,000 employees and spent $311 million. In 1952 there were more than 78,000 employees of the Department of Agriculture. Expenditures for the year exceeded $3.2 billion.

Further evidence of the growth and hugeness of the Department of Agriculture are inventories of merchandise on hand, including approximately 1 billion bushels of wheat, 10 million extra bales of cotton, one-half billion pounds of cheese, approximately the same amount of butter, also large quantities of tung oil, linseed oil, cottonseed oil, and innumerable other items, including one-quarter million gallons of turpentine. Our rent for just storing our inventories cost the taxpayers $720,000 every 24 hours. And this amount is just incidental to maintaining and operating a business that employs 67,000 people plus and the tens of millions for the many and various programs of the Department.

The Department of the Interior, which had 20,000 employees and spent $65 million in 1931, had nearly 59,000 employees and spent $590 million in 1952.

These figures dramatically point up the gigantic growth of our Government and the tremendous centralization of power in Washington. It seems that almost everybody talks about big Government, but, as has been said about the weather, nobody does anything about it.

I would not venture a guess on how big our Government might eventually become. Of one thing I am certain, however. It will never be any bigger than the people themselves want it to be.

It is easy enough to blame the executive or the legislative branch of the Government for the creation of new agencies and the enlargement of others. If you want to be strictly partisan about it, you can just point to the other political party as the culprit. To be perfectly fair about the matter, while it is true the greatest expansion in Government came about during the last 20 years, my own political party is not without some responsibility. Only this year we created a new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I frankly admit that some of us have demonstrated the ability to spend a Federal dollar just about as fast as our predecessors.

Nevertheless, the real responsibility rests primarily with the people themselves. Individually and collectively citizens are constantly demanding more and more services of government—more social security, more public works, more and better highways, more educational aid, and more and bigger subsidies. Yet we are inconsistent enough to call for reduced taxes and expenditures at the same time.

I well remember a letter one of my colleagues in the House received some years ago. It ran something like this: "Dear John: The people of this district are beginning to wonder when you are going to do something about cutting taxes and reducing government expenditures. There are also plenty of rumblings here about getting us a new Congressman if you don't get some action pretty quick on that appropriation for the Goose Creek Dam."

If Congressmen sometimes seem to age a bit prematurely, it could well be from attempting to please constituents such as this one.

Another Congressman friend of mine has managed to retain his youthful appearance during nearly 20 years in the House and at the same time has built up quite a reputation as an advocate of strict government economy. He has consistently opposed lavish Federal spending—in the other fellow's district.

Any time the people of this Nation decide they want less government in their lives, they can also have lower taxes and a balanced budget. Until that day they are unlikely to have either, regardless of which political party is in power.

In recent weeks we have been deluged in print and over the air waves with predictions as to just what voters would do on election day. The pundits, the pollsters, and the political prognosticators had a field day—as they do every 2 years. As usual, many of them missed the mark rather widely. I wonder how any pollister or political pulsetaker could be bold enough to forecast the results in many contests which ended in virtual dead heats.

I hadn't been in Washington very long before I learned that an expert is just any ordinary country boy who happens to be more than 300 miles from home. Another thing that used to confuse me as a freshman Congressman were these informed sources and authoritative sources who were constantly being quoted on national affairs—always in a most pontifical tone.

I can reveal to you that an informed source is very often just an average individual who likes to read his guesses in print. An authoritative source is a little different. He owns a pair of spats which lend a certain dignity to his predictions.

All in all, I have enjoyed my years in government and politics. If I have reminisced too much, it is because I look back upon that experience with so much real pleasure. As I indicated at the beginning of my remarks, I have no burning message to leave with you. It is a privilege to have this opportunity to visit here in Tulsa again. I thank all of you for that opportunty.

Higher Postal Rates and Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, last year President Eisenhower proposed, and Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield stanchly supported, a combined postal pay raise and postal rate increase measure. This represented a responsible, reasonable program. Unfortunately, Congress did not heed the President's advice and passed a measure unacceptable to him. Knowing the President to be a responsible and honorable man who would not approve the bill submitted to him, a few of us warned the House of the inadequacy and irresponsibility of the pending measure. Twenty-nine of us voted to sustain the President's sound position in opposition to the bill which passed the House. For this we were subjected to political opposition by the leaders of some employee groups, who sought to punish us by defeating us in the 1954 campaign.

These leaders were wrong, and the President was right in 1954. The President has substantially reiterated his proposals in 1955. This time I trust that Congress will, after careful consideration, approve the major portions of the President's pay-raise and postal-rate proposals.

As the editors of the Milwaukee Journal conclude in the editorial which I insert herewith, the President is definitely on the right track:

HIGHER POSTAL RATES AND PAY

Last August the election-bound Congress voted a 5-percent pay raise to 1,500,000 postal workers and other Federal employees. Wisely, President Eisenhower vetoed the bill, because Congress had failed to vote higher postal rates to cover the higher postal pay. The President, however, promised to submit to the new Congress an equitable salary measure tied to higher postal rates.

In his Post Office Department message Tuesday, Mr. Eisenhower made good on his promise. But he went far beyond just that. He recommended a wholly new policy under which Congress would cede to a special commission the power to adjust postal rates so that the deficit ridden Post Office Depart-

ment "henceforth * * * shall be self-supporting."

You might say Congress asked for it. Not just the last Congress, but all Congresses that have failed to provide for adequate postal revenues.

With an accusing finger obviously pointed at the legislative branch, the President reminded Congress that in the 9 prosperous years since World War II post-office deficits totaled more than $4 billion, exceeding the combined deficits of the 156 years up to 1945.

Is there, after all, any logical reason why businesses and private individuals who use the mail should not pay their just share of the cost? As the President says, appropriating tax funds to meet whopping deficits (even though the operating loss has been cut from a $727 million peak in 1952 to $399 million in 1954) is "neither equitable nor reasonable; it is neither good business nor good Government." And if Congress fails to adjust rates shouldn't a commission be directed to do the job under broad authorization from Congress? Congress could well devote major attention to seeing that the postal service is efficiently and economically operated.

Pending creation of a rate commission, the President wants higher rates for first-class (letter) mail, second class (magazines and newspapers), and third class (mostly advertising matter). As the Journal has consistently argued, there is no valid reason to continue fat subsidies to newspaper and magazine publishers and businesses that use the mails to promote their products.

The pay increases for postal workers will total $129 million a year—roughly a 5-percent increase. But employees will not get an across the board raise such as Congress voted. A new salary schedule will be introduced regrouping employees so that salaries will more nearly correspond with responsibilities.

Last year Postmaster General Summerfield proposed such a salary schedule and ran into bitter opposition from the powerful postal workers' unions. Such opposition will probably develop anew on the salary question, and Congress may be cool toward relinquishing its rate-setting authority.

Still, the President is definitely on the right track.

Nixon's Campaign Bears Fruit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following editorial entitled "NIXON's Campaign Bears Fruit," by Fulton Lewis, which appeared in the Monroe (La.) News-Star on January 12, 1955:

NIXON'S CAMPAIGN BEARS FRUIT

(By Fulton Lewis)

WASHINGTON.—The leftwing's continued carping complaints against Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON are proof positive, if any further proof was needed, of the effectiveness of his campaigning last fall.

NIXON was the one top Republican who kept alive in 1954 the outstanding issue which did the most to defeat the Democrats in 1952—that party's softness toward communism. Politicos agree generally that NIXON did more to hold GOP losses in 1954 to a minimum than any other one man.

For this, the lefties would like to cut the young Vice President down to size, hoping they can eliminate or minimize his influence in next year's presidential campaign. Without him, they feel there would be much more chance of getting through the 1956 campaign without the same issue being raised again—an estimate in which they probably are right.

One of the silliest anti-Nixon blurbs yet offered was served up by the pinko New Republic. Discussing the Californian's forthcoming good-will tour of Latin America, it says:

"They are sending DICKEY NIXON down to Latin America on a good-will tour, but that isn't the real story at all. What the administration is doing is to get the all-American boy out of town to improve relations with the Democrats. It is a good-will tour all right, in that sense, but as much as anything to improve the White House relations with the Congress.

"Speaker SAM RAYBURN threatens to refuse to sit down at the same table with Nixon who raised the Communist-smear issue in the fall election. It's going to be hard for the administration to know what to do with the Vice President in the next 2 years. A good deal of foreign travel is indicated."

I may have read more inane poppycock some time during years gone by, but offhand I don't recall when.

Despite the efforts of liberal pundits to make it appear that President Eisenhower's opinion and respect for Nixon are on the wane, the best available information is to the contrary. White House intimates report that the Vice President's advice still carries as much weight as that of any other individual, and that the President still regards Nixon as one of his most valuable effective aides.

It was for exactly that last attribute that Nixon was chosen for the Latin American good will tour, plus the fact that the United States still is reaping the benefits of the effective international public relations job he did on his 1953 tour of Asia.

I found on my own trip to Japan and Formosa just last month, for example, that people in that part of the world still are talking of the homey charm, the tact, and the sympathetic attitude of the Nixons, Dick and the enchanting Pat, more than a year later.

As for the Vice President's campaign tactics, Mr. Eisenhower himself has paid public tribute to the effective role he played in preventing GOP losses last November from being greater than they were.

All Republican Party leaders in private conversations say that without Nixon's indefatigable stumping, as well as his success in finally convincing the President that he himself had to campaign actively, the Democratic victory might well have been a complete rout rather than the narrow squeak that it was.

When the lefties complain about the Nixonian tactics, what they are saying is that they think the Truman-Acheson policies toward Communists and communism were proper and effective. They dislike having the voters reminded that those policies allowed communism to engulf a half billion persons, as well as permitting scores of Red-tainted individuals not only to stay in Government jobs but even climb high up the Federal employment promotion ladder to positions of top responsibility.

If RAYBURN and other Democratic leaders dislike having the "soft to communism" tag applied to their party, their most effective redress should be to clean out its leftwing leadership which fostered the policies meriting the tag. The ADA and the CIO still pretty much dictate its policy nationally and in some areas, like New York and Detroit, locally.

The anti-Nixon campaign is just getting well organized. Rest assured that it will get worse before it gets better.

Our Strongest Weapon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, on January 13, 1955, Miss Gertrude Carraway, president general of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, delivered a fine address to the 29th Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense at the Statler Hotel in Washington.

The talk contains so much of the fundamentals of patriotic dedication and love for America that it can be read with real benefit by everyone. Earnest and sincere thought is provoked by the content of her message.

Under leave to extend my remarks, her address follows:

OUR STRONGEST WEAPON

(By Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, president general, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution)

It is an honor to address this patriotic conference. Years ago I had the privilege of attending some of your earliest meetings, when you helped blaze the trail against pacifism and communism. Then like voices crying in the wilderness, those warnings have been vindicated.

Now more than ever we need patriotism and patriotic gatherings. As has been said, "The only thing for evil to win is for the good to do nothing."

This is an era of danger, tension, confusion. There are serious threats to our national security: termites from within, boring under our structure of government; and enemies from without, seeking its conquest.

Actually we are at war: a conflict of ideologies, between a doctrine which eliminates God and individualism and our moral philosophy which embraces religion and the dignity of man.

Nuclear weapons are being made which could destroy cities and residents, civilization itself. Planes can circle the globe more than twice as fast as sound. Guided missiles may be unleashed against distant pinpoint targets.

These are important for our defense. We must be adequately prepared militarily for any emergency. It is the best insurance for peace. Our foes understand the language of force.

But material prowess is not enough to win either a hot war or a cold war of economic, industrial, and political rivalry. Our strongest weapon is not the gun, plane, or bomb; it is a patriotic spirit in the minds and hearts of our people, based on zeal to preserve the American way of life.

This dynamic morale has consistently proved its value: in exploring and settling uncharted coasts, plains, and mountains; winning the Revolution and other wars; building thriving businesses; developing miracle medicines and utilities. It can remain our bulwark, if we meet the perils of this period with similar bravery, ingenuity, and honor.

America has long held significant meaning as an idea and ideal, a land of opportunity, with a chance for all to get ahead, become what we make of ourselves. Immigrants have flocked to our shores to share unsurpassed benefits. Our priceless heritage has captured the imagination of many dominated peoples. It is still the hope of the world.

However, besides too many citizens who are soft on communism we have here today too many who are soft on Americanism. Patriotism has been wrongly criticized as narrow minded and old fashioned. Blinded or intrigued by erroneous propaganda, illusion or delusion for the millenium, unrealistic Utopians would sell our birthright for a mess of pottage.

Stronger advocacy is needed for our individual enterprise, patriotic endeavor, religious trust. This is the safe and sane course which has made our Nation so great, outranking others, with the highest standards of living in the world, and, despite mistakes and failings, the best government on earth, the freest and finest in all history.

Americanism is creed, philosophy, a way of life. It is faith, belief that man, with God's help, is capable of self-rule. We must accentuate it in every way possible, become as vigorous and enthusiastic in fostering and publicizing it as our enemies are in operating against it.

Based on eternal principles of freedom, justice, and mercy, it is timeless—just as essential in this age as in the past. On its preservation and extension depends the future of America.

If it is perpetuated, our own people must understand it better. How can they be active for it if they are not aware of its advantages? Many schools fail to teach American history, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution. Fortunately, improvement is being noticed along this line. Each of us can assist.

Our form of government is not sufficiently studied. It is unique in that it is not a democracy but a representative Republic, upheld by cooperation, not coercion; the consent of the governed, the state being considered the servant, not the master, of its constituents, with rule by law rather than men, checks and balances being so contrived that none of the three separate branches can assume dictatorial control.

If we were all more familiar with its functions it could be more efficient. There would not be so many attempts to pass unconstitutional legislation. Nor would there be so much readiness to exchange it for untried, unwise schemes.

Numerous problems are still unsolved. No government, no human is perfect. But it is the best yet devised. As we have surmounted previous difficulties, so we can overcome future challenges with the same spirit.

When Washington faced apparently hopeless defeat at Valley Forge, he knelt in prayer. A year after the U. S. S. *Arizona* was sunk at Pearl Harbor, the United States flag was raised proudly over its hull.

In these days when so many persons want something for nothing, the self-reliance and self-sacrifice of older patriarchs are necessary to sustain self-government.

Statesmen of the hardy caliber who built this Nation should be emulated, abiding by principles instead of expedients, laboring for the next generation rather than the next election, for the general welfare, the greatest good to the greatest number and the least harm to the least number.

Most of all, we need more loyal citizens, girded with moral armament, who put the public weal above private interests. The strength of a republic depends on its constituents. Indeed, a republic is its constituents.

During the past quarter of a century our standard of living has risen 40 percent, a splendid gain; but our patriotic and religious advance has not kept pace. Just as we test jets and bombs, so we should pay attention to our strongest weapon of defense: practicing, teaching, and preaching better Americanism. We keep our guns clean and powder dry, available for any call; likewise, we should cherish the spirit of America, in order to pass on to posterity, bright and untarnished, "freedom's holy light."

It is imperative to be good Americans, not content to rest upon our laurels but eager to interpret them as stepping stones to further progress; to do what we can to promote better citizenship, prevent crime and delinquency; and to show, by example and precept, that, compared with foreign isms, Americanism has sounder theory and stronger appeal.

If our people are well grounded in its fundamentals, if we know how our land has become powerful, if we are grateful for our blessings and sincere in love of community and service to country, no treason or disloyalty can find soil fertile enough to take root. There would be no cause to fear the Communist menace, if we build up resistance by becoming imbued with Americanism.

In addition to being thus our strongest weapon of defense, this crusading spirit can be our cardinal weapon of offense.

Too long has the United States been on the defensive. We should now assume the offensive in the cold war. An ideology may be defeated by a better ideology.

Our systems are far superior to those of the Reds. They have come through with flying colors in our own land, relying on ballots, not bullets; evolution, not revolution. Our case is much more valid, but it is misunderstood abroad. Not yet has it been fully presented to the world. The pen can be mightier than the sword. We must prove in word and deed the preeminence of free enterprise. Godless communism can be overcome by a psychological counteroffensive with our religious and political concepts.

It is late, but not too late. The situation is critical, but not hopeless.

Washington lost battles, but never lacked determination and vision, finally winning the war—and the peace. From him we can derive inspiration to aid in securing for mankind all the blessings of liberty.

Such purpose for positive action, with providential care, can bring the will to do, the courage to dare, the discipline to persevere, the stamina and integrity to triumph.

Our leaders have concentrated primarily on financial gifts and sharing our technological know-how with other countries. We can not buy international friendships. Our Nation may be feared for its strength and courted for its money, but its material patronage is not always judiciously used or appreciated.

Meanwhile, we have lost ideologically. Half the world has fallen to communism. It has been spread forcefully and forcibly.

Only 2 percent of the Poles are said to be Communists; only 5 percent of the Chinese. Yet, their historic areas have been pulled behind the Iron Curtain, whose fanatical conspirators have the avowed ambition to conquer the whole world, including our own United States. It is high time to halt this disastrous march.

Ruin looms if we overtax and overborrow. We can help others who are worthy to help themselves, but not spread ourselves so thin over so much outside territory that our economy will be strained, especially when so many things are needed at home. It is feasible to carry out a policy of good neighbor or partner without being lavish or becoming submerged. Our old slogan should be readopted: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

America must be kept strong and solvent. Who would answer our plea, if our national safety was endangered? Even allies cannot always be counted on in crises.

What other peoples would probably prefer to monetary bounties for their governments, some of which are communistic or socialistic, is more hope for personal liberty, such as is enjoyed in America. If we want to win friends and influence people, we should stress that we have freedoms and they can have them, too, if they toil earnestly for them.

In our favor is one paramount point. More even than freedom from want, there is a universal hunger for freedom of speech and conscience. This innate craving, like national pride, cannot be forever repressed or suppressed by oppression.

For centuries civilization has moved forward through this spark in personalities. Those really wanting to be free have usually won, not only because in time they rise to oppose tyranny but also because as individuals they can be more successful than automatons or slaves executing despotic orders.

Human faculties form more potential might than minerals, oils, and atoms. More effective than any rifle is the man behind it. If he is infused with a firm conviction in a righteous cause, he is more invincible than a mouthpiece transmitting the commands of a dictator. This is advantageous for our side, even though our opponents outnumber us 3 to 3, because of the inherent, indomitable desire of men to be free.

Washington predicted that a prudent use of liberty under the Constitution might induce every nation which is yet a stranger to it to adopt it. So long as glows our flame of freedom under God, it will shine as a magnetic beacon to all liberty-loving peoples everywhere. It can even pierce an Iron Curtain.

This is not to be construed as a prediction for the early overthrow of Soviet authority. They are too overwhelmingly entrenched and fortified, with methods which cannot be easily subdued. The 3 percent who are Communists in Russia have subjugated vast majorities to weakness and inertia.

But men do aspire to be free agents. This yearning accounts for such valor as that of the Polish pilot who took risks and flew westward to recover the freedom lost under the iron heel.

An elderly immigrant from a satellite country wrote as a main reason she was thankful to be in America: "I can go to bed every night without being afraid."

An American journalist asked a Hungarian newspaperman if he could write what he pleased. "Yes, of course," was the reply, "but only once."

Soviets expect to capitalize on our divergent opinions. That is our prerogative, but they consider them our main weakness. Instead of so much destructive criticism, bickering, debunking, defeatism, we should utilize constructive credos, affirmative approaches in presenting a united and resolute national front.

Lenin advised his followers to "postpone operations until the moral disintegration of the enemy renders the delivery of the mortal blow easy." Decay from within has caused the downfall of other nations. We cannot let the Communists achieve their aims through our decay or disunity.

Instead of promising voters so much, we should emphasize their duties, the fact that each right entails an obligation, giving as well as getting, urging incentive, hard work, and thrift instead of doles, handouts, subsidies. The Biblical injunction warns: "To whom much is given, of him much is also required."

We must educate for good citizenship, teaching a sense of responsibility, to do what we can for ourselves, instead of the current tendency to let someone else do it or have the Government do it. Abundance for all can no more be guaranteed than good health. But, liberty is more precious than security, equality of opportunity than regimentation.

Our constitutional government will not be lost immediately. There is reason to fear that its freedoms may be chipped away little by little, so that the loss may pass almost unnoticed at the time.

The main danger is having them undermined through infiltration by Trojan horses, fifth columnists, fellow travelers, or impractical sympathizers. As our predecessors had to be vigilant, so do we to insure against spies, saboteurs, socialistic or fascist trends and treaty powers which might circumvent the assets making our Nation so outstanding.

That is why Congress should ratify an amendment to our Constitution to prevent treaties or executive agreements with unconstitutional provisions from becoming the supreme law. This would safeguard the rights of Americans and our duly elected representatives to pass our own domestic legislation, preserving the Constitution as envisioned by its framers.

Nor should our country join any world government or partial world government. Proposals for revisions of the United Nations Charter to turn that organization into a limited world government should be opposed. We must not lose our hard-earned national sovereignty, barter away our bequest of independence, by becoming a vassal province in a world or regional state.

Likewise the NATO Status of Forces Treaty should somehow be revised so that our Stars and Stripes may resume its time-honored duty of defending those who defend it on foreign soil.

Benjamin Franklin asserted: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

Congressional investigations should be continued. They do not threaten our liberties; they try to protect them. We investigate theft and murder, why not espionage and treason? The FBI, with whose superb work we should cooperate, cannot always expose subversion as can congressional committees.

Fifth-amendment invokers who misuse the freedoms under our Constitution should support the Constitution in its entirety. Something is awry when a witness at one hearing can hide behind the cloak of this amendment 244 times; another, 250 times. Those accorded the privilege of this safety value should merit it.

True Americans should at all times be willing to take loyalty oaths. We often recite our religious creed. Frequently we express our love for friends. Why not for our native land?

James Russell Lowell was asked, "How long do you think the American Republic will endure?" He replied, "So long as the ideas of its Founding Fathers continue to be dominant."

Woodrow Wilson declared, "Our whole duty for the present, at any rate, is summed up in the motto, 'America First.'"

This is not isolationism. Some may mistakenly call it that. It is realistic and practical, enlightened self-interest. It is right to love our country best, to put its welfare foremost. It is the only one to which we pledge allegiance, the only one that protects, trains, benefits us. In turn, we owe it our protection, pride, and devotion.

America is great. It is our mission to keep it so.

Our way of life excels all others. Let us maintain it, strongly and surely, with confidence in ourselves, trust in divine guidance.

This spirit forms our most powerful weapon. Here we must stimulate for it more implicit faith. Elsewhere we should arouse for it more ardent fervor.

Americans are famed as salesmen. Let us undertake to sell, at home and abroad, our most important product. It is humanity's best hope.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following text of a speech delivered by David I Mackie, chairman, Eastern Railroad Presidents Conference, before a joint meeting of the Lexington Group and the American Historical Association, Commodore Hotel, New York City, December 28, 1954:

The assigned description of the facility we are considering is the St. Lawrence seaway. I will adhere to this phrasing, although it is not accurate. As a description of the 27-foot channel which has been authorized, "seaway" is a euphemism.

For more than half a century the idea of a seaway has been opposed and supported with vigor by powerful economic and political interests. Many of their arguments—both pro and con—have been irrelevant. Some have been misleading.

I believe that while the seaway is obviously advantageous to Canada (especially the port of Montreal), its value to the United States is, to say the least, doubtful.

A 27-foot waterway has been sold to the American people on the false bases that (1) our Great Lakes cities will become ports for oceangoing ships in world trade; (2) the waterway is necessary to move Labrador iron ore to inland steel mills; (3) the waterway is essential to national defense.

The St. Lawrence already is, or contains, a navigible waterway. From the ocean to Quebec a 35-foot channel prevails—it is 32½ feet deep from Quebec to Montreal. West of Montreal to Ogdensburg, N. Y., there is a series of locks and canals with a limiting depth of 14 feet. The available depth of Great Lakes connecting channels is 21 feet upbound and 25 feet downbound. Great Lakes harbors vary up to 26 feet.

Authorized plans for the seaway we are discussing call for a 27-foot channel between Montreal and Lake Erie. They call for nothing more.

Because of the need for clearance under a vessel's keel, ships using a channel must draw less than the channel's depth. Three feet of clearance is generally agreed upon. Allowing 3 feet for clearance, a 27-foot channel can accommodate vessels drawing no more than 24 feet.

A 27-foot depth for the St. Lawrence was first recommended in 1926 by a majority of the Canadian section of the Joint Board of Engineers. Even in 1929 the 27-foot depth was found inadequate for oceangoing vessels. The Brookings Institution, in a 672-page study of the project, concluded that "85 percent of the faster cargo vessels now entering American ports" and "81 percent of the cargo vessels and all the tankers engaged in the intercoastal trade" would not be able to use the seaway.

Brookings said: "A channel depth of 33 feet is a minimum requirement if the St. Lawrence Waterway is to serve the purposes for which it is advocated." They also found (in 1929) that "the trend in ocean shipping is toward larger and deeper draft vessels."

The Brookings prophecy proved accurate. According to information supplied by the United States Department of Commerce, as of the first of this year 90.8 percent of all American oceangoing ships had a draft greater than 24 feet.

Not a single seagoing ship now under construction in American shipyards has a draft of less than 24 feet. The two ships now being built in England for the specific purpose of moving Labrador iron ore have drafts of over 30 feet.

There has been much controversy over the question of what percentage of America's oceangoing fleet could transit the waterway under economic (although not necessarily full) load. These arguments are irrelevant.

The same United States Army engineers who have consistently advocated a 27-foot depth for the seaway, this year sought and obtained congressional approval to deepen the channel of the Hudson River from New York City to Albany from 27 to 32 feet, on the ground that such deepening is necessary to "eliminate a bottleneck that long has hampered oceangoing ships." This year Congress also authorized deepening the Delaware River from Philadelphia to Newbold Island to 42 feet, and from Newbold to Trenton to 32 feet.

The United States Army engineers also recommended increasing the depth of the Houston Ship Canal to 36 feet, saying that the present channels are "not adequate to accommodate, fully and safely, the present merchant fleet."

At Mobile, the same Army engineers recommended deepening bay and river channels from 32 to 40 feet in order to make Mobile a "first-class port."

Wherever any project other than the seaway is involved, the Army engineers clearly recognize the need for channels 32 to 40 feet deep.

All of our important seacoast and gulf harbors have depths of 30 feet or more, with most of them in excess of 35 feet.

The seaway was sold to the American public as a foreign trade route, opening up all the ports on the Great Lakes to foreign commerce. It will be, actually, not much more than an extension of the present Great Lakes waterways, of use primarily to Great Lakes vessels which were not designed for sea duty.

Now let's look at the iron ore argument.

On February 22, 1951, Oscar L. Chapman, then Secretary of the Interior, testifying in support of the St. Lawrence seaway, told the House Committee on Public Works: "Unless we build a deep waterway from Montreal into the Great Lakes, I do not see how we will be able to meet our national iron-ore requirements 5 years from now." The last full year before Secretary Chapman issued his warning, Lake Superior ore production was 79.9 million tons. Three years later—three-fifths of the way toward the Secretary's deadline—production was up to 96.5 million tons.

Seaway proponents have tried to prove that open-pit, high-grade Mesabi ore is rapidly running out by the device of dividing the known estimate of ore reserves by the annual consumption of ore. But known estimate is not and does not purport to be a true showing of reserves. It is nothing more than a Minnesota tax rolls figure, revised yearly as additional ore is proved. Once a mining company drills and proves ore, it is put on the Minnesota tax rolls and the company begins to pay taxes on it. Naturally the companies have been reluctant to prove up more ore than they need in the immediate future. From 1946 through 1953, 491 million tons of Mesabi ore were shipped. During the same 8 years, the known estimate shown by the Minnesota tax rolls dropped only 130 million tons. This proves the impropriety of attempting to appraise the ore reserves by means of Minnesota tax roll figures.

Open-pit, high-grade Mesabi ore is not the only Great Lakes source available to American steel mills.

The Steep Rock mines in Ontario, which were brought into production in 1944 by United States interests, are producing a million and a quarter tons of high-grade ore a year at present. The chairman of the board

of Steep Rock Iron Mines Ltd., the company developing this field, has stated that the areas under development can comfortably support an annual production of upward of 15 million tons of high-grade order for an indefinite period. This statement is highly significant in view of the initial planned production in Labrador by the Iron Ore Co., of Canada, which Mr. George M. Humphrey testified would be adequate to make their investment of $200 million pay out—namely 10 million tons a year.

Pellets made from taconite, a low-grade ore which can be concentrated into usable form, are now being produced commercially in Minnesota. Taconite may well prove more important in the future than either Labrador or Mesabi high-grade ore. The supply is almost inexhaustible—about 95 percent of the Mesabi Range is taconite. Taconite pellets are of more uniform consistency than natural ore. Already, United States steel companies have invested about $500 million in taconite development.

Reserve Mining Co., a major taconite producer, estimates that its ore lands alone can annually supply 10 million tons of high-grade concentrate from taconite for 50 years. Reserve is owned outright by Republic Steel Co., and Armco, 2 of the 5 steel companies interested in the development of the Labrador ore field.

Dr. William O. Hotchkiss, former president of the Michigan School of Mines, in 1951 told the House Committee on Public Works that "nearly three-quarters of a billion tons that were not known in 1920 have been added to Mesabi ore reserves." Dr. Hotchkiss concluded that available reserves in the Lake Superior region totaled 7,700,000,000 tons, enough iron ore to supply 100 million tons a year for 77 years. Because the full potential of taconite has not yet been approximated, this estimate may well prove low. Even 77 years isn't forever. But it's a lot longer than Secretary Chapman's 5 years.

The steel companies have not shared the pessimism of seaway proponents. In the period after World War II, Great Lakes steel mills undertook the greatest expansion in their history before any assurance existed that the St. Lawrence seaway would ever be dredged.

An ore emergency, then, does not exist. But high-grade Labrador ore does, and it will and should be mined.

Labrador ore lies east as well as north of the United States. Both the field itself and Seven Islands—the site of the southern terminus of the new Quebec, North Shore & Labrador Railway—are approximately 400 miles east of New York City. The natural American outlets for Labrador ore are therefore the mills located in the eastern part of the United States. Labrador ore can reach these mills economically and quickly either by ship from Seven Islands to Philadelphia and Baltimore, or by ship from Seven Islands to Montreal and then southward by rail.

The natural American outlets for Great Lakes ore on the other hand are the steel mills on the Great Lakes and in and near Pittsburgh.

Seaway proponents advocate shipping Labrador ore west to the Great Lakes at the some time Great Lakes ore is being shipped east to mills in Maryland and eastern Pennsylvania. Cross-hauling like this doesn't make sense to me. What does is shipment of ore from each production area to its natural market. Such natural-market shipment is unaffected by the St. Lawrence seaway.

The five major steel mills in eastern Pennsylvania and Maryland—at Bethlehem, Morrisville, Steelton, Swedeland, and Sparrows Point—alone annually consume more than the expected early Labrador-field production.

One of the major arguments used to sell the seaway to the American people was its purported value as an instrument of national defense.

The seaway is supposed to offer an additional shipping channel to augment transportation in time of war. But the seaway will be of no use to anyone during the 4½ months of each year when ice closes it to all commerce.

Reliance upon the seaway for wartime shipping would mean either that America's armies would be supplied in spurts, or that the railroads and east coast ports would have to take over the traffic in the winter months. Where are the railroads and ports going to find the standby equipment and extra personnel for this seasonal traffic? I can imagine nothing more extravagant of a nation's resources, strained to the limit by war, than the alternating seasonal use of duplicating transportation facilities.

We are also told that the seaway would permit the construction in Great Lakes shipyards of oceangoing warships, transports, and cargo vessels. But a single bomb dropped by plane on any one of the seaway's 15 locks or near its dams, not only would close the seaway but also would bottle up ships on the Great Lakes—in service or under construction—for the period needed to repair or rebuild the damaged facilities. That might take a long time.

What about costs and the claim that the seaway will be self-liquidating?

United States Army engineers' estimates of costs of a 27-foot channel from Montreal to Lake Erie are $174,950,000 to Canada and $88,074,000 to the United States. Annual carrying charges, including amortization over 50 years and interest at 3 percent, are estimated at $14,612,000.

These figures are low. For one thing, they're predicated on December 1952 cost levels, and the construction cost index has gone up 9.15 percent since then. For another, Army engineers traditionally underestimate costs.

If no other factors were involved (and many are), the $14.6 million would be the least the seaway had to earn each year to pay for itself.

Seaway earnings will be determined by the scale of tolls charged, and the tonnage carried.

The tolls have not been set. Even the bases of determining them have not been agreed upon.

The amount of traffic is not known. In 1941, the United States Department of Commerce forecast an eventual 10 million tons of annual American seaway traffic. In 1950, when trying to prove that the seaway would be self-liquidating, Commerce, without a further detailed study, upped its figure to the fantastic and unsubstantiated prediction of 57 million to 84 million tons. The Engineers think the seaway might "attract during its economic life traffic of the order of 50 million tons and more." Only last week, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation estimated 36.5 million tons.

Ten million tons? Thirty-six million? Fifty million? Eighty-four million? Which figure at what toll rates will produce $14.6 million a year?

The validity of the largest of these estimates should be weighed in the light of testimony of Under Secretary of Commerce Walter Williams, delivered before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate on May 20, 1953, that the traffic ceiling of the Welland Canal (with channels improved to a 27-foot depth) "seems to be about 50 million tons, and comparisons of costs with revenues should be limited accordingly."

The larger revenue traffic estimates include the 10 million tons that now move through the existing 14-foot channel without charge. Obviously, traffic which has been using a free channel is not going to move over to a 27-foot toll channel if the free channel is continued. As recently as August 17 of this year L. B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, wrote in a note to the United States: "The Canadian Government reserves the right to decide whether and in what manner it will continue 14-foot navigation works through the International Rapids section."

But that isn't all.

You will remember that the proposed seaway stops at Lake Erie. On the three upper Great Lakes west of Erie are many inland cities anxious for a share of the seaway's promised bonanza. These cities cannot participate even in 27-foot shipping until the channels connecting the upper lakes are deepened. And Great Lakes cities—lower and upper alike—will require deepened harbors.

There isn't the slightest doubt that both channels and harbors will be deepened. At the close of the 83d Congress, bills had already been introduced calling for deepening the upper Great Lakes channels. Various organizations have already started drives for improving Great Lakes harbors to 27 feet.

No one is sure exactly what the channel-and-harbor deepening will cost. Preliminary paperwork estimates indicate irreducible minima of $100 million for the channels and another $100 million for the harbors.

That isn't all, either.

I believe it is self-evident that the seaway is as certain to be deepened beyond 27 feet as it is to be extended west of Lake Erie. To mention only two reasons: Many legitimate objections to a 27-foot waterway do not apply to one with a deeper channel; and more than a half century of propaganda in favor of a true seaway for oceangoing vessels has developed momentum.

No one knows to what depth the channel will eventually be constructed. Thirty-five feet is the figure most often mentioned. To my knowledge, no one has estimated the cost of deepening a 27-foot channel to 35 feet. However, we do have incomplete, but illuminating, estimates of the cost of deepening the present facilities to 35 feet. For the United States it is $959,159,000 more than the cost of constructing a 27-foot channel. For Canada it is $536,752,000 more. The total is $1,495,911,000 more for a 35-foot than a 27-foot channel.

This billion and a half dollars includes nothing for deepening Canadian harbors; no correction for price rises since 1950, the year on which most figures are based; and no allowance for the historical inaccuracy of engineers' preliminary approximations.

The represented cost of the seaway is $263,024,000. As we have just seen, realistically there must be added upward of $200 million for deepening upper-lake channels and the harbors on all 5 lakes to 27 feet. When and if the channel is eventually deepened to 35 feet, there must then be added an unknown sum that will almost assuredly fall somewhere between one and two billion dollars.

I therefore submit that present seaway plans are an attempt to get a foot in the door or the nose of the camel under the tent.

Most of the facts I have developed were, of course, known to my country's Congress and President before the former passed and the latter signed this year's seaway bill. One might conclude that favorable congressional action on the seaway after more than a half century of debate confirms Dr. Hare's position and refutes mine.

Such a conclusion would be logical—but, I believe, false.

Congress didn't pass S. 2150 because the historic arguments against the seaway suddenly lost their validity. The case against the seaway was no stronger—or weaker—when the several Congresses rejected it than in 1954. The major difference lies in the fact that, by 1952, Canada had decided to go ahead on its own. The 83d Congress acted

as it did because it thought—mistakenly—that by so doing it was obtaining some measure of control over the seaway.

I need hardly remind you, who are historians, that the accomplishment of a political result does not prove the arguments presented in favor of it. In the case of the seaway, nonexistent advantages didn't suddenly blossom—and disadvantages didn't suddenly evaporate—merely because the United States Congress showed itself susceptible to chauvinism.

Obviously the United States did not gain control of the seaway by authorizing the expenditure of $105,000,000. The Canadians have, and will continue to have, complete control and domination over the effective use of the St. Lawrence by reason of the fact that its exit and six-sevenths of its course lie wholly within Canadian territory.

The seaway appears to me in all sincerity to be an egregious error from the American viewpoint. But we have irretrievably embarked upon its construction. There can be no question but that it would be less expensive to build a 35-foot seaway in the present river than to build a 27-foot waterway first and deepen it later to 35 feet. Perhaps the time has come for sincere advocates of a true seaway realistically to admit its necessary costs and frankly advocate building a 35-foot channel now. It seems to me sheer idiocy to waste time and money on a hybrid 27-foot concoction of questionable value which even before construction is commenced is obsolete and outmoded and is certain to be deepened as soon as the first hundred-million-dollar shock wears off.

And now if you'll permit me to mangle a metaphor and a simile, I'll conclude. Even though seaway proponents have gotten the nose of their camel under the tent, I'm not going to act like a dog in the manger.

Smears Against Nixon Boomerang

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, when a man is unjustly accused, generally time and public discussion bring forth the truth and the attack boomerangs on the accusers. The political history of our Vice President, RICHARD NIXON, is almost classic proof of this. Time and again as a Congressman, as Senator, and now as Vice President he has borne the brunt of vicious attacks. Time and time again his attackers succeeded only in destroying their own causes.

From many newspaper stories and remarks in this RECORD, I gain the impression that the pattern is being repeated again. In further support of this observation I am setting forth a recent column by Larry Collins, Sr., the editorial columnist of the Long Beach Independent newspaper. For many years Mr. Collins has been an able observer and reporter of the political scene.

The article follows:

It is evident Vice President NIXON is to be the whipping boy for the Democratic attack in next year's campaign. It is charged by the Democrats that NIXON questioned their loyalty during the campaign last year. He is called the smear artist because he carried the fight into many States.

It is rather strange to hear men like WAYNE MORSE call NIXON a smear artist because he carried the fight into many States.

MORSE's main objection is that NIXON called some of the Democratic candidates, including himself, leftwingers. MORSE likes to call himself the leading liberal in the Senate. That is certainly being a leftwinger. But it does not mean he is disloyal or imply that he is a Communist.

By the same reasoning we would consider NIXON a rightwinger. But that does not imply that he is a reactionary. NIXON was critical of the coddling of Communists and leftwingers who played with and supported Communists in Government. The records are clear that this did occur.

The people should remember how Mr. Truman referred to the Alger Hiss case as a red herring. If they recall the Truman campaign in 1948 they will find it hard to recall a more demagogic smear campaign. Unfortunately there are demagogs in every political party. But the speeches of Vice President NIXON stick to the facts. If they were considered smears by some Democrats it must be recognized that telling the truth is actually a smear of some men. But they provided the material.

When listening to Senator WAYNE MORSE on Meet the Press, we heard him sneer at President Eisenhower. But when asked if he opposed the President's foreign policy, he admitted he did not. He could only say that the President was doing everything for big business and nothing for the common people. But he overlooked the extension of social security, efforts by the President to amend the Taft-Hartley law, and overall tax reductions that have occurred.

It is apparent the Democrats do not want anything done to Taft-Hartley. It is their prime approach to labor union leaders who want the law repealed. But it is equally apparent the rank and file members of unions like the law as it is. Labor unions have had their greatest social securities since that law was enacted. They have had fewer strikes and their living standards are at the highest in the history of workers in the world.

NIXON will be the target of all the leftwing Democrats, because he is a conservative. He is a hard and fearless fighter with great ability as a speaker. When it comes to what we call the American way he is more liberal than any of the leftwingers, who would have big government rule the people rather than have government the servant of the people. These are factors which should be remembered as the bitter fight against NIXON is waged during the next 18 months.

The Feasibility of Blockades

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in the long run it may be found that the greatest virtues in the present cold-war period in our history were patience and devotion to calm reason. William R. Mathews, veteran editor and publisher of the Arizona Daily Star, of Tucson, Ariz., has these virtues, and from time to time he gives expression to them in editorials which are often widely quoted. I present herewith two of his recent editorials calling to task some of the blustering, belligerent men in public life who seem bent on dividing our counsels and confusing our policies:

[From the Arizona Daily Star of January 9, 1955]

THE FEASIBILITY OF BLOCKADES

The repeated demands for a blockade of Red China made by Senators KNOWLAND and MCCARTHY, by Commander Collins of the American Legion and numerous other military and political leaders, forecast that this subject will grow as a controversial public issue.

The idea of a blockade makes a popular appeal as an easy way to meet the threat we faced in the Orient. Blockades have been used many times in forms that range from a mere show of force and the seizure of a port, to the extreme form of an armed blockade that shuts up ports of an enemy. The confidence with which it is recommended as a way to deal with Red China fails, however, to take into account the experiences of the past, and ignores entirely a new historical development: the coming of the Age of Continents, when some governments control continents.

In the light of history it is necessary to distinguish between the seizure of a port of a weak adversary and the imposition of a blockade against a powerful nation. All blockades have the common purpose to impose a political decision on an unwilling, but defiant, weaker power. When Britain sent warships to China in 1841, to Egypt in 1881, and to many weaker nations, she used this show of force to win political concessions. By this classic use of sea power she built her empire.

When Britain declared a blockade on Napoleon's France, and more recently against Germany and her allies in World Wars I and II, she did so to reduce the capacities of her enemies to wage war. The use of the naval blockade by the North against the South in our Civil War contributed mightily to the ultimate victory of the North. In none of these circumstances did the blockade alone win a war. In each it had to be accompanied by a simultaneous land campaign. Hence there are limits to which the blockade or show of force can be counted upon to win a political decision.

In this connection, serious troubles have always arisen with neutrals. Britain's blockade of Napolen's France contributed seriously to provoking war with us in 1812. It also helped to unite the French people behind Napoleon. Britain's blockades of Germany in World Wars I and II would have involved us in war against her had we not been in sympathy with her action. A blockade of China's widely separated ports can be counted upon to cause much trouble with neutrals as small as Portugal and Indonesia and as large as Britain and the Soviet Union.

To this record must be added Japan's failure in China. What was once called the China incident spread into a major war in 1937 with the landing of millions of soldiers in China, and war ultimately with the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union.

A peaceful blockade, such as Senator MCCARTHY recommends, calling for nonintercourse by those nations receiving aid from us, would amount to nothing more than speaking loudly and threatening with a feather duster. It would fail to shut off more than a trivial amount of commerce.

No neutral is bound to respect any blockade unless it is accompanied by a declaration of war. Without such respect it will be ineffective. One conducted under the auspices of the United Nations with the United States providing nearly all of the warships, could be helpful by eliminating much of the trouble with neutrals.

These experiences should be sufficient to warn us about the complications that always develop out of a blockade of an entire nation.

To these must now be added the new historical development—the rise of two great powers controlling continents, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and the prospective rise of two others—China and India.

Modern land and air transportation has done this. Whereas, prior to 1800 there had been little improvement in land transportation since the time of the Caesars, transportation by water had made enormous progress. The discovery of the keel by the Vikings made possible ships of sail that could tack against winds and thus penetrate to the farthest ends of the earth.

Development of political power followed the sea lanes. Just as the Hanseatic cities of Europe grew and thrived on seaborne commerce, so did the subsequent development of most of the other great cities of the world. If they were not ports, they were located close to seaports, such as London and Paris, and had rivers to use.

The application of steam to land transportation provided new arteries of life in the great undeveloped land masses that are today the Soviet Union, the United States of America, China, and India.

The strength of these new and great powers has its roots in the new advantages that their vast land areas provide. They are relatively invulnerable to invasion, blockade or retaliations by bombardment. They possess a large proportion of the raw material and food necessary for their large populations, and can be nearly economically self-sufficient. Such advantages, when combined with the political power that comes with the organization of their enormous numbers of people, make two of them—the United States and the U. S. S. R.—dominant powers of the world, while China rises to new importance.

No nation nor coalition of nations can attack any one of them successfully, as Germany learned in the Soviet Union and Japan found out in China. Britain had to give up India largely for the same reason.

Any blockade of China not only faces all of these contingencies of the past, but also this new historic development of the age of continents.

[From the Arizona Daily Star of January 13, 1955]

AN ALARMING PRECEDENT

The spectacle of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Arthur W. Radford, emerging from a luncheon meeting with President Eisenhower on Monday and declaring in a public statement that if all other measures fail, the United States should support a blockade of Red China, dramatizes the conspicuous role that the military of the United States have come to occupy in high policymaking.

Never before, until the past few years, in all of the history of our country has the military dared to speak out publicly on high policymaking. In former years we would have considered such conduct on a par with what used to be called Prussian militarism. We participated in the trials and subsequent hanging of German military officials whose only crime was recommending, counseling, or participating in the decision to make war.

Yet here we have the Chairman of our Joint Chiefs of Staff publicly recommending action which only a few days previously, in Honolulu, he said meant war.

This is a far more serious matter than this one incident. The alarming part about it is that it fits into a growing pattern of conduct which challenges the past traditions of our country. It marks the rise of militarism, the dominance of the military over our civilian government. And it was not so long ago we were fighting wars to end the militarism of our principal enemy.

Throughout the history of our country, until recently, the military maintained a tradition of silence on public issues. They had a respected duty to give their advice to their civilian superiors, who acted as the responsible spokesmen. They should give their advice in the same way today, but they should not not speak out publicly their own views on high political policy.

The precedent involved is a fundamental one. In past history it has set the foundation for the building of a military government, and the subsequent eclipse of freedom.

So here we are in one breath talking about the free world and liberation of the enslaved. In another breath our top military leader emerges from luncheon with the President and calls for action that means war if what appears to be a two-sided dispute is not settled our way.

All that the Communist leaders behind the Iron Curtain have to do to prove to their people how warlike we are is to quote such a public statement verbatim, and thereby undo in a twinkling the work of our so-called crusade for freedom.

The fact that Secretary Dulles spoke out in calm words to reassure the country that our policy would be one of slow to anger, does not alter the fact that the threat of this precedent still remains unchallenged.

Filbert Growers Ask More Time for Tariff Hearings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, there are in the States of Oregon and Washington about 1,000 families who make their livelihood by the raising of filbert nuts. It requires many years to bring one of these nut orchards into a bearing state. Every orchard therefore represents a tremendous investment in time, money, and labor.

If anything happens that undermines the prosperity of nut raising, the growers lose not only a year of profits. They must abandon their orchards, cutting them down in order to go into some other activity. They lose all of the investment made in effort and money to get the orchards into a production stage.

It is this possibility of sacrificing years of labor that causes nut growers generally to be greatly concerned in tariff rules and regulations, for the nut growers, chief competition comes from low-wage foreign nations which, like our own, have large nut crops.

Hearings have been set in a new reciprocal trade bill known as H. R. 1. This bill may have a bearing on the entire future of the American filbert-nut industry and all persons engaged in it. The nut raisers want a chance to be heard on this bill. The hearings have been speedily called on H. R. 1 and the nut growers fear may be quickly ended. They fear they may be denied a chance to be heard. The nut growers should be given that opportunity. The hearings should be long enough so that they and those of all other interested industries may get their viewpoint into the record.

The Congress or any of its committees should not proceed so fast that it is unfair to any industry or the people engaged in it.

A typical letter, deploring the haste with which hearings on H. R. 1 have been called, is the following one which I have received from John E. Trunk, general manager of the Northwest Nut Growers. Mr. Trunk's letter follows:

Hon. RUSSELL V. MACK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MACK: While we have been anticipating the introduction of legislation advocating the lowering of tariffs, we find ourselves totally unprepared to cope with the haste in which this has been done during the current session of Congress.

Very much to our surprise, the Cooper tariff bill, H. R. 1, is the first to be introduced at this session, and even more alarming is the fact that hearings are scheduled to start on Monday, January 17. This notice is so short that we are simply not able to prepare and present our case.

The congressional delegations from Oregon and Washington have always stood solidly behind the efforts of our filbert and walnut industries in resisting tariff reductions and the ultimate destruction of our business. I am confident we will have the same wonderful support from you and the others during this session. Apparently it is going to be a rugged fight, but we had better win it or we are going to be out of business.

Probably the best immediate service which you can render to us is to get the hearings on H. R. 1 delayed until the nut industry can prepare itself for an adequate presentation.

Sincerely yours,

NORTHWEST NUT GROWERS,
JOHN E. TRUNK,
General Manager.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of January 19 entitled "Our Fiscal Pilots":

The President's annual message on the budget, delivered to the Congress yesterday, contains one short and happily phrased statement of philosophy that will remain with many readers after the myriad of other words and the regiment after regiment of accompanying statistics have become a blur. It reads: "A liberal attitude toward the welfare of the people and a conservative approach to the use of their money have shaped the budget."

The story of the budget over the past 2 years has been the story of an administration which was pledged to a balanced budget struggling to make good on that promise in the face of a downward readjustment in the economy stemming from the end of the fighting war in Korea and the leveling off of the rearmament effort. In this situation the administration found itself being sniped at from one direction or another whatever step it decided to take in the field of fiscal policy. But, surveying the results of its activities in this area as it is possible to see them in the new budget, one is impressed with the fact that, while the administration has been compelled at times to reduce speed of its program, and even go out of its course, it has never taken its eyes off that objective.

The evidence on this point, even after 2 short years, is irrefutable. Consider, for example, what has happened to Government spending, which must be the focal point of any budget-balancing program. From $74.3 billions in 1953 it has been reduced each successive year. In the budget recommended yesterday for 1955–56, Mr. Eisenhower put spending at $62.4 billions, or $11.9 billions under 1953. Since the President foresees revenue receipts of $60 billions, this would make the prospective deficit for the coming year $2.4 billions. That would be the smallest deficit incurred since 1951, and would compare with the $9.4 billion deficit bequeathed to the Eisenhower administration by its predecessors in 1953.

Again, consider the figure for total cash receipts and expenditures anticipated in the year 1955–56 (better known as the cash budget). This version of the budget (which is customarily employed in measuring the net impact of the budget on the economy in terms of inflation or deflation) reveals a prospective surplus of about $600 millions, compared with deficits for 1954 and 1955 of $2 billions and $2.4 billions, respectively.

Finally, there is the test of budgetary intentions and budgetary progress to be found in the President's recommendations for appropriations and authority to incur obligations. It is testimony to the determination with which the budget problem has been attacked that, for the third consecutive year, 1956 is expected to produce a budgetary picture in which new authorizations will be under estimated current revenue receipts.

Critics who have chided the administration with failing to balance the budget, on the one hand, or balancing the budget at the expense of human welfare have, of course, been merely committing assault and battery on straw men set up for the purpose. The important thing is that the budget has in fact been brought under control; and in the sense that recurring and increasing deficits had been a threat to the integrity of the dollar, that threat, with the prospective balancing of the cash budget for 1956, has been eliminated. If the administration, as critics of the left have charged, had been inclined to balance the budget at the expense of jobs and public welfare, it could have accomplished it last year.

Last year the administration turned back to the public $7.5 billions in taxes, the biggest tax reduction in a single year in the Nation's history. For the coming year, with business on the upbeat, the administration has decided just as judiciously that taxes should be held where they are, though this means asking extension for another year of corporate income taxes and certain excise taxes scheduled to be reduced next April 1. In short, what we have been witnessing over these last 2 years has been a demonstration of fiscal navigation by pilots who not only know where they are going, but who also are thoroughly aware that in navigation, unlike geometry, a straight line is by no means always the shortest distance between two points.

Modern Supercarriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, January 19, 1955, the Washington Post and Times Herald carried an article by John W. Finney, of the United Press, quoting the distinguished Democratic chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from Missouri, as recommending the scuttling of the new so-called supercarrier.

The gentleman from Missouri is quoted as saying he "does not approve of expenditures of enormous sums on aircraft carriers when authorities say that no one carrier will be afloat for more than 10 hours after war is declared."

Who the authorities referred to are, I do not know, of course, but I am sure they do not include any GI's, those American authorities who thanked God for the overhead protection of carrier-based naval planes in the recent uphappy Korean police action. Nor could they include former General of the Army Omar N. Bradley, because shortly after his retirement as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he wrote an article in the August 29, 1953, issue of the Saturday Evening Post in which he said:

One of the enemy's first major efforts, in case of war, might be to destroy our retaliatory power by knocking out the air bases from which out atomic planes can take off. The location of most of these bases is well known. Carriers are also vulnerable, but their location, as they range the seas is hard to keep track of. They can be here today and 800 miles away tomorrow. The knowledge that planes from such carriers can join in the atomic attack must be a powerful additional deterrent to any totalitarian leaders who are thinking of starting a world war.

General Bradley referred to the primary Navy mission keeping sealanes open.

But he added:

In my opinion, the primary mission of the big carriers is shifting toward strategic air attack.

Mr. Speaker, I just wonder what authority would dare to recommend the risk of scuttling the aircraft carrier—just what authorities would jeopardize our military strength by such a policy. If no one carrier would be afloat 10 hours after war is declared, just what would have happened in the meantime to our nonmobile land airbases. The location and dispersal of carriers over the oceans would not be known to the enemy and it is conceivable that the carriers might be the only means of landing aircraft left to us 10 hours after war was declared.

Aircraft carriers, as I understand it, form the backbone of our strategic sea defense and attack force. Modern carriers are capable of delivering the most powerful atomic bombs on long-range missions at faster than 700 miles-an-hour speed. The Navy's supersonic planes combat ceiling is higher than 40,000 feet; they can carry all the latest type of weapons, bombs, and air-launched missiles. The carrier force is mobile, flexible, and supportable and can operate on 70 percent of the globe.

Maybe the H-bomb will be used in the next war; maybe it will not. In either case, the carrier is our best hope of being able to transport land troops and support the world system of land airbases we have established throughout the world.

Thus far in history, it has been command of the sea which preserved national freedom; now it may be command of the air over land and sea and maybe under the latter.

Peace in southeast Asia or peace throughout the world cannot be preserved by guided missiles alone nor by capacity for mass destruction abroad. Localized warfare of slow, sinister expansion and infiltration requires mobility and manpower. For example, a revolution in Central or South America or a remote part of the world could not be met by B–47 bombers. One aircraft carrier or a "killer unit" dispatched to a trouble spot with a few marines may put out a fire before it gets started.

God help this great Nation of ours if we discard our basic strategic offensive and defensive weapons, the aircraft carriers, and decide the next war, of necessity, will be an H-bomb air war with the destruction of all civilization and no land or sea forces needed.

President Eisenhower on the advice I am sure of our best military minds has recommended continuation of the program of constructing modern aircraft carriers capable of handling larger, heavier and faster planes. If you scuttle this carrier program, you scuttle the Navy. Moscow and Peiping would like that. Those are the only authorities I know of who want our aircraft carriers scuttled.

Now I do not question the sincere desire of the gentleman from Missouri to curtail Federal appropriations. The gentleman, moreover, is entitled to his views as to the type of offense and defense this country can afford. But I hope the gentleman will not close his mind to recommendations of our best military brains, including the President. The Appropriations Committee and this Congress realize I hope on the aircraft carrier "humanity with all its fears, with all its hopes of future years, is hanging breathless on thy fate."

After Us, the Deluge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRADY GENTRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. GENTRY. Mr. Speaker, in his 1952 campaign, the President delivered numerous telling blows against great public debt, deficit spending, and irresponsible fiscal policy.

Then in his first state of the Union message 2 years ago, following his election, the President repeatedly expressed his great concern regarding the financial condition of our Government. Early in that message he stated:

Our immediate task is to chart a fiscal and economic policy that can reduce the planned deficits and balance the budget.

A few paragraphs later in the same message, the President stated:

The first order of business is the elimination of the annual deficit.

Later, in the same message, the President, still sorely troubled by the financial condition of our country, said:

A balanced budget is an essential first measure in checking further depreciation in the buying power of the dollar.

The President could not get this burdensome problem off his mind. Only a few paragraphs later, in the same message, he said:

If the budget is balanced, the tax burden that today stifles initiative can and must be eased.

The President, in that first message 2 years ago, still had not concluded with the problem which he then must have felt was the most important confronting him and our country. Again he said:

The national debt is now more than $265 billion. In addition, the accumulated obligational authority of the Federal Government for future payments totals over $80 billion. Even this amount is exclusive of large contingent liabilities so numerous and extensive as to be almost beyond description. • • • The present authorized Government debt limit is $275 billion. The forecast presented by the outgoing administration with the fiscal year 1954 budget indicates that before the end of the fiscal year and at the beginning of demand for payments during that year the total Government debt may approach and even exceed that limit. Unless budget deficits are checked, the momentum of past programs will force an increase in the statutory debt limit.

The President neither exaggerated nor unduly emphasized the true condition of the Federal Treasury. Every Member of Congress knows—in fact, all the people of our country know—that there were compelling reasons for the great concern expressed by him. The banks of our Nation then had, and still have at the present time, Government I O U's in their listed assets equal to four and one-half times their combined capital stocks, surpluses, and undivided profits. The insurance companies of our country held in their portfolios at that time, and still do, twice as much in Government I O U's as the amount of the combined capital stocks of all the insurance companies of our Nation. Government I O U's then comprised, and still do today, a great portion of the life savings of a large percentage of our citizens.

Did the Government have the money to pay these debts 2 years ago? No. Does the Government have the money to pay our astronomical national debt, or even any part of it, today? No. All the Government has is the authority to levy taxes against the people of our country and require the people to take up their own I O U's with any savings they still may happen to have. Taxes, high as they are, still do not come close to paying even our current yearly expenses, much less anything on our debt. Meanwhile, more and more of the savings of our people and our institutions are being taken by the Government and our debt continues to grow because of actions by the Chief Executive and the Congress.

So, the situation today is just as urgent, in fact it is more urgent, than it was during the 1952 campaign and at the time the President delivered his ringing denunciation of deficit financing and unwieldy public debt in his first state-of-the-Union message. It is more urgent because we owe more money than we did then. It is more urgent because we are now increasing this debt at a time when the President himself says we are at peace. At the time the President was repeatedly stressing his great worries about our financial status and saying it must be corrected, we were in the midst of a costly war and the opportunity to make the correction was not as great as it is today. Even though we have not been engaged in a fighting war for almost 2 years now and the time would seem to be ripe to put our financial house in order, the President's fears of yesterday, the expressed pledges of his platform of 1952, and even the record of the first 2 years of his administration seem to have been forgotten.

It is sad to relate, therefore, that we still have deficit financing, the national debt continues to soar, the savings of more and more people and institutions are being expended and given away throughout the world, and the idea that the Government can do everything for a citizen better than he can do it for himself is to have even greater emphasis.

On the 6th of this month, the President delivered another state-of-the-Union address to the new 84th Congress. I heard it in person and I have since read it three times. On each successive reading I became more amazed. You will not find in this message even a bare mention of our overpowering public debt. It is as silent as the tomb regarding it. Can you imagine a President devoting almost an hour to the exposition of the state of our Nation and making no mention whatever of the deplorable fact that $280 billion of the savings of our people is represented solely by I O U's which the Government cannot pay because it does not have the funds, a debt that even now, in a period proclaimed by the President himself in his message to be one of peace and prosperity, is being allowed to increase every single day? It would seem that, by all odds, some of the most salient passages in a message to the Congress on the state of the Union should concern its financial condition.

And, what does this recent state of the Union message say about balancing the budget, that nightmare which concerned the President so greatly in the campaign of 1952 and in his state-of-the-Union address 2 years ago? Here is the one small mention:

Government efficiency and economy remain essential to steady progress toward a balanced budget.

You may search this message high and low but this one light touch will be found to be the only fleeting reference to the deplorable fact that this Nation of ours still is not able to live within its income.

The President's address, couched in lofty phrases as all such messages are, shows why our financial situation was not even discussed, after enunciating very fine principles of Government, it becomes a promise of something for everybody, a vast grab-bag designed to kill everybody with kindness. It recommends more and greater Federal activities. It makes it certain that more deficit financing and more debt will be the order of the day and that more and more layers of government will be placed on the backs of an already tax-burdened people. It will add to a Federal bureaucracy already so vast that just its civilian employees' salaries now amount to $10 billion annually, an item that alone devours more than $200 in taxes yearly from each American family. This one item now costs the taxpayers 14 times as much as it cost to operate the entire Government of this Nation, including the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, as late as the year 1916.

What recommendations are contained in this message which make more deficit financing, more debt and more fiscal irresponsibility a certainty? Among many other things, it recommends reinsurance of health insurance and public housing, both of which are pure, unadulterated socialism. If these adornments of the welfare state are to become permanent, full-grown cancers on our body politic, we can forever say goodbye to responsible fiscal management and embrace deficit financing and overpowering public debt as permanent fixtures of our economic life. A survey already made shows that it would cost the Government more than $100 billion in additional taxes on our people to give public housing to those who are claimed to be entitled to it. No one knows how much in additional, onerous taxes the Congress would finally have to take from the taxpayers if reinsurance of health insurance also becomes a malignant appendage of our Government.

This message clearly indicates that we are to have an entirely new injection of the opiate of paternalism in the educational field. Where are we to get this money? The Treasury is completely bare. Are we to take more of the people's savings and issue them more Government certificates of credit in order that Washington will get credit for being a benefactor of education? What is to happen to the oft-repeated pronouncements of the last 2 years that invasion of States rights was at an end? We cannot make this appropriation today without making it yearly hereafter because, once given, it will be repeated because of public clamor. Certainly the States should not submit to this malign approach and be coolingly seduced while surrendering their inherent rights. The offer of Federal funds for education on a large scale would be a deception because the Federal Government actually cannot give anything to the States which it does not first get from the States. When the Federal Government starts giving the States bouquets, you can be assured that they were first plucked from the States' own gardens. It is worthy of note, however, that a large part of the plucking is used by the Federal Government in costly bureaucratic administration, the States getting back only a residue. Would not the Government now do well to put its own financial house in order and cease its prostitution of the rights and authority of the States through the subterfuge that it is giving them something?

The state of the Union message did not set out the details regarding what was desired in foreign aid. But the budget message this week stated that it should be the same as last year, approximately $5 billion. You will recall that more than $50 billion of American taxpayers' money has been lavished on foreign nations throughout the world during the last few years, especially in Europe. Europe is prosperous today. Her production is almost twice as great as it was when World War II commenced. Both her unemployment and public debt are much less than our own. While we have 3 million unemployed and are increasing our debt, there is no unemployment in Great Britain and France and Britain's budget is balanced. There are more than $10 billion of our aid today in the pipeline for foreign nations, including Great Britain and France, which they have not yet been able to spend because of the vastness of our extreme generosity. While we are still being requested to give even more to Europeans, we are to concentrate on massive aid for the hundreds of millions of Asiatics in order to demonstrate our bigness of heart and our great regard for their well-being. This will, of course, require billions more of our taxpayers' money and, even worse, billions in additional debt for future generations to try to pay. This proposal seems to make a piker of Henry Wallace who made the suggestion several years ago that we should try to furnish milk to the Asiatics, a suggestion for which he was generally ridiculed.

The President's state of the Union address advised us that the National Advisory Committee on Highways had recently reported to him, advising what should be done with reference to highways. The President will transmit his recommendation to Congress on this subject on January 27. Since the Committee appointed by the President has had meetings with various groups in support of its plan, it is indicated that the President approves it and will recommend it.

There are approximately 720,000 miles of highways in our country which have been accepted by the Federal Government as worthy of Federal aid under the constitutional provision making roads a Federal responsibility. Thirty-eight thousand miles of these highways constitute what is usually known as the strategic or interstate system. These 38,000 miles are our main highways and carry approximately one-seventh of the total traffic. Because of the great sum the President probably will recommend to be spent on these 38,000 miles, it is worthy of note that in the period of 1916 to 1955—the entire life of the Federal Bureau of Public Roads and of organized highway construction in our country—there has been expended by the Federal Government on the full 720,000 miles of the Federal aid system the sum of slightly more than $7 billion. Of this amount, less than $2 billion was expended on the strategic system of 38,000 miles. It is obvious that the President is correct when he says that the past and present rate of contribution by the Government will never result in good highways for that part of our highway system which, by its very nature, is of greatest concern to the Federal Government.

The plan of the Advisory Highway Commission provides for the establishment by Congress of a new Federal corporation which, without income or assets, would issue $25 billion in 30-year bonds. Regardless, the United States Treasury would be obligated to pay the bonds, with interest. Interest would approximate $12 billion. If the bonds are actually liquidated in the 30-year period, a very unlikely possibility, the $25 billion expended on roads would therefore cost the taxpayers $37 billion. It is unlikely, however, that $25 billion in highway value would be realized. Since the $25 billion is to be put under contract in the short period of 10 years, it is most likely that contract prices would soar. The Government will be fortunate to receive as much, say, as $23 billion in road value for the $37 billion they will cost.

The absolute necessity for still another Federal agency with reference to this program is not entirely clear. It may be felt by some that this method makes it appear that the national debt is not being raised by the amount of the bonds. It is unmistakable that this plan will increase the national debt $25 billion, and, with other deficits proposed by the President in the budget, will carry our great debt to well beyond $300 billion. The Government and its citizens cannot escape any of its full responsibility under this proposal even though it is possibly open to the charge that it would make it easy to have your cake and eat it, too. No financial gimmick has ever been devised which will do that. Financial legerdemain will not eliminate the stark reality that the adoption of this proposal places an additional $25 billion mortgage on the taxpayers of our country.

If the Congress is to adopt the proproposed method in building highways, it is certain that its action would open the floodgates of pressure for it to utilize the same method in doing all manner of things, a proposal already advanced with respect to educational support in a leading article last week in the Christian Science Monitor. It could mean that financial irresponsibility would run riot, as some may think has already happened.

The Commission's plan is astronomical in cost and a radical and dangerous departure from normal governmental practices in problems of such great magnitude. In any event, Congress should give critical apraisal to all its aspects before adopting it. We could secure $12 billion more in road value by spreading the construction over 30 years, rather than by doing it through the use of bonds over a 10-year period. We would also avoid raising our enormous debt by $25 billion at one fell swoop. The saving of this $12 billion, at the loss of some time, would seem to be worthy of serious consideration because the need for more and better highways in our country is almost without limit.

It is easy to see that we do not have to go on forever incurring deficits, raising taxes, and increasing burdens on our people each year. There admittedly is much attraction in spending vast sums of money in doing something for a lot of people regardless of the desperate measures necessary to get the money. But there are times when sound judgment dictates that Congress should not further extend the credit of our Government. Has that time not arrived? Is it not here right now? If we are willing to forego foreign aid for just 1 year, the budget can be balanced. If we will also reject reinsurance of health insurance, public housing, school construction, and cultural appreciation as proper fields for Federal Government activities while in our present straitened financial circumstances, we can soon reduce taxes.

We do not have one dime in the Treasury with which to comply with the President's many requests for additional Federal activities requiring additional expenditures. We can only do these things by further threatening the solvency of our Nation. With a Government debt today of $7,000 against each and every American family, with our Treasury already drowning in red ink, with a current budget amounting to more than $1,400 in yearly taxes for each family in our Nation, these are extremely dangerous things to do. If we will resolve not to support so great a concentration of bureaucratic power, we will begin living on our income and the people will take heart that we are to have responsible fiscal policy. Even though it might not be considered dynamic, it would be a constructive thing for our country and its people. If given a fair trial, it might even be found to have some political attraction, the native intelligence and commonsense of our people being what it is.

In our service here in behalf of the people, would it not be well to remember the words of eternal wisdom uttered by a great statesman and President, Woodrow Wilson, when he said:

A concentration of governmental power always precedes the death of human freedom.

Tariff on Swiss Watches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over station WRC, Washington, D. C., January 18, 1955:

RECENT ACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO TARIFFS ON SWISS WATCHES

Tonight I would like to discuss with you a matter which is vitally essential to the well-being of the Nation as a whole and my own Fifth District of Maryland in particular.

I am referring to a healthy and expanding system of world trade, without which the United States cannot maintain a share of world markets essential to our economic growth and rising standard of living. Foreign markets are indispensible not only for

agriculture, but also for our mass production industries.

Other countries cannot be expected to open their markets wide for American-made goods when protective tariffs prevent them from earning enough United States dollars with which to pay for purchases of United States goods. As the world's principal trading nation, it is up to the United States to take the lead in a movement for mutual reduction of trade barriers.

I was heartened by the President's liberalized proposals in the field of foreign trade and tariffs as outlined in his trade message to the Congress last week. I was particularly pleased that the President recognized tobacco as one of the agriculture products dependent upon foreign markets for high levels of income. For most of the $10 million worth of tobacco exported annually is grown in southern Maryland.

However, I was dismayed to read in the press a few days later that the Treasury Department had issued an order establishing further restrictive regulations on Swiss watch imports, contradictory to the stated objectives of the President's liberal foreign-trade program.

My concern over this action is readily understood when it is realized that the Swiss are the largest purchasers of high-grade Maryland export tobacco. And if the Swiss cannot sell their watches in the United States then they will not have the money with which to purchase Maryland tobacco, as well as cotton and textile products, machinery and vehicles, food products, and the many other items we sell them. Swiss purchases of United States products total approximately $85 million a year.

You know, someone has said that if you make a statement often enough even if it be not true, or only partly true, in time it will come to be believed by great numbers of people. This matter of tariffs on Swiss watch imports, it seems to me, falls into that category. So, let's start at the beginning and get the whole story.

In 1936, as part of the reciprocal-trade program, the United States negotiated an agreement with the Swiss Government which, on its part, made certain trade concessions so that American-made goods could be more readily sold in Switzerland.

As a result, trade between the United States and Switzerland flourished. Since 1936, the United States has sold to the people of Switzerland one-half billion dollars more of our products than we have purchased of Swiss products. Anyone can see at a glance how beneficial this arrangement has been for the farmers, workers, and industries of the United States. It has been particularly beneficial to southern Maryland which depends upon tobacco as a cash crop and the fine Swiss market these tobacco farmers have enjoyed has made a good price on the whole for all Maryland tobacco.

In addition, our trade with Switzerland has resulted in excellent friendly relation with that country and has become a world symbol of the advantages of reciprocal-trade arrangements with the United States.

The adverse effects of the administration's action to increase barriers against the import of Swiss watch movement are too obvious to recount. American farmers, industry, and prestige have and will suffer substantial damage while the domestic watch industry will profit little, if anything from this action. Trade with the Swiss is under a reciprocal agreement. It stands to reason that this action will result in a reciprocal removal of concessions granted on our own exports by the Swiss.

Now let's examine the claim by domestic watchmakers that they have suffered serious injury from increased Swiss watch imports. The Tariff Commission looked into this matter last year but failed to come to a unanimous agreement. Only 4 of the 6 Commissioners agreed that the United States watch industry was being damaged. The two dissenters said there was no evidence that Swiss watch movements are being imported in such increased quantities, actual or relative, as to cause or threaten serious injury to the domestic industries producing like or directly competitive products.

It is remarkable to note that every domestic watchmaker except one imports movements and markets them under his own trade name. Therefore, it is somewhat ironical that the domestic watch industry should claim injury from an increase in imports for which they themselves are primarily responsible. It should also be noted that the increase in duties affects a class of watch imports that is not competitive with domestic watch production.

The claim of injury is not supported by the financial condition of domestic watch manufacturers. The industry is thriving and enjoyed in 1953 its biggest financial year.

The Treasury Department weighs heavily on the defense aspects in raising new trade barriers against imported Swiss watches. It rationalizes that the move is necessary because the domestic watch industry is vitally essential to national defense. If a nation cannot achieve an adequate national defense without a productive watch industry, as is claimed by United States watchmakers, why then are we so apprehensive of the military might of Russia? Everyone knows that Russia had no watchmaking industries. Yet we recognize Russia as a potentially powerful military foe. However, we do have a healthy watch industry. The American total sales of this industry averaged in excess of $90 million between 1946 and 1950 and rose to a record high of over $150 million in 1953. This increased production certainly isn't losing essential jobs for the watch industry that are necessary to meet defense needs. But the domestic watch industry isn't the only source of skilled precision workers. An attempt has been made to give the impression that only the watchmaking industry has the skills which can manufacure time fuses and other precision devices used in the manufacture of weapons for our Armed Forces.

There are four domestic watchmaking companies in the United States. However, data assembled by the Senate Armed Services Committee shows that there are a whole host of other companies not engaged in the manufacture of watches capable of producing time fuses. In fact, the figures show that the companies not engaged in watchmaking have produced substantially more time-fuse devices than the domestic watch industry. I do not mean to say by this that a healthy watch industry is not a good thing. We have always had it and still have such an industry. Indeed, during the 18 years the reciprocal trade agreement between Switzerland and this country has been in effect our domestic watch industry has grown, expanded its plant, increased its capital worth, paid dividends, and enjoyed unparalleled success in the domestic watch market. It has made valuable contributions to and occupies an important position in our national defense.

Increasing trade barriers on Swiss watches constitutes a serious blow to our position of leadership in the free world. The accelerated trade offensive by the Russians, with the trade blandishments that have been offered our allies, has proved alarmingly successful. A considerable number of trade agreements have been signed between the East and the countries of Western Europe. It is noteworthy that the Communist press in Western Europe has recently begun a propaganda campaign directed at the Swiss watch industry. This propaganda has stressed the unreliability of the United States market and the desirability of trading with the Soviet bloc. The fact that Russia does not have a watchmaking industry emphasizes the strategic implications of the Soviet trade offensive.

I hope that I have been able to give you the other side of this matter in a manner which will dispel what I believe to be created misunderstanding of the facts.

This is a most serious matter. It affects our leadership in the free world. It affects the economic well-being of a large segment of our population. It should be given careful consideration by the administration.

On March 15 the Tariff Commission is scheduled to report to the Congress as to the proper and orderly way to handle the problem of revision of customs classifications. The Office of Defense Mobilization has established an interdepartmental committee to recommend ways in which the skills of precision workers necessary to national defense could be secured. No action should be taken until these reports are available.

The President's policy on foreign trade has been clearly defined. We can only hope that all the branches of his administration will act consistently to bring about its accomplishment.

The Broken Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Telegram-News, Lynn, Mass., Sunday, October 3, 1954:

MCCORMACK REVEALS BROKEN GOP PLEDGES

This is the time of year when the voters are deluged with political propaganda by the candidates either seeking reelection or endeavoring to replace those now holding office.

It is the time of the year when voters will be promised everything under the sun by some of the candidates. It behooves the voters to listen, read, and then reach their own conclusions.

But how many times can the voters be fooled? Two years ago the Republican administration promised the people everything. They knew right well they would never keep the promises, and they never did.

Congressman JOHN W. MCCORMACK, former majority leader in Congress, and one of the outstanding Americans in public life, is a man who can be trusted. He has won the confidence and respect of the people of the Nation. He is a national figure. When he utters a statement you can be certain of the truth of it.

Congressman MCCORMACK listed the broken promises and discarded pledges of the Republican administration in a recent speech. He has the facts, and the record of the GOP administration is an open book.

Among the many promises was President Eisenhower's personal and specific pledge to the people of Lawrence. It was a promise that the labor-distressed city would get Government contracts to provide jobs for the unemployed. Congressman MCCORMACK points out that conditions in Lawrence are worse today than 2 years ago.

Vice President NIXON visited Massachusetts last week asking for votes, and while in this State he said: "An administration is known by the pledges it keeps." Congressman Mc-

CORMACK immediately joined him in that issue.

The veteran Congressman then listed 14 broken promises and discarded pledges by the Republican administration.

Some of the pledges include: The great crusade, liberation of enslaved peoples, balanced budget, lower national debt, greater prosperity, lower living cost, and unemployment. These were either broken or forgotten.

No man is more highly regarded for truth and veracity in the Halls of Congress than Congressman MCCORMACK. He is able, brilliant, and an intelligent leader. He is a man of his word. He keeps his pledges and promises.

Congressman MCCORMACK is the leading Catholic layman in the country. He is loved and respected by all faiths, creeds, and colors. His service to mankind is written on the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

No man could accomplish so much for the betterment of the people without assistance. In his case, Mrs. McCormack has been an elevating influence in the great work. She has given up an operatic career to join with her husband in the service of the people. She has been honored by Archbishop Richard J. Cushing and Pipe Pius XII.

Mrs. McCormack received the Papal Medal for zealous interest in war-stricken China. She is only the second American woman to receive such an award. She has also received many other honors.

Congressman MCCORMACK will continue to work for the people of this Nation with increased zeal until victory has been achieved over those who make promises and then either break or forget them.

You can't fool all the people all the time.

The Dairyman's Self-Help Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced for appropriate reference a bill to provide an adequate, balanced, and orderly flow of dairy products in domestic and foreign commerce; to stabilize prices of milk and dairy products; to impose a stabilization fee on the marketing of milk and butterfat; and for other purposes. Favorable action on this bill, which contains proposals for a dairyman's self-help plan, would, I believe, be definitely in the public interest. Enactment of this program would mean, among other things:

First. Relieving the taxpayers of the burden of the price-support program for dairy products.

Second. Getting the Government out of the dairy business and permitting the dairy farmers to operate their own program of price stabilization, surplus proposal, and production stabilization.

ITS BENEFITS TO CONSUMERS; TO PRODUCERS

For the consumers it would accomplish the aims of present laws—the maintenance of a stabilized continuous and adequate supply of milk and dairy products at fair prices. More than that, it would protect the consumers from unduly high prices caused by either, first, a shrinking of present dairy supplies, or, second, arbitrary overpricing of milk or dairy products.

For the producers, it would mean stabilized prices at levels to provide a fair return commensurate with the cost of production, and the investment and risk involved in the dairy-farmer operation.

ITS ADVANTAGES OVER THE PRESENT PRICE-SUPPORT PROGRAM

Under the existing Government price-support program dairy products are supported at percentage-of-parity figures determined within certain limits by the Secretary of Agriculture. The support prices are maintained through the purchase, by the Commodity Credit Corporation, of dairy production which is in excess of that required by current trade outlets. Surplus stocks acquired by the Government are disposed of in various domestic and foreign channels, mostly in giveaway welfare programs or at loss figures.

Under the proposed self-help program dairy product prices would also be supported—but not at Government expense. Compare the results under the two programs under conditions in 1954.

First. Under the present Government price-support program, support prices in 1954 were set at 75 percent of parity. Prices to farmers dropped. As a result dairy farmers, by and large, have increased or intend to increase their production to compensate for lower returns. Milk production in 1954 was an unprecedented nearly 124 billion pounds. Estimates for 1955 indicate continued production at this high level.

Second. Under the self-help program price supports conceivably would have remained at 90 percent of parity. At these price levels there would not have been the incentive to compensate for lower returns by higher production. Farmers' prices would have been higher by 60 cents a hundredweight. The cost of this program would have been borne by the producers. It would have cost them about 23 cents per hundredweight if all of the surplus production had been a total loss. But they would have had a net gain of 37 cents per hundredweight under their own program.

Under the self-help plan the trend toward greater production would have been minimized; the cost to the taxpayers would have been nil; the cost to the producer would have been much more than offset by higher net returns.

MECHANICS OF THE SELF-HELP PLAN

The self-help program would be financed by the collection of a stabilization fee—somewhat in the nature of a license fee—from each producer on his volume of milk or butterfat.

The size of the stabilization fee would be specifically limited to the proportionate amount required to run the program each year. In times of excessive surplus production, the fee would be high and would serve as a means of production control. When production became in line with demand, the amount of the fee would be very small. By relating the amount of the fee directly to the cost of the program farmers will each year pay their proper share of the cost of maintaining an improved market for that year. This has many advantages. It is flexible, it is in line with the general principle of cooperative marketing, and it very promptly and directly reflects in the farmers check the extent of surplus production and the degree of his cooperation in getting supplies in line with demand.

The program would be operated by a Federal Dairy Stabilization Board consisting of 15 members appointed by the President from nominees selected by milk producers. The Board would be authorized to borrow up to $500 million from the Commodity Credit Corporation to get started. All sums actually borrowed would be repaid with interest. It is not contemplated that any Government funds will be used after the board gets established, but the borrowing power would remain in effect as a backlog which could be used in an emergency.

Appointment of a Federal Dairy Advisory Committee of 12 would be authorized. In selecting this committee the Secretary of Agriculture would give equal recognition to representatives of, first, manufacturers, processors, handlers, and distributors of milk and dairy products; second, consumers; third, other agricultural commodities or programs that may be affected by the dairy stabilization program; fourth, foreign nations that may be affected by the policies and operations relating to imports and exports of milk and dairy products; and, fifth, other interests which the Secretary determines are directly concerned with the operation of the act.

PROGRAM SAFEGUARDED AGAINST ABUSE

The self-help program is designed to be self-policing as to abuses in its administration. Furthermore, supervision by the Secretary of Agriculture would be provided by a section similar to section 2 of the Capper-Volstead law under which the Secretary would be empowered to intervene should the operations result in undue enhancement of prices.

As for the self-policing features, and as far as the consumer is concerned, the success of the program must depend largely on the effective merchandising of milk and dairy products. Prices would have to be kept in balance with the prices of other foods to maintain sales volume. Theer simply is no possibility of the board maintaining prices which are too high in relation to the prices for other foods.

The program is equally self-policing from the producer viewpoint. Producer prices would have to be reasonably related to returns from other agricultural commodities. If the board should attempt to set producer prices too high, a shift to increased production would occur. The increased cost of disposing of the surplus would be charged to the dairy farmers. The fact that the same farmers producing the surplus would have to pay the costs of its disposal would make it impractical for the board to maintain producer prices at an unreasonably high level.

The proposals and objectives of the self-help plan are such that Congress should carefully consider the proposed legislation. The dairy farmer represents the largest single segment of farming and

20 percent of the total farm income. This bill represents a move on the part of this group to obtain, finance, and direct its own price support and production stabilization program. This, I believe, is an objective within the American concept of free enterprise and individual determination of economic welfare.

The Need for a Realistic Tariff Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial.

The editorial referred to appeared in the Press-Democrat, published in Santa Rosa, Calif., on Thursday, January 13, 1955, and is strictly in line with my own thinking to the effect that we must establish a realistic foreign trade program.

The coastal area in the northern part of California and in my congressional district produces a great amount of crabs which are sold in the fresh and canned form. At the present time 60 percent of the canned crab being consumed in the United States is produced in Japan, and imported at a price which has practically stopped the processing of crab on the west coast. The price of crabmeat has been driven to such a low point that it is almost financially impossible for domestic fishermen to operate and to catch a natural resource in our Pacific coast waters.

It is possible that the tariff rate on this product is presently too low. To reduce the tariff would force the termination of this industry, displace thousands of workers, and make useless millions of dollars invested in facilities now in use.

Tariff rates should not be used in international politics but should be based entirely on economics. The above mentioned editorial follows:

EQUITABLE TARIFF LAW DIFFICULT TO ARRIVE AT

Action of Representatives HUBERT SCUDDER, of California; WALTER NORBLAD, of Oregon; and RUSSELL MACK, of Washington, in preparing to fight tariff reductions on imported crab meat pointed up one of the major difficulties in trying to stimulate world trade.

Obviously, foreign nations cannot buy American goods unless they sell things in the United States to earn American dollars. In the case of Japan, which is the principal supplier of crab meat to the American market, and which would benefit from a tariff reduction, that country is in dire financial straits. It is virtually barren of raw materials. It must manufacture and export, or else perish. Sea foods are one of the few raw materials it can obtain without purchasing with foreign money.

It is equally obvious that there is a point below which American fishermen cannot comepte with the Japanese. That point probably has been reached right now. Redwood Empire crab fishermen are at work, but the prices they are receiving are not going to make any of them rich. Sonoma County processing plants are not handling crab, for the reason that they cannot pay even the existing low prices for crab and come out.

Wine-growers of the Redwood Empire face the same problem.

The ideal tariff is one which permits free competition between foreign and domestic producers of any product. Producers of the Redwood Empire heartily favor such tariffs.

There is no common sense, and no justice, in tariff rates so high that they create monopolies for American producers. And there is no common sense, and no justice, in rates so low that American producers are forced out of existence.

Nixon Under Attack—Intimidation Object of Big Smear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of January 12, 1955:

NIXON UNDER ATTACK—INTIMIDATION OBJECT OF BIG SMEAR

The vicious smear attacks against Vice President NIXON involve not only a man but an important political principle.

When the lies and innuendoes are pushed to one side, the attack against the Vice President simmers down to the question of whether a political party and its leaders should conduct a hard-hitting campaign, or whether they should talk only in terms of sweetness and light.

The Democrats have underway what Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall calls a highly organized campaign to besmirch the Vice President of the United States.

The leaders of both parties have studied the record and know that what Mr. NIXON said and what he is accused of saying are two far different matters.

Those who now attempt to smear the Vice President accuse him of hitting below the belt by discussing internal subversion.

Mr. NIXON did discuss the gains made by the Communist Party during the Truman regime, when many of our most valued secrets were stolen. But he also emphasized his belief that the Democratic leadership was loyal. His criticism was that the Democratic chieftains failed to recognize the seriousness of the problem and showed little ability in dealing with it.

Mr. NIXON recalled the Truman "red herring" remark to prove the point. And he discussed the progress made under the Eisenhower security program. The security-risk figures supported his argument here. But he was called a liar and was accused of something called a "numbers game." What nonsense.

The Vice President did not spare the facts. But he did not smear.

Had more Republicans campaigned in 1954 with the vigor shown by Mr. NIXON, the election results conceivably would have been different. The records prove the Vice President's effectiveness, and they show that the voters want more than a few nice compliments. They want the issues discussed.

The Democrats know the effectiveness of a hard-hitting campaign. Those who now criticize applauded in 1948 when Mr. Truman accused the Republicans of aiding Moscow as he ignored many facts in a successful but free-swinging vote drive.

The present campaign has a 1956 target date. If the Truman party leaders can "get NIXON," they will intimidate the Republican Party. If the man who dared voice the facts is smeared seriously enough, others will hesitate to discuss the issues.

When the American people will look closely, they will find that those who now cry "smear" against Mr. NIXON have muddy faces.

The Views of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen on Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial on reciprocal trade appeared in the January 17 issue of the Trainmen News, the official publication of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The editorial reflects the sentiment of the average railroad employee who views with alarm the flood of foreign residual oil which is putting coal miners and railroad employees out of work.

The editorial follows:

WE'RE FOR THIS ONE

While President Eisenhower's recommendations to Congress dealing with the domestic problems of health, housing, and labor law reform were generally inadequate and disappointing, his position on foreign policy deserves the full support of Congress.

Who can quarrel with Mr. Eisenhower when he says that in the free world's struggle with communism, the security of all nations, including our own, is largely dependent on economic strength, which is in turn dependent upon internal productivity and on high levels of international trade.

In today's complex world, no nation can be economically self-sufficient, the President observed.

To encourage international trade, he has asked Congress to extend for a 3-year period a liberalized reciprocal trade agreements act which his own GOP-controlled Congress last year limited to a year. This would give him authority to reduce tariffs as the needs arise to promote this country's buying and selling with other countries.

We are opposed, however, to using such authority to permit the entry into this country of products produced under substandard wage and labor conditions or where slave labor conditions prevail, such as in Venezuela, for example, where an iron-fisted dictatorship prevents free trade unionism. At present, Venezuela residual oil is coming into this country to compete with soft coal as boiler fuel and is further contributing to an already sick coal industry, putting miners out of work and railroad men, too. We're with the United Mine Workers when it comes to objecting to this kind of reciprocal trade application.

This, however, is a matter of administration and does not weaken our support for the overall goals of the President's trade program which is actually only an extension of the policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

If we expect to sell automobiles and the millions of other products which this coun-

try makes best to the countries which need our goods, we've got to make it easier for them to sell us the goods that they best produce. As the Chicago Sun Times observes, foreign economic policy should not be a political football. It should be nonpolitical and no more controversial than the multiplication table.

The reciprocal trade program, properly and wisely administered, will mean expanded trade which in turn means more work for United States labor, and for us, more beans for brakemen, as the BRT's national legislative representative frequently puts it.

Stockpiles of Crude Rubber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, at this particular time, I feel that the following letter from Mr. John Collyer, chairman of the board of the B. F. Goodrich Co., to Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, is of the utmost interest. Under unanimous consent of the House, I include it in today's RECORD:

DECEMBER 31, 1954.

Dr. ARTHUR S. FLEMMING,
Director, Office of Defense Mobilization, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FLEMMING: It is our belief that now, when all Government expenditures are being critically examined, the appropriate departments of Government should bring up to date all facts relating to the Government's strategic stockpile of crude rubber.

Calculations made from published nonclassified figures indicate that the United States Government now owns within our country's borders more than 1,200,000 long tons of crude rubber having an estimated cost of $825 million. If so, the Government stockpile plus private stocks in the United States now total more than 1,300,000 long tons. This, coupled with capacities for the production of man-made rubber in the United States, would, we believe, take care of our country's military and civilian needs during an all-out war of 6 to possibly 8 years' duration. In making this statement, it is assumed that the stocks of rubber would not be destroyed or the plants crippled by enemy or other action.

On October 27, 1948, a special committee from the rubber-manufacturing industry presented to the Government a study of possible crude rubber requirements in the event of a major war. At that time it appeared that if we were to accumulate Government and private crude rubber stocks in our country of 800,000 long tons, such would be adequate for any foreseeable situation, excepting possible enemy or other destruction of such stocks and of the man-made rubber-producing facilities. This strongly suggests that the Government could reduce expenditures by promptly eliminating any further additions to the stockpile and could, by disposing of such excess quantities as are determined to be in the national stockpile, recapture a goodly part of the Government's huge investment in crude rubber. Savings in the costs of warehousing and rotating the then smaller stocks would also result.

It seems to us that the questions which should be answered by Government are:

1. What is the proper stockpile level in the light of current military knowledge and planning, and considering the advancing state of rubber technology? In this connection, it is our understanding that today the Armed Forces of the United States are adequately equipped with most types of finished rubber products, that pipelines are full, and that additional quantities of some finished products are being stored against future needs.

2. How can the present stocks be reduced to a lower level in line with real national defense needs without violating the letter and spirit of the international commitments of our State Department relating to governmental management of the crude rubber stockpile?

The accompanying memorandum gives certain comments and estimates relating to crude rubber stockpile policy.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN COLLYER,
Chairman of the Board,
B. F. Goodrich Co.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT'S CRUDE RUBBER STOCKPILE POLICY

COMMENTS AND ESTIMATES

1. The Government's tonnage goal for a national defense stockpile of crude rubber was established prior to Korea, before the cold war rearmament program was established, and before the development of current military knowledge, thinking, and planning on atomic warfare.

2. Calculations made from published nonclassified figures indicate that more than 1,200,000 long tons have now been accumulated within our country's borders against the stockpile goal. This, together with private stocks held in the United States, gives us an estimated amount of crude rubber exceeding 1,300,000 long tons. The Government's investment of public funds in the stockpile is estimated to approximate $825 million.

3. During 1945, the last year of World War II, rubber products manufacturers were able to supply products of satisfactory quality to our military forces and for essential civilian uses with an average materials ratio of only 13.3 percent crude rubber to 86.7 percent manmade rubbers. The quantity of crude rubber now in this country, including private stocks, is adequate for an all-out war of 6 to possibly 8 years' duration, employing higher ratios of crude rubber to manmade rubbers than in 1945 and after reserving a minimum stock of 150,000 long tons to enable a rapid postwar reconversion to a peacetime economy.

4. In the event of war, manmade rubbers would rapidly replace crude rubber for many essential uses. At the time the stockpile goal was established, several of our manmade rubber-producing facilities were in standby condition and our inventories of manmade rubbers were relatively low. The stockpile goal, therefore, included provision for enough crude rubber to maintain essential rubber products manufacturing during the period when the manmade facilities were being reactivated, and being brought up to capacity output. Today most of our man-made rubber-producing facilities are in operation and their output can be expanded quickly. The quantities of crude rubber originally deemed necessary to maintain essential production at the outset of a war should therefore be substantially less than originally calculated.

5. The purpose of accumulating a national stockpile has been, of course, to insure adequate supplies in case our country was cut off from the major crude rubber growing territories as we were during World War II. Then the Japanese took over areas which had previously supplied us with more than 90 percent of our crude rubber needs. Despite that fact, we were able to import into this country during the 3 years and 8 months of World War II a total of 540,000 long tons of crude rubber. We suggest that a realistic stockpile goal should recognize the probability that some of the crude rubber afloat at the outbreak of hostilities and some of the quantities which would be produced in Africa and South America during a war would be brought into this country.

6. There have been important technological developments in manmade rubbers since the crude rubber stockpile goal was established. The output of the superior cold GR–S has increased greatly, enabling manufacturers to produce better products with higher proportions of manmade rubbers.

7. Because crude rubber is an agricultural product subject to deterioration, the Government's stocks must be regularly inspected and rotated, by sales and replenishment, to maintain adequate quality. The continuing costs of this stockpile maintenance operation are substantially higher than those for maintaining stocks of nondeteriorating materials.

8. There exists in the United States today a large stockpile of finished rubber products, available and ready for use, that did not exist at the time the stockpile goal was established. We understand that our Armed Forces are adequately equipped with most types of finished rubber products, that pipelines are full, and that additional quantities of some finished products are being stored against future needs. Further, there is an existing huge supply of unused mileage in the tires on civilian automobiles and trucks, now greater in number than ever before. Other civilian rubber products are in ample supply. Thus, our requirements of raw crude rubber for original supplies of military and essential civilian products are less than when the stockpile goal was set.

Interstate Compact To Conserve Oil and Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a joint resolution which, if passed by the House and Senate, will extend and renew for a period of 4 years, from September 1, 1955, the Interstate Compact To Conserve Oil and Gas. The language of this resolution, in substance, is identical with a like resolution which was passed 4 years ago, and which has been renewed by the Congress in past sessions covering a period of about 20 years.

The purpose of this resolution is to give the States the authority to more fully cooperate and to enter into a compact, the purpose of which is to conserve oil and gas by prevention of physical waste thereof from any cause.

For the past 20 years under the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, which was formed in 1935 and dedicated to the conservation of oil and gas in the United States, the States have cooperated in a manner that they have not only preserved the fundamental rights of local self-government, but have greatly contributed to the conservation and proper use of the vast natural resources of oil and gas, to the end that the work of the commission has contributed most mate-

rially to the development of one of our great industries, one that is most vital not only to the economy of our Nation but to national defense.

From the beginning of this organization in 1935, it has extended to the point where the governors of 22 States have become members of the compact commission.

Gov. William G. Stratton, of Illinois, at the annual meeting in the latter part of 1954, was elected chairman of the Interstate Compact Commission.

The Interstate Oil Compact Commission under the Interstate Compact To Conserve Oil and Gas is the administrative agency organized to follow out the functions of the compact. The commission consists of one representative from each member State. Under most of the State statutes, the governor is named official representative with authority to appoint a substitute or assistant representative.

The success and accomplishments of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission clearly demonstrates the practicability of voluntary cooperation between the States in the solution of mutual problems.

Formed and existing for the sole purpose of conserving and protecting irreplaceable natural resources, the compact has grown and expanded without precedent in the Nation's history.

Now in its 20th year, this cooperative advisory body is without power of compulsion. Yet it has been aptly called a bulwark against Federal control and pointed out as an example in self-rule. The expression of its objective—"the purpose of this compact is to conserve oil and gas by the prevention of physical waste thereof, from any cause"—has been referred to as "the most powerful 21 words in American industrial life today" and as "words which have changed the course of an industry."

The interstate compact to conserve oil and gas provides a forum for interstate cooperation to prevent avoidable waste of oil and gas, to further efficient practices in oil and gas production and to preserve to the States fundamental rights of local self-government.

I feel sure the Members of the House will want to help continue the great work and the vast benefits the Interstate Oil Compact Commission has brought to the economy of our Nation by giving this resolution their unanimous support.

Irrigation Takes Some Risk Out of Farming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Members of the Congress will be most interested in the ground working of Public Law 597, enacted by the 83d Congress, which was passed by the Congress to enable greater productivity and provide greater water facilities programs throughout the Nation.

At the time the law was adopted—and I am pleased to say that the measure was one of those I worked hard to get passed—it was my thought that the legislation would have a profound effect on the future of our Nation. In addition to the great importance in promoting conservation work, the program would assist also in facilitating long-needed land-use adjustments. I believed that the law would aid in bringing about desirable uses of acres diverted from the production of surplus crops, as well as relieve the danger of drought conditions.

The law has been most beneficial, although the long-range program still needs much work. On the 400 million acres of cropland, surveys of the Soil Conservation Service indicate that erosion is still proceeding at a serious rate on about 200 million acres—about one-half of the total. Most of the grasslands are producing only about half of their potential capacities.

The soil, water, range, and forest resources of the United States are the foundation blocks in the structure of the national economy. From this base comes food, clothing, paper, and other fiber. How well these resources are protected and improved in the years ahead shall determine the standards of living of our Nation's citizens in the towns and the cities as well as our rural businessmen.

With this intention, the Congress enacted Public Law 597. I think that a recent article published in the December issue of the Progressive Farmer and written by Mississippi County Agriculture Agent Keith Bilbry will be of especial interest to those Members who sponsored this law, as well as all the other Members.

I might add that Mr. Bilbry has been a leading agronomist in the State of Arkansas for a number of years, having given 17 years to the study of agriculture and its problems. Mr. Bilbry is also an authority on the adoption of irrigation programs, and his article illustrates the advantages as well as some of the problems our farm citizens have encountered in moving their lands under systems of irrigation and water-control programs.

Mr. Bilbry, in the article, tells the story of the growth of irrigation in Mississippi County. As statistical information background, I might state that in north Mississippi County in 1951 there was very little irrigation practice. As of August 1, 1954, more than 7,000 acres had been placed under irrigation.

Mr. Bilbry's article identifies these practices specifically:

[From the Manila Sentinel of December 24, 1954]

KEITH BILBRY ARTICLE ON IRRIGATION

How did your crops turn out this dry year? It may be a sin to tell you this, but north Mississippi County farmers who irrigated this year harvested bumper crops.

For instance, Earl Wildy cut 34.4 tons of silage per acre and gathered 94 bushels of corn per acre. He irrigated twice.

E. M. Regenold watered some Fox cotton 3 times and expected to harvest between 800 and 900 pounds of lint per acre.

M. J. Koehler harvested about 90 bushels of rice per acre from his first rice crop.

Earl Magers and Mr. Wildy had beautiful Sudan-grass supplemental pastures for their Hereford cattle when farmers without irrigation couldn't even get Sudan to sprout.

Ora Hueter netted $800 per acre from strawberries that had been irrigated.

Irrigated soybeans show promise of profitable increase on Jack Lewis' farm, as well as on Mr. Magers' farm. Mr. Regenold expects a pretty good soybean yield following wheat due to irrigation.

Mr. Wildy carried more than one animal unit per acre all summer on irrigated fescue and clover and Sudan pastures. This is his third year to have such good pastures by irrigation.

We took 325 farmers on a six-stop county-wide irrigation tour this summer. Because of the interest, I think this was the best single-phase educational job I have had the privilege of doing in 17 years of extension-service teaching.

In addition to the fine crops, farmers saw sprinkling and furrow irrigation, use of siphon tubes, gated pipe, and different-size sprinklers from No. 20's to the big No. 90's.

They saw water sources—lakes, streams, ponds, and wells.

They saw 16-inch wells, 12-inch wells, 4-inch wells, and even a series of four 2-inch wells which had been tied together.

They saw power units—14-horsepower gas engines, tractors, and pumps, 135-horsepower motors, engines removed from self-propelled combines, as well as 60-horsepower electric motors.

Should another dry year come, then North Mississippi County farmers may spend more than $4 million on irrigation equipment. They are fed up with 3 years of near crop failures on $22 up to $500 per acre land.

H. C. Knappenberger, a Green Brier Ridge farmer, was the first to irrigate in North Mississippi County—1950 and 1951. This was more or less experimental. The operative furnished part of sprinkling equipment.

In May 1952 James L. Gattis, extension service agricultural engineer, and I held an irrigation demonstration and school on the Earl Wildy farm. Five farmers bought necessary systems and irrigated 215 acres that year.

Ten more farmers irrigated a total of 900 extra acres in 1953.

Thirty-nine more farmers were watering 6,500 more acres by August 1 of this year.

Fifty-four systems were in use August 1 on 7,600 acres of land. In September new systems were going in each week, even though the main irrigating season was over.

All of Mississippi County in Arkansas is delta land with a high water table. Water rises in wells to from 6 to 10 feet of the surface. Most wells are about 110 feet deep, none more than 135 feet. The 2-inch and 3-inch driven wells are 24 to 28 feet deep. There are also several year-round streams or drainage ditches.

At present, 25 farmers are pumping from ditches, 3 from lakes, 5 from big 12-inch to 16-inch wells, 7 from 4-inch to 6-inch wells, 7 from four 2-inch pump points, tied together, and 7 have small systems operating from 2-inch and 3-inch wells.

Investment costs for those having ditch or lake water seem to range between $38 and $45 per acre. When wells are dug, the total cost rises to the $55 to $85 per acre range.

At present, 92 percent of our irrigation is by sprinkler system, 6 percent by flooding, and 2 percent by furrow.

As farmers learn of the relatively new gated pipe, more about land leveling, and to use consulting engineers in planning a system, there will be more furrow irrigation used.

J. W. Rayder is boring a 16-inch well while I am writing this article. It is too late for this year's cotton, corn, and soybeans. I

asked him, "Why not wait until next year?"

Mr. Rayder said, "I spent $1,200 on vetch seed last fall and never got a cent's worth of benefit. I am going to get vetch up this fall. I've got 50 head of cattle and no pasture. They are going to have small grain pasture this winter."

E. M. Regenold, president of the First National Bank, in Blytheville, told more than 325 farmers on tour of his farm, "I'm afraid we are going to be forced to irrigate some. I'm trying it on rice, cotton, and soybeans this year, as you will see."

Mr. Regenold showed a field of highly fertilized, well matured Fox cotton that had been watered twice. It really "took their eye."

He demonstrated the use of gated pipe in furrow irrigation. The crowd was told that irrigation by gated pipe, where possible, was about half as expensive as sprinker irrigation. Mr. Regenold explained that he spent about $50 per acre leveling this land so furlow irrigation would be possible.

Most farmers know that fall-seeded alfalfa and pastures are preferred over spring seeding, but it has just not worked in recent years, due to extremely dry weather. Some of these systems will be used this fall to insure fall-seeded pastures, alfalfa, winter cover crops, and small grains.

The recent new Federal law making it possible to borrow money from the Government to install irrigation, and repay over a long period of years, has increased interest by many times.

Norman Speck keeps asking, "When can I apply for the loan? I want to be one of the first on the list. Three years straight without water is enough for me."

Fant Windham said, "You know I have been talking to you about irrigation for years. Maybe this loan will help me do what I've wanted to do for a long time."

Irrigation is no picnic. It will not solve all your problems. It might not even be profitable for you. To increase yields is one thing, but to increase net income or profit is another. An investment this size demands your serious study and planning. It is hard work to irrigate, to move pipes around in the mud in 100-degree weather.

Earl Wildy told us on tour, "As near as I can tell, it's costing me $3 in labor and fuel to put 2 inches of water on an acre." This is his third year to water cotton, corn, alfalfa, pasture, and Atlas sorgo.

Mr. Wildy and Mr. Regenold both found they could cut fuel cost on their 95-horsepower engines by shifting gasoline to propane.

Jack Lewis and his father watered 220 acres with $8,200 worth of sprinkler equipment ($37.25 per acre). Mr. Lewis said, "It's costing me $3.50 in fuel and labor to put out 2 inches of water per acre."

D. C. Wright said, "I watered 90 acres of cotton twice, 2 inches each application. The 4 inches of extra water has cost me $5.50 in labor and fuel."

Advantages of supplemental irrigation may include: (1) higher yields; (2) likely higher net profits; (3) stand insurance in spring; (4) feed insurance for livestock; (5) better returns from fertilizers; (6) stand insurance on fall-seeded crops; (7) more work per year for labor.

Irrigation's disadvantages may be: (1) much higher capital needs; (2) really hard labor; (3) increased insects, disease, and boll rot; (4) delayed harvest and lower grades; (5) reduced mechanical picker efficiency; (6) good drainage, a first and absolute requirement, increases cost; (7) some years it may not be needed or used.

Mr. Speaker, I think that this article illustrated in a graphic manner the growing value of the law we adopted and we can be pleased with the manner in which our farm businessmen are using their efforts to improve their land productivity and building a better agricultural economy.

The Need for Standby Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to remind this House that we have a great need for legislation authorizing standby controls. Today the newspapers and the news broadcasts are stressing coexistence. There is general agreement that the danger of war is less than it was a few years ago. For this less warlike atmosphere we all are genuinely thankful.

Without in any way minimizing these peaceful developments, I want today to call your attention to the terrible situation we would find ourselves in if all this should suddenly change. Our economy is operating at top speed. We are turning out all kinds of civilian goods and substantial quantities of military supplies. A sudden outbreak of war would not catch us entirely unprepared. In the military field we would be better prepared than in any earlier peacetime period. In the civilian field, however, we would be far from ready for such an emergency.

One has only to look back to the Korean situation to realize what may result from the lack of standby controls. After inflation set in and supply shortages developed, a system of controls was adopted. These controls were adopted too late, however, to prevent a general price rise of 20 percent and many dislocations in civilian supplies. It should be obvious to anyone that our civilian economy is becoming more intricate and more complex with each passing year. It also should be evident that dislocations in the civilian economy surely will be greater than ever before if we have another outbreak of war.

It is with these things in mind that I call your attention again to the fact that we do not have standby controls which would automatically go into effect if an emergency occurred. Are we going to continue to drift—then, if an emergency occurs, enact legislation after much of the damage has been done to our civilian economy?

You are all aware, I am sure, that there are still many tensions in the world. The Formosa situation is a most dangerous one. The program to rearm Germany has its dangers. Unrest continues in the Middle East and in Africa. In view of all these tensions it seems to me it would be the course of wisdom to provide now for any emergency by enacting legislation which authorizes standby economic and supply controls for our civilian economy.

The United States Junior Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, 35 years ago tomorrow the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce was organized at a meeting in St. Louis, Mo. Prior to this date, a number of local junior chambers of commerce had been in existence in the Midwest, but no successful effort had been made to form the group into a national organization, until Henry Giessenbier, of St. Louis, called a meeting of delegates from the several local chapters for the purpose of creating a national organization. At this meeting, Henry Giessenbier was elected president and later a constitution and by-laws were adopted.

From the beginning, membership in the junior chamber of commerce was limited to young men under 36 years of age. The fundamental principles adopted by the organization were so basically sound that the movement has spread to more than 2,750 communities in the United States with a membership of more than 200,000 young men. Today, it is international in scope with more than 3,500 chapters in 52 countries and an overall membership of approximately 300,000. There are chapters in every State of the Union, including Washington, D. C., Alaska, and Hawaii, with a national headquarters building in Tulsa, Okla., worth $350,000, employing a full-time staff of 50 people. Before World War II, it was said that the junior chamber of commerce had spread to the four corners of the world and, like the British Empire, the sun never sets on it. Now, the membership is larger than ever before, notwithstanding the fact that all clubs behind the Iron Curtain are no longer in operation.

I am convinced that one of the primary reasons for the phenomenal growth of this wonderful service organization is the fact that it is composed of only young men. Due to the youth of its membership, many worthwhile projects have been undertaken, and accomplished, that other service clubs would not have attempted. It is a medium of expression for the ideas and ideals of young manhood, and through it young men are given an opportunity to serve their communities unselfishly, and at the same time gain experience in civic affairs and general leadership.

Another reason for the great success of the Jaycees is the fact that the organization was founded and promoted entirely through volunteer efforts. National headquarters has never had a paid organizer. All extension work has been carried out by the various local chapters. The spirit and enthusiasm of a Jaycee chapter in one city almost invariably spreads to a nearby community, and in

this way, the movement has become worldwide.

The official definition of the organization is, "A junior chamber of commerce is a constructive action organization of young men who devote a portion of their time to community service in the public interest, developing young men as leaders in their community."

By helping their fellowman, Jaycees help themselves. Through service as young men, they become better equipped to render even greater service in the future.

Today, I salute all Jaycees—the finest organization exclusively for young men in the world.

National CIO Protests Veterans' Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a letter addressed to the President of the United States on January 13, 1955, by Mr. L. S. Buckmaster, chairman of the committee on veterans' affairs of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

I believe it is an excellent summary of the need to improve rather than curtail veterans' benefits for the welfare of the Nation as a whole:

NATIONAL CIO PROTESTS VETERANS' CUTS

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, CIO,
Washington, D. C., January 13, 1955.

Hon. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As chairman of the committee on veterans' affairs of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, I am writing at this time to urge you to rescind your action of January 1 which greatly curtails the benefits to which veterans will become entitled after January 31.

This action will affect, under existing laws and military recruitment practices which we can expect to continue for some time, no less than 1 million American citizens a year for an extended period ahead, and therefore should not be taken lightly or without full consideration of the various principles and consequences involved. We do not believe that, under present circumstances, such action can be squared either with the needs of veterans, or with the wishes of the American people as a whole.

In fact, your action runs directly contrary to the principles of the resolution on "Veterans," which the members of the Congress of Industrial Organizations adopted at the 16th constitutional convention of the CIO in Los Angeles last month. I am enclosing a copy of this resolution for your information, but I want to point out here in summary that the whole emphasis of the CIO's viewpoint is that, rather than curtailment of previously existing benefits, new legislation which liberalizes, improves and extends veterans' benefits is required, if the men and women who are serving this Nation in its Armed Forces are to be treated with the justice they deserve upon their return.

As our convention declared, "Veterans presently being discharged from service and returning to civilian life have found unemployment, inflated living costs and inadequate wage levels, a critical shortage of low-cost homes, inadequate rent-control laws, which have combined to place the veteran along with all other working men and women of the Nation in a position of increasing inabilitay to supply for themselves and their families the necessities of life." There has been no substantial change in the national economic picture since this resolution was adopted that leads us to believe that the same conditions do not prevail today. Our convention further declared, and the CIO still strongly believes, that "the returning veteran is entitled to full restitution and protection against the loss of any of his rights, benefits, and opportunities, which he may have been deprived of as a result of his absence from civilian life."

Particularly at a time when the profits after taxes of business have risen even higher than the year before, and are at or near the highest point in our history, there can be no excuse for curtailing benefits to veterans, since they are generally part of that segment of our economy most in need of expanded purchasing power and income. The benefits which your order will deny to veterans after the cutoff date include, besides the much-needed, beneficial and publicly approved college scholarships, such things as mustering-out pay up to $300, special veterans' unemployment insurance, and the special low-interest loan guarantees on homes, farms, and businesses, all of which are important protections to ease the readjustment to civilian life of men and women called upon to sacrifice normal peacetime living for the good of their country. The loss of these benefits will only serve to further curtail purchasing power in that part of the economy which most needs increased income at this time if we are to prevent a depression and put our national economy once again on the road to expansion.

We also protest against those curtailments of benefits imposed by your order which deny veterans special hospital privileges and pensions for ailments not due to military service, and which put compensation payments for service-connected disabilities on a peacetime basis, which is 80 percent of the wartime basis. The very fact that, in issuing your order, you recognized that the unusual needs of the Nation still prevent you from ending the state of national emergency proclaimed in 1950 indicates that the present economic picture is still under severe strains and that there is no justification for expecting veterans injured in military service, or otherwise ailing, to have to pay any less for care than those previously released. These special hospital and compensation benefits were written into law to protect disabled veterans from the identical hardships and higher costs they still will have to face today if they are in need of medical care. Instead of such curtailment, the CIO believes that there should be an enlargement of Veterans' Administration hospital facilities and services for veterans, and a contiuation of outpatient treatment and dental care for persons presently returning from the Armed Forces identical to that granted World War II veterans.

We also believe that, rather than the curtailments you propose, a broad program of new legislation is needed which would bring pensions for all disabled veterans and their dependents up to current increased cost of living conditions, provide more liberal and effective loans to veterans for the purchase of homes, businesses, and farms, and improve veterans' unemployment compensation and benefits. We further believe that legislation for a Federal bonus for all World War II and Korean veterans, based upon the principle of adjustment of service pay in the light of living costs, should be enacted immediately, if our Nation is not, by neglect, to treat unfairly millions of men and women to whom it owes a tremendous debt of gratitude for their patriotic service and sacrifice.

We believe, too, that improvement, rather than curtailment, of veterans' benefits would benefit the Nation as a whole, by contributing to the realization of our goals of maximum employment and maximum purchasing power as set forth in the Employment Act of 1946.

Sincerely yours,

L. S. BUCKMASTER.

FPC Control of Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include two editorials; one from the January 9, 1955, issue of the Houston Chronicle and the other from the January 11, 1955, issue of the San Angelo (Tex.) Standard-Times. Both of these editorials deal with the implications of the Supreme Court which gives the Federal Government the authority to fix the price of natural gas where it is produced and gathered for market—an encroachment upon the rights of the States to deal with a subject that is obviously intrastate in character. The two editorials follow:

[From the Houston Chronicle of January 9, 1955]

FPC CONTROL WILL CUT SUPPLY OF GAS, DAMAGE ALL CONSUMERS

When the Supreme Court ruled that the Federal Power Commission has the authority to regulate the price of gas at the well, if the gas is destined for interstate transmission, it opened a new avenue of Government regulation which should be as alarming to the consumers as to the producers of gas. It should be alarming also to State oil and gas regulatory bodies, to State legislators who do not want their legislative prerogatives infringed upon and to all who believe in the perpetuation of States rights as guaranteed by the United States Constitution.

The consumer in the nonproducing State might wonder what Federal price-fixing control of gas means to him. He might even think he can get cheaper gas by having the Federal Government control the price of it. He is wrong. When any commodity is in short supply its price goes up even under Federal regulation. Other things happen to affect the consumer when the supply is short. Persons wanting gas and expecting to get it soon will be disappointed, because the available supply will go to present users. There is a case of this kind now in the courts, where the city of Chicago is trying to force some Texas gas producers to supply new users in Chicago. When the supply becomes short, even present users may be rationed.

The question naturally arises, "Why would the supply become short?" There are two answers. First, it costs a great amount of money to drill wildcat wells to find new gas pools, from $100,000 for a well on land to $1 million in coastal waters, where a number of discoveries are being made. No one is going to take such a huge risk where the price of his product is regulated at a fixed rate, probably lower than the field prices set by supply and demand. Naturally, when exploration drops, present supplies dwindle. The second answer is that independent pro-

ducers will sell their gas for use wholly within the State, to avoid Federal regulation. The transmission lines won't be able to get a sufficient supply of gas to pipe to nonproducing areas.

This would hurt industrial plants of the North and East, as well as the household consumer. Plants which needed a big supply of gas for fuel would be induced to move to gas-producing States, which in turn would adversely affect the economy of the areas in which they are now located.

State regulatory bodies would have their powers taken over by FPC, even to conservation authority, which traditionally is a State function. For example, most of the gas which goes into the transmission lines is "residue" which comes up with oil and was burned in flares before a use was found for it. FPC can't control the gas unless it controls the oil. The next step by FPC will be control of oil.

As far as that goes, why not also control all production that is in some way connected with interstate movemefit—and what isn't? Under the same principle, FPC can control the price of gasoline for airplanes, crossties for railroads, cotton for dresses, and all other types of production.

The 84th Congress will act on legislation to amend the Natural Gas Act. Congress should pass a bill to clearly and firmly prohibit the Federal Government from controlling the producing, gathering, and local distribution of gas.

[From the San Angelo (Tex.) Standard-Times of January 11, 1955]

GAS RULES AT WELLHEAD BELONG WITH STATE AGENCY

The question of the right of an arm of the Federal Government to regulate the price of natural gas at the well is to come before Congress at the present session.

It is an important decision for consumers and producers alike. A commission in far-away Washington (the Federal Power Commission) has been given authority by the Supreme Court, rather than the Congress, to pass upon the peacetime price of gas produced from a well on a farm in the remote areas of the Nation. It is an anomalous situation. The Federal Power Commission not only did not want this authority but refused to exercise it until ordered to do so by the Court in the Phillips case.

The fact that oil is produced with gas and that oil producers may be regulated as well as gas producers, under conceivable extension of this new authority, has forced some oil companies to shut in their gas wells. In Sutton and Schleicher Counties, within the last year, Clarence Norsworthy, of San Antonio, an active independent operator, has capped several gas wells which he completed as producers in these counties at a cost of $60,000 to $65,000 each. Other oil producers have done the same thing. Such a situation is not to the advantage of gas consumers, gas producers or the owner of land from which gas can be produced.

Only a few years ago you could ride by night from Big Lake to the New Mexico line and always be within sight of a gas flare. Not only was there no market in Texas for an appreciable percentage of the gas produced in this State, but apparently none anywhere else.

There is still an amazing amount of gas flared on leases and lost forever. In recent years the long-line gas-transmission companies have provided a market for Texas gas by transmitting it to the North and East. Their ingenuity and investments gave consumers throughout the Nation a clean, efficient fuel enhancing the wealth of Texas and other producing areas.

The Texas Railroad Commission has pioneered in the regulation and conservation of oil and gas in the Nation. Proration first was established in Texas. Texas has cut its production with more severity than other States in its effort to keep supply and demand in balance and eliminate waste.

The present members of the Federal Power Commission by refusing to undertake the precarious task of setting a price on natural gas at the wellhead must have realized it was a job they could not accomplish in equity.

Congressman John E. Lyle, Jr., of Corpus Christi, who did not seek reelection last year, summed up the situation well in an article in the November 5 issue of Public Utilities Fortnightly, advocating amendment of the Natural Gas Act of 1938. He said:

"The Congress intended this act to provide Federal regulation in that area which was beyond State control, and only in that area. There was no thought, no idea, and certainly no necessity for giving to an agency of the Federal Government control of natural gas at its source; that is, over the producing and gathering phases of the industry. Nor was there any idea of necessity for Federal control over the distribution of the product when it reached the consuming area. These phases of the industry were, and are, sufficiently regulated by appropriate State agencies.

The long-line transmission companies are public utilities and should be regulated by the FPC and other appropriate regulatory bodies. So far as we know, no one would advocate, not even these companies, that they be freed from operating in conformity with the rules of these regulatory agencies.

If the long-line transmission companies are also gas producers they should be required to take their own gas rates ability with other producers in a given field or area at no more than the posted price in the field. Their gas-production facilities should be neither favored or discriminated against as to price or volume.

Gas-transmission lines have plans for investing $1 billion in new lines in 1955. They are taking natural gas to every corner of the Nation. Texas is the largest gas-producing State, and all of us have a vital interest in not thwarting the growth of this industry by artificial barriers set up by those who revel in regulation.

Last year 600 trillion cubic feet of gas was added to the national reserve. If consumers are to be supplied with gas we need to encourage development of sustained reserves on a continuing mounting scale. We must build adequate pipelines to carry it.

We think the Texas Railroad Commission is capable of protecting every public interest touched by the gas business as far as it affects this State. The regulatory bodies of other States can do the same with producing and distributing companies in their respective States. The Federal Power Commission can regulate the utility features of the transmission lines. Congress needs to define the field of regulation between the State and Federal regulatory authorities.

But producing gas in Schleicher or Sutton Counties is not interstate commerce. Washington is not the place to administer this feature of the oil and gas business. It can best be done by the States.

We believe every member of the Texas delegation in Congress will vote to make crystal clear the intent of Congress that the Federal Power Commission is not the agency to set the price of gas at a well or to muscle into a wide variety of price controls over oil distillate and minerals.

A Rough Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wall Street Journal of January 17, 1955:

A ROUGH BUSINESS

The Democratic Party, which has numbered among its prominent men such rough and tumble contestants as the late Charles Michelson and Harry Truman, cries in injured innocense that it was smeared by Vice President NIXON during the campaign.

It reminds us of a story which we heard years ago from the lips of an historic Democratic figure, William Jennings Bryan.

Mr. Bryan told of the man who remarried a few weeks after his wife died. The neighbors in the small town were incensed and one night they assembled at the man's house beating pans, blowing horns, and making other noises which were not in any way intended as approbation.

The man came to the porch and addressed the people on his lawn:

"Aren't you ashamed to come here and make all this noise so soon after my wife died?"

To get back to Mr. NIXON, he is accused of saying that the Democratic Party was soft on communism. Mr. NIXON says he did not say that. What he did was to cite some of the past associations of some people who were running for office.

Well, we know of no one who believes that being a Democrat is synonymous with treason. Surely Mr. NIXON does not. But it is still certainly a matter of record that when Communists were allowed to infiltrate the Government offices, it was under a Democratic administration. That is just as undeniable as the fact that when the Republicans were previously in office there was an economic depression.

The Democrats developed the Republican misfortune to their own benefit and it is unlikely that the Republicans will cease to call attention to the fact that the Democrats might have been more careful about Communists.

The campaign against Mr. NIXON is quite patently directed to more than one end.

The Democrats naturally would like to have people quit talking about Communists who were in the Government. It is still a potent political issue. And if they can silence Mr. NIXON, they will have discouraged others who might like to exploit the issue.

Also, Mr. NIXON is a considerable Republican figure. He is an effective campaigner, an able legislator, and in the field of politics gives every sign of knowing which end is up. It would be smart if the Democrats could discredit him by fastening upon him the reputation of indulging in tactics less than honorable.

Furthermore, there is a leftwing in American life, not all of whom are Democrats but some of whom are. And these few sometimes seem to wield a disproportionate influence in Democratic councils—at least they make more noise per head than other Democrats. Some of these gentlemen have a record of a past emotional investment in com-

munism. And they have not forgotten that Mr. NIXON was the man mainly responsible for running down Alger Hiss.

As we intimated at the beginning of this essay, this business of politics is a rough business at time, and that being so the attack on Mr. NIXON is not an unexpected development. If things were turned around the Republicans would probably be doing what the Democrats are now doing.

But politics is also a tricky business. And one of its pitfalls is that by attacking a man you may build him up when you think you are tearing him down. We wonder if the Democrats have thought that they may be building up both Mr. NIXON and the issue of communism.

Defense of the Principle of Racial Segregation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to submit herewith a newspaper account of an address by Dr. G. T. Gillespie, a distinguished Mississippi educator and clergyman. This account appeared in the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion Ledger-Jackson Daily News on November 7, 1954, and includes the full text of Dr. Gillespie's address:

A temperate, scholarly and documented discussion of segregation, delivered by Dr. Guy T. Gillespie, distinguished Presbyterian minister and educator, before the Synod of Mississippi in Jackson the past week, is a statement of great significance in the current discussions of segregation, particularly as related to schools and churches.

In response to requests, it is printed in full text, emphasizing two major points: Segregation may be defended on Biblical grounds, and is not "un-Christian." Segregation is not necessarily discrimination.

Dr. Gillespie, for more than 32 years president of Belhaven College, presented this carefully prepared "Defense of the Principle of Racial Segregation."

"The problem of race relations is not new. It is as old as civilization. Whenever in the history of the race two peoples of significantly different characteristics have come in contact with each other, or have sought to occupy the same area, a problem of race relations has inevitably developed. The closer the contact, and the more nearly the numerical strength of the two groups has approached equality, the more difficult and acute the problem has become.

"The problem of racial relations throughout the world today has been greatly accentuated by the rapid development of modern means of communication and transportation, which have brought all the peoples of the world into much closer contact than ever before.

"The problem has also been complicated by the worldwide spread of Karl Marx's doctrine of internationalism and the classless society, combined with the vigorous propaganda of Soviet communism to bring about a world revolution and the breakdown of all national and racial distinctions and to effect the complete amalgamation of all races.

"The Anglo-Saxon and English-speaking people have steadfastly opposed and resisted the mixture of their racial stock with that of other peoples, especially where the physical and cultural characteristics were widely dissimilar, and wherever they have gone, around the world, they have consistently instituted and maintained a pattern of segregation, which uniformly provided an effective check against the process of amalgamation, and which has preserved the racial integrity of the English-speaking peoples of the world.

"The race problem in America arises inherently out of the concentration of large masses of the Negro race in areas predominantly Anglo-Saxon in racial type and in culture, and where the principle of racial segregation has been generally, if not uniformly, upheld by legal, social, and moral sanctions.

"Comparatively little of the opposition to the principle of segregation has come spontaneously from the pureblood Negroes, or from the masses of the Negro population; more strenuous opposition has come from the Negroes of mixed blood, who have migrated from the South to northern cities, and who bitterly resent the tensions and discriminations to which they find themselves and their families subjected in their efforts to secure recognition in northern communities. It is not without significance, however, that a very considerable part of the violent agitation against segregation stems from sources outside the Negro race, and outside of America, and coincides with the worldwide movement for racial amalgamation which has its fountainhead in Moscow.

"Here therefore is the crux of this whole problem of racial relations, whether we face it in America or in the world at large; it is essentially a choice between the Anglo-Saxon ideal of racial integrity maintained by a consistent application of the principle of segregation, and the Communist goal of amalgamation implemented by the wiping out of all distinctions and the fostering of the most intimate contact between the races in all the relations of life.

"Laying aside all sophistries concerning so-called civil rights, human brotherhood, or social equality, and the purely academic question as to racial superiority or inferiority, let us not evade the issue, nor close our eyes to the stark reality, but face it frankly and courageously; here in America, if we believe that the welfare of both the white and the Negro races would be promoted by preserving the integrity of each race, then we must maintain some effective and equitable form of segregation; if we believe that the welfare and happiness of both races would be promoted by intermarriage and the development of a hybrid race, then all we need to do is to let down the bars of segregation in the homes, the schools, the churches and in all areas of community life, and let nature take its course.

"But before we commit ourselves and our Nation, finally and irrevocably to this fateful choice, let us recall and weigh carefully some pertinent considerations which may be offered in defense of the principle of segregation.

"1. SEGREGATION IS NOT THE CHILD OF RACE PREJUDICE

"In recent years the much abused term race prejudice has been associated indiscriminately with the principle of segregation in the effort to discredit it by implying low origin and bad associations. The difficulty and the injustice in this connection results from the confusion of race prejudice and race pride. Race prejudice is indeed a blind, unreasoning, fanatical emotion which issues in race hatred and inhumanity, and is essentially destructive and immoral in its end results. Race pride on the other hand is a rational, normal, positive principle, and is essentially constructive and moral. Pride of race, like love of home and love of country has been one of the mightiest forces making for human happiness and progress.

"Indeed, these three principles are indissolubly linked together in the hearts of men and in the experience of the race, and must stand or fall together. Surely it is not merely a coincidence that the forces which are battling to break down race pride, which they mistakenly identify with race prejudice, are the same forces which are insidiously seeking to undermine and destroy the love of home and the love of country in all the lands upon which their baleful shadow has been cast.

"2. SEGREGATION IS ONE OF NATURE'S UNIVERSAL LAWS

"In all nature, the herd instinct prevails to a greater or less degree, and all living creatures are drawn together in larger or smaller groups by certain affinities based upon common physical characteristics. Animals, by instinct, mate only with their own kind, perpetuating their own species and transmitting their natural or acquired characteristics to their offspring. No intermingling or crossbreeding with animals of widely different characteristics takes place except under abnormal or artificial conditions.

"The old adage 'birds of a feather flock together,' only expresses a fact of common observation and universal experience. There are many varieties of the bird family, but under natural conditions, so far as known, bluebirds never mate with redbirds, doves never mate with blackbirds, nor mockingbirds with jays. The fact that man also is a gregarious animal and that human beings everywhere and under all conditions of life tend to segregate themselves into families, tribes, national or racial groups, only goes to prove that all human relations are regulated by this universal law of nature.

"The recognition that man is not only a creature of instinct, but that he is also endowed with reason and conscience, whereby he is able to perceive and appreciate the significance of the larger unity of the race and his obligations to all members of the human family does not nullify or repeal the basic laws of human nature, but does provide for him a moral code under which he is obligated to exercise his freedom with due regard for the rights of his fellows.

"3. SEGREGATION TENDS TO PROMOTE PROGRESS

"It is an elementary principle of livestock breeding that improvement of type comes only through the careful selection of breeding stock, and the rigid separation of animals of dissimilar or undesirable characteristics. The phenomenal development of the racehorse, the drafthorse, the beef and dairy breeds of cattle, furnish impressive evidence that segregation promotes development and progress, and that it may be continued almost indefinitely by the consistent application of the principle; whereas the intermingling of breeding stock results invariably in the production of 'scrubs' or mongrel types, and the downgrading of the whole herd.

"The same principle applies with equal force to the process of human development. It is a noteworthy fact that down through the centuries the most conspicuous advances in human progress have been made by those peoples, who by reason of circumstances or by deliberate preference have been isolated to a great extent from other nations and races over long periods of time, and thus have been left free to develop their own peculiar genius and distinctive characteristics and culture.

"From the days of Abraham, approximately 2,000 years before Christ, the Hebrews, by divine command, became a segregated people, separated by traditions, customs, religion, and by strict codes of ethics, physical and social hygiene from their cultural heritage even down to our own day, and they have not only achieved the highest moral and spiritual development of all the peoples of the earth, but have made an invaluable contribution to the moral and spirit-

ual progress of mankind. In spite of many shortcomings, and in spite of being both the exponents and the victims of bitter racial prejudice the Hebrew people like the waters of the Gulf Stream in the midst of the ocean have achieved a mission and a destiny which would have been impossible had they abandoned the principle of segregation and become integrated with the nations which hemmed them in on all sides centuries ago.

"In a similar manner the Greeks, by reason by geographical situation and other circumstances, enjoyed for centuries comparative isolation from other peoples of the world whom they designated as barbarians. By reason of this separation they preserved with remarkable success the purity of their racial stock for hundreds of years, and succeeded in developing a physical vigor and vitality, and intellectual acuteness, an artistic perfection, and a political idealism which made Hellenic culture the pattern and inspiration for all western civilization.

"In modern times the most conspicuous example of the truth of this principle is found in the remarkable record of the British people. Insulated in many ways from the other peoples of Europe and of the world in their island homes, the British developed a vigorous racial stock and a virile and homogenous culture, and have persistently refused to integrate their bloodstream or their cultural heritage with those of alien or widely different racial types.

"Although numerically insignificant as compared with other peoples, the British have nevertheless made greater achievements in every field of human endeavor, and have made an immeasurably greater contribution to the total intellectual, social, economic, and moral welfare of mankind than any other people in ancient or modern times.

"Still another impressive and perhaps the most pertinent illustration of the proposition that segregation tends to promote progress, is the amazing record of the Negro in America, and particularly here in the South, where the two races have lived side by side in approximately equal numbers in many areas, under a system of segregation, more or less uniformly maintained since the close of the Civil War. Despite the dire poverty and disorganization of the postwar period, the false leadership of unscrupulous whites and the charlatans of his own race, and the many cruel injustices which he suffered at the hands of dishonest landlords, callous public officials and the much-publicized mob violence, the southern Negro has somehow managed to acquire a greater number of homes, farms, banks, and other properties, has achieved a higher standard of living, and today enjoys larger educational and economic opportunities, is happier and better adjusted, than can be said of any comparable number of his race at any time in their history or in any part of the world today.

"4. SEGREGATION DOES NOT NECESSARILY INVOLVE DISCRIMINATION

"Whenever two individuals or groups of widely different physical characteristics are brought into close contact, it is likely or even inevitable that some discrimination should occur, especially where the situations are competitive; but such discrimination is a spontaneous human reaction and cannot be charged against the principle of segregation.

"As a matter of fact, segregation, by reducing the number of points of contact, tends to lessen friction and tension, and especially if there is clear recognition on the part of both races that the chief reason for segregation is the desirability of preventing such intimacies as might lead to intermarriage and the amalgamation of the races, then the chief occasion for misunderstanding and discrimination is removed.

"Assuming the development of racial pride in the Negro race to the point where he would be as zealous as the white man in safeguarding the integrity of his race, and that both races would cheerfully accept some effective form of segregation as the only effective means of achieving that end where the two races live side by side in large numbers, there would seem to be no insuperable difficulty in working out plans which would provide "separate but equal" opportunities and facilities for both races, which would avoid any suggestion of discrimination, and would promote the largest possible harmony and cooperation between the races.

"5. THE PRINCIPLE OF SEGREGATION MAY BE DEFENDED ON BIBLICAL GROUNDS AND IS NOT UNCHRISTIAN

"While the Bible contains no clear mandate for or against segregation as between the White and Negro races, it does furnish considerable data from which valid inferences may be drawn in support of the general principle of segregation as an important feature of the divine purpose and providence throughout the ages.

"Concerning matters of this kind, which in the inscrutable wisdom of God have been left for mankind to work out in the light of reason and experience without the full light of revelation, we dare not be dogmatic but we do well to examine with open mind some of the more pertinent references.

"1. The first separation (Genesis 4: 11–26): A mark is placed upon Cain, and he is separated from the other branch of the human family, represented by Seth and his descendants. From Cain were descended men of great vigor and inventive genius, from Seth were descended men who began to call upon the name of the Lord, and were evidently those elsewhere referred to, as the Sons of God.

"2. Demoralization resulting from intermarriage (Genesis 6: 1–7): The promiscuous intermarriage of the Sons of God, that is, the descendants of Seth, with the Daughters of Men, who were apparently the descendants of Cain, resulted in the complete breakdown of family life and such widespread immorality and wickedness as to provoke the Lord to destroy the earth with the flood. A possible though not necessary inference from this tragic story is that the intermarriage of dissimilar groups, whether the differences be moral, cultural or physical is not conducive to the preservation of wholesome family life, or to morality and therefore is contrary to the purpose and will of God.

"3. New divisions after the flood stemming from sons of Noah (Genesis 9: 18–29): After the flood, the 3 sons of Noah—Shem, Ham, and Japhet—became the progenitors of 3 distinct racial groups, which were to repeople and overspread the earth.

"The descendants of Shem migrated eastward and occupied most of Asia; the descendants of Japhet migrated westward and ultimately occupied the continent of Europe, while the children of Ham moved generally southward toward the Tropics and occupied the continent of Africa, and possibly southern Asia and the islands of the Pacific.

"This brief record, the accuracy of which has not been successfully disputed by the anthropologists and ethnologists while affirming the unity of the race, also implies that an all-wise providence, has determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. Which same providence by determining the climatic and other physical conditions under which many successive generations of the several racial groups should live, is thereby equally responsible for the distinct racial characteristics which seem to have become fixed in prehistoric times, and which are chiefly responsible for the segregation of racial groups across the centuries and in our time.

"4. Origin of linguistic differences (Genesis 11: 19): This indicates that the confusion of tongues, which took place at Babel, with the consequent scattering of the peoples, was an act of special divine providence to frustrate the mistaken efforts of godless men to assure the permanent integration of the peoples of the earth. Incidentally, it indicates that the development of different languages was not merely natural or accidental, but served divine purpose, in becoming one of the most effective means of preserving the separate existence of the several racial groups.

"5. Abraham called to a separated life (Genesis 12–25): Abram, later changed to Abraham, was called to separate himself from his home and his kindred in Ur of the Chaldees and to live as a "stranger in a strange land." Under divine guidance and blessing he and his household lived peaceably with the inhabitants without mingling with them socially or intermarrying with them. The covenant of circumcision instigated by God provided a sign or seal, which was to distinguish and set apart in a most significant way the "seed of Abraham," or the Hebrew people from all the other peoples of the earth throughout all generations. Many incidental circumstances, such as the refusal of God to allow the son of Hagar, the Egyptian bondwoman, to become the heir of the covenant promise, the great care exercised by Abraham to secure a wife for his son Isaac from among his own kindred rather than from among the Canaanites, and a similar concern manifested by Isaac and Rebekah concerning wives for their sons, all emphasize the importance which is attached to the principle of segregation, and doubtless paved the way for the emphasis given to it in the Mosaic economy and in the subsequent history of Israel.

"6. Prohibitions against the mingling of diverse things (Leviticus 19: 19): According to the law delivered to Moses, the cross-breeding of diverse strains of cattle, the planting of mixed seeds, and the mixing of wool and linen in a garment were forbidden. We are not told the reasons for this curious law, but it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that if such intermixture of diverse elements in the lower orders of animal and plant life, were unseemly and contrary to the divine purpose, the same principle would apply with even greater force with respect to human relations.

"7. The warnings of Moses against intermarriage with other peoples (Deuteronomy 7: 3): Moses strictly warned the Israelites against allowing their sons and daughters to intermarry with the pagan peoples with whom they came in contact, under the penalty of bringing upon themselves the divine wrath and judgment. This warning was emphasized repeatedly, and was specially burned into the consciousness of the nation by the terrible penalties which were inflicted upon those who committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab at Baal-Poor (Numbers 25: 1–8).

"8. Ezra's condemnation of mixed marriages (Ezra 9–10): After the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, it was discovered that great numbers of the prominent Jews had taken wives from among the heathen people of the land. This caused Ezra to rend his clothes and tear his hair, and cry unto God for mercy upon the sinning nation. The drastic steps which were taken to purge out this evil practice, emphasized anew the vital importance which was attached to the preservation of the purity and integrity of the racial stock by the leaders of the nation and by their divine ruler.

"9. The attitude and teachings of our Lord (The Four Gospels): There is no question but that the emphasis placed by Our Lord upon the love of God for the whole world (John 3: 16, and other passages) was intended in part at least as a rebuke to the

bigotry and intolerance of the Jewish leaders, and to counteract the attitude of contempt and indifference which the Jewish people as a whole manifested toward the other peoples of the world. Likewise His declaration as to the supreme worth of the human soul (Matthew 16: 26) and His last great command to His followers to go into all the world and make disciples of all nations (Matthew 28: 19–20), make it abundantly clear that the redeeming love of Christ knows no limitations of class or condition or nationality or race, but like a mighty river sweeps across every natural or artificial barrier to bring the water of life to the thirsty souls of men.

"He used the story of the Good Samaritan to rebuke the smug complacency and narrowminded prejudice of the Jews, but He did not ignore or denounce racial distinctions, nor did He set plans on foot to abolish them and to bring amout amalgamation of the Jews and the Samaritans, or of any other races. As a matter of fact, in sending out the 12 on their first gospel mission, He directed them to go 'only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel' (Matthew 10: 5–6) and in dealing with the Syro-Phoenician woman He takes particular care to emphasize the different status of the two races before granting her request. The Golden Rule, as proclaimed by our Lord, must unquestionably be applied to the field of race relations as well as to all other human relationships. At the same time no reasonable interpretation of this great principle requires to do unto or for, the individual or the race, for the sake of some fancied benefit or momentary satisfaction that which we have reason to believe will in the end imperil the stability of the social order and the future welfare of the race.

"10. The attitude and teaching of the Apostles (the Acts and the Epistles): The gift of tongues at Pentecost was undoubtedly a prophecy that the Gospel should be preached to all nations and that every people should hear the Gospel in their own languages, but it gives no hint that all linguistic, national, or racial differences are to be wiped out in the Gospel dispensation.

"Peter's vision on the housetop in Joppa, his subsequent visit to the home of Cornelius, the Roman centurion, his baptism of the household after they had received the Holy Ghost, and his statement that "God is no respecter of persons," marks the removal of the Jewish traditions and prejudices which barred the entrance of the Gentiles in the household of faith, and sets the pattern for Christianity as the new religion for all nations and all the peoples of the earth.

"Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, naturally had more to say concerning this question than any of the other New Testament writers. In his notable speech to the Greeks at Athens, he said, 'God, * * * hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth; and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation' (Acts 17: 24–26). Writing to the Colossians he said: 'And have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him; where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all in all."

"In the first passage Paul affirms the unity of the race based upon a common origin, concerning which there can be no difference of opinion among those who accept the authority of the Bible. In the second passage Paul asserts the unity of all believers in Christ, regardless of their racial differences, but this unity is a spiritual relationship resulting from the mystical union of each believer with Christ himself, in which all enjoy the same spiritual privileges and benefits. That Paul had in mind the absolute uniformity of believers in external relations and the wiping out of all distinctions of race, nationality, social status, sex or cultural heritage, is disproven by the fact that Paul never ceased to identify himself as a member of the Jewish race, and he made very practical use of his right to Roman citizenship. He recognized the master-slave relationship prevalent in Greek and Roman society and enjoined obedience to the reciprocal duties arising therefrom. He also clearly recognized the status assigned to women by social custom, and denied to women some of the privileges and functions exercised by men in the churches under his supervision.

"11. Preview of the church triumphant (Revelations 4: 7): The seer of Patmos was permitted to behold in wonderful symbolism a preview of the church triumphant, the grand consummation of redemptive purpose through the ages. Before the rainbow-circled throne set in the midst of the heavens, he beheld 'a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples and tongues,' uniting in a mighty chorus of praise to God and to the Lamb upon the throne. It would be presumptuous indeed to say exactly what this symbolism means, or to rest the validity of any conclusions upon such interpretation; nevertheless it accords well with the whole scheme of creation, providence, and redemption to see in the rainbow which circled the throne a fitting symbol of the spectrum of redeemed humanity made up of the peoples of every nation, kindred, race, and language blended into a beautiful and harmonious unity, and yet each preserving its own distinctive genius and virtues, the better to show forth the infinite riches and diversity of the divine glory and grace throughout the ages to come.

"12. Summary of Bible references: There are doubtless many other parts of scripture which may have some bearing upon this question, but which we cannot undertake to deal with in this discussion. But to summarize the interpretations of the passages above considered the following conclusions would seem to be warranted; (a) Since for 2,000 years the practice of segregation was imposed upon the Hebrew people by divine authority and express command, and infractions of the command were punished with extreme severity, there is certainly no ground for the charge that racial segregation is displeasing to God, unjust to man, or inherently wrong; (b) Since Christ and the Apostles taught the love of God for all mankind, the oneness of believers in Christ, and demonstrated that the principles of Christian brotherhood and charity could be made operative in all relations of life, without demanding revolutionary changes in the natural or social order, there would appear to be no reason for concluding that segregation is in conflict with the spirit and the teachings of Christ and the Apostles, and therefore un-Christian.

"6. SEGREGATION IS A WELL-CONSIDERED AND TIME-TESTED AMERICAN POLICY

"Ample evidence is available to show beyond reasonable doubt that segregation represents the best thinking of representative American leadership, and as a time-tested national policy rests upon moral and ethical principles and not upon blind and unreasoning prejudice as has been frequently and loudly charged by some of its latter-day critics.

"The principle of segregation has been incorporated into the constitutions of 17 of the sovereign States of the Union, having been placed there by the people who were most directly concerned, and who were in position to have firsthand knowledge of all phases of the problem. Many other States approved the principle by statutory legislation, and practically all of the States at one time or another have adopted laws prohibiting intermarriage between the white and Negro races. State and Federal courts have uniformly approved these constitutional and statutory provisions, and the Supreme Court of the United States in an unbroken line of decisions extending down to the early part of the present year confirmed the principle of segregation and established it as a firm principle of American public policy. The Congress of the United States, in the face of tremendous pressure from political agitators and minority pressure groups has steadfastly refused to abolish segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia or to outlaw it in the States.

"The recent decision of the Supreme Court notwithstanding, there are many concrete evidences that public sentiment throughout the Nation is still strongly weighted in favor of segregation in the public schools or at least of leaving the decision with respect to it, to these States and communities where Negroes constitute a substantial proportion of the population.

"Thomas Jefferson

"Thomas Jefferson, author of the immortal Declaration of Independence devoted much attention and study to the Negro problem. He advocated with great earnestness the emancipation of Negro slaves in America, but he believed so strongly in the physical separation of the races for the welfare of both, that he proposed that the Negroes should be peaceably repatriated in Africa at Government expense. His point of view is clearly set forth in this extract from his Autobiography written in 1821 (vol. I, p. 48), 'Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation peaceably.'

"Abraham Lincoln

"Abraham Lincoln, one of the wisest and farseeing of American statesmen, venerated and almost deified by the Negro race as their Great Emancipator and unfailing friend, devoted intense study to the race problem over a long period of years. He, like Jefferson, became so thoroughly convinced of the necessity of the physical separation of the races that he considered the most practical solution of the problem was to colonize the Negroes in Africa or the West Indies. He actually had made proposals to this effect to Congress and was engaged in working out plans for putting it into execution at the time of his tragic death. In a speech made by Lincoln at Charleston, Ill., September 18, 1858, he said, 'I will say then, that I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races * * *. That I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality.'

"Again, in an address made to a group of free Negroes at the White House on August 14, 1862, Lincoln said: 'You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think, * * * If this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated.'

"It is perhaps greatly to be deplored that the great plans of Lincoln for the segregation of the races, and for the equitable and permanent solution of the American race problem were frustrated and defeated by his tragic and untimely death. In retrospect we may well count it the greatest disaster which ever befell the South and the Nation. In the providence of God it is still possible that we

may yet find a just and wise solution of this great problem in the light of Lincoln's prophetic vision, and in keeping with his patient spirit and the kindly impulses of his great heart. Many other testimonies could be cited from outstanding leaders in American public life to support the proposition, that the only just and wise solution of the American race problem must involve the recognition of the essential differences between the two races, and the necessity of some effective form of segregation which would assure the preservation of the integrity of both races.

"Booker T. Washington

"It was the recognition of this truth which made Booker T. Washington the most influential leader and the greatest benefactor of the Negro race in his generation, and perhaps in the whole history of the Negro race. All would-be leaders and promoters of better race relations in America today, would do well to study his realistic approach to the problem and follow his wise leadership. In a notable and epoch-making address delivered at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, pleading for cooperation between two races he sounded the keynote of his philosophy, and provided for all men of understanding and goodwill a key to the solution of the problem: It is eminently fitting that this discussion should be concluded with the quotation of his wise words; he said, 'The wisest among my race understand that agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. * * * In all things that are purely social we can be separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.'"

The Press and Eisenhower Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article entitled "The Press and Eisenhower Record":

THE PRESS AND EISENHOWER RECORD

(By Anthony H. Leviero, Washington correspondent of the New York Times, in the International Press Institute Report, Zurich)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—New York Times correspondent says Washington newsmen are producing plain, hard facts about administration's work, but editorial pages are being more than kind; cites numbers game, lists other issues begging newspaper attention.)

It required a journalistic campaign to shatter the "numbers game," the term that Washington correspondents applied to the Eisenhower administration's extravagant claims that it was sweeping great numbers of subversives out of the Government.

On this issue occurred perhaps the first concerted change of mood of the press toward the new administration. The tolerant, forbearing attitude toward the new President in his first year gave way to sharp criticism and demands for an honest count.

For more than 3 months the press had to besiege the administration, at White House news conferences and elsewhere, before there was any official admission that the figures were substantially false.

Unfortunately, the numbers game began at the highest level, in a White House statement that 1,456 security risks had been removed. That was last fall. Then a state paper of the President himself, his message on the state of the Union, carried the game forward by raising the figure to 2,200.

HUCKSTERING AND STATECRAFT

It should be said that President Eisenhower merely referred to those removed as security risks. But other high administration officials * * * described the growing number of fired risks as traitors, Communists, and perverts indiscriminately.

The press corps, spearheaded by the Washington Post (now the Washington Post and Times Herald), the Washington Star, and the Washington Daily News, cracked the issue, proving that a substantial number of the figures, as well as the name calling, was wrong.

Zealous department officials, trying to do their part in helping the administration to steal the Red hunt away from * * * had served up to the White House figures that included persons who had died, were transferred to other departments, resigned under honorable conditions, or lost their jobs through the reduction-in-force policy.

For the Eisenhower administration the lesson should have been that huckstering does not pay. "Huckstering" was a common expression in Washington in 1953. Newsmen used it to describe the advertising and propaganda techniques that were in vogue.

These techniques had proved effective in the 1952 presidential campaign and the new regime thought it could get away with more, even in statecraft.

WITH EDITORIAL KID GLOVES

This particular aspect of the relationship of the press and the President awakened some proadministration papers to the realization that they would do little good for the country or for the press itself, to say nothing of Mr. Eisenhower, if they persisted in treating the administration with editorial kid gloves.

Among newspapermen much is being made of the fact that editors and publishers are being more than kind to the Eisenhower administration in numerous instances where it has appeared to be contrary to the public interest.

Robert L. Riggs, chief of the Washington bureau of the Louisville Courier-Journal, expressed this attitude as follows in an address at the annual Journalism Week of the University of Missouri's School of Journalism last April:

"I should like to emphasize that I did not say newspapers should be in a constant state of growling, snarling animosity toward public officials. That extreme to which most papers went in their bitter hostility toward Harry S. Truman is as deplorable as the bootlicking sycophancy which they displayed toward Dwight D. Eisenhower during his first year in the White House."

The Indochina situation is an example. Administration utterances on this issue fluctuated violently in the small compass of a couple of months. First the position was that the United States should not get involved in Indochina. Then that it would be a calamity if Indochina fell.

Then there were signs that we would intervene. Vice President NIXON said so in so many words, for one. Somewhere along the line the threat of massive retaliation got into the picture. And then it was plain nothing would be done. Indochina fell, and it is too early to say whether it is the first of the line of falling dominoes.

INDOCHINA POLICY AS A BLUFF

What newspapermen are saying now is that if Mr. Truman or Adlai Stevenson had been in the White House, they would have been threatened with impeachment for the huckstered bluff that was our Indochina policy. Yet few newspapers have given this issue sharp treatment.

Washington correspondents still marvel at the audacity of one of the biggest bluffs. That was the unleashing of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in President Eisenhower's first state of the Union speech.

Another puffed theme, though this one was fairly well deplored, was the administration's glowing suggestion that the day of liberation for the oppressed under the Soviet yoke might be near at hand.

In the same category may be mentioned the mysterious New Look defense program that was supposed to give the country more security for less money, although it involved the reduction of four divisions of troops. Another was the empty concept of instant and massive retaliation. It proved to be nothing more than a long-standing United States strategic concept in fancy dress.

To return to the domestic scene, President Eisenhower shocked many editors with his personal order directing the Atomic Energy Commission to make a power contract with a particular, private-power company, instead of having the Tennessee Valley Authority supply the additional power.

Many Washington newsmen believe that this unusual act, favoring a particular company at the expense of TVA and the taxpayers, has not received nearly as hard an editorial drubbing as it would have if Truman had ordered the deal.

In the matter of civil service, some of the journalistic specialists in this field recently uncovered decisions that showed the intrusion of the spoils system. The exposure caused some of the decisions to be rescinded.

The Washington press corps, as usual, is coming through with the plain, hard facts of political life in the Capital, but many of the editorial pages haven't caught up.

The Pereyslav Episode in the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, as many Members know, the Ukrainian nation of some 45 million people is one of the most important of the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain. Being in fact the largest non-Russian nation not only in the Soviet Union but also behind the European Iron Curtain, Ukraine possesses one of the most extensive and heroic records of resistance and opposition to the imperialist Communist yoke of Moscow that deserves the laudatory respect of every true and firm believer in the inalienable rights of peoples to national self-determination and independence.

The tremendous strategic importance of Ukraine in the present struggle is perhaps nowhere more fully appreciated than in Moscow itself. As only part evidence of this, Moscow staged for a period of more than 6 months last year what has come to be known as the Pereyaslav celebration, in which the eternal friendship of Russia and Ukraine and the true independence of Ukraine in the Soviet Union served as the chief propaganda themes.

The prime significance of this Pereyaslav episode for the interests and future

of America is clearly shown in an address on The Pereyaslav Episode in the Cold War, delivered last fall by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown University and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, before the League of Americans of Ukrainian Descent in Chicago, Ill. The salient excerpts of this address make worthwhile reading at this time when throughout the free world believers in freedom everywhere are conducting observances of the real independence of the Moravian nation on January 22, 1918. On the occasion of this observance I request that parts of this address be included in the RECORD:

THE PEREYASLAV EPISODE IN THE COLD WAR

Most Americans have probably never heard of the word Pereyaslav. Yet its grave significance to their future, perhaps even to their lives, is reflected in a recent episode in the cold war which, unfortunately, escaped the notice of many of our leaders and journalists. Actually, only two persons of public note grasped the full significance and meaning of this cold war operation, and endeavored to inform the American people accordingly. Dr. Harry Schwartz, of the New York Times, an outstanding analyst of the Soviet Union, wrote extensively on the celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty between Russia and Ukraine, and showed the historical distortions contrived by Moscow in its display of unity and cooperation between these two nations. The other person is the Honorable MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN of Ohio, one of the most informed legislators in Congress on the affairs of the Soviet Union, who, at the very beginning of the 6 months' celebration throughout the Russian Communist empire, delivered an important address on the significance of this elaborate show staged by Moscow. In the affairs of humanity, it is usual for only a few to pave the ways of understanding and appropriate action; and in this important instance, a prominent writer and a foresighted legislator combined their energies to leave their marks of contribution which only the future will magnify in their true proportions.

The treaty of Pereyaslav was contracted in 1654 as a military alliance between Ukraine and Russia. As in the numberless cases of recent times, Moscow violated its provisions, and sought to subjugate and annex Ukraine. The record of political rapacity on the part of the old Muscovite princes is substantially no different from that of present-day Muscovy. In traditional style the Kremlin now distorts the Pereyaslav event as having marked the organic union of Ukraine and Russia. In its recent theses, distributed and circulated from one end of the present empire to the other, it harps on this fictitious theme, and debases the genuine historic struggle of the Ukrainian nation for self-government and independence with shameless allegations of the reality of national independence in the current framework of the Red Russian empire. The Kremlin speaks of brotherhood, comradeship and equality between these two large East European nations, in the face of all facts to the contrary. It stages elaborate festivals, sports events and indoctrination exercises in commemoration of the falsified Pereyaslav event. Why? Why all this effort, cost and motion over a 6 month period in observance of an event that occurred 300 years ago?

Our official agencies whose job is to answer such questions and to act upon their answers, were, as usual, practically dormant. However, Congressman FEIGHAN delivered a most significant address over the Voice of America on the importance and significance of the Pereyaslav celebration. The prime significance of the Pereyaslav celebrations lies in the fact that Moscow is feverishly engaged in the consolidation of its empire as a requisite and necessary step toward the realization of its global objective. For free world consumption it advertises an indissoluble units and unbreakable bonds of friendship between Russia and Ukraine, so that little thought and planning be given to the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union, namely, the ever restive and explosive Ukraine. For Ukrainian consumption it poses as an equal brother, ready and ever disposed to protect the supposedly independent Ukrainian nation against "American imperialism." It makes concessions, like the transfer of Crimea to the Ukrainian Republic, as evidence of its good faith and true brotherhood which, its propaganda persistently bellows, cannot be obtained from the West. It seeks a solid nucleus within its vast empire of 92 million Russians and 45 million Ukrainians, and yet in its deep distrust of the latter, and behind this propaganda facade of brotherhood, equality and unity, executes the genocide of the Ukrainian nation under the guise of unlimited opportunities of work and advancement for Ukrainian youth in Central Asia. In short, Moscow wants to make sure that Ukraine will not serve as the pivotal point of strategy for the West.

It is an open secret that we are losing the psychological struggle for the loyalties of men on many essential fronts of the world. As concerns the 110 million non-Russians in the Soviet Union, we really have not even begun the struggle for their hope in us. There isn't even a shred of evidence of any fully worked-out and carefully planned policy of our Government toward the Soviet Union and its many enslaved nations. At this stage, where the threat of open conflict is never absent, this may sound incredible to our people, but it is nevertheless true. We are totally unprepared to deal with a significant segment of mankind, inhabiting the most proximitous areas to the enemy's fortress; and no more conclusive example and illustration of this unpreparedness can be furnished than our official indifference to the mass Pereyaslav celebrations.

This apathy in thought and policy can be laid only at the door of the containment policy which we still maintain today. To many an observer in Washington it appears that Mr. Kennan and his placed supporters enjoy, by remote as well as direct control, greater leeway of influence and determination than was the case in the remaining years of the previous administration. The long-run consequences of this situation cannot but be dismal in character for the Nation and the free world. With the inadvertent aid of America's containment policy, Moscow gains through an assortment of Pereyaslavs the time and means for empire consolidation, without which it couldn't begin to contemplate further steps in the direction of its fixed goal—world domination. Herein lies the tragedy of our ignorance on the Pereyaslav episode in the cold war.

Residual Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, proponents of more liberal tariff laws are appearing before the House Ways and Means Committee this week. In much of the testimony there is total disregard of the economic disaster inflicted upon American communities by unwise foreign-trade policies. In subsequent hearings, international oil representatives are scheduled to testify, but there is little likelihood that their testimony will vary fundamentally from the preposterous excuses that have perennially been offered by those firms which ruthlessly subordinate the interests of United States economy and safety to the practice of profit at any cost.

The importing oil companies base their defense on a trilogy of deceit. First they dramatize the necessity for imports to supplement domestic production, but all the while they are supplanting the supplies normally provided by this country's oil producers. What is worse, they ship from Venezuela and the Dutch West Indies only a small portion of the yield of gasoline and other higher grade products which we supposedly need, and instead they flood our east-coast markets with almost half of all the residual oil exported from that area. This residual oil, as you well know, serves only to displace coal, of which the United States has sufficient reserves to last for a thousand years.

In the second place, the importing oil companies stage a fantastic yarn about the need for foreign sources of petroleum in time of emergency, yet they well remember that it was practically impossible to ship oil even in coastwise traffic during World War II. At that time, Germany had less than 60 submarines to operate against our tanker fleet; today Russia is estimated to possess more than 400, many of them the snorkel type. Under the circumstances, how would we be expected to transport oil through dangerous ocean lanes in a new emergency if in the past it was so difficult to send a ship safely from Houston to Philadelphia?

Finally, the representatives of importing oil companies appearing at congressional hearings have since 1950 cloaked themselves in the costumes of benevolent patriots who are conscious of the dangers of too much imported oil and who presume to be willing to cut back shipments voluntarily rather than permit the Government to exercise its constitutional duty in this matter. Yet the record shows that since the first of these sanctimonious roles was assumed, following a record deluge of residual oil imports in 1949, shipments into this country from foreign refineries have increased by upwards of 75 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I say that these conditions should no longer be tolerated. This Government cannot in conscience permit our citizens in West Virginia and other coal-producing States to remain out of work in order that a comparatively few greedy corporations might prosper. It is imperative that we place a quota limitation on residual oil imports and make whatever other tariff adjustments are necessary to protect our domestic industries and workers.

A provision on residual oil is included in the resolution on competitive fuels adopted by the board of directors of the Nation Coal Association in its meeting in Washington last month. Under leave

to extend my remarks, I insert this resolution in the RECORD, along with a resolution on reciprocal trade which the association passed at that time.

Careful study of both these resolutions may go a long way toward helping this legislative body decide upon the course that our fuels policies—immediate and long-range—are to take. The injurious effects of excessive residual oil imports must be neutralized through a quota law. In addition, the Congress must be alert to the threat of bringing natural gas across our borders to the further detriment of the coal industry. Finally, there is the question of whether it is not time to discourage the wasteful use of natural gas, and instead inaugurate a sensible program for the practical utilization of our energy resources.

I respectfully commend these National Coal Association resolutions to your attention:

RESOLUTION ON COMPETITIVE FUELS ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION, SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 9–10, 1954

Whereas divergent points of view have been expressed on the advisability of the legislative overthrow of the decision of the United States Supreme Court of June 7, 1954 (Phillips Petroleum Co. case) wherein it was held that the Federal Power Commission has rate-fixing jurisdiction over sales of natural gas by independent producers and gatherers to interstate natural-gas pipeline companies; and

Whereas the Nation's limited natural gas reserves are being rapidly depleted because of the certification of natural gas pipelines without adequate consideration for necessary principles of conservation in the administration of the Natural Gas Act by the Federal Power Commission in the absence of definitive legislative standards designed to channel the valuable natural gas resource to wiser uses; and

Whereas important questions in the fields of safety, States' rights, and conservation make it desirable to determine whether support should be given for the broadening of the Federal power of eminent domain for the purpose of permitting natural gas companies to acquire rights in land for the underground storage of natural gas in order to encourage wiser uses of natural gas; and

Whereas notwithstanding continuous efforts of the National Coal Association as an active intervenor in natural gas certificate cases, the Federal Power Commission has not established policies which would materially lessen the unfair competition to coal from natural gas or direct the wiser use of natural gas, indicating the need for additional legislative standards in the Natural Gas Act; and

Whereas extensive discoveries of natural gas in Canada and Mexico, coupled with the filing of numerous applications with the Federal Power Commission for authority to import great quantities of natural gas to compete with domestic fuels (particularly bituminous coal) on a duty-free basis, gives rise to the need for a public policy with respect to anticipated foreign natural gas competition because of the absence of standards in the Natural Gas Act to guide the Federal Power Commission in the exercise of its jurisdiction over such importations; and

Whereas the flood of residual oil continues unabated, notwithstanding the economic distress and unemployment which have been the end result for the bituminous coal industry because of the importations of this residual product into the eastern seaboard; and

Whereas the Federal Government has encouraged successive reductions in the applicable import tariff on residual oil without due regard for the impact of this foreign fuel upon the domestic coal industry; and

Whereas it has been repeatedly demonstrated in congressional and administrative proceedings that coal and railroad industries and their employees have suffered great damage, particularly in the coal-producing areas supplying the eastern seaboard markets, because of the unrestricted importations of residual oil; and

Whereas there is great danger to the Nation's welfare and defense interests in thus encouraging total dependence upon this foreign fuel in the industrially important eastern seaboard; and

Whereas governmental policies have benefited these competitive fuels and contributed to the accelerated displacement of bituminous coal in the overall fuel market, making it impossible for coal to obtain its fair share of the expanding energy market in consonance with the established principles of the American free competitive enterprise system; and

Whereas the public interest, the general welfare, and the Nation's defense potentials are not best served by continued unwarranted attrition against the capacity of the bituminous coal industry to meet the fuel needs of the Nation in time of peace or war; and

Whereas effective action with respect to these problems requires the united cooperation of the coal producers, distributors, dealers, deliverers, users, and transporters, their respective employees, and all other elements of the coal and related industries: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the directors of the National Coal Association, That the officers of the National Coal Association are hereby authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary to secure recognition by the President, the Congress, and the administrative agencies of the Government that the Nation's best interests will be served by maintaining the productive capacity of the coal industry at a safe level and urge the adoption of such principles as will contribute to the restoration of a fair competitive balance between the industries competing for available fuel markets; and be it further

Resolved, That the office of the National Coal Association, in the name of the National Coal Association and on behalf of its membership, sponsor, seek the introduction of, and support such legislation in the 84th Congress as will best achieve the aims and purposes herein set forth.

Maybe It'll Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a united effort on every front will be necessary if we are to reduce the frightful number of deaths resulting from highway accidents. Training youthful drivers is one way we can make headway. My colleague the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. RAINS] has presented a worthwhile and useful proposal. The bill he has offered is meeting with universal acclaim, which is attested by the following editorial appearing in the January 10, 1955, edition of the Huntsville Times, Huntsville, Ala.:

MAYBE IT'LL HELP

A bill has been introduced in Congress by Alabama's Representative ALBERT RAINS to remove excise taxes on automobiles furnished by dealers to schools for student driving training, in hopes, of course, that more cars will be made available and more drivers trained.

It's another angle seeking to cut down highway fatalities, and we certainly hope that particular phase of the bill goes through.

As the Gasden Times pointed out last Friday, the value of the excise taxes lost on those cars would probably be made up over and over again in lives, time, and property saved.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Inaugural Address by Governor Timmerman, of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the inaugural address delivered by Hon. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., on assuming the great office of Governor of South Carolina.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN, JR., AS GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA

My fellow South Carolinians, I deeply appreciate the honor conferred upon me. I value the opportunity to serve. I treasure the confidence reposed in me.

Realizing the grave responsibilities facing our State and Nation, I assume the office of Governor mindful of your expectations, aware of my own limitations, but determined to measure up to the challenge of our time.

Our State confronts a critical period in its history. I beseech the cooperation and good counsel of the general assembly and of all departments of government, and the interest, support and prayers of our citizens.

Our hope for the future is the attainment of those ends that will be beneficial to all.

My purpose is to be of service. I pray for divine guidance in the realization of that goal.

In these first moments as your governor, I could not speak further without first recognizing the career of a distinguished South Carolinian. He has received many honors and has served in many capacities. His has been a life-time of service to his State, our Nation and the world. Some 4 years ago, he expressed the humble desire to make South Carolina a good governor; today as he steps forward from that office to continue as an elder statesman, James Francis Byrnes carries with him the respect and the good wishes of his beloved State.

PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT

I am proud to be a South Carolinian. We are citizens of a State rich in heritage from a commendable past which no amount of misreport can destroy. Our history is a record of achievement against almost insurmountable odds.

I am especially proud of those South Carolinians of old. During those days of Reconstruction and the many difficult years which followed, they demonstrated their intelligence by first recognizing the problems which faced them; and they demonstrated the courage of their convictions in solving those problems.

That history has shaped our philosophy of government.

It is neither the static thinking of the extreme right nor the erratic thinking of the extreme left.

We believe in a government that is responsive to the will of an informed public; in a government that serves its citizens in the priority of their needs by constitutional means.

We believe in a government that shuns the easy politics of expediency and evaluates proposals in the light of their useful potentialities.

We utilize the experiences of the past, and our knowledge of the present, to build a more promising future.

It is within that philosophy of government that we look to the future.

MAJOR PROBLEMS

I cannot predict precisely what it holds for us, except the challenge from our past to meet our problems boldly, with courage and reason.

In our future, however, lie major problems that have their roots in both the past and the present.

One is our economic health; the other, the crisis of our time. One can be solved because it is confined to the facts of dollars and cents. The other is a problem of human equations, for which there is no easy solution.

KEYSTONES

Our efforts to better our economy depend upon our successes in developing our economic potentials.

The keystones for success in building a better and more prosperous South Carolina are agriculture, industry, and education.

Agriculture is the keystone of our economic base; new industry the keystone of opportunity; education the keystone of knowledge.

It is toward continued progress in these fields that I shall direct my administration. Our development in these fields will determine our ability to improve our material and human values.

OUR ECONOMY

The stability of our government depends upon the soundness of its fiscal affairs. We have enjoyed conservative government which is the will of our own people, and attractive to industry and business.

Our State has a sound tax structure, founded upon a broad base, distributed among available sources of revenues.

No general overhaul of our tax structure is needed or advisable, but we should continually strive to improve our approach to taxation and, when financially feasible, give relief to those least able to pay.

The surest way to expand our ability to finance these things that are beneficial is to provide new revenue without additional taxation by raising the income of our people.

Since 1929 South Carolina has led every State in the Nation in per capita income increase. In 1929 our per capita income was 37 percent of the national average. In 1952 it was 67 percent. But our State still ranked 45th in the United States in per capita income. There is considerable room for improvement.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The key to this is maximum opportunities to increase our citizens' earning power. To provide those opportunities we need new industries with diversification in products and locations, suitable to our farm potential and other natural resources. We need to encourage the development and expansion of locally owned industries, and the further development of our tourist trade into the profitable business that it ought to be.

To encourage new industries to locate in our State, we need to maintain a sound tax structure and a stable government rather than offering concessions which we cannot afford.

Since the end of World War II, we have witnessed tremendous industrial progress in our State. It now amounts to a total capital investment of approximately $938 million. It has created about 115,000 new jobs, and new payrolls amounting annually to more than $277 million, exclusive of the H-bomb plant.

This did not happen by accident. Our industrial development has been encouraged by wise government and prudent men.

We have not exhausted our industrial potential. Our future is as bright now as it was at the beginning. We must work diligently toward further industrial development, especially in those sections of our State where it is most needed.

AGRICULTURE AND LABOR

The encouragement of new industries is also a major factor in promoting a sounder farm economy and a more livable standard for farm families. These industries should be synchronized to our agricultural productivity for the benefit of both industry and our farm people.

South Carolina, of course, wants no industry to exploit our people or our natural resources.

We should guard carefully the rights of labor in all vocations. We can never hope to improve living conditions and opportunities by providing prosperity at the top in the hope that some of it may trickle down. Our economy must be built upward. Every effort must be made to improve the earning capacities and the living and working standards of our people.

Good government does not confine itself to assisting those who are strong of health and mind. Good government must also demonstrate that it has good heart. There are those of our citizens who have lived fruitful lives but who are no longer able to provide for themselves. They are still our citizens and they are our responsibility. We must see to it that the handicapped, the indigent, and the aged receive the comfort and necessities to which they are entitled.

CONSERVATION

With our awareness of responsibility for our human resources goes responsibility for caring for our natural resources. The disaster of a long drought has brought home to us the importance of water conservation. Water is vital to plant life and growth. The rainfall cannot be controlled, but the rain that falls can be; and it should be conserved for use when needed. The establishment of a sound water-conservation program is essential to our development and will minimize regulatory controls by increasing the available supply for everyone.

The demands upon water for agricultural, domestic, industrial, and municipal purposes require a sound water-rights law. It should define water rights in the terms of

modern usage and insure equitable distribution with full protection for all users. Care, however, must be taken to avoid passing a law with provisions which may hamper our industrial progress and the creation of needed opportunities for profitable employment.

PORTS

Another major factor in our economic growth is the development of our State ports authority. Our ports link our business and industry with many markets and sources of materials in the Nation and around the world.

The textile industry of the Piedmont may ship its products to foreign markets through our facilities more economically than through the ports of another State.

The location of basic woolen industries in the coastal section accelerates the need for adequate facilities to handle imports and exports.

We cannot afford to be "penny wise and pound foolish" with any of our program for new opportunities.

BUDGET

A more immediate financial problem faces us, however. It is a problem of some magnitude, but one which must be solved within specific limitations.

Our forefathers were wise in making a constitutional requirement that the State maintain a balanced budget; that it live within its means. It is sensible government.

To meet the needs of its citizens, our Government expands and improves its services. Along with that, it increases its own cost.

The problem facing this administration and the 91st general assembly, is one of increased obligations in the face of declining revenues.

The present revenue outlook is not as reassuring as a new administration and legislature might desire.

Current collections have been below those for the same period of the last fiscal year.

The recent drought and the devastation of Hurricane Hazel were more than sufficient to impress income unfavorably. A surplus by prior appropriation has gone to recurring expenses, except for the creation of a small reserve fund.

With some shades of doubt, I think it may be concluded that current budget expenses may exceed our current revenue; the reserve fund may be absorbed within this fiscal year; and no surplus may be in the offing for the next fiscal year.

With no surplus impending—the reserve fund diminishing—and our income less than anticipated needs—the legislative task of drawing a balanced budget will not be an enviable one.

There is some encouragement, however, in the present business activity which is brisk. The trend in revenue seems to be turning upward, and with it the immediate financial future looks brighter.

That is one major problem.

EDUCATION

The other is the gravest problem that we as a Government and we as individuals have faced in modern times. It is the impending threat of compulsory social mixing of white and Negro children in our public schools.

Regardless of outside efforts to cripple our educational program, we must see to it that all children continue to receive all of the education we can afford.

In the past 4 years much has been done to provide outstanding school facilities within our laws and within our understanding of the Federal Constitution.

The doctrine of separate but equal schools has been the established interpretation of the Constitution for two-thirds of a century.

In reliance upon that doctrine, our State has made vast investments in separate school facilities for many years. Millions of dollars have been annually appropriated for that purpose.

Within the past 4 years we have accomplished an educational revolution to achieve equality. More than $124 million has been allocated for school construction and improvements. Two-thirds of that amount has gone to Negro schools.

Our new-school construction is the equal of any and better than most in the Nation. Our building program has substantially equalized school buildings for Negro children. Many of them attend finer schoolhouses than do many white children.

Yet, as meritorious as our school-building program may be, real educational opportunity depends in its final analysis upon the character and quality of teaching.

Children of today receive a better education than their parents received. But there is a need for more good education.

The long future of our State will be influenced by the education of its future citizens.

We cannot hope to have the kind of education that we need until our teachers are adequately paid and double shifts and overloaded classrooms are eliminated.

The control of education and training for children is a local matter and has been traditionally the prerogative of the States and their people.

Our law requires that separate schools be provided for the children of each race and that no child of either race shall attend the schools for children of the other race.

This law applies equally to both races at the same time. It does not require that the schools for one race be better than the schools for the other race.

Any statement that our law is inherently unequal is inherently untrue.

This is the law which the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation cases says is unconstitutional based upon dubious conclusions found in partisan writings that were not a part of the official record of evidence in these cases.

This opinion as it respects our law holds for the first time in judicial history that equality of treatment is discrimination.

The present members of the Court disagree with the Federal Constitution as it was understood when it was adopted by the people; as it was understood when they each took an oath to preserve, protect, and defend it and as it was understood by every court in the land—until the members of the present Supreme Court undertook to change it in an effort to legislate out of existence a social institution that is older than the Constitution itself.

When separate schools in a district are unequal, the remedy is not to destroy the schools or the law, but to require that the schools be made equal.

If the time is near when we in South Carolina will have to choose between no public schools with peace and friendly relations on the one hand, and public schools with hatred and strife and discord on the other, it will be the first time an American State has had to make such a choice.

The effort to interfere with the progressive development of school advantages for children in the South where there are large numbers of each race is no doubt pleasing to the Communists and their fellow travelers. They above all others are sufficiently cunning to see the potentialities for sapping the strength of America with the creation of internal social unrest, discord, and dissention in so large a section of the United States.

White parents do not wish their children to mix in public schools with large groups of Negro children. Most Negro parents do not want their children to mix with large groups of white children. These parental objections are alone sufficient and should be respected.

Our State has discouraged organizations against Negroes, and it is hoped that the best thought and sentiment of the South will continue to do so; but when Negroes combine against whites, it is inevitable that whites will combine against Negroes and both races will suffer.

Loyal South Carolinians wil stand firm against any organized effort to destroy the right of parents to choose what is best for their children.

It is tragic to see our educational progress imperiled by those who practice racial isolation in their own lives while professing to perceive from a great distance that our children should be mixed.

They should ponder the words of a famous former President of the United States, who said:

"My own feelings will not admit of this, and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of whites will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question; if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling whether well or ill founded cannot be safely disregarded."

With profound respect to him, these words of President Lincoln make him what some would call today "a white supremacist." He was a great humanitarian with no spark of intolerance, but he was also a realist.

The development of future educational opportunities for Negro children will depend in large measure upon preserving the right of each race to attend their own public schools.

I do not speak of what our State as a government intends to do or of what I, as Governor, may recommend that the general assembly should do. I speak of the inevitable consequences where substantial numbers of each race live in proximity in the event of any attempt to force the children of the two races to mix socially.

But this problem cannot be solved by the cowardly approach of gradualism, which is the essence of discrimination. Gradualism is selective application of the law. It is cowardly because it seeks to minimize opposition by careful selection of a few victims from time to time. It is discriminatory because it seeks to administer the law unequally. It is a creeping evil that has no place in the government of a free people.

The only acceptable decree that may be rendered by the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases is one that will recognize the right of individual parents to choose what is best for their own children. The people of South Carolina will not tolerate any tampering with the lives of their children by any agency of the Federal Government.

The great constitutional problem facing the American people is how to curb the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, which has arrogated to itself the power to change the Constitution without consulting the people—a power it was never intended to have and a power that endangers the future freedom of all citizens.

The Congress of the United States has the constitutional authority to return to the States their rightful and constitutional prerogatives, including the traditional right to regulate their own schools. It could be done by the enactment of legislation curbing the jurisdiction of the courts.

It is the responsibility of the Congress to curb this power for the future protection of all citizens and for the preservation of constitutional government.

The same article of the Federal Constitution which creates the Supreme Court vests the Congress with authority to limit the appellate jurisdiction of that Court and the jurisdiction of all other Federal courts. The Congress can exempt from such jurisdiction all cases concerning our public schools, excepting, if Congress deems advisable, cases involving violations of the separate but equal doctrine.

The failure of Congress to act will require that it share the full responsibility for the current judicial infringement upon constitutional government and upon the freedom of a large segment of the citizens of the United States.

CONCLUSION

My pledge to you is that I shall exert my greatest efforts to preserve the way of life in which white and Negro have learned to live peacefully in close proximity, with an understanding of the problems of each—a way of life in which each keeps racial integrity—a way of life in which the white majority has increased its efforts yearly to provide true equality of opportunity to the Negro minority in schools, and in all other endeavor, except social intermingling.

Perhaps there is nothing that I can say which might serve to prove to each of you how deeply I feel about the future of our beloved State and its people.

But in these last words of this my first and perhaps only inaugural address, I shall attempt to do so.

We must ask God to guide us in the troublesome days ahead. Man alone is neither strong enough nor wise enough. I speak not only of the problem of human relationships in our own State. I speak also of the terrible shadow of war, which constantly overhangs our Nation.

Of one thing we can be certain. You as citizens and I as Governor, only with the help of Almighty God, can meet successfully whatever problems the future may hold.

We must place our trust, our faith, our hope, in Him.

The Complete Situation in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I made yesterday in an address to the Alexandria Kiwanis Club, in Alexandria, Va., in relation to the serious and complicated situation in the East.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY BEFORE ALEXANDRIA KIWANIS CLUB, GEORGE MASON HOTEL, THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1955

SENATOR WILEY SAYS ASIA SITUATION SERIOUS, COMPLEX—URGES PATIENCE, RESTRAINT

The diplomatic situation which has arisen in the Straits of Formosa is both serious and complex.

This morning, I participated in a meeting at the White House with Democratic and Republican leaders which explored various problems in that connection.

I do not propose at the present time to comment in detail on this subject, but I do want to say that the administration is working hard to protect our own national interest and the cause of freedom, peace, and justice in Asia. Let's give the President and the Secretary of State a chance to work this problem out—in close consultation with the Congress.

Let's think, before any of us, inside the Congress or outside, rushes into print with off-the-cuff solutions to an exceedingly difficult situation.

I should like now to present a few general observations with regard to ways and means by which we may help assure a just and lasting peace in Asia, and for that matter, elsewhere in the world:

1. We can do so only by maintaining the strong western alliance, a dynamic unity among the free nations, including our proven friends in Asia.

This requires careful and continuous consultation among all of them. It requires careful consideration of the viewpoint of each.

We must not ignore the views of others and proceed impulsively and emotionally like a bull in a china shop. We must weigh the interrelated military, economic, diplomatic, psychological factors, including basically United States strategic considerations in the Far East.

2. The second basic principle is that we must and will remain loyal to our allies. I refer, in particular, to the Republic of China. The government of Chiang Kai-shek has been our proven friend. We will, therefore, remain true to our commitments. We will not abandon the Nationalist government.

We definitely do not believe that the people of China should be represented in the United Nations by the Red government at Peiping which has violated practically every international law.

3. A third principle is that we must try to win to our cause the great neutral, uncommitted bloc of Asia.

I do not believe that there is any good reason why there should be a lasting or growing barrier between ourselves and the Governments say, of India, Ceylon, or Burma.

On the contrary, we share the same common aspiration for the sovereignty of peoples for a better way of life for them. We have the same belief in the spiritual worth of the human being.

On the other hand, Red China shares none of these concepts.

We must make sure, that we do not, by arbitrary, impulsive action push the neutral countries into Red China's orbit. This could have come about, or still could, if the United States were to go halfcocked and to try all by ourselves a military blockade of Red China at this time. Some of the gravest questions of international law would arise in the event such a unilateral blockade were to be attempted.

I previously have stated on several occasions my vigorous opposition to such a blockade at the present time.

I have stated that a blockade might result in the immediate death of our own 11 imprisoned airmen. It might cause a wide-open split with our allies. It might overcommit our present naval resources. It might cause the bitterest of differences with the neutral countries. But, worst of all, it might precipitate us into a war with Red China, which is probably something the Kremlin would dearly like.

4. We must continue to work through the U. N., both for the release of our imprisoned airmen and for the furtherance of peace, stability, and freedom in the Far East.

I believe that it is unfair and unwise to characterize the mission of the United Nations Secretary-General to Peking as a failure. On the contrary, I believe that it contributed to progress toward the goal of peace.

We must remember that diplomatic negotiation particularly with the cagey Communist adversary, often takes a long, long time. We cannot expect miracles overnight. An impulsive blockade could bring chaos overnight, but diplomacy cannot bring order and justice overnight.

5. The next basic principle is that we must contribute further to the inner security and strength of the free nations in Asia; for example, among such splendid friends as the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan.

We must help enable them to assure security inside their own borders and at their outer borders. This means prompt ratification of SEATO—prompt ratification which must and will come.

At the same time, we must remember that these various countries require greatly expanded programs of technical assistance if they are to assure an ever-higher standard of living for their people.

Guns alone will not save free Asia. In a war of ideas, a war of hungry stomachs, right ideas and full stomachs count far more than weapons.

There must be guns for defense, but there must be ideas for the mind; there must be food, shelter; honest, efficient government; decent sanitation; opportunity for a higher standard of living as a whole.

I conclude with this thought:

Your President—a great President—is acting with care, with discretion, with judgment. He is consulting carefully on a bipartisan basis with the Congress.

Let's give him our faith and confidence. Let's give him the benefit of any doubt; he is entitled to our admiration and esteem. His record of statesmanship, and that of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, proves that we are in good, capable hands. Let's work with them as a team.

Universal Military Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, Mr. C. L. Brown, of Northfield, Minn., is a distinguished businessman who has written an article on universal military training. It is very thought provoking, and for that reason I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING
(By Chan Brown)

Having given the subject of universal military training a lot of thought I have come to the conclusion that, personally, I am all for it.

In the past I have always been against universal military training. As a boy in the nineties I saw so many people who came from Europe to get away from having to spend 5 years in the Army that it made me think deeply on this subject.

Also, I have three grandsons who would be affected by this program: One at once, one in 3 years, and one in 9 years. No grandfather ever loved his grandsons more than I do mine. They are fine boys and I want for them only what is best.

One of the reasons I am in favor of universal military training, I do not want my grandsons to be drafted and cast into a war before they have had proper military training, as has happened to a lot of our boys during the past wars. Many did not know how to fight or how to protect themselves. That was not fair to them.

I do believe, however, there is a far better way than that now proposed in the 6-month program which calls for 6 months consecutive training.

A much better way would be to have 2 periods of 3 months each—1 in the summer of the boy's 18th year and the other in the summer of his 19th year.

In this way the boys would not have their schooling disturbed. It might cost the Gov-

ernment a trifle more for transportation but training camps could be set up in each State so that most of the transportation cost would thus be offset.

When the second training period is completed, the boys should be held in the Reserve for a period of 5 years.

These boys should be paid well for their time and paid only at the end of the training period, which would give each one a chance to earn and save during their summer months. This, also, will greatly help out the unemployment situation.

The second 3 months' term should consist of more intense training for combat so that our boys would not be sent to war only partially trained. Their schooling would not be interrupted and the ones in the second training period could go on with their higher education or into business without the uncertainty that now exists under the current draft law.

The Nation would soon be stronger, militarily, and the whole setup would be more fair for everybody.

With this program we would all feel safer about the cloud of communism hanging over our heads.

Every 18-year-old boy who can pass the physical examination should be compelled to be so trained.

All our youngsters now need such training and discipline. It would help solve some of the juvenile-delinquency problems facing us.

The uncertainty that bothers all our boys from the age of 12 on up to 20 or 25 would be eliminated.

We, the people, will all feel much safer if we know our youth have proper military training, and it would help materially in preventing our being attacked if the world knows we are ready to fight.

The United States Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, one of our foremost citizens is Maj. Gen. John M. Franklin, whose patriotic and valuable services to his Nation constitute a notable contribution to the welfare of the United States. Particularly well-informed is he concerning all phases of the American merchant marine, as he served as Chief of the Water Division of the Transportation Corps, and later as Assistant Chief of Transportation during World War II.

His public statements are entitled to the greatest weight, and because of the timeliness of an address delivered by General Franklin before the National Defense Transportation Association in Pittsburgh, Pa., I ask unanimous consent that some excerpts from his address entitled "Our United States Merchant Marine: A Sound Investment" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

At the start of World War II there were approximately 15 million tons of merchant ships of all types under the American flag; at the end of the war, approximately 50 million tons. During 1943 there were approximately 12 million tons constructing but on January 1, 1944, there were only approximately 250,000 more tons of shipping in the allied pool than on January 1, 1944, because of the terrible destruction by enemy air and submarine. During 1943, the losses of ships by submarine action was 2 percent per month of 10 knot ships and 1 percent per month of 15 knot ships or better.

If it had not been for the passenger ships built under the 1928 act and the 1936 act, it is doubtful if the six American divisions that may well have stopped the Japanese from capturing Australia in 1942 could have been moved, as all the foreign flag passenger ships in the allied pool were in vital service elsewhere.

At the peak of the war there were 2,000 ships of 10,000 tons each either at sea or loading or unloading troops and Army supplies alone.

It was not until the spring of 1945 that every decision of the Joint Chiefs of Staff did not have to be edited in the light of shipping capabilities; prior to that time, available divisions and supplies could not be moved as rapidly as they should have been moved because of lack of shipping space.

MISTAKE TO NEGLECT FLEET

It seems abundantly clear to me in the light of those facts that it would be the greatest possible mistake to neglect our American merchant marine, particularly at this time. The Department of Defense budget was $43 billion in the fiscal year 1953. This huge sum is certainly not being spent to prepare for a possible war in this country.

The Defense Department has deemed that it is just as important to maintain domestic ship construction facilities and know-how in the interests of national security as it is to have a merchant fleet. Otherwise, we would soon become dependent upon foreign countries to keep our merchant marine fleet equipped with modern vessels—as replacements became necessary.

For the 14-year period beginning with the date of the 1936 act and ending December 1, 1951, the net construction-differential subsidies paid on American ships was $88 million, or an average of $6,300,000 per year.

How does the American merchant marine benefit the economy of the United States?

COMPETE FOR BUSINESS

Intense competition for freight exists in the steamship industry. The Committee of American Steamship Lines questioned the American flag lines that it represents to see just what the competitive picture is and what the lines were doing to meet it. It was found that 4 American steamship companies compete with as many as 6 to 11 other American lines for business—and 5 of the American lines compete with up to 3 other United States lines.

Foreign competition for cargoes is even heavier. From 14 to 39 foreign lines are operating over the same trade routes as 7 American lines, and from 1 to 6 foreign competitors are faced by 5 American companies.

One of the most effective methods steamship companies have employed to keep their cargo space booked is through the operations of their trade development and promotion departments. This activity is designed to create new international trade by:

1. Assisting American businessmen to develop new sales markets abroad;

2. Finding new foreign sources of raw materials for American industry;

3. Helping foreign businessmen to enter the American market.

CUSTOMER FOR UNITED STATES BUSINESS

Then we should also consider the American merchant marine as a customer of American business. It is one of the best customers of supply firms, spending last year $7,500,000 for electrical products, $3,220,000 for china and glassware, $2,450,000 for linen, to name only a few items. Fourteen million packages of soap and cleansing compounds were sold to privately owned American steamship lines last year.

Ocean travel creates an enormous market for farmers and food processors. American lines spent $97,326,400 for food last year—$46,500,000 for meat, and $10 million for poultry.

Salt air and relaxation have an appreciable effect on appetites. The average person aboard ship eats five times more meat per day than the national average for landlubbers. The per person consumption of meat aboard ship is 2¾ pounds per day, while the national average is just under one-half pound per day per person.

America's railroads, trucks, buses, automobiles, and ships are all vital cogs in the most tremendous network of cargo and passenger mobilization in the world. It is perhaps one of the strongest advantages this country has over Communist Russia, where anything like comparable transportation facilities are relatively meager. And the full effectiveness of one form of transportation is dependent upon the others.

We must rely more heavily on domestic transportation in the years to come, because ultimately the most effective defense against atomic bombings will be dispersion—decentralization of our industry and population centers.

Unfortunately, the public reaction to our technological progress toward push-button warfare is detrimental to the rapid improvements in our transportation system that are required. The H-bomb, the A-bomb, guided missiles, atomic cannon, jet power, and a host of other implements of war that have become reality, have led a good portion of public opinion to believe that our dependance upon the staple commodities of warfare, such as transportation, has been reduced.

The hard, cold facts are that improved railroad facilities, superhighways, airport and airplane development, and more modern ships are all needed right now in the interests of national security.

Ocean transportation becomes increasingly vital as Communist pressure on the free world continues to mount and our treaties with freedom-loving countries expand the defense perimeter within which we are pledged to counteract aggression.

SHIPS OUR LIFELINE

Ships are—and always will be—the lifeline between the fighting front and our production plants. Bulk cargoes—volume of gasoline and spare parts, ammunition and bombs, steel matting and concrete for airstrips, troops for the fighting fronts and the multitude of items needed to support them—can only be delivered in sufficient quantities by ship, and nothing in the foreseeable future will change this situation.

During the Korean war, more airplanes were used for transport than ever before, and still 95 percent of all the supplies delivered to Korea came by ship.

The Kansas Turnpike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Gale Moss, general manager

of the Kansas Turnpike Authority, at Kansas City, Mo., on January 6, 1955.

Gale Moss was formerly director of the Kansas Highway Commission, and for the past several years has carried on an expanded highway-construction program for our State. Great progress was made on the Kansas highways during his administration, and under his leadership the new Kansas Turnpike from Kansas City to the Oklahoma line south of Wichita will be completed at the earliest possible date.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TURNPIKE

(Address by Gale Moss, general manager, Kansas Turnpike Authority, before Associated General Contractors of Missouri, Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 6, 1955.)

This is the first time I have appeared before your group and I am very appreciative and greatly honored by your invitation. It is my hope that I can bring some information of interest to you in your field of endeavor.

In Kansas we are just at a point that is most interesting to the construction industry. We are beginning to let contracts for the construction of our 236-mile turnpike project. One letting has been held, one is set for January 11, another for January 19. By the last of this month lettings should be weekly or more frequently until the whole project is under contract.

The turnpike-method of construction of highways is something new to our part of the country on the scale being undertaken in Kansas. In fact, we kept our fingers pretty well crossed until our $160 million bond issue was definitely set. It was the first of its size west of the Mississippi and we knew our traffic density could not begin to match the volumes existent in the eastern States. Yet, we were able to dispose of our bonds at a higher price and lower interest rate than some eastern turnpike and toll-bridge issues, backed only by anticipated user revenues.

What is the reason for the willingness of investors to put their money, in tremendous amounts, into securities which 15 years ago would have been considered strictly speculative? So speculative they could not have been sold.

The answer is probably found in a slight addition to an old maxim: "Nothing is so sure as death, taxes, and traffic." Traffic and the proved willingness of the traveling public to pay to get away from its congestion, is the only possible answer.

The reasons for our present tremendous volumes are these:

United States population:	
1930	122,750,000
1940	131,500,000
1950	150,500,000
1954 (estimated)	163,000,000
Gross national product:	
1945	$181,000,000,000
1950	240,000,000,000
1954 (estimated)	350,000,000,000
Motor vehicles:	
1930	26,500,000
1940	32,000,000
1950	49,000,000
1954 (estimated)	60,000,000
Motor vehicles produced:	
1930	3,333,000
1940	3,000,000
1950	10,000,000
1954 (estimated)	12,000,000

No one is ever interested in statistics but these few give the real reason for our turnpike successes throughout the country. By reason of these statistics the population center of the United States has moved, since 1930, from Linton, Ind., 55 miles west and 15½ miles south—in our direction—to near Olney, Ill. And that is the story of why Kansas has the traffic to finance our 236-mile project.

These, I believe, are the reasons turnpikes, when built, are and will be successful in our area. The next question logically to arise is this: Why the turnpike surge in recent years?

The end of World War II—1945 to now, 1955, 10 years—has seen an increase in traffic volumes that no State has been able to keep up with—even with increased revenues—long range highway planning and increased efficiency of operation and construction methods. There is no criticism of any person, State, or highway department because this situation exists. Money of course is the principal answer to the problem. Taxes of every type are at the point of diminishing returns and, some people believe, would verge on confiscatory if increased.

For example, were we to double the gasoline tax and license tag fees in Kansas which, of course, will not be done, it would take more than 3 years' collections of the new tax to equal the present toll project financing. Of course, if it were to happen the money couldn't possibly be spent on our 236-mile project: The 9,400-plus miles on the State highway system would be entitled to have it spread judiciously along its needy stretches. The sums left for a new alinement over an entirely new route would be nominal.

No one believes the toll road to be the answer to the entire traffic-congestion situation. We know and believe it to be a means of relieving this situation along isolated routes where engineers, expert in the field, find or forecast sufficient toll-paying traffic to make the project self-supporting. We have, we now know, one of such routes in our State. We are investigating to determine whether there are others.

It is our thinking that if a turnpike can be built it should be built in order to release moneys that would have to be used by the State highway commission along the free routes affected, for use elsewhere.

Perhaps it would be well to review for a minute the thinking that has led to the present turnpike movement.

In the first place, until the last 2 years, it had long been the policy of the Bureau of Public Roads in Washington to resist the movement. This policy has been and still is statutory—but there are indications it may be changed. The original Federal Aid Highway Act, 1916, provided "all roads constructed under the provisions of this act shall be free from tolls of all kinds." The language of the law was broadened in the Federal Aid Act of 1921 to provide that "all roads constructed or reconstructed under the provisions of this act shall be free from tolls of all kinds." Since 1921 this has been the basic law and policy.

The Federal Highway Act of 1938 required the Bureau of Public Roads to study and report on the possibility of a transcontinental toll road. The report made indicated that such a road would not be more than 50 percent self-supporting and would not meet the most urgent needs of the Nation.

The 1954 act again instructs the Bureau to make a comprehensive study of all phases of highway financing including particular attention to the possible effects of toll roads upon the Federal-aid highway programs, and the coordinations thereof. This report is due to be made to Congress on February 1, 1955. It will be preceded by the President's address concerning his proposed highway program on January 27. Addresses by prominent Government officials indicate a change may be expected in the policy laid down in 1916 and expanded in 1921.

This change in policy, I believe, can be expected. Considered with the President's accelerated highway program, I believe it can and probably will mean 1 of 2 things:

1. It will result in new highway legislation by the Congress which will permit the use of Federal funds or credits to support marginal turnpike projects; or

2. It will result in the States in which turnpike projects are built receiving additional Federal moneys, on some formula, for use on the interstate system of the State concerned.

The latest indications from Washington are that the second possibility mentioned is most likely to happen.

In either event it would be a move to alleviate the traffic situation in areas which have exceedingly heavy traffic volumes or routes which are considered of prime importance to the national defense or economy. Of this latter classification, Kansas has 700 miles, and Missouri 1,088 miles.

If the interstate system is to benefit from a State's construction of turnpikes then certainly the various highway departments become immediately interested from a financial point of view. As an example of what I mean, consider this: The cost of actual construction of our Kansas project is estimated at $107 million. Engineering, administration, right-of-way and all other costs except financing raises this figure to $140 million. If the new act putting the President's program into law were to provide Federal matching of turnpike construction costs on the present Federal aid formula applicable to the interstate system, 60–40, then the Kansas Highway Department would benefit to the extent of better than $150 million. If the matching formula be as on the primary system, 50–50, it would be $107 million. If it be a smaller fraction—even 25 percent—it would be better than $50 million. At any rate, whatever the formula, the State department would benefit so far as moneys for use on the interstate system are concerned.

It will not be long until we will know. If either of the contingencies do happen it can be expected that there will be an additional shot in the arm for turnpike construction over the country.

In the 18 months I have been working on our turnpike project I have learned from other States that there is a general feeling against the Federal Government participating in the toll-road business. There is a fear of Federal control following Federal contributions or help. Personally, I do not have that feeling. What difference does it make who assists in the building of highways or who has some say in their design, construction, or operation? The important thing is to build highways, either free or toll. I believe no one would say the Federal-aid programs effective through the years have resulted in Federal controls detrimental either to the States or the traveling public. Certainly the Federal act, whatever it be, will not force Federal money upon any turnpike authority that doesn't want it.

Regardless of what the Federal program may be, 1955 has every prospect of being a boomer year in turnpike construction. About half as many turnpike securities in dollar volume are expected to hit the market in January and February as were sold during all of 1954. The 1954 total was $1½ billion.

Now, I would like to take a few minutes on the pertinent details of our own project in Kansas.

Doing Tricks With Mirrors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial by Willard Shelton entitled "Doing Tricks With Mirrors," and dealing with the $100 billion highway program proposed by President Eisenhower, which editorial appeared in Labor's Daily of January 15, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOING TRICKS WITH MIRRORS

(By Mr. Willard Shelton)

The Wall Street Journal, an eminently respectable publication, is stirring up a fuss about President Eisenhower's new highway program—not in opposition to the program itself but in disagreement with the trick financing scheme by which it would be supported.

The President suggests that the Federal Government's $25 billion share be raised through creation of a special corporation that would sell its own bonds to private investors.

Theoretically, this would not be an addition to the public debt, which is now held at a rigid $281 billion maximum. Actually, the bonds would have to be retired, eventually, from the Treasury, with dollars paid in by taxpayers.

"A man hasn't profited himself a bit—and he can delude himself into deeper trouble," says the Wall Street Journal, "by hiding a debt from himself behind trick mirrors."

From this observation post, the old New Deal idea of establishing a "capital" budget and a separate "spending" budget has always seemed to make sense.

When the Government advances money for a power generating dam or a steam generating plant, for example, it is simply an investment—not really a debt. The money will be repaid to the Treasury, with interest, across a term of years. It will be repaid by the people who benefit from the facilities, not by the general taxpayers.

At the present time, any Government advances to the Tennessee Valley Authority are called expenditures and are added to the public debt. They might more properly be called capital investments and treated exactly the same as a private investor in bonds treats his expenditures for investment purposes—as a savings, not an expense.

One basic trouble with the Eisenhower administration's financial approach is that tne President and Treasury Secretary Humphrey lack the candor to say that they would like to adopt wholeheartedly the New Deal idea of splitting budgets into two categories—capital and current spending.

Another basic trouble is that they are trying to pretend that they don't have any new debts when, in fact, their policies are creating enormous Treasury obligations.

The highway program is one example. The Treasury will be in hock for the finances, if the plan should be adopted, but the administration is trying to ignore the fact.

Under Secretary Humphrey and Agriculture Secretary Benson, money for the farm-support program is being borrowed by the Commodity Credit Corporation, not by the Government. The Government's faith and credit are behind CCC borrowings, but the money is written out of the so-called public debt.

The potential liability of the Treasury has been increased by heavy commitments guaranteeing housing loans. Again, however, the liability is being covered up by trick bookkeeping that refuses to admit the guaranty is part of the so-called public debt.

An honest administration statement that it is going to demand certain capital expenditures, which it will segregate from the ordinary spending budget, would be a fine thing.

The present program of increasing Treasury liabilities without putting the Treasury directly behind them simply means that people who borrow from Government-controlled corporations pay higher interest rates—and the taxpayers, in the end, are still stuck.

Pay Raise for Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Pay Raise for Congressmen," published in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of January 10, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAY RAISE FOR CONGRESSMEN

Of all the melodies piped by President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message, none could have come more sweetly to congressional ears than this: "I also urge the Congress to approve a long overdue increase in the salaries of Members of Congress and of the Federal judiciary, and in my opinion this raise should be substantial because I believe it should be to a level commensurate with their heavy responsibilities."

This part of the Eisenhower program seems certain to enjoy full, bipartisan backing, especially the congressional feature. Congressmen are very touchy about voting themselves raises, fearing the scorn of those at home. But the President has graciously given them an out; they can vote themselves a raise and say in truth it was the President's idea.

Actually, they deserve a raise, and a good one. Lawmakers in the House and Senate get a little over $15,000 a year, practically all of it taxable. That doesn't go far, what with their heavy expenses. They have to maintain two residences; they have to entertain; they have to pay campaign expenses; they have to keep fences mended, which means, among other things, trips to and from home at their own expense; they have to kick in to all sorts of political and community causes. No wonder the New York Times found 2 years ago that the Congressman's pay falls short of his job expenses by at least $3,000 a year.

Obviously, Congressmen have to get other income. The Times found that 80 percent of the Representatives and 67 percent of the Senators carry on a private business or profession back home or have income from investments. Some Congressmen add to their income—but detract from their legislative time—by writing articles or lecturing.

The Congressman, for all the public's jokes and jibes, is an important man in our society. He ought to be paid accordingly. He ought to get enough to keep well ahead of the dogs of debt, so that he can think more about his legislative job and, above all, devote more time to it. He ought to get enough so that he can more easily withstand proffered bribes—or should we say contributions—by special interests?

Last year, mainly because it was an election year, Congress turned down a pay raise for its Members. This year it should not be so skittish. Every reasonable voter, including the President himself, appreciates that the lawmakers have long deserved a healthy hike in pay.

Our Fiscal Pilots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Our Fiscal Pilots," which appeared in the New York Times on January 18, 1955. This editorial points out the steady progress which the Eisenhower administration has made toward balancing the Federal budget.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR FISCAL PILOTS

The President's annual message on the budget, delivered to the Congress yesterday, contains one short and happily phrased statement of philosophy that will remain with many readers after the myriad of other words and the regiment after regiment of accompanying statistics have become a blur. It reads: "A liberal attitude toward the welfare of the people and a conservative approach to the use of their money have shaped the budget."

The story of the budget over the past 2 years has been the story of an administration which was pledged to a balanced budget struggling to make good on that promise in the face of a downward readjustment in the economy stemming from the end of the fighting war in Korea and the leveling off of the rearmament effort. In this situation the administration found itself being sniped at from one direction or another whatever step it decided to take in the field of fiscal policy. But surveying the results of its activities in this area as it is possible to see them in the new budget one is impressed with the fact that, while the administration has been compelled at times to reduce speed of its program and even go out of its course, it has never taken its eyes off that objective.

The evidence on this point, even after 2 short years, is irrefutable. Consider, for example, what has happened to Government spending, which must be the focal point of any budget-balancing program. From $74.3 billions in 1953 it has been reduced each successive year. In the budget recommended yesterday for 1955–56, Mr. Eisenhower put spending at $62.4 billion, or $11.9 billion under 1953. Since the President foresees revenue receipts of $60 billion, this would make the prospective deficit for the coming year $2.4 billion. That would be the smallest deficit incurred since 1951, and would compare with the $9.4-billion deficit bequeathed to the Eisenhower administration by its predecessors in 1953.

Again, consider the figure for total cash receipts and expenditures anticipated in the year 1955–56 (better known as the cash budget). This version of the budget (which is customarily employed in measuring the net impact of the budget on the economy in terms of inflation or deflation) reveals a prospective surplus of about $600 million, compared with deficits for 1954 and 1955 of $2 billion and $2.4 billion, respectively.

Finally, there is the test of budgetary intentions and budgetary progress to be found in the President's recommendations for appropriations and authority to incur obligations. It is testimony to the determination with which the budget problem has been attacked that, for the third consecutive year, 1956 is expected to produce a budgetary picture in which new authorizations will be under estimated current revenue receipts.

Critics who have chided the administration with "failing to balance" the budget, on the one hand, or "balancing the budget" at the expense of human welfare, have, of course, been merely committing assault and battery on strawmen set up for the purpose. The important thing is that the budget has, in fact, been brought under control; and in the sense that recurring and increasing deficits had been a threat to the integrity of the dollar, that threat, with the prospective balancing of the cash budget for 1956, has been eliminated. If the administration, as critics of the left have charged, had been inclined to balance the budget at the expense of jobs and public welfare, it could have accomplished it last year.

Last year the administration turned back to the public $7.5 billion in taxes, the biggest tax reduction in a single year in the Nation's history. For the coming year, with business on the upbeat, the administration has decided just as judiciously that taxes should be held where they are, though this means asking extension for another year of corporate income taxes and certain excise taxes scheduled to be reduced next April 1. In short, what we have been witnessing over these last 2 years has been a demonstration of fiscal navigation by pilots who not only know where they are going but who also are thoroughly aware that in navigation, unlike geometry, a straight line is by no means always the shortest distance between two points.

A Truce in Formosa Strait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, the Washington Post and Times-Herald of Tuesday, January 18, contained a very penetrating analysis of the Formosa treaty by one of our country's most distinguished commentators on national and international affairs, Mr. Walter Lippmann.

The points made by Mr. Lippmann in his article deserve the most sober study by all of us as we approach the consideration of this vital agreement—the treaty of alliance with Chiang Kai-shek.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Lippmann's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
A TRUCE IN FORMOSA STRAIT

Whether or not it was planned that way in Peiping, there is a striking parallelism between the affair of the fliers and our proposed security pact with Chiang's government in Formosa. Peiping announced the convictions of the fliers at the end of November, which was just as the negotiations were being concluded in Formosa. Chou En-lai in his talks with Mr. Hammarskjöld seems to have insisted that China felt itself threatened by the American support of Chiang, who, of course, is bound to keep announcing his intention to return to the mainland. While Chou was complaining to Mr. Hammarskjöld about that, Mr. Dulles was showing the Senators an exchange of notes with Chiang's Foreign Minister promising, though not in the clearest language, that Chiang will not invade the mainland without our consent.

This is an interesting situation. Peiping is worried that the United States, using Chiang as an instrument and a pretext, is preparing to attack Red China. Washington is worried that Chiang will deliberately entangle the United States against its will in a war with Red China.

Is it farfetched to say that the situation is made to order for a constructive action by the United Nations? Why should the United Nations not move to bring about a cease fire in the Formosa Strait, thus ending the last shooting war in Asia? Why should not the United Nations then become the guarantors of the principle that force shall not be used to determine the future of Formosa and the relationship of the two Chinese Governments?

Such a truce under the auspices of the United Nations would reflect correctly the political and military realities. Red China is quite incapable of crossing a hundred miles of water and conquering Formosa. The United States is, in fact, quite incapable of putting Chiang back on the mainland and restoring him to power. A sound agreement in international relations is one which registers, which states in clear language, the real situation. A truce in the Formosa Strait would register the real situation between Red China and the United States. It would change only the propaganda speeches from the other side about the liberation of Formosa by force and from this side about the liberation by force of the mainland.

The truce would in fact give international standing backed with the vast moral authority of the United Nations to the notes which Mr. Dulles has exchanged with Mr. Yeh. In Washington we do not doubt that Mr. Dulles means to hold Mr. Yeh to the letter and the spirit of the engagement. We cannot expect Peiping to believe that. We know that most of the uncommitted Asian nations are far from sure that they believe it. And even in Washington many of us would feel better if the engagements not to entangle us in war rested on something broader and more solid than a private understanding between Taipeh and Washington.

The advantages of this approach to the question would be so considerable that it might be well to explore it before ratifying the Formosa Treaty. A truce under the United Nations would accomplish all the good that the treaty is designed for. It would avoid the disadvantages of the treaty. I do not see how anyone can feel happy about a treaty of alliance which on the supreme question of whether the alliance would lead to war is so unclear that it has to be interpreted by diplomatic notes.

I for one am unhappy also about the indiscriminate signing of alliances with weak and vulnerable and not too dependable states. The right rule, it seems to me, is to give a guaranty to a state like Formosa, not to pretend that you are making an alliance with it. For the relationship is a one-way affair. We must defend Formosa. Formosa does not defend the United States. It is better not to make alliances except with countries that are in fact allies.

If, therefore, an international truce were to be negotiated in the Formosa Strait, we should be better off all around.

The strongest reason for skepticism about this proposal is that it looks so favorable to the United States that Red China may refuse it. This remains to be seen when and if the exchanges, which Mr. Hammarskjöld has opened up so wisely and so well, develop into negotiations for the reduction of the danger of war in Asia.

Editorial Tribute to Former Gov. James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Well Deserved Accolade," published in the Charleston News and Courier of January 19, 1955, in tribute to former Governor Byrnes, of South Carolina.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WELL-DESERVED ACCOLADE
(By John Temple Graves)

"You can't go home again."

As James F. Byrnes went out of office, the finest thing to be said of this national and world figure is that he could come home again—and did, magnificently.

It is a comment on the Americanism of his home and the Americanism of the man.

Only two others in history have left their homes for such high places—John Calhoun and Woodrow Wilson—and only one came home again, although both held always to home philosophy of States.

Mr. Justice he has been called, and Mr. Secretary, Congressman, Senator, Assistant President of the United States—but he will go to history as Governor Byrnes. That is the fact and that is the philosophy. He will go, too, as a politically disembodied soul, belonging only to his State and country, and dedicated in both names, come who may, against too much government too far from the governed, against federalism gone mad and socialism come creeping.

Regional circumstance—the centripetal force—drew him home at the end as it did Calhoun, and forced upon him the unhappy problem which began for the South when the first Yankee slave trader sold his cargo below the Potomac. He went out of office yesterday with the problem unsolved, went telling his fellow citizens it is their most important, and went with a record of more done for the Negro child's education—and for the white—than any other governor in South Carolina's history.

Governor Byrnes' school program has already caused $121 million to be allocated for school construction, with an eventual total of $200 million. Sixty-one percent has been for Negro schools, although Negro pupils are only 40 percent. Under Mr. Byrnes, the State's part of the public school budget has

increased from about $35 million a year to about $67 million. A reorganization plan has reduced the number of school districts from 1,200 to 104.

Mr. Byrnes' term will be remembered, too, for broad improvement in the mental hospital and other State institutions, and for continued successful support of industrial development begun under Strom Thurmond.

It will be remembered, also, for the death of the Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina as a result of the antimasking bill he demanded and the rugged enforcement his officers gave the bill when it was passed. Even when the Klan secured private property for its meetings the governor's men made themselves so much in evidence that the leaders began crossing the State line to North Carolina, which brought them to trouble in both State and Federal courts.

His stand for law and order has resulted too in establishment of a training school for enforcement officers.

I think Mr. Byrnes' greatest achievement for South Carolina has been one for the South entire and also for the Nation. That is his leadership against the blind partyism which no longer had any right to exist in the South and which was enslaving southerners against their own and the Nation's interest. If these States are more free-minded politically than they have been since the Confederate War and, by that token, possessed of more potential political power, James F. Byrnes deserves much of the credit.

Salute, then, to the high heart and fine intelligence and winning charm of a little South Carolinian who, unassisted, has made himself one of the world's big ones, big enough for all the high places and big enough to come home in action to the end!

Eisenhower's Simple Sagacity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an article which appeared in the Los Angeles Times. The article was written by Mr. Holmes Alexander, a member of an old Maryland family, and is entitled "Eisenhower's Simple Sagacity."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EISENHOWER'S SIMPLE SAGACITY

(By Holmes Alexander)

On a short-term, day-to-day basis, America's best natural resource for 1955 is Dwight David Eisenhower, the good gray rock to which, as it sometimes seems, the Nation's sanity is anchored.

At this transitional period of his term it's clear that Mr. Eisenhower is a transitional President.

Only a moderate, as he calls himself politically, could have tapered us off the Fair Deal jag; only a public hero with a puritanical conscience would have accepted the popular power now in one man's hands without abusing it; only a five-star military officer would have the nerve and the knowledge to reduce the Armed Forces—as Ike intends to keep on doing—in the face of real danger and of phony danger, the latter raised like a goblin's head by certain Congress people, the military columnists, the munitionmakers, and the Pentagon chiefs who year after year lobby for more men and more armaments.

But the vein of gold in this Eisenhower lode is not his politics, experience, or expert knowledge; it's his personal character.

Just recently I sat alone for 30 minutes or more with a member of the President's Cabinet whom I'm not allowed to quote by name. But he won't mind if I use his words to make this point. This Secretary said:

"This is my last political job. After almost 2 years of it, I'm fed up with being slandered every time I open my mouth; my wife wants to go home, and I want to live where I can see my grandchildren grow up. But, so help me, every time I go to a Cabinet meeting and hear that fellow talk, I'm ready to take everything they can throw at me for another 6 months."

Middle-aged grandfathers like this Secretary do not thrill easily, and the President doesn't use a locker-room pep talk that makes for volatile emotions.

The Eisenhower leadership is of a mature, man-to-man nature. This is the stuff of leadership that sticks with the public, despite what the demagogues think. It is the quality which proved superior to the cranial appeal of Adlai Stevenson and the visceral call of McCarthyism.

Ike has got something better than either. He's got, in the race track and not the sociological sense, "class."

Without having Stevenson's education or literary touch or lawyer's skill at reference and citation, Eisenhower is more intellectually capable than Stevenson.

Adlai could beat him on competitive exams and might outdo him in a debate but Ike's mind can go places where Adlai's would be a shivering stranger.

In the field of international politics—of "history in the making" if you will—Mr. Eisenhower is often profound. He thinks, and sometimes he speaks, like a man who views our struggle for the world from the distance of another century.

He is one step above being a statesman; he's a historian. And if he didn't have to calculate how his words look in tomorrow's headlines the President might say things too glaringly true for many of us to face.

Some of his admirers in the internationalist set can't follow Ike's domestic line. But that's their fault, not his. He comprehends better than most the interlocking aspect of free enterprise and national security.

Rather than add $100 million to the national debt the President improvised the complicated but unshakable Dixon-Yates contract for attracting private capital into the hydroelectric field. Dixon-Yates was also a means of blocking the domestic "imperialism" of TVA.

Taken with the rest of his program this desocialization move is one of a master who's playing not just this single move but a vast chessboard of coordinated strategy.

Two years of Eisenhower is long enough to see what the startegy is. He himself has defined it as "liberal" toward human problems, "conservative" toward economic ones.

This definition is nowhere near snappy enough to make a slogan or an easily quotable administration adage. But it's so ruggedly true that it can't be beat for summarizing the program which includes: desegregation and States' rights; a new Department of Welfare, and a pinchpenny Department of the Treasury, emphasis on both "peace" and "massive retaliation."

In his famed autobiography Henry Adams remarks that General Grant's flatfooted formula for ending the Civil War, "Let us have peace," would have been considered a gem of wit or wisdom had it come from Mark Twain.

That's how it is with many words and deeds of President Eisenhower. They are often so unpretentious, so simple that their penetrative sagacity is missed, more's the pity.

Annual Report of the President of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the annual report of the President of the New Jersey Taypayers Association, Inc., containing editorials from a number of newspapers in that State.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOU WERE THERE—A RECORD OF PERFORMANCE—ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, THE NEW JERSEY TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION

NEW JERSEY TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION, INC.,
January 1, 1955.

To the Membership:

Representative government rests upon citizen participation.

Today, however, government is so vast and complex that the individual, although desiring to keep abreast of its many activities, finds that he cannot.

Nearly a quarter of a century ago the New Jersey Taxpayers Association was formed to overcome this dilemma—to study the problems of government and express the interests of taxpayers in the halls of government.

On the following pages you will find the highlights of the association's record of performance in 1954—performance which permitted the taxpayer to amplify his voice so as to reach government effectively at all its levels, Federal, State, and local.

It is equally a record of service to government.

Through this record, Mr. Taxpayer, when governmental problems were being considered, you were represented.

Through the New Jersey Taxpayers Association—you were there.

GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW,
President.

GUIDING MUNICIPAL GROWTH

Municipalities in all parts of the State are confronted increasingly with perplexing problems of growth resulting from the rapid expansion of population and industry. After extensive study by the committee on municipalities, the association began publication of a pamphlet series entitled "Guiding Municipal Growth." The first of the series, issued in 1954, provides an introduction to the general subject and a description of planning and other protective steps. Wide use of these publications is anticipated as a means of avoiding pitfalls and insuring a sound future economy to the State's 567 municipalities, whose combined municipal, school, and county tax levies now total one-half billion dollars.

WATER SUPPLY

When the State administration called public attention to the need for increased water supplies, the association promptly initiated study of the subject. Meantime a number of legislative bills were introduced, whereupon the association called attention to the wide range—from $60 million to $150 million—in the cost estimates, and urged legislative caution in authorizing a bond issue referendum until several basic issues had been further resolved. Proceeding then with the association studies, the staff assembled copious data for committee use, including analyses of all the legislative bills, various

descriptive statements, and the only comprehensive bibliography extant of the hundreds of New Jersey studies and reports on the State's water problem from 1894 to date.

SCHOOL AID

Early in 1954 the Commission on State Tax Policy rendered its seventh report, recommending a revised State school-aid program. The association published a digest of this report for its members, public officials, and others. Subsequently the legislature passed and the Governor signed a bill in accordance with the commission's recommendations, increasing school aid by approximately $30 million annually, and establishing a distribution formula to remove serious and long-standing inequities. The principles upon which this legislation is based largely conform with those advocated earlier by NJTA when it appeared before the tax policy commission.

Legislative approval of the $30 million increase in school aid constituted, in effect a stamp of official confirmation of association action during the previous year in strongly urging rejection of an earlier report by another commission which had recommended a $60 million program. This program provided for distribution of State aid upon a formula which the association demonstrated was grossly inequitable and which it therefore opposed.

STATE BUDGET

An association staff representative was regularly present at the executive hearings on the State budget and the legislative hearings on the appropriations bill. Following the 1954 legislative hearings, the association published its regular annual summary of the appropriations measure. This activity offers many opportunities, often upon request, to make constructive suggestions to State fiscal officers and legislators.

When the new State administration assumed office, the staff submitted upon request an analysis of the organization of the executive offices in several comparable States. It also submitted important recommendations relating to capital budgeting and to improved personnel reporting, including its integration with the budget document.

MEDICAL COLLEGE

After studying the 1951 report of the New Jersey Medical College Commission and conferring with various authorities on the subject, the association announced its support of the $25 million bond issue for the establishment of a State medical-dental college, submitted to the voters at the general election on November 2, 1954. It based this support upon the need to broaden medical training opportunity for New Jersey students, overcome the shortage of doctors and other medical personnel, alleviate deficiencies in graduate and refresher training, open new possibilities for research, and enable greater coordination of training and research programs carried on in medical institutions throughout the State to make generally available the newest advances in medical knowledge.

The referendum proposal was defeated by the voters.

IMPROVING MUNICIPAL BUDGETS

Over a period of years, the association through its committee on municipalities has cooperated closely with the division of local government (department of the treasury) in an effort to improve and make more easily understandable the official forms on which the State's 567 municipalities are required to prepare their annual budgets, now totaling over $300 million. Based on association observation of local budget problems, this effort has been concentrated during the past year upon a search for simpler terminology and presentation. The association is pleased to observe that the division continues to make significant improvements in the published budget form. Supporting this progress, the association issued a budget timetable for 1955 for the use of citizens, local taxpayers associations, and others.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

As a matter of policy the association has long advocated that specific governmental functions should be assumed and financed by the lowest units of government capable of doing so effectively and economically. Consequently it has major interest in the Federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and the New Jersey Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, both of which are now in the midst of studies of the subject. The association, upon request, submitted suggestions to both of these commissions and supplied specific information respecting payments in lieu of taxes, principles regarding grants-in-aid and an extensive intergovernmental relations bibliography. A staff representative took part in a hearing by the Education Subcommittee of the Federal Commission, in cooperation with representatives of the California Taxpayers Association and the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Survey.

FEDERAL ACTIVITIES

In concert with State taxpayers associations in other States, and through the services of its committee on Federal affairs, New Jersey Taxpayers Association continued to urge that the Federal Government (1) balance its budget, (2) reduce Federal subsidies and grants to local government, business, and agriculture, (3) curb Federal competition with private business, (4) postpone any new public works until the budget is balanced, and (5) improve congressional facilities to study the budget. Augmenting its Federal studies, New Jersey Taxpayers Association made frequent use of the tax foundation's Federal research.

New Jersey Taxpayers Association's president personally appeared before a subcommittee of the House of Representatives Committee on Government Operations to urge that the Government get out of competition with private enterprise. His statement received wide press coverage in New Jersey and throughout the Nation. New Jersey Taxpayers Association views on Government competition with private business were also submitted to the Water Resources and Power Task Force of the Hoover Commission.

The Conference of State Taxpayer Association Executives stood squarely behind the move in Congress against increasing the Federal debt limit, which resulted in a temporary increase of $6 billion instead of a permanent increase from $275 billion to $290 billion.

New Jersey Taxpayers Association urged New Jersey Congressmen to support the economy drive for a balanced budget; substitution of flexible for rigid price supports; steps to modernize antiquated congressional voting procedures; placing the postal service on a self-supporting basis; postponement of legislation extending Federal grants in various fields and launching new programs to finance waterpower and reclamation projects, pending completion of studies by Hoover Commission and Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and support in principle of measures to improve congressional fiscal procedures.

ASSESSMENT ADMINISTRATION

New Jersey Taxpayers Association has been outstanding in its support of improved administration of local property assessment. This year the association published, and the New Jersey Department of the Treasury gave broad official circulation to, the first comprehensive review of progress in this field—progress in which the association had played a considerable part. Currently a representative of the committee on municipalities is represented on a special committee of the local property tax bureau which is consulting on the preparation of a manual for property assessment throughout the State. At the same time the association continues to be represented on the general advisory committee to the bureau.

INSTITUTIONAL IMPROVEMENT

Having approved both of the State's earlier $25 million institutional bond issues, the association, through its special committee of engineers, continues to advise with the department of institutions and agencies concerning progress under these bond issues. The bond funds are being administered under a procedural plan adopted by departmental officials and the division of purchase and property (department of the treasury), largely in accordance with association recommendations.

FINANCES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The association's annual publications on (1) municipal and school district finances and (2) county finances have become so widely accepted as standard reference works that their annual publication has become an event of significance. This year for the first time the two publications were combined, bringing under one cover comparative fiscal information concerning New Jersey's 567 municipalities, 549 school districts and 21 counties, thereby enhancing greatly the usability of the information for the thousands of taxpayers, public officials, associations and businesses who rely upon this service.

STATE LEGISLATION

The association reviewed all bills and resolutions submitted to the 1954 legislature, to identify those of primary concern to taxpayers. Appropriate study was then made of measures of particular interest. Information, often upon request, was submitted to legislators concerning a number of these and, depending upon the circumstances, the views of the association were made known to the legislature, the governor, and the public.

SALARY LEGISLATION

When a series of bills was introduced in the legislature to provide mandatory salary increases for legislators and a large number of State and county officials, the association, without taking a position on the merits of the individual proposals, publicized the positions affected and the increased cost. The association took the position that the public should know these facts and the press of the State responded by according the information wide publicity.

At the same time the association recorded its opposition to unsound measures which would have increased State and local salary costs by the salary equivalent of accumulated sick leave, but which failed of enactment. It likewise recorded its opposition to a bill now enacted to provide State-mandated annual increments for all teachers in public schools, as an unsound invasion of rights of local determination.

OPTIONAL MUNICIPAL CHARTER LAWS

Since their enactment in 1950, New Jersey Taxpayers Association has encouraged public interest in New Jersey's optional municipal charter laws. Today a number of municipalities, including the city of Newark, have adopted improved forms permitted under the law, and citizen and official interest in the subject is pyramiding throughout the State. The association has published many informative articles on the charter laws, keeps an up-to-date inventory of progress in this field, and scrutinizes all proposed modifying legislation.

SPECIAL SERVICES

No record of association activities would be complete without mentioning the great number and variety of requests from taxpayers, associations, business firms, and public officials for information concerning the operation and finances of government. Increasingly, taxpayers throughout the State rely upon the association as a source of (1)

factual information not easily obtainable elsewhere, and (2) consultation on local governmental problems. Without preempting the fields properly reserved for local action, the association through its informational and consultative services has made possible innumerable improvements in local government operations and finance during the past year.

[From the Jersey Journal]

A JOB WELL DONE

Nearly 25 years ago, the New Jersey Taxpayers Association was formed to study the problems of government, and to protect the interests of the taxpayers.

It has done an effective job. Such nuisances as sales and income taxes are—for the present at least—conspicuous by their absence in the State. The association can take a large share of the credit for this.

Not all the taxpayers have approved everything the group has stood and worked for, but generally speaking it served to influence important and beneficial changes for the man on the street who pays the bills.

In the words of George E. Stringfellow, president, the association has also been of service to the government. The New Jersey Taxpayers Association can rightfully boast that its only goal has been to see that the people of New Jersey get their money's worth.

[From the Paterson News]

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has turned out a booklet, Guiding Municipal Growth, which should be a must for all governmental agencies plagued with modern expansion headaches. * * * This is a worthy contribution indeed, not alone for the information it provides but because of the challenge it presents to face the grave problems sensibly and constructively.

[From the Bergen Evening Record]

The association's interests pervade every level of government, and its staff has developed valuable skills of analysis and persuasion, useful and used by little people as well as big. It has helped New Jersey to resist so far the income and sales tax. On the other hand, it has not yielded to the temptation, to so many others so overpowering, to recommend that taxes be reduced while we're running a government in the red. Its behavior has been thoroughly adult.

[From the Daily Home News]

The annual report of George E. Stringfellow, president of the New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, records a banner year of accomplishment by the association, for the benefit of its members and for the benefit of all the people of the State of New Jersey. * * *

It clearly shows that the association has completed another year of energetic and successful effort to help the New Jersey taxpayer get full value for his tax dollar.

[From the Hunterdon County Democrat]

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has performed a constructive service for rural municipalities in issuing a publication entitled "Guiding Municipal Growth." This publication will aid officials who are being asked by their citizens to tackle problems which grow out of the expansion and movement of population, commerce, and industry. * * *

The booklet has a place in the program of the Taxpayers Association because it can be so readily demonstrated that haphazard growth has almost inevitably brought tax burdens beyond the benefits derived from new valuations. Where proper safeguards have been imposed early enough, both existing and new property have sustained their values while the health, safety, and general appearance of the communities have been enhanced.

[From the New Egypt Press]

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has issued a booklet which describes the unusual growth of rural communities. * * * All of this means that communities such as ours, are sure to be faced now, or in the near future with very acute problems of greater facilities along every line. * * * We must look away from the past and into the future to plan properly for such demands.

[From the Courier-Post]

The association's information service is of invaluable aid to New Jersey newspapers, which would be lost without it. It is doubtless true, as Stringfellow says, that the cooperative efforts of the association and the press of the State are largely responsible for the fact that New Jersey has neither a sales nor an income tax. That alone would be sufficient justification for the association's existence.

The Courier-Post has frequently differed with the association in the past and doubtless will in the future. But we think New Jersey is extremely fortunate in having such a privately sponsored organization to battle for the taxpayer and for economy in government. Few States have one that is so effective.

[From the Trentonian]

It may be that most of them don't know it, but when governmental deliberations are going on, the taxpayers of New Jersey are in attendance.

Not physically, of course, desirable as that might be, but through the good offices of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association which is about to "wrap up" another year of guarding the interests of people in the halls of government. * * *

* * * President Stringfellow's report is invaluable in many respects. Perhaps the most important is that it gives us a comprehensive view of the many matters affecting our tax moneys which arise during a year. It is comforting, indeed, to know that the association valiantly continues to strive for economy in government on all levels—and that it is meeting with at least some success.

[From the Call]

To ease these growing pains and control tomorrow's taxes today, municipal officials will find the NJTA's brochures very helpful. In fact the booklets should be required reading by our future taxpayers—currently our high-school students.

[From the Ridgewood Sunday News]

We should like to recommend Guiding Municipal Growth as a valuable tool for planning boards whose task is to direct growth into desirable channels.

[From the New York World-Telegram]

VOICE OF THE TAXPAYERS

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association does a remarkable job for the public. It gives the citizens of that State the close participation in their government which they could not hope to obtain as individuals.

The association is the taxpayers' voice in the State capital. It is adviser to the administration, critic, legislative analyst, financial expert, and watchdog of the public interest.

The current report of the president, George E. Stringfellow, spells out the many various fields in which the organization has been active and, more important, effective. It all adds up to fine service in one of the best causes, good government at the lowest possible cost.

Ike's First 2 Years Made a Better U. S. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, this is the second anniversary of President Eisenhower's inauguration. The list of accomplishments toward a better U. S. A. during these 2 years is impressive indeed.

The country is far better off on all fronts that it was 2 years ago. That is why, from what the public opinion polls show, most Americans seem to have this feeling about those 2 years: "Two down and, I hope, 6 to go."

That is why, in light of the shift in control of both Houses of Congress, thinking Americans have this question about the next 2 years: "Will repeated hostile political attacks occur which 'rock the boat' and hamstring this enlightened forwarding of the best interests of America and all Americans?"

Columnist Gould Lincoln makes the following fine, but incomplete, summary of Eisenhower administration accomplishments during the Republican 83d Congress in his piece in today's Washington Evening Star:

The country has had 2 years of Eisenhower administration, and it's better off. Today is the second anniversary of the President's inauguration.

A remarkable transition has been made from war to peace economy. At the same time, many improvements have been obtained on the international front. Business is good and employment is high, despite the fact there are a few soft spots. Economic dislocation by reason of the transition has been confined to relatively few communities. The stock market's advance is an indication of the people's confidence in the President and his handling of the country's affairs. The production of houses has been greater than ever. Both the savings and the spending of the people as a whole have increased. And there is no sign of depression on the horizon.

In the last year, one of the greatest tax reductions, if not the greatest, has taken place. Notwithstanding the criticism of Democrats that the President has failed to balance the Federal budget, the way has been cleared for such a balance.

Indeed, the President has helped to bring both peace and prosperity to this country and, in considerable measure, to the free world. In the field of foreign relations, he has brought about an end of the war in Korea. And he and Secretary of State Dulles and other representatives of the President have helped materially in a number of international situations which might have blown up to real trouble. The Iranian situation, where the Communists were about to take over, has been ironed out.

OTHER BRIGHT SPOTS

The explosive problem of the Suez Canal and the British and the Egyptians, too, is being settled peacefully. So, too, is the problem of Trieste, a trouble spot for years. The Communist outcropping in Guatemala has been successfully curbed. An agreement for better international relations, looking to the arming of West Germany as part of the defense against Communist aggression, is

going forward and expected to become a sure accomplishment in the near future. In the countries of the Middle East, too, the real desire of the United States for peace and friendly relations is better understood.

The President has obtained the adoption of a material part of his legislative program, described as progressive-moderate and also as dynamic and progressive, during these first 2 years. Included is a new farm law, providing a system of flexible price supports. This is designed to bring production more nearly in line with consumption and to put an end to the great surpluses of food crops which the Government has in large measure been compelled to take over. The tax structure has been revised, and through great savings to the Government in administration and the paring down of appropriations it has been possible to lessen the tax burden on the people by many billions of dollars.

SOUND PROGRAM

The final 2 years of the President's present term of office are beginning. Mr. Eisenhower faces a Democratic controlled Congress—though the margin of control is thin, both in the House and Senate. His program is now before that Congress and it is expected he will get a considerable part of it. For his proposals are sound and humanitarian. Undoubtedly the President will face hostile political attacks. The Democrats do not relish the idea of building up the strength of a potential Republican candidate for President in 1956. If Mr. Eisenhower can be trapped or hamstrung, so much the better from their point of view.

The Democrats for the most part have given over predictions of depression—temporarily, at least. They have not forgotten, however, that a depression gave them control of the Government for a 20-year period immediately preceding Mr. Eisenhower. They continue to look with interest to the farm vote, and they hope to be able to stir the farmers up against Mr. Eisenhower and Republicans.

In the last 2 years, the President has retained much of his great personal popularity. The people regard him as entirely sincere and as working for their interest, notwithstanding the attacks made on him by the New Dealers. That he has lost some ground in the South because of the Supreme Court decision desegregating the public schools is true. But if it comes to a showdown between Mr. Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson in 1956, it is by no means certain that the Democrats of the South will rally strongly back of Mr. Stevenson. They understand well that Mr. Stevenson and his supporters are committed to a compulsory Federal FEPC law.

Thirty-second Annual Convention, Oregon Division, Izaak Walton League of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated January 10, 1955, which I have received from Dan P. Allen, president of the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, together with a set of resolutions adopted by the 32d annual convention of the IWLA, held in Portland, Oreg., November 26, 27, and 28, 1954.

There being no objection, the letter and resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OREGON DIVISION, IZAAK WALTON LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.,
January 10, 1955.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The Oregon division of the Izaak Walton League of America, at its recent annual convention, considered many problems. The central theme of the convention was youth, and we had as our guests during our deliberations more than 100 young outdoor Oregonians, all of whom were particularly interested in those matters covered by the enclosed resolutions. This is understandable, in view of the fact they will be most directly concerned in future years with our wise management of today's natural resources.

I am sure most of the resolutions passed will be of interest to you. Your attention is especially directed to Resolution No. 1, which asks specific action from the Oregon delegation, and to other Resolutions Nos. 2 4, 8, 12, and 13. Copies of resolutions are enclosed.

When action on any of these problems seems imminent, I will probably write you further. With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

DAN P. ALLEN,
President, Oregon Division, Izaak Walton League of America, Eugene, Oreg.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY 32D ANNUAL CONVENTION, IZAAK WALTON LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC., OREGON DIVISION, HELD IN PORTLAND, OREG., NOVEMBER 26–27–28, 1954

RESOLUTION 1. MINING STATUTES

Whereas it is considered that the present mining laws in force since 1872 on the public domain and public forests and other public-owned lands within the United States are outdated and inimicable to the best interests of all the people; and

Whereas it has recently once again been demonstrated in the State of Oregon, through wide dissemination of information in connection with the Al Serena mining claims, that in many instances valuable surface and timber rights on such public lands rather than minerals are the real reason for the filing of mining claims: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, That newer revised laws be enacted by the Congress of the United States to provide that surface rights shall be separated from subsurface rights in order to prevent claims from being filed and/or patented mainly for valuable timber, stream, or other surface resources, and that Oregon representatives in Congress be and are hereby urged to immediately introduce such legislation for early enactment; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Agriculture, the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees for Interior and Insular Affairs, and to members of the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 2. RESEARCH APPROPRIATIONS

Whereas the public lands contain important big-game ranges in the West; and

Whereas there is an increasing need for big-game range research; and

Whereas the United States Forest Service has been given authority to do browse-range research, but no funds are appropriated for this specific purpose: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, request Congress to pass a bill for an appropriation for browse-range research by the forest and range experiment stations of the United States Forest Service, in cooperation with the State game commissions; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Agriculture and Forestry, the chairmen of the Senate and House Appropriations Committees, and to the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 3. MOUNT WASHINGTON AND DIAMOND PEAK WILD AREAS

Whereas the northwest regional office of the United States Forest Service has recommended that Mount Washington and Diamond Peak and the high plateau areas surrounding them be set aside as wild areas; and

Whereas it is a fundamental policy of the Izaak Walton League, at both National and State levels, to favor more rather than less of such areas for the use and enjoyment of coming generations; and

Whereas the two areas in question support only a very limited volume of commercial timber of low quality: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, express to the United States Forest Service its strong approval of this recommendation, its desire that the proposed areas include comprehensively the scenic and recreational lands around these peaks, and their hope that the recommendation to create these wild areas may be carried out at the earliest possible moment; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Chief of the United States Forest Service, northwest regional forester, supervisor of the Willamette Forest, the president of the Wilderness Society, the president of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, and others concerned.

RESOLUTION 4. BALD MOUNTAIN PROJECT (ILLINOIS RIVER DAM)

Whereas under power project No. 190, known as the Bald Mountain project, the Coos-Curry Electric Cooperative, Inc., proposes to build a dam in the Illinois River a few miles above its confluence with the Rogue River; and

Whereas the proposed dam would have a maximum height of 100 feet and a length of some 400 feet, and would divert water into a tunnel or canal approximately 9½ miles long; that the tunnel capacity would be 7,500 cubic feet per second, with an average diversion of 1,425 cubic feet per second, and the entire flow of the river could be so diverted; and

Whereas the dam itself would prevent the passage of migratory fish upstream and downstream, thereby raising havoc with the runs of Chinook, silver salmon, winter run steelhead, cut-throat and resident trout, and would have an overall adverse effect on the fishery resources of the entire Rogue River Basin; and

Whereas fish ladders on a dam of this size would not be satisfactory and would not pass the said fish over the dam due to the long diversion, tunnel, or canal, and the low water left in the main channel of the river; and

Whereas there are 195 miles of accessible spawning area above the proposed dam and the Illinois River is the second in importance of the tributaries of the Rogue River: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, go on record as opposing the power project No. 190, known as Bald Mountain project; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Secretary of the Interior, Federal Power Commission, Oregon State Fish and Game Commissions, and the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 5. WATER RESOURCES LEGISLATION

Whereas water is one of our chief resources in the State of Oregon; and

Whereas at the present time our water resources are overappropriated during our late summer and dry season; and

Whereas there is an ample supply available if properly stored and managed; and

Whereas the theme of the 1953 convention of the Oregon division was water and brought forth the pressing need for laws controlling the use of our water resources; and

Whereas the interim committee of the Oregon Legislature studying the future water needs of the State will report to the assembly its findings and recommendations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, devote its major attention at the next State legislative assembly to the enactment of sufficient and proper legislation to provide for the use of water to the best advantage to all concerned; and be it further

Resolved, That our legislative committee work in conjunction with the Soil Conservation Service, Bureau of Reclamation, State grange, and other agencies that are interested in promoting and safeguarding the proper use of our water resources.

RESOLUTION 6. WARNER VALLEY

Whereas Warner Valley is one of the major waterfowl-producing areas in the State of Oregon; and

Whereas the United States Bureau of Land Management, United States Fish and Wildlife Service, and Oregon State Game Commission have undertaken the cooperative development and management of certain public lands in north Warner Valley to preserve wildlife and recreational values; and

Whereas the private landowners in Warner Valley are developing their lands for more intensive use of the available water supply to the detriment of waterfowl production; and

Whereas the Oregon State Land Board controls approximately 20,000 acres of undeveloped but potentially productive waterfowl habitat in the vicinity of Crump and Hart Lakes in Warner Valley: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, urge that the Oregon State Land Board should permit the development of its Crump Lake and Petric Marsh lands in a manner that will benefit nesting waterfowl and permit an adequate flow of water into the north Warner area, or through exchange, sale, or cooperative agreement make them available to the Oregon State Game Commission for development and multiple use by livestock, wildlife, and the public; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Bureau of Land Management, Oregon Game Commission, members of State land board, and to the Lakeview Chamber of Commerce.

RESOLUTION 7. KLAMATH BASIN

Whereas the United States Department of the Interior through the United States Fish and Wildlife Service is obligated by international treaties to protect and maintain the migratory bird resources; and

Whereas the upper Klamath River Basin is historically a waterfowl concentration point and seasonally contributes to the maintenance of at least 60 percent of the migratory waterfowl in the Pacific flyway and is a major waterfowl nesting area; and

Whereas availability of food and nesting habitat are believed to be the limiting factors of migratory birds in the Pacific flyway; and

Whereas hunting of migratory birds in the Klamath Basin contributes substantially to the local economy and the well-being of citizens of the States of Oregon and California; and

Whereas the Department of the Interior through the United States Bureau of Reclamation is considering multipurpose plans for the further development and utilization of the land and the water resources of the upper Klamath River Basin: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, That—

1. Development plans for the Klamath Basin should provide for development and maintenance of marsh areas to a degree commensurate with reclamation losses.

2. Adequate minimum stream flows and minimum pools in reservoirs should be established to minimize losses of fish and aquatic vegetation.

3. Homesteading or other disposal of the present 30,000 acres of public grain land should be denied until the reclamation program provides arable lands in excess of the need for waterfowl feeding areas and public recreation.

4. The Klamath Straits unit should have highest priority for retention in public ownership because of the large marsh and water area adjacent.

5. The right of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service to develop and maintain necessary refuge lands for waterfowl should be secured by congressional action.

6. The efforts of the Department of the Interior to assemble a comprehensive development program for maximum multiple use of the land and water resources of the upper Klamath Basin are commendable.

Be it further resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Secretary of the Interior, Governor of Oregon, the Oregon congressional delegation, United States Bureau of Reclamation, and the United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

RESOLUTION 8. ROGUE AND ILLINOIS RIVER VALLEY LANDS

Whereas much of the public lands of the Rogue River and Illinois River Valleys of southern Oregon have been withdrawn from public entry for power purposes; and

Whereas these lands cannot now be used for any purposes other than for power sites; and

Whereas these withdrawn lands contain much valuable timber and minerals that should be made available to present users; and

Whereas the power sites involved are not now being developed, and their likelihood of being developed is exceedingly remote: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Oregon Division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, Petition the Secretary of the Interior to place as many of the power site withdrawals in the Rogue River and Illinois River Valleys again in the public domain as can possibly be done, with the end in view that the resources these withdrawn lands contain can be wisely used to sustain the economy of the area; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Secretary of the Interior, and to the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 9. WALDO LAKE AREA

Whereas it has come to the attention of this orgaization that the United States Forest Service is presently studying the Waldo Lake area, located in the high Cascade Mountain area of the Willamette National Forest, with a view to determining its fitness for designation as a recreation area; and

Whereas it would be presumptious to appear to prejudge the findings of this study by the Forest Service, but nonetheless pertinent to express approval of such study: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon Division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, does hereby state:

1. That this body does strongly believe that the Waldo Lakes area should be set aside in some form of restricted area at once:

2. That in the light of present information, it appears it should be designated as a recreational area.

Be it further resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Chief of the United States Forest Service, and to the regional forester of the Pacific Northwest region.

RESOLUTION 10. THREE SISTERS PRIMITIVE AREA

Whereas the regional forester of the Pacific Northwest region of the United States Forest Service has given notice of a proposal to revise the boundaries of the area known as Three Sisters primitive area, located principally in the headwaters basin of the McKenzie River, approximately 60 miles east of the city of Eugene, Oreg., and to establish it as a permanent wilderness area; and

Whereas new boundaries as proposed would greatly reduce the area, and particularly proposes as a west boundary a line on the creek beds of Eugene Creek and Horse Creek; and

Whereas it is felt there exist in the area to be excluded from the wilderness area certain areas with potentially great recreational value and important scenic, historical, and scientific interest, which values in the long run might far exceed the economic value of timber in the area; and

Whereas numerous outdoor and scientific groups oppose any reduction and many others propose a compromise west boundary of the area to include the Horse Creek Basin intact; and

Whereas there appears no immediate need for the timber in the controversial boundary area; and

Whereas the Izaak Walton League is repeatedly on record favoring more rather than less of such areas: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, urge the regional forester of the United States Forest Service, Pacific Northwest region, to defer decision on the entire matter until such time as more thorough research may be accomplished, and that, in the event any boundary changes are made, such changes take into consideration the wealth of recreational opportunities which such a wilderness area affords, and the greatly increasing need for such areas resulting from increasing population, and of time and means for recreation, and the decreasing availability of such natural areas, and that when permanent boundaries are established they be of such a nature that future controversies may be avoided; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Chief of the United States Forest Service and the regional forester of the Pacific Northwest region.

RESOLUTION 11. MINING AND DREDGING LEGISLATION

Whereas the present and future welfare of the State of Oregon demands the preservation and protection of the productive capacity of the land and streams; and

Whereas the uncontrolled dredging and mining operations which heretofore have been and now are being carried on in Oregon have destroyed, and will continue to destroy, the productive capacity of the land in that streams and reservoirs, for many miles below the scenes of operations, are so heavily silted that complete destruction of fish food, fish life, and spawning grounds of inestimable value is accomplished, and the land and streams laid waste for sport and commercial fishing and agricultural pursuit; and

Whereas the land and streams are of far greater value to the economy of the State of Oregon than the minerals recovered by such

uncontrolled dredging and mining operations, that legislation should be enacted at the earliest possible date, controlling such operations to the greatest practicable extent, and such legislation should have the support of the Oregon division: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, go on record as being in full support of the two measures proposed for introduction to the next ensuing session of the Oregon Legislature, to wit:

1. Requires all dredging be done in settling basins so that only clean and filtered water shall be returned to the stream;

2. Requiring stockpiling of the soil before dredging, leveling of tailing piles, and replacement of topsoil currently, as the dredging operations proceed; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary send copies of this resolution to the Governor of the State of Oregon, and Representative Charles A. Tom, Rufus, Oreg.

RESOLUTION 12. UPPER MAIN M'KENZIE RIVER POWER DEVELOPMENT

Whereas the upper McKenzie River is nationally famous as a scenic and recreational area, and Clear Lake and the upper river are possessed of most unusual scenic values, and have been the mecca of tourists and nature lovers for many years; and

Whereas the Eugene Water and Electric Board has available federally generated power sufficient for anticipated requirements and in addition proposes to construct the power facilities at Cougar Dam on the South Fork of the McKenzie, which proposition has the approval of the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America; and

Whereas the construction of a generating plant, with the consequent fluctuation of the water level of Clear Lake, would ruin that beautiful body of water from both a scenic and recreational viewpoint: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, That it—

1. Requests the Federal Power Commission to deny the application of the Eugene Water and Electric Board for power development on the upper main McKenzie River and to rescind the 1911 withdrawal of this area for power-development purposes; and

2. Commends the United States Forest Service on its administration of this area for recreational use, and conveys its approbation of the work of the Service in preserving this area in its natural state and administering it as a recreational asset; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Secretary of the Interior, the Federal Power Commission, the Chief of the United States Forest Service, and to the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 13. FOREST SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS

Whereas the national forests' recreation facilities are now taxed much beyond their limits of development by overcrowding; and

Whereas this overuse is detrimental to public health and causes serious sanitation problems; and

Whereas the national forests are the homes of many game animals, game birds, and fish, and the Forest Service has no funds to improve this habitat: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, urge Congress to pass a bill that will provide for adequate appropriations for the United States Forest Service to properly develop, maintain, and operate the recreational facilities, and to improve the wildlife habitat on the national forests; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the chairmen of the House and Senate Committees on Agriculture and Forestry, to the chairmen of the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations, and to the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 14

Resolved by the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, That it express to its State officers, and especially to its president, L. C. "Jack" Binford, its sincere appreciation for their outstanding leadership in the year 1954.

RESOLUTION 15

Resolved by the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, That it express its gratitude for the hospitality, splendid appointments, and organizational efficiency provided by the convention hosts, Portland, City of Roses, Beaver, Sellwood-Moreland, and Air Force chapters, and particularly by the ladies of the Multnomah chapter, and the convention chairman, Henry Kness.

Economies in United States Stockpiling Cited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, here is the second of a series of two articles on the General Services Administration published in the Los Angeles Times.

The first article was put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 20, 1955.

ECONOMIES IN UNITED STATES STOCKPILING CITED—GENERAL SERVICES AGENCY CLAIMS MUCH OF CREDIT FOR DROP IN RUBBER

(By Ray Zeman)

(Second of two articles about the General Services Administration, the agency created by the Hoover Commission to cut waste in Government)

When the Army, Navy, Air Force, and American rubber companies were competing on the world market for rubber 3½ years ago, the price of crude rubber shot to 86 cents a pound.

Today it is around 23½ cents.

The General Services Administration, created by the Hoover Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, claims credit for much of the drop.

PRICE DRIVEN DOWN

"We became the preclusive buyer for both the military and private industry for 2 years," explains Robert B. Bradford, GSA regional director. "We drove the price down to 40 cents while more than 300,000 tons were imported through California ports. Then we stepped out.

"Now we buy only to rotate our stockpile of crude rubber. It is at 90 percent of what we want. We are all right on rubber."

Bradford spoke with confidence at the GSA business service center, 1031 South Broadway, as he described stockpiles of some vital materials being stored for any war of a month, a year, or 5 years' duration.

PLATINUM BLOCK TOLD

But he told how the Government is trying to stimulate production of some and is totally helpless on an item like platinum.

"The Russians control all sources of platinum," he explained. "They can raise the price $100 an ounce any time they want. It is now $93. It has been up to $186 within the last 6 months."

Platinum is only 1 of 93 critical strategic materials being stockpiled by the General Services Administration.

The location and size of each pile is secret. The Government has nearly $7 billion worth of the products—ranging from agar and asbestos to zinc and zirconium—but it won't reveal whether it has enough for a 1-year or a 10-year war.

MATERIALS LISTED

It has copper, zinc, lead, tin, mercury, extra-long-staple cotton, silk, shellac, and sisal. It has oddities like quinine, opium, industrial diamonds, hog bristles, and even feathers and down for aviation suits, ski suits, and warm sleeping bags in case war come over the North Pole.

All but the metals have to be rotated because they deteriorate.

Titanium, the wonder metal is most critical.

"There is plenty of titanium ore but processing is tricky," Bradford said. "A year ago we wanted 15,000 tons. Today we want 115,000.

"NO TITANIUM STOCKPILED

"We're not stockpiling titanium because industry must have it for jobs like the heat-resisting interiors of jet engines. It has a high melting point, high tensile strength, and light weight.

"We're letting contracts to produce it all the time, trying to get the supply up."

The stockpiles of other critical materials are spotted within an overnight run of factories where they might be used. Metals are usually in ingot form so they can be used immediately.

"On the majority of the entire program we're paying the going market price," Bradford said. "We're paying premiums on a few only to get domestic mines going.

MANGANESE BOUGHT

"We're buying manganese now just as fast as men can dig it up in Arizona, Nevada and California.

"Eight pounds of manganese is needed in a blast furnace for every ton of steel to keep the bubbles out. This continent produces only 20 percent of the world's manganese. South Africa and India each provide 40 percent.

"Right now we have 60 percent of what we'll need for several years either stockpiled or being delivered. We need 100 percent. We pay slightly more than 10 cents a pound for manganese ore. The world price is 4 cents."

Most of America's tungsten comes from California—in the area near Bishop. Some comes from Arizona and Tonopah, Nev.

Tungsten is a hardening alloy for steel. All machine tools have it. The GSA's tungsten program is 80 percent complete—either in stockpiles or on order. The Eisenhower defense program demands 100 percent.

ORE FACTOR CITED

"If the ore has one-half of 1 percent tungsten, it's considered rich," Bradford said.

"We're paying a domestic subsidy. Our price is $63 a short ton. The world price is $27. We want to stimulate domestic mines.

"We're buying $2,500,000 worth a month and paying for it within 5 days. We're worried sick about tungsten being smuggled from Mexico to get the United States domestic subsidy. One smuggler has been caught already."

Bradford said domestic price-support programs for tungsten, chromite, manganese, and asbestos have permitted western mines to continue operation. The supports protect American producers from dumping of foreign ores.

ALUMINUM HELD O. K.

"We're all right on aluminum," he continued. "Surplus plants sold to Reynolds and Kaiser after the war made the industry more competitive."

Bradford joined Frank A. Chambers, regional director of GSA business service centers, and Mrs. Margaret H. Bayless in telling how the centers like the Los Angeles one at

1031 S. Broadway, are "the answer to 5 percenters."

"All GSA bids of the country are posted on the wall here for examination," Chambers said, "and you don't have to 'know Charley' or 'look up Edgar.'"

In this post-mink-coat era, bids are segregated by delivery points and by many commodity groups, such as paint, food, hardware, furniture, or office supplies.

BIDS KEPT UNDER LOCK

All bids are kept under lock and opened in public. At the time of opening, a long sheet of all bids is prepared and posted. Most purchases are from the lowest bidder, but if any deviation is made, the log sheet explains that the lowest was disqualified for failing to meet specifications or whatever the exact reason is.

Specifications for everything the Government buys are given out free so a manufacturer or distributor knows exactly what is wanted and how the product may be inspected.

If parts are wanted for a Detroit tank arsenal, copies of the Detroit specifications are available in Los Angeles and the bid can be made from here. Washington is bypassed and the 5-percent man is dead, Bradford said.

The emergency procurement service of the FSA buys 3 million different items for all branches of the Federal Government. Pencils, desks, trucks—practically everything in any store or mail order catalog—are wanted at one time or another.

The GSA's central supply service stores 10,000 different items in a Wilmington warehouse for use in this area. If one agency does not need something, it may be stored until another wants it.

A teletype room in the Federal Building is linked with 53 major cities by 15,000 miles of leased wire.

One military unit may find $3,500,000 of new field wire can't be used for office telephones and declare it surplus. After 9 months, another military unit is found which wants the same wire.

A shipyard issues a surplus declaration on 3½ miles of seamless, galvanized 3-inch pipe. Another shipyard 40 miles away buys 2 miles of it and the Government saves money on a cost contract.

A Stockton naval supply center was stuck with 187,000 boxes of odd-size mimeograph paper. A deal was made whereby it was traded back to the manufacturer at a discount and a credit was established to apply on future purchases.

It's a strange agency, the GSA. It may buy women's underwear for an Indian reservation, telephone posts for a military base or even snake-bite remedies.

In the dry season its warehouses are on call 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, for forest fire-fighting equipment.

COSTS DON'T RUN UP

In leasing land or buildings, the Army, Navy, Air Force, and other governmental agencies used to find themselves bidding against each other at times. Now the GSA is the only one bidding, Bradford said, and taxpayers' costs don't run up.

The GSA arranges for purchase of some buildings to save rents but at President Eisenhower's request it also spearheaded a drive nationally to get all Government agencies to kick loose all unneeded properties so they could go back on local tax rolls.

HOLE IN GROUND PAYS OFF

The last big thing sold in Los Angeles County was an underground gas reservoir at Playa del Rey.

In 1941 the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had taken it over because industry needed gas in wartime.

The Government got $763,000 out of it in rental and royalties until a year ago when the RFC rated it as surplus.

"We put it out on bids and got $2,150,000," said Bradford. "Isn't that pretty good for just a hole in the ground?"

Federal Assistance for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, on page A231 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is a discussion of President Eisenhower's statement on Federal assistance for school construction in the state of the Union message by Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive officer of the Council of Chief State School Officers. Dr. Fuller suggests that there might be some significance in the last-minute change of the word "catalyst" to "agent."

In the mimeographed text released immediately before the delivery of the message, President Eisenhower's statement reads:

Without impairing in any way the responsibilities of our States, localities, communities, or families, the Federal Government can and should serve as an effective catalyst in dealing with this problem.

That is, classroom shortage.

In the official version of the message as it appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on page 98, the word "catalyst" was changed to "agent."

The use of the word "agent" certainly makes the nature of the proposed Federal contribution uncertain, but present indications are that catalyst is probably the more accurate word. In the budget message sent up to the Congress 11 days after the state of the Union message, the President, on page M56, says:

Concurrently, without impairment in any way of State, local, community, and family responsibility, the Federal Government should serve as an effective catalyst in dealing with the problem of classroom shortages.

In essence, this is the same statement made in the advance releases before President Eisenhower substituted the word "agent" for "catalyst."

Dr. Fuller says that if the function of the Federal Government is that of a catalyst, then it may easily damage rather than assist in the construction of schools.

Of course, we will not know the administration's proposal until February 15, when the special message promised by the President will be sent to the Congress. But already indications of the contents of the proposal are circulating among Members of Congress and newsmen. On January 14 Mr. Eric Sevareid described the first tentative reports and his reaction in the following broadcast:

Good evening. In his state of the Union message the President said the country faces grave educational problems; his first really serious recognition of the school situation which is not only grave, but critical and rapidly growing worse; not only in terms of the classroom shortage he mentioned, but in terms of the desperate teacher shortage, and, in consequence of all this, in terms of the relentless decline of standards and training; the harsh truth is that unless bold and imaginative steps are taken, and quickly, the United States is on the way to becoming an intellectually second-rate nation.

It doesn't look as if the bold steps are going to be taken by the Federal Government, unless the Executive is forced to big-scale action by a group of some 30 Senators supporting a bill for a billion-dollar emergency school construction program over the next 2 years; a bill to which the new chairman of the subcommittee concerned, Mr. HILL, of Alabama, is pledging top priority.

The Presidential scheme to alleviate the educational crisis is due in a special message 1 month from tomorrow. The first tentative reports on its contents reached Capitol Hill and this reporter today, and failed to impress school-conscious legislators who heard them. These reports indicate the President will propose a bonding authority, providing Federal guaranty of State school bond issues, $25 million in Federal aid to schools in especially distressed districts, selected by a rigid test of need; $5 million to continue current studies of the crisis of elementary and second schools, another $5 million for study of college needs, and a system of college scholarships, involving a total of $250 millions over a period of several years.

The whole program represents a small fraction of the funds, effort and imagination that have gone into the President's $100 billion scheme for developing the roads and highways of the country. There is no doubt that when the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare appears to testify, she will be severely questioned on the need for any more drawn-out studies and conferences on the school situation. This is one subject on which there is a superabundance of information already; studies of the matter are legion; the Federal Office of Education, in fact, is just completing a study authorized by Congress 2 years ago with an appropriation of $3½ million.

The facts are at hand; what is required is action. In a capsule, the situation is this: There is an annual school enrollment increase of a million children and the flood will get heavier in the future. Add to this the fact that of the total tax dollar, Federal State, and local, only 8 cents goes to the schools, as compared with 16 cents before World War II; add to it the fact that we are losing teachers each year, not only proportionately, but in absolute numbers.

Some States are making valiant efforts to cope with the crisis. But it is still true that more than a million and a half children go to school in barracks, church basements, rented garages, and the like; that there are children now finishing the eighth grade who have never added school on anything but a part-time basis.

Mr. Eisenhower has long been concerned about the danger of Federal control of educational content. This can be avoided very simply by the terms of the legislation; what is stranger is the popular illusion that the Federal Government traditionally leaves the school problem to the States and localities. In fact, the history of Federal school action goes back to the Continental Congress and includes at least 50 major congressional acts. The Federal Government now finances over 200 educational activities, the largest being the annual three-quarter million dollar program for veterans. The President has a new program for educating soldiers and veterans for which there seems pressing need. But there are many who remain convinced that it is much wiser in the long run to eradicate ignorance and illiteracy at their source level. And that means a public-school system befitting the most important country in the free world.

This is Eric Sevareid in Washington.

The implication of the catalytic approach is that the Federal contribution will be minute in proportion to that of the States and local districts and that the Federal Government is going to insist on getting back its contribution after the process of school construction theoretically has been accelerated.

Such a program will not begin to reach the real need. It will do nothing for districts that have already reached the limit of their capacity. The Kearns subcommittee last October learned that it is going to take at least $22 billion to have enough classrooms for our children in 1960. So the appropriation of $25 million is a minute amount, and the establishment of State authorities to borrow money either from the Federal Government or from private agencies under a Federal guaranty would mean that the Federal Government was going to insist on getting its funds back.

The bills introduced by Mr. BAILEY and Mr. KEARNS—H. R. 15 and H. R. 14—authorizing grants-in-aid for public-school construction should be given immediate consideration. There is no point in awaiting the President's February 15 message. The statements already made indicate that awaiting the President's program will only cause additional delay without any beneficial results.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marks the anniversary of Ukrainian independence. After the Czarist Russian Empire collapsed in 1917, the Ukrainians set up a separate national republic in their country which for centuries had been under Russian domination. The first meeting of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly met in January 1918, and on the 22d of that month a proclamation on the independence of the Ukraine was issued.

Unfortunately, the Ukrainian Republic was shortlived. By 1921 the country was overrun by the Russian Communists and the Ukraine again became a subjugated nation. It was one of the first and earliest victims of Soviet imperialism and has paid a tremendous toll in suffering and destruction. The Ukraine's national churches were destroyed, the country suffered terrible famines, mass murders, purges, and deportations. Nevertheless, the spiritual and moral resources of the Ukrainian people have not been exterminated, nor has its indomitable desire for national freedom been extinguished after all these years of enslavement and suffering.

The Ukrainian nation numbers some 40 million people and constitutes the largest non-Russian group behind the Iron Curtain in Europe. In the struggle of the free world against communism, the Ukrainians are a most important and potential ally of the Western democracies. They have never stopped their struggle for the liberation of their country from the Communist yoke.

The American people are following with great sympathy the plight which has befallen the Ukrainian people. Their cause is a righteous one. They deserve our support and encouragement.

On the occasion of the anniversary of their independence, we share in the aspirations of Ukrainians everywhere for the early liberation of their country. We extend our greetings and renew our wishes to all Americans of Ukrainian descent that their country of origin, the Ukraine, will soon regain its independence from the forces of evil and tyranny which are in control of it today.

A Reappraisal of European-American Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Sunrise in the West," written by Peter Viereck, and published in the Saturday Review of June 12, 1954. The article presents a thoughtful and interesting analysis of American-European relations.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUNRISE IN THE WEST: A REAPPRAISAL OF EUROPEAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

(By Peter Viereck)

This attempt to reinterpret anti-Americanism in Europe reflects some recent travels abroad, during which this writer was lecturing on American poetry and culture at Oxford University and on the Continent. The present interpretations are based on the following article of faith: America and Europe have so much in common that the forces of love—the forces of reconciliation and of a voluntary unity within diversity—are stronger than hate and war.

America owes so much to the Old World—our Bible, our Dante and Goethe and Shakespeare, our democratic Bill of Rights—that no American material aid can ever repay this spiritual debt. To me, as a poet, and also as a historian, the great writers and artists of Western Europe, yes, and also of Russia, mean so much that I would take Jefferson's saying: "Every man has two fatherlands, his own and France," and change it to read: "Every American writer has two fatherlands, his own and Europe." So when I call Europe's anti-Americanism a major catastrophe, this is not because it criticizes America (we need more criticism to overcome our smugness) but because the Europeans themselves thereby commit suicide. Anti-Americanism in Europe is a luxury that was good clean fun in the 1920's. So was anti-Europeanism in America. But for both of us it is a luxury suicidally expensive today, when Communist armies are poised to strike at some new Korea or Indochina.

One clue to psychological anti-Americanism is found by turning back to the year 431 B. C. and rereading a tactless and embarrassing passage in the otherwise great speech delivered that year by Pericles, leader of the democratic and commercial empire of Athens; this was during the famous war against Sparta's militarist totalitarian dictatorship:

"We secure our friends not by accepting favors but by doing them. And so we are naturally more firm in our attachments; for we are anxious as creditors to cement by kind offices our relations toward friends. If they do not respond with the same warmness, it is because they feel that their services will not be given spontaneously but only as the repayment of a debt. We are alone among mankind in doing men benefits, not on calculations of self-interest, but in the fearless confidence of freedom."

This quotation of 2,400 years ago with its tone of self-righteous smugness helps explain what ineffective propagandists Americans are and what ineffective propagandists the equally unpopular Athenians were. "Insufferable" is the only possible word for such Athenian propaganda; it sounded insufferable in precisely the way that America's righteous Lady Bountiful tone sounds insufferable to Europeans today. Every American citizen pays a fat slice out of every dollar to aid the European economy, a fact not widely enough appreciated abroad. Conversely, Americans don't sufficiently appreciate the fact that this aid is merely material, whereas in two world wars the peoples of Europe had to pay with millions of lives.

Let us examine anti-Americanism not merely among Europe's pro-Communist minority. Rather, let us also and especially examine the current increase of anti-Americanism among Europe's very finest citizens: those many idealists and heroes of the recent anti-Nazi crusade who are in no way fellow-travelers of any Kremlin line but who love liberty as much as Americans do, or often even more so. First of all, we have not yet convinced them of America's cultural creativity. Secondly, we have not convinced them of American fidelity to the common sacrament of antifascism which united Europe and America in World War II and which is one of the noblest inspiring passions in the whole history of freedom. Let us consider these two causes in that order.

Cultural prestige means more in Europe than America's narrowly economic or military experts have the background to realize. Even in terms of their own pragmatic, political, noncultural motives (which in this case accidentally happen to coincide with higher things), America needs to make its serious cultural achievements better known in Europe. Or to put the same point in the practical terminology of the teams of know-how experts, America must stage a cultural comeback abroad. Foreign policy and military security may seem remote from mere long-hair stuff to a know-how team. Yet our entire Western alliance is subtly poisoned by Europe's disproportionate focus on our worst magazines and films as representing American culture.

Not in order to exonerate our own huckster dom but in order to record that Europe's philistia is just as prevalent, let it be recorded that nobody forces Europe to purchase so avidly not the best but the vulgarest Americana, which Europe's masses voluntarily prefer to their own great heritage. In that sense, the hatred of our admittedly vulgar Americana by cultured Europe today is a projection of Europe's secret self-hatred, its hatred of its rootless postwar detachment from its own great past, its hatred of becoming voluntarily even more "Americanized" than our own pluralistic America. For despite current huckster rampages which con-

descend to compare our leading scientists with crooked bank tellers, our pluralistic America does fortunately remain less "Americanized," less crass and materialistic, and more seriously cultured than had seemed to be the case in the Babbitt-baiting, of the twenties.

America is more complicated, both better and worse, than this oversimplified stereotype of the twenties, to which most Europeans still cling. Is is not time, through hundredfold multiplication of such exchanges as the Fulbright plan, to let Europeans revise their stereotype by freely judging, at first hand, America's new artistic and literary flowering? While it would be blasphemous to exchange cultural knowledge merely from the material motive of politicians and tradesmen, yet this crass motive must not obscure the fact that cultural exchange would also strengthen a modest little cause known as truth.

Unawareness abroad of our cultural creativity is a long-range factor; it goes back to the 19th century. Although it ought to have been discarded as an outdated cliché that whole visiting-lecturer clinché about "You Americans with your speed, speed, speed, and your Frigidaires," yet many important Europeans still think Americans are soulless and insensitive machines, a raw society of mass-produced healthy extroverts. Traditional American literary figures like Emily Dickinson, Melville, Thoreau, and "bitter Bierce" don't sound like insensitive soulless extroverts. Neither do some of our contemporary quarterlies. Yet I found Europe far more aware of the America of Hollywood and of Mickey Spillane than of this great literary tradition. For example, one French writer asked: "But how on earth can a poet live in America? Whom would he ever find to talk to about anything except lynchings and chewing gum?"

Only freer travel in both directions can correct this impression. In Europe, unlike America, it is not only esthetically put politically essential to be respected by the intellectuals. Listen, for example, to the diary of Heinrich von Einsiedel, "I Joined the Russians." In this diary, what most makes this grandson of Bismarck hesitate to break with communism and to face westward toward America are his following qualms; and please note that they are purely cultural qualms, not political, economic, or military qualms:

"Is Americanism a future worth striving for? Haven't pursuit of the dollar, the conveyor belt, skyscrapers, crime thrillers, the jazz mania done more to demoralize the world and turn man into a mass creature than could a collectivist party dictatorship inspired by a Socialist's ideal? Where is the towering cultural achievement of America which would lend inner justification to the wealth of the ruling classes?"

The second source of friction which good will on both sides can eliminate is the fact that Europeans find America not sufficiently militant against the Fascist evil. This evil ravaged and almost destroyed Europe in World War II; its horrors are, therefore, less easily forgotten by Europe than by an unracaged America. Americans have never been invaded by Germany, but they have suffered death and torture from Communists in Korea. France has not been invaded by Russia, its traditional ally against Germany since 1815, but has been 3 times invaded by Germany in the last century, and has been brutally occupied by Nazi Germans and Fascist Italians. Therefore, although intellectually both the rightest and the leftist forms of totalitarianism are obviously equally dreadful, emotionally history has made Frenchmen dread the rightest form more and has made Americans dread the leftist form more. Unless both Frenchmen and Americans keep in mind each other's historic scars, Americans will increasingly rage at Frenchmen for being soft toward communism, and Frenchmen will increasingly rage against Americans for being soft toward fascism—or at least toward German nationalism abroad and toward mob conformism at home. In that case there will never be a meeting of minds between Western Europe and America.

The solution is for both Americans and Europeans to drop the outdated concepts of left and right in foreign policy; to drop these concepts not only semantically but psychologically; to drop as meaningless the mischievous notion of choosing a lesser evil between left and right despotisms. For in foreign policy each is but the mirrow image of the other. When you stand in front of a mirror, left becomes right and right becomes left, and the image remains the same. Semantically you will make Frenchmen more emotionally anti-Communist when you show that communism is nothing but Red fascism; you will make Americans more emotionally on guard against thought control when you show that this is nothing but the bolshevism of the right. The metaphor of the mirror image explains why Western Europe's increasing softness toward the left and America's increasing softness toward the right are inseparable; both must stop simultaneously, or neither will stop. Let us turn to some examples proving that point.

Every time McCarthy makes a speech threatening to sink British boats, Bevan's leftwingers and America-baiters gain more adherents. Every time Bevan makes a speech for appeasing Red China and every time French Communists demonstrate against some just, legal, fairminded trial of some guilty American spy, McCarthy and our isolationist Europe-baiters gain more adherents. The great British liberal weekly, the Economist, defines Aneurin Bevan's slanders of America as "a deliberate recipe for striking down the free world's shield." Exactly. And what else but this are McCarthy's slanders of England?

Here is a second example of mirror images. Europeans tend to think (and here, as elsewhere, many American liberal intellectuals resemble the European side of the mirror) that everyone indicted for communism in America is being framed up. Thus they often—to my shock and amazement during recent trips abroad—deemed such proved traitors as Hiss and the Rosenbergs innocent and minimized the proved Communist infiltration in that erstwhile sacred cow, the Institute of Pacific Relations. Conversely, many nationalistic Americans tend to think that everyone accused of communism is guilty. Thus some Americans—again to my shock and amazement—impute intentional pro-communism to a past administration which proved its anti-communism by the Truman doctrine in Turkey and Greece, by NATO, and by resisting Communist aggression in Korea. Here the American-nationalist mistake mirrors the European-liberal mistake; the former tends to call everybody guilty indiscriminately, without due process of law; the latter tends to call everybody a framed-up innocent indiscriminately, despite all evidence.

If, for the sake of Western unity, we discard the terms "left" and "right" with what shall we replace them? I suggest using the adjectives "separatists" and "westernizing" to bring out the contrast that really matters, the contrast between suicidal aloofness and that Western collective security against the totalitarian aggressor, which alone could have prevented World War II and which alone can save us from world war III. Thus, fellow traveler and appeasement tendencies in Europe on the one hand and isolationist, xenophobic, and thought-controlling tendencies in America on the other hand, are both forms, by my terminology, of the same ism: separatism. "Westernizing" I define as everything encouraging mutual aid, mutual trade, mutual military, and spiritual defenses in the free world against that ever-hovering threat (which hangs over us all) of some Moscow-directed Pearl Harbor.

This terminology is more realistic than left and right because it puts together all who opposed the Marshall plan and the Atlantic Pact in the same camp, where they belong. For example, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, who voted against the Marshall plan and against adequately financing our anti-Communist armies in Europe, gets placed by this new terminology in the same camp (the separatist camp) as Nenni, Kingsley Martin, Jean-Paul Sartre, Alvarez Del Vayo, the New Statesman enemies of the Atlantic Pact in London, and its neutralist enemies in Paris and Rome.

In October 1952 the late Josef Stalin made one of the most important speeches of the 20th century. He predicted the Soviets would triumph not merely because of leftwing tendencies in the West but because of the disunity in the West created by nationalist rivalries. Quite diverse examples of such separatist nationalism are neofascism in Italy, nationalist jealousy between France and Germany, and America's high tariffs. If Stalin realized that the West can be destroyed by this tacit alliance of the trust-Russia leftists and the nationalist rightists, then let the West realize it likewise and act accordingly. Here, in the context of Stalin's October speech, is my definition of McCarthyite separatism: McCarthyism is that unwitting tool of the Kremlin criminals which, by replacing genuine anticommunism (that is, a freedom-loving anticommunism) with demagogic pseudo-anticommunism, lends aid and comfort to the real Communist agents (the real Hisses and Fuchses) by falsely accusing of procommunism countless anti-Communists (like Ambassador Bohlen, General Zwicker, Adlai Stevenson, Ed Murrow, Harvard's Pusey, and many others).

In short, the isolationists and McCarthyite separatists of America and the neutralist and fellow-traveler separatists and appeasers in Europe are as identical as a bump and a hollow. Opposing that bump and that hollow, the freedom-loving unity of the westernizers is not merely a temporary material expedient against communism but is rooted in the lasting spiritual philosophies which the West has inherited from Athens and from Palestine. Fortunately, most Americans and most Europeans are still prowestern, not separatists, and so—as shown by their mass desertions to the West—are most East Europeans and Russians, despite their tyrannical separatist governments. It is not because most Americans are Fascist imperialists but because most Americans are democratic foes of fascism that they are, consistently, likewise the foes of the Soviet police state. Freedom must be defended simultaneously on several different fronts, not on one alone.

But while freedom has several fronts, they are not equally dangerous. Let us retain a sense of proportion about which front faces a permanent menace of 200 armed divisions and which front faces a demagogy that has no armed division behind it and can still be rendered ephemeral with ballots at home.

When Communists and McCarthyites both booed in protest against the giving of the Nobel prize for peace to the founder of the Marshall plan, they proved beyond dispute the validity of the mirror-image metaphor here suggested. Only this mirror interpretation makes sense of the fact that the Daily Worker and Senator McCarthy both opposed, and still oppose, the Marshall plan and all subsequent manifestations of the same cooperative western unity. While left and right still have a certain legitimate validity in domestic politics, obviously they must be replaced by the concepts of westernism and separatism in any realistic analysis of European-American foreign relations. Westernism does not stand for coercive uniformity or for the end of independent po-

litical parties with lots of healthy disagreement; that would be the very totalitarianism we combat. What westernism means is that those who share it share a common value code; they share a common anti-Fascist, anti-Communist framework of parliamentary liberties. Therefore, westernism means no blind conformism; it means free individualism with a close but voluntary unity.

Don't blame Communist propaganda exclusively for anti-Americanism abroad. Blame also America's meanspirited isolationists and zenophobes. Our Europe-baiters and would-be thought-controllers look more important from afar than they actually are at home. In any case, whether important or unimportant at home, these noisy slanderers give wavering Europeans the impression—a false impression—that all America has the rabies. This much-cited rabies quotation is from one of the most skillful Soviet-sympathizing writers in Paris. He welcomes McCarthyism as a godsend. In exactly the same way, European neutralist and fellow-traveler periodicals, such as much of the nonliterary section of the London New Statesman, are a godsend to America's Europe-baiters and McCarthyites.

Readers who still recall their college science courses will remember the classic case of a traveling cook called Typhoid Mary. Herself immune to the typhoid germs she teemed with, she left typhoid epidemics in her wake, unintentionally and with blissful unawareness. May we not call JOSEPH McCARTHY the Typhoid Mary of anti-Americanism?

The more we tell Europe about the horrors of communism (though it is indeed monstrously horrible), the more will Europeans tell us about the horrors of fascism, which only recently occupied their countries. This being so, let more Americans have the empathy, the sensitivity to put themselves in Europe's place and to think again of the horrors of nazism. If more Americans do so, I guarantee that more anti-Americans in Europe will reciprocate by greater awareness of the horrors of communism.

This reciprocity may not be logical. Logically you make people anti-Communist by talking against communism. But it is psychological. Psychologically, America will not make Europeans sufficiently anti-Communist unless America in addition talks about the dangers of Fascist-style thought-control and demagogy. And mere lip service to antifacism is not enough; a rebirth of the anti-Fascist spirit in America—the psychological prerequisite to a rebirth of anticommunism in Europe—must, in Wordsworth's phrase, be "felt in the heart and felt along the blood." Not narrow nationalism but the generous passionate idealism that stopped Hitler is what will stop the appeal of communism abroad.

This freedom-loving idealism cuts across right and left just as does "communazi" totalitarianism; this idealism is found alike in the conservatism of a Churchill or Eden and the democratic socialism of a Mayor Reuter, of Berlin, or a Norman Thomas; not economics but ethics must be the criterion. No mere economic cooperation with Europe (though I favor it for other reasons) will do as much to inspire Europe against the criminal Soviet aggressor as will a nationwide rekindling in America of our anti-Fascist conscience. What a thrill of renewed faith in NATO and in American leadership would surge through wavering Europe, what panic and gnashing of teeth would excruciate the propagandists of pro-Soviet appeasement, if our President—while never relaxing our alertness against Communist spies—took the lead in a dramatic all-out drive against all Senators, Congressmen, and newspapers who would corrupt that necessary altertness into attacks on free institutions. And by all-out drive I do not mean vague platitudes; I mean naming names and hitting hard.

At the very same time, by the law of mirrored reciprocity, a lot more Italian and French voters would have to vote against communism and for NATO in order to encourage more Americans to vote out of office our nationalistic know-nothings. Let Europeans learn that the road to effective anti-McCarthyism must begin with a more sincere anticommunism. Let Americans learn that the road to anticommunism must begin with a sincere anti-Fascist revival.

A big increase in European Atlantic Pact anticommunism and European knowledge of our serious cultural achievements on the one hand, and a big increase in American free-minded individualism, passion for civil liberties, and tolerant world-mindedness on the other hand, will need each other, will feed each other, and will both be gloriously right. This entirely voluntary unity will be based on liberty and not merely on temporary military expediency. Only yesterday this unity saved both Europe and America from Hitler. If today it saves us both from an otherwise inevitable world conquest by Chinese and Russian communism, then for a second time in one century, and by a reversal of astronomy, the sun will rise in the west.

Anti-Nixon Smear Campaign Exposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the January 24 issue of Time magazine, on the newsstands today, contains an exposé of the cruel, hard, and ruthless political strategy behind the latest wave of smear attacks against Vice President NIXON. Fair-minded Americans will not softly judge those who conceived and are executing this "politician cries foul" switch on the old "boy cries wolf" dodge.

The Time article is as follows:

THE VICE PRESIDENCY

TARGET: THE ISSUE

For more than 2 years Democratic leaders have been agreed on the identity of the party's political enemy No. 1. It is RICHARD NIXON. Since Dwight Eisenhower's political armor is hard to pierce, it has been logical Democratic strategy to shoot at the second man. In midcampaign, 1952, Democratic strategists thought they had downed their man—and the GOP too—with their shouts about the Nixon fund, but NIXON skillfully turned the attack to his and his party's advantage. Since then Democratic leaders have watched NIXON's every move, ready to kick when the word was passed. Last week a new Democratic attack on NIXON was in full kick.

Open season

The new anti-Nixon movement was set off during last fall's campaign by Adlai Stevenson, who accused the Vice President of perpetrating McCarthyism in a white collar. A week after the election: Steve Mitchell, then Democratic national chairman, called upon NIXON to "retract and apologize for his campaign excesses." When Congress convened, House Speaker SAM RAYBURN took up the cudgel, growled that Democrats "are not going to say that just because we do not like somebody politically he is soft on communism." At a Democratic luncheon in Washington last week, Delaware's freshman Representative HARRIS B. McDOWELL cried: "It's open season on the Vice President."

After that, Republican leaders decided that the attacks had become serious enough to return the fire. At his press conference, Dwight Eisenhower moved into the battle. When a reporter asked how he felt about the criticism of NIXON, Ike bridled slightly and asked a question of his own: Was the reporter's query based on what NIXON actually said or on what the critics said he said? The reporter replied that he was working from the critics' words, not from NIXON's deeds.

After establishing that point, the President went on: He had never heard of NIXON's making any sweeping condemnation of any party. The Vice President had talked about certain individual cases and the way they were handled administratively, had questioned good judgment, but not loyalty.

The record clearly supported the Eisenhower position. Even in his "chamber of smears," a display in Washington designed to dramatize the attack, Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler could actually show only scattered and minor reference to the Vice President. Most of the space was devoted to local advertisements against Democratic candidates that had no connection with NIXON, for example, a Wyoming ad that called United States Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY "Foreign Agent 783" (because that was his number as a registered congressional lobbyist for Cuban-sugar interests).

One Democratic exhibit blandly repeated an error that had been discovered and corrected last September. In a speech at Huron, S. Dak., NIXON had said that the Republican administration was "kicking the Communists and fellow travelers and security risks out of the Government • • • by the thousands." An Associated Press dispatch misquoted NIXON, leaving out the phrase "fellow travelers and security risks." Although a tape recording proved what NIXON had said, the Democratic strategists are still using the erroneous dispatch.

Closed cases

Throughout the campaign, NIXON hit the Democrats hard on the Communist issue. But he never adopted JOE McCARTHY's line that the Democratic Party is the party of treason. Carefully pointing out that he was not charging disloyalty or treason, he made the very different charge that the Democratic administrations of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman had, in some very important instances, failed to understand and to meet the threat of Communist subversion. To support his case, he could, and did, point to specific closed cases, e. g., Soviet Agent Harry Dexter White was permitted to build a whole cadre of followers in the United States Treasury despite repeated warnings from the FBI; Soviet Agent Alger Hiss, whom NIXON helped uncover, was unconscionably defended by Harry Truman and Dean Acheson.

The Democratic attack on RICHARD NIXON is not aimed primarily at the Vice President, although knocking him out politically would be a useful byproduct for the Democrats. What the party strategists are really trying to do, with help from Democratic-leaning reporters of the press and radio-TV, is to perform a quick rewrite of history. Before 1956 they want to erase the record of negligence in dealing with Communist subversion.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Address by the Ambassador From Norway to the United States, Wilhelm M. Morgenstierne

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, a very fine address was delivered in Minneapolis on January 15 by the dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington, the Ambassador of Norway, Wilhelm Munthe Morgenstierne, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary banquet of the Sons of Norway.

It is an address which is of genuine interest, not only because of the man who delivered it—who is so widely respected and beloved in this country—or the useful organization which he addressed.

It is a tribute to the sturdy men and women of Norse extraction who have made a worthy and a constructive contribution to our American life, and it contains a splendid description of Norway's sturdy people, their traditions and achievements, and their ideals of freedom which are so much akin to those of the United States.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the manuscript will be approximately 2¾ pages of the RECORD, at a cost of $220.

I ask unanimous consent that Ambassador Morgenstierne's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY WILHELM M. MORGENSTIERNE, AMBASSADOR FROM NORWAY TO THE UNITED STATES, DELIVERED AT 60TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET, SONS OF NORWAY, RADISSON HOTEL, MINNEAPOLIS, SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 15, 1955

Thank you very, very much. I speak from my heart when I say that I appreciate more than I can express to be with you here today on Sons of Norway's 60th anniversary celebration. Some of you may recall—I certainly do—that I was with you and talked to you 10 years ago on the occasion of your 50th anniversary. The fact that you wanted me to come again means a lot to me. You may have heard of that very popular man who was invited everywhere, but never twice. That you wanted me to come again is indeed a great honor, and to me a pleasure which could not be greater.

I do feel that here I am among friends, good old friends. Do you know that almost 45 years have gone by since my first acquaintance with some of your lodges here in Minnesota and in North Dakota. When I first was at the Norwegian Legation in Washington, I had a vacation coming to me in the summer of 1911. A good friend of mine in Washington told me: You cannot make better use of your vacation than going out to see your kinsmen in the Middle West. And he quoted Horace Greeley: "Go West, young man." And I did. From that time dates my lifelong friendship with men like Laurits Stavnheim, Olaf Rove, Halvard Askeland—all great Sons of Norway and pillars of your society. And so, when I was sent as Norwegian Commissioner to the San Francisco World's Fair in 1915, I attended and met many friends at the Sons of Norway convention which was held there that year. Your lodge, Norden, in Tacoma asked me to visit with them on my way back, and there President Martin Ulvestad, the indefatigable collector of material about our pioneers, presented me with this beautiful badge, which carries the inscription AEresmedlem. This always has meant a lot to me, even if I have learned later that Sons of Norway recognizes no such thing as honorary member. Thinking it over, I have come to the conclusion that I much prefer to be a regular brother, an honorable, but not honorary member of our great organization.

On that same trip in 1915 I also had the opportunity to visit many of your lodges. I recall vividly that vigorous lodge, Ivar Aasen, in Santa Barbara, where sturdy men from Summre were growing lima beans—lots of them. The greatest impression on me was made by the newly arrived, forest-clearing settlers along Puget Sound, north of Seattle. I visited Silvana, Edison, and Mount Vernon, and watched their steam donkeys in action. I think that Lodge Skjaergaarden, where I spoke, is the nearest I ever came to the pioneer stage. I shall never forget it. You know those steam donkeys were wonderful. I saw them at work in virgin forests. They reminded me more than anything else of trolls, mechanized trolls, as they came rushing through the forest, uprooting big trees, making a clearance through the dense underbrush the first step in what was to become the fertile homesteads of the pioneers.

Now we are getting old. You are 60 years old, and I am 67. Isn't it strange that there is always these 7 years between you and me? I sometime hoped that once I would overtake you, and be just as young as you are. But no. Strangely enough there was always those 7 years.

I cannot quite escape the feeling that this may come to be my swan song to you. In 3 years I shall retire from my present position in Washington and go home to Norway, and carry on as best I can on my pension, spending my remaining years in my log cabin. At least I shall not be here when you celebrate your 70th anniversary. And so I want to take this opportunity to thank you for everything. I also want to make a confession to you. And that is that my association with you through all these years has meant a tremendous lot to me. In more than one way it has meant a lot to me as a human being.

It meant to me the opening of a new world, a relevation of a greater Norway, in the sense of Norwegian men and women, Norwegian ideals and traditions, Norwegian love of freedom, independence, and democracy, leaving its indelible imprint on those sturdy, self-assured sections of America called the Middle West and the great Northwest. I was never the same afterwards. My eyes were focused on larger horizons. Det Norske Amerika was enclosed in my heart besides my own Norway.

But it also meant a lot to me in my official position as Norway's representative to the United States. And all this was nourished by my close contact with Nordmanns-Forbundet as secretary-general and vice president. In that capacity I traveled more widely in the United States and met more people than would ever have been possible for a mere diplomat. I do believe that it greatly helped me in my task of creating understanding and good will between our two countries.

During these, my almost 45 years in America, I sincerely felt that I had two main aims: To promote close and friendly relations between the United States and Norway, and to strengthen the bonds between the Norwegian people and our kinsmen in this new Norway across the ocean.

That gave perspective, direction, and happiness, to my work in Washington. And when I look back on my official life, I find that I have been singularly blessed.

I hope you will forgive me these personal references, but they have a distinct bearing on my presence here tonight, my long and close association with Sons of Norway.

In those 60 years since the first Sons of Norway Lodge was organized here in Minneapolis, you have accomplished great things.

True to one of your basic aims, to organize mutual aid in sickness and in death, there has grown a modern life insurance organization with lodges all over the United States. What this has meant to thousands upon thousands of Norwegian men and women in a new land, only the beneficiaries themselves, and the historians, could fully evaluate.

But in addition to such mutual assistance Sons of Norway from the very beginning aimed at preserving the cultural and spiritual traditions of Norway. The Sons of Norway, through the years, have always realized that by keeping alive the Norwegian heritage, or what we call fedrearven, the lives of its members would always be enriched, and they would thereby be able to contribute that much more to their country of adoption.

Now, of course, the word "fedrearven" is used so often that perhaps it is in danger of losing its full meaning and becoming somewhat stale. Yet, no one will deny, I am sure, that the thing itself, our Norwegian heritage, is an ever present, dynamic reality in the lives of all those who received it from the cradle on.

For a long time I struggled in order to find an adequate expression for all that the word "fedrearven" implies. I cannot do better than I once defined it before, and so I will quote it here. I said:

"What, then, are these golden treasures of the mind and the spirit passed down to us from our common fathers? I do not think a comprehensive and satisfactory definition of "fedrearven" has been given as yet. Perhaps it cannot be done, because some of its elements are as illusive as the elfs dancing on lavebrua and the play of nokken in the waterfall.

"But we are not in doubt as to some things, quite a few things, which go to make up our Norwegian heritage. There are the sagas, both the heroic tales themselves and the rhythm of the telling, which have become part of the consciousness of our people. There is Norwegian history, tracing our na-

tional life through the centuries, with its glories and its humiliations, its light and its deep shadows, but always with one distinguishing, indelible line—the love of individual liberty and national independence, sometimes submerged and dormant, but always there, latently. And last, but not least, the determination of the people that with law shall we build our land. Med lov skal land bygges.

One of the treasures which your fathers brought along with them from Norway was the deep religious traditions of the Norwegian church. Many pastors graduated from the University of Norway came with the Norwegian immigrants to this country, and this meant a great deal both in a religious and a cultural way to the newcomers to a foreign and strange country. Theirs remained the faith of their fathers.

A very essential part of our heritage is Norway itself. Not exactly or exclusively the beautiful fiords and mountains, the valleys, or the great highland plains, but the atmosphere, the soul of all these things. Why do the elfs, the nisse, the trolls, the nokken take such an important place in the deeper consciousness and the folk tales of our people? Not because they actually exist as such, but because in the intuitive imagination of the people they represent the mystic, but nevertheless real, interplay and fundamental oneness of the spirit of Norwegian nature and Norwegian cultural and national life.

Part of our national heritage is, indeed, the contribution made by Norwegian scholars and scientists and pioneers in many fields of human endeavor to the advancement of human knowledge. Our great Arctic and Antarctic explorers, for instance, have added immeasurably, not only to humanity's common knowledge of the earth we inhabit but to the prestige and the glory of the country which fostered them.

What more than perhaps anything else makes fedrearven a living reality is Norwegian literature and music. I wonder whether there is any country where literature and music enter so intimately into the daily life of the people. Wergeland, Welhaven, Bjornson, Ibsen, Kielland, Ivar Aasen, Vinje, Garborg, Hamsun, Collett Vogt, Undset, Kjerulf, Nordraak, Grieg, Sinding—to mention some of the brilliant stars on the Norwegian firmament. All these, and many others, are part of our daily fare; we read them, we quote them, we sing them; they have become inseparably intermingled with our lives.

I know, and everybody in Norway knows, how you were with us in thoughts and sympathy during the years, 5 long years, when Norway was occupied by the enemy, and our people were crushed under the heel of the Nazis. We shall never forget how you stood by, spiritually and with your material support, in the hour of Norway's greatest need.

Today, with that terrible war and cruel occupation behind us, I know that your thoughts and your love still find their way across the ocean, and perhaps you may want me to tell you what has happened during these 10 years since Norway's liberation. How is Norway today? I am happy to be able to tell you:

Norway is all right, now. But we have had a rough time. When the sun rose over a free Norway in May 1945, we found a land devastated by the enemy, many of our towns in ruins, our railroads, bridges, factories destroyed. We faced a tremendous task of reconstruction.

And not only that: We faced a double task. We had not only to rebuild our country, but at the same time to see to it, that it must not happen again.

This double task placed a tremendous burden on our people. If we succeeded, and I think that we are well on our way, it was mainly for the following reasons: First, the spirit of the Norwegian resistance movement during the occupation years had, to some extent, carried over to the postwar period. Political parties, political differences, did not mean as much as they used to. Above all differences, all quarrels, there was Norway. We worked together to rebuild and protect our country. I believe that most Norwegians today would say with the leader of the home front during the occupation: "We have learned this, too, that there is something greater than our personal affairs and wishes: Our country, our people, this Norway which has been sustained through adversity, ravaged, pillaged, and poor, but free, and our own deeper, more intimate sense than ever before."

I think it is significant that in the postwar years there were no strikes in Norway. What that meant in the reconstruction years, I do not need to dwell upon.

Secondly, in the years immediately following the war, certain aspects of the economic world situation turned out to be favorable for Norway. We found, for several years, profitable markets for our principal export products. And in addition, our merchant marine found full employment at profitable freight rates.

Last, but not least, there was that unique manifestation of American statesmanship, vision, and generosity—the Marshall plan. I want to say right here that without the Marshall plan Norway, and indeed all of Western Europe, might have been an easy prey for aggressive communism. And let me add one thing: I have heard it said sometimes that we in Western Europe do not appreciate the American aid, that you may have won enemies and not friends, by your generosity. May I say as strongly as I can, that this is not true, at least not as far as Norway is concerned. We are sincerely and deeply appreciative and grateful, and your aid in our time of need will go down in our history as one of the finest chapters in international relations. And I believe we made judicious use of the Marshall aid. At least the Marshall plan administration told us so again and again. We used it mainly for investments, not for consumption. In Norway we continued a regime of austerity for many years after the war.

We used a large part of the Marshall aid for the enlargement of our industrial plant, thus enabling us to increase our exports considerably. And also for the restoration of our merchant marine. During the war we lost 51 percent of our tonnage. Today we have not only rebuilt our fleet, but we have a larger total tonnage than before the war. Norway with its 3,250,000 people has the 3d largest commercial fleet of all the countries in the world. Our total tonnage is now 7 million tons. More ships of Norwegian registry visit American ports than those of any other foreign nation, except Great Britain.

As you know, we have a labor government in Norway, as a matter of fact we have had one—with the interruption of only a few months—since 1935. It is not a socialist government in the old sense, in the sense in which it is still often understood. My government does not go in much for socialization or nationalization. It has found that greater social and economic justice, greater well-being for the people, all the people, can be reached in a different and a better way. It believes that a nation should also take into its service the advantages, the incentive of personal initiative, of private capitalism, under government control and regulation. It believes that the ultimate solution lies in utilizing all the constructive forces, all the resources of the country, in one great combined effort to reach the maximum strength of the nation.

Of course, government control and regulation are not always popular, nor are high taxes—neither in Norway, nor in any other country. There are, of course, differences of opinion among the people regarding the economic policies of the government. And the political parties are quite sharply divided on some of the measures introduced by the government. But, I would say that on the whole, and considering the heavy burdens of the postwar period, we have not been doing badly.

Let me mention one fact which to me seems to have a bearing on the situation. In the Norwegian Paliament (the Storting) we used for a few years after the war to have 11 Communist representatives. Today there are only 3 Communists in the Norwegian Storting.

On the whole I think it is correct to say that Norway today is a welfare state, laying more stress upon the ultimate aim—that is the welfare of all the people—than on the means to accomplish this aim.

The means by which we have succeeded in furthering the aims of a welfare state, without resorting to nationalization, have been many. I shall mention a few of them:

The government has laid great stress on securing full and efficient employment.

The government has done everything within its power to secure a steady rise in production and productivity.

Great and largely successful efforts have been made to secure a reasonable and just distribution of goods and services. There has in a part, a small part, of the American press been misrepresentations of economic conditions in Norway. It was thus stated recently in an influential paper that under the labor regime there were all kinds of shortages and difficulties.

In this connection it was said that Norway still had wartime rationing, and that it was difficult, for instance, to secure a suit. This, of course, is not so. All rationing in Norway was abolished several years ago, and in our shops one can buy practically everything, just as in this country. And not only that. We produce ourselves lots of things for export to other countries. When I was with you 10 years ago, I remember complaining that the Quislings ate all our brislings. We have plenty to export to you, for instance.

Through taxation there has been effected a leveling of income, and means have been made available for improving the lot of the common man.

There has been an extension of benefits to the people in the form of social insurance (old-age pensions, insurance against sickness, unemployment, etc.). Also an extension of free educational facilities. Public education is free in Norway, and this applies to public schools, high schools, and universities.

A great deal has been done to spread among all the people our cultural treasures and evoke interest in the fine things of life. Recreational facilities for the people have been provided. It might be said, that as the goals are stable, the means are flexible, and they are judged solely in terms of their effectiveness in creating human welfare and a richer life.

I believe that any objective observer visiting Norway today will find that as far as social justice and well being is concerned, we have gone a long way during the last 20 years. There is less economic inequality, less class distinction, and greater general contentment among the people than there used to be. I believe one would find a deeper feeling, that Norway, with all its material and cultural resources, belongs to all the people. This feeling, I am sure, greatly contributed to the fact that when war came, the entire nation rallied to the defense of our land and our freedom. More than ever all the people felt that they had something to lose and so much to defend. The great question is, of course, how far one can safely go with regard to taxation, without interferring with a healthy economic development and expansion.

I think that an important part of Norway's role in the world today is to have shown that through peaceful, democratic means it has been possible to organize a society based on a higher degree of economic wellbeing and social justice. There still remains a lot to be done in this field—but I sincerely believe that we are on our way.

I thought that I should give you this short outline of our internal situation before I say something about Norway's foreign policies and the role it plays internationally in the world today.

For many years back Norway has enjoyed an international reputation as a peace-loving country. For more than a hundred years, from 1814 until we were attacked in 1940, we had not known war. Norway had been in the forefront of the countries which worked for international arbitration agreements, seeking to find peaceful solutions of conflicts between nations. In recognition of this Mr. Alfred Nobel, a Swedish industrialist with warm humanitarian interests, in his testament provided that it should be left to a committee of Norwegians, appointed by the Norwegian Parliament, to award the annual Nobel peace prize.

I have already related what happened in 1940, when the aggressor suddenly and without any provocation on our part broke into our peaceful land. We fought, as you know, bravely for 5 years. When the liberation came in 1945, we, and the free world generally, felt deeply that such aggression must not be permitted to happen again. We must join in organizing collective security and prepare together to defend our freedom and all that goes with it.

And so in the spring of 1945, with the prayers and high hopes of the peace- and freedom-loving world, the United Nations was organized in San Francisco. I had the privilege to be there myself and to sign the United Nations Charter on behalf of Norway, and I shall never forget the 26th of June 1945 when the charter was signed by all the 50 nations represented in San Francisco. There was a wonderful spirit of relief and optimism in the air. We had real hopes that all the members would now be willing to cooperate in times of peace, as they had during the years of war.

Tragically, this situation did not last long. Soon all kinds of difficulties arose between the Western and the Communist world.

The happenings of the last 9 years of so-called cold war—sometimes not so very cold—are only too vivdly in our minds. Peacemaking with Germany and Austria has been sabotaged. Solemn agreements that free and unfettered elections should be held in liberated countries like Poland, Rumania, Bulgario, and others, were cynically broken. Freedom and human rights were brutally suppressed. Overnight these and other countries were turned into totalitarian dictatorships, with utter disregard for the will of the people. A few years later also the free, democratic country of Czechoslovakia was raped and deprived of all the blessings of freedom and popular government. Iron curtains were lowered for the purpose of keeping out all influences from the free world. Terror, lawlessness, concentration camps flourished. Perhaps worst of all was the gradual poisoning of the moral climate of the world. Untruths were flying thick and fast. The generally accepted meaning of words were perverted. Dictatorships were called democracies, slavery was called freedom, peaceloving states were called warmongers, and white was called black or red.

The veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations, which had been agreed upon in San Francisco on the explicit understanding that it should be used only in extreme cases, was continuously misused with the result that the United Nations was virtually paralyzed.

It did not prove possible to get the Communist members to cooperate on what was to have been one of the main pillars of the United Nations—a military organization to enforce its decisions and the peace of the world.

It took some time before we realized what we were really up against, and what this insidious obstacle was, which we seemed to meet at every crossroad. Gradually it dawned upon us that it was the most unscrupulous, aggressive force which the world had ever known, namely the conspiracy of international imperialist communism. Personally I fear that many people even today do not fully realize the mortal danger in which we find ourselves—that we are facing the greatest struggle of all times between the forces of freedom and progress, and the dark evil forces of reaction. It was hard to realize that after having fought and sacrificed to get rid of nazism, we had ended up with something still worse, namely aggressive communism.

Strangely enough there still seems to be some people, not Communists only, who cling to the idea that there is something liberal or radical, even progressive, about communism. They seem blind to the fact that communism is black reaction, trying to tear down what the common man has fought for and sacrificed for through generations—that is freedom of speech, freedom of the press, of assembly, of elections. We know that at elections in Communist states they have a single list, prepared by the Communist government. The voters have no choice. Vote for the single list, or else. I must think of a Communist satellite state in Europe, which a few years ago was going to have one of the single-list elections. One of the newspapers in that country wrote: "These are going to be really free elections, because they will be free of the demagogy of opposition parties."

There is nothing the matter with the Charter of the United Nations. It is a fact that the charter stipulates most of the things to which a free, peace-loving world aspires. It reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person. It stipulates that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest. It emphasizes the duty of member states to respect the obligations arising from treaties, and it obligates them to practice tolerance and to live together in peace with one another as good neighbors.

No, there is nothing the matter with the charter. If all the members would scrupulously respect its stipulations then we should certainly not be in the mess in which we find ourselves today.

But, may I ask, what organization can possibly succeed if some of its members openly flaunt the principles to which they themselves have solemnly subscribed?

Under these circumstances a way had to be found to protect the free world against aggression, until the United Nations should be in a position to fulfill the great task planned for it.

Norway, never forgetting the 5 long years of totalitarian domination, strongly felt that we must continue our search for security for our rewon freedom.

Alone, we could not accomplish this. We knew that, and our first thought, naturally, was to turn to our neighbors and friends in the north to see what the three of us together could do. As we saw it, the best solution, not only for ourselves but for the cause of freedom and democracy generally, would be a Scandinavian regional defense pact, under the Charter of the United Nations, and in some way affiliated with the great western democracies.

Our Swedish friends could not see it that way. They found that they had to adhere to Sweden's traditional neutrality, based on her past experiences and, no doubt, in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Swedish people. A Scandinavian neutral defense pact, however, without solidarity with a larger democratic regional group, offered no solution for Norway's problems. We strongly felt that neutrality in these days had no relation to the facts of life.

And so, in 1949, together with Denmark, we decided to join with 10 other countries of the North Atlantic regions in a defense alliance. The alliance was named the North Alantic Treaty Organization, NATO for short. This was in full accordance with article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, which provides for individual or collective self-defense of its members. As we know, nations have not always taken to heart the lessons of history. But here was one instance where a group of free countries did decide to profit by the bitter experiences of the past, and not allow an aggressor to pick them off one by one.

From now on a would-be aggressor, whoever he might be, would face a strong group of peace- and freedom-loving countries. An attack on one of them would constitute an attack against all. Only a country which has aggressive aims needs to fear the Atlantic Pact.

This organization is steadily getting stronger. Under the inspiring leadership of General Eisenhower and his successors as commander of the NATO forces, it made great headway. I don't think there is any doubt that the Atlantic Pact has been largely responsible for preventing so far a new world war. It has deterred any would-be aggressor from attacking.

Norway is happy and proud that from the very first we joined this great organization, in spite of the fact that we were seriously threatened by the Communists. Norway is the only one of the Scandinavian countries which has a common frontier with Soviet Russia, as a matter of fact a frontier more than 100 miles long. The risk we took was, consequently, particularly serious.

I must not keep you much longer. Let me say this only: Is it not a wonderful thing, that after all these years of close friendship, of common ideals and ideas, our countries, America and Norway, are today allies?

In the fact of the threat to our common peace and freedom we are brothers in arms in a great defensive alliance. It is a natural development of our thousand years of understanding and friendship.

Only the Atlantic Ocean separates us. What unites us is of sterner stuff than water.

No nations could be more sincerely peaceful than yours and mine. We both devoutly pray that divine providence will spare us, and all men, the indescribable horrors of war.

There is only one thing that we hate more than war, and that is slavery under a totalitarian master. And only one thing we love more than peace, and that is freedom and all that goes with it.

Warning Against Proposed Columbia Basin Interstate River Compact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "What Gain in a Com-

pact?" published in the Portland Oregonian of January 18, 1955.

The editorial warns against the proposed Columbia Basin Interstate River Compact in the Pacific Northwest. I subscribe to its general conclusions.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT GAIN IN A COMPACT?

The Columbia interstate compact, in our opinion, will be adopted by the Legislatures of Montana, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming, but has no more than a 50–50 chance in the Legislatures of Oregon and Washington. If the Democratic senatorial bloc from Oregon, Washington, and Montana opposes a compact bill in Congress, the necessary Federal authorization may not be obtained.

When the final compact draft was signed in Portland Saturday, State Senator Robert D. Holmes, of Astoria, a member of the Oregon compact drafting delegation, refused to sign with the others. This may mean that it will be Democratic policy to oppose the compact. All four "major" States—Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana—must ratify, and Congress must approve, if the compact is to go into effect. But it is noteworthy that there is no escape hatch for Oregon, once it has joined. A State may stop paying its "dues," but the compact goes on unless it is dissolved by the four major States with consent of Congress.

Our greatest disappointment in the compact plan is that almost from the beginning the conferees decided that the States should not attempt to build dams and transmission lines for the development and distribution of hydroelectric power, nor engage in multipurpose projects of water use. Instead, the proposed compact commission will be recommendatory only. Yet its recommendations will be based on a formula which rigidly establishes the superiority of "upstream beneficial consumptive" use of water—irrigation, etc., in which most of the water is not returned to the rivers—over "downstream nonconsumptive" use—power, navigation, flood control, industrial purposes, pollution control, preservation of fish and wildlife, and recreational use.

There may be benefit in such an interstate agreement establishing the priorities of water use. But the section on allocation of power leaves us queasy.

This section is not so objectionable as it was before the recent Spokane meeting, in which the formula was made less rigid. Still it is the purpose of the compact to assure an upstream State the full power production of dams in that State, plus a "fair and equitable" share of power produced because of such storage at downstream plants. The compact commission will determine what is "fair and equitable." A loophole was left in the final draft. It reads:

"A recommendation for the reservation of the full amount of the power and energy so determined shall be made as to projects to be reviewed hereunder unless the commission finds the making of a reservation to be impracticable."

So, in the end, everything is left to the agreement of a commission in which the 4 "major" States will each have 2 votes and the 3 "minor" States 1 vote each—with 8 votes being a legal majority. Most of the unauthorized big power sites are in upstream States. The greatest need for power is in the western portions of Oregon and Washington. Obviously, the upstream States will insist on "drawback" provisions in any contracts for power to the industrial coast.

There are a great many factors in this complicated proposal which need careful consideration by the Oregon Legislature. We hope the assembly will not divide on political lines on this basically economic issue. The main point is whether the best interests of Oregon and the entire Northwest will be advanced. Of this we remain somewhat skeptical, to put it mildly.

Tariffs and Trade Barriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], I ask unanimous consent that there be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD two articles by Ralph McGill dealing with tariffs and trade barriers, which recently appeared in the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOP GHOSTS ARE AGITATED

(By Ralph McGill)

As Republican high-tariff leaders of the period of looting and special interest grabs, which began with the Grant administration and continued to Grover Cleveland in 1884, watch Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower striving to reduce tariffs, there must, indeed, be a great many agitated ghosts and graves.

That a GOP Chief Executive should be engaged in attacking the Hamiltonian structure so firmly rooted in the economic and political life of the Nation is perhaps the most dramatic feature of today's aspect of those two subjects—politics and economics.

When the tariff bill of 1828 was being debated, Abbott Laurence, a Massachusetts manufacturer, wrote Daniel Webster thanking him for amendments which helped the position of woolens. "I must say," he penned the great Senator, "that New England would reap a great harvest by having the bill adopted as it now is. * * * The bill if adopted as amended will keep the South and West in debt to New England the next 100 years."

No prophecy was ever more accurate. By the time the War Between the States was ended the Republican Party, dominated by industrialists, had political control in a vice-like grip. They set out to enlarge the tariff cornucopia which since 1828 had hung over the industrial east showering it with billions of dollars in privilege profit—most of it from the Nation's farmers and small consumers.

MOVE TO WEST BEGINS

There was discontent with the tariff at war's end, but the West was pacified by the homestead law, passed in 1862 and implemented when peace came. With it was loosed a great flood of money available for all who would build turnpikes, canals, and railroads. Land values boomed and thousands of farmers sold out and began to move westward.

But, by 1881 the Treasury was embarrassed to find itself with a surplus of more than $100 million. Taxes were high. Costs of all goods were up. Farm prices were down. Gold from new fields was plentiful.

Railroads boosted rates and, joining the industrialists, gave certain favored commodities and friends low rates and their competitors higher ones. Farmers in Iowa burned their corn for fuel because, at 15 cents the bushel, it was cheaper than coal, though in the East corn was being sold at $1 a bushel. They properly accused the railroads of extortion. The Farmers Grange and politics of protest began to grow.

President Arthur's tariff commission of high-protectionist men were honest enough to recommend a reduction of 25 percent. But, lobbyists got to the Congress. The reduction was 5 percent.

POLITICS OF PROTEST

The politics of protest grew in the face of such angered looting and Grover Cleveland was elected in 1884. He made the tariff a party issue, denouncing it as a "vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation."

Cleveland also punctured the favorite claim of the high-tariff leaders—that it protected the American workingman. He proved that only 15 percent of all American labor was in protected industries.

In 1888 Cleveland got the most votes but William Harrison won in the Electoral College. Promptly, in 1890, came the McKinley Tariff Act raising the rates to 49 percent. Prices of all food and consumer goods shot up and Democrats were swept back into office in 1892, for the first time since the War Between the States, electing a President controlling both Houses of Congress.

But, by this time, many Democrats from the more industrialized States were dominated by tariff interests. Tariff reform failed. A bill introduced by Representative William Wilson, of Virginia, and Senator Arthur P. Gorman, from Maryland, was emasculated when Gorman betrayed Cleveland and managed to gain a heavy protection duty on coal, sugar, iron ore, and iron products—and leave the farmer's products to bring what they would. President Cleveland called it a piece of "party perfidy and dishonor." It became law without his signature.

Next great enlargement of the tariff cornucopia came after Harding's election—as we shall see in the next chapter.

"YE WORSE THAN BLIND"

(By Ralph McGill)

The voice—speaking today on a need for lowering trade barriers—is the voice of President Eisenhower. But the words are those of Woodrow Wilson and Cordell Hull.

In one of his last messages to Congress President Wilson said:

"Clearly, this is no time for the erection of high trade barriers. It would strike a blow at the large and successful efforts which have been made by many of our industries to place themselves on an export basis. It would stand in the way of the normal readjustment of business conditions throughout the world, which is as vital to the welfare of this country as to that of all the nations."

They went unheeded. The tariff has powerful friends.

In 1920 the Nation turned its back on the economic and political facts of life. It repudiated the League of Nations. Had it not been deceived into thinking this country could become another Tibet, it might have avoided world depression and the second great war.

(Many historians and observers of international affairs have said so, including Winston Churchill.)

USED OUR LOANS TO BUY

But we did so vote—a decision which has cost, and still costs, blood and money.

In 1922 the Harding government approved the Fordney Tariff Act. It was like the elephant fleeing from a mouse. Europe could not flood us with goods, since she was war ravaged and needed desperately to buy. The act made it impossible for her to buy.

The irrational quality of the financial minds of that time is hardly comprehensible. Having lent more money than ever before in our history, we passed a tariff act which made repayment impossible. But since we needed to sell our goods, our international bankers made huge loans abroad, floating bonds as security, so that nations which didn't have the money to buy, could use our loans to do so.

There is no record of any financial house warning the people that the bonds couldn't possibly be any good—unless the nations borrowing could sell the products of their factories.

The spiral of prosperity mounted higher and higher. But by the end of 1928 certain uneasy men abrutly halted the lending.

This precipitated world economic disorder. It rocked the newly formed, small democracies of Europe. Our answer was more tariff.

ECONOMISTS PROTESTED

The GOP Congress enacted the Hawley-Smoot tariff act which raised rates to the highest point in our history. Hoover signed, let it be noted, over the protest of practically every reputable economist in the Nation.

Four years later, speaking before the National Republican Club in New York City, in February 1933, a wistful Herbert Hoover said: "We cannot isolate ourselves. During the past 2 years the crash of one foreign nation after another * * * has dominated the whole economic life of our country."

(Herbert Hoover, no matter how one tries to excuse him as a well meaning man, was a bumbler in office and little else. In 1955, he is again an isolationist.)

The crash of foreign nations had dominated our, and his, economic life. Our huge export industry had collapsed through the folly of our tariff acts. We had built up new plants for the war and expanded others. They needed to sell more—not less. Our cotton, wheat, tobacco, lard, and fruit which formerly went abroad was piled up in surpluses—costing the taxpayers great amounts of money. Not only that, but the tariffs started other nations on great plans—and successful ones—to grow their own cotton, tobacco, and wheat. Many now have surpluses of their own.

Today the President, heeding economists, sees that. So do most of our new industrialists—such as Henry Ford and the many others who made the Randall Report urging trade.

Meanwhile—what does it mean to the consumer?

Let's look tomorrow.

Durum Growers Need Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Durum Growers Need Help." The editorial refers to the raising of durum wheat in the Northwest, and was published in the Devils Lake Journal of January 23, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DURUM GROWERS NEED HELP

Unless something is done to bring more farmers into the crop insurance program, durum acreage in the lake region, the Nation's top durum production area, will take a drastic slump, estimated at 50 percent.

Although one of the smallest crops of durum was produced in 1954, little is being done on the national level to encourage farmers to plant durum next spring.

While the macaroni manufacturers plead for more quality durum, the Department of Agriculture, fearful that rust will hit the crop again next year, has canceled any new crop insurance in 16 North Dakota counties which produce most of the Nation's durum.

In effect, the ruling means that farmers who had no insurance in 1954 will be unable to take out any wheat coverage on the 1955 crop. Faced with a continuing rust threat, farmers without insurance will be unlikely to gamble on much durum next season.

If the Government really wants to encourage durum production, steps should be taken to assume part of the risk with the farmer through crop insurance.

Even those farmers who had insurance on their 1954 wheat acreage will be reluctant to concentrate on durum because of its vulnerability to rust. Without insurance, it will be impractical for them to plant durum at all.

Part of the inconsistent action on national level can be attributed to the fact that some of our agriculturalists have not yet learned a basic lesson—that hard wheat and durum are not the same thing. They are both classed as wheat, but are used for entirely different purposes.

Looking at the record, it was no doubt seen that the durum area had become particularly vulnerable to rust. Because of heavy losses, it was believed practical to deny new coverage farmers in the durum area.

Were the Nation blessed with an abundance of durum, as in the case of hard wheat, removing the 16-county area from any new insurance could be more easily understood. However, the Nation has a crying need for durum to supply the demands of the macaroni and spaghetti manufacturers.

In view of the shortage, restricting crop insurance only to those who had it in 1954 will do little to encourage production, but will rather have the opposite effect. Few farmers, knowing the vulnerability of durum to rust, will want to take a gamble on raising durum, without some sort of protection.

It is time that the Department of Agriculture takes a more realistic attitude toward durum, if it really wants to encourage farmers of this area to continue raising the crop. In cases of severe shortage, some form of subsidy, such as through crop insurance, would appear to be justified, if only to get the Durum Triangle back on its feet again from the heavy blows it has suffered in the past 2 years.

Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD my statement of January 22, 1955, commemorating the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, OF MARYLAND, COMMEMORATING THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

January 22 is the day set aside for the traditional observance of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. Since 1918 this memorable day in the history of man's struggle against oppression has been a reminder to us, both of the athetistic dictatorial forces at large in our world and equally as important, the unbounded zeal of the Ukrainian people to attain the freedom and liberty for which they have so long aspired.

We, in America, together with the other free peoples of the world, are the present keepers of the flame of freedom—man's undying will to live in peace and friendship with his fellowman in accordance with the principles of God. As we enjoy these blessings, we cannot and we will not forget the freedom-loving people of the world who are not free, those who cherish liberty, but who must live without it, and those whose offer of a faith and charity to their neighbors is scorned by godless dictators whose thoughts and ambitions are of world domination and slavery for mankind rather than the protection of the inalienable rights of the individual.

No people have been more heroic, nor fought more bravely against countless odds for liberty and freedom than the Ukrainian people. We in America are not unmindful of their present plight nor of our solemn obligation to them. On this anniversary, we hail the free spirit of Ukrainia and renew our pledges of the past to continue to seek the means by which they can throw off the oppressor's yoke and walk with us as a free people.

Discovery of a Natural Bridge in the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN WELKER
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, on October 30 of last year our distinguished colleague from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] discovered a natural bridge in the world-famous Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. He flew into that inaccessible area by helicopter and was able to prove discovered of the beautiful natural bridge to which I have referred. He first discovered the existence of the bridge by flying his own private plane several times over that natural wonder in 1950, and reported his discovery to the National Park Service.

I ask unanimous consent that a news item which appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, January 23, 1955, entitled "Bridge Is Found in Grand Canyon," be incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the item was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRIDGE IS FOUND IN GRAND CANYON—SENATOR OBSERVES A NATURAL SPAN WHILE FLYING OVER ISOLATED CREEK BASIN

WASHINGTON, December 30.—A United States Senator has reported the discovery of a natural bridge in the Grand Canyon.

Senator BARRY GOLDWATER told the National Park Service of a large bridge in the

isolated Nankoweap Creek basin. On October 30 the Arizona Republican flew by helicopter into the rugged area to establish its location definitely.

The Arizona Republican related that he first saw the bridge 4 years ago from his private airplane while flying to a trading post he operated on the Navajo Indian Reservation in Arizona. Subsequent flights bore out his first observation, he said, but the shifting light within the deep canyon hindered the aerial survey.

During the recent election campaign he said he took a day off and engaged a helicopter to fly to the canyon from Cameron, Ariz. Landing within the basin and along Nankoweap Creek, the Senator and his pilot, Bob Gilbreath, hiked more than 3 miles to a point near the base of the redwall formation.

The formation stands out to air travelers because of its often brilliant reddish hue. It comes from water discoloration of the canyon's limestone walls.

The bridge is approximately 2,500 feet below Point Imperial on the north rim of Grand Canyon and near the head of Nankoweap Creek. Nankoweap is an Indian word meaning echoing waters.

The bridge has a span of about 200 feet at its base and a height of some 200 feet to the underside of its arch. Senator GOLDWATER and park service officials believe that it may have been cut by a waterfall immediately above it.

Preston P. Patraw, superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park, said that a check of park records had shown that Senator GOLDWATER was the first person to have reported the existence of the natural bridge. He said few persons had ventured into the Nankoweap basin, particularly in recent years.

Senator GOLDWATER said that he had found no evidence, such as campsites, that indicated anyone had been in the canyon with its sheer redwall limestone walls. He said he had noted some pieces of old Indian pottery near the helicopter landing place. The creek empties into the Colorado River 6 miles away.

The Senator also recalled that on trips down the Colorado River he had passed the month of the creek but never thought of exploring the area. He suggested to the park service that the bridge be named after the Kolb family, Arizona pioneers.

Prevention of Commercial Logging in Three Sisters Wilderness Area of the Willamette National Forest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Outdoor Groups Oppose Logging in Three Sisters Widerness," published in the Portland Oregonian of Sunday, January 16, 1955.

The article describes the efforts of outdoor and conservation groups in the State of Oregon to prevent commercial logging in the present Three Sisters Wilderness area of the Willamette National Forest.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUTDOOR GROUPS OPPOSE LOGGING IN THREE SISTERS WILDERNESS

The United States Forest Service has set February 16 as hearing date on a proposed reclassification of the Three Sisters primitive area which would lop 55,600 acres from the western section and allow logging in that area, located in the Willamette National Forest.

Outdoor groups, two major timber unions and numerous Northwest organizations will be represented at the Eugene hearing to oppose the plan either totally or in part. Lane County lumber interests will seek a bigger reduction.

Major source of opposition is the 21,000-member Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs and a specially formed committee called the Friends of the Three Sisters Wilderness Area. These groups are prepared to do friendly battle against the Forest Service only insofar as the western boundary change will affect 12,000 coveted acres.

STONE TO REPORT

Following the hearing Regional Forester J. Herbert Stone will make a full report on the issue to the Secretary of Agriculture, who will make a final decision on the reclassification provisions.

The regional office of the Forest Service in Portland released January 14 a fact sheet on the proposed reclassification which describes as the crux of the controversy the selection of Horse Creek as the western boundary.

Outdoorsmen want 12,000 acres between Horse Creek and the summit of Horse Pasture Mountain-Olallie Mountain ridge safely within the wilderness areas. They said this area has outstanding scenic beauty and is a natural laboratory for study of flora and geologic formations.

Virlis L. Fischer, Portland, chairman of the WFOC's conservation committee, said other than that the federation will go along with the Forest Service in its plan to change the primitive area into a better protected wilderness area.

The executive committee of the A. F. of L.'s Northwest council of lumber and sawmill workers and the CIO woodworkers union, however, have gone on record as opposing any reduction in the 246,000 acre tract.

AFL WANTS PROTECTION

Julius C. Viancour, assistant to the Northwest council secretary, said the decision was in line with the AFL's policy to protect recreation areas. A. F. Hartung, CIO-IWA international president, said that the timber resources of the area don't merit logging.

Purpose of the reclassification is to conform with a forest-service goal of making national forests serve the greatest good to the greatest number in the long run.

The regional forest office explained that the Sisters primitive area, set up under regulation L-20 in 1937 and 1938, was originally given protecture status until a survey could be made from which to base permanent boundaries.

Reclassification, under regulations U-1 and U-2 for wilderness and wild areas, actually will give former primitive areas greater protection from encroachments. In conformity with the regulations, the Three Sisters wilderness area still would include 196,640 acres.

Willamette national foresters said principal reason for the readjustment is the timber situation in Lane County. The area west of Horse Creek contains 1,500 million board-feet of sawtimber, which the foresters believe must be opened for logging to prevent crisis in Lane County's lumber economy.

The service pointed out that 60 percent of the county's available sawtimber is located on national forest land, but that only 26 percent of the annual yield is from those stands. On the other hand, private timberlands, owned mostly by large operators, contribute 65 percent of the annual cut. They represent only 30 percent of available timber.

George Owen, Eugene, spokesman for the small or medium-sized operators in that area, said the Horse Creek boundary is between it and Separation Creek, near timberline. With Separation Creek as the line, the operators could take 24 million or more board-feet of sawtimber from the area every years. The Horse Creek boundary would provide an annual cut of about 16 million board-feet.

Large timber companies in Lane County are only nominally interested in the possible stumpage addition.

A Forest Service boundary survey extended over four summers. Subsequent to its findings, the regional office set Horse Creek from the confluence of Eugene Creek as a defensible boundary, because the timberland west of the creek" contains nothing of especially outstanding scenic quality." The outdoorsmen strenuously protest this point.

VALUE LOSS FEARED

Other reasons for the Horse Creek decision, as listed in the fact sheet, are as follows: The excessive amount of merchantable timber (4 billion board-feet) in the entire primitive area; the possibility of giving permament employment to 75 families if the 1,500,000,000 board-feet of the western section were opened to logging; the adequate size of the ramaining portion of wilderness; the large amount of timber (500 million board feet) located on only 12,000 acres between Horse Creek and the ridge. The opposition argues otherwise on the latter point.

Opponents declared that interrupting the continuity of the Horse Creek drainage will destroy wilderness values east of the stream. Hikers of the high country and Skyline Trail would be confronted by the scarred ever-present site of the ridge's logged east slope.

They pointed out that pressure would be great to open up the remainder of the forest.

The Forest Service answered this charge with the statement that "reasoning of this nature disregards entirely the multiple-use plan of management followed by the Forest Service." Cutting would be in small, unobtrusive patches, the Service statement continued. Roads would be located away from streams.

LOGGING ROADS STRESSED

Any logging roads would be located outside the wilderness area, from which the Forest Service manual bars any motor traffic.

The Forest Service intends to set up wild areas composed of no less than 5,000 acres at Mount Washington and Diamond Peak. Aggregate would be some 82,000 acres.

offer to set aside a portion of the ridge as a natural area. The Outdoorsmen countered, however, that while this might preserve the flora, it would be a "needless removal from the Three Sisters wilderness area of the outstanding feature which contributes so much to its very uniqueness."

The ridge is "the meeting place of three distinct flora. Nowhere else, in or out of the wilderness area, is the overlapping of these flora so apparent or so accessible to the student," a WFOC bulletin declared.

Asserting that keeping the drainage area intact will help preserve the wilderness character and allow science groups to study native fauna, the WFOC also contends that the Government must not lose track of poplation pressures on a long-range basis. Value of a large wilderness area will increase in stride with the growing number of persons privileged to use it.

California his six times as much land devoted to national parks, monuments, and wilderness areas as Oregon, Fischer said. Washington has 2½ times as much.

"The wilderness area belongs to all the Nation and not to just a handful of timber operators in Lane County who might be interested in bidding so much a thousand feet," the WFOC declared.

Timber in the disputed area would provide an annual yield of only about 6 million to 7 million board-feet, the opponents claimed.

They pointed to the necessity of increased use of the total forest product and asserted "there is no pressing need for this timber."

"Much of the forest cover in the disputed area is made up of slow-growing alpine species that would contribute little to a sawlog economy," the WFOC pointed out.

Groups in opposition to be represented at the 9 a. m. hearing in Eugene's Veterans Memorial Building include Mazamas, Chemeketans, Obsidians, Seattle Mountaineers, Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, American Nature Study Society, Nature Conservancy, Oregon and Seattle audubon societies, Eugene Natural History Society, Willamette University's science department, Izaak Walton League, Boy Scouts of Portland and Eugene, Men's Garden Club, Garden Clubs of America, Portland Women's Forum, McKenzie River Guides Association, Santiam Sportsmen's Association, McKenzie Bridge Chamber of Commerce, National Forest Recreation Association, and the Oregon Academy of Sciences.

Keep Murphy General Hospital Opened

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolutions by the House of Representatives of the General Court of Massachusetts.

The resolutions follow:

Resolutions memorializing Congress to prevent the closing of the Murphy General Hospital in Waltham

Whereas the proposed closing of the Murphy General Hospital in Waltham would cause great inconvenience to disabled war veterans and would greatly lessen the hospital facilities available for such veterans: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the General Court of Massachusetts urgently requests that the Federal Government take such steps as may be necessary to prevent the closing of said hospital; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Army, and to each Member of the Massachusetts delegation in Congress.

House of Representatives, January 17, 1955. Adopted.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE,
Clerk.

A true copy. Attest:

EDWARD J. CRONIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

A Threat to the Nation's Glass Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to the dangerous threat to the Nation's glass industry should the proposed Japanese Treaty be approved.

The following article from the Weston Democrat, Weston, W. Va., one of the leading glass-producing centers, is quite significant.

The article, including a table on glass imports from the United States Tariff Commission, follows:

[From the Weston (W. Va.) Democrat of December 17, 1954]

TARIFF CUT WOULD HURT, GLASSMEN TELL BUREAU

The manufacturers of table, stem, and ornamental glassware today told the United States Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information that any reduction in the present tariffs on their ware would be very injurious to the now critical and unprofitable state of that industry. It would cause more unemployment in the industry which is now operating at only 60 percent of its capacity.

The handsome table, stem, and ornamental glassware industry's opinion was presented by Thomas C. Heisey, executive vice president of A. H. Heisey & Co., of Newark, Ohio, and by W. F. Dalzell, president of Fostoria Glass Co., of Moundsville, W. Va.

Earl W. Merry, vice president and secretary of Indiana Glass Co., of Dunkirk, Ind., manufacturers of hand and machine household pressed ware and producer of lens and private mold glass, stated it was his opinion that handmade glassware loss of business recently was due to imports from low-wage paying countries with which American manufacturers could not compete.

Samples of recently imported ware purchased in several department and specialty stores were displayed, which bore price tags of 50 percent less than comparable ware made by American manufacturers.

Marshall T. Gleason, secretary of Rodefer Gleason Glass Co., of Bellaire, Ohio, manufacturers of illuminating and industrial glassware, declared that competition from imports were already a source of great concern because Japanese labor was only 22.8 cents per hour, while the American average wage is at least $1.72 per hour.

It was the consensus of manufacturers' opinion that the industry was in a very precarious condition due to the reductions of tariff rates within the past few years. It has resulted in liquidation of several old established American glass companies recently. To further reduce tariffs, as seems contemplated by the proponents of the Japanese negotiation, could only lead to greater crippling of the industry.

The speakers were emphatic in their claim that, in view of the vital part played by the glass industry in the past two World Wars and present national defense program, any action that might impair the survival of their industry would adversely affect the national security.

Table and art glassware;[1] *United States imports for consumption, by principal sources, 1951-53 and September and October 1954*

[Foreign value in thousands of dollars]

Source	1951	1952[2]	1953[2]	1954[2]	
				September	October
Germany[3]	731	953	1,070	98	138
Sweden	560	671	679	65	58
Japan	530	568	641	60	54
United Kingdom	518	444	541	36	36
Italy	529	684	520	32	35
France	354	383	413	32	48
Austria	237	270	408	23	38
Canada	39	72	266	1	(4)
Netherlands	166	177	207	30	22
Belgium	281	150	142	13	11
Portugal	54	102	137	10	12
Yugoslavia	19	22	77	4	3
Hungary	18	75	62	4	4
Finland	53	42	52	7	6
Denmark	18	18	46	2	9
Poland	5	9	42	1	(4)
Czechoslovakia	462	12	37	14	17
All other	68	57	67	12	6
Total	4,642	4,709	5,407	444	497

[1] Covers imports under tariff pars. 218 (d), 218 (f) (except Christmas tree ornaments), 218 (g), and certain classes under 230 (d), all of which consist largely of table and art glassware.

[2] Preliminary; beginning in 1954, individual importations for immediate consumption that do not amount to more than $250 under a statistical classification are not included in the data in this table. It is estimated that the total value of imports so excluded from the above data for September and October 1954 amounted to about $100,000 each month.

[3] Includes both East and West Germany. Imports from East Germany in 1951 are not separately reported; in 1952 they amounted to $16,000; in 1953 to $8,000; during the period January-October 1954 imports amounted to $3,100.

[4] Less than $500.

Source: Compiled from official statistics of the U. S. Department of Commerce.

Widespread Objection To Adopting President's Suggestion That Local Interests Share the Cost of Deepening Delaware River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, as an indication of the widespread and substantial opposition to the President's plan suggested in his budget message, that local interests be required to share the cost of deepening the Delaware River Channel, I include as part of my remarks the following newspaper comments:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 20, 1955]

GIVE THE PRESIDENT FACTS ON CHANNEL

President Eisenhower's statement at his press conference, reaffirming his position that local interests should help pay for the deepening of the Delaware River channel to 40 feet, will strengthen the impression held by many that the President has no clear understanding of the channel project and has been badly advised about it.

In his recent budget message to Congress, he had proposed a supplemental appropriation of $6 million to get the channel work started, provided local interests contribute about $18 million of the $91 million total cost.

The President's share-the-cost edict made it imperative to determine whether it meant that a new Government principle, applying to all public works in which Federal appropriations figure, was being set up, or whether Philadelphia and Delaware Valley, United States of America, were being made the targets of a discriminatory measure.

A direct question to this effect was put to President Eisenhower at his news conference yesterday by John C. O'Brien, head of the Inquirer's Washington Bureau.

The President replied that he felt there should be some participation in the Delaware River channel job by those who were going to profit directly and in a major way. He stated that he believed that when the Federal Government spends money that is mainly in the interest of a locality, some way should be found to make that locality participate.

If this means anything, it would seem to indicate a new Government policy of requiring communities and private interests to share the cost of federally financed improvements that are expected to bring some benefit to them.

The scope and implications of such a policy are tremendous. If local beneficiaries of the deeper Delaware channel are to be assessed $18 million to help pay for it, corresponding contributions should be exacted in the case of other projects.

A case in point is the St. Lawrence seaway, which is expected eventually to cost the Federal Government about $2 billion. A great many local areas and local industries are going to profit from this expensive undertaking.

But has there been any step taken by the Federal Government to get the city of Cleveland, for instance, to help defray the cost of the seaway, which presumably will benefit Cleveland business? The M. A. Hanna Co., which was headed by Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey prior to his acceptance of the Cabinet post, and which has large investments in many fields, including steel, will doubtless benefit largely from the seaway. Will it be forced to share the cost?

If the policy is not to be confined to the Delaware Valley, it should mean that in every river and harbor improvement where any local area receives benefit—could there be any where local benefits are absent?—the cost would have to be shared by local interests.

It is obvious that if such a scheme of massive local assessment for federally directed improvements were to be pushed by the administration, or if individual corporations benefiting from the St. Lawrence seaway were compelled to shoulder part of the cost, there would be loud howls in Congress.

If Mr. Eisenhower does not seriously contemplate wholesale applications of his share-the-cost principle, he should not discriminate against the Delaware Valley.

It may be his impression that the United States Steel Co.'s Fairless plant would solely profit from the deepening of the upper channel and that, therefore, the corporation should share the cost. But that view is wholly inaccurate, as can be demonstrated very easily.

The share-the-cost recommendation will be fought by Pennsylvania Senators and Representatives in Congress, and every effort will be made to uphold the original authorization by Congress for full Federal appropriation for the channel.

But there is a good chance that the President might reverse himself in the matter and back the appropriation if the facts are fully presented to him personally and not through go-betweens. An effort to make direct presentation should be pressed at once.

EISENHOWER SETS POLICY ON CHANNEL COST—WANTS LOCALITIES TO HELP FINANCE ALL SIMILAR WORK

(By John C. O'Brien)

WASHINGTON, January 19.—President Eisenhower said today that requiring local interests to share the cost of major Federal improvements—as he has demanded in the case of the upper Delaware River—should be the new national policy.

His share-the-cost plan would involve a drastic reversal of the historical policy under which the Federal Government has assumed full responsibility for developing and maintaining navigable waterways. Further, Mr. Eisenhower indicated the same policy should apply to any projects in which Federal spending was largely in the interest of a particular locality.

FIRM ON CHANNEL

He upheld his budget message position that he would recommend no Federal appropriation to deepen the upper Delaware River channel unless local interests contributed some $18 million. He emphasized, however, that he would not specify whether the contribution should be through tolls on shipping, by direct contribution, or some other method.

Reminded by this reporter that private industry has never before been assessed for a navigation project, he was asked whether the cost-sharing plan applied only to the Delaware River project or whether it was a new Government policy.

If it is a new policy, Mr. Eisenhower replied, he thought it should have been considered long ago.

OPPOSITION CERTAIN

His program was almost certain to face strong opposition from commercial and shipping interests throughout the country and from Congressmen in all sections.

In the Delaware Valley, maritime spokesmen renewed their demands that the entire $91 million needed to dredge a deepwater channel from Philadelphia to Trenton should come from the Federal Treasury. Any requirement that local interests share the cost, they said, would discriminate against Delaware River ports and might be, in fact, unconstitutional.

They recalled that Congress considered a proposal last year that local interests contribute to the channel project—and rejected it. They had sought a $25 million appropriation in the new budget to start work on the waterway this year, with no strings attached.

Instead, the Budget Bureau held out for a local donation of at least $18 million, and agreed, if that payment was guaranteed, to recommend a Federal appropriation of only $6 million.

The local interest that should provide the $18 million was not identiged in the budget, but the original proposal turned down by Congress was that the United States Steel Corp. should make the contribution because its Fairless Works at Morrisville would be supplied by ore vessels using the new channel.

In discussing his share-the-cost plan at his news conference today, the President said he believed that when the Federal Government spent money that was mainly in the interests of a locality some way should be found to make that locality participate.

Delaware Valley spokesmen, in and out of Congress, have argued that the Delaware channel would benefit not one industry or locality but hundreds of industries and, basically, the entire country. Its importance as a national defense asset has been stressed repeatedly.

FINANCING METHOD OPEN

Mr. Eisenhower said he was not, by any manner of means, specifying the method by which the partnership between the Federal Government and localities could be worked out.

He said he supposed the range of things that could be studied would be all the way from tolls—that is, from vessels actually using the channel—to some direct participation in the original cost.

But, he added, he believed that in projects such as the deepening of the Delaware, the Federal Government should try to find a way to get the local concern or the economy or the local benefits reflected in the appropriations the Federal Government makes.

INDORSED BY NEW JERSEY

Admitting such a project might benefit the Nation as a whole, the President maintained that cost sharing by the local community was proper, whether or not it was a new policy of the Government.

It was pointed out to the President that the new feature of the Budget Bureau's proposal on the Delaware channel was the assessment of part of the cost on private industry—not the sharing of expenses by State or local governments.

He repeated that he was not wedded to any particular form of cost sharing. He said he wouldn't say this should not be done by tolls, but he still felt there should be some local participation by those who are going to profit directly and in a major way.

SCOTT PREFERS TOLLS

Commenting on the President's remarks, Representative HUGH SCOTT, JR. (Republican, Pennsylvania), said he still believed the Federal Government should pay the entire cost of the project. But failing that, he said, he would favor tolls rather than assessing a few private firms for a share of the cost.

The United States Steel Corp. has spent $500 million to build its integrated Fairless plant, which sparked the industrial expansion of Delaware Valley, United States America. The deeper channel, although needed by the steel company, also has been warmly indorsed by New Jersey officials as a vital necessity for the Trenton Marine Terminal, north of the Fairless Works.

The plan to levy tolls on river shipping, mentioned by the President, was especially denounced by maritime leaders here. Such charges would place the entire Delaware River port area at a serious disadvantage against competing ports, they said.

POLICY DENOUNCED

Despite the President's position, advocates of the channel in the Philadelphia area renewed their demands that the channel be dredged entirely as a Federally financed project.

Members of the Delaware River Port Authority went on record formally in denouncing the local responsibility concept as one that Congress had never considered and one which appears in unprecedented contravention of the responsibility of the Federal Government with respect to navigable interstate waters.

PAYING FOR THE CHANNEL

To the EDITOR OF THE INQUIRER:

President Eisenhower's proposition that private interests should contribute directly for dredging the Delaware River channel is an odd one for a Republican President to make. I suppose these industries should also pay directly for the building of streets, highways, and other public facilities. But then what would happen to our free enterprise system? Would not private interests soon claim ownership and other rights to the exclusion of the public?

REPUBLICAN.

PHILADELPHIA, *January 18.*

Minority Report on Investigation by Special Campaigns Committee in Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 439, 2d session, 83d Congress, created a special Committee To Investigate the Election of the Members to the House of Representatives of the 84th Congress. By the terms of the resolution the committee expired with the end of the 83d Congress.

The majority report of the committee was filed on January 1, 1955. At that time I was in my home district of Louisiana and did not have an opportunity to examine the report prior to its being filed.

The report was not signed by myself or by Representative FRANK KARSTEN of Missouri. We were the minority members of the committee. The committee having expired, there is no procedure whereby a minority report may be attached to the majority report. Representative KARSTEN and I are using this means of publishing the report which we would have filed. It follows in full:

MINORITY REPORT ON INVESTIGATION BY SPECIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE IN NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

Ordinarily we would not issue a minority report concerning the procedure followed by the Campaign Expenditures Committee in its investigations and hearings. But we are particularly concerned with the report issued relative to the investigation conducted in the Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina. This report, plus various and sundry press releases, issued in the name of the committee has, in our opinion, created in the minds of the voters of that district widespread misconceptions and we think the record should be set straight.

In our opinion neither the hearings nor the investigations were warranted.

The hearings demonstrated the soundness of the rule previously adopted by this committee that only complaints filed under oath in writing by either the victorious or the defeated candidate for Congress would be considered. This rule was neither adopted nor followed in the 83d Congress. The soundness of such a requirement is obvious. Without it complaints, by crackpots and others, could undoubtedly be filed in all of the congressional districts of our country.

In the Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina the committee never had a complaint in writing from either the winner or the loser in the congressional race. The only complaint was that filed by the Republican organization of North Carolina. At the time that complaint was filed we took the position that it involved the election laws of the State of North Carolina. (We are not authorities on the election laws of North Carolina, although we did learn a few things about them while there.) At the most it seemed to us that what was indicated was action by the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, amending, if necessary, the North Carolina absentee ballot laws, but in no instance was Federal legislation or Federal election laws involved. Throughout the existence of our Republic the States have zealously guarded their rights to determine election procedures.

We most certainly condemn the violation of any election laws. The privilege of voting is the greatest heritage that the American people enjoy. A man who stultifies that right or seeks to buy or sell a vote or stuff the ballot box is a criminal. Nevertheless the net effect of 3 days of hearings in North Carolina simply confirm our original conviction that the election laws of North Carolina must be determined by the representatives of that State acting in their own legislature. The investigative rights of Congress ought never to be used as a weapon to accomplish the desires of a political party in any locality because that party at the moment happens to be the majority party in the Congress of the United States.

It appears to us that one of the main objectives of the Republican Party in North Carolina was to create doubt in the minds of the voters on the soundness of the North Carolina election laws, particularly those sections dealing with absentee voting in that State. These laws may very well need changing. We are not prepared to say yes or no. We do feel, however, that it is not the function of this committee to dictate to the Legislature of North Carolina.

In its effort to justify its expedition into the Ninth District, reckless and greatly exaggerated statements were made by members of the staff of the committee during and after the hearings. Cases were presented to the committee without adequate preparation, some of which had no bearing whatsoever on the congressional election. Frequently only one side of a case was presented to the committee. Several cases were presented as illegal which were not so. The alleged irregularities were magnified by the staff of the committee. A careful check of all of the irregularities has been made. On the basis of the testimony before the committee it is doubtful that more than a dozen or two votes would have been changed had there been a complete recount in the district. That could hardly be called gross irregularities in a district which casts from 70,000 to as many as 130,000 votes. In the November 2, 1954, election, approximately 100,000 votes were cast.

In order to clarify the above conclusions we deem it necessary that we here review in brief the evidence in the record county by county.

Alexander: Evidence was presented to the committee that 14 absentee ballots were voted prior to the date of issuance of the ballots with further evidence that the office of the chairman of the board of elections erroneously failed to enter the dates when the applications were received and when the ballots were sent out. There was some controversy about challenges by Republicans and some misunderstanding of the law of North Carolina relating thereto on the part of the election officials. There was some evidence that an invalid woman received $7 for voting. This was denied by her sister who was there. In another matter brought before the committee there was hearsay testimony that someone voted an absentee ballot for a lady without her knowledge. From the evidence there was a misunderstanding between the Democratic and Republican members of the board of elections as to just who could see the election records with evidence that the Republican member at one time had illegal possession of part of the records. There was no showing that any candidate was prejudiced by what transpired.

Alleghany: Three cases were erroneously brought before the committee, all of which concerned residence qualifications under the North Carolina law. Had counsel for the committee prepared his cases adequately and had he checked the North Carolina law, he would have found that each of the voters were duly qualified under the law and that there was no irregularity from this county.

Ashe: There was evidence with affidavits and counteraffidavits that an invalid man 80 years old, who was forgetful, stated he didn't vote his own absentee ballot. Yet there was evidence that his son accompanied the notary public at the time the father voted the ballot.

There was evidence presented that the ballots for one precinct were not properly guarded. In one case a newspaper reporter and others offered conflicting evidence as to whether or not 2 or 3 aged invalid ladies, who did not appear before the committee when subpenaed, had not received their ballots by mail. No prejudice was shown from this county to any candidate.

Cabarrus: Evidence that one registrar left books in custody of clerk with instructions to contact him if anyone desired to present any challenges and that this was not done on that day but the next day the registrar heard the challenges.

Caldwell: Nothing was presented to the committee concerning this county.

Rowan: Nothing was presented to the committee concerning this county.

Stanley: Evidence given by a 45-year-old son, who couldn't read or write, that "X" mark on absentee ballots of father, who couldn't read or write, and who died on night of election was not the "X" of the father.

Watauga: Evidence was offered that the chairman of board of elections failed at one time to let the Republican member of board see election records. Evidence was presented by a Republican watcher who kept a record of people who voted that more votes were turned in in one precinct than had actually voted, but no more for congressional candidates than she had written in her book. No prejudice to any candidate was shown from this county.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that at no time during the hearings were there any indications of any nature that either candidate for Congress participated in any fashion in any of the alleged irregularities. Our own conclusions are that the Legislature of North Carolina should make a thorough study of the election laws of that State and take whatever action is deemed necessary in the premises. We reiterate the inadvisability of congressional committees concerning themselves with matters which should be left to the respective States.

HALE BOGGS.
FRANK KARSTEN.

Ike's Power Partnership: One Horse for One Rabbit Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the President's much-talked-of power partnership program is a 1 horse for 1 rabbit deal, with the Federal taxpayer getting the rabbit. As Mr. Stokes points out in the following article, the Federal Government gets all the nonrevenue-producing features of these great water and power projects, while the private power monopoly gets the major profitmaking feature, the powerhouse—the cash registers. The Federal Government takes all the risks. Furthermore, this program amounts to a complete repudiation of

the low-cost public power policy solemnly announced by the Interior Department in August 1952. Unless the Federal Government builds the powerhouses, generates, and sells the electricity, there will be no more low-cost public power to help irrigation development or to build an industrial empire such as has grown up around the low-cost public power in the Northwest area. The test of the President's partnership program is to ask what would have happened to the Columbia River Development, the Central Valley project in California, and the TVA if it had been in effect when those great projects were planned. The answer is that they would not have been built—or, if built, would not have contributed what they have to the economic life of the country. I include the article by Mr. Thomas L. Stokes in the Star of January 20, 1955, for his excellent comments on this subject:

PARTNERSHIP FOR WHOSE BENEFIT?—EISENHOWER PHILOSOPHY SEEN LEADING TO GREAT MONOPOLY IN POWER AND CONSERVATION AND WITH TAX MONEY

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

In his messages to Congress President Eisenhower harps constantly and repeatedly upon his "partnership" idea, so-called, for conservation and development of our natural resources. He refers to a "partnership" among Federal, State and local governments and private enterprise, with emphasis upon shifting responsibility away from the Federal Government.

Already it has raised the question: Partnership for whose benefit?

For purposes here, we will just mention in passing the revelation of how special benefits are being conferred upon powerful electric utilities by operation of this policy in development of water resources. What "partnership" means is that the utilities "monopolize the bulk of revenues" at the dams. So the trick is described by newly-elected Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Democrat, of Oregon.

He knows. He won election, as the first Democratic Senator from Oregon in 40 years by exposing the harmful effects of the "partnership" program on the people of his State and on development of the Pacific Northwest. He is a recruit to a group in Congress which is very familiar with this issue from long experience. In the coming session this band will resist encroachment of the Eisenhower "partnership" idea and try to prevent damage to TVA in the southeast, the great public projects in the northwest, and the Southwest Power Administration in Missouri, Oklahoma and Texas and its rural electric cooperatives.

So much for hydroelectric power. There is, however, another threat to the public and consumer interest which is less readily detected because it is an almost new field. That is the production of power from atomic fuels. In a few years this will far outdistance production of electricity by other means.

You will remember how the last Congress enacted a law by which private industry was admitted to partnership in development of power from atomic fuels, all under pressure of the administration, the Atomic Energy Commission and politically powerful private utility and other interests.

You will recall also, because of the dramatic filibuster, to which they had to resort, how an embattled band in Congress was finally able to insert a few protections to the public so that the law was not the complete giveaway of the Nation's heritage in this new source of energy that otherwise it might have been.

But the law is still full of confusions and loopholes by which a monopoly could be set up that would make the once all-powerful private utility monopoly look pale and wan and minuscular.

Another attempt will be made in Congress at this session to insert further protections to the public in the law after a detailed review of how the AEC is operating under the present law. That review will be through hearings by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, headed by Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico, that he announced will begin the last of this month and run for 2 weeks or more. After hearing from the AEC, the committee then will listen to representatives of the industry and the public.

What is the partnership story here?

In the first place, the whole atomic-energy plant belongs to the people of the United States for the simple reason that they paid for it by their taxes, involving a certain amount of toil and sweat. Some $14 billion of our money has gone into atomic energy to date. We are the owners—and the partners. The Government holds our investment in trust for us.

What do we see happening now? The Government—which means us—is farming out part of our holdings to private industry to develop power reactors to produce electricity. The terms are favorable to a few industrial giants which worked with the Government during the war and since to produce atomic bombs and do research in peacetime uses under contracts with the Government for payment for their services. They are on the inside and on the ground floor. They have the know-how.

We are already subsidizing one company and will subsidize others with our tax dollars. They are the favored and, unless we watch out, they can monopolize the field to the exclusion of others. This is because of specifications in the law that will make it difficult for others, private industries as well as public power agencies such as municipalities and rural electric cooperatives, to get fuel and get into development of power. These specifications must be corrected. For another defect in the law, there is nothing to force private power producers from atomic fuels to pass along in rate reductions the subsidies from us, the taxpayers.

Also, while the law contains a provision for compulsory licensing of patents for 5 years, this is not tightly enough drawn in the view of some experts to prevent the giant "insiders" from withholding patents from others entitled to them.

Unless Congress and all of us are alert, we are on the eve of permitting creation of the greatest monopoly the world ever saw, and with our own money.

If we allow it, we will deserve what we get.

Christmas Message of Pope Pius XII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, on January 3 His Holiness Pope Pius XII delivered a delayed Christmas message to the world. It was one of the most thoughtful addresses in the long and distinguished career of this great spiritual leader. It was delayed because of his illness.

I ask that it be included in full. The message follows:

"Behold I will bring upon her, as it were, a river of peace." (Isaias 66: 12.) This promise, announced in the messianic prophecy of Isaias, was fulfilled, with mystic significance, by the incarnate word of God in the New Jerusalem, the church: and we desire, beloved sons and daughters of the Catholic world, that this same promise should resound again over the entire human family as the wish of our heart this Christmas Eve.

A river of peace upon the world: this is the desire which we have most constantly cherished in our heart, for which we have most fervently prayed and worked, ever since the day when God in His goodness was pleased to entrust to our humble person the exalted and awe-inspiring office of common father of all peoples which is proper to the vicar of Him to whom all races are given for His inheritance. (Psalms 2: 8.)

Casting a glance backward over the years of our pontificate with regard to that part of our mandate which derives from the universal fatherhood conferred upon us, we feel that it was the intention of divine providence to assign to us the particular mission of helping, by means of patient and almost exhausting toil, to lead mankind back to the paths of peace.

At the approach of the feast of Christmas each year, we would have ardently wished to be able to go to the cradle of the Prince of Peace and offer Him, as the gift He would cherish most, a mankind at peace and all united together as in one family. On the contrary we had to experience—during the first 6 years—the indescribable bitterness of seeing nothing all around us but peoples in arms, carried away by the mad fury of mutual destruction.

We had hoped—and many others had hoped with us—that once the rage of hatred and revenge had finally ceased, there would very soon have dawned a period of secure peace. Instead, there continued that agonizing state of uneasines and danger, which public opinion described with the name "cold war" because in reality it had little or nothing in common with true peace and had much of the character of a truce that trembled at the slightest touch. Our annual return to the cradle of the Redeemer continued to be a sad oblation of sorrows and anxieties, with an intense desire to draw therefrom the courage that was necessary in order to persist in exhorting men to peace and pointing out to them the right road to attain it.

Can we, at least now in this 16th year of our pontificate, fulfill that wish? According to many reports, the cold war has slowly been replaced by a period of decreased tension between the opposing parties, as if they were giving each other a longer breathing space: and not without some irony, this decreased tension has been given the name "cold peace." While we willingly recognize that this does represent some progress in the laborious ripening of peace properly so-called, nevertheless it is not yet a gift worthy of the mystery of Bethlehem, where there appeared "the goodness and kindness of God our Saviour" toward men (Tit. 3: 4). For it is in too vivid contrast with the spirit of cordiality, of sincerity, and of brightness that hovers around the cradle of the Redeemer.

In fact, in the political world, what is meant by cold peace if not the mere coexistence of various peoples based on fear of each other and on mutual disillusionment?

Now it is clear that simple coexistence does not deserve the name of peace, to which Christian tradition, formed in the school of the lofty intellects of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, has come to apply the definition "the tranquillity of order." Cold peace is only a provisional calm, whose duration is

conditional upon the changeable sensation of fear and upon the varying calculation of present strength: while it has about it nothing of true order, which presupposes a series of relationships converging toward a common purpose that is right and just. Besides, by excluding all bonds of a spiritual nature between peoples so fragmentarily coexisting, cold peace falls far short of that which was preached and desired by the Divine Master: for His peace is founded on a union of souls in the same truth and in charity. It is defined by St. Paul as the "peace of God" which binds in the first place men's minds and hearts (cf. Philippians 4: 7), and it is put into practice by acts of harmonious collaboration in every field of life, not excluding the political, social, and economic fields.

Such is the reason why we do not dare to offer cold peace to the Divine Infant. It is not the simple and solemn pax (peace) which the angels sang to the shepherds on that holy night. Much less is it the pax dei (peace of God) which surpasses all understanding and is a source of interior and complete joy (cf. ibid.). It is not even that peace which mankind today dreams of and longs for after so much affliction. However, we wish to examine in detail its shortcomings, in order that from its hollow void and its uncertain duration there may be born in the rulers of nations and in those who can exercise any influence in this field, the imperative desire to transform it as soon as possible into true peace, which is, in reality, Christ Himself. For, since peace is order and order is unity, Christ alone is able and willing to unite men's minds in truth and love. It is in this sense that the church points Him out to all peoples in the words of the prophet, as being Himself peace: "Et erit iste pax" (and this man shall be our peace). (Micheas, 5: 5; cf. Liturgical Office for Feast of Christ the King, passim.)

COEXISTENCE IN FEAR

It is a common impression, derived from the simple observation of facts, that the principal foundation on which the present state of relative calm rests, is fear. Each of the groups, into which the human family is divided, tolerates the existence of the other, because it does not wish itself to perish. By thus avoiding a fatal risk, the two groups do not live together, they coexist. It is not a state of war, but neither is it peace: It is a cold calm. Each of the two groups smarts under the fear of the other's military and economic power. In both of them there is a grave apprehension of the catastrophic effect of the latest weapons.

Each follows with anxious attention the technical development of the other's armaments and the productive capacity of its economy, while it entrusts to its own propaganda the task of turning the other's fear to its advantage by strengthening and extending its meaning. It seems that in the field of concrete politics reliance is no longer placed on other rational or moral principles, for these, after so many delusions, have been swept away by an extreme collapse into skepticism.

The most obvious absurdity of the situation resultant from such a wretched state of affairs is this: current political practice, while dreading war as the greatest of catastrophies, at the same time puts all its trust in war, as if it were the only expedient for subsistence and the only means of regulating international relations. This is, in a certain sense, placing trust in that which is loathed above all other things.

On the other hand, the above-mentioned political practice has led many, even of those responsible for government, to revise the entire problem of peace and war, and has induced them to ask themselves sincerely if deliverance from war and the ensuring of peace ought not to be sought on higher and more humane levels than on that dominated exclusively by terror. Thus it is that there has been an increase in the numbers of those who rebel against the idea of having to be satisfied with mere coexistence, of renouncing relationships of a more vital nature with the other group, and against being forced to live all the days of their lives in an atmosphere of enervating fear. Hence they have come back to consider the problem of peace and war as a fact involving a higher and Christian responsibility before God and the moral law.

Undoubtedly in this changed manner of approach to the problem there is an element of fear as a restraint against war and a stimulus to peace; but here the fear is that salutary fear of God—Guarantor and Vindicator of the moral law—and, therefore, as the psalmist teaches (Psalms 110: 10), it is the beginning of wisdom.

Once the problem is elevated to this higher plane, which alone is worthy of rational creatures, there again clearly appears the absurdity of that doctrine which held sway in the political schools of the last few decades: namely, that war is one of many admissible forms of political action, the necessary, and as it were the natural, outcome of irreconcilable disputes between two countries; and that war, therefore, is a fact bearing no relation to any kind of moral responsibility. It is likewise apparent how absurd and inadmissible is the principle—also so long accepted—according to which a ruler, who declares war, would only be guilty of having made a political error, should the war be lost. But he could in no case be accused of moral guilt and of crime for not having, when he was able to, preserved peace.

It was precisely this absurd and immoral concept of war which rendered vain, in the fatal weeks of 1939, our efforts to uphold in both parties the will to continue negotiations. War was then thought of as a die, to be cast with greater or less caution and skill, and not as a moral fact involving obligations in conscience and higher responsibilities. It required tombs and ruins without number to reveal the true nature of war: namely, that it was not a luckier or less lucky gamble between conflicting interests but a tragedy, spiritual more than material, for millions of men; that it was not a risking of some possessions, but a loss of all: a fact of enormous gravity.

How is it possible—many at that time asked with the simplicity and truth of commonsense—that, while every individual feels within himself an urgent sense of moral responsibility for his own most ordinary acts, the dreadful fact of war, which is also the fruit of the free act of somebody's will, can evade the dominion of conscience, and that there be no judge to whom its innocent victims may have recourse? In the atmosphere of that time, when people were beginning to return to commonsense, widespread approval was given our cry, "war against war," with which, in 1944, we declared our opposition to the pure formalism of political action and to doctrines of war which take no account of God or of His commandments. That salutary return to commonsense, instead of being weakened, became more profound and more widespread in the years of the cold war, perhaps because prolonged experience made more clearly evident the absurdity of a life lived under the incubus of fear. Thus the cold peace, with all its incoherences and uneasiness, shows signs of taking the first steps towards an authentic moral order and towards a recognition of the elevated doctrine of the church regarding just and unjust war, and the licitness and illicitness of recourse to arms.

This goal will assuredly be attained if, on one side and the other, men will once again sincerely, almost religiously, come to consider war as an object of the moral order, whose violation constitutes in fact a culpability which will not go unpunished. In the concrete this goal will be attained if statesmen, before weighing the advantages and risks of their decisions, will recognize that they are personally subject to eternal moral laws, and will treat the problem of war as a question of conscience before God.

In the conditions of our times, there is no other way to liberate the world from its agonizing incubus except by a return to the fear of God, which in no way debases the man who willingly submits to it; rather, it saves him from the infamy of that awful crime—unnecessary war. And who can express astonishment if peace and war thus prove to be closely connected with religious truth? Everything that is, is of God: the root of all evil consists precisely in separating things from their beginning and their end.

Hence also it becomes clear that pacifist efforts or propaganda originating from those who deny all belief in God—if indeed not undertaken as an artful expedient to obtain the tactical effect of creating excitement and confusion—is always very dubious and incapable of lessening or of eliminating the anguished sense of fear.

The present coexistence in fear has thus only two possible prospects before it: either it will raise itself to a coexistence in fear of God, and thence to a truly peaceful living-together, inspired and protected by the Divine moral order: or else it will shrivel more and more into a frozen paralysis of international life, the grave dangers of which are even now foreseeable.

In fact, prolonged restraint of the natural expansion of the life of peoples can ultimately lead them to that same desperate outlet that it is desired to avoid: war. No people, furthermore, could support indefinitely a race of armaments without disastrous repercussions being felt in its normal economic development. The very agreements directed to imposing a limitation on armaments would be in vain. Without the moral foundation of fear of God, they would become, if ever reached, a source of renewed mutual distrust.

There remains, therefore, the auspicious and lightsome other way which, based upon the fear of God and aided by Him, leads to true peace, which is sincerity, warmth, and life, and is thus worthy of Him Who has been given to us that men might have life in Him and have it more abundantly (cfc. John 10: 10).

COEXISTENCE IN ERROR

Although the cold war—and the same is true of the cold peace—keeps the world in a harmful state of division, yet it does not, up to the present, prevent an intense rhythm of life from pulsing therein. It is true that this is a life developing almost exclusively in the economic field. It is, however, undeniable that economics, taking advantage of the pressing progress of modern techniques, has by feverish activity attained surprising results, of such a nature as to foreshadow a profound transformation in the lives of all peoples, even those heretofore considered rather backward. Admiration unquestionably cannot be withheld for what it has done and what it promises to do.

Nevertheless, economics, with its apparently unlimited ability to produce goods without number, and with the multiplicity of its relationships, exercises over many of our contemporaries a fascination superior to its potentiality, and extends to fields extraneous to economics. The error of placing such trust in modern economics is again shared in common by the two camps into which the world is today divided. In one of these, it is taught that, since man has given proof of such great power as to create the marvelous technico-economical composite of which he boasts today, he will also be able to organize the liberation of human life from all the privations and evils from

which it suffers, and in this way effect a kind of self-redemption. On other hand, the conception gains ground in the opposing camp that the solution of the problem of peace must be sought in economics, and particularly in a specific form thereof, that of free exchange.

We have already had occasion at other times to expose the baselessness of such teachings. About a hundred years ago followers of the free-commerce system expected wonderful things from it, attributing to it an almost magical power. One of its most ardent converts did not hesitate to compare the principle of free exchange, insofar as its effects in the moral world are concerned, with the principle of gravity which rules the physical world, and he attributed to it, as its proper effect, the drawing of men closer together, the elimination of antagonism based on race, faith, or language, and the unity of all human beings in unalterable peace (cfr. Richard Cobden, Speeches on Questions of Public Policy, London, Macmillan and Co., 1870: vol. 1, pp. 362–366).

The course of events has shown how deceitful is the illusion of entrusting peace to free exchange alone. Nor would the result be otherwise in the future if there were to persist that blind faith which confers on economics an imaginary mystic force. At present, moreover, there are lacking those foundations of fact which could in any way warrant the over-rosy hopes nourished today, as in the past, by followers of this teaching. As a matter of fact, while in one, of camps which coexist in cold peace, this highly vaunted economic freedom does not in reality yet exist, it is, in the other, completely rejected as an absurd principle. There is, between the two, a diametrical opposition in their ways of conceiving the very fundamentals of life—an opposition which cannot be reconciled by purely economic forces. Nay more, if there are—as there actually are—relations of cause and effect between the moral world and the economic world, they must be so ordered that primacy be assigned to the former; that is, the moral world which must authoritatively permeate with its spirit the social economy. Once this scale of values has been established and its actual exercise permitted, economics will, insofar as it is able, consolidate the moral world and confirm the spiritual postulates and forces of peace.

On the other hand, the economic factor might place serious obstacles in the way of peace—particularly of a cold peace, in the sense of an equilibrium between groups—if, employing erroneous systems, it were to weaken one of the groups. This could occur if, among other eventualities, individual people of one group were to engage, without consideration or regard for others, in a ceaseless increase of production, and a constant raising of their own living standard. In such a case, an upsurge of resentment and rivalry on the part of neighboring peoples would be inevitable, and consequently also the weakening of the entire group.

Prescinding from this particular consideration, however, one must be convinced that economic relationships between nations will be factors of peace insofar as they will obey the norms of natural law, will be inspired by love, will have due regard for other peoples and will be sources of help. Let it be held for certain that in relations between men, even merely economic relations, nothing is produced spontaneously—as does occur in nature which is subject to necessary laws—but everything depends substantially on the spirit. Only the spirit, the image of God and the executor of His designs, can establish order and harmony on earth, and it will succeed in doing so to the same extent that it becomes the faithful interpreter and docile instrument of the only Saviour Jesus Christ, who is himself peace.

Moreover, in another matter even more delicate than that of economics, error is shared by the two camps coexisting in the cold peace: an error, namely, regarding the principles which animate their respective unity. One of the camps bases its strong internal cohesion on a false idea, an idea, moreover, violating primary human and divine rights, yet at the same time efficacious; while the other, forgetful that it already possesses an idea that is true and has been successfully tested in the past, seems instead to be tending toward political principles which are evidently destructive of unity.

During this last decade since the war, a great yearning for spiritual renovation urged souls: to unite Europe strongly, the impetus coming from the natural living conditions of her peoples, with the purpose of putting an end to the traditional rivalries between one and another, and of assuring a united protection for their independence and their peaceful development. This noble idea did not present motives for complaints or diffidence to the world outside of Europe, in the measure that this outside world was favorably disposed to Europe. It was also believed that Europe would have easily found within herself the animating idea for her unity. But the succeeding events and recent accords which, as is believed, have opened the way to a cold peace, no longer have for a basis the ideal of a more extensive European unification. Many, in fact, believe that the governing policy is for a return to a kind of nationalistic state, closed within itself, centralizing therein its forces, unsettled in its choice of alliances and, consequently, no less perilous than that which had its time of highest development during the last century.

Too soon have been forgotten the enormous mass of lives sacrificed and of goods extorted by this type of state, and the crushing economic and spiritual burdens imposed by it. But the real error consists in confusing national life in its proper sense with nationalistic politics: the first, the right and prized possession of a people, may and should be promoted; the second, as a germ infinitely harmful, will never be sufficiently repelled. National life is, in itself, that operative composite of all the values of civilization, which are proper and characteristic of a particular group, for whose spiritual unity they constitute, as it were, its bond. At the same time, it enriches, as its own contribution, the culture of all humanity.

In essence, therefore, national life is something not political; and this is confirmed by the fact that, as history and practice demonstrate, it can develop alongside of others, within the same state, just as it can also extend itself beyond the political frontiers of the same state. National life became a principle of dissolution within the community of peoples only when it began to be exploited as a means for political purposes; when, that is to say, the controlling and centralizing state made of nationality the basis of its force of expansion. Behold then the nationalistic state, the seed of rivalries and the fomenter of discord.

It is clear that, if the European community were to move forward on this road, its cohesion would become, as a result, quite weakened in comparison with that of the opposing group. Its weakness would certainly be revealed on that day of future peace destined to regulate with foresight and justice the questions still in abeyance. Nor should it be said that, in new circumstances, the dynamism of the nationalistic state no longer represents a danger for other peoples, being deprived, in the majority of cases, of effective economic and military power, for even when the dynamism of an imaginary nationalistic power is expressed in sentiment rather than exercised with actions, it is equally offensive to the mind; it feeds on distrust and breeds suspicion within alliances, impedes reciprocal understanding and thereby loyal collaboration and mutual help, to the same extent as it would if it had at its command effective force.

What would become, then, in such circumstances, of the common bond which is supposed to bind individual states in unity? What kind of a grand and efficacious idea would that be which would render them strong in defense and effective in a common program for civilization?

Some would like to see it as agreement in the rejection of that way of life destructive of liberty, proper to the other group. Without a doubt, aversion to slavery is worthy of note, but it is of negative value, and does not possess the force to stimulate the human spirit to action with the same efficacy as does a positive and absolute idea.

Such an idea, instead, could be a love of the liberty willed by God and in accord with the needs of the common good, or else the ideal of natural law, as the foundation of an organization of the state and of states.

Only these, and like spiritual ideas, acquired now for many long centuries as part of the tradition of a Christian Europe, can sustain comparison—and moreover emerge victorious in it, to the extent that these ideas are really lived—with the false idea, though concrete and effective, which apparently holds together in cohesion, not without the aid of violence, the other group, the idea, namely, of an earthly paradise to be attained as soon as a determined form of social organization would be realized. Though illusory, this idea has succeeded in creating, at least outwardly, a compact and hardy unity, and in being accepted by the uninformed masses; it knows how to inspire its members to action and voluntarily to make sacrifices. The same idea, within the political framework which expresses it, gives to its directors a strong capacity for seduction, and to the adept the audacity to penetrate as a vanguard even into the ranks of the other side.

Europe, on the other hand, still awaits the reawakening of her own consciousness. Meanwhile, in what she stands for—such as the wisdom and organization of associated living and as an influence of culture—she seems to be losing ground in not a few regions of the earth.

Verily, such a retreat concerns the promoters of nationalistic policy, who are forced to fall back before adversaries who have taken over the same methods and made them their own. Especially among some peoples until now considered colonial, the process of organic maturation toward an autonomous polity, which Europe should have guided with perception and care, was rapidly turned into nationalistic outbreaks, greedy for power. It must be confessed that even these unforeseen eruptions, damaging to the prestige and interests of Europe, are, at least in part, the fruit of her own bad example.

Does this mean only that Europe has momentarily lost her way? In any case, that which must remain, and without doubt will remain, is the genuine Europe, that is, that composite of all the spiritual and civil values which the West has accumulated, drawing from the riches of individual nations to dispense them to the whole world. Europe, conforming to the dispositions of Divine Providence, will again be able to be the nursery and dispenser of those values, if she will know how to resume wisely her proper spiritual character and to repudiate the divinization of power.

Just as in the past the wellsprings of her strength and of her culture were eminently Christian, so now too will she have to impose on herself a return to God and to Christian ideals, if she is to find again the basis and bond of her unity and true greatness. And if these wellsprings seem to be in part dried up, if this bond is threatened with rupture and

the foundation of her unity crumbling, the historical and present responsibility falls back upon each of the two groups who find themselves now facing each other in anguish and mutual fear.

The motives ought to be enough for men of good will, in one and the other camp, to desire, to pray, and to act, in order that humanity may be liberated from the intoxication of power and of preeminence, and in order that the Spirit of God may be the Sovereign Ruler of the world, where once Almighty God chose no other means for saving those whom He loved than that of becoming a weak babe in a poor manger. "A child is born to us, and a son is given to us, and the government is upon his shoulder." (Isaiah 9: 6; cf. Introit, Third Mass of Christmas Day.)

COEXISTENCE IN TRUTH

Although it is a sad thing to note that the present rupture of the human race took place, in the beginning, between men who knew and adored the same Savior, Jesus Christ, still there appears to us to be a well-founded hope that, in His name, too, a bridge of peace may yet be built between opposing shores, and the common bond, so sadly broken, be reestablished.

There is, in fact, some hope that today's coexistence may bring mankind closer to peace. In order, however, that this expectation be justified, such coexistence must in some way be coexistence in truth. Now a bridge cannot be built in truth between these two separate worlds unless it be founded on the human beings living in one and the other of these worlds, and not on their governmental or social systems. This is so because, while one of the two parties still strives in large measure, whether consciously or unconsciously, to preserve the natural law, the system prevailing in the other has completely abandoned this basis.

A one-sided supernaturalism might refuse entirely to take such an attitude into consideration, alleging the reason that we live in a redeemed world and are therefore withdrawn from the natural order; or some might say that the collectivist character of that system ought to be recognized as a historical truth, in the sense that it, too, corresponds to the will of God, but these are errors to which a Catholic can by no means submit. The right road is quite different.

In both camps, there are millions in whom the imprint of Christ is preserved in a more or less active degree: They, too, no less than faithful and fervent believers, should be called upon to collaborate toward a renewed basis of unity for the human race. It is true that, in one of the two camps, the voice of those who stand resolutely for truth, for love, and for the spirit, is forcibly suffocated by the public authorities, while in the other people suffer from excessive timidity in proclaiming aloud their worthy desires. It is, however, the duty of a policy of unification to encourage the former and to make heard the sentiments of the latter.

Particularly in that camp where it is not a crime to oppose error, statesmen should have greater confidence in themselves: They should give proof to others of a more firm courage in foiling the maneuvers of the obscure forces which are still trying to establish power hegemonies, and they should also show more active wisdom in preserving and swelling the ranks of men of good will, especially of believers in God, who, everywhere, adhere in great numbers to the cause of peace.

It would certainly be an erroneous unification policy, if not actually treachery, to sacrifice in favor of nationalistic interests the racial minorities who are without strength to defend their supreme possessions; their faith and their Christian culture. Whoever were to do this would not be worthy of confidence, nor would they be acting honorably if later, in cases where their own interests demanded it, they were to invoke religious values and respect for law.

There are many who volunteer to lay the bases of human unity. Since, however, these bases, this bridge, must be of a spiritual nature, those sceptics and cynics are certainly not qualified for the task who, in accordance with doctrines of a more or less disguised materialism, reduce even the loftiest truths and the highest spiritual values to the level of physical reactions or consider them mere ideologies.

Nor are those apt for the task who do not recognize absolute truths nor admit moral obligations in the sphere of social life. These latter have already in the past—often unknowingly, by their abuse of freedom and by their destructive and unreasonable criticism—prepared an atmosphere favorable to dictatorship and oppression; and now they push forward again to obstruct the work of social and political pacification initiated under Christian inspiration.

In some places it happens not rarely that they raise their voices against those who, conscientiously, as Christians, take a rightful active interest in political problems and in public life in general.

Now and then likewise, they disparage the assuredness and strength Christians draw from the possession of absolute truth, and on the contrary, they spread abroad the conviction that it is to modern man's honor, and redounds to the credit of his education, that he should have no determined ideas or tendencies, nor be bound to any spiritual world. Meanwhile, they forget that it was precisely from these principles that the present confusion and disorder originated, nor will they remember that it was those very Christian forces they now oppose that succeeded in restoring, in many countries, the freedom which they themselves had dissipated.

Certainly it is not upon such men that the common spiritual foundation can be laid and the bridge of truth built. Indeed, it may well be expected that, as occasion demands, they will not find it at all unseemly to be partial to the false system of the other shore, adapting themselves even to be overcome by it in case it were momentarily to triumph.

In awaiting, therefore, with confidence in the divine mercy, that spiritual and Christian bridge, already in some way existing between the two shores, to take on a greater and more effective consistency, we would exhort primarily the Christians of the nations where the divine gift of peace is still enjoyed to do everything possible to hasten the hour of its universal reestablishment.

Let these convince themselves, above all, that the possession of truth, if it were to remain closed within themselves, almost as if it were an object of their contemplation for deriving therefrom spiritual pleasure, would not be of service to the cause of peace; the truth must be lived, communicated, and applied to all phases of life. Also truth, and particularly Christian truth, is a talent that God placed in the hands of His servants in order that, with all that they undertake, it may bear fruit in works for the common good.

To all possessors of this truth, we would wish to propose a question, before the Eternal Judge asks it, whether they have used this talent fruitfully, in any way to be worthy of the invitation of the Master to enter into the joy of His peace. How many, perhaps even priests and lay Catholics, ought to feel remorse for having instead buried in their own hearts this and other spiritual riches, because of their own indolence and insensibility to human misery.

In particular, they would become culpable if they should tolerate that the people be left as though shepherdless, while the enemy of God, taking advantage of his powerful organization, is producing destruction in the souls not solidly enough formed in the truth. Equally responsible would the priest and laity be, if the people were not to receive and find from Christian charity in practice that active help which the divine will prescribes. Nor would those priests and laity fulfill their obligations, were they voluntarily to close their eyes and keep silence concerning the social injustices of which they are witnesses, thus furnishing an occasion for unjust attacks against the capacity of the social action of Christianity and against the efficacy of the social doctrine of the church, which, with the help of divine grace, has given so many and such unquestionable public demonstrations in this regard and also in these recent decades.

In case the failure to which we have referred were to occur, it would likewise be those priests and laity who would bear the responsibility that groups of the young, and even pastors of souls, let themselves, in some cases, be won over to radicalism and erroneous progressivism.

The conduct of Christians—be they of high or humble state, or be they more or less prosperous—who would not be resolute in the recognition and observance of their own social obligations in the management of their economic affairs, would cause more grave consequences to the social order, and also to the political order. Whosoever is not ready to limit justly in relation to the common weal the use of his private goods, be it done freely according to the dictates of his own conscience, or even done by means of organized provisions of a public character, he is helping, insofar as it depends on him, to impede the indispensable primacy of personal impulse and responsibility in social life.

In democratic systems one can fall easily into such an error, when individual interest is placed under the protection of these collective organizations or of a party, where one seeks protection for the sum total of individual interests, rather than the promotion of the good of all; under such a guise the economy becomes easily subject to the power of anonymous forces which dominate it politically.

Beloved children, we are thankful to the divine goodness for having given us yet another opportunity to indicate to you, with paternal solicitude, the path of goodness. May the earth, abundantly watered by the giver of true peace, be able to proclaim glory to God in the highest. "Let us go up to Bethlehem." (Luke 2: 15.) Let us go back there close to the crib of sincerity, of truth, and of love, where the only begotten Son of God gives Himself man to men, in order that humanity may know again in Him its bond and its peace. "Today true peace comes down to us from heaven." (Office of Christmas, response, second lesson.) In order that the earth be worthy to receive it, we invoke upon all abounding divine blessings.

Reappraisal in Formosa Strait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald the column by Mr. Walter Lippmann presented some information regarding Formosa and its neighboring islands which I believe to be basic and germane to any discussion of

the crisis in that area. I think it is appropriate to call the attention of the Congress to Mr. Lippmann's excellent column.

TODAY AND TOMORROW

(By Walter Lippmann)

REAPPRAISAL IN FORMOSA STRAIT

In their press conferences on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week Mr. Dulles first and then the President made known the decision not to defend the Tachens and the other offshore islands which are held by Chiang's Nationalist forces. This marked the turning of a page.

Until then our military commitments in this area had as a matter of policy been left undefined and uncertain. Our policy was to keep everybody guessing. Thus under the proposed security pact with the Nationalist Government our military commitments are quite specifically limited (art. VI) to "Taiwan (the Chinese name for Formosa) and the Pescadores." The treaty promises nothing beyond that, nothing, that is to say, about the offshore islands. But notes exchanged by Mr. Dulles and Mr. Yeh, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, which go with the proposed pact, do say that the United States could by joint agreement act in the other territory—which means the Tachens and the offshore islands. We were not bound to act there. But we had left ourselves the option of acting if we chose.

Some time ago the Peiping government began to test our intentions in this unclarified situation. They took to shelling and bombing offshore islands, and finally by an amphibious operation they conquered one of them last week. It was at this point that the administration abandoned its policy of deliberate uncertainty, and made known the decision not to intervene in the defense of the offshore islands.

This might be described as a sound decision taken under embarrassing conditions that should have been foreseen and avoided. The policy until last week was a bluff that was called, and we have retreated in the face of Red Chinese military action. Since for good reasons we had never meant to fight for the offshore islands, it was a serious error to give the impression that we might fight for them.

Moreover, the President gave a very poor reason for our decision to draw a line between the Formosa-Pescadores territory which we will defend and the offshore islands which we will not defend. He said that the Tachens and the small islands are not "a vital element, as we see it, in the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores." This takes it for granted that we have a unilateral right to intervene in foreign territory for strategic reasons—that the controlling principle of our policy is not law but strategy. This, to give it its true name, is militarism.

We do not need to resort to militarism to protect our interests in this area. There is a radical difference in law between the two sets of islands. Throughout the 20th century Formosa and the Pescadores belonged not to China but to Japan. They were captured from Japan by the United States, not by China. Under the Japanese surrender terms of 1945, which were formally ratified by the 1952 Treaty of Peace (ch. II, art. 2b), "Japan renounces all right, title, and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores." But now let us note this. Though Japan has renounced the title, no one else has acquired it.

In the President's message of January 10, 1952, submitting the Japanese Peace Treaty to the Senate, he put into the RECORD the official statement of Mr. Dulles to the San Francisco Conference. In that statement Mr. Dulles said that "some Allied Powers suggested that article 2 should not merely delimit Japanese sovereignty according to Potsdam, but specify precisely the ultimate disposition of each of the ex-Japanese territories. This, admittedly, would have been neater. But it would have raised questions as to which there are now no agreed answers. * * * Clearly, the wise course was to proceed now, so far as Japan is concerned, leaving the future to resolve doubts by invoking international solvents other than this treaty."

None of this applies to the offshore islands. They have always been Chinese. We have a right to be present in Formosa and the Pescadores under the terms of the Japanese surrender, and of the Japanese Peace Treaty. We have a right to see that their ultimate disposition is not settled by force but in accord with the interests of the people of Formosa and of the interests of the powers concerned in the Pacific. Our presence for these purposes is not intervention in the Chinese civil war. It is not intervention because Formosa and the Pescadores are not really Chinese territory.

But were we to intervene in the offshore islands, we would be acting on Chinese territory in a Chinese civil war. For these reasons our actual decision not to intervene in the offshore islands would not only look better but would in fact be better if it were based not on the strategical opinions of the White House and the Pentagon but on the law and the right about Formosa and the Pescadores.

Our right to defend Formosa rests on the fact that it is territory ceded by Japan about which the ultimate disposition has not been settled by any treaty. Even though both Chinese governments claim Formosa as Chinese, even though we promised in 1953 at Cairo to restore it to the Republic of China, Formosa is not now, it is not yet, Chinese territory. Because of that, our presence in Formosa is not intervention in the Chinese civil war.

On these grounds we have obligations and rights in the disposition of Formosa, regardless of whether we think Chiang or Mao is the head of the legitimate government of China. Our position in Formosa does not depend upon Chiang. For Chiang has never acquired a legitimate title to Formosa. Our position is the consequence of an international war, and on that ground we can make a case before the opinion of mankind to invoke their collaboration in reaching an international solution.

Wiretapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include an editorial from the Wall Street Journal, January 19, 1955, entitled "Wrong Number."

This editorial deals with wiretapping, and it is an editorial that I can recommend for everyone to read because it touches on a very delicate subject and one which caused, in the last session of Congress, a great deal of controversy:

WRONG NUMBER

A State supreme court justice in New York refused a few days ago to authorize the use of wiretapping to catch three bookmakers. The reasons given by Justice Hofstadter for his refusal went straight to the heart of an issue the Congress doubtless will debate again this year.

New York State law authorizes wiretapping in some circumstances, but Justice Hofstadter denied the police because, he said, whatever the results they would not warrant the invasion of privacy that would have followed his issuance of the order. In a word, the medicine was worse than the illness.

To place a wiretap on a telephone is not only, as Justice Hofstadter reasons, an undue invasion of that person's privacy; it is also an invasion of the privacy of every other person who uses that telephone from either end. It is, in fact, much more than that; article IV of the United States Constitution protects "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures." The Constitution further restricts issuance of search warrants to "probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation," and the warrant must describe particularly the place to be searched and the person or thing to be seized.

But would not a Federal law authorizing wiretapping reverse that process? Would it not allow an unreasonable search—and a secret one—to cast about for a probable cause?

Now no reasonable man would compare the catching of gamblers to the treasonable Communist conspiracy. The Red intrigue is certainly to be feared and fought; but it must be fought with weapons that do not injure our Nation as one of free men. The heart of the issue here is the same in either case; the medicine of wiretap is equally bad, for it is the prescription of the police state.

Indeed, the convictions in the courts of many of the Communist leaders show that police-state methods are not needed. There are statutes on the books under which they can be, and have been, successfully prosecuted. And if need be, the Congress can provide for the calling up of the militia should the conspiracy reach insurrection. No one has suggested that course.

Meanwhile, we see no need for chipping away at the rights and privileges of people who are not Communists in order to catch Communists. Perhaps the latter can be more easily trapped through wiretapping; certainly it will make the job of our police easier, or the Department of Justice would not have sidered endorsing last year the proposal Representative KEATING has again introduced. The job of the police would be made easier also if they could go about arresting anyone they chose and if they could break down any door and if they could hold in prison a suspect as long as they wished. But restraints were placed on Government and on police so that these things could not happen.

So it should be with wiretapping. Let it be accepted in one field of law enforcement and it will be soon accepted in all. Intimate conversations will be recorded by unseen ears, and the unseen hand of fear and suspicion may rest on every phone call; perhaps on a wrong number.

Strike Averted Following Intervention of Governor Ribicoff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, today I am calling to the attention of the membership a significant occurrence in the State of Connecticut last week.

A statewide strike of some 2,200 employees of the Connecticut Co., the Connecticut Light & Power Co., which would have paralyzed a large portion of the transportation system of Connecticut, was called off after Gov. Abraham Ribicoff intervened and succeeded in bringing both sides together.

Many of my colleagues will remember Governor Ribicoff as my distinguished predecessor, the Representative from the First Congressional District of Connecticut.

Governor Ribicoff believes that the welfare and prosperity of this country to a very large extent depends upon a harmonious and cooperative effort between employees and employer. Several times in the course of his public career he has publicly voiced this philosophy.

In the bus strike he applied this philosophy with great effectiveness. As a result of his efforts, this strike which would have been disastrous in many respects, was completely avoided.

For his successful efforts, the bus drivers' union and officials of the Connecticut Co. have both expressed their thanks to the Governor. The people of Connecticut join in this expression of gratitude.

I have taken this time to bring this matter to the attention of the House, not only to pay tribute to a great Governor who was a former Member of this body, but as well to point out that this is the kind of leadership in Government which will produce a more stable society in the United States of America.

Increase in Cotton Acreage Urged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced a measure—H. R. 2438—which, if enacted into law, will increase the national acreage allotment for the 1955 crop of cotton to 19,500,000 acres.

The Secretary of Agriculture, under existing legislation, has set the 1955 allotment at 18,113,208 acres which compares with the 1953 acreage of 25,151,400 and a 1954 acreage allotment of 21,379,358.

I have introduced this legislation, and urge its early passage, because many of the cotton farmers of my district and State are already in very bad financial circumstances due to last year's crop failure caused by a disastrous drought.

The cotton farmers of America have demonstrated time and time again their willingness to cooperate in a nationwide program which enables them to keep production in line with reasonable consumer demands. They know, as I do, that if we are to have a price-support program, we must also have acreage quotas. Yet, I believe that under certain conditions it may be unwise to reduce surpluses in certain years as drastically as they have been in others. I believe that 1955 is a year, certainly in the district I represent, in which our national acreage allotment should not be reduced by as much as 3 million acres.

Our national acreage allotment in 1954 was almost 4 million acres less than the 1953 acreage. In addition, my section of the country as well as other areas suffered the most disastrous drought that can be remembered. Another cut in cotton acreage for 1955 amounting to more than 3 million acres can only mean bankruptcy for some of the cotton farmers in my State and district. I am certain it would be better at this time to spread out our acreage reduction over a longer period of time rather than throw thousands of cotton farmers out of work by another drastic acreage cut this year.

I therefore urge the members of the Agricultural Committee and the Congress to give careful and early consideration to my bill and to other measures that propose an increase in the cotton-acreage allotment for 1955.

To delay consideration of such legislation could mean that any increase the Congress adopts might be too late for the planting season.

Money Sent Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Daily Press, St. Mary's, Pa., of December 29, 1954:

MONEY SENT ABROAD

You as an American taxpayer should be interested in what your Government spends abroad as every last cent is taken from your pay envelope whether you are paid by the hour or draw a monthly salary.

Paul Martin, chief, Gannett Papers, Washington bureau, who has made an intensive study of the subject, quotes the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Michigan, as saying "the foreign policy of America in the past 14 years," and he was referring to the era before Eisenhower took over, "as the most gigantic speculation since time began."

During this time, and we refer again to Mr. Martin, the American people have made available United State Government grants or loans totaling at least $117 billion to relieve human distress, improve civilian economies and build up defense establishment of foreign countries.

This, adds Mr. Martin, includes $50 billion worth of lend-lease equipment during World War II and $67 billion in economic, technical, and military assistance since the war.

United States foreign aid funds have been spent in 63 nations and 67 dependent territories around the world. They have cost American taxpayers an average of more than $2,000 per person—and what you could do with that $2,000 makes your eyes bulge in anticipation.

Most of this money, according to Mr. Martin, has gone to Western Europe. Of this sum the British empire has received approximately $50 billion. France and her possessions received $17 billion in round figures, and yet when it comes time for France to line up with the Allied world in defense against communism, the free world has generally been the loser.

Not all foreign aid investment has gone to friendly countries. It has been estimated, says Mr. Martin, at least $15 billion worth of United States civilian, economic, and military supplies has gone behind the Iron Curtain.

This includes $11 billion in lend-lease assistance given Russia of which she has not paid one penny in return.

The $117 billion this country has poured out in the last several years would have built new schoolhouses in every town of over 5,000 in the United States, would have provided new hospitals in every town of similar size, and would, in addition, provide adequate housing for every serviceman and his family.

Therefore it becomes questionable what America has gained by her display of lavish spending. There is little doubt but what European economy has been benefited to no end, and reports from there say 1954 has been a good year for business all around, gratifying this side of the Atlantic, but the more sober query is how does it assist in an alliance against communism.

When you take a country like France that has received $17 billion in American help and find her reluctant to line up with United States in military alliance one begins to think much of that $17 billion gift has been wasted, and would have been far better spent helping American GI's get on their feet.

It has become customary in some parts of the world to look upon Uncle Sam as a man with a bottomless purse. Hardly any foreign nations sends a diplomat to Washington who does not have his hand out for financial aid.

And the men and women you have elected to represent you in Washington have made it possible for them to dip deeper and deeper into the United States Treasury.

It has become a fixed habit among American newspaper readers to ask "How much did he get?" when they read of this or that European dignitary heading for home after visiting the National Capital.

The trend toward this giveaway is being changed at the present time and this may be even more pronounced in the coming congressional session as added Members of Congress become aware that the gold this country possesses could reach the end of the trail, plus the futher realization folks back home who have to foot this tremendous bill are fed up.

At a time when many have to beg, borrow, or come close to stealing enough to pay their personal income taxes, it grates their nerves to see this country so generous with other countries with money that comes from their earnings.

Outside the financial help given United States by France in crucial days of the Revolutionary War not one single country abroad has ever given this country as much as a thin dime.

This all-paying-out, nothing-coming-in, philosophy should soon terminate.

Who Condones or Excuses Immorality?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Machinist:

WHO CONDONES OR EXCUSES IMMORALITY?

The extent of the fraud being perpetrated on State legislatures under the guise of "right-to-work" is beginning to dawn on the American people.

These laws, already adopted in 17 States and about to be considered in other State legislatures, are based on a lie and a deception.

These misnamed "right-to-work" laws and bills have one single purpose—to weaken labor organizations, to handicap labor at the bargaining table. They guarantee no man's right to work. Nor do they protect anyone from discrimination on the job because of age, race, color or because he belongs to a union.

A LIE AND A DECEPTION

Instead, these laws are intended to encourage men and women to work without union protection, without seniority, without any guaranty that wages won't be cut.

Any movement that is based on a lie, on deception, as is this right-to-work movement, can best be weighed and evaluated by those qualified to judge morality and decency, respected men of experience and good will, men grounded in the morality of their faith.

That is the reason the International Association of Machinists has invited three recognized religious leaders to appraise the morality of the so-called right-to-work movement and the laws and bills it promotes.

On pages 4 and 5 of this issue the Machinist presents Rabbi Goldstein's assessment of right-to-work laws and his conclusions. When he was invited to prepare this article for the Machinist, he was told that no policy or opinion of this organization would interfere with publication of anything he chose to say.

Rabbi Goldstein's article is the second in this series. The first, by Rev. William J. Kelley, an oblate father at Catholic University, Washington, D. C., appeared in the Machinist for November 18.

Like Father Kelley, Rabbi Goldstein has written what is in his mind and in his heart, without fear of criticism either from union members or the chamber of commerce.

We believe that, like Father Kelley, Rabbi Goldstein's analysis is damning. Both Father Kelley and Rabbi Goldstein have condemned these right-to-work laws as immoral. No man of God uses that term lightly. It means wicked, vicious, inconsistent with good morals, and contrary to moral law.

A RIGHTEOUS CAUSE

With this teaching before us, there can be no doubt of the righteousness of our cause in asking for repeal of these anti-union-security laws in the 17 States where they now exist and in urging legislators in other States to relegate them to the wastebaskets where they belong.

In the weeks ahead we will publish the third article in this series. Together, we believe the three articles will provide not just labor but all decent Americans with a sound basis for moral judgment on these so-called right-to-work laws.

Modesto, Calif.: All-American City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEROY JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in Look magazine on February 8, 1955, will appear an article in which the magazine and the National Municipal League, assisted by a group of distinguished civic leaders, selected 11 cities as all-American cities.

In this group is the city of Modesto, Calif. It is the county seat of Stanislaus and the second largest city within the 11th Congressional District of California, which I have the honor to represent in the House of Representatives.

I congratulate the mayor, Harry Marks, the city manager, and the City Council of Modesto, and Lawrence Robinson, Jr., chairman of the citizen's committee, on receiving this honor. But I must confess that I was not surprised. Many years ago when I was a municipal official in California, and a director in the League of California Cities, I organized the Central Valley division of the league. This included Modesto and from that time on I have had knowledge of the city government of Modesto. It has always been a well-governed city. Over Highway 99, the major through highway in the city, is a huge sign with this inscription: "Water, wealth, contentment, health."

Modesto is in the center of one of the richest agricultural areas in the United States. In Stanislaus County are the two most fabulous irrigation districts in California. They are the Modesto Irrigation District and the Turlock Irrigation District. They are operated jointly. Last year they had paid off their bond issues. They furnish the water to the fertile land that raises the fruits, nuts, row crops, alfalfa, and so forth, which make the county so rich and its county seat, Modesto, so prosperous.

Modesto, like most California cities, was afflicted with "growingitis." So many from outside of California came into the area that contiguous to Modesto's boundaries was a population much larger than the city's population. So the people began to agitate and later they organized to provide money, through a bond issue, to make various improvements that would attract the outside area. It did. Then came annexation to the city of many of these areas. The schools were improved to the tune of $4.3 millions by the sale of bonds approved by the voters for necessary expansion and improved teaching techniques. Incidentally, the superintendent, James H. Corson, was an Olympic games star in Amsterdam in 1928. He was a world champion discus thrower for a short time, being outdistanced by another American 15 minutes after he had broken the world's record.

Good municipal government in California is partly due to the nonpartisan elections which California adopted over 40 years ago. Partisan party politics are out in our city elections. The elective officers of our cities are selected by the voters who vote for those they think best able to conduct the affairs of the city government.

Under leave to extend my remarks I am including a portion of the article from Look magazine about Modesto, Calif. It follows:

(By Jack Star)

Despite the traditional cynicism of politics, an American community—if it becomes indignant enough and determined enough—can stem graft, choke creeping blight, root out bumbling inefficiency, make streets safe for women and children.

As proof, the National Municipal League and Look again point to 11 communities where energetic, purposeful, and intelligent citizen action has accomplished such ends—and more. The league, which for 60 years has provided tools and inspiration for better local government, and Look have named these communities the All-American Cities of 1954.

The winners include the second largest city in the land and one of the smallest hamlets. None is necessarily a model town, but all, because of citizen action, are better places in which to live.

In the words of Dr. George H. Gallup, league president and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, the awards are given not for good government, efficient municipal administration, or a specific improvement, as such, but rather for citizen effort.

This year, a record 225 communities were nominated for awards. The 22 finalists presented their cases before a distinguished jury of civil leaders at the annual national conference on government in Kansas City, Mo.

The winning communities are Chicago, Ill.; Decatur, Ark.; Maricopa County, Ariz.; Mexico, Mo.; Modesto, Calif.; Newark, N. J.; Pueblo, Colo.; Richfield, Minn.; Rock Island, Ill.; Rockville, Md.; and Warren, Ohio.

These are their stories:

Modesto, Calif.: Late in the 1940's, Modesto discovered that while its own population (17,000) had remained unaffected by the postwar California boom, the area outside its city limits had blossomed into an industrial section of 34,000. This huge fringe population posed a crushing problem: The suburbanites used Modesto's facilities and paid few taxes. Modesto, with no place to dump its sewage, found itself girdled by 10,000 cesspools.

The solution was annexation—make all problems common and solve them for the common good. But outside industry feared higher taxes and stricter regulation. In 1953, the voters adopted city-manager government (which had once been ruled illegal) and began wooing the suburbanites.

"Some outside industries began boycotting our merchants," recalls Mayor Harry Marks. "So we decided to make them want to come in, to offer them a city they would beg to become a part of."

A committee of 21 swelled into a committee of 1,000 and began a campaign of doorbell ringing to publicize a $2.5 million sewer-improvement bond issue. It carried 8 to 1. An improved fire department meant lower insurance rates for industry.

The annexations began. By the end of 1954, so many areas had been annexed that Modesto's population had more than doubled and more areas were waiting their turn. The voters approved spending $4.3 million for schools; a youth center that stood unfinished for 3 years was completed in weeks with donated labor and materials. Many more improvements are on the way.

Events in Costa Rica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT P. MORANO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, on January 12 of this year I sent a telegram to

our able Secretary of State, Hon. John Foster Dulles, urging immediate and vigorous action by the United States under Mr. Dulles' personal direction and within the framework of the Organization of American States to bring about a cessation of hostilities and of needless bloodshed in Costa Rica. I am pleased to report that the Organization of American States has moved swiftly and it now would appear that a serious menace to the Panama Canal and to the entire Western Hemisphere has been averted. All of us can be proud of the Organization of American States and of the vigorous leadership taken by the United States within that organization's framework.

As the membership of the House well knows, the headquarters of the Organization is in Washington, located several blocks from the White House and the Department of State. I urge as many Members of this House as possible to become better acquainted with the Organization of American States by observing at first hand the many useful activities pursued at its headquarters.

There follows the text of an address delivered in Houston, Tex., on January 20 by the Honorable Henry F. Holland, our able, courageous, and very effective Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, covering the events which have been transpiring in Costa Rica:

During the past 10 days much of our attention has been centered on the conflict in the Central American Republic of Costa Rica. Through the newspaper, television, and radio you have followed events there. I would like to discuss with you their significance as regards the inter-American system, and the policies of our own Government.

The dimensions of the conflict itself may be small—some 10,000 Government forces, only 4,000 of them well armed, pitted against six to eight hundred revolutionaries; nevertheless, the principles and issues involved in the conflict are basic and of lasting importance to the peace and order of our hemisphere.

What has been taking place in that small Central American country is in the first place a matter of humanitarian concern to all of us because human lives and welfare are affected. If, and to the extent that, this is a domestic upheaval, it is regrettable, and would not be an occasion for United States or OAS political action. But, the nature and apparent origin of the conflict suggest intervention from abroad and thus have presented problems of deep preoccupation to the American family of nations. At stake have been the principle of nonintervention and collective action to maintain international peace which are cornerstones of the relationship among the American States—a relationship which is unique in the divided world of today. In the balance stood the expressed intention of the American nations to come to the assistance of a sister republic when the integrity of its territory or sovereignty or political independence was threatened, thereby demonstrating the effectiveness of the inter-American regional security system. Beyond this, what is taking place in Costa Rica and the response of the Organization of American States, in my opinion, carried serious implications for the fabric of collective security which binds the nations of the free world. Happily, in this case there was no evidence that international communism had gained control of the political institutions of Costa Rica. If that had been the case, the Caracas declaration would have applied and the Communist-dominated government would have been deemed a common danger to all of the American Republics.

I am pleased to say that the challenge has been met by the OAS, and in a rapid, effective, and resourceful manner.

Before taking up the course of events in the Costa Rican crisis and their significance, I believe I should very briefly describe the inter-American machinery to which that country appealed for any of you who might not be familiar with it. The Organization of American States, or OAS as we generally refer to it, is a regional organization within the United Nations. All 21 American republics are members. Its affairs are normally directed by a council comprised of representatives of each member state and which under emergency conditions such as those in the existing situation is accorded certain unusual and extensive powers such as those it has exercised during recent days.

Among the organization's basic purposes as expressed in its charter are the following:

1. "To strengthen the peace and security of the continent."

2. "To prevent possible causes of difficulties and to insure the pacific settlement of disputes that may arise among the member states."

3. "To provide for common action on the part of those states in the event of aggression."

A fundamental principle vouchsafed in the charter is that:

"If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any American state should be affected by an armed attack or by an act of aggression that is not an armed attack, or by an extra-continental conflict, or by a conflict between two or more American states, or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America, the American states, in furtherance of the principles of continental solidarity or collective self-defense, shall apply the measures and procedures established in the special treaties on the subject" (art. 25).

The principal treaty referred to in this article is the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, known as the Rio Treaty. It is under this treaty that Costa Rica on January 8 appealed to the Council of the Organization for assistance, considering itself to be in imminent danger of invasion.

The Costa Rican call for OAS action brought to a head issues and difficulties which have hovered in the background for some time. Last spring, after frustration of an attempt to assassinate him, the President of Nicaragua asserted that the President of Costa Rica, from whose territory certain of the conspirators had come, was implicated. Thereafter the Costa Rican Government from time to time asserted that a revolutionary movement was being prepared against it from outside its territory, with the toleration, if not assistance, of other governments.

During this period of tension in the area those of us dealing principally with Latin American affairs in Washington were informed of these developments. Not infrequently we were called upon to lend our assistance in an effort to ease the difficulties. At times, both before and after the recent outbreak, we have been asked to provide more direct assistance ourselves.

In response to such appeals, the policy of the Government of the United States has been to take such informal and friendly steps as we believed would be proper and helpful to bring about a more cordial atmosphere between the governments concerned. We also encouraged them to make every effort to resolve their difficulties by direct negotiations. All members of the Organization of American States clearly have a responsibility to strive for such settlement under the charter of that body, the Rio Treaty, and the U. N. Charter. However, we have firmly and consistently insisted that governments which found themselves unable to resolve their difficulties by direct negotiations should utilize the abundant and effective machinery of the Organization of American States in achieving that peaceful solution which is enjoined upon all members of the inter-American community. Specifically, we have repeatedly advised that a government which had reason to believe that its sovereignty or political independence were endangered from outside its territory should place its complaint before the Organization of American States. We believe that procedures which are readily available in the OAS can be effective, and that the degree to which they achieve good results depends in no small measure upon the degree to which the American States resort to them, and thus demonstrate their confidence in them. No machinery for the maintenance of peace and security can demonstrate its effectiveness unless it is used by the governments that created it.

Now let me review briefly the order of events in connection with Costa Rica's appeal to the OAS. That will permit a clear understanding of the role played by the United States and the other members of the OAS.

On Saturday, January 8, the Costa Rican representative notified the Council of the Organization of American States that his government believed an invasion of its territory was imminent and that the movement was being supported in violation of the obligations of the governments under inter-American treaties. These prohibit any American state from resorting to force in a dispute with another and require each state to take effective measures to prevent its territory from being used to further an armed attack on any other state. Costa Rica asked that the provisions of the Rio Treaty applicable to such emergencies be invoked.

The Chairman of the Council immediately called a meeting of that body for the following day. Subsequently, the meeting was postponed 24 hours, with the concurrence of the representative of Costa Rica, because of the absence of the Nicaraguan representative from Washington.

The Council met on the afternoon of Monday, January 10, and heard Costa Rica present its case and Nicaragua's denial of the allegations of its complicity in any revolutionary movement. No act of violence having taken place, and considering it desirable for the representatives to consult their governments on the matter, the Council scheduled a further meeting for Wednesday, calling upon the Governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua to take the necessary measures to prevent any acts which might aggravate the situation.

The situation changed drastically the following morning, Tuesday, January 11. Rebel forces attacked and occupied the Costa Rican town of Villa Quesada, some 60 miles within Costa Rica, north of its capital, San José. At the request of Costa Rica, the Council of the OAS met immediately that day. In view of the new circumstances, it did not hesitate to apply the Rio Treaty, and as a first step to send an Investigating Committee without delay to the scene to ascertain the facts. The United States was privileged to be designated as a member of the Committee, together with Mexico, Brazil, Paraguay, and Ecuador. The Committee was named at 9 o'clock in the evening. At 6 the following morning the group was on its way in a plane which, in view of the urgency of the matter, was furnished by the United States. The Council had acted with vigor and dispatch.

While the Investigating Committee was en route on Wednesday, a new element entered

the picture: Costa Rica reported that during the day several towns, including the capital, had been bombed and strafed by aircraft coming from the north. Costa Rica pointed out that, having no air force of its own, this development posed a new and serious danger to its security. Not only was the danger increased, but it appeared that such elements could only have come from outside Costa Rica.

In response the Council called urgently upon all American governments to take the measures necessary to prevent the use of their territories for any military action against another government. But it also made what I think is an historic decision in the inter-American system; the establishment for the first time of an international aerial patrol under the supervision of an OAS body for the purpose of making peaceful observations over the region affected by the situation. To accomplish this, the member governments in a position to do so were requested to place at the disposal of the Investigating Committee aircraft which would fly in its name and under its supervision. Within 2 hours after this decision was unanimously taken by the Council, our Government announced that it was making planes available. Ecuador, Uruguay, and Mexico have taken the same step.

The use of peaceful observation flights under the supervision of the Investigating Committee is a new development in inter-American peace machinery. Multiplying the eyes and expanding the vision of the five-man committee, this procedure doubtless also served as a deterrent to any international transit of men and arms in violation of treaty obligations.

Recognizing the need for a finding of facts, the Council requested the Investigating Committee to send immediately a preliminary report on the situation. This is the Committee did with noteworthy speed.

This report received late Thursday indicated that aircraft originating from outside Costa Rica had machine gunned and bombed several places in the country, and that there existed grave presumption that arms entering Costa Rica were continuing to arrive across its northern frontier. On Friday the Council, on the basis of this information, condemned the acts of intervention against Costa Rica; it called on all American governments, especially Nicaragua to the north, to redouble their efforts to prevent their territories from being used for military action. It also directed its Investigating Committee immediately to send observers to all airports and other places in the region which might be used to transport military elements into Costa Rica. Meanwhile, constant aerial surveillance under the supervision of the Investigating Committee continued, as did the other activities of the Committee.

At midnight on Saturday, January 15, the Committee reported that its reconnaissance indicated that the air force of the revolutionary group operating in Costa Rica had been increased by the addition of one P–47 which had come from outside Costa Rica. This plane had been used in strafing operations. The Costa Rican Government had no combat aircraft with which to meet this new threat.

At 2 o'clock in the morning on Sunday the Council of the OAS met to consider what should be done in the light of this latest development. The Council was informed that Costa Rica had asked that the United States sell it four P–51's. Since the problem was being dealt with by the OAS, we would not send such war material into the area except at the request of the Council. We told the delegates that we could, under our laws, make a sale of the four planes to Costa Rica, and that, if the Council requested that such aircraft be made available to the Costa Rican Government, we would do so. Five hours later, at 7 in the morning last Sunday, the Council unanimously approved a resolution which made known its desire that these aircraft be sold to Costa Rica. At 3 that afternoon the 4 P–51's were on their way to Costa Rica. They arrived on Monday, January 17, and have been turned over to the Costa Rican Government.

There has been speculation in the press as to the price of the planes which have been transferred to Costa Rica. United States law requires that the price of military equipment sold to other friendly governments be fixed at its fair value, which is determined according to standards specified in the Mutual Security Act of 1954. In past sales of similar equipment that price has been far less than the original cost of the planes. The price in this case is now being determined by the Department of Defense and will be fixed on the basis of the type of plane and equipment, spare parts and services made available with them. I might add that if because of price or any other reason Costa Rica would now prefer not to have the planes, we would be satisfied to have them returned. They were withdrawn from National Guard units here in Texas, where they are useful.

After its night session the Council reconvened at 4 o'clock Sunday afternoon to consider what further measures might be taken to insure against treaty violations. It had before it petitions from both Costa Rica and Nicaragua that effective surveillance of their frontier be established under the OAS for the purpose of keeping watch on border crossings by revolutionary forces or supplies. The Council approved this request, directing its investigating committee to plan and maintain effective vigilance of the border through its military advisers.

Aerial reconnaissance revealed that the rebel forces had 4 planes—2 AT–6 trainers, a DC–3 cargo plane, and the F–47, which I have mentioned. The DC–3 crashed last Sunday. On Monday the air patrol reported that the three remaining planes had left the rebel airstrip in Costa Rica. Later the two trainers were observed to land in Rivas, Nicaragua, where the pilots surrendered to Nicaraguan authorities who report that the Government has interned the aircraft and crews. The whereabouts of the fighter plane has not been determined.

This account of the action taken by the OAS speaks well of the forceful and expeditious manner in which the 21 American republics, operating through their regional organization have been able to act. Not only has its action saved lives and property which would undoubtedly have been destroyed had the fighting become more widespread, it has also shown to the world that effective machinery exists and is being used in this hemisphere for the prevention of international conflicts. This success will strengthen the Organization of American States by giving a concrete demonstration of its power as a deterrent to warfare in this hemisphere. The United States as a member of the OAS may be justly proud of its contribution to this joint undertaking.

A question often asked me in the last several days is, "Who is responsible for this armed conflict in Costa Rica? Are the accusations made by the Governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua against each other true?" This is not a question for any one member of the American community to decide, and we shall not engage in speculation. The determination of facts and the assessing of guilt, if any, is the function of the OAS. If we want to preserve the dignity and integrity of our regional organization we must not prejudge issues which it is studying preparatory to rendering a decision upon them. Nor must we expect hasty decisions from it. The Investigating Committee is still in the field. It has just spent time in Nicaragua where at the invitation of that Government it has been assembling information. Until all of the facts are in, it would not be proper to render any judgment, as the voicing of unfounded or unsupported accusations by an official spokesman of any of the American governments would only tend to worsen the situation.

The importance of the OAS action thus far lies chiefly in the prompt and resourceful way in which it acted to protect the sovereignty, integrity, and inviolability of the territory of one of the member states. Despite the small size of the military engagement which is involved, the issues presented were the kind that could in the future arise in connection with any member of the group. The measures applied were unique. Never before has the Organization requested the establishment of pacific observation flights or requested the sale of military equipment to a beleaguered member. Under these circumstances one cannot exaggerate the significance of the fact that all decisions not only of the Council but of the Investigating Committee have been taken unanimously. Americans throughout our 21 republics can be grateful that the peaceful solution of our problems has been entrusted to this regional organization to which the Soviet veto cannot extend.

The OAS has acted with speed and efficiency which deserves the applause of all the members of the inter-American system. In less than 4 days actions were taken which put an investigating group into the affected area and gave it the means for carrying out peaceful observations of the widest possible scope. I doubt that in any similar situation an international investigating body has discharged its duties with greater diligence, greater speed, or greater resourcefulness.

Furthermore, as a result of the OAS action, aircraft were made available which enable Costa Rica to defend itself against marauding planes introduced from outside its territory. The basis has been established for a system of effective frontier vigilance. These are remarkable achievements for any international organization.

Let me summarize the policy which the United States Government has pursued and will continue to pursue in this matter. First, we support vigorously all appropriate steps determined by the Organization of American States to protect the obligations and guaranties of the treaties upon which our inter-American system is founded, and we make every effort to insure that these steps are taken on the basis of facts rather than charges or rumors. Finally, we are committed to a policy of strengthening the OAS as an effective international organization within the United Nations to which members of the American family should in the first instance refer such problems as this for peaceful solution.

Communists' Ruthless Technique

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting editorial from the Lawrence Daily Eagle, Lawrence, Mass., Saturday, December 4, 1954:

CRUEL BUSINESS

Nothing is quite so maddening to a peace-loving nation like our as the Communists' ruthless technique of false imprisonment

on trumped-up charges. It is most aggravating because it is so difficult to combat.

The latest shocking episode of this kind, Red China's imprisonment of 13 American citizens for terms from 4 years to life, dramatizes a painful fact that has been long known: That the Communists did not return all Allied prisoners as they were required to do under the Korean truce agreement.

It goes without saying that this cruel business is international gangsterism of the worst sort, a violation not alone of the Korean pact but of the laws of war governing the status of prisoners. Men in uniform are not spies, as charged.

But the point, of course, is: What can we do about it?

A few voices raised in and out of Congress have demanded that we resort to drastic measures, declaring that "only force" will free these men.

Such a course clearly does not recommend itself to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, or Secretary of Defense Wilson, nor would it be likely to have appeal to most Americans who give the matter sober thought.

For force can mean just one thing—war. Even if we could find where the imprisoned Americans were being held, we could not, by any stretch of the imagination, expect to conduct a successful rescue raid into sprawling China. Thus war is the sole conceivable course of action left to advocates of force.

Yet, as much as we cherish the life of every single American, the idea of plunging the whole Nation into war and sending millions to their deaths in perhaps a vain effort to save 13 men from prison terms is something we cannot consider.

It would be very surprising if a single 1 of the 13 wants so colossal a sacrifice to be made in his behalf.

Frustrating thought it may be, all we can sensibly do is protest. But it ought to be understood that protest is sometimes effective, and it could be again.

Both the United States and its ally, Britain, already have vigorously denounced this newest Red act in defiance of international justice. But the question should be of instant importance to the United Nations, under whose command the imprisoned Americans fought, and to the neutral Korean Armistice Commission now overseeing the truce.

It is always arguable whether this sort of pressure works best if accompanied by loud noises of indignation, or if more subtly applied against the high councils of the hostile state involved.

Ordinary Americans, deeply angered at this latest outrage, nevertheless cannot decide which approach is wisest in this case. But they can insist that every ounce of pressure be resolutely and relentless applied until these and other falsely imprisoned Americans are restored to full freedom.

Heavy Caseload in Federal Judicial Districts of the State of Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I call to the attention of the Congress a resolution adopted by the Iowa State Bar Association on June 5, 1954.

This resolution expresses the concern of the members of the association over the heavy load of cases pending in the Federal judicial districts of the State of Iowa and urges legislation by the United States Congress to relieve the situation there and in other areas throughout the Nation.

"Whereas the members of this association are seriously concerned with the heavy load of cases pending in both the northern and southern Federal judicial districts of the State of Iowa and with the fact that the amount of litigation is increasing rapidly and that as a result a congestion of cases and of business has been avoided only through the almost superhuman efforts of the judges both in the northern and southern districts of Iowa; and

"Whereas not only are the judges overworked but serious strain is placed upon jurors, court reporters, litigants, and attorneys, and other officers of the court; and

"Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States a measure designed to bring relief for this situation and other similar situations now existing elsewhere in the United States: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Iowa State Bar Association in its 81st annual meeting assembled, That we urge upon the Senators and the Members of the House of Representatives from the State of Iowa that they give the strongest possible support to the proposed legislation referred to above and to any other legislation which may be designed to bring relief to the two Federal districts in this State; be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the secretary of this association to each of the United States Senators from Iowa and to each of the Members of the House of Representatives from the State of Iowa."

I certify that this is a true and correct copy of a resolution passed by the Iowa State Bar Association on June 5, 1954.

EDWARD H. JONES,
Secretary, the Iowa State Bar Association.

Delaware River Channel Between Philadelphia Naval Base and Newbold Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

I, John M. McCullough, secretary of the Delaware River Port Authority, hereby certify the attached to be a true and correct copy of a resolution duly adopted by the authority at its meeting of January 19, 1955; that said resolution has not been altered, amended, or repealed, but is in full force and effect.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of said authority, this 19th day of January 1955.

[SEAL] JOHN M. MCCULLOUGH,
Secretary.

"Whereas the Delaware River Port Authority by formal resolution of December 16, 1953, recorded its objection to the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, that local interests be required to contribute in cash to the United States one-half of the additional cost of construction of the recommended improvement of the 40-foot channel in the Delaware River between the Philadelphia Naval Base and Newbold Island in excess of the cost of the 35-foot channel; and

"Whereas this position of the authority was respectfully reaffirmed by formal resolution of January 20, 1954, following consideration of a communication from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, presenting his opinion 'that the needs of the prospective general commerce on the Delaware River will be served by a channel 35 feet deep'; and

"Whereas the Congress of the United States on August 18, 1954, authorized the deepening of the channel of the Delaware River between the Philadelphia Naval Base and Newbold Island to a depth of 40 feet without reference to the requirement for participation by local interests in defraying the cost thereof and said authorizing legislation was signed by the President of the United States on September 6, 1954; and

"Whereas the President of the United States in his budget message to the Congress of January 17, 1955, recommended that token supplemental funds for the channel project be provided only if, as a prerequisite thereto, local interests pledged themselves in advance to provide a sum three times greater than the proposed supplemental appropriation or its equivalent thereof in work; and

"Whereas this concept of local responsibility in an obligation of the Federal Government is one never before proposed in this precise form, one which the Congress has not previously had the opportunity to consider, and one which appears in unprecedented contravention of the responsibility of the Federal Government with respect to navigable interstate waters; and

"Whereas the importance of the Delaware River as a highway of commerce and of its industrial hinterland as a vital factor in the national security and a healthful national economy have not diminished, but in fact and as attested by statistics and reports both available to and published by the Federal Government have been enhanced markedly during the past year: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Delaware River Port Authority views with grave concern and deep misgiving the recommendation of the budget message as applied to channel-deepening projects; and be it further

"Resolved, That the authority reaffirms most vigorously its opposition to any requirement that local sharing of costs be a prerequisite to approval of a project of this character in the realm of the public interest; and be it further

"Resolved, That attested copies of this resolution be forwarded promptly to all parties having an interest in the matter."

Effect of Bicycle Imports on Domestic Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New York. Mr. Speaker, in a few weeks this House will once again consider the question of United States foreign trade policy. Believing that the following information will prove of interest and help to the Members of this body, in consideration of this issue, I wish to place in the RECORD a copy of a letter from one of the larger

manufacturers of bicycles in this country, whose plant is located in my congressional district:

H. P. SNYDER MANUFACTURING CO., INC.,
Little Falls, N. Y., January 17, 1955.

Hon. WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Many thanks for your note of January 10, and the attached copy of the President's message to Congress on reciprocal trade, dated January 10, 1955. So many comments with regard to this speech come to my mind that it is impossible for me to put them down in writing or you would be reading a new edition of Gone With the Wind.

To say the least, I continue to be greatly distressed by our President's refusal to recognize that his world-trade policy is selling American business down the stream, and I am continually more and more impressed by the fact that his judgment is being affected by the thinking of big business, which seems to have a temporary advantage by investing capital in foreign lands, which capital will undoubtedly be lost within the next 10 years by some upheaval in those foreign lands. It is more than distressing to an American to see our country and our Chief Executive encouraging the investment of American capital in foreign lands instead of investing same in our own country for our own benefit.

In the meantime, may I advise you that our own situation worsens by the minute. Imports of bicycles are going to rise to the 900,000 level for 1954 and new lows in pricing occur every day. I have in my office at the present moment a German balloon-tire bicycle, a duplicate of the very best American balloon-tire bicycles, gorgeously finished with hand polishing and hand decorating that is beyond the possibilities of American bicycle manufacturers due to the expense of performing the operations, which bicycle is currently selling f. o. b. the docks in New York, duty paid, for $19.90, 2 percent discount. If we were to duplicate this machine in detail, which we could do, our cost (in American plants, including our own, which we feel are superior in efficiency to the German plants) would be in the neighborhood of $25 or $26.

If our company had its percentage of the 900,000 bicycles that came into this country last year, we would have employed over 200 more people steadily throughout 1954. In a community of this size, and in a community which has lost so much business in the last year or two, this is disastrous. After 60 years in the bicycle business, BILL, we are really in danger of collapsing in another year, if this keeps up. Let's pray the Lord that the Tariff Commission and our President recognize this situation and correct it within the next few months. As you know, we must have a report from the Tariff Commission by March 14, 1955.

Sincere thanks for your interest. With best personal regards to you and Fred, we remain,

Sincerely yours,
H. P. SNYDER MANUFACTURING CO., INC.,
H. W. SNYDER, *President.*

Polish Union Testimonial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of January 22, 1955:

POLISH UNION TESTIMONIAL

The women's division of the Polish Union of the United States of North America, headed by Miss Charlotte Zajkowski, of Wilkes-Barre, is sponsoring a testimonial in Hotel Sterling on Sunday night in honor of Stanley W. Warakomski, of Nanticoke, who has been general secretary of the Polish Union for 33 years. It is an impressive tribute to an executive whose long tenure has few parallels in fraternal circles.

Once described as a product of historic necessity, the Polish Union has leaned heavily on Mr. Warakomski for more than three decades. A native of Poland, he is unusually well equipped for the active management of an organization, dedicated to the welfare of Americans of Polish extraction, most of whom in the early days were, like himself, newcomers to this land of opportunity. He combines in his person a keen insight into the American way of life and a genuine appreciation of the problems confronting his compatriots.

The Polish Union has gone a long way under the guidance of Mr. Warakomski. The immigrant of yesterday is now an American citizen and so are his children. Language is no longer a barrier and the country of his adoption is now home. But old ties, cultural and personal, remain. These the Polish Union seeks to preserve as well as to provide insurance benefits, education, and other assistance to the membership through a program that is constantly expanding, thanks to the role of Mr. Warakomski and his progressive associates. The old and the new march side by side.

The years have dealt very kindly with Mr. Warakomski. His hair has silvered in the interim, adding distinction to his appearance and offering proof of maturity, mentally as well as physically. Otherwise, he is the same friendly and persevering individual who answered the call to duty after the First World War.

While the Polish Union has been his principal interest, by virtue of his office he has been identified with other movements, dedicated to the betterment of America, Poland, and humanity. As general secretary of the Polish Union, Stanley Warakomski has made a substantial contribution to the land of his birth and to the land of his adoption.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, this week the people of Ukrainian ancestry all over the world are observing the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence which will take place on January 22, 1955.

It would seem to me that this anniversary observance presents us with a splendid opportunity for the reaffirmation of our strong faith in the eventual freedom of all of the peoples who are presently enslaved and subject to totalitarian domination.

The principle of self-determination of all peoples has played an important role in the conception and history of our own Nation. We have always maintained and continue to believe that the nations of the world have the right to work out their own destinies, in accordance with the expressed desires of their people.

On this occasion of the anniversary of Ukrainian independence, let us reaffirm our stanch adherence to that principle. May those nations who are presently deprived of representation and the right of self-determination find hope and encouragement in this reaffirmation of our principles.

Anti-McCarthy Technique

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following editorial by Raymond Moley, which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on January 18, 1955.

ANTI-MCCARTHY TECHNIQUE

(By Raymond Moley)

It is hardly necessary to mention that the pattern of the leftists who dominate such a large part of the Democratic Party and also of the so-called liberal Republicans in their campaign to drive a wedge between the Vice President and the President follows the pattern used in the long campaign against Senator MCCARTHY.

With powerful help because of the indiscretions and extreme comments of MCCARTHY, the campaign against him succeeded. And so the opposition moves on to knock off one after another of the people who have attempted to hold the Roosevelt-Truman regime responsible for its softness toward subversive elements in and out of government.

Once more the promoters of the unending campaign to isolate the President from a majority of his party have been helped by an old and familiar trick practised in his press conferences. The President, by adding lengthy comments to what might have been an adequate answer, provided a backhanded blow to his party.

In this instance, the President was asked for his opinion about attacks on NIXON "for the manner in which he conducted himself in the 1954 campaign." It took approximately 230 words for the President to answer that simple question. In the course of that answer, he said that (a) he did not believe that any party is guilty of treason, (b) that there are as many patriots in one party as in the other, (c) that "he had never heard" of NIXON making a charge that the whole Democratic Party is a party of treason, (d) that NIXON had so assured him, (e) that not only NIXON but the people who were criticizing him were loyal and patriotic, (f) that he would admit that "in the heat" of a campaign words might "be taken out of context" and be "the subject of legitimate criticism." Finally, he asked if the man who asked the question had read NIXON's speeches.

This highly qualified answer enabled a prominent anti-NIXON newspaper to say correctly in a first-page headline that the President had defended both NIXON and NIXON's critics. All this is highly satisfying to the anti-NIXON people, who can say that all the President had to go on was NIXON's word,

that the Democratic Party (which they will identify with the Truman administration) had just as many loyal people as the Republican Party (which they will identify with the Eisenhower administration).

All this leaves NIXON in a highly probationary status so far as the President is concerned.

It does not, however, lessen the admiration for NIXON held by those Republicans who believe that a campaign is a campaign and that its purpose is to hold the opposition responsible.

I have read NIXON's campaign speeches so far as they were written out. I secured them immediately after the election, because the success of the Republican Party in the States where NIXON did most of his campaigning made it clear to me that an attack would be made later on. And I found no scintilla of evidence to support NIXON's critics.

What NIXON said over and over was that 6,926 security risks had been unearthed since the Republican Party took over in 1953, that the Truman administration had cleared and hired these people, and that the Eisenhower administration had fired them.

This is true. It is legitimate campaigning. It holds an administration accountable for what happens under it. And it was very good evidence indeed that the Truman administration had been lax in protecting the national security

Of course behind this attack upon NIXON is a bitter memory and a great fear. The memory is that NIXON was the man who brought the Hiss case to the bar of justice, and fear is that NIXON in 1956 will be a powerful factor in preventing a return to power of a Fair Deal regime.

The Memory of Agnes G. Shankle: Fighter for Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following in memory of the late Agnes G. Shankle.

The older people of the United States have lost one of their very best friends, in the passing of Agnes G. Shankle, who was secretary-treasurer of the National Pension Federation, Inc., Washington, D. C., and editor of the National Pension Guide.

Adequate universal pension coverage for all our senior citizens 65 years of age and older without any ifs, buts, or ands, this was the goal to which she devoted herself unsparingly.

Not for personal gain or glory, but out of the fullness of her heart, finding fulfillment in helping others.

Before congressional committees she argued cogently and convincingly on the need of a national pension, and she provided inspiring leadership for the millions of aged to whom she was the symbol of hope.

The facts and figures she presented to prove that a national pension is not only necessary but inevitable were illuminated by her own earnestness and sincerity.

Into the arena of economics and politics, she brought the saving grace of humanity and the spirit that is eternal.

When the day surely comes that her vision becomes reality, every older person in this Nation can thank the pioneering efforts of Mrs. Shankle for the security they will enjoy during the closing years of their lives.

Our grief is comforted by the knowledge that she is safely home in the kingdom of the blessed.

As she would wish, we shall continue the good work to which she dedicated her life until a national pension becomes a beneficent law of this land and a living memorial to Agnes G. Shankle.

FPC Regulation of Natural Gas Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has been asked to alleviate the unfortunate effects of a recent decision of the Supreme Court ruling that the FPC must, under the law as now written, engage in the extensive regulation of the production of natural gas. The basic criteria in deciding between regulation and nonregulation are these: First, would regulation serve the public convenience? Second, is regulation necessary to protect the public?

The regulatory burden imposed on the natural gas industry and the FPC as a result of the court's decision meets neither of these criteria. In fact, it does violence to them as explained in a recent editorial appearing in the Long Beach (Calif.) Press Telegram. The editorial reads as follows:

WAS PUBLIC INTEREST REALLY SERVED?

Federal regulation, theoretically an instrument to guard the public interest, often has reverse effects. A case in point is Government interference in the natural-gas industry.

In 1938 Congress passed the Natural Gas Act. It gave the Federal Power Commission regulatory authority over transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce. By a Supreme Court interpretation the FPC has assumed also authority to regulate the price at which all independent producers sell natural gas to pipeline companies which carry the gas in interstate commerce for resale.

The Government has moved to take a throttle-hold on prices, and therefore on production, in a highly competitive business. The end result can be diminishing of supply and increase of cost to consumers.

Without regulation and under free competition the price of natural gas has increased less than commodity and cost-of-living prices in general. Federal control offers no benefits to consumers. Certainly it offers none to producers. Both can be hurt by interference that stifles production incentive and encourages retrenchment in a basic industry and sets a precedent for Federal price regulation of other products.

In 1950 Congress passed a bill to clarify its original intent in the Natural Gas Act. That intent was to exempt from regulation the production and gathering of natural gas. The bill was vetoed by Harry Truman. Passage and signing of corrective legislation is long overdue. Here is an important task for the 84th Congress.

Pay for More Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Journal News, of Nyack, N. Y., is so intelligent and so different from some of the publicity we have seen on postal rates, that I feel it is very worthy of the attention of the House.

I firmly believe that many citizens believe in the opinion expressed in this article. Most people know that anything they get they pay for, no matter how much we sugar-coat the pill.

PAY FOR MORE PAY

As a people, we Americans don't do too well at arithmetic. Maybe other nationalities are just as poor at figures. Addition and subtraction are the weak spots and with them goes an inability to apply the old saying about robbing Peter to pay Paul. Which brings us around to the proposal that's gone to Congress to raise the pay of post-office employees, provided the letter mail rate goes to 4 cents and other adjustments are made along the line. We've heard no opposition at all to the proposal to raise the salary of the post-office employees but we've heard yards of complaint about raising postal rates.

That's where the addition and the subtraction come in. If you have just so much money to run the business and the people working for you are getting a salary total that lies within that income, you can't give them all raises without hoisting the income also. If your income is unchanged, you run into a minus figure known as a deficit. You can go to the bank to borrow money or you can ask a wealthy friend to give you a right smart donation. The Post Office doesn't borrow money—it asks for an appropriation from Congress.

Then comes some more adding and subtracting. Congress adds the amount of the appropriation to the budget, thereby increasing the tax rate. The time comes for establishing taxes and the Government, in due course, subtracts your share of expense from your bank account. So you take your pick—more taxes or higher postage rates. The increase is inescapable, no matter which way you turn. Moreover, you're the one who pays.

Some of us can remember back, no doubt, to the time when letters had those nice red 2-cent stamps, postal cards pretty 1-cent green ones. Now you put the 2's on unsealed Christmas cards, the 1's on 2's to make 3's for your regular letters. Moreover, the way it looks from here, you'll be adding 1's to 3's or doubling up 2's to make 4's before you're too many years older than you are now.

We don't like the proposed increase any more than the next one. It's an added cost of business, it adds maybe a dollar to the annual expense in personal mail. Moreover, the full expense comes out of all our pockets in one way or another. Yet we don't see what else to do about it in the light of the general increase in cost of everything, the

general increase in wages and salaries. We believe the postal employees should have pay increases for work well done; we believe efforts have been made in the direction of improving Department efficiency and cutting down needless expense from outworn methods.

We've heard, too, the howls of protest that have gone up from post office patrons at any time service has been curtailed in an effort to reduce expense. The public still wants the same or better service on today's costs of living at yesterday's prices. That's another thing that doesn't add up and we don't see how it can be made to, no matter how loud the complaints. The Post Office Department says it can operate within its budget if the income request is granted. Isn't it better to have those who use the service pay the freight than to have it spread over everyone through extra taxes?

Last year, you may remember, the pay raise for postal workers was in the mill but was left high and dry for the simple reason no method was included in the legislation for providing the money that was needed. The mailmen were peeved, for which you can't blame them, but it was still the best thing to do under the circumstances; even Government agencies can't afford to operate too deep in the red. We don't think anyone wants a Postoffice Department which is run altogether on Government subsidy, for that would affect taxes seriously.

It is easy enough to complain about the way the mails are handled, but we still get excellent uniform service. You know from the postmark when the letter you got this morning was mailed. There will be times when it takes longer to go a short distance than a long distance, but there's explanation for that which is quite logical if you take the time to inquire. You can't, what's more, take a single exceptional case as an example of what happens regularly and as a matter of accepted routine.

You can't argue that postoffice costs have remained stationary during the time the cost of living has been going up. Every single item and every service the postoffices have to have costs considerably more than it did, whether it's fuel or rent or the price of the gum on the back of the stamps. There's no reason, therefore, to feel that postage rates can't be allowed to go up just because a letter has been sent for 3 cents for so many years. It went for 2 cents for a good many years, don't forget, and the public was stunned when that price was raised but lived to tell the tale. The same thing will happen if the 4-cent rate is approved. Maybe we won't write so much for a while but then we'll get back in the groove and go on just as if nothing has ever happened to make 4-cent stamps popular.

A Time for Caution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I clude the following editorial from the Kane (Pa.) Republican:

A TIME FOR CAUTION

It can only be hoped that the Congress will look long and hard at President Eisenhower's recommendation for further tariff reductions at a time when foreign imports, especially those of petroleum products, are having an adverse economic effect in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Eisenhower, in submitting his program to Congress, expressed the belief that there exist today too many man-made barriers to mutually advantageous trade and the flow of investment.

In all due respect, it should be remembered that foreign trade is a many-sided problem which calls for a delicate balancing of the Nation's domestic welfare as well as its foreign policy and its relations with other nations.

Sometimes a general reduction of American tariffs does not prove mutually advantageous but benefits only foreign countries. This could just possibly be one of those times. While there is no reason why this country shouldn't work for an expansion of world trade, the utmost care should be exercised to make sure that our efforts do not work to the disadvantage of American industry. For, in that direction lies economic trouble, disrupted markets, less take-home pay, and additional unemployment.

It will do us no good to pump new life into the economic structures of other nations if, in so doing, we injure production and bring about mass joblessness at home. An American depression would shoot around the free world like wildfire. And, needless to say, such an eventuality would bring joy to the Communist hearts of the men in the Kremlin. From their point of view, it would be worth a hundred Koreas and a thousand Indochinas.

Rockville, Md.: A Winner in All-American Cities Awards Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DeWITT S. HYDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, as representative of the Sixth District of Maryland, I am proud that Rockville, Md., has been chosen one of the winners in the 1954 all-American cities awards competition, cosponsored by the National Municipal League and Look Magazine.

The following article was taken from Look magazine saluting Rockville, Md.:

ROCKVILLE, MD.—When Teddy Roosevelt lived in the White House, he bought horehound drops 16 miles away at a little drugstore in Rockville. This suburb of Washington has grown rapidly in recent years, its population increasing from 2,500 in 1940 to 13,000 today. But, like the drugstore Roosevelt made famous, Rockville's local government had resisted change.

New residents found it almost impossible to vote; it took a minimum of 3 years' residence before local franchise was granted. One day, the community's water supply failed. A sewage disposal crisis forced suspension of all new home construction.

A group calling itself Citizens for Good Government, some 300 strong, called public meetings to inquire into the water crisis. Ignoring charges that they were trying to take over the town, the reformers acted to elect a new government. They were successful, but only after a grueling campaign which divided the community.

Needled by the reformers, the old government had contracted for water and built a giant storage tank. The new government has guaranteed a vote to any citizen after a year's residence. Voting machines were installed. An audit resulted in the mailing out of $24,000 in previously overlooked bills. Taxes were reduced. A professional city manager was hired.

There is still much to be done in Rockville, but Citizens for Good Government say it will be done.

Difficult Years Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the New Era, official publication of the Conference of Eastern Pennsylvania Central Labor Unions:

DIFFICULT YEARS AHEAD

If one man in our Commonwealth is in an unenviable position, he probably is our new Governor, George M. Leader.

This youthful chief executive took his oath of office in Harrisburg on Tuesday at noon and thereupon embarked upon 4 long years of leading the State of Pennsylvania from a chaotic condition created by the ruinous policies of 16 years of Fine, Duff, Martin, and James rule.

Financial problems are staggering, even for as energetic and comparatively youthful man as George Leader is. Public agencies need new ideas and more liberal direction, giving the great mass of people more service for their tax dollars. And workers want to see the rule of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association brought to an end while at the same time beneficial legislation is enacted by the legislature to aid the average working man and woman.

There can be no doubt in anyone's mind that not only the new Governor, but the entire Democratic Party will be on trial. Unless the people see demonstrations of new spirit, new direction, and new results for the general welfare, we can be certain that this administration will go the way of the Earle administration.

Voters want results. They felt the Fine machine had corrupted the Commonwealth to the point where the odor was nationwide. In George Leader they saw clean, aggressive leadership. In the Democratic Party they envisioned a new hope for the future.

Responsibility for the record of the next 4 years obviously lies with Governor Leader. His inaugural speech offers an awareness of that responsibility and calls upon all of us to contribute to a solution of grave problems.

Already there are reports that Republicans controlling the senate contemplate obstructionist tactics.

It is up to the press to keep the record straight so that when the day of reckoning arrives in some future election, we can catalog the hits, runs, and errors where they belong.

Our faith in the new Governor, however, remains undiminished because we believe the gritty chicken farmer possesses talents that eventually will vault him into the national political arena as a candidate for high office. Given support and an opportunity to carry out his program, Governor Leader is destined to be one of our State's greatest Governors.

I Believe in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension, remarks that I made on a radio program, I Believe in Massachusetts, on January 23, 1955, over station WALE, operated by the Narragansett Broadcasting Co., of Fall River, Mass.:

Thank you very much. I am glad to make my contribution to your radio audience on the subject, I Believe in Massachusetts.

If my discussion seems to reflect a Washington viewpoint, it perhaps may have value because we can evaluate the position of Massachusetts in its relationship with the other 47 States and view our position as part of the national picture.

It seems to me quite unnecessary that we should raise the question of belief in Massachusetts because all of us have a strong faith in the future of our Commonwealth and all of its people, a conviction that we need never question.

In my opinion, the future of Massachusetts is very bright. Look in every direction and you will find clear indications of a better future, which gives conviction to my belief that we are probably entering the greatest period of economic success and expansion that we have ever seen in our State. There are many signs that point in this direction.

Most of our citizens depend upon industry in our State for their livelihood. We have, I believe, been passing through a period of industrial change. Today we can now see, new signs of stabilization and growth that should be encouraging to everyone.

May I point out that change in industrial life is occurring in every State in our country, brought about chiefly by technological advances and the development of thousands of new products, that are making fundamental changes in our economy, replacing older modes of living and opening up new opportunities in increasing numbers to our citizens who are alert to these advances and will grasp the opportunities.

We should never entertain the thought that Massachusetts is declining or losing our predominant position. We are only changing and change is merely another expression of life.

We have many outstanding advantages in Massachusetts to offer the world. We have the most skilled supply of industrial labor in the United States and we have the best industrial labor record in the United States. This is recognized everywhere in the industrial world.

People in the Fall River and New Bedford as well as the Lawrence areas have witnessed the gradual loss of their textile industry. While part of this loss is represented by companies that moved away, there were a considerable number that permanently went out of business.

You also probably know that the causes for this loss in textiles were largely a worldwide over-productive capacity and a worldwide growth in substitutes for cotton and woolen products. New uses for cotton and woolen products should be discovered. Intelligent research will enable such discoveries. The best brains of Massachusetts should be addressed to solving this problem.

May I point out to you that when an industry moves from a northern industrial center it only takes its capital, its management, and its machinery and it leaves behind its industrial plants, its highly skilled labor, the industrial facilities that they have built into the community together with many servicing organizations that do business with industry.

If utilized, these are tremendous assets of great advantage to other industrial companies. The difficulty lies in the fact that normally industry is slow in making up its mind to change and the problem is to hold all of these assets together until they can be grasped by new companies.

It is my considered opinion that the textile industry in New England is now at its lowest position and that from now on it will experience a new growth, a new life that spells opportunity for our textile industry centers that is if we have intelligent management leadership. We have the intelligent leadership in the ranks of labor.

At the same time, I am firmly convinced that new, other types of industry will quickly develop or move to these textile centers and in the end our textile communities will be healthier because of wider diversification of manufactyre.

Today there are probably 150,000 business concerns in Massachusetts, of which about 12,500 are manufacturing establishments.

Back of all of these industrial concerns lays the greatest concentration of research institutions and technical engineering concerns to be found anywhere in the world. We are today recognized as the greatest center of technical education. It is inevitable that from the explorations and discoveries of these engineers and scientists will come many new products of inestimable value to Massachusetts and to the world. For example, 18 percent of all doctorates in engineering and 14 percent of all doctorates in physics in the country are awarded in educational institutions within 50 miles of Boston. Another instance is that Massachusetts Institute of Technology awards more than 25 percent of all doctorates in metallurgy in the United States.

In the fields of electrical manufacturing and plastics we are probably the fastest growing State in the country. Within the last month employment in the electrical machinery industry has become the largest employer of industrial labor in our State.

It is estimated that today Massachusetts industry is growing at the rate of one new manufacturing company or important plant expansion every working day. While most of these are small, it is from small starting and steady growth that large industries develop.

Boston is the greatest medical center in the United States. This is a well-known and self-evident fact. For illustration, the American Heart Association is allotting more funds for heart research to Massachusetts institutions than to any other State in the country.

We still lead the country in many of the major products, including shoe production which this year in Massachusetts is 9 percent higher in production than last year. It can be considerably improved upon. In spite of the concentration of certain industries, like textiles and shoes, Massachusetts is the third most diversified industrial State in the country.

We have become a great military research center. Witness the recent opening of the Consolidated Quartermaster Research Laboratory at Natick and the new and rapidly expanding Air Force Research Center at Bedford, which are encouraging and stimulating new industrial growth. I introduced the bill which brought this great research laboratory to Massachusetts.

Occasionally we hear of an industrial company closing down or going away but we rarely ever hear of the many large companies that are either moving to Massachusetts or establishing plants here. Massachusetts is a natural for the establishing of large plants here. We have the market and we have the skilled labor.

Let me repeat the advice of our beloved late Gen. George Patton, which was "Never take counsel in your fears."

The idea that better opportunities lay in other sections of the country is either completely false or wholly temporary—so my message to the people of Massachusetts and especially our workmen is that retaining any faith in ourselves they will probably never find better opportunity than is facing us today in our grand old Commonwealth.

Clyde E. Hopping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, recently the 25th District lost an esteemed civic leader with the passing of Clyde E. Hopping, founder-president of the Alhambra Foundry Co., Ltd.

I consider myself most fortunate in having had the benefit of his sage advice and counsel. Mr. Herbert G. Klein, editorial writer of the San Diego Union has provided an excellent summary of the life and good works of Clyde Hopping in an editorial which was written on Tuesday, January 11, 1955. The editorial follows:

Have you ever wondered how you will be remembered when you leave this earth? Or will you be remembered? Have your contributions been such that some part of your influence will last past death?

Most of us try to do our best day by day and give little thought to the subject. It is probably enough that we have made life a little better for our children, our fellow workers or some segment of the community.

Some communities and individuals construct memorial buildings or even statues in remembrance of someone now gone. After World War II many towns built swimming pools as living war memorials for the war dead. Auditoriums have been constructed with the same idea.

Infuence is carried on even before death by those who donate money to universities and colleges. Some provide scholarships and others buildings. Certainly this is a way to make the world better, by assisting in the education of the younger generation.

Some of our Nation's most wealthy families have started foundations which they hope will contribute to the cultural growth of the country.

But a living memorial need not take money. And it will not necessarily be in the form of a building, or anything the eye can see. Perhaps the most lasting memorial any of us can contribute is contained in the lives of those who live beyond us.

Most of us can recall persons whose lives have become immortal because of lasting influence.

We found an outstanding example of this in reviewing the life of a foundry owner who died at Laguna Beach last week. His name, Clyde Hopping, is not nationally known but his influence is.

The life of Mr. Hopping, a distinguished gray-haired gentleman, provides a story which was typical of that we like to think of as fulfillment of the American dream. He

came to Los Angeles when it was only a small city and started a tiny foundry business in nearby Alhambra. By the time of his death the small business was a large one. The foundry was growing prosperously.

What we consider to be Mr. Hopping's memorial goes beyond the business field, however. This was a man whose principles and personality were such that his guidance was sought. And he seemed to take special delight in helping young people.

A young attorney from Whittier once profited from the encouragement and thoughts of this senior citizen. Guided in part by the advice, he became a Congressman and then a United States Senator. He now is the Vice President of the United States, RICHARD NIXON.

Mr. Hopping took special interest in the junior chamber of commerce. One of the youths he worked with, Clifford D. Cooper, climbed to the top of the organization to become president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, the spokesmen for thousands of young men. He now is successful as an industrialist.

The list of young men who will contribute more to their country as the result of knowing this foundryman is long and varied. It includes a young market owner, a rival industrialist, the workers in the foundry, police officers, a Congressman, a Presbyterian minister now in La Jolla. This writer was among those who profited from knowing Clyde Hopping.

Rotary Clubs throughout southern California will also remember this man—a champion of service above self.

Looking at this one life, one can only draw the conclusion that one's contributions on this earth need not be accompanied by money to be carried on after death. The opportunity is there for all of us, well known or unknown. It is a man's principles which count.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Ukrainian Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in rendering tribute to the 37th anniversary of the founding of the free and independent Ukrainian Republic, which was celebrated on January 22, 1955. Thousands of Americans of Ukrainian descent on that day reaffirmed their active faith in the eventual liberation of all the enslaved nations in the Communist empire.

As a nation of over 40 million people—the largest non-Russian nation behind the European Iron Curtain—Ukraine stands as one of our most important and natural allies in the eventual defeat of Soviet imperialism. We should not ignore its historic claim to national freedom and independence. Its place as a sovereign and equal partner in the building of a free Europe of tomorrow must be assured if the foundation of permanent peace among freedom-loving nations is to be unconquerable.

For two or more nations to coexist there must be a common ground of understanding, based on responsibility, confidence, and respect. Above all, there must be a respect for each other's sovereignty. When sovereignty is respected responsibility and confidence will follow. A Communist dictatorship to hold its people must create havoc between themselves and other nations, such as cold wars, little hot wars and big wars, blaming and pointing to the rest of the world as warmongers and aggressors against them. Ukrainian principles are an abomination to Communists, who would destroy every principle of life that is religious and good, since it is their aim to bend everyone to the atheistic precepts of Marxism.

Attacking the Vice President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence, appearing in the Washington Star of January 13, entitled "Eisenhower answers wisely—Refuses to Let Question on Nixon's Tactics Be Used To Generate Friction Inside Republican Party":

EISENHOWER ANSWERS WISELY—REFUSES TO LET QUESTION ON NIXON'S TACTICS BE USED TO GENERATE FRICTION INSIDE REPUBLICAN PARTY

(By David Lawrence)

President Eisenhower is beginning to get the feel of national politics and especially the way prejudices are built out of charges that have no foundation.

Instead of allowing his press conference to be used as a means of encouraging friction inside the Republican Party, the President answered firmly and courageously a question yesterday about Vice President NIXON'S speeches which had been the subject of criticism by Speaker RAYBURN and other Democratic leaders. Mr. Eisenhower made it clear that he didn't think Mr. NIXON had accused the Democratic Party of treason, as some Democrats tried to make it appear. By meeting this budding controversy in its incipient stages, the President prevented the Democrats from maneuvering him into a battle inside his own political family.

For several weeks now—in fact, ever since the November elections—various Democratic Party spokesmen have been saying over and over again that Vice President NIXON conducted an unfair campaign because of his references to the handling of Communists in Government by the Truman and Roosevelt administrations. The criticisms have been repeated often in Washington, where there still is a predisposition in some quarters to believe what Democratic politicians say without ferreting out the facts.

The President asked one of the reporters if he was inquiring about Mr. NIXON'S speeches on the supposition that the Vice President had said what his critics claimed or on the basis of what Mr. NIXON really did say in the campaign. It turned out that the query was based solely on the allegations of the Democrats.

Mr. Eisenhower thereupon said he would give a few facts himself. First of all, he declared that he didn't consider any political party in America to be a party of treason, and that only the Communist Party could be held to be treasonable. At its last session Congress by statute declared the Communist Party subversive.

Next, the President said no such sweeping condemnation of any major party had been made by Mr. NIXON. Mr. Eisenhower revealed that he had been assured by the Vice President himself that never, even by implication, had he tried to condemn an entire party, but that the speeches which had been criticized contained references only to individual cases and to the way they were handled administratively. Mr. NIXON, the President said, had questioned good judgment but never loyalty.

What the Democrats have employed recently is not, of course, a new device—to raise a smokescreen in rebutting a charge of administrative incompetence. When Attorney General Brownell made a speech in October 1953 criticizing former President Truman for having been lax in handling the case of Harry Dexter White after the FBI had made specific reports concerning White's role in a Communist ring, there was a hue and cry to the effect that Mr. Brownell had questioned the loyalty of Mr. Truman.

Despite Mr. Brownell's prompt disavowal of any such inference, the Democrats stuck to the accusation and to this day their speakers repeat the canard that Mr. Brownell questioned the loyalty of the former President.

Now it turns out that the same game is being played in an effort to discredit Vice President NIXON. In the past, such propaganda schemes have not been perceived by Mr. Eisenhower, and some of his answers at press conferences have been susceptible of an unfriendly interpretation with respect to members of his own official family.

By coming out flatly and demanding that the accusers of Mr. NIXON give chapter and verse to support their criticism, the President is well advised. It shows he is recognizing the importance of uniting the Republican Party and preventing political opponents from driving a wedge between him and other prominent Republicans.

If the Democrats think it politically desirable to pursue the controversy, they will in the long run be injuring themselves. For the last thing the Democrats should want to see happen is a rehash with klieg lights of all the cases in which the Democratic administrations of the past were remiss in ferreting out Communists and security risks in Government.

The President is acting more like the leader of his party, and it is a healthy sign because in 1956 a united Republican Party is a prerequisite to victory.

GI Educational Benefits Should Be Extended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement which I made this morning before the House Committee on Veterans Affairs in support of H. R. 587, to permit persons now in the armed services or who will be in service on January 31 of this year to continue to accrue rights of educational benefits despite the termination of the war

emergency on that date. My statement follows:

I strongly urge that this legislation be given prompt and favorable action.

President Eisenhower has given his support to this legislation. His press secretary stated on January 13, 1955:

"We would be very much in favor of it. The President believes that it would be unfair to take those rights (school accrual rights) away from men already in service. We could not include that in the Executive order (terminating the war emergency) because it required approval of Congress and legislation was necessary. We are in favor of such legislation."

I have received a number of letters from parents of young men now in service asking that justice be done in the cases of those who had voluntarily joined the armed services on the understanding that GI educational benefits would continue. It is only fair that these men who entered the service with this understanding, and whose education is being interrupted, be given a chance to complete their education when they are released from active duty.

The educational benefits program has been one of the most valuable and successful projects for veterans. To cut off their rights of accruing benefits as of January 31 would be an unfair hardship; and their loss of educational opportunities would also be a loss to the public.

Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of the House the 35th anniversary of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce observed January 21, 1955.

I have had a personal interest in the work of this fine organization for almost a decade, having been an active member, committee chairman, and member of the board of directors of the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The Jaycees have grown to where they now command the well-established position of one of America's most dynamic groups. I understand that nationally there are over 2,750 local chapters and 200,000 individual members. In addition, the junior chamber is worldwide in scope; it exists in 58 countries and has a foreign membership of over 100,000 young men practicing the same democratic principles that we practice here.

I am particularly proud of the fine work our California Junior Chamber has done. Their slogan, "California Jaycees Get the Job Done," indicates the attitude with which this organization operates. In addition to participation in civic improvement and public affairs, the California organization encourages and emphasizes youth development and leadership training in young men.

I wish to extend my sincere congratulations to the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce for its work in the past and best wishes for continued success in the future.

Its Treachery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio broadcast I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, September 18, 1954.

The address follows:

EYEWITNESS REPORTS ON COMMUNISM AND ITS TREACHERY

Communism mocks divine precepts and human virtues.

Honor, truth, justice, kindness—these have no meaning for the Reds except as bait with which to trap humanity and imprison it in slavery.

There is no wider gulf in the world than the distance and the difference between Communist promises and Communist practices.

To expose this cruel deceit, the Committee on Communist Aggression of the United States House of Representatives conducted hearings in Chicago, New York, London, Munich, and Berlin. Out of these came first-hand reports from those who had escaped the Red terror, ripping the mask from Communist propaganda, and destroying forever the illustion that the free world can coexist with this menace to all human freedoms.

I want to bring to you some of the findings of that report.

The cross section of witnesses included members of former ruling royal houses as well as ordinary workers and peasants; internationally known generals, political leaders, and soldiers; members of the formerly free parliaments and governments; clergymen of all denominations; labor leaders, seamen, and housewives, intellectuals, and even children. They were people who escaped from their Communist-controlled homelands just a few months ago, as well as those who escaped during and after World War II.

As the report says: "Barbed wires, mined fields, machineguns, savage dogs, and ruthless frontier guards, have not been able to shut the door of freedom to those who chose escape to the West."

It is proof that communism with all its power can never conquer the human yearning for freedom.

All who testified had one thing in common: they were eyewitnesses. They saw. They experienced. They were there. Most of them suffered the tortures of communism. They came separately from the different nations enslaved by communism, but with fundamentally the same story: the antihuman nature of real life under communism. The basic conclusions from their total testimony, under oath, cannot be questioned. It was a tragic parade of witnesses—people from another world, a dreadful world of mass murders and anonymous graves, of concentration camps, torture prisons, slave-labor camps, the ever-present secret police, and hatred, hatred beyond the comprehension of us Americans.

For years the world has been bombarded with propaganda that communism was both a system and a method to establish a utopia, a workers' paradise. Under it there would be no injustices and inequities which Marx had charged up against both capitalism and Christianity. Communism would establish a classless society. The state would no longer exist. So communism preached.

But how did actual conditions measure up to these rosyhued promises?

The Select Committee on Communist Aggression was authorized by Congress to investigate and find out the truth.

What they found was shocking, to say the least.

Testimony revealed that communism was able to fix its rule upon the people of captive nations only when it was supported by the Red army, preceded by subdivision which was politically, technically, and financially engineered by the Kremlin. As soon as the Communist-controlled Red army, infiltrated and dominated as it was by political commissars and elements of the NKVD, entered any area, terror, robbery, and violations of women and children became the order of the day. The people learned through bitter experience that the Communists would do whatever they wanted to do without regard for any laws, ethics, or moral codes. The people also learned that any opposition to whatever action the so-called Communist liberators took, meant certain imprisonment or death.

Then came Kremlin agents working with local traitors.

They set up governmental bodies which they tried to clothe with the appearances of legality and respectability to mislead the world and confuse local public opinion.

King Michael of Rumania testified that at the time he was the constitutional head of the country, on March 6, 1945, he stated to Mr. Vishinsky, the then Soviet foreign minister: "I am doing things in our manner and according to the interests of my country, and besides, the conference at Yalta says that every country is free to choose its own form of government."

To which Vishinsky bluntly replied: "In this case I am Yalta, and I tell you what to do."

A recent escapee from Hungary put it this way: "Before the war I had the right to vote, and elections were held in an orderly manner. Everyone could vote for the party of his choosing. After the Communists took over completely in 1948, when the elections were held, we received the ballot and couldn't even look at it. We didn't even know who the people on the ballot were. We simply placed the list in an envelope, sealed it, and dropped it in the box. At the same time the Communists transported truckloads of Communist soldiers all over the district who voted many times. That was all. It was a farce."

To destroy non-Communist political forces, the Reds resort to mass arrests and deportations. Testimony was taken by our congressional committee from many who were themselves deported. They told how men, women, and children were awakened in the darkness of night, given 1 hour to pack their modest belongings, were locked in cattle cars for transportation to Siberia. For days they had no food, water, heat, or sanitary facilities. They died like flies.

To break resistance they practice man-made famines.

In the Ukraine during 1932 and 1933, when the harvest was above average, it is estimated that from 6 to 7 million people starved to death.

Armed guards were placed around the churches and other buildings used for storing grain and the grain was allowed to spoil while people begged for something to eat. Mrs. Anna Kravchenko testified that about one-half of the people in the village where she lived died from starvation, and that special brigades of Communists were sent from Moscow to search out all food and to confiscate it.

Another witness, who requested that his true identiy not be disclosed because a large number of his relatives still live in the Ukraine, gave vivid testimony of the way in which the Communists covered up the millions of deaths caused by their planned famine. He told how a famous French statesman visited the Ukraine during the time of the famine, and was taken on a conducted tour by the Communists. Every

minute of his visit, every home he saw, every person he talked to, every route he followed was carefully prearranged without his knowledge. He saw the fronts of houses newly painted, while directly in back of them people were living like animals in holes dug in the ground. He saw in the windows of the country shops along his prepared route, stocks of loaves of bread, and people who appeared to be freely buying them. What he was not allowed to see was that behind these shops and newly painted houses the police had closed off all roads to the famine-stricken population.

Other witnesses testified to instances of cannibalism, of how parents tried to save their children by turning them over to the State children's homes, how the militia would punish them if they were caught leaving their children anywhere near those homes, of how quotas were set each day for collecting corpses for burial in the fields.

We can imagine that Clement Atlee, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, and other Laborites were given the same false front tour when they recently visited Russia and China.

As to life under the Communist tyranny, Jan Jasinski testified, and I quote: "They arrested me about 3 a. m. and took me to Kilce. When they saw that they were not getting much out of me, they began to torture and beat me. They poured salt water down by nose and pinched by fingers in a door joint. They used what looked like a twisted copper cable to beat the soles and heels of my feet, cutting the flesh so badly that I couldn't walk except on my hands and knees for 6 weeks. After 6 years in prison I escaped with a friend to the Czechoslovakia-German border. I got across, but my friend was killed."

Multiply that testimony by millions of other cases and you begin to get the picture of the cruelty and the terror that communism tries to palm off as paradise.

The committee is in possession of documentary material relating to the violent persecution of all forms of religion.

Eyewitness testimony concerning Cardinal Mindszenty's ordeal and his show trial was received by the committee. The cardinal appeared with his face gaunt and emaciated covered by a pink makeup to create an impression of health. He used Communist jargon as if it was his usual way of speaking. Saliva was trickling down his chin. He was unable to control his voice. The fraudulent nature of his trial and the false confession forced upon him by his tormenters, were exposed.

The select Committee on Communist Aggression of the United States House of Representatives, after considering a mountain of evidence detailing Communist crimes, came to the conclusion that peaceful coexistence is a Communist myth which can be attained only through the complete surrender of our free way of life for one of slavery under Moscow-controlled communism.

Knowing the fate that awaits us should we fail should make all of us more vigilant.

Peace and freedom will be in mortal danger as long as the thing called communism reaches out to enslave the world.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, every Member of the House who had the great privilege of serving with DWIGHT ROGERS begins this session with a sense of grief. His death robs us of an association we cherished, and the Nation of the service of an able and devoted public servant. His responsible use of his rare endowments of mind and heart for the advancement of his State and Nation was widely recognized, and the passing of such a leader brings great personal sorrow.

In one of his last utterances in this Chamber, DWIGHT ROGERS spoke of the curtain of death. It is our faith that the drawing of this curtain opens the way to a larger life, and certainly our beloved Member from Florida was prepared for the adventure. We may say of him, as Georgia Harkness said of her friend, Galen Fisher:

He was a gentle soul of valiant strength.
In him was life forever young and strong;
Around the world men loved him, for the length
Of shadow that he cast was straight and long.

The new year comes—the old must have an end—
And many a wish is spoken, kind and true.
So, forward turns the spirit of our friend
To work with God in fields of service new.

Dangerous Dependence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Kane (Pa.) Republican of January 15, 1955:

DANGEROUS DEPENDENCE

Russell R. Brown, general counsel of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, recently made a report to the president of that organization which should interest everyone in Kane and its surrounding area. He warned that propaganda of oil importing companies is leading America into a state of complacency over increasing dependence on foreign oil.

Mr. Brown pointed out the obvious but seldom recognized fact that these companies have been using publications, speeches, radio, television, and paid publicity to further the myth that continued excessive imports of foreign oil are necessary.

He also stated that the American people would not stand for the United States becoming dependent on foreign sources for water power, which now supplies about 4 percent of our total energy needs. But he added, we are already more dependent on imported oil which now constitutes about 6 percent of the Nation's energy needs.

We'd like to go a step further than Mr. Brown and point out that in time of war, particularly if that war should be with the Soviet Union, a large part of those foreign sources would be cut off from us. For example, the enormous Saudi Arabian fields lie just 600 miles south of Russia and could be overrun in a few days' time if the Russians decided to move against them. In such an event, our dependence on foreign sources would be a costly and highly dangerous business.

Haym Salomon: Son of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial by Harry H. Schlacht, noted journalist, entitled "Haym Salomon: Son of Liberty," which appeared in the issue of the East Side News on January 8, 1955.

The story of Haym Salomon and his contribution to the cause of American freedom, is picturesquely portrayed in Mr. Schlacht's article. It should, in the opinion of outstanding historians, be thoroughly familiar to every citizen in the United States, for Haym Salomon's life typified the finest traditions of our land, and should prove an inspiration to all of us.

Mr. Schlacht pleads that this country should remember Haym Salomon for his patriotic services. He asks that Congress pass a resolution setting aside a Haym Salomon Day, so that this American hero should not be forgotten.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

HAYM SALOMON: SON OF LIBERTY
(By Harry H. Schlacht)

Haym Salomon, one of our early American patriots, is still remembered for his contributions to the cause of American freedom. He loved our land so much. He served it so well.

We honor the 170th anniversary of the death of Haym Salomon, son of American liberty. We salute his memory, his example, his inspiration, and his achievements to the cause of American independence.

The American Revolutionary period was a time that tried men's souls. It was also a time that tried men's purses. We remember with gratitude this great Jewish patriot whose qualities of mind and heart endeared him to our Founding Fathers.

The life story of this noble man is both fascinating and tragic. He saw from afar the temple of liberty rising like an exhalation from the soil. He saw beneath its shielding dome a home for oppressed peoples. He saw God's country, where kings were unknown, where liberty was a star, where thrones were dust.

Haym Salomon came to our blessed shores from Lissa, Poland, seeking religious freedom. He came to help build a Nation which gives to bigotry no sanction; to persecution no assistance. He gave all that he had, he gave all that he could borrow, that this Nation might be conceived in liberty.

It was Haym Salomon who helped raise the money to equip the Continental Army, who contributed all of his personal fortune, who gave his all to enable George Washington to keep his tattered forces on the march until victory was won. It was he who advanced $640,000 in freedom's holy cause. And he died penniless.

Haym Salomon was a man of great character, of noble self-sacrifice, of wholehearted patriotism, of martyrlike devotion to high ideals. He was a simple man; the badge of a great soul. He toiled, sacrificed, and lived in the very shadow of anonymity. He would have shrunk from wordly acclaim. He loved America with deeds and dedication, and he merits the gratitude of our Nation.

As we contemplate the life of Haym Salomon in the light of his background, as

we dwell upon the character of this immigrant who came here to seek liberty, as we think back upon the deeply rooted passion which he derived from his Hebrew heritage—we are reminded of an ancient Hebrew legend.

This legend, relating the creation of man, tells of God gathering the dust from all parts of the earth—from the East and the West, from the North and the South. This was done the legend recounts, so that no country or nation could say that of it alone did God create the human race.

In Chicago there are statues of George Washington, Robert Morris, and Haym Salomon. These patriots symbolize America at its very best. Each worshipped God in his own way. Each dared the hangman's halter, yet each held as one the torch of liberty.

Let America remember Haym Salomon. Let the Congress pass a resolution setting aside a Haym Salomon Day. Let the President of the United States sign this resolution. Let Haym Salomon cease to be the forgotten man in American history.

His contribution to the cause of American independence should be deeply engraved in our hearts and indelibly inscribed in our historic annals. He belongs to us, he is ours by more than the patriotic self-devotion with which he came to the aid of our country in the crisis of our fate.

He is ours by the unshakable gratitude for his services, which is the precious portion of our inheritance. He is ours by that tie of love stronger than death which links his name for the endless ages with Washington, Jefferson, Morris, Madison, and the other immortals of our glorious history.

Buy American-Made Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very appropriate editorial from the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., Saturday, January 1, 1955:

BUY AMERICAN

Administration plans dating back to last March to modify the national policy of buy American are apparently going to be abandoned. This buy-American policy was enacted away back in 1933 at the bottom of the depression, and was designed to promote purchase of American-made goods as against foreign goods in order to stimulate home production. In recent years when the Government has been spending billions of dollars in buying goods from friendly foreign countries, there has been complaint at home that we have been too generous. On the other hand the foreign governments complain when their bids are turned down, if they are anywhere near the level of the domestic producer's price.

An important advantage in buying the home product is, not only that it furnishes employment for our own labor at a time when several million are unemployed, but we also get a cut in the profit of the home producer through taxation which amounts to 52 percent of the total profits made by a corporation. That the foreign competition has already been built up to serious proportions by our heavy buying of military equipment abroad was indicated the other day when proposals were made by some of our Government officials to deny the foreign producer the advantages of American know-how in production.

Invitation to House Members To Give House Un-American Activities Committee Their Ideas About Committee Rules of Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, at the executive meeting of the House Un-American Activities Committee for the 84th Congress, which committee meeting was held on January 20, presided over by the new chairman, Hon. FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania, the following three members were named as a subcommittee to consider and report back to the full committee on the subject of committee rules of procedure for the committee investigations and hearings during the 84th Congress. The subcommittee appointed was Hon. CLYDE DOYLE, Democrat, California, chairman; Hon. EDWIN E. WILLIS, Democrat, Louisiana; and Hon. HAROLD H. VELDE, Republican, Illinois.

During the 83d Congress your Committee on Un-American Activities operated under a printed and publicly announced and distributed set of rules from July 1953, and the same rules were approved for the committee's operations for the 84th Congress, subject to changes and amendments which may be adopted by the full committee, based upon the report of the Subcommittee on Rules in this statement announced. It was my pleasure to be chairman of the Committee on Rules for the committee during the 83d Congress. Mr. VELDE, full committee chairman, was the other member. We have been informed that it is probable that the rules promulgated and published by us on July 15, 1953, is the first time in recent history, at any rate, of Congress, that such a set of rules was printed and distributed for the benefit of witnesses before congressional committees and for their legal counsel and also for the information of the public.

Pursuant to the continued desire of the House Un-American Activities Committee to have and receive the benefit at all times of the considered opinions of all Members of the House on this important subject of rules of procedure, I this day sent to all Members of the House the following invitation to participate in aiding the subcommittee in its submission of any changes or amendments to the full committee:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 21, 1955.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: Good morning. Your House Un-American Activities Committee on yesterday named the following subcommittee to bring back to the committee, by February 20, its report and recommendation relating to the committee rules. The subcommittee is as follows: CLYDE DOYLE, California, chairman; EDWIN E. WILLIS, Louisiana; and HAROLD H. VELDE, Illinois.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has been operating under a printed set of rules which were publicly announced on July 15, 1953. I am placing those rules in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to help you the better to cooperate with your committee and to have an opportunity for your expression of opinion and recommendations as to any additional or different rules and procedures which you may wish to recommend to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

This is a cordial invitation for you to send me on or before Tuesday, February 1, what you wish your Committee on Un-American Activities to consider in this matter of rules of procedure for the committee.

Address your communication as follows: Representative CLYDE DOYLE, of California, 1030 House Office Building.

With best wishes to you for a year of achievement and satisfaction, I have the honor to be,

Your colleague,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress.

P. S.—The present rules of the House Un-American Activities Committee will appear in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for Monday, January 24, or Tuesday, January 25, with extension of remarks by me.

Said full committee will receive the subcommittee report on or about February 20. Although the rules of procedure which guided the committee during the 83d Congress, subsequent to July 1953, when they were adopted were announced in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD promptly after adoption and were reported to the full committee by the subcommittee consisting of Hon. CLYDE DOYLE, chairman, and Hon. HAROLD H. VELDE, I am sure that all the Members of the House, and especially the new Members, will appreciate having the text of the existing rules brought to their attention, as it will clearly help all the Members to promptly consider what changes, amendments, or additions they would recommend; and then to promptly send these changes and recommendations to me on or before February 1.

The Committee on Un-American Activities for the 84th Congress consists of the following: FRANCIS E. WALTER, chairman; HAROLD H. VELDE; BERNARD W. KEARNEY; DONALD L. JACKSON; EDWIN E. WILLIS; GORDON H. SCHERER; MORGAN M. MOULDER; CLYDE DOYLE; and JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR.

Said rules now in effect, and which were printed in a handy, attractive booklet for distribution to all witnesses, counsel, and other interested parties are as follows:

RULES OF PROCEDURE, COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

CONTENTS

	Page
Public Law 601, 79th Congress (excerpt)	IV
Rules adopted by 83d Congress (excerpt)	V
Rules of procedure:	
Initiation of investigations	1
Subjects of investigation	1
Subpenaing of witnesses	1
Executive and public hearings	2
Testimony under oath	3
Transcript of testimony	3
Advice of counsel	3
Conduct of counsel	4
Statement by witness	5
Rights of persons affected by a hearing	5
Admissibility of testimony	7
Relationship of husband and wife	7
Televised hearings	7
Committee reports	8
Witness fees and travel allowance	8
Contempt of Congress	9
Distribution of rules	9

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities oper-

ates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress (1946), chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * *.

"Part2—Rules of the House of Representatives

"Rule X

"Section 121. Standing committees

* * * * * *

"17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

"Rule XI

"Powers and duties of committees

* * * * * *

"(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

"(A) Un-American Activities.

"(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

"For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member."

RULES OF PROCEDURE

I. Initiation of investigations: No major investigation shall be initiated without approval of a majority of the committee. Preliminary inquiries, however, may be initiated by the committee's staff with the approval of the chairman of the committee.

II. Subjects of investigation: The subject of any investigation in connection with which witnesses are summoned or shall otherwise appear shall be announced in an opening statement to the committee before the commencement of any hearings; and the information sought to be elicited at the hearings shall be relevant and germane to the subject as so stated.

III. Subpenaing of witnesses:

A. Subpenas shall be signed and issued by the chairman of the committee, or any member of the committee designated by said chairman.

B. Witnesses shall be subpenaed at a reasonably sufficient time in advance of any hearing, said time to be determined by the committee, in order to give the witness an opportunity to prepare for the hearing and to employ counsel, should he so desire.

IV. Executive and public hearings:

A. Executive:

(1) If a majority of the committee or subcommittee, duly appointed as provided by the rules of the House of Representatives, believes that the interrogation of a witness in a public hearing might endanger national security or unjustly injure his reputation, or the reputation of other individuals, the committee shall interrogate such witness in an executive session for the purpose of determining the necessity or advisability of conducting such interrogation thereafter in a public hearing.

(2) Attendance at executive sessions shall be limited to members of the committee, its staff, and other persons whose presence is requested, or consented to by the committee.

(3) All testimony taken in executive sessions shall be kept secret and shall not be released or used in public sessions without the approval of a majority of the committee.

B. Public hearings:

(1) All other hearings shall be public.

V. Testimony under oath: All witnesses at public or executive hearings who testify as to matters of fact shall give all testimony under oath or affirmation. Only the chairman or a member of the committee shall be empowered to administer said oath or affirmation.

VI. Transcript of testimony:

A complete and accurate record shall be kept of all testimony and proceedings at hearings, both in public and in executive session.

Any witness or his counsel, at the expense of the witness, may obtain a transcript of any public testimony of the witness from the clerk of the committee.

Any witness or his counsel may also obtain a transcript of any executive testimony of the witness:

(1) When a special release of said testimony prior to public release is authorized by the chairman of the committee or the chairman of any subcommittee; or

(2) After said testimony has been made public by the committee.

VII. Advice of counsel:

A. At every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing.

B. The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights. Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the committee, but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client.

VIII. Conduct of counsel:

Counsel for a witness shall conduct himself in a professional, ethical, and proper manner. His failure to do so shall, upon a finding to that effect by a majority of the committee or subcommittee before which the witness is appearing, subject such counsel to disciplinary action which may include warning, censure, removing from the hearing room of counsel, or a recommendation of contempt proceedings.[1]

In case of such removal of counsel, the witness shall have a reasonable time to obtain other counsel, said time to be determined by the committee. Should the witness deliberately or capriciously fail or refuse to obtain the services of other counsel within such reasonable time, the hearing shall continue and the testimony of such witness shall be heard without benefit of counsel.

IX. Statement by witness:

A. Any witness desiring to make a prepared or written statement[2] for the record of the proceedings in executive or public sessions shall file a copy of such statement with the counsel of the committee within a reasonable period of time in advance of the hearing at which the statement is to be presented.

B. All such statements so received which are relevant and germane to the subject of the investigation may, upon approval, at the conclusion of the testimony of the witness, by a majority vote of the committee or subcommittee members present, be inserted in the official transcript of the proceedings.

X. Rights of persons affected by a hearing:

A. Where practicable, any person named in a public hearing before the committee or any subcommittee as subversive, Fascist, Communist, or affiliated with one or more subversive-front organizations, who has not been previously so named, shall, within a reasonable time thereafter, be notified by registered letter, to the address last known to the committee, of such fact, including:

(1) A statement that he has been so named.

(2) The date and place of said hearing.

(3) The name of the person who so testified.

(4) The name of the subversive, Fascist, Communist, or front organization with which he has been identified; and

(5) A copy of the printed rules of procedure of the committee.

B. Any person, so notified, who believes that his character or reputation has been adversely affected or to whom has been imputed subversive activity, may within 15 days after receipt of said notice:

(1) Communicate with the counsel of the committee,[3] and/or

(2) Request to appear at his own expense in person before the committee or any subcommittee thereof in public session and give testimony, in denial or affirmation, relevant and germane to the subject of the investigation.

C. Any such person testifying under the provisions of B (2) above shall be accorded the same privileges as any other witness appearing before the committee, and may be questioned concerning any matter relevant and germane to the subject of the investigation.

XI. Admissibility of testimony: A witness shall be limited to giving information relevant and germane to the subject under investigation. The committee shall rule upon the admissibility of all testimony or information presented by the witness.[4]

XII. Relationship of husband and wife: The confidential relationship between husband and wife shall be respected, and for reasons of public policy, one spouse shall not be questioned concerning the activities of

---

[1] The committee seeks factual testimony within the personal knowledge of the witness and such testimony and answers must be given by the witness himself and not suggested to witness by counsel.

[2] Statements which take the form of personal attacks by the witness upon the motives of the committee, the personal characters of any Members of the Congress or of the committee staff, and statements clearly in the nature of accusation are not deemed to be either relevant or germane.

[3] All witnesses are invited at any time to confer with committee counsel or investigators for the committee prior to hearings.

[4] The House Committee on Un-American Activities is a congressional committee, not a court (see pp. IV and V). Moreover, the committee has neither the authority nor the vast powers of a court of law.

A congressional committee conducts a search for information, not a trial.

The requirements of time, the nature of the fact-finding hearing, the complications of travel, the realities of expense, and the voluminous duties of Members of Congress all add together to make it impractical for courtroom procedure to be followed.

The committee has given frequent and diligent consideration to this subject, and has determined that in order to carry out its responsibilities imposed by law, the rules of evidence, including cross-examination, are not applicable.

the other, except when a majority of the committee or subcommittee shall determine otherwise.

XIII. Televised hearings:

A. If a hearing be televised:

(1) Television facilities in the hearing room shall be restricted to two cameras, the minimum lighting facilities practicable, and the television production shall be available on a pool basis to all established television companies desiring participation.

(2) Telecasts of committee hearings shall be on the basis of a public service only, and this fact shall be publicly announced on television in the beginning and at the close of each telecast. No commercial announcements shall be permitted from the hearing room or in connection therewith, and no actual or intimated sponsorship of the hearings shall be permitted in any instance.

B. Upon the request of a witness that no telecast shall be made of him during the course of his testimony, the chairman shall direct that television cameras refrain from photographing the witness during the taking of his testimony.

XIV. Committee reports:

A. No committee reports or publications shall be made or released to the public without the approval of the majority of the committee.

B. No summary of any committee report or publication and no statement of the contents of such report or publication shall be released by any member of the committee or its staff prior to the official issuance of the report.

XV. Witness fees and travel allowance:

Each witness who has been subpenaed, upon the completion of his testimony before the committee, may report to the office of the clerk of the committee, room 227, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., and there sign appropriate vouchers for travel allowances and attendance fees upon the committee. If hearings are held in cities other than Washington, D. C., the witness may contact the clerk of the committee, or his representative, prior to leaving the hearing room.

XVI. Contempt of Congress: No recommendation that a witness be cited for contempt of Congress shall be forwarded to the House of Represeentatives unless and until the committee has, upon notice to all its members, met and considered the alleged contempt, and by a majority of those present voted that such recommendation be made.

XVII. Distribution of rules: All witnesses appearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities shall be furnished a printed copy of the rules of procedure of the committee.

Internal Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 20, 1955, entitled "Clearly Consistent," together with an article from the New York Herald Tribune of January 21, 1955, entitled "Why Security Needs Review":

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 20, 1955]

CLEARLY CONSISTENT

Harold Stassen's statement detailing the reasons why the Foreign Operations Administration hired Wolf Ladejinsky went as far as it could to restore some balance in this atrociously mishandled affair. President Eisenhower at his press conferences yesterday seemed aware of the confusion caused by his unfortunate remarks of last week. But the procedure he enunciated for resolving differences within the Cabinet on such matters did not strike at the heart of the trouble. The lesson of the Ladenjinsky case will be lost unless there is recognition that the standards of the security program itself contain a built-in formula for conflict as well as injustice.

Especially for this reason some more comprehensive reform is needed than the rather vague continual review mentioned by the President. That is, a reappraisal which, while respecting the real security needs of the Government, will point the way toward a more judicial, less capricious system for weighing the qualifications of individuals. Essential to such reform, it seems to us, is a change from the current negative regulation that employment must be clearly consistent with national security—a remote doctrine that prods the phobias of gumshoe security officers and invites administrators to employ the most ill-founded doubts and hearsay as a rationale for branding a person a security risk.

Just this sort of reform was suggested by former Senator Harry P. Cain the other day when he proposed instead a regulation that no person should be dismised on security grounds unless his employment were found to be "reasonably inconsistent with the national interest." This suggestion, incidentally, was of a constructive and positive nature, and it deserved more recognition than it received from the President.

Some significant private work is being done in this area by such studies as that being made for the Fund for the Republic by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. It is important, too, to take note of the generous move of the District bar association in making legal counsel available to defendants in security cases who cannot retain attorneys of their own. But something broader is needed, something that will convey official authority and responsibility. Many months ago this newspaper suggested the appointment of a Commission of distinguished and disinterested men to study and report on the checks and balances necessary in an internal security system. Several bills are pending in Congress—notably those by Senator HUMPHREY and Representative FRELINGHUYSEN—to establish a bipartisan group for this purpose. Congress could do no more important work in this troubled area than to approve such a study. The cross currents in the Ladejinsky case are but another reminder of the compelling need for some astringent means of bringing sanity to a system which, however praiseworthy its intention, has gone berserk in far too many applications.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 21, 1955]

WASHINGTON

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WHY SECURITY NEEDS REVIEW

WASHINGTON.—The Eisenhower administration is being pressed from numerous directions to undertake a thorough, top-level review of its security program.

The President doesn't like this pressure, and would like to resist it firmly. But plainly the White House does not feel too secure in resisting it and would like to find some way of giving the security program a little check-up but not a real review.

Mr. Eisenhower has announced that a special division of the Justice Department will give security advice on troublesome matters referred to it by department heads and that in order to avert another Wolf Ladejinsky case any future conflicts of judgment will be referred to him personally before action is taken.

This is a tentative, timid move in the right direction. I am convinced that it rests upon an inadequate appreciation of the widespread, genuine anxiety that the security system, however unintentionally, is doing too much harm to too many innocent persons.

A bolder, more energetic, less smug, more questioning reexamination is needed. My judgment would be that if the administration does not act promptly and decisively, it will do itself serious damage—not just in the eyes of its critics but in the eyes of many people who esteem the President's good intention.

The security program must have two controling objectives:

To safeguard the security of the Government from subversion.

To safeguard the integrity of the individual from injustice.

There was a period when, as I see it, the Truman administration seriously neglected the first of these two objectives and came tardily to recognize its mistake. It was undoubtedly hurt because of this mistake.

Today, the Eisenhower administration runs the danger of itself becoming the victim of so much concentration on the one goal—total, technical security—that it neglects the other—full, faithful, painstaking justice to the individual.

This administration is certainly not soft on subversion, and that's good. But it can't afford to be soft on injustice. It doesn't intend to be but enough has already gone wrong on the side of unfairness to make it imperative that the administration give its program a good, hard look.

Former Republican Senator Harry P. Cain, strongly conservative, strongly anti-Communist, now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, has courageously warned that the security program is "unnecessarily destroying individuals" and making it seem that mental blanks are the nearly ideal candidates for Government jobs.

"A whole clique of spies," he says, "could hardly do as much damage to us as could our failure as a government to have confidence in our people." He referred to "brutality of bureaucracy at its worst," a bureaucracy which at times seems more powerful than the men who make it up and even capable of reversing their intentions.

Obviously the administration wants to avoid another Ladejinsky case, but another Ladejinsky case is already in the making. There is in the Pentagon right now a top scientist doing valuable work in weapons development who has been fully and carefully cleared for top secret work by one branch of the armed services and refused clearance by the Defense Department itself—each operating theoretically under the same rules.

If the security program is operating as well as the President honestly thinks, the country needs to be convinced. If it is operating as loosely as many others honestly think, the President ought to be convinced. In either event, a searching and self-searching review is desirable.

The Late Kenneth Charles Morton Sills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT HALE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this time to memorialize, briefly as I know I must, the life and services of a citizen of Maine who died on November 15 last. I refer to Kenneth Charles Mor-

ton Sills, president emeritus of Bowdoin College, one of the best known and best loved men who ever lived in our State.

Born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on December 5, 1879, he came to Portland, Maine, with his parents in the year following. His father was for several years dean of St. Luke's Episcopal Cathedral in Portland. Kenneth Sills graduated from Bowdoin in 1901. He returned in 1903 as instructor for a single year in classics and English. He came back to the college again in 1906, to teach Latin, and remained at the college until his retirement in 1952. As it happens, I was a freshman at Bowdoin in 1906 and from the day of his advent to the college down to the moment of his death I was his devoted and admiring friend.

In 1910 Mr. Sills became dean of the college, in 1917, acting president, and in 1918, president. His services as president terminated with his retirement at the close of the academic year in 1952. For the rest of his life he was president emeritus. In the later years of his incumbency as president of Bowdoin, he was senior in point of service to most of the college presidents in the country. His judgment was sought and followed by educators everywhere. After his official retirement in 1952, he was constantly active in the cause of education and in an endless succession of good works.

I shall attempt no lengthy biographical sketch of former President Sills, nor shall I list his honors academic or otherwise. I am glad to see that my colleague the Honorable FREDERICK G. PAYNE referred to these in brief remarks which he made in the Senate on December 1st, 1954. See the Appendix to the RECORD, pp. 6887, 6888. I should have made these remarks more seasonably had not the House been in recess at the time of his death, and thereafter until this month.

Kenneth Sills was above all an educator, concerned with the great responsibility of helping immature minds to become mature—of making boys into effective men. He believed in the liberal arts and in the humanities. In his life he exemplified the famous words of Terence, "Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto."

As president of Bowdoin College for 34 years and a member of its faculty for an even longer period, Kenneth Sills naturally left a strong impress on the college. No one who attended it in all those years will gainsay his influence on the college and few will gainsay his influence on their own individual lives. That influence was unfailingly for good. He believed in men. He believed in men's hearts, and in their intellects.

Although we was primarily an educator his mind, like all first-rate minds, wandered into many fields and illumined whatever it touched. It goes almost without saying that he took an acute interest in everything that went on in the world about him. He was deeply concerned with the government of his State and of his Nation. A lifelong Democrat, and his party's candidate for the United States Senate in 1916, he was nevertheless no narrow or hidebound partisan. Though he had not the temperament of the professional reformer, he was always thinking about how things could be better done. Only a few weeks before his death he and I were corresponding vigorously about possible amendments to our State constitution.

President Sills was a profoundly religious man. He was for many years one of the leading laymen in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

One cannot write about Kenneth Sills in terms of particular things he did or said or even of his opinions and judgements. He will be most remembered by everybody who knew him for his capacity for friendship, and the generosity of feeling which endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. He had a warm, responsive nature. To the students of the college, to its alumni, to the members of its boards of trustees and overseers, he gave himself ungrudgingly. His friendship was always stimulating. He brought out the best in people because he believed in them. I can never forget his kindness to me on occasions without number and for much more than a generation.

Also I cannot forbear to mention his devoted wife, now left a widow. The hearts of all his friends go out to her in her sorrow.

Foreign Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Bradford Era, of November 23, 1954:

FOREIGN OIL IMPORTS

A showdown is coming soon on this matter of imports of foreign oil. No matter how they are analyzed or explained, imports are too high for domestic producers to take without a fight.

This was evident in the temper and the statistics displayed at last week's meeting of the Independent Petroleum Association of America. Partisan this outfit may be, but its statistics are pretty sound and its forecast is the best available at present.

Here's the estimate of the current year compared with 1953: Total demand up 1 percent, domestic production down 0.9 percent, imports up 1.5 percent.

The 1955 forecast: Total demand up 3.1 percent, domestic production up 2.3 percent, imports up 7 percent.

And that's not the whole picture. The most significant factor is domestic capacity to produce. If this were slipping, imports would be welcome, and no problem.

In recent years the domestic industry has increased its capacity to produce crude oil by 300,000 to 400,000 barrels daily each year. This is more than the average annual increase in total demand in this country during the same period.

Several years ago we had a reserve capacity to produce 1 million barrels per day beyond the then current rates—a desirable safety factor though expensive for the industry to carry. Today that reserve capacity is in the neighborhood of 1,700,000 barrels per day—so high that producers say it hampers future expansion.

Imports were 12.8 percent of new supply in 1953, will be 13.1 percent in 1954, 13.6 percent in 1955—a slow rate of increase but a lot of barrels, a trend in conflict with availability of domestic supply.

Domestic producers, by and large, have not suffered seriously yet as measured by statistical yardsticks of activity. But they foresee a creeping paralysis if imports' share of the market keeps rising in the face of excess producing capacity here.

Global thinkers may talk about foreign-trade balances and the need of other countries to export. Statisticians may compute the percentages a little differently. Economists may discuss such corollary factors as the growth of natural gas and natural-gas liquids, changes in inventories, the special place of residual fuel, or the geographical impact of imports.

But, any way it's figured, imports are so high as to convince producers that the health of the domestic industry in endangered.

Domestic producers aren't going to stand for it much longer. They feel they've been patient long enough. They are getting set for a showdown—a hard drive for restrictive legislation by the next Congress. (The Oil and Gas Journal.)

Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland, at Inauguration of Dr. Wilson Homer Elkins as President of University of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD T. MILLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, Maryland's recently reinaugurated Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin spoke at another important inauguration in the Free State. The occasion was the formal assumption of the presidency of the University of Maryland by Dr. Wilson H. Elkins.

Governor McKeldin, with customary eloquence and vision, pointed out in his remarks the vital role required of a great university and the heavy responsibilities that fall upon its leadership. He clearly expressed a parallel of the verses of Homer Van Dyke that quote "Stone walls do not a prison make" and "marble floors and guilded walls can never make a home" when he told Dr. Elkins he did not "cherish the delusion that possession of a superb physical plant" is enough to assure a successful institution.

Under leave granted, I insert herewith Governor McKeldin's address:

I have the honor and pleasure of welcoming Dr. Elkins into the service of the State of Maryland, and I discharge that function with a mixture of pride and humility. I take pride in the fact that we are offering him physical facilities comparable to any in the country; but I do not cherish the delusion that possession of a superb physical plant is enough to assure him that he may be at ease in Zion.

There is a definite limit to the physical expansion of any institution of learning, in-

cluding State universities, and it may be that the University of Maryland is approaching that limit. But the wisest of men has never discovered any limit to the intellectual and moral development of a university. Therefore I feel that we are summoning Dr. Elkins to a task whose boundaries are beyond human computation; and in calling a man to such an enterprise one should speak, if not exactly with apologies, at least with a certain humility. It is as it was in the old days, when one sent a champion into the lists, confident of the outcome, and yet fully aware of the heat and burden of the conflict that lies ahead.

Dr. Elkins assumes leadership of a university whose expansion in recent years has been, I think it fair to say, the amazement and to some extent the envy of the academic world. But I do not believe that the people of Maryland require or expect him to exceed, or perhaps to equal that astonishing record. What we do hope from his administration is that it may set a record in scholarship comparable to the physical growth of the university.

I am well aware that this is a hard task and to some extent a thankless task since the development of high intellectual standards is not measurable by any physical yardstick, and excellent work along that line often fails of public appreciation. Nevertheless it is a service to the State of the very highest value and in years to come, if not immediately, it will be appraised at its true worth.

For in our complex modern civilization the intellectual capacity of the citizen is of rapidly increasing importance. It is the thinker who will survive. To some extent this has always been true, but it is more important today than it was yesterday, and it will be more important tomorrow than it is today. Socrates thought that ignorance was the only evil. One may not go that far and yet admit that in the 20th century ignorance, if not the source of all evil, is certainly the source of fatal weakness. Once it was the strong in body who lived to perpetuate the race; but today it is the strong in mind, those who have acquired the skill to control the physical environment and even more those who have acquired the skill to control the human environment. The ability to persuade men is today a vastly more potent factor than the ability to compel men.

We look to the University of Maryland to supply us in ever-increasing measure with citizens who know the physical world about them and the laws that govern its phenomena; but even more ardently we look to it for men who know themselves, and through that knowledge are capable of knowing others. We ask the University of Maryland to teach our young men science; but over and above that, and far more important than that, we ask it to teach them wisdom; for he that getteth understanding has a treasure more previous than rubies, yea, than much fine gold.

The accomplishment of this task is no child's play under the most favorable circumstances. The people of Maryland have done what they could to supply the favorable circumstances, but for the major part of the work they must rely on Dr. Elkins, his present colleagues, and those whom he may summon to his aid. For that reason we welcome him, not with boastfulness, but with confidence and hope.

As representing the State administration I here and now pledge him all the proper support within available State resources in whatever project he may undertake to make the university even greater as an institution of learning. Provisions have been made in the current budget for a library and all necessary funds to effect accredidation. The State administration can at best play no more than the part of a willing and enthusiastic lieutenant in this work, which must be accomplished for the most part within the university. But what we can do shall be done; and I doubt not that together we may make this institution constantly more effective as an interpreter of our present civilization and as a prophet pointing to the greater and nobler civilization that is to come.

Long Beach, Convention City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, for many years my home city of Long Beach, Calif., has been well known as a convention city. Every possible hospitality is afforded our convention visitors and fine facilities for meetings, housing, and amusement are available at all seasons of the year.

Since many bureaus and agencies of the Federal Government find it necessary or convenient to hold area and regional meetings from time to time, I take this occasion to call to their attention the possibilities of Long Beach for this purpose.

The following article appeared in a recent issue of the Long Beach Press Telegram and adds further details to what I have said concerning the desirability of Long Beach as a meeting site:

Invasion of Long Beach by more than 200 members of the State Dental Assistants Associations next weekend will inaugurate a 1955 convention season for Long Beach due to attract an ultimate of more than 300,000 out-of-town guests and more than $10,000,000 from out-of-town spending before the year has run its course.

First of more than 100 of the 1955 conventions on the city's agenda is that of the Southern California State Dental Assistants' Associations. In charge is Mrs. Alpha D. Cook, of Long Beach City College.

While this organization has the honor of leading off the convention batting order, numerous other State, regional, and national organizations have planned their 1955 meetings in Long Beach.

At the present time approximately 80 of such groups have booked their meetings here, while the future picture shows that already the 1957 convention of the California American Legion is destined to bring upwards of 20,000 visitors to the city.

Meanwhile, President H. G. Markworth, of the Long Beach Convention and Visitors Bureau, yesterday stated, "With construction of the new addition to the Auditorium close at hand, plus development of nearby Disney Land and Marine Band of the Pacific, additional thousands of out-of-town visitors will be attracted to Long Beach.

In addition to the conventions booked by the convention bureau, 14 major events including the Miss Universe Pageant, the All Western Band Review, trade shows, and similar activities, attracted approximately 750,000 persons to Long Beach.

"National surveys of convention dollar expenditures point out that this source of revenue circulates freely through many phases of our local trade", according to Howard Jones, convention bureau manager.

Jones stated that approximately 25 percent is spent for lodging, 27 percent for food, 6 percent for beverages, 19 percent in retail stores, 9 percent in entertainment, and the balance in transportation, gas and auto needs and miscellaneous services.

Several national conventions slated for Long Beach in 1955 will attract an interesting cross section of delegates, according to convention bureau officials. Typical of the wide variety of national groups slated to convene here are the United Spanish War Veterans, 2,500 delegates; National Quarter-Horse Racing Association, 200 delegates; International Council for Exceptional Children, 1,500 delegates; National Water Well Drillers, 1,500 delegates; and the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1,000 delegates.

In addition, Long Beach has already been chosen as 1955 convention city by a great many State and regional groups, and other dates will be announced in the first few weeks of 1955.

The bureau leaders point out that competition for convention business is keen and that many California cities are expanding their local facilities in order to attract group business to their areas. Bond issues for additional auditorium, exhibit and meeting facilities have been approved or are under discussion in San Francisco, Santa Monica, Richmond, San Diego, Oceanside, and other California cities.

Local attractions such as climate, beach facilities, the harbor, and excellent recreation facilities are playing an important part in creating an interest in Long Beach throughout the United States. A colorful new brochure outlining the combined attractions of the area is currently being developed by the convention bureau on behalf of Long Beach.

"The growing interest in southern California continues throughout the Nation and the key location of Long Beach in the very center of some of America's greatest attractions, will prove a genuine advantage in the years ahead," according to Convention Bureau President Markworth.

Commission on Organization of the Federal Judiciary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, much has been said over the past years concerning the sad conditions which exist in the Federal judiciary. Everyone agrees that something should be done and various suggestions arise from time to time, but nothing ever happens. I believe that now is the time to stop piecemeal measures and inquire into the problems of the judiciary in the broadest manner possible.

We hear about crowded calendars, insufficient number of judges, inadequate physical facilities for holding court, lack of sufficient courts, and lack of funds. These are subjects which are not charged with emotion and not too many people think about them until they themselves become litigants and victims of the inadequate system.

It is our duty as legislators to see that American citizens are not denied justice for want of an adequate, well-working court system. After all, the Bill of Rights and other constitutional guaran-

ties mean nothing if our people do not have the instrumentalities to put them into effect.

I do not pretend to offer all the answers to the problems raised. As a member of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, I merely desire to call them to the attention of the Congress and offer a plan of attack.

I have prepared legislation and will introduce it today to establish a Commission on Organization of the Federal Judiciary. The idea is not novel and involves no departure from precedent. This plan is frankly patterned after the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, poularly known as the Hoover Commission. We know of the outstanding work performed by the Hoover Commission in past years, and at the present time we are awaiting the reports of the new Hoover Commission as authorized by the 83d Congress.

The Commission contemplated by my bill would be composed of 16 members. The President of the United States, the Chief Justice of the United States, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives would be authorized to appoint four members each. Half of those appointed by the President would be selected from persons in the executive branch of the Government. Half of those appointed by the Chief Justice would be from the Federal judiciary. The two congressional leaders would make half of their appointments from Members of their respective bodies, and all other selections would be made from individuals in private life. All appointees to the Commission should be lawyers in good standing. This suggestion is made because of the technical nature of the subject and specialized knowledge required.

The Commission would be given a broad mandate to inquire into every phase of the Federal court system. A few of the subjects of inquiry might be:

First. The volume of litigation, delays incident thereto and suggested remedies.

Second. Recommendations should be made concerning the advisability of consolidating courts of special jurisdiction such as the Tax Court and others, with district courts.

Third. The necessity of realinement of judicial districts, geographical areas, and places of holding court as dictated by modern-day conditions, shifts in population, and other factors.

Fourth. The adequacy of buildings, courtrooms, libraries, and other physical facilities necessary for efficient administration of justice.

Fifth. Recommendations for liberalizing retirement laws in order to encourage retirement of judges whose efficiency is impaired due to age, infirmity, or other reasons.

Sixth. Recommendations concerning advisability of delegating jurisdiction to State courts in certain cases.

Seventh. Recommendations concerning court aids such as clerks, marshals, and others.

Eighth. Recommendations for improvement of appellate procedures.

Ninth. Other recommendations that the commission may deem appropriate.

I have not raised the question of the pay of judges inasmuch as that subject has been considered by another commission and recommendations have been made.

The proposed commission would have the usual power to appoint a staff, hold hearings, and obtain necessary data for proper discharge of its duties. It would be required to report to Congress 1 year after the commission is established.

If the Congress sees fit to authorize the establishment of a Commission on Organization of the Federal Judiciary, an opportunity will be given for the first time to the lawyers, judges, and other citizens of the United States, to submit their suggestions to one forum which is considering the individual problems and how they affect the whole judicial system. It would be expected that the bar associations and other groups concerned with the improvement of the administration of justice would take an active part in supplying necessary data, members of task forces, and rendering other valuable assistance. The advice and counsel of Members of Congress and Federal judges would also be sought. It should be kept in mind that the final duty for securing adequate justice to the American people rests with Congress. Our duties do not end with the appointment of a commission. It is incumbent upon us to rise to the challenge and follow through with the necessary legislation once we have the recommendations. The commission would gather the facts for us on a nonpartisan basis, free from political considerations and unfettered by the myriad of details which are incidental to service in the Congress.

Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the traditional observance of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence, January 22, 1918, presents an opportunity for American citizens to assure to all escapees from tyranny scattered throughout the world their sympathy, and their determination to continue the struggle for the freedom of all people.

This America believes: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This applies to men both behind and outside the Iron Curtain.

We hear much of peaceful coexistence today. Every one of us wants peace. To be realistic we must recognize that we do exist in a world divided into two great idealogical camps. And we can hardly demand that every people and every nation adopt our form of Government or our way of life. Yet, we must strive in every legitimate way to assist those who would bring freedom to nations enslaved, or to peoples oppressed.

There are those who say that the internal rule of the Communists is none of our concern. To a displaced person this must have a strange sound. Furthermore, that attitude cannot be defended if we understand the fundamental philosophies of democracy and communism. If democracy means anything, it means a firm faith in the inherent infinite worth of the individual, in the innate dignity of the human being. If we honestly believe this, we will not be satisfied until the worth and dignity of every human being in the world is recognized, and that human being is permitted to live and act freely.

This is not to advocate preventive war nor rash and unintelligent action, but it is to warn all despots that we will continue to strive for justice and decency for all mankind.

There are good and noble people in my district who dream of the day when their captive homelands will be free again. They are working and preparing for that day. Such men were Tomàš Masaryk, of Czechoslovakia, and Syngman Rhee, of Korea. To these good people and all like them we pledge our help and our cooperation in securing a body of free nations in a free world.

Anniversary of Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian National Republic issued a proclamation of Ukrainian independence. Last Saturday was the anniversary of this proclamation of Independence. Since that time the Ukrainian people have suffered greatly and they are now among the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

The centuries-old struggle for freedom and independence on the part of the Ukrainian nation constitutes an impressive chapter in the annals of human history. This indomitable will for national freedom clearly crystallized itself in the old Ukrainian Kievan state from the 9th to the 14th century, in the Ukrainian Kozak state from 1648 to 1783, and more recently in the Ukrainian National Republic from 1917 to 1920. As one of the first victims of Soviet imperialism, Ukraine, since the very inception of alien Bolshevik tyranny, has proved to be the Achilles Heel of the Soviet Union. The destruction of its national churches, the horrible man-made famine of 1932–33, the mass murder at Vinnitsia in 1937–39, and the vast purges and deportations decreed by Moscow have failed to exterminate the spiritual and moral resources

for national freedom in Ukraine. The historic capital of Kiev, with centuries of rich tradition and culture conserved in its vaults, still symbolizes today the indestructible hope and passion of a nation destined to be sovereign, free, and independent.

During the Second World War millions of Ukrainian patriots seized the short-lived opportunity of the German invasion to realize once again this hope, only to be frustrated in their valiant efforts by the scourge of another imperialism. But this unbending will continues to be strong and powerful in the epic struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) against the evil forces of Soviet imperialism, and in the resistance of the Ukrainian people.

As a nation of over 40 million people—the largest non-Russian nation behind the European iron curtain—Ukraine stands as one of our most important and natural allies in the eventual defeat of Soviet imperialism. Its historic claim to national freedom and independence cannot be ignored. Its place as a sovereign and equal partner in the mutual construction of the free Europe of tomorrow must be assured, if the foundation of permanent peace among freedom-loving nations is to be impregnable.

States Rights Conceal Rule of Special Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from Labor, official publication of the railroad labor organizations:

STATES RIGHTS CONCEAL RULE OF SPECIAL INTERESTS

Forty-four of the Nation's State legislatures are meeting this year; most of them are already in session. They have a real opportunity now to put meaning into the much-publicized slogan of "States rights."

Will they do so? Will they demonstrate that States can lead the way in improving the lot of all the people? Will they bring their unemployment insurance and workmen's accident compensation laws up to date to meet modern standards? Will they enact fair labor laws and remove from the statute books those that now unfairly hamstring workers and their unions? Will they adopt tax measures based on ability to pay?

Answers to questions such as those will determine whether States rights will serve as a banner of progress or flag of reaction.

In past years, that slogan has all too often been used as a cloak by forces seeking to turn State legislatures into instruments for cracking down on the rights of labor and serving predatory interests.

Why has this been so? One good explanation can be found in the recent book, Adventures in Politics, written by RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, now United States Senator from Oregon, and before that a State senator, as well as distinguished journalist.

"With few exceptions—New York being one—State government is attempting to operate with stone-age tools," NEUBERGER points out in the book. "Legislators who write State laws and State executives who enforce them are, for the most part, part-time officials. Other sources provide their basic incomes. And where the treasure is, there is the heart—and the vote."

NEUBERGER goes on to cite the condition in his home State as an example: Legislators are paid just a pittance and rely for a living on the special interests for whom they work.

He cites many examples of senators on the floor of the legislature arguing for legislation to benefit their employers—the utilities, timber barons, or real-estate interests for which they serve as lawyers or in other capacities and from which they draw their main income. Such situations, he said, "help explain why State government is such a gamboling ground for privilege and monopoly."

He cites many other factors which have led to gross deterioration in State government—an important one among them, "the failure to reapportion legislatures so they will represent a State's population as it exists today, not as it did in the frontier past." In State after State, representation is rigged so that farm and rural areas have a far greater voice than the cities. Democracy—in the sense that every citizen has an equal voice and vote—does not exist in many States when it comes to electing members of the legislatures.

This lopsided situation helps explain why so many States have put over the false-face right-to-work measures, which enthrone the right to scab; have enacted sweatshop wage laws that provide a competition in laxity; have imposed sales taxes instead of income taxes, and have, so often, kowtowed to selfish and predatory private interests.

Legislatures meeting this year have it in their power to demonstrate that States rights need not mean States wrongs; that States can lead the way to a better life, so as to make it less necessary for Congress to intervene. Will they meet the challenge?

Responsibilities of Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, over the weekend, I attended the 21st annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley flood control branch of the Associated General Contractors in Memphis, Tenn. It was probably the most largely attended meeting in the history of the association. The outgoing president, Mr. C. W. Volmer, and his associated officers who guided the destinies of the association so very well in the last year, will be succeeded by equally competent and outstanding businessmen in the persons of Mr. C. R. Weymouth and Mr. Larry A. Tvedt, both of Memphis, as president and vice president, respectively, and Mr. C. W. Crumpecker, of Charleston, Mo., as vice president at large. The managership will remain in the capable hands of Mr. Bruce Tucker, assisted by Miss Tempe Wills.

It was a treat to hear the very splendid address of Hon. Ben H. Wooten, president of the First National Bank in Dallas. I desire to share with my colleagues in this body the inspiration which Mr. Wooten brought to all of us. The address, entitled "Responsibilities of Management," follows:

It is a privilege to speak to this splendid group of businessmen and their ladies, and I am deeply grateful. You are successful in that you have established yourselves in your cities on a social, professional, and financial basis. Success, whether in the field of art, literature, science, business, or construction, is evidence of possession of that extra something that makes for achievement.

A splendid atmosphere permeates this audience. I observed the friendliness with which one greeted another, and I know that many of you have been colleagues in the construction business for a long, long time, and as a result of contacts and mutual experience, friendships have been generated. Someone has said:

"There are no friends like old friends,
None so good and true;
We greet them in the morning,
As the roses greet the dew.

"No other friends are dearer,
Though made in kindred mould;
While we love our new friends,
We treasure more the old."

It seems that the contractors of America have, without intent, formed a kind of fraternity, with no secrets and no passwords—an organization where you have learned to know and appreciate each other. It is very important that we know each other—that nations know each other. An author whose name I do not know has written:

"Here lies the tragedy of our race:
Not that men are poor—
All men know something of poverty;
Not that men are wicked—
Who can claim to be good?
Not that men are ignorant—
Who can boast that he is wise?
But that men are strangers."

If it were possible for the average Russian, the average Chinaman, to know the average American and thus be assured that we have no designs on their countries—that we have never taken any territory as a result of any war—I am convinced that international stresses and strains would be immediately alleviated. It is so important that we know those who live and work close to us.

"Life is but a journey taken on a train,
With a pair of travelers at each window pane,
I may sit beside you the whole journey through,
Or I may be seated elsewhere never knowing you;
But if fate should mark me to sit by your side,
Let's be pleasant travelers—Life is so short a ride."

You like the contracting business or you would not have chosen it as a vocation. I like the banking business, having spent 35 years in it. I like to think of life as a bank. The Bank of Life is open every day, and we make deposits, regardless of how short our stay. In the Bank of Life we deposit kindness, helpfulness, work, devotion, and character; and out of the Bank of Life we draw fellowship, friendship, contentment, and happiness. There are men in this room who have great deposits in my personal Bank of Life, and, draw as many checks as they will, not one will ever be returned marked, "Insufficient funds."

Ladies always add beauty, charm, and elegance to any meeting, and this we have in abundance tonight. I am reminded that the highway of success is filled with women pushing their men along.

Occasionally we hear an egotist remark that he is a self-made man. This just isn't true.

There never was a self-made man. If you will just for a moment let your mind travel back through a decade or two, you will observe that somewhere along the line a friend, a relative, a loved one gave you a lift and supplied the impetus necessary to make of you a success. You, of course, had to take advantage of your opportunities, but their faith, confidence, and perhaps financial help enabled you to reach the high pinnacle of your profession which you now occupy. If the individual who believes that he is self-made would look into a mirror, he would see a good example of the work of unskilled labor and I believe would come to the conclusion that he might have done better by letting out the construction contract on a turnkey basis.

The year 1955 is a new year. We have 344 days to use as we will, and it is fitting that we ask our selves: What plans are we drafting on the drawing board of time, and if we should be successful in completing these plans during the year, will we be pleased? Are they of sufficient magnitude and importance to draw the best out of us? Daniel Burnham said, "Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood, and little plans, if realized, bring no satisfaction."

Let's have a positive approach to 1955, with the firm belief that we can do what we set out to do, keeping in mind that those who have a negative approach to problems receive only the leavings of life.

There are many interpretations of our economic position at this time following different routes but arriving at the same destination, namely, good times in 1955. Due to these devious routes followed by forecasters there is some confusion as demonstrated by a poem by N. A. Mack:

"It may be so—
But then it's not;
It could be good—
Or not so hot.

"You might say this—
But in the light of that,
You can't be sure,
Just where you're at."

We can be pretty sure of our economic location at this time, and those who plan well, work hard, and spend wisely will, at the conclusion of this year, look back upon it with satisfaction.

It is really great to be an American and have the privilege of gathering in a convention where we can say what we think without fear of intimidation. No potentate, no dictator can tell you or me what to think, what to say, and how to pray.

At the beginning of this new year, however, let's not forget that freedom within itself exposes us to personal and economic pitfalls. Freedom permits one to think for himself—and how fine it is that we are privileged to make errors and have reverses; otherwise, we would not be free.

We as free men must remember that life cannot be one continuous round of pleasure and success. If we did not have ugliness, we could not appreciate beauty; if there were no valleys, we could not enjoy the majesty of mountains. Into every life some rain must fall, but, even so, we Americans must continue to be willing to take the economic risks of freedom. We come to the very definite conclusion that our business world is not one for weaklings. We know that we shall make mistakes. We know that our Government has made mistakes, domestic and foreign, and that it will continue to do so—yet our country is the most blessed place this side of Heaven.

A good contractor is a builder at heart, and he is ashamed of the slightest flaw in one of his structures. Somehow I feel that he desires to make each structure a monument unto his knowledge, his personality, and his character, and he looks upon it as an edifice that the ravages of time will not destroy.

Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "He who digs a well, constructs a stone fountain, plants a grove of trees by the roadside, plants an orchard, builds a durable house, reclaims a swamp, or so much as puts a stone seat by the wayside makes a fortune which he cannot carry away with him but which is useful to his country long afterward."—Of such are you, my hosts.

We are pleased to have so many of our military personnel here, especially the engineers. We admire the army. There is something fascinating about a well-dressed, snappy army officer. I am reminded of that old-time limerick:

"There's something about a soldier,
That is fine, fine, fine,
Something in his bearing,
Something that he's wearing,
Makes him hit the line, line, line."

To the civilian, the engineers are in peacetime the most useful segment of the Army. I make this statement knowing full well that our country cannot maintain her national existence and honor without every branch of the armed services.

We are pleased that throughout our broad land we find the Army engineers everywhere, and we want them everywhere. They are the closest tie between the civilian and the military, and only with their help have we been able to make some progress in harnessing the rivers, subduing the forests, and scaling the mountains. It is they who are enabling us in many instances to conserve our soil and reforest our wastelands. We would join with the engineer in emphasizing the importance of the conservation of our soil through the stopping of erosion.

Too few people have been concerned about the tragic toll that is being exacted from our fine farmlands everywhere. When land was cheap and plentiful, it did not seem to matter much if the fertility of the soil was gone, in that the farmer could move to a new location, clear new land, and start over again. In the life of our Nation, 50 million acres of good land have been ruined and abandoned. Another 50 million acres are swiftly coming to that stage, and on another hundred million acres more than half the top soil is gone. Only prompt, vigorous, and intelligent action can stop further losses and start the restoration of fertility to much of our land. A continuation of permitting our land to become nonproductive is a sure road to economic trouble, and we are grateful to the Army engineers for their leadership in endeavoring to save our soil.

My subject (and I have finally gotten around to it) is, "Responsibilities of Management." The manager is the dynamic, life-giving element in every business. Without his leadership, resources remain resources and production just does not come about. In referring to management in the contracting business, I am in most instances referring to the owner of the business; however, in other types of business this is not so often true.

Superior management is the only effective advantage that one enterprise has over another in our competitive economy. In this connection, I am reminded of a writing by Ella Wheeler Wilcox:

"One ship drives east, and another west,
With the self-same gale that blows;
'Tis the set of the sail, and not the gale,
That determines the way we go."

Never before in our history has the attitude and responsibility of management so greatly affected our economic, social, and spiritual life as now.

Management's responsibilities and obligations seem to fall under four distinct headings: (1) To the owners of the business; (2) to the public it serves; (3) to the city, State, and Nation; (4) to the employees. The order of the naming of these headings is not intended to be an indication of their importance.

Management's first obligation is to operate an ethically profitable business, and only slightly less important is the necessity for growth. The profit responsibility is absolute and cannot be abdicated.

No business can make its best contribution to society unless it makes reasonable profit. Management that through the years makes meager profits must ultimately be classed as meager management. A profitless business is an ulcer on society, yet a well-managed, prosperous business is a definite strength to our country.

I am reminded of a parody:

"Count that day lost,
Whose low descending sun,
Sees bids put in at cost,
And business done for fun."

Stockholders in our major corporations are scattered throughout the Nation, and major businesses are no longer owned by a handful of pompous individuals. Management that makes money for these millions of stockholders is really serving America well. Let's not forget that the business that goes bankrupt first went bankrupt in management, and any business that does not make a profit will not last long.

It is also the duty of management to produce and sell a quality product or a quality service. In other words, our products—our finished buildings, our levees, our residences, our banking services—must be exactly what the public buys in appearance, in performance, and in quality. A shabby product, a shabby service can be sold only once and, of course, should not be sold at all. Let's be sure that if we were our own customer, we would like to do business with our firm.

We in the United States are the greatest producers, the best fed, the best clothed, the best educated people on earth because you and thousands of other men like you have responded to obligations of management under our individual incentive form of government.

Management has dared to dream, and dreamers are the architects of greatness. Their brains have brought our so-called miracles—our great inventions, beautiful music, majestic temples, educational institutions, our cathedrals and shrines—and in America God has given to management the mind to dream, the soul to aspire, and the body to execute. So let's, as managers, keep on dreaming, keep on developing, keep on achieving and putting our very best every day into our jobs.

In the long ago in old New England, trading ships would leave from Old Salem, slowly traveling around the earth, and would be gone for a long time. It was the custom of the captains to permit individuals to send private cargoes in the vessels, and during the long absence from home of the ship and its crew, those who had sent private cargoes were wont to say, "When my ship comes in—" and then let their imaginations trail away into realms of luxurious living which they envisioned for themselves and their loved ones as a result of the anticipated profit from their venture in the cargo—but one thing they knew full well—no ship could come in bringing treasures to them unless they had ventured something in the cargo. And so it is with you and me. Our ship will come in bringing treasures if we venture the best we have in time, talents, and energy into the cargo of management.

Men grow civically in proportion to their participation in civic activities, and an active life of a businessman in civic affairs can bring real joy because of the challenge to satisfy, in part at least, the needs of unfortunate people. All of us and the businesses we represent have specific obligations as relates to the unfortunate in our com-

munity, and we want to do our full share in Community Chest, Red Cross, etc.

It is well to take note of the fact that welfare is our fourth largest business. In the year 1954, $49 billion was spent by the Government and through private donations for welfare. The spending of this tremendous sum needs the executive talent possessed by the managers of our great businesses. The American heart is big, and any cause that pulls upon the heartstrings will get a ready response—but it is your duty and mine to see that the American heart is not only big but also that it is selective in order that there may not be great waste.

I know that it shall never be truly said that in our respective communities there will be more sorrow, more anguish, mode despondency, more suffering, more juvenile delinquency because any manager in this room failed to do his local civic duty.

Hardly a day goes by when some outstanding manager does not assert a new public responsibility. We are all aware of the financial plight of our educational institutions, and I believe that management is going to have to assume more responsibility for the survival of our liberal-arts colleges.

It is most important that management consider the impact of every business policy and action upon society and whether or not that policy is likely to promote the public good, to advance the basic beliefs of our society, to contribute to its stability, strength, and harmony. We should always disseminate American economic truths as widely as possible.

We have an obligation to the people who work for us. Let's ask ourselves right now: How would I like to work for me? What kind of a boss am I, anyway? It makes a big difference whether or not the boy or girl in passing the president's office thinks of him as an old sourpuss or a right guy.

Around the turn of the century it was kind of taken for granted that in the scheme of things there must be a conflict between labor and capital. The capitalist of today is mainly propaganda, because of the very wide distribution of stock owned by millions of Americans, and there is no irreconcilable difference between labor and management. There are problems, to be sure, but labor and management are not two different species of human beings. Most of the managers of today came from the ranks of labor, and in the corporations of today the laborer who has the capacity to take on greater responsibilities and places the welfare of the institution for which he works next to that of his family can easily be a superintendent or a boss.

Let's never lose sight of the fact that management is not the directing of things; it is the directing of people, and good management listens as well as talks. A good manager knows that a high degree of performance can be attained only through leadership.

Each of our businesses has a good, bad, or mediocre disposition in the minds of the public, and that picture is but the lengthened shadow of the manager. If he has a warm, affable, friendly disposition, it will permeate his organization. If his disposition is cold, sullen, and repelling, that, too, will permeate his organization. There is a great deal of difference between a big man and a big shot. I know men who can strut sitting down, but I do not know an individual who admires such a man.

If we would evaluate others, let's first evaluate ourselves. Let's get under the microscope, and as a result we will be less stiff, less irritable, more modest, humble, and easy to approach.

A happy employee requires a happy boss. Happiness is not a destination. It is a journey. We cannot buy a ticket to happiness. We find it all along the way of life. It flows from the inside of the individual out, and in my office there is an inscription, "Happiness is a journey traveled not alone." If you and I would be happy in our businesses, let's make our people happy.

The best manager is concerned about the welfare of the people who work for him. He has a friendly interest in their families. He inquires about their home affairs. Wherever possible he learns their names. He dispenses fairness without favoritism. He keeps the confidence of his employees, and he gives credit where credit is due. Under no condition will a good manager take credit for the work or ideas of any person employed by him, whether it be a janitor or a foreman.

We all need praise. I am not referring to flattery; I mean well-earned praise. It lightens the load of the laborer; it increases efficiency; it produces enthusiasm; it assures cooperation—in a way, it greases the skids of life. So let's never get too busy or too big to take thought upon those who are doing a good job.

There never was an indispensable man, so let's not take ourselves seriously. I recently read a quotation, "Blessed is he who taketh himself seriously, for behold, he shall afford much amusement."

Let's remember in dealing with our people that a smile is a language that a baby can understand, and a man's code of ethics is not necessarily the motto on his desk but that written in his heart and before we can command others, we must be able to command ourselves.

It was Aristides who said, "Not houses finely roofed or the stones of walls well builded, nay, nor canals and dockyards, make the city, but men able to use their opportunity." As managers, let's be sure that we afford our people the chance to better use their opportunities.

People are our most precious possessions, and I am convinced that in order to be helpful and to give proper counsel, there must be in the life of every manager a spiritual experience for, after all, there is a Divine Designer of the universe who cares for every individual in it, and if we would be in tune with the best in life, our hearts must be in tune with the source of all life.

The world owes no man a living, but every man owes the world a life, and if we pay the world that which we owe for our lives, it will pay us a living and as much more as we justly earn. Let us, therefore, make a life while we are making a living.

There is a poem I like very much:

"It is always a joy in life to find,
At every turn of the road,
A strong arm of the comrade kind,
To help me onward with my load.

"Since I have no gold to give,
'Tis love must make amends;
It is my prayer that while I live,
God shall make me worthy of my friends."

I know you share with me this beautiful sentiment. In assuming the full responsibilities of management, let's pray that God shall make us worthy of our shareholders, of the public we serve, of the city, State, and Nation in which we live, and of the employees who work for us.

You are a grand audience—so kind and so considerate—so sympathetic, and this evening will ever be a pleasant experience in my garden of memories.

Restoration of the Rights and Liberties of the Ukrainian People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, Communist Russia has enslaved the people of the Ukraine, and they no longer have the liberties which they formerly enjoyed, nor do they have an opportunity to better themselves.

I know many people who came from the Ukraine, and they make good citizens, and are entitled to recognition in the Republic of the United States of America.

The restoration of the rights and liberties of the Ukrainian people is one of the things that should be sought after by the free world just as soon as the opportunity presents itself.

Italy's Complaint on United States Subsidy of American Citrus Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, because of the administration of our laws on the high policymaking level, a conflict has developed between our foreign policy as expressed in GATT—General Agreement on Trades and Tariffs—and our statutory law as expressed in the Agricultural Act of 1935.

As a participating nation in GATT, the United States is committed to a policy of limiting subsidies where it would seriously prejudice the interests of other participating nations. Under section 32 of the Agricultural Act, however, the Secretary of Agriculture has a mandate to encourage the exportation of agricultural commodities through the use of subsidies in order to help increase America's competitive position in foreign markets. The subsidy provisions of the Agricultral Act, however—and this is an important distinction to remember—are not mandatory but permissive and give the Secretary a wide discretion in both the granting or withholding of subsidy benefits, and in the selection of the commodities to be subsidized.

The present export program of agriculture grants heavy subsidies on citrus fruits which compete directly with Italian, Israeli, North African, and Spanish citrus products in the European markets. As a result, Italian oranges, for example, are being crowded out of Italy's traditional orange markets, not because Italy's oranges are inferior, but because of United States financing of American citrus fruits. While it is presently asserted that subsidy assistance is to help American exporters to maintain their foreign markets, the fact is that the Department, through subsidies, is seeking to expand America's competitive position in foreign markets and is in fact lengthening the time period of America's so-called summer citrus market in Europe.

The United States is committed to a foreign program of helping war-ravaged and poor countries rehabilitate themselves, so that by raising their economic levels, these countries may, one day, help themselves. With the termination of direct United States economic aid, coun-

tries like Italy more than ever need their traditional foreign markets and, in fact, Italy must expand hers in order to take up the slack caused by the ending of direct United States assistance. Because it is lacking in many natural resources and cannot compete in the industrial field, Italy must rely most heavily on her agricultural export trade. The United States citrus industry, on the other hand, is enjoying an all-time high and has access to other foreign markets such as Canada without having to invade the European market on an unfair United States subsidized competitive basis, at least not at the present time. Furthermore, if we are to follow the principle of "trade not aid" then these subsidies must be rarely if ever used. If we drive Italy and other countries similarly situated too hard and they have markets for their citrus fruits that are narrowing more and more, we force her to sell wherever she can—behind the Iron Curtain if need be.

SUGGESTED ACTION

The above statement may be an oversimplification of the problem which is indeed a complicated one with many facets. Yet, in the final analysis, it is clear that there must be greater coordination between our executive agencies, in order that conflicts, brought about by the administration of our laws, may be avoided. Negotiations under GATT have reached an impasse. The GATT agreement, unfortunately, has no true enforcement provisions, and its success depends upon the willingness and consent of the countries concerned. Since the policies set forth therein represent our latest thinking on the subject, the Department of Agriculture should revise its policy so as to eliminate those aspects which are harmful to countries like Italy, Israel, Greece, and Turkey. United States is presently subsidizing dried raisins and apricots, to the detriment of Greece and Turkey; and oranges, to the detriment of Italy, Israel, Spain, and North Africa. Without seriously prejudicing United States citrus producers, subsidy payments could be suspended on American citrus exports which are shipped to the traditional European markets of these countries, at least during their market season, which is from November through April.

Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 37th anniversary of the Ukrainian people. This anniversary symbolizes the love for freedom by all the peoples enslaved by Communist domination. Their indefatigable spirt of opposition to Communist oppression commands the admiration and the support of the entire American people. When their unity of purpose and resistance forced the regimes in Hungary and Czechoslovakia to retreat and make concessions, what better proof could we have that the captive people entrapped behind the Iron Curtain are our stanchest allies; brothers in arms who man the outpost in the never-ceasing struggle against Communist imperialism.

Such friends will never be forgotten, for their suffering and their sacrifices serve the cause of freedom of men everywhere. Their aspirations of national independence, human rights, and dignity are the same cornerstones on which our Republic was founded and maintained. How could we fail to support, wholeheartedly, these aspirations which are the essence of democracy in which we believe, and for which thousands of Americans gave their lives on the battlefields of Europe and Asia.

The American people will not be fooled by Communist slogans of coexistence which means enslavement for millions of our brothers. We shall continue to strive for the just aspirations of the captive nations, as we have done in the past. That the Congress of the United States, and thus the people who elect their representatives, continuously study means and ways to support the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain is manifested in the work of the House Committee on Communist Aggression and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The House committee recommended to the Government a specific course of action, specifically designed to help the now captive nations attain their goal of self-determination, while the Senate's studies on tensions in Eastern Europe again demonstrated to the American people that the Communist regimes in that area only derive their power from inhuman terror and atrocities. The American people are fully aware of these conditions, and true to their tradition have formed organizations to combat them. Such private organizations as the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., and the Free Europe Committee, are truly representative of the feeling of American sentiment. More important still, they prove by their action, be it by radio or leaflets dropped by balloons, that the voice of the once free nations can never be silenced as long as the American people stand side by side with their freedom-loving brothers behind the Iron Curtain.

ORT in North Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, in my tour through French Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, I made a special attempt to visit the ORT schools and facilities, and I willingly testify to the dynamic and realistic approach made by them. I know of nothing more useful in raising the standard of living of our unfortunate Jews in the Mellah than to afford the young men and women the opportunity to become skilled workers. ORT provides a great ray of hope to thousands of these people. It is really and truly the Organization for Rehabilitation and Training.

I saw ORT installations in schools in Algeria and Casablanca. I am sorry, indeed, I was not privileged to see many of the other schools which ORT has established.

I wish to draw particular attention to some 50,000 Jews, sometimes called Berber Jews, who live in the Atlas Mountains region of Morocco. They have for centuries been small craftsmen and tradesmen, who sold their wares to the Berber Moors. With the impetus of the coming of industry to Morocco, a change has occurred bringing with it new problems. Machine-made goods are replacing handmade goods and the Berber Moors are coveting the cheaper machine-made goods. This tendency is displacing some of the Jews and taking them out of the economic market. It is essential that many of these Jews be trained by ORT; for example, in the use of machines for making shoes, clothes, radios, auto supplies, and so forth.

Up until a decade ago, Jews in Morocco had a monopoly on trading in the southern part of Morocco. Now the Berber Moors are competing with them, and the Berber Moors are given the preference. The Moors only buy from the Jews when they cannot buy from the Berbers. It is to the great advantage of the Jews, therefore, to learn all they can about electronics, about the work of beauticians, and other trades in which the Moors themselves are untrained. ORT can help the Jews get ready for industrial jobs through its training program.

I know of no better service to which money can be put than in contributions to the activities of ORT. The knowledge that we, the more fortunate, cannot take for granted that poverty, ignorance, and disease must always be with us—that help can and must be extended to the individual to aid him in finding a place for himself in this ever increasingly complicated society. ORT has shown the way, and to ORT every support and contribution should be given.

As I have been thinking of the development of ORT and the necessary statistics that must accompany its history, I was forcibly struck by an amazing parallel. I repeat what I said once before, that the point 4 program of the United States Government is exactly the drama of the work that ORT has been carrying on for more than 70 years. When President Truman announced the point 4 program, it was hailed—and rightfully so—as a dynamic concept of far-reaching significance in the training of the individual for the realization of a productive society. A new emphasis was placed on the individual, on his training, on his rehabilitation, teaching the use of tools first for his own benefit and for the benefit of the society in which he lives. It was a departure from mass thinking. It focussed attention on the needs of the individual, on the dignity of

the individual, and how he as an individual contributes to the common good. It struck me then how ORT quietly, persistently, and even doggedly had inaugurated just such a program many years ago.

In 23 countries of the world ORT is training people in new uses of the hands and the eyes and the mind, lifting from them the weight of their uselessness and with such training bringing an understanding of new standards, of pride which will some day reflect itself in their children yet to be born.

A fact to be noted and remarked is the realization that ORT follows the line of history. The camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy are now closed. Most of the DP's are gone. ORT has turned its gaze eastward and to Africa, as has the rest of the world. The Near, Middle, and Far East, as well as North Africa, have by the pressure of events forced the western nations, not only to acknowledge their existence, but to begin to understand for perhaps the first time that these regions of the world must relate themselves to each other. So with ORT. While retaining and maintaining its ties with the western civilization, it has brought its greatest intensity to bear upon these areas.

One cannot feel kinship with Jews in one part of the world and choose to forget about Jews in another. Sooner or later the facts will creep through to your consciousness. One cannot escape. One has to recognize the chain that links all people together regardless of geography. In Iran, in Moslem North Africa, in French Morocco, in Tunisia and Algeria, Jews have huddled in the ghettos of those forgotten worlds, feeding for centuries only on the strength of Judaism. They are no longer forgotten. ORT will not let us forget. ORT is bringing new values to live by, a new dimension to life itself, to these people whom civilization has bypassed. This is not the age of despair.

In these turbulent years one fact has emerged—that it is not a natural law for some to be born and to die in helplessness, in futility and in hopelessness. I do not exaggerate when I say that in the realization of this concept, ORT has shown us how to open the doors and windows to let the sun come in, cleansing and reviving. ORT has been on that road a little before anybody else.

Can Stock Market Be Controlled by Amendment of Capital-Gains Tax?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, in view of widespread interest in the present stock market situations, and the feeling upon the part of some that there should be some restraint, it seemed to me that consideration might be given to the suggestion of Lucian O. Hooper in his pamphlet Market Comment, reading as follows:

MARKET COMMENT
(By Lucien O. Hooper)

Any market which advances for 17 months without a single correcton of as much as 4½ (in the D–J Industrials) naturally is not as cheap as it once was. An accident always can happen as the excuse for a welcome setback. The fact remains, however, that the usual technical background for an intermediate decline still is lacking. Probably it will take something unexpected to make stocks available as much as 10 percent below current prices—and 10-percent declines in a churning market like this until recent years were regarded as just routine.

The big supporting factor in this market, as I see it, is the unwillingness of those who own securities to take profits and pay the capital gains tax. Millions and millions of shares which otherwise might be sold in profit-taking maneuvers are being held undisturbed because of capital gains tax inhibitions.

The great mass of stocks is held by people who regard themselves as pleasantly locked in by the present tax system. Rising prices do not bring out a supply of shares. Prices go higher and higher because eager buyers must cajole reluctant sellers into making offerings.

More and more will be heard about what steps should be taken to control the stock market, or tame it. You can't tame a market which is not based on borrowed money by raising margin requirements; and the people who own stocks at such large profits do not scare easily.

The one logical control measure (open only to Congress) is to reduce the capital-gains tax to a level where people won't feel that they are impoverishing themselves unnecessarily when they sell. I know hundreds of people who would be willing to take profits in their life-insurance shares, for instance, if the tax were 10 or 12 percent on long-term profits instead of 25 percent. I would guess that 90 percent of all the General Motors (102) stock now outstanding cost the present owners less than half its current price. Probably 95 percent of the owners of International Business Machines (362) paid less than 65 for their stock. I imagine 90 percent of the owners of Lincoln National Life (385) paid less than 100. Just figure what it would cost them, with a 25-percent capital gains tax, to sell.

It might also be remarked that if the Federal Government wants to share in this big market through a larger tax collections, it can do so in a big way by reducing the capital-gains tax. I would guess hat the capital-gains tax yield would increase 200 to 400 percent each year if the tax were made 10 percent instead of 25 percent, and I suspect that this is an overconservative estimate. So here is your argument, Representatives and Senators: cut the tax rate on capital gains and you will (a) tame this rise in stocks, and (b) increase the Government's revenues. Don't forget that 8 million people or more hold stocks. Most of them vote, too. (Taken from Forbes, January 15, 1955.)

Lee, Maury, and Jackson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, January 20, I had the privilege of hearing United States Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, deliver a very inspiring speech at the meeting of the District of Columbia division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. By unanimous consent, I include Senator JOHNSTON'S speech as an extension of my remarks:

Mrs. Harlee and my friends in the United Daughters of the Confederacy, there is more of realism than sentiment which keeps organizations like yours alive. An attachment to ideals and principles, often misunderstood, binds us together. A communion with the past strengthens us as we face our present and future problems.

Several years ago a friend of mine whom I have known since my college days received a letter from the distinguished and now deceased president of our college. In that letter was the statement, casually written:

"Whenever a people forgets its worthy past, the day will come when it will not have a past worth remembering."

Let that casual thought be the theme of our brief discussion and reflection this evening. It is no waste of our time to reflect upon the lives of some of the great men whose memory we honor tonight. Preeminent among the leaders in the tragic fratricidal conflict between the North and the South will always be the names of Lee, Maury, and Jackson.

To you, Daughters of the Confederacy, belongs a distinction I have always liked to recall. Besides the testimonials and enduring monuments of granite and marble which dot the Southland as living memorials of your evaluation of your heritage, the glory of our past and as a bulwark of hope for the future, there is the universally accepted national holiday—Memorial Day, May 30, of each year—which is credited to your acts of remembrance in placing flags and fresh-cut flowers on the graves of the Confederate and Union soldiers alike. The inspiration for the issuance of General Logan's famous order establishing Memorial Day in 1869, had its origin when he was witnessing the evidence of your patriotism. Later by act of Congress, Memorial Day on May 30 was established for the Nation. This fact has not altered the happy custom of celebrating other memorial days on other and separate dates in our Southern States. Your objects and purposes and those preceding you in this patriotic organization were to perpetuate the recollections of the sacrifices, hardships, and deeds of valor of our brave forebears in the struggles of 1861 to 1865. Just and righteous to them was their conception of duty and principle. They labored for a time in vain, but not without permanent rewards to us, the beneficiaries of their valor, heroism, and ideals. The pages of unbiased history record for all time their unprecedented genius for being able to accomplish so much with so little.

While we reflect with great and justifiable pride upon the achievements of our great generals and Commander Maury, I doubt but few, if any, there are who now would have history reverse the conclusion of the Civil War. The scars of that conflict are healed and these assemblages have higher purposes than to keep alive the strife of the days gone by.

We have builded upon the heritage of their sacrifices. The courage and loyalty to principle, exemplified in our leaders, are the common property of us all.

On Palm Sunday almost 90 years ago an undernourished, poorly equipped, and scantily clad army of less than 150,000 men began to slowly disperse from the several surrendering posts to wend its weary way homeward. Surviving loved ones welcomed their return as though they were conquering heroes. The plenty and security which they had left behind when they had volunteered to fight in a lost cause had disappeared. They found instead shattered and destroyed homes. Cities, villages, and farms had

been laid waste and pillaged. Pestilence, poverty, famine, distress, destitution, and desolation stalked every countryside. Indiscriminate waste, death, and destruction lay in the path of Sherman's march, 60 miles wide and 300 miles long. What a spectacle of hopelessness faced the veterans of our southland.

There was no money. The currency was valueless. The entire economy was wrecked. What small industries and manufactures there were had been destroyed or rendered useless. Four years of neglect had rendered homes and dwellings almost uninhabitable. Farms had been scorched. Storehouses, mills, and small factories had been denuded. Our railroads were torn apart; communications were chaotic. Precious little of material value remained after the Civil War. The tangibles of life were few.

Under the beneficence of an almighty God, our men and women had preserved some of the great intangibles of life. There was courage, faith, hope, character, and a determination to rise again.

Contrast this condition with the problems of the war-torn nations of today. There is no parallel in all history. For 12 years following the Civil War, the South suffered under the unspeakable domination, economic and political, of its conquerors. Sordid pages of history record brother's mistreatment of brother. A sustained, calculated, and premeditated design of oppression was practiced upon a once proud but now subdued segment of our American Nation. Revenge, greed, avarice, and treachery were the daily experience of a struggling and suffering people.

A kind providence stood at our side. In gracious benediction. He lighted our paths and kept our spirits alive. Congress refused all relief appropriations. Less than $1 million was donated for our relief by several philanthropic societies in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Lend-lease was not then in the English or American dictionary. No point 4 program was projected. There was no Economic Cooperation Administration. No War Claims or War Damage Commission was created for us. No Marshall plan was established for the South. The ingenuity and kindness of man had not progressed to the point of being able to conceive of the term of "mutual assistance or mutual aid." Eighty-nine years had to elapse before the phrase "Foreign Operations Administration" could be born. The administration of the affairs of the South was marked with a suppression compounded by oppression.

I need only to refer to one illustration of the ruthlessness and utter indifference of the times with which you are all too familiar. The ancestral home of the Custis family, we known as the Custis-Lee Mansion, was appropriated by the Government. It has only been recently and within our lifetime, following years of persistent struggle, that meager compensation has been paid the survivors of the Lee family for this wanton act of banditry. Contrast this condition with the manner of our treatment of friend and foe alike after the close of World War II. We have spent many billions of dollars in rehabilitating the economies and restoring the damage caused by the war to the various countries all over the world. Even many countries rely on our bounty who took little part in the recent war. And in this connection, unless we keep constantly on guard, this generosity may become a permanent part of our national existence and to the point of so weakening our own economy as to make us the easy prey of our enemies.

But the spirit of the South would not die. Your early members kept it alive. Your recollections of the past and your intermittent meetings serve to refresh the spirit and to keep it alive. This is nurture for ourselves and future generations.

When the name of Lee is mentioned to the unprejudiced, at once he is associated with the great generals of all time. We link him with Alexander the Great, Caesar, Napoleon, Washington, Jackson, and a few others. Born the son of a distinguished Revolutionary soldier, his scholarly attainments at West Point made his recall there as superintendent a natural sequence. While he at first opposed secession with such means available to his as an Army officer and was offered the supreme field command of the United States Army, he, nevertheless, through loyalty and devotion to his native Virginia resigned his commission and became the leader of all the southern forces. His ability and leadership was demonstrated under General Scott in the War with Mexico. While he may have resisted to the bitter end, his regard for the welfare of his men, his beloved Southland and her future caused him to tender his sword to Grant at Appotomax on April 9, 1865. His greatness, his humility, and his reverence for the things eternal are reflected in his final order to his troops which he issued on the following day of April 10, 1865. His words in that order were:

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF
NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
April 10, 1865.

After 4 years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but, feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen. By the terms of the agreement, officers and men can return to their homes and remain there until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection. With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

R. E. LEE, *General.*

The eloquent tribute to the bravery and devotion of his men were expressed in Lee's last order to his troops. His affection for them and consideration for their future led to the cessation of hostilities.

Matthew Fontaine Maury, of Fredericksburg, Va., having been educated at the United States Naval Academy, became an officer in the United States Navy. Historians say he was trained to the sea. After a few years, due to an accident, he retired but continued his devotion to naval affairs as a civilian. His worldwide fame was achieved at a conference in Brussels in 1855. This resulted in his restoration to active naval service as a commander. He had distinguished himself as head of the United States Naval Observatory and Hydrographic Office. His authorship of the Physical Geography of the Sea, Wind and Currents Charts, and other meteorological works resulted in the renown for him in his day as the world's most distinguished oceanographer and hydrographer. When the War Between the States began, he resigned his command in the Navy of the United States and assumed the harbor defenses of the meager southern navy. Upon the close of the war, he retired to Lexington as the professor of meterology at the Virginia Military Institute. By training, study, and excellence in naval affairs we are happy to acclaim him as one of the leading naval authorities of our country and particularly of the Southland.

Thomas Jonothan Jackson, one of the most daring and successful military tacticians ever to wear a soldier's uniform was much younger than either Lee or Maury. From Clarksburg, then a part of Virginia, he entered and graduated from West Point. He gave evidence early in life of his military genius. His army career with the United States was of rather short duration, for we find him as military instructor at Virginia Military Institute when hostilities began. He became a colonel in the Virginia Militia and soon rose to the rank of brigadier and major general. His achievements, his courage, and valor have become the topics of discussion among military men of all succeeding generations. His surprise attacks and sudden exploits in the Shenandoah Valley confounded and surprised the Union forces to the extent that Jackson soon had the reputation of being the ablest of Lee's generals. While a strict disciplinarian, he was an ardent Calvinist and a devout Christian. His troops loved him for his genius, his abilities, and his personal worth. General Lee once said that had he had the services of Jackson at Gettysburg, the outcome there would have been different.

To praise these men is not to minimize others; nor does that praise detract from the respect and admiration, for the rank and file of our men and women; yea the debt, we shall never be able to pay.

Defeats and sorrows give us a better nature. They add to our resourcefulness. In crises we surprise ourselves with what can be accomplished. I am indebted to the great minister who conducts the national pulpit of the air on Sunday mornings for the thought that in despair and reverses that Dante wrote his masterpiece. John Milton wrote his greatest work when blindness had fallen upon him. Tennyson, in struggle for light during his sorrow over the death of a friend, gave us his great In Memoriam. Continuing, Doctor Sockman said:

"Dr. Edwin Mims, of Vanderbilt University, once declared that Robert E. Lee did more for the South in the 5 years after his surrender at Appomattox than during the 5 years he was so brilliantly leading his troops. He took the leadership of a college in Virginia and with no rancor of spirit, he manifested a magnanimity and nobility which made him revered in the South and respected throughout the whole Nation."

While we could spend hours rehearsing the lives and deeds of any one of the three whom we honor tonight, vain would be our proceedings unless from "Defeat we receive its dividends." Surely the morale of the human race has been lifted more by those who have courageously borne their defeats than those whom success have ever attended. The inspiration of these lives to our fathers and mothers are ours to transmit to our children and they to theirs. In complete succession we shall ever keep fresh in the minds and hearts of our people the measure of gratitude to these illustrious men of our past. Back of me on the wall of my office is an almost life-size picture of Robert E. Lee. As I gaze upon it, my spirit from day to day is refreshed by thought and hope that in defeat, sorrow, and surrender comes crowning achievements if we will but persist in the right. So my friends, it is well that you have dedicated yourselves to carrying on in the paths your parents treaded. Surely, the joy, the happiness and blessings which are ours shall then increase for all. The faith of our fathers and mothers must remain with us as a constant reminder. In that faith, sustained by the influence of the Supreme Being are born the virtues of our existence exalted in the lines:

"God in all His glory rules
Watching over us with care
He sends us wisdom, love and truth
With his fellowman to share."

To Lee, Maury, and Jackson, representative as they are of all that is noble in a cause dear to their hearts, we of the South must never cease to acknowledge our debt of gratitude and appreciation. Their names as symbols of many others must ever be spoken of in reverence. To remember them is both an opportunity and a pleasure. To you and me it shall ever be a sacred duty.

Protest Against Contemplated Merger of Chase National Bank and Bank of Manhattan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I have written to the Honorable William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, urging him to do all in his power to prevent the merger of the Chase National Bank and the Bank of Manhattan Co. In addition, I have asked that the Federal Reserve Board withhold its approval of any application for the establishment of branch banks which may be made as a result of this union.

In the light of the excessive accumulation of capital in the control of the parties to this merger, it is highly questionable whether the resulting banking corporation can avoid conflict with the laws and policies of our Federal Government involving monopolies and/or undue restriction of competition. Inasmuch as the merger concerns two of our largest banking institutions which are daily engaged in intensified competition with each other, there can be no doubt that the union of the two will be in defiance of and will directly flout the whole spirit and policy of our antitrust laws. I secured the passage of the Celler Antimerger Act which prohibits the merger of corporations where such consolidations tend to substantially lessen competition in any section of the country. The merger of these two banking institutions is clearly at odds with the whole intent and policy of that law as well as with the antimonopoly policies established under the Clayton Act and the Sherman Antitrust Act.

Together, these 2 banks presently have over 80 branches concentrated in a 50-mile area in the city of New York and are daily vying with eath other for the business of the people in New York. In addition, the Bank of Manhattan Co. is also set to acquire the Bronx County Trust Co. The danger is therefore evident that the merger will unduly lessen the competition which large competing banks provide and may tend to create a monopoly to the disadvantage of the people of New York and to the country generally. The businessman and merchant will find it increasingly difficult to establish credit facilities and they will be at the mercy of a financial colossus which, because of the lack of competition, will be able to set the standards providing for the bank's best interests, to the detriment of small-businessmen and other customers.

There have been 14 bank mergers in New York City in the past 7 years. Unless some brake is placed on this trend, serious consequences will befall that section of the country. If the present merger is approved, an all-powerful oligopoly, made up of the National City Bank, the Manufacturers Trust—both the results of mergers—and the new Chase-Manhattan Bank, will have a stranglehold on New York banking facilities. Under these circumstances, the Attorney General has the clear duty, under the Sherman Act, to investigate and prevent this merger.

In addition, I have asked the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee to hold hearings on my present bill, H. R. 2115, which is a measure designed to subject all bank mergers and consolidations to the scrutiny and written approval of Federal banking authorities. The bill, in substance, would require that before any bank merger can be effectuated, the approving Federal official would determine whether or not the merger or consolidation would lessen competition unduly or tend unduly to create a monopoly contrary to the policy of Congress hereby declared in favor of local ownership and control of banks and competition in the field of banking.

I advise Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve System, Attorney General Brownell, and Governor Harriman, Superintendent of Banks in New York State, and the Comptroller of Currency, that, in the event this merger goes through, it is my intention to have a full and complete investigation by the House Judiciary Committee of which I am chairman.

Also, because of the unwarranted rise in the stocks of these banks, there are strong indications of stock jobbing and sale manipulations. The records of brokers, traders, directors and officers of the banks in question should be closely scrutinized by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

I have in addition, introduced a bill designed to subject all bank mergers and consolidations to the scrutiny of Federal banking officials. The bill, in substance, would require that before any bank merger could be effectuated, it would be necessary to obtain the written consent of appropriate Federal banking authorities as follows:

First. If acquiring bank is insured national or District of Columbia bank, approving agency is Comptroller of the Currency.

Second. If acquiring bank is insured State member bank, approving agency is Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

Third. If acquiring bank is insured nonmember bank, approving agency is Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.

Fourth. If acquiring bank is noninsured bank, approving agency is Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

In determining whether or not to approve the merger, officials, under the terms of the bill, would be required to determine if the effect of the merger or consolidation "may be to lessen competition unduly or * * * tend unduly to create a monopoly contrary to the policy of Congress hereby declared in favor of local ownership and control of banks and competition in the field of banking."

The bill would enlarge upon existing statutory provisions in several important respects. As provided by the Federal Deposit Insurance Act of 1950, Federal banking officials must approve mergers between insured banks only where the capital stock or surplus of the resulting bank will be less than the aggregate capital stock or surplus of the two institutions combined. Under existing law, the Comptroller of the Currency also must grant his approval before the merger of two national banks or a national bank and a State bank can occur; and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation must lend its sanction to mergers between insured and noninsured banks. In none of these instances, however, is the competitive impact of the merger a necessary element to be considered in granting or withholding approval of Federal officials.

The bill I have introduced would extend the merger provisions of existing statutes to include all insured banks regardless of the capitalization of the financial institution resulting from the merger and to require approval of mergers and consolidations of all noninsured banks as well. It would also make it necessary for Federal officials, in adjudging the merits of proposed mergers, to inquire as to the effect of the consolidation upon competition and monopoly power in the field of banking.

In introducing the proposed legislation, I wish to emphasize that no impartial observer viewing the financial structure of the Nation can feel other than alarm over the constant and unremitting decline in the number of banks serving depositors and borrowers in the country. This is a trend which began well before the great depression and has continued even into the most prosperous periods of our history. In 1951, more than 80 banks were lost through consolidation or absorption into other institutions. In the first half of 1952 alone, 52 banks went by way of merger.

Many of these consolidations result principally in strengthening the already powerful position of large banking institutions. Manufacturers Trust Co., for example, has risen to the position of the fifth largest bank in the United States principally by virtue of the efforts of the many fine banking institutions which it has absorbed, such as Brooklyn Trust Co., Equitable Trust Co., of New York, Flatbush National Bank, of Brookiyn, and others. Mellon National Bank & Trust Co., 11th ranking bank in the United States, has in recent years embarked upon a program which has resulted in the acquisition of many small suburban banks in the residential communities surrounding Pittsburgh. We see in the Bankers Trust Co., as another example, this surge toward financial concentration. Bankers Trust Co., since 1950, has absorbed such independent

banking institutions as Title Guarantee & Trust Co., Lawyers Trust Co., Flushing National Bank, Commercial National Bank & Trust Co., and the Bayside National Bank, of New York. At the present moment there is a contemplated merger between the Chase National Bank and the Bank of Manhattan Co.

Something must be done to put a halt to this continued decrease in our bank population. Access to capital for all types of businesses, small as well as large, must be safeguarded. Concentration of financial power in a comparatively small number of banks must be discouraged. These are not partisan objectives—on the contrary, they are the aims of all those interested in preserving free and independent enterprise.

Present laws relating to bank mergers are completely inadequate. This is confirmed by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, whose Chairman wrote me some time ago, as follows:

It is apparent, therefore, that present statutory provisions with respect to bank mergers and consolidations do not provide effective means for the prevention of mergers and consolidations which may result in a lessening of competition or a tendency to monopoly. Even in those cases in which consent is necessary, the law does not specifically require the Comptroller of the Currency, the FDIC, or the Board, in determining whether to grant or withhold consent, to consider whether the proposed merger or consolidation will lessen competition or tend to a monopoly or to consider any other specific standards or guides.

The objective of this bill is consonant with that of the Congress in recently enacting the Celler Antimerger Act amending section 7 of the Clayton Act extending the merger provisions of that statute to acquisition of corporate assets as well as stock by those concerns subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission. It is now time to close another loophole in our salutary laws against mergers, and I believe this is the kind of legislation to which Members of both parties can freely lend their support.

Sun-Times Calls Calumet-Sag a Must

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, supplementing my remarks of last week concerning the Calumet-Sag Waterway project included in the President's budget message, I now am respectfully directing the attention of my colleagues to the lead editorial appearing in the Chicago Sun-Times of today, January 24, 1955, illustrated with a cartoon by Burck in which a mermaid says to old man Neptune "What do you know, pa—we're going to New Orleans by way of Chicago."

The editorial in the Sun-Times which follows, reflects the great interest with the press and the people of Chicago in a public works development on the early completion of which hangs the prosperity and the security of the entire middle-western area. As the Sun-Times well says: "Cal-Sag has become a must. It is time for a decision in Congress."

WIDEN THE DITCH IN PROSPERITY'S PATH

Narrow and inadequate, the winding Calumet-Sag Channel is an archaic ditch in mid-America's route to prosperity. When the St. Lawrence seaway opens, Cal-Sag could be a thriving link between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico for foreign cargoes. Literally, this aquatic road would bring the world's vessels to America's hidden heartland.

Cal-Sag is a short but vital waterway, built originally as a sanitary canal. It is but 16.2 miles long, just half the distance from Chicago's Loop to suburban Park Forrest. Now, it carries 4 million tons of freight annually. Army engineers estimate it could float some 18 million tons after it is developed.

For years Chicago area proposals to widen this channel have been mired in obscure political debate in Washington despite manifest need. A decade has passed since Congress O. K.'d the plan. Since then, only $300,000 was set aside for the work.

In his 1955 budget message, President Eisenhower wisely earmarked $4 million for a major start by Army engineers on widening 5 miles at Cal-Sag's western end. This, of course, is a minor amount in the $98 million in estimated Federal and non-Federal money that must be allocated to complete the missing link.

Cal-Sag is important to all of America, not just the Midwest. Its completion will bring new-found prosperity to many areas, it will aid in the military defense of this entire country, it will bring Americans closer together, and it will cut cargo costs.

Cal-Sag is not an overnight job. It will take years to complete. So now is the time for every Congressman and Senator to get behind it. Support of the President's budgetary request has been promised by all members of the Illinois delegation in the House.

* * * * *

Nature endowed the Midwest with the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River, neither of which yet have been used to their greatest potential. Man can tap their unending availability by using a little money and plenty of imagination. Thanks to the Cal-Sag Waterways Development Committee, Inc., headed by Henry E. Seyfarth, the community is being kept aware of the project's need and progress.

The indecision and sidestepping that have marked the Cal-Sag project no longer can be tolerated. Because of the St. Lawrence Seaway Act, Cal-Sag has become a must. It is time for a decision in Congress.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

Displaced Textile Workers in New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of William H. Miernyk, associate professor of economics and director of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Northeastern University, Boston, Mass., before the Committee for Reciprocity Information, December 6, 1954:

I have been asked by the New England Textile Committee to appear before this committee to summarize the results of a research project, recently completed by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research at Northeastern University, dealing with the employment experience of displaced textile workers in New England.

It has often been assumed that textile workers displaced from their jobs by the liquidation of New England mills have been absorbed by establishments in other industries which have been expanding in this region. For many years competition from lower-wage southern mills has had an adverse effect upon textile employment in New England. Although there has been some expansion of employment in other industries, much of this has occurred in nontextile areas and there has been considerable chronic unemployment in New England textile centers since 1947. Our study was made to test the hypothesis that displaced textile workers are finding employment in other industries or in nonmanufacturing occupations. The results are summarized in the tables appended to this statement. All of the tables are taken from chapter 2 of Inter Industry Labor Mobility, a report of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, copyrighted by Northeastern University.

In all, six case studies were made in the areas listed in table 1. The mills involved had been liquidated over a period ranging from 6 months to 2½ years prior to our survey, which was conducted between September 1953 and March 1954. They were selected to obtain a good sample of representative mills, both geographically and over time.

We found that about 43 percent of the displaced workers were unemployed at the time of our survey. Another 12 percent had withdrawn from the labor force, although not all of the latter were voluntary withdrawals. About 30 percent of the total group had been unemployed continuously since their layoff. Men were more successful than women in finding jobs, but 33 percent of the men were unemployed when interviewed, and 21 percent had been continuously unemployed since their layoff (table 2).

The sample workers were relatively old compared to the civilian labor force of Massachusetts (table 3). On the whole, younger workers were better able to find jobs than those past the age of 45, although nearly 30 percent of the unemployed were also under 45.

Textile mills provided the chief source of employment despite the fact that textile employment in New England was declining during the period covered by our survey, while employment in other industries was increasing. Nearly 36 percent of the displaced workers who found new jobs were once again working in a textile mill. The next largest single group found service jobs, mostly in relatively low-paying, unskilled occupations. The expanding industries employed a small proportion of the displaced workers (table 5).

Sixty-four percent of the sample workers reported that they were earning less than they had prior to their displacement (table 6). Forty-seven percent felt their new jobs were generally worse than their mill jobs had been, and 54 percent of those who found nontextile jobs indicated a preference for textile employment (table 8).

Short-run labor mobility and immobility are matters of degree, and our survey revealed some of both. But in view of the employment trends in New England during the period covered by our survey we found a surprisingly small proportion of displaced textile workers employed in the expanding industries. This is not due to their unwillingness to accept other jobs, but to a lack of job opportunity.

This survey suggests that if large numbers of manufacturing workers are displaced from their jobs through the liberalization of our foreign trade policy we should not assume that they will be automatically absorbed by other manufacturing industries, or that they will readily find employment in nonmanufacturing jobs. The displacement of textile workers in New England has been largely due to interregional competition. The employment effects of international competition should not differ significantly from those of interregional competition.

It is unrealistic to assume that declining employment in some industries will always be offset by an expansion of job opportunities in other industries in the same labor market areas, or that displaced workers are able to move without difficulty to other labor market areas where job openings might exist.

We found that workers often have only the most fragmentary information about labor market conditions, and this has been supported by earlier studies of labor mobility. All of the unemployed workers in our sample were actively seeking jobs. They were unable to find employment in their own communities, and many were unable to move because they owned their homes, they felt that they were too old to make a new start in another community, or they were unaware of job opportunities elsewhere.

Our survey reveals some of the imperfections in the operation of the labor market which are not obvious to those who base their conclusions upon highly aggregated statistical data. If there is to be a further displacement of manufacturing workers in this country, however, these problems cannot be ignored.

APPENDIX TABLES

TABLE 1.—*Workers included in survey by labor market area*

	Interviews		Mail returns		Total	
	Number	Percent of total in each case	Number	Percent of total in each case	Number	Percent of grand total
Lowell	205	88.4	38	15.6	243	14.3
Fall River	302	88.3	40	11.7	342	20.1
Lawrence	360	81.1	84	18.9	444	26.0
Nontextile areas	291	82.2	63	17.8	354	20.8
Providence	103	78.0	29	22.0	132	7.7
New Bedford	163	85.8	27	14.2	190	11.1
Total	1,424	------	281	------	1,705	100.0

TABLE 2.—*Subsequent experience of former mill workers*

Employment experience	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Presently employed: 1 job since layoff	301	38.2	214	23.3	515	30.2
Presently employed: several jobs since layoff	153	19.4	110	12.0	263	15.4
Unemployed now, had job at 1 time	101	12.8	113	12.3	214	12.6
Unemployed since layoff	166	21.1	345	37.6	511	30.0
Unemployed, and withdrawn from labor force	66	8.4	136	14.8	202	11.8
Total	787	100.0	918	100.0	1,705	100.0

TABLE 3.—*Age and sex distribution of sample workers by employment status*

EMPLOYED

Age group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
24 and under	20	4.4	11	3.4	31	4.0
25 to 35	117	25.8	74	22.8	191	24.6
36 to 45	114	25.1	104	32.1	218	28.0
46 to 55	115	25.3	100	30.9	215	27.6
56 to 65	80	17.6	34	10.5	114	14.7
66 and over	5	1.1	1	1.0	6	.8
Unknown	3	.7	----	------	3	.4
Total	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

UNEMPLOYED

24 and under	8	2.4	4	2.7	12	1.3
25 to 35	29	8.7	89	15.0	118	12.7
36 to 45	53	15.9	91	15.3	144	15.5
46 to 55	62	18.6	185	31.1	247	26.6
56 to 65	115	34.5	181	30.5	296	31.9
66 and over	66	19.8	38	6.4	104	11.2
Unknown	----	------	6	1.0	6	.6
Total	333	100.0	594	110.0	927	100.0

TABLE 4.—*Duration of unemployment*

Number of weeks	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0 to 5	233	51.3	73	22.5	306	39.3
6 to 10	54	11.9	46	14.2	100	12.9
11 to 15	33	7.3	20	6.2	53	6.8
16 to 20	16	3.5	18	5.6	34	4.4
21 to 25	26	5.7	34	10.5	60	7.7
26 to 30	27	5.9	30	9.3	57	7.3
31 and over	32	7.0	79	24.4	111	14.3
No answer	33	7.3	24	7.4	57	7.3
Total	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

TABLE 5.—*Distribution of employed workers by industry*

	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Manufacturing:						
Ordnance	3	0.7	----	----	3	0.4
Food	12	2.6	5	1.5	17	2.2
Textiles	167	36.8	110	34.0	277	35.6
Apparel	4	.9	43	13.3	47	6.0
Rubber and products	12	2.6	8	2.5	20	2.6
Chemicals	11	2.4	5	1.5	16	2.1
Paper, etc	13	2.9	9	2.8	22	2.8
Fabricated metals	12	2.6	2	.6	14	1.8
Nonelectrical machinery	16	3.5	----	----	16	2.1
Primary metals	1	.2	----	----	1	.1
Electrical machinery	24	5.3	30	9.3	54	6.9
Leather and shoe	16	3.5	26	8.0	42	5.4
Printing and publishing	8	1.8	3	.9	11	1.4
Furnishing and fixtures	8	1.8	1	.3	9	1.2
Transportation equipment	11	2.4	1	.3	12	1.5
Instruments (watches)	1	.2	1	.3	2	.3
Jewelry	5	1.1	6	1.9	11	1.4
Toys	2	.4	2	.6	4	.5
Lumber	1	.2	----	----	1	.1
Photographic equipment	1	.2	----	----	1	.1
Miscellaneous	1	.2	4	1.2	5	.6
Nonmanufacturing:						
Construction	21	4.6	----	----	21	2.7
Service	65	14.3	53	16.4	118	15.2
Government	6	1.3	----	----	6	.8
Armed Forces	3	.7	----	----	3	.4
Retail trade	19	4.2	13	4.0	32	4.1
Warehousing	2	.4	----	----	2	.3
Miscellaneous	9	2.0	1	.3	10	1.3
Unknown	----	----	1	.3	1	.1
Total	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

TABLE 6.—*Comparison of earnings on old and new jobs*

Earnings of employed workers	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No change in earnings	69	15.2	22	6.8	91	11.7
Higher earnings on new job:						
$1 to $5 per week	37	8.1	6	1.9	43	5.5
$6 to $10	29	6.4	8	2.5	37	4.8
$11 to $15	22	4.8	4	1.2	26	3.3
$16 to $20	18	4.0	----	----	18	2.3
$21 or more	18	4.0	1	.3	19	2.4
Higher but amount unknown	14	3.1	7	2.2	21	2.7
Higher earnings, total	138	30.4	26	8.0	164	21.1

TABLE 6.—*Comparison of earnings on old and new jobs*—Continued

Earnings of employed workers	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Lower earnings on new job:						
$1 to $5	51	11.9	32	9.9	86	11.1
$6 to $10	59	13.0	40	12.3	99	12.7
$11 to $15	40	8.8	53	16.4	93	12.0
$16 to $20	31	6.8	44	13.6	75	9.6
$21 or more	21	4.6	63	19.4	84	10.8
Lower but amount unknown	28	6.2	33	10.2	61	7.8
Lower earnings, total	233	51.3	265	81.8	498	64.0
Unknown	14	3.1	11	3.4	25	3.2
Total	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

TABLE 7.—*Skill required on new job* [1]

Amount of skill	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
More	111	27.7	59	20.1	170	24.5
Less	140	34.9	115	39.1	255	36.7
Same	110	27.4	89	30.3	199	28.6
No answer	40	10.0	31	10.5	71	10.2
Total	401	100.0	294	100.0	[2] 695	100.0

[1] Answer to question: "Do you feel your present job requires more, less, or the same amount of skill as your job at the mill?"

[2] This question was not asked in Lowell.

TABLE 8.—*Job evaluation of employed workers*

	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Attitude toward present job:						
New job better	163	35.9	74	22.8	237	30.5
New job worse	199	41.9	176	54.3	366	47.0
About the same	82	18.1	65	20.1	147	18.9
No answer	19	4.2	9	2.8	28	3.6
Total	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0
Preference for textile employment: [1]						
Yes	106	49.3	88	60.3	194	53.7
No	88	40.9	45	30.8	133	36.8
No answer	21	9.8	13	8.9	34	9.4
Total	215	100.0	146	100.0	[2] 361	100.0
Still looking for a better job?						
Yes	237	52.2	167	51.5	404	51.9
No	185	40.7	135	41.7	320	41.1
No answer	32	7.0	22	6.8	54	6.9
Total	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

[1] Answer to question (asked of workers in nontextile jobs): "Would you prefer a job in a textile mill to your present employment?"

[2] This question was not asked in Lawrence.

TABLE 9.—*Willingness to move from the area* [1]

	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	197	36.7	119	19.1	316	27.3
No	258	48.3	417	66.9	675	58.3
No answer	79	14.8	87	14.0	166	14.4
Total	534	100.0	623	100.0	1,157	100.0

[1] Answer to question: "Would you leave the area if you knew of a job elsewhere?"

NOTE.—This question was not asked of the employed workers in Lowell; it was not asked of any workers in Lawrence. The "no answer" category includes those who had retired, and members of the Armed Forces. The question was not answered by many of the mail respondents.

Payment of Traveling Costs to Visit Prisoners of War

SPEECH

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to authorize payment of the travel costs incurred by relatives of the men who are prisoners of the Chinese Communists, if it really works out that the Communists are serious and that visits will be permitted. To my surprise, this proposal has been misunderstood and even the subject of some controversy. A brief clarifying statement seems to be in order.

In the first place, it would be entirely inappropriate for any of us here in Congress to urge these unfortunate men and women to decide one way or the other, whether they go or stay. That was not my intention.

In the second place, it would be highly inappropriate for us to interfere with whatever negotiations or policy determinations the executive branch may ultimately undertake. I had no thought of forcing the hand of the President or his advisers.

But, Mr. Speaker, this small matter of defraying the expense, if and when such travel is undertaken, does fall squarely within our province as the appropriating authority for our Government. I felt—and I still feel with all my heart—that we should hasten to remove any question of expense from the other and broader considerations that confront us.

One of these men, unjustly imprisoned in a hostile foregin land as a result of strategy and policy that he had no hand in formulating, would simply be unable to understand even a suggestion that his Government might deprive him of an opportunity—if it turns out to be that—to receive a visit from his family

and loved ones. We must not forget we are dealing with individual human beings, loyal and devoted citizens whose service to our country has put them in a terrible position.

I cannot conceive of trifling with their feelings and the possibility, remote though it may be, of improving their situation before we win their ultimate release. That alone would be enough to merit swift action in their behalf.

But beyond there is something more important. This is an obvious propaganda device, cleverly pitched at us by Chou En Lai. The world is watching our reaction. And if the United States is to turn the offer down, let it be done in the considered terms of great policy and not in any sense through niggling quibbles over details.

It is my hope that we will take this offer calmly in our stride, demonstrating that we are absolutely sure of ourselves and sure of our ground all the way through. If, as is conceivable, the Chinese Reds are really indulging a cruel and heartless bit of trickery at the expense of the feelings of these unfortunate people, let the consequences rest squarely on their heads—and not on ours because we held back in apprehension. Least of all, can we afford further talk, such as has been reported in the press, that the wives and mothers who are suddenly faced with this surprising suggestion must turn it aside bacuse they have not funds to make the trip. What could be more damning and a more entirely wrong picture of our good, rich, and warmhearted Nation?

U. N. Seen Helpless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith an article by Constantine Brown, published in the Washington Evening Star Friday, January 21. In this article Mr. Brown very frankly discusses the complete failure of the United Nations to deal successfully with Communist China's lawless acts, and the failure of that organization to deal successfully with any of the other major problems which it has undertaken to solve.

The article follows:

U. N. SEEN HELPLESS—EISENHOWER SEEN BACKING DOWN AFTER FIRM STAND ON REDS

(By Constantine Brown)

President Eisenhower's suggestion at his televised news conference that the United Nations take a hand in the war between Communist and Nationalist China has found only a few supporters in Congress.

Congressional leaders have no desire to ignore the U. N. It may be that at some distant date, after the lawless nations such as the U. S. S. R. and Communist China have changed their form of dictatorship, the U N. can become influential in world affairs. But so long as Moscow and Peiping continue on a rampage, taking advantage of the unbelievable timidity of the free world, it is hard to imagine that the U. N. will be able to do anything constructive in the latest bloodletting. Its intervention to liberate the Americans jailed by Peiping shows the U. N.'s impotence.

On November 26 last year the country was stunned by the announcement that 11 Americans in uniform held by the Chinese Communists in violation of the Korean armistice had been sentenced to long jail terms. There was an uproar with demands that measures be taken to liberate the men at once. The administration had means to force the Reds to do so by threatening a blockade of the China coast.

According to expert advice given the National Security Council a blockade could have wrecked the Peiping government. Only a very limited amount of commercial and military supplies reach China by the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The Red Chinese must have open sea lanes to live. A few weeks of blockade would have forced her to shout "uncle" and get back on the track of respect for signed agreements.

Mr. Eisenhower stated that such a drastic measure as a blockade was an act of war. It is true. But we are still at war with Communist China over the Korean affair. Until the armistice has been changed into a peace treaty, the state of war between the participants in the Korean war continues to exist.

Instead of acting with determination to which we are entitled by all international regulations, the administration preferred to place the matter in the weak hands of the U. N. And now 8 weeks after the Reds told us that they had placed our men in stinking Chinese jails we are still where we were at the beginning.

Dag Hammarskjold has returned from Peiping empty handed insofar as the Americans are concerned. He announced proudly that he had begun negotiations. But he has never revealed publicly—for very good reasons—what the Chinese demanded as ransom for our boys. The good reasons are, according to what has leaked out, that the American people would not accept the Chinese Communist price.

President Roosevelt proclaimed America as the arsenal for democracy when the Nazis started their war for world domination in 1939. Since the beginning of the cold war America has not only remained the arsenal but also the world's fire hydrant. The hose has been placed, however, in the hands of her many allies, most with a similar ideological outlook but with entirely different economic and political interests.

The fact that the executive branch would welcome placing the China war in the hands of the U. N.—which so far has been utterly unsuccessful in solving any major problems—has caused concern not only among our Chinese allies in Formosa but also in congressional quarters in Washington. A collective military intervention would have to be approved by the U. N. Security Council in which the Russians have a veto. They were absent when the council decided to intervene in Korea in 1950. Nobody has been able to explain logically the reason why the Soviet representative stayed away. But we can be sure that as soon as a resolution for U. N. intervention in the China war is put forward, the 67th Soviet veto will be forthcoming.

Regardless of how longingly and wishfully our policymakers may be looking toward the U. N., the consensus of the realists in the Government is that the battle for Formosa which began this week is our own.

The Peiping dictatorship, directly supported by the U. S. S. R. and favored by the U. N. members which have recognized it, is determined to do away with the remnant of the legitimate Government of China now holding out on Formosa. Until Chiang Kai-shek and his army have been destroyed, the Chinese Communists are not sure of their domination of the mainland.

Our own security in the Pacific depends on the support we are giving to the Nationalist forces. The short-range policy is to prevent the conquest of Formosa. The long-range policy is to help the Nationalists return to the mainland.

The hesitant policies of the administration in the last few days have caused serious concern that the intimate advisers of the Chief Executive may be urging him to reconsider the only strong stand this country has taken toward Red aggression recently.

How Many More?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the editorial which follows reflects the deep concern which many of my constituents feel in regard to the plight of the small farmers. A delegation from the neighborhood where this editorial was first published will be in Washington during the next 3 days to tell the story of their distress to the Committee on Agriculture and to Government officials.

It should be remembered as we approach the overall economic problems of our country that the depression of the late twenties was prefaced by a very high stock market, great industrial prosperity, and at the same time acute distress in agriculture.

The editorial follows:

[From the Hallettsville (Tex.) Tribune of January 7, 1955]

HOW MANY MORE?

Our small farmers are victims of policies which are one-sided and unwise because unjust, to say the least. There is also no doubt as to their effect.

The high tariff is forcing our farmers to plant less and less cotton, while other countries produce more and more, as the result of our tariff policy. Mexico just had a record crop, also not without the help of our own capital.

The parity is paid in the price with a full knowledge that it will act as a serious handicap to our cotton in the world market.

Our allotment policy cut those at the bottom the same as those at the top—contrary to our income tax policy. If this tax would be levied the same way, it would make it impossible for the small people to make a living—just as this allotment policy does to the small farmers.

Under this policy, the cotton acreage is taken from our old cotton counties and given to the new ones. While our small farmers must plant less, the large producers can plant more in the new cotton counties.

The cotton allotment is in acreage, the same for those producing two bales or more per acre as for the others averaging a half bale or less.

Can anything else be expected than the farm families by the thousands being driven into the cities?

For instance, this congressional district lost some 8,000 farm families—about 25 per-

cent—as did the State and the rest of the South.

Certainly never before were so many family farmers wiped out as since 1940—with all it means to the country. There is already a talk of a farm depression spreading also into the cities.

Senator OLIN JOHNSTON sees the farm depression already on—yet almost utterly ignored, much less understood.

Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY believes the answer is in a higher farm income—of little help to small farmers unless they can produce and sell more cotton.

From independent farmers are being made people dependent only on jobs.

Instead of helping more people to settle on the farms, we are losing them wholesale.

And instead of dividing the large estates into small farms to make more independent people, we are wiping out the small ones and making bigger farms the same as the Communists do. The same results, only a different method. Nothing else can be expected—but are those policies inevitable?

Must our small farmers be sacrificed to our tariff policy?

Must our parity be used as a price handicap?

And must those at the bottom be cut the same as those at the top?

And should not the allotment be in lint instead of acreage, in justice to all?

Also, must the cotton acreage be taken from the old and given to the new counties?

And must we force our farmers to plant less while we encourage other countries to produce more cotton?

That the mechanized farming is responsible for this trend, is only a sinister fallacy—which has nothing to do at all with the above policies.

So much has happened to our farmers, yet so little is known, much less understood.

How much more must happen?

How many more farmers must be sacrificed?

How much more must our very foundation be weakened by those blind and stupid policies?

Only Congress now in session can give this answer.

Oppose Tariff Reductions on Textile—Advocate Increases in Duties on Velveteens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Boston Sunday Herald Annual Textile Review, January 23, 1955, by William F. Sullivan, president, Northern Textile Association.

This is not only a very interesting article, but one that is most truthful and forceful. Imports of Japanese textiles will cripple further a domestic industry that is already struggling for existence in the world market:

FOREIGN IMPORT RATE MAY SPELL TEXTILE DOOM

(By William F. Sullivan, president, Northern Textile Association)

New England textile people oppose tariff reductions on textile goods and advocate increases in the duties on velveteens. The rate at which recent imports of certain types of cotton goods have been entering the United States indicates that it may be necessary to recommend an increase in the duties on these fabrics, as well as on velveteens.

JAPANESE PRODUCERS

Importations of velveteens under present rates are such that the Japanese producers have captured the entire American market for low-grade plain-back velveteens and are underselling American producers of twill-back velveteens by at least 25 percent.

It is certain that any reduction on present tariffs on other textile goods would result in an invasion of the American market by Japanese or other imported cotton textiles.

The competitive interrelationship among various fabrics and fibers coupled with the complexity of the textile industry means that imports which take the domestic market away from any one fabric harm the entire industry.

The reasons for this are:

1. The textile industry which employs over one million persons is an important part of our national economy and an essential part of our New England economy. Destruction of this industry would have a chain reaction throughout our economy, and would seriously damage our national and regional economic structure.

HEAVY EMPLOYMENT

2. The textile industry is composed of thousands of highly competitive small businesses with heavy employment concentrations in certain regional and local areas. This latter characteristic magnifies the severity of losses to this industry.

3. The textile industry has been in a depressed condition for well over a year, and is particularly susceptible to competition from low-wage foreign countries. Present imports at prices lower than American manufacturing costs tend to keep the domestic market depressed and prevent a recovery by this industry.

4. Textile workers displaced by foreign or domestic competition either remain unemployed or are forced to take lower paying jobs. Experience has proven that the so-called "growth" industries do not absorb such workers. A study of 1,705 displaced New England textile workers, recently completed by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University, shows that less than one-half of the workers were reemployed, and of this number, two-thirds were earning less pay. The study concluded that "workers displaced * * * are not being absorbed in large numbers by the industries which have been expanding in this area."

FOREIGN COMPETITION

5. Competition from foreign countries, particularly Japan, is based on the extremely low wages paid in those countries. Wages and other forms of compensation are the most important factor in measuring the cost of producing fine combed cotton goods. It is estimated that labor constitutes 43 percent of the cost and raw material represents 40 percent of total cost. With only slight variations from country to country in the cost of raw material, the tremendous wage differential between the American industry and foreign countries is of special significance. Average wages of $1.41 per hour in the northern cotton and synthetic-textile industry exceed Japanese wages of 11.9 cents per hour by over 1,000 percent. Even though there may be superior productiyity in American mills, it is not sufficient to offset the enormous wage differentials.

COOPERATIVE COSTS

According to experienced textile engineers, the costs in northern United States mills exceeds Japanese costs on 6 specific cotton fabrics by 52 to 69.5 percent. If the Japanese mills had the same productivity which exists in American mills, the decrease in Japanese costs would be very slight, ranging from nine-tenths to 1.95 per yard, indicating that the current advantage of American mills in higher productivity is of but meager importance in relation to the very low wages paid by the Japanese industry.

6. The significance of the vast wage differential between our American cotton textile industry and that of Japan and other textile exporting countries is emphasized by the fact that our own industry shifted in response to wage differentials of much smaller amounts. The major portion of the industry has shifted from New England to the Southeast, because the wage and compensation level in New England varies from 20 to 30 percent higher than that of the Southeast. This compares with differentials between the United States and foreign countries of from 200 to 1,200 percent. A flow of Japanese or other foreign textiles into this country would bring about an even more rapid and intensive liquidation of the American cotton textile industry than that which has occurred in New England.

7. The attempt to aid Japan's domestic economy by aiding her to expand textile exports to the United States at the expense of the domestic producers is an unwise method. This approach to the problem of helping Japan's economy would succeed in destroying the American textile industry. The problem of combating communism in Japan by strengthening her economy is one which must be shared by all American industry and all the American people. Destruction of the American textile industry would be a severe blow to our economy which might trigger further unemployment in related and dependent industries.

The Meaning of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, for Ukrainians one of the most compelling and cohesive forces of unity is the desire for national independence. This desire is a force that brings together all Ukrainians into a common understanding and endows them with a common ideal. Achievement of this ideal is indeed fundamental for any people; for to be free from foreign domination, to establish a way of life in accordance with one's own unique political, economic, cultural, and religious concepts, and to be independent and self-reliant are basic human impulses.

Thirty-seven years ago the Ukrainians had realized, after centuries of subjection to foreign powers, their long-sought aim of national independence. Disintegration of the Russian Empire and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire made it possible, for at least a short time, to gather the formerly subject peoples of the western and eastern Ukraine into one homogeneous national republic. The Ukrainian dream had at last come true.

But the Ukraine was caught in the struggle between the Red Russians and White Russians for control over the former Russian Empire. Both forces were inimical to the national interest of

Ukrainians; for an objective of each was to reassert Russian domination, whether Red or White, over the Ukrainian people.

A country exhausted after years of war and German occupation, the Ukraine could not resist successfully the overwhelming Russian forces from the north and south and defend the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. And thus, before Bolshevik might, which had defeated the White Russian armies, the forces of Ukrainian liberation were compelled to recoil, until at last the Eastern Ukraine was again conquered by Russia. Large sections of the western Ukraine thereafter fell under Polish, Rumanian, and Czechoslovak control; but at the close of the recent World War, even those areas were united with the Soviet Ukraine and brought within the Soviet Empire.

On this January 22, the anniversary of Ukrainian independence, it is a fitting tribute to Ukrainians everywhere that this historic occasion be acclaimed. To the Ukrainian people beyond their native land, may their age-long dream again come true: That the yoke of the foreign tyrant will one day be thrown off, and that the Ukraine will again be free.

The Bureaucrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Kane (Pa.) Republican of January 14, 1955:

THE BUREAUCRATS

Once a Government bureau or commission is established by law to handle a specific problem, it too often begins to expand its activities until the original purpose for which it was created may be lost sight of.

The Interstate Commerce Commision Act was passed in the 1880's to prevent monopolistic practices by railroads, to see that charges were reasonable and just and to correct and prevent discriminatory rates. Thus did the ICC come into being.

Any railroad monopoly that may have existed 75 years ago has long since been done away with by new forms of competition on waterways, highways, and in the air. All are regulated to a greater or lesser degree by government. The railroads, however, which are the backbone of our transportation system, are handicapped by redtape and regulation which was designed to meet conditions when railroads had no competition.

Now public regulartory bodies seem to give more thought to protecting carriers from competing with each other than they do to allowing them leeway to offer the public services and rates on a competitive basis.

Thus have we seen a government regulatory agency expand its functions until today it has virtually assumed the management of the Nation's transportation systems without facing the burden of financial responsibility for their success.

If our regulatory bodies would confine themselves to giving equal treatment to all carriers, instead of trying to manage the details of their operations, the public would be assured of the best at the lowest rates. Regulation of business does not and should not be construed to mean administration and management of business.

Military Construction in Bexar County, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL J. KILDAY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the San Antonio Light of January 16, 1955:

MILITARY BUILDING SPREE

San Antonio military installations enter the year 1955 in the middle of their greatest building boom in history involving permanent construction.

Work already is well underway or soon to be started on projects totaling some $43 million with an additional $9 million planned for later in the year.

Heading this gigantic permanent improvement program is Kelly AFB with 5 projects amounting to close to $30 million.

Lackland AFB adds $6,500,000 to the total and the highly classified ordnance depot and storage area west of that base another $6,800,000.

Still in the planning stage but tentatively set for later in the year are the $8 million School of Aviation Medicine at Brooks AFB and $1,130,000 nurses quarters at Brooke Army Medical Center.

Topping the Kelly building program is the 2,000 by 300-foot aircraft maintenance hanger and adjoining shops 1,650 by 250 feet. Steel framework for the huge $12,500,000 structure, being built by Farnsworth & Chambers, contractors, is now up but the estimated completion date is February 1956.

Another project barely shaded by the hangar construction is scheduled to get started next month at Kelly. Bids will be opened February 9 on the 2-mile-long heavy duty runway for which $12,193,000 has been authorized.

This runway is to be actually 11,550 feet long and 300 feet wide and is to accommodate aircraft up to 400,000 pounds gross weight. The estimated completion date is June 30, 1956.

Another big structure being built at Kelly is a 1,200 by 400-foot supply warehouse, work on which will continue throughout the year. The H. B. Zachry Co. is building the warehouse under a $2,196,977 contract.

Farnsworth & Chambers also are building a 400 by 400-foot special warehouse, shop, and office at Kelly. The cost is $1,396,000 and the completion date June 1955.

Also nearing completion at Kelly is the last of 16-engine test cells, built under a $1,330,000 contract by Harwell & Harwell.

With the exception of the maintenance hangar at Kelly, all new construction at local installations is being supervised by the San Antonio suboffice of the Galveston district engineer's office. The Air Force is supervising the hanger construction.

Last summer the Galveston district engineer's office announced award of a contract for $6,810,796.38 to C. L. Browning, Jr., or construction of the classified ordnance depot. The work was to be completed early in 1955.

At Lackland a 9-story Air Force hospital is being built by Farnsworth & Chambers under a $6,498,107.63 contract.

The architectural firm of Page & Sons, Austin, has been working on the plans for the new home of the School of Aviation Medicine at Brooks. Construction contracts are tentatively scheduled to be let in the fall.

A first authorization of $8 million has been made for that project, originally announced as a $30-million program.

This means that San Antonio is expanding its position as the major Air Force center of the United States, and is maintaining its position as a major Army center.

Fifty-two million dollars in military construction in Bexar County in 1955.

Forty-three million dollars already under construction or under contract.

Nine million dollars in contracts will be awarded in 1955.

The aircraft-maintenance hangar nearing completion at Kelly Air Force Base is actually the rebuilding of the obsolete shops at Kelly. With the completion of the new runway, Kelly will be the most modern aircraft-maintenance center in the world, in addition to being the largest such installation. It now furnishes steady employment for about 20,000 civilian employees. With modern buildings, runways, and equipment, its permanence and future are assured.

National Shut-In's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure for me to invite the attention of the House to a highly commendable organization known as the Shut-In's Day Association.

The objective of the association, which everyone must readily recognize as being most benevolent and humanitarian, is to encourage remembrance of the sick and disabled shut-in whether the individual be a civilian or war veteran. The general therapeutic value of the activities of this association to the less fortunate members of our society who must be confined indoors for long or permanent periods of time is widely acknowledged. The welfare of all mankind will be significantly advanced. It is a well-known fact that there are some long-continuing illnesses which can be at least partially alleviated by the bringing of encouragement and cheer and through the proper display of kindness and affection on the part of those who are entirely well. That the organization's manifold activities are intended to be universally appealing and effective is apparent since it has consciously striven to be nonsectarian, nonpolitical, nonracial, and nonprofit-making.

I consider it a distinct privilege to be able to encourage the national observation of Shut-In's Day by introducing a bill to have Congress designate the first Sunday in June of each year as Shut-In's Day and to authorize and request the President of the United States to issue

annually a proclamation calling for appropriate recognition and celebration of the day.

A developing interest on both a national and international scale is being demonstrated with reference to the desirability of having a day of remembrance set aside for the many unfortunate people who are forced by illness and disability to remain in their homes, hospitals, or sanitaria. An increasing number of the shut-ins are war veterans who, because of their sacrifices for all of us, are particularly deserving of the attention and consideration of those who are in good health. Many of the hospitalized veterans remain cheerfully patient, awaiting the day of recovery or improvement, even though they realize inwardly that they may never enjoy the open sunshine again. Their chief contentment must be derived only from the thoughtfulness of those who visit them and send them books, magazines, flowers, and other tokens of warm and kind friendship.

Precisely when such an excellent program as the present one originated, or by whom it was first conceived, is not known, but the determination of the date is not essential to the continued success of the program. It has been established, however, that an annual day of remembrance for those unfortunate souls who must be confined to their homes, hospitals, and other institutions was in the mind of man perhaps centuries ago. English and Canadian soldiers stationed in India many years ago brought back reports concerning one of the Indian religious sects whose members visited soldiers confined in hospitals or their homes on a certain day of each year. The sick or wounded were presented with gifts such as flowers and food delicacies.

In the early thirties in the United States and Canada many shut-ins exchanged cards or letters of greeting observing Shut-In's Day. The honor and credit for making Shut-In's Day an organized observance belongs to Ernest Barker, a young Canadian shut-in, who with the help of a few friends founded the Shut-In's Day Association, International, in 1942. Since that time a great deal of desirable, well-warranted publicity has been accorded the idea of an annual Shut-In's Day. Ministers, governors, mayors, representatives of the press, radio, television, and civic clubs, and the general public have all made impressive contributions to furthering the project. Twenty of our State governors issued proclamations in recognition of Shut-In's Day in 1953.

Surely so noble a movement—already so widely supported—deserves the fullest national recognition. In terms of cost—whether we consider costs in time, energy, or money—adequate observance of the day entails very little by way of sacrifice on the part of society. But no sacrifice is too great if through it we may bring to the permanently afflicted—the shut-ins—some measure of comfort by the demonstration of the friendly concern of their more fortunate fellow citizens.

Fair Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. J. Mahlon Buck, president of Smith, Kline & French, Inc., wholesale druggists in Philadelphia, recently made a speech at the company's annual sales meeting on private brands and fair trade, and under the authorization granted me I am asking it be reprinted in the RECORD.

PRIVATE BRANDS AND FAIR TRADE

In preparing for this meeting, and before deciding what I would say today, I read over the papers presented at our meeting here at Seaview just 10 years ago. I wish that time would permit us to review all of the events and experiences leading up to our decision to discontinue our own private brand line in 1944, but we believe that the time can be more profitably spent in studying the results attained during the intervening period.

It was interesting to note in going over these reports that every statement contained therein applies with equal force today; and that the need for a crusade on behalf of national brands throughout the country is even more urgent in 1955 than it was in 1945. As Mr. Van Arsdale will show you, there is abundant evidence to prove that in the area covered by this company, the private brand has practically disappeared from the shelves of the great majority of leading independent drug stores. It is regrettable that similar progress has not been made in other sections of the country, where the retailer's display space, as well as his stockrooms, still bulge with so-called long-profit off-brands or agency lines which have neither consumer demand nor acceptance comparable with the nationally advertised leaders.

In our opinion, a large share of the responsibility for this unfortunate condition rests upon the editors, publishers and writers of the drug trade publications, the officers of the National, State, and county pharmaceutical associations, and those who, like our guests today, represent our vast publicity network, including the newspapers, magazines, radio and television. It is still the grassroots support, if you please, of that vast multitude of small and medium-sized independent retail druggists which determines and will continue to determine the number of dollars which advertisers will have available to spend in the national media, and the few dollars spent by the agency line or private brand advertisers is a drop in the bucket compared with the potential loss of revenue to your companies if the national brands manufacturers of proprietary drugs and toiletries are compelled to cut back on their appropriations.

Whenever drugmen gather together today, the subject of grocery distribution of health and beauty items soon emerges as the chief topic of conversation. Well-documented statistics, confirmed by the producers themselves, indicate that as much as 40 percent of the sales of some products which were previously sold almost entirely through drugstores is now moving through the grocery channels. There are many reasons for this, but to our mind the primary reason is seldom considered. We refer to the druggists' blind devotion to agency lines and/or substitutes for national brands.

Ask yourself this question: "Why did the grocery chains meet with immediate success a few years ago when they first installed their so-called drug departments?" Now do you remember the average drug store 10 years ago? Everything for sale was behind glass in wall or floor cases, except the items displayed on the counter. And what items were featured in those displays? In a great many cases, the proprietor's agency line, or substitutes for national brands, or his own tonic, cough sirup, or what have you. He didn't feature the brands that people wanted to buy because they didn't show him enough profit on each sale, and, when he did, he refused to price-mark them because, as a professional men, he didn't want his drugstore to look like a grocery store. He insisted on doing business the way he liked it, with no thought for the consumer's preference. All the grocer had to do was to offer what the customer wanted (no agency lines or substitutes) with the price clearly marked on the shelf. And the price was the same, only the druggist wouldn't let the consumer know that.

Now suppose all the druggists had instead featured national brands, with prices clearly marked, in open displays. Undoubtedly the grocer would have tried a drug section just the same, but if it hadn't clicked with big volume right at the start, he would have discontinued it, or relegated it to an unimportant location, or at least would not have expanded it to the extent that he has.

We're glad to say that druggists by the thousands have been installing open displays and promoting national brands to combat this new competition. This is commendable, for it is never too late to recognize the consumer's preferences.

But now comes the $64 question: Will the grocer go over to private brands after this "drug" department is firmly established, as he has done on hundreds of food products? My guess is that he likes it very much this way, with fair trade, a 1¼-percent rent, no high-priced registered pharmacists, and self-service. But he is inherently a hard trader, and the threat of promoting substitutes will find many willing manufacturers who will be scared into paying for display position. This is only the beginning.

In conclusion, I want to say a few words about fair trade. Those of us who were in the drug business prior to the passage of the Miller-Tydings Enabling Act in 1938 remember only too well the chaotic conditions prevailing throughout the industry at all levels. I fail to understand why even the most rugged individualist in business would oppose a system which, if properly enforced, would insure orderly distribution, with equal opportunity for all, in favor of a return to continuous jungle warfare in the market place, unless he personally had never been subjected to it. Even those in the advertising agency and newspaper fields who were greatly concerned initially, lest the elimination of price wars might reduce advertising revenues, have enjoyed steady growth under fair trade.

The great majority of us in this industry believe in fair trade, but have been conditioned by advance reports coming out of Washington for an attack on this law by the Attorney General's office early next year, which may have the effect of setting off fireworks in many States where fair trade has become a political football.

Naturally, the public doesn't like fair trade, because it doesn't understand it. To the consumer, it means fixed prices at high levels—nothing more or less. It seems to me that unless we can convince him that fair trade actually protects his interests by keeping prices down, we are in for a tough fight and a possible defeat.

For a long time I have been waiting for some tangible evidence which would again confirm the findings of the NARD survey of

several years ago; as well as the results of the exhaustive study undertaken by the drug chains at about the same time. You will remember that the former conclusively proved that fair trade actually saved the consumer about 1 percent by leveling prices in small towns and big cities nationally, while the latter developed the indisputable evidence that under fair trade, the retail prices of drugstore products rose only a few percent during our inflationary period, while the retail prices of all other classes of goods were rising from 25 percent in many categories to as much as 100 percent in a few others.

The big test came in February 1953. You will remember that in that month, President Eisenhower ordered the removal of all price controls. To our chagrin as wholesalers, very few prices were advanced either at wholesale or retail. Now we were to see just what decontrol of prices would mean to our friends in the grocery field, where fair trade had been scornfully spurned as a device to gouge the consumer.

With so many items involved, it was obviously impossible to estimate the average increases which were put into effect almost immediately in the grocery field. But there is always one source of information which accurately reflects the net operating profits of our larger retail corporations—the earnings per share as revealed to the SEC through their financial statements.

I submit to you now a comparison between the earnings per share in 1951 through the latest available fiscal period in 1954, of the 5 leading drug chains operating very largely under fair trade, versus the 5 leading grocery chains operating very largely without fair trade. These firms were not handpicked. They represent the largest companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange in their respective fields.

5 drug chains[1] earnings

	Per share			
	1951	1952	1953[2]	1954[3]
Cunningham	$4.41	$4.02	$3.99	$3.72
Walgreen	2.83	2.44	2.26	1.84
United-Whelan	.42	.26	.30	.18
Rexall-Liggett	.55	.56	.90	.72
Peoples	3.45	3.34	3.35	2.28
Total	11.66	10.62	10.80	8.74

[1] Source: Standard & Poor.
[2] Prices decontrolled February 1953.
[3] Estimated.

NOTE.—1954 versus 1951, earnings down 25 percent.

5 grocery chains[1] earnings

	Per share			
	1951	1952	1953[2]	1954[3]
American Stores	$3.88	$3.91	$5.46	$5.50
A. & P.	12.16	13.14	13.70	14.15
Kroger	3.45	3.30	3.40	4.26
Penn Fruit	1.65	1.91	2.40	2.42
Safeway	2.26	2.00	4.07	3.74
Total	23.40	24.26	29.03	30.07

[1] Source: Hemphill Noyes & Co.
[2] Prices decontrolled February 1953.
[3] Estimated.
(Food Fair reports 28 weeks to Nov. 13, $1.26 versus $0.89 last year.)

NOTE.—1954 versus 1951, earnings up 26 percent.

I think you will agree that what may presently appear to be fair trade's Achilles' heel, namely, the argument that it fails to protect the consumer through its elimination of free and open competition, may indeed become its strongest defense against attack, when and if these facts are made known to the public.

Gallup Poll Opinion on First-Class Postage Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under consent approved by the House, I am including herewith a statement entitled "Gallup Poll Opinion on First-Class Postage Increase."

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield has called attention to a report by George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, indicating the views of the people contacted in respect to increases in first-class mail rates.

The statement follows:

For the first time in the 6 years since an increase in postage rates was first advocated to cut down the operating deficit of the United States Post Office Department, majority opinion today favors raising the rate on first-class mail from 3 to 4 cents.

By an even greater margin, the public would approve increasing the airmail rate from 6 to 7 cents.

These facts come to light in the latest coast-to-coast survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion in which a representative cross section of the Nation's voters was asked:

"To help put the United States Post Office Department on a paying basis, would you favor or oppose increasing the rate of first-class mail from 3 cents to 4 cents?"

The vote nationwide and by men and women:

	National	Men	Women
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Favor	51	55	46
Oppose	45	42	49
No opinion	4	3	5

An increase in postal rates was first advocated in 1949 to help erase the mounting post-office deficit which since World War II has exceeded $4 billion.

At that time an institute survey found 59 percent opposed, 33 percent in favor, while 8 percent expressed no opinion on increasing first-class postage.

The 1949 survey did find a majority would approve raising the rate on the penny postcard to 2 cents. That increase was approved by Congress in 1952.

Each voter in today's survey also was asked:

"Would you favor or oppose raising the rate on airmail from 6 cents to 7 cents?"

The vote:

	National	Men	Women
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Favor	54	59	48
Oppose	40	35	45
No opinion	6	6	7

Six years ago, the vote was 51 percent in favor, 40 percent opposed, and 9 percent no opinion.

Today's survey finds that the greatest opposition to boosting first-class postal rates would come from the Nation's farmers, from southern voters and from residents of small towns and rural areas.

Rank-and-file Democrats are more opposed than are GOP voters.

In the fiscal year 1954, the Post Office had a deficit of more than $399 million.

Last August, the President vetoed a general pay rise for the postal service's 500,000 employees, partly on the ground that the bill passed by Congress contained no provision for improving postal revenues.

Tribute to a Hometown Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, every city and town has a few people with splendid minds. Because they revere truth and integrity they avoid the vanity of personal publicity. Not until they have passed away, do their fellow citizens become aware of their fine qualities and the self-effacing service they gave in helping others.

Upon the smaller circle of friends and associates they leave an indelible impression. Contact with a fine mind that is a stimulating adventure. It brings knowledge, reason, and, above all, understanding.

We had such a man in Lawrence, Mass., by the name of Charles D. Mahoney.

He was a brilliant product of Yale's Sheffield School of Engineering and Harvard Law School.

His talents were many and his heart was generous.

Some of this excellence rubbed off on those who were privileged to know him, and, in turn, will be passed on to others. He was a man of whom one could genuinely say, "I am better than I might have been, because he shared his mind with me."

Imitation is the greatest tribute of all.

Slowly, but inevitably, it increases the range of human progress.

In the meantime, permit me to bring to you the hometown appreciation of Attorney Charles D. Mahoney, as it was published in the Lawrence Sunday Sun of October 31, 1954.

The article follows:

SUNDAY SUN, PRESIDENT HAD OUTSTANDING CAREER

The bell tolled last Thursday in the Chuch of St. Laurence O'Tools—his home parish—for Charles D. Mahoney, 53, lawyer, engineer, journalist and sportsman, who, in too short a lifespan, had contributed so much to his community, had given so unstintingly of his skills, time and effort over the years to hundreds of persons who had had the good fortune to move within his broad sphere of activity.

His work was done unobtrusively, for he was of a nature which shunned ostentation and possesed an inherent characteristic which motivated him to circumvent as many as possible of the avenues which had been opened to him to bathe in the glare and glamor of the plaudits of the multitude.

He did his work quietly. He did it with precise efficiency. He did it in such a manner that those in his intimate association could not help but marvel at the vast volume

of labor he could accomplish, without flourish but invariably almost with mathematical precision.

But, try as he might to "hide his light under a bushel," there was no way in which he could prevent the radiation of his spirit and his energy among his fellowmen, and it was contagious to a degree which found those within his aura unconsciously reaping benefit from his professional acumen and his rich experience and academic background.

Exemplary of the esteem in which he was held by his colleagues in the legal profession was the fact that Judge John J. Darcy suspended the session of Lawrence District Court in his honor on Wednesday after a most impressive eulogy was presented in the courtroom by Attorney Harold M. Siskind, president of the Lawrence Bar Association.

The passing of Charles D. Mahoney brought a sense of personal loss not only to the members of his immediate family, but to scores of others whom he had befriended as he walked his quiet way through life. His classmates at Phillips Andover Academy, at Yale's Sheffield School of Engineering, where he was designated the most brilliant student in his class and from which he received his degree in that scientific field, at Harvard Law School, where he received his degree which led him into the footsteps of his illustrious father, the late Attorney John P. S. Mahoney—those who knew him in his youth—mourned that he had gone away.

And even more acutely was his departure a source of grieving to those who associated with him in his postacademic years; and this embraces men and women in every walk of life, and all of whom he treated with the great and the little, each an equal respect which was a part of his makeup, an unswerving acknowledgment of the dignity of the human spirit, an unbending adherence to the principles of his faith and his Nation which dictate that all men are created equal.

His magnificent victory for the city of Lawrence in a power-rates case some years ago in which he, alone, pitted his skills against some of the greatest legal and engineering minds in the country, wrote a deathless page into the history of the city and established him as being beyond question one of the greatest minds in his field in his time. What he did would have furnished conversation pieces for a lifetime for persons less modest in their self-appraisal. But, Charles D. Mahoney never talked about it. His accomplishment was on the record. So far as he was concerned, that was sufficient unto the day.

In more recent years, he turned his thoughts and efforts in large measure, while carrying on his law practice, to his first love, the publication of a newspaper, the Lawrence Sunday Sun, which his father years ago had operated. And, once again, he was following in the footsteps of a great publisher and a great lawyer.

While a newspaper can be a weapon of great potentiality, Charles D. Mahoney, in his role of president-treasurer-managing editor, chose to employ it in a benign sense. He operated from his position with an attitude of fair play for all, deviating from that course only when a given situation might warrant a blow in the cause of righteousness. Those about him in the newspaper field had the deepest respect for his sound judgment and for his equitable treatment for all the many hundreds of persons who are in close personal contact with a hometown newspaper. And his first thought in mind was ever for the dissemination of truth among the thousands of readers of the Sunday Sun—presenting the facts, and leaving to them the formulation of opinions therefrom.

His funeral was, in a way, the story of his life. It was a story which could be read in the faces of those who came to mourn: pride in that they had once walked his way; sadness in that their ways were severed.

The funeral was held from the John Breen Memorial Funeral Home with a high Mass of requiem in St. Laurence's Church at 9 o'clock. Very Rev. John A. Daley, O. S. A., pastor, was the celebrant. The choir chanted Subvenite as the body was borne into the church, Mrs. Thomas J. Murphy sang Pie Jesu at the offertory.

The Deficit in Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

THE DEFICIT IN JOBS

Is the national economy sitting on a time bomb?

We ask the question in all seriousness because the trend of employment statistics continues to be disturbing.

We ask it in spite of the resolute cheerfulness of Secretary of Labor Mitchell and Secretary of Commerce Weeks. In the latest of their monthly reports, the two Cabinet members say that, although total employment fell by more than a million jobs in December, the decline was largely seasonal, due to less activity in farming, construction, and the like.

In summer the administration is cheerful about the rise in outdoor jobs and plays down any decline in factory employment. In winter it hails the rise in factory jobs and dismisses the loss of outdoor jobs as largely seasonal.

But is this really the wise way to approach the problem? Is it not better to face all the facts all the time, winter and summer? Is it not better to face facts now than to have them hit us like a blockbuster later on?

The overriding fact which Messrs. Mitchell and Weeks consistently overlook is that, in spite of some encouraging gains, employment is not rising enough to match the growth of the Nation.

Total employment in December, they report, was 60,688,000 jobs. What they do not tell us is that this is the lowest December total since 1950.

Is December, then, a bad month to look at because of seasonal decline in outdoor jobs? Well, let us look at the month of highest total employment, usually August. In 1954 the peak employment was 62,276,000. That was the lowest peak month of any year since 1949.

It is all very well to say that 62 million jobs are a lot of jobs. They are. But they are not enough for a growing country and an expanding economy.

Over the last 20 years the working population has grown by more than 11 million, an average of 560,000 a year. Applying that rate of growth for the past 4 years, December employment should have been 62,564,000 instead of 60,688,000, and peak 1954 employment should have been 64,623,000 instead of 62,276,000.

Employment cannot, of course, follow a neat and regular pattern at all times. Ups and downs are inevitable, especially during adjustment to a peacetime economy. But the Korean war has been over for 18 months now. It is time to recognize that we have a deficit of 2,000,000 or 2,500,000 jobs which needs to be promptly overcome.

An Annual Address to Congress by the Chief Justice of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished journalist, Mr. Arthur Krock, of the New York Times, has analyzed some of the arguments pro and con relating to the proposal that the Chief Justice of the United States be invited to deliver an annual address to Congress on the state of the judicial branch of government and related matters.

His characteristically fair and able approach to this problem, I hope, will help to put the issues in proper perspective and serve to dissipate some of the discussion which has beclouded the merits of the controversy.

IN THE NATION—THE PLAN TO PUT THE CHIEF JUSTICE BEFORE CONGRESS

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, January 13.—It was inevitable that objections would arise to the proposal by Representative KENNETH B. KEATING that the Chief Justice of the United States shall address annually a joint session of Congress on "the state of the judiciary." It was also desirable that these protests should be strong because of two implications of the proposal that quickly suggest themselves.

The first, as some Members of Congress pointed out, is that regular physical contact between the head of the Federal judiciary and the legislative arm of the Government, with the former asking legislation from the latter as an entity, tends to remove the barrier which the Constitution carefully erected between these two branches. The second point made is that the proposal would create a fixed association between the head of the Federal judiciary and the political body of the Government and expose the Chief Justice to the suspicion he might take advantage of the opportunity thus offered to make himself President.

Neither objection was applied to the present Chief Justice, they envisage a possible future in which another Salmon Portland Chase would take with him onto the high bench an insatiable ambition to become the Chief Executive. Earl Warren has left the political arena so recently that he is still the victim of would-be President-makers, callous toward the great constitutional principle, who now and then nominate him for the Republican nomination in 1956 if General Eisenhower shall decline to run again. There is every reason to believe these suggestions are deeply repugnant to the Chief Justice, and that he meant it when he said he was through with politics forever. But this will not necessarily be the case with a successor.

The Constitution prescribes the President as the only head of another department who shall regularly inform Congress as a whole on the state of the Union and make recommendations concerning it. The Constitution also makes the President a participant in the legislative process by giving him the veto power. But everything in the charter holds the judiciary aloof from the two other coordinate branches.

ADVOCATES AND THEIR ARGUMENTS

The Keating plan carries out an idea originally advanced by William P. Rogers, Dep-

uty Attorney General of the United States. It is supported by some of the highest-minded men on the Federal bench—among them Chief Judges Harold M. Stephens and John Biggs, Jr., to whom none can attribute an easy attitude toward relaxing the principles of the Constitution or deny their full understanding of these. They find the Federal courts in what they describe as a desperate plight by the neglect of Congress, with a growing backlog of unfinished litigation (78,531 of 171,512 cases left pending July 1, 1954) and greatly undermanned. They are convinced by their own experience with congressional committees that the situation calls for a desperate remedy. So they have concluded that only the personal intervention of the Chief Justice in the dramatic setting of a joint session can rouse Congress from its indifference.

They and other judicial supporters of the Keating plan offer, among others, these rebuttals to the objections:

Congress has provided by law for a Judicial Conference of the United States, presided over by the Chief Justice, which shall recommend the creation of new judgeships and other increases in personnel. The law requires that conference estimates of costs shall be included without revision in the President's budget as submitted to Congress. Representatives of the conference often appear personally before committees in behalf of this budget. There could be no conceivable objection if the Chief Justice at times were to be one such representative. What, then, is the difference in principle between his personal appearance before a committee, as a suppliant for legislation and money, and his personal appearance before the entire Congress from which the committees derive their function?

The current system has been marked by fatal delays before Congress gets around to approving recommended increases in the courts. And Congress is disposed disastrously to cut the conference budget. Moreover, these conference spokesmen "are not able to make their representations * * * even to the full Committees on the Judiciary and Appropriations of the House and Senate. * * * They appear only before the subcommittees." And, even if they could appear before the full committees, the record shows that this would not be sufficiently effective; hence the needs of the judiciary should be made known to the whole Congress.

"Delay in the disposition of civil cases in the United States courts," wrote Chief Judge Stephens in a memorandum supporting the Keating resolution, "has become such that in the urban centers * * * there is in effect a denial of justice to litigants. [This] impairs the confidence of litigants and the public in the judiciary branch."

The congressional delays and cuts coexist with overconservatism in the conference toward new recommendations. Only by the Chief Justice in a joint session can Congress and the people be alerted to what many think a national disaster.

Income Tax on Dividends Coming From Foreign Investments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, yesterday my good friend, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY], in the course of some very interesting remarks on the pending extension of the reciprocal trade agreements authority, made a statement which I believe needs clarification.

He stated, and I quote:

Only in the last session of the 83d Congress, we approved a tax bill which reduced the income tax on dividends coming from foreign investments. By that act alone, you set up a 14 percentage point advantage for American capital to go abroad and establish factories to exploit cheap labor abroad in order to make these products to be brought to America under our trade treaty to take the jobs away from your American workers.

Mr. Speaker, there was a provision in the tax bill as it passed the House similar to that which the gentleman referred. However, it was not in the bill as finally enacted and is, therefore, not a part of our present tax law. I might also point out that the House provision denied the 14-point tax reduction where more than 25 percent of the gross income from the foreign branch or subsidiary would be derived from the manufacture of goods intended for sale or use in the United States.

The President's Message—Formosa and the Pescadores

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Arthur Krock, appearing in this morning's New York Times, entitled "The Purpose of the Message and Its Form":

THE PURPOSE OF THE MESSAGE AND ITS FORM

WASHINGTON, January 24.—The President had two principal reasons for asking Congress, but not in person, for authority he already has as Commander in Chief to defend Formosa and the Pescadores. Since the notice it gives to Communist China is designed to act as a deterrent to the proclaimed intention of Peiping to take the area by force, the President wanted the notice to have the full official and public support of the branch of Government which finances military undertakings and has the sole constitutional power to declare war. Since peace was the design of the message, the President sought to restrain the contrary impression, which the Peiping Government is trying to stimulate, by not delivering it in person.

When Presidents in this country have gone to the Capitol in times of military threat to the security of the United States it has been in the atmosphere of impending or actual war, and war itself has quickly followed. Woodrow Wilson knew of the German Foreign Minister's offer to Mexico to join Germany in war against the United States, in consideration of help to regain Texas and other Southwestern States, when, February 26, 1917, he asked Congress for approval of his plan to arm American merchant ships. And Germany had already declared total submarine hostilities. On April 2, 1917, and December 8, 194,1 Presidents Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt respectively went in person to the Capitol to ask Congress for formal declarations of war.

This historical association was deliberately avoided by President Eisenhower today. It was good statesmanship to do so, and it was good strategy in the interest of maintaining his request as a deterrent, and not as a stimulus, of war, or as an implication of belief that war is inevitable. In the highest sense of the word, it was good politics, too. Politics has been well defined as the art of government, and for the President to seek a common front of the executive and Congress in the circumstances, and a common front of the two major political parties also, were excellent practices of the art of government.

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL PLEDGE

From the standpoint of political integrity the President's resort to Congress was also of national benefit. He was carrying out a pledge he has often made publicly as well as his own concept. But in addition he was redeeming an implied pledge in the platform on which he was nominated.

It was:

"We charge that they [the Truman administration] have plunged us into war with Korea without the consent of our citizens through their authorized representatives in Congress and have carried on that war without will to victory."

In view of the President's decision that the governmental province and responsibilities of Congress entitled it to know in advance what he proposed to do around Formosa, and his request for it to become his partner where the Constitution authorized him to act alone, a comment attributed to Speaker RAYBURN seems strange. According to the United Press, the presiding officer of the popular legislative body, himself second in the presidential line of succession, remarked that General Eisenhower had the unilateral power to do what he proposed, "but he wanted it done this way, so it will be done this way." The reasonable expectation was that the Speaker of the House of Representatives would have applauded this presidential recognition of Congress, quite aside from the obvious and important fact that by his action the President sought to present to the world a unified Government of the United States in so grave a business.

The contrast to President Truman's procedure with respect to the Communist invasion of South Korea implied, of course, a criticism of this procedure that was not relished politically by Democratic leaders who, if perchance they shared this criticism, anyhow did not voice it and defended what Truman did. Senator Taft contended that the President usurped his powers and breached section 6 of the bill to implement the United Nations Charter by ordering Armed Forces to Korea without consulting Congress or asking for its sanction. Other Republicans attacked him for not even asking for the approval of Congress immediately after the fact, or ever. And now a Republican President has gone to Congress for its approval before the fact, though by common consent he did not require it.

Some Democrats have been saying privately that what the administration really wanted was for the Democratic-controlled Congress to volunteer advance approval of what the President as Commander in Chief might deem it necessary to do to protect Formosa and the Pescadores. They read this purpose into visits made to committees by administration officials before it became known that the President would initiate the matter by sending a formal request. They suspect that these officials hoped to join the Democratic Party more firmly to eventualities in the Formosa Strait through the sponsorship of an advance resolution of approval by committees under Democratic control.

But either this lacks substantial proof or the proof is not procurable. At any rate, the President initiated the move, after his agents tested the political ground and found it firm in both parties.

Address by Democratic National Committeeman Carmine G. De Sapio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith the address of the Honorable Carmine G. De Sapio on the occasion of the victory dinner of the New York State Democratic Committee on Friday, January 14, 1955.

Mr. De Sapio is the Democratic national committeeman, and the secretary of state of the State of New York. He is one of our outstanding Democratic leaders; and as the national elections of 1956 approach, he will be heard from more and more often.

His remarks follow:

Good evening, my friends and fellow Democrats, this is a happy occasion, this victory celebration, an historic event which largely was made possible by your loyal support. You have earned the gratitude of your party and the gratification of knowing that you have helped elect what will undoubtedly be a very great State administration. For myself, I congratulate you and I thank you. I pledge to you my continued efforts to serve you, our party, and the people as best I can for as long as I may.

You have every right to take pride, this evening, in the results of your political activities. But just as you may well be proud, so too must we all be aware of the profound responsibility with which we as a party have been entrusted. The people look to us to support our Governor and his administration so that we may bring to realization the Democratic Party platform and the Democratic tradition of a sound government possessed of purpose, of vision, and of action.

In order that we may achieve that for which we strive, and that we may keep our bargain with the 15 million people of our State, it is imperative that each of us do all that we can to secure the support of the people for our program. It is vital, too, that we attract to our administration the best minds that we can find so that more men and women of the type our Governor has thus far appointed can make their genius and their talents available for public service.

Soon you will meet many of the members of Governor Harriman's administration—people who represent the highest dedication to public service and the finest qualifications and backgrounds for the positions which they hold.

But as the Governor—and Mayor Wagner—can tell you, it isn't easy, these days, to enlist sufficient of the great wealth of intellect, of experience, and of leadership with which we as a State are endowed. It isn't easy because in recent years too many outstanding people who, at great personal and financial sacrifice went into Government service, frequently found themselves the victims of brutal vilification.

In the shallow interests of political expediency on the one hand, and stimulating readership circulation on the other, decent people have been maligned and outraged; insultingly and degradingly characterized as "politicians."

It is axiomatic, my friends, that the people will get only the kind of government and the kind of public officials they want. So long as a placid public permits the fear of unwarranted attacks to discourage leading citizens from making their abilities available for the benefit of all, so long will it be difficult to find men and women of sufficient courage and armor to perform necessary jobs. And if we continue to allow politicians and public servants to be held up to ridicule, we will continue to deny ourselves the manpower and brainpower which good government requires and demands.

We who are in politics—we politicians—have no cause for apology. To the contrary, we directly make possible our system of government, and we work in the causes of civics and citizenship.

Every man and woman in this great banquet hall tonight is a politician. Whether you be labor leaders, teachers, industrialists, bankers, farmers, workers, housewives, or students, the fact of your interest in politics, and your support of a political party, makes you a politician. And I submit that that is an honorable designation and one which evidences acceptance of your responsibility as American citizens, and your recognition of the truth that politics is everybody's business.

It is at once naive and shortsighted to try to separate politics from government, and government from any part of human life. Let us be proud to be known as politicians, and let us be even more proud of those people who devote themselves to public service. It is not easy to hold high office. Certainly it is incumbent upon all of us to lighten the task of those who accept the challenge and to heighten the dignity and the prestige of their work.

It is for us, also, to see to it that politics and government are practiced on the same standard of conscience and morality which we apply to our homes and families—in the spirit of faith and goodwill, and in keeping with the teachings of the golden rule—doing unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Again may I extend to you my personal thanks as well as the thanks of our party for all that you have done. With men and women such as you in our ranks, we cannot help but achieve ever greater success for our philosophy, for our program, and, most of all, for the people whom we are mandated to represent and whose welfare we are pledged to protect.

Thank you very much.

The Port: United States Stepchild

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of January 19, 1955:

THE PORT: UNITED STATES STEPCHILD

The port of Philadelphia is cast in the role of underprivileged stepchild in the new Federal budget.

What the port asked was a good start on the $91 million needed to cut a 40-foot channel up-river to Trenton. What it got was a grudging, tentative $6 million tied in with a demand for "adequate cost sharing."

The President no doubt following the advice of his budget aids is thus demanding that the United States Steel Co. or some other individual or group of local interests pay at least two-thirds of the channel cost.

Why the Federal Government should take this attitude is not at all easy to understand.

Is there a desire for general economy in harbor work? It doesn't seem that way: the total amount for the Nation is increased $66 million in the President's message. And to rub a little salt into Greater Philadelphia's wound, there's $21 million for the St. Lawrence Seaway. Many regard that as the greatest threat to the Port of Philadelphia since DeWitt Clinton's Big Ditch.

Is it a new way of doing business, with private corporations asked to buy in on the public domain of navigable waterways? Perhaps. But why start with Greater Philadelphia? Why does the budget call for the United States to pay the way from Puget Sound to the Florida Keys, excepting along the Delaware?

It is pertinent that the $91 million, sizable as it is, is less than the Federal customs take from the port for 2 years. There are figures that show that every dollar spent by the United States on the Delaware in 50 years has yielded more than $14 in customs. Where is the economy in halting that kind of return on an investment?

Congress often makes up its own mind on the President's budget recommendations.

The citizens of greater Philadelphia—with the growth and prosperity of the whole area involved—have reason to hope that the region's Congressmen can forcibly upset this damaging budget recommendation.

The Administration Discovers Culture 2 Years Late

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower is trying to get Congress interested in the fine arts. This is a field, he thinks, where Russia is outdistancing the United States, and he proposes that something be done about it. As a beginning, he proposes that Congress set up a Federal Advisory Commission on the Fine Arts.

This story is told in the January 28, 1955, issue of U. S. News & World Report. The story fails to mention the bills sponsored by 10 Members of the House and 6 Senators in the 83d Congress on which hearings were held by the House Education and Labor Committee.

In the majority report on those bills the Republican members of the House Education and Labor Subcommittee said:

In view of our analysis of the proposed legislation, and our study of this hearing record, we recommend that none of the bills referred to in this report be passed.

It may be that, as in the case of other legislation developed by Democratic Members of the Congress which was at first rejected by the Republican Members and then presented later as administration proposals without any reference being made to those who had labored hard in its development, it largely depends upon who is presenting the legislation.

For the record then, the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from Montana, LEE METCALF; the gentleman from Louisiana, JAMES H. MORRISON; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, GEORGE M. RHODES; and the gentleman from Minnesota, ROY W. WIER, have joined with me in introducing bills "creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center."

A second bill "to establish a program of grants to States for the development of fine arts programs and projects, and for other purposes," has been introduced by the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from Montana, LEE METCALF; and myself.

These bills have been endorsed in principle by many national organizations and by outstanding leaders in our country in all walks of life—see hearing record and the report on the fine arts bills considered by the 83d Congress.

The total cost to each 1 of the 53 million taxpayers of our country for the program which these bills would establish would be, on the average, just about 11 cents per year. It may be noted, for purposes of comparison, that Americans spent $5,310 milion for tobacco in 1953. This is an average expenditure per taxpayer of $100.07. They also spent $8,865 million for alcoholic beverages that same year, for an average expenditure of $167.05 per taxpayer.

In view of these facts, it seems reasonable to assume it unlikely that the legislation which was rejected by the Republicans in the 83d Congress, and which has been introduced again this year with some minor revisions, would contribute to the impoverishment of the richest nation in the world, as feared by the Republican majority of the House Education and Labor Subcommittee in the 83d Congress.

A third measure in the cultural field which I have introduced in the 84th Congress would create a Federal Commission to study the copyright laws and make recommendations for their revision—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 20, 1955, pages A256–A258, and A262–A263. A fourth measure would establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education in order to help us cope with the Russians in this cold-war period—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 13, 1955, pages A131–A132.

The article from U. S. News & World Report follows:

IKE LIKES THE ARTS, SO UNITED STATES MAY EXPORT CULTURE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The arts, all of a sudden, are getting official attention. White House is concerned, thinks United States needs to show the world its finer side, as Russia does. Many in Congress agree. Idea is to promote music, painting, sculpture, dramatics, the dance, other artistic pursuits. For now, the President asks only a study. Out of that could come a system of subsidies.)

President Eisenhower is trying to get Congress interested in the arts.

This is a field, he thinks, where Russia is getting ahead of the United States, and he wants to do something about it.

As a start, he proposes that Congress set up a Federal Advisory Commission on the Fine Arts. Its chief job will be to size up the art situation and recommend a program.

The President has not yet laid down a plan for subsidies or other heavy spending. That might develop later.

Reports from United States officials overseas have stirred the President, as well as many Congressmen. The Russians are sending singers, dancers, musicians, actors, and art exhibitions to places all over Europe and Latin America. The Soviet Government foots the bill.

The Russian artists are reported to be making a deep impression. And American prestige, the reports add, suffers in proportion. The Russians picture Americans as gum-chewing barbarians. They spread the idea that the United States might excel in science and industry, but it has no art worth showing.

PROBLEM FOR EISENHOWER

The truth is that the United States does very little to show foreign countries its artistic work. The President has been pondering this, close associates recall, since he was president of Columbia University. He is a painter himself, and that other noted amateur, Sir Winston Churchill, has talked to him about it as well.

Nelson Rockefeller, a new special assistant at the White House, is credited with getting the President actually to launch an art program. Mr. Eisenhower is reported also to have been impressed recently by an eloquent radio talk on the subject by the actress, Lillian Gish.

The President made a small start on an overseas art project last summer. At that time, he got Congress to appropriate about $2.5 million to be spent by the United States Information Agency on cultural programs. With that fund, USIA subsidized some of the overseas performances of Porgy and Bess, which has been a smash hit in places that hardly ever saw an American production before.

UNITED STATES AS ART PATRON

Porgy and Bess played to full houses everywhere, but lost money in such countries as Yugoslavia, where the average admission price was 35 cents. USIA is underwriting the show's appearances in such places as Israel, Egypt, Greece, Spain, and North Africa.

José Limon and his modern American dance group made a tour of Latin America, with expenses underwritten by USIA. Icelanders heard Isaac Stern, American violinist, with similar help from the USIA funds.

American paintings are seldom seen outside the United States. Only 8 or 10 exhibitions have been sent abroad by USIA since 1953. Between 1947 and 1953, no traveling shows went over. That was because some Congressmen in 1947 denounced exhibitions then on tour. Too much abstract art, they said, and too many "reds" and "pinks" among the artists whose works were displayed.

WHAT'S WANTED FOR THE ARTS

The President is seeking to install a top-flight commission of leaders in the art world, which will help him make a start on a more ambitious Government art program. The only task he has announced for it, specifically, is arranging for Government awards of merit. In his state of the Union message he proposed that awards go to Americans "who make great contributions to the advancement of our civilization." Apparently, scientists, engineers, and others will be honored, along with artists.

Here are some ideas a commission will be expected to consider:

Subsidies for art schools, orchestras, operas, theaters, art galleries—all such subsidies to be administered by the States.

Scholarships for artists, writers, and liberal-arts students.

An art center in Washington, to be a show place for the Nation and visible evidence to foreign visitors of America's interest in the arts. It would comprise an opera house or theater, a presidential inaugural auditorium, an art gallery and studios for the study and teaching of art.

Projects of this type are being discussed widely in art circles. Bills to put them into effect have been introduced in Congress. If Congress does not approve the President's proposal for a commission, it still can grab the ball from Mr. Eisenhower and start some of these projects on its own.

Art lovers for a century and a half have tried without success to have a high-level fine-arts agency created in the Government. Bills to create some kind of fine-arts unit within the Government have been introduced in nearly every session of Congress since 1877. The existing Commission of Fine Arts merely advises the Government on the acquisition of art works for Federal parks and buildings.

FINE-ARTS PRICE TAG

No big spending has yet been suggested. The subsidy proposal before Congress would involve about $5 million—called "leverage money," to start private funds flowing. A scholarship program, however—now being drawn up within the United States Office of Education—could cost from $20 to $25 million a year.

No public works-of-art project, such as the New Deal ran in the 1930's, is talked of. Artists themselves oppose any such venture at this time. Some art organizations oppose even subsidies, fearing Government domination.

Art activities in the United States receive almost no Federal aid and little help from cities or States. Artists in most foreign countries depend heavily on subsidies.

Berlin spends $1 million a year, and Milan, Italy, spends $3 million, mostly on opera. The Italian Government spends $3 million. Great Britain spends $1.4 million a year. Denmark spends $800,000 for the Royal Theater in Copenhagen, with its dramatic school. France, Germany, the Netherlands, and many Latin American countries provide sizable subsidies.

Subsidies, nevertheless, are to be only one of the problems of the new commission, if it is created. Its primary job will be to tell the President what can be done to capture the imagination of the people of the older, art-loving nations of the world.

My Recent Visit to North Africa—Status of Jews in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, during my recent trip to North Africa, I conferred with French Government officials, native chieftans, leaders of Jewish communities, Moorish Berbers, Moorish Jews, with Europeans and American military, naval, and Air Force personnel. I give, herewith, my impressions of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, with particular reference to the conditions of the Jews in those countries.

French Morocco has a population of 8,500,000. Of this number, roughly 214,000 are Jews. There are two divisions of Moroccan Jews: The Berbers, who live in the southern part of Morocco in the neighborhood of the Atlas Mountains, have been there for centuries—even before the Jews were banished from Spain. It is thought that they are the descendants of the Israelites driven out of Palestine by Joshua. The others are the Sephardic Jews—descendants of those who fled from Torquemada, who live in northern French Morocco.

The Berber Jews are nomadic and live chiefly in Saharan mountain villages. They are conspicuous by their black cloaks, black skull caps and round black hats. They hold steadfastly to the customs and faith of their ancestors.

In addition to these Jews, there are some tribal Jews—a fanatical sect who live deep in the Sahara Desert and in the Atlas Mountains. They are warlike and are a fierce looking people, and are known as the fighting warrior Jews of Morocco. They are said to be able to trek for hours and hours across the Atlas Mountain ranges with their children strapped across the backs of their women.

There are also some albino Jews residing in the mountain fastnesses along the coast. They are blind and have yellowish hair, pinkish eyes, and a reddish complexion.

The Sephardic Jews, to a great extent, live in the mellahs or ghettos. A mellah is found in every Moroccan city—Casablanca, Rabat, Marakeesh. In the mellah thousands of Jews have lived and suffered, persecuted for centuries. In the old days they never ventured forth. To remain within the mellah was their best protection from the onslaughts of the Moors. The Jews have suffered and still suffer injury, misery, and humiliation. They are not even second-class citizens in Morocco. The very word "mellah" means salt. The Moor Caid in the old days were wont to decapitate the infidel or unfaithful or non-Moor and place the head upon a pike to be exhibited in the public square. The head, however, was first salted and pickled in vinegar. This was done by the Jewish butcher, and the word "mellah"—salt—was finally applied not only to the place or abode of the Jewish butcher but to the ghetto where the Jews lived as well.

The only protection for the Jews of Morocco is the French Government. If the French should now leave and independence is achieved, the life of no Jewish person would be worth a sou.

The independence party is called the Istiqlal Party. It is supported by the Moors of the north, but opposed by the Moorish Berbers of the south. The Berber Moors are controlled by an old feudal chieftain called El Glaoui. El Glaoui and the Berbers are opposed to independence and support the French. The French deposed the former Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Yussuf, who was a huge landowner and opposed French reforms. It was essential for the French to get rid of him. The French set up a new Sultan, Sidi Mulai Ben Araffa. This change of Sultans infuriated the Istiqlal Party, but was acceptable to El Glaoui. The latter is friendly to the Jews, hates the Arab League, and is an admirer of the strides made by Israel. Incidentally, the private secretary is a Jew, Albert Berdugo.

The Jews take no part in the independence movement. They dare not. Silently, however, they are generally with the French. This is a natural point of view, since their survival and the safety of their families depend upon the French. However, they know they are sitting on a keg of dynamite. Recently some 6,000 have been screened by the Jewish agency for emigration to Israel. Most of the Jews in the mellah wish to go to Israel. The rich and middle-class Jews outside the mellah have not made up their minds. They do not want to lose their possessions in Morocco, yet they realize the danger that lurks around the corner.

I wish to emphasize that there is no disposition on the part of the Jewish agency, or any agency representing Israel, to encourage emigration from Morocco. There are enough voluntary applications for entrance to Israel to overtax the abilities of the Israeli representatives already. In other words, there is no need for encouragement.

Statements made that a "panic migration" has been stimulated are contrary to fact. There is no pressure from any source save the pressure of inner fear that possesses most Moroccan Jews. They realize that their safety lies with the French and that if the French go and independence descends upon Morocco with Istiqlal in power, then their doom is sealed. Then the pogrom at Petit Jean would become the genocide of Morocco. Almost 30,000 will be taken into Israel during the coming year. That is not "panic migration." More are clamoring to go if conditions do not become better. Israel may in the future be compelled to siphon off more than 30,000 a year. The numbers that covet entry into Israel will depend upon the degree of banditry of the Istiqlal and the terrorists.

I honestly believe that Jews would be content to remain if they were given a fair degree of equality with their Moorish neighbors, were assured of their personal security, and that of their dear ones. But one would be insane to deny the menace to all Jewry if an uninhibited nationalist Morocco and a frenzied Moslem Brotherhood would control.

Presently the great roadblock to Moroccan Jewry's road to human dignity is the question of nationality. Citizenship in Morocco cannot be acquired. A Jew is merely the feudal subject of the Sultan. The Sultan and his Caids are the ruling cult. There is no political equality, no social integration. The Jew is a Moroccan but with no rights of a Moroccan. Such condition of servitude was bearable so long as Jewry lived within the small confines of the Mellah. But enlightenment could not be kept from the Jews even in the dark dismal mellah. Their aspirations have been raised. Their alien status has become obnoxious and intolerable.

Now superimposed upon their misery is the danger of extermination. No wonder they really and truly pray: "Next year in Jerusalem."

There are many wealthy and cultivated Jews in Morocco. They have a long tradition of cultivation reaching back into medieval Spain, but the great mass of Jews in Morocco live in mellahs. There in squalor, despair, degradation they live more like animals. Their position is beyond description. This is especially so in the Casablanca mellah.

Organizations like the Joint Distribution Committee, the World Jewish Congress, the ORT, The Jewish National Fund, and so forth, are doing heroic work amongst the Jews. The French Government does its best with its limited resources. The French are increasing their subventions to help ameliorate the condition of the Jews. They have set up some housing to relieve mellah congestion. The government granted to the Alliance Israelite considerable sums for schools. But vast sums of money are needed to deal with the perplexing problems of housing, education, cultural development, and political emancipation. The entire Jewish world must give these questions most anxious consideration. I particularly stress the good work of the Alliance Israelite which brings education into the remotest and darkest parts of the Jewish dispersion in Morocco. I have seen some of the magnificent schools built by this worthy organization.

The Istiqlal Party is encouraged by the Spanish radio beamed into Morocco from Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco—encouraged also by Nasser's radio in Egypt and by the Communist radio in Budapest, Hungary. The opposition to the French make strange bedfellows out of the Communists, Egypt, and Spain. The Istiqlal Party draws some of its funds by way of extortion. Letters are frequently received by Jewish merchants demanding sums of money to be deposited in a given place at a given time. If the demands are not complied with, their places of business or residence is threatened with fire, or they are threatened with kidnaping. The defenseless smaller Jewish merchant complies with the demand of extortion. The rich Jew, who knows how to protect himself refuses to comply. A few months ago, eight Jews were killed in cold blood in Petit-Jean, a village not far from Casablanca. Their bodies were soaked in oil and burned in public. They were victims of the riotous Istiqlal.

As recently as January 6, a bomb was thrown into a Jewish shoeshop in Casablanca. Fifteen persons were wounded by the blast and the anti-French terrorists, the Istiqlal Party, are believed responsible for this barbarous deed. It is just such acts of violence that drive Jews to Israel.

The United States has expressed neutrality in the feud between the French and the Moroccans. United States has 5 bases, necessary for the defense of the free world, spread over Morocco—4 airbases and 1 naval base. We cannot long remain neutral for the good and sufficient reason that if the French

leave, it would take 5 to 6 divisions of our troops to defend those bases. If the French remain these bases can be held with a battalion. Our important stake in Morocco requires at least an expression of opinion favorable to the French. Assuredly if the Istiqlal outrages are stepped up our State Department has the duty of protesting. Usually persecution is not confined into any tight compartment. Persecution of Jews becomes persecution of Europeans and other minorities. It would eventually embrace all foreigners including Americans.

If the French leave, the new Moroccan Government would say, "What right have you Americans to hold these bases?" The answer could be: "We made a 99-year treaty with the French." The Moroccans would retort: "You made no treaty with us. We recognize no treaty with the French. Get out."

Moroccan Jews, understandably, take no outward sides in the political controversy raging between Istiqlal and the French. They do at times differ among themselves as to the degree of severity and repression, or even the wisdom thereof, that some local French officers take against the nationalists. Many think that extreme force begets more violence and hastens the coming of a revolution. Some prefer a gradual liberal approach of the French leading to eventual independence.

But if Jews in Morocco deliberately are fearful of taking sides, Jews outside of Morocco cannot bury their heads in the sand. They can take sides. I must take sides with fellow Jews and again the persecution of the Istiqlal.

The Istiqlal, it should be noted, has an extremely active office in Washington, D. C., and its principal protagonist there, I am told, is a man who was born a Polish Jew, became a British Protestant, and is now a Catholic American.

The French, having been taught a costly lesson in Indochina, are no longer guilty of colonialism in Morocco. At long last they are now keenly interested in raising the standard of living of the natives and are putting into Morocco far more treasure than they are taking out.

It is my firm conviction that the Moroccans are not yet ready for independence. Considering their centuries-old illiteracy, their religious fanaticism, and feudalism it will take time to educate and alert them to the ways of independence. Freedom does not always mean democracy. Their freedom would not bring democracy. They do not know the meaning, yes, of the word. I am not going into the reasons for their despair and illiteracy. True democracy would mean protection for minorities, including the Jews, European inhabitants from France, Spain, Italy, and other inhabitants. But an independent Morocco at this time would not mean true democracy. These minorities would be unsafe if independence were to be given to the Moroccans at the present time. Giving independence to Morocco would be like giving an automobile to a child. The child would not understand the mechanism of the automobile. Even with a book of rules the child would not understand how to apply them. So Moroccans would not now understand the constitution that might be given them, nor its application to government. Morocco must wait for independence.

The French are as sensitive as eels to criticism. They resent criticism. Such an attitude is damaging and unrealistic. They are not free of blame. They waited too long before bringing genuine aid. Associate Justice William O. Douglas recently wrote an article which appeared in Look magazine. Therein he laid heavy strictures upon France vis-a-vis Morocco. He charges that "the French have fastened a milking machine on Morocco for their benefit." Yet in another breath he says:

> The French have done good things in Morocco since they made it a protectorate in 1912. They have built fine communication systems—highway, railway, telephone, and telegraph. There are good French hotels and resturants everywhere, and in the larger towns, there are good French shops also. The French opened mines, built factories, cleared ground for large farming enterprises, and established new industries. They introduced public-health measures, eradicated malaria, and supplied the towns with pure water. They undertook a tree-conservation program that has produced good results; and they have done much to plant forests.

The judge, whom I consider my dear friend and for whom I have great respect, I believe has been misinformed and is enthusiastically misguided when he plumps for immediate Moroccan independence and disparages the French His emphasis is strictly one sided.

With a large but politically unschooled population badly divided within itself, Moroccans will be reaping a whirlwind of trouble with independence now. Meanwhile the French have the bear by the tail. I do not blame them for hesitating before pulling out now

I quote from the New York Herald Tribune's editorial of October 19, 1954:

> Thus, after acknowledging a very few of the achievements of the French protectorate since its establishment in 1912, the author [Justice Douglas] cites housing as an example of how these achievements have largely benefited a French milking machine. He is silent about French-financed modern housing projects for Moroccans like those in Casablanca and Rabat, and neglects the French effort to get Moroccans into schools above the level of the traditional Koranic institutions, making the extraordinary statement that "education is reserved for the French." He totally ignores the vast diversities and divided allegiances of Arab, Berber, and Jew, making it sound as though nearly every Moroccan wanted the French to leave tomorrow.
>
> Justice Douglas also attributes to the ex-Sultan a degree of interest in western parliamentary institutions that would astonish Ben Youssef's strongest partisans. In fact, last year's move to depose him, however wise or unwise it may have been, was made in large part because he had blocked French-sponsored reforms that would have paved the way for many of the changes Justice Douglas urges.

Americans rightfully and traditionally support self-determination and freedom. But self-determination must be tinctured with commonsense. Immediate freedom for Morocco would mean not only anarchy but intense hostility toward the United States. Can we afford chaos and intense enmity in an area which contains five of our important long-range bomber bases? I doubt it. We must be on the side of the French.

ALGERIA

The French have been in Algeria for over 100 years. Algeria is a part of metropolitan France and is represented in the French National Assembly and its inhabitants are citizens of France, whereas Tunisia and Morocco are monarchies under French protection. Under the Cremieux decree of 1870, Jews have been citizens of France, and this includes the Algerian Jews. The protection of Jews in Algeria parallels the period during which France has been in possession. The French have had a protectorate over Morocco only since 1912, but they have been in Algeria since the early part of the 19th century, and in Tunisia since 1880. The longer the French have been in control the greater has been the security of the Jew. Many Jews occupy positions of public influence and authority. Numbers of them have been elected to the French National Assembly. The Jewish population numbers about 140,000 out of a total population of about 8 million.

The position of the Jews is strongest in Algeria and weakest in Morocco. There is little or no evidence of any independence movement in Algeria. There was a flare-up of Fellaghas or outlaws, who operate in the southern part of Algeria in the province of Constantine, as well as in the western part of Tunisia. They seek independence for Tunisia and Algeria. As far as Algeria is concerned, the movement is quite negative.

Most of the Jews live in Algiers and are happy and contented. A small number have gone to Israel. The Jews in Algeria have great faith in the French.

TUNISIA

Tunisia presents a different picture at present. There are about 110,000 Jews in Tunisia—most of them in Tunis—out of a total population of about 3½ million. The backbone of the independence movement in Tunisia is the Neodestour Party. The Bey of Tunisia, the nominal head of the protectorate under the French, is friendly to the Jews. Some Jews are members of the Neodestour Party. At the present time, the Neodestour Party is conducted honestly and decently. Publicly, the Jews are for it, but privately they express fear that at some future date, this party might become infiltrated with Moors who are oriented toward the Moslem Brotherhood and the Fellaghas. That is why many Jews in Tunisia would, if they could, go to Israel. Privately, they are much concerned with the promise made by Premier Mendes-France that independence will be given to Tunisia with the qualification that the French will control the common defense and conduct the foreign affairs of Tunisia. With the departure of the French soldiers and police, the Jews of Tunisia might eventually be in danger.

One prominent Jew may become a member of the Tunisian Cabinet.

It is my belief that Tunisia is ready for independence by virtue of its present state of literacy and democracy which exists there today.

In conclusion, the position of the Jews in Tunisia at present is salutary. The future is in doubt. No obstacle is placed against any Jew desiring to emigrate to Israel. Both the French and Tunisians desire them to remain to help build up the new economy. There is indeed very good hope that the problem of Tunisian independence will be solved by the wisdom and diplomacy of Mendes-France and the patience and prudence of the Tunisian leaders, including the Bey of Tunisia. I say this despite the efforts of the Arab League, which incessantly radios vicious propaganda from Cairo and drafts and arms insurgents from across the long and unguarded frontier from Libya.

Neither in Tunisia nor in Algeria does any representative of the Israeli Government encourage emigration to Israel.

The future will witness the emigration of many thousands of North African Jews to Israel, if such huge emigration will be possible. There is the question, of course, of the absorptive capacity of Israel. Can Israel take many more thousands of the swiftly breeding Jews of that area—that is without creating more arable land—particularly in the sanded wastes of the Negev?

LIBYA

It is interesting to note that it was the Israel vote in the United Nations which decided the independence of Libya. After independence, the Jews in Libya were persecuted. There are only about 2,500 Jews left there out of a Jewish population of 30,000. The Fellaghas, who back the operations against France in western Tunisia and southern Algeria, received their training in camps situated in Libya, and the Libyan Government gave them arms and uniforms.

Libya has permitted great discomfort if not persecution of its Jews. This despite Israel's vote for her independence. What poetic justice.

Government for the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, there comes a time in the history of every democracy when the people seem to fall asleep at the switch and allow the big corporate interests to take over control of their government. It has happened in national government many times before; it has happened in state government; and I am sure unless we keep our eyes on the signs of the times that it will happen again. I am thankful to Almighty God that such periods of apathy and indifference on the part of the masses of our citizens are not usually long-lived. The common people soon reassert themselves and show their good horsesense and throw the rascals out. This is not only true of national government but, Mr. Speaker, we have seen the same process work out in state governments.

In the year 1924 my brother, Huey P. Long—who, may I say with pardonable pride, was a man of great intellectual force and the champion of the masses of people—first appeared on the political scene as a candidate for railroad commissioner. Next, he sought the governorship of our State. He was fought tooth and nail, hammer and tongs, at every turn in the road by the big corporate interests and their lawyers and newspapers. These selfish interests had ruled Louisiana for some years prior to Huey's interest in politics.

On election day a heavy, cold rain fell all over Louisiana and the rural vote could not get out. Although he pulled a tremendous vote, he fell short of election. Again in 1928 he sought the governorship. He was elected. After his election, in spite of the persistent opposition of the specially privileged classes and their major metropolitan newspapers, he inaugurated and carried out a program for the people of Louisiana heretofore unheard of in any State.

He took his people out of the mud and built our first good roads—6,000 miles of concrete roads; abolished all toll roads and bridges and made every road and bridge free to all of the people.

Now, my friends, we are again faced with the proposition of having toll roads in my State. I say that a man should be governor of the people; he should state without any hesitancy that he is opposed to toll roads and toll bridges in Louisiana. We would certainly be playing into the hands of the large corporations and selfish interests should we turn our highway system over to toll roads and toll bridges.

Further, Huey Long gave our people free hospitals and free ambulance service in all parts of the State. He gave us homestead exemptions, provided free schoolbooks for all the schoolchildren. He did so many fine and constructive things for the masses of Louisiana's people that it would take a great deal of time and many reams of paper to set them all out before you. The philosophy of government instituted and carried on by my late brother has been in the main preserved since his untimely death in 1935.

But, Mr. Speaker, in the year 1952 a so-called reformed government caught our people napping and we find at the helm of our State government today a handful of selfish people dominated and controlled by the giant corporations and their newspapers. They have, as they invariably do in State as well as in national affairs, sought to control and restrict the gains made by and for our people.

Fortunately for us all, the tide at home has turned and is presently surging toward the type of government which has accomplished so much for our people, both State and national.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I think a lesson should be learned from the ebbing and flowing of these tides of public sentiment and the resultant change from one philosophy of government to another. Just as these gigantic corporate interests and their mouthpieces and henchmen during their brief moments of control of our government have sought to chip off the gains and advantages made by the friends and champions of the masses of people, we who believe in and fight for the kind of government which brings about these gains and advantages should implement, strengthen, and add to them during the times when we are in the pilothouse of the ship of state.

Louisiana's next governor will be elected in January 1956, 1 year from now. It is not known at this time just who the candidates for governor will be. Several good men have already been mentioned as potential candidates; I, myself, have been urged by many fine men and women in our State to become a candidate. I feel highly honored at the compliment.

Mr. Speaker, whoever it is that makes the race as the Democratic Party's candidate for President of the United States or as the people's candidate for Governor of Louisiana, he should far in advance of either election state publicly, as plainly as words may be written or spoken, just where he stands on every important question. He should declare what he intends to do to protect and expand the gains made in the past for the plain, average people of his State or of the United States.

I cannot speak for the next President of the United States, but I can and will say what I think should be assured the people of my State, in this respect, by any candidate for governor who hopes to be elected in 1956. May I suggest the following platform for a candidate for governor? It would be short and simple:

Include first a solemn pledge to the people that every gain and advantage made for them by our friends over the years, such as homestead exemptions, free school books, good roads and bridges, old-age pensions, hospitals, and ambulance service, will be preserved and protected to the utmost.

Increase the old-age pensions to $80 per month and this without raising taxes one cent.

Increase the homestead exemption from two to five thousand dollars so as to bring it back within the true spirit of the exemption and cover the present-day muchly increased cost of living. At the present, $2,000 means very little to any taxpayer.

Provide a college education free of charge to every boy and girl who desires to have such an education. The amount of education that a boy or girl receives should not be limited by his family's pocketbook, but by his ability to absorb and profit by further training.

Push the completion of the Louisiana River bridge at New Orleans, but kick out the rascals who have designed to make it a toll bridge and make it by law a free bridge like every other bridge in our State.

Strict enforcement of Louisiana's game laws but eliminate the persecution of our fishermen and hunters who suffer a standard $25 fine for very minor violations under the present administration.

Eliminate altogether the annual State hunting and fishing licenses heretofore

required of our people. The revenues derived from the State from this source are negligible and can be replaced by funds from other sources.

Mr. Speaker, there are many, many things that remain to be done nationally and within our States in the interest of the plain, average men and women of our land. Their lot should be made easier and happier. Just as an example of the kind of thinking and planning which should be done by those who feel as I do, permit me to cite one instance of planning to help those who wish to obtain homes.

Black River Swamp contains thousands of acres of good, rich, fertile soil. Some of this land belongs to our State. A levee built through that land would make it ideal for farming. It is my thought that a project of this nature should and could be worked out using State-owned machinery. Bulldozers could go into this swamp and the Kisatchie National Forest and clean off the underbrush. Then the State could finish off lots of about 40 acres, building houses on them and selling to those who want a home in the country. Give them tax exemptions for 5 years and for a period of 5 years no payment would be due the State.

We have a law in Louisiana at present which exempts some corporations from taxation for as much as 10 years. Exemptions for some of these corporations run into hundreds of millions of dollars. I am not opposed to encouraging business in this manner, but I also believe the little man should be encouraged to build and develop farms and homes, too. The timber from the land could be sawed up for use in construction of homes. An investment for this purpose would not have to be a large one. The Federal Government, I am sure, could be encouraged to come in and help such a program. They, too, are interested in creating homes for our citizens.

A question often put to me is, What are they going to do with all the land in the Kisatchie National Forest? Will it remain a place where 'possums and 'coons and other animals live or will human beings be permitted to live on it? The answer is obvious. The plan I am offering would permit many parents to rear their children in the country in a wholesome atmosphere, where they can grow their own vegetables and own their own milk cow. In short, where a living is much cheaper, much easier than it is now. Much of this land is near enough to the city of Alexandria and other towns that the people could live on it and work in town. I do not mean to destroy the forest. It is my thought that by cutting roads into it and permitting people to live on the part of the land that is suitable for homes and cultivation, fires would be prevented and more timber could be grown on this land so made available. Also, to an extent, the Government would be taken out of the timber business and it would be returned to private industry.

I would like to add one more example before I close. It is in reference to the good-roads program. For more than 35 years I have been going about this country making speeches advocating a superhighway system—a 4-lane highway system—to be constructed from the North to the South, from the East to the West. I am happy to say that the President of the United States is planning such a program now. Let us join in with the Government and get some good roads for all the States of our Nation. As you know, the Government is planning to spend billions of dollars on roads. Large sums will be given to the States on some kind of a matching basis. Heretofore, we in Louisiana have been content with a 20-year bond issue. It is my thought to construct roads that will last for 100 years or more. The bonds would be divided up to run up to 100 years, so that the first man who drives on the road will pay the same as the last man who rides on it. The idea is to extend the present road program, and instead of building 100 miles of road with the money, stretch it out 5 times and build 500 miles of road. Instead of covering 20 years it would cover 100 years. Of course, 100 years from now people will need roads as badly as we do now. This is a real pay-as-you-go program. The man who drives over the road pays for it at that time, and the last man pays just as much as does the first man. The only reason that such a program is not in use now is that the selfish financial interests prefer the principle now used in order to make big money. However, I have been told by some good financiers that such a program will work.

We all know it requires money for any government to operate, and those necessary funds are derived principally from taxation. We cannot escape the fact that we must have taxes for our government to operate, but those taxes should be based on sound and just principles and work as an investment for the taxpayer. Anyone who aspires to the governorship should give assurance that our tax structure will be under constant and careful scrutiny and that a continuous effort will be made to keep taxes as low as consistent with the program of benefits and cost of operation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me repeat, the friends of democratic government in its highest and finest sense should, during the time they are in office, do such things as these I have been discussing. They should secure and expand locally the maximum blessings and benefits which the plain, average, everyday people of America have gained under the most enlightened and democratic administrations. I know of no better time in which to do so than the present, on both local and national levels of government. The tide ebbs and flows. Today it is in the direction of advancement and benefit for the masses. Let us take advantage of it. We, the plain average people of all America, should resolve that we will not doze or fall asleep again where our Government affairs are concerned. We should resolve and see to it that America will always be a land where there shall be no beggars or slaves; a land where our aged, our helpless, and our blind will not be cast aside or neglected but will always receive our sympathy and care; a land where the dignity of labor and the integrity of capital shall both receive recognition and respect at the hands of those who govern; a land of equal opportunity and justice; an America where a proud and happy and prosperous care-free people shall live; a land where every man is king but no man wears the crown.

Address by Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. James A. Farley, chairman of the board, the Coca-Cola Export Corp., board of associates dinner, Villanova University development foundation, Villanova, Pa., December 2, 1954:

As I stand before you this evening, I cannot help but go back in memory to May 19, 1942. On that memorable day, in this great hall and almost in this exact spot, I had the honor of being adopted as a son of Villanova, an honor which I shall always cherish.

I am proud of my association with Villanova because it has brought me close to the Fathers of the Order of St. Augustine. I am doubly honored in being able to renew this association in this particular year which marks the 16th centennial of the birth of their founder—St. Augustine of Hippo. The learned Friars of this Order for centuries in scholarly fashion have exercised a profound influence in developing Christian philosophy and theology and have contributed notably to scientific progress as well. St. Augustine himself is considered as one of the greatest thinkers of all time. And through the centuries the pens of profound students and the tongues of gifted orators have contributed a great share to the progress of our modern Christian civilization.

I am proud of this association because it makes me a fellow alumnus of men who are renowned for scholarship, proficient in business, outstanding in statesmanship, and loyal citizens of this great Nation.

I am proud too of this association because from time to time it affords me the opportunity of dedicating myself to a participation in the training of the young men of today. They are tomorrow's leaders and it is important to all of us that they be equipped with a true sense of values.

Some months ago Father McGuire approached me and explained your program for the current and future development of this great university. It is a tremendous program. Yet it cannot be otherwise. It is designed for tremendous needs and in tremendous times. Father McGuire spoke too of the loyal group of corporation executives, professional and businessmen—I believe there are more than 60 now—who have voluntarily banded themselves together to assist this worthy cause. He asked me if I would serve as general fund chairman for the year 1954–55. When I thought of the present plight of the modern world, considered the sacrificial life of those who teach at Villanova, appraised the value of the contributed time and money of the board of associates of the development foundation, I could not say no. Voluntarily and with pleasure I serve your cause. I trust that tonight then my effort may serve to encourage

the good fathers and lay teachers of Villanova in their most important but unsung labors; to inspire the young men who are being trained to safeguard and defend our way of life; to foster and strengthen the allegiance of my fellow members of the Villanova board of associates.

Why should business rally to Villanova's support? You have heard Father McGuire indicate what Villanova needs in the next two decades if the university is to render more effective service to the community at large. Buildings, endowment for research, funds for better salaries, and financial assistance for worthy students—all of these are necessary and worthy goals. They constitute the physical needs of the university and certainly must be attained. To this end we, the board of associates, pledge ourselves.

Tonight, however, as an American businessman talking to his associates in business about support of an institution of higher learning whose contribution to the community is more spiritual than material, I would like to stress some of our spiritual hazards as a Nation and some of our needed spiritual weapons. What I mean to say is that we businessmen have a responsibility for supporting Villanova and institutions like her for their contribution to the spiritual defenses of the United States and the whole of western civilization.

We are a young nation, as the world goes. We are a great nation. We have come to be great because of the spiritual heritage that is ours. Our Constitution and Bill of Rights were drafted by men who had a firm belief in God, and a proper understanding of the dignity of man. They understood man's right and his freedom to be inalienable because he was precisely a creature of God, and so endowed, not by any human authority but by the creative power of God himself. Even Karl Max recognized this fundamental principle, although he would never admit it, when he wrote:

"Democracy is based on the sovereign worth of the individual, which in turn is based on the dream of Christianity that man has an immortal soul."

At the end of the 18th century our first President spoke of religion and morality as indispensable supports of political prosperity. At the end of the 19th century our highest court declared that: "The reasons presented affirm and reaffirm that this is a religious nation." What is true of our political prosperity and our Nation is true as well of our western culture in general.

From time to time during our lifetime as a nation we have been called upon to defend our homes, our rights, and our freedom—even to the extent of war. We have never yet been the aggressor. We have always been in the role of defender. Our many successes on far-flung battlefronts have resulted from a combination of firm national unity, great military daring, the superb use of weapons, and incredible industrial skill. In the main, these represent an overwhelming material force.

Today, however, we are embroiled in what people call a cold war. The longer we are in it the more we realize that material power alone is futile in our quest for final victory. The reason, I believe, is quite apparent. Our enemy in this war is not necessarily and exclusively Russia or Russians; not the Iron Curtain satellites. Our enemy is a system that is not merely political. It is a philosophy of life which concerns itself with the whole of man—his nature, his origin, and even his final destiny. It is a system of thought which is the direct antithesis of the Judaeo-Christian concept which underlies the whole of western civilization. While our material forces are potent, our spiritual weapons must be sharpened and our spiritual armor strengthened if we are to make any strides in the direction of ultimate victory.

The architects of communism labored ardently in the development of the spiritual phases of their false philosophy. Lenin, who still remains the driving force behind Communist activity in the world today, long before the revolution wrote:

"Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression, which everywhere weigh upon the masses of the people crushed by continuous toil for others. * * * It is the opiate of the people, a sort of spiritual liquor, meant to make the slaves of capitalism drown their humanity and their desires for a decent existence."

Addressing a group of young Communists on another occasion he said:

"In our opinion morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class war. Everything is moral which is necessary for the annihilation of the old exploiting social order."

On the same subject he wrote that "a Communist must be prepared to make every sacrifice and, if necessary, resort to all sorts of schemes and strategems, employ illegitimate methods, conceal the truth, in order to get into the trade unions, stay there and conduct the necessary work within."

These are but some of the concepts contained in the evil force with which we are at war. "Lenin is our teacher," said Joseph Stalin to none other than Harold Stassen, on April 9, 1947, "and we Soviet people are Lenin's disciples." Unfortunately, all the disciples of Lenin are not confined within the borders of the Soviet Union. They are all over the world. Their beliefs cannot be destroyed with all the material weapons, atomic and otherwise, at our disposal.

C. L. Sulzberger, in a recent article published in the New York Times, discussed varying opinions on the subject of the peaceful coexistence of western democracy and Soviet communism. He wrote that "it would be better to consider the present contest as 'competitive coexistence.' This is a dynamic condition in which idealogical economic and political systems seek to dominate each other by means short of war."

But Mr. Sulzberger struck the nail squarely on the head when he further stated:

"Now for the first time the foundation of our civilization is being menaced. A threat has developed to the moral, spiritual, and ethical values that have cemented our society for centuries. The challenge to the truth of these beliefs is perhaps even more important than the physical challenge of the Soviet bloc. The main problem to the United States in this era of competitive coexistence is to clarify the ideals of its heritage, both to itself and a confused world. Since the beginning of the cold war, however, we have girded ourselves with more success physically than spiritually. Our armed strength has gained perceptibly more than our moral vigor."

The American businessman then has a vital stake and a grave responsibility in helping to strengthen the spiritual weapons which are his by heritage. And this not particularly because he is a businessman, but more because he is an American. Religion and education must receive considerably more of his attention if he is to fulfill well this responsibility.

And this brings us to the reason why we are here this evening. Our public schools and tax-supported colleges and universities are a vital part of American democracy. They must and do receive the support of every citizen. Yet because of their nature they are not in a position to concentrate on the religious and moral aspects of the education of youth. In the field of higher education this responsibility must be shouldered by the privately controlled, independent church related colleges and universities. The histories of the great majority of these parallel the history of the Nation. They have fought a great fight for survival in the face of adversity and have served our American society to great adantage. Their chief source of support has been private philanthropy, but in our day and age help from this source has rapidly diminished, if it is not altogether extinct. Today they turn to private business for help.

Villanova University has been a part of the American scene since 1842. It is now in its 113th year of educating young men. The purpose of the Augustinian Fathers in founding Villanova University "was to offer to young men an opportunity of receiving a thorough, liberal education—an education that develops all the facilities of soul as well as of body and finds its expression in a clear-thinking, right-acting Christian gentleman."

For more than a century this university has contributed to our national life great leaders, expert scientists and technicians, as well as dignified professional and businessmen.

She has given bishops to the church as well as lesser clergy. Government has been enriched by her graduates. Education in general and the youth of our land have especially benefited by the able administrators and countless teachers who have been trained in her halls. Doctors, dentists, and lawyers have gone forth to serve humanity in the spirit of the great Christian tradition. Engineering and science have felt the steady, patient drive in research and production of the engineer and scientist.

Here in these classrooms and laboratories, in the library and research rooms, even on the athletic fields, are sharpened and perfected the great tools of our spiritual armor. Here on this campus are minds developed and character formed according to the tenets of our great Christian culture. Here are men trained in the basic principles which underlie the whole structure of our American democracy—a firm belief in God, a sound understanding of the dignity of man, a true appreciation of human rights and human freedom. And last but not least, here are men trained in the knowledge of their duties to their God, their country, and their fellowmen.

You members of this newly formed board of associates have espoused a noble cause in an hour when your country needs most such support. Your participation in strengthening the spiritual defenses of our society is one of the most noble ventures you have ever engaged in. Your association with Villanova will give you a deeper understanding of her motto—Veritas, unitas, caritas—truth, unity, love. Without these three we cannot hope to survive. With them no early power can ever conquer us.

Americanism Activities of Kings County (N. Y.) Jewish War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, this country can be proud of the services rendered by the people of the Jewish faith since the time of the Revolutionary War. The Jewish people have actively participated, with glory and distinction, in all the wars in which our great country was engaged.

In 1896, men of the Jewish faith organized the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. During the many years of its existence, this organization has

been concerned with a twofold purpose: protection of the war veteran and his rights under the law, and a program of Americanism.

The Kings County—Brooklyn—Jewish War Veterans deserve recognition for the outstanding work which they have accomplished in both of these fields, with particular emphasis on their Americanism program. It is readily understandable that men, who have offered their lives in the service of their country during wartime, should logically be concerned with the welfare of our Nation in peacetime. It was in the fulfillment of this program that the Kings County Council of Jewish War Veterans instituted a program several years ago to help awaken the people of this country to the menace of communism.

By way of constructive action, a boycott was instituted at the time to inform the community of the goods produced by Russia and its satellites. Posters were printed and distributed in all stores listing these countries and the goods which originated from there. All large department stores were contacted and advised of this program. Cooperation was obtained from them and a campaign of public relations was undertaken to advise the public not to purchase goods made behind the Iron Curtain.

Side by side with the menace of communism exists also the menace of fascism, and there, too, the Jewish War Veterans of Brooklyn have been diligent and alert. Since the fall of nazism in Germany, the Jewish veterans' organization of Kings County has been alert to any incidents which might arise in our country in an effort to prevent a resurgence of these un-American activities.

While in past years there have been isolated instances of such activities, it was not until 1950 that a concentrated effort appeared on the New York scene. A group of individuals formed an organization called the National Renaissance Party. At that time, Ted Brooks, the JWV Kings County commander, appointed Jerry Cohen to head a committee to investigate and assemble facts about the National Renaissance Party. The committee included several officers of the veterans' organization: Emanuel Greenberg, Benjamin H. Chasin, Lester Sacks, Marshall G. Kaplan, and the executive director of veterans' group, Henry R. Shields.

Under the leadership of Jerry Cohen, secretary to Municipal Court Justice Harold J. McLaughlin, of Brooklyn, the committee was assigned specific duties in Yorkville, a section of the borough of Manhattan, where the followers of this party were concentrated.

The National Renaissance Party was headed by a young fanatic, James H. Madole, who with 20 or 30 followers began to sing the praises of Hitler in vituperation against the Jewish people at a series of street-corner meetings on 88th Street in Yorkville. These men appeared wearing the uniform similar to the Nazi bund, with brassards on which was a lightning-bolt insignia replacing the swastika. Their program and propaganda was practically a word-for-word "steal" from the Nazi dictators. For example, their program advocated the establishment of a Fascist corporate economy, the preservation of the white Aryan race by gradual deportation of Puerto Ricans, Negroes, and Jews, and the denial of citizenship, and professional and political posts to Jewish people.

In addition to Madole, John M. Lundoff, Kurt Mertig, Hans Schmidt, James R. White, and Keith H. Tompson, Jr., continued to disseminate this type of vicious propaganda at street-corner meetings and to extoll the virtues of Hitler through publications.

It was disturbing to find that in a city like New York, comprised of over 8 million people of heterogeneous groups, who had been living side by side in harmony and peace and in understanding and respect for each other's religious beliefs and feelings, people should now be subjected to an indoctrination of the principles of nazism. This was an insult to every decent American. It was also a challenge.

The Kings County Council Jewish War Veterans was among the first to accept this challenge. Here was an organization which recognized this menace. For it was only a short time ago, in 1933, when Hitler came into power in Germany, that the Jewish War Veterans of Kings County had helped to awaken our great country and had initiated an economic boycott against Germany. Now, more than 20 years later, we find the same evil seeking to gain a foothold in America. It had to be stopped in time, and the Kings County Jewish War Veterans accepted the challenge.

Night after night the members of the JWV committee spent in Yorkville in an effort to obtain the necessary information to prove that the leaders and the followers of the National Renaissance Party were un-American and against our way of democratic life. They visited stores, meeting halls and places of public assembly, where little groups had gathered to discuss this new party. They attended their secret meetings, knowing all the time that if they were discovered they were subjecting themselves to either a beating or perhaps their very lives would be endangered.

When information was received that the National Renaissance Party had a definite schedule of outdoor meetings, the Kings County Jewish War Veterans, in order to counteract the venom and hate which was disseminated at these meetings, obtained permission to hold Americanism rallies on the opposite street corner at the same time. The Jewish War Veterans rallies were orderly and well conducted; their purpose was not only to tell the true story of the American people, but to enlighten the people of Yorkville about the threat represented by the National Renaissance Party if it is permitted to grow and gain a foothold in America.

At one time, it was necessary to call upon the Jewish War Veterans from Brooklyn and from the entire city of New York to come to Yorkville to counteract a very large rally that the National Renaissance Party had planned. In addition, the leadership of the American Legion and the Catholic War Veterans were notified of this activity and they, too, joined with the Jewish War Veterans.

The press of New York was solicited for its help. Radio Commentator Barry Gray is to be commended for the efforts which he exerted through the media at his disposal, informing the public of what was taking place under their noses. Feature stories and articles were also published in the New York press.

It is interesting to note that the very same people whom James Madole hoped to influence by appealing to their "nationalism" were the ones who repudiated him, heckled him, and told him, in no uncertain terms, that they want no part of him and his followers.

The Kings County Jewish War Veterans, after obtaining all the facts and publications distributed by this group, forwarded them to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington. The FBI was requested to undertake an official investigation and, after the facts had been substantiated, to place the National Renaissance Party on the Attorney General's subversive list.

All of this has borne fruit. On December 14, 1954, the Attorney General of the United States, Herbert Brownell, Jr., issued a formal call for the opening of grand-jury proceedings against the National Renaissance Party. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, likewise, is to be commended for its efforts in exposing James H. Madole, the man who has labeled members of the House committee as "cowards" and has brazenly demanded that President Dwight D. Eisenhower be investigated.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the American people owe a debt of gratitude to the Kings County Jewish War Veterans for their activities in the field of Americanism. Under the leadership of Kings County commander of the Jewish War Veterans, Milton I. Weintraub, and his Americanism committee headed by Eli Goldstein, I am certain they will continue to be alert of any group which proposes to change our way of life, be they to the far left as communism and to the far right as nazism.

The President's Economic Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower voiced great optimism in his economic message last week. He spoke of the current recovery from the mild-business recession. His message contained fine words.

What the President said about recovery may be somewhat of a surprise to many people in the 19th Congressional District of Pennsylvania. This may be particularly true of industrial workers in York County. More than 2,800 fewer

people were working in York County in December 1954, than were working at the same time a year earlier, according to a report entitled "York Labor Market Letter," a monthly review prepared and published by the York office of the bureau of employment security of the Pennsylvania State employment service.

This report shows that both initial and continued claims for unemployment benefits have been rising steadily in York since mid-October. While estimates of total unemployment were not available for December, current employment was 2,850 below the year ago level. The data compiled covered only manufacturing employment. Of 12 industries involved, 8 of them showed declines in employment.

Of great significance, the report shows that each of the men and women employed during December was working a shorter workweek, and earning less money.

Many of us were disappointed in the President's message, which failed to carry out the intent of the Full Employment Act of 1946, which is the law which requires an economic report to the Congress. This law provides that the President's economic report contain recommendations to maintain full employment. Despite the nice words and phrases, the message made no recommendations designed to promote full employment.

Mr. Speaker, I owe it to those citizens of the 19th Congressional District who want to work but for whom no work is available, to urge the Congress to take up the slack in the President's program and enact measures which will create the climate for full employment. I firmly believe each of us owes it to the people we represent, as well as to the welfare of the Nation, to take action which will promote and maintain full employment.

Despite the failure of the President and his administration leaders to recognize the necessity for full employment, the Congress has a mandate from the people, expressed last November, to take up the slack.

Flood-Control Action Needed in Butler Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to point out the critical need for Federal action to relieve the serious flood situation in my district.

If ever there was a practical demonstration of the truth of the adage that to be pennywise can sometimes be pound foolish, it is the recurring flood damage in and near the city of Butler, Pa., in my congressional district.

Year after year in the city of Butler alone, damage from floodwaters of the Connoquenessing Creek runs from $100,000 to $2 million. In the flood this past fall, damage in Butler was estimated at more than $1,500,000. Many families were made destitute and homes were rendered uninhabitable, all because of an unconscionable delay in putting into operation the machinery already available to the Federal Government to correct the cause of the floods.

The entire cost of cutting a ditch or channel less than 2,000 feet long to get at the cause of the trouble would be less than $150,000. A section of the existing flood-control law permits the Corps of Engineers to allot not in excess of $150,000 to any single locality to correct a situation such as this, with the provision that local cooperation be forthcoming.

The council of Butler has taken the initiative in providing this required cooperation. It has demonstrated a sincere desire to cooperate in furnishing the relief these people need, and which they need now. The victims of these annual floods are neither all Democrats nor all Republicans. They are good, loyal American citizens who have every right to expect the protection which available law was intended to give them. I trust the Corps of Engineers will lose no more time in providing that protection.

Court Blow at Commies Recalls Brown's Warning on Red Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle of Monday, January 3, 1955, concerning the extraordinary service and accomplishments of my good friend of many years, Hon. Peter Campbell Brown during his tenure of service as chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board. The people of Brooklyn have every reason to feel proud of their fellow townsman who now is commissioner, department of investigation, city of New York:

COURT BLOW AT COMMIES RECALLS BROWN'S WARNING ON RED TEACHERS

Following up our recent editorial welcoming the decision of the United States court of appeals upholding the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act and also approving the order of the Subversive Activities Control Board requiring the Communist Party to register with the Department of Justice, we would like to emphasize the great importance of the work of that Board.

It is of special interest in Brooklyn that the man who was its chairman during the period of its significant work was a well-known and highly regarded young Brooklyn man, Peter Campbell Brown, who is now serving by appointment of Mayor Wagner as commissioner of investigation.

After a thoroughgoing inquiry lasting over a year, a panel of the Control Board on which Mr. Brown himself served established the status of the Communist Party as "a puppet of the Soviet Union." Few Americans had harbored any doubts as to that relationship but the facts brought out by the Board gave indisputable authenticity to that belief.

A mass of evidence was produced that supported its judgment that the party is nurtured by the Soviet Union and strives incessantly to make the United States a Soviet America. The party has been directed, dominated, controlled, and, to some extent, financed by Russia, acting through the Communist International.

The thoroughness of the job done by Mr. Brown and his colleague on the board in developing the basis of its ruling that the Communist Party must register under the McCarran Act doubtless was a vital factor in bringing about the 2-to-1 decision of the United States court of appeals.

In our opinion that decision was a great victory for Mr. Brown and his colleagues and we extend our congratulations to our fellow townsman. It was Mr. Brown, more than any other one man, who assembled in a painstaking and scholarly manner the evidence that the Communist Party here is an international conspiracy.

These facts should be kept in mind in the board of education when it makes decisions about the continuance on the job in our schools of teachers who have renounced communism but who refuse to name other teachers who may still be Communists and still teaching in the schools.

In an address to the Brooklyn Bar Association when he was on the control board, Mr. Brown put his finger on this situation when he said:

"Would it not be folly for freemen * * * to ignore the experience of those in country after country who declare that international communism, its adherents, and its innocent dupes are dedicated to the infiltration of government, of labor unions, of the schools, the press, the movies, and the radio?" We must face up to the dangers of exposing our children to teachers who are clever Red propagandists.

New Front in the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the December 13, 1954, edition of Time magazine:

NEW FRONT IN THE COLD WAR—THE UNITED STATES SEARCHES FOR A WORLD ECONOMIC POLICY

The United States is preparing to open a new front in the cold war, an economic front. On Presidential instructions, former budget director Joseph M. Dodge hastened back to Washington from his Detroit bank to undertake a sweeping review of the entire field of cold war economic strategy. Secretary of State Dulles is pressing for a huge expansion of United States investments abroad; Foreign Operations Director Harold Stassen, whose department is slated to go out of business next summer, has proposed an ambitious scheme which is already being called a Marshall plan for Asia.

The air is full of plans, but they have yet to undergo a purification by budget. Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, a hard man with a dollar and a weighty man

in the Cabinet, is against any large-scale foreign spending; banker Dodge thinks Harold Stassen's plans are dangerously dreamy. The foreign-aid enthusiasts think Humphrey and Dodge are dangerously unimaginative. But despite individual differences, the Cabinet is unanimous in its belief that the character of the cold war is changing, and that the United States urgently needs to reshape its foreign policy. The objective is to shift the emphasis of United States world strategy away from military containment (which leaves the initiative with the Communists), closer to economic liberation, with the emphasis on advance.

Pax atomica: Currently, United States policy suffers from what one State Department man calls a heavy military bias. Too many United States officials have fallen into the habit of measuring progress (or security) exclusively by the number of nuclear explosions, the number of divisions mobilized. The result is that the United States is stuck with a warlike vocabulary (e. g., massive retaliation), while the Communists, who continue to aggress, have stolen the words of peace (e. g., coexistence).

President Eisenhower is convinced that there is no longer any alternative to peace. The British believe that the world is entering a period of pax atomica, based on a recognition by both sides of a nuclear standoff. The new phrase spreading in both London and Washington is competitive coexistence.

In the next 10 years, warned the State Department last week, the main cold-war battleground may well be economic. "The leaders of the Soviet Union," said one of its experts, "are apparently proceeding on the theory that economics is the Achilles heel of the West." To meet this challenge, which in a period of cold peace might prove more dangerous than all the fleets and armies of Moscow and Peking, the United States needs to prove that democracy and capitalism have more to offer—in terms of freedom, justice, and plenty—than the Communists ever can. What is needed is no less than a new world economic policy.

The challenge is immense: it conjures up a vision of United States capital and skill flowing out to far-off lands to dam great rivers, dig new mines, so that millions who know only hunger may share in the freedom and plenty that Americans take for granted. But the businessmen in the Eisenhower Cabinet are not interested in a return to expensive giveaway programs. Their WEP is based on spreading abroad the practices and philosophy that have made the United States the wealthiest, most progressive Nation in history. Foreign investment is to the advantage of other nations who lack the capital to develop their resources; it is also to the advantage of the United States.

Four million dependents: With but 6 percent of the population, the United States produces and consumes almost 50 percent of the world's annual output of goods and services. Yet if Americans tried to make do without foreign trade, their standard of living would dwindle overnight. There would be no coffee, tea, or bananas in the United States shops; sugar and pineapples would be priced sky high. Telephones (which need 48 different materials from 18 foreign countries), automobiles (300 items from 56 foreign countries) and shoe polish (8 items from abroad) would be scarce and more expensive. Said Harold Stassen last year: "The United States depends on the outside world for 100 percent of its tin, mica, asbestos, and chrome, for 99 percent of its nickel, 95 percent of its manganese, 93 percent of its cobalt, 67 percent of its wool, 65 percent of its bauxite, 55 percent of its lead, 42 percent of its copper."

Still more does United States prosperity depend on export markets. Four million Americans work directly for overseas customers. In 1952 United States foreign sales of earth-grading machinery were equal to 30 percent of production; tractors, 23 percent; textile machinery, 22 percent; typewriters, 19 percent; trucks and buses, 16 percent; refrigerators, 13 percent; cotton textiles, 9 percent. United States farmers exported the produce of 40 million acres of land—between one-quarter and one-half of all their cotton, tobacco, corn, and wheat. About 30 percent of all United States farm marketings are dependent on foreign buyers, and in 1951 farm-export income, divided evenly among United States farmers, equaled $1,100 per farm.

Off the United States dole: Every year, still more Americans become dependent on foreign trade. United States productive capacity is outrunning United States domestic demand—and the result is that thousands of businessmen are seeking bigger outlets abroad. But if overseas customers are to buy more United States goods, providing more jobs for United States workers, they must obtain the dollars with which to pay for them. In the years after World War II, United States foreign-aid programs helped provide these dollars—35 billion of them, not counting military spending. But the era of donation diplomacy is past. "The world must soon stand on its own feet," says Clarence B. Randall, chairman of the United States Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. "It must come off the American dole, as it wants to do, and earn its own way, as it is determined to do."

To help the rest of the world stand on its own feet, against poverty and communism, is the principal objective of a world economic policy. Such a policy requires two simultaneous economic offensives: 1, a vigorous expansion of free world trade; 2, a drive to raise living standards in the underveloped lands of Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

EXPANDING WORLD TRADE

Since 1939, world trade has been out of joint. Buffeted by war and cold war, it limps along a narrow defile between the face of the Iron Curtain and the perils of the dollar gap. This year there has been marked improvement. Europe is back on its feet (Time, November 29), and 11 of its trading nations, accounting for three-quarters of its imports from North America, are quietly dismantling their restrictions on free trade. In some cases (e. g., Benelux) controls have been removed on almost 90 percent of all dollar imports. The vast sterling area, which accounts for 40 percent of all world trade, is slowly and cautiously approaching the day when the pound (and with it, most other currencies) will be declared freely convertible into dollars.

What happens next rests squarely with the United States. "As the strongest economic power," said the influential Committee for Economic Development last month, "the direction which our tariff policy takes will * * * determine whether the free world moves ahead to widening markets and expanding production."

Cheese and scarves: Many United States tariff policies are still geared to the outdated habits of a nation trying to get on its economic feet. Others are contradictory, and even self-defeating. Examples:

United States Marshall plan experts helped the Danes expand their blue-cheese industry, so that Denmark could earn the dollars it needed to buy United States goods. But when the Danes started selling their cheese, the United States imposed a quota to keep all but a sliver of foreign blue cheese out.

The United States lays great stress on the 1921 Antidumping Act, which protects domestic markets from the unfair competition of foreign products sold below cost. Yet under the burden of its surpluses,[1] the United States is peddling abroad $1.4 billion worth of food, some of it in 6 million Christmas parcels to be distributed free by United States troops, much more at cut-rate prices that undermine its allies' markets.

Complaints about these, and countless other anomalies, pour into Washington each week. Last month 33 out of the 34 members of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) censured the United States for restricting dairy imports by quota. The London Economist wrote: "The United States is seeking two worlds—one where it can sell its surpluses freely, and another where no other country can sell farm products freely to it." Said a Japanese businessman: "The Americans tell us not to trade with the Communists, then they turn around and raise their duties on silk scarves. It doesn't make sense."

Foreign businessmen consider these the biggest United States obstacles to expanding world trade:

The United States tariff wall. Yearly, the United States imports about $11 billion worth of goods; of these, half enter duty free, and two-fifths pay duties of less than 30 percent. Yet cheap sunglasses pay 335.7 percent ad valorem, pocketknives with folding blades 89.5 percent, concentrated lemon juice 85 percent.

The Buy American Act, which prohibits the United States Government from buying foreign products unless the equivalent United States product costs at least 25 percent higher. Cost to the United States taxpayer in unnecessary Federal expenditures: $100 million per year. Already, in individual cases, the Eisenhower administration is seeking ways to get around this depression measure.

United States customs procedure. "Many goods take longer to pass through customs than it took Columbus to discover America," said a 1953 United States Government report. There are 20 different chargeable rates on fine animal hair, half a dozen for leather gloves, depending on whether the seam is sewn by hand or by machine. Charges often vary as much as 25 percent between New York and New Orleans, and at the end of 1953 there were some 750,000 unsettled customs entries—the equivalent of a full year's work—pending on inspectors' desks.

Advice to Congress: To remedy the worst of these abuses, the Randall Commission proposed a cautious middle-of-the-road program (Time, Feb. 1). It advised Congress to—

Extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for at least 3 years.

Empower the President to cut all tariff rates by 5 percent each year over a period of 3 years.

Authorize the President to slash existing tariffs to not more than 50 percent ad valorem at his discretion.

Simplify tariff classifications and customs procedures.

Change the Buy American Act to permit foreign companies to bid on United States Government contracts without discrimination.

The timidity of the Randall Commission's recommendations was rooted in the notion that a bolder program could not get past high-tariff Republicans in Congress. President Eisenhower did not back the Randall proposals with his full prestige, and protectionists in Congress killed the program anyway. But Ike has decided to try again in January, and he should have more luck, since low-tariff Democrats will occupy the

[1] As of September 30, the United States was holding history's greatest hoard of unsold food and fibers: $6.4 billion worth, including 377 million pounds of butter, 550 million pounds of cottonseed oil, 743 million bushels of wheat, 2 million pounds of tobacco.

key committee chairmanships in both House and Senate.

RAISING LIVING STANDARDS

What Europe needs is trade; what Asia, Latin America, and Africa need is capital and know-how. Perhaps 1 billion people in these continents are experiencing what economists call a revolution of expectations. A fairly simple Western notion—that poverty, disease, and illiteracy are not inevitable—is spreading like fiery crosses among folk who for centuries have remained apathetic to advance. Having emancipated themselves from colonialism, millions of human beings are consumed by an aching need to pull themselves up from economic servitude. They look to industrialization as a magic panacea.

This blind and touching belief, and the rising expectations that impel it, have been seized upon by the Communists as a powerful lever of influence. From Moscow and Peking, communism is held out as a short cut to material progress. Recently John Foster Dulles warned Americans that the Communists' "cruel system * * * does have a certain fascination for the peoples of underdeveloped countries who feel that their own economies are standing still." The danger is that those who compulsively hunger for economic advance will opt for the Communist alternative, if democracy's methods are too slow.

Partnership for growth: To meet this need and challenge, the Eisenhower Administration is considering an imaginative proposal originally offered to the Government by MIT's Center for International Studies. Backed by a powerful segment of the State Department and by FOA's Harold Stassen, it calls on the United States to launch and lead a free world "Partnership for Economic Growth."

To start it going, the United States would earmark between $2 and $3 billion a year (about one-fifteenth of its arms budget) for the next 5 years, to provide an investment fund for underdeveloped nations. Britain and other industrial nations would be asked to supply additional billions; private investors, most of them American, would be encouraged to add to the kitty. Loans from this giant fund would be made available to the have-not nations without military or political strings, but each borrower would be expected to concentrate on those industries for which climate and resources best fitted it: there would be no "partnership" money to set up uncompetitive prestige industries, which might require high tariff protection.

Favorable battleground: Partnership protagonists in Washington expect to avoid the big error of the Marshall plan—that of handing over United States aid on a government-to-government basis. As soon as the pumps are primed, partnership loans to governments would be quickly tapered off, and the building of dams and factories left to private capital, operating for profit. The partnership would also provide United States and European technicians, to teach Indians, Bolivians, Egyptians, how modern industry is run. United States experts believe that atomic-energy reactors might be used efficaciously to provide some of the power for industries in fuel-scarce areas.

State Department planners have accepted as a target MIT's cautious estimate that, once started, world partnership for growth would make possible an overall 1 percent annual increase in income per capita for the underdeveloped nations of the world. Considering the poverty and vast size of the populations involved, this is no mean target. But it is easily within the giant capabilities of the United States.

Together with the President's program for expanding world trade, some such world-investment program is indispensable to (1) the security, and (2) the future prosperity of the United States. For if the West loses the struggle for 1 billion in-betweens, on 3 continents, the balance of world power may go in favor of communism.

There will be resistance to a world economic policy—at home and abroad. But economics, a field in which Americans excel, is a battleground which the United States might gladly choose to fight on.

Junior Chamber of Commerce Organized 35 Years Ago This Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received numerous communications from the junior chamber of commerce national headquarters about the working activities of this group of your businessmen of America. The letters I have received reflect the activities of an aggressive, alert, vigilant organization which is furnishing young leadership to a rapidly growing industrial nation.

Thirty-five years ago, this month, the junior chamber of commerce was organized. It was intended that this body of the newly organized association be composed of young men interested in business, government, and civic affairs who would have an opportunity to prepare themselves for leadership in business and community activities. The original organizational efforts were started in 1915 but were interrupted for 4 years by the intense national effort during World War I. Members of this group were from 21 to 36 years of age and as the depression of 1929 lowered a shadow casting its gloom over the entire business economy of the United States, this organization of youth matured quickly and cast its efforts in the direction of relieving some of the suffering and hardship, and financial distress so keenly felt throughout the country during that unhappy period of our economic growth.

In my home town of Shreveport, La., the junior chamber of commerce is most active. In other cities and towns throughout Louisiana, 25 junior chamber of commerce chapters carry on the traditions of their organization implanted in its charter 35 years ago. As a matter of fact, the State of Louisiana boasts of over 2,500 junior chamber of commerce members. These junior chambers, composed of young, aggressive men, furnish leadership to business and industry in our State, rapidly coming into full industrial manhood.

The junior chamber of commerce creed is well set forth by a belief—

That faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life;

That the brotherhood of man transcends the sovereignty of nations;

That economic justice can best be won by free men through free enterprise;

That government should be of laws rather than of men;

That earth's great treasure lies in human personality;

And that service to humanity is the best work of life.

Those of us who are vitally interested in the future of America want to see organizations dedicated to worthy civic enterprise and proper human activity prosper and develop. With this in mind, I express the hope that this organization may continue to be active, aggressive, and alert in our civic and community affairs for many years to come.

Safety of Our Nation Comes First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, almost daily some critic of the administration challenges our security program. They do so not on the ground that we are not removing untrustworthy personnel, but rather on the ground that some people have been suspended who may not necessarily be a risk. If we are to err, Mr. Speaker, I for one hope we err in favor of the security of our country.

If there is any suspicion concerning the trutworthiness of an employee of our Government, he should be suspended until that suspicion is removed. The safety of our Nation must always come first.

In this connection I call attention to an editorial recently appearing in the Green Bay Press-Gazette of Green Bay, Wis.:

SECURITY IN THE HOUSE

When a woman walked into the House of Representatives and quietly asked Speaker RAYBURN if she might make a speech, the House was thrown into a mental turmoil resulting in "goose pimples" for some Members. Members recalled vividly the shooting from the gallery last March 1 by Puerto Rican Nationalists which wounded five Congressmen. One of the Puerto Ricans was a woman.

Immediately the woman was hustled out, and there was a strong demand for a tightening of the security rules in the House. Plainclothes detectives will be stationed in the spectators' gallery, and the doormen who allowed this woman to pass will get a dressing down.

It is not difficult to see the parallel between this example of House security and many cases of national security. When a responsible department executive or an investigating Senator finds a suspicious person in a sensitive Government position we have a situation far more dangerous than a strange woman in the House of Representatives. It is enough for "goose pimples" and probably more. President Eisenhower in referring to a recent case said "It would scare me."

Certainly it is proper to act immediately to get rid of the danger. The need for security is as clear in matters of national danger as in the House danger. But when public officials remove what they fear is a security risk, they are often subjected to abuse and ridicule. Those public officials and publicists who talk most about freedom of thought are among the first to try to frighten public officials into risking the safety of the Nation rather than face the brutal attacks that are so often the lot of men who try to protect the Nation as the law and duty require.

Extension of Educational Benefits for Members of the Armed Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement which I presented to the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs today in support of H. R. 587, to permit persons now in the armed services or who will be in service on January 31 of this year to continue to accrue rights of educational benefits despite the termination of the war emergency on that date. My statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I wish to express my appreciation for this opportunity to submit the following statement to you in behalf of H. R. 587, a bill "to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952."

The 82d Congress enacted Public Law 550, "to provide vocational readjustment and to restore lost educational opportunities to certain persons who served in the Armed Forces on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to such date as shall be fixed by the President or the Congress. * * *" The President on January 1, issued a proclamation establishing January 31, 1955, as the termination of the Korean emergency period. In accordance with Public Law 550, the termination of the emergency period will also end the accrual of educational benefits. The enactment of H. R. 587 would assure those individuals in service on or before January 31, 1955, the privilege of continuing to accrue educational benefits until their discharge and would eliminate any possibility of an injustice, with respect to this act, occurring to any individual serving in the Armed Forces prior to the issuance of the President's proclamation.

I am happy to say I supported the enactment of Public Law 550 in the 82d Congress, and I wish to support the enactment of H. R. 587 in an effort to avoid any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act.

Mr. Chairman, at this time I would also like to commend the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, which I feel has done such excellent work in both honoring and protecting the veterans of America. The original GI bill of rights was indeed a bill of remarkable vision, a supreme concept, and, in my opinion, extremely rewarding to both the individual and the entire Nation. It was a generous act upon the part of the taxpayers who so wholeheartedly supported this program, as one sign of their token of esteem for the sacrifice the young men of America made in service to their country during World War II. There was similar public demand and approval that an educational rights bill be enacted for those men serving in the Korean war. It is a credit to this committee that its members carefully studied the operation and history of the original GI bill of rights and in drafting Public Law 550, drew up legislation which eliminated any of the abuses that had developed under the original bill. In this way the committee protected the veteran, retained his educational benefits for him, and at the same time protected the taxpayers.

The GI bill of rights legislation has helped and is helping the veteran help himself. It is one way in which our Government can help a young man regain through education the time and normal advancement he has lost while on military duty. It helps the individual veteran obtain a higher standard of living which, in turn, increases the level of the Nation's prosperity. It is, indeed, of greater benefit to both the veteran and the country to give the veteran a better life through advancing his education than to reward him with a small bonus, quickly spent. The young men of the United States have shown their fine heritage in the sacrifices they have so willingly made for their country, and they deserve to be respected, honored, and rewarded in a like manner. This all the citizens, taxpayers, and Congress have tried to do in supporting educational benefits legislation.

In my opinion, H. R. 587 is a perfecting amendment to Public Law 550, 82d Congress, which would facilitate the implementation of this law and would assure any deserving veteran the educational rights which Congress intended that he have. I hope H. R. 587 will be enacted without delay.

The Reciprocal Trade Casualties Act of 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I have today introduced a bill which, if enacted, would be entitled "The Reciprocal Trade Casualties Act of 1955." It is designed to cushion the shock that will be felt if this Congress decides, as I hope it will, to renew and expand our reciprocal trade agreements program.

This country, I believe, needs expanding world trade. Our export industries can survive in the long run only if we let other countries earn the dollars with which to buy our exports. At the same time, lowered tariffs help the American consumer.

But if imports to this country are to increase, and thus give these benefits to the country generally, someone is going to get hurt in the process. Beyond a certain point, imports can be increased only at the expense of domestic industry. If you are in such an industry, it is small comfort to be told, as your company goes bankrupt or you lose your job, that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

Now, our trade-agreements legislation has had for some years the escape-clause provision, whereby if sufficient injury is shown, the President is authorized to raise tariffs. Possibly because this escape clause could negate the entire trade program, it is no secret that the President has been very loathe to invoke it. If he does not invoke it, domestic producers suffer. If he does invoke it, where is your trade liberalization then?

The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER] recently introduced bills which would provide assistance to individuals, communities, and industries jeopardized by the lowering of trade barriers. I believe that these bills are entitled to the sympathetic consideration of this House. The bill I have introduced, the Reciprocal Trade Casualties Act of 1955, is designed to serve the same purpose as these bills and to supplement them. Like them, it tries to answer the question: How can we lower trade barriers and yet mitigate the hardship that such action causes by helping producers to adjust to a higher level of world trade?

The bill, in brief, provides that any domestic producer found by the Tariff Commission to be in danger by foreign imports, may receive a certificate entitling it to a percentage advantage—up to 25 percent—in its bids for Government contracts. The idea is to provide an oxygen tent so that a company may keep busy and solvent while it finds new products which can sustain it in the long pull. The certificate would be good only for a limited period, while the company energetically sought to develop new products which could withstand competition. With the Government purchasing many billion dollars a year worth of materials, a percentage advantage of this type could be of real significance in tiding a hard-pressed producer over a transition period.

Certainly, we cannot sit idly by and see economic distress and misery caused by our trade policies. An individual plant and its workers cannot just be wished out of existence. Into such a plant, ownership has put its savings and management and skill. Tied to it are hundreds of workers, by reason of seniority, pension plans, or simply by a very understandable wish not to be uprooted from their home, their church, their community.

This bill attempts to keep such a business organization in being. If the company does succeed in making a better mousetrap, we will all be better off for it.

But, as an addition to the cost of certain procurement contracts, the proposal will cost money. So, I suppose, does our practice of giving veterans a percentage advantage in their civil-service examinations. We consider veterans worthy of such protection since they are casualties of our national policy of resisting aggression. Should we not equally recognize as deserving of a percentage break certain industries which are casualties of a trade policy designed to produce a peaceful world? In doing so, we take the costs of a liberalized trade policy off the shoulders of a few isolated industries, and instead spread that cost over the entire Nation, as it should be.

The administrative machinery utilized by the bill is the Tariff Commission, which has already considerable experience in making determinations whether a given industry is being hurt by foreign imports.

The bill is applicable to all producers, and particularly to a number of industries now in tariff jeopardy, which are well equipped to bid on Government contracts. These include such diverse industries as bicycles, cutlery, optical instruments, watches, and motorcycles.

As a specific example, take the motorcycle industry, of which the Harley-Davidson Co., of Milwaukee, is now the sole American producer. Because our tariff on motorcycles has been bound at 10 percent under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, Harley-Davidson has been severely affected by foreign competition, largely from Great Britain. Employment at Harley-Davidson has declined from close to 3,000 in 1949 to less than 900 today. It has lost more than half its domestic market to foreign competition. It is currently operating, I am informed, very close to the red.

If Harley-Davidson is considered a protectionist company, this is so despite itself. Harley-Davidson longs for liberalized trade and the day when once again it can sell its motorcycles throughout the world market, instead of being kept out by the rigid quota system enforced in the sterling bloc and elsewhere today. It sees the point that foreign countries must earn dollars. I believe it would accept with Christian resignation the loss of part of its domestic motorcycle market to foreign competition if it could somehow see a hope of survival on the horizon. The company is engaged in an imaginative and resourceful search for new products which costs it many thousands of dollars monthly. It hopes that in a year or 2 or 3 it will light upon such a product, and then be able to diversify its line so that it can keep its head above water and keep jobs for its workers. Meanwhile, it is bidding, and bidding hard, on a great variety of Government contracts. It has run into the same experience as many another medium-sized company—it finds that General Motors or Chrysler can underbid it by a few dollars on an important contract.

Let us put the Reciprocal Trade Casualities Act on the books. Let us give Harley-Davidson, and companies similarly situated, the opportunity to prove before the Tariff Commission what is perfectly obvious: That it is suffering, and suffering badly, from foreign competition. Let it be armed, then, with a certificate entitling it to a percentage break on its Government work. Let this added business keep its working capital and working force intact over the next few years. And, hopefully, let the company then fashion a better mousetrap which will set the free world beating a path to its door.

If we can do that, we can move closer to our goal of trade without tears.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of the Ukrainian People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday was the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of indepedence of the Ukrainian people. We in the United States, together with all the free peoples throughout the world, are aware of the great courage displayed by the brave Ukrainians in their opposition to Communist oppression and have great admiration for their consistent zeal in their efforts to attain liberty and freedom.

We have an obligation to continue to aid them in every way we can in regaining the liberty and permanent peace among freedom-loving nations which they so justly deserve.

The Simplified Tax Form

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial by Elinor V. Cogswell, which appeared in the Palo Alto Times, Palo Alto, Calif., on Tuesday, January 18, 1955. I believe that the editorial points out better than most the difficulties faced by American taxpayers in trying to fulfill their obligations to the United States Treasury.

EVC AT BAT—THE SIMPLIFIED TAX FORM

(By Elinor V. Cogswell)

Through circumstances beyond my control it became necessary for me to file an amended estimate of my 1954 income. I got around to it in the final few days before the January 17 deadline.

In this I was not exceptional, as I learned when I went down to the internal revenue office in the basement of the post office to get an estimated income blank to amend. Lots of people but no blanks. I could probably pick one up from a bank or some place, I was told.

There weren't any around the Times or in the central office of Peninsula Newspapers, Inc. I telephoned the bank that guards my pennies to be sure there are enough there to cover my checks. Sorry, no blanks.

By that time it was Thursday before the deadline. In some desperation I telephoned the internal-revenue office in San Francisco. The switchboard operator, after learning what I wanted, connected me with voice No. 1.

Voice No. 1, after learning what I wanted said she was not the person for me to talk to and asked the operator to connect me with another extension. Voice No. 2 answered and went through the same routine. Voice No. 3 repeated the formula.

Down in the supply room, voice No. 4 answered a ring on local 6843. He had the blanks, all right, but said he was busy. He said he didn't have time to send out blanks now. He implied I should have thought of such matters sooner.

I explained piteously that it seemed to me that if the Government said I had to fill out one of these blanks or go to jail, the Government ought to give me a chance at a blank.

Somewhat grumpily he took my name and address. He didn't think the blank would reach me in time, anyhow.

Neither did I. So I betook myself to the postoffice basement again Friday morning and joined one of several lines fanning out from the harried collectors. I wanted to find out what to do if the blank didn't show up.

My line reached well down the hall. After I'd been standing there for 15 minutes or so, the man at the head of the line finished and came out. "What time is it?" he asked. It was 25 minutes to 11. "I got here at 9:15," he said.

About that time I was rescued by an acquaintance. He came in to collect some other blanks from the table in the hall. I told him my troubles and he said he had some estimated income blanks in his office, or could find me some across the hall.

He did. But that did not end my troubles.

Being painfully literal in matters fiscal, financial, fiduciary, and involving collectors of internal revenue, I felt that I should figure out every detail of my income. This included a small annuity that I had taken out on one of those days when you feel that you're about worn out and had better prepare for being tossed into the discard pile.

If you've read the new tax form, you know that the matter of figuring out how much you owe on annuities has been simplified. You just divide something or other by your life expectancy, using an actuarial table which the blank indicates is available.

Not from the office of the Director of Internal Revenue, however. Not from the banks. Not from the PNI office. Not from anybody else I could think of to ask.

The man that sold me the insurance said that if the Government had such a table it was locked in the vaults of the Library of Congress. He said that using his company's tables, the 15-page document his own company had put out on this tax gimmick, and 3 other services, he could figure it out pretty close for me. It took him only 1 afternoon and 2 calls to tax experts.

If this is simplification, I vote for complexity.

Just after I rushed my return to the post office, the blank came from the grumpy man at local 6843.

Now, I am told, the Government's table of life expectancy is out.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., has requested Members of Congress to make a brief statement in the RECORD for distribution abroad and behind the Iron Curtain. The occasion is the observance of the proclamation of Ukrainian Independence on January 22, 1918.

The Nation of Ukrainia, numbering 40 million people, has been under the yoke of tyrants for centuries. The latest plunderers of Ukraine independence and culture are the cruel Soviet imperialists, who have committed mass murders, manufactured famines, and destroyed churches as the highlights of their reign of terror.

In my home district of New Haven, Conn., the Ukrainian flag of blue and gold flew at city hall alongside the American flag last week in memory of the

Ukrainian proclamation of independence. I take great pride in pointing out that New Haven is the first city in the United States to recognize Ukrainian Independence Day. It is my hope that many other towns and cities will follow this example of tribute to a nation which cherishes freedom above all else and will never cease to fight for it.

The Meaning of "Face" in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the present international crisis in the Far East, we often hear a great deal about the importance of "saving face" in the Asian countries or "the power of face" in that area of the world. I think that if more Americans understood the meaning of face to the Asian peoples, particularly if it was better understood by our policymakers, diplomats, and most important of all, by Congress, we could avoid much of the present tension in the world.

One of the most interesting descriptions of the meaning of "face" in Asia is contained in an article published in the New York Times Magazine, last Sunday, January 23, 1955. I am very happy to insert it into the RECORD and urge all my colleagues to read it. They will find it thought-provoking and worthwhile as they read their daily newspapers and try to understand the oriental mind and way of thinking.

Mr. Speaker, the article, which is written by Peggy Durdin, who has lived in the Far East for many years, is as follows:

"FACE" IS A BASIC ISSUE IN ASIA

(By Peggy Durdin)

SINGAPORE.—About 20 years ago a Chinese family—man, wife, and 3 children—were living on a little island in the Yangtze River, not far from the city of Chinkiang. The woman became sick. Nothing seemed to help her; not the ministrations of the local herb doctor nor offerings in the village temple. Finally, her husband made up his mind to take her to the hospital of the "foreign devils" in Chinkiang. This was a momentous decision; he had to sell some of their meager household goods to finance the sampan trip down the river, and, after all, no one on the island really knew whether it was good or bad magic that the big-nosed "foreign devils" practiced.

As the husband and some of the other villagers were carrying the invalid down to the river bank, they passed a neighbor woman famous for her shrewish tongue and an eye for other people's business. She shouted some cutting remark about the project. Tense with worry, the husband answered back. A verbal brawl developed in front of the crowd that could always gather in 20 seconds anywhere in China. Finally, harassed beyond his control, the husband slapped his shrewish neighbor before everyone. Her curses followed him down to the water.

At Chinkiang the foreign doctor diagnosed cancer in its final stages. With some drugs to ease the woman's pain, they hurriedly started back to the island, so that she could be at home when she joined her ancestors. When the husband and his dying wife reached their little hut they found the neighbor's body dangling in their doorway. She had committed suicide because she had lost so much face by being slapped in public. (At the same time, she had terribly revenged herself on the man who had taken face from her; unwritten Chinese law ruled that you had to support, for the rest of your life, the dependents of anyone killing himself on your property.)

This is not an unusual instance of the power of face in the country where it was highly developed and widely practiced before the Communists came to power and launched their drives against the old cultural patterns and traditions. But face was never the monopoly of China. If Americans had more appreciation of the part face plays and has played in the relations of nations and individuals, our dealings with the rest of the world—and particularly with Asia—would be smoother and more mutually profitable.

Face, in the classic Chinese sense, was status in the eyes of others. It was not what you were, but how you were regarded; or, more accurately, how you felt you were regarded. Wealth and position might contribute to face but could never guarantee it. It was not solid and irrevocable, like caste in India, but evanescent and variable. By your own acts, you could gain or lose face from one moment to the next. Others could give it to you or take it from you.

Although a Chinese peasant wife might kill herself because her mother-in-law made her lose face too often, a poor farmer might go irremediably into debt to gain face by an elaborate family wedding or funeral, in general, face was a luxury only the upper classes of China could really afford. It was at once one of the flowerings of an extremely ceremonial and civilized society and a real impediment to progress, efficiency, and rule by law.

If a Chinese captain couldn't win a naval battle against Europeans, he could at least gain face by firing off big guns from a safe distance. The Chinese would never recall General MacArthur as President Truman did; they would send out-of-favor generals on expensive tours abroad to save their faces or would execute them. About a hundred years ago Cantonese officials gained themselves and their country great face by treating western traders and diplomats as rudely as possible (thereby helping to bring about the opium war and the forcible opening of the Chinese Empire to the West). In later times some antiforeign Chinese used to take pleasure in making Europeans lose face by techniques so delicate and subtle that only other Chinese were aware of them.

A Chinese official always gained face by treating his inferiors arrogantly—if he got away with it. If he did not—if, for instance, the customs officials he bullied still doggedly insisted on opening his trunks and looking through them—then he lost great face. Achieving something by influence instead of legal methods—procuring the release of a man in jail, by dropping a word in the right quarter—gained one face. My father worked for years in China to persuade teachers that they must sometimes flunk students, in spite of the demands of face, and to persuade boys that losing a game on the playing field involved far less loss of face than walking off the court when defeat seemed probable.

One almost invariably lost face in China—as in many other parts of Asia even today—by acknowledgment of error or of ignorance. Not long ago a qualified Chinese physician joined the staff of an American tuberculosis sanatorium to learn new techniques of treating the disease. The institution's doctors and nurses reluctantly came to the conclusion that he was trying to kill patients. The fact was—as one of the China-born patients discovered with a little sleuthing—that he simply couldn't bring himself to incur the loss of face involved in admitting that he didn't know enough English to understand the written and oral instructions he was given.

Modern Chinese rightly believed face had reached such proportions that it impeded progress and must go. The Chinese Communists are working hard to root it completely out of Chinese thinking. Regard for face and the basic Communist practices of public criticism and self-criticism are absolutely incompatible. A year or so ago, when the Communists were concentrating on the reindoctrination of Chinese professors, they explained tirelessly that the intellectuals must think of making long, public and often abject denunciations of their past ideas and careers not as humiliating loss of face but as highly creditable behavior.

This doesn't mean that all Chinese Communists, expert psychologists that they are, have not utilized face in dealing with their own and other people. One might say that, whereas in old China anyone could give or take away face, now it is done only by the party and the bureaucracy. Good Marxists would shudder at the phraseology, but probably the most important thing the Communists have given the laborers and peasants in China is face—social status, a sense of being someone, of mattering. This the Kuomintang failed to do on the mainland.

Conversely, one of the aims of the Communists' brutal "public accounts" trials of landlords was to make the whole class lose face permanently and irrevocably. Before evicting the thousands of foreign missionaries in China—easily achieved in several months without fanfare if the Reds had so wished it—Peiping went through a couple of years of elaborate, carefully planned routines (humiliating public arrests, trials, and so on) to make the Europeans lose face before the common people. The Communists give labor heroes tremendous face today through such tactics as publicity and trips to Europe. Peaceful coexistence is high-level Russo-Chinese strategy, but a typically Chinese tactic of putting it across is to give to key Asian statesmen such as Nehru and U Nu as much face in Peiping as possible.

One reason Americans tend to underestimate Peiping's strength and appeal among Chinese citizens at home and overseas is that they forget that most of China's contact with the West until Mao came to power was a continuous loss of face for the Asians.

A great country that had never doubted for 2,000 years that it was the center and pivot of the civilized world—the Middle Kingdom—had to accept from western barbarians during the last century not only crushing military defeats but humiliating treaties limiting China's sovereignty on her own territory. China's adoption of so many elements of western culture, however beneficial, involved perhaps even more bitter and profound loss of face; acceptance of European methods was a tacit admission that Chinese techniques and patterns of thought were invalid and inferior.

It is not surprising, then, that face so often dictated the policies and behavior of the Chiang Kai-shek government, and was so valued by it. Churchill and Roosevelt gave China great face by treating it as the fourth great power during the last war, which it certainly was not; Washington took face away from Chiang by publishing the critical white paper half a decade later. Defeated on the China mainland and exiled to the island of Formosa, the Nationalist Government today is probably more sensitive about its face than at any other time in its history.

Face is far less important to the Chinese Communists. More realistic factors, including the demands of world Communist strategy, determine Peiping's policies toward Formosa, the United States, Korea, Indochina, the overseas Chinese, or the 11 American flyers. The Communists value fact, not facade. But they do seem to feel a special resentment and bitterness toward the United States for denying them the face that recognition of China and entry into the United Nations would bring.

Unquestionably the Communists have given China great face in Asia. The Korean war added to her face (even anti-Communist Chinese felt a surge of pride and triumph that their country could stand off the West on the battlefield). The Geneva conference gave Peiping face at home and abroad, as has Nehru consistently in his public statements and general attitude toward the Chinese Communists.

"As far as Nehru is concerned, the chief objective of the Afro-Asian Conference to be held this spring is to give Communist China face," said one Asian recently. "But what will this policy gain in the end for India?"

To think of face, however, chiefly as a quaint Chinese idiosyncrasy—like footbinding—is erroneous. Asked to define face in the modern world, one of my Chinese acquaintances said promptly "Face is selling a piece of jewelry so you can give a lavish dinner party. It's going into debt to dress more elegantly than your friends, the way the Chinese do in Hong Kong."

"Well," said an American, "that definition makes face a solid American institution. It's going into debt to lunch at chic New York restaurants, or to belong to the right country club. We often call it 'keeping up with the Joneses.'"

"Oh, face cuts across national boundaries," said the Chinese. "It's just a human failing. Everyone—and every nation—wants to feel honored and respected."

If we define face as status, and wanting face as wanting public recognition or acceptance of our status, it is almost as integral a part of western thinking as of Asian. The face France feels she lost in the last war has made her as unreasonable and sensitive to slights on the international scene as a Chinese woman relegated to the background by a second wife who is younger and prettier. Fear of losing face by giving up a foothold in the Far East has been one of the chief sources of French stupidities in Indochina over the last 8 years.

Policymakers in Washington, American diplomats, foreign-aid technicians, and, above all, Congressmen, would better serve their own country's interests if they would try to understand the problems of face in Asia, a part of the world where we are not winning friends and influencing people on a scale to cause unrestrained jubilation. Colonial rule was deeply face-losing for Asian countries and their leaders. For example, how humiliating and productive of neurosis it was for Indians, with their pride of caste and their great cultural heritage, to be impotent under British rule—and, what was worse, under the Britisher's quiet and unshakable assumption of superiority. As a matter of fact, what Asians most resented in colonial rule was not the material exploitation. It was the spiritual humiliation—the loss of face.

Few men—and those few are seldom practical politicians—can feel for years that they and their fellow countrymen are looked down upon and then suddenly, on the day of independence, emerge emotionally unscathed and unwarped. Loss of face under colonial rule has left scars among many Asian intellectuals: a narrow nationalism that is backward-looking and negative; an automatic and irrational suspicion of any move of any western country that has real power; a compulsion to be important on the international scene; an Asianism which attributes special virtue to being yellow, brown, or black; an assumption that the West owes the East something as a kind of historical penance (this applies chiefly to the United States, which was least colonial); a tremendous sensitivity to the slightest hint of criticism (this often makes the work of a conscientious journalist excruciatingly painful); and a violent reaction against what might be interpreted as pressure. Although, of course, it cannot be determined by these factors, American foreign policy risks failure if it does not take them into consideration.

Asian sensitivities from the colonial past are often compounded by sensitivities caused by the difficult present. As one European long in Indonesia put it, "Many Indonesians feel unhappy and thwarted and disillusioned today, and even a little ashamed, because they know things are not going too well in their country. But how much worse they feel just because they know white men are standing on the sidelines, looking on and commenting and criticizing."

Our relations with much of south and southeast Asia might be more fruitful today if we had followed the lead of the British at the end of the last war in giving a very appreciable degree of face to Nehru and India. We do not add to Asian nations' face by calling them "backward" and "underdeveloped" or by giving them the quite false impression that we consider them trivial appendages to Europe or simply expendable pawns in our world strategy against Russia.

Receiving money and advice has seldom added to anyone's face; Americans need to use a good deal more tact in the thankless and delicate operation of giving. Largely because of the activities of the so-called "China lobby group" and McCarthyites, most American diplomats who really know Asian cultures and Asian psychologies are not operating in the area. A special requirement for United States official personnel coming to this part of the world should be an intelligent appreciation of Asian values and a personal talent for giving Asians a sense of status generously acknowledged, a feeling of being appreciated and respected.

Let me add that Asians often seem to forget today that they owe the same courteous regard for the face of the United States. Of course, we gain or lose face in Asia by our own acts first of all: Nothing in the last decade lost us so much face in the Far East as McCarthyism and probably nothing won us so much as the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools. Headline-hunting American politicians who forget that their remarks are seized upon in Delhi, Tokyo, Djakarta, and Saigon often show a positive genius for making their own country lose face in Asia.

But Asians, too, can give us face or take it away from us; nowadays, except in a few countries like the Philippines, they most frequently seem to do the latter. They expect to be treated with sympathetic understanding and appreciation; they are more than willing to view China charitably; but it is always open season for taking pot shots at Washington and at Americans.

They assure you that complete, 99-percent waterproof, governmentally organized thought control in China is just a temporary pimple, a passing blemish—but McCarthyism in the United States is a deep-seated, organic disease, unclean like leprosy. It was not the justified, but the constant and irrational criticism which made so many conscientious well-meaning Britishers in India bitter and warped before the last war—and today it is in danger of doing the same thing to Americans.

It is time that Asians reminded themselves that Americans are as proud of their country and of their way of life as Indians or Indonesians are. If somewhat less resentful of criticism, they are none-the-less becoming more sensitive to the unceasing attack on their country, much of it based on emotional prejudice and ignorance.

The giving of face at the right time in the right manner can greatly facilitate the complex and problem-ridden intercourse of nations. Americans should frequently remind themselves of this. So should Asians.

Revere Memorial Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address which I delivered at the eighth annual banquet of Revere Memorial Hospital:

There was a time when we used to think of a hospital as some sort of an elaborate garage for human beings, where they went for overhaul and repairs.

It never occurred to us that we might ever need such care and treatment.

And so the burden of supporting our hospitals was unfairly placed upon the shoulders of a few.

However, a great and necessary change in the attitude of the American people has taken place within the last 20 years.

The depression of the 1930's turned out to be a shock treatment in disguise.

We were jolted out of our indifference to economic problems.

In the quest for material security we also became aware of the need for taking better care of our health.

We came to understand that these were matters of group concern and that the responsibility for solving these problems must be shared.

Churches, schools, and hospitals are basic to the life of any community. They are entitled to the widest possible measure of support from all who live in the community.

Churches are exempt from taxation. Schools are maintained from public revenues or private funds. So are the many types of hospitals. Although Government aids in various ways, it is the people by their own voluntary efforts who maintain these institutions—in the spirit of the Good Samaritan.

We in Massachusetts take great pride in the fact that Metropolitan Boston has developed into one of the world's great medical centers. This could not have happened without public confidence and cooperation.

Six years after the establishment of the first English colony in America, Samuel Puchas noted in 1613 that: "Beyond James Towne * * * they were building a hospital with fourscore lodgings, and beds already sent." A little over a century later in 1718, the public records of Boston show that the selectmen were impowered "to lease out a piece of land * * * for the erecting of a hospital or resthouse there for the reception and entertainment of sick persons coming from beyond the sea, and in order to prevent the spreading of infection."

We are not quite so blunt today in our language. Even though an occasional patient, nurse, or doctor may seem to be somewhat of a pest to others, human nature being what it is, we regard hospitals as temples that are truly devoted to the healing arts.

The use of the word "hospital" in this country, early combined the Latin "host"

and "hostel" with the Grecian concept of a community institution. Larger than the more general meaning in England, where the terms "private hospital" and "nursing home" were usually limited to specialized institutions.

Among the most influential founders of American medicine and medical care were two Massachusetts brothers, Joseph and John Warren, who were largely responsible both for the development of our first military hospital in 1775, and for the medical school at Harvard. Joseph Warren, who had pioneered in medical studies, was killed during the battle of Bunker Hill, but his younger brother, John, carried forward his work by arranging for shelters for the wounded at Cambridge. The Army hospital, located in a Boston pasture, served as well to house John Warren's lectures on the cadaver; sessions which were conducted behind locked doors. But this early course in anatomy could not remain hidden and, after having been carried on sub rosa, it moved to Harvard College and formed the beginning for the medical school, with John Warren as the first professor of anatomy and surgery. His son, John Collins Warren, who succeeded to his chair, set the stage for modern surgery by founding the Massachusetts General Hospital (1811) where in 1846, he gave anesthesia its first public demonstration.

Today, hospitals in America rank among the 12 largest American industries, representing an investment of billions of dollars, employing more than half a million people, and operating at a cost of more than a billion dollars a year.

Within the past 10 years the demand for hospital care has increased over half again.

Just look at the record of births in your own city and you will find that most new arrivals now come via the hospital route rather than the home.

Workmen's compensation laws, and the rapid expansion of group-insurance plans, with their tens of millions of members, have both extended the range of hospital care, and have made it simpler for the institutions to obtain prompt payment of bills. The facts that people are living longer, and that diseases of old age are increasing, have further added to the need for more facilities.

Each year we are providing more hospital beds, but the demand continues to outrun the supply.

The day is fast approaching when all Americans will not only be born in hospitals but will have occasion to revisit them as patients several times during the rest of their lives.

It is generally agreed that the average community needs 4½ general beds for every 1,000 inhabitants.

This is not just a simple matter of buying a bed from a supply house. There is the building to pay for and maintain, there is costly equipment to purchase, and there are many skilled people to serve the patient who will occupy that bed.

The United States Public Health Service estimates that the national average cost of a hospital bed is more than $16,000.

Staffing a hospital is a big proposition.

It is generally considered that a community should have 1 general medical practitioner for every 1,200 persons. A mythical town of 70,000 should have at least 58 GP's. It needs specialists, too; 1 surgeon for every 50 beds in the hospital; 1 eye-ear-nose-and-throat man for every 100 beds, plus other experts.

As for nonmedical personnel, the PHS recommends from 140 to 170 employees for every 100 patients. That breaks down to 80 to 105 nurses, 30 X-ray, laboratory, and dietetics people, and about 35 clerks and housekeepers.

So you can see that each bed requires a lot of money to service.

If one thing is certain, it is the fact that your community hospital will not be able to pay its own way completely. Revenue from patients, most sources agree, will only finance 85 to 90 percent of operating costs.

That is why hospitals need your help to keep going.

Nonpatients must carry part of the load.

There are almost as many ways of financing a hospital as there are hospitals. Raising funds through public subscription requires the time and generous effort on the part of many people as you know from your own experience. A combination of private funds and public grants might be the better answer.

Even hospital buildings have a life expectancy of about 50 years and they, too, need oxygen and transfusions, in the form of money, to keep them up to date and functioning.

Not to mention the income of the staff, which must keep step with the rising standard and cost of living, if these dedicated workers are to be truly appreciated.

Many States are assisting communities with their hospital programs. Some match local contributions dollar for dollar. Others make smaller but still sizable grants.

The nationwide need for new hospitals and public health centers was recognized by the Congress in 1946 when the original Hospital Survey and Construction Act was passed. The major purpose of this legislation is to assist the States to provide adequate hospital, clinic, and similar services to all their people.

This is accomplished in two phases; namely, the survey and planning phase, and the construction phase of financial assistance to the States in building hospital and related facilities.

For the construction phase of the program, the Congress has, thus far, appropriated over $682 million. Of this sum, over $625 million, matched by $1¼ billion in State and local funds, have been allotted to 2,300 projects approved for Federal aid.

The American Hospital Association, in its June 1954 Administrators Guide Issue, reports that there are 5,212 short-term general hospitals in the United States, providing 546,000 general hospital beds.

In the New England States alone there are 242 voluntary, nonprofit institutions with 31,000 beds; 17 proprietary, with 523 beds; 31 governmental, with 5,661 beds.

It is apparent that, in our part of the country, the backbone of the system is comprised of the voluntary, nonprofit hospital group.

The summary data on the program in Massachusetts indicates that 64 projects have been approved and are receiving Federal assistance. Of particular interest is the fact that of these projects approved under the program, 52 of these, or 81.2 percent of the total projects were in the voluntary, nonprofit ownership group.

I shall not go into the financial figures of your fund-raising campaign, because I know that mathematics is a dry subject that has some of the effects of anesthesia.

Now if we only had some figures like Marilyn Monroe—or some of your own attractive nurses—to dramatize the problems of our hospitals, I am sure that everybody would take a lively interest in those problems.

As it is, you the workers, and you the donors, have done a fine job in rallying to the support of the Revere Memorial Hospital.

Concerning the future, I think we must have a big and continuing public relations program in order to make everybody hospital conscious.

For the health of the individual and the well-being of the community it is necessary that hospitals should be free from financial worries.

A popular song a few years ago bemoaned the fact that "money is the root of all evil." I believe that the author of those lyrics did not refuse to accept some of the money that came his way as a result of his efforts.

Hard-pressed hospital administrators and trustees know how indispensable money is—to buy and maintain facilities, improve on equipment, and pay for the services of those who attend to the sick.

Without you, the benefactors, a community hospital might not survive.

Even though you do not wear a nurse's uniform, or apply a doctor's stethoscope, or take a blood count in the laboratory, you make all these services available to your fellowmen.

In behalf of the Revere Memorial Hospital—even though, as a Congressmen, I wouldn't be of much use on its staff—permit me to thank you for your neighborly spirit and your generosity.

Kind hearts and gentle people are the unsung heroes on the road of life.

And you, the contributors to your community's hospital, are angels of mercy.

Mr. Cain Speaks Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the New York Times of January 25, 1955, entitled "Mr. Cain Speaks Up":

MR. CAIN SPEAKS UP

There can no longer be any doubt that the Federal security program is one of the major domestic headaches of this administration. It will probably remain so, as it should, until there is some substantial and meaningful reform of the present situation.

One of the most effective criticisms of this situation has recently come from a highly qualified but unexpected quarter. Harry P. Cain, former Republican Senator from Washington, has for the better part of 2 years been a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board. This agency was established by the Internal Security Act of 1950 to pass on the Attorney General's designation of organizations coming under the sanctions of that law; and it has held its hearings with a notable degree of moderation, propriety, and respect for judicial processes. When Mr. Cain served in the Senate from 1947 to 1953 he was generally considered to be a member of the far-right wing; and this fact only adds to the piquancy of his remarks.

As a Republican who has been deeply and officially involved in the workings of the security process Mr. Cain deserves attention in stating that "we have constructed an apparatus which can destroy us if we don't watch out. I know but few," he says, "who think the administration of the system has been adequate to the reasonable requirements of freedom. * * * I hope that Republican leaders will begin to acknowledge the criticisms more rapidly and move more swiftly in correcting mistakes in judgment or procedure when they occur. * * * Some changes in both attitudes and procedures must be agreed to or the system will never work."

Unlike many critics, Mr. Cain has some concrete proposals for improvement of the program. They include: More meticulous care in the selection of security officers—a most important point too frequently overlooked; greater experience and independence

on the part of hearing boards; separation of personnel from security functions within the Federal service; individual consideration of the importance of security in any particular job; revision of the almost impossible present criteria of security; more care in the use of the term "security risk."

A security program is essential, but there is nothing sacred about the present one, and its defenders owe it to the American public to do a good deal more than bury their heads in the sand and hope the storm will soon pass over.

We Must Go Slow in Reducing Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, since announcement was made of the policy to be pursued in the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act, and the power to be given to the President to cut tariffs, there has come into my office many letters protesting against the adoption of such. These letters point out the disastrous effect that ill-advised action would have on their particular industry. All of which impresses me with the fact that it is a matter that should have the utmost consideration, and that no action should be taken that would create the possibility of damage to any industry, or tend to destroy or curtail employment among the workers of this country with its consequent distress to them and their families.

As an indication of the concern that has been created because of the proposed changes, I am including as part of my remarks the following letter received by me. It reads as follows:

DRIVER-HARRIS CO.,
Harrison, N. J., January 20, 1955.
Hon. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLVERTON: We have been reading about H. R. 1, the bill which is presently under discussion in the House and ultimately will be in the hands of the Senate, having to do with tariff. We have read of the proposals to further reduce tariff on imports on a gradual 5 percent yearly basis.

We are strongly against this drastic proposal of across-the-board tariff reductions. Circumstances vary in different industries and our industry is a case in point. Ours is a very specialized alloy business wherein our alloys are sold by the pound and not on a tonnage basis as is the case with steel. It follows, therefore, that in such a specialized field the skill required to produce these critical alloys must be very high with attendant high costs and labor rates. At the present time, the tariff on our products is 12½ percent in one category and 12½ percent plus a further 5 percent in another category. We are now beginning to feel the bite of foreign competition as importers can purchase these highly specialized alloys abroad, import them into this country, pay the above-mentioned duty thereon and undersell us by 25 percent. It is already happening. With our high cost problem, which is fixed and cannot be backed away from, this is a very serious one indeed.

The major factor in all of this, however, is that our industry is one of the most important ones in the country from the standpoint of national defense. When World II started, as was the case at the beginning of World War I, our company was one of the first in northern New Jersey whose output was commandeered by the Government and all output for civilian supply was immediately stopped. This prevailed throughout all of these periods and without question would occur again if such an emergency arose. Bearing this in mind, it is improvident to permit the demoralization of such an important factor in the defense structure of this country by reducing tariffs on like imported products to the vanishing point, which would be the case if the present program should be put into effect. We might add that the tariff on our products has already been reduced the full allowable 50 percent.

If you feel that it would be of any avail to address the Ways and Means Committee on this subject, we will consider doing so.

We, therefore, strongly urge that you consider this tariff matter from the standpoint of survival of this industry in the United States and its critical preservation for the good of the country as a whole in case of a national emergency.

Cordially yours,
STANLEY M. TRACY,
Executive Vice-President.

Commemoration of Second Anniversary of Inauguration of President Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, the second anniversary of the inauguration of President Eisenhower was commemorated by a reception at the Capitol Hill Club on January 20, 1955. On that occasion the members and their guests listened to a few remarks from that great Republican, the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., and a letter was received and read from the President of the United States. This letter is an inspiration to all Americans, and I hope it will be read thoughtfully by many of our citizens.

Mr. MARTIN'S remarks and the President's letter follow:

Fellow Republicans, I guess it is safe to say that here, as I look around; and I am happy to come and join in this anniversary celebration. It is a good thing to have a club like this where we can gather occasionally and become better acquainted. We belong to a great party. We belong to a party that not only the destinies of America, but the world are largely dependent upon to guide them safely. We are happy to have this organization where we can meet and organize to carry on that great work.

We are 2 years old, and knowing JIM AUCHINCLOSS as I do, the energy and zeal and the time he puts into this club, I know that before a few years pass, this will be a club that we will all be genuinely proud of. And we want to have it, too, as part of our plans for 1956. We had a little setback last year, but it is only a slight setback. Next year will be another year.

We can win in 1956. I know that. I have been all over the country and sounded out the sentiment. Last fall I spoke in 23 States. There is no discouragement to be found for Republicans when they visit the other States of this Union. The people are all active and loyal. None are discouraged. What they are looking for is for us here in Washington to make a record so they can go out and win this victory in 1956. This is a must. We can do it by meetings like this, as we come here and talk over our plans with each other, and we arrange what we believe is going to be a great victory in 1956.

The program of this administration, in my judgment, will be a sound and forward-looking one. It will appeal to the large majority of our people if we can bring our message to the country. I am happy to join in this celebration, because I know this club can be helpful to the party. This meeting stimulates the interest which must be aroused to win the great victory in 1956.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 18, 1955.
Hon. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JIM: Because it would be a great pleasure for both of us, Mrs. Eisenhower and I are disappointed that we cannot be at the Capitol Hill Club on January 20 for the inaugural anniversary. For me, personally, the occasion would be an opportunity to discuss with my fellow members some thoughts that I feel are of interest to us all. But—at the risk of mixing a message of regret with a dissertation—I venture, in this note, to suggest a few of them.

This administration is committed to a program of progressive moderation, liberal in its human concerns, conservative in its economic proposals, constructively dynamic and optimistic in its appraisal of the future. This program, I firmly believe, merits the endorsement and support of thinking, confident, forward-looking Americans.

For our country and the world, we seek establishment of international relationships characterized by order and justice, in which reason and truth are respected, under which men can live as neighbors at peace. Within the United Nations and in all our pacts for mutual security, our treaties of alliance, our proposals for trade, that purpose inspires our foreign policy.

For our national economy, we seek a dependable stability in our present assets, a vigorous expansion in our future growth. These can be best achieved, we believe, by giving the private citizen the greatest possible opportunity—consistent with the rights of others—to contribute to the development of the economy and to share in its abundance.

For individual Americans, we seek increase in their opportunity to enjoy good health, good schools, good homes; we seek a lessening in their fear of personal disaster and in the impact of hardships beyond their control. In this endeavor, we reject Federal domination over State and community, for we seek to strengthen—not to weaken—the historic self-reliance of our people.

The principles and purposes, sketchily outlined here, must be, in my judgment, the standard of the Republican Party through the coming months. Committed to them, we can and must work together to advance the legislative program now before the 84th Congress, for this program is their legislative expression.

Thereby we shall serve our party and the Republic. We shall draw to our ranks men and women of action and wisdom who, in prayerful thought and dedicated effort, strive for an America worthy of their forebear's dream and fit for their children's living. Together—all of us—we shall achieve it.

Sincerely,
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Torch of Freedom Burns in the Ukraine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, there is no better occasion than the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence from the Russian Empire of the Czar and from the Soviet Government which followed it, to remind the people of the United States that the torch of freedom burns brightly behind the Iron Curtain, and nowhere more brightly than in the breasts of some 40 million Ukrainians who are de facto a part of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

In my district of eastern Connecticut, we have thousands of American citizens who have ties of blood and culture with their homeland in the Ukraine. They are loved and respected by their neighbors. They take seriously their responsibilities and privileges as American citizens, while retaining, in their churches and patriotic and fraternal societies, observance of their traditional customs, such as the one just recently observed, as it is every year, of the Ukrainian Christmas on January 7, based upon the Julian calendar. Not only in Colchester, where at St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church elaborate preparations for this festival were made and carried out, but also in Norwich, Hebron, Salem, and Lebanon, all towns in my district, where other hundreds of families dwell, where there was similar observance, the people combined with the prayers at their Christmas services prayers to speed the day when the aspirations for real and lasting freedom in the homeland will be fulfilled.

In the Ukraine, although conquered by Soviet imperialism and brigaded in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, like so many other peoples who were free once and who prepare for the day when they can be again, the people may be frustrated, but they are not despairing.

The people of the Ukraine know, from the experience of hundreds of years, that there can be no such thing as peaceful coexistence with a tyrant. As one of the first victims of Soviet imperialism, Ukraine has been particularly subjected to the murder, corruption, and pillaging of the invader, and endures as a captive state only with determination to find and to provide the opportunity to break the shackles.

It is significant that Soviet Russia recognizes the Ukraine as a nation, by asking for and obtaining the admittance to the United Nations, when it was formed, of the Ukraine Soviet Republic as a member of the United Nations. The day must come when the Ukraine will be a totally independent nation in its own right, and not a vest-pocket member to swell the voting strength of the Soviet bloc.

The anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine independence by the people of that nation in 1918 should be, at this time, an inspiration to the American people as we continue to strive forward to extend the boundaries of the free world. We shall give, as people dedicated to preserving and restoring human freedom everywhere, every possible assistance and encouragement to the efforts which are being made, and will continue to be made, by the people now behind the Iron Curtain, to attain that freedom.

The Committee on Ways and Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means, on which I have the honor to serve, has recently begun public hearings on the administration's foreign trade program. These hearings are expected to last a minimum of 3 weeks and then, of course, extensive consideration in executive session will be required.

In certain quarters, criticism is being leveled at the committee for its failure to undertake this important task during the last Congress. The following editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Monday, January 17, 1955, is a case in point:

IN LESS THAN A WEEK

How to get down to business in Congress promptly has been demonstrated by the House Ways and Means Committee under the chairmanship of Democratic Representative JERE COOPER, of Tennessee.

Chairman COOPER has already started public hearings on President Eisenhower's foreign trade program. Not only that, he has called as the first witness no less an official than Secretary of State Dulles. This would suggest that instead of a long-drawn-out procedure with a lot of time-consuming minor witnesses first, the committee will be ready to take action on proposed reciprocal trade legislation early in the session on the basis of top-level testimony.

President Eisenhower sent his foreign trade message to Congress only a week ago, and it is even less than a week since the Senate and House completed organization of their committees. Yet hearings are already started on perhaps the one most important part of Mr. Eisenhower's program—the part designed to loosen the bonds that restrict world trade.

Contrast this with the way things went on the Ways and Means Committee in the last two sessions when the committee had a Republican majority and high-ranking Republican Representative DANIEL A. REED, of New York, for its chairman.

On this vital issue at least, the White House ought to say a prayer of thanksgiving that it "lost" the election last November.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means has a reputation for hard work which is recognized by every Member of this House. Its record of legislative accomplishment in the last Congress is unsurpassed. It may well be without parallel in our entire history. If the committee was, in fact, dilatory in taking up the trade question, then it deserves criticism. On the other hand, if the committee was not dilatory, and I shall demonstrate that it was not, then this charge must be labeled as irresponsible, political, and unworthy of a great newspaper.

On April 7, 1953, during the 1st session of the 83d Congress, the President requested a 1-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. At the same time he referred to the need for a thorough reexamination of our whole foreign economic policy. Accordingly, on May 1, 1953, the President transmitted a message recommending creation of a commission to make this review. These two Presidential recommendations were carried out promptly. On June 9, 1953, the Committee on Ways and Means favorably reported the bill to provide for a 1-year's extension of the trade agreements authority and to establish the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. It was provided therein that the report of the Commission was to be submitted within 60 days after the commencement of the second session in 1954. Obviously, it was not intended that the Congress take up the question until after the report had been transmitted.

Let us look for a moment at some of the work the Committee on Ways and Means did during that 1st session of the 83d Congress, when we are informed that it was wasting time. It reported some 34 bills of which 18 became law during that session. In addition to the trade agreements bill described above, it provided for extension of the excess-profits tax on corporations; it provided the Technical Changes Act of 1953, containing a number of technical changes in the tax law; it provided the Customs Simplification Act of 1953, the first major overhaul of customs legislation in many years; the Employment Security Administrative Act which became law in 1954; it provided a judicial retirement system for the tax court, a long-needed reform; it provided for the extension of the renegotiation Act; and many other lesser items of legislation. Perhaps most important, the committee began public hearings June 16, 1953, on general revenue revision. In the course of these hearings, the committee heard testimony from over 500 witnesses. It conducted hearings on 25 days and 10 nights. The full committee remained in session for 2 weeks after adjournment to complete the hearings. These exhaustive hearings made it possbile for the committee to start writing a new tax law in executive session immediately upon convening of the second session. No further public hearings were necessary.

Let us turn now to the 2d session of the 83d Congress and see how the Ways and Means Committee wasted its time. Presumably, it was during that second session that critics of the committee believe it should have considered the trade problem. In this connection, let us not forget that the President's message containing his recommendations on foreign economic policy, based upon the economic report of the Commission, was not transmitted to the Congress until March 30, 1954.

On January 13, 1954, the committee immediately began work in executive session on a complete overhaul of our tax laws, a work which culminated in the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. These executive sessions usually occupied both mornings and afternoons. This was our schedule of executive sessions on the tax bill: January 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, February 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, March 2, 3, 4, and 5. If this schedule appears fairly full, do not forget that the staff upon which the committee must depend for technical assistance, had to do its preparatory work in between the executive sessions, usually late into every night and through every weekend.

On March 10, the committee reported the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1954, carrying out the President's recommendation for extension of certain excises and providing the first significant reduction in excise taxes for many years. The bill was debated and passed by the House the same day. On March 17 and 18, the House debated and passed the mammoth tax revision bill. On March 29 and 30, the excise bill was before the House-Senate conference committee.

Following work on tax revision which the President had called the "cornerstone" of his program, the Ways and Means Committee turned to social-security legislation. Public hearings on the President's social-security recommendations, which had been submitted early in the session, began April 1. The schedule of hearings was as follows: April 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15. The Easter recess began April 15 and lasted until April 26. Following the recess, executive sessions on social security began May 10 and continued on May 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, and 28. The bill was debated in the House and passed June 1.

Next the committee took up the unemployment-compensation legislation recommended by the President. Public hearings were held June 8, 9, 10, and 11; executive sessions on July 14 and 15. The bill was not considered by the House until July 8.

On June 10, the committee had reported the bill for a 1-year extension of the trade-agreements authority.

On June 22, 24, 25, and 28, public hearings were had on customs simplification, an important part of the President's foreign economic policy recommendations. Executive sessions on this legislation were held on June 25, 29, and July 1. The bill passed the House July 26.

On July 7, the committee conducted executive sessions on a variety of less important legislative items and on the 8th began the extremely important House-Senate conference on H. R. 8300, the new Internal Revenue Code of 1954. This conference covered the period July 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, and 27.

The House-Senate conference on the vital social-security legislation began August 16 and lasted, without interruption, until August 20.

Mr. Speaker, that is the record of the Ways and Means Committee last session. Our box score for the Congress was 52 bills reported and 41 enacted into law.

During the second session alone, our record was astonishing. The tax-revision bill which, as I have mentioned, the President called the cornerstone of his program was the first major overhaul of the tax system in over 75 years. It has been estimated that some 500,000 man-hours went into its preparation. The social-security bill extended coverage for the first time to about 10 million workers and their families, thus achieving practically universal coverage, a goal sought for many years. The unemployment-insurance bill extended unemployment-compensation protection to millions of workers to whom this coverage had not previously been available. This was the first significant extension of the system since its inception.

It should also be pointed out that on 15 different days during the session the House considered bills reported by the Ways and Means Committee. This is exclusive of debates on conference reports.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when it is apparent that even under Democratic leadership it will take the Ways and Means Committee about 5 weeks to finish its current deliberations on the trade bill, I cannot but wonder how we could have done the job properly last session and have done so sufficiently in advance to permit a similar period of consideration in the Senate. As I pointed out above, it was not until August 20, the very day of adjournment, that work on the social-security bill was completed. In fact, I doubt if ever a committee of this Congress has applied itself so diligently, so tirelessly, and so successfully as did the Ways and Means Committee last session.

When our committee reported the trade-agreements extension bill last June 10, Chairman REED publicly declared:

> This 1-year extension will serve to maintain continuity of our present trade relationships, while, at the same time, permitting the Congress to have thorough public hearings early next year on the recommendations of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy.

That is no more and no less than is being done now.

Mr. Speaker, I do not mind criticism when it is honest and when it is fair. When it is neither, I resent it. I do not believe that even the most partisan Member of this House would charge the Ways and Means Committee with having wasted time last session. However, perhaps I am wrong to expect equal fairness and objectivity from the "independent" newspaper whose editorial I have quoted above.

Search for a Missing Child

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following communication from M. F. Stark, of Waltham, Mass.:

> DEAR MRS. ROGERS: It may be of interest for you to learn that an Army helicopter from the Bedford base discovered a child's body frozen in the ice on the Charles River here in Waltham. The child strayed from Sawyer Road rear Waltham pumping station; was 3 years old. A search of some 1,000 volunteers about half the night, and the letting out of several plants for the help to join in early, without success. About 10 a. m. Wednesday the river in spots was dynamited. A helicopter soared overhead round and round. At noon it returned to the airport in Bedford. When it came back it was here only a short time before the observer saw the green playsuit, and the recovery of the body was immediate. The tot was buried Friday. Only daughter and child of a family by the name of Hession. Beautiful little tike. I am sure you will be pleased to know one of your "boys," yes, two, observer and pilot, recovered the youngster, although too late to have doctors return her to her parents with life in her body.
>
> M. F. STARK.
>
> WALTHAM, MASS.

Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the observance of the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence, I am at this time inserting in the RECORD a letter I wrote to the president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., Mr. Lev E. Dobriansky:

> CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
> HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
> *Washington, D. C., January 24, 1955.*
>
> Mr. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY,
> *President, Ukranian Congress Committee of America, Inc., Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.*
>
> DEAR MR. DOBRIANSKY: Thank you for your letter of January 18, 1955, suggesting that I put some comments into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in observance of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence which occurred January 22, 1918. I shall be happy to do so. I think you have struck a basic note when you point out that all this talk of coexistence leaves many wondering whether the plight of the enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain is to be forgotten. I am satisfied their plight has not been forgotten by the people of our great country, but I am afraid that sometimes it is necessary to remind the leaders of our people that there still exists in the breasts of our people the burning fire that produced the original immigrations to this country, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the stirring speeches of Patrick Henry and other great patriots. This warmth in the breasts of the American people goes out to all the enslaved people of the world wherever they may be. Though we may not immediately share this warmth with our brothers, it is important that they realize the fire is there and that the time will soon come when tyranny has run its course and they shall again enjoy freedom.
>
> I for one can never talk in terms of peace as long as injustice exists. In fact, true peace

only comes through attaining freedom and justice. May our countrymen never forget the heritage which is theirs and always keep in mind the necessity for assisting at all times any peoples or persons struggling for the freedom and justice which was given to us through the blood of our forebearers.

Sincerely,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

The President's Budget Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, this body has heard the President's message on the proposed budget. No one has ever successfully challenged the fact that he has the defense and welfare of our Nation foremost in his mind and as the guidepost of his report to Congress. The thoughtful preparation of this recommendation that so closely affects our economy and our lives gives me hope that we are advancing rapidly toward a sound financial future for our Nation. I, for one, appreciate the tremendous amount of time, effort, and consideration that has gone into the preparation of this voluminous document. I would like at this time to include in the RECORD editorials from the Tampa Times of Tuesday January 18 and the St. Petersburg Independent of January 20, 1955, which, I believe, express sincere reactions and considered opinions of two of our great papers of the First District of Florida and the Deep South.

The editorials follow:

[From the Tampa Times of January 18, 1955]

PRESIDENT'S BUDGET MESSAGE IS REASONABLE PRESENTATION

The outstanding fact in President Eisenhower's budget message to Congress is that he is fully aware of the necessity to keep national security the first order of business.

His 62.4 billion budget, which is a marked drop from the $73.9 billion expenditures of the last year of the Truman administration, is designed to devote $2 out of every $3 to defense. That is, the President has proposed expenditures for major national security programs in the 1955–56 fiscal year of approximately $40.5 billion, about 65 percent of the total budget.

These recommendations won't necessarily please the military or the internationalists, but certainly it shows an earnest effort on the part of the President to be as realistic as possible. It cannot be said that his recommendations are niggardly, yet the budget proposals will not satisfy the profligate who continue to want to fling American dollars in every direction.

Already certain of the more violently partisan Democrats are jeering over the fact that the President admits the year will end with another deficit, perhaps as much as $2.4 billion.

This would be comical if it were not so ironic, coming as it does from confirmed and hardened New Dealers, some of whom were consistently helping during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations to create enormous annual deficits which for 20 years never varied except when the Republican 80th Congress did balance the budget, to the grief of these same big spenders.

It is plain now that if the present proposed budget is to be balanced it must be done by Congress, and that possibility is extremely dubious now that the liberal Rooseveltians and Trumanites are proposing to run the Democratic caucus again.

One of the inconsistencies of congressional thinking is the fact that while there is always a lot of talk about holding down on appropriations, when it comes to the last moments compromises invariably lead to increases.

Of course, many of these increases are legitimate enough. They are something like the Tampa Harbor improvements which in many local areas are urgently needed, but in the face of grandiose schemes for Federal expenditures that are well intended, but not imperatively necessary, the result is always to destroy and thwart the good planning of the economy-minded Members.

Statesmanship too often gives way to backscratching politics.

An example of the kind of thing that unbalances budgets is the President's proposal for large increases, sometimes as much as 25 percent to individuals, in the pay of Armed Forces personnel. It may be true that lacking the patriotic motives of current wars involving the country, volunteers are not storming the recruiting centers. And nobody denies that men and women who risk their lives are entitled to recognition on paydays but there it is. The proposed increases would add many millions to the annual budget, contributing to the anticipated deficit.

It is perfectly obvious therefore we cannot continue to increase budget items and have a balanced budget at the end of the fiscal year unless tax revenues keep pace. And there always arises the dilemma which politicians hate to face.

No doubt there will be much pulling and hauling and endless talk before the budget is finalized. Yet, the fact remains that Mr. Eisenhower and his department heads have tried to produce a budget that has no phony spots intended to deceive the public and does no deceptive dodging of the facts.

Considering the enormous problems of world unrest and peril of war created by the Communists, it may be said in all fairness that the presentation is not a bad job.

[From the St. Petersburg Independent of January 20, 1955]

BRINGING THE MESSAGE HOME

The President's annual budget message, though it proposed the expenditure of $62,408,000,000, received remarkably little attention from the public at large. In our observation the average citizen just glanced at the big headlines, noted that the recommendation was a trifle lower than last time, sniffed a bit that we still are in the red, shrugged over allowance of two-thirds of the whole shot for defense—and called it a day.

This typical attitude of taxpayers, all but number by years of astronomical figures, is probably excusable. Uncle Sam's business has become so huge and so infinitely ramified no one person can grasp even a small part of it. The message was so long and detailed that even the House did not listen it through and the reading clerk omitted whole passages. It was so long, indeed, that, if any local newspaper had run it in full, the reader would have found half the usual news left out. And he probably wouldn't have read the message anyway.

All these factors contribute to the budget message being regarded as something remote and of no personal concern. Yet it forms the basis on which the House will originate appropriations that determine the extent of Federal activities affecting every person within our borders and millions outside.

To bring the matter home it is only necessary to run down in your mind the Federal functions that are carried on right on your own ground. Not only are they many, but some have a large impact, economically as well as in terms of service, on the community.

Servicing the St. Petersburg area through its post offices last year was a $2,494,065 business. In salaries alone, 520 year-round employees received the lion's share—$2,362,357.

The Coast Guard installation, with a replacement value of $10,736,485, had a payroll last year of $628,000. As personnel is due to go from 112 to 133, it should this year hit $750,000.

But the most amazing figure, an estimate by the local office of the Social Security Administration, is a present level of social-security payments to residents of Pinellas County of $1,332,113 a month. The figure has been climbing and will jump still further with liberalization.

To these could be added, were there space, expenditures made in the business of the Veterans' Administration at Bay Pines and the Don Ce-Sar, recruiting stations, the FBI, the draft board—including payments to more than 1,300 listed on its rolls as in service, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Office of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and several others.

The Federal Government is right in our midst and the budget message, read or unread, was nothing remote.

Threat to American Salmon-Canning Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, the American salmon-canning industry is one of the most important industries in the Pacific Northwest. It is because this industry, which is so vital to the well-being of the Pacific Northwest and the Nation, is being threatened by continued heavy imports of Japanese and Canadian salmon that, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a telegram sent to the Honorable JERE COOPER, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, copy of which I also received, concerning the proposed extension of the Trade Agreements Act:

SEATTLE, WASH., *January 20, 1955.*

Hon. JERE COOPER,
Chairman, Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The American salmon-canning industry, through its three trade associations, namely the Association of Pacific Fisheries, Inc., Alaska Salmon Industry, Inc., and the Northwest Salmon Canners Association, representing together over 95 percent of the American production, wishes to file with your committee its desire that the present Trade Agreements Act be extended without change and in every case of a proposed reduction in tariff, the affected industry should first be given adequate notice and a hearing before the Tariff Commission. Our industry consists of about 165 salmon canneries operating in the States of Oregon, Washington, and the Territory of Alaska, employing approximately 40,00 persons, mostly of the skilled labor type. Investment in these canneries and their floating equipment is estimated at approximately $140 million. Under the

present Trade Agreements Act in 1951 our Government reduced the tariff on canned salmon from 25 to 15 percent ad valorem, the 25-percent rate having been in effect since 1920. Following this tariff reduction, during the years 1952 and 1953, 9,500,000 and over 12 million pounds of canned salmon, respectively, mostly from Canada, were imported. The Japanese salmon fishing expeditions in the North Pacific south of our Aleutian Islands, produced 150 million pounds of salmon last year as against some 38 million pounds of salmon produced last year in our important Bristol Bay area north of the Alaska Peninsula. The production of salmon by the Japanese expeditions in the north Pacific area is increasing tremendously each year. They are now planning to double last year's production during 1955. Canada also has a large annual production of canned salmon. The present American tariff of 15 percent permits the importation of canned salmon at a profit from both the rapidly increasing Japanese supply and the Canadian supply, as cost of production in these countries is considerably less than American production costs. For the reasons given above, this industry strongly disapproves of any legislation which would permit any further reduction in the tariff on our product. Such action would be highly detrimental not only to the operators of the canneries, but also to the cannery workers, fishermen, vessel owners, and communities in Oregon, Washington, and Alaska, which are largely or in some cases almost entirely dependent upon the catching and canning of salmon for a livelihood.

ASSOCIATION OF PACIFIC FISHERIES, INC.
ALASKA SALMON INDUSTRY, INC.
NORTHWEST SALMON CANNERS ASSOCIATION.

Is Justice Breaking Down in the United States?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the following article to the attention of our colleagues. It appeared in the December 24, 1954, edition of U. S. News & World Report:

IS JUSTICE BREAKING DOWN IN UNITED STATES? SHORTAGE OF JUDGES AND OF MONEY JAMS COURTS

A gradual breakdown is taking place in the administration of justice in this country. Federal courts are undermanned. Yet they are jammed with the biggest backlog of cases in history.

Financial starvation is the root of the trouble. All of the Federal courts in the land—their judges, clerks, marshals, bailiffs, parole officers—are being forced to operate on a budget of $27 million. That's scarcely enough for a good-sized Government bureau.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is given three times as much money as the courts; the Civil Service gets nearly twice as much. The Weather Bureau gets about the same sum. The White House in Washington alone requires a budget of more than $2 million just to support the President. And, in further contrast, American taxpayers in 6 years have contributed more than a billion dollars in machinery for the industry of Europe. Yet, last year, more than a million dollars was trimmed from the proposal for a judicial budget of $29 million.

To the judges, who have to administer justice in the United States, the situation is becoming alarming. One high-ranking member of a Federal appeals court fears that the court system may be "on its way to breaking down completely."

DILEMMA

The judges also are baffled about how to call the attention of Congress to their plight. They are a separate arm of Government. They have no lobby that can go to Congress to demand sufficient funds. They have no pressure groups, such as farm organizations or labor unions, to plead their case before appropriations committees. They are above ordinary party politics. But they must depend absolutely on Congress for the money they need to operate.

Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers urges that the Chief Justice of the United States appear before Congress each year to present the court's problems. "The judiciary needs a voice possessing strength and prestige to speak effectively," he has said. "That voice is, in my opinion, the voice of the Chief Justice of the United States." This would be expected to have the same kind of effect and to attract as much public attention as the annual state of the Union messages of the President.

Meanwhile, for lack of funds, the judges are operating under severe handicaps. In some courts the judges have to administer oaths to witnesses because the bailiffs are busy elsewhere. In others judges are forced to interrupt trials to show inexperienced clerks how to mark exhibits.

In many a court a case is set for trial and the plaintiff arrives, ready to begin; but the trial must be put off because papers have not been served on the defendant. The United States marshal is supposed to serve the papers in Federal districts, but Congress since 1941 has cut the number of marshals by 10 percent. Now United States marshals often have to serve papers at night, after the courts are closed, because it is the only time they have.

Insufficient funds sometimes force judges to do without the services of law clerks and secretaries. One judge on a circuit court of appeals pays the salary of a substitute secretary out of his own pocket when his regular secretary takes sick leave. He isn't allowed to spend Federal funds for a substitute. When a court employee resigns and goes on terminal leave, he cannot be replaced until the leave is used up. The judge gets along without his services in the interim.

NATION LOSES

Complaints of the judges, however, are not directed at the inconvenience to themselves, but to the harm that these handicaps are doing to the administration of justice in the country.

It takes as long as 4 years in some Federal courts from the time a suit is filed until a decision is reached. It takes 3 years or longer just to get to trial. A delay of 2 years is found nearly everywhere. And if there is an appeal, another year is consumed. This results in frequent miscarriages of justice as witnesses disappear or as criminals take advantage of delays to squirm out of their troubles. It inevitably leads to slow justice, and attorneys generally agree that "justice delayed is justice denied."

Take, as an example, a man hit by an auto who sues the driver in Federal court. He may have to wait 4 years before his case is called. Meanwhile, witnesses may die or their memories grow dim. They often move away or cannot be located when the case is tried.

During all this time, hospital bills must be paid, sometimes when income is cut off because of inability to work. Often the person being sued is in just as bad a position. The mere existence of an unsettled suit against him may impair his credit or otherwise interfere with his business and personal affairs.

A specific example of delay is shown by a disastrous train wrecks on the Long Island Railroad in New York, in which 111 persons were killed and hundreds more injured. These wrecks occurred in 1950. The Federal district court in Brooklyn was flooded with damage suits. Only recently was the last case decided, and some are still bogged down in appeals courts.

This is not an unusual incident. In the southern district of New York it takes an average of 45 months from the time a case is filed until judge or jury reaches a verdict. In the eastern district the lapse is more than 3 years; in Washington, D. C., and Philadelphia, the delay is 2 years.

Clogged court calendars and insufficient staffs lead sometimes to miscarriages of justice in criminal cases. In one instance, a maniac was set free by mistake. In another court, Federal attorneys normally are assigned 35 or 40 cases at a time, but close cooperation with the judge proves to be impossible.

Thus, sometimes as many as 5 cases may be called for trial on 1 day. While the attorney is busy in one court, another of his cases may be called before another judge. Then an assistant must take over and he may have no more than 10 minutes to prepare his case. The United States attorney in this district notes that "our conviction rate is high, but this isn't good law enforcement."

PAROLE WORK SUFFERS

Lack of funds also is eating into effective probation and parole work. This year requests for funds for parole supervision were trimmed 35 percent by Congress. As a result, the judge and the parole board frequently cannot arrange for proper supervision and are faced with the choice of sending convicted people to jail or releasing them outright.

When it comes to probation, funds are so tight that most probation officers are occupied with investigating the background of offenders before they are sentenced, rather than looking out for their wards. Seldom does an officer have more than an hour a month to devote to a convicted person who is released on probation.

Judges argue that this kind of financial starvation makes it impossible for either the offender or the public to get fair treatment.

The courts are further deprived of adequate equipment. Law libraries, one of the basic tools of the judiciary, are held to bare minimums. Because of budget cuts, the courts this year were instructed to cancel subscriptions to 99 separate types of law books. Even such a basic necessity as telephone service cannot always be provided for new judges. One judge, sitting temporarily in Washington, has to use a phone supplied by the Department of Justice.

Even if there were enough money for more court attendants and equipment, there would not be enough judges. During the year ended last June 30, United States district courts disposed of 93,161 cases, but left pending an additional 78,531. Over the past 3 years, civil cases piled on judges' desks increased 23 percent, and the backlog grows larger every year.

If all of the 251 Federal district judges did nothing but work on the cases before them, they would require 10 months to clear their dockets. In the meantime, another backlog would be building up as a result of the new cases being filed. Similar delays are the rule rather than the exception in higher courts. A year sometimes is required before a circuit court of appeals can dispose of a case.

PRIMARY TROUBLE

The basic flaw in the administration of United States justice, as the judges see it,

is that Congress has failed to let the courts keep pace with the growth of the country. Fifty years ago, when the United States population was 76 million, there were 101 district-court judges, with an average load of 236 cases each. Today, with more than double the population, there are 251 district judges, with a caseload of 403 each.

In other words, the number of cases has quadrupled, but the number of judges has little more than doubled. If the number of judges had kept up with the rise in cases, there would be 404 district judges today instead of 251. There also would be 87 judges on the circuit courts instead of 68.

From time to time Congress has authorized increases in the number of judges, but seldom often enough. In 1953, appointment of 30 new district judges was authorized, but Congress appropriated enough money to pay only 15 of them.

Pay scales, too, are being held down. New York State pays its top judge more than the $25,500 paid to the Chief Justice of the United States. Pennsylvania pays as much as the United States. In six States, trial-court judges receive more than Federal district court judges, their counterparts on the Federal bench.

Under such conditions, the President admittedly has a hard time finding qualified men to serve on Federal courts when vacancies occur. Recently, when a vacancy occured in one Midwestern State, three leading attorneys were recommended for the judgeship. All declined. They were making more in private practice than they would have received on the bench. The result was that the appointment went to a lawyer whose income from private practice was not much above the $15,000 annual salary of a district-court judge.

The chief problem of the Federal courts, however, is lack of manpower stemming from lack of funds. The whole Federal judiciary employs just 4,000 people—from Supreme Court Justices to courthouse messengers. That contrasts with the 1,500 persons employed in the White House alone.

Federal jurists hold the opinion that the people of the United States cannot get the fair treatment they deserve if the courts are to continue on a financial starvation diet. That's why they want the Chief Justice to make their problem known.

Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the President's request in his message to Congress last week for an increase in the salaries of postal workers provides the Congress with a splendid opportunity to thoroughly review the whole operation of the Postal Department.

Such an audit is urgently required in view of the deficit of over $4 billion that the Department has accumulated since World War II. The interest on this deficit presently amounts to over $100 million annually.

President Eisenhower is to be commended for requesting an increase in postal rates to be coupled with the increase in salaries. Without such an increase in rates, the raise in pay would add an additional one-half billion dollars to the large deficit already accumulated.

I have always opposed Federal deficits, particularly when they occur in agencies conducting proprietary functions of the Government. The Postal Department is a business run by the Federal Government, and as such should pay its own way. That is commonsense and sound economics. The alternative is to subsidize the Department out of general revenues, thereby increasing the already heavy tax burden of the American people.

I support the President's recommendation for the establishment of an independent commission to handle the long-range postage-rate problem. The operation of such a commission will greatly facilitate future equitable adjustment of salaries and rates and enable the Congress to legislate intelligently and effectively. I regret that no such board is now in existence, as expert, unprejudiced opinion at this time would eliminate to a large degree, the necessity for the debate that will surely come on this question.

As I have indicated I support the President's recommendations generally. I disagree, however, as to the desirability of increasing the rates of first-class mail. It traditionally has paid its own way, because of its size and weight, and for the same reason constitutes the lightest burden in the letterman's pouch. It is also true that an increase on this type of mail most directly affects the ordinary citizen. Even a penny increase can become burdensome to the small wage earner when the occasion arises to send out invitations, announcements, and the like. It is my conviction that a rate increase on first-class mail would penalize the ordinary citzen and amount to a subsidy of the other classes of mail. The classes of mail that cause the deficit should pay the deficit.

I completely endorse rate increases on second- and third-class mail. Second-class mail pays only 22 percent of its allocated cost and in 1954 expenses on this type of mail exceeded revenues by $232 million. Present rates are only 3 percent higher than in 1932, the increases authorized since 1951 having only restored the decreases made in 1934. It is absurd to compel the general taxpayer to subsidize the distribution of magazines, newspapers, periodicals, and similar publications. The distribution costs should be borne by the publisher just as he must pay for his printing, paper, and labor. It is a cost of the business, not a cost of the Government.

All of us are familiar with the advertising circulars and similar printed matter that daily jam our mailboxes. A great deal of this material constitutes a nuisance. Not only do these circulars add greatly to the weight of the letter carrier's pouch, but they also compel him to stop at every mailbox on his route which is ordinarily not necessary. The expense of this type of mail, which is third class, exceeded revenues by $147 million in 1954, which is adding insult to injury.

I agree with the President that increases in pay of postal workers is necessary and long overdue. Obviously rates should also be increased to meet the expenses of the business. The postal workers should support the rate increases on the mail that is most burdensome to the Department, that is, second- and third-class mail. On the principle, the postal workers as citizens and voters, should support and work for rate increases, for neither the Nation nor the Department can continue to operate on a deficit basis. The mounting Federal debt and the crushing tax burden leaves no alternative to a pay-as-you-go method of operation. For the postal employees to recommend any other policy would be selfish and shortsighted. I am sure that they are neither.

Hon. Frances P. Bolton, of Ohio, Proposes Commission on Nursing Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a joint resolution providing for a Commission on Nursing Services.

For many years my colleagues in the House have known of my deep interest in the overall health needs of the Nation in general, and for nursing services in particular. Since World War II, the public has been told intermittently that there are not sufficient nurses of all kinds to meet the needs of the sick. It is my firm belief that if the public can be fully informed on the problem and significant developments in the nursing profession, the public will be stimulated to action on all levels and will accept with more understanding the increasing costs of nursing care and nursing education.

So today I have asked for this time in order to inform my colleagues why I believe a Commission plan is an imperative step that needs to be taken in order to find a feasible and effective way to solve the problem of adequate care for our sick.

THE PROBLEM

For some time the Nation has been faced with a very real difficulty in securing adequate care of the sick. All across the country there is a shortage of nurses, and this in spite of the fact that there are more nurses on duty today than ever before in our history. Also there are more young women taking nurse training. If we are to believe the studies that have been made—and I can assure you these are authoritative—some 55,000 nurses should be graduated each year to keep up with the ever-increasing demand for trained personnel. Our nursing schools are graduating only about 30,000.

Many things contribute to our present situation, not the least of which is the fact that the public which is now enjoying the highest standard of living in its history is demanding improved nursing services. This same public however,

is beginning to recognize the need of making the economic status of the nurse more nearly commensurate with her skills and added responsibilities.

We here in the Congress have added to the problem by providing for more hospitals, rehabilitation facilities, clinics, and nursing homes without doing anything to help staff these health facilities. We all recognize that this construction is necessary, but some way must be found to staff them adequately lest they stand empty as all too many hospital wards already do for lack of nurses. Surely the time has come when we must face up to the problem.

WHAT IS BEING DONE

There is nothing new about all this, for Government at all levels as well as many private institutions, has been grappling with the subject for years.

A recent study showed that the Federal Government this fiscal year is spending some $2 billion annually for its health, medical and related activities, which range from construction of multimillion dollar hospitals to maintenance of clinics. The programs are spread among more than a score of departments and independent agencies. But it is being done without a basic plan to meet the overall needs of the American people.

There have been many segmental studies of health service problems, but none have taken an inclusive national view of the situation. There have been many unilateral studies by separate professional groups in the health field, but none by all the professions, with the public cooperating for the benefit of the patient. It has become apparent that a broader approach is needed.

BOLTON SURVEY, 83D CONGRESS

For several years I have conducted an extensive personal survey of the situation. Nearly 4,000 nurses, doctors, laymen, State governors, Federal and State health authorities, and Members of Congress replied to my letters on this subject. As I told this House last year:

There is overwhelming accord that there is indeed a nursing shortage. Many opinions are given as to the different causes: financial, psychological, social. The difficulties attendant on securing sufficient new recruits to take nurse training are particularly emphasized, as are low pay, and long and irregular hours. Competition from other fields and within the nursing field itself are emphasized.

Over and above the specific replies there was voiced a deep sense of the need for a large-scale program of informative education to bring about a dramatic realization of the common problem presented by this short supply of trained nursing personnel to all segments of the nursing profession, to all sectors of the health-care field. Today, as the survey dramatically brings out, there are misunderstandings, misconceptions, antagonisms, and areas of disagreement between the various groups involved which must be lessened in the mutual interest of all dedicated to serving the Nation's health.

On such a basis of research and educational information there can be constructed, it seems to me, a sound structure which will ultimately meet not only the needs and desires of the profession, but, even more importantly, the requirements of the ever-increasing population in America as a whole.

WHY A NEW EMPHASIS NEEDED

Up to now efforts to deal with nursing service shortages have been mainly from the standpoint of increasing the number of nurses. The results have been neither effective nor adequate. Perhaps we have been trying to deal with the nursing shortage as an isolated problem, whereas in reality it is intertwined with and inseparable from the changing needs of a modern society. The tremendous advances in the medical sciences have created whole new fields of health workers and have given many new functions to the established health professions. Today, the professional nurse has much more complex a role to play than she had only a few years ago. Many different categories of nurses has developed with many overlapping functions within those categories. We must become aware of the many implications of these changes.

It has become apparent that we should be dealing with the nurse shortage in its true perspective within the entire health field for the benefit of society, that is, the patient. As an example of a few of the areas needing study:

It has become more and more evident that we should be making more effective use of the skills of the limited professional personnel we now have. We should be able to identify the scope of their duties and see that they are adequately prepared to exercise them.

The more exhaustively one studies the whole problem of the needs of patient care, the more one realizes that there is insufficient authoritative knowledge of what the component parts of a nursing staff should be in a general hospital. For example, how many professional nurses, how many practical nurses, how many auxiliary or volunteer workers could best serve in the various departments of hospitals and of public health associations?

A bringing together of such knowledge as already exists would unquestionably lead to intelligent reorganization of staffs which would improve and safeguard the quality of care given the patient. We need to know something about what the effect upon hospital nursing staffs is of the present trend towards home care of the patient.

Studies have indicated that the time of the professional nurse—time that could better be spent for the more important needs of the patient—is all too frequently used for routine record-keeping, housekeeping, errands for patients, floral arrangements, and so forth. Authoritative knowledge of the value in time and better patient care of methods to relieve the nurse of these would most certainly lead to a wider use by hospitals and nursing homes.

There are many questions that need to be answered, not the least among them: What is the actual economic situation of those who care for the sick? What should be the working hours and the working conditions? Are there no regulations to keep a nurse from lifting more pounds than labor unions permit men to lift? Important matters of this kind.

All such studies and many others should be evaluated and made available to the health field at large so that the patient can receive full benefits of the specialized skills of hospital personnel.

We should know more adequately the areas that could be supplied by less skilled, less highly trained personnel who would, of course, serve under supervision of the professional nurse.

It is quite possible that some part at least of what appears to be a nurse shortage may be due to a failure to adjust educational patterns to the various functional needs of the profession. This, of course, would influence the effectiveness of the use of the professionally trained nurse.

The Commission will be able to evaluate the varying educational and training requirements needed for bedside care, for teaching, for supervisory and administrative positions, for public and community health work.

THE COMMISSION

The proposed legislation seeks to provide a source of authoritative fact and expert opinion about nursing care for the entire field of health service.

It sets up a Commission to be composed of 12 members—4 appointed by the President, 4 by the President of the Senate, and 4 by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Half of each group would be chosen from private life, and include representatives of the nursing and medical professions.

The Commission to be created by this bill is predicated upon comparable bodies which have done successful work, such as the Commission on Reorganization of Government, the Commission on International Trade, and others. The public interest generated through citizens committees studying these problems have brought—indeed, are still bringing—increased understanding of these subjects.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call particular attention to section 1 (b) of the joint resolution, which states:

Nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed as authorizing or intending any interference with the programs of study and improvement of patient care which are being carried forward by the professional nurses' organizations, or by public or private endeavor, but rather this joint resolution shall be construed as an effort to augment such programs through the marshaling of resources for a multidisciplinary approach to the problem.

TYPES OF INFORMATION TO BE GATHERED

Up to now research and writing in the field of nursing have been dependent upon the limited resources of foundations, institutions, professional organizations, or individuals. They have had neither the facilities nor the authority of the National Government behind them, nor have they been able to rally a broad field of specialists representing all of the various groups that impinge on nursing. The Commission's membership will be so organized as to include experts, both men and women, from all the varied services, including representatives from the lay public. Working together as a top-level Commission, these people will:

Evaluate what the changing health needs of the public are.

Appraise the resources in money, manpower, and skills necessary to deal with these health needs.

Study the kind of nurse education and training necessary to meet these needs.

Study the relationship between the economic status of nurses, the professional skills required, and the existing personnel shortage.

Analyze the various techniques and arts of nursing including all successful new methods or devices, and indicate where they may best be applied.

Encourage additions to the body of knowledge of nursing as a discipline and thus permit more of the practice of nursing to be based on scientific principles.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, if the Commission is to serve its purpose, it must not only find the facts, but it should weigh and interpret them. It should draw conclusions and make, first interim reports, and then broad recommendations to the American people. One of the direct results of such reports would be to inform the public of the problems and possible solutions—suggesting concerted public action.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert herewith this joint resolution that the Members may inform themselves at first hand:

House Joint Resolution —

Joint resolution for the establishment of a Commission on Nursing Services

Whereas it is generally recognized that the demand for nurses is increasing faster than the supply; and

Whereas efforts to deal with the resulting shortage solely by increasing the numbers of nurses have not been successful in meeting the demand; and

Whereas it has become apparent that a solution of the problem must be based upon a broader approach which will take into account all of the factors relating to the more effective utilization of nursing skills in the province of nursing and health care; and

Whereas the relationship between the economic status of nursing, the professional skills required, and the existing personnel shortage needs study; and

Whereas there are many segmental and unilateral studies of health service problems, but none which takes an overall multidisciplinary view of the situation; and

Whereas existing reports, studies, and knowledge could be best coordinated and utilized through the organization of a central task force dealing with the overall health needs of the Nation in general and the need for services of nurses in particular: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc.—

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SECTION 1. (a) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress to promote the health of the American people by aiding the nursing profession in its efforts to achieve greater efficiency and improved nursing services. It is the purpose of this joint resolution to implement that policy by providing for the establishment of a Commission that will gather by scientific methods authoritative data relating to the services rendered by all types of nursing personnel (including professional and practical nurses, nursing aids, and nursing administrators, supervisors, and teachers) and shall make such recommendations with respect thereto as it deems advisable in the interest of improving patient care.

(b) Nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed as authorizing or intending any interference with the programs of study and improvement of patient care which are being carried forward by the professional nurses' organizations, or by public or private endeavor, but rather this joint resolution shall be construed as an effort to augment such programs through the marshaling of resources for a multidisciplinary approach to the problem.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION ON NURSING SERVICES

SEC. 2. (a) To carry out the purpose of this joint resolution there is hereby established a Commission on Nursing Services (hereinafter referred to as the Commission).

(b) Service of an individual as a member of the Commission or employment of an individual by the Commission as an attorney or expert in any business or professional field, on a part-time or full-time basis, with or without compensation, shall not be considered as service or employment bringing such individual within the provisions of section 281, 283, 284, 434, or 1914 of title 18 of the United States Code, or section 190 of the Revised Statutes (5 U. S. C. 99).

MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 3. (a) Number and appointment: The Commission shall be composed of 12 members as follows:

(1) Four appointed by the President of the United States, 2 from the executive branch of the Government and 2 from private life;

(2) Four appointed by the President of the Senate, 2 from the Senate and 2 from private life; and

(3) Four appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 2 from the House of Representatives and 2 from private life.

(b) Included among the six members of the Commission appointed from private life, there shall be representatives of the nursing and medical professions.

(c) Vacancies: Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. The Commission shall elect a Chairman and a Vice Chairman from among its members.

QUORUM

SEC. 5. Seven members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. (a) Members of Congress: Members of Congress who are members of the Commission shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as Members of Congress; but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission.

(b) Members from the executive branch: The members of the Commission who are in the executive branch of the Government shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services in the executive branch; but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission.

(c) Members from private life: The members from private life shall each receive $50 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission, plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of such duties.

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 7. (a) The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended.

(b) The Commission may procure, without regard to the civil-service laws and the classification laws, temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized for the departments by section 15 of the act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810), but at rates not to exceed $50 per diem for individuals.

EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 8. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, so much as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 9. (a) The Commission shall gather by scientific methods authoritative data relating to nursing services of all types, including services performed by professional and practical nurses and nursing aides. In the gathering of such data and the making of such recommendations, the Commission shall give particular attention to the need for considering ways and means to—

(1) clarify further the province of nursing personnel (including professional and practical nurses and nursing aides) with particular reference to the impact upon nursing of the changing functions of the related health professions and the changing health needs and resources of the Nation;

(2) add systematically to the body of knowledge of nursing as a discipline and thus permit more of the practice of nursing to be based on scientific principles;

(3) improve and extend our resources for the education and training of nursing personnel of each type for their appropriate functions; and

(4) encourage more effective organization of nursing personnel and more effective utilization of their skills.

(b) Report: The Commission shall submit to the Congress interim reports at such time or times as the Commission deems necessary and shall submit to the Congress its final report not later than 2 years from the date of the enactment of this joint resolution, at which time the Commission shall cease to exist.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 10. (a) Hearings and sessions: The Commission or, on the authorization of the Commission, any subcommittee, or member thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this joint resolution, hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places as the Commission or such subcommittee or member may deemd advisable.

(b) Obtaining official data: The Commission is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment, or instrumentality information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics for the purpose of this joint resolution; and each such department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, establishment, or instrumentality is authorized to furnish such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics directly to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman or Vice Chairman.

Reduction in Army Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in view of the acute situation in the Far East, and with its worldwide implications, it seems to me imperative that

President Eisenhower should reconsider at once the drastic reduction that he has ordered in the manpower of our Army. At a time when evidence of strength is necessary, weakness in this respect is shown.

The continued reduction in our Army is inconsistent with the strength we must have and show in the face of the Chinese Red aggression in Formosa and elsewhere, and also the insult to our country by the imprisonment of our airmen.

The Democrats in Congress were right in 1953 in opposing the Eisenhower reduction in our Air Force. We are on firm ground now in expressing our deep concern in the sharp reduction in our Armed Forces.

There is no question but what our country is taking a calculated risk in this new and sudden policy. Passage of the resolution should be implemented by evidences of strength. The reduction of our Army is weakness at a time when we need strength.

The only thing the Communists respect is what they fear, and that is military strength and power greater than they possess.

The President should permit military men in active service to express their opinions on this reduction without fear of punishment.

Extension of Benefits for Members of the Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I submit a statement presented by me to the House Committee on Veterans Affairs relative to the extension of educational benefits for members of the Armed Forces beyond the end of the Korean emergency period, which reflects the opinions expressed by many of the veteran organizations and citizens of the First District of Florida as well as my own personal convictions in this matter:

JANUARY 21, 1955.

To: House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, convening January 24, 1955.

Subject: Request to the committee to extend educational benefits for members of the Armed Forces beyond end of Korean emergency period, January 31, 1955.

Under the Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 many of those who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States in defense of our Nation and our way of life have, as veterans seeking rehabilitation, received in the form of educational benefits encouragement and some slight compensation for the years that have been taken by military service from the regular pursuits ordinarily required in early life of a good citizen of our country in preparation for home and family. These men who have served have been young men. These men who have been called to the defense of our Nation were taken at a time when great strides would otherwise have been made in their education and growth. It is not fitting that these same benefits for educational opportunity should not accrue to those who are now in service and will be so on the day declared, January 31, 1955, as the end of the Korean emergency period.

I therefore urge that the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs take favorable action on H. R. 587, a bill to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, and for other purposes.

It would be most unfair to discriminate against these men who are now in armed service, having depended, when enlisting, on these and other existing benefits, and with whom at the time of induction the Government of the United States made a moral contract to provide these benefits. To abrogate this contract would place these men at a great disadvantage in our society especially as compared to their predecessors in service and, without these benefits of educational assistance, the morale and rehabilitation ability of a great segment of our citizenry would suffer.

The obligation we have to these men is beyond question and not one that would place an unjust burden upon our Nation. The wise and considered program that has promoted the welfare of our citizens, has contributed to our high standard of living and has, through its basic program of fair education and opportunity to replace the years of loss to our citizens while in service, brought prosperity and the great concept of equal opportunity for all to greater fruition in this land. The educational benefits heretofore provided have shown by the test of time to have been of gerat advantage to our servicemen—no greater investment can be made than in the education of these youths who have answered the call of their country and, unflinching, stepped forward to face its enemies. Those serving today should not be denied.

I respectfully urge that House Resolution 587 of the 84th Congress be passed by your committee and I shall, upon such passage, support this bill upon the floor of the House.

WILLIAM C. CRAMER,
Member of Congress,
First District of Florida.

The Republic of Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted by the Illinois Federation of Labor:

RESOLUTION 17

Whereas the House of Representatives, 65th Congress, 3d session, duly passed a resolution declaring that the people of Ireland should have the right to determine the form of government under which they desired to live; and

Whereas in the intervening years the people of Ireland have so determined but the effect of their determination has been denied them, and they have in fact been deprived of the right to the form of government under which they desire to live; and

Whereas 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland have been successful in obtaining international recognition for the Republic of Ireland, separate and apart from any domination by the British Empire, England, or any of her possessions; and

Whereas the constitution of the basic laws of the Republic of Ireland is modeled upon our own American Constitution; and

Whereas our Nation has fought against partition at all times, and the present Korean and Chinese partitions show clearly that our Nation stands opposed to such oppression of the people's rights; and

Whereas hundreds of Irish trade unionists have given their lives that Ireland be free, members of the printing trades, building trades, transport workers, teachers, railwaymen, and others, have given the supreme sacrifice to end partition, and free Ireland from British domination: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor, assembled at Peoria, Ill., October 11, 1954, go on record embracing the sense that the Republic of Ireland should embrace the entire territory of Ireland, unless the clear majority of all of the people of Ireland in a free plebiscite, determine and declare to the contrary; and be it further

Resolved, That a son of Ireland, and a member of the bricklayers' union of Rhode Island, Congressman FOGARTY, has introduced a resolution to the Congress, embracing the sense of this resolution, that the convention send copies of this resolution to our State Department; to Senators Douglas and Dirksen; to the Minister of External Affairs, Irish Government House, Dublin, Ireland; to Mr. Conroy, general president, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Dublin, Ireland; and Congressman Fogarty, Washington, D. C.

The Command Management School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a great deal recently about our new military look which has been designed to give the taxpayer more defense for the dollar. Members of this body will be glad to know, I am sure, that our Army is leaving no stone unturned in its efforts to improve the efficiency of its operations and to increase the effectiveness of its combat elements.

Last week, at the invitation of my good friend, Col. John Roosma, deputy post commander, Fort Jay, N. Y., I visited a most unique and progressive establishment in the Army at nearby Fort Belvoir, Va. The Army calls it the command management school. What I saw was a gigantic step forward in the improvement of military management.

As we all know so well, two-thirds of our mammoth budget is spent for national defense. It is our duty to see that these funds are spent wisely and well. I am convinced that this school will do more to accomplish this end than anything I have yet seen, and I think I might say that I am not without some military experience.

We know that the military has installed, in recent years, many new tools and systems in the management of their installations all over the world. Most of these have been borrowed from our industrial enterprises, which are justly

world famous for their managerial efficiency. The Army has recognized, however, that a tool in any system is no better than the executives who administer it. In the command management school the Army has accordingly set out to educate its key officers, largely the installation commanders, in how to use these tools and how to apply them to the business of managing an installation.

The Harvard Business School's advanced management program has been well known for years in the industrial world for its ability to train mature, experienced, business executives and to improve their management skills. The Army's command management school has been amazingly successful in adopting the methods applied by this and similar institutions and in converting these methods to their own use in the training of post commanders and principal staff officers.

Under the direction of the Army Comptroller, Lt. Gen. G. B. Decker, and his chief management assistant, Maj. Gen. L. R. Dewey, the school assembles 50 senior Army installation commanders, staff officers, and key civilian employees, each 4 weeks and puts them through an intensive, round-the-clock course in the efficient management of men, money, and materials. A hand-picked and well-trained faculty of senior Army officers is headed by Col. Frank Kowalski, of Meriden, Conn., the school's commandant. He is ably assisted by a civilian management engineer, Mr. Gilbert C. Jacobus, of my own State of New Jersey. The permanent teaching staff is liberally supplemented by outstanding speakers in the management field from industry, from Government, and from the educational world as well as from the military.

I cannot emphasize too strongly that these men, the generals and colonels who command the Army's installations, are the individuals who, in the final analysis, manage the Nation's resources which have been entrusted to them by Congress for our defense. Having seen these officers attacking the Army's management problems at the command management school, I know that each one will do his job in a far better and more efficient manner as a result of this training.

The school is indeed a new approach to military education. All of our armed services have been justly praised by every professional educator who has examined their systems of schools, but these, until now, have been limited to the purely military fields of tactics, strategy, and logistics. The Army has now recognized the need for the schooling of its senior officers in the field of nontactical commands, of the management of resources: Men, money, and materials.

This school for managers is more than just a classroom. It is in effect, a meeting-place, where the officers participating live; they eat, sleep, and breathe management on a 24-hour basis. Needless to say, the assembly of 50 officers, each with 20 or so years of service, represents a vast quantity of experience; experience that can be utilized by colleagues and is shared among all. The commandant told me that this is really the secret of the success of the school. The discussion of down-to-earth, concrete problems and the exchange of ideas on how best to solve them, not only in the classroom, but anywhere and everywhere, goes on literally around the clock. Throughout these discussions the school constantly emphasizes the need for accomplishing assigned missions effectively with fewer dollars. The payoff here is dollars saved. One of the students, a brigadier general who commands a large military post here in the East, told me that he dreams management nearly every night. I might add that he, like all of the other students, is delighted with the course and feels that he really is learning how to improve his post. This is the real proof of the pudding, and I am convinced that the school will stand the test of time.

In my enthusiasm for the school I do not want to give the Members of this body the impression that the Army has become so management minded that it has forgotten the primary reason for its existence. So I hasten to assure you that the school, the faculty, and the officers who attend the course are all keenly aware that the Army exists to accomplish the mission assigned to it, to protect the security of our people around the world. On the other hand, every dollar saved, every wasteful practice eliminated, means just that much more effort can be channeled to increase the combat effectiveness of our Army. This is the purpose of command management, and this is the purpose of the school that I visited.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that every Member of this body would be impressed, as I was impressed, with this example of progress and forward thinking by our Army. I strongly recommend that as many as possible visit Fort Belvoir and see the school in operation for themselves. On every battlefield since the days of Valley Forge, our Army has shown its ability to win wars; it is now showing its efficiency in helping to win the peace which, God willing, we can and will attain.

New York State Legislative Program of the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York, for 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following program of the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York State, adopted at a meeting held on Tuesday evening, December 14, 1954, at their headquarters, the Hotel Piccadilly, 227 West 45th Street, New York City.

Harold R. Moskovit, State president of the Affiliated Young Democrats of New York State, presided at this legislative meeting.

The program follows:

The election of Governor Harriman and the return of a Democratic administration to Albany marks the opening of a significant new chapter in the history of the people of the State of New York. For 12 years Deweyism, as represented by the Republican Governor and the Republican legislature, have whittled away at the great advances made under the leadership of Alfred E. Smith, Robert F. Wagner, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Herbert H. Lehman, and have sought to stifle democratic action.

In the person of Averell Harriman, the Democratic Party has presented to our State a Governor who will assuredly give our State courageous leadership toward the enactment of a program meeting the needs of our people, and which will meet the acid test of being good for all of the people of this State. We are confident that the combination of aggressive and vigorous leadership of the Democratic minorities in the senate and the assembly, and a Democratic Governor with the tenacity and courage to go to the people when roadblocks are thrown in his way by recalcitrant Republican leadership in the legislature will permit the enactment of the program which we now proudly recommend.

1. State housing and building commission: Enactment of a law creating a State Housing and building commission, by combining the joint legislative committee on housing and multiple dwellings with the State building code commission, thereby eliminating duplication, reducing cost of promulgation, simplifying interpretation and clarifying enforcement of the housing and building construction laws.

2. Primary elections: As Democrats, we are irrevocably committed to the proposition that government belongs to the people, and that people should have the fullest possible participation in the selection of those who fill high public office. We again advocate that the candidates of the major political parties for offices filled by statewide election—such as governor, United States Senator, lieutenant governor, attorney general, and comptroller—be selected in statewide primaries.

3. Unemployment: The economic health of our State is a matter of prime importance. Numerous areas in the State today are, and have been for some time, suffering from unemployment. We urge the swift use of emergency measures to restore employment in the communities which have suffered. We urge that the State department of commerce, under vigorous Democratic leadership, seek to attract new industries to our State, and particularly to those areas which have suffered from unemployment.

4. Dairy industry: A major concern of our State is the economic health of our great dairy industry. We urge the adoption of measures, fair to processors, distributors, and consumers to insure the continued stability of that industry.

5. Rent control: Year by year, the past administration has succeeded in eroding the rent-control laws, and in exacting from tenants of both residential and commercial buildings excessive rent increases. We urge that the legislature enact measures to recontrol and rollback rentals which have been so increased. Also, that the rent-control law be strengthened and be extended to garages and other presently decontrolled space, to prevent further unjustified increases in rents, and to restore services in apartment and tenement houses which have been curtailed or suspended.

6. Housing: Nine years after the end of World War II, housing throughout the State continues to be inadequate. We urge an extension of the programs for low-income and

middle-income housing, and a greatly expanded program of slum clearance.

7. Discrimination: The activities of the State commission against discrimination require a more vigorous administration, and the powers and jurisdiction of the commission must be expanded. The commission should be permitted to investigate all violations of the law, and its jurisdiction should be extended to discrimination in housing. Its appropriations should be increased to permit it to operate effectively.

8. Labor: We advocate immediate repeal of merit rating in the unemployment insurance fund, a practice which discriminates against small businesses and seasonal industries through unfair rebates to large corporations. We also favor amendment of the unemployment insurance law to make its benefits available to firms employing one or more workers, to extend its benefits to wives and dependent children, and to reduce the minimum period of employment required to qualify for its benefits to 15 weeks. We also advocate an expansion of the benefits under the workmen's compensation law by increasing the maximum weekly benefits to $36, and by extending the duration of its benefits to 26 weeks.

9. Communism: We abhor communism in all its manifestations, and we urge that all steps be taken by the legislature necessary to root it out and expel it from our State. We are opposed to the employment of Communists in our National, State, or local governments. The danger to our democratic way of life does not come only from abroad. There are some misguided citizens and resident aliens who call themselves Americans who have lent themselves and their energies to foreign doctrine and to foreign aggressors who seek to stamp out democracy in our country. We cannot afford to have an American Gottwald or an American Quisling, and we must take all steps that our Constitution permits to make sure that we do not have one. At the same time, we must apply traditional American methods in ferreting out and removing such persons. It is clear to us that the members, both open and concealed, of the American Communist Party are, in fact, the willing agents of a foreign government committed to interfere with and disrupt our domestic affairs. We must deal with them as such.

10. Civil service: The outgoing Republican administration has made many raids on Civil Service, and has taken out of the protection of the civil-service laws many positions. We urge the immediate extension of the civil-service laws to repair the incursions of the Republican political raids. We also urge a re-examination of the State salary system to insure that civil-service salaries will keep pace with the cost of living, and to improve the working conditions of State employees.

11. Presidential primaries: New Yorkers, under the present repressive laws, have not been permitted to participate in the selection of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States as their fellow citizens in many other States have. We urge the amendment of the election law to permit the members of the major political parties to indicate their preferences for President and Vice President, and to elect delegates committed to such candidates. In order to achieve an equitable reflection of the vote in this State for President and Vice President, we also urge the enactment of legislation permitting the allocation of the State's vote in the Electoral College between the different candidates for President and Vice President in direct proportion to their respective shares of the popular vote.

12. Family court: The administration and enforcement of our laws relating to the family are scattered throughout the courts of the State in a meaningless and wasteful patchwork. Divorce, separation, and annulment are in the supreme court; adoption proceedings are in the surrogate's court; paternity cases are in the court of special sessions; support cases and children's court problems are in domestic relations courts; other matters going to the core of family life are in various of the criminal courts. A proper consideration for the problems of the family, and a better utilization of community resources, require that all of these matters relating to the family be placed within the jurisdiction of a family court, to be established within the supreme court, and having adequate resuorces of an investigating, counselling, and psychological character to permit such family court to cope with the family problems that have intensified under the stress of modern living, and to strengthen the family as the solid foundation of our way of life.

13. Temporary commission on the courts: The present temporary commission on the courts should be continued and its recommendations given careful consideration, so that our court structure may be made more effective.

14. The judicial council: The judicial council, established during the administration of Governor LEHMAN, has been the agency through which the judges of our court of appeals and appellate divisions, and the organized bar of the State, have made tremendous contributions to the development of the practice and procedure in our courts. Inexplicably, and despite the public need for the continued functioning of the judicial council, the past Republican administration has withheld the appropriations of the judiical council and, in fact, ordered its destruction. The appropriations of the judicial council should be restored, and it should once again be made an effective agency in the development of the law of our State.

15. State university: The State university has been handicapped by the refusal of Governor Dewey to make permanent appointments to its board of trustees. A permanent board of trustees should be quickly installed, and an inquiry should be made into its progress and accomplishments since its establishment in 1948. Also to consider the desirability of establishing the university on a campus of its own, with its own schools of medicine and dentistry.

16. Education: A comprehensive school-construction program, financed by a State bond issue, should be developed so as to relieve the present overcrowding in our schools and to modernize the school system. Local communities should be given greater freedom to make greater improvements in the development of their educational systems. Additional State aid is required, and should be given, to meet the fiscal requirements of an overburdened school system.

17. State aid to municipalities: We advocate a careful review of the fiscal relationships between the State and local communities. We urge that the present principles, under which State aid is used as a political weapon to discriminate between communities, and under which many communities are deprived of their fair and equitable share of the revenues allocated by the State to local communities, be speedily replaced. We also urge that the spirit of home rule be reflected in determining the taxing powers of local communities, and that the policy of requiring the imposition of nuisance taxes by municipalities be replaced by a sound and honest approach to the problems of municipal finance.

18. Motorists: We support the following proposals:

(a) Enactment of a compulsory automobile insurance law.

(b) Exclusive allocation of funds collected in gasoline taxes and motor-vehicle licenses to the development of the highway system of the State.

(c) Extension of the gasoline tax to industrial users of gasoline to the same extent that it is now imposed upon motorists.

(d) Requirement of annual safety inspections of motor vehicles by State agencies, and annual examinations of motor-vehicle operators.

(e) An investigation of the State Thruway Authority, its expenditures and contracts.

19. Bingo: We strongly favor a referendum to determine whether bingo, off-track betting, and lotteries shall be permitted in the State on a local option basis.

20. Eighteen-year-old vote: We again urge, as its original sponsor, extension of the right to vote to 18-year-olds.

21. Public health: We advocate encouragement of prepayment plans for meeting the cost of medical care by giving aid to sound voluntary plans now in existence and stimulating the development of new plans; development of centers for the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped; a program of State aid for the training of medical and nursing personnel to meet the present critical shortage of physicians, nurses, and technicans; establishment of State programs for the care of the chronically ill; expansion of the State's facilities for the mentally ill to correct the overcrowding and present inadequate facilities in our mental hospitals.

22. Securities dealers: We believe that persons engaged in the investment of other persons' money should demonstrate their qualifications for such responsibility by examination, and to this end we advocate the establishment of a licensing system for securities dealers and investment advisers.

23. Life-insurance companies: We urge revision of the insurance law to provide for a more democratic selection of the officers and directors of insurance companies, and to eliminate nepotism in insurance companies. We also advocate enactment of legislation to prevent officials of the State insurance department from exploiting their regulatory authority in such a manner as to assure themselves of positions with regulated companies, prohibiting any official or employee of the department from having any business connection or employment with an insurance company or firm during his tenure, or for 3 years thereafter.

24. Liquor authority: We urge a complete and thorough investigation of the administrative procedures and enforcement operations of the State liquor authority.

25. Conduct of political campaigns: The recent abuses occuring in the political campaign just concluded demand that a commission be established to adopt a code of ethics for the conduct of political campaigns.

26. Juvenile delinquency: The recent appointment by Governor Harriman of Lieutenant-Governor De Luca to coordinate on a statewide basis the drive upon juvenile delinquency has publicly emphasized the major importance of this problem. Our greatest asset is our youth, and we must spare nothing to protect our young people and to combat juvenile delinquency. The State's facilities for delinquent boys and girls must be expanded, and additional funds must be made available for the probation bureaus of our criminal courts which have been so successful in coping with the problem under the limited appropriations hitherto available to them. We also urge an intensification of the drive upon those who, through their traffic in narcotics and pornography, have a primary responsibility for juvenile delinquency.

27. Permanent personal registration: We favor a mandatory statewide system of permanent personal registration.

28. Public utility regulation: In 12 years of Republican administration the Public Service Commission, once the defender of the interests of the consumer, has become primarily devoted to the interests of the major public utility companies. We urge that the commission be rehabilitated, and that a com-

prehensive examination and revision of the rate structures allowed by it to public utilities be made.

29. Public power: We strongly advocate, in connection with the development of St. Lawrence and Niagara power, safeguards in the marketing of such power, with preferences to municipalities and public utility districts over the public utility companies.

30. Civilian defense: We recommend that the Civilian Defense of New York State be placed under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, with the cost to be borne by the Federal Government, and that the program be coordinated through the government of New York State. It is further recommended that this policy be adopted nationwide.

31. Minimum wage laws: We favor the enactment of a statewide minimum wage of $1.25 an hour.

32. Legislative sessions: We urge that a printed record be published and made available to the public of the full proceedings of both houses of the legislature, so that the people may be fully informed of what goes on in Albany.

Liberty Versus License

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio broadcast I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., Saturday, October 16, 1954, 7:30 to 7:45 p. m.:

There is enough trouble and excitement in the world today, without overstimulating our young people via comic strips that have ceased to be funny.

By and large, this industry has much to its credit. A minority who pander to the passions of the young are bringing about a public demand to clean house.

Liberty is no excuse for license.

It means freedom with self-control, the obligation to maintain decent standards, and the responsibility of setting the right example for impressionable youngsters.

Both the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives have thoroughly investigated this problem. While they have clearly and repeatedly emphasized that they are not interested in Government censorship, they are trying to bring about an improvement through self-regulation.

There are three comics published which do not feature crime and horror to one that does, but it is that one-quarter of the output that does the damage.

No less an authority than J. Edgar Hoover, Director, FBI, has warned of the tremendous impact that undesirable literature has on the juvenile mind. He has said in part that "Crime books, comics, and other stories packed with criminal activity and presented in such a way as to glorify crime and the criminal may be dangerous, particularly in the hands of an unstable child.

"A comic book which is replete with the lurid and the macabre; which places the criminal in a unique position by making him a hero; which makes lawlessness attractive; which ridicules decency and honesty; which leaves the impression that graft and corruption are necessary evils in American life; which depicts the life of a criminal as exciting and glamorous may influence the susceptible boy or girl who already possesses definite antisocial tendencies.

"While comic books which are unrealistic in that they tend to produce fantastic pictures of violence, brutality, and torture may have no effect on the emotionally well-balanced boy or girl, nevertheless they may serve as the springboard for the unstable child to commit criminal acts.

"On the other hand, those comic books which are restrained in presentation, which conform to carefully prescribed standards of good taste and authenticity, and which teach a true lesson that crime does not pay, have a real educational value."

So says FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

A witness before the House committee asked this question: "Shall we permit a few greedy publishers to exercise control of a harmful nature over the children of the Nation? The comic-book and picture-strip technique is a highly popular one. The enormous volume of trade—some 50 million sold each month—stresses its popularity. Shall this fertile field of instruction, citizenship, and conduct be allowed to spread in cancer fashion throughout the land with lurid, bloody, sadistic, and immoral attitudes? Or shall it be controlled into channels for the betterment as well as the enjoyment of children?

It is a well-known fact that youngsters are imitative. That is part of the learning process. The schools bring to their attention the product of the best minds of all time. Unfortunately this is offset by other reading, seeing, or hearing in the child's experience outside of school.

Children identify themselves with the characters—good and bad—that they find in the comic strips. They put themselves into the position of the hero, the heroine, or the villain. Since most children have a hard time with reading in their earlier years, picture representation clears the way for them to understand what is going on. The classroom is at a disadvantage with the comic book in this respect. Without going into details I can think offhand of several cases where youngsters injured or killed themselves reenacting violent scenes that have been portrayed for them through visual means of communication.

The committee found that only a small percentage of the so-called comic books dealt with comedy or mirthful subjects. The great majority are about crime, violence, horror, romance, supermen, mystery, adventure, and westerns. They do not teach children to think straight. They glorify crime, make a mockery of democratic living and respect for law and order. They make lawlessness attractive and ridicule decency and honesty. They show children how to make weapons and how to inflict injuries with those weapons. One comic actually printed charts of the human body indicating the exact positions of the points and areas most vulnerable to physical assault, and told just how to attack those points and areas most effectively.

The field of comics is one which perhaps more children and a certain type of adults find reading entertainment and relaxation than in any other. Their astonishing circulation far surpasses that of all books, magazines, and periodicals combined, and is exceeded only by that of daily newspapers.

Several years ago the Kefauver Crime Investigating Committee reported that crime comics are believed to have a corrosive effect on the mind of the child, and that they encourage delinquency.

The New York Joint Legislative Committee To Study the Publication of Comics conducted an exhaustive study and produced a comprehensive report on the comic-book situation in 1951. The committee's recommendations have greater pertinence today as the problem is approaching a showdown—nationwide.

Here, condensed, are some of the finding of that committee:

1. The entire comic-book industry is remiss in its failure to institute effective measures to police and restrain the undesirable minority of stubborn, willful, irresponsible publishers of comics whose brazen disregard for anything but their profits is responsible for the bad reputation of the publishers of all comics.

2. Comics are a most effective medium for the dissemination of ideas, and when such a medium is used to disseminate bad ideas which may leave deep impressions on the keen minds of children, the unrestricted publication and distribution of comics becomes a matter of grave public concern.

3. Comics which depict crime, brutality, horror, and which produce race hatred, impair the ethical development of children, and those which describe how to make weapons and how to inflict injuries with these weapons, and how to commit crimes, have a wide circulation among children.

4. The New York State Joint Legislative Committee states flatly as follows: Crime comics are a contributing factor leading to juvenile delinquency.

5. Instead of reforming, publishers of bad crime comics have banded together, employed resourceful legal and public relations counsel, and so-called educators and experts, in a deliberate effort to continue such harmful practices, and to fight any and every effort to arrest or control such practices.

6. The reading of crime comics stimulates sadistic attitudes, and interferes with the normal development of sexual habits in children, and produces abnormal sexual tendencies in adolescents.

The mutations that have been brought about in the name of "comics" by profit-minded publishers are well illustrated by books classified in the trade under the strange designation "war horror comics."

The entire output of one such promoter was officially banned from distribution among United States Navy personnel because some of the contents were deemed contrary to the best interests of our country. It was charged that their objectionable features might be the work of a genuine pacifist organization, but that they were much more likely the subversive efforts of Communists.

Of late, the Association of Comics Magazine Publishers is trying to clean its own house.

But not all comic-book publishers are members of the association.

The constantly increasing volume of nationwide protest is reflected in many ways, among which is the amount of unsold salacious material returned by dealers to the distributors, in some instances running as high as 40 percent which is believed due, at least in part, to local protests; by communications received from an ever-increasing number of groups from various parts of the United States urging Congress to clean up the newsstands; by protests against the distribution of obscene literature of all kinds; by the activities of religious groups of all denominations; by greater diligence on the part of the police as a result of aroused public opinion; and by the increased activity of all prosecuting agencies, both Federal and State.

Complaints have been received from men in our Armed Forces protesting against the infiltration of pornographic and otherwise objectionable literature there, but lack of time, facilities, and funds, have prevented the investigating committee of the United States House of Representatives from inquiring fully into that situation.

Purveyors of pornographic books, pictures, and the like, frequently attempt to justify their activities by citing the constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech and of the press; but being granted and guaranteed freedom by no means includes license. It is the attempted transformation of liberty

into license for profit which is arousing the indignant public.

Publishers of comic books must learn that freedom implies responsibility.

And that innocent children also have the right to be protected from the character-destroying, glorification of crime and sex.

Reserves Our Nation's Bulwark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN F. JAMES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Maj. Gen. Edward E. MacMorland, United States Army, retired, and now president of Pennsylvania Military College, Chester, Pa., which is in my district, Tuesday, January 25, 1955, at Bethlehem, Pa., before members and guests of the Honorary First Defenders:

RESERVES OUR NATION'S BULWARK

I have been informed that the members of your organization have long been leagued together to promote proper protection for our national interests, and that some of you have been participating in this laudable endeavor over a period of many decades. Although none of you look particularly old to me, I can share with you after long Army service your continuing zeal for defending our country from enemies within and without.

We have been assured that never before has America had more of both types of enemies. We continue to read in our daily papers that Soviet Russia is laboring night and day to build up her armed might, and already is stronger in some military aspects than any other nation on earth, including our own. We need no crystal gazer to certify that Russia is not developing her military power just to protect her own borders. If Russia is not our country's enemy, she at least is an enemy of the principles and ideals of our Nation and an increasing menace to other countries for which we must retain friendly solicitude.

There can be little doubt that Russia definitely is an enemy without, and so is Communist China which draws its dubious inspiration from Moscow.

We also know that our country has enemies within, and all of us who are loyal patriots and concerned for the welfare of our Nation should be as alert against such inner subversive influences as against the possibility of outside aggression.

In the broad view, of course, it is deplorable—even tragic—that so much of our Nation's resources should have to be devoted to our national defense. We are a peaceful people. We have never started a war against any other country. The only wars in which we have fought have been instigated by other nations—wars in which we have been compelled to participate in protecting our own welfare, our people, and our principles of common decency.

It is hoped that history will keep recorded certain other facts. One is that we terminated those wars as soon as possible, meeting peacemaking negotiators more than half way. Still another is that instead of oppressing our conquered foes, traditional with victors since time began, we have hastened to rehabilitate them, to set up for them democratic governments of full autonomy for complete national independence, and have given or loaned them money.

These actions and attitudes have established a historical precedent, and they should be significant in a world still marred by aggression for domination in many quarters.

A new budget for our national ependitures and revenues was recently submitted by our President to Congress. That budget allocates about 65 cents out of every dollar of national income to our country's defense, directly or indirectly. This means that only about 35 cents of each dollar which we citizens pay into our Federal Treasury through open and hidden taxes—on our incomes, our telephone calls, the trips we make, the dress ornaments we give our wives on their birthdays, the little luxuries like tobacco which relieve the tension of our existence—can go toward development of housing, schools, dams, rivers and harbors, national parks for our recreation, and the thousands of other constructive activities of our Federal Government for the common welfare. This also means that Federal research in better agriculture and other sciences for man's economic and personal improvement gets only one-third of our national potential in funds and concern.

We learn that half of our Nation's maximum research and development functions, governmental and private, now are devoted to atomic energy and aerodynamics for national defense. We also know that if war should break out tomorrow, our Nation's entire industrial and business life—our transportation, communications, household purchases, and daily personal activities—would become subordinated once more to military necessities. Within our lifetime we gladly have made sacrifices of money, time, conveniences, and service in two world wars and a Korean conflict not of our own origin, yet even today our country still feels adverse effects of World War I, which ended more than 36 years ago. Men and women among you, born since 1918, likewise have been hampered in their vocational careers and perspectives by World War II, whose shooting stopped a decade ago. Our young men similarly have been delayed in their life plannings by the months of frustrated fighting in Korea which we have not even officially designated by the term "war."

It should be particularly noted that in those military episodes as well as in our Revolutionary War, our War of 1812, and our Spanish-American War, we could not depend for defense on large standing armies, because we had none. It is our American credo that we must convince the rest of the world by example that we are not militaristic, and have no sinister designs on other lands and no ideologies to force on other populations which might warrant a large military force suitable for aggression. Our forefathers hastily assembled a small Continental Army in the colonial days, but its members were largely civilians without intensive military training. Their leader was George Washington, who was not a professional soldier but a land surveyor, a country squire. Although he was created a general, and later as President was Commander in Chief of all the colonial men of arms, he did not have the military training now given to an ordinary buck sergeant. The men who served with Washington against the career soldiers of King George III and the soldiers for hire fighting with the redcoats were farmers, tradesmen, students, storekeepers, doctors, manual craftsmen. They were the type of citizen reserves who must remain the bulk of our defense forces for all time.

Even in today's civilized era, we have the grievous necessity of remaining reasonably able to defend ourselves against aggression without keeping a large segment of our population under arms at great expense to our taxpayers, and with minimum interference to the educational and vocational expectations of our young people. We must do this without parading millions of uniformed men before our friends and foes in challenging display. Peaceful though we are, we must remain ready to meet any emergency with a minimum of basic preparation, certainly not taking the open lead in an armaments race which we disparage elsewhere. Our President recently made this policy clear by setting maximum strength of our Armed Forces on active duty.

Thus we have a paradoxical problem of remaining strong in defense without ostentatiously violating our assertions for world comity. The answer to that problem lies in a proper reserve system, the same idea which gave us victory in the Revolutionary War and succeeding conflicts, our mass defense strength vested in trained civilians.

I have just returned from Washington, where I secured details of a comprehensive plan now being submitted by the President and the Department of Defense to Congress. No doubt it will be warmly debated by the extremists—those who clamor for a monster military force to deter any attack on us and those who contend that as innocent people we need no defense at all.

This new plan for modified universal military training and creating a large Reserve force is a compromise, and I think a wise one. The plan would consider our standing service elements as a nucleus around which to assemble basically trained civilian reservists in any emergency. I can give you here some of its features which may not have been fully covered in press dispatches.

It is called the National Reserve Plan in Defense of Freedom. The official Pentagon outline, which I shall here quote directly, says the plan would—

"Provide a fair and equitable method of recall to active service;

"Allow young men to choose their preferred branch of service, and allow them to elect methods by which military service could be performed;

"Allow them to start fulfilling military service obligations at an early age, before assuming the responsibilities of family and career;

"Provide all the material benefits of Reserve training to men with military service obligations;

"Fulfill the manpower needs of industry and the community;

"Retain for free Americans their tradition of voluntary service as citizen Reserves."

Under the plan, induction of men for military service would be continued, with all mentally and physically qualified men subject to call on reaching the age of 18½. All men entering any of the armed services, whether through induction, enlistment, or appointment, would assume a military obligation extending for at least 8 years, to build a permanent Reserve strength of 5 million men.

However, all young men of the country would have four choices, and I cite them briefly here.

Under choice 1, men who enlist in any of the armed services for 3, 4, or 6 years would remain in the Reserves after their enlistment expires for a combined total of 8 years of active and Reserve service.

Under choice 2, men who enlist in the Navy or Marine Corps Reserves before they are 19 are subject to call for 2 years of active duty within 2 years of such Reserve enlistment, and after such active duty they remain in the Reserves for the balance of an 8-year period, dating from their enlistment.

Under choice 3, young men may wait for induction into the Army and on their call date begin an 8-year service obligation covering active duty and subsequent membership in the Ready Reserves.

Under choice 4, a limited number of men between 17 and 19 may enlist in the Army, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard for 6 months

of active duty, then remain in the Ready Reserves for 9½ years, thus with a 10-year service obligation.

The whole 8-year-minimum service plan presumes there always will be men voluntarily joining and remaining in the armed services as a career. In requiring prolonged Reserves membership in addition to active duty for all qualified young men, the plan calls for regular, continuous training programs for all such reservists, in their home towns or nearby, and not merely keeping their names on rolls somewhere. Yet it permits young men to return as soon as practicable to their classrooms, their vocational pursuits and their normal civilian life following active duty, but remaining under systematic military refresher training for a full 8-year total, or 10 years under choice 4.

Men who enlist in any of the Armed Forces for 3 or 4 years would remain in what is called the Ready Reserve for 4 or 2 years, respectively, following their active duty, then would be listed in another category called the Standby Reserve. Men enlisting for 6 years would be in the Standby Reserve for 2 years thereafter.

As for the National Guard, it would retain both State and Federal status, and its members would be considered in the Ready Reserve—that is, ready for instant call to active duty in any emergency—and with the National Guard considered in the first line of defense.

The ready reservists would be paid for attending sessions of the intensified, stepped-up and compulsory Reserve training program. They would qualify for promotions and retirement pay, they would have 2 weeks of concentrated summer training duty, and the training whenever possible would be geared to the vocational activities of the reservists. This should help young men in their current jobs. It also should help make their vocational talents of maximum benefit to the country, if they are ever recalled to active duty.

In brief, the ready reservists would be men who have had limited active duty, but are obligated for Reserve membership and Reserve training for the balance of their 8-year periods of responsibility. The standby reservists would be men who have spent sufficient time on active military duty, or have completed stated periods of Reserve training, thus being exempt from further training.

The ready reservists could be recalled if either the President or Congress declares an emergency. The standby reservists would be subject to recall only in an emergency declared by Congress.

It certainly is not the fault of the Reserves of the various armed services that they have been neglected and the paper program instituted for them by Congress in 1951 has been marked by confusion. Thousands of veterans of active duty have voluntarily entered the Reserves, without waiting for this new compulsory program, these reservists pleading for training schedules and for encouragement and assistance in their patriotic desire to keep their military knowledge useful to their country. Our country should be proud of these voluntary and eager reservists.

Their spirit which Washington now belatedly is endeavoring to utilize systematically is precisely the same attitude of the colonial farmers and tradesmen who without uniforms drilled with muskets and squirrel rifles and probably broomsticks to defend their homes against the British, and presently fired shots at Concord which are still echoing around the world wherever people cherish freedom.

Let all of us who abhor war, who oppose militarism for its own sake, and who are wary of any trappings of dictatorship, remind ourselves that we Americans have no Fuehrer, or Generalissimo, or politician who is building up an armed force for his personal aggrandizement or to turn our country into an aggressor. Let us also realize that our Armed Forces are the servants and protectors of our people, not our masters. Our uniformed services are controlled by our citizens, not the reverse. Hence, we shall never have an army manipulated by one official or faction, or concentrating on promulgating any socio-economic creed.

Above all, we must recognize that citizenship involves obligations along with its privileges. If we are to remain free citizens, we must fulfill certain requirements which cannot be met merely by paying taxes. We have community participation responsibilities, and these extend to State and National levels. The very same principles which compel the truly good citizen to take part in organized hometown functions for the general welfare instead of remaining aloof in casual apathy and critical isolation surely make it imperative for him to help safeguard his benefits by services and not just by writing tax checks as his national duty.

It is fitting and right for the Defense Department to keep referring to "military service obligations," and, of course, there is nothing new even to Americans about compulsory military service. It is natural to our concept of patriotic duty, not only in wartime but in a time of peace, when we are seeking to avoid further costly wars. Most other countries have such compulsory service more strict and extended than now contemplated for us. Our selective-service program all along has been operated with a minimum of handicaps to education and careers, and the 8-year plan will continue this policy. Even so, 2 years of active military duty in a youth's late teens can truly be beneficial to him as well as to his country.

Some educator colleagues protest any intrusion of military service in academic schedules. Yet, as president of a military college as well as a career Army officer, I can attest that military training itself is highly educative, and that military discipline engenders a splendid degree in the still formative years of young men of the self-discipline which is a major fruit of all education. Military schooling and military procedures develop orderliness of living, obedience to laws, respect for authority, consecration to duty, also industry, honor, responsibility, and many other attributes of character which surely are of as much enduring benefit to a maturing youth as rushing through academic studies or earning money in his first job. Military training, at a school or in the service, assists young men in adjustment to their fellows; it promotes social responsibility and abrades away rough edges of personality. The military training given thus far to our young citizens has not made them militaristic, but has provided them with principles and idealisms and codes of conduct which can well carry over into any civilian post.

I should remind, too, that under the ROTC program college men may continue their academic studies while getting beneficial military training on the campus. Assuredly, the 8-year plan of obligation now contemplated should give our young men a keener perception of their national heritage and should solidify their patriotism. It should be of tremendous inspirational and educational benefit to thousands of young men coming of military age each year at a time when their sentiments and character are still plastic.

The main benefits of this new national-defense plan thus are obvious. We would have advantages of a strong defense force for our own security and as a deterrent for any aggressor with minimum money cost or manpower waste. In the event of war, a strong defense force could be assembled without the distressing delays which followed the Kaiser's invasion of Belgium and the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. Furthermore, the recalled Reserves would require no long basic training, and could be put quickly into combat able to fight effectively and also competent to protect themselves.

It surely must be conceded after all our disillusioning experience that however much we Americans may seek peace we must remain reasonably prepared for war, and that the moral leadership and global influence our country claims will be hollow until we can speak with authority instead of timorous pleading. There can be no coexistence by a voracious bear and a lamb however saturated with gentle virtues. In the world family of nations, ours must stand up vigorously for our rights and our concepts of integrity, as well as those of smaller vacillating nations which emulate America as a model. We, as individuals and as a nation, must ever be able to protect ourselves adequately without ever using our strength as a bully, and until our realistic world becomes more idealistic we have to endure what just now we cannot cure.

Our citizens differ on the extent to which we should intrude in tensions across both oceans, but I like to believe they are united on readiness to meet with force any affront to our national interests. So long as earnest people band together to promote peace through strong security, the task of circumventing any misguided total disarmament pacifists should not be difficult, especially when every gale that sweeps across either ocean brings to us the clangor of plowshares and pruning hooks being beaten into swords and spears.

Foundation Grants Queried

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, a letter by Mr. Rudd to the New York Times brings out some interesting points in connection with the possible use of foundations for propaganda purposes at the taxpayers' expense. That is to say, the costs of national defense and the costs of Federal, State, and local government which the foundations do not help pay, must be paid by other taxpayers. So that it is quite proper to look upon the activity of every tax-exempt foundation as something which the taxpayers themselves support, at least indirectly, by paying the tax burdens from which foundations are exempt. Mr. Rudd states in his letter:

FOUNDATION GRANTS QUERIED—FINANCING OF STUDIES ADVOCATING COLLECTIVIST IDEAS CHARGED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The large foundations are indignant over the majority report of the House Committee To Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations, which found that some "have actively supported attacks upon our social and governmental system and financed the promotion of socialism and collectivist ideas." Let us consider a single record, but a very important one, in the field of public education.

Two of the most clearly established principles of our American form of government are: Specific limitation on Federal powers and protection of the right to own property. Socialists oppose these principles and do their utmost to destroy their force and effect in

our laws. They advocate a regimented society having an economy based on the four economic elements Marx introduced to give socialism mass appeal, and ultimately to destroy the capitalistic system. When foundations give lavishly of their funds to organizations aiding such Marxist doctrines there can be only one conclusion.

As long ago as 1926 the American Historical Association sponsored a 6-year study of the Commission on Social Studies, comprising many leading educators. The commission became active in 1929 and continued through 1933, issuing 16 volumes of studies and reports. The final volume, Conclusions and Recommendations, stated: "The age of individualism and laissez-faire in economy and government is closing and a new age of collectivism is emerging" (p. 16). The report then gave a complete plan with directives and objectives for using public education to meet the requirements of the emerging integrated order (p. 35).

LASKI'S VIEWS ON PROGRAM

It was perfectly clear that their new social order was to be a regimented, highly centralized form of government based on doctrines directly opposed to our American concepts of government. No informed person could describe it other than as socialistic. In fact, the late Harold Laski, noted British Marxist, declared: "* * * stripped of its carefully neutral phrases, the report is an educational program for a Socialist America * * *. [It] could be implemented in a society only where socialism was the accepted way of life; for it is a direct criticism of the ideals that have shaped capitalist America."

And yet this program was financed by the Carnegie Corp. with five or more annual grants totaling $340,000. One of the official purposes for which the House committee was created was to determine if these vast sums were being used in accordance with the purpose for which they were established. Does anyone think that Andrew Carnegie, rugged individualist that he was, intended his wealth to be used to establish a collectivist form of society, socialistic or otherwise?

This particular grant had tremendous influence in intellectual circles; for it was in effect the master plan of the liberal educators to use our schools and colleges to change the climate of opinion of our people so that they would accept the socialistic form of society. It became, in effect, the pattern on which was built much of the new education now showing so many disastrous results.

PEA AIDED

Furthermore, the Progressive Education Association, which led this movement and constantly propagandized for it over the past two decades, received $4,257,800 (1932–43) from the three Carnegie foundations, the Rockefeller Foundation, the General Education Board, and the Ford Foundation.

This is only one of many instances on which the report of this committee has been based. The right of any person or group to advocate socialism within our laws in unquestioned; and the legality of such activities is conceded. But is it in the public interest? Is it within the purpose for which these foundations were established, particularly since these are quasi-public funds? These are the questions Representative REECE has sought to have answered in this investigation by bringing the facts before the Nation. Trustees of all foundations could well ponder these issues, because the use of billions of dollars in their care will exercise a tremendous influence on the future of this Republic.

AUGUSTIN G. RUDD,
Chairman, Guardians of American Education.

NEW YORK, *December 22, 1954.*

Who Profits From Free Enterprise?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the following speech by Mr. Fairless, chairman of the United States Steel Corp., is a splendid pronouncement from one of our leading businessmen. He shows that all of us, especially labor, profit by the free-enterprise system. He does another thing which leading businessmen—even leading businessmen failed to do 5 years ago. He acknowledges the fact that we are already deep into socialism. It is not creeping; it is not welfare statism. It has elements of communism in it. But in any event, the American variety of what is being done in the world is plain unadulterated socialism. And it does not pay off in America any more than it does in the rest of the world. There is an element of hope in the acknowledgment by our leaders of the evils that we are possessed of, for certainly we cannot be cured until we admit we have got the disease. Mr. Fairless states the case in most restrained language as follows:

WHO PROFITS FROM FREE ENTERPRISE?

(By Benjamin F. Fairless, chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corp., in a talk before the Manufacturers' Association of Connecticut, at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., September 21, 1954)

All of us, I know, are alarmed by the rapid progress which communism is making all over the earth. We have seen it swallow up much of Asia in recent years. We have noted its growing influence over some of our most important European allies in the past few months. And we recognize that unless this trend can be reversed, it will be only a matter of time until the Communist countries outnumber all the free nations of the world.

The one encouraging aspect of the situation, probably, is the fact that the American people are fully awake to this danger, and alert to the threat that it poses.

But in our desire to save the world—and ourselves—from the Communist menace, it seems to me that we are dropping our guard against another political force which is equally dangerous to human liberty, and which has been vastly more successful than communism in its creeping conquest of nation after nation.

And that political force, of course, is socialism.

FREE NATIONS OUTNUMBERED

I wonder how many of us have ever stopped to think that the truly free nations of this world—the only nations where men still enjoy freedom in the form and degree that we know it—are already outnumbered, at least 20 to 1, by the countries which have embraced the deadly philosophy of socialism in one form or another.

We are encouraged by the knowledge that some of these countries, like England and Australia, have begun to move back in our direction; but the fact remains that outside of 2 or 3 nations here in the Western Hemisphere, it would be difficult indeed to find any place on this globe where the philosophy of free, private, competitive enterprise is still dominant.

The fight against socialism can only be won—or lost—right here at home. It is a never-ending fight against forces which are often entrenched within the Government itself, and which seek greedily to enlarge their own powers by constantly whittling away the individual rights of our citizens. So in that struggle, we can seldom depend upon Government for leadership. It is a job that we must always stand ready to do for ourselves.

When we see that there are individuals and groups, both in and out of public office, who seek to persuade the voters of this Nation to adopt a governmental course which would undermine the economic freedoms of our fellow men—then it is not only our right as citizens, but our inescapable duty as Americans, to speak out clearly, and to warn our people of the dangers that confront them.

Handicapped as we are, we have been saddled with the grave responsibility of leadership; and the time has come, I think, when we ought to take a critical look at our situation and ask ourselves frankly: "How are we doing?" So let me put it to you this way.

For nearly a quarter of a century now, we have attempted—almost singlehanded—to lead the forces of resistance against a rising tide of socialism in this country; and during most of those years, we suffered one disheartening defeat after another.

And then, 2 years ago, the American people rose up in their might and struck a great blow for freedom.

Many of us felt, no doubt, that the war had been won—that the victory was complete, and that America had renounced—once and for all—the dangerous philosophy of those who have tried to make this country a nation of big government and little people. But if so, we were sadly mistaken.

Political experts report that the opponents of free enterprise seem to be gaining ground. And when I use the word "opponents," I do not want to be misunderstood. I am not speaking in partisan terms. I am speaking of those members of both major political parties who would lead our Nation ever further down the road to state socialism—the men who seek always to expand the powers of central government, to increase the Federal deficit, to enlarge the subsidy program, and to impose crippling burdens upon every form of individual enterprise. Wittingly or unwittingly, these men are the spearhead of the Socialist attack in America.

BUSINESSMEN MUST SHOULDER PART OF BLAME

I am very much afraid that we businessmen must shoulder a part of the blame. I'm afraid we have tried, too long, to go it alone.

Whether we like it or not, we cannot deny, I think, that we have accepted the heavy responsibility of leadership in this great struggle—not because we wanted it, heaven knows; and not because our fellow citizens have voluntarily chosen us as the defenders of their liberties; but simply because our opponents have cleverly thrust it upon us.

And there, I believe, is the great weakness of our position today.

For 20 years, American business has been the one and only target of the Socialist attack in this country—and so—as businessmen—we have been forced to fight back in self-defense for the protection and preservation of the enterprises which we manage.

We may tell ourselves that we have nobly defended the economic and political freedoms of every man and woman in this Nation—and that, indeed, is perfectly true—but to millions of our fellowmen it appears that we have been trying chiefly to save our own skins. So they seem to think that this is a private fight between government and business, and that they can afford to remain on the sidelines—as interested spectators—waiting for the best man to win.

Over the years they have developed a deep suspicion that free enterprise—however much it may profit them—is a devise designed primarily for the benefit of businessmen; that it is our own personal baby, and that we have a vastly greater stake in its survival than they do.

That this ridiculous notion should persist in the minds of large numbers of our people is pretty discouraging to some of us who have tried for many weary years to bring about a broader public understanding of the facts; and yet it does persist in spite of all that we have said and done. For in no other way, I think, can we explain the steadfast support and encouragement which our opponents, Socialists in both parties, receive, in every election, from the national leadership of labor and from many other organized groups in almost every segment of our economy.

WHO REAPS GREATEST REWARD?

So, I suggest that we examine this question quite frankly. Who does reap the greatest reward from our system of free, competitive enterprise? Is it the owners and managers of business and industry? Is it the workers, the farmers, the consumers, the taxpayers? Who is it?

The best way to answer that question, perhaps, is to turn it around and ask ourselves which of these groups would suffer most if we were to establish, here in this country, a kind of benevolent, Socialist government like the one, for example, which held power in England for 6 years following the close of World War II. What did that government do? What really did happen in England? Let's take a quick look at the record.

It was only 9 years ago that the British Socialist government came into power, and the election which swept it into office was probably the greatest political victory that organized labor has ever won in any democratic nation. It was the realization of a dream which has been cherished, I suppose, by labor leaders all over the world. They controlled every branch of the British Government, lock, stock, and barrel; and they set out at once to create in England the kind of Utopia they had always wanted.

SOCIALISM—BRITISH STYLE

They launched the most ambitious—and the most expensive—program of cradle-to-the-grave security that had ever been attempted. To pay for it, they taxed away the private sources of investment capital; and when the key industries of the country could no longer get the funds necessary to modernize their plants and to run them efficiently, the Government had a perfect excuse to step in and nationalize them.

It did so eagerly—starting with the sick industries like coal mining and the railroads, and gradually developing such an appetite for public ownership that it took over the utilities, highway and water transportation, aviation, communications, the Bank of England, and even the iron and steel industry which was not only operating efficiently, but which was also paying a much higher wage than were most other British enterprises.

Now how did the former private owners and managers of these industries make out under the nationalization program? They were hurt, without doubt, but how badly?

Well, so far as the owners were concerned, their properties were not confiscated. That wouldn't have been cricket; and no true Englishman would have stood for it. So the Government bought the owners out; and, in exchange for their stock—which paid dividends only when there were profits—it gave them government securities which paid interest annually, whether there were any profits or not. And since some of these industries had been in the red for a long time—and since practically none of them have ever made a profit since the Government took them over—the owners soon found themselves in a happy and somewhat remarkable position wherein they were being subsidized by a Labor government at the expense of the taxpayers. You might even call it a kind of "guaranteed annual dividend."

As for the former managers of these industries, many of them kept right on in the same old jobs; and if their income shrank in the process, so too, at least, did their headaches. They did not have to worry about profits and prices and competition. All they had to do was obey the orders that were issued from London, and let the Government do the worrying.

So they no longer found themselves in the pitiful situation of the businessman who developed ulcers, but still wasn't a success.

SMALL SHOPKEEPER SUFFERS

When it came, however, to the small shopkeeper who was permitted to retain his own business, it was quite a different story. He had headaches aplenty; for he operated under a rigid system of price controls and rationing. The Government could—and did—cut the price of his merchandise without any advance warning whatever. And thus it happened one morning that he awoke and read in the papers that the price of an important part of the stock on his shelves had been lowered 5 percent in the night.

There was no way, of course, that the Government could also lower the price he had already paid for this merchandise; so he had to stand the full loss himself. And when several hundred thousand of these luckless retailers raised their voices in complaint, a Government spokesman suggested that they might compensate for this by making savings in their staff and services. In other words, they could lay off some clerks, and keep their customers waiting.

That was to be expected, perhaps, because after all, these fellows were only businessmen; so let us look for a brighter side of the picture and count, if we can, the blessings which the unions enjoyed under this Labor regime. They had achieved their highest ambition. They were their own bosses. They controlled the biggest and the richest enterprises in the land, and they could divide up the profits as they pleased.

But there weren't any profits to divide.

LABOR GOVERNMENT'S DILEMMA

As union leaders, the Government officials would have liked, presumably, to grant every wage demand of their membership; and, as the owners and managers of this newly acquired industrial monopoly, to jack up their prices accordingly.

But as statesmen, responsible for the welfare of the entire nation, they also had to see that British exports remained competitive with the goods which were being offered in the markets of the world by the efficient producers of other nations. So in spite of their natural inclinations, they had to hold prices down; which meant that they had to hold down the costs of production; which meant that they had to hold wages down too.

In this dilemma, they did the best they could. They went back to their unions to explain the great national emergencies which they faced and to beg the boys to hold off with their wage demands. What it amounted to really was a wage freeze. Then they plastered every available signboard with slogan after slogan urging British labor to work harder and produce more. Over here, our men would call it the speedup.

THREAT OF FORCE

I don't know what they called it over there; but I do know that they refused, emphatically, to buy it. Unrest grew in the rank and file. Absenteeism began to cripple the production of coal. There were slowdowns on the railroads; and strikes on the docks which endangered the national food supply. Something had to be done, and the art of gentle persuasion had failed. So the Government resorted to the threat of force, just as every socialist government has always done in the end.

To cope wtih the coal situation, it froze the miners in their jobs, thus depriving them of their freedom of choice and their freedom of opportunity.

To meet the situation on the docks, it invoked the provisions of the Emergency Powers Act—a labor control law far more drastic than any that has ever been known—or thought of—in the United States. But the defiant strikers refused to be intimidated, and the government never used the powers which it had invoked.

Instead, it took 15,000 drafted troops, many of whom came from union families, and sent them down to the docks to load and unload the ships until the strikers finally gave up. And so it was that labor's own leaders were forced to act as strikebreakers.

But they had to carry on, and, as opposition to the wage freeze continued to grow, they revived another wartime law which gave them still more drastic powers over both labor and business. And among those powers was the compulsory direction of workers into such jobs as the government might designate.

Nor did the farmers of England escape these threats to their freedom. A law passed 2 years after the labor government took office, gave it the right to dispossess from his farm any owner who did not manage his land to the complete satisfaction of the Ministry of Agriculture. And it used to be said that an Englishman's home was his castle.

Now I do not know of any case in which either of these sweeping powers was actually used; but there is no doubt in my mind that the enactment and revival of these laws must have taught the British workingman a great and fundamental truth: that economic liberty and political liberty are merely two sides of the selfsame coin, and any time you give one to the government, it also takes the other.

But that, of course, is only one of the disillusioning lessons that came to the British worker when his unions took over the Government; for he was also a taxpayer and a consumer—even as you and I.

HIGH PRICE OF WELFARE STATE

As a taxpayer, he learned to his sorrow the ruinous price of the all-out welfare state. He learned it, because he paid it. His leaders, it is true, had soaked the rich while they lasted, but that was only a drop in the budget, as you might say. And they couldn't soak big business, because they had already taken it over, under Government ownership, where it paid no taxes at all. So there was no one left to soak but him.

In the lower brackets his earnings were taxed at a standard rate of 45 cents on the dollar; and in the surtax brackets the rate went up to a peak of 97½ percent. And this was only the income tax. On top of that he still had to pay a sales tax—incredible as that may seem in a labor leader's utopia. Nor was it any puny little loose-change sales tax, either. It ranged from 33 percent to 100 percent of the selling price of each article it covered.

LESS AND LESS OF MORE AND MORE

But in a way this really didn't matter so much, because there wasn't a great deal that a taxpayer could have bought with his money, even if he'd been allowed to keep it, for England, under socialism, was not exactly a consumer's paradise. It was a barren land of shortages and a wilderness of controls.

Its finest quality products were largely reserved for export. The American tourist could buy them readily in the London stores, but the British worker could not buy them at all. He could only admire them in the shop windows, where they were clearly marked, "For export only."

On the other hand the Government—struggling with its so-called dollar crisis—had to cut British imports to the bone; and

it is on these imports, of course, that the British worker has always depended for many of his basic necessities of life. So most of the things he really needed were severely rationed; and a lot of the things he certainly wanted were denied him completely under the export controls.

Such things as a new home, or a car, or any of the usual household appliances and gadgets which are so commonplace to labor over here, were hopelessly beyond his reach. And if he ever did manage to buy an automobile, he wasn't permitted to drive it more than 90 miles a month.

So what was the use? He had little incentive to work more, to produce more, or to earn more; and the most artful of his union leaders could not persuade him to do so. Even the prospect of overtime pay had no appeal, since most of it would go for taxes anyway, and what could he buy with the rest?

The luxury of leisure was far more attractive than time-and-a-half for an extra day's work; and it was the only luxury left to him; for under the welfare state he had learned another significant lesson, that no matter how little he worked, he would always be able to exist, but no matter how hard he worked, he would never really be able to live.

This indifferent attitude, of course, only added to the woes of the Labor government, and to the general shortage of goods and services. Production lagged in the newly nationalized industries, prices were hiked substantially, quality declined steadily, and the losses were charged up to the taxpayers. Consumers, collecting their meager rations of coal, grumbled loudly about its rapidly mounting cost, and complained, in fact, that some of it wouldn't even burn—but coal, like so many other things they needed, was now a government monopoly, and, with no competing source of supply, there was nothing they could do about it.

So the British worker found himself shut in behind an iron curtain of controls and regulations. He filled out endless forms—in duplicate; he lined up for his daily rations, and he bought whatever it was that the Government—in its wisdom—permitted him to have. But three great necessities of life which it never permitted him to have were opportunity, incentive, and hope.

A DREAM BECOMES A NIGHTMARE

Yet this was his government—run by his unions, primarily for his benefit. It was the fulfillment of his own dreams; and it had been built in strict accordance with his own plans. But, in the cold light of reality, his beautiful dreams had become a crazy nightmare of austerity and government monopoly, in which he was the principal victim.

And, if he sought to escape from this nightmare—if he decided to chuck it all and seek greener fields of opportunity across the seas—he found that here again the iron curtain of controls had greatly curtailed the freedoms which he had once enjoyed. He, himself, was at liberty to go if he pleased, but only at great personal sacrifice and hardship; because the government had limited severely the amount of money which he could take out of the country, and he would have to start all over again, from scratch.

Here we have a brief and sketchy account of what happened in England under the Labor government. Within the framework of their Socialist philosophy, the leaders of that government tried loyally and sincerely, I believe, to solve the many critical problems which confronted them, and to create a better life for their fellow workers. The fault did not lie with their intentions. It lay with their philosophy. And after 6 years of crisis and controls, they were voted out of power.

By whom?

Well, the deciding votes were cast, of course, by the only people in England who had enough political strength to do it—by the selfsame people who had put the Labor government in office in the first place—by the British workers, and their fellow consumers and taxpayers; in short, by the economic groups which had suffered most painfully in their very blue, Socialist heaven.

So we come back once more to the question we asked ourselves in the beginning: "Who does profit most from our system of free enterprise?" Is it the stockholder who gets the dividend money? Is it the worker who gets many, many times that sum, and enjoys the highest living scale in the world? Is it the consumer who reaps the blessings of competition and surrounds himself with every conceivable comfort and convenience of this modern age? Or is it, perhaps, the suffering taxpayer, whose annual burdens have been lightened by more than $7 billion since some of our Socialist-minded opponents lost public office in Washington 2 years ago?

The answer, I think, is crystal clear. Free enterprise is the only system on this earth which richly profits all the people; for it is also the only system on this earth which truly belongs to all the people. It is not the private possession of American business, nor of any other economic group—and it never can be. It is the property—and the responsibility—of every man and woman in this Nation.

And so, if we can ever bring to our fellow consumers, our fellow taxpayers, and our fellow workers in the ranks of labor a real understanding of what the preservation of this system means to them and to their children, we shall never again be called upon to go it alone in leading this fight to preserve individual liberty.

They will be miles ahead of us. And they will not deal softly, I suspect, with these free-spending, fast-talking opponents of ours who are so ready to put freedom on trial at every national election, and so anxious to lead America down a Socialist road that must end, inevitably, behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. Speaker, the only fault I can find with Mr. Fairless' speech is that he falls into the common error of assuming that sometime at some election or other the people will rise up, throw out our own welfare state or socialism, and restore constitutional government. Or that the Congress will do so. Or possibly the President. I submit that there is no evidence in history to show that once socialism has been substituted even partially for freedom, that the people or the Congress or the President can or will throw it out and restore the Constitution. Obviously one election would not suffice, assuming the issues could be determined at elections. We would have the issues of socialism every 2 years at a minimum to be decided. If we should restore the Constitution at one election, socialism might be substituted at the next, and so on without end.

The fundamental concept of a constitutional or contractual relationship between the Government and the people defining the Government's functions and powers to tax is to avoid submitting the issues to elections. The reason is obvious. Socialist issues cannot be submitted to a vote. It is impossible to frame the issues so that an intelligent vote can be taken on a national basis. For that reason, our forefathers in the beginning proceeded to hold conventions attended by delegates from the States to pronounce the constitutional principles by which we should be governed. When the principles were announced they were so obviously right that they were affirmed by the courts and assented to by the people.

And so, Mr. Speaker, I submit that if we are ever to restore constitutional government and reject socialism, we must proceed through the States by means of a convention, as provided by the Constitution itself, to reassert and redefine and reestablish the functions of government, and then fix the amount of taxes which the States are willing the Government should spend to carry out those functions.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

٢

Appendix

The Objections to Federal Assistance for School Construction Are Not Valid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most timely and able address entitled "The Objections to Federal Assistance for School Construction Are Not Valid," delivered by Dr. John K. Norton, head of the department of educational administration, Teachers College, Columbia University, before the Conference of National Organizations for School Construction, on January 11, 1955.

I am advised by the Public Printer that the cost of printing the address will exceed the normal amount, and will come to the sum of $280. Despite the additional cost, I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Probably the most frequent objection to Federal aid to public education is that education is a State-local function with which the Federal Government should not be concerned.

The National Association of Manufacturers stated it thus in the recent hearings on Federal aid for school construction:

"Our schools have always been a State-local matter; and they should continue to be" (p. 355).

Is this a valid objection? History gives us the answer.

In the ordinance of 1785, 2 years before the Constitution was adopted, the Continental Congress set aside the 16th section of every township in the Northwest Territory for the support of public schools. The same action was soon extended to the Southwest.

The ordinance of 1787 set up a clear policy of Federal aid for education, a policy which was subsequently consistently followed by the Federal Government.

The Federal aid provided in the early period of our history was no mean amount. The 175 million acres of land set aside for school support has been called "the endowment magnificent." It is the greatest grant for the development of education in all history.

One student of this legislation concludes that: "The national land grants were the very foundation of public education in the United States."

It is historical fact that the Federal Government played a substantial role in the establishment of our State school systems and in providing for their support.

This decisive action of the Federal Government in promoting public education was consistent with the viewpoint of the great founders of the Republic.

Washington advocated the establishment of a national university. In his Farewell Address he urged us to—

"Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge."

Jefferson was vitally interested in the development of a system of education and acted upon it in a number of vital ways.

Franklin, Adams, Madison, and many others emphasized the indispensable necessity of popular education as a foundation for a free society.

The viewpoint of the great founders of the Republic and the early acts of Congress to promote education were no flash in the pan. Since 1785 no less than 50 major bills concerning education have been enacted by the Federal Congress.

One of the most searching tests of the statesmanship of a political leader has been his position on education.

In 1832 a great American made this statement in a political speech:

"Upon the subject of education • • • I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we as a people can be engaged in.

"For my part, I desire to see the time when education • • • shall become much more general than at present and should be gratified to have it in my power to contribute something • • • to accelerate that happy period."

The great man who spoke thus was not merely engaging in campaign oratory, for in 1862, 20 years later, he, Abraham Lincoln, signed a bill providing for the establishment of a college of agricultural and mechanical arts in every State. This action, along with the supplementary acts of 1887 and 1914 providing for the experiment stations and the Extension Service, brought into being a remarkable program of collegiate and adult education.

Undoubtedly, this program is one of the reasons why a peasant class has never developed in the United States and why Secretary Benson's principal headache is our amazing agricultural surpluses.

Federal legislation established this program, and Federal aid ever since 1862 has provided for its partial support. Some $48 million a year is provided by the Federal Government for A. and M. A. colleges and the associated activities, although this sum is now far exceeded by the voluntary appropriations of the States for this program.

In 1917, another great statesman, Woodrow Wilson, signed a bill providing for the establishment and continuing support of a program of vocational education at the secondary level in all States.

This program permitted the quick training of some 10 million skilled workers during World War II. Without them, our war effort would have been seriously handicapped. Federal funds totalling $26 million a year still aid the States in paying for vocational education, although State and local appropriations for this purpose far exceed those of the Federal Government.

More than 200 educational activities are now financed by the Federal Government. Their annual cost is $1,381,000.[1] The largest item totalling $726 million is for the education of veterans under the GI bills. Some $300 million of the total is for education in the States of which $200 million of the total is for the so-called federally affected areas. The appropriations for the State agricultural colleges and their associated activities, for vocational education and for vocational rehabilitation total $100 million. The school lunch program and other items compose the remainder.

In the light of the foregoing, it is clear that our schools have not always been a State-local matter. They have been a matter of national as well as of State-local concern since the beginning of our history and down to this very moment. Federal interest in education and Federal aid for the promotion of education is a part of the American tradition. Those who oppose Federal aid for school-building construction on the assumption that education is solely a State-local matter are disregarding historical fact either from ignorance or intent.

A second objection to Federal aid for school buildings is that the need has been exaggerated and, therefore, does not justify Federal assistance.

The immediate and impending classroom shortage is a compound of several factors: (1) The curtailment of construction during the depression; (2) the postponement of building during World War II; (3) the normal building replacement needs due to obsolescene; and (4) the necessity for expansion of school plants due to rapidly rising school enrollments.

To take account of all of these factors, so as to correct present housing conditions in the public schools within a 5-year period, would require $4 billion a year. If we take 8 years to do the job, $3 billion a year will be necessary. These estimates do not include costs of either sites or equipment—only the buildings.

In spite of valiant efforts by the States and localities, there has been a considerable increase in the classroom shortage during the past 2 years. This shortage threatens to become chronic. That it will worsen in the immediate future is certain on the basis of children already born but not yet of school age. The annual enrollment increase will be something over 1 million a year in the immediate future.

It is also likely that conditions under the present basis of support will continue to worsen in the more remote future, unless the stork develops an anemia, which he shows no signs of doing at present.

During the 1920's and 1930's about 2.5 million children were born each year. They are the parents of the children who are causing current increases in school enrollments. In each of the past 7 years more than 3.5 million children have been born. The total was over 4 million for the first time in 1954. When this greatly increased annual crop of babies reaches maturity, we may expect to flood of their children in our schools exceeding that of the present.

There are children now graduating from the eighth grade who have never attended school except on a parttime basis. More than a million and a half children are attending school in barracklike buildings, in rented churches and garages, and in other makeshift quarters. Many are in basement rooms and hallways, and obsolete firetraps which are a threat to their safety. Many out-sized classes are made necessary by lack of classrooms, so that 40 or 50 children have to be hired up in one room.

Footnotes at end of speech.

And yet there are those who blame the schools for not giving more individual attention to children and for not playing a stronger role in the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

Unless drastic measures are taken, far more effective than those now in effect, there are many children now entering the first grade who 8 years from now will have attended school under circumstances even worse than those of the past 8 years.

Next let us consider another type of objection to Federal assistance for school construction.

There are those who recognize the need for more funds for school buildings but who insist that the States can meet the need solely on their own resources. The United States is no more than the 48 States, they say, so why involve the Federal Government.

To these people we should say that there is a vast difference between each of the 48 States acting individually and the Nation acting as a Nation.

In the first place, fugitive wealth seeking to dodge its just share of the cost of schools and other public enterprises plays one State against another and as a result depresses the practical ability of both to support State services. For example, industries which migrate from New York State to Georgia under the bribe of tax-free status put a damper on taxation in New York and escape it in part in Georgia. Such tax-dodging is not possible when the Federal Government is concerned.

Tax experts generally agree that the Federal Government has superior tax-raising capacity. It not only has it, but circumstances have compelled the substantial use of this ability. No competent statesmen would propose that the enormous bill for military and other types of preparedness could readily be raised by the States. How ridiculous it would be to propose that since the 48 States are merely the same as the United States, that they have the same ability to raise the more than $40 billion a year which military and other forms of preparedness are costing us annually.

But, say the opponents of adequate school support, the way to meet the need is to eliminate unnecessary Federal expenses and thereby make revenue available to the States and localities.

This is a disarming argument until one looks at the facts. The facts are that although there has been much fanfare about reducing Federal taxation, the cuts made are relatively small.

According to the January 7 issue of U. S. News & World Report, the estimated cash income of the Federal Government for fiscal 1955 will be $68 billions. The estimates for fiscal 1956, whether one takes the bookkeeping budget or the cash budget, are that the Federal Government expects to collect more and not less revenue next year than in the current fiscal year. As the U. S. News & World Report states: "Despite the cuts in the past 2 years, Government will continue to spend half again as much as it was spending before the war started in Korea."

One may regret this fact or not, but there is little prospect that the situation will substantially change in the next few years.

Let us not forget that the rank and file of the voters have had little or no cut in their Federal taxes. They still eye local school tax bills against a background of record peacetime payments to Uncle Sam. In this fact we find a major practical obstacle which stands between adequate school support for buildings and for everything else.

If there were any guaranty that Federal tax collections would be reduced from the present $60 to $70 billion a year to something like 35 or even 45 billions, there would be some validity to the proposal that we should cut Federal taxes and thus ease the tax problem in the States.

There is no such prospect. The world situation promises little relief from a colossal bill for military and other types of preparedness. At home, industries such as the automotive fight Federal aid for education while they embrace a proposed $100 billion road-building program with a hoop and a hurrah, a substantial part of which is to be paid for by increased Federal aid appropriations.

Further, it is proposed to finance this huge road-building project on a matching basis; that is, for each dollar received from the Federal Government a dollar must be appropriated from State funds. The result is that the States are likely to appropriate the matching funds first, and take care of construction costs second, or not at all.

A careful reading of the President's state of the Union address offers little hope for any substantial cut in Federal tax collections even from the Republicans in the next few years.

There is another policy of the Federal Government which has placed education at a serious fiscal disadvantage. This is a policy of allocating large sums for traditionally local and private undertakings, while excluding education in the States from any substantial Federal aid.

Generous Federal aid has been provided for relief, for unemployment, for social security, for road building, for agriculture—to specify but a few. No equivalent Federal aid is being allocated to the public schools in the States.

The basic difficulty in this whole situation is that the Federal Government has no rational and consistent policy as to its fiscal relationships to public education in the States. It discriminates against and starves the schools on one hand, and then when conditions become so bad that they can no longer be ignored it rushes into the situation with hasty and ill-advised legislation. Many illustrations might be given. For example, school people have plead for many years for some funds to eliminate illiteracy in the United States. They have been denied. But now substantial amounts are being expended by the Defense Department to eliminate illiteracy among those in the military services. Instead of preventing illiteracy at the source, the Federal Government seems to prefer to try to cure it in the military services.

Much of the piecemeal, emergency educational legislation of recent decades passed by the Congress has sought to cure ills in public education which have their origin in financial malnutrition. They could have been prevented by the judicious appropriation of reasonable amounts of Federal aid to the public schools.

This lack of any consistent policy or program for Federal aid for education is largely responsible for the fact that only 8 cents of the total tax dollar—State, Federal, and local—is now expended for public schools, as compared with 16 cents just before World War II. We need just about double what we are now spending to put public education on a sound financial basis. This amount we would have if 16, rather than 8 cents of each tax dollar went for education. Positive action at the Federal level to redress the situation described is long overdue.

There is another factor which makes the Federal Government a very different animal than a summation of the 48 States. The States differ substantially in their ability to finance education. Sole reliance on State fiscal capacity promises in the future, as in the past, to result both in shocking inequalities of financial provision for school buildings and for any other substantial part of the school budget. The failure of the Federal Government to act on the recommendations of dozens of commissions which have recommended Federal assistance to education in the States is responsible for a tragic denial of educational opportunity for millions of children.

We have a variety of proposals for action in the States by those who would deny Federal assistance to education at any price.

We are told that the local property tax should be reformed. This is true. But the fact is that the local property tax today is raising approximately 60 percent of the total public school bill. This tax falls primarily on the homeowner of modest income. Would the opponents of Federal aid place a larger share of school expenditures on the shoulders of these taxpayers?

Then we are told that more State aid should be raised for education. This also is true for some States. The fact is, however, for the country as a whole that there has been a very substantial increase both in the amount of State aid for education as well as the proportion coming from this source.

In 1920 14 percent of public school funds came from the States. In 1954 the corresponding percent was 37 percent.

If the Federal Government had been as responsive to changing economic and educational conditions as the State governments have been, public education in the United States would not be in its present deplorable condition.

We are also told that the States should reorganize their local school districts. This is still true for some States. It is also true that many of the States have made commendable progress in this regard.

The pertinent fact at this point, however, is that no State has reduced expenditures by consolidating school districts. Consolidation has increased educational opportunity. It has not cut school costs.

The plain fact is that in spite of valiant efforts, the States and localities are not meeting school building needs. Conditions have worsened rather than improved in the past 2 years. They threaten to deteriorate further under present conditions, and certainly if the Federal Government continues its discrimination against education.

The time has come to reject these counsels of perfection and to concentrate on the deplorable fact that inadequate provision for school buildings is one of the factors which is today denying millions of children their educational birthrights.

Let us begin to think of children first. Let us realize the importance, both to national progress and security, of offering a full educational opportunity to every child. We will then quickly brush aside the objections which stand in the way.

There are two other questions one is likely to encounter from those who place money high and children low in their scale of values.

The first question is: Do you want to increase Federal taxes—shouldn't they be reduced?

We should meet this question head on. Say that we are in favor of public expenditures which are essential to the progress and security of the United States. If these can be assured on a reduced tax bill that will be fine. But if essential services require present or even increased tax collections, it would be folly not to pay for them. In any case, we should insist that the adequate financing of education deserves to rank as high in our priorities as national defense, and higher than highway construction, if the choice must be made.

Another objection which is raised by the opponents of adequate school support is that we are too poor—our economy cannot afford the cost. This objection is perhaps the most unsound of all.

Gross national production exceeds $355 billion a year; Beardsley Ruml in the recent report of the National Citizens Commis-

sion estimates on the basis of reasonable assumptions that: "The gross national produce in 1965 can hardly be less than $525 billion."

Disposable personal income, which is what individuals have to spend after personal tax payments, is at an alltime high. We have available for expenditure 40 percent more per person than in 1939. Personal savings, approximating $20 billion a year, far exceed any other period. Expenditures for automobiles, television sets, and the like have reached fabulous amounts. We have an economy in which, for the first time in history, the total bill for recreation is greater than that for food.

It is ridiculous to claim that such an economy cannot afford to spend whatever is necessary to house satisfactorily its schoolchildren.

Objectors to Federal assistance for school buildings always conjure up and expand on the danger of Federal control.

When the people speak through their local and State representatives, everything is all right. But to aid education through their Federal representatives cannot be but wholly iniquitous—so the argument goes.

We should keep our thinking clear on this very important issue.

Federal control of education does not result from some mystical and evil forces which creep out of the night to seize control of our schools.

Rather Federal control of education and the avoidance of it depends primarily upon the nature of educational legislation.

If control is included in the terms of an educational act, then control is likely to result. When a series of specifications and requirements are contained in the legislation, when special Federal authorities are created, when Federal agents are given both supervisory authority as well as discretion as to how much money each State or locality is to receive, Federal control of education is foreordained.

We had a number of examples of the control type of legislation under the PWA the WPA and other agencies of the depression period, and one can cite other recent examples.

During the depression we came within an act of establishing a Federal system of secondary education to parallel the high schools in the States. The National Youth Administration was set up as a temporary agency to deal with problems which the high schools could have handled as well or better if they had had Federal aid. This agency attempted to perpetuate itself as a permanent Federal undertaking. Here we have another illustration of an ill-advised effort by the Federal Government to do what the States could have done if they had had requisite Federal aid.

On the other hand, we have shining examples of Federal aid for education which have not resulted in control.

Witness the endowment magnificent in our early history. This Federal land grant not only played a significant role in establishing our unique system of public education, it even today provides a part, although a minor part of school support. Has this Federal aid resulted in Federal control of public schools?

Again, witness the establishment of what has become a program of higher education, research and adult education by the Act of 1862. Do we think of our State land grant colleges as under Federal control? I will venture that the majority of the citizens of the States do not even know that these colleges, or universities as most of them have become, were established by the Federal Government, that Federal assistance helped them to get started, and that annually the Federal Government still appropriates some $48 million a year for the support of these institutions and their related activities.

In the foregoing instances we have examples of highly significant Federal leadership and Federal aid in two major and continuing educational programs. Control has been avoided because the legislation did not specify in detail how the States were to use the funds in developing the educational undertakings established, and did not set up Federal authorities and officials with general supervisory and discretionary fiscal powers.

As a result, the people in the States took charge and went way beyond original conceptions as to the educational programs to be developed and the amount of support to be provided from State and local funds.

In these examples, we have illustrations of right relations in education between the Federal Government and the States.

This experience justifies a basic conclusion: Federal aid properly allocated to education in the States does not weaken State-local initiative, nor result in Federal control. Rather, it strengthens State-local initiative which is the surest safeguard against Federal control. If the National Government ever takes over public education in the United States it will likely be the result of continuing the discrimination against, and the fiscal starvation of the schools, which the Federal Government has been guilty of in recent decades. By such ill-advised practices, the schools can eventually be so weakened that the Federal Government will feel obliged to take over. This need not happen, but it has happened enough in the past, so that the possibility is far from remote.

One of the surest safeguards against Federal control of education is the vigor of local and State interest in their schools. This interest has continued throughout our history. And so long as the people retain their faith in education and have the wit to insist upon properly drafted Federal legislation, our schools will be safe from centralized control.

The fear that some supplementary Federal aid for such an essential purpose as school buildings will result in loss of local initiative in this area of expenditure finds little basis in past experience. Local communities have traditionally shown the liveliest of interest in their school buildings, and these structures are a source of special local pride.

Most of the States now have well organized offices in their State departments of education qualified to provide overall leadership and assistance in developing local school-building programs. This provides an additional means of resistance to possible Federal domination.

Furthermore, the area of school building is one of the least open to the dangers of Federal control. Even if some Federal control were exercised in this area it would not lead to the capture of public education by the central government.

If centralized political control of public education comes in the United States, it will be the result of placing the appointment of teachers on a partisan basis and the dictation of the curriculum from Washington. There appears to be little likelihood that this would be tolerated by the people of the United States on any basis, and least of all as a result of providing a reasonable amount of school-building aid to supplement that of the States and localities.

Our whole history is testimony to the fact that Federal interest in and Federal aid for a fundamental educational undertaking leads not to a slackening of local interest and support for the undertaking, but the opposite. The States and localities not only readily take over the control and administration of an educational activity originated by the Federal Government and substantially supported by it in the initiatory stages, but soon appropriate substantially more than the Federal Government for its financing.

In these past experiences, we find the considerations and principles which should govern Federal-State relations in education.

It should be a cooperative relationship. The Federal Government should promote and financially aid educational activities which are of fundamental national concern. Legislation to bring this about should be the type which inhibits centralized, bureaucratic control, but which places the expenditure of the supplementary Federal aid in the hands of the legal educational authorities of the States and localities.

Federal aid for school construction is fully justified in the light of the foregoing considerations. It is a matter of major and general national concern. Every State in the Union has a serious problem in this regard. None of them have been able to deal with it adequately solely on their own resources. This is true even though the so-called federally affected areas have received substantial school-building aid.

The prospects are that the school-building situation will worsen rather than improve unless Federal aid is forthcoming to supplement State and local appropriations.

The time has come for prompt and substantial action on the part of the Federal Government. The legislation adopted to bring this about should be the best that past experience will permit. It should avoid the temptation of setting up a new bureau or authority in Washington and the appointment of Federal officials. They are not needed.

The allocation to the various States from the Federal appropriations for assistance to school construction should be determined in the legislative act according to an objective formula of need. The formula should be one which anyone who can do arithmetic can calculate, and which can be verified by anyone else with similar qualifications.

By these means we could eliminate the school-building shortage in from 5 to 10 years. This would not solve all the problems of education, but it would be a major and desirable step in this direction.

As citizens interested in providing the kind of education needed in the future, we should see that this step is taken in the 84th Congress.

For more than a generation I have endured, not without some protest to be sure, the specious arguments which have been made against Federal assistance to education in the States. During this period the position of the United States, both as to its role in world affairs and as to the complexity of its own civilization, has been transformed almost beyond belief. This "b'g change"[2] as Allen has called it has witnessed no comparable response by our State and local school systems. Today, the public schools are less able to meet the needs of our dynamic society than they were a generation ago.

When President Eisenhower stated that today we face grave educational problems in his recent message, he greatly understated the situation. It is not only the shortage of teachers and school buildings that should give us pause, although these shortages prevent us from providing a fair educational opportunity for all. What is less dramatic, but far more serious, is the fact that the gap between the obvious educational needs of the Nation and the funds needed to meet them is an ever widening one.

By this colossal bit of stupidity we endanger both national progress and national security.

Let us look at some of the consequences of a generation of almost criminal educational neglect.

A recent publication, with the arresting title "The Uneducated"[3] contains these shocking conclusions:

Footnotes at end of speech.

"The millions in the United States who can neither read nor write * * * represent too large a proportion in our society to permit complacency" (p. 27).

"The outstanding finding that emerges from this study of the illiterate and poorly educated population is the scale of the problem" (p. 225).

"The magnitude of the problem of the totally uneducated and the poorly educated is a striking phenomenon" (p. 226).

"In the struggle in which the United States and other free nations are currently engaged * * * our strength lies in the quality of our human resources. * * * We can no longer ignore the wastage of our human resources * * *" (p. 246).

The study which came to these startling conclusions was organized by General Eisenhower when he was president of Columbia University because he had been impressed with the striking evidence of the wastage of manpower revealed during World War II.

This is only one of a series of studies which have emphasized the frightening fact that we are far from fully capitalizing our most basic source of strength.

The report of the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training is the result of the collaboration of four national councils. This careful study[4] grew out of the serious shortages of highly trained personnel revealed by World War II.

After extensively studying the present situation, this Commission comes to this conclusion:

"The United States wastes much of its talent. * * * Society fails to secure the full benefit of many of its brightest youths because they do not secure the education that would enable them to work at the levels for which they are potentially qualified" (p. 269).

Looking toward the correction of this situation, the Commission further concludes:

"The brains of its citizens constitutes a nation's greatest asset. From the minds of men will come * * * all future progress. * * * the practical problem becomes one of devising the best means of nurturing the talent which exists in the population. A nation which has had the ingenuity to conquer the air, to eradicate age-old diseases, to send radio messages around the world, to achieve a higher standard of living, than has ever been seen elsewhere in the world can surely overcome the barriers of doubt, of unequal opportunity, of financial handicap, and of inadequate motivation and education which interfere with the fullest development of the industrial, educational, intellectual, and moral leadership which our kind of society increasingly requires" (p. 283).

Certainly we will not overcome these barriers if we fail in such a relatively simple matter as that of housing all our children and youth in school buildings which are reasonably decent and safe.

We will fail in this and in other even more difficult educational matters unless we find practical means of allocating the necessary financial support for education from our abundant economy. We will fail unless the Federal Government accepts its share of responsibility. It can take a wise step in this regard by providing Federal assistance for school construction to supplement State and local funds.

We should not let the sound and fury which rages about this whole question blind us as to the basic issue which is involved. It is not a new issue. It has arisen over and over again throughout our existence as a nation, and even before.

Two forces are in contention. On the one hand, we have those who, because of selfishness and narrow vision, would make education the privilege of a limited class. They resent and fear the education of all the people. They think of money first and the education of children last or not at all.

Footnotes at end of speech.

On the other hand, there are those who believe that where there is no vision the people perish. They believe in the improvability of mankind through education, and that education should be the right of all. They believe that equality of opportunity is a noble ideal, and that without equal educational opportunity this ideal is but an empty phrase.

Winston Churchill has referred to the period in which we now live as "the terrible 20th century." The term is justified by the events of its first half. What will the second half bring? The future is not foreordained. It will be determined in considerable degree by the wisdom with which the United States uses the resources, human and otherwise, which providence has placed in our hands.

It is not enough in this dangerous world to keep our powder dry. We must also keep our human resources at the highest level of development. The quality, rather than the quantity, of our manpower will determine whether the second half of this century is to be terrible or glorious.

The pertinence of these considerations to the matter under consideration today is too obvious to require further elaboration.

Let us never forget that nothing is so important as providing every future citizen with the fullest educational opportunity that his capacity and diligence will permit him to capitalize. In the past this policy was justified in the name of simple social justice. Now it is demanded as an essential ingredient of national security.

[1] Federal funds for Education. Bulletin, 1954, No. 14, U. S. Office of Education.

[2] Allen, Frederick Lewis, the Big Change, Harpers, New York, 1952.

[3] Ginzberg, Eli, and Bray, Douglas, the Uneducated, Columbia University Press, New York, 1953.

[4] America's Resources of Specialized Talent, Harper & Bros., New York, 1954.

Defense of Formosa and Adjacent Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an able and important statement by the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNINGS] concerning President Eisenhower's message requesting a congressional resolution on the defense of Formosa and adjacent areas. This statement was issued by the Senator from Missouri on Monday, January 24, 1955, and I should like to call it to the attention of all Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HENNINGS CONCERNING PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S MESSAGE REQUESTING CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION ON DEFENSE OF FORMOSA AND ADJACENT AREAS

I had intended to speak today in the United States Senate concerning the constitutional implications of the President's message on the Far Eastern situation. Since, however, the Senate adjourned earlier than usual and will not meet again until Wednesday, at which time the Committee on Foreign Relations most probably will present its report on this matter, and since I feel it is essential that certain factors receive public consideration, I am issuing the following statement:

President Eisenhower has requested that the Congress adopt a resolution that in his words would "clearly and publicly establish the authority of the President as Commander in Chief to employ the Armed Forces of the Nation promptly and effectively" to protect our interest in Formosa and its environs if in his judgment it becomes necessary. I believe that the President under the Constitution already has this authority, although others may contend that he does not. In any case, I am certain that if he does not have such authority the Congress cannot constitutionally give it to him except in a declaration of war which, in this case, the President has clearly not requested. On the contrary, he appears to be requesting that Congress delegate to him the authority to conduct military operations at some future time if in his judgment such should be necessary.

I am seriously disturbed by the issues raised by this request. As a lawyer and as a member of the Judiciary Committee, I am most concerned with any matter which touches the keystone of our constitutional distribution of governmental power. And it is in my role, too, as a member of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, that I am apprehensive on this subject.

The public will recall that less than a year ago the Senate discussed at considerable length a proposed amendment to the Constitution that would have effected a revolutionary alteration in the office of the President, and, in my opinion, would have cut down the President's great historic powers in foreign affairs. I refer, of course, to the so-called Bricker amendment. The public will also recall that the debate was arduous and continued, and, in the end, the proposal failed to receive the required vote in this body. Some Senators fought to sustain and protect the President's historic constitutional powers and authority. Our efforts were ultimately successful.

Today the President in his message asked the Congress of the United States to take an action that seems to raise again the issues we decided in the Bricker debate. He has asked the Congress to approve in advance actions which he may take as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States; actions, if you please, which he may take at some indeterminate time in the future in the light of events which have not yet occurred; and the nature of which admittedly cannot be predicted at this time.

I am concerned lest this constitute a tacit acceptance by the President of the principle he opposed at the time of the debate on the Bricker amendment.

If the President's intention is to spell out in detail, for all the world to see, the fact that America is united in opposition to Communist aggression, he is to be commended for such intent. But is this not already known to the world? I believe so. But in choosing this manner of acting to demonstrate our unity, is the President not taking a step which may, in the future, react unfavorably for our country?

The action of the President is heavy with fearful possibilities. For what one President chooses to do, another Chief Executive may be required to do. While the situation today is such that the President has the opportunity to consult with Congress, in future years, indeed, in future months, the President may not have such time. And if President Eisenhower feels he must get the approval of Congress in this instance, will not he and his successors be required to obtain such approval in all instances? I do not know, but I am concerned lest this may prove to be the case. We must remember that we

act not merely for today. Our action may well serve as a precedent binding upon future generations.

Therefore, while I will support the adoption of a resolution which would give President Eisenhower the moral support he desires, I think the resolution should be adopted in such a manner that the great historical powers of the Presidency will not be in any way limited for future generations. We who have inherited the blessings of our great constitutional system are at least under the obligation to hand down to our political heirs this constitutional office unimpaired in strength.

Why has the President asked Congress to formally support his contemplated action? I must confess I do not know.

Does the President have the authority to act in this matter in the absence of congressional approval? I believe that he has. And while some will contend that he does not have this authority, I can say with certitude that if he does not have it, Congress cannot give it to him. Under our Constitution, each branch of the Government has certain powers entrusted to it. And just as Congress cannot delegate to the President the authority to declare war, so the President cannot delegate to Congress the powers he possesses as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.

If the President is merely requesting our moral support by means of this proposed resolution, we will gladly give it to him on the basis of our faith in his integrity and purpose and out of respect for his high office. If he wishes us to assume responsibility for any action he may take, I submit that we cannot properly do so because we do not have the information on which such action must be based. We do not have access to the intelligence services of the State Department, the Department of Defense, the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the myriad channels through which information flows to the President. He has all the facts, the Senate virtually none. And since the President has all the facts, the responsibility for action must be his—as it is already his responsibility under the Constitution.

It is, therefore, obvious that if the President desires the Congress to share his heavy responsibility, he must give Congress the necessary information. And if he is not willing, or is not able, for reasons of national security, to give the Congress this information, then can we act intelligently or share his responsibility? I think not. I can speak only for myself as one Senator, and I do so speak. Before the Congress can assume responsibility for a course of action which very well may result in all-out war, I think the Congress has the right, and even the duty, to request all the information on the basis of which action may be contemplated.

I have the highest faith in the President's sincere desire to avoid world conflict. I know he will act in the manner which he believes will be most salutary for our country's future. I am willing and I am desirous of putting myself on record as having such faith. But I do not know if I can go further. If the President feels that the information which Congress would need in order to share his responsibility cannot be made public, then should the Senate not invite him to address us in executive session? And if this matter is so delicate that he cannot risk the leaks which might conceivably come from such a session, then I do not know if we can do anything more than give him our moral support.

I make thees remarks will the full awareness that they may be misconstrued as either an attack on the President or a suggestion that we abandon an Asian ally. Such is not my intention. I am concerned lest the President's message be misinterpreted as a confession that the most powerful Nation in the world does not have the ability and the intention of taking immediate and firm action, through the unquestioned constitutional power of the President as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, to protect our interests whenever and wherever these are threatened, until such time as the President and the Congress are able to jointly agree on the details of a course of action. We must make it clear to the aggressive forces of communism that we are ever ready to hasten to the defense of freedom. I shall support the President of the United States as the Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces in any action, which he, in that capacity takes for the safety and security of the United States in the fulfillment of our obligations under any treaty including, of course, the United Nations Charter, and in the protection of the interests of the free world anywhere.

In Commemoration of Ukrainian National Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. PURTELL
OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. PURTELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I sent to Mr. John Teluk, chairman of the Ukrainian Independence Day celebration which was held in New Haven, Conn., on January 22, 1955.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN COMMEMORATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

I deeply regret that due to a prior commitment I will not be able to join with you and my many other friends of Ukrainian descent in the celebration commemorating the 37th anniversary of Ukrainian independence. Permit me, however, to send this message of greeting on this significant occasion.

It is undoubtedly difficult for Americans to appreciate, much less to comprehend, the frustrations of suppressed nationalism. Free and independent since 1776, Americans have had an unhampered opportunity to fulfill their national aspirations. Not all peoples of the globe have been so blessed; and certainly foremost among those who have not been free from the depredations and tyrannous rule of an imperialistic foe are the Ukrainians.

In past centuries it was imperial Russia of the tsars that stifled and frustrated Ukrainian national aspirations; in our own lifetime it has been the imperialism of Soviet Russia which has done everything imaginable, even committed genocide, to destroy the spirit of Ukrainian individuality and sense of nationhood.

Ukrainians have, however, a long tradition of national consciousness, born in ancient Kiev and nurtured through many centuries. Thirty-seven years ago the hopes and aspirations of decades were realized. National independence was finally accomplished; the Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed; the Ukrainian people had at long last asserted their inalienable right of self-determination.

However, Ukrainian hopes for the continuation of a form of national independence faded as the strength of the Central Powers receded, and the power of the Bolsheviks increased. Caught in a power struggle between Russia of old, as exemplified by the White Russian forces, and the new Russia, as manifested in the Bolsheviks—both of whom sought to destroy it, the Ukrainian National Republic, which had gathered into its fold most of the Ukrainian people from the areas formerly ruled by the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, could not sustain its continued independence. And thus, with the victory of the Russian Bolsheviks, Ukrainian independence was doomed, and the Ukraine fell once again under Russian domination.

From the wreckage of those troubled times something real had emerged, however, which ought not to be forgotten by Ukrainians: They had actually established an independent national republic; and thus, after many centuries of subjection, they had created a concrete tradition of national independence.

Celebrations commemorating the establishment of the Ukrainian independent Republic throughout our Nation and abroad, wherever Ukrainians may be, serve the noble purpose of sustaining this tradition. May you kind people of New Haven in your commemoration this evening contribute to this tradition; and may your example serve to kindle in the hearts of all our Ukrainian friends a true spirit of love and high regard for the land of their origin; the Ukraine.

Tribute to Hon. George L. Radcliffe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, on Monday evening, last, a very distinguished former Member of this body, the Honorable George L. Radcliffe, was honored by a prominent group of Maryland citizens, in the city of Baltimore. Upon that occasion our able and learned Governor made some very fitting remarks, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIBUTE TO HON. GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

(Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland)

It is the American custom to assess the value of a man by four standards of measurement, which I list in what I regard as the ascending order of their importance: First, and least important, what he has; second, what he knows; third, what he does; and fourth, what he is.

Some men are important as measured by one standard, some by another, but it is the distinction of George L. Radcliffe that he is an exceptional man when measured by all four.

In the first, it is true, he does not rank among the wealthiest men in Maryland, but he has made a career in business that commands respect in all circles; and while he was not the heir to a great fortune, he did inherit the immensely valuable tradition of a Maryland gentleman.

In the second, he carries his learning so modestly that many people overlook it, and are astonished to hear that he is the possessor of three earned degrees, including a doctorate of philosophy won at the Johns Hopkins in 1900, when the requirements for a

Hopkins doctorate were the stiffest in America. He has been a student all his life, and is still learning at an age when most men's intellectual development has long since come to a stand.

In the third, what he has done, I cannot go into detail for the simple reason that even a short account of each of his activities would make this speech intolerably long. In preparing it I made a list of his more important services, giving a single line to each; and that mere catalogue filled three pages of ordinary letter paper and broke over into the fourth. He has held two high governmental offices, Secretary of State of Maryland under Governor Harrington, and for 12 years a Senator of the United States; but those were mere incidents in a career of public service that began with the principalship of the Cambridge High School and that has continued, usually without pay, for 55 years.

For more than half a century no important project for the general welfare has failed to receive his active support, and he has headed so many that I have lost count. From 1919, when he was chairman of the campaign for the Memorial Dormitory at the Johns Hopkins, to 1952, when I had the pleasure of naming him chairman of the celebration at the opening of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge, George Radcliffe has been chairman of practically everything. I am inclined to list him as the greatest chairman in Maryland history. But I call your attention to one important exception in this list—never in his life has he been chairman of a movement to enrich George Radcliffe at the expense of his fellow-citizens. That is one great reason why his fellow-citizens honor him today.

But the fourth measure of a man, what he is, counts most in the final analysis. As for that measurement of this man, perhaps I can express it best by a personal reference. In 1922 when I began the study of law it was necessary to present the school authorities with two character references, and the names on my certificate were those of Stephen W. Gambrill and George L. Radcliffe; and if you would know what manner of man he is, let me testify that after 33 years I regard that name on my certificate not with less, but with many times more pride than I regarded it then. I do not know how to say more for the character of a man.

It seems to me, though, that the circumstances of his life have given him a distinctive and very gracious role in the history of our times. A native of Dorchester County spending most of his active life in Baltimore, he has been a link between two sections of the State binding us into a unity that has profited both. George Radcliffe brought to Baltimore all that was finest in the culture of the Eastern Shore; and I think he has reflected back to the Shore much of the best in Baltimore.

It is a service all too little appreciated in a highly competitive urban civilization. Industrialism is essential to the general welfare, but we must face the fact that it operates against certain human values. Courtesy and grace do not flourish in an industrial environment unless care is taken to cherish them, and an exemplar of these values is doubly important where they are in danger of being lost.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the best element on the Eastern Shore has cultivated these values to a degree rarely attainable where the tempo of life is more hurried and competition more ruthless. Nevertheless, if we lose them something irreplaceable and of immense value will have gone out of Maryland. What shall it profit a man to make a luxurious living if, in the process, he has forgotten how to live? There are values that are never entered in the ledgers of the countinghouse and preserving them and reminding the rest of us of them has been one of the great contributions of the Eastern Shore to the history of this State.

George Radcliffe is conspicuous among the shoremen who have brought them to us and this is a contribution that I regard as at least equal in value to anything he did in the Senate, or in the guidance of great business enterprises, or in his leadership of the Maryland Historical Society, although this last was, in fact, part of it.

Is it a question of the preservation of some quaint memorial of a vanished way of life, such as the Shot Tower? Who is better fitted for the task than George Radcliffe? Is it a question of a guide to show the Queen Mother the relics of days when Annapolis was an outpost of the British Empire? Who so competent as George Radcliffe? Is it a humanitarian task like raising funds for the long fight against infantile paralysis? Could anyone be more devoted year in and year out, than George Radcliffe? Is it any occasion on which it is needful for Maryland to be represented by a gentleman to the manor born? George Radcliffe is obviously the man for the job.

Yet, I have not encountered in Maryland a man who is less of a snob. He has conversed amiably with the Pope, he has enjoyed the friendship of Presidents, and received the attention of monarchs without losing the capacity to understand and enjoy the companionship of the man in the street. We have some among us who have never been of us, who erect invisible walls around themselves and hold the mass of mankind at arm's length. But not this man. He is a learned doctor, he has been a Senator, he is definitely one of the notables of our State; yet to an astonishing number of the people of this city he is neither doctor, nor Senator, nor even Mr. Radcliffe, but simply George.

Well, he has been with us a long time. He is not old. No man is old until the time comes when he is sure that there is nothing around the corner that is worth seeing. That may happen at 21, and then the man is old when he casts his first vote; or it may not have happened at 91, and then he is not old, regardless of his years. It has not happened to George Radcliffe. Without having asked him, I know that he sits here tonight serene in the faith that all sorts of new and delightful things may happen tomorrow or next week and he looks forward to seeing them. His whole life is evidence of his conviction that Maryland, far from being finished, has only just set out on the long road that leads upward to a higher and nobler civilization than she has ever known.

Such men never grow old, and to the end of their days remain the envy of many whose years are fewer but whose hearts are withered while their faces remain smooth. Yet, when a man has passed the psalmist's threescore years and ten what he has to look back on grows more and more important; if they are years full of honors it is good, but it is better when they are years full of service to his fellow men, whether or not those services were requited with worldly tribute.

Our friend can look back on that sort of life, and since that is true it can be argued with great force that whatever his bank balance he should be ranked among the wealthiest men in Maryland. For he has piled up treasure where moth and rust do not corrupt nor thieves break through and steal—in the affectionate esteem of his fellow citizens who know that he has served them well. So we delight in hailing him tonight as statesman, as philosopher, as businessman, as civic leader, but first of all, and best of all, as a Maryland gentleman of the finest type.

"Not making his high place the lawless perch
Of wing'd ambitions, nor a vantage ground
For pleasure; but through all this tract of years
Wearing the white flower of a blameless life."

Proposed Promotion of Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Honor Due MacArthur," published in the Los Angeles Examiner of January 23, 1955; an editorial entitled "General MacArthur Rates the Honor," published in the Los Angeles Times of January 23, 1955; an article entitled "Why MacArthur Said: 'I Shall Return,'" written by Gen. Carlos P. Romulo and published in the magazine section of the Los Angeles Examiner of January 23, 1955; and an article entitled "MacArthur at 75," written by George Sokolsky and published in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of January 26, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorials and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Examiner of January 23, 1955]

HONOR DUE MACARTHUR

The resolutions introduced into the Senate and House to accord Gen. Douglas MacArthur the rank of General of the Armies of the United States should have the bipartisan support of Congress.

We think they should be acted upon immediately so as to award this honor to a great American, already an almost legendary figure, on the occasions of his 75th birthday this coming Wednesday.

In our thinking there is no reason why General MacArthur should not be proclaimed General of the Armies by then, an honor held only once before in our history, by Gen. John J. Pershing.

For this is not a matter of partisan advantage or legitimate partisan dispute.

This is an honor which we are certain the great majority of Americans overwhelmingly endorse, whatever their poltical affiliations, as due a brilliant and courageous soldier, a farsighted and judicious statesman, who never swerved from devotion to his country regardless of the humiliation heaped upon him by littler men.

We are glad to see that the movement in Congress to confer the rank of General of the Armies on General MacArthur already has taken on a bipartisan aspect.

The movement began in the House with twin resolutions by Republican minority leader, Representative MARTIN, of Massachusetts and Representative HILLINGS, of California, also a Republican. But in the Senate it acquired strong Democratic support as a similar resolution, spearheaded by Republican Senator WELKER, of Idaho, was supported by Senators SMATHERS, of Florida, and DANIEL, of Texas.

A denial of this honor could not possibly, of course, impair the luster of General MacArthur's fame, nor his place in the hearts of Americans. He has become a vital symbol of devotion and courage. But such a denial would, we think, cast a reflection on Congress. For surely there can be no reasonable argument against General MacArthur's right to the honor.

So we hope the men and women of Congress will speed it on its way, in time to make Wednesday a truly memorable birthday for a truly great American.

[From the Los Angeles Times of January 23, 1955]

GENERAL MACARTHUR RATES THE HONOR

The bills of House Minority Leader MARTIN and of Representative HILLINGS, Republican, of California, authorizing the President to promote Gen. Douglas MacArthur to the rank of General of the Armies of the United States, should by all means be passed.

This rank has been held only by the late Gen. John J. Pershing, World War I commander. The five-star rank created in World War II is General of the Army, and General MacArthur already holds this.

Representatives MARTIN and HILLINGS hoped that the bill could be passed in time to give the honor to America's most distinguished living commander on his 75th birthday, which is next Wednesday, January 26. But it is thought there is not enough time. However, the commission could be given retroactively, to date from the anniversary. General MacArthur will be a guest of Los Angeles at the time.

It is unnecessary to retell the story of Douglas MacArthur's great services to the United States; the facts are familiar. He won high honors in World War I as a division commander, served as Chief of Staff for a long period, furnished masterly leadership in the Pacific Ocean phase of World War II, reconstructed Japan, and commanded the United States and other U. N. forces in Korea, only to have victory snatched from him by diplomatic maneuvering. That he suffered shabby treatment at the hands of the Truman administration is known to all the public.

The promotion could hardly add to his military reputation; that is already firmly established. But it would atone in some measure for the unjust humiliation of his summary removal from the command during the Korean war.

[From the Los Angeles Examiner of January 23, 1955]

WHY MACARTHUR SAID "I SHALL RETURN"

(By Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, special and personal envoy of the President of the Philippines to the United States)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—General Romulo was a member of General MacArthur's staff during World War II. In 1942 he won the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished correspondence. He was President of the Fourth General Assembly of the United Nations, 1949–50.)

Immediately after the fall of the Philippines to the Japanese in World War II, when allied strategy forced him to leave Corregidor for Australia, Gen. Douglas MacArthur delivered his historic pronouncement, "I shall return." In some quarters he was criticized for using the vertical pronoun.

He deliberately personalized his promise because he was addressing himself to the Filipinos, knowing that they would receive his words not as in the plan of a strategist, but as the promise of a friend. For to us Filipinos MacArthur's personal pronoun "I" carried a force that endured throughout the long agony of waiting.

Especially to the guerrillas who had fought under his command, who had felt the magnetism of his person and who were sure of his loyalty, the famous words became the magical stuff upon which the resistance movement sustained itself.

To have simply said that America would return (after the United States fleet had suddenly left Manila Bay following the tragedy of Pearl Harbor and after America had failed to send relief to Bataan and Corregidor) could not have been as convincing as for MacArthur, himself, to give his word of honor. We knew that his word was his bond and this was the clarion call we needed to galvanize us into action against the enemy.

Later, when victory made MacArthur virtual ruler of all Japan, it was in his power to undermine a throne that had thrived on fanaticism. With his deep understanding of oriental psychology, the Allied Powers' Supreme Commander chose instead the course of honoring the Emperor, thereby winning the gratitude of his subjects. He reduced the Emperor to human dimensions, with the right to preside over the destinies of a people but no longer to be worshiped as a son of heaven. And so, by laying the basis for constitutional democracy, MacArthur, let us hope, has removed the danger of Japanese militarism in my part of the globe.

But new dangers have arisen since then and in one grave human crisis 4 years ago the peerless soldier was again called to duty. That time he had to fight an enemy more relentless and more cunning than any he had met before. As Supreme Commander of the United Nations forces in Korea it was his immediate assignment to stop the Communist aggressor in his tracks.

This he did, and more—he drove him to the Yalu River. There is little doubt in the minds of most men that the strategist who brought a proud empire to its knees could have executed his Korean mission with courage, skill, and honor.

Upon this 75th anniversary of his birth I bow in reverence to the soldier-statesman whose grasp of human problems might have averted many of the deadlocks that plague us at present, especially in Asia and the Far East.

It is one of the ironies of our time that his Government has not seen fit to use General MacArthur's experience to help solve the problems of the East, but I wish on this occasion to recall that, when he was relieved of his command, one of the first messages he received in Tokyo was from the President of the Philippines extending to him an invitation to live in my country.

Douglas MacArthur is an honorary citizen of the Philippines and we do not forget those who have served us well.

He returned, as he promised to do, and we should like to have him stay with us always.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 26, 1955]

MACARTHUR AT SEVENTY-FIVE

(By George Sokolsky)

The celebration of Gen. Douglas MacArthur's 75th birthday will for many reopen the campaign in Congress to gain for the general the acknowledgment which he deserves by bestowing upon him the title of General of the Armies.

It is not astonishing that General MacArthur's judgment concerning the Korean war should have proved to have been so correct. He has devoted so much of his long life to the Far East and to a study of the various peoples which compose the East Asian complex. Douglas MacArthur, as a soldier, could not understand fighting a war with the intent of losing it. That, in effect, was what he was instructed to do in Korea. He could not win that war as long as Manchuria remained a sanctuary for the Red Chinese who came in, not as volunteers, but as a thoroughly equipped and adequately led army. On this subject, MacArthur himself said, during the fighting:

"Never before has the patience of man been more sorely tried nor high standards of human behavior been more patiently and firmly upheld than during the course of the Korean campaigns. From the initiation of the North Korean aggression against the Republic of Korea until the total defeat of the North Korean armies, support from the Communist Chinese from behind the privileged sanctuary of neutral boundaries was open and notorious and all inclusive * * *.

"The existing situation under which the United Nations command is confronted with a new and fresh and well trained and equipped enemy of vastly superior and ever increasing numbers initiating an entirely new war to cover the North Korean defeat, results largely from the acceptance of military odds without precedent in history—the odds of permitting offensive action without defensive retaliation. * * *"

Despite his experience and competence, MacArthur found himself practically an outcast while he was engaged in the conduct of war. Frazier Hunt, in the Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur, tells of the gaging of the general.

"On December 6 (1950) 10 days after the disastrous turn of events, the Joint Chiefs of Staff dispatched a cable to MacArthur embodying a general Presidential order allegedly sent to all responsible officials. One paragraph read that 'No speech, press release, or other statement concerning military policy should be released until it has received clearance from the Department of Defense.' * * *

"There was nothing for MacArthur to do but to accept what he knew was a full-fledged gag.

"Meanwhile the Chinese Communist emissaries from Peiping had arrived in New York City and were arrogantly announcing that before they would enter into a discussion over Korea, the United States must be put on trial before the United Nations for its actions in entering the civil war."

It was no new thing for MacArthur to fight on two fronts—to fight an enemy army in the field and at the same time to fight against personal enemies in Washington. He had had to do that throughout World War II. His very presence in Asia was a diversion from the Roosevelt-Hopkins, Truman-Acheson decision that the Far Eastern war should be subordinated to the European war.

But MacArthur was right. No matter what is done by this country or by Great Britain or by the United Nations to minimize Asia as the central continent of this historic period, Asia reasserts herself daily and the Chinese Communists hold universal interest and attention. It has always been General MacArthur's concept that the next era of history is Asia's. Daily it is becoming clear that it cannot be otherwise.

Natural Gas Regulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have received from the office of the city attorney of the city of Milwaukee a letter expressing apprehension that bills may be introduced in this session of Congress relating to natural gas reduction, and particularly with reference to exempting certain phases of natural gas from regulation. With the letter there was enclosed a very significant editorial from a recent issue of the Milwaukee Journal, which I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED AGAIN

It's not new for the natural gas and oil interests to make highhanded threats. But the report of James R. Durfee, chairman of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission, that they actually served an ultimatum on State officials is a shocking thing.

Writing in the Public Utilities Fortnightly about the Phillips Petroleum Co. case, Durfee says:

"[A] Phillips official warned Wisconsin representatives at the outset of the case before the Federal Power Commission that if they persisted in trying the case, the people of Wisconsin would freeze, that they would never get another cubic foot of natural gas. This ultimatum to the officials of a sovereign State was voiced by an official of a company which obviously felt that Wisconsin was at its mercy so far as natural gas was concerned because the company then held an almost complete monopoly of supply to the State."

Shades of William H. Vanderbilt. The public-be-damned attitude lives on. If Phillips still has in its employ an official with as little public conscience as this, it could wisely get rid of him.

Unfortunately, only a veto by former President Truman of a congressional gift of immunity from regulation and a Supreme Court ruling upholding regulation now hold the gas and oil interests in check. They seem well on the way to winning in Congress again. And President Eisenhower's attitude on these matters holds little hope for consumers.

Currently the gas and oil interests are spending huge sums of money to try to convince consumers that they will be better off if there is no price regulation on production. It's like saying: Get rid of your police force and we'll be reasonable when we hold you up. Consumers will believe that at their peril.

Regulate prices and you'll remove incentives for exploration, development, and production, the gas and oil interests say. Gas and oil come from the same wells. What more inventive do they want than the 27½-percent depletion allowance tax loophole that they have now? That loophole has created a huge crop of multimillionaires. These men are among the few who find it possible these days to hang onto huge sums of cash after taxes.

No other class of businessman—big or little—can do it.

The gas and oil interests may win this round in Congress. But their present attitude can't persist without arousing the consuming public. The public will never allow itself to be "damned" for long. And that could mean worse than regulation—it could mean Government ownership.

The Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article entitled "The 'Dixie' in Dixon and Yates," written by Thomas L. Stokes, and published in the Washington Evening Star of January 25, 1955. In my mind it states very clearly the issues involved in the Dixon-Yates contract.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE "DIXIE" IN DIXON AND YATES—TRAIL OF BIG POWER COMBINE'S "LOCAL" INTEREST LEADS FROM THE DEEP SOUTH TO WALL STREET IN NEW YORK

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

Beginning months ago with his description of TVA as "creeping socialism," President Eisenhower has defended his new power policy affecting that project and others—big and small, North, South, East and West—as a "partnership" in which local government and local private interests would participate to a greater degree.

Unhappily, as it turns out now, that became the defense of the now famous Dixon-Yates contract by which a private utility combination would supply power to TVA at Memphis in exchange for the TVA furnishing power for Atomic Energy Commission installations at Paducah, Ky. This was a strange sort of deal, mixed up procedure instead of the direct way used heretofore of just adding facilities to TVA to provide needed power.

And as for the Dixon-Yates being a "local interest"—that myth now is exploding publicly right in the administration's face through the detailed report by the Senate Judiciary Monopoly Subcommittee analyzing the testimony it took some weeks ago. The subcommittee concludes that instead of being "local" the Dixon-Yates combination is nothing but an adjunct of Wall Street utility interests, with the policies of subsidiary companies being dictated from New York.

The New York domination is symbolized in the two chief figures in this deal—Edgar H. Dixon, president of Middle South Utilities, of which Arkansas Power & Light and Mississippi Power & Light and others are subsidiaries, and Eugene A. Yates, chairman of the Southern Co., another holding company for Southern subsidiaries.

These two gentlemen hardly could be classified as southern gentlemen. Both were born in New Jersey. Both live in New York. Both have their offices in New York's financial district. In this, of course, they are not different from any number of carpetbaggers who have gone South continually since the end of the Civil War, some of them actually to make their homes there, to acquire southern accents and to adopt local prejudices with a fervor far beyond that of even a professional southerner.

But the real story is not in the two New Jersey gentlemen who have made good in the South by remote control. It is in the joining of their 2 holding companies, Middle South and Southern, under 1 tent—Mississippi Valley Generating Co.—subject to approval by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Thus will be created the local interest to satisfy the Eisenhower ideal of partnership. Or, as the committee report describes this local interest and its real purposes:

"This combination will largely monopolize the electric power supply of the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, and through many high-voltage interconnections by which contract power could be delivered to the Tennessee Valley Authority, start an octopuslike integration of that great public system into this private-monopoly giant."

In short, swallow TVA. That's the plot, anyhow. Further, the report says that consummation of the Dixon-Yates deal will put together a holding-company combine serving aprpoximately 9 percent of the entire area and population of the United States.

Local interest?

This superlike apparition stirred old memories in one who watched the Federal Trade Commission investigation a quarter of a century ago, with its picture of the private-utility monopoly and all of the evils that followed in its train for investor and consumer. We saw an aroused Congress pass a law to limit holding companies and integrate them on a geographical basis. That same memory stirred in old-timers connected with the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee. And what did they find as they followed their instincts?

As they explored the southern companies in the Dixon-Yates combine, and saw how they operated, the trail kept leading back to New York where, it was discovered, the real decisions were made for local interests, including one rate increase imposed upon the people of Arkansas. The end of the trail was Electric Bond & Share, one of the big figures in the holding company story of a quarter of a century ago, and to Ebasco Co., an engineering affiliate so-called, which curiously enough was set up by Electric Bond & Share at the time it divested itself of affiliates to comply with the Holding Company Act. Now Ebasco has dealings, and has had dealings with the old Electric Bond & Share subsidiaries, including those in the South involved in the Dixon-Yates deal. The Senate subcommittee suggests that if Electric Bond & Share really is exercising control of its old affiliates through Ebasco, then the original holding company system may still be to a large extent intact. It then adds:

"Such centralized monopoly control would render the whole concept of private power companies as locally managed and locally regulated monopolies a hoax on the public."

From what it has learned in exploring the Dixon-Yates case, the subcommittee wants to go on to see if this pattern of revived monopoly runs again throughout the whole utility industry. That would be a public service. It has been a long time since we have had a good look.

Congress Does Excellent Job, Members Deserve Salary Hike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD comments by Roscoe Drummond in an article entitled "Congress Does Excellent Job, Members Deserve Salary Hike."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON.—It is time somebody stepped up and said a good word for Congress. When cartoonists and columnists need a filler, we find it pretty easy to draw a short bow and let Congress have it. This permits us to attack everybody in general but nobody in particular. What I am saying is that while Congress is criticized more often than it deserves, it rarely gets the praise it deserves.

It seems to me that the 83d Congress does deserve praise, does deserve to be put down as a Congress with a record of accomplishment substantially above average.

I would cite two major attainments:

It has been a "do-something Congress." It has to its credit a sizable, significant budget of important legislation and it has worked hard to produce it. No Congress of recent memory has been as productive as the 83d.

Congresses as narrowly divided as this one, with a whisker-thin Republican majority in both Houses, have usually ended in legislative stalemate. To have avoided stalemate under such circumstances is a considerable achievement. Both parties deserve credit. On any comparative basis, the Democratic opposition conducted itself responsibly. It

disagrees on some bills, like amending the Taft-Hartley law. That makes a 2-party system. The opposition rarely voted captiously, seeking to block the administration merely as a partisan tactic.

It strikes me that on the basis of this record and after the midterm elections, Congress ought to come back and do something for Congress. I mean put something in the pay envelope as former Presidents Hoover and Truman, President Eisenhower, and a commission of distinguished citizens recommended earlier this year.

You don't have to agree with everything Congress has done to agree that Congress has done a good job and an expeditious job. You may not like parts of this bill or that, or think, as I happen to think, that if seriously botched the anti-Communist law in a frantic partisan boxing match in the frenzied hours of preadjournment. But the solid accomplishments of the 83d Congress remain and are clearly visible. To mention only a few:

It approved the St. Lawrence seaway after a 30-year delay.

It produced a 1,000-page modernization of the whole Tax Code—a careful, constructive, monumental streamlining of the whole internal revenue structure for the first time in 78 years.

It enacted basic changes in the atomic energy law primarily to take account of the fact that we no longer have the monopoly we possessed when the McMahon Act was passed. The new law permits sharing of information with our allies on the use of atomic weapons, offers private industry opportunities to develop atomic power.

It passed, with bipartisan support, the most wide-ranging social security and unemployment insurance measures since the early days of the New Deal.

A pay raise for Congress is long overdue. The case doesn't rest on what Congress has done in any particular session but its record this year would make action by Congress to raise its salaries more politically graceful.

Senators and Representatives are now paid $15,000 in salary and expenses. The Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries recommended that the figure be increased to $27,500. Such an increase would add only $0.00717 to the budget and cost the country only 3.4 cents per capita. Members of the Cabinet receive $22,500 and some ambassadors' salaries are $25,000.

Congressional salaries have never kept abreast of inflation. Because of inflation Congressmen actually receive a lower compensation than they did in 1939 when salaries were $10,000.

The Formosa Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD the text of an editorial entitled "The Formosa Resolution," which appeared in the January 25 issue of the Baltimore Sun.

In my opinion, this editorial explains clearly and concisely the full significance of the President's message.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FORMOSA RESOLUTION

President Eisenhower has apparently concluded that the threat to Formosa and the Pescadores so often voiced by the Chinese Communists is a real threat and that we must take the necessary steps to make them stop and think.

Because such necessary steps involve the risk of war with Red China and, however remotely, war with Russia as well, the President wants to be certain that the steps he proposes have the wholehearted backing of the Congress and the American people. He has therefore outlined in some detail what he proposes to do and has asked the Congress to give him its assent in advance. Thus he keeps his pledge not to involve the country in war or the risk of war without advance consultation with the national representatives.

What has just been said gives, in broad outline, the significance of the message sent to the Congress yesterday. To understand its full meaning it is necessary to review the background in some detail.

In the first place, we must recall that the United States wrested Formosa and the nearby Pescadores not from China but from Japan. It takes no long memory to know that the island with its appendages, when in hostile hands, was a major threat to this country and its allies. Under no circumstances could we afford to turn it over to an unfriendly power, China, or any other. By the peace treaty, Japan has given up all claim to it. No decision has been made as to its ultimate destination.

However, as the Chinese Reds advanced, it was natural and inevitable that the retreating Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek should find refuge on this fertile and productive island, with its mainly Chinese population. Chiang and his armies and supporters are our loyal friends and allies. It was therefore our duty to help them as best we could to escape from their enemies. With the future of China and of Formosa itself uncertain, it was equally our obligation to maintain and supply them, within limits, and to defend them from possible attack from the mainland.

In their retreat, Chiang and his forces managed to keep control of a number of the small islands which are strung along the Chinese coast, sometimes almost within a stone's throw of the shore. Such islands were never Japanese nor can they be called appendages of Formosa. They are in fact as much a part of the Chinese mainland as Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket are part of the mainland of the United States. We are legally responsible for Formosa. We are not legally responsible for those islands.

The chief reason the Chinese Nationalists sought to hold them was that they cherished a hope they might ultimately be used as bases for a return to the mainland. Today, as nearly everyone recognizes, there is small ground for such a hope. Thus the islands have little strategic significance for Chiang. Moreover, it is almost impossible to defend them against strong forces based on the continent and so there is every likelihood that the Nationalists will be forced to abandon them under attack. Mr. Eisenhower expects to use the United States Seventh Fleet in helping the deployment of the forces on them. In this instance deployment means withdrawal.

But, though the islands have little present use as a base for operations against the Chinese mainland, they would be useful to the Reds should they make a reckless attempt to carry out their threats against Formosa. Thus, as Mr. Eisenhower points out, it is important that this country prevent the concentration of any large forces on the islands or on the nearby Chinese mainland, the objective of which is the invasion of Formosa or the Pescadores. The President is determined to prevent such an undertaking by the Reds. Perhaps it is correct to say that the most important passage in this message was that in which he asked the Congress to understand and support him in this determination. This suggestion is called the most important because it could involve action against the Chinese on their own territory. The risks involved are clear.

This Formosa question has plagued our politicians and our military leaders since the end of the war. Its difficulties became acute with the retreat of Chiang and the victory of the Chinese Reds. Because opinion in this country was divided and because conditions were constantly changing, we have never succeeded in formulating a clear-cut policy. There was a period when the State Department itself seemed to deny the strategic importance of the island. We know better now and Mr. Eisenhower's statement of yesterday is the final statement of our settled determination not to permit an unfriendly power to seize it. We yield the small coastal islands, but on Formosa and the Pescadores we stand firm, come what may.

Mr. Eisenhower believes that this clear statement, if backed by an overwhelming vote in the Congress, will convince the Chinese Reds that they had better hold off. If his conviction is well based, it means that we shall avoid military struggle with the Reds for the time at least. Meantime, all of us will hope, along with him, that through the United Nations some more durable armistice may be worked out.

The Unconquerable Jews

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following illuminating editorial from the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., September 26, 1954:

FOR 5,715 YEARS

In the forthcoming observance of the high holy days of the Jewish calendar there is a lesson for all the world to read. Over the period of recorded time the Jews have been the epochal targets for enslavement, persecution, butchery. Their people have been scattered to the four winds. But day after day, down the long, dim, and bloody corridors of time, for 5,715 years, the sun never has set upon earth without lighting the face of the unconquerable Jews raised in prayer to Almighty God in humble penitence or in glorious thanks for that which God has given them.

Even in our time, the barbaric decimation of the Jewish populations of nations which were under the heel of a despot have written many a sanguinary page into history. First it was Hitler who sought to wipe out completely the Jews in Germany, and now we learn that in another corner of the world this same bloodthirsty pogrom has been repeated. From behind the Iron Curtain the truth has finally leaked out that Russia, the "liberator" of the underprivileged peoples of this earth, has, during and since World War II, caused the unexplained disappearance of 3,390,000 Jews.

But, as it has for more than 5,000 years, Rosh Hashonah will come in at sunset tomorrow, and Yom Kipper will shine on the Jewish calendar again at sunset on October

6. And Jews by the millions all over the globe will pray as they have done through all the ages past; for God in his infinite wisdom has provided that no pogrom, no slaughter shall crush these people beyond their power to arise again, nor no scattering of them in enslavement in distant lands has dissipated them beyond trace in the maw of humanity, as has happened to so many other races.

The estimate last week that the Soviet Government has been responsible for the disappearance of 3,390,000 Jews accentuates history, because the word "pogrom" is from the Russian tongue, and means an organized massacre, especially of the Jews.

Those who govern Soviet Russia today may scoff at the precedents of history in which it is shown that every nation which has persecuted the Jews has fallen, in the good time of the designs of the Lord. The masters of brutality of the past are dust; their records are eyesores in the chronicles of time.

Wherever totalitarian government exists, there burns a fanatical belief in the invincibility of that form of government. Organized massacres in Russia are not a new story to the Jews. In the 19th century one is recorded where soldiers returning home from the Russo-Japanese War found their dwellings destroyed, their women and children slain. How many soldiers returning from World War II found loved ones gone, having disappeared in the mists of Communist police secrecy? How much of this historic memory remains in the minds of the uncountable thousands of Jewish men who are now serving in the Soviet armies?

The revelation of the more recent decimation of the Jews in Russia must be a bitter pill for the Soviet leaders to swallow, for it is propaganda which does not react in one nation of the world, but in all nations which today are being culturally benefited by the infusion of Jews into their populations. This global reaction only serves to strengthen the bulwarks of democracy and to cause thinking people to determine with greater vigor that this philosophy of rule by machinegun shall not spread beyond its present limits.

Periodically, for over 5,000 years, the Jews have endured this almost incredible reign of terror. From nation to nation, continent to continent, they have been forced to flee to save their lives and to seek out liberty. Yet no wanderings over the face of the entire globe have anywhere permanently subjugated this enduring race.

Tyrants have lived who have brutalized and enslaved them; but no one ever lived who conquered them. They are an invincible people, and it is especially significant in this respect that they are a God-fearing people.

Yes, the Jews have taught a lesson to the world over the centuries. In the bitterness of their suffering, they have forged from the fire a great people—a people which can inspire al others in the knowledge that righteousness cannot be crushed.

Inaugural Address of Gov. Frank G. Clement, of Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROSS BASS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the recently delivered inaugural address of the Honorable Frank G. Clement, Governor of the State of Tennessee:

Seven hundred and thirty-three days ago we assembled on this same spot in this historic capital city of the great volunteer State for the purpose of inaugurating a program of honesty, decency, and morality in the name of the people of Tennessee.

In accord with a prearranged understanding, constitutionally dictated, we agreed to a political audit, in the year of our Lord 1954, to determine whether the program had produced results and to ascertain whether the executives of this political corporation were managing the affairs of the people in accord with the public interest.

In the meantime, however, you, the owners of this corporate enterprise, determined with the advice and assistance of your board of constitutional delegates that henceforth you would extend to the chief executive a 4-year contract, and while it would be nonrenewable, the Governor would be assured of the opportunity of long-range planning and uninterrupted service.

In this historic hour of political change in Tennessee we are witnessing the end of short-term planning and the beginning of the first 4-year term of uninterrupted service in our grand and glorious history. As history's humble agent in this hour of momentous change, I give grateful acknowledgment and thanks, on behalf of my wife and three sons, as well as the loyal, distinguished, and outstanding group of public servants comprising our official family, to you—the great citizens of the greatest State among States—for your generous expression of faith. You have been better to me than I could possibly deserve.

This is not a time for political debate; it is a moment for reverent expression of intent. It is not an hour to be used in boasting; it is instead a time for prayer and humble thanksgiving. This moment should not be used for statistical comparison; it must be a period of spiritual reckoning. Let us dedicate this hour to the purposes of the future and reaffirm the policies of a people.

The youngest child and the oldest man; the poorest citizen and the richest corporation; the members of minority groups and those who constitute the majority; the humble in spirit and the poor in heart—all have the same right to expect the same consideration. the same fair treatment, and the same devotion to duty from the chief executive of this great State.

As the first 4-year governor in our history, I pledge you my word that whether it carries me to the heights of popularity or to the depths of desertion; whether it affords us the cheers of our friends or the jeers of those uninformed of our purpose; whether I am hailed as a success or condemned as a failure; I will during the years ahead while I am your governor, act in accord with what I conceive to be the best interest of 3½ million Tennesseans; I shall diligently try to increase my knowledge and my ability; and above all I shall kneel with you before an Almighty God with a prayer that He shall sustain us, forgive us for our past sins, bless us, and keep us until that time when all of us shall stand on equal terms before the throne of eternal justice.

Although none of us knows what tomorrow may bring, all of us have a duty to give thanks for the blessings of yesterday. Faith decrees that we recognize the truth of the forecast that the accomplishments of tomorrow are limited only by the doubts of today. No enduring prosperity can be engendered without confidence. There is a basis for confidence. Faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen. Confidence, assurance, and conviction are thrusts into the unknown produced by pull from a reality believed to be out there. A people grow if there is confidence, assurance and conviction.

To all of those who love the Lord and would with sincerity attempt to establish the human version of His kingdom upon the soil of Tennessee; to all who want good government for the benefit of all of our people; to all who in spite of political battle and the scars left thereby love God and Tennessee more than bitterness and revenge; to all who seek truth and would abide by it whether or not the facts are as we would with them; to all who want the best government of men which frail humans are capable of establishing upon this old earth; to all who believe honesty, decency, and morality should be a practice and not merely a slogan; to all patriotic Tennesseans whose love of God and devotion to Tennessee transcend every other consideration—we extend with humility, hope, faith, and prayer an invitation to join in Tennessee's greatest era of progress for the next 4 years.

The Bible teaches faith, hope, and charity; the Constitution teaches obedience to law and patriotic devotion to government; it is to be determined during the days ahead what you and I will teach and practice.

John Sevier had the courage to recommend a wagon road across the western mountains of Tennessee 159 years ago; James Robertson was brave enough to enter the savage wilderness of Nashville to establish this capital city; Andrew Jackson risked his life time after time in order to preserve and promote a way of life we now enjoy in peace and prosperity, depleting his own resources to pay his faithful soldiers; Sam Houston did not hesitate to surrender the governorship of our State and face hunger, exile, and death while remaining loyal to his country and his people; Andrew Johnson suffered the scorn of the uninformed and the partisan while valiantly striving to serve the interests of his persecutors; James K. Polk had the statesmanship to fulfill his promises to acquire the great Northwest Territory from a reluctant England and of winning Texas into the Union; Cordell Hull gave himself to the world in order to unite freemen and spread happiness and prosperity at home and abroad; Jim McCord willingly and knowingly accepted political defeat for the children of Tennessee of whom he was blessed with none; and you and I have the grand opportunity to band ourselves together, 3 million strong, under the divine wisdom of Almighty God, beneath the broad canopy of heaven, in a cause as great as any of these—namely, the promotion of prosperity, the preservation of moral and cultural standards, and the assurance of a greater era of progress than any of these great men had an opportunity to promote.

Frank Clement is incapable of doing this alone, but the people of Tennessee have an opportunity to leave for all time the memory of their patriotic service by steadfastly refusing to become political victims of partisan and selfish interests but instead of rising to the heights of human service, unselfish glory, and nonpartisan cooperation.

Only the Almighty knows what an unprecedented 4 years of cooperation, unselfishness and service to mankind political and citizen statesmen could produce. All of us know the pitfalls and human improbabilities that beset us in seeking such a glorious path of service—but God teaches and man must realize that if we do not hitch our wagon to a star, we can never climb that highest mountain nor even approach that political utopia.

With sincerity of purpose, humility of self, and with a soul free from bitterness I do promise that with God's guidance and your help I shall earnestly strive to promote within the Volunteer State the most progressive government, the most honest administration, the most decent public standards, and the most moral principles of which I am capable—always remembering that the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end,

must be the same in purpose. Therefore humbly and prayerfully let us start 4 years of hopeful toil and willing tribulation by once again saying with you, "Precious Lord, take our hand and please, Lord, lead us on."

Mr. Chief Justice, I am ready to take the oath of office.

Defense of Formosa and Adjacent Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "United States Intends To Back Its Pledges," written by David Lawrence and published in the Washington Evening Star of January 24, 1955; also an article entitled "A Wise, Firm Policy," written by Constantine Brown and published in the Washington Evening Star of January 25, 1955.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 24, 1955]

UNITED STATES INTENDS TO BACK ITS PLEDGES—PRESIDENT'S CALL FOR STAND AGAINST REDS IN FAR EAST EXPECTED TO HAVE BIG IMPACT ON REST OF WORLD

(By David Lawrence)

The American people will learn this week whether they have a divided or a united Government in Washington and likewise whether the free world is behind the United States in its forthright stand against Communist aggression.

For the President, in sending a message to Congress which requests authority to use American Armed Forces to protect the American defense line in the Far East, has taken a decisive step. It calls for support by the Democratic as well as the Republican Parties in both Houses. It calls also for support of the principle by Great Britain, France, Italy, and the other countries of the free world to whom the United States already has given a similar commitment in the congressional authorizations related to the North Atlantic Treaty. For in that area a future attack on any one of the member countries is to be construed as an attack on the defense line of our own Armed Forces.

Occasions in American history when a President of the United States has asked for the passage of a joint resolution authorizing the use of the Armed Forces of this country are rare. Usually they arise when American military intervention already has occurred in an emergency and Congress is requested to ratify the step, or else when authority is requested to ratify a state of war already begun by some other country.

This time the President is asking for a contingent authority—the right to use the Armed Forces if and when an act of invasion of the Formosa area—defined as within our defense or security orbit—is committed by a hostile power.

Actually, the United States for all practical purposes now is in a state of war with the government of Red China which has a million troops poised against the American and allied forces in Korea. An armistice is not a treaty of peace and hence a state of war continues in Korea.

Pursuing this realistic fact, the President now is really asking for authority to protect the troops in Korea. For if by any neglect of the Formosa area, the Communist Chinese are able to conquer the armies of the Nationalists, the way is open for the Red Chinese to transfer their big army on the mainland to Manchuria and the vicinity of the Yalu River. To ignore this factor of the military situation is to put in jeopardy the American divisions now stationed in Korea.

Hence, the President's message is in line with the traditional policy of the United States to protect its armed forces wherever they are. While American troops were sent to Korea to fulfill a mission directed by the United Nations, once they are stationed abroad their protection as an army does not cease to be the military obligation of the United States Government.

The defense line of the United States at present extends from Korea southward to Okinawa, Formosa, and the Philippines. Under the Truman administration, the defense perimeter did not include Korea, but it did run southward from Japan to Okinawa to Formosa and to the Philippines. So the Democrats are committed to the adoption of military measures to protect that line—in fact, it was this thesis which the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff upheld when General Eisenhower was Chief of Staff of the Army prior to the outbreak of the war in Korea.

The defense of an American line in the Far East, however, is not solely a military matter that is confined to American forces. It goes to the obligations that are implicit in the treaties of mutual defense which have been drawn up with the Republic of Korea, the Nationalist Government on Formosa, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. In fact, the protection of all Southeast Asia is directly related to the joint resolution which the President now is requesting from Congress. For it means the United States intends to make good on its pledges contained in those mutual defense pacts. This is a concrete exhibition of American good faith. For a threat to the peace of the Far East indeed has arisen through the warfare by the Communists close to Formosa.

The moral impact of the step must inevitably be felt throughout the world, and especially in Europe. It puts the United States on record as willing to do its share in the defense, not only of the free countries in Europe, but those of Asia as well. It is notice to the Communists that all the by-play about sentencing American prisoners as spies and seeking by propaganda methods to capitalize on the incident is irrelevant and that when the chips are down—as they appear to be in and around Formosa—the United States will employ its Armed Forces. This means naval power and airpower and the use of atomic power, too. For today the dropping of atomic shells can be confined to military installations. The Communists now must understand that the United States means business and that peaceful coexistence must mean peaceful behavior on the part of the Communists, too, if the use of American armed force is not to be compelled.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 25, 1955]

A WISE, FIRM POLICY—CALCULATED RISK OF THREATENING TO FIGHT IS ESSENTIAL TO SECURITY OF WORLD

(By Constantine Brown)

America is again showing to the world a firmness in keeping with her interests and power.

The decision by President Eisenhower to take a stand in the Formosa Strait beyond which the Communists could advance only at the risk of looking straight down the muzzles of the 7th Fleet's guns climaxed long debates and arguments within the Chief Executive's official family.

For nearly a year congressional leaders have advised the White House that even the appearance of a soft policy toward the Reds would play into their hands. Secretary of State Dulles, and Walter Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East, were of the same opinion.

Other political advisers encouraged the President—for the sake of not disrupting our alliances with Western Europe—to use the soft touch and show patience and forbearance. We have done this ever since the signing of the Korean armistice. However, the Communists ignored its provisions, ran wild in Indochina, refused to return United States prisoners of war whom they held for bargaining purposes, and adopted an attitude toward the United States which was like that of Hitler toward Poland in the late thirties.

Mr. Eisenhower was urged by congressional leaders, and particularly by Senate Majority Leader KNOWLAND, to put a stop to the Red provocations which were lowering America's standing in the world and furthering the Communist cause.

Last week's discussions were decisive. The Chinese Communists were definitely on the rampage. Their aggression was encouraged by their belief that the United States would defend only Formosa and the Pescadores and had excluded Quemoy and Matsu. These latter are regarded by our Joint Chiefs of Staff as the gateway to Formosa.

Mr. Eisenhower has tried earnestly to avoid involving the country in any armed clash, but he now believes the time has come to put a stop to the Red advances. He decided to ask Congress to support use of air and naval forces. They are being deployed to evacuate Nationalist soldiers from the militarily untenable Tachen Islands and also to bar any further Communist advances toward the rest of the Nationalist-held territory.

Mr. Eisenhower is reported to welcome United Nations intervention in the Communist-Nationalist shooting match despite the risk that it might set Peiping off toward shooting its way into the U. N.

The question uppermost in the minds of legislators after the Presidential message is whether the calculated risk we may now be undertaking is essential to this Nation's security and also to the security of the world. The answer this reporter has found from those intimately connected with the problem of America's security is emphatically "yes."

The Red axis extending from the Elbe River to the Pacific is determined to dominate the world. In Europe the opposition to the Communists has somewhat softened. The Reds are relying in their cold war in Europe on the Socialists, Communists, and neutralists in the remaining free countries to further their interests.

Moscow no longer expects any determined opposition to its penetration of areas west of the Rhine. Trade and coexistence are its main weapons. Rightly or wrongly the Kremlin believes that Western Europe has been softened up sufficiently to make military action unnecessary.

The situation is entirely different in the Far East, where communism has made no impression on such free countries as South Korea and Nationalist China. Unless these two stubborn opponents of communism are reduced by force the entire Communist plan for Asia may fall to pieces. Moscow and Peiping can hope to gain the upper hand in Korea only by a decisive defeat of the Nationalist forces concentrated on the China Sea islands.

Destruction of Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalists will mean inevitably the fall of Japan and the Philippines to the Communist conspiracy. Our Government is fully aware of this. President Truman gave the order in July 1950 for the 7th Fleet to defend

Formosa against possible Red aggression. This order is still fully in effect. Mr. Eisenhower agreed to a mutual-assistance pact with Nationalist China because he, possibly more than his predecessor, realizes that this country's security would be seriously jeopardized if the Communists got hold of the western Pacific and pushed our first line of defense back to the Hawaiian Islands.

Many military and diplomatic specialists hope that the decision to step determinedly into the Pacific picture will have a sobering effect on Peiping and instead of promoting further shooting in the area will bring it to an end. The next few weeks will show how correct this estimate may be.

Chicago MacArthur Vets to Fete Commander on His 75th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement from Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, of Chicago:

CHICAGO MACARTHUR VETS TO FETE COMMANDER ON HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY—URGE PACIFIC HERO AS ADVISER ON FAR EAST CRISIS—TRIBUTE TO GREAT SOLDIER-STATESMAN

"The Nation should render Gen. Douglas MacArthur a 21-gun salute on the occasion of his 75th birthday," said Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, of Chicago, who served under MacArthur in World War II.

General Klein, a personal friend of the general, further stated, "When General MacArthur was summarily relieved of his command, I stated that the Kremlin could fire a 21-gun salute. Judging present events, I would say they are doing just that in their own way. Had we the foresight to heed this great soldier's warnings, the world situation today would be quite different.

"General MacArthur's name has always been connected with final victory," said General Klein, pointing out that his famous words "no substitute for victory" are prophetic when viewed in respect to the global situation at this time.

"America now has an opportunity to honor its greatest citizen-soldier statesman. I have just submitted my report to the United States Senate after concluding a mission for the Senate Appropriations Armed Forces Subcommittee. On page 3 of this report I stated:

" 'Gen. Douglas MacArthur, whose years of experience have covered all phases of our defense problems, has stressed repeatedly the importance of our European flank. Out of his recognition of the global nature of Communist aggression, he wrote to Speaker MARTIN on March 20, 1951, sounding this warning:

" ' "It seems strangely difficult for some to realize that here in Asia is where the Communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest, and that we have joined the issue thus raised on the battlefield; that here we fight Europe's war with arms while the diplomats there still fight it with words; that if we lose the war to communism in Asia, the fall of Europe is inevitable. Win it and Europe most probably would avoid war and yet preserve freedom."

" 'One month later, in his historic address to the United States Congress on April 19, 1951, General MacArthur again reminded the American people that:

" ' "These issues are global, and so interlocked that to consider the problem of one sector oblivious to those of another is to court disaster for the whole. While Asia is commonly referred to as the gateway to Europe, it is no less true that Europe is the gateway to Asia, and the broad influence of the one cannot fail to have its impact upon the other. There are those who claim that our strength is inadequate to protect ourselves on both fronts, that we cannot divide our effort. I can think of no greater expression of defeatism."

" 'I undertook my study of our vital European flank, highly conscious of these admonitions by my old Pacific commander.' "

Klein continued: "I recommended on page 52 of my report that General MacArthur's views be invited by both our highest policy-making authorities and appropriate congressional committees to aid in the shaping of a consistent, clearly formulated global defense policy for the United States. This is the most opportune time to call back General MacArthur.

"I have today wired Senator KNOWLAND: 'In view of the present crisis in the Far East, let me call your attention again to pages 3 and 52 of my report to the Armed Services Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of the United States Senate, released January 10, 1955. I urge you to request the President to call in General MacArthur for consultation and I hope your committee will do likewise.'

"I have also wired Congressmen MARTIN and HILLINGS: 'Millions of Americans, including those who served under General MacArthur, will applaud your bills asking for the promotion of Gen. Douglas MacArthur as General of the Armies. I urge all patriotic Americans to wire their Senators and Congressmen to support these bills.' "

General Klein sent the following telegram to General MacArthur: "To my old battle commander and America's greatest citizen-soldier statesman of our time, I send prayers and best wishes for your 75th birthday. I have invited MacArthur veterans and other patriotic and civic leaders to join me as my guest for a birthday celebration in your honor this Wednesday. Chicago, like the rest of the Nation, will never forget your last visit here. You have kept the soldiers' faith—you will remain a symbol not only to every living American but for generations to come. I know GI's throughout the world stand in salute on this day, and I join their ranks in wishing you well."

H. R. 587

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the Members to H. R. 587, a bill to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, and for other purposes. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following letter which I have written to the chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 24, 1955.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of January 20 inviting me to testify during the hearings on your bill, H. R. 587, to permit individuals in service on or before January 31, 1955, to continue to earn educational benefits. I regret that another committee meeting precludes my testifying, and therefore I would appreciate it if you would include this letter as part of the record.

I would like to urge the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to act favorably and promptly on H. R. 587. I am convinced this bill should be enacted if we are to prevent injustice to service personnel who volunteered for terms of service of greater length than would have been required under the selective-service law in the belief that they would thereby accrue additional educational benefits. Many of them have made their plans at considerable sacrifice in order to obtain these educational benefits.

As a former member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, may I commend you on your prompt introduction of this desirable legislation.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD,
Member of Congress.

City of Lakewood—Modern Day Miracle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a modern-day miracle has occurred in the 18th Congressional District of California, which I have the honor to represent. In just 4 years one of California's now major cities, with a population of 70,000, has risen on 3,375 acres of land that in January of 1951 was an agricultural reserve.

During these 4 years over 14,000 new homes were built on acreage which was part of a grant by the King of Spain to Dan Manuel Nieto in 1784. A $100 million shopping center nears completion. A new and novel city government has been born. And important new economic strength has been added to southern California and the Nation. Such, in summary, is the city of Lakewood.

Although Lakewood's 30 new homes a day pace is slacking off, it is not because it is losing any of its reputation as a pleasant place in which to live. It is simply that residential building sites are nearing the full utilization point. There remains room to add only about 3,500 new residences.

A gigantic 154-acre shopping center containing parking space for 7,632 cars lies at the city's center. Here is to be found Lakewood's modest rented city hall, together with a total of 84 businesses in operation. Construction of nine additional stores is underway and others will be added. The shopping-

center area eventually will be rounded off with a medical building and additional parking lots.

The city government of Lakewood, which was incorporated April 18, 1954, has attracted nationwide attention for its unique plan of obtaining practically all its services from special county districts in existence prior to incorporation or through contracts with the county of Los Angeles. Under this system the city has been able to contract for police, fire, sanitation, and most other functions ordinarily carried on by local governments.

Lakewood's economies in capital investment and routine overhead are substantial. Under the contract system, the city has been able to operate with only a 29-cent property tax rate and with a small staff headed by City Administrator Robert T. Andersen.

After only 8 months of corporate existence, at the start of the new year the city of Lakewood had a total unexpended balance of $441,166.98 out of appropriations of $548,203 for the last 6 months of 1954. Thus expenditures for this city of 70,000 amounted to only $170,036.02 during the last 6 months of 1954. Accounts show $15,005.22 spent for personal services; $77,551.59 for contractual services, $5,765 for materials and supplies; $7,636.37 for equipment and $1,177.75 for fixed charges.

Costs in all contracted services ran far below appropriated estimates, according to the city's financial report. Only $269.26 of $2,000 set aside for county jail use was spent but $162.55 of $600 appropriated for health and sanitation. Highest cost was $53,100 of a $130,000 appropriation for lighting maintenance. Business-license enforcement cost but $776.24 against $21,329.69 in business-license revenues.

The extent to which contractual arrangements for services has been carried is illustrated by a current round-robin series of city civil-defense programs being carried on throughout the city. Even these are conducted by Los Angeles County civil-defense officials under a contract from the city of Lakewood.

Much of the success of the sparkling new community rests with its outstanding elected public officials. It is probable that no group of men anywhere in the Nation have given as much of themselves to their community during the past year as have Lakewood's city councilmen. The councilmen, all of whom serve without pay, are: Mayor Angelo M. Iacoboni, attorney; Eugene K. Nebeker, realtor; William J. Burns, newspaper reporter; George Nye, Jr., school teacher; and Robert W. Baker, electrical engineer.

Starting off with a marathon reading of the massive municipal code that started on the day of incorporation and ended at 5 a. m. the next day, by the first of this year the council had enacted 37 ordinances and 150 resolutions covering a great variety of activities ranging from the city's basic legal code to co-sponsorship of monthly teen-age dances.

The small group of city employees headed by administrator Andersen consists of: city clerk Nita Birch, deputy clerk-typist Alene Hyatt, and administrative "interne" Henry Goerlick, who is on a part-time basis. Guy Halferty, special assistant to Andersen and city attorney John Todd serve on a retainer basis.

Incorporated Lakewood City is the hub of a yet greater contiguous community of homes some of which are in the corporate boundaries of Long Beach and others are in unincorporated county territory. The area as a whole is known as greater Lakewood. Despite this split political personality, residents of greater Lakewood regard themselves as a single community and there exists a great civic spirit which unites religious, fraternal, veterans' and civic organizations for the benefit of the entire area.

Greater Lakewood has a colorful history. By 1930, through transfers and marriages, the part of the King of Spain's original grant to Don Nieto, which is now Lakewood, had come in the hands of the Montana Land Co. headed by Clark J. Bonner. In that year Bonner filed a plan for subdivision of the area and today is kown as the father of Lakewood.

However, it was not until 1932 that the real beginning of greater Lakewood as a community for modern living began with the construction of Lakewood Country Club by Montana Land Co. In that same year, the company gave 29.84 acres of land to the Long Beach Unified School District for development of Long Beach City College campus. In September 1934 ground was broken adjacent to the campus for the first Lakewood subdivision.

Montana land chose promotion-minded Charles Hopper, developer of Bel-Air and South Gate to promote sales in the subdivision and one of his first steps was to have two-lane Cerritos Avenue renamed Lakewood Boulevard. Today that road's six busy traffic lanes truly entitle it to the name "boulevard."

Greater Lakewood's first business building was opened October 25, 1934, and its first resident, John Davies, moved into his new home in the spring of 1935.

Growth in the area was on a modest, but steady scale until it was given impetus by breaking of ground for the huge Douglas Aircraft Co. plant at Carson and Lakewood Boulevard in November 1940.

Postwar years saw ever increasing development by several subdividers including Griffith & Legg, Walker & Lee, Cunningham & Brittain, and the Aldon Construction Co.

However, it was not until an $8,800,000 transaction in January 1951 transferred Montana land's remaining 3,375 acres to the Lakewood Park Corp. which set out to build 17,500 homes that the incorporated area of Lakewood City got is real impetus.

With its neat rows of well-kept homes, many new schools, beautifully landscaped parkways, convenient shopping sections, model city government, and intense civic pride, Lakewood today is one of the outstanding communities of the United States. Its developers and residents have made it that way.

Every Member of Congress takes pride in the district he represents. In my case, the miracle of the city of Lakewood more than justifies my pride in California's 18th Congressional District.

Federal Regulation of Natural Gas Prices Poses Serious Problems for All Americans

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN JARMAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the attached article which appeared in the January-February issue of the Link, a magazine published by the Carter Oil Co., Tulsa, Okla.:

WHAT'S IT TO YOU?—FEDERAL REGULATIONS OF NATURAL-GAS PRICES POSES SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR ALL AMERICANS

All of us are inclined to steer away from complicated subjects.

Take the atomic bomb, for example. Most of us don't know how it works or the principles behind it, being content with a few knowing statements on the subject, like "splitting the atom." Yet no one can deny the very real role this scientific achievement has on each of our lives.

Or let's consider the Natural Gas Act. Granted the matter does not have the import of the atomic bomb but what has happened in Washington is earth-shaking to the oil industry and could be earth-shaking to thousands of users of natural gas throughout America (40,000 consumers have signed up for it in Chicago but cannot get service today.)

The current Natural Gas Act problem isn't complicated. It is really a fairly simple subject about which you, as a citizen, should know.

Let's go back to the days before World War II. About the only folks using natural gas then were the ones in the heart of the oil and gas fields. But these folks were really sold on the fuel. Women liked it because it was so clean. Men and women liked it because it was so economical.

To the oilman, however, gas didn't mean much. He was not looking for it most of the time when he found it. He had only a limited market for the gas to start with and he didn't get enough for it to feel that the whole thing was very worthwhile.

As more and more people used the gas—and as the supply grew even larger as the search for oil was intensified—it became clear that the people in distant cities could be rendered a service if this modern fuel were made available to them. So, businessmen formed pipeline companies and cross-country pipelines began to be built. As fast as one city got the new fuel with all its advantages, others wanted it. Now, gas began to come into its own.

Since the pipelines stretched from Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana clear across the United States to the eastern seaboard, the gas was moving in interstate commerce, which could not be regulated by local or State authorities. So Congress passed a law to regulate these pipeline companies transporting the gas in interstate commerce. This was all well and good.

But even in 1938, when the law was passed, the lawmakers were very careful to distinguish between companies operating in interstate commerce and those doing business locally. And yet today this single point is the cause of all the current complicated controversy.

Before we read the act itself, let's make you an oilman.

You were drilling an oil well in Oklahoma. You were looking for oil, but found gas. You don't want to waste the gas, be-

cause it is an important, exhaustible natural resource. Naturally, you want to sell it. You make the arrangements; get a satisfactory price for it.

Then a man lays a pipeline to your well and runs the line over to a place where it connects with a lot more lines he has from wells such as yours. This man is engaged in "gathering." He in turn sells the gas he bought from you to a pipeline company which will "ship" it to the east coast.

Since you are now an oilman, let me ask you a question:

"Are you operating in interstate commerce because you found and sold gas to a gatherer, even though you were looking for oil?" Well, let's read the law passed in 1938.

It says: "The provisions of this act shall not apply * * * to the local distribution of natural gas or to the facilities used for such distribution or to the production or gathering of natural gas." That seems clear enough, doesn't it?

The Federal Power Commission, which administers these laws, thought so. It flatly stated in the first hearings that it had no jurisdiction over producers of natural gas.

In 1947, the Commission issued its now famous order No. 130 which said:

"The Commission gives its assurance to independent producers and gatherers of natural gas that they can sell at arm's length and deliver such gas to interstate pipelines and can enter into contracts for such sale without apprehension that in so doing they may become subject to the assertion of jurisdiction by the Commission under the Natural Gas Act."

A sigh of relief followed the order. And it's easy to understand why. If the Commission claimed the authority to regulate independent gas producers and gatherers, they might just as well contend they had the right to regulate and control the entire oil business, since the search for oil and for gas are virtually inseparable. In other words, the authority to regulate the oil industry from the bottom of the well in Oklahoma to the burner tip of the stove in the Connecticut kitchen might have been the result.

Does that sound like America?

That's why there was a sigh of relief in 1947.

But ensuing events made clear that the Commission order No. 130 would not go unchallenged—

So, fearing another assault on their independence, the oilmen sought still further assurance. The Congress passed the Kerr bill which did nothing more than the Natural Gas Act had tried to do—specifically exempt from Federal regulation the independent producer and gatherer of natural gas. It was, unfortunately, vetoed by President Truman.

Then one of the big producers of gas, Phillips Petroleum Co., was brought into a case before the Commission. After lengthy study, the Commission said in effect in its decision (as it had often said before): "We don't have jurisdiction over Phillips because it is an independent producer and gatherer."

Then, people who were in favor of expanded Federal regulation appealed this decision to the United States Supreme Court.

And, surprisingly enough, in June 1954, the Supreme Court held what practically everyone believed the Congress had never held or intended * * * and what the Commission did not hold in the Phillips case—that the Commission did have "jurisdiction over the rates of all wholesales of natural gas in interstate commerce, whether by a pipeline company or not, and whether occurring before, during, or after transmission by an interstate pipeline company."

Now consternation hit the oil industry.

In the first place, the search for gas is inextricably bound up with the search for oil. You may drill a wildcat for oil and hit gas. You may not even want to get gas or get in the gas business. But now, by this new Supreme Court decision, these are your choices if you do get gas:

You can shut in the well (and perhaps lose your lease and all of your investment).

You can sell your well.

You could sell your gas, and if a single cubic foot of it wound up in interstate pipelines, here might come the Federal Power Commission to tell you what you could and could not do, the price you could or could not get, the amount you could or could not produce.

What other natural resource in America is subject to such regulation?

Logically it would seem that oil is no different from coal or any other natural resource in this respect. If coal from one of the mines in McAlester, Okla., is loaded into freight cars and shipped to a steel center in Texas, does this mean that coal mines should be regulated by the Government?

According to the Supreme Court, the answer would apparently be an emphatic "Yes."

If aluminum from the bauxite mines in Arkansas is shipped to eastern manufacturing centers for processing, does this mean that mines in Arkansas should be regulated by the Federal Government?

Surely, any average, thinking citizen can see the danger to our economic system—the envy of the world—if the Federal Government moves in to regulate every natural resource.

There is where the matter rests today. Undoubtedly the Congress will be beseeched by oil men and citizens alike to act—to prohibit discrimination against a singled-out natural resource—to do once again what was sought and contended in its own Natural Gas Act in 1938 and by the Kerr bill which it passed in 1949. This complicated problem is one we cannot afford to ignore.

And instead of 135,000 consumers in Chicago alone who want but cannot get natural gas, there may be hundreds of thousands of would-be consumers denied this modern fuel.

Of more serious significance than even this, are the implications clearly pointed out by the Oklahoma Municipal League late in September 1954:

"Federal regulation cannot be justified except on a socialistic basis which could lead to the regulation of the price of all commodities, including oil, and which would further centralize regulatory authority in the Federal Government and thereby usurp the powers and functions of the States."

The President's Message—Formosa and the Pescadores

SPEECH
OF
HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to make clear my position on House Joint Resolution 159, as proposed by the President.

This is a time of national crisis which demands unity. The issues transcend partisan considerations. The country must unite behind the President in supporting the national policy, and show clearly to the world that despite political differences on the home front we stand united when the national security is threatened.

Our first objective is to do everything consistent with national security and honor to avoid war and promote peace.

To let the world know what we deem to be our vital security interests is a constructive step in that direction. The danger and futility of not doing so has been proved by past experience. The President's message must be regarded as a step toward peace, not toward war.

We believe in the principle of united action by freedom loving peoples to repel aggression and to prevent war. In accord with that principle the President stated in his message that this country "would welcome action by the United Nations which might in fact bring an end to the active hostilities in the area." The action which we take in passing the President's resolution will strengthen the efforts of the United Nations to find a peaceful solution to the problems in the western Pacific area.

The President's message is noteworthy in indicating his desire that Congress should share in the making of this vital foregin policy decision. This is democracy at its best. It is no renunciation of the President's constitutional power to take military action on his own authority as Commander in Chief in the face of attack or defense necessity. The President recognized that he had such authority. Consultation with Congress in the present circumstances is a wise and statesmanlike step. It strengthens our national position before the world, and particularly before those who threaten aggression.

In supporting the President we take a firm and honorable course. We are true to our traditions so nobly expressed by a great President: To strive on "with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

National Association of Independent Business Opposes Lowering Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I feel certain that most members are acquainted, as I am, with the National Association of Independent Business. This association is composed of small independent businessmen throughout the United States and has the largest individual membership of any business organization in the United States.

The officers of this organization are constantly polling the membership for their views on pertinent legislative problems. There are many members of this organization in my district, and I regularly receive their answers to the ballots sent to them. I find these answers most valuable and instructive.

As a result of this constant polling of their membership, the representatives of the National Federation of Independent Business are able to present to congressional committees accurate views of thousands of independent businessmen.

Under leave to extend my remafks in the RECORD, I include a statement of Mr. George Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, regarding tariff reductions. It was made this morning before the House Committee on Ways and Means during consideration of the Reciprocal Trade Extension Act.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY GEORGE J. BURGER, VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENT EXTENSION

I am George J. Burger, vice president in charge of legislative activities, National Federation of Independent Business, 740 Washington Building, Washington, D. C. Our national headquarters are located in Burlingame, Calif. We also maintain division offices at New York City, Cincinnati, and Chicago.

It must be understood by Members of Congress that no officer or group of officers is permitted to speak for the federation as to its position on any legislative or economic problems unless so directed by a nationwide poll of our members. The entire membership is polled and the results of these polls give the executive officers the authority to act in behalf of the members.

I am appearing in opposition to any further extension of the reciprocal trade agreement. I am basing this action on recent polls of our membership, instituted by the federation. For example, in mandate bulletin No. 169, we polled our members on H. R. 6780, introduced by Congressman MACK, a bill to protect American businessmen and their employees from cutthroat foreign competition caused by dumping of foreign products on our markets by low-wage, low-living-standard foreign producers. The results of the poll on this bill were as follows: 80 percent for the proposition, 16 percent against it, and 4 percent no vote.

In Mandate Bulletin No. 197, we polled our members on H. R. 2949, introduced by Congressman GROSS, which would forbid excessive imports of goods which are in surplus supply in our domestic markets. The results of the poll were 67 percent for, 28 percent against, and 5 percent no vote.

In Mandate Bulletin No. 205, we polled our members on H. R. 8585, introduced by Congressman BAKER, to provide that Federal Government help States to pay jobless benefits for workers unemployed as a result of international trade agreements. The results of this poll were 20 percent for, 76 percent against, and 4 percent no vote.

It should be self-evident, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that the feeling of the typical small-business man reflected in this poll is that small business is not interested in any handouts or subsidies from the Federal Government or the States.

The mandates referred to above are attached hereto as permanent exhibits in connection with this testimony.

Our Nation has been most charitable during the past decade or more in its financial aid to nations throughout the world. Billions upon billions of dollars have been appropriated and spent by the Federal Government in the hope of rehabilitating the economy of these foreign nations.

It is significant and important to note in recent comments from foreign correspondents of leading newspapers of this Nation the reports state that many of the nations who have been aided have shown considerable improvement in their economic situation, some nearly equaling peacetime records and even exceeding them. I think a review of the comments recently expressed by that competent correspondent, Michael Hoffman of the New York Times, will verify the statement I have just made.

In the course of our daily contacts with our small-business membership throughout the Nation, we have been notified of the serious impact on their own individual businesses due to the excessive imports of foreign goods, for example, motorcycles, bicycles, and tinfoil, etc., in which some of our people made the report that it was coming from behind the Iron Curtain countries.

More recently, from membership in the State of Texas, complaints have come in of excessive importation of Egyptian cotton. I could go on and relate the reports from many other producers or distributors in small business of this Nation who have registered protest against the excessive imports of cheap foreign goods, all tending to reduce their position in the production or distribution field.

We believe that the reciprocal-trade arrangement has gone far enough and that this power should now revert back to the Tariff Commission where it rightfully belonged in the first place.

Our interest, Mr. Chairman, is to protect the people we represent, the independent businessmen, and indirectly thereby American employment generally, and in this respect, to show the actions of the federation, I respectfully request that the attached copy of a paid advertisement of the federation which appeared in the press nationwide, be made a part of this testimony.

In conclusion, we respectfully request that you vote "No" on the extension of the reciprocal-trade agreement.

Prisoners of War in China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I include a copy of a resolution adopted by Nicholson Post, No. 38 of the American Legion, Louisiana:

Whereas the government of Communist China is holding as prisoners, many Americans, both civilian and military personnel; and

Whereas one of the attributes and obligations of national sovereignty is the protection of the citizens and nationals of one's country; and

Whereas it is our opinion that the United States Government is honorbound to do anything and everything within its power to protect and defend members of the Armed Forces of the United States who go into a foreign country under orders of their Government or are captured and taken into a foreign country against their will while in military service; and

Whereas the members of the United States Armed Forces now being held in captivity by the Communists in China are military prisoners and entitled to be treated as such under the rules of warfare; and

Whereas it is important for the cause of world peace, the dignity and honor of the United States Government, and the proper relations between the nations of this earth, for the United States to proclaim to the world that its citizens and military personnel cannot be imprisoned, mistreated, or detained without just cause: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the membership of Nicholson Post, No. 38, the American Legion, of Louisiana, does hereby urge the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States to forthwith take any and all steps necessary to secure the release from Red China of all members of the Armed Forces of the United States and all citizens and nationals of the United States who are not detained for just and reasonable cause; and be it further

Resolved, That the United States Government should use any means required to secure the release and return of these United States citizens held prisoners by Red China; and be it further

Resolved, That the adjutant of this post send a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, the national commander and national adjutant of the American Legion, the United States Secretary of State, each Senator and Representative in the United States Congress from Louisiana, the department commander and the department adjutant of the Department of Louisiana, the American Legion.

It is needless for me to add, Mr. Speaker, that I am wholeheartedly in favor of the contents of this resolution and that I hope this Government will use every means at its disposal to secure the immediate release and return of our people held in prison in violation of treaties and of laws by the Chinese Communists.

If We Want Water Tomorrow We Must Take Care of Our Watersheds Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am including, herewith, a statement entitled "The Elements of a Sound National Land and Water Policy."

The first National Watershed Congress was held in Washington, D. C., December 6 and 7, 1954. It was sponsored by 24 organizations, including the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor, the CIO, the National Grange, the National Farmers Union, the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, the Izaak Walton League, the Wildlife Management Institute, and a number of other civic and conservation groups. There were some 350 accredited representatives of these organizations present along with about 150 other persons interested in the watershed movement.

The committee in charge of the Watershed Congress was headed by E. H. Taylor, associate editor of the Saturday Evening Post. Mr. Taylor is widely known and is considered an authority on farm problems, especially with respect to soil conservation. Mr. Taylor's contribution on the subject of watershed development is well known. Having given thought and effort in dealing with the question of soil

conservation over a period of 20 years, Mr. Taylor has come to the conclusion that the primary watershed is the practical basis for a conservation policy. He expresses the view that "We should begin at the beginning in the upstream sheds where most of the moisture falls." Mr. Bryce Browning, director of the Muskingum Conservancy in Ohio, is vice chairman of the committee. He worked with Mr. Taylor in proposing a real watershed program.

In connection with the Watershed Congress Mr. Taylor has submitted a statement made by Mr. Richard E. McArdle, Chief, United States Forest Service, who expresses forthright constructive views as to what he believes to be the elements of a sound national land and water policy. Here is what Mr. McArdle has to say:

If we want water tomorrow, we must take care of our watersheds today.

The permanent welfare of the Nation requires a basic, long-range policy for the conservation, development, and sustained use of our land, water, and related natural resources. A sound national policy to this end should:

1. Insure adequate renewable natural resources for the needs of an increasing population and an expanding economy.

2. Recognize that these resources are interdependent and bound together in the system of nature and that programs for their conservation, development, and constructive use should deal with them in their proper combination and not separately.

3. Provide for their conservation and orderly development on a planned and continuing year-by-year basis instead of by haphazard or emergency action.

4. Endeavor to develop their full potential usefulness, with the broadest possible benefits to the public.

5. Involve Federal, State, and local cooperation and coordination of effort, with an equitable sharing of costs and the maximum practicable local initiative and responsibility.

Practical reasons and a favorable public attitude make the primary, or as better known, the small watershed, the most feasible approach to such a policy. The United States is physically a nation of watersheds, with great river basins subdivided by numerous tributaries and myriad small streams. The problems of the major river basins are a compound of the resource problems of their lesser drainage areas and can be most effectually solved by going back to this source. The primary upstream watersheds thus become the logical starting point. Nature has fitted them for such a role. Each contains a combination of land, water, and related resources, making it a natural operational unit for the conservation, development, and management of these resources together. The measures that conserve and improve one resource will reinforce the others.

The watershed is the collector of moisture in the form of rain and snow, the soil the greatest natural storage for it. Beginning with conservation practices on the land that restrain wasteful water runoff and soil loss, multipurpose programs can be planned to yield such benefits as erosion control, reforestation, stream stabilization, flood reduction, recharging of underground water levels, protection of farm, municipal and industrial water supplies, and increased recreational opportunities. The benefits of more regular stream flow and water delivery, lessened flood dangers, and siltation prevention will extend to downstream communities.

The primary or small watershed is also the most effective approach from the standpoint of people as well as nature. Because it is close to them both rural and townspeople living in it can see at firsthand the mutual benefits they will share in a watershed development program. This unity of interest encourages cooperative action and a willingness to assume local responsibility. The soil conservation districts, watershed associations, conservancy districts, business, farm, sportsmen's, and other groups common to the American community provide a readily available leadership to initiate, plan, and organize such programs. With the necessary technical assistance furnished by Federal and State agencies and an equitable sharing of costs, the process of Federal, State, and local cooperation becomes a working reality.

To forward such a policy these steps should be considered:

1. Increased Federal and State research to determine what physical measures are most effectual in watershed development.

2. Action by the States, not now so equipped, to set up a competent State agency to assure full cooperation and coordination at the State level.

3. Adequate legislation by the States, in advance of increasing demands on the water supply, to determine the respective rights of water-users and settle "whose water is it?"

By starting with the smaller watersheds the foundation is laid for expanded programs of full resource conservation, development, and management. Programs on the subwatersheds of a larger stream basin can be coordinated in plans for basinwide improvement and geared in with downstream projects for flood control, power development, irrigation or water reserve storage. The States, acting through their responsible resource agencies, can integrate watershed development plans in statewide programs. With the necessary upstream work underway, the States can synchronize their own watershed programs with plans for major river basin improvement through interstate compacts or other forms of agreement. By such progressive stages a program of nationwide scope would be brought within range of realization.

These are the elements of a sound national policy for our land, water, and other renewable natural resources as your committee sees them.

America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following poem by Dr. Glen Levin Swiggett, of Washington, D. C.:

Beloved America, O bounteous land
And generous Nation, blessed with liberty
Of thought and action, may your people be
Forever free as that brave pilgrim band
That came in search of freedom to your strand!

And may they ever treasure thankfully
Their liberty and offer helpfully
To those who would be free a friendly hand!

America, your mission is today
Most urgent in another hemisphere,
Where newborn nations seem, in doubt, to sway
Between desire for freedom and the fear
Of tyranny. Therefore, so act that they
May lengthen liberty's far-flung frontier.

Capital-Gains Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include a very sensible and plausible letter received from one of the learned members of the Massachusetts bar on a subject matter to which he has given a great deal of time, thought, and study.

The writer of this letter, Attorney Frederick J. Gillen, of Lawrence, Mass., is very well versed on the Government tax program and on issues of public finance.

This short letter merits the attention of the membership of the Congress and I offer it to you for your consideration:

LAWRENCE, MASS., *January 21, 1955.*
Hon. THOMAS J. LANE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR TOM: From the fact that a home owner is allowed to sell his home at a profit and reinvest in another home without paying a capital-gains tax, Life magazine attempts to argue that, holders of common stocks should be allowed to sell their shares at a profit and pay no tax if the money is reinvested in other stock.

It should be noted that the provision for home owners does not apply to real-estate investments in general. It should also be noted that real estate is subjected to a continuing form of capital gains tax in the nature of increased assessments and tax rates.

The present capital-gains tax, as it applies to stock holdings, is like a huge Hoover Dam. Behind this dam a large reservoir of capital gains has accumulated. The accumulation has been going on since the year 1913. The color of this lake is mostly blue from the chips it holds in solution.

Congress built the dam. The Government has a sort of lien on the vast potential behind this dam based on announced rates for short-term and long-term gains.

Some people, including the President, believe that Congress should lift this lien and allow this accumulated power to go free at discount rates. To do so would be a fraud on the millions of taxpayers who do not have an interest in this great pool. The majority of people have borne heavier burdens because the owners of this great lake of accumulated capital gains have escaped taxation by not reducing their gains to cash, even though it was readily available, even in that form.

Before the floodgates on this tremendous dam are opened a survey should be made by Congress to determine the actual depth of the waters (the actual amount of capital gains in the lake behind the dam).

Accumulated profits, over the years, have been poured into this reservoir, wherein they lost their identity and became known by another name—capital surplus. Stock dividends, representing this surplus, were issued to shareholders in the form of distributions of capital and untaxable. Stockholders have seen their holdings double, treble and quadruple, yet, they never paid a capital gains tax, or even a tax on the dividends that made these capital gains possible.

Corporations, insurance companies and all sorts of investment trusts are waiting with bated breath for Congress to free them from taxes on their accumulated gains.

It was suggested before a committee of Congress (Subcommittee on the Economic Report, FLANDERS, Republican) that, the power of these great investment institutions may some day challenge even the power of the Federal Reserve System. They may, even now, be able to defeat the control that the Federal Reserve System exerts on the national economy.

If the plan hinted at in the economic report succeeds, namely, to free vast amounts of capital gains from taxation, it will be the biggest giveaway in history. We have no way of estimating its effect on the economy of the country.

Sincerely yours,

FRED GILLEN,
Attorney-at-Law.

The Closing of Fourth-Class Post Offices in Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, under orders of the Postmaster General the following fourth-class post offices in the Third District of Georgia have been closed.

Sumter post office, a post office which had existed for approximately 90 years and a post office which served 27 families and, also, a school which was dependent upon that service; Dooling post office, an office which had been in existence for many, many years and serving 51 families; Cobb post office, an office serving 31 families and being the office which served the Veterans' State Park where the safety program, inaugurated by the State Highway Patrol of Georgia, is held annually and hundreds of boys attend annually, and where statewide veterans' activities are held on practically a year-round basis; and Plainfield post office, which has existed for more than 40 years and which serves more than 39 families.

Further, the post office at Powersville, an office which has been in existence for many years and which serves at least 175 persons, and which would serve the personnel and civilians at the United States Naval Base, which is now in process of being built and located only 4 miles from Powersville, and where a new State highway is being built to Robins Air Force Base only 12 miles away, will be closed shortly unless the Postmaster General shows a great change of heart.

In fact, every fourth-class post office in the district I represent, which has been considered by the Post Office Department, has been closed with the exception of Powersville, and the Postmaster General has advised that Powersville is to be closed. Additionally, the Postmaster General is now investigating other fourth-class post offices in the district I serve, and if the Postmaster General follows past performance those under investigation will be closed, also.

The wholesale closing of fourth-class post offices simply cannot be justified. The post offices I have referred to, which have already been closed, have been the means of holding those fine rural settlements together. The post offices and churches have been the means of keeping these people in their rural communities.

The post office service has been one service these rural people could see and understand, also, a service by their Government from some of the tax money they paid the Government.

Despite the fact that I thought the closing of these post offices was a tragic mistake, I have tried to feel that the fourth-class post offices in our district were sharing the same treatment as other offices over the Nation. I was terribly shocked, however, when I read in the papers last week that the Postmaster General had decided to retain a fourth-class post office in another section of this country which served 12 families, and that his decision to serve that office was based on the fact that a great athlete, in the years gone by, received his mail at that post office. This is not to be construed as a demand that the service of that post office be discontinued, but I do intend that it serve as an example to demonstrate the reckless action on the part of the Postmaster General. In common with every section in this country, prominent and remarkable people live in everyone of the areas of the post offices which have already been closed in our district.

Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that a review should be made by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service of every fourth-class post office which has been closed, and to ascertain the damage inflicted upon the people served by those offices and, also, to ascertain whether any well-defined and fair policy has been adhered to in the closing of these offices, or whether many have been recklessly disposed of and many have been retained for some fanciful, but impractical, reason.

Roses and Their Contribution to the History and Economy of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, when our esteemed colleague the gentlewoman from Ohio, Mrs. FRANCIS P. BOLTON, introduced House Joint Resolution 102 on January 10 for the purpose of designating the rose as the national flower of the United States, I was reminded of the contribution roses have made to the history and economy of Pennsylvania and, more specifically, to my congressional district.

In checking authoritative sources I have determined that the nursery production of rose plants is greater in Pennsylvania than in any other State east of the Mississippi, and in fact in any other State east of the Rocky Mountains, except Texas, where, as my informant puts it, "They do everything in a big way." Incidentally, the production in Pennsylvania centers in Chester County, my home county.

Pennsylvania is also a leading producer of cut roses for the flower market, with 31 producers operating greenhouses in our State, in which over 1½ million plants are under cultivation. This greenhouse production in Pennsylvania constitutes about 15 percent of the annual United States output and represents an income, at wholesale prices, of around $3 million.

On the historical side our research leads us to an interesting ceremony which takes place each year at Manheim in Lancaster County, Pa., and is traced to the life and times of "Baron" Henry William Stiegel, an ironmaster and manufacturer of early American glass. Mr. George L. Heiges, a noted historian, in commenting on Stiegel, who was a devout Lutheran, has this to say:

Earnest rosarians have knowledge of him through a unique service in a Lutheran church located in a small Pennsylvania town (Manheim), where one red rose passes as ground rent annually to a descendant of this many-sided man.

In addition to this reference to the part the rose has played in our early history, there is also the fact that the cities of Lancaster and York in Pennsylvania are known respectively as the Red Rose and White Rose Cities out of deference to the Houses of Lancaster and York in the mother country, from which their names were derived.

Returning to my home county of Chester, I am indebted to Mr. Sidney B. Hutton, of West Grove, Pa., the president of the Conard-Pyle Co., who has furnished me with the background material supporting the Red Rose rent celebration which is held each year at historic Red Rose Inn commemorating the payment of a red rose annually if demanded to William Penn and his descendants by the grantee of the land on which the inn is located. Mr. Hutton's interesting article is included in this extension of remarks and should lend further significance to the importance of roses to our way of life:

RED ROSE RENT AND HISTORIC RED ROSE INN

To pay the rent on a fine bit of property with "one red rose yearly if the same be demanded" is a delightful thought. Some such proviso has been found in several old deeds from the early days of this country. The earliest of these that has been discovered dates from 1731 and covers the tract of land at West Grove, Pa., on which the building of the present Red Rose Inn was begun in 1740. The land was part of the original grant from the King of England to William Penn. In 1731 this parcel was deeded to his grandson, also named William Penn, with the proviso for the payment of a red rose yearly if demanded, and the deed was so recorded. Later deeds to the same property in 1742 and 1748 continued to carry the same provision. Then, through the years of growth of this new nation, the old deeds lay forgotten.

In 1927 a part of this tract was purchased to provide increased acreage for growing Star roses, with no prior knowledge of the red rose rent proviso. With infinite care, the new owners proceeded to restore to beauty the old inn which was included in the purchase, and to preserve its interesting features. Its oldtime, simple charm has been

retained, along with its seven fireplaces, great Dutch ovens, old cupboards, handwrought hardware, etc. Its terraces and gardens were rescued from neglect and now their stonework and boxwood make a pleasant setting for the building itself. Adjoining it are the great fields of Star roses, each adding to the beauty of the other.

To discover the date of the original construction, for the restoration of the inn, research was made of old records concerning the property. Then was found the old proviso for the payment of one red rose yearly as a rental token. And there, acres of roses were growing on that very land, not only red roses in June but roses that bloom all season and of a color range undreamed of by the writers of those early deeds. It was as if they had somehow forecast, from some 200 years before, that this spot of earth belonged to roses and never should be sold without retaining that connection.

The Chester County Historical Society in 1947 erected a marker in front of Red Rose Inn commemorating this earliest Red Rose rent deed. On a bronze tablet embedded in a large boulder is inscribed the dates, names, and details of the Red Rose rent clause in the old deeds they found recorded in the Chester County archives.

"In 1731 John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, proprietaries, granted 5,000 acres to William Penn, grandson of the founder of Pennsylvania, subject to the rental of 'One red rose on the 24th day of June yearly if same be demanded.' In 1742 William Penn granted this tract to William Allen subject to his 'paying the red rose aforesaid yearly.' In 1748 William Allen sold 53½ acres of this tract to Samuel Cross. Again the rental terms included payment of one red rose. This marker is on the Samuel Cross property."

Star Roses held the first Red Rose Rent Day in 1937, to pay the year's rental of one red rose, according to the provision of the old deeds. The following year they decided they should present, not only the one red rose, but also another 205—one for each year that was not known to have been paid for since the date of the original proviso. Annual Red Rose Rent Day celebrations followed through 1941. Then World War II interrupted the custom and, in 1947, five red roses were paid to compensate for that accrual. Since then the Red Rose Rent has been paid annually, in behalf of Star Roses, by various eminent men, including James H. Duff, then Governor of Pennsylvania; George D. Aiken, United States Senator from Vermont; Dr. William Cadbury, emeritus professor of medicine, Lingnan University, Canton, China; Hugh C. McClelland, British consul general; M. Kebaili, French consul; and others.

The charming idea of paying a red rose as rent has great historical significance, with real meaning to freedom-loving people. In olden times a man was commonly required to pledge his sword and his life to the service of the feudal lord or great landowner, if he wished to acquire a bit of the countryside for his own use. This pledge would be in addition to any purchase price that might have been settled on, and became a perpetual, grim lien on the property, passed on from father to son. In 1215 the Magna Carta in England cut down somewhat this character of rent for the first time in feudal history. Charles II made use of a symbol such as the rose instead of demanding human service as rent.

It was natural for the sons of William Penn, the great, peace-loving Quaker, to use the symbol of the rose in this way in their new English colony. It pointed out the fact that feudal lords no longer had their private soldiers for neighborhood fighting, or to rent out for ready cash. This symbol of the rose was a symbol of the advance that had been made in law and thought, away from lifetime servitude, toward greater freedom and dignity for the human individual. So, on a Saturday early in September of each year that it is possible to hold the festival, one red rose is paid to a direct descendant of William Penn, for the growers of Star Roses, as an annual reminder that human freedoms that were so hard to gain must be preserved, and are not to be taken lightly.

Will Indiana Provide Schools for Its Own or Let United States Do It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Castle (Ind.) Courier-Times of January 21, 1955:

WILL INDIANA PROVIDE SCHOOLS FOR ITS OWN OR LET UNITED STATES DO IT?—GOAL SHOULD BE TO END PROPERTY TAXES FOR SCHOOL PURPOSES

There is a growing awareness that there must be a substitute for property tax to support our schools.

Close examination of the problem will reveal that property can no longer bear the load put upon it, should not do it, and that the choice to be made is whether we wish our schools to be financed by State taxation or by Federal taxation.

There are really only two practical alternatives if we wish to avoid the disaster of federalization of our schools: they are an increase of about 50 percent in the gross income tax or the levy of a sales tax. Whichever tax should be adopted, the money should be distributed to the schools on the same basis as the gross income-tax money now is distributed. That is, it should be collected from over the State as a whole, and be distributed to schools on a per pupil basis.

That way the child in a poor county has the same educational opportunity as the child in a wealthy county, all sorts of special aid programs for the poorer counties are made unnecessary, and local folks run local schools.

It is important, however, that this additional money raised by State taxation for school purposes not be restricted in its use. It should be handed over to the local schools, and they be permitted to use it for salaries, new buildings, coal, or whatever. After all, it takes all of these things to make a school.

The goal of this tax should be not just to alleviate the school situation. It should be to apply the cure by making its goal the practical elimination of property tax for school purposes.

This looks to the possibility of tax levies in our cities that would be below $5, which is all that property should reasonably and fairly be asked to pay.

Municipal government is in as bad shape as the schools, and the elimination of the schools from the property tax would make it possible for adequate civil city levies to be made without creating a burden. Home ownership and improvement would be encouraged, our cities and farms improved, and taxation levied in accordance with ability to pay.

If the State doesn't do the job, the Federal Government will.

How much time we have to act before federalization of our schools takes place nobody knows, but the school problem is acute right now, and if Indiana's General Assembly fails to act in accordance with its constitutional responsibility to provide schools in this State, nobody can promise that federalization of schools will not have taken place when it meets 2 years hence.

The National Security Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following most interesting and enlightening article that appeared in the Christian Science Monitor, January 24, 1955.

It is important to note that Robert Cutler, a highly respected and admired citizen of Massachusetts, and one who is so highly qualified in national security affairs of our Nation, is really the work horse of this organization. We from the Bay State are most confident that with men like Robert Cutler on the staff to investigate and advise the membership of this most important safety council our country we will have nothing to fear and that we will be on the right road to an enduring and lasting peace.

The article follows:

(By William H. Stringer)

On a certain Sunday last September some of the most powerful men in Washington flew to the President's summer White House, at Denver, to help Mr. Eisenhower thrash out a question which could mean peace or war: Whether to defend the islands off the Chinese mainland against the Communists.

These men comprised the membership of what is easily the most important, high policy ranging, "hush hush" outfit in the United States: the National Security Council.

It is safe to say that until that publicized flight, in response to Presidential summons, most Americans were almost entirely ignorant of the existence, not to say the mode of functioning, of this agency which has such solemn influence in framing the vital decisions which determine this country's foreign policy, safety, and security in a time of mortal storm.

When the planes from Washington touched down at Lowry Air Force Base that September Sunday, there emerged such men as Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Allan Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and a half dozen more.

These men bespeak the caliber of this organization which has variously been dubbed a supercabinet, a supreme high command, the successor to the State Department in the formulation of foreign policy, and a streamlined amalgamation of necessary functions.

WELL-GUARDED CORRIDOR

If one searches for the driving, pulsating "operations center" of this organization, one discovers it down a well-guarded corrider of the old State Department building, in a spare and spartan suite of offices where no reporter roams at will and where safes are locked with triple care. This is the domain of Robert Cutler, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the

energizer and catalyst whose indefatigable zeal keeps the National Security Council's wheels turning with marvelous efficiency.

It is Mr. Cutler, a bachelor and Bostonian banker, who briefs President Eisenhower for the weekly sessions of the National Security Council. It is he who chairmans the Planning Board of the working-level departmental officials which studies the problems brought before the council and formulates suggested courses of action.

Throughout the week in Washington, the topmost officers of the departments and agencies concerned with defense and foreign policy devote part of their time to functioning as a combined operations task force, grappling with the big issues. A special aura of distinction has developed around this council, so that the phrase "approved by the NSC" is powerfully influential with Congress and with public opinion generally.

That is, it is influential when people know what the NSC is doing, which isn't often. For this important aggregation has been criticized for being too "hush hush" for the good of the American people, for operating too much in a closed circuit where it hears only its own opinions, and for reaching decisions without benefit either of public discussion or of the advice of Congress.

WISE AND STRONG POLICY

One thing is certain, however: If the NSC didn't exist, something very much like it would be invented speedily in these days when American policy must be wise and strong.

When the United States was an isolated republic of the Western Hemisphere in the 19th century, or even in the 1920's when the annual budget was measured in millions rather than billions, there was no compelling need for a top policy-coordinating-and-advising body. But during the last stages of World War II the need for coherence among the agencies engaged in formulating politico-military policy became urgent.

This resulted in interagency conferences between representatives of the State, War, and Navy Departments. These became regularized into sessions of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, SWNCC was the forerunner of NSC.

In 1947 when Congress, by the National Security Act, unified the Armed Forces (at least on paper) and set up the Joint Chiefs of Staff, it also ordered into existence the National Security Council, which led a fairly mild and sheltered existence until President Eisenhower, with his talent for organization, for pooling of the best minds, and for orderly procedure, breathed new importance into the structure and began to rely heavily upon it.

By statute, the function of the council is "to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security so as to enable the military services and other departments and agencies of the Government to cooperate more effectively in matters involving the national security."

NO PRESS RELATIONS

No reporters cover the sessions of the NSC. There is no press-relations man on its staff. The council makes no public disclosures. No congressional committee scans its operations, as a joint committee of both Houses watchdogs the functioning of the Atomic Energy Commission. Its deliberations are uncovered only when its recommenadtions, approved by the President, are aired in some careful utterance by the President, Mr. Dulles, or another high official, or are discerned in some act of national policy.

When President Eisenhower stands before his weekly press conference and comments on the Nation's ability to maintain a sufficiently strong defense posture with fewer troops in uniform, the reporters surmise that this subject has been under discussion at the NSC.

When Vice President NIXON expressed to a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors his view that the United States might have to send troops to Indochina if the situation worsened, editors assumed that this was a Council conclusion, because Mr. NIXON attends these sessions (and presides when the President is absent) and because this is precisely the sort of decision with which the NSC normally deals.

As a matter of fact, the Council had debated the Indochina issue but had reached no conclusion—which indicates the perils of false assumption, and the dangers of having no publicity policy at all.

MEMBERSHIP LISTED

Who, precisely, sits on this Council besides the President and Vice President. The membership consists of:

By statute: the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles; the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Wilson; the Director of the Foreign Operations Administration, Harold Stassen; and the Director of Defense Mobilization, Arthur S. Flemming.

Added to the Council by Mr. Eisenhower: Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, Director of the Budget Rowland R. Hughes, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Radford, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Allan Dulles, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission Rear Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Director of the Bureau of the Budget Joseph M. Dodge, and Special Presidential Assistant Nelson Rockefeller.

Quite an aggregation. All have equal status; all join in the Council's deliberations.

President Truman made use of the National Security Council, but to no such extent as has President Eisenhower. During the Truman regime the NSC made only half as many recommendations, met only 40 percent as often. Whereas the funds budgeted for Council operations in the outgoing year of the Truman administration totaled $160,000, Mr. Eisenhower estimates an expenditure of $240,000 in fiscal 1956.

The President pledged, during his election campaign, that the NSC would be increasingly relied upon. This has happened. Seldom does the President allow anything to interfere with an early-morning appointment each Wednesday, when, at about 8:30, Mr. Cutler arrives briskly at the White House carrying a fat brief case full of top secret data.

PRESIDENT BRIEFED

At this session, lasting half to three-quarters of an hour, Mr. Cutler briefs the President in preparation for the weekly meetings of the full Council on Thursday. Theirs is a swift discussion—by two men who dislike waste motion, highly respect each other, and have similar, orderly thought habits.

They occasionally meet on more relaxed occasions, such as those rare White House evenings when the President and Mr. Cutler have talked far into the night. But of the Wednesday sessions Mr. Cutler observes:

"The President is amazingly perceptive. It takes me half a day to get ready for the questions he is likely to ask."

The Council, which meets on Thursday morning, is a streamlined body. Members are not allowed to bring staff, except in rare instances. Each official will already have received working-paper briefs from the Planning Board. Presumably, they have studied these carefully. Only for the greatest emergency is absence from a session excused.

Members sit down at 10 a. m. around the long table in the Cabinet Room—scene of the televised Cabinet report by Secretary of State Dulles last autumn. Seldom do they leave before 1 p. m.

The session starts with a globe-ranging 15-minute intelligence summary by CIA's Allan Dulles, brother of the Secretary of State. Then Mr. Cutler, in his crisp Boston accent, calls on the official whose department is most intimately concerned with the policy under discussion to state his views. If the topic were military commitments in Asia, this might be Admiral Radford.

BRISK DEBATE ENSUES

A brisk debate ensues, with each interested party speaking out boldly, including Mr. Eisenhower. When the matter has been thrashed out to everyone's satisfaction, then it is up to the President to render the final decision. Shall it be this course of action or that course, this policy or that policy, or some other?

The President seldom delays. He usually makes the big decision immediately. When he has done this, and a day or so later has affixed his initials to the paper embodying the study and decision, a new official policy of the United States has been established.

The NSC deals wholly with basic viewpoint and policy, not with implementation, tactics, or procedure. It never concerns itself with purely domestic affairs.

Behind the Council and acting as its spark plug, research agency, and formulator of alternatives stands the Planning Board.

This is the agency which, with Mr. Cutler as its busy chairman, grabs hold of a problem, obtains all available information on it, discovers what the financial cost to the United States will be, and proposes a solution or various alternative solutions. Membership on the Board embraces the same departments and agencies, but at the assistant secretary level.

Talking to Mr. Cutler, one is likely to discover that the Planning Board, which normally meets three times a week, has just kept its lights burning until 11 p. m. to develop an emergency presentation for the next council meeting. Mr. Cutler is equal to any such emergency. A truly extraordinary and dedicated man, this former brigadier general and board chairman of Boston's Old Colony Trust Co., maintains a daily work schedule averaging from 8:30 a. m. to 8:30 p. m. and usually including Saturdays.

He flew to Denver seven times last summer to brief the President but he saw that city only once in the daytime because his plane customarily arrived at 7:30 p. m. and he was off for Washington again at midnight.

Who decides when and where the council should next focus its massive and wide-ranging attention? Who decides what problem should be tackled?

The agenda materializes in various ways. Sometimes President Eisenhower, peering thoughtfully into the future, says to Mr. Cutler, "Bobby, I'd like to have you give this subject a run." Sometimes a Cabinet meeting will suggest a topic. Sometimes some new phase of Soviet or Chinese Communist policy will demand attention. And sometimes, as Mr. Cutler says too modestly, "We think of things here."

When the Planning Board tackles a problem, the subject is analyzed to discover the most likely line of approach. The CIA is asked for an intelligence report on the issue and the State, Defense, and Treasury Departments, the FOA, and other agencies produce their judgments and estimates. At the Board sessions Mr. Cutler works like a Socratic questioner to elucidate information.

Finally a working paper is ready for the Council members, a study organized into five parts: (1) A statement of basic considerations, (2) a statement of desired objectives, (3) the recommended courses of action—one or several, (4) an estimate of the financial cost (very important to the President), and (5) the voluminous documentation. The whole thing is carefully stamped "top secret" and so treated.

BOARD IMPLEMENTS DECISIONS

It is an ancient weakness of government that the most stupendous decisions may go to waste because of faulty implementation. To avoid this sort of thing, President Eisenhower in September 1953 established the Operations Coordinating Board, which takes over where the Council stops, and sees that NSC policies are actually carried out.

Chairman of the OCB is the State Department's Undersecretary Herbert Hoover, Jr., and sitting with him are top representatives from the Defense Department, CIA, FOA, and Mr. Rockefeller. Through the OCB many policies have been rescued from a snafu of misdirected application—or no application at all.

On file today in the locked safes of the Council are hundreds of policy papers bearing the activated Presidential initials: "D. D. E." They do not automatically become matters of public knowledge.

Sometimes a news leak by a columnist will disclose that the President has ruled against his military advisers on the Council and decided that American air support shall not be available for the defense of the coastal Chinese islands. Sometimes a dispute within the official family, for instance, between Messrs. Stassen and Humphrey over Asian aid, will disclose that no final policy decision on this point has been initialed by the President.

It is this lack of publicity, which in effect means a haphazard and disorderly publicity, that has earned for the National Security Council its most serious criticism to date.

QUESTIONS RAISED

Everyone admits that the NSC represents a better procedure than earlier practices when a President's working papers were sometimes carried in the band of his hat. But the question has strongly been raised whether Congress and the public really get an adequate look-in here.

Is there sufficiently wide participation in the formulation and discussion of crucial national policy? Is there sufficient cross-fertilization with differing viewpoints? Are the political realities brought sufficiently to bear? Or are the same men talking to each other, and getting the same unrefreshed answers?

Is it democratic for a nonelective super-Cabinet to reach, in secret, decisions which can mean peace and war to millions of Americans? Is there sufficient liaison with Congress? Is the regular Cabinet, with its wider representation, being displaced?

These are the questions raised. There are some impressive answers.

Perhaps the basic consideration is that the Council is not a policymaking body. As Mr. Cutler emphasizes, it has solely an advisory, recommendatory function. Its job, as spelled out by the National Security Act of 1947, is to advise and recommend. No policy proposed or developed through the NSC is official until the President has approved it.

Therefore, it is argued, the Council is simply a modern, streamlined, orderly method, established by Congress, by which the President may assemble the best advice from the best Government sources. This systematic pooling of advice is now a must, considering the tremendous responsibilities facing a modern President, it is contended.

COUNCIL SEEN PERMANENT

The Council has undoubtedly attained a permanent status. Other Presidents may rely on it less but no President is likely to dismantle it.

The National Security Council, in fact, seems likely to become imbedded in the Washington picture as one more of those extraconstitutional organs of government, even as is the Cabinet itself. Even though its function is strictly advisory to the President, the very caliber of its membership is such as to give any policy which has been matured through the Council the weight of a decree from high authority.

This being so, should anything be done (1) to improve public awareness of what the NSC is doing? (2) to bring wider public influence to bear on its deliberations?

Obviously the formulation of delicate policy cannot be conducted in a goldfish bowl. On the other hand there are presumably more effective ways of keeping the Nation informed than through news leaks and scoops by the Alsop brothers and Drew Pearson.

WATCHDOG UNIT PROPOSED

Should the President, since his is the final word, undertake a periodic public accounting of the NSC's deliberations and decisions—those which can safely be made public? Or, if not Mr. Eisenhower, should a wise and discerning director of public information be attached to the Council to make an orderly, periodic report to the Nation?

It has been suggested, also, that a congressional committee might be set up to review NSC operations, even as the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy watches over the AEC. Another proposal is that the President name a public commission from among the country's ablest civilians, a commission designed to function parallel with the NSC as an advisory agency on top-level policy. Such a commission would have full clearance for military secrets, power to require documents, and authority, as civilians, to make recommendations direct to the President.

Would this bring added experience and another set of values to bear on the great problems of the hour?

President Eisenhower apparently is happy with arrangements as they are. He has commented that the Council is at last working the way he likes it. It is a well-ordered and distinct improvement on earlier methods of policy formulation. But like all new institutions, it may well be subject to refinements and adjustments as experience dictates. And this institution merits the most thoughtful and appreciative concern, for it stands guard along our highest ramparts, and its Thursday morning deliberations develop policy which protects the entire free world.

Recognition of Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Sokolsky has written a most logical résumé of a situation our Nation is presently confronted with. I recommend that the membership of the House and United Nations read this most interesting article especially during these days when the game of international chess is so important to the future and security of our Nation and the world.

The article follows:

THESE DAYS

(By George Sokolsky)

RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA

The pull for recognition of Red China by the United Nations and the United States—in practice such recognition will be identical—is gaining force. As Red China grows increasingly recalcitrant and belligerent, many inside and outside the Government of the United States insist that, as the alternative is war or recognition, it ought to be recognition. Some even hold to the theory that recognition might achieve the hoped for split between Red China and Soviet Russia, which the British believe may occur.

What must be important to the United States at any time is the attitude of the Asiatic countries. In this respect, the 30-power conference of Asiatic and African countries to be held in April is of paramount significance. This will be the first all-Asian conference ever to have been held and will include Red China. Japan has been invited but not Formosa, which is indicative of the attitude.

This prospective conference, for some reason, is played down in the United States, but it may result in the advanced prestige of Red China in Asia.

At this conference, the leadership is likely to be taken by Nehru, of India, or Chou En-lai, of Red China. They may combine for strength, but Caesar and Napoleon cannot sit at the same table without one of them being at the head of it. Nehru will undoubtedly try to form an Asiatic-African combine of states that will be neutral, with New Delhi as the new Jerusalem, whereas Chou En-lai will labor to establish Peiping as the core of the revived Asiatic civilization according to the gospel of Karl Marx. A conflict between Nehru and Chou, should it occur, could be helpful to the American policy, but is not to be counted on.

The question of the recognition of Red China will take precedence at this conference at which will be present many United Nations members. They could form an embarrassing bloc within the United Nations—that is, embarrassing to the United States. The weakness of the American position from the standpoint of Asiatic logic is that if we recognize Russia, which is the mother country of Marxism, how can we reject China, which is an offspring?

Prof. C. Northcote Parkinson, of the University of Malaya, pleading for recognition, once put it this way:

"Diplomatic courtesies imply no approval of the way a land is ruled. If they did, Great Britain need never have recognized the independence of the American Colonies. In recognizing their independence, the British were not viewing the matter with enthusiasm. They were merely recognizing a fact. The first step toward peace in southeast Asia will be for the Americans to display as much sense of reality as was shown by George III. And George, remember, was not even sane."

Professor Parkinson forgets that the United States gained its freedom at the end of a war in which the British did badly. Naturally, the British did not view our independence with enthusiasm and never have. It was probably the greatest error in British history, as William Pitt and Edmund Burke told the Parliament of their day. Our present problem is not analogous unless we are prepared to say that because we lost the Korean war, we must recognize ourselves as vanquished and the Red Chinese as victors, accepting from them a conqueror's peace. We are not as insane as George III yet. At any rate, it is to be hoped that we have not lost all dignity and honor, because we fear an atomic war, despite the frightening consequences of such a war.

A Reluctant Vote

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted to all Members of the House to extend their remarks concerning House Joint Resolution 159, I want to take this oppor-

tunity of expressing my extreme reluctance in casting an affirmative vote on this resolution.

I would particularly like to associate myself with the forceful and pertinent remarks made by my able colleague from California, the Honorable CHET HOLIFIELD, as well as the clear and, I believe, the most important matters of principle stated to the House by the distinguished and beloved Speaker, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, as well as those of my respected colleague, the Honorable PAUL J. KILDAY.

My reluctance in voting for this resolution was heightened by the answer given by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs when, in answer to a question, he stated that he believed this resolution gave to the President direct authority to bomb the coast of China if, in the opinion of the Commander in Chief, such action was necessary to assure the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores. This answer highlights the extremely broad courses of action which this resolution, by implication, assures the President that we, in this House, have approved. In other words, the Congress—for the first time that I know of—is giving prior approval of actions which the President may take, as Commander in Chief—now unknown perhaps even to him—and certainly to us, and which, as was so well emphasized in the debate—and in the President's own message—are actions which he alone, under our Constitution, has the power to take.

This resolution and the rule under which it was adopted also, I am sure, prevented many of my colleagues from clearing up points which are of importance to them. For instance I, for one, do not want my vote in any way to indicate approval of any aims which the present so-called Government of the Republic of China has to restore itself to power on the mainland of China. This also does not imply that I approve of the present Communist Chinese Government. I do not. That such a rule was necessary does not detract from its unfortunate effects.

There were two main and prevailing reasons for my affirmative vote:

First, I have great respect and confidence in the leadership of the majority of this House of Representatives, and when that leadership—as in this case—was unanimous in believing that it was in the national interest to adopt such a resolution, it meant and did carry great weight with me.

Secondly, the message of the President carried one most significant sentence, and I quote:

> Thus it will reduce the possibility that the Chinese Communists, misjudging our firm purpose and national unity, might be disposed to challenge the position of the United States, and precipitate a major crisis which even they would neither anticipate nor desire.

To this the President also added, and I quote:

> I hope, however, that the effect of an appropriate congressional resolution will be to calm the situation rather than to create further conflict.

These are expressions of opinion from the one man who has the direct responsibility and who is in a position to have the most complete facts concerning this situation. In brief, this is a step the President asks for to further the cause of peace. Therefore, I reluctantly concluded that it was the duty of the Congress to support a direct request from the President for an action which he believed would contribute to peace as well as safeguard our national defense.

I can only pray—as I am sure that the vast majority of our fellow citizens are also doing—that the President may have divine guidance in his judgment. I pray, also, that he may realize that the passage of this resolution has placed upon him an even greater responsibility—that such additional power or influence as this resolution may give him shall never be used for any aggressive action of any kind.

Orange County, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a statement by Mr. Adolph Schoepe, president of Kwikset Corp., of Anaheim, Calif., which is in my congressional district. It presents a picture of the phenomenal growth of this area. The ideal climate is attractive not only for residential purposes but for desirable manufacturing activities.

A most important point of the article is the proving of the fallacy of communism and its antipathy to capitalism. Only under our free enterprise system can the necessary large investment of capital be obtained to make possible our huge employment and its resulting high standard of living.

The Kwikset Corp. can feel proud of its important contribution to the economy of Orange County and to the American way of life. The statement follows:

We all, no doubt, noted the tremendous home building activity in Anaheim and Orange County during the past several months. The face of our area has been changed extensively.

The research department of a southern California bank reports that Anaheim and Garden Grove are the fastest growing cities in perhaps the fastest growing county (percentagewise) in the United States.

To get an idea of the population growth in Orange County, consider these figures:

In 1930 the county had a population of 118,674. It then gained some 1,200 new residents per year up to 1940 when the population was 130,500.

Between 1940 and 1950 the county gained population at the rate of a little more than 8,500 persons a year to put Orange County population at 216,200 in 1950. From 1950 to 1953, our population grew at the rate of 20,000 a year. In 1953 it grew by 26,000 to give us a population of around 300,000 on January 1, 1954. Last year the area took another big population jump. Experts say it is safe to predict that our population will continue to grow rapidly for several years.

It may be interesting to note that the core of Los Angeles—the central sections—are declining in growth as people and industries (which are able to move) decentralize and spread into communities near Los Angeles.

Industries want to be near the great population center of southern California—and the important west coast markets—but do not want to be swamped by the congestion of a metropolitan area.

That is one of the reasons why Kwikset came to Anaheim from South Gate, and is one of the reasons why more and more new industry is being attracted to this area.

As the population in our area grows, so must job opportunities. Jobs must be created in industry and agriculture. These jobs not only will provide livelihoods for many families but will accelerate expansion in retail stores and other service establishments—which will provide more jobs.

But, of course, this is easier said than done.

Studies show that an average of $13,700 is invested by American manufacturing in order to put 1 person in a production job.

This means that before a person can go to work in a manufacturing plant, such as ours, someone must invest $13,700 to provide 1 job. Where does this money come from? It represents someone else's labor and his ability to save money to invest in a job—after taxes have consumed a large part of his earnings.

Where does it go? It goes for machinery and equipment, buildings (working space), inventory, working capital, financing costs, land, and some miscellaneous expenditures.

It is estimated that the labor force—men and women who must find jobs in industry—is growing by approximately 1 million persons a year in the United States. Consequently, it is evident that $13.7 billions for new jobs is required every year if this country simply holds its own against unemployment.

All this makes clear the importance to our economy, both in the United States and Orange County, of the vital role each person plays in giving utmost encouragement to the men and women who manage the plants, decide their locations, and who invest in our industrial expansion.

United States To Get Most From Tidelands Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the Tidelands legislation in the 83d Congress many extravagant statements and claims were made by opponents of the legislation including such allegations as: "It would give away Federal resources to the oil companies," and that "it would deprive the Federal Government of revenues and thus burden Federal taxpayers."

As you recall, the legislation confirmed the titles to the submerged lands within historic boundaries in the respective coastal States. Thus it was apparent and obvious that whatever the Federal

Government gave up, if anything, was to our States and not to private oil companies.

Now, almost 2 years after passage of the legislation, experience shows that in actuality the Federal Government and not the States is the chief income beneficiary from this act of Congress which corrected the unfortunate implications of a Supreme Court decision.

Take the situation of two States only, Texas and Louisiana. Undersea oil deposits off their coasts are estimated at 13 billion barrels. Of this, the Federal Government controls an estimated 11.5 billion barrels.

That amount of oil, at today's prices, is worth about $30 billion. The royalties expected by the Federal Government, at 16⅔ percent, are placed at $5 billion. In addition, rental and bonuses to be collected by the Federal Government are expected to add another $1 billion. Thus, from this area alone, the Federal Government will receive $6 billion in revenues that could not, and would not, have been available except for the fact that the Tidelands law swept away inhibiting legal roadblocks and opened up these undersea areas to exploration and development.

Details regarding this Federal bonanza in offshore oil are contained in the following article from U. S. News & World Report for December 24, 1954:

Tidelands oil is going to turn out to be a bonanza for the Treasury in Washington, far less so for the States that fought so hard for the title to these lands under the Gulf of Mexico.

It appears now as though the Federal Treasury will end up at least $6 billion richer because of tidelands development. The States of Louisiana and Texas will be lucky if they get $1 billion.

This twist of fortune results from the wording of the law that turned over part of the tidelands to the States and the oil development that now is going on. In writing the law, Congress gave Texas title to lands extending 3 leagues, or 10.5 miles, offshore, while Louisiana was given title to lands 3 miles out. The rest of the Continental Shelf, stretching out as far as 100 miles, was reserved to the National Government. Louisiana, however, is claiming title to lands going out to 27 miles.

It is these lands reserved to the Federal Government that now are turning out to be most attractive to the companies that are searching for oil. These lands also are believed to contain almost eight times as much oil as the lands now held by the two States.

Federal officials, in fact, are surprised at the prices they are getting for drilling rights in the submerged lands. They recently asked for bids on 199 tracts of about 5,000 acres each off the Louisiana coast. They expected to get about $50 million for the lot. Instead they got one hundred twenty-one million for only 97 tracts. The other 102 tracts were withdrawn because of the conflicting claims to title from Louisiana.

So far, the Treasury is getting $144 million for leasing only 462,000 acres—less than 3 percent of the submerged lands mapped as potentially oil bearing. So, just for drilling rights alone, the Federal Treasury now is likely to get at least $1 billion when the whole area is leased.

Royalties too: In addition, the Government will collect 16⅔ percent of the value of all oil produced. The Geological Survey estimates that oil in these lands amounts to 11.5 billion barrels. At today's prices, that means a return of at least $5 billion in royalties.

All of this money is now destined to go into the general fund of the Treasury. Once, however, Congress came close to setting aside offshore-oil revenues for the benefit of the Nation's public schools. That proposal passed in the Senate but was blocked in the House. Later the "oil for education" plan was shelved in the conflict over giving tidelands to the States. This plan now is expected to be revived.

Whatever is done with the money, it now is clear that one of the most extensive oil hunts in history is about to get under way, and the Federal Government will get the lion's share of the public benefits. The one hundred and forty-four millions that the Federal Treasury already is offered for a fraction of the tidelands, contrasted with the sixty-five million realized from leases by Louisiana and Texas, is an indication of what lies ahead.

More than 30 oil companies now are active in the hunt for oil. Before they are through, they expect to locate at least as much oil under water as that already proved in the coastal plain of the Gulf States. This dry-land area is known to contain 11 billion barrels of oil and 67 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. New discoveries are still being made.

Drills go deeper: The advantage to the Federal Government results from the growing ability of oil companies to drill farther out from shore and in ever-deepening waters. Not so long ago, a 60-foot depth of water was considered the limit. This seemed to give the Gulf States all the breaks in tidelands development. But now Continental Oil Co., with associates, is preparing to drill in 97 feet of water off Grand Isle, La. Gulf Refining Co. has leased a Federal tract that lies under 164 feet of water. And oil engineers and shipbuilders have designs for seagoing platforms that will operate at 200-foot depths.

These developments have changed the basic conception of oil possibilities. The offshore area once was thought to embrace no more than 25,000 square miles. Now the estimates are double that figure, with most of the area under Federal control.

Underwater explorations are being stepped up by recent finds. Magnolia Petroleum Co. and associated firms brought in a new well on a submerged salt dome 30 miles off the Louisiana coast. The same companies made another strike 18 miles offshore. Another group also opened a new field 30 miles out, and Phillips Petroleum Co. located a natural-gas well in still another area. Shell Oil Co. has made a strike close to the 3-mile limit off Louisiana, and Standard Oil of Texas has brought in a discovery well near Corpus Christi, Tex., in State-owned waters.

At the moment, at least 22 wells are being drilled in Federal waters alone. This drilling is expected to double in the next year as more and better platforms, tenders, and barges are built.

However, it is not cheap to explore for undersea oil. A typical company usually invests $3 million in seismographic surveys alone, just to find indications of oil. Then anywhere from $2 million to $10 million goes for drilling equipment. Another $1 million may be needed to drill a well to a depth of 10,000 feet, where most of the oil is found.

These costs can be justified only if large amounts of oil are discovered. As one company executive says: "It looks like we'll have to learn to walk away from small discoveries."

Billions of barrels: Actually, the companies expect to find a lot of oil. One estimate is that, within 5 or 6 years, explorations will turn up 6 billion barrels of new oil reserves, plus 15 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Official estimates indicate that the whole submerged area, State and Federal, will add 13 billion barrels to the Nation's present proved reserves of 34 billion barrels. Underwater oil off California may add another 2 billion barrels. That adds up to enough oil for about 20 years, at last year's rates of United States production.

Most of the oil hunting is being conducted at present off the Louisiana coast. In the waters off Texas, drilling difficulties are reported to be much greater because of high winds and rough waters. Two recent drilling ventures in this area were failures. Nevertheless, oil-company executives rate their prospects off Texas as good and are planning on more extensive drilling. They expect to solve their problems as they gain more experience.

Eye to the future: The emphasis at present is on locating reserves. What most companies want primarily are reserves for future production, not oil that is to be marketed now. Reserves are a guaranty that oil producers will stay in business for many years ahead. Also, before undersea oil can be marketed, pipelines must be laid to link offshore wells with refineries on land. To date, one pipeline has been laid stretching out 17 miles from the Louisiana coast. This is to be lengthened soon to 48 miles.

Signs are, therefore, that the actual marketing of tidelands oil will not be undertaken on a large scale for some years. That means large royalties to the States and Federal Government will not be realized either, until sometime in the future. However, there seems to be little doubt that eventually a very large public revenue will be realized from offshore oil and that more than 85 percent of it will flow into the coffers of the Federal Government.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, on this 75th birthday of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, I wish to include in my remarks a poem written by Horace C. Carlisle, of Winston-Salem, N. C., honoring this great American patriot:

GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

G-en. Douglas MacArthur is known,
E-verywhere, as a great general who
N-ever forsook or deserted his own—

D-aring, in spite of all odds, to stand true.
O-n all occasions his conscience was guide,
U-nder God, he stood as firm as a rock—
G-od gave him strength; upon Him he relied;
L-oyal to Him, he survived every shock.
A-nxiously fought he to win every fight,
S-trongly supported by justice and right.

M-ade in the image of God, 'twas his aim
A-lways to fight, not to lose, but to win—
C-owardly knuckling, to win himself fame
A-nd men's applause, was unpardonable sin.
R-ight was the might that gave to him his hope
T-o win the Russian-planned Korean war—
H-e, more than Truman, knew best how to cope,
U-nder God, with the foes that we abhor—
R-ussia's defeat was what he battled for.

—*Horace C. Carlisle.*

Russia's Drive to the Pacific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by a brilliant young Marine Corps officer, Col. J. D. Hittle, is worthy of congressional attention, particularly during these critical times in the Far East.

The article is factual and denotes a great amount of diligent research. It is brief and most informative.

Colonel Hittle is well known to our entire membership, and is to be commended for his wonderful achievement in this article:

RUSSIA'S DRIVE TO THE PACIFIC
(By Col. J. D. Hittle)

Commodore Matthew Perry, USN, who opened the long-shut doors of Japan, was more than an unusually able admiral, capable of carrying out delicate diplomatic policy. He was, unquestionably, a far-sighted strategic thinker possessing the all-too-rare ability to see events of his time in long-range historical perspective.

Perry, who participated in the bitter international competition of the western Pacific when that area was developing at mid-19th century into a vast sea-power area, recognized the great geopolitical forces then taking shape. It was in a speech to the American Geographical Society in New York in March 1856 that Perry made his now famous forecast of events in Pacific Asia:

"It requires no sage to predict events as strongly foreshadowed to us all. * * * It seems to me that the people of America will, in some form or other, extend their power until they have brought within their embrace the multitudes of islands of the great Pacific * * * and I think, too, that eastward and southward will her great rival of future aggrandizement (Russia) stretch forth her power to the coast of China and Siam, and thus the Saxon and the Cossack will meet once more, in strife or in friendship, on another field."

Seldom has there been a more accurate prophecy of the course of international affairs. In terms of history, a century is but a tick of eternity's clock, but in not even quite a century since his speech, events have heavily underlined Perry's grasp of history and the accuracy of his vision.

By this point of the mid-20th century, America, by purchase of Alaska, victory in the Spanish-American War, and defeat of Japan has become the dominant seapower of the Pacific Basin. Truly, America had brought within her embrace the multitudes of islands of the great Pacific, and most certainly, that much of Perry's prophecy has evolved as he saw it at that time.

And, unfortunately for the interests of the free world, Perry's prophecy as to Russian power stretching out to the coasts of China had come true and extension southward to Siam is perilously close to reality. Today, a new contender has entered the Pacific seapower area. World communism, under the leadership of Soviet Russia, currently controls the Asiatic Pacific littoral from the Arctic to Indochina.

The strategic result is that the world is witnessing Russia, the world's greatest landpower, emerge as a Pacific power of major consequence. Russia's rise as a seapower in the western Pacific resulted, paradoxically, from the eastward extension of Russian landpower to its geographical limit. The shore of the Pacific marked the eastern boundary of her landpower and when Russia reached that water boundary, further eastward expansion would be largely in terms of maritime seapower.

It is from Vladivostok that Russian power in Pacific Asia has radiated, and it is this base that has served as imperial and, later, Soviet Russia's main springboard for projecting influence throughout northeast Asia and much of the Pacific littoral. Russian establishment of that foothold on the Pacific marked the beginning of Russia's power in that vital area of the world and, by so doing, underlined the geopolitical vision of Commodore Matthew Perry who so accurately appraised the inexorable currents of history that were to bring the United States and Russia to the role of contenders for control of the western, if not all of the Pacific Basin.

Vladivostok is the base for Russian power in Pacific Asia. Without such a base the history of Russian activity in the Far East would read much differently, and the problems of world strategy would be much different and probably much more simple.

Although Russian exploration and acquisition of the northern Pacific shores has had significant, strategic implications, the focal point of Russian Pacific power is Vladivostok in the southern part of Russia's Maritime Province. Possession of this Maritime Province between the Ussuri River and the sea—the area known as the trans-Ussuri region—flanking Manchuria from the sea and stretching southward along the Sea of Japan almost to Korea, has been indispensable to the development of Russian power in the western Pacific area. Unquestionably, Russian acquisition of this territory on the Pacific littoral constituted one of the most important developments of modern history.

An understanding of how Russia obtained Vladivostok and the surrounding maritime provinces is essential background for any basic appraisal of Russian power in the Far East.

The story of the Russian march to the Pacific began in the reign of the able but cruel czar, Ivan the Terrible, in the latter half of the 16th century. His was a Russia in transition. The yoke of Tartar domination had been thrown off less than a hundred years before; Moscow had not consolidated her position as successor to Kiev as the seat of power. Tartars in the south, Poland, Lithuania, and the German knights in the north threatened the existence of Muscovy itself.

To the east was the vast expanse of an apparently limitless frontier sparsely settled by native groups, an easy target for conquest and colonization. Actual conquest of the lands east of the Urals dates from 1580. However, Ivan, plagued by internal and external threats, had no time for carefully planned exploitation of his eastern frontier.

In a real sense, the conquest beyond the Urals was an accurate reflection of the hectic conditions of then contemporary Russia, for the march to the Pacific was begun by a Cossack outlaw named Yermak. It was not the patriotic cause of carrying eastward the banner of Muscovy that induced Yermak to push beyond the Urals. Rather, it was because of his desire to escape Muscovy, for Yermak was under sentence of death if apprehended, for rebellion against the crown.

At the head of a small group of armed adventurers Yermak, in the fall of 1581, defeated the native prince Kuchum and claimed the vast trans-Ural territory, the "capital" of which was the town of Sibir—a significant term, for from it is derived Siberia, the name by which the entire area east of the Urals is known.

Yermak, a realist and opportunist, voluntarily presented his conquered territories to the Tsar who, in return, rewarded him with a pardon and gifts. Thus the authority of Moscow was carried beyond the Urals and the frontier was opened. The overland move to the east had begun and it was not to end until it reached the Pacific. Significantly, the colonization of Siberia and the drive to the Pacific was not initially the result of a deliberate governmental design, but rather the early flow of hardy peasants and adventurers, migrating steadily toward a retreating frontier in an effort to improve their economic and political status.

Parenthetically, it is worth noting the historical similarities in the colonization of the American and Siberian frontiers. On both frontiers colonization began in the latter 16th or early 17th century. While the American and Siberian colonists certainly had different interpretations of freedom, each in their own way were seeking it. They were seeking material things, too, for the magnet that drew adventurers further and further into the frontiers of both Siberia and America was the quick riches in the form of furs. Yet, there was another group which contributed later in the Tsarist regime to development of Siberia. These were the exiles who, usually for political offense, were forced to settle in Siberia. While their colonizing role was significant, they did not play as large a part in Siberian development as some popular accounts have indicated.

On each frontier, wilderness communications were facilitated by great rivers which served as the highways of exploration. Although most of the main Russian rivers empty into the Arctic seas, their tributaries and frequently portions of the main rivers flow in an easterly or westerly direction, thus providing convenient means for waterborne penetration of the frontier.

Also, in both instances possession of the frontier was obtained from native peoples by armed conquest: In America it was from the Indian tribes and in Siberia it was from the natives who were of largely Mongol stock. Not the least significant was the fact that the American and Siberian lines of colonization (the American marching westward and the Siberian marching eastward) were converging on the Pacific. It was this fundamental feature that so impressed Perry. Thus, in both America and Russia the frontier drew both peoples toward the Pacific, and by so doing the retreating frontiers were shaping the present conflicts of interest. With good historical reason, it can be stated that the Russian colonization of Siberia and the exploitation of the American frontier were moving Anglo-Saxon and Russian peoples in accordance with their manifest destinies on collision courses.

Within 6 years after Yermak seized Sibir, Russian colonists had pushed beyond the Urals to establish the town of Tobolsk. The march continued and the shores of Lake Baikal were reached in 1651.

Again, however, some of the land had to be wrested from the natives by force of arms, and it was only after 3 years of fighting 1655–58) that the tough Buriat Mongols of the Baikal region were conquered. As if impatient to reach the Pacific, the bolder colonists and adventurers refused to wait for the pacification of the Buriats and pressed on in the trans-Baikal region between the lake and the Manchurian frontier. As the Cossack spearhead of the Russian drive to the east moved deeper into this trans-Baikal area it reached the region of two rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri. These waterways were destined to play an increasingly important role in Russian military and diplomatic effort to establish a firm foothold in eastern Asia.

By the mid-17th century the Cossacks under Khabanov had sailed down the Amur, plundering the natives and exacting tribute as they went. At about the same time a Russian fort was established on the Amur, thus signifying in eastern Asia what other peoples in other places were to learn about the Rus-

sians—that conquest by Muscovy was not a transitory raid, but eventual occupation and accession.

Having reached the valleys of the Ussuri and the Amur, the Russian expansion to the sea met with an unexpected and formidable obstacle.

What had hapepned was that the Russians, who moved so swiftly through the scattered native tribes east of the Urals and in the Baikal region had, by reaching the Amur and Ussuri, pushed their expansion to the northern borders of the Chinese empire. No longer were the Cossack adventurers dealing with relatively ineffective tribesmen. Instead, they were confronted by one of the oldest and most powerful nations of the world. It was an unfortunate time for the Russians to challenge Chinese power, for China of the latter 17th and early 18th century was a China under the rule of the great K'ang Hsi, second emperor of the then new Manchu Dynasty, and one of the most able statesmen ever produced by the oriental world. This vigorous and wise ruler was not slow in reacting to the Russian pressure against his tributary peoples to the north.

Russia's armed occupation of the Amur-Ussuri region was accompanied by diplomatic overtures by the Russians toward the imperial court in Peking. Each of these early missions failed because the Russians did not offer tribute, a required ritual in initiating diplomatic relations with China, which had long ruled as the Middle Kingdom of the oriental world. The historian Aaston Cohen relates, however, that one Russian mission to Peking did return with a letter from the court, but the letter "was of no use to anybody for nobody in Moscow could read it."

K'ang Hsi was not one to be intimidated by the appearance of the Russian soldiers and colonists on his northern borders. Nor, on the other hand, were the Russians, after pushing the frontier all the way from the Urals, in any mood to turn back toward the Urals because their presence was offensive to the Chinese emperor.

As a result, there began an undeclared but bitter border war, although neither the Russians nor the Chinese wanted war. Russia sought commerce and territory north of Manchuria; K'ang Hsi's primary objective was the stabilization of his northern borders and the protection of his tributary tribes in that area threatened by Russian expansion.

In 1685 K'ang Hsi initiated negotiations with Moscow for a settlement of that Chinese-Russian conflict in the Far East. The Czar indicated a conciliatory attitude by designating Theodore Golovin as his ambassador for the negotiations with China. Four years later, in the summer of 1689, Chinese and Russian representatives met at Nerchinsk, east of Lake Baikal.

The negotiations were conducted under conditions which emphasized that in the Orient, as elsewhere, diplomatic and military strength are not unrelated. It is recorded that the Russian proposals were supported by the presence of 1,000 soldiers. K'ang Hsi demonstrated his faith in the value of diplomacy backed by force by supporting his representatives with a fleet of river boats, artillery, and 10,000 troops.

Apparently the Russian envoy got the point. The Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) was the first treaty between China and a European power. It was also a diplomatic victory for China. Under the terms of that historic treaty—and in respect for K'ang Hsi's 10,000 troops at Nerchinsk—the Russians agreed to withdraw from the entire valley of the Amur.

Thus China was freed from the threat of Russian pressure on the northern borders of Manchuria and Russia was halted in her drive to establish a base of power in the Amur-Ussuri region of northeast Asia. Even the fort of Albazin on the upper Amur was razed in accordance with Chinese demands.

One aspect of the Nerchinsk Treaty is of immediate interest in view of the recent and prolonged Korean negotiations over the issue of prisoners of war. It will be recalled that the Communist negotiators in Korea demanded the repatriation of all prisoners, regardless of their personal desires and irrespective of whether they were captured by force or surrendered willingly.

At Nerchinsk the Russian and Chinese negotiators agreed on the repatriation of "deserters" from their respective forces along the border. Thus, at the end of the 17th century, Chinese-Russian negotiations demonstrated a line of thought with respect to repatriation of enemy-held nationals which was to constitute a fundamental issue in the Korean negotiations over two and a half centuries later. Again, we have an eloquent example of how the lessons of oriental history have direct application in present-day Far Eastern affairs.

In essence, the Nerchinsk treaty expelled Russia from the Amur-Ussuri region. By so doing, the Manchu Emperor K'ang Hsi relieved the pressure on his northern Manchurian border, and he blocked, for almost a century and a half, Russian access to the strategic maritime province. However, the Russian tide of eastward expansion was running too fast and too strongly to be dammed completely by the reversal at Nerchinsk. Deprived of the Amur-Ussuri region, Russian expansion was deflected northward into the northeast Kamchatka region of northeast Siberia. Eventually, Russian expansion jumped the Bering Straits and moved into the American shores of the northern Pacific. All of which serves to illustrate the almost irresistible momentum with which Russia of the 18th and early 19th century pressed eastward into the Pacific littoral.

However, such expansion in the north did not make Russia forgetful of the more hospitable climate and terrain of the Amur-Ussuri region. An unfaltering memory has been an historic characteristic of Russian—Czarist or Soviet—imperialism. An objective once sought was never forgotten. Russia's patience was equaled only by her determination to seize the first opportunity to take that which had been denied at Nerchinsk.

Sensing that such an opportunity was soon to arise in the Far East, the Russian Government in 1828 revived its interest in the Amur region by ordering a survey of the entire area. As the middle of the 19th century approached, 4 factors combined, as if in a giant conspiracy of circumstance, to bring Russia once again to the northern borders of Manchuria and the Amur route to the sea. The first and perhaps the most basic of these factors was that the deterioration, which inevitably overtook all Chinese dynasties, had begun to manifest itself in the Manchu court. Next, unfortunately for China, deterioration of the Manchu dynasty coincided with the entry of the great western maritime nations into competition for the Chinese trade, accompanied by demands for extraterritorial concessions which China was incapable of resisting.

Then, China, by her failure to colonize the Amur-Ussuri region, made the area a tempting target for colonization. Such failure to exploit and consolidate the diplomatic victory at Nerchinsk, created in a sense, a power vacuum in the Amur-Ussuri region. Russia, whether Czarist or Soviet, has demonstrated an historical eagerness to fill such vacuums. This was to prove no exception.

Further, in 1847 the Czar designated a Nicholas Muraviev to be governor-general of the vast area known as Eastern Siberia. For that reason the year 1847 was destined to be an historic one in the long story of Russian imperialism. Muraviev was a man of great determination and astuteness, and like some other successful agents of imperialism in the Far East, he was apparently not hampered by an overdose of scruples.

Muraviev clearly envisioned the geopolitical significance of Russian possession of the strategic trans-Ussuri region on the Pacific. Control of that area would outflank Manchuria on the sea and would inevitably serve to project Russian power southward toward Korea and China proper.

Fortunately for Muraviev, Russian colonization in northeast Siberia had not stopped with the rebuff of Tsarist expansionism at Nerchinsk. Although blocked in the more desirable Amur-Ussuri region, development of eastern Sibera had been continued by exploration and active colonization in the north. The Kamchatka Peninsula was occupied in 1707 and the bleak Kolyma region opposite Alaska was colonized by 1742. The Pacific littoral had a magnetic attraction for Russian imperialism and in 1732 the Russian explorers Fedorov and Avozdev reached Alaska. Nine years later Captains Behring and Chinikov were sailing along what is southern Alaska. The Russian-American Company, under Baronov, had established Russian authority in Alaska, and by 1812 he had a Russian colony in California. It is indeed worth noting how vigorously Russian imperialism moved out of northeast Manchuria to North America and continued southward along America's Pacific littoral. Baronov, who was dedicated to his dream of making the Pacific a Russian lake, died in 1818. Had he lived a few years more it is highly posible that Russian expansion on the west coast of the American continent would have assumed a size and degree of permanency that could not have failed to create a fundamental Russian-United States conflict of interests in the 19th century.

Such Russian expansion around the northern rim of the Pacific indicated how Russia, in the 18th century, as a result of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, bypassed her main objective, the trans-Ussuri region which she wanted for her base of power in the western Pacific. It was bypassed, but not forgotten, for it always loomed large in her imperialistic designs. Thus, when the deteriorating power of the Manchu dynasty in the mid-19th century offered the opportunity for Russia to make another bid for the trans-Ussuri coastal region, Muraviev's position was strengthened by the colonization of the Siberian frontier and settlement of the northeast Asian and northwest American coastal area. All of these developments had the effect, in a geographical sense, of flanking the trans-Ussuri objective.

Muraviev moved rapidly in tightening the encirclement of his objective area. In 1848 he made a test violation of the Treaty of Nerchinsk by sailing a Russian force down the Amur. This brought forth no strong Chinese protest. In 1850 he established, again in violation of the treaty, the city of Nikolaievsk at the mouth of the Amur. Russia had a firm foothold on the northern flank of the vital coastal area between the Ussuri and the sea.

In 1854 the Czar conferred on Muraviev what amounted to plenary authority to negotiate the boundary problem with China and was free to consummate his plan for acquiring the trans-Ussuri region as the bastion of Russian power on the Pacific.

China was progressively weakened by foreign intervention and domestic unrest. This was the moment he had hoped for, and in 1858, as China fought the T'ai-pings in civil war and the British and French in the Arrow War (over trade diplomatic representation, and extraterritorial rights) Muraviev succeeded in bringing Chinese envoys to a boundary conference at Aigun, on the upper Amur.

At Aigun there was a reversal of the Chinese and Russian positions at Nerchinsk

over a century and a half before. At the time of the Aigun negotiations, China had no forces to spare for a border war with Russia. Muraviev had a small but superior force as well as a growing base of power resulting from Siberian colonization. Power was on the Russian side, and the Treaty of Aigun was a Russian diplomatic victory. Again, an example of the influence of power in oriental diplomacy.

The Aigun Treaty was a salient, although not complete, victory for Muraviev. He did gain Russian possession of all the northern (left) bank of the Amur, the area from which the Russians were excluded at Nerchinsk. This Chinese concession to Russian imperialism established the northern Manchurian-Siberian border essentially as it has remained to the present time.

The agreement on the settlement of the trans-Ussuri issue is of more than academic interest, for it was based on a compromise, the pattern of which has become virtually the hallmark of Soviet expansion in the present age. China refused to cede the trans-Ussuri and Muraviev would not withdraw his demand that it be transferred to Russia. Muraviev then resorted to the device of joint control of the region and this was finally accepted as the basis of settlement.

This was satisfactory to Muraviev, for he knew that joint control of the area would eventually mean Russian control. Apparently the Manchu court at Peking sensed the same outcome and the Emperor renounced that portion of the treaty.

Such Chinese reaction had no effect on Muraviev. By the terms at Aigun he had gained Russian entry into the trans-Ussuri and he had no intention of withdrawing as long as he had the stronger military forces in the area.

While Muraviev was vigorously pushing his occupation of the disputed area, a determined effort to obtain treaty sanction for Muraviev's invasion was being made in Peking. On this the Manchus were still adamant, curtly informing General Ignatiev, Muraviev's partner in imperialism, that even the joint-control provision of the Aigun Treaty was null and void.

But the Manchus were still in the unfortunate position of not being able to back their diplomacy with force. In 1860 Tai-ping rebel armies were devastating vast areas of China proper, the joint British-French forces had occupied Peking, burning the summer palace as punishment for the deaths of 20 European captives of the Chinese. Chinese resistance collapsed and the Manchu Emperor fled to the mountains of Jehol, on a face-saving hunting trip, leaving his brother, Prince Kung, to settle with the French and English.

Such a confused and troubled situation was just what the Russian representative, General Ignatiev, wanted and he moved rapidly, and with no small degree of astuteness. Accordingly, when he made his move, he did so with at least superficial subtlety, demonstrating an awareness of the oriental emphasis on saving face. His approach to Prince Kung was simply this: China was being invaded by the powerful British and French forces; the summer palace had been burned; Peking was faced with destruction; as a Russian, and hence a friend of China, he would intervene to save Peking from the French and British. In return for this friendship, Russia only wanted the trans-Ussuri region.

Prince Kung saw the true inwardness of the proposal, but he was powerless to reject it. Thus the Manchus in 1860 learned, as did Sun Yat-sen a half century later, the high cost of Russian friendship.

So, in November of 1860, Ignatiev and Prince Kung signed the agreement by which the trans-Ussuri region was ceded outright to Russia, thus obtaining treaty title to what Muraviev had actually, if illegally, already made a part of Russia. However, the legal affirmation of such Russian imperialism was a highly desirable achievement, for it strengthened Russian claim to a vital region at a time of intense European competition for Asiatic possessions.

The results for Russia and the modern world have been indeed significant. The Russian frontier had reached the sea and Manchuria was cut off from it. Russian territory now reached to almost the northern boundary of Korea. Russia, via the land route, had emerged as a power on the Pacific possessing a strategic coastal lodgment to serve as the base for her struggle against the maritime powers for control of Asia.

In the southern part of the newly acquired trans-Ussuri region—now known as the Maritime Province—Muraviev founded the city that was to be the hub of Czarist, and later Soviet, power on the Pacific. The founding signaled the culmination of an era of expansion, colonization, and imperialism begun by Yermak, the Cossack who crossed the Urals 200 years before. It also marked the opening of a new era of increased Russian competition in the Pacific Basin, an era of east-west Pacific conflict so accurately forecast by Commodore Perry.

In view of the events of far-eastern history, since Muraviev founded that city, it would appear that the name given it was less a geographical designation than an indication of the role its imperialist founders intended it would play. That city was Vladivostok—"domination of the Pacific."

Partnership for Whose Benefit?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a column written by Thomas L. Stokes, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star:

PARTNERSHIP FOR WHOSE BENEFIT?—EISENHOWER PHILOSOPHY SEEN LEADING TO GREAT MONOPOLY IN POWER AND CONSERVATION—AND WITH TAX MONEY

In his message to Congress, President Eisenhower harps constantly and repeatedly upon his "partnership" idea, so-called, for conservation and development of our natural resources. He refers to a "partnership" among Federal, State, and local governments and private enterprises, with emphasis upon shifting responsibility away from the Federal Government.

Already it has raised the question: Partnership for whose benefit?

For purposes here, we will just mention in passing the revelation of how special benefits are being conferred upon powerful electric utilities by operation of this policy in development of water resources. What "partnership" means is that the utilities "monopolize the bulk of revenues" at the dams. So the trick is described by newly elected Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Democrat, of Oregon.

He knows. He won election, as the first Democratic Senator from Oregon in 40 years by exposing the harmful effects of the partnership program on the people of his State and on development of the Pacific Northwest. He is a recruit to a group in Congress which is very familiar with this issue from long experience. In the coming session this band will resist encroachment of the Eisenhower partnership idea and try to prevent damage to TVA in the Southeast, the great public projects in the Northwest, and the Southwest Power Administration in Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas and its rural electric cooperatives.

So much for hydroelectric power. There is, however, another threat to the public and consumer interest which is less readily detected because it is an almost new field. That is the production of power from atomic fuels. In a few years this will far outdistance production of electricity by other means.

You will remember how the last Congress enacted a law by which private industry was admitted to partnership in development of power from atomic fuels, all under pressure of the administration, the Atomic Energy Commission and politically powerful private utility and other interests.

You will recall also, because of the dramatic filibuster to which they had to resort, how an embattled band in Congress was finally able to insert a few protections to the public so that the law was not the complete giveaway of the Nation's heritage in this new source of energy that otherwise it might have been.

But the law is still full of confusions and loopholes by which a monopoly could be set up that would make the once all-powerful private utility monoply look pale and wan and minuscular.

Another attempt will be made in Congress at this session to insert further protections to the public in the law after a detailed review of how the AEC is operating under the present law. That review will be through hearings by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy headed by Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico, that he announced will begin the last of this month and run for 2 weeks or more. After hearing from the AEC, the committee then will listen to representatives of the industry and the public.

What is the "partnership" story here?

In the first place, the whole atomic energy plant belongs to the people of the United States for the simple reason that they paid for it by their taxes, involving a certain amount of toil and sweat. Some $14 billion of our money has gone into atomic energy to date. We are the owners—and the partners. The Government holds our investment in trust for us.

What do we see happening now? The Government—which means us—is farming out part of our holdings to private industry to develop power reactors to produce electricity. The terms are favorable to a few industrial giants which worked with the Government during the war and since to produce atomic bombs and do research in peacetime uses under contracts with the Government for payment for their services. They are on the inside and on the ground floor. They have the know-how.

We are already subsidizing one company and will subsidize others with our tax dollars. They are the favored and, unless we watch out, they can monopolize the field to the exclusion of others. This is because of specifications in the law that will make it difficult for others, private industries as well as public power agencies such as municipalities and rural electric co-operatives, to get fuel and get into development of power. These specifications must be corrected. For another defect in the law, there is nothing to force private power producers from atomic fuels to pass along in rate reductions the subsidies from us, the taxpayers.

Also, while the law contains a provision for compulsory licensing of patents for 5 years, this is not tightly enough drawn in the view of some experts to prevent the

giant "insiders" from withholding patents from others entitled to them.

Unless Congress and all of us are alert, we are on the eve of permitting creation of the greatest monopoly the world ever saw, and with our own money.

If we allow it, we'll deserve what we get.

The People Take the Lead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, in this Nation's efforts to ease racial and religious tensions we often tend to be more aware of the problems still confronting us rather than of the progress we have made. I believe a short pamphlet entitled "The People Take the Lead," which is a factual record of progress in civil rights since 1948, published recently by the American Jewish Committee, is a very real testimonial to the achievements in this field.

The American Jewish Committee is an organization which was founded in 1906 and which now has chapters in 44 principal American cities and members in 550 communities. Its charter, granted by the State of New York, empowers it, among other things, to investigate the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world.

To me it is significant that this pamphlet, rather than dealing exclusively with religious tensions, cites gains we have made in combating discrimination of all kinds. The majority of references are to improved conditions for Negroes, orientals, and persons of many national origins.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting the pamphlet herewith:

THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD

This edition of the People Take the Lead marks 7 years of nationwide civil-rights progress. Since 1947, when the President's Committee on Civil Rights issued its historic report, new gains have repeatedly overshadowed events regarded as epochal when they occurred.

Five years ago, the first edition of this report listed few fair practice laws. Today, 12 States and 32 cities have fair employment laws. Three States have fair education laws. Five States have public accommodation laws with administrative enforcement.

Five years ago, this report listed the first Negro college professor appointed; the first Negro officeholder in the South; the first Negro doctor on the staff of a general hospital. Today, such firsts could probably fill this entire book.

Five years ago, the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital scored widespread discrimination in Washington. Today, segregation in public facilities in the Capital is the exception rather than the rule.

Five years ago, Negro students were rarely admitted to southern State universities. Today, some 2,000 Negro students attend integrated college classrooms in the South.

And the most far-reaching advance of all—the United States Supreme Court's historic decision on May 17, 1954, banning segregation in the Nation's public schools—was only a far-off dream, 5 years ago.

In every area of American life, the gap between ideals and practices is closing—slowly, to be sure, but steadily. Our courts, our State and municipal legislatures, our civic leaders are continuing the forward march toward equal justice and opportunity for all.

There are still setbacks, of course; and much progress remains to be made. But those who look to this country for proof that democracy can fulfill its promise have reason to be heartened by the advances highlighted in these pages.

ARMED SERVICES

Administrative measures

Washington, July 1948: President's Executive Order No. 9981 forbids discrimination in Armed Forces; creates Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services.

United States Army, 1949–50: Governors' proclamations in Minnesota, Michigan, and Washington end segregation in National Guard. (See legislation.)

Washington, 1950–54: Army drops quotas for Negro enlistments; Selective Service drops questions on race for draft registrants; Navy, Marines, Air Force, and Army report segregation entirely eliminated.

Washington, April 1954: Army promises end to segregation at West Point.

Washington, October 1954: Veterans' Administration announces end of segregation in all VA hospitals.

Legislation

United States Army, 1947–49: New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, California, and Illinois forbid discrimination in the National Guard.

ATHLETICS

Administrative measures

Birmingham, Ala., January 1954: City commission lifts ban on Negro-white football games.

Court action

Chicago, Ill., 1950: Illinois Superior Court fines American Bowling Congress $2,500 for limiting membership to white males; ABC convention deletes "white males only" clause from charter.

Austin, Tex., October 1954: Court of civil appeals rules State ban on Negro-white prizefights unconstitutional.

Voluntary action

New York, N. Y., March 1948: United States Lawn Tennis Association admits first nonwhite player to national tournament.

New York, N. Y., September 1949: Greater New York Bridge Association admits Negro players to tournaments.

New York, N. Y., November 1949: Amateur Fencers League of America admits qualified applicants regardless of color.

Houston, Tex., October 1950: University of Texas permits Texas Western College to play football against teams with Negro players.

Atlantic City, N. J., November 1950: Eastern Amateur League signs first Negro in organized hockey.

San Diego, Calif., January 1952: Professional Golfers Association admits Negro players to PGA-sponsored events.

Boston, Mass., March 1953: Harvard track team withdraws from Birmingham, Ala., relay carnival because Negro member is barred.

Nashville, Tenn., October 1954: Fisk University plays Taylor University in State's first Negro-white football game.

CITIZENSHIP

Administrative measures

Mobile, Ala., November 1948: Federal officers invoke rarely used civil-rights statutes; arrest sheriff and deputy for inflicting physical punishment on Negro prisoners.

New Orleans, La., December 1949: Two policemen are dismissed for depriving two Negro youths of their civil rights.

Trenton, N. J., September 1952: State Banking and Insurance Commissioner orders auto insurance companies to remove questions on race from application forms and to stop charging Negroes higher insurance rates.

Chicago, Ill., March 1953: Illinois Commission on Human Relations reports that 13 States no longer require designation of race or color on drivers' license application forms.

Legislation

United States of America, 1949–51: Texas and South Carolina adopt antilynch laws.

United States of America, 1949–53: Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and Virginia forbid wearing of masks and burning of crosses.

United States of America, 1950–53: Tennessee and South Carolina abolish poll tax; Alabama reduces cumulative tax from 24 years to 2 years.

United States of America, spring 1953: Florida and North Carolina regulate sale of explosives to prevent hate bombings.

Washington, August 1953: Congress repeals Federal prohibition against sale of liquor and firearms to Indians.

United States of America, 1953–54: New Mexico, Montana, California, and Arizona end ban on liquor sales to Indians.

Court action

Santa Fe, N. Mex., August 1948: Federal district court removes last restriction on the right of American Indians to vote.

Columbia, S. C., November 1948: Federal district court enjoins State Democratic Party from barring Negro voters from primaries or from participation in party affairs.

Washington, March 1949: United States Supreme Court (*Schnell* v. *Davis*) upholds Federal district court decision that Alabama's "Boswell amendment," which set up stringent educational requirements for voting, is unconstitutional.

Atlanta, Ga., July 1949: State supreme court rules that counties with substantial Negro populations must add Negroes to grand and petty jury lists.

Montgomery, Ala., September 1949: Federal grand jury, with two Negro jurymen, indicts one policeman and three former officers on charges of violating civil rights.

United States of America, 1949–52: Supreme courts of Oregon and California declare State alien land laws, barring sale or lease of land to Japanese aliens, unconstitutional.

Birmingham, Ala., May 1951: United States court of appeals upholds sentencing of Georgia sheriff and deputy to 12 months' imprisonment and $1,000 fine for delivering 7 Negroes to a masked mob.

Richmond, Va., October 1952: United States court of appeals upholds kidnaping convictions against seven North Carolina Klansmen.

Jacksonville, Fla., November 1952: State district attorney is indicted by Federal grand jury for keeping Negro youth in jail over a year without legal proceeding.

Mobile, Ala., April 1953: White jury frees Negro youth charged with rape of white woman.

Washington, May 1953: United States Supreme Court (*Avery* v. *Georgia*) sets aside death sentence of Georgia Negro because jury was chosen on racial basis.

Washington, May 1953: United States Supreme Court (*Terry* v. *Adams*) outlaws Jaybird primary in Texas as device to prevent Negroes from voting.

Washington, May 1954: United States Supreme Court (*Hernandez* v. *Texas*) rules that systematic exclusion of Mexican Americans from juries in Texas is unconstitutional.

Sioux City, Iowa, October 1954: Municipal court declares State law prohibiting liquor sales to Indians unconstitutional.

Voluntary action

Atlanta, Ga., September 1949: Negroes vote in primary elections for mayor for first time.

United States of America, 1950–51: Democratic State primaries opened to Negroes in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana.

Chicago, Ill., November 1951: Independent Voters League of Illinois gives Negro State legislator "Best Legislator Award."

Jackson, Miss., November 1952: Voters reject referendum to curb Negro registration.

EDUCATION

Administrative measures

Washington, July 1948: Report of President's Committee on Higher Education condemns segregation and discrimination in colleges and professional schools.

Albany, N. Y., November 1949: Commissioner of education orders rezoning of school districts to eliminate segregation by gerrymandering.

Nashville, Tenn., September 1950: Attorney general, in first voluntary compliance with United States Supreme Court decisions in college cases, rules that the State university must admit Negro graduate students.

Tucson, Ariz., September 1951: All school districts except Phoenix abandon segregation in public schools. Phoenix follows in 1953.

Washington, November 1951: President pocket vetoes bill requiring racial segregation in military post schools and other Federal property.

Paducah, Ky., June 1953: City college admits first Negro students.

Oak Ridge, Tenn., December 1953: Town council asks Government to end school segregation in community run by United States Government.

Louisville, Ky., January 1954: City-supported general hospital accepts first Negro student nurses.

Washington, February 1954: Secretary of Defense orders end to segregated military post schools by 1955.

St. Louis, Mo., June 1954: Board of education plans full integration in high schools by September 1955.

Charleston, W. Va., June 1954: Board of education opens nine State colleges to qualified Negro students.

Pasadena, Calif., June 1954: Board of education agrees to abolish method of assigning pupils criticized as "disguised segregation."

Washington, June 1954: Board of education adopts 2-year program to end school segregation in Capital.

Albany, N. Y., September 1954: State education department integrates Indian children into regular schools, ending century of segregation in reservation schools.

Legislation

Trenton, N. J., 1947–49: New constitution ends segregation in New Jersey's public schools; omnibus civil rights law extends jurisdiction of the division against discrimination to all nonsectarian educational institutions.

Albany, N. Y., 1948–51: Legislature adopts first State law outlawing racial and religious discrimination in colleges and universities (March 1948); later (March 1951) extends coverage to business and trade schools.

Indianapolis, Ind., March 1949: Legislature adopts progressive elimination of segregation in public schools.

Springfield, Ill., July 1949: Legislature bars State funds to school districts discriminating against pupils because of race or creed.

Madison, Wis., July 1949: Legislature forbids exclusion of children aged 4 to 20 from public school on account of religion, nationality, or color, and prohibits segregation in public schools.

Boston, Mass., August 1949: Legislature fair education law.

Louisville, Ky., July 1950: Legislature amends 46-year-old State law requiring racial segregation of students; Louisville colleges announce registration of Negroes for fall term.

Phoenix, Ariz., March 1951: Legislature repeals education law requiring segregation, permitting individual school boards to establish unsegregated public elementary schools.

Salem, Oreg., April 1951: Legislature outlaws discrimination in vocational, professional, and trade schools licensed by State.

Albany, N. Y., April 1953: Legislature bars institutions of higher learning from accepting gifts or endowments conditioned on teaching racial superiority.

Court action

Washington, January 1948: United States Supreme Court (*Sipuel* v. *Board of Regents*) decides unanimously that Negro students cannot be excluded from State university, which offers educational opportunities unavailable at Negro school.

Austin, Tex., June 1948: Federal court rules public schools of Texas may not segregate children of Mexican descent.

United States of America, 1948: Suits to equate salaries of Negro and white teachers are successful in Surrey, Va.; Atlanta, Ga.; and Oklahoma City, Okla.

United States of America, 1948–52: Courts order Universities of Oklahoma, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Arkansas, Delaware, Virginia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas to admit Negro students.

Washington, June 1950: United States Supreme Court (*McLaurin* v. *Oklahoma; Sweatt* v. *Painter*) rules that forcing a Negro to sit apart from his classmates at a State university or to attend a school lacking the educational opportunities of the State university is unconstitutional.

Fort Worth, Tex., June 1950: Federal district court rules each school district must provide equal schooling for Negroes and whites; bars transporting Negro students to other districts.

Arlington, Va., September 1950: Federal district court orders school board to provide equal facilities for Negroes and whites.

Jefferson City, Mo., November 1950: State supreme court rules white public schools must admit Negro students to courses not available in Negro schools.

Phoenix, Ariz., March 1951: Federal district court rules segregation of Mexican-American children is unconstitutional.

Tarboro, N. C., August 1951: Federal district court orders Washington County officials to equalize white and Negro school facilities and appropriations.

Phoenix, Ariz., February 1953: State superior court invalidates 1951 statute permitting local school boards to segregate.

Washington, May 1954: United States Supreme Court (school segrégation cases) rules compulsory segregation in public schools unconstitutional; calls for further argument on implementation; returns other pending appeals for reconsideration by lower courts in light of desegregation decisions; and finalizes lower court decisions admitting Negro students to State-supported schools.

Shreveport, La., May 1954: Federal court rules State-operated Southwestern Louisiana Institute must admit Negro students.

Voluntary action

Annapolis, Md., May 1949: United States Naval Academy graduates first Negro midshipman.

Lexington, Ky., May 1949: Catholic Committee of the South urges all Catholic institutions of higher learning to admit Negro students without discrimination.

Washington, November 1949: Poll of 15,000 southern college teachers by Southern Conference Educational Fund reveals 70 percent favor integration in professional and graduate schools.

Chicago, Ill., November 1949: Over 100 university presidents, deans, and admissions officers from 24 States, at Conference of American Council on Education, urge elimination of college admission quotas based on race, religion, or national origin.

Easton, Pa., January 1950: Lafayette College refuses $140,000 bequest restricted to non-Jewish and non-Catholic students.

Birmingham, Ala., October 1951: Southern Episcopal synod urges admission of Negro students to theological schools at Sewanee, Tenn., and Lexington, Ky.

Chapel Hill, N. C., October 1951: Students' protest wins right of five Negro students at University of North Carolina to sit with white students at athletic events.

United States of America, 1952: Over 1,000 Negro students attend previously all-white colleges and universities in Southern and Border States.

Washington, 1952: New Roman Catholic high school and several Episcopal elementary schools announce nonsegregation policy.

Sewanee, Tenn., June 1952: Faculty of Cumberland Forest Music Festival and eight leading religious instructors cancel teaching and concert contracts in protest against University of the South's refusal to admit Negro divinity students; following year, university admits Negroes to school of theology.

Denver, Colo., December 1952: Colorado-Wyoming Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admission Officers votes to delete references to race and religion from applications.

Gadsden, Ala., June 1953: Cumberland Presbyterian Church admits Negro students to theological seminary.

Boston, Mass., December 1953: Department of education announces that all of the State's 1,131 private schools have eliminated discriminatory questions on admission applications.

New York, N. Y., December 1953: Nationwide survey by Antidefamation League discloses that 450 colleges, universities, and junior colleges have removed questions concerning color, nationality, and religion from application blanks.

United States of America, spring 1954: Catholic archbishops forbid segregation in San Antonio, Tex., and Nashville, Tenn., archdioceses.

Richmond, Va., May 1954: Bishop rules Catholic high schools will admit Negro students.

Ames, Iowa, August 1954: National Student Association, representing students at 250 colleges, calls for "swiftest possible integration of the races at all educational levels in all parts of the country."

Nashville, Tenn., August 1954: Fisk University is first Negro college invited to participate in Rhodes scholarship competition.

EMPLOYMENT

Administrative measures

Washington, July 1948: President's Executive Order No. 9980 orders Federal agencies to ban discrimination in employment; creates Fair Employment Board in Civil Service Commission to investigate complaints and establish procedures for compliance.

Philadelphia, Pa., March 1949: Unemployment compensation board rules employee may refuse to work on Sabbath without sacrificing unemployment compensation.

New Haven, Conn., January 1950: Connecticut Interracial Commission conducts first public hearing under a State FEP law and finds complainant was denied employment because of race.

United States of America, 1950–51: State Commissions Against Discrimination in New York and Massachusetts issue cease and desist orders against employment agencies for discriminating in job placements.

Sacramento, Calif., July 1951: Attorney General rules that California Employment Stabilization Commission has many of the powers of a State FEP Commission.

Salem, Oreg., August 1951: State Labor Commissioner orders Brotherhood of Railway Carmen to cease racial discrimination against applicants.

St. Louis, Mo., October 1951: State Employment Service merges Negro and white offices.

United States of America, 1951: State employment services in California and Illinois announce they will refuse to accept discriminatory job orders and will delete all racial and religious data from records.

Washington, 1951–54: President Truman creates Committee on Government Contract compliance (December 1951) to enforce prohibition against discrimination in employment by firms contracting or subcontracting Government orders. President Eisenhower creates new Government Contract Committee with Vice President as chairman (August 1953); Committee tightens nondiscrimination regulations (April 1954).

Raleigh, N. C., September 1952: Governor eliminates Negro-white salary differentials for staff of mental hospital in Goldsboro.

Atlanta, Ga., October 1953: Southern Regional Council reports 112 cities in 13 Southern States now employ 545 Negro policemen, 87 plainsclothesmen, and 90 policewomen.

Washington, October 1953: District's Board of Commissioners orders inclusion of antibias clause in future contracts. District telephone company drops color bars.

New York, N. Y., October 1953: State commission against discrimination successfully negotiates to modify employment policy of Pennsylvania Railroad. Company hires first Negro brakeman and opens other jobs to qualified Negroes.

Louisville, Ky., March 1954: Segregation eliminated in city's fire department.

Boston, Mass., July 1954: State commission awards $250 damages to Negro fired from job because of race.

Sacramento, Calif., September 1954: Attorney General rules Negro firemen in Los Angeles may not be segregated.

Washington, September 1954: District Commissioners order desegregation of Negro firemen.

Legislation

United States of America, 1948–51: Ordinances in Akron, Ohio; Phoenix, Ariz.; Richmond, Calif.; and Sioux City, Iowa, bar discrimination in public employment or in work under city contracts.

United States of America, 1948–51: City ordinances bar discrimination in public and private employment in Gary and East Chicago, Ind.; Minneapolis and Duluth, Minn.; Farrell, Monessen, Philadelphia, Sharon, Erie, Clairton, and Duquesne, Pa.; Campbell, Cleveland, Girard, Hubbard, Lorain, Lowellville, Niles, Steubenville, Struthers, Warren, and Youngstown, Ohio; Pontiac and River Rouge, Mich. Cities with FEP ordinances now total 32.

United States of America, 1949–51: Washington, Oregon, New Mexico, and Rhode Island adopt enforceible FEP laws, bringing total to eight.

Albany, N. Y., May 1949: Legislature prohibits questions concerning birthplace on application for State civil service.

Sacramento, Calif., June 1949: Revised civil-service laws prohibits discrimination against State employees on grounds of religion, political belief, marital status, race, color, sex, or blindness.

Los Angeles, Calif., January 1951: Ordinance forbids discrimination in hiring of building construction workers on projects under urban redevelopment program.

Sacramento, Calif., November 1952: State approves constitutional amendment eliminating last prohibitions against employment of Chinese on public works.

Juneau, Alaska, March 1953: Alaska adopts fully enforcible FEP laws.

Topeka, Kans., March 1953: Legislature adopts FEP bill patterned after Wisconsin's educational plan. Four States now have nonenforcible FEP laws.

Des Moines, Iowa, April 1953: Legislature sets up commission to investigate racial and religious prejudice in State.

Court action

Washington, November 1949: United States Supreme Court (*Graham* v. *Brotherhood*) sustains injunction against Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers because of discrimination against Negro railroad employees.

Birmingham, Ala., May 1950: Federal district court finds Gulf, Mobile & Ohio Railroad and Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers guilty of discrimination and awards damages based on wages plaintiffs would have earned on jobs denied them.

New Haven, Conn., October 1950: Superior court sustains interracial commission's order under FEP law.

Charlotte, N. C., January 1951: United States court of appeals reverses lower court decision which permitted railroads to restrict hiring of Negroes as firemen.

Washington, June 1952: United States Supreme Court (*Brotherhood* v. *Howard*) rules that Negro railway porters doing work of brakemen must receive pay and title of that job and be represented in collective bargaining by Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Hartford, Conn., 1952–54: State courts sustain civil rights commission's order against International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Superior court fines Hartford local of IBEW $2,000 for refusing to drop discriminatory membership policy, plus $500 per week until compliance. Union abandons 5-year defiance of State FEP law; admits 2 Negro apprentices (April 1954).

New York, N. Y., April 1954: State court of appeals affirms decision of New York Supreme Court, which upheld authority of State commission against discrimination to direct an employment agency to cease inquiries, direct or indirect, as to race, creed, color or national origin of applicants for employment.

United States of America, spring 1954: Supreme courts of Ohio and Michigan rule workers may refuse to work on their Sabbath without sacrificing unemployment compensation.

Milwaukee, Wis., August 1954: Circuit court upholds cease-and-desist order of State industrial commission under so-called educational FEP law.

Voluntary action

United States of America 1948–50: University of Chicago, Fordham University, Harvard Medical School, University of Missouri, and Brown University appoint first Negro educators to full professorships.

United States of America, 1948–54: Many big-league teams admit Negro baseball players following successful employment of Jackie Robinson by Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947. Pacific Coast League hires first Negro umpire (December 1953).

Washington, February 1948: Gallinger Hospital is first all-white hospital below Mason-Dixon line to accept Negro interns.

United States of America, December 1948: Ten railroad unions agree to eliminate discriminatory clauses from their national constitutions, or to make them inoperative in those States with FEP laws.

New York, N. Y., April 1950: New York Telephone Co. announces discriminatory advertisements by employment agencies will not be accepted for classified telephone directories throughout State.

New York, N. Y., June 1950: Journal of American Medical Association announces it will eliminate designations of race and creed from all "situations wanted" advertisements.

New York, N. Y., July 1951: New York Telephone Company, RCA Communications, American Cable and Radio Corp., and Western Union Telegraph Co. form voluntary committee to cooperate with State commission in eliminating discrimination in communications industry.

New York, N. Y., October 1951: Metropolitan Opera Company signs first Negro ballet dancer.

Chicago, Ill., October 1951: Personnel manager of Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co. declares integrated hiring policy successful.

Miami Beach, Fla., March 1952: Mount Sinai Hospital is first hospital in the deep south to appoint Negro physician to staff.

Salem, Oreg., April 1952: Public protest wins civil service appointment for Nisei veteran denied Tax Commission job.

Minneapolis, Minn., July 1952: Minneapolis Star and Tribune heads its employment advertisements with notice that they are "accepted on the premise that qualified applicants will be hired * * * without discrimination because of race, color, religion or nationality."

New York, N. Y., October 1952: International Geneva Association, a society of chefs, headwaiters, and managers serving fashionable hotels and restaurants, lifts ban on Negro members.

Los Angeles, Calif., January 1953: Negro and white locals of musicians union merge.

Indianapolis, Ind., July 1953: Railway hires first Negro trolley drivers.

Peoria, Ill., August 1953: American Federation of Teachers votes to void charter of any local union which continues to segregate members.

Boston, Mass., May 1954: State commission against discrimination announces agreement by Pullman Co., of Chicago, to end 90-year ban on Negro Pullman conductors.

New York, N. Y., October 1954: Marian Anderson is first Negro singer hired by Metropolitan Opera Co.

HOUSING

Administrative measures

Washington December 1949: Federal Housing Administration and Veterans' Administration refuse to insure loans on any new housing covered by recorded restrictive covenants.

Charlotte, N. C., January 1950: Public housing administration rejects bid for Federal aid in construction of segregated housing project; city council reverses segregation policy.

United States of America, 1950–54: City housing authorities in Schenectady and Buffalo, N. Y.; Los Angeles County, San Bernardino and San Francisco, Calif.; Newark, N. J.; Omaha, Nebr.; Chicago, Ill.; Baraga, Mich.; St. Paul, Minn.; Pasco, Wash.; Allegheny County and Pittsburgh, Pa.; Toledo, Ohio; Washington, D. C., and Wilmington, Del., eliminate racial segregation in city housing projects.

Washington, November 1950: Public Housing Administration declares low-rent housing programs "must reflect equitable provisions for eligible families of all races determined on the approximate volume and urgency of their respective needs."

New York, N. Y., April 1951: State commissioner of housing rules that, for the purposes of the housing law, segregation is discrimination.

Washington, May 1951: Housing and Home Finance Agency says needs of displaced minority-group families and availability of substitute housing will be scrutinized carefully before approval is given to local urban-redevelopment plans.

New York, N. Y., June 1951: Federal Housing Administrator announces that all projects to which FHA obtains title will be administered on a nonsegregated basis.

Chicago, Ill., August 1953: Housing authority admits Negro tenants to previously all-white public-housing project.

Washington, October 1954: Housing Administrator says Government will refuse Fed-

eral aid to cities which default on their obligations to minority citizens.

San Francisco, Calif., January 1954: Housing authority includes nonsegregation clause in contract for operations of four temporary-housing projects.

Legislation

United States of America, 1949–52: Connecticut, Wisconsin, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts forbid discrimination and segregation in public housing.

United States of America, 1949–52: Los Angeles and San Francisco, Calif.; Cincinnati, Ohio, bar discrimination and segregation in urban redevelopment.

United States of America, 1949–52: Ordinances in San Francisco, Calif.; Hartford, Conn.; Boston, Mass.; New York, N. Y.; Cleveland and Toledo, Ohio; Philadelphia, Pa.; and Providence, R. I., bar discrimination and segregation in public housing.

United States of America, 1949–53: Legislatures in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut forbid racial and religious discrimination in publicly assisted housing.

New York, N. Y., March 1951: Ordinance bars discrimination in publicly assisted housing.

Madison, Wis., June 1951: Legislature repeals State law recognizing validity of racial restrictive covenants.

St. Paul, Minn., April 1953: Legislature prohibits race restrictions in real estate contracts.

Denver, Colo., September 1953: City council bars approval and recording of subdivisions containing racial restrictive covenants.

New York, N. Y., July 1954: Ordinance makes it illegal for owners of multiple dwellings, erected with loans or guaranties from public agencies, to discriminate against tenants because of race, creed, color or national origin.

Court action

Washington, May 1948: United States Supreme Court (*Shelley* v. *Kraemer; Hurd* v. *Hodges*) rules courts cannot enforce racial restrictive covenants. Five years later (July 1953), Court rules courts may not award damages for breach of racial restrictive covenant (*Barrows* v. *Jackson*).

Birmingham, Ala., December 1950: United States court of appeals holds city racial zoning law unconstitutional.

Chicago, Ill., June 1953: State circuit court bars condemnation of land owned by Negro, thwarting attempt to drive his family from neighborhood by turning property into a public park.

United States of America, July 1953: Federal district courts in Evansville, Ind., and Toledo, Ohio, enjoin local housing authorities from segregating Negro tenants in public housing projects.

San Francisco, Calif., August 1953: State court of appeal upholds earlier superior court ruling that San Francisco Housing Authority must abandon neighborhood pattern of resident selection and admit applicants without discrimination. United States Supreme Court rejects appeal (May 1954).

Denver, Colo., October 1953: State district court rules housing authority may operate integrated housing on property once covered by restrictive covenant.

Voluntary action

Chicago, Ill., January 1948: Chicago Improvement Association negotiates agreement under which white owners agree not to enforce existing restrictive covenants.

Miami, Fla., November 1950: National Association of Real Estate Boards votes to change its code which pronounced it unethical for a realtor to introduce new races into a neighborhood.

Buffalo, N. Y., October 1952: Builder of Philadelphia's first nonsegregated private rental housing tells National Association of Housing Officials venture is outstanding success.

Philadelphia, Pa., April 1954: Commission on Human Relations reports that 88 percent of the city's Negro families and 22 percent of white families live in blocks where there is some racial integration.

PROFESSIONAL, BUSINESS, RELIGIOUS, AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES

Voluntary action

Chicago, Ill., 1948–54: The American Nurses' Association votes to give direct membership to Negro nurses refused district membership; 2 years later, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses votes to disband. By 1954, 53 State and Territorial associations—all except Georgia—include Negro nurses in membership.

United States of America, 1949–54: Negroes are admitted to membership in State medical associations of Florida, Georgia, Missouri, Virginia, Tennessee, and Alabama; medical societies of St. Louis and Jackson County, Mo., Fulton County, Ga., northern Virginia, Washington, D. C., Charleston County, S. C., and Pulaski County, Ark.; American Pediatric Society; American Board of Surgery; St. Louis Dental Society; bar associations of Missouri, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Galveston, Louisville, and St. Louis; Arkansas Education Association; Albany Junior Chamber of Commerce; North Carolina Academy of Science, and California Rotary.

United States of America, 1949–54: Baltimore Synod-Synodical of Presbyterian Church appoints first Negro moderator; Southern Presbyterian Church approves first Negro candidate for ministry; Akron Ministerial Association, General Council of Congregational Christian Churches, and Augusta County (Va.) Ministerial Association elect first Negro presidents. California-Arizona Methodist Conference has Negro bishop presiding; Episcopal diocese of Georgia elects first Negro to executive council; Grand Rapids Synod of Christian Reformed Church appoints first Negro in charge of Negro evangelism; Southern Presbyterian Church dissolves Negro synod and votes to absorb colored presbyteries in white synods; Washington Cathedral selects Negro canon; Catholic church in Washington appoints first Negro pastor; South Carolina diocese of Protestant Episcopal Church invites Negro congregation to apply for membership in diocesan convention; bishop of diocese of Raleigh decress that segregation in Catholic Churches of the diocese "will not be tolerated"; Disciples of Christ in Portland, Oreg., admit Negro disciples churches to full membership; presbytery of Philadelphia elects first Negro moderator; Reformed Church in America installs first Negro minister.

United States of America 1949–54: National Interfraternity Council urges affiliates to eliminate discriminatory qualifications for membership; many fraternities revise regulations. National Committee on Fraternities in Education organizes to fight bias in college fraternities; Columbia University, University of Michigan, Dartmouth College and Colorado University announce they will withdraw recognition from any campus organizations except religious groups which continue, after warning period, to deny membership on grounds of race, color, or religion; New York State University orders social fraternities and sororities to cut ties with their national organizations in a drive to eliminate racial and religious discrimination in extracurricular organizations. Court action by fraternities is dismissed (November 1954) by United States Supreme Court.

Washington, October 1950: American Prison Association votes not to meet in cities where hotels practice racial discrimination.

Lexington, Ky., September 1952: Fisk and Howard Universities are first Negro colleges to obtain chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

Washington, September 1952: American Psychological Association votes unanimously to hold no future meetings in Capital until "additional progress has been made toward democratic treatment of minority groups."

New York, N. Y., August 1954: State American Legion asks end to racial bias in Legion's Forty and Eight Division.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

Administrative measures

Louisville, Ky., May 1948: Public library admits Negroes to all departments on same basis as whites.

Washington, 1949–50: Department of Interior prohibits discrimination and segregation in any activity or facility conducted in parks and public swimming pools of the Nation's Capital.

Miami, Fla., June 1951: City erases color line in its library.

Washington, November 1951: Interstate Commerce Commission bars racial discrimination in sale of tickets on Washington-Mount Vernon excursion boat.

Houston, Tex., December 1951: City authorities bar segregated restrooms and eating facilities in new airport terminal buildings.

Boston, Mass., 1952–53: State commission against discrimination awards damages to complainants denied accommodations at motor court, and service in cafe because of race.

Chicago, Ill., May 1952: Illinois Commerce Commission bans racial segregation by Illinois Central Railroad.

St. Paul, Minn., July 1953: Governor orders discriminatory resort literature removed from State Tourist Bureau offices.

New York, N. Y., July 1953: State Commission Against Discrimination orders summer resort to discontinue club-membership procedures used as subterfuge for religious discrimination and to eliminate brochure references to selected clientele.

Salem, Oreg., January 1954: Attorney general rules that under new civil-rights law, restaurants may not segregate patrons.

Dallas, Tex., June 1954: Park department ends segregation on municipal golf courses.

Washington, October 1954: Justice Department asks Interstate Commerce Commission to ban segregation on interstate railroads.

Legislation

United States, 1948–54: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island extend jurisdiction of State commissions against discrimination to public accommodation statutes; Washington strengthens antidiscrimination law; Oregon prohibits discrimination in places of public accommodation.

Miami Beach and Surfside, Fla., 1949–51: Ordinances bar advertising which discriminates against any religion.

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, October 1950: Legislative assembly passes law providing "equal rights in places of public accommodation, resort, or amusement."

Annapolis, Md., February 1951: Legislature repeals mandatory racial segregation in public transportation.

Kansas City, Mo., June 1951: Ordinance forbids segregation at Municipal Air Terminal, Municipal Auditorium, and Starlight Theater.

Madison, Wis., July 1951: Legislature prohibits discriminatory advertising by public accommodations.

Albuquerque, N. Mex., March 1952: Ordinance bans racial discrimination in public accommodations.

Knoxville, Tenn., January 1954: Ordinance bans segregation at privately owned restaurant at municipal airport.

Richmond, Va., March 1954: Legislature bans discriminatory advertising by public accommodations (race explicitly excluded).

Houston, Tex., June 1954: Ordinance bans segregation on municipal golf courses.

Court action

Washington, February 1948: United States Supreme Court (*Bob-Lo Excursion Co.* v. *Michigan*) decides unanimously that Michigan law forbidding discrimination in places of public accommodation applies to excursion boat operating between Michigan and Canada.

Baltimore, Md., July 1948: Federal district court orders Baltimore to open its three public golf courses to Negroes, though permitting restriction of Negroes to certain days of the week. Three years later (July 1951), park board votes to end segregation in city's municipal courses.

United States of America, 1948–54: Courts in Trenton, N. J.; Oxford, Ohio; Webster Groves, St. Louis, and Kansas City, Mo.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Minneapolis, Minn.; and Houston, Tex., rule that public swimming pools and bathing beaches may not discriminate against Negroes.

Washington, January 1949: Federal district court sustains right of Civil Aeronautics Administrator to prohibit discrimination and segregation at Washington National Airport, although airport is in Virginia, which has a compulsory segregation law.

Louisville, Ky., May 1950: Federal district court awards $1,500 damages to Negro ejected from bus on interstate trip.

Washington, June 1950: United States Supreme Court (*Henderson* v. *U. S.*) outlaws segregation in dining cars on interstate railroads.

Richmond, Va., January 1951: United States Court of Appeals holds that segregation on interstate railroad violates United States Constitution.

New York, N. Y., April 1951: Federal district court allows damages to plaintiff forced to move to segregated railway car traveling interstate.

Charleston, W. Va., June 1951: Federal district court rules county airport dining room must serve all, regardless of race.

Orlando, Fla., June 1952: Federal district court holds Negroes may not be refused admission to municipal auditorium if Negro auditorium has inferior facilities and entertainment.

Kingston, N. Y., December 1952: Jury awards substantial damages to Negro patrons refused resort accommodations after their reservations were confirmed.

Los Angeles, Calif., April 1953: Municipal court refuses to dismiss suit against interstate railroad practicing racial segregation in violation of State civil rights law.

Washington, June 1953: United States Supreme Court (*District of Columbia* v. *Thompson*) upholds 1873 statute prohibiting public eating places from refusing service because of race or color; voids long-standing segregation tradition of Capital restaurants.

Philadelphia, Pa., June 1953: Federal district court awards $600 in damages to 4 Negro patrons arrested when they refused to be segregated in an Oxford, Pa., theater.

Washington, October 1953: United States Supreme Court (*Kansas City* v. *Williams*) denies review of lower court's decision opening municipally-owned swimming pool to Negro citizens. Court thereafter remands or refuses to review other public accommodation cases in light of school segregation decision.

Atlanta, Ga., July 1954: Federal court orders Negroes admitted to municipal golf courses.

Voluntary action

Washington, 1948–54: National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital issues report condemning discrimination in Washington, D. C. (December 1948); Actors' Equity bans Washington bookings because theater rejects Negro patrons (May 1948); National theater drops segregation and reopens for legitimate stage productions (November 1951); last dime-store chain operating segregated lunch counters drops ban against Negro patrons (September 1952); motion picture theaters drop color line (October 1953).

New Orleans, La., October 1949: Archbishop cancels annual holy hour services in city stadium because park commission insists on segregation of participants.

New York, N. Y., April 1950: New York Travel Agents Committee resolves not to recommend discriminatory resorts.

Washington, April 1951: Daughters of the American Revolution drops 12-year ban on Negro performers in Constitution Hall.

Cincinnati, Ohio, May 1951: Dining room concession at Municipal Airport ends discrimination against Negroes.

New York, N. Y., May 1951: Unions representing more than 70,000 restaurant employees, and management associations comprising more than 1,500 restaurants, pledge equal treatment of patrons regardless of race; Committee on Civil Rights in East Manhattan, Inc. finds (June 1952) discrimination against Negro patrons in east side restaurants has decreased from 42 percent to 16 percent in 2 years.

Atlanta, Ga., June 1951: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People holds first nonsegregated meeting since reconstruction days in Municipal Auditorium.

United States of America, 1952–53: Legitimate theaters in Baltimore, Md., and St. Louis, Mo., end segregation.

Miami, Fla., January 1952: First nonsegregated audience since Civil War gathers to hear Marian Anderson.

Lake Junaluska, N. C., June 1952: Delegates to regional Methodist student conference vote to boycott swimming facilities until management permits use of lake by Negroes.

Norfolk, Va., June 1952: Norfolk Ministers Association cancels annual January preaching mission until racial segregation of audiences is eliminated.

Washington, November 1953: Southern Railway System, faced with lawsuit, orders patrons seated in order of their entrance into dining cars.

Washington, January 1954: Columbia Hospital announces complete racial integration of patients.

Houston, Tex., June 1954: Protestant Episcopal Church, protesting segregation, cancels plans for 1955 convention in Houston.

Danville, Va., June 1954: Democratic committee breaks century-old precedent with unsegregated Jefferson-Jackson dinner.

Portland, Maine, August 1954: Medical Association changes site of State Medical Convention to protest discrimination by resort originally chosen.

Detroit, Mich., October 1954: Michigan Tourist Council bars discriminatory advertising in 1955 regional guidebooks of Michigan Tourist Association.

MISCELLANEOUS

Legislation

United States of America, 1951–53: Legislatures in Oregon, Montana, and Colorado repeal bans on intermarriage between whites and Negroes, Mongolians, or Chinese.

Philadelphia, Pa., January 1952: New city charter prohibits discrimination in use of city property.

New York, N. Y., June 1952: City ordinance bars public funds to any child-care institutions discriminating against youngsters because of race, creed, or ancestry.

United States of America, spring 1953: Legislatures in Washington and Iowa bar cemeteries from refusing burial because of race or color.

Sacramento, Calif., April 1953: Legislature repeals restrictions on property rights of orientals.

Court action

Washington, January 1948: United States Supreme Court (*Oyama* v. *California*) invalidates California alien land law which raises presumption of fraudulent ownership and occupation of agricultural land by persons ineligible for citizenship.

Washington, June 1948: United States Supreme Court (*Takahashi* v. *Game Commission*) invalidates California law prohibiting issuance of fishing licenses to persons ineligible for citizenship.

Sacramento, Calif., October 1948: State supreme court rules that law barring interracial marriages is unconstitutional.

Madison, Wis., January 1953: State supreme court rules State-administered life insurance fund may not reject Negro applicants on ground that as a racial group they are a substandard risk.

Voluntary action

Washington, May 1950: CIO orders local unions to disregard State segregation laws and operate all CIO facilities without discrimination.

Chicago, Ill., November 1950: Red Cross votes to eliminate racial data on all future blood donations.

New Haven, Conn., December 1952: Yale Divinity School undertakes 2-year survey of racial and cultural references in Protestant church literature.

Tuskegee, Ala., December 1952: Tuskegee Institute reports 1952 is first year free of lynching in United States since records were begun in 1882.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a news item written by William Galbraith of the United Press, appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 16, 1955, together with a memorandum on possible legal questions raised therein prepared for me by the American Law Division of the Library of Congress:

SOVIET SEEN EVADING UNITED STATES TRAVEL CURBS

(By William Galbraith)

The Soviet Union gets partly around the recently imposed tighter control on Russian travel in the United States by employing Americans, officials said yesterday.

The Americans include eight correspondents here and in New York employed by Tass, the official Russian news agency. A small number also work for Tass in noneditorial capacities.

The United States clamped the new travel controls on Russians January 3 in a tit-for-tat measure against similar restrictions which have long hindered American travel in the Soviet Union.

The order closed about 27 percent of the United States to persons holding Soviet passports.

However, officials said the order has no effect on the Americans working for Tass. If the Soviet Union wants to learn something about an area closed to Russian travelers, Tass can send one of the Americans to the area to make a firsthand report.

State Department officials, who worked out the order with other interested Federal

agencies, said they were aware of this loophole when drafting the controls.

However, officials said, if the United States found any open attempt to circumvent the order the State Department could bring the matter up with the Soviet Embassy and presumably take action against such an attempt.

The United States hires some Russians for work on unclassified matters in the American Embassy at Moscow. These Soviet citizens are not subject to travel restrictions on Americans but are affected by many other controls which Russia maintains on all its citizens.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
Washington, D. C., January 24, 1955.

To: Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK.
From: American Law Division.
Subject: Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Reference is made to your letter of January 16, 1955, in which you requested a brief on the Foreign Agents Registration Act showing what cases it covers and how it affects Americans employed by Russia or a Russian agency who travel in areas from which Russian nationals are excluded.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act (U. S. C. 22: 611–621) is aimed at foreign agents who carry on propaganda and kindred activities in the United States. On the theory that full disclosure of the facts is the best method of combating such activity, the act requires foreign agents to register with the Department of Justice and give detailed information about themselves, their principals, and their activities. It also requires them to label political propaganda sent through the mails or channels of interstate commerce for dissemination among two or more persons. It does not impose travel controls on such agents.

The act applies generally to persons in the United States whether citizens or aliens, who are agents of a foreign principal. However, persons engaged only in legitimate diplomatic, humanitarian, religious, scholastic, academic artistic, scientific or private commercial activities, or agents of a country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States, are exempt from the registration requirements. Officials of foreign governments who are not public relations counsel, publicity agents, information-service employees or citizens of the United States, are also exempt in some circumstances.

The term "foreign principal" includes not only a foreign government or a foreign political party, but also foreign individuals and organizations, domestic organizations subsidized by a foreign principal and individuals affiliated with, or controlled or subsidized by, a foreign government or foreign political party. A person in the United States who acts as public-relations counsel, publicity agent, information-service employee, servant, agent or attorney of, or who collects information for, a foreign principal, or who accepts compensation from, or collects funds, for, such a principal, or acts under its orders, is a foreign agent within the purview of the act. So also is a member of the Armed Forces, an officer or employee of a foreign country, and a person trained in espionage or sabotage by a foreign country or foreign political party. Domestic news agencies and publications engaged solely in bona fide news or journalistic activities are not covered.

Whether particular persons are governed by the act depends on the facts concerning their status and employment. Citizens of the United States who are employed by the Russian News Agency, Tass, may be subject to the registration and propaganda-labeling requirements of the law.

MARY LOUISE RAMSEY,
American Law Division.

JANUARY 24, 1955.

The Generals Invade Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, in the February 1955 issue of that sparkling publication, the Democratic Digest, there appears a very interesting article entitled "The Generals Invade Politics." I ask unanimous consent that this interesting discussion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GENERALS INVADE POLITICS

Is a new political party beginning to emerge in the United States?

No one can be sure, but this much seems certain, if a third party actually does develop, it will be rigidly and extremely conservative, it will fluctuate between isolationism and so-called preventive war, and its inner circle will be full of military celebrities.

It is this last development—the now unconcealed appearance of many famed generals and admirals in the ranks of the radical right—which has aroused fresh interest in the possibility of a new party. The movement has all the necessary attributes: leadership, money, and a common denominator of extremism.

Though these extremists have no official name as yet, they have been called "Americrats," in deference to their violent and often reckless superpatriotism.

But with or without an official name, they are on the march, holding rallies, circulating petitions, forming organizations. Their political spokesmen (MCCARTHY, KNOWLAND, JENNER, DIRKSEN) are relentlessly trying to marshall public support by intemperate speeches and accusations which keep their opinions on page No. 1.

Not since the late 1930's, when the New Deal and the threat of a Second World War aroused bitter opposition, have the forces of reaction been as vocal as they are today.

Many Americans only began to realize the part played by the military when two Right Wing organizations started to roll.

"For America," the first of these, was formed last May at a luncheon given by Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune. Its stated purpose is to promote peace and "Americanism" and oppose "super-internationalism, interventionism, one-worldism, and communism."

Its early flavor was provided by such pre-World War II isolationists as former Sen. Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, former Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York, and Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired chairman of Sears, Roebuck & Co. They were joined in the early days by Clarence Manion, who was fired by Mr. Eisenhower last winter from the Intergovernmental Relations Commission because he crusaded for the Bricker amendment to reduce Presidential powers.

By November, the Colonel, an outspoken right-wing Republican, had receded into the background in order to emphasize the "nonpartisan" nature of the group. As the Christian Science Monitor described it:

"For America is seeking to reach across party lines and bring together all persons who are 'united in their distrust of Communists, socialists, internationalists, and New Dealers.'"

The group did not fly its military colors until a few days after the November election when the names of 43 new National Policy Committee members were made public. The military part of the roster features:

Gen. Mark W. Clark, former Commander in Chief of the U. N. forces in Korea, and commanding General of the U. S. Army Forces in the Far East;

Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, Commander of the United States forces in China, 1944–46, and Chief of Staff to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek;

Gen. James A. Van Fleet, also a Commander of the U. N. forces in Korea.

Gen. George E. Stratemeyer, commanding general of the United States Air Force in the China theater in 1945, and Commander of the Far East Air Force in Korea in 1950.

Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, who directed Gen. Douglas MacArthur's psychological warfare against the Japanese. (Between 1948 and 1952 he was national defense consultant for the Republican National Committee.)

General Fellers, who was named executive director of For America late in November, believes that "we should slow down on our foreign aid, withdraw our troops from Europe, pare down on Army and Navy expenditures, and build up our Air Force." He wants 10 million members and $1¼ million to put his program over the top.

Two days after For America published its policy committee membership, a second organization, Ten Million Americans Mobilizing for Justice, announced a 10-day nationwide petition drive against the censure of Senator MCCARTHY.

Insiders insisted the two organizations were not connected, despite the fact that General Stratemeyer was named chairman of Ten Million Americans, and General Van Fleet was named a vice chairman. One Eisenhower Republican called it a coalition of America Firsters, soreheads, and MacArthur admirals.

At the time of the announcement, General Stratemeyer was down in Florida with heart trouble. But he gathered enough strength to urge the nonpolitical and nonpartisan group to show "the real sentiment of the great majority of Americans" against censuring MCCARTHY.

The petition itself said that censure "could be helpful only to the Communists and their Soviet masters." It blamed opposition to MCCARTHY on "the Communists and their un-American cohorts * * * willing stooges and blind but innocent dupes," and made it plain that in their opinion anyone who opposed MCCARTHY also opposed America.

Chief of staff for the drive was Rear Adm. John G. Crommelin, who was retired as a captain from the Navy in 1950 for bitterly and publicly opposing unification of the Armed Forces. The admiral first met MCCARTHY when the Senator offered to serve as his legal counsel if he was court martialed for his opposition, which he wasn't.

Immediately after his forced retirement, Crommelin ran for the Senate in his home State of Alabama, where he was listed on the ticket as an "Alabama Democrat." Said the Atlanta Constitution: "The people of his native State—being familiar with him—turned him down resoundingly."

Two other military figures in addition to General Van Fleet were named as vice chairmen of the petition drive. They were Adm. William H. Standley, former Chief of Naval Operations and Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Lt. Gen. Pedro A. del Valle, retired, who commanded the 1st Marine Division at Okinawa.

Despite their efforts, Senator MCCARTHY was condemned by 67 Senators for contempt of a Senate subcommittee investigating his conduct, for abuse of its members, and for his insults to the Senate itself during the censure proceedings. Democrats voted unanimously against the Senator, but Republicans, some of whom may have been influenced by the petitioners, split almost evenly—22 for censure; 24 against.

How had the military men become so deeply involved, not only in the McCarthy movement but with the right-wing forces generally?

Over and over again, the military men have been giving voice to their political suspicions.

General Stratemeyer told the Jenner committee last summer that "We weren't allowed to win" the war in Korea. He has warned against "some hidden force or some hidden power or something that is influencing our people" from its entrenched position in the Government's executive branch.

Admiral Standley is also alarmed by the hidden force which has wielded power over the last 20 years regardless of the party in power.

General Clark likewise implied to the Jenner committee that traitors or dupes blocked an American victory in Korea. He felt there was some influence at work some place when the decision was made not to bomb Manchuria. "I do not know who was making our foreign policy," he said.

On another occasion he suggested that the postwar rush to bring the boys home from the battlefronts in 1945 was not prompted by wives, mothers, sweethearts, and the men themselves. Instead, "Communists had been planted in our army to sap the power of the United States through well conceived campaigns to demobilize too quickly."

Admiral Crommelin is also upset by this alleged mysterious hidden force.

Maj. George Racey Jordan (retired), coordinator of operations at TMA's New York headquarters, has offered his solution for the country's troubles: "Some fellows from the West who haven't been infected with this type of thing may have to come East and shoot a few people." (The major has also warned citizens that fluoridation of public water supplies is a Russian plot.)

The Louisville Courier-Journal took note of the nagging (and undocumented) inference in General Clark's testimony that those who opposed and overrode his views were traitors or dupes.

By quoting liberally from his book, From the Danube To the Yalu, which was published last April, this newspaper showed that only last spring Clark saw nothing mysterious about the identity of the policymakers, on Korea at least, and nothing simple about the problems those policymakers faced. Not once in his book did he equate differences of opinion with treason or stupidity.

These generals are buttressed by other military celebrities, who have not formally joined any of the new organizations, but whose views are often just as extreme and just as political. General MacArthur, for example, was a hero of the Old Guard camp at the 1952 Republican convention, and a dark horse candidate himself.

The general's former staff has also been active on the propaganda front. Only last summer the country heard from Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, MacArthur's intelligence chief during World War II and the early Korean war. He urged the United States and its allies to use A-bombs and H-bombs to blast "a belt of scorched earth" across the Communists' path in Asia.

How strong have the rightwingers now become? Columnist Doris Fleeson is inclined to think they will stay within the Republican Party and exercise "a veto power against actions and people they don't like." They will do this, she says, by branding the unwanted man or policy as pro-Communist and anti-American.

This was exactly McCarthy's line after his censure by the Senate. He attacked the President for weakness in fighting Communists and apologized to the voters for having told them in 1952 that Ike would conduct "a vigorous, forceful fight against Communists."

Herald Tribune Columnist Roscoe Drummond, who often seems to know what the administration is thinking, said even before the McCarthy attack that the President is at a turning point. Eisenhower is now "fully convinced," says Drummond, that if the Old Guard is determined to fight him, then "it will be better for the country, better for the Government, and better for the Republican Party as a whole if they make a clean break and establish their own party."

This attitude may give an important impetus to the third-party move. Now that the Americrats are pulling hard toward the right, if the President starts pushing them in the same direction, there might easily be a sudden split.

This ties in with the analysis of William S. White, of the New York Times. He has said:

"There are many signs, quite apart from the issue called McCarthyism, that the rightwingers are reaching a point of ultimate rebellion against the Republican left and center—a point where action succeeds talk.

"The political events of the last few months increasingly indicate that another third party for 1956 is by no means inconceivable—should President Eisenhower heed the appeals of his followers that he run again."

TV Towers Hazard to Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HINSHAW
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from Aviation Age:

TV Towers Hazard to Aviation

(By Bill Deming)

(The writer of this article is a television and film producer. He also holds a commercial pilot's license and is a Navy Reserve pilot with 27 years' flight experience. He wrote this article for AvAge on the basis of talks with airline pilots and his own experience in flying.)

We have three seats for you. One in the cockpit, one on the aisle, and one on the divan.

For example, this seat you occupy with your wife by your side. Junior's curled up behind, asleep. You and your family are on your way home. It's been a happy weekend visiting grandma in a nearby State.

When you began this trip after the family dinner, the afternoon sun was warm and bright, the sky cloudless. For the past 15 minutes, however, the change has been dramatic. Rain slashes down and that lightning stabbing off to the left emphasizes the gathering darkness. You are grateful for the white ribbon of highway that lies ahead, straight as the proverbial arrow.

But this is not a highway for your wheels. It lies 500 feet below the small, rented plane in which you and your wife and boy are flying home. Like most other planes in this class, it is without blind flying instruments and if it did have them, you are not too sure of your own instrument flight ability. Safe instrument flight requires constant practice.

As the storm increases and there are long moments when the highway ahead disappears in low clouds that join the rain in reducing your visibility, you push lower. You must not lose sight of that road home. The lightning is closer now and the little plane begins to bounce around in the increasingly turbulent air. You suggest to your wife that junior be awakened and his seat belt fastened. Your eyes are on the road ahead.

ANOTHER SEAT

There's another seat not too far away we'd like you to try. It is on the aisle and you nod affirmatively to the stewardess as she comes by checking seat belts. Rain streaks the rectangular windows and the big airliner pitches with a ponderous rolling movement. You look around to catch the stewardess' eye. You would read but the light doesn't work.

Beyond your sight in the cockpit ahead, the pilots are struggling with the same problem. The plane's electrical power has failed and the pilot is without the guiding radio signals required to complete his flight along the airway, down through the clouds and to the terminal airport according to normal plan. He turns to the copilot who is on his knees in the radio compartment and shouts, "Keep looking, Paul, I'm going down • • • we'll go in underneath."

And now this seat on the divan. This seat is in the comfort of your own livingroom. Relaxed, you push off your shoes and lean back to enjoy You Bet Your Life. Television comic Groucho Marx is at his best tonight and you join the unseen audience in a deep laugh as a luckless contestant tries to match wits with the master of satire.

IMAGE DISAPPEARS

Quite suddenly the image disappears from your screen and only a gentle hiss replaces the program sound. For a few minutes you wait for the technicians to correct the problem and then, tentatively, twist the knob to another channel to test your own set's operation. The other channel comes in clear. Irritably you return to the blank screen. They'd better get it fixed in time for Dragnet.

But you do miss Dragnet and the late news supplies the answer. A low-flying plane crashed into the tall television tower on the edge of town. All passengers were killed and the tower demolished.

Your very personal participation in this drama is assured with mathematical precision. You might be among the 573,000 holders of pilots licenses, you could easily be numbered in the more than 30 million people who flew on the Nation's airlines last year, or be among the close to 100 million in the coast to coast television audience. In one group or the other, there is a seat for you.

HUNDREDS OF TV MASTS

Conscious of the economic reasons behind the raising of literally hundreds of television masts close to or exceeding 1,000 feet in height all over the country (1 tower 2,000 feet high is being considered) we have for some time wondered what the airline pilots might think of these obvious hazards to safe flight.

The answer we received just about boiled the coffee. Cleaned up for home consumption, it paraphrases into, "There are no more amateurs." These men said definitely that due to the widespread TV tower dangers, flying under bad weather flight conditions today is a two-man job. One flies the plane and the other navigates.

But of course, tubes do burn out—fuses blow. Then what?

We checked with officials of the Civil Aeronautics Authority at Idlewild International Airport. Not only are there no periodic danger warnings published, but a senior airline pilot confirmed that only by word-of-mouth did the Nation's airline crews learn of these deadly structures.

MEASUREMENT OF SKILL

No one ever flies very long under exclusively fair skies. Darkness, rain, snow, or fog inevitably enter to some degree. Our skill is measured in the correctness of our decision to go on through and try to complete our flight or land safely and wait for a weather break. Airlines with their incomparable

equipment and superbly trained pilots complete flights under conditions few prudent private fliers would be qualified to venture into.

Yet, the airline flight rules are studded with safety regulations and minimums that keep them on the ground or send flights to alternate airports under unsafe conditions.

But how about the private flier? The amateur about whom this essay was originally planned?

Well, CAA sets certain flight rules and then leaves it up to him entirely. Penalties for the rule infractions are trivial. A private flier may take off and attempt to fly through weather that has all airline traffic grounded. It's his life and his plane. But is this entirely so? Headlines often testify that his innocent and trusting passengers share the death into which he flies them all.

HAZARDS WILL BE ERECTED

We must accept the fact that channels for 2,000 television stations in all of the 48 States have been allocated. Almost that number of tall TV towers eventually will be built to become aviation hazards.

Both the CAA and the airlines are working on hazard-marking schemes, recommending 24 hour lighting, alternate solid banding of the towers, highly visible painting, the hanging of large Christmas tree balls on the spread of guy wires that usually surround the masts and ground marking in the area.

There should be no dragging of feet in this important marking and immediate FCC directives to television tower operators should order these safety precautions. No less than maximum hazard marking is imperative now.

No safety recommendations could stand without emphasizing the urgency of providing every pilot who flies with current dangerous obstruction warnings. That this service is not provided to the airlines today is negligent, to say the least.

It is obvious that a terribly dangerous lack of practicable liaison exists between the CAA which governs aviation and the FCC, the radio and television licensing body. This was illustrated during our talk with the Idlewild CAA Aids and Hazards Specialist. We were able to show him a listing of a 940-foot television tower authorized by the FCC for erection in his area, about which he had heard nothing.

ALL REQUIRED DATA

The CAA doesn't seem to be aware, but the television industry is served by a publication (Television Factbook, published by Television Digest, Wyatt Building, Washington, D. C.) which provides, on a biyearly basis supplemented by weekly issues to subscribers, all of the warning information required by pilots to maintain their charts currently.

Each published specification lists the exact geographical location of every existing or approved television tower in degrees, minutes, and seconds of latitude and longitude. This permits the exact plotting of every hazard. In addition, the height of the tower above the ground, above the average surrounding terrain and, most important, above sea level is shown. This information, plus adequate tower marking, should greatly lessen any danger to the airlines who normally fly only on designated airways under complete ground supervision.

It is the private pilot who needs urgent help. Close to 90,000 private aircraft are available to more than half a million licensed pilots in the United States. We have no intention of specifying the new laws required on both National and State levels to legislate safety into private flying in the face of the growing number of aeronautical hazards offered by tall television towers.

NEW RULES OF SAFETY

However, it must be obvious that the present unrestricted right to fly in any weather conditions, regardless of a private pilot's proved instrument flight qualifications or his plane's equipment, must be quickly tied to new rules of safety.

Remembering the airline pilot's admonition that there are no more amateurs, we realize that if these hundreds of thousands of itinerant pilots are to be saved from themselves, new laws are needed urgently—for the towers are going up now.

As this is written, the comparatively few television towers now standing have cost 31 lives. An airliner with 25 aboard and two private planes have struck towers with no survivors in any instance. Unless adequate marking, identifying, and legal action is taken immediately by all concerned, it may be expected that this total will be multiplied many times in the near future.

One of those seats may be yours.

Live Free or Die

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered by Dr. Eugene Youngert, the superintendent of the Oak Park-River Forest high school in Oak Park, Ill., before a recent meeting of the Oak Park Rotary Club. An honored guest at the meeting was Mr. Stafford E. D. Barff, O. B. E., director of British Information Services in Chicago, Ill.; the speech was recorded so that it might be reproduced at a meeting of the Wandsworth Rotary Club in the suburbs of London, England.

It is a privilege to have an opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues Dr. Youngert's remarks concerning the religious and philosophical basis for the freedoms which we in this country enjoy today. It is encouraging to know that the secondary education of the young people of the Oak Park-River Forest area is under the supervision of a man so thoroughly imbued with the knowledge of democratic principles and so thoroughly capable of arousing young men and women to devotion to those principles. I heartily commend his address to the attention of my colleagues:

LIVE FREE OR DIE

The title of the address that I am making today is "Live Free or Die." It is the motto of one of the States of my country. I choose to make this particular address because I think it covers the most important subject in the world, and the most important subject with which Rotarians of our two countries can cooperatively concern themselves as individuals in the present perilous condition of world affairs. Let me state as a subheading what it is that I am really talking about. Here it is:

The critical necessity that we must stick together whose common use of the English language betokens common origin of ethical and political ideals; that we must stick together and not allow ourselves to be driven apart if we are to have a chance to establish a lasting peace in our world. We are the inheritors of a religious ethic and a political philosophy that make freemen, and we would be traitors to our great cause of liberty were we to allow that cause to fail, because we failed to stand united in its defense.

That there is a titanic struggle of ideologic nature in our world everyone knows. But nowhere near all realize that on both sides of the struggle there are men who honestly believe each that his side is right. It is abhorrent to us that men can honestly believe that our quality of individual freedom is wrong and that their idea of the submergence of the individual in and for the mass is right. It would be better for us were all of our opponents dishonest in their thinking, for then victory for our cause would be easier to attain. Men do not fight to the death for mere expediency. But they do fight to the death for ideas that they honestly hold, no matter how wrong we may think and know those ideas to be. There are scoundrels on the other side who seek only to make themselves tyrannical dictators of the world, and there are countless millions in a condition worse than slavery; but also there are some on the other side who are the product of philosophies as old as philosophy itself who believe our insistence upon the worth and dignity of the individual to be error and weakness and who give allegiance to the notion that the collective state is the rightful master of men. There is the struggle. "Live free or die" is a motto for freemen, but it is at the same time the challenge cast against us by men who would make us slaves, because they do not believe in liberty. Unfortunately, in the struggle, we do not have on our side an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the earth.

We who are the English speaking countries—for whom English is our first language and our common means of communication—we are the largest bloc in the world championing the cause of the individual man as against the encroachment of an oppressive all powerful state. We are the rallying point for free men everywhere. We are that champion and that rallying point because of a glorious inheritance from ancestors who through centuries cast off the yoke of tyranny and established the citizenry as the makers and masters of the state. I call those men ancestors not necessarily in the sense of national, but rather of spiritual descent. Let me make myself my illustration. By national descent, I am a Swede. By birth I am a citizen of the United States. But by political descent I am the child of men who held high the Judeo-Christian ethic and who in that spirit from Magna Charta through the 400 years to the Petition and the Bill of Rights, and to this day, created a state built upon the ideal of the worth and dignity of individual men and upon the political technique of the dominant representation of these men in the machinery of the state. So are all of us who are the English speaking people of the earth: People from many lands and climes and folk, but one in the ethic and the political philosophy that are implicit in the langauge that we use. If ever we needed to be one, it is now. If ever it was true that "united we stand, divided we fall," it is now. We must stand united, for there is no alternative in which we can serve the great need of our time.

Well, let's get on. What is it that we must stand united on? What is it that makes the English speaking people champions of the liberties that make men free? What is our side, that we must be prepared to live

and die for it? Let's see, and in the seeing, let's contemplate how gloriously it serves the need of man in these crisis years.

What we are talking about is, of course, the contribution of the English-speaking countries to western culture. I suspect it has been well said that western culture is compounded of these four essentials: (1) the Judeo-Christian ethic; (2) the Greek intellectual process; (3) the Roman genius for order and law; (4) the Englishman's concern for the liberties of the individual citizen, and the consequent British development of the representational form of government. With no derogation meant to the contributions of the Greeks and the Romans—they were highly important—I want to spend the rest of my time on the first and fourth of the essentials that I mentioned, the religious ethic and the political philosophy that envisage the uniquely exalted state of the individual person in a social situation. For these are the heart of our side of the appalling struggle that rapidly is making of the world two armed camps.

My remarks about the religious ethic will be confined to five of the social ideals of the Judeo-Christian ethic that have been basic as intellectual concepts in the evolution of the present attitude of the English-speaking world toward man and his governments. Please understand that I do not mean that everyone accepts as his personal religious conviction this Judeo-Christian ethic, although I want to say that I do, personally. But, inasmuch as this ethic has been warp and woof of the thinking of our leaders for hundreds of years, even those inherit it who reject it, just as a son can inherit who rejects his own father. That ethic has shaped the social and political thought of the English-speaking world.

At the heart of the Judeo-Christian ethic is the belief that man is created in God's image and is son of God. The natural conclusion of that belief is the insistence that each individual has worth in and of himself, and that he is not a mere dot in the mass. Such an ideal is anathema to any totalitarian order, but it is lifeblood to liberty. Furthermore, the extent to which we allow it to become weakened is the measure of the extent of the weakening of liberty itself.

Secondly, as image and son of God, man is encompassed in a brotherhood that includes his fellowmen. For, denial of that brotherhood is denial of the divine sonship that is proclaimed by the ethic. That idea, too, is anathema to a totalitarian order, which can brook no feeling of brotherhood that goes beyond the confines of the state; but it is an idea that is lifeblood to democracy. Again, the extent to which brotherhood is the rule among men is the measure of the extent of the genuine fulfilment of the democratic hope.

Thirdly, the quality of the principles of conduct among men is evidence of the quality of the general ideal that we call integrity. In the Judeo-Christian ethic, the principles of enjoined conduct are those that represent integrity of a high degree, and the ideals they teach bear some of the noblest names known to man: truth, honor, service, beauty, justice, mercy, courage, temperance, sympathy, compassion, kindliness, love. Liberty and democracy cannot exist unless these are the ideals of social conscience, no matter how they may fail in practice because of the weaknesses of men. Totalitarianism, on the other hand, cannot exist in their presence, for in totalitarianism the sentiment of man for man must be completely subordinate to that of the subservience of man to his state.

Fourthly, freedom of mind and spirit are the essence of liberty and democracy—not the pseudo freedom of license, but the responsible freedom of brothers that respects the rights and needs of others as it does those of self. It is the glory of the Judeo-Christian ethic that that freedom stands at the apex of belief. One accepts or rejects God and Christ as he wills, for enforced belief is abhorrent to the thought and will of God as presented in the ethic of the Christian and the Jew. Where freedom is present, totalitarianism cannot exist; where it suffers attrition, liberty and democracy languish on the vine.

Fifthly, in the Judeo-Christian ethic, there is reverence for life as creation and gift of God. Our century is brutal—terribly brutal—and often death is treated as a mere statistic. Yet, under the drive of the ethic, the goal remains the preservation of life under conditions that will permit its unfolding according to the design of its Creator. This reverence for the life of each individual as son of God is essential to liberty and democracy; but a totalitarian order that would so exalt the individual would by that act point its own doom.

Here, then, are five social ideals that grew from religious concepts dear to leaders who century after century shaped the social beliefs and political machinery of the English speaking world. There were other such ideals, for this enumeration is not all-inclusive; but these are sufficient for illustration. They are under attack in many parts of the world today, as materialistic paganism seeks to substitute for them a theory of conduct that eliminates consideration of the welfare of the individual in favor only of the total whole. The extent to which we dedicate ourselves to their survival in the strife will be the measure of the extent to which liberty and democracy will survive. I, for one, believe that their survival is intimately tied in with the survival of the ethic that gave them birth.

I turn now to the political area of our side in world conflict, although I recognize that the political is but the extension of the philosophical into the realm of the practical. What, then, is common in the political heritage of the English speaking world?

We start with 1215 A. D., on an island in the Thames. There King John at the demand of powerful subjects signed Magna Carta. A simple act? No; for behind it lay a relentless struggle by the people against the absolute rule of kings. A simple act? Rather, a prophetic act, for it unleashed an idea that by 1689 so crystallized liberty as the rightful possession of the people that not since 1689 have the inalienable rights of Englishmen been successfully questioned by king or queen.

Was liberty achieved on the day after Magna Carta was signed? No, and certainly not for the rank and file of the people. But Magna Carta was a starting point, and it presaged 474 of the most thrilling and fruitful years that have ever marked man's upward reach to be free. Foundation stone it was of English liberty; but foundation stone it was also of the liberty of the people of the United States and of people everywhere in the world who spurn the tyrant's hand and govern themselves as freemen should.

Even though Magna Carta was only a starting point, there are countries behind the various obscuring curtains today that would make almost immeasurable progress if they could gain in 1954 what Magna Carta gave almost 750 years ago.

Back and forth went the struggle in England between rulers and people until in 1628 the people at the risk of the lives of their leaders wrung from Charles I his approval of the Petition of Rights and his agreement to redress wrongs and grant new freedoms along the road of liberty.

Then, the rule of another monarch having proved intolerable, the people forced his abdication and invited William and Mary to rule, upon their acceptance of the Bill of Rights as English law in 1689.

The story of those 474 years should be engraved upon the minds and hearts of all who live in the English-speaking world. And we should remember that man after man perished in his resistance to the throne; that blood, sweat, and tears was not only the promise of Churchill but was the lot of countless brave souls who from Magna Carta on brought forth the structure of democracy that is the assurance of liberty in the years in which we live.

But, say some, what did come from those days to make men free? Hear, then, from the record, and think how because we so take our blessings for granted, we forget that without them we, too, would wear the slave's collar as multitudes do wherever liberty's light is out. What did come? Listen: prayerfully and gratefully.

The ruler must rule according to the desires of the people; Government is a contract between the ruler and the people, that neither can break without accountability; the power of the ruler is restricted by what the law permits and forbids; martial law may no longer be a tool for use against the people at the whim of the sovereign; the right to quarter troops in private homes is sharply limited; the rights of the people are stated definitely in the law; laws shall be enacted by the representatives of the people in parliament assembled; the right of the people to bear arms is established by law; taxes may be levied only by the representatives of the people in parliament assembled; free elections and frequent meetings of the representatives of the people must be held; a person's property may not be taken for public use except by due process of law; persons may not be held in jail without a presentment of the cause; bills of attainder are illegal; there shall not be ex post facto laws; the ideas of freedom of speech, assembly, and petition are introduced; there shall be trial by jury; there shall be freedom from arbitrary imprisonment; there shall be no unusual punishment; there shall be no excessive bail. That is not the whole of the record, but is it not enough to stir us to protect our liberty against totalitarians who would hurl us back into the dark from which Magna Charta lighted our way?

Men of Oak Park, of River Forest, of the United States: think of our own Constitution of 1789. It was no concession from a ruler, but the deliberate creation of a sovereign people, limiting and defining the powers of their Government in order to make their liberties secure. Thank God, that in the days in which our Nation was being formed, we had leaders who knew almost page by page those 474 glorious years from 1215 to 1689, so that they could write down in the law that governs us what had been wrested for all men, from the arbitrary king. And thank God that we had other men who so distrusted the corrupting influence of absolute power that they demanded in the first 10 amendments to our Constitution the proclamation of rights as specific as those in the bill of 1689, and almost in the very same words. Did it not seem a moment ago as though I were reading from our own Constitution and our own Bill of Rights?

So it is wherever we who speak the English language have made our homes. So it is when men of other languages have read the record and decided to rear the structure of liberty for themselves and those they love. So it is wherever the fundamental concept of the worth and dignity of the individual man dominates the thought of man.

I repeat, we who are the English-speaking countries are the largest bloc in the world championing the cause of the individual man as against the encroachment of an oppressive all-powerful state. We are the rallying point for freemen everywhere. We are that because we are the inheritors of a religious ethic and a political philosophy that make men free and of a political technique that keeps men free.

The question in the world struggle is whether our ideal of liberty shall live on or

go down to defeat at the hand of dictatorial force. The question is not of our own choosing. It is forced upon us. The question is whether we will defend to the uttermost the liberty won so hardly by heroes who knew full well the evil they sought to escape. The question is whether we know how easily liberty can be lost, and that once lost it can be rewon only by the long hard road by which it was first won.

The answer is that we must and will defend our liberty. But to do that we of the English-speaking countries must stick together in our common cause. Only such a united front will win lasting and worthwhile peace for the world. We must allow nothing—literally, nothing—to drive us apart. Knowing what is at stake, we must stand as one people and face the future, not unconcerned but undismayed.

Gentlemen, the answer to the question is, "Live free or die."

Citizen Interest in Fine Arts Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith the text of part of a radio broadcast made by Mr. Patrick Hayes on Sunday, January 23, 1955, over station WGMS:

The next 5 days are of particular interest and of some significance in the musical life of Washington. The question has been raised from time to time when the subject of an opera house or music center has been under discussion, as to whether there is a true and real need for one, and as to whether it would be put to full use once built. If you will look at the music pages this morning in the amusement sections you will see a program of festival proportions scheduled for the next 5 days: It starts today at 3 p. m. with a recital by Robert Casadesus, which is close to being sold out, but with seats still available and the hall box office now open. Tomorrow night a great ballet company from England, London's Festival Ballet, opens a 3 day engagement at the Capitol Theater, evening performances at 8:30, Wednesday matinee at 2:30. Tuesday evening, the Philadelphia Orchestra comes to Constitution Hall for one of its regular concerts on its Washington series, and bringing Heitor Villa-Lobos as guest conductor, and Nicanor Zabaleta, harpist, in an all Villa-Lobos program. Wednesday evening the distinguished Dame Myra Hess is soloist with the National Symphony Orchestra in Constitution Hall, and the occasion brings Dr. Howard Mitchell back to the podium there after a 4 week flying tour of Europe as guest conductor. Thursday afternoon the orchestra and Dame Myra appear at Lisner Auditorium at 2:30, repeating Wednesday night's performance.

These are the highlights—there are 18 musical events worthy of your attention this week, and this is 6 or 7 under the winter average.

When the argument might again be stated as to whether there is enough musical activity in Washington to warrant the big and expensive step of erecting special buildings for music, ballet, and opera, it will be a convincing point that during these 5 days there were public performances by Robert Casadesus, London's Festival Ballet, Villa-Lobos, Myra Hess, the Philadelphia Orchestra, the National Symphony Orchestra—and all well attended.

Citizen interest is beginning to emerge in support of the bills before Congress on fine arts legislation. On Tuesday, February 1, at 8:30, there will be a public meeting in the fifth-floor auditorium of the old District Building, 14th and E Streets NW. The new Congressman from Trenton, N. J., FRANK THOMPSON, JR., will speak on his bill which he introduced on the first day of the new session of Congress, to establish a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an inaugural hall of Presidents, and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center—this last applies to facilities for broadcasting by radio and TV of many of the presentations in the new music auditorium. Twenty-five thousand dollars is all that Mr. THOMPSON asks for in his bill, to get something started, to get the project off the ground, or at least out of the hopper. On Tuesday, February 1, other speakers will include F. Joseph Donohue, former District Commissioner; William H. Press, executive vice president of the Washington Board of Trade; Lee Callison, of the Washington office of Webb & Knapp, local representatives for Zeckendorf; and John R. Searles, Jr., executive director of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency. Master of ceremonies and moderator will be Melvin D. Hildreth, a leading spokesman in our civic life for music and theater and their related fine arts.

This is a public meeting, and much attention will be paid to it. The press will cover. It would be important to have a large crowd in attendance, as a sign of substantial interest, and it goes without saying that it will be a stimulating evening for those who do attend. The panel is composed of quite a battery of experts, all of whom live close to the nerve center of Washington life. The meeting has been arranged by the women's committee of the Capital Opera Association, Mrs. Hortense L. Amram, chairman.

I mentioned the modest appropriation which Congressman THOMPSON requests to get the ball rolling—$25,000. In the hearings last June before the Howell subcommittee, it became clear that $5 million would be a minimum figure to get started a national arts program; that it would be a long indoctrination process to get this through Congress and the White House; but that some start should be made, if only by appointment of a commission of fine arts for study and research. Mr. THOMPSON has wisely followed this reasoning, and such a bill has a chance. The impact will be tremendous when Congress recognizes the fine arts in this manner. However, the larger aim is not lost sight of. Another fine-arts-minded Congressman, EMANUEL CELLER, of New York City, has introduced a bill to establish a program of grants to States for the development of fine arts programs and projects—this was the essence of the Howell bill in the last Congress, a truly national arts program of activity, in cooperation with the States and cities of the Nation.

The language of the Celler bill is eloquent. It begins:

"The Congress hereby finds that great contributions can be and are being made by the fine arts to the morale, health, and general welfare of the Nation. The Congress, recognizing the fact that man cannot live by bread alone, further finds that an education which includes the humanities is essential to political wisdom, and that in the world of today, as we face the persistent problems of men and defend and attempt to add stature to the ideals and principles of freemen and of free institutions, the relevance of the humanities to our task is unquestionable, for it is the humanities, more than science or statistics, which provides the real answer to communism.

"(b) It is therefore declared to be the policy of the Congress and the purpose of this act (1) to assist the several States in developing projects and programs in the fine arts in order to serve better the needs of the people of the United States, and to encourage the growth and development of the fine arts throughout the United States for the purpose of developing greater knowledge, understanding, and practice of the fine arts; (2) to establish in the executive branch of the Government a Federal agency to advise and cooperate with public and private agencies and organizations operating in the field of the fine arts on all matters directly or indirectly concerned with these objects, and to establish an advisory body of experts eminent in the fine arts to assist such agency in its activities; (3) to facilitate the formulation of plans for the development of the fine arts in time of war, depression, or other national emergency, in order to prevent our cultural institutions from shrinking in importance or passing out of existence and to avoid the often deplorable standards exemplified by art projects of Federal agencies at such times in the past, and in order to offset declining employment by providing for Federal assistance to States and local governments in projects for the construction, alteration, expansion, and repair of public facilities and for the development of cultural programs; (4) to integrate, coordinate, improve, and raise the standards of the fine arts programs which are presently being carried on in more than 15 Federal departments and agencies; (5) to reaffirm our faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person; to fortify and preserve the principles of democracy, personal freedom, and political liberty, the constitutional traditions, and the rule of law, which are our heritage; and to strengthen, with these aims in view, the social and cultural ties which unite us as a people and with the free nations of the world, with our allies, and with other States inspired by the same ideals and animated by a like determination to resist aggression; (6) to stimulate private, business, and foundation giving to the liberal and fine arts; (7) to protect and preserve our artistic and historic inheritance through the protection and restoration of historic monuments, houses, buildings, and sections of our cities; and (8) to destroy finally the Communist myth that Americans are insensitive, materialistic barbarians."

The bill then goes on for 12 pages of specifications and detail, portraying a great potential in America for culture and the fine arts.

Thus, early in January 1955, and early in the life of the new Congress, there is immediate and substantial activity in behalf of the fine arts. There is much to be done by many local people—first we must pay attention and display interest. We cannot expect Congress to come down the street, put up a building, and then say, citizens, here it is. There must be citizen interest shown now and continuously. There must be local leadership, such as is being shown on Tuesday, February 1, at the the District Building meeting. All this will enliven the atmosphere and bring about a favorable climate of opinion for what is proposed. And not the least possibility is that in the course of this activity and display of interest, a wealthy family or foundation might elect to come forward with a major grant of money to establish a fine arts center here in the Nation's Capital. I urge you now to note on your calendar February 1, old District Building at 8:30, for this first important meeting on the subject, Washington's Role in Cultural Affairs.

Great Lakes Water Diversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention and careful study of the membership of this body an informative memorandum prepared by Mr. H. C. Brockel, municipal port director of Milwaukee, dealing with the legal background of the Chicago water diversion controversy.

Because there is a possibility that attempts will be made to revive this controversy during the present Congress, I believe that Mr. Brockel's memorandum, submitted originally to the mayor of the city of Milwaukee, merits our careful consideration:

JANUARY 21, 1955.

Hon. FRANK P. ZEIDLER,
Mayor, City of Milwaukee.

DEAR MR. MAYOR: As requested, we are glad to send you herewith a memorandum concerning the legal background of the Chicago water diversion controversy, which apparently will be revived again in this session of Congress, despite Presidential veto last August of H. R. 3300 which, if enacted, would have authorized an additional 1,000 cubic second-feet of diversion from Lake Michigan through the Chicago Sanitary Canal.

The water diversion controversy arose from the circumstance that, between the years 1892 and 1900, the city of Chicago and its suburbs carried out a plan to dispose of the sewage of the Chicago metropolitan area by cutting a canal across the low continental divide about 10 miles west of Lake Michigan, and discharging the sewage of the entire metropolitan area into the Mississippi watershed by way of the Chicago Sanitary Canal, Des Plaines and Illinois Rivers.

This action precipitated 40 years of controversy and litigation. Ultimately, the other States of the Great Lakes Basin all the way from New York to Minnesota brought an original action in the United States Supreme Court to enjoin Chicago from the continued abstraction of waters from the Great Lakes Basin. The United States Supreme Court appointed Charles Evans Hughes as special master. After years of hearings and investigation, the Supreme Court, in 1930, issued a decree based upon the findings of Special Master Hughes, who later became Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court held that the Chicago water diversion had caused a lowering of 6 inches in the levels of the Great Lakes. It held that the lowering of lake levels by approximately 6 inches caused "a substantial and injurious effect upon the carrying capacity of vessels, and deprived navigation and commercial interests of facilities which otherwise they would have enjoyed in commerce on the Great Lakes." The Court also held that the 6-inch lowering of the Great Lakes had caused substantial injury in connection with fishing and hunting grounds, beaches, summer resorts, and public parks.

The Court in its decree of 1930 ordered a gradual reduction in water diversion from the amounts then being taken and ordered Chicago to provide other means of disposing of the sewage of the sanitary district.

Since 1930, Chicago has slowly and reluctantly progressed the building of sewage treatment plants, and it is understood that substantially all of Chicago's sewage is now fully or partially treated.

The Supreme Court ordered that by 1937, diversion from Lake Michigan be reduced to 1,500 c. s. f., plus domestic pumpage. The diversion of 1500 c. s. f. was considered adequate to provide water circulation in the sanitary canal and to maintain navigation levels. No sooner had the diversion reached the level fixed by the Supreme Court in 1937, than Chicago initiated the first of its many attempts to evade the Supreme Court decree. In practically every session of Congress since 1937, bills have been introduced providing for diversion in quantities much greater than allowed by the Supreme Court decree. Numerous other efforts were made by Chicago to circumvent the decree. For example, in 1942, the Chicago Sanitary District attempted to secure from Donald Nelson, War Production Administrator, an order increasing the diversion on the grounds that increased flow of water through the canal would permit increased generation of power at Lockport for war production purposes. Thanks to vigilant action by Milwaukee public officials and the Great Lakes Harbors Association, this specious plea was denied.

Very shortly thereafter, Chicago attempted to hoodwink the United States Public Health Service into issuing an order for increased diversion. Chicago claimed that a great pool of pollution existed in Lake Michigan, in the vicinity of its water intakes, which could be siphoned off by increased velocity of flow from Lake Michigan into the sanitary canal. At the same time that the sanitary district claimed that its water supply was in peril, Mayor Kelly was campaigning for office and loudly proclaiming that Chicago had "the finest water supply in the world." Dr. E. R. Krumbiegel, Milwaukee Health Commissioner, was an effective witness in refuting this fallacious claim before the United States Public Health Service and before congressional committees.

Having been frustrated before the War Production Board, the United States Public Health Service, and congressional committees, Chicago then attempted to secure an Executive order from the late President Roosevelt authorizing increased diversion. A barrage of protest came from the Great Lakes region as a result of which the President declined to issue the order.

Chicago thereafter petitioned the Supreme Court to reopen the case on the grounds that Chicago's water supply and public health were in jeopardy. A special master was appointed by the Supreme Court, who conducted lengthy investigations and took much testimony. The special master found the Chicago claims unfounded and the Court declined to modify the decree.

Officials of the sanitary district have gone so far as to claim that increased diversion of lake water is needed for the development of atomic power at the Argonne Laboratory. Neither the State of Illinois nor the Chicago Sanitary District is in any way concerned with the development of atomic power at the Argonne Laboratory. No suggestion has ever been made by the Atomic Energy Commission that increased diversion is necessary for the operation of this atomic plant.

A variety of specious reasons have been advanced by the State of Illinois and the Chicago Sanitary District. These are not the real motives for increased diversion. The real motive is obscured in the sensational claims of the sanitary district. Increased diversion is desired because of the additional income to be derived from the development of hydroelectric power at Lockport, Ill., where the sanitary district maintains an electric powerplant and to decrease the operating expenses of the sanitary district, which becomes possible if untreated or partially treated sewage can be diluted with additional lake water. In the report of Special Master Lemann to the United States Supreme Court in March 1941, it was pointed out that the additional electricity which could be developed by a diversion of 10,000 c. f. s. is worth $1,500 a day to the sanitary district, or $550,000 a year.

The sanitary district has thoroughly confused the entire issue by repeated shifts of position and numerous phony claims. Among the purposes mentioned by Illinois for requiring increased diversion of Lake Michigan water are navigation, public health, recreation, community use, agriculture, and atomic power. Every one of these claims has been thoroughly disproved. Only two conclusions can be drawn: Either the securing of increased diversion has become an obsession and a fixed political objective in the Chicago area, or the sanitary district wants the water for power generation at Lockport to increase the funds available to it from sale of power.

The Great Lakes Harbors Association, the port cities of the Great Lakes, the Lake Carriers Association, and the governments of the States bordering the Great Lakes have been united in opposition to the demands of Chicago that the waters of Lake Michigan be exploited for the political or financial benefit of the Chicago Sanitary District. The Canadian Government has repeatedly protested through diplomatic channels the attempts to abstract water from an international basin for the benefit of a single community.

For the past 40 years, the Milwaukee city government has been a powerful force for the protection of community and regional interests in this matter. Milwaukee should not be diverted from its position by abusive statements emanating from Chicago, which have little or no basis in fact. The allegation that pollution in the Chicago area emanates from Milwaukee is utterly ridiculous. While the writer is no authority in the field of sewage disposal, it is my understanding that it would be physically and financially impossible to build sewage facilities of a capacity adequate to treat sudden deluges of stormwater when torrential rains fall. Under these conditions, there is inevitably some mixing of storm and sanitary sewage and a flow develops beyond the capacity of our treatment plant. However, it is my understanding that quantities of sewage bypassed under these conditions are small in volume, short in duration, and so diluted as not to present a health hazard.

Chicago is obviously attempting to weaken the united front of Great Lakes interests against water diversion by endeavoring to make it appear that this is a Chicago-Milwaukee squabble. Nothing could be farther from the truth, and Milwaukee's valuable and historic leadership for the protection of its interests and the interests of the entire lake region should not be diminished by these unworthy and unfounded allegations.

It has been the position of many interests on the Great Lakes that if Chicago has a legitimate basis for adjustment of the 1930 decree, it should go back to the Supreme Court and make its petition, which will become the subject of reasonable and thorough investigation. In a word, this important issue, affecting a great watershed, 2 nations, and 8 States should be decided by the judicial processes and not by political methods.

With another temporary rise in lake levels, it can be anticipated that another hue and cry will emanate from Chicago, for more water. The Chicago Sanitary District and Chicago newspapers have done a clever propaganda job in persuading and alarming owners of shore property in Wisconsin and Michigan that increased diversion of water to the sanitary canal will solve the high-water problem on Lake Michigan. The maximum correction which would result in high water in Lake Michigan as a result of H. R. 3300 would be 1 inch in 3 years. One inch of water

would obviously not settle the erosion problem when the lakes rise to levels of 3 feet above normal, as they did in 1951 and 1952. On the other hand, removal of 1 inch of water from Lake Michigan as a result of the Chicago water diversion would, at the low lake level cycles, have a disastrous effect upon lake shipping. If the bulk freighter fleet on the Great Lakes has its safe draft reduced by only 1 inch, the annual loss in carrying capacity is approximately 2 million tons of cargo per season for American vessels only, excluding Canadian and ocean shipping. In the contest between erosion and navigation, the Chicago water diversion offers small comfort as an erosion preventative, but presents a very real threat to navigation and shipping on the Great Lakes.

Milwaukee, other port cities, and maritime interests of the Great Lakes region are now pressing for Federal deepening of the Great Lakes connecting channels in preparation for the St. Lawrence seaway project. It would be most inconsistent to press for such a costly improvement and at the same time consent to other measures which would result in lowering lake levels.

We recommend that Milwaukee continue to support legislation providing for long-range study of water levels of the Great Lakes with a view to the building of control works. Such a study by the Corps of Engineers is now in progress. Its findings should be awaited before lake levels are further tampered with. In the meantime, the writer believes that it would be sound public policy to insist that Congress refrain from adjusting the allowable water diversion until lake-level engineering studies are completed. The groups opposing the Chicago water diversion are now in a very powerful position, having the support of a Presidential veto which will serve as a deterrent to congressional committees and to both Houses of Congress against hasty enactment of legislation such as H. R. 3300 which slipped through the Senate in the confusion of the closing hours.

Respectfully,

H. C. BROCKEL,
Municipal Port Director.

Salute to India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleague from New York [Mr. POWELL] in a salute to the Republic of India on this fifth anniversary of its independence.

I share with him the thought and belief that the Government of India and its people are not antiwhite and that such charges made by leaders in our own country are unwise, unfair, and unjust.

To have India as a friend of the United States and of the free world is of vital importance to the cause of democracy and human freedom. It seems to me that the philosophy and character of the Indian people puts them on the side of freedom and human decency and against totalitarian tyranny in any form.

Not only are hostile public statements offensive to the people of India, but they offend our friends among the dark races of Asia. The Communist cause and not the cause of freedom and democracy is helped by irresponsible public statements against the young republic and the Indian people.

As my distinguished friend from New York has so eloquently pointed out, we can play a more effective role in the fight against totalitarian tyranny when good sense and the practice of democratic principles becomes more evident in both our foreign and domestic policies.

Personal Attacks on President Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, many of our colleagues must have read with amazement, as I did, an extension and revision of remarks in yesterday's RECORD by our distinguished colleague from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] in connection with the Formosa resolution.

In an address to Congress by President Eisenhower on February 2, 1953, dealing in part with the employment of the United States 7th Fleet by former President Truman both, first, to prevent attack upon Formosa; and, second, to prevent Formosa from attacking the Communist-held China mainland, President Eisenhower said of the Truman order:

> This has meant, in effect, that the United States Navy was required to serve as a defensive arm of Communist China.

Mr. HOLIFIELD characterized this statement by President Eisenhower as a "brazen partisan political statement," and said that "it was received by the Democrats with deep resentment—because we knew, as the President knew, that the statement was untrue."

Elsewhere in the body of today's RECORD our distinguished colleague from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY] discusses in detail the facts of the 7th Fleet deployment and shows the complete accuracy of President Eisenhower's statements.

It is my real and sincere hope that Mr. HOLIFIELD did not intend from the forum of the House of Representatives to call the President of the United States a liar. I would resent such a personal attack and I know millions of fine Americans would resent such a personal attack.

Nevertheless, and despite general statements from the President's political opponents that they will not oppose just for opposition's sake, I have noted a recurrent emanation from them of what I would consider unfounded and unwarranted personal attacks on the President and those around him. Some persons have even raised a question as to whether or not there exists an organized and planned all-out attack by vilification and innuendo both against President Eisenhower and his program.

It may be that I am oversensitive to these unwarranted and unfounded personal attacks on the President. So that my colleagues may judge for themselves, I set forth some statements made over the past 6 months which I regard as personal attacks against the President of the United States:

Adlai E. Stevenson, August 18, 1954 (United Press): Stevenson charged President Eisenhower with "putting party expediency" ahead of "even his own view of the national interest."

Adlai E. Stevenson, August 18, 1954 (United Press): Stevenson sharply criticized President Eisenhower for offering his good wishes to Joseph T. Meek, 1954 Republican candidate for the Senate in Illinois.

Adlai E. Stevenson, August 18, 1954 (Washington Post and Times-Herald): In a speech on the Republican farm program, Stevenson said: "But even more interesting • • • was the • • • Presidential failure to point out that it was a cynical and total breach of promise, which apparently is no longer a political offense, at least among Republicans."

Stephen A. Mitchell, August 16, 1954 (New York Times): "Let's look • • • at the Dixon-Yates scandal. Here was a deal to grant a subsidy of $140 million to a favored power syndicate, on the President's personal order, over the protest of the Atomic Energy Commission and the TVA, without competitive bidding.

"A director of 1 of the 2 companies in the favored syndicate is one of the President's closest friends (Bobby Jones) with a cottage next to President Eisenhower's at the Augusta golf course.

"Maybe they never even talked about it, I don't know. Maybe it's just a coincidence that some of the bankers in this administration came from banks which underwrite this kind of project; I don't know."

Stephen A. Mitchell, August 18, 1954 (United Press: Democrat Chairman Mitchell charged President Eisenhower with a "multi-billion-dollar giveaway to big business" in the Dixon-Yates power controversy.

Averell Harriman, December 8, 1954 (Associated Press): The Democrat Governor-elect of New York said: "We've got to stop avoiding holding President Eisenhower responsible for the actions of his lieutenants and of the Republican Party." • • •

"When President Eisenhower told the people of this country that there would be a 'partisan cold war' in Washington if the Democrats won control of Congress," Harriman continued, "he was saying something that wasn't true—and that he has admitted wasn't true." • • •

"If that is an example of the responsibility that President Eisenhower feels to the people of this country, then I hope it is also a lesson for us Democrats—and I think it's one we're beginning to learn.

"We've got to quit this business of excluding President Eisenhower from criticism of the unworthy campaign tactics that have been adopted by the Republican Party, and that he has condoned."

Harriman added: "This is not an administration, or a party, without a head—much as it sometimes seems to be."

Paul M. Butler, December 5, 1954 (Baltimore Sun): The present Democrat chairman said: "As the months have passed it has become more and more apparent that a military background is not a full and complete preparation for a Chief Executive.

"It has become more and more apparent month by month that the Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party have a lack of capacity to lead and unite the American people."

Asked by reporters if he meant Eisenhower himself, Butler said: "I certainly did. I

think the responsibility is with the President."

Paul M. Butler, December 5, 1954 (Associated Press): "The responsibility is with the President to see that the Nation is united and there is ever-increasing evidence of his lack of capacity to do it."

Paul M. Butler, December 8, 1954 (Washington Post and Times-Herald): President Eisenhower "has not shown the particular qualities that enabled Harry Truman to write such a courageous page in history.

"I only wish that President Eisenhower had the courage to join with moderate Republicans and Democrats in Congress to square away with the Old Guard and extremists in his own party."

Paul M. Butler, December 10, 1954 (New York Times): Amplifying his earlier attacks on President Eisenhower, Butler declared: "It would seem to me that the first step might well be to make some effort to unite and lead his own party. We do not have to look far to see that the Republican Party is not united and is not being led by the President."

Paul M. Butler, December 12, 1954 (Associated Press): "We feel that thus far the President has not displayed the qualities of leadership that he displayed as a military figure."

SAM RAYBURN, December 4, 1954 (New Orleans Item): The Item quoted RAYBURN as saying that he "does not think President Eisenhower knows his job." * * *

The Item further quoted RAYBURN as saying: "The truth is, I don't think he (President Eisenhower) pays enough attention to the work and I don't think he knows what is going on"

SAM RAYBURN, January 4, 1955 (Washington Post and Times-Herald): At the party caucus of Democrat Members of the House on January 4, RAYBURN said, "* * * We Democrats cannot forget some of the tactics employed by the President's own party in the last campaign, the reckless smearing of Democrats as alleged traitors, with which the President saw fit to identify himself." * * *

"In my estimation, that makes Eisenhower a party to these unwarranted attacks on our patriotism."

Democratic Digest, February 1955: The February issue of the Democratic Digest tried to show that in more than a score of instances over the last 2 years, President Eisenhower was "at odds with himself or his party."

The Digest asserted that since the President appeared on the political scene "he has presented so many different faces that no one positive image had emerged."

Walter P. Reuther, December 9, 1954 (New York Times): Reuther accused President Eisenhower of perpetrating a "political fraud" by saying that Labor Secretary Mitchell held equal status with other Cabinet officers.

"The Secretary of Labor is not a member of the Cabinet," Reuther said. "He is just there as convenient window dressing to make the working people believe they have a voice in the policymaking decisions of our Government."

Can the Ukraine Shake Off the Communist Yoke?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, the anniversary of the Declaration of Ukrainian Independence, January 22, is another reminder of the tactics and policies of the Soviets against the peoples of the world who love freedom and independence.

It was in 1918 that these 40 million residents of the rich Ukraine moved toward self-government after the collapse of the Russian empire. But the Bolsheviks with a Russian army invaded the new nation, set up their puppet government and the territory went under the control of the Communist dictators.

The familiar story of oppression and pillage followed. The resources of 250,000 square miles of fertile land, the mines and industry were diverted to the upbuilding of Communist power.

Resistance was bitter but costly. Massacre and famine followed. Millions were uprooted, sent to Siberia, to other Asiatic areas to face a bitter existence as slave laborers.

And while we hear this talk of coexistence, let us remember the pattern of conquest, the ruin of peoples and of nations that have come under the Kremlin's fist.

In the United States today we have a group of Ukrainians who escaped the Communists. They have taken a place in their adopted country, are leaders in professions, citizens of the finest type. It is this group, with a full realization of the benefits of liberty, that are the voice of the 40 million behind the Iron Curtain, that help keep us conscious of the dangers of communism in our country.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, the United Ukrainian Organizations of Newark demonstrated on January 23 on behalf of the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence and the 36th anniversary of the union of Eastern and Western Ukraine. This traditional observance is a fitting occasion to reaffirm the faith and hope of all freedom-loving people in the eventual liberation of all the nations behind the Iron Curtain. I was happy to send the following message to my good friends of the United Ukrainian Organizations:

JANUARY 20, 1955.

UNITED UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS
OF NEWARK,
Newark, N. J.

DEAR FRIENDS: It is a privilege to send a message of greeting and friendship to your distinguished assembly upon this hallowed occasion.

January 22 of 1918 was a memorable day for all freedom-loving Ukrainians, and especially so for those who, after enduring the severe vicissitudes of World War I, attained their most cherished dream, that of national political independence. This national ideal, which was carefully nursed in the hearts of all patriotic Ukrainians during the long years of their subjection to alien rulers, had become almost a second religion to all devout Ukrainians. Its realization in 1918 looked like a true national resurrection. Unfortunately the newly recreated government could not withstand all the evil forces of tyranny and barbarism which were arrayed against it. In less than 2 years the Ukraine's independence became a victim of these forces.

Today Communist tyranny rules over the Ukraine with an unrelenting, iron hand, but even under the present adverse circumstances, all patriotic and freedom-loving Ukrainians still cherish their national ideal, their political independence. In this celebration you are certainly helping to keep alive that fine sentiment. I extend my cordial greetings to all of you on the occasion of this celebration and wish you every success.

With kindest regards, I am
Sincerely yours,

HUGH J. ADDONIZIO,
Member of Congress.

Pledges and Hedges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker it is easy for some people to promise much today and perform much less tomorrow. What follows illustrates this point by demonstrating the gap between the words of the Republican campaigners and the deeds of the Republican administration. It also indicates that our well-meaning President need defer to no one as a good promiser.

These pledges and hedges appeared in the Democratic Digest of February 1955:

PLEDGES AND HEDGES

ON PEACE: BEFORE AND AFTER THE ELECTION

The pledge: "For the first time in 20 years * * * today we have peace." (Eisenhower, Indianapolis, Ind., October 15, 1954.)

The hedge: "The President * * * added that the world was not at peace as he would define that word. * * * An armistice, [he] said, cannot be termed peace." (New York Times, December 9, 1954.)

BALANCE THE BUDGET

The pledge: "Isn't it time we had, in Washington, an administration which knows how to keep spending down * * * which believes that an unbalanced Federal budget is dangerous to every one of us—and moves to bring that budget into balance?" (Eisenhower, September 30, 1952.)

The hedge: "Humphrey Calls Balanced Budget Out of Reach: The budget outlook, as described by the Secretary, means that the administration will be unable for the third year to redeem 1952 campaign pledge." (New York Times, December 7, 1954.)

UNLEASH CHIANG KAI-SHEK

The pledge: "Eisenhower Frees Chiang To Raid Mainland: I am issuing instructions that the 7th Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China [the President said]." (New York Times, February 3, 1953.)

The hedge: "The Nationalist Chinese Navy and air force have been ordered to cease attacks on Chinese Communist mainland targets as a result of United States pressure." (Washington Post and Times Herald, October 7, 1954.)

AVOID CONFLICTS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The pledge: "We shall not allow our Government agencies to fight at the expense of the American people." (Eisenhower, Troy, N. Y., October 22, 1952.)

The hedge: "Dulles, Humphreys Split Over Shift to Long-Range Aid: President Eisenhower's Cabinet is split over a proposed long-range program of economic grants and loans as the free world's chief weapon in the cold war." (New York Times, December 4, 1954.)

GETTING GOOD MEN TO SERVE IN GOVERNMENT

The pledge: "We can get the best men in America. There will have to be no cry 'we can't get good men to come to Washington.' Pure bunk." (Eisenhower, Chicago, September 5, 1952.)

The hedge: * * * drawing upon the business community for Government executives is not so simple * * * as was thought * * *. The administration from now on will find it harder to locate businessmen who are able and willing to serve. (Fortune magazine, July 1954.)

PRESERVE A NONPOLITICAL CIVIL SERVICE

The pledge: Federal employees shall be selected under a strengthened and extended merit system. (1952 GOP platform.)

The hedge: White House seeks jobs for GOP favorites. White House jobs-for-Republicans campaign headed by Adams' office. (Washington Post and Times Herald, October 27, 1954.)

HELP STATES BUILD SCHOOLS

The pledge: "In this critical problem of adequate education, we must now undertake to help needy States build schools." (Eisenhower, Los Angeles, October 9, 1952.)

The hedge: When asked about Federal aid to education, [Welfare Secretary] Hobby emphatically replied that it was not on her legislative agenda. (New York Times, October 22, 1954.)

AVOID BLUSTER IN FOREIGN POLICY

The pledge: "Bluster in words could here mean national humiliation * * * The way to true national security is something different from either extreme; quiet firmness in words, effective strength in purpose." (Eisenhower, Salt Lake City, October 10, 1952.)

The hedge: If you add up all the statements made by Eisenhower, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the military and assorted Republican leaders, the sum total is bluff, bluster, backdown, and baloney. (Chicago Daily News, July 14, 1954.)

Trade Expansion Essential to Prosperity of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial published in the Seaside (Oreg.) Signal and written by Mr. Max Schafer on the subject of world trade:

TRADE EXPANSION ESSENTIAL TO PROSPERITY OF AMERICA

Of all the recommendations made during the opening weeks of the new Congress by President Eisenhower, probably the most important involves the program for promoting trade between the western nations. The whole future of the world can hang upon the decision of Congress in this matter. If the United States takes the lead in promoting expanded trade, we can develop the economies of the western nations to the point where communism will lose its appeal. If we do not, we will force several nations into the arms of the Communists. One of them will be Japan, the key to the defense of the western Pacific. Others will be forced into a socialistic economy, which, after all, is just the first step toward communism. And we will of necessity adopt more and more socialism ourselves.

From our own standpoint the most important phase of this situation is simply the fact that we cannot continue to maintain a free enterprise economy without free trade. Our productive ability has become so great that only a worldwide market, free of all restrictions and barriers, can support full employment. That we now have several million men unemployed is due to trade restrictions, which make it impossible for us to enter many markets throughout the world. We will always have this situation until trade throughout the western world is freed of restrictions.

While we are by no means the only offenders in this matter, it is up to us to take the lead in solving the problem. We still export more than we import. Normal imports will not pay for the American goods being bought by other nations. The difference is made up in foreign aid of one kind or another. Elimination of this aid would mean more unemployment than now exists. If we take the lead in removing trade restrictions, and in return demand that other nations do the same thing, we will open markets now closed to us and put more men to work.

The important fact is that we must buy from others if they are to buy from us. Except for help we give other nations, they have no resources with which they can buy American goods other than dollars earned in the process of selling goods to us. If our exports are to expand our imports must also expand.

The greatest strength of the Soviet bloc is the ability to move resources, labor, and products without restraint across artificial boundaries. Economically the various members of the bloc are a unit. The greatest weakness of the western nations is their lack of such economic unity.

There will always be the problem of certain American industries which have been built on the basis of trade restrictions. Probably they will need some sort of a subsidy for a period during which they would be forced to adjust themselves to the new situation or to liquidate. But the fact is that most American production will compete with any in the world and will sell in competition to that of any other nation, regardless of wage scales. Properly employed, the high-wage American workman is the cheapest labor in the world, because, with the tools American industry gives him, he produces more for a wage dollar than any other workman in the world.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked an anniversary that tears at the hearts of many loyal Americans of Ukrainian descent—the 37th anniversary of the independence proclamation of the Ukrainian people. They had great hopes and faith when they started anew, in 1918, to carry on their ancient traditions of national independence. But their hopes were shortlived. The Ukraine was the first non-Russian country to fall victim to the wicked imperialism of the Soviet. The churches of the Ukraine were among the first to be leveled in the fanatical atheism of these godless conquerors. Ukrainians were dessimated in the famines and purges and the deportations and mass murders to which Moscow resorts when it is challenged by the national spirit of the non-Russians it enslaves.

Yet, through all these trials and tribulations the Ukrainians have never lost their spirit or their hopes. In the brief interlude during World War II, when they were permitted to fight at our sides, the Ukrainians distinguished themselves as a valorous breed apart from their Russian masters. They wait, 40 million strong, for the great opportunity—which history must surely hold for them—to reaffirm their independence and take their places, at last, in the community of free nations and free men and women.

These brave friends of ours behind the Iron Curtain cannot raise their voices so we can hear. But they hear us, through our official efforts to communicate with them, and through all the unofficial channels that always carry words of hope to men of good heart within the tyrants' domain. I am glad to see a number of my colleagues taking note of this anniversary. I am proud to join them, and add my voice to theirs.

Federal Regulation of Natural Gas Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared January 25, 1955, in the Times Recorder of Zanesville, Ohio, poses a penetrating question on the meaning in terms of economic philosophy of the newly imposed Federal regulation of natural-gas producers:

IS THIS WHAT WE WANT?

For years the Federal Government has fixed rates for carriers in interstate commerce and for certain legalized monopolies. State, county, and local government have regulated their public utilities. This is to give the public an enforceable guaranty of fair and just rates in the absence of competition.

But today, for the first time in the Nation's peacetime history, the Federal Government has stepped in to regulate the prices, profits, and general operations of private producers who sell a commodity for private consumption in a free and competitive market.

That commodity is natural gas, now subject to Federal price-fixing at the point of

production under a 5-to-3 Supreme Court decision of last June which considers a private, competitive producer of natural gas to be in interstate commerce because he sells his product to an interstate pipeline. Actually, this independent producer is one segment of a three-part operation which brings natural gas from the field to your furnace and kitchen. The others are the pipeline transporter, who is already regulated by interstate commerce laws; and the distributor, or local gas company, who is controlled by public-utility statutes. So why regulate the producer too? Will it give us cheaper gas? Indications are to the contrary—with the additional long-range danger of further Federal encroachment on everybody's business.

Natural gas is a clean, convenient, and economical fuel, vital to the 21 million American households that now use gas, and to the millions more who are waiting for new pipelines to bring it to them. To meet this ever-growing demand, there must be continuous exploration for new reserves. But exploration is expensive. It costs more than $100,000 to drill an exploratory well, and 8 out of 9 are dry and unproductive. The cost of these operations must come out of the profits of productive wells, as they did when the uncontrolled gas producer was receiving 10 cents or less as his total share—not profit, but total share—of every household gas bill dollar.

Certainly there is nothing in history to suggest that government can give us cheaper gas by imposing additional controls on production. Unless there is aggressive development of new supplies, spurred by reasonable incentives for the producers, there can only be less gas. And it is abundance, not shortage, that keeps prices down.

Far more dangerous, however, is this new precedent which could lead to Government supervision of all productive business whose goods reach consumers outside of the State of origin—oil, coal, minerals, farm products, and most anything else.

To extend the economic philosophy of the natural gas decision would, of course, be socialism. So the whole question is fairly simple: Is that what the American people want?

The Job Export Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article appearing in a recent issue of the United Mine Workers Journal, under the caption "The Job Export Program."

Mr. John T. Jones, director of Labor's Nonpartisan League, and a high-ranking official of the United Mine Workers of America, presents forcefully the situation particularly as it affects the workingmen and women of the United States.

Mr. Jones' article follows:

THE TIME TO SEE YOUR CONGRESSMAN IS NOW, JONES WARNS IN STATEMENT ON CHEAP IMPORTS

(By John T. Jones, director, Labor's Nonpartisan League)

The 84th Congress, convening in January 1955, will determine whether or not "the job export program" will be extended, or even be made permanent.

Its proponents do not call the program by that name. Officially it is on the statute books as the Trade Agreements Act. It was originally passed in 1934 as an emergency measure, and has since been extended, in periods of 3 years or less, until the present date. It deals with the statistically tedious and boringly intricate consideration of the extent to which low-cost-production goods of foreign nations may be imported into the United States to compete, for purchase dollars by Americans, with the American goods produced under the high living standards of the United States and by the workmen of this Nation.

The facts that many segments of our population fail to recognize in regard to this act include the following:

1. Every foreign-made item sold in this country in competition with similar items made in the United States represents a loss of employment to American labor.

2. The flooding of American markets with more cheaply produced foreign goods—and the resulting cutback in American production jobs—reduces the amount of taxable income by which the unemployment insurance, old-age security, pension plans, and other benefits of Americans under the American way of life and the American standard of living, may be sustained.

3. Trade agreements, which permit cheaper made foreign goods to come into the United States under low import duties, or without any duty, add to the capability of foreign goods to undercut American goods in the American home markets.

It is well to look at the backlog of fact predating the passage of the 1934 Trade Agreements Act.

Article 1, section 8, of the Constitution of the United States delegated to the Congress the regulation of foreign trade through adjustment of the duties, imports, or excises commonly called tariffs.

From the passage of the first Revenue and Tariff Act by Congress on July 4, 1789, to June 12, 1934, trade and tariff problems were handled by Congress in accordance with article 1, section 8, of the Constitution.

On June 12, 1934, a strong executive won from a weak legislative branch of our Government an abrogation of the legislative power, constitutionally given, to regulate tariffs. It was accomplished by an amendment to the Tariff Act of June 17, 1930—an amendment giving the executive branch the power to lower existing tariffs by as much as 50 percent, or of raising such tariffs.

The original transfer of this power to the Executive by the legislative branch was to run for 3 years only. The political party which held the White House from the date of passage of the Trade Agreements Act in 1934 to 1952 held sufficient power in Congress to effect extensions of that tariff-control power.

During the years of the buildup for World War II, the war-production years from Pearl Harbor to V–J Day, through the postwar rehabilitation years, then through the Korean police action, and subsequently the cold-war period to date, the United States has poured multiple billions of dollars into various aid and assistance programs to foreign nations—billions met by the taxes of Americans.

Under the heading of "rehabilitation," the United States shipped machinery, materials, and technical know-how to the rest of the world outside the Iron Curtain. It replaced the outmoded, outworn production plants of foreign nations with modern production plants, and trained foreign labor in the mass-production technique to compete with American products.

But in the United States, as of October 1953, the average hourly earnings of industrial workers was $1.78, as against $1.38 in Canada, and as against a range of 75 cents down to 37 cents in such countries as Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Belgium, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. The lowest scale, as of 1952, was in Japan, where the average was 19 cents per hour.

The American watch industry all but went down under the impact of literally millions of Swiss-made watches and movements, produced at a fraction of the cost of the American product, and permitted into our markets under low import rates which made it possible for the Swiss watches to undercut domestically produced watches. Since 1953 there has been some effort to equalize the situation with an upward tariff revision.

American glass and pottery makers have felt the stunning impact of cheap foreign-made products allowed to come in over low tariff barriers which permit the underselling of American goods.

Recent testimony before the Malone committee of the United States Senate, contended that the American coal industry should have been exporting 50 million tons of coal in 1953 to foreign countries. We gave money aid to Italy, France, Yugoslavia, and the Low Countries—and they used the money to buy Polish and Czechoslovakian coal. Within the past months reports have come through of an agreement between Japan and Communist China by which Japan will import 165,000 tons of Red Chinese coal under one contract, and 85,000 tons of Red Chinese coal under another contract. At the same time the Japanese Premier was in this country seeking further financial aid from us to bolster the sagging Japanese economy.

Soviet Russia forces trade with her satellites, and, at the same time, is cajoling our "allied" friends of the free world—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Pakistan, and many others—into trade and barter agreements. Red China follows a similar drive to bring India, Burma, Indochina, Indonesia, Nepal, Afghanistan—all the southeast Asia nations—into a Red Chinese orbit of trade.

ALLIES UNDERCUT UNITED STATES MARKETS

The British, West German, Italian, French, Belgian, and Dutch nations, trading with the Soviet and satellite nations, build the economic power of the Soviet toward the strength sufficient for worldwide aggression. Reciprocal trade agreements, by which these nations of the free world can undercut American products in American markets, can only weaken the industrial power of the United States by making it impossible to maintain our high wage scales and standard of living.

American big business, maintaining production plants abroad, selling in the foreign markets with the benefit of low-cost foreign labor, further takes from the American workers the man-hours of employment which would accrue in this country were the goods produced here.

The jobless automobile workers in Detroit would do well to think of how many are "on the bricks" because of the number of Soviet, German, French, and Italian automobiles sold in foreign markets that used to be ours.

American textile workers, hatters, shoe workers, producers of minerals and agricultural products, might well ask their Senators and Representatives, before the 84th Congress acts on the up-coming proposals to extend the Trade Agreements Act, if they understand that the proper title for the legislation should be the "Job Export Program of 1955."

After enactment of extension it will be too late. The time to see your Senator or Congressman is between now and January. The place to see him is at home, before he gets to Washington and is confronted with the pressures of the big business lobbyists waiting for him there.

WARNS AGAINST DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL

Russell B. Brown, general counsel of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, warned that propaganda of oil-im-

porting companies is leading America into a state of complacency over increasing dependence on foreign oil.

In a report to IPAA President W. A. Vaughey, Brown said the companies through publications, speeches, radio, TV, and paid publicity are "maintaining their pressure for continued excessive imports."

Brown stated that the American people would not stand for the United States becoming dependent on foreign sources for water power which now supplies about 4 percent of our total energy needs, but, he pointed out, we are already more dependent on imported oil which now constitutes about 6 percent of the Nation's energy needs.

A Fair-Play Code for Congressional Investigating Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the congressional investigative process must be retained, undiminished and unimpaired. It is essential to the proper functioning of the legislative process.

Nevertheless, we should be the first to recognize that at times abuses have occurred. We should put our own house in order by adopting a set of basic rules to govern the conduct of all investigating committees. Then we should devise appropriate machinery to enforce such a code. At the same time we should study the methods whereby committees can more effectively deal with recalcitrant, evasive and defiant witnesses.

These are some of the matters which, it is contemplated, would be considered by a special committee created under the provisions of House Resolution 78.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle urging early congressional attention to this problem:

KEATING ON A CODE

Representative KENNETH B. KEATING has chosen a strategic time to win converts in Congress to a plan for developing a code of fair play which he hopes will silence the rumblings of complaints over investigative abuses. His resolution will have the support of sympathetic colleagues of his party. It should also claim backing among rankled Democrats. The temper of the times indicates reform is due.

The Rochesterian's proposal of a special House committee to come up with a code of fair play stems from his grave concern over the improprieties and weaknesses of congressional inquiries. Since 1792, when a House committee made the first inquiry (into the failure of an expedition against the Indians), committees of Congress have made more than 800 investigations. In the intervening 162 years the investigative arm has swung in an ever-widening arc. The 82d Congress, for example, ran its researches into the more than modest cost of $5 million.

No one can seriously question the legal right of Congress to investigate. Unfortunately, some legislators have discovered in the committee hearing a new and wondrous arena for making political plays. Purposes too often have become punitive rather than factfinding. One-man hearings have often been gimmicks for handouts to the press.

The most notable casualties, but not all, have been the constitutional rights of individuals. They have occurred, basically, not as a direct conspiracy but as an inevitable result. Representative KEATING explains it this way: "The trouble starts when the legitimate interests of the investigating committee clash with the equally legitimate protections the Constitution has given all citizens—presumption of innocence, right to counsel, speedy public trial, privilege against self-incrimination."

But this is a two-edged problem, and the extremes go in both directions. Another casualty has been the committees themselves in their inability to enforce subpenas and their failure to punish witnesses for contempt. Representative KEATING'S proposal looks to heading off the extremes. We cannot foresee, officially, the fate of his proposal. One forecast is safe: it will precipitate more thought and discussion on a festering sore in our legislative branch overdue for some effective treatment.

Relief From Duty of Robb N. Keyser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, on April 22, 1953, I criticized the manner in which Robb N. Keyser had in 1952 been appointed as director of internal revenue in the West Virginia area.

At that time I pointed out how Mr. Keyser had flunked his civil service examination, was rejected by the examining board as unqualified, and was only given the job after the intervention of the Representative from that State, who contacted the President of the United States, and Secretary Snyder overruled the Civil Service Commission and gave him the job.

This appointment was a direct violation of the reorganization act which was passed by the Congress for the purpose of eliminating political influence in the selection of these directors.

I do not know the nature of Mr. Keyser's more recent charges, but I am glad that at long last the wheels of justice appear to be rolling. They have been a long time getting started.

I ask unanimous consent that the newspaper article dated January 24, 1954, announcing his removal be incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEYSER OUT AFTER INSPECTION—WITH PARKERSBURG OFFICE 22 YEARS

PARKERSBURG, January 24.—Robb N. Keyser, 52, was relieved of duty today as West Virginia director of the Internal Revenue Service.

A terse announcement of Keyser's dismissal from the $12,000-a-year post was made by W. B. Eshleman, of Cincinnati, regional Internal Revenue Service director. Keyser, nephew of United States Senator NEELY, Democrat, West Virginia, has been with the Internal Revenue Service for almost 22 years, the last two as director in West Virginia.

The announcement handed newsmen here by Eshleman said:

"As a result of information disclosed through an inspection of the office of the district director of internal revenue at Parkersburg, W. Va., W. B. Eshleman, regional commissioner, announced that District Director Robb N. Keyser has been relieved of duty as of today.

NOTHING TO HIDE

"Mr. Keyser has submitted a resignation effective January 24, 1955. In accordance with established policies of the Internal Revenue Service, no further details will be released at this time."

Keyser declined to make a statement at this time, other than to say:

"I have done nothing I am ashamed of and I have nothing to hide."

STAYED ON UNDER GOP

Keyser is a Democrat but continued to retain office after the new Republican Presidential administration took over. The ouster move is in line with similar action taken affecting postmasters and other holdover Democrats.

The Parkersburg News said tonight that Keyser offered his resignation in preference to dragging the Internal Revenue Service into politics.

Mrs. Ella J. Vaughn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is with distinct pride that I have the honor and pleasure of paying a much deserved tribute to one of the great ladies of our Nation. She is not one who has been publicized in the metropolitan newspapers nor one who has appeared on nationwide radio and television broadcasts. She is not one who has sought the limelight of publicity nor undertaken to find praise for the great contributions that she has made to mankind. The lady of whom I speak is truly "Mrs. America." She is Mrs. Ella J. Vaughn, of Silverton, Briscoe County, Tex., who will on Sunday, January 30, celebrate her 103d birthday. She first saw the light of day in Wood County, Tex., on January 30, 1852, when Millard Fillmore was the 13th President of this great country. In fact, her birthplace is only a few short miles from the birthplace of the present occupant of our White House, the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower. Mrs. Vaughn has lived under the administrations of 22 of our 32 Presidents and has witnessed the greatest era in the advancement of civilization and in the development and progress of mankind. Her first recollection of any President was the Honorable James Buchanan. She remembers vividly the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. She is affectionately known as Grandma Vaughn to everyone who enjoys the honor of her acquaintance. Her full enjoyment of life is exemplified by the perpetual smile that greets her children and her countless friends. Cer-

tainly, we in the Panhandle of Texas are honored that her long and useful life has been spent in this great area. Her fine character and unselfish devotion to her children and her country exemplify the fine Christian life for which we all so diligently strive. Grandma Vaughn has been, and will always be, a fine example for all in our section of the country. America is indeed proud to extend to you sincere congratulations on the celebration of your 103d birthday and to extend to you best wishes for many more.

UNESCO Teachings in Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I place in the RECORD at this time two resolutions adopted by the American Legion which specifically set forth the fact that the American Legion is not in harmony with the teachings of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

The resolutions, which follow, clearly affirm the American Legion's disagreement with the principles taught by UNESCO:

RESOLUTION 322, OREGON, UNESCO TEACHINGS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS PASSED BY NATIONAL CONVENTION, THE AMERICAN LEGION, WASHINGTON CONVENTION, AUGUST 30 TO SEPTEMBER 2, 1954

Whereas the policy of the American Legion in regard to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization was clearly delineated by Resolution No. 33 of the national executive committee meeting in Indianapolis on May 1, 1953; and

Whereas some confusion now exists as to the present American Legion policy toward this same organization: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled at Washington, D. C., August 30–September 2, 1954, That Resolution No. 33 of the national executive committee dated May 2, 1953, is hereby reaffirmed as to its resolving clauses: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we deplore the use of material furnished by the United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organizations for the use in our public schools; and be it further

Resolved by the national executive committee of the American Legion, meeting in Indianapolis, Ind., April 29–30, May 1, 1953, That we call upon all American educational institutions and upon boards of education throughout the United States to cease and desist from the use of the educational materials of UNESCO propounding world citizenship and adherence to a nebulous world government as a criteria of education of American citizens; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the representatives of the United States to UNESCO to take appropriate measures to cause UNESCO to cease and desist from dissemination of such subversive educational materials; and be it still further

Resolved, That studies by the national executive committee now in progress by the special committee on covenant on human rights and United Nations be continued.

The following resolution, originated in the national Americanism commission meeting in Indianapolis October 4, 1954, was overwhelmingly approved by vote of the national executive committee of the American Legion meeting in Indianapolis October 6, 1954, said resolution as follows:

"Whereas the opposition of the American Legion to the teachings of UNESCO was clearly stated by Resolution No. 33, passed by the national executive committee of the American Legion meeting in Indianapolis, Ind., April 29–30–May 1, 1953; and

"Whereas at the national executive committee meeting of May 1954, in Indianapolis, the special committee on Covenant on Human Rights and United Nations of the national executive committee filed a report on UNESCO with the national executive committee, on which no approval or other action was taken; and

"Whereas this report largely stated the good things that the United States State Department and the National Commission for UNESCO, who are promoting UNESCO, had to say in favor of UNESCO; and

"Whereas, this favorable report on UNESCO, though it was neither approved nor adopted by the national executive committee has been copied twice into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with inference of about face by the American Legion, and has been quoted and referred to by the press of the Nation, both friendly and unfriendly to the American Legion, as an about face of the American Legion, and as tacit approval of UNESCO by the American Legion; and

"Whereas to clear up this confusion the Americanism convention committee recommended and the Washington convention of the American Legion, August 30–September 2, 1954, passed Resolution No. 322 which reaffirmed the resolving clauses of Resolution No. 33 opposing the teachings of UNESCO; and

"Whereas if the American Legion were to authorize the appointment of a representative of the American Legion on the National Commission for UNESCO, it could serve only to be used by the promoters of UNESCO's world-government program, and by the press as approval of UNESCO by the American Legion: Now, therefore be it

"*Resolved,* Should any proposal be made to the national executive committee of the American Legion for approval of the said report filed by the said special committee before the national executive committee, May 1954 or for the appointment or authorization of the appointment of a representative of the American Legion on the National Commission for UNESCO, that the national Americanism commission hereby urges the national executive committee not to approve said report and not to appoint nor authorize the appointment of any representative or representation whatsoever of the American Legion on the National Commission for UNESCO."

Trade Not Aid Proposal Termed Colossal Hoax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following interesting article from the Cincinnati Enquirer by Edward Wimmer, president, Forward America Publishing Guild and vice president, National Federation of Independent Business:

TRADE NOT AID PROPOSAL TERMED COLOSSAL HOAX

The drive to lower tariffs is a greater threat to the economic and political stability of this country than any other danger confronting us from the outside world. It has within it all the seeds of self-deception, pollyanna welfarism, fear of communism and unsound economic planning necessary to destroy our present standard of living.

Picture in your mind, please, a scene containing three lakes—one of them larger and more beautiful than the other two, and resting on higher ground. Think of these lakes as the purchasing power of America, Asia, and Europe. Now place two imaginary drain pipes that will carry water from the well-filled lake at the higher level, to the other lakes, and then open the valves. What happens? The three lakes will find the same level, won't they?

Consider, now, the thinking behind the lower tariff advocates who view 160,000,000 Americans (with one-third of their income taken away in taxes) not only providing enough purchasing power to buy what they are now producing, but, at the same time, provide enough purchasing power to raise the living standards of a half-billion wage slaves and their countless dependents—an uncanny number of whom are now trained to man high speed machinery designed to produce the same goods our own high speed machinery is overproducing.

Just stop for a moment, and ask yourself if our toy manufacturers, for example, who pay skilled workers a minimum of $1.60 per hour, can compete with the industrious Japanese who work around the clock for 20 cents an hour—which wage will not go up appreciably if we would buy all of Japan's surplus toys. Today, our administration looks fearfully toward Japan and sees unemployment rising at the rate of 500,000 annually. The birth rate is terrifying, and there have been devastating storms and poor crops. The administration also sees Japan looking longingly toward Red Asia for markets, and then there is the voice of Britain, saying "Japan must have American dollars to buy British goods."

By any measuring stick do we dare to turn Japan into a plunderbund of the American market place—in the pollyanna, fallacious thinking that we can sell Japan's low wage earners enough goods to offset the loss of jobs, taxes, and outside markets which Japan is taking away from us every day? Isn't Japan now taking orders away from both Britain and the United States, and bidding on American defense contracts at prices no American firm can even approach?

Furthermore, is there any indication that Britain and Germany will lower their tariff walls to admit American goods in direct competition to their own factories and farms, and even if they did, can we produce automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, toasters, blankets, farm products, or anything else, at prices low enough to compete? After all, we have helped them to set up machinery which will produce all the goods the Germans or British can buy, and at a labor cost far below our own. And think of the foreign branches of American companies, ready to pour goods into the United States in direct competition to their own companies and workers.

Our lead, zinc, and copper mines are a frightening example of what could easily happen on a wide front. To supposedly insure the good will of Communist-infiltrated countries, we paid higher prices for lead, zinc, and copper abroad than it could be produced for at home, which closed a whole string of American mines, and brought near

paralysis to others. On top of this, we gave Britain $234 million to buy lead, zinc, and copper on foreign markets, which Britain sold to America—at prices our mines couldn't meet. To make matters still worse, this country spent $594 million to expand mining industries in foreign nations, and only sixty-four million for domestic expansion.

Since World War II we gave away fifty billion in various forms of relief. Countless billions have found their way into foreign pockets through other sources, yet they tell us now that we must let these nations flood our markets so they can get on their feet—no matter where they put us. They have labeled their hoax, "Trade, not aid," but what are broken tariff walls if they are not a subsidy, and what is a subsidy but aid?

The big problem to solve, we believe, is how to exchange goods and services at home and abroad, on a basis of fair trade—for on no other basis can nations hope to live together, prosper, and progress.

A Great Advance in Prevention of Blindness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, we hear so much that is discouraging that I would like to share with you a very thrilling report that comes to me. It tells of research that led to prevention of blindness in premature infants.

Since 1942, I understand, approximately 8,000 children have been blinded by retrolental fibroplasia. For these children it means a life of abnormal darkness. To the community, the State, and Federal Governments it means heavy costs of education, training, and support, an estimated $800 million. The successful research described in the following report means that we will have less blind babies, children, and adults in the years to come. I am proud to call attention to the fact that the National Foundation for Eye Research, whose secretary's offices are in Cleveland, Ohio, contributed materially to that research.

Under leave granted to me to extend my remarks, the report is appended herewith:

BLINDNESS IN PREMATURE INFANTS

(Prepared by the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness)

Thousands of unborn children who would have been doomed to blindness next year and every year thereafter will have been granted their sight because of the work of medical science and because of their Government which supported a coordinated research program under the auspices of the neurological institute.

They will have been spared as a result of the investigations of more than 75 ophthalmologists and pediatricians who for the past year have worked in close coordination at 18 hospitals throughout the United States. Their purpose, and that of the Government which supported them: To find the cause of retrolental fibroplasia, the mysterious disease of the eye's retina which strikes 50 percent of all premature infants weighing 3½ pounds or less at birth. Their findings: That oxygen—the lifegiving oxygen routinely administered to premature infants in their incubators—was in fact a major sight killer.

END OF A 12-YEAR QUEST

This month before a gathering of eye specialists from every part of the Nation and from every part of the continent as well, the way was made clear for the prevention of retrolental fibroplasia. It was exceedingly simple; speaking on behalf of all those who had worked in the cooperative study, Dr. V. Everett Kinsey, associate director of the Kresge Eye Institute in Detroit, summed it up cautiously but clearly. "On the basis of (these) observations," he said, "our group of investigators feels that oxygen only be administered to premature infants in times of clinical crises rather than as routine hospital procedure."

For the scientists and physicians who heard him, and to the hundreds of hospitals and thousands of physicians responsible for the care of the Nation's newborn, these words marked the end of a 12-year quest. The observations which Kinsey had placed before them had been elegant and incontrovertible: 53 infants in the 18 hospitals, Kinsey indicated, had received routine oxygen in their incubators, and 72 percent had incurred retrolental fibroplasia, 25 percent with their eyes permanently damaged (blindness). Of 245 infants, however, who had received curtailed oxygen (for clinical crisis only) only 30 percent had developed the disease and less than six percent had suffered loss of vision.

OPENS THE WAY FOR PREVENTION

"While it had been feared," Kinsey commented, "that curtailed use of oxygen for premature infants might cause an increase in mortality, statistics of the study showed this was not so. The mortality rate was 22.2 percent in routine oxygen and 20.1 for those in curtailed oxygen." With this statement, the way was completely open for the practical prevention of most of retrolental fibroplasia.

Obvious and simple as the study may have appeared, it might well have been but one more failure in the long, hard hunt for the cause of retrolental fibroplasia which has gone on since 1942. It was in that year that Dr. T. L. Terry described and named that disease in the American Journal of Ophthalmology and said: "A variable mass of contracting scar tissue in the vitreous (central portion of the eye ball) explains the partial or complete blindness that is the ultimate expression of the condition."

LACK OF OXYGEN IMPLICATED

To Terry himself and others, the disease seemed to be due to conditions occurring prior to the birth of the premature infant. The records of mothers whose infants suffered from retrolental fibroplasia indicated that many of them had had either multiple births, toxemia of pregnancy, or placental disease or hemorrhage. It was Terry's conclusion, thereby, that lack of oxygen in the unborn baby was the most important cause of permanent damage to the blood carrying tissues of the eye which characterizes retrolental fibroplasia.

As the incidence of retrolental fibroplasia in the United States increased rapidly, however, and as reports from England, Australia, and the Continent indicated that it was on the rise there as well, it became more evident the disease might be caused by conditions related to the changing care of infants in hospitals.

MANY CAUSES SUGGESTED

In the gathering search for the environmental cause of retrolental fibroplasia, the possibilities multiplied—nutritional deficiencies in the infant, or again, nutritional excesses; irritation of light on newborn eyes or possibly not enough light; mother's milk was implicated, then cow's milk: or was it due to faulty salt distribution in the body, to water imbalance, acidosis and oxygen deficiency stemming from anemia and other conditions? But for every scientific paper indicating evidence for one or another factor, another scientific paper emerged to controvert it.

By 1951, however, the possible role of oxygen, i. e., excess or deficiency, had been suggested. In one hospital, the increase of the disease was observed to correlate not only with the introduction of oxygen-carrying incubators but with the increased oxygen made available to premature infants over a several year period.

ROLE OF OXYGEN DEBATED

In 1952, however, it was lack of oxygen which was condemned; at the St. Louis University Hospital, it was reported that when premature infants were withdrawn from high oxygen-containing incubators, retrolental fibroplasia seemed to progress. Put them back into oxygen, however, said Dr. Szewczyk, and the condition diminishes or disappears. While these results were confirmed in a small number of cases at another hospital, the fallacy of the evidence passed unnoticed for the moment: Since a large number of retrolental fibroplasia cases diminish spontaneously, how can we know that the cases returned to high oxygen would not have gotten better anyhow?

In 1953, the first major breakthrough occurred in Washington, D. C.'s Municipal Hospital, then known as Gallinger. Working under a grant from the Public Health Service's newly created Neurological Diseases and Blindness Institute, Dr. Arnall Patz of Georgetown University and Baltimore, separated a large number of premature infant rats into three groups—those who would receive the oxygen equivalent to that given children routinely in hospitals; those who would receive no oxygen; and finally, those who would go in and out of oxygen. The results: retrolental fibroplasia, at least in the rat, was caused by oxygen, even oxygen administered for a short period of time.

THE FINAL EVIDENCE

Whether what was true for rats was true for humans still remained to be proved. A clinical study of premature infants weighing 3½ pounds or less at birth would pose a major problem, however; if conducted in a single hospital, it might be 3, 4, or even 5 years before enough premature infants were born so that results of the study could become statistically valid. What was needed if the answer was to be obtained as rapidly as possible was a number of hospitals working on the same problem at the same time under the same strict scientific protocol.

To initiate such a plan would demand considerable funds; even more important its initiation would require the cooperation of distinguished ophthalmologists and pediatricians whose own interest and proposed participation in such a study could stimulate the interest and controlled participation of colleagues at other hospitals. In such a preliminary organization, the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness could play a vital role; through its grants program, funds could become available; through its grantees, it had access to some of the leading scientists in the country who might spearhead the project.

Within 3 months, the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness, working closely with the Coordination Subcommittee for the Study of Retrolental Fibroplasia (including Dr. Jonas Friedenwald, associate professor of ophthalmology at Johns Hopkins and Dr. Richard Day, professor of pediatrics of the University of the State of New York), had drawn up the complete, definitive plan for 18 hospitals which would give precise, rapid evaluation of Patz's animal

work. Patz, himself, became one of the cooperating scientists, as did such other distinguished investigators as Dr. Benjamin M. Kagan, director of pediatric research at Chicago's Michael Reese Hospital, Dr. George M. Haik, professor of ophthalmology at Louisiana State University in New Orleans, Dr. Clement A. Smith, associate professor at Boston's Lying-In-Hospital, and Dr. Algernon B. Reese, clinical professor of ophthalmology at Columbia University's college of physicians and surgeons. To support their efforts, the Advisory Council of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness approved research grants in the total amount of $40,000, and to this sum was added another $11,000 contributed by the National Foundation for Eye Research and the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. It was with this sum of $51,000 that the final answer to retrolental fibroplasia was obtained.

THE BENEFITS

The sum is a small one compared to the benefits received. Since 1942, it is believed, approximately 8,000 children have been blinded by retrolental fibroplasia. For these still-living children, it means a full, normal lifetime of abnormal darkness and dependency. To the community, the State and Federal Governments, it means the heavy costs of their education, training, and support—$100,000 for each child (according to the American Foundation for the Blind), or a total cost of $800 million.

With the study just completed, this personal suffering does not completely come to an end, nor does its economic burden. Some children will still have to receive oxygen for clinical crisis and a few will incur retrolental fibroplasia; a few others may also incur the disorder for causes yet to be explored; but, on the basis of the results so far announced, the picture is considerably brighter; only about 10 percent of the numbers who suffered retrolental fibroplasia in the past will probably suffer it in the future.

DEFINITIONS

Retrolental fibroplasia first reveals itself in the premature infant with shrinkage of the blood vessels of the retina. Where progression occurs, the tips of these blood vessels begin to grow out into the vitreous (the clear, gelatinous substance filling the back part of the eye). If the condition persists (and it may reverse itself at any stage), growth of the retinal blood vessels continues, and at the final stage, the ingrown fibrous tissue in the vitreous pulls the retina loose, with resulting loss of sight.

Our Federal Officials Should Have Better Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, newspapers and magazines throughout the country have devoted editorial space urging that the Congress increase the salaries of its own Members and that of the Federal judges of our country.

In that connection I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the January 22, 1955, edition of the Saturday Evening Post:

OUR FEDERAL OFFICIALS SHOULD HAVE BETTER PAY

How much are leaders worth, in terms of dollars? How much should the richest nation in the world pay for statesmanship? The 84th Congress has to decide, for almost the first item in its order of business is the long deferred proposal to raise the salaries of Federal judges, and of Congressmen themselves.

The Hoover Commission recommended this increase; a Democratic and now a Republican President have urged it; editorials endorsing the salary raise have appeared in more than a thousand newspapers throughout the country. Leading columnists, radio commentators, labor-union groups, agricultural organizations, bar and professional associations, all have favored it. No substantial public opinion has been heard against it.

But Congressmen, by our constitutional system, are in the peculiar position of having to fix their own salaries, and time and again they have shied away from voting themselves increases, for fear of a cry of looting the Treasury. And because of a long custom, dating from the first days of the Republic, by which Federal district judges are paid the same salary as Congressmen, the whole judicial establishment of the United States is suffering from the same serious, almost critical underpayment that Congressmen endure.

The last Congress, anxious for public support, provided for the appointment of a nonpartisan commission of leading citizens, drawn equally from labor, business, agriculture, and the professions. Under the chairmanship of Bernard G. Segal, chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association, this commission made a full exploration of the standards by which a government should set salaries. What kind of people do we want for judges and Congressmen? the Segal commission asked. And then it inquired, how much salary or income are such qualified people commanding in private life?

The Chief Justice of the United States, they discovered, receives only what a moderately successful lawyer in a middle-sized city might make. Private industry, for tasks less important to the Nation than Congressmen must discharge, often pays salaries 2 and 3 times greater. Union officials, successful professional men, junior executives in business, men from among whom we should find our public leaders of today and tomorrow, cannot become Congressmen except at an impossible financial sacrifice. Lawyers, however qualified, cannot ascend the bench unless they are willing to lower drastically their standard of living.

The Segal commission heard a young Federal district judge in California say that he will have to quit the bench because he cannot support his wife, two children, and a third child soon to come, on a judge's salary. If he should die, his widow would receive no survivor's benefits, and his income permits only the smallest insurance program.

They heard the able and respected John C. Knox, Chief Judge of the Federal District Court for the Southern District of New York, probably the busiest Federal court in the land, tell of his financial struggles since he went on the bench in 1918. In all his 37 years, he has never had enough money to live on, has had to teach and write when he could to keep up his insurance and educate his daughter. New York State judges, even New York city judges, and municipal judges in our larger cities receive higher salaries than he does. And though he has refused appointment to State benches because of his lifelong experience in Federal jurisprudence, now, in his later years, he is unable to afford a nurse to care for his invalid wife, and must do nursing duty himself after his day's work in court is over.

The Commission discerned that the day is long past when a Congressman could earn a living in a private business or profession while serving his constituents. Congress nowadays is a full-time job, 7 days a week, every week in the year. Congressmen must maintain 2 homes, usually 2 offices, pay most of their travel expenses, bear many costs which a corporate employer would pay for its executives. Their expenses have increased with the enlargement of their work, but their salaries have remained the same through the whole period of recent inflation, and have grimly decreased in buying power.

In its elaborate, searching report, the Segal Commission recommended a scale of increases necessary to bring the salaries of judges and Congressmen into line with the practice of the Nation in all fields. The total cost of these recommended increases would be only $7,500,000. But the 83d Congress, facing an election, failed to act.

Now the election is over. The public is aware of the need; what the lawyers call the last clear chance is here. The 84th Congress, in its 2 years' existence, will spend more money for more purposes than any other body of men on earth. Common sense and public interest alike require that they should devote a tiny fraction of their appropriations to making the major jobs of statecraft in a free Nation financially possible for the men best fitted to hold them.

The Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD another article written by Mr. Monroe Worthington, of Beaver, W. Va. Mr. Worthington's articles often appear in the Beckley (W. Va.) Raleigh Register, and the one included today was part of a series recently written dealing with the ills of the coal industry. It is entitled "New Markets Opened by Scientists."

The article follows:

NEW MARKETS OPENED BY SCIENTISTS

(By Monroe Worthington)

Millions of tons of coal will find absolutely new markets if the suggestions made herein are put to work. One proposal demands only a manufacturer. And, in justice to those who have worked on it before, with no commercial utilization so far, it is not original, as many of the suggestions in this series are.

Coal can cool the homes of the Nation. Not indirectly, by making electricity to run refrigerators and air conditioners, but by a burning flame. Just as the little blue flame in a Servel refrigerator keeps food chilled, so a larger, stoker-fed flame can cool homes, offices, and factories. There is no need to explain how it works, for it is generally known that it does. The patents have long ago run out. Anyone who wants to can now make such equipment.

But coal can do far more work in a home than either cooling or heating a house, one at a time. The same burner can heat the house, freeze ice cubes, incinerate garbage, heat water, cook a meal all at the same time, but in different parts of the house. And this is not an original proposal, either. Scientists have invented a chemical called tetra cresyl

silicate. It can be heated until it is hot enough to fry a steak, for instance, or set wet garbage afire. Suppose the central stoker unit were in the basement, with heating coils for the tetra cresyl silicate. First of all, the distributing pipe would run through an incinerator, to burn up household waste. The fluid would operate the house heater, or the cooler, depending on the season. Insulated branch lines would run to the kitchen, where the stove would always be ready to bake a cake or fry bacon. The refrigerator and the deep freeze would get their power from this heat, rather than from a flame or from an electric wire. And, of course, heater water for the bath and washing machine would come from the same source. Since the stoker would be running, winter and summer, on efficient, low-cost coal, there would always be heat for a chilly bathroom, in the early morning. By combining these services and the needed equipment, a manufacturer could save a homeowner between $500 and $1,500, and would insure a larger, winter and summer demand for coal.

As has been said, the byproducts of coal, such as dyes and plastics, take only a tiny fraction of the total output of the Nation's mines. But there is one product which can be made from coal which is used by the hundreds of pounds in each American home, even those now heated by gas or oil. This product is sugar.

MAKE SUGAR FROM COAL

It seems incredible that something as white and sweet as sugar could be made from coal. But mothballs are made from coal, and they are white. And saccharine, so many times sweeter than sugar, but with no nutritional value, is made from coal.

The chemical formula for ordinary sugar is C-12-H-22-O-11. This means that a hundred pounds of sugar contains 42.1 pounds of carbon, or purified coal, if you please. The rest is water, chemically combined with the carbon until it is dry.

Now this same sugar can be made from petroleum, if the chemists ever get around to it, or if their bosses get hungry for business. And the oil industry spends thousands of dollars for research, for each dollar spent for the same purpose by coal. This is the reason the oil industry is paying dividends, although the courage and ingenuity of the oilman finds expression in advertising and merchandising, too—arts practically unknown to coal. So the oil industry may proceed with this suggestion, if it comes to their attention. If they turn oil to sugar, perhaps the petroleum people will let the coal industry sell a few tons more for heating. There is no use to keep this idea of turning carbon into sugar a secret. Ideas are contagious. Edison, Dolbear, Gray, and Bell were in the courts for years to decide who owned the telephone patents; Bell won. But all of them conceived the idea about the same time, independently of each other. Chemists may already be working to make a synthetic sugar. Naturally, they wouldn't be talking. If any chemists are busy on the job, it is safe to say they are not employed by the coal industry; but if the coal industry heeds this suggestion, it may regain millions of tons of its former sales, for a new purpose.

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS PER TON FOR COAL

Just in case the coal industry puts good research chemists to work and finds a patentable method to make sugar in large volume at low cost, then a multimillion-dollar market will be created for a really large-volume byproduct. Sugar sells for around $200 per ton, instead of $3.75 at the mine. And remember, 57.9 percent of sugar is water.

The coal industry has spent a little money on research from time to time. In fact, several years ago they were spending about a million dollars per year, but still just a tiny slice of the oil industry's budget for the same purpose. And what did they get for their money? The unfortunate thing about many researchers is that they take your money and say "No" instead of using their brains and finding the right and original way. Much research being done in the United States today by the coal industry was done in Germany a quarter of a century ago and recorded for anyone who can read German or hire a translator. But few of the coal operators who pay the bill know this. It's much easier to follow an experiment of 25 years ago than to do original thinking. All it takes to do such unimaginative "research" is a Ph. D. degree. Edison, not knowing that inventors must wear a cap and gown, originated the electric light, the phonograph, a better way of making portland cement, important steel technologies, etc. Any self-respecting degree demanding research institute, were he alive and seeking a job today, would toss him out on his ear as unqualified.

REMOVING ASH FROM COAL

The sugar synthesis mentioned above calls to mind a long-known and long-suppressed way of purifying coal. Perhaps the product, which can be made of the lowest grade "bone," is too valuable as a chemical material to burn, but it doesn't have a spoon of ash in a carload, and would thus be an absolutely ideal fuel.

Here is how it is accomplished:

Burn your coal waste or bone in a gas producer, the chief product of value being carbon monoxide, which is diluted by nitrogen, carbon dioxide, steam, vaporized coal tars, and some fixed gases, such as methane, ethane, ethylene, etc. Remove the fly ash in a centrifugal filter and take out the few remaining traces with a Cottrell electric precipitator. Condense the tar vapors by chilling. They can be sold. Under the influence of a catalyst (the man with shotgun at a chemical wedding) combine 2 molecules of carbon monoxide to produce 1 molecule of carbon dioxide and 1 atom of pure carbon. Remove the carbon with a second Cottrell precipitator, and return any unburnt hydrocarbon gases to the gas producer for burning.

If the resultant carbon is used as a fuel, freight costs are greatly reduced. (Of course it must be shipped in tank cars, to prevent the submicroscopic particles from blowing away; or it can be blown in a pipe.) There is no pulverization expense, a substantial item. There is no slagging in the steam boilers. And as a consequence, 2 or 3 or perhaps even 10 times as much of this carbon fuel can be burnt in the same boiler, as before, after stepping up the pumps and the fans. So the output of steam is greatly increased, reducing investment costs. There is no fly ash removal expense; this has been done before. The owner of a new steam-electric plant may save a million dollar investment. The Monday morning wash does not get all sooted up.

The same atomic size carbon can be used in making an ash-free briquet, or in making a liquid fuel which will compete with diesel oil.

But used as a chemical building block this purified carbon can become sugar, one or a dozen or so plastics, or one of a hundred thousand organic chemicals.

The coal industry, in its simple-minded attention to the fuel market, has been eating the banana peel and throwing away the core. But coal operators are basically smart, and when they learn of the opportunities ahead of them, they'll change their ways. Or will they?

Foreign Claims Settlement Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the December, 1954 issue of the Federal Bar News concerning the speech of Judge Whitney Gillilland, Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, at the October 11, 1954, meeting of the Chicago chapter of the Federal Bar Association:

CHAIRMAN WHITNEY GILLILLAND OF FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION ADDRESSES CHICAGO FBA MEETING

Judge Whitney Gillilland, Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, was the speaker at the meeting of the Chicago chapter of the Federal Bar Association at the Chicago Bar Association on October 11.

Judge Gillilland stated that he presumed that we would like to hear what the Commission is doing in Washington and, perhaps, to begin with, what he was doing in Washington.

"There is not as much excitement around our place as there is around some and we don't get in the newspapers very often," he said. "At the same time the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States is not without its importance and, as a matter of fact, it is an agency which concerns at least someone in every community in the United States. I believe it is fair to say that every citizen should have some knowledge of its functions and the place it occupies in the framework of our Government.

"Although I am engaged in the settlement of claims which have their origin in the misdeeds of foreign nations," he said, "I claim the right to begin with the presumption that I am not much weighted down or handicapped with any foreign ideologies, philosophies, or prejudices.

"When someone does you a wrong which results in a physical injury or in damage to your property, say someone beats you up or drives a car through your store front window, the circumstances generally give rise to a debt to you on the part of the person injuring you. If you can't collect it, by negotiation, you collect it, or try to collect it, at the courthouse.

"The same thing happens among nations. When one nation or group of nations engages in wrongdoing against another nation to its damage, or the nationals of another nation to their damage, a debt, within that none too definite set of standards known as international law, is created against the wrongdoer and in favor of the nation wronged. Unfortunately, there is no such satisfactory means of recovery as exists in the case of private and personal wrongs. There is no courthouse where general jurisdiction may be found, nor is there adequate power of enforcement, if any such jurisdiction did exist. Furthermore, as in the case of private persons, the wrongdoer does not always have assets from which recovery may be realized. At best, it is a hit and miss affair, but that does not mean that nothing at all can be done. Sometimes remedies are achieved through negotiation, sometimes

through arbitration, a limited number through the International Court, and sometimes remedies are asserted following a war through the sheer power of the victor nation over the vanquished. The old saying that 'possesison is nine points of the law' has proved its value time and again in the field of international law.

"Many times in American history our Government has sought redress and obtained some satisfaction for a group or class of citizens who have been adversely affected by the conduct of another nation. When such a situation exists, it is customary to create a commission to determine the validity of claims against the settlement fund, and, to the extent possible, provide for their payment. That is the kind of a commission to which I belong," he said, "and of which I am chairman. As a result of the tremendous impact of international events in recent years, the present Commission, the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, has had a much greater total number of claims before it and a greater number of categories of claims than any which has ever been previously constituted.

"In recent years there have been two major classes of general liabilities arising against foreign nations and in favor of the United States and the citizens of the United States.

"The first of these arose as a direct result of World War II. It was founded on the premises that World War II was an illegal war, a war of aggression in violation of international law, and that the participants, particularly Germany and Japan, became legally liable for all of the unhappy consequences resulting therefrom.

"The second arose substantially as an indirect result of World War II, the dropping of the Iron Curtain. Many millions of dollars worth of property of American citizents located in the Iron Curtain countries was expropriated.

"In each instance the United States was able to lay its hands on some property of such nations or the nationals thereof, to be applied in satisfaction, or in partial satisfaction, of some claims of some persons adversely affected. It became the duty of the Congress to outline the general classes and priorities.

"During World War II and under the authority of the Trading With the Eenemy Act, the Alien Property Custodian, subsequently the Office of Alien Property in the Department of Justice, impounded all assets of Germany and Japan and assets of nationals of Germany and Japan in the United States. Assets of other nations, including the Iron Curtain countries, were also impounded and, with some exceptions, have not yet been released.

"In 1948 Congress enacted a law known as the War Claims Act, which provided that the net proceds from the liquidation of all impounded German and Japanese assets should be paid in to what is known as the War Claims Fund to be applied against the claims of those classes of persons designated by Congress who were deemed to have suffered unduly as a result of the war. At about the same time, the United States Government reached an agreement with the Government of Yugoslavia whereby in exchange for the release of impounded assets, that nation deposited in the United States Treasury the sum of $17 million to be applied against the claims of Americans whose properties had been expropriated.

"The exact net balances which under present law may become available to the War Claims Fund have not yet been determined. To date, there have been transfers of $210 million and $15 million more is presently authorized.

"To administer these funds, despite the similarity of problems, Congress created 2 Commissions, with 2 sets of quarters, 2 staffs, duplicating administration and similar procedures. To administer the 'War Claims Fund' they created the War Claims Commission, and to administer the 'Yugoslavian Claims Fund' and any other funds subsequently derived from the settlement of claims against the Iron Curtain countries or claims of related nature against other countries, they created the International Claims Commission. Under the terms of President Eisenhower's Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1954, which went into effect on July 1, 1954, these two agencies were united in the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, which results in the elimination of duplication, increased efficiency, and a substantial saving in expenses, including, I suppose, the salaries of three Commissioners.

"Now, I expect you would like to know a little more about exactly what claims receive the attention of the Commission. To date, there have been in the neighborhood of 600,000.

"I will give you a few examples. Following the acquisition of the Philippines from Spain at the turn of the century, a great many American missionaries went to that country and engaged in religious teaching and in the inculcation of American ideals among the people. Included among them were Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. They not only built churches and missions, but they established colleges, universities, hospitals, orphanages, observatories, and other related and similar institutions throughout the islands. Not all of our soldiers on Bataan were captured or remained captives. Some got away. They either avoided capture or escaped from captivity. Additionally, there were many thousands of American citizens who were encouraged to remain in the Philippines to support the morale of the native populations. The help that was given by the missionaries to the people who were in hiding was immeasurable. They took them in, hid them, gave them food, shelter, and clothing, gave them money and aided their escape. They arranged secret transportation for them out of the islands and to free China and elsewhere. They also helped the American citizens in the internment camps to the greatest extent possible. They had an espionage system and, to the extent that they were able, they kept General MacArthur advised and provided information of tremendous value in planning reinvasion. These things were done in peril of their lives and many of them were apprehended by the Japanese and executed or tortured and imprisoned.

Congress provided that these missionaries should be repaid from the War Claims Fund for their expenditures and the value of their services and the food, lodging and clothing furnished. Then, in token of our gratitude for their deeds, and further, in appreciation of the bulwark they are proving to be against Communistic teaching in that critical part of the world. Congress determined that they should be provided with funds to rebuild their schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, orphanages, observatories and other institutions of similar character, many of which had been completely destroyed during the war. We administer that program.

"I have already told you about the Yugoslavian claims. There were some against Panama arising out of an international settlement. We have claims of servicemen and other American citizens who lost their bank accounts in the Philippines as a result of Japanese confiscation. We have claims of American civilian citizens who were captured by the Japanese in the Philippines or on Wake, Guam, or Midway, or who went into hiding to avoid capture. Recently, there have been added similar claims of American citizens in Korea. We also have the claims of American merchant seamen who were captured during World War II.

"Numerically, the largest class of all are the claims of American members of our Armed Forces or American members of Allied Forces who were prisoners of war at any place throughout the world during World War II. These claims are of two classes, first, those arising from the failure of the enemy to provide proper food, and, second, those arising from mistreatment by the enemy such as beating, abuse, undue exposure to the weather, exposure to disease and so on. Similar benefits have recently been provided for prisoners of war in Korea.

"We also have jurisdiction to receive and adjudicate claims against Russia arising under the so-called Litvinov assignments, and measures are pending before Congress which relate to certain categories of claims against Italy, Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria."

Authorizing the President To Employ Armed Forces of United States To Defend Formosa, Etc.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 159) authorizing the President to employ the Armed Forces of the United States for protecting the security of Formosa, the Pescadores, and related positions and territories of that area.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this resolution is to try to prevent war in the Far East with Communist China. It is based on the conviction, supported by our practical experience in the past, that whenever and wherever the United States has taken and maintained a constant, consistent, dependable position of firmness and strength in harmony with our historic principles, it has not led to war, and our legitimate interests have been protected.

On the contrary, whenever our policy has been soft and weak, or half-hearted, or even hesitant; whenever we have allowed our desire for peace to lead us into vacillation and concessions and then additional concessions to aggressors, we have regularly lost ground, the dangers have increased, and expanded hostilities have resulted.

Our situation in Asia today is similar to that of 8 years ago when President Truman came before the 80th Congress and said in substance, "The time has come when we have got to stop further expansion of this Communist menace in Europe, specifically in Greece and Turkey. The United States must assist free countries in their efforts to resist subjugation from without or subversion from within by aggressive Communist forces."

That Congress was Republican controlled. It gave him full support and the Congress passed, first, the bill to give military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey, later the Marshall plan, and then legislation laying the foundation of NATO. We did so because we knew it

would be too dangerous to the security of the United States to have the apposite shores of the Atlantic in the hands of mortal enemies of the United States instead of in the hands of the friends of the United States.

When our Government took a firm stand on the Communist blockade of Berlin, and backed up our words with firm deeds, the airlift, the Kremlin breathed fire and brimstone, but it did not start a war.

When the Communists attacked South Korea President Truman again took a strong stand and again we prevailed, with much of the free world responding to our leadership. Unfortunately, in 1951, just when victory was in sight, a victory that could have demolished Red China's military power and prevented both Indochina and the present threats against Formosa, some of our allies and some timid souls among ourselves decided that it was more dangerous to win than to accept the truce proposed by the Reds. They assumed that the military defeat of Communist forces meant also their political defeat, and the end of the threat. Many in America thought that to push on to victory in Korea would lead to extension of the war, when in reality that was the only way to end it.

When a strong, firm, policy had succeeded to the point that Malik suggested a truce, many in our Government accepted the proposal at face value and returned to a policy of softness and weakness. They assumed that when Communists propose a truce, they want what we want, namely peace. But to Communists a truce proposal is a military maneuver, not a move to bring real peace. Years ago the present Communist Prime Minister Chou En-lai who is so belligerent today, said, "A truce is the military equivalent of the political tactic of coalition."

That is, in politics, if they do not have enough support to win an election, they say to the stronger elements in the country, Let us have a coalition government, take in all the parties, including the Communists, of course. Let us form a democratic front, or a united front, then they bore from within to take over the coalition.

In war, when they cannot win, they say, Let us have a cease-fire and negotiate.

But let us not forget that to them, a truce is the military equivalent of the political tactic of coalition. It is not a move to end a war, but only a trick to end a losing phase of it—such as Korea—in order to shift to an operation—such as Indochina—which they believe will be more profitable.

When we see a prizefighter along about the 10th round become very affectionate with his opponent, embracing him ardently, we do not misunderstand that maneuver. We do not imagine it is because he has decided to give up and not try to win the fight. We know it is the reverse: he wants to hang on and rest, if he can, until the end of the round, in the hope he can knock the guy out in the next round.

When Communists suddenly propose a truce, it is only a skilled boxer's clinch. It means they are in trouble and trying to get out of it. The purpose is not to end the war, but to win it.

Our sincere desire to have peace at almost any cost caused us to make repeated concessions in Asia despite Communist duplicity and violations of agreements. Of course, Communist aggressiveness grew.

When General Eisenhower became President 2 years ago, his first official act in the field of foreign policy was one of firmness. He withdrew the order under which our fleet was protecting Red China against any possible attacks from Formosa. The purpose of that order had been to avoid provoking the Communists, to keep them out of the Korean war by showing them that we had no designs against them, that we were not going to attack them or let Free China harass them. But it did not keep them out. Rather, our softness encouraged them to intervene in Korea and take thousands of American lives. So, it made no sense to continue that order; it had failed of its objective.

That firm act by the new President got prompt results. The Communists reversed their adamant position on prisoners of war, and asked for peace negotiations. It was, of course, only another clinch.

Unfortunately, once more we followed our hearts instead of our heads, and permitted them to get out of the hole they were in in Korea, and resume the offensive elsewhere. I opposed our abandonment of the strong, firm policy, which was working, to return to the soft, weak policy which never has worked. As expected, the result was not to limit the war, but to extend it—to Indochina, and now to the Formosan Straits.

Surely it is plain that whenever we have been consistently firm and strong, we have succeeded. Western Europe and the Mediterranean today are free. Wherever, as in Asia, we have not had a similarly firm and strong policy, under either administration, we have uniformly failed and steadily lost ground.

Our desire to avoid trouble in Asia, because it seemed to some less essential to our security, and the policy that we must not get involved in China has now led to greater involvement, as it was bound to. It has forced us to one or the other of the two courses we wanted most to avoid, namely, we have to withdraw step by step from Asia in disastrous defeat, or we have to expand the sanctions, that is, stop the Reds by force. Those are the two things we did not and do not want; and almost 10 years of weakness and indecision, or at least half-heartedness, in that part of the world have led inevitably to one or the other. We cannot delay a decision any longer. Perhaps by firmness now we may still prevent having to do either. That is the reason for this resolution.

Some may ask, Why not let the Communists take Formosa? Because the stakes are too great for ourselves. The issue in this part of the world is not Chiang Kai-shek, it is not Syngman Rhee, it is not this, that, or the other controversial figure as some have suggested in the past. It is the security of the island chain from the Aleutians to Australia. It is the freedom of the remaining 800 million free people in Asia. It is the security of the United States.

The Communists have understood that clearly. Right after the end of the last war, 3 months after VJ-Day to be exact, the Communists published their instructions to their faithful followers in this country. I discussed them here at some length in 1950, right after the Korean war started. This was their central instruction: The war in China is the key to all problems of the international front.

We said that Germany was the key; we said the North Atlantic was the key; some said the Mediterranean was the key; some said Japan was the key. But the Kremlin, in its hard-headed realism, said, "The war in China is the key to all problems on the international front."

The war in China was the one we did not want to bother with, but they were determined to win. Why? Look for a moment at the geography of Asia. It is like a giant hand. China is the palm of that hand, the hub of the Asia wheel, just as Germany is the hub of the wheel in Europe. Out of the palm that is China go 12 fingers—12 countries that are island groups or peninsulas. On China's east are Korea, Japan, Formosa, the Philippines. Down in southeast Asia are Indochina, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia. Then there are four more across the south—Burma, India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

In those 12 fingers live one-third of all the people of the world. The Communists saw that if they got the palm, China, and were able to consolidate their position there and develop China's vast manpower and raw materials, they could gradually take over the fingers, one by one—unless the free world fought back.

So the stake is not just Formosa and some island outposts; it is a third of the people in the world, with vast resources and strategically located bases. Once on the Indian Ocean, Africa lies ahead—almost totally unprotected on its east.

Well, the Communists have China, for the present. To change to another figure, China is first base. Their next objective, of course, is second base, the 12 countries lying like a giant crescent around China from Korea and Japan to Iran. If they are permitted to get second base they will outnumber the free world 2 to 1. Europe will be cut off from many of her raw materials and markets. Does anybody think Western Europe can long support herself isolated from two-thirds of the world? Or that we can support her indefinitely? The Communists then can get Europe—third base.

But a man does not go to third base to stop; he goes to third base to get home. And who is home base? We are, of course.

The Communists turned to Asia in 1928 as the surest and safest way to get Europe and America. Their real objective in Asia—in China, Korea, Indochina, and now Formosa—was and is to isolate and ultimately destroy the United

States, which is all that stands between them and total control of the world.

How can they best get second base? If you look at the two chief portions of the crescent around China you see that one is the island chain in the western Pacific and the other is south and southeast Asia. Formosa is a key to both.

Our chairman has described our western Pacific defense line. It arches from the Aleutians through Japan, Okinawa, Formosa, the Philippines, down to Australia and New Zealand. The key to that arch happens to be Formosa.

It flanks the Philippines on the north. You remember the Philippines were attacked and taken by the Japanese from Formosa.

It semiflanks Japan on the south. On Japan's north, the Russians are in the Kurile Islands, which unfortunately were given to them at Yalta in an effort to get peace and good relations. How is anybody going to make a bastion out of a Japan flanked on the south by Formosa and on the north by the Kurile Islands?

Look now at the other part of the crescent around China—the counties to its south. The richest of Asia are not in China. They are down here in southeast Asia—tin, rubber, oil, rice surpluses. Now, if you were a Communist general, would you move down into Burma or Thailand or Malaya or India as long as on your flank lay this unsinkable aircraft carrier, Formosa with some 60 airfields originally built by the Japanese, some of which have been enlarged to take jets? There are not too many jets there now, but we could get them there very quickly from Okinawa, Japan, and elsewhere. It is the existence of a free Formosa on the flank of Red China which makes the Communists say so emphatically that they are determined to capture Formosa. They dare not try to take south Asia without first securing Formosa, or perhaps getting it neutralized.

The reason why they say they must get Formosa is the reason why we are saying they must not be allowed to get it. Where could they be stopped then? Mr. Nehru, for example, has said he has no means of saving India if the Chinese Communists move against his country. Formosa is a major deterrent to Communist aggression against the vitally rich prizes of the south, including the Malay Peninsula and the vast country of Indonesia. Australia, right next door, understands this, but our people as a whole have not understood it.

We hope we will never have to use Formosa for such purposes, but the very existence of it there in friendly hands on Red China's flank is perhaps the best guaranty against further Communist expansion, which would force us into war—unless we were to let all Asia go and retreat to our west coast.

So this resolution is not just to save one island and some outposts, but to help keep free over one-third of the human beings in the world and keep the balance of power from being turned overwhelmingly against us. The free world now has one-third, the Communists have one-third. Which way is the other third to go—with us or with the enemy? That is what we are talking about today.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 3 additional minutes.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield briefly to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. Is Formosa an international territory today, or does it belong to the Republic of China?

Mr. JUDD. The juridical position of Formosa has been in dispute. Some say one thing, some another. Events are probably going to have to determine it. China ceded it to Japan after the war of 1895. Japan relinquished all right to it in its treaty with the Republic of China after World War II. Both the Nationalist Chinese and the Communists insist that it is Chinese territory. It is the one thing on which they agree. But, the international status of Formosa from a juridical standpoint, I think, has not been finally determined, and therefore I do not think that we need to go into that today.

The main issue today is whether that key strategic area is to be taken over by the Communists and the defenses of ourselves and the free world in the western Pacific go down.

Quite as important as the geographical considerations involved are the morale factors. Should we retreat once more in the mistaken notion that would appease the Communists, the already shaken morale of other countries in the area, and their confidence in us, are bound to deteriorate rapidly. Are we, then, to abandon the Philippines and Japan also as soon as Red China is ready to threaten them? The Japanese prime minister has recently been defeated, in part because he put all his chips on the United States and its strength, and the people out there are not certain we can be depended on.

Mr. Chairman, I came home a year ago from a study trip through all these "fingers" with about four main impressions:

First, the people there are awakening to the nature of communism and its threat to them.

Second, they are afraid of it, especially of Communist China, because they know it will destroy their newly won national independence. When people like Mr. Nehru extol the Chinese Communist regime or agree with it on almost everything, it is not because they are pro-Communists; they are afraid. Why should not they be?

A high official in one of these countries said to us that if we strong nations in the West did not have the courage to stand up against Communist China, how could the new and weaker governments of Asia be expected to? He said, "Some of your allies 6,000 miles away from China, not right across the border, are insisting that you accept Communist China into the United Nations. If you are to embrace Communist China, how can we resist her?" I did not have a good answer. Only such a resolution as this expressing the united will of this Nation to back down no further and to surrender no more strategic bases and no more millions of free people to Communist conquest, can give an answer they will believe.

Third, they want to be on the side of the United States and the free world, because that is their best hope of retaining their dearly bought freedom from alien control; but fourth, they are not certain we will stay on our own side, the side of human freedom. They are afraid we will make a deal with the Red tyrants at their expense, in our desire to get peace for ourselves, however illusory and transient it will be. I hate to admit it, but just as the question mark in Europe is France, so, in the minds of the people of east Asia and southeast Asia, the great question mark is the United States. If they do take a firm stand on our side, how can they be sure that we will not let them down?

It is the vital importance of Formosa from the standpoint of these geographical factors plus the morale factors which has brought us to this showdown today. The showdown for Europe and the Mediterranean came over Greece and Turkey almost 8 years ago. The President and Congress then took a firm stand and it did not lead to war. The showdown for Asia is over Formosa, and it is here now. I only hope it is not too late to convince these men of violence in Peking that our repeated concessions in the past, our attempts to get peace at almost any price, our long suffering and patience, are not synonymous with weakness. The Communists always proclaim to Asia that America is a paper tiger, and they may have come to believe it. Chou En-lai bellowed his threats yesterday in an attempt to intimidate the American people, trying to beguile us once more into believeing that it is not their aggression, but our resistance to it, that threatens war. Naturally he hopes that we will once more give in and back down.

Mr. Chairman, our appearance of weakness and softness in the past has encouraged the present Communist arrogance and aggressiveness. Firmness now may cause them to pause. Weakness now would be certain to increase their truculence and to extend, not limit, hostilities.

For communism is exactly like a cancer. It lives by lawless encroachments on neighboring tissues or peoples. We are presented here today with the same problem a surgeon has when a lady comes in with a cancer. We tell her it must be removed. Her husband says, "But may not the operation lead to her death?" And we reply, "Yes, it may." But what is going to happen if we do not operate? She is certain to die. You had better ask the question this way, "May it still prevent her death?"

So there is risk of war if the United States takes and firmly adheres to the stand proclaimed in this resolution. But we had better put it this way, "May it still prevent war?" Certainly there will be war later if the malignant Communist growth is permitted to continue

its course—and under far more difficult circumstances. There is risk of war if we act—but there is also hope of peace. There is greater risk if we do not act—and no hope.

So this proposed action is a belated effort to prevent war, not to make it. However great the dangers involved in taking this step, the risks assumed in not taking it are greater. I have no difficulty in deciding to take the course of lesser risk.

For I am sure that we will have a world war if we return to a weak and vacillating posture. And it will come at a time when, God help us, the odds will be against the United States. I cannot choose that.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

Address of His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, at the American Legion National Convention, Washington, D. C., August 30, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a splendid and effective and timely address made on August 30, 1954, in Washington, D. C., to the delegates of the American Legion National Convention by His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York. His remarks made at that time are particularly timely now in the light of recent events. His statement made in an address some 15 years ago "that it is better to have protection and not need it, than need protection and not have it" as Cardinal Spellman so well said in his August 30 address, is just as applicable today as it was then. To translate his statement, "If we are going to err, it is better that we err on the side of strength than on the side of weakness."

The address follows:

THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

(Address of His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman)

Better to have protection and not need it than need protection and not have it.

A few months ago Dien Bien Phu was a name which stirred the hearts of freemen and alerted the flagging spirits of liberty-loving peoples. For 57 fateful days it had been the scene of an heroic and gallant defense by an outnumbered band of French and Vietnamese soldiers. Although it finally fell to the superior numbers of attacking Communist forces, its fall seemed to call the free world together in a common acclaim for the brave and courageous deeds its epic defense had elicited. Hope then ran high that Dien Bien Phu would be remembered not as a symbol of defeat but as the rallying point where the free world would recover its initiative in the struggle against communism. Had it realized that high hope, had it thus served as a reveille awakening the world of freemen to the need for swift, decisive action against that Red tyranny which has now enslaved 800 million souls, it would have compensated, in some measure at least, for the dreadful losses and painful sacrifices its eventual fall entailed.

Alas, the passage of the past 4 months has revealed how pathetic was the hope that Dien Bien Phu would inspire the free world to take a more realistic stand against communism. If Geneva and what was agreed upon there means anything at all, it means that the trumpet which we heard over the fallen garrison of Dien Bien Phu last May sounded taps and not reveille. Taps for the buried hopes of freedom in southeast Asia. Taps for the newly betrayed millions of Indochinese who must now learn the awful facts of slavery from their eager Communist masters. Now the devilish techniques of brainwashing, forced confessions and rigged trials have a new locale for their exercise. Now will the relentless, shattering fear of the secret police have a new people to terrorize. The tragic plight of Poland, indeed that of all eastern Europe, China, and Korea, will now be shared by a people who, for all the diplomatic guaranties that have been given them, already stand under the heavy shadow of the hammer and sickle spread across their land.

If we view the Geneva guaranty of independence for Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam with a large measure of disbelief, it is only because we remember how Poland's hopes, and the hopes of all the other countries now in the Soviet orbit, were shamelessly betrayed. There is no reason for believing that the partition of Vietnam will have any different effect than the partition of Korea. Indeed, hardly was the ink dry on the Geneva Pact when the Communist leader of North Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, boastfully proclaimed that within 6 months he expected to bring the independent states of Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam under Communist control. If the history of Communist tactics in Europe and Asia is any guide, then the boast of Ho Chi Minh will be shortly realized. And with its realization we, in America, will have reason to understand that the fall of Dien Bien Phu was more than the loss of a jungle garrison—for with its loss the grand plan for Communist domination of southeast Asia moved into high gear. For too long we have looked upon each act of Communist aggression as a self-contained conflict where we should have recognized each one as a carefully calculated incident in a worldwide struggle that enlists the zeal, energy, and discipline of Communists everywhere.

What we fail so tragically to realize is that communism has a world plan and it has been following a carefully setup timetable for the achievement of that plan. Red rulers know what they want with terrible clarity; determined to get what they want with violent consistency. Up to the present the Communist advance has concerned us, as Americans, only insofar as it has involved nations and peoples for whom we have the deepest sympathy and most sincere admiration. We are appalled at their enslavement but our sorrow is as nothing compared to the infamies and agonies inflicted upon the hapless victims of Red Russia's bestial tyranny. However, time is running out for us also, because, given the present pace of the Communist advance, it cannot be long before its encircling pincers will be turning upon ourselves. Fifteen years ago I was also privileged to speak before your national convention in Boston. At that time there was much propaganda that it was unnecessary for the United States to be prepared for hostilities. In my belief that the peaceful purposes of our country were not shared by some other nations, I urged that we prepare to defend ourselves against aggression, making the keynote of my remarks the declaration that it is better to have protection and not need it than need protection and not have it. And today I stand firmly upon that same program of preparation for preservation, else we shall risk bartering our liberties for lunacies, betraying the sacred trust of our forefathers becoming serfs and slaves to Red rulers' godless goons.

Dear friends and fellow Americans, I speak to you in the frankest terms because I know your demonstrated sacrificing dedication to American ideals, American traditions and the protection of our United States of America. In war and peace you have proven how very much you prize all those treasured factors that have brought America to her present greatness. Your deep concern lest subversive groups undermine our American way of life has been manifested for many years, even when such manifestation exposed you to ridicule and abuse. You have known the menace of communism and you have alerted your members to it. However, there is a vast number of our countrymen who live in complete indifference to the terrifying fact that communism will settle for nothing less than the domination of the whole wide world.

Thirty-five years ago Lenin made this prophecy:

"First we will take Eastern Europe; then the masses of Asia. Then we will encircle the United States of America which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack it; it will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

While not all prophecies are to be taken at their face value, if we but look at a map of the world today, Lenin's prophecy must startle us. Eastern Europe is completely shackled. China, North Korea, and a large part of southeast Asia are now under Communist domination. The confident boast of Lenin that the United States will not have to be attacked because it will fall like overripe fruit into the hands of the Communists cannot casually be dismissed. Indeed, it constitutes a very shrewd thrust at our complacency and our confident belief that our country will never go down at the hands of any enemy. It is an ancient bit of wisdom that "a man's own worst enemy is himself," and if we extend that wise observation to national life we find that history vindicates it on every page. Nations and civilizations go down at their own hands. When the inner life of a people, that life which is nourished by the things of the spirit, shows signs of being hollow and without substance, then that people is sick unto death.

America is not immortal and there are today signs in American life of an alarming deterioration in the things of the spirit. When we think how home life has disintegrated, how parental responsibility is being shamelessly shirked, how shockingly juvenile delinquency has incredibly increased with all of the dreadful social consequences, we can look into our hearts and ask ourselves if the fruit of hard American planting and the sacrifice that went into so much toil has not already become overripe and ready for plucking by an enemy who is willing to make limitless efforts and use dastardly methods in order to gain his goal.

With all the fervor I can command, I appeal to your great organization courageously to extend and intensify your truly American program which emphasizes religious values, and gives to our Nation's youth a vital interest in the things which brought our country to its greatness, combining in a wonderfully integrated way your patriotic, educational, and athletic activities.

It may be that the challenge of evil totalitarianism will be faced by us sooner than we think, and in that event we wil need all the

strength that our prayers and sacrifices can bring to us. The prophecy of Lenin should at least have the merit of putting us on our guard. We remember how paralyzing a blow was struck at our Nation in the surprise attack at Pearl Harbor. And the bitterness of that blow was increased by the knowledge that the attack was not unexpected and that we should have been better prepared for it and spared many mothers and fathers the tragic news that their sons went to their deaths unnecessarily.

The danger of another Pearl Harbor embracing the whole American people is definitely possible and possibly imminent. We have been warned by Communist leaders about their aims and ambitions concerning us. For 35 years they have given intensive study of the best means and methods to penetrate and overthrow our free institutions and they have made no secret of their purposes.

Americans must not be lulled into sleep by indifference nor be beguiled by the prospect of peaceful coexistence with Communists. How can there be peaceful coexistenc between two parties if one of them is continually clawing at the throat of the other, continually threating, continually committing actions which are designed to destroy life in the other party? How does one peacefully coexist with men who mouth words of peace while waging treacherous war; men who wear the trappings of civilization while they indulge in the techniques of barbarism? It is ignorance of a fatal kind which prompts the illusion that free men can peacefully coexist with Communists. We have the words of the Communists themselves to prove it. Twenty-four years ago an address was given to the international students at the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow, by Dimitry Z. Manuilsky. This is the same man who later presided over the United Nations Security Council in this country in July 1949. This is one of the responsible men of that movement which has introduced the most dreadful bloodbath in history and yet has the effrontery to appeal to the world for peace. This is what Manuilsky had to say in 1930 to the young men and women from all over the world who had been brought to Moscow to be trained in espionage so that they might go back to their native lands and practice their nefarious activities:

War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist.

Do you peacefully coexist with men who thus would train the youth of their godless, Red world—men whose language of insult, vilification and arrogance make it impossible for any meeting of minds? Ask any of our American representatives who dealt with the Communists in Germany, in Austria, in Panmunjom. They know the answer to their sorrow—and to ours.

We Americans need to remember as we have never remembered before in our national life how definite a sentence of death has been passed upon us by the very power with whom we have been asked peacefully to coexist. We need to remember as we have never remembered before how fatal it would be to succumb to the temptation to place any trust in those evil leaders who have risen to their world position by reason of lies, duplicity, and treason.

No guaranty has ever been given to America that it shall continue to enjoy the dominance it now has as a nation. America came to its mighty and majestic greatness and achieved her present destiny through a conscious dedication of our fathers to religious truths and principles, for they knew that unless the Lord build the city, they labor in vain who build it. We must intensify our religious life as a people. We must restore to our homelife some measure of that inspiration which our fathers and mothers bequethed to us. We must give our children that sense of responsibility which will give strength to their characters and direction to their lives. We must ever be mindful of the sacrifices and toil that went into making the heritage which is ours as Americans and never shirk any sacrifice or task necessary for the preservation of the heritage of freedom for which our valiant forefathers and the glorious youth of America, down through the decades of our country's life, have bought with their precious lives.

United in love and loyalty for our free and beloved America, let us pray:

O Lord of Hosts, bless and protect the legions of our Armed Forces in their crusade to defend and vindicate the ideals of human freedom; bless them and the thousands of martyrs who have been called to lay down their lives on the battlefields of the world. Grant that we may not prove unmindful or unworthy of their blood, which is the price of our freedom, that freedom which is the fruit of vigilance, toil, and sacrifice.

Be with us Blessed Lord, lest we forget and surrender to those who have attacked us without cause, those who have repaid us with evil for good and hatred for love. Amen.

H. R. 587

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHIL WEAVER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of Cecil H. Munson, chief, vocational training and education, national rehabilitation commission, the American Legion, on H. R. 587, before the House Veterans' Committee, January 25, 1955:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the American Legion strongly recommends approval of H. R. 587, a bill to amend Public Law 550, 82d Congress, the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952. The enactment of this bill will extend education and training benefits to all persons in the Armed Forces on or before January 31, 1955.

It is not necessary to enumerate numerous reasons for supporting this bill. The heading for title II is "Educational and Vocational Assistance" and the declared purpose is to extend education and training assistance to provide vocational readjustment and to restore lost educational opportunities to those whose educational, professional, or vocational ambitions are interrupted or impeded by active service in the Armed Forces during the specified emergency period which is referred to in Public Law 550 as the "basic service period." It is further stated in the policy declaration of the bill that this educational program is intended to aid such persons in attaining the educational and training status which they might normally have aspired to and attained, had they not served their country.

For those persons in the Armed Forces on or before January 31, 1955, proclamation 3080 terminating the emergency period does not alter the need for assistance to provide vocational readjustment and to restore lost educational opportunities.

There was widespread confusion regarding education benefits after the proclamation was announced. Enlistments were encouraged believing that those persons in the Armed Forces would be permitted to accrue maximum education and training entitlement. The man in service on or before January 31 will be eligible for home, farm, or business loans partially guaranteed by the Government after he leaves service. This benefit and the educational provisions have been powerful incentives for enlistments. Both have contributed much to good morale in the Armed Forces among those who enlisted or were drafted.

For those not acquainted with legal terminology the reading of section 214, Public Law 550, could lead to a misunderstanding. Paragraph (a) reads: "Each eligible veteran shall be entitled to education or training under this title for a period equal to 1¼ times the duration of his active service in the Armed Forces during the basic service period. * * *" In the absence of a legal interpretation regarding the relationship between "* * * his active service in the Armed Forces * * *" and "* * * the basic service period * * *" before the announcement of a termination date each person in the Armed Forces had reason to believe his entitlement would be based on "* * * the duration of his active service in the Armed Forces. * * *"

The enactment of H. R. 587 will promptly dispell all feeling of resentment on the part of those who have entered or will enter the Armed Forces before January 31, 1955. These men and women are giving all that is asked of them. It will continue the emphasis upon vocational readjustment and the restoration of lost educational opportunities resulting in the obtainment of educational and vocational goals in the shortest time possible. This is of supreme importance to the security of the United States and our way of life.

Federal Agencies Directed to Slash Business Activity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, during the 83d Congress I sponsored H. R. 883 and H. R. 9890, which had for their purpose the elimination of competition on the part of the Government with its citizens in business activities. After lengthy hearings, the Committee on Government Operations favorably reported and the House passed a bill along these lines. The Senate failed to take action and, therefore, I have again introduced a bill, H. R. 687, for the purpose of ending this type of competition. The New York Times of January 26, 1955, has reported on Bulletin 55-4 of the Bureau of the Budget, and because of the wide interest in the subject I include this article in the Appendix:

FEDERAL AGENCIES DIRECTED TO SLASH BUSINESS ACTIVITY—BUDGET CHIEF ORDERS STUDY TO END ENTERPRISES COMPETING WITH PRIVATE INTERESTS

(By Charles E. Egan)

WASHINGTON, January 25.—Government agencies were ordered today to see how rapidly they could drop more activities competing with private business.

Under direction of the President, Rowland R. Hughes, Director of the Budget, instructed all agencies and departments to review their industrial and commercial activities and "determine how many of these activities are in competition with private business and how many can reasonably be ended."

Each agency received until April 15 to complete an inventory of its commercial activities and until July 15 to advise the Budget Bureau as to which of the manufacturing functions it performed could be ended.

Later in the year, the agencies and departments will submit evaluation of other commercial activities carried on for the Government's own use, such as repair and business services, transportation, communications, and wholesale and retail trade.

These evaluations, of necessity, will require a number of months to prepare, it was said.

In the meantime, the departments and agencies were told not to start any new enterprises that would compete with private business.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS RECALLED

The order is in line with the President's thinking, and on many occasions he has emphasized his feelings in the matter. During the 1952 election campaign, he said:

"That no Federal project, large or small, will be undertaken which the people can effectively do or be helped to do for themselves; that no Federal project will be undertaken which private enterprise can effectively undertake; that no project and no program will be started on the Federal level which can be undertaken and effectively carried through on the State or local level."

Mr. Hughes said today that Government departments and agencies should discontinue activities competing with private enterprise "unless, as shown by the evaluation, it would not be in the public interest to procure products or services from private enterprise through ordinary business channels."

He said that the order did not deal with "activities of direct service to the public," such as "lending, insurance, and the generation and sale of power."

He added, however, that the agencies were expected to keep these activities, including insurance of home loans, lending to small business, and the production of electric power by the Tennessee Valley Authority, "under constant review and evaluation."

Costs will be a factor in deciding whether the Government should discontinue a business activity, but Mr. Hughes decreed that in comparing Government and private business costs, the computations must be made fairly and must be complete.

This was believed to be aimed at getting cost comparisons on a business bookkeeping basis, including charges for interest on capital, taxes, and other costs normal to business but sometimes not figured in computations comparing Government costs with those of business.

In the last 21 months, the Government has divested itself of a number of commercial activities. Among these were the placing of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in liquidation, the sale of the assets of the Inland Waterways Corporation, and the selling of most of the synthetic rubber plants, subject to congressional approval.

The Defense Department began a survey of its commercial operations last March and reported that progress had been made in reducing the area in which it competed with private business, Mr. Hughes said.

The Navy is no longer manufacturing its own clothing, he added, and the Army has sold a $15 million chlorine plant in Alabama. The Army also has increased the percentage of automotive maintenance and repair being done by private garages, and the Air Force is contracting out almost half of its maintenance and modification work.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein my statement in observance of Ukrainian Independence Day:

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Ukrainians constitute the largest nationality group, with the exception, of course, of the Russians, in the sprawling Soviet empire. It is only under compulsion that these 40 million hardened and sturdy tillers of the soil are subject to the Communist rulers of the Soviet Union. Even with all the harshness of the Red regime, the Ukrainians resist it whenever they can.

The Ukraine is the breadbasket of Russia. Without the Ukraine's abundant harvest, it would be almost impossible to feed the people of the Soviet Union. The leaders of Russia, Czarist as well as Communist, know the agricultural importance of this rich black-soil area. For that reason they robbed the Ukrainians of their national independence, annexed their beloved and richly blessed country, and have since 1920 considered it a Soviet Socialist Republic.

To call the Communist regime in the Ukraine a republic is, as we know so well, a farce. The independence which the Ukraine attained at the end of World War I and unfortunately was forced to lose in 1920, was real, was genuine national independence, whereas the euphonious republic which the Kremlin claims the Ukraine is today, is nothing but a sham. It is a downright falsehood, a gross distortion of the accepted meaning of the word, to call the Ukraine of today, or any country dominated by the Soviet Union, a republic.

It is, of course, most unfortunate that since 1920 there has been not a single gleam of light in the Ukraine indicating there is any genuine independence. The barbarians of the Kremlin see to it that there is no such light.

Fortunately, however, neither the tyrants of Moscow, nor their minions in the Ukraine, can extinguish the spirit of freedom and of independence which all liberty-loving Ukrainians claim as their birthright. As long as that noble spirit is kept alive, as long as the ideal of national freedom is cherished by the Ukrainians, no dictatorships or tyranny can rob the Ukrainians of their real independence—the independence of their souls and hearts. As long as they possess this, they will never give up their resistance to the Red tyrants.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America has done excellent work in keeping alive Ukrainian hopes for the recovery of their freedom. On this Ukrainian Independence Day, I wish you all success in your inspiring endeavors.

Anniversary of the Establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the text of a speech which I made on Sunday, January 23, on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic:

SPEECH OF HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, OF MICHIGAN, IN DETROIT, JANUARY 23, 1955

I am very happy to be here this afternoon and to have the privilege of speaking to the Detroit branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on the 37th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. I know of the many thousand persons of Ukrainian origin and descent who live in the Detroit area, in the State of Michigan and throughout our country and it is a happy opportunity to join them in commemorating this day.

During the work of the House Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression on which I was privileged to serve during the 83d Congress, I came to learn a good deal concerning the essentials of the history of Ukraine and its people, including the period of Communist takeover and occupation of that nation. Given this occasion which has brought us together today, it is not inappropriate to review briefly some of these essentials so that we may have a better understanding of how the present situation was achieved.

It is a well-known fact to Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike that today the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as one of the union republics of the U. S. S. R., is a charter member of the United Nations, but it is not allowed to enter into direct relations with any of the free nations of the world. Not so well known, perhaps, is the fact that, according to the best calculations, which are, of course, approximate, there are about 54 million Ukrainians in the world. This entitles them to rank in Europe next after the Russians and the Germans in point of numbers. It certainly merits careful consideration being given to the present problems and the future of this great people.

It is interesting to note how Ukrainian consciousness fared under pre-Communist foreign dominations. Under the Hapsburgs there was no denial of the Ukrainian national identity. In Russia, however, that is Czarist Russia, the Ukrainian identity was denied and many of the younger Ukrainians were drawn into the Russian revolutionary movement, while no separate Ukrainian political activity was possible.

A study of the rise of the Ukrainian National Republic should properly begin in March 1917, when the old Russian imperial organism collapsed under the strain of World War I. It was at this time that Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky returned home from forced exile in Russia. On April 7 there was a great demonstration in Kiev at which Professor Hrushevsky spoke of the ending of the past, the fight for fundamental national rights, and called on the Ukrainians to be loyal to their native land—Ukraine. It was out of this that the Central Rada developed which issued, on June 23, 1917, its first universal, written by Vynnychenko, and declaring that from this time Ukraine had to live its own

life. The general secretariat which was set up by the Rada was in effect the first modern Ukrainian government.

On November 20, the Rada, which had now become the governing body of Ukraine, issued the third universal, which was really a declaration of national independence except that it contained the phrase "not breaking federative bonds with Russia." This important statement provided for the establishment of a democratic republic in the Ukrainian ethnographic boundaries and guaranteed to all citizens those democratic rights that form the basis of a free country.

More important, however, from the standpoint of the Ukrainian people was the statement issued by Nikolai Lenin, on behalf of the Soviet of People's Commissars, on December 17, 1917, which officially recognized Ukraine as a completely sovereign and independent state. However, at the same time this recognition was extended, the Bolsheviks presented an ultimatum, an ultimatum which was rejected by the Ukrainian Government.

The Soviets thereupon declared war and invaded the Ukraine, driving the Ukrainian Government from Kiev to Zhytomyr in February of 1918. Prior to this, however, the Rada decided to proclaim the fourth universal on January 22 and declare the complete independence of a Ukrainian state.

Thanks to the fact that the Central Powers recognized the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic and sent military assistance, the rada was able to return to Kiev by March 1 and resume its work of constructing a democratic state. On April 29, a constitution was adopted and Hrushevsky was elected president of the Republic. Although a German-inspired countermovement against the rada was temporarily successful, it collapsed along with the Central Powers and by December 19 the Ukrainian National Republic was again restored. On January 3, 1919, the western Ukrainian National Republic voted to unite with the Ukrainian National Republic and the union was proclaimed at Kiev on January 22. It is the 36th anniversary of this great event which we are celebrating here today.

Even before this time, flagrant Soviet interference had assumed serious proportions. On January 16, the legal Ukrainian Government was forced to cease efforts at peace and to declare war on Soviet Russia. Caught in the midst of the Russian civil war, the Ukrainian Government was forced to leave Kiev by early February even though it returned twice briefly in August and again in May of the following year, both times with Polish assistance. However, the armistice of Riga on October 18, 1920, put an end to hostilities. The Bolshevik-supported Ukrainian Soviet Republic signed this treaty and no mention was made of the Ukrainian National Republic. When the remaining Ukrainian military forces withdrew across the Zbruch in November of 1920, it marked the close of a chapter in an heroic struggle for national independence.

Opposition to communism continued, however, especially among the Ukrainian peasants. Ukrainian national consciousness was also heightened by the fact that for a while Moscow desired to keep the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as a quasi-independent state for its international value and effect. It must be emphasized that Ukraine proved itself an unwilling victim, albeit a very challenging field for the trying out of experiments on ways of dominating subject countries. That is why Ukraine has been the scene of so many experiments and why it has been an especial victim of the Russian Communist terror.

The Russian leaders of the first invasion of Ukraine were as much interested in plundering the peasants to secure grain as they were in capturing the country. As might have been expected the peasants resisted. Then in 1921 a famine broke out and several millions of people starved. One result was the adoption by the Soviets of the new economic policy (NEP) which resulted in a slight change in the field of agriculture. Unfortunately, the outside world assumed that the disastrous effects of militant communism had taught the Communists reason and commonsense and that they were returning to sound and civilized policy. Such impressions were strengthened by the measures which the Communists adopted in heavy industry, in coal mining, and the production of iron ore and pig iron. Even the steady diminution of the influence of the Ukrainian S. S. R. on foreign affairs and the development of the idea, in 1922, of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics did not serve as sufficient warnings to world leaders.

During this period a lively intellectual life was developing in the Ukraine in connection with the so-called Ukrainization. But the Ukrainian revival came to an end in 1926 when Stalin decided that Ukraine would continue to be an agricultural area and the producer of mineral and metal raw and semifinished materials which would take their final form in the Russian Republic. The first step in the deliberate destruction of the Ukrainian village was to ruin the peasants and force them to turn over their lands to the collective farms. Then, in 1930, came the order for compulsory collectivization of all the land and the means of production. And then Stalin decided upon a still more drastic device—the starvation of the Ukrainian villages—which resulted in the great famine of 1932–33.

During the hearings of our committee last year, one witness testified that during the period of the famine at least 6 million people died in the Ukraine as a result of it, and about 80 percent of the Ukrainian intelligentsia also perished. The most conservative estimate is that there were about 4,800,000 deaths, although there are many recognized scholars who have placed the number as between five and eight million. In addition, there was the loss to Ukraine of that part of the population which did succeed in getting out of the country and securing work in other sections of the Soviet Union. It should be remembered that, despite all appeals, any international relief was prevented by Stalin and his associates during this period.

At the same time of the collectivization and the famine, a similar attack was directed on all of the intellectual leaders of the country. A Ukrainian orthodox bishop told our committee that over 3,000 Ukrainian priests were exterminated or sent to prisons in Siberia. He added that about 90 percent of the Ukrainian orthodox churches were either completely destroyed or were turned into other buildings, such as warehouses and barns.

It was also at this time that professor Hrushevsky, former President of the Ukrainian National Republic and then 64 years of age, was arrested and confined in an obscure village under inhuman conditions. When he was completely broken by this procedure, he was released and moved to a rest home in the Caucasus, where he died in 1934. Along with Mezepa and Petlyura, he had been charged with bourgeois nationalism and accused of trying to destroy the unity of the Russians and Ukrainians and to undo the great work of Marx and Lenin.

The destruction of the Ukrainian cultural renaissance and the crushing of the traditional Ukrainian peasant life were but the first steps in the policy of Stalin and his associates. That dealt with Ukrainian life and thought in the present. It was necessary also to alter the past and the future. Therefore the suggestion was made that the Ukrainian language should be assimilated to Russian by the introduction into it of Russian words wherever the Ukrainian words differed. Even today the Communists are striving to make Ukrainian a dead language incapable of growth or of adaptation to modern conditions in any way other than by the addition of Russian elements.

The outbreak of World War II and the crushing defeat of Poland by the Nazi hordes also saw the Soviet Union invade that part of Ukraine and Byelorussia that had previously been Polish lands. On October 22, 1939, a national assembly (elected by the usual Communist methods) met in Lvov and asked admission to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. A hand-picked delegation went to Moscow and on November 1, the area was formally incorporated by the Soviet of Commissars in Moscow.

It is undeniable that, when the German-Soviet war broke out in June of 1941, many of the Ukrainians welcomed the invading German forces. However, Hitler's plans did not include the formation of an independent Ukrainian Government. In August 1941 the Germans annexed western Ukraine to the governor generalship and the rest of the Ukraine was formed into the Reichskommissariat Ukraine. Therefore resistance against the new invaders developed early in 1943 with the formation of the Ukrainian insurgent army (UPA) and the next year there was finally formed the Supreme Council of Ukrainian Liberation (UHVR) which coordinated the military and civilian sides of the Ukrainian struggle. This became in a sense a government for the UPA.

One of the members of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council who testified before our committee told us that the Ukrainian resistance was organized not only on political lines but also in the form of armed resistance and added that all the Ukrainian people fight for the same aims and motives as the Ukrainian insurgent army itself.

When the Soviets returned at the end of the war, they endeavored to soothe the aroused nationalistic feelings in Ukraine and Byelorussia. It was for this reason that they secured the entrance of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics as charter members of the United Nations and later gave these republics their own flags and provided new national anthems for them. But in spite of this the UPA turned against the Communists and continued to fight the Soviet armies as determinedly as they had fought the Germans.

The success of the UPA encouraged the population and did much to hamper the return and functioning of the Soviet system in the Ukraine. This continued success led to a tripartite agreement of the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia on May 12, 1947, to suppress the UPA, and the armed forces of all three united to suppress a menace that the Communists had denied ever existed. By 1952 open military conflict had pretty much ceased and the chief object of the UPA is now to maintain a constant state of unrest and uneasiness on the part of the more prominent Communist terrorists in the country.

In postwar Ukraine the real church has ceased to exist or has gone underground. The agricultural policy of the Soviet Union has been to revive and reform the collective farms and also to introduce the so-called agrogorod, or farm city, which facilitates the the control of the collective farms by the Communists. The work of restoring the factories has gone slowly since the policy on the part of the Soviets has been to develop the entire union in such a way that Ukrainian industrial production would increase very slowly and the share of Ukraine in the total agricultural and industrial yield of the Soviet Union would definitely diminish.

You may be interested to know that in January of 1953 there was celebrated with

all the fanfare possible the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyoslav which brought Ukraine into alliance with Moscovy. On this occasion the theses of the Communist Party call Kiev the oldest Russian city and Lvov the oldest Ukrainian city because it was founded by the Ukrainians after the division of the language. Of course this postulates an original linguistic, political, and racial union of the two nations. You may also be interested to learn that the Council of Ministers turned over to Ukraine the Crimea from which they had already forcibly deported its native Tartar population. And finally, since Moscow has decided to cultivate more land in Kazakhstan and Siberia, some 800,000 young Ukrainians, young men and women, are to volunteer for the pioneering service. It is another example of the long continued attempt to place the Ukrainians everywhere, except in Ukraine.

These are some of the facts which were brought out by the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression and contained in its special report No. 4 which was published at the end of last year. I have been given a few hundred copies of this Ukrainian report and would be happy to supply you with copies as long as my supply lasts, if you will write me at my Washington office.

As many of you also know I was, during the last Congress, Michigan's only Representative on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I recall our hearings on July 15, 1953, on the consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 58 which would have authorized the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republics of Ukraine and Byelorussia and the creation of American representation at Kiev and Minsk. Although I endorsed this legislation publicly during the course of the hearings and supported its passage in committee, the bill itself was never reported out of committee.

In this connection, I would like to clarify a point which may seem confusing to some people. The Select Committee on Communist Aggression, in its final report, recommended steps which would lead to the breaking of diplomatic relations between this Government, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and its satellites, on the other. Along with every other member of the committee, both Republicans and Democrats, I signed this report and endorsed such steps. Some persons might naturally inquire, therefore, why I endorsed the breaking of relations with the Soviet Union while at the same time I supported attempts to establish diplomatic relations with Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Of course, those of us who supported the latter step had little hope that the Soviet Union would permit this Government to have direct contact with the so-called foreign offices of Ukraine and Byelorussia. But we wished to force the Soviet Union to refuse publicly and thus give the lie to the fiction that these two Soviet republics enjoy autonomy in the conduct of their foreign affairs. Of course, we all know that neither Ukraine nor Byelorussia have the slightest degree of external or internal autonomy, but it is important that the most clear and ample proof of this be displayed to the outside world and we believed that the passage of this concurrent resolution would have placed a valuable weapon in our hands for the cold-war struggle.

I wish now to speak of the captive peoples, not only of Ukraine but everywhere behind the Iron Curtain. Recently there has been much talk in the press of peaceful coexistence between this country and the Soviet Union. Some have interpreted such talk as an indication that we have abandoned the captive peoples to their fate, that we are willing to sit down with the Soviet rulers and divide the world into so-called spheres of influence, that we are prepared to permit the Communists to have Ukraine, let us say, if they will agree to abandon their infiltrative efforts in perhaps Guatemala or Chile or Brazil. I want to answer such interpretations this afternoon.

I can categorically assure all of you here that the policy of this Government toward the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain has not changed one iota, nor will it change under our present administration. Under date of December 16, little more than a month ago, I received the following assurances from the State Department (from which I quote): "This Government is not reconciled to the present fate of those peoples; it will not be a party to any arrangement or treaty confirming or prolonging their subjection to Soviet despotism, and it seeks by peaceful means conditions permitting these enslaved national groups to recover genuine freedom and independence."

You may have heard of or read the recent speech which Secretary of State Dulles made in Chicago in which he stated (and I quote again): "The scope of conferences with the Soviet Government is necessarily limited by our attitude toward the captive peoples, for the Soviets know that we will not make any deal which would condone and perpetuate the captivity of men and nations." And the State Department has personally assured me that our objective remains unchanged, that is, to work in all peaceful ways for the creation of a Europe in which the captive peoples will again enjoy governments as well as social and economic institutions of their own free choice.

I hope that these official statements of policy on the part of our Government will act to reassure the captive peoples that they are not and will not be forgotten and that no so-called deal will be made with the Soviets that would in any sense of the word be an acceptance on our part of their conditions of bondage. Moreover, I will say that I am convinced that the great majority of the American people are desirous and hopeful that the eventual day of liberation will come and that it will come soon.

I wish to make one thing clear about which there has been much misunderstanding. There will be no so-called war of liberation in its literal sense. The American people are not prepared to and do not intend to fight a war solely and simply for the liberation of the captive peoples. The horrors of an atomic and thermonuclear war are too great for us ever to seek war of our own choosing. But if, in spite of all our efforts for peace, war should be thrust upon us, we will not shrink from its horrors, however catastrophic they may be.

All of the peoples of the world ardently desire peace. But we will not pay any price, however unworthy, to buy peace. And I am convinced that if war with the Soviets should come, albeit not of our choosing, we would not hesitate but would wage it until the power of international communism everywhere was beaten and trampled into the ground.

So I tell you that, while there may be talk of peaceful coexistence, a concept which I personally believe can never be realized, the policy of liberation is still as much a part of our national objective as it ever was. And there are peaceful means and ways in which we can work for this liberation, some of which are already in use while many others remain to be tried.

In working for peaceful liberation, I believe we would in effect be working toward a victory over the Soviet Union in the only way which would avoid either shameful surrender to the Soviets or an all-out atomic war in which there would be neither victor nor vanquished. Therefore you can see that the achievement of liberation by peaceful means would be very much in the interest of our own national security and therefore must of necessity be and remain a part of our Government's international policy toward the Soviets.

One thing more. When one deals with the Soviets, it is necessary to approach them from a standpoint of strength, not weakness. For example, when our citizens are incarcerated in Soviet prisons, it is not only unnecessary but even the height of folly to resort to the payment of ransom and blackmail in order to effect their release. This was done in the case of Oatis from Czechoslovakkia, Vogeler from Hungary, and in other instances. Such examples not only set dangerous precedents but are also shameful reflections of the loss of honor and prestige of a great Nation. You here in Detroit have just witnessed a successful attempt, in which I was proud to play a small part, at liberating one of your own fellow townsmen from a Soviet prison. No ransom or blackmail, no shameful concessions, were paid to effect the release of John Noble. He had been in a Russian labor camp for 9 years. But it was not until the State Department stopped writing notes and instructed our Ambassador to take the matter up personally with the Soviets that success was achieved.

I have been privileged to join with you this afternoon in honoring the 36th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. I join with all of you in praying for the day when the people of Ukraine will once again be free and able to choose their own form of government in accordance with the cherished principle of self-determination which this country has always espoused. I am happy to come here and tell you that the Eisenhower administration is just as concerned with this question of liberation as any of you and to assure you of my own intention to work for this principle as long as I remain in public service. I commend you for keeping the memory of this day alive and I urge you never to forget what this occasion signifies as best expressed by the title of your historic national anthem, Shche Ne Vmerla Ukraina—Ukraine Will Never Die.

Correction of Flaws in the Present Federal Statute Regarding Arbitration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in the 2d session of the 83d Congress, I introduced H. R. 10010, which had as its purpose the correction of numerous inaccuracies and flaws contained in the present Federal statute regarding arbitration. The bill was introduced on July 22, 1954, but because of the relatively short period remaining before adjournment, it was impossible to pursue efforts to have it enacted into law.

I am again introducing the bill, which has been carefully studied by practitioners in various parts of the country, and it is hoped that it will not be the subject of controversy. Accordingly, I trust it will have the favorable consideration of the general membership of the Congress.

For a long time those familiar with this subject matter have realized the lack of provisions for judicial review in ques-

tions of law arising out of arbitration. A large number of standard forms of charter party and other contracts contain clauses requiring that the arbitrators shall be commercial men.

A proposed amendment would clarify and would extend jurisdiction of the District Courts to issue orders requiring arbitration. Another purpose of the proposed legislation is to preclude the enforcement of arbitration in those instances where the dispute has become time-barred.

The bill being introduced would incorporate in the statute the prevailing judicial view that unless the parties expressly agree otherwise, all arbitrators must be impartial persons and their decisions should be limited to evidence submitted to them in a specified manner. Members of the Maritime Law Association of the United States have been actively interested in this legislation and I consider it worthy of the attention of the Congress of the United States.

What's Wrong With Our Present Drought Program?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, along with colleagues in both Houses of the Congress, I am today introducing a concurrent resolution calling for a complete study and investigation of drought conditions in the United States for the purpose of preparing plans and programs for their alleviation.

This resolution is offered against a background of increasingly disturbing news concerning the gravity of the drought catastrophe in my own State of Oklahoma and the pitiful failure of our existing drought-relief program to meet adequately the emergency which we face.

It is offered against a background of long-range weather predictions which point to another dry year in 1955.

It is offered against a background of declining farm income throughout the Nation, even as we face an administration farm program which is aimed directly at further depressing of farm prices.

As I pointed out in my speech to the House on January 20, we have 18 States—and 944 counties within their boundaries—which are today classified as drought emergency areas.

Literally hundreds of thousands of farm families are today on direct food relief throughout the Nation, the victims of relentless drought and the tragic failure to provide an adequate drought relief program.

I want to submit to you a summary of the reports which I have been receiving for some time concerning the operation of the Benson drought program.

Most of the ideas and opinions expressed are the ideas and opinions of men who know the drought program best, because they are living with it, in the drought area of Oklahoma.

From letters and messages received in my office, from farmers, ranchers, county agents, and others, I submit this report on our drought program.

I hope there are reasonable explanations and answers for some of the program's failures—but I doubt that there are.

I would prefer that some of the charges are not completely accurate—but I am afraid that they are.

The Congress should act now to create machinery for a careful review of this program, and should act at once to improve it where action is demanded by the plain facts.

REPORT ON THE DROUGHT PROGRAM

The major complanit against the program is plain inadequacy. Concerning the feed relief program, one farmer who is president of a civic association writes as follows:

> At the meeting of our organization last night the feed relief program was discussed and found to be inadequate. If this program is not changed at least 60 percent of the farmers who have cattle will be forced to sell their livestock and leave the State seeking employment.

This prediction has already been proved accurate in many counties of the State.

The president of one small town chamber of commerce wrote:

> The drought program set up by the Government has been of no help to our farmers in that it is set up to help the big man, but not the small cattleman.

A leading citizen of another eastern Oklahoma town agreed:

> Our farmers and livestock growers are in desperate condition for feed with which to winter their livestock. They have made no crops and will have very little money if any to buy feed with and the feed that is available is very costly.

A county agent wrote as follows:

> I have lived in Oklahoma for 61 years and believe that I can say without reservation that this is the worst drought that I have ever seen, partly due to the fact that it follows previous drouths of 1952 and 1953. A great many of our little farmers especially are in very bad shape financially. They would like some kind of made-work program so they can earn an honest living, not a giveaway Also, it seems to be the consensus of all the farmers that I have talked with that this 60 cents per hundred on drouth feeds is entirely inadequate.

After numerous protests, the Agriculture Department finally admitted the truth of this charge and raised the assistance to $1 per hundredweight on feed, but the basic problem of finding a way to make up the cash difference remained to blight the program for the small and hard-hit farmer.

Meanwhile, high prices on feed grains were compounding the problem for the drought-hit farmer and stockman.

In most cases, the fault did not lie with the local feed dealer, who raised local prices very reluctantly, but rather with his sources of supply, who were taking advantage of market conditions and at the same time draining off large Government surpluses at bargain rates.

According to CCC operational reports, more than 193 million bushels of corn were sold between January 1 and October 31, 1954. The average price was $2.52 per hundred.

In Muskogee, Okla., on October 4, 1954, the wholesale price of $3.40 per hundred was being quoted for corn.

The CCC sold 11 million bushels of oats at an average of $2.26 per hundred—and the October 4 wholesale price on oats in Muskogee was $3.00–$3.10.

More than 12 million bushels of barley sold by CCC brought an average price of $2.25 per hundred—while the Muskogee wholesale price was $3.10.

CCC disposed of 1.2 billion pounds of grain sorghums at an overage of $1.77—but in October the Muskogee wholesale price for ground sorghums was $3.10.

Note that these Oklahoma prices are wholesale prices, for truckload lots or more, according to report, and retail prices in lesser amounts would run even higher.

Who was the beneficiary of the Government's feed program, anyway?

A county agent quoted by the farm editor of the Tulsa World made this comment:

> Take the case of grains which are covered by this new plan; all it means is that the feed merchant will simply up his price under this program, and the Government's money will be wasted. * * * The feed trade has the ball now. It is just about the same as a year ago under the beef-buying program when the packers and not the cattlemen had the ball.

Members of the Oklahoma delegation, knowing the financial distress of the drought area, appealed on more than one occasion to top agriculture officials for direct distribution of Government grain surpluses, as well as seed for winter cover crops, to the farmer victims of the drought.

The Department elected to peddle surpluses at bargain rates to big feed and seed dealers, and then lend a small measure of financial assistance to the farmer in order to bolster the sizable profit to the feed and seed speculator.

No departmental attempt was made to hold prices down, unless the bargain sale of surplus stocks can be so described.

On the contrary, it is reported that the practice of posting a "fair price" list of dealers guaranteeing reasonable prices was ordered discontinued in ASC committee offices.

The picture on seed surplus disposals and price trends for the farmer is just as disturbing as the feed picture.

In a letter of August 9, 1954, to the President, I offered the following recommendation for emergency drought measures in this field:

> 2. ASC regulations should be amended to make wheat, oats, and barley available at once as ASC practice for winter pasture and cover. This seed should be made available free if possible in the disaster area, or at least at a reduced cost. As an ASC practice, it would be accompanied by necessary fertilizers, and of course, it would be subject to the provision that the crop would not be harvested for grain but would be

used to meet actual pasturing and feed needs on the farm itself. Such an amendment of ASC regulations, which would not require new law, should take place immediately, since the time for planting of winter pasture will soon be upon us in our section. Of course, this practice would require some rain this fall, but it is our best hope to secure a feed supply through the farmers' own efforts in this disaster area.

On August 18, the Department sent me a copy of a press release dated August 16 quoting the Secretary of Agriculture to the effect that "under a recent change in the ACP any farmer or rancher is eligible to apply for cost-sharing for planting cover or green manure crops on cropland which will be shifted from crop production next year. The ACP authorizes payment of up to 50 percent of the cost of seedbed preparation, fertilizer, lime, and seed for establishing cover crops on such land."

This was a good beginning, but it did not go far enough. In the first place, it should be noted that cost-sharing was made available only in connection with "crops on cropland which will be shifted from crop production next year." In recent years, a great physical change has been wrought in much of eastern Oklahoma. As a result of the good work done by the Extension Service, Soil Conservation Service, and other conservation agencies, vast acreages have been taken out of crop production and put into pastures. Obviously, no assistance would be made available on these acres nor to the people and livestock on them.

Secondly, the Department ignored the opportunity to move seed from CCC stocks directly to farmers in furtherance of a program of self-help. In anticipation of developments which subsequently occurred, I called upon the Department to undertake the immediate distribution of winter cover crop seed to farmers in the drought areas. In behalf of my own farmers, I specifically requested the release of CCC stocks of oats for this purpose but was advised that there were no such stocks. In our emergency we would have welcomed any seed that had a good chance of germinating. Since the program did not permit harvesting of any yields, we were not interested in anything but an edible growth.

The Department at that time had tremendous stocks of winter cover crop seeds, such as vetches, crimson clover, peas, and so forth, which were in demand in my State. But our plea for direct action was ignored. As a result of the actions taken by the Department, some startling developments have occurred. To anyone even remotely acquainted with the agricultural situation these developments should not have been unexpected. To anyone closely associated with the Department, and particularly those in policymaking positions, they doubtless were expected.

As the ACP winter cover crop practice got underway, local seed stocks were quickly exhausted. In some States, county ASC committees gave purchase orders to farmers which constituted the bulk of the purchase price for such seed. Great volumes of seed were moved in a short time. The Secretary of Agriculture anticipated this. In his press release of August 16, "Secretary Benson urged farmers to anticipate their needs and order seed early." It was said that "this will facilitate movement of seed from surplus to deficit areas."

By mid-September the Department was reporting sharp increases in grass and legume seeds, although seed grain prices had dropped. Some seed prices had advanced as much as 35 percent since spring. Seed oats and wheat were also in demand and prices reflected this demand.

The September 1954 price on winter seed wheat was $2.86 compared with $2.82 in September 1953 despite the sharp drop in prices in other farm commodities.

With increased demand, other seed prices shot up. At least in my section of this country, these price increases did not represent profiteering on the part of local seed dealers. As a matter of fact, they, too, were caught in the price squeeze as they tried to hold retail prices down. Prices generally maintained their stability until local stocks were exhausted, and then they were forced up by the increases in prices asked by the big seed suppliers in other parts of the country. In some sections, I am told that these price increases virtually wiped out the temporary benefit farmers received from cost-sharing participation on the part of ACP.

Since CCC had a virtual monopoly on many seed stocks, I was interested in learning what disposition had been made of them. According to CCC financial reports, more than 18 million pounds of vetch seed was sold between January 1, 1954, and October 31, at an average price of 5 cents per pound. Much of this was common, selling for about 3.5 cents per pound for export. On September 15, the Department reports showed that Oklahoma farmers were paying 13.5 cents per pound for hairy vetch, the national average retail price was 16.3 cents, and prices in some States ranged as high as 23 cents per pound. Common vetches were selling at a national average of 8.4 cents and as high as 10 cents.

Another example of CCC sales of winter cover crop seeds was crimson clover. In this same period the Department sold almost 5 million pounds of crimson clover seed at an average price of 18 cents per pound. Oklahoma farmers were paying 24 cents per pound, the national average was 23.9, and prices were as high as 30 cents in some States. Almost 6 million pounds of Austrian winter peas were sold by CCC at about 2 cents per pound while Oklahoma farmers were paying 7 cents, with a national average of 6.9 cents.

A great demand has also developed for alfalfa seed. Although not a winter cover crop, the actions taken in connection with the 40 million pounds of seed held by CCC typifies the seed operations of the Department. Factors influencing the alfalfa seed market were well known to the Department last summer, but the official reaction to impending price increases was surprising indeed. In its press release of June 1, 1954, about 20 million pounds of northern alfalfa seed was offered at $37.50 per hundred pounds, and about 15 million pounds of various certified varieties were offered at $43 per hundred. On July 1, 1954, these prices were reduced to $35 and $40 respectively. From January 1, 1954, through October 31, CCC reported the sale of over 12 million pounds of alfalfa seed at an average of 35 cents per pound. I understand that the CCC stocks of alfalfa seed have either been exhausted since that time or soon will be. In the meantime, alfalfa seed prices in retail stores showed sharp increases between spring and fall. Prices ranged as high as 48 cents a pound and more in some States for improved varieties.

The examples I have cited are illustrative of both the effects of strong demand upon the market and the manner in which the Department of Agriculture reacted. It is quite significant that CCC price decreases and volume sales of seeds were followed almost immediately by considerable price increases at the retail level.

This was not the only action taken by the Department in the interests of the seed speculators. As I mentioned earlier, prior to the announcement of the special drought emergency ACP cover crop practice, the county committees had for several years maintained what was known as fair price lists. Each committee determined fair prices for ACP seed after consultation with local dealers and posted such prices in the county office together with a listing of firms agreeing to offer seed at prices not higher than those listed. With the advent of the drought emergency program and an increased demand for seed—paid for in large measure by the Government—the Department directed the discontinuance of the fair price posting. In other words, the Department directed its field personnel to look the other way while the seed industry took advantage of human misery to increase profit margins on seed. For the first time in modern history, our Government gave the green light to profiteering by a few on the suffering of many.

It is not only proper but highly desirable for the Department of Agriculture, and any other agency of our Government for that matter, to conduct its business wherever possible and practical through normal trade channels. But it is inconceivable for an agency of government to deliberately set up an emergency program to alleviate human suffering and at the same time create conditions for unconscionable profiteering. It will be recaled that when it was found that gamma globulin offered some hope for polio victims the Government stepped in and controlled distribution to prevent inequitable treatment and profiteering on a life-saving medium. Could we expect any less from the same Government in the development of a humanitarian program of assistance for our drought-stricken farmers?

The 83d Congress recognized the need for emergency credit for drought-stricken farmers in the enactment of Public Laws 115—amending Public Law 38, 81st Congress—and 727. Unfortunately, the administration of these and other credit programs has revealed a striking inadequacy.

There has been little or no uniformity in the local application of regulations

applying to production emergency loans. In some places, a penalty has been applied to bigness; in others, it was the little farmer or stockman who found the door closed. Refinancing of existing indebtedness was denied, as were loans to compensate applicants for their losses as a result of the drought.

In too many instances the requirement that the proposed borrower be unable to obtain from other lenders the credit required was interpreted to mean that he must be virtually without means or substance. If he met this test, then he failed the requirement that he have reasonable prospects for success with the assistance of a loan.

These were but a few of the obstacles placed between desperate people and a source of credit which would have meant the difference between survival and failure. Where credit is made available for crop production, the terms of the loan require that the debt be paid when the income derived from the sale of the crops produced with the loans is received. At best, this requirement only delays economic death until the end of the crop season.

The principle of self-help through the extension of emergency credit has been defeated by the manner and method of administration. Thousands of farmers who had found new faith and hope in the announced emergency loan program learned to their sorrow that their Government's interest was limited and that in the end they were left to the mercy of the improvident elements.

In summary of the charges made in this report—which admittedly are only a part of the numerous complaints against our present drought program—I can only repeat that the relief extended thus far has apparently been too little and too late, and all too often in the wrong place.

Hundreds of thousands of American farmers are waiting hopefully for action by this Congress to change this picture, and place in action a fair and effective drought-relief program.

Every day of delay means new tragedy on the farm front.

On January 22, the Tulsa Tribune carried the Associated Press item "Farm Population Drop Continues."

Between 1950 and 1954, according to this report, the Nation's farm population fell 12.6 percent, from 25,058,000 in 1950 to 21,890,000 in April of 1954.

This continues a trend in evidence since 1940, when our farm population totaled 30,547,000.

Most heartbreaking aspect of this trend is found in the drought area—the west-south-central region—where the farm population drop in the last 4 years was an alarming 21 percent.

The farmer continue to be the backbone of the Nation and its economy, yet we are permitting the steady weakening of this backbone by our failure to act with full vigor and effectiveness to meet our farm problems.

Make no mistake about it, drought damage is public enemy No. 1 among those problems in many States today.

I hope and pray that the 84th Congress will rise to its responsibility in meeting the drought challenge.

The 1955 Flying Wheels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the 1955 Flying Wheels, all-star wheelchair basketball squad of the Paralyzed Veterans' Association, Long Beach, Calif., Hospital Chapter will arrive in the Nation's Capital this next weekend. They will play the Jersey Wheelers of New York at Bethesda Naval Hospital Sunday night, January 30 at 8 p. m. All Members of Congress are invited to attend and I can personally guarantee an exciting and inspirational evening. Wheelchair basketball always is fully as exciting as the regular game and oftentimes more so.

This marks the ninth annual coast-to-coast nonprofit, noncommercial trip by the Flying Wheels to play the Nation's top-ranking teams and provide inspiration and free entertainment for hospitalized veterans.

All traveling expenses for this tour, and the last 3 years, have been paid by the Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express through the courtesy of David Hearst, publisher, and Vic Dunsmore, business manger. Expenses for the other five coast-to-coast tours were raised by tour director John B. Olds, of the sports department of the Herald and Express.

Mr. Old conceived the idea of these tours over 10 years ago and he has directed each one of them. I could not overstate the respect and admiration for Mr. Old held not only by the Flying Wheels, but sportsmen all over the country for his wonderful work over the years on this most worthy of projects.

Paralyzed veterans by definition are fine young Americans who will never walk again. They are paralyzed from the waist down. Most of them are victims of an enemy bullet in the spine; others are victims of polio or tragic accidents. All served their country gallantly.

Many are continuously bedridden. Others find themselves chained to wheelchairs for the rest of their life, compelled to return periodically to VA hospitals for checkups and medical attention.

Their incentive to live is not the same as most people—or so you might reasonably assume. Not so with the courageous members of the Flying Wheels, all-star wheelchair basketball squad of the Long Beach, Calif., Paralyzed Veterans' Association.

They are out to prove to themselves, to their less fortunate bedridden PVA brethren, polio victims everywhere and the world at large that the years to come should not be wasted in self pity or vain regrets sitting on the sidelines of life. They are going to be participants.

The agonies of the soul which all hopelessly crippled young veterans must have suffered can only be imagined. What "gutty guys" like the Flying Wheels are doing today takes more courage, in a way, than they were called on to display against the enemy.

Although their mode of living is limited, they have but one code: "Ability, not disability, counts." Wheelchair basketball is doing much to keep that spirit alive and contagious.

It all started early in World War II at the now discarded Birmingham VA hospital, Van Nuys, Calif. Hunting a way to inspire bed-ridden patients, Bob Rynearson of the recreation department hit upon the idea of wheelchair basketball—played just like able-bodied teams do with only slight variations—such as two pushes on the wheels, while the ball rests on a player's lap, is the equivalent of a dribble.

Occasionally a veteran would wheel down to the gym. On the court self-confidence was bolstered. Returning to his ward, he would brag of his shooting—a direct challenge to ward mates to get out of bed. As the competitive spirit lurks in the heart of every American youth, many accepted. Later more and more. For most of the paraplegics it was their first real inspiration to get out of bed—back into the American competitive way of life if only to beat a bunk mate.

Once on the court they gained physical benefits far and beyond the reach of calisthenics. A new and hopeful mental outlook was born. They bit heavily into the challenge to excel, found they were no longer cognizant of their handicap. Now all wheelchair basketball players love crowds—especially when backward fellows with similar handicaps are watching. Their brilliant court play is inspiring proof positive: Ability, not disability, counts.

Because of its proven value, wheelchair basketball is now played wherever PVA groups assemble. Unfortunately for the southern California group, there is no other VA paraplegic center west of Kansas City. Hence these annual coast-to-coast nonprofit, noncommercial tours. The Flying Wheels want to meet and beat the best wheelchair teams in the country.

During this tour, in addition to the Bethesda game, they have or will play teams at Tulsa, Chattanooga, Richmond, New York City, Chicago, Kansas City, and Amarillo.

In 8 coast-to-coast wheelchair basketball tours, the Flying Wheels have amassed the creditable record of 50 games won, 22 lost, in 72 intersectional engagements. They have averaged 33 points per game—a remarkably high percentage for a free-wheeling outfit.

Their best years were in 1948, 1950, and 1953. In the 1948 campaign they won 12, lost 1, to be named national wheelchair basketball champions by the Melms Athletic Foundation of California. In the 1950 trip, they compiled a 10 won, 1 lost record to regain the national title.

In 1953 they won 9, lost but 1 game, in their annual tour, that one by 2 points. Two months later the Flying Wheels competed in the national championships at New York City. They were eliminated after winning one championship game by Kansas City, who went on to capture the 1953 crown.

An excerpt from Veterans Administration Technical Bulletin TB 10–503, page 36, paragraph 5, reveals:

The importance of competitive games for physical and psychological rehabilitation of paraplegics must not be forgotten. These games maintain the musculature in good condition, improve coordination and put to severe test the paraplegic's ability to balance as in a fast basketball game conducted from wheelchairs.

The mental goal achieved by such competition is a loss of self-consciousness and a gain of self-reliance.

It is medically desirable that tournaments be regularly arranged between the several paraplegic centers in the Veterans' Administration.

Dr. Ernest Bors, medical chief, paraplegic section, Long Beach Veterans' Hospital, observes:

Having witnessed the very beginning of the athletic rehabilitation of paraplegic patients, I am impressed with the beneficial effect wheelchair basketball has on the morale and on the physical well-being of the paralyzed veterans.

Sucessful rehabilitation of the severely disabled person is contingent upon the mental approach. It is evident that the self-consciousness of patients, who are bound to use a wheelchair, has been greatly relieved by competitive performances before spectators. Good muscle function, so vital to the patient with a spinal cord injury, is obtained through participation in wheelchair basketball.

The patient's desire to play wheelchair basketball makes his mental and physical rehabilitation a voluntary pleasure.

The Flying Wheels squad roster for 1955 is as follows:

Number	Name	Position	Service	Age
3	Jack Chase	Forward	Army Signal Corps	27
14	Gilbert Ortiz	do	Army	23
13	Al Halverson	Guard	do	29
6	Morris Moorhead	Forward	Sergeant, Marines	27
7	Fritz Krauth	do	Navy Air Force	27
8	Wally Frost	Guard	Army	29
10	Bill Fairbanks	Forward	(Equipment manager)	19
11	Lee Barr	Guard	Army	28
12	Norman Harris	Center	do	27
4	Arthur Jurado	Guard	Lieutenant, Air Force	31
16	Arthur Eakes	Center	Army	27
20	Walter Haley	Forward	Navy	30

The 1955 Flying Wheels able-bodied personnel on the tour are: Coach, Everett Sylwanowicz, Long Beach VA Hospital; physician, Dr. John F. Fahey, Los Angeles; trainer, Dave Flores, Los Angeles Baseball Club; publicity director, Sam Schnitzer, Los Angeles Examiner; tour aid, Jack Disney, Los Angeles Herald-Express; Stewart Air Service pilots, Capt. Ed Stewart and Jim Gregory; tour director, John B. Old, Los Angeles Herald-Express.

Time for Straight Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include a timely editorial entitled "Time for Straight Talk," appearing in the Boston Traveler of January 24, 1955:

TIME FOR STRAIGHT TALK

Like it or not, our Far East policy is changing by the month.

We're stepping back as Red China feels us out with an exhibition of fist waving. We're cooling off in our attitude toward Chiang Kai-shek and his dream of returning some day to the Chinese mainland.

Within recent days, the administration has shrugged off the Red Chinese capture of Yikiang Island as something of no importance—although it moves the Reds one step closer to an attack against Formosa.

Also, the administration has all but asked outright for a United Nations action that would bring about a cease-fire in Formosa Strait. And Defense Secretary Wilson has said we ought to expand our trade in nonstrategic materials with Communist countries, which happens to be a complete somersault from his stand of some months ago.

Next came the talk about withdrawing Chiang's troops from the outer Tachen Islands and conceding those outposts to the advancing Reds.

It's time President Eisenhower gave the Nation a clear, factual account of what's going on and where we're heading.

We are still committed to the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores. But in view of our recent actions, Red China has good reason to suppose that we won't honor that commitment. The Reds therefore might be tempted to launch their attack, gambling that we'll back out of trouble.

If we meet such an attack, we'll unquestionably be back in a war again. If we duck away from it, we'll be guilty of a shameful sellout and appeasement.

Without doubt, the best solution at the moment would be a cease-fire arrangement, but we don't expect to see one. Neither the Reds nor the Nationalists would accept it at this point.

We think President Eisenhower should speak directly to the American public and state exactly what our policy is and what risks it involves.

Events in the Far East are moving swiftly toward a showdown. We'd like a frank statement of what to expect when it comes.

The American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the plight of the American merchant marine has been of vital concern to me because of my membership on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, as well as because of my apprehension for the security of our beloved Nation. Throughout my congressional service, I have been actively interested in the furtherance of measures calculated to improve this segment of our national defense.

It is with considerable regret, therefore, that I note today the fact that our Nation has fallen to 12th place among the shipbuilding nations of the world. This serious situation must not be allowed to stand, and I exhort the Congress and the citizenry to consider how harmful it will be to American prestige if we do not improve this state of affairs.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article appearing in the February 26 edition of the Baltimore Sun, as follows:

SHIPBUILDING IN UNITED STATES TAKES DRASTIC DROP—WITH ONLY 99,568 TONS ON WAYS, NATION IS 12TH COMMERCIALLY

LONDON, January 26.—The United States, with only 99,568 tons of merchant shipping on the ways, has dropped to 12th place among the shipbuilding nations of the world.

This was disclosed today by Lloyds Register of Shipping in its report for the last quarter of 1954.

Of all nations, Lloyds said, the American shipbuilding industry showed the largest decrease.

BRITISH YARDS GAIN

On the other hand, British shipbuilding yards touched their busiest point since World War II.

On December 31 British yards were building 327 merchant ships of 2,140,752 tons gross, or 36.57 percent of the world's new tonnage. This was a gain of 82,295 tons over the previous quarter.

Germany improved its position as the second ranking shipbuilding country with 772,012 tons, or 13.19 percent of the world total, under construction in the last quarter. This was a gain of 103,258 tons over the 3 previous months.

RANKINGS LISTED

The following table shows how the nations ranked as of December 31, 1954:

	Number of ships	Gross tons
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	327	2,140,752
Germany	204	772,012
Netherlands	136	529,679
France	55	449,096
Sweden	65	433,191
Japan	47	376,565
Italy	42	195,189
Norway	54	194,408
Spain	62	186,817
Denmark	30	130,533
Belgium	17	110,868
United States	15	99,568
Other nations	115	235,569
Total	1,169	5,854,247

No figures were available for Soviet countries.

MERCHANT MARINE UNIT HITS DROP IN CARGOES

WASHINGTON, January 25.—Decline in military cargoes and increased foreign-flag competition for commercial cargoes created a serious impact on the privately owned United States merchant marine during 1954, the American Merchant Marine Institute reported today in its annual report.

These economic factors caused the surplus of United States-flag dry-cargo vessels to exceed 1 million tons by midyear.

The problem of inactive tonnage was relieved in late summer by the enactment of a law requiring at least half of all United States Government-financed cargoes to be moved on American-flag ships and the relaxation of the Maritime Administration's policy on the transfer of idle tonnage to foreign registry.

TRANSFERS ASSAILED

The transfers abroad, which have been attacked by the maritime labor unions, reduced both the overall size of the dry-cargo fleet and the idle United States-flag tonnage, now down to 370,000 deadweight tons.

The private-owned dry-cargo fleet at the end of 1954 was 730 ships of 7,618,071 deadweight tons, a reduction of 76 ships and 770,000 tons from January 1, 1954.

The active commercial-type passenger fleet now totals only 40 vessels, compared with a prewar fleet of 123, the institute said, and added:

"Our inability to keep pace with progress made by foreign fleets leaves us with a glaring deficiency of commercial-type passenger vessels for both overseas travel and for potential conversion to troop transports in emergencies."

Viciousness in Comic Book Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following sensible analysis from the Lawrence Daily Eagle, Lawrence, Mass., Saturday, October 2, 1954:

THE COMIC BOOK STORY

The American comic-book business seems to have learned a lesson in the power of public opinion.

A newly created trade group which includes most of the industry has taken steps toward banning offensive comic books.

Under a code of ethics every book will be read by reviewers. All terror and horror books will be refused approval. Books which pass inspection will be marked with a seal so that parents can know at a glance which books are safe to buy.

With all the talk about this development, it deserves to be put in perspective.

In the first place it should be noted that all but a very few comic-book publishers are innocent bystanders in the situation. They have never published anything but wholesome material. They have deplored the excesses of the offending publishers. They should not be tarred by too vigorous a brush.

Then, too, it should be pardonable if newspapers, as the granddads of the comic cartoon, point out the character of their branch of the family.

Your newspaper is now doing, and has always done, a good clean job of entertaining with comics and policing itself, all these years, with good taste and judgment.

There are many safeguards. The newspaper comics are produced by organizations with a sense of responsibility and are reviewed, finally, right in each community by the newspaper editors themselves who are the ones who decide what to print and what not to print.

Smacking down a few merchants of viciousness in the comic-book field still leaves unresolved one of the major tasks facing a democracy built with the keystones of free speech and a free press. There are those at one extreme who feel you cannot have a little censorship. It fills them with dread of a growth toward Hitler-type bookburnings. At the other extreme are those who fear, equally, a contagion from poisonous words which would fill the Nation with a soul-sick and misled citizenry.

This debate will go on and on while we, as a democracy, struggle to hammer out workable rules for our own welfare.

At least, in the area of mass reading for juveniles, it would appear that public opinion has forced a restraint. If the publishers of comic books can't see what is acceptable good taste they will be made to conform.

It spotlights a basic principle which can stand repeating: That the right kind of censorship is that of public opinion.

If people find something offensive it is their right and duty to withdraw support from it. Soon, as occurred in the comic-book case, the public's refusal is certain to bring results.

Universal Military Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I now submit the following editorial from the American Issue under date of January 1955:

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

A new conscription plan has been approved by President Eisenhower and the National Security Council. The plan includes extension of the present draft law under which men must serve a 2-year term, followed by 6 years of Reserve duty. It also authorizes the Army to enroll volunteers for 6 months of basic training, after which they would be transferred to a National Guard or Organized Reserve unit. They would be compelled to attend weekly drills and summer camps for a period of 7½ years, the penalty for noncompliance being reinduction in the Regular Army for another 18 months.

Draft deferments would be cut down and military service made as universal as possible. A limited quota would be accepted for the 6-month program and free choice would be allowed only until quotas were filled.

The indicated purpose of the proposal is to build a 3 million man reserve for the Army in addition to the regular military forces. Under this plan there would be 26 National Guard divisions and 26 Reserve divisions filled by UMT boys.

UMT was opposed in 1950 by church, labor, farm, peace, and temperance groups. The Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church on November 21, 1954, called upon their 9 million members to fight any attempt at peacetime conscription.

The National Temperance League is constantly opposed to the widespread availability of alcoholic beverages to the Armed Forces at military bases. Hence, NTL is opposed to any conscription plan, which would place every American boy under the pressure to drink beer, wine, or liquor, which is well nigh omnipresent at all military bases, both here and overseas.

The United States Brewers Foundation claims that 3 out of 4 boys in the service drink beer. Evidence from other sources indicates that from 90 to 95 percent of the men in service use alcoholic beverages. Many of these never drank before they were drafted into service. They begin to drink because of social pressure, and loneliness, and because drinking is so much a part of the military tradition.

If the facts were fully known, there is no doubt that the large percentage of ex-servicemen now being treated for alcoholism in veteran's hospitals became alcoholics because of the widespread drinking custom among military personnel

The National Temperance is not unaware of the threat of Communist aggression from without but it is tremendously aware of the threat to individual and national moral welfare from within if every American boy is to be subjected to the pressure to drink which at present seems to go hand in hand with military training.

Continuing Struggle for Freedom and Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, during the past week of January 22 the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America has, throughout the United States, observed the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence which took place on January 22, 1918.

This observance is truly an occasion, as the committee says, and I quote, "for the unending reaffirmation of our faith in the eventual liberation of all the enslaved nations in the Communist empire."

I am happy to include a summary of these stirring feelings in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SUMMARY

The centuries-old struggle for freedom and independence on the part of the Ukrainian nation constitutes an impressive chapter in the annals of human history. This indomitable will for national freedom clearly crystallized itself in the old Ukrainian Kievan state from the 9th to the 14th century, in the Ukrainian Kozak state from 1648 to 1783, and more recently in the Ukrainian National Republic from 1917 to 1920. As one of the first victims of Soviet imperialism, Ukraine, since the very inception of alien Bolshevik tyranny, has proved to be the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union. The destruction of its national churches, the horrible manmade famine of 1932–33, the mass murder at Vinnitsia in 1937–39, and the vast purges and deportations decreed by Moscow have failed to exterminate the spiritual and moral resources for national freedom in Ukraine. The historic capital of Kiev, with centuries of rich tradition and culture conserved in its vaults, still symbolizes today the indestructible hope and passion of a nation destined to be sovereign, free, and independent.

During the Second World War millions of Ukrainian patriots seized the short-lived opportunity of the German invasion to realize once again this hope, only to be frustrated in their valiant efforts by the scourge of another imperialism. But this unbending will continues to be strong and powerful in the epic struggle of the Ukrainian insurgent army (UPA) against the evil forces of Soviet imperialism, and in the resistance of the Ukrainian people.

As a nation of over 40 million people—the largest non-Russian nation behind the European Iron Curtain—Ukraine stands as one of our most important and natural allies in the eventual defeat of Soviet imperialism. Its historic claim to national freedom and independence cannot be ignored. Its place as a sovereign and equal partner in the mutual construction of the free Europe of tomorrow must be assured, if the foundation of permanent peace among freedom-loving nations is to be impregnable.

Speech of Hon. Jamie L. Whitten, of Mississippi, at Annual Meeting of the National Agricultural Limestone Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMIE L. WHITTEN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address I delivered at the annual meeting of the National Agricultural Limestone Producers, January 18, 1955, Washington, D. C.:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I welcome this opportunity to speak to your organization and to so many of my colleagues. Many times in the past I have welcomed your active assistance in fights in the Congress for conservation of national resources. I understand that your business interests give you a special interest in the conservation of the Nation's soil. Knowledge of the problems which you gain in your own business gives you a knowledge of land needs, and may I say, gives you an obligation to make available to the committees of the Congress and to the public what you have learned. Not only do you have the right to speak but an obligation, in my opinion.

You know there are many things involved in this complex subject of American agriculture and its place in the Nation. We left agriculture out for many years when industry had advantages written into law and when industrial labor was protected by law. Largely as a result, 80 percent of our timber is gone; 40 percent of our fertile land is gone. Farm life had so few returns from the farm share of the national income dollar that farm homes had few conveniences others had. Work hours were longer. It followed that nearly all who could left the farm. Farm population went down steadily from 84 percent to only 13 percent on the farm.

Today, farming is a commercial operation. Farmers either make costs plus a living, or deplete the land, go broke, and move to town like the rest of us. We had the great depression of the twenties, for which many explanations have been offered. At any rate, a drastic break in farm prices led off in that depression which carried all down with it—labor, agriculture, and capitalist. We cannot stand another. Finally, it was determined by the Congress to put protections for agriculture in the law, where the other two major segments were already. Thus, we have the price support system provided by law. You may say you now have a price support law, though actions last year weakened it; but may I remind you that farm income can be ruined by reductions in acreage and the giving away of our foreign markets.

We no longer have the natural resources to waste, which were wasted when "sale at the market place" under world competitive conditions was all that agriculture got.

I believe in free enterprise, but if you analyze the situation you soon find that our free enterprise has been free only under the laws as written by the Congress and by the States. There has been competition as to how these laws were written. It has been said that all anybody wants is a fair advantage—an advantage which he wants others to agree it is fair for him to have. One way to get such advantages declared fair is to pass a law and have the law declare it fair; with the first Congress the fight was on.

Early in our history, industry got protective tariffs written into law; and a good argument could be made for such protection, especially in the early days. They retain most of them today, and they are not going to be repealed. Only about 22 years ago did agriculture begin to receive somewhat equal treatment in law.

Agriculture today operates in an economy where for all practical purposes those advantages to industry and labor are provided by law, and such laws are not going to be repealed. Only recently the President of the United States asked for a 90 cents an hour minimum wage. Whatever the merits, it can only have the effect of raising farm costs at a time when farm laws are under attack and farm income is going down.

Today farming is a commercial operation. Farming is a business and is no longer merely a way of life. The expensive farm machinery necessary today makes it that.

Forty years ago 70 percent of the farm investment was land. Today only 45 percent of the investment is land. The balance is expensive farm machinery, equipment, and needed buildings. These things cost money, and they wear out.

Forty years ago it took a farmer almost 10 years to lose his farm if he made nothing. Today, due to heavy outlay of cash, he can lose it in less than 2 years. A real farmer must be a capitalist as well as a laborer today.

There has been some 13 freight-rate increases since World War II, based on operations of other laws, an 85-percent increase in spread between prices received on the farm and prices to the consumer, a 13-percent increase in farm costs in the past 2 years, with a 12-percent decrease in farm income. These conditions, which largely result from laws, many of them enacted by Congress to provide protection to various segments of our economy, make price supports for certain basic agricultural commodities essential to maintaining some degree of balance in our economy. The fact that price supports are necessary to offset American costs does not remove the necessity that our foreign markets be retained to absorb commodities surplus to our domestic needs, if we are to avoid further curtailments in agricultural production and farm income with the resulting unemployment of thousands upon thousands of American farmers.

LARGE INVESTMENT OF COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION COMES BECAUSE OF REFUSAL TO SELL

The large holdings of agricultural commodities in the hands of the Commodity Credit Corporation in recent years is not the result of our price-support program, but rather is due to the Government's refusal to offer to sell our products, once they are in the hands of CCC, competitively on world markets. Yet each time I have challenged this policy of holding our agricultural commodities back, admitted to be our policy by our Department of Agriculture, I have been faced with the fact that such policy reflected the attitude of our State Department and those handling foreign-aid programs, based on what the State Department claimed were political and national defense considerations. That Department has made its decisions, apparently, without any awareness of the effect on agriculture and business in the United States. I believe such policies ruinous to American agriculture and, in the long run, to the Nation.

ECONOMIC LOSS FROM REFUSAL TO SELL

According to the national advisory committee for CARE, composed of such men as Henry A. Bullis, General Mills' chairman of the board; Roy C. Ingersoll, president of Borg-Warner; Ward Melville, Melville Shoe Corp.; H. J. Heinz, and others equally successful, such policy costs the United States $700,000 a day for storage, deprives American railroads of transportation equal to 100 transcontinental freight trains each day for a year, deprives American shipping of the equivalent of the dispatch of 10 oceangoing freighters every day for a year, not to mention the loss of labor and the effect on agriculture itself, being cut back now to absorb surplus commodities. And all this food and fiber has been held back by the Department's policy, set up by our State Department on the fallacious argument that such a course helps needy peoples of the world.

WE NOW HAVE AUTHORITY TO SELL COMPETITIVELY ON WORLD MARKETS

I would point out that the Commodity Credit Corporation Charter Act in section 5 (f) authorizes the Corporation to export or cause to be exported, or aid in the development of foreign markets for, agricultural commodities. Under the Charter Act these commodities may be commodities acquired under price-support programs or specifically procured for export purposes.

The Charter Act contains no restrictions on the prices at which commodities may be sold by the Corporation. Section 407 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, does establish minimum prices at which the Corporation may sell commodities owned or controlled by it, except in the case of sales for certain specified purposes. Sales for export, however, are specifically exempt from the application of this minimum-price restriction.

Yet the United States Department of Agriculture admitted in hearings before my committee last year that the United States has been following a policy of holding our commodities at prevailing prices, letting other countries undersell and have the markets. Many commodities have not been offered even at prevailing prices.

Foreign countries do have the dollars. However, due to our policy of not offering our commodities these countries simply are not spending as much for agricultural commodities, but are buying other things. Agriculture's share of United States sales has dropped from 28 percent in 1934–38 to 19 percent in 1953. We will spend $3,200,000,000 in support of our military in foreign countries this year.

Only last week authority was granted to the Commodity Credit Corporation to use $7,200,000 in additional funds for administrative expenses. Our committee went along with this request because these funds are necessary to handle the quantities of agricultural commodities which the Commodity Credit Corporation owns, but which it has on hand because of faulty Government policy.

The price-support system may have caused the Corporation to buy those commodities, but the Corporation has them because we would not sell them.

This fact is proven in hearings held by our committee last week, when Secretary Benson and Under Secretary Morse were before us.

LARGE HOLDINGS USED TO LOWER PRICE SUPPORTS AND IMPOSE ACREAGE REDUCTIONS

We read about our Secretary of Agriculture and others talking about having invested more the $6 billion in farm commodities, and that is true. We saw the last Congress, where the administration including the Secretary of Agriculture, reduce price support levels on basic farm commodities from 90 to 82½ percent of parity; the Secretary of Agriculture said "to prevent the holding of such huge supplies of farm commodities."

Dairy support levels were reduced because of the butter CCC owned. Last year drastic reductions were made in acreages in wheat, cotton, and other crops, and decreased production was ordered. This year still further drastic reductions in acreage were ordered, which is working a tremendous hardship and putting lots of people out of business in the area I come from.

Our hearings, and if you haven't read those hearings you should, disclose that, notwith-

standing the fact that the Commodity Credit Corporation has had authority to sell these commodities in world markets for dollars, it simply would not do it. We have held our commodities off world markets and thereby helped to increase foreign production. By way of illustration, since 1945 cotton production in Asia has increased by 3½ million bales and in Africa by more than 100 million bales, not to mention Central America and Europe. I tried to get a change in policy last year. Later in the year we got them to offer some commodities in world trade on a competitive basis, and they sold $453 million worth of them, reducing CCC stocks to a minimum.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

On January 10 we heard the speech of our distinguished President of the United States, in which much was made of the administration's efforts to move the CCC-owned agricultural commodities into foreign trade for foreign currency under Public Law 480. What does Public Law 480 provide? A close reading of that speech will show you that 90 percent of that foreign currency we would receive is not even subject to the control of the Congress. By far the greater part of that foreign currency will be used for economic development in those countries. The last 10 percent of it can be given to them if the President just says the word. What was not in the President's speech is the fact that his administration is trying to give these commodities away under Public Law 480 without even offering them for sale for dollars, under the general authority of the law. The administration's approach would continue to hold an umbrella over world prices.

Representatives of the United States Government are going around over the world trying to give away to foreign countries that which they will not offer for sale, commodities which they have the authority to sell but which they will not sell, all to add to foreign aid.

And all the time foreign production increases, and the American farmers gets his production cut more and more. There is ample evidence of the fact that the Corporation could sell to be found in the experience that they have had with those items which we finally got them to offer for sale on a competitive bid basis last year. Let me read to you a list of those commodities which they will not even offer for sale on a competitive basis: cotton, cheeses, corn, rice, seeds, naval stores, tobacco, wool, and butter—our investment, $3,700,000,000.

Secretary Benson says the trade recommended this policy. I know many in the trade do not. In fact, many people in the cotton trade have asked that I determine "who it is who has benefited from increased foreign production, which is protected by the United States umbrella." In many, many cases, I am told, it is American operators who have moved into production and business in foreign countries; and it is charged by some in the cotton business that many of those same people are now in key spots to advise the United States Department of Agriculture to hold American production off world markets. I expect to have a special investigation to find out these facts with regard to the various commodities. I believe such information will be valuable to the Appropriations Committee.

If it be true that it is not foreigners who have increased cotton production in foreign countries, but American business interests which have moved in to take advantage of the United States umbrella they help to raise over their foreign investments, they have what you might call perfect insurance or assurance of profits. Furthermore, do not try to tell me that we must sell these commodities from one government to another government.

THE REMEDY

All we have to do is announce periodically that given quantities of those commodities will be sold on a competitive-bid basis to American exporters for export. By controlling the quantity offered and the spacing of our offerings we can take into account all factors. My suggestion is not dumping, for United States businessmen would buy and sell in the regular way. We would use the private enterprise system.

Foreign countries do have the dollars, but this shortsighted policy of not selling our commodities competitively on world markets, and thus holding an umbrella over world prices, invites the increased production we are getting in nearly every country which produces such commodities. We are making competitors out of our customers. This failure to use the general authority of law is cutting back the income of our own farmers more and more, so as to leave many of them far below any kind of a reasonable standard of living; and if it is continued it will result in American agriculture being limited to the domestic market. What I charge here is proven by the testimony in the hearings before our committee.

Though actually the President's recommendation for giveaway under Public Law 480 is a form of dumping, contrary to misleading headlines our committee has urged no irresponsible dumping. Our Government has held these commodities so long it has built our holdings up to the extent that we must gradually move back. May I read to you the report of our committee:

COMMITTEE REPORT

"In the opinion of a majority of the members of the committee, actions of the Department to reduce price supports, change parity formulas, and reduce acreage allotments will not cure the problem of the increasing commodity holdings of the Corporation. They believe that this difficulty is due to the failure of the Corporation to discharge its responsibility under its charter to sell its commodities competitively in world markets. Testimony before the committee shows that none of the large stocks of cotton, cheese, corn, rice, seeds, naval stores, tobacco, and wool have been or are being offered for sale on a competitive basis, despite basic authority in law to do so.

"The program for moving commodities under Public Law 480, for which much is claimed, actually is a means of giving commodities away in preference to attempting to sell them through normal trade channels. It involves prior clearance from a committee composed primarily of representatives of nonagricultural interests (State, Commerce Departments, etc.) which is a serious hurdle in getting agricultural commodities exported. Also, under the law, the major portion of the local currencies received for commodities shipped abroad will be used for foreign-aid purposes in the countries from which received.

"The majority of the committee feels that steps should be taken as early as practicable to begin the movement of these commodities into world markets on a competitive bid basis through American exporters. The committee also feels that an immediate announcement of such change in policy should be made to discourage further increases in foreign production to the detriment of American farmers.

"Such an action will eventually make possible reductions in administrative costs of the Corporation. It should also help to correct the present practice of making competitors out of former customers and should benefit foreign consumers who have a real need for products surplus to United States domestic needs.

"Further, and most important, it will enable the American farmer to compete with foreign producers and make additional acreage available to relieve undue hardships existing in many areas of the country under present orders."

THE TRAGIC EFFECT

The tragedy of not selling these commodities—cotton, cheese, corn, rice, etc.—and they could have been sold, is that those same commodities for which there was a market and for which there is authority to sell, were used and counted to cut support levels, to reduce acreage, and restrict American production, to restrict the cotton acreage of American farmers. It was used as an argument to reduce the price-support levels on basic commodities from 92 percent to 82½ percent. It was used to change the parity formula so that it will almost automatically go down to 75 percent within the next several years. All the time the commodities that were used for this purpose could have been sold, and there was authority to sell them. When these fights were up last year, Secretary Benson did not tell the American people he had full authority to sell these commodities, but would not offer them for sale to our traders for use in world trade. The major harm or loss is not the amount of money we have invested in these commodities; it is not the fact that the longer you keep them the more storage we have to pay; but the commodities which we have, which we would not sell, have been used to do these other injuries to the American farmer, leaving thousands of tenants without a means of livelihood in the South and many, many small landowners reduced below the barest minimum essential to a decent living.

VIEWS OF SECRETARY BENSON

The chief difference between the views of the Secretary of Agriculture and myself, on the price support system, is that I believe price supports are necessary to protect the American farmer against high United States costs largely brought about by other American laws.

Apparently the Secretary, judged by his arguments for flexible supports, feels that price supports should be a means to help regulate American production. He would increase supports when he wants more production and lower supports when he wants less.

Where I believe the parity formula should be tied to costs as it was under the old parity formula, the Secretary's modern parity, substituted last year, ties parity primarily to the average price the farmer received for his commodities for the 10 preceding years. Under the Secretary's law, as the farmers' prices go down parity goes down though costs may be going up. Under the old formula, as cost went up parity went up.

However, whether you agree with Mr. Benson or with me, neither system will work unless what the farmers produce above domestic needs is offered in world markets on a competitive basis. I repeat: "According to admissions of Mr. Benson and Under Secretary Morse, before our subcommittee last week, billions of dollars worth of cotton, corn, dairy products, wool and tobacco are not even being offered to the markets of the world for sale on a competitive basis. To prove my point, those commodities we have been able to get the department to offer have been sold for dollars."

QUANTITY OR VOLUME IS AS ESSENTIAL AS PRICE

Price-support levels are only one factor. The other essential is quantity or volume. If you guarantee a cotton farmer 200 percent of parity and limit him to 3 acres of cotton, his gross income would be less than $1,000 per year. Today acreage curtailment in cotton is reducing thousands of small farmers to less than $1,000 gross per year. Tenant farmers, thousands of them, are being let out entirely. This cutback is to help absorb cotton which the Government has and won't offer for sale competitively: and actually, unintentionally I am sure,

amounts to forcing our United States farmers to absorb foreign increases in production.

SMALL FARMERS

Our distinguished President, in speaking to the joint session of the Congress, said the administration had to do something for the small farmers.

Acreage reductions in my section are making many more small farmers for the administration "to do something for." Today, the Government is giving them cheese and butter, mighty good products but tiresome if the only food provided.

Incidentally the Government has this cheese and butter because it won't offer it for sale to our exporters on a competitive basis.

We must start moving to prevent further losses in our United States export markets. We must begin offering some quantities on a competitive-bid basis to our own traders for export, or we will be back to the domestic market on a permanent basis.

I repeat: by controlling the size of our offerings and the spacing between offerings our Department of Agriculture can consider all factors. Such a course is not dumping; but giving away what we won't offer for sale competitively under Public Law 480 is dumping, though there are certain safeguards written into the law.

FARMERS' INCOME DETERMINES CONSERVATION

Why do I stress price supports and market to you who are primarily interested in conservation? Because, however strongly you and the farmers believe in conservation, restoring minerals to the soil, the job will be done only as the farmer's income leaves enough over after taxes and cost to put something back into the soil.

Income over and beyond cost of living to the farmer is essential to the effectiveness of our Soil Conservation Service, Extension Service, and yes, will even control the amount of sales of limestone by members of your association.

WHAT IS THE FARM SITUATION TODAY?

The prices of farm products have declined about 25 percent since February 1951. The cost of farming continues to increase. The net farm income in 1954 was down about 30 percent from 1951.

And the outlook is for still further declines in net farm income in 1955 because of the reduction in acreage of controlled crops and the low prices of nearly all farm products.

In December, the parity ratio dropped to 86, the lowest since 1941.

As a result of the decline in prices of farm products and the drastic drop in net farm income, the value of United States agricultural assets dropped from $170.1 billion on January 1, 1952, to $156.5 billion on January 1, 1955, a loss of $13.6 billion, or 8 percent.

During this past 3-year period the value of farm real estate dropped nearly $9 billion, or about 9 percent. The value of livestock declined $8 billion, or more than 40 percent.

The losses sustained in real estate and livestock were partly offset by small gains in the value of farm machinery, crops on farms, and household furnishings.

What has happened in industry during this period? From January 1949 to January 1955, the value of 30 leading industrial stocks skyrocketed from $175 to $412.97 per share. The total value of industrial stocks increased by $53 billion.

The continuing boom in industry and the spiraling prices on the stock market are reflections of the profits of industry and dividend payments by industrial enterprises. How much of the advance is the result of speculation or hope of future gain is itself a question for speculation and meditation. And all this adds to costs to American farmers, but the new parity formula is based on the average price the farmer has been receiving, not on the cost of what he buys.

Mr. Fred J. Hurst, director of information, Farm Credit District of New Orleans, says:

"The farm mortgage debt has almost doubled since 1945. The estimated dollar volume of farm mortgages recorded during the third quarter of 1954 totalled $380,343,000, which was nearly 2½ times the amount recorded in the third quarter of 1940, and the largest dollar volume recorded during the third quarter of any year since the heavy refinancing year of 1934.

"Yet, despite the decline in farm prices and farm income, despite the unfavorable position of agriculture in the national economy, responsible officials continue to lower farm price-support levels. At the same time we hear the official call to the Congress to raise the minimum wage level from 75 cents to 90 cents an hour. We hear the call for increase in salaries for various groups. We see and hear many things happening that would tend to widen rather than narrow the disparity between agriculture and industry.

"It is disturbing to note that there seems to be little concern about the plight of agriculture except among farmers themselves and their cooperatives and a limited number of sympathetic farm leaders who know the desperate battle farmers are waging to make ends meet, and who realize the danger to the entire national economy unless the decline in farm income cannot only be arrested but reversed and improved.

"Unfortunately, there seems to be a disposition on the part of some agricultural groups, judging by their published statements, to echo the national refrain, to docilely accept the indifferent national attitude toward agriculture, and to consider the farm price situation as something inevitable and permanent. We want to make a plea for a general awakening to the worsening farm situation. We want to sound a warning. Past experience has shown that there is a limit to the beating farmers can take. There is a limit to the depths to which farm income can drop without bankrupting agriculture and without endangering the entire economy. The current 86 percent of parity is a long way from the 100 percent of parity, the fair level goal set for agriculture."

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES

You may say the farm program is a subsidy program. Collectively, through Government, we spend as much as $6 million on getting one group of magazines distributed. The Government largely supports the distribution of newspapers. We subsidize the airlines; we held build ships, so our shipping can pay the high wages of the American seamen, protected by bargaining power of labor unions, to haul commodities in competition with foreign shipping; and so it is just about in every direction you look. Through Government we have had many advantages termed fair by being enacted into law. Under those conditions we had better be sure we include agricultural income along with the rest, for food, clothing, and shelter are still basic. Whatever the real cost of the farm program would be, our refusal to sell Commodity Credit stocks on a competitive basis multiplies such costs many times over.

THE YEARS AHEAD

Our population is increasing by 3 million people each year. Twenty years from now, except for new increases in yield, we will need in this country 115 million more acres of land than we now have.

Four out of five people have left the farm in the last 40 years. With the present commercialization of farming, with present high cost of each crop, unless the farmer makes a profit he will first drain his soil of its fertility, as he did with 40 percent of our land; then if price is no better, he too will move to town like the rest of us.

If the consumers demand our food, clothing, and shelter below the cost of production, the United States will go the way of China, whose resources are gone; and instead of 1 farmer feeding 6 city consumers, it will take 6 farmers to feed 1 city consumer.

WE MUST DIRECT OUR ENERGIES TO OUR OWN COUNTRY

A year or two ago the Chief of the National Production Authority, the Federal agency which had the job of planning the increase of the production potential of our country in power, nitrates, aluminum, and all other things needed to meet the Russian threat, told me privately that if he were Joe Stalin and wanted to wreck the economy of the United States he would declare 5 years of peace. With all of us praying then and now for peace, his statement was shocking. He continued:

"If we were to cancel all war contracts with the resulting closed factories and unemployment, if we were to have nearly all of our men in the service back home seeking jobs, if we quit shipping out machinery, equipment, and nearly everything else to our allies, if civilian industry had to cut out its 20 percent of extra production with its labor let off, and if the farmer had no market for 20 percent of his production, it would wreak havoc with our national economy—for with our present debt of more than $260 million we must keep national income high, the dollar cheap, if we hope to handle it."

If we think of it, we have been producing through all our factories about 15 to 20 percent more to meet the needs of war. There has been a sale for practically anything industry produced. If we will dig further we will realize that labor turning out that production has been accustomed to a full workweek, and farmers producing about 20 percent more than our present domestic markets will use were accustomed to selling almost anything we could grow.

If we follow the subject further we will also see that the American people as a whole, except for the farmers this year, have enjoyed material prosperity for the past 12 years to a greater extent than any people ever before in this or any other nation. We have had more cars, more clothes, more and better food, more radios, television, more electrical equipment, more of everything that people need or want.

With all of us sincerely for peace, it is unbelievable that it takes a war and preparation for war to continue such prosperity, even though war and its demands on us seem to have brought about increased production.

In war and preparation for war, a large part of that extra effort is shot up in shells, worn out as military vehicles, planes, equipment, guns, warships, in wear and tear on our railroads, our highways. The extra food and fiber is either given to our allies or else we have given them the money and sold them such commodities for our money back. Our lands have been used to a greater extent, our timber and natural resources have been further depleted.

If that extra effort due to war and the preparedness for war is the basis for our material prosperity, then why not continue to put forth that extra effort, not in a war which leaves us a poorer country but in work that will improve our country? Why can't we put forth that extra effort in reforesting our lands, harnessing our streams for electricity, reclaiming our lands through soil conservation and in those things that make our country richer and better?

Where war and preparedness and all that goes with it leaves us with a poorer country, if our efforts were made as I suggest we would have a better and a richer country I think you will agree with me. But I will tell you the only hitch. It is to be doubted that our people will put forth the same effort in our own country, or let us through the in-

strument of government attempt to move in that direction.

WHILE THE GOVERNMENT AIDS OTHERS, IT REDUCES EFFORTS AT HOME

While speeches are being made on conservation, funds for soil conservation are being reduced by the President's budget. The conservation job is being pushed back on the individual farmers, when their income is decreasing and their costs are rising. The job is being put back on the States, though those with the greatest problems are least able to pay.

While our President speaks of providing farm commodities to the needy peoples of the world, our own school-lunch program is cut. While we provide money to the world for their economic improvement, the same United States commodities are being held off world markets, to give such markets to operators in foreign countries. While American tenant farmers are being cut back in acreage to the point of being without a means of livelihood and thousands of others are reduced to a gross annual income of less than $1,000, we are promoting the increased production of the same commodities throughout the world—at least 1 million bales per year increase in foreign cotton production—not only by providing an umbrella over world prices, but by grants of American dollars as well.

PROVISION FOR THE FUTURE

It has been said, "The world is never more than 1 year ahead of starvation." In our country we have had great abundance through the years. Now we know we are gaining population at the rate of 3 million a year. We must, in self defense, if we hope to maintain our present high standard of living, see to it that a reasonable part of what is taken out of the land is put back; and that will be done only as income received exceeds cost of production.

Protections for industry and labor are going to continue and since that is true we must see to it that agriculture, the source of all wealth returns to the head table too, for the good of the Nation.

The farmer must have price, but he must have volume as well.

Remember, the only source of real wealth is the land. Your income and the future of our Nation, as well, is tied to the farm income.

If we leave to our children and children's children a fertile land, with timber restored, our soil erosion stopped, and our streams harnessed, with our natural resources intact, they will make it fine. On the other hand we could leave them all the money in the world but leave them a worn-out land and they will have nothing on which to build. Remember, the cost of producing food and fiber on the farm is going to be paid—either by those who use the products of the soil or by the land from which it comes. Forty percent of our land has paid that price in the past. Today with an everincreasing population, we don't have the land to spare. There will likely be no Marshall plan or foreign aid law like our Public Law 480 if our country should ever be worn out as are most of the old countries of Asia we aid today.

Entry of Firearms Commonly Referred to as "Souvenirs"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the 83d Congress I introduced H. R. 3842, a measure designed to prohibit members of the Armed Forces and their dependents from bringing into this country certain firearms commonly referred to as souvenirs. Under the provisions of my bill, the Secretary of Defense would be required to search the effects of returning servicemen and to seize any such weapons.

Statistics show that as many as 50,000 contraband weapons have been brought into the United States of America on 1 ship returning from the European theater. It has also been established that in 1 county of New York City as much as 75 percent of the crimes of violence have been, and are being, committed with these so-called souvenirs.

Too often do we read of tragic accidents resulting in fatality or serious injury as a result of the mere handling of these allegedly harmless guns.

Mr. Speaker, if we mean what we say about combating juvenile delinquency, I can think of no better beginning than by making it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to get these Lugers, P–38's, and Berettas. With few exceptions law-enforcement officials all over the country have agreed that passage of this bill would be a real deterrent to the frightening increase in the crime rate.

I am today reintroducing this bill and urge my colleagues to give it careful consideration.

H. R. 587

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I herewith submit a statement in support of H. R. 587, to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans' Readjustment Act of 1952.

H. R. 587 recognizes the ex post facto nature of the Presidential proclamation of January 1, 1955, which arbitrarily abrogates as of January 31, 1955, the right of men and women now in military service, or about to enter service, to participate in the benefits of the Korean bill of rights.

It hardly need be pointed out that young men and women entering the Armed Forces prior to the President's January 1 proclamation did so, at least in part, on the basis that the benefits promised by our Government were real and concrete. Plans were made on this basis which most assuredly affected the course of tens of thousands of American lives.

I support H. R. 587 because it recognizes that the American people, through their Government, insist upon keeping faith with the men and women upon whom our country depends for its national security.

Prairie Dogs Versus Prosperity?—The Story of Reclamation, Victim of Neglect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, the story of reclamation should have a different title than this. It should be something like The Story of Reclamation—Prosperity From Investment.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, the sad fact is that reclamation right now is a victim of neglect. Such neglect came by design for we have seen our investment in this program whacked down by 65 percent since our last peacetime budget of 1950. No great improvement is shown in the new budget for 1956 and this great investment program is slowly dying on the vine.

We who come from the West have long understood the many national values from reclamation, the many benefits which accrued to all from water development. However, reclamation has always had many opponents and right now the opponents appear to have the upper hand. Still, I am sure that if the reclamation program were fully understood, if it were placed in its proper perspective, then it would have understanding support from most of those who are now persuaded that there is something wrong with it.

To provide a worthwhile review of the whole reclamation program to the Members, I am attaching to these remarks an article which appeared in the roundup section of the Denver Post of Denver, Colo. It is my opinion that this factual article will prove most interesting and enlightening to those who wish to study the real value to the Nation of a virile and active reclamation program.

The article follows:

PRAIRIE DOGS VERSUS PROSPERITY?—THE STORY OF RECLAMATION, VICTIM OF NEGLECT

(By Robert H. Hansen)

Just a little more than 100 years ago, Daniel Webster scornfully described the western half of the United States as the formidable home of savages and beasts and an expanse of wastelands and brooding mountains.

Speaking against western railroad development, Webster declared:

"I will not vote one cent from the Public Treasury to place the Pacific Ocean 1 inch nearer to Boston than it is.

"What do we want with this worthless area—this region of savages and wild beasts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs?

"To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts and these endless mountain ranges?"

Few men so illustrious have ever proved so wrong on such a tremendous scale so soon.

Only a few years earlier, in 1847, Brigham Young and the Mormon pioneers set off an economic chain-reaction when they diverted water from the stream they called City Creek to irrigate their gardens and fields where Salt Lake City now stands.

That was the start of reclamation as we know it today. Little more than 50 years later all three major political parties of the day wrote into their platforms pledges for the rapid irrigation development of the West.

In 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt first set forth far-reaching natural-resource policies that still exist today, with these words:

"The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic States."

A year later, on June 17, 1902, Teddy Roosevelt signed into law the Nation's first reclamation act. Many of these principles are cardinal to western development today.

President Franklin Roosevelt put the Federal Government massively into the business of harnessing the West's raging rivers and reclaiming its fertile deserts. He did that at a time when such public works were justified both as investments and as make-work projects to relieve unemployment. And he tied public power generation to irrigation irretrievably.

Today, 54 years of Federal reclamation have cost $2.4 billion—insignificant compared to the fabulous new frontiers it opened, the billions of dollars it poured into the pockets of farmers, wage earners, and businessmen, the millions it has raised in local, State, and Federal taxes, the hundreds of thousands of new jobs, new farms, and new industries it created, the tremendous new markets, sources, and opportunities it developed.

But today, the continuation of that program has been slowed down by skeptics, opponents and men of little faith.

Reclamation appropriations have been more than cut in half since 1950; from $358.3 million a year to $143.6 million.

Total reclamation employees have been reduced by nearly one-third in the last 2 years alone; from 13,348 in 1953 to 9,700 today. Hundreds of those 3,600 employees who have been laid off are going to be hard to replace when and if reclamation is ever cranked up again, for they include some of the world's finest engineers and most expert technicians.

President Eisenhower promised a revival of major reclamation activity when he addressed the opening of the 84th Congress. He pledged support of the upper Colorado River storage project, which will be a $1-billion-plus undertaking that will require something more than 30 years to complete. As with other enormous projects of that kind, Congress will be asked to appropriate funds each year to carry them on, rather than put up all the money in any single year.

A smaller but still costly and complex project is the Arkansas-Fryingpan which will provide supplemental valley to 300,000 persons in the Arkansas Valley, and add to the critically short water supply of Pueblo, Colo.

The President, Interior Secretary McKay, and Reclamation Commissioner Dexheimer are all committed to both projects. But they have been unsuccessful in selling Congress of them as a result of strong opposition by nonwestern Representatives and Senators, and by other groups who insist the economic justification of such public works is missing. And in finding fault with the repayment procedures, the power sales policies and the subsidies to agriculture, opponents of reclamation often ignore the demonstrated benefits that have flowed from this program over the years. Too many of those who flatly reject reclamation as a worthy function of government don't know the facts.

An unheralded, unpretentious document from the Reclamation Bureau should convince even the most skeptical mossbacks.

It's entitled matter-of-factly: "The Growth and Contribution of Federal Reclamation to an Expanding National Economy."

The Bureau of Reclamation prepared it for the congressional Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Dated October 20, 1954, it's known as Committee Print No. 27, and signed by Reclamation Commissioner Dexheimer.

In 27 pages of plain language it traces reclamation from its ancient origin in the Tigris, Euphrates, and Nile Valleys to early South American civilization, from the Spanish explorations into the Indian pueblos of the American southwest to the Eisenhower standstill.

Because it tells an amazing story of spectacular progress and significance never before so simply, clearly, and completely compiled, the Denver Post presents this digest of the Reclamation Bureau's nationally important findings and conclusions.

First, the official document debunks many popular arguments about Federal income returns, tax collections, and excessive costs. Hear this:

The total $2.4 billion spent on all Federal reclamation since 1902 would finance the Defense Department less than 1 month.

What has been spent on reclamation over 50 years would finance our foreign-aid program to overseas nations for only half a year.

What was spent on reclamation in the one fiscal year of 1953 would have financed the Defense Department less than 3 days, the foreign aid or Veterans' Administration programs less than a month.

Now take revenue returns to the Federal Government from reclamation projects:

The 29 power plants now in operation have paid back $226 million net to the Federal Treasury, $34 milion in fiscal 1954 alone after deductions for annual operation, maintenance, and replacements. Over the next 50 years a total net return of $1,692,500,000 in power revenues is predicted.

Irrigation and municipal water repayment contracts will return $691 million, of which $109 million has already been paid. While making these construction account repayments, the water users have also paid operation and maintenance costs as they became due.

The total return to the Treasury from water and power projects combined will come to $2.6 billion over the next 50 years, of which $335 milion has already been paid.

Now taxes:

Since 1916 Federal income-tax revenues which can be attributed directly to Federal reclamation-project developments have exceeded $3 billion. This sum alone exceeds by 25 percent the total cost of all Bureau-constructed projects to date.

The Bureau's study repeatedly emphasizes that these and other benefits are from projects involving less than half the total irrigation feature costs to date.

Accelerated benefits, revenues, taxes, and business, it points out, will pile up as the really great projects of the Columbia Basin, California's Central Valley, and the Missouri Basin go into full operation and production.

That should be borne in mind as the digest of the Administration's reclamation study continues.

"Long after project costs have been repaid fully through the sale of electric energy and operations of repayment contracts," the report stresses, "the new wealth created through the Federal investment in the development of its own resources will be reflected in a continuing flow of tax revenues from the project areas and from the rest of the Nation as well."

Under the heading, "Reclamation's Contribution to the National Economy," the Bureau study makes these observations:

First, the crops and livestock shipped out of a reclamation project area create income in transportation, processing, milling, spinning, weaving, manufacturing, wholesaling, financing, retailing, and all other processes between the farm and the consumer.

Total crop production on reclamation projects since 1906 stands at $10 billion—nearly 5 times the total cost of all reclamation works.

Consider for a moment the business created by a bale of cotton from the Rio Grande project in Texas as it becomes clothing purchased in Maine or Wisconsin.

Or the Yakima, Wash., pear that turns up in a salad in Chicago. Or the Salt River Valley lettuce and grapefruit on a Pittsburgh table. Or the milk and cream from Twin Falls, Idaho, that becomes butter for Boston and cheese for St. Louis.

"Every State in the Nation shares the health-giving benefit of protective foods produced on reclamation projects," summarizes the report.

"A steer fed on the North Platte project may be finished in Iowa, butchered in Chicago, and eaten in Detroit or New York. The trade-creating aspects of the production of a reclamation project goes deep into the national economy."

Take transportation alone. The 1953 crop production from reclamation projects totaled nearly 26 million tons. To move this by rail would require a train 6,258 miles long—twice the distance from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

And as that production, valued at $786 million on the farm, is processed into foods and clothing its value is increased many times.

To measure that increase the Bureau followed the production of the Carlsbad project in New Mexico through from farm to consumer.

"It was found," the Bureau reported, "that the new labor, management, and property incomes over all other costs beyond the project area were about 3.2 times the value of the crops as they left the farm."

But money isn't the only way to measure the value of reclamation crops.

Many of those crops, the Bureau found, provide "a delightful and health-giving supplement to the Nation's diet."

The irrigated West produces almost all the Nation's apricots, almonds, walnuts, dates, lemons, figs, prunes, and olives. It grows 95 percent of the grapes; 90 percent of the lettuce; 75 percent of the avocados, pears, and cantaloups; 65 percent of the asparagus; 50 percent of the peaches; and more than half the truck crops.

Off-season production is important, too. Witness these contributions to the Nation's dinner table from Arizona's Gila, Yuma, Salt River, and Boulder Canyon projects alone:

More than 97 percent of United States-grown dates; 45 percent of winter and 42 percent of spring lettuce; 85 percent of early spring cantaloupes and 80 percent of early summer melons; 85 percent of the spring carrots, and sizable portions of the national supply of other choice vegetable and truck crops vital to healthy diets.

The second trade-creating aspect of reclamation is the purchasing power of project farmers and others whose livelihoods depend on their production.

The Reclamation Bureau discovered that the new income generated at the local farm and nonfarm level is about 170 percent of the value of crop production. That would be $1.3 billion in 1953 alone. Largely that goes into retail sales.

California's Central Valley project—one of the world's biggest—was cited as an excellent example of the business this new income makes possible. The Central Valley project, it is estimated, provides a new market for:

One million pair of shoes every year, from Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Missouri.

Ten million dollars worth of tobacco products, which come from North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Florida, and Pennsylvania.

And 8,000 vacuum cleaners, 8,000 refrigerators, 8,000 ranges, 8,000 washing machines, 8,000 radios and TV sets—all of which will come from many States, but chiefly from Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania.

And that's not all. The report continues:

"The increased purchasing power of this one project translates into an annual market for 15,000 new cars, some from Detroit and South Bend, and other cities, but many assembled in California from parts manufactured in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin; for hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of textiles from New England and the South Atlantic States; and for thousands of automobile tires and accessories, home appliances, office machines, and all the assorted gadgets of the day produced in all corners of the country."

The 6,000 new farms carved out of the Central Valley desert, the report disclosed, also require 8,000 tractors, largely from Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin; 7,500 trucks from Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin; and 1,000 hay balers, spray outfits, harvesters, and other machines from Tennessee, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and thousands of plows, harrows, cultivators, mowers, and other implements from the Great Lakes, East Central and South Central States.

Concludes the bureau's report:

"Every segment of the Nation's economy has participated and shared directly or indirectly in the construction of these reclamation projects.

"In doing so every section of the Nation has been benefited by reclamation long before the impact of prosperous and continuing consumer markets has been measured.

"An analysis of direct Federal procurement for the Central Valley project in California, for example, indicated that all of the 48 States, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii supplied some portion of the $99 million Federal purchase.

"In like manner, these many areas shared in purchases by the contractors of millions of dollars of materials, equipment and supplies. The same pattern of nationwide procurement occurs in the construction of other reclamation projects."

To analyze the trade reclamation generates between the eastern and western halves of the United States the Interstate Commerce Commission made a study of railroad waybills.

It found that in 1951 more than 1,500,000 railroad cars, weighing nearly 40 million tons, were shipped into the 17 Western States from the 31 Eastern States.

More than 2 million carloads, weighing nearly 72 million tons, were shipped from west to east. An additional 5 million freight cars were loaded with 187 million tons of goods and shipped from one Western State to another.

Then a study was made of the growth of these rail shipments from typical reclamation project areas. Here are some of those results:

Wyoming's Shoshone project showed only 510 produce carloads were shipped out of basin, Greybull, Lovell, Powell, and Worland in 1910. By 1941, those shipments had almost reached 12,000 carloads. Shipments into the region from other parts of the Nation grew from 653 to more than 5,000 carloads.

In 1900, before irrigation began on the North Platte project in Wyoming and Nebraska, only 190 carloads of outgoing freight were shipped from Scottsbluff. By 1910, when irrigation started, carloadings reached 1,300. By 1942 they had exceeded 3,100.

Even larger growth was reflected in goods shipped into Scottsbluff as reclamation developed.

In 1900, only 283 carloads from 6 States were sent to Scottsbluff. In 1940, 14 States shipped in more than 1,400 freight cars. By 1942, 39 States were shipping in more than 7,000 carloads of goods a year.

A similar pattern was uncovered in a study of carloadings to and from Ada and Canyon Counties in Idaho, on the Boise, Owyhee and Vale reclamation projects.

And those studies reflected only railroad freight. Said the Reclamation Bureau:

"Significantly, the carloadings and tonnage figures covered in the ICC report represent rail shipments exclusively, and do not prorate the 162 billion ton-miles of shipments carried by motortrucks in the Nation in 1954."

This tremendous volume of trade produced a retail sales market in the west in 1951 which was nearly three times greater than the total United States exports to all foreign nations combined.

Retail sales in the 17 Western States during 1951 rose to almost $40 billion. That's an average of $1,139 for every man, woman, and child. National retail sales the same year averaged noticeably lower—$1,023 per capita.

All this in a land not even Daniel Webster wanted only 100 years ago, in a land only cowboys, trappers, and Indians even knew. And still this digest has only scratched the surface of the role reclamation has played in this great boom.

The Reclamation Bureau's factfinding report makes this comment, populationwise:

"The story of the phenomenal growth of our Nation is the story of the new frontiers it has conquered. The Ohio Valley, Louisiana Territory, California, the Oregon country, Alaska, and the persistent development of the resources of these and many other new frontiers have provided the Nation with the ingredients for economic growth.

"From the Nation's beginning it was the resources from the new frontiers that nurtured it from economic infancy as a nation of farmers and woodsmen to the industrial giant it is today, and made possible the population growth from the 5.3 million of 1800 to 161 million today."

Clearly, said the Bureau, the West today is that new frontier with the new resources the Nation needs to feed and clothe its climb to 200 million by 1970.

Since 1900, it noted, the 17 Western States gained 204 percent in population; the 11 Mountain and Pacific States, 378 percent; and the 3 Pacific States, 499 percent. During the same time the national population did not quite double.

Since 1940, the Bureau went on, the 17 Western States gained 25.8 percent; the 11 Mountain and Pacific States, 40.9 percent; and the 3 Pacific States, 48.8 percent. The total United States population increased only 14.5 percent.

"The West is growing up and, in the process, is assuming more than ever a position of vast strategic importance in the Nation's future," the Bureau sums up.

What did reclamation have to do with that great western population boom, and what of the future? The Bureau made a study of that, too. Here's what is found:

First, the past and present—

"The story of any major reclamation area in the Western States is a story of a humble beginning of a few irrigated farms, from which an economic giant has grown," the Bureau observes.

"No one would claim that irrigation alone created these giants, but it is not accidental that each started where man came to grow crops and developed the water resources."

In 1953, the Bureau calculated, reclamation crops contributed $550 million in income to farmers, owners, and laborers. That totals about 70 percent of the value of crops produced on reclamation farms.

An additional $786 million in urban income to labor and capital in the project trading area also was generated—or $1 in business income for every $1 worth of crops produced.

That adds up to $1.3 billion in total farm and nonfarm income made possible in 1953 by reclamation crops.

The Bureau offered individual illustrations for various projects in Idaho, Oklahoma, Oregon, Nevada, New Mexico, California, and other States and then concluded:

"The Salt River project (in Arizona), which represents a total Federal investment of about $26.7 million, offers an ideal case study of the benefits of reclamation to the country, and at the same time provides another Horatio Alger's theme on a magnificent scale, not the rise of an individual, but of a community of over one-third of a million people.

"At the turn of the century, Phoenix was a village in the desert. Today it is a metropolis and the heart of the Salt River project, one of the most highly developed agricultural areas in the United States.

"The gross value of crops produced on the project during 1953 was $79,875,616. Since the first irrigation water was supplied in 1909, the cumulative value of crops harvested through 1953 amounted to $1,187,021,331.

"This wealth production is evidenced perhaps the most readily through its influence on retail sales, bank clearings, and Federal taxes.

"Retail sales from Maricopa County totaled $468,637,000, volume of bank clearings in Phoenix reached $3,229,375,000, and Federal taxes from Maricopa County were estimated as $69,400,000, all during 1951.

"Much of this business activity was created in the processing, shipping, and marketing of the project's production, and in providing goods and services required by farm owners, operators, and laborers and by all those whose income is derived from the production of the project."

Again to sum up, the Bureau figured since reclamation began in 1902, it has contributed $6.8 billion in income to reclamation farmers and farm workers, plus $10 billion in local nonfarm income within the trading area it spawned.

That's a total of nearly $17 billion—or six times the cost of the reclamation projects that not only made it all possible, but also are paying themselves off as they continue to expand farm production and business at the local, regional, and national levels.

"From the day in 1847 when the Mormons first diverted the waters of a creek to their fields, irrigation has been a part of the development of the West," the Bureau report reflects at this point.

"In many cases, small irrigation enterprises grew to large projects. People created on the desert or in the mountain valley first a village, then a town, and now a city, with processing, shipping, manufacturing, industries, churches, schools, hospitals, and banks, and the numerous other facilities and services common to a modern urban center.

"The irrigated land may seem lost among the modern improvements, but year after year crops have been grown to sustain the economy of the area. Reclamation, both Federal and private, along with grazing, mining, forest production, and transportation have constituted the economic base upon which the West has been built."

Recreationwise, the United States Fish and Wildlife Service was quoted on a "conservative estimate" that reclamation projects produced $33 million a year in benefits to sportsmen and businessmen.

Here's how that is figured:

Some 6,500,000 annual visitors are estimated to enjoy recreation of some kind on the more than 100 reclamation reservoirs. Half are tourists from every State in the Nation. If they spend $6 a day for food, lodging, and other items, that's $19 million a year.

Fishermen spend more than 1 million angler-days on the reservoirs, too. If they spend $10 a day for gas, oil, boats, and tackle, that would be $11 million.

Another three hundred thousand-odd hunter-days of all types of hunting on all reclamation projects is believed a reasonable estimate. At $10 per day expense for each

hunter, that's a $3 million annual business reclamation generates.

In direct benefits such as reclaimed land, irrigation and other water development, public power, and flood control, reclamation makes perhaps its most valuable contributions to the Nation's economy.

There are 69 irrigation projects or major divisions constructed by the Government, or receiving water through Government-built works, scattered over the 17 Western States.

They supply full or supplemental water to more than 7 million acres. About two-fifths of those lands depend on reclamation for their full water supply; three-fifths for part of it.

They lie from the hay and pasture producing high mountain valleys to below sea-level truck crop farms. They constitute only 23 percent of the total number of acres irrigated in the West, and only 21 percent of the Nation's irrigated land. The rest is irrigated by private projects.

Yet this report deals only with the features and benefits of the Federal reclamation projects and areas.

Federal reclamation water serves about 125,000 family-size farms, and another 125,000 suburban homes. On the projects were 417 towns with a population of more than 1.6 million.

"Considering power, municipal and industrial water and irrigation," says the Reclamation Bureau, "more than 5 million people in the service areas of reclamation projects obtain their living directly or indirectly by reason of the project development."

Mammoth dams like Grand Coulee, Hoover, and Shasta often give the impression that the Bureau deals only in grandiose projects. Actually, the reverse is true.

Yes, the Bureau has the know-how to erect the world's tallest dam, Hoover Dam across the Colorado River. It has drilled the Nation's longest tunnel, the Alva B. Adams bore under the continental divide on the Colorado-Big Thompson project. And it has built river-size canals in California's Central Valley and the Columbia Basin.

But, concludes the Bureau, those are the exceptions.

"Most of the Bureau-built projects are small in size and involve relatively simple engineering structures," the Bureau observes.

All but 14 of the 69 Federal reclamation projects serve less than 100,000 acres; 31 serve less than 25,000 acres, and 9 serve less than 5,000 acres.

Typical of the smaller, local projects to which the Bureau has given increasing attention in recent years, are the Fort Sumner project in New Mexico and the Lewiston Orchards project in Oregon.

Fort Sumner supplies 205 farms and 2,650 people. Lewiston Orchards serves 1,800 domestic water users and irrigates 3,524 acres.

Such projects, according to the actual figures, far outnumber all the Hoover, Grand Coulee, and Shasta Dams the Bureau could ever hope to build.

Now to touch on power, municipal and industrial water and flood control, for therein lies the much-discussed principle of multipurpose resource development. The Bureau puts it this way:

"For optimum development, control, and use of water resources, Federal reclamation multipurpose works are being constructed to serve irrigation, power, municipal water, flood control, navigation, fish and wildlife, recreation, pollution abatement, and other purposes.

"The inclusion of revenue-producing power facilities permits the construction of projects greater in cost than the repayment ability of the irrigation water users ordinarily would allow."

Seventeen multipurpose reclamation projects with 29 powerplants are now in operation. They include 4.72 million kilowatt capacity, almost 9,000 miles of transmission lines, and nearly 300 substations.

In fiscal 1954, these plants generated and sold 24.5 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity, enough to supply a city of 7 million people.

The sale of that power netted the Government nearly $34 million, after paying all operation, maintenance, and replacement costs.

The rates are fixed to pay off the Federal power investment, plus 2½ to 3 percent interest, in the first 50 years of plant operation.

The 29 powerplants now in operation on Federal reclamation projects have paid back some $226 million to the Government, and in the next 50 years at current rates should return a total of $1.7 billion more. That revenue will keep right on coming in long after the plants are fully paid off.

Who buys that power? Half of it goes to such Federal marketing agencies as Bonneville Power Administration in Washington and Oregon, which in turn feed it into private industry, private utilities, and public agencies.

The second largest buyer is the Nation's private utilities. Despite their arguments that they and their customers foot reclamation bills through taxes but can't buy reclamation power, private utilities take more than 20 percent of the total output.

Another 20 percent is purchased by State and local publicly owned utilities. The rest is divvied up between co-ops and other Government bodies.

Many of the cities served by that electric power also get their municipal and industrial water from reclamation projects, too. Farmers also depend on reclamation water not only for irrigation but also for domestic uses.

There are now about 56 urban areas under contract to receive their municipal and industrial water from Federal reclamation projects.

Under the present concept of comprehensive, multipurpose water development, the Federal Government now includes current and future water needs of all cities and towns in project areas.

It also carefully considers downstream flood-control needs as well.

The first reclamation projects were strictly for irrigation. Then along came power to help pay the bills, and domestic water for thirsty cities. And today, flood-control protection is a major consideration.

The Bureau has found that a little more cost to include flood-control features can save millions of dollars and even hundreds of lives downstream.

For example, the dams on the Columbia River saved an estimated $5.5 million in flood damages in 1950. The giant Shasta Dam in California held that State's worst flood in history to a toll of $10 million, also in 1950.

Remember the great Kansas flood of 1951, the following year? Worst in the Nation's history, it caused nearly $1 billion in damages, killed 18 persons, drove 87,000 from their homes, destroyed 354 businesses, did $363 million damage to Kansas City alone.

That scarred into history just how disastrous floods can be.

And it was all so needless. Engineers can prove those raging torrents could have been reduced to a mere trickle by dams and levees long held on drawing boards by lack of construction funds.

Each of the reclamation dams, then, holds back water, stores it for time of greatest need, and puts it to beneficial uses for all the Nation that can be measured only in the billions—water which, if not controlled, could destroy property and life with the suddenness of lightning.

Looking into the future, the Reclamation Bureau sees an even greater need, greater role, and greater potential for reclamation in the next quarter century.

By 1975, the Bureau estimates, the Nation's population will stand at 200 million—a 40-million increase in the next 20 years. Others say 200 million will be reached within 15 years.

Every day that means 6,000 more people sit down to dinner. In 25 years, 5 will be seated around the dinner table which feeds 4 today.

There won't be enough food to go around, the Bureau warns bluntly—not at our present standards of living and eating.

"The equivalent of 100 million new acres must be developed," the Bureau declares. "Much of this will come from more intensive use of land we now farm, a part will come through new irrigation projects in the arid West.

"But perhaps the most productive potential source will come through making irrigation available where rainfall is unreliable or inadequate."

To date, the Nation has improved irrigation and put water on 26 million acres. Most of this has been reclaimed from the desert.

There are approximately 400 million acres all told under cultivation. In 1900, there were 4.2 acres for each person; by 1950, 2.7 acres. With fewer acres per person, the Nation is still living and eating better than it did 25 or 50 years ago.

That's been accomplished by making 1 acre do the job of 2—through irrigation, fertilization, mechanization, scientific farming, and conservation.

In the future, irrigation is going to be called upon to play a bigger part in continuing that progress as the total population booms while farm population drifts into the cities.

But the growing demands for more food are only part of the rising need for water developments.

The water problem is no longer one of irrigation limited to the parched West. It has reached into all levels of society, all walks of life.

For example, it takes 18 barrels of water to refine a barrel of oil. More than 85,000 gallons of water to produce a ton of rubber. Some 800,000 gallons to grow a bale of cotton. About 200 gallons a day for every person.

No longer is the East a land of plenty of water, either. Many of its cities face water shortages even more severe than Denver's.

To paint water's role in the economic world of tomorrow, the Bureau has singled out the upper Colorado River Basin, thusly:

"Here are 17 pecent of the world's coal resources. Much of it can be developed as a source of synthetic oil. This reserve would supply the Nation's present consumption of oil for hundreds of years.

"The oil-shale deposits would supply the present national consumption for 190 years. Vast deposits of uranium, vanadium, magnesium, and phosphate are available for use.

"The development of water and its power potentials would lead the way to a vast industrial expansion."

That's the kind of new economic frontiers and opportunities reclamation must open up in the future to keep the Nation growing and strong, the Bureau believes. It puts it this way:

"Our increasing population must find an increasing field of economic opportunity. The development of new water resources can be used as a foundation on which an expanding economy can be constructed."

Not only that, the Bureau adds, but such developments as the upper Colorado would disperse both industry and population, reduce transportation burdens, and make regions of the Nation more self-supporting—all important factors in atomic war.

Is there any limit to reclamation's potential? Not that the Bureau can foresee, not when the Nation puts to beneficial use only 14 percent of the annual water runoff while 400 million acre-feet of precious water waste into the ocean every year.

Is there any limit on what engineering can do? No project, the Bureau answers, has ever been proposed that cannot be built with the engineering skills of today.

To what extent does the future of America rest upon water development? The Bureau, in reply, quotes President Eisenhower's letter to Secretary McKay on May 26, 1954, as follows:

"The conservation and use which we make of the water resources of our Nation may in large measure determine our future progress and the standards of living of our citizens.

"If we are to continue to advance agriculturally and industrially," President Eisenhower continued, "we must make the best use of every drop of water which falls on our soil, or which can be extracted from the oceans.

"It is my desire that this administration furnish effective and resourceful leadership in establishing national policies and improving the administrative organization needed to conserve and best utilize the full potential of our water resources."

Reclamation, then, stands today at the crossroads and so does the Nation. And the Eisenhower administration stands squarely on the spot.

Forestry Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of January 26, 1955:

FORESTRY ANNIVERSARY

If America is greener in 1955 than it was in 1905, some part of the credit certainly must be due to the Forest Service. The trend half a century ago was away from conservation, but it carried its own corrective—the wasting of the Nation's timber resources led to the setting up of a national program of timber saving which now is one of our country's most useful public agencies.

Of course the Forest Service has not been the only working force in this field. When it was formed by merging the old Bureau of Forestry and the Forestry Division of the General Land Office, it was expected that it would have the cooperation of other conservation organizations and establishments. Visitors to the golden anniversary exhibition at the Agriculture Administration Building see evidence there of the helpful partnership of State forestry units, forestry schools, forest industries of many different sorts and many farm societies, wildlife and recreational bodies and hundreds of private individuals. We Americans definitely are timber-minded people. In perhaps no other similar activity are we so conscious of the origins of our material progress. But it does not follow that we are as concerned or as well educated as we ought to be. For example, there is need for wider and more effective knowledge of the insect enemies of our forests and of the fungus diseases which afflict them in large areas. We also should be better trained and better equipped to fight forest fires, first by being vigilant to prevent them and, where they already have been started, skilled in putting them out and replacing the losses they have caused. Forest conservation and its relation to water supplies likewise should be better understood.

The 50th aniversary of the Forest Service then is no mere jollification. Rather, it is a new opportunity for enlisting interest in keeping America green and in making America greener.

Meeting To Help Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to insert the following editorial from the Bluefield Sunset News, Bluefield, W. Va., for Monday, January 24, 1955:

MEETING TO HELP COAL

Representatives of the coal industry and other industries in West Virginia affected by foreign imports will meet in Washington tomorrow to chart a course of action in connection with President Eisenhower's call for extension of present United States trade policies. The meeting is important to West Virginia because of the economic beating we have taken in the coalfields as well as in our glassmaking and pottery centers. The meeting is under the auspices of the nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture and Labor on Import-Export Policy. The Nation's economy and security are threatened, members of the committee contend, by the Eisenhower administration's trade policies.

Industries expected to be represented, in addition to bituminous coal, include railroads, chemicals, glassware, and a score of others. Railroad brotherhoods and the UMW will join with management in urging relief from present policies, which, in the case of foreign residual-oil imports, have cost coal heavily in important markets.

Some 30 bills have already been introduced in Congress relating to import restrictions, higher tariffs, or other forms of stabilizing foreign-trade policy, and we are happy to say that West Virginia's Democrats in Congress have thrown their full weight into the fight. Bluefield's Congresswoman KEE, for example, who has long espoused quota limitations on the imports of residual oil, has been a leader in this fight.

Only recently she reported to Congress that on her trip to Europe in November and December that she had an opportunity to see at firsthand a number of communities where "industrial recovery has been slow and real prosperity is still not in sight. Nowhere," she said, "did I see the economic stagnation that has enveloped many of the coal communities of West Virginia since foreign residual oil began its relentless surge into the fuel markets of the east coast. To my way of thinking, our first obligation is here at home."

Other West Virginia Members of the House have echoed Mrs. KEE, notably Representative HARLEY O. STAGGERS, of the First District. He has protested administration attempts at further reduction of tariff barriers by demanding "a Marshall plan for American workers." He attributes heavy unemployment in West Virginia and other coal-producing States to the fact that "the Government of the United States has seen fit to take away from them the fair and just protection of a tariff that for more than 160 years helped the American workman achieve a standard of living unmatched by the workers of any other nation in the world."

Representative BAILEY has described some of the supporters of the program to extend the Trade Agreements Act as "investors and international bankers whose prime objective is to make it more profitable for American capital to invest abroad than to spend their money in the development of our own country."

Representative BYRD has castigated importing oil companies which "ruthlessly subordinate the interests of United States economy and safety to the practice of profit-at-any-cost." Inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the resolutions on competitive fuels and reciprocal trade adopted by the NCA board of directors last month, Representative BYRD said that careful study of the documents may "go a long way toward helping the legislative body decide upon the course that our fuel policies—immediate and long-range—are to take."

The meeting Tuesday will have its work cut out for it. There is a preponderance of evidence to support the contention, in the case of coal, that quota limitations should be placed on the oil imports. But the big stumbling block and the one that must be overcome is the opposition of the Republican administration and President Eisenhower to doing anything to restrict such imports. The only way the situation can be helped is for Congress itself to recognize the plight of such industries as coal and to enact relief measures.

Cushion for Freer Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of January 25, 1955:

CUSHION FOR FREER TRADE

It is as a longtime friend of freer trade for America that Representative HERMAN EBERHARTER, of Pittsburgh, wants to help those who might be hurt by tariff cuts.

Mr. EBERHARTER figures there are 20 jobs in the United States that are dependent on foreign trade for every 1 dependent on high tariffs. Even so, he would like to cushion the effect of freer trade for that very small minority of 1 in 20. He has introduced a bill under which Uncle Sam would give special aid to this minority, the idea being to help affected firms and workers switch over to new and profitable business. Such help would come, for example, in low-interest loans, in quick tax writeoffs for new machinery, in training for workers, in loans to workers to help them move elsewhere if that move is necessary, in favored treatment on Government contracts, in technical advice. The help would be temporary.

High tariffs, as Mr. EBERHARTER rightly figures, are plain subsidies. They are subsidies paid to a special group of firms and workers by every American consumer. Certainly, for the good of American consumers, for the good of most American workers, for the good of the family of free nations, we must lower these subsidies. But since we have given them for so many years, we do have a moral and social duty to show some consideration for a distressed minority in withdrawing them.

This is just what Mr. EBERHARTER has in mind. His idea of cushioning the effect of freer trade has been put forth by others—notably by Pres. David McDonald, of the United Steelworkers. It is an idea that should appeal to all those who, while supporting freer trade in principle, have had occasional doubts about how it might work in practice. If Congress incorporates this idea into the administration's proposals on trade, the whole program should surely enjoy the overwhelming support of Americans.

The Economics of Pension Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article entitled "The Economics of Pension Funds," by F. W. Paish and A. T. Peacock, which appeared in Lloyd's Bank Review for October 1954:

THE ECONOMICS OF PENSION FUNDS

(By F. W. Paish and A. T. Peacock)

I. INTRODUCTION

The recent Report of the Committee on the Taxation Treatment of Provisions for Retirement[1] and the study of the Research Group of the Institute of Actuaries[2] have drawn attention to the remarkable growth in pension rights which are being accumulated through schemes sponsored and in many cases administered by business enterprise. Despite the publicity given to them in official reports, there is a surprising lack of information about the extent and the operation of industrial pension schemes. The inquiry undertaken by the Ministry of Labor for 1936, which was published in the Ministry of Labor Gazette in May, 1938, has never been followed up, and the statistics illustrating their growth are very sketchy. The Ministry of Labor inquiry for 1936 put the number of employed persons covered by privately administered pensions schemes and Life Office schemes (the distinction is considered below) at about 1,600,000. This total had risen to something like 5 million in 1952. About 40 percent of persons covered by schemes of this sort in 1936 were members of schemes to which only the employer contributed, and this percentage has now probably fallen to somewhere around 30 percent. In 1936, the numbers covered were equally divided between manual workers and clerical and administrative staff, and this percentage does not appear to have altered. If we add the number of persons covered by statutory superannuation schemes, this is to say civil servants and other Government employees, then in 1952 the total number of those covered by pensions schemes, quite apart from the national insurance scheme, was something like 7 million, or, say, one-third of the working population. Moreover, everything points to continued growth in the number of schemes, so that by now the total number covered may be appreciably more than this.

The reasons for this growth are diverse, but there seems little doubt that the principal one in this country has been the maintenance of full employment for something like 15 years. Employers have found pension schemes useful as methods of attracting and holding a skilled labor force at a time when labor has been a scarce factor of production. Moreover, they have been encouraged to do so by the high rates of profits tax and income tax. As their own contributions to schemes of this kind have been treated as a cost for tax purposes, they have in effect been subsidized by the inland revenue. While schemes of this sort were earlier regarded with suspicion by trade unions, as promoting a division of loyalties and providing an alternative to higher wages, they have gained the support of these organizations in recent years. One of the most important factors influencing trade union support has been the operation of wage restraint in the early years after the war. Trade unions preferred wage increases in the form of additional pension rights rather than no increases at all, and employers readily granted them.

The few figures illustrating the growth of these schemes are sufficient to suggest that retirement provision of this scale must have important economic effects. This article is an attempt to analyze these effects, and to consider how far they conform or conflict with generally accepted objects of economic policy.

II. THE NATURE OF PENSION FUNDS

Methods of retirement provision vary greatly from one enterprise to another, as the result partly of historical accidents and partly of the particular circumstances of each business and the relationships between employer and employed. Besides the broad distinction already mentioned between contributory and noncontributory schemes, there are at least five other types of major differences. Noncontributory schemes can themselves be subdivided into the majority, where regular annual appropriations are paid into a fund on a scale actuarially sufficient to provide for future pensions, and the minority, where the employer merely charges direct to profit-and-loss account such pensions as he happens to be paying at the moment. A second difference, important for its effects on the mobility of labor, is between schemes where the employee loses all but the benefit of his own contributions (if any) if he resigns (except perhaps for reasons of health) or is dismissed before reaching retirement age, and those under which he can take his full rights with him, in some form, even if he resigns or is dismissed. Thirdly, from the point of view of taxation privileges, there is an important difference between schemes which confer pension rights only and those which give the beneficiary the option of taking a lump-sum payment. Fourthly, the recent heavy fall in the purchasing power of money has emphasized the difference between schemes where the benefits are fixed or depend on previous contributions, whether fixed or varying with salary, and those where they are based on retiring salary. And finally, from the point of view of the form of organization, there is the distinction between those schemes which are privately administered and those which are conducted through one of the life offices.

These differences are not, of course, wholly independent of one another. Schemes conducted through life offices must necessarily be conducted in accordance with actuarial principles. It also seems probable that schemes providing benefits based on retiring salary, which may involve the employer from time to time in large supplementary contributions, are more likely to be conducted privately, while schemes giving only such benefits as are covered by previous contributions are more suitable for conduct by life offices. It may well be also that life office schemes carry options to lump-sum payments and benefits which remain the property of the employee on resignation more frequently than do privately conducted schemes.

Of the two main types of organization, the commoner, especially for firms with large salaried staffs, is the privately administered scheme, and this is the most important financially. Under such a scheme, employees and employer pay contributions into a fund, which is administered as a trust. The general nature of the scheme is usually approved by both directors and the trade unions. The trustees are appointed by the directors of the firms, and usually employees are represented on the board of trustees.

The contributions and benefits will vary according to the nature of the enterprise and the objects of the scheme, but some degree of uniformity is detectable, largely because the schemes are influenced by the generous tax concessions given to pension schemes which provide benefits only in the form of an annual pension to those of retirement age, without the option of a lump-sum payment. Usually, the benefits and contributions are related directly or indirectly to salary, the general object being to reward the employee for his efficiency and length of service, subject to the condition of maintaining the solvency of the pension fund. Pensions of salaried employees, who are likely to achieve their peak in earnings at the end of their careers, are usually based on their final salaries, subject to some length of service condition, or upon their average salary over, say, the last 10 years of service, while contributions of both employer and employed are a fixed proportion of annual salary. The relation, therefore, between contributions and benefits is indirect. Care has therefore to be exercised to keep the fund actuarially solvent, that is to say, to ensure that it is able to meet its obligations on the assumption of current conditions of retirement, contributions and benefits.

When an increase in the cost of living makes necessary a general rise in salary scales, and especially insofar as this affects those employees who are nearing retirement age, the fund accumulated out of past contributions and appropriations will no longer be large enough to meet the prospective demands upon it. As it is impossible to demand restrospective contributions from employees, the whole cost of making good the deficiency falls upon the employer, who will have to make special supplementary appropriations, in addition to a permanent increase in his regular appropriations in proportion to the rise in his salary bill. The magnitude of these special supplementary appropriations when salary scales are raised will depend partly on the size and distribution of the increases, partly on the age distribution of the staff, and partly on the number of years over which retiring salaries are averaged for the purpose of calculating pension rates. The longer this period, the larger the share of the loss due to the loss of purchasing power of former contributions which will be borne by the employee and the smaller the share borne by the employer; but unless salaries are averaged over the whole period of service (which is the same as making pensions dependent entirely on former appropriations and contributions) the employer will continue to bear some part of the risk. In practice, the period over which retiring salaries are averaged seems rarely, if ever, to exceed 10 years.

In a large firm, there may be different pension schemes to suit different classes of employees. Thus manual workers, whose average earnings may not vary greatly according to age, may receive a fixed pension laid down in advance and pay relatively little by way of contributions. At the other extreme are the high executives, for whom the tax concessions attracted by schemes of this sort are of great importance. Again, an elaborate pension scheme is obviously inappropriate where the rate of turnover of labor, usually female, is very high. It is common in such firms to institute provident fund

Footnotes at end of speech.

schemes with contributions by employee and employer.

Some large employers of labor prefer to operate schemes in which only the employer pays contributions, or in which the employer guarantees a pension on the fulfillment of the conditions of service which is met out of current receipts and not out of a seperately constituted fund. This type of provision obviously gives the employer more control over pension rights and more freedom in his distribution of rewards for service.

The second main type of organization, the so-called life office scheme, is commonly found in small firms with, say, 100 employees or less. Such firms cannot take advantage of the administrative economies of schemes which cover large numbers of employees and may not possess the financial expertise to devise and administer a private scheme. Instead, they pay over their own and their employees' contributions to a life office, either in order to provide policies for individual employees for the joint premium, or in order to provide a blanket policy covering all the members of the scheme irrespective of the individual risks and contributions.

The existing system of tax exemptions weights the scales heavily in favor of private schemes as against the life office schemes. A suitably devised private scheme can obtain registration as a charity and so escape the payment of income tax on the interest earned on its invested funds, while a life office must pay tax on its interest earnings at the rate of 7s. 6d. in the pound. To compete with the alternative of a private fund, the life office must be able to show advantages in its administrative organization and skill, and in its power of spreading risks, sufficient to offset the effects of discriminating taxation; and this it can usually do only for the smaller businesses.

III. THE TAX TREATMENT OF PENSION SCHEMES

In addition to the exemption from income tax on interest receipts granted to those pension funds which are registered as charities, pension schemes attract very considerable tax concessions on contributions—concessions which are undoubtedly one of the main reasons for these schemes' recent rapid growth. Tax legislation governing pensions provisions is complicated, but generally speaking it can be said to adopt the formula of exempting contributions from tax while taxing pensions as earned income. The general principle followed (although not altogether consistently applied) is that taxpayments are spread over the period of the consumption of income rather than over the period in which it is earned. Thus, subject to safeguards regarding the amount that can be accumulated as provision for retirement, relief is afforded on premiums. The conditions which the schemes must fulfill in order to attract relief are laid down in a series of acts beginning with the Income Tax Act of 1918, subsequently modified in 1921 and 1947. The three main conditions are as follows:

(a) That the sole purpose of the fund is the provision of annuities on retirement for employed persons, or for their widows and dependents in the event of the death of the employee. (This criterion rules out any schemes under which the employee receives a lump sum on retirement, or has the option of commuting part or all of his pension into a lump-sum payment. If no tax has been paid on the contributions to such schemes, at least at the reduced rate appropriate to life-insurance premiums, the lump-sum payments are taxable as income in the year in which they are received.)

(b) That the scheme is open to all employees of a defined category, e. g. all salaried employees.

(c) That benefits are reasonable in relation to the employees' remuneration and length of service. (The test of "reasonableness" is provided by the statutory superannuation schemes for civil servants.)

Once a scheme receives the approval of the Internal Revenue, then in the case of trust funds the employer's contribution is deductible as an expense in determining profits tax and income-tax liability, the individual employee obtains tax relief on the whole of his contribution, and the interest income of the funds is exempt from tax. In the typical life office schemes, where the beneficiary retains a lump-sum option, the concessions are less generous. The employer's contribution is deductible as before, but the employee's contribution attracts only the normal concession for life-insurance premiums, which is equivalent to two-fifths.

When an employee retires and begins to receive his pension, he is taxed as if he were receiving earned income, but if he leaves employment before the age of retirement either because he wishes to become self-employed or wishes to join another firm, then usually he receives back only his own contributions. The trust fund is then liable to pay tax on the surrendered contributions at 25 percent of the standard rate, which is claimed from the employee in question. If he moves to another enterprise which has a pension scheme of its own, and the trustees of the scheme operated by his new employer are prepared to offer him pension rights in return for the contributions in respect of his previous employment, then the employee may claim back the tax paid. However, this relief does not hold in the case of a person who chooses self-employment and wishes to buy, for example, a deferred annuity. Moreover, in most cases the individual who transfers employment or prefers self-employment sacrifices the benefits he would receive as a result of the employer's contribution, for the latter is rarely paid over as an addition to the paid-up contributions of the resigning employee.

A considerable part of the report of the Committee on the Taxation Treatment of Provisions for Retirement is devoted to the question of this discrimination in favor of employed persons. Although we are concerned here with the effects of pensions schemes and not their rationale, brief mention should be made of the recommendations of the report, because they would modify some of the economic effects of the schemes, were they to be embodied in our tax legislation. In general, the report endorses the present principles of exempting premiums from tax and of taxing benefits, although it recommends that up to one-quarter of the total value of benefits due on retirement should be payable in tax-free lump sum form, subject to a maximum of £10,000. Its suggestions, however, include two for major changes, as well as a number for minor ones. The first of these is that life office schemes should be subject to the same tax treatment as those privately administered. The second major change proposed (subject to the reservations of two members of the committee) is that where comparable schemes can be set up for self-employed persons, either for individuals or for groups of persons (such as schemes operated by professional associations), contributions should attract full income tax and surtax relief. As in the case of the existing types of scheme, annuities would be treated as earned income, and lump-sum retirement provision, subject to a maximum limit, would be free of tax.

Some observers, including Mr. Cater and Mr. Woodcock of the committee, think that the price of consistency of treatment is too high. They consider that self-employed persons are, to quote their note of reservation, "necessarily possessed of capital assets which of themselves provide in some degree retirement resources." Moreover, they argue that some of these assets, such as goodwill and real property, may exhibit capital appreciation, which is untaxed, and that it is much easier for self-employed members of a profession to obtain deductions for expenses under schedule D than for members of the same profession who are employed persons. It is doubtful if the quoted statement is a fair appreciation of the situation, and even if it were it would be true of the past rather than the present. It ignores altogether the long-term effects of heavy income taxation and of death duties. It is also in essence an argument for the taxation of capital gains rather than an argument for differentiation in respect of tax treatment for retirement provision.

However, what we are interested in here is the economic effects of such recommendations; for instance, in the effect of more consistent treatment on the relative attractiveness of being an employed person or self-employed. We must now consider these effects in detail.

IV. THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF PENSION SCHEMES

1. Effects on savings and investment

The main concern of our economic policy at the moment is with the maintenance of a high and rising level of productivity, not least because of the problems facing a country with an aging population. We can say without fear of contradiction that this object requires, among other things, first, the maintenance of an adequate volume of productive investment and, secondly, an adaptable and mobile labor force responsive to changing opportunities of employment due to changes in the pattern of demand, particularly of foreign demand, and therefore of investment. We can now consider each of these factors in turn.

To take the first point, the maintenance of an adequate volume of investment in conditions of high employment will depend on the provision of the requisite amount of saving to prevent consumption rising above the level where inflation begins to appear. In any given year, income receivers in the aggregate receive pensions from industrial schemes which are part of their income receipts, and pay out contributions which represent part of personal saving.[3] The Actuaries' report puts the 1952 level of contributions at £116 millions for employers and £52 millions for employees, representing an aggregate of £168 millions, out of total personal saving of £614 millions or about 27 percent. However, what we are really interested in for our purpose is the annual net saving brought about by schemes of this sort.

The net saving is the difference between the current income and expenditure of these schemes. At present, according to the Actuaries' report, the ratio of pensioners to active members of schemes is about 11 percent, in the case of privately administered schemes and 3 percent, in the case of life office schemes. Accordingly, the expenditure on pensions is much lower than the income from contributions. Moreover, on the receipts side we must add in the interest income of the schemes, which, as we have pointed out, is tax free, and which, in the case of the privately administered schemes, represents a substantial portion of total receipts—above one-third. The total net saving of both forms of schemes amounted to about £140 millions in 1952.

The interesting question raised by this figure is how far it is possible to state what net saving would be were there no such schemes in operation. We have not sufficient confidence in the economic theory of distribution to state what alteration such a state of affairs would make to the relative rewards of the different factors of production, and all we can do is to consider alternative possibilities. If the total contribution income were distributed in the form of wages and salaries, then the yield of profits taxes would not be affected, as the extra wages would be treated as a cost, just as the contributions were; but the yield of income tax would rise, both on account of the in-

Footnotes at end of speech.

crease in wages and on account of the disappearance of the tax concession granted on the employees' contributions. Other things being equal, therefore, government revenue would rise and with it, in the absence of budgetary changes, government saving. It seems unlikely, however, that the difference between the increase in government saving and the present level of net saving would be made up by private saving on the part of wage and salary earners. If, alternatively, we assume that the employers' contribution swelled the total of profits, then both income tax and profits tax would rise and, by the same reasoning, so would government saving. The effect on private voluntary saving would depend on whether the residual amount accrued to dividend receivers or remained as part of undistributed profit. But so long as wage and salary earners received as wages part of the contributions which they would otherwise have paid (and this seems a reasonable assumption, given full employment), it seems likely that net saving would be reduced below the level attained under present arrangements.

For the present, therefore, it can be said that these schemes raise the level of aggregate saving above what it would otherwise have been. The employed persons of today not only build up claims against the future national product, but also promote its increase by releasing resources currently for investment. We cannot assume, however, that the present level of net saving through pension funds will be maintained indefinitely. With the growth in the proportions of the population over retirement age and of the retired population in receipt of pensions, pension outgo is likely to increase considerably, while the size of the working population is unlikely to alter much. Accordingly, receipts are unlikely to increase to anything like the same extent as payments. With the present number of retirement schemes and a constant level of wages and salaries, payments would gradually rise to approximately the same level as receipts, so that after a period of time, which to judge by the actuaries' figures would be about 30 years, net saving through pension funds would become zero. In point of fact, of course, it is extremely unlikely that money wages and salaries will remain unchanged, if only because of a rising national real income, so that it is probable that existing schemes will continue indefinitely to show some surplus of receipts over payments, which the continued setting up of new schemes would increase. But it is also very probable that after some years the rate of growth of existing pension funds will show a marked decline.

The effects on the level of saving of a mature system of pension funds, as compared with their absence, is not easy to determine. If saving has risen during the period of the building-up of the funds, it is likely that the level of national income will be higher than if the funds had never been created. On the other hand, it is probable that consumption by retired persons will also be higher, even though the fact that they are in receipt of private pensions may enable them to dispense with public assistance and also to consume less of their own capital. Even, however, with the level of pension funds no more than constant, there is no reason to believe that the increased consumption of retired persons would be greater than, or even as great as, the increase in the real national income generated by the earlier increases in national saving, provided that these have been wisely invested.

What exactly constitutes a wise investment is impossible to define with any precision, if only because the definition will depend in part on the political views of whoever sets it out; the wide disagreement over the amount of investment in housing and electricity as compared with private industry bears witness to this. It is therefore difficult to relate the effects of pension schemes to the object of ensuring the "right" distribution of investment as between different projects. There is, however, a considerable consensus of opinion that there is an undesirable tendency for investors to "play safe", and that too little capital is being devoted to developing new enterprises which might become the great industries of the next generation. Professor Titmuss, one of the first to draw attention to the importance of pension schemes, subscribes to this view when he makes the criticism [4] that life offices and pension funds will favor "safe" investments, and that these schemes "signify a decreasing flow of risk investment and greater power to insurance institutions over industry in general." While, however, many people will agree with Professor Titmuss about the form of investment which he considers desirable, his views on the effects of the growth of pension schemes seem more disputable. It may very well be that the trustees of a pension fund are not so enterprising as a large private investor, especially when he is investing his current savings rather than his existing capital.

But the choice is not between the investment of new savings by pension funds and by large private investors. It is partly between investment by pension funds and investment by small savers (that is to say, mainly by institutional investors), by businesses and the government, and partly between investment by pension funds and no investment at all. Further, there is some reason to hope that, as the now discredited practice of investing trust funds exclusively in trustee securities fades from memory, trustees of pension funds, who in general have fairly wide powers, may be led by the fact that they pay no tax on their investment income to step, at least in part, into the empty shoes of the large private investor. There are two main types of risky investments—those which yield little or nothing at present but may conceivably yield something substantial at some future date, and those which give a high current yield but may cease to do so. The former, which give little or no current income but the chance of substantial capital appreciation, must be left to the surtax payer; but the second, with their high current yields and risk of capital depreciation are (provided that they are well spread) the ideal investment for charities, since these alone can amortize the risk out of gross income while taxpayers can do so only out of net. If, therefore, market prices of this type of securities are such that they are regarded as reasonable by taxpaying investors, the net yield (after setting aside the risk premium) for a charity will be extremely high. For instance, a security giving a gross yield of 10 percent with a 4 percent risk of total loss gives a net yield of 1½ percent to an income taxpayer (and a negative yield to a surtax payer), while it gives a net 6 percent yield to a charity. It is such types of investments that private pension funds (and if the committee's recommendation is adopted, the funds of life office pension schemes) are far better able to hold than any taxpaying investor.

About the present assets structures of private pension funds there is very little information. Some cases are known where pension funds have been invested in the enterprises which have initiated the schemes, and even where they have become majority shareholders; but in general it seems likely that investment inside the business is relatively rare. On the whole it seems probable that trustees of private pension funds are still exploring only very cautiously the potentialities of tax-free investment, and that the general pattern of their investments is still fairly similar to that of life offices in spite of the great difference which at present exists between their taxation treatment.

2. Effects on the distribution, size, and mobility of the working population

The aspect of pension schemes which is perhaps most open to attack is their effect on the distribution, size, and mobility of the labor force.[5] This criticism takes three main forms. The first is that the existence of pension schemes in some occupations and not in others exercises an undesirable influence on the original choice of occupation. It is true, of course, that the existence of a pension scheme may exercise a very considerable attraction and divert some prospective workers away from occupations where no pensions are available. For instance, so long as professional men, such as architects, lawyers, and accountants, can qualify for pensions only by becoming employees, especially of public authorities, the attraction of these forms of employment, as compared with being self-employed, is very great. This is an argument commonly advanced by the professional associations involved; but while it is entitled to the utmost respect, it seems to us that it is possible to exaggerate it. In the long run, even in the professions, the laws of supply and demand work. Given relatively stable conditions of demand, an increase in the supply of those who enter employed positions must eventually affect the price of their services. The risks of self-employment may be offset by a lower reward in safe jobs. This, however, is merely a caveat to the technical argument and not a justification of the status quo. In any case, this criticism will disappear if and when the recommendations of the committee are adopted on the taxation of superannuation provisions by the self-employed.

The criticism that pension schemes promote early retirement, and so deprive an aging population of part of the resources it might have used and part of the real national income it might have enjoyed, also seems to have substance, though it too should not be exaggerated. One of the reasons for instituting schemes of this sort is that older persons can thereby be retired gracefully without fear of hardship and without damage to the conscience of the employer; and in this policy the employer usually has the enthusiastic support of younger employees, trade unions, and all who benefit from a scarcity of labor. Yet the system of retiring salaried workers on pension at an age when they are still capable of rendering useful service, though no doubt on balance it has an adverse effect on the national income, is not wholly wasteful. There must be many cases where an older man, though still capable of rendering useful service in some capacity, is no longer the best man for his present position, and where his replacement by a younger man opens the way for new and fruitful ideas and policies, the introduction of which might otherwise have been delayed. Nor are the services of a retired man, especially of a retired professional man, necessarily lost to the community altogether. Unlike national insurance retirement pensions, the receipt of a pension under a scheme does not normally prevent a retired man from seeking other work to supplement an income which, even under a generous pension scheme, has probably shown a substantial fall. In addition, there is a great deal of socially valuable unpaid work which in earlier decades was performed mainly by those with private means but for which in future the country will have to look largely to the older men, especially the older professional men, who have retired on pension.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Most serious of all is the criticism that the existence of pension schemes, as at present organized, has an important adverse effect on the mobility of labor. In noncontributory schemes the employee normally sacrifices the whole of his pension rights if he moves from one occupation to another, while even under contributory schemes, except within Government or university employment, the most he can normally expect is to receive back his own past contributions with accrued interest, less deduction of income tax at a quarter of the standard rate. In seeking to move to other employment, a man, especially an older man, is therefore under one of two disadvantages. If his prospective new employer has no pension scheme, or a pension scheme based on past contributions or on number of years' service, the man who moves will sacrifice the benefit of the whole of his former employer's contributions. If, on the other hand, his prospective employer gives pensions at a fixed rate, or at a rate based entirely on retiring salary without reference to number of years' service, he will be unwilling to engage an older man, to provide a pension for whom will entail abnormally high appropriations during his relatively short period of service. In the first case, the employee will be deterred from moving unless the other conditions of his new employment show a great improvement on the old; in the second, the new employer will be reluctant to engage him unless his qualifications are outstanding.

Thus his existing employer, by, in effect, deferring part of his salary and making its payment contingent on continuity of service, can impose a tie on an employee similar to that imposed on the shipper by shipping conferences under the deferred-rebate system. While the disadvantages of this limitation on competition for labor are clear, it is unlikely that they will be remedied voluntarily, for the reduction in the rate of labor turnover is usually one of the main objects of introducing a pension scheme. There remains the possibility of making tax privileges granted to pension funds conditional on their amendment in such a way as to eliminate their effect of tying workers to their existing occupations. Thus it would be possible to restrict the registration of pension funds as charities, or even the allowance of employers' contributions as expenses, to those schemes where the employee retained a full title to his share of the fund (including all employers' contributions) even after leaving his employment. The share either could be transferred to him in cash, as a surrender value, in which case he would be liable to tax on it unless he used it wholly as a subscription to another scheme, or could be used to purchase for him a deferred annuity to commence at retiring age. While such an alteration in the terms on which tax privileges are granted to pension schemes would hardly be popular with employers, it may be doubted whether, in view of their appeal to employees, it would lead to the discontinuance of many existing schemes, or even prevent the setting up of new ones; and it would go far to remove the principal economic objection to the schemes as they now exist.

[1] Command Paper No. 9063/54, hereinafter referred to as "the Report."

[2] The Growth of Pension Rights and Their Impact on the National Economy.

[3] In the national accounts, employers' contributions are treated as part of factor incomes, on the assumption, no doubt, that they represent payments which would otherwise be paid as wages and salaries. This follows the same line of reasoning as that which supports the view that the employers' contribution to national insurance is also a part factor incomes, on the grounds that it is a tax on labor.

[4] The Age of Pension (The Times, December 1953).

[5] See, for instance, the National Advisory Committee on the Employment of Older Men and Women, first report, October 1953 (Cmd. 8963/53).

New Vistas for International Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, it was my privilege this afternoon to speak before the National Workshop on World Economic and Social Development, at a meeting held in the Woodner Hotel.

I ask unanimous consent that my address on that occasion may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW VISTAS FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(Speech by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin)

It is a great pleasure to be with you today. International economic development is the most exciting undertaking of this generation. Of all the great events which we have seen in our lifetimes, none offers a greater challenge, nor a greater opportunity for creation of a world in which peace and prosperity will be accomplished facts instead of wistful dreams.

I think it is not too much to say that whether future generations live in a Communist world or a free world depends on how we, the American people, carry out our part in international development.

The words of Theodore Roosevelt, more than 40 years ago, are more than ever appropriate in this connection.

"The United States of America," he said, "has not the option as to whether it will or will not play a great part in the world. It must play a great part. All that it can decide is whether it will play that part well or badly."

Before this group, there is no need to belabor the set of facts which makes this so. You are all familiar with them. Three facts, however, are worth emphasizing.

The first is the great—and growing—disparity in levels of economic development between the United States and Western Europe, on the one hand, and most of the rest of the world on the other.

The second is the urge to develop which characterizes important segments of the underdeveloped world. These countries have glimpsed better things and are determined to have them.

The third is the increasing effort of the Soviet Union and Communist China to make it appear that communism offers the shortest road to economic development.

Most of the people, and a great many of the resources, of the world are in underdeveloped countries which in their present state are quite incapable by themselves of withstanding determined Communist aggression. If these underdeveloped countries were to go behind the Iron Curtain, the United States' problem of national survival would be greatly increased. Development of these areas is therefore in our interest in order to increase their capacity to defend themselves.

It is also in our interest to provide an irrefutable demonstration to the skeptics in these nations that communism does not offer a short cut to conomic development but that, on the contrary, a free society produces richer rewards economically as well as spiritually.

We might as well recognize that the economic history of the Soviet Union since 1917 is attractive to some people in the underdeveloped countries. While there is considerable doubt that the average Russian has any more of the material things of life than he had under the Czars, the Soviet Union has nonetheless sprouted steel plants and tractor factories at a rate which, though not equal to the United States, is at least sufficient to impress some of those underdeveloped countries which want steel plants and tractor factories themselves.

But it is putting the case for international development on too narrow a base to state it solely in terms of a defensive measure against the threat of Communist aggression. Programs of assistance for international development would be in the self-interest of the United States if the Communist threat did not exist.

Defense is essentially negative, but international development is positive and constructive. It is our best long-term instrument for accomplishing our foreign policy objectives. These objectives, it seems to me, are too frequently stated in negative terms of resisting aggression. That is, of course, one of the fundamentals of our policy, but it is by no means the whole of our policy. It is, indeed, no more than an essential prerequisite to the accomplishment of our broader objective of an expanding economy in a free society. Programs of international development offer an opportunity for imaginative, constructive accomplishment in the highest traditions of enlightened statesmanship.

In the language of the scripture, "Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another." This is a Christian program, and we would not be true to our moral and spiritual heritage if we did nothing to lift up the hopes and minister to the needs of those who are less fortunate than ourselves. United States participation in international development can be justified on these grounds.

But it can also be justified on the basis of dollars and cents.

From the economic point of view, international development is in our interest because poor countries are poor customers and poor suppliers. The underdeveloped part of the world is an increasingly important source of the raw materials which American industry needs. It can also become an increasingly important market for the products of American industry. The bulk of our international trade is carried on with the more highly developed countries. As economic development progresses, trade increases—to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

These various reasons for United States participation in international development—the reasons for defense, of economics, and of morals—are not contradictory; they are complementary. When you put them together, they do not weaken the case for international development; they strengthen it.

We have been much too coy in making plain all our motives for carrying out our programs of economic development and technical assistance. The result of this coyness has been that the people who are receiving our help frequently do not understand why we are giving it. They are skeptical of the explanation that we are doing it in their interest and therefore search for some hidden motive which they believe must exist and must be so bad that we are ashamed of it. The Communists have ready at hand the explanation of imperialism, and this gains credence through our own lack of complete frankness.

The case for United States assistance for international economic development is so strong, on several counts, that we must be as careful not to attempt too much as not to attempt too little. When one considers the state of the underdeveloped parts of the world, and particularly when one considers the Soviet threat, he feels a sense of urgency. And certainly the need is urgent. But this is a situation in which haste can best be made slowly.

What we can do is, of course, limited by our own resources. But it is more severely limited by shortages of skilled technicians and by the capacity of underdeveloped countries to absorb capital.

We can accomplish more by spending $2 billion in 10 years, or even 20, than by spending the same amount in 1 or 2 years. Personally, I would rather see the United States undertake a long-term commitment, on a relatively modest annual basis, than a short-term commitment on a large annual basis.

It takes time for economic-development projects to produce results, and it sometimes requires a high order of faith to persevere in these projects when no immediate results are apparent, but we must think in terms of decades, or even generations, instead of 2 or 3 or 4 years.

Despite the long history of economic development in Western Europe and the United States, the process is as yet imperfectly understood. Indeed, there is a serious question as to the validity of the conclusions which we can draw from studying our own history when we attempt to apply those conclusions to the rest of the world. What effect do cultural attitudes and social organization have on economic development? And what effect does economic development have on cultural attitudes and racial organization? This is a field in which we have much too little information and to which we have given much too little attention.

In the United States, we have what I believe anthropologists call a future-oriented society. We like to try new things, simply because they are new. We adjust to technological change with relative ease. Witness, for example, the smoothness with which, in the space of scarcely more than a generation, we shifted the focus of our family life from the living room to the automobile to the television set.

We have great faith in expertness. If a veterinarian tells us that the cow and the calf will both be healthier—and that the farmer will have more milk—if the calf is weaned at an early age, the farmer may not understand the biological reasons why this is so, but you can bet that he will at least give it a try. Yet when a veterinarian in one of the underdeveloped countries told a group of farmers the same thing, they flatly refused to believe him because everybody knew that it had always been done differently. When the veterianarian gave what he thought was a convincing demonstration, his credibility was not increased at all; the people simply said that although it might work with his cattle, it certainly would not work with theirs.

I could tell you many similar stories; I am sure many of you are familiar with others of the same type. The point is that the receptivity of people to technical knowledge varies greatly, and the more underdeveloped their economies, the more highly resistant they are apt to be to improvement.

We make a great mistake when we do not take this into account. International development is not a program to remake the world in our own image. Humility, patience, tact, and understanding are more important than technical expertness. A paternalistic, do-it-this-way-daddy-knows-best attitude not only foredooms a project to failure, but produces positive harmful results.

Economic development cannot be imposed from without. No matter how much capital investment or how much technical knowledge we may be able and willing to supply, it will not have the desired effects—indeed, it may even have negative effects—unless there exists in the recipient country the urge to develop.

This urge is a great deal more complicated than the simple desire for more food, or better housing, or better schools, or concrete highways, automobiles, and steel plants. If a country wants more food, is it willing to change its traditional, perhaps centuries-old, system of land tenure? If it wants better schools, is it willing to step on the toes of vested interests who may be fearful of the power of an enlightened people? Is it, in other words, willing to break with the past?

This is basically a question of politics in the broadest sense of that word. The drive to independence among former colonial areas of the world is one of the most significant phenomena of the age in which we live, and it is directly related to the problem of international economic development.

An example from one of the newly independent Asian countries will illustrate what I mean. A missionary in this particular country devoted most of his adult life to improving a single village. With the help of the local people, he made it into one of the cleanest, healthiest, most prosperous, and best educated villages in the country. Withal, it was a monument to what could be done with meager resources and tireless, dedicated work. Shortly before World War II, the missionary went home to retire, and within a year after he had left, the village had reverted to its previous condition of poverty and filth and was indistinguishable from all the other poor, dirty villages in the country. After World War II, this country gained its independence, and within a year thereafter, this particular village was once again a model of village improvement.

In this case, political independence had almost everything to do with the urge to develop. This urge did not exist until the people realized that, at long last, it was their country they were concerned with, that their future was in their own hands.

One cannot be dogmatic about these things, because we are dealing with a field in which our ignorance still exceeds our knowledge, but there is evidence to suggest that economic development flourishes best in an atmosphere of political and social change. Change, of course, does not necessarily imply instability. But when political authority changes hands, old symbols of authority are torn down and the atmosphere is cleared for accompanying changes in social outlook and organization.

One could cite many examples. Certainly, the political changes in India and Pakistan from British rule to national independence have greatly improved the climate for economic development. A different kind of political change, but one with equally favorable results from the development point of view, has occurred in Egypt and also in Bolivia. We find similar evidence in the history of our own country.

I would not want to deny categorically that this sort of change cannot be induced by outside pressures, but certainly in its most favorable form it is self-generating and comes from within. This is why, in addition to the legal reasons, we can carry out development assistance programs only on the invitation of the country we are trying to help.

Much has been said about international development being a self-help program. It is. But I sometimes fear we have fallen into the statistical trap of measuring self-help in terms of the number of dollars, or dollar equivalent, which the recipient government is willing to contribute to joint development projects. This is a useful indicator, but it is no more than an indicator and it may be misleading. Equally important—perhaps more important—is the spirit of the people and the extent to which they are willing to give their labor, their time, and their effort. Contributions of this sort, as well as contributions in goods, are difficult to measure quantitatively, but they are important indices of how badly a people really want economic development.

It seems absurdly elemental to say that how we go about extending international assistance for economic development depends upon the state of development of the recipient country. Yet some of the assistance programs which I hear suggested from time to time lead me to believe that this elemental truth is too often overlooked. During World War II, we became so familiar with the complaint of "too little and too late" that many of us resolved we would never again allow ourselves to be put in that position. Americans are a pretty impatient race, anyhow, not given to waiting happily until next week for something we would like to have tomorrow.

But in this process of economic development, I suggest that the pitfalls of trying to do too much too soon are probably as great as those of once again being too late with too little.

The capacity of any economy—even that of the United States—to absorb capital is limited. The more underdeveloped the economy, the more limited is its absorptive capacity. This poses a dilemma. Development assistance would produce the greatest results in the countries which are in an intermediate stage of development. But, excepting the primitive tribes of Africa and the South Pacific, the countries which can absorb the least amount of assistance are precisely those where the need is greatest and most urgent.

I do not know the answer to this dilemma. I do know one thing which the answer is not.

It is fantasy to think of international assistance for economic development in terms of the European recovery program. When I hear people talk about a Marshall plan for Asia., I wonder if they have really thought about what they are saying. The Marshall plan, as its formal name implies, was a program of economic recovery, which is a great deal different from a program of economic development. The recovery of a highly developed, but war-devastated, economy can come about very quickly; economic development is an infinitely slower process.

There now appears on the horizon, however, a further aid to international development which may provide at least a partial answer to our dilemma. Certainly it has potentialities so vast that we as yet but dimly comprehend them. I refer to peaceful uses of atomic energy.

In the intermediate future, at any rate, this may turn out to be more important to underdeveloped than to highly developed countries. It may be possible for example, to generate electric power from atomic energy at rates which are economically feasible in a country severely short of power before it is possible to do so in a country with well-developed hydroelectric or steam generating facilities.

The prospect of huge quantities of power from atomic generating plants in the underdeveloped parts of the world carries with it the most breahtaking implications. Food production could be greatly increased through the irrigation of vast areas of new lands. A wide variety of new manufacturing industries would become economically feasible for the first time. The whole countryside, as well as the whole lives of the people, could be transformed.

Here is a great new resource—a new tool for economic development—which may do

even more for Asia than the invention of the cotton gin did for our own southland. Like the cotton gin and all other new technological developments, it will also carry with it, of course, social implications of the first magnitude.

Peaceful use of atomic energy on an international scale appears to be still some time in the future. Progress has been slow, and much yet remains to be done. But progress has been nonetheless real and encouraging. We have gotten off dead center, largely through the impetus of President Eisenhower's imaginative and statesmanlike address to the United Nations in December 1953. Despite the filibustering of the Soviet Union, the free nations of the world have resolutely pushed ahead. When the Soviets realized that they could not block the project, they came forward with offers of cooperation. It remains to be seen whether these offers are spurious or genuine. We hope they are genuine, but on the basis of bitter experience, we must reserve judgment until they are followed up with concrete actions.

In any event, an international conference on cooperation to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy is scheduled to be held in Geneva in August. There are good grounds for encouragement that we are now somewhat more quickly approaching the day when the atom will come into its own as an instrument for peace and prosperity.

The atom has a habit of rendering preconceived notions obsolete. It may well render obsolete much that I have said here today. Let us hope it may also render obsolete hunger and poverty, misery and hopelessness.

Administration Should Fill Judgeship Vacancies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, efforts have been made to ask the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States to address a joint session of Congress, in order that the problems of the Court, with particular reference to its clogged calendars, be made known. In that connection, permit me to submit a list of vacancies in judgeships in the Federal court, other than the Supreme Courts, which includes the time the vacancies have existed, as of January 11, 1955:

Location	Origin of vacancy	Date vacancy occurred
Circuit judgeships:		
2d circuit	Retirement of Judge Chase	Sept. 1, 1954
5th circuit	Retirement of Judge Holmes	Nov. 30, 1954
Do	Death of Judge Strum	July 26, 1954
District judgeships:		
California, southern	Death of Judge Beaumont	Nov. 19, 1954
Do	New position	[1] Feb. 10, 1954
Delaware	do	Do.[1]
New Jersey	do	Do.[1]
New York, southern	Retirement of Judge Conger	Oct. 20, 1954
North Dakota	Elevation of Judge Vogel	Aug. 20, 1954
Do	New position	[1] Feb. 10, 1954
Oregon	Elevation of Judge Fee	Apr. 30, 1954
Pennsylvania, eastern	Resignation of Judge Bard	[2] July 16, 1952
Do	New position	[1] Feb. 10, 1954
Pennsylvania, western	do	Do.[1]
Do	do	Do.[1]
South Dakota	do	Do.[1]
Texas, northern	Retirement of Judge Atwell	Dec. 31, 1954
Wisconsin, eastern	New position	[1] Feb. 10, 1954
Judgeship in U. S. Customs Court:		
Customs Court	Retirement of Judge Cline	Mar. 1, 1953

[1] Date of approval of Public Law 294, 83d Cong., 2d sess.
[2] Nomination made Mar. 29, 1954, but not confirmed.

Is it not high time that the administration filled these judgeships, instead of shouting from the housetops that it needs no less a person than Chief Justice Warren to demonstrate the needs of the court. Let the President and the administration act, and act quickly to fill these vacancies.

Pope Pius XII's Peace Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article which appeared in the Catholic Messenger on December 23, 1954:

FOUR CORNERSTONES OF POPE PIUS XII'S PEACE PROGRAM—SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, SPIRITUAL REFORM NECESSARY

(By Donald McDonald)

If one had to select a single word to describe Pope Pius XII's approach to the problem of achieving world peace, the word would surely be "realistic." Throughout his 15 annual Christmas messages, from 1939 to 1953, the Pope has consistently attacked the roots of war. He has consistently recognized that war, in the sense of actual armed conflict, is but the result of earlier failures which might have been averted at some point in the events leading to the final outbreak of hostilities.

Because he has so consistently attacked the causes of war and has so unerringly put his finger on the real causes, Pius XII easily ranks as one of the most creative of modern intellectuals concerned with the construction of a peaceful world order.

More than emotional

The Pope's abhorrence of war is more than a sentimental feeling which protests against pain and suffering, although he has a genuine sympathy for suffering peoples throughout the world. Perhaps his most eloquent expression of this sympathy is to be found in his 1952 Christmas message when he painted the desolate word picture of millions of destitute, uprooted, and homeless peoples. But what the Pope is primarily concerned with is the injustice in the world which lies at the roots of war and war's aftermath.

Neither is the Pope's abhorrence of war limited to a consideration of the material weapons of warfare today, although here, too, he has by no means ignored the necessity of disarmament. In 1951, he said: "We, too—and more than anyone else—deplore the monstrous cruelty of modern weapons. We deplore them and do not cease to pray that they may never be employed." In that same 1951 message, the Pope noted that he had "always desired and begged for simultaneous and reciprocal reduction of armaments."

But, he asked, in his 1951 message, "is it not, perhaps, a kind of practical materialism and superficial sentimentality to make the existence and threat of these (modern) weapons the sole and principal consideration in the quest of peace, while no attention is paid to the absence of that Christian order which is the true guaranty of peace?"

There is nothing wrong, to be sure, with our instinctive shrinking from the awful destructiveness of modern war with its thermonuclear, bacteriological, and chemical weapons. But there is nothing constructive of world peace in such a shrinking, either. It is merely an animal reflex to pain, leaving the human mind and spirit disengaged from any realistic consideration of the causes of the war which would bring us such pain.

Four basic points

A first reading of the Holy Father's 15 Christmas messages, or even the key parts which we have published this week (see pages 17 to 24), would seem to indicate that if the Pope has developed a program or a set of principles for world peace it is a highly complex program with a myriad of ramifications and subtle distinctions.

A second, more analytical reading, reveals, however, that the Pope's peace program can be summarized under four general points, or conditions of world peace.

1. Social justice, on a national and international scale, based of necessity on a true notion of man and society.

2. Economic equity between the peoples of the world—"the abolition of glaring inequalities in living standards."

3. Political and juridical reform of the international order to achieve genuine "international solidarity," the "indissoluble union of peoples," and to protect the common good from individual aggressors.

4. Spiritual reform, a return to a Christian order in which hate, cupidity, and overweening lust for prestige would be abolished.

There is also a fifth point in the papal peace program which I would call the "wider extension of the democratic form of government in the world." Although the Holy Father devoted his entire 1944 Christmas message to a consideration of democratic government and an affirmation of its value, and although I shall comment on those remarks later, I have left it out of the above list of the Pope's basic conditions for world peace because it does not have the categoric assent which the Pope has given the other four points.

Other addresses

It must be remarked here—before we consider the cornerstones of the Pope's peace program—that his Christmas messages do not exhaust his thinking on the problem of world peace.

During his pontificants, the Holy Father has delivered many other addresses on the conditions of world peace. For example, in the matter of political and juridical reform of international life, the Pontiff has spoken out 3 times in the last 3 years on the need for world law, political federation of nations

and on the relationship of church to state within a world government which he envisages as necessary for world peace.

But all the elements necessary for a realistic pattern for world peace are to be found in the Christmas messages themselves. And, unless otherwise noted, I shall confine this commentary to those messages.

It is most important, I believe, that as we consider the four basic conditions of world peace—social, economic, political, and spiritual reform—we understand that these conditions are interactive, that all of them must be realized if there is to be any effective guaranty of peace. One, two, or three of these conditions are insufficient guaranties by themselves. Spiritual reform, for example, without the corresponding political and social expression of virtue, will be ineffective. Likewise, social or economic reform without the correct spiritual principles and cut off from spiritual inspiration based on the true notion of man, will tend to become—as the Pope has repeatedly warned—basely materialistic, scientific, and exclusively technological.

Positive, negative points

In his insistence on social justice as a fundamental of world peace, Pius XII has employed two approaches, a negative and a positive approach.

Negatively, he has continually and consistently condemned social injustices which not only provide fertile ground for the seeds of war but which disfigure human beings who have been created in the image of God.

Positively, the Holy Father has outlined—particularly in his 1942 Christmas message—the true nature of the human person and human society. This positive definition of the human person and society is vital in view of the fatal error which seems to be gaining wider acceptance each year—the error of conceiving social justice as a goal which can be reached by exclusively scientific, technological, and completely impersonal organization of society. In his 1952 message, and again in 1953, the Pope warned of this depersonalization of society which can only end by robbing man of all that makes him a free and responsible person.

I. PURPOSE OF SOCIETY

To get the full force of the Pope's denunciation of social justice, it might be well first to consider his observations in 1942 on genuine social order.

"The origin and the primary scope of social life," said the Pope, "is the conservation, development, and perfection of the human person, helping him to realize accurately the demands and values of religion and culture set by the Creator for every man and for all mankind."

Here we see how social, juridical, economic, and spiritual order interact, why each is indispensable for all. The Pope remarks that in order for social life to "attain its scope, such as God willed it, it needs a juridical order to support it from without, to defend and protect it." This is what we commonly call in America, the citizen's protection of the law; and, as we know only too well, in international relations, there is no comparable protection because there is no comparable international law. As Mundelein Seminary's Msgr. Harry Koenig, a close student of international affairs, has remarkd: "We have today only international anarchy."

Social-economic relation

Also, if human society is to be not only a living together in order but also a living together in tranquility, there must be economic equity—again we see how social and economic reform interact organically.

There can be no tranquility when there is economic injustice leading to agitation and bitter conflict. If there is to be pacification of the community, then positive law must see to it that the worker who is or will be the father of a family is not condemned to an economic dependence and slavery which is irreconcilable with his rights as a person.

In a society marked by genuine order and tranquility certain fundamental personal rights are protected and nourished including the right to develop one's corporal, intellectual, and moral life, the right to worship God in private and public, the right to marry and achieve the aim of married life, the right to work as the indispensable means toward the maintenance of family life, the right to the use of material goods.

Such a society will also be characterized by its defense of social unity and especially of the family, its recognition of the dignity and prerogative of labor, the rehabilitation of the juridical order which will give to man's inalienable rights juridical security, and the Christian concept of the state which recognizes that the state and its power are at the service of human society.

False social reform

How far men have departed from the true notion of human society the Holy Father demonstrates in his last two Christmas messages of 1952 and 1953. In 1952 he devoted almost the entire message to the depersonalizing forces at work both within nations and between nations. In 1953 he scored the fallacy of relying exclusively on technological progress while ignoring the human person in society.

However, as early as 1939, the Pope was speaking of the real needs and just demands of nations and peoples as well as ethical minorities.

In 1941 the Pope again refers to the rights of minority peoples who must not be made to suffer open or occult oppression of their cultural and linguistic characteristics or the limitation or abolition of their natural fertility.

But it is in his 1952 Christmas message that Pius XII delivers his most terrible indictment of gigantic social organizations which no longer view people as human persons but as unit-factors in life. Perhaps the most flagrant example of this inhumanism, cited by the Pope, is the practice by certain nations which set arbitrary immigration quotas and decide from the sole standpoint of prophetic mathematics how many people may enter a particular country, disregarding the needs, indeed the rights, of those peoples living in overpopulated countries to have access to land in other countries.

II. ECONOMIC REFORM

Now, economic reform is closely linked, one could say it is organically linked to social reform. Social order and social peace is impossible where there is economic injustice, poverty, and utter destitution.

In virtually every Christmas message, the Pope alludes to the need for economic equity between all the peoples of the world. He speaks in 1940 of the need for genuine Christian solidarity of a legal and economic character which not only underlines the economic aspect of world peace but furnishes a foreshadowing of ever more explicit demands by the Pope for legal or juridical guarantees of peace.

In 1942 he declared that a normal, natural foundation of life is the private ownership of property, if possible by all. And he comments in the same message that "it is only through an intelligent and generous sharing of resources between the strong and the weak (nations) that it will be possible to effect a universal pacification."

Cause of world tension

In 1948 the Pope listed, among the chief causes of world tension, the economic inequity for some peoples suffering from a comparative scantiness of national territory and the want of raw materials.

He asks a number of questions in 1948: Instead of shipping food to starving peoples, why not transport the starving peoples to land areas where they can grow their own food; and instead of "setting up barriers to prevent one another's access to raw materials, why not make their use and exchange free of all unnecessary restrictions?"

"Bread," said the Pope in his 1946 message, "bread in the literal sense of the word is needed by entire populations, who because of its lack are becoming weak, worn out, enervated, the prey of diseases and pains, and dangerously aroused by the dull goad of hopeless rancor and deep-seated social rebellion. * * *

"Nothing is so well suited to create the indispensable spiritual requirements of peace as help liberally given by State to State, by a people to a people, without regard to national boundaries. * * *"

International Solidarity

Once again, we can see how intimately bound together are the reforms of social, economic, political, and spiritual life. There cannot be economic equality unless there is international "solidarity."

In his 1952 Christmas Message, the Pope said that "although even the most perfect realization of international solidarity would hardly bring about perfect equality among nations, still there is an urgent need that this solidarity be put into practice at least enough to change perceptibly the present situation. * * *

"In other words, solidarity among nations demands the abolition of glaring inequalities in living standards. * * *"

III. POLITICAL-JURIDICAL REFORM

We came, now, to the political-juridical reform which Pius XII sees as being essential to the realization of a peaceful world order.

The two primary effects of a just international political and juridical order are (1) the securing of the social and economic rights referred to above; and (2) the establishment of genuine union of the peoples of the world, "the family of nations" within which armaments for international war will be "progressively reduced" and ultimately abolished and effective santions can be taken against would-be aggressors.

In an evident reference to the failure of the League of Nations, the Pope, in his 1939 message, speaks of the need for reconstructing international institutions which will not repeat the defective functioning of similar previous projects. He called for the establishment of juridical institutions which will guarantee the faithful carrying out of treaty terms between nations.

In 1940, he speaks of the new order in Europe which will be marked by a firm determination to establish a * * * just national and international order and which will be organically stronger than any past order.

To smother aggression

In 1941, the Pope says means must be found which will be appropriate, honorable, and efficacious in order that the norm—pacts must be observed—will once again enjoy its vital and moral function in the juridical relations between states.

In 1943, he speaks of the new spirit of world union. And in 1944, he declares that the decisions already published by international commissions permit one to conclude that an essential point in any future international arrangement would be the formation of an organ for the maintenance of peace, of an organ invested by common consent with supreme power to whose office it would also pertain to smother in its germinal state any threat of isolated or collective aggression.

The Pope added, in 1944, that no one could hail—the above—development with greater joy than he who had long upheld the principle that the idea of war as an apt and propor-

tionate means of solving international conflicts is now out of date.

No absolute sovereignty

In 1948, the Pontiff declared that a convinced Christian cannot confine himself within an easy and egotistical isolationism, when he witnesses the needs and the misery of his brothers. * * *

Then, in that same Christmas message, Pius XII delivered one of his most forthright affirmations of the need for genuine international union:

"The Catholic doctrine on the state and civil society has always been based on the principle that, in keeping with the will of God, the nations form together a community with a common aim and common duties. Even when the proclamation of this principle and its practical consequences gave rise to violent reactions, the church denied her assent to the erroneous concept of an absolutely autonomous sovereignty divested of all social obligations."

The obligation to defend another nation unjustly attacked is also affirmed in 1948: "All the more does the solidarity of the family of nations," said the Pope, "forbid others to behave as mere spectators in an attitude of apathetic neutrality."

For one thing, he goes on, such neutralism only encourages "authors and fomenters of aggression. * * *" And: "Nations as a whole * * * have a duty not to abandon a nation that is attacked."

At this point we can see how remote from the Pope's thinking is the thought of some of our most articulate citizens in the United States who preach in season and out that the United States has no real obligation to defend other nations; that our immigration quotas are our own business; that our national sovereignty is an absolute; and that world law and world organization are but a snare and a delusion of the "one-worlders."

Indissoluble world union

Again, in 1950, Pope Pius XII emphasizes the need for a 'close union of all peoples who are masters of their own destiny * * *" as the "sole means for the defense of peace and the best guaranty of its reestablishment."

In the following year the Pope returns to his demand for a union of all peoples, this time in even more explicit language:

"The common good, the essential purpose of every state, cannot be attained or even imagined without this intrinsic relation of the states to the human race as a whole. Under this aspect the indissoluble union of states is demanded by nature. It is a fact which is imposed upon them. And in consent to it, although sometimes hesitantly, they answer the voice of Nature. This natural union they strive to embody in an external framework, an organization."

It should be noted at this point that earlier in the year of 1951—April 1951, to be exact—the Pope had delivered his historic address to the World Movement for Federal Government in which he had told the world federalist delegates meeting in Rome that "nothing was more in conformity with the traditional teaching of the church (than) an effective political organization of the world."

In his 1953 Christmas message, the Pope did not, of course, abandon any previous affirmations of the need for world federation of the nations. Indeed, on December 6 of that year, he had spoken out again on the need for world government.

But at Christmas, the Holy Father concentrated his attention on the need for Europe itself to form a "continental union of its peoples," noting that a "strong encouragement to such a union is the manifest failure of the contrary policy" of divided nationalisms and conflicting, patchwork, economic, and social relations between the European peoples.

Peace value of democracy

A word here about the Pontiff's monumental 1944 Christmas message in which he extolled the political and social virtues of genuinely democratic government wherein the citizens would have a truly effective voice in their government and by which they could control the actions of public authorities who might otherwise drag them into the "vortex of a disastrous war."

The Holy Father did not single out the democratic form of government as the only legitimate type of government, or as the one type which could secure the church's exclusive encouragement.

But he noted that, given the historical circumstances of the age, in which citizens are asked to make greater and greater sacrifices and in which the machinery of the state and government continues to grow more and more complex, "vast and decisive"—given such conditions, said the Pope, "the democratic form of government appears to many as a postulate of nature imposed by reason itself." It is significant, I believe, that the Pope does not disassociate himself from this viewpoint of democracy.

But even in this 1944 message devoted to a discussion of the democratic form of government and the contribution it can make to world peace, the Pope returns to his insistence on the need for a world juridical order in the "society of states" by which "chastisement (can be) inflicted on the aggressor * * * and so that war will always be subject to the stigma of proscription, always under surveillance, and liable to preventive measures. * * *"

IV. SPIRITUAL REFORM

If we turn now to the fourth reform which Pope Pius XII considers a fundamental condition of world peace, spiritual reform, we note that the Pope, beginning in his 1939 Christmas message, adverts to this reform year after year.

And the Pontiff's advertence to spiritual reform is in no sense to be confused with a merely vague, hopeful wish that men will be better. On the contrary, he insists that moral virtue and spiritual vitality play an integral, constructive, and inspirational part in the establishment of world order and peace.

We have already seen, I believe, how futile it would be to hope for some of the indispensable deep-seated social reforms from a society of nations bereft of even the elemental awareness of the nature of man as a creature of God.

Not idle pietism

In his 1945 Christmas message, the Pope takes note of those who claim it is idealistic or pietistic to demand a return to the "order fixed by God * * * to a real Christianity within the state and among states." It is these, said the Pope, who are unrealistic.

"Let it not be said that this (return to the Christian order) is not realism in politics. Experience should have taught all that the policy guided by eternal truths and the laws of God is the most real and tangible of policies. Realistic politicians who think otherwise pile up only ruins. * * *"

In his 1951 Christmas message, the Pope speaks of the spiritual anemia of the modern world and shows how it is those who are so afflicted in the spirit who fail to penetrate to the real heart of the causes of war and international misery. "A friend of peace," says the Pontiff, such a person "will always arrive too late to save it."

A reading of the 1942 Christmas message immediately makes clear how vital spiritual reform is in the establishment of a true social order geared to the good of each citizen viewed in his relationship to God as his origin and destiny. It is impossible to imagine how any genuine social order can be attained or any society long endure which progressively and practically denies the immortal nature and consequent dignity of its citizens.

It is in his 1950 message that the Holy Father, who perhaps more than any other living man has seen more deeply into the sufferings of world peoples and who has recognized more clearly than any of his contemporaries the magnitude of the task of constructing a peaceful world order—it was in that message that he turned most poignantly to God for help: "The undertaking," he said, "is so great and merely human means so ineffective, that we turn our gaze to heaven and raise our hands in supplication to Him, who from the glory of the divinity came down to our level and became 'one of us.'"

What can we do?

At this point, American Catholics, who are fully aware of and assent to the cornerstone principles of Pope Pius XII's peace program, might well ask, with typically brisk American efficiency-mindedness: "Well, what can we do about it? The holy father's peace program makes sense. It is realistic. It is Christian. But what can we do to bring it closer to realization in the world?"

Well, I think we can do a great deal.

In the first place, American Catholics are—of all the people in the world—most advantageously situated to do something big and constructive for world peace.

As Americans we are citizens of the most favored Nation on earth; most favored from the standpoint of civil liberty, personal freedom, natural resources and, partly because of our geographical location, we are relatively unhampered by all the traditional, petty, but deep-rooted, hates and fears and suspicions which make clear, objective thinking so difficult in Europe and other parts of the world.

Our Catholic leadership

As Catholics, we have had the brilliant intellectual and Christian leadership of our holy father. We have, also, the Catholic Association for International Peace, which is a member agency of the social action department of the American Catholic Bishops' National Catholic Welfare Conference.

In addition, we have native scholars of international political thought, including such luminaries as Jacques Maritain, Father E. A. Conway, S. J., Monsignor Koenig (referred to above), Msgr. George Higgins, Father William Lynch, S. J., editor of Thought, Bishop John J. Wright of Worcester; and others. What this means is that, as Catholics, we have had sufficient intellectual leadership for the formation of a sound public opinion on international relations in general and the problem of achieving world peace in particular.

This, then, is the first thing I believe we can do. We can develop a public opinion on world peace which will be vital, dynamic, constructive, rational; a public opinion which will be cleansed of all stains of bigotry, prejudice, emotionalism and that ultranationalism which is contemptuous and callous concerning the common good of all the family of nations.

Those who oppose

In the formation of a strong public opinion for the Christian principles of world peace, it is inevitable that we shall collide with bitter opponents of those principles, people who preach the un-Christian and discredited doctrine of isolationism; people who say that all American aid to other nations is money down a rathole; people who, without regard to this country's ability to absorb refugees, would reduce the flow of immigrants to a trickle; people who want to sell American products abroad at handsome profits but who want high tariff walls at home to discourage even the modest profits which other nations must have in order to survive; people who form well-financed, highly ar-

ticulate national committees whose announced purpose is to fight any form of world federalism; people who claim what the Holy Father has pointed out over and over cannot be claimed—absolute national sovereignty in the universal community of nations.

It seems to me that, given the above situation, it is necessary to combat these destructive counteropinions. And so, there is a negative aspect in what we can do about world peace. While we work, positively, to form a constructive public opinion on the problems of peace, we must also—insofar as it lies within our power—neutralize and reduce the destructive forces at work.

Sadly, and tragically, some of these very destructive forces are to be found in our own midst—we have a few strident Catholic editors and writers and their letter-writing counterparts who echo the leaders of un-Christian isolationism in this country despite the contrary thought of the Pope himself. Fortunately, these Catholics are few; unfortunately, they are noisy and seem to possess an unlimited ability to confuse sincere Catholics who are concerned about the problems of world peace and are looking for guidance.

Force of opinion

I believe we should not underestimate the effectiveness of public opinion in this country. There is a feeling among some that public opinion is, after all, only a weak, abstract sort of thing which doesn't really count in the area where decisions are made and things happen politically.

This is perhaps not the place to develop a discussion of public opinion, and space does not permit full development of that subject. But one illustration may prove the power of public opinion. It is this: There is in the present Congress an estimated 25 to 30 percent of our Representatives and Senators who agree that some kind of limited world federal government—along the lines laid down by Pius XII—is absolutely essential if we are to have world order and world peace.

Yet these Congressmen do not voice their world federalist opinions in public. Why? Because they are afraid of the political consequences of such opinions. They are afraid they will be attacked by their political enemies and defeated when they seek reelection. In a word, they are afraid to say publicly what they say privately about the need for world federalism because they fear there is not a sufficient public opinion in favor of federalism, that there is not enough popular foundation to support them if they should publicly express what their informed conscience tells them should be expressed.

Nor is this public silence the only consequence of a weak and misdirected public opinion. The percentage of our Congressmen who would begin to work toward federation of the nations would undoubtedly increase as public opinion in favor of federalism became more widespread. For withal their public silence, the 25 to 30 percent of our representatives who affirm the need for world law and government do, after all, constitute the courageous minority, the small group which dares to hold, even privately, opinions and convictions which are subject to such violent and savage attack by the isolationists and demagogs in the Nation.

Specific peace groups

A final suggestion: In addition to the formation of a sensitively Christian public opinion on world order and world peace, we can, and we should, work with all the specific organizations and committees which are striving to accomplish all the social, political, economic, and juridical imperatives urged by our Holy Father.

For example, there are civic and political organizations seeking to reduce the trade barriers between our Nation and other nations who have goods to sell us. There are groups seeking to make the United Nations a juridical organization with sufficient power to smother, as Pius XII said, the threats of war and aggression in their germinal state. There are other groups which are seeking to adjust United States McCarran-Walter immigration law to make it more equitable, thus more Christian.

Three steps

In summary, then, we can (1) learn, through study, what constitutes the Christian principles of world peace; (2) help form a sound public opinion on world peace which will reflect those Christian principles; and (3) take an active interest in at least some of the specific city, State, regional, national, and international organizations which are trying to realize those Christian principles in practice.

As a help to accomplishing the first of the above three steps, the Catholic Messenger has published pertinent sections from all of the Pope's annual Christmas messages. They are complete this week in one section of the newspaper for handy and, we hope, continuing reference.

Our Holy Father has spent himself to the point of exhaustion in his ceaseless efforts for world peace. It is long past time that we begin matching at least a fraction of his sacrifices.

Address by Hon. Thomas E. Martin, of Iowa, Before Ladies Auxiliary to Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, on January 26 last my colleague from Iowa [Mr. MARTIN] delivered a keynote address at the 1955 National Conference of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, in Washington, D. C. The address dealt, among other things, with the subject of national defense. I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by my colleague be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY SENATOR THOMAS E. MARTIN, OF IOWA, AT THE 1955 NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE LADIES AUXILIARY TO THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS AT THE HOTEL STATLER, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 26, 1955.

It is a pleasure to meet with this distinguished group again. With the leaders you have selected and the program they have arranged I'm certain your stay in Washington will meet your every expectation. I know from past experience that your meetings are successful and worthwhile. Your kind invitation to be a part of the panel last year marked one of the high spots of a busy and eventful year for me. I sincerely hope that in the coming years in the Senate I can continue to merit your kind consideration and support.

As members of the Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, you fully realize that these times fill a precarious page of our history. During the lifetime of some of us we've seen our youth march off to three wars. Billions of dollars and thousands of lives have been sacrificed in a battle that is not yet wholly won. Last year the guns of war were silent in the world for the first time in many years. Today, we hear the ominous rumblings of conflict that at any minute may blaze into the red hot fury of active fighting. Formosa and its outlying islands have become a point of severe tension. Just 2 days ago President Eisenhower sent to us in the Congress a message that drew the line of no return in the Pacific. The guns of war are aimed and loaded on several fronts. Whether we like it or not—whether we would change it or not—these are the conditions in the world today. To ignore them could be fatal.

Because of these world tensions the problem of our military manpower assumes an increasingly important role. I have a full awareness of the problem. As some of you know I had the privilege of serving in the Regular Army on the Mexican border and in World War I. I taught military science at the University of Iowa during the 1920's when it was not popular to believe that we should be prepared. Later, I was on the Armed Services Committee in the House of Representatives through the bitter years of the second and worst world war. These are experiences you don't easily forget.

Because of this background I take a special interest in the new military manpower program advanced by President Eisenhower. Certainly it is one of the most important messages to be sent to Congress from the White House. It attacks a difficult problem. It offers a constructive, affirmative answer. It is a characteristic Eisenhower message.

Before we discuss the important portions of this military suggestion might I take a moment to point up the thorny dilemma that confronts us. As a country we have to walk a delicate tight rope in constructing a defense programs. Russia and her satellites have a total population that exceeds a billion persons. We have 160 million. They have an estimated 4 million men in the their ground forces alone. Today, we have less than a million and a half. The training and maintenance of an active army is costly, almost beyond comprehension. It would be impossible for us to maintain a sufficiently strong standing armed force to be ever ready to oppose any belligerent move by these hordes of communism. To try to match, soldier for soldier, their active Army would be to threaten our own economy. Stated bluntly, we can't afford it. We must be constantly alert not to spend ourselves into economic exhaustion. From the Communist point of view a devastated American economy is as important as a crushing American defeat on the battlefield. In the language of my grandchildren, we would be cutting off our noses to spite our faces.

But this undeniable fact remains—we must be prepared. The Reds understand nothing but force. In my first week at the little country school in Iowa where I started my schooling I learned the characteristics of a bully. I learned that he will listen to reason, that he will talk things over—but only if he believes that you have the force to back up your demands. The lesson I learned on the dirt schoolyard in Iowa is equally valuable when applied to world conditions today. When we negotiate with the Reds we must do so from force, not weakness. We must offer no invitation to disaster.

A quick glance at history shows that we have never been prepared when war sought us out. That is a tragic indictment. But it is an accurate one. Think back to the first few months in 1942. Remember the tragedies of Bataan and the Rock. Hark back to July and August and September in 1950. Think of the sorry spectacle of American boys retreating down the Korean peninsula. Remember the stories we heard of our fighting men—grabbing, clawing, striving to hold on—paying in blood and tears the price

of inadequate equipment. This is what happened. This is what must not happen again. A 20th century war doesn't give you time to leisurely build up your fighting force. The devastation of war is upon you with the first blast of the first atomic bomb. The moment we forget that we have, by our omission, passed the death sentence on thousands of our sons. Like the bloodspots in Macbeth, it will come back to haunt us.

In the face of this problem of great magnitude President Eisenhower has offered a plan. It is a good plan. It offers, first, a well-trained, active Armed Force of sufficient proportions to act as the shock absorber for the first attack if it comes. It protects us to the maximum extent under the dictates of economic necessity.

Secondly, the Presidential plan contemplates a reserve force sufficiently trained and organized so that it forms an alert backfield for the front line of the standing Armed Forces. This is a vital part of the new program. Its importance cannot be overstressed.

Thirdly, the proposal provides for an unorganized reserve pool that brings with it a fundamental training available for quick mobilization.

My friends, an adequate reserve force is not a luxury that we may forego if we wish. It is as essential to our preparedness as is the whole program to our future as a Nation. We must have a neffective National Guard; we must have a competent, modern Army, Air Force, and Navy; we must have an organized group of trained reserves for all branches of the Armed Forces—for the Air Force and Navy as well as the Army. In the Air Force the great need is for a trained reserve of ground force personnel. There must be no time lag between scientific development and military urage. Reserve training must be modernized to keep pace with the giant strides made by industry and science.

We must train ourselves to be trained. We have no alternative other than destruction.

My friends, this is a program that requires the participation and support of all of us. Make no mistake, this is not the easy way out. To ignore the real danger would be far easier. It would also be far more costly in the end. So many times I have visitors who come to Washington and say I have come to see how the Government works. I am always glad to see them, but somehow, I feel they should realize that I am only an elected official and that these people from Iowa—like you people out there—are the government. It is a two-way street. You have a responsibility, just as I have. This new program offers a challenge to you. It must have your active support.

Unless the reserve program is adopted in substantially the same form it was presented to Congress it will be the first real signal for our adversaries. Failure to adopt an adequate reserve program will be notice that we are allowing our waistlines to expand into complacency. It will be more than a sign that we will have no hard hitting reserve force available should an emergency arise. It will be more than a statement that we will not prepare ourselves. It will be the five-star announcement that the proud American eagle is ready to assume the role of the sparrow.

My friends, even this morning we are engaged in battle. This is not the simple alignment of armies—it is a conflict of concepts—of ideologies. As Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway so accurately portrayed it: "The real issue is whether the rule of men who shoot their prisoners, enslave their citizens and deride the dignity of men shall displace the rule of those to whom the individual and his individual rights are sacred; whether we are to survive with God's hands to guide us and lead us, or to perish in the dead existence of a godless world."

It is wishful thinking for us to contemplate living today in a quiet world where quiet decisions are made. These times demand big decisions from big people. That is our role. We must accept it.

Right-to-Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two very significant articles from the February issue of the American Federationist on so-called right-to-work laws. One is by Dave Beck, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and the other by the Reverend Walter G. Muelder, dean of the school of theology of Boston University, in Boston, Mass.

These articles serve to show the hypocrisy and perils of the misnamed right-to-work statutes, one of which already has been partially declared to be unconstitutional by the courts of my State of Oregon.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RIGHT TO EXPLOIT

(By Dave Beck, president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters)

Seventeen States have outlawed union security through so-called right to work laws. Hiding behind a deceitful slogan, these laws deprive organized labor of one of its fundamental means of self-protection, the union shop.

State right-to-work laws constitute a menace to the trade-union movement. By seeking to weaken and undermine the stability of trade unions, they threaten the wages and working conditions of all union members. They deny to workers the right to protect their own organizations through the establishment of membership requirements. By establishing a compulsory nonunion open shop, they abridge the rights of workers to contract freely with their own employers for union-security clauses.

State right-to-work laws should be more honestly labeled as antiunion laws which turn back the clock of labor relations to the dark ages.

Let us examine this enticing and misleading phrase, the right to work. Every trade unionist believes in the democratic right to gainful socially necessary employment for all our citizens. In this sense, then, the only threat to the right to work of American working men and women is the haunting specter of mass unemployment. That is why the American labor movement consistently supports economic and social measures and policies to achieve full employment.

If business groups and others who support right-to-work laws mean what they say, why do they oppose full employment measures and the guaranteed annual wage? Why do they speak of "widening job opportunities" for nonunion members, when unemployment actually has been increasing? Why do they speak of the untrammeled right to work, when employers set age limits on hiring—often as low as 35 and 40—and many other restrictions? Why do they oppose union proposals to ban discrimination in hiring on account of race, religion and sex?

The so-called right to work laws are not, as one might think, bills to guarantee every worker a job. Can any worker, union or not, walk into a plant or factory, state his right to work and declare himself on the payroll? What rights does a State right-to-work law give an unemployed worker?

The right to work which employers have so often been eager to defend for their nonunion employees has never in fact existed. Even where union security clauses are prohibited, the nonunion employee's right to work for an employer is not enhanced one bit. His hire and tenure still remain a matter of the employer's choice and control.

As Samuel Gompers pointed out 50 years ago in this magazine (February 1905, p. 75):

"A man who must sell his labor upon such conditions as his employer may determine cannot by any form be regarded as either free or enjoying liberty."

Every American citizen, under the Constitution of these United States, has the right to work if the work is available and he chooses to take it, and no State law is needed to guarantee a constitutional right. The real guardian of the worker's right to work is his own trade union and his fellow unionists throughout the country.

* * * * *

Those opposed to union security fundamentally have not accepted collective bargaining as a desirable part of the democratic process. They have not accepted the fact that strong unions are good, desirable and constructive forces in our society. They overlook or ignore the fact that union security provides stability to labor relations—which was the primary objective of Congress in enacting the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts.

Union security—the union shop—is a tangible symbol that management accepts the union. The union shop allows the employer full freedom to hire whom he will, but new employees who are not members of the union must join within a specified period—normally, thirty days. Countless studies of industrial relations have shown that such acceptance is one of the causes of industrial peace under collective bargaining.[1]

Those who oppose any form of union security do so very often in the name of democracy. It is undemocratic, they say, to require anyone to join a union. This sounds good—but it simply does not make sense.

Majority rule is in the American democratic tradition. It has made America strong and progressive. The union shop is an extension of this American precept of democracy. Our nation works for the common good of all. Since the union also works for the common good of all within a plant, it is only fair that all should become members.

Without security of the union, individual security always is threatened. Only a strong union can adequately protect its members, and only a strong union which has the backing of all employes in the unit can bargain effectively for better wages and better working conditions.

American workers want and like the union shop because it is democratic majority rule in practice. In over 46,000 NLRB-conducted elections on union shop authorization, the union shop was authorized in 97.1 per cent of the cases, and 91.4 per cent of the voters voted in favor of the union shop. These polls clearly indicate how strongly workers favor the union shop.

* * * * *

State right-to-work laws impose greater restrictions on the activities of labor unions than our national labor policy. This prece-

[1] National Planning Association, "Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining," Fundamentals of Labor Peace (1953).

dence of restrictive State law over a Federal act has no parallel in any other field.

Usually, the States may not pass laws which conflict with any Federal law regulating interstate commerce. In brief, the Federal power to regulate commerce and thereby labor relations affecting commerce is supreme, that is, paramount to that of the States.

But the Taft-Hartley Act, in section 14 (b), not only permits but encourages States to destroy union security by the enactment of right-to-work laws—even though union shops are permitted under another section of Taft-Hartley (sec. 8 (a) (3)). Section 14 (b) not only runs counter to the entire concept of a national labor relations policy but it shows that the over-all design of Taft-Hartley was to saddle unions with the most restrictive union security provision that could be found, to the detriment of the welfare of wage earners and of the public interest.

The possibility of 48 separate and conflicting State laws on union security, resulting from section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, creates serious practical difficulties in collective bargaining. Undoubtedly, this is what advocates of antiunion right-to-work laws desire.

Agreements in the trucking industry are often negotiated on a multi-State or regional basis, with one master agreement regulating the rates of pay, rules, and working conditions of employees in many States. The duties of many employees require the constant crossing of State lines. Under the present law the parties to the contract cannot write a single clause establishing the union security arrangements to cover all workers in these different States.

Many individual trucking firms operate across State lines. Because the permissible union-security arrangements vary from State to State, a firm dealing with the same union representing workers doing the same work negotiates a union-security provision with the union in one State and in the other State is prohibited from doing so. Yet it is generally recognized that good personnel practice requires uniformity in matters of labor relations.

Former Gov. Alf M. Landon emphasized this objection, among others, when he urged defeat of a right-to-work proposal in Kansas:

"I am of the opinion that legislation of this type might be something of a barrier to large industries considering Kansas for branch plants. Many corporations desire to settle their labor problems with a well-organized stable union. And most of them desire to do it on a nationwide basis where the negotiations can all be conducted at one time and place. The proposed 'right to work' bill would, of course, bar that where the plants are located in Kansas."

Unlike the Taft-Hartley Act, the Railway Labor Act permits union-security agreements in the railroad and airline industries regardless of state laws to the contrary. If the result is desirable in the railroad industry, surely it is equally appropriate for the trucking industry and for other industries affecting interstate commerce.

* * * * *

The Reverend William J. Kelley, of Catholic University, Washington, D. C., who for more than 10 years was chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board, states that union-security provisions "are proper moral matter for collective bargaining contracts"; that the objectives of "right to work" legislation "conflict with social morality"; and that "'right to work' laws take away from man a necessary means to achieve and protect his God-given right of association."

Archbishop Rummel, of New Orleans, has described the Louisiana "right to work" statute as follows:

"It is insincere because while it pretends to guarantee the right to work, it actually frustrates that right, in effect exposing labor to the loss of security, a decent standard of living and humane working conditions. It makes a mockery of the constitutional right to organize for the common good and welfare. It invites continuing and recurring social strife and discontent. In a word, it is unfair and unsocial class legislation contrary to the common good."

Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, has condemned such laws because they seek the destruction of the trade union movement, the abrogation of democratic rights which it has taken decades to secure and the undermining of one of the strongest pillars of American democracy. They do so by outlawing union-security arrangements which enable trade unions to enlist the widest moral and financial support for their policies, thus increasing their collective bargaining strength.

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS VICTIMIZE THE WORKER

(By Rev. Dr. Walter G. Muelder, dean and professor of social ethics, School of Theology, Boston University)

The direct appeal to a right to work arouses a spontaneously warm response in the mind and heart of any sensitive person. In American society work has a high value. It represents productivity and self-respect. A person who is willing to work thereby signifies his sense of responsibility. An unemployed person who wants to work is well thought of and commands sympathy. Americans dislike unnecessary dependence on government. At a time when a few people have learned how to exploit the welfare of government, the demand for an individual opportunity to work seems to express personal integrity.

But for these very reasons it is important to give a realistic analysis of those legislative attempts under the slogan of "the right to work." For the slogan seems to assume that an obvious affirmative response to the right to work can be made and that the freedom of opportunity to work without union membership is a simple and self-evident moral fact. We shall see that the right to work is not self-evident.

In modern industrial society, personal and group relationships are highly complex. A long history lies behind the present structure of relative justice in industry. Each job relationship, whether of management or of workers, is surrounded by a firmament of understandings, social policies, and legal enactments which defy self-evident slogans.

The significant peace of our present industrial society has been made possible by organizational and institutional agreements entered into through collective bargaining. Tens of thousands of these agreements are involved in the warp and woof of the employment situation. Work is not individualistic; it is a network of conditions, responsibilities, and opportunities.

A recent writer has wisely pointed out that the relative justice of labor-management relations today is the product of understandings between two organized groups, industrial management and organized labor, in which both coexist and in which each retains institutional sovereignty, working together in reasonable harmony and in a climate of mutual respect and confidence.

Industrial peace and labor-management relations cannot be taken for granted. They must be positively striven for. They can be easily undermined where either party violates the assumptions on which the industrial peace exists. We must keep these factors in mind when we reflect on the efforts in numerous States to undermine through right-to-work legislation the basic security of organized labor. In the discussion which follows we will consider first the general problem of rights and then relate it to this legislative situation.

All moral rights root in the worth of persons in community. This means that rights are claimed by persons in their relations to other persons. Both the principle of individual worth and the principle of social responsibility must be recognized. All persons in the community make claims against all other persons. No one right or claim is unconditional, but must prove itself in the light of all other claims.

In the last analysis, the standard of measuring the rights of man is the kind of person we ought to develop in society. The kinds of persons we need and can approve of in a democratic society are not the kinds that look out only for themselves, but who are responsible members of the community.

In the United States of America the principle of personal worth is recognized in many constitutional provisions and legal statutes. Among these an important milestone was section VI of the Clayton Act of 1914, which begins with these words:

"That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

It has been one of the great contributions of organized labor to give effective implementation to this idea. It is not worthy of mankind that any individual be treated merely like a commodity in a free market.

Another milestone was the statement of national policy embodied in the Wagner Act of 1935 as follows:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to (encourage) the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and (to protect) the exercise of workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection."

This national policy of the United States expresses the truth that respect for worker personality is to be protected by and in appropriate and effective associations.

The previous history of labor-management relations had clearly demonstrated that the "right to work" as a moral demand could not be effectively implemented on an individualistic basis but needed both organized labor and the legalized policy of the Federal Government to be made effective.

What is a right? A right is the moral claim of the person on the community for the satisfaction of needs which are indispensable for his fulfillment as a person. There are many rights which the community is not able to fulfill. For example, in countries like India and China today the community is not able to fulfill the basic claim for enough food to prevent starvation for millions of people. The general moral claim persists as a mandate to the community to create the social conditions in which these basic needs can be satisfied. The claim and the responsibility are two sides of the same moral coin. The general moral claim does not produce the food. To produce enough food for all, many conditions of agricultural and industrial life must be fulfilled. It is a responsible, complex, and cooperative assignment. Likewise, the general "right to work" does not produce jobs nor the conditions of just and decent employment. It does not produce a specific claim to a specific job.

A legal right exists when moral rights have been defined and written into law and the appropriate institutional responsibilities have likewise been specified in law with appropriate sanctions. Legal claims do not exist in the abstract; they are part and parcel of developing social policy. They rest on moral claims, but they are not to be confused with general moral ideals. Legal rights define policies and practices in concrete historic situations. When a legal right has been established, a corresponding legal satisfaction enforceable in the courts has

also been established. Workers know these things because of legislation like the Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley law.

Is there a right to work? Work does not confront the average person so much as a right as it does as a necessity. Most of us must work, or else. When we are out of work we need to get a job, or else. The unemployed person has a general moral claim on the community for an opportunity to satisfy his need for a job.

This claim has been put in words by the National Council of Churches:

"Every able-bodied adult has an obligation and the right to an opportunity to serve the community through work. He should take responsibility for supporting himself and his family."

* * * * * *

In sum, no one gains in the long run and everyone loses. Democracy suffers from the anarchy of union insecurity.

It is a most irresponsible social policy to destroy the integrity of labor unions under the guise of the so-called right to work. The individual worker has no effective legal right to work under conditions worthy of human dignity where strong unions have been eliminated. Since collective bargaining is under present circumstances a proved condition of stable industrial relations, a worker has a moral obligation to accept his share of responsibility through membership in organized labor.

But what of the large portion of the labor force who do not belong to organized labor? Undoubtedly many of the benefits which they experience are byproducts of the historical victories of the trade unions. They owe gratitude and support to the trade unions. They may not be in a poistion to join a bona fide trade union, but they ought to seek the extension of collective bargaining so as to expand the area of truly responsible industrial relations.

The right to work laws are a virtual conspiracy of the crafty, the ignorant, or the misguided to subvert industrial peace, exploit men's need to work and deluge the community with industrial irresponsibilities. Right to work laws do not create jobs; they only victimize the worker and make his organization ineffective.

Address by Douglas W. Hartman Before Rotary Club of Richmond, Va., on January 25, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, about 2½ years ago a distinguished Wisconsinite was asked to become the head of an operation in New York City designed to register the holdings of German dollar bonds and to act on the validation of those legitimately held. His name is Douglas W. Hartman. He delivered an address before the Rotary Club of Richmond, Va., on January 25, 1955. Because of its illuminating character, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY DOUGLAS W. HARTMAN BEFORE A LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE ROTARY CLUB OF RICHMOND, VA., ON JANUARY 25, 1955

Mr. President, members of Richmond Rotary, and friends, about 2½ years ago I was asked if I would be interested in heading up an operation in New York City designed to register the holdings of German dollar bonds and to validate those legitimately held. I then learned that vast quantities of these bonds which had been sold in the United States during the 1920's had been repurchased by the German issuers for retirement purposes, but had never been canceled. These bonds had been stacked up in the vaults of the Reichsbank in Berlin, and remained there until the Russians overran the city in 1945. Many of you will remember the Dawes loan of 1925 and the Young loan of 1930. Besides these many German state and municipal as well as corporate bonds—such as North German Lloyd, Hamburg America Line, German General Electric, Siemens & Halske, Vereinigte Stahlwerke. All of these issues are among the 92 our board must examine and either validate or invalidate.

It is estimated that about $350,000,000 principal amount of these bonds in the Berlin banks fell into Russian hands at that time.

When the allied negotiators met with the Germans in London in 1952 to work out settlement agreements on Germany's prewar and postwar debts they realized that it would be an utter impossibility to expect the German nation to make good all the prewar and postwar claims against it, to say nothing of any reparation for war damage, and still remain solvent. One of the main objectives of the conference was to put Germany back on a stable economic basis so that it could resume its place among Western nations and serve as bulwark against communism.

The allied negotiators also recognized that Germany's prewar debt was almost entirely a private debt and that the bankers of the world and private investors in German bonds would never again extend credits to German corporations or German governmental agencies if these old debts were not substantially honored.

The German negotiators agreed that these private debts should be honored by issuing new bonds with new maturity dates in the same principal dollar amount as the old ones. Interest rates on the new bonds, it was agreed, could be somewhat reduced and accrued unpaid interest was to be partially covered by 3 percent funding bonds.

When these understandings were reached the nations recognized that something would have to be done about all of the retired bonds which had fallen into Russian hands. Unless machinery was set up to block exchange or payment of these looted bonds, all of them would certainly be presented for second payment and the Communists would be enriched by as much as half billion dollars. So a law was drafted requiring the registration and validation of German foreign currency bonds before they were eligible for exchange or payment under the terms of the debt settlement agreement. This law was adopted by the German Bundestag in August 1952 and is the basic instrument under which the Validation Board in New York functions. A treaty, specifying that dollar bonds not validated, should be unenforceable, and recognizing the agreements, was ratified by the United States Senate on July 13, 1953.

The German member of the Board, Dr. Walther Reusch arrived in the United States late in April. We met at the Department of State on April 26, and started at once to lay our organizational plans.

Public notices appeared in the principal newspapers and financial magazines in the United States in August, requesting all holders of German dollar bonds to register them with the Board in New York. Registration started on September 1. At the end of 1954 $130,626,200 principal amount had been registered with the Board. Of this $116,923,100 had been validated. Over $400,000 worth of these were registered from Virginia.

After 16 months of registration, the Validation Board and the Finance Ministry in Germany have accounted for the existence and location of approximately $200 million principal amount of these bonds in legitimate possession. We estimate that there are in legitimate possession approximately $227 millions worth of these bonds. Since we know that the loss through the Berlin banks was approximately $350 million, the estimate of the amount in legitimate possession approximately $227 million and only $200 million have been registered or accounted for it is certain that few of the bad bonds have come out of hiding.

We feel fully confident that less than $1 million of the bad bonds have been registered with us. We have not as of this date ordered an invalidation of any bonds, but such action will probably be taken at a very early date.

Now, after working closely with the 20 or more German men and women on our Board for nearly 2 years; having had very much contact with the German diplomatic representatives in Washington, D. C. and the Consulate General in New York; having met many of the principal officials of the Finance Ministry, and having spent almost a month in Germany where I visited many of the banks who act as examining agencies for us, where I met the directors of these institutions, I feel that I have had perhaps as close and as important a contact with these people as very few others in the United States have had, and I have made some observations which I think may be of interest at this time when so many of us are wondering whether we are making a mistake in rearming Germany.

There are those among us who fear that in rearming the German nation, we are again loosing a giant who will turn against us. Such fears are thoroughly understandable, for have we not twice during the lives of most of us here gone to war to stop aggression from that nation? But when we try to find in the character of the individual German something that sets him apart from us and indicates why we have been at war, we come face to face with an enigma. These people we find are in all respects, except their language, like us, and a great many of them speak English fluently. After having worked day after day for nearly 2 years with this group of people who went through the whole Nazi experience, who survived the terrific bombings of German cities and, having talked to all of the people I have mentioned before, I say the only conclusion you can fairly reach is that there isn't anything fundamentally different about us, so far as basic character is concerned.

The United States Senate's Judiciary Committee made a study (under S. Res. 137), entitled "Immigration and Naturalization Systems of the United States." This was published (on Rept. No. 1515 and dated) April 20, 1950. It says:

"While there were Germans among the early colonists of this country, the first typically German settlement was made in 1683 in Germantown, near Philadelphia. It became the distributing center for the large and continuous stream of German immigrants many of whom crossed the Potomac and pressed farther south. Pennsylvania continues to be the State most thickly settled by the Germans who at one time numbered a third of its population. The Germans constituted about a tenth of the white population in the Thirteen Colonies in 1775."

John Fisk in his book Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, says: "German immigrants, mostly farmers, quickly followed the Scotch and the Scotch-Irish settling in 1730 into backwoods Virginia, particularly in the foothills of the Appalachians, and in the Shenandoah Valley. There they founded the towns of Strasburg and Hamburg. Spottswood, a great English landowner, brought a whole colony over from the Rhineland to make native Virginia wines." Charles Andrews in his book Colonial Period of American History says that Virginia's first colony, Jamestown, began to show a labor shortage not long after it was founded in the 17th century and the Virginia company imported many German artisans to fill the void.

I was born in Wisconsin of parents who were also born in Wisconsin, but whose parents in turn on my father's side arrived in the United States as children from Germany. I have no accurate knowledge of when or from where all of my forebears came to this country, but I know that as early as 1813 a branch of my mother's family arrived in the United States from Germany.

The small town in Wisconsin where I spent my childhood was almost wholly populated by persons of German extraction. Many of our neighbors, more recent arrivals from Germany, still spoke German in their homes. I was sent to a German Methodist Sunday school and got my early religious education in the German language.

My recollection of life in those childhood days is that these people were a happy people. There was always a lot of singing and I still remember from those days the old songs Oh du lieber Augustin and Du Du liegst mir im Herzen.

When World War I broke out I was 11 years old. I remember vividly the denunciations of the Kaiser among these people of German origin and the immediate voluntary response to the call for enlistment when the United States entered the war in 1917. The love for the freedom they enjoyed in this blessed land and the determination to do their part in suppressing despotism was here unmistakable. These people had come to the United States for the most part during the middle part of the 19th century and were part of that tremendous German migration to this Nation from 1845 to 1890 which included Carl Schurz who arrived in the United States in 1852.

A very large number of men and women of German parentage played important parts in our own national development. All of you will recognize these. In engineering, Charles Steinmetz, George Westinghouse, Bausch and Lombe, Mergenthaler; in automobiles, Chrysler, Studebaker; in steel, Charles Schwab; photography, Alfred Stieglitz (the father of photo art in America); literature, H. L. Mencken, Steinbeck, Dreiser, Untermeyer, Thomas Mann, and did you know that Thomas Nast, the artist who created the Republican elephant, the Democratic donkey, and the Tammany tiger, was a German?

Henry Villard, a German, pushed his railroads to the Pacific.

Practically all of our pianos are made by companies started by Germans—Steinway, Knabe, Wurlitzer, Stieff; and who makes our beer? Schlitz, Pabst, Anheiser-Busch, Blatz, Ruppert, Schaeffer, Gunther, Heurich—all Germans.

The kindergarten is a German educational invention—introduced by the wife of Carl Schurz in Watertown, Wis.

Gen. Frederick Wilhelm Steuben has always been given credit for welding the courageous but unorganized guerrilla troops of 1776 into a disciplined, well drilled army. Congress honored him by placing a statue in Lafayette Park in grateful recognition of his services to the American people in their struggle for liberty.

General de Kalb also of Revolutionary fame was a German.

John J. Pershing in World War I was of German descent and curiously enough the military leaders who headed the three branches of our armed services during World War II were all of German descent. Our now President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chester Nimmitz, and Carl A. Spaatz.

My authority for these names is Francis Brown's book entitled "One America" published in 1952.

During the months of April and May of last year I spent 24 days in Germany. I visited 10 of the principal German cities, saw much of the terrible bombing they endured and the remarkable reconstruction. I sat in conference with groups of bankers in every one of these cities and was everywhere most cordially and courteously received. At almost every one of these meetings, at least one of the Germans present expressed gratitude to me for the remarkable thing the United States had done in making their recovery possible. Honestly, gentlemen, I never got the slightest feeling of bitterness from any of the contacts I made in Germany during the 24 days I was in that country. On the other hand, there was a remarkable warmth of feeling toward the United States that was true, not only in the circles of bankers, but also with the industrial people and with the government people that I met.

A touching incident occurred one day last fall with one of the German Government officials in New York City. He had come to America on a special assignment which lasted several months and during that period I had occasion to see him a number of times. Toward the end of his visit we were walking down Broad Street in New York City one noon and as we looked up at the large American flag hanging over the entrance to the Chase National Bank this man commented to me, "wouldn't it be wonderful, Mr. Hartman, if Germany could someday be a star in that flag." Perhaps not all Germans feel as cordial to our country as this man, but so far as the basic nature of the German individual is concerned, it responds to and accepts the democratic idea quickly, eagerly.

I think the arrogance that Hitler brought out in some of these people, and the bill of goods he sold them that they possess a peculiar superiority to all other races and nations on earth, that they are the supermen has almost entirely disappeared. Among all of the Germans I had contact with in Germany, I detected objectionable arrogance very rarely. On the other hand, humility in many of them was marked. A German I met in Hamburg made the statement to me that, of course, they regretted the terrific bombing and the destruction of their cities but he said "we asked for it."

I have tried profoundly to understand what it has been that has led to the situations which brought about the two World Wars and I believe confidently that those causes were entirely economic not due to any fundamental fault in German character. I believe confidently that it will be a very long time before another mesmeric spellbinder like Hitler will be able to fool any important number of the German people of today. Some probably but not many. After a purging of soul such as the German went through in 1944 and 1945 he won't quickly follow leadership like that again. Believe me, my friends, Germany took punishment in World War II. Those cities were plastered, and I mean plastered. President Heintze of the Securities Settlement Office for German Foreign Debts took me to a hill overlooking the famous old city of Freiburg—only a few miles from the Rhine and from Switzerland. He pointed out what happened in 20 minutes one night late in the war. A swath was cut right through the center of that famous old city and 20,000 persons lost their lives. The rebuilding has progressed well but you could still see the path where the bombs from our planes fell.

Other cities like Bremen, Hamburg, and Berlin were bombed repeatedly and the ruins there are still tremendous. No people could emerge from such an ordeal without refinement.

But the human mind is the same the world over. Unless men can be sure of a measure of economic security and they have a fair chance of selling what they have or can make so they can buy the things they do not have but need, they will resort to forceful action to make adjustments—and such action always leads to excesses and to the play of emotion above reason.

German cities appear in most respects like our own. The buildings where they have not been bombed are older but the shop windows display the same kind of wares in the same neatly arranged displays as in the shop windows on Broad Street. The people dress like we do, they eat foods of a very similar nature, and they look like we do. These people are for the most part a very kindly people, good natured, helpful, even sentimental. They respond instantly to kindness and praise. They are a very intelligent people. Some unfortunately make a pettish of prodigious memory and become intellectually self-important.

Those with whom I am working in New York are a particularly fine group. They are undoubtedly above average in intelligence and balance. The German member of the Board, Dr. Walther Reusch, and his two deputies, Dr. Walther Skaupy and Dr. Walter Clemens, are all lawyers. They express the very highest sense of fairness and human kindness. All of the business of the Board since its inception has been conducted in harmony. It would be impossible to desire more courtesy or a more objective approach to problems than that which has been expressed by these three Germans. We have had dozens of registrations by individuals in the United States who have been unable to present documentary evidence to prove that their bonds were outside of Germany on January 1, 1945, but in almost all of these cases, the holdings were in very small amounts, perhaps only 1 or 2 or 3 bonds. Generally the holder was either the child or the wife of the one who bought the bonds during the 1920's. Here the Germans might have taken advantage of the technicalities and could have refused to validate such securities with less than absolute proof. They could very well have objected to validation and made things generally difficult, but they saw the absurdity in these cases in contending that such bonds could have passed through Communist hands so they agreed with me to accept the affidavit of the registrant as supported by banking or character references.

The very fact that so many of these bonds were stored in the Berlin bank vaults without any special identifying marks testifies to the high regard of the German bankers for the terms of contract.

The trustees in almost all of the 92 issues involved were United States banks and the indentures in these bonds provided that only this trustee could cancel or cremate the bond. Accordingly, being unable to ship these bonds to New York for several reasons they stacked them up waiting to send them to New York after the war.

Now, of course, many of these bonds were repurchased under questionable circumstances at substantial discounts, discounts brought about by the manipulations of the Nazi government. The Schacht administration refused to permit the export of dollars to pay the interest on these bonds and, accordingly, the value of the securities on the market fell substantially and as the prices fell they used the dollars which should have been used for interest payments to buy up more bonds. But here again the contrast

between the gangsters who gained control of Germany and the rank-and-file bankers shows up. Had the same ruthless thinking governed these bankers, does it seem likely that the terms of a contractual agreement in a bond would have deterred their destruction or, at least, their mutilation.

While in Europe last spring I had opportunity to visit many of our Foreign Service outposts and in some cases renew acquaintances made during the period I served the State Department in 1923–28. My impression was a wholesome one.

I have always held our Foreign Service in high regard and deplore very much the tendency to use the Service as a whipping-boy; for political purposes. The need for establishing our outposts abroad in such a way as to make service in them a mark of highest prestige cannot be overemphasized. The United States is undoubtedly the leader among nations today. We are, I think, exercising our leadership well, but in proportion as the men who represent us abroad are wise, patient men who express an affection for mankind without patronizing or flattering, I think we will gain the deep-seated respect of all people and do the maximum possible to create in our world the environment in which men of good will can unite on objectives and live together in economic order and excellent fellowship.

I believe very profoundly that we are not misplacing confidence in trusting the Germans to cooperate with us. One thing, however, we must never forget, the German people are the next door neighbors of the Russians. Also that they live in a divided country. The first concern of any German Government must almost certainly be the reunification of the nation. Should we hear that the Germans are making deals with or concessions to the Russians let us remember that these people are looking into the muzzles of Russian guns. The price the German nation will be willing to pay for the reunification of the East and West is the uncertain factor.

We know that the price of neutralization and of complete subordination to communism is too high, for they have already refused to pay those prices. The personal experiences of such a very large percentage of the German population has instilled the whole population with a dread of Russian domination, which leads me to feel very confident that the Federal Republic will never sell out to the Russians. The extent of the concessions which they may feel obliged to make, no one can foretell. Undoubtedly, however, they will consult and work with the West in any such decision.

I think that as we continue to help them shape their economy more and more in line with our own that the German nation will stand stanchly beside us. Then along with the British and let us hope, the French, we will indeed build a world where there is (1) freedom of speech everywhere in the world; (2) freedom of religion everywhere in the world; (3) freedom from want everywhere in the world; and (4) freedom from fear everywhere in the world.

The Publication of the United States Statutes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Dr. Charles J. Zinn, law revision counsel to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, which appeared in the Brooklyn Barrister of November 1954:

THE PUBLICATION OF THE UNITED STATES STATUTES

(By Charles J. Zinn)

A law, according to the philosophers, is a rule of conduct dictated by reason, enacted by competent authority, prescribing or forbidding some action in view of the common welfare, and made known to those who are to be bound thereby. It is with the last element of that definition, the publication of the law, as it relates to the statutes enacted by the Congress of the United States, that this paper is concerned. Obviously a secret statute can have no binding effect upon an unaware and unsuspecting public. Publication is the sine qua non of the aphorism that every man is presumed to know the law of the land. The ancient Romans, from whom we seem to have borrowed more than a few of our principles of legislation, clearly recognized the necessity for publication by their requirement that the law be posted in a public square "where it could be easily read from the ground."

In the United States the requirement of promulgation is satisfied by two principal methods of publishing: (1) In the United States Statute at Large;[1] and (2) in the United States Code.

A proper understanding of the functions of these two publications and the differences between them require some knowledge of the legislative process in general and of the form of enactments by the Congress in particular.

Under the Constitution a bill (or joint resolution) that has passed both the House of Representatives and the Senate in precisely the same form[2] becomes a law only after the happening of 1 of the 3 following events:

1. It is approved (signed) by the President within 10 days (Sundays excepted) after having been presented to him.

2. Ten days (Sundays excepted) have elapsed after it was presented to the President, the Congress being still in session, and he has not signed it.

3. It has been repassed by two-thirds of both Houses after having been returned with the President's objections to the House in which it originated.

In the first instance the original enrolled bill signed by the President is transmitted by the White House to the Administrator of General Services pursuant to law.

In the second instance, which rarely occurs, the enrolled bill is usually transmitted by the President to the Administrator of General Services although there is no constitutional or statutory provision requiring him to do so.

In the third instance the Clerk of the House of Representatives or the Secretary of the Senate (depending upon which body originated the proposal) transmits to the Administrator of General Services the enrolled bill with a certificate attesting to the repassage of the legislation by the requisite two-thirds affirmative vote in each body.

PRINTING PRIOR TO ENACTMENT

Inasmuch as this paper is concerned with the printing of laws, it may be of interest to describe briefly the various printing stages of a bill before it becomes law.

Immediately after a bill has been introduced (usually in typewritten or holographic form) it is printed for reference to the standing committee having jurisdiction of the subject matter of the proposal. This, known as the introduced print, is set in 12-point type and contains about 24 printed lines to the page.

After consideration by the committee, at the time of being reported to the House,[3] the bill is reprinted in type of the same size, with the committee amendments indicated in italics and stricken-through type. This is known as the reported print.

When the bill has passed the House one copy is printed on blue paper in the precise form to which the House has agreed. This is known as the engrossed bill and is signed by the Clerk of the House attesting to the action of that body. It is then sent to the Senate with a formal message requesting the concurrence of the Senate and is reprinted and referred to a committee of that body. This is known as the act print.

When reported by the Senate committee it is reprinted showing committee amendments, if any, in italics and stricken-through type—the Senate reported print.

Upon being passed by the Senate, if there are no amendments requiring House concurrence, the bill is reprinted, this time in 10-point type, as soon as it is returned to the House. This is known as the enrolled bill and is signed by the Speaker and the President of the Senate together with a certificate signed by the Clerk of the House attesting that the bill originated in that body. The original enrolled bill is then presented to the President for his action.

PUBLICATION UPON ENACTMENT

Slip-Laws

As soon as a bill becomes law as a result of 1 of the 3 forms of Presidential action outlined above, it is assigned a public (or private) law number and a chapter number by the laws section of the General Services Administration; which also prepares marginal notes of various kinds as guides to assist the reader. These notes, of course, are not part of the law.

The public-law (and private-law) numbers run consecutively through the Congress regardless of the number of sessions, starting with the number 1 at the beginning of each Congress. Public laws are numbered in one series and private laws in another. The chapter numbers, on the other hand, run consecutively only through one session starting with the number 1 at the beginning of each session, and comprehend both public and private laws. For example, at the beginning of the first session of a Congress, chapter 1 may be Public Law 1, and chapter 2 may be Private Law 1. In the second session the sequence in numbering by the public-law and private-law designation continues whereas the chapter number designation starts anew.

The same type that was used for the printing of the enrolled bill is used again for the first printing of the law—in pamphlet form. These familiar "slip-laws" constitute the official compliance with the requirement of publication called for in the definition of a law.

Unless a law contains a provision prescribing a different effective date it becomes effective on the date on which it is approved by the President. Usually 2 or 3 days' time are required thereafter for the printing of the slip-law, with the result that a law may have a binding effect upon the public for a brief period before being officially published or promulgated. Whether or not that situation requires a remedy is not within the purview of this article.[4]

STATUTES AT LARGE

At the close of each regular session of the Congress the laws section of the General Services Administration publishes a bound volume containing the laws of the session in a chronological and numerical sequence. This is known as the Statutes at Large. In

---

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

recent years the volume and page number of the Statutes at Large are indicated also in the margin of the slip-laws prior to the publication of the bound volume, more or less on the same principle as the practice with respect to advance sheets of law reports.

By the terms of a statute originally enacted in 1895 the Statutes at Large are legal evidence of the laws contained therein and are accepted as proof of those laws in any court in the United States.

Although the Statutes at Large contain a comprehensive index and table of contents in each volume, together with many helpful post and ante marginal notes, the volumes are solely a chronological arrangement of the laws in the exact form in which they were enacted. They are not intended as a consolidation or codification of the laws. In order to determine the present status of any law it is necessary to consult a code.

THE UNITED STATES CODE

The official United States Code contains a consolidation and codification of the general and permanent laws of the United States arranged according to subject-matter in fifty titles. The first six titles comprehend what may be termed political matters—the Congress, the President, the seat of the Government and the executive departments and officers and employees generally. The remaining 44 titles are arranged in alphabetical order ranging from Agriculture to War and National Defense.

The purpose of the United States Code is to show the present status of the laws, as amended, without requiring recourse to the scores of volumes of the Statutes at Large containing the original enactments and later amendments or superseding statutes. The effect of amendments on earlier laws is set out without repeating all the text of the amendatory acts.

The code is prepared by the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives. The current edition, known as the 1952 edition consists of six volumes and a second cumulative supplement containing the new laws and changes enacted during the 83d Congress is in preparation. New editions are published every 6 years.

When the first code was adopted in 1926 it was provided by law that it be prima facie evidence of the laws contained in it. During the last 10 years a program is being carried out to enact the code into laws, title by title. At the present time 11 titles have been so enacted, including title 18, Crimes and Criminal Procedure, title 28, Judiciary and Judicial Procedure, and Title 35, patents, all of which constituted substantive revisions as well as codifications. Each such codified title must, of course, be enacted by the Congress. The existing laws upon which it is based are specifically repealed and rearranged and simplified. The title may thereafter be amended directly without reference to the individual prior enactments of which it is composed.

The task of enacting all 50 titles into law—and then keeping them up to date by direct amendment is a gigantic one but one of great importance to the average lawyer who, day by day, is becoming more concerned with Federal statutes.

---

[1] The initial printing, as a slip-law, is discussed infra.

[2] A proposal that is amended after it has passed one House must be returned to that House for agreement to such amendment before being sent to the President.

[3] For the purposes of this article, a bill originating in the House of Representatives is the subject of the process discussed.

[4] Most European nations publish regularly an official gazette in which statutes are set out, with an effective date some time subsequent to such publication.

Every Day Is Ladies Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Democratic Digest for February 1955:

IN WASHINGTON, VA., EVERY DAY IS LADIES DAY

How does a lady get into politics? How does she go about running for public office?

It has been 34 years since the 19th amendment gave women the right to vote, but there are still many people around who think the ladies must follow a special set of rules to succeed in politics.

The story of the lady mayor of Washington, Va., and her all-lady government is a contradiction to this general belief.

Four years ago, Dorothy Davis, a young and pretty housewife, born and reared in Washington, Va., felt that she had a full-time job keeping house for her husband, George, a Government attorney, and raising their three children—aged 4, 7, and 10.

Today, she manages to do all this, as well as her public housekeeping job as mayor, attend national mayors' conferences, make speeches before civic and political groups, run a motel, escort foreign visitors around the Virginia countryside, and have a happy family life along with it.

Before the election of the all-lady government in 1950, Washington, Va., county seat for Rappahannock County, was just another of the little towns on the highway into the South. Surrounded by the magnificent Blue Ridge Mountains, its 245 residents, like those of so many towns, were reluctant to criticize its narrow main street, its dimly lighted side streets, and its historic buildings falling into a state of disrepair. These were familiar landmarks with which they had grown up, and few seemed to notice the gradual decay, or the need for any change.

But in 1950, Trial Justice B. M. Miller, a civic-minded native of Washington, surveyed his town with a critical eye and decided that something had to be done about it. As an incorporated town, Washington had its own mayor and city council, elected every 2 years. For a long time, it had become a routine affair, with little campaign activity on the part of the candidates, and even less activity on their part after they took office. It was time for action, decided Justice Miller, and the way to wake up the townspeople called for a startling idea—an all-lady slate of candidates in the upcoming election. His attitude, Dorothy Davis recalls, when he first approached her to run for mayor, was that women can't do any worse than the men had in the past, and they just possibly might do better. She agreed to run.

Justice Miller then persuaded a representative group of ladies to run for the council—Miss Ruby Jenkins, the county agent's secretary; Mrs. Louise Price, a school teacher; Miss Elizabeth Racer, a beautician; and three housewives, Mrs. Achsah Miller, Mrs. Dorothy Hawkins, and Mrs. Bobby Critzer.

Although the ladies give much credit for their first election to the campaign by Justice Miller on their behalf, today they stand on their own record. What 4 years of all-lady government has meant is clearly discernible to the residents of this pleasant valley town.

The historic Confederate monument in front of the court house has been restored and the lawn around the old court house building is neat and green. New street lights blaze on the side streets. Tarred shoulders on the pavement enable residents to park without fear of getting stuck in the mud, or obstructing other cars. Stop signs prevent travelers from speeding through the main street and offer some protection to pedestrians. New trash cans on the street corners aid in keeping the town clean and neat. A playground, the gift of an anonymous donor in admiration for the women's industry in sprucing up the town, provides safe recreation for the children.

After their first term, Mayor Davis recalls, "we felt we had to run again just to prove to ourselves that we were able to do it. I talked to people on the streets and went from door to door, asking people to vote for me," she added. "But in 1954 we did not even campaign." In a sense, that is true. But every new street light and every improvement in the town was a kind of campaign activity. The fenced playground, for example, was a constant reminder of what the mayor and council had accomplished.

In 1954, however, the all-lady government modestly stood aside and refused to file for reelection in order to give the men another chance. The voters, however, marched to the polls and wrote names on the ballots—all of them women—for a third term of office which began on September 1. Mayor Davis and four of the original council members, Miss Jenkins, Mrs. Price, Mrs. Hawkins, and Mrs. Critzer, with two new council members, Mrs. Alice Verner and Mrs. Christine Johnston, will govern Washington for another 2 years.

Although the ladies had no special rules on how to run for office or how to get into politics, they did have a set of rules for running the town that were different from the former male administration.

"It's all a matter of housekeeping," says vivacious Mayor Davis, "plus legal responsibility."

Mayor Davis explained it this way: "Since I didn't know anything about being mayor, my husband got me a copy of the Virginia Code on Municipalities, and I learned from that." For example, the young mayor learned that you can't run an incorporated town without a budget. It's illegal. And you can't levy taxes unless your budget exceeds your income. And you call a town meeting before you vote on the budget.

Then there is the matter of organization. This they didn't get from a book. In best housewifely fashion, the ladies organized into four "housekeeping" committees—the committee on streets and highways, committee on street lights, committee on weed cutting, and the committee in charge of trash removal. The budget-conscious ladies got contracts for weed cutting and trash removal, instead of hiring men by the hour as in former years. Much cheaper, and more efficient, leaving more money for other things. And the mayor candidly admits that she did "nag" a bit to get the highway department working on the roads.

Ruby Jenkins, only unmarried member of the council, also claims that she made no campaign for election in 1954. But as the county agent's secretary, Ruby is campaigning all year round without knowing it. For Ruby is the farmer's friend who helps him to get penicillin for his sick calf and does a hundred other things for her neighbors. She knows just where to get the best ham in the county. And she'll be only too glad to let you know when there's a good antique sale coming up.

All of the ladies are conscientious about their jobs and attend the regular council

meetings every Tuesday, at which Mayor Davis presides and votes in case of a tie. The fact that a tie vote happened only once, is an indication of the general agreement among the council members. In that instance, it was over the question of keeping licensed pets tied up—a question raised by some of the townspeople. Mayor Davis consulted the county board of supervisors on this problem and, on their advice, voted to give licensed pets their freedom.

As a result of the nationwide publicity given to the all-lady government, many visitors have come to the pleasant valley town. Mayor Davis' attendance at the annual conference of mayors, her talks before civic and political groups, stimulated interest in her government and brought an influx of visitors. In addition, there were official visitors including a delegation of Japanese men sponsored by the United States State Department, and a group of Government exchange students sent down by the United States Department of Labor, to observe a rather unusual example of democracy on Main Street, U. S. A.

With no hotel to accommodate the visitors, the Davises took it upon themselves to build an attractive motel on the main highway, bulldozed out a lake for swimming, and installed an outdoor fireplace, which has developed into a pleasant tourist stopover in the scenic Blue Ridge Valley as well as a pleasant recreational spot for the Davis family themselves.

It would not be quite accurate to credit all the joys of living in Washington, Va., to the all-lady government, but certainly they have added to the pleasures.

And it would seem from their story that the answer to those perennial questions about how women can get into politics and public office is very simple: just get yourselves drafted by the men.

Social Security for Lawyers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Bar Bulletin issued by the Boston Bar Association, January 1955, which I feel warrants the attention of the Members of Congress:

SOCIAL SECURITY FOR LAWYERS
(By Henry A. Malkasian)

The recent amendments to title II of the Social Security Act conferred a distinction upon the professions of law, dentistry, medicine, and related medical fields. Individual practitioners, including partners, in these fields now remain with very few exceptions the only self-employed persons to be excluded from the old-age and survivors insurance (OASI) provisions of the Social Security Act. Indeed, with very few exceptions, every other breadwinner in our economy, whether he be an employee or self-employed, is by law includable in a Government-administered retirement system.

With OASI embracing such an extensive group of jobs and job holders, it would seem that compelling reasons should exist to justify the exclusion of a few professions, including the legal profession which is necessarily our prime concern. However, when the reasons pro and con are weighed, the arguments advanced by the proponents of exclusion seem to be so far from compelling that they are not even convincing when compared to the reasons for inclusion. Nevertheless, due mostly to the general apathy of the legal profession as a whole, the spokesmen for exclusion were successful in having the Senate Finance Committee remove lawyer coverage from the bill as passed by the House.

I am not sure whether I can accurately summarize arguments proffered by the proponents of the exclusion of lawyers when such arguments seem to be confused and often self-contradictory. The prime argument, however, seems to be that OASI is a charity proposition, involving a Government handout, and consequently that it would degrade the profession to participate. This argument betrays an ignorance of the intent and operation of OASI. A succinct explanation of the operation, intent, and place in our national life of OASI was provided by President Eisenhower, who stated:

"Under old age and survivors insurance (OASI), the worker during his productive years and his employer both contribute to the system in proportion to the worker's earnings. A self-employed person also contributes a percentage of his earnings. In return, when these breadwinners retire after reaching the age of 65, or if they die, they or their families become entitled to income related in amount to their previous earnings. The system is not intended as a substitute for private savings, pension plans, and insurance protection. It is, rather, intended as the foundation upon which these other forms of protection can be soundly built. Thus the individual's own work, his planning, and his thrift will bring him a higher standard of living upon his retirement, or his family a higher standard of living in the event of his death than would otherwise be the case. Hence the system both encourages thrift and self-reliance, and helps to prevent destitution in our national life."

The provision for OASI is found in title II of the Social Security Act. Under section 201 thereof, a trust fund is created of the amounts paid in by those covered and by their employers in the case of covered employees. It is 100-percent contributory on the part of the participants and their employers, and to my knowledge the Government has not contributed one dollar to the fund. This is entirely different from State old-age assistance, which is given to needy individuals who meet certain requirements. Under OASI, need of an individual or the amount of his wealth or that of his estate are not determining factors in either his or his family's entitlement to benefits or the amount thereof. Nor are the monthly benefits a uniform amount for all recipients. Individual benefits range from a minimum of $30 a month to a maximum of $108.50.

The argument that lawyer inclusion would degrade the profession displays an unwarranted arrogance toward the vast majority of other professions, as well as for the many members of the legal profession itself who are covered. All members of the legal staffs of business corporations, all lawyers who are in the employ of other lawyers or of law firms (exclusive of partners), and all lawyers who receive corporate directors fees (in an annual amount exceeding $400), are covered by OASI, and of course, most lawyers who are in Government employment are covered by a retirement plan. Have they degraded our profession by their inclusion in a Government-administered retirement plan? Have executive officers of corporations, bankers, professors, architects, engineers, and clergymen become degraded or lost dignity by being covered under OASI? The answer seems self-evident. It is difficult for me to see how the dignity of the profession is aided by the fact that lawyers' widows and minor children may be the only persons in their particular situation who may suffer economically because lawyers are not covered.

The proponents of exclusion shift from the philosophical to the practical with their next argument. To put it simply, they say that lawyers don't retire at 65 and consequently it would be merely a costly waste of a lawyer's money to have him pay into the OASI retirement fund. The contradiction in the two positions is self-evident—How can a Government handout, or charity, be a bad bargain financially for the recipient? To partially answer the argument, however, maybe many more lawyers would retire if they had a pension from OASI to add to income from their own resources. Let us also bear in mind the many lawyers who are physically disabled and who cannot or should not be practicing after the age of 65. Further, whether a lawyer retires or not, he may some day leave a widow who would also be entitled to rights under OASI, or minor children who would be so entitled.

In any event, why not at least give each self-employed lawyer the option as to whether or not he wants to be covered? Such an option is provided for clergymen under the new law. Surely, if an individual clergyman is credited with enough sense, sagacity, and business acumen to be able to decide whether OASI coverage is advantageous to him, the spokesmen for exclusion of lawyers should at the very least concede that individual lawyers also are capable of exercising this same discretion. To hold otherwise is to lower that very dignity of the profession the maintenance of which is the keystone to their opposition to coverage.

Because the amount of benefits to be received upon retirement, and the time of enjoyment of the same, depend in each case upon the age of the individual, and his earnings, and indeed upon his survival (or the survival of his wife and minor children), it is difficult to generalize as to whether coverage would be a bargain or not. However, one is buying protection for himself and his family, and the only useful yardstick as to whether the investment is a good one price-wise is the comparative one. No insurance company, to my knowledge, sells any retirement policy, the terms and conditions of which are comparable to the terms and conditions of OASI, for premiums which are even close to the amount of premiums required by OASI. It certainly is the cheapest protection of its kind to be found today.

To illustrate, an accountant who became newly covered under OASI on January 1, 1955, becomes fully insured on July 1, 1956. Assuming that our accountant has attained the age of at least 65 years at that time, and that his annual earnings amounted to at least $4,200 in the year 1955, and $2,100 through the first 6 months of 1956, he can on July 1, 1956, retire and receive monthly benefits of $108.50 each month for the rest of his life. If his wife is also 65 years old, or when she reaches such age, she will receive $54.25 each month also. The total premium which he will have paid for such benefits will have been $189, a remarkable rate of return. Of course, this favors newly covered persons who are close to or have already exceeded the age of 65 years. Younger persons will have to pay in for a longer period of time before becoming entitled to retirement benefits.

The attraction of coverage to the young members of the profession lies, or should lie, in the extremely valuable survivors benefits provided by OASI. By his coverage under OASI, not only is a person building rights to a pension for himself and his wife when he and she reach the age of 65, but in the meantime he is insuring his life for the protection of his wife and minor children or dependent parents. This aspect of OASI never seems to be mentioned by the proponents of exclusion, nor is it alluded to by lawyers with whom I have discussed this subject matter. The insurance protection granted to the younger

participants by OASI is the same protection which a younger lawyer either cannot afford to purchase elsewhere or, if he has purchased it, he is probably groaning under the payments therefor. To these lawyers who can't afford to die, or who (because of insurance-premium poverty) can't afford to live, or to those who are uninsurable due to physical ailments, OASI coverage would be of incalculable value.

To illustrate once again with our accountant friend: If he earns $4,200 in the year 1955, and $2,100 in the first 6 months of the year 1956, and if he should die after July 1, 1956, leaving a widow and 2 children under 18 years of age, his widow and children will receive $200 a month until the oldest child reaches the age of 18 years. A reduction will be made at that time in such monthly benefits, and all benefits will cease when the youngest child reaches the age of 18, to be resumed when the widow reaches the age of 65 years. All this will have been bought with a total premium payment of $189.

The argument advanced that lawyers do not retire at 65 and therefore that they would be throwing away their money by contributing to OASI seems rather unconvincing when one considers the insurance benefits provided to a covered person's widow and minor children. The financial welfare of his family after his death is just as much a legitimate concern of lawyers as it is of other husbands and parents.

It is true that under OASI certain contributors will contribute without ever receiving any benefits. If a covered person does not survive to age 65 and leaves no widow, minor children, or dependent parents, there will be no benefits; or if a widow remarries, she loses her benefits. However, this is no different from fire insurance, casualty insurance, or automobile liability insurance. OASI is similarly insurance which is payable upon the happening of certain contingencies such as that of reaching age 65, of having a wife reach age 65, or of dying leaving children under age 18. Are these contingencies of sufficient importance to the self-employed lawyer to insure against? The proponents of exclusion apparently think not.

I urge every self-employed lawyer to immediately familiarize himself with the provision of OASI. Only those provisions are referred to in this article as were deemed to be of general importance. He then will be enabled to make an intelligent decision as to whether the exclusion of lawyers from OASI is in the best interests of himself, his family, and the profession. Such a reading of the act will at least provide an informed body of opinion among those to whom this matter is of overriding importance when lawyer coverage is reconsidered in the Congress, as it surely will be. Valuable rights may be lost when too few speak for too many.

Liberation and Self-Determination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much recently about the policy of liberation as an alternative both to appeasement of aggressive communism and to preventive war. I join with those of my colleagues who advocate the policy of liberation for enslaved and expelled peoples.

It is important, however, that we give some thought to what liberation requires in terms of specific foreign policy objectives and propaganda policies. To this end, I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Dr. Kurt Glaser, which appeared in the Ukrainian Quarterly, autumn 1954. Dr. Glaser is the executive secretary of Overseas Research, Inc., which is performing valuable work in the field of central European affairs and psychological warfare.

The article follows:

LIBERATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION

(By Kurt Glaser)

Americans in charge of radio output to Communist-controlled areas, faced with criticism, have tended to take refuge in reaction analyses, associational correlations, and other devices offered by psychologists to improve the technical quality of propaganda. Recently, however, there has been increasing awareness of a simple fact: Good communication begins with having something to say.

The "campaign of truth," however well staged, has limited appeal. It does not offer the victims of the Soviet power machine concrete hope for their personal futures. Representatives of the enslaved peoples, and Americans who are not content to leave them enslaved, call for greater positive content in American propaganda.

Positive propaganda implies concrete policy. The only meaningful statement which Americans can make to enslaved peoples are statements of American aims concerning their homeland. And if exiles are brought to the microphone, American endorsement of their statements is at least implied.

We can no longer choose whether or not to have a policy concerning nations now governed by the Communists. We have chosen: By beaming our broadcasts to enslaved nations over the heads of the puppet governments and by encouraging the political activity of anti-Communist exiles, we have committed ourselves to the need for policy. The only choice left is whether that policy shall be coherent, consistent, and in accord with American interests or the confused result of conflicting special-interest pressures.

Enslaved peoples have troubles beyond the mere fact of Communist control. All too often, political and economic struggles made their countries vulnerable to communism in the first place. Effective policy—and hence effective propaganda—must therefore go beyond the simple proposition of throwing out the present Bolshevist dictatorship. It must say something about the national aspirations of enslaved peoples.

Here, however, policymakers must overcome the existing disunity of anti-Communist forces. Many people feel that conflicts within and among the enslaved nations cannot be settled before liberation and that it is futile to try. Those who hold this opinion, but who nevertheless realize the need for concrete form and meaning in American policy, have sought agreement on certain basic principles. While these principles may not apply themselves automatically after liberation, it is hoped that they will provide at least a basis for mediation or adjudication.

A doctrine accepted generally by those who think seriously about the problems of liberation is that of national self-determination on the basis of equality of large and small nations. This concept has the following to commend it:

(a) It expresses the moral foundation of American political tradition;

(b) It recognizes the national communities as political realities which, in the present stage of human society, are stronger and more permanent than any government;

(c) It mobilizes, within each enslaved nation, powerful emotional forces of identification and loyalty, needed to give strength and cohesion to the anti-Communist movement;

(d) It is accepted by almost all political exiles and Americans with origins in the enslaved countries, however much they may disagree on other matters.

One reason why few object to self-determination is that, unless further defined, it may be stretched to mean very different things. A great Russian imperialist, for example, may argue that Ukrainians are Russians and that the Russian people as a unit should exercise self-determination. Ergo: it is wrong for the United States to support Ukrainian independence. Conversely, the principle could be applied to isolated settlements so as to justify German exclaves in Hungary and Rumania. When coupled with the concept of no-predetermination, self-determination may degenerate into a slogan for postponing rather than facing vital national issues. In this case, our mental processes dictate an unconscious presumption in favor of maintaining the status quo. Unless the question of the Russian Imperium is brought out in the open and subjected to a clear decision, policy will automatically become directed to liberating the Soviet Union as a unit and then deciding whether the non-Russian peoples are to be assisted toward independence.

Since the middle of the 19th century, self-determination as a moral and ideological force has led to the establishment of national states. This fact suggests that the principle commits the United States to encouraging nationalist ideologies as an antidote to communism. But is the national state the only proper expression of self-determination? Granted that the majority of Ukrainians want an independent Ukraine, it is equally obvious that very few Czechs advocate a national state of "Czechia." Some Czechs wish to perpetuate a unitary "Czechoslovakia," while others propose to federate with the Sudeten Germans, the Slovaks, and other peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Either solution involves the self-determination of several nationalities.

Self-determination can lead to quite different results when exercised by different nations. It often affects the welfare of neighboring nations, national minorities and the population of mixed border areas. Thus, a liberation policy, to have meaning as propaganda and as a basis for post-liberation planning, must undertake to state how self-determination is to be applied in specific areas. Since we cannot consult the public in Communist-occupied countries, Americans must accept the unpleasant task of passing judgment upon the arguments and proposals of the various exile groups and on the personalities and motives of the exiles themselves. Whatever decision is made will provoke bitter criticism.

Even those agencies which proclaim most loudly that they do not judge or predetermine do so nevertheless when they select certain exiles and reject others for employment in their radio stations and research projects. The exile with a well-paid professional job has money and time for politics and propaganda, whereas his confrere who drives a taxi or washes dishes is practically excluded from these activities. Every personnel decision involving an exile is in fact a choice affecting the shape of post-liberation Europe. Either we choose deliberately and with thought for the future, or we pick exiles with nice manners, who speak good English and "know the right people," and accept uncritically whatever policies they choose to serve up.

There is, of course, a danger that the attempt to apply self-determination to specific problems may degenerate into mere expedi-

ency which renders the principle itself meaningless. To avoid this contingency, it is necessary to examine the concept for its moral essence.

Civilization is by nature complex, and complex ideas are hard to explain. Mental laziness leads us to refer to the sum total of civilized values by the shorthand symbol "anticommunism." This sloppiness of thought permits even convinced collectivists to call themselves anti-Communists. Such concentration on what we are fighting against rather than for is not only bad propaganda: It deadens the philosophical processes which are the beginning of effective statesmanship.

In spite of its diversity in ideas, customs, languages, and interests, Western civilization stands or falls on one central doctrine: The absolute value of human personality. Agnostic and atheistic humanists have secularized the idea of personality as an ultimate value in itself. Such philosophies are, however, derivative and truncated. Because they cannot explain why the individual is valuable, they are ineffective against the more consistent Marxist materialism. In the main body of Western thought, each personality is valuable because individually created by a loving God, to whom each of us is responsible for what he does with his life.

The free society is based upon a central religious idea. Once human personality is accepted as of a supernatural value, the social problem is that of arranging the natural world so that human beings enjoy their God-given rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Some institutions, such as the family and the church, have a sacramental foundation. Others, such as the state, may and should support religious values, but are essentially secular in themselves.

Free government is based upon the self-determination of the individual within a divinely determined moral order. The tribe, the city-state, the medieval empires, and the modern nation-state are secular institutions. If they achieve moral worth as values and symbols, it is because they serve the development and expression of the human personalities which compose them.

In pre-Christian Europe, the only forms of social organization higher than the family were the clan and the tribe. The emperors and kings of the Middle Ages converted the Germanic, Slavic, and other peoples of Central Europe and organized them into dynastic monarchies. The local lords often shifted allegience from one monarch to another, so that boundaries were in a constant state of flux. Nobles and knights felt no repugnance against monarchs of other language or tribal orgin, and they were equally ready to fight against their closer ethnic relatives.

Nations as we know them today did not appear until early modern times. Only after the French Revolution did the idea take hold that each nation should have its own independent state. Since Central and Eastern Europe had been settled and organized on a tribal and dynastic basis, modern nationalism provoked a century of conflict culminating in two world wars.

Today, the nations of Europe have become genuine social organisms which express the personalities of their members. Since most Europeans are nationally conscious and treasure their national languages, cultures and traditions, the liberation of Central and Eastern Europe means the liberation of nations. The nations have a positive and important value for American policy, but this value is not necessarily absolute or eternal.

The "life, liberty and happiness" which the enslaved peoples of Europe seek are importantly but not entirely related to their national communities. Cultural and civic interests are national: Europeans want to use their own languages and follow their own customs at home, in the school and church, and in community life. They want to be fully qualified citizens and not members of minorities subjected to discrimination or forced assimilation. In short, they want to be themselves. These objections can best be realized through self-government of national communities.

But Europeans also want a higher standard of living: greater quantity and variety of food, better housing and clothing and wider cultural opportunities. They want to use their skills and resources to best advantage through access to raw materials and markets. They want to share in the life of the larger European community, they do not like to feel "isolated" or "provincial." Finally, they want military and political security against possible future aggression.

Whether both types of objectives can be fulfilled by national states depends on the facts in the individual case. To establish an independent state which is politically and economically viable, a nation must inhabit a compact and well defined territory. It must be large enough to function as a unit in the modern economic and military world, and it must come to terms with other ethnic groups within its borders. If such states are to enjoy peace over the years, they should not contain irridentist areas the people of which desire annexation to other states. Nor can border problems be solved successfully by expelling or forcibly resettling populations.

The Ukraine presents clearly the conditions for a successful national state. Experience indicates that the Ukrainian people cannot enjoy free development as a nation under political union with Russia. Geography as well as history tells us that the Ukraine is more than adequate as a political, economic and military unit. While there are areas of mixed population and divergent economic orientation along its borders, the Ukraine does not present any specially difficult boundary problems.

In the Danube Valley of Central Europe the situation is quite different. Here, the multinational Austro-Hungarian empire had been an efficient economic and military unit. A certain German predominance remained as a relic from dynastic times, but the Austrian Government had made noteworthy strides toward assuring the rights of nationalities in the Austrian half of the empire.

When Austria-Hungary was carved up in the name of "self-determination," the successor national states of Austria and Hungary were too small to exist as economic units. They fell into a perpetual depression from which they never recovered. Masaryk and Benes knew that an independent "Czechia" would be an absurdity, and so they persuaded the Slovaks and forced the Sudeten Germans to join the new multinational state of Czechoslovakia. The Prague Government tried to administer this artificial structure as though it were a Czech national state, with the result that Czechoslovakia fell to pieces when subjected to external pressure.

The nationalities of the Danube Valley are settled in such irregular patterns and so intermixed that national-state boundaries, however they are drawn, are certain to cause conflict. Any division into national states with resulting "minorities" would deny large population groups their rights of self-determination. Economically, the valley cannot prosper unless it is unified.[1] Czech and Hungarian farmers and miners are natural suppliers and customers for the factory workers of Vienna. The consumer-goods industries of German Bohemia need Austrian and Hungarian markets. Politically, only a consolidated Danube state would be strong enough to prevent eventual domination of the valley by the Reich or to support a free Ukraine against a possible aggressive move by Russia.

An institute to study problems of Danubian Federation is already functioning in Salzburg with Austrian, Czech, Hungarian, Slovak, and Sudeten German support. Major attention is given to assuring equal rights to all nationalities regardless of national boundaries (e. g. Czechs in Vienna and Bratislava, Slovaks in central Hungary, Germans in Prague and Brno). Federationists feel that with advance agreement on this point, the boundaries themselves will dwindle in importance. Conversely, if discussions of ethnic and federal relations were to be postponed as in 1918 until after the liberation of national states, boundary and minority disputes might so poison the atmosphere that federation would be difficult or impossible.

It is argued that what exiles and Americans say and do may be of little importance; that after liberation, "homegrown" political leadership will make its own decisions. Actually, political exiles (for instance Lenin, Masaryk, Benes, Sforza) often have been successful in assuming or returning to power. It is quite conceivable that after a Soviet collapse an American military government may have to call the shots in any case.

Self-determination cannot be exercised until after political discussion, and today such discussion is possible only in the free world. There is much opposition to Communism and Russian imperialism behind the Iron Curtain, but it is largely inarticulate. Although the enslaved peoples will ultimately have to make their own decisions, American and other free radio stations have an important role in preparing them for doing so. It is essential that public opinion be molded in such a way that the forces of freedom all pull in the same direction.

Since states are means for achieving the free society rather than ends in themselves, Americans must be discriminating in drawing upon nationalism as an ideology to set off against Communist propaganda. Nationalism is, no doubt, an explosive force, but will it explode in the right direction? It was, for instance, Czech nationalism, expressed in the desire to outmaneuver the Slovaks and the Sudeten Germans at all costs which led President Benes and his London exile government to sell out Czechoslovakia to Soviet Russia. Both German and Polish nationalisms were at fault in the dispute which set off World War II, and only Polish-German cooperation can secure unity of free forces today and peace in Northeastern Europe tomorrow.

In policy planning for Central and Eastern Europe, and in the selection of exiles to speak over American radio stations, encouragement should be given to that type of nationalism which seeks free development of national character and culture, and which recognizes the equal rights of other nations. The kind of nationalism which demands expansion of territory and power at the expense of others should be just as strongly discouraged.

Liberation is much more than merely driving out the present Communist dictators. It is the creation of a moral order without which true freedom is impossible. The specific measures required for this objective may be quite different in various areas—here a national state, there a federation and perhaps somewhere else an international district.

Americans are not infallible, but if we want to win this fight, we must accept the task of leadership which has been thrust

[1] For a detailed study of the growth of productivity and consumption in Austria-Hungary before 1918 and economic decline in the successor states after that date, see Frederick Herts, The Economic Problem of the Danubian States. London, 1947, Gollancz, 223 pages.

upon us. To give American policy and propaganda positive content, we should take the initiative. We should sit down with our exile and expellee friends and work out provisional solutions to Central and Eastern problems which seem fairest to all concerned, and then bend our efforts to securing maximum support for this program.

A National Scholarship Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I introduced a bill, H. R. 2211, on January 13, 1955, "to establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education." This bill was first developed by the United States Office of Education about 2 years ago in cooperation with some 30 national organizations in the field of education.

It provides a program of Federal aid by two methods, scholarship stipends administered by State commissions, and student loan insurance administered by colleges.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith an article which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 27, 1955, which treats with my bill. The writer is Miss Malvina Lindsay, one of the keenest observers of the American scene writing in Washington today. Her gentle wit and grasp of any subject with which she deals has earned her a solid reputation and a deservedly large following.

The article follows:

TUTELAGE OF THOSE WHO'LL RUN THINGS
(By Malvina Lindsay)

The new educational regime of 17-year-old Prince Don Carlos of Bourbon, who may some day be dictator of Spain, Generalissimo Franco willing, may seem a formidable one to many a college freshman.

He's getting geometry, trigonometry, and in addition what is vaguely called "mathematics" all in one dose, also geography (general and Spanish), economics, international law, social sciences, gymnastics every day, and preparatory military studies. He already speaks five languages. Later he'll go 2 years to a military academy, 1 to a naval academy, and wind up with air force training.

There's no mention of history, literature, philosophy. They will be needed, as will also a very large dose of social science if he expects to rule wisely, or even hold his prospective job in the world ahead.

Other young royal students of Europe, including Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands, now 17, and Princess Margarethe of Denmark, now 15, prospective rulers of constitutional monarchies, are now tackling the tougher phases of their education for their responsibilities.

In the United States, where tomorrow's leaders are as yet unveiled, there can be no special education of any selected person or persons for important tasks ahead. Hence, as many as possible of those who have potential talent for public life—as well as for scientific achievement—need the chance to go to college.

How to provide this has long been widely discussed, but has resulted in little action. President Eisenhower, in his budget message, pointed out the need for highly qualified scientists. The cry for engineers and technologists is a familiar one. But there is even greater need for leaders on many levels to understand the social and economic rumblings now shaking the world.

Those counted on to take the helm—or rather helms—in this country can do best, it is generally felt, if left free to find their talents and to develop them.

An extensive private system of scholarships now opens educational opportunities to many bright students, but not to a sufficient number. Chief reason is the scholarship grants have too many restrictions.

Many of them are regional, others are available only to certain groups, still others are confined to certain colleges and certain studies. Often they are awarded on the basis of competitive examinations, which means they frequently go to students who would have gone to college anyway. Probably their main handicap is their financial limitation. In 1946–47 the average private grant was $187.

A plan for an unrestricted system of scholarships, which would make college education available to a much wider range of promising students, is embodied in a bill introduced in the House by Representative FRANK THOMPSON, Jr., of New Jersey. This was developed 2 years ago by the United States Office of Education in cooperation with about 30 national organizations in the field of education.

It provides a program of Federal aid by two methods, scholarship stipends administered by State commissions, and student loan insurance administered by colleges. Scholarships would go only to promising students unable to pay for higher education. No stipend would exceed $800 annually and amounts would be granted according to need.

While even the highest stipend granted would not pay the full cost of a year at college, it would make the difference to many a bright student between staying on in college and falling out. It would enable many a talented high-school graduate to go on to college with some help from parents or from his own efforts. The loan insurance program would eventually be self-financing.

The top two-fifths of high-school graduates, as ranked by grades and intelligence scores, are regarded as especially desirable college material. In this group there are currently about 342,000 high-school graduates, according to the recent report, America's Resources of Specialized Talent, of the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training. Of these about 51 percent, or 174,000, enroll in college; 168,000 do not.

The will and ambition of students as well as their IQ's must be considered in any scholarship program. But it is estimated by educators that under a broader scholarship program the proportion of the top two-fifths who would seek to multiply their talents rather than bury them would be raised at least from one-half to three-fourths. Even that increase has great implications for the Nation's future supply of leadership and trained talent.

Suspension of the Copper Import Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, a bill, H. R. 3202, I have introduced today extends until June 30, 1958, the suspension of the present import tax on copper. The present suspension will expire on June 30 of this year.

The bill provides for a 3-year extension rather than a 2-year extension. Otherwise, it is identical with the bill which I introduced last year. It is confined strictly to copper and should not be confused with the import tax on lead or zinc or any other mineral or metal. It is confined strictly to copper because the copper situation in this country is in a class by itself, with problems peculiar to that industry.

This bill, in continuing the law which expires on June 30, also provides the same appropriate safeguards to our domestic producers by requiring the termination of the suspension in the event the price of copper should fall below 24 cents per pound and remain at that level for a period of 1 month.

Last year I said:

America's high standard of living is, in part, dependent upon an adequate supply of copper. Similarly, our national security demands that copper be available for the manufacture of the implements which help to guarantee that security. Employment of millions of industrial workers is bound up with copper. More than half of the free world's supply of copper is consumed in the United States. Our strategic metals stockpiling program also depends upon an adequate supply of copper.

There is not only no reason for modifying these observations, but, if anything, the world situation today emphasizes the validity of my remarks. Despite the fact that efforts are continually being made to expand domestic production, the additional tonnage being achieved will still leave a wide gap between domestic mine output and our requirements. The simple fact is that the domestic supply deficit—the difference between domestic crude production and deliveries—has been continuous since 1940 and averages one-third of our copper requirements. This deficit must be compensated for by imports, 85 percent of which come from the Western Hemisphere. If anything, the supply of copper is tighter today than when we last acted on similar legislation.

I have reason to believe that the continuation of the suspension has the support of the administration and of the overwhelming majority of the industry.

Research: A Great National Asset

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, an article in the current issue of the Wisconsin Alumnus magazine describes the amazing variety of research work which is being carried on at the University of Wisconsin. Twenty percent of the total budget of that great institution is dedicated to research of all types.

It has long been my opinion that research in both the social and physical sciences is one of the distinguishing

characteristics of the American way of life, and one of the most important contributing factors to our success as a nation. There at Madison, the effectiveness of research is being demonstrated throughout the entire year, as university scholars and scientists advance the frontiers of man's knowledge.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROLE OF RESEARCH

The average Wisconsin student, as an undergraduate, is likely to be little concerned with one of the university's major functions—the uncovering of new knowledge through research.

Not directly concerned, that is.

For his professors are active in research and scholarly effort. They have to be, just to keep up with their fields.

And with a constantly freshened outlook, teachers engaged in research can bring to their students a depth of teaching that is invaluable to both.

It may even be said that some of our average student's best professors are teaching at Wisconsin largely because of the research freedom that's offered to them. The drawing and holding power of this intangible, together with availability of such research facilities as libraries and laboratories, is often as instrumental in keeping top professors contented as are the practical considerations of salary scale and housing conditions.

Probably the undergraduate's unfamiliarity with the wide scope of research activity at the University of Wisconsin is shared by most of the State's citizens. Certainly as this committee approached its task, it viewed research work in many fields as something of a rather nebulous nature. But we discovered many unsuspected things in our tour of university research facilities and in interviews with research people ranging from deans to graduate assistants.

WHAT IS RESEARCH?

Research has been defined simply as "an effort to do things better and not be caught asleep at the switch." That's probably an apt definition, and translated into Wisconsin research it means such things as—

Successful identification and isolation by university biochemists of a substance in floral sweetpeas that causes a disease when eaten by humans or animals—a project instigated at the request of medical men who now see in the discovery the makings of an attack on arthritis and hardening of the arteries;

Development of a new natural cheese, procured with almost no hand labor and therefore will be cheaper for the housewife;

A new legal code for the State emerging from a cooperative effort among State government, bar association, and university research workers;

Greater efficiency in school administration and in teaching techniques;

More chance of winning the battle against cancer; Wisconsin has the third largest cancer study center in the world; or

Better understanding of the reasons behind political and economic trends in Wisconsin.

Research is often broken down into two types—basic research and applied research. It's the job of basic research to establish the basic facts of nature and human behavior that may be used as a launching platform for the more spectacular and more easily evaluated applied research.

Often there is but a thin line between basic research and that called applied. Not only is the former fundamental to applied research; many practical discoveries are made by scientists with no definite intention of finding anything of the sort at all. (Scientists have a name for this art of finding things one is not looking for—serendipity. Some folks possess the art to a greater extent than others.)

In the university exists a further breakdown of research. There is budgeted research, supported specifically by funds from State appropriations, gifts, Federal aids, and contracts. Most of this is scientific in nature.

Then there is related research, which the university expects of all its teachers. Funds for these projects (all closely related to their teaching function) are not reflected in the research budget, but are a part of the instruction budget. By far the greatest percentage of this is basic research or scholarly effort.

Yet there is often a relationship between budgeted and this so-called related research, particularly in the natural sciences. A professor spending his allotment of related research time may be engaged in work similar to that which he is following in budget research.

WHY RESEARCH?

While the university feels strongly that good research pays off in good teaching, there are other strong arguments the university offers to point up the importance of research.

Probably it's not even necessary here to elaborate on the vast contributions that organized research has made to technological progress and our American way of living. It was research, for example, that brought down the price of penicillin so that $100 worth in 1943 would cost only a nickel today. As a matter of fact, it was hours and years of pure research that in the first place made it possible to discover the beneficial effects of that drug.

The State of Wisconsin has long recognized the importance of research and, by statute, Wisconsin specifically designates research as one of the functions of the university. It has gone further than this, and since 1919 has consistently appropriated money for general unspecified university research. The university declares that these appropriations ($2 million in all) have been largely instrumental in building up a research tradition at the institution and in attracting more funds in the form of gifts and grants.

The university feels, too, that in order to carry on an informed mission of public service in agriculture and in other areas, continuing research is necessary to solve the practical problems facing the people of the State—not only through its own extension services but through other State agencies and private practitioners in various fields.

THE HOW OF RESEARCH

Research at the university doesn't "just happen." This is becoming more and more evident as research projects become more complicated and call for assistance and knowledge from workers in various fields. The value of the close physical relationship between various colleges on the Wisconsin campus became apparent to this committee as it studied the interchange of resources among specialists in various fields—a process the university calls cross-fertilization.

Of course, there does have to be a starting place for research—the idea. After this comes an investigation—for while duplication in research effort is commonly supposed by the public to occur, upon analysis it's clear there's little to be gained by any investigator in repeating work done by others, except where duplication for checking purposes is desired. So the research worker maintains close ties with other workers in the field, through technical journals, meetings, and personal correspondence.

There are further questions: Is time available for investigating this new idea? And money? How does it stack up against other ideas in apparent importance? If these first questions each get a "yes," the answers are still only tentative, because the project must be reviewed by department heads and deans if appropriations are needed. If no cash outlay is required, the chain is not so long.

It is the dean's task to pass judgment on the various requests and he then tries to keep his own fund requests at a reasonable level—that being defined as the most he can expect to get. What he actually gets, of course, is up to the university president, the board of regents, and the legislature.

Probably most budgeted research funds go toward salaries of research assistants, who offer minds as well as hands in providing the equivalent of the technical assistants used in industrial research. Some technical assistants are employed in the university, too, where the work is routine and not particularly associated with a learning experience. It is possible, university officials say, that more money spent on stenographic help—one form of technical assistance—would be of considerable value in relieving professors of routine detail.

In some instances, equipment costs represent a major outlay in a series of research projects. In many cases, however, researchers use joint facilities like the election microscope, the Numerical Analysis Laboratory, or farm plots. The university feels that the availability of these general-use facilities represents an important saving.

Ordinarily the university's role in research stops short of the development stage—that's left to commercial agencies. The same is true to a large extent in diagnostic work; there is no particular desire on the part of the university to compete with private agencies.

No single individual or group solely benefits from university research. All research findings—regardless of the source of supporting funds—are public property (excepting, of course, certain classified work undertaken for the Federal Government). They are given as wide distribution as possible—through the University News Service and over the State broadcasting service stations and on WHA-TV, as well as in professional journals and at meetings. Occasionally they find an outlet in books published by the University of Wisconsin Press.

As far as the individual professor is concerned, there's not much gold in the hills of research. It's usually not worth the effort of a scientist to take out a patent on a discovery; he would have to worry about establishing it legally, selling it, and waging a constant struggle to keep it from being infringed upon. And for what? Only 4 or 5 out of more than 50 Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation (WARF) patents have brought in substantial sums, and only a dozen more have broken even with patent and developmental costs. The research worker also is aware that any development probably has been made almost entirely on State time. Occasionally, WARF assumes a patent, and allows the researcher, or research team, about 15 percent of net returns—if any. With all this, it has become traditional at Wisconsin that discoveries should be made public and no individual patents be taken out.

The average faculty member is much more apt to make some extra money as a consultant to some commercial firm than as an inventor. The university takes the position that a man's recreational time is his own—and if he wants to spend some of it in work, that's all right as long as it doesn't interfere with his university work. The whole subject, however, is considered a constant problem all over the Nation and an American Association of Universities committee is presently studying it (under the chairmanship of President E. B. Fred). University officials declare that

"the Wisconsin faculty has shown remarkable restraint in consultative work."

It is understandable why the university feels it's at a disadvantage in ruling on extra income sources; in many cases, professors are making considerable financial sacrifices to remain in teaching and research. And it is natural that usually the best staff members receive the most opportunities to do private consulting.

RESEARCH MONEY

About $222 million is spent in this country every year to finance research in institutions of higher education. Of this amount, the Federal Government supplies on the average of 60 percent of the funds (and earmarks 95 percent of this for developmental research).

At the University of Wisconsin, the ratio of Federal support of research is considerably less than the national average, standing at 25 percent. University officials see two main disadvantages to Federal support:

1. Federal support could easily turn into Federal control—there is less danger when reliance is placed on a variety of fund sources; and

2. Should national legislative policy drastically reduce research appropriations, a federally supported research program would be left high and dry.

So at Wisconsin less than one-half of budgeted research funds is State appropriated (75 percent of these funds go into agricultural research). The other half comes from gifts and grants.

One-half of these gifts and grants funds earmarked for research comes from Federal moneys. One-fourth comes from the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, and the balance comes from other gifts and grants.

The grand total for all budgeted research in 1952–53 was $5,595,694.

Since 1928 the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation has given more than $8 million to the university, of which nearly $6 million has gone directly into natural science research. (The other $2 million has been used for special equipment, building amortization, fellowships, and the support of symposia.) Most WARF income has come from the vitamin D discoveries of Dr. Harry Steenbock, but the foundation also administers and develops other patents and conducts product testing. It would be difficult to overestimate the important part WARF has played in developing the university's research program.

Regardless of the source of research gifts and grants, professorial salaries are rarely paid from these funds. If the university is to have control over the research, it feels it must pay the salary of the principal investigator. There is also the chance that cutting off of any substantial amount of gift and grant funds would mean a very difficult adjustment in the faculty.

THE FUTURE OF RESEARCH

Indications are that the stockpile of basic knowledge is running low. The need for this country to keep up with the rest of the world in discovering this knowledge is obvious. Traditionally, and successfully, the universities of this country—both private and public—have played a vital role in the overall research pattern. Now, of all times, Wisconsin, and other States, will have to share the burden, or the Federal Government will be forced to step in to fill the gap.

A large percentage of Wisconsin research, of course, is directed at problems of particular consequence to this State. The university is pushing ahead steadily, and once in a while dramatically, in such fields as milk marketing, cranberry processing, statutory code revision, educational counseling, and sewage disposal. The list of research projects now underway runs into the hundreds.

In most fields research is becoming more complex than ever. In medical research, for instance, it requires a team of scientists to make any substantial progress in the treatment of heart disease. The Enzyme Institute (which is financed almost entirely from gifts and grants) is proving valuable as a site for training scientists even beyond the doctoral level. There is every indication that post-doctorate training of this type will become increasingly important as time goes on. While the university estimates it can continue to conduct this post-doctorate training and allied research from gifts and grants, the institution feels it important that the State should give at least tacit approval to expansion in this area.

Need for expansion of research effort in the social sciences and humanities, too, is a conviction of the university. The logic here seems evident upon considering that many of the world's problems are of social rather than technological nature. Fortunately, social science research techniques probably will become more efficient—although more expensive—with more use of electronic machines and other mechanical arts.

TOO MUCH OR TOO LITTLE?

Presently about 20 percent of the university's total budget is used for research. The administration considers this a good balance from the point of view of stimulating instruction, and would like to have this ratio maintained—even in the face of a great increase in undergraduate enrollment. The point, it says, is this:

"It's easy to say 'transfer funds from research to instruction' but that takes into account neither the financial structure of research, the need for the development of basic knowledge, the close relationship between research and teaching, nor the detrimental effect on the future standing of the university.

The Late Erland H. Hedrick

SPEECH
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting and proper that this solemn and dignified ceremony take place in this great form of democracy as a tribute from this body to the life and memory of one of West Virginia's most distinguished sons.

Not only do I extend my heartfelt sympathy to the people of the congression district represented for so many years, and so ably, by Dr. Hedrick, but I extend that expression of sympathy to the entire Nation. For while it is true, his home town, his constituency and his State lost a good neighbor, a firm friend, and outstanding public servant, the United States lost a great American.

As many of my colleagues know, Mr. Speaker, in this distinguished body some Members become more close friends than others. I shall always be proud to declare that Dr. Hedrick was one of my close and personal friends. I often wondered why Congressman Hedrick, a learned practitioner of the ancient and noble calling of medicine, entered the rough and tumble arena of politics. By knowing the good doctor as I did, and as long and as well as I did, I know from his great heart and from his practice of medicine and from his knowledge and love of his fellow men, there sprang this desire to bring his understanding and feelings to public service.

In performance of our duties in our great Committee on Appropriations of the House, year after year, in moments of great stress of soul searching in matters dealing with the lives and fortunes of America, and therefore, the world, I saw Dr. Hedrick stand firm in his belief in his God and country to always do the right thing.

I have had occasion, in the performance of our official duties, to visit various countries of Western Europe in company with the distinguished Dr. Hedrick. His charm and great sense of humor and deep appreciation of other people and other problems, gave us an ambassador of good will to these other people at a time that they and we needed understanding more than any other thing.

I enjoyed the visits made by me to the home of the good doctor and his gracious wife. Accompanied by my wife, who I am pleased to say is a dear and close friend of Mrs. Hedrick, both in Washington during our years there and since, the warmth and pleasantness of hospitality for which West Virginia is famous, was another cause for increasing endearment of our friendship.

And so today, with this solemnity in the fullness of my heart, Mr. Speaker, I can look toward the heaven and say to my good friend Congressman Hedrick in the words of the poet, which so well typifies your service to the people and your country:

So live, that when thy summons comes to leave that shore, which never yet has seen the image of a homeward sail, may perfect peace be yours, and where you lie dreaming know that you have not lived and have not died in vain.

A National Academy of Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a letter from Paul Harvey and an excerpt from his news of August 29, 1954:

RIVER FOREST, ILL., *January 24, 1955.*

The Honorable J. ARTHUR YOUNGER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. YOUNGER: Congratulations on your effort to get the Academy of Diplomacy off the ground. This must come if we are to match wits with the world.

I will be most honored if the enclosed contribution is of any value to you in this effort.

Let me know if there is anything more I can do.

Sincerely,

PAUL HARVEY.

Now the rest of the story. Twenty years ago they warned us of global war. They were right. Today we are being warned of global suicide. Every peace treaty has been nothing but an option on a bigger war. What's the matter? We can whip anybody outdoors. But every indoor bout we get beat. Our warriors can fight to the Elbe River. But our diplomats stop them there. Our soldiers can slug their way from Pusan to the Yalu. But our statesmen retreat to the 38th parallel. GI Joe American drags himself on his belly all over the bloody map of Asia while some Simple Simon in striped pants is giving it away over a cup of pink tea. We are entitled to a National Academy of Diplomacy. The men we train to die for our country are dead for nothing unless we have other men trained to win the peace for our country. If we can afford to put men through West Point and Annapolis and the Air Force Academy so we'll have capable officers to lead us in war, then we owe them an academy to qualify Americans to lead us to peace.

Listen to these honored names in our military history: Concord, Valley Forge, San Juan Hill, Argonne and Belleau Wood, Dakar, Normandy, Guadalcanal, Iwo Jima, Inchon and Pusan and Seoul. We won every one. Proud names. Names to make an American's spine tingle.

Listen to these names from our recent diplomatic past: Yalta, Potsdam, Tehran, Quebec, Dumbarton Oaks. Places where we divided Berlin, sold out Poland, picked Tito over Mihailovich. Places where we forced repatriation, demanded unconditional surrender. Places where our President sat with a lean young traitor at his elbow and parceled out the world to our paper allies.

Ever since we recognized the bloody-rag flag of Red Russia in 1933 we've been spending our sons and winning wars and losing ground anyway. Every time one of our magnificent military men got our enemies on the ropes, some compromising civilian policymaker has pulled the rug out from under him. Mind you, we should have a terrible feeling about people of this sort. Every time a Wedemeyer or a MacArthur, a Patton, a Van Fleet, or a Clark, or a Lawton has started to chase our enemies back home where they belong, somebody benched the winning pitcher. So we've lost a hundred million additional friends every year to communism since the war.

We need skilled diplomats. We desperately need capable, loyal, cagey, all-American diplomats. The kind who can go to the conference table with a poker face and a marked deck and an ace up each sleeve. The kind of diplomat who would be as American as Churchill is British. And, mind you, I respect him for it. I'm proud of Winnie when he looks out for his people first. Now I'd like to see a few American statesmen unafraid to wave the American flag.

Did you know that through the darkest days of World War II in the Pacific the Stars and Stripes were flying over the enemy-occupied Philippines? Because way up there in the jungle fastness of the Zambales Mountains of Luzon a handful of cavalrymen never gave up. They knew they'd die if they were caught, but they sweated it out. And on sunshiny days when the mountain passes were free of the enemy these American boys would unfurl Old Glory and let her fly in the breeze, lying there by the hour feasting on her glory. In 3 long years of enemy occupation of this territory the colors of our 26th Cavalry were never hauled down. Why, when Manila was being liberated and those boys made their way back through the enemy lines to present that flag to Gen. Douglas MacArthur it shook every man present to the marrow of his bones. Don't you promiscuous internationalists tell those lads not to wave our flag. I say if we'd had a handful like 'em running our diplomatic corps we'd never have had to face that ignominious Good Friday at Panmunjom, where American lives were spent for nothing while our courage was left on base in New Mexico.

We need an academy of diplomacy now. We're alone and we're outnumbered. If you march Chinese, double-time, past a given spot four abreast and kill them all as they come kill them off 4 by 4 and every second, they'd still keep coming forever. We can't match that production. We don't breed fast enough. We're outnumbered and still we're scattering our strength when we should be concentrating it. Our sons are ordered to march in every direction while our diplomats advance to the rear. We need a national academy of diplomacy, which would select young men the way the FBI selects them—for qualifications suited to their assignments—not egg-head intellectuals of mongrel allegiance. Weed them out right at the beginning. Weed out the rum pots and the blabbermouths before they are assigned to the State Department, not after; and staff this institution with a faculty of tested and proved career Americans. Borrow for 2 years some of the capable, loyal, civilian professors and instructors now at West Point and Annapolis. Salvage the experience of that large number of retired military officers who have seen diplomacy at work and had to fight when it failed. But don't leave the faculty selection up to the politicians or we'll be right back where we are now. We need taint-free diplomats, not some ward-heeling puppet who has sold 150 percent of himself like a broken-down boxer.

At the national convention of the American Legion in Washington this coming week, Minnesota National Commander L. J. Willett is going to ask the American Legion's endorsement of a national academy of diplomacy. Maybe this is a start. If you have a delegate there, urge him to support this resolution.

Back in my native Oklahoma, the Osage used to say, "White man fool Indian once, shame on white man. White man fool Indian twice, shame on Indian."

American Joe has been fooled too many times into fighting in too many jungles and rice paddies, in too much mud and up too many mountains, trying to win the very things his uncertain civilian leaders were giving away. It would be funny if it were not so terribly tragic.

So they shoot down our planes and imprison our citizens and ignore our protests. The right diplomacy could convict them for murder, but ours can't even get an indictment.

Then when our disillusioned friends turn on us, we try to put out the fire by piling on paper money.

In the three-and-a-half thousand years of recorded history, 8,000 peace treaties have been broken. Yet we continue to sell out our tangible resources and our irreplacable young sons in exchange for these worthless scraps of paper. Let's siphon off just one of those billions we're giving our friends and give our own next generation a break.

Give our own children a chance to be represented at the bargaining table by someone who knows what he's doing and who's doing it for us. Let's groom some Americans who know that red is more than a color and Hiss is more than a sound. Let's get our diplomats out of those little tweed pants and into some blue serge. And then help him grow into them before we turn him loose to wage peace. Let's train and equip some solid, flag-waving fundamental Americans who are of one definite sex and one permanent allegiance. Men who will fight only to defend our national honor and our national security and then fight with every weapon in the newspapers to win.

United States of Americans have been smart enough to split the atom. To force matter itself to give up its secrets. But the Kremlin's tyrants were enough smarter to pick our pockets of our secrets and talk us out of our warships. Remember Hitler lost with all his cannons. What Goebbels took with his typewriter. The strongest arms won't open a catsup bottle. But any housewife with know-how can.

What I'm saying is if we stay strong and get smart we can survive. Listen. There are 15 million Soviet citizens in slave camps. Fifteen million. That's 1 in every Russian family. The Soviet peoples are being forced to live under their own military occupations. They're going to get mad. They're going to change management one of these days. Dictatorships always do. They die because they are rotten to the core. Remember that. Dictatorships are always most vulnerable deep within their borders. In heaven's name let's quit attacking them on their fringes where they are strongest.

We need a National Academy of Diplomacy. With only 100 percent Americans qualified to teach or to enroll. For only a total American is a fit opponent for a total Communist. We need men groomed to give our enemies some straight talk and us some straight answers.

It's getting dark fast. We're close to the edge. Down there and just one step away from here is a super chamber of horrors. Right in front of us and just one step. We can't feel our way any longer. We need leaders who are schooled, trained, who know their way around. History's pen is in your hand, Americans. You must write the rest of the story.

The National Legion of Greek American War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, on October 1, 1954, I was very much privileged and highly honored to address a meeting of the National Legion of Greek American War Veterans at the 71st Regiment Armory in New York City. I am indebted to this outstanding organization of war veterans of Greek-American descent because at this meeting, I was honored with an award of the Cross of Merit of the Greek Legion.

In attendance were the national officers of the Greek Legion, National Commander Denys K. Zongos, Adjutant General Perry Voultsos, and members of Greek Legion Posts 1 and 3 of New York City and Ladies Auxiliary Post 2. Special guests included Col. K. Stefan Pomierski, the Very Rev. Canon John Malinowski, Commander Gust Zapnukayas of Post 1, and Mrs. Elizabeth Contogeorge, commander of Ladies Auxiliary Post 2.

Lt. Col. Perry Voultsos, adjutant general of the National Legion of Greek American War Veterans, made the presentation of the Cross of Merit and under unanimous consent, I include his remarks in the RECORD:

As a fitting reward for your concrete friendship and championship of the Greek cause wherever needed, for your everlasting moral support and undying affection for the Hellenic people, it is my sincere pleasure and proud privilege to present you, Congressman

PHILIP J. PHILBIN, with the Cross of Merit of the Greek Legion, with the assurance that your name has been hewn in golden letters on the centuries-old granite of Grecian history along with the names of many other American Phil-Hellenes who championed the cause of Hellas, such as Daniel Webster, Howe, and Clay.

Mr. Speaker, I also include in the RECORD the text of my remarks at this memorable meeting of the Greek Legion:

REMARKS IN PART OF HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN, OF MASSACHUSETTS, ACKNOWLEDGING RECEIPT OF AWARD AT CEREMONIES OF GREEK AMERICAN WAR VETERANS, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 1, 1954

Colonel Voultsos, Canon Malinowski, Mr. Pomierski, distinguished guests, and members of this outstanding pro-American organization, it is very difficult for me indeed adequately to express my appreciation for the great honor you have conferred upon me, but I want you Colonel Voultsos, and all your associates and members, to know of my undying gratitude for your kindness, confidence and esteem. You may be sure that I accept this honor with fullest humility and with the recognition that it carries with it not only your approval of my contributions to the veterans and to the Nation and to all your people, but also a very high responsibility to continue to stand loyally and unflinchingly in the Congress for those great causes of government and humanity in which we are mutually interested, and which are of such moment to the cause of free government.

It is not my purpose tonight to burden you with extended speech. But really if I were Demosthenes I could not possibly impress upon you the very deep feelings of appreciation and the renewed sense of dedication which your most distinguished award has prompted within every ounce of my being.

Your organization, and its superb leadership is serving a very high purpose for this Nation. It has grown out of devoted service and unselfish sacrifice. It is based upon a demonstrated loyalty to our beloved country which will ever serve as an inspiration to all our citizens. It aims to serve in peace just as its members have served in war with fullest concern for the well-being, the safety, the security of this Nation and for the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

We live in a time of greatest peril. We are beset by an evil worldwide conspiracy that seeks the destruction of human liberty and aims to impose a thralldom and slavery upon free men and women everywhere. We cannot be too vigilant in ferreting out the active agents of this conspiracy within our own Nation. We cannot be too determined in a standing up bravely, courageously and militantly before the great dangers which this conspiracy has caused throughout the world. It is a time for Americans to recapture something of the fine spirit and noble patriotism and firm resolution which enabled you and your comrades to defeat another great tyranny which was afflicting mankind and visiting our Nation with the threat of destruction.

You of Greek blood have a great and mighty heritage. Americans all, who have stood the acid test of the highest demands of Americanism with courage, valor, and devotion, you are descendants of one of the greatest races of all history, a race, a nation, and a people that has been mighty in arms, mighty in spirit, mighty in learning, mighty in its democratic orientation, mighty in its humane traditions, in its culture, in its immeasurable contributions to civilization. Above all, you spring from a people whose inspiring family life, whose loyalty to spiritual values, whose love of religion and belief in God, which has been practiced for centuries, typify a truly great and truly outstanding nation.

For the Greeks have felt, as civilized Americans have felt and still feel, that worthwhile human progress and belief in God Almighty are inseparable. The doctrine that without faith in the Divine Master no nation can long survive is a basic feature of Greek civilization—a doctrine which must be recognized more fully by all peoples of the earth if communism is to be successfully fought.

The achievements of the Greek people ring down through the ages with clarion sound of glory and grandeur. Pericles and the Golden Age, perhaps one of the few periods in all time when the fine arts, cultural life, and individual development in political and artistic values flowed in such a favorable climate.

The famed Acropolis, an historic monument which symbolizes a great culture, which has profoundly influenced human beings throughout the ages, a place of refuge and the inspirational center of glorious olden Greece, the place where Christianity took new and vigorous root, a place which still inspires the Greek people and the free world.

And Aphrodite, the goddess of beauty, typifying the magnificent art of the Greeks, not only beauty in the physical sense, but beauty of the soul, beauty of ideals, beauty of thought and culture.

And if time permitted, I could go on ad infinitum enumerating the monumental accomplishments of the Greeks, and I think that these glories should be recited frequently not only by your own people but by all true lovers of liberty and culture, because they exemplify so appropriately and beautifully the long successful struggle of man from the cave to the culture and civilization we enjoy at the present moment.

And let me remind you, my friends, that prophecy in the world did not die with the Delphic oracle. Faith in high ideals and undying determination to uphold them did not die when the Golden Age passed into history. We have visible signs, even unto the present hour and in contemporary times, in the heroic fight—an incomparable uphill fight characterized by bitter struggle and bloodshed—the heroic fight of present-day Greece and the present-day Greek people against communism which recently has electrified and inspired the free world. And like the Delphic oracle of the past, the success of that fight is a prophecy and a prediction and an assurance that in the future, just as the Greeks have done, all democratic-minded, liberty-loving, God-fearing peoples in the world following the leadership and example of our own great Nation and joining in a great human brotherhood embracing all those who believe in the true dignity of man and the sanctity of the individual soul will militantly defend and preserve our unequaled, our unparalleled, our incomparable institutions of democracy and justice.

Yes, my friends; I could tell a long story of the glories and the grandeurs of Greece, of the sacrifices and devotion and indomitable spirit of your forbears, the Greek people—a story of war and a story of peace, a story of invincible progress through bloody struggle, a story of peerless culture shaped by statesmen, warriors, orators, sculptors, artists, writers, musicians, the drama, the stage, the harp, and lyre, which sounded in the past a song of hope, strength, and courage—which united the Greeks of ancient times and now sound again, here and elsewhere throughout the world, to defy the unspeakable enemies of freedom and to rally true lovers of liberty to do battle against its enemies, to liberate the enslaved, to give new hope and inspiration to subject peoples struggling and suffering under the pall of persecution and exploitation and abominable discrimination that debases the dignity of man and disgraces modern civilization.

There is another side to Greek culture as it has influenced our own great country and that is its scholarship. The logic, the rhetoric and the aesthetics of Aristotle are as realistic and vital and meaningful today as when first written. The ideals of Plato still beckon to those who are pledged to scholarship and freedom of thought. In fact, if you would subtract Greek culture from civilization, there would be no civilization as we know it today because it is a primary cornerstone of our modern political, social and ethical life.

It is pertinent to note in connection with present trends in our own Nation which so greatly disturb us that the Greeks of old were not materialists. They were profoundly spiritual in their approach. They did not embrace mechanistic, sordid philosophies of the jungle which consign human beings to the status of the beast, of which we hear and see so much today. They were idealists, they had their feet on the ground and their gaze turned towards the heavens and for that reason, despite their many contributions to the material world, their greatest triumphs will be found, not in the world of matter or of substance, but in the world of thought and the world of the spirit.

Realizing these things, my friends, it is easy for any of us, except of course the Maxists Communists with their evil designs on personal liberty, to understand why with unquenchable purpose the modern Greeks against powerful revolutionary subversion have gallantly and successfully potected their free way of life. And we of America, greatest free Nation in history, may well be proud that our culture is enriched, ennobled and perfected by the presence and loyalty of so mony devoted industrialists, inspired American citizens of Greek heritage. Most of all our country is fortunate and blessed indeed to have men like you and the members of your organization and stanch Americans of every race, color, and creed who are fired with the patriotism, the loyalty and devotion to stand by our country in time of peril and need. With God's guidance, with wise statesmanship, with renewed dedication to the great principles of America, let us go forward to grapple with the problems of the present without fear, compromise or appeasement, confident that in time through adherence to our ideals and unselfish service to our Nation and interest in the common problems of humanity, loyally united to those of common bonds, we will find a way, not only to protect the security of our own beloved land, but to usher in an era of prosperity, security and peace for ourselves and all mankind.

Colonel Coultsos, I thank you one and all. Keep up the good work for the cause of Greece—a Greece again reunited with historic Cyprus and your invaluable work for America, our own great country and its cherished ideals of freedom, democracy and justice.

Veterans' Educational Benefits Should Be Extended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to include at this time the statement I presented before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee on January 25, at the public hearings being held on H. R. 587.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE HOUSE VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ON H. R. 587

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I want to thank the chairman and the committee for the courtesy extended to me and congratulate you upon the expediency with which you are acting to deal with a problem affecting the lives of so many of our military personnel and veterans. Of course, I would expect nothing less from the committee on which I have had the high honor of serving for several years and therefore know so well the industry and competency of its individual members. I have the happiest recollections of my membership here, particularly under the spirited leadership of the acknowledged champion of veterans' welfare, my distinguished colleague from Massachusetts, the beloved Mrs. Rogers.

Knowing the arduous schedule of this committee, as well as the multiple personal duties resting heavily upon each member, I have no intention of transgressing long upon your valued time.

I am here to urge you to promptly consider and approve, I hope unanimously, this bill to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952.

I think everyone will substantially agree to the need and the merit of this measure which, to my mind, affords but simple justice to the patriotic men and women who are now in the service, or will be by the end of this month. Any action to suddenly cut off these educational benefits is practically a violation of an unwritten understanding and virtual promise by the Government that persons going into the armed services in this period would have the privilege of pursuing their educational ambitions with Government assistance upon the termination of their enlistments.

Not the least of the aims of this bill is to remove any doubts in the minds of the persons affected and to make the extent of their entitlements quite clear, and unquestionably it will serve to do just that. It will, therefore, lift the morale of these young patriots and assure them the Congress has no intention of summarily taking away any of the benefits to which they understood they had a right. I submit that it is vitally important, more especially in the light of recent unfortunate developments in the Far East, that the morale of our military personnel, their families, and dependents be encouraged to a high level, and this proposal is designed to accomplish that objective.

We all understand that the need of prompt action on this measure by the Congress is great. I shall not, then, attempt to complicate consideration of this bill by introducing any discussion about granting educational benefits to those who enter military service in the future. I think that serious thought should be given to the extended projection of such benefits and I earnestly hope the committee will devote its attention to that subject in the near future. If, by any chance, such provision was included during the coming House action on this bill, I would be inclined to favor it on the basic ground that no one, not even the President, dares try to foretell what will develop from the dangerous venture upon which we are now embarked in the Far East waters and islands. I trust, therefore, we will have an opportunity to implement this legislation before too long, if the majority of the membership feels such action would be essential.

I realize full well that this committee will conscientiously act upon this proposal, and I earnestly trust you will determine to favorably report it to the House without extended delay, because it is most impressively meritorious and just on its face value.

My thanks again to you all for your kindness and courtesy.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it was fitting that yesterday the American people and the Congress should pause to pay tribute to one of the greatest military commanders the Western Hemisphere has ever produced. Gen. Douglas MacArthur. General MacArthur did not serve in one war, but in a series of wars. He fought for his country during a long period of national crises.

Space will permit me today to mention only a few of his great achievements. It would take many volumes to enumerate them all. General MacArthur made a great contribution to the security of America when he was Chief of Staff of our Army in the early 1930's. By his personality, tact in dealing with Congress, and his foresight, he was able to maintain through those lean years the nucleus of an Army, an Army and Officer Corps around which was built the invincible war machine of World War II. Few men could have obtained the appropriations necessary to maintain even that small nucleus during those days of economic distress.

General MacArthur's brilliant stand in the Philippines gave assurance and renewed confidence to the free world in 1942 when everything seemed to be going against us. General MacArthur, as commander in chief of the Pacific, never received over a small fraction of American manpower, nor did he ever receive any more than a very small portion of the industrial output of this great arsenal of Democracy. Notwithstanding this fact, he was able, by superb strategy, to defeat one of the greatest military machines of all history. When the war closed in Europe, General MacArthur and his valiant men had defeated Japan under the most adverse of circumstances. We will ever be indebted to him and his commanders for saving many lives by their miraculous efforts in the Pacific.

In command of our occupation forces in Japan following the war, General MacArthur rendered no less a service to the cause of human freedom. He would permit no joint occupation of Japan by the Communists. This policy was a marked contrast to the policy as followed in Germany. General MacArthur forestalled communism in Japan.

General MacArthur's leadership during the Korean campaign is unsurpassed in military history. My only regret is that he was not permitted to destroy the armies and supply bases of the Red Chinese. Under his command we could have stopped, for this generation at least, aggression in the Far East. We would have bolstered the hope of a chaotic and depressed world. There would have been no Indochina and no Formosa emergency today.

Since his service in Korea, General MacArthur ably brought to the attention of the American people the significance of the Far East in world strategy. For the first time, the American people began to realize that the Far East is the key to Europe and possibly to the whole world situation. The Communists will not dare move in Europe until they secure their Asiatic flank.

By passing the resolution on Formosa this week in this House, I believe the foresight of General Douglas MacArthur has been vindicated. I wish for him many more very pleasant and happy birthdays. I believe that as time rolls by, the true worth of General Douglas MacArthur to the whole cause of world freedom will be more and more evident.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to the House the following article by Constantine Brown which appeared sometime ago in the Washington Evening Star:

MACARTHUR'S ACTION DEFENDED—BOOK BY GENERAL WILLOUGHBY DOCUMENTS THE REAL STORY OF THE FRUSTRATIONS WHICH PLAGUED THE GENERAL

(By Constantine Brown)

At the time of former President Truman's abrupt and preemptory removal of America's great military leader, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, from command of United States and United Nations forces in the Far East, public opinion in the main was too shocked and confused to see clearly the basic considerations involved.

Charges and countercharges, attacks on and defense of the departing general came so thick and fast that the purveyors of clarity and truth had a difficult time making themselves heard, and the easily self-evident facts of the controversy were obscured in a smoke screen of politics.

But the truth has gradually made itself known, and the incredible situation of "war without victory" has been underlined by the humiliating armistice signed last year with the Chinese Reds at Panmunjom. Through the fog of distortion and misrepresentation, General MacArthur has kept his own counsel. He made his position plain on his return to the United States from Japan, giving the Congress and the people the benefit of the facts he alone knew best.

Now, some 3 years later, comes an authoritative book crammed with revelations on the Korean war certain to be a bombshell to those Americans who subscribed to the "wrong war at the wrong time in the wrong place" theory. The book, soon to be released, is MacArthur, 1941–51, by Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, General MacArthur's chief of intelligence during those years, and John Chamberlain. Publication date is to be September 29 by McGraw-Hill.

Here, in documented, cold, clear type, is the real story of the futility, the frustration, the unbelievable vacillation and timidity in high places that our foremost field commander had to face in his determined attempt to carry out the duties of his office and win the war his political masters had handed him.

Here is the irrefutable proof to set at rest for all time the constantly repeated charge that General MacArthur crossed the 38th parallel after the capture of Seoul in willful and reckless defiance of his orders. The vote of the U. N. on October 6 giving the general the explicit approval for the move is noted, and the orders of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington are quoted.

But of more dramatic interest are the staff notes taken at the time of General MacArthur's flying visit to Wake Island, in response to a Truman summons in the fall of 1950 before the Chinese Reds had intervened in force in Korea. Here another favorite canard of the MacArthur haters is exposed for what it is. The facts behind the well-publicized and completely false report that General MacArthur pooh-poohed the possibility of Red Chinese intervention, and pledged the return of American troops from Korea before Christmas are revealed in these notes to be at best the product of a brisk imagination.

The record shows all too clearly that General MacArthur's headquarters had warned Washington and the U. N. repeatedly and consistently that the Chinese Reds were massing troops north of the Yalu. Clinching evidence on the wariness of the supreme commander on this point is to be found in his instructions to the 8th Army on its advance north of the 38th parallel—that it was to be a reconnaissance-in-force with provision made at all times for an orderly and prompt withdrawal should the Chinese intervene.

Americans perplexed to know the reasons why our Nation fought a war with a hand tied behind its back will be sharply amazed to know, too, how well tied that hand was. The unbelievable spectacle of a great nation fighting an all-out war with its military forces strictly enjoined against taking any measures to blast the enemy's bases, with no reinforcements available, and with constant preoccupation with the prejudices and purely national interests of its allies acting as a prohibition against truly effective action, is not a pretty one. It is safe to say no other such war has ever been fought in the history of mankind.

Not only was General MacArthur forbidden by the JCS to bomb the Yalu River bridges across which poured the Chinese Reds in numbers affording them overwhelming odds against the battered American and South Korean armies, but the presence of Chiang Kai-shek's 5 million men in Formosa was neutralized by the Truman neutrality order which, in effect, guaranteed the Peiping Reds that Chiang would not annoy them. Two entire Red armies were thereby released from duty on the mainland opposite Formosa and promptly dispatched to the Yalu for war on American troops.

That General MacArthur was able, in the face of these fantastic impediments, to conduct the Korean operations at all was little short of a miracle. But the record in the book shows that he not only conducted them despite all the obstructionism and defeatism from his own side, but conducted them in the superbly skillful manner displayed in his masterful tactics and strategy of the Pacific in World War II.

If the facts are known, Americans everywhere should have no difficulty in correctly appraising the world Communist conspiracy and the steps so obviously needed to meet it. In the record of General MacArthur's conduct of the Korean war can be found, in startling detail, all the facts we need.

Postal Financial Balance a Theory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the January 25 issue of the Cleveland News, entitled "Postal Financial Balance a Theory":

Postal employees of Cleveland, through their national union chapter, protest any philosophy of hitching postal pay to the prospects of a self-supporting Post Office Department, and they have a good point.

Despite some reforming of rates and financing to be credited to Postmaster General Summerfield and Congress, the Post Office operation remains in a condition of considerable imbalance. The practical reason is that to raise rates on second, third, and fourth class mail to the point of making them pay their separate ways would be to raise rates so high as to destroy the usefulness of these promotional classes to millions who use, and benefit by them. They can be raised, but not to a support level.

To hitch postal pay to these half-intentional useful debits would be an injustice to one of the best organizations of workers in the world's history.

Not only that, but postal workers are committed by the law to non-post-office Federal work for which there is little or no postal remuneration—such as alien registrations, civil-service staffing, pursuit of lost military veterans, information service for every Government department, even service as treasurers and collectors for semipublic-welfare drives.

It is to the post office's credit that effective this winter, it begun to charge other Federal departments for frank-mail usage and to raise some rates. We are heartily for Postmaster General Summerfield's valiant attempt to make the post office financial balance closer than it has been during decades of abuse and imposition on the post office by all of us. We are for President Eisenhower's purpose of getting Congress to raise rates to take care of at least part of projected pay raises. That is only good business.

But if there is a class of workers who should be protected from injustice because of their general public-service spirit, it is the postal worker class. The News does not intend to advise that their salaries rest on a profit-and-loss accounting.

Rescue at Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald, January 27, 1955, concerning another Coast Guard rescue at sea:

FUEL LOW, PLANE BATTLES STORM AT SEA FOR 2 HOURS, DITCHES BY RESCUE CUTTER

NEW YORK, January 26.—In a delicately tricky maneuver, a crippled four-engine military plane covered hundreds of miles of stormy mid-Atlantic today, then ditched near a Coast Guard cutter. Eight aboard were picked up safely.

For an agonizing 2 hours and 21 minutes, the plane groped through storm and gathering dusk toward the Coast Guard cutter *Coos Bay*, a tiny speck on the vast, turbulent sea.

Then, minutes before nightfall, the plane found its target. The pilot brought his craft down expertly on the heaving, gale-swept sea. Waves ran as much as 13 feet high, the wind was at 40 knots. Lifeboats plowed to its side and the survivors were whisked to safety, 15 minutes after the landing.

Radio was the thin thread that brought plane and cutter together. The plane, bound from the Azores to Bermuda, lost 350 gallons of gasoline when a lever was accidentally thrown. Short of fuel and 1,000 miles east of Bermuda, there was no hope of making a landfall.

The pilot radioed Bermuda, said he was bucking vicious headwinds and despaired of reaching land.

The cutter, informed immediately, changed course to intercept the plane, meanwhile guiding the pilot in its direction by radio.

Then, in a race against darkness, the two converged across hundreds of miles of angry ocean.

The plane came within an eyelash of losing its race, for total darkness would have made a rescue all but impossible in such heavy seas.

The *Coos Bay* skipper is Comdr. R. W. Vaughan.

Aboard the plane, a Military Air Transport Service craft, were Capt. Paul S. Evans, its commander, of Jackson Heights, Long Island, N. Y.; 1st Lt. Jack W. Sugga, San Anselmo, Calif.; Capt. Edward L. Cobb, Cincinnati; T. Sgt. William H. Brooks, Jr., Sapulpa, Okla.; A1c Robert P. Hodge, Chicago; A2c Timothy R. Braun, Visalia, Calif.; Jenkins Elliot, a crewman; and Navy Lt. J. G. Bowen, a passenger.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, the centuries-old struggle for freedom and independence on the part of the Ukrainian nation constitutes an impressive chapter in the annals of human history. This indomitable will for national freedom clearly crystallized itself in the old Ukrainian Kievan state from the 9th to the 14th century, in the Ukrainian Kozak state from 1648 to 1783, and more recently in the Ukrainian National Republic from 1917 to 1920. As one of the first victims of Soviet imperialism, Ukraine, since the very inception of alien Bolshevik tyranny, has proved to be the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union. The destruction of its national churches, the horrible man-made famine of 1932–33, the mass murder at Vinnitsia in 1937–39, and the vast purges and deportations decreed by Moscow have failed to exterminate the spiritual and moral resources for national freedom in Ukraine. The historic capital of Kiev, with centuries of rich tradition and culture conserved in its vaults, still symbolizes today the indestructible hope and passion of a nation destined to be sovereign, free, and independent.

During the Second World War millions of Ukrainian patriots seized the short-lived opportunity of the German invasion to realize once again this hope, only to be frustrated in their valiant efforts by the scourge of another imperial-

ism. But this unbending will continues to be strong and powerful in the epic struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army—UPA—against the evil forces of Soviet imperialism, and in the resistance of the Ukrainian people.

As a nation of over 40 million people—the largest non-Russian nation behind the European Iron Curtain—Ukraine stands as one of our most important and natural allies in the eventual defeat of Soviet imperialism. Its historic claim to national freedom and independence cannot be ignored. Its place as a sovereign and equal partner in the mutual construction of the free Europe of tomorrow must be assured, if the foundation of permanent peace among freedom-loving nations is to be impregnable.

The Late Burnet R. Maybank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I have never before seen the State of South Carolina so shocked and saddened when they learned of the untimely death of our senior Senator, Burnet R. Maybank. Senator Maybank dedicated his life to the service of the American people. It is true that he represented the State of South Carolina, but his leadership and ability was felt in every State of the American Union and by the entire free world. Senator Maybank was a casualty of overwork and service beyond the call of duty, the same as many of our gallant soldiers in time of war. He worked long and hard on the floor of the Senate and in the committees for the people he loved.

After military service in World War I with the Navy, Senator Maybank began his political career as alderman in South Carolina's chief city, historic old Charleston. He subsequently became one of the youngest and ablest mayors of that great city. While serving as mayor of Charleston he ran for the governorship of the State of South Carolina at the age of 38. He was elected over a host of aspirants for the governorship, several of whom had a strong statewide political following. During Senator Maybank's administration as Governor, the miraculous modern-day progress of South Carolina was inaugurated. His leadership as Governor greatly contributed to that progress. In 1941 he was elected to the United States Senate to succeed his friend, James F. Byrnes, who was appointed to the United States Supreme Court. Burnet Maybank was reelected to the United States Senate in 1942. In 1948 he was elected on the first ballot over four opponents. As one of the candidates in that race, I came in contact with the splendid sportsmanship and fine spirit of our senior Senator. After this experience, I had a higher regard for Senator Maybank than ever before. In 1954 Senator Maybank was elected without opposition. This was the first time in the modern history of South Carolina that a United States Senator had been reelected without any opposition whatever in the primary. Senator Maybank was one of the few men since the War Between the States to be Governor and Senator.

As United States Senator, Burnet Maybank fought, among many other things, for preparedness. He worked untiringly for a great Air Force, Army, and Navy. He believed that the only road to peace was for America to be strong militarily. He ably represented the farmers and the textile industry of the South.

Space will not permit even a mention of his many accomplishments for our country. It would take volumes to cover his career and service to his people. Senator Maybank had a pleasing personality and was liked by people in every walk of life. The people of South Carolina had the utmost confidence in his honesty, integrity, and ability. He will be greatly missed in Washington and in South Carolina as time goes on. We formed a warm personal friendship and I miss him greatly in my work here in Washington. Our friendship began when I served as State representative and State senator while he was governor.

Senator Maybank reared a splendid son and two fine daughters. He was a devoted father and husband. He left his family a great heritage and tradition of service that will inspire them. Senator Maybank told me upon one occasion in the cloakroom of the Senate, "That it matters not whether you won or lost, but how you played the game." This was the philosophy of Senator Burnet Rhett Maybank. My deepest sympathy always to his wonderful wife and loyal family.

H. R. 1601, Regulating Practice of Lawyers and Others Before Internal Revenue Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have reintroduced in the present Congress a bill which I first offered last summer to clarify and extend the authority of the Treasury Department to regulate the practice of lawyers, certified public accountants, and others who assist the public in the determination of Federal tax liabilities, preparation of tax returns, and in the settlement of cases in dispute with the Internal Revenue Service. The new bill is H. R. 1601. The need for it was explained in my statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 4, 1954.

Apparently there has been some misunderstanding about the nature and purpose of this bill. It would not change anything. It would merely clarify and reaffirm what is actually going on, and has been going on for 40 years, in the field of Federal tax practice. Such clarification and reaffirmation are necessary only because local courts have attempted to change the established practice by holding that certain phases of Federal income-tax practice, which have normally been handled by accountants, should now become the exclusive property of lawyers.

The principal purpose of my bill is to affirm the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to regulate Federal tax practice. The bill would also reaffirm the intent of Congress, as expressed in the Revenue Act of 1942, that Federal tax practice should not be restricted to the members of any single calling or profession. This policy is as sound today as it was 13 years ago.

The proposed legislation would not grant to anyone any rights or privileges he does not have today. But its enactment should help to clarify a situation which has become needlessly confused in recent years.

National Commander in Chief of Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States Makes Nationwide Broadcast of Organization's National Beliefs—In This We Believe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present the text of an address delivered by Merton B. Tice, commander in chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, over the Mutual Broadcasting System on the evening of January 26, 1955.

In accepting the invitation to present this text in this manner, I am advised that permission was granted by the national headquarters, Veterans of Foreign Wars, for use of any or all of the script by any person representing the organization who is called upon for addresses during National VFW Week which commenced January 23 and expires January 29.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the history of this great patriotic organization, commonly and affectionately called VFW, is so well-known to all the Members of this great legislative body that it is unnecessary for me to say anything about it. With honor and pleasure, therefore, I present the distinguished national commander in chief's words as given on the nationwide broadcast during this significant National VFW Week:

IN THIS WE BELIEVE

It is a time-honored custom for civilized mankind each year to take stock, to formulate new plans. For organizations, as well as individuals, a new year provides a time for inventory, and a point of reference for the

formulation of new objectives, with retention of the best of the old.

With this procedure in mind, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States designates the week of January 23–29 as a time to invite attention to that part of its new plans that are believed to be in the national interest.

And at the top—legislative wise—were placed the objectives of our organization in the vital field of national security.

This, because we are keenly aware of the pitfalls and the perils of this fateful era in which we "co-exist" in the cold war. Many areas—both in the Occident and the Orient—are veritable tinder boxes that could spark the world to dreadful flame overnight.

Never in our national history has it been more necessary for America to be alert. And never has the strength and protection of our Armed Forces been of higher value to the Nation. The forces of the free world and hydrogen bombs comprise the major deterrent to open war.

We are told that an "atomic deadlock" may be expected in 5 or 6 years. Now what does this mean? It means—with but slight stretch of the imagination—that the United States and the Soviet Union could destroy each other—this in ultimate devastation, irrespective of which nation drops the first bomb, or fires the first shot.

And neither a slight superiority by either nation in bombs or manpower would—in the event of an "atomic deadlock"—affect the destructive result. These are awesome facts—but they must be faced.

Only by maintenance of armed might—with bombs and planes in readiness—will the catastrophe be deterred or averted. A wise man once said: "War breaks out overnight—but peace never does."

Robert Lovett, when Secretary of Defense, put it this way: "We must make an effort to get the only insurance that works—strength." And he added: "We tried peace through weakness for generations, and it didn't work."

Because of the ever-present danger of national apathy in the critical field of national defense, the Veterans of Foreign Wars themed its 1955 program to the security of the United States.

We submit, that: Without adequate security, all other American values—including representative government, individual freedom, social benefits, and economic resources—would be jeopardized. As citizens and taxpayers, we shall insist upon intelligent economy in the operation of government, but will oppose "pinch-penny" economy at the expense of security for the United States, and reasonable care for those who have borne the brunt of battle, and their widows and orphans.

After serious study of our present defense posture, and a consideration of measures proposed to strengthen it, we are agreed to favor strongly a system of Universal Military Training, or, in lieu thereof, a workable reserve program enacted by amendments to present laws. The VFW, along with other major veterans' organizations, has been familiar with—and favored in general—the triple-barreled manpower plan and program recently submitted by President Eisenhower to the Congress.

The creation, for the first time in our history, of a large combat-ready reserve is one of the most realistic steps ever taken for equitably sharing—in a democratic way—the citizens' responsibility for the defense of the Union. Too often in the past we have bought time with the lives of men.

We favor the maintenance of the most powerful offensive-and-defensive Air Force in the world, together with an adequate Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and merchant marine. We consider the National Guard plan for defense against enemy sneak air attack well thought out and feasible. We urge all veterans to do their utmost for civil defense. And have made our plans accordingly.

It may surprise you to learn that there are about 21 million veterans in the United States. Fundamentally, we base veterans' rights on recognition of their service to the past security and maintenance of the Nation.

Many are aged and ill. Therefore, in this category we shall urge the maintenance and expansion of the Veterans' Administration hospital and medical program in order to insure to the veterans of all wars adequate hospital care and medical treatment.

As an organization we hope that plans will be developed for the educational and vocational training of the dependent children of deceased combat veterans. (We support such a program by our VFW home at Eaton Rapids, Mich.) All such training of youth will greatly enhance the value of these young people to our Nation.

The decreased value of the dollar compels serious consideration be given to increased rates of compensation and pensions—with a liberalization of pension eligibility requirements.

We believe the housing loan program should be liberalized and its regulations more effectively protected.

As overseas veterans we shall never forget what we learned in our military service. We all found out early that adequate and competent personnel—with good morale—promotes national security to a high degree. In order to achieve this end now, we advocate laws that will restore fringe benefits previously granted members of the Armed Forces, and the expansion of hospital and medical care for their dependents.

It is the bounden duty of the Government to protect the rights of our fighting men in every reasonable way. For this reason, we believe that the most drastic action—short of war—should be taken, if required, to secure the release of all American prisoners of war held by the Communists.

Yes, this is a critical juncture in our relations with the fanatical Communist world. However, don't you agree that the 11 United States airmen prisoners in Red China should be returned, and an explanation given of the 900 other Americans missing in Korea who have never been accounted for?

They who created this Nation were not cowards—shall we be appeasers?

Furthermore, it is of contemporary relevance that we strongly oppose the admission of Red China to the United Nations. In fact, many of us feel that United States prisoners in China are being held for the ransom price of admission to a seat in the United Nations. This is the way international gangsters do business.

As an organization, the Veterans of Foreign Wars has always supported the United Nations. On the other hand, it is felt that the sovereignty of the United States can be maintained only by a determined resolve to oppose all efforts to convert the United Nations into some form of utopian world government or Atlantic Union.

The time has not arrived in the history of nations when its most powerful and democratic state can safely delegate its vital state affairs to other nations—no, not even to those who profess to be our friends. Aid, advise, protect, and defend within the framework of our commitments, but let us do all this under the provisions of our Constitution—and at our direction. Our immediate defense problems must definitely be kept in our own hands.

In order to provide a time for thought on our national sovereignty, our Constitution, and the many freedoms it gives us, the VFW sponsors each year on May 1, Loyalty Day. Congress has been asked to designate it as such. It is a day of rededication to that which has made our country great—a time when free men and women may pause to give thought to a major American conviction, denied by the Communists, that God gave us the right to freedom.

But one should also ponder—he did not guarantee it.

That poses the question, How may you and I maintain those liberties which it seems each generation must struggle for? On the collective action taken, on the collective answer of the people, depends our survival—and that of western civilization.

As Secretary Dulles said recently: "This struggle for peace cannot be won by pacifism, or by neutralism, or by weakness." And it could be added that inadequate preparation means failure to survive.

A word as to the home front. A salient feature of our democratic system—and much commented upon by foreign visitors—is our zealous concern in the way of aid, care, and support of the aged, the unfortunate, the sick, and underprivileged. No nation in history has ever done more for its people. There is still much to do.

We are generally agreed that in the field of community service there is room for all—individually, and particularly organizationally. Our highly effective community service program has grown through the years. In fact, it, and the loyalty day program, have won several top honors from freedoms foundation at Valley Forge. Basically, it is a program predicated on a citizen's responsibility to his neighbor and fellow man.

This duty of man to man has seldom been more practically exemplified than by the 80-year-old Dr. Albert Schweitzer, the Alsatian born philosopher, theologian, and medical missionary to French Equatorial Africa. This Nobel Prize winner—called the universal man of the 20th century—wrote:

"Whatever you have received more than others in health, in talents, in ability, in success, in a pleasant childhood, in harmonious conditions of home life, all this you must not take to yourself as a matter of course. You must pay a price for it. You must render in turn an unusually great sacrifice of your life for other life."

The great Schweitzer is proof of man's kinship to God.

His work is the ultimate in community service and democratic endeavor.

He is a high exemplar of practical religion and the Golden Rule.

In this present death struggle between Christianity and communism—between all religions and Marxism—few will deny the all-powerful spiritual factor. As Americans, we believe in a world under God. We know that our Founding Fathers traced rights—called by them "unalienable"—directly to our Creator. We believe that the religions and ethics of Protestant, Catholic, and Jew lead directly to the altar of the One God.

The message of Christ was: "Love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself." The message of Marx was: "Divide and conquer. Religion is for fools. Sow the seeds of hate."

It is because of the doctrines of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin that free men confront the most formidable challenge of modern history. Only force—in being—and the knowledge of great potential force, can stay the hand of international communism. Next, we believe, a spiritual revival, the force of vital religion, the faith of our fathers, will comprise the strongest vanguard against the spread of communism—while the memory of those who died for the country will inspire the living to maximum efforts to retain what our heroes have perished for.

The memory of those who fell at Lexington, Gettysburg, Chateau Thierry, in Africa, Europe, and those who died on distant isles and in the far wastes of the Pacific, will live. What an enormous debt we owe them. May their devotion to freedom's cause forever be enshrined in the warm heart of America.

They, and such immortals as Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, gained and preserved

the sublime spirit of liberty that underlies our Constitution—things beyond price: freedom of press and civic policy, freedom of speech and assembly, freedom of religion and conscience, and freedom of political life and individual convictions.

For these incomparable jewels, the product of untold sacrifices—my heritage and yours—every true American will fight to maintain and preserve—yes, even though it requires the pledge of life, fortune, and sacred honor.

It is a question of everything or nothing.

"For what avail the plow or sail,
Or land, or life, if freedom fail."

Short of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include therein a very thoughtful and forceful editorial from the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times entitled "Short of War," and urging a strong policy regarding our efforts to secure the release of the American airmen and presumably others imprisoned in Red China on trumped-up spy charges.

It is certain that a strong policy and a strong attitude is required if we are to protect properly our own fighting men and our own American citizens against the tyranny and oppression of Red dictators and to maintain our prestige among the nations of the Orient, indeed among all the nations of the world.

The imprisonment of American fighting men and others on fictitious charges and contrary to the specific provisions of the Korean pact constitutes, not only a breach of the agreement, but also it is a definitely unfriendly and inhumane act toward this Nation and toward humanity. It should be noted, however, that it is but one of several such acts in recent months, demonstrating an aggressive, belligerent spirit and an unfriendly purpose.

All Americans recall with indignation the unwarranted shooting down of our planes while engaged in a legitimate peacetime mission. Such outrages show a studied contempt for this Nation and its armed services and is aimed purposely at demonstrating to Asian nations that Russia and her satellites eagerly embrace every opportunity to insult and commit unlawful, belligerent acts against the United States. What are we going to do about it? How long will it be possible to live in so-called peaceful coexistence with such international gangsterism openly flouting and violating the sacred code of men and nations?

The American people want our American airmen released and they want indemnity for their illegal capture and imprisonment. If they are not released, this Nation cannot afford to overlook the fact. We must act speedily and decisively, diplomatically, economically, and in every other necessary way short of war to free these fighting men, to redress the grievance which has been pointed up by the calloused illegal treatment that has been meted out to them.

There must be no further appeasement of international brigandage. We must insist upon the recognition by the Soviets, their puppets, and all other nations, of the rights of American nationals and especially the rights of American fighting men.

I hope the executive department of the Government will continue to press in the United Nations, and in every other way, for appropriate redress in these cases.

The New Bedford Standard-Times editorial follows:

SHORT OF WAR

President Eisenhower has told the Chinese Communists what they wanted to hear: that the United States will not consider war to obtain the release of the 13 Americans imprisoned in Red China on "spy" charges, even if all efforts short of war should fail.

Mr. Eisenhower has pledged that the United States Government will take every step "humanly possible within peaceful means" to free the Americans. While he intended his words to offer assurance to the families of the imprisoned Americans, the statement gave assurance to the Chinese Communists instead.

The President has tipped off the Peiping government that the United States will not use the one measure the Chinese Reds fear: war. By showing his hand, Mr. Eisenhower destroyed whatever effect formal protests and threats of reprisal might have had. The words of the United States have been stripped of their strength because the President has said that these words would not be backed by armed force.

This is not to advocate that the United States declare war on China because 13 Americans have been imprisoned. The point is, if the President had not made his ill-advised statement, the threat of war, rather than war itself, might well have been sufficient to win the release of the Americans.

If the United States Government could convince the Chinese Communists that the American people are angry enough and courageous enough to fight, if necessary, to win the release of the 13 prisoners, they would be set free without a fight. Obviously, threats are of no value when the Chinese know the President will sanction only "peaceful means."

There was a time when Mr. Eisenhower was not so hesitant to give unqualified support to Americans in the Far East. During the presidential election campaign of 1952 the publisher of The Standard-Times, Basil Brewer, sent a telegram to Mr. Eisenhower questioning whether it would be wise for the United States to "take the chance of withdrawing from Korea" and whether the Korean war would be brought to an end by Eisenhower "with the American boys still in Communist prison camps." In a letter of reply to Mr. Brewer, dated Oct. 24, 1952, Mr. Eisenhower said, "We are not going to withdraw from Korea and leave our boys in Communist prison camps."

The facts of the matter are, we are withdrawing from Korea and we are leaving our boys in Communist prison camps.

On July 26, 1953, President Eisenhower hailed the Korean armistice with these words: "In this struggle we have seen the United Nations meet the challenge of aggression, not with pathetic words of protest but with deeds of decisive purpose."

Now that the Chinese Communists defiantly have broken the Korean truce terms by refusing to free American prisoners of war, the President has reverted to "pathetic words of protest."

There are men in America today who still favor "deeds of decisive purpose," but they get no encouragement from the White House. Senator KNOWLAND, of California, called for a blockade of the China coast as a means of forcing the Reds to release the Americans. Congressman LANE, of Massachusetts, suggested Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist forces be encouraged to step up raids on the Chinese mainland if the prisoners are not freed. Other Members of Congress are opposed to following a policy of "piecemeal appeasement," as Senator BUTLER, of Maryland, described it.

The military might of the United States can be an effective force for peace only if it is feared by our enemies as a potential force for war. Words of protest have no strength in themselves; they must derive their strength from men, guns, ships, and planes which stand ready to back them up. President Eisenhower, by ruling out the use of armed force in behalf of the 13 imprisoned Americans, has reduced this Nation's formal protest to an empty, meaningless gesture.

The Late Erland Harold Hedrick

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Masscahusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, just as the hearts of many are filled with sadness today, so is mine. In the passing of Erland Harold Hedrick, I lost a personal friend, the State of West Virginia lost a great son, and the Nation lost one of its most distinguished citizens.

Dr. Hedrick was a man who had many friends, irrespective of political party, and irrespective of station in life. No words but kind words were ever spoken by him or of him. He was a fine public servant devoted to the interests of his people. We will all miss him, but the memory of him will live unblemished, untarnished, and unstained.

Mrs. McCormack and I wish to join with the gentleman from West Virginia who has so eloquently spoken in extending regrets to Mrs. Hedrick and the family.

THE ROSE STILL GROWS BEYOND THE WALL

Near a shady wall a rose once grew,
Budded and blossomed in God's free light,
Watered and fed by morning dew,
Shedding its sweetness day and night.

As it grew and blossomed fair and tall,
Slowly rising to loftier height,
It came to a crevice in the wall,
Through which there shone a beam of light.

Onward it crept with added strength,
With never a thought of fear or pride,
It followed the light through the crevice's length
And unfolded itself on the other side.

The light, the dew, the broadening view
Were found the same as they were before;
And it lost itself in beauties new,
Breathing its fragrance more and more.

Shall claim of death cause us to grieve,
And make our courage faint or fail?
Nay! Let us faith and hope receive:
The rose still grows beyond the wall.

Scattering fragrance far and wide,
Just as it did in the days of yore,
Just as it did on the other side,
Just as it will for evermore.

Sky No Longer Limit, Savants Predict in 30-Year Air Forecasts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, one of the largest of the many great business activities which are located in the heart of America, Kansas City, Mo., is TWA—Trans World Airlines.

In connection with the 30-years-of-service anniversary which TWA celebrates this year, TWA recently held a very interesting symposium which is described in the statement which follows:

SKY NO LONGER LIMIT, SAVANTS PREDICT IN 30-YEAR AIR FORECAST

Passenger airliners 30 years from now will fly 2,000 miles an hour at altitudes above 15 miles and may be powered with nuclear energy, according to a symposium of leading aeronautical and astronautical scientists sponsored by Trans World Airlines at the Hayden Planetarium last night.

With Ralph S. Damon, TWA president, in the role of moderator, the symposium endeavored to raise the curtain for a 30-year look into the future as foreseen by Dr. Werhner von Braun, Chief of the Guided Missiles Division at the United States Army's Red Stone Arsenal; Dr. Fred L. Whipple, chairman of the department of astronomy, Harvard University, and Hall Hibbard, vice president of engineering, Lockheed Aircraft Corp.

Referring to the 30-years-of-service anniversary which TWA celebrates this year, Mr. Damon emphasized his company's interest in the progress of the next 30 years and announced a $100,000 prize competition intended to stimulate advanced thinking in aircraft design.

TWA will offer a grand prize of $50,000 to the person, his heirs or assigns, who this year submits the most accurate description of commercial aviation 30 years from now, Mr. Damon said. All entries will be microfilmed and placed in a sealed repository at the dedication of the new TWA maintenance base in Kansas City, Mo. The repository will be opened in 1985.

A second phase of the competition will offer $50,000 in prizes for a 30-word sentence on airline service today, providing an aggregate $100,000 awards in TWA's cosmic contest, which opened January 26 on a worldwide basis and will close July 31, 1955.

Some of the forecasts at the Hayden Planetarium Tuesday night exceeded the role of commercial aviation and touched upon the possibilities of manned space stations, robot-like rocket ships, and freedom from gravitational attraction.

Dr. von Braun's predictions, included a statement that the 1985 commercial airliner will probably not differ greatly in size from today's Super Constellation, but that the overall design will be quite different. The rocket expert does not believe that the airliners of 1985 will be powered by rocket motors, however. Instead, he suggests novel types of jet engines such as the ram-jet.

Dr. Whipple, on the other hand, expects the commercial airliner of the future to be much bigger, and possibly to accommodate passengers in the wings rather than in the body of the plane. He sees jet propulsion as the motivating force, but adds that "the power will be derived from some sort or nuclear conversion plant—in other words, a marriage between atomic energy and jet propulsion." Dr. Whipple also envisions converter-type aircraft capable of rising directly off the ground like today's helicopters.

Mr. Hibbard, while cutting Dr. von Braun's estimated speed to 1,500 miles per hour, adds some 20,000 feet of altitude. He foresees vertical-rising aircraft, particularly on local service airlines. And he suggests that low operating costs of turbo-propeller cargo planes may mean that freight and cargo will eclipse passengers as a source of revenue for the airlines. "All mail and parcel post," he predicted, "will be carried by air."

At the same time TWO released statements by a number of other leading figures in the aircraft industry, relating to aviation 30 years from now. Among those whose statements were released were officials of Boeing Airplane Co., Canadair Ltd. of Montreal, United Aircraft Corp., Douglas Aircraft Co., Convair, General Dynamics Corp., Glenn L. Martin Co., and Vickers-Armstrong Ltd., aircraft division. A pioneer airplane designer, Mr. William B. Stout, who designed the first all-metal aircraft, also contributed a statement.

Highlight of some of the statements follow:

"The next decade * * * will see jet transports widely accepted on airline routes of the world. * * * The piston engine will still play an important role and the turboprop will find its proper place in the efficient transportation of passengers and cargo at medium high speeds." (Mr. Edward C. Wells, vice president of engineering, Boeing Airplane Co.)

"Traffic volume on the world's airlines (will) grow * * * to about 500 billion passenger miles per year * * * to be handled by a fleet of aircraft 3 times the size of the present * * * all of these aircraft to be turbine powered." (Mr. J. Geoffrey Notman, president and general manager of Canadair Ltd., of Montreal.)

"The volume of traffic, especially in coach and cargo categories, will be multiplied several times over. There will not be much growth in size of aircraft but there will be much more frequent schedules and many new routes." (Mr. Arthur E. Raymond, vice president, engineering, Douglas Aircraft Co.)

"In the short-range, high-density traffic, intercity category, some form of helicopter or convertiplane will surely be in successful operation." (Gen. Joseph T. McNarney, president of Convair, a division of General Dynamics Corp.)

"Engines may be gas turbines, or even atomic, and there may well be some direct-lift devices incorporated." (Mr. George R. Edwards, managing director, Vickers-Armstrong, Ltd., Surrey, England.)

"Essentially all commercial transportation in 1985 will be via air in vehicles operating on principles not yet conceived." (Mr. G. S. Trimble, vice president, advanced design, Glenn L. Martin Co.)

Yes, There Is a Farm in Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, until just a few days ago it was my impression that there was just a tree growing in Brooklyn, but now I have discovered with some surprise that we also have a farm in our great borough. Of course, we have many wonderful youngsters who grow up to be fine and respectable citizens, but that kind of a crop would hardly come under the label of "farming"

I believe I am the first Member of Congress from the city of New York to serve on the House Agriculture Committee. Notwitstanding the fact that we have only one farm in Brooklyn, a tree and some flower-pot farmers, the citizens of my borough are extremely interested in agricultural affairs as consumers I hope to be of service to them and to others living in our great urban areas by bringing consumer problems into closer relationship with agricultural problems.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert into the RECORD a brief article carried by United Press earlier this week. The following article appeared in the Miami Herald on January 25, 1955:

THERE'S A FARM IN BROOKLYN, TOO—NEW YORK CITY CONGRESSMAN IS SURPRISED BY REVELATION

NEW YORK.—A New York City Congressman recently named to the House agriculture committee learned with amazement Monday there is a farm deep in the heart of his home borough of Brooklyn.

The farmer, who travels to the city on Saturday nights aboard a BMT subway, was just as surprised to find that after 40 years of tilling Brooklyn's fertile soil he at last has someone to listen to his troubles sympathetically.

The Congressman is Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO, a Democratic lawyer, of New York's Eighth District, covering the densely populated Williamsburg and Greenpoint sections of Brooklyn.

There isn't a farm in his whole district. In fact, there is only one licensed farm in the whole borough, which has a population of more than 2,795,000, including the Brooklyn Dodgers.

The farm, in the Canarsie section, is owned by Italian-born Alfonso Fiero, who started out with 60 acres 40 years ago and now has only a little more than 10 acres of tomatoes, peas, beans, spinach, and other truck crops.

On a clear day, Fiero can pause at his work, look into the west and get a fine view of the Empire State Building.

"It's news to me that there are any farms in Brooklyn," ANFUSO said.

Fiero doesn't know how long it will be before the Nation's biggest city swallows up his farm. Several factories are nearby and houses almost encircle his patch of land.

He employs 5 farmhands and has 3 greenhouses, a 3-family farmhouse, a summer kitchen, and a barn for his plow, seeder, duster, cultivator, weeder, and other equipment.

He has no water worries; his crops are irrigated by turning on an aluminum sprinkler system connected to a city water main. And he has only a few blocks to drive to take his harvest to the Brooklyn terminal market, situated on land he once owned.

But there are problems to farming in the city, and he wants ANFUSO's help in solving them. The biggest difficulty is price competition.

ANFUSO said small farmers all over the State made the same complaint to him and he is going to do what he can about the situation.

Mrs. Fiero is spared much of the kitchen work of most farm housewives, for she goes shopping at the neighborhood supermarket.

On Saturday, when farmers all over the country are driving long distances to town for a weekly outing, the Fieros just hop on the subway, ride to Times Square, and go to a movie or a Broadway play.

A Report on South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of my colleagues an article written by Mr. Joseph Buttinger, and appearing in the current issue of the Reporter.

In view of our deep interest in the fate of southeast Asia, I believe that Mr. Buttinger's personal observations on the conditions in south Vietnam warrant careful consideration. These are, of course, the observations of one American who visited Vietnam recently; other observers may have arrived at different opinions. Some press reports, for instance, would lead one to believe that the situation in south Vietnam is not as encouraging as Mr. Buttinger asserts.

Nevertheless, I feel that Mr. Buttinger's observations and comments contain some food for thought and will prove of interest to the membership of this body.

The article follows:

AN EYEWITNESS REPORT ON VIETNAM

(By Joseph Buttinger)

If you started out to visit a man who was reported to be dying and met him on his way to work, you could not be more surprised than I was last October when I visited south Vietnam, a country supposedly on the verge of collapse as a result of Communist infiltration.

Before leaving the United States, I had come to accept the unanimous verdict of our newspapers and magazines, and thought of my trip as a tragic opportunity to see an Asian country just before it was taken over by communism. That is how I felt when I went to Saigon on behalf of the International Rescue Committee to set up a relief operation for refugee intellectuals from the Communist northern half of Vietnam.

Among the politically sophisticated, the idea that communism in Asia can be stopped by other than drastic military means has long been abandoned as wishful thinking. The corollary is that because we are unwilling to go to war for Vietnam, the southern half of the country will follow the north into the Communist Camp.

Once in Vietnam, it did not take me long to feel that I had been grossly misinformed, and the longer I stayed there the more this feeling was borne out by the facts I learned. I came to realize that the information about the hopelessness of the Vietnamese situation was of French origin. For different reasons, before and after Geneva, the French have had a vested interest in maintaining that there wasn't much chance for an independent Vietnam. Like a doctor who has failed repeatedly in the treatment of a patient, the French have some reason for being dismayed at every evidence of the patient's vitality.

Yet this evidence exists. It has been said repeatedly in the United States press that the Premier of Vietnam, Ngo Dien Diem, is politically inexperienced. Actually some of the old French colonialists call Mr. Diem an American puppet, which is strange considering that they know through their own experience that for once they are dealing with nobody's pawn. Because he is firm, he is called "rigid"; because he is honest, he is called "politically inexperienced"; because he does not advertise himself, it is said he cannot win popular support; and because he is the first Vietnamese Premier who dares disobey the weakening French, it is said he is "unable to compromise."

SHOOTING DOWN CANARDS

Now let us look at the record:

As to the army, the dismissal of General Nguyen Van Hinh as chief of staff of the Vietnamese Army points up more than a dozen cases that could be cited. Not one of our correspondents saw that the fight between the premier and General Hinh pivoted around the most important political issue in Vietnam since the shooting stopped. They saw only a personal quarrel between two ambitious men. They did not understand that for the Vietnamese this was the test of whether their new independence would be genuine and permanent or merely another colonialist maneuver.

General Hinh was no doubt well liked by many foreigners, but with the Vietnamese people and the army General Hinh was about as popular in 1954 as Pierre Laval was with the French in 1944. Support for the premier has been growing ever since he proved, by winning out against General Hinh, that he is a stronger man than any of his French-supported predecessors and all the remaining puppets of the colonialists in his army and administration.

Some correspondents continue to report that the armed politico-religious sects of South Vietnam are proof of disunity and their frequent clashes signs of serious disorder in the country. Anyone familiar with recent Vietnamese history knows that the present administration has inherited them from the colonial regime. These sects are the Hoa Hao, the Cao Dai, and the Binh Xuyen. On Christmas Eve, Defense Minister Ho Thong Minh announced a cease-fire with the Hoa Hao after a sharp fight had resulted in the defeat of its forces by government troops at Longxuyen.

According to a January 10 dispatch from Homer Bigart to the New York Herald Tribune, Gen. Trinh Minh The, a former Cao Dai leader, had earlier placed his anti-French, anti-Communist guerrilla army of 5,000 men at the disposal of Premier Diem.

The third sect, the Binh Xuyen, operates the houses of prostitution and gambling establishments in Saigon and also controls the local police. Mr. Diem has issued a cease-and-desist order to its leader, Gen. Le Van Vien. The closing of the brothels would drastically reduce the revenue not only of the Binh Xuyen but also of quite a few French-sponsored high personalities, who have made fortunes on gambling and prostitution.

Another feather in Mr. Diem's cap is the impressive and successful refugee evacuation from the north. According to the latest figures some 600,000 have now come south.

The Premier's recent creation of a propaganda campaign at the village level and the recruitment of 10,000 Vietnamese to do the job is an adroit move—particularly for a man who has been criticized for his lack of public-relations sense. The effort is intended, of course, to counteract earlier successes scored by Communist Vietminh propaganda.

French critics of Mr. Diem have said that a Communist underground administration controls about half the territory of South Vietnam, and that an election would give the Vietminh 80 percent of the vote. A recent 70 mile trip by the premier through the villages of central Vietnam gave the lie to that. Mr. Diem attracted great crowds of enthusiastic demonstrators, and foreign correspondents accompanying him reflected their surprise in numerous dispatches.

Other hopeful signs are defections from the north. The latest of these, which occurred early in January, was that of the mayor of Hanoi and his associate, a member of the Vietminh delegation to Geneva.

POSITION NOT POWER

There is one big question that no American reporter in Vietnam has failed to ask: Why didn't the Premier use the power he was given 6 months ago to clean out corruption, to establish the authority of his government over the whole territory of the south, and to combat Communist infiltration? The simple answer is that he was not given power but merely an exalted position when he was appointed by Bao Dai.

Whatever power Mr. Diem had the day he took office consisted of his popularity as the only outstanding nationalist leader who had never agreed to become a puppet either of the colonialists, the Japanese, or the Vietminh, all of whom had wooed and subsequently maligned him for his refusal to serve causes that were not his country's. During its first months, the government of a nominally independent state had control neither of the army nor of the police. Both were commanded and controlled by French-sponsored officials of doubtful personal and political reputation. It is a testimony to the Premier's skill and strength that he has been slowly acquiring the power that he should have been given 6 months ago and that the story of his short term in office has finally become one of progress and consolidation.

THE ISSUE: INDEPENDENCE

The real issue of Vietnam—misunderstood, neglected, or purposely left out of the picture—has never been communism but nationalism. Indochina's fight for national independence made the Communist Vietminh strong. Its power and its victory in the north stemmed from the French refusal of independence for Vietnam. The Vietminh uses no Communist slogans; its propaganda is all concerned with the fight for national independence. Even today the Communist line does not mention any specific social or economic issue. Communist propaganda lives on the presence of the French in Indochina.

What Vietnam needs is not millions of dollars but thousands of experts. It needs technical advice and aid. It needs political support. It needs our help in freeing itself from the remnants of a decaying colonialism. We should send there an ambassador with sympathy for the people's national aspirations, an understanding of their social and political problems, and the authority and strength required for a difficult political job.

It may be said that there is no time for this, for elections are supposed to take place next year. But if the present rate of progress in south Vietnam continues, then the United States and the free world have a right to ask that free elections be held in the country as a whole—though it is difficult to see how elections in the Communist-dominated north can be free. If elections are to be free, we must reconsider the Geneva agreement, which did not insist on U. N. supervision or any other guaranty. Time would be needed for that, but time is exactly what the consolidation of freedom and the firm establishment of a democratic order would require.

WHAT LECLERC SAID

The French Army has lost a war against a people determined to fight for its national independence. It will lose again if the struggle for Indochina should once more become a military struggle. Only the people of south Vietnam can wage and win a war against Communist infiltration and aggression. May the leaders of the French Nation soon learn what one of their generals—Leclerc—understood as long as 8 years ago: "Anticommunism will be a useless tool as long as the problem of nationalism remains unresolved."

Appendix

One Hundred Years of Spiritual Blessing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an inspiring sermon entitled "One Hundred Years of Spiritual Blessing," delivered by the Reverend John F. Streng, D. D., pastor of St. John American Lutheran Church in Beatrice, Nebr. Dr. Streng delivered his sermon on Sunday morning, September 5, 1954, at the opening of the annual Nebraska State Fair in Lincoln; and the sermon has been appropriately referred to as Nebraska's centennial sermon. What Dr. Streng said should be read by every American.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SPIRITUAL BLESSING

SERMON POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

I. The rise and fall of any nation can be traced without fail to its attitude toward God and man.

II. From the hilltops of history we may now review an inspiring pageant of progress.

III. No subversive movement to overthrow God or government can succeed except the people serve false gods.

IV. Wars cannot deplete a nation's industry as quickly as indifference and greed of the citizens.

Deuteronomy 11: 7–12: "But your eyes have seen all the great acts of the Lord which He did. Therefore shall ye keep all the Commandments of the Lord which I command you this day; and you will be strong and go in and possess the land, whither ye go up to possess it. And that you may prolong the days in the land which the Lord swore to your fathers to give them and their seed, a land that floweth with milk and honey. For the land that thou goest to possess is not as the land of Egypt from whence you came out, where you sowed your seed and watered it with your foot as a garden of herbs; but the land you go to possess is a land of hills and valleys, and drinks water of the rain of heaven. A land which the Lord thy God cares for. The eyes of the Lord shall always be upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year."

This is a glorious Sunday morning. It ushers in an historic hour in the centennial celebration of our beloved Nebraska. Millions of citizens in America and abroad have read about our current century of progress.

From time immemorial, clans, tribes, nations, empires, have been inwardly impelled to rally fellowmen and foreigners, freeman and faithful, in spontaneous celebrations commemorating significant events. All such demonstrations are designed to impress God and man.

One scripture text from the Book of Deuteronomy is such an ancient preamble of dedication. It calls upon an infant nation to sing its national anthem of joy over odds of the past and faith in the future. It was not the first or foremost call, to worship the God of heaven and earth, who rules with truth and grace. Adam and Eve, first on earth, received God's mandate to institute the family and subdue the created world of plenty. It was a divine directive that the family unit shall be fundamental to the Nation. God urged them to set aside seasons of gratitude, during which all would gather, to offer first-fruits and other thankoffering, and invoke future divine pleasure.

I

History shows that the rise or fall of any nation can be traced without fail to its attitude toward God and man. The first of the Ten Commandments: "Thou shalt have no other gods before Me," and the gist of the Golden Rule: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," are history's most reliable barometer for measuring a nation's poverty or prosperity. Our beloved America, settled by Pilgrim fathers, exhausted from oppression and persecution for conscience sake has always been a haven of refuge. All who desired liberty for themselves and posterity have been welcome.

American pioneers courageously confessed their belief in God and good government. And this conviction was everywhere impressed upon American life. Our national anthem declares: "And this be our motto: In God is our trust." Our national perfect prayer pleads: "Our Father's God, to Thee, author of liberty, to Thee I sing." Both our American coins, coveted and cherished as a universal symbol of progress, and millions of letters and packages, franked with 3-cent stamps, proclaim a ringing challenge of courage and faith to all the world, namely: "In God we trust."

Even the revised standard version of our Pledge of Allegiance states that, under God, ours shall be a Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. These few examples show how inseparably interwoven American life is with the Christian religion. We, the people, have inherited a grave responsibility to maintain this high and holy standard.

And now Nebraska has reached a significant milestone. On May 30, 1854, President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. A single stroke of a powerful pen opened 5 million acres of Indian territory to settlement by the white man. The trinity of Omaha, Otoe, and Missouri Indians, through Chief Logan Fontanelle, had ceded homestead rights to the United States Government as public domain. Hundreds of future farmers and fortune hunters poured across the mighty Missouri River to stake claims. Local government centered in claim clubs from which the idea of the free homestead movement was born. And when in the course of human events and human nature, claims and counterclaims caused feeling to run high, President Abraham Lincoln signed the act on May 20, 1862; and today, down Beatrice way, the site of the first homestead has been preserved.

II

From the hilltops of history we may now review an inspiring pageant of progress. Nebraska's saga of settlement has been emphasized all this year in story and song. Today's centennial State fair, through a colorful historical pageant, will pay tribute to sturdy pioneers. Their undaunted courage to most danger is an inspiring challenge to us today. No frontier has yet been closed to exploration and exploitation. It would take volumes to sing the praises of the Cornhusker State. Political, military, religious, and industrial leaders have generously broadcast the story of the white spot of the Nation. Poet and peasant have contributed applause and appreciation. Nebraska's illustrious sons and daughters from every walk of life have received citations of merit.

Factual and fanciful experiences of the past remind us of our text. Moses, man of God, leader of a migratory tribe of international fame and fortune, had brought his people to the border of a new land. He submits to them three fundamental terms of public interest: (1) Remember the sweat, blood, and toil of your forefathers; (2) recall the vast and valuable inheritance now before you; (3) reimburse God Almighty for his divine leadership and love. Surrounding their heroic Commander in Chief, the 12 tribes of Israel listen to the reading of a new charter of freedom and an original bill of rights which promises priority over all nations.

Its ringing challenge is still evident. We and our children have inherited a land whose possibilities of perpetual prosperity are even now beyond human concept or calculation. How deeply humble and grateful we need to be to prove worthy of such fabulous reward. Engraved in stone over the enchanting entrance to our State capitol, are these words: "The safety of the State lies in the watchfulness of the citizen." We honor the forthright faith and fortitude of all who uphold this principle. Most of us remember that it was laid down in God's word from the beginning of time.

What Moses told his people has proved to be the wisdom of ages. His audience was composed of many tribes; so Nebraska's river-coast line was settled by a diversity of persecuted, privileged, and prejudiced people. From Peter Sarpy, squawman and carpet trader, to the Honorable William Jennings Bryan, Gilbert M. Hitchcock, and other illustrious heroes, from Mother Moses Merrill to the late lamented Bess Streeter Aldrich and similar heroines, an unbroken chain of builders add dignity and nobility to Nebraska's history. Only a sprinkling of the 2,732 persons recorded in the 1854 census had a vague opinion of the magnitude of the task of developing virgin soil. The shortsighted saw only the fleeting fortunes of their day; the stouthearted dreamed of a great empire.

A hundred years have passed. Today, several million strong, from western Nebraska plains, noted for hospitality and harvest, to the eastern empire famed for industry and institutions, we gather together to ask the Lord's blessing. Cross-country covered wagon furrows, eroded and erased by time and tide, cannot obliterate our hall of fame. Nebraska's roll of honor includes a long line of men and women serving church and State. Their names have been carefully and correctly inscribed upon the archives of our State Historical Society records. There should somehow be a mandate that every Nebraskan shall spend some time among those

halls to receive added strength and poise for the future.

Thank God for the chaste, colorful Constitution of our United States. Therein the Almighty Creator find not mere mention but as author of liberty, is given rightful recognition. What a masterpiece of clear thinking to insist that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. What a glorious proclamation to tell the world that no government may bestow or remove inherent birthrights. Let us carefully guard these fundamentals in the thorough education of our children from the little one-room schoolhouse to the spacious halls of the university. Let us this day lift united hands and hearts to God in thanksgiving, and forget not to honor those who laid down their life on the battlefield, that we might enjoy a safe shelter and shrine of freedom. Let neither jealousy nor hatred divide our people. There is no room in our Constitution or country for those who scheme to depose Almighty God, or deny liberty and justice to the outnumbered, or seek to overthrow our Government deliberately. Today's complex life and problems can easily be solved by a sane return to the simple suggestions of Jesus Christ, Saviour of man. Nineteen hundred years ago he was hung on the Cross on Calvary, because he refused to conform, because He defended rights and responsibilities of the individual. He died to make men holy, and He died to make men free, a truth which He advocated. And when we will again learn to place moral over material obligations, three-fourths of our national fear and frustration will miraculously disappear.

III

Let church and state in all their departments emphasize anew and again that no subversive movement to overthrow God or Government will succeed except the people themselves serve false gods. Among many voices, from the President of the United States to the parent in the home, there is a passionate plea to preserve our God-given heritage with might and main. Chaplain John Donnelly, now stationed at Tempelhof, Germany, writes in a recent issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: "Today the world is in a state of emergency surpassing any in history. Back of all this ferment of nations is the great conflict. While in 2,000 years the religion of Jesus Christ has brought under its sway some 500 million, in one generation the anti-christ religion of communism has brought under its absolute control 800 million behind an Iron Curtain and many more in every continent.

Arms and ammunition cannot destroy godless forces that bore within the human soul. We need to demonstrate a worthy patriotism and a united front against any evil combination. Let our homes remain bulwarks of Christian examples and influence. Let our schools stand as frontiers of good citizenship. Let our churches be citadels of brave-hearted, faithful children of God. Let our State and National leaders show the way to the Prince of Peace and His passion for service. No people in history have been so highly favored as we. Nebraska's youth is inheriting a rich land. Unlimited sources and resources of mine, water, field, and forest beckon for development. What will we do with God's generous gifts? Will you help build a world based on honesty and integrity? Will you remember the law and love of God as did your forefathers in shaping a new nation?

The Mayflower Compact, the Pilgrim's Chorus, Declaration of Independence, and other sacred citizenship documents point the way we must go that it may be well with us. Please listen to this postcript to our Declaration of Independence: "For the support of this declaration and with firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." Are you willing to pledge your life that America might live? Will you give generously and gratefully of your fortune that our institutions may remain and our Government keep watch o'er the ramparts of the world? Do we have any sacred honor left today, that our children may see that it is really an un-American activity merely to eat, drink, and be merry?

The seal of the great State of Nebraska declares: "Equality before the law." Is that still our standard of judgment? The constitutional debates of 1787 inspired Father Washington to exclaim: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God." Are we willing to subscribe to this declaration? What is our standard today? Morals or just money? Selfishness or service? Honesty or discretion? Courage or fear? May God give us men and women who place honor above profit, God above gold, Jesus Christ above the prophets of doom and gloom, virtue above vice.

IV

Wars and rumors of wars cannot deplete a nation's integrity in a century as swiftly as indifference, greed, and selfishness can in a decade. Moral righteousness is a matter of the human heart. Let righteousness be in the people, of the people, and for the people. "Our Father, to whose sleepless eye the past and future stand on an open page, like babes we cling to Thy protecting hand; change, sorrow, death are naught to us if we may safely bow beneath the shadow of Thy throne a hundred years from now." (Mary A. Ford, in a Hundred Years From Now.)

So let us conserve soil and soul that God may visit us with His goodness. So let us teach our children and children's children that they may hearken unto the voice of God and government. Then another century of unlimited prosperity and peace will God grant to those who do His will. Amen.

The Federal Reserve System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. DUFF
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. DUFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address on the subject The Federal Reserve System Is Unique, delivered at Syracuse, N. Y., on January 18, 1955, by C. Canby Balderston, a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM IS UNIQUE

(Address of C. Canby Balderston, member, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, at Syracuse, N. Y., on Tuesday, January 18, 1955)

Why is the Federal Reserve System unique? As to its basic aims, it is not peculiar in the sense of being markedly different from the central banks of other countries. Its aims, however, are different from those of a commercial bank. This may explain why commercial bankers sometimes find its workings as difficult to comprehend as do nonbankers.

The importance of a central bank stems primarily from the influence that it can exert over the money supply. The importance of this function has been sensed ever since the establishment of the Federal Reserve System in 1913, although the particular problems and emphasis have changed. When, prior to 1913, the National Monetary Commission studied the need of this country for a central bank, it was particularly concerned with averting the financial panics which had occurred every few years because of the inflexibility of the then existing monetary system. It was also concerned with the development of one which would be more responsive to the needs of trade. Specifically, it wished to give the country an elastic currency, to facilitate the discounting of commercial paper, and to improve the supervision of banking.

Since then, the basic economic and financial changes have taken place; old problems have been solved, and new ones have developed. Concern with the monetary supply has remained, however, even though there have been changes in emphasis. More attention has come to be placed on influencing the volume of demand deposits than of currency. No longer is a close relationship supposed to exist between fluctuations in the volume of commercial paper and in the volume of money. Central banking has come to be recognized as more than an aid in averting panics; it can make a positive contribution toward a healthy economic growth and a stable dollar. Related to these goals are such cherished aims as a rising standard of consumption; sustained high employment for the breadwinner; stable values for widows who live on savings, and for those who do the saving.

The problems of assisting to control the supply, availability, and cost of credit are highly intricate. In dealing with them, our central banking system has the tremendous responsibility of so influencing money and credit conditions as to assist in promoting economic stability and growth. By stability I do not connote a dead level of economic activity, but one that moves steadily into higher and higher ground. The supply of money, now of course consisting mainly of bank deposits, is a more potent factor in our economy than a century ago when households were more self-sufficient, and barter was a bigger factor in commerce. Today, money passes from person to person and from institution to institution in accordance with millions of decisions to buy or to sell. If the supply of money becomes excessive in relation to the goods and services available, prices tend to rise; if the converse is true, prices tend to fall. Therefore, if the value of money is to be stable and to assist the economy to move steadily upward, its supply must be harmonized with the flow of goods.

The impact of the general supply of money upon the economy and upon nearly all citizens is so great as to make it a matter of public concern. Thus, supervision and control by the Government is required. The apportionment of credit among individual borrowers, however, is not a matter for Government, but for private lenders. To determine, on the basis of intimate knowledge, which businessmen and which firms are good risks is one of the important contributions of an independent, private, commercial banking system. It is the responsibility of the central bank to exert an influence over the total amount of money, but the selection of the particular customers to whom loans are to be made is, and should be, left to the discretion of commercial banks. The role of the Federal Reserve is potent and indispensable, but it operates indirectly through relatively free and uncontrolled markets, so that there will be a minimum of interference with our essential freedoms.

Let me emphasize here that the quality of loans is as important, and of as great

concern, as is the quantity. The Federal Reserve influences the general availability of money, but the competitive forces of the market largely determine the extent and manner of its use. Although the initial responsibility for soundness rests with the makers of individual loans, it is of interest to the system, also, that the use of credit be sound and productive.

I turn now to the philosophy that pervades the Federal Reserve and guides its methods. The point has been made by Chairman Martin that its philosophy may be likened to the concept of trusteeship. Trusteeship involves obligations that extend beyond mere legality. It involves the highest ethical and moral standards in the carrying out of the mandate issued to the trustee. While that mandate is in force, it implies the courage to take actions, however unpopular they may be at the moment, that the trustee believes to be best for the country and its economy. Naturally, the trust indenture of which we are speaking, that is, the Federal Reserve Act, is not irrevocable, because it may be changed at the will of the Congress.

In bringing about this trustee arrangement to deal with the highly complex problems faced by a central banking system, the Congress is to be credited with foresight in the degree of independence with which it has surrounded the system. The nuances of independence are not easily spelled out. They involve an opportunity, like that of the judiciary, to act objectively without favor and without fear, free of private pressures on the one side and partisan political pressures on the other. Such objective action requires full recognition of the real needs and interests of all concerned, along with recognition of their important roles in a properly functioning economy.

The Federal Reserve as a central banking system has a combination of public and private elements in its organizational structure. Through long decades, different countries have experimented with the relation that the central bank should have to Government and to private enterprise. Once the Bank of England was owned privately. George Washington is said to have owned some of its shares. Now, its shares are all owned by the British Government. The Bank of France is also nationalized, as are all of the central banks of Russian-dominated Eastern Europe. In Belgium, the state owns one half of the national bank. Indeed, Mr. Roger Auboin, Director General of the Bank for International Settlements, has observed recently that the number of state-owned central banks in the world is greater than those not so owned. Whatever its form of ownership, a central bank must obviously be operated for the public good. And to be so operated, it should be independent of both political and financial interests.

The Federal Reserve Act provides for a unique combination of public and private elements which is peculiarly adapted to the situation in this country. It provides for a Board of Governors in Washington which has an independent status in the Government structure and reports directly to Congress. In order to prevent the inflexibility and lack of local knowledge that usually goes with overly centralized authority, it provides for a structure of 12 district banks, 24 branches, and some 250 directors. There is also a Federal Open Market Committee, which is composed of both Board members and Reserve bank representatives.

This structure may seem cumbersome, but it provides a mechanism by which decentralization of functions can be combined with such coordination as is essential to unity of action in the matters that require it. Within it, functions that can best be carried out locally are performed by the Reserve banks and their branches, while policy decisions on a national scale are made by the Board of Governors, and by the Open Market Committee.

The Board of Governors is composed of 7 members appointed by the President, and confirmed by the Senate. It has authority to establish the reserve requirements of member banks, within limits set by statute, and to establish margin requirements for purchasing and carrying stocks. It has the authority to review and determine changes in discount rates proposed by the Reserve banks, to approve the appointment of their chief officers, and to appoint three members of each of their boards of directors.

The Federal Open Market Committee is composed of the 7 members of the Board of Governors, together with the presidents of 5 Reserve banks. The 5 Reserve bank positions are rotated among the banks, except that the president of the New York bank is always a member. This Committee makes all decisions concerning System open-market operations, which influence the level of unborrowed bank reserves.

The district banks and their branches perform numerous operations that can be done best at the local level through personnel in close touch with local conditions. They administer the discount function, and their directors customarily initiate discount-rate changes. The district banks and branches comprise an immense network of economic intelligence through which the System is kept informed as to the changing problems and conditions in business, and within the commercial banks themselves.

The local directors, most of whom are businessmen and bankers who tend to abhor waste and inefficiency, provide an effective check upon the operating performance of the reserve banks. Six of the directors of each reserve bank are elected by member banks, which own all the stock. Such ownership is often viewed as a compulsory contribution by member banks to the capital funds of their reserve banks, rather than as proprietorship in the strict sense. Nevertheless, member banks tend to keep in closer touch with their reserve bank because of their stock ownership, and their representation on its board of directors.

The banks in each district are divided into three size groups, each of which elects one banker and one representative of commerce, industry, or agriculture. Three directors, including the chairman, are appointed by the Board of Governors. All of these directors must be free from banking connections. The directors, both those elected by the commercial banks and those appointed by the Board of Governors, bring to Federal Reserve problems a variety of experience. It must be emphasized, however, that although they have different backgrounds, their function as directors is not to represent special interests, but to serve the public.

President Woodrow Wilson, Senator Carter Glass, Paul M. Warburg, and the others responsible for the founding of the System were sensitive to the delicate balance needed between public control, and domination that would destroy the rights of individuals under our free-enterprise system. Accordingly, they contrived a system whose structure is distinctive in central banking. It is partly governmental, partly private.

The Federal Reserve reflects in its design a touch of genius. Its founders recognized that the United States had a heterogeneous population, tremendous variety in its industry, commerce and agriculture, and a banking system that contained thousands of different units. Some of these were national banks, some not. Had the United States been as small as England, with just a few private banks whose heads could be brought quickly into conference around the same table, the solution contrived by the designers of the Federal Reserve would have been different. But just as problems of size and mass are reflected in the structural design of the short-legged hippopotamus and the long-legged giraffe, so are the problems of this country's banks and commerce reflected in the Reserve System. There is a legend in Africa that the giraffe was designed by a committee. So, in effect, was the Federal Reserve, except that the result has more symmetry.

Among the freedoms that American citizens enjoy is the freedom of enterprise. Like the former Chairman of our Board, Mr. Thomas B. McCabe, I look on the Federal Reserve System as one of its great bulwarks. It is my view that business executives have a particular responsibility to see that the various aspects of that freedom are defended. Mere lip service is scarcely adequate.

If borrowers had not enjoyed it for so long as to take it for granted, they would place great store upon freedom of choice in the securing of credit. If an entrepreneur could get a loan only by applying at the office of some government agency, or if there were only one private banking institution to which he could turn, he would suspect that considerations other than his ability to repay were taken into accounts. Freedom to choose one's bank was not among the freedoms listed in the Atlantic Charter, but this freedom would seem very significant indeed if it had to be rewon.

Then, there is the freedom that we associate with the choice of a job. Job opportunities have been so abundant during the past decade as to provide wide election to men and women entering the labor market. During the first half of this decade, about 700,000 new workers had to be absorbed each year. In the first half of the 1960's, however, it will be necessary to provide job opportunities each year to 1.2 million youngsters. That will be the period during which the war babies will be seeking employment. To enable young people to choose the jobs best suited to their respective tastes and abilities will call for a high level of employment, and the full use of our productive resources and facilities.

And then there is the freedom to buy what one chooses. Consumers who have the requisite buying power now enjoy a selection of products neither known, nor imagined, when I was a boy. This abundance is to be credited chiefly to the spectacular advances in technology. As Dr. Kenneth Mees has pointed out, the rate of technological advance has been increasing at a rate that has itself been increasing. But the point that is appropriate here is that the ability of businessmen to manufacture and sell new things has been aided by their ability to secure the requisite funds. In the main, these funds have come from private sources.

And so, there are certain economic freedoms in addition to the traditional freedoms of speech, religion, and conscience. The preservation of these freedoms, infinitely precious to all citizens, is a particular responsibility of those who are part of the business community.

Tribute to Robert H. (Sam) Baldock, of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Robert H. (Sam) Baldock, of Oregon, is

one of the great highway engineers of the Nation. Many of the road-building reforms instituted under his leadership have spread to the rest of the Nation—for example, rural freeways which are not saddled with tolls.

Mr. Baldock celebrated his selection as Oregon's engineer of the year only recently, and I should like to ask that there be included in the Appendix of the RECORD an article in tribute to this unique public servant. The article was written by Ann Sullivan, and published in the Oregonian of January 23, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BALDOCK MOVES METHODICALLY, WHETHER AT WORK OR AT PLAY

(By Ann Sullivan)

There is no compromise with fact and truth in one of Oregon's most conscientious citizens, Robert Hugh (Sam) Baldock, veteran chief highway engineer.

Baldock, boss man under the highway commission of the expenditure of some $50 million a year on Oregon's highways, Saturday was named "engineer of the year" at an annual dinner meeting of the Professional Engineers of Oregon at Portland's Columbia Athletic Club.

A framed certificate, presented by H. Loren Thompson, president of the engineers, honored Baldock for his lifetime of outstanding service to his State and to the profession of highway engineers.

"As State highway engineer, he has pioneered in research and the principles of highway design and construction," the certificate said.

Commissioner William A. Bowles brought greetings to Baldock from the city of Portland.

This recipient of many professional honors, known nationally and internationally for his pioneering work in highway design, building, and financing, faithfully tackles almost everything he does with a scientific, analytical mind.

That goes not only for engineering problems, but the bridge he plays well, the monthly poker game, the Saturday golf games (rain or shine), his reading and thinking habits.

GOOD JOE TO FRIENDS

Yet there is wry, good humor, and kindliness behind his almost-tight mouth and his rimless glasses (for nearsightedness). And his friends—of which there are many—call him not only a gentleman, fine consistent golfer, admirable companion, and good sportsman, but a good Joe.

White-haired Sam Baldock was born July 6, 1889, in Trinidad, Colo., a cattle and coal-mining town on the old Santa Fe Trail. He was 1 of 2 children (a sister, Ruth, died at 14 from scarlet fever). His father was a cattleman.

The son attended Trinidad High School for 3 years, then New Mexico Military Institute for 2, obtaining a little college credit there.

He almost made it through the University of Colorado in 3 years, but was short about 10 percent of his course. He was supposed to be a member of the 1914 class, but actually received his bachelor of science degree from the University of Oregon in 1938 after some correspondence work.

HONORARY DEGREE CONFERRED

The following year he wrote a thesis and obtained his civil engineering degree. In 1946 the university conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of science.

Coming west to get a job (after his marrying Austa Marshant in Colorado in 1913, she died in 1946), he came first to Idaho. Most of his undergraduate work was in mining and railroad engineering.

He took a job there that summer as inspector and instrument man on the building of a dam, powerhouse, and transmission lines. Later in the year he came to Portland, taking a job for 6 months as a transitman for the Northwestern Electric Co.

Then to Astoria, where the port commission was building docks in bid to make its city leading port of this State. In 1915 he took a job with the State highway commission, still a transitman—the surveyor who reads the angles.

He remembers well that first job, and thinks of it every time he whizzes over the swooping four-lane Pacific Highway across the same spot—about 7 miles south of Cottage Grove.

It was in Pass Creek Canyon, a mile of highway costing $5,000, and it was one of the big jobs in the State at the time. This 20-foot-wide roadway was built with horses and scrapers and wasn't even graveled until quite a bit later.

It carried all of maybe 30 vehicles a day, most of them horse drawn.

Said Baldock with a twinkle, "Yes, you could drive from Portland to the California line in those days at an average of 10 to 15 miles an hour, it was so rough."

DEPARTMENT STARTS SMALL

There were about 50 people employed by the highway department then. Today the department has 3,000. Yearly highway expenditures now are about $50 million. In 1915, what Baldock recalls was "a heavy construction year," total outlay was $600,000. Baldock lived all over the State in those days, wherever the jobs were. He was a transitman until 1916, when he became locating engineer, in charge of making the location of new roads. He laid out almost all of U. S. 30 from Arlington to Ontario.

In 1919 he became division engineer, in charge of the eastern Oregon division. In 1925 he became maintenance engineer; in 1930, assistant State highway engineer, and in 1932 was elevated to the top post, when Roy A. Klein went to the Bureau of Public Roads.

TOP LAYMAN IN CHURCH

He is a member of the New York Academy of Science, the Highway Research Board, Washington, D. C., the University Club in Portland, is a Scottish rite mason, and a member of the board of vestry of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Salem, where he is past senior warden, top layman's job.

Baldock is a member, also, of the Newcomen Society of England, Tau Beta Pi, the American Society of Civil Engineers, and the American Association of State Highway Officials.

He is listed in the international blue book of world notables. Probably his top award was received in 1950, the George S. Bartlett award for distinguished contributions to highway progress.

In 1939 he was invited to read a paper at the International Road Congress at The Hague. He could not go but did send his paper, a report on the nonskid features and the light-reflecting properties of paved-road surfaces.

TAKES TO AIR OFTEN

He travels widely and is a member of United Air Lines 100,000-mile club. In fact, he has already passed his 200,000-mile mark in air travel.

In 1939 he was chosen by the Department of State to attend the Third Pan-American Highway Conference in Santiago, Chile.

Possibility the four highway accomplishments for which he is best known are these:

1. He originated the technique of oiling roads, beginning experimentally in 1923 in eastern Oregon when he was division engineer there. It is national practice now.

2. He pioneered in geometric highway design.

In order to correlate all the factors of design to one standard, he said by way of explanation, "we selected as a standard, the speed at which motor vehicles could operate safely. That standard was adopted in Oregon in 1936. The Nation adopted it in 1946, a decade later."

WEIGHT TAX AUTHOR

3. He is author of the weight-mile tax for trucks, devising it in 1937. The legislature adopted it in 1947.

4. The highway department's system of study of highway economics, believed to be one of the first in the Nation to do so. We keep an account of every highway, determine its earnings, measure its present worth, and keep track of its depreciation.

Somewhat of an innovation, too, is the Oregon Highway Department's use of scale models of highways and highway projects. Baldock said they were developed because few laymen could read blueprints.

In order to sell our ideas, our artists first drew sketches, then finally the scale models were adopted (first: the new Columbia River highway) which not only helped the public to understand but helped the engineers themselves.

Oregon is one of the first States to build rural freeways without tolls, and of these Baldock is extraordinarily proud, particularly the new Wilsonville cutoff between Portland and Salem, where wide, planted center strips break glare of oncoming lights.

About all of his engineering decisions Baldock is a firm taskmaster, studying carefully first with scientific approach and then staying with his findings in spite of outside pressure.

"An official," he explains his system, "should search for the truth and make his decision based on fact and truth and not be swayed therefrom except when additional facts may point to an error in the first decision. There should be no compromise with essentials. A decision should be made on the basis of affording the greatest good to the greatest number at the lowest cost."

And he stuck ever so tightly for two bitter years to the need for Salem's one-way grid system, finally adopted and finally liked, even though some of his best friends were inconvenienced.

BOSS SETS EXAMPLE

Two department rules he enforces strictly are no drinking on the job and no families traveling in State cars. Employees who don't follow suit get fired. He obeys them himself to the letter.

His main floor office in the shining white highway department building is in the Center and East Summer Streets corner, a big room with a huge relief map of Oregon, attractive colored photographs of many of the State's natural assets, a conference table, desk, and neat bookcases.

Baldock usually eats lunch at home, which is catty-corner through the building across the street at the Royal Court Apartments. He and the present Mrs. Baldock (Verona Lehmer, whom he married in 1947—she was a widow of an engineer; the families had been friends) live there in a pleasant, smallish double apartment.

Lunch is usually light (favorite, crab au gratin) and is often followed by a couple of hands of cribbage, with Mrs. Baldock getting pretty good now at knowing his system with fives.

Baldock has three children by his first marriage, Robert M., Bonnie, and Dorothy. Bonnie is now Mrs. Perry Andrews, of Los Angeles. The son, an engineer for the Forest Service, has two children, Robert Hugh, 14, and Janet, 10.

Mrs. Baldock has one daughter and two granddaughters of her own.

Baldock, wearing mostly grays and blues, is a neat, almost natty dresser, liking conservative ties and Homburg hats—and he has a special rain outfit for golf.

His good friend and golfing partner (others of the foursome are frequently William Rector, a private accountant, and Col. Leonard Hicks, who operates an accessory business) is Rev. George Swift, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

TWO MEET ON COURSE

Reverend Swift merrily remembers the first time he met Baldock. It was on the Salem Golf Club course. Said the rector:

"He was having some trouble with his putting, and he expressed himself * * * vigorously, as befitted the occasion.

"Then he said, 'Young man, what is your business?' I said I was rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. This was the only time in our 25 years of golfing together that Mr. Baldock seemed at a loss to express himself.

"He's an interesting man, whether he's talking about his impressions of a great book he has just finished, the solutions to a complex engineering problem, or just how he made an eagle that time on the No. 14 hole on the Salem golf course."

Norman P. Mason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a highly informative and interesting article on the career of the present Federal Housing Administrator, Norman P. Mason. This article, which appeared in the December 19, 1954, issue of the newspaper Il Progresso, highlights Mr. Mason's qualifications for his important position.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

N. P. MASON, FEDERAL HOUSING COMMISSIONER, TACKLES HOT POST WITH BUILDING INDUSTRY FULLY BACKING HIM TO DO A GREAT JOB

(By Carl Soresi)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—One of President Eisenhower's most troublesome problems earlier this year was a cleansing of the widely publicized windfall scandal that was brought to light in the Federal Housing Administration. Profiteering builders had made millions during World War II out of FHA insured loans. The Nation, Eisenhower felt, demanded rectification.

After lengthy consultation to seek the man he felt could do the job, the President named 58-year-old Norman P. Mason—a man widely respected in building trade organizations and one whom Eisenhower felt could muster the big hand needed to help get the FHA back in its honored place. From the job that quiet-spoken, shrewd "Yankee" Mason has been doing to date, President Eisenhower is not regretting his choice. On the contrary, he considers Mason one of the brightest recruitments of his administration.

Mr. Mason is no novice to the building industry—and one might safely say he has been in it since he was a baby. He was born in the little town of Willsboro, N. Y., in 1896, where his father had been sent by the New York & Pennsylvania Co. to build a wood pulp mill. Logging and lumber mills were the Mason table talk.

In 1910, father Mason moved to Plattsburg, N. Y., to establish his own builder's hardware business. There, young Mason finished high school at the age of 15 cum laude and won over his father to let him work in the store. Soon Mason could talk intelligently with builders about the recondite items in the hardware world—from butt the latest in hinges to the advantages of steel mitre boxes.

In the evenings he would turn to his hobby, amateur radio, working far into the night on his 1-KW set. Came World War I and Mason enlisted in the Navy aboard a troop transport as a radioman, where he stayed until 10 months after the war's end ferrying United States troops back home from the European front.

Mason got back into the building business, but this time determine to help foster new techniques in the burgeoning building trades. He was 27 when he moved to Chelmsford, Mass, to operate the Wm. P. Proctor Co., dealing with saw mills, lumber yards, and a box manufacturing concern. Mr. Mason's son, David, today carries on the family business.

One of the west ways to serve the building business, Mason felt, was to take leadership in the trade organizations which were then becoming major operations. Mr. Mason has risen to the top in these organizations in the intervening years.

One of his early ventures was the Cooperative Reserve Supply Co., a cooperative warehouse of lumber dealers. Later he served with the National Retail Lumber Dealers' Association, rising to the presidency of that major trade organization.

In his unending attempts to develop and foster new techniques in the building trades, Mason encouraged technical research being done at the Building Research Institute, where he is chairman of the Board of Governors of the National Academy of Sciences. From new methods of securing a hip roof, to fuller uses of laminated wood arches in churches and warehouses can be traced back to men such as Mason who have uncovered new avenues in the construction world.

Prior to his FHA commission, Mason became known in Washington as one of the top men in the building trade organizations—and enlarged his circle of friends in the industry through his work as a leader in the field.

One of his major contributions was as a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Housing, which made the recommendations last December that served as the basis for the new FHA mortage law that has brought vast relief in an otherwise cautions mortgage market. Optimism in the field, expressed in liberalized loan regulations, has been justified.

Mr. Mason is an avid student of economics, constantly inviting his friends (he is a prolific letterwriter) to give their views on the Nation's economic conditions. From these private surveys, Mason says he would not be surprised to see 1,400,000 new houses started next year in the United States.

During World War II, Mason served as a much sought after consultant in the building trades to a variety of wartime Government agencies, among them the National Housing Agency, Office of Price Administration, and the National Production Administration.

Mr. Mason is a director of the United States Chamber of Commerce, serving for the past 4 years as chairman of the chamber's construction and civic development committee.

Experienced executives both inside and outside the Government's interest in the building trade concede that Mason has been doing a bangup job cleaning out the title 6 inequities in the FHA—which led to the recently exposed windfall profits scandals. Mason is for new ideas and more liberal policies to help enlarge the building of United States homes—but all, as he puts it, within a respectable framework.

He is an avid Eisenhower man, reciprocating the President's loyalty 100 percent. He gears his work as FHA Commissioner on a threefold principle: adequate housing, modernization, and house rehabilitation. In his latest job, Mr. Mason assumes leadership of a 20-year-old institution that has insured $26 billion in building loans, and this year has chalked up a 31-percent increase in loans over last year, thanks to the new FHA law in which he played a major role.

At home, Mr. Mason likes to spend time with his charming New England wife, Helen, charting new trails to go hiking on and better skiing conditions in their native Vermont-Massachusetts area. He is an accomplished photographer, and loves to give illustrated travel talks, which can be gained without too much prompting.

"Building better houses in America is more than a responsibility in our economy," says Mason. "It is also a big part of our way of life.

"If, by any regrettable action, we should be letting down the growing business of building better houses for our citizens," he adds, "we are clearly letting down our Nation as a whole."

Senator George and the Formosa Resolution Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excellent article entitled "GEORGE'S DRAMATIC MOMENT," written by Doris Fleeson, and published in the Washington Evening Star for today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGE'S DRAMATIC MOMENT—GEORGIA DEMOCRAT ACCEPTS PRESIDENT'S PATRIOTISM IN THE GREAT TRADITION OF THE LATE SENATOR VANDENBERG

(By Doris Fleeson)

Senate debate on the Eisenhower resolution was wrapped up in one dramatic minute when a measured promise came from the lips of the revered WALTER F. GEORGE, of Georgia.

"Not Chiang Kai-shek, not Chinese Nationalist officials, no admiral and no officer of the line will decide how we shall protect Formosa," intoned the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "It will be a personal decision of the President of the United States."

Senator GEORGE then stated the thesis on which doubting Members of Congress—and there are many, many of them from both parties and all factions—hang all their hopes.

"I believe the President of the United States is a good man, dedicated to a peaceful world. I believe what he says."

Senator GEORGE had been called from the joint session in honor of President Magloire of Haiti to hear read on the telephone the statement the White House proposed to make. A copy of it was in his hand as he took the floor.

In it, the President reserved to himself the decision to use United States forces for anything other than "immediate self-defense or in direct defense" for Formosa. Democrat GEORGE accepted and defended it in the great tradition of the late Senator Vandenberg, Republican, which assumes the veracity and patriotism of the President of the United States.

Mr. Eisenhower had earlier called into conference his Cabinet, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the National Security Council.. He had been stirred by a complex of reasons.

The testimony of General Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, before the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees was in the headlines. Testifying with reserve in deference to the President, General Ridgway said that he was not consulted when the Joint Chiefs discussed the President's Far Eastern plans as he was away and his deputy was not authorized to speak for him. (Admiral Radford, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman, who had been quoted by a House committee as saying the Joint Chiefs of Staff were unanimous, agreed this was so.)

He believed that strikes against the mainland or in defense of Quemoy by air or sea power would draw in ground troops. He said the Army was overextended already and did not have the nearly half a million troops needed to win a mainland foothold.

The same headlines showed Secretary of Defense Wilson characterizing the Formosa situation as "just a ripple" and saying there were no plans to increase the Army.

All this would be dynamite if Admiral Radford should be proved wrong in his estimates that only sea and air power were necessary. Senators, praising Admiral Radford's intellectual integrity, point out Admiral Radford refused to rule out the use of ground troops.

The President also faced senatorial anxiety over the question of who would have the power to order United States task forces to attack Red China. Several Senators had bluntly said Chiang wanted to go back to the mainland on the backs of American doughboys.

These doubts have great political potential at home and abroad. One shrewd Senator has said that the easiest thing to do politically was to vote against the resolution. The President, he argued, can do what he wants anyway and if something goes wrong—as well it might—then the no-sayers can say "I told you so."

Senator GEORGE's efforts have carried the day and the outcome is not in doubt. But Senators who raised the issue believe that they have helped to force the President to harden his position with respect to the Chinese Nationalists and the military who would risk war.

New Year's Day, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very illuminating and beautiful New Year's Day statement which was made and distributed by a fine citizen of the State of Connecticut, and my good friend, Frank S. Brainard.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1955

Two years ago, when the present administration assumed the functions of our Federal Government, it was generally accepted that infinite patience on the part of our citizens would be needed if economic collapse or international eruption were to be avoided. To our surprise, the President himself has led the way in this respect, by setting an example for the Nation. A feeling of relief has attended the display of firm patience with which this famous warrior has matched the sword-rattlers, at home and abroad, and his dignified self-control in the face of adverse criticism has revealed a concept of Presidential decorum unknown to the White House for years.

On this first day of the year of our Lord, 1955, and the independence of the United States the 179th, therefore, I commend to you the resolve to continue support of this man who, as Supreme Commander of the Allied armies of the world, consumated the mightiest armed assault of all time and how now, mindful of the sacrifices of fellow Christians from Calvary to Korea, is engaged in waging the greatest struggle of his career, in the cause of peace.

Sincerely,

FRANK S. BRAINARD.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

War Against Nixon Hits Social Graces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, under the heading "United States Politics Too Rough?" a recent edition of the Long Beach Press-Telegram carried a story by Washington Columnist Walter T. Ridder which should cause those waging the attack against Mr. NIXON to pause and reflect. Here are Mr. Ridder's observations:

WASHINGTON.—Are American politics getting too rough? The question has been much in the public print in recent days largely because of the speech of which Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER divested himself bitterly castigating by implication Vice President NIXON for his campaign speeches.

The question arose at a dinner here the other night. A prominent Democrat who for the past 6 years or so has been sojourning abroad returned to his Washington home. An old friend called him to welcome him back to the United States of America and to invite him to a small dinner. The gentleman accepted with alacrity.

"Before you accept too hastily," said the prospective host, "I want to tell you that Vice President NIXON will attend and perhaps you won't want to come."

The gentleman assured the host that he would most certainly attend the dinner, but, as he said later, it started him wondering what had happened in the United States that the presence of the Vice President forces a host to fly warning signals before he asked people to his house for dinner.

"Have we gotten to the point," he inquired, "where everyone in Washington reads off the guest list before allowing people to accept a dinner invitation?" He was assured that such was not the case, yet there was just enough meat to the question to make the answerer pause.

American politics have, of course, always been rough. One is reminded of Senator Henry Clay walking a plank which in his days covered Washington's muddy paths and encountering one of his political enemies, coming in the opposite direction. One or the other had to step down.

"I never," said Clay's opponent, "step out of the way for a cur."

Without blinking an eye, Clay replied: "I always do," and promptly got out of the way.

In the past, the tendency has been to slam hard and often in the political arena but, in general, act as relatively civilized persons on social occasions.

The Legislative Organization and the Processes and Procedures of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, as a combody I have gained a growing admiration for the legislative organization and the processes and procedures of Congress. I think all Members will agree, however, that in certain respects, due to the vast area of legislative jurisdiction and the complicated structure of our Government, there has developed on the paratively new Member of this great one hand some duplication of committee effort, and on the other hand, preemption by some committees of the functions and responsibilities of others.

It was gratifying recently to learn of the new policy of more clearly defining the investigative powers of committees to avoid duplication. It seems to me it would be appropriate also to give attention to transgression in committee jurisdiction. I have in mind the experience in this body of attempts, some of them successful, to legislate by appropriation.

Let me cite a case which points up this inherent weakness whereby the Appropriations Committee could indirectly influence the entire policy of our vital defense program. Obviously the Armed Services Committee is continuously studying our defense needs. In all frankness, the members of the Armed Services are the only Members of this body, on the basis of their studies and information, particularly in closed hearings, to competently deal with certain vital matters of policy as they apply to national security. Much information is given the Armed Services Committee which cannot be repeated in the public debates in the House. In military affairs the rest of us have to pretty well go by their recommendations.

Recently the chairman of the Appropriations Committee was quoted by the press as having said he was against the aircraft carrier construction program. The danger I see is that the views of the distinguished gentleman from Missouri, sincere as I have no doubt they are, might result in legislation of defense policy through an appropriation bill.

In other words, the opinion of the very informed and respected chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the gentle-

man from Georgia, and members of his committee, on a subject like this certainly is the one we should follow.

Let me just quote four paragraphs from the testimony of the Secretary of Defense before the House Armed Services Committee on January 26, 1955:

I would now like to discuss our retaliatory capabilities. We have provided in our military program very powerful retaliatory forces in the Strategic Air Command of the Air Force. In addition, a great retaliatory capability exists in the carrier striking forces of the Navy, and in the tactical air units of the Air Force and the Marine Corps. Our policy calls for flexibility and versatility in the employment of existing forces. We are prepared to use our total resources in the most effective manner appropriate to the particular situation.

The buildup of the Strategic Air Command of the Air Force is continuing. This part of our retaliatory force will increase in numbers, but more importantly in quality as the remaining reciprocating engine bombers are replaced by modern jet aircraft. The B–36, long the mainstay of the long-range strategic forces, will be replaced by the B–52, the new long-range jet bomber. The long-range strategic fighter units in the Strategic Air Command forces are scheduled to be re-equipped with supersonic fighters possessing a nuclear capability. These forces are being maintained in a high degree of readiness. Some of these forces are capable of operating directly from the continental United States; all are capable of operating from bases scattered around the globe. Local air defense for bases in areas outside the continental air defense system is being improved.

The carrier striking forces will be augmented by 1 additional carrier and 1 carrier air group this year. More importantly, both the carriers and the aircraft are being rapidly modernized, the carriers both through the conversion of existing carriers and the construction of new carriers, and the aircraft through the replacement of old models with the new aircraft now in production.

I am sure you are all familiar with the new *Forrestal* class carriers, the first of which was launched about a month ago. These new carriers, as well as other carriers that are being modernized, will be equipped with newly developed aircraft with improved nuclear capabilities, such as the A3D and A4D, and very high speed fighters such as F9F9, FJ4, and F3H. Our carrier-based airpower increases the flexibility and dispersion of our retaliatory power.

The chairman of the House Appropriations Committee was quoted in the press recently as charging that the Navy's proposed new superaircraft carrier is outmoded and as urging Congress to scuttle it.

On the other hand, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, following the testimony of the Secretary of Defense before it, commented:

I am glad that you have noted that our carrier striking forces will be augmented by 1 additional carrier and 1 carrier air group this year. And in that connection I want to say that I am glad to note that the budget contains funds for the construction of a new carrier capable of carrying modern aircraft that can deliver our most modern weapons.

So we find a divergent viewpoint between two committee chairmen. In the course of events, I think it is safe to predict that the full Armed Services Committee will sustain the President and the Defense Department recommendation. Just for the sake of argument, assume for the moment that the Appropriations Committee follows its chairman and takes a different view. Therein, it seems to me, would be a case of legislation on national policy by failure to appropriate.

The House could, and I am sure would, in an instance like this, resolve the argument in favor of the proper committee—the Committee on Armed Services. But the danger lies in the natural tendency of Members of the House to support a committee on any measure reported by it.

In other words, unwittingly we might scuttle our aircraft carrier program and our national defense policy. I am sure we will not; but we might. All of which points up a possible weakness in our jurisdictional organization to which Members of Congress, it seems to me, should be ever alert.

The Formosa Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to make clear my position on House Joint Resolution 159.

The President has asked that the Congress join the administration in affirming the readiness of the American people to fight, if necessary, to prevent the invasion of Formosa. Since we have the ability to defend Formosa, and since it is important that Formosa's 10 million human beings and its strategic real estate do not fall into Communist hands, I support the resolution.

But I would be happier if the President, who has moved with admirable speed so far as Congress is concerned, had taken equally speedy steps to invoke the United Nations as the shield behind which the forces of the free world may rally.

The President's message recognized that the security of Formosa is properly a matter for the United Nations, and says, "We would welcome assumption of such jurisdiction by that body." But the administration has so far failed to place the Formosa question before the United Nations.

The President, in yesterday's message, has shown that he knows how to invoke the jurisdiction, such as it is, of the Congress. There is, in fact, a much more precisely established method of invoking the jurisdiction of the United Nations. Under the uniting-for-peace resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 3, 1950:

If the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to members for collective measures, including in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression the use of armed force when necesary, to maintain or restore international peace and security. If not in session at the time, the General Assembly may meet in emergency special session within 24 hours of the request therefor. Such emergency special session shall be called if requested by the Security Council on the vote of any seven members, or by a majority of the members of the United Nations.

The prerequisites of General Assembly jurisdiction have been satisfied. That there is a threat to the peace, the President's message abundantly establishes. That the Security Council, because of the U. S. S. R.'s intransigence, is failing to exercise its responsibility to secure Formosa against aggression is equally apparent. Although the General Assembly is not now in session, an emergency special session may be called on 24 hours' notice.

Under the uniting-for-peace procedure of the United Nations, the General Assembly may recommend to members exactly the kind of action designed to resist aggression which the President has asked that he be empowered to undertake on behalf of this country. It may call for a cease-fire, or ask its members to meet aggression with armed resistance.

To fail to take steps to use the uniting-for-peace procedure lays us open to the charge that we are trying to go it alone. So long as we let the uniting-for-peace procedure lie dormant, we are not doing our best to marshal the forces of the free world to our side.

Daily Prayer for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following Daily Prayer for Peace, written by Mr. Robert B. O'Boyle, of San Jose, Calif. I commend this prayer to the attention of my colleagues.

DAILY PRAYER FOR PEACE
(By Robert B. O'Boyle)

My dear Father in Heaven and Saviour of mankind, as this day begins, I offer my prayer to Thee, seeking divine guidance and succor in all my undertakings throughout this day. Help me to be strong and great in the fear of God and in the love of righteousness.

Make me strong spiritually, mentally and physically. Throw Thine arms of protection around all of Thy children everywhere. Go with them and with us, dear Father, all of the way.

Lead us, Thou omnipotent Ruler of the universe in all of the things we do that they may be pleasing in Thy sight.

Grant us eternal peace and may this supplication, so reverently offered to Thee, be heard and answered in Thine own way, with the assurance that peace will be everlasting.

We also pray that when our work which Thou hast planned for us to do here upon

earth, has been completed, that Thou will call us home to be with Thee and Thy host forevermore.

This is my daily prayer. Amen.

Let's Not Waste Our Fighting Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by Lt. Gen. Robert W. Harper, United States Air Force, retired, as told to Hodding Carter. This is worthy of the attention of all Members of Congress as we approach the problem of legislation in regard to military personnel. The article follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post of December 11, 1954]

LET'S NOT WASTE OUR FIGHTING MANPOWER

(By Lt. Gen. Robert W. Harper, USAF, retired, as told to Hodding Carter)

(Lt. Gen. Robert W. Harper, the dean of military educators, was commander of the Air Training Command when he retired last summer, after 30 years in the Armed Forces. Twenty-nine of those years were served in the Army Air Corps and its successor, the United States Air Force. World War II and its aftermath brought him one top job after another—Assistant Chief of Air Staff for Training; director of the Air Force Division of Military Government in occupied Germany; and commanding general of the Air Transport Command. In the spring of 1948 he assumed command of the Air University at Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. There he drew up the plans for the long-needed Air Academy, which is to be located at Colorado Springs. That fall he took over the Air Training Command. A graduate of West Point, class of 1924, General Harper is rated a command pilot. His decorations include the Distinguished Service Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster and the Legion of Merit. He is now practicing law in Harlingen, Tex.—THE EDITORS.)

I'll begin with three stories, true stories about angry people. One concerns a row between top-ranking Russian officers and myself in Berlin. Another has to do with an American citizen whose home, built 150 years ago by his forebears, is situated near an airbase. The third is about a newly enlisted Air Force cadet.

The Russian story goes back to 1945, when I was director of the Air Force Division in our military government setup in Germany. That wa sthe year the Russians told us we couldn't have free access to Berlin by air. Yet we had to have air corridors; the ground approaches to the German capital were in Russian control.

The Russian officers were acting under orders. So was I when I met with them. I told them we needed those corridors. I said we were going to get them. Toward the end, angered as I'd never been in my whole life, I was pounding the desk with my fist. Well, we got three air corridors, and when the Russians blockaded Berlin in 1948 it was a good thing we had them.

Don't think the Russians backed down because I pounded a desk and talked tough. They gave in because they decided we meant what we said; that we were prepared to go to any necessary lengths to get the corridors. And most important of all, they were convinced that we had the military strength and the will to act. So much for the first story.

I didn't get angry with the American of the second story, nor did any of my officers. But he got mad at us, plenty. His lovely ante bellum home lay near one of our southern airfields, which had been used during World War II for basic flight training. The propeller-driven planes in use then didn't make enough noise to disturb the householder and his family. When the field was converted to jet training, however, and the runways extended toward his home, the noise was often deafening. Sometimes it seemed to the family that the jets were coming right through the roof.

The owner demanded that new runways be built in another direction, even that the field be closed down to abate the nuisance. After all, he said, his folks had been there a long time before we came. The base commander explained that neither the field nor the runways could be whisked away.

This only made the man angrier. He felt that the Air Force was trampling on his rights as an American. Finally, the base commander spoke up to him. Sure the noise was bad, he said, but it was a friendly noise. Without those jet trainers and the young men in them, we might all be hearing hostile planes whose pilots didn't care what any Americans thought about anything. I think that softened our neighbor, even though he may still dislike the noise.

The third story is about a cadet who turned up at headquarters at Waco, Tex., where cadets are first sent after joining up. He, too, was angry, and he got permission to see the commanding officer to tell him why. I was there on an inspection trip and sat in on their meeting. The cadet said that he had been in the Air Force less than a week, that he had been sold a bill of goods by a recruiting team, and that he wanted out. We had been having trouble with overzealous recruiters, and we knew that if this boy wanted to get out, he'd deliberately wash out later. Some of them do. So we told him that we'd see that he was released to the draft.

A few days later, the CO of the base ran into him. The youngster was trimly uniformed, and jaunty. The CO asked him whether he still planned to get out of the Air Force. The boy took off his cap, exposing to view an extremely butch haircut. He'd been trimmed down to quarter-inch bristles.

"Guess I'll stay in, sir," he said, grinning. "I'd be ashamed to go home with a haircut like this."

And he did stay in. He's still in the Air Force, and he's a fine officer; and all of us know that the haircut had nothing to do with his decision.

What do these stories add up to? Well, there's the enemy who limits his aggressions when faced by an opponent's strength and determination. Then there's the independent American citizen, and so many like him, more aware of his rights in a free country than of the enemy threats to crush those rights. And there's the cocky, wisecracking young American, perhaps home-spoiled and undisciplined, but potentially the best fighting man and the most intelligent anywhere, the boy who stands between the enemy and the irate householder.

Because that enemy is strong and dangerous, our Air Force has to be the best in the world. The year it becomes second best is the year the United States can expect to be attacked. My job as commander of the Air Training Command was to see that we never became second best. But the efforts of professional military men aren't enough to guarantee air supremacy. We must have backing from average citizens and above-average youngsters.

When I won my wings 30 years ago, old-line generals and admirals were laughing at military aviation and hampering its progress. Our Air Corps had just begun to use photo-reconnaissance planes—60 years after a civilian balloonist had proved to the Union Army in the Civil War the value of aerial observation. Military pilots of the early twenties were still flying wire-braced biplanes. In basic design they showed few improvements over the Wright brothers' first flying machine of 1903.

And in 1925, the year I entered the Air Corps, Gen. Billy Mitchell had been court-martialed and convicted of "conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline" because he had rightly accused the Army and Navy of incompetency and criminal neglect in their attitude toward airpower.

That was how it was when I started flying. Less than 25 years later, when I took command of the Air Training Command, we were in the jet age. For the next 6 years my assignment kept me away from my home and family more than two-thirds of the time. Except on Sundays, my rising hour was 5 a. m. or earlier; we were just that busy.

I had no complaint about my schedule. But I did object to the instability of purpose with which we entered the jet age, and to the indecisiveness of our Government's plans for the Air Force. In the briefcase that I carried all the time were plans for every size Air Force from 48 wings to 137. I needed a variety of plans because congressional and military opinions on the proper size of the Air Force sometimes changed between the time I left my headquarters for Washington to review new programs with the Chief of Air Staff and the time I got there.

This uncertainty was bad enough. But equally serious and more long-lasting problems faced the Air Training Command when we entered the jet age. One of them still confronts us. For the first time in this half century of intermittent war, we and our probable allies are far outnumbered by the combined forces of our probable enemies. Their warmaking resources and production are expanding constantly in a steady approach to our own level. Since we can no longer count on turning out the most of everything, our goal now is to produce the best of everything, in men and material.

It was sheer quality which gave our Air Force superiority in the Korean conflict. To win those air battles, we had to train men for jet-age combat far faster than we wanted to or thought possible, and this was done with no lowering of standards. The Air Training Command takes pride in an air victory won against a numerically superior enemy, at a time of governmental indecision as to the Air Force's proper role and required size.

Of the men now on duty with the Air Force, 95 in every 100 have gone through one or more of the Air Training Command's schools. Thirty percent of our airmen are enrolled in the Air Training Command at any given time; so are hundreds of fliers and technicians from friendly nations. It's the biggest school in the Nation, perhaps in the entire world.

These youngsters have to learn jet flying, air-borne electronics, cryptography, radar operation, and score of other complex skills. Two hundred thousand airmen were trained last year in 40 career specialties. Enrolled in the Command's 42 bases, they attended a combined total of 270 courses—airmen whose average age is 19 and whose average education is 11th grade, and cadets who need have only a high-school education to qualify for pilot training. In World War II the minimum requirement was 2 years in college.

First of all we have had to teach these unmilitary-minded boys the military facts of life; the most important fact being the reason they're being trained. I think we've done a better than fair job of teaching in

the past 6 years. If we hadn't, I doubt that we'd be strong enough today to keep our freedom.

I know that the men we've turned out at Waco, at Biloxi, at Randolph, and everywhere else in the command are superior to any other pilots and airmen. They proved it in Korea against heavy odds. They've passed the most thorough physical, mental, and aptitude test given to Air Force men anywhere in the world. We wish they had a higher average education, but it's already higher than the average for any other nation's airmen. It's the best Air Force anywhere, and the safest. In fact, it's provable that the boys in the Air Force are a lot safer than their civilian friends.

But we can't get enough young men or keep enough of them in the Air Force. Airmen are volunteers, and the present rate of volunteer reenlistment is low. As the Air Force builds toward the 137-wing goal, we are constantly short of trained manpower. Flying in the jet age calls for skills which take at least 2 years to learn. The volunteer is in for only 4 years. If he won't reenlist, we have to start afresh with his green replacement. Why can't we get all the airmen we want? And why can't we keep them when we get them?

First of all, our pilot requirements are stiff, as they must be if our Air Force is to excel. Of every 400 boys who seek to become flying cadets, only 100 get past the physical, mental, and psychological barriers. Of these 100, only 65 come through as flyers. Among the 35 failures are some who wash out deliberately, boys who find out that they are afraid to fly or who discover an overmastering dislike of military service.

There is a shortage of cadet applicants, and this is in great contrast to World War II, when would-be pilots volunteered in swarms. One trouble is that we have oversold the jet age, fostering an absurd belief that the jet flier has to be a sort of superman.

Many potential cadets, having been sold on the superman nonsense, feel that jet flying is beyond their ability. This supposition has been clearly disproved since we lowered our education requirements for cadets. High-school graduates are handling today's complex machines with no more trouble than college graduates had with the relatively simple airplanes of World War II.

Another handicap to enlistment, and reenlistment, is the half-war, half-peace existence we are leading. The young airman, in training to fight for his country, meets too many civilians who treat him shabbily. Too often they gouge him, especially in rents. A couple of years ago 7 sergeants at 1 of our bases got fed up with mistreatment by some of the townspeople, particularly the landlords. They converged on the directors of the local chamber of commerce and cited their grievances. The community's newspaper played up the story, and it was widely printed throughout the Nation. Some reforms followed immediately. Everyone on the base was proud of those sergeants for speaking up like American citizens, and the upshot was that morale on the base and military relations with the townspeople have been excellent ever since.

There are other reasons for our enlistment-reenlistment problem. American youngsters know that our pilots accomplished prodigies in Korea, against odds as high as 10 to 1, but too few know that the odds wouldn't be so one-sided today. Then there are boys who assume that guided missiles will soon make pilots obsolete; they may prefer a technical civilian education to fit themselves for push-button war. But that kind of war isn't going to happen for a long, long time.

Cadets resent difficulties about marriage; so do airmen in the lower grades. A cadet can't marry while he's a cadet. An airman below the rank of staff sergeant has a tough time supporting a wife, because his married man's allowance is woefully inadequate. This helps explain why only 1 airman in 4 reenlists. How can we keep air superiority with a turnover rate like that?

Some of our most intelligent boys won't reenlist because they want to finish their interrupted education under the GI bill of rights. The educational advantages under this bill are far greater than anything we can offer for reenlistment. Others are lured away by the aircraft and electronics industries, which can pay the ex-airman much more than the Air Force can for the skills which the Air Force taught him at great expense.

In a 3-year period ending last fall, the Technical Training Air Force, a part of the Air Training Command, graduated its millionth airman. Half of them were replacements for men who didn't reenlist, and each man's training cost the Nation $14,000.

The financial inducements of civil life seem doubly attractive to young men who doubt that military life offers a stable future. Their young wives object to financial hardships imposed on today's career soldiers by legislative blindness or the military's zeal to economize. We're all in favor of real economy. But I doubt that the Nation has benefited financially through the nibbling away of such fringe benefits as the post exchanges, the commissaries, and adequate medical care for dependents.

The men in the Air Force—and the Army and Navy, too—feel that they are being discriminated against by congressional acts which have taken away minor benefits they once enjoyed. If those benefits aren't restored, the rate of enlistment and reenlistment is going to drop further, dragging down with it our ability to defend ourselves.

The problem of attracting volunteers is complicated further by psychological factors. If most of our people were acutely aware of the urgent need to maintain the best Air Force, our young men would react as Americans always have in time of national danger. But too few of our boys recognize our peril or understand the obligations of citizenship. Many of our recruits are burdened with doubts and cynicism which handicap the Air Force, the Nation, and the boys themselves. The cynicism is mostly directed against our political leaders; the doubt arises from ignorance of the reasons behind political and military decisions.

The work of informing and indoctrinating young airmen has become the heart of the Air Force training mission. The American soldier, being a free man, must understand what he is fighting for, and why, to be animated by a sense of purpose. But the Armed Forces are having to do too much teaching of values which should have been taught in the family, the school, and the church. The boys aren't at fault; their elders are. On this point my views coincide with opinions of chaplains, psychologists, and medical officers in the Air Training Command. These are the men who come closest to discovering an airman's mental and moral outlook.

Our young men are better physical specimens than their fathers were, and they are better able to handle the tools of the machine age. But many of those who come to us betray a lack of instruction and moral discipline at home. Too many of them are ignorant of the implacable nature of communism and its threat to our freedom. Chaplains have told me that boys who seek their counsel often complain that they were not given, either at home or in school, a meaningful concept of duty to country or any familiarity with words like honor and responsibility. These lacks, I know, are especially marked in boys who come from broken homes.

Certainly I am no pessimist, but 6 years of Air Force schoolmastering has convinced me that we must recognize our problems and our mistakes. We have recognized most of them in the Air Force itself, and we are trying to do something about them.

We know we must give the airman pride in his unit and in the military profession. We can do it through devices as old as the history of arms—the military band, the dress uniform, the distinctive unit insignia, and all the colorful reminders of past glory and present esprit de corps. Now that we have achieved stability in the proposed size of the Air Force—no change in the 137-wing goal is likely for a long time—we can also offer reasonable security and a future to the man who enlists and the Reserves hesitating to remain in the service.

Within the military organization itself we can provide more off-hour optional schooling, giving enlisted men and cadets much of the education which they now quit the services to seek. We can give ample reenlistment inducements, including cash bonuses, which not only benefit the airman but also save the high cost of replacement training.

The Air Force continuously tries to bring the public and the Military Establishment closer together. To this end I established, a little over a year ago, the Air Training Command Advisory Board. It is a group of 24 leaders in science, education, personnel management, technical training, flying training, public relations and business administration. I think their advice can be of great benefit to the Air Force and to the Nation.

We Americans should remember that we were the first people to achieve powered flight and the first to develop power from the atom. Some of us seem to have lost faith in our technological progress, our unity, and the rightfulness of our cause. Some of us see only disaster and doom in each new scientific development, instead of rejoicing over these reinforcements to our strength.

We should remember how strong we are, and remember, too, the great roots of our strength—our climate, our mineral resources, our access to sea and air lanes, our ability to produce food in great surplus.

Add to those advantages our industrial and technological superiority, the size and nature of our population, our political philosophy and freedom and high level of education. And now, having achieved military preparedness, we have the happiest aggregation of factors for national security of any people anywhere.

When I say this, I am thinking again of the Russians I faced in Berlin. They know, perhaps better than we, that the United States cannot be second best, either in the air or in our hearts.

Decent Housing for Low-Income Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, with great interest I have read the address of the Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, Charles E. Slusser, at the dedication of Concord Homes, of Beaumont, Tex., on January 21, 1955. By unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the full text of Commissioner Slusser's remarks.

I commend its careful reading to my colleagues, especially those who reside in communities of smaller population and have not the help of personal experiences

in understanding the problems of the larger urban centers. I trust that in the 84th Congress there will be greater understanding of these problems and an earnest cooperation in furnishing the answers.

Decent housing for families in low-income brackets remains a challenge which we in the 84th Congress will meet. In the past there has been bitter controversy which I sincerely hope will not continue into this Congress when after reexaminations and reappraisals entered into with open minds we should be able to enact a housing act neglecting no segment of our population.

Commissioner Slusser's address follows:

Speaking at dedications such as this is a task I welcome. This is not because I relish the sound of my own voice—I can name quite a few others to whom I would rather listen—but because I enjoy talking about low-rent public housing and what it does for its tenants and the communities of which it becomes an integral part.

As Public Housing Commissioner, I draw quite a few of these assignments. That comes with this job. And given the same subject and, basically, the same facts, it is hard to avoid a similarity in approach.

We pay tribute—as we should—to those who have given of their time and effort; we cite the need for structures such as these, as we should; and we dwell on our hopes for the continuance of the program.

This performance has danger in it. Boredom and routine would inevitably creep into it. And they would do this, despite the dedicated efforts of many of us, because of the sameness of our message, were it not for one thing.

The United States Public Housing Commissioner is not granted the boon of temporary blindness.

He cannot drive through your cities and turn his eyes away from the slums and what they contain. It is his duty to observe, and then do his best to correct, change, and help remove the eyesores that afflict this Nation and replace them with the modest, but livable and attractive quarters such as you see about you.

If there is one man in this country who has been forced to look upon the worst of his country, it is I—even as it was with my predecessors. When a distinguished citizen comes to town, he is usually shown the best business section, the finest residential areas, the gayest amusement centers. The Public Housing Commissioner goes on a tour of the slum areas. He may see the best, but he always sees the worst.

It is as if the friends of public housing fear the occupants of the Public Housing Commission's chair would lose the incentive to do battle in the name of our lowest income group. It seems perhaps to our friends that they are compelled to keep constantly before us a picture of the homes that have fallen into disrepair and ruin in many of our great cities.

I can understand this thinking. Our public housing units are numbered in the thousands—our substandard homes in the millions. Yes, there is much left to be done.

It is because of the immensity of the task before us that I welcome the opportunity to speak on such occasions as this. It is for precisely the same reason that I deplore the cold war, that for some lack of logic must be carried on between the advocates of public housing and certain members of the real-estate fraternity. It is time we faced not each other, but instead confronted a few of the more salient housing facts, and—to borrow a phrase from the more international of our columnists—tried a little of the theory of peaceful coexistence.

There are more than 8 million substandard homes in this country. I would like to see them all replaced by private enterprise, but that is just not coming to pass. Today the construction industry is producing at a rate of a million and more new homes each year, but most of these are going up in the suburbs and the outlying regions. The 8 million substandard homes, the slums, the blighted areas, the breeders of disease, crime, juvenile delinquency and horrendous municipal expense are not being eliminated except by governmental action, such as public housing brings.

Now I place no blame for this on the home-builders. Their profits must be quick and tangible, where public housings are long range and not easily apparent. The private builder's ability to clear a slum site, construct, and derive a profit from the very low-income class served by public housing is slim, indeed. He does not have the power of condemnation, the financial resources, nor most important, the moral duty that is the Government's.

Yet, because of this, should we tolerate the continued existence of slums of these revenue producers for rapacious landlords? I think not.

There are those who think the problem can be solved in terms of easy credit and guaranties against risk. All the perils of inflation and socialism that we have been warned against for 100 years lie down that road. The Federal Housing Administration is a businessman's venture. The more we get the Government into the act, the more we invite Government to take over, the more abuses we contract for, and the more trouble we make for ourselves.

I think it is time that we marked out a few spheres of influence and stayed within them. Our average public housing tenant has an income of around $2,000, far below the amount necessary to afford even the cheapest standard housing. For these slum dwellers, the Government should work toward providing the decent, safe, sanitary homes that public housing offers to further enrich the city that uses it. That should be its province, because within that income limit the only profits to be had are those derived from human misery.

Having drawn that line, let us then get on with our new concept of urban renewal—and more power to private enterprise for whatever it can reclaim from the encroaching slums. But where that is impossible, where time and neglect have gutted a structure and left it an inviting menace for fire to consume and with it human lives—before that happens—let me and the other friends of public housing wield the public housing sledgehammer—before time runs out on us and into newspaper headlines.

There are enough substandard homes, enough slums, to keep public housing, private enterprise, urban conservationists, and anyone else who wants to get into the act, busy for the next decade and more. Let us parcel out the jobs to whomever can do them best. I am not bragging when I say public housing is best at clearing slums. We have moved in on hundreds of them.

I have crisscrossed this country since becoming Public Housing Commissioner, and I tell you the progress of America is truly a wonder to behold. But sometimes we are so intent upon the future that we overlook today unintentionally. We must not permit the glittering skylines, the superexpressways, and the fine residential subdivisions to overshadow the less attractive side of the municipal scene. We cannot afford to ignore the slums or the people who live there—no less our neighbors than those who live in penthouses or in the brandnew suburbs.

I think we have made significant progress in rehousing the ill-housed. Perhaps here in Beaumont you know the pros and cons of public housing. I understand you received a thorough indoctrination in the subject a few years ago in preparing for a referendum vote on the continuation of your own low-rent housing program.

But there is still more to be said. The national story of low-rent public housing needs telling, but not so much as the local story.

It's only human nature to say "No" to something new—something unfamiliar. There are always the youngsters who, when offered asparagus for the first time, decline politely but firmly, saying: "I never ate it, but I don't like it."

We have a responsibility for letting our neighbors know the purpose and value of low-rent public housing. I try to tell the story as often as I can, but it is your job too, just as it is the job of the hundreds of local housing authorities throughout the country.

For some time, our opponents have raised the cry of subsidy against us. This has been muted somewhat of late since we began listing other governmental subsidies which have widespread approval and dwarf that of public housing. Now the cry is that public housing does not pay taxes, and you can expect to hear more of it.

Our opponents are splitting a hair there. If public housing does not pay taxes, it makes payments in lieu of taxes. And these are invariably more than the taxes collected from the slum properties which we replaced. So our opponents say that the payments are not enough—that private enterprise would be forced to pay more. Perhaps, but the point is we are building where private enterprise is not, returning to the municipalities on the average three times what they once received from private enterprise. We pay up a lot of back taxes, too.

I do not like the idea of the Government renting houses. But I like less the fact that too many of the people of our great cities are living in slums and under conditions that call for municipal services out of all proportion to their numbers. When you write and talk of subsidized homes, think also of how you are doing it with your taxes. Are you paying a little—the average man less than the price of a package of cigarettes in a year's time—so that a million and quarter of your fellow citizens can trade the living hell of a slum for a decent, sanitary, home? Or are you paying a lot that is expended in the extra police, fire, hospital, and social welfare calls that a slum area inevitably makes?

Subsidy? Which would you rather subsidize—a slum or a decent home?

As for grouping public-housing units, I would rather build individual units cut to individual needs, but you cannot construct honeysuckle cottages on the isle of Manhattan. Neither can you produce them for Chicago's teeming millions, nor in your own rapidly expanding metropolis. We are not perfect, however, and working with private enterprise, I have hopes that this program can, in the not too distant future, be turned more closely to the path of individual initiative and progress and at less cost to the Government. To that end, I have approved work on a couple of experimental projects, both of which may, in the not-too distant future, prove of value. Until they, and whatever other plans we develop for better housing and fewer slums, become operative, I ask of you citizens, of your congresstional representatives, the opportunity of sending the public-housing legions into battle against slums.

Beaumont is fortunate in that it has the unselfish services of a group of public-spirited and farsighted citizens who recognize the position of public housing in the municipal structure for what it is and what it should be. I am speaking of such men as the late J. S. Edwards, your first chairman; the late K. C. Withers, also a board chairman—and Charles Smith, who is among us. All have carried the torch of enlightenment.

We are dedicating Concord Homes tonight because of what they have done.

I want to pay tribute to your present board of commissioners: Kirby McGown, O. B. Archer, H. H. Matthews, R. L. Hooker, and your master of ceremonies, Carl Levy. The majority of these men have served you since the housing authority was first organized in 1941. They have served you faithfully, as has Kelly Smith, your executive director.

Concord Homes would gladden the heart of the late Congressman J. M. Combs, a man whose career in Congress from this district was marked by support of this program in all its phases. It is from the records of such men as he that I draw the inspiration for the thoughts I have expressed here today.

I do not know what action the new Congress will take with respect to low-rent public housing. But we do know that President Eisenhower in his January state of the Union message to the 84th Congress once again recognized the need for more low-rent housing. I feel certain that he will continue to recognize that need as long as we have slums.

I think his intention is to give private enterprise every opportunity to move against the blight and despair that stalk our cities like a tiger. But I think there is more to the picture than that.

President Eisenhower is a man who lives close to the heart of America. No one in government is more burdened with doing what must be done. It is his lot to cast up his accounts, the good with the bad, and make the tough decisions. Like the Public Housing Commissioner, the President cannot close his eyes to the bad side of our housing picture, our slums. So I cannot see him neglecting the public housing weapon as the best eradicator yet produced.

We Are United on Defense of Formosa

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the world witnessed a remarkable display of American unity this past week.

It crystallized suddenly in support of a bold stroke in foreign policy that had heretofore been weakened by confusion, indecision, and appeasement.

It was the true spirit of America speaking up for what is right and just.

Serving a clear warning to the Chinese Communists that if they persist in disturbing the peace by seeking to conquer Formosa and the Pescadores, they will be treated as outlaws against the world community, and will suffer a disastrous defeat.

Although there may be some difference of opinion concerning our right to prevent the Communists from taking over the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, there is none whatever concerning Formosa and the Pescadores to which the Reds have no claim whatsoever.

Both international law and strategic necessity justify our defense of Formosa and the Pescadores.

This stand will hearten anti-Communist forces throughout Asia; will restore the prestige of the United States; and will place justice above expediency in the settlement of international disputes.

We are pleased that the President sought the endorsement of Congress.

It demonstrated our unity to the world, and it will give a psychological boost to every human being who longs for peace, and security against aggressors.

The Communists have suffered a serious setback.

Proving that whenever the United States is true to its fundamental conscience and its courage it wins the support of freedom-loving people everywhere and raises the hopes of Chinese and Russians who long for the day when they will be liberated from the Communist yoke.

The Power of a Positive American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very timely and interesting address delivered by Miss Georgia Jackman, a member of the editorial staff of the Troy Free Press, before the Business and Professional Women's Club of that city as follows:

THE POWER OF A POSITIVE AMERICAN

(By Georgia Jackman)

"Are we missing the boat in our presentation of the fight in national security?" was my thought one night in early November as I sat in a meeting of the national security committee at the home of Helen Erdsiek, the chairman. Helen and her group were preparing the program which they have presented tonight—the things to do should there be an atom or hydrogen attack. This is very important information for all of us.

However, I kept feeling that there should be another phase to our national security which would be something we could all be doing now—not just some time in the future if and when there was a bomb dropped.

Then came the thought: We hear so much about communism and how to recognize it; but how about us, you and me? Are we the kind of Americans we should be, the "positive" kind of Americans, who have faith in our country, who make the Golden Rule the measuring stick for our feelings toward our fellowmen at home and abroad, citizens who live our American way of life in such a manner that people all over the world will know that we are a nation of individuals bound together for a single purpose, that of being a democracy which leads people to fame and teaches us to think for ourselves? (It is amazing how much material comes your way when you begin to think along new lines.)

We are members of a system of government based on the dignity and freedom of the individual. This system was created 178 years ago by the men who wrote our great Constitution of the United States, incorporating into it the Bill of Rights among the many other measures of great foresight. There is no other like it and there never has been. Let's not forget this, for it (our democracy) will work only as long as we make it operate successfully.

Senator STUART SYMINGTON, junior Senator from Missouri to the United States Senate, wrote in his creed in 1952: "We Americans are not only characters in the living book of democracy; we are also its authors. And so it falls upon us to decide whether the chapters that are to come will tell a story of retreat or continued advance."

How are we going to meet this challenge? Are we going to sit by criticizing what others are trying to do without making any effort ourselves to make this a better America?

It was my privilege to attend the luncheon meeting on Saturday during the annual meeting of the Missouri Association held last November in St. Louis and to hear Dr. R. C. S. Young speak on Why I am an American. Dr. Young, at present director of admissions, Atlanta division, University of Georgia, is a Scotchman by birth and came to America—the land of opportunity for him—2 years after World War I. He was 19 years of age at the time and had served in the English Army during the war.

Dr. Young urged us to conserve our way of life, saying that we have lost a lot we will never get back. We have many in America who do not really appreciate our way of life—we have just grown up with so much of which other peoples know nothing.

We take our freedoms, our possessions, our luxuries as a matter of course. Our Constitution emphasizes our right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Much of our happiness is gained in helping others—we are a nation of Christian people, believing in the brotherhood of man. We are most willing to help people help themselves, but many of us are getting tired of helping those who don't seem to want to help themselves, but want to help the enemy. There is but one way to teach Americanism, and that is to live it. You can talk forever on this theme of democracy as it is in America, but people in other lands—and some people right here in our midst, enjoying our privileges and freedoms—do not seem to comprehend it. You have to live peace, security, and all of the heritages we have to be real Americans—positive Americans.

Our Nation came into existence proclaiming it a philosophy of life, a philosophy which believes that institutions exist for men and not men for institutions, and that the happiness of the poor and humble is of as much importance as the happiness of the great and the proud.

We Americans are a people who have come from many nations and from many parts of the world. The blood which flows in our veins courses down through the ages, from many different races. Our cultural background, our religious life, and the customs of our people are many and varied. Many of us are directly from another country—some of one, two, or many generations from our overseas parentage—but now we are all Americans. Let us be positive in our loyalty to and our thinking of our country—let's not be hyphenated Americans.

Dr. Young says that Americans have never asked for nor wanted anything but the opportunity to work and to live; that we have taken America and built the only aristocracy of people in the world who are willing and want to work. "In America we never move horizontally, but always vertically," he said. "We don't follow blindly in our fathers' way; we go our own way, always upward." He knows from his own experience that the will to work is the key which opens every door in America, and maintains that we are "the democracy of a people with a vision." He feels that we have been selling America short and that it is time to wake up—to give our people the American ideal: reboost America.

In building a better America, in selling our people on the American idea, we are building a rampart on which to stand against

one of the greatest threats to our way of life—communism.

The Communists have their books which contain the doctrines and the blueprints on which the totalitarian regimes of Soviet Russia and its satellites are based. They describe in precise detail what people must do, think, and believe under the Communist system.

David Sarnoff once wrote, "Dictatorship is brutal because it is brittle. It cannot bend; it can only be broken. It cannot lead its people; it can only drive them." Yet there are many who would have us live under a dictatorship—communism. In contrast to life under communism, Mr. Sarnoff continued: "Democracy, on the other hand, is resilient. It bends without breaking. It sways to the left and to the right, it returns to the point of normal balance. It calls for leaders, not for drivers. A free people can be led a greater distance and to greater heights than a slave people can be driven."

Have you given much thought to this menace—this Communist threat which comes from within our country today? Some of it is prevalent in our own community, whether you may know it or not. Frequently, mail coming into our offices under bulk mailing, throwaways, etc., contain decidedly pink propaganda, which we would recognize if we took the time to read it before giving it a toss into the wastebasket.

In a Memorial Day address in St. Louis last May 31, Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., senior Senator from Missouri to the United States Senate, warned us of this menace, when he said that the threats upon our liberty at home, the violation of our cherished freedoms in the name of patriotism are deplorable evidences that we still have a long way to go. Far from cementing our people in the bonds of fellowship, they are building up an atmosphere of fear, suspicion, distrust, and hysteria.

A fear is growing up in us, fostered by the very menace spoken of by Senator HENNINGS. Its chief purpose is to weaken our thinking. It is a corrosive element being introduced to destroy the very precious ingredients of the freedom we are pledged to maintain.

It is only through constant vigilance that we can protect our ideals—protect our integrity as a nation. Senator HENNINGS, in an address at Valley Forge on June 13, 1954, had this to say: "Our very greatness has lulled us into a complacency—into a carelessness, if you please—that could leave us an easy prey to the machinations of a would-be Hitler."

Conclusive evidence has been presented, too, via radio, television, and newspapers, that within our own borders communism is a grave danger. We have learned that communism has its paid agents among us and that there are persons of American citizenship now serving the cause of subversion for the regime of the Kremlin.

I agree most heartily with Senator SYMINGTON when he said, "America cannot shut its eyes to the fact that fear has become rampant in our country; not only the fear of communism, but also fear of some of those engaged in searching out and uncovering Communists." He continued, to warn us that: "There is no room in this country for dictatorial power, whether it be exercised by a legislator, a Government official, or a ruler. There is no place in our democracy for a grand inquisitor. In my opinion," he said, "there is no place for one-man investigations, or for peremptory summons to inquisition. We can and we must search out communism and fight it to its death, but we must do this with the weapon of democracy, democratically applied."

One our our greatest weapons against communism, I feel, is Christianity in all of its strength and power and glory. We are a Christian Nation now, but how long will we be able to hold this line of defense. We need to keep our faith in God, do our utmost to help Him build a kingdom which will leave no place for the isms of the world, of which communism is the greatest at present.

When George Washington left the Presidency of these United States, he spoke to his people of many things dear to his heart, urging that all should remember that it is the duty of every individual to obey the established Government. Nowhere in his address did he suggest that some individuals might set themselves above established governments and with impunity flout the laws of our land.

Shall we continue to live as Americans, a prosperous Nation, full of opportunities for everyone who has the will and desire to work? Or are we going to become a Nation full of fears, allowing subversive groups and individuals to take it over?

You will have to make the decision—freedom in America or slavery under communism. It isn't a pretty picture, is it? but it is the only choice left to us. We are going to have to demonstrate by our conduct at home and abroad that we are capable of leadership, but most of all, that we are worthy of leadership. We must show how Americans are thankful for their blessings—thankful for our opportunities—that we are indeed "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Only when we have fully demonstrated our American way of life and our worthiness of leadership can we hope to truly become the leader of the world and take our place among the great nations of the universe.

It is up to you and me to help make this come about. Our country can only be as strong as our weakest citizen. Only through our constant help in this job of reselling America to ourselves and the world, will we be able to make democracy live and let communism fall by the wayside.

Think courageously, act courageously. Be positive in your thinking and doing, in your presentation of being an American to your neighbors. The power of such positive Americans will be without measure. Be one of the best.

Calls 1040 Worst Income Tax Form of Any Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Dr. George M. McBean, who offices at 25 East Washington Street, Chicago, Ill., and resides at 6935 South Chappel Avenue in the district which I have the honor to represent, sends me a letter which I am extending my remarks to insert in the RECORD for the reading by my colleagues. The letter follows:

Today's Time magazine, page 18, has an editorial concerning income tax, taken from Milwaukee Journal. It's worth reading. I am 80 years old living on small income from my own savings. I have a small annuity purchased when I was 65—pays $320 per year. Now I will bet you $1 United States currency that neither you nor any of your assistants can figure out how to estimate the tax on that.

The article in the January 31, 1955, issue of Time to which Dr. McBean refers, follows:

INCOME TAX FORM THE WORST EVER—THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

This should be a great year for the tax consultants. It could be a great year for psychiatrists, too. The taxpayer who gets to work on that new "simplified" tax form No. 1040 is going to need one or the other—and probably both. Last year, Congress rewrote the tax laws, in part to simplify them. The Internal Revenue Bureau proudly said that it was going to make things much easier for the taxpayer to make his report by issuing new and "simplified" forms. The final product? Form 1040. Save us from simplicity.

Form 1040 not only contains the normal gobbledygook of tax forms, it has added some more, among which that of schedule J, "Exclusion and credit for dividends received from qualifying domestic (United States) corporations," is a beaut. This isn't a tax form. It's a maze that keeps you jumping from page to page, column to column (even double columns), line to line, and back again. The Government ought to pay prizes for solving it. This year the Ides of March becomes the Ides of April; the tax laws allow 30 more days for filing your tax. It isn't enough. If you have to use form 1040, the deadline ought to be at least the Ides of July. It is the worst income-tax form ever put out by any administration.

Death of James G. Thimmes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the CIO News of January 24, 1955, mourning the death of a great American and a good friend of mine, Mr. James G. Thimmes, the vice president of the CIO and of the CIO Steel Workers of America.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JIM THIMMES

James G. Thimmes, a vice president of the CIO and of the CIO Steelworkers, a staunch trade unionist and our warm friend, is dead.

All in the CIO who knew and loved Jim Thimmes mourn his death, for we can ill afford a loss as great as this. Jim Thimmes was a worker's worker * * * a trade unionist from the tips of his toes.

He fought always for equality and justice and that "ray of God's sunshine" of which his old friend Philip Murray so eloquently spoke. He fought for his ideals at the collective bargaining table, in the halls of Congress, and of State legislatures, and on the picket line when the going was toughest.

Jim Thimmes was a big man, but his voice was soft and all of his instincts were warm, human, and genuine. He believed so completely in the justice of the labor movement that he devoted his entire life and all of his energies to the cause of labor.

The United Steelworkers, the union he loved the most, quite naturally mourns him most. But all the men and women of the CIO, whom he aided in his years of service in Chicago and California, prior to his election as a vice president of the USA-CIO—and all the thousands whom he assisted in

the years since his elevation to high union office—share that sorrow.

For they all know him as a stanch disciple of democratic trade unionism, a fighter, a worker, and a good American.

Jim Thimmes was stricken on Christmas, during a few days of relaxation with his family. In their hour of grief, his wife and his five children, have our sympathy; for their grief is our grief.

Jim Thimmes is dead. But his spirit will live on in the Steelworkers Union, in the CIO, and wherever union men and women gather.

The Situation in Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two fine articles which appeared in the press within the last 2 or 3 days. The first is by the distinguished columnist and author, Thomas L. Stokes. It is entitled "MORSE Spreads His Conscience," and was published in the Washington Evening Star of January 27, 1955.

The other article is entitled "Two Faces East," and was written by the distinguished columnist Miss Doris Fleeson, and was published in the New York Post of January 27, 1955.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star of January 27, 1955]

MORSE SPREADS HIS CONSCIENCE — HE MAY HAVE TO WAIT FOR HISTORY TO PROVE WHAT HE SEES AS THE FOLLY OF DEFENDING ISLAND FAR FROM FORMOSA

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

Senator WAYNE MORSE, Oregon Independent, was thinking out loud for a great many of us when he posed to the Senate, as it began debate on Formosa, the dilemma of widening the defense of that island to Quemoy and the Matsus along the mainland.

He bespoke the worries that plague many of us when he showed how we ourselves might be hailed as aggressors, contrary to international law, should our military leaders interpret the vague language of the Eisenhower policy resolution as authority to strike at the mainland and thus involve us in an Asian continental war .

It may turn out to have been a historic speech.

Of its courage there is no doubt, if you appreciate the tension now in this city. The Senator spoke up boldly where so many of us let our desire to conform silence us, and that last seems to be true, in fact, of many Members of the House who went along quietly to pass the resolution, as well as of the Senate.

It was quite an experience to sit in the Senate gallery and listen to the slender, earnest Oregon Senator. For he was giving voice to the anxieties in your own mind. He was saying what you had thought as you looked at a map and saw how close to the great body of China cling the islands which now are in all our headlines. You tried to imagine yourself way over there on that other side of the world, and wondered what you would think if you had always lived on that continent, on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, about the intentions of another great nation far across that ocean which now had its warships deployed along the coast.

Maybe this is heresy in these trying times, just the idle thoughts of a human being. Yet they come, and we might as well be honest about them, and honest, too, about making it plain that we recognize this is no simple problem, but a complex one, involving the ambitions of ruthless men in China who so often do not act like human beings at all. So it's wise not to speak up and express any doubts.

But there is a man down there below doing that, a Senator, and as we watch and listen we see ourselves in him. He, too, has looked at a map. In fact, he has brought one into the Senate Chamber. It sets there on a rack back of the rows of seats. As he talks he gets earnest attention from an unusually large number of Senators, including Senator KNOWLAND, of California, the Republican leader, for whom the new Eisenhower policy is a victory. The California Senator is just as solemn in victory as at any other time.

Senator MORSE is trying to give us a reasonable, rational course in a complicated and dangerous situation.

He makes the case for the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands just offshore of Formosa—the defense until the United Nations can be induced to move in, as it should, and as President Eisenhower has invited it to do. As a matter of fact, we long ago assumed responsibility for the defense of Formosa which, when Japan gave it up at the end of World War II, was left in an unsettled state as to where and to whom it belonged. Formerly it belonged to China until it went to Japan after her victory in the Sino-Japanese War toward the end of the last century.

Another look at the map shows us that Formosa, lying not far from the Philippines, about the distance from here to New York, would be dangerous in the hands of a potential aggressor, which Red China has shown herself to be, and so it must be maintained in the chain of defense, including Japan and the Philippines to stop an aggressor and preserve the peace of the world. That is sound logic, and was the case of Senator MORSE.

But, says he, there is no logic and no support in international law for us to move under any circumstances upon Quemoy, the island which is just a short, 3-inch gun pitch from the mainland and from the port of Amoy, nor upon the Matsu Island. Those, he said, are clearly China's. As such they are now in controversy between the two warring parts of China, Red China and Nationalist China. We would be invading China's sovereignty if we moved into that area of conflict and also involving ourselves in a civil war and running the danger of getting ourselves into a war on the mainland, which likewise, is the fear of Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, as he explained it to the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees. He does not have enough troops for such a war. Senator MORSE said a continental Asian war would not be a matter of a month, or a year, or perhaps even 10 years, and reminded the Senate that no one ever has conquered China.

Thus the Senator opened the argument for amendments to exclude Quemoy and Matsu specifically from our defense sphere. Two such, sponsored by Senators KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, and HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, both Democrats, were voted down by the two committees before the resolution was reported.

The man with the map who bespoke our fears and tried to express our best instincts, may be bowled over in the melee—but we are glad he spoke up, even if he has to wait for history to mark his act and raise a memorial.

[From the New York Post of January 27, 1955]

TWO FACES EAST

(By Doris Fleeson)

WASHINGTON.—The Eisenhower resolution on Formosa is 3 days old and it is already crystal clear that it is a medal showing a different face to each of the opposing forces in the struggle over United States policy.

It draws a defense line at Formosa and the Pescadores and it seeks a cease-fire under United Nations auspices between the Chinese Nationalists and the Communist government of Peiping. This side of the medal is for our anxious allies and for those who fear that the objective of Chiang Kai-shek is all-out war with United States participation to regain the China mainland.

The other side of the medal invokes for Chinese Nationalists and their powerful political friends here a picture not just of a safeguarded Formosa and Pescadores but such protection and related positions and territories as may seem vital to the President who will of course be advised by the military.

When it is realized that the present Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is Adm. Arthur Radford, an avowed apostle of a naval blockade of Red China and the bombing of mainland installations, the pull of the pro-Nationalist side of the medal is readily apparent.

Senate debate has already proved that the pro-Nationalists like what they think they see in the resolution more than the Senators, who are determined to protect but to neutralize Formosa, care for the picture shown to them.

When Senator MORSE, Independent, Oregon, had concluded an impressive review of his apprehensions regarding the resolution, Republican Senate Leader KNOWLAND jumped to his feet and attacked him for "misleading Peiping" and "endangering the security of the country." This line is calculated to discourage MORSE's probing.

It was KNOWLAND'S first public utterance, when ordinarily he does not mind denouncing a Presidential position on foreign policy almost before it is spoken. His smiling silence indeed, has been perhaps the most significant aspect of the situation. It signified consent—and KNOWLAND has never hitherto given consent to anything that did not represent unflinching support for Chiang and all Chiang's works.

It is said privately by responsible sources that the President himself is committed to the cease-fire, that he will never consent to be drawn into war on the mainland of China. The question is: Does Senator KNOWLAND know this and is it all right with him?

Senate debate will be directed toward clearing up what MORSE has called "the alarming implications and broad scope" of the Eisenhower resolution. It will be enlightening to watch both the Knowland faction and the extent to which Eisenhower spokesmen explain the President's own attitude.

The technique of the medal with two attractive but different faces is distinctively John Foster Dulles'. The Secretary of State in his career here has been adept at putting something for everybody in his foreign policy moves to hide or smooth over the deep divisions in his party on that issue.

This time, however, the sharp legal brain of MORSE and the intuitive political insight of Senator HUMPHREY, Democrat, Minnesota, sniff war in the Dulles technique. They will try to get plain answers which will explain the true goals of the administration.

Appendix

Joint Resolution To Provide for a Commission on Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced in the House a joint resolution to provide for a commission to make available information as to the basic differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic communism which reads as follows:

Joint resolution to provide for a Commission to make available information as to the basic differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic communism

Resolved, etc.—

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION

SECTION 1. (a) There is hereby established a Commission to be known as the Commission To Make Available Information as to the Basic Differences Between the Theories and Practices of the American Way of Life and the Theories and Practices of Atheistic Communism (in this joint resolution referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of 11 members as follows:

(1) Two Members from the Senate of the United States, appointed by the President of the Senate;

(2) Two Members from the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker of the House;

(3) Three members appointed by the President from among individuals each of whom is a member of the standing committee on American citizenship of the American Bar Association, and who have been nominated by the board of governors of the American Bar Association;

(4) Three members appointed by the President from among individuals each of whom is a member of the Association of American Colleges or the American Council of Education, and who have been nominated by the respective governing boards of those organizations; and

(5) One member appointed by the President from private life, to be Chairman of the Commission.

(c) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 2. The Commission—

(1) shall make a study of the testimony relating to the theories and practices of atheistic communism which, since the end of World War II, has been taken under oath by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the House Select Committee to Conduct an Investigation of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre, the House Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States Into the U. S. S. R., and by any other standing committee of the Senate or House of Representatives, and by any agency in the executive branch of the United States Government; and on the basis of its study, shall prepare material for a book, incorporating only testimony taken under oath by the committees and agencies referred to above, selections as to give the fullest possible information as to the theories and practices of atheistic communism; and

(2) shall prepare suggested curricula of studies, suitable for us in the teaching of courses in schools, colleges, and universities, which will make clear the basic differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic communism, and for this purpose it shall be the duty of the Commission to review all pertinent data available to it.

QUORUM

SEC. 3. Six members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) Members of Congress who are members of the Commission shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as Members of Congress; but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission.

(b) The members from private life shall each receive $50 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission, plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of such duties.

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended.

EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, so much as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution.

AVAILABILITY OF RECORDS AND DATA

SEC. 7. To the extent necessary in order to enable the Commission to carry out the purposes of this joint resolution, the Commission shall be permitted to have access to the records and data of committees and agencies referred to in section 2.

APPLICABILITY OF CERTAIN LAWS

SEC. 8. Service of an individual as a member of the Commission or employment of an individual by the Commission as an attorney or expert in any business or professional field, on a part-time or full-time basis, with or without compensation, shall not be considered as service or employment bringing such individual within the provisions of section 281, 283, 284, 434, or 1914 of title 18 of the United States Code, or section 190 of the Revised Statutes (5 U. S. C. 99).

REPORTS

SEC. 9. Upon completion of its work, but not later than December 31, 1955, the Commission shall submit to the President a report containing the textbook and curricula of studies referred to in section 2. Not later than March 1, 1956, the President shall submit the Commission's report to the Congress, together with such comments and recommendations as he deems advisable.

TERMINATION OF COMMISSION

SEC. 10. The Commission shall cease to exist on the 30th day following the date on which the President submits the Commission's report to the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, this is the answer to communism.

There is absolutely nothing in this resolution which will in any way interfere with the local administration of the educational systems of the United States. The proponent of this resolution firmly believes that our educational systems belong on the State and local level and not in the Federal Government. The proposed Commission is to function as a purely advisory body to the Congress of the United States. The work of this Commission is to be made available for future action by the Congress if deemed advisable. Let it be understood that the proponent of this resolution states that he emphatically believes that the Federal Government must not interfere with our educational systems as established in this country.

TEACHING THE PRACTICES OF ATHEISTIC COMMUNISM—DILEMMA

Today the United States of America finds itself suspended on the horns of what appears to be an impossible dilemma—atheistic communism as one horn and organized confusion the other horn. Every right-thinking person admits the existing danger to the free world in the armed atheistic communism marching throughout the world, but they are at a loss as to how to combat the menace. Thus we have organized confusion as to what our youth should be taught concerning atheistic communism. The people are completely confused and befuddled because of the many nebulous newspaper headliines of the past 3 or 4 years. They question the purpose and validity of many writers on the subject of communism. Yet the fathers and mothers of the youth who are going to be the real fighters against atheistic communism want the facts taught to their children. At the present time it is admitted that no textbook acceptable to all the people is available, but such a textbook can be made available without the Government interfering in any way with our educational system.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MINDS OF YOUTH

Much has been published in recent years concerning the atheistic Communist system forcibly taking the children

from their parents at an early age and placing them in state-controlled schools. Older people know the reason for this inhuman practice, but do our children understand this destruction of the family. This practice is diametrically opposed to our way of life, but this system must be explained to our youth. Transportation facilities have caused the world to shrink and the aggressiveness of atheistic communism forces the United States of America to maintain a farflung Military Establishment which must be manned by our youth. We all appreciate that youth wants to know the cold, hard facts of atheistic communism, but it must be based on unimpeachable testimony. The leaders in education and legal professions have a mandatory duty to make available to our youth the truth about the practices of atheistic communism in order to better equip them to fight it, not only physically but mentally as well. There is one saying we all understand: "We never fear anything we know." Thus our youth will be better prepared to withstand the cruel and inhuman treatment they can expect to receive at the hands of their captors if they should become prisoners of war. Testimony verifying such treatment has been recorded by a Senate committee from survivors of POW camps in Korea. The newspapers have carried headlines of this cruel and inhuman treatment, but they have not given the detailed and accurate account so necessary for the youth who must face this possible situation. It is not enough to say, "Let the military teach them."

CAN YOU ANSWER THIS QUESTION?

Every speaker on the subject of communism sooner or later is faced with this question from the youth in his audience, "Why is everybody against communism or the Russians?" Can you answer that question from the floor in a few well-chosen sentences within the time allocation or would you have to spend hours in reply to satisfy the inquisitive mind of youth? Youth must see and hear in order to believe. We all know that theory is required but it is what is put into effect or practiced that counts. Atheistic communism and its practices cannot stand the light of truth, but this light must be lit with the torch of facts not fancy or theory. The Congressmen who have stood before public audiences telling the truth they have learned from their investigations into atheistic communism are always asked these questions, "Why haven't we heard about this work of your committee before—this is the real thing." "Why aren't these facts as you have given them tonight taught in our schools?" These are concrete, hard-hitting questions which the Congressmen find almost impossible to answer.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

No one person, group, Government agency, or congressional committee can be blamed for this incoherent situation concerning atheistic communism which exists today. The fact is that this inherent danger from atheistic communism has been ever present and known by many people, but in recent years it has suddenly burst on all the people and our leaders have not known how to cope with the problem. Yes, aggressive action has been taken by a great many different individuals and agencies with the result that we have created a muddled chaotic situation which permits those dedicated to the cause of atheistic communism to skillfully continue their nefarious methods to divide the people of America. We have all the necessary tools and instruments to thwart them but no basic plan of concerted action. Because of our own failure to think clearly and unemotionally are we going to stand by and allow others to keep us in a state of chaos and permit to rise in this country a system of fear and suspicion which the enemy has so successfully used throughout the world. To put it simply, are we going to let the system we are fighting destroy us from within by turning our people against each other without just cause and not in accordance with our own system of justice. The answer lies in pulling together documented facts concerning the practices of atheistic communism—facts which are irrefutable and already proved before the bar of public opinion. There are those among us who will question these facts, but then the burden of proof will shift to their shoulders.

NATIONALISM ON THE RISE

During World War II American GI's visited in many foreign lands and mingled with people who had never seen or heard about America. These GI's were typically normal, individual Americans with an appreciation of freedom which is theirs under the American system of self-government. These people had never seen such freedom in action, if in fact they had ever heard of such freedom. In their countries such liberty and prosperity was never heard of or permitted. Thus the American GI's left these people in a state of wonderment and dazed condition to return to their homes and ask, "Why can't we be like that?" Who asks such questions?—naturally the youth of those countries.

Then in the wake of departing American GI's the merchants of propaganda and deceit move in as agents for atheistic communism. They fan the imagination of the youth in those countries with promises never to be fulfilled but still very effective in their appeal. Subversion becomes rampant and mob psychology among the youth prevails with telling effect in country after country. All the strings being carefully and skillfully manipulated by subversive agents of atheistic communism appealing to the youth of the country. If you doubt this statement, look at the record in Indochina and what happened while the free world slept. Thus, America has a duty to make available to the world the cold, hard facts concerning the practices of atheistic communism and this can be done by congressional action now.

THE FUTURE

It is self-evident that America must maintain a strong military establishment for years to come and this can only be done by the training of our youth. During the course of military duty most of our young men will have to serve overseas at one of our 49 bases on foreign soil. This tour of duty will necessarily place them in direct contact with the natives of the country where the bases are located. America has now discovered with deep chagrin one glaring defect in our educational system, namely, the proper method of teaching foreign languages. Great strides have been made toward correcting this defect, but let us not forget that our young men also need a good knowledge of the practices of atheistic communism. In many lands the natives are uncertain and hesitant about the form of government they want. Therefore, it is only fitting that our young ambassadors of the American way be prepared to discuss the merits of self-government as practiced in the United States and intelligently point out the fallacies in the so-called self-government as practiced in the U. S. S. R. and its satellites. The same result will be obtained at home as well as abroad if irrefutable proof is presented to our youth during their formative years. Much has been said about our so-called materialism—well let us get real material and present the facts in approved concrete form that cannot be denied.

ACTION OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

May it be said to the everlasting credit of the Pennsylvania Bar Association which resolved this problem at its 1954 session and the American Bar Association through its standing committee on American citizenship they have come face to face with the problem. Last August before the 77th annual meeting of the American Bar Association this standing committee presented a recommendation as amended by a suggestion of the board of governors which is as follows:

Whereas the American Bar Association believes that enlightened citizenship requires intelligent understanding of world problems, free discussion and courageous thinking: Be it

Resolved, That there be adequate teaching of the principles of the Constitution of the United States and the facts of the theory and practices of our Government thereunder in all educational institutions of each State; and be it further

Resolved, That students at appropriate levels of education in educational institutions of each State be made acquainted with the theory and practice of communism in order to demonstrate its inherent fallacies and its threat to the privileges and liberties of free peoples; and be it further

Resolved, That the Association stands ready to implement the purposes of this resolution by aiding in the preparation of suitable material and otherwise through its standing committee on American citizenship.

This matter was ably handled there by the Honorable Walter M. Bastian, circuit judge of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. A number of amendments were proposed, including one which was also acceptable to the committee using the exact language of a comparable resolution adopted by the Pennsylvania Bar Association. After much debate the resolution and proposed amendment were laid on the table.

What action will the House take? Some action should and must be taken due to the present day world conditions which show no sign of abatement on the part of the apologists for atheistic communism. I raise this question of

teaching the practices of atheistic communism in our schools, therefore, I propose a solution or plan. Is there a solution or plan? The answer is "Yes," definitely and unequivocally.

Since the end of World War II the Congress of the United States has conducted numerous hearings and investigations concerning the practices of atheistic communism. The major portion of this evidence and testimony has been taken under oath. The hearings have been held not only in the United States but also in London, Frankfort, Munich, and Berlin. The testimony of witnesses has been taken in public before audiences and in a legal atmosphere.

This data on the practices of atheistic communism was meticuously compiled and taken many times at great personal risk for the witnesses' lives or those of his relatives or loved ones still behind the Iron Curtain. Many of these witnesses were recognized and reputable leaders in their own countries before they were forced to leave the aggressive action of atheistic Communists. These men know the facts, their testimony cannot be denied.

There are thousands of Americans who are unaware of the painstaking and careful task their Representatives in Congress have performed in recent years. Furthermore, the money used to record this evidence was furnished by the American taxpayer. Thus, the taxpayer should receive a return on his investment to his children in our educational institutions.

Many Americans are rightly concerned about who is sponsoring what in this field of atheistic communism: They are also concerned about what material their children should read and study on this subject.

No one who believes in the American system of self-government and fair play can possibly object to having the sworn testimony of witnesses who have lived under atheistic communism presented to their children in textbook form. What is more, any tendency or attempt to discredit such testimony on the part of any teacher would result in the students asking, "How do you know—were you there—these men have lived under atheistic communism?"

Last year Congress outlawed the Communist Party in the United States. How many educators or lawyers can cite clearly and concisely the chain of events that led to such a law? Is there a book available today which traces a course of history begininng with the Smith Act? The youth must be told the reasons for this action on the part of Congress and what better way than to reproduce word for word the sworn testimony of men who have lived under atheistic communism.

Actually if Congress were to create a Commission to provide the necessary funds for the compilation of a textbook on the practices of atheistic communism, they would be doing their duty and the people would be receiving the facts that they paid for gathering in the first instance.

In addition, everyone in the United States would know the source material of such a textbook—who, where, when and how it was compiled and could object before its publication. The Congress of the United States would have to vote on such a textbook before it could be made available to our educational institutions.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of the resolution.

Parade With Brass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted by the House, I am including an impressive sermon delivered by Louis Evans, D. D., LL. D., former pastor of the Hollywood Presbyterian Church, and presently representing the Presbyterian Church on a nationwide basis. I believe Members of Congress and others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be deeply impressed by this splendid message. This sermon was delivered at the National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., on August 22, 1954.

Our text is found in 1st Kings, 14th chapter, verses 25 to 27:

"And it came to pass in the fifth year of King Rehoboam that Shishak, King of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem; he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord and the treasures of the King's house; he even took away all; he took away all the shields of gold that Solomon had made. King Rehoboam made in their stead shields of brass and committed them to the hands of the captain of the guards who kept the King's house. And it was so that as oft as the King went into the house of the Lord the guard bear them and brought them back into the guard's chamber."

It would be interesting to know who was the first clergyman who discovered these three verses couched in the maze of historical record. I am quite sure every preacher has preached on that subject since then. This matter of making the best out of hard ways. It is strange that this incident should find its way into the sacred, scarce pages of Holy Writ. What has metallurgy to do with spiritual life? What is God saying to us here?

You remember the story. Solomon had died. His reign had been one of unprecedented prosperity, luxury, power, statecraft, and war. His treasuries were full and his armies were strong.

Then Solomon died and depression settled in the land. Rehoboam lost half of his followers; 10 of his tribes had deserted him, and only Judah and Benjamin were left, who were still loyal to him. Probably sensing this disunity, Shishak, the Egyptian Pharoah, came down like a wolf on the fold, depleted his forces, and the nation fell. Egypt made off with the treasures. They carried off the shields of gold that had once been carried in the kingly parade, and with these shields went all their precious metals. Now what would Rehoboam do? The shields of gold were gone. How he had come down in the world. Was it worth while to parade and march at all? He said, "Gentlemen, we shall take these brass shields and shine them up; we shall give Judah as much splendor as we can"; and they preserved the royal dignity of the realm: they did the best they could—they paraded with brass.

Is the historian making light of him? I hope not, for there is nothing more commendable in the human race than this gift of making the best of it when things are difficult.

Our sermon today is more of a personal nature. At least, it would seem so at first until we remember the strategy of how we feel as individuals. "U. S." spells "us." When a car goes to pieces, it goes to pieces part by part; when a nation goes to pieces, it goes to pieces unit by unit. Nations and cars are built up in the same way. If you are at peace, then you contribute to the peace of the world; if your heart is in chaos, then you contribute to the chaos of the world; there is no better contribution that you and I can make to the whole of the cosmos than to be brave and to be faithful in particular.

So let us look today at the glory of making the best of unfortunate circumstances. This is an important subject, since there will come a day to all of us when the shields of gold will be gone. The Shishak of life will bear down upon every life at some hour and carry away our shields of gold, and we will wonder then whether it is worth while to parade along with Benjamin and Judah. You and I are living in the days of Egyptian invasion. That is inevitable. Along beside every mountain there lies the necessary valley; with every light there goes the necessary shadow; the clouds must come with the rain; Napoleon had his Austerlitz and he had his Waterloo; Jesus Christ had His triumphal entry and He had His Golgotha; you and I have our weddings and our funerals: that is life.

We saw it in business during the depression: The Shishak of Egypt swooped down upon our Nation in the throes of a terrible depression, and the savings and business of many were swept away and their coffers became empty. For many, the shields of gold were gone. We saw the dreams of men and their financial castles destroyed in a single day. They turned the keys in the office doors of their establishments and left them forever. Men suffered defeat and emptiness, and yet we say them going to work and coming home with courageous hearts, living on slaughtered rations, parading with the shields of brass and courage, nobility and joy. This, to us, was the miracle of the hour. Dr. Hadfield, the English psychologist, once said: "The increasing pressure of modern life, with all its anxieties and cares, constitutes an ever augmenting tax upon our strength. It is hardly surprising that nervous breakdowns are common and that nerve fatigue is the disease of the age, yet we are called upon to witness exhibitions of power which fill us with wonder." That is true particularly when God is on the inside.

He was an aged man, successful in business, who had saved up a considerable amount for his old age. As his pastor was visiting with him in his parlor he was suddenly called to the phone. In standing there, his pastor heard him say: "What? All of it's gone; all of it? All right, I will see you in the morning." All his fortune had been swept away by a crash of the market, but, tossing back his fine gray head, he said to his pastor: "Well, God knows where my treasures are." That is the test of life, after all. If the atomic bomb should explode now, if the market should fall, and all the shields of gold be gone, what would you and I have left in the things of the spirit? This is our true worth.

We also see the brass parade in many a home.

When you step into some homes, into some single rooms, you see that the material glory is partially departed. You see a piece of bric-a-brac here and there; you see a teak table that is quite out of place in its present environment; you see an oil of assimilated

prosperity and a greater day, and yet here they are; the heads held high and the hearts full of singing, though they might have missed the mortgage by a single payment.

That is true in marriage. Many a young couple has started out under the happiest auspices, parading with shields of gold. She saw in him a tower of strength as she gazed up at him. He seemed to sum up all the virtues which she desired in a man. She dreamed of a great career for him; visions of him as prince in whom she would find chivalry, thoughtfulness, and idealism. Then she discovered as the years passed that she had been mated to quite an ordinary fellow, and the practical phases of life sort of suffered the loss of the festival. She suffered great delusions, and the regal march was ended. She realized she had married quite an ordinary soul. She had but seen him through a lover's eyes, and the shields of gold were gone.

Or, on the other hand, he thought he saw in her first a shrine at which he could worship, a woman full of tenderness, thoughtfulness, God, idealism, as he looked at her through the golden screen of love. Then he found her to be a rather heartless worldling, shallow, thoughtless. He had married a mediocrity, and the adoration had died out and the gold had gone. Shishak with all his hosts of the mediocre had swept down and the shields of the gold of romance had departed. Now what should they do—desert the kingdom? No, Benjamin and Judah were still left, and they could parade with the baser metals of patience, long suffering, love, faith, forebearing, and tolerance, and the world would never guess that Shishak had visited their home, as they paraded with brass, although the glory had departed from Judah.

A woman came into my office sometime ago; her little fists were clenched in despair. And she said, "Dr. Evans, I can't go on with it any longer. I can't stand his bloated drunken kiss upon my lips; the children are afraid of him, and he isn't even trying. I can't go on any longer." I said, "Let's talk to God about it." We had a word of prayer and I said, "Will you try it for 1 month more?" She said, "All right, sir." As I bade her goodby at the office door, I said, "Goodby, soldier, I'll see you in a month." "Goodby, sir," she said, and went out. But I did not have to wait for a month; she called up within a week and said with ecstatic voice, "Dr. Evans, it happened. Christ found him and everything is happy as a marriage bell and the children are happy, too." That did it. I have met many women who said to me, "Dr. Evans, if I'd only waited a little longer." I have never heard a woman who said to me, "I waited too long before I walked out." She had paraded with shields of brass and God had changed the brass back to gold again. This is sometimes a reward of the faithful.

Sometimes we see the brass parade in the realm of service.

Is it worthwhile for Rehoboam to parade with simply 2 ruling nations when he might have had 12? Many a great play upon the stage has failed because those who played the bit and extra parts did not realize the importance of what they were doing. They all wanted to play Othello, Romeo, Caesar, and they forgot the unseen stars that make up the Milky Way.

I have seen many a man in business who because he lost a certain job or did not attain the one to which he had aspired began to pout because the glory was gone.

Some men are constantly decrying the fact that they have had insufficient education and cannot make good with the shields of brass. D. L. Moody had not been beyond the third grade in grammar school; he never had a great command of the English language. One day, in the Crystal Palace in London, in the loge were sitting the King and Queen of England and several noblemen. He began to read his text, "And to none was the prophet sent, save unto the widow Zerapheth," but he could not proounce it. He said "Unto but he could not pronounce it. He said "Unto none was Elijah sent save to the widow Zera——." Mr. Sankey, sitting behind him, said, "Zerapheth, Mr. Moody, Zerapheth." He tried again, but failed. Finally, he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, "Dear God, have mercy upon a man who can't even speak his own language." The type of man who had only shields of brass, shone them up and shook all England that day in a great parade.

There must be times, too, when you women wonder if it is worthwhile as you labor in the home without benefit of parade, missing the gold and glitter of public acclaim. The splendor gone, no songs in the air, sharing the burdens of others, humoring tired hearts, no Solomonic processions, no banners, no buntings, no banquets, nobody at the station when you leave for the trip and no crowds to greet you when you come home, save a few faithful pairs of arms around your neck, missing undoubtedly at times the golden chalices of the unusual, drinking from the brass cups of a word of kindness here and there, and laboring for the smile of God, the wellspring of your beautiful duty.

She was standing at the sink, was a high school girl, washing dishes with her mother. As she gazed at the greasy water on her hands, she said, "O mother, how can you stand to wash greasy dishes three times a day?" To this her mother answered, "My dear, I'm not washing dishes, I'm building a home."

She saw the power of the gold in the brazen duties.

Do you so look upon your unadorned task? The typewriter as you type your brisk monotonies, do you not realize how necessary you are to the wheels of industry, to the making of the laws of this land, and to the march of progress?

As you preside there at the counter in the department store, where a customer always pretends to be right, do you not realize that there is where people are clothed, there is where they are fed, where a toy brings joy to a child's heart?

As you stand there in the drugstore and putter among the shelves, do you not realize that you are handing out sleep for the restless and health for the sick?

When you are down there in that mine, do you not realize that as you are streaming with sweat that that perspiration is incense poured out to God in holy service, that you are the right honorable collier, partner of God in giving warmth to the world?

In that hospital amid the smell and odor of sickness and dying, remember that you are hurling yourself between humanity and death.

He was visiting a tugboat and he noticed that a colored boy with a rag in his hand had shined up an old tugboat engine until it was practically glistening. All the while he was humming a happy song. He said to the colored boy, "Sam, what are you so happy about?" The colored boy, looking down at the machine, said, smilingly, "You see, sir, I got a glory." So the visitor wrote these lines:

"Oh, you gotta get a glory in the work you do
A Hallelujah Chorus in the heart of you
Paint or tell a story, sing, or shovel coal,
But you gotta get a glory, or your job lacks soul."

We must allow Christ to take our seeming job of brass and change it into a calling of gold. It was said of Christ, "Who for the joy set before Him endured the cross." It did not say, "For the fun set before Him." It is no fun to be crucified, but it was a joy even to endure that pain because it helped and saved humanity. He took the cross, a brazen instrument of torture, and changed it into a symbol of the gold of love. Do that with your job; make it into a calling of God.

The same thing is true of old age. How many let their shields tarnish with the years for lack of activity? Saul, more aged now, hears them calling in the streets, "Saul has slain his thousands, but David his ten thousands," and then jealousy sets up. Do not sit down and stop parading. Do not sit there waiting for eternity—work for eternity. I was addressing a congregation in a certain State a summer or two ago, and they all seemed over 60 or 65. The man sitting next to me said, "You can't do much with them, can you?" I said, "Certainly. They can do a great deal." As I rose to my feet, I said, "Remember a lot of baseball games have been won in the last inning, and a lot of touchdowns on the football field have been made in the last quarter." You and I cannot rest until the whistle blows—we must serve Him forever, and then we go on serving Him in His temple.

"God, keep my heart atune to laughter when
youth is done;
When all the days are grey days coming
after the warmth, the sun.
Keep me, then, from bitterness, from grieving, when life seems cold,
Keep me always serving, loving, believing,
as I grow old."

But this duty of brass—how brazen it is. "All I hear about is duty—to my wife, children, husband, society, vows, responsibilities, business, this and that—the brass of duty, duty."

"Are there not times when I have the right to evade duty, when I have a right to rattle my chains and curse the things that bind me, why should I be shackled? Why is my life not my own? Why should I be held down? Why do not I have the freedom I crave? But this day, after day, month after month, year after year, parading with brazen duty till death ends it all."

But my friend, you are not at your best when you talk like that. It was Dr. James Stuart, of Scotland, who said, "Take your pen and a sheet of paper and write down at the top the order of the value of things that challenge you to be your best at different times. At the top of course, is the grace of God, then come duty and love; bracket them together." That was true, wasn't it? Things would have gone to pieces a dozen times if it had not been for duty, would they not?

In the 19th century there were a lot of women whose lives had been touched by scarlet sin, outcasts of society who were very grateful that Josephine Butler once lived, as others were grateful for Florence Crittenton later on. It happened that Josephine Butler was a woman of considerable social parts and wealth, too. She had a daughter, golden haired, who was the joy of her life. As she was driving into her estate by way of the circular driveway, in her coach and four, her daughter was watching her from the balastrade of the balcony and ecstatically, she waved at her mother, lost her balance, and fell to the pavement below. When Josephine Butler stepped from her carriage, it was to look down at the dying form of the greatest treasure she had. Her daughter died, and the gold was gone. Could she parade with brass now? Stricken, she went to a nearby neighbor, a Quaker woman, who said this to her, "God hath taken to Himself her whom thou didst love, but there are many forelorn hearts who need that mother love of thine. Go to ——— Street, number —, and knock." She went and there she met 40 girls, once lost and in peril, being cared for in Christian sympathy and understanding, and into that labor Josephine Butler threw herself. When her ship was about to go down thus was she rescued by duty.

When she thought that the parade was over, the king was dead and the kingdom had vanished, it was duty that steadied her, and what a parade when she bore before her the shields of brazen duty, polished with love, when the gold was gone.

My friend, when Shishak's invasion strikes you, whatever his soldiers are with their sharp spears, when they divest you of whatever was your treasure and of whatever kind, do something better than give yourself to brooding and introspection. Take the shields of dutiful toil and march with them, and if your house is empty of things held dear, "don't let the seven devils come in and indwell it"—fill it up with service to God and men.

This is true in times of bereavement. I went to see the Taj Mahal in India some years ago, that beautiful white marble or alabaster monument a man erected to his wife. He had inscribed upon her tomb where she lies these word, "The light of my palace has gone out." There was an underground passage by which he went from his throne room to kneel at her cataphalque day after day and eat out his heart, but the world seldom guessed it, for they only saw him going about his realm, seemingly lighthearted and brave, healing and helping, sustaining and comforting his people. He had polished the brass of loneliness and kept it burnished with wholehearted service. You must do the same.

We congratulate those now who have suffered bereavement and walk alone bravely. Somehow that pain and sorrow, grief have given them a clairvoyant sensitivity which enables them to help another out of his or her sorrow, their particular morass of despondencies. Sorrow has become an ally instead of an enemy.

It is so with the brazen nations. Not for a hundred years have we American known what it is collectively to bear the burden of a domestic war and march with the brass of bankruptcy, bombed cities, and rubbled homes. God give us the understanding to know how difficult it is for some nations to parade with the brass.

There is Belgium—that brave little country—her beautiful boulevards ground to powder by the march of military brutes; bombs destroyed her galleries of beauty, and her cathedrals that took generations to build, are gutted and her hearthsides are in ashes. Was it worth while to parade again, to rebuild their cities and stand strong?

Someone has pictured civilization as an old woman sitting atop a pile of rubble in a bombed city, quietly unraveling the knitting it had taken her 200 years to make. How easily we destroy what we build up at great cost—that is war.

And there is Korea, once tranquil, faithful; revivals had swept men on to God. Then Shishak and war and the Red hordes, and starvation, hunger, massacre, and death.

Now we see her bravely rising to parade with brass amid the debris. Four times as many young men are entering the seminaries of Korea for the Christian ministry than ever before in history and now she is rising to march again; and there is America sending her the "brass of necessity" and, better yet, handing her the white cloth of Christian fellowship, and helping her shine up her shields as they march with God in another brave day.

O God, give us the grace to understand without suffering equally. I hope that these words are not altogether true, the words by Laurence Binyon:

"Only when we are hurt with all the hurt untold,
In us the thirst, the hunger, and ours the helpless hands,
The palsied effort vain, the darkness and the cold—
Then, only then, the spirit knows and understands
And finds in every sigh of brotherhood out beneath the sun
The human heart that makes us infinitely one."

Dear God, do not make it necessary for us to see the passing of all our gold to understand how hard it is to parade with brass.

Then there was Germany. She drank too deeply of the wine of nazism, became drunk with power. Her progress was in gadgets rather than in God, in inventions rather than in spiritual intentions. Then Shishak came and sent Germany reeling, bankrupt, her industries gone, her cities rubbled, her art no more. The judgments of God. Was it worth building again? "What is the use?" Germany well could say.

But we understood in part, I think, even the heart of those whom we fought for we, too, had been partially truant.* So an allied soldier, after he had seen the German prisoner, his uniform stained with red of blood, march into prison camp, wrote:

"When I first saw you in the curious street
Like some platoon of soldier-ghosts in grey,
My mad impulse was all to smite and slay.
To spit upon you—tread you 'neath my feet.
But when I saw how each sad soul did greet
My gaze with no sign of defiant brown, how out from tired eyes looked spirits broken down,
How each face showed the pale flag of defeat,
And doubt, despair and disillusionment,
And how were grievous wounds on many a head,
And on your garb red-faced, was other red;
And how you stooped as men whose strength was spent,
I knew that we had suffered each as other,
And could have grasped your hand and cried 'my brother.'"

—*Joseph Johnston Lee.*

Thank God for America. Gentle giant, big brother, with the golden shields of prosperity stooping like a Good Samaritan over a tired and wounded world; going to those lands, where Shishak has marched, with understanding, with Marshall plan checks like white linen cloths of mercy to polish up the shields of brass. Hurling down from the airlift route the brass of necessity upon a stricken Judea. God bless the world and the brass parade.

Financial Aid to Higher Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include the following timely, challenging, and effective editorial, the third of a series written by the McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., Inc., relating to the situation confronting many of the Nation's private higher institutions of learning:

FINANCIAL AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION: BUSINESS AID FOR OUR COLLEGES—VOLUNTARY OR INVOLUNTARY?

Previous editorials in this series have shown that:

As a group the Nation's independent, privately endowed colleges and universities are in grave financial trouble, and

There are many different means by which business firms can extend a helping hand to these institutions.

This editorial, one of a series devoted to the financial problems of higher education, submits this proposition: If business firms do not voluntarily go to the financial aid of higher education, there is every prospect that they will soon be providing more financial support for higher education involuntarily, through taxation.

If this prospect materializes, one of the basic elements of a well-balanced system of higher education—a strong array of independent colleges and universities—may well be dangerously weakened if not destroyed. And in the process a potentially crucial bulwark for freedom of enterprise in the United States—that same strong array of independent colleges and universities—will be undermined.

Acceptance of these propositions implies absolutely no disparagement of tax-supported colleges and universities. These have an indispensable role in the total system of higher education in the United States. Leaders of these institutions would be among the first to agree that their position is strengthened by a strong system of independent institutions, supported privately rather than by political agencies.

What is the evidence that in one way or another, voluntarily or involuntarily, business will be giving more financial support to higher education? One impressive part of this evidence is provided by the recent rapid increase in the proportion of college and university students attending tax-supported institutions.

RAPID SHIFT IN ENROLLMENT

In the fall of 1952 tax-supported colleges and universities enrolled about 7.5 percent more students than the independent institutions. In 1953 this percentage was doubled. And in 1954 the tax-supported institutions enrolled 26 percent more students.

In the case of students entering college for the first time the relative growth of the tax-supported institutions recently has been even more striking. In 1952 the number of beginning students in the tax-supported schools, as reported by the United States Office of Education, exceeded those in the independent colleges and universities by 35 percent. In 1954, just 2 years later, this figure jumped to 49 percent.

Why has the proportion of students attending tax-supported colleges and universities been increasing so rapidly? There are many reasons. But a dominant reason is that, in order to keep going at all, the independent institutions have been forced to make large increases in the prices they charge for instruction. The purchasing power of their endowment funds has been cut in half by price inflation. The capacity of the wealthy to supplement their endowments by gifts, as they have done in the past, has been greatly reduced by high taxes. As a result these schools have been forced to rely increasingly on higher prices for instruction (tuition as it is called in academic circles) to make both ends meet.

Since 1940, the independent colleges and universities have raised their tuition fees by an average of about 60 percent. This is considerably less than the increase of about 100 percent in prices generally since 1940. And it is nowhere near enough to prevent the faculty members of the independent colleges from faring miserably in terms of salaries, a matter of major national importance to which we shall return in this series. But the increase in tuition fees of the independent colleges has been much greater than the increase in the fees charged by the tax-supported schools. And that price differential increasingly tends to shunt students into

the schools which are supported chiefly by taxes. Independent colleges now charge, on the average, about $580 per year for a full course of instruction while the tax-supported institutions charge, on the average, about $240.

BIGGER TAX BILL IN PROSPECT

A large increase in the total enrollment in our colleges and universities during the next decade is in prospect, particularly when the great increase in births during World War II is reflected in the number of young men and women of college age. With a total of 2.5 million students at present enrolled in our institutions of higher learning, it is estimated that the total will be over 3 million by 1960.

If this trend continues most of the anticipated increase in college and university enrollment will be concentrated in tax-supported institutions. Indeed, if the shift toward tax-supported institutions that has occurred in the last 3 years were to continue over the next 6 years at the same rate, about 2 million of the 3 million students anticipated in 1960 would be in tax-supported colleges and universities and 1 million in independent schools. In 1950 there was a 50–50 division in enrollment. This shift would mean, of course, a corresponding increase in the tax bill for tax-supported education. And of this bill, we can be sure that an ample share would be assessed against business firms.

NO EASY SOLUTION

The best way, of course, to put a brake on a soaring tax bill for higher education is to help the independent institutions get in shape financially to carry a larger share of the student load. For most companies the development of a mutually satisfactory program of financial aid for higher education is a complicated process. In fact, it is so complicated that some companies with an initial disposition to provide financial help are inclined to despair of working out a mutually constructive plan.

If, however, the leaders of business will contemplate seriously the only available alternative to their extending voluntary help to our independent colleges and universities, their determination to work out a plan will be strengthened. For that alternative involves a grave weakening of our system of higher education, together with an involuntary increase in the financial support of higher education by business. The increase would come through higher taxes. Contemplation of such an alternative should, if necessary, toughen the will of business firms generally to do everything possible to extend financial help to our independent colleges and universities.

Time To Take a Position

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Agriculture will soon begin consideration of legislation proposing to restore fixed price supports at a level of 90 percent of parity on the basic commodities.

It has been stated that farmers cannot hope that much in the way of constructive or even helpful legislation will come from this Congress. I am certain there are many individuals, including some leaders in the Republican Party, and certainly the top officials in the Department of Agriculture who hope that Congress will do nothing in the way of amending Public Law 690 of the 83d Congress, which took away from the farmers of America some of the supports to which agriculture is entitled.

I am not disposed to believe that the restoration of the 90-percent supports would be approved by the President, who, in all probability, would go along with the recommendations of his Secretary of Agriculture, whose advice he has followed in the past, and I think there is grave doubt that any bill benefiting the farmer and approved by Congress would receive the approval of President Eisenhower and become a law. Certainly I am not so naive as to believe there is sufficient support to pass such a law over a Presidential veto.

However, I do believe that now, and the sooner the better, is the time for Congress to act. Now is the time for the responsibility to be fixed. I, for one, do not want anyone to be pointing out at any time in the future that Congress, through its inaction, is willing to accept and endorse the present law.

Mr. Speaker, I hope our Committee on Agriculture will quickly approve legislation which would restore to the American farmer the same equitable treatment that is extended to the other segments of our economy.

I hope that every Member of Congress will take time to read the message addressed to them in the current—February 1955—issue of the Progressive Farmer, and take the advice offered in the editorial, About Farm Prices: Congress Should Act Quickly, which is, under leave granted to extend my remarks, herewith reproduced:

ABOUT FARM PRICES: CONGRESS SHOULD ACT QUICKLY

To our Senators and Representatives from the Southern States:

DEAR FRIENDS: As the 84th Congress gets underway, what is the very first major economic subject that should have your attention?

Unquestionably, in our opinion, it is the serious situation caused by low farm prices. And the worsened situation that exists because of (1) the relatively low prices the farmer gets for what he sells and (2) the relatively high prices he must pay for what he buys.

Nor is this a case where we are simply giving you somebody's opinion, theory, hearsay, or belief. Please study on this page an authoritative chart based on the official figures of the United States Department of Agriculture itself. As compared with the official 1910–14 base, "prices received" by farmers now stand at only 239 percent, while "prices paid" (including interest, taxes, and hired labor) are 279 percent. And while the overall farm parity ratio on December 15, 1953, was 91 percent, by December 15, 1954, it had dropped to 86 percent.

In view of this bad and worsening situation, can you Senators and Representatives, chosen from primarily rural States, afford to look on with complacency? Or can you afford to be unconcerned if you turned to the recent "1955 Forecast" issue of one of America's leading publications concerned with economic trends, the U. S. News & World Report, and noted on page 67 a table headed "The Climb in 'Real' Income"? (Average weekly pay, after Federal taxes, with adjustments for increases in living costs since 1950, first year of Korean war.)

Then followed a table prepared after long and careful study by economic experts. It shows net weekly earnings or "weekly buying power" of 20 leading classes of employed people in the United States in 1950, 1954, and their "estimated income for 1955." Here are figures for one dozen of the most important of these 20 occupations:

	Buying power in 1950	Buying power in 1954	Estimated 1955 buying power
Average factory worker	$57.19	$59.70	$61.37
Auto worker	69.01	71.54	72.84
Steelworker	64.18	68.14	71.32
Soft-coal miner	66.44	66.84	69.26
Machinery-manufacturing employee	63.92	67.15	67.82
Farm-implement worker	61.61	64.36	65.50
Railroad worker	58.16	62.27	64.41
Schoolteacher	56.63	61.28	64.25
Federal employee	60.74	60.87	63.60
Textile worker	48.22	45.59	46.62
Clothing worker	43.02	41.91	43.03
Farm owner	42.10	39.52	37.24

What are the two most remarkable things developed by these statistics about 20 different occupations?

1. For all 20 occupations, income increased from 1953 to 1954—with only 3 exceptions, the farmer being one.

2. For all 20 occupations, income is expected to increase in 1955 with only one exception. What is that one? Again the farmer.

And why is the farmer suffering? Is it because he is less industrious, less efficient? Is he falling down on his job of feeding and clothing America? Not at all. On the contrary, all this is happening when the American farmer is reaching a degree of efficiency unprecedented in his own occupation—and hardly equaled by workers in any of the other occupations in America. In 1910 one farm worker produced only enough farm products for himself and 6 others; in 1953, enough for himself and 17 others. In other words, in 1910 it took 35 Americans out of each 100 to produce crops and livestock to feed and clothe America; in 1930, only 25; in 1945, only 18; and in 1954, only 14.

Under such conditions, is it not high time for all five agencies that might do something about this matter to hear "the firebell at night," and do something about it? And what five agencies do we mean? Here is our list:

1. The President of the United States.
2. The United States Senate.
3. The House of Representatives.
4. Our farm organizations—Farm Bureau, Grange, and Farmers Union.
5. The Secretary of Agriculture.

We are not passing on the justice of their complaint, but many farmers now say this—that many to whom they looked for help have seemed more concerned about reducing price safeguards for farmers than about checking this terrible price-squeeze that is bringing trouble to nearly all small farmers and many large farmers as well. And right here we might add two other agencies that farmers are watching—and have a right to watch—with real concern and purposefulness. What are these two? Here they are:

6. The Democratic Party.
7. The Republican Party.

What did the Republican presidential nominee of 1952, and present President of the United States, say about farm prices in 1952? Let's see:

At Brookings, S. Dak., on October 4, he said: "The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90 percent parity price support and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100 percent parity, with the guarantee in the price supports of 90."

At Kasson, Minn., on September 6, he said: "As provided in the Republican platform, the nonperishable crops so important to the diversified farmer—crops such as oats, barley, rye, and soybeans—should be given the same protection as available to the major cash crops."

Not only did the Republican nominee say these things, but the Democratic nominee said: "The Republican nominee has climbed on my platform." The Democrats promised in 1952—and again in 1954, "We'll do better by farmers than the Republicans have ever done."

Well, now the Democrats have Congress and the Republicans have the administration and farmers are ready to hold both parties responsible for what they do or fail to do right now—in 1955.

The National Planning Association has already predicted that unemployment will rise this year and thereafter unless Government and industry act to increase consumer buying power and industrial production. What terribly disappoints us is that the President is trying to increase consumer buying power only by increasing hourly wages for labor, while proposing nothing important about the more desperately needed increase in consumer purchasing on American farms.

WHAT IS JUST PARITY PERCENTAGE?

More and more a radically new attitude toward this whole problem of parity seems absolutely necessary if farmers are ever to get out of the terrible financial squeeze in which they are now caught as shown by the chart on this page. Somehow or other our city people and the city press (aided, alas, by some in our own Department of Agriculture and some agricultural leaders) have spread abroad the notion that full 100 percent parity prices would mean inexcusable prosperity for farmers—a sort of all-this-and-heaven-too situation where farmers would be carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease. This is not only not true but it is the absolute reverse of truth as proved by these demonstrated statistical facts which the Progressive Farmers has more than once mentioned:

1. In 1949 farm prices stood at 99 percent of parity—and yet the average net income per farm person was only one-half that of the average nonfarm person.

2. In 1951 farm price were 107 percent of partity—and yet the average net income of farm workers and industrial workers compared as follows:

For farm workers	$1,718
For industrial workers	3,416

Plainly, therefore, 100 percent parity will not give farmers real prosperity, but only a fairly decent income. They should never be content with anything less than 100 percent. On products for which any variable price-support formula is set up, it should be at 85 to 95 percent of parity—not 75 to 90. And where farmers are willing to provide their own production control and reduce their acreages or other production factors in order to make production fit expected demand, then we believe price supports should be guaronteed at 95 percent of parity instead of the 90 percent which has proved unequal to the task of giving farmers the decent income to which their efficiency entitles them. To restore 90 percent price supports may be all that is expedient as to this Congress, but who can say farmers do not honestly earn the definitely larger percentages just suggested?

California's Natural-Gas Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY R. SHEPPARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply disturbed by reports from southern California that a recent cold snap there caused a serious shortage of natural gas, which required emergency measures to keep our industrial plants functioning and our citizens comfortable in such highly unusual California weather.

Shut-in storage wells had to be put on production at Goleta. The Southern California Gas Co. withdrew about 100 million cubic feet of gas from storage daily. Industrial consumers were cut off from their normal supply and were forced to fall back on standby fuel—which, fortunately, was available in the form of fuel oil.

Meanwhile, householders who rely on propane, or other liquefied petroleum gases, to heat their homes, were faced with an even more acute problem. I am happy to say that, after considerable effort on the part of the LPG companies, as they are called, they were tided over the cold spell. But, it was touch and go.

Now this was just a temporary cold front, seldom encountered in southern California. However, it has serious overtones for the future, for California, although a large producer of natural gas, has recently become dependent on other States for just about half of its natural gas supply. As late as 1946, we were able to produce all our natural gas needs. But, because of our tremendous population growth and the increasing popularity of this fuel, only 7 years later we were forced to import 41½ percent of our supply.

Only a year later, that figure was 49.7 percent, an increase of 8 percent in just 1 year, and it is still climbing.

These and other vitally important statistics on California's natural gas situation explain why the people of southern California are genuinely concerned with this problem.

Many representative groups in California have recently adopted resolutions calling upon this Congress to amend the Natural Gas Act and thus help to preserve that part of our supply which reaches us from other States. These great institutions, as well as some of the States' leading newspapers, are reflecting the great concern of the people of California when they call upon us for action, for they know that if the Federal Power Commission is permitted to clamp price controls on the production of natural gas it can mean only that the supply of this fuel available to California will shrink dangerously and rapidly while at the same time the demand for it is skyrocketing. For, Mr. Speaker, they know that the hard fact is that price controls of whatever kind have never created plenty; they always have created and always will create scarcity. And scarcity can only mean higher and higher prices.

It costs an average of $100,000 to drill a well, and who is going to gamble that much money in such a risky undertaking if Uncle Sam is going to place a low ceiling on his profit? Only recently, in California, the Ohio Oil Co. abandoned as a failure a well which had been drilled to 21,482 feet at a cost of $2¼ million.

In my State both household users and industrial users have a large stake in seeing to it that an abundant supply of this fuel is available. The number of gas customers in California, for example, jumped more than 50 percent between 1946 and 1953—from 2,210,000 to 3,326,000.

It is also a vital factor in our supply of electricity, for the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power estimates that in the next 30 years about 50 percent of its fuel needs will come from natural gas.

Those who are interested in the industrial development of southern California—and, indeed, in industrial development everywhere—must be concerned with what is happening right now in Oklahoma. There has come to my attention an attractive leaflet published by the Oklahoma Development Council, 135 Northwest Second Street, Oklahoma City, Okla. Here are three important paragraphs from this booklet:

A new situation is diverting billions of cubic feet of unsold natural gas from prospective interstate markets and making it available for use only within Oklahoma.

Formerly, there were plans to sell much of these huge, uncommitted underground supplies of gas for use outside the State. But because of the recent imposition of Federal regulation over gas produced for interstate sales, producers are abandoning this market in making new contracts for gas sales. They now plan to hold this gas for use within the State.

Locate your new plant in Oklahoma where you will not be faced with dwindling supplies of natural gas as a result of Federal regulation. With ample gas available for long-term contracts free of Federal regulation, Oklahoma offers the ideal location for industrial expansion.

Thus, the people of California know that the absence of corrective legislation gives them pause for many reasons. Federal price controls on production will eat into California's source of supply from two sides—it will destroy the explorer's incentive and it will keep at home in Texas, Oklahoma, and elsewhere, supplies of gas which, we have seen, are sorely needed in California.

United Nations Division of Narcotic Drugs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to do so I herewith include in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Wood River unit of the Illinois Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The Wood River unit calls upon the United Nations to disapprove the recommendation of the Third Committee to remove the United Nations Division of

Narcotic Drugs to Geneva. I wholeheartedly endorse this resolution.

The resolution follows:

WOOD RIVER, ILL.

The Honorable MELVIN PRICE, of Illinois,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRICE: By the unanimous request of the Wood River unit of the Illinois Woman's Christian Temperance Union, I am requesting you to contact Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and our Ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, to use their influence with the United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold requesting him not to accept the recommendation of the Third Committee to remove the United Nations Division of Narcotic Drugs to Geneva. You know, as do we, that such a move would give Red China full control of the sale and distribution of those deadly drugs. Your little child is probably not of school age, but even the first grades are being induced to use such drugs. Please insert this request in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Very sincerely,
MRS. MAUD WHITEMAN,
Corresponding Secretary.

Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINFIELD K. DENTON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. DENTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include two statements calling attention to the need for curtailment of the present heavy flow of foreign oil imports into this country. One is the statement made by Mr. Alfred A. Kiltz, of Evansville, Ind., president of the Independent Oil Producers and Land Owners Association of Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky, before the House Committee on Ways and Means January 28, 1955, during hearings on extension of the Trade Agreements Act. The other is my statement to that committee on the same day, pointing out both the immediate injury that unrestricted importation of oil does to independent oil operators and the workingmen of the coal industry and the potential harm of this policy to our international relations and the national security.

The statements follow:

STATEMENT OF ALFRED A. KILTZ, PRESILENT, INDEPENDENT OIL PRODUCERS AND LANDOWNERS' ASSOCIATION OF INDIANA, ILLINOIS, AND KENTUCKY, JANUARY 28, 1955

My name is Alfred A. Kiltz, of Evansville, Ind. I am president of the Independent Oil Producers and Landowners' Association of Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. I am a director of the Illinois Oil and Gas Association; the Indiana Oil and Gas Association; a member of the Governor's Oil Advisory Committee of the State of Indiana, and of the regulatory practices committee of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission. I am also chief counsel of the Farm Bureau Oil Co., Inc., and the Petroleum Department of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, Inc., of Mt. Vernon, Ind. These two companies operate 300 miles of crude oil gathering lines throughout Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky; purchasing about 20,000 barrels of crude oil per day from independent producers. They refine about 10,000 barrels per day, selling their excess of crude purchased over refinery requirements to other refiners of the Midwest. They operate a 230-mile finished products pipeline to central and northern Indiana, and furnish more finished petroleum products to the farm than any other company in Indiana. These companies are strictly farmer-owned and have always depended for crude supply upon oil produced in Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky, by independent producers. They have worked closely with independent operators during the last 15 years, making available materials and equipment; loaning independents about $20,000,000 for operations and development; buying their crude oil and extending them pipeline facilities. Most of the crude of our area has been discovered by independent wildcatters.

Eight years ago, the Tri-State basin was producing about 500,000 barrels of crude oil daily; the price was stable and there was no difficulty in disposing of crude oil in excess of local refinery requirements. In fact, the obtaining of crude oil was upon a competitive basis.

Today, strange situations are developing in the basin, a thousand miles from any sea coast and in the heart of America's bread basket. This Tri-State basin now produces only 264,000 barrels of crude oil per day as compared to the former 500,000 barrels, or only 4 percent of United States production; yet, we are told that we must pro-rate production because we are flooding the market with crude. When the absurdity of this is pointed out, we are told that fabulous new supplies from the Northwest are flooding into our Middle West. We investigate and find that Colorado, Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, and North Dakota have a combined production of only 483,000 barrels per day or 7½ percent of the United States total. We made a fact-finding trip to the Northwest during the latter part of last June and determined that it could not be this area's production which was causing distress in our Tri-State basin.

The situation has become steadily worse with independent operators being unable to make pipeline connections for their new wells, even though such wells might be located within a few feet of an existing gathering line. Independents must be able to sell their oil in order to obtain loans with which to continue development and wildcatting.

Upon last July 1, one of the principal pipeline companies purchasing oil in the tri-State basin, prorated all gatherings and purchases down to 70 percent of June runs. Upon the following July 9, another principal pipeline purchaser and gatherer of crude in the area did not prorate, but reduced the price of crude 12 cents per barrel, from $3.02 to $2.90. This disturbed the entire financial structure of the independent producers; the drilling of development and wildcat wells immediately began to drop off. Drilling rigs were stacked or made an exodus from the basin. Mass meetings were held by independent producers. Farm Bureau, the only remaining large purchaser of independent crude trying to hold the line against proration and price reduction, was besieged with pleas to take on connections; but its own tanks were full and crude oil could not be moved and sold to other refineries normally purchasing Farm Bureau's excess crude oil. The use for tri-State crude had suddenly dried up. Imports of foreign crude through faraway seaports were supplanting the crude oil of our tri-State area.

During the middle of last July, I was sent to Texas by our independent producers and there advised with Gen. Ernest O. Thompson, chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission—in our opinion the leading authority in the world today upon oil. He advised that he had obtained the promises of major importers that there would be a voluntary regulation of imports; that all States should cooperate in prorating production until the situation had adjusted itself; that the difficulty would be all over in 6 weeks and normalcy would be restored; and everything would rapidly fall into balance. This information was delivered to a meeting of independent producers of Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky, July 23, 1954, and they agreed to voluntarily prorate production if necessary to help the situation.

That was July 23, not 6 weeks ago, but 6 months ago. Instead of imports being voluntarily regulated, as promised, they have steadily increased to the alarming figure of 1,443,000 barrels of crude and products per day. General Thompson apparently foresaw this as early as last September 23, when he said in a speech at Evansville, Ind., "If we let the importers dry up the lifeblood of domestic production in this country, then the responsibility must be upon those men. They may perhaps be great corporate officials, but the question has come right down to this point today: Is their loyalty greater to their stockholders than it is to America?" I might add that the applause was loud and prolonged.

Interviewing the general last week, January 19, in Dallas, his simple statement was, "All promises have been broken."

We now know what has happened to us in our tri-State basin. Imports of foreign crude during December to the east coast of the United States alone amounted to 649,000 barrels per day, of which 240,000 per day were from the Middle East and the balance from Mexico and South America. The east coast refines 1,013,000 barrels per day. Thus there has been a 64 percent displacement of American crude with foreign crude upon the east coast. A major portion of needed crude formerly moved from the Southwest around the gulf and Atlantic seaboards by tanker to eastern refineries. Today it is being moved by river barge and pipeline into our Middle West. It is crude hunting a new home with all the attributes attached thereto and we have been unable to compete with it.

More and more independent drilling rigs are shutting down in Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. Lending institutions, which finance the independent operator, are taking another look before lending. Pipeline connections are more difficult to make. Excess crude over refining requirements cannot be disposed of. As of this coming February 1, Farm Bureau is ceasing to buy and disconnecting 2,000 barrels per day of crude being produced by independent operators. The tanks are full and there is no alternative. Can they sell to someone else? Can they stay in business? The future only holds the answer. Last week identical resolutions of bipartisan authorship were passed unanimously by both houses of the Indiana General Assembly, as follows:

"The national oil and gas policy adopted in January 1949 and endorsed by the independent oil producers of Indiana and of the several other oil-producing States recognizes as a basic objective the assurance that the United States shall have an adequate and available domestic supply of petroleum products for all peacetime and emergency requirements.

"The first fundamental principle of the national oil policy, formulated by the National Petroleum Council, states that due consideration should be given to the development of foreign oil resources but the paramount objective should be to maintain conditions best suited to a healthy domestic industry which is essential to the national security and welfare.

"The national oil policy further states that petroleum imports should serve to sup-

plement and not supplant domestic supplies and not retard necessary domestic exploration and development efforts. This is a sound policy. Adherence to this policy is essential to our national well-being, security, and expanding strength as to oil.

"This accepted policy provides a place for petroleum imports and an opportunity for healthy foreign trade.

"The continuation of present excessive foreign imports of oil violates that policy. Wasteful inventories have accumulated and production has been substantially curtailed in Indiana as well as in other oil-producing States. Fair and equitable relationships between imports and domestic production are not being maintained. The independent producer of oil and gas has been thrown into a serious economic situation and ultimately will be forced to abandon all exploratory and producing operations. This would be a serious threat to and could cause present oil and gas known and proven reserves to be used and exhausted. Exploration and the continued search is necessary to maintain a reserve replacing the requirements for daily demands and consumption. These are perilous times in America. We are living in an era of the hydrogen bomb. Our continued existence as individuals and as a nation depends upon our ability to build and fuel the weapons of war. In this race for survival, the domestic oil industry is the backbone of the defense of our Nation.

"Two world wars have proven this beyond any possible doubt. The importance of domestic oil in any future wars is evidenced by the fact that our defense planners recognize the logistical problems of moving imported oil by sea during a time of war. Let the American people make no mistake as to the basic issue now involved; a healthy capable domestic oil industry or the false and uncertain security that lies in the reliance on foreign oil: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the Senate of the Indiana General Assembly:

"SECTION 1. We urge the Congress of the United States to recognize this situation affecting an important industry of our State and its economic well-being and that some measure of limitation on the import of foreign oil should be enacted as a part of H. R. No. 1, the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, in order to maintain a healthy domestic oil industry.

"SEC. 2. The clerk of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this resolution to each Member of the United States Congress and Senate from Indiana and one copy to the clerk of the House Ways and Means Committee, Washington, D. C., and that a copy be sent to all governors of the various States, together with the request that their States adopt similar resolutions."

We feel that what is happening to us can and will spread with like results over the entire Nation unless the floodgates are at least partially closed upon foreign crude. We of the tri-States of Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky are presently witnessing the exodus, retirement, and disappearance of the independent operator and wildcatter who has found 80 percent of America's crude reserves. If we become dependent upon foreign crude and that oil is suddenly denied us, if we suddenly need more oil from and for America, the independent wildcatter simply won't be around any more. Born with Drake's well upon Oil Creek, Pa., in 1859; growing into full stature and furnishing America's petroleum needs in peace and in war; he will have passed from the scene as an American institution and the frantic trumpeting of Gabriel horns will not bring about his resurrection.

STATEMENT OF HON. WINFIELD K. DENTON, OF INDIANA, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, DURING HEARINGS ON H. R. 1, 84TH CONGRESS, JANUARY 28, 1955

I am Congressman WINFIELD DENTON, representing the Eighth District of Indiana. I want to thank the chairman and members of this committee for their courtesy in granting me time to appear here today and express certain views of mine with regard to the extension of the Trade Agreements Act.

First, let me say that I am emphatically in favor of the reciprocal trade program, and always have been. I know the advantages to this country of easy and friendly trade with other nations of the world and what such trade does to enhance our position in international affairs; and I would not in the slightest way want to cripple our progress toward the long-range objectives of the reciprocal trade program.

But I am here today on behalf of the workingmen of the coal industry and the independent oil operators, who have already suffered considerable distress, and face still more critical injury from the operation of the Trade Agreements Act in its present form. Yet, I believe the serious and sincere grievances of these important groups in our national economy do not oppose the original and legitimate aims of the reciprocal trade policy.

I have, of course, heard the common expression that everybody favors reciprocal trade—but wants some one item or industry protected. I hope I am not guilty of such a charge; and I believe that the well-being of our domestic oil and coal industries is of such peculiar and far-reaching importance to the national security that it can be considered almost in a category apart from the question of trade policy.

At the end of World War II, this country was importing crude and refined oil products at the rate of slightly more than 300,000 barrels a day. Since that time, oil production in the United States has been curtailed and restricted, without a corresponding reduction in oil imports, so that, for the past 2 years, total oil imports have been at a rate in excess of 1 million barrels a day—more than three times the rate at the end of World War II. Estimates of the import situation for the early months of 1955 show that oil may now be coming in at the rate of a million and a quarter barrels a day. And, where oil imports supplied 5 percent of the United States market prewar, they now are taking up about 15 percent of the market in this country.

A very significant part of the oil products imported is made up of residual oil, or heavy fuel oil. Being the last byproduct of the refining process, which operates at very low cost in certain foreign areas, this residual oil can be dumped on the east coast of the United States at prices so low that it easily displaces coal in the market for industrial fuel—pushing coal aside at the rate of 1 ton for every 4 barrels of residual oil.

This fuel oil was being imported at the rate of 45 million barrels a year at the end of World War II, and the influx has steadily increased until it nearly tripled last year at 131.8 million barrels, which took up about a quarter of our domestic market for residual oil. The coal equivalent of the oil imported in 1954, if this coal could have been produced for the market, would have meant jobs for 24,000 American coal miners.

I might go on reciting figures of this sort, but I expect that other witnesses will have amply supplied the committee record. By now, I don't think there can be much doubt of the severe impact that oil imports cause in our domestic market for both oil and coal. What I want to emphasize is the serious effect that excessive importation of oil will have on the national security and our international position, in the long run.

The oil industry is of such a nature that it cannot maintain stable production or meet normal increases in demand by depending on existing supply sources. It must constantly seek new fields and prove up new reserves. This requires continuous exploration and discovery operations, which, as is well known, involves the drilling of many dry holes for the finding of a few good producing wells. Many risks of money and effort go into the development of even a 1 percent increase in United States oil production, or, for that matter, merely the holding of the existing level of output.

Experience in this country has shown that more than 75 percent of the wildcat wells are drilled by independent operators, and that these independents have discovered probably an equal percentage of new oil reserves. These men are the real pioneers in the industry, and their ranks are the source of the initiative and enterprise that must constantly be employed to keep up and improve productive capacity.

But they must be able to sell what they find, to raise capital to go and find more. Unlike the giants of the oil industry, the independent operators cannot go into lush foreign fields to reap profits which can set off the risk and cost of bringing in new production in this country. They cannot hedge operating costs by shipping in cheaper foreign oil. And the more of such oil that is imported, the less the independents are able to sell on the home market.

So long as imported oil is in heavy supply, domestic wells are sharply prorated and the allowable production per well continues to be reduced. These two factors—the curtailment of the market for domestic oil resulting from excessive imports and heavy proration made possible by imports—combine to destroy the independents' incentive and financial ability to continue exploration for new wells. If no remedy of this situation is provided, the result will soon be a serious cut in production capacity, for the independents who make the vital new discoveries of oil reserves will be driven out of the industry.

This is not a matter that can be put aside until the appearance of some grave national-defense emergency. Proven reserves and production capacity must be kept always ready to be thrown into use as soon as any war might break out. Practically speaking, almost no new oil capacity can be developed once we should become involved in a military emergency, for materials and manpower are drained off to meet more immediate needs.

Rear Admiral Briggs, of the Munitions Board Petroleum Committee, who appeared before the House Small Business Committee in June 1949, said that the military authorities are concerned over conservation of petroleum reserves in the ground in those areas representing the greatest probable accessibility during war. However, the admiral emphasized—and I quote: "First consideration for preparedness must be in a high level of developed production in those areas. Oil reserves that must be developed after the start of a war will probably contribute only minor quantities to that war effort, but shut-in production is an immediate military asset."

Most of our oil imports now come from Venezuela and the Middle East. Any enemy submarine activity in the Caribbean Sea would make it difficult for us to continue bringing in oil from Venezuela in time of war, and the great ocean distances separating us from the Middle East would make imports from that area all but impossible. Further, as Admiral Carney, now Chief of Naval Operations, told the Petroleum Sub-

committee of the House Armed Services Committee in January 1948: "The Middle East oil is vulnerable from the military standpoint under any circumstances. The fields are vulnerable to attack, pipelines and pumping stations are vulnerable to sabotage and attack, and I think we would be assuming too much to insure full availability of the capabilities and capacities of Middle East oil."

I think from that it should appear that we must take every precaution to avoid any dependence whatsoever on outlying foreign sources of oil for defense and military needs. And to maintain the health of our domestic oil industry, the only sure supplier in time of emergency, we must avoid undue damage to it from imports at any time. Not even the strongest advocate of free trade will say it should be achieved at the expense of national security.

As to the matter of proration of oil production, which complicates the import question, I can only say that some such system is certainly essential for the conservation and planned use of a vital national resource. But, if proration of oil production is good for the United States, it should be good for Venezuela and the Middle East. Actually, their economies are so heavily dependent on oil production that they should have even a greater interest in its careful conservation than we have in our own.

In the practical sense, it is not good policy in the long run for the United States to maintain a trade program which encourages American companies to exploit and excessively drain away the natural resources of these other countries. We want the friendship of their people, not only for now but for years and decades ahead. We do them no real service now by taking great quantities of the oil they are sure to have need of 25 or 50 years from now. Heavy American imports of oil may lend a flush of prosperity that is a temporary advantage to the Latin American and Arab countries, but it is wrong for us and harmful to them in the long run.

Gentlemen, I have endeavored to show the weakness of our present trade program, as relates to oil, in the light of international policy and our national security.

I now offer the following proposals for your consideration while deliberating on H. R. 1:

1. That United States imports of crude and refined oil be restricted to a quantity not to exceed 900,000 barrels per day;

2. That United States imports of residual fuel oil, or similar heavy oil, be restricted to a quantity not to exceed 5 percent of the total permitted crude and refined oil imports;

3. That if, prior to the expiration of the Trade Agreements Act, as extended, international policy considerations should make it imperative that the United States afford a market for greater quantities of crude and refined oil than stipulated under the first and second proposals above, the proper authorities of the executive department shall be authorized to purchase, for national-defense stockpiling purposes, additional amounts of these items, or either of them, insofar as is feasible;

4. That the committee urge as strongly as possible upon the Chief Executive the advisability of seeking international agreement among interested nations upon the proration of oil production in the interest of mutual security.

Again may I thank the committee for the privilege of appearing before it on this matter and express the hope that my remarks may be of some value in its deliberations.

Channel Job Most Vital to Lower Bucks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL C. KING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. KING of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Bristol (Pa.) Daily Courier of January 8, 1955, entitled "Channel Job Most Vital to Lower Bucks":

CHANNEL JOB MOST VITAL TO LOWER BUCKS

No time should be lost nor effort spared in defogging administration thinking on this $90 million upper Delaware channel project.

Last fall Congress authorized it without any local contribution provision.

Since then some of the bright lads in administration circles have turned up with an idea United States Steel should ante $18 million toward the cost.

If steel should be assessed then it would follow that other industry already doing business along the river from Philadelphia to Morrisville faces a sizable Federal bite, not to mention those innumerable firms planning to move closer to the open hearths.

It seems to us this is a fuzzy, an inane, and a patently unfair approach to a program so immediately vital to the expansion of the upper Delaware Valley region, to the growth of the Nation's industrial might.

President Eisenhower should lower the boom on the smart boys and clear the decks for achievement of this deepwater channel in accordance with congressional intent.

The Nation's inland waterways, of which the upper Delaware is a very important one, and their development to fullest possible advantage is a Government responsibility.

To evade such responsibility by slapping an assessment on industry, whether it be United States Steel or anybody else, is perversion of obligation and unjustifiable penalization of interests contributing immeasurably to national welfare and to the country's progress.

It's just as incongruous to require industry to pay for Delaware River improvement as it would be to make every community guarded from catastrophe by the Nation's system of flood-control dams to open its pocketbook for the protection it gets.

The Delaware Valley expansion program, and most of it will be centered in this region, will hardly get underway until the deepwater channel becomes a reality, or, at least, until there is assurance of reality without prohibitive penalty against firms desiring to expand or to move here.

Already some 30 companies are dickering for sites along the upper Delaware.

Obviously these firms, or most of them, will hesitate finalizing plans and closing deals if the highly necessary channel project becomes a subject for needless controversy over who's going to pay the cost. Quite possibly some of them may skip the whole deal.

Exceedingly clear is the need for clarifying the situation.

There is nothing complex about clarification. The Government should simply do what Congress mandated: Deepen the channel to 40 feet and pay for it.

We in Lower Bucks County should be more than passively concerned about this Delaware River project.

No great imagination is required to see the future here—2, 5, or 10 years hence.

Already this extreme southeastern end of Pennsylvania has become an important industrial center.

Its inevitable growth and expansion may not depend entirely on a deepened Delaware to accommodate oceangoing river traffic.

But there's no doubt whatsoever that the beginning and the completion of the $90 million project would accelerate progress with fascihating swiftness.

THE EDITOR.

North Dakota Senate Requests Suspension of Acreage Controls on Durum Wheat in 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following concurrent resolution just passed by the North Dakota State Senate:

Senate Concurrent Resolution D

Concurrent resolution requesting the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States to suspend acreage controls on durum wheat during 1955

Whereas North Dakota produces approximately 85 percent of all durum wheat grown in the United States, and the Legislature of the State of North Dakota is vitally interested in the production of this crop; and

Whereas approximately 85 percent of the durum crop planted in North Dakota during the 1954 crop season was lost due to rust, making the year 1954 the third consecutive year in which the production of durum wheat was far below normal and below the needs of the United States; and

Whereas because durum wheat is far superior to other grain in the manufacture of macaroni products, the shortage of durum wheat has handicapped the entire macaroni industry: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States is hereby urged and requested to suspend acreage controls upon the planting and raising of durum wheat during the year 1955, and that permission be granted to plant and raise durum wheat upon any acreage displaced from production by acreage controls upon other grain; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the senate forward copies of this resolution to the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, to the North Dakota congressional delegation, and to the chairman of the respective Committees on Agriculture of the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

C. P. DAHL,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD LENO,
Secretary of the Senate.
K. A. PITCH,
Speaker of the House.
KENNETH L. MORGAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.

Congress Action Gives Clear Warning to Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John S. Knight is one of the most respected editors in the country. The following editorial appearing in the Akron Beacon Journal for Sunday, January 30, 1955, is one of the best I have seen on the Formosa issue:

CONGRESS ACTION GIVES CLEAR WARNING TO REDS

(By John S. Knight)

President Eisenhower is getting the support he needs in the Formosa crisis.

By overwhelming majorities, both the House and the Senate have said that the United States should defend Formosa, the Pescadores Islands and closely related localities with whatever force may be required.

The world now knows that this isn't the Dulles brand of bluff and backdown that almost got us into the Indochina mess during the critical battle of Dien Bien Phu.

This is the real thing; not State Department bluster.

Military intervention in Indochina would have ignited the wrong war at the wrong place. We had neither the available ground troops for duty in Indochina nor suitable targets for what he sometimes describe as the massive threat of our airpower.

Formosa is different. It is vital to our Pacific defenses. If the Chinese Reds overran Formosa, both Japan and the Philippines would be outflanked by the enemy.

Moreover, Formosa can be successfully defended.

If Chou En-lai is determined to liberate Formosa and thus risk war with the United States, the military advantages should be on our side.

My only criticism of Eisenhower's action is that it was delayed too long to gain the maximum psychological benefit.

More than 4 months ago, the following comment appeared in this column when the guns of Red China were shelling the island of Quemoy:

"Why don't we say that any aggressor moving against Formosa does so at his own risk?

"Instead of feeding the people a lot of double talk about military decisions and defending the vital interests of the United States, let the President speak up and say that any attack upon Formosa means war with the United States.

"The Communists would understand that kind of talk. If they are bluffing about Formosa, we will have called their bluff.

"If they attack, they can be soundly defeated without any assistance from our allies who intend to sit this one out.

"So, speak out, Mr. President. Let's not get sucked into a war by diplomatic bungling and the pattern of general involvement.

"If we have to fight, let's do it on our own terms.

"Tell the Commies now that we mean business."

It was my thought at the time (September 19) that Red China, undefeated in war and muscled up with newly acquired power, would try shoving us around to see how far they could go.

Since then, the Commies have fired upon our planes, thumbed their noses at the U. N.'s attempt to gain freedom for our imprisoned airmen, picked off Yikiangshan Island from Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist troops and are now forcing evacuation of the Tachens.

The President's decision to act came none too soon, but it was done in exactly the right way with full respect for the role of Congress.

Red China is finally on notice that the United States will fight if we are pushed too far.

The responsibility for war, if it comes, is clearly not ours.

Although Congress responded to the President's statesmanship with full measure of support, a small group of Senators marred the proceeding with some injudicious and unrealistic flyspecking on the Formosa resolution.

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, offered an amendment limiting the defense area to Formosa and the Pescadores.

Had it been adopted, the Humphrey amendment would have prevented any retaliation against the Chinese mainland in case of attack, thus repeating the blunder made in Korea where the Reds enjoyed the luxury of a privileged sanctuary across the Yalu River in Manchuria.

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, favors placing Formosa under United Nations supervision. A good theoretical argument can be made for that point of view but Formosa would fall while the "statesmen" were still debating in the big glass house on New York's East River.

At a later date, when and if the present crisis is over, serious consideration can be given to the Kefauver proposal.

Then we have Senator RALPH FLANDERS, of Vermont, who won no laurels for objective thinking during the McCarthy hearings, mouthing the nonsense that "this is preventive war."

He was properly rebuked by Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, the Republican minority leader, who said: "There is not a scintilla of evidence * * * which could lead any reasonable person to believe that the purpose of the resolution is to engage in a preventive war, or that its purpose was aggression against the Communist regime or any other regime on the face of the earth."

Senator WAYNE MORSE, the Independent from Oregon, also found it impossible to stay out of the headlines. MORSE, in his characteristic loose-tongued fashion, warned against the President's trigger-happy military advisers.

He pictured Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as favoring preventive war and said that sort of action will get us unnecessarily into a third world war.

The Oregon Senator failed to specify how he would cope with the problem facing President Eisenhower.

Senator RUSSELL B. LONG, of Louisiana, expressed apprehension lest Chiang Kai-shek and his friends get us involved in an all-out war with China, even if this should mean war with Russia.

The opinions held by these individual Senators are challenging, but not perauasive.

President Eisenhower has no thought of unleashing Chiang Kai-shek for an assault upon the mainland of China. This irresponsible view was first urged in the 1952 campaign by a group of Republican Senators and Congressmen of whom the kindest thing that can be said is that they were appallingly ignorant of the true situation.

The President has never engaged in saber rattling. He is against preventive war. It was Eisenhower's decision to keep out of Indochina.

We must therefore believe that the President is not trying to start a war, but to prevent one.

Let the Humphreys, Kefauvers, Flanders, Morses, and Longs remember this:

Formosa is vital to our defenses.

Chou En-lai, whose troops fought ours to a bloody stalemate in Korea, says he intends to conquer Formosa.

The United States is pledged to defend Formosa. Moreover, self-interest dictates that course of action.

The President, in keeping with constitutional procedure, asked Congress for authority to defend the island against Red attack.

The Congress has granted that authority without the crippling restrictions imposed by the United Nations upon our military commanders in Korea, and now being urged again by a few addle-headed Senators.

This time, the President can act as military necessity requires. While United States air and naval forces are deployed in the Formosa area "for defensive purposes," they can be used for offensive action at the discretion of the President.

That means if war comes, Uncle Sam won't have to fight with one arm tied behind his back.

Are we risking war by granting this authority requested by the President?

Of course.

But the greater risk to our security is to let Formosa fall to the Communists.

Our defense lines must remain in the far Pacific, and not be withdrawn to the coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington.

In backing the President, the Congress has reflected the will of the people.

The decision, war or peace, is up to Chou En-lai and the Peiping government.

In praying for peace, we shall be ready for war.

Consider Decadent France

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Punxsutawney Spirit of January 28, 1955:

CONSIDER DECADENT FRANCE

Ever since history began there has been an irreconcilable conflict between those who believe in powerful and paternalistic government, and those who believe in placing the greatest possible limitations on government's authority over the lives and liberties of its citizens. That conflict continues today, in intense form. And without going into debates of theory, there is one fact that is undeniable—the paternal government is a might begetter of bureaucracy. It has to be. For, obviously, the more government does, the more people it needs to do it. And these people, human nature being what it is, assume all the power and importance they can.

Time, in a recent issue, tells a remarkable little story of what bureaucracy (aided and abetted by contributory factors) can do and has done in one essential field of enterprise in one country. The country is France, and the field of enterprise is housing. Time's article, which is based on a report made by French Socialist Deputy Albert Gazier to the National Assembly, begins with this sentence: "France, long one of the most enlightened nations in the world, is backward to the point of primitivism when it comes to putting a roof over people's heads." The bare facts, presented without embellishment, will seem incredible to most Americans.

In Paris the average age of buildings is 83 years, and one-quarter of all the apartments are without running water. In the provinces things are still worse—the average age of buildings is 120 years and only a third of the rural population of 20 million has running water in their homes. In beautiful and famed Brittany 45 percent of the homes have earth floors. Twenty-five percent of all couples who married in 1948 are still looking for homes of their own, while they live with parents or stay in hotels or kitchenless furnished rooms.

The deputy blamed all this on lack of initiative, excessive costs, and old-fashioned building methods, but Time observes, "Being a Socialist, he did not add another of France's basic difficulties—bureaucracy. Deputy Gazier told only half of a sad story that helps explain France's divisions, frustrations and sullen hatred. More than 2 million French families live in houses built before the Battle of Waterloo."

How did bureaucracy contribute materially to such a situation? For one thing, the government has rigid rent control laws that hold legal rents to ridiculously low levels. It's impossible for owners to pay taxes and keep their properties up. So no repairs are made, and there is no private construction of new housing for people of limited means. There have been some municipal apartment developments, but only a favored few have benefited from them.

For another thing, the French bureaucracy is so dense and so immersed in red tape that it takes some 15 months to obtain a permit to build a house. And the French building contractors seem to be in the same kind of a rut. For, even after a permit is granted, it takes an average of 2½ years to get a house built.

A badly housed people, like a badly fed people, is unstable and unhappy. So it's only fair to conclude that France's housing situation has contributed materially to her grave present problems—problems that are of the utmost concern to the whole western defense alliance.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, of the ancient and medieval Ukraine relatively little is known; one thing we do know, however, is that the country was overrun and ravaged many times by invaders from the East who inflicted much suffering on the Ukrainians. When the wave of invaders receded, the Ukrainians were able to regain their full independence, recoup some of their losses, and rebuild their homeland. From the late Middle Ages down to the middle of the 17th century, they were successful in preserving their independence. But then, by a treaty signed in 1654, between the Russian Czar and the Ukrainian leaders, their independence was placed in jeopardy and soon after that the Ukraine became part of the Russian Empire.

One might justifiably say that virtually all of the Ukraine's misfortune and the misery of its people stem from that treaty signed almost exactly 300 years ago. From that time until 1918 Ukrainians living within and outside of their beloved land thought, dreamed, and studied little else than ways of obtaining the independence of the Ukraine.

With the signing of the treaty of 1654 the independence of the Ukraine vanished into history. For once under the oppressive Russian rulers, the Ukrainians were forced to abandon their national traditions and to be attached to the great Russian family. In other words, the Czar's government set out to Russianize, by compulsion if necessary, all Ukrainians. Imperial decrees banned the use of Ukrainian as an official language. In schools the teaching of Ukrainian was not permitted, and the whole country was treated as a colonial adjunct of the Imperial Russian Government. And that Government ruled over it with a ruthless hand.

During all those years, however, the Russians were not able to denationalize the Ukrainians. The more oppressive the hand of the Government, the more the Ukrainians resented and rebelled against their overloads. At the same time their yearning increased for the return of the glorious days gone by. As a result, Ukrainian nationalism was kept alive as a powerful living force in the country. At the same time the idea of freedom and independence was carefully nursed in their hearts. Finally, some 250 years later, when they saw their chance for independence in 1918, they seized upon it and proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic. The day of that proclamation, January 22, 1918, is a momentous landmark in recent Ukrainian history. Since then it has been customarily celebrated as a great Ukrainian holiday.

The republic which the Ukrainians proclaimed was a fragile being—young, weak, and beyond the reach of aid from its sympathetic friends. It was surrounded by powerful enemies. All of these were ready, at any moment, to pounce upon the new state and put an end to its existence. Most dangerous of these foes were the Communist Russians. Even though some 35 years ago we had our misgivings about the Communists, we did not know their inhuman methods and their real aims in the same way we know them today. The Ukrainians, who were their neighbors, had quickly diagnosed the evil character of Russian communism and for that reason fought it with all their might. In the end, of course, they had to yield to brute, superior force. In 1920 the Ukraine was overrun by the Communists. Independent-minded able-bodied men were placed under arrest, subjected to indescribable tortures, and many were put to death. It is impossible to say how many million innocent Ukrainians lost their lives under this most abominable of tyrannies.

Today that fair land of riches and plenty, that fertile home of the peasant, is a deserted and desolate steppe land as far as liberty and freedom are concerned. It is, one might say, a large prison camp where some 40 million toilers are crushed by the grinding, all-powerful steamroller of Moscow. There is no freedom of movement, no freedom of expression, and the Communists have even tried to eliminate freedom of thought. Under such circumstances, of course, patriotic Ukrainians are not allowed to celebrate their independence day. However, we in this country are glad to join with all Americans of Ukrainian ancestry in the celebration of that day and ardently hope that soon the Ukrainians will have the freedom to do the same in their beloved homeland.

Courage, Men of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from Labor's Daily of Friday, January 28, 1955:

COURAGE, MEN OF CONGRESS
(By Willard Shelton)

Once again the Members of Congress are facing one of their toughest questions—whether to raise their own salaries and the salaries of the Federal judiciary. Once again the suggestion must be made that they should pluck up their political courage and vote for what they know to be needed and right.

Many people would feel grateful for an income equivalent to the $15,000 paid a Federal district judge or the $12,500, plus $2,500 annual expense account, paid Members of Congress. These sums are three times as high as the average earnings of Americans.

But relative facts must be taken into consideration. A man competent to be a Federal judge could make 3 or 4 times his judicial salary in private law practice. There is a limit, in times of high taxes, to the sacrifice a judge feels willing to impose on his family, and 60 Federal judicial vacancies have piled up in 2 years.

Many State judges are paid far more than Federal judges. In New York City a municipal judge, with only limited jurisdiction, is paid $25,000.

The $15,000 paid Federal district judges, according to Attorney General Brownell, is equivalent to only $6,000 in terms of 1939 buying power, taking into consideration higher taxes and inflation.

A Member of Congress has extraordinary expenses. He must maintain two homes—one in high-cost Washington and the other in his home district. He must travel occasionally to his district or State, and only one such round trip each session of Congress is reimbursable.

A Member of Congress may avoid the capital's party circuit as he would the plague—and many of them do. But he cannot avoid some entertainment of constituents, certain campaign expenses not covered by contributions, some social obligations.

The issue may be summed up in simple terms: do we want to make membership in Congress or a place on the Federal bench an office that only rich men, or at least people with independent private incomes, can afford?

If we rise above pettiness, the correct answer surely is that judges and Congressmen should be paid enough to cover the extraordinary expenses of office, to give them a reasonable chance to be free of harsh

financial anxiety, to be independent and untempted by undue influence.

The thing that makes the Congressmen quiver, of course, is the fear that if they vote themselves a pay raise they may be vulnerable to political attacks at home. That is why, for sheer election reasons, the proposal of salary increases for judges is always tied to proposals for the relief of Congress.

But in the years before the war, before inflation and before high taxes, the $7,500 salary of a Congressman gave him greater financial independence than he has now. His take-home pay, in terms of purchasing power, has been severely cut.

We are not going to get and maintain the highest standards of personnel in Congress and the judiciary unless we are willing to pay for them.

If any citizen thinks his own Congressman or Senator isn't worth a higher salary, the answer is to get rid of that official and elect someone who is worth the money.

Friend in Spain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a very fine editorial entitled "Friend in Spain," which appeared in the December 7, 1954, edition of the News and Courier, Charleston, S. C.

The News and Courier, of Charleston, S. C., is the oldest daily newspaper in the South, running continuously for over 150 years. Conservative without being reactionary, yet progressive in terms of national policy and liberal under the Constitution of the United States, it is truly representative of the majority of the thinking of South Carolina.

The enclosed article demonstrates the alertness for which this paper is renowned. Recently the Spanish brigantine *Juan Sebastian De Elcano* paid a visit to Charleston. Aboard this training ship were Spanish midshipmen and many fine officers and enlisted men alike. The News and Courier carried a special article each day while they were in port written in Spanish for the convenience of these fine visitors. I have never known a newspaper to do this before—certainly not in my part of the world. Representatives of the Spanish Government expressed to me their deep appreciation for this service. Every member of the crew was highly pleased because it gave them first hand information from home, news of world events and demonstrated to each of them a friendliness not expressed better any where in America.

Mr. Speaker, my people have a great affection for the Spanish people. My daily newspaper reflects this esteem.

FRIEND IN SPAIN

If all the foreign journalists who tour the United States are as friendly and industrious in interpreting our country to their readers back home as is Andres Revesz, of Madrid, our State Department would be fully repaid for financing their American travels.

Our judgment in this respect is based on several clippings Mr. Revesz has sent us of his writings about Charleston both in his own newspaper, ABC, and in other Spanish publications. We assume he has done the same for other American regions which he visited.

Mr. Revesz, whose phenomenal memory was the subject of an article in the News and Courier when he came to Charleston last spring, has forgotten little that he heard and saw. His latest word picture, illustrated with attractive pictures of the College of Charleston and St. Michael's spire over tiled rooftops, is entitled "Se Baila en Charleston"—They Dance in Charleston.

The article fills a tabloid size page in ABC, one of Spain's leading newspapers. The first sentence sets the tone of the article "If Talleyrand had known about Charleston, he might have mentioned it along with Versailles, relating to the joy of life." Mr. Revesz compares Charleston also to Andalucia, though our latitude is to the south of that delightful province of Spain. He says Charleston is a sort of American Cordoba without the Mohammedan influence. And he says the architecture and the gardens give "a magical impression very different from what North America signifies for us (Spaniards)."

We are flattered that Mr. Revesz singles out the News and Courier, where he paid a journalistic courtesy call, and several Charleston individuals for special mention. Mr. Revesz, foreign editor of ABC, is a journalist of distinction and a person of extraordinary range of knowledge. We look on him not only as a friend, but as an ambassador of goodwill. We hope he will not long delay his return visit to our country—and to Charleston, "con sus jardines y sus danzas"—with its gardens and its dances.

Resolution Opposing SCS Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution was recently adopted by the Caney Valley Soil Conservation District Board of Supervisors, with headquarters at Bartlesville, Okla.:

RESOLUTION 8

Whereas soil and water conservation, upstream flood prevention, reforestation, and wildlife developments are national problems, the solution of which affects all our people; and

Whereas the President's Committee on Intergovernmental Relations recommended that the Soil Conservation Service be turned to the States for financing and to the land-grant colleges for making policies and administration; and

Whereas the land-grant colleges were established for education and research rather than making of policies or the administration of laws established by the State Legislature or National Congress; and

Whereas the committee did not consider the wishes of the 2,600 soil conservation districts now working with the Soil Conservation Service or consider the advice of the minority member of the committee, Herschell D. Newsom, president of the National Grange: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the board of supervisors of the Caney Valley Soil Conservation District in regular meeting January 4, 1955, That they go on record as favoring the present policy-making and administration of a national coordinated program in soil and water conservation and upstream flood prevention rather than having 48 separate units that would result in an unrelated and incoherent program; be it further

Resolved, That the board of supervisors urge their State and national legislative representation, Senator Frank Mahan, Representatives Carl Staats and Clint Beard; Senators Robert S. Kerr and A. S. "Mike" Monroney, and Congressman Edmondson; and Gov. Raymond Gary to do all in their power to prevent the adoption of the recommendation of the Chairman of the President's Intergovernmental Relations Committee submitted September 30, 1955; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of Caney Valley Soil Conservation District board of supervisors' meeting January 4, 1955, and a copy be sent to Gov. Raymond Gary, Senators Robert S. Kerr and A. S. "Mike" Monroney, State Senator Frank Mahan, Representatives Carl Staats and Clint Beard; Frank C. Dunaway, president of the Oklahoma Association of Soil Conservation Districts and to the Oklahoma State Legislative Council, State Capitol, Oklahoma City.

Burma Offers New Defense Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Sunday, January 30, 1955:

BURMA OFFERS NEW DEFENSE LINE

(By Joseph Alsop)

RANGOON, BURMA.—Here in Burma, which boasts the ablest and most realistic government of postwar Asia, the price we are paying for the fraudulence of our Asian policy is alarmingly evident.

The news from home indicates a great, sudden stir about the Chinese Communist threat to the offshore islands of Formosa. But why is this? In view of the record of the last 2 years, why on earth is anyone ruffled by the Communist seizure of Yikiangshan?

There was a first Munich in the form of the Korean truce. There was a second Munich in the form of the surrender in Indochina. There was a transparent fake in the form of the toothless Manila treaty. And in the treaty with Chiang Kai-shek, specifically excluding the offshore islands from American protection, there was the equivalent of an engraved invitation to the Communists to seize those islands.

In the face of this record of retreat and appeasement, people at home are surprised by the natural, the downright inevitable, results. They are surprised because the retreat has been masked by a loud, hucksterish drumfire about "unleashing Chiang Kai-shek," "recaptured initiatives," "massive retaliation," "strengthened outposts" and the like.

The bad joke is that the Burmese and the Indians, who desperately desire to avoid an unnecessary war, have been just as much deceived by the loud talk as our own people. The loud talk in Washington has made these Asians think American policy warlike when it has really been the precise reverse. In Burma we are blamed not for appeasement,

which can be justly charged against us, but for aggressiveness, of which we are conspicuously guiltless.

If appeasement was needful, we ought at least to have tried to reap its natural benefits and reinsure it as best we could. In particular, we ought to have told the Indians and Burmese, "Well, we are going to follow your ideas about the right conduct of affairs in Asia, so let us get together to cope with the resulting situation."

We have not only failed to do anything like that. We have even virtually ceased communication with Rangoon and New Delhi. The mounting concern caused by the loud talk in Washington was one cause of this development. But there have been other causes.

There has been no American ambassador in Delhi for many months. There has been none here in Rangoon since last July.

The junior diplomats who are holding the fort here are good, hard working men who show all the worst effects of treatment given to the Foreign Service in the last 2 years. The American representation in Rangoon today has the approximate dynamic effectiveness of an old wet washrag. And this is true despite a danger and an opportunity that should intensely preoccupy the American policymakers.

The danger can be simply defined. With no one to speak up for our side, Burma has slipped since last year. The big power, China, has begun to convince the little power, Burma, that her sweet words can really be relied on. Men like Premier U Nu and his two remarkable chief collaborators, U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nein, are not really deceived, but they are beginning to be immobilized.

The opportunity can be equally simply defined. It is the opportunity to mobilize Burma. The appeasements of the last 2 years have produced a new situation in Asia. American power is no longer sufficient to hold the balance true. The political and moral authority of the free Asian nations, and in particular Burma and India, are desperately needed to prevent a general collapse. That is another result of our recent policy which it is high time to face squarely.

The opportunity is in Burma, because here in Burma the leadership sees the position in Asia more clearly than that in Delhi. The danger to Burma of a Communist triumph in Thailand can never be forgotten by the government in Rangoon. Therefore it is here, if anywhere, that the needed effort can be organized to hold Cambodia and Laos, the approaches to Thailand, which now have, for the long run, at least as much importance as the Formosa approaches or, indeed, as Formosa itself.

The last 2 years' policy of retreat may well have been desirable. Yet the wise commander, when he retreats, is careful to organize a new defense line for the new position he has occupied. Our policy makers have instead been too busy protesting that they really were not retreating; so no shadow of a new defense line has been organized, and the task of organizing one is getting harder by the month.

Against Reduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Army Times of January 29, 1955:

AGAINST REDUCTION

It is significant that the President's decision to drastically reduce the Army's strength has had its most disturbing effect, in Washington at least, on men whose work has brought them in close association with atomic and missile warfare. Almost to a man, in opinions voiced publicly or given in confidence to reporters, these experts are opposed to reducing the Army. They include not only military men but scientists and Congressmen on committees concerned with defense—all men who have reason to know something about atomic horror.

They are opposed to any great reduction in our ground strength for at least two clearcut reasons. The military leaders and some scientists foresee a need in future warfare for more, not fewer, ground troops than we have used in the past. In the face of a potential enemy's possible use of nuclear weapons, dispersal of troops will have to be the rule. Small groups of highly mobile specialists must be spread over a wide area. Because of radiation danger, no massing of headquarters organizations in captured cities will be possible. Indeed any massing, anywhere, of top command personnel would invite their elimination at one blow. Yet all of these groups, scattered though they are, must be capable of being pulled together quickly to take control of ground which, for one reason or another, is given up by the enemy.

Disturbing to many Congressmen, too, is the admission implied by the Presidential directive that this country has pinned its defense hopes almost exclusively on the airplane and the atom. They see this as the sort of policy which before World War II led the French people to suppose that they were secure behind their supposedly impregnable border fortresses. Combined with the cut in ground force, it also notifies the Communists that we will not have the strength to oppose effectively any piecemeal aggressions the Reds care to indulge in. Moreover, it is acknowledged even by the air enthusiasts that another type of Red aggression—infiltration by guerrillas—can only be stopped by troops on the ground.

As we've said, all of these things are well understood by the experts. Fortunately, their apprehension in the face of the proposed Army cut is making itself evident to others who will deal with the question when it comes up in Congress.

Free Distribution of Natural Gas Vital to Southern California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, there should be no hindrance placed in the way of the production and distribution of natural gas which is so vital to the health, welfare, and industrial expansion of the Nation. I voted against Federal control of the distribution and rates of natural gas during the 83d Congress. I submit herewith an article and an editorial from the Los Angeles Times on the urgent need for free distribution of natural gas without Federal control:

[From the Los Angeles Times of December 31, 1954]

NATURAL GAS ISSUE VITAL TO SOUTHLAND—UPSET OF POWER BOARD'S CONTROL WILL BE SOUGHT BEFORE CONGRESS

(By Ed Ainsworth)

With the temperature at a frigid 41°, southern California yesterday watched with particular interest a congressional situation shaping up over its principal industrial, cooking and heating fuel—natural gas.

A vital issue on natural gas is to be settled at the session opening next Monday.

Congress will be asked to enact legislation setting aside a United States Supreme Court decision under which producers of natural gas supplying interstate pipelines have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission.

AIM OF ENDEAVOR

Independent gas producers and major oil companies have joined hands in the effort to have the producers of natural gas restored to the status they held until the Supreme Court decision was rendered last June 7. If they are not, the proponents of the legislation assert, there inevitably will occur a shortage of gas for interstate pipelines and a consequent increase in the price of gas.

How does this affect California?

IMPORTANT FIGURES

In southern California alone we import by pipeline 715 million cubic feet a day of natural gas, according to the Southern California Gas Co., and approximately the same amount goes to northern California. This means a yearly total in southern California of some 260 billion cubic feet of gas imported for industrial and home use. This total is placed at somewhat in excess of 50 percent of the amount used in this area.

The imported gas comes from Texas fields via El Paso in a pipeline some 1,000 miles long.

CONFERENCE CALLED

Spokesmen for the producers of natural gas have arranged for a conference in Washington this week with Representative CLAIR ENGLE, of California, who is to become chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee before which the proposed legislation may go.

It is asserted by those who seek to have Congress set aside the Supreme Court legislation that Federal regulation of producers of natural gas is a step toward socialism and that prices of other commodities such as wheat, corn, potatoes, cotton, coal, copper, and lead might just as well be regulated by the Government.

Attention is called to the fact that the Federal Power Commission itself on numerous occasions refused to take jurisdiction over the producers and gatherers of natural gas and announced that its regulatory power went into effect only when the gas was in the interstate pipelines.

In fact, a Commission order in 1947 stated: "Independent producers and gatherers of natural gas can sell and deliver such gas to interstate pipelines and can enter into contracts for such sale without apprehension that in so doing they may become subject to assertions of jurisdiction by the Commission under the Natural Gas Act (of 1938)."

ACTION ON TIDELANDS

In pointing to the basis for the fight to have Congress clarify the law so as to upset the Supreme Court decision, it is stressed by the proponents of the change that the same thing was done last year by Congress in restoring title of the tidelands to the States.

The Natural Gas and Oil Resources Committee states:

"Working under highly competitive conditions in providing the country with an abundant supply of gas, the producer must have an incentive to take the financial risks

involved in searching for and developing new gas supplies. Federal regulation and price fixing removes this incentive."

PRESENT SITUATION

"Under Federal regulation certain terms of the producer's present contracts, including agreed-upon prices, have been suspended, and he has no assurance with respect to realizing prices which he may negotiate in the future. Facing this uncertainty in his dealings with interstate pipelines, the producer may understandably seek to sell uncommitted reserves to growing markets within his own State.

"The household consumer now pays bargain prices for natural gas and the cost of gas has risen far less than the cost of living and commodity prices in general. But if gas for interstate transmission becomes scarce, the consumer will pay a higher unit cost for gas—since most costs related to the transmission and distribution of gas remain about the same regardless of the volume of gas flowing through the pipes."

EFFECT OF CONFLICT

"State conservation programs are designed to effectively regulate the production of oil and gas. The Federal Power Commission has been given authority to regulate natural gas production for an entirely different purpose. The conflicts arising from these two divergent programs of regulation will create a natural tendency on the part of the producer to avoid Federal regulation by not making sales to interstate pipelines."

[From the Los Angeles Times of January 20, 1955]

REGULATING THE PRODUCERS OF GAS

The board of directors of the chamber of commerce stands for the interests of gas consumers, we believe, when it endorses the proposal that gas producers be exempted from Federal regulation. This regulation, imposed by a recent interpretation by the Supreme Court of an old Federal statute, seems to have no good purpose, and should be done away with.

A CHANCY BUSINESS

The fact is that the production of natural gas is a highly competitive business; there are between 4,000 and 5,000 separate companies engaged in it and they furnish lively enough competition so that no regulation is necessary. But more than that, those who bring natural gas to the surface are engaged in a chancy and speculative business, and if they are denied the possibility, through Government regulation, of considerable profits, they will not stay in business.

There are big companies, to be sure; but there are also many small ones. Those who seek natural gas are wildcatters, for the most part, also seeking oil. The production of oil is not regulated at the Federal level, nor at the State level in a number of States including California; and gas production is in most cases a byproduct.

There is the additional fact that the cost of gas at the well is usually not more than 10 percent of the bill presented to consumers: 90 percent or thereabouts is represented by distribution costs. And the distribution is already regulated. The Federal Power Commission has full jurisdiction over interstate pipelines.

REGULATION IS DIFFICULT

The Federal Power Commission, incidentally, does not want the job of regulation; in nearly a dozen cases it refused to take over the fixing of prices to be paid gas producers. In the case that reached the Supreme Court involving the Phillips Petroleum Co., it was equally unwilling. But the Court held that regulation was its duty and it is currently wondering how to go about it.

With so many producers regulations is a difficult if not almost impossible task.

That natural gas is a desirable fuel everyone knows; but that it has a monopoly of the fuel fields is far from being the case. There is competition from coal, from oil, from electricity and (at least potentially) from atomic fission. In California we produce about half our gas from our own oil fields, and the local production would not be under the Federal Power Commission in any case. The regulation would only apply to the gas we import, mainly from Texas.

Oil companies would find Federal regulation a great handicap, adding to their costs and introducing a lot of fussy red tape. After the Phillips case was decided, a number of large companies considered the practicability of setting up separate corporations to handle their gas production. But obviously this would involve great difficulty, and there is no reason to suppose the public would benefit from it. Every time a business expense is incurred, somebody has to pay for it, and that somebody is almost invariably the ultimate consumer.

DEPRESSING EFFECT

As indicated above, gas has competition from other heat-producing materials or methods. But gas also has competition from gas. The States along the northern border, already served to some extent from Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma, are looking to connection with the vast gas supplies of Canada; and the North Dakota field is also promising. Minneapolis is not at Texas' mercy; if the Texas price is too high it can buy elsewhere.

The most pressing reason for abandoning, or rather for not undertaking, regulation of gas production is the depressing effect such regulation would almost certainly have on the exploration for new fields and new pools, known as "wildcatting." For a number of reasons, including national defense which requires oil in vast quantities, we can hardly afford to discourage the wildcatters. Our laws encourage their operations, and rightly; the 27 percent depletion allowance given by the income-tax law, which Congress has repeatedly refused to change, is reflected in the continual discovery of new fields and new zones.

The Federal regulation of gas production is not a good idea. It would do much more harm than good; and the general public would not be benefited by it. Regulation is for natural monopoly; and gas production is not a natural monopoly.

Postal Rate Increase Long Overdue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am today inserting in the RECORD an editorial from the Boston Herald and another from the Washington Star, which set forth my thinking quite adequately in regard to the postal rate increases on first-, second-, and third-class mail, which I believe are long overdue.

The very fact that postage rates on letters are the same that they were in 1932 indicates to me that the Congress has not faced up to its responsibility as far as the revenues of the Post Office Department are concerned, since we are certainly all aware that costs—no matter whether they are in the Post Office Department or in our own personal lives or our personal businesses—have gone up tremendously since that time. The same situation exists as to second-class mail. Second-class rates are only about 3 percent higher than in 1932. On third-class mail, which is known as business mail, the expenses exceeded the revenues in 1954 by $147 million.

It is difficult for me to understand, in view of these facts, why any Member of Congress should not be willing to vote for adequate rate increases as proposed by this administration. I intend to vote for these proposed rate increases because I believe that, as a Member of Congress representing the citizens of my 10th Congressional District of Michigan, I would be derelict in my duty to them if I did not vote for these rate increases. I do not believe that we can expect the average taxpayer of this country to subsidize the users of the mails—whether they be individuals, business houses, or otherwise. Of course, I am excepting from this category religious and charitable organizations.

When we stop to consider that about 75 percent of the first-class mail handled in this country is that of business concerns, and that only 25 percent of it is attributable to individual use, then it seems to me that there is no excuse whatsoever in not being sure that these business houses—whether they use first, second-, third-, or fourth-class mail—pay the expense of handling letters and other mail matter.

There has been little or no opposition to this from the users of the mail, except in a few instances, but there has been no major concerted effort on behalf of business to block any rate increases, because after all businessmen are just as aware of the fact that the costs of handling mail have gone up as have costs in their own particular business. Therefore any opposition would not be sincere. They realize that their opposition would certainly be inconsistent in comparison with the costs of other operations of their business.

As a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee I intend to do all that I can to see that the users of the various classes of the mails pay a just rate for this service. I cannot in good conscience expect the citizens of my district to pay from their tax dollars to support the users of the mails.

The President has wisely proposed salary increases and new classification schedules for postal employees, and I intend to support him in this regard, as I have done in the past. If the recommendations are adopted—and I hope that they will be—and the requested rate increases are denied, the postal deficit will be about $500 million annually. Such a deficit, in view of the fact that the postal rates on first-, second-, and third-class mail have never kept pace with the increased costs, is in my judgment unthinkable.

There are those who fear that there may be political repercussions if the postage rates are increased. I take the opposite view, as I feel that there will be political repercussions if they are not increased. You can fool the American

public just so long, but as soon as they become fully informed—as they will be—that their tax dollars are subsidizing the users of the mails at the rate of over $1 million a day, they will soon require an accounting of the activities of their representatives in this regard.

I believe that it is time that we approach this problem in a realistic, businesslike, and nonpartisan manner, so that we can, through our positive action, assure this Nation of a modern postal system, adequate not only for today's needs but capable of handling the additional needs which will arise as our economy expands during the coming years.

The Boston Herald editorial of January 22, 1955, appropriately asks "Why shouldn't the Post Office Department make money" and calls the mailing of a letter or parcel in the United States the biggest bargain on earth.

That editorial follows:

TOO BIG A BARGAIN

Why shouldn't the Post Office Department make money, or at least break even, rather than lose it at the rate of a million dollars a day?

The mail is big business. Why shouldn't it be good business, as it is in most European countries?

There are a number of reasons. We have the lowest postal rates in the world. Our postal system, unfortunately, is in politics. Our mails cover tremendous space and distance. The costs, labor and mechanical, are high. The franking privilege extended to Federal legislators alone costs $1,500,000 per year.

There is not too much we can do about labor and mechanical costs. Some post offices can be closed. Some employees can be discharged. Perhaps more automatic machinery can speed up the process.

There is nothing we can do about space and distance. The West and the East, the South and the North, will always be so many miles apart.

It is probably hopeless to get the post office out of politics or wrest the franking privilege away from our legislators, although both are desirable.

But we can do something about postal rates.

Mailing a letter or a newspaper or a book or a parcel in the United States has been called the biggest bargain on earth. It darned near is, too.

It costs 3 cents to mail a letter in the United States. According to a New York Times survey made last year, it costs 8.5 cents to mail a letter in Sweden; 9.6 cents in Germany, and 4.17 cents in England.

The 3-cent rate has been in effect for 25 years. While the cost of just about everything else has doubled, and even trebled, the cost of mailing a letter has remained the same. What could be less realistic?

President Eisenhower has asked for an increase in mail rates in order to cut down the huge postal deficit and cover a pay raise for postal workers. We hope the Democratic Congress will go along with him on this necessary measure. The American people and their businesses can afford it and would, in fact, benefit from such a step.

Only yesterday, in its Sunday edition, the Washington Star expressed the hope that Congress would act forthrightly on the postal-rate bill.

That editorial follows:

SEPARATE, BUT RELATED

Postmaster General Summerfield, a stickler for carefully wrapped parcels, sent his postal-pay and postal-rates proposals to Congress in a well-tied package. But it did not take congressional leaders long to unwrap the bundle and lay the postage problem aside for later consideration. This is the same procedure followed last year—with disastrous results, namely, a Presidential veto of a non-revenue-providing pay bill. Congress ought not make the same mistake twice in a row.

It is proper to handle the postage question in hearings apart from those called to consider a pay increase for post-office workers, but it is hiding one's head in the sand to contend that there is no relation between the two subjects. The administration has held that one should not be passed without the other as a companion piece. The postal deficit has been cut under the Summerfield regime from about $500 million a year to between $300 and $400 million. The 5-percent pay raise and fringe benefits recommended by the administration would add about $170 million to the deficit.

Mr. Summerfield again, therefore, has asked that the postal service be put more nearly on a self-sustaining level through increased rates on letters and on second- and third-class mail. There is always an outcry against such proposals. The issue to be decided is to what extent the Government is to continue to subsidize mail costs. No Postmaster General has ventured to suggest that the whole postal system should be self-supporting, but many have urged Congress to reduce the deficit—and hence the subsidy. It is to be hoped that the new Congress will act as forthrightly on the postal-rate bill as it plans to act on postal and classified pay legislation.

Armed Forces Educational Benefits

SPEECH
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 587) to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, and for other purposes.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I am wholeheartedly in support of this legislation. I, too, add my commendation to the chairman of the committee on the speedy work in reporting out this bill.

To me, it would be unfortunate and unfair for this House to deny benefits to those veterans now in the service and who would be affected by the President's proclamation. As a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House, I am very much in favor of early hearings on other bills before the committee for further extension of benefits.

With the present bill before us it is necessary for its speedy passage as an indication of our willingness to give justice to those now in service or who enter before January 31, 1955. It would not be fair to cut off education benefits upon which they have relied. To do so would be a breach of faith.

I earnestly urge my colleagues to support H. R. 587 with a unanimous vote.

Chemicals in Food

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I ask permission to include the following copy of an address I made before the 10th annual meeting of the food, drug, and cosmetic law section of the New York State Bar Association on January 27, 1955:

CHEMICALS IN FOOD

(Speech by Hon. A. L. MILLER of Nebraska, at the 10th annual meeting of the section on food, drug, and cosmetic law of the New York State Bar Association, January 27, 1955)

The increasing use of chemical additives, hormones, and vitamins in the production and processing of food has raised a problem as far as public health is concerned.

The select committee of the 81st Congress which explored the field of chemicals in foods and cosmetics came to the conclusion that existing Federal laws dealing with the problem are not adequate at this time to protect the public against the addition of some of the new chemicals, hormones, and vitamins that go into the production of food.

There is hardly a food on the markets of today which has not had some chemicals used in or on it at some stage in its production, processing, packaging, transportation, or storage. In this vast, complex problem, it is necessary that proper precautions be taken to make sure that no acute or chronic poisoning may develop.

The food and drug law, when first adopted, and the several amendments which have been added wtih the regulations, was designed for the purpose of safeguarding the public health. It is the law to those who deal in the manufacturing, processing, and packaging of food. This law provides sort of a badge of integrity and honesty, setting up a yardstick of standards designed to pritect the public and those dealing in all the phases of handling food. This endorsement is coveted.

Tremendous progress in the science of food technology has been made in the past few years. This scientific progress has run ahead of the law, and the amendments of 1938 seem no longer sufficient for this day. In a tough economic and competitive world, there will be some who want to cut corners and apply methods or use chemicals that have not been adequately tested. These new problems require legislative and administrative attention. I am hopeful that all interested groups will cooperate in a constructive legislative approach to the problem.

It is indeed fortunate that industry has been able to enrich and improve foods by adding certain vitamins and minerals or other additions of chemicals which enhance their nutritive value. The American people should give a vote of thanks and be mighty proud because the scientists of the country and the processors of food have worked diligently to solve some of the serious food problems of the Nation. They have applied the knowledge thus gained to the benefit of the public.

As a medical man, I recognize that the addition of many vitamins, minerals, and hormones to food has brought a real benefit to the human diet. I am certain that many dietary diseases have been disappear-

ing because industry and scientists have found a way to improve foods through the addition of new materials. This progress must continue.

The public has learned to have confidence in the manufacturers and chemists who deal with food. The public has confidence in the administration of the food and drug law. Any new legislative approach should enlarge and insure the confidence of all groups.

Living conditions have become so complicated that the responsibility of making determinations in this huge, complex field now seems to call for new, modern legislation to spell out and set up a new yardstick to conduct the business of governing chemicals and internal secretion uses in the production of food.

PESTICIDE LEGISLATION

It will be recalled that the 83d Congress passed a bill which I introduced to regulate the use of pesticides and insecticides in the production of food. The bill was a product of all groups interested in the problem. It met with their approval and would not have been possible without many conferences and the full cooperation of all concerned. As we propose the new amendments to the present law, I hope we may have the same type of understanding and cooperation that we had with the groups interested in the law governing pesticides.

THE FOOD LAW

A careful study of the present provisions of the Food and Drug Act brings one to the conclusion that the act is inadequate and cumbersome in operation. In fact, some sections cannot be administered. You who are familiar with section 406, must recognize how difficult it is for the manufacturer and the chemist to operate under that section. The food manufacturer, to obtain approval for the use of an ingredient, must first allege that the proposed ingredient is poisonous or deleterious, which, if properly interpreted, would mean that he proposes to use certain chemicals that would be injurious to health. I can understand why a food manufacturer would resist making such a statement or admission. The food manufacturer must also be prepared to prove that the chemical is required in order to produce food properly.

Few tolerances for food ingredients have been established under section 406. Section 402 defines as adulterated any food which contains any poisonous or deleterious substance in a quantity which ordinarily renders the food injurious to health. The section also sets up certain tests in respect to the added substances. It would seem to me that manufacturers of food are met head on with many difficulties created by section 402 and 406. It would also seem that the burden of proving that certain substances are not harmful should not be placed upon the Government. It ought to be possible to spell out in rather clear detail the procedures that should be followed before a chemical is added to food.

NEW LEGISLATION

Let me suggest that a new amendment should require that:

1. Any new additive to food shall be completely pretested as to safety in order to protect the consuming public.

2. There should be an advance submittal of the pretesting evidence to the Food and Drug Administration.

3. This evidence should be evaluated and the food industry should be given a definite answer within a reasonable time.

4. Under penalty for violation, no new additive should be added to food without the complete scientific pretesting and the official evaluation by the Food and Drug Administration.

5. If the Food and Drug Administration gives the green light, then this additive can be used.

6. If the Food and Drug Administration gives a negative reply as to the safety of the additive and the manufacturer differs with the evaluation and insists on using it regardless of the negative reply from the administration, the bill should authorize the Food and Drug Administration to enjoin its use. It is possible at this point or before the enjoining action that the evidence of the safety might well be passed on by an impartial board of experts. Their decision should be given in a reasonable length of time.

7. A provision should be added that, in the event of the manufacturer being enjoined by the FDA, a United States district court will appraise the evidence and decide the issue, which, of course, could be subjected to a higher judicial review. Some objections have been offered to a judicial review.

It is hoped that the new legislation, when introduced, will represent the composite and objective thinking of the majority of the chemists and food manufacturers. I know you are all interested in the vital problem of chemicals in food. I do not want to be dogmatic and insist that the changes I suggest would cure all of the deficiencies in the present Food and Drug Act. The principal purposes for which we have food laws is to protect the health of the public. This should have preference over economic factors.

It should not be necessary for the Government to assume the responsibility and the expense of proof that a chemical is harmful before it is used. Under the present law, the chemical can be used and the Government is frequently helpless and the consumer unprotected.

Industry should be willing to assume the burden of the proper studies on acute and chronic toxicity of the chemical before it is used. To require otherwise, might mean several years of costly experimental work and meanwhile the manufacturer could continue to market the product unmolested despite the question mark of whether it is harmful. It is for that reason that I would propose a board of experts to pass upon these disputed questions.

BOARD OF EXPERTS

As to the personnel of the Board of Experts, I would presume that the President, through the Food and Drug Administrator, might request several professional societies dealing with the chemical question to nominate individuals to represent them on the expert panel. The following organizations might be asked to participate in setting up such a panel: United States Public Health Service, American Chemical Society, American Society for Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics, American Society of Biological Chemists, Institute of Food Technologists, Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine, and others.

The Board should have the right to invite testimony or opinions of specialists in particular fields in addition to those of representatives or applicants and the administrator. The members of the panel would naturally be adequately compensated for their services and expense.

CHEMICALS NOW IN USE

Since a great many chemicals have been used for a long time and no tolerance has been set, it would seem that the Federal Drug Administrator should not have the authority to go back and force the testing of these chemicals and present a determination that they are harmful unless he has overwhelming evidence that such is the case. Then a review of all evidence and a finding should be made. Chemicals, long used, might well be folded in under what we call a "grandfather clause."

LEGAL STEPS

I personally like the idea of an impartial group of experts, of which the Public Health Service might be a member, in order to pass upon some of the evidence presented to the Food and Drug Administration. They would be used only in case of a disagreement as to the effect of the proposed chemicals. Certainly a manufacturer who has an adverse decision from the FDA and from the Board of Experts would have little chance of expecting a United States district court to overrule the expert opinion. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the section which would permit the FDA to enjoin a manufacturer and a section which would permit the manufacturer to appeal to the highest court should be a part of any new judicial procedure. In my humble opinion, no administrator of the law should want or expect the power of a life and death sentence over a chemical which a manufacturer might propose to use. The administrator should welcome the support of experts and the decision of the court. It seems to me this procedure would be the proper democratic process that should be observed in this great land of yours and mine.

HORMONES IN FOOD

They have the limited approval of the pharmaceutical section of the Food and Drug Administration.

While it may seem a little farfetched to bring in the question of the use of diethylstilbestrol or some antibiotic drugs, they are actually being used to produce food. Many of these hormones are chemical in nature. Their use represents a revolutionary approach to the production of meat and food. I believe their use represents progress which if not harmful, should be encouraged. As these new, both known and unknown, estrogens are used, we must be sure that they are not harmful to the human race.

Experiments have been carried out with the use of female hormones, now in common use on meat animals, on a group of women who have passed the menopause. Many of these women again exhibited all the symptoms of an active sex life plus sore and swollen breasts, just as during their menstrual periods. The question must be raised as to what effect the injudicious use of these sex hormones may have upon the reproductive organs of the male or female. Cold creams—indeed, it is a great wide field which calls for intensive research. This research is now being carried on, and I am sure some answers may soon be found.

A number of these estrogens and chemicals are potent and dangerous and cannot be purchased in a drugstore for medical purposes without a physician's prescription. Some of the hormones have been used by the medical profession to alleviate menopause difficulty, dysmenorrhea, and other male and female medical problems. Diethylstilbestrol has been used in the fight against prostatic cancer.

Our own body produces numerous hormones, male and female. They determine our moods, our actions, our growth and development. They even control the pitch of our voice or how tall or short we might be. I am certain more precautions should be taken in permitting these drugs to be made available to the general public without a medical certificate or prescription. I believe we are on the threshold of a whole new world in the matter of producing meat from the proper uses of certain hormones. Proper evaluation of their use must be made. I do believe a go-slow sign should be erected until all the scientific research has been evaluated and it can be definitely determined that no harm will result in their long, continued use.

URANIUM AND FOOD

It has been my privilege in the past year to visit the Brookhaven Laboratory on Long Island, and to witness there the great prog-

ress being made in the several uses of uranium. Probably the largest stockpile of uranium in the world is at this laboratory. It is amazing the things accomplished in the production of crops and the control of diseases both in man and the plant world. There seems to be no limit to which the isotopes and mesotopes may be used in the effect upon and in the production of food. It is my humble opinion that, in the years ahead, the effects of uranium on the production and processing of food may well dwarf the effects of the hundreds of chemicals now in use for the same purpose.

The military is greatly interested in the preservation and treatment of food by the uranium byproducts. Certainly, many new horizons are being opened by the scientists who are breaking down the heretofore unknown secrets of nature.

ANTIBIOTICS

The use of certain antibiotic drugs and chemicals have, in many instances, posed a real problem to the manufacturer of food. It has been shown that the milk from one cow given penicillin to control mastitis can destroy the cheese-starting culture from the entire herd of cows. The use of these antibiotic drugs in the treatment of animal diseases must be considered a chemical which is not without its hazards to the human race. The new chemicals that are now in many built-in feeds not only help to control disease, but they stimulate the growth of the animal and even cause the cows to produce more milk. These substances are not only drugs, but also must be considered a part of the chemical additives now going into our food supply.

Many physicians are reporting an increasing number of patients who are sensitive to penicillin and other drugs who have had no previous history of receiving the drug. We must be sure that penicillin, streptomycin, aureomycin, and other drugs or chemicals are not retained in the animal products to be consumed by the human being in such amounts as to cause toxicity to the user.

These new drugs and the new research being carried on today will tomorrow unfold a great new world, made better by the unceasing efforts of those who have contributed to their development. Progress cannot be stopped. You men in the legal profession, and you who deal in the business of furnishing food to a hungry world, are a part of a great parade in which progress must not outrun our scientific evaluations of the new drugs and chemicals offered in this rapidly changing scene.

It is no secret that scientists have been able to produce a product that looks, tastes, and smells like butter, yet has not one bit of animal fat in its production. It is made entirely from coal-tar products and is, of course, synthetic. It is also possible to produce what looks like a loaf of bread, tastes like bread, smells like bread, and stays soft for many, many days, and yet has a minimum amount, if any, of the good old ingredients that our grandmothers used in making bread. The synthetic loaf can be produced without wheat or shortening. Farmers, and those interested in agriculture, are quite concerned because a great, flourishing, ambitious chemical industry is now substituting many of the products of nature such as egg yolks, wheat, fats, oils, and animal fats for a hundred complex chemical formulas. This progress has a tremendous impact on agriculture.

In all of this scientific progress, we must make sure that the public in the end is not being used as a guinea pig. These new scientific products of the mind and laboratory will always be knocking at the door of the food industry, demanding recognition. The claimed advantages of foods which have these chemicals added or substituted for natural products are legion. Indeed, some of these foods are improved in appearance, texture, flavor, and quality. Some of these foods are cheaper to produce and process. All of you engaged in the business of producing food must ask the question over and over: Have these new chemicals been adequately tested before being placed in the food channels of the world?

There is considerable talk in the halls of Congress about reviving a committee similar to the old Delaney committee which would again explore, in public hearings, the question of chemicals in foods and cosmetics. This would also include the controversial use of fluorides in water to control dental caries. This business of fluorides in water is probably the most controversial facet of the entire problem. I personally have the feeling that constructive legislation can be formulated and adopted by Congress without further public hearings.

We live in a great, growing, dynamic country. The population of the United States has just about doubled since I graduated from medical school in 1918. The Census Bureau tells us that there were 4 million new babies born last year—4 million new mouths to feed. There may be 300 million people in the United States by 1975. They will require food.

We could join the nation of have nots in the next quarter of a century unless scientific research tells us how to produce more food on the same 462 million productive acres we had 25 years ago. Because of soil erosion, the productive acres are actually decreasing. We must conserve and maintain our fertile acres by using every new soil-building and food-producing chemical we have. We must, at the same time, have a wise and safe use of every conservative pesticide that will protect our crops in the future from the invasion of pests and insects.

We are the best-fed people in the world; but actually without scientific progress and without using the knowledge which comes from scientific investigation, we would be eating and breeding ourselves out of a home.

I have tried in this short paper to outline briefly and to stimulate your thinking on some of the problems confronting the food industry. We are all a part of this great parade of progress. If we do a good job now, future generations will bless us and live proudly and contentedly in a world made better because of the scientists' contributions to a better way of life.

Disabled Veterans' Disability Compensation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news item from the Boston Post concerning the cut in disability compensation by the Veterans' Administration of disabled veterans employed by the Federal Government, and State, county, and municipal governments:

VA PENSION CUT FOR MEN ON UNITED STATES JOB

Disabled veterans employed by the Federal Government will lose their disability compensation in a new economy wave sweeping the Veterans' Administration, State Veterans' Services agents from Maine to Virginia were told at their annual midwinter conference at the Hotel Kenmore yesterday.

The Government's move, scheduled to include State, county, and municipal employees at a later date, was revealed by Edward J. Cunningham, supervisor of veterans' services in Massachusetts. He said abolition of disability pensions to Government employees is being undertaken regardless of the seriousness of the employee's war injury.

"The plan is part of the overall Government operation to reduce and where possible abolish payments of disability compensation or pension," he said.

"They reason a veteran working full time for the Government is paid 100 percent of his wages. Therefore, a percentage of compensation, be it 10 percent or 100 percent, is in excess of total wages his job guarantees."

In his report to the agents, Cunningham said claims of public employees would be the next to be slashed. He revealed personnel records of such employees could be readily obtainable from local municipal agencies.

WARN OF SLASHES

The State supervisor and other officials warned slashes in both disability compensation and pensions are underway in Boston.

"While they await the VA's decision, rating boards are being forced to review cases as much as 10 years old," he said, "with orders to reduce or abolish them.

"Some cases already acted upon come pretty close to violating the law. In its efforts to carry out the economy orders, the VA is canceling pensions of veterans who earned $2,600 in addition to their pension, though the law permits them to earn $2,700."

Yesterday's session marked the opening day of the National Veterans' Services Directors conference, held in conjunction with the State's midwinter conference. The directors will continue their sessions at the Hotel Statler today, where they will be addressed by Senator SALTONSTALL.

Tomorrow morning they will be honored by the city with a breakfast at the Statler, attended by Mayor Hynes. At noon they will be feted by Governor Herter at a luncheon in their honor which will bring their 3-day session to a close.

The Italians Among Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in the 11th Congressional District of California, which I have the honor to represent, are a great many persons of Italian descent. Some of them are immigrants who have been naturalized. Many more are the sons and daughters of Italian parents. They are engaged in all of the occupations and professions which are carried on and practiced in the district. Several Italian papers are published in the district. There are leaders in every segment of our economic, professional, and cultural life in the 11th district whose racial strain is Italian.

In the Readers Digest, January 1955 edition, is an interesting article telling

of the accomplishments of some of the Italians in the United States. It is a very illuminating article.

On the first day of this session of Congress I introduced a bill, H. R. 772, which has for its purpose the assignment of unused quotas of the McCarran-Walter Act to nations who have population problems. I had particularly in mind that perhaps some Italians could use a part of these unused quotas. Italy has a difficult population problem which could be partially solved by the transfer of these quotas to Italy. Over the long span of history, Italy has made large contributions to the civilization of today. In government, religion, the arts, science, culture, literature, and in practically every field of human endeavor Italy has made significant contributions.

Unfortunately a few of the Italians who have entered our country have done things which have been disgraceful and brought ill will toward their native land. But they are in a tiny minority and they are thoroughly hated by the great body of useful and law-abiding Italians. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article above referred to, which I hope every Member of the Congress will read. It follows:

THE ITALIANS AMONG US

(By Albert Q. Maisel)

Forty-eight years ago young Luigi Salzarulo left the village of Bisaccia, high on the mountain spine of Italy. As he departed for America the gentle ringing of the church bell seemed to say, "A rivederci—Till we meet again." Later, however, an earthquake cracked the bell in Bisaccia's campanile and the people were too poor to have it recast.

In the summer of 1953 a gray-haired American arrived in Bisaccia to attend a festa. Life had been kind to Louis Salzarulo. Over the years he had advanced from a penniless immigrant to freight-train master for the Pennsylvania Railroad in Richmond, Ind. He had sent all six of his sons through college. At 70, retired on a pension, he still kept busy in civic affairs. Now Bisaccia's 7,000 people had gathered in the piazza to hear the Archbishop of Conza bless the bell that Salzarulo had had recast for them in memory of one of his sons, an American major killed during World War II.

After the speeches the bell rang out clear and true. Salzarulo assumed that the ceremony was over. But his townspeople—on both sides of the ocean—had a surprise in store for him. In the town hall the parish priest drew back a drape of Italian and American flags and asked his guest to translate the English wording of a bronze plaque. Choking with emotion, the once-illiterate immigrant read: "From the people of Richmond, Ind., to the people of Bisaccia, Italy, in recognition of the high esteem in which we hold your native son and our fellow citizen, City Councilman Louis Salzarulo."

In all but details, the story of Councilman Salzarulo might well be the story of most of our citizens of Italian birth or descent. Italians formed the last, and largest, of the great waves of immigration that broke upon our shores; four and a half million of them entered our doors before the tide finally ebbed in the early 1920's. These Italian-Americans have given their muscles and their hearts and their sons to their adopted country. They have created a cultural interchange—in art and song, in cuisine and customs—that has made all Italy a little bit American and given all Americans some share in the great Italian heritage.

Ever since Columbus, sons of Italy have played a large and continuous role in the history of the United States. Italian explorers serving under foreign flags were frequently recorded, mistakenly, as Britons, Frenchmen, or Spaniards. Thus John Cabot, who first planted the British ensign on American soil, was born Giovanni Caboto, in Genoa. Giovanni da Verrazano, who explored New York Harbor 85 years before Henry Hudson "discovered" it, was a Florentine sailing for France. Cofounder of Detroit and its commandant for 10 years was Alfonso Tonti, whose daughter was the first white child born there. At least eight of the priests who founded the Spanish missions in California were Italians.

As early as 1622 the Virginia Company sent 16 Venetians to Jamestown to set up a glass works for the making of beads for trade with the natives. The Dutch in 1657 induced 300 Piedmontese to settle around what is now New Castle, Del. Other Piedmontese came to Georgia in the early 1700's to set up mulberry plantations and a silk factory.

In Revolutionary days William Paca, believed by many authorities to be a great-grandson of one of the early Italian settlers of Maryland, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Philip Mazzei, a native of Florence who migrated to Virginia in 1773, wrote a series of ringing articles in the struggle for independence. "All men," he declared, "are by nature created free and equal to each other in natural rights"—words later used by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration.

Over the following seven decades Italian artists designed and executed hundreds of bronzes, marbles, and murals for public buildings in Washington, D. C. Most renowned was the fresco painter, Constantine Brumidi, who spent 25 years creating the historical murals in our Capitol.

Jefferson turned to Italy when he suggested the recruitment of Italian musicians to expand the Marine Corps Band. Ever since, most of its members have been men of Italian birth or descent.

The first director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art was Luigi Palma di Cesnola, a Civil War general who had won the Congressional Medal of Honor. When he took the post in 1879 the museum was little more than a grandiose paper project. When he died in 1904 its collections were among the world's finest and its influence had led to the founding of other art museums in almost every major American city.

With the 1880's the artists and craftsmen coming from Italy began to be outnumbered 1,000 to 1 by peasant farmers, anxious to leave the overpopulated, eroded regions of Sicily and the lower half of the Italian boot. By the time they arrived, the free land of the United States frontier had been almost entirely taken up. Too poor to purchase established farms, they gravitated into teeming colonies in our industrial centers, the natives of the same old-country region or village clustering together out of sheer loneliness, often following the same occupation. Thus, almost all Italian icemen and coal dealers in New York were natives of Apulia. And if you met an Italian knife grinder, he probably came from the town of Campobasso.

Most of these immigrants could qualify for only the humblest kind of labor—ditch-digging, asphalt-laying, hod-carrying. Their poverty and their numbers, up to 15,000 arrived in a single day at the immigration peak, disturbed some Americans who doubted whether this country could absorb such vast hordes of seemingly ill-equipped peasants.

They need not have worried. In the free air of the New World unsuspected well-springs of adaptability and talent were released with explosive rapidity. In a single generation millions of Italian-Americans have come to occupy positions of distinction in every field of endeavor.

In sports they first broke through to prominence in boxing, where even the unlettered might succeed if they had enough brawn, coordination, and drive. About 1910 a fiery little featherweight named Joe Carrora began working the round of the fight clubs. "Who ever heard of a fighter raised on spaghetti?" roared the matchmakers, who were used to Sullivans, McCoys, and McTigues. One manager finally agreed to try him out in a preliminary bout, on condition that he change his name to Johnny Dundee. After his first bout the name didn't matter; Dundee won by a knockout. He ended his long career the undefeated champion of his class.

Soon other ambitious kids emerged from the little Italies of our cities to follow the same trail. Among them were Cannonball Martin, born Vitorio Martino; Lou Ambers, whose neighbors knew him as D'Ambrosio; and Packey O'Gatty, whose birth certificate read Pasquale Agate. In recent years many Italian fighters, such as Tony Canzoneri, Fred Apostoli, Rocky Graziano, have won championships without benefit of pseudonym. The current heavyweight champion, a division where experts long predicted that stocky Italians would never excel, is Rocky Marciano.

It took Italian-American youngsters only a few years longer to reach the top in big-league baseball. By 1932 Tony Lazzeri of the New York Yankees made the annual all-star team selected by the Baseball Writers' Association. Soon fans were discussing the relative merits of Vic Lombardi, Dolph Camilli, the Di Maggios, and Phil Rizzuto. Today there are more than 30 major leaguers of Italian origin, representing 7½ percent of the big-league roster—twice the proportion of Italian-Americans in our total population.

Distinction in college football came as another milestone. In measures both the eagerness of young Italo-Americans to acquire higher education and the increasing ability of their parents to afford it. The first Italian names to appear on the All-American rolls were those of Getto of Pittsburgh in 1928, and Carideo of Notre Dame in 1920 and 1930. During the 1954 season such outstanding players as Ameche, Guglielmi, Varrichione, and Consentino sparked their teams on college fields.

Meanwhile other Italians were revealing a genius for enterprise. These were the padrones: Interpreters, employment agents, contractors, politicians, and labor leaders all rolled into one. They supplied labor gangs to railroads and roadbuilders. On paydays they accepted small savings deposits, and some graduated into banking. Outstanding was A. P. Giannini who, amid the ruins of the San Francisco fire, set up his Bank of Italy in a small store. Within a few years the bank was financing vineyards, truck farms, coal routes, and restaurants for Italians in California. Today it serves non-Italians as well, and is known as the Bank of America, with more branches than any other bank in the country, and among the top four in deposits, loans, and assets.

Thousands of other business ventures started in the same way, by meeting the needs of fellow Italians. Small eating places in Italian neighborhoods, for instance, were soon discovered by non-Italians with appreciative palates. More and more American mouths watered for chicken cacciatore, minestrone, cannelloni, ravioli, scaloppina, veal parmigiano, and a host of other Italian specialties. There are now more than 15,000 such restaurants, some in communities where other Italian influences have scarcely penetrated.

Importing firms bring in olive oil and cheeses. Supermarkets carry scores of varieties of Italian foods, from antipasto to zucchini. Pizza pies, recently put out in quick-frozen form, have been popped into the ovens and onto the dinner tables of millions of American homes. At the same time America was also changing the eating habits of its Italian citizens. As their consumption

of milk and meat mounted, the children grew taller and more slender than their parents; the grandchildren are turning out to be taller still.

In music the "new" Italian-Americans literally surged to success. Song burst naturally from their untutored throats, and this gift they passed along to their children. To the children also they gave the best musical training they could afford out of scanty and irregular earnings. And again, in one generation's span, the youngsters rose to the top. Just to recite their familiar names is to tell the story: Rosa Ponselle, Mario Lanza, Frank Sinatra, Perry Como, Liberace, Guy Lombardo, Ted Fiorito, and literally hundreds of others.

Teaching, singing, playing, and writing music, they have rocked the rafters of the Metropolitan and set the teen-agers dancing to a million juke boxes. Small wonder that the president of the Musicians Union is named James Caesar Petrillo, and that in fully a dozen recent, best-selling recordings—from Cara Mia to the Little Shoemaker—the lyrics are sung in Italian.

The college-educated children of the "new" Americans have gone on to distinction in the professions. In New York City alone, for example, there are more than 2,500 lawyers of Italian descent. A number of them serve as judges.

Some 15,000 Italian-Americans have become physicians, and many are leaders in their fields. Among New Haven's Italian-American physicians, for example, 10 percent hold professorships at Yale. And last October Dr. Antonio Pisani, son of an immigrant Italian shoemaker, was designed outstanding general practitioner of the year by the Medical Society of the State of New York.

In the academic world Italo-Americans have spread beyond the teaching of Italian or art or music. One of our foremost authorities on the English language is Prof. Mario Pei, of Columbia. Prof. F. J. Bruno is professor emeritus of Washington University's School of Social Work. Pietro Belluschi is dean of the School of Architecture at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. These are but a handful out of hundreds.

Unfortunately for others of Italian descent, the sordid activities of a small segment—the underworld racketeers—have too often shifted public attention away from the real achievements of the great body of Italian-Americans. Studies have shown that our citizens of Italian origin do not have a peculiar propensity for racketeering, mayhem, and murder. Arrests and convictions of Italians are no more frequent, per hundred thousand in the same age and sex brackets, than for any other immigrant group, and they are slightly less than for our citizens of native stock.

If our country has had its Capones and Lucianos, it has also had Mayor LaGuardia, of New York, and Mayor Rossi, of San Francisco. JOHN PASTORE, Governor of Rhode Island, went on to become the first United States Senator of Italian descent. Currently Italian-Americans head the city governments in Cleveland, Baltimore, Meriden, Fitchburg, Mount Vernon, and at least two score smaller cities. Far from being swept into office on a bloc of Italian-American votes, these men won primarily on their platforms and their records.

Twice in recent years the loyalty of Italians in America has been put to a major trail. The first test began with the coming to power of Mussolini and his blackshirts. Il Duce spent large sums cultivating Americans of Italian descent, and after our entry into World War II 600,000 Italian immigrants who had not yet completed their naturalization were required to register as enemy aliens. Only about 200, however, had to be interned. The rest were so obviously loyal that by Columbus Day of 1942—only 10 months after Pearl Harbor—the Government relieved them of their enemy alien status. More than 550,000 Italian-Americans served in our Armed Forces and played an invaluable role in the Italian campaign by convincing the Italian people that America came not to conquer but to liberate.

The second great test came when postwar Italy was in the throes of the election struggle of 1948. The Communists, well heeled and well organized, seemed on the verge of coming to power. Many Italian-Americans had relatives and friends in Italy who had gone violently over to the Red side. Spontaneously, from a poor kitchen here, a richly appointed living room there, Americans with Italian names wrote to their relatives in Italy. By March 1948 thousands of missives, expressing the hope that Italy would retain its new-won democracy, were on their way, and by April the New York post office was handling a million letters a week.

Whether the Communists would have won, instead of losing as they did, had the letters not been sent, no one can say. But never again need anyone doubt that the Italian immigrants and their offspring have become fully American in the best sense of that word.

Today a great and growing part in bringing American literature, art, movies, styles, and techniques to Italy is being played by Italian-Americans, thousands of whom—like Louis Salzarulo—have revisited the towns of their birth or the places where their fathers or grandfathers came from; and, in return, all America is today receiving and gladly accepting the product of Italy's new renaissance, from Necchi sewing machines to the movies of Mangano and Lollobrigida. Thanks to the Americans with an Italian flavor, the old two-way stream now flows faster than ever, bearing a freight that enriches both countries.

Is a Strike-Bound Plant Able To Fulfill a Contract?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, last week I received a telegram from Mr. Allan Graskamp, president of local 833, UAW–CIO, at Sheboygan, Wis., which I wish to call to the attention of the membership of this body.

The telegram pertains to the contract recently awarded by the Department of Defense to the strike-bound Kohler Co., of Kohler, Wis. Mr. Graskamp raises a question about the ability of the Kohler Co., to properly fulfill the terms of the contract under existing circumstances. Since during World War II we have heard about certain instances in which munitions procured through some firms proved to be defective, I felt that Members of Congress—and particularly members of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees—would be interested in any information which could possibly aid in preventing such occurrences in the future.

While I do not presume to pass any judgment on the validity of the statements contained in the following telegram, since I do not possess the information necessary for reaching a decision on this subject, I wish to insert the telegram in the RECORD for the information of the membership:

SHEBOYGAN, WIS., *January 27, 1955.*

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Deeply appreciate your interest in Kohler strike shown by introduction of Governor Kohler's letter proposing arbitration and, in view of your interest and concern, we are sending you herewith text of a self-explanatory telegram sent today to President Eisenhower, Army Chief of Staff Ridgway, Acting Senate Majority Leader Clements, House Majority Leader McCormack, Senate Minority Leader Knowland, House Minority Leader Martin, Armed Services Committees Chairmen Vinson and Russell, Labor Secretary Mitchell, and Defense Secretary Wilson.

The full text follows:

"We believe current world tension makes it absolutely necessary that American military personnel be assured of an adequate supply of top-grade ammunition of all kinds.

"The sole manufacture of key components of one particular type of 105-millimeter shell is Kohler Co., of Kohler, Wis. It received the contract last November despite the fact that Kohler Co. has been strikebound for 10 months. If a Pearl Harbor occurred tonight, it is doubtful that the Nation could depend on production from this company.

"We wish to call your attention to the possible unnecessary loss of American lives because of the uncertain quantity and quality of the basic shell components.

"We urge you to check with the Defense Department on Kohler Co.'s contract performance. We especially urge you to check on whether the delivery scheduled at Kohler Co. already has been set ahead 30 days because of the failure of initial production to come up to specifications.

"As you know, Army procurement regulations require that a contractor be responsible and capable of fulfilling production standards.

"A skilled, experienced work force is restrained from doing the work in Kohler Co.'s shell department by the company's past refusal to engage in honest collective bargaining. A National Labor Relations Board complaint charges Kohler Co. is guilty of surface bargaining and that the company has 'demonstrated an irrevocable determination to frustrate and defeat the statutory goals of collective bargaining as defined in section 8d of the Labor Management Act.'

"The union has accepted Wisconsin Governor Kohler's suggestion that this dispute be arbitrated. Kohler Co. has refused.

"As combat veterans of World Wars I and II and the Korean conflict, we question the wisdom of allowing an employer with this irresponsible record to be the sole producer of an item of war.

"We ask that the Kohler contract be reassigned to a responsible contractor until this strike is settled. We know from firsthand experience the peril to American troops when shells are defective or when ammunition arrives too late.

"Reassignment of the Kohler Co. contract until the strike is settled will assure a steady flow of these vital 105-millimeter shell components."

Will deeply appreciate your insertion of this wire as sent to named persons in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of Members of the House.

ALLAN GRASKAMP,
President, Kohler Local 833, UAW-CIO, Sheybogan, Wis.

Address of National Commander Seaborn P. Collins, of the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by National Commander Seaborn P. Collins, which I hope many will have an opportunity to read:

ADDRESS BY NATIONAL COMMANDER SEABORN P. COLLINS OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE THE WOMEN'S FORUM ON NATIONAL SECURITY, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 27, 1955.

Every year since 1946 has included 1 or 2 weeks which deserved the oft-used adjective "critical." Certainly, this is one of those weeks.

We all share at this time a feeling of inadequacy. It is almost as if we were spectators, watching a contest on the playing field, rooting for our team and hoping that they know their signals and can execute their plays. Yet this is the ultimate contest. At stake are the lives of our countrymen and the honor and freedom of our country.

Decisions made this week in Washington—in Peiping—perhaps Moscow—will vitally affect the Nation's security which, thank God, is your avowed concern. As private citizens, we cannot predict with any assurance the outcome of this present crisis. We cannot tell whether Formosa will remain a refuge for freedom or become a new Corregidor. We can, however, acknowledge the problem, consider its meaning to America, and seek out the facts which will enable us to understand and solve it in the light of reason and right. That after all, is the purpose of your meeting here.

Because we are Americans, conscious of our duty as citizens, each of us feels a sense of personal responsibility for national policy. There are some among us—some in this room—upon whom the responsibility falls with particular brutal force. I am sure that I speak for every delegate to the Women's Forum when I say that our hopes, our prayers, and our confidence are with the President and the Congress and the other officials of Government who must lead and act in our name.

Three days ago the President announced a policy which clearly defined our Nation's decision to protect an island and a people whose protection we had pledged. The Congress has indicated overwhelming approval of that policy. I believe that these actions were needed, that they are wise, and that—best of all—they truly express the spirit and the will of the American people.

Negotiations and compromise are necessary factors in international as well as human relations.

We of the American Legion hold that our Government should always leave open the way to honorable negotiation and compromise. We submit, however, that there comes a time in dealing with the Communist aggressors when negotiation can do no good and compromise can lead only to defeat. In our judgment, that time has come in Asia.

Today, for the first time we know, and the Reds know, the line which American arms will defend around Formosa. For once, it is their bluff that has been called—not ours. On that vital front, they must choose now between making war and ceasing aggression.

No American finds comfort in the circumstances which made necessary this new Formosa plan. None of us—and least of all the mothers and wives who sacrifice the most in war—want to see the alternatives to war narrowed.

But there is another, more basic American philosophy at work here—and you and the millions of other women you represent proved long ago that you know it well. That is the American love for freedom—the inbred American desire to defend, at all costs, the dignity and liberty which are man's gift from his Maker.

That is why I believe that all who care and think seriously about the future security of the United States must be encouraged by the drawing of the line off Formosa. We have not lost our sense of values. There are things worse even than war—and one of them is the surrender of our liberty.

The American Legion, on occasion, has been termed a "nationalistic" group. The reference usually is made in a critical sense, as if there is something wrong or unfortunate about citizens of a country looking first to their own interests and safety.

That viewpoint overlooks a number of fundamental truths which events of this week have brought into sharp focus.

We are citizens of the United States—not of the world. We have national interests and national aspirations which it is our responsibility—and no one else's—to advance.

Our first concern must be for the security of America. We care about the freedom of individuals everywhere; but we are obligated by instinct and by duty to preserve Americans' freedom.

There is no other way to approach the goal of world security than through the security of our own country.

We of the Legion have consistently supported the United Nations. We have hoped and prayed that the U. N. might develop into an effective instrument of world peace. We have supported American participation in security treaties and pacts for the same reason and with the same hope.

These attempts to build collective security are worthwhile and important. So long as they promise any additional strength for the free world, they merit our support. At the same time, the 10-year record of the U. N. and the cold war now being waged must convince objective men and women that when the chips are down the burden of decision and action rests almost solely with the United States.

Where we have assumed that burden, communism has been checked. Where we have tried to escape it, communism has advanced.

It was resolute American action that stemmed the Red tide in Greece and Turkey, during the blockade of Berlin, and initially in Korea. It was the lack of resolute action that cinched Communist victories in Czechoslovakia and China, and cost us victory in Korea and Indochina.

President Eisenhower, in his message to the Congress, last Monday, spelled out one of the hard and all-important facts of present international life when he stated:

"Meanwhile, the situation has become sufficiently critical to impel me, without awaiting action by the United Nations, to ask the Congress to participate now, by specific resolution, in measures designed to improve the prospects for peace. These measures would contemplate the use of the Armed Forces of the United States, if necessary, to assure the security of Formosa and the Pescadores." There is a time for debate and there is a time for action. It should be clear to all of us at this point that we can never rely upon an authority outside America for the protection of America's interests. Our lead responsibility as Americans is not to achieve united action by the free world but to support right and necessary action by the United States.

If, in the process our allies are offended, we regret it. But we can no longer afford to let the feelings of people whom we believe are our friends determine our defense against aggressors whom we know to be our enemies.

By any sensible standard, our enlightened self-interest is in the best interest of world peace. A strong, free America is the best hope of mankind for a world where free men can live in peace.

The American Legion and the other great veterans' organizations so ably represented here tonight believe that the cornerstone of effective, long-range national security is a national security training program.

Together, we have presented to the Congress legislation to give America such a long-overdue program. I need not review the purpose and provisions of this legislation. You know that a strong, trained reserve force is the base, the foundation, if you will, upon which any expansion of our regular Armed Forces must be built. National security training will give us this essential foundation.

National security training will also allow us to field at all times a more effective regular military force. Highly trained and equipped with the most modern, efficient weapons, this force will be better able to protect our Nation and preserve peace because it will be backed up by a strong, trained reserve force ready for immediate mobilization and combat development.

National security training is also our only guaranty that those who fought in World War II, in Korea, and who may be called upon to fight tomorrow in Formosa, will not be the only Americans trained to defend our country in our lifetime.

If we must fight for the democratic ideals of justice and equity, then we must make certain that these principles are not voided by our failure to share the burden of defending America among all of our citizens.

Obviously, no effective program of national security training can be put into operation overnight. Therefore, the strength and combat readiness of our Armed Forces must be maintained at their present level for several years to come.

In fact, developments in Formosa and the Pescadores may necessitate a substantial increase in the size and fighting power of our regular Military Establishment. At the very least, the critical situation in Asia demands that there be no reduction in the next fiscal year in personnel strength and combat effectiveness of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps.

Further, the planned buildup in the size and strength of our Air Force may well have to be increased and accelerated.

The American Legion is deeply conscious of the need for reducing the cost of government, including the cost of military security, to the absolute minimum. We recognize, as do all of the organizations which you women represent, that our economy must be as strong as our military defenses if we are to preserve our freedom and the peace of the world.

A bankrupt America would be more valuable to the Communists than all of the atomic bombs and all of the infantry divisions which they could muster.

The American Legion realizes this full well. At the same time, we are convinced that military weakness at the price of a balanced budget would be the most tragic and costly kind of economy.

There is room, plenty of room, for economy within the Military Establishment. We can get greater security without greater costs. But beyond this limit, if it is determined that we need more military security, even at the cost of budget deficits, then let's get that security.

As far as the American Legion is concerned, we would rather have red ink on the balance sheet than the lash of Red communism on our backs.

With the help of Almighty God and with citizens such as you to demonstrate that

faith and courage and sacrifice are still the real source of strength of a free, invincible America, we can believe that our generation will survive the scourge of communism and leave to our children the heritage of freedom and opportunity and human dignity which is their birthright as American citizens and creatures of God.

Prayer Helped in the Early Days of the Republic and Prayer Can Help Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, when the constitutional convention seemed bogged down and seemed likely to end in failure, Benjamin Franklin suggested that the convention delegates apply "to the Father of Light to illuminate human understanding."

Franklin told the convention how in the dark days of the Revolution, "We had daily prayers in this room for Divine protection." He added, "Our prayers were heard and answered."

A report of Franklin's recommendation for prayer is reported by a newspaperman friend and constituent of mine, Guy Allison, of Ocean Park, Wash., recently in his column which appears daily in many Pacific coast newspapers. Allison's column follows:

BYPATHS OF HISTORY

(By Guy Allison)

In what way has the Congress recognized, as a wise procedure, a recommendation made by Benjamin Franklin during the Constitutional Convention of 1787?

The information that Members of Congress are to have available a room for prayer and silent meditation came over the wires recently. This action brings to mind a recommendation made by Benjamin Franklin on Thursday, June 28, 1787, during his attendance at the constitutional convention. At that time the convention almost split on the question of whether the small States should, or should not have, equal representation in the newly proposed national setup. When the time came for the final vote, the venerable Franklin, then in his 81st year, arose and addressed his fellow members as follows:

"Mr. President, the small progress we have made after 4 or 5 weeks of close attendance and continual reasonings with each other is, methinks, melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding.

"In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it; how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illumine our understanding?

"In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for divine protection. Our prayers were heard and answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending providence in our favor. To that kind providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend? Or do we imagine that we no longer need His assistance?

"I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings, that 'except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that built it.' I firmly believe this, and I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel.

"We shall be divided by our little local interests, our projects shall be confounded, and we, ourselves, shall become a reproach through the future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

"I therefore beg leave to move—that henceforth prayers imploring divine assistance, and its blessing on our deliberations be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business."

This motion was objected to by Alexander Hamilton on the grounds that the public might think that there was trouble brewing in the convention. It failed of passage, but on establishment of the Government under this Constitution, the very first law provided for opening congressional sessions with prayer.

Let's Be Counted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, while individuals, organizations, and publications are following a line that seems to say "Do not expect much from Congress." I think what many of them seek to imply is that due to the fact that the majority in the two bodies of Congress is insufficient to bring about the passage of legislation over a Presidential veto, we can expect the passage and final approval of no highly controversial legislation.

This should not mean that Members of Congress, particularly those of the majority, should accept a defeatest attitude and reason that since it is not likely that the executive branch will change its position on certain matters that the legislative branch should not accept its responsibility in proposing even in the face of almost certain veto, changes that should be made.

I am referring, of course, to the status of agricultural legislation. The farmers of America suffered defeat during the 83d Congress, thanks to an administration that has proven itself hostile to the best interests of American agriculture.

From the Missouri Farmer, official publication of the Missouri Farmers Association, I am including herewith an editorial entitled "Don't Expect Much From Congress." I am taking this means of assuring my farmer friends throughout Missouri that, while they may have little reason to expect any relief during the period of the 84th Congress, it is not because of the fact that Congress itself is unsympathetic to the plight of the American farmer. Chairman COOLEY, of the House Committee on Agriculture, has indicated that hearings will be held on numerous bills seeking to restore the supports that were wiped out last session. There is every indication that such bills will be reported favorably on a bipartisan basis from this committee, and I have every reason to believe that such legislation will receive favorable consideration when it reaches the floor of the House.

Despite the fact that, according to this editorial which I believe reflects the general public opinion, the President has made it clear enough that he will veto any price-support bill, I still believe Congress is not only justified but duty bound to see that such legislation is presented and approved by the legislative branch of the Government. In so doing we have met our responsibility.

Let us place the blame where it belongs, and let us not wait until next year to do it, when as this article states, many will say it was done for political reasons.

Let us show the farmers that they can place their confidence, trust, and hopes in the 84th Congress. Let us show the farmers that they can expect relief and constructive action from the 84th Congress.

Now is the time to meet the challenge in this editorial from the February 1955 issue of the Missouri Farmer:

DON'T EXPECT MUCH FROM CONGRESS

Farmers cannot hope that much in the way of constructive farm legislation will come out of the new Congress. About the most they can expect to be done in Washington is the passage of necessary appropriation bills, much talk, and considerable jockeying for position before the next presidential election.

The Democrats control Congress, that is true; but numerical superiority does not assure their control of legislation. On important legislation Republicans and Democrats cross party lines. They are motivated by economic considerations and not altogether by politics. And it must be remembered that the President is a Republican and that he has the last say on legislation. He can veto any measure passed by Congress.

It may be that this Congress will pass some kind of price-support law to take the place of the ineffectual flexible-supports law. But if that is done, it will likely be merely a political move.

The President has made it clear enough that he will veto any price-support bill. He is satisfied with the present flexible law. If the Congress does pass a price-support bill, it will be for the purpose of getting the President to veto it in order to put the administration in dutch with farmers. If this happens, you can bet that it will be as near to the next general election as possible so that farmers won't have time to forget about it when they go to the polls to vote.

Of course there is always the chance that Congress will pass a bill and that the President will sign it, or that Congress will override the veto. Hence, if any hearings are held, your association will testify in your behalf. The probabilities are, however, that we'll be merely "spinning our wheels."

Kings Point

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me, I include herewith an article by Mr. Jules Witcover which I think will gain everyone's interest who reads it.

It touches on the great United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y.—an institution that is dedicated to doing a dual job—preparing officers for our fourth line of defense—our United States merchant marine—and at the same time creating a reserve of highly trained men who will be ready to serve our country in time of emergency.

Mr. Witcover's article, which is completely objective, appeared in the Marine News of October 1954.

Inasmuch as we will be expected to consider annual appropriations for this great academy for the 1956 fiscal year, I felt that this objective study by Mr. Witcover, of Kings Point, and of the problems it has had to face in the past, would be helpful to the membership of the Congress.

The article follows:

KINGS POINT: UNCLE SAM'S PERENNIAL STEPCHILD

(By Jules Witcover)

Another Congress has come and gone, the 83d, but Kings Point—the Nation's only Federal maritime academy—remains the stepchild of Uncle Sam's defense training system.

While West Point, Annapolis, Coast Guard and the new Air Force Academy operate with official legislative sanction, Kings Point continues to exist on a crisis-to-crisis formula concocted by the Maritime Administration. The school, implemented in only the most general terms by the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, could be closed down tomorrow if the Maritime Administration so desired.

What is being done about it? The answer to that question began to take form nearly a year ago and has carried through scores of private and governmental conferences that are still going on.

Kings Point—at Great Neck, Long Island—has depended on the annual Commerce Department budget since the school's inception in 1938. Under the 1936 act, a Federal maritime training program was established, but without specific component parts. Thus, the Commerce Department decided each year on what scale the school could operate, and asked for appropriations proportionate to that decision.

During the war years, of course, the need for the academy was obvious, and appropriations always were granted swiftly and generously. Fortunately, too, the crises faced annually by the school—until last fall—concerned only the question: "How much?"

But then, suddenly, the Commerce Department asked: "Why at all?"

The man behind the unexpected question turned out to be Louis S. Rothschild, the Maritime Administrator. Rothschild at that time was in the midst of a sharp economy and reorganization campaign. The Nation was at peace and the maritime industry for the time being was full-up in officer material. Why continue to spend upwards of $2 million a year under such circumstances, Rothschild asked.

He initiated a poll of the four State maritime academies in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, and California in an endeavor to find out whether these schools could absorb the cadets at Kings Point in the event that school were shut down. All four State academies advised Rothschild they could take on the extra load. The State schools, granted a one-third subsidy by the Federal Government, theoretically would have received similar aid for the additional students.

With budgetary plans for fiscal 1955 well under way in the Commerce Department, the word got around that Rothschild would not ask for the Kings Point appropriation, thus effectively slamming the doors on 15 years of tradition at the Federal academy.

The report caused an uproar in maritime circles. Protestations flooded the Nation's Capital, and the office of Congressman STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN, Republican, of New York, in particular. DEROUNIAN's district includes Kings Point and many of the faculty and alumni make their homes in that area.

DEROUNIAN and his Nassau County, Long Island, Republican colleague, FRANK J. BECKER, formed the spearhead of a behind-the-scenes pressure movement against Rothschild's action. They were joined by alumni, civic and industry leaders, and within a matter of weeks the Maritime Administration had backed down and announced it would ask the Congress to grant another $1,900,000—the same amount appropriated in fiscal 1954—to continue operations at Kings Point for at least another year.

The opening battle had been won by the Kings Point supporters. But it proved to be no more than just that—an opening battle. The lines were drawn: an economy-minded Maritime Administrator, with the backing of the maritime unions, on one side; DEROUNIAN, BECKER, other interested legislators and a large segment of the industry itself on the other.

In hopes of avoiding another budgetary crisis later in the year, the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee appointed a special subcommittee to study the Kings Point situation and report its findings once and for all. The idea got complete support of the Derounian-Becker forces, who felt an official congressional report favorable to them would pave the way to speedy remedial legislation.

The seven-man subcommittee headed by Representative WILLIAM K. VAN PELT (Republican, Wisconsin), began open hearings in February, and by early June they had heard from interested parties on both sides. Rothschild withheld his views on continuance of the school until he could complete a survey of the needs of the industry which, he said, probably would not be finished before the end of that session of Congress. Requests for speedier action by members of the subcommittee, however, extracted from Rothschild a promise to try to submit the results before adjournment.

Testimony during the 5-month hearings was overwhelmingly in favor of retention of the Federal academy. The American Conference of Maritime Unions was the most outspoken opponent, arguing that "upgrading" schools were needed much more than officer-candidate schools, and that sufficient officers could be obtained as well via the "hawsepipe" method of upgrading.

Representatives of the State schools either opposed outright any special consideration for Kings Point or defended their own position regardless of what was done about the Federal school. But the atmosphere at the close of the hearings was extremely favorable to those who wanted to wipe out "administration-by-crisis" at the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point.

Thus, when Rothschild's report was submitted earlier than at first expected and was considered by the House subcommittee without much of a public ripple, it looked like smooth sailing.

VAN PELT, after conferring with members of his subcommittee, introduced a bill in the House on June 3 asking that Kings Point be given permanent status by writing it specifically into the Merchant Marine Act. The bill, applauded by the Derounian-Becker group, also would have given students midshipman status with equal pay and allowances as those granted Annapolis men.

Asked whether his bill would put Kings Point on a par with the other Federal academies, VAN PELT said the measure would "put it up very close, if not on a par." A Nassau County colleague of DEROUNIAN and BECKER, Representative STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT, during the hearings had proposed that Kings Point be given equal status with the others, but the idea had been taken lightly by many as too far reaching.

Nevertheless, the bill in its original form seemed to have overwhelming support in the House. It was referred to VAN PELT's own Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and prospects were strong for a favorable report to the floor in early July.

Then it happened. Rothschild, whose testimony and reports at the House hearings could not prevent introduction of the Van Pelt bill, turned his sights to the other side of the Capitol.

At the request of VAN PELT, Senator ALEXANDER WILEY—his Wisconsin colleague with great prestige as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—had introduced an identical bill in the upper House. The strategy was to get the Senate bill through committee and onto the floor for passage while the same steps were being taken on the House side for VAN PELT's bill

Time was running short by now, with adjournment an estimated 3 to 4 weeks away. In a congressional election year the Members were not expected to stay overtime, even on vital parts of the President's program itself. Rapid and uninterrupted action in both Houses was need to get the bills through before the inevitable last-minute logjam.

On July 8 the Senate Water Transportation Subcommittee, headed by Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, Republican, of Maryland, held a 1-day hearing on the Wiley bill. With volumes of testimony given to the Van Pelt subcommittee at their fingertips, it was expected the Senators would skim the surface and come up with a favorable report.

But before a single man could testify the thunderbolt struck. A letter to the subcommittee from Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks, Rothschild's boss, was introduced. Weeks said a preliminary study of the Federal maritime training program had been made, indicating that a more extensive survey of its relation to other Government-supported training activities was needed.

Would the Senators be good enough, Weeks asked, to defer any action on the bill this year until the results of this survey were in? DEROUNIAN, BECKER, WAINWRIGHT, and others vehemently protested the delay, but the blow was devastating. Senator BUTLER, in spite of apparent personal support of the bill, remarked that Commerce Department opposition would surely hurt the chances materially.

He was right. The House bill several days later breezed through the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and on July 30 was passed unanimously by the House, but the Senate companion measure never saw the light of day. The Weeks letter had presented just enough cause for deliberation to snuff out any chance for action in the last hectic weeks. Congress adjourned in August with Kings Point still a second-class citizen in the national-defense system.

Does this failure to push the measure through in 1954 mean the whole hassle will have to be repeated next year? That, Kings Point supporters believe, may depend on who wins control of the 84th Congress. Should the Republicans retain control, matters might well be picked up just where they

left off, with prospects of early passage—in the House at least—in 1955.

But even if Congress goes Democratic, the bill should not have too much opposition from congressional sources of either party. The measure is generally conceded to be a nonpartisan one, and it is believed a change in party control might slow action mechanically, but not politically.

What, then, was the urgency to get the bill through this year. Advocates of permanent status for Kings Point fear the delay may strengthen the hand of those who have maneuvered the delays so far.

Weeks' explosive letter to the Senate subcommittee specifically mentioned the United States Coast Guard Academy in Norwich, Conn., among the other Government-supported programs to be considered in the relationship survey.

His comment that "this may point the way to consolidations or other changes which would simplify and reduce the Government expense of maintaining federally supported or assisted educational and training activities for merchant-marine officers and comparable personnel" raised quite a few eyebrows.

In the same letter, when he mentioned the results of the survey would go to the "Secretaries of Commerce and Treasury," there was considerable conjecture about the Maritime Administration's plans. Inasmuch as the Treasury Secretary heads the Coast Guard, the rumor went, maybe Rothschild was now considering consolidation of Kings Point and the Coast Guard Academy.

Asked by this writer about such a possibility, Rothschild avoided direct comment on the report but added he thought "the present situation can certainly stand improvement."

Such a move, while undoubtedly effecting a real economy, would run into great congressional opposition as well as legislative snarls. Since Coast Guard has legislative authorization and Kings Point has not, a special bill would be required for the action, one which Kings Point supporters could be expected to fight with great vigor. The plan would require another round of hearings in both houses even more exhaustive than those held this year, and would be sure to meet with stern opposition from Coast Guard men and possible Navy men as well.

The initial Rothschild idea—transferral of the Kings Point cadets to the four State schools—would at least have consolidated maritime training under a single roof in each case. Merger of Kings Point and Coast Guard would invite double courses, overlapping activities and considerable administrative chaos.

So unless Rothschild comes up with a workable substitute acceptable to Kings Point—a highly unlikely possibility at this stage—the battle probably will pick up next year on Capitol Hill where it has just left off.

Meanwhile, Kings Point cadets and faculty members can resign themselves to another case of budgetary nerves this fall—when Uncle Sam again ponders the question of whether his stepchild deserves another year of life.

Our Congressmen Deserve a Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the following editorial from the Oregon Journal, Portland, Oreg., the largest afternoon newspaper in the State:

OUR CONGRESSMEN DESERVE A RAISE

Under a bill proposed by Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, the salaries of Congressmen would be boasted from $15,000 to $22,500. He also proposes that Supreme Court Justices be given a $10,000 raise, and other Federal judges a $7,500 boost.

Congressmen always have been supercautious about raising their own salaries. They are afraid, of course, that the voters will throw it up to them at the next election, and that it will cost them votes—perhaps even defeat. Political opponents of the Congressmen are almost certain to bring it up at the next election.

But the fact remains that a salary increase is justified. The Walter bill is a compromise, running $5,000 a year less than the amount recommended by the special salary commission.

Now, $22,500 sounds like a very nice salary for Congressmen. But when it is realized that most of them must keep 2 homes—1 in Washington, D. C., and 1 in their hometown, are subjected to the extremely high living costs of Washington, and have uncertain tenure, the take-home value shrinks considerably. Some Congressmen have maintained they could not stay on the job unless they had other income.

Well, they probably could with a few economies. It isn't quite that bad. One thing is sure, these are important jobs that should have salaries commensurate with the activities, abilities, and demands of the job.

Congress should vote a substantial increase, as suggested by Representative WALTER. We think that most people, looking at the problem fairly, will approve.

The Late Dr. Erland Harold Hedrick

SPEECH
OF
HON. M. G. BURNSIDE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, may I add my voice to my colleagues' who have preceded me in praise of the late Dr. Erland Harold Hedrick. My experience with Dr. Hedrick in the 81st and 82d Congresses has always been a source of pleasure. I had known Dr. Hedrick for a great many years and had always admired him. When I came here as a freshman in 1948, his advice and counsel were invaluable to me. He was an excellent politician, a skillful legislator, and a sincere, kind man. He knew how to take first things first, but always seemed to have time for those things which seemed unimportant except to the individual who asked help.

Dr. Hedrick's experiences were varied. He was a physician, a soldier, a city and county executive, a banker, and a businessman. To this vast amount of experience he coupled a deep devotion to the people of his State and a sound philosophy of life to produce that which we all strive to be, a good representative. He represented excellently a district of greatly diversified interests with skill and devotion. His methods were always straightforward and his motives always honorable.

The men assembled here in this Chamber who knew him have lost a friend. The men here who were not fortunate enough to know the man will never realize their loss.

Congressional Address by Chief Justice Urged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an interesting discussion by the able journalist, Mr. Gould Lincoln, of the proposal to extend an invitation to the Chief Justice of the United States to make an annual address to Congress on the state of the judicial branch of government and related matters.

Also included is a news item from the Washington Evening Star indicating support for such a congressional resolution for the distinguished former Senator and noted lawyer, George Wharton Pepper, of Pennsylvania.

CONGRESSIONAL ADDRESS BY CHIEF JUSTICE URGED

(By Gould Lincoln)

What's good for the courts is good for the people, who are primarily interested in justice. So the joint resolution now introduced in the House and Senate, inviting the Chief Justice to address Congress on the state of the judicial branch of the Government, should be in the interests of both.

In some quarters, however, the question of politics has raised its head in connection with the proposal to have the Chief Justice take the limelight in this unprecedented manner—particularly Chief Justice Earl Warren. It is suggested that, in some way, the Chief Justice's appearance before the Congress will make him instanter a candidate, or at least a potential candidate for a Republican presidental nomination in 1956—should President Eisenhower step aside. Nothing could be further from the fact. It is well understood by Chief Justice Warren's intimates he has no desire to become a presidential nominee; that he would resist even to the point of declining a nomination if it were offered him. In fact, he would not run.

NOT HIS IDEA

To skeptics, who appear to believe the GOP desires to nominate the Chief Justice and capitalize on his antisegregation opinion—which was the opinion of the Court—it may be pointed out the proposal for his appearance before a joint session of Congress did not come from him or from the Court. It was broached by Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers, in a speech delivered away from Washington. It was well received. Further, if the fear of politics still persists, the legislation calling for an invitation to the Chief Justice to appear before Congress could fix his first appearance in 1957, after the presidential election of 1956. By 1960, the next presidential elec-

tion year, the Chief Justice would be 69 years old, obviously too old for a presidential nomination and an election which would put him in the White House at 70, to begin a term.

In the 15 months he has presided over the Supreme Court the Chief Justice has had signal success. It is no secret he is happy in his work. He has become more and more conversant with the Federal judiciary and its problems. Those are the problems which any Chief Justice would discuss in an appearance before Congress. Principal among them is the shocking state of calendars of many of the Federal courts. The backlog of unfinished cases is far greater in some districts than in others. In the southern district of New York, which includes New York City, a litigant can expect to wait almost 4 years from the day he files a suit in the Federal court until it is disposed of. Indeed, he must wait 3 years before his case is reached. During the year ended July 1, 1954, the Federal courts disposed of 93,161 cases, but left pending another 78,531. Obviously such delays, sometimes running 2, 3, or nearly 4 years, result in grave injustice to both plaintiffs and defendants.

MANY CAUSES

There are a number of causes for this situation in the courts. In some districts there are not enough judges. In some the judges do not work hard enough and take long vacations. Some of the Federal judges are too old or too ill to be effective. Also there is a lack of adequate funds to pay for needed assistants in the courts. In one district a judge, already ill when confirmed by the Senate, has spent 5 hours in court in 4 years. Judges close court all summer in some of the districts. There is no way to deal with those who fail to work except through impeachment proceedings. No authority is placed in the hands of anyone to deal with them. They are appointed for life.

A Chief Justice, invited to appear before Congress, will be in a position to disclose all of these ills and to make recommendations. And a Chief Justice, appearing at a joint session of the Senate and House, will have an effective sounding board. Obviously, if the proposal is adopted, the program should be permanent, with appearances of the Chief Justice either at the opening of each regular session of Congress or at the opening of each new Congress. He would make either an annual or a biennial report.

While the plan has received wide approval of lawyers, judges, Members of Congress, and plain, ordinary citizens, misgivings have been expressed by a few that it would lower the dignity of the Court and thrust the Court into politics.

A Chief Justice, however, would do neither. He would go on invitation and not as a supplicant with his hat in his hand. Nor would there be underlying political implications. Reports are made in writing to Congress, showing the situation of the Federal courts. But they are pigeonholed rather than read. A separate budget is prepared for the courts, but Congress cuts it.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 28, 1955]

GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER ASKS CONGRESS TALK BY CHIEF JUSTICE

A former Senator from Pennsylvania and noted constitutional lawyer said today an annual appearance of the Chief Justice of the United States before Congress would be of immense advantage in promoting a better understanding of the judiciary.

George Wharton Pepper, of Philadelphia, joined the growing list of lawyers, judges, and legislators who want to see Congress invite the Chief Justice to address both Houses.

In a statement to the Star, former Senator Pepper declared:

"The well-being of the Republic is dependent upon coordinated action by the three great departments of Government. Coordinated action is impracticable unless each department is fully informed respecting the needs and activities of the others.

"Article II, section I, of the Constitution wisely provides for direct communication between the executive and the legislative branch. There is no similar provision to insure that the Congress as a whole will be kept informed respecting the Federal judiciary and its needs.

"The present procedure which enables the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts to present requests for appropriations to subcommittee of the Congress is admirable as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough.

"The Congress as a whole should be given from time to time a comprehensive picture of all the operations of the judicial department and a statement of its requirements and needs.

"Nobody is so well qualified to act as spokesman for the judiciary as the Chief Justice of the United States. Just as Congress is informed by the Chief Executive of the state of the Union and the measures which the President deems appropriate, so the Congress should hear from the Chief Justice himself of the operations of the judicial department for which he is so well qualified to speak.

"If he were given an opportunity to appear annually before the Congress and to present a comprehensive statement of the operation and needs of the judiciary department, the result would be of immense advantage in promoting a better understanding of the judicial establishment and in generating the kind of atmosphere in which cooperation is most likely to flourish."

The Lace and Embroidery Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, the schiffli lace and embroidery industry in the United States is heavily concentrated in my district. The industry is fearful of the adverse effect of the passage of H. R. 1. I would like to insert a resolution adopted at a parley of the mayors of Cliffside Park, Fairview, Guttenberg, Jersey City, North Bergen, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, and West New York. The resolution follows:

Whereas there are 550 firms engaged in the manufacture of schiffli lace and embroidery in Hudson and Bergen Counties in New Jersey, comprising 92 percent of the schiffli lace and embroidery industry in the United States, which firms with their allied processing trades also located here employ more than 10,000 citizens of New Jersey; and

Whereas schiffli lace and embroidery is extensively used in the clothing industry for gowns, dresses, underwear, shoes, hats, blouses, handkerchiefs, gloves, baby clothes, handbags, and coats and in the home-furnishing industry for bedspreads, sheets, curtains, drapes, tablecloths, and scarfs; and

Whereas the schiffli lace and embroidery industry is vulnerable to import competition from Japan and Europe; and

Whereas the menace of such imports lies principally in the foreign competitive advantages derived from low wages prevailing abroad: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States is respectfully petitioned and memorialized to safeguard this industry so vital to the economy of northern New Jersey by maintaining the present tariff levels on lace and embroidery.

Mayor Francis J. Murphy, of Cliffside Park; Mayor Louis Battaglia, of Fairview; Mayor Hermon G. Klein, of Guttenberg; Mayor Bernard J. Berry, of Jersey City; Mayor John J. Roe, of North Bergen; Mayor John J. Kane, of Secaucus; Mayor Harry T. Thourot, of Union City; Mayor Charles P. Krause, of Weehawken; Mayor John E. Otis, of West New York.

I would like to insert also a resolution introduced into the New Jersey Legislature by Hon. Maurice V. Brady, assemblyman from Hudson County. The resolution follows:

Whereas the increased importation of lace and embroidery products that come into competition with the output of factories of Hudson County, N. J., replacing the products of Hudson County's lace and embroidery industry, is a constant menace to the State's continuing economic stability; and

Whereas the lower wages paid abroad make it impossible for many of our smaller and medium-sized producers of lace and embroidery products to compete with imports without resorting to ruinous pricecutting, which in turn would result either in financial losses or heavy pressure for wage reductions and ouright unemployment; and

Whereas under proposed legislation, the President, on recommendation of the Tariff Commission, controlled by the President, would be able to reduce tariffs on imports from Japan down to 50 percent of what they were on January 1, 1945, or by one-third for any years of the 3-year period that this measuse would cover. Many tariffs would be cut by 5 percent for each of the 3 years; and

Whereas if the tariff on lace and embroidery products is lowered, then embroidery shops in Japan, Austria, Switzerland, and Germany could capture the American embroidery market by utilizing cheaper labor and underselling Hudson County; and

Whereas our national obligations have reached such extreme proportions that the national income must be maintained at its present unprecedented high level, or close thereto, lest we become insolvent; and

Whereas pressure that comes from imports of lace and embroidery products will render the upholding of the local economy at its high levels most uncertain and difficult unless all import trade is placed on a fair, competitive basis and the potential injury therefrom thus contained; and

Whereas a maximum of such trade results from a prosperous domestic economy freed from the threat of a breakdown resulting from unfair import competition: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States that adequate safeguards be provided in tariff and trade legislation against the destruction or lowering of our American standard of living, the labor standard of our workmen, and the stability of our economy by unfair import competition of foreign lace and embroidery; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and each Senator and Representative from New Jersey in the Congress of the United States.

Plans for Huge Upper Colorado Dam Uncertain, Says Secretary McKay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, proponents of the upper Colorado storage project are asking Congress to authorize an appropriation of $421 million for a gigantic power dam at Glen Canyon, Ariz., without knowing whether the rock foundations at the site would support the immense structure as it would have to be built to integrate with other overall features of the project.

This amazing fact was disclosed in a letter written November 30, 1954, by Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay to David R. Brower, executive secretary of the Sierra Club.

Glen Canyon is on the Colorado River, and the proposed dam would be a key structure designed to raise power revenues to help pay for the multi-billion-dollar upper Colorado River project—H. R. 270—now before Congress.

In his letter, Secretary McKay stated that the materials on which the dam would stand are "poorly cemented and relatively weak in comparison with the foundations common to most high dams." The Secretary also revealed that "experiments to improve the strength of the foundation through a chemical grouting process were unsuccessful."

Further, although the Bureau has presented preliminary plans for a 700-foot dam, it does not intend to present final specifications for it until after Congress has approved the present vague project.

On this subject, Secretary McKay wrote Brower:

Following congressional authorization, more intensive studies will be made of the foundation conditions and of the Bureau's preliminary design to secure information for the preparation of plans and specifications for construction of the Glen Canyon Dam. If such intensive studies indicate the advisability of modifying the present selected height of dam, appropriate changes will be made in the designs prior to construction.

Despite this situation, great pressure is on Congress to approve the project. After that is done the Reclamation Bureau would conduct studies to determine what size and type of dam can be built. In other words, Congress is being asked to approve spending this great sum of Federal money when Reclamation Bureau engineers themselves do not know what the final plans and designs may be, how big the dam would be, how much it would cost, how much power revenues it would bring, and when there are grave doubts that such a structure would be secure.

Thus, Congress is being asked to buy a pig in a poke.

The Secretary's disclosures refute a 1950 report of the Reclamation Bureau which stated that the rock at the dam site "is remarkably free of structural defects."

This 1950 report also said:

The Glen Canyon site is geologically favorable for a high concrete dam.

Secretary McKay told Brower:

Subsequent to writing the 1950 report on the Colorado River storage project, the Bureau conducted grouting tests in the drift tunnels driven 50 or more feet into each canyon wall of the Glen Canyon Dam site. Also, special bearing tests of 6-inch cores and large fragments of the foundation materials were made in the Bureau's Denver laboratory. The poorly cemented and relatively weak condition of the materials in comparison with the foundations common to most high dams has given the engineers who prepared the preliminary designs of the dam some concern as to the competency of the foundation to support any structure higher than 700 feet. Experiments to improve the strength of the foundation through a chemical grouting process were unsuccessful. These are the geological reasons why Commissioner W. A. Dexheimer made his statement in Denver about the limitation on the height of the proposed Glen Canyon Dam.

It has been the custom of the Reclamation Bureau to secure authorization of a project based on a cost estimate which they assure Congress will be ample. However, it is rarely found that these cost estimates prove sufficient. Actual costs of projects usually have been 50 to 100 percent greater than the estimates made at the time of authorization.

The obvious result has been that the Bureau's assurances of economic and financial feasibility have collapsed.

The financial plan for the whole upper Colorado River project sets up Glen Canyon Dam as the "cash register" for the development.

Yet the Reclamation Bureau apparently does not yet know how much Glen Canyon Dam would cost or how much revenue it can be expected to produce.

In the face of these uncertainties Congress should not approve this project.

The full text of Secretary McKay's letter follows:

MY DEAR MR. BROWER: On October 21, 1954, you were informed that further reply would be made to your inquiries of September 28, 1954, addressed to the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Reclamation, concerning the effect of the proposed Glen Canyon Reservoir upon the Rainbow Bridge National Monument. We now have the necessary information from the field to complete that reply.

It is our intention to take whatever steps are necessary to protect the Rainbow Bridge National Monument from waters of the proposed Glen Canyon Reservoir and to ask Congress to provide for such protection in the authorizing legislation. Cooperative studies are under way by the field offices of the Bureau of Reclamation and the National Park Service to determine the best means of providing this protection, and to date these studies have revealed no unsurmountable problems. The topography of the area surrounding the monument indicates that a barrier dam 1 mile below the natural arch and outside the monument would provide adequate protection. Details of such a plan will require extensive study and are not available at this time.

On the basis of data available at the time of writing the 1950 report on Colorado River storage project and participating projects, a 700-foot dam (580 feet above stream level) at Glen Canyon was the maximum height which met the criteria of economy, safety of the structure, and adequate protection of the Rainbow Natural Bridge. Subsequent to writing the 1950 report on the Colorado River storage project, the Bureau conducted grouting tests in the drift tunnels driven 50 or more feet into each canyon wall of the Glen Canyon Dam site. Also, special bearing tests of 6-inch cores and large fragments of the foundation materials were made in the Bureau's Denver laboratory. The poorly cemented and relatively weak condition of the materials in comparison with the foundations common to most high dams has given the engineers who prepared the preliminary designs of the dam some concern as to the competency of the foundation to support any structure higher than 700 feet. Experiments to improve the strength of the foundation through a chemical grouting process were unsuccessful. These are the geological reasons why Commissioner W. A. Dexheimer made his statement in Denver about the limitation on the height of the proposed Glen Canyon Dam.

Following congressional authorization, more intensive studies will be made of the foundation conditions and of the Bureau's preliminary design to secure information for the preparation of plans and specifications for construction of the Glen Canyon Dam. If such intensive studies indicate the advisability of modifying the present selected height of dam, appropriate changes will be made in the designs prior to construction.

Sincerely yours,

DOUGLAS MCKAY,
Secretary of the Interior.

Should Be National Shrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the history of Philadelphia which centers around the area of Independence Hall contains a number of hallowed spots. Among these landmarks which are associated with the early patriots of revolution is the Mikveh Israel Cemetery on Spruce Street between Eighth and Ninth Streets in Philadelphia in which is buried the remains of Haym Saloman, one of the selfless men who pledged his entire fortune to the support of our young Nation in her time of need, he died penniless as far as material goods are concerned, but lives richly in the memories of those who remember his great and patriotic services.

I have recently introduced a bill to provide that Mikveh Israel Cemetery shall be a national shrine and would like to include as part of my comments here an editorial from the Philadelphia Jewish Times, of January 21, 1955, as follows:

SHOULD BE NATIONAL SHRINE

Mikveh Israel Cemetery on Spruce Street, between Eighth and Ninth, is a proud and revered spot. But—

Its past is much more appealing than its present.

Those who are buried there occupy a more revered place in the pages of history than

their mortal remains occupy in the scheme of things of today.

The ground within the walls of this burial place is hallowed in memory, but nearly unkempt in fact.

Independence Hall would probably be no better, if its upkeep depended on a comparatively small group of people, as is the case with Mikveh Israel Cemetery. The members of Mikveh Israel congregation have done as well as the limited means at their disposal would allow in preserving the final resting places of some of the Jewish community's most distinguished Revolutionary War and immediate postwar notables.

In Mikveh Israel are the remaining traces of Haym Salomon, who was one of the outstanding patriots of the Revolutionary War, and was largely responsible for its final victory, since he did much to finance it.

In August 1953, city council through an ordinance introduced by Councilman-at-large Victor H. Blanc, declared Mikveh Israel Cemetery a city shrine and appropriated $5,000 to beautify and repair some of the more obvious blemishes.

Now, steps are being taken to have the revered plot of ground which contains so much of this city's and Nation's glorious past history officially declared a national shrine by the current 84th Congress. This is as it should be.

Our Nation, for example, could never repay the debt it owes Haym Salomon, who, after being an important factor in financing our break from the bonds of England died a pauper and with large sums still owed him by our Government.

But it could show its appreciation by making the final resting place of the man it owes so much a place of beauty and a point that will attract students and those with pride in our forbears, not make them shudder in shame.

Our Members of Congress, both Democratic and Republican, should present a solid front for such action before the current session takes off for a summer holiday.

Thoughts From the Grassroots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial appearing in the Paris Daily Enterprise of Paris, Ky., on Wednesday, January 26, 1955. It is a very poignant presentation and, in my opinion, reflects the consensus of opinion of the home folks concerning those Americans still behind the Iron Curtain, and the need for greater effort to be exerted toward securing the prompt release. It merits the serious consideration of each of us.

ARE THEY FORGOTTEN MEN?

The public, generally speaking, over the Nation is backing President Eisenhower's program and policy in regard to the Formosan situation.

Just where it will lead only time will tell.

But the Nation is serving notice in the action that it is getting a bit tired of deals and negotiations.

Just as this new crisis arose the United States appeared to be entering into another deal with the Communists over the release of the 11 United States airmen and 6 other Americans being held by Red China.

In fact part of the crisis is in all probability the outcropping of a deal concerning some of the islands off the shore of the Red China coast.

There's no criticism of the negotiation itself.

But what of the hundreds of other Americans who are being enslaved in Communist lands?

Why just the 17 airmen? Why not force the issue a bit further and press for the release of the other Americans?

The word from Americans recently "sprung" from Soviet prison camps is that hundreds more are still enslaved in Russia and other Communist-dominated lands.

Are they the forgotten men?

While we're about it, why not go whole hog and get the kit and caboodle. They're Americans just like you and I—hoping that the Red scourge will soon be quelled and stamped out.

Let's not let them down.

Eddie Cantor's Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that my colleagues will be pleased to hear that Eddie Cantor, the nationally known comedian and entertainer, is celebrating his 63d birthday today, Monday, January 31.

I know it is difficult for many of us to believe that the ever youthful and spry Eddie Cantor has reached the 63d milestone of his life. We like to think of him always as the man who dominates the stage with so much zest and life in him.

In recent years Eddie Cantor has also become known as a great supporter of various worthwhile humanitarian causes. I am sure that it is known to many of you that it was he who coined the name "March of Dimes" for the great annual campaign which we conduct at this time each year. In 1952 he made a tour from coast to coast and was successful in collecting 120,000 pints of blood which was badly needed for our veterans.

For many years Eddie Cantor has also been active in other charitable and philanthropic enterprises. Let me suggest a few of these, such as the Eddie Cantor Camp for Boys, the Youth Aliyah Movement sponsored by Hadassah in Israel, the United Jewish Appeal, the New York Federation of Jewish Charities, the Catholic Actors' Guild, the Episcopalian Actors' Guild, the Jewish Theatre Guild, and many other groups too numerous to mention.

Somewhere I recall a saying which is phrased something like this: "When you help a fellow up a steep hill, you get nearer to the top yourself." This is very true of Eddie Cantor. In his charitable activities he has helped many of his fellow men and in this way attained greater heights of humanitarianism himself. Charitable work is today a great part of his life. While he gives of his time and effort and money, he is also doubly enriched by the fact that his name has become associated in the public mind with philanthropic interests. Of Eddie Cantor it can be truly said in the words of the poet:

Give to the needy shelter and bread.
For giving is living, the angels said.
But must I give again and again?
My selfish, greedy question rang.
No, said the angel, piercing me through;
Give 'til God stops giving to you.

On this occasion of his 63d birthday there are thousands upon thousands of his fellow citizens who wish to extend to Eddie Cantor their sincerest felicitations and best wishes for many active years.

Tribute to Haiti

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the visit of President Magloire, of Haiti, to the United States points up the great bond of friendship that exists between these nations. President Magloire's splendid address to the joint session of Congress is further evidence of the spirit that prevails between these nations. The visit of the President of Haiti has been marked by editorial comment throughout the United States.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Springfield (Mass.) Daily News of January 27, 1955:

TRIBUTE TO HAITI

The first chief of state to visit the United States in 1955 is Gen. Paul Eugene Magloire, first popularly elected President of Haiti, second oldest republic in the Western Hemisphere.

President Magloire has already been given a Washington parade, a key to the city, and a state dinner. The visiting President and his wife were overnight guests at the White House, and today he addressed Congress as he continued his official visit schedule.

There will be many remarks that President Magloire's visit marks a century and a half of friendship between the two countries. Actually, this polite oversimplification detracts from the success of modern Haiti and its first people's President.

Haiti's history has been marked by rebellions, assassinations, massacres and other excesses. The slaughter of 167 political prisoners and the subsequent lynching of the President in 1915 made necessary American intervention. The United States Marines remained in authority for 20 years, and although American occupation was greatly different from Spanish and French rule, it was nonetheless resented by many citizens of Haiti.

In this country, there was some popular sentiment in favor of withdrawing the marines and the American commissioner. Early in President Roosevelt's administration, the occupation was ended but a fiscal representative remained there to supervise customs until 1941.

Haiti has used its freedom well. Education is compulsory, and the more than 1,000 schools in the republic must teach English. French is the official language. Only 4 years ago, the people were given the right to choose their own President, a privilege previously held by the National Assembly.

So, President Magloire's visit is a tribute not so much to 150 years of history, as to the 20 years of progress during which this man became the elected leader of a free people.

Ten Good Reasons for Voting "Aye" on the Formosa Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I am answering the many letters that are coming in from worried mothers as follows:

I am in full sympathy and accord with your statement that you do not approve of our boys being slaughtered in another Korea so that the people who want war will be happy. However, I feel sure that a firm stand such as President Eisenhower has outlined will do more than anything else to head off another Korea.

President Eisenhower's request to Congress for the passage of a resolution approving his plan to use the American Fleet and Air Force, now in Asiastic waters, to protect and defend Formosa against Red aggression is a step toward preventing war, not toward provoking war. The President is convinced that a firm stand now—with Congress and the President joining hands in the proposal—will head off Red aggression. Believing the President to be right in his conviction, I voted "aye" on the resolution. The resolution was adopted 409 to 3.

I have 10 good reasons for wishing to avoid war; namely, 2 grandsons and 8 grandnephews of draft age, to say nothing of the thousands of sons of draft age of former pupils of mine in whom I still have a personal interest.

Ever since President Roosevelt recognized Soviet Russia in 1934, the world has been in a continual turmoil, with one war following another as a result of our appeasement policy. Firmness and force constitute the only program the Communists understand.

If we had followed the advice of General MacArthur at the time he was fired by President Truman, we would have completed the job then, won a decisive victory over the Communist hordes in Asia, and have headed off the present situation in Formosa and Indochina. We are now paying the price of our former weak, vacillating, appeasing methods in dealing with the Communist menace.

President Eisenhower's firm stand now may have come too late. I hope and pray that it is not too late.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of my colleagues to the editorial carried in the Washington Evening Star of Thursday, January 27, 1955, entitled "The Story of a Lost Victory." The editorial is based upon a recent report of the Jenner committee. It is both revealing and informative. It is both revealing and informative. It should be read by every American. For that reason I am including the editorial as a part of my remarks:

STORY OF A LOST VICTORY

By any standard of measurement, the report of the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee—a report detailing how and why we failed to win the Korean war—is a significant document.

It is significant because it gathers together for the first time the stories of five ranking commanders in the Korean theater—Gen. Mark Clark, Lt. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer, Gen. James A. Van Fleet, Lt. Gen. Edmond M. Almond, and Adm. Charles Turner Joy. These men were outspoken in their criticism of the political direction of the war from Washington. This report is also significant because, despite its partisan political implications, it emerged with the unanimous endorsement of the subcommittee—Republican Senators JENNER, WATKINS, WELKER, and BUTLER, and Democratic Senators EASTLAND, JOHNSTON, and MCCLELLAN.

In fairness, it should be pointed out that the views expressed by the officers who testified conflict in many respects with views held by General Bradley, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and General Collins, then Army Chief of Staff. These officers did not testify before the subcommittee, and presumably were not asked to do so. To this extent, the report is one-sided. Even with this reservation, however, it is an important document.

Among the five field commanders, there was a remarkable unanimity in endorsing General MacArthur's views as to how the war should have been conducted. There was general agreement that the Korean war could have resulted in a decisive victory for us had it not been for politically inspired limitations laid upon the Armed Forces. With some qualifications, there was agreement that the Chinese Communist Army could have been routed if not destroyed, and that the failure to destroy it led directly to the debacle in Indochina and to the situation which now faces us with respect to Formosa. Admiral Joy was of the opinion that interference based on faulty political considerations prevented successful armistice negotiations, and he indicated that General Ridgway, now Army Chief of Staff, shared in part at least in this view.

There was a great deal of testimony with respect to incidents which may have been relatively minor, but which still shed a revealing light on the strange conduct of this war. They can be touched upon only briefly here, but recitation of a few may be illuminating. Thus, General Clark (and also General Van Fleet) was anxious to train more South Korean troops to relieve the pressure on American forces. General Clark, with the approval of the Secretary of the Army, made a study and then sought authorization from Washington to proceed with a training plan. He did not even get an answer to this request until after General Van Fleet's letter to General Eisenhower (a letter similar to the Clark request) was released in the midst of the 1952 Presidential campaign. General Clark testified: "Very shortly after that I got action immediately authorizing me to start in on the buildup of the ROK forces." Much the same thing was true of hitherto little-known recommendations from the 2 generals for employment in Korea of 3 of Chiang Kai-shek's divisions—another story of a recommendation sent to Washington; no answer.

General Stratemeyer testified in similar vein. He was talking about November and December 1950. He stated that he "didn't care what anyone back home said"—that, at that time, he had the airpower to break the back of the Chinese Communists crossing the Yalu. But under the almost unbelievable restrictions imposed from Washington upon bombing of the Yalu bridges, according to his testimony, he had to pull his punches while the Chinese and their supplies streamed across the bridges—a "lighted highway," as he described it. As a result, he testified, "a lot of American blood was spilled over there in Korea."

General Almond, who commanded the X Corps, was equally blunt. He testified: "Events now past have proved that General MacArthur was right and General Bradley was wrong. I need add nothing to this series of facts. Their noise is deafening to those who listen. The opportunity to deal a death blow to expanding communism presented itself in Korea. But I don't believe General Bradley ever could see it." And he ended on this note: "It is bad enough to have to fight the enemy; it is terrible to have to fight both the enemy and those that you are supposed to have support from."

These, to repeat, are the views of the field commanders, not balanced against the views of their superiors in Washington and not setting forth the considerations of those in Washington whose responsibility was much heavier than even that of the distinguished field commanders. But at this time the judgments of the field commanders seem to have a special significance.

If anything is clear, it is that the restraints laid upon the commanders in Korea were dictated by political considerations—an unwillingness to risk war with China or Russia, and a fear of alienating some of our allies under the United Nations direction of the Korean war. All of this, however, seems to be behind us. President Eisenhower's request for Formosan authority implies both a willingness, if necessary, to accept war with China and a willingness to risk war with Russia. And this is being done, at least at this stage, outside the U. N. framework.

It may be that this situation we face today can be traced directly to the lost victory in Korea. If so, if we are compelled now to accept risks which we were not willing to accept then, nothing can be lost, and much can be gained, by examining this testimony from the commanders who fought that war of frustration on the Korean peninsula, and whose views, at this late hour, have received a bipartisan endorsement.

Twosome in the China Tangle?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, history might well record our times as those of twosome and the big split. We divide our world into east and west, north and south, old and new.

Will a twosome emerge in the China tangle?

Will it be east China and west China? Or will it be old China and new China with Formosa forming the new China of the west to pace the old China of the east?

To us, there is a familiar ring in old and new, north and south, east and west. We have the Eastern Hemisphere and the Western Hemisphere, the old world and the new, North America, South America; Mexico, New Mexico; North Dakota, South Dakota; North Carolina, South Caroline; Virginia West Virginia; England, New England; London, New London; York, New York; Jersey, New Jersey; North Pole, South Pole.

Like the winds, our names seem to blow away inherited hatreds.

One wonders whether the names east China and west China would do the same for the China tangle? Or would old China and new China do better, with the name Formosa gone with the wind? All Chinese dislike it anyway.

They call Formosa Taiwan—Tie-Wan—gem of the Pacific.

The Good People of Alameda Are Extremely Proud of the Great Naval Air Station in Their City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, for the second consecutive year the military and civilian personnel at the Naval Air Station, Alameda, have offered overwhelming proof that their loyalty, devotion, and pride in the service of their country is equaled only by their sense of community interest and responsibility.

This fact was clearly evidenced when the generous sum of $107,400 was contributed by personnel of the Naval Air Station at the close of the 1954 United Crusade campaign in December. This figure represented a joint United Crusade-Navy relief effort, with $93,000 going to the United Crusade fund and $14,400 to the Navy Relief Society.

Mammoth facsimile checks for the colossal amounts were presented by Capt. Louis E. French, commanding officer of the air station, and head of the military department of the 1954 East Bay United Crusade, to representatives of the two charities in a colorful ceremony. Selmer H. Berg, Crusade campaign chairman, received the United Crusade donation, and Lt. Comdr. Earl D. Payne, NAS special services officer, and NAS chairman for Navy Relief, accepted the Navy Relief donation.

The grand total of $107,400 exceeded last year's record of $100,000. Civilian personnel as a group, gave 8 percent more this year to reach a new high of $9.29 per capital.

The $93,000 raised for the United Crusade fund is considered especially meritorious because it was attained despite a loss of 2,500 personnel since the 1953 campaign.

As head of the military department of the 1954 East Bay United Crusade, Captain French directed and coordinated the Crusade efforts of more than a dozen Army, Navy, Marine, and Air Force activities in the Oakland area and adjacent communities. His representative in the extremely successful campaign aboard the Naval Air Station was Comdr. Robert F. Farrington, NAS executive officer, who served as chairman of the NAS Crusade drive.

Once again NAS Alameda has proved it is a real member of this community and a good neighbor indeed—

Said Captain French.

It's a pleasure to report that 97 percent of our personnel participated in the campaign. These people of good will, who reside in various cities and towns throughout the bay area believe in the crusade slogan, "Give where you work and benefit where you live"—

Added Captain French.

All hands at NAS, Alameda, deserve the Navy's traditional "well done" for a wonderful job—

Commander Farrington said.

And the reason the station personnel gave more than ever before is that they realized the increased needs of the community and gave accordingly—

Commander Farrington added.

The inspired leadership of Captain French and Commander Farrington in the NAS Crusade drive was complemented by the capable and tireless efforts of a host of military personnel and civilian employees who comprised the various committees for the NAS United Crusade campaign. Notable among those who gave unstintingly of their time and effort were: Comdr. G. N. Eisenhart, assistant overhaul and repair officer; Comdr. H. D. Schultz, commander Fleet Air, Alameda staff; J. Griffith, overhaul and repair, industrial management office; C. Brunton, overhaul and repair, cost control office; W. MacDonald, industrial management office; H. V. La Juenesse, industrial relations officer; Lt. Comdr. M. E. Darchuck, NAS-Fleet Air, Alameda, public information officer; Lt. R. T. Janiec, overhaul and repair inspection group; Lt. E. J. Ryan, overhaul and repair administrative services officer; H. Stewart, NAS comptroller's office; S. Lacopoulos, chief boatswain's mate; V. Baum, chief aviation structural mechanic; F. Johnson, chief electrician's mate; and F. B. Grosso, journalist, first class.

Others active in the Crusade campaign on the unit, departmental, and divisional level included: Comdr. H. C. Rand, representing commander fleet logistics air wing, Pacific; R. Faulkner, overhaul and repair department, representing Naval Aircraft Lodge No. 739, I. A. of M.; Joseph Hanfre, overhaul and repair department, representing the Naval Air Station Association; Harry Burbach, overhaul and repair department, representing the American Federation of Government Employees, Local 1471.

S. C. Anderson, Supply Department, representing the National Federation of Federal Employees, local 712; D. Heddell, Public Works Department, representing the Masters and Foremen Association; C. D. Luders, Overhaul and Repair Department, representing the Association of Supervisors, local 17; H. H. Teilh, Overhaul and Repair Department, representing the Planners, Estimators, and Progressman Association; O. Zeisz, Overhaul and Repair Department, representing post 9919 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

J. Leonard, Overhaul and Repair Department, representing the Apprentice and Alumni Association; J. R. McDonald, Overhaul and Repair Department, representing the shop planners; W. Terry, Security Department, representing the Federal Naval Firefighters; Lt. Comdr. E. D. Payne, special services officer, representing the East Bay Chapter, Navy Relief Society; Lt. Comdr. H. T. Johnson, FasRon–116, representing Fleet Aircraft Service Squadron 116 and supported multiengine squadrons; Lt. I. Cushman, VR–2, representing Air Transport Squadron 2.

J. H. Cook, aviation structural mechanic, first class, VP–9, representing the Fleet Reserve Association, Branch 87; W. S. Meyers, aviation machinist's mate, third-class, NAS Special Services, representing Naval Air-Fleet Air Alameda Enlisted Recreation Council; Lt. Comdr. T. Pearce, FasRon–8, representing Fleet Aircraft Squadron 8 and supported squadrons; and Ruth Barnes, Supply Department, representing the Naval Air Station, Alameda, women employees.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

The Fight for Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, on January 9 last, Judge Walter B. Jones, presiding judge of the 15th Judicial Circuit of Alabama, and president of the Alabama Bar Association, addressed the Alabama Associated Press Association, meeting in Mobile. The subject of his address was The Freedom of the Press. The address is very able and timely and has received must favorable comment. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM OF PRESS IN COURTS BEGAN EVEN BEFORE UNITED STATES BECAME NATION, AND CONTINUES STILL, AS IT MUST EACH GENERATION

(By Judge Walter B. Jones, presiding judge of the 15th Judicial Circuit of Alabama and president of the Alabama Bar Association, in an address January 9 before the Alabama Associated Press Association meeting in Mobile)

"Let truth and falsehood grapple;
Who ever knew truth put to the worse
In a free and open encounter?"

—*Milton's Areopagitica.*

It is firm belief with me that two of the great institutions we have in our land today which mean so much to the happiness and welfare of our people are the press and the courts. So it does not at all seem strange to me to link them together, and to think of them as copilots in the difficult journey we go to maintain liberty and freedom.

The courts and the press, while performing distinct functions in separate ways, while serving the people in a different manner, yet have in common one sublime purpose: the preservation of the freedom of our people, and its transmission, not only unimpaired—that's not sufficient—but strengthened, and made more secure for coming generations.

Primarily, the courts seek to do justice between man and man on the one side, and between man and the state on the other.

The press, through its manifold agencies, seeks to let man know what his fellowmen are thinking and doing, so he may have knowledge of their actions as a basis for his interest in their welfare, and his appreciation of them.

So it is well that these two great servants of our people be linked together.

Study as you may the pages of history and you will find no greater, no more useful lesson than that a people who have not trial by jury, no independent judiciary, no courts meeting in public, and a people who restrict and abridge the liberty of the press live not as free and happy people but exist only as slaves and bondmen to their rulers.

JOHN MILTON, 1644

A noteworthy contribution to the cause of freedom of the press was made by John Milton, the English poet, in 1644 when he wrote Areopagitica, a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing.

The occasion of this great essay was an order of the Long Parliament for the regulating of printing in England. These orders, passed and put over by the Presbyterian majority in the Long Parliament, were framed to enable the sponsors to suppress publications voicing the religious and political views of their opponents.

This order roused Milton to protest, and he issued his famous plea for unlicensed printing in the following year.

It had but little effect at the time. But you cannot measure the importance of Milton's pamphlet by the effect it had on the then political condition.

In his love for liberty—the master passion of his life—he soared far above the politics of the hour.

And today the Areopagitica "holds its supremacy among his prose writings by virtue of its appeal to fundamental principles, and its triumphant assertion of the faith that all truth needs to assure its victory over error is a fair field and no favor."

STAR OF LIBERTY, 1735

A towering landmark in the struggle for freedom of the press in America is the trial in New York City, 1735, of John Peter Zenger, a poor printer, whose name is today reverenced wherever a newspaper is published.

Undoubtedly it was a study of the Zenger case which caused Jefferson to write:

"Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government. I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

In 1732 Col. William Cosby arrived in New York with his royal commission as Governor of the British colony. Prior to that time one Van Dam had acted as Governor and drawn the salary of the office.

Cosby insisted that half the salary should be paid to him.

Van Dam refused, the matter went to the courts, and soon became an issue in politics.

PRESSES SMASHED

The official classes and the aristocracy stood by Cosby.

The people took sides with Van Dam.

One Bradford, the public printer, edited the Weekly Gazette, the first New York newspaper. He took up the controversy between Cosby and Van Dam and abused and reviled Van Dam and his supporters. Bradford would not allow space in his paper for the opposition to reply.

So a few people who believed in liberty started a paper called the Weekly Journal, and John Peter Zenger was named editor.

The paper was vigorously conducted and attacked the Government officials with great virulence.

The colonial Governor had the editor thrown in jail and had his soldiers smash Zenger's printing presses.

The grand jury refused to indict, so the Governor sent the editor back to jail until another grand jury, carefully stacked, indicted him.

COLONY UP IN ARMS

The whole colony was up in arms against the Governor's action.

When the case came up for trial, a frail old lawyer from Philadelphia, Andrew Hamilton, volunteered to defend Zenger.

The question of the guilt or innocence of a poor printer charged with libel was obscured by the greater question of the liberty of the press and the right to tell the truth about Government public officials and their acts.

When the trial came up, Hamilton admitted the charges against Zenger, but defended him on the ground that the charges were true.

This was a novel doctrine at that time, and the judges, the pliant tools of the Governor, ruled the truth of the libels could not be given in evidence.

CAUSE OF LIBERTY

"Then," Hamilton replied, "I will appeal to the jury as witnesses of the fact. The jury has a right to determine both the law and the fact, and they ought to do so."

Then this great lawyer turned to the royal judges and, continuing in his most impressive manner, said:

"The question before you is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone; it is the cause of liberty—the liberty of opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing truth."

Hamilton's argument—that newspapers should always be free to print the truth without fear of anyone—won the jury to his side. After being out barely long enough to organize, it brought in a verdict of "not guilty."

The jury took the view that Zenger had told the truth, and he was set free.

So today when we take up and read the news and editorials in our daily or weekly newspaper, let us gratefully remember that its freedom was won in a jury trial which one American orator called the "morning star of liberty."

VIRGINIA BILL OF RIGHTS

George Mason, of Virginia, "the wisest man of his generation," enunciated in the Virginia bill of rights, the 14 great foundation-stones of free government, his finest political contribution to the Nation. It has been pronounced as "the most complete, most symmetrical summary of the rights of man and the principles of free government that has ever been furnished to the world." In the 11th article of this declaration of rights, Mason upholds the freedom of the press as one of the great supports of liberty. His words are:

"That freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments."

BIG CONTRAST

Theodoric Bland in 1819 compared Mason's declaration of rights with Magna Carta, and said:

"The famous English bill of rights is a contract with nobility and royalty—a compromise with despotism, in which the voice of the people is heard in a tone of disturbed supplication and prayer.

"But in this declaration of Mason's, man seems to stand erect in all the majesty of his nature, to assert the inalienable rights and equality with which he had been endowed by his Creator, and to declare the fundamental principles by which all rulers should be controlled, and in which all governments should rest.

"The contrast is striking, the difference prodigious."

HAMILTON IN FEDERALIST

Alexander Hamilton, one of our country's most intelligent statesmen, in an address to the people of the State of New York, urging the ratification of the Federal Constitution, noted the objection that the Constitution contained no bill of rights, no summary of the rights and privileges claimed by the people. He said that such was unnecessary and might even prove dangerous, and he asked:

"What is the liberty of the press?"

"Who can give it any definition which would not leave the utmost latitude for evasion? I hold it to be impracticable; and from this I infer that its security, whatever fine declarations may be inserted in any constitution respecting it, must altogether depend on public opinion, and on the general spirit of the people and of the Government."

MILL'S ESSAY ON LIBERTY

John Stuart Mill's essay on liberty is another great document for liberty of thought and expression. All of us should be familiar with his words on the liberty of thought and discussion. There he declared that there ought to be no defense necessary for the liberty of the press.

He regarded it as one of the securities against corrupt or tyrannical government. In his opening paragraph Mills said:

"No argument can now be needed against permitting a legislature or an executive not identified in interest with the people, to prescribe opinions to them, and determine what doctrines or arguments they shall be allowed to hear."

John Mill's essay on liberty should be studied and known by all men in lawmaking bodies, by all in the newspaper profession, and by all who believe in the freedom of the press.

KEEP COURTS OPEN

If we value our liberties in this country, and wish them to endure for the benefit and happiness of those who are to come after us, we must at all times do everything to keep the proceedings of our courts public.

Some three centuries ago there was in England a secret royal tribunal known as the Court of the Star Chamber, a sort of private or personal court of the monarch. It became, under the arbitrary management of the Tudors, an instrument most hateful for overthrowing the political liberties of England.

As the years went by the Court of the Star Chamber became more unsavory, and assumed the right to hear and determine every alleged misdemeanor, attempts to commit felonies and acts of disrespect to the state and persons in authority.

It was one of the most despised courts known to English history, and was a powerful support of arbitrary government.

If we do not wish courts of the star chamber, or courts like them, in this country—and there are voices from time to time urging secrecy in many aspects of judicial proceedings, and making the specious claim that secret proceedings best bring about justice—then let us see to it that the two great partners in the administrations of justice, the courts and the press, labor together, hand in hand.

NO SECRECY

Let us keep the doors of our courts open, their sessions free to be visited at all times by all persons.

Let us have no secrecy in our trials, no covert proceedings.

Let justice be done out in the open sunlight where all may see.

Let judges and jurors hold their trials in public where all are free to come and observe them at work.

Let court proceedings be without censorship.

Let judges respect the very first section of our Federal Bill of Rights, that the freedom of the press be not abridged.

LET PRESS IN COURT

Let there be a press table in every courtroom. Let the news reporter have his rightful seat there.

Give the press photographer the opportunity to reproduce what the eye sees for the benefit of the absent.

Respect the right of the editor to freely comment on court proceedings and judicial decrees, condemning what his conscience tells him to be wrong and unjust in them, and commending what is right and just under the law of the land.

Encourage the publisher to issue from his presses, daily and weekly, what his reporters report, what his photographers photograph, and the editorials his editors write.

Do these things and the people, whose justice the courts administer, will have a healthy interest in the work of their jurors and judges, and a desire to have part in the exalted work of their courts.

Do these things, and there will be fewer citizens trying to shirk jury duty and more people willing to serve in the jury box, and do their part as priests in the temple of justice.

MOST CAN'T ATTEND

There is no need, of course, to argue the advantages and the desirability of newspaper coverage—full and complete—of all public proceedings, especially those in the courts of justice.

But this thought does occur to me: There are two classes of people interested in public proceedings—those who can attend them in person and those who are absent.

The people in the courtroom, personally attending a trial, know just what goes on. They see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears.

But the larger group, those who cannot attend the trial, the thousands scattered over the State who are vitally interested in court proceedings, also have a right to know what goes on.

The only way the absent can enjoy this right is for the press to report in the dailies and weeklies the proceedings of the courts and other public bodies.

So this large group of people need the newspaper reporter, the photographer, and the editor to serve them so they may know what takes place.

GREAT TRUTH

Let us never forget this great truth: When the people meekly surrender one of their freedoms, or lose one because they are too lazy or cowardly to battle for it, this encourages and emboldens the enemies of freedom to strike down another freedom.

And when they have destroyed this second freedom, then the attack is renewed against yet other freedoms.

Finally all liberty and freedom have perished, and the people become slaves—subjects to arbitrary and despotic power.

So let us all, when an assault is made on one of our freedoms, stand up and meet the assault head-on, yield not one inch of ground—and throw into the struggle the best that's in us.

If we do not do this, then we lose in piecemeal fashion all of our liberties—one loss following quickly after another.

NO COMPROMISE

There can be no compromise.

There can be no appeasement.

There can be no traffic with the enemies of the great freedoms recognized in the Bill of Rights.

We must battle for all of them—and never show the white flag of fear.

For it is true that it is written by the finger of Almighty God—upon the everlasting tablets of the universe—that liberty once destroyed, freedom once struck down, does not, like the Phoenix, rise in youthful freshness from its own ashes.

Oftener liberty and freedom are gone forever, or at least sometimes lost for long centuries, until a strong and courageous generation worthy to hold and enjoy them comes again into the world.

EACH GENERATION'S FIGHT

The liberties we now have, the freedoms we now enjoy, do not live on simply because our forefathers in some great battle, or in some parliament or senate, won them and bequeathed them to us.

No! Freedom must be claimed and struggled for by every generation as it comes on the stage of history.

Each generation must take up the torch of liberty and hold it high and steady if we would enjoy the blessings of free speech, a free press and courts which are influenced only by the principles of fairness and justice—administered under the known and established law of the land.

So let us here now highly resolve that we will continue with all the strength, with all the courage, and with all the fidelity that is in us, to do battle for our cherished freedoms of speech and of the press.

Let us hand them down to our children without one thread in their glorious fabric torn or weakened, without one stain.

Let every thread be made even stronger.

Let their glorious colors brighten more and more the lives of our people.

Let this be so in order that our people, seeing, may liken the appearance of their precious rights, in the words of the Old Testament phrase, "to apples of gold in pictures of silver."

Panama Railroad Centenary: 1855–1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., of which Mr. Andrew W. Dewling is president and Mr. Martin A. Seiler is secretary-treasurer, on January 29, 1955, in the Nation's Capital, celebrated with a luncheon meeting at the Burlington Hotel the 100th anniversary of the completion of the Panama Railroad.

The occasion was notable for the large number present who were associated with the building of the Panama Canal and others who rendered distinct services for the Panama Railroad Company. Also present were a number of ladies who had lived in the isthmus during the construction years.

The attendants included Hon. Maurice H. Thatcher, sole surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission and Civil Governor of the Canal Zone during the construction era, who later served several terms in the Congress as a Representative from Kentucky and was the author of important legislation for the benefit of the canal and the isthmus. An out-of-town visitor was Mr. William R. McCann, consulting engineer of Hopewell, Va., who started his engineering career on the isthmus during the building of the canal and through the years since then has retained his interest in the problems of the Panama Canal, of which he is a keen student.

Also among those present was Capt. Miles P. DuVal, United States Navy, retired, former captain of the port, Pacific division, 1941–44, and author of 2 excellent volumes on the Panama Canal, with a third in progress.

Governor Thatcher served as toastmaster, and it was my privilege to be the guest speaker. The text of my address follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR THOMAS E. MARTIN BEFORE THE PANAMA CANAL SOCIETY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AT ITS LUNCHEON MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D. C,. JANUARY 29, 1955, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OPENING TO TRAFFIC OF THE PANAMA RAILROAD COMPANY

Mr. Toastmaster, ladies and gentlemen, 100 years ago, on January 27, 1855, rail-laying gangs were eagerly working on the final lap in building the Panama Railroad. At midnight, in the tropical darkness and rain, the last rail was laid near Summit, at a point 37 miles from the Atlantic terminus and 10½ miles from Panama.

The next day was Sunday. People on the isthmus, filled with festival spirit, gathered at points along the line of the railroad to see the first trans-isthmian train. Apprised of its approach by the shrill sound of the locomotive whistle, they awaited the train with mingled feelings.

In the course of the trip, it passed through jungles and forests, across pleasant valleys and dreadful swamps, over wide chasms and around mountain tops. As it rattled along toward Panama, the onlookers, impressed by the appearance of the train and the facility with which it was handled, gave lusty cheers.

To them, it meant the end of pack mules and muddy trails, which for so long had been the principal means for travel over the continental divide. It represented the culmination of more than 6 years of heroic effort. It was the omen of good times to come.

What were the principal features of this celebrated railroad? It traversed the Isthmus in one of the two places where the land is lowest; the other place was Nicaragua. It was a single track road 47½ miles long and the final cost of completion was approximately $8 million. The gauge was 5 feet.

The last, because it is wider than our standard gauge of 4 feet 8½ inches, has been a subject of endless discussion and numerous writings. Many, who visit the isthmus and do not have the opportunity to examine all the angles of the problem, go away to urge changing over to standard gauge. They do not know that this matter has been studied previously and rejected, based on economic considerations.

In the course of construction there developed a number of fables well-known to all who have lived on the isthmus. One of these was that the station Matachin, being a corruption of the verbe matar, meaning to kill and chino meaning Chinese, was so named because of the death of large numbers of Chinese who worked on the project. Another was to the effect that there was a "dead man for every tie."

Historical research has revealed some interesting facts. The name, Matachin, was on isthmian maps long before the start of the Panama Railroad and arrival of the Chinese laborers.

The total force during the construction period was estimated at 6,000 men. Deaths during that time totaled 835 (whites, 295; blacks, 140; and Chinese, 400). This rate was not great under the health conditions that then obtained in the Tropics. About 140,000 ties were used.

These facts throw into irrefutable discard these widely quoted fables of the isthmus.

In the perspective of history, the completion of the Panama Railroad is tremendously significant. It was the first major American construction project in the Tropics. It was the first transcontinental railroad of the three Americas. Its timely inauguration, following the discovery of gold in California, facilitated the settlement of the Far West. It was the first great step toward constructing an isthmian waterway. Thus, the builders of the Panama Railroad were the true pioneers of the Panama Canal.

Years later when French interests decided to undertake a canal project at Panama, as they had at Suez, one of the main factors that led Ferdinand de Lesseps to chose that route was the existence of an operating railroad. Recognizing that this road would be essential in construction of a canal, the French gained control of it.

The tremendous French effort at Panama, 1879–89, is a dramatic story. Starting in brilliance and ending in tragedy, the collapse had repercussions that shook France to the roots. Nevertheless, the endeavor had its constructive aspects. Most significant was a legacy of engineering knowledge, that was to be of great value later. They also left the Panama Railroad.

Here it should be recorded that in 1879 when the French enterprise was being organized, there was a heated debate as to the type of canal. Unfortunately for them this issue was not resolved on the basis of its merits. Instead, the Congress of Paris called to decide that fundamental question was induced by its promoters, led by De Lesseps, to approve what was a predetermined objective of a sea-level undertaking. That decision, because of the magnitude of the undertaking, guaranteed its ultimate failure even before starting.

The French effort, nevertheless, demonstrated the vastness of the canal project and the inability of private enterprise to conduct so extensive an undertaking. It also emphasized the importance of the Monroe Doctrine. Moreover, it forced the United States to adopt a national policy of an American canal under American control.

This policy became active coincident with events preceding the Spanish-American War. In implementing it, the Congress on recommendation of President McKinley, directed a comprehensive investigation of the Nicaragua route by a Nicaragua Canal Commission, 1897–99, followed by an examination of all interoceanic canal routes by an Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899–1902. To head these two commissions, the President selected Rear Adm. John Grimes Walker, from my home State of Iowa, who was one of the leading naval officers of that time.

It was the work of these two commissions under Admiral Walker that supplied the technical basis for the choice of the Panama route. This fact alone establishes him as a leading architect in the evaluation of Isthmian Canal policy of the United States.

The American effort at Panama attracted world attention, with President Theodore Roosevelt as its great leader. Work had hardly started when construction was complicated by revival of the fundamental question of the type of canal, based largely on hypothetical questions of the comparative vulnerability of the types.

Fortunately, at the critical period, President Roosevelt had selected as chief engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission one of the greatest engineers of the Nation—John F. Stevens, builder of the Great Northern Railroad and discoverer of Grand Marais Pass through which it was constructed.

After studying available literature and observing the terrain of the isthmus, which he crossed by foot, Mr. Stevens decided in favor of a high level lake and lock type. Coming to Washington in 1906, he led in a memorable legislative struggle known as the battle of the levels. In that, the advantages and disadvantages of each type, including the question of vulnerability (now called security) was fully debated.

With the support of the Isthmian Canal Commission, Secretary of War W. H. Taft and President Theodore Roosevelt, the views of Mr. Stevens prevailed. Congress directed construction of the high-level (lake and lock) type. That was the great decision in building the Panama Canal.

For that notable achievement President Roosevelt rewarded Mr. Stevens by appointing him to the combined positions of chairman and chief engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission—the first man to be so honored.

Subsequently, Mr. Stevens left Canal service. The project was brought to completion by others under the chairmanship of Col. George W. Goethals, substantially in accord with the Stevens plan.

In constructing the canal, two stupendous problems were excavation of Culebra Cut and the disposition of spoil. In the solution of both, the transportation afforded by the Panama Railroad was the key. The brilliant performance of that 47½-mile railroad during those action-packed years constitutes an enduring monument in transportation history.

When opened to traffic in 1914, the Panama Canal was recognized as the greatest engineering achievement of man. The transit since then of about 240,000 vessels of various types and the contributions of the canal during two World Wars prove both the success of the project and the wisdom of Congress and the President in adopting the high-level plan in preference to the tidal lock proposal.

Now more than 40 years have passed since inauguration of the canal. Possibly because it has been viewed as a completed work, the canal has not kept pace with progress expected of a great interoceanic utility.

As the first step toward improvement of its administration, Congress in 1950 enacted legislation changing the name of the Panama Railroad Company to the Panama Canal Company with jurisdiction over transit and commercial operations. This law also created the Canal Zone Government with jurisdiction over the purely governmental functions. The enterprise is still in the growing pains of adjusting to the new setup, which is required to be self-sustaining.

Other problems facing the Nation are how to increase the capacity of the Panama Canal and whether to construct a second canal at Nicaragua or elsewhere.

For the Panama Canal, many independent canal experts have urged the modification of the authorized third locks project to provide a summit anchorage on the Pacific side of the isthmus to correspond with that on the Atlantic. Other interests, in the name of security, have campaigned vigorously for construction of a practically new Panama Canal that would abandon the largest part of the existing waterway.

Here I wish to pay a tribute to my former colleague, the late Representative Willis W. Bradley, of California, who in 1947 addressed this society after a trip to the Canal Zone. A careful student of the interoceanic canals question, he became the spokesman of the Congress on that subject. His addresses and writings, published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vigorously and fearlessly clarified the issues. They are classics of exposition that should be read by every serious student of the canal problem.

But the form of the Panama Canal and the question of a new Isthmian Canal are not the only problems facing the country. There are also those of diplomatic and economic character.

In the diplomatic field, there would be the question of a new treaty for constructing a new canal at Panama or elsewhere. In the economic, there are the questions of costs and their effect on transit tolls. Since tolls must be calculated to reflect the costs of con-

struction, maintenance, operation, protection, sanitation and civil government, the economic factor is a matter of national and international concern. Yet we do not have expert independent opinions on any of these important elements that constitute the Isthmian Canal policy of the United States.

To supply the Congress with the best means of arriving at a wisely reasoned and stable policy, last Thursday I introduced a measure (S. 766) to create an independent and broadly based Interoceanic Canals Commission to conduct the necessary studies and to make its recommendations. In my judgment, this is the indispensable way to have this tremendously important subject properly examined under the everchanging conditions of this dynamic age, with all views presented, and a full, fair evaluation made. Congress would thus be able to determine—not only the best plan for the needed increased facilities of the Panama Canal, but, as well, the other long-range questions involved. Undoubtedly, this solution merits general consideration and support.

Just a few words in conclusion. On the isthmus, I understand, this hundredth anniversary is being appropriately observed, and the Canal Zone Government has issued a postage stamp in commemoration.

I am sure that, for many years to come, the Panama Railroad will continue its great historic role in relation to the Panama Canal and isthmian affairs.

It is most fitting that the Panama Canal Society of Washington should celebrate this centenary date, and I thank you very much indeed for the invitation to be present today, and to speak to you.

To those of you who worked in the Panama Railroad organization, or that of the Isthmian Canal Commission, in the construction era of the Panama Canal, I desire to extend my heartiest congratulations for the vastly important work you did; also to the good women who made your homes and shared whatever of good or ill fortune was yours during that period, I would tender sincerest commendation. The Nation and the world owe you much, and forever they will be your debtors.

Robert P. Tristram Coffin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief statement prepared by me, and three editorials regarding the death, on January 20, 1955, of Prof. Robert Peter Tristram Coffin, nationally renowned Pulitzer prize-winning poet, and one of the outstanding citizens of the State of Maine.

There being no objection, the statement and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

(Statement by Senator PAYNE)

In the death of Robert Peter Tristram Coffin, whose untimely end occurred as he was preparing to do what he loved best, unite man with nature, Maine and the world have lost a great and beloved poet-guide. For, even though the Maine bard was intrinsically and deeply rooted to the natural virtues of his State, his message was universal. So fired was Tristram Coffin with the urge to acquaint man with those God-given things that count, that he was compelled to take his message beyond the borders of his country.

Born in Brunswick, Maine, the site of Bowdoin College, Coffin was raised on a salt-water farm tilled by his father on Great Island, in Casco Bay. Following the illustrious footsteps of two earlier Bowdoin literary figures, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry W. Longfellow, Coffin was graduated from that institution summa cum laude in 1915. From there he went to Princeton where he gained his A. M., and thence to Oxford as Rhodes scholar from Maine.

It was at Oxford that Coffin began writing his poetry and almost at once he exhibited an uncanny deftness and feeling for many of those subjects on which Hawthorne and Longfellow had so magnificently dwelt. As was the case with Longfellow, who as a child found his imagination capturing the beauty and adventure of the sea from the wharves of Portland, and about which he later wrote, Coffin also found himself returning to his childhood and putting into poetry those early scenes which had become imprinted on his mind.

A Pulitzer prize winner in 1936 for his Strange Holiness, a volume concerning his favorite topics, Coffin lectured and taught at many of the leading colleges and universities in this country and abroad. Among these were Columbia, Johns Hopkins, University of New Hampshire, University of Cincinnati, Harvard University University of Indiana, University of Florida, and the University of Athens in Greece.

He was book review and poetry editor of Yankee at one time, taught for 5 years at the Corpus Christi Fine Arts Colony, inaugurated the George Elliston professorship of poetry at the University of Cincinnati, and was largely responsible, while a professor at Wells, for founding and carrying on the Oxford idea of honor work in English Literature.

As a poet, lecturer, essayist, and biographer, Professor Coffin possessed not only a brilliant academic mind but he possessed a practical viewpoint as well that enabled him to blend such rarity into his works. With an ingenious facility he combined them both to make himself a master spokesman in "the art of making people feel well about life."

The tall and portly poet, with an imposingly sweeping moustache, once described himself as looking like a pirate. Although there were no pirates in his lineage, he did come from a family of early seafarers. He was a descendant of the Coffins of Nantucket, a famous early American whaling family. One of his early books, Lost Paradise, was built on his memories of island life. Later he compiled a collection of poems which he called Salt Water Farm. A biography of his father, Portrait of an American, won him honorary life membership in the National Arts Club.

As a teacher and lecturer he inspired his audiences and filled their minds with a wonderful awe and appreciation of the Pine Tree State and all its natural attributes. Salty sea spray, wind-swept fields, towering pines, rock-ribbed coasts, and, yes, even blueberry pie. These he instilled in the minds of his listeners.

And even though the atomic age, at the time of his death, was fully on him, its impact seemed only to spur his prolific pen in the ways of Nature. Although he never labored the point, you knew that Robert Peter Tristram Coffin, the apostle of Nature, was praising God for endowing Maine with such an abundance of magnificence, and for making him its leading spokesman.

[From the New York Times of January 21, 1955]

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

Robert P. Tristram Coffin had two great loves—one can really call them passions—poetry and Maine. And out of Maine he made the poetry: the bitter tang of the sea, the pungency of fir and bayberry, "the cranberries touched red by frost." "This is my country," he wrote, and nowhere in his writings is his native State long absent, either the place or the people. He loved and celebrated, often uncritically, their unwavering independence, their yea-saying, their Emersonian self-reliance.

It must not be thought that Mr. Coffin was a local rustic bard, tuning his song to a homemade lyre. He was a Rhodes scholar, member of Phi Beta Kappa, author of more than 30 books, a Pulitzer prize winner in poetry, a teacher of long standing, both in his own State and elsewhere. But he turned back to Maine because he felt that life there could be made most meaningful. Urban civilization repelled him; it was axiomatic to him that country living was superior to city life, that a man could get down to things that count only when he was close to earth and to nature.

His poetry reflects this. It is full not only of New England ways and people but of common things, carefully observed. His verse was sometimes roughhewn, unplaned, or homespun, but he never cared. They were virtues he prized in life. And there will always be those who, forced to live in a civilization that is mechanized, streamlined, and brassy, will turn to his work for a glimpse of a life that is simpler, unfettered, and, as he would have said, more beautiful.

[From the Portland (Maine) Press Herald of January 22, 1955]

MAINE LOSES ANOTHER DISTINGUISHED MAN

The face of Robert P. Tristram Coffin bespoke ruggedness, kindness, and intelligence. These characteristics of a memorable face typified the personality and career of Bowdoin's poet who died before his time in Portland Thursday night.

He can in truth be called Bowdoin's poet, because as the college's president, Dr. James S. Coles, said, "Bowdoin was always one of his loves and all of Bowdoin loved him." Bowdoin revered him for the mark he made beyond the borders of the town where he went to college and later returned to teach. He succeeded in the fiercely competitive field of poetry and literature, succeeding not through talent alone but through sincerity and an authentic devotion to his family and his country.

Like his famous predecessor and fellow alumnus, Henry W. Longfellow, Robert Coffin was a consumer of literature as well as a producer, a scholar and teacher as well as a poet. Many worldly honors were his, a Rhodes scholarship, a Pulitzer prize, a Fulbright fellowship, and certainly these rewards brought him a deserved happiness, but the measure of the man is also shown by his pleasure in the quiet academic life of the Bowdoin campus.

He found great reward in opening the doors of good literature to young men who would survive him to teach, to write poetry, to inspire.

[From the Lewiston (Maine) Journal of January 21, 1955]

BELOVED BOB COFFIN

The passing of Prof. Robert P. T. Coffin, of Bowdoin College, removes from Maine the State's most noted modern poet. His death also deprives his college of an unusual teacher and a writer of English textbooks.

"Bobby," as he always was referred to by his students, loved Maine deeply.

In both poetry and prose he extolled the Maine life. His poems were concerned with the commonplaces of life; the little things the average individual overlooks or dismisses with a shrug.

His ability to extract from these the common denominators of living enabled him to paint graphic, lyrical word pictures of the universals of life—nature in its glory and wonder, man in his daily tasks and the home with its attendant joy and pathos.

In a real sense he was able to translate for his readers the beauties of nature and the rewarding virtues of such hard work as chopping wood or milking the cows. His imagery was ever vivid. His style was pure and readily understood even when the simile involved such complexities of nature as a spider spinning her web in the noonday sun.

Through the poetry and prose of Professor Coffin, readers the Nation over came to be familiar with the salt spray, the smell of fir and bayberry, the joys of blueberry picking and blueberry pie, to name a few typical subjects of his pen. And Maine people came to appreciate more fully the wonders of their State because of his writing.

It was this selfsame ability that won for him the Pulitzer prize in 1935 for his book Strange Holiness.

A prolific writer, he continued to the day of his death to produce compelling poetry founded upon his microscopic attention to the Maine scene.

Why Are We Afraid?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting editorial commentary, broadcast on January 28 by the Honorable Nathan Straus, over radio station WMCA, in New York City. The title of his remarks was "Why Are We Afraid?" and in them he discusses the dual problems of immigration and security.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY ARE WE AFRAID?

(Editorial broadcast over station WMCA by Nathan Straus, Friday, January 28, 1955)

Much has been said and printed about the injustices of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and the injustices of the security-loyalty program of the Federal Government. Our present-day immigration law and our present-day security procedures both represent a turn in the direction America is taking—a turn so abrupt as to constitute a reversal of traditional Americanism. WMCA believes that these changes can be understood only as twin aspects of a new fear, something akin to unreasonable terror and panic.

America was once a land, free and open to entry by all seeking a new hope and a new home, a place where independence of mind and security of person were both respected. The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 with its rigid entry provisions, with its system of quotas designed to keep out immigrants from southern Europe and Asia, has slammed the gates in the faces of many seeking to find new opportunities and new freedom within our borders. Simultaneously, our present loyalty-security program constitutes a repudiation o fthe most sacred of rights guaranteed in the first amendment—respect for the dignity of the individual.

It seems to us at WMCA that it is no accident that these two reversals of policy both have taken place within the last few years. For it is only within the last few years that we have grown timid and afraid.

What is this fear costing us? What are the penalties imposed on ourselves by these new un-American policies?

Our retreat from our ideals has earned us the contempt of other peoples, as Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, eminent physicist, recently pointed out in an interview. We are embarrassed that we cannot hold scientific congresses in this country since foreign scientists find it so difficult to obtain entry visas. This is, in Dr. Oppenheimer's words: "A wholly fantastic and grotesque way to meet the threat of espionage. Just an enormous apparatus, surely not well designed for that," and, he added, "terrible for those of us who live with it."

Indeed, although Dr. Oppenheimer did not mention it, while we keep out eminent scientists, we let in former Nazis and Fascists.

If we had had a McCarran-Walter Act on the books when Prof. Albert Einstein came to this country, the father of nuclear fission probably would not have been admitted at Ellis Island. The same could be said of the late Dr. Fermi who built the first atomic pile.

It is true, too, of other European scientists who, during the black years of Hitler, found a welcome here and helped to unlock the secret of the atom. Without them, we would not have been the first Nation to produce an atomic bomb. Instead, Nazi Germany might well have been first. Let us not forget that the development of the atom bomb marked a turning point in the history of the world and that we are indebted, for that achievement, to scholars and scientists who found refuge here from discrimination and oppression abroad. How can we hope to lead the world in any branch of science, of medicine, of education if we wall ourselves in a prison of our own making?

Moreover, the present quota system which discriminates against Asians and against Africans has introduced a shameful racism into the law of the land that once was known as the land of freedom.

Although there was much publicity when Congress passed a special refugee relief act which, theoretically, was to take care of a quarter of a million new immigrants, the act was so written as to be a mere pious gesture. Actually, only 75 people have been admitted under this relief act, passed a year and a half ago. The refugee relief act has fooled no one, least of all the unfortunate people who are still trying to escape from tyranny to freedom.

But this will be changed if Congress has the wisdom to enact the new immigration bill introduced by Senator LEHMAN—a bill which he will undoubtedly reintroduce at this session of Congress.

Senator LEHMAN's bill does away with obstructive redtape, does away with a color line, does away with the national origins business. It simply sets an annual limit of 250,000 immigrants. Up to that number, all who are worthy, qualified, and healthy would be welcome.

The passage of such a bill by Congress would throw sand in the propaganda mills of Moscow and Peiping. Then, the Communists could no longer say that the United States is the only large nation in the world having an immigration law which draws a color line. The enactment of the Lehman bill would restore American prestige throughout the world.

Once again, the Statue of Liberty would be, as Emma Lazarus called her, "mother of exiles," who "cries with silent lips: 'Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free'."

So much for the McCarran-Walter Act, which is one aspect of our new timidity. The same kind of unreasonable fear is shown in present security-loyalty procedures. How can we hope to keep our self-respect, and that of other nations, when we figuratively burn at the stake Government servants who have performed no disloyal act?

Everyone knows the cases of a few individuals who, either by reason of prominence or by reason of contacts with newspapers or radio, have been able to bring their cases to public attention. But for every man or woman whose fate is publicized, there are hundreds of little people whose reputations are blemished and whose livelihoods are destroyed by unproven innuendos and reckless charges.

The administration responsible for this mess should get us out of it. How? By appointing a nonpartisan commission—a commission that would examine present security procedures and work out fair methods for screening Government employees and those in defense industries.

The issue is bigger than Congress, bigger than the executive departments, bigger than the army of more than 2 million Government servants. When there is a climate of distrust in the Government, when every employee fears his fellow worker, when long and loyal service is repaid by persecution, this way of doing things spreads throughout the whole country and we lose our strength as a free people.

The tragedy of the cold war against the dictatorships is that the democracies, in a spirit of panic, may adopt the very methods of communism itself. The day of victory for totalitarianism will be here when its spirit as well as its practices become accepted in our own country. Dictatorship will have conquered democracy if ever suspicion of neighbors, spying on friends, condemnation without trial, are recognized practices here as they are in the dictatorships, whether on the left or on the right, whether in Soviet Russia or in Fascist Spain. That would be their ultimate and complete triumph.

Congressional Committee Procedures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Congress Sets Bad Example," published in the Devils Lake Journal of Devils Lake, N. Dak., of January 11, 1955. The editorial deals with the congressional committee procedures.

I call attention particularly to the third paragraph of the editorial:

Although congressional secrecy was high in 1953, it rose to new levels last year. A national columnist figures that in 1954 41 percent of all congressional committee sessions were conducted behind closed doors, as compared with 0.4 percent in the previous year.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS SETS BAD EXAMPLE

Congress is setting a bad example as one of the worst offenders in the continual fight for the right to know.

Congress, over the years, has become more and more secretive, conducting more and

more of its business behind closed doors. Neither the public nor the press are welcome at these closed hearings, only the politicians, who have a habit of engaging in shameful shenanigans which occasionally come under the merciless glare of publicity.

Although congressional secrecy was high in 1953, it rose to new levels last year. A national columnist figures that in 1954, 41 percent of all congressional committee sessions were conducted behind closed doors, as compared with four-tenths of 1 percent in the previous year.

The Senate, probably more impressed with its importance, was the greater offender in this regard during the last 2-year sessions than the House of Representatives, the respective percentages being 39 to 35. However, more of the House business was conducted in secret last year, 43 percent, than in the Senate, 39.

Joint committees of Congress held 61 percent of their hearings in secret during the 2-year period.

Part of the reason for the increasing number of closed sessions may lie in the fact that they deal with questions involving the national security. But that hardly explains the secretiveness of some of the committees, which deal in little, if any, information that could be detrimental to the national welfare.

For example, the most secretive of all major committees in 1954 was the Education and Labor group in the House, which could hardly be considered in a class with such groups as the Armed Services and Atomic Energy Committees. We expect them to discuss matters which should be kept from the enemy.

But the American people have a right to raise a suspicious eyebrow when a group concerned with education and labor leads all the rest in the number of its closed hearings.

Mouthings about representative government and democracy sound a bit strange from Congressmen who at the same time would deny their constituents the right to know what is going on in Washington.

Allowances should be made for security information, of course, but any other activities of the government are the people's business. In a government of the people, by the people, and for the people it cannot be otherwise.

Arkansas Way of Life Sells Egyptian on America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Arkansas Way of Life Sells Egyptian on America," written by W. H. Halliburton, and published in the Arkansas Gazette of January 30, 1955. The article relates to a very interesting Egyptian who has been studying in my State.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ARKANSAS WAY OF LIFE SELLS EGYPTIAN ON AMERICA

(By W. H. Halliburton)

The Arkansas way of life has sold America to Yousif Saleh El Ansary, of Maghagha, who has been in the United States since August studying American education.

Yousif, who teaches sociology and geography in a senior high school at Maghagha, came to the United States on a grant under the Fulbright exchange student program.

Officials at the Arkadelphia educational institutions where Yousif is observing methods—the public schools and Henderson State Teachers and Ouachita Baptist Colleges—say that he is obtaining maximum benefit of his experience. Yousif—the Egyptian name equivalent of Joseph—is interested particularly in phases of American education that can be readily applied to Egyptian educational problems.

Yousif speaks excellent English and it takes an attentive ear to catch any hint of an accent. The handsome Egyptian, who has learned quickly to wisecrack in the best American fashion, is a much sought-after speaker on the luncheon club circuit at Arkadelphia and neighboring towns.

He learned his first English words in the lower elementary grades in his home town and, with many contacts with Englishmen during his later childhood, attained considerable knowledge of the language.

Since August he has learned "the American language." He also speaks French.

With a thorough, working knowledge of Egyptian history, Yousif can speak as confidently of the Sphinx and the Pharaohs and the pyramids as the well-educated Arkansan does of Lexington and Bull Run and Harpers Ferry—although Yousif's knowledge of history of his native land must cover a period of about 12,000 years—about 11,600 more years than the student of American history.

Yousif said that his country accepted Christianity with friendliness during the first century of the Christian era but the movement suffered a numerical setback during the great persecutions ordered by Roman Emperors. The doctrines of Islam found fertile ground in that time, he said, and gains made then grew and now there are about 19 million Moslems, and about 3 million Christians.

Yousif, an agile 30-year-old who looks as if he might have been an all-American halfback, would like to return to the United States for his doctorate.

Since he came to the United States, he has spent 18 days at Washington, where he attended orientation lectures under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He was assigned to the University of Buffalo (N. Y.) and since has studied school systems at Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Little Rock, and Arkadelphia.

After a month at Arkadelphia he will return to Washington for an Evaluation Week, where he will make his final reports on what he has seen and done in this country. He will return to Egypt March 1.

Assassination of President Remón

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, the assassination of José Antonio Remón C., President of the Republic of Panama, constituted the most sorrowful and shocking beginning of the New Year possible.

While in a public place adjacent to the city of Panama on the evening of January 2, 1955, and conversing with friends, he was riddled with bullets from a machinegun fired from the darkness, and his death soon followed. Two others present with President Remón were killed by the same fire. The direct assassin has confessed his guilt and is in custody, pending his formal prosecution. All the facts involved have not been developed as yet. The motives involved have not as yet been fully explored, but numerous arrests have been made, and the case is being developed.

President Remón had served his country faithfully and well, and his tragic death has been the occasion for universal mourning in our sister Republic, and the Canal Zone. The people of the United States, as well as others throughout the civilized world, also join in deploring this most lamentable affair.

President Remón was one of the strongest Presidents who has thus far served Panama during the 50 years of its independent history.

On January 4, 1955, the Star and Herald, the historic daily newspaper of the isthmus, published a strong and able editorial on the subject of President Remón's death, and I ask leave to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HISTORY WILL GIVE REMÓN HIS DUE

Panamanians, majority of whom are patriots, bowed their heads in grief and not a little shame yesterday as they followed the bier of their late President to his final resting place. José Antonio Remón C., youngest, most daring, and farsighted of any recent national president, had been struck down in cold blood by an assassin's bullets on the very eve of his greatest achievement since assuming the presidency approximately 2 years ago.

Within weeks Remón was to have signed an accord with the United States which is destined to correct certain features of Panama's treaty with Washington deemed unfair to the interests of the smaller country. This achievement, attained by the Remón administration during nearly 2 years of negotiations with Washington, was to have been the crowning glory of his regime. It is just one of many negotiations sponsored by Remón, all geared to improving economic, health, or cultural conditions for his fellow Panamanians. The document will be signed by duly authorized representatives of this nation.

But the assassin, possibly the paid slave of a Remón enemy (all great men have them and the motive of these enemies is always envy, hate for a man who has made good and won the hearts of his countrymen) has deprived Remón of that moment of glory when his fellow Panamanians would have rendered homage to him en masse. Yesterday they rendered homage, thousands strong, but tearfully, as mourners following their President to his tomb.

That enemy of Remón—and hence enemy of the Panamanian people—has disgraced momentarily the name of his homeland. Never has assassination dimmed the honor of Panamanian patriotism. Wars have been fought through the centuries—always for the attainment of liberty and justice to all citizens, always in the name of democracy. This was no war. It was a base and cowardly act.

Chichi Remón did not live to see the full results of his labors, but great as were his efforts in behalf of his fellow countrymen, it may be that the tragedy of his death will

serve to place him still higher in the hearts of his countrymen.

Assuredly he will never be forgotten in Panamanian history; and history being what it is, perhaps his assassination and the horror of the crime will wreathe his memory in a more effulgent light than if he had died normally after his term of office ended.

This, of course, is small solace for those who mourn his loss. But in the years to come, when Chichi Remón is revered as the martyr of his own success in aiding his people, when his picture and undoubtedly his statue are glorified by generations of Panamanians yet to come, continuing generations will call him blessed.

The jolly, sincerely friendly, and democratic executive who seemed to have no enemies will have attained by the tragedy of his death a permanent glory in Panamanian history not shared by even the founding fathers of this young nation.

The War Decision: A Call for Wisdom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Topeka State Journal under date of Tuesday, January 25.

This editorial urges that we proceed with extreme caution in dealing with this very explosive issue. With that view I am in thorough accord.

In my opinion, the time had come for this Nation to take a very definite stand in the Formosa situation, and when we did, we realized we were taking some very definite risks.

Now that Congress has acted, it is most important that we make every effort to avoid open hostilities, but at the same time keep firm in the position we have taken.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WAR DECISION: A CALL FOR WISDOM

Everyone can agree on at least one phase of the Presidential request for authority to use armed force to defend Formosa and the Pescadores, "if necessary."

That phase would be President Eisenhower's decision to seek the approval of Congress before committing the United States irreversibly to a policy that he apparently now believes is necessary—the drawing of a line which if crossed by Red China would automatically bring American intercession.

To this extent Eisenhower's calculated risk of a Formosan war differs from his predecessor Truman's uncalculated plunge into a Korean war. The President at least defers to the constitutional power of Congress to declare war, although indicating that his constitutional power as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces would be employed in emergency meanwhile, if necessary.

But there will be many differences of opinion as to the wisdom of taking such a risk, calculated or not. The most careful and honest calculations sometimes wind up with the wrong answer. And where risk of war is involved, another party is calculating too, with his own set of ifs and whens.

Despite the dramatic quality of the President's message to Congress, Monday, it is hoped that the congressional decision will be made coolly, and without haste. If time is pressing, so is the destiny of millions of people pressing upon the human conscience. Washington often grows excited and assumes the people are overwhelmingly of one mind or another. In this case it cannot at all be assumed that the American people, the men and women of the towns and farms, overwhelmingly want to risk an intercontinental war the end of which no one could foretell.

We all need guidance. We all need clear vision. We all need to hope that one phase of the President's message will emerge as uppermost—his request to the United Nations "for appropriate action under its charter, for the purpose of ending present hostilities" in the China coast area.

It is not for the United States to act alone, if indeed it is necessary for the United States to act warlike at all. Let Congress call upon the United Nations to take the lead. It is never too late to negotiate. It is as the British Ambassador, Sir Roger Makins, said early this month, "Negotiation, you know, is not the same thing as appeasement, or peace at any price."

A fate-tempting decision looms in which our officials will need all their wisdom. We have everything to gain or everything to lose.

The School-Lunch Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated January 24, 1955, addressed to me by Mrs. Richard Wachter, of Hastings, Minn., on the subject of the school-lunch program.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HASTINGS, MINN., *January 24, 1955.*

DEAR SENATOR THYE: Since you are a busy man now I will get to the point. I'd like to put in my 5 cents worth on the school-lunch program which there is controversy over. This is a subject quite close to me because, as a student in high school, the superintendent asked me to be in charge of lunchroom activities.

I know, Mr. THYE, that some of these kids, right here in Dakota County, never saw such good meals at home at best. May I add, the program wasn't nearly as well set up and complete 12 years ago as it is now, either. I hope the living conditions have changed for the better for some of those poor families in the last 12 years, too.

For 20 cents a meal the kiddies get:

1. A hot main dish, a protein included such as meat, egg, or cheese.
2. Bread.
3. Dessert, either fresh fruit, sauce, or, as a treat, ice cream, a good dairy product.
4. One-half pint carton of whole milk.

A well balanced and wholesome meal, don't you agree? And only 20 cents.

I know you realize that as a young farm mother, and others like me, this is an important discussion on the part of our Government, as it is my job to fed my family well and its important, too, to our men since it is helping to move the surplus everyone knows we have. What better way to use it than for our most prized possessions, the men and women of tomorrow.

My boys have told me that the one-half pint of milk is just a teaser. At a nominal fee it could be increased to 1 pint and use up more surplus and help out those who like milk.

I do hope you can help us keep a good program alive instead of letting it go out the window.

Sincerely,

ALVA RENELIUS WACHTER
Mrs. Richard Wachter.

The American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the New York Times for January 31, 1955, which concerns a recent American Federation of Labor meeting at Miami Beach, Fla. It is especially encouraging to note that Mr. James A. Brownlow, president of the A. F. of L. metal trades department, has applauded President Eisenhower's program to strengthen the American merchant marine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT HAILED ON AID TO SHIPPING—A. F. OF L. LEADER SAYS POLICY RECOGNIZES NATION'S NEEDS—URGES NEW SUBSIDIES

MIAMI BEACH, January 30.—An American Federation of Labor leader praised President Eisenhower today for his policy toward American shipping.

James A. Brownlow, president of the A. F. of L. metal trades department, told the department's executive council that the President had demonstrated a "comprehensive recognition of the Nation's need for an expanded shipbuilding program and a larger merchant marine."

He called on Congress to vote new subsidies for the shipping and shipbuilding industries. He contended that the country's strength was being undermined by the lack of adequate financial support in these fields.

DECRIES USE OF FUNDS ABROAD

He asserted that labor unions were especially exercised over the building of ships in foreign yards with money supplied by the United States. He directed particular attention to the allocation of $7,500,000 by the Foreign Operations Administration for construction of a destroyer escort in a shipyard in northern Italy.

A majority of the yard's workers are declared communists.

In support of his plea for increased Government aid to United States shipbuilders, Mr. Brownlow said that the United States now stood tenth in ship construction, with only 2 percent of the world total. Great Britain has 38 percent, Sweden 13.4 percent and Germany 12.2 percent, he added.

He acknowledged that the United States' share would rise to 5 percent if the ship program authorized by the last Congress was

carried out, but asserted that even this gain would leave this country fifth or sixth in the world listing.

FIGURES ON FOREIGN WORK

He declared that United States companies, most of them in the oil industry, were building 57 ships, aggregating 900,000 gross tons, in foreign yards. These companies, he added, are building only 4 ships, aggregating 90,000 tons, in this country.

By building ships abroad and operating them under foreign registry, he said, American employers are tearing down wage standards and fostering unemployment in the domestic shipping and shipbuilding industries. He ascribed as a factor low foreign wages. In British shipyards labor costs are roughly 28 percent below those prevailing here, he estimated.

He asserted that only 60,000 had jobs in domestic yards building ocean-going vessels and cited the wartime peak as 1,300,000.

Answer to the Atom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, in the Sunday, January 9, issue of the magazine This Week, a Sunday magazine published by numerous newspapers throughout the United States, including the Washington Star, there appeared a very brief article entitled "Answer to the Atom," written by Nelson Trusler Johnson. Mr. Johnson was formerly Minister to China. He was a career employee of the Department of State, a man of great ability, fine tact, and high spiritual concepts. I think in writing this article, which he must have done only a few weeks before his death, he left a heritage to his family, to his friends, and to his country which ought to be preserved in the RECORD. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANSWER TO THE ATOM

(By Nelson Trusler Johnson)

"For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory—"

These words seem to me to be fitting words to live by in this age of the atom. To me, they establish beyond question our relationship to God.

My lawyer father used to say to me that God placed us here as trustees of His kingdom. If we accept that concept, there is no need to live in terror of the energy which we, in the performance of our trust, have released from the atom.

Man has always had within him the power to destroy himself. Instead he continues to live in God's kingdom, by His power and to His glory.

Fear doubtless first seized our primitive ancestors when one of them for the first time produced fire, handling familiarly and harmlessly the terribly destructive force which had always held man in deadly fear and awe. Man, master of fire, built thereon the great civilization which we see all about us.

The energies released by atomic fission and fusion are but the latest of the many talents with which God has trusted us. Despite obvious dangers, we dare not wrap these talents in a napkin and bury them in the ground in fear of ourselves or God. If God has trusted us, can we not then trust ourselves?

With the power that God has given us we are even now taking the first steps forward in the building of a new world to replace the old. God has opened for us and for our children the bright prospect of a new and infinitely freer world. New horizons beckon us on all sides.

Let us go forward then, in God's kingdom, trusting Him as He has trusted us and unafraid.

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 1, 1955, congratulating the Forest Service on the occasion of its 50th anniversary.

I know that the whole Nation will join in wishing the United States Forest Service even greater success for its next 50 years. And I hope we shall heed the warnings expressed in the Post's editorial, that "while there is now general agreement on the purposes of the national forests, threats to their integrity remain in the form of efforts to lower the restrictions on one or another form of private exploitation," and that continued vigilance will be necessary to protect the high purposes of the Forest Service.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTY FOR THE FOREST SERVICE

Fifty years ago today the Forest Service was formally established as a division of the Department of Agriculture. The ensuing half century has brought rich dividends for the foresight of President Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, the first Chief Forester, who tied togethed the disparate governmental activities in this essential field of conservation. Americans have become increasingly conscious of their priceless stake in managed forests to provide timber, watershed and wildlife protection, grazing, and recreation.

The Forest Service has attracted a corps of unusually dedicated men in this task of maintaining a wise balance so as to preserve forest resources for future generations. Growth and cutting practices recommended by the Forest Service are now generally accepted in the lumbering industry (the worst violations of good practice are found on small woodlots). The public has been alerted increasingly to the importance of fire prevention. One measure of the Forest Service's success in developing these resources may be seen in the fact that receipts for use of the national forests in fiscal 1954 exceeded $67 million, as contrasted with $75,000 in 1905. The Forest Service also has followed a wise policy of setting aside certain primeval tracts as perpetual wilderness areas. One of the most unique of these is in the Superior National Forest of northern Minnesota, adjoining Canada's Quetico Provincial Park. The Quetico-Superior area provides some 5 million acres of magnificent canoe country, much of it actually roadless.

While there is now general agreement on the purposes of the national forests, threats to their integrity remain in the form of efforts to lower the restrictions on one or another form of private exploitation. The Department of Agriculture, for example, has been persuaded to give its endorsement to bills which would give holders of grazing permits what would amount virtually to property rights in the forests and would reduce the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture. Fears have not been assuaged by the appointment of former Representative Representative Wesley D'Ewart, of Montana, sponsor of one of the most extreme of the bills, as a special assistant to Secretary Benson, although there is reason to hope that Mr. D'Ewart, who has taken a constructive interest in other conservation matters, may moderate his views on this one. In any event, if the next 50 years of the Forest Service are to be as meaningful as the last, continued vigilance will be necessary to see that its high purposes are not undercut in practice.

The Military Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the House will soon be called upon to consider the budget for the military forces of this country. We have just debated and adopted a resolution with reference to the stand this country will take on Formosa. Certainly no issue should command the attention or warrant the prolonged thought of each and everyone of us as the appropriations for our Defense Establishment.

Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst for the New York Times has expressed himself well in the following article which I desire to insert in the RECORD at this point:

THE MILITARY BUDGET—AN ASSESSMENT OF PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS AND PROBLEMS POSED FOR SURFACE FORCES

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

The President's military budget for the year starting next July 1 poses major and dangerous service problems for the future.

The budget estimates for the 1956 fiscal year reflect a projected slight drop in actual expenditures for the Department of Defense, but an approximate $2,200,000,000 increase in obligational authority, or new appropriations, as compared with the current (1955) fiscal year.

This request for an increasse in new appropriations coincides with a planned decrease in military personnel from an approximate 3.2 million now to about 2.8 million by June 30, 1956.

Despite the maintenance of actual defense spending during the next fiscal year at approximately the current year's level, and despite the request for increased obligational authority, the Army will be reduced from

approximately 24 to 20 divisions, including training divisions.

The number of Navy ships in commission will be reduced and most ships will be operated with reduced-strength crews. The Marines will withdraw 1⅓ divisions from the Far East, and the services' airbase and public works construction program will be stretched out or slowed down.

FUTURE PITFALLS NOTED

The 1956 defense budget, interpreted behind the lines of small type and columns of statistics, is full of pitfalls for tomorrow. Indeed, there are so many anomalies in it that the squeeze that already exists in the case of the Army, the Marine Corps and, to a lesser extent, the Navy, may become more and more stringent in future years.

This squeeze and these anomalies are reflected in the 1956 budget estimates in many ways.

The Air Force is the only one of the three services that, it is estimated, will increase its budget both in authorizations and in actual expenditures during the 1956 fiscal year. The new authorization requested will amount by almost $3 billion to a projected obligational authority of $14,536,000,000.

During the same year the Army's requests for new funds will decrease by about $335 million, and the Navy's (including the Marine Corps) by almost $1 billion. Both the Army and the Navy actually will spend less in 1956 than in 1955.

Thus, despite a sharp reduction in the number of men in uniform, personnel costs—which amount to more than $10 billion of the total $32,898,960,000 Department of Defense funds in obligational authority—will actually go up, due to increased pay and other service benefits.

At the same time, despite administrative and management economies and some sharp cuts in planned bases and supporting facilities, operational and maintenance costs will also increase due to the expense of operating modern equipment.

The President's new Reserve program, which, if enacted, will cost more money for the Reserves, is another element of the developing squeeze on the Regulars of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.

ELEMENTS OF THE SQUEEZE

The major elements of the squeeze, in addition to those already cited, are:

The pressure for a balanced budget and for maintaining defense expenditures at about the current level.

The constantly increasing costs of air power (and missile power).

The increased costs of funds devoted to the defense (as compared to the offense).

If these three pressures are maintained and the squeeze is further strengthened by increased personnel and operating costs and Reserve program costs, it will be easy to see that the currently projected cuts in the Army, Marine Corps, and Navy must be followed by other sharp additional cuts. For the Air Force slice of the defense budget is constantly increasing, and must increase, if the present program for an Air Force of 137 modern wings is to be carried out.

The wing, consisting of 30 to 75 aircraft and pilots, crews, and ground supporting elements, is a standard yardstick of airpower, just as the division is a standard yardstick of land strength.

The Air Force had about 115 wings in June 1954, and has some 118 now. It will have an estimated 121 in June 1955; 130 in June 1956; and 137—its goal—in June 1957. Its request for new funds has increased about $3 billion next year (as compared to this year, with a scheduled increase of 9 wings.)

Final operating, maintenance, and replacement costs of the 137-wing program have not been authoritatively estimated recently. However, some observers believe the Air Force will need some $18 to $20 billions annually to maintain, operate, and provide bases and facilities for the 137-wing program. Its requests for the next fiscal year are $3.5 to $5.5 billions below these figures.

There is another element. The increase in total defense obligational authority requested next year may well mean an increase in actual defense expenditures in future years, unless something "gives."

What must clearly give, if the present emphasis in our defense policies continues and a balanced budget dominates, are the Army, the Marine Corps, and the Navy.

What tends to make this prospect even more serious is the fact that present policies create another "squeeze" by concentrating a higher and higher percentage of diminished Army and Navy strength on purely defensive tasks—radar picket ships, Nike guided missile antiaircraft battalions, etc.

The implications of next year's budget requests to the future of our armed services should insure a searching review by Congress.

Underpaid Officials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of February 1, 1955:

UNDERPAID OFFICIALS

The amazing disparity between the salaries of Federal and New York judges has been referred to on this page in recent weeks; and we are glad to see Attorney General Brownell advert to it once again in urging an increase in the compensation of both United States judges and Congressmen.

Judges of the United States district court now receive $15,000, exactly half the salary in this area of judges of the somewhat comparable New York State Supreme Court. Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court receive $25,000, while judges of the highest New York tribunal, the court of appeals, are paid a total of $37,500 each. The point isn't that New York judges are overpaid, but that Federal judges are underpaid. The rise in the cost of living has of course had the effect of reducing their income even below the levels at which it had been set. It has been calculated that the purchasing power in 1939 dollars of a Federal district judge's salary after taxes amounts to less than $6,500.

Members of Congress receive a total of $15,000 a year. The commission that investigated these matters correctly observed a year ago that "Members of Congress and the judiciary have responsibilities as great as those of top executives in business or industry or greater." Yet the top officials of 100 of America's largest corporations average over $100,000 a year in salary. No one is recommending anything like that for Congressmen, but surely the proposed $27,500 is reasonable compensation for so onerous a job. The difficulty in granting adequate pay to Congressmen comes from Congressmen, who fear the political effects of giving themselves even an entirely justified increase. Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, with whom we do not often find ourselves in agreement, has urged on his fellow Members an end to their "timidity" on this matter; and we think he is right.

Increased salaries obviously will not guarantee better judges or better Congressmen, but public freedom from economic pressures will prevent some good public servants from leaving their jobs for private life and will indicate to all of them that their Government is not really trying to get something out of them for nothing.

The Fabulous Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, one of our prominent industrial leaders has given us a fabulous look into a fabulous future. What will the United States be like in 1980? What should it be like? Brigadier General Sarnoff, chairman of the board of the Radio Corporation of America, has given us an exciting prediction in an article in Fortune magazine. And as Fortune says:

The name of Sarnoff has become, if not synonymous, at least indelibly linked with electronic progress.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the article is estimated to make 3 pages of the RECORD, at a cost of $240.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FABULOUS FUTURE

(By David Sarnoff, chairman, Radio Corp. of America)

What is likely to be the special character of the quarter century ahead of us? Personally, I am convinced that it will be a period of drastic decision. It will be filled with events that, taken together, may well determine the direction and even the duration of man's destiny on this planet.

That an avalanche of advances will be forthcoming in the sphere of science and technology is not a matter of surmise. The new types of energy releasesd by the atom and controlled by the electron have already proved highly effective. The features of vital technical growths can be discerned in numberless embryos in the womb of science: our amazing network of research laboratories.

But these features will be matched by even more significant developments in the political, social, and moral spheres. Indeed, the pressures of technical changes will themselves intensify problems of adjustment, forcing us to seek solutions in line with our ideals of a good society.

Long-stagnant races and continents have awakened to an awareness of their rights, needs, and latent strengths. Long-accepted ways of life and codes of conduct are being menaced by a new barbarism that already dominates a third of the human race. A hunger for faith and salvation, for age-old values beyond the material and the temporal, gnaws at the mind and spirit of man.

This means that the coming quarter-century will be crowded with crises and climaxes. Forces that have been gathering impetus since the turn of the century will find vigorous and perhaps explosive expression. The tensions built up in our own generation are too great to be indefinitely contained. We will be confronted with great challenges that will call for dramatic commitments on our part.

If the destinies were already written in the stars and beyond mortal control, there would be little point in talking about them. But

I am convinced, as are most people, that our destinies are, in large part, subject to our own volition. It is understandable that at times we have been frightened and bewildered. But we do have a choice; we can grovel in terror before the mighty forces of science and historic adjustment, even as savage man groveled before lightning and other natural phenomena. Or we can face those forces with courage, determination, and calm intelligence. We do have such a choice because we are not the passive objects but the active manipulators of those forces.

I. THE TECHNOLOGICAL AGE

For those of us who view history as a fascinating spectacle, the prospect of the coming quarter century is exhilarating. It is as if we were privileged not only to see but to participate in centuries of development telescoped into a brief span. Of one thing we can be sure: the segment of time between now and 1980 will not be dull. It will make heavy demands upon courage and character, upon wisdom and good will. And I have confidence that we can meet those demands, provided we approach our tasks not in fear but with faith in ourselves and in the strength of our freedoms.

The dominant physical fact in the next quarter century will be technological progress unprecedented in kind and in volume. In relation to the total history of the human race, the last hundred years have been no more than a split second. Yet they have compassed more technological achievement than the millennia that preceded. The harnessing of electricity to the purposes of light, power, and communication; the demonstration of the germ theory of disease; discovery and application of the electron; invention of radio and television; development of anesthetics; the exploration of genes and mutations; invention of motor vehicles; evolution of the assembly line and other mass-production techniques; proliferation of organic chemistry; the splitting of the atom; development of antibiotics; the vast expansion of the known and measured universe of stars and galaxies—these are only the highlights of recent progress. On the day when the first issue of Fortune was published, television, nuclear energy, jet planes, penicillin, nylon and dacron fabrics were unknown or incubating in laboratories.

The quantity of the new powers and products and processes at man's disposal is important; but even more important is the increasing speed at which these things have come. It is not a case of continued increase but of continued acceleration of increase. We need only project the curve into the future to realize that we are merely on the threshold of the technological age.

A recent statement by the General Electric Co., referring especially to electronic and atomic energy, declared: "All these fields * * * are so promising that we expect to produce more in the next 10 years than in all the previous 75 years of our existence." The figures may vary, but the same pattern of rapid growth holds true for the Radio Corporation of America and for American enterprise as a whole.

Three anniversary presents

There is no longer margin for doubt that whatever the mind of man visualizes, the genius of modern science can turn into functioning fact. I have seen this demonstrated again and again. A current example will show what I mean.

In 1951, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of my association with radio, I suggested to the scientists of the RCA research laboratory in Princeton, N. J., which bears my name, that they invent three presents for me by the time the 50th anniversary came around in 1956. I asked, first, for a magnetic tape recorder of television programs; second, an all-electronic air conditioner; and third, a true amplifier of light.

The scientists smiled. "He certainly can ask for the impossible," one of them later remarked. But the thrilling part of the story is that before half the 5-year period had passed, the scientists had actually produced one of the "presents," the magnetic tape recorder of black-and-white and color television programs; and they had made such substantial progress on the other two that their realization by 1956 now appears most promising.

We are now engaged in the development of a new form of light—electronic light, which is the keystone of the light amplifier under development in RCA laboratories. Already I have seen this light amplification, experimentally, in ratios of more than 20 times the original; and further progress is certain to be made. When that number 20 reaches 100, we shall have a practical amplifier of light—produced directly within a thin layer of electronically active material.

The potentials for practical use of this development will surely be greater than we can now foresee. This can safely be said of almost any new invention. When Faraday first produced an electric current, neither he nor his contemporaries could visualize the amazing future he had unlocked. Neither did Marconi dream of broadcasting and television when he succeeded in sending the first faint wireless telegraph signal through the air.

Electronic light will eventually provide startling substitutes for present types of illumination and thus will change the very appearance of our homes, stores, factories, streets, and cities. Electric light will have been freed from the prison of a vacuum bulb. It will obsolete the television tube of today, while bringing bigger and sharper pictures in color as well as in black and white. Light amplification is expected to lead to devices that will make not only photography but vision possible in the darkness, and to enlarge immensely our visual penetration of outer astronomic space. It may well reduce and in time cancel out one of the perils of night driving by taking the glare out of light.

I have enlarged on the implications of a single research project in a single laboratory in order to suggest the fabulous dimensions of the teeming novelties now gestating in hundreds of laboratories, large and small.

"Atoms for peace"

The released energies of the atom, though born in war and baptized in destruction, are already being funneled to man's constructive purposes. Because nuclear power is so recent and impressive, we have not yet digested it psychologically as we have earlier miracles. The real mission of science should be to create, not destroy. While the first atomic propulsion has been assigned to a submarine, it can be taken for granted that before 1980 ships, aircraft, locomotives, and even automobiles will be atomically fueled.

The era of nuclear power for peaceable civilian purposes is already at hand. It dawned in America a few months ago when President Eisenhower waved a neutron wand in Denver, Colo., that broke ground at Shippingport, Pa., for the first commercial plant powered by atomic energy. The first nuclear-power plant will surely rank with the first steam engine, the first electric motor, Morse's first telegraph message, Edison's first electric lamp, and Marconi's first wireless message as milestones of man's material progress.

Just a year ago the Radio Corporation of America publicly demonstrated an atomic battery that gives promise of many useful services. Only a minute amount of electric current was generated: barely enough to send the short telegraphic message I had the privilege of tapping out—"Atoms for peace." But the potentials of that event are enormous. This was no longer the use of atomic energy to make steam to make electric current—it was the direct conversion of nuclear energy into electricity.

I do not hesitate to forecast that atomic batteries will be commonplace long before 1980. The waste products from the fast-multiplying commercial reactors will make available abundant captive radiation for direct conversion into electricity. Small atomic generators, installed in homes and industrial plants, will provide power for years and ultimately for a lifetime without recharging. Coal, oil, and gas will be increasingly displaced as fuel by nuclear energy, but will in turn be devoted to other uses by new developments of chemistry and engineering.

Things to come

Other sources of energy—the sun, the tides, and the winds—are certain to be developed beyond present expectations. New materials by the score—metals, fabrics, woods, glass—will be added to the hundreds of synthetics and plastics already available through our capacity to rearrange the structure of matter.

Fresh water, purified from the briny seas, will enable us to make deserts flourish and to open to human habitation immense surfaces of the globe now sterile or inaccessible. Tidelands and the ocean floors beyond, already being tapped for oil, will be increasingly mined for other materials and harvested for chemical and food resources.

Even guided missiles, transcontinental and transoceanic, will find vital civilian uses. They will transport mail and other types of freight over great distances, guided into terminal hangars within minutes after their takeoff. Pilotless aircraft for passengers, too, are within the realm of the possible. Great fleets of personal helicopters and other planes will make the principal airways almost as busy as the highways on the ground; and electronic controls will insure safe travel in both dimensions.

Medicine can look to incalculable aid from science and technology. Already diagnosis, prognosis, therapy, and surgery have begun to make important uses of nuclear radiation and electronic devices: The electron microscope, for instance. Such uses will expand enormously by 1980. Similarly, techniques for learning faster and better will be opened up by color television, improved means of communication, electronic magnification, and other novel processes.

The era of automation is upon us. Electronic machines will not only compute, remember, and file information—tasks they have already taken on for business offices, banks, factories, and research laboratories—but they will perform more and more routine jobs now handled by people. Production especially will lean ever more heavily on electronics in the immediate years ahead. Automatic equipment will take much of the drudgery and spoilage out of manufacture. It will do the jobs of selecting, testing, checking, and handling raw materials and finished products. The goods thus produced will then be stored and inventoried electronically.

Some of the innovations will call for a change in products or methods of operation in some of today's business organizations. However, the whole history of our American economy proves that such changes spell progress; eventually many new jobs will be created for every job canceled out. The contrast between the millions employed by the automotive and related industries and the employment provided by the blacksmith shops they displaced is an overworked example, but it tells the basic story.

The temptation, at least for someone, who, like myself, has been in touch all his life with such spiraling wonders, is to continue the inventory of what is coming. The very fact that electronics and atomics are unfolding simultaneously is a portent of the amazing changes ahead. Never before have two such mighty forces been unleashed at the same

time. Together they are certain to dwarf the industrial revolutions brought about by steam and electricity. There is no element of material progress we know today—in the biological and chemical fields, in atomics and electronics, in engineering and physics—that will not seem, from the vantage point of 1980, a fumbling prelude.

New grace to life

We have a right to make the same kind of projection for social progress, though with far less assurance. Let us, therefore, provide such assurance by setting our sights high. The material triumphs now at our disposal and the greater ones to come must be translated into a happier life for mankind everywhere. We must give a clear right-of-way to the things that are good, beautiful, and enriching.

High among our goals must be greater mutual tolerance among races and nationalities. We cannot wholly weed out the primeval prejudices and fears in the jungle undergrowth of the human mind. But we can remove some and neutralize the effects of the rest.

The reduction of crime—by individuals and by nations—also deserves priority in our hopes and plans. The ever more plentiful supplies of food and goods, higher standards of living and education and health—these should make the containment of violence easier during the coming 25 years.

Automation and other aspects of scientific advance will, as a matter of course, put a premium on brains rather than brawn. Even now, in America, illiteracy has become more of a handicap in life than most physical handicaps. The demands for mental competence will be vastly enlarged. One hopes that by 1980 a decent education (though I recognize that no two of us will agree on definitions here) will have become as indispensable as a decent suit of clothes.

Leisure, of course, will be greatly extended. A much shorter workweek will no doubt prevail in 1980, and another 10 or 15 years will have been added to the average life span. Cancer, polio, tuberculosis, and an array of other scourges will have been consigned to the same limbo as cholera, typhus, and other great killers of the past.

Not labor but leisure will be the great problem in the decades ahead. That prospect should be accepted as a God-given opportunity to add dimensions of enjoyment and grace to life. We have reason to foresee a fantastic rise in demand for and appreciation of the better, and perhaps the best, in art, music, and letters.

In small things and large, in greater conveniences and a greater recognition of our common humanity, the quarter-century awaits us in a mood of welcome. We must resolve to fulfill its thrilling promises. Should we fail, the fault will not be with science and technology but with ourselves.

II. PROGRESS, A CHAIN REACTION

The most futile intellectual exercise is the discussion as to whether an industrialized society is "desirable." We might as reasonably argue whether the tides and the seasons are desirable. The genie of science could not be stuffed back into the bottle even if we so wished.

In theory, backward countries might still choose the simple life, but in practice they are clamoring for the devices and living standards of the West. The strongest appeal of Communist propaganda to retarded populations is in its promises of power dams, factories, mechanized farming, and the like. Much of the revolutionary leadership in Asia and Africa is provided by natives who have been educated in the West and have tasted its technological comforts and advantages.

Disparagement of the age of science and mass production, a nostalgia for the supposedly idyllic prescientific past, are familiar themes in 20th-century literature. Only a few months ago a book titled Tomorrow Is Already Here, by Robert Jungk, warned that Americans are hell-bent for a soul-less, mechanized tomorrow, populated by dehumanized cogs in runaway machines.

I doubt whether those who denounce our world would, in the showdown, permanently exchange the material amenities of England, France, or America for those of darkest Africa. At the very least, I assume, they might spare the typewriters and printing presses with which they make themselves heard.

Nostalgia for what?

As a cure for hatred of science, I recommend a protracted visit to some really primitive region of open sewers and open sores, cruel rates of infant mortality and decrepit old age at 40. Nostalgia for the simple past romanticizes drudgery, disease, and ignorance. It glosses over the poverty, social injustice, and feudal despotism that usually go along with a primitive economy.

The claim that there is an inherent conflict between science and our immortal souls—that science is the natural enemy of the soul—does not stand up under examination. The man in an airplane is not necessarily less devoted to truth, justice, and charity than his forefathers in oxcarts. Virtue does not necessarily go with primitive plumbing, and human dignity can be nurtured in a skyscraper no less than in a log cabin.

True, the marvels of technology have come upon us so suddenly that they have created problems of adjustment. Age-old inertias have been disturbed. But on the whole the adjustment has been remarkably good; the the human problems caused by applied science are serious, but no more so than those it has solved. The crux of the matter is not in evils inseparable from technology but in the time lag in the assimilation of what technology has to offer.

Marx and Prometheus

The industrial revolution touched off by the steam engine brought trouble in its train; vile slums, child labor, brutal work hours and work conditions. But the time lag was bridged, slowly and surely. As capitalism matured, its fruits were spread to more and more people in goods, health, social security, and a new dignity of labor. Huge middle classes, not foreseen by Karl Marx, have arisen. The distance between rich and poor, as measured by living standards, has steadily shrunk. The scientists who sparked the industrial revolution can rest in peace, their consciences assuaged.

The same, I believe, holds true of inventiveness in our own time, including the splitting of the atom. Every achievement on the physical plane packs danger as well as opportunity. It is the ancient dilemma posed when Prometheus gave man the fire that both warms and consumes. The inventive surge that brought us motorcars also made possible Panzer divisions. Pyromaniacs, however, cannot be blamed upon Prometheus, nor saturation bombing upon the Wright brothers.

It is well to recall that the 20th century has also won victories, great and small, on the political, cultural, and moral levels. They are in evidence all around us, saturating our existence. They are spelled out in universal suffrage, civil freedoms, more widespread education, easier access to and greater appreciation of the products of genius in the arts; in society's growing acceptance of responsibility for the old, the widowed, the orphaned, and the helpless.

Technology and the spirit

In my own lifetime I have seen the liberation of multitudes from overwork, exploitation, and ravaging diseases to which they had seemed forever condemned when I was a boy. It is not a worse but an immeasurably better society that we live in. The same decades that witnessed the control of the electron and the birth of nuclear energy also saw a substantial improvement in race and class relations and the enactment of vital social legislation. Along with the assembly line and automation has also come the rise of trade unions and a more equitable sharing of the products of labor and management.

America, the classic land of technology, enjoys the largest freedom from destitution, ignorance, and disease, along with political rights and social improvements unique in history. Its average citizen is not the common man but the uncommon man, for he has an amplitude of well-being and opportunity that prescientific societies reserved for a small and arrogant elite. Moreover—and this needs emphasis—the most magnificent flowering of science and technology has always occurred in countries where liberty prevailed. The close affinity between freedom and material abundance should give pause to those who derogate material progress.

"The figures show," Dr. Arthur H. Compton said recently, "that where technology has been used for the service of man, there is in broad total a healthy growth not only in man's biological life but also in his intellectual and spiritual life."

A society geared to technology is compelled, in order to remain viable, continually to lift the levels of human welfare. Greater purchasing power, more leisure, expanded relish for the end products of factories, communications, and entertainment—these are the very conditions of its survival. It draws its vitality from freemen with an ever larger direct stake in the society, as totalitarians who would combine technology with slavery soon learn to their distress.

The final link

Science, far from nurturing pride, encourages humility. Its every victory reveals more clearly a divine design in nature, a remarkable conformity in all things, from the infinitesimal to the infinite, that surpasses mortal understanding.

In its early stages modern science seemed at odds with religion, but this was merely a token of its immaturity. The more familiar story, in our time, is that of scientists who become increasingly aware of the mystery of the universe and come to religion, in its fundamental sense, through knowledge of the limitations of science; and, indeed, how can those who play with the building blocks of the universe, its atoms and electrons and genes, fail to be touched by awe? More than ever, man's soul is involved in the equations of our lives.

Also, the physical closeness engendered by science is promoting ever closer social and intellectual relations between peoples. Generations ago essential isolation of countries was taken for granted; it was a function of distance and difference. Today a dictatorship that would isolate its subjects must erect iron curtains and walls of electronic jamming. With worldwide television, which I regard as a certainty before 1980, the sense of our common humanity will deepen. It is the strange, the unknown, that frightens, but the strangeness will be removed by visual contact to reveal the familiar physiognomy of our neighbors.

We know in our hearts that modern war can cause such overwhelming devastation to life and property as to become a species of suicide. The atom and the electron have made it almost as disastrous for the winner as for the loser. This decisive fact must, in the long run, cancel out war as an instrument of national policy. We cannot know when or what form the coming one world will take, but world law enforced by world police seems inherent in the age of science and technology.

The forces I have discussed appear to me to cause a chain reaction. First, science and technology create material abundance. Second, this produces new conditions and

demands that compel adjustments with resulting social advances. Third, the interdependence of people in a world shrunk by science inevitably requires broader mental concepts, which lead to greater ethical and moral stature, which in turn stimulate man's spiritual growth.

It seems to me unqualifiedly good that more and more of the weight of arduous toil will be unloaded onto the backs of machines; that the sum total of pain and agony will be further reduced by the progress of healing; that modern communications will bring peoples and nations into closer contact, leading to better understanding of one another.

III. THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNISM

The next 25 years, however, will be marked by great challenges to our courage, character, wisdom, and stamina. The greatest of these challenges, of course, will be the continuing Communist drive for world dominion.

The pendulum of Soviet diplomacy has swung between tough and tame, depending on the Kremlin's need for time, the domestic situation in Russia, etc. At this writing Soviet policy appears to be veering toward the tame end of the curve. But the essence of Kremlin policy, as defined by its leaders from Lenin through Stalin, has never changed. One must hope, therefore, that the free world has learned at last not to drop its guard under the spell of the Kremlin's tactical amiability. Even if the Soviets should agree to call off the cold war, it will not end the danger—the Communists have not been celebrated for keeping their pledges.

Needed: A crash program

Our overriding duty, in the years ahead, will be to make it crystal clear that the outcome of war, if the Soviets provoke a final showdown, will be far from assured. We must generate and maintain enough military vitality to convince the Kremlin that an attack on us would be a suicidal gamble for them. Whatever else we may do in the next quarter-century to reduce and in time remove the Soviet menace, it will be futile unless backed by adequate military force both offensive and defensive, conventional and atomic.

On the side of the offensive, the means of delivering destruction have become far more important than the means of destruction. In the H-bomb we have reached the ultimate in militarily useful explosive power; bigger bombs would be meaningless. Beyond this point the decisive elements in the equation will be range, speed, and accuracy in placing the explosives on the target.

This compels us to focus brains and energy on long-range bombers capable of fighting their way to the objective. It demands—and this seems to me the most important immediate need—clear superiority in the development of the longest-range guided projectiles, the so-called IBM or Intercontinental Ballistic Missile. A "crash program" to assure such superiority is called for. At the same time, especially while we are forging the new weapons of conflict in the third dimension, we must maintain our ground and sea forces at adequate levels.

But defensive vitality is no less important. The widespread idea that defense has become impossible is unwarranted and dangerous. Those who proclaim it usually mean that complete defense is not possible; but that is a truism, since there never has been a defense that could not be breached. True, a breakthrough today, in nuclear terms, can mean disastrous damage. But that is no excuse for failure to make all possible defensive preparations for the coming quarter-century.

The certainty that an attacker would suffer large-scale attrition—that he would sacrifice many planes and missiles for the one that gets through—would be powerful reinforcement for the deterrent value of our offensive strength.

Methods of electronic detection of planes and missiles are known. So are techniques for destroying them through automatic ground-to-air and air-to-air collision. In the defensive areas, what is involved is primarily an electronic contest. And in that, we have every reason to believe, the United States enjoys the substantial advantages that flow from its present technological superiority—in terms of resources, inventiveness, experience, and national skills.

Countermeasures are vital

The immediate danger is not a bombing contest but the debilitating, bankrupting, ruthless, and relentless Communist offensive in a cold war that may continue throughout the coming quarter-century. Until the advent of the Soviet regime, nations were either at peace or at war. Consequently they find it hard today to adjust their thinking and policies to a condition that is neither one nor the other in the traditional sense. We do not shrink from appropriating $50 billion or even more for armaments, but we are still reluctant to spend a few billions to meet the more urgent needs of the prevailing cold war.

Because there is no sound of shooting, no thunder of exploding bombs, we do not as yet have the feeling of life-and-death urgency. But is it that urgent. Our defeat in the present nonmilitary struggle would doom what remains of freedom on this planet as completely as defeat in a shooting war.

The cold war is where the Communists are determined to defeat us. And that, by the same token, is where we could defeat them, once we recognized the new state of affairs and decided to meet it resolutely, with the same concentration of effort, the same readiness for sacrifice and risk, the same dedication to victory as if it were an old-style military challenge.

The West and its allies in Asia can capture the initiative only by a definite decision: to win the cold war, or at the very least to prevent the Communists from winning it. In my view, this is the only real guaranty against a hot war.

The question, in truth, is not whether we should engage in political, economic, and psychological warfare, the principal weapons used in the cold war. The Soviets have driven us to take nonmilitary countermeasures of some sort. But these have been piecemeal, uncoordinated, and on a pitifully inadequate scale. The question, rather, is whether we should turn their own political and psychological weapons against the Communists with a clearheaded determination to make our counteroffensive truly effective in the quarter century ahead.

The job is global in size. Local problems by the score will have to be solved as they arise, But these can be solved if they are subordinated to an overall strategy geared to victory. The magnitude of the commitment and its colossal stakes call for focused planning and direction. We need a strategic high command in this vital area analogous to the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the military area. And our efforts must be continually coordinated with the agencies of cold warfare in other free countries.

The Soviet orbit is vulnerable to political and psychological weapons. The Kremlin knows this well and fears it most. Its internal "contradictions" are much sharper than those in the free world. The tensions between Soviet Russia and the satellite peoples are enormous—we saw some of them snap in Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland in June 1953.

Popular discontent inside Soviet Russia itself is widespread. After 37 years of absolute power, the Kremlin does not yet dare to taper off its use of raw force—political arrests by the million, large-scale executions, continuous purges and total suppression of elementary human rights. Fear of its own subjects, doubts about their allegiance in time of crisis, are chronic in the Kremlin.

Progress or savagery?

The importance of winning the cold war cannot be glossed over in looking ahead to 1980. Unless we assure peace, unless we gain the initiative in the cold conflict—by means short of hot war—the triumphs of science and technology that I have sketched in broad strokes will be emptied of meaning.

If freedom is lost, if the dignity of man is destroyed, advances on the material plane will not be progress but a foundation for a new savagery. Mankind cannot indefinitely carry the mounting burdens of an armaments race, and the greater burdens of fear and uncertainty. Our supreme commitment, as we look ahead to a crucial quarter century, must be to win the peace—not a peace of totalitarian dominion but a genuine peace rooted in liberty. I believe it can be done.

Representative Willis W. Bradley: Naval Officer, Scholar, and Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, during the 80th Congress, of which I was a Member of the House, I had the great privilege of knowing well one of its most distinguished Members—the late Representative Willis W. Bradley, of California.

Qualified by a lifetime of experience as a line officer of the United States Navy, Captain Bradley, after his election to the Congress, rapidly became a respected leader in matters affecting national defense, the merchant marine, and the Panama Canal. So far as the latter was concerned, he was a discriminating student and a vigorous exponent of congressional thinking about Isthmian Canal policy.

As the best means for resolving the many sided canal issue in the broadest interests of the United States, he introduced a measure for the creation of an Interoceanic Canal Commission—H. R. 4833, 80th Congress—which served as the model for like bills introduced in later congresses.

Representative Bradley's views on the vitally important canal question are preserved in two notable presentations, which I studied. The first was delivered on April 19, 1948, before the distinguished membership of the Cosmos Club of Washington, D. C., on the subject What of the Panama Canal?—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 80th Congress, 2d session, volume 94, part 10, April 21, 1948, page A2449. The second was on February 24, 1949, before the Engineers' Club of Washington, D. C., on the subject The Whys of the Panama Canal—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 81st Congress, 1st session, volume 95, part 12, March 4, 1949, page A1303.

These two statements by Representative Bradley are undoubtedly among the most comprehensive treatments of the canal problem in the annals of the

Congress, and are commended for careful study by all concerned with this subject, for he stresses operational requirements as the true basis for interoceanic canal planning.

Other important contributions by Captain Bradley were his great achievements as Governor of Guam, 1929–31. There he exhibited the highest form of administrative initiative and statesmanship in the creation of a representative form of government for this insular possession of the United States. He lived to see its adoption by the Congress. His name is now a great tradition among the natives of Guam.

Captain Bradley died suddenly on August 27, 1954, at Santa Barbara, Calif. His death is mourned by a host of friends throughout this Nation, which he served with such distinction, and by the surviving Members of the 80th Congress. I am sure that all these join me in extending to his widow and daughters the assurances of the deepest and most tender sympathy.

I ask unanimous consent that an obituary published in the New York Times of August 29, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the obituary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILLIS BRADLEY, LEGISLATOR, DIES—CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLYMAN AND FORMER UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE WAS NAVAL HERO IN 1917

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., August 28.—Willis W. Bradley, of Long Beach, Republican State assemblyman and former United States Representative, died yesterday after suffering a heart attack while attending a legislative hearing. He was 70 years old.

A native of Ransomville, N. Y., Mr. Bradley was graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1907. He served as Governor of Guam from 1929 to 1931 and retired in 1946 with the rank of captain.

Mr. Bradley was a Member of Congress from the 18th California District from 1947 to 1949. He was elected to the State assembly in 1952 and was a member of the Board of Visitors at Annapolis.

His widow, Sue, and four daughters survive.

AWARDED MEDAL OF HONOR

Mr. Bradley won the Medal of Honor for heroism aboard the cruiser *Pittsburgh* when ammunition exploded on July 23, 1917. He was then a lieutenant. Badly dazed, he crawled through heavy smoke to rescue a man and then extinguished the fire in close proximity to other explosives.

In Congress, as a member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and chairman of the Subcommittee on Ship Construction and Operation, Mr. Bradley campaigned for additional safety measures on American vessels. He also was on the Panama Canal subcommittee and in 1947 went to inspect the canal with 11 other Members of Congress. He supported the Navy's plan for improvement of the canal.

As a young officer in the Navy, Mr. Bradley also won the Silver Medal of the Italian Red Cross for his rescue work at the disastrous Messina earthquake of 1906. Subsequently, Pope Pius XI also awarded to him a medal. He held a master of science degree from George Washington University (1914) and was a graduate of the Naval War College and the Navy's postgraduate school of ordnance and gunnery.

Is Manpower Cut Economy Move?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Bryan Daily Eagle, Bryan, Tex.

The article follows:

IS MANPOWER CUT ECONOMY MOVE?

What does it profit a man to have his money if he can't protect it from an enemy?

In a nutshell that's what many Democrats say they want to know about the cuts which President Eisenhower proposes for the Armed Forces.

His administration, particularly Secretary of Defense Wilson, is in for stiff quizzing by the Democrats who took control of Congress yesterday. Judging from what they've said, they will ask:

Is the administration, for the sake of economy, reducing the Armed Forces to a point where they can't protect this Nation's interests?

Senator SPARKMAN, Democrat, Alabama, says he's afraid he's looking at bargain-counter defense. Senator MANSFIELD, Democrat, Montana, says he's afraid this country's vital military strength may be lost in the name of economy.

And Representative VINSON, Democrat, Georgia, who will head the House Armed Services Committee, says he will call Wilson before him for a full explanation.

It was Wilson who started the ball rolling December 20 with the announcement of a big reduction in the Armed Forces, particularly in ground troops. Why the cut? Less fear of war in part, Wilson told newsmen.

This wasn't what Secretary of State Dulles told newsmen several days later when they asked if the military cuts were the result of less fear of war. That wasn't the reason, he said.

He said improvement in weapons meant the military forces needed fewer men. This apparent conflict raised this question.

If one said one thing, and one another, what was the real reason? Was it to save money?

Reduction in ground troops meant this country would be less able to throw in troops against the Communists if they attacked anywhere in the world.

The United States might retaliate with air power but unless native troops were available to stem the Red assault where it occurred, air strikes might not be enough.

The crisis in Indochina last year was recalled. The Communist-led Vietminh were trampling the French. There was danger they might take all of Indochina. The administration had to consider the question of intervening.

It was reported later Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway. Army Chief of Staff and member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, opposed intervention on the grounds he didn't have ground troops to back it up.

In June 1952, in the midst of the Korean war, the Armed Forces totaled 3,636,000. When that war ended in 1953, it was possible to reduce to some extent the number of men under arms.

As of today, the Armed Forces number about 3,218,000, a reduction of 418,000 since June 1952. The administration now proposes a further cut to 2,850,000 by June 1956, a reduction of almost 800,000 men since 1952.

Eisenhower gave an explanation in a letter to Wilson, made public yesterday. This letter, backing up Wilson, may have been intended to take some of the heat off him.

The explanation goes like this:

(1) This country must be ready to meet any form of aggression, since no one can predict how it will come; (2) this country must depend as much as it can on new weapons and scientific development in order to cut down on manpower and save lives; (3) this country must be able to retaliate fast against any attack in order to discourage such an attack in the first place; (4) since no one can foretell how long the cold war will last, keeping up the minimum necessary defense force will be a drain on the economy so expense must be spared where possible; (5) the United States will have to have forces able to help out other peoples if they're attacked.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

MR. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence by the people of that country took place on January 22.

The history of the Ukraine contains many chapters on their struggle for freedom and independence which they more recently realized during the years 1917 to 1920.

Today this Nation, composed of 40 million people, is behind the Iron Curtain under Communist domination, but in their hearts and minds these people continue their centuries-old struggle to regain their freedom.

The free people of the world are aware of the great courage which this country has displayed in its opposition to Communist oppression and we in the United States will give every possible assistance to restoring freedom in the Ukraine so that these people may realize a cherished dream—permanent peace.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

National Commander Speaks for Disabled Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, on which I have had the privilege of serving, this morning heard National Commander Alfred L. English, of the Disabled American Veterans, speak in behalf of the war-disabled veterans of the Nation and outline the proposed legislative program of that great veterans' organization.

Commander English is a distinguished Tennessean and a member of the bench of my State. His home is in Shelbyville, Tenn., where he is an outstanding civic and veterans' leader.

I feel that his testimony is worthy of the attention of the entire membership of the House and I am, therefore, asking unanimous consent that the full statement of Commander English, of the national DAV organization, be inserted in the RECORD.

His statement follows:

DAV LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1955

(Statement of National Commander Alfred L. English to the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, February 2, 1955)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, it is my privilege and honor to appear before the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives this morning as national commander of the Disabled American Veterans.

In accordance with the custom of many years standing this committee, at the beginning of each session of Congress, invites the national commanders of the congressionally chartered veteran organizations to appear before it and discuss their respective legislative programs. This opportunity to discuss legislative matters falling within the jurisdiction of your committee is one of the highest honors and most important duties I will perform as national commander of the Disabled American Veterans this year. The DAV is proud of its record of service to America's wartime disabled veterans, and equally proud of the sincere, intelligent, and keen interest of this committee in its consideration of legislation pertaining to service-connected disabled veterans.

For the benefit of the newly assigned members of this committee, some of whom I have already had the pleasure of meeting, I would like to briefly state that the DAV was founded on the principle that this Nation's first duty to veterans is the full rehabilitation of its wartime disabled. This principle envisions: (1) proper medical care and treatment for disabilities incurred, increased, or aggravated by military service; (2) adequate compensation for the degree of disablement caused by such disabilities; (3) training and education to restore employability to the wartime disabled; and (4) adequate compensation to the widows, minor children, and dependent parents of veterans who died as a result of a service-incurred disability.

Before I present to you the principle objectives of our 1955 legislative program I would like to comment on the questions set forth in the letter of December 14, 1954, which I received from the chairman of this committee.

The first question is the effect that the amended form 10–P–10 and addendum (circular No. 11, 1953) designed to protect applicants for hospitalization and veterans, generally, from charges of "chiseling" may have had on the admission of veterans seeking hospitalization for non-service-connected disabilities. The DAV, you may recall, presented no objection in 1953 to the general program of the admission of the non-service-connected veteran unable to pay for his hospitalization elsewhere. We submitted no evidence of alleged abuses of the admission of non-service-connected veterans well able to pay for their hospitalization. I have been advised that we had conducted a careful survey through our national service offices but found no such abuses which would justify an amendment or change in the form 10–P–10. In a recent survey conducted throughout our offices we asked the specific question, "Has the revised form 10–P–10 and addendum 10–P–10a corrected alleged abuses of the admission of non-service-connected cases who may be able to pay for the treatment elsewhere?" The general response was that there had been no abuses in the first place and the addendum was unnecessary. The answer received from our national service officer in Montana seems to express the opinion of many. He states, "To my knowledge there were no abuses of hospitalization of non-service-connected cases in the State of Montana. The publicity given, and the use of revised form 10–P–10 and addendum 10–P–10a has only served to drive away deserving veterans from making application for hospitalization with the Veterans' Administration when they are in need of and entitled to the same." As usual the honest man with a little pride and a conscience is the only one who is denied. The fellow with an easy conscience or definite ideas as to his rights will pay no attention to the addendum.

The second question relates to the desirability of terminating the present emergency period for the Korean conflict as it relates to continuance of wartime benefits. I will discuss this question in full at a later point in my statement.

The third question is "The needs of the Veterans' Administration program with specific attention to any indicated need for major renovation or repair of existing VA hospitals and domiciliary homes. Particular reference is made to major repairs deemed necessary in certain of the older VA facilities which are not being taken care of in the current budget?"

As we have already indicated the Disabled American Veterans is vitally interested in the care and welfare of the wartime service-connected veteran and his rehabilitation. We believe that the hospitalization program of the Veterans' Administration and the treatment of the war veteran is one of the most important and necessary functions of the VA. We are extremely proud of the part the DAV has played in the past in the construction and maintenance of your great VA hospitals. I know that members of this committee are deeply interested in the hospital program also.

I would like to stress at this time the present need for altering or renovating many of the older hospitals, enlarging them where necessary, and even rebuilding some of them that were originally constructed as temporary buildings during the war. The science of medicine and the treatment of the physically and mentally ill in hospitals have advanced rapidly and requires modern and up-to-date structures if the veteran patient is to receive the first-class treatment he so justly deserves. Looking at it from a cold practical standpoint it is just plain good business for the Government to keep current with the maintenance of these hospitals, renovating and altering them from time to time when needed. The lack of necessary funds has been one of the reasons that the altering and maintenance of many of the older hospitals has not been put into effect. The DAV hopes that this year sufficient money will be provided in order that all of the older hospitals can become first-class institutions.

The fourth question relates to "The operation of the VA loan-guaranty program, particularly as it relates to the differences in guaranty and entitlement under the guaranteed loan program and direct loan program that exists between veterans purchasing residential property and certain classes of farm real estate to be used by the veteran for a home?"

Public Law 475 of the 81st Congress increased the maximum guaranty and entitlement on residential property from $4,000 to $7,500, but failed to make any change in the guaranty on certain classes of farm property, so that today there exists a differential of $3,500. The delegates to our two last national conventions have given consideration to this matter and approved resolutions to equalize the guaranty on farm property with that of residential property. H. R. 98, introduced by Mr. Edmondson, if enacted, would correct this inequity and we urge your favorable consideration of it.

In general the operation of the loan-guaranty program has been a tremendous asset to World War II and Korean veterans and to the Nation as a whole. It has enabled millions of veterans to become home owners who otherwise would have been unable to do so, while at the same time the cost to the Government has been negligible.

Question 5 relates to the desirability of a modest scholarship-assistance program for the dependent children of certain servicemen who lost their lives in the service of their country during a period of wartime, such a program to be patterned along the general lines of the veterans' education and training program under Public Law 550, 82d Congress.

The DAV is in full accord with the purposes of such a program, and we hope the committee will hold early hearings on H. R. 588, introduced by your chairman. The bill provides a modest scholarship-assistance program for the children of servicemen who lost their lives as a result of their wartime service. I know of no class of dependents more worthy of Government assistance.

Mr. Chairman, in answer to question No. 2 of your letter of December 14, 1954, it is my sincere belief that the weightiest problem confronting this committee and the veteran

organizations today is that of the desirability of terminating wartime benefits as already accomplished by Executive Order 10585. I certainly don't know the answer to this very complex problem, nor do I think any of you ladies or gentlemen pretend to know the answer.

In this connection, I would like to read to you an editorial from the Albuquerque Tribune of January 17, 1955. I think it is both pertinent and timely. The editorial reads as follows:

"VETERANS' RIGHTS: TOUGH QUESTION

"What rights and privileges does America owe its veterans?

"This is a question so tightly wrapped in sentiment, tradition, national honor, and prejudice that few responsible persons have tried to examine it. It is not a question to be answered hastily.

"But it is one we soberly and logically must explore one of these days.

"Traditionally, American veterans and their widows have been honored as citizens to whom a grateful nation owed a debt.

"That tradition has been as correct as it has been noble.

"But times may outmode traditions.

"In the last 39 years, we have been in three major wars.

"There are more than 20 million living male veterans in this country, out of a total of about 50 million men.

"In other words, about 2 of every 5 men have seen military duty.

"America's veterans, obviously, no longer are a small, select band of heroes.

"Because of wars—and, in the last 15 years, the advent of the peacetime draft—we have been edging closer and closer to the point where more than half our grown men will have served in uniform.

"When we reach that point, the veteran in fact will be the average man.

"And the average man will be paying taxes to reward himself—with the Government deducting a bookkeeping fee.

"In the past 8 years, we have been spending between $4 billion and $7 billion each year on veterans' services and benefits. We spend more on veterans than on any other budget item except national defense and debt interest. President Eisenhower has acted wisely in ordering veterans' benefits to be put back on a peacetime basis beginning January 31.

"But the big question remains: What rights and privileges should we accord our veterans?

"Is not military service becoming the rule, rather than the exception?

"What then, other than respect and protection of his rights to his old job back, should be given the dutiful man who fulfills his military obligations and is sent back to civilian life in good health? That's the problem for which we must find a realistic answer before too long."

In order to answer the question "What rights and privileges does America owe its veterans?", it is necessary to give consideration to several important factors. The first of these is that the Congress will probably extend the Selective Service Act which expires June 30 of this year for another 2- or 4-year period. Even though active hostilities in Korea have terminated we are still maintaining large, combat-ready military forces in many parts of the world. On the 24th of January the President of the United States delivered a message to the Congress relative to our policy in the Far East. This policy as set forth in the President's message has had the nearly unanimous endorsement of the Congress. It is inconceivable to believe that as a result of this policy in the Far East, as well as our military commitments in other parts of the world, that American boys inducted into the service will not become casualties. Who among us can say that because of our stated foreign policy, and I do not imply it is wrong, that we are not at war or operating under conditions similar to war. If so, is this the time to terminate wartime veterans' benefits for these men and the dependents of those who will undoubtedly become casualties?

Military service is becoming the rule rather than the exception as stated in the above editorial. However, I cannot agree with the conclusion in the editorial that because military service is the rule that the Government's obligation to the veteran is to see that he gets his "old job back." Men being inducted into the service in great part do not have any "old job" to which to return. These are young men, men in their late teens, whi have never had a job, but who would have had jobs were it not for the intervention of military service.

The Disabled American Veterans' primary concern is not with the veteran returned to civilian life in good health, but rather with the small minority who leave the service as a result of service-incurred injuries or diseases. The above editorial does not make any effort to develop or discuss what America owes to this class of veterans. We feel that first things should come first, and that the first thing for this Congress to decide is what does America owe to the veteran who was involuntarily inducted into the service, who fulfilled his military obligations and incurred a service disability as a result thereof. Because military service is rapidly becoming the rule, rather than the exception, does not in my opinion alter the Government's obligation to him in any respect.

Several weeks ago while visiting a large military hospital I overheard two marine enlisted men who were patients in the hospital, discussing the pros and cons of the termination date of wartime benefits on January 31. One of these young soldiers made the statement that he would be discharged because of his service-incurred disability in a training camp and that he would receive wartime rates of compensation. If his unfortunate injury had occurred yesterday, and as a result of Executive Order No. 10585, he would be considered a peacetime veteran and eligible to receive only the peacetime rates of disability compensation. I would like to ask you this question, is there any fundamental difference insofar as eligibility for wartime benefits is concerned between a date early in January, when the young veteran became disabled, and February 1, 1955, or any date subsequent thereto?

The more we study this problem the clearer it becomes that the concept of wartime and peacetimed service has drastically changed since the end of World War II. Is it possible to arbitrarily fix a date for the termination of wartime benefits and at the same time adopt a foreign policy which potentially can erupt into a conflict of major proportions on short notice.

Because of the restrictive nature of the DAV legislative policy, our program is not as all-encompassing in the field of veteran benefits as that of other veteran organizations. The subjects we submit for your consideration from time to time relate solely to the veteran who has incurred a wartime, service-connected disability.

UNIFORMITY IN EXISTING BENEFITS

One of our chief concerns is the inequity created in the compensation rates by the enactment of Public Law 356, 82d Congress. This law provides a 15 percent increase in compensation for veterans rated 50 percent or more disabled, and a 5 percent increase for those rated less than 50 percent. Another section of the same law provided an increase of approximately 15 percent in death compensation to widows with children, while widows without children, did not receive any increase. This obvious inequity was partially corrected during the second session of the 83d Congress, by the enactment of Public Law 695 which, in part, provided an increase of 15 percent to widows without children.

However, Public Law 695, while providing a small increase in the rates of disability compensation, does not correct the inherent inequity existing in the rates of compensation created by Public Law 356 of the 82d Congress. H. R. 774 and 1819 pending before this committee, have for their purpose the reestablishment of parity in the rates of disability compensation between veterans rated less than 50 percent and those rated 50 percent or more.

The full significance of this inequity can be easily understood, when recognition is given to the fact that the differential between the less seriously disabled and the more seriously disabled is considered in adjudicating a veterans claim for service connection. Public Law 356, however, imposes an additional and entirely unwarranted differential by providing a 15 percent increase for one group of disabled veterans and a 5 percent increase to another group. The net result of this legislative legerdemain is that a veteran presently rated 10–49 percent does not draw this percentage of total disability compensation despite the fact that service-connected disabilities are rated percentagewise.

One other matter on our legislative program to which I would like to call specific attention is a proposed amendment to Public Law 182, 79th Congress. This law provides additional compensation in excess of total disability awards to veterans suffering from the loss or loss of use of one or more extremeties, or who have lost the sight of one or both eyes. Double amputations of arms or legs or combinations thereof are adequately provided for, but there is no provision in this law to grant an additional award for loss or loss of use of an eye in combination with the loss or loss of use of an arm or a leg. H. R. 1614, introduced by the chairman of this committee would make the present law more uniform and equitable if enacted.

There are many other important subjects on our legislative program which fall within the jurisdiction of this committee, but in the interest of conserving time I will not read them. You will find attached hereto, a list of our major legislative aims and objectives other than those already referred to.

Again I wish to express my gratitude for the opportunity to present the DAV's legislative program to this committee and to thank you for the many courtesies you have extended to me. My Washington staff who are with me today will always be available to the committee and to your professional staff for any information regarding the VA program.

The Citadel, Charleston, S. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I enclose herewith the separate speeches by the distinguished military men who have graced the rostrum at The Citadel under the program instituted by that outstanding, retired general, Mark Wayne Clark, the now president of The Citadel.

Under General Clark's magnetic leadership America's foremost thinkers

in the fields of religion, statesmanship, and the military are weekly addressing the Corps of Cadets at The Citadel in Charleston, S. C.

These discussions which are so well attended by the cadet body are thought provoking and are of immeasurable benefit to this fine institution. The first-hand experiences related by these distinguished speakers gives this student body an opportunity to gain information which few institutions of higher learning enjoy.

It is to the great credit of General Clark that these programs have been commenced and that those who are fortunate enough to attend this great military institution can gain the benefit of this rich experience.

Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include first the address of His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, to the Corps of Cadets at the Citadel on December 4, 1954, the title of which is "America's Hour of Trial"; the second is the address by the distinguished Chief of Staff of the Army, Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, delivered on Tuesday, December 7, 1954; and third, the address of the Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. Robert B. Carney, entitled "Education and Leadership," delivered to the student body on January 4, 1955.

Cardinal Spellman's address follows:

ADDRESS OF HIS EMINENCE, FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN, TO THE CORPS OF CADETS AT THE CITADEL, CHARLESTON, S. C., DECEMBER 4, 1954

AMERICA'S HOUR OF TRIAL

It is with great gratitude and pride that I have come to South Carolina to be with you, cadets of the Citadel, whose lives are dedicated to perpetual protection of our beloved and blessed country. The fathers and brothers of some of you I have met in different and far corners of the earth. With some I have shared a day; with others a hasty meal behind lines of battle; with some a leisurely luncheon in my own home, or in their quarters. With all of them, as with you, I share a common love of our wondrous, free, and noble Nation, and close to my heart I hold this opportunity to be with you today.

Tried and trusted keepers of America's defense, yours is the responsibility valorously to match deeds and words; yours the sacred duty to live your lives, and if necessary, give your lives for your country. Fortified by my feeling that you believe in my own love of God and of my country, as I believe in yours, I ask that with friendly hearts and open minds, you ponder my reflections founded on the sacred principles of my priesthood and my patriotism, for I am devoted, as you are, not alone to the soil of America, but also to the preservation of America's soul.

It matters not where we live, or what position in life we hold, whether we be Protestant, Jew, or Catholic, by our prayers and our deeds we must prove our faith in God, our country, and our fellow man, publicly avowing not alone by words but by our works an eternal enmity to all evils spawned from godless, tyrannical communism, pledging our everlasting loyalty to justice and freedom rooted in God himself. And I beg of you, America's future guardian soldiers and my dear friends, as you observe military regulations in order that you may be prepared valiantly to defend your country, I ask that with equal fervor you follow faithfully the laws of God. As you respect every command of your military leaders, I pray with equal devotion revere the Commandments of your Divine Leader—Almighty God. For, in this, America's fateful hour, it is the bounden duty of every one of us to prove worthy of kinship with God and trustworthy of our American citizenship, not by lip alone, but by daily deeds of honorable living. The time has long since passed when anything less can save America.

Therefore, do I say to you young, stalwart-hearted, strong-bodied sons of our free and precious country, stand firm in your faith, for only if faith dwells strong and stout and powerful in American hearts shall we be able to help America survive. If our hearts and our acts are weak and vacillating; if Americans are prone to appease Communists; if they continue to be apathetic toward Americans who take refuge behind the fifth amendment, Americans unworthy of the honor of being citizens of this mighty Nation; if some Americans continue to assail other Americans who are striving to protect their country by eliminating Communists from America's Government, defense plants, educational institutions, and the Armed Forces of the United States; if we continue to thus play into the hands of the Communists day after day until the days become months and the months stretch into years, then shall that day soon come when it will be too late to save America and all the God-given glories and wonders that are hers. Then shall America be destroyed, not alone by Communists outside her shores, but with the cooperation of traitorous-hearted, God-hating people pretending to be patriotic American citizens. Then, once again, the heroic sacrifices of America's sons, fathers and brothers, and all who so dearly loved them shall be violated as we again bring upon ourselves and the innocents of future generations agonizing, bloodletting years of war.

No man on earth wants war less than I—for I am a priest of peace, my life consecrated to the service of God and man, dedicated to striving to bring peace to men on earth and everlasting peace in Heaven. No man wants war less than I, for a dozen times I have circled the world of war, visiting the men of our Armed Forces in every country of the globe where America's sons were fighting and dying on foreign soil, visiting and praying with them, trying to bring them some solace in their hours of heroic sufferings and sacrifices, and my heart cried out every minute of the countless hours I spent with the wounded as they lay on their cots of pain, in hospitals and hospital ships; no man wants war less than I, for I have seen the horrors and havoc of war and witnessed the untold miseries endured by men, women, and children in war-devastated lands. It is for peace I make my plea today, but peace that does not mean surrender to our enemies or leaves us unprepared or unaware of the dangers we face. For peace I work and pray and plead every day of my life—but peace with justice and freedom and honor for America and all the nations of the world.

But today realistic Americans must be aware that we are poised on the brink of a third world war, and, while no man knows the fate that awaits us, this we do know, that if communism conquers it will be slavery or death for Americans and the extinction of our country as a God-loving, democratic nation. Americans by this time should surely know Communists for what they are, America's enemy, deadly and merciless, subjugating nations by infiltration and aggression, enslaving freedom-loving peoples by promises of plenty while murdering their bodies, their souls, and their hopes until they die amid indescribable terrors, chaos, and famine.

America's hour of trial has come, and only if God guides the captains of our Ship of State shall we out-ride this terrible, tragic crisis of history. In the days that rush upon us now, only a nation one in heart and soul shall long survive. United only can we live, divided fall. America needs loyal sons like you young men of The Citadel. She needs them strong of body and of soul. And it is my profound belief that no nation can long survive unless the loyalty of her peoples is founded in love of God.

I have been witness to this truth in a thousand ways upon the fields of battle and in embattled lands throughout the war-wrecked world. It was but a few months after the conclusion of the last world war that I visited the historic city of Freiburg in southwest Germany close by the storied Black Forest. Freiburg was a tragic spectacle. Poverty, hunger, and suffering stared at us from every side. Rubble was heaped high in her ancient streets. Gaunt and empty ruins were all that were left of the quaint city which I had known as a young priest.

The 800-year-old Cathedral, glorious example of early Gothic, though badly burned and scarred, was still standing midst Freiburg's desolation. I crossed to the acres of ashes that once had been the university, which in its prime had attracted such scholars as Erasmus of Rotterdam and Zasius, the founder of modern political science, a university which possessed one of the oldest and best medical schools in Europe. All was a mass of smouldering debris. The huge lecture halls, the faculty houses, the magnificent library, the law and medical colleges, all had been reduced to charred and broken masonry silhouetted ghostlike against bleak, grey skies.

As I stood in the chill autumn air and gazed sadly about, my eyes were attracted to the inscription carved over an archway that by a freak of bombing had escaped destruction. It was chipped and charred but still legible and it read: "Unless the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it." Here, I thought to myself, is a graphic and terrifying fulfillment of those words of the Psalmist inscribed among Freiburg's own mournful ruins. I thought of Hitler and his mad company and all those other dictators and godless tyrants, enemies of religion whose hate propaganda and terroristic methods had brought nations and peoples of the world to their present pitiable state of confusion and chaos, terrible testimony to this truth that they labor in vain who build without God.

Hitler derided and denied the God Who made him. Fanatically he attempted to stomp out religion. Hounding, imprisoning, murdering ministers of God during the crazed years of his ascendancy, he persecuted and put to death thousands of men and women only because they worshiped God instead of Hitler. He eradicated charity and mercy from human hearts and speech. He suppressed institutes of religion and, in their stead, he substituted Belsen and Dachau with their ovens, their torture chambers and their heaps of rotted corpses. He replaced the Commandments of God with antireligious slogans and laws, using sheer military power, science and the machine as tools of his despotism. Thus were God and religion blotted out of men's souls and the horrible and ineffaceable results were the ruins of Freiburg and hundreds of other devastated cities and towns in blood soaked lands pockmarking the whole-world—except, Thank God, 'till now, our own.

In our own America, ever since Colonial times, religion has taken its rightful, fundamental place in the writings of our Founding Fathers traditionally familiar even to every American schoolchild. Since the passage of the Bill of Rights in 1791 our Constitution has been amended 22 times. During those years many and important changes have occurred in our American life and customs, but the right of every American to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience has endured without change or threat of change. Never in the history of the United States has there been Government interfer-

ence or persecution of any religion. And, as Americans and as human beings we can be proud of that record.

Religion has served our Nation well. Its benefits have been legion. Religion has encouraged recognition of the rights of conscience, has fostered the establishment of schools and colleges educating our youth to the advantages and the responsibilities of American citizenship. Religion has inspired and sanctified humanitarian motives and acts in the foundation and in the support of hospitals and charitable institutions. Religion has promoted the works of peace and encouraged and cemented harmonious relations among citizens and various racial groups of good-will. Religion has strengthened civic virtue and has been patriotism's strongest prop. Religion has acted as a proven and salutary check on human weaknesses and excesses and has ever stood as a solid and secure foundation for our democratic Nation.

Vividly do I recall another experience of the war years. It was in October 1944. The American forces had already breached the Siegfried Line and I was riding through a wooded section near Aachen with General Huebener then commanding the First Infantry Division. As our jeep bumped and bounced over a corduroy road through a dripping fog, past the hulking specters of blown up fortifications and overturned Nazi tanks, the general, in his forthright way, said to me: "Archbishop, I do not say that only a religious man can be a good soldier, but I do say emphatically and challenge anyone to contradict me when I say that the soldier who lives up to his religion is a better man and a better soldier."

Therefore do I pray you, cadets of this great military citadel, in your duty hours, in your social contacts, whenever and wherever opportunity permits, by word, deed and example, be faithful to the teachings of your religion. Seek out and encourage the soldier who is lax. Spur on the spiritual thinking that lad who is indifferent. Demonstrate to all, to your fellow-officers and your men, that religion does make a man a better man, a better soldier and a better American. By your own lives prove that religion is the fountainhead and foundation of democracy and that "Unless the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it." Any other foundation is but a foundation of sand. Unless the Lord dwell in the structure of our Government, those who have labored to build it, those millions who have fought and died to preserve and perpetuate our country, all will have labored, fought, suffered and died in vain.

Ofttimes many people of many lands and different religious beliefs have asked me what my faith means to me.

Faith was mine long before I studied its theological definition or even mastered the penny catechism during my Sunday school days. Faith to me has been, from longest remembrance, as real as my mother's love, my father's reverent responsibility to his church, his country, and his family, as real as the rosary in my grandmother's fingers, the blinking sanctuary light in our little country church. As a child of faith, I have ever dwelt in its warm, all-embracing atmosphere. Like the sky it drew my thoughts upwards; like the earth beneath, it steadied my feet. Like the air above me it served to satisfy the hidden needs of my soul. Like the goodness of my parents it sent me away satisfied, contented, at peace with God, myself, and my fellowman.

What does faith mean to me? I have seen the answer beneath the streaming glory of our Nation's flag, against the crimsoned glory of the tropical sunset, above the tranquil quietude of the white-crossed graves of our beloved dead, for faith alone can give logical answer to their sacrifices. This then is what faith means—the ultimate and only satisfying explanation to life's most disturbing frustrations, the solution of all problems, the solvent of all pains, victory even in all defeats. Religion, my friends, is the daily chalice God offers for men's strengthening, the ground of hope, the source of love and the golden door by which, in God's good time, I devoutly pray, we shall pass into that fullness of possession where love rewards us for having held faith's strong and guiding hand amid the darkness, the terrors and the toil of this mortal world.

And now, dear friends, my heart is filled with desire to tell what America means to me, America, sacred sanctuary of liberty, democracy, and faith:

America means the broad wheat fields of the Middle West, symbolic of the broad spirit of tolerance that has made it possible for peoples stemming from many diverse lands, races, and creeds to live here in our blessed Nation, united in fraternal charity.

America means the cotton fields and sun-swept verdure of the South, symbolic of your gracious hospitality and the spirit of statehood undefeated.

America means the snow-capped Rockies, mighty in their majesty, symbolic of our country's ideals that man may live with man in mutual respect, following God's law, echoed in man's conscience.

America means the deep voice of crested waves rolling in from the Pacific along the frontiers of the Golden West which bespeak the sacrifice and labors of our vibrant, rugged forebears.

America means rocky hillsides, turbulent streams, little villages and towns in my native New England and my heart fills with emotion as I ponder the wholesome principles and homespun piety that dominated the small world of my boyhood.

America means New York, Chicago, Atlanta, New Orleans, Los Angeles, and the other cities of our great Nation, with their multiple beauties and wonders.

These are America's material glories, but more precious and wondrous still is our flag, which joyously and proudly I have seen flying aloft in all corners of the world, the flag of freedom that symbolizes justice and love of man for God and his fellowman, stark contradiction to the red flag of tyranny, symbol of serfdom and pagan oppression. I have seen our American flag in wartime and in peacetime; and, as a loyal son of America, I give testimony to the truth that even in time of war, the message of that flag is peace. With rapt heart I recall the sight of our flag at the masthead of a ship, weaving bright colors above the turbulent waters, beneath a sullen gray sky, which seemed to reflect the world of today, dark with forebodings of disasters yet to come, gray with the accumulated clouds of evils and errors of the past.

Suddenly a gust of wind enfolds the listless standard at the masthead, and there, challenging the somber colorings of the sky, streams Old Glory; Red with charity for all men and all nations of good will—red too with courage to achieve the liberties of man by personal sufferings and sacrifice; white for the basic righteousness of our national purpose; blue for our trust and confidence in God, our Heavenly Father. Red, white, and blue! The flag of our God-blessed America, the last unfailing hope of embattled humanity struggling for survival against the menace of atheistic communism that would desecrate and destroy both the flesh of man and man's spirit.

This, then, is what America means to me—America, which you and I and millions of others stand ready to defend unto death.

The Citadel, Charleston, S. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Chief of Staff, United States Army, at The Citadel, Charleston, S. C., Tuesday, December 7, 1954:

I am honored and grateful for the opportunity to be here today. For more than 40 years it has been my good fortune to have served in peace and war—at work and at play—with your distinguished president, General Clark. To be with him again and with you young gentlemen, preparing yourselves for the responsibilities and duties of the future of America, is an inspiring experience.

The Citadel has a long and honorable tradition. Its graduates have gone out to serve the Nation, both as soldiers and as civilians, for well over a hundred years. As one of the oldest military schools in the United States, The Citadel has an atmosphere, a curriculum, and a tradition with a sound and strong military orientation.

While I realize that it is not the primary purpose of the military college of South Carolina to train officers for the Armed Forces, it is of the military responsibilities of its prospective graduates that I want chiefly to speak, and it is to you young gentlemen that I primarily address my remarks.

The greatest opportunity to which you can aspire is the opportunity for useful service.

That opportunity will soon be given to you. Most of you expect, upon graduation, to begin a tour of duty as a member of the active military forces. I hope that many of you will go on, as so many distinguished alumni of this school have done, to follow military careers. But even if you do not choose to continue as professional soldiers—and I use the term "soldiers" to refer to all military men—the skills and the integrity which the Citadel has given you will prove invaluable to your communities, and to the Nation, whatever profession you may pursue.

You do not need to ask yourselves why you are receiving military as well as purely academic training. Presumably, you answered that question for yourselves when you chose to come here to school.

It may be, however, that you wonder why it is that you and so many of your contemporaries must give a number of years of your lives to full-time military service, and why, having completed your active service, you will continue to be available for military duty in case of national need.

The answer is simple: Our Nation, with all it stands for, lives under a continuing threat of attack by godless communism. Only by maintaining strength can we hope to deter such an attack. Only by readily available strength can we win victory—and win we must—if we are unable to prevent the outbreak of war. And only through the provision of trained, determined men can we attain the strength essential to achieve either of these objectives.

The rendering of service to the Nation is no imposition upon the individual. It sometimes seems to me that people are too prone to feel sorry for themselves. The soldier is frequently called upon to endure discomfort, it is true. He may have to accept real hard-

ship and grave danger. Sometimes he is called upon to make the supreme sacrifice and lay down his life for the cause he defends.

None of this is new. Such sacrifices have been made throughout the history of man. Our own history is replete with them. Nothing is free. Nothing worthwhile is cheap. The service we perform, the sacrifice we may be called upon to make constitute the price we must be ready to pay to preserve for the future the blessings of liberty and justice, of human dignity and of individual freedom which have been handed on to us from the past.

It has been said that all true love includes a willingness to sacrifice. Certainly love of country and of God must include that spirit.

To all of you, let me say that seldom have young officers been afforded more challenging opportunities, more engrossing tasks than those which will confront you after your entry upon active service.

To those of you who will enter the Army, let me say, never doubt the vital significance of the responsibilities which will be placed upon you as members of the Army of the United States. Among some circles today, there is sometimes a tendency to believe that modern wars may be quickly won by means of mass destruction weapons which will make unnecessary the operations of ground combat forces. No assumption could be more dangerous, if used as a basis for planning.

Entirely apart from the employment or nonemployment of mass destruction weapons, a primary issue in combat is the destruction of the enemy's will to fight. Experience indicates that, when a people is devoted to its cause, its will to fight endures as long as its capability of fighting continues. In short, enemy resistance would continue so long as enemy armed forces could continue in combat. Ultimately, only ground forces can defeat enemy ground forces. And because enemy air and naval forces must operate from land bases, the seizure and occupation of such enemy bases by ground forces are important contributions to the achievement of victory at sea and in the air.

And, finally, since defeat of the enemy armed forces is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end, the victory must be consolidated. Domination over land and the enemy people occupying it must be gained and maintained, and only ground forces have the capability of so doing.

Obviously, none of the Army's tasks and missions can be carried out effectively without full support and assistance from the air and naval members of the team. Control of the air and the sea is essential to the projection of our military power overseas. However, the location of Army units on the ground is a true index of the progress of armed warfare. There is a direct analogy in football. If your ball advances, you win. If it is pushed back, you lose.

As members of the Army, therefore, you will be part of a vitally important element of our military forces.

Whichever service you may enter, to develop and maintain the proficiency necessary to carry out your responsibilities, you will find that your talents, your skills, and your energy will be called upon to the utmost.

You must maintain an open mind. There is no mind so fine today that it sees solutions to all the tremendous problems which we all perceive in the military field alone.

We are passing through a period of transition. There is a greater requirement than ever for mental flexibility.

As new weapons become available you will have to master new techniques. In the Army, for example, already we have such weapons as the Honest John rocket, the Corporal guided missile for surface-to-surface firing, and the Nike antiaircraft guided missile. We have the 280-mm. gun, capable of firing either conventional or atomic projectiles and capable, also, of operating effectively regardless of conditions of weather or visibility. We have recently announced the development of the "Bat," a 106-mm. recoilless cannon designed for antitank use. We have still other new weapons, including a number still under test and design, some of which you will doubtless have occasion to work with. In addition to weapons as such, there have been many innovations—and there will be more—in vehicles, in communications, in electronics.

All these advances in technology are having a marked influence upon tactics and tactical organization. One effect is that tactical deployments will entail much greater dispersion, both laterally and in depth. Necessarily, significant responsibility for tactical decisions will be delegated still farther down the chain of command. As a result, the responsibilities—and consequently the opportunities—which will be granted to you even as very junior officers will be substantially greater than has ever been true before.

Partly for this reason the opportunities which you will have for leadership will also be increased. You will be granted the chance to direct the activities of the soldiers who, when properly led, have repeatedly proved themselves the finest fighting men in the world.

When I first came into the service the drill regulations provided that a second lieutenant marching with his company was a "file closer"—he brought up the rear, it was said, like the tail on a dog but not half so useful. If there was ever any truth in that desription, it long since disappeared. Today the responsibilities of all officers, however junior in rank, are very great indeed.

Never forget, however, that you are responsible for your men, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and that your success as an officer rests solidly upon them. Their intelligence, their enthusiasm, their ingenuity, and their initiative are among the strongest assets which our Army has, but the responsibility for bringing out these qualities will rest squarely upon you. It is the greatest challenge you can face, for you will be working with the finest material there is—American youths—and your success with them will bring commensurate success throughout your life.

Finally I want to mention the implications to you of the fact that units of our Armed Forces are standing guard at points throughout the free world.

In all likelihood, you will spend a good part of your active service overseas. As a member of such a unit, you will be charged with a share of the vital task of keeping up our guard against any sudden assault. In standing ready, you will not be merely going through a drill or an exercise for its own sake. The proficiency which you develop, the alertness which you maintain will constitute the index of our hope for success in building the collective strength through which war may be prevented and through which, if it cannot be prevented, it can be won.

Although the responsibilities you face are weighty ones, you are fortunate in the excellence of the preparation which you are being given, militarily and academically, to assume them.

Under the guidance of General Clark, the eminent soldier, whose courageous leadership is known world-wide, assisted by the distinguished members of the faculty and staff of this splendid school, you are acquiring skills through which you will go out to serve the Nation, whatever your profession, in the magnificent manner which your predecessors have taught us to expect of Citadel men.

And you are being granted something else of value equal to the academic training you are receiving. That is a sense of tradition, of continuity, of dedication to the preservation of those spiritual values which are the basis of all that we know and have of real and unchanging worth.

Finally, to you is being given a limitless opportunity, the opportunity for useful, meaningful service to your families, your communities, and your country. I know of no higher opportunity to which anyone could aspire.

The Citadel, Charleston, S. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Adm. Robert B. Carney, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations, before The Citadel, Charleston, S. C., Monday, January 24, 1955:

EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP

The contributions and accomplishments that have been made by the graduates and faculty of this distinguished military college form an important part of America's past. Famous deeds and famous names have become a part of this institution's heritage. One whose magnificent accomplishments in wars both hot and cold will be indelibly inscribed in our history is that of your president, Gen. Mark Clark.

Our Nation is indeed fortunate in having this great military leader here at Citadel where he can continue to lead and inspire such young men as I see in this audience.

The Citadel performs a unique function and service in the American scheme of things in that it gives a selected group of young citizens insight and training into the essential requirements of citizenship; it emphasizes the citizens' responsibility in rising to the defense of this country. What is more important, by the nature of its ideals, traditions and academic standards, Citadel stresses development in the field of leadership; and responsible leadership is urgently needed today.

It becomes more apparent every day that our system of education is being posed with a greater challenge than we have ever known before. Both in government and industry, there is an ever-growing need for wider understanding of the interrelation between sound economics and national security. The time has passed when it is enough for a military man to be familiar with the tactics of his particular service arm or for the civilian to pleasantly limit himself to the civic affairs of his own community.

The nature of the world we live in is such that if general war should come again, not a man, woman, or child would be unaffected; more than that, virtually every citizen would be confronted with the responsibility of his own personal care in a desperate effort to survive. This stark reality is being brought home to people as never before by the growing awareness that we are no longer insulated by the oceans and the Arctic wastes. If this great test of national effort should ever come, every military man would be vitally concerned with the affairs of industry and civilian defense; and every nonuniformed contributor would, in some measure, need to have knowledge of military requirements in

order that they can be intelligently supplied and fulfilled. Toward the top of the ladder of national effort, where the great decisions must be made, there will be a corresponding requirement for a greater and broader understanding of human affairs. All of these things point to a need for broadening the scope of our national educational system with the difficult concomitant of increasing the amount of actual precise knowledge of an ever-expanding list of subjects. Actually, these are the only principles on which an effective educational structure can be built.

Education, today, must serve the dual purpose of supplying adequate personnel to the Armed Forces and continuing the uninterrupted flow of trained men to fill our other vital national needs, including our international commitments.

Always, there is the intense awareness of the fact that the incredibly complex organism which is the United States will need at every level a wise and informed leadership.

If one single attribute were to be singled out as the most important foundation-stone of leadership, there can be little doubt that it would be labeled "knowledge."

In the past, and perhaps under some circumstances still to be encountered, the rare personal quality that inspires others to follow may suffice to bring about the desired results. There are those men, who without apparent effort, have the gift to inspire subordinates to superlative effort. There have been occasions in military action when a dashing offensive spirit was enough to turn the tide of victory. But for every such opportunity and for every such man, there have been thousands and thousands of situations where saberwaving was not enough. Knowledge, and knowledge alone, will enable the men at the top, in positions of heavy responsibility, to evaluate the myriad factors and make the wise decisions. If this premise is accepted, and it would be hard to deny, it is all too apparent that a heavier burden is placed on leadership in these days of fantastically rapid and radical change than at any time in our history.

The wisdom that is essential in handling our national and international affairs is not so much a wealth of specialized knowledge as it is skill in handling problems that involve many diverse and sensitive viewpoints which must be applied to new situations. Wisdom of this general sort will always require the help of experts, so there is a continuing need for some men to specialize in specialties and others to specialize in specialists.

The ability to think and to make sound decisions in areas where uncertainty is the dominant note is not something easily and quickly attained. It is wisdom that cannot be achieved by shallow methods or by shortcuts or by undisciplined mentalities. It can only be acquired after hard work and much practice. There is no shortcut in developing the ability to think constructively and make wise decisions in the field of human relationships. There is no quick and easy formula, no slogan and no label that will replace the trials, disappointments, and general experience factors that are involved in acquiring this sort of a general education.

Man learns slowly, and if he keeps up to date, he must learn constantly. He learns by composition of study, experiment, conversation with informed men, and association. He learns through books, travel, human contact, and personal experience. He learns, too, by his own mistakes; and he can also learn by the mistakes that are made by others. There is no substitute for repetitive experiences in the acquisition of knowledge and in the building of character.

Thus, you can understand why the military emphasizes the drill. It is the basis of indoctrination and discipline. It inculcates a skill to the point where it becomes automatic reaction.

If our young people are to have confidence in themselves and faith in themselves, they must be given assignments involving challenge. The more gifted children should be given more complicated problems, and greater opportunity to forge ahead. The exceptional mentality should never be sacrificed to mediocre conformity and particularly so in these perilous times which are testing and challenging all of us to our utmost capacity. The mentality that can see ahead and formulate new ideas needs encouragement today.

It is a sobering thought in light of today's brainpower needs and capabilities that fewer than half our people with mental capacity for higher learning actually go to college. Regardless of the individual's mental capacity, his brain must actually be put to work and challenged if it is to be improved.

In the field of leadership, the handmaiden of knowledge is the ability to be articulate. Knowledge and ideas do little good if retained in a vacuum; they must be conveyed to others in a highly skilled manner.

It should be pointed out also that knowledge, in itself, is not enough. Nor is leadership alone a proper goal because evil men can acquire knowledge, achieve brilliance, and become leaders. The spiritual values were never more important than they are today, beset as we are by the plausible-sounding truth distorters in the Kremlin.

The question that quite naturally confronts each of us is to what extent international communism actually threatens our individual lives. Today, we are encouraged by the strengthening of our alliance and the strengthening of our retaliatory capabilities which all, added together, would seem to any rational man to make aggression less probable.

But the Communists' pattern of aggression is sometimes hard to discern. The point to remember is this: The Communists are covertly attacking our liberties every hour of the day, every day of the year, and have been since the end of World War II; they are continuously on the offensive, if not on the battlefield, then in the free press, free speech, and free economy, to serve their own black and loathsome purposes.

What may cause optimism today is the apparent improvement in our own situation rather than from any dimunition of threat to our form of government. The threat, in terms of international communism's purpose and methods, is just as great today as it ever was.

One of the most insidious aspects of communistic methods is their perverted usage of our own Anglo-Saxon words. Today, before our young people are old enough to fully comprehend and appreciate the true meaning of such words as "freedom" and "democracy," they are hearing these wonderful; meaningful words mouthed by the Communists in their effort to deceive and confuse. For instance, they label a satellite dictatorship, such as they are running in North Korea, as the People's Democratic Republic. They call us warmongering imperialists when they, themselves, state that it is their avowed purpose to gain control by force, if necessary, of our democratic processes. They call us reactionaries when, in fact, it is their government that is writing one of the most tyrannical chapters in world history.

The Soviets are constantly strengthening their armed forces quantitatively and qualitatively. They are developing new weapons and new uses of weapons. Their economy is expanding as is their interest in maritime matters. And the cells of their political structure are still being imbedded in every nook and cranny of the universe.

The truth is, then, that we need great national power as never before. We need technological achievement and a reservoir of trained personnel as never before.

In comparing the two education systems—ours and theirs—we see that the Soviet Union implements its requirements from the top down. They start with the needs of the state and educate from the realization that they must have trained experts to support their aggressive aim. Any benefits that might accrue to the individuals are simply byproducts.

In contrast, the American education system is designed to serve the purposes of the individual by offering him the opportunity to pursue the things in which he is most interested. The national needs of the United States are served as a result of our educational achievements from the bottom up.

We must recognize that despite the inherent political and ideological restraints of the Soviet Union's communistic society, she is making both quantitative and qualitative improvement in planning and coordinating her educational requirements to go forward with her economic, military, and political plans. She is placing increasing emphasis on scientific advancement in her educational system, both in her universities and her secondary schools, and in the engineering field she is reported to be graduating nearly twice as many specialists as are we.

I have been speaking of precise knowledge in the precise sciences, but there are cultural and political sciences, the mastery of which is just as essential, not only for safety but for progress. Perhaps the greatest of these is the science of understanding people—not just the people of your own nation or your own community, not just the people with similar sociological and political experiences—but an understanding of the historical and political backgrounds which underlie the thinking of the peoples of other nations.

Many of the international frictions which plague us in our effort to band together under the banner of freedom can be charged to ignorance of our neighbors' backgrounds.

The thing that we call freedom stems from the fierce determination of our early settlers to escape the old way of life and to build something new of their own choosing. The Government which we evolved arose out of our pioneering and our revolt against Old World customs and systems. The same Old World geography is now populated with people who have known nothing but the system from which our forebears severed themselves.

Quite naturally we must expect a great divergence of viewpoint concerning such matters as government, sociology, community customs and educational viewpoints. But even when we are not prepared to agree with the modes of life or the philosophy of other people, we should seek to understand the reasons behind their hopes and their fears, for in no other way can we hope to achieve the real human accord which is absolutely essential for harmony and security.

Illustrative of this is the splendid NATO concept—a field in which I had the great privilege of serving at one time.

In southern Europe where I labored in this cause were nations, which in my lifetime, had been at each others throats. There were fears and suspicions centuries old. Those ancient enmities and apprehensions existed in some measure in the hearts of the individual people when, by the stroke of the NATO pen, they found themselves allied together. It took more than the stroke of the pen to overcome those feelings of doubt and warniess; and yet, in an incredibly short time, these feelings did change in great measure. Of course, at times, there were understandable reluctance and hesitation. This is why, earlier in my talk, while discussing the great problem of security which confronts the free world today, I stressed the fact that it cannot be solved by the politician alone, nor the diplomat alone, nor the soldier

alone. If the urgently needed results are to be achieved, it requires, at every level, leadership built of an appropriate measure of all the components—political, spiritual, economic, military, and perhaps most important of all, an historical understanding which leads to a tolerant and useful understanding of the workings of other men's minds. There is a terrific challenge for this kind of leadership.

One of the lessons that stands out from my experience in dealing with the problems of others is that they must be approached with patience and an understanding of other points of view, and a firm resolve to find a mutually acceptable solution. When men of good will, wisdom, and tolerance approach problems in this manner, progress can be achieved. And, if there is one educational clarion call, it is the need for a breadth of education to the end that all of the free countries develop enlightened leadership—enlightened in the field of the problems of neighbors as well as their own.

If we are to cope with today's perpetrators of falsehood and deception, our most important long-range objective must be the achievement of an alliance possessing a more solid base in free nations, in armed might, in raw materials, in industry, and educational productivity than the Communists are able to command.

Our capacity to accomplish this long-range objective is transitory; and its success depends on the free peoples of the free nations, mutually understanding each other, the threat that exists to them in common, plus the will to maintain sufficient strength—moral and physical—to overcome this threat.

In short, the situation calls for a national and international educational effort to the end that we all have leaders who can keep pace with an environment that is constantly changing.

Every literate citizen has a responsibility in this undertakin to know what freedom really is, and, as far as is humanly possible, to be conversant with the factors in order that he can explain them to others. Freedom must be related to every phase of personal and national life; we must understand the rights and the responsibilities of freedom the techniques of individual and mass persuasion in accordance with free world concepts.

As far as our military needs are concerned, the machines of modern war are so complex that they can neither be conceived, built, nor operated by uneducated men. They require the best brains that we can develop. These mentalities, as they grow and develop, must be dovetailed with those who toil in the realms of politics and economics. We must always remember that wars are not won by weapon alone. They are won by men who know and believe in the principles for which they fight. The more knowledge a man has, the more potentially capable he is of rendering a service to himself, his community, his country, and the world.

I would like to leave this thought in conclusion: The mere defense of our land and our own way of life, even when we are defending ethical and moral principles, constitutes a defensive attitude. In this day and age, there is no earthly reason to be defensive about the great ideal we believe in, which, in its simplest terms, is the achievement of the maximum measure of freedom and fair play for the people of all nations. Our individual efforts of the future must not be predicated on the defense of our way of life but rather on the creative principle that we will help it spread and flourish for all men.

Which brings me back to my topic—education and leadership. The type of leadership needed in this era can only evolve from a system of education which inculcates a vast knowledge, and trains men to assimilate and sort out the facts and factors for profitable use. The country should be thankful for institutions such as this where both sides of the medallian—civic and military—can be exhibited, explained, and accepted as the cornerstone of the leadership which alone can keep us on the path to a shining destiny.

Educational Benefits for Servicemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. Russell I. Thackrey, executive secretary of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, together with the resolution adopted by this fine organization at its 68th annual convention, which concerns full wartime benefits for persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955. The resolution referred to supports the position represented in my bill, H. R. 292, which I introduced on January 6.

ASSOCIATION OF LAND-GRANT
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES,
Washington, D. C., January 25, 1955.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
Representative From Massachusetts,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: In connection with your recent introduction of legislation to extend eligibility for veterans' educational benefits under Public Law 550 during the period in which selective service is in operation, I am enclosing a resolution adopted by this association at its 68th annual convention. As you will note, it supports the position represented in your proposal.

Sincerely,

RUSSELL I. THACKREY,
Executive Secretary.

ASSOCIATION OF LAND-GRANT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, NOVEMBER 1954

The committee had before it a letter from Representative OLIN E. TEAGUE, of Texas, presently ranking minority member of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and scheduled to be chairman of that committee during the 84th Congress. Mr. TEAGUE's letter noted that in the past the Congress has adhered closely to the policy that rehabilitation programs were intended to benefit veterans with wartime service. It further states that the present program of education and training benefits under Public Law 550 may be discontinued at any time by concurrent resolution of the Congress or by proclamation by the President. It states that "now that hostilities have ceased in Korea, consideration probably will be given to terminating the period during which service personnel will accrue entitlement to education and training," and requests that the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities consider this question at its annual meeting in order that its position may be developed prior to the next session of Congress.

Your Committee on Veterans' Affairs has considered the question raised by Representative TEAGUE. It notes that at the time the association recommended a new program of educational and training benefits for veterans of the Korean fighting it felt that a program of educational benefits was justified only on the basis that a mandatory 2-year interruption of education would cause many young men who might otherwise attend college not to do so, and that the Nation could ill afford the resulting loss of trained personnel. Your committee feels that this reasoning was sound at the time and is still sound, regardless of whether or not the armed services are engaged in active combat.

1. Your committee therefore recommends that for such period as the Nation continues to find it necessary in the national interest to maintain the Selective Service program requiring 2 or more years of active service in the Armed Forces for all able-bodied young men the program of educational benefits under Public Law 550 be continued. The committee in making this recommendation wishes also to make clear that it is not recommending a program of educational benefits for young men undergoing solely a comparatively short period of universal military training without subsequent active service, nor does it recommend continuance of educational benefits in a period in which selective service for extended active duty is no longer in operation. In the event of a substantial change in the present Selective Service requirements, it feels the position of the association should be reviewed.

2. The committee further recommends that the association reaffirm its position in support of the financial provisions for educational benefits as provided in Public Law 550.

The Need for Standby Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to remind this House that we have a great need for legislation authorizing standby controls. Today the newspapers and the news broadcasts are stressing the warlike developments in the Formosa area. I am hopeful that the measures we have taken in the last few weeks have lessened the danger of war.

Without in any way magnifying these Formosan developments, I want, today, to call your attention to the terrible situation we would find ourselves in if all our peaceful activities should suddenly prove to be inadequate. Our economy is operating at top speed. We are turning out all kinds of civilian goods and substantial quantities of military supplies. A sudden outbreak of war would not catch us entirely unprepared. In the military field we would be better prepared than in any earlier peacetime period. In the civilian field, however, we would be far from ready for such an emergency.

One has only to look back to the Korean situation to realize what might result from the lack of standby controls. After inflation set in and supply shortages developed, a system of controls was adopted. These controls were adopted too late, however, to prevent a general price rise of 20 percent and many dislocations in civilian supplies. It should be obvious to anyone that our civilian economy is becoming more intricate and more complex with each passing year. It also should be evident that dislocations in the

civilian economy surely will be greater than ever before if we have another outbreak of war. We are supporting new measures in the United Nations in the interest of obtaining a peaceful settlement where gunfire is heard today. But at the same time we are reappraising our military requirements in the light of current developments in the world.

It is with these things in mind that I call your attention again to the fact that we do not have standby controls which would automatically go into effect if an emergency occurred. Are we going to continue to drift so far as our civilian economy is concerned? If an emergency occurs, will we be forced to enact legislation after much of the damage has been done to our civilian economy?

You are all aware, I am sure, that there are still many tensions in the world even though the Formosa situation is settled. The program to rearm Germany has its dangers. Unrest continues in the Middle East and in Africa. In view of all these tensions it seems to me it would be the course of wisdom to provide now for any emergency by enacting legislation which authorizes standby economic and supply controls for our civilian economy.

The Communists in the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in order to fortify what I have already said about the makeup of the United Nations, I quote here the words of Dr. George Dimitrov, chairman of the Bulgarian delegation to the assembly of captive European nations:

> We think that it is high time for the democratic representatives in the United Nations to make their courageous decision and determinedly say:
>
> "Out with the enemies of the United Nations from the United Nations.
>
> "Out with the professional Red warmongers from this temple of freedom and peace.
>
> "Out with the bloody dictators and criminal Red Fascists.
>
> "Out with the agents of Communist conspiracy.
>
> "Out with the greatest enemies of human rights, human dignity, human freedom, and human civilization."

In this Formosa situation the United Nations will attempt to obtain a cease-fire armistice and either maintain Nationalist China under the protectorate of this Communist-infiltrated United Nations or recommend some other move equally as disastrous to Nationalist China.

The President has full power to act now, no matter what the United Nations recommends, and he has already said that he will take charge of the matter. He now has the Congress squarely behind him and we hail his statement in his message that—

> The situation has become sufficiently critical to impel me, without waiting action by the United Nations, to ask the Congress to participate now.

Public opinion overwhelmingly supports the President and this resolution of Congress.

For the exact language of Dr. Dimitrov, I am indebted to the research of Paul O. Peters in his Washington News Bulletin.

It is obvious that the President has no intention of attacking Red China, but it is equally obvious that he does not intend to abandon Nationalist China. The situation is in good hands and the general public now is united behind the President.

Conclusions on Travel and Exchange of Persons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, there has been brought to my attention a recently released European survey made for the Appropriations Committee of the other body by Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, of Chicago, a special consultant to that committee.

Of particular interest to me among General Klein's recommendations are his conclusions on travel and exchange of persons. General Klein, among other things, calls for—

First. Intensification of the interchange of persons program at all levels;

Second. Encouragement of European tourist and business travel to the United States through cooperation with the established American travel industry; and

Third. Reexamination of existing law with a view toward facilitating and, with all safeguards of our interests, expanding the opportunities for foreign travel to the United States, and the assignment of adequate staffs to our consular services abroad to speed screening and other processing procedures required for the admittance of foreign visitors.

Since the end of World War II, the annual volume of dollars spent by American tourists abroad has more than doubled. Travel, in Europe, is now the biggest single source of earned dollars. The importance of Americans traveling abroad as a painless import and as an implementation of the "trade, not aid" program was well recognized by the report of the Randall Commission. Not measurable in dollars, however, is the value in strengthening the bonds of true friendship and understanding on a real personal level that international two-way travel brings. This understanding of America, its institutions, and its people, bought not by dollars but sold through travel, can well be one of the strongest deterrents to Communist subversion of the minds and wills of men.

Uncomical Comic Books

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I have requested this time to call to the attention of the House a bill which I have introduced today. It deals with a problem of supreme importance to the parents of our Nation.

It has been well said that a nation's literature fashions a nation's culture. In recently modern times, our young people have been swamped by a great avalanche of library barbarism in the form of so-called comic books. The unhappy fact is that many of them are anything but comical. Legislation with respect to publications has always been a very delicate subject. One of our most cherished rights is the freedom of the press guaranteed by the Constitution. Any degree of Government censorship of the publication and dissemination of reading matter impinges upon that constitutional safeguard. The ultimate extreme of Government censorship is the book-burning technique of the Nazi regime. On the other hand, the Government is charged with the protection of the general welfare. There can be no doubt that some of this weird, sadistic, and immoral literature is inimical to the public interest. Thus it will be seen that in legislating in this field, the Congress is necessarily confronted with two vitally important principles, the sanctity of both of which must be preserved. Just as freedom of speech cannot be stretched to justify treasonous words, just so cannot freedom of the press be stretched to justify corrupt literature.

Because of the two principles involved, and because of the complexity of the legal questions entailed, I feel that a temporary Presidential commission should be established to study both the problem and the legal implications of possible new legislation. Under my bill, this commission would "make a thorough investigation and study of the publication and transportation for sale in interstate commerce, by mail, rail, or vehicular or personal conveyance, of books, magazines, leaflets, circulars, and other publications containing pictures, drawings, paintings, sketches, or other illustrations or language which may be characterized as lewd, lascivious, immoral, obscene, inhuman, or sadistic, or calculated to teach, encourage, or glorify a breach of moral or secular law."

As soon as the commission has completed its investigation, the bill requires it to report to the Congress its recommendation for such legislation as it may consider just and justified.

It may well be that legislation is not the answer at all. An atmosphere of Christian discipline in the home can do more to solve the problem than all the laws in the world. It is simple to teach righteousness; it is difficult to legislate morality.

The 100th Anniversary of the Panama Railroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include my remarks on the 100th anniversary of the completion of the Panama Railroad on January 28, 1855. A commemorative stamp was issued, which was designed by Leo C. Page, chief of the architectural branch, and printed at the Mount Hope Printing Plant, Canal Zone. It is of artistic design and shows a sketch of the first Panama Railroad engine.

This great historical event has been brought to my attention by James F. Campbell, a personal friend of mine, who has spent many years of loyal service in the Customs Service at Cristobal, C. Z.

On January 28, last Friday, the railroad which crosses the Isthmus of Panama marked its 100th anniversary. All of us are fully aware of the economic and the strategic significance of transportation between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans across this 50-mile isthmus. I suspect, however, that not many of us are aware of the fact that for over half a century before the Panama Canal opened, in August 1914, passengers and freight had been transported along the general route of the canal by railroad.

When the first train linked the Atlantic and Pacific in Panama, on January 28, 1855, a year was to elapse before the first railroad in the United States crossed the Mississippi River and 14 years before the first rail link between the Atlantic and the Pacific was completed in the United States.

The completion of the Panama Railroad in 1855 was a tribute to United States private enterprise and engineering skill. The promoters were United States citizens. The corporation which operated the railroad from its beginning until 1948 was chartered in New York State and the contractors which handled the original construction were Americans.

The railroad across the isthmus was built at an enormous cost in human lives and human suffering. The connection between the mosquito and malaria was not known at that time and the various curative and precautionary measures then used were of no value. Thousands died. The terrain was extremely difficult, involving both swamps and hills. It is difficult for us today to understand how the project was ever completed.

The history of our own West is reflected in the history of the Panama Railroad. It began operation in time to benefit from the heavy movement of people and freight to California following the gold rush. Until 1870 the railroad was enormously profitable. After the completion of our own transcontinental railroads, the Panama Railroad went through a period of lean years.

French interests bought control of the railroad company in 1878 in connection with their efforts to build a canal across the isthmus. The railroad, after 1904, was of vital importance to the United States construction of the canal and is recognized today as essential to the maintenance and the security of the canal.

The Panama Railroad has been operated by the United States Government since 1904, but it is not financed from appropriated funds. I have visited Panama on several occasions and have had a nopportunity to observe the railroad in operation. I feel that we should all take pride in its record.

I would like to recommend to the Members of the House the special centennial edition of the Panama Canal Review of January 28, 1955, published in the Canal Zone, which contains a detailed history of the railroad with a number of very interesting illustrations.

Talk Is Cheap but Water Earns Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, every now and then it becomes necessary to say things which may sound sharp in some quarters, yet which are mild in comparison to what could be said. I do not think I need to add much to the editorial which will follow my remarks. This editorial appeared in the Denver Post, of Denver, Colo. It should be mentioned here, lest this be relegated as Democratic Party propaganda, that while the Denver Post is an independent organ of opinion it gave its support to the administration it here has under the microscope.

A big decision on reclamation and on the future of the West is to be made by this Congress. It may decide to do nothing, and if that decision is made the Nation will not soon regain the ground lost. Again, on the basis of information such as is highlighted in this editorial and as more completely spelled out in another insertion in this RECORD, made by me on January 27, 1955, the Congress may decide to get this great program back on the track so that the whole Nation may continue to benefit from this wise investment for underdeveloped areas. As it is pointed out, when you develop either a new area or increase the economic base, then you add net new wealth to the Nation generally. It is my hope that this editorial and the other insertion "Prairie Dogs Versus Prosperity?" will be carefully considered by the Members of Congress before they come to any final conclusion on what is to be done with reclamation.

The editorial follows:

TALK IS CHEAP BUT WATER EARNS MONEY

In his state of the Union message to Congress President Eisenhower said his 1956 budget "will recommend appropriations to start 6 new reclamation and more than 30 new Corps of Engineers projects of varying size * * *." Some of the corps projects, such as those in the Missouri Basin, may be related to reclamation. Most of them, we assume, will be for flood control or other purposes covered by the Rivers and Harbors Act.

Mr. Eisenhower made specific reference to the upper Colorado River project "to conserve and assure better use of precious water essential to the future of the West." And he said * * * "to develop, wisely use, and conserve basic resources" is one of the "fundamental policies * * * at the foundation of our economic growth."

The reclamation record of the Eisenhower administration after 2 years is far from impressive. Its Budget Bureau was described last November by C. Petrus Peterson, president of the National Reclamation Association, as a "very potent obstacle to (reclamation's) progress." Last year the reclamation program had been murderously hacked down 65 percent from the fiscal year 1950 in funds for new project construction and rehabilitation.

For 4 years before 1954 the Bureau of Reclamation's budget had averaged more than $263 million a year. The 83d Congress (the first Republican Congress since 1947–48) whacked reclamation down to $160 million. It voted only $4,184,000 for just 8 projects, 5 of which are very small. By failing to authorize additional work, and by refusing to put up money for some projects authorized a decade ago, Congresses in the last 4 years have forced a 44-percent reduction in the internationally famous bureau engineering staff in Denver.

On page 3 of this Roundup section appears an article entitled, "Prairie Dogs Versus Prosperity?" It digests a factual review of the benefits reclamation has brought to the semiarid States of the West in about a half century. Its source is the Bureau of Reclamation itself. Some will dismiss is as Bureau propaganda. But the skeptics will not include a single person who has observed or lived on the land or in the communities of the Colorado-Big Thompson, the Central Valley of California, the Columbia Basin or Yakima projects of Washington, the Boise project of Idaho, the Owyhee of Oregon, the Salt River of Arizona, the Provo River of Utah, the Rio Grande of New Mexico and Texas, or the Shoshone of Wyoming and Montana.

For on those projects and on dozens of others is living proof of the enormous values accruing from the cultivation of 6,192,416 acres of land, irrigated in whole or in part by Bureau-constructed works, and producing total crop values in 1953 alone of $785,939,868. And all of this on land which Daniel Webster described more than 100 years ago as a "worthless area * * * a region of savages and wild beasts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs."

Now, it is true that the Eisenhower administration itself demonstrated greater enthusiasm for reclamation than the GOP majority of the Congress. The opposition against western water and power development has been bipartisan: It has been led

by what appears to be a conspiracy among (a) those who believe interest-free Federal money for such works is wrong, philosophically and economically, (b) some who are fiercely playing regional politics from motives of self-interest, and (c) a group which confuses reclamation with make-work projects, to be deferred until needed as an antidote for depression.

The opposition to reclamation is as old as Mr. Webster's indictment of plans to acquire much less develop the great West. It has been overcome to the extent that the total irrigable land under completed works has increased from 39,300 acres in 1906 to 7,147,528 acres in 47 years. But it has been overcome only by the persistent and courageous efforts of men who believe in the West, in the soundness of reclamation as a Federal function: Men who have fought every step of the way.

Our complaint against the Eisenhower administration's Department of Interior has been its failure to dramatize the dynamics of its program, and to speak forthrightly and factually for the great West that the Department was created, primarily, to serve.

Engineers and Our National Well-Being

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the 84th Congress I introduced H. R. 286 which has as its purpose the establishment of scientific scholarships throughout the United States in order to meet the needs of the national defense and the general welfare as to scientific training.

My friend and former constituent, Donald A. Quarles, now Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Development, has made a most interesting address on the subject of Engineers and Our National Well-Being. Because of the wide interest in scientific development, I include this very fine address in the RECORD:

ENGINEERS AND OUR NATIONAL WELL-BEING

(Address by Donald A. Quarles, Assistant Secretary of Defense, at First Annual Assembly of the Engineers Joint Council, New York, N. Y., January 21, 1955)

Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me a great deal of satisfaction to take part in this First Annual Asembly of the Engineers Joint Council. As an officer and director of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, I have been much interested in EJC and the progress of its organizational growth. I have felt and still feel that unless or until another unity organization is created, EJC should be the senior policy body representing the engineering profession. In saying this, I am aware that there are still important segments of the profession not represented on the council. The present membership is, however, so broadly representative of the profession that in professional matters I feel the council is entitled to assume and should assume this role of spokesman for the United States engineering fraternity.

I particularly appreciate the opportunity to address you on this occasion as a number of matters stand out in my mind as deserving the thoughtful attention of the profession. I realize that these are not new subjects and, in fact, that most of them are already receiving the active consideration of those assembled here. Since the subjects I would discuss all touch on national security policy in one form or another, I think it would be appropriate for me to say something about our security position vis-a-vis the Communist world. This, as you appreciate, has many facets, including our mutual security ties with the rest of the free world, our economic position, our military strength in being, and what might be called our cold war or psychological position. Because this is so big and complex a question, I think I should limit myself to the strictly technical aspect of it in which engineers would naturally have a primary interest. Viewed in this aspect, the cold war is a technological race with the Communist world. The question is how our team is doing in the race.

If there is any doubt in anybody's mind that weapon technology is a very important factor in our cold-war position, I remind you that even at the present state of development, 1 airplane in 1 trip can deliver at great distances a bomb load to knock out 1 large city. This means that research and development efforts to increase the effectiveness of the payload, to improve the means and reliability of delivering it, and conversely, efforts to defend against it, tend to dominate our national-security program.

At the end of World War II it seemed evident that we had a fairly comfortable technological margin over the Communist world and, in fact, it is probably not an exaggeration to say that our air/atomic advantage was a principal factor in maintaining a balance of power and, consequently, a semblance of peace. In the decade that has followed, however, the Soviets have made very great strides in improving their technical position not only in the atomic field, as evidenced by their atomic test in 1949 and their thermonuclear test in 1953, but also in the fields of aeronautics and electronics, both of which are essential to the effective exploitation of their atomic developments. The quality of the jet fighters they threw into the Korean war, and the advanced types of jet bombers they flashed in their last May Day air show are adequate evidence in the aeronautics field.

In electronics, the evidence has been more obscure. Their technical publications have boasted of their radio communications and navigational aids. One of these also states that "on bombers airborne radar devices are used as sighting devices for bombing various targets," and it shows typical illustrations of airborne radar PPI presentations. The Soviet air defense system is apparently not unlike our own with GCI radars, IFF techniques, spotter networks, and so forth. They have, of course, a very great incentive to build up a defense against our atomic retaliatory forces. We got our first concrete evidence of their electronic progress when we saw what a gigantic and sophisticated system they had built up to jam our Voice of America broadcasts.

In the summer of 1953, we saw another very significant straw in the wind when the U. S. S. R. sent their modern cruiser *Sverdlow* to the British coronation ceremonies, bristling not only with guns but with an assortment of search and fire-control radar antennas very comparable with one of our own cruisers of similar tonnage.

Perhaps the most important thing the Communists have done has been to modernize their educational system and to orient it strongly toward the physical sciences and industrial technology. As a result of very comprehensive work along these lines, they have increased their scientific and technological potential by an order of magnitude, and, as others have pointed out, they are today turning out engineers and scientists at more than twice the rate we are in this country. If current trends continue, it will only be a matter of a few years before their scientific and technical manpower exceeds our own.

This is not to imply that even with such numbers they would have a stronger technological base than we, since this depends on many things besides numbers. We would still have the stronger and more virile industrial system, and there is no question in my mind about our ability to stay out ahead in this technological race. In the military field, however, it is clear that we are competing with a single-mindedness of purpose and a ruthless concentration on the aims of militant communism that constitute a serious challenge to our way of life in the free world.

Fortunately, this situation is clearly recognized by our Government, and our national policy has been shaped to meet it. President Eisenhower stated this clearly in his recently publicized letter to the Secretary of Defense. The President said in part that—

"Due to the destructiveness of modern weapons and the increasing efficiency of long-range bombing aircraft, the United States has reason, for the first time in its history, to be deeply concerned over the serious effects which a sudden attack could conceivably inflict upon our country * * * Because scientific progress exerts a constantly increasing influence upon the character and conduct of war, and because America's most precious possession is the lives of her citizens, we should base our security upon military formations which make the maximum use of science and technology to minimize the numbers of men. * * * Security must be founded on a strong and expanding economy."

This all suggests that we should have a careful look at the course we are following in the conservation of our scientific and technical manpower. Quite obviously in a long-range sense, our technical position vis a vis the Communist world will be strongly influenced by the way we handle this manpower problem.

It is thus important for us to work toward national policies that enhance and conserve engineering manpower. The dilemna we are now in about drafting engineers is a case in point. There are good policy reasons for insisting that no young man escape the sacrifice that other young men must make in military service. On the other hand, engineers are scarce and, if we are to sustain a program that will keep us out ahead in this technological race, our need for engineers and scientists must be expected to increase rather than decrease.

This is a problem that we must deal with on a strictly national-interest basis. If we are to win this race, our manpower must be disposed to our greatest national advantage. The military services require some specialists in the performance of their missions. Beyond this, we cannot afford to put engineers and scientists into uniforms.

As you know, we have some important decisions to make along these lines in the months immediately ahead. The Selective Service Act expires on June 30, 1955, and legislation is required to replace it and also to bring our reserve program into line with present-day realities. In this connection, I recently arranged for discussions between members of the Engineering Manpower Commission, the Scientific Manpower Commission, and Mr. Burgess, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel. I hope that further discussions can be held, not only with responsible officials in the Department of Defense, but also before other Government officials and the congressional committees that will work on the legislation.

There are also educational aspects of this problem that the Engineering and Scientific Manpower Commissions have addressed themselves to and that deserve the active support of the profession. Best utilization

of available engineers requires, too, that industrial and other employers recognize an obligation to develop the full potential of each engineer and to avoid waste of his talents on nontechnical duties.

One aspect of this matter that I should mention briefly is the heavy concentration of our technical manpower on defense and defense-related work. In the latter category I include the atomic weapon and military reactor work of the Atomic Energy Commission, and the research work of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics in the aerodynamics and aircraft propulsion fields. It is estimated that these defense lines use about one-half of the total research and development potential of the country. This is not to say that the results of these programs are useful exclusively for defense, as there are, of course, many by-products of value to our civilian economy; nor does it imply that the nondefense half of the total national research and development effort is without benefit to defense since, in the long-range sense, defense technology is founded, in large measure, on the fundamental research in our universities and other similar institutions, and on the technology developed in our civilian industry.

In my judgment, this great concentration of our scientific and technological resources on the problems of defense is not only justified but necessitated by the world situation in which we find ourselves. To do less would jeopardize our position of technological superiority so essential to our long-term security. On the other hand, to attempt to use directly on defense projects a bigger proportion of our total potential might be unwise as a long-term program, particularly when one considers the interdependence of the military and civilian fields.

Atomic energy has been a key topic of this assembly. There is no doubt in my mind that it deserves this kind of treatment. Some here have been associated with the program from its earliest beginning. One might say we are just entering the third era—the first was research and crash military development culminating in the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs; the second was also dominated by the military requirements, culminating in our 1954 thermonuclear experiments; and the third or power reactor phase had its roots in the first two but might be said to have been ushered in by the launching of the *Nautilus* a year ago. Several significant things have happened since. Congress passed the Cole-Hickenlooper Atomic Energy Act last summer which opened up the field for private enterprise to come in and develop it for the greater good and welfare of the country. In line with the President's leadership, Congress also made provision for sharing our very valuable power-reactor know-how and even moderate amounts of nuclear materials with other countries to make it possible for them to share with us the great benefits of this new technology. On Labor Day, the President, by remote control, broke ground for the first large commercial powerplant, first in this country, and so far as we know, first of its size and kind in the world. This, in fact, is just one instance of the many ways in which our Atomic Energy Commission is cooperating with private industry in this field.

Looking to the future, the Commission is spending an estimated $8.5 million a year on general reactor research and development work and is well into a 5-year civilian power reactor development program estimated to cost nearly $200 million. The program calls for the building of five power reactors of as many different types, which were chosen to be the most promising for eventually leading to economic power.

While all of these are experimental and only one can be called large, they will serve for a period of testing and operation and as the prototypes of large plants where the experimental results are sufficiently promising.

Nuclear power is also of great potential military importance and, in addition to the *Nautilus* there are half a dozen military projects underway, notably to apply nuclear propulsion to aircraft, to large naval vessels as well as submarines, and to an Army project for the development of a semiportable powerplant for field use.

There is, of course, a close interplay between this military project and the general reactor development mentioned earlier. Taken as a whole they constitute a very broad and progressive national program that will, no doubt, have a very important impact on the development of the industry, both in this country and abroad, in this last half of the 20th century.

One can hardly deal with the matter of nuclear power without raising a basic question of national policy as to the proper place of the Government in this field. The question is complicated by the fact that, for good and sufficient reasons, the Government arrives at the present crossroads with an absolute monopoly in the field, and with national security reasons for perpetuating some aspects of the monopoly. This poses a difficult question. On the one hand it is apparent that, if we really believe in free enterprise and in getting the Government out of all business activities except those that are necessary in the public interest and that cannot be properly performed by private enterprise, then the time certainly has come to start getting the Government out of the atomic power business. On the other hand, there are plausible arguments that the people's money has been spent to develop the art and to produce the fissionable or nuclear fuel materials and that the Government should therefore exploit and operate the power plants for the people. Of course, the hitch in this argument is the hidden premise that Government operation of such power systems would be in the best interest of the people. I, at least, believe that it would not and therefore I take great satisfaction in the enactment by Congress of the Cole-Hickenlooper Act which, while not proscribing Government operation, wisely provided for an orderly transition to private ownership and operation of nuclear-power facilities.

In closing I should like to return to a subject I touched on in my opening remarks, namely the organization of the engineering profession. This subject has been worked over on so many different occasions by so many different groups and with such care and competence that I offer my views with some trepidation. Without further apology, however, I suggest:

1. That the guiding principle should be to serve the public welfare; and only to serve the interests of groups of engineers, no matter how large, to the extent that this is incidental to serving the public welfare. I believe this is in the enlightened self-interest of the profession.

2. The Unity organization should have professional standards of membership. Membership should be open to all who meet such standards, either directly or through membership in a constituent society. I feel that State registration should not be a necessary requirement, at least under present circumstances.

3. The Unity organization should be effective in developing the views of the profession; in developing policy for the profession; and in representing the profession in the formulation of national policy. If this kind of effectiveness can only be achieved by individual dues-paying membership then I am for such membership but this has never seemed to me to be a paramount consideration. I am sure, however, that the federation concept will only work if there is a sense of urgency in the member bodies to make it work.

It is tremendously heartening to see this enthusiastic assembly of representatives, not only of the constituent societies of EJC but also of many other national and regional bodies with the common bond of professional interest in the engineering field. It is obvious that great progress is being made in drawing the profession together under a Unity organization, and I pay tribute to the many leaders of the profession who have contributed to this end, including the first president of the expanded EJC, Mr. Pigott on my right, and our chairman, Dean Saville on my left, who is just embarking on his second very noteworthy term as president of our joint council.

I appreciate more than I can tell you, the opportunity you have given me to take part in this historic first assembly.

Eyes on Intelligence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD an editorial from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of January 31, 1955.

The editorial calls attention to a resolution introduced in the Senate for the creation of a Joint Committee on Intelligence Matters. A resolution for a similar purpose has been introduced in this House, and I am happy to be one of the cosponsors of it.

EYES ON INTELLIGENCE

A resolution that deserves the early attention of Congress has been introduced by Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, on behalf of a bipartisan group of 33 Senators. The measure would create a joint 12-member congressional committee, similar to that on atomic energy, to supervise the Central Intelligence Agency.

Much of the activity of the Central Intelligence Agency, like that of the Atomic Energy Commission, is secret and not subject to routine scrutiny by Congress. Yet if the CIA is to be ultimately answerable to the American people for what it does all over the world, it should come under the regular observation of elected officials. It should be subject to the system of checks and balances designed to prevent any one department from becoming too autocratic.

A committee of Senators and Representatives could facilitate the handling of CIA legislative business. Like the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, it could, when secrecy is essential, hear testimony in executive session without the necessity of repetition such as occurs when two committees of Congress must deal with the same question. The proposed joint committee would bring under systematic review an agency of Government which, to its detriment, now only attracts congressional eyes when some sensational suspicion about it is voiced.

Total Defense or Total War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, on next Monday, February 7, I expect to reintroduce my concurrent resolution providing for a study of the economics of atomic defense by a joint committee of the Congress. In the 83d Congress this was House Concurrent Resolution 229. In this connection there follows a speech I delivered at a luncheon of members of the National Planning Association last December:

TOTAL DEFENSE OR TOTAL WAR

Today, I will attempt to raise questions not to answer them. But before doing even that there must be some preliminaries.

In the first place, let us assume, and we are supported by the excellent NPA study of Gerhardt Colm, that the American economy can afford much larger expenditures for total defense than those currently being made or planned.

Secondly, let us assume that in 15 years or less the Communist bloc will possess large numbers of guided missiles with atomic and hydrogen warheads and speed of thousands of miles an hour and that there will be no effective way of preventing most of such missiles from arriving in the vicinity of their targets.

Today the United States still has a lead in the air-atomic armaments race. So-called massive retaliation even now can force stalemate in terms of the big war. However, we and our allies apparently have neither the programs nor the forces to prevent the deterioration in our position in the Far East which is so evident in Indochina.

There are many ways to lose freedom. It need not disappear in a cataclysmic clap of atomic thunder. It may. But its strength may also be destroyed by the less dramatic destruction of peoples, seduced or conquered by more conventional totalitarian tactics.

From one point of view, the point of view of previous poorer performances, it may be said that the democracies have done well in their efforts since 1946. From another point of view, that of the future, it may be that we have only done well enough to prolong a process leading to an ultimate defeat. That we have not yet arrived at the point where defeat is inevitable is my conviction. I am equally convinced that unless we do better than we have in preparing our defenses our defeat may soon become inevitable.

Some of us believe that one of the primary reasons for that condition is the fact that we have never succeeded in arriving at a balanced and whole policy of advancing democracy, or, if you insist, of defense against Communist aggression. Today there must be not a foreign policy, a defense policy and a domestic policy, but one policy which includes all these and is the policy.

Most of us here will agree that our efforts beyond our shores depend on a growing domestic economy. Without an effective foreign policy to maintain and strengthen the coalition of democratic peoples, an air-atomic striking force twice as large as necessary would not save us. Without adequate strength in the more familiar weapons of warfare there can be no effective policy to prevent the gradual destruction of the nations which seek to practice democracy but are not yet in a position to defend their sovereignty. Without the best in early warning, continental air defense and civil defense, an enemy is actually encouraged to have hope of success in an all-out stab-to-the-heart attack.

There have been too many special pleaders, too many over-simplifications, too many exaggerations by the proponents of one element or another of the whole defense we need. No one method of defense will succeed without the others. And we need not choose from among necessaries because we think we cannot afford all.

It was with these points in mind that early last summer House Concurrent Resolution 229 which provides for a study by a special joint committee of Congress into the economics of atomic defense was introduced.

The details of the resolution are not too important. It will be reintroduced, perhaps with some modifications. But what it might lead to could be very important. It may even be that whether or not Congress acts on it will prove to be the difference between war and peace. You notice the use of the word "may," not some more positive word. Frankly, no one knows whether effective dispersion of people and plants is practicable or wise. I strongly suspect that it is. I even suspect as I said before that effective dispersion can tip the balance to peace. But I do not know this for the simple reason that the facts do not exist upon which to base an intelligent decision.

Excellent studies have been made in this area—once excellent but now largely out of date because they were based on the existence of A-bombs only. One hears that various top-level members of the administration are studying the new problems raised by the H-bomb. What they will come up with I do not know. But I have the impression that at least some of their minds are frozen in the notion that a balanced budget is essential to our defense.

At any event, right now we do not have the facts on which to base a decision. Presumably if there were no limits to the amount of money and effort we could expend and if we did not care what happened to our free society, the decision to disperse effectively would have been made and implemented long ago. But since there are limits on our resources and our effort is directed to strengthening a free society, there are preliminary questions which must be answered before we can intelligently answer the larger question.

But, you say, we do have a governmental policy of dispersal, promulgated years ago. Many plants have been dispersed. Fine, but the indications are that the choicest target areas have actually grown more attractive. Apparently, as one man moved out of an area more than one moved in. If one factory dispersed, larger ones did not. Our efforts have not been adequate to achieve our purpose. The problem of concentration still remains.

Here are a few of the questions which must be asked. If today much of our population and industrial strength is concentrated in 70 urban areas, each a prize target for enemy attack, how much safer can we make ourselves by reducing our concentration by 100 percent? By 500 percent? How much more effort would it take for an enemy to effectively attack 350 urban areas rather than just 70? Would the problems of our own military defense be increased five times also? What would such a program do toward making civil defense easier and more effective? Or would dispersion in fact make civil defense harder? Or does the dreadful area of radiation contamination, which an H-bomb explosion creates, make the whole problem of civil defense impossible?

Let us suppose the answers to all these questions demonstrated that selective dispersion would be very valuable as a defense measure—as a measure of defense so effective as to play a real part in deterring an enemy, willing to use surprise attack, from launching such an attack. Then we must answer the even more difficult questions of how to accomplish dispersion.

What would be the cost of this massive task? How long would it take? Who would pay for it? By what means? How could it be accomplished without using the methods of authoritarianism? In other words, how could the people in a society in which each individual homeowner and entrepreneur has and must have a large area of free choice, be persuaded that it is in their interests to participate in dispersal—even at some inconvenience or perhaps personal or corporate cost? And, of course, the people's participation would include paying for dispersion personally or through some level of government.

Unless I am in error, well-founded answers to most of these questions are not available. In part, no doubt, because of the swiftness of events. We read that the last hydrogen bomb greatly exceeded in yield even the expectations of its inventors. It is perhaps not much of an exaggeration to say that the age of fusion is as different from the age of fission as the latter is from that ancient day, 10 years ago, when all man had was blockbusters. Our minds, our imaginations lag behind. And this lag, of course, may be more fatal to mankind than radiation.

There is no reason why we should not have the answers to all the questions which must be answered before we can decide the big question of the desirability and the feasibility of dispersion. We do not have them because too few of us have asked the questions and demanded answers. I believe that we have the ingenuity to devise means of encouraging the people in our mixed economy to disperse their homes and their places of business without spending more money than we can afford and without significantly decreasing the number or character of our free choices. I believe that dispersion can significantly decrease our vulnerability to surprise attack by making the chances of success in such an attack much less likely. But in this case, much more than the belief of a few is needed. We must have facts and conclusions. It is not that these facts are so difficult to obtain. Rather we have not bothered to get them. Certainly, it need not cost as much as even one atomic bomber to determine the answers to these questions and the others we need to answer. Should the answers add up to the conclusion that dispersion would not be practicable or effective, that, in itself, would be important and valuable. But should the studies reveal that dispersion can be effective and that ways can be devised to achieve effective dispersion without undue strain either on our economy or our institutions, then the cause of peace might be advanced appreciably.

In our ignorance there is no bliss. Freedom cannot afford such ignorance.

I care not at all whether these studies are made by Congress, the Executive, or private groups. I care only that we use to the fullest that great advantage which democracy has over totalitarianism, its ability, at least in greater measure, to make decisions based on facts and to constantly seek for more facts and more knowledge. Our discipline is that of self. We have nothing to be proud of in the history of our attempt as a people to pretend that first the A-bomb and now the H-bomb do not exist. We must face the facts, but first we must know them.

To Incorporate the Legion of Guardsmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 3137, a bill to incorporate the Legion of Guardsmen. This is an organization made up of members and former members of the volunteer armies of the United States. These are men who have voluntarily served their country in peace and war and most times without remuneration. Their courage and devotion to their country, their giving of their time and their treasure, their self-sacrifice is an inspiration to the whole Nation. They are the successors to the Minutemen at Lexington and Concord, to the men who answered the call of Jackson at New Orleans in 1812, to men who served the Armies of the Republic in the Mexican War, to the men who rallied to the defense of the Union in the Civil War, and to the men who were the eagle's scream at San Juan Hill and Manila Bay in the Spanish-American War. Today these men have served in the National Guard, called first in World War I, and a whole year before Pearl Harbor in World War II. Their glorious history has been written on the battlefields of the world. These men have served in the Naval Reserve and Militia, the Coast Guard Temporary Reserve and Auxiliary, the Civil Air Patrol, and the State Guards. These men deserve recognition. The Legion of Guardsmen deserves to take its place along with the other great patriotic organizations chartered by act of Congress.

The Legion of Guardsmen was organized in June of 1944 at Jersey City, N. J., for the purpose of perpetuating the friendships and associations of persons having served in the Armed Forces of the United States and its Territories; to obtain recognition for its members for military services rendered; to foster and promote governmental legislation for the betterment of its members and for the general welfare of the Nation; and to initiate and support ideas and to formulate plans to effect adequate national defense for the greater peace and security of our country. Its constitution and by-laws and those of its subdivisions, chapters, and posts prohibit it from engaging, directly or indirectly, in either political activity or business for a pecuniary profit.

This organization serves a special need. It is not just another organization of war veterans. It provides our volunteer guardians in both peace and war with their own organization. Its doors are open not only to those who are serving or have served honorably in the Armed Forces of the United States and their reserve components but also to those who have served or are serving in the Armed Forces of the States, the Territories, and the District of Columbia; the Coast Guard and its reserves and auxiliaries; and the Civil Air Patrol. It covers all those who have given or are voluntarily giving of their time and treasure, remunerated or not, to defend the State and Nation.

Gentlemen, let me reiterate, this great organization deserves to take its place along with the other great patriotic organizations chartered by act of Congress. Let us honor the principles for which this organization stands. Let us recognize the great services which these men have rendered and are rendering to our country. Let us foster the spirit of the slogan: When America needs the minuteman—then America first, last, and always.

Are We Going To Stand Firm for the Principles on Which This Government Was Founded?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, action on the part of the United Nations may nullify the resolution passed by Congress to support President Eisenhower in his demand for authority to solve the Formosa problem, as he said, without waiting for the United Nations to act. The President left the door open for the United Nations to get behind a cease-fire in that explosive situation. Should the United Nations decide that Formosa should be turned over to the Reds of China, and it is quite probable that this is precisely what it will do, then where do we stand on the Eisenhower resolution? Should the United Nations agree that Red China should be let into the United Nations as our partner, then where do we stand concerning the Eisenhower resolution?

If this country backs up and agrees to these probable conclusions, it means for us a bigger defeat than we suffered in Korea. If this country ever consents to let the Reds into the United Nations, we automatically should withdraw from that organization if we have an iota of sense left. If we have not gone too far on the road to appeasement it may be that we will have courage enough to face the Communist menace.

We have been driven out of our reasoning faculties by trying to appease the Reds. They hold our soldiers as prisoners, condemned by a kangroo court, and we do nothing about it but run to the United Nations for help. This organization is not going to support a direct demand on our part for the surrender of our men. Red China knows that but hopes we will let her dictate the terms and the consideration for their release and the United Nations as now constituted, will yield and yield to the Reds no matter what they want. The reason is that the United Nations is infiltrated with Communists. Notice the vote in the United Nations on the Human Rights resolution. On the question of the individual's right to personally own property, the vote was 15 to 2 against it. Does that not clearly prove what I have always contended—that the United Nations is the agent of a Communist conspiracy?

When I voted to give the President authority to act in the Formosa situation I had confidence that he meant what he said, that he did not want to wait for any action of the United Nations. I have confidence that he will not back up. However, with Great Britain haranguing for the recognition of Red China, and our own administrators wanting trade with Russia, it is a pretty tough assignment for the President. If we would rise up in our might and pull out of the United Nations as soon as Red China is admitted it would best serve this country to let them in. The Reds of China really belong in the United Nations, as the preponderance of ideas in that organization will be quite homelike for the Reds. That is what the one worlders are striving for, just as much as Russia—to build a world government of a Communist complexion. It surely is communistic in design, or that organization would not vote overwhelmingly to ban the private ownership of property. That ownership is the basis of capitalism and this vote clearly proves that communism and not capitalism is the present theme of the United Nations.

This struggle between capitalism and communism cannot be settled by any treaty or understanding. That struggle will go on until we are all one thing or the other. What Lincoln uttered nearly a hundred years ago is a good doctrine now—that a house divided against itself cannot stand. Anyone with just a smattering of commonsense ought to know that nations, differing in history, religion, and experience in government cannot be held together by agreements. We believe in Jesus Christ, but the Russians do not; we believe that a government exists for the people; Russia does not, but believes that people exist for the government. Can these views be harmonized? It is about time we stopped this woolgathering thinking and get down to first principles—we should hold fast to our religion, our history, our Government, which has proven to be the hope of mankind in his struggle for freedom and liberty, and let the atheists and the pledged destructionists of our way of life keep out of our company. Are we in the United States ready to sit down side by side with brigands, cutthroats, liars, and atheists? I think not.

The Communist slogan of peaceful coexistence is a new move to further delude the people of this country. There never can be any peaceful coexistence with man or nations unless each party respects the right of the other, and that relations are honorable. Would the dictator of Russia keep any agreement? Would he desist from his propaganda? Would he consider honor in dealing with us? When we know from the writing of Karl Marx, the remarks of Lenin and Stalin that their purpose is to utterly destroy capitalism, by any means, we can see the futility of trying to live a

peaceful coexistent life with Russia under its present government. "The lamb shall lie down with the lion" is the expression of a noble sentiment, but as the dictators would handle the situation, that statement would be paraphrased to read, "The lamb shall lie down with the lion, but on the inside of the lion."

Representative Daniel A. Reed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in inserting in the RECORD a news column printed in some 200 newspapers from coast to coast, giving a well-deserved tribute to our distinguished colleague, Mr. REED of New York. The column follows:

"Let George do it" has long appeared prevailing philosophy at 10 Downing Street, London.

Fight in current Congress over wrecking United States tariff protection for independent American business, labor, and agriculture got big push about 2 years ago when Downing Street coined slogan "Trade, not aid."

All kinds and titles of English officials deplore materialistic crassness of United States Congressmen refusing to open United States for flood of cheap products. To be sure, Representative DAN REED, Republican, of New York, who almost singlehandedly stopped drive last session, will never be considered as a Knight of the Garter, or even a Knight of the Suspender.

All anyone needs do to penetrate British "free trade" smokescreen is secure from Irish consul list of English import duties on Irish goods.

England depends on food imports. Bulk of imports from across Irish Sea is farm produce. Yet despite need for Irish food, England slaps a duty on Irish imports.

About 2 years ago Washington tried to give England surplus butter for only paying shipping charges of 5 cents per pound. But despite being eager recipients of billion in United States aid, Britain turned offer down. That was due to fact England has rigged deal with Denmark to take Danish butter at British controlled prices, and Denmark takes British-made goods. A flood of free American butter would upset this applecart. So England saw American aid continuation leading to embarrassing situations. Thus slogan, "Trade, not aid," was coined in cartel-controlled nation without least idea of free trade.

In current tariff-wrecking drive administration is supported not only by England, but also by a few big steel, motor, and rubber firms in United States with plants all over the world who would like to flood United States with products of these plants made by near-slave labor.

It is impossible to predict battle's outcome. Administration seeks extension of Reciprocal Trade Act giving administration power to slash protective tariffs. This contradicts section 8, article 1, of United States Constitution specifically stipulating it is exclusive duty of Congress to establish tariffs.

About 20 years ago Congress threw away this constitutional power. Since then both food imports and United States farm surpluses have increased

This is not a partisan fight. Many in both parties even question legality of Congress signing away its stipulated constitutional powers; some even feel Congressmen who have voted for Reciprocal Trade Act violated oath to uphold Constitution.

This is a moot technical point, but a three-administration experience with Reciprocal Trade Acts proves following point.

The more than 500 Members of Congress, in close contact with their local economies, are better equipped to withstand British salesmanship than small administration group whose chief advisers are State Department "experts" far more familiar with economy of Bengazi, Libya, than that of Dubuque, Iowa.

A Good Beginning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I enclose the following editorial from the Indianapolis Star under date of February 1, 1955:

A GOOD BEGINNING

Agriculture Secretary Benson estimated over the weekend that when the Eisenhower administration took office 2 years ago the Federal Government either owned, or had a stake in $130,000,000,000 worth of business properties which could be operated as private investments. He listed ships, railroads, coffee-roasting plants, sawmills, paint factories, bakeries, and refineries. In the last 2 years, says Benson, the Government has begun to reverse this growing competition with taxable enterprise, "and none too soon."

The record does show some progress. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has been liquidated, although it was replaced by the Small Business Administration, with some of the same lending functions. The Inland Waterways Corporation no longer competes with private barge lines. And most of the Government-owned synthetic rubber plants have been disposed of. But in the absence of a complete inventory of these socialized businesses—and there never has been one—nobody is in a position to know whether or not the administration is merely nibbling at the edges in getting the Government out of competition with private business.

It is good news, therefore, that Budget Director Rowland R. Hughes has just directed all Government agencies and departments to submit a complete list of all activities they handle which could be operated by private industry and to give the reasons, if any, why they should not be privately operated. A first report must be made by April 15, and a final one by July 15.

When this has been done, Congress will then have before it specific operating data from all the departments. When appropriations for these competitive governmental operations are requested they can be accompanied by a checklist of private facilities, able and willing to perform the same job. The process of making tax-paying instead of tax-draining enterprises of many governmental operations will no longer be one of "by gosh and by guess." The battle for economy in government can then proceed on the basis of clearly outlined facts and objectives.

The President is to be congratulated on this move. Perhaps when he sees the itemized total of the needless ways in which the Federal Government already overburdens private initiative, he will be less likely to commit his administration to further forays into the domain of the private citizen.

A Memorandum From the Czech Christian Democratic Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following memorandum sent me by the Czech Christian Democratic Movement:

CZECH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT,
New York, N. Y., October 28, 1954.

To the Administration and the Congress of the United States of America:

The Czech Christian Democratic Movement in Exile expresses its profound conviction that communism, so long as it exists as a political power, will remain a menace to the liberty and security of the free world. We agree wholeheartedly with the Committee on Communist Aggression of the United States House of Representatives that any policy of containment, appeasement, or coexistence must be rejected. Such a policy denies the duty of the Christian toward all those who are victims of slavery, terror, or criminal aggression. As we have learned from the bitter experience of our own country, the attempt to coexist with communism leads inevitably to the destruction of human freedom.

We look to the United States for leadership in a crusade of freedom-loving peoples to restore freedom throughout the world. Since coexistence is morally and politically impossible, measures of mere defense, however urgent they may be, are the best temporary expedients. The fight for liberation is a matter of common interest; in helping other peoples to regain their freedom, the American people will secure their own.

Behind the smokescreen of coexistence, the Communists are arming for a third world war, which they will unleash as soon as they are confident of victory. The only way to prevent this war is through a dynamic program of liberation, which will weaken the Communist's warmaking power. Based on our knowledge of political conditions and public psychology in Central Europe, in the Czech lands in particular, we take the liberty of suggesting the following policies which we consider essential:

1. American radio propaganda, such as the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, should not limit itself to attacking the particular groups of conspirators now in power in Communist countries. Such propaganda, to have more than superficial effect, must develop a broad campaign against the entire system of Marxian socialism. It must show why communism, as well as socialism, as an intermediate step to communism, destroy human freedom in the spheres of politics, economics, sociology, culture, and religion.

2. Such propaganda should not be entirely negative, but should support positively and actively the free-enterprise system. By presenting simple facts it can be shown that free-enterprise countries, such as the United States, Belgium, and West Germany have gone farthest toward a "classless society" and

in affording the workers a high standard of living. Conversely, it can be shown that socialism and communism increase class distinctions, and that the poverty and fear in Communist countries is caused directly by the socialist order.

3. The total aim of American propaganda should be to intensify the dissatisfaction of the workers behind the Iron Curtain with the socialist order, and to make them want a free-enterprise system. Such propaganda cannot, of course, be carried on by those who are themselves Socialists and collaborators of the Communists.

4. Broadcasts for Czechoslovakia should be divided into three sections: Czech, Slovak, and Sudeten German. These broadcast programs should stress the right of the Slovak nation to self-determination, the right of the Sudeten Germans to return to the Sudeteniand, as well as the need for the Cechs, Slovaks, and Sudeten Germans to work out a federal solution for living together.

5. As a first step toward actual liberation, military forces of the free world in Europe should be built up until they are at least capable of withstanding available Soviet forces. This includes German armed forces freed from arbitrary limitations as to quantity and quality of armament, as well as contingents from the nations behind the Iron Curtain. The latter should be organized in terms of nationality without regard to existing states.

6. As the balance of military power in Europe is restored, American and other Western propaganda can make its objective increasingly specific. The ultimate objective is to cause the enslaved peoples to revolt against the Communist puppets and their Soviet masters. The events of June 1953 in Eastern Germany and other satellites have shown that the victims of communism are quite ready to do so with even the least hope of success.

7. As the first basic step in any program of liberation, it is necessary to decide how much and what kind of help will be given to the enslaved peoples when they make their bid for freedom. American broadcasts already encourage opposition to the Communist satellite governments, and such opposition is senseless unless it aims at the ultimate overthrow of Bolshevist tyranny. Since Americans are now asking the Czechs and other captive nations to resist Soviet terror, we, as Czech exiles, ask the American Government and people: What will you do to help us against the puppet governments and against the Soviets should they intervene to quash a revolt which gives promise of success? American psychological warfare can never be more than superficially effective until this basic question has been answered.

8. At the appropriate time, general strikes should be called against the Bolshevist tyrants. As Lenin pointed out, the general strike is a revolutionary weapon and should be used only for revolutionary ends. Therefore, such a strike should not be called until all factors, including the amount and kind of help to be expected from the West, are such that the enslaved people has a reasonable probability of regaining its freedom.

9. Propaganda to Iron Curtain countries is not made in a vacuum. It is part of total policy, and must be related to a long-term program with a definite objective. Since such programs involve commitments which only Congress can make, it is our belief that more active congressional participation in the shaping of United States propaganda policy would lend the authority needed for effective appeal to the peoples of Czechoslovakia and other enslaved European countries.

JOSEF KALVODA,
Vice President of the Czech Christian Democratic Movement.

Progress on Postal Front

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the following editorial from the Portland Oregon Journal:

PROGRESS ON POSTAL FRONT

In supporting President Eisenhower's recommendation for adjustments in the pay of postal workers (and the postage increases necessary to pay the bill) The Journal gave equal emphasis to the necessity for modernizing post-office equipment and streamlining postal methods. We suggested that some postal methods haven't been changed since President Cleveland's day.

Well, we've been "called"—albeit goodnaturedly—by Portland postmaster Albert Hodler. He called us by inviting us to take a look at what goes on these days at Portland's main post office and particularly at the new regional postal organization which has been established here and in 10 other regions of the country.

And it was an interesting experience, particularly at the regional accounting and operations divisions, authorized last July and now getting into business here.

The regional accounting division (covering Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska) headed by Charles Hill already is in business.

Its 35 people handled regional paychecks for the first time in December. It has modern electronically controlled business machines, the equal of anything used in big corporations. It is saving time and money for Uncle Sam. Its operation is in marked contrast with the old-fashioned, laborious accounting and payroll methods heretofore employed at various post offices.

The operations division headed by Sam Schwartz has followed the accounting division, and it, too, is getting into business. It has inaugurated a postal driver training program under the direction of John Nelson, regional vehicle manager, and has begun a motor-pool operation and garage project which is designed (like the new accounting setup) to save time and money.

This division also is following carefully some operation experiments now underway in the East. One of them is the so-called cloverleaf delivery system which involves two-man truck crews who deliver all kinds of mail in one operation (including parcel post) four blocks at a time. They park their truck in the center of a 4-block area, then fan out with deliveries, 2 blocks to a man, then move on to the next 4-block area and repeat. Hence cloverleaf label.

If this operation proves as good as it looks, Portland will get it before long.

Most important of all, however, is the new regional decentralization program, already established in the Portland and 10 other regions, with 4 to go. Under this system, regional directors will transact all kinds of business in the region without going through Washington and, incidentally, getting bogged down there. Only major problems and policy decisions will go to Washington. Service, purchasing, and personnel problems that heretofore took weeks or months can be handled promptly in the field at regional offices.

All this looks good. It is symptomatic of a new day in the postal service—a long deferred day. We've a long way to go, true. Our postal workers (1,700 of them in Portland) still have to do a great deal of hand work—facing and sorting mail particularly. In these fields we're still in the Cleveland era. We simply haven't yet developed compact and efficient machines automatically to sort, face and cancel mail.

But the postal service is working at it. Some automatic machines are being tested. We may lick the problem in time.

And before we close, we have another observation—this one about obsolete and inadequate buildings. Our main post office in Portland is handling 11 times as much business today as it was handling back in 1917 when the present structure was built—and handling it in the same space.

We need space and need it badly to match our more progressive methods. It's difficult to do an Eisenhower era job with Cleveland era buildings. That's for sure.

Water Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is now clear that the official position of the State of California favors the earliest possible construction of the Trinity River project as planned by the Federal Bureau of Reclamation, including all of the important power features. This was reemphasized by the new Republican Governor of California, Goodwin J. Knight, in his inaugural address last week.

The new Governor also repeated his opposition to further negotiation for purchase of the Central Valley project by the State of California at this time.

I commend the Governor for his excellent statement on these subjects, and I wish to place an excerpt from his inaugural speech, covering water problems, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to provide the fullest possible information on the attitude of the new Republican administration of the State of California.

The excerpt follows:

WATER PROBLEMS

The careful conservation and development of our water resources is of paramount importance to the people of our State.

We can anticipate the construction in the near future of two mammoth projects which will insure extensive additional supplies of water and power for our expanding population. These are the Feather River project and the Trinity River project. The Feather River project is a major unit of our long range California water plan and will be financed, constructed, and operated by the State of California. The State engineer will present a report to this session of the legislature which will contain a step-by-step construction program for the project, a schedule of deliveries from the project, an estimate of the funds which will be required for construction and suggested means of financing. When this report is presented to the legislature, we will have ended the era of planning on the Feather River project and we will have entered the era of financing and construction. There is immediate need for the project. I urgently recommend that the legislature take immediate steps to determine the proper and most effective means of raising the funds necessary for construc-

tion—for without affirmative action, the project will remain only a grandiose dream. I am hopeful that you will act expeditiously so that right-of-way acquisition can begin without delay and that initial phases of construction may be underway by this time a year hence.

NOW BEING PLANNED

The Trinity River project is now being planned by the Federal Government. California has informed the Secretary of the Interior that the project is feasible from an economic and an engineering standpoint and should be constructed at the earliest possible date. I recommend that this session of the legislature approve a joint resolution urging the Congress to begin consideration of this construction project, including all of its power facilities, at the earliest possible date.

Studies have been made by both State and Federal agencies on the San Luis project on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. This project could utilize surplus waters obtained from either the Trinity River or Feather River projects. There are conflicting views on whether the San Luis project should be a part of one or the other. My view is that we should endeavor to include the San Luis development in whichever project will be finished first.

I oppose the State purchase of the Central Valley project at this time. The United States Government has indicated that it has no interest in selling the project. We have greater and more immediate needs for the construction of the Feather River project, the Trinity River project, and other necessary State water and power developments on which we can use the several hundred million dollars which the Central Valley project would undoubtedly cost.

Socialist Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial from the Peru, Ind., Tribune under date of January 26, 1955:

SOCIALIST POLITICS

Fortune magazine has observed that the Dixon-Yates contract (under which taxpaying private enterprise is to build a $100,000,000-plus electric plant to serve an Atomic Energy Commission installation in the South) "probably never would have been an issue at all but for the fact that it was an election year."

Fortune is 100 percent right. Dixon-Yates has been made into a political football, to the confusion of the public. As President Eisenhower himself has said, "There has been a very great deal of talk and argument—much of it partisan—about issues that are really clear and simple."

It is charged that the contract is a giveaway, and against the public interest. If that is true some men in public positions of the highest trust and responsibility are either grossly incompetent, or are trying to mislead us—an idea which is hardly tenable. Senators MCCLELLAN, and FULBRIGHT said: "We believe the contract is in the national interest and should be executed by the Government." Representative COLE, formerly chairman, Joint Atomic Energy Committee, said: "I am confident that the contract is in the national interest." Admiral Strauss, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, said "I believe that the proposed arrangement is in the interest of the people."

Why, then, all the sound and fury? The answer's simple: Dixon-Yates has been seized upon by those who want to saddle the country with a socialized, tax-free, tax-subsidized Federal power monopoly.

Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors Passes Resolution Urging Continuance of Military Hospitals in Southern California in Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me so to do, I am pleased to herewith present a copy of the official minutes of a meeting of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles of my native State of California on January 25, 1955.

As the text of the communication to me from the said board of supervisors is crystal clear, I am sure that you and all my colleagues will be pleased to receive this expression of opinion by the members of this duly elected board of this great county of Los Angeles:

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,
BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
Los Angeles, January 26, 1955.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress, 23d District, California, Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: Enclosed for your consideration is a certified copy of an order adopted by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles on January 25, 1955, requesting the help of the Los Angeles County congressional delegation to retain certain appropriations in the Federal budget essential for the maintenance and operation of marine hospitals in this area.

Your assistance in having this vital service continued will be greatly appreciated by the members of the board of supervisors.

Respectfully yours,

RAY E. LEE,
Chief Clerk.

IN RE MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF MARINE HOSPITALS: ORDER DIRECTING CLERK TO ADVISE LOS ANGELES COUNTY CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION OF DESIRE OF BOARD OF SUPERVISORS THAT APPROPRIATIONS FOR SUCH SERVICE BE MAINTAINED IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Supervisor Ford submits the following statement on behalf of Chairman Legg:

"Efforts are being made in Washington to reduce certain appropriations for the maintenance and operation of marine hospitals, which have been and are very helpful health facilities in the seaports of the country. Southern California, with tremendous growth in population, has already overtaxed the number of hospital beds and medical personnel available to the thousands who would look to marine hospitals in this area. Should Federal appropriations for these institutions be reduced, it would work a serious handicap on those eligible for service therein."

And on motion of Supervisor Ford, unanimously carried, it is ordered that the clerk of this board be and he is hereby instructed to advise the Los Angeles County congressional delegation that the board of supervisors will appreciate very much their efforts to have appropriations for the maintenance and operation of marine hospitals maintained in the Federal budget.

Joint Congressional Committee on Central Intelligence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of the House to the resolution of Senator MANSFIELD creating a joint committee on intelligence. For years Senator MANSFIELD has argued with increasing effectiveness for a closer look at our intelligence efforts. In effect this joint committee would be a watchdog of the extremely important and highly sensitive Central Intelligence Agency. Since Congress appropriates the funds for its operation and because there is little or no knowledge on the part of Congress as to the disposition of the appropriated moneys, it does seem to be good commonsense that both branches of the Congress have some Members who are aware of the mission and effect of the CIA. Congress should not be so completely in the dark as to its functions. The creation of a joint committee such as recommended by Senator MANSFIELD and several Members of the House, including myself, would go a long way in establishing better relations between the Agency and the Congress; fears would be dispelled and the magnificent work of the CIA would be appreciated.

In conjunction with the above, I include with these remarks two very fine editorials—one from the New York Times and the other from the Washington Post and Times Herald. Both articles approve the suggestion of a joint committee on central intelligence and both point up some very significant observations:

[From the New York Times]

CIA "WATCHDOG"

The secret eyes and ears of the Federal Government, otherwise known as the Central Intelligence Agency, have been receiving an unusual amount of serious attention lately. A special Presidentially appointed group headed by Lieut. Gen. James H. Doolittle (retired) made a confidential survey of certain aspects of the CIA last fall, and reported that the organization was doing a "creditable job" but that some changes were needed. An entirely distinct and possibly more far-reaching inquiry has been proceeding for some time now under direction of Gen. Mark W. Clark on behalf of the Hoover Commission.

Meanwhile, Senator MANSFIELD, of Montana, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, has renewed his long-standing demand for closer congressional liaison with the CIA through the establishment of a Joint

Committee on Intelligence, somewhat comparable to the existing Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. In introducing his resolution with the support of more than 30 Senators of both parties, Senator MANSFIELD fully recognizes the obvious need for secrecy regarding intelligence operations; but he makes the point that "once secrecy becomes sacrosanct it invites abuse," and under present conditions the CIA is "freed from practically every form of congressional check." A secret intelligence agency with so wide a field of operations as the CIA is inevitably an instrument of great power; and it seems to us that Congress has a broad responsibility for it that should not be avoided. Of course this is not to say that detailed direction of the CIA is within the province of Congress; but it is to say that there is a place for a small and highly discreet congressional body, aware of what is going on in this sensitive area, that can deeply affect the foreign relations of the United States.

Furthermore, the formation of a joint congressional committee on intelligence affairs should do much to improve the relations between CIA and Congress and to reduce the suspicion that the latter body inherently has for the former. As Mr. MANSFIELD says, it would safeguard as well as supervise the CIA, and it would give to CIA officials, now "defenseless against criticism because their lips are sealed," a Congressional channel to which they would have ready access. Some years ago a Hoover Commission task force recommended a congressional "watchdog" committee for CIA. Its establishment would in our opinion be of benefit to Congress and CIA alike.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald]

INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT

Senator MANSFIELD has again introduced his resolution for the establishment of a Joint Congressional Committee on Central Intelligence, this time with the support of 32 other Senators. Initially this newspaper was skeptical of such a step, not because there is not a need for more intensive congressional scrutiny of the Central Intelligence Agency, but because of the danger that the confidential nature of a sensitive executive agency might be compromised. Now we are persuaded, however, that some broader congressional review would on balance be desirable and could be accomplished safely.

Most persons in a position to have some appraisal of CIA's work agree that the intelligence estimates have improved markedly in recent years and that the undercover operations have been considerably less flamboyant—despite reports of somewhat clumsy and transparent undertakings in the Far East. But a secret intelligence operation insulated from normal checks and balances is, however necessary, at best a risky enterprise. No agency is so proficient, either, that it could not benefit from informed criticism. CIA is responsible to the National Security Council, it is true; but NSC in turn also is a vehicle of the executive department and has too heavy responsibilities to give CIA any very comprehensive scrutiny. A joint congressional committee on the pattern of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy would not only provide a check against free-wheeling by this supersecret agency, it would also give CIA a spokesman on Capitol Hill and fend off McCARTHY-type fishing expeditions.

There are some disadvantages to such a plan, of course. One is the danger of leaks, though the concern of the committee ought to be with broad policy rather than with intimate details and care in the selection of members could avoid loading the committee with known blabbermouths. Another difficulty lies in the fact that CIA is responsible for only a part of the total intelligence operation; the major intelligence contributors are the military services, with CIA filling in the gaps and providing top evaluation. Still another lies in the possibility that a congressional committee would be bitten by the operating bug and be tempted to interfere with the day-to-day work of CIA.

But these are all difficulties which, it seems to us, could be overcome. The membership of the committee as provided in the resolution already includes men from the Appropriations Subcommittee which handle CIA's funds; perhaps it could be amended to provide some sort of liaison with the military intelligence agencies. A task force of the Hoover Commission under Gen. Mark Clark now is studying the CIA, and undoubtedly it will make some recommendations when it reports this spring. No action ought to be taken until these recommendations are weighed. But there is good reason to think that the concept of a more informed congressional review is practicable and that such a review would help the country improve its intelligence efficiency.

Snake River Dams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives of the State of Washington on January 27, 1955, adopted a resolution urging the Federal Power Commission to deny the application of the Idaho Power Co. for a permit to construct a dam on the Snake River. I have been requested to insert it in the RECORD. It involves a problem which Congress may or may not have to solve at some future date.

The resolution follows:

Whereas there is at the present time before the Federal Power Commission an application by the Idaho Power Co., a private utility, for permission to build three low-head dams on the Snake River; and

Whereas the Federal Government has heretofore proposed the building on the Snake River at Hells Canyon of a multiple-purpose dam; and

Whereas the granting of the application of the Idaho Power Co. will kill off for the future the possibility of a multiple-purpose dam at Hells Canyon; and

Whereas the full potential of the Snake and Columbia River Basin for irrigation, reclamation, flood control, and the production of electricity can be realized only by the building of a multiple-purpose dam at Hells Canyon; and

Whereas the economic conditions of the Pacific Northwest are dependent upon adequate power as well as adequate irrigation, reclamation and flood control; and

Whereas the proposed Hells Canyon Dam would provide for a better development of our natural resources and its construction would be in the best interests of the people of the State of Washington; and

Whereas with the exception of a few public officials, the majority of the people of the Northwest and this house of representatives are in favor of the building of Hells Canyon Dam: Now, therefore, it is hereby

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in regular session assembled, That we oppose the granting of permission to the Idaho Power Co. to build the proposed low-head dams; and be it further

Resolved, That we respectfully petition the Federal Power Commission to deny the application of the Idaho Power Co.; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be immediately forwarded to the Federal Power Commission to be filed in the present proceedings of the application of the Idaho Power Co., and that copies be sent to all the members of the congressional delegation and the Governor of the State of Washington.

Machinery for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, in these hectic and trying times there is an ever increasing need for a calm and deliberate approach to the peace we all hope for. This does not mean that we must lessen our defense effort or in any wise weaken our national security. It does mean, however, that we must never consider the attainment of our goal as impossible, or war as inevitable. We must never close the doors to the conference room because peace is worth trying for at all costs short of appeasement or dishonor. We must support the United Nations wholeheartedly as the only machinery for peace. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the following editorial from the New York Times which I urge the critics of the United Nations to read carefully:

MACHINERY FOR PEACE

What happens when an issue as exasperating and confusing as that of the Formosa Strait comes up at the United Nations may be discouraging. It is discouraging because it reveals the deep cleavage among the nations of the world, the suspicions, the hypocrisies, the dangers of conflict. Yesterday's proceedings in the Security Council were no exception.

Yet these were, in fact, proceedings in a body organized to maintain "peace and security." No nation had to be represented there. Some that were not represented would like to be. Hard words were exchanged but no shots were fired.

Nor was this all. Even in the course of old-fashioned diplomacy the firing of shots was a last resort. What the Security Council had to offer was quick action—or a quick inability or refusal to act. Behind the Council, if it could not or did not act, stood the United Nations Assembly, which could be called into session on short notice. Communication among the nations could not be shut off as long as the United Nations existed.

We must wait for a settlement of the question immediately at issue. If and when that question is settled there will be others. Not in the time of any of us now alive will there be a complete end of all discussion and all dissension among the nations. But the peoples of the world, or their representatives, can talk among themselves, quickly and in the blaze of publicity.

Few of us in this country could find sense in what the Russian representative had to say yesterday. Few will find sense in what he will say today or tomorrow or next week. But he can say it, we will listen to it, and if

it does not make sense the free world will so understand.

We have as yet no guaranty of peace. But the machinery for peace we do have. Let us cling to it. Some day it can be made to work for the salvation of civilization and of mankind itself.

Distrust Rather Than Faith Result Abroad of United States Propaganda and Spending

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GORDON H. SCHERER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to insert an article entitled "Distrust Rather Than Faith Result Abroad of United States Propaganda, Spending," by Eugene W. Castle, which appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer on January 16, 1955.

The Congress in the next few months will be required to vote funds for the continuation of foreign aid. I feel that the Members should have the benefit of Mr. Castle's thinking on the matter of foreign aid. His new book entitled "Billions, Blunders, and Baloney" was released Monday of this week by the Devin-Adair Co.

Mr. Castle founded Castle Films, Inc., which specialized primarily in educational motion pictures. At his own expense he traveled the world to personally check on our foreign aid and propaganda programs.

His article to say the least is most enlightening.

The article follows:

DISTRUST RATHER THAN FAITH RESULT ABROAD OF UNITED STATES PROPAGANDA, SPENDING

(By Eugene W. Castle)

During a 6-year period—since 1948—the taxpayers of the United States have spent more than $40 billion for economic and military aid abroad, plus more than half a billion dollars for overseas propaganda.

No nation, since the beginning of history, has spent more money trying to win the friendship and confidence of foreigners than the United States.

Joseph P. Kennedy, former United States Ambassador to Great Britain, returned recently from an extensive tour of Europe. He reported that our expensive propaganda abroad appears to have failed completely because the average man in England, France, Italy and other countries, seems to hold the impression that we, and not the Soviet, are the warmongers.

This writer traveled 75,000 miles over a period of 3 years. He interviewed hundreds of people in all walks of life throughout Europe, the Near East and Central and South America. Also, he corresponded extensively with Americans who live in, travel and trade throughout the Far East.

Here are some conclusions:

In many instances our great extravagances overseas have helped the Communists and hurt Americans.

Today, our country has fewer friends abroad than ever before in our history.

Our propaganda failures have, all too often, cost us the confidence and respect of millions of Europeans who were once our friends, but who are now openly suspicious of both our give-aways and our continued propaganda excesses.

Europeans hate propaganda from any country—ours, or their own.

We had more friends abroad when we spent less than $20 million a year for overseas propaganda. Today, we are spending more than five times that amount. And those who advise and directly influence President Eisenhower are urging that our activities overseas to "mold and influence the minds of foreigners" should be further expanded.

Here are a few examples of how the pockets of the American taxpayers are being emptied by the Washington Government for useless publicity projects abroad:

We are today wasting $5 million annually for provocative documentary movie films. These are shown by means of mobile trucks, mostly to undernourished people in out-of-the-way places. Our movies mirror American advantages and luxuries that these desperately poor foreign viewers can never hope to attain nor enjoy. Uncle Sam's propaganda films create envy and hatred for Americans!

Harrison Salisbury, who for 6 years was chief correspondent for the New York Times in Moscow, recently returned from Russia. He reported that America's best salesmen were our Hollywood-made entertainment films and that the Russian people marveled at the detail and lack of propaganda in American movies, regardless of how old or how bad they were!

And what is the Soviet competition? The Russians export about 12 feature films annually. In some countries the Moscow-made pictures are not permitted to be shown. The United States of America sends more than 350 American-made feature films overseas annually. All of our films are intensively shown. Thus the score: Moscow 12, vs. United States of America, 350!

But despite the fact that our American entertainment movies dominate the theater screens of the world, the United States Information Agency continues to plan and produce amateurish and offensive propaganda films to compete with our Hollywood studios, whose products are applauded and accepted the world over.

The USIA spends more than $6 million annually on totally useless 6,000-word, 6-days-a-week news cables to 77 foreign USIA offices. These compete with the authoritative Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service, who serve the leading newspapers of the world with daily cabled news reports from the United States. These are the only kinds of news reports that should emanate from a nation of freemen.

Additionally Uncle Sam is today subsidizing newspapers and newsreels, and issuing millions of booklets and leaflets in foreign countries.

And what is the Russian competition to these most extensive publishing activities carried on by professional American publishers? The answer is zero, because the "affluent" Red citizen is not allowed to travel, and not one European nor Asian in a million speaks Russian.

In Greece and Turkey, where the people are preponderantly anti-Communist, they cannot understand why Uncle Sam must spend more than a million dollars a year in each of these countries, to tell Greeks and Turks what bad men the Soviets are, and what good fellows we are.

In Spain, where there is no communism at all, we are spending vast sums for propaganda, to tell the people of Franco-land why we are giving that country hundreds of millions of dollars of military and economic aid. Here, too, the Spaniards are amazed that we must spend millions of dollars to advertise our generosity and to tell them about the dangers of Moscow communism.

In the Orient, we have lost face. Anyone familiar with Asia understands that the oriental mind regards an occidental who has lost face in Asia as having lost all.

First, we lost face throughout the Orient when General MacArthur was not allowed to win the war in Korea.

Again, we lost face in Japan and throughout Asia when General MacArthur was summarily dismissed from his authoritative duties in that country.

More recently we again lost face when the French surrendered in Indochina, and 12 million Asiatics were driven behind the Iron Curtain in that unfortunate war-ravaged country.

Even today, the return to the Orient of Generals MacArthur and Wedemeyer as diplomatic representatives of the United States, would do more to regain the support of Asians than all of the millions already spent and to be spent.

Chinese Communists would not be in control of the Orient today if our policymakers in Washington had not tied the hands of Generals MacArthur, Van Fleet, and Clark in Korea. Millions of orientals know the story. It largely explains why communism is gaining in Asia and the Western World, and our ideas are being driven from oriental countries.

The Marshall plan in Europe now is to be curtailed because most European countries are in better financial shape than we are. However, desperate efforts are being made to influence our legislators in the 84th Congress to transfer and perpetuate the Marshall plan and with it the legion of Government payrollers who administer it to the Orient.

In France, we have spent nearly $8 billion since 1948 for economic and military give-aways and propaganda failures.

For the billions spent for military aid, the French have never, to this day, obliged us with even an accounting of how they have spent our money intended for their purchase of military material for the defense of that country.

In France today, despite the more than $5 million spent annually for stupid and harmful United States propaganda, 1 Frenchman in every 4 is a Communist, and supports the spokesmen for the men in the Kremlin.

In Italy, the situation is even worse. In that country we have spent nearly $5 billion to try to "sell" Democracy to the Italians. Last year, despite our lavish give-aways, augmented by hundreds of our propaganda amateurs and busybodies, roaming all over Italy, the Italian Communists gained 250,000 converts in the Italian elections. And, more important, we have incurred the open enmity of the former King's party and the Mussolini followers who, despite the fact that both the King and Il Duce are no more, prefer the false promises of the Communists to American generosity. These two groups number more than 4 million voters, and their votes against us could topple the present "razor-thin" majority of the current Italian Government and put the Reds in power in Italy.

Every American who reads this will feel more encouraged and hopeful when he learns of the successful experience of Anthony Cucolo, contractor and philanthropist, of Suffern, N. Y. Mr. Vucolo licked communism in the town in Italy where he was born. Mr. Cocolo stopped the Italian Reds dead in their tracks.

Mr. Cucolo won a 92 percent vote for Democracy in the Italian village of Summonte. How did he do it? How did Mr. Cucolo, who has two sons, both graduates of the West Point Military Academy, accomplish a job that our billions in give-aways and millions for propaganda in Italy have almost completely failed to do? Here is the story, and in his own words:

"I sent $2,000 annually to a committee in my native town of Summonte. The commit-

tee consists of a physician, the mayor, and another prominent citizen. The committee purchases locally at cheap prices, spaghetti, rice, potatoes, and sometimes meat. These foods are carefully distributed to those in dire need."

The economic security of all Americans, and the solvency of our country, remain in deadly danger so long as these spending agencies continue to grow and to create the deficits that unbalance our budget year after year. This year the Federal deficit will be $5 billion, and already, according to Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, our Nation is faced with a deficit of $3 billion, 6 months before the next fiscal year begins. We cannot continue red ink in Washington and hope to combat the Reds in Moscow and Peiping. It cannot be done.

Newspaper Editor Writes That Alcohol and Gasoline Do Mix, but That the Mixture Is Explosive, Destructive, and Disastrous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of the unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present the text of an editorial in the San Francisco (Calif.) Examiner on Friday, August 20, 1954:

ACCIDENTS AND ALCOHOL

(By W. W. Bauer, M. D., director of bureau of health education, American Medical Association)

We are told that alcohol and gasoline do not mix. I disagree. They do mix. And the mixture is explosive, destructive, disastrous.

Yesterday I concluded that most of the crazy things drivers do are due to just plain selfishness. That is not inconsistent with the statement that alcohol is responsible for many traffic fatalities and injuries, to say nothing of minor episodes and near misses. Drinking at inappropriate times and in immoderate amounts is a form of selfishness.

Persons who have had even one drink should not drive within the next 2 hours. If they have had more, the interval should be longer. It is not necessary to be drunk to be an unsafe driver. The really drunken person is probably unable to drive. It is when he has reached what Dr. Herman Heise calls the delighted and devilish stage that he is the real menace.

That's when he has had just enough not to know how much he has had, and not to know that he has had too much. This is when he thinks he is the best driver in the world, and is just that much more deadly and dangerous.

The effect of alcohol, often falsely described as a stimulant, is not stimulating at all. It is narcotic. The feeling of stimulation is false—a delusion. Alcohol depresses the higher centers of the brain first, and its effect spreads progressively to the lower brain areas. Intellectual perception and judgment are the first to go.

The person under the influence of alcohol has lost part of his finer discriminations. He may do things he would not have done if sober. His manners are worse; his sense of humor may be coarsened; he laughs too loudly and in the wrong places. At the same time he thinks himself exceptionally clever or inspired, and he tends to show off. There could hardly be a worse state in which to place him in charge of a powerful motor car.

Physiologically, alcoholic intoxication blurs the judgment, and slows the automatic reactions which play so important a part in competent driving. When an emergency demands split-second reactions to avert tragedy, the intoxicated person finds himself slow and inaccurate.

Intoxication in relation to accidents has been emphasized mainly as to motorcar deaths and injuries. But the abuse of alcohol tends to increase accidents under any conditions, anywhere.

In industry, where there is heavy machinery, or where dangerous substances are handled, intoxication adds to the accident hazard. It does likewise in the home, where incoordination, overconfidence and carelessness can get the person into trouble with heaters, electrical or mechanical appliances, carbon monoxide gas, or tripping and falling.

In an analysis of alcohol and its relationship to violent death, Drs. Spain, Bradess, and Eggston reported a series of 500 cases handled through the office of the medical examiner of Westchester County, N. Y. In that State there are no coroners; the medical examiner performs the functions which devolve upon the coroner in other States. Among these occurred 82 cases of nonindustrial accidents, and 24 percent of these were under the influence of alcohol to some extent.

Included were examples of varying accident causes, all influenced by the alcoholic condition of the victims; pots boiling over on the stove, putting the fire out and thus causing gas asphyxiation; fires in bed; drownings, and choking on food.

Many fatalities with an alcoholic tinge do not occur among the so-called drunkards. They occur in all segments of the community, all classes and economic levels and varied occupations, according to the authors previously quoted. They go on to report that automobile fatalities represent the most serious group. Many persons involved had been drinking at a cocktail party, a tavern, a holiday celebration or a wedding. How quickly their joy turned to sorrow.

It's Already Being Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I enclose the following editorial from the Indianapolis Star under date of February 1, 1955:

IT'S ALREADY BEING DONE

President Eisenhower has often stated as his philosophy of government that the Federal Government should only do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves. Yet he now has proposed a health reinsurance program that completely contradicts this praiseworthy view. For his plan seeks to do in the field of health insurance what is already being done by private industry. He claims that the insurance industry has to have help in the form of a Federal reinsurance fund to provide for catastrophic medical payment coverage. Yet the insurance industry is already doing the job without even making use of its own reinsurance facilities.

Thus the only arguments for the President's program are based on false assumptions. There is no need either for Federal money or for Federal planning in this field.

For instance, here in Indianapolis American United Life Insurance Co. has just announced its catastrophic health insurance plan. Under this plan a man and wife can be protected against 75 percent of all medical expenses up to $7,500 for as little as $65 a year. The first $500 of medical expense is deductible. Other insurance companies offer similar plans in the same price range. They are not getting and do not need any Federal aid to make this insurance available.

We see no reason, therefore, according to the President's own oft-stated philosophy, why a single cent of Federal money should be spent on an unnecessary reinsurance program—much less $100 million.

The Day Lincoln Was Shot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, because of the universal interest in Abraham Lincoln among Members of Congress and the public at large, it seems appropriate to place in the RECORD a report on the book, The Day Lincoln Was Shot. This report is by John P. Marquand, a member of the editorial board of the Book of the Month Club, and appeared in the January issue of the Book of the Month Club News. The Day Lincoln Was Shot was written by my distinguished constituent, Jim Bishop, and in the same issue of the Book of the Month Club News there appears an author's note, which sheds light on the circumstances that led to the writing of this book.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include both articles in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DAY LINCOLN WAS SHOT

(By Jim Bishop, an hour-by-hour narration with the gripping suspense of a mystery story plus the balance of classic tragedy)

A REPORT BY JOHN P. MARQUAND

So many excellent books have been written on every phase of the life of Abraham Lincoln that it hardly seems possible that anyone can make a further significant contribution. Yet here is The Day Lincoln Was Shot, which can take its place in the very first rank of vivid and exciting Lincolniana. This book is exactly what its title says it is—a 24-chapter, hour-by-hour narration and evaluation of the events in Washington that preceded and immediately followed the shooting of Lincoln in Ford's Theater by John Wilkes Booth. Though some of the episodes Mr. Bishop retails are so familiar as to be part of America's folklore, their combination with a myriad of lesser-known facts lends the whole an amazing freshness. The Day Lincoln Was Shot has the gripping suspense of a mystery story plus the balance of classic tragedy.

The idea and form are so excellent that it seems surprising that no one has ever written such a book before. Then one realizes what a truly enormous amount of material Mr. Bishop has had to digest; his publishers tell us that his researches have been going on for the past 25 years. Nothing appears to have escaped him that could add poig-

nance and verisimilitude to the narrative. Like all good writers, Mr. Bishop understands the image-and-character-building value of seemingly trivial detail, and with very few lapses he has succeeded in reconstructing a time and a place down to the very sounds on the streets of Lincoln's Washington.

It is 7 o'clock in the morning in the White House and the polished rosewood door of the President's bedroom swings open just as Mr. Bishop begins his story.

"The big man started down the hall slowly, like a person older in years, the legs perpetually bent at the knees, the black suit flapping about the frame. He looked like a man who did not feel well. The circles under his tired eyes were pouched; the skin of his face was almost saffron; the scraggly black beard thinned and died as it approached the hairline; the hair itself was almost combed; the feet moved with conscious effort, barely lifting off the red pile rug before being set down again; the thick lips, more brown than red, were pulled back in a semi-smile."

It would be hard to find a better description of Lincoln, and other characters in the day's drama assume a similar vitality—among them the flighty, unpredictable Mrs. Lincoln; young Tad Lincoln; the stately members of the Cabinet; and Gen. U. S. Grant, embarrassed by popular acclaim. There are literally scores of minor figures—soldiers, barbers, hotel clerks, grooms, policemen. Then of course there are John Wilkes Booth and his fellow conspirators and the unfortunate boardinghouse keeper, Mrs Surratt. Mr. Bishop moves from one to the other of these people to explain their motives, but never forgets the consuming purpose of his story.

Did you know that Mrs. Lincoln made Mrs. Grant so nervous that the Grants refused the Lincolns' invitation to Ford's Theater that fatal night? Did you know that Booth as a small boy had said he would like to go down in history as someone who overthrew the Colossus of Rhodes? Did you know of Lincoln's vivid dream of his own death? Did you know that when Booth entered the unguarded Presidential box, no one was disturbed by his intrusion? All were listening to the tinny, second-rate lines of a play called Our American Cousin—which, as quoted by Mr. Bishop, add to the macabre quality of the scene. Did you know that when Booth's shot was fired no one was greatly disturbed because the sound of his derringer was more like the pop of an air-blown paper bag than a shot? Did you know that the President ceased rocking in the chair provided for him by the management but did not immediately slump forward? Did you know that when Booth said "Sic semper tyrannis," he spoke in such a low voice that very few of the audience heard him?

These are only a sample of the discoveries that one can make in a book filled with hundreds of little-known facts. Even the most analytical reader will find it hard not to be carried away by the sweep of Mr. Bishop's drama. In fact, as one draws close to the inevitable climax at Ford's Theater, although one is completely aware of the ending, one begins to hope against hope, and almost to believe, that this ending cannot be possible. The creation of such an illusion is surely a high form of art. Perhaps it will be frowned upon by academic historians who are suspicious of any effort to make history readable. But for other thousands who love the American scene and who revere one of the greatest of all Americans, The Day Lincoln Was Shot will have deep significance. It will give new insight into the character of the man who stood immeasurably far above the others of his time and yet whose greatness was not wholly recognized until his life was ended. It will serve as a bridge between the past and the present. Washington, goodness knows, has changed since the Civil War, and yet much of its character is changeless. The people who dwelt there on that fateful April day, the troops who marched through the streets, the civilians, the profiteers, the freed slaves, the ordinary men and women and, above all, the lonely man who still sits there solitary in his memorial—these have left an imprint on the city and on history which time will never dim. Mr. Bishop has given all this new life and new immediacy.

AN AUTHOR'S NOTE

(By Jim Bishop)

There is no time, within conscious memory, when I was not interested in President Lincoln. My interest dates back to the first time I heard him described as a great, sad man with a beard, a man who tried to keep brothers from killing each other and was, himself, killed. This was a story told to the students of the third grade at St. Patrick's Parochial School in Jersey City, N. J., by Sister Marie Allicoe in 1917. I was 9. It moved me to feel ashamed that "we" had slain a dark Santa.

In 1920 I began to read books from the Clinton Avenue branch of the Jersey City Library. Many of these were stories of Lincoln. My father, a second-generation Irish police lieutenant, saw me reading a Lincoln biography and nodded with approval. "I often wonder," he said, "who was he?" The inference was supernatural—that Lincoln had been sent here to accomplish a mission and, having accomplished it, was ordered home.

In 1930, when I was a reporter on the New York Daily Mirror, I became convinced that no two stories of the assassination agreed in all particulars. I began to keep notes with the notion of some day writing the real story. A big part of a small salary went to buy Carl Sandburg's four volumes, Abraham Lincoln: The War Years. Years later, Sandburg introduced me to André Kostelanetz at the Metropolitan Opera House as the only person he knew who had read through the four volumes twice.

My notebooks were 28 in number. Each was marked with an hour of the day, from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m. The three extra ones were labeled "The Conspirators," "The Lincoln Family," and "Washington City—Era." Anything pertinent to any of those notebooks was jotted or typed and placed in the proper book. Quite often a little-known work would add a tiny piece of information to the pile, but without noting the time of day. All such went into a large envelope.

It was not full-time work. By day or by night I worked as a rewrite man, a feature writer, did magazine articles, wrote such books as The Glass Crutch, The Mark Hellinger Story, Parish Priest, had time for a wife and two children, wrote a small-town newspaper column, ran for local office and was trounced, raised dogs, drank beer, bought a house, worked with hammer and nails, played pinochle with my father, and mowed a lawn.

Scores of thousands of individual notes went into the little black books, and, in time, they became fat. Often, a new fact automatically reconciled some of the loose-end facts in the big envelope, and, in time, the little pieces began to fall into place. The detailed scheme of what happened in Washington on April 14, 1865, could now be seen in perspective. The weather, the people, the movements of John Wilkes Booth, the unusual happiness of the President, the hour-by-hour work of the members of the Cabinet—all began to seem logical.

It was then, 2 years ago, that I intensified the research and went to Washington to run down the final facts needed for a book. I traveled the escape route of Booth in an Oldsmobile and checked it to the tenth of a mile. In the Library of Congress and in the Army Adjutant General's files were 7 million words to be read—a large part of them contained in old affidavits of witnesses to the events of that day.

After that, it was simple task—merely checking all that happened in any one hour of the day, writing the word "Void" on pages of notes which had no relationship to the real facts, and writing. The last was easy.

Security Flimflam Demoralizes Scientists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article entitled "Security Flimflam Demoralizes Scientists," from the February 1955 issue of the Democratic Digest:

SECURITY FLIMFLAM DEMORALIZES SCIENTISTS

"Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die.
Into the valley of death
Rode the six hundred."

—*Tennyson: The Charge of the Light Brigade.*

"Who had ever heard that minds created free by God should submit slavishly to the arbitrary will of others? That they should submit in matters of truth to the decisions of a committee of men not qualified to judge? * * * These are the novelties that carry with them the ruin of commonwealths and the subversion of the state."—Galileo.

America today is searching out the meeting ground between Galileo, the scientist, and Tennyson's Light Brigade, so that a close working relationship can be nurtured between the men who invent our devastating new weapons and the men who must handle them to protect our Nation.

In an ideal society, these two professions would never be required to work together. There can be no natural affinity between the professional soldiers who are trained "to do and die" without questioning and the scientists whose very genius lies in questioning every accepted fact. But we are too far from an ideal society to afford these niceties. For the sake of our national survival, the scientists and generals must develop a respectful understanding so that their combined powers of destruction can be held in readiness against our enemies.

This problem in cooperation has always been inherent in our technological age, but the public did not become aware of it until recent months when the scientists began protesting that their usefulness is threatened.

"The morale of the scientists today as I meet them is lo—," said Dr. Vannevar Bush, dean of American scientists, "so low that while they will not refuse to serve, they will serve without enthusiasm and without fruitful inspiration."

This unhealthy state of affairs, Dr. Bush told a congressional committee, is the direct result of the Eisenhower security program. For it threatens the "exceedingly important and valuable partnership" which grew up slowly between scientists and military men during the war. This precarious understanding "has now been gravely damaged and is being gradually destroyed."

Dr. James Killian, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one of the important centers for defense research, is also

alarmed by the "deterioration in recent months" of the relationship between military and civilian research personnel. Dr. Killian, who gave his views to the Riehlman congressional subcommittee which investigated military research last summer, blamed the decline primarily on current "security procedures and policies" which he regards as "hazardous."

The former cooperation between the scientists and the generals did not spring up spontaneously. It was the carefully nurtured product of a great united wartime effort. Now that it has been breached, it is not likely to regain its former vigor without cultivation.

It is not probable that scientists will ever welcome restrictions on their freedom, but they are not prima donnas about it. Indeed, they imposed secrecy on themselves in 1939–40 when they first saw the likelihood of developing an atom bomb before the Government was brought into the picture.

What concerns Dr. Killian, Dr. Bush, and their scientific colleagues today is the Government's changed attitude toward scientists. During World War II, these men accepted the security regulations imposed by the military as one of the necessary evils of war. Though most of them were privately convinced that no scientific fact could be kept secret indefinitely, they recognized that a thin edge of time could mean the difference between victory and defeat. Moreover, it was easier for them to accept restrictions during the war because they at least knew that the security system, whether it was misguided or not, sprang entirely from patriotic motives.

What has aroused scientific antagonism is the realization that the present administration has frequently exploited security as a political racket. This has led the powerful Federation of American Scientists to attack "the dangers and the bitter fruits of a security system which is motivated more by the risks of politics than the risks of disclosure of information."

Scientific associations, individual scientists, newsmen, and public officials who had worked with scientists seemed to concur, as last summer's headlines show:

"Scienists Call for Revision of United States Security Standards." (New York Herald Tribune.)

"Scientists' Treatment Is Criticized." (Washington Post.)

"House Group Warns: Row With Scientists Threatens Security." (Washington Daily News.)

"Experts Worried at Curbs on United States Weapons Research." (Baltimore Sun.)

Administration policies provoked new bitterness last fall at the height of the congressional election campaign when Vice President NIXON sought to strengthen his Communist smear charges by making an example of Dr. Edward Condon.

Dr. Condon was director of research for Corning Glass last October before the administration singled him out for attention. The distinguished scientist had taken this position after prolonged security attacks prompted him to leave the directorship of the Bureau of Standards despite repeated clearances.

Since Corning Glass sometimes handles defense work, Dr. Corning as research director was again checked for security. He was cleared again last July for the fourth time since World War II.

But last October his clearance was suddenly revoked; several weeks later he resigned. The Atomic Scientists of Chicago, a chapter of the Federation of American Scientists, publicly blamed "political abuse of the Nation's security system." Vice President NIXON, they charged, had "intervened with Secretary of the Navy Thomas" to overrule Dr. Condon's clearance. The accusation was borne out by a New York Times report of the Vice President's campaign boasts.

"The fact that Dr. Condon's talent will no longer be available to our Military Establishment is serious," said this outstanding group of scientists. "We are more concerned, however, with this new example of political interference with the personnel security system. It has been degraded to such a point that its judgments are almost meaningless, except for the damage they do to the individuals affected."

This political manipulation has its roots in the 1952 presidential campaign when General Eisenhower himself said on two occasions that Russia has the atom bomb only because spies inside our Government had handed over the secret formula. The accusation was dismissed as no more than campaign talk at the time; but when this and all the other campaign spy stories led up to Eisenhower Security Order No. 10450 in the spring of 1953, the scientists sat up and took notice.

As removals of so-called security risks mounted past the 6,900 mark, scientific pressure mounted with it. Scientific misgivings were only increased by reports in the press that there was not one known Communist among the people removed. Instead, the 6,926 figure included blabbermouths, drunks, misfits, victims of political firings, and malicious gossips, plus a few people who died in office, and a considerable leavening of civil servants who resigned without knowing there were charges against them.

One great wave of scientific protest was touched off when "Mr. Atom," J. Robert Oppenheimer, was called a security risk and denied access to the atomic secrets he helped create.

At the time Dr. Bush wrote: "Witnessing all this sorry affair, scientists rather generally have come to the conclusion that a man's reputation has been placed in jeopardy because he held and expressed strong opinions which are not now consistent with the established program of his Government."

"If you want to try a man for strong opinions," Dr. Bush told the board which found against Oppenheimer, "you can try me. I have expressed strong opinions many times, and I intend to do so. They have been unpopular opinions at times," he added.

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists called the Oppenheimer case a breach of faith on the part of the Government. Dr. Oppenheimer, they protested, was called to heavy responsibilities in full knowledge of his life history, and then after he had given the most valuable services to the Nation, previously known facts were used to cast aspersions on his integrity.

Scientific resentment against this type of treatment has been voiced so strongly that it has even raised the possibility of a scientists' strike. This notion that this body of loyal men would deliberately jeopardize our national security by withholding their talents need not be considered too seriously, but the concern expressed by Dr. Bush that scientific effectiveness can be undermined by low morale is too real to be ignored.

The administration itself has at last become alarmed by the scientists' united stand against the politicalized system. This became evident when the President appointed mathematician Dr. John Von Neumann to the Atomic Energy Commission last fall.

Von Neumann was an important contributor to atomic development and had been an outspoken critic of the security system before his appointment. He has said outright that under the present system a man may be branded a security risk when his honor and good citizenship are not questioned, and he has urged revised proceedings which would conform with judicial practice.

When Von Neumann was appointed, one Washington columnist who is a recognized authority on atomic matters said privately that the appointment had been made out of abject terror. The administration, he said, knows it is near the edge with the scientists, and is afraid to push them any further.

This evaluation is borne out by another leading scientist's reaction to the appointment:

"It's a step in the right direction, and a big one," he said, "if the administration listens to Von Neumann and changes its ways. But if this is just done for appearances, just to propitiate opposition, then we are in for serious trouble."

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful to Mr. Bob Considine, the noted reporter of national fame, for his highly interesting series of articles which have appeared in recent days in many newspapers throughout the land concerning Las Vegas, sometimes described as "the gambling capital of America." This ace reporter spent several months checking the real facts on Las Vegas and has come up with a very revealing story.

Shortly after the 84th Congress was convened, I introduced a resolution, House Resolution 97, to set up a fact-finding committee of five Members of the House of Representatives to undertake an investigation of the causes of crime in this country and a study of the methods of crime prevention. I also introduced a bill, H. R. 2543, calling for the creation of a Bureau of Crime Prevention in the Justice Department as a permanent agency to conduct a continuous study of ways for preventing crime and curbing juvenile delinquency.

Bob Considine's series of articles would be most revealing and helpful to a congressional committee set up for this purpose, as suggested in my bills, since it would make possible to study this problem at its roots. I, therefore, want to bring these informative articles to the attention of all my colleagues. The first of the series, taken from the Chicago American, was published on January 23, 1955, reads as follows:

GAMBLING MECCA UNMASKED

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 22.—This place must be seen to be believed. Even then you wonder.

The area embraces one of man's greatest and one of his least important engineering achievements: Hoover Dam and the penny slot machine.

Human nature being what it is, the slot machine and its ilk attract more tourists than the world's highest dam, which has created the world's largest manmade lake and zips power to 8 million people in 3 huge States.

NO ROAD MAP NEEDED

The blazing city of Las Vegas and its adjacent strip along route 91 combine to be

an excellent customer for the power brewed in the dam's 18 huge generators.

A tourist approaching Las Vegas at night needs no road map. From 50 miles away it glows like the nose of the late Charles (Cherry Nose) Gioe, Chicago Capone gangster who helped transmute this little desert town and its road approaches into a gambling mecca that makes Monte Carlo look like a bingo game in a mortuary.

Barring certain threats to its shaky and almost rootless existence amid the forlorn sagebrush and cactus, Las Vegas may attract 10 million visitors in 1955.

They'll spend better than $50 million on food, rooms, shopping, and services.

FEW WILL BE BORED

No man will be able to compute accurately what they'll drop gambling, spend at Las Vegas' 24-hour bars, or get clipped for at its breezy bordellos.

Whatever the activity of the swarms of transients, vacationers, ever-growing list of residents, and the matrimonially disenchanted who are sweating out 6-week residence, few will be bored.

The only counterpart to Las Vegas in the average person's knowledge is a western movie in technicolor.

But not even Hollywood would produce a western along the story lines of Las Vegas' day-to-day exterior glamor. Nobody would believe it:

Ample housefraus, bulging in jeans, feeding coins to one-armed bandits while buying dinner for the old man and the kids at the corner grocery.

Tired-eyed, rumpled dice shooters not even looking up when the whole town is eerily lighted and subtly shaken by the fiery belch of an A-bomb on the AEC testing ground 75 miles away.

Cocktail waitresses, some of whom can be talked into working after hours at their apartments, driving about in Cadillac convertibles (Bell Capt. Vane Weidenkopf, of the sumptuous Sands Hotel, prefers his Jaguar).

CHARACTERS, TOO

And characters? Forgetting the re-treaded mobsters for a moment, what about Rex Bell, the old horse opera star who married Clara Bow? He wound up lieutenant governor of the State.

And Nicholas Andrea Dandolos, the world's dullest gambler through whose hands have passed an estimated $500 million? (Nick the Greek is a graduate from the Greek Evangelical College with a bachelor of arts in philosophy.)

And Joe W. Brown, who owns the huge Horshoe Club downtown? Brown, whose oil and gas holdings in Texas bring him $40,000 a month, looks and talks like Army Secretary Stevens in the confident early rounds of his fight with Senator McCarthy.

He has $1 million framed in 2 layers of plate glass at the entrance of his air-conditioned gambling hall—one hundred $10,000 bills.

WANTS LOAN

Abe Schiller, of the Flamingo Hotel, an unofficial Grover Whalen for the "strip" since his life was spared by Bugsy Siegel, asked Brown to lend the million to him to place on a Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce float in the Rose Bowl parade. Brown said:

"I kind of hate to let it out of the place for a few days. It's a nice attraction."

(The display costs him a small fortune in lost interest and protective insurance.)

Then he had a thought:

"Tell you what I'll do, though. I'll get you another million."

But as it turned out, the United States Government couldn't raise that many $10,000 bills on such short notice. Brown snapped impatiently:

"Well, then, how about 10 $100,000 bills • • • the ones with Woodrow Wilson's picture?"

But these are gold backs and not permitted to be owned by individuals.

Brown is said to have considered leaving the United States and going back to Texas.

SUN WORSHIP

It sometimes seems hard to believe but there are occasionally other activities in Las Vegas, aside from gambling. Sun worshippers pour in, fleeing the smog and fog to the west and the Arctic blasts to the east.

Couples come to be married. (Hotel Last Frontier has a wedding bureau where a couple can buy a $25 service at the neon-lighted "Little Church of the West" on the hotel grounds—includes minister, organist, society-page notes for the hometown papers and a ride around the block in a stagecoach. Photograph, $5 extra.)

There are about three times as many marriages in Las Vegas as divorces.

DEATH TAXES

Some people come to Las Vegas to die or break a few of their tax chains. Nevada has no income, inheritance, death transfer, sales or gift taxes.

Others come to fish for frisky bass in Lake Mead or trout in Lake Mohave, below the great dam.

Some come to build department stores, like Sears, or futuristic bomb-shelters out at Yucca Flat, where new atomic tests are about to take place.

But most come to gamble, and even those who come for announced other reasons eventually belly up to a dice, roulette or "21" table, play the pitiless machines, bingo, or the horses.

Horse-betting, gambling's highest moment in most big United States cities, gets comparatively little play in Las Vegas.

"Who wants to wait a half an hour between rolls?" is the general attitude about horses. The pink stucco Las Vegas track needs only the sun-bleached skull of a buffalo to complete the traditional picture of desert waste.

Greater gambles go on constantly beneath the tinseled surface of Las Vegas.

This year will see the opening of eight new lush hotels and casinos, representing an investment of somewhere between $15 and $20 million.

They are Tony Cornero's Stardust Hotel, Frank Fishman's Royal Nevada, Alfred Gottesman's Dunes, Louis Rubin's and Alexander Bisno's Moulin Rouge, Ed Levinson's Fremont Hotel downtown (Las Vegas' first skyscraper), the Riviera, the "Strip's" first tall one, being built by Dave and Lou Gensburg and Murray Saul, Fred J. Trevillian's Desert Spa, and the big Alabaster Continental, with widespread ownership.

None of these places could exist without gambling.

SCAN OWNERSHIP

They could not hope to afford to pay the stunning night-club act fees that have made Las Vegas the capital of the entertainment world. They could not afford to follow the common practice of barely breaking even or losing on food and rooms—a "come-on" that has hammered such prices down below the level of second-rate hotels in the big cities.

And, for them, it will not be a question of simply completing their structures, priming the casino pumps and opening the doors.

The State says in effect that such places must be three-fourths finished (or with that much capital showing) before a gambling license can be applied for. Then the records of all shareholders must be searched.

The people are fingerprinted and the whorls and dips rushed off to the FBI in Washington for a checkup. Theoretically, at least, it is possible for a $5 million pleasure dome to be denied a license, or deprived of one after beginning operations, though it hasn't happened yet.

SHOW-CAUSE ORDER

The Thunderbird Hotel, for example, is now operating full steam under the sufferance of a show-cause order, pending its efforts to clear up charges that it is partly owned by Meyer and Jake Lansky, two fabled mob characters whose deeds, citations and charges actually cover 211 pages in the Kefauver reports.

Cornero, one-time operator of the gambling ship *Lux and Rex* which cruised off California, will not be the only potential new operator thoroughly scrutinized.

Hidden ownership is the bane of the life of the Nevada State Tax Commission, in charge of issuing licenses. There are differences of opinion as to the seriousness or thoroughness with which the commission polices such matters.

There is no question, though, that the commissioners—who serve without pay and have generally distinguished records as public servants—are a strong deterrent to further inroads by toughs and extoughs on the Las Vegas scene.

The retired or deodorized bootleggers, bookies, murder suspects, goons, and thugs who have found security and a measure of respectability in Las Vegas do not want anything to upset the applecart. They want to be left alone.

They, in truth, are the police of the gambling business in Nevada. They keep it as clean as they know how, knowing that once the public confidence is shaken in it, or it is invaded by notoriously apparent muggs from the outside world, their whole costly investment would rot away under the baleful sun and stinging sand.

TAX THREAT

The man who gives Las Vegas more ulcers than any other person is Virgil W. Peterson, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission. Peterson's direct and guilt-by-association charges relate usually to hidden ownership of the gambling palaces.

Big and little operators in Las Vegas fear that Peterson, and others who floodlight the hoodlum quicksands on which much of the edifice of Las Vegas was built, will hurt the State's tourism business, or prompt other States to legalize gambling in an effort to pull that business away, or worst, inspire a tax-hungry Congress to clamp a 10-percent Federal tax on Nevada gambling.

In the mind of most of those I talked to, such a tax would turn Las Vegas into the plushiest ghost town in history.

Peterson told the Public Prosecutors' Institute in Berkeley, Calif., last month that the old Capone mob has taken over control of many places in Vegas and Reno.

Though he did not support his statement, the National Association of County and Prosecuting Attorneys immediately canceled its scheduled convention here for next month.

PRIM PUZZLE

It would have poured many thousands more dollars into the pockets of Las Vegas merchants of all sorts—except Roxie's, the leading house of prostitution, closed recently in what some considered an odd outburst of primness on the part of the widest open town of them all.

Many dire warnings have appeared in national magazines and newspapers of late, predicting that the guns will soon be roaring in Las Vegas, as this or that group attempts to take it all.

When I asked questions about that of such people as Moe Dalitz, former Cleveland bootlegger baron who is one of the owners of the swank Desert Inn and a gifted user of its oasis of a golf course, or of Jake Kozloff, whose interest is switching from gambling to skyrocketing real-estate holdings, I got bigger laughs than Joe E. Lewis, the town's favorite comedian.

WHAT'S AHEAD?

There is obvious concern, however, over what the future holds.

The black market money ran out several years ago. The day (and night) of the titanic plunger is gone. The appeal is increasingly toward the masses type bettor.

The Desert Inn group's erection of the Showboat, out of town, beckons sobersided people in from Boulder, site of the dam and without gambling.

The downtown Las Vegas Club, the house of jackpots, advertises:

The Jackpot Emporium.
The Jackpot Hippodrome.
The Jackpot Palladium.
The Jackpot Arena.

The Las Vegas Club is the jackpot roundhouse.

"With 350 slots where you can sit in comfort and enjoy the Las Vegas club's liberal policy * * * and we do mean liberal!

"Free parking for our patrons."

Now, as the individual play decreases in money wagered but expands in numbers of players, in will march a host of new arenas of wagering. The established operators wonder what will be the saturation point.

FRIEND GONE

They worry over such additional thoughts as what effect two proposed Negro hotels and casinos will have on predominantly white Las Vegas.

And they worry over what Washington will do, now that Nevada gambling's good friend and spokesman on Capitol Hill, Senator Pat McCarran, has gone to his reward.

They know their own legislature is safe. In fact, they contributed a lot of money toward the election campaigns of candidates calculated to support continued gambling and to balk at taxing the gambling grosses more than the 2 percent now in the tax law.

To be additionally sure, the gambling interests maintain the influential John V. Mueller of Reno as their lobbyist at Carson City. He sits in the aisle of the State Senate.

But Washington—that's different.

The casual visitor to Las Vegas cares little about these deep worries.

He walks through garish downtown Las Vegas wanting to adopt a rolling gait and pack a pistol.

He forgets home, family and the city's many bell-pealing churches as he sweats over a cold pair of dice.

And as he leaves, poorer but wiser, he makes a note that one day he'll return—and get even.

One thing certain: He never forgets the place, any more than an ancient traveler would have forgotten Babylon or, more appropriately, Pompeii.

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, following is the second article in the series by Bob Considine on Las Vegas, America's gambling mecca, published in the Chicago American, January 24, 1955:

LAS VEGAS UNMASKED—BUGSY CALLED TUNE ON "STRIP"

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 24.—The late and (in Las Vegas) lamented Bugsy Siegel set the ethical tone of the resort's gaudy "strip" one night not long before his execution was ordered by the country's leading racket figures—meeting with Lucky Luciano in Havana.

Siegel, builder and original boss of the Flamingo Hotel and casino, sprang lithely from his office when notified that one Bud Bodel, a private eye he had hired, had just flattened a Flamingo dealer who pulled a gun on a patron.

SIEGEL'S TECHNICOLOR DREAM

On a summit of rage which only he could scale, Siegel blazed:

"I won't have any rough stuff in here if I have to kill a couple of you ——— myself right in the casino."

There wasn't any more trouble, except for Bugsy.

If the old and some of the newer characters along the "Strip" dared, they'd erect a statue to Benjamin (Bugsy) Siegel, member of the board of directors of Murder, Inc., self-styled killer of 12 men (he preferred to shoot them in the face), spectacular shakedown artist, playmate of playgirl Virginia Hill, pet of the late Countess Dorothy Di Frasso, and other society personalities.

THEN CAME THE "STRIP"

He remains the patron devil of the hardest playing stretch of land on earth.

He made a technicolor dream come true, using bloodstained and racket-gained bankrolls.

Ownership of his handsome and lively olive green monument—the Flamingo—has long since passed on to persons who can meet the moral requirements of the Nevada State Tax Commission, the licensing body.

But to those with memories longer than a finger the now much-enlarged Flamingo will always be Bugsy's brainchild.

From Siegel's dreaming and daring grew the "Strip" as it is today. Those dreams and that daring were incidental causes of his slaying, but they gave inspiration to lesser figures in gangland, and to banking interests as respected as those of the Moody family in Galveston.

Up from the scabrous wastes along route 91, just south of Las Vegas on the road to Los Angeles, mushroomed the splendor of the Desert Inn, Thunderbird, Sands, Sahara, restaurants, bars, motels, gas stations—the works.

Tens of millions of dollars have sprung directly from Bugsy Siegel's exploitation of the "Strip."

That limited section of the State of Nevada which is actually under State control (Federal lands comprise most of the area) has come to depend heavily on the "Strip" and neighboring Las Vegas for tax money with which to build roads, schools, and maintain them.

NO HOPE FOR BUGSY

But Bugsy couldn't stay around to see the burgeoning of the "Strip," and its impressive role in the State's economic picture. He broke a rule, and the supreme court of the underworld handed down the verdict of guilty. There was no recommendation of mercy. Or hope of appeal.

Some who preceded Bugsy to this general area would have had difficulty comprehending him and his power.

The earliest ancestors of the Paiute, Shoshone, and other Indian tribes knew and perhaps worshipped the springs of Las Vegas centuries before the white man came to America.

The Spaniards, who gave Las Vegas its name (The Meadows), wrote home about it before the Revolutionary War. The American explorer, soldier, and politician, John C. Fremont, penned 111 years ago, that he found Las Vegas water "good but rather too warm to be agreeable."

The Mormon Church established a mission here in 1855, "to protect immigrants and the United States mail from the Indians, and to teach the latter how to raise corn, wheat, potatoes, squash, and melons."

CITY BORN IN 1905

Brigham Young, informed that the area was rich in lead deposits, encouraged the mission to enter mining. But the project failed and, with Federal troops breathing heavily on the oppressed Mormons everywhere, Young called the Las Vegas mission home to the Great Salt Lake area of Utah.

The San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad, now the Union Pacific, anchored Las Vegas permanently to the map of the United States on May 15, 1905.

On that day it sold 1,200 lots to miners, railroad workers, and shopkeepers with the promise of laying out streets, putting water pipes into each lot, and tarring the road in and out.

Two days later, Las Vegas was a tent city, including a 140-foot-long tent hotel. It never lacked in lustiness from the very start.

Its next boom came in the depression years with the building of Hoover (Boulder) Dam 30 miles away.

But the State was so close to bankruptcy before that, and its mining and cattle industries so defunct, that its legislature had by that time reached a decision of great significance, not immediately apparent.

GAMBLING LEGALIZED

Desperate for new income in 1931, the legislature legalized gambling.

It caused no immediate gold rush. The freewheeling mobs to the East and West were concerned with bigger things, mainly bootlegging, bookmaking and numbers, narcotics, and white slavery. The dusty dice tables of a forlornly isolated State held no lure save for an occasional passing motorist.

An event in Los Angeles was chiefly responsible for the creation of the city of Las Vegas as it is known to millions today.

In 1938, at which time Las Vegas had a population of 3,000, a recall election put Fletcher Bowron in city hall in Los Angeles and its underworld sensed he was too tough to handle.

The gambling fraternity in Los Angeles packed up, lock, stock, and barreling dice, and descended upon Las Vegas.

Guy McAfee, former Los Angeles policeman turned gambler, opened the Golden Nugget, whose partners now include Clifford Jones, Democratic national committeeman for the State and former lieutenant governor. At the same time the Pioneer Club was set up, owned by Chuck Addison, Milton "Farmer" Page, Bill "Porky" Curland, and L. B. "Tutor" Scherer.

MOB'S PHILOSOPHY

It was a live-and-let-live group whose philosophy was perhaps expressed recently by McAfee when he said, "Gamblers have too much invested to gamble with trouble. We'd be knocked right out of the box."

Gamblers and motel operators moved timidly out along the highway leading to Los Angeles. Land, now fabulously costly, was cheaper than dirt.

By 1940 the population of "Greater Las Vegas" had jumped to 6,000, most of them bent mainly on flipping a few dollars out of the pockets of motorists hurrying through to the coast, or streaking eastward.

Pearl Harbor struck terror in Las Vegas. With gas rationing in effect, it was feared that no suckers would be swarming through town.

But the Las Vegas story was only beginning. Workers began pouring through, en route to the shipyards and plane plants of southern California.

BUGSY ARRIVES

The Defense Plant Corporation built the $140 million Basic Magnesium, Inc., plant at Henderson, 12 miles to the southeast, and shipped in thousands more customers.

Enter Bugsy Siegel.

He had been sent to California in 1937 on the recommendation of Louis "Lepke" Bu-

chalter, then chairman of the board of an underworld syndicate, which included Meyer and Jake Lansky, Frank Costello, Longy Zwillman, Phil Kastel, and, by remote control, Luciano—in prison.

The trip had a twofold aim. California was ripe for big-league exploitation by the mob—which was enjoying good relations with the Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland gangs—and it seemed a shame to the syndicate to see all those boobs holding on to their money.

The second reason why Siegel took the joint advice of Lepke and Horace Greeley was that he was hot. What he had thought was his perfect murder had begun to unravel.

HIS MURDER ALIBI

Five years earlier he had checked into a New York hospital, permitted himself to be tucked in bed for the night, got up when the nurse left, stuffed pillows under his blanket to simulate a sleeping figure, slipped out, drove to Brooklyn, and murdered Tony Fabrizzo—a mob figure who foolishly dreamed of selling his revealing memoirs.

Siegel was back in bed and sleeping peacefully when his nurse came in with breakfast the next morning. He checked out several days later with a perfect alibi. But, 5 years later, police were closing in, and so he was shipped west.

There, by seizing control over movie extras, via a phony union, he was able to shake down stars and studios by threatening to pull his people off production lots. It was said that in a single year he grossed $400,000 at this racket.

FEARED IN HOLLYWOOD

Bugsy isolated his uncomplaining wife and their two daughters in a handsome home and proceeded to outdazzle the tinseled culture of the movie world. He dressed better than the stars, talked faster, and was infinitely feared.

Countess Dorothy Di Frasso, known for her flashy parties and sharp wit, sponsored Siegel socially and all but succeeded in making him a leader in a community he was boldly stealing money from.

Bugsy, who had known almost hideous poverty as a tenement kid, put indirectly lighted dressers in his dressing room, to illuminate his neat mounds of $25 shirts.

It was at this time he was joined on the coast by Virginia Hill. The spectacular moll, 1 of the 10 children of an Alabama tombstone polisher, first reached the public eye as a showgirl in Chicago's "A Century of Progress" in 1933–34.

She was 16, appeared in a show called Elephants and Fleas and was just about to change her mouse-colored hair to auburn.

PAIR LIVED IT UP

After the fair she ran through 2 or 3 quick husbands, became a sort of all-American girl of the syndicate and was in the chips well enough to rent Rudolph Valentino's old hilltop house when she arrived in Hollywood.

She and Bugsy lived it up. He moved her and himself into a home in Beverly Hills, which was leased in her name—and gave her, among other things, a wedding ring.

But this was Siegel's light side. His work, aside from shaking gold dust from the stars, was to gain for the syndicate undisputed control of the race-wire service on the coast.

Before Senator ESTES KEFAUVER's racket-busting committee destroyed it, the importance of the race-wire was spoken of by the California Crime Study Commission in these terms:

"Control of the so-called 'wire service,' through which up-to-the-minute racing results from tracks all over the Nation and even Cuba and Mexico are brought directly to individual bookmakers through distribution points for a price, has long been the cause of murderous underworld struggles.

"CONTINENTAL CAPTURED

"The largest of the wire services is known as the Continental Press Service, formerly controlled by the late James M. Ragen, Sr. Strenuous efforts were made by those who inherited the Al Capone empire in Chicago and by Frank Costello to gain control of or destroy Continental Press Service.

"West of Chicago the Capone group first attacked the Continental monopoly by setting up a competing service known as Trans-America Wire Service. Subsequently in Arizona-Nevada-California territory, the Capone syndicate 'captured' Continental.

"With the appearance in Las Vegas of Moe Sedway, unrestricted access to the wire service for anyone willing to pay for it was suddenly cut off early in 1942 except for 2 or 3 establishments whose proprietors discovered that by giving Sedway an interest in their business, they could continue to receive racing results without disturbance.

"Originally from New York and a friend of Siegel's since boyhood, Sedway's mysterious control over the wire service paved the way for Siegel himself.

"The terms were hard, but the reasons for accepting were compelling. As one of the partners in a Las Vegas gambling house testified, 'a book is an asset to a gambling house. It brings the people in in the daytime, and if your competitors have it, you almost have to have a book to compete.'

"By these means, Siegel secured a regular income from Las Vegas alone of at least $25,000 a month."

An Editorial From the Chicago American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an editorial from the Chicago American of January 31, 1955. The editorial follows:

TIMIDITY OF CONGRESS

We've contended that Members of Congress, and Federal judges as well, deserve an increase in pay.

Men of good caliber should not have to serve their country at financial sacrifice. Or, to put it more significantly, these important jobs should pay enough to attract men of great ability and not just the independently wealthy or broken-down hacks who want to get in out of the rain.

But the timidity of Congress. Its fear of the voters. These factors have prevented action in past Congresses. Now, as it seems probable a raise will be voted, they emerge in a ludicrous way.

It is reported that proposals will be made for a $10,000 pay hike (from the present $15,000 to $25,000) so that, on the floor, Members may humbly vote to reduce the increase and wind up with $22,500.

For goodness' sake, men, the people aren't that dumb. They know Congressmen have to maintain two homes and contribute to everything from the smallest raffle to the party campaign chests.

They know Federal judges, at $15,000, make only a fraction of what they could command in private practices.

Please, gentlemen, just fix a fair figure. The people will understand and respect.

Annual Report of ICC Reveals Politics Gets Nod Over Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members of the House, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the Trainman News of January 24, 1955. The Trainman News is the official weekly publication of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The article, written by Mr. Harry See, the organization's national legislative representative, comments on a proposal contained in the annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission under which the Commission's Bureaus of Locomotive Inspection and Safety and Service would be consolidated into a new Bureau of Safety and Service. The article also discusses a recommendation in the report with regard to appointment of the director and assistant directors of locomotive inspection and the qualifications of permanent inspectors.

The article follows:

ANNUAL REPORT OF ICC REVEALS POLITICS GETS NOD OVER SAFETY

(By Harry See, national legislative representative)

The Interstate Commerce Commission wants to play politics at the expense of railroad safety. That is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the Commission's latest annual report.

One of its several recommendations under the reorganization and management improvement section of the report is to consolidate the Bureaus of Locomotive Inspection, Safety, and Service into a new Bureau of Safety and Service.

To do this would be to no longer distinguish between qualifications and duties of Bureau of Safety inspectors and locomotive inspectors. While both types of inspectors are concerned with maintaining safety conditions on railroads, their jurisdictions are different.

SAFE OPERATION

The safety appliance inspector is concerned with proper operation of any device on railroad cars which will affect the safe operation of cars, such as hand brakes, brake steps, running boards, sill steps ladders, handholds, coupling levers, handrails, etc. On the other hand, locomotive inspectors are concerned with inspection and maintenance of locomotive boilers, and all parts and appurtenances of the locomotive and tender. In addition to steam locomotives, this service also includes the highly complicated mechanisms of diesel and electric locomotives.

There is no practical reason why these two valuable safety agencies should not be kept separate and distinct as in the past, insuring to the traveling public and railroad employees that railroads are safe and will be maintained in a safe operating condition.

As we continue to read the recommendation, we find the ICC supplies its own motive for advocating the merger of these two bureaus. The report alleges that having two kinds of inspectors, safety and locomotive, results in a duplication of service, which "is wasteful and has brought objection from the railroads."

RAILROADS OBJECT

Therein lies the key to the recommendation—the railroads object to it! The railroads have always objected to any measure which would police their operation. They objected to enactment of the Locomotive Inspection Act, the Safety Appliance Act, and the Signal Inspection Act. They objected to requirements for power brakes, for ash pans under locomotives and for automatic stokers; in short, they objected to and opposed any regulations that would cost them any money, whether or not it would result in improved and safer operation and save human lives.

Allowing inspectors from either bureau to interchange inspection assignments would necessarily result in inspectors from one bureau attempting to pass upon the items of safety about which they know nothing, since their qualifications and experience have been otherwise. This interchange in railroad inspection can easily reflect itself in less thorough and inefficient inspections, and result in an increase in accidents attributable to unrecognized defects. But this possibility apparently gladens the heart of railroad management which has consistently opposed such regulation. Recalling this attitude of the carriers in the past makes it more easily understood why the management-conscious ICC would recommend the discontinuance of the present practice because it has "brought objection from the railroads."

HARMFUL RECOMMENDATION

A more destructive recommendation of ICC in its annual report is the one to amend the Locomotive Inspection Act to eliminate provisions relating to appointment of the director and assistant directors of locomotive inspection and the detailed requirements relating to employment of inspectors.

Elimination of provisions relating to appointment of the director and assistant directors of locomotive inspection is something which has been long sought by ICC. In 1911 when the Boiler Inspection Act was passed, Congress felt the large accident toll caused by defective locomotive boilers was so serious that an independent bureau within the commission should be set up, with the director and two assistant directors nominated by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The intention was to give bureau heads a certain amount of independence, so they would feel free to use all powers vested in them in making rules and setting up standards to prevent accidents due to defective locomotives.

The ICC apparently wants to select its own director and assistant directors. By having absolute control over the heads of this bureau, the administration of it can be placed in the hands of officials and inspectors swept up from the political arena, whose lack of qualifications and experience will result in the breaking down of safety standards of long standing.

WITHDRAWS NOMINATION

For instance, at the last session of Congress, the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce requested Charles H. Grossman to appear and acquaint committee members with his views on legislation designed to accomplish the same emasculating process as the above provision in the ICC report. Grossman had been nominated to become Director of Locomotive Inspection. When Grossman expressed himself against the proposed change, the ICC members were angered, and the President was persuaded to withdraw his nomination.

If the detailed requirements relating to employment of locomotive inspectors are eliminated, as proposed in the ICC recommendation, this would permit appointment of a man who knows absolutely nothing about locomotives or their appurtenances. Employment of such inspectors has been closely guarded by law. Since 1911 all locomotive inspectors have been required to have an intimate knowledge of all working parts and safety devices of locomotives. To insure this, they are required to pass examinations relative to their training, experience, and knowledge of intricate mechanisms related to work in the field of locomotive inspection.

After successfully passing such examinations, the applicants are entered on civil-service rolls, and are entitled to privileges and protection of civil service. The excellent safety record on railroads insofar as locomotive failures are concerned attest to the wisdom displayed by Congress when it instituted this detailed process for the selection of suitable men for these positions.

LOOK AT 1954 RECORD

To illustrate the importance of the work done by locomotive inspectors, you need look only at the record of the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection for 1954. In that year a total of 19,999 steam locomotives were inspected; of these, 2,599 defects were discovered that should have been corrected by the railroads before the locomotives were put into service. In the same period 83,338 diesel locomotives were inspected and 7,395 defects were detected.

For the ICC to remove these men from protection of the civil-service system and to eliminate requirements for their examinations is simply to open the door of another Government agency to invasion by political patronage. Under the American system of political spoils, it is expected that certain inconsequential jobs will be filled with only a passing wink to qualifications and with a large dose of favoritism. But in the field of employment where the caliber of a man and his technical knowledge are directly related to the kind of job he can do in the field of safety maintenance, it is unthinkable to imagine any relaxation in such job requirements.

SOUNDS THE ALARM

The BRT's national legislative representative has already sounded the alarm on Capitol Hill by acquainting Members of both Houses of Congress with these and other deleterious provisions in ICC's annual report. Relative to the provision to let down the bars requiring examinations, he said that, if ICC has its way, wardheelers soon will be seen fumbling about freight cars and locomotives looking for a leak or a rattle. To expect any degree of safety on the railroads, he said, we must insist on men with practical railroad experience.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. As a member of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression during the 83d Congress, I was impressed by the evidence received concerning the desire for freedom shown by the Ukrainians. During the Second World War millions of Ukrainian patriots attempted to rise up against the Communist dictatorship in the Soviet Union but were unsuccessful. The Ukrainians would be one of our most important allies in the event of a future uprising and resistance against the masters of the Kremlin. I extend my greetings to these freedom loving peoples on the anniversary of their proclamation of independence.

The Strategic Importance of Southeast Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to commend to the Members of the Congress the article that I today insert in the RECORD. In order to predicate properly the splendid treatment of a serious problem in world affairs, I insert a brief biographical sketch of the able author, Dr. Diosdado M. Yap, a noted Far East authority and the publisher and editor of Bataan Magazine. The article that has been written by Dr. Yap concerning the Far East situation should be carefully studied, as it contains the answers to many of the problems faced by mankind, not only in the Far East, but in other parts of the world.

The matter follows:

THE AUTHOR, DR. DIOSDADO M. YAP

Dr. Yap was born in Baybay, Leyte, Philippines. He attended primary and secondary schools there and then came to the United States for his college training. He graduated with honors from Crane College where he took an active part in student affairs, and then attended the Northwestern University Law School and the Lewis Institute in Chicago.

In 1930 he attended George Washington University, from which he received his M. A. in Education the following year. His doctorate was awarded in 1935. In addition, he has the degrees of B. S., M. S., LL. B., Ed. D., Ph. D., and LL. D.

Dr. Yap was among the first authorities on the Far East to tour the Army camps for the War Department. Soon after the Pearl Harbor incident he was commissioned as expert consultant to the United States Secretary of War to visit the encampments and lecture to the officers and enlisted personnel on all phases of the far eastern countries and of the war in the Orient, with special reference to American-Philippine relations. In less than 3 months he spoke to approximately a million men.

Dr. Yap was formerly publicity officer and researcher for the Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States. He was also director of the Philippine Information Bureau, managing editor of the Philippine Journal, and technical staff member of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs. At present he is publisher and editor of the Bataan magazine and chief of the Washington bureau of the Manila Chronicle.

He is author of History of Higher Education in the Philippines, and of numerous articles on the Far East for different American publications. For some years he has been American correspondent for leading Philippine papers and a radio commentator on far eastern affairs in Washington, D. C.

He has made repeated trips to the Orient, traveling through China, Japan, India, Pakistan, Hongkong, and his native islands. His

long study of the problems of the Far East and his association with its leaders qualify him to speak with authority. Dr. Yap is a speaker of the highest ability. His command of English is flawless.

THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

(By Dr. Diosdado M. Yap[1])

The titanic struggle between the free world and communism is being fought in Asia, and whether or not America remains free depends upon whether or not we can win in Asia. Up to now we are losing, because we have failed to win the people of Asia to our side. I have just returned from an extensive trip to the Far East in which I talked with the political leaders, religious leaders, businessmen, workers, and the man in the street in Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, Formosa, Malaya, Hongkong, Viet-Nam, Cambodia, and Laos.

One thing that was impressed upon me during this trip was the fact that the people of southeast Asia are entirely ignorant of America, American aid, or America's desire to assist free people to stay free.

The result of all the billions of dollars we have sent to Asian countries is that we have won some friends among the leaders, but we are losing the people. Unless we can get the people of Asia on the side of the free world, they will accept the Communist world and thus put two-thirds of the world's population under the control of the Kremlin.

IMPORTANCE OF ASIA

When that happens the Communists can take over Europe without firing a shot because Europe cannot exist without the trade and raw material of the Far East. With Asia and Europe gone and with our sources of raw material cut off completely, how long can America hope to stand off the final plans of conquest by the Soviet? The answer is obvious; we must win the friendship and support of the people of Asia, not merely because we want to help the Asians, but because by helping them to remain free is the only way we can bring lasting security to ourselves.

I believe the situation was aptly summed up last year in a report by a special Study Mission to the Far East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. The committee, headed by the Honorable WALTER H. JUDD, of Minnesota, said in the conclusion of its report: "The study mission believes that the United States must recognize frankly that it is the security, even the survival, of the free world that is threatened in Asia. We do not believe, in the light of our information and analysis, that a third world war is the most immediate danger in that part of the world. The first stage in the Communist program is always to try to subvert the weak and divide the strong. Therefore, it is the unending series of local actions in Asia, including violence and subversion, and the constant attempts to sow dissension among our allies in Europe and elsewhere, to which American policies must be directed with intelligence, vigor, and determination if we are to prevent the gradual chipping away of the free world."

How are we to meet the Communist conquest in Asia? What should the course of American policy be if it is to be intelligent, vigorous, and determined? To find an answer to these questions we must explore the effect of aid already given, determine why it has not been successful and seek more effective means of reaching the people.

Again quoting from the report of the Foreign Affairs Committee Study Mission we find that grants of money are not the answer. The study mission said: "There is a popular assumption that appropriations of money are the solution for our problems. Money is a measure of our interest, not a yardstick of our success. If money alone could do the job, our problems in Asia would long since have disappeared. Its conversion into constructive programs and action is the real test.

"Since 1945 the United States has given more than $6 billion in economic and technical assistance to countries in this area. About $5 billion has been for various kinds of emergency relief, most of it immediately after the war. Since 1950 more than $1 billion has been, or is being, spent for programs of economic and technical assistance."

In talking with hundreds of people on my recent trip I find that among the masses in the Far East, with the exception of the Philippines, the people know nothing of these vast sums which have been contributed by this country to help them. The benefits have been used to attempt to build political power, to stabilize existing governments, or carry on a propaganda war among people who can neither read nor write and who do not have enough to eat, let alone radios to hear American broadcasts against the evils of communism. The people of these countries know of America's participation in the last war, but since the war there has been a complete blackout of publicity concerning America, American aid, and American ideals. In all my travels in about 27 countries, the only story I saw in any newspaper about America was a short paragraph in a paper in Pakistan concerning the divorce of Marilyn Monroe and Joe DiMaggio. By such standards are Americans judged in the Far East.

DEMOCRACY IN ASIA

If free southeast Asia is to be saved from communism, the West must bring its democracy closer to the hearts and minds of the uncommitted millions. This cannot be done at the high level of diplomatic missions and State Department conferences. We can reach the people only through massive invasions by democratic missions and ambassadors of culture, through technological assistance, labor-saving devices, and by teaching the people the secret of our success, the secret of our production, so that they may be able to secure for themselves the basic necessities of life.

The attitude of the great majority of the people of southeast Asia is best illustrated by a conversation I had with a laborer in Singapore. "The people just want peace," he declared. "We are tired, we do not want to fight anyone anymore. We just want a chance to make a better living."

Freedom to the common man in Asia means a small piece of land to call his own upon which he can raise enough to feed him and his family and which will afford them shelter and give them the opportunity to clothe themselves.

Until we have met this basic need of the people of Asia all efforts to inspire them with the ideals of political freedom are futile. The minds of the people of Asia are yearning, not so much for knowledge of how bad communism is, as for assurance of how good democracy can be to their daily lives. Asia has been denied freedom for so long a time it has forgotten what freedom can mean in terms of a prosperous economy, progressive community life, and a richer meaning of human existence. These things cannot be brought home to the people of Asia merely through the propagation of the manual of arms or the usual vituperation against the Kremlin or Peiping governments.

From my observations, based upon my countless interviews and conversations, the dollar handout is not Asia's idea of friendly assistance from the West. They believe that experience has taught them that grants-in-aid can corrupt the beneficiaries and encourage a false sense of security on the part of those who give.

In Saigon a taxi driver told me: "Yes; we have heard of America. They have given much money, but what is their purpose? They are in cahoots with the British and the French and will help these countries in their colonial policies, which means slavery for us."

In many countries I found the people who know of American aid are suspicious of our aims. Those who were not outright unfriendly were cautious in their attitude toward America. They wanted to believe in our goodness of purpose, but our close alliance with the colonial powers was incomprehensible to them. They need a graphic illustration that we do not support the colonial policies of our allies in Europe and that we genuinely mean to stand by all people who want to be free.

Billions of dollars given to China, Korea, and France to straighten the security of the free people of Asia did not improve the position of democracy and of the West in the Pacific. One can but speculate whether these billions of dollars, if utilized to build up the economies of those nations and to expand the trade potential and to introduce democratic institutions like public schools, government sanitation services, puericulture centers and health clinics in rural areas, might not have been more effective in containing communism in Asia.

THE POINT 4 PROGRAM

The most effective use of money spent in Asia has been through the point 4 program where our technical advisors went among the people and where we were able to demonstrate our willingness to give them an opportunity to build better lives for themselves.

It is time we apply to our diplomatic relations the lessons taught by the religious missionaries. The priests, ministers, the Christion teachers and doctors who, for years, have gone among the people, humble, often barefoot, and lived with them, spoke to them in their own language, became a part of their lives, these are the Westerners who made the great impact on the peoples of Asia. Our losses can be traced to high level diplomacy where we dealt only with the leaders at the political strata and forgot the people.

The Christian missionaries overcame another great barrier which keeps the West from victory in Asia—the barrier of inequality. We can never successfully reach the hearts and minds of the Asians until we give honest recognition to the status of equality of the Asians.

One becomes conscious of this imperative for equal status when talking to Nehru of India. Americans who ponder as to why Nehru takes the attitude he does after this country has been so generous with India must remember that the greater part of Nehru's life was spent in white men's jails and he has tasted the bitterest dregs of being made to feel inferior. His first words to me were to remind me that he and I have a common background and then he reminded me of the years he spent in British jails and how his first important writings were prepared in jail.

Now he feels that destiny has brought him to a position for which his early suffering and persecution has fitted him, the leader of the people of Asia.

In my interview Nehru told me: "There are only four great powers in the world today, India, China, Russia, and the United States. India must be given proper recognition."

Nehru's plan for a neutral bloc of Asian nations is a practical one. He knows that the people of Asia hold the balance of power in the world struggle. If he can consolidate the Asian nations into a neutral bloc looking to India for leadership, then he is in a

---

[1] Dr. Diosdado M. Yap, editor and publisher of Bataan magazine, covered the SEATO conference in Manila last September, after which he toured all over southeast Asia. He also toured several European countries for over 2 months before returning to the United States.

better bargaining position with the other 3 great powers, 2 of which, China and Russia, threaten his borders, and the United States who must keep Asia out of the hands of the Communists.

The arguments of Nehru make sense to many people in other Asian countries. A businessman in Rangoon said his country is close to India economically, culturally, and spiritually, and will follow the leadership of India. This merchant said he was not unfriendly to the United States, but he did not trust us as he was convinced we would follow the lead of the British in any final showdown in Asia.

OBSTACLES OF DEMOCRACY

These deep-rooted feelings, born of years of hatred and distrust of the white man, are the chief obstacles democracy must overcome in Asia and are, at the same time, the chief weapons being skillfully exploited by the Communists. The West can successfully meet this challenge, if we face the issue of equality with courage and honesty.

I believe that from the geopolitical point of view, it is in the vast Pacific basin where West and East can actually learn to live together in equality, in freedom, and in abundance. On the rim of this vast ocean are the most populous continents, bountifully blessed by nature with limitless natural resources and unlimited human needs awaiting to be met and satisfied.

The real challenge of communism to the West is—which of the two, communism or democracy, can sooner remove the stigma of penury and hunger and of inferior status from the inumerable poor in the western reaches of the Pacific Ocean. Communism falsely claims it can do it sooner, and, unfortunately, the many millions of illiterate poor of Asia have responded to that false claim. They have responded because the Communists have sent their agents, natives, among the people with glowing promises of abundance while we have been content to send them copies of the Declaration of Independence, pamphlets, bulletins, booklets describing the American way of life, and pictures of American workingmen riding in automobiles. So far removed are the simple possessions of Americans to their own poverty that they simply do not believe us.

The principal task of democracy today is not to shout against the falsity of the Communist claim, but to prove by actual performance that the system of the free world can accomplish the goal of peace and abundance for the people of Asia sooner and more completely than the Communists can.

To pursue this vast task of democracy successfully, there is one imperative that must be heeded, regardless of consequences to the existing mental attitudes prevailing in many Western countries—that imperative I have already mentioned, the imperative of equality. All Asians must be accorded equal status in concrete practical terms. It is the only principle that can bring about an economic revolution toward democracy in all the so-called underdeveloped countries.

Chinese Communist leaders won, through force, a status of equality with western leaders, first at Panmunjom and later at Geneva. The West cannot afford to wait until all the other Asian leaders win the same status through force. Yet we invite the use of force by our failure to recognize equal status for Asians while at the same time the Chinese Communists demonstrate that it can be won.

Now let us turn our attention to the core of the problem in Asia and the solution for it. There is scarcely a country which I visited in southeast Asia that is not threatened by internal Communist subversion, in many cases by direct Soviet or Chinese pressures, operating partly through the large Chinese population living in the country and partly through the close geographical impact of Communist China itself. We can never afford to forget that China is like a giant hand dominating the fingers, all the countries adjacent to it and comprising all the countries of southeast Asia.

COMMUNISM IN ASIA

Keeping in mind the strategic geographical position of China, let us analyze the causes that have helped the spread of communism in Asia. Briefly summed up, they are:

1. Susceptibility of the Asian masses to new, revolutionary doctrines because of the age-old state of poverty and misery of the people.

2. The devastation caused by the last war which wrecked the economies of many Asian countries and caused more difficulties to the peoples and their governments.

3. Resurgence of the spirit of nationalism.

4. Lawlessness and moral decadence as a direct result of the war.

5. Geographical position of Asia relative to Soviet Russia.

The one prevalent condition of which the Communists have taken the greatest advantage is the rampant poverty and misery among the millions of people of Asia. The Reds find the poor, illiterate masses ready to give a willing ear to Communist teachings as a possible remedy for their ills. And, as I have stated, the Communist agents carry their story directly to the people.

In the words of the Prime Minister of Pakistan—"The peoples of Asia have suffered for many long decades from hunger and disease and here millions of people lead subhuman existence, verging on a perennial state of almost famine. Their lives have been one long tale of misery, unrelieved even by hope. Stricken by famine and epidemic, bowed down with care, they must often wonder why destiny had made it so hard for them to live when in other countries life was so different—full of zest, full of joy. Their ignorance and illiteracy prevent an objective analysis of new way of life offered to them. Their desperation makes them accept any hazardous path of life, if it only promises relief from their sufferings."

Another prevalent situation in Asia which communism has thoroughly exploited is the economic prostration that many Asian countries have suffered as a result of the last war. Economic dislocation with all its attendant problems and difficulties has given the Communists the opportunity to use their familiar systems of sabotage, to sow confusion and chaos, to create discontent, and to interfere with the execution of national programs of rehabilitation and recovery. They know that the longer the economic sufferings and difficulties of the people remain, the easier it is for them to achieve their ends.

Prior to the war the nationalistic feeling in many Asian countries had remained suppressed. After the war, these countries, still under alien domination, found a resurgence of nationalistic feeling which they proved with intensity as they saw the opportunity to throw off the shackles of colonialism. The Communists were quick to seize the initiative and to stir up hatred against the colonial powers and present them to the masses as "imperialists" and "exploiters" and to picture the United States as the champion of "imperialism" and "exploitation."

Our failure to take a strong stand against French colonialism in Indochina only helped strengthen the Communist propaganda and lead to greater distrust of real American motives.

THE LEADERSHIP OF MAGSAYSAY

In spite of these great difficulties facing the West and the tremendous gains made by the Communists, there are some encouraging signs in Asia which, if we recognize, we can turn to the advantage of the free world.

First, there is the great showcase of democracy, the Philippines. Under the inspired leadership of President Magsaysay, the Philippines have met and conquered the Communist threat, and they have come a long way on the road to rehabilitation and economic recovery. The great success in the Philippines is due to the recognition by Magsaysay of the needs of the people to be given an opportunity to improve their condition. He has used American aid to benefit the people and he has let the people know of American assistance and contributions.

The Filipino people have close affinity with practically all Asians. In addition, the Filipinos were the only people in Asia that stood loyally with a Western Power during the war, proving beyond any question of a doubt their faith in the democratic ideal.

Because of their close and long association with the American people, and inasmuch as their educational training for almost half a century has been patterned after that of the United States, I feel that the Filipinos can serve as a human democratic bridge between the West and the Asian peoples.

In addition, the Filipinos are the only preponderantly Christian people in Asia and they were the first oriental people to establish republican institutions. From their historical background, the Filipinos have close ties with all the Asians. It includes a long record of ancient history which testifies that the Indonesians and Malays in the Federated States are their blood relatives, that the Filipino people linguistically and culturally are related with India, that the people of Ceylon (Singhalese) are their racial cousins, and so are the Vietnamese, Cambondians, that the Thailanders and Burmese are descended from the same racial stock which combined with Malay and Polynesian stock to produce the Filipino race and that the ancient Chinese people were trading regularly with the ancient Filipinos since the early centuries of the Christian era.

Consequently, by racial ties, by identity of culture and antecedents, by bonds of friendship antedating the formation of many nations in the West, the Philippines and the Filipino people enjoyed and are enjoying an important position in the world of Asia.

THE ROLE OF THE PHILIPPINES

These are assets that the Filipino people have been able to discover and they inspire the West in that the Philippines can play the role of a Democratic bridge from the West to the vast hinterland of Asia, and vice versa.

However, in order to make this bridge strong and enduring so as to sustain the heavy traffic of conflicting ideologies and political drives of economic rivalries and social revolutions, it must have a solid foundation—strong pier and support, indestructible beam and well-adjusted parts.

In building that bridge strong and permanent Senator Jose P. Laurel of the Philippines pointed out that "the Filipino people need American sympathy and help. We need not so much funds as concession in trade, not so much American manpower as American technology and skill. More than anything else, the Filipinos, as well as other Asians, need the assurance that they are regarded as brothers of all our democratic friends and allies in Europe, in North and South America, brothers with equal rights and privileges, equal freedom of decision as any other sovereign nation, and an equal voice in the high councils where the vital decisions are made, to claim our share of all hazards, the labors and the sacrifices, the free world may incur in the defense of freedom in southeast Asia, and we feel that we are also entitled to full equality in the rights and privileges of the union of the free."

Another great force reacting on the side of the free world is the new foothold being gained by Christanity in many countries of Asia. The modern missionaries are devoting themselves to the teaching and practicing among the people, their religion regardless of social, racial, or class distinction. They are getting across to the people of Asia that they

recognize the dignity of the human spirit. There is a tremendous spiritual revival throughout the Far East which can inspire men to seek freedom and to remain free from the domination of a power that recognizes no God and regards man as only the most intelligent of the animals.

I do not believe we should seek to nationalize the missionaries, but I believe the Government should encourage their great efforts and assist them in their great task of bringing knowledge and help to the people of the Far East.

American business is contributing to better understanding among the people of Asia. There is no longer the tendency to exploit the native which was so much a part of the early history of that area. American business today is giving the natives of Asia better job opportunities at decent wages to enable them to make for themselves better lives. One had only to hear the enthusiastic praise of American enterprise by an air-field mechanic at the airport in Karachi, Pakistan—"the American company has given me much hope to live better with good wages and a chance for even a better job"—to know the important part American business is playing in spreading democracy's story. They are getting across the idea that the people are partners in business instead of mere chattels to be used and exploited.

PROGRAM TO STOP COMMUNISM

Using these factors as a base we can successfully meet communism in Asia by instituting a specific program summed up as follows:

1. Amelioration of the lot of the landless population in countries, where now lands are still available for settlement.

2. Acceptance of the reality of a new force in the life and history of Asian nations, according to them their rights to national freedom, human dignity, and mutual respect in their relations with the other nations of the world.

3. A system of economic and financial assistance with a much broader scope than the Marshall plan in order to meet the urgent requirements of both their reconstruction and development.

4. A system of mutual cooperation (SEATO) that will assure to the free countries of Asia the same benefits of joint action for the defense of democracy in the East that the Atlantic Pact gives to the nations of Western Europe.

5. A vigorous educational and information drive in Asia to save the poor and illiterate masses from falling an easy prey to Communist propaganda, to unmask the myth of communism and to demonstrate the true blessings of democracy and freedom.

Southeast Asia needs development. The dormant resources must be developed and utilized to afford the necessary income to the hundreds of millions of peoples in Asia in order to enable them to raise their standard of living. American business should be encouraged to open subsidiaries and plants such as they have done in Europe and in the South American countries. More efficient and scientific methods of agriculture must be introduced to replace the antiquated and inefficient farming methods that are still in use. Industrialization, technical know-how, modern technology must be used to raise their standard of economic development, intensify their production, and provide more sources of income and development, especially in those countries or places where agriculture can no longer adequately support the size of the population.

The most fearful thing about my whole trip was the evidence of the resurgence of communism in Japan. Japan, more than any other Asiatic country, is feeling the lack of dollars. It is the great industrial center of Asia and must find markets for its manufactured products.

"China offers Japan the best place to sell its goods," the vice president of a large import-export house in Japan told me. "Our whole economy is based on our export—can you expect us to ignore our best potential customer while you in America offer us no alternative?"

The West must let down the trade barriers and give the Asians full opportunitity to trade freely in the markets of the world. If we do not offer them the chance to trade with us, they must trade with the Communists and, because the Communists use trade as a political weapon, it can only be a matter of time before Asia is committed, through its trade policies, to the side of communism and against the side of democracy.

To do all these things successfully, we must reach the people. This means greater stress on technical assistants who will go among the people. American business should be encouraged to expand its present policies of enlightened capitalism. We should encourage and assist the people to gain new self-respect and treat them as equal human beings.

THE PHILIPPINE EXAMPLE

Greater use should be made of the success of democratic procedures in the Philippines. While not detracting from the good that has come from the exchange of persons program and the benefits of having Asians study in the United States under the Smith-Mundt or Fulbright grants, we could do much more to convince the people of Asia that the free world offers them greater opportunity by showing them firsthand what has been done in the Philippines.

The Philippines is the answer to the Communist charge of American imperialism. The United States kept its word, granted Philippine independence, and unselfishly gave every assistance to the new nation so that it could be successful. President Magsaysay is, to my opinion, the natural and undisputed leader of the free world in Asia today. We ought to send study missions and exchange students from all Asian countries to the Philippines where they can observe the workings of democracy as it applies in a country which has a common culture, social and economic similarity, racial strain, and history with their own.

How well we meet the challenge of working with the people of Asia may well determine if we ourselves are to remain free. We must recognize that today the Communists control roughly one-third of the people on earth. One-third are alined with the free world. The remaining third thus become the balance of power and the free world can remain free only if the neutral one-third join the free world.

These so-called neutral nations do not fear the Communists as much as they fear us because they do not trust us. We have not shown them that we mean what we say, that we will stand by those nations of the world who want to become free or to remain free; that we will not make deals at the expense of our allies in order to achieve fancied security for ourselves.

Once we have convinced the people of Asia, as we have convinced the people of the Philippines, that we can be trusted, that we do believe in the American ideals we express, then they will welcome our friendship and aid and cooperation and we can build a safe and secure world for all the people.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives during hearings on H. R. 1:

Mr. Chairman, and other distinguished members of the House Committee on Ways and Means, thank you very much for your courtesy in granting me this opportunity to submit a brief statement with reference to the important proposal presently pending for your consideration.

The economic conditions now existing throughout the coal-producing areas of the United States are just about as serious and dark as it is possible for them to be. The continuing and growing unemployment is, to say the least, heartbreaking. The residents of these areas are anxiously looking forward to the Congress of the United States as a last hope for positive and definite action in order to alleviate this unnecessary human suffering and misery—the insecure and dark future they are now facing.

On a recent trip to Europe I had an opportunity to see at firsthand a number of communities where industrial recovery has been slow and real prosperity is still not in sight. Let me point out, however, that nowhere did I find the economic stagnation that has enveloped the coal-producing communities of West Virginia since foreign residual oil began its relentless surge into the fuel markets of the east coast.

In recent years the State of West Virginia has been producing nearly one-third of our Nation's supply of coal. The Fifth Congressional District of West Virginia is an important part of one of America's basic and most important industries. Over the years we have been proud of the coal—an indispensable commodity—produced by the citizens of West Virginia. As a matter of fact, this district is the second largest coal-producing district in the United States.

In 1950 the population of my congressional district, which comprises 16.5 percent of the State's population and includes the seven southernmost counties, was 330,450 men, women, and children. It is now my sad duty to report that in the intervening period West Virginia has suffered a greater population decrease—amounting to 2.9 percent of our residents—than has any other State in the Union. You can be sure my district has suffered more than a proportional loss. Most of these citizens were forced to move away due to the shortage of job opportunities. In addition, there is more widespread distress among our remaining residents than probably has been experienced by the citizens of any other State.

On December 31, 1954, in 6 of these 7 counties—Mingo, Wyoming, Mercer, McDowell, Summers, and Greenbrier—a total of 75,856 individual American citizens, living within this area, were dependent upon surplus commodities for survival.

From this, it is indisputable that more than 22.9 percent of the population of the Fifth West Virginia Congressional District—or nearly 1 out of every 4 persons—that is, men, women, and children, are absolutely

dependent upon Federal aid because of the lack of job opportunities.

In five of these counties—Greenbrier, McDowell, Mingo, Mercer, and Wyoming—there were 310 coal mines operating and employing a total of 31,324 men as of December 31, 1952. On October 1, 1954—just 22 months later—in these same counties there were only 213 coal mines operating—a loss of more than 31 percent—employing only 21,800—a loss of nearly 31 percent. In other words, 9,544 men—most of them responsible heads of families—and through no fault of their own—found themselves out of jobs in a basic and major American industry.

In these five important coal-producing counties in southern West Virginia, during the year 1952, 39,806,802 tons of bituminous coal were produced. During 1953 these same counties produced only 38,590,683 tons. From January through November 1954—the production figures for the month of December are as yet unavailable—these counties produced only 31,308,821 tons of coal. This represents a loss of 8,497,981 tons, or, from a percentage standpoint, a loss of 21.4 percent of our 1952 production. In any area of the United States, when we see such a rapid rise in loss of production, we are in serious difficulties. In some communities, the situation is worse. For example, in some individual areas, production has fallen from 1,771,842 tons in 1952 to a mere 502,902 tons in 1954—a loss of 1,268,940 tons.

The great railroads—the Norfolk & Western, the Virginian, and the C. & O.—serving this coal region have also found it necessary to furlough a large percentage of their employees—numbering into the thousands—because of the loss of coal transport.

This is a most serious problem. Every day the conditions of misery, unrest and despair are brought to my attention. Some of our men have spent more than a year diligently searching for work and are still looking. Many residents, former coal miners, railroad workers, small-business men and others, have gone away from southern West Virginia never to return. After more than a year of bitter disappointments and poverty, it is a wonder to me that a man can still retain his desire to work. These men are not asking for Government handouts. They are demanding that this grossly unfair competition to the coal industry—this unrestricted import of foreign oil—be restricted now. Today there is very little incentive to our younger generation to remain at home. For 2 years many of them have been forced to go elsewhere to search for employment.

In the entire history of our country, the coal industry has never failed to stand by the United States Government. It is now time for the United States Government to stand by the men and women of the coal industry.

From the national security standpoint, in 1952 there were 466,840,782 tons of bituminous coal produced in the United States. In 1954, our entire production amounted to only 391 million tons of this most valuable product.

It is an unquestioned fact that the production of coal is essential to a rapid industrial expansion. Unless coal is readily available, we cannot expand our industrial production capacity as quickly as would be necessary in the event of a national emergency.

Outstanding fuel experts estimated that, in the event of a national emergency—that is, if we are attacked by a hostile foreign power—we would need a minimum of 650 to 700 million tons of bituminous coal during the first year of such emergency. These same fuel experts also insist that, in order to meet this requirement, we must maintain an absolute minimum production of 500 million tons of bituminous coal each year. Last year, as has been previously pointed out, we produced less than 400 million tons of bituminous coal, which is over 100 million tons of coal less than the minimum required for the protection of our own national security.

This is a grave situation—one that demands immediate congressional corrective measures. We must now, at this time, limit the importation of foreign residual oil and crude. This foreign oil competition is grossly unfair. The Members of the Congress of the United States have an inescapable obligation to our own people here at home. We must now face that responsibility squarely and stand up to be counted.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I feel quite strongly and most respectfully urge this committee to extend its hearings in order to permit members of your committee an opportunity to go into the coal areas for firsthand observations of the widespread destitution now current. In my considered opinion, a full understanding of the prevailing situation in the coal industry is a prerequisite to judicial determination of matters pertaining to international commerce.

As this committee is aware, the Randall Commission, which is admittedly responsible for the recommendations contained in the bill now under consideration, made no effort to obtain firsthand information on coal status. For that matter, it seems to me that Congress has a responsibility to obtain authoritative information of this type regardless of the course taken by the executive branch of the Government.

In recent years, it has been customary to send delegations from both the House and the Senate on missions into the four corners of the globe so that the Congress might be properly advised. In this light, what excuse can be offered for refusal to treat particular areas of our own country in the same manner?

My congressional district is little more than an hour away from Washington by air, or you may make the trip overnight on the train. I can assure you that our mine operators and mineworkers will be glad to assist any delegation in making a thorough study of conditions in our communities.

Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act will continue in force for the next 5 months whether or not a report comes out of this committee in the interim, am I asking too much in the interests of my people's welfare and my country's security?

Aid for Crippled Slated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress the wonderful work being done for the physically handicapped in Suffolk County, N. Y. This undertaking is being handled by Richard Gilmartin, of Montauk Point, a leader in all forms of civic activity. The following report from the New York Times of Sunday, January 30, 1955, called this matter to my attention:

AID FOR CRIPPLED SLATED—SUFFOLK PROJECT AIMS TO TRAIN ADULTS FOR INDUSTRIAL JOBS

RIVERHEAD, LONG ISLAND, January 29.—A paraplegic is leading a Suffolk County survey that aims at creating a workshop where disabled adults can be trained for jobs in private industry.

The survey organization calls itself Skills Unlimited. Its chairman is Richard Gilmartin, of East Hampton, a former Suffolk welfare commissioner. He became paralyzed years ago in an automobile accident.

The workshop would be for people with disabilities of all kinds, with adequate medical supervision.

The Suffolk County Tuberculosis and Public Health Association is taking the initiative in getting the workshop started. Other Suffolk agencies participating include the Cerebral Palsy Association, Heart Committee, Multiple Sclerosis Society, Association for the Help of Retarded Children, and Welfare Department. The State Department of Education is also aiding.

Electoral Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the remarks of J. Harvie Williams, executive vice president of the American Good Government Society. It is to be noted that his analysis of the proposed reforms of the presidential electoral system points to the advantage of the congressional district method of selecting electors, introduced in the House by myself—House Joint Resolution 4—and in the Senate by Senators MUNDT, DIRKSEN, and GOLDWATER—Senate Joint Resolution 3:

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE SYSTEM

(Remarks of J. Harvie Williams, executive vice president, American Good Government Society, substituting for Edward R. Burke, president, initiating round-table discussion on the stated question)

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM OF THE PROCEDURE FOR ELECTING PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

The President and Vice President of the United States are elected by the electoral college which has 531 members—1 for each United States Senator and 1 for each Member of the House of Representatives—who, in turn, are elected by the voters in the several States. In each State all of its electors are elected statewide en bloc, as though all corresponded to Senators. In most States party candidates for elector run as a group in the name of the party's candidate for President. This permits election of the group whose candidate carries the State by a one-vote plurality, and permits no division of a State's electoral weight between the parties, although its weight in the Congress is so divisible. Members of the electoral college in each State meet at its capital and, being all of the same party, cast a solid block of votes for its candidates for President and Vice President.

This uniform method of electing the electoral college came into general use during the first quarter of the nineteenth century when the stronger party in each State, controlling the State legislature, arrogated to itself the State's full electoral weight. In each State the weaker party opposed the action. So it was that both "national" parties supported and opposed the development according to its strength or weakness in particular States.

The central provision of the Constitution for the electoral college reads:

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a num-

ber of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative * * * shall be appointed an elector" (art. II, sec. 1).

Upon thoughtful reflection it is readily seen that the Founding Fathers established a plan of election of the President which (1) combined the Federal basis of the Senate with the national basis of the House; (2) gave full effect to the principle of separation of powers; (3) gave each State the same representation in electing the President that it has in the Congress; (4) established the electoral majority system which permits the existence of only two significant parties; and (5) left to each State, as a means of self-protection, the determination of voter qualifications. No valid complaint has been made against the operation of these elements of the constitutional plan for electing the President.

The sole valid complaint against the electoral college system is against the consolidated electoral weight of the States. The question now is how best to make divisible the electoral weights of the States, so as to eliminate the present high premium on one-vote pluralities in the large pivotal States that are vital to victory for each party.

Now a word about New York's 45 electoral votes. New York City dominates the State's electoral vote, which turns on a one-vote, statewide plurality and, therefore, dominates the political thinking of the White House and the executive branch of the Federal Government. National leaders of both parties believe New York's electoral vote to be absolutely necessary for victory. It is included in the minimum planned majority of 266 votes by the managers and candidates of each party. The reason for this is that in 100 years only 1 Republican has become President without winning New York's vote—Hayes in 1876. That victory was by a single vote in the electoral college, and after a special electoral commission had examined disputed votes from some Southern States and, I believe, Oregon. All of the disputed votes were awarded to Republican Hayes.

During that same period, only three Democrats have become President without New York's support—Buchanan in 1856, Wilson in 1916, and Truman in 1948.

It is the inordinately high premium on a one-vote plurality in the State of New York which is largely responsible for the proposed constitutional amendments to make its weight in electing the President divisible between the parties.

Proposals to amend the Constitution in this particular are based on one or the other of three principles: (1) Abolition of the electoral college and election of the President by direct popular vote without regard for State boundaries; (2) abolition of the electoral college but retention of the electoral vote with this divisible between the parties in each State according to the popular vote of the candidates; and (3) election of members of the electoral college in each State in the same manner in which its Senators and Representatives are elected.

Abolition of the electoral college, the indispensable condition of any plan of voting directly for the President, would create in the Constitution interstate candidacies for President to replace present intrastate candidacies for the electoral college. This would open the door for ultimate Federal control of elections, including the qualifications of voters, now a State matter.

Direct popular election of the President would reduce the relative weights of the smaller States in the election. Since 17 States have 6 or fewer electoral votes they could prevent ratification by rejection or inaction. Senator Lodge abandoned this proposal in favor of retaining the electoral vote on the present basis and dividing it proportionally among candidates within each State.

The Lodge-Gossett plan would introduce into the Constitution the new and novel principle of proportional representation which is the basis of the multiparty systems on the European Continent and which soon will be validly urged as the proper manner of election for Members of Congress. This future danger would be in addition to those of interstate candidacies.

Election of members of the electoral college in the same manner as Senators and Representatives would merely compel the State legislatures to abide by the structure of the Constitution as a whole, as was intended by the Founding Fathers. This plan introduces no new principles of representation and would require no adjustment in any other part of the Constitution. Moreover, it would give the President the same broad footing in the electorate now enjoyed by the Congress as a whole, would bring the elective bases of the executive and legislative branches into the closest possible balance, and at the same time would bring the election of the President as close to the people as our Federal political system permits.

While all three plans of election would divide the electoral weights of the States between the parties, only the State-district plan conforms to the Constitution well enough to leave its other parts untouched and in balance.

Certainly we do not wish to undo what the Founding Fathers did well. Rather, we should adjust to the general plan of their handiwork those things they did not foresee.

The Greatest Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an interesting and informative editorial from the New-Examiner, of Montpelier, Idaho.

This editorial is an excellent comment on the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the United States Forest Service and the related growth of the intermountain region. The editorial follows:

THE GREATEST GOOD

The year 1955 will make the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Forest Service in the United States Department of Agriculture. Quotes from a letter of Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson to Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester, on February 1, 1905, outlined the policies for the administration of the forest reserves (now national forests) as follows:

"In the administration of the forest reserves it must be clearly borne in mind that all land is to be devoted to the most productive use for the permanent good of the whole people and not for the temporary benefit of individuals or companies. * * *

"You will see to it that water, wood, and forage of the reserves are conserved and wisely used. * * *

"Where conflicting interests must be reconciled, the question will always be decided from the standpoint of the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run."

At first the creation of these public forests were opposed by many who thought that the reserves were to be locked up, thus thwarting the development of local industry and sacrificing the present to the future. President Theodore Roosevelt insisted that forestry is the preservation of forests by wise use; that forestry means making the forests useful not only to the settler, the rancher, the miner, the men who live in the neighborhood, but indirectly to the men who may live hundreds of miles off down the course of some great river which has had its rise among the forest-bearing mountains.

The intermountain region of the Forest Service is one of 10 such regions—9 in the United States and 1 in Alaska. National forests in the intermountain region (Utah, Nevada, southern Idaho, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado, and eastern California) were created from 1897 through 1908. In 1905, when the Forest Service came into being, the population of the area within the intermountain region was around 650,000 and in 1950 it was 1,340,000. Between 1950 and now, populations have increased from 10 to 26 percent in the different States. Roads into the national forests were few and difficult to travel. Forest boundaries were not surveyed and most of them unmarked. Timber was being cut in small amounts, due to its inaccessibility. Recreation use was limited and there were few facilities for picnicking, camping, and winter sports.

Today, after 50 years of progress in the Forest Service intermountain region—

There are over 14,000 miles of forest-development roads and highways, and 27,600 miles of trails.

There are 624 improved campgrounds and picnic areas with a capacity to serve about 67,000 people. Even with this number, the capacity of the recreation facilities are outstripped on summer weekends and holidays.

The sawtimber cut in 1954 was around 185 million board-feet—or enough lumber to build 18,000 five-room homes.

Over 300,000 head of cattle and a million sheep are grazed. They are owned by about 6,500 ranchers who depend on the national forests for summer grazing. There are 4,400 miles of range fence, 1,350 miles of stock driveway, and 4,300 range water developments constructed by the Forest Service to aid in grazing management.

An estimated 200,000 hunters and 360,000 fishermen visit the national forests each year to harvest the game animals and fish under State laws. Big game animals spend 75 percent of their time on national forests. There are 11,000 miles of fishing streams, and 145,000 lakes or ponds in the national forests of the intermountain region.

Perhaps of greatest importance to the people of this portion of the United States is the part the national forests of the intermountain region play in furnishing usable water. These national forest watersheds produce nearly 25 million acre-feet of water per year. Water is the common denominator of all resource use and industrial development in the intermountain region.

With increasing demands for water, timber, forage, recreation, and other products and services of the forests, it may be expected that in the 50 years ahead, development of national forests will continue in response to growing needs. Fifty years from now, as today, the strength of the Nation will lie in its people and its resources. In the public interest, the policy of using our national forests to provide the greatest good to the greatest number in the long run should continue to guide the Forest Service in its management of these public forests.

Located as we are here in the midst of national forests, all of us, regardless of occupation, have daily reasons to know of their existence, and often have direct dealings with the Service. Many persons in the Bear Lake Basin have lived through and identified themselves with 50 years of progressive management of our resources. By and large the Forest Service personnel, aside

from their training, technical knowledge, and record of getting the job done, have been and are high type civil servants who meet, treat and deal with the private citizen in a way that engenders mutual respect and has contributed greatly to an acknowledged successful operation.

Problems of the Dairy Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, despite the best efforts of hundreds of sincere and earnest men, in Government as well as in private life, the dairy industry of the United States is in difficulty today, faced with problems of low producer prices, inadequate marketing systems, and an excess of production that cannot be used even though our Nation includes thousands of people who have an inadequate supply of dairy products.

As the representative of an extremely important dairy region, I am one of those who is seeking a solution to the problems of this vital industry. Today I have reintroduced for the consideration of the Congress and all those connected with the dairy industry the self-help bill that I sponsored originally in the 83d Congress. I offer it as a possible solution to the problems of American dairymen. I am happy to state that it already enjoys the support of a great many of them.

This bill proposes to permit the dairymen to do for themselves those things that the Government is now trying to do for them. In short, it is a program by which the dairy industry itself may control production, promote distribution, and establish a system of prices fair to both the producer and the consumer of dairy products.

Our objective is to provide the American people with a continuous and ample supply of milk and dairy products at a fair price—a price that will encourage greater consumption of these vital, health-building foods.

The first prerequisite is a fair return to the original producer, plus assurance of a steady and growing demand. The Department of Agriculture is working toward these same objectives, but it is slow work, indeed. I feel very strongly that the industry itself can do the job, do it more quickly, without expense to the Government, and without the Government controls that are so onerous to our independent and self-reliant dairy farmers.

The self-help bill proposes establishment of a Federal Dairy Stabilization Board appointed by the President from nominees selected by the industry. The Board would be empowered to collect a fee from all producers to finance its operations. The amount of the fee is to be related directly to the production of each farm so that each will pay his fair share of the cost of the marketing program. In years of surplus production a high fee will be charged. When production is low and the marketing problems are thereby simplified, the fee may be very small.

The present Government system of flexible price supports tends to aggravate the problem it seeks to correct. By lowering price supports to 75 percent of parity, the Government encourages many dairy farmers to increase production in order to maintain their usual level of cash income. Milk production did increase last year in the face of reduced supports and outlook for this year is that it will remain high. The self-help program would have the opposite effect.

Our colleague, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. WESTLAND], estimates that this program would have permitted farmers to improve their income by 37 cents per hundredweight in 1954, if the proposed Board had set price supports at 90 percent of parity. The gross income to farmers would have been 60 cents per hundredweight greater than under the Government's 75-percent support program. The self-help fee would have averaged about 23 cents per hundredweight even if all of the surplus production acquired by the Board were a total loss, and the difference—37 cents per hundredweight—would have been added to the income of every participating producer.

The normal functions of supply and demand, the relationship with the prices of other foods, and the marketing program of the Board should insure that the self-help plan establishes prices that are fair to the consumer and to the producer. Government has never been able to control prices successfully. There is reason to hope that a cooperative effort of the kind here proposed could do a better job.

In the event the program does not operate as anticipated, the bill contains provisions that will permit the Secretary of Agriculture to intervene.

The bill also creates a 12-man dairy advisory committee, representing all interested parties. The advisory committee should serve as a useful agent in counseling and guiding the administration of the program and enlarging the demand for dairy products.

One objective of this bill, Mr. Speaker, is to relieve the taxpayers of this Nation of the costly burden of the price-support program for dairy products. Another is getting the Government out of the dairy business and permitting the dairy farmers to operate their own program of price stabilization, surplus proposal, and production stabilization.

Mr. Speaker, the dairy industry accounts for 20 percent of our total farm income. Thousands of independent farmers throughout the country make this the largest single branch of agriculture. I hope that these men and women will consider and study the self-help proposal, and will give us their advice and counsel. I know of their dissatisfaction with Government controls. I am confident of their desire to operate the dairy industry in the traditional pattern of American free enterprise.

I trust that the measure will have the earnest consideration of the Congress this year.

Annual Ukrainian Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the resolutions adopted at the mass meeting of Americans of Ukrainian descent living in the area of Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn., in celebration of annual Ukrainian Day.

The resolutions are as follows:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE 17TH ANNUAL UKRAINIAN DAY OF THE TWIN CITIES, NOVEMBER 14, 1954

On the occasion of the mass meeting of the Americans of Ukrainian descent and those Ukrainians who were so fortunate as to come to the United States in recent years, and who are now resident in the Twin Cities and vicinity, assembled in the auditorium of Edison High School, Minneapolis, Minn., for the purpose of the celebration of the annual Ukrainian Day on October 14, 1954, have passed the following resolutions:

"1. As blood kinsmen of the Ukrainians who are living in their native Ukraine, we solemnly attest by our knowledge that they are deprived of personal, national, and political freedom under the ruthless and cruel Communist regime of Soviet Russia and Moscow imperialism. The Kremlin strives to denationalize Ukrainians and other conquered peoples, exploiting and preparing them for the purpose of world conquest in due and opportune time.

"2. Ukraine was the first independent nation to be conquered by the Russian Communist military aggression, and it is important for the freedom-loving American people and of the world to understand the pattern of the Communist subjugation of Ukraine, since the Kremlin has been continuously using this pattern from October 1917 for the Communist penetration and for the conquest of freedom-loving nations of Europe, Asia, and of the world.

"3. In spite of the Muscovite Communist aggression, and in spite of the political, military, and ideological occupation of Ukraine by the Russian forces, and in spite of unheard of persecution of Ukrainian people, and of the exploitation of Ukrainian natural, economic, and human resources, the Ukrainian masses have not ceased their struggle against the Russian and Communist imperialisms. Until recently the Ukrainian nation was almost alone, who valiantly has carried her mortal struggle against the Russian imperialism and the Communist conquest of the world. This struggle continues and the Ukrainians are seeking and awaiting real help from the western freedom loving world, before the West loses its own freedom and the ability to resist the Russian and Communist imperialisms, due to Communist penetration and our own efforts of only containment, peaceful coexistence, and appeasement of Moscow aggressors.

"4. It is of historic record that at present the peoples of the world are under the sign of insurgent nationalism, whether we acknowledge it or not, and nothing will stop the conquered and disfranchised peoples, short of annihilation, in their heroic struggle for their political freedom and national independence of their countries.

"5. Recognizing this nationalist struggle of the various peoples in the colonial world of today, the Kremlin regime of Communist Russia utilizes these movements for the purpose of Russian imperialist aggrandizement

against the American and free world interests.

"6. In order to gain a breathing spell in her preparation for further conquest by military aggression, Soviet Russia endeavors to deceive the Ukrainian people by offering them some national concessions such as a Ukrainian national hymn, distinct Ukrainian flag, and other national privileges so as to appease the Ukrainian nationalist aspirations and to build up the Russian Communist strength for aggression against the United States of America and other nations.

"7. The question of the national independence of Ukraine and of other non-Russian peoples, oppressed in the U. S. S. R., should receive greater appreciation in the United States, and America should extend her adequate and benevolent help to Ukraine as to the foremost and consistent leader in the superhuman struggle against Russian imperialism and world communism. America should become the faithful friend and leader of the oppressed and disfranchised non-Russian peoples in the U. S. S. R. not only for humane and cultural reasons, but also for the reasons of American interests and national security by the promotion of national freedom of these disfranchised nations."

A. A. GRANOVSKY,
Chairman of Resolution Committee.

Political Revolution in Southern Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, from August 15 to 28, 1954, the Second General Assembly of the World Assembly of Youth met in Singapore. Fifty nations of the free world sent delegates to this important international youth meeting which had as its theme Youth in Action.

Following are the interesting addresses made to the delegates by the Right Honorable Malcolm MacDonald, British High Commissioner for southeast Asia, and Madame Vijayalakshmi Pandit, of India, President of the General Assembly of the U. N.:

POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN ASIA

(By the Right Honorable Malcolm MacDonald, United Kingdom Commissioner General for southeast Asia)

In southern Asia in these days one of the great events of history is taking place. During the last few years nearly half a score of countries and nations have emancipated themselves from foreign rule, from what is called colonialism.

Their peoples have assumed control of their own destinies—that is, insofar as any individual nation can determine its own destiny in this age of inextricable international interdependence.

So thas is a period of political revolution in southern Asia—of vast transfers of political power. At the same time, in addition, several of the new governments are attempting something in the nature of an economic and social revolution—freeing their populations from feudal systems of land tenure and overloading.

These economic parts of the transformation will take longer to accomplish; the political side of the change has been swiftly done, and is almost complete. Nearly every people throughout the continent have now gained their national sovereignty and independence.

So these are very important, enthralling, but in some ways destructive and in other ways wonderfully creative years in southern Asia. And—as often happens in human affairs—the testing times have produced men worthy of them.

There are great leaders alive in the East today—men like Nehru in India and Sukarno in Indonesia and U Nu in Burma and others who are making deep personal impressions upon contemporary history.

We westerners must understand that these statesmen have a lofty significance for their peoples similar to that of George Washington for Americans, and Oliver Cromwell for us Britons, and of other national liberators in Europe and South America for their grateful posterities.

Like all their fellow Asians, Malayans wish for national freedom. And they must, of course, have it, and so far as we British are concerned we welcome the prospect of self-government in Malaya as readily as we greeted its advent in India and Pakistan, in Ceylon and in Burma.

There is one difference in the case of Malaya, which explains why the development here is slower than it was in these other countries. If the population of this land were homogeneous, belonging mainly to one race, they would be self-governing today.

But the citizens here are very mixed. They belong to several different races of markedly divergent characters. There are about 3 million Malays and about 3 million Chinese, about three-quarters of a million Indians and Pakistanis, and there are communities of Sinhalese, Eurasians, and others.

And these peoples are now engaged in the exciting task of combining themselves into a new nation—the Malayan nation—in which men and women of different races and creeds shall be absolute equals together as citizens, sharing the same patriotic love and loyalty to their common homeland.

Well now, this creation of a united and yet multiracial nation is a difficult experiment, but it is making very promising progress. I do not agree at all with those gloomy prophets who declare that if the British left Malaya tomorrow the Malays and Chinese would fly at each other's throats and spill each other's blood.

Both the Malays and the Chinese have a great deal too much sense for that; there is already a sufficiently strong and instinctive resolve for national unity in both communities to prevent it; and the common dangers which would face both communities if they indulged in the luxury of fratricidal, interracial strife are so obvious that they would certainly find ways and means of combining in order to avert them.

Nevertheless, the extraordinary mixture of races here does create many delicate problems of cooperation, many of which at least it is wiser to solve before, rather than after, the acquisition of complete self-government.

These problems are being progressively resolved; and next year both in Singapore and in the Federation radical constitutional advances will be made which will carry the Malayans a long way toward democratic self-rule.

Yet we must realize, both in the West and in the East, that in the mid-20th century, nationalism is at least partly out of date. The historically inevitable and right upsurge of nationalism in Asia and in some other regions of the world is occurring at a time when the, in some ways opposite, sentiment of internationalism is more urgently necessary than at any time in the story of mankind.

And the apparent conflict between nationalism and internationalism will, I am sure, be the most important question which keeps intruding upon your deliberations in this Assembly, and which you leaders of the young generation will have to deal with in practice afterwards as you assume more and more responsibilities in the governments of your countries.

Sometimes it is given to children to see things with fresh clarity and to speak startling truths. I have a young Asian friend, a child in her early teens, whose intellect is like a small bright flame. Her parents want her to become a naturalized British subject, and the other day they asked her what she thought of the proposal. She answered it at once, "I don't believe in nations."

She happens to be intensely proud of her racial origin and also to feel a certain admiration for the British; but what she was trying to express was that somehow national loyalties were inadequate, they were not enough in the modern world; in addition to this we must all feel a higher allegiance to the human race as a whole. Her remark was a forthright statement of a profound truth.

The fact is that, in the present circumstances, excessive nationalism in any part of the world can be dangerous; it might become a deplorable force leading to a devastating result. There are many very perilous weapons lying around in these days. There is, for example, the notorious hydrogen bomb.

If nationalism is expressed in ways which provoke international rivalries, then nationalism might become the spark to set alight a fire to consume the whole of humanity.

I spoke a few minutes ago about an apparent conflict between nationalism and internationalism—but no such conflict need exist. The two forces should be complementary to each other. It is very proper that we should all feel a pride in our national heritages.

Whether we be Africans or Englishmen, Americans or Chinese, Indians or Australians, Japanese or something else, we each have many things to cherish lovingly in the history and the traditions and the achievements of the tribes and the clans and the nations to which we belong.

Human civilization is like a huge treasury into which peoples of every race pour their own contributions, and part of civilization's fabulous richness depends on their variety and diversity. So certainly let us maintain our pride in our distinctive national and racial qualities.

But at the same time, we in the mid-20th century must rise above our national prides and acknowledge a higher allegiance to the whole international community. We must forget our racial prejudices—and stupid old superiority and inferiority complexes—and recognize that without distinction of color or creed we are all brothers and sisters, equals in the sight of God.

We must understand that there is only one race that matters—and it is the human race.

We must all become citizens not only of our separate countries but also citizens of the world.

YOU MUST LEAD THE WAY

(By Mme. Vijayalakshmi Pandit)

During the course of my tour, in Kuala Lumpur, I was asked a question, a very personal question. The person who asked me stated: You are being feted by all the rich and the great of this land, you who have the opportunities to address these great mass meetings, where police come and keep order and where great arrangements take many days to make. Are you aware of the fact that there are people who are uneducated, people who want help, people who want encouragement, people who in every sense of the word are down and out and will be the stumbling block to the progress of any nation as such, as such people must be the stumbling block to the progress of any nation?

And of course it is not always possible to meet people, to give replies to them, but I gave a reply at the meeting and I will repeat to you what I said then, because it might be of some use to you: I was aware of conditions not only here, also in other parts of Asia, but because, being an Asian, I myself come from a nation which is still—in many senses of the word—an underprivileged area; because I know the difficulties that my government has had in trying to build up a nation which can march ahead with all the more progressive nations of the world; because I know that unless we can build up our international strength we cannot hope to contribute to the international pattern which we must create if we are to succeed in establishing a permanent peace.

So I would like you, delegates to this Assembly, to just keep somewhere in the back of your minds the idea that there are all sorts of problems right here in the very city that is entertaining you and that some of them will have to be solved before the quest for peace can end.

Mr. MacDonald has so very vividly spoken about the revolution in Asia. There is nothing I can add to the picture which he has painted already for you, but I would like to say just this—that it is not only some of the leaders of Asia that we admire today or that demand our respect and admiration, but also the common peoples of Asia who today are expressing their faith in God by their service to humanity; who instead of building those temples of stones, those monuments which have come to us in the East and in the West—great poems in marble and in stone—today the people are expressing their faith in Asia in building the little mud schoolhouses that will give their children knowledge, and in building those little maternity centers where a mother can go and have her baby in safety and know that she and it will live.

In all these various community projects where we are teaching the people a harmonious pattern, living together, recognizing each other's weaknesses, conscious of our strength, conscious also of the fact that only by both the unity and strength of the community can a real pattern of life be evolved, which will strengthen that community through the community—the nation.

That is what the people of Asia are doing today and for this I believe that they are entitled to admiration, because it is only a short while ago that Asia was still dependent.

I speak to you today on a day which is significant for two Asian nations—Pakistan and India—for it was on this day 7 years ago that the transfer of power took place from British to Indian and Pakistani hands. But the real significance of this day is not because of the transfer of power, but the method in which that transfer was made, in the manner in which the recognition was made, that the time had come for certain things to be changed and they were—with a minimum of hatred and a minimum of distrust—and the result was that we have today a cooperation with the people of the United Kingdom, which is firm and which is one which will be lasting because it is based on true understanding and faith in the purpose of each other.

Now how did this happen? How did this come about? I would like to speak of this as a miracle of the modern age, because even in this age, we do sometimes see a miracle, and one of the miracles that has happened in the modern world was Gandhi. Because he came to us and he told us certain things which have made it possible for us in the 7 short years since our freedom to raise our heads and to walk with people on the international plane, and have their respect and confidence. And the way he taught us was the way which all of us must adopt, both in our national lives and on the international plane, for it was the way of nonviolence and tolerance and love.

What he said to us was that if you are moving toward a noble end you cannot follow ignoble means, because they defeat the end in itself. Therefore, means and ends must both be equally good—that is something which we should do well to remember in this age, when expediency often takes the place of principle.

He taught us that we must in no circumstances mix up systems with individuals—that a system might be bad, and that it must be destroyed, but that individuals should not be destroyed; nor does one fight against the individual, and so we fought a system which we considered to be wrong and we made friends with the individuals; and I think that it is well for the world to remember this great event of modern history.

It is right that youth with its great idealism, its vision, its courage, its faith, should be in the forefront of the quest for peace, but you must remember that even in this quest there are certain things which must be observed.

The first thing is not to lose yourself in a mass of resolutions, in a mass of discussions which have no meaning today, because there is no single subject in the world that has not been discussed a great deal. And if you, the representatives assembled here, have not already been able to grasp all the various complications of the problems that face us, there will never be any time in the future when you will ever know them, and if you are to live up to your slogan of "Youth in action," there must be the minimum of discussion.

Do not fall into the trap into which we, your elders, have fallen—do not fall into a mass of words, wonderful slogans and isms which keep on popping up in different parts of the world and above all let me plead with you to have a positive approach to your problems and not a negative one.

That is what I really want to say to you tonight. I am tired of the manner in which people run down things they do not understand or do not like. If, instead of running down the systems that we do not care for, we would try and talk about the ones we have faith in, the things which we believe in, then indeed we could build up a great body of opinion which will grow strong and which will help in offering solutions for the problems with which we are faced today.

But instead of this we are diverted by the negative approach to various aspects. Some of the greatest nations spend their time in criticizing or condemning certain ways of life which they do not appreciate or do not like. Now, I would like to say to you today, as one who believes in democracy, as one whose nation is pledged to the democratic pattern, why don't you and I try to sell democracy instead of denouncing communism?

Because I would like you to remember that in the final analysis that ideology will win which gives the greatest good to the largest number of people, and if we believe in democracy and we feel that that is the answer to the needs of the world, then we must take democracy into the homes of the people, into the lives of the people and raise them to the standard by which they will understand not only the value of democracy, but also all the other values that flow from a recognition of that political principle.

The United Nations is attempting to do just that, but the United Nations can only be as strong as the weakest member nation in the United Nations General Assembly in New York and if there are nations which are still adhering to the principles and development of the charter, yet denying them when it comes to actual action, then the United Nations cannot be strong.

I have heard a great deal of criticism of the United Nations. I resent that criticism, because I believe that there is nothing at the moment that anyone has devised that can replace what the United Nations stands for, and I think that if instead of merely pledging ourselves on paper, we could do all what Mr. MacDonald said just now—pledging our hearts to certain principles and purposes—then we could indeed make the United Nations, as it is, with all the difficulties that confront it, a successful organization.

People often say, people who should know better, "What has the United Nations done—there is no peace in the world?" But I would like you to remember that there is no war in the world and that the United Nations has localized the various conflicts that do exist and have existed, and that twice in recent years the United Nations has done something which has never before been tried in history.

The first was in the case of Korea, the second in the case of Indochina. What the results will be: we will have to wait and see. But an experiment of great magnitude has been made, and if we want such experiments to succeed and if we believe that we can only progress through the pacific settlement of disputes, rather than by flying at each other's throats, then the only way is to support the United Nations and to see to it that in our communities, in our nations, wherever our voice and strength can be heard, it shall be used for peace and not for creating greater fear and greater hysteria about war among the people.

We all know that there is a great threat to the world today because of the invention of great weapons of destruction, we are all aware that, if such weapons have to be used, all of civilization that has been built up through thousands of years would be destroyed. But it is no use keeping these things to ourselves—we have to make each other aware of the facts.

Just as you throw a stone into a pond and the ripples go in increasing circles round and round until they reach the edge, so if we throw a stone into this great pond of the world, the ripples will increase and ultimately have some effect on the thinking of mankind. So the ripples of peace will grow larger and larger until the entire race reaches a point where it will understand that war is no use because it solves no problems.

I, for one, have not discovered who won the last war—I am constantly asking people, but I have received no adequate response. I do not think that anybody knows who could win the next war, because war itself leaves problems which are gradually becoming more and more unsurmountable, more and more beyond the economic grasp of the nations concerned.

We have had our share of problems not due to the war, but as a product of partition. Many of the nations assembled here have seen the aftermath of war. I do not understand how any person who thinks can believe that war will solve any problem or that anyone will be the victor in another war.

Therefore, if we want peace, let us stop talking: we have talked so much that the world is drowning in the floods of its own words. Let us now get together and try to put into practice some of the resolutions that we have made—some of these principles that have been put before us—let us try them out.

They can be no worse than war. Today with the threat of war over us, let us practice tolerance, let us not doubt it if our neighbor says he means to preserve the peace, let us give him peace, and if he doesn't live up to it, then the world community can take the matter in their hands, but let us not follow that negative line of not doing anything ourselves, but shouting to one another on any point we do not fully understand.

The letters that form your name—W. A. Y. and the word that it spells—

WAY—has a special significance for Indians, because in our philosophy the word for the ultimate destination is WAY=MARG=the path. We all travel on this path.

We are comrades of the world traveling to an unknown destination; whether that road will lead us to the promised land, or whether we shall end up by destroying ourselves, it lies in our grasp.

Never before has mankind been so powerful, never so much in a position of being able to save itself and give to humanity all the benefits of the great scientific achievements that lie to its credit.

With all this frankness, because we do not have enough tolerance, because we do not have enough patience, because we will not walk the straight and narrow path, but prefer the easier ones of compromise and expediency—we talk in terms of war until war actually comes.

But I would beg of you who are young—Why don't you lead the way? Do something spectacular—forget about us, the older generation.

We have tried to do our part, good or bad, but why don't you try and take the initiative and try to work for positive ends—unceasingly and with the thought that you have it in your power today to lead us out of this slough of despondency into the land of hope?

The Atomic Energy Commission Should Take Advantage of the Opportunity Presented To Salvage Its Position of National Respect and Nonpartisanship and Abandon the Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, it is clear beyond contradition that the Atomic Energy Commission has lost face—indeed perhaps even the admiration and respect of the Nation—by its blind insistence in putting over the Dixon-Yates deal. It is equally clear now that the Atomic Energy Commission is further jeopardizing its nonpolitical, nonpartisan position in our Government by its continued one-man rule bordering on dictatorship. Such a position as the Atomic Energy Commission finds itself, because of its participation in the Dixon-Yates deal, can be rescinded and the prestige of this vital agency restored—if the AEC is willing to admit its past errors and mistakes.

It is unthinkable that this vital agency of our Government should continue in the errors which it has committed—that is, the Dixon-Yates error.

Along this line, Mr. Speaker, I desire to have included with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials from two widely separated and widely read newspapers. Both editorials, the one entitled "Stop Sign for Dixon-Yates" from the January 30, 1955, edition of the Nashville Tennessean, and the editorial entitled "Cancel It" from the Washington Daily News of February 1, 1955, are in full agreement on the point that Dixon-Yates is bad for the Nation and that the AEC should withdraw itself from any such deal.

The editorials follow:

[From the Nashville Tennessean of January 30, 1955]

STOP SIGN FOR DIXON-YATES

Acting on the reasonable belief that the joint congressional committee on atomic energy can undo anything that it has done, that body has voted to rescind its previous approval of the Dixon-Yates contract and to recommend that the Atomic Energy Commission cancel it.

Commenting on the action, Mr. Ken Whitaker, of the Tennessee Valley Public Power Association, says, "it is unthinkable that Admiral Strauss and the Atomic Energy Commission now will proceed with the contract."

Unfortunately this was an overstatement, because it is not unthinkable that the AEC and its chairman will do everything in their power to make the White House-inspired contract effective, provided they can find a legal way to do so. Their determination to rush this rigged deal through has been apparent from the first.

"Illegal," cry Republican members of the joint committee, but in making such a claim they are only accenting the point that the issue will now become a matter for litigation—the last thing desired by its supporters.

For our part, we hold it to be unthinkable that Senator ALBERT GORE'S resolution defining the committee's present attitude should not prevail. But if there is an administration intent to ignore it, the courts will be faced with an interesting legal question which, incidentally, may not be decided before several years have elapsed.

Because of what happened last November, an "in" with the White House is no longer the sole requisite for success in the strange Dixon-Yates venture.

[From the Washington Daily News of February 1, 1955]

CANCEL IT

Now the clear and unmistakable duty of the United States Atomic Energy Commission is to cancel the Dixon-Yates contract.

If Adm. Lewis Strauss, Chairman of AEC, continues to be stubborn and fights for the contract, the responsibility will be entirely his. The responsibility is twofold: For putting his agency into the awkward role of power broker for TVA, and for making the Government, at a later date, pay possible penalties it can now escape.

He now has the chance to get his agency and the Eisenhower administration he supports so completely, off a hook on which they should never have been hung. He can erase a damaging political issue which will embroil the administration, to its great disadvantage, for a long time.

Admiral Strauss' opportunity came by reason of the majority vote of the joint congressional Atomic Energy Committee recommending cancellation of the contract.

The committee, by a 10 to 8 strict party vote, pointed out that the contract is not yet effective. And since it is not, a Government decision to cancel it will not now entail any penalties. Later, these might be great.

The Atomic Committee's majority vote was not a reckless, publicity-seeking move. It was the result of a studied and solemn decision by responsible, stable, and patriotic legislators.

Cancellation now of the Dixon-Yates contract will not, as some proponents claim, deprive the growing city of Memphis, Tenn., of power it will need badly in a few years, which is no business of the AEC anyway; its primary job is to make and keep us strong militarily.

If, after cancellation, the Congress—as it probably will—again refuses to appropriate money to TVA to construct a new power generating plant, then Memphis can go ahead with its own plans to build such a plant. And Memphis' plans are well along.

Another alternative would be for Congress to set TVA up on its own bottom, provide it with authority to issue revenue bonds to be liquidated by power revenues, and permit it to decide on this basis whether to build more generating facilities to serve west Tennessee. Or, Congress can direct TVA to supplement its present power supply by buying more electricity directly from private companies around the periphery of the watershed it serves.

Finally, cancellation of Dixon-Yates will in no wise affect the power supply to AEC's great plants in Tennessee, in Ohio, or in Kentucky. It has an undoubted first priority under law for TVA power for defense purposes. And it has available growing sources of power from private companies with which it has immense contracts in Ohio and Kentucky.

The Dixon-Yates contract is bad.

AEC has just been given the opportunity to cancel it.

This it should do—and now.

More Say for Congress in Tariff Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, while realizing the need for a healthy export market, many of the Members of Congress from raw-material-producing States have been concerned over the apparent determination of the State Department to oppose any increase in any selective tariffs even when those increases have been recommended by the United States Tariff Commission as the only means to prevent serious injury to a domestic industry.

Recently I introduced a measure that would make a fundamental change in our Reciprocal Trade Act without depriving the President of the power he requests to negotiate further reductions in tariffs. The measure is numbered H. R. 3246 and I would appreciate hearing the views of other Members of Congress on its provisions.

I wish to insert at this point an editorial from the Salt Lake Tribune, Salt Lake City, on this proposed legislation:

MORE SAY FOR CONGRESS IN TARIFF CHANGES

Representative WILLIAM A. DAWSON proposes a fundamental change in the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, which Congress should seriously consider.

President Eisenhower has asked for a 3-year extension of the act. Mr. DAWSON concurs. He would give the President the requested power to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements, but he would transfer to Congress the final say in granting tariff changes for the relief of domestic industries.

Under the present law, the need for higher tariff is first determined by the United States Tariff Commission. If changes are found advisable, action is recommended to the President, who either accepts or rejects revision.

Under Mr. DAWSON'S proposal, Tariff Commission recommendations would be sent to Congress and would become effective unless vetoed within 60 days by either Senate or House. This is similar to the provision of

the Reorganization Act of 1946, under which the President may make changes in executive agencies subject to congressional veto.

Mr. DAWSON's move is prompted by recent experiences of the lead-zinc mining industry. Heavy imports depressed the domestic market, with serious effect on the economy of several Western States, and the industry appealed to the Tariff Commission for relief. After extensive hearings, the Commission recommended upward revision of lead-zinc duties, but the President rejected the recommendations.

If Mr. DAWSON's proposal is accepted, it will mean the return to Congress of some powers which it previously held, but it will not mean a return to the days when Congress ruled supreme in the tariff field. The President, through the State Department, will still have the power to alter tariffs through negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements, but the need for tariff relief will be subject to congressional authority.

We would not want to go back to the days when the tariff was a matter of horse trading on Capitol Hill, but we do not think, on the basis of what has happened to lead-zinc production, that the present system is wholly desirable. As Mr. DAWSON says, "There is something wrong with a setup which puts the decision to change a trade agreement in the hands of the same person who made it, when it later turns out the agreement * * * is failing to work."

In considering tariff relief, the executive branch might be governed more by international aspects and Congress by domestic. However, the DAWSON proposal does not give Congress power to revise trade agreements, but only the power to accept or reject revisions recommended by the Tariff Commission. The President would still be able to make his opinions known to Congress and thus affect the outcome. A little domestic as well as international thinking could be wholesome.

We think that Mr. DAWSON has hit upon an excellent approach to a difficult problem and that his proposal, if accepted by the administration, would be very helpful in getting extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act through Congress.

Regulation of Water Levels of Lake Ontario

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, for more than 2 years now, property owners on the shores of Lake Ontario have been faced with the threat of severe flood damage as a result of the joint development of the United States and Canada of the great power potential of the St. Lawrence River.

Under an order of approval issued by the International Joint Commission on October 29, 1952, the two Governments were authorized to proceed with the power development under a so-called method of regulation No. 5 which would permit the raising of the water levels of Lake Ontario to disastrous heights.

While the order of approval set forth as one of its findings that the shorefront property owners have adequate protection against such damage under the Constitution and laws of the United States, experience has given the affected property owners no reason for any such sanguine view of the matter. In an analagous situation, where a dam was built by Canada across a portion of the St. Lawrence River, the property owners who sustained resultant damage were unable to get any satisfaction in the courts.

The fact of the matter is, Mr. Speaker, that the International Joint Commission has itself recognized in the past that the Constitution and laws of the United States do not by themselves provide necessary protection to property owners whose lands are damaged by water-power developments on the United States-Canadian border. In at least 2 instances—one involving the Lake of the Woods in Minnesota, and 1 involving development of the Kootenay River in Idaho—the Commission has itself arranged for the protection and indemnification of property owners. I have urged this course on the Commission, in connection with the St. Lawrence power development, and shall continue to do so.

Meanwhile, however, I am happy to report that the Commission itself, acting under a reference submitted to it by the Governments of Canada and the United States in June 1952, is seeking to establish a range of fluctuation of the Lake Ontario water level which, if maintained with due regard to natural factors, would go far to protect the shorefront property owners.

Moreover, I am in receipt this week of a letter from the chairman of the United States section of the International Joint Commission, the Honorable Len Jordan, stating explicitly that the objectionable and hazardous method of regulation No. 5 has been abandoned, and that the method of regulation which will be substituted for it will be calculated to reduce, rather than aggravate, flood damage along the Lake Ontario shores.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to applaud and commend this forthright statement on the part of former Governor Jordan. I am certain it will be welcomed by the lakefront property owners, and will give them reason to hope that the added steps necessary to insure their protection will be taken.

The problem is not one affecting Lake Ontario properties alone, of course. It is a potential problem wherever power developments affect the water levels along the entire length of the United States-Canadian border. Its proper adjudication now will therefore prevent limitless confusion in the future as the development of these international water resources proceeds.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD at this point Governor Jordan's letter, together with the correspondence from Representative KENNETH B. KEATING and myself which preceded it:

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., January 31, 1955.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: This will acknowledge the joint letter dated January 21, 1955, signed by Representative KEATING and yourself, relative to possible injury to property owners along the shores of Lake Ontario in your State after the power project in the International Section of the St. Lawrence River is completed and commences operation.

Pursuant to the reference submitted to this Commission by the Governments of the United States and Canada on June 25, 1952, the Commission is now causing a study to be made with a view to reducing the range of fluctuation of the level of Lake Ontario heretofore experienced, which means that the extreme high levels such as have heretofore damaged shore properties, would be reduced, with consequent benefits to the property owners.

These matters of concern to you were discussed quite fully at a special meeting of the Commission in New York on January 26–27, 1955, and I am pleased to inform you that the Commission contemplates being able to submit to the two governments a recommendation of the fluctuation range through which Lake Ontario shall be operated, together with upper and lower limits of the range expressed in feet above mean sea level. Tentative figures may be available by May of this year. You know of course that the Commission does not contemplate regulating the lake level in accordance with method of regulation No. 5 which is now known to be unsuitable for use.

No basis exists for thinking that the method of regulation to be substituted for the objectionable method No. 5 will cause injury to the owners of shore properties in excess of that which they would suffer if the lake and river were in a state of nature.

It should be reassuring to you however, that the Department of State has concluded, with the Department of Justice concurring informally, that such property owners, if injured would have a remedy in the courts of the United States and Canada; and that while this Commission apparently considered the internal laws of the United States and Canada to be sufficient to take care of the claims for compensation to property owners, the Commission nevertheless retained jurisdiction over the subject matter of the applications and kept itself free to make such further order concerning such subject matter, which of course would include indemnification, as it might consider desirable.

You may be very confident that the Commission will spare no effort in evolving and putting into effect a method of regulation calculated to reduce in some measure rather than aggravate flood damage to properties along the shores of Lake Ontario.

I trust the information contained herein will reassure you. A similar letter is being sent to Representative KEATING.

Sincerely yours,

LEN JORDAN,
Chairman, United States Section.

JANUARY 21, 1955.

Hon. LEN JORDAN,
Chairman, United States Section,
International Joint Commission,
Federal Trade Commission Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GOVERNOR JORDAN: We are in receipt of a letter from the Department of State, under date of January 20, with respect to adjudication of claims of owners of property bordering on Lake Ontario, which may arise out of construction and operation of the St. Lawrence power project.

The letter points out that, in issuing its order of approval of this project, the International Joint Commission indicated its continuing responsibility for the protection and indemnity of all interests which might be injured by it, but that no provisions were made in the order for submission of claims to the Commission. The letter further points out that the Commission alone can decide whether to take further action in this matter.

We respectfully submit that, as a result of certain international undertakings in the past affecting the water levels of Lake Ontario, of which the Commission is cognizant, the legitimate interests of shorefront property owners have been injured, but they have thus far been denied indemnity and are deprived of the protection guaranteed to them under the Constitution and laws of the United States. The serious threat of further injury under the pending international power developments on the St. Lawrence River therefore creates the greatest apprehension as to the protection to be afforded these citizens.

In the light of these facts, we urgently request that the United States section of the International Joint Commission act now to allay these apprehensions, by reaffirming, in concrete terms, its mandatory responsibility to protect the interests of citizens of the United States against injury.

Specifically we request that the Commission place on its agenda for the forthcoming meeting on January 26 the matter of amending the order of approval to provide for the establishment of concrete and orderly procedures under which property owners on the Lake Ontario shores may know (1) the conditions under which shore property damages are to be compensable under the provisions of the Boundary Waters Treaty; (2) who is to be responsible for the payment of damages; (3) the means of making claims for damages; and (4) that whoever is responsible for payment of damages shall provide reasonable assurances of ability to pay.

Trusting that we may have an early and favorable response to this request, we remain

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
Member of Congress.
KENNETH B. KEATING,
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 20, 1955.

The Honorable HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: Reference is made to your letter of June 17, 1954, also signed by Representative KENNETH B. KEATING, in which you raised questions concerning the adjudication of claims of owners of property bordering on Lake Ontario which may arise out of the construction and operation of the St. Lawrence power project undertaken by the United States and Canada.

Your letter states that the level of the lake will always be controlled by one or more of the structures to be built by the Power Commission of the State of New York and the Ontario Hydroelectric Power Commission, and that in every instance involving injury to the shore properties, the injury will result from the joint action of the two power authorities. You add that a United States citizen cannot sue a Canadian entity in the United States courts, and that a Canadian citizen cannot sue a United States entity in the Canadian courts. You, therefore, apparently feel that the International Joint Commission, created under the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, should establish procedures for the indemnification of property owners who may be damaged by the power project. However, in this connection, you call attention to a reported difference of view between the American and Canadian sections of the Commission as to its authority to determine and approve indemnification that might be due on account of injury to owners of shore property, and you request that the Secretary of State take steps through diplomatic channels to establish appropriate international machinery for the solution of the problem.

If the Department understands your letter correctly, it raises two fundamental questions. First, whether, under existing law, property owners who may be injured through the construction or operation of the power project have adequate remedies without resort to the International Joint Commission, and, second, whether the Commission should provide the machinery to deal with such damage.

After careful consideration, the Department has reached certain conclusions concerning these matters which have been informally concurred in by the Department of Justice. The first is that owners of lakefront property have a legal remedy in New York against the Power Authority of the State of New York for flood damage, either under section 10 (c) of the Federal Power Act or under general principles of law relating to the joint and several liabilities of joint tort-feasors. This remedy is probably open in the courts of New York to both United States and Canadian property owners. Similar remedies appear to be open to both United States and Canadian property owners against the Ontario Hydroelectric Power Commission under arbitration procedures of Ontario.

The second conclusion which the Department has reached is that, while the International Joint Commission was concerned with the possibility of injury to property owners, it apparently considered that the internal laws of Canada and of the United States are sufficient to take care of claims for compensation to property owners. In its order of approval, the Commission made a finding, set out in the preamble, "that suitable and adequate provision is made by the laws in Canada and by the Constitution and laws in the United States for the protection and indemnity of all interests on either side of the international boundary which may be injured by reason of the construction, maintenance, and operation of the works." The arder made no provision for submission of claims to the Commission. Nevertheless, the Commission "retains jurisdiction over the subject matter of these applications, and may, after giving such notice and opportunity to all interested parties to make representations as the Commission deems appropriate, make such further order or orders relating thereto as may be necessary in the judgment of the Commission." So, the Commission has kept itself free to make such further orders concerning the subject matter of the applications, which, of course, would include indemnification, as it may consider desirable.

Whether the Commission, having decided that suitable and adequate provision is made by the laws in Canada and by the Constitution and laws of the United States for the indemnification of injured interests, should take further action is a matter which it alone can decide.

In the circumstances, the Department sees no reason for approaching the Canadian Government with a proposal for the establishment of further procedures for the settlement of such claims.

Sincerely yours,

THRUSTON B. MORTON,
Assistant Secretary
(For the Secretary of State).

Cyprus and Macedonia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a copy of the petition presented to the United Nations by the Macedonian Political Organization of the United States and Canada, submitted to me by Mr. M. D. Chaneff of my district. Mr. Chaneff is president of this organization of Americans of Macedonian birth or extraction, and I am glad to comply with his request that this statement be made available to the Members of Congress. The long and troubled history of the Balkan peoples contains many tragic conflicts between ethnic groups, one of which is related in this petition. Certainly all of us hope that these conflicts, including both the Cyprus and Macedonian difficulties, may be resolved in our time.

The petition follows:

CYPRUS AND MACEDONIA—A PETITION PRESENTED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ON NOVEMBER 18, 1954

His Excellency DAG HAMMERSKJOLD,
Secretary General of the United Nations, New York, N. Y.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: Recently the Greek press has raised the issue for the annexation of the Island of Cyprus to Greece. The local demonstrations at Cyprus itself, as well as those in Athens, appear to be the result of a well planned campaign by the Greek Government. Not only the official political factors of the Athens regime but also the ecclesiastical dignitaries—priests and bishops—have joined in arousing these Anti-British demonstrations. Greece's demand for the annexation of Cyprus is not necessarily a new manifestation. Similar demands have taken place before.

In her dispute with Great Britain over the Island of Cyprus, Greece has appealed now to the United Nations asking for the right of self-determination of the Cypriotes. The official announcements made by the Athens Government state that since 80 percent of the population of the Island of Cyprus is Greek, Great Britain should renounce her domination of the Island and turn it over to Greece. The fact that 20 percent of the population of Cyprus is Turkish does not seem to concern the Athens Government. The Greek representative at the United Nations said that the right of self-determination was written into the charter and could not be ignored by the United Nations.

No one would deny the self-determination right of the people. Indeed, it is a sacred fundamental right. Since Greece has made such an issue in regard to Cyprus Island, it is important for the free and democratic world to know by what humanitarian principles does the Athens regime determine its policy toward the ethnical minorities in Greece.

North of Mount Olympus and Bistritsa River, there is a territory known for centuries with the name of Macedonia. This country has an area of 25,000 square miles with a total population of nearly 3,000,000 people. It occupies the heart of the Balkan Peninsula and its important Vardar Valley with the seaport of Salonika.

The population of Macedonia consists of the following ethnical groups: Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Albanians, Arumanians and others. Until 1912 Macedonia was dominated by the Turks for nearly five centuries.

But the Balkan wars of 1912–13 changed the whole political structure of the Balkans. Macedonia, which was supposed to be liberated from Turkish rule and organized as an independent state unit, was divided mainly between Serbia (now Yugoslavia) and Greece, and a small part left to Bulgaria. This was done against the wishes of the great part of the population who fought for its freedom and independence.

When Greece finally annexed her share of Macedonia (Bucharest Treaty, 1913), she found there 378 Bulgarian churches with 300 priests and 340 elementary and secondary

schools with 720 teachers. While this part of Macedonia was under Turkish domination, all of the above mentioned Bulgarian institutions were enjoying free development. In Salonika the newspaper Pravo was published in the Bulgarian language. With the advent of Greek rule in Macedonia, all Bulgarian schools and churches were closed. The teachers and the priests were forcibly driven out of their country or put into prison. No Bulgarian newspapers and books were allowed to be published or permitted to be read. Even the Bible in the Bulgarian language was forbidden. All Macedono-Bulgarians are now forced to go to Greek schools and churches and coerced to use the Greek language.

While the country was under Turkish rule, the Arumanians of Macedonia had a total of 120 schools of their own. In Salonika and Grevena they even had vocational schools. By a special decree issued by the Turkish Sultan in May 9, 1905, the Turkish Government recognized the national character of the Arumanians as a district nationally. They were no longer to be considered as Greeks. In their schools and churches the Arumanians, of Macedonia, taught their children and worshiped God in their new native language.

With the annexation of southwestern part of Macedonia, the Greek authorities had also denied the cultural, religious, and language privileges of the Arumanians. The Greek language was forcibly imposed in the Arumanian schools and churches, and many of the priests and teachers were persecuted, maltreated, and imprisoned.

Turkey, which was considered at the beginning of the 20th century as the "sick man of Europe," and against whose administration of the country was raised so much complaints, had been far more humane to the Christian population in Macedonia than Greece has ever been. The language, schools, and religion of the Bulgarians and Arumanians in Macedonia were respected by the Turks. Many old inhabitants in Macedonia now lament and say, and rightly so, that the Turkish regime over Macedonia was far better than the present Greek rule.

Greece has signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a document adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948. On March 28, 1953, Greece signed and ratified also the European Convention on Human Rights. Both these historical documents contain clauses for the freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; freedom of expression, etc. Greece has never granted these fundamental rights to the Bulgarian and Arumanian people in Macedonia.

On July 31, 1954, the 400 delegates of the World Presbyterian Alliance assembled in Princeton, N. J., and representing 66 self-governing church bodies from 45 countries, unanimously approved a resolution which took sharply to task the Greek Orthodox Church for imposing restrictions on the Evangelical Church of Greece. Knowing that the Greek Government does not allow religious freedom to its own Greek-speaking subjects, one can imagine what the attitude of the same Government would be toward those who will dare to read even the Bible in a language different than the Greek one.

It is significant to note that Greece does not complain about England's treatment of the national and religious rights of the Greek inhabitants of Cyprus. For the Greek population there enjoys the privilege of having their own schools, churches, newspapers, and the use of Greek language. Freedom is not suppressed. One-third of the population of Cyprus is even free to proclaim its communistic feeling. Unfortunately, the same cannot be maintained as to Macedonia under Greek rule, where people are arrested and exiled in remote islands if they have an inclination to manifest their ethnical, Bulgarian, or Arumanian conscientiousness.

The Bulgarians and Arumanians under Greek rule will be very happy, indeed, if they were granted those fundamental rights which the peoples in the island of Cyprus are enjoying under British rule.

We know that the Greek representative at the United Nations will deny the existence of Bulgarian and Arumanian speaking peoples in Macedonia. He will dramatically emphasize that the whole population of Macedonia since the time of Alexander the Great belongs to the Greek race. Alexander faded into eternity 23 centuries ago. During those times many a change took place all over the world. The ethnical physiognomy of Macedonia changed also.

We do not insist to take the Macedonian territory away from Greece and have it handed over to a neighboring country. The best solution of the Macedonian problem is to create an independent state of Macedonia out of the three divided parts among Yugoslavia, Greece, and Bulgaria. At this moment we do not ask even that. But we do challenge the Greek Government to allow a special United Nations commission to go on the spot, in Macedonia, in order to find out:

A. Are there any Bulgarian and Arumanian speaking people in Macedonia under Greek rule?

B. If there are such ethnical groups, why the Greek Government has not yet recognized and given those peoples their sacred fundamental rights? Why the churches and the schools of these peoples are not free, not open?

If the United Nations Charter is to be invoked in order to transfer a territory from one sovereignty to another sovereignty, why should not the same charter be invoked in order to efface an ugly injustice inflicted upon the unfortunate peoples of Macedonia?

Your Excellency, in presenting to your enlightened attention the above-stated facts, we sincerely believe that they will come under your serious consideration and will be made known to all members of the United Nations.

Respectfully yours,

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MACEDONIAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, BRAZIL, AND NEW ZEALAND,
M. D. CHANEFF, *President.*
LUBEN DIMITROFF, *Secretary.*
MACEDONO-BULGARIAN EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA,
Very Rev. GEORGE NICOLOFF.
Rev. VASIL MIHAILOFF.

Social Security Is Here To Stay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, the fact that our social security system is here to stay is accepted by 99 percent of the people of this country. There are, however, a few carping critics who persist in taking potshots at the system for reasons best known to themselves. The public statements they make are based on fallacious reasoning and proven misconceptions. A fair percentage of these shortsighted critics are to be found in the insurance industry, despite the fact that the advent of social security brought with it a tremendous expansion in almost every form of insurance business. The industry as a whole recognizes that social security has not only been a boon to the people of the United States, but that it has also brought a stabilizing influence into their own field.

The December 1954 issue of Life Insurance Courant, a trade publication, carried some telling editorial comment aimed at members of the industry and other critics of social insurance who refuse to accept the facts of life on the permanence of social security. Mr. Lane Kirkland, writing in the AFL News-Reporter, has emphasized the importance of this editorial as a useful antidote to the propaganda against social security emanating from professional doomsters and lobbying groups. I include the editorial and Mr. Kirkland's comments in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that this antidote will become more widely available.

[From the Life Insurance Courant of December 1954]

SEEING THINGS IN PERSPECTIVE

With your indulgence we should like to trace some of the history of social security with the intention of leading up to recent developments in this field and commenting on them.

Social security rests on the idea that if the individual does not prepare for his old age—or for his dependents—someone else must do it.

A second premise is that even in relatively prosperous times a very large number of people have no money for retirement purposes when they reach age 65, and that others can make only a minimum provision for their dependents in case of their early death.

COOPERATIVE PLAN

Since these ideas are accepted and since there are said to be good philosophical and practical reasons for putting part of the social insurance cost on industry, the social security system in America was devised as a cooperative plan, under the sponsorship of Government, to require people to make minimum provision for their old age and their family's dependency. The alternatives to social security seem to be as follows:

1. No help from Government in any way, in other words, complete independence of the individual except for what private charity may give him. The record of the 1920's and 1930's shows that a majority of people, on their own, cannot or will not prepare for their later years. Is private charity up to filling the gap?

2. Assistance by local government. When this broke down in the 1930's the Federal Government had to step in with relief and work projects. Besides the historical failure of relying on local government alone, there is the objection that this kind of assistance is particularly susceptible to political mismanagement when conducted on a large scale.

3. Reliance on the Federal Government for support of the aged on a charity basis. The difficulties in attempting to administer a means test for the country from a centralized authority are so obvious as to require no elaboration.

NOT YET PRODUCED

While it is possible that a better system of cooperation between industry and workers to provide for people's old age and for their dependents can be devised, one has not yet been produced which is satisfactory to the people at large. Perhaps this system is going to cost the Government (and of course through it the taxpayers) a great deal of money in the future. This point seems far

distant at this time. A large reserve could be accumulated in anticipation of this distant date, but that proposal was defeated and is not seriously promoted by any number of people today. The public, however, seems willing to pay the cost—at least, their elected representatives think so.

STRONG INSURANCE SUPPORT

The reason for going into some of this history is to describe the system that the life insurance industry has generally been supporting since it first accepted the principle of social security and the plan adopted.

Outstanding individuals in the business have given a great deal of time in assistance to the development of the program in an orderly way. These people have differed in details with some legislation, but this has not prevented them from continuing to give their good will and best intelligence to the development of social insurance in America. The public should be grateful for the efforts of life insurance people in the development of a sound program. It should be grateful too, to the companies that these men represent who have lent them for this purpose.

BENEFIT FOR INSURANCE

Conversely, by the development of a reasonable program, the life insurance industry has benefited enormously. Billions of dollars of insurance has been sold partly because people have had a base upon which to build their retirement income and security plans for dependents. Agency departments in company after company base their selling plans on a social security approach.

There are opponents of social security. They have every right—and, naturally, a responsibility—to speak out and state their views. Some of these opponents are in the life-insurance business. There is some danger, however, that the public, or part of it, may think that these objectors are speaking for the life-insurance industry. Of course, this is not the case.

Let us examine some of the more common objections recently raised. One of these is the mistaken one that social security hurts the sale of life insurance. There is no worse ground on which to stand if one wishes to convince the public than the basis of sheer self-interest. It is bad even to seem to have this as a basis for opposition.

The life-insurance industry should dissociate itself from some of the petty criticisms that a few people have made of social security. For example, there was general agreement among financial experts that the building of a gigantic reserve was undesirable. Those who say we should built a large reserve do not have much company.

PAYING TWICE

From time to time some people—fortunately, not many of them insurance people—suggest that social security has to be paid for twice. It is true that there is a constitutional requirement that social-security taxes be considered general revenue. This clouds the actual financial process involved. Any person with some amount of financial training, however, knows that the suggestion that we have to tax ourselves twice for social security is as absurd as the idea that when a person buys utility bonds he must pay for them twice. We should dissociate ourselves from this kind of hokypoke charge.

Some people are trying to get the word "insurance" removed from the phrase "old-age and survivors insurance." This is apparently an activity chiefly of members of the insurance business. It is based on the idea that social security does not meet the requirements of commercial insurance and therefore should not be entitled to the term. It seems to us that this quibbling about terminology is weak on two scores.

THE DEFINITION BUSINESS

First, social insurance, which began in Bismarck's time in Germany, has been dignified by definition in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary for decades. Secondly, the general public does not use the phrase "old-age and survivors insurance" but say "social security." Why make such a fuss about this that people are likely to go to their dictionaries to check up on us? We certainly don't want that.

While the public does not really believe that the Government plans are guaranteed, it knows that no political administration is going to commit suicide by reneging on the promises made, and paid for.

NONPAYING RECIPIENTS

Another quibble that does us little credit is the objection that some people soon to retire will pay little compared to what they will receive. This problem, to hear some people talk, is confined to social security. Every employer who has been operating long enough to have employees in late middle age is faced with the same problem. Insurance people meet it time after time in setting up pension plans.

It seems that there is a simple choice between having these older people receive social security and not having them receive social security. Apparently there is almost universal approval of the idea that they should receive social security income. But suppose that the alternative were to be accepted—that they were to receive no social security income unless they had paid commensurate taxes. If they do not receive social security income they are in the same position that most other people of 65 would find themselves—and which was referred to earlier—that is, without enough money to retire.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

For some years we have had a large number of elderly people on the public assistance roles, with the Federal Government contributing a considerable part of the income that they receive. A number of spokesmen for the insurance industry have ably shown that the wide variations in payments among the States (and other difficulties) have made public assistance a less acceptable means of providing for most elderly people than social security. We might even suggest that the recipient would be content with a slightly smaller social security payment which he could receive without shame than he would be with a public assistance check to which a means-test tag is attached.

Finally, those individuals who object to social security on philosophical grounds have a right to speak out—as individuals. It often happens that where they are opposed to social security they have no fears of their own personal security, but it is also true that very likely they would feel the same way if they were not financially independent. Their intelligent criticisms can provide needed balance.

The life insurance business, however, is so overwhelmingly in favor of social security that the public should know that those who oppose the principles or who make carping criticisms such as we recounted talk only for themselves. We hope the public realizes this. And we hope the leaders in our industry who have helped to develop a sound social security program will continue to cooperate to produce a better one.

[From the AFL News-Reporter, Washington, D. C., of January 14, 1955]

INSURANCE INDUSTRY IS TOLD RELAX, ENJOY SOCIAL SECURITY

(By Lane Kirkland)

One source of encouragement to those who believe in a strong social security system is the fact that calm reason sometimes penetrates even the darkest corners—including, believe it or not, the inner recesses of the commercial insurance industry. When it does, it often provides a useful antidote to the propaganda that emanates, like a poisonous smog, from the chamber of commerce, such lobbies as the National Association of Life Underwriters, and professional doomsters such as Clarence Manion.

RELAX AND ENJOY IT

A case in point can be found in the December issue of the Life Insurance Courant, a trade journal published in New York. In this issue, the editor was moved to bring a few basic home truths about social security to the attention of his colleagues in the insurance industry, and to suggest that they calm down, relax, and enjoy it.

Opponents of social security within the insurance industry, he infers, are guilty of biting the hand that feeds them, for the system has stimulated, rather than injured, the commercial insurance business:

"• • • by the development of a reasonable program, the life insurance industry has benefited enormously. Billions of dollars of insurance has been sold partly because people have had a base upon which to build their retirement income and security plans for dependents. Agency departments in company after company base their selling plans on a social security approach.

"There are opponents of social security • • • Some of these opponents are in the life insurance business. There is some danger, however, that the public or part of it may think that these objectors are speaking for the life insurance industry. Of course, this is not the case."

LEVELS AT PROPAGANDA

The Life Insurance Courant then proceeds to tick off some of the propaganda arguments leveled against the old-age and survivors insurance system by these opponents. As to the spurious complaint that social security "hurts the sale of life insurance," the editorial says: "There is no worse ground on which to stand if one wishes to convince the public than the basis of sheer self-interest. It is bad even to seem to have this basis for opposition."

Taking up another threadbare argument, the journal notes that:

"From time to time some people • • • suggest that social security has to be paid for twice. • • • Any person with some amount of financial training, however, knows that the suggestion that we have to tax ourselves twice for social security is as absurd as the idea that when a person buys utility bonds he must pay for them twice. We should dissociate ourselves from this kind of hokypoke charge."

Another line, propounded by the chamber of commerce and ridden very hard by the late unlamented Curtis subcommittee during the 83d Congress, is the allegation that old-age and survivors' insurance isn't really "insurance." The Life Insurance Courant disposes of that bit of word-play in short order:

"It seems to us that this quibbling about terminology is weak on two scores.

"First, social insurance • • • has been dignified by definition in Webster's unabridged dictionary for decades. Secondly, the general public does not use the phrase 'old-age and survivors insurance' but says 'social security.' Why make such a fuss about this that people are likely to go to their dictionaries to check up on us? We certainly don't want that.

"While the public does not really believe that the Government plans are guaranteed, it knows that no political administration is going to commit suicide by reneging on the promises made, and paid for."

The journal closes this "dutch uncle" lecture to its colleagues by soliciting the charitable indulgence of the public toward the wayward members of the trade:

"The life-insurance business, however, is so overwhelmingly in favor of social security that the public should know that those who oppose the principle or who make carping criticisms such as we recounted talk only for themselves. We hope the public realizes this."

All in all, it would be hard to improve upon this insurance journal's rebuttal of the insurance lobby's propaganda. It is good to know that the industry is not entirely without a conscience.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a resolution adopted at the Ukrainian Independence Day celebration on January 22, 1955, in Minneapolis, Minn.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION PROCLAIMED AND ADOPTED AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY HELD ON JANUARY 22, 1955, IN MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Thirty-seven years ago the Ukrainian people renewed their sovereign rights on Ukrainian territory. The Ukrainian Parliament, the Central Council (Rada) proclaimed the renewal of the independent Ukrainian State on the 22d of January 1918 in capital Kiev.

The free and independent Ukrainian National Democratic Republic was recognized by England, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy, the Vatican, Argentina, Georgia, the Don Cossack Republic, and Russia.

But continuing along the old path of Russian imperialism, Communist Moscow attacked the independent Ukrainian Republic and overran it despite the desperate resistance of the Ukrainian people. Thus the new republic became the first victim of Communist Russian aggression. It also became the first nation to resist the aggression of Communist Moscow which today threatens the entire still-free world.

The Ukrainian Government of the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic went into exile. Communist Moscow set up by force and violence the Communist regime and government in Ukraine. But the people, faithful to their democratic traditions continue to fight against this regime and the Soviet Government.

We Americans of Ukrainian descent, gathered at the celebration of the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of the independent and free Ukrainian Republic, in Minneapolis, Minn., on January 22, 1955, appeal to the Government, representatives, and people of the United States of America to help the Ukrainian people to restore their own democratic government.

We declare that the proposal to exclude Ukraine from the United Nations is against the interests of our country, against our American policy of liberation. The present regime in Ukraine and its right to represent the Ukrainian people can and should be questioned. But no one can question the right of Ukraine to be a member of the United Nations.

Dr. ALEXANDER LUTY-LUTENKO,
Chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Branch Minneapolis, Minn.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *January 22, 1955.*

Stampede?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to direct the attention of my colleagues to an article in a recent issue of the Los Angeles Examiner under the caption "Stampede?"

This article raises the question of why the haste in rushing through the extension and enlargement of our Trade Agreements Act.

The article follows:

STAMPEDE?

For no obvious reason, a great effort is being made to induce Congress to extend immediately the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

This act, which many persons do not understand, empowers the State Department to reduce or abolish American protective tariffs by making deals with foreign countries. Once again, the act is about to expire, and the proposal before Congress is to keep it going.

This is not emergency legislation, like the Formosan defense project. In fact, its history is getting stale. For the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is now 20 years old. It was first enacted in 1934, and it has been extended several times, and also amended, since them. Nonetheless, the leadership in Congress has made the routine renewal House Resolution No. 1, and the Ways and Means Committee has been holding hurried and hectic hearings on the bill.

But, what is the urgency?

Last year, when for the sixth time the same act was about to expire, President Eisenhower asked for another 3-year continuance.

Congress rather reluctantly voted a 1-year extension, relying on a promise that the State Department would not exercise its tariff-slashing powers during the year.

Congress also authorized the Tariff Commission to study the operations of the act, to determine any damage that had been inflicted upon our native industries or labor by low-wage foreign competition, and to recommend any necessary or desirable changes.

The Tariff Commission was instructed to report to Congress in March of this year.

Yet, here is a high-pressure campaign to get the Trade Agreements Act again prolonged without awaiting the Tariff Commission's authoritative findings.

Now, why?

Perhaps the American Tariff League has the answer.

The League notes that, under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, our protective tariff level has fallen 70 percent since 1934, and a great deal of injury has already been done to many industries in many States.

The League suggests that doctrinaire freetraders, and some commercial interests who want our protective tariff system obliterated entirely are striving to get the Trade Agreements Act renewed, perhaps permanently, before the full extent of the harm caused by tariff wrecking can be adequately disclosed.

In sum, they want the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act extended before the Tariff Commission can tell Congress what the act is doing and has done to employment and industry in our country.

In the circumstances, Congress should certainly await and consider the Tariff Commission's report, which Congress itself requested, before taking any action whatsoever on House Resolution 1.

Persons Entering Armed Services for the First Time On or After February 1, 1955, Will Be Regarded as Peacetime Veterans When They Leave Military Service and as Such Will Be Entitled Only to Peacetime Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, according to a statement released recently by the Veterans' Administration, the following benefits will be available to persons entering the Armed Forces on or after February 1, 1955, when they leave the service under honorable conditions.

These veterans will be regarded as peacetime veterans and, under present laws, will not be eligible for any of the benefits provided by the Korean GI bill, nor for any wartime service benefits payable to veterans of the Korean conflict period.

Peacetime veterans may be entitled, under certain conditions, to medical and domiciliary care, disability compensation, aid for the blinded, "wheel chair" homes, servicemen's indemnity, guaranty of commercial life-insurance premiums, burial expenses, burial flag, guardianship service, and appeals. Their dependents may be entitled to death compensation where the veterans die of service-connected causes.

The benefits and conditions are:

Medical and dental care: A peacetime veteran may be entitled to hospitalization, outpatient medical and dental treatment and prosthetic service, provided he was discharged under other than dishonorable conditions for a disability incurred in line of duty or is receiving compensation for a service-connected disability.

Domiciliary care: A peacetime veteran may be entitled to domiciliary care if he meets the above eligibility requirements and is incapacitated from earning a living and has no adequate means of support.

Disability compensation: A veteran disabled by injury or disease incurred in, or aggravated by, peacetime service may qualify for disability compensation. Discharge must have been under other than dishonorable conditions.

Monthly rates range from $14 to $145, depending on the degree of disability, plus statutory awards for amputations, blindness, and so forth, up to a maximum of $336.

Where the disability resulted from extrahazardous service, such as simulated warfare, the veteran may be entitled to wartime rates. These are $17

to $181, plus statutory awards, up to a maximum of $420.

Veterans rated 50 percent or more disabled may be entitled to additional compensation for a wife, children, or dependent parents.

Aid for the blinded: VA may provide special aid to veterans who are blinded and are entitled to compensation for service - connected disabilities. The blindness itself need not be service-connected.

Aids include approved electronic and mechanical equipment, as well as seeing-eye or guide dogs. VA also pays the expense of training the veteran to use the dog and for the dog's medical attention.

Wheelchair homes: Seriously disabled veterans who cannot get about without the aid of wheelchairs, braces, crutches, canes, or the like, may be entitled to a grant from VA for a wheelchair home, especially adapted to their needs.

These veterans must be entitled to compensation for permanent and total service-connected disability for the loss, or loss of use, of both legs due to certain specified conditions.

Eligible veterans will receive a Federal grant of not more than 50 percent of the cost of their homes up to a maximum of $10,000. This grant may be used to pay part of the cost of building or buying such homes, or to remodel existing dwellings for their requirements.

The grant also may be used to pay off the indebtedness on such homes already acquired by eligible veterans.

Servicemen's indemnity: Persons entering active service on or after today are automatically covered against death in active service for $10,000—less any other Government life insurance in force at time of death.

For those called to active duty 31 days or more, this free indemnity protection continues for 120 days after separation or release from active service.

After their separation from service, these veterans may obtain two types of postservice Government life insurance under certain conditions.

The first type is a 5-year level-premium term policy that is renewable every 5 years at the premium rate for the then-attained age without medical examination. This type of term policy is not convertible to any other form of Government life insurance; nor does it pay dividends.

Veterans who may apply for this insurance are those who were ordered into active duty for 31 days or more and who were entitled to indemnity protection while they were in service. They must have been released from such active service.

These veterans may apply to VA for the insurance within exactly 120 days—not always 4 months—of their separation or release. While they do not need a physical examination, they must pay the required premiums. They may take out up to $10,000 of this term insurance, less any other Government life insurance in force at the time of application.

The second type of insurance is available to eligible disabled veterans. This coverage is a special form of national service life insurance—NSLI—on either term or permanent plan policies.

Veterans eligible for this special insurance are those released or separated from active service on or after April 25, 1951, under other than dishonorable conditions and who are found by VA to be suffering from a service-connected disability or disabilities for which VA compensation would be payable if the disability is 10 percent or more in degree. They must not be suffering from nonservice-connected disabilities that make them uninsurable.

These veterans must apply to VA for the special NSLI within 1 year from the date that VA finds their disability or disabilities to be service-connected. Each application must be accompanied by the required physical examination and the necessary premium.

This special NSLI is issuable to eligible disabled veterans on either term or permanent plans in amounts ranging up to $10,000, less any other Government life insurance in force at the time of application.

If such veterans are totally disabled, they may apply for any of the special plans except those issued under endowment contracts. They also may apply for waiver of premiums at the time they file applications for the insurance, but they should tender the full premiums with their applications and continue to pay such premiums on time until they are notified by VA that their waiver has been granted. Premiums paid during waiver will be refunded.

Guaranty of premiums on commercial life insurance policies: Persons entering or in the Armed Forces, who have commercial life insurance, may apply to VA for the guaranty of premiums, indebtedness, or interest up to $10,000 of insurance per person. The VA guaranty covers the period of service and for 2 years thereafter.

Any amount paid by VA to an insurance company for a protected policy becomes a debt due the United States by the policyholder and must be repaid.

Burial expenses: Funeral and burial expenses up to $150 may be paid by VA in the death of certain peacetime veterans. The veterans must have been receiving compensation at the time of death or must have been discharged or retired from service for disability incurred in line of duty.

Payment is made only to the undertaker or to the person who paid the expense involved. Claims must be filed with VA within 2 years from the date of permanent burial or cremation.

Burial flag: An American flag to drape the casket, which may be retained as a memorial by the next of kin, may be supplied in the death of peacetime veterans who have been discharged under conditions other than dishonorable after serving a full enlistment, or for disability incurred in line of duty. Such flags may be issued, upon application, by VA field offices, most first-, second-, and third-class post offices, and those fourth-class post offices located in county seats.

Death compensation: The widow, children, and dependent parents of deceased peacetime veterans may qualify for compensation where the veterans' death was due to service.

A widow loses her entitlement upon remarriage. Unmarried children normally lose their entitlement upon reaching age 18, but if they are attending a school approved by VA they may continue to receive death compensation while attending this school, but not after 21 or married.

Monthly amounts vary according to the number and relationship of the dependents. Examples are: Widow, no children, $69.60; one child alone, no widow, $53.60; one parent, $60. Corresponding rates where death was due to extra-hazardous service are $87, $67, and $75.

Guardianship service: Incompetent peacetime veterans, their minor dependents, and incompetent beneficiaries are entitled to protection of their estates derived from benefits paid by VA under acts of Congress.

Such protection is provided by the chief attorneys of VA regional offices in accordance with State and Federal laws and VA regulations.

The chief attorneys maintain supervision over guardians appointed by State—probate and county—courts, as well as legal custodians recognized by VA in their respective jurisdictions.

Appeals: The Board of Veterans' Appeals is available for rendering final decisions in all cases appealed to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, wherein a claimant has been denied benefits to which he claims entitlement. The board has no original jurisdiction; its work is similar to that of a court of appeals.

Higher Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the following letter to the editor, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald for January 31, 1955, written by John W. Edelman, Washington representative, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, and Solomon Barkin, director of research, CIO, is as penetrating and concise a statement as I have seen on the necessity of raising the minimum wage to $1.25:

HIGHER MINIMUM WAGE

We welcome your support for a higher minimum wage in your editorial of January 17.

We support your view that "the administration figure should be raised," but we cannot agree that the increase over the administration's proposed 90 cents should be only 5 to 10 cents. A minimum wage of 95 cents or $1 is not in keeping with economic trends, nor would this figure provide anything like a decent American standard of living.

The $1.25 minimum, which the CIO and AFL recommend, is justified by several factors, all of which are touched on in your editorial.

The cost of living for the low-income group has risen by some 18 or more percent. Man-hour productivity, according to the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, rose some 15 percent from 1949 to 1953. Extending this trend to 1954, and allowing for both the rise in the cost of living and the growth in national productivity, would jutify a minimum of at least $1.06.

Actually, wages during this period in the better organized industries have risen by 45 to 50 cents per hour. Prevailing minima in most industries exceed $1.25 per hour, as indicated by the minimum of $1.75 in autos, $1.61 in the ship building, $1.57 in the steel industry, etc.

Actually, the 1950 increase from 40 to 75 cents—as demonstrated by the current Department of Labor study to which you refer—was more substantial than the rise now recommended by the President. In 1950 we had a 99 percent increase on the then 40-cent-an-hour rate which directly affected just over 6 percent of covered employes. A 90-cent minimum would be a 20 percent boost on the 75-cent rate and would directly affect less than 5 percent of eligible workers.

The President misses the point when he states that "minimum wages do not deal with the fundamental causes of low incomes and poverty." The fact is that the weak bargaining power of unorganized workers in certain industries and areas is a fundamental cause of their not receiving decent wages.

The minimum-wage law partly corrects this imbalance in bargaining power, which is the principal cause of substandard wages. The purpose and actual result of minimum-wage legislation is to enable workers who have little or no bargaining power to achieve a progression in wages not too far behind the level enjoyed by other American workers.

The major impact of the 1955 increase in the statutory wage will be felt in industries where workers have weak, if any, bargaining power and where chiseling employers have prevented the fair-minded employers from following national wage trends. There is no ground for your fears that some few manufacturers in outlying areas might go out of business if a higher minimum was required. The experience of 1950 demonstrates that clearly.

The adoption of a realistic minimum wage in 1955 will have no greater consequences than those experienced in 1950. A statutory wage of $1.25 is justified by the rise in living costs and the sharp increases in man-hour productivity during the past 4 years. A minimum rate of $1.25 per hour is required to enable large numbers of underprivileged employees to achieve living standards not too much below what could properly be described as a decent American standard.

SOLOMON BARKIN,
Director of Research.
JOHN W. EDELMAN,
Washington Representative, Textile Workers Union of America–CIO.
WASHINGTON.

Little Red Federal Schoolhouse or No Controls, Except as Provided Herein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an editorial which appeared on January 28, 1955, in the Richmond News Leader.

LITTLE RED FEDERAL SCHOOLHOUSE OR NO CONTROLS, EXCEPT AS PROVIDED HEREIN

One of the most bitter fights of the 84th Congress will be waged in coming months on the issue of Federal aid to school construction. Already more than half a dozen bills are in the hopper, and more will be coming along before formal hearings begin. The movement will gain impetus on February 15, when the President transmits to Congress his affirmative program for dealing with the classroom shortage.

If this invasion of State and local responsibility is to be thrown back, those who believe in a tightly limited Federal Government should be mobilizing now. The pending legislation carries with it—be dead certain of the fact—the ultimate surrender of local control over our schools.

That assertion, of course, will be denied. Proponents of this legislation will point to specific clauses in their bills that appear to forestall Federal control. The measure sponsored by 30 Democratic Senators (S. 5), for example, contains a section declaring that "except as specifically provided by this act, no department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States shall exercise any direction, supervision, or control over, or prescribe any requirement with respect to, any State agency, school agency, or school to which any funds have been or may be paid under this act."

But let us look at what would be specifically provided by this act.

Section 1 of the bill provides a title—the "Emergency Public School Construction Act of 1955." Section 2 would appropriate $500 million a year for the next 2 years. Section 3 would direct that the sum be expended "only for the construction of public elementary and secondary school facilities."

Section 4 gets down to the meat of the coconut. Here a formula for distribution of the fund would be set up, in which the key factor would be determined by the Commissioner of Education. He would promulgate the allotment percentages, "and the percentages so promulgated shall be conclusive." These grants would be paid out only for school projects that met standards approved by the Commissioner.

Some of these standards are defined in section 5. In order to participate, a State government would have to submit satisfactory evidence to the Federal commissioner that its State Department of Education had authority to carry out a school plan. Then the State would have to describe the steps, if any, which have been taken toward making full use of State and local financial resources in the construction of school facilities." The State would be required to show that it had formulated sound long-range school-construction programs in the local areas, and that it had attained a more efficient organization of school districts in the State.

The sovereign States of the Union then would have to submit satisfactory evidence to the Federal commissioner that they would use any Federal grants in addition to and not as a substitute for State and local funds available for school construction. They would be required to establish accounting procedures acceptable to the commissioner. They would be required to provide acceptable standards for locating, planning, and constructing school facilities.

But the end is not yet. Section 5 (a) (10) would require the States to see that every laborer and mechanic on a Federal-aid school construction job is paid at not less than prevailing wages in the area, with time-and-a-half for overtime after 40 hours in any workweek. If the States fail to comply with all of these requirements, extending over four printed pages of the bill, the commissioner is directed to withhold Federal grants in whatever fashion he determines to be appropriate under the circumstances.

Other sections of the bill deal with the filing of reports and audits, the procedures for judicial review, and with definitions of terms. What all of this adds up to is a beginning, a foot in the door, a first mild draught of a habit-forming drug. To localities, hard pressed for school facilities, the prospect of a $500 million pot of gold is as pretty as a rainbow.

And it is just as deceptive. For it is only one soft little creeping step from a control over where a school may be built to a control over what may be taught there. Once a basic statute is spread upon the books, the process of subtle amendment may begin, to the end that Federal grants will grow ever larger and local responsibilities ever smaller. And just as the Virginia State government, by reason of its financial assistance, now exerts great control over local school programs and textbooks, so the United States Government, for precisely the same reason, ultimately would exert tighter and tighter controls over the operation of our local schools.

What is involved here is not a few thousand dollars for brick and mortar; what is involved is domination over the minds of the next generation. For once, let us not be fooled by the sweet-talk of those who argue lyrically that this time Federal control would not follow Federal grants. Federal control always follows Federal grants, and ultimate control of the public schools is the richest prize the Fabian Socialists could hope to win.

A Wise Precaution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Steuben Republican of Angola, Ind.:

A WISE PRECAUTION

President Eisenhower's message to the Congress asking for support for such use of force as he may deem necessary to halt threats of invasion of the island of Formosa by the forces of Red China was a wise precaution. No doubt he has taken advantage of the unhappy experience of former President Truman, who, without consulting Congress, hastily ordered American forces to halt the invasion of Korea, exercised under the authority extended him by the Charter of the United Nations.

The people of the country were grievously offended by this exercise of power by the Chief Executive, although doubtless from a literal legal interpretation President Truman had the authority for such action. The course of history reveals that it is a better policy on issues which are not closely defined to gain the consent of Congress before undertaking a position which would give rise to argument and to support from only part of the people.

President Eisenhower has already demonstrated his unwillingness to plunge our country into a war regardless of how grievously we have been offended and of the trying attitude which has been exhibited by Red China toward the safety of our nationals. Indeed, it has been difficult for the people to withhold an expression of their impatience in this regard.

The President's message should develop more unanimity of opinion that the President is right in his conduct of these ticklish affairs no matter how irksome these policies may be to the people whose lives and safety are not seriously jeopardized. The use of force should only be the last extremity for the safety of our Nation. In war the victorious nation is likely to suffer as grievously or more so than the conquered who became the wards of the victors.

The Dark Tunnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by the noted commentator and author, Walter Lippmann, in the New York Herald-Tribune on February 1. In view of the dangerous situation in the Formosa area, I commend Mr. Lippmann's calm, objective appraisal to the attention of Members of Congress and other readers of the RECORD.

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
THE DARK TUNNEL

It would be a mistake for the country not to take very seriously the difficulties and the dangers which have been raised up in the Formosa area. We are living in anxious days. There is a danger of hostilities of which no one could see the end, once they had begun. And there is danger that we may find ourselves in a very difficult position among our allies and among the uncommitted nations of Asia and elsewhere. Our case has not been well worked out and stated and we are not invulnerable. Let no one suppose that another blistering statement by Senator KNOWLAND or by an admiral can do anything but magnify the danger and compound the difficulties of our position.

On the face of it the position taken publicly by the parties to the great dispute are irreconcilable. Is there, then, the responsible statesmen are asking themselves, any light at the end of the tunnel? There may be some light. It is a dim light and distant. But perhaps with the fate of man at stake, there may be enough reason left in the high places to keep that light burning.

The light is this. The conflict of positions, irreconcilable as it is, is just one stage short of being as bad as it could be. Nobody has delivered an ultimatum and nobody is committed to taking any military action beyond what he is now doing. Neither side is compelled to take military actions now, next week, next month beyond the status quo. The only exception to this is the decision to evacuate the Tachens, and that is an action not to engage forces but to disengage them.

It must obviously be the business of every friend of peace to bring pressure to bear against any action to disturb the status quo. This is not a cease-fire, and certainly not even a beginning of any kind of settlement. It is, however, the necessary condition—as yet not precluded by the official statements of either side—for exchanges and for negotiation. This country will assume that the President has taken every precaution that can be taken to see to it that neither the Nationalist Chinese nor any of our units in the Far East disturb the status quo.

If eventually there are to be negotiations for a cease-fire, it is evident that they cannot deal with the ultimate issues. We cannot expect Peiping to sign any kind of truce which implies the surrender of her claims to Formosa. Nor should we at this time confuse the juridical issues by recognizing in a formal treaty Chiang's claims to Formosa. The only sound and the only safe position is to treat the ultimate disposition of Formosa as a matter which cannot be settled now even by negotiations, much less by force.

The world's best hope is to play for time, recognizing that a final settlement cannot be contemplated until the Chinese civil war comes to its final end. There are now two Chinas. But it is a great question whether we should treat that fact as the permanent historical nature of things. Neither China will accept the two-China view, and therefore we must in fact treat the two Chinas as provisional. Nobody knows what 10 years will do to either or both of the Chinas.

What is certain is that the issue of the civil war cannot now be decided by military force. The mainland Chinese cannot conquer Formosa. Chiang is unable, and the United States will not attempt to conquer the Chinese mainland. Except for a few unimportant offshore islands, which are negotiable, there is a military deadlock in the Formosa Strait. Let us hope that it can be maintained.

Bank Merger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following press release issued on January 15, 1955, by my good friend George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., upon the announcement of the Manhattan and Chase National Banks proposed merger:

The announcement of the Manhattan and Chase banks merging, which the report discloses will result in the second biggest banking institution in the United States, and which the press reports is a record merger, appears to be following in the footsteps of gigantic mergers both in industry and finance during the past 12 months or more, said George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business today, and, he continued that this merger trend should call for special attention by the administration and by the Congress as to what effect this trend will have as to the future of small business throughout the Nation.

He adds that this situation is being noted by small business throughout the Nation and they are very much concerned as to the effects it will have on their future, both at the production and distribution levels.

Burger adds that the neighborhood bank has been the lifeblood for small business in their respective localities and with finances being controlled in the hands of a few large banking institutions it doesn't offer a bright future for small-business needs. It must be self-evident that if the trend continues in larger and larger banking institutions then the responsibility must rest with the Government in giving to small business a stronger and more influential Small Business Administration which will be able to grant the needed capital loans to small business where the credit responsibility warrants such help by the Federal Government.

Burger concludes that the administration and the Congress cannot delay immediately investigating the effects of these mergers.

Surplus Disposal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the text of a statement by the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. Ezra Taft Benson.

Mr. Speaker, I have been disturbed in recent days by statements on the disposal of surplus agricultural commodities that give a completely erroneous impression of the program and the achievements of Secretary Benson. I refer to a newspaper article on Monday quoting the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] as being highly critical of the Secretary, and to an address at the annual meeting of the National Agricultural Limestone Producers by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN]. This address has now been inserted in the RECORD, where it appeared on pages A467–A470, and I feel that it is unjustly critical of the Department of Agriculture. Many members who attended the annual meeting of the limestone association will recall the following statements by the gentleman from Mississippi:

What was not in the President's speech is the fact that his administration is trying to give these commodities away under Public Law 480 without even offering them for sale for dollars, under the general authority of the law. The administration's approach would continue to hold an umbrella over world prices.

Representatives of the United States Government are going around the world trying to give away to foreign countries that which they will not offer for sale, commodities which they have the authority to sell but which they will not sell, all to add to foreign aid.

In another part of this talk Mr. WHITTEN says:

The prices of farm products have declined about 25 percent since February 1951. The cost of farming continues to increase. The net farm income in 1954 was down about 30 percent from 1951.

And the outlook is for still further declines in net farm income in 1955 because of the reduction in acreage of controlled crops and the low prices of nearly all farm products.

In reading these remarks and others in Mr. WHITTEN's speech, a totally erroneous impression of the efforts of the Department of Agriculture and of the condition of the American farmer would be gained.

On January 19 the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, appeared before the Senate Committee on Agriculture, and I am sure that if Mr. WHITTEN had heard the testimony of the Secretary at that time he would not have made some of the remarks found in his address. I am not going to burden you today with all the testimony, but I do want to place in the RECORD portions of Secretary Benson's presentation before the Senate Agriculture Committee so that you may have a clear and accurate understanding of the handling of surplus farm commodities and the financial condition of the American farmer.

Mr. Benson had this to say:

GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IS GOOD

At no time since the end of the Korean war has business optimism concerning the future of the American economy generally been stronger or more widespread than now. The longtime outlook for America is good.

Our country has been enjoying a period of relative economic stability during the past year. The widely advertised business readjustment of 1954 evidently reached its bottom about last July. The slow erosion of prices and business activity which had been in progress since shortly after the Korean boom halted then, and has turned up modestly. The upward course has been fairly steady, although not spectacular, for the past several months. Our economy is growing at a healthy rate, production is increasing absolutely and on a per worker basis, consumer incomes are rising, and higher average standards of living are in prospect.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-four was the second biggest economic year in the history of America. This was accomplished without war, with Federal Government expenditures down $11 billion and Federal taxes reduced over $7 billion. During 1954, for the first time in several years, American soldiers were not being shot at anywhere around the world. And yet we achieved a stable economy at a high level. The transition from post-Korean inflation to semipeace conditions was made with the least disturbance to our economy of any post-war economic adjustment in our history.

Truly the economic health of America is good.

Gross national production in 1955 will equal, probably exceed the 1954 level of $357 billion. It could eve- equal the record of $365 billion in 1953. It is reliably predicted that our gross production will reach $500 billion by 1965. This will mean an average increase of 20 percent for each of us, above our present living standards.

American agriculture will share in the growth and prosperity ahead of us, to the extent it continues to apply science and technology to its production and merchandising. Continued high levels of employment and growing consumer incomes in this country will provide a continued strong domestic demand for the products of our farms. Moreover, we expect export outlets for farm products to be significantly larger than last year. This should also add strength to our domestic farm economy.

1954 PRODUCTION

Total agricultural production last year was substantially the same as the 1953 all-time high, despite widespread drought. With average growing conditions, another record or near-record output is expected in 1955. Some further reduction in wheat acreage is likely to be offset at least partially by increases in other crops, principally feed crops, since restrictions on the use of diverted acres have been relaxed.

Total output from agriculture in 1954 was 14 percent greater than in 1947, the year when net realized income from agriculture was at an all-time high. This output was produced by 18 percent fewer workers than we had on farms in 1947. This means that output per man was about 40 percent above the 1947 level and nearly double 1939, when World War II began. These comparisons give eloquent proof of the continuing technological revolution that has made American agriculture the most efficient in all the world.

FARM FINANCIAL SITUATION HAS STABILIZED

In this overall environment of a stable to strong general economy, American agriculture may also look forward to economic stability and continued growth. Although farm income has declined slightly more in the last year than has that of the general economy, it is significant that its decline has been very markedly slowed from the rapid drop of 2 years ago. The most rapid drop in farm prices and income occurred in 1951 and 1952 following the Korean inflation.

The price-parity ratio has been remarkably stable during the past year. It stood last month at 86, only 8 points below the figure for 23 months earlier when this administration assumed office. In the 23 months before January 1953, the price-parity ratio had dropped a total of 19 points.

Realized net income of farmers last year was approximately $12.5 billion. The United States farm income has about stopped its postwar decline. Net farm income in 1955 should approach that of 1954. Prices received by farmers may be expected to average close to the levels prevailing at the present time, and cost rates or prices paid by farmers probably will not change much in the year ahead. This means that the parity ratio, likewise, will remain fairly stable in the year ahead.

The small changes in farm income and farm prices between 1953 and 1954 suggest that most of the postwar adjustment has been completed, and that we are in a period of comparative stability. The adjustment agriculture has undergone the last few years has been difficult. However, statistics alone don't tell the full story.

While our total farm income was declining from 1947 to 1954 by some 25 percent, our farm population was also declining about 20 percent. This means, therefore, that per capita income in agriculture has declined markedly less than has total income. In the last 7 years, per capita income from agriculture has declined only about 5 percent. If we take account of the income that farm people receive from nonfarm sources, the realized per capita income of farm people from all sources actually increased 6 percent from 1947 to 1954.

It is essential that we maintain fluidity in our agricultural population. As we increase efficiency of our production of food and fiber, it is possible to do our production job with fewer workers on farms. This results in a higher living standard for our farmers as well as for our urban people.

PRODUCTION CONTROLS AND DIVERTED ACRES

Marketing quotas approved for wheat and cotton, along with the impending rice referendum, call for a reduction of about 9½ million acres in 1955 from the acreage planted to these crops in 1954. Most of this reduction is in wheat. The 1955 acreage allotment for the commercial corn producing area may be larger than the 1954 allotment, however.

This is the second consecutive year in which wheat and cotton acreages have been curtailed, and likewise the second successive year in which quotas for these crops have been established. In the absence of any minimums, the national wheat acreage allotment for 1955 would have been about 19 million acres instead of the 55 million acres proclaimed, and the cotton national acreage allotment about 15 million acres instead of the 18.1 million acres proclaimed.

This situation points up the fact that in 1955 we again face the question of how best to use acreage taken out of production of the basic commodities. In 1954 feed-grain plantings increased by 13 million acres over 1953 and flaxseed and soybeans increased by 4 million acres.

The sole purpose of production controls is to balance production with markets—actual and prospective. New market imbalances created by crops produced on diverted acres can offset in considerable measure the purpose of the original controls.

In 1955 we will be operating for the first year under our new farm program. In submitting that program we expressed the hope that it would increase both domestic consumption and exports to the point where controls would be reduced to a minimum. However, we must recognize that achievement of this objective will take time for some crops, such as wheat, where there are exceedingly large surpluses. In addition, it will depend upon the extent to which the acreage reduction is offset by higher per-acre yields.

SURPLUS DISPOSALS

The primary authority of the Department of Agriculture in the disposal of stocks acquired in price-support operations is contained in the Commodity Credit Corporation Charter Act and the amendments enacted by Congress from time to time. Under this authority, sales have been made from Commodity Credit Corporation stocks to the private United States trade totaling approximately $940 million during 1954. About $500 million of this total have been sold for export. The total value of all dispositions of Commodity Credit Corporation stocks during 1954 have totaled about $1,400,000,000.

Public Law 480 enacted by the 83d Congress broadened the existing authority for the disposal of price-support stocks. First, sales for foreign currency were authorized in addition to that provided in the mutual-security program administered by the Foreign Operations Administration. Second, the authority of the President to provide emergency relief abroad was broadened and made effective for a period of 3 years. Third, existing authority to make donations of price-support stocks to meet domestic and foreign relief needs was liberalized. Fourth, new impetus was given to the Commodity Credit Corporation's existing barter authority.

Since there has been so much interest expressed in the sales for foreign currency under title I of Public Law 480, I would like to give you a fairly complete report on this operation.

TITLE I, PUBLIC LAW 480

We are making real progress in the implementation of this authority. Agreements have already been signed with Turkey and Yugoslavia. We expect to be in position to issue purchase authorizations under the $85 million Japanese program by the end of January or early February. Some of the negotiations with other countries are now being concluded, and we believe we will be able to sign agreements with 2 or 3 of them by the end of this month. Programs negotiated or under negotiation total approximately $453 million against the $700 million authorized by the law. Therefore, present programs will utilize about two-thirds of the total funds authorized for a 3-year period. Finally, purchase authorizations have already been issued totaling about $60 million at export market value, including ocean transportation for wheat, barley, oats, and cotton under the Turkish and Yugoslav programs. Six cargoes of wheat have already been sold for prompt shipment by the private trade under the latter program.

This is concrete progress.

I know there has been some comment that there was delay in getting this program

underway. In this connection, I want to emphasize that the safeguards and requirements contained in the statute necessitated careful planning of integrated country programs. This careful planning had to be implemented by painstaking and extended negotiations with the governments of the countries involved, in order to assure achievement of the purposes of the act, before agreements could be signed and sales made.

I said this is a new law. It is also a complex law affecting the interests of other agencies of the Government in addition to the Department of Agriculture. The law provides that agreements must be negotiated with foreign governments covering necessary standards and safeguards prior to sales for foreign currency. In addition to these matters directly affecting the sale and utilization of the agricultural commodities, it is necessary in negotiating agreements under the act to make provision for:

1. The protection of our usual marketings.
2. The uses of the foreign currency payments among the eight categories permitted under the law.
3. Appropriate exchange rates governing initial payments and exchange rate guaranties.
4. The terms, and method of administration and supervision of, any economic or multilateral trade development loans.
5. The deposit of foreign currency payments to special United States accounts.
6. United States cargo preference requirements.

It has been said that title I programs may endanger our normal marketings. This is certainly a possibility unless programs are carefully developed and carried out. We believe we are taking the necessary steps to prevent such interference. For example, in the Japanese program, we have obtained firm assurances from that government that purchases of about 175,000 bales of cotton for yen will be in addition to 775,000 bales which they will purchase with dollars. I think you will find general agreement in the cotton trade that this usual marketing figure is realistic in view of Japan's balance of payments situation.

The statement has been made that title I is a "give-away" program. Let's analyze this statement. The test of this point is the use to which the foreign currencies are put. Analysis of the programs within the $453 million target show that about 25 percent of the foreign currencies will be used to meet United States obligations. These obligations would otherwise be paid with appropriated funds. These are in effect dollar sales. About 5 percent of the currencies will be used to expand markets for United States agricultural commodities—about 12 percent to purchase strategic materials for the supplemental stockpile and 7 percent for other uses beneficial to the United States, authorized under the law. All of the above United States uses which total 49 percent are for the primary benefit of the United States.

About 38 percent of the foreign currencies will be loaned to foreign governments for economic development and multilateral trade purposes. These are not grants. They are loans which are to be repaid with interest, either in dollars or in foreign currency which can be used for any purpose of the United States. I can assure you that foreign governments do not consider the terms of those loans as "give-aways."

About 13 percent of the proceeds are scheduled to be used to strengthen the armed forces of friendly countries. While this use results in no return of materials to the United States, it will further the common defense effort of the free world.

We have been asked on several occasions for our estimates of the different commodities that will be included in the first year's program. It is not possible at this early date to give a clean-cut answer to this question because several of the negotiations are still underway. However, based on our experience to date, it appears that about 43 percent of the export market value of programs will be spent for grains, about 28 percent for cotton, 14 percent for tobacco, 7 percent for other commodities, and 8 percent for ocean transportation. These percentages are based on export market values rather than on CCC costs since the purchase authorizations to foreign governments will reflect export market values.

It is possible to indicate a tentative breakdown of the $453 million target by geographical areas. This breakdown is as follows:

	Millions
Western Europe	$205.5
South America	44.0
Middle East (Turkey)	30.3
Southeast Asia	173.0
Total	452.8

Title I is one of the immediate tools that we have for moving our surpluses abroad in a constructive manner. It is particularly helpful in assisting us to overcome the obstacles that have been confronting American agriculture in seeking markets abroad under the prevailing conditions which have resulted from foreign-exchange problems and restrictions on imports from the dollar area. But we must not lose sight of the fact that in the longer run our primary emphasis must be directed to sales for dollars based on our ability to deliver quality merchandise at prices competitive in world markets.

Under Title II of Public Law 480, surplus agricultural commodities may be furnished, out of CCC stocks and on a grant basis, to friendly governments or friendly peoples to assist in meeting famine or other urgent relief requirements. Of the $300 million authorized for 3 years, on the basis of CCC investment in the commodities, programs already authorized or under active consideration in the first half of this year approximate $125 million. It has been estimated that additional commitments of $25 million will be required during the remainder of the first fiscal year under the program. Shipments authorized up to this time total $68 million of which $52 million is grain, $10 million is fats and oils, and $6 million in other categories.

SECTION 416 DONATIONS

Title III of Public Law 480 amends and liberalizes the provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1949 providing for the donation of price support commodities under Section 416. The new legislation authorizes CCC to pay reprocessing, packaging, handling, and distribution charges of commodities donated up to the time of delivery to a designated agency for domestic distribution or to shipside in case of distribution abroad.

The broadened authority has been extremely helpful in expanding the distribution of surplus foods to eligible groups in this country and abroad. During the July through December 1954 period, foods donated under this authority totaled 442 million pounds compared with 602 million pounds during the entire previous fiscal year. Donations to groups in this country totaled 244 million pounds in the last 6 months of 1954 compared with 418 million pounds during the previous fiscal year. Donations to welfare agencies for distribution abroad totaled 198 million pounds in the last half of 1954 compared with 184 million pounds during the entire 1953–54 fiscal year.

BARTER

No new legal authority for barter was added by section 303 of Public Law 480, but this legislation established a policy of encouraging the barter of surplus commodities for strategic materials or for goods required in the foreign assistance program or off-shore construction. Prior to the enactment of this legislation, the Department generally limited its barter activities under the CCC Charter Act to those materials which could be immediately transferred to the stockpile or to other agencies with full reimbursement to CCC. Under this policy, during the first 5 years of the barter program through last July 1, about $110 million in surplus agricultural commodities were exported under the program.

After Public Law 480 was enacted, the Office of Defense Mobilization established long term stockpile goals and agreed that it would request appropriations for strategic materials acquired by CCC within these long term goals. Under this arrangement, the CCC broadened its policies and is now accepting strategic materials for its own account within these goals for transfer at an appropriate time to the national stockpile.

As a result of the broadened program, barter activity has about doubled over the amount of barter previously being carried out. Over the last 6 months, barter commitments have been made for about $93 million, an amount almost equal to the value of total barter activity during the 5 years up to July 1, 1954. We expect that the barter program will reach a total of $200 million during the current fiscal year.

All operations are conducted through private United States trade. The materials acquired are accepted by CCC at prices not in excess of fair market values. CCC arranges to release from its own inventories against the barter contracts an equivalent value of agricultural commodities based on the export market prices established for sales within friendly nations of the world.

SECTION 402 OF THE MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1954, PUBLIC LAW 665

In addition to the sale of surplus agricultural commodities for foreign currencies authorized by Public Law 480, section 402 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, Public Law 665, also provides for sales for foreign currencies. It requires that $350 million of the funds appropriated for FOA programs must be used for the sale of surplus agricultural commodities for foreign currencies. Nearly one-third of this minimum, $103 million, had been authorized by the end of December. The Foreign Operations Administration has estimated that about 50 percent of these funds will be used for cotton, 30 percent for grains, 15 percent for fats and oils and the remaining 5 percent for other agricultural commodities.

COTTON

Cotton exports this year are expected to be about 20 percent above those of a year ago. Excessive foreign stocks had been reduced at the beginning of the season and demand has been good. In addition, the private cotton trade in this country is doing an excellent selling job. I know that many people within the trade are firmly convinced that the way to build world markets for the long pull is through aggressive and competitive selling, rather than through outright dumping or other Government action which would adversely affect trade.

American cotton today is being offered for sale upon a competition basis which reflects generally better quality.

Prices received by American farmers for cotton have been at or above the 90-percent support level since last April. They will be supported at the same level next year.

Disposition commitments of CCC commodities, Jan. 1 through Dec. 31, 1954

A. Commercial sales (to private U. S. trade):	
1. Domestic sales	$439,099,312
2. Export sales	499,783,561
B. Noncommercial sales (to foreign governments, relief societies and others)	16,269,466

Disposition commitments of CCC commodities, Jan. 1 through Dec. 31, 1954—Con.

C. Intragovernmental transfers (to FOA, including title II, Public Law 480, armed services, sec. 32, drought emergency program and other U. S. agencies)	$133,228,105
D. Barter (under CCC Charter Act and Public Law 480)	68,663,383
Total returns	1,157,043,827
E. Donations (title III, Public Law 480 and Public Law 690)	246,899,165
F. Fire, theft, spoilage, etc.	2,729,792
Total value, all dispositions	1,403,942,992

By way of conclusion, let me assure you that we see a great decade ahead for American farmers. American agriculture is still a good stable industry and it always will be. Those who are actively engaged in it must never lose confidence in its future.

The basic philosophy underlying the Agricultural Act of 1954 will encourage individual farmers who are efficient and ambitious to participate profitably in the thrilling opportunities immediately ahead of us in the growing science of agriculture.

Agriculture offers equally as good an opportunity over the next generation as any other comparable vocation for the young man or young woman who desires a satisfactory living standard, an opportunity to live and rear a family in a wholesome environment, and the ability to provide one's own security for his declining years.

Our constant objective in the United States Department of Agriculture is to do all in our power to promote a stable, prosperous and free agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, for further light on this subject, I would like to refer to the hearings on the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation bill for 1955 in the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate. On page 21 of the printed hearings, Senator DIRKSEN asked Undersecretary True D. Morse to explain the operations. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include as a part of my remarks the pertinent sections of the Senate hearing:

HOUSE REPORT

Senator DIRKSEN. Mr. Morse, what I am getting to, and I don't want to belabor this, Mr. Chairman, but doubtless you have seen the House report, and they write on page 1, and they are speaking now about a majority of the members of the committee over there on appropriations who heard your testimony:

"They believe that this difficulty is due to the failure of the Corporation to discharge its responsibility under its charter to sell its commodities competitively in world markets. Testimony before the committee shows that none of the large stocks of cotton, cheese, corn, rice, seeds, naval stores, tobacco, and wool have been or are being offered for sale on a competitive basis, despite basic authority in law to do so."

Now, if that is not correct, I would not let that stand, if I were sitting over on your side of the table. That can be considered as something of an impeachment of your operations unless you have got an answer for it, and I am just trying to find out what the answer is.

SALES UNDER INTERNATIONAL WHEAT AGREEMENT

Mr. MORSE. I believe, sir, that the reading of the total hearing will develop the answer. I would like to further state here that the largest single item that we own is wheat.

As the committee well knows, and the Senate well understands, under the International Wheat Agreement, we are selling wheat at a subsidized price, and outside of the wheat agreements we are meeting world markets by selling wheat competitively. That is being done right along. Corn is not much of an export item, and that is an item on that list.

When you take our holdings of wheat and corn and add to it the commodities which CCC holds which are being sold competitively, it leaves a total for the group that is named, of $661 million against an inventory of $3,779 million.

One item named is naval stores. Because of the drought supplies of naval stores are quite low, the market is about at the support price, and we might run the risk of domestic shortages if we were trying to push naval stores out into export.

Also, I would like to call the attention of the committee to the fact that in the case of cottonseed oil, for instance, we had reached a peak inventory of 1,035,000,000 pounds, but primarily through export sales, our present inventory as of January 5 is down to about 314 million pounds. That is about a third of the peak amount.

We are aggressively making efforts to sell, and we have had success in selling. Furthermore, may I call the committee's attention to the fact that this Public Law 480 authority is used in a way which will not disturb regular marketings. After we have gone as far as we can in moving these products to market and if it then appears there can be disposal in a constructive way to help in our own development of future markets, military uses and technical assistance, and so on, then we utilize the authority under Public Law 480.

CLARIFICATION OF HOUSE REPORT

Senator DIRKSEN. May I make this suggestion? I do believe because of the tremendous interest in this matter that Mr. MORSE ought to submit perhaps a 1-page memorandum that is responsive to this item in the House report.

I would not care to let that stand. If that is not a correct estimate, I think that should be done. And do it in ordinary language so that we have a pretty clear picture of what you are doing in the competitive field and in this assistance field.

I do not want to fool anybody on this. If half of this is grant and it is turned over for administration to FOA, or to the Department of Defense, I just want to know what additions these are getting. That is just like providing them the money.

You say, "All right, money comes from another source," but you are going to manage the money and the supplies over there.

This gives point to what Senator ELLENDER said, that actually without the knowledge of Congress you could be building up a fund that is going to require a good many people in all countries where foreign aid goes on to continue this long after that agency may have been liquidated.

Senator ELLENDER. As I pointed out, I came across at least a dozen countries in which I obtained from our FOA representatives, information to the effect that they expected to get money from that source in order to keep themselves in the picture.

Senator DIRKSEN. I would just like to know.

Senator ELLENDER. Certainly.

Senator DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, if you are amenable to that suggestion——

Chairman HAYDEN. I think we would be glad to have Mr. Morse do that.

Mr. MORSE. We will do that, and I would call attention to this report which gives on page 98, at the end of 1954, this greater utilization of surplus foods will give you the donations domestically and abroad. That bears on this, and we would be very happy to provide the other, and we would be very happy to sit down with congressional committees and explore this whole thing. It is a new program. We are getting started in it and we would like to discuss it with the appropriate committee of the Senate.

(The statement referred to follows:)

"EXPORT SALES AT COMPETITIVE WORLD PRICES

"The Department is keenly aware of the effect large Government stocks can have on the domestic market and of the need for effective action to dispose of these surpluses in an orderly manner.

"We also recognize that exports are an important outlet for our agricultural commodities and that a policy of encouraging exports should be followed. In line with this policy, we now are offering a large number of commodities now in inventory for export on a competitive-bid basis.

"At the same time we must recognize that use of our authority to reduce prices for export sales must be resolved on a commodity-by-commodity basis in which major consideration is given to the effect of such action on farmers and the farm program.

"There are many factors that must be considered in determining whether such reduced sales prices have advantages to farmers and the farm program. For example, we must consider the cost to the whole farm program, the effects upon other farm commodities, the extent to which exports will be increased, the genuine longtime benefits, if any, to the commodity, the world commercial demand for the commodity, and the likelihood that other exporting countries may match or shade any price we may establish.

"It might be injurious to the interests of farmers to adopt a blanket policy under which all our stocks not required for reserve purposes would be offered for export sales at world price levels. We must constantly consider whether such action would greatly weaken world commodity markets and whether other producing countries would have no alternative except to lower prices still further. If buying countries delayed purchases as long as possible, with repercussions on our regular commercial sales, we might have no alternative except to follow prices down.

"As pointed out in the committee report, at present the Department is not offering for export sale on a competitive bid basis its stocks of these commodities: Cotton, naval stores, tobacco, cheese, corn, rice, seeds, and wool. The reasons why we are not doing this are as follows:

"COTTON

"The Commodity Credit Corporation has in its inventory approximately 1.8 million bales of cotton.

"The Department's policy has been to not sell its inventory stocks in competition with producer cotton during the heavy marketing season since whenever the available supply of producer's cotton exceeds the demand the surplus will go into the price-support program. At present CCC has loans on approximately 7 million bales of cotton in which the individual producer still has an equity. A policy of offering cotton for sale on a basis competitive with world prices would result in all export sales of cotton first moving through the loan program into the stocks of the Corporation and back out to the trade rather than through normal trade channels. Such a program would result in materially larger administrative costs to the Corporation and in our opinion find little, if any, support from any segment of the cotton trade, including the cotton producer. It also would tend to depress the world price, widening the spread between domestic and world prices and increase CCC's losses, because we export such a high percentage of cotton sold in world trade. In the 1953–54 marketing year cotton exports totaled 3.2 million bales.

The estimate for the 1954–55 marketing year is 4.5 million bales.

"NAVAL STORES

"Commodity Credit Corporation stocks of rosin and turpentine represent the bulk of these commodities available both in the United States and abroad. CCC turpentine stocks represent less than 1 month's supply and its rosin is equal approximately to 3 months' supply. There is no surplus in naval stores.

"CCC is offering its turpentine and rosin available for sale at stated weekly prices in line with market prices. In view of the domestic and foreign short supply position, which has been gradually building up for the past year as evidenced by an increase in rosin exports of 27 percent in the 1954 crop year, there would be no justification in pricing export shipments at less than prices for domestic sales.

"TOBACCO

"The small lot in CCC inventory is cigar-type tobacco of qualities normally used domestically for chewing tobacco and is available for sale on a list-price basis by the grower cooperative association along with other tobaccos still pledged for loan by these associations. Practically all tobacco under price support still is under loan through grower cooperative associations which receive, pack, store, and sell the loan tobacco. These tobacco grower organizations, as well as the industry, have consistently opposed the sale of loan stocks at reduced prices except into new markets. Tobacco pledged for loan may not be redeemed. Instead, the associations apply all proceeds of sales to reduce the indebtedness to CCC until the loan is fully repaid or the tobacco is all sold. The associations offer the tobacco on a catalog list-price basis, and the sales price is the same without regard to whether the tobacco is to be used domestically or exported.

"CHEESE

"Our current inventory consists of Cheddar cheese. World trade in Cheddar cheese is limited almost entirely to imports by the United Kingdom, which generally buys on the basis of long-time contracts from Commonwealth countries. CCC has offered Cheddar cheese for export sale at 25.5 cents per pound for grade A and 24.5 cents per pound for grade B, since May 1954. These prices were established at levels in line with world market prices. Despite the fact that these prices are close to 10 cents a pound below domestic prices, we have sold only a very small quantity. We have recently offered limited quantities of butter on a competitive bid basis and intend to utilize our experience under these butter operations in connection with future disposals of cheese and other dairy products.

"WOOL

"CCC stocks of wool have never been offered on a competitive bid basis for export. For many years, the United States has imported from 2 to 3 times more wool than has been produced in this country. Wool imports are subject to a fairly high duty, and domestic prices of wool are usually substantially higher than prices in foreign markets. Under such conditions sales of CCC wool can be made much more advantageously in the domestic market to replace imports than they can be made in foreign markets. Under the provisions of the National Wool Act of 1954, an incentive program for expanding wool production was recently announced. This program provides for price support at 106 percent of parity with payments being made to producers for the amount by which average prices of wool fall below the support level. Thus after CCC takes over defaulted loans under 1954 wool program, no more wool will be acquired by CCC. The Secretary announced on October 12, 1954, that through May 1955 no CCC stocks of wool would be sold for less than 103 percent of the 1954 loan rate plus sales commission. This was done to protect farmers in selling the balance of the 1954 wool clip at prices at or above 1954 loan rates. At the same time the Secretary also announced that after May 1955, CCC would proceed in an orderly manner to liquidate its wool holdings over a 2-year period.

"CORN

"The United States has never been a large seller of corn for export. It is probable that the United States will export a normal quantity without CCC selling its corn at less than the market price. Last summer CCC had a 15-cent per bushel export subsidy on corn. Sales under that program were small. The subsidy on corn exports was suspended at the beginning of the heavy marketing season for corn because it was felt that CCC sales for export at reduced prices should not be made at a time when farmers were making large sales of corn. Sales are now made at the market price. Because corn is widely used for feed in the United States, feeders might object if CCC corn were sold for export at substantially less than it is available to them.

"RICE

"CCC rice inventories are small relative to the total carryover, but loans are at record levels, in excess of 15 million 100-pound bags. Rice producers have repeatedly requested that CCC not offer rice for export because of the large 1954 crop, which caused the domestic price to be below support and because CCC sales for export would interfere with commercial export sales.

"SEEDS

"CCC stocks of seed have been reduced sharply in the past year. Some of the seeds were sold for export on a competitive bid basis. There is no current support program for seeds. In view of the 1954 drought and other factors increasing domestic seed requirements, it is expected that most of the remaining stocks can be moved in domestic channels.

"In addition to the above comments on the commodities mentioned in the House committee report, the following information is pertinent in the case of wheat, tung oil, and cotton linters:

"WHEAT

"CCC has sold substantial quantities of wheat, about 130 million bushels from July 1954 through December 1954, from all three coasts under both IWA and non-IWA. Additional quantities are under negotiation under Public Law 480 and will move in the immediate future. Wheat sales are made at the market price less the IWA subsidy in effect at the time of sales. This gives exporters an opportunity to compete at world prices. Such sales, because of the futures market, do not lend themselves to competitive bids.

"TUNG OIL

"The United States usually imports substantial quantities of tung oil, and large foreign supplies of this oil are available. Sales of tung oil by CCC for export would simply result in United States tung oil replacing foreign tung oil in normal foreign markets, which in turn probably would result in larger imports of tung oil into the United States.

"COTTON LINTERS

"CCC has not offered its stocks of cotton linters for export sale primarily because such sales would interfere with commercial export sales of linters or products made therefrom. So long as the present cottonseed price support is in effect, any export sales of linters by CCC would result in an equivalent quantity of linters being acquired by CCC under the support program. In its current support program, CCC has attempted to value linters at a level low enough so that little, if any, linters would be acquired by CCC, but no sales are currently being made from CCC stocks."

Wiretapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an important decision and opinion in the supreme court, New York County, by Mr. Justice Hofstadter, one of the most respected members of that bench.

Judge Hofstadter's searching observations about the difficult and delicate subject of tapping telephone wires in search of evidence in criminal proceedings are well worth the attention of every Member of Congress and citizen. His comments are of particular interest to me, because the statute under which the decision was rendered, requiring a court order to authorize such tapping of wires, was enacted under my sponsorship while a member of the New York State Senate:

SUPREME COURT, NEW YORK COUNTY—TELEPHONE COMMUNICATIONS—INTERCEPTIONS TO OBTAIN EVIDENCE OF GAMBLING

The interception of telephone communications by court order entered pursuant to article I, section 12, of the State constitution and section 813a of the code of criminal procedure is a direct invasion of the right of privacy and the court's discretion in granting such an order should be carefully and sparingly exercised. An application for such an order for the purpose of obtaining possible evidence of gambling should be denied in the absence of a showing of circumstances justifying the exercise of discretion.

IN THE MATTER OF AN APPLICATION FOR AN ORDER PERMITTING THE INTERCEPTION OF TELEPHONE COMMUNICATIONS OF ANONYMOUS—DECIDED JANUARY 10, 1955

Hofstadter, Judge: Application is made to me for an order permitting the interception of telephone communications over a line specified in the proposed order submitted for my signature. The purpose of the requested interception, as stated in the papers in support of the application, is to secure evidence of the commission of the crime of bookmaking. The application now made follows the general pattern of like applications heretofore made to me, which also, in the main, had as their objective the detection of gambling in some form. Though I have in the past signed such orders I have done so with much misgiving. Prompted by this misgiving, I devised certain expedients as a curb on excessive or unwarranted resort to such orders.

Some years ago I instituted the requirement that every application to me for an interception order be supported by the endorsement of an officer of rank in the police department, and that written reports of the results obtained from any interception ordered be thereafter submitted to me. Even with these restrictions, I have granted the orders with reluctance. The reports received by me, instead of allaying my anxiety, merely deepened it. These showed some arrests and fewer convictions and then rarely, if ever, for a heinous offense. The sense of uneasiness born of this situation, as well as the current discussions of wiretapping, have led me to give the problem further study.

The application is made under a provision of the constitution of this State and a statute implementing it. After intense and prolonged debate the constitutional convention

of 1938 adopted the following provision, now part of article I, section 12, of the constitution:

"The right of the people to be secure against unreasonable interception of telephone and telegraph communications shall not be violated, and ex parte orders or warrants shall issue only upon oath or affirmation that there is reasonable ground to believe that evidence of crime may be thus obtained, and identifying the particular means of communication, and particularly describing the person or persons whose communications are to be intercepted and the purpose thereof."

The statute is section 813–a of the Code of Criminal Procedure, effective in 1942. So far as here material it reads:

"An ex parte order for the interception of telegraphic or telephonic communications may be issued by any justice of the supreme court or judge of a county court or of the court of general sessions of the county of New York upon oath or affirmation of a district attorney, or of the attorney general or of an officer above the rank of sergeant of any police department of the State or of any political subdivision thereof, that there is reasonable ground to believe that evidence of crime may be thus obtained and identifying the particular telephone line or means of communication and particularly describing the person or persons whose communications are to be intercepted and the purpose thereof. In connection with the issuance of such an order the justice or judge may examine on oath the applicant and any other witness he may produce for the purpose of satisfying himself of the existence of reasonable grounds for the granting of such application. * * *"

I am not confronted with the use as evidence of the fruits of wiretapping; the sole question I am concerned with is whether the wiretapping itself should be allowed.

A review of the pertinent decisions shows that in New York there is no limitation on the use of wiretap evidence. In accordance with the weight of authority in this country the New York rule has consistently been that evidence is admissible, however tainted its source, and though obtained through violation of law. (*People* v. *Defore* (242 N. Y., 13, 126)). Nor has the prohibition of unreasonable search and seizure, introduced into the State constitution in 1938 (article I, sec. 12)—before 1938 the prohibition was to be found only in the civil rights law (sec. 8)—altered this rule. An article seized in defiance of the constitutional provision may still be received in evidence. (*People* v. *Richter's Jewelers, Inc.* (291 N. Y., 161, 1943)).

Unauthorized telephone interception is a crime in this State (penal law, secs. 552, 1423, subdiv. 6). Yet unlawful wiretaps may be received in evidence. (Matter of Davis (252 App. Div., 591, 598, 1937); *People* v. *McDonald* (177 App. Dic. 806, 809–810, 1917)). Even since the adoption of the 1938 constitution it has been held that wiretap evidence is admissible, though the order authorizing the interception is void or irregular. (*People* v. *Katz* (201 Misc., 414, 1952).

The decisions of the Federal courts in no way impair the authoritative effect of the foregoing rulings. Not alone do the fourth and fifth amendments to the United States Constitution, which proscribe unreasonable search and seizure and self-incrimination, not operate on the States (*Twining* v. *New Jersey* (211 U. S. 78, 92–93, 1908)), but the Supreme Court has held that the tapping of telephone wires and the use of the resultant wiretap evidence do not violate either of these amendments (*Olmstead* v. *United States* (277 U. S. 438, 1928)). The later cases in the Supreme Court, in some of which intercepted telephone conversations and evidence derived from them have been excluded in the Federal courts, deal mainly with the interpretation of section 605 of the Federal Communications Act (47 U. S. C.) (*Nardone* v. *United States* (302 U. S. 377, 1937); *Nardone* v. *United States* (308 U. S. 338, 1939); *Weiss* v. *United States* (308 U. S. 321, 1939); *Goldstein* v. *United States* (316 U. S. 114, 1942); *Goldman* v. *United States*, 316 U. S. 129, 1942)).

Despite the ruling in *Weiss* v. *United States* (308 U. S. 321) that section 605 of the Communications Act extends to intrastate communications, our courts have uniformly held that the section does not forbid the reception in evidence by them of the fruits of wiretaps obtained in compliance with section 813a of the Code of Criminal Procedure (*Harlem Check Cashing Corp'n* v. *Bell* (296 N. Y. 15, 1946); *People* v. *Stemmer* (298 N. Y. 728, 1948, aff'd sub nom); *Stemmer* v. *New York*, without opinion, by evenly divided court (336 U. S. 963), rehearing denied (337 U. S. 921, 1949); *People* v. *Feld* (305 N. Y. 322, 329–330, 1953); see also *Black* v. *Impelliteri* (201 Misc. 371, 1952, aff'd 281 App. Div. 671, 1952, appeal dismissed (305 N. Y. 724, 1953)). Any inconclusive effect which might perhaps be attributed to the Supreme Court affirmance of the Stemmer decision by an evenly divided court seems to have become academic. For, in *Schwartz* v. *Texas* (344 U. S. 199, 1952), the Court held that interceptions obtained in violation of section 605 of the Federal Communications Act may nevertheless be received in evidence in a State court. In the Court's opinion, the Federal act was not intended to impose a rule of evidence on the State courts (344 U. S. 199, 203).

It thus becomes obvious that the fruits of telephone interceptions made pursuant to an order under section 813–a of the Code of Criminal Procedure can successfully withtand legal attack and may be received in evidence in the courts of this State without let or hindrance.

The very immunity so given to the wiretaps is alarming. The question before me now, however, is not the use which may be made of the fruits of an accomplished interception, but whether the interception itself should be authorized in the first place. Whatever the purpose of the interception, the stark fact remains that it is an intrusion on the right of privacy. Justice Holmes, in his dissent in the Olmstead case, referred to wiretapping as "dirty business" (277 U. S. 438, 469). Justice Roberts, in the first Nardone case, called it "inconsistent with ethical standards and destructive of personal liberty" (302 U. S. 378, 383).

Nor can we forget the words of Justice Brandeis in his memorable dissent in the Olmstead case:

"* * * The makers of our Constitution undertook to secure conditions favorable to the pursuit of happiness. They recognized the significance of man's spiritual nature, of his feelings and of his intellect. They knew that only a part of the pain, pleasure, and satisfactions of life are to be found in material things. They sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions, and their sensations. They conferred, as against the Government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men * * *" (277 U. S. 438, 478).

This expression is an accurate appraisal of human values and of the things men hold dear in life. These are concepts not to be brushed aside when judicial action is invoked by which a realm, ordinarily inviolable, is exposed to official invasion and surveillance.

Though I may deplore the fact that the views of Justices Holmes and Brandeis in the Olmstead case did not prevail in the constitutional convention of 1938, I am bound in duty by the quoted provision of the State constitution (art. I, sec. 12) as the expression of the will of the people of the State that wiretapping should not be outlawed, however unsavory in character. But when the people declared that "the right of the people to be secure against unreasonable interception of telephone and telegraph communications shall not be violated," they did not speak only hollow words. The recognition of privacy only dimly presaged in older systems of law is part of the expanding concept of the individual's right to be free from unwarranted intrusion (civil rights law, secs. 50–51). The right of privacy is the right "to be let alone"—the right of "inviolate personality." A tapped wire is the greatest invasion of privacy possible. However rationalized, its authorized use has its roots in the amoral doctrine that the end justifies the means. Hence, the most drastic safeguards cannot be too stringent.

The safeguards prescribed in the constitution itself reveal a clear recognition of the danger which lurks in too ready a use of the power to tap wires. The exercise of the power given by law to authorize a telephone interception is within the broad discretion of the judge to whom application for an order is made. And the real—not nominal—exercise of a true—not formal—discretion is a supremely important procedural safeguard. As Dean Griswold, of the Harvard Law School, put it:

"Liberty is preserved by the maintenance of proper procedures. It is through procedural rules that the individual is protected against arbitrary governmental action. The complaint against the Star Chamber was chiefly one of bad procedures. Methods and procedures are of the essence of due process. Mr. Justice Brandeis wrote some 30 years ago, 'in the development of our liberty insistence on procedural regularities has been a large factor' (*Burdeau* v. *McDowell* (256 U. S., 465, 477, 1921)). More recently Mr. Justice Frankfurter has put the same truth in these words: 'The history of liberty largely has been the history of observance of procedural safeguards' (*McNabb* v. *United States* (318 U. S. 332, 347, 1943))."

The need for the suppression of the crime of gambling is not a consideration exclusive of all other social imperatives. We no longer tolerate the rack and the thumbscrew and like instruments.

The primacy of the community's right to protect itself certainly "is a postulate inherent in the life" of social order. But we must be zealous to appraise justly the relative spheres of individual right and public interest, and maintain an exacting though delicate balance between them. The balance may become precarious at times; and when the sacrifice of privacy does not produce a commensurate advantage to the community the price is too high—to adapt the words of England's new Lord Chancellor. "Weapons designed for the protection of law become the instruments of tryranny," he said recently, echoing Coke's classicism that "every oppression by authority is a kind of destruction * * *; and it is the worst oppression that is done by the color of justice."

The telephone is in such general use that it is truly a part of our everyday life. It is a ready vehicle of communication for people of every station and everything of mutual human concern, whatever its nature, passes over its wires. Interference with its privacy is a direct assault on liberty, and the maintenance of an interception differs in no substantial sense from stationing a police officer at the elbow of the person using the telephone to record what he says.

A telephone interception is a far more devastating measure than any search warrant. A search warrant is confined to a definite place and to specific items, or, at least, to items of a stated class or description. Those in possession of the searched premises know the search is going on and, when the officer has completed his search, whether successfully or not, he departs. Not so in the case of a telephone interception.

The interception order is obtained ex parte, and the person whose line is to be tapped is, of course, in ignorance of the fact. The tap is maintained continuously, day and night. Everything said over the line is heard, however foreign to the stated objective of the law-enforcement officers. The most intimate conversations, personal, social, professional, business, or even confidential, of an unlimited number of persons may be laid bare. In effect, the line of everyone who is called from or makes a call to the tapped line at any time is being tapped during the maintenance of the tap. When a line in a public telephone booth is tapped, as has on occasion been done, the conversations of people having no relation of any kind to the operator of the place in which the booth is situated or the person whose line is tapped are overheard. It is little wonder that Justice Brandeis was moved to say in the Olmstead case:

"As a means of espionage, writs of assistance and general warrants are but puny instruments of tyranny and oppression when compared with wiretapping" (277 U. S., 438, 476).

It cannot even be said in partial extenuation of this revolting practice that it yields worthwhile results. The reports submitted to me in the past refute any such claim. As evil as an actual interception is the fear bred in the mind of the average citizen that he may at any time become the victim of one. "The freedom of private communication is a value which will not permit wiretapping except when other vitally important social values require it" (Westin, The Wiretapping Problem, 52 Col. Law Rev., 165, 201, 1952). In his thoughtful study Freedom, Loyalty, Dissent, Prof. Henry Steele Commager observes that "if in the name of security or loyalty we start hacking away at our freedom * * * we will in the end forfeit security as well."

No fact appears here sufficiently compelling to justify the order sought. Indeed, beyond the formal matters prescribed by the statute, the papers disclosed little beyond the desire of the applicants for the requested order. It is unnecessary to lay down any absolutes. The court need go no further than determine the pending application, for, as Judge Cardozo said in Matter of State Industrial Commission (224 N. Y., 13, 18): "* * * We deal with the particular instance, and we wait till it arises."

The constitutional right to be free from unreasonable interception of telephone communications is fundamental to ordered liberty. The right should be stoutly preserved, not frittered away. This is not a proper instance, for the exercise of the drastic power lodged in the court. The sacrifice is disproportionate to the possible gain.

What I know as a citizen I would not ignore as a judge. Our city has been the symbol of the Nation, the seat of its culture and of our commerce—the center of its influence. It is melancholy to behold her rife with violence, an admittedly lawless community, its inhabitants no longer safe by night or day, in their persons or their homes. To be redeemed as part of the great American community, its police department needs external aid, i. e., a larger force, with more pay for the men, and a renewed spirit from within—which its valiant commissioner seems to be generating—but not more wiretaps. Application denied.

Middle East Setbacks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the January 28, 1955, edition of the New York Times emphasizes a grave situation. I direct it to the attention of our colleagues.

MIDDLE EAST SETBACKS

The projects for strengthening the defenses of the Midle East have suffered at least temporary setbacks as a result of two developments caused by still unresolved rivalries and ambitions in that area.

One of these developments, which is likely to delay the construction of a "northern tier" for the Middle Eastern defense structure, took place at a meeting of the Arab League in Cairo. There Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia have thus far turned down invitations to join the projected defense pact between Turkey and Iraq. There are even reports that they have approved an Egyptian proposal for unifying the Arab armies under a single but independent command in a kind of Arabian NATO. Such action would mark a victory for Egypt, which has led the opposition to the Turkish-Iraqi Pact and has not only assailed Iraq for breaking Arab solidarity but has also vetoed a proposed visit to Cairo by Premier Menderes of Turkey.

The Egyptian opposition is officially based on the contention that by alining itself with Turkey, a member of the North Atlantic and Baltic alliances, Iraq, as a member of the Arab League and the Arab collective defense pact, could easily involve the whole Arab world in hostilities should Turkey be attacked. That argument has, however, only formal validity, since all Arab leaders admit that an attack on Turkey could come only from Soviet Russia, and that in such a case every state from the Bosporus to Pakistan would be inevitably and automatically involved. They even concede that Iraq is moving in the right direction by seeking at least indirect ties with the West to strengthen the barriers against such an attack.

But Egypt resents and fears an alliance between Turkey and Iraq as a threat to its claim to leadership in the Arab world. And both Egypt and Saudi Arabia strenuously oppose Iraq's ambition to federate with Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon in a Greater Syria, which the alinement with Turkey might promote. The efforts of Lebanon, and presumably Jordan and Syria, to mediate the dispute seem to be unsuccessful.

The situation is further complicated by the conviction of 8 Jewish prisoners in Cairo on charges of spying for Israel, 2 of them being sentenced to death. Israel, left out of middle eastern defense plans, strenuously opposes any western aid to the Arab States, and the execution of the prisoners could easily aggravate existing animosities, from which only the Communists can gain. It might be wise as well as humane if Egypt would temper justice with mercy, and thereby ease the tensions that now afflict the Middle East.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Resolutions Adopted by the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies at Its Annual Convention, January 13, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following resolutions adopted by the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies at its annual convention January 13, 1955:

RESOLUTIONS

(Following wide consultation with our leaders in all parts of the United States, in addition to a careful review of the outstanding issues involved, the following resolutions were adopted by the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies at its annual convention in Washington, D. C., January 13, 1955. The coalition was organized in 1929 to coordinate the efforts of (currently 100) patriotic, civic, and fraternal societies (representing a membership of something over 3 million people) in the promotion of patriotism.)

DEDICATION

The American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, reaffirms its abiding and fundamental interest in:

1. Promoting undivided allegiance to the unique principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States;
2. Combating the economic and political fallacies of socialism and communism;
3. Defending this Nation against all enemies, domestic and foreign;
4. Reaffirming Gen. George Washington's admonition in his farewell address concerning the exposure of any "innovation * * * however specious the pretext * * * that would undermine what cannot be directly overthrown";
5. Calling upon each of its participating organizations to bring the information contained herein to the attention of their members, and through them to mobilize the American people to a greater consciousness of their obligations as a free people; and
6. Reporting the results of all such actions to the national office of the coalition and through it to the next annual meeting.

PRESERVATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas, the United States of America has prospered as no other nation, under a system of constitutional government; and

Whereas the use of unconfirmed agreements with foreign powers since 1933 have served to undermine the peace and security of this Republic and the continued existence of its constitutional form of government: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled:

1. Affirms the principle that no treaty or executive agreement shall infringe on the rights and liberties contained in the Constitution and Bill of Rights;
2. Declares that no treaty or agreement shall be in effect until implemented by an act of Congress following its promulgation by the President;
3. Demands that no measure be considered or adopted by any individual or agency of this Government that will affect the independence of the United States or subject any of its citizens either to the laws or decrees of a foreign or world power;
4. Requests Congress to refuse moneys for use in any form by or with any agency or government which favors or practices anything foreign to the above;
5. Demands that the American flag, and it alone, be used to symbolize this fundamental statement of position; and
6. Believes that the proposed Bricker amendment in principle will implement the above and should be adopted.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND ECONOMY

Whereas the new defense concept veers from mass armies and places principal reliance in overwhelming air power first and primarily as a war deterrent, and second as a weapon of massive retaliation if war is forced upon the United States; and

Whereas this increased military strength justifies reduction in surface forces and the drastic curtailment of foreign aid, with a resultant balanced budget, lower taxes, and a greater measure of freedom and prosperity: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, supports the new defense concept which is based upon the preeminence of air power as our first line of defense.

THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY LAW

Whereas the immigration and nationality law, more commonly referred to as the McCarran-Walter act (Public Law 414, 82d Cong., 2d sess.) became effective on December 24, 1952, after enactment by the Congress over a Presidential veto; and

Whereas this act provides a codification and revision of our immigration and nationality laws and permits a sane and sound immigration and nationalization system with primary emphasis upon the protection of this country; and

Whereas the act is operating effectively in the best interests of the American people; especially in the denaturalization, debarment, and deportation of criminals and subversives; and

Whereas there have been a continuing series of assaults to discredit its provisions since the act became law; and

Whereas the Communist records of many of the participants in these attacks have been revealed from the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities files; and

Whereas pressures have been exerted by and on behalf of certain minority groups seeking special privileges for prospective additions to their own groups: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled reaffirms its conviction of the soundness of the immigration and nationality law, and its support of that law; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Coalition calls upon all patriotic citizens to resist any weakening amendments or changes to the immigration and nationality law; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Coalition earnestly requests the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate and the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives to refuse the use of their committees as forums for the dissemination of propaganda under the guise of "hearings" on alleged substitute bills which would destroy our immigration and naturalization systems as presently maintained by the immigration and nationality law.

REVISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Whereas the United Nations charter automatically comes up for revision in 1955 and world government proponents already have their plans in print for destroying the sovereignty of the United States under the specious title of "strengthening" the United Nations charter, in which the United States is to be divided into four unrelated zones each ruled by a commissar who cannot be a citizen or former citizen of the zone he rules: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, urges every member of the United States Senate to refuse to ratify any treaty or other international document stemming from the United Nations or other international organization which will in any degree affect the sovereignty or internal law of the United States.

UNESCO—UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Whereas UNESCO, or the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization is a source for publications and programs that encourage world citizenship and clearly contribute to the undermining of loyalty on the part especially of young Americans for their great country; and

Whereas the U. S. S. R. has become a member of UNESCO and additional subversive propaganda of this sort can be anticipated: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled rebukes those who would foster and use such propaganda in American schools and urges the Congress to withdraw its support of UNESCO.

GATT—THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

Whereas GATT, or the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, permits the acts of Congress and policies of our Government to be reviewed, revised, and exploited by such an international organization, and thereby places the authority for regulating American industry in the hands of foreign nations; and

Whereas the announced plan of world federalists is to divide the resources of the world among all peoples, thus impoverishing the United States: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation that will prevent our participation in multilateral trade agreement negotiations within the framework of GATT, or any similar international organization.

REGULATION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE

Whereas the reciprocal trade agreements program represents an unwarranted encroachment of the executive branch of our Government upon the legislative responsibility conferred upon Congress by the Constitution of the United States; and

Whereas as a result of reduction of tariffs under the reciprocal trade agreements program various industries important to our healthy economy and strong national defense have been injured or forced out of business with consequent injury and loss of jobs by the American workingman: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, urges Congress to allow the 1934 Trade Agreements Act (Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act) to expire June 12, 1955, and upon its expiration, the Congress should resume its constitutional responsibility of regulating foreign commerce through its agent, the Tariff Commission.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, opposes the expenditure of any of our resources on the sending of any migrants into the Western Hemisphere who have not been thoroughly screened by our security people.

SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE U. S. S. R.

Whereas the Soviet Government continues its gross abuse of the immunities and privileges accorded its diplomatic representatives to our Nation, and also, through the members of the Communist Party in our midst who give allegiance alone to the Soviet Government while striving to foment strife and insecurity among our people; and

Whereas there would be no Red China, Korean War, or the present troubled conditions prevailing in Indochina and other parts of the world except for the Soviet Government; and

Whereas the Soviet Government maintains its avowed purpose of destroying liberty, by whatsoever means, throughout the world and bringing all lands and people into the orbit of Communist rule: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, concludes that the American Government has every right and justification for severing diplomatic ties with the Soviet Government, and that with a view to such action, final and realistic consideration should be given to this subject.

COMMENDATION OF EMPIRE STATE SOCIETY, SAR

Whereas one of the bulwarks of our liberties is our system of public education, based on preserving in our schools and colleges the ideals and principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States; and

Whereas the American Coalition, a firm supporter of our public schools, has noted in recent years wide departures from these sound principles in public education, and has alerted its members accordingly; and

Whereas the Empire State Society, SAR, under the direction of Col. Augustin G. Rudd, chairman of the educational committee, has completed a long study of the revolutionary changes which have occurred in public education during the last three decades; and

Whereas this comprehensive and well-documented book, Bending the Twig, to be published with all rights vested in the SAR, is urgently needed to help the American people understand this complicated but extremely important problem: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition commends the Empire State Society, SAR, for this outstanding public service and will assist in the distribution of the book, Bending the Twig, in order to get its vital message to the American people.

Address of Hon. Renah F. Camalier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following address made by the Honorable Renah F. Camalier, Commissioner of the District of Columbia, before the District of Columbia Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, on January 25, 1955:

Mr. MacDonald and Sons of the American Revolution, I am deeply appreciative of the opportunity to be with you this evening.

"This is the place; stand still, my steed,
Let me review the scene,
And summon from the shadowy past
The forms that once have been."

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow is not reminiscing, he is living again the daring and the courage of the Pilgrims who had faced the rigors of Plymouth Rock in search of peace and contentment and freedom from harassment. He is viewing the ramparts, the battlements, the battlefronts; he is gazing at Lexington, Bunker Hill, Concord, the tea party, Old North Church; and he is recalling the redcoats as they landed in Boston Harbor.

Tonight, we are reviewing the scene, we are living again.

The depth and the power of the tenets underlying the Sons of the American Revolution become immediately apparent to every thinking citizen of our land, and in line with their all-embracing aim and purpose to preserve, to maintain, to perpetuate, educate, and cooperate, and with the idea that inspiration comes from deeds performed, let us bring our steed to a halt and stand on the bulwarks of past achievements, there to review the happenings of the years.

Let us counsel again with the personalities who have traveled the road ahead; but only in the light of their determination to escape the tyrannies, the inhibitions, and even the human slavery—mental and physical—imposed by self-appointed guardians of men's consciences and intellects and their further determination to preserve national heritages.

The task is now yours and mine and those who follow, the incentive is ever-compelling.

Your speaker is proud to have been the recipient at the hands of Paul, the King of the Hellenes, of the Cross of Commander of the Royal Order of the Phoenix, the origin of which is grounded in the religion of the ancient Egyptians.

The Phoenix is a bird, portraying emergence from the ashes of the past; and its periodical resurrection was viewed as a guarantee of the resurrection of the dead—but not to die—having been consumed in fire by its own act, following a fabled life of 500 years, it rose in youthful freshness, from its own ashes to engage again in mortal combat with the inhumanities of man, the oppressions of the masses, the attempts to thwart the natural desires of humans to be free in thought and in action.

What a lesson it teaches, what a moral it holds. How comparable to the cause of America and her ideals. For out of the ashes of succession after succession of cruelties and hardships, deprivations, and tyrannical practices of the rulers of the past came this Nation of ours.

Let us think about the American scene. The stage was set but a few years ago and it was a vital and moving drama, and across the footlights of time march thousands where, in brilliance, may be seen the forms of Baron Johann DeKalb, the Polish patriots, Thaddeus Kosciusko and Casimir Pulaski, and those heroic sons of France, Gen. Jean Rochambeau and the Marquis Marie Joseph Lafayette, men and soldiers responding to the urge that liberty and freedom, wherever in jeopardy, is worth fighting to preserve.

The history of this Nation is replete with deeds of valor and heroism, daring and accomplishment, but what caused these forbears of yours and mine to struggle so valiantly and unceasingly through strain and stress greater than the human mind and soul and body should ever be called upon to bear?

It was the cause of justice, freedom, and peace. What inspired them; what fired William Bradford, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams (Boston Tea Party), "Light Horse" Harry Lee, Prescott, Putnam, and Stark, Morgan and his Cavalry, Sergeant William Jasper, Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, Morris (services and fortune), and their brothers, into action?

The complete disassociation from the mother country of the American colonies was not the controlling factor. It was the longing for freedom from persecution and oppression, growing out of a burning desire for redress from wrongs; and failure here whipped the idea of complete independence into the forefront.

Adding to the fires of discontent was the presence on our shores of those visible evidences of the domination of the King, his colors, the red ensign; the white, with the red cross of St. George; and into the history of our Nation came various emblems proclaiming the intention of the colonists to face the problems of the new land alone.

I like the inscription "God give us men to match the mountains"; and that must have been in the minds of the colonists when they selected the pine tree as the symbol of the sturdy manhood of New England, while the colonists to the south accepted the conclusions of Benjamin Franklin that the rattlesnake distinctively represented the qualities of the hardy pioneers.

Then we see the New Bedford, the Taunton, the Bunker Hill, the Continental, the Liberty Tree; while down South the Gadsden with its awe-inspiring challenge, "Don't tread on me;" the Culpeper, the Moultrie, and others both north and south; until the inspiring Cambridge flag was hoisted at Cambridge, Mass., on January 2, 1776, by the commander in chief of the colonial defenders; and from this first definitely American banner, patterned after the Washington family coat of arms, can be traced the real beginning of our national existence.

It floated from the mastheads of the ships of our Navy, it guided our troops on land, it made its appearance on the housetops, until the Congress adopted the Stars and Stripes on June 14, 1777.

Many are the tributes of adoration and even veneration by those who fought for this new constellation in the firmament of nations and for the cause of the Union and its perpetuity.

One is particularly thrilling and appropriate—the words of John C. Spooner, Member of the United States Senate from the

State of Wisconsin, which give added impetus to the sentiment expressed by the Sons of the American Revolution—that our people, especially the young, should be imbued with the true meaning and the glory of the Stars and Stripes and his message bears repeating and rerepeating:

"Teach the young among you to look with eyes of love and pride upon the flag, wherever they see it floating, to remember always that—

"'For every star in its field of blue,
For every stripe of stainless hue,
Ten thousand of the tried and true
Have laid them down and died.'

"Keep it forever floating in the midst of our people, high up where the morning sun may transfigure it. Spread it where the schoolchildren may look upon it. Let it float over the halls of justice, for liberty is the twin sister of justice and this is the flag of liberty."

History thus becomes not only interesting and entertaining, but it denotes progressive steps. The present day witnesses the building of history in its infancy. It studies the past, and from it builds the future; and those who follow will evaluate what we do, to ascertain whether what we do is progressive, to the point that the human race is better for our having passed this way.

We dare not look upon the achievements of our forefathers as something sacred—sacred to the exclusion of our own contributions—for what we do is a continuation of what they have done.

Their experience is ours, and we show profit. The generations now living and yet to be are entitled to our experience, but whether they profit depends upon the character of the deeds we perform.

We dare not neglect or submit to modern attempts to destroy the benefits of the past; to do so turns our civilization into the slums of dehabilitation, from the ashes of which it will be difficult to rise again.

As we study those who have contributed to the upbuilding of the human race we become more and more aware that our forefathers were men of stamina and a courage filled with zeal against which the enslaughts of the rulers by hate and lust could not obtain.

But let us contemplate the more recent and more hopeful aspects of man's continuing determination to rise from the ashes of lethargy, subjection, and slavery.

Prior to the turn of the 20th century, during the Presidency of William McKinley, a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, a mighty personality, Theodore Roosevelt—another of your outstanding workers, revered as the intrepid leader of the Rough Riders, who, by his zeal for freedom and his love of humanity and of country, forced the dictators of his time to recant or face defeat—lived within your time and mine.

Face defeat those self-seeking conquerors did, and down went the crumbling empire of Spain, possibly never to rise again to the heights of its spent glory.

Then came the Kaiser and his coterie of allegedly superior men, super intellects, destined, in their feeble thinking, to be the saviors of humankind.

In later array, across the horizon of the Fatherland, appeared the form of the house painter of Vienna and Berlin, the demagogue of Italy became one of the characters in the ill-fated play of the world, and other of the satellites of the Hitler regime made their burlesque entry upon the stage; and, as in the past, men, loving freedom and determined to preserve it, fully realizing the trials and tribulations of those who had gone before, came into being in the countries of France, Belgium, England, the Philippines, and all other allies in World Wars I and II; and, like their evil-thinking counterparts, those who would have trampled man under foot, ended their days in ignominous defeat; and the empires of Germany, Italy, and Japan went down into oblivion.

Slowly, but definitely, across the skies of freedom comes a new threat, the Russian red bear, obsessed with the thought that his mission is to conquer the world, and today the Communist leaders stand with their backs hopelessly to the wall, with the certainty that unbending fate will again pronounce its verdict, this time on the unhappy peoples of Russia, on the subjected peoples of Red China, and the followers of all other power-crazed groups of zealots and dictators.

But the world is not dark, and from the situations now obtaining will rise the new civilization.

Into the pattern of this new life the Sons of the American Revolution find their niche, fitted with such exact nicety that the jigsaw puzzle of irregular parts which go to make of the universe one common mass will not fall clattering to the ground or scatter helter skelter to the end that man's efforts to advance will have been proved a mockery.

We have had brought to mind recently the words of an almost forgotten song, Old Soldiers Never Die, They Just Fade Away.

How true is the first part of this couplet, "old soldiers never die," and, by the same token, I cannot take to heart, or believe, that they just fade away.

True it is, they pass from this sphere of action; true it is, we see them no more, but can anyone feel that the spirits of George Washington, Andrew Jackson, Paul Revere, John Marshall, Benjamin Franklin, and other great soldiers, statesmen, and jurists of the past have been erased from the memory and mind of us all?

Can it be said that their influence no longer exists, that their names have been stricken from the pages of American history?

Hardly, the pages of history glow with their accomplishments, their lives, their influences, and the imprint which they have made upon the progress of this great Republic.

No; these men never die, and they do not fade away.

One is thrilled by the sight of the manly and heroic figure of an American soldier, or marine, or sailor, Air Force, or Coast Guard man, or any man who honorably wears the uniform of his country.

Witness—

Washington, mighty American exponent of liberty.

Warren, who perished for the cause at Bunker Hill.

Jones, whose naval victories mark the pages of our sea supremacy.

Lafayette, whose love of liberty and of men brought him to our shores.

Grant and Logan, who fought that all might enjoy the blessings of a free world.

Reed, who cried out for freedom from pain and suffering.

Dewey and Schley, who maintained the traditions of our naval forces.

Clem, drummer boy of Shiloh.

Pershing, intrepid leader of the American Expeditionary Forces.

Sims, commanding the American fleet in World War I.

King, who launched the two-ocean navy in World War II.

Hamlet, who stopped the enemy submarines.

LeJeune, idol of the United States Marines.

Marshall, soldier, statesman, and diplomat.

Bradley, Ridgway, Clark, Nimitz, Van Fleet, MacArthur, Eisenhower, and other leaders of America's fighting men; and, on and on, each a guaranty of American steadfastness and solidarity.

This type of American citizenship inspires leadership; and I cannot bring to my thinking that liberty-loving patriots ever die, for what they have accomplished, what they have said, what they have done, the people whose lives they have affected, stand as an everlasting monument to their capacity for leadership.

The poet has given us the immortality of this trait, or virtue of leadership, through the life and the influence of the man who has inspired millions—and I refer once more to your distinguished alumnus, President Theodore Roosevelt:

"Roosevelt is dead." Yes, our leader gone.
Today there stands his vacant chair
Not in that island home alone—
But by myriad firesides everywhere.

"He loved us. Swift our torches light
With the bright fire his courage gives.
We shall not falter in the fight—
Roosevelt is dead? No, his spirit lives."

The year 1955 bids well to test the very substance of that spirit; the apprehension which seems to prevail throughout the world, born of twisted minds that sister nations shall be made subservient to the point where human liberty, human thought, and all of the finer things of life shall be no more must, itself, be destroyed lest we fall prey to the machinations of men of distorted intellects.

The descendants of those who laid the foundations of this land of freedom find here that niche where they can serve best and continuously, for fear and apprehension do not imply that we should sit supinely by allowing men with ulterior motives to govern us, to lull us into inactivity, to permit the carrying out of their designs.

These disturbing elements carry with them the obligation and the necessity for protecting our rights, supported by the brilliance of the spirit of the Sons of the American Revolution, in giving renewed life to every American through the observance of Patriots' Day, the recalling of the Battles of Lexington, Concord, Valley Forge, Yorktown, Gettysburg, and the celebrating of other anniversaries of significance to the life of our Nation.

Flag Day, Constitution Day, keeping in mind Benjamin Franklin's challenge, "We have given you a Republic, let's see you keep it."

Bill of Rights Day, I am an American Day, inspiring and proclaiming the advantages of citizenship and of loyalty and allegiance to the cause of freedom are but a few in this category.

Aid to various agencies of the United States to combat insidious propaganda and substitute therefor a consciousness of the responsibility of all to protect our public schools, our homes, our churches, and institutions of various types; to respect the basic documents of our system of living, the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and all other laws designed to safeguard our interests represent another step by this magnificent organization in its chosen guardianship of things American.

The pursuit of peace, to which the Sons of the American Revolution also glady dedicates itself insofar as it does not, in any sense, yield our sovereignties as a nation and as a people, is like unto the pursuit of happiness in that it is to be found only in the hearts and the thinking of men.

It will not be found in the roar of the gun or the dropping of the bombs, for these soon to be outmoded methods of waging warfare must be met with superior might so powerful that the enemies of democracy will come to the realization that their aims, their desires, and their ambitions to rule the world are incapable of fulfillment.

This superior might could well arise from the 1955 determination of men everywhere to utilize the God-given tools of the engineer, the architect, the builder, and the scientist, to promote the abolition of war and to apply this wondrous intelligence and

strength to the carrying out of the calling of peace.

Let us hope and pray this new year will bring all peoples to the footstool of genuine concord; then will we behold men and nations, living within their ability to pay for the things which make for permanent peace and prosperity, that all mankind might enjoy the fruits of the minds and the intellect of those into whose hands God has entrusted the wodners of His might and His power with more to come.

As I look into your faces, I believe some of us will live to see that day.

Tariffs on Chemicals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, among the many communications received from business and industries in my district on the general subject of tariffs is a letter from Mr. Albert Bendelius, secretary and treasurer of the Pfister Chemical Works, of Ridgefield, N. J. His letter is of wide interest and he qualifies as an expert in his field. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include his letter in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PFISTER CHEMICAL WORKS,
Ridgefield, N. J., January 13, 1955.

Mr. FRANK C. OSMERS, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSMERS: We would like to go on record with you as being opposed to any further reduction of tariffs in general, and favoring careful study of the existing rates by the United States Tariff Commission. It is our belief that some of the existing rates should be raised, if only to remove the stigma of discrimination from them.

The rates directly affecting our business are, of course, our primary concern. The tariff on naphthols (our life blood) is, for example, 20 percent plus 3½ cents per pound. Prior to the Torquay Conference the tariff on these products was 40 percent plus 7 cents per pound. This higher tariff is still in effect on most other dyes. Naphthols can be classified either as dyes or intermediates, but the tariff on intermediates is 25 percent plus 3½ cents per pound. The lower tariff on naphthols, therefore, can only be called discriminatory. This is just one case, there probably are many other instances where the tariff on brown shoes is lower than the tariff on black shoes of the same style, quality, and workmanship.

We respectfully request that you take a stand as recommended by the New Jersey tariff group as set forth in the following statement of their policy:

"The United States Tariff Commission, adequately staffed and supplied with sufficient funds, and functioning as a factfinding body responsible only to Congress, should immediately undertake a detailed analysis of all our tariff rates, industry by industry, and where necessary, product by product. Based on these studies, recommendations should be submitted by the Commission to Congress for whatever rate changes the facts warrant. The primary considerations should be the military security and the economic strength of the United States, and the maintenance of peak employment in this country, factors which are of basic importance not only to us, but to the existence of the free world. Congress should then act upon these recommendations and promulgate whatever tariff policies and rates will achieve these objectives."

Sincerely yours,
PFISTER CHEMICAL WORKS,
ALBERT BENDELIUS,
Secretary and Treasurer.

Who Is Bluffing?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. KARSTEN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. KARSTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Boston Post of January 25, 1955:

WHO IS BLUFFING?

President Eisenhower's specific request for authorization of Congress to use American Armed Forces to fight, if necessary, wherever needed to defend Formosa, the Pescadores, and to assist Nationalist troops to redeploy is a very definite challenge to the Chinese Reds. It may mean a shooting war.

Until yesterday, when Chou En-lai, Chinese premier, warned that Red China would not permit outside interference with Red China's intention to liberate Formosa, the President's request to Congress merely traced a defensive line around Formosa and such islands off the Chinese mainland as may be evacuated by the Nationalist forces.

Chou En-lai's defiant statement that Red China intends to take Formosa at the very instant that President Eisenhower's message was being transmitted to Congress makes a shooting war a stronger possibility.

Clearly Chou En-lai either believes the United States is bluffing, or he is stark insane and hopes to become involved in a shooting war with the United States. If he believes the United States is bluffing, then he is about to lose "face," for this, after all the vacillation by the administration, cannot be bluff unless the President is ready for unvarnished appeasement.

Chou En-lai closed the door on United Nations as an intermediary as well as against the United States in his statement. And to backtrack now would make Chou look ridiculous to his own people.

If the 7th Fleet removes Nationalist troops from the islands within gunshot of Chinese Red positions, the Chinese Red leaders lose as much face (an all-important consideration in Asia) as if they had lost a war.

It is a sorry commentary on American national policy that the brave promises of 1952, when President Eisenhower was going to end the war in Korea and save lives, have now diminished to a plea to a Democratic Congress to put some backbone into America's position. President Eisenhower was going to expose and correct the national policies of a Democratic administration 2 years ago. Now he seeks something the Democratic administration didn't ask for—the right of unilateral entry into a war.

The almost fatal mistake was in ever seeking the end of the struggle in Korea on the terms given to the Chinese Reds. A strong policy then might have saved Indochina and prevented all the sorrowful results of an illusory peace.

The Reawakening of the Civil Service Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert an excerpt from Jerry Klutz's column, the Federal Diary, appearing in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald.

The gist of the item relates to a reversal of position by the Civil Service Commission with respect to the right of a department or agency passing over an eligible veteran, a veteran who has taken the required civil-service examination and received certification of eligibility by the Civil Service Commission for appointment to the particular position.

Heretofore, if the appointing agency of the Government desired to pass over an eligible veteran, the civil service had ruled that all that was necessary was for the agency to submit in writing its reasons for such action; the Commission would then pass upon these reasons and if found to be insufficient would so notify the agency, the agency thereupon would advise the Commission that it had considered the Commission's views, and had reconsidered the veteran involved and then proceed to pass him over. The veteran had no recourse as the Civil Service Commission felt that this was full compliance with the intent and purpose of Congress.

The Civil Service Commission now feels that Congress was not performing an idle gesture when it adopted the 1953 amendment requiring the Commission to pass upon the sufficiency of the Department's reasons for passing over the veteran; but that Congress intended for this procedure to mean something toward establishing an independent forum of review of such actions for the protection of eligible veterans against the ruthless, arbitrary and overzealous acts of patronage-hungry politicians and misdirected departmental or agency heads.

Mr. Speaker, this voluntary action of the Commission in this instance is a source of gratification to me. While it may be termed "a slight opening of one eye," it nevertheless may be the prelude or forerunner of a complete reawakening to the fact by the Commission that Congress, when enacting a law does not indulge in idle gesturing. It is refreshing to know that at least one agency has again commenced to reestablish itself and assume the responsibilities vested in it by the Congress. And particularly is this true because it is the Civil Service Commission, the agency created by the Congress for the purpose of protecting the veteran and the career-service employees of the Federal Government from those that would reestablish the old system of "To the victor belongs the spoils" in manning the personnel of our Government.

This action by the Commission is well taken. As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, for the past 10 days, pursuant to my request, experts have been conducting research on this very subject matter for the purpose of drafting whatever legislative proposal may have been necessary to obtain the very objective which the civil service has accomplished by its voluntary administrative action. My congratulations to the Civil Service Commission; may this slight awakening be a good omen. While on this subject matter, I may suggest to the Commission that they review section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944, with the view of reassuring themselves of the intent and purpose that Congress may have had in mind in creating the right of appeal provided for thereunder. Should they do this, Mr. Speaker, I would suggest that they give consideration to the role of the Civil Service Commission in Federal employment as pronounced by the Commission in pamphlet No. 52, issued by it in January 1955. I am sure that if this is done, a new era will be developed which will tend to eliminate the wholesale dismissal of veterans and career-service employees upon inconsequential charges, or other charges unsupported by substantial and relevant evidence.

The excerpt follows:

VETERANS' PREFERENCE GIVEN GREATER FORCE UNDER CSC RULING

A new ruling gives the Veterans' Preference Act greater force and agency heads less in appointing eligibles from Civil Service's eligible lists.

After hearing a stout protest from groups of veterans, CSC ruled that an agency can't pass over an eligible veteran and appoint a nonveteran unless it agrees that its reasons are justifiable and sufficient.

A restudy of the 1953 amendments to the preference act, CSC explained, has convinced it that its more stringent interpretation of that law is proper and was so intended by Congress.

Heretofore, an agency could pass over a veteran and give CSC its reasons for doing so. CSC could decide the reasons were insufficient but it didn't attempt to force the agency to appoint the veteran anyway. Now it will insist on the appointment.

There Is Growing Sentiment Among Members of the Legal Profession That Social Security Benefits Should Be Extended to Lawyers or at Least They Should Be Given the Option of Selecting Such Coverage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, at the request of one of the leading bar associations in my congressional district I introduced H. R. 855, a bill designed to extend the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system to individuals engaged in the practice of law.

From discussions with lawyers in Pennsylvania I have learned that many of them are eager to have the option of securing coverage under the Social Security Act and that various State bar associations are taking opinion polls on the subject among their members.

Recently the New Jersey State Bar Association adopted the following resolution at its midyear meeting December 11, 1954, requesting Congress to include lawyers under the Social Security Act on an optional basis:

NEW JERSEY STATE BAR ASSOCIATION,
Trenton, N. J., January 20, 1955.

To the Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States:

Enclosed is a copy of a resolution which was recently passed by the New Jersey State Bar Association requesting the Congress act to include lawyers in the social security program on an optional basis.

We trust we shall have your wholehearted support in this connection.

Respectfully yours,

EMMA E. DILLON,
Secretary.

"Whereas the younger members of the legal profession are desirous of obtaining for themselves and their dependents survivor and insurance benefits under the provisions of the social security program; and

"Whereas a large number of members of the legal profession suffer a declining income in later years, and under the present high income-tax rate find it difficult to provide a means of retirement income for themselves and their dependents after the age of 65: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved:

"1. That it be declared the sense of the membership of the New Jersey State Bar Association that the benefits of the social security program be extended to include the members of the legal profession on an optional basis.

"2. A copy of this resolution shall be sent to all of the United States Senators and Congressmen."

This is to certify that the above resolution was adopted by the New Jersey State Bar Association at the midyear meeting on Saturday, December 11, 1954.

EMMA E. DILLON,
Secretary.

Eisenhower and Truman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the remarks on Formosa by Gerald W. Johnson over station WAAM, Baltimore, on January 30, 1955, as follows:

The President scared me badly when he asked Congress for formal authorization to employ the Armed Forces of the United States to defend Formosa. I think he scared all Bolton Street, for on the face of it the thing looked like war.

However, we all know that the President—any President—always has a great deal of information that he can't afford to publish. He has thousands of people constantly bringing him reports, many of which are confidential, and sometimes he has to act on information that he can't give to the public.

Without doubt that was Mr. Eisenhower's position last week. From the legal standpoint he didn't need any special permission from Congress. He already had all necessary authority to defend any territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, and Formosa has been technically in our possession ever since Japan surrendered it; but something came up that made him think it desirable to make a public show of his authority.

What that was I don't know, but I have sufficient confidence in any man who is head of the Nation to believe that it wasn't any triviality; and a President who has been a soldier certainly must know how foolish it is to throw your weight around unless there is good reason for doing so. I think we may rely on it that the President was trying to produce a very definite effect, and it wasn't the effect of startling either Congress or the country. Both were startled, but that was a byproduct; the main idea was to produce an effect outside this country—in China certainly, in Russia probably, and in India perhaps, but not in Bolton Street.

It was risky beyond a doubt, but it was a calculated risk, and if it helps to clear up the situation in Asia it will be worth some risk. The flat truth is that our position there was rapidly becoming untenable, not from the military standpoint so much as from the standpoint of reason and good sense.

For a long time it has been perfectly plain that Chiang Kai-shek cannot reconquer China by himself, and it is equally plain that we can't reconquer it for him without a war so terrific that the American people will not stand for it. Yet from behind the protection of our 7th Fleet Chiang has been sending our gunboats and planes to harass Communist ships and occasionally to bomb Communist ports. The Communists would soon put a stop to that if the fleet were not in the way; so the Communists see us not as aiding a real ally, but of protecting a nest of pirates who have taken shelter in territory under our control.

That is not a tenable position for a civilized nation. We should either give Chiang an army of American soldiers, so that he can wage a real war, or we should compel him to keep the peace as long as he is behind our strategic frontier. We aren't going to give him an American army. That's flat. All that is left then is to keep him from disturbing the peace; for as long as we protect him we are to some extent responsible for what he does. If the President's move is a first step in that direction it may be a move toward peace, not war.

But there is one aspect of the situation in which I find a certain sour amusement. It is when I reflect on what a roar would have gone up from the press if it had been proposed to grant such extensive power to Harry S. Truman. The screams about one-man rule, dictatorship, and personal arrogance would have been deafening; but in the eyes of the one-party press Eisenhower can do no wrong.

Yet, it is perfectly obvious that it would have been safer to trust this power to Mr. Truman than to trust it to Mr. Eisenhower, because Mr. Eisenhower is much closer to the Douglas MacArthur-Senator KNOWLAND group who think that rattling the atom bomb is the only effective form of diplomacy. If a howl would have been justified in 1952, it is twice justified in 1955.

The truth is that there was no sense in howling then and none in howling now. It is not entirely safe to trust the warmaking power to anybody; but it is safer in the hands of the President than anywhere else, for he at least can be held to account by the whole Nation, while a Member of Congress can be held to account only by his

own State or district. If the people of Maryland, for instance, should turn against Eisenhower they could vote against him at the next election; but they can't vote against Senator McCarthy, no matter how much they may dislike him. So in a delicate situation it is better for the President to be in control than to have authority scattered among 531 Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, where no individual can be held responsible.

Nevertheless, Eisenhower gets nothing but butter from a press that would have given Truman poison for making the same demand—which is amusing, even though it may be a matter of little practical importance.

American-Jewish Tercentenary Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the American-Jewish tercentenary message of Rabbi Max Felshin, D. D., president, Beth Din of America, and Rabbi, Radio City Synagogue in New York:

AMERICAN-JEWISH TERCENTENARY MESSAGE

(By Rabbi Max Fleshin, D. D., president, Beth Din of America, Rabbi, Radio City Synagogue)

America was founded by many peoples who came here to escape persecution, to seek freedom from tyranny, and to serve God unmolested in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience. Among these were people of the Jewish faith, who numbered amongst the earliest settlers of the New World. History records that the voyage of Columbus (himself of Jewish descent), was backed by Jews, and that six Jewish members of his crew were among the first to set foot on American soil. Others came with the passage of time from every part of Europe, Africa, Asia, and the farthest corners of the earth. So that today America may be said to be the truly representative national home of all the races, religions, and cultures of the world, all living together in prosperity and peace.

Here in America no racial stock, religious denomination, or organizational group can arrogate to itself any priority or superiority over one another. No one can claim that he or she is more American than any other fellow American. We all have an equal stake, share, and responsibility in America's past, present, and future. With the exception of perhaps the Indian aborigines (who, according to Mormon writ, are descendants from the 10 lost tribes of Israel) the entire population of America are either immigrants or the children of immigrants, who have all arrived to these shores or were born in this country within the past 300 years.

The Jews of America are now celebrating their own happy participation in the upbuilding of our American Nation through the current American-Jewish tercentenary jubilee. The reason for our rejoicing is that America, of all the so-called enlightened nations of Western civilization, has never sullied the pages of its history with Jewish persecution, disabilities, or subversion.

The words of George Washington, contained in a letter to the Touro Synagogue of Newport, R. I., "Happily the Government of the United States—gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance," have fortunately remained the basic doctrine, the permanent policy of our beloved land of liberty; they are the bedrock of our American democracy and the sure guaranty of our lasting greatness as long as we do not depart from these principles.

It is significant that the Father of our Country in alluding in this very same letter to the American Jewish community referred to them as the children of the stock of Abraham. According to the biblical narrative in the book of Genesis (chapter 12: 1, 2, 3) God appeared unto Abraham and said to him:

"Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee: And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee: And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed."

Now George Washington like so many of the Pilgrim Fathers who were steeped in Old Testament lore understood the meaning of these words of God to Abraham; and he correlated them to America's destiny and future blessedness. He knew, and history has shown, that God has kept His word to Abraham unfailingly, throughout all generations. Those nations which were kind and generous to the Jewish people, giving full scope to their talents and industry, rose to greatness and flourished; but the moment they turned to persecute and plunder the children of Abraham they lost their standing, sunk into degraded disintegration and finally disappeared altogether from the stage of world history.

George Washington in his profound wisdom understood all this. He knew that God will bless America so long as America will continue its blessings to the children of the stock of Abraham, so long as the rights of all minorities will be respected within our borders. He realized that the two blessings are interwoven, inseparably bound up and interdependent upon one another as a condition a priori to certain, lasting American well-being and glory.

During this year of solemn, thankful observance and celebration of the American-Jewish Tercentenary we must not forget Jerusalem's 3,000th anniversary. The roots of historical Judaism go far beyond the beginning of America. It is now more than 4,000 years since God has first established His unique covenant and mystic bond with Abraham and his descendants, which symbolize the everlasting love and sacrificial loyalty manifest throughout the long eventful history of the Jewish people. The children of Israel, almost in defiance of the very instincts of physical self-preservation, have often chosen to endure persecution and martyrdom, rather than submit to assimilation or to forsake their traditional ideals of righteous living and their belief in the One God. They have kept their faith with the covenant under the most trying circumstances.

In the Biblical account of the selection of Abraham to the consecrated role of progenitor and patriarch of the Hebrew people and as the one spiritually fit to usher them forth signally upon the arduous road of world history, God said:

"For I have known him, to the end that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may keep the way of the Lord, to do righteousness and justice; to the end that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which He rath spoken of him" (Genesis, ch. 18, verse 19).

It is therefore folly for anyone to counsel American Jewry to disown their true identity and disclaim their heritage since Biblical days. Especially unrealistic have these assimilationist betrayals and misrepresentations of true Judaism become today in the face of a regenerated Israel and a restored Zion, which our generation was privileged to witness. True Judaism teaches love of country, loyalty to government, and adherence to the laws of the land. American Jewry is consecrated to these ideals and are ready to defend our American heritage with our honor, our fortune and our very lives whenever it becomes necessary.

We of the Radio City Synagogue are happy to participate in the current American-Jewish tercentenary and Jerusalem's 3,000th anniversary celebrations. We have also tied in our own institutional celebration, our 13th or "bar mitzvah" year of the founding of our synagogue, with the general demonstration of loyalty and love to a trust faithfully kept. The Radio City Synagogue is situated in the very heart of the great New York metropolis. By virtue of this position it assumes both an intensive and far-reaching effectiveness, in that it serves as house of prayer not only for the people who live and work in the vicinity, but also attracts many visiting worshippers from distant parts of the country.

The synagogue is also grateful for its humble contribution toward the enrichment of Jewish life in America in that it has housed for the past 18 years the national headquarters of the Beth Din of America. This great institution of Toraic justice has served the cause of American Jewry in settling many private and communal disputes through the decisions handed by the learned rabbis in accordance with the letter and spirit of our holy Torah. It has also rendered famous authoritative decisions affecting difficult matters of Jewish jurisprudence as applied to new, modern developments.

The Radio City Synagogue is truly thankful for being a providential instrumentality in its 13 years of faithful service to the daily religious needs of both the local New York community and the many frequent visitors from every Jewish congregation in the United States of America. Our high holy days services are attended by visiting fellow Jews from every part of the world, all praying together from the same Hebrew prayer book (Machzor) to the God of our eternal people.

May God Almighty answer our prayers mercifully and grant us and the entire American people the triple blessing of health, happiness, and peace, so that we and our children may live to celebrate together many similar manifestations of joyful brotherhood in our land of liberty and justice, our beloved and blessed America.

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the third in the series of articles by Bob Considine on Las Vegas, the gambling capital of the United States, which appeared in the Chicago American January 25, 1955, reads as follows:

LAS VEGAS UNMASKED—BUGSY'S DREAM HIS UNDOING

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 25.—Bugsy Siegel was a millionaire and referred to in print as a "Hollywood sportsman" when his eyes first alighted upon the site of the Flamingo Hotel.

He was driving out of Las Vegas after looking over his race-wire interests when he

noted that a casino was being built at a point between the town and the airport.

The contractor was the Del E. Webb Construction Co., of Phoenix, owned by a lanky ex-ballplayer and carpenter destined to become a wealthy power in big league baseball.

SIEGEL TAKES OVER

By means never adequately explained, Siegel took over the modest project.

He had had his dream. This would be no mere casino, a small version of a downtown Fremont Street place. Nor would it be a glorified motel and casino, like El Rancho Vegas and the Last Frontier were at that time.

This, he determined, would be the finest casino in the world and one that would keep people hovering about it—because of fine hotel arrangements, top nightclub acts, a spirited cabaret, good food, drink, and service.

WAR PRIORITIES DEFIED

He flew to New York with word to the elders in the underworld syndicate that they must go in with him on this vast venture. He himself pledged every penny he had and hocked his future. Encouraged by his zeal, the members of syndicate's board of governors dug into their own treasuries—acquired through illegal trades for the most part, though some of the money was from their postrepeal activities in legitimate callings. They promised to go along with Siegel—to a certain extent.

They promised him $3 million. A war was going on in Europe and Asia and the word "priorities" meant something.

But not to Siegel. He wanted imported woods and marble. Anything ever done before was too common for him. He abused architects and designers into providing things newer and rarer. When they balked he frightened them out of their skins with his rages and threats of "I'll shoot you through your ——— head."

A DRIVEN MAN

He became a driven man. The black market was his shopping place. When Webb could not hope to produce steel, copper, piping and the like, Bugsy found the stuff and paid for it dearly. He flew to New York 14 times for more money and to give added assurances. The patience of the elders began to wear thin. Everything was going in. Nothing came out. Bugsy ordered Webb to fly in plasterers from Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, and Salt Lake City, and paid them $50 a day, to get the place ready.

The syndicate cut him off eventually and Mayer Lansky come out to break the word to him. Bugsy sought money elsewhere. He opened the Flamingo owing millions, including so much money to Del Webb that every night for 6 months Webb waited in his office to be paid a portion of the day's receipts. They became good friends.

WEBB VIEW

The coowner of the New York Yankees today says of Siegel:

"I've never met a squarer businessman in my life. He was a remarkable character: tough, cold, and terrifying when he wanted to be—but at other times a very easy fellow to be around.

"He told me one night, when I was waiting for my money, that he had personally killed 12 men. But then he must have noted my face, or something, because he laughed and said that I had nothing to worry about.

" 'There's no chance that you'll get killed,' he said. 'We only kill each other.' "

Back in New York, the syndicate began considering whether to do just that. For one thing, Siegel had disturbed the elders by getting so much publicity—which, in turn bathed the elders in undesired publicity. Also, he had "blown his stack" on the Flamingo.

But, No. 1, he had committed the unpardonable crime—that of branching out on his own.

Shortly after James R. Ragan, Sr., past owner of Continental Press Service, largest race wire in the country, was killed, the mobs merged Continental and Trans-America wire services. But Siegel, who had the syndicate's old Trans-America on the coast, continued to maintain it independently.

HEADACHE HIS HOME

He stopped going East. His beloved headache, the Flamingo, became his home, even though Virginia Hill took a dim view of Las Vegas in general. He was comforted, however, by the fact that the place was netting $315,000 a month—and some day he'd get even and straighten out everything and everybody.

The syndicate wouldn't wait. As was the custom, it delegated the messy work of slaughter to another group, after the Bug's doom was sealed in the meeting with Luciano—who had slipped over from Italy to Cuba via Venezuela.

Siegel's last days were unhappy ones. For one thing, there was trouble with Virginia Hill. She wanted to go to Paris and he suspected she had another man there. Briefly reconciled, they spent a few days at the Flamingo.

MORAL SUPPORT

But Virginia began drinking too much. A bout climaxed one night in the plush dining room when she stood up and clouted a female guest on the jaw with a long overhand right. Bugsy shouted at her, "You're no lady."

This is a remark still treasured by students of gangland understatement. Miss Hill flounced off to Paris. That was June 16, 1947.

But something worse had happened to Bugsy. When he took his stand against his New York colleagues and told them he was going to keep Trans-America wire service and to blazes with their wish to bend it with Continental, he was encouraged by the moral support of two plug-uglies who served him in Los Angeles.

The two were Jack Dragna (alias Jack Ignatius, Jack I., Jack Rizotto, and Jack Dania) and a lesser and more grasping punk named Mickey Cohen.

On either June 7 or 8 of that year Dragna and possibly Cohen were braced by what the California Crime Commission later called two visitors from Chicago. Dragna immediately bowed out of Trans-America.

UNEASY FEELING

About that same time, Siegel invited Webb to visit him at the Beverly Hills home he and Virginia shared. Webb had begged off so many times before—usually on the pretense that his mother was feeling bad—that he felt that this time he must accept.

"I had an uneasy feeling all during that evening there. Benny seemed to want to sit in a certain part of the living room. I had a feeling we were being watched, and that my own seat on the divan wasn't quite safe. Maybe my presence saved him."

(Siegel was called Benny by friends. No one dared call him Bugsy, a name he acquired as a youth because of his contempt for bullets.)

On the night of June 20, 1947, Siegel returned from Las Vegas to the Beverly Hills home to pick up some clothes. His departure from Las Vegas was duly noted by representatives of the syndicate—of which he was the only member of the board ever rubbed out.

He sat down in the very spot where he had seated Webb not long before. The heavy window curtains were drawn but missed coming together completely by about 6 inches.

QUICK DEATH

Next to him on the divan was his friend Aaron Smehoff, called Allan Smiley. The Russian-born Smiley had a small piece of the Flamingo. Elsewhere in the house were Virginia Hill's brother, Charles, and a girl he has since married.

It was a quick death for Bugsy Siegel. He never knew what hit him—the shots came so thick and fast.

But he's still very much alive along the strip of Las Vegas today and his ultimatum, "No rough stuff in here if I have to kill a couple of you b——s," remains the way of life.

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, here is another chapter on Las Vega, the fourth in the series of article by Bob Considine, published in the Chicago American, January 26, 1955:

LAS VEGAS UNMASKED—GOLD RUSH FOLLOWED DEATH OF "BUGSY" SIEGEL

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 26.—In Las Vegas, after "Bugsy" Siegel was erased, came the gold rush. A deluge of Hollywood black-market and upper-crust tourists washed over his fabled spa, the Flamingo, leaving in the receding tide an estimated $4 million a year net profit.

The word "estimated" is used because no one knows exactly how much the operators clear in Las Vegas. Nevada's 2-percent bite on the gross handle throughout the State comes to less than $2 million a year.

It accepts the money gratefully, being unable to get along without it. The State can't afford to supervise the nightly count and must take the word of the operators—who, here and there, never won any awards for integrity.

Siegel had guessed right about Las Vegas and it didn't take long for the word to get around. It was natural that he should be followed into the city and its environs by a wave of his peers and inferiors in the racket world.

They had money to invest, and Las Vegas welcomed it in view of the fact that few top investment houses or insurance companies wished to take such a flyer.

GOOD INVESTMENT

Many who followed Bugsy had taken the lead of Frank Costello and others and had transferred their bootlegging, bookmaking, and other illicit earnings to legitimate businesses. To these, Las Vegas looked like not only a sound investment, but one that offered some of the excitement of the bad old days.

And so the desert was made to bloom additionally by the coming of Wilbur Clark's Desert Inn, the Thunderbird, now accused of being secretly controlled by Meyer and Jake Lansky; the Sands, and the Sahara. It continues to bloom.

There was and remains in most of these and other Las Vegas establishments a lot of underworld money—just as is the case with all but a handful of New York's swankiest restaurants and night clubs, which are owned almost exclusively by retired rumrunners and speakeasy operators who long since have contracted religion and won a respected place in the social scene. In Las Vegas the delousing process continues.

KEFAUVER RECORD

Morris Rosen, whose record is spread over 31 pages in the Kefauver reports, moved into Las Vegas to settle the affairs of Siegel. Rosen's son married one of Siegel's daughters, so he appeared in the role of foremost friend of the murdered murderer's family.

The affairs were complicated, as is usually the case in Las Vegas. Siegel had a bit of several clubs going for him, in addition to horse books and the Flamingo.

Rosen, also known as Doc Harris and Joe Stacci, found mysterious Joe Epstein, Virginia Hill's banker, on hand with the books, and also Bugsy's original front man in Las Vegas, much-arrested Moe Sedway.

Rosen began looking for buyers for the Flamingo. He found Sanford Adler and Charlie Resnick, who owned the El Rancho Hotel at the time; and such others as Gus Greenbaum, overlord of the Capone-New York syndicate race wire in Phoenix, Israel Adlerman, also called "Little Auldie" by the FBI; Dave Berman, ex-convict who was one of Bugsy's trusted aids; and Jack Burke and Sam Diamond, California bookies.

TEN PERCENT FOR NOTHING

They bought the place for $3,900,000 with a down payment of either $500,000 or $600,000. In appreciation of what Sedway later told Senator KEFAUVER was Rosen's deal-making genius, Rosen was given a 10-percent slice for nothing. Today it would be worth $650,000.

Adler was put in as manager, and representative of the group that owned 51 percent. But the absence of Bugsy's strong hand was soon evident.

Soon there were inflamed arguments among the partners, while fancy customers serenely kept pouring in the money. Adler took his case to Carson City and won it, then punched Rosen in the face in a post-trial argument.

Rosen announced that he would get Adler. Frightened, Adler drove all night to Beverly Hills, Calif., and told his story to Clinton H. Anderson, chief of police. Then he sold out his share.

THE PAYOFF

Among those who had to be paid off were members of the New York syndicate who had bankrolled Siegel after the latter spent his entire fortune—estimated at $1 million—on the hotel and casino.

These contributors were Meyer and Jake Lansky, Frank Costello, Frank Erickson, Lepke Buchalter (who sent Siegel West in the first place and 1 or 2 others, probably Joe Adonis and possibly Lucky Luciano. There was some old Capone money in there, too.

The report persists that some of them retained their pieces and continue as silent partners. If so, they are indeed silent. Costello, for example, has never been seen in Las Vegas. And if the notorious Tony Accardo, Capone relic, had or has any tie-in through Greenbaum the Las Vegas police appeared to have no respect for a property owner.

On January 9, 1953, for instance, the Chicago Crime Commission informed the Nevada Tax Commission—which is the gambling licensing body of the State—that Accardo was headed for Las Vegas. The excellent Los Angeles police department also was notified.

TOLD TO MOVE

Accardo, whose name has been linked to every known racket, was given a frigid reception at International Airport, Los Angeles, and told to move on. Immediately after his arrival in Las Vegas, he was picked up by Chief of Police Al H. Kennedy and charged with vagrancy—though he had a $6,700 roll in his pocket. Told to scram, he did.

The third crop of Flamingo owners has little apparent relationship to the first two groups. It is headed by T. E. Hull, owner of a string of motels through the West. He is sometimes known as the "man who made motels moral." He once tried to copyright the word "motel," and was among the first to dress up those roadside flops with swimming pools, bars, television, and the like.

He operated the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel and the El Rancho Hotel in Sacramento, both of which were sold recently and are leased back to him for 20 years.

NEW OWNERS

According to papers on file at Carson City, 29 others are among the Flamingo's new owners. These include Dr. Stanley Immerman, prominent Los Angeles surgeon; Albert Parvin, responsible for the costly decorations of the Flamingo and other "strip" spots; moving picture producer David W. (no relation) Siegel; and Ed Levinson, formerly part owner and casino manager of the Sands.

Among the lesser holders of "points in the corporation"—as single percentages are known in the trade—are George Raft, a close friend of the late Siegel; and Tony Martin, annually the star attraction of the Flamingo's flashing floor shows.

The new crowd in control paid $7 million for "Bugsy's" dream palace with, it is understood, less than $1 million down. When the new owners took over they signed an agreement with Greenbaum—who seems to retain at least a rooting interest—that they'd spend $2 million more in improvements—to keep apace or ahead of ambitious other "strip" attractions.

LOAN MATURING

The report from banking circles is that some of the new owners learned, with a shock, that an old $2,500,000 Galveston bank loan matures in September 1955 at which time they must put it up or blow their investment.

They would like to borrow $4 million for 10 years, and are said to be offering a $1 million bonus to anyone who'll take the change and gamble on Las Vegas' future.

The comparative ease with which off-course money flowed into Las Vegas after the Flamingo showed the way can be seen from a study of the financing of the Desert Inn, as brought out when the Kefauver committee questioned Wilbur Clark and Moe Dalitz at length.

Clark, voted the best hotel-and-casino manager along the strip, once ran the El Rancho Vegas before the postwar boom. He took his money and plunged into the building of the Desert Inn but soon ran out of cash and credit.

FINANCING NEED

He walked the streets of San Diego, where he once owned bars, and Los Angeles, where he numbered judges among his friends, looking for financing.

Dalitz, former Cleveland rum czar and gambling house operator who now has extensive interests in steel, laundries, and other business, and his associates, advanced Clark about $1,300,000 to complete the Desert Inn and gained control.

They have expanded their holdings considerably, including the building of a remarkable 18-hole golf course which has become the scene of one of the Nation's biggest annual tournaments.

With Dalitz in the operation are Morris Kleinman and Thomas Jefferson McGinty, two other gentlemen who grew rich by slaking parched throats during prohibition, and former Cleveland gamblers Sam Tucker, Ruby Kolod, and Barney Rothkopf, alias Lou Rody, who refused to testify before the Kefauver committee.

LANSKY PAL

The handsome Sands Hotel was built by Max Kufferman, who described himself as a friend of Meyer Lansky for 25 years. Kufferman is head of a California loan company. Indications were also that part of the financing came from Joseph "Doc" Stacher, alias Morris Rose, Joseph Rosen, "Doc" Ewiner, etc., described as one of the leaders of the old 3d Ward mob in New Jersey and associate of Longie Zwillman.

Neither Kufferman nor Stacher could get a license to operate. Jake Freedman, congenial little gambler from Houston, Tex., was brought in and passed muster. Among the current owners, with small shares, are Frank Sinatra and Jack Entratter, the latter a popular figure at New York's Stork Club and Copacabana for years.

LOTTERY FINE

The Sahara, built by Del Webb, the co-owner of the New York Yankees, who built the Flamingo for Siegel, offered such lush living comfort that gamblers with financial investments in other establishments took permanent residence. The money behind the Sahara has puzzled many a local.

Listed owners are Milton Prell, ex-Los Angeles jeweler who operated skillball machines in Butte, Mont., where he was fined for conducting a lottery; Al F. Wonter and Barney Morris, small-time Portland, Oreg., gamblers, and other unknowns.

But these are calm and collected operations compared to the storm that has cooked up behind the Thunderbird—one of whose principal stockholders is Cliff Jones, former Democratic national committeeman for Nevada and former lieutenant governor.

Stained-Glass Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, because of the great interest in the subject of tariff reductions at this time, I think it is important that the viewpoints of various industries become known to the Congress. One of my distinguished constituents, Karl Barre Lamb, of Tenafly, N. J., is president of the Stained Glass Association. The stained-glass industry would be vitally affected by any change in the present tariff situation. I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which Mr. Lamb recently wrote and which appeared in the official publication of the Stained Glass Association:

[From Stained Glass of January 1955]

STAINED-GLASS INDUSTRY

We do not like to call our wonderful craft an industry. It is not. It is purely a craft. We use no machines. It is all handwork and based primarily on a religious conception of what is beautiful, what is true, and what will embellish our many thousands of churches of all sects throughout this great country. The membership of our association represents practically all the finest stained-glass firms in the United States, and even some in Canada and Mexico. It is therefore authoritative, one which can speak with a background of over 50 years as an association, and with a membership which includes firms that are from 75 to 100 years old, which is quite a record in this country.

As president of the Stained Glass Association of America, I feel I have a very definite responsibility to call attention to the fact that our fine craft will be ruined, and ruined soon, by foreign competition unless we have some tariff protection.

At the present time, stained glass over $15 a square foot is coming into the United

States duty free as a work of art. This of course is ridiculous, as stained glass is after all a currently manufactured product, whose cost depends, 90 percent, on the labor involved, since it is all handwork as mentioned above.

We cannot compete with low European wage scales, or with low European materials cost. And European governments are sponsoring their own stained-glass studios, are printing elaborate brochures, and are doing a tremendous amount of advertising in this country.

The foreign stained glass studios are being helped by their governments with, I am afraid, money which the United States Government is sending them. Even the foreign consulates here in the United States have had exhibitions of European stained glass. They are contacting every church, every American architect, and doing everything possible to promote the sale of foreign glass in our own United States.

Foreign imports are steadily increasing. 1949 imports were 495 percent over 1946; 1953 imports 700 percent over 1949. From March 1952 to March 1954, 60 percent of all stained glass installed within a radius of 50 miles of New York City was of foreign make. Similar conditions exist on the west coast of the United States, and are fast moving inland.

A combined committee made up of members of the Stained Glass Association of America and its craftsmen, most of whom are members of the A. F. of L. Painters and Decorators Union, is now attempting to get proper interpretation of paragraph 1810 of the Tariff Act of 1922, and have it enforced. We believe that paragraph 1810 says that if stained glass is worked with metal, a duty must be paid regardless of valuation. The present importations are nearly all worked with metal, but are still admitted duty free.

While a fine stained glass window may be beautiful, and in that sense a work of art, it is a manufactured product just as much as a fine watch is.

The $15 per square foot limit goes back to the Dark Ages, and is the same as it was 30 years ago. Then we paid $20-$25 per week for a 5½-day week to our skilled craftsmen. Now we pay $90-$110 for a 5-day week, and sometimes much more to specialists and artists.

We are not like General Motors, Ford, or United States Steel, where American genius for machines and the assembly line can overcome differences in wage rates between the United States and Europe. The selling price of our product is entirely dependent upon the price of labor. So how can we compete with the wage rates of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Ireland, and even England? We cannot.

We have a wonderful craft, employing thousands of the most skilled artisans who know no other trade, and a craft which is doing more to uplift the morals and religious thoughts of our people than almost any other one. This is through the esthetic appeal of story and color, which only a beautiful stained glass window can give.

We reach, in fact, through our art, the heart of our Nation in a way no spoken word can. And we combat the cheap comic books and other lowering influences, which all now admit are factors in juvenile delinquency.

Labor, and I am speaking of the unions, realizing the situation, is working in the very closest way with the Stained Glass Association. A joint committee of labor and management has been set up. Management is working to save our craft. Labor is working to save the jobs of thousands who face idleness, many of them older men who can turn to no other craft, nor find other jobs. But our government, the third member of the team, is not yet doing anything to save this craft.

Our situation is rapidly becoming desperate, which will be realized when I repeat that over 60 percent of the stained glass windows installed in what might be called the New York metropolitan area, during the past 12 months, came from Europe; a similar situation is found in many other parts of the United States, even on the Pacific coast.

Our craft is a religious one, vital to all sects—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish—and all of us, as far as our work is concerned, are completely nonsectrian and open minded. We love our craft and our respected religious faiths. Otherwise we would not be doing what we are doing. What is the answer?

KARL BARRE LAMB.

Sidney Friedman Organization, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, the occasion of the Presidential proclamation of the week of February 7 to 11 as Dental Health Week leads me to report on a dramatic and invaluable service, organized by some of the constituents of my district, that has a bearing on just that subject. Indeed, I feel that what they have done is an example of the finest work done by the many voluntary groups that make up the United States; and that it could be an example for other communities throughout the country.

About a year ago a group of young men and women, organized as the Sidney Friedman Organization, Inc., of 236 East Broadway, cast about for a community service that they could render. They found it in the need to provide dental care for the underprivileged children in the neighborhood. They went into this very carefully. They studied the needs. They studied the available resources, and they found that in my district alone there were several thousand indigent children who needed dental care and who could not obtain it from other sources.

Under the chairmanship of Leon W. Katz, this group interested Mr. Abraham Schlacht, publisher of the East Side News, a local newspaper in my district. Through its members and friends, they built a free dental clinic, which they report is the only one of its kind in the State of New York functioning on a completely volunteer basis. There are no administrative expenses in the operation of the clinic. Neither dentists nor dental aides associated with it receive any compensation. And the indigent children receive the best in dental care. The clinic is now in its fifth month of operation and has Prof. Oscar Ginder as its director and Dean Raymond Nagle, of the New York University College of Dentistry, as its adviser and consultant.

The free dental clinic has had over 700 monthly visits by children and it will examine over 300 youngsters during Dental Health Week. The free dental clinic, in addition to regular dental treatment, gives orthodontia and prosthetic work.

It should be noted that the indigent children are recommended by the public, parochial, and nursery schools. And the two requisites for accepting children by the free dental clinic are inability to pay and need for dental care.

I wish to extend to all my fellow Members of this Congress an invitation to see this clinic in operation and to judge for themselves its fine community spirit.

U. S. S. "Forrestal"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEWEY SHORT
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, December 11, 1954, it was my privilege and pleasure, with thousands of my fellow Americans, to attend the launching of the U. S. S. *Forrestal* at Newport News, Va.

This will forever remain a significant date in our military history, for it signals a great milestone if not the beginning of a new era in the advance of naval and air warfare.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the complete, interesting, informing, and impressive program at the launching of our first great supercarrier, the largest and mightiest ship ever built:

PROGRAM

Air salute: Carrier group 6 from United State Naval Air Station, Oceana, Va.

National Anthem: United States Navy Band.

Introduction of William S. Blewett, Jr., president of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.

Address: William E. Blewett, Jr.

Introduction of Adm. Robert B. Carney, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations.

Address: Adm. Robert B. Carney, United States Navy.

Introduction of the Honorable Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense.

Address: The Honorable Charles E. Wilson.

Introduction of the Honorable Charles S. Thomas, Secretary of the Navy.

Address: The Honorable Charles S. Thomas.

Introduction of Rear Adm. Edward B. Harp, Jr., United States Navy, Chief of United States Navy Chaplains.

Invocation: Rear Adm. Edward B. Harp, Jr., United States Navy.

Introduction of sponsor: Mrs. James V. Forrestal.

Christening of the *Forrestal:* Mrs. James V. Forrestal.

Flight demonstration: Blue Angels, United States Navy Flight Team.

ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM E. BLEWETT, JR., PRESIDENT OF THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRYDOCK CO., AT THE LAUNCHING OF THE U. S. S. "FORRESTAL," NEWPORT NEWS, VA., DECEMBER 11, 1954

Mrs. Forrestal, Secretary Wilson, Secretary Thomas, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, the Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. is delighted to have you with

us today for the christening of the aircraft carrier U. S. S. *Forrestal*.

For the past 7 hours this vessel, the largest ever to be constructed, has been waterborne in the submerged shipway before us. This gigantic carrier is as trim and modern as technical know-how, looking into the future, can make her. The only conceivable bit of futurama that she lacks is to be driven by atomic power.

Her size and potency are matchless. She is a mobile base which can be located in any navigable portion of the oceans as the needs of defense or freedom of the seas may demand. From her flight deck, equipped with steam-driven catapults, she can launch the heavier planes of longer range and higher speed which are capable of delivering the latest developments in explosive power against possible enemy targets.

This mighty aircraft carrier which dwarfs any other engineering product is the greatest single instrument conceived to protect this hemisphere. Today one cannot speak in terms of countries because transportation and communication have made the world so small. While our physical world has contracted, our thinking must be expanded and translated into new and appropriate means for self-protection. The *Forrestal* is a striking example that Navy planners concern themselves with a realistic vision of the future.

The building of the *Forrestal* is a milestone for Newport News. Our workmen, many of them of a third generation, have been brought up in the creed that "we shall build good ships here * * *," and they are building into the *Forrestal* not only designed might but also their cumulative skills in shipbuilding and pride of workmanship.

The Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. is proud of its accomplishments and the privilege accorded us by the Navy in building this carrier.

Aircraft carriers have traditionally been named in honor of famous battles in our naval history or for former vessels with illustrious careers. Today, for only the second time that a ciptal ship has been named for an individual, this vessel will be named for the late Honorable James V. Forrestal, our first Secretary of Defense. This mighty ship will carry a mighty name which speaks to all the world of our desire for peace.

ADDRESS BY ADM. ROBERT B. CARNEY, UNITED STATES NAVY, CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS

After VJ-day, the Navy looked at the future. Some of its aspects were visible and apparent; others were obscured behind time's horizon. The informed students of the strategic meaning of the oceans were convinced of one thing: Control of those oceans must never be relinquished to an enemy.

Amid the welter of new ideas and inventions, some notion of the required tools of the future began to come into focus. One of the necessary tools of United States sea-air power continued to be the aircraft carrier. National thinking in those early postwar days was somewhat beclouded by a passionate desire to return to a peacetime economy, and this was reflected in drastic military cuts. The aircraft carrier was a sufferer from the economic complexities of those days.

Nevertheless, the Navy went patiently ahead with its studies and evoloved an aircraft carrier design which would fulfill an inevitable need in the scheme of our national security. The thinking which went into the carrier design effort kept abreast of the times with respect to development of all types of aircraft, weapons, and equipments. Difficulties were encountered throughout these development years, but the compelling logic was not to be denied; and gradually the American people came to understand the value and power of this unique weapons system. During the intervening years, the Navy had modernized some of our carriers of World War II vintage, and they are performing a worthwhile service.

This ship, from the keel up, is built for the future, dedicated to the support of our national policies and the preservation for all time of the things that we hold dear. Today, she is afloat. When she joins the fleet, she will be the mightiest warship of the oceans—versatile and durable. She, and her sisters to follow, will be our future ships of the line, and, as such, will possess an ever-expanding usefulness. They will constitute a powerful diplomatic instrument during peaceful years both by reason of their own quiet but imposing strength and also as symbols of the great national strength which alone could give them birth. They will retain their predecessors' World War II capabilities, of course, but they will also have a vastly increased firepower deliverable at greater distances, together with defenses capable of dealing with modern threats.

Offensively, this ship will be able to play her vital role by smashing at the sources of any enemy's naval power and by assisting our sister services and allied forces in carrying the fight to the foe. Wherever attack must be launched from the sea, this mighty ship and her planes will have the capability of delivering crushing blows against her assigned targets. The versatility of her aircraft and weapons will permit her to engage targets on the sea, above it, and below it, and on land where threats to our control of the sea is to be found. By her mobility, she will be able to bring airpower to parts of the world where no comparable friendly force can be found or maintained. The carrier task force takes on new and formidable significance with the advent of this new class of ship.

This carrier of the future will also have the inherent protection provided to naval vessels by the vastness of the ocean areas where their location cannot be predetermined and thus zeroed in for destruction. The aircraft carrier, by her very nature, becomes an obscure target for enemy detection and effective attack. Even if her whereabouts become known, she, with guided missile-carrying companions will offer a formidable defense against any weapons now on the drawing boards or even on the horizon. As she goes about her assault tasks, she will be protected by her own fighters, guided missiles, mighty depth bombs, and curtains of electronic energy pulsating both beneath the waves and above them to detect and herald the enemy's approach.

As awe-inspiring as are the dimensions of this leviathan, the ship, herself, is but a symbol of the vastly greater power from which she springs—the unstoppable power of a great free society, blessed with generous resources, spurred on by the incentives of freedom, ready to share with those struggling for freedom as we originally and fiercely struggled, determined not to lose any part of the heritage we have won by struggle. That is the true sifinicance of this great ship and I give the Navy's pledge that the U. S. S. *Forrestal* will discharge her duty to her country in defense of those things for which her country stands.

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES E. WILSON, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Nearly 2½ years ago a similar group gathered here to lay the keel of the aircraft carrier U. S. S. *Forrestal*. Today, as we launch this vessel, we mark another milestone in the progress we are making to modernize and improve the readiness of our armed services.

The building of this ship is a tribute to the men of the Navy who are dedicated to maintaining the freedom of the seas in the defense of our country. It is also a tribute to the skill of the loyal and capable workers of the shipbuilding industry of this country, and in particular to those of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. We are sure that they have planned well and have built well and that this ship, when commissioned, will fulfill our every expectation.

During this period of 2½ years the Navy has proceeded with the other plans and work necessary to provide the aircraft which will fly from the *Forrestal* decks and with the training of the officers and men who will man her when she joins the fleet.

The same careful planning and integration of new weapons and new technology is proceeding in all of the armed services as we continue our efforts to provide this country with the best and most modern defenses in our history. In so doing we are providing what we believe to be a real deterrent to the outbreak of another world war.

I am particularly proud that this ship bears the name of the first Secretary of Defense who did so much to build our modern Navy and whose efforts contributed so much to our national defense.

I knew Jim Forrestal well and had many contacts with him when he was Under Secretary of the Navy with Frank Knox; when he guided the Navy through the difficult war years as its Secretary; and later when he was the first Secretary of Defense. I always admired and respected him for his self-sacrificing devotion to his country.

At the keel-laying ceremony, the then Deputy Secretary of Defense, Mr. William C. Foster, spoke these words:

"And now let us in our hearts echo the prayer that from these beginnings an historic ship may rise successfully;

"That she will render service to the Nation consonant with that rendered by the man whose name she bears;

"And that she will carry to the far ends of the earth our championship of peace."

I would like for all of us to reiterate that prayer here today.

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES S. THOMAS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MOVING SEA BASE

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a historic moment for all Americans as we launch today the newest, most modern, and most powerful naval weapon in history.

It is a particularly proud moment for me personally, here in the presence of Mrs. Forrestal, Mr. Forrestal's two sons, and his brother, to pay tribute to that wonderful and dedicated American and friend whom I had the privilege of knowing and working with during World War II and who did so much to alert us to the danger of communism. His imprint is still visible and his influence is still felt throughout the Navy and in Washington.

Today you are witnessing not merely the launching of a ship, but the launching of our country's most versatile and most dispersable weapon in our nuclear arsenal.

The aircraft carrier, such as the *Forrestal*, is not only a weapon of great potency and utility today, but for the future, it is one of a family of sea weapons with even greater possibilities and potential.

For the foreseeable future, nothing is in prospect which will diminish our need for continued control of the seas—the surface of the seas by ships, the underseas by submarines, the air over the seas by naval airpower. As a matter of fact, the advent of the atom, the jet, and the missile have increased, not decreased, the importance of sea power.

So in this atomic age, when the weapons and the nature of war are changing, the mission of our Navy has not changed. The oceans continue to be our cushions of defense, the bonds uniting us with our friends and allies, and our lifelines to overseas sources of raw materials which are so vital to our defense and peacetime production.

Our continued dependence on overseas bases for many years to come, be they Navy, Army, or Air Force, will demand that we control the seas to operate and supply them.

Even more important, if war should be forced upon us, the seas are and can become increasingly vital as the mobile platforms of swift and devastating retaliation.

If we are attacked, our Nation's survival will depend on how well our system of airbases survives the initial blitz. For it is from these airbases that our counterattack will be launched. Not all of our continental airbases are certain to be invulnerable to destruction. Not all of our airbases on foreign soil are certain either to be available or usable.

Therefore the security of our airbase system is of utmost concern in our defense planning. Today, dispersal has one of our Nation's top priorities—dispersal of industry, of communications, and particularly of our retaliation system. Our airbase system must therefore not only be strongly defended, but it must be widely dispersed and as secure as possible if it is to guarantee that our retaliatory attack is launched.

Since the United States has rejected preventive war on moral grounds, our determent and our defense against a nuclear attack must be based on a well advertised ability and intention to counterattack with overwhelming force.

To be certain that we have the maximum defense against a surprise attack, a part of the United States counterattack has been decentralized and dispersed on unpredictable moving sea bases. These unpredictable moving sea bases complement our fixed base system and together, the two insure a balanced base system which an enemy cannot neutralize.

The *Forrestal* is one such mobile sea base—the missile carrying atomic submarine and seaplane are others. Each one of these can use the entire oceans as mobile platforms and 10,000-mile runways. The *Forrestal's* airplanes will be able to take off and land simultaneously from her deck. This mobile base has a top speed of about 40 miles an hour; it can move rapidly to any part of the world's oceans. It is an outstanding example of dispersion. An aggressor can never be sure of its location. To find it and attack it will force him to divert a proportion of his offensive air strength which might otherwise be used to attack our homeland. The moving sea base's mobility, speed and striking power will also require that the enemy scatter, dilute and expand his defensive air power, which might otherwise be devoted to offensive roles. The *Forrestal's* ability to haunt an enemy's shoreline carrying a lethal load is a threat he cannot ignore.

Any target can, of course, be hit under the right conditions. But a moving sea base, particularly one which can maneuver and travel at 40 miles an hour, is obviously very difficult to locate or destroy.

The *Forrestal* with its speed, its greatly reinforced armament, its improved radar vision, its heavy antiaircraft defenses, its guided missiles, and its new jet interceptor aircraft will indeed be a phantom target for any enemy.

And the modern, streamlined carrier task force surrounding the *Forrestal* will operate under a new tactical doctrine emphasizing dispersion making it impossible to damage or destroy more than a small part, if any.

Moving sea bases, such as the *Forrestal*, also have great versatility and usefulness. They can be used in conjunction with massive retaliation. They can be used to maintain control of the seas. As we learned in Korea, they are ideal for localized wars requiring the use of conventional weapons, or in places where our fixed airbases are limited.

Because of these abilities, and particularly because of their atomic striking power, the *Forrestal* and her sister ships will be a deterrent force against aggression, and an insurance policy for peace.

The recognition of the importance of and the need for naval power is best exemplified by the Russians. The Russian Navy is the only service of any major military power that has increased in both personnel and equipment over what it was during World War II. Since that time, the Russian Navy has risen from the seventh largest navy in the world to second only to that of the United States. This growth is eloquent evidence of their fear of our transoceanic seapower, particularly of such a weapon as the *Forrestal*.

In this atomic age, if we did not have this type of mobile sea base we would be forced to invent one. Fortunately, we have it and in just a few moments you will see it launched. The *Forrestal's* ability to carry a powerful atomic punch, its ability to take the fight right into the enemy's front yard, its ability to sustain itself at sea for long periods of time, its ability to strike a naval target a thousand miles from her deck, gives our Nation a powerful weapon for preserving a peaceful world.

Our seapower, as represented by the *Forrestal*, is therefore a great deterrent to war. We are determined to keep that seapower modern, alert, and adequate.

The launching of this great ship should elevate our confidence that peace can be achieved. We have a righteous cause, freedom and peace. We have strong friends. We have superior productive capacity. We have superior naval power to control the seas on the surface, below the surface, and in the air above.

With all of these, and above all, with God's help, we are confident of success.

INVOCATION BY REAR ADMIRAL EDWARD B. HARP, JR., UNITED STATES NAVY, CHIEF OF UNITED STATES NAVY CHAPLAINS

Almighty and Eternal God, who art the fountain of all wisdom and power, we come to invoke Thy blessing upon this ship. We praise Thee for this memorable and climatic moment of human achievement. We rejoice that under the dispensation of Thy providence, in this particular moment of history, Thou hast made it possible for the ingenuity, skill and labor of free men to bring this ship into being. May there come now, to those who have wrought as good workmen in its planning and construction, the inner satisfaction of having done their tasks worthily and well.

As we christen the U. S. S. *Forrestal*, we commend her to Thy guidance and care. Grant that her services may be used in the preservation of peace, and for war only when the defense of freedom and honor shal so dictate.

To this petition we add also our supplications for the President of the United States and all others in authority. We ask Thy blessing, too, upon all who serve in the Armed Forces of our Nation, particularly those who are making the greater sacrifices in the troubled areas of the world. Be pleased to protect and uphold them with Thy love and care.

Finally, O God, unite us all in an eternal purpose, to preserve and bear aloft the torch of freedom and peace among nations who love Thee and keep Thy commandments. To Thy honor and glory we offer this prayer. Amen.

Cardinal Spellman, Apostle of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this past Christmas, as in the 4 previous years, our soldiers in Korea were visited by a distinguished priest of peace, Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York.

He has just recently returned from that trip and the following words, written by Harry H. Schlacht, which appeared in the East Side News of January 22, 1955, are indeed a "welcome home."

I am pleased to commend them to the attention of our colleagues:

CARDINAL SPELLMAN, APOSTLE OF PEACE

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

Welcome home, Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York.

His eminence has recently returned to our shores, following his fifth consecutive Christmas in Korea with our Armed Forces.

He has gone there because of his innate love and devotion to our fighters for freedom.

Cardinal Spellman is the military vicar of the American troops.

He has traveled by helicopter and jeep, has climbed mountains in all sorts of weather, and has assumed peril upon peril to himself.

Notwithstanding all these dangers, he has brought spiritual consolation to our lads in the Far East.

His was indeed a familiar face.

His was a familiar voice to our boys who came from every hamlet and village, from every city and State, from every plain and mountainside of our glorious land.

And they listened to the soft, sweet tones of his eminence, as his voice rolled gently across the Korean fields.

"If vigilantly we do not built an invulnerable spiritual defense against the foes of peace, then we will bring upon ourselves and the innocents of future generations continuing, agonizing years of war."

These inspiring words of this prince of the church were echoed round the world.

"No man on earth wants peace more than I do," said Cardinal Spellman.

"For I am a priest of peace, my life consecrated to the service of God and man, dedicated to striving to bring peace to men on earth and everlasting peace in Heaven."

There is not a man of peace who has not been greatly moved by the hart-warming sentiments expressed by this simple man of God.

There is hardly a person across the sea who does not turn his face toward America, as he offers his evening prayers, and whose sleep is not visited by some dream of our free land.

Ours is God's country, in which liberty and peace are always cherished and coveted.

And God willing, they shall ever remain with us.

The stories told by our soldiers of the goodness and greatness of Cardinal Spellman are legion.

They tell of his compassion and understanding, and of his never-failing sense of humor.

They tell of his great capacity to see, to hear, to feel the joys and sorrows of our servicemen.

Indeed, the elements in his nature give him a kinship with the spiritual leaders of the ages.

The great honor him and forget their greatness.

Francis Cardinal Spellman is not only the great churchman we know him to be, but he also is a writer, scholar and humanitarian as well.

Let the Nation unfurl his banner high for all the world to see—his magnificent record in the cause of freedom and peace.

He merits the Nation's highest award.

Let America make grateful acknowledgment of a task well done.

Result of Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, during my years of service in the Congress, I have regularly conducted polls of public thinking on vital national issues in my congressional district. These polls have been in the form of a printed questionnaire, requiring simple yes-and-no answers, mailed to registered voters in my district, regardless of political affiliation.

Responses to these questionnaires have always been excellent. The tabulated results, which virtually constitute a referendum of the district, have proved of enormous value to myself and I hope to my colleagues in the Congress.

My congressional district is probably as representative and contains as many varied interest groups as any in the Nation. It has the wealthy, the poor, and the middle class. It has a high concentration of labor, white-collar workers, small business, large industries and some of the finest farm areas found anywhere. It includes a thickly populated section of Pittsburgh, extends to the rural areas, and takes in many large and small towns in northern Allegheny County.

This latest poll covered 13 questions raised by President Dwight D. Eisenhower's state of the Union message. The percentage tabulation of answers is included here without comment.

I trust they will prove as interesting and informative to all who study them as they are to me.

POLL RESULTS

1. Do you approve of Eisenhower's program in general? Yes, 90 percent; no, 10 percent.
2. Should the budget be balanced prior to any important tax cuts? Yes, 83 percent, no, 17 percent.
3. Do you believe that our expenditures for national defense are adequate? Yes, 76 percent; no, 24 percent.
4. Should the Federal Government encourage and guaranty private health insurance programs? Yes, 51 percent; no, 49 percent.
5. Should tariffs be selectively lowered through reciprocal trade agreements? Yes, 72 percent; no, 28 percent.
6. Should the draft law be renewed? Yes, 85 percent; no, 15 percent.
7. Should the minimum wage be raised to 90 cents per hour? Yes, 77 percent; no, 23 percent.
8. Eisenhower says a salary raise for Members of Congress "is long overdue." Do you agree? Yes, 64 percent; no, 36 percent.
9. Should the incentives for men to remain in the military services be increased and the incentives to be discharged be reduced? Yes, 82 percent; no, 18 percent.
10. Should the voting age be lowered from 21 to 8 years? Yes, 35 percent; no, 65 percent.
11. Do you agree that the flexible price-support program is a marked improvement? Yes, 88 percent; no, 12 percent.
12. Eisenhower said: "The transition to a peacetime economy is largely behind us. The economic outlook is good." Do you agree? Yes, 78 percent; no, 22 percent.
13. Do you think the Eisenhower administration is making satisfactory progress in securing world peace? Yes, 81 percent; no, 19 percent.

The Vital Necessity of the Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the Mississippi Valley Association is holding its annual meeting in St. Louis beginning Sunday and continuing through Wednesday of next week. This organization is deeply interested in the merchant marine of our country and recently published the following editorial by the association's president, Wilbur A. Jones, about the vital necessity of the merchant marine—an editorial I hope the Members of the House will take the opportunity to read:

[From the Mississippi Valley Association Newsletter]

PRESIDENT'S PARAGRAPH

To landlubbers living far from any coast, seagoing ships often seem remote things scarcely touching our everyday experiences. When their owners complain of financial difficulties, it is easy to shrug our shoulders and say, "So what?" But it takes a little research to discover some most important connections. For example, foreign commerce is vastly important to agriculture and industry, often providing the added volume that means the difference between profit and loss. It was this very idea that led far-seeing businessmen of the midcontinent area to organize the valley association in 1919 to tie the industry, commerce, and agriculture of the great hinterland to the foreign trade of America at the port of New Orleans. The wisdom of that plan is becoming more apparent every day, with the tremendous growth of river traffic, a sizable part of which finds its way into foreign trade.

It is a sad fact that American-flag ships do not carry the bulk of these cargoes to foreign countries. Roughly 70 percent of the business goes to foreign ship owners in spite of the fact that the rates are competitive. To offset the much higher wage rate paid American seamen, our Government pays a subsidy to domestic lines who qualify under certain restrictions. While this comes to a tidy sum annually, it is still only a minor part of the income of the American merchant marine, 90 percent of which comes from private enterprise. And this 90 percent goes right back into wages for American workmen, food, supplies of every kind.

Not only does our merchant marine add greatly to the total of American enterprise, but it is a defense factor of tremendous importance. In this day of global concern and tension it is vital that our merchant marine be kept at a high state of efficiency. After both world wars short-sighted policy led to indifference and neglect of this vital national asset, so valuable either in peace or war. A subsidy which merely makes up the difference in cost of living of our ships' crews is a small price to pay for what is one of our first lines of defense.

I am sure it will be news to many of our members that in the last session of Congress, it was very difficult to obtain enough votes to pass two measures very essential to the continued operation of the American merchant marine. One was an amendment to the mutual security bill, providing that at least 50 percent of our give-away cargoes in the current year be carried in American bottoms. The other was a bill to make this provision a permanent factor in American policy. These measures were so close to failing of passage that an SOS was sent out to our association to muster every possible vote in the Mississippi Valley. It is a matter of pride to your officers that the votes were forthcoming, and the bills were passed, and are now the law of the land.

While our membership is predominantly in the States of the great central plains and valleys, our association is strong for anything that helps make and keep America strong. The American merchant marine does that.

WILBUR A. JONES.

The Formosa Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by the noted military expert of the New York Times, Hanson W. Baldwin. In this critical period his views as to the significance of Formosa to the United States, militarily and otherwise, is of great interest.

THE FORMOSA DEBATE—AN EVALUATION OF ISLANDS' MILITARY AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

Debate about the importance of Formosa and of its coastal outposts of Quemoy and Matsu can have no realistic settlement unless two questions are answered:

How important is Formosa to the United States in the current world conflict?

Are the Nationalist-held islands of Quemoy and Matsu essential to the defense of Formosa?

The first question must be answered in political and psychological as well as military terms.

In a military sense the island is important but not vital to the United States and to our position in the western Pacific and eastern Asia.

FORMOSA A FLANK THREAT

Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces have a defensive importance and a small offensive

capability, limited chiefly to harassing and raiding operations. In case of general war, but only as part of a United States operation, the Nationalist land forces could become the backbone of an invasion of the China mainland. Without United States support there would be no possibility of a successful invasion. As the years go on the Nationalist Army, now averaging more than 27 years of age, will tend to become less and less useful.

In Nationalist hands Formosa does, however, offer a slight flank threat to Communist China. As long as the island is in Nationalist hands Peiping must earmark some of its armed forces to the so-called invasion coast from Shanghai to Canton.

In Communist hands, Formosa would dominate the normal north-south shipping routes along the coast of eastern Asia. It would secure the coastal flank of Red China and would provide air bases within easy jet range of the Philippines and Okinawa. In a military sense it is more important to us negatively than positively; we do not need it for an offensive base or strategic point d'appui from which to exert power against the Asiatic mainland, but it would complicate our military problem in the Western Pacific if the island were in Communist hands.

Formosa's real importance is political and psychological. Its loss to communism would be felt all over Asia: among the overseas Chinese residing abroad, many of whom now look to Taipei rather than to Peiping; in Indonesia and South Vietnam, Burma, and elsewhere—already impressed by past Communist victories. Communist propaganda has exploited the stalemate in Korea and the West's defeat in Indochina. The United States, to many Orientals, is a paper tiger, big on words but short on strength. It is certain that the communization of Formosa would mean to many Asiatics that they had better jump on the bandwagon of Peiping.

It seems certain, therefore, that Formosa, while far from vital to the military defense of the United States, is highly important and, in a political sense, well-nigh vital to the position of the United States in the Western Pacific and to the struggle against communism in Asia.

QUEMOY AND MATSU

But if this is so, are Quemoy and Matsu essential to Formosa's defense?

The Quemoy Islands, held by the Nationalists, command the approaches to the harbor of Amoy, opposite southern Formosa. The main island is about 10 miles long and rises to a height of 176 feet. Little Quemoy Island, 357 feet high, is about a mile at the nearest point from Quemoy. The area between the islands offers good shelter from typhoons and forms Quemoy Harbor. These 2 islands are garrisoned by about 50,000 Nationalist troops, well dug in behind barbed wire and minefields. The garrison has some 105-millimeter guns, 37-millimeter-gunned tanks, and Sherman tanks. There are two small airstrips, one of which can handle two-engined cargo planes.

Matsu Island, which lies well off the harbor of Foochow, is about 3 miles long and 2¼ miles wide at its broadest. It, too, is rocky and rises to a height of 104 feet. Matsu is garrisoned by about 5,000 Nationalists regulars and 1,000 guerrillas.

The coastal guns on these islands are not big enough to deny Amoy and Foochow Harbors to all Communist shipping. But in the hands of the Nationalists the islands, Quemoy in particular, do tend to neutralize the importance of these ports. Quemoy and Matsu, therefore, have an inhibitory effect upon Communist invasion preparations. It seems probable that no invasion of Formosa could be attempted until these islands were reduced.

On the other hand, these islands would be difficult to hold against determined assault.

It is, therefore, true, as Adm. Felix B. Stump, commanding the Pacific Fleet, put it, that Quemoy and Matsu "certainly are important" but not "absolutely vital" in a military sense to the defense of Formosa itself. Like Formosa, their greater importance is political and psychological. Would the communization of Quemoy and Matsu weaken materially the morale of the Nationalists in Formosa itself and of non-Communists all over Asia?

Scientist Shortage Major Peril to United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by Donald A. Quarles, Assistant Secretary of Defense, which appeared in the January 1955 issue of Planes. The article entitled "Graduations Drop as Demand Grows for Technicians," follows:

SCIENTIST SHORTAGE MAJOR PERIL TO UNITED STATES—GRADUATIONS DROP AS DEMAND GROWS FOR TECHNICIANS

(By Donald A. Quarles, Assistant Secretary of Defense)

The critical shortage of engineers and scientists in America is potentially a greater threat to our national security than are any weapons known to be in the arsenals of aggressor nations.

Since 1950 there has been a steady decrease in the number of technical graduates from United States schools which has now leveled off at less than half the 1950 figure. This alarming decline has occurred at a time when advances in technology have imposed mounting requirements for technical personnel in industry and national defense.

AVIATION REQUIREMENTS INCREASE

The need for engineers, scientists, and technicians has been particularly serious in aviation, where research and development demands have multiplied at an almost unbelievable rate, and where design and production have become infinitely complex operations.

Because the aircraft industry is the backbone of our air power, the present and prospective future shortages of skilled personnel in this industry constitute a grave threat to our continuing air leadership.

As a matter of national policy, the United States has embarked upon an air power program designed to assure qualitative superiority over an indefinite period of years. Reliance will be placed upon our possession of better air power, more effective air power, rather than upon vast numbers of aircraft.

FACE MAJOR PROBLEMS

It is obvious that this effort to maintain our qualitative superiority in the air will require the efforts of tremendous numbers of scientists and engineers. We face many problems involved in the design and production of aircraft which will, in the not-too-distant future, fly and fight at multiples of the speed of sound. There are problems of heat, of control, of materials, of electronics, and many others. As yet, we have barely started the exploration of the aeronautical sciences.

The only way we can find the answers to these knotty problems is to assure that America has adequate numbers of scientific and engineering personnel, and that their energies are devoted to this end.

Today we have little justification for complacency regarding our relative capabilities as compared with those of Russia. We must face the fact that technological advantages which we have so long enjoyed could be lost through apathy or through lack of long-range planning designed to meet our scientific needs. The element of time, which favored us in past emergencies by giving us many months to mobilize our resources and train our personnel, already has been nullified by the ability of enemy nations to launch all-out attacks against our homeland without warning.

REDS EMPHASIZE SCIENCE

Reports on the Soviet Union indicate that the Reds are exerting intensive efforts to channel the interests of Communist youth toward science and engineering. Elementary and secondary schools stress science and mathematics. Incentives are provided for advanced students in engineering and science; and liberal rewards are given to their working scientists and engineers.

It has been estimated that this year the Russians will graduate approximately 50,000 engineers—more than double the number who will receive degrees from United States colleges and universities. An estimated additional 50,000 Russians will be graduated as subprofessional engineers, and trained and highly qualified technicians.

Upon this great and growing reservoir of engineering personnel the Soviet Union will depend for future progress in the global competition for technological and scientific supremacy.

Only by matching them in ideas and skills can we expect to achieve a reasonable degree of national security in future years.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO YOUTH

Certainly there is no desire in America to regiment or to mold the minds of youth as do the Russians, but there is a grave responsibility on the leaders of Government, of education, and of industry to provide new motivation and incentive for our youth to enter engineering, scientific, and related fields.

Talented young Americans have been called this country's greatest natural resource. It is vital to our security and welfare that those who have been endowed with the talents meet the challenge and build careers for themselves and leadership for their country in science and technology.

Chairmen and Minority Leaders of Standing Committees of the House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to provide for the election of the chairman and the minority leader of each standing committee of the House of Representatives by the duly elected members of each committee. This proposed change in the rules of the House of Representa-

tives would have very wholesome and significant results and has long been overdue.

The rules of the House of Representatives provide amazingly well to let the majority eventually work its will while protecting all the proper rights of any minority. However, in actual practice the power of the Rules Committee to deep-freeze legislation is seldom successfully challenged, and the dictatorial control, where it exists, of the chairman of any standing committee over procedure and action in his committee is less seldom hurdled. I have earlier introduced legislation to partially dilute the power of the Rules Committee.

Why is there a need for a change in the manner of selecting committee chairmen? Every Member of the House knows and every student of committee procedures knows that the chairmen of the committees schedule pending bills for action in the order that they see fit. He may never schedule some bills at all; he may not assign them to a subcommittee; he may assign them to a special subcommittee of handpicked members; he may select or reject any witnesses for or against a given proposal. The chairman can limit the time of witnesses; he can select who does the questioning in hearings; he can determine in part who shall speak in the House and for how long. He may even delay to death reporting a bill favorably acted on to the Rules Committee or the House. Likewise, in the selection of conferees the chairman may often control the shape and design of House-passed legislation, and he can dominate, terminate, or prevent investigations and studies by his committee. Further, the selection and direction of the committee staff members can and generally is at the will of the chairman. Finally, the chairman can be most effective negatively by simply not calling meetings of the committee or stall a bill to death by hearings, protracted discussion, and intervening matters. All of these powers and more reside in the hands of the chairman of a standing committee and all of them have been abused too often.

How would the election of the chairman by the members of the majority party improve the situation? Most obviously by making the chairman of a committee responsible to the committee members instead of the seniority system, his power to behave in an arbitrary manner would be diluted if not eliminated. Certainly no chairman could long remain such or hope to be reelected if he did not treat his colleagues with the consideration they deserve as elected Members of Congress. Certainly any action on his part which was contrary to the will of the majority would place his chairmanship in jeopardy and he would know it.

It is also evident that in many cases; election of the chairman by the committee members would result in better-qualified chairmen. It is assumed that the senior member of any committee on the majority side, all things being equal, would normally be elected chairman under this proposal. But where it happens that the impairments of advanced age; lack of energy; lack of ability to properly explain or persuade; lack of consideration, fair play, and open-mindedness, and lack of proper qualifications generally makes a person unfit to be a chairman, someone else would probably be elected in his stead.

The election of the chairman of the standing committees would, therefore, end the dictatorial powers of the chairman and would frequently result in a more capable chairman filling that vital post.

All that has been said about the importance of electing committee chairmen applies with greatly decreased force, but nonetheless does apply to the office of minority leader of the committee. If we regard the committee system as making the House of Representatives a collection of little Congresses subject finally to the will of the whole House we have the picture quite accurately and consequently the election of a minority leader for the committee comes in regular order.

I commend this measure to the consideration of my colleagues many of whom know its necessity and desirability without any prompting by me.

Need for Expansion of Italy's Agricultural Exports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my views on and my objection to the United States export program of granting heavy subsidies on citrus fruits which, because of these subsidies, is crowding Italy, Israeli, north African citrus products out of their traditional European markets, to the economic detriment of those war-ravaged and needy countries.

With the termination of direct United States economic aid, countries like Italy more than ever need their traditional foreign markets in order to maintain and raise their economic levels. Italy has a chronic unemployment situation in the southern part of the country which is, predominantly, an agricultural area. Unless it can expand its citrus and other agricultural exports it will be unable to overcome this situation. In addition, Italy is under constant pressure from the Soviet bloc to sell, at attractive market prices, to countries behind the Iron Curtain. Unless unfair competitive methods like United States subsidies are suspended, we will drive Italy and other countries similarly situated from their traditional markets and force them to sell to Communists and Communist-dominated countries.

I submit for insertion in the RECORD the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of January 24, 1955, which relates to Italy's biggest and most pressing problem—unemployment. The editorial calls attention to Italy's proposed 10-year governmental program which, among other things, points up the need for the expansion of the country's export trade and the lifting of the economic level of its southern agricultural areas.

HOPE FOR ITALY'S JOBLESS

Although it may have a number of serious bugs in it, the proposed plan to create full employment in Italy has the virtue at least of seeking to do something concrete, and on a large scale, about that country's biggest and most pressing problem— a problem that the Communists continue to exploit with great and omnious success.

The root of this problem rests in the fact that Italy, whose emigration outlets are very limited, is an overpopulated land that is poor in both food resources and the raw materials needed for a thriving industrial economy. As a result, about 2 million of its adult citizens are wholly unemployed and another 2 million just barely manage to subsist on incomes derived from low-paying, part-time jobs.

Clearly enough, even though Italy's living standards today are much better than at any time in the past two decades or more, such an unemployment situation is bound to be a breeder of widespread discontent, particularly because it tends to worsen as the country's population of 48 million keeps on growing. And the Communists, together with the fellow-traveling, leftwing Socialists, unquestionably are as strong as they are over there—the strongest Red party in free Europe—primarily because they have skillfully capitalized on the fact that Rome's postwar governments have thus far achieved little in coping with the problem.

Accordingly, the new full-employment proposal, whatever its shortcomings, deserves the most serious attention. As drafted by Senator Ezio Vanoni, Italy's Budget Minister, it contemplates a total outlay of $8 billion on a 10-year program of governmental and private investment designed to expand or bring into being productive enterprises on a scale that would create and sustain 4 million additional jobs. The program would be concerned, among other things, with increasing the country's exports and lifting the predominantly agricultural south to a level of economic activity comparable to that of the industrial north.

As for financing, the Vanoni plan envisions not only a big outlay of public and private Italian capital, but also a number of substantial foreign loans and a market increase in overseas free-enterprise investments (especially American) in Italy's industries. But this aspect of the project is rather vague, and what remains to be seen is whether incentives and guaranties can be made attractive enough for either individual investors or for governmental lenders.

Despite such reservations, however, Italy obviously needs to do far more than it has done up to now if it is to solve its deadly serious unemployment problem.

Sgt. Prudencio Uranga

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, under the stimulus of battle men of great patriotism have willingly risked death and destruction.

Men have gone forth under the most hazardous conditions to rescue fellow men from death. It takes great courage to do these things.

We honor those who have performed them. They become an inspiration to all of us.

Let me tell you of a man of great courage. A man who with great deliberation, fully recognizing the consequences of his decision, risked the most horrible of deaths to save his comrades and companions.

I can best tell the story by quoting from paragraph 2, general orders No. 34, Department of the Air Force, dated September 16, 1954:

2. By direction of the President, under the provisions of the act of Congress approved July 2, 1926, and transfer order 30, 1948, the Soldier's Medal for heroism not involving actual conflict with an enemy is awarded to the following named airmen:

T. Sgt. Prudencio Uranga, AF18199466, distinguished himself by an act of heroism involving voluntary risk of life at Hayward Air National Guard Base, Hayward, Calif., on December 7, 1953, while serving as a civilian air technician with the California Air National Guard. An explosion in the pumping compartment of an F-2 refueling unit set the unit afire and threw burning aircraft fuel upon Sgt. Uranga. After extinguishing the flames on his clothing, Sergeant Uranga displayed outstanding courage and selfless disregard for his own safety by entering the tractor of the furiously burning fuel trailer and driving it from the aircraft parking area. Sergeant Uranga without benefit of protective clothing, and although he had sustained first- and second-degree burns of his hands, arms, and face, then assisted in subduing the fire in the fuel trailer. The courage and devotion to duty displayed by Sergeant Uranga in this emergency reflect great credit upon himself, the Air National Guard and the United States Air Force.

By order of the Secretary of the Air Force:

N. F. TWINING,
Chief of Staff, United States Air Force.

Official:

K. E. THIEBAUD,
Colonel, USAF,
Air Adjutant General.

Prudencio Uranga is a member of the California Air National Guard.

He has lived up to the proved tradition of the National Guard.

He risked his life to save those of his comrades. He saved his country a great sum of money by reducing the hazard of a bad conflagration.

I hail Sgt. Prudencio Uranga as a hero.

Harriman, a Good Administrator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, during the many years when he was associated with the Federal Government in Washington, the Honorable Averell Harriman held high and responsible posts and proved himself an able administrator. Now, in his capacity as Governor of New York, he is again proving his capability as leader and administrator of the greatest and most populous State in the country.

Governor Harriman has made an excellent beginning in the short time since assuming office. The people of New York had shown their confidence by electing him as Governor of the State, and now their confidence in him is being justified.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to place into the RECORD an article by the noted columnist, Marquis Childs, entitled "Harriman's Stock Rises," which was published in the Washington Post and Times Herald on February 2, 1955. It reads as follows:

WASHINGTON CALLING

HARRIMAN'S STOCK RISES

(By Marquis Childs)

ALBANY, N. Y.—Something distinctly new has been added to the staid atmosphere of this capital of the richest and most populous State in the country. For the first time in 12 years, a Democratic governor and a Democratic administration are making the news.

While Gov. Averell Harriman is discovering the headaches that beset most of the 48 governors, he is also beginning to get the feel of the big new job he has taken on. He is preparing to push a variety of plans for improving one aspect or another of the State government; plans that are certain to come up against the stubborn resistance of the Republican legislature that has already set out to trip him up.

But conflict also makes headlines. Because the affairs of New York State are reported extensively in newspapers of national circulation, the governor of New York has at his disposal a formidable publicity engine. Harriman and his staff have given every sign that they mean to use that engine.

If only for this one factor of national attention, you could feel sprouting in the heady political atmosphere, a hothouse atmosphere anticipating the political spring, a potential candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. But there are other factors. One of them is the presence at Harriman's elbow of his newly appointed Secretary of State Carmine De Sapio, who is also the leader of Tammany Hall and Democratic national committeeman.

If De Sapio, who has already proved himself a shrewd and resourceful political manager, has his way, Harriman will be the Democratic standard-bearer in 1956. The late Ed Flynn, boss of the Bronx, who had a great deal to do with making Franklin D. Roosevelt President, was secretary of state when F. D. R. was Governor and the parallel has not escaped the friends of either Harriman or De Sapio.

The new governor will not talk about what may or may not happen in 1956. But he is aware of a kind of vacuum in Democratic politics at the present moment and he means to take advantage of it.

The Democratic leadership in Congress is on the conservative side and has thus far shown a great reluctance to challenge President Eisenhower on either domestic or foreign policy. This "me, too" attitude, as it is considered here, will serve only to prepare the way for President Eisenhower to walk into a second term with scarcely more than token opposition. Harriman says frankly that he favors the political philosophy of former President Truman, who insisted that the Democratic Party had of necessity to be the dynamic party, championing measures of reform and social change.

Adlai E. Stevenson, generally considered the Democratic front-runner up to now, is refusing all requests to speak as he pursues the private practice of law. Moreover, Stevenson has no public base of operation such as he had when he was Governor of Illinois in the months leading up to his "draft" for the Democratic nomination in 1952.

For many who have known Harriman through the past 20 years as he has held important appointive offices in Washington, Paris, London, and Moscow, it is simply impossible to take him seriously as a Presidential candidate. To begin with, he has a fortune inherited from his father. Great wealth, and particularly inherited wealth, has long been considered an almost irremediable handicap to aspiration to high elective office.

The Governor's shy, diffident manner has made him an indifferent practitioner of the art of speechifying, which is so important to the politician's career. Until he was a candidate in the District of Columbia's preferential primary in the spring of 1952—really a sort of popularity contest since the District is voteless—he had never run for any office. Harriman is 63 years old, 1 year younger than President Eisenhower and 9 years older than Stevenson.

Harriman's ardent backers, many of them now in his administration, believe that his election as Governor puts him in a new light. They see a parallel with Roosevelt, who was considered even up to the Presidency as an amiable aristocrat without very much force of character.

Certainly as Governor, Harriman has a new perspective. His hope is to play a leadership role with the Democratic governors. He hopes they will supply the kind of dynamic leadership not evident in Washington.

This overlooks the fact, of course, that some of these governors are also known to harbor high political ambitions. Gov. G. Mennen Williams is a fourth-term Governor in Michigan and Frank Lausche, of Ohio, is serving his fifth term. Compared to these veterans, Harriman is a brash upstart. But the weight of New York State can be counted on to make up for part of his newness, or so his followers believe.

Belated thought it may be, he is entering into a new political phase of his life with an almost lighthearted enthusiasm.

Paying for Fraud

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by Joseph Alsop, appeared in his column, Matter of Fact, in the New York Herald Tribune of January 30, 1955. I direct it to the attention of our colleagues:

MATTER OF FACT

(By Joseph Alsop)

PAYING FOR FRAUD

RANGOON, BURMA.—Here in Burma, which boasts the ablest and most realistic government of postwar Asia, the price we are paying for the fraudulence of our Asian policy is alarmingly evident.

The news from home indicates a great, sudden stir about the Chinese Communist threat to the offshore islands of Formosa. But why is this?

In view of the record of the last 2 years, why on earth is anyone ruffled by the Communist seizure of Yikiangshan?

There was a first Munich in the form of the Korean truce. There was a second Munich in the form of the surrender in Indochina. There was a transparent fake in

the form of the toothless Manila Treaty. And in the treaty with Chiang Kai-shek, specifically excluding the offshore islands from American protection, there was the equivalent of an engraved invitation to the Communists to seize those islands.

In the face of this record of retreat and appeasement, people at home are surprised by the natural—the downright inevitable results.

They are surprised because the retreat has been masked by a loud, hucksterish drumfire about "unleashing Chiang Kai-shek," "recaptured initiatives," "massive retaliation," "strengthened outposts," and the like.

The bad joke is that the Burmese and the Indians, who desperately desire to avoid an unnecessary war, have been just as much deceived by the loud talk as our own people. The loud talk in Washington has made these Asians think American policy warlike, when it has really been the precise reverse.

In Burma, we are blamed not for appeasement, which can be justly charged against us, but for aggressiveness, of which we are conspicuously guiltless.

If appeasement was needful, we ought at least to have tried to reap its natural benefits and reinsure it as best we could. In particular, we ought to have told the Burmese and the Indians, "Well, we are going to follow your ideas about the right conduct of affairs in Asia, so let's get together to cope with the resulting situation."

We even virtually ceased communication with Rangoon and New Delhi. The mounting concern caused by the loud talk in Washington was one cause of this development. But there have been other causes.

There has been no American Ambassador in Delhi for many months. There has been none here in Rangoon since last July.

The junior diplomats who are holding the fort here are good, hard working men, who show all the worst effects of the treatment given to the foreign service in the last 2 years. The American representation in Rangoon today has the approximative effectiveness of an old, wet washrag. And this is true despite a danger and an opportunity that should intensely preoccupy the American policymakers.

The danger can be simply defined. With no one to speak up for our side, Burma has slipped since last year. The big power—China—has begun to convince the little power—Burma—that her sweet words can be relied on. Men like Premier U Nu, and his two remarkable chief collaborators, U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nein, are not really deceived; but they are beginning to be immobilized.

The opportunity can be equally simply defined. It is the opportunity to mobilize Burma.

The appeasements of the last 2 years have produced a new situation in Asia. American power is no longer sufficient to hold the balance true. The political and moral authority of the free Asian nations, and in particular Burma and India, are desperately needed to prevent a general collapse. That is another result of our recent policy which it is high time to face squarely. The opportunity is in Burma, because here in Burma, the leadership sees the position in Asia more clearly than in Delhi.

The danger to Burma of a Communist triumph in Thailand can never be forgotten by the government in Rangoon. Therefore, it is here, if anywhere, that the needed effort can be organized to hold Cambodia and Laos, the approaches to Thailand, which now have, for the long run, at least as much importance as the Formosa approaches, or indeed, of Formosa itself.

The last 2 years' policy of retreat may well have been desirable. Yet the wise commander, when he retreats, is careful to organize a new defense line for the new position he has occupied. Our policymakers have instead been too busy protesting that we really were not retreating; so no shadow of a new defense line has been organized, and the task of organizing one is getting harder by the month.

Newsletter to the East Side News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an article which I have prepared for the East Side News, a weekly newspaper circulated in my district on the East Side of New York:

FROM INSIDE CONGRESS

Washington is a serious city these days. The changeover from Republican to Democratic control of the House has brought with it a sober awareness that our international policy, and in many respects our internal legislation, must be bipartisan in character. Democratic leadership in Congress is demonstrating that it puts concern for the Nation highest in its thinking. I hope that the President will be big enough to express publicly his regrets at the warning he gave before elections of a cold war in our Government in the event of a Democratic victory. The plain fact is that the Democratic Party, which is now in control of both Houses, is showing no rancor, no opposition for opposition's sake, and a genuine spirit of cooperation that deserve the President's and the country's thanks. I hope that will be forthcoming.

I voted for the resolution on Formosa. It was not an easy decision to make. I share the deep feelings of my constituents and, I believe, of the American people generally that we must not fail to pursue any honorable course that will maintain peace and secure our national defense.

With this in mind I joined the overwhelming majority in the House and in the Senate who voted for the resolution. There have been many experiences of history where wars were not begun, but were blundered into. Often the blunder was based on ignorance or miscalculation or misunderstanding. In an atomic age we cannot run the risk of being misunderstood. It seemed to me, and I gave this deep and careful consideration, that we owed it to ourselves and to the world to state just how we felt about our essential defense outposts.

This, together with the assurance that we have been given that the United Nations will be called upon to arrange a cease-fire off the coast of China, seems to me to be a step toward peace and not toward war.

There is another kind of defense the we need, in fact that we cannot do without; and that is the defense of our own morale and of our own historic traditions. That's why I introduced a resolution into the House last week, calling for the outright repeal of the present Immigration and Nationality Act, better known as the McCarran Act. I am not kidding myself. I can't speak with any certainty about how that resolution will be acted upon in committee, but I felt that it was the moral and the American way to stand up clearly and to say, as this resolution indicates: This is a blot upon our statute books, an affront to millions of Americans, unworthy of our tradition and inconsistent with our claim to speak up for the democratic forces and institutions and peoples of the world.

I don't think that Congress would be indifferent to the voice of these millions of Americans if only they would speak up. That's a job for Mr. John Citizen. I hope he will do it in such volume and with such persistency that my resolution will be passed and that we can then tackle the reorganization of our immigration and nationality laws, with a new liberal spirit.

Last week I had occasion to speak on a radio program on the subject of wiretapping. Several weeks earlier Judge Hofstadter handed down a very significant decision, refusing a New York Police Department's request for the right to wiretap and expressing himself forcibly on this practice as a steady erosion of our individual liberties. He also pointed out that the number of convictions obtained by wiretapping was not consequential.

I have steadily maintained that wiretapping is a dirty business and that, tolerated, is sure to injure our dignity as a nation and our heritage as Americans. In a debate on the subject in Congress last year I said very clearly:

"Wiretapping is dirty business. Nothing that we can do or say here will change that. And while I think that every legal means should be used to convict traitors and saboteurs, we must not overlook the fact that this country is based on law and order and justice. If we deviate one iota from those principles, we are forgetting our great heritage of freedom and joining those who believe in totalitarian methods.

"It is doubtful whether such random, haphazard searches of the population at large are very efficient police methods, but efficient or not, the undesirability of most of them was decided a long time ago by the adoption of the Bill of Rights."

My stand is with our Founding Fathers who insisted on the Bill of Rights as a condition for the adoption of the Constitution.

H. R. 1, Extending Reciprocal Trade Agreements, Will Continue the Disastrous Effects on Our Economy That Have Resulted From the Reckless Importation of Foreign Goods Manufactured at a Fraction of the Wages Paid American Workmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on February 1, 1955, I appeared before the House Committee on Ways and Means in opposition to H. R. 1 providing for an extension of reciprocal trade agreements.

My statement follows:

I appreciate the privilege of appearing before this committee.

When I first came to Congress in 1939 I opposed Reciprocal Trade Agreements on the grounds that they were destroying the jobs of coal miners in my Congressional District in Pennsylvania. At that time, imported Russian coal had captured some of the eastern seaboard coal markets from coal producers in my Congressional District.

During the early part of World War II and before resigning my seat in Congress to return to military service, I supported the

extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreements in the 78th Congress because we were at war and the demand for coal revived our coal industry.

When I was elected to the 80th Congress I voted in favor of extending Reciprocal Trade Agreements with the understanding that American industries would be protected from unfair competition resulting from a flood of cheaply manufactured foreign goods.

For example, in Pennsylvania residual oil from Venezuela was beginning to flood the eastern seaboard, thus destroying the market for Pennsylvania-mined coal.

During the 82d Congress I voted to extend reciprocal trade agreements because there was contained therein the so-called peril-point amendment which was designed to provide a checkrein on imports that could destroy the jobs of American wage earners.

During the 83d Congress I joined many of my colleagues in an effort to stop the uncontrolled flow of foreign goods. Many of you will recall that we were supporting the Simpson bill. My special interest was in regulating the flood of foreign residual oil by placing a quota limitation on the importation of such oil. As many of you will recall, the Simpson bill was returned to the committee.

During the early part of 1954 the so-called Randall committee was created and took testimony from spokesmen for industries adversely affected by the importation of cheaply manufactured foreign goods. I regret to state that the coal industry was denied the opportunity to present its side of the case. Consequently the Randall report ignored the increasingly serious situation existing in the coal-producing States of our Nation.

Mr. Chairman, by my votes as a Member of Congress there is ample proof that I believe in the principles of reciprocal trade agreements and that I supported them until I found a wholesale disregard for protecting the jobs of American workmen.

It became evident that the so-called peril-point amendment was meaningless and that the Randall committee merely performed a window-dressing job and actually by their recommendations threw American wage earners to the wolves.

Mr. Chairman, I voted against the extension of reciprocal trade agreements last year and I intend to continue to do so until the interest of the American working man is protected.

As a means of attaining the objective of protecting the jobs of American workmen, I have three bills pending before this committee, namely: H. R. 345, H. R. 864 and H. R. 3019.

H. R. 345 is designed to provide a 5 percent quota limitation on imports of foreign residual oil; while H. R. 3019 would increase the limitation to 10 percent.

H. R. 864 provides a permanent procedure for the adjustment of tariff rates on a selective basis and regulates the flow of imported articles on a basis of fair competition with domestic articles. H. R. 864 also contains a 5 percent quota limitation on imports of foreign residual oil.

If hearings are scheduled on these three bills now pending before this committee, I am prepared to testify in support of their objectives.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to H. R. 1 because it will continue the disastrous effects on our economy by the reckless importation of foreign goods manufactured at a fraction of the wages paid American workmen.

For the past several days this committee has heard expert testimony from spokesmen for various industries regarding the adverse effects reciprocal trade agreements are having on our industrial economy. These experts produced facts showing that the employees of the industry affected not only lost their jobs but many of the manufacturing plants have been driven to financial distress, and in some instances were forced to close their doors.

You have heard from spokesmen for the coal industry and how the flood of foreign residual oil from Venezuela has destroyed the domestic coal markets of the miners in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and West Virginia.

Back in 1939 when I first voiced my opposition to the importation of slave-mined Russian coal and other cheaply manufactured foreign products, I predicted that such a reckless policy would create ghost towns out of many communities in my congressional district and throughout the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, my prediction in 1939 has become a reality. Practically all of our deep mines in central Pennsylvania are closed and thousands of miners have been out of work for several years. In fact, many mining towns have been abandoned and their empty and dilapidated rows of houses stand as a monument to the destructive effects of the importation of foreign residual oil. Because they have nowhere to go there are only a few of the unemployed in the coal fields of central Pennsylvania that have left the area. The result is that today, according to the United States Department of Labor, my congressional district is classified as a critical area because of the fact that nearly 18 percent of the civilian labor force is unemployed.

This unemployment is not confined to coal miners but includes those employed in affected related industries such as the railroads.

Mr. Chairman, in my home city of Altoona, Pa., nearly 10,000 people are unemployed, 6,000 of whom are railroad employees with 4,100 of this number having exhausted their rights on January 10, 1955, to railroad unemployment insurance benefits. A similar condition exists among coal miners and others who have lost their right to unemployment compensation benefits from the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Chairman, every community in my congressional district has an active committee engaged in trying to attract new industries and millions of dollars have been raised by voluntary subscription to finance this long-range program of rehabilitating the industrial economy of the area.

While this united community effort goes on, thousands of my constituents—all good Americans and victims of this reckless foreign trade policy—are today dependent for their existence upon public assistance and surplus food commodities.

I regret that every member of this committee is unable to talk to these unemployed Americans as they stand in line to pick up their food coupons. If it were possible for you to talk to them, you would hear the pitiful story of their plight as citizens of a Nation that boasts of its high standard of living.

As I mentioned a moment ago, communities affected by unemployment in cooperation with the State and Federal Government are endeavoring to rehabilitate their economy by attracting new industries. The unemployment situation, however, is getting worse as mines continue to close and more miners and railroaders are losing their jobs.

While this unfortunate situation prevails in the United States, residents of Venezuela which is the chief exporter of residual oil, are enjoying unbridled prosperity.

Let me read you Hal Boyle's syndicated column of January 24, 1955, titled "Venezuela Seen as the Texas of South America":

"VENEZUELA SEEN AS TEXAS OF SOUTH AMERICA

"(By Hal Boyle)

"CARACAS, VENEZUELA.—Leaves from a cruising notebook: Venezuela today is the Texas of South America.

"So much money is being made here that visiting Texans actually get an inferiority complex, and the United States dollar feels like 50 cents.

"Just to be sure he wouldn't be mistaken for an ordinary bum, one new millionaire from the interior of the country came to town with calling cards that bore this message printed after his name: 'Capital; 6,000,000 bolivars.' That's nearly $2 million.

"There is so much wealth flowing around that even tourists get a break. If you kick a diamond out of a rock here, the Government lets you keep it tax free unless it is worth more than $1,700. You can also go pearl diving and keep any pearls you find.

"The visitor has a dazed sensation he is caught in a mid-century Klondike gold rush. The atmosphere of quick money is overwhelming, and tales of riches made overnight are a bolivar a dozen.

"Venezuela is bigger than Texas and Oklahoma combined and larger than any European country except Germany. Its chief income is from oil—no land except the United States produces more—but it also has iron ore deposits rivaling the famed Minnesota Mesabi Range. It also has cowboys and Indians, 16,000-foot tall mountains, jungles, beach resorts, and the world's highest waterfalls.

"Although the nation has a population of only 5½ million, the Government spent half a billion dollars in 1954 on vast public works projects and still ended up with $80 million left in the till. Its huge modernization program calls for the future expenditure of $800 million alone for a new 2,640-mile railway network to open inland mineral and agricultural areas for further development.

"Foreign investors from the United States and Europe are pouring untold more millions into the industrialization of the country. It has taken in more than 100,000 immigrants from Europe the last 10 years.

"Caracas, the 388-year-old capital, is now one of the world's greatest boom cities. Fifty years ago milkmen herded cows through its ancient streets. Today they are jammed by thousands of new high-priced motor cars.

"You reach the city from the nearby port along recently completed 11-mile highway that cost $71 million, which Caraquenos proudly boast is, mile for mile, the most expensive ever built.

"Nearly a million people live in the metropolitan area, and so many new buildings are going up construction workers have no time even to take Sundays off to go to the bull fights.

"Dominating the heart of the city is Centro Bolivar, Venezuela's "Rockefeller Center," which will cost $300 million. Its twin 300-foot towers, housing Government offices, have 4 traffic levels beneath them.

"Caracas also has a baseball park the size of Yankee Stadium, the new $8 million Hotel Tamanaco, a technicolored $30 million polyclinic hospital, and a university as modern as any in the world.

"But the city has abysmal poverty as well as tremendous wealth. The shanties of the poor still crowd many of the raw red hills that stud Caracas. The Government has torn down thousands of these eyesores and replaces them with forty 15-story apartment buildings at a cost of $24 million. Workmen can rent the apartments for $6 to $30 a month, own them after a period of 20 years.

"In 1955 the Government plans to tear down 6,500 more shacks, spend $2 million more on apartment projects for low-income workers.

"Oddly, many uprooted workmen's families are unhappy in their fine new apartments.

" 'The old shacks had a small yard in which the families could raise a pig and a few chickens,' explained our guide. 'It is all but impossible, of course, to raise a pig in an apartment, and many of the old people in

particular get lonesome for their old way of life. They don't feel as free as they did.'

"Progress always has its price, and to some the price doesn't seem worth it."

Mr. Chairman, what a contrast it is to compare living conditions in Venezuela with the coalfields of Pennsylvania.

May I add that the prosperity enjoyed in Venezuela is to a great extent at the expense of the misery and suffering of residents of the coal-producing States of our Nation and especially of my congressional district.

At this very minute a quarter of a million ton tanker ship is tied up at an east coast dock carrying disaster to the coal, railroad, and related industries of this Nation, in much the same manner as rat-infested vessels brought disease into our port cities in years gone by.

This foreign tanker with its bunker space filled with residual oil is dumping it in violation of every American concept of fair competition. As a matter of fact, even if the miners of our Nation would work for nothing and the railroads transported the coal for practically nothing, the coal industry could not compete with this unfair competition from foreign residual oil because its price is continually manipulated downward to capture the eastern seaboard coal market.

Mr. Chairman, it is being said in defense of residual oil that the oil companies have been requested to restrict voluntarily the amount of residual oil imported quarterly.

It has also been said that if any restrictions are placed on the importation of foreign residual oil that we will offend Venezuela.

Let me state, Mr. Chairman, that every time a coal miner loses his job because of unfair competition from foreign residual oil a railroader has also been added to the list of the unemployed.

As far as I am concerned, it is about time we start adopting some of the policies foreign nations apply against us in protecting the jobs of their industrial workers.

Mr. Chairman, H. R. 1 will not correct the unemployment situation by affording the necessary relief to distressed industries and therefore I cannot conscientiously vote for it.

No doubt H. R. 1 will be sent to the floor under a closed rule prohibiting any amendments, thereby denying us as representatives of the American people the opportunity to translate their wishes into law.

Mr. Chairman, those of us who represent coal-producing States recognize foreign residual oil as the archenemy of our industrial economy. I hold in my hand a bottle of this toxic economic poison. Therefore, I plead with you that during your consideration of H. R. 1 you will amend its language to include a 10-percent quota limitation on quarterly imports of foreign residual oil.

If this committee will adopt such an amendment, you will be granting a large measure of relief to the unemployed coal miners and railroaders in my congressional district and the Nation at large.

Forstmann for Tariff Review

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, the textile industry has much at stake in any change in the tariffs affecting it.

Julius G. Forstmann, president of Forstmann Woolen Co., has made an interesting proposal for a tariff review. Because of the general interest in the subject, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an article concerning Mr. Forstmann's proposal, which appeared in the Passaic (N. J.) Herald-News of January 12, 1955:

FORSTMANN FOR TARIFF REVIEW

Julius G. Forstmann, president of Forstmann Woolen Co., today called for a systematic review of United States tariffs industry by industry, and, where necessary, product by product. Based on these studies, he said, recommendations should be submitted to Congress by the Tariff Commission for whatever rate changes the facts warrant.

Mr. Forstmann said the "experiment" of the last 20 years in making tariffs a tool of the executive branch of our Government in forming foreign policy has availed us nothing.

The statement was a reply to President Eisenhower's special tariff message to Congress calling for extension of the reciprocal trade agreements.

During the past year, Mr. Forstmann said, prosperity in the United States has not been evenly distributed, as anyone familiar with the layoffs and losses in the textile industry is well aware.

"Other industries, too, have felt the bite of cheap foreign labor," he said.

Mr. Forstmann warned that the proposed customs simplification legislation contains a new method for the evaluation of imports which "in itself constitutes a further tariff cut."

He added that tariff agreements "never yet brought before Congress" are currently undergoing revision at an international conference in Geneva.

"Under this setup, matters which affect both our internal and external trade and economy are ruled upon by a group of over 30 nations," he said. "This is, in my opinion, the most far-reaching and unwarranted abdication of the power which our Constitution rightly placed with Congress."

Mr. Forstmann pointed out that there is still no indication of what further tariff cuts will be granted to Japan at conferences scheduled for February, or of what the Tariff Commission will recommend in connection with studies requested by Congress last year.

"The very least which these facts indicate is that there should be no undue haste to enact part of the President's program before all of its components can be property studied and evaluated," he said.

SEES MORE DAMAGE

Mr. Forstmann said that foreign producers are enjoying unexampled prosperity, and that present tariff levels here have not been a burden to them.

"Why consider a bill which, as far as many American producers are concerned, will add to the damage which has already been done, while others in our economy have escaped the effect of continuing tariff reductions," he said.

"First importance should be given to the economic strength of America, without which the whole free world will be imperiled. And economic strength means peak employment, adequately protected where necessary against the lower costs of cheap foreign labor. Even those companies that engage to some extent in the export business must remember that the best customer in all the world is an American workman at work," Mr. Forstmann concluded. "A man out of work can buy little or nothing."

To undertake the necessary study, Mr. Forstmann said, the Tariff Commission should be "adequately staffed and supplied with sufficient funds, and responsible only to Congress."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Address by Hon. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, at Roosevelt Day Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, it was my privilege on Wednesday night to address the Roosevelt Day dinner in the city of New York. I ask unanimous consent that the text of my remarks may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNFINISHED TASK OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

(Address by Senator O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, at the seventh annual Roosevelt Day dinner, at the Hotel Commodore, February 2, 1955)

I speak tonight of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the conservative, and his unfinished task. Roosevelt was a conservative, not in the sense that he wanted to preserve things as he found them, but in the sense that he knew that new conditions impose new duties, and that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. He was a leader of vision who understood that the foundations of freedom were under attack in the modern world.

He knew that economic reform was essential to the preservation of the basic objectives of the American system of government. From the day he took office as President of the United States until the Nation became involved in the Second World War, the purpose of his policy was to restore economic opportunity to the masses of the people, to safeguard the concept of private property, and to eliminate abuses arising from the concentration of economic power.

Throughout his career Roosevelt was misunderstood by those who deemed him to be a radical reformer, whose efforts could result only in tearing down the edifice of popular government. They were blind leaders who not only did not realize that once again mankind needed a new birth of freedom, but who mistakenly believed that the remedy for the obvious economic ills, which brought the crash of 1929, was nothing more than a restoration of the conditions which existed before the collapse. They did not understand that a system of collectivist capitalism had developed which promoted monopoly, impaired production and distribution, caused widespread unemployment, and threatened the very existence of economic freedom.

Far from being a Socialist whose aim was to undermine the constitutional system and make the government superior to the citizen, Roosevelt was dedicated to the preservation of the right of private property. He knew that it could not be preserved except by honest and far-reaching reform, and he had the courage to devise and defend a program of reform that even those who most harshly criticized him have now been obliged, reluctantly it is true, to accept.

DEDICATED TO THE CONSTITUTION

He was dedicated to the American Constitution. He knew that the framers of that document gave to the Congress complete control over commerce, and he was aware that conditions, developing as long ago as the administration of President Grant, had been gradually imposing upon the people a new national but unregulated economic government, affecting the whole people and over which the Federal Government was exercising no effective influence to protect competition. It was a system by which a few industrial and commercial leaders were slowly gaining control of all the instruments of trade, commerce and industry without respect to the authority of either State or national government.

Mr. Roosevelt was a devoted supporter of Woodrow Wilson who had perceived the need for more effective public regulation of the new national economic system and who, in his first term in the Presidency, successfully secured the enactment into law of essential reforms over the stubborn resistance of Republican leadership which had arrayed itself on the side of those whom Theodore Roosevelt had called malefactors of great wealth. He had seen the program of Wilson and of Republican progressives brought to a sudden halt by World War I when the exigencies of international conflict claimed the undivided attention of both the Government and the people. Victory in the war was followed by confusion and uncertainty. In the wake came the Harding campaign for the return to normalcy, and there followed 12 years of reactionary policy under a government which saw no need for economic reform or social justice. Its leaders wanted merely a return to the conditions which in 1912 had ruptured the Republican Party and elected Wilson.

These were 12 years which proved the need of a progressive and vigorous policy, designed to restore economic opportunity and social justice to all the people by putting an end to economic domination by private operators whose major concern was their own personal aggrandizement. They earned the name "reactionary" because they really wanted to turn the hands of the economic clock back, an objective so impossible to achieve that the attempt resulted only in the collapse of 1929. Into this crisis stepped Franklin D. Roosevelt when, in 1929, he succeeded Alfred E. Smith as Governor of New York. He continued the battle for social reform, and he came face to face with the subtle methods by which the managers of national business were successfully resisting regulation in the public interest by both State and Federal Governments. Again he learned the imperative need of economic reform, and he began the campaign of 1932 with a masterful mobilization of public opinion to demand the removal of the economic capital of the United States from Wall Street to Washington. He saw that business and industry had become continental in their operations and that the public interest could be protected only by a constitutional American Government in the Nation's Capital through the authority of elected representatives of the people instead of through the private manipulators of concentrated economic power.

LAUNCHES DRIVE FOR ECONOMIC REFORM

I was there when this campaign began. I was a Democratic national committeeman from the State of Wyoming. I was one of those who raised the cry in the Far West for the nomination of Franklin Roosevelt for the Presidency. Like my associates, I was moved by the conviction that it was absolutely necessary to resume the struggles of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson for national economic reform if the living generation and the generations to come were not to be deprived of their heritage of freedom and opportunity under the Constitution.

I had in mind Mr. Roosevelt's record as Governor. He stood for the conservation of natural resources and for reforestation; he stood for the protection of bank deposits, and he sought in various other ways through the State government to advance the cause of government, of, for, and by the people. It was apparent to him already, however, that victory for economic freedom could not be won through State governments, because economic concentration in private hands was being managed on a national scale.

Beginning early in 1932 with his speech on The Forgotten Man, the new presidential candidate, in meeting after meeting throughout the country, both before and after his nomination at Chicago, convinced the people that a new leader had arisen in the spirit of Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson. Finally, late in September before the Commonwealth Club in California, he traced the development of the crisis the Nation faced and clearly demonstrated that he was indeed a conservator of the underlying free principles of this Government.

"The issue of Government," he said, "has always been whether individual men and women will have to serve some system of government or economics, or whether a system of government and economics exists to serve individual men and women. This question has persistently dominated the discussion of government for many generations."

Who does not know now that this is the very issue that rocks the world in our time? It will be for this generation to determine, and that most speedily, whether the people are to become the pawns of totalitarian governments or whether they are going to preserve for themselves and their children a system of government and economics which is designed, in Roosevelt's words, "to serve individual men and women." This paragraph from the Commonwealth Club speech, delivered 23 years ago, is proof that Mr. Roosevelt had both the vision to see the developing threat to free government, and the will to battle for freedom.

DEFENDER OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

Paragraph by paragraph in the San Francisco speech Roosevelt outlined the philosophy of popular government and private property, and showed that he cherished no thought of economic revolution but sought only economic reform and the reestablishment of the basic concepts of free government. The task ahead, he said, was that of "meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people." Note the words "existing economic organizations."

This is the language, not of a man who sought the abolition of private property, but of a man who realized that the development of government in the western world, coming to a climax in the establishment of the American Union, was marked by "the rise of the ethical conception that a ruler bears a responsibility for the welfare of his subjects."

It is not only the political ruler who bears this responsibility for the welfare of the people, but it is likewise the responsibility of the industrial and commercial manager.

Here was a program cast in the best mold of Americanism. It was understood by the people and, because it was so understood, they kept Roosevelt at the helm of government for a longer period than any man in history. He was kept there because, as in the case of Woodrow Wilson, his program of economic reform in the American tradition was interrupted by another international war.

Those who would now follow in the footsteps of the founders of this Government must realize that once again we face the task of enacting those economic reforms which are necessary to protect the system of private property from collectivism of the right as well as collectivism of the left. This is the unfinished task of Franklin D. Roosevelt. His first term was devoted to rebuilding the ruins which reaction had wrought. He had to reopen the banks, he had to create jobs, he had to make opportunities for business, he had to restore the confidence of the economic leaders as well as that of the people. This confidence was evidenced in the overwhelming reelection the people gave him in the campaign of 1936, though in that campaign the opposition of reactionary leaders impelled him, in a famous speech at Chicago, to make the well-remembered remark that already recovery had so far advanced that some of the patients were "throwing their crutches at the doctor." Now these patients, or their successors, seem to be striving with might and main to remove the economic capital from Washington, where Roosevelt restored it, and move it back to the countinghouses of Wall Street.

It was on April 29, 1938, that President Roosevelt sent a notable message to the Congress asking for a study of the concentration of economic power. He was urging no attack upon business. He was seeking only to find a stable formula by which idle men, idle machines, and idle money could be put to work profitably for the benefit of all. It posed no threat to the honest managers of the existing economic organization, of which he had spoken in the Commonwealth address, but called only for the adoption of the ethical concepts of the responsibilities that economic leaders, as well as political leaders, should bear for the welfare of the people.

ROOSEVELT'S FAITH IN AMERICA

Mr. Roosevelt preached the doctrine of faith in America, its heritage, and its future. He believed in the people and in American institutions. He sought only, to use his own words, to "recognize the new terms of the old social contract."

This message, therefore, was in complete harmony with his vision of a people's government, united in tolerance and freedom, which he expressed in his first inaugural when he declared that the course of action he proposed was "feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors." He respected the Constitution, he admired the Constitution. He felt that it was the best instrument of government yet devised by men. This faith he expressed in the following eloquent words:

"Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations."

Great as was the stress of the period in which the people placed Roosevelt in the seat of power, it is not to be compared with the stress under which the whole world now trembles. Just as the reactionaries of 1920 called for an easy return to normalcy, and abandoned all effort to achieve the reforms made necessary by the changing times, so now there are leaders in Washington who seem not to have understood the deep necessity of stable economic reform if the door of opportunity is not to be closed again to the masses of the people.

Once more a Republican administration, like those which followed the administration of Woodrow Wilson, finds it impossible to repeal the enlightened laws enacted under Franklin D. Roosevelt and his successor, Harry Truman. They descended upon Washington convinced no doubt that the New Deal was an illusion that ought to be completely eliminated, as if it were an adventure in socialism which never should have been undertaken. The welfare state, as the 20-year Democratic regime was derisively called, has taken such deep roots that it has borne fruit in this administration in the appearance of a new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Uncertain of step and slow of pace, the new administration yields reluctantly to the inevitable. On the international front it has not surrendered to the isolationists. It still painfully follows the path laid down by its predecessors who sought the union of the free world to maintain the objectives of liberty for all mankind, but it seems still determined to go back to the economic era in which neither the Federal nor the State Government was able to enforce a formula of social responsibility in the field of economics.

A NEW CYCLE OF REACTION

It seems not to be understod that the capitalistic system is in mortal danger unless the Federal Government resumes the drive for economic reform. Scarcely a day passes that the journals of finance in New York and Chicago do not announce another industrial or financial merger. Boards and commissions, created by Congress to enlarge opportunities for the people as a whole, seem to have altered their policies and to regard themselves as champions of big rather than of little business. A member of the President's Cabinet, at the head of the Department of Commerce, would amend the antitrust laws so as to make human labor a commodity of trade and commerce like a bag of meal or a ton of brick. It is true another Cabinet member, the Secretary of Labor, seems to resist the reactionary demand for what is falsely claimed to be "the right to work law," but which is intended rather to put human labor at a disadvantage before collectivist capital. The Hoover Commission is busily at work reorganizing the Government under a grant of power never issued by any previous administration, authorizing it to recommend the alteration of the functions of government. The legislative powers of Congress, outlined in the very first article of the Constitution, are the bedrock of popular government, yet they are now being absorbed by the White House which, to a degree never before undertaken, even in World War II, is becoming a lawmaking as well as a law-enforcing arm of Government. Every lobbyist in Washington knows that the lines of control, even of the quasi-judicial commissions, are in the hands of anonymous assistants in the White House. Thus, the legislative powers delegated to commissions are being, as it were, redelegated to the White House staff.

The pattern of this new change is well illustrated by the Dixon-Yates contract. Here two holding companies are authorized by executive authority to conclude an agreement with the Atomic Energy Commission whereby they create a subsidiary corporation under the laws of one State to transmit electric energy to atomic plants in another State. This subsidiary is capitalized at $5½ million to construct and operate a $165 million generating plant. All the rest of the capital cost of this plant is secured by debt financing. The equity of the owning company is so small that it would not be tolerated in any ordinary private enterprise contract. This the attorneys for the Securities and Exchange Commission admit by saying in their opinion approving the financial arrangement that "in the case of the usual public utility company, the Commission would not approve a capital structure with so high a proportion of debt to equity because * * * both the debt and equity would be of too speculative a character."

What possible justification can there be for the approval of a contract of a Government agency and the subsidiary of two holding companies which the attorneys of the Securities and Exchange Commission say to be too speculative to be tolerated in private enterprise? This question the SEC legal staff answers with the amazing words that so long as the contract between the subsidiary of the holding company and the Government agency, the Atomic Energy Commission, is in force, "the annual debt service requirements (including amounts needed for annual debt retirement) will be adequately met by the payments from the Government." The disproportion of debt to equity, thus condemned, is justified by the SEC counsel only because the Government is paying, is another illustration of how the national debt is being increased clandestinely.

THE ECONOMIC WAR WITH RUSSIA

Thus at a time when the whole Government knows, when all private business knows, that we are engaged in an economic war with Communist Russia, the administration in Washington perpetrates a transaction of high finance of a kind we have not seen since the American public was exploited by the utility magnates of the Insull-Hopson era. This is not an escape from creeping socialism. It is a plunge into creeping conservatism, to borrow a phrase of the president of the General Electric Co., used by him in another connection only a few weeks ago. It is even more than creeping conservatism. It is reckless reaction to methods and deals which will do more to destroy the system of private property than anything the Soviets can accomplish.

Two other instances of reactionary economic policy recently were revealed in the Presidential budget. Out in Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah there are deposits of oil shale of such magnitude that geologists tell us they contain an oil reserve far greater than that of Saudi-Arabia and perhaps the whole Middle East. Under the Synthetic Fuels Act, enacted in 1946, the Bureau of Mines was authorized to operate demonstration plants to test the scientific possibility of refining these shale deposits at a cost comparable to that of refining oil. The law also authorized similar tests with respect to coal. A year ago the coal plant was closed at Louisiana, Mo., and the experiments abandoned just at the time that unemployment in the coal field was becoming distressful. This year the petroleum industry, acting through its advisory council to the Secretary of the Interior, has recommended the elimination of experimentation in oil shale, and the Bureau of the Budget sent no estimate to Congress for the continuation of the work.

Many other illustrations could be cited to show how important it is to take up the task

which President Roosevelt had to lay down when World War II began.

Surely everyone must understand now that the cold war with Soviet Russia in which we are engaged is an economic war. Stalin, long before his death, outlined the Soviet plan in the plainest of plain words in his "History of the All-Union Communist Party." He wrote that in the conflicts between the Soviet regime and the bourgeois states the Red army would not be committed to action until absolutely necessary. To him a conflict with the capitalistic states was inevitable. He once wrote that "the struggle between these two systems (by which he meant communism and capitalism) will fill up the history of the development of the world revolution." This epoch, he wrote at the same time, "is an all strategic period embracing a whole series of years, and I dare say, even a number of decades."

Hitler, before World War II, wrote his book which all the world ignored until it was too late. Already the Western World has too long ignored Stalin's books, and seems to continue to drift into the cauldron of a third world war more terrible than all of its predecessors combined unless we here in America open our eyes to the absolute necessity of economic reform which will abolish the possibility of the exploitation of the masses of the people by economic rulers who have no sense of social responsibility.

THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

The Formosan resolution was passed last week by the Congress, many Members of which felt that it was just a step to only another little war around the periphery of the Soviet Empire. Big or little, it will place additional drains upon our economic strength. The resolution was passed because there appeared to be no ready alternative to preserve the peace.

Yet there is an alternative. It is a recognition of the fact that Soviet Russia is certain that the capitalistic system will collapse of its own weight. The dictators of the Kremlin are confident that we are unable or unwilling to cure the defects and abuses of the system of private property. The alternative of which I speak depends also upon a recognition of the fact that the economic power of America is our greatest weapon of defense if it is used for constructive and not destructive purposes by leaders of both Government and business. These constructive purposes concern the efficient production and distribution of the goods and commodities the people want. The masses of mankind, it is safe to say, have never actually wanted war. They are driven to war by fear and by oppression, and even in our time war comes because we lack the wisdom and the foresight to adopt effective policies of peace before it is too late.

Everywhere, as we sit here tonight, confusion and uncertainty is mounting throughout the world. We are represented to the peoples of Asia as warmongers, bent upon stepping into the imperialistic shoes of the colonial powers which for centuries had exploited the Asiatic peoples. We know what we are and what we want. We know that we are not imperialists, that we are not exploiters and that after the victories in two world wars, we have taken no spoils. Yet we seem to be on the threshold of another conflict. I have no hesitation in saying that if we desire to avoid a third world war and to win freedom for ourselves and for the people of the world, we must begin struggle here on the homefront in the United States by strengthening the capitalistic system. We must eliminate its abuses. We must promote its expansion by stopping its concentration. We must show Soviet Russia and Communist China by our example that the free system of private property is better by far than any type of authoritarian state.

Let us turn again to the economic message of Franklin D. Roosevelt of April 1938:

"Unhappy events abroad have retaught us two simple truths about the liberty of a democratic people.

"The first truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself. That, in its essence, is fascism—ownership of government by an individual, by a group, or by any other controling private power.

"The second truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe, if its business system does not provide employment and produce and distribute goods in such a way as to sustain an acceptable standard of living.

"Both lessons hit home.

"Among us today a concentration of private power without equal in history is growing.

"This concentration is seriously impairing the economic effectiveness of private enterprise as a way of providing employment for labor and capital and as a way of assuring a more equitable distribution of income and earnings among the people of the Nation as a whole."

These words are just as applicable today as they were 17 years ago when they were first sent to Congress. If we would gain the goal that all desire, we must take the beam out of our own eyes and turn with vigor and devotion to the unfinished task of one of the great leaders of democracy. The road to economic reform and coexistence among ourselves is the road to peace.

Stephen S. Scopas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on Sunday evening, January 30, I was proud and pleased to be present and to speak at a fine testimonial dinner in honor of Mr. Stephen S. Scopas, supreme president of the order of AHEPA—the American Hellenic Educational and Progressive Association.

It was a remarkable occasion. Scores of leading figures in public and communal life and in the diplomatic world paid tribute to Steve Scopas. Among them were Gov. G. Mennen Williams, of Michigan; Mayor Wagner, of New York; the secretary of state of New York State, Carmine DeSapio; the Ambassador of Greece to the United States; the president of the Borough of Queens; and many past and present officials of the order of AHEPA and the other great Greek-American organizations in the United States. It was an impressive evening and an impressive tribute to my good friend, Stephen S. Scopas, who is an outstanding citizen of my State, truly dedicated to the communal, civic, and national interests of his fellow men.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks I made on that occasion and the remarks made by my distinguished colleague the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR LEHMAN

I am glad to be here, very glad, to join in the well-deserved tribute of this testimonial dinner to my friend, and to the friend of so many of us here, Stephen S. Scopas.

Steve is typical of that kind of American who has helped to make America great, and who has also helped to build in our country the noble traditions of humanitarianism and brotherhood.

The organization of which Steve Scopas is national president and which is sponsoring this testimonial dinner, can bear witness to the tireless industry and devotion to good causes which has characterized this man all his life.

He is a young man, but mature in his experience in those great organizational activities which are a hallmark of America. He has given unselfishly of his efforts to assist and counsel his fellow men and women, those of Greek birth and descent, and those of every other race and descent, and without regard to race and descent, who make up the American people.

He has worked hard as a long-time officer of AHEPA, and in its ranks, because he is part of that great American tradition and custom of "belonging"—of belonging to and helping to build unofficial, voluntary organizations and association of people to advance the interests of the membership of those associations and of the interests of our country.

But Steve has done much more than merely devote himself to AHEPA and other organizations. He has given similarly of his time and efforts to the political life and activity of his city, State, and Nation. He has been a partisan, a Democrat, and active in the Democratic Party, but as long as I have known him, he has been the kind of Democrat who has placed the interests of city, State, and country above the interests of party. He has been a Democrat with a small "d" as well as with a capital "D." He has been a good, a useful, a constructive, and responsible citizen leader.

Steve Scopas is a Greek-American; that is, he is an American of Greek descent, who is as proud of his descent as are the descendents of those immigrants who arrived here, either steerage or first class, on the *Mayflower*.

He has always had a special interest in the land of his fathers. He has always had a special interest and concern for those who have just come, or still desire to come, from the old country, in search of freedom and opportunity.

And I think I can say for Steve that his interest has not been confined to Greeks. He has also had a special concern for those from other lands who desire to come to the United States as immigrants, to make their future here, to become citizens here, and to contribute to that great land which is our own.

And looking at Steve Scopas, and at the other eminent Americans of foreign birth and descent sitting here on this resplendent dais, I am reminded, with special indignation, of that incredible aspect of our immigration law which asserts that individuals of Anglo-Saxon birth and descent are far preferable, by virtue of their birth and descent, as American citizenship material to those of Greek, Italian, Polish, Swiss, Scandinavian, French, Czech, and Baltic birth and descent, to name but a few.

I refer, of course, to the national origins quota system which is imbedded in our immigration and citizenship laws, in the McCarran Act.

Just think of it, a Greek, an individual born in Greece, is judged under our law to be only one-hundredth as good citizenship material for America as a person born in

England. The law is based on the utterly false and ridiculous theory that for every person entering this country from Greece, 200 must enter from Great Britain in order to keep the population of the United States in balance.

That notion is, of course, preposterous, unrealistic, insulting, and degrading. Yet it is there, written into our immigration laws—the heart and soul of our immigration laws—and it constitutes a challenge to all of us to eradicate it, and to expunge it from our statute books.

I hope no one here will rest and be satisfied until the iniquitous and discriminatory national origins quota system is wiped out and repealed completely and totally. There can be no compromise with this evil, racist and ridiculous theory which stands as a constant reproach to each of us, and holds us up to contempt in the eyes of the world.

Where is our belief in brotherhood, and in the equality and dignity of each human soul, when we have on our statute books a law which says that no matter what the conditions or need abroad, 65,000 may enter annually from Great Britain—born in Great Britain, that is,—and only 308 from Greece.

And even that paltry number, 308, has been cut in half for years to come, by mortgaging provisions of the Displaced Persons Act. 150 immigrants a year from Greece—no more—under the terms of the McCarran Act.

I know that many of you here have indicated a concern for the status of the island of Cyprus. I, myself, have reached no conclusions on that subject, although I am continuing to study the question with sympathetic attention to the arguments which are being made by your organization and others.

Let me say, however, that there is one aspect of the Cyprus question on which I have a strong opinion; there is one injustice which has recently been done to Cyprus which was done not by Great Britain but by a law passed by the Congress of the United States. And those of you who are concerned for the welfare of Cyprus and of the Cypriots might well consider what ought to be done about that. I am referring to another provision of the McCarran Act.

Before the McCarran Act—before December 1952, in other words—Cypriots could enter the United States under the British quota and, in fact, there was a steady emigration of about 500 Cypriots per year, sometimes more, sometimes a little less. Then in 1952 the McCarran Act said that colonies of Britain could no longer use the quota of the motherland, and that immigration from Cyprus, among other colonies, would be limited to 100 per year. And so the emigration from Cyprus, a wholesome and healthy immigration, both for Cyprus and the United States, was cut by 80 percent.

Today only 100 Cypriots can enter the United States per year. And if Cyprus should become a part of Greece, even that immigration would be cut off, or rather, the total immigration from both Greece and Cyprus would be 150 per year.

So, my friends, one thing that can be done for Cyprus, right here in the United States, and in the Congress of the United States, is to revise the McCarran Act, repeal the national origins quota system, and make immigration a matter of individual worth and usefulness, and need, rather than a matter of national origin and birth.

When I think of the heritage which western civilization has from Greece, of the vast contribution which Greece has made to the culture and values of the western world, I blush to think how we discriminate against Greece in our immigration laws—and against many other great countries which have likewise made great contributions to the world and to the United States.

Scores of our cities are named after the great centers of Greek civilization—Troy, Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Olympia—and there is no American child who does not learn the glories of ancient Greece, her philosophers, her poets, her dramatists, her statesmen, her heroes—Demosthenes, Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Euripides, Hippocrates, Pericles—and yet we say that only 150 Greeks and 100 Cypriots can enter the United States annually, at the risk of perverting American culture and traditions and our way of life.

What country has greater democratic traditions that Greece? The very word, democracy, is of Greek origin. The concept of a republic is Greek. The concept of the rights of citizens is Greek.

Of course, I have emphasized the Greek contribution and the discrimination against Greece in our irrigration laws because this occasion is in honor of Steve Scopas, and under the auspices of AHEPA. The same incredible discrimination is practiced against scores of other great countries which have made great contributions to our culture and our way of life.

I am against discrimination of any kind, in any form, against any country, in our immigration laws. Immigration is a matter of people and of individuals, and should be regulated accordingly—not on the basis of national origin, but on the basis of individual qualification, in accordance with need, national and individual.

Yes; we have a Refugee Relief Act on our statute books, which was supposed to get around the McCarran Act and to relieve its inflexibility. That act has been a fraud, a sham, and a delusion. Up to now it just hasn't worked. I hope that in the remaining time of its effectiveness it may be made to work to the extent possible, to admit into this country some of the escapees from behind the Iron Curtain, some of the refugees from Communist war, aggression, and terror.

I pledge myself to support and fight for necessary amendments to the Refugee Relief Act in this session of Congress. I pledge myself to fight for a more equitable and humane administration of that law. I shall insist that the red-tape curtain which has been erected here to prevent the admission of refugees under the Refugee Relief Act be drawn to the maximum possible extent.

There are many other things which must occupy my time and attention in Washington. I shall continue to work for peace with honor, security, and justice.

I said in the course of a debate on the Senate floor the other day that, while I did not favor peace at any price, I did and do think that there is a price which we must be willing to pay for peace. That price is prudence and patience, reasonableness, and restraint.

If we show courage and determination, firmness and strength, wisdom and understanding—if we seek persistently to hold together the union of the free nations and the alliance of free mankind, if we exhibit responsibility in our leadership of the free world, we can and will prevail against the forces of darkness, against the evils of Communist aggression.

Bravado is no substitute for bravery and recklessness is no substitute for patient courage.

With a belief in the worthiness of peace and a faith that in ways of peace the forces of freedom will triumph in the end, let us go forward together under God to serve our country's welfare.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR GREEN

Mr. Chairman, officers of the Order of Ahepa, our honored guest, your supreme president, Mr. Scopas, and friends, it is indeed both a privilege and a pleasure for me to be with you here tonight as you honor your supreme president, and my good friend, Stephen Scopas.

The Order of Ahepa has selected for its highest office one who is respected for his patriotism, who is active in civic affairs and one whose term of office, I know, will be successful.

I am especially happy to have this opportunity to talk with you, my fellow Americans of Greek heritage, about our common friend, Stephen Scopas. Throughout the years, in fact ever since my boyhood, I have been a great admirer of Greece. My father had lived in Greece in his youth and taught me its language. I read stories from its mythology and its history. Its heroes became my heroes and it has been my good fortune to visit the Greek homeland several times. I have climbed the Acropolis; admired the restoration of Peiraieus and seized the opportunity to relax and swim in the Aegean Sea. In 1947, as a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, I actively participated in the formulation of the Marshall plan of aid to Greece and Turkey.

In the formulation of this plan to roll back Communist aggression, I could not help but think of that time, 750 years ago, when the godless and destructive forces of Jenghis Khan were pouring, apparently without limit, from the center of the European-Asiatic heartland. Those destroyers controlled almost the same vast area then, as the Communist forces do now; west nearly to the Rhine, east to the China Sea, north to the great Arctic tundras, and south to the Indian subcontinent. And, sad to relate, there they remained for 200 years until they finally broke asunder as a result of their own internal distrust and weaknesses and the compelling influence of Christianity.

However, there is this difference between the lot of that territory today as compared with three-quarters of a millennium ago. To my mind, conditions now are better than then, and hence, victory should come to the present free world sooner.

Why are conditions better? On the positive side, the forces of Christianity are stronger than ever and cover a far greater portion of the globe. Then, on the negative side, the last 35 years of Soviet history, with their interminable plots and counterplots, accusation and hasty trials assassinations and executions, show us that suspicion and disunity are today as rampant in the Soviet Union as they once were among the Mongol hordes.

But the main difference is the unity of the free world. This unity is our salvation. Remember how 2,500 years ago the forces of the Persians, the then invaders from the east, were hurled back by the less numerous but better unified and equipped alliance of the Greek free cities? So, today, the speed of our salvation depends upon the firmness and closeness of our unity. This unity is the main factor which will reduce the length of stay in the free world of the Kremlin invaders.

It was only 8 years ago that Greece and Turkey were given the aid whereby they became the bastions of the free world which they are now. Steadily, since that time, the United States has taken the lead in attempting to forge the links of the free world into an unbreakable chain. Always, in its forging, we have had to remember that no chain is stronger than its weakest link.

Accordingly, it is my belief that in forging this chain we must carefully scrutinize each and every link. Many of us are thinking of our treaty with the Nationalist Government of China. This is, indeed, a far-reaching commitment on the part of the United States, binding us for many years to a government which is weak and apparently not growing stronger. As a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, I was in attendance when the hearings were held on this important treaty. All of us are concerned with it and we hope that it is a step in the right direction. We also hope that the plan relating to Formosa recently sent by President Eisenhower to the Con-

gress for approval, and approved by it, will accomplish all that is expected of it.

In these matters it is important that the United States of America act as a unit; otherwise our country will lose not only in prestige and influence but actually in power.

This same result will, in my opinion, occur if, at this time when power and force may be called upon to settle controversial international issues, any reduction in our Armed Forces is effected, or even seriously proposed, by either the President or by the Congress. We should have learned by now that we cannot trust the promises alone of aggressor nations which disregard international law, treaties, and agreements. Our Armed Forces should be kept at maximum strength until we have definite conviction that peace in a free world is established.

To you, Steve, I wish to extend my heartiest congratulations on your election to this, the highest office of the Order of Ahepa in this country, and I congratulate also the members of the order, since I feel sure they will all benefit by your administration; and, in conclusion, I offer my sincere good wishes for the future welfare of the Order of the Ahepa itself.

Excerpts From Address by Hon. Richard L. Neuberger, of Oregon, at Seventh Annual Roosevelt Day Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from a speech I delivered at the annual Roosevelt Day dinner of the Americans for Democratic Action, held at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, on February 2.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEUBERGER TELLS ADA DINNER ADMINISTRATION "TURNING BACK THE CLOCK" ON CONSERVATION

The following are excerpts from a speech by Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon, delivered at the seventh annual Roosevelt Day dinner sponsored by the Americans for Democratic Action, at Hotel Commodore, New York City, February 2, 1955:

"The policies of the present administration relating to natural resource conservation are turning back the clock to conditions prevailing before the days of Theodore Roosevelt. The end of the public-power program by this administration can only mean economic stagnation in many key regions of the United States.

"The stalemate in electric power development which has resulted from administration insistence on a so-called partnership program has already been felt in the Pacific Northwest States. No new multipurpose water projects have been started there by this administration and the effect has been to put the brakes on the dynamic industrial expansion which followed construction of Federal dams like Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

"If there is any one thing which I hope the new Democratic Congress will accomplish, it is a return to the tried and tested program of conservation and resource development which was nearly half a century old. People of the Eastern States may not fully realize the damage done to these great programs by politicians of the present regime in the executive branch of the Government. But the harmful effects of policies which are turning back the clock in regard to resources are of great significance to both East and West. Integrated economically as we are, policies which adversely affect growth and prosperity of one region also threaten other sections of the Nation."

PRESENT POLICIES HIT RESOURCES

"The administration's most serious onslaughts against established resource policies strike at forest, grazing, and electric-power matters. The former policies had been developing for nearly 50 years—since Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot fought a monumental political battle to set aside in forest reservations vast timbered areas in the uplands beyond the Continental Divide. That administration was also largely responsible for initiating the concepts of multipurpose development of our waterways which shaped Federal programs until the former Republican Governor of Oregon became Secretary of the Interior 2 years ago.

"After that fight was won, the American people took more or less for granted the protection of these wilderness sanctuaries in the interest of everyone. Development of these resources proceeded in an orderly manner, under what Teddy Roosevelt called equal opportunity for all, special privilege for none.

"This administration has tried to change that. An administration-endorsed bill was sent to Congress which would have enabled the largest timber companies to take over choise land inside the national forest areas in return for their own land that would be taken by the Government for any purpose. This was special-interest legislation in the sense that it applied only to the big operators and not their smaller competitors; but it also placed timber on a higher level of possession than any other property—including churches, schools, farms, and homes—and removed from United States Forest Service authority the timber acreage committed to its protection for the last 50 years.

"Fortunately, that bill was rejected by the House of Representatives, and it is my hope that enactment of such bills will be even more unlikely under Democratic control of the new Congress."

ADMINISTRATION TURNS BACK CLOCK

"The 50-year-old Federal public-power program went out the window when the new administration came in the door. Termination of this program, which not only paid for itself in dollars-and-cents returns to the Federal treasury but also in great social and economic advancements, was signaled by the new Secretary's abandonment to a private power company of the finest natural hydroelectric power site on the North American continent to the Idaho Power Co.

"In an attempt to gloss over the reversal of national policy, administration spokesmen said the Hells Canyon site was being given over to the company so it could be developed by local interests. In this case the local interests were an absentee-dominated corporation which holds its annual meeting 2,500 miles from Idaho. To the Pacific Northwest and to the Nation, this decision meant that full conservation and development of a primary national asset was being liquidated in favor of piecemeal exploitation of the Snake River at high rates, precluding the extension of rural electrification and, particularly, industrial development in the Northwest. It meant asking the American people to accept less than full development of their resources, to abandon conservation in favor of corporate profits.

"An index to the kind of thinking behind the scuttling action was adoption by administration spokesmen of two of the more odious slogans which utility propagandists have used for years in an attempt to discredit the public power program—creeping socialism and subsidized power. Although the Secretary of the Interior uses the phrase 'subsidized power' in his press statements, it is a matter of record that the Federal power investment in the Bonneville Dam project has already been 38 percent paid for through power revenues collected by the Government—and the project has been in full operation only 11 years. What other undertaking of the Government can boast of such a favorable financial record, providing great impetus for industrial growth and a higher standard of living?"

POWER PROJECTS REPAY TREASURY

"The Secretary and other administration spokesmen have sought public endorsement of their abandonment of the river-development program on the grounds that it is a drain on the National Treasury. But they fail to mention that power projects of the Columbia River system alone have returned to the Treasury, with interest, a total sum of $170,409,916 as of June 30, 1954.

"Figures by themselves fail to disclose the great national benefits derived from the public power program. They do not reveal the amount of back-breaking labor from which it has freed thousands of American farm women, nor the strengthening of our industrial potential, and opening the way for production of atomic energy and 50,000 planes a year for our national defense.

"When Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave the go-ahead signal to build great Federal projects in 1933, only 27 percent of farms in my own Pacific Northwest enjoyed the blessings of electricity. By the time those undertakings were in full operation, 98 percent of the region's farms were electrified. I have heard my wife's mother, who owns a dairy farm, describe how this has lightened women's work, removing drudgery and making life more worthwhile. These are values on which no dollars-and-cents price tag can be placed—a kind of residual benefit which makes abandonment of the program even less acceptable to a people bent on the pursuit of happiness. Under the Roosevelt administration, many housewives learned for the first time what it was like to press a button and have a room illuminated brightly."

BONNEVILLE POWER BOOSTS OREGON

"During the first 10 years that Bonneville power was available, the Northwest enjoyed its greatest industrial expansion since Lewis and Clark sailed down the Columbia. From 1939 to 1948, the growth of manufacturing employment in the Northwest outstripped the national average for the first time in history. Navigation features of these river projects increased cargo tonnage on the upper Colorado from 85,000 tons annually to 1,375,000 tons, and water pumped by Grand Coulee power provided irrigation for 15,000 new homesteads, many settled by former GI's.

"When we view these widespread advancements and benefits to the national welfare it raises the question: 'Why did the Eisenhower administration, through the Secretary of Interior, abolish it in favor of a program called partnership?' Under partnership, the Government will put up half the cost of dams and private utilities approximately the other half. When the dam is built, the Government gets whatever revenues can be derived from the fish ladders, locks and floodgates, and the utility gets the kilowatts from the powerhouse for a period of at least 50 years.

"I think it is significant that the administration is proposing partnership for development of the power-rich Columbia, but recommends full Federal construction in the

Colorado River Basin where power output is more costly and less profitable. It appears that the administration program is designed to let the private power companies skim the cream while Uncle Sam gets the dregs."

PRESENT PROGRAM ERODES CONSERVATION

"I mention all of these things to show how, bit by bit, administration policy has been eroding the tried and true public protections which Americans had come to accept as necessary to conservation and full use of our resources. It is my opinion and my hope that the new Democratic Congress will go forward with the public power program with which we associate the names of Teddy Roosevelt, George Norris, Gifford Pinchot, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In that direction lies the best national interests and the greater welfare of our Nation. Our American heritage, for this generation and generations to come, rests with return to sound conservation policies."

Progress in Soil and Water Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, on November 4 a distinguished Member of the House, my colleague from Kansas, the Honorable CLIFFORD R. HOPE, delivered an interesting and informative address at Sioux City, Iowa, on the subject of progress in soil and water conservation. This address was delivered at the annual soil-conservation banquet of the Sioux City Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. HOPE has given soil and water conservation a great deal of study and is regarded as an authority on this subject matter. I am pleased to include his statement at this point in the RECORD. I am sure Members of Congress, as well as others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, will be interested in Mr. HOPE'S views on this subject matter.

It is indeed an honor to be invited to speak at the annual soil conservation banquet of the Sioux City Chamber of Commerce.

This is not my first visit to your thriving city, which is the center of one of the greatest agricultural regions in the world. My previous visits have been so pleasant and your hospitality so generous that I am always delighted to return.

I am pleased also to have the opportunity to speak again in the home district of my distinguished friend, CHARLES B. HOEVEN, who not only ably represents all of the people of this district in the House of Representatives but who is known throughout the length and breadth of the land as an authority on agriculture and a sincere friend of the farmers of this country.

I want to congratulate the Sioux City Chamber of Commerce and that fine newspaper, the Sioux City Journal, for their interest in agriculture and in the conservation of our soil and water resources which has led them to collaborate in this fine program to encourage soil and water conservation within the trade area.

And may I extend my heartiest congratulations to the winners of the contests sponsored by the chamber of commerce in 52 counties in this 4-State area.

To my way of thinking, the greatest and most constructive thing which men and women living on the land can do is to leave that land better than they found it.

And I know that is the ambition of every good farmer, because good farmers love the land and get real satisfaction and pleasure in enriching and improving it. You are good farmers and good neighbors and good citizens, or you would not be here.

I want to talk to you tonight about the land, about soil and water, about what we are doing and what we need to do if we are going to conserve these great natural resources.

In recent years all of us in America have been giving much attention to the conservation of our soil and water resources. We have been taking stock, we have stopped to think deeply of the relationship between the people and the resources of the earth.

And in spite of the fact that Thomas Jefferson and others of our Founding Fathers expressed concern over the loss of the soil and its fertility in their day and that Patrick Henry is reputed to have said "He is the greatest patriot who stops the most gulleys," it is only comparatively recently that we have adopted national policies to save our soil and water.

For many years, we as a nation acted as if we had a virtually limitless and inexhaustible supply of soil, more than we could ever really need. So we treated this land with its timber, pasture, and water resources with careless abandon. We gave it away to encourage settlement. We stripped the forests from the earth and when they were gone, moved our sawmills to stands of virgin timber.

We sapped the land of its goodness by continual cropping or grazing and then turned our plows to what appeared to be a limitless expanse of new and fertile lands, moving always steadily to the westward.

Then suddenly about 1920 we realized that this vast expanse of land was not limitless, that we had in fact crossed our last frontier and that even much of the land which lay behind that frontier was worthless for agricultural purposes. We began to realize, too, that in our profligate and careless use of the soil and the timber and the water we had not only permitted, but sometimes even encouraged, the deterioration and destruction of those resources which are basic to survival.

It was not easy for the Nation to change its thinking and its policies from resource exploitation to resource conservation, and the process is still going on. There is still more to be done than we have yet accomplished. But the record is clear that once the American people see the need for conservation action, they are quick to respond.

The words soils conservation and the practices and programs which make up soil conservation are so familiar to us today that it is difficult for us to remember that it was not until 1928 that the country was sufficiently aware of the need for soil conservation to sponsor Federal legislation on the subject. The first recognition of national responsibility in this matter was a small item in the 1928 appropriation bill for research into soil erosion.

Everything that we as a Nation have accomplished in this field has occurred since that time. In other words, nationally organized, promoted, and encouraged soil conservation in the United States has all taken place during the last 25 years. Much has been done during that time, but much still remains to be done.

The continuing losses of productive soil on lands not yet protected by conservation practices are shown in studies made by the Soil Conservation Service. The latest study in 1953 showed that of 478 million acres used for crops in the United States, 121 million acres was deteriorating at a critical rate and an additional 128 million was deteriorating at a serious rate.

Although use of conservation measures on farmlands has brought a proportionate reduction in the amount of soil loss, it is estimated that this loss is still running in the neighborhood of 500,000 acres a year. In addition, up to 100 million acres once cultivated but never entirely suitable for cultivation have been so severely affected that they are no longer in cultivation.

So we find ourselves today not with a limitless expanse of land which can be brought into cultivation as our old farmland fails us, but with a definitely limited land area—some of it excellent, some of it worthless for agricultural purposes—and with very little additional land that can be brought into agricultural production.

Furthermore the normal expansion of our cities, the widening of highways, building of airports, and other nonfarm uses are every year taking out of cultivation thousands of acres of really good farmland.

However it is encouraging to know that the Nation is now making healthy progress in its fight against soil erosion and depletion. This is reflected in the increased public concern over the matter and in the actual conservation accomplishments which we can see going on. More than four-fifths of the country's farmland (82 percent) and approximately 90 percent of our farms and ranches now are within the boundaries of 2,618 farmer-organized, farmer-managed soil conservation districts. Seventy-one new districts were organized during the last fiscal year with a net increase in district acreage of nearly 37 million acres, including expansion of existing districts.

Conservation practices have been applied or are being applied to some 34 percent of the country's privately owned agricultural land and the rate of farm conservation treatment continues at an accelerated pace year after year.

But the big end of the job still remains to be completed, on individual farms and in the watersheds of this country.

The challenge is great. It must be met. It will be met.

The brightest promise for the future of America is in the great and growing dedication of our people—farmers and city dwellers alike—to the conservation and improvement of the Nation's greatest and indispensable resources—soil and water.

Our basic national soil-conservation policies are embraced in the Soil Conservation Act of 1935. It is under that great piece of legislation, and the laws enacted in our States to complement and supplement it, that our national soil-conservation program has been carried out.

Along about the same time Congress passed the Flood Control Act of 1936 and later the Flood Control Act of 1944. These acts dealt in the main with flood-control work on our larger streams and the flood plains thereof.

Thus, we have had two national programs in operation for almost 20 years—one dealing with the control of water after it gets in the channels of our main streams; the other dealing with work on the land itself to hold the water where it falls.

But I think all who have followed these programs agree that there has been a missing link between them. That missing link is work on the small watersheds, the creeks, and the smaller tributaries of our major streams. This field has not been neglected entirely through oversight, because the authority to deal with small watersheds is contained in the Soil Conservation Act itself, and the Flood Control Act of 1936 authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out water-conservation programs on the tributaries of our larger streams after the specific projects had been approved by the Congress.

Under the authority contained in these two acts, the Department of Agriculture has made numerous examinations, surveys, and reports. In addition, the 1944 Flood Control Act authorized 11 watershed projects.

One of these is the Little Sioux project in this area and known to all of you.

However, no other projects have been authorized by Congress under the authority of the 1936 act, and the annual appropriations for these 11 projects have been so small in comparison with the work to be done that at the present rate it will be 30 or 40 years before some of the projects will be entirely completed.

Aside from these 11 projects, nothing further was done toward actually carrying out watershed projects until action was taken by the 83d Congress, to which I shall refer later.

In the meantime, this Nation has become water conscious as it has never been before. This year and last the specter of drought has been stalking the land. In large areas of our country rainfall has been more deficient than even during the drought period of the early 1930's. The Weather Bureau, while admitting its inability to make accurate predictions, doesn't hold out much hope that this year will see the end of this drought period, since such weather phenomena usually run in cycles.

But aside from the drought itself, it is being brought to our attention more and more that water is the primary limiting factor in the development of cities, industry, and agriculture, not only throughout the West but in all parts of the country. The difficulties now faced by many cities which depend upon surface runoff for their water supplies are well known. Even cities and industrial establishments which get most or all of their water from underground sources are having their difficulties.

This is not only because of the rapid increase in water consumption by municipalities and industries as well as irrigation, but because of waste, not only in conserving our water supplies in the first place but in the use of them as well.

Thus, it is becoming more evident every day that our future progress as a Nation will, to a considerable extent, lie in the way we develop, handle, conserve, utilize, and control our water supplies.

And although drought and short water supplies are the problems today, it has not been very long ago that the Nation was suffering terrific losses from flood damage, much of which could have been prevented by sound conservation programs on the land itself and on the small watersheds which feed our main streams.

We must remember that the essential difference between the pure, clear water which flows from our springs and wells and the brown, yellow or red torrent of silt and debris that periodically lays waste to our river valleys is that the clear and useable water stayed for a time where it fell. The other did not.

Thus the watershed programs which are receiving so much consideration in all parts of our country today are based upon a realization that the way we can get good and adequate water supplies and at the same time reduce flood destruction and damage is to get the rain and melting snow into the ground near where it falls. The earth is our greatest and most wonderful reservoir.

I do not mean to say that it will be possible under all conditions to hold all of our water near the place where it falls. That would not be possible or even desirable under all conditions.

What I do want to say and to emphasize in the strongest possible terms is that every drop of water which can be retained in the area in which it falls, either in the earth or in small retarding structures, is one drop subtracted from a potential flood and one drop added to our useful water supply.

This is the basic philosophy behind the watershed legislation which has aroused so much interest and which has been given so much consideration throughout the country in recent years.

I think as a matter of fact that the people of this country have been head of the Congress on the question of watershed legislation. However the House Committee on Agriculture has been giving the question consideration for some time past, and as a matter of fact in the 82d Congress it reported a bill which contains many of the salient features of the legislation passed in the last Congress. However that legislation was blocked in the Rules Committee, due in the main to opposition from other Government agencies.

In the interval between the 1st and 2d sessions of the 82d Congress, a subcommittee of the Committee on Agriculture held hearings on watershed programs in several States.

I think it can be said, however, that the 83d Congress has pretty well caught up with the public on the question of soil and water conservation. Certainly it can be said fairly that this Congress has enacted more important legislation relating to soil and water conservation than any other Congress except the 74th which enacted the Soil Conservation Act itself under the inspiration and leadership of that great conservationist and great American, Hugh H. Bennett.

The Small Watershed and Flood Prevention Act is only one of several important conservation enactments by the 83d Congress. Before discussing this measure, I want to refer briefly to three other proposals, all of which tie in directly with the Small Watershed Act.

First, there was the item in the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1954, which set up the pilot plant projects. This occurred during the 1st session of the 83d Congress and enabled us to get a small watershed program under way a year ahead of time. These projects, 62 in number, are widely scattered. They deal with all sorts of conditions and will serve as demonstration projects, the progress of which will be closely sutdied by geologists, experts in hydrology and all students of watershed programs.

The second matter I want to mention is the extension of the Water Facilities Act. This not only extends the provisions of the Water Facilities Act to every State in the Union, but it is of interest from the standpoint of conservation in that it provides for both direct and insured loans for conservation purposes through the Farmers Home Administration.

The language of the law provides that these loans may be made "for the purpose of financing the improvement of farmland by soil or water conserving or drainage facilities, structures or practices, improvement of soil fertility, establishment of improved permament pasture, sustained yield afforestation or reforestation, or other erosion preventatives, and such other related measures as may be determined from time to time by the Secretary."

The fact that this loan provides for the insuring of loans advanced by private lenders is one of its outstanding features. Not only will this make it easier for private capital to assist farmers, but it also lesses the demands upon the Federal Treasury.

This legislation will, in my opinion, prove very effective in supplementing operations under the Watershed Act in that the loan provision will make it more likely that all farmers in a watershed area will be able to finance the work which they must do upon the land itself in connection with any area watershed program.

A third important conservation enactment is the provision in the tax bill which permits farmers to treat expenditures for a number of soil-conserving practices as current annual expenses which may be deducted from farm income in computing income taxes, thus giving real financial encouragement to the use of conservation practices. This is a provision which many leaders in the field of conservation have been urging for years.

Now let me take a little time to outline some of the provisions of the Watershed Protection and Flood Control Act. Before doing so, let me point out that the purpose of the legislation is to fill in the gap which I mentioned earlier as existing between programs for conservation practices on the land and flood control on our main streams.

The legislation was developed after it became apparent that the provisions of existing law were not meeting the constantly increasing need for watershed protection.

What the new act does is to set up the machinery and procedure whereby local watershed districts or soil-conservation districts or similar organizations may cooperate with the Federal Government in working out the engineering and financial problems connected with such enterprises. Both the work and the costs are to be shared in an equitable way between individuals, local districts, States, and the Federal Government.

In general it is expected that the cost borne by the Federal Government will average around 50 percent, depending upon the nature of the project and the extent of the national interest involved.

The initiative for the work must come from the local people. Applications to come under the program must be submitted for consideration by the Governor of the State or a State agency set up for that purpose. This is to prevent conflict with other State development plans.

If the application is not disapproved by the State, the Soil Conservation Service will assign technicians and other personnel to work with the local organization in conducting investigations and surveys, makig such other studies as may be necessary, and working out detailed plans for the project. At the same time it is assumed that work will be going forward in the locality on the other requirements which are conditions of Federal assistance.

These requirements are set out in section 4 of the act. They include the following: (1) Acquisition by the local organization of all land, easements, or rights-of-way necessary for the project; (2) evidence that the local organization is willing and able to assume its proportionate share of the cost and to maintain and operate the improvements after they have been installed; (3) provide assurances that landowners have acquired necessary water rights; and (4) obtain agreements from owners of at least 50 percent of the land above each retention reservoir to carry out recommended soil-conservation measures and proper farm plans on their land.

Unless the project is one of the relatively few in which there will be a dam providing more than 2,500 acre-feet of detention capacity, no formal approval by Congress is necessary before the project can be started. If the plan includes a structure impounding more than 2,500 acre-feet of water, money cannot be appropriated for it until the Committee on Agriculture in the House and the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate have adopted resolutions authorizing the project.

No dam can be constructed under the authority of the act which provides for more than 5,000 acre-feet of detention capacity, no watershed embracing more than 250,000 acres may be included in a project, but several projects of 250,000 acres or less might be carried out jointly and as a part of an over-all plan.

I have not attempted to set out all the provisions and requirements which must be met in connection with projects of this kind, but the Committee on Agriculture has published a public document covering this matter in detail, which will be sent to anyone who will write to the Committee on Agricul-

ture, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

I wish I could at this time give public credit to all those whose help and support made possible the enactment of this legislation. This is impossible, however, because I suppose there is no important piece of legislation in recent years which has had such wide support. First and foremost must come the conservation organizations. All of them did so much that it would be unfair to single out anyone more than the other.

Strong support came from the farm organizations.

The National Association of Soil Conservation District Supervisors helped tremendously.

The list of Members in both Houses who worked hard for the legislation is too long to be repeated here. The bill was reported unanimously by the House Committee on Agriculture and passed the House unanimously. It passed the Senate unanimously, although the opposition there succeeded in including a number of crippling amendments which had to be taken out in conference.

The special message of President Eisenhower endorsing the bill and making it an administration measure was of the utmost importance in that it stopped the open opposition from other Government agencies, which was the most serious threat to the passage of the bill.

The Bureau of the Budget exercised much skill and patience in ironing out difficulties with other Government agencies.

The unanimity of support for this bill coming from the country is shown by the fact that it was backed by both the National Chamber of Commerce and the CIO—one of the few measures, and perhaps the only one, on which these two organizations ever got together.

Well, the law is now on the books. How important it becomes depends upon the people who live in the watersheds. Upon them rests the responsibility of setting up local organizations, of initiating the projects, of raising funds, securing the land and easements, and assuming the responsibility for operation and maintenance.

To a lesser extent it depends upon the willingness of Congress to appropriate funds, but in this Congress will undoubtedly follow the sentiment of the country, keeping in mind the availability of funds and economic conditions.

Only through continued popular interest and support can this program realize its full potentialities. It costs money, yes; but to me every dollar we spend for purposes of this kind is an investment in the future of America—an investment which will be returned many times.

Dedicatory Prayer Breakfast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, yesterday morning more than 900 persons, including the Vice President, the Chief Justice, members of the Cabinet, members of the Supreme Court, Members of Congress, and other citizens attended the dedicatory prayer breakfast at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of the program and transcript of the proceedings of this service. Conrad Hilton was host on the occasion.

In my opinion, this prayer breakfast, with the outstanding leaders in every field, will add much to the religious life of our Nation.

There being no objection, the program and transcript were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROGRAM FOR PRESIDENTIAL BREAKFAST, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1955, 8 A. M., MAYFLOWER HOTEL

Presiding: Hon. FRANK CARLSON, United States Senate, president, International Council for Christian Leadership.

Greetings: By Senator FRANK CARLSON.

Message from the President.

Good-morning greeting by the host, Mr. Conrad Hilton.

The Meaning of ICL: By Lt. Gen. W. S. Paul, president of ICL.

Scripture from Old Testament: Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY.

Scripture from New Testament: Hon. RICHARD NIXON, Vice President of the United States.

Silent prayer for the President, concluded by audible prayer: By Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON.

Message: By Billy Graham.

Prayer of dedication: By Abraham Vereide, secretary general.

(The third annual prayer breakfast was opened by Senator FRANK CARLSON, president, International Council for Christian Leadership.)

Senator CARLSON. We will have the opening prayer this morning by Congressman WAINWRIGHT, chairman of the House prayer breakfast group. Congressman WAINWRIGHT.

Hon. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT 2D. O Lord, in these troubled times Thy guidance is asked, not only upon our leaders but upon the whole world for upon our faith rests our only hope of peace.

We ask Thee to bless this gathering and the food we are about to receive in Thy name. Amen.

(The breakfast period.)

Senator CARLSON. First, I want to express my appreciation for the fine response we have had to the invitation of our host, from whom we will hear later.

We meet this morning at a prayer breakfast. In fact, it is the first session of the International Council for Christian Leadership.

We have three or more people at the table who will not participate in the program, but I want to present them.

First, we have the Chief Justice of the United States who last year, as those of you who were privileged to be here will remember, gave us a very fine address.

We have also at the head table the assistant to the President of the United States, Gov. Sherman Adams.

We have at the head table Dr. Carlos Davila, head of the American States of the Pan American Union. We have the Vice President of the International Council for Christian Leadership, Congressman BROOKS HAYS, of Arkansas.

The theme of the meeting will be A Worldwide Spiritual Offensive. In these troublous and uncertain times we need and must rely on divine guidance. In other words, we need consecration and prayer. St. Paul wrote, "The effectual, fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

President Eisenhower, in his recent message on the state of the Union to the United States Congress, presented a basis for such an offensive when he said: "It is of the utmost importance that each of us understand the true nature of the struggle now taking place in the world.

"It is not a struggle merely of economic theories, or of forms of government, or of military power. At issue is the true nature of man. Either man is the creature whom the psalmist described as 'a little lower than the angels,' crowned with glory and honor, holding 'dominion over the works' of his Creator; or man is a soulless, animated machine to be enslaved, used, and consumed by the state for its own glorification."

I am pleased this morning to read to you a message that I have just received from the President of the United States:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 1, 1955.

DEAR FRANK: To all attending the prayer breakfast on February 3, please convey my warm good wishes and my regret that I am unable to be present on this occasion.

Such a meeting is inspiring evidence of the conviction of each of you that religious principles must not be kept in a realm apart from everyday life, that they must more and more be put into practice in business, law, government, diplomacy—in every area of practical pursuit.

Your meeting shows also your realization that the need for such practice is worldwide, and that the task of spearheading a global spiritual offensive demands not only the efforts of the clergy but also of laymen of dedication and courage and foresight.

On the significance of your meeting, I congratulate all of you. And I am glad to share your hope and your determination that our world may yet see time-honored religious and ethical principles become, in reality, the standard of conduct for all its peoples.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

As citizens of this great Nation, we are again rediscovering that God who was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, has come to live in us by His Spirit.

We are convinced that the answer to all our problems finds a basic solution through a spiritual rebirth and the revival of genuine religion. This morning we are here to renew our faith and our commitment to God.

We are privileged to be the guests of a great American who has made an outstanding success in the business world. We applaud him for this great success, but I want to commend him for his active interest and participation in national and world affairs.

Those who were privileged to be present at the prayer breakfast in 1953 well remember how we had in the background an enlarged picture of America on its Knees.

That picture and that prayer, which was written by our host, has, through his generosity, been distributed in practically every country on the globe. I am advised that he has personally printed and distributed over 400,000 copies.

Many speakers and writers have quoted the prayer and the illustrated text has been reprinted in many publications. America on its Knees won for Conrad Hilton the 1953 Freedom Foundation award.

America has a great heritage and we of this generation owe much to those who have gone before, but we do have an obligation to preserve for future generations—our children and their children—the fundamental principles advocated by the Man that walked the shores of Galilee 2,000 years ago.

Mr. HILTON. Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. It is an honor to be host to a group such as you, leaders of America, and I appreciate that honor. It is good to be with you.

Right here let me say congratulations also, congratulations to ourselves, to all of us here this morning on the third anniversary of our prayer breakfasts at the Mayflower.

This is only one of thousands of meetings at which people pray together, but since so many of you are leaders of a great government this gathering has a special significance. Because of your positions in public life you have greater responsibilities and therefore greater opportunities for good than are given

to other citizens. By your example you are in a position to exert great influence on many people. By your presence here and by joining in prayer you are placing our Nation on God's side.

The world has come to look to the United States for material aid, but we must not overlook the opportunity our strength gives us to assume leadership in things of the spirit. We have been shocked at times by the coolness that has met our assistance of money and material to less fortunate nations. It is apparent that their needs cannot be fully met by bread alone.

There is a worldwide shortage of prayer and the grace of God, and we can help to supply these precious ingredients. We must lead the peoples of the world to a warm living faith in God's love, the practical kind of faith displayed by our Founding Fathers.

As we meet here year after year we are doing that by our prayers and by our example.

It struck me in thinking out my comments to you that the purpose which brings us together must be a continuing thing. We must not be limited to what we can accomplish during the hour we meet here once a year. Religion is not to be taken by the spoonful.

What I mean is this: Some of you will remember when the last great cholera epidemic struck the Orient just after World War I. Periodically it swept through India, the Malay Peninsula, Burma, practically all of Asia except China. The cholera germ cannot survive boiling water, and because the Chinese drink tea almost exclusively they were not subject to the disease. Consequently, when the epidemic threatened to run wild through the Philippines the American doctors ordered the people to boil their water. But the cholera continued. When the health inspectors investigated they found that the people were taking 3 or 4 teaspoons of boiled water a day as if it were medicine. The water they drank was water they had not boiled.

Now, I think we make exactly the same mistake when we take religion as a medicine instead of a food. Like food, religion should be within us constantly as a kind of fuel for our whole being, body, and soul. Taking religion as a medicine, as a kind of annual tonic instead of food, is just wrong.

Let me say this, that the enemy, the counterfeit religion of communism which is moving over the world, is not being taken by the spoonful. Almost a billion people are being fed it constantly, being bathed in it, their bodies and souls washed in it. And if we are to survive we must do the same thing. We must feed ourselves in the grace of God, bathe in it, live in it, live by it. We must be religious men and women, not just at an annual prayer breakfast or once a week on Saturday or Sunday but 24 hours a day every day in the year. We must meet this dedicated enemy with dedication of our own. We must live our faith and live by our faith.

Communism can be effectively opposed only by religious men, men of faith and spiritual stature.

As we undertake a task of this importance, I think you will be the first to admit our need for more divine wisdom, the first to distinguish the difference between wisdom and knowledge, science and know-how. To be smart is not to be wise. Wisdom implies the highest exercise of all the faculties, of the will as well as the intellect, and it strikes me as an operation dedicated to the grace of God and steered by divine wisdom.

The way to get that wisdom into ourselves and into our Government is by prayer—ours and the prayers of the Nation. To have that wisdom is to have happiness and peace, the peace of Christ—that kind of peace that has nothing to do with the surface of the nations today. Thanks to our President, to you, leaders of American life, and to millions more across the Nation and over the world, we are slowly praying our way toward peace.

Again I think you are to be congratulated on this, our third prayer breakfast. Indeed, it is little we do, little we have to offer, but to me we have here a facade, a showcase illustrating what millions of Americans have discovered, that prayer is the beginning of wisdom, that religion is not to be taken by the spoonful.

Senator CARLSON. Thank you, Mr. Hilton.

We are going to have the Meaning of ICL, by Lt. Gen. Willard S. Paul, president of the ICL. General Paul.

General PAUL. Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, members of ICL, and friends, 20 years ago a small group of men who were disgusted with the conditions in their city at that time decided to do something about it. Their decision was to bring into every-day living and every-day working the Sermon on the Mount, the principles of Christianity. They cleaned up the city and went on to other things. One of those men is now the governor of that State. Another of those men, Mr. Vereide, sitting at this table, is now the spiritual leader and executive director of an organization which covers the United States and is spread around the world. That organization is the ICL.

A few weeks ago the governor of another great State at his inaugural ceremonies formally committed his gubernatorial stewardship to God, with a pledge of righteousness as a rule of his administration.

There is a story back of that. Months before his election that governor was carrying personal burdens which he felt were beyond his power to bear. In this crisis he sought the counsel and advice of a friend. This friend was the director of an ICL group. Their visit ended in prayer. There on his knees this governor found a new-born faith, a new calm and courage, as he yielded his will to God's. In the weeks following he discovered the comfort and power of prayer. He found in the Bible both inspiration and guidance. He came to a commitment of life in the service of God.

I have been asked to explain the meaning of ICL. These two examples, I think, tell graphically more than I could by listing them in 3 parts. But they are only 2 of the actual case histories in the files of ICL.

What do we have? First a man was reconciled to God. ICL means that we have a concern for the lives of men. It is with great gratitude and a sense of responsibility that we find men and women in positions of executive leadership in government and in civic responsibility throughout the Nation who have embraced this sort of thing.

ICL means a man-to-man evangelism, quiet, unostentatious, but effective.

It means, secondly, a commitment transferring the resources and talents which are available to individuals, in the service of God. ICL means that we are inspiring Christians to Christian living, Christian working, and Christian associations.

Third, a partnership was formed with God to make a better world. ICL is dedicated to mustering Christian citizenship in the fight for civic righteousness, as indicated in the first example I gave you.

I believe that when a significant fraction—and I say fraction—of the conventional Christians apply the dynamics of their faith to working hours, as Conrad Hilton has indicated, the world will see a transforming miracle. We in ICL are proud to help in bringing about that miracle. Thank you.

Senator CARLSON. Thank you, General Paul.

We are going to have scripture reading from both the Old and the New Testament. The scripture reading will be by the senior Senator from Wisconsin, Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, and the Vice President of the United States. Following this scripture reading, prayer will be offered by the senior Senator from Virginia, Senator WILLIS ROBERTSON.

Senator WILEY read from the 20th chapter of Exodus.

Vice President NIXON read from the 7th chapter of Matthew.

Senator ROBERTSON. Each one exercising the God-given right to directly petition the giver of all good gifts, may we bow for a moment in silent prayer.

Our Father, we give thanks for endowing us with a conscience and this beautiful proof that we were made in Thy image. Help us to keep that God-given means of testing truth and honor, from being crystallized into the habitual moral form of a Pharisee inquisitor obligate. With the growing revelation to us of Thy true nature, help us to give a living response to fresh truth.

Teach us to see our obligations both to Thee and to the state. Help us to realize that the gift of self and the discipline of self involves service to God and to government. Guide us as we strive to fulfill our Christian duty in all things and in behalf of men everywhere. In His name, Amen.

Senator CARLSON. We are fortunate to have with us this morning a very personal friend of mine, a great American, a great Christian, leader, a great preacher, one of God's chosen people, who has moved hundreds of thousands of people to a closer life with their God and whose message has been carried to every country of the globe—Rev. Billy Graham.

Reverend GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, 4,000 years ago a man with a long white beard and flowing white hair stood on top of a mountain and probably one of the greatest prayer meetings of all-time took place. Moses said to Almighty God that he was not worthy to be there; neither are we worthy to come into the presence of the Almighty.

But Moses went into the presence of God and in those moments God hewed out of the mountain some stones and put on those stones the Ten Commandments. Those Ten Commandments have been read to us this morning. They form the basis of all moral law. Within those Ten Commandmants we find an expression of the character of Almighty God.

Do you want to know what God is like? Read the Ten Commandments. Do you want to know God's requirements of man? Read the Ten Commandments. Do you want to have those commandments interpreted and amplified so that we common people might understand? Read the Sermon on the Mount from which our scripture text was taken this morning.

From Him, Moses had received those stones with the Ten Commandments written on them. He came down the mountain and there he saw Israel in one of the most critical periods of her entire history. Israel had for a moment forgotten the God that brought them out of Egypt; Israel for a moment had forgotten the God that took them across the Jordan; Israel for a moment had forgotten the God that had been with them at the Red Sea and had fed them manna in the wilderness; and Israel had made a golden calf and was now worshiping strange gods.

Fire came to Moses' eyes. His eyes blazed, his jaw was set, his shoulders squared, and he stood in the midst of the camp of Israel and said, "Who is on the Lord's side? All of you that are on the Lord's side come unto me. Take your stand. Be counted."

I wonder at this present critical time in the history of the world if God isn't saying to us this morning, the leaders who are gathered in this room, "Who is on the Lord's side? All of you who are on the Lord's side let them take their stand this day and be counted as on God's side."

We are living in a critical period and the world is looking to the United States for leadership. We are very much like a fishbowl. The whole world is peering in to see how we live, how we act, the way we dress, the way we talk, the statements that we

make, and there are many people around the world that I have found in my travels who doubt that we have the moral and spiritual qualities of leadership. Unfortunately, we have been sold in some parts of the world by propaganda as a nation of drunkards, gangsters, and immature politicians. We have presented to the world a wrong type of picture of the United States and much of the world does not know or does not seem to realize the moral and spiritual qualities and the moral and spiritual heritage that we have as a nation.

I think all of us agree this morning that we do have the potentialities and qualities of leadership. Our roots are deep in Christianity and America has been one of the most Christian nations of all history. But in the last 25 years, as in Israel of old, we have had a spiritual drought. We decided we did not need God. We did not need religion. So we departed from the supernaturalistic concept. We departed from God and we departed from this book called the Holy Bible. As a result, we became an age filled with frustration, nervous tension, selfishness, fear, lawlessness, immorality, and in spite of our high standards of living we became a nation of insecurity.

But during the past 5 years something has happened. This has been an era of unprecedented religious renaissance and resurgence in the United States. Evidences of spiritual awakening are on every hand. For example, last April 10, 75 million Americans attended church. That was 14 million more than voted in the last presidential campaign, 13 million more than the largest radio audience in history, five times the total attendance of all major league ball games last year. The membership in United States churches today exceeds 100 million. The distribution of bibles doubled in the last 6 years, and last year alone 10 million bibles were distributed in the United States. The sale of religious books is three times that of all of the other books put together. Films with religious themes are doing a land office business. Religious songs are now in jukeboxes everywhere. We have changed the pledge of allegiance recently and inserted the words "This Nation under God." For the first time in history we had a postage stamp that had on it "In God we trust."

Rabbi Wise recently said, "The evidence of religious resurgence goes far beyond statistics of church membership and giving," and indeed it does. This year, 1955, the Methodist Church has designated 900 churches in the United States to have an unbroken chain of prayer from January to December. One thousand people of the Roman Catholic faith meet here in Washington every month for all night prayer meetings.

We read about juvenile delinquency, so much so that even the President in his state of the Union message had to refer to it, and it is one of our great social problems. But we don't stop to realize that thousands of our university and college young people today are turning to Christ, and there were 2 million more in Sunday school last year than in any year before in history. Seminaries and christian colleges are overflowing with thousands of young people giving themselves in dedication to christian service. Mass evangelism is the largest and greatest in history. In the city of Nashville, Tenn., recently they had an evangelistic campaign. They averaged 25,000 every night for 1 month—unprecedented in our history.

The same is true in Great Britain. There are today evidences in Great Britain of religious resurgences, perhaps a little behind the United States but definitely on its way. All over western Europe there are reports of tremendous religious interest unprecedented in the history of recent times, and there are evidences at this moment that behind the Iron Curtain God is beginning to move. Something is beginning to take place, so much so that a few weeks ago Pravda admitted that so many young people are turning to religion in Soviet Russia that atheistic propaganda must be increased. Everywhere we went last summer around the Iron Curtain I heard thrilling stories of what God is doing in Russia today.

Is this a genuine religious awakening, many people are asking. Some people say it is just a fear psychosis that we have. Some people are saying that people are afraid today because of the hydrogen bomb and afraid of a third world war and therefore they are using religion as escapism. I do not know. Many think it is a fad. Many think it is a vogue and a passing phase. Only history can provide the answer.

But I do know this, that it is easier to discuss religion and talk religion than ever before in the history of the United States. I think that people are beginning to realize that we are more than just materialistic bodies to be fed by the appetites that we have. We are beginning to realize that we are more than a body with eyes and ears and nose and hands and feet and stomachs to be fed, and a body to be dressed and made up. We have everlasting and eternal souls.

We were created in the image of Almighty God. It is a strange thing that we spend most of our time dressing the body which soon dies and goes to the grave. The Bible says that our bodies are very much like the grass that withers and the flowers that fades. We soon die and we waste away and go to the grave. Yet our souls live on forever and ever. The Bible teaches that our souls are eterna Yet we exercise the body, feed the body, give the body its demands, try to satisfy its appetites, though it is only temporary.

Your soul also has appetites. Your soul has hungers and thirst and desires and longings and yearnings, and if they are not satisfied it ends in frustration, confusion, bewilderment. There are many people here today who are bewildered, confused, mixed up. You have everything in life to make you happy but you are not happy. You have everything in life to make you peaceful, but you are not peaceful inside. There is turmoil and fighting and striving and difficulty inside that seem to have no answer. Why? Because your soul has never been satisfied. You have never exercised it.

What is the exercise of the soul? We have heard this morning: prayer. How long has it been since we spent an hour in prayer? Half an hour in prayer? Ten minutes in prayer? Bible reading is another. There is the true word that ye may grow thereby. How long has it been since we really read the Bible?

I have talked to a lot of Communists in Europe and in the Far East. Did you know that they know the writings of Lenin and Stalin and Marx almost by heart? How many of us in the Western World know our Bibles and have the dedication that Mr. Hilton spoke of a moment ago?

We talk about the Bible. We have a Bible in the courtrooms and in our home rooms, but how many of us really open the Bible and study it? The ignorance of the Bible in America is appalling at the moment. Yet there is where we have our roots as a Nation. We need to know it and we need to study it. It becomes a spiritual exercise. Going to church and worshipping God is a spiritual exercise. Then living His life.

The Gallup poll said the other day that 95 percent of the American people now believe in God. But that is not enough. God requires more than just an intellectual acceptance and an intellectual belief. He requires more than our name on some church roll. He requires more than being confirmed or baptized. He requires that we go out into our homes and shops and into our offices and put into practice the teachings of Christianity.

In the days of Jesus they saw the miracles that He performed. They said, "This is a great man. We are going tn follow Him. We believe in Him. He is a miracle worker." So they followed Him. In the last part of the second chapter of John, Jesus said, "Nothing doing; I am not committing myself to you." They were religious minded. They were ready to follow Him, but He said, "You are not willing to pay the price and you cannot follow me." One of those men slipped aside and said, "Master, I would like to say a word to you." The Master came aside and this great leader of Israel said something concerning spiritual things and Jesus turned to him and said, "Ye must be born again."

The problem of the world today is not the hydrogen bomb. The problem of the world today is not poisonous gas. The problem of the world today is not the germ warfare that is being devised and built all over the world. The problem of the world today is human nature, and until we solve human nature we have not solved the problems of the world. As our good friend Senator WILEY said in the little room before we came in—something that I will never forget—"We are never going to end war until the mind of Christ is in us." And we never will. You have got to do something about hating and cheating and lying and stealing. You have got to do something about the things that bring wars and fights on.

The only one that has the answer is the Master, Jesus Christ. He said that if we have a spiritual rebirth as individuals we can change the world, and the starting place is the spiritual rebirth.

From that starting place we can go out to pray, to read his word, to go to church and to live and put into practice in our several fields the teachings of Jesus Christ. We don't go out to live this life alone. There is not a man in this room that can live this life alone. It is too hard for you. You can only live it by the presence of Christ in your life, who gives you supernatural power to live it.

I want to tell you this morning that there is not a man or woman in this place who cannot come to a knowledge of God this day and go from this place with the help of God, determined to live a life for Jesus Christ. There is enough potential power in this room to change the entire world. I want also to tell you this: Unless we have the dedication that Mr. Hilton spoke about and unless we put into practice the teachings of Christ as individuals and unless we go out as a nation collectively to live for Christ and God and have the dedication, we cannot possibly survive the dedication of atheists that are today hammering at our gates and the moral termites that are eating within. We as a nation will fall as surely as Rome fell unless we have this dedication of purpose and life.

You say, "That is all very good but what can I do? I am only 1 man, only 1 person." Today you can go to your room, tonight you can go to your bed, and for the first time perhaps in a long time you can get out your Bible and open its pages and read it. For the first time in a long time you can offer a prayer to God and give your life to God.

The Bible says that "If My people, which are called by My name, shall humble themselves and pray and see My face, then will I hear them from heaven. I will hear their cries and I will forgive their sins."

Thank you.

Senator CARLSON. I have just been handed a cablegram from the Netherlands:

"May God's blessing and inspiration be with you all in your endeavor to put into practice living Christianity on a worldwide scale.

"WILHELMINA,
"Princess of the Netherlands."

This has been a splendid morning. We are going to rise and be dismissed with a benediction by Abraham Vereide, secretary-general of the international council.

Mr. VEREIDE. Eternal God our Father, for this hour we thank Thee; for this evidence of Thy working in our hearts and in our midst, for intelligence, for trained minds and lives in tolerance and experience, dedicated to the doing of God's will.

Here, O God, we dedicate ourselves to Christ. We want as a nation and as representatives from many nations to become one great team, working in the rhythm of defined purpose and in the warmth of God's love and with the firmness and the fitness of disciplined minds. We want to go forward in this spiritual quest and the spiritual advance to proclaim the unmatchable riches of Christ and live out the Christian plan and Christian will and Christian spirit and principles day by day.

To this end, O God, take us now as leaders in various fields of endeavor. Endow us with Thy spirit and with Thy power and grant us the grace to affirm day by day, "I can do all things through Christ whose strength is with me, and to Thee, O God, the glory, world without end." Amen.

Electoral College Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by a former Senator, Hon. Edward R. Burke, president of the American Good Government Society, on the subject of Electoral College Reform.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM—ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION PAPER ON QUESTION, CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM OF THE PROCEDURE FOR ELECTING PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

(By Edward R. Burke, president, American Good Government Society)

We are met at this time to discuss the provisions of the Constitution which govern the election of the President and Vice President of the United States and the several proposals to change those provisions by amending the Constitution.

The charges brought against the electoral system vary widely. From nullifying and misappropriating votes and disfranchising voters, they range to gross inequality in voting power as between the voters of the large and small States. In between the charge of imbalance in the political structure is said to give the executive power of the Nation a narrow base in the electorate while the legislative power has a very broad base. Nor is the effect of the electoral system on nominating conventions overlooked.

This variety of charges against the way we elect the President has produced equally varied remedies in the form of proposed constitutional amendments. These range from a direct popular election of the President without regard for State boundaries, to a mere change in the manner of electing members of the electoral college. In between is a plan of abolishing the electoral college, but keeping intact the present electoral weights of the States and dividing them in proportion to the popular vote within the States. All of the proposed plans for electing the President are based on 1 of these 3 approaches.

All of the amendments proposed have one thing in common. They would bring about a division of the electoral weights of the States. And, in the last analysis, it is this present lack of division of the electoral weights that is the source of dissatisfaction and the basis of demands for a change.

In most respects our electoral system has stood the test of time, through 42 elections, from General Washington to General Eisenhower. Only the minor changes of the 12th amendment, in 1804, distinguish the constitutional manner of the election of Washington from that of Eisenhower.

Prior to the 12th amendment members of the electoral college voted for 2 men as President, with 1 from another State than themselves. The leading man became President if he had the votes of a majority of electors appointed. If none had a majority or if 2 such were tied, the House of Representatives, voting by States, chose the President "from the 5 highest on the list." After the President was chosen the man with the most electoral votes became Vice President, unless two or more were tied, and then the Senate chose between them.

The two-party system was implicit in the requirement of a majority of the electoral college in the election of the President. This requirement left room for only two major contenders. As we have seen, men will subordinate strong convictions in order to be a part of the majority. This became clear in the election of 1796, the first contest for the Presidency, which came between John Adams, who had been Vice President under Washington for 8 years, and Thomas Jefferson, the leader of the opposition which was fast becoming an organized party. Adams nosed out Jefferson by 3 votes—71 to 68. This outcome gave us a President from one party and a Vice President from the other party. I say the other party because the candidates for President and Vice President of the Federalists and those of the Anti-Federalists received 228 of the 276 electoral votes cast, or more than 80 percent of the total. The remaining 48 votes were divided among 9 other candidates. The two-party system was beginning to take shape.

But the provision requiring the electors to vote for two men as President wrought havoc among the elements beginning to coalesce into two parties. The feud between Alexander Hamilton and John Adams, which destroyed the Federalist Party, began in the first presidential election in 1788. All the leaders were agreed on Washington for President and Adams for Vice President, as was Adams himself. But under the Constitution Adams had to be voted for as President and he wanted to run equally with Washington in the electoral college, and leave Washington's choice over him to the House of Representatives. Hamilton, on the other hand, wanted for Washington the prestige of a unanimous choice in the electoral college unquestioned by a close contender. Hamilton's efforts brough to Washington the votes of all 69 electors voting, of the 73 appointed. More important, though, was that Hamilton had so arranged matters that Adams was short of a majority although he had four times as many votes as his nearest opponent. Despite the effect of this on Adams' friends, especially in New England, Hamilton imposed the same pattern on the 1792 election.

The chickens came home to roost in 1796 when Jefferson ran ahead of Pinckney, the Federalist candidate for Vice President, by 9 votes, 12 New England electors having failed to support the ticket.

By 1800 the two-party system was solidly grounded. The Federalist's 65 electors voted for Adams and 64 voted for Pinckney, the candidate for Vice President. One vote went to John Jay to prevent a tie in the electoral college between Adams and Pinckney. But the Federalists were never again a factor in presidential elections.

Things were not so well managed for the Jefferson-Burr ticket in 1800. All of their electors were to vote for Jefferson and 1 Virginia elector was to vote for someone other than Burr so as to give Jefferson a 1-vote lead in the electoral college. When the votes were counted it was found that each had 73 votes, Colonel Burr having written to the Virginia elector that he need not throw away his vote since a Rhode Island elector was going to do that. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives where, on the 36th ballot, as a result of Hamilton's intervention, Jefferson was chosen President.

At this point, after both parties were split by feuds between their top leaders, the 12th amendment was adopted. It required members of the electoral college to vote separately for President and Vice President. This development eliminated the earlier source of intraparty friction and established a basis for more cohesive tendencies within the parties. Therefore, the 12th amendment corrected one unforeseen fault in the electoral system that had been uncovered by the development of parties, an event which also was unforeseen by the Founding Fathers.

But the central provision for the electoral college was untouched by the 12th amendment. It reads:

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

When discussing plans to change this central feature of the electoral system, we are facing all of the problems faced by members of the Constitutional Convention. I think it wise, then, to set forth the difficult problems they solved successfully before we take up the changes now proposed to be made. For surely, we do not want to undo what they did well. We do not want to create constitutional problems where none exist by any failure on our part to understand why the electoral college was necessary and why its membership was established as it was.

The Convention undertook an enormous task. As Hamilton put it in the Federalist No. 1: "It seems to have been reserved to the people of this country * * * to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force."

The Convention undertook to create a government for the United States which incorporated certain new principles not previously tested by experience.

First was the Federal principle of limited dual-sovereignty of the State and the Nation, sovereignty being the power to declare the law. Next was the new principle of separation of powers of the three great branches of government. And lastly was the combination of the Federal and national principles of representation in the Central Government.

The Convention proposed that "the People of the United States" delegate to the Central Government only a part of the sovereign powers ceded to them in their respective States by George III in the Treaty of Paris. It left to them the measure of sovereignty they might, in turn, delegate to their respective State governments. We speak of dual sovereignty more familiarly as dual citizenship of State and Nation.

During more than a hundred days in 1787, as the Constitution took shape, the Conven-

tion debated, off and on, the manner of choosing the Executive. Actions were taken only to be reversed upon later reconsideration. The first idea was that the President be elected by joint ballot of the two Houses of the legislature, so that neither could have a negative over the other. This combined into one body for a single act the Federal basis of the Senate and the national basis of the House. The next idea was that the President should be elected by an electoral college, meeting at the seat of government, an electoral college that should be the exact counterpart of the legislature in joint session, thereby continuing in this special body for only one action the combination of the Federal with the national principle of representation. Then, doubting that so many would come so far just to elect a President, the convention went back to election by the two Houses in joint session. But this action was again reversed and the electoral college restored in the report of the Committee of Eleven on September 4. Speaking for himself and the committee, Governor Morris pointed out that the plan satisfied "the indispensable necessity for making the Executive independent of the legislature—as the electors would vote at the same time throughout the United States, and at so great a distance from each other, the great evil of cabal was avoided." This report provided that the electors meet in their respective States and transmit certificates of their votes to the seat of government. With some modifications the plan was adopted 2 days later, on the 6th, just 11 days before the Convention adjourned.

Thus, in the end, after 15 weeks of debate and action, reconsideration and reversals, the convention had hammered out a plan of election of the President by an electoral college which:

1. Gave full effect to the doctrine of separation of powers;

2. Established in combination the Federal and national principles in the election of the President;

3. Gave each State the same representation in electing the President that it had in the whole Congress;

4. Left to the States the manner of appointing electors;

5. Left to each State, as a means of self-protection, the determination or the qualifications of its voters;

6. Established the requirement of an electoral majority which is the foundation of the two-party system.

Had the convention neglected any one of these crucial considerations the Constitution might have failed of adoption, or, if adopted, would have contained within itself elements of imbalance great enough, in the course of time, to distort the balance of the whole structure. These, then, are the principles against which any proposed amendment must be tested if it is to fit comfortably in the Constitution and not require additional adjustments to other parts of the system.

We have seen that an unforeseen fault in the manner of electing the President split the parties and required amendment of the Constitution. Now, when our parties are again split, changes in the manner of electing the President are offered as the proper solution. But now the nub of the matter is different.

In the beginning presidential electors were elected in a variety of ways: (1) by State legislatures; (2) by statewide en bloc methods; (3) by congressional districts; and (4) by combinations of districts and statewide methods. Slowly, as the parties developed, the majority in each State tended to arrogate to itself the full electoral power of the States. This was accomplished by electing the electors in a group on a statewide ticket. Both parties supported this movement in the States where they were the strong and opposed it in States where they were weak. But, in the end, the movement toward consolidation of each State's electoral power produced a uniform method of election of members of the electoral college. For all practical purposes, this development was the foundation of sectionalism in our politics and, to some degree at least, was the basis of the Civil War. Its continuation after reconstruction established the solid South, unknown before the war. The rise of the big city vote in the North under this system has shifted the balance of political power, as between the parties.

In essential principle there are but three proposed methods of change in the manner of electing the President. After listing them, we will discuss them.

1. Abolition of the electoral college and direct election of the President by popular vote of all the people, considering the entire Nation as one gigantic election district and disregarding all State boundaries;

2. Abolition of the electoral college with a proportional division of electoral votes in each State according to the popular vote therein; and

3. Maintenance of the electoral college and election of members thereof in the same manner as Senators and Representatives are elected.

With minor variations, according to the differences in the several proposals grouped under numbers 1 and 2, election would be by a mere plurality, whatever its proportion, or by a plurality of 40 percent.

Abolition of the electoral college is the indispensable condition of any plan for the direct election of the President by popular vote and, also, any plan for keeping the electoral vote but dividing it proportionally among the candidates for President in a State. Under all plans based on these three principles the individual voter would vote directly for President and Vice President. This would create interstate candidacies as opposed to the present intra-state candidacies of party men seeking election as members of the electoral college. Interstate candidacies are legally unknown and unprecedented under the present system. Now, party nominees for President and Vice President are extra-legal, outside the law. They achieve constitutional status only when votes are cast for them in the electoral college.

It is the office and person of elector, and nothing else, that can maintain the intrastate character of presidential elections. If we abandon the office and person of elector we will necessarily establish interstate candidacies which, in turn, will open the door for ultimate Federal control of elections, including the qualifications of voters. For this reason, proponents of States' rights will hardly support abolition of the electoral college.

Other important points to be considered with respect to direct popular election of the President are these:

1. It will so shift the weight of the States in electing the President that the smaller States will lose the small advantage they now have by virtue of their equal representation in the Senate—under the Federal principle; and

2. Since 33 States have fewer than the average weight in the electoral college—11.06 votes—and 17 have 6 electoral votes or less, any constitutional amendment incororating this principle will have rough going in the campaign for ratification. Rejection or failure to act on the part of 13 States would kill the proposal.

This weakness caused former Senator Lodge to abandon the direct popular election principle for the so-called Lodge-Gossett plan, which he persuaded the Senate to pass 64 to 27 on February 1, 1950. The House rejected it when it came up on the floor without benefit of a rule from the Rules Committee.

The Lodge-Gossett plan, long sponsored by former Representative Clarence F. Lea, of California, would abolish the electoral college and divide each State's electoral vote proportionately among the candidates in the respective States acccording to their respective shares of the popular vote, carrying the division to the third decimal place, and farther is necessary to break a tie. As reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee, election would be by a simple plurality of the total electoral vote of all the States. Before passage the Senate added the Lucas amendment to require a plurality of 40 percent for election, otherwise the final choice was to be made by a joint session of Congress voting, per capita, from, I believe, among the top 3 candidates. Both the Senate version and the original Lodge-Gossett version were before the last Congress.

Advantages claimed for this proportional plan are that the popular vote in each State would be accurately reflected in its electoral vote and that the nationwide total of each candidate's electoral vote would accurately reflect his popular support; that conventions could and would name men for President from the small as well as the large States; and that the proportional feature would force the Republican Party to campaign actively for votes in the South, thus laying a basis for a strong two-party system in that section.

Disadvantages charged against Lodge-Gossett, besides the intrastate candidacy, are that it would:

1. Introduce into the Constitution the new and novel principle of proportional representation, the basis of the multiparty systems of continental Europe which, once accepted as a valid principle of representation in electing the President, would be strongly urged as the proper basis for electing Members of the House of Representatives.

2. Give Republicans electoral strength in the South without any commensurate strength in the Houses of Congress, merely shifting the present imbalance of party strength from one section of the country to another, but without reducing it.

Finally, there is the plan for maintaining the electoral college as it is but changing the manner of election of its 435 members who correspond to the 435 Members of the House of Representatives. Under this plan electors would be elected in each State "in the same manner in which it elects its Senator and Representatives." This means that the two of each State's electors who correspond to its United States Senators would continue to be elected statewide, or at-large, and its remaining electors, corresponding to its Members of the House of Representatives, would be elected in congressional districts.

The advantages claimed for this State-district plan are that it would:

1. Give each party in each State a weight in electing the President commensurate with its strength in the Congress, and permit the election of any candidate who could carry one-half of the States and one more than half of the congressional districts, or win more districts and fewer States, or vice versa;

2. Match all of the advantages of other plans that might be gained from division of a State electoral weight without any of their disadvantages;

3. Require no adjustment, explicit or implicit, in any other part of the Constitution, thus gaining all that needs to be gained with the least change in the Constitution and without any constitutional risks whatsoever.

The disadvantages charged against this plan is that the practice of gerrymandering congressional districts in favor of the majority party in each State would make for unfair and unjust representation in the election of the President. But so-called gerrymandering can be controlled by the Congress without any additional grant of power in the Constitution. The Congress has original and

concurrent jurisdiction with the State legislatures as to "the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives" (art. I, sec. 4).

The only other complaints lodged against this plan are that it does not provide for direct voting for the President and Vice President and that it leaves the elector a free agent, as now, to vote for whomsoever he will.

All of these proposed plans of election which require more than a simple plurality for election make provision for ultimate election by the Congress, either the present provisions or by a joint session of the two Houses, voting by the head.

The Dixon-Yates Contract Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of a broadcast in Washington, D. C., by Cedric Foster on January 4, 1955, over the Mutual Network.

Inasmuch as this broadcast contains a penetrating analysis of the Dixon-Yates controversy, I feel sure that it will be of general interest.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This is Cedric Foster reporting to you from Washington. I'll have my commentary on today's news for you in just a moment.

As I reported to you yesterday one of the controversial issues which is certain to come before the 84th Congress is the contract awarded by the Federal Government to the Dixon-Yates company for the production of electrical power. Edgar Dixon and Eugene Yates are the heads of a corporation which expects to erect a $107 million steam powerplant at West Memphis in the State of Arkansas. This plant is to sell 600,000 kilowatts of electricity to the Tennessee Valley Authority. This electricity will take the place of the TVA power which has been diverted of necessity to the atomic-energy plants operated by the Federal Government at Paducah, Ky.

A bitter fight is going to be precipitated over this Dixon-Yates contract, as, indeed, one has already been started. The main issue, of course, is a political philosophy, a way of life, a manner of living which could be described as socialism if the contract is voided and private enterprise if the Eisenhower administration emerges the winner.

The main issue of this political philosophy in this instance, is centered in public power. It is public power against private power. The Democrats support public power and Republicans have pledged themselves to a policy of getting the Government out of business and back into the work of governing.

In their assault against the advocates of private power the Democrats plan to attack the fact that there was no bidding on the contract which was awarded to Dixon-Yates. They also will probably charge that the subsidiary of the Electric Bond & Share Co., is EBASCO, did not live up to the terms of its contract and was forced to abandon a construction job at Joppa, Ill. It was at Joppa, Ill., that EBASCO was constructing an electric powerplant for the Atomic Energy Commission. The ability of EBASCO, one of the world's leading engineering firms, to build that powerplant in West Memphis, Ark., for Dixon-Yates, has been brought up in the current hearings on the financing of the Dixon-Yates project before the Securities Exchange Commission. These hearings continue this week here in Washington.

The Democratic charge concerning the alleged failure of Dixon-Yates at Joppa, Ill., has been blown right out of the window when Federal Judge Fred L. Wham sentenced a labor racketeer to 15 years in prison. This labor gangster was Evan R. Dale and it appears that he tried to shake down the EBASCO organization in the sum of $1,030,000, a 1-percent shakedown on the total cost of the project. But the EBASCO executives refused to pay the bribe. Mr. Dale was president of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union, American Federation of Labor, for southern Illinois. The attempted shakedown by Evan Dale was characterized by Attorney General Herbert Brownell as the largest one that has been attempted since Brown-Bioff syndicate sank its claws into the movie industry about 2 decades ago.

It seems that labor gangster Dale wanted this $1,030,000 as the price of labor peace in Joppa, Ill. Mr. Dale controlled—that is before he went to the Federal penitentiary he controlled them—some 38,000 workers who were being used in the construction of the AEC plant at Joppa. "If EBASCO knew what was good for it," Mr. Dale said: "it would pay out that money or else." What happened was "or else." EBASCO, through the person of Turner White, Jr., a vice president, refused to make the payment. Then the screws were put on EBASCO and if ever the people of the United States wanted an example of what a crooked, thieving labor leader can do to management it could find it in the record of Labor versus EBASCO in Joppa, Ill.

Government and EBASCO witnesses testified at the trial of Evan Dale that when the company refused to be blackmailed it had 35 strikes and instances of sabotage, bringing the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the picture. It was the combination of these strikes and sabotage that forced EBASCO off the Joppa project. Thus, one of the charges which the Democrats have leveled against Dixon-Yates has been answered effectively.

It was some time ago that the New York Daily News summed up briefly and with telling strokes, the issues involved in the Dixon-Yates controversy. This paper declared that the "fight against the contract is being stirred up by Democrats for political reasons and by people who believe fanatically in publicly produced Socialist power such as generated by TVA. These Socialist-minded people think that TVA should build the West Memphis plant and that the cost of the plant should be paid by the taxpayers of the United States. President Eisenhower's administration is pledged to halt and reverse this American trend toward socialism. It has decided that the socialistic TVA's expansion has got to stop. It has chosen the steam plant in West Memphis as the place to stop it.

"That is the nub of the whole dispute. It is a showdown between socialism and the free-enterprise philosophy. Complicating the fight are numerous charges that the Dixon-Yates contract was steamrolled to signature without competitive bidding and that it does not contain proper safeguards against profiteering by the power syndicate."

It would appear that all of these charges are going to be fully aired at the coming session of the Congress. But no matter what the smokescreens are, no matter how long and how hard and how loud come forth the yells here in Washington, the public should not permit itself to become confused as to the real issue. The basic issue involved is whether a creeping socialism will creep further up the torso of the body politic, eventually to throttle it in the grip of bureaucratic strangulation, or whether the body will swing free, unfettered and unbound, free to stride forward as it has done in the past, to make of these United States the Nation of people that we are. That's the issue involved in Dixon-Yates and no amount of doubletalk can change it.

Here in Washington today the Democrats and the Republicans met to name their leaders for the session of Congress which gets underway tomorrow. There were no surprises when the selections were announced as they had been pretty much discounted in advance. Congressman SAM RAYBURN, Democrat, from Bonham, Tex., will be the new Speaker of the House, succeeding Congressman JOE MARTIN, of Attleboro, Mass. Congressman JOHN MCCORMACK will be the new Democratic leader in the House, succeeding Congressman CHARLEY HALLECK, Indiana Republican; JOHN MCCORMACK is from Boston. The Republican minority leader will be Mr. MARTIN.

The Democratic leader of the Senate, that is the majority leader now that the Republicans have lost control of the upper Chamber, is Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, from the State of Texas. Republican Senator STYLES BRIDGES, from the State of New Hampshire, was selected unanimously as head of the GOP policy committee in the Senate, succeeding Homer Ferguson, of Michigan, who failed to be reelected. The floor leader for the Republicans will be the former majority leader, BILL KNOWLAND, from the State of California, while EVERETT SALTONSTALL, from Massachusetts, will be the Republican whip, the assistant floor leader. Senator EUGENE MILLIKIN, from the State of Colorado, will be the chairman of the Republican senatorial conference and Senator MILT YOUNG, from the State of North Dakota, is the secretary.

When the Senate meets tomorrow the new President pro tempore will be the distinguished Senator from the State of Georgia, WALTER GEORGE, a man who rendered outstanding service to his State and country. He succeeds Senator STYLES BRIDGES and will become the third ranking man for the Presidency of the United States, third in line.

The senatorial whip for the Democrats is Senator EARLE CLEMENTS, of the State of Kentucky. Senator TOM JENNINGS, JR., from the State of Missouri, is the secretary of the Democratic Senate conference. The Democrats have not yet decided who will be named Clerk of the House and Sergeant at Arms. Joseph Duke appears all but certain to win that post in the Senate, succeeding Republican Forrest Harness who is a former Congressman from Indiana.

I should also mention that Congressman CHARLEY HALLECK will be JOE MARTIN'S assistant, without any formal title, on the floor of the House as minority leader. Congressman LESLIE ARENDS was in line to keep his post as party whip. He is from Illinois.

On the international front today U. N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold arrived in Hankow, China, en route to Peiping. Per Lind, who is Hammarskjold's executive secretary, is going to file periodic messages to U. N. headquarters in New York for distribution to newsmen, but there are no journalists, as such, with the U. N. party which is trying to effect the release of 11 American United Nations fliers. Other newsmen who are already in Peiping, or those who were sent there on special assignment from countries which have diplomatic relations with Red China, the world will have to reply upon the Chinese Red radio for its news, which would not be termed exactly satisfactory.

When Dag Hammarskjold arrived in Canton, his first stop in Red China, his party

was met by a Communist official who might be described in American vernacular as the third assistant to the third assistant secretary. Sufficient to say that he was a very minor Communist official. This is an indication of the present temper of the Red Chinese. They are not rolling out any velvet carpet for the United Nations delegation. They did this for Nehru, of India; U Nu, of Burma; and Clement Attlee, of Great Britain. Flags were waved, bands played, and people cheered. But for the Secretary General of the United Nations the Red Chinese handed out the treatment of silence, cold reserve, and a welcome from a Red provincial official.

The President's Economic Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, in the course of the current hearings of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, there appeared as a witness to comment on the year-end economic report of the President, Dr. Walter Adams, associate professor of economics at Michigan State College, who is a member of the national committee to study the antitrust laws set up by the Justice Department. While Dr. Adams is no longer a constituent of mine, he is a former New Yorker; and his father, Mr. Edward Adams, is a respected citizen of my State, living in Brooklyn. Dr. Adams has achieved widespread recognition as one of the most outspoken defenders of the role of small business in our economy, and as a critic of monopoly.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Adams' very fine and interesting testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF DR. WALTER ADAMS, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE, BEFORE THE JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 1, 1955

My name is Walter Adams. I am an associate professor of economics at Michigan State College and a member of Attorney General Brownell's National Committee To Study the Antitrust Laws. However, I appear here as a private citizen and do not purport to represent any institution or organization.

The prevention of monopoly and the promotion of competition receive only incidental treatment in the President's Economic Report. While the report recognizes the Government's "responsibility to maintain easy entry into trade and industry, to check monopoly, and to preserve a competitive environment" (p. 50), it scarcely suggests how these generally accepted goals are to be implemented. Fundamentally, it fails to face up to the crucial issues. Thus, the report states that Congress has established a policy of assuring small business of a fair share in the procurement program, but it does not indicate to what extent the executive agencies have carried out the will of Congress. It does not indicate the extent to which legislative wisdom is being vitiated by administrative shortsightedness and incompetence. The report recommends increased Federal expenditures on research and development, but it does not recommend that the fruits of such research be made freely available to all bona fide business enterprise. The report suggests an increase in antitrust fines as a deterrent to future violations, but it does not say that at a time of virulent merger activity the inadequate fine is hardly the most important obstacle to effective antitrust enforcement. Finally, the report proposes that the line between public and private enterprise be redrawn, but it does not insist on redrawing this line with a view toward promoting competition and attenuating monopoly.

Deficient on these specific counts, the President's report is subject to a more general, and probably more crucial, criticism, viz., its total disregard of one of the most important monopoly forces in America today—the United States Government. Thus, the report fails to show how the exercise of particular powers of Government may create the very monopoly which the antitrust authorities are later called upon to destroy. A few illustrations should make my point clear.

1. Spending power: In a period when Federal budgets run in excess of $60 billion, Government procurement, especially defense contracts, have a significant impact on the economy. Yet the executive departments are not always aware of the antitrust implications of their decisions. In 1952, for example, there were four producers of M-48 tanks, but the Defense Department suddenly decided to concentrate production in a single supply source. By administrative fiat, therefore, we moved from an oligopoly to a monopoly situation. Similarly, between January 1953 and June 1954, while independents in the auto industry were withering on the vine, the net new defense contracts going to General Motors increased by $1.7 billion while the net new contracts going to all other auto companies combined, declined by $395 million. Such actions by the Defense Department are hardly conducive to greater competition in highly concentrated industries.

2. Taxing power: In every emergency, from World War I to the Korean war, the tax code was amended to authorize accelerated amortization as an incentive for industrial plant expansion. The companies receiving such amortization privileges got a valuable tax rebate or, at the very least, an interest-free loan. They received what one congressional committee has called the biggest bonanza ever to come down the Government pike. Unfortunately this bonanza was unequally shared. To the extent that it accrued primarily to the dominant firms in highly concentrated industries, the Government was underwriting the growth and expansion of industrial giantism.

3. Proprietary power: During World War II, the Government spent about $11.6 billion on industrial facilities which were usable in the postwar period and were sold to private industry. Here, too, however, the record indicates that, with the notable exception of aluminum, the disposal program did not effectuate an appreciable increase in competition. In the steel industry, for example, almost all the major facilities directly financed with Government funds were sold to the largest firms at bargain counter prices. The Geneva steel plant in Utah, built at a cost of more than $200 million, was sold to United States Steel for a mere $47.5 million, a sale which increased United States Steel's control over the rapidly expanding west-coast market from 17 to 39 percent, and raised its percentage of ingot capacity in the area to 51 percent. Ironically enough, the Attorney General, after approving this sale, filed an antitrust suit against United States Steel for merging with a firm which accounted for 3 percent of fabricated steel production in the same market.

4. Legislative power: As in the case of atomic energy, this involves establishment by Congress of ground rules for industries being transferred from the public to the private domain. While I regret to do so, candor compels me to say that last year's atomic-energy law is likely to preclude the development of competition in this vital industry. At a time when only a handful of large corporations had been allowed to participate in the atomic-energy program, Congress suddenly decided to fling the doors open. But an open door does not afford equality of opportunity when some contestants are on the doorstep while others are miles away. This is not the way to assure effective competition in a new industry.

5. Regulatory power: Here we see in boldest relief the creeping paralysis of monopoly. Here we see the marasmus of the regulatory process, its injurious effects on the consumer and its debilitating influence on the industry concerned. Here we see the subversion of competition via regulation. Let me cite some recent examples:

(a) In 1948, the Supreme Court ordered the vertical divorcement of the Big Five in the movie industry. Each of the Big Five was required to separate the production of movies from exhibition, so as to prevent foreclosure of the market by vertical integration. Then, in 1953, the Federal Communications Commission authorized the merger between American Broadcasting Co. and United Paramount Theatres, and acquiesced in the control of Paramount Pictures by DuMont TV. This meant not only a sizable horizontal combination between a movie exhibition chain and a TV network, but also the vertical integration between a movie producer and a TV exhibitor. It vitiated potential interindustry competition between two basic communication media, and brought about the very vertical integration which the Supreme Court had earlier sought to eliminate.

(b) In another action, the Federal Communications Commission decided on an allocation pattern for TV channels which may doom competition in this young and dynamic industry. According to Allen B. DuMont—who is no academician and who has met a payroll—the Commission's allocation pattern will result in a two-network monopoly in the television industry. Other witnesses before the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee agreed with this contention. They pointed to the fact that competition hinges on the survival of UHF, and that UHF cannot survive unless the Commission equalizes the terms on which UHF competes with VHF. Thus it is clear that the FCC ground rules will determine whether newcomers in this concentrated industry are to have a climate in which competition can thrive and prosper, and whether the TV audience is to enjoy the variety of competition or accept the impositions of monopoly.

(c) In the transportation field, there are especially strong indications that the type of regulation may be unwise and the amount of regulation excessive. There is more than a germ of truth in the observation that the regulatees have wound up doing the regulating.

When the ICC Act was passed in 1887, the railroads possessed considerable monopoly power. But today the situation is different. In the passenger field, the airplane, the bus, and the private conveyance protect the consumer against potential exploitation. In freight, the common carrier, contract, and private trucks seem to give the railroads quite a run for their money.

Yet competition in the trucking business is artificially restricted. No common carrier truck can operate in interstate commerce

without first obtaining a certificate of convenience and necessity and without submitting to rate regulation and route determination by the ICC. Why? What is there about trucking to justify this kind of public utility regulation? Very little, in my opinion. Here is an industry which closely approximates the pattern of perfect competition. There are many firms in the industry and, in the absence of regulation, there would be more. The product is fairly homogeneous and standardized. Entry would be easy, because of relatively low capital costs and because the roadbed is provided at public expense. Moderate fixed costs make price discrimination and cut-throat competition an unlikely eventuality. Nevertheless, we refuse to rely on competition as a means of protecting the consumer interest. Instead we depend on a regulatory agency which shows an inordinate concern for sagging railroad properties and for the vested interests of established trucking companies. In my view, this is ill advised. There seems no economic justification for limiting entry into this industry as long as the public is assured that common carrier trucks are financially responsible, follow the necessary safety regulations, and possess the proper surety qualifications. Here is an industry which is no more a public utility than restaurants, laundries, or filling stations. Here is an industry where gradual, but substantial, deregulation seems feasible, practicable, and desirable.

Finally, we have the case of the airlines. When the Civil Aeronautics Act was passed in 1938, domestic trunklines flew 479.8 million revenue passenger miles. By 1952 this total had increased to 12,188.7 million—a 2,500 percent growth. Despite this tremendous expansion, however, not a single new carrier has been certificated. Established carriers have thus been given what amounts to a perpetual monopoly over a new and growing industry. Here again there is no economic justification for what seems to be a complete and permanent bar against the entry of newcomers. The skyways are free, and airport facilities are provided with public funds. Capital costs are moderate, and new facilities can be added in relatively small doses. Given the tremendous increase in the demand for air travel, there seem to be no compelling technological or economic factors militating against the entry of at least 1 or 2 new carriers. Moreover, the experience with the nonskeds shows how necessary the energizing and invigorating stimulus of competition is. It was the nonskeds who had enough faith in the future of air travel to introduce coach service—at a time when the Big Four thought that such service would entail substantial losses and would fail to promote an increase in demand. It was the nonskeds who rejected the caution, conservatism, and restraint of the big companies and who refused to bow before the apparition haunting every monopolist—the assumed inelasticity of demand. It was the nonskeds whose initiative, enterprise, and daring proved that competitive rate reduction is more effective than a belief in the myths of inelasticity. If for no other reason than past performance, the certification of new competitors is urgently needed—competitors who do not demand subsidies from the Government, competitors who are dynamic enough to assure a phenomenal growth in a phenomenal industry. Such growth will not only benefit the consumer; it will not only enable Michigan residents to escape harsh winters with an airline trip to beautiful Arizona; it will also contribute to our national defense which depends on a strong and vigorous airline industry.

In conclusion let me say that contrary to the prediction of Karl Marx and the belief of his unknowing and unwitting disciples, monopoly in America is neither natural nor inevitable. Rarely is it a response to technological imperatives or economic necessities. Never is it the result of spontaneous generation or natural selection. More often than not, monopoly is the result of unwise, manmade, privilege creating legislation which throttles competition and restricts opportunity. I think it is idle to expect enforcement of the antitrust laws alone to assure us of a competitive economy in years to come. We cannot have competition if the Government creates what the antitrust laws are designed to prevent, if the Government itself helps fashion the economy in the image of the cartels.

Senator and Mrs. Neuberger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article entitled "Senator N. and Mrs. N"., written by Mr. Roland Sawyer, and published in the Christian Science Monitor of January 27, 1955. The article refers to the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER] and Mrs. Neuberger, his wife.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR N. AND MRS. N.

(By Roland Sawyer)

WASHINGTON.—About this fellow NEUBERGER, the new Senator from Oregon: Washington isn't quite sure. Here's a man who says what he thinks. Literally.

Don't Senators say what they think? Well, let's not be too literal. Sometimes a Senator or a Congressman says what somebody else wrote. A New England Senator is reported to have remarked in a moment of candid exasperation at the height of a recent campaign, "The things they put in my mouth for me to say." But nobody puts things in DICK NEUBERGER's mouth—nobody, that is, except Mrs. Neuberger.

Take this Formosa affair and the President's message to Congress. What did DICK NEUBERGER think about that? The Senator was sitting before an open fire in a Washington living room. His hands were wrapped around his knees, and his head was bent down. He rocked back and forth a moment. Well, he said, the newspaper boys knew a lot more about that than he did. They'd been around Washington; he'd just arrived. The Senator just didn't know what to say except that he wanted to think about it a while.

Some people in Washington say the junior Senator from Oregon has said quite enough already for his freshman year. When at the congressional dinner of the Woman's National Press Club he said that he thought politicians should practice the Sermon on the Mount and the Ten Commandments in their campaign speeches, Washington was surprised. Congressmen and Senators usually don't say things like that, except on the floor of the House or Senate, where it is recorded for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. NEUBERGER, before he had hardly unpacked, had the courage—or the temerity, depending upon one's viewpoint—to make a long speech on campaign morals before many high Government figures. He used plain words, like Mr. Peepers, of the TV, whom at odd moments he slightly resembles. He said he thought it was time to end "campaigns of character assassination" and that this was the way to do it.

The circumstances created quite a furor. Some of Mr. NEUBERGER's anecdotes exposed him to criticism on the grounds of taste, which added to Washington's uncertainty about the new Senator.

Had the "Mr. Smith" of the movies ("Mr. Smith Goes to Washington") arrived and was he telling folks what was wrong? Or was it an inappropriate time and place for Mr. NEUBERGER to attack in only slightly veiled language the campaign conduct of the Vice President of the United States who was sitting beside him as another head-table guest? Whatever the verdict, Washington is likely to see quite a lot more of this shrewd, appealingly homespun "Mr. Smith."

The junior Senator from Oregon believes other things around Washington should be changed. He's discovered that quite a few Members of Congress, and administration officials, don't write their own public statements.

What, the Senator was asked, was so surprising about that? Mr. NEUBERGER, rising from his sofa, turned the tables on the questioner. Did correspondents allow dispatches which they did not write to go out under their names? Well, no; hardly. Then why should a Senator say something he didn't write. Well, a United States Senator is a busy man. The freshman Senator from Oregon shook his head; it all seemed very strange. Mr. NEUBERGER is, of course, an eminent journalist in his own right and penning a speech may not be difficult for him.

Obviously the impact of this Senator on the gray, somewhat cynical community of Washington is going to be interesting. There's likely to be a test of strength between this able publicist of the tall timber and the customs which seem indelibly established in the veneer-paneled drawing rooms of the Capital.

Just now the Senator lives alone at the Congressional Hotel. Mrs. Neuberger has returned to Oregon for the winter where she has her own political job to fulfill as a member of the State legislature. There are 3,000 miles between this exceptional husband and wife team. To hear DICK NEUBERGER talk of his wife on a quiet Washington evening, gently, with restraint, and yet with meaning, is to know that she is his mainstay and prime support.

It's a good bet that Oregon's "Mr. Smith," this man of deceptive talent, will be a prod for good works and new concepts in Washington for some time to come. If he should not be underestimated, the thanks, he would tell you, must go to Mrs. N.

The Proposed Dixon-Yates Power Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Power Contract Can Wait," published in the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post-Gazette of October 1, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POWER CONTRACT CAN WAIT

After receiving no reply to its original request, a Senate subcommittee which has been investigating the controversial Dixon-Yates power contract has again asked the administration to hold up final action on the agreement until it can complete its inquiry.

The disputed proposal calls for a combine formed by Middle South Utilities, Inc. (headed by Edgar H. Dixon), and the Southern Co. (headed by E. A. Yates) to build a 650,000-kilowatt steam powerplant in West Memphis, Ark., and sell power to the Atomic Energy Commission. The AEC would resell the power to the Tennessee Valley Authority to supply the growing demands of its customers in the Memphis area. With the AEC thus enabling the TVA to meet additional demands in Memphis, the TVA would be in a position to deliver power where the AEC needs it at Paducah, Ky.

But the contract which President Eisenhower ordered the AEC to sign with the Dixon-Yates syndicate has been questioned on several grounds. It has been charged that there was no competitive bidding on the contract and that another syndicate offered to provide power at $4 million to $5 million a year less than Dixon-Yates. TVA supporters contend that the Authority could produce the needed power at less cost to the taxpayers itself. Senator KEFAUVER, as a member of the investigating subcommittee, has declared that there are errors in the AEC-Budget Bureau joint report on the contract.

While there are so many aspects of the proposed contract still being questioned, the administration should not conclude arrangements on it. It will be in the interest of the taxpayers and public policy to have the agreement fully discussed and understood by the public before it is signed.

Problems in Indian Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, on January 28, 1955, the Governor of the State of New Mexico, Hon. John F. Simms, Jr., addressed the annual winter conference on problems connected with Indian affairs at Santa Fe, N. Mex.

I believe that the Governor's observations on the relationship between the Federal Government and the Indians, on the one hand, and the State of New Mexico and the Indians, on the other, are of importance. I am sure that the Members of the Congress and others will find significant suggestions in the Governor's recommendations on the question of terminating Federal services to Indians.

I ask unanimous consent that Governor Simms' speech may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GOV. JOHN F. SIMMS, JR., AT THE ANNUAL WINTER CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS IN INDIAN AFFAIRS, ST. FRANCIS AUDITORIUM, SANTA FE, N. MEX.

Madam President, delegates to the conference, ladies, and gentlemen, the first fact I wish to make very clear is that Indian problems are not the exclusive concern of our Indian citizens. Anyone who believes that they are has completely failed to grasp the importance of the economic and social factors involved. Problems affecting the Indian people are of grave concern to all the people of this State, and a moment's reflection will make this apparent.

The Indian population of New Mexico is 47,000, approximately, and I do not need to tell you that these are just as industrious, law abiding, and worthy as any other segment of our population. Their ancient culture is one of the finest in spiritual values that we know about.

In the past century, it was decided by our National Government that Indian tribes should be concentrated in the sparsely settled West. But America surged westward, and the Indians were in the way. There were objections to the plan to concentrate the tribes north of Nebraska and south of Kansas, so the reservation system was adopted and the Indians placed within fixed boundaries. All this time the Pueblos remained where they were, except that they lost a great deal of land through encroachment by non-Indian settlers, as the land became valuable to the newcomers. The Navahos signed a treaty in 1868 which settled them on the land they now occupy—and I might add that although the United States failed in various particulars to adhere to its treaty promises, the Navahos respected it and abided by it.

The reservations were established, except for the Apaches, by 1870. But in 1887, the Allotment Act was passed, heads of families received 160 acres regardless of how poor the land was, and by this device 86 million acres were taken from the Indians.

The Indian Reorganization Act put a stop to this. Tribal groups were organized in a way similar to a corporation, and the tribes became the owners of their tribal property. This law has been on the statute books for 20 years and it has proved of great value.

I mention all this because there is increasing pressure on Congress to terminate Federal services to Indians. A bill which would liquidate all tribal organizations in 3 years' time has again been introduced. The Malone bill would repeal the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, destroy what has been in existence for many years, and allow only 3 years for Indian groups to prepare for assimilation into the highly competitive economy of our modern system.

This is not the place to dwell on the feeling the Indians have about their land, made sacred, as they say, "by the ageless sleep of our ancestors." That belongs in another statement. This morning, I am discussing the impact on our State's economy of termination of Federal services to Indians, and I want to show why this must not be allowed for many years, not until the various tribes are ready.

Some might ask, "Why aren't the Indian people ready to go it on their own?" In the first place, although the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been in existence for 130 years, the tribes simply have not been made ready for withdrawal of Federal services.

We have seen that Indian tribes were settled on the least desirable land, soil from which it was thought no one could make a living and which the Indians did not want. Abject poverty, disease, and all the ills they suffered made a wretched situation for almost all of them. The sheep-reduction program on the Navaho Reservation, which was enforced some 20 years ago, resulted in so great a loss that subsistence was below the level of necessity. Lack of water and good grass in that dry land created unspeakable conditions. Drought affected farm and livestock production on other reservations, as well as in the pueblos. During the depression years there was no off-reservation work, no wages from private industry. During World War II, Indians in the Armed Forces sent money home, and that helped—and I might add that not only did the Indian troops have a very fine war record, but many employers will tell you today that they prefer Indian workmen for certain types of jobs.

But hardship and misery do not make a people venturesome and eager to go out and try their hands at unfamiliar tasks under strange and bewildering conditions. The tribes became more withdrawn, less and less eager to become a part of an unknown world for which they had no preparation. And while more do enter that outside world today, they are young people, more readily adaptable to new customs and new ways. Their elders cling tenaciously to the familiar ways they grew up with. And this is why these tribal groups are not ready and will not be ready "in the foreseeable future," as Commissioner Emmons said, "to go it on their own; it will be a long time, and any drastic legislation that would terminate Federal services too abruptly would be a tragic mistake, in my opinion."

From our childhood, we have been led to think of Indians as romantic figures in a national drama. Movies have done their part in fastening this concept on the minds of our general population. But we in New Mexico certainly know that Indians are not museum pieces, but fine human beings, and, being human resources, are more valuable even than our so-called natural resources and, therefore, deserve prior consideration.

We have seen that services to Indians were provided because the Indians' loss of land rendered him incapable of supplying them himself; and I might add that solemn promises to furnish these services, some guaranteed by treaty, constitute an obligation of the Federal Government and must not be disregarded or callously violated by unwise termination legislation.

Anyone who knows the difficulties we face in our State government in trying to obtain a sufficient amount for health, welfare, law and order, and other necessary services, can easily imagine what would happen to the economy of this State if Federal services to our Indian population were terminated and this enormous burden laid on our State's economy. Add to this total the sums needed for the Navahos and you begin to realize what I said at the outset, that Indian problems are not the sole concern of our Indian citizens. These problems are very much the concern of all of us, and I cannot emphasize this too strongly.

In my message to the legislature on January 11, I issued the warning that in the not-too-distant future the Federal Government plans to relinquish its guardianship over the Indian population and pointed out that this State is totally unprepared to assume even a measure of the responsibility which the Federal Government would relinquish.

It is vitally important that we recognize the seriousness of this situation and that we all work together to prevent the Federal Government prematurely shifting its responsibility to the States. It is likewise important that we work together for passage of the upper Colorado water project. The Navaho Dam will supply water, much of it now wasted, that will rehabilitate 15,000 people, one-fifth of the Navaho population. Our congressional delegation stands ready to push the fight for the upper Colorado water project with all their might, but they need our help, and I hope each of you will do his share.

I think these facts have been demonstrated: That the Indian problem affects all of us; that we need to recognize the splendid human resources embodied in the Indian people and to safeguard their rights; that New Mexico is totally unprepared to assume the cost of Federal services to Indians and that these are the plain responsibility of the Federal Government; that there is needed, as I suggested to the State legislature, a State commission on Indian affairs that will study these problems and interpret the facts

to all sections of our population; that we should support to the hilt the efforts of our congressional delegation to enact into law the upper Colorado water project.

And I shall repeat what I have said at various times: The more Indians who are registered and voting, the more strength we shall have in defeating bad legislation and in passing good legislation. I therefore urge you to register and vote, all who are of age, to take a deep and real interest in these problems, to encourage your women and young people to greater participation with you, to the end that with all of us working together we shall, with God's help, find the solution.

Restoration of the Old North Church Steeple, Boston, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, as most of us know, the steeple of our famous Old North Church in Boston, in which were hung the famous lanterns which guided Paul Revere, was blown down from the church structure during Hurricane Carol which did so much damage along the eastern seaboard last fall.

Since that time, led by the Reverend Charles Russell Peck, there has been a vigorous effort made to raise funds in an amount sufficient to restore the steeple to its original position and strength.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have placed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a report of the contribution made by the Prince Hall Masons of America, Canada, and Liberia to that fund. It is a generous contribution and one that I know is deeply appreciated.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRINCE HALL MASONS PRESENT GIFT TO OLD NORTH CHURCH STEEPLE FUND, BOSTON, JANUARY 22, 1955

A delegation of grand masters from the Grand Masters Conference of Prince Hall Masons of America, Canada, and Liberia, today made a presentation of $1,250 to Rev. Charles Russell Peck, vicar of the historic Old North Church of Boston for the steeple fund.

Presentation was made by Grand Master John Wesley Dobbs, of Atlanta, Ga., in behalf of the organization. Grand Master James R. Lesueur, M. D., of the Prince Hall Masons, jurisdiction of Massachusetts, presided.

The grand lodge of Massachusetts celebrated its St. John's Day services at this church in June 1954.

The original African Lodge, F. & A. M., was founded in 1775 by Prince Hall, and 14 men of color, and chartered African Lodge, No. 459, by grand lodge of England, in 1784, with Prince Hall as worshipful master.

Thereby and thereafter the African Grand Lodge was founded in 1791, with Prince Hall as grand master.

Thereafter the African Grand Lodge was changed, in 1808, to Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge, in honor of its founder, whose final resting place is located in Copps Hill burying ground a short distance from the Old North Church in Boston.

History records that Prince Hall, together with members of this organization, walked on St. John's Day to this church for the celebration of this feast day, in the year 1808, the same year that the name of this particular lodge was changed.

American-Flag Shipping Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a letter from Mr. Robert E. Mayer, president of the West Coast Shipping Group, to Secretary of State Dulles, regarding Pacific coast shipping by American-flag steamship lines.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We feel that it is advisable to address your office on this subject at this time because of what appears to be criticism and objections in Britain and the Continent of legislation adopted by our Congress in its last session, evenly dividing the United States aid cargoes among American-flag vessels on the one hand, and vessels of other flags, on the other hand.

On behalf of American-flag steamship lines on the Pacific coast, I would like to call to the attention of your office that this legislation evolved in the 83d Congress after a long history dating back to June 5, 1947, when Gen. George C. Marshall on the campus of Harvard University launched the great humanitarian plan destined to bear his name. Almost immediately thereafter—and somewhat prematurely, due to an alert United States press—it was revealed that the plan on the part of the 16 Marshall plan recipient nations was for the transfer by the United States of 500 United States war-built vessels to those recipient nations for use by them in transporting the United States aid cargoes to their ports.

We know that many of the Members of Congress were shocked at the implications of such a proposal since it was obviously designed to rebuild the fleets of the recipient nations and at the same time shut American-flag vessels in the Atlantic completely out of aid cargoes, which as the past years have proven, were the transition between war and peaceful commerce for the American merchant marine. The proposal was deemed by our leaders in both the administration and Congress to be so patently self-serving of its proponents as to not even be worthy of discussion in the halls of Congress. Instead, year after year, in aid act after aid act, with but a single exception, the Congress of the United States has adopted the 50–50 shipping provision, virtually ensuring an even division of these cargoes between American vessels and those of other flags.

During these considerations in Congress, you will recall extremist views were expressed within our own country. There were those voices—and very strong voices—who demanded that American-flag vessels and American seafaring men carry, not 50 percent, but 100 percent, of aid cargoes to other lands. Those views did not prevail, and Congress instead sought a fair division of the cargoes.

The 50–50 division springs from what has been termed the "golden rule of world trade"; that is, that world trade is a two-way street and that a nation must import if it is to export. The 50–50 provision applies the golden rule to shipping space in such a manner as to seek accomplishment of the utopian with respect thereto. Under the 50–50 rule, we import or purchase, shipping space of other nations in an amount approximately equal to that which we export, or sell, in the aid programs.

Congress seems to have clearly established a public policy for the United States on this point, since, as your office knows, 50–50 shipping provisions have been included in the following:

Public Law No.	Congress	Title
47	81st	Economic Cooperation Act of 1948: Amend.
329	81st	Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949.
447	81st	Far East Economic Assistance Act of 1950.
897	81st	Yugoslav Emergency Relief Act of 1950.
48	82d	India Emergency Food Aid Act of 1951.
165	82d	Mutual Security Act of 1951.
77	83d	Pakistan: Transfer of price-support wheat to.
665	83d	Mutual Security Act of 1954.
778	83d	Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1955.

Because of this firm establishment of public policy in the United States, because it strikes clearly down the middle between the extremist views in both directions, and because the complete fairness of the policy has never been challenged, we are amazed and astounded and disappointed to find after such a history as this that there are complaints originating among recipient nations.

We have reference to a news dispatch from London, dated January 9, to the effect that British shipowners protested to their Government "against its acceptance of the 50–50 rule for shipping American coal to Britain." The press dispatch quoted the British General Council of Shipping as saying that those protests recorded "growing anxiety in the extension of discriminatory practices." We refer also to a report in the New York Herald Tribune of January 1 to the effect that the marine transport committee of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation, consisting of 17 representative nations, condemned discriminatory practices and reportedly made particular reference to the 50–50 law adopted in the 83d Congress.

We believe that our Government should correct the record made by these two actions, not only by stoutly defending this now fully established United States public policy but by condemning strongly the description by these interests of the 50–50 provisions as an act of discrimination. The application of such a label can only be assumed to have been applied out of a lack of understanding, or as an intentional use of a propaganda technique. Use of the word "discrimination" insures its authors of an inference by their audience that he is talking about something evil. The automatic linking of the term "discrimination" with the humanitarian 50–50 shipping policy is—we hope not intentionally—an act of deceit. The 50–50 policy is precisely the opposite of discrimination. It is insurance against discrimination. It insures a fair participation in these cargoes by vessels of other flags. We know of no place in the world, in any nation of the world, where another legislature has adopted such a provision resulting in a fair distribution of its products to citizens of other lands.

In view of the fully established nature of the 50–50 shipping provision as public policy and in view of the shocking nature

of these attacks upon it, we believe it not improper to inquire of our State Department as to whether it intends to offer a defense of the provision in an effort to prevent any public impression that this humanitarian policy can possibly be considered discrimination, and to inform the public that it is a measure designed to protect against it and set an example for other nations. We feel it proper also to inquire of your office whether embassies and consulates of the United States in other countries have been properly informed on the 50–50 provision, its origin, its history, and its operation, so that they can adequately answer inquiries of shipping representatives of other nations as to the real nature and effect of this law.

At your convenience, we would appreciate a reply to these two inquiries.

The Proposed Dixon-Yates Power Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials dealing with the proposed Dixon-Yates power contract. The first is entitled "Partisan Atoms," and was published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 3, 1955. The second is an editorial entitled "Cancel It," published in the Washington Daily News of February 1, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 3, 1955]

PARTISAN ATOMS

President Eisenhower's sharp comment yesterday on the Dixon-Yates contract will only embitter the political controversy that has enveloped the Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Eisenhower was correct in saying that the resolution by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy disapproving the contract was drawn strictly on party lines—meaning that it was put through by the Democratic majority. But this charge cuts two ways. The decision of the joint committee last November to waive further review of the contract also was drawn strictly on party lines, with the then Republican majority voting for the waiver and the Democrats voting against it. Is the action by a committee now under Democratic control, an action about which there was plenty of warning last fall, somehow more partisan than the same sort of action by a committee under Republican control?

The whole Dixon-Yates affair now has become a legal nightmare. Even if the President is determined not to withdraw the contract, it is obvious that the Democrats can keep the issue boiling for many months. No doubt there is a partisan motive in some of the opposition; but the criticism is by no means wholly political. There are some serious doubts, shared by this newspaper, about the manner in which the contract was imposed and the mixing of agency functions it would entail. Some important Republican Members of Congress, although anxious not to oppose the President, are worried by the contract and would like to get out of the tangle gracefully.

The practical effect of the administration's dogged determination to stick by a mistake is equally obvious. It keeps the Atomic Energy Commission—which is now reduced to 3 confirmed members, only 2 of whom vote in the power dispute—up to its ears in controversy. Chairman Strauss' roseate assurance that the dispute has not interfered with the Commission's work is contested by Commissioner Murray and by AEC employees speaking privately; one indication is the amount of time Messrs. Strauss and Murray have had to spend testifying on the affair. Meanwhile, the administration is forced to rely on Democrats in Congress to pull its chestnuts out of the fire on appointments. If the administration wants less partisanship in atomic-energy matters, it ought to recognize its own responsibility to go halfway.

[From the Washington Daily News of February 1, 1955]

CANCEL IT

Now the clear and unmistakable duty of the United State Atomic Energy Commission is to cancel the Dixon-Yates contract.

If Adm. Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the AEC, continues to be stubborn and fights for the contract, the responsibility will be entirely his. The responsibility is twofold: For putting his agency into the awkward role of power broker for TVA, and for making the Government, at a later date, pay possible penalties it can now escape.

He now has the chance to get his agency and the Eisenhower administration he supports so completely, off a hook on which they should never have been hung. He can erase a damaging political issue which will embroil the administration, to its great disadvantage, for a long time.

Admiral Strauss' opportunity came by reason of the majority vote of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee recommending cancellation of the contract.

The committee, by a 10-to-8 strict party vote, pointed out that the contract is not yet effective. And since it is not, a Government decision to cancel it will not now entail any penalties. Later, these might be great.

The Atomic Committee's majority vote was not a reckless, publicity-seeking move. It was the result of a studied and solemn decision by responsible, stable, and patriotic legislators.

Cancellation now of the Dixon-Yates contract will not, as some proponents claim, deprive the growing city of Memphis, Tenn., of power it will need badly in a few years, which is no business of the AEC anyway; its primary job is to make and keep us strong militarily.

If, after cancellation, the Congress—as it probably will—again refuses to appropriate money to TVA to construct a new power generating plant, then Memphis can go ahead with its own plans to build such a plant. And Memphis' plans are well along.

Another alternative would be for Congress to set TVA up on its own bottom, provide it with authority to issue revenue bonds, to be liquidated by power revenues, and permit it to decide on this basis whether to build more generating facilities to serve west Tennessee. Or, Congress can direct TVA to supplement its present power supply by buying more electricity directly from private companies around the periphery of the watershed it serves.

Finally, cancellation of Dixon-Yates will in nowise affect the power supply to AEC's great plants in Tennessee, in Ohio, or in Kentucky. It has an undoubted first priority under law for TVA power for defense purposes. And it has available growing sources of power from private companies with which it has immense contracts in Ohio and Kentucky.

The Dixon-Yates contract is bad.

AEC has just been given the opportunity to cancel it.

This it should do—and now.

"Time of Their Lives" in Old Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. MCNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article that appeared on Sunday, January 30, 1955, in the Washington Post and Times Herald.

This article, written by Mr. Robert Perrin of the staff of the Detroit Free Press, tells how one of the great labor unions of this country is helping to meet the needs of the 15,000 older "senior citizens" who have retired from their jobs in the automobile plants of Detroit.

The administration has declared itself as being very much interested in the problems of older people. Here is an example of how in one city the problems are being dealt with, not with talk, but with specific, well-thought-out, and highly successful action.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"TIME OF THEIR LIVES" IN OLD AGE

(By Robert Perrin)

DETROIT.—Henry Fark, who is 78, asked his wife one morning recently whether she wanted him to stay home that day.

"No," she replied. "Here's your lunch. You get out of the house. You just make more work for me when you stay home."

So Henry Fark shrugged into his coat, and walked several blocks to a local union hall of the CIO United Auto Workers on the East Side of Detroit.

There, in a large, airy room in the basement, Henry joined about 25 of his contemporaries who already had gathered to play pinochle dominoes and checkers and to shoot pool as well as the breeze.

Henry Fark is one of 15,000 former auto workers in the Detroit area who have retired in recent years on pensions negotiated by the UAW with the auto industry. Throughout the country there are about 42,000 Henry Farks and their ranks are expected to increase to 65,000 by 1958.

SENSE OF BELONGING

Says Walter Reuther, CIO president and leader of the auto workers: "The oldtimers are having the time of their lives."

He said the UAW-CIO is feeling its way as a pioneer in giving pensioners "a sense of belonging." He added that the movement "will involve every community in the Nation as it evolves into a pattern."

Reuther pointed out that not only are the pensioners growing rapidly in number; they are living much longer. "It certainly creates a problem," he said, but quickly added, "but this is the beginning of a wonderful human experience."

Not many years ago, what happened to the elderly former worker was of no particular concern to anyone but himself, his family and the social workers. No longer a contributor to the economy, he was generally considered a liability as he tried to get by on skimpy social-security benefits.

Today the picture has changed.

A SENIOR CITIZEN

Now, when he packs up his battered lunchbox for the last time and walks through the plant gate to retirement, the auto worker joins the ranks of the "senior citizens" instead of the castoffs.

Eligible for a maximum of $52.50 a month from his company and nearly $100 from social security, if he meets requirements, he can look forward to many years of adequate, if not luxurious, living. And he knows he will not be forgotten, because his union won't let it happen.

In addition to plugging continually for higher pensions and more benefits for the retired workers, the UAW also has taken a paternal interest in their morale and well-being.

What began as a simple program to keep in touch with the retired members, however, has snowballed into a major, and expensive, function of the union. Olga M. Madar, director of the UAW's recreation department, finds that the program is taking up more and more of her time.

"What we are trying to do," says Miss Madar, "is to help fill the retirees' leisure time needs, assist them with their problems and point up their needs to the community."

SEEKS COMMUNITY AID

At present, the UAW is carrying the ball alone, but it is seeking financial aid from community agencies. Miss Madar estimates that the union is spending about $50,000 a year on the program in this area alone.

The money goes for parties, meetings, counseling and three drop-in centers operating 5 days a week.

There is no formal organization of retired autoworkers, either for political or recreation purposes. Nor does the union want its program to develop into one.

In fact, the union was considerably startled not long ago when it heard that a group of oldtimers was forming a "political action committee." The UAW war relieved when the group adopted the title, "Retired Workers Service Committee," and set itself to studying legislative and community matters pertaining to retirees.

Serving on committees, incidentally, is a favorite pastime of the pensioners. Each drop-in center has a house committee; there is a citywide steering committee to develop topics for monthly meetings, and there are visiting committees to pay calls on sick colleagues.

Although the first auto workers began retiring in March 1950, under the then-new pension plans, the UAW did not launch its program until October 1951. The delay was no oversight. As Miss Madar explains:

"We wanted first to determine the needs and interests of the retired workers rather than jump in blindly."

Even today, when some new area of the country wants advice on establishing a drop-in center, Miss Madar urges caution and suggests monthly meetings first to see if there is any real interest.

The drop-in centers are perhaps the most famous part of the union's program. The three in Detroit are located in space donated by local union halls. The first opened in February 1953, and last year had an attendance of more than 12,000.

They are not restricted to retired UAW members. The union invites all senior citizens to stop in. However, Miss Madar estimates that less than 10 percent of the visitors are nonunion members.

Each center is equipped with comfortable chairs, card tables, a television set, a pool table, and books furnished by the public library.

Open from 10 or 11 a. m. until 4 p. m., the centers have full-time directors. The UAW is trying to interest the United Community Services in paying their salaries, now totaling about $13,000 a year.

Many pensioners, like Henry Fark, come at the opening hour and stay until closing. Some cronies have running pinochle and dominoes contests which break up only when the center closes.

One 71-year-old retiree, however, said he divides his time between the center and a Junior League clubroom.

"There are not enough women at the center and too many at the Junior League," he said. "It about balances out."

Women are not discriminated against in the UAW's program. Wives are invited to many of the parties held, such as the monthly birthday affairs for all retirees celebrating another year during the month. Special programs also are arranged for the women.

But casual relaxation is only part of the union's overall program. It sponsors organized affairs such as travel films, discussions of current events, and counseling classes. The classes inform the pensioner how to get such things as wheelchairs, hearing aids, and glasses.

Also, five area meetings are held each month. This month's meetings featured an expert's opinion on heart conditions. Social security and health insurance experts also are on hand to answer questions.

Each summer there is a retired workers' picnic and around Christmas time a holiday party is held. The last such party drew 7,200 persons for baked chicken and entertainment, which may mean that the affair will have to be broken up into smaller groups next time.

Making ends meet on a pension is a constant problem for the retirees. Many husband their money so closely that they feel they cannot afford the 40-cent round-trip bus fare to the drop-in centers. To assist, the UAW furnishes a free bus ticket home to all those who pay their way to the centers.

One committee, meanwhile, is plugging for reduced rates for the senior citizens on city buses. Petitions circulated in this project have as many as 30,000 names.

But still they come, seeking companionship.

"Boy, you should have been here yesterday," said 80-year-old Fred Martin to a drop-in center visitor. "We had 130 people at our birthday party. Square dancing and everything."

Colorado River Storage Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two resolutions supporting legislation to authorize the Colorado River storage project, one from the Tucumcari Chamber of Commerce, Inc., and the other from the Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it hereby resolved, That this organization is on record in firm support of enactment of legislation to authorize the Colorado River storage project, which provides for development of the upper Colorado River Basin. We urge the Congress to approve this legislation, because of the great economic benefits it will provide for the States of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming, and for the Nation as a whole. We endorse this project because it will aid national defense, help the Navaho Indian Tribe, lengthen the life of Hoover Dam, provide water and power for a growing West and yield countless other benefits; be it

Resolved further, That our respective members show their support for this project by enrolling as "aqualantes" or water vigilantes; be it

Resolved further, That we as members of this organization do take it upon ourselves to become acquainted with the project and what it means, and that we ask our friends in other States to write their Congressmen in support of the Colorado River storage project; be it

Resolved, That Congressmen from our respective areas be informed at once of this resolution and of this action today.

This resolution is adopted unanimously because the Colorado River storage project is in the best interests of all the citizens of this great Nation.

TUCUMCARI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INC.
TUCUMCARI, N. MEX., *January 24, 1955.*

Be it hereby resolved, That this organization is on record in firm support of enactment of legislation to authorize the Colorado River storage project, which provides for development of the upper Colorado River Basin. We urge the Congress to approve this legislation, because of the great economic benefits it will provide for the States of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming, and for the Nation as a whole. We endorse this project because it will aid national defense, help the Navaho Indian Tribe, lengthen the life of Hoover Dam, provide water and power for a growing West and yield countless other benefits; be it

Resolved further, That our respective members show their support for this project by enrolling as aqualantes or water vigilantes; be it

Resolved further, That we as members of this organization do take it upon ourselves to become acquainted with the project and what it means, and that we ask our friends in other States to write their Congressmen in support of the Colorado River storage project; be it

Resolved, That Congressmen from our respective areas be informed at once of this resolution and of this action today.

This resolution is adopted unanimously because the Colorado River storage project is in the best interests of all the citizens of this great Nation.

ALBUQUERQUE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
JACK WENTWORTH, *President.*
ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., *January 26, 1955.*

The National Labor Relations Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in recent months we have seen the National Labor Relations Board arrive at administrative decision in the interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act that completely change the impact of that law. These decisions have, by administrative fiat, practically amended the Taft-Hartley law to bring about the changes recommended by some of the spokesmen for management in the hearings held during the last Congress. The following statement by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor gives some examples of this new system of amendments that could not get through the Congress being incorporated into the law by the National Labor Relations Board:

STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ON THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Since December of 1953, alarming changes have been made in the Taft-Hartley Act—not by congressional action, but by administrative rulings and interpretations of the National Labor Relations Board as reconstituted under the Eisenhower administration.

The executive council finds a startling parallel between the decisions of the NLRB during the past year and the changes in the law advocated by the Department of Commerce early in 1953 in response to pressure from business organizations. For example:

1. Business urged that much of the Federal jurisdiction over labor-management disputes be yielded to the States. Congress refused to enact such legislation. Then the Eisenhower-appointed majority on the NLRB adopted new rules under which it henceforth will not handle cases involving so-called small business, thus depriving millions of workers of Federal guaranties of their right of self-organization, even though interstate commerce is affected.

2. For years reactionary employer interests have been clamoring for what they call greater rights of free speech, by which they really mean greater license to discriminate against and discourage union membership. The NLRB has acceded to this pressure through two decisions. The first leaves employers generally free to force workers to listen to antiunion tirades on company time and property without giving the union equal opportunity to reply. The second ruling permits employers to question individual workers about their union affiliation despite the fact that previous boards and the Supreme Court had held that such questioning inevitably has coercive effects.

3. Another major item on the agenda of big business has been further legislative restriction of the right to strike. This, Congress rejected in 1954. But the NLRB has now ruled that every labor-management contract have an inherent no-strike clause. Under previous NLRB decisions, employees covered by a contract without an explicit no-strike clause were free to strike for changes or additions at any time during the life of the contract provided only that they gave the required 60-day and 30-day notices. Under the new rule, no strike can be engaged in before the end of the contract term or a specified reopening date. The penalty is freedom for the employer to discharge all union members engaging in such strikes.

4. Employers have sought perennially to prevail upon Congress to restrict peaceful picketing. The NLRB has now come to their rescue with a ruling that held peaceful picketing at a construction project unlawful where more than one contractor was engaged in work—even though the picket signs clearly indicated the dispute was only with one particular contractor. The NLRB decided in this particular case that for such picketing to become lawful, the union must go to the extreme of requesting other crafts representing workers on the job not to respect its picket lines.

5. The NLRB has refused to hold employers responsible for acts of violence by vigilante groups seeking to oust labor organizations from a community. It has now gone to the opposite extreme (in the case of the BVD Co. and the ILGWU) of holding the union responsible for acts of violence committed by outsiders, with no showing that the strikers themselves had engaged in such violence. The NLRB held that discharged strikers were not entitled to reinstatement or back pay because they had not taken affirmative steps to repudiate or disavow the acts of violence with which they had no connection.

6. In another recent decision (in the case of McAllister Transfer and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters), the NLRB undermined the previously established "Conway express" doctrine, under which labor organizations were allowed to negotiate unfair goods or hot cargo clauses, permitting union members to respect picket lines without fear of discharge or retaliation. Two of the Eisenhower appointees to the NLRB voted to overrule that doctrine and hold such contract clauses illegal. The two holdovers from the previous administration voted to uphold the settled policy of the Board. Chairman Farmer, also an Eisenhower appointee, in an amazing straddle, held that such agreements were legal but decided, at the same time, that the employer could repudiate them and insist that his workers cross picket lines under particular circumstances. Thus, the value the such contractual agreements is jeopardized and the freedom of collective bergaining further restricted by administrative fiat. This case goes far beyond the Teamsters' Union. It also affectse very other union which seeks to obtain agreements from employers that employees will not have to handle struck or unfair work.

The foregoing cases are but a few outstanding examples of how the probusiness majority on the NLRB has warped and distorted the intent of Congress as expressed in the National Labor Relations Act, even as amended by the Taft-Hartley Act. Step by step, the whole trend of decisions in the past year deliberately was aimed at effecting antilabor changes in the law desired by big business organizations which they had failed to prevail upon Congress to approve.

The NLRB is virtually the "supreme court" over most of the day-to-day relations between labor and management. For more than a year, it has been dominated by an openly antilabor majority. With the retirement of Albert C. Beeson, the Board is now deadlocked, 2 to 2.

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor feels that the appointment of another probusiness member to fill the existing vacancy would be the equivalent of packing the Supreme Court. We believe that President Eisenhower has the opportunity of correcting a national disgrace by choosing an outstandingly fair and unbiased fifth member of the Board, thus restoring equal justice under the law to the workers of this country.

Resolution of Dublin, Ga., Post No. 17, American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution which was presented by Past Commander H. Dale Thompson, of the Dublin (Ga.) Post, No. 17, American Legion, at the sixth district meeting held in Milledgeville, Ga., on January 9, 1955:

Whereas the State department of veterans' service under the guidance of the director, Hon. Pete Wheeler, arranged a tour of the Veterans' Administration's facilities in the State for our congressional delegation, composed of the following Members: Hon. JAMES C. DAVIS, Fifth Congressional District; Hon. HENDERSON LANHAM, Seventh Congressional District; Hon. PHIL LANDRUM, Ninth Congressional District; Hon. JOHN G. FLYNT, Sr., Fourth Congressional District; Hon. J. L. PILCHER, Second Congressional District; and the heads of the various veterans organizations; and

Whereas during this tour the group visited in at least two places in our district, we feel that much good was accomplished by these people doing something extra in and above their usual duties; and

Whereas we feel that not only the veterans of the sixth district but all of the veterans of the State will greatly benefit by the efforts of these people: Therefore be it

Resolved by the sixth district of the American Legion in regular convened meeting, That we commend the Honorable Pete Wheeler and those members of the visiting delegation for their efforts in our behalf in trying to better acquaint themselves with the problem of the veterans and Veterans' Administration and in spending their time in an effort to better serve us.

Respectfully submitted.

ROLAND ATTAWAY,
Sixth District Commander.

Attested to:

EDWARD D. JENSEN,
Sixth District Adjutant.

Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to make the following statements on the subject of natural gas.

A matter of grave concern to the State of Louisiana, and the Nation as well, is the recent Supreme Court decision in *Phillips Petroleum Co.* v. *Wisconsin et al.* (347 U. S. 672).

As a result of that decision, the Federal Power Commission, under the Natural Gas Act, is now exercising price-fixing controls over gas producers who sell their gas into interstate commerce. This involves a basic concept of government. Under our form of government, the business of producing commodities or manufacturing products has been left to free competition in the market place. Heretofore, except as a war measure, the producers' and manufacturers' prices have not been regulated. If at any time there is a lack of competition our antitrust laws stand as a guardian over the consuming public.

Yet, under this court decision and the actions of the Federal Power Commission in implementing the decision, this basic principle of government is cast aside. As a result, today there is chaos and confusion throughout the gas-producing industry. The consumer of gas, as well as the producers, have a primary interest and should be alert to the existing situation and the consequences that are sure to come.

If permitted to continue, this situation will retard the exploration and development of gas. The producer is confronted with the uncertainties and burdens of suddenly being treated as a public utility although his activities are in no way like that of a public utility. His efforts to find and produce gas are disrupted. He is waiting to see what is

going to happen. This will mean less gas for the consumer.

There are three phases to the natural-gas business: First, production; second, interstate transmission; and, third, local distribution.

Historically, local distribution of gas has been regulated as a public utility by legislative enactment because of the inherent monopolistic aspect of the business. The distributor operates under a franchise which limits or prevents competition.

The interstate transmission of gas has similar characteristics. As a result the Congress passed the Natural Gas Act in 1938 and delegated to the Federal Power Commission the authority to regulate this activity. These interstate pipelines operate under certificates issued by the Commission which restrict competition and stabilize their business by providing assured market outlets.

To the contrary, the production of natural gas has none of these public utility characteristics. The Congress recognized this distinction when it passed the Natural Gas Act in 1938. It was intended that the act should not apply in any way to the local activity of producing and gathering gas. The law so states in clear and unmistakable language. For 16 years it was so interpreted. The Federal Power Commission itself recognized it had no authority over production.

The Supreme Court has reversed all this. The Federal Power Commission is now applying public utility regulation to the production of gas—inappropriate and disrupting as it is.

This is a matter of national concern. There are about 20 million natural-gas customers. Natural gas now accounts for almost one-fourth of the mineral energy consumed in the United States. Our State of Louisiana is vitally interested, as it is the second largest gas-producing State and supplies about 15 percent of the United States total.

The Nation's peacetime economy and welfare are involved. More important, the national security would be adversely affected if restrictive regulations are permitted to hamper the development of the Nation's natural-gas resources.

I am hopeful that the Congress will give this matter its early attention and take action that will amend the Natural Gas Act so as to make absolutely clear that the Federal Power Commission has no authority over the production and gathering of gas.

I intend to lend my efforts to that end.

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked—V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the following is the fifth in the series of articles by Bob Considine on the fantastic story of Las Vegas, the capital of legalized gambling in the United States, which appeared in the Chicago American on January 27, 1955:

LAS VEGAS UNMASKED—PIRATE LAFITTE'S DESCENDANT MOPS UP—INVESTIGATOR CRACKS DEN WITH "MIKE" IN WATCH

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 27.—Last October, Hank Greenspun needed some help in a hurry. Greenspun runs the Las Vegas Morning Sun, once held a minor interest in the Desert Inn, and is part owner of a Strip motel.

(He recently was arraigned in Federal court on a charge of attempting to incite the assassination of Senator MCCARTHY.)

The Las Vegas editor had publicly accused Clark County (Las Vegas) Sheriff Glen Jones of owning an interest in Roxie's motel, a 20-girl bawdy house at Formyle, just south of Vegas. Jones, up for reelection, ran last in a field of five in the primary. He sued Greenspun for $1 million, charging libel.

Greenspun countered by bringing to Las Vegas one of the most remarkable characters in modern police work, a mysterious soul named Pierre Lafitte, who proudly traces his lineage back to the famed privateer and smuggler.

Lafitte is a bustling little man whose story would fill a thick book. He is, by trade, an undercover investigator. And there are those at the FBI and in various major police departments who will swear he's tops in his field.

He has lived with some of the most sinister criminals in our recent history while obtaining information for law officers. His undercover work and fearless court testimony have broken at least two major narcotics rings, into which he bravely ingratiated himself.

PUT UP IN STYLE

Once in Las Vegas, Lafitte was put up in style at El Rancho Vegas. He registered under the name Louis Tabet (with "Mrs. Tabet"), assumed a tough Italian-American gangland's manner of speech. It was subsequently testified that he arranged to meet the manager of Roxie's, a convicted panderer named Dick Kellogg.

Tabet said he wanted to buy a chunk of Roxie's. He was introduced to Mrs. Roxie and Eddie Clippinger, principal owners, and they talked. Tabet had a microphone in his wrist watch and a recording device strapped under his shirt.

He came away with such information as the amounts Sheriff Jones was reportedly paid for protection, and the house's receipts for a typical month—$77,000—which inferred a million dollar a year business.

He demanded assurance of the protection before he'd put out his money, Tabet said. Kellogg brought in Sheriff Jones and two county commissioners to confer with the supposed hoodlum from the East.

Protection payoff fees were decided upon, and as a binder, the tax commission was told, the sheriff accepted a $575 television set.

And one of the commissioners accepted what must be labeled a new note in futuristic bribes—a $450 Geiger counter for prospecting for uranium.

PARLEY RECORDED

That much arranged, Tabet began talking at a second conference of buying into a gambling casino. He said he had lost interest in Roxie's, which since has been closed.

All of that conference was recorded via a mike hidden in the folds of a window drape.

Subsequently, Tabet said, he was told that gambling involved another kind of "fix." He said Kellogg told him he'd have to line himself up with former Lt. Gov. Cliff Jones—no relation to Glen Jones. Former Lieutenant Governor Jones had just been named Democratic national committeeman for Nevada, over the objections of numerous rank and filers.

He is no longer national committeeman. He resigned for party harmony in November, having held office only 6 weeks.

At this point, Greenspun called in District Attorney Foley, who assigned Gordon Hawkins of his staff to monitor the recordings of the stealthy adventure.

Tabet's story was that he told the former lieutenant governor that his police record back East included raps for murder, manslaughter, a little narcotic, and bootlegging, but no convictions for the past 10 years.

Jones was portrayed by Tabet as assuring him he'd get a gambling license without any trouble, after the election.

FIRING FORESEEN

Tabet said Jones went on to explain that former Gov. Vail Pittman was going to be elected over the incumbent, Charles H. Russell. This in turn would mean that crusading Robbins Cahill, Nevada's foremost champion of clean gambling, would be fired from his key job as secretary of the Nevada State Tax Commission—the license body.

Jones, according to Tabet, hinted that once those things came to pass he, Jones, would be in the saddle.

Then, said Tabet, Jones in an apparent attempt to impress him, bragged that he was partners with Jake and Meyer Lansky in the Thunderbird, which he praised as the smoothest run place on the "Strip." Jones owns 11 percent of the hotel and casino, and has pieces of other Las Vegas properties.

Jake and Meyer Lansky are to the Kefauver reports what Custer and Sitting Bull were to the battle of the Little Big Horn.

Jones told him, Tabet related, that it would cost him a little money, of course, and to decide on the amount. Jones promised to send along his law partner, Louis Weiner, for another talk.

The tape recorder was in fine fettle when Weiner called on Tabet in his flower-decked suite at El Rancho Vegas. By this time Tabet had convinced the men he was dealing with that he had lost interest in Roxie's and now wanted only a gambling place and the Las Vegas Sun, Greenspun's newspaper.

WORRY FOR TABET

Tabet told Weiner the prospective purchase of the Sun was a worry to him. He said, and the tell-tale tape noted:

"So I got a man from New York who's a lawyer. He's a good man and he tells me, he said, 'Louie, what the hell, you tell me you going to buy a apple tree someplace, a mustard tree, I understand it, but for you, a newspaper, no.' I say look, don't ask me no questions."

Weiner was happy over Jones' new post in Democratic circles. He told the prospective client:

"That's important. It's important to us to have Cliff in there because there are a lot of things that Cliff can get. He knows what's going on. We've got to have a pipeline to know what's going on because, if you don't know what's going on, you can be in bad shape.

"When Pittman is in Cliff is the top dog in the State. * * * This fellow Russell is nobody. When Pittman is in and changes that commission and sits on that himself, you got no problem."

In a breast-beating tone, Tabet said: "I'm not more dirty than—for (censored) sake—than a lot of guys in here. Listen, I'm not more dirty or perfect than a lot of guys around town."

NO QUESTION

Weiner: "No question about it * * * they know Doc's in the sands. Do you think they don't know Doc's in there? You think they don't know Meyer and Jake are in the Thunderbird, huh?"

(The "they" referred to the licensing commission.)

Tabet audaciously claimed intimate relations with several Las Vegas figures. They included Beldon Katleman, owner of El

Rancho Vegas, and Tony Cornero, former gambling-ship operator who has been trying to get a Nevada license for a year.

NOT A CHANCE

Later:

Tabet: "Suppose the other fellow gets elected?"

Weiner: "Russell? He hasn't got as much chance to be elected as I have, and I'm not even running * * * If he doesn't get beat 3 to 2 or 2 to 1, I'm a monkey's uncle. Oh, he hasn't got a prayer * * * He's a wonderful guy, but he's nobody knows. We are going to get our own Senator in, and he will be McCarran's protege. With McCarran we were—we just sat right up there."

Called before the State tax commission, and questioned by Special Counsel E. Frandsen Loomis, Weiner shrugged and said:

"If you have a tape recording of my voice taken at the El Rancho I presume I said what it says."

Pittman, to whose campaign fund big "Strip" operators contributed $42,000, took a beating from underdog Russell in the November elections.

Marion B. Hicks, president of the Thunderbird, denied that the Lanskys were part owners. He wired Greenspun:

"The statements are false and untrue. We wish to advise that all records and books are available at any time to the State tax commission."

Cliff Jones joined in the denial and protested he had not been guilty of any wrongdoing.

Jones made his denial to the press. But when he appeared before the State tax commission at a hearing last October 26 in Carson City, and was asked whether the boast about the Lansky's being partners in the Thunderbird was true, he refused to answer.

On December 1, the State's gambling control agency at Carson City ordered the Thunderbird Hotel to show why its license should not be revoked or suspended.

The seven-man commission, headed by the triumphant Russell, also voted to investigate charges by Virgil W. Peterson, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission, that remnants of the Capone gang have interests in certain Las Vegas and Reno gambling places.

SHERIFF ARRAIGNED

A week before this, Sheriff Glen Jones and Clark County Commissioner Rodney Colton were arraigned in Las Vegas. District Judge Frank McNamee released Sheriff Jones on $1,000 bond. Colton posted a $2,500 bond.

The men had been indicted by a grand jury which based its action on the tape recordings and the testimony of Hawkins who monitored them. It was further charged that in addition to the TV set, which was impounded, Jones was promised $5,000 in cash and $1,000 a month until his term expired. Colton assertedly was promised $10,000 in cash and the aforementioned Geiger counter.

Lafitte, alias Louis Tabet, disappeared from town as quietly as he had entered, his fee unannounced. Greenspun, the Strip says, emerged as a power. None of the bigger operators seems very happy about this.

They are distressed, too, by the Thunderbird case—though the eager gambling public continues to patronize the hotel and casino as enthusiastically as ever.

The big operators would wish that Las Vegas were portrayed simply as a clean, sweetly fragrant resort, noted for its fine desert air, the fishing in nearby Lake Mead, winter sports on Mt. Charleston, great dude ranches, golf on the Desert Inn's fine course, beautiful hotels, stupendous floor shows, reasonable rates, and, if you must, gambling at honest tables and wheels.

Las Vegas indeed has all these things. And the A-bomb testing ground at Yucca Flat to boot. But deep beneath the tinsel it has its troubles, its worries, its inherent leaning to "fix" rather than fix.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

American Education in Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to insert an article entitled "American Education in Crisis," by the Honorable Earl J. McGrath, former Commissioner of the Office of Education, presently president of the University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.

This address is an excellent comment on the arresting inadequacies in our educational system and the current educational problems.

The article follows:

AMERICAN EDUCATION IN CRISIS

(By Earl J. McGrath)

It is a real pleasure to meet with the Missouri members of Phi Delta Kappa. I want to talk today about matters which I consider to be of considerable importance not only to members of the profession but to citizens generally. It is fitting to do so because education in the United States is in a crisis. In some communities the quality of education has for several years been steadily deteriorating, and will continue to do so in the immediate years ahead.

The members of our professional fraternity are dedicated to the advancement of education through research, service, and leadership. One of the greatest services we can render to the American people today is to inform them about the arresting inadequacies in our educational system and to help them in coping with current educational problems.

Now, when I say that the quality of American education has deteriorated in recent years I want to be explicit about my meaning. First I want to say that I do not share the views of some who lately have made severe attacks on the public schools for their failure to teach the basic subjects in the elementary schools. Some of these criticisms come from well-intentioned and thoughtful citizens. Others come from people who have no knowledge of, and I regret to say little interest in, contemporary education. Wtih the former we should spare no effort to assist them in gaining a fuller understanding of the things the public schools are trying to do. As we do this the vast majority of American citizens will come to the support of the efforts being made to provide superior instruction in the basic subjects and the small percent of carping critics will be rendered innocuous.

In regard to the questions that some fair-minded citizens have raised concerning the teaching of the fundamental subjects, such as reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic we can say with all confidence that when one considers the school population as a whole these subjects are taught just as effectively as they were years ago, and I would go further and say that in many classrooms they are taught more effectively. It is true of course, that many children do not read, write, spell, or calculate as accurately as one could wish. This has always been the case and doubtless always will be. But numerous studies show that modern methods of teaching used by qualified teachers produce better results than in the past. Moreover, the schools now undertake many additional responsibilities in the teaching of the social studies, the fine arts, physical education and in providing a rich complement of other experiences totally missing in the school program of even 25 years ago. Our children today are better informed, more interested in finding out about the world in which they live, and certainly much happier in school than they have ever been in the past.

There are of course some classrooms, some schools and indeed, some entire school systems in which there is much room for improvement. The inadequacies in these cases however, stem generally not from innovations in content and modern methods of teaching but from the very reverse, traditionalism.

If the content and the methods of instruction are not responsible for the inadequacies in the educational system what do I mean when I say that the quality of education in the United States is deteriorating, and that the situation will get worse before it can get better? In answering this question attention must be focused on certain facts of American life not directly related to education.

Statistical information is not needed to prove that since 1949 the birth rate has risen rapidly in the United States. All one has to do is to look around. Children are everywhere. But for the purposes of this discussion figures are needed to indicate the enormous burden which these additional children are placing on the schools. For a number of years each fall a million more additional children have stood at the schoolhouse doors of the Nation than in the preceding year. In 1 year the number rose to more than a million and a half. Even though the figure will vary from year to year as the children already born reach school age, it will not markedly shrink. Indeed the elementary and secondary school population which was 26 million in 1945, is now 36 million, and by 1960 will reach 42 million, an increase over 1945 of 61 percent.

This biological phenomenon is the principal, though by no means the sole, cause of the weaknesses which are now developing in the school system of the United States. It has resulted in a severe shortage of teachers and school buildings. Let us look at the teacher shortage for a moment. As Commissioner of Education in 1952 I reported that the schools of the Nation were short 52,000 teachers, but the present Commissioner reports that that figure has risen to 102,000. If the rapidly rising enrollments in the lower grades are compared with the number of college and university students preparing to enter teaching, it is patent that the present shortage is going to become more acute in the next 3 or 4 years, to say nothing of the more distant future. By 1960 Commissioner Brownell reports there will probably be a shortage of 292,000 elementary and secondary schoolteachers.

This shortage of teachers, in my judgment, constitutes nothing less than a national crisis. It is true that in some communities, especially those with large financial resources, most children study under well-trained teachers and receive an education superior to that of their fathers and mothers. But in many communities, and in an increasing number, the lack of teachers is causing a watering down of the educational program. Let me repeat that the inferior teaching in these communities is not a consequence of radical new departures in subject matter and teaching methods, but rather a result of the conditions under which the educational program is carried on. Because of the shortage of teachers many schools now operate on double shifts, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. In other schools, class size has risen to 40 or 50; yes, even 60. Several years ago I visited a class of 63 third-grade pupils in a school near Dayton, Ohio. Moreover, many classes are now conducted by teachers who hold only emergency or temporary certificates.

It is a truism to say that the teacher is the most important factor in the entire educative process. American citizens should, therefore, be vitally concerned about the present disturbing shortage of adequately prepared teachers. They will wish to examine thoughtfully the question, what are the causes for the present situation? The causes are complicated and many. At the top of the list, however, I would place teachers' salaries. Again salaries vary widely in the various communities of the United States, but the average is not high enough to attract many college students who now choose to enter more lucrative vocations. There is a great deal of idealism among the members of our profession. They do not place monetary values ahead of the human considerations, which motivate the dedicated teacher. Yet, it is true that many teachers cannot earn enough in their professional activities to provide even the common necessities of life for their families. It is a reflection on our culture that many teachers, especially men, now drive taxi cabs, serve as drug-store clerks, or sell insurance outside the hours of the school day. In some cities janitors receive a higher wage than teachers. Many communities will continue to have double sessions and large classes until their salary scales are able to attract and hold young people in the profession.

Secondly, the unwarranted attacks in recent years on the teaching profession as a whole are repelling many of the most alert and sensitive minds. Every loyal American, among whom we can count the members of the teaching profession, agrees that we do not want any one in the classroom who will instruct American youth in subversive doctrines. All agree that every step should be taken to exclude such persons. Equal vigilance should be exercised to protect loyal teachers against the unwarranted assaults of hysterical and thoughtless citizens. Unless our people do this, the present teacher shortage will continue, and those who remain in the profession will be further demoralized.

The second major problem in American education is the shortage of schools. Unlike the teacher shortage the causes of the lack of classrooms and other educational facilities is perfectly clear. The basic factor is the increasing number of children of school age.

Simple arithmetic will show that for every additional million children, with an average class size of 30, over 33,000 new classrooms will be required, to say nothing of other

facilities such as auditoriums, gymnasiums, laboratories, and libraries. The present need for classrooms caused by the increased birth rate has been aggravated by the fact that in the 1930's few schools were built because of the depression, and in the 1940's because of the Second World War. All these factors operating together have created a classroom shortage this year of 370,000. A school-facilities survey authorized by the Congress several years, now nearing completion, shows in a report issued only a few days ago, that it will be necessary to construct during the next 5 years approximately 720,000 public elementary and secondary classrooms and related facilities, at an estimated capital outlay investment of approximately $28 billion. If the present rates of construction are continued over the next 5 years, we shall have a backlog need of 470,000 classrooms. It should be made clear that these are not figures dreamed up by an expansionist bureaucrat in Washington. They are the validated statements of the chief State school officers in the several States based on a study of needs in local school districts.

The same study shows that with maximum State and local financial effort to erect these schools many States and local communities will not be able to provide adequate funds. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that if all America's children are to have the kind of education the people of this country have traditionally considered an individual right and a social necessity some Federal assistance is imperative.

No one is more eager than I to reduce Federal expenditures and taxes. But to any fair observer the facts indicate that the bills for Federal financial assistance for the construction of schools introduced 3 or 4 years ago, and again in the last Congress by more than a dozen Representatives and Senators of both parties should have been passed long since. If we truly believe in equal educational opportunity for all American youth some such legislation will be passed in the next session of the Congress. No more facts or discussion are needed to come to a decision and action on this urgent social problem. Unfortunately, the education of children cannot be put in the deep-freeze while we indulge in hair-splitting arguments as to exactly how much help is needed and how it is to be distributed. Those who urge delay for conferences and committee discussions are dealing cavalierly with the educational opportunities of American children, and indeed with the welfare of the Nation itself. A cooperative program of schoolhouse construction involving the financial participation of local, State, and Federal governments would constitute one of the best examples of the partnership arrangement advocated by President Eisenhower to advance the well-being and the continued prosperity of all the American people.

These major problems in American education are only two examples of many others which could be cited to show that the condition of education in the United States is deteriorating. Without attempting to go into any detail I would merely mention other problems connected with school district reorganization, which when solved will result in a more efficient administrative structure for the operation of schools, and at the same time markedly increase the quality and scope of education in many communities. Another problem relates to the several million children who are classified as exceptional because they deviate from the normal in body or in mind. Among these are the victims of polio and others crippled by other diseases. There are the emotionally disturbed and the handicapped, in sight or hearing, the rheumatic heart cases, and a multitude of others too numerous to mention. All these children, the physically and the mentally handicapped for humanitarian, as well as economic reasons, deserve the best education we can give them. We know where adequate education is provided many of them can become happy and well-adjusted individuals and productive workers.

My principal purpose in making this brief review of some of the most pressing problems in American education is to point out that these problems are national problems. They extend from one end of the country to the other. It is my studied opinion that they will be solved only by national efforts. Let me be perfectly clear that I believe firmly in the local and State control of education in the United States. It is this feature of American education more than any other that has been responsible for the widespread experimentation, for the interest of local citizens in their own schools, and for the large measure of political freedom which we enjoy in this country. After having examined the matter from the local, the State, and the Federal point of view, I would be the last one to propose any arrangement by which the Federal Government could diminish or infringe upon the authority which local citizens have over the education of their own children. Having said this, however, I must point out that many of these problems, though they may not require local financial support of education by the Federal Government, will require national leadership.

This leads me to the matter which I believe more than any other now needs to be discussed thoughtfully, critically, and sincerely by the members of our profession, and, indeed, by citizens generally. The thesis which I wish to advance for serious consideration is that these national problems can be dealt with most effectively by leadership at the national level. I believe this leadership must be exerted by the educational agency of the Federal Government, the United States Office of Education. The historic purpose of the Office of Education in the early years of its existence was to collect information about the condition of education in the United States and to disseminate it throughout the country. These functions it has served with reasonable success for many years. In recent years it has accepted more operational functions in cooperation with the States and local school systems in comprehensive studies which have led to recommendations concerning action programs to deal with current educational problems. In my judgment this function must be considerably enlarged if some of our pressing problems are to be dealt with adequately.

There are, of course, a number of voluntary private agencies in the field of education which operate on the national scene. Many of these make investigations and reports peculiar to their own membership, but because of limited resources they cannot make comprehensive and large-scale studies. A concrete illustration of this point is the school-facilities survey just mentioned. This study was done in the United States Office of Education under a cofigressional appropriation of $3 million matched by an equal sum from the participating States. No private agency could possibly have undertaken such a comprehensive investigation with its limited resources. Only the leadership of the staff of the Office of Education, with the cooperation of the State educational authorities, made such a national study possible. Many other areas of education urgently need similar study.

If the United States Office of Education is to perform these functions efficiently and without political interference, two steps need to be taken. A staff capable of directing educational investigations of this magnitude and importance, and of securing the cooperation of leaders outside the Government must be provided. They must represent all the branches and levels of education from the elementary school through the university. Such a highly qualified professional staff could take leadership in organizing cooperative studies involving the several States and institutions of higher education, as well as national professional associations. They could act as counselors to members of the profession and school systems which seek assistance and guidance. They could publish reports on superior educational practices as these exhibit themselves in our complex school system. They could call regional or national conferences to deliberate on current educational problems and to recommend sound courses of action. Through the Commissioner of Education they could, from time to time, issue pronouncements on educational matters to the profession and the public generally, with the purpose of gaining the support of the American people for the entire educational enterprise.

The United States Office of Education, except when special grants have been made available from the Congress, or from private sources, has not been organized and staffed for this kind of leadership in American education. It has, of course, had highly competent professional educators on its staff, but in insufficient numbers, and for limited periods. In this day, however, when the need is greater than ever before in our national history, the Office of Education has lost many of the distinguished members of its staff whose names this audience would immediately recognize as among the leaders of the profession. Whole sections have virtually been abolished through the attrition of qualified personnel. Unless larger funds are provided, and unless positions on the staff of the Office can be made attractive and secure, the Office of Education will soon become what Dr. William G. Carr, of the National Education Association, foresaw 2 years ago as its possible destiny—a plaque on the wall of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It is in the national interest that the present contraction of the staff and the services of the United States Office of Education be stopped, and steps taken at once to establish the kind of service needed in this national emergency in education.

Secondly, if the functions of the Office of Education are to be efficiently performed the Commissioner and all the members of his staff must be free to carry on their work with considerable autonomy. Many of the matters with which they must necessarily deal will involve differences of opinion and sometimes serious controversy. If, however, they are to study educational problems and report their findings and recommendations to the Congress, the profession, and the general public, they must not be subjected to political or any other kind of non-professional restrictions or pressures.

After prolonged and careful examination of the issues involved, I have concluded that the position of the United States Office of Education in the Federal governmental structure should be changed in 1 of 2 ways. Either would in my judgment have the result of dignifying the Office of Commissioner, and through him the entire educational fraternity. At the same time either of these arrangements would guarantee him and his staff complete freedom of activity and expression within, of course, the limits of the law.

Such autonomy can be achieved either by the establishment of a Federal Board of Education appointed by the President of the United States, a non-partisan body of laymen and educators whose responsibility it would be to select a Commissioner of Education on a non-political basis, and with his professional guidance and counsel promote the program, the interests, and support of the United States Office of Education. An alternative to this plan would be the establishment of another secretarship in the Cabinet concerned exclusively with problems of education in the United States.

Both of these proposals have been vigorously advocated in years past. I have studied each of them carefully. There are advantages and disadvantages in both. In theory I, myself, lean toward the secretaryship rather than the Federal board because I believe that a Secretary would be more effective in advocating the cause of education with the administration and the Congress, and because a secretaryship would dignify education by placing it on exactly the same level as the other important agencies of Government. On the other hand, since the educational enterprise in the Federal Government is likely to remain relatively small in the immediate future, it may be politically impossible to achieve the secretaryship. I am, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the educational profession should work vigorously for the separate Federal Board of Education.

My purpose now, however, is not to debate the merits of these two proposals but rather to focus attention on the end which I think would be achieved by either. If the Commissioner of Education is to report fully and accurately on the condition of education in the United States in all its various branches and levels, and if he is to recommend to the Congress, to the profession and to the people generally the measures needed to keep the educational enterprise at a high level of efficiency, it is absolutely necessary that in the formulation of policies to advance the interests of American education he not be inhibited by, nor subject to the improper influence of, any officer of the Government. His own professional judgment must prevail, until he is considered professionally unfit to occupy the office. In making this statement I want to make it perfectly clear that during the more than 4 years I had the high privilege of holding the office of Commissioner no member of the Government either in the administrative or legislative branches ever attempted to determine my appointments to the professional staff, or to curtail my utterances or influence my opinions. It should be clear, therefore, that I am talking about principles, policies, and practices rather than persons. The point can be made concrete by the use of an example.

When the Congress authorized the study of schoolhouse facilities and located that study in the United States Office of Education the staff proceeded to develop this project cooperatively with the several States in accordance with their best judgment and that of other leading consultants from many sections of the country. When the first phase of the study was completed the facts showed that the school plants of the United States as a whole were totally inadequate to serve the educational needs of this and succeeding generations. As Commissioner of Education I reported to the Congress and to the public generally, through the press, that a critical situation existed and that $15 to $18 million would have to be spent in erecting schoolhouses in the immediate years ahead. I urged Federal support of this program on the basis of facts that were unmistakably clear and irrefutable. There was then, and there is now, of course, a difference of opinion as to whether such Federal support was necessary or desirable. The point I am trying to emphasize here, however, is that the Commissioner of Education must be free to report the facts, and his recommendations, if there is to be intelligent consideration of educational problems and action taken on them. If a political appointee superior to the Commissioner in rank or authority is to be permitted to close his mouth or to share his statements in accordance with political expediency or personal convictions the usefulness of the Office of Education will be destroyed, and American education generally will be commensurately damaged. If the ends of education are to be served, such statements on controversial subjects must necessarily be issued whenever the facts are clear and the purpose proper. This freedom of action and expression can, I believe, be more fully guaranteed than it is at present under either of the arrangements which I have suggested.

Let me conclude by saying that this is not a matter far removed from the interests and the welfare of the members of Phi Delta Kappa in the State of Missouri, nor from other members of our profession wherever they may live and practice their profession, for I return to my basic idea which is that the condition of education in every hamlet in the Nation will ultimately be affected by the effectiveness of the leadership at the national level. I make no pretense that the solutions I have suggested are completely adequate or easy to put into effect. On the contrary, they deserve the most thoughtful consideration and criticism by all members of the profession. In the end the profession must play an active part in reaching the decision as to which of these alternatives will benefit and protect education. This is my reason for discussing these matters with you today in the hope that the members of Phi Delta Kappa and other professional organizations will in the months ahead give serious consideration to the present troubled situation in American education.

Address Given by Archbishop at the Second Annual Journalists' Mass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a sermon recently given by Most Rev. Richard J. Cushing, D. D., archbishop of Boston, at the second annual journalists' Mass, on the feast of St. Francis de Sales, patron of newspapermen, on the responsibility of the press.

The sermon follows:

[From the Pilot, Boston, Mass., of February 5, 1955]

POWER OF THE PRESS INCLUDES RESPONSIBILITIES—ARCHBISHOP CUSHING ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS AT ANNUAL MASS

(The following is the complete text of the address given by Archbishop Cushing at the second annual Journalists' Mass, held in the Oratory of St. Thomas More on the feast of St. Francis de Sales, patron of newspapermen:)

For the second year we gather on the feast of St. Francis de Sales to ask the special blessings of God on the men and women who, in their varying capacities, are part of what is simply called the press. St. Francis, who was a prolific and persuasive writer, long ago was named the patron of the press because he so remarkably appreciated the power of words to impress and influence the human mind. In our days of organized propaganda we know to what lengths this power is used. Its most authoritative voice is the daily press. Every one who assists in the production of the present-day newspaper and, indeed, even those who buy the paper must feel that they have made some contribution to its existence and in this sense at least bear some responsibilities for its effects in the community.

Every weekday in the United States of America more than 50 million newspapers are printed and distributed. On Sundays a little less than 50 million papers come into the homes of America. If we can presume that more than one person reads each paper it is easy to conclude that many people, perhaps even most people, actually read more than one paper a day.

LOST WITHOUT IT

The newspaper has become so much a part of our daily lives that we feel somehow lost when, for one reason or another, we are without it. Even when its delivery is delayed we are annoyed and in many cases we become so attached to a certain paper and its style that we find it difficult to read the news with the same interest from another source.

Once upon a time people worried about what radio would do to the newspaper and more recently there was a certain anxiety about the effect of television. As matters turned out both radio and television have merely opened up new subjects for newspaper treatment; the approach of these other media to the problems of the news has been interesting and effective in many ways but it has not replaced, and can't conceivably replace, the newspaper in the modern world.

HISTORY UNFOLDING

The ordinary citizen finds in his newspaper the history of his own time unfolding before him. He sees its triumphs and disasters, its enthusiasms, and its worries; he finds there an explanation for the complexities of international life; he finds, too, a description of the decisions affecting the life of his own nation; he learns the meaning of the happenings in his own community.

In the pages of his paper he becomes acquainted with his neighbors, with those who present a program for human betterment and with those who find it necessary to criticize the existing order of things. The reader of the daily press meets all kinds of people in its pages, the man in political life who, as an elected official, seeks his support; the religious leader, who recalls for the edification of his people, the spiritual values of man in society, the professional man in law or medicine or education who informs the public on the area of his interest. Along with these he meets all those who as each day passes make the news.

Of course, he also meets in his daily paper the troublemaker, the lawbreaker, and the victim of accident and personal tragedy. He finds there also, and sometimes in lurid detail, that special brand of person that defies convention or decency or simple propriety merely for the sake of notoriety and personal attention. Even if in somewhat uneven terms, the ordinary citizen reads in his paper the history of his own days, and the historians, who one day will record from another time the story of our years, will look to the newspapers for the most accurate and most detailed description of the life we led, the ideas we had, and the ideals we sought.

RESPONSIBILITY

Against this background it might be salutary to call to our attention this morning the responsibility of the press in the face of the tremendous influence it holds over the minds and the manners and the morals of men. Certainly no one can read his newspaper without being affected by it—if it is no more than mere information that is added to a human mind, if it is only a point of view that somehow seems to be attractive, if it is only impressions, not even clear ones, that somehow seem worthy of his attention. The reader at any rate carries away from his perusal of the paper something which he did not have before, something which makes him at least in a little way a different person. In this sense the newspaper might be said to form as well as to inform its readers.

It shapes, in fact, the society which it serves.

When newspapers are excited and noisy and frightening, their readers cannot help being, in turn, enkindled and aroused to a similar kind of hysteria. When the newspapers are lurid and suggestive and improper they plant the same subtle poisons in the mentality and emotions of their readers. When the newspapers are inaccurate and partisan and prejudiced they prepare the ground for faulty judgments in the citizens they serve.

But when newspapers are alert and accurate, when they are fair and impartial, when they are efficient and dedicated, these virtues too are reflected in the dispositions of the citizens who read them. It is obvious, of course, that there is no such thing as a perfect newspaper any more than there is such a thing as a perfect man, but we all strive for perfection. We work toward perfection as toward a goal and, unless we set for ourselves a goal so high as to seem to be beyond our reach, we will, in fact, always fall below the good that we are capable of doing. When a paper is satisfied with itself it is taking its first step backward, for the best minds will know that even as men we generally fall short of what we should be.

We know that our first responsibility is to truth and we try to serve it with a genuine and sincere heart. Every newspaper and periodical, whatever its immediate objectives, can find justification for its existence only in the part which it can play in keeping the public accurately informed and in molding public opinion along the lines of an objective and constructive philosophy of life.

We are rightfully indignant as we learn of the shameful subservience of the press behind the Iron Curtain to the enslaving power of the state. We would certainly offer vigorous protest, were we to be ordered by the highest authority in the land to misrepresent and distort facts simply because the truth of facts would be dangerous for the continuance in power of the existing government. We would hardly regard it as consistent with our constitutionally guaranteed human freedom if we were required to convert the resources of American journalism into agencies of propaganda, whose criterion of truth would be governmental decrees and whose norms of morality would be established by the varying whims of ruthless dictators.

PARTISAN INTEREST

Let us keep this terrifying possibility in mind as we reflect upon the rights and functions of a free press in a free country. There is a tendency in every group to isolate itself from the total community of which it is an integral part, to allow selfish and partisan interests to motivate its activity and to make expediency and observable results rather than complete honesty and devotion to the truth the standard of success.

Among certain groups of artists, for example, the principle "art for art's sake" seems to indicate their determination to make artistic expression an end in itself rather than a means of helping human nature to realise its noblest yearnings for eternal truth and peace. Again, among many modern scientists there is a tendency toward intolerable glorification of scientific progress which we might similarly characterize as science for the sake of science alone. I wonder if there may not be a tendency among journalists to follow in practice the principle "news for news sake," even while protesting that news is essentially and necessarily the reporting of the truth.

It is precisely this inconsistency that can make it possible for the press to lose its freedom. If news value, rather than objective truth determines the manner of reporting, we are destroying the noble ideals which makes it possible to resist the pressure of shortsighted minorities who would use your tremendous power for their own advantage, to the detriment of society as a whole. If we yield to the temptation to trifle with the truth for the purposes of a sensational story, we will have no defense against the unprincipled demands of a growing political despotism which, if unresisted, will bring the press in this country to the sorry state into which it has fallen in countries behind the Iron Curtain.

We have another responsibility. We must have a right understanding of the faults of human nature. Human frailty, in all its ghastly forms, is regrettably a part of each day's news. The reporter must take note of it; he must chronicle the events in which it is involved; he must often, in the interest of accurate and impartial evaluation of the news, stress certain aspects of delinquency and crime which in other circumstances he might be disposed to ignore. For this reason the journalist perhaps finds himself quite frequently in a troublesome dilemma. His reading public seems to demand a certain type of reporting, a certain questionable portrayal of prevalent vice and sin. If he refuses to provide material for the gratification of morbid curiosity, he may run the risk of incurring the censure of employers.

I am merely pointing out the problem I am well aware that it has no immediate solution, and I confess that I do not know precisely how a future solution can be worked out. Without question the people themselves must bear the greater part of the blame, if for no other reason than that their collective tastes and preferences carry so much weight in the forming of a newspaper's policies.

May I suggest, however, that it is neither impossible nor impractical for a newspaper to contemplate positive resistance even to deeply rooted and widely prevalent moral depravity. We should not be satisfied to give people what they want; we should give serious thought to the need of giving them what they need and what will do them the most good. Otherwise we are merely taking our place in a vicious circle of social corruption which will engulf us all together once its whirling madness gets out of control.

COMMUNITY PROBLEM

From time to time you must seek for a measure that will in some way give an account of your success. Since you are such a potent force in the shaping of society, society itself will reflect your virtues, your ideals, your work, and your success. Here in our own community you may look with satisfaction upon what you have accomplished.

Boston and its surrounding area has many special problems—some of them very serious problems. But this is as it should be. A growing city and a progressive community will always be changing and out of its change will come new situations which raise new questions. The fact that we have problems is no reflection on our city or upon ourselves. It is the manner in which we handle these problems, it is the energy and the insight that we use in their solution that give us the key to our true success.

I see in our city, on almost every level, evidences of enlightened leadership and forceful action that with each passing day bring our community closer and closer to the realization of that good society which is our common aim. In this task many forces, of course, are at work—political, economic, social, civic, and all the rest. No one of these forces wields a power greater than that of our daily press. Our press has been consistently constructive and positive in its analysis and its presentation of the local scene and its special difficulties. Continue to be so. I urge you this morning to be even more attentive to the evils that, from time to time, seem to flourish in our midst. Do not spare them your strong denunciation when the occasion demands, but be sure, at the same time, to give them your most earnest assistance in a constructive way that will remove the causes that produce them.

This brings me to my final point. We live and work and struggle not merely to survive in the present, but to prepare ourselves for the world to come. We are truly human only if we keep our eyes fixed firmly on the ideals which express the noble destiny of our common humanity, and direct our efforts, shoulder to shoulder with all men of good will, toward the realization of these ideals.

It is an inspiring, if somewhat sobering thought that the words which run so smoothly from your typewriters are received and read, commented on and believed by countless thousands of your fellow men. Your power is far greater than that of those who hold positions of high responsibility in our legislative and executive bodies. Truly, you are men of destiny. It is not a rhetorical exaggeration to refer to you as prophets, in the literal sense of those who speak to their fellow men as representatives of God. For truly your power over the minds of men is second only to that of Him who made these minds to know Himself.

To the extent that you become conscious of your vocation, to that extent will you be worthy of the confidence which your fellow men place in you, and of the mission which God has given you to fulfill. May God give you strength to live and work as lovers of the truth, to build yourselves up into unshakeable columns of resistance against the deterioration of modern society. And may St. Francis de Sales, whose heavenly patronage we invoke today, inspire you all to work unselfishly and perseveringly to further the cause of decency and professional dignity which has prompted you to take part in this edifying ceremony.

Address by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower Before Dallas Council of World Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the address given by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower in Dallas before the Dallas Council of World Affairs, February 3, 1955.

I would like to call my colleagues' attention to this address for their consideration and the treatment of our hemispheric relations in which the United States is depicted as evolving from the good neighbor of the past to that now of a good partner.

The address follows:

I am happy to have this opportunity to address members and friends of the Dallas Council on World Affairs. I know we share an abiding interest in good hemispheric relations. Moreover, I have for some weeks wished to review the major developments in such relations since my good-will mission to Latin America, and there is no better place to do this than before you here tonight.

It was in April 1953 that the President asked me to visit Latin America to do three things:

First, to express the sincere conviction of the United States that sound economic,

military, political, and cultural relationships between our countries are necessary to our common future;

Second, to obtain a broad continental perspective of those conditions which affect our relationships; and

Third, to consider what changes might be desirable in United States policies and programs in order to contribute to the meaningful unity which we all desire.

After visiting the 10 South American Republics, I submitted to the President a report which stated what I felt the executive branch of the Government, the Congress, and leaders in private life might do to strengthen hemispheric relations.

Those recommendations fell into two categories. The first included measures to strengthen understanding and mutual respect, in the conviction that these elements are basic to abiding cooperation among nations: All other cooperation—political, economic, military—may break down in serious crises unless there is much more than superficial understanding of one another's cultures, problems, and aspirations.

The second group of recommendations related to measures designed to strengthen economic cooperation. It was emphasized that stable economic ties would be mutually advantageous. Trade amounts to about $3½ billion in each direction annually. As a market for our exports Latin America is as important to us as all of Europe, and more important than Asia, Africa, and Oceania combined. As a source of our imports, the other American Republics have greater importance than Europe or the other continents. And, of course, the United States is just as essential to the Latin American states as a market for their products, and as a source of their imports.

During the months since that report, a number of significant developments have vitally affected inter-American relations. Indeed, I know of no other period in which such relations have undergone greater change. In my judgment, these changes will greatly strengthen economic cooperation, understanding, and mutual respect.

I shall not tonight discuss military cooperation, which has been improved, nor political cooperation, except to recognize the historic importance of the anti-Communist resolution adopted at Caracas last spring, and the significance for the security of the American Republics of the steps recently taken by the Organization of American States in the Costa Rican crisis.

Rather, I wish to concentrate, as I did in my report, on mutual understanding and economic cooperation.

In the United States, during the past year and a half, citizen interest in all aspects of inter-American relations has grown remarkably. This heightened interest may have arisen from the anxiety our people felt at the Communist threat so narrowly averted by the Guatemalan people. It may derive in part from the public awareness of the importance of the two inter-American conferences at Caracas and Rio. More recently, this interest has been stimulated by the swift steps taken by the Organization of American States to determine the real facts in the Costa Rican situation, and to assist Costa Rica to defend itself against revolutionary activity receiving help from outside its territory.

Whatever the cause, the greater interest is most wholesome, and has been manifested in the Congress, where problems affecting this area have received sympathetic study, and in sustained coverage of major events in the nations of this hemisphere. All this has led to a keener appreciation of the differences that distinguish the various countries, of the problems each country faces, and of the measures appropriate to their solution.

A good many affirmative steps which I recommended for strengthening understanding and mutual respect have been taken. Thus, our educational-exchange program has been increased by more than 60 percent and additional funds for this purpose may soon be available under the new surplus-disposal act. Government support of American schools in Latin America, and Government-sponsored visits in Latin America by United States citizens eminent in the sciences, arts, and letters, have been increased by 66 percent.

One of the urgent recommendations I made as a result of long visits with democratic labor leaders in several South American countries—leaders who told me that many trade unionists were at Soviet expense undergoing indoctrination behind the Iron Curtain—was that we increase greatly the visits of leading Latin Americans, including labor leaders to the United States. I am glad to say that our efforts of this type have been increased by more than 200 percent. The number of technicians and labor leaders trained each year in the United States has increased from 560 to about 1,500.

Among the thrilling experiences I had in Latin America were visits to binational centers where thousands of young and older people are learning English, and much about our culture. These centers get some held from us, though they are primarily supported by local funds. Our support was increased by 20 percent this year.

The United States Information Agency has expanded its existing programs of intellectual and cultural cooperation in Latin America. It has also developed new ones especially designed to create better understanding of the economic interdependence of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, the role which private investment and private enterprise can play in improving standards of living, and the contributions which atomic energy can make to the peaceful development of this hemisphere.

I cannot overemphasize the significance of the fact that high officials in most nations of this hemisphere are becoming more familiar with relevant regional and hemispheric problems. Fortunately, in Secretary Dulles, Under Secretary Herbert Hoover, Jr., Henry Holland (Assistant Secretary of State) and Nelson Rockefeller (Special Assistant to the President) we have men who know Latin America intimately and who have a passionate desire to do all that is possible to create better cooperation. How fortunate, too, that during 1954 visits to many parts of Latin America were made by four members of the President's Cabinet, the chairmen of two Senate committees and high officials of the Department of Defense. Shortly, Vice President NIXON and Assistant Secretary Holland will visit those Latin American countries which time did not permit me to include in my own good-will visit. I am tremendously sorry that pressing duties at my university, during its centennial year, prevent me from making the trip with Vice President NIXON as he graciously asked me to do.

Similarly, during 1954 governmental and business leaders from more than half of the countries of Latin America visited the United States.

Yes, we can surely say that the past 14 months have witnessed intensified, constructive, and successful efforts to strengthen understanding and mutual respect among all the Americas.

And what has been done to promote understanding has also effectively strengthened economic cooperation, the second of the two principal objectives of the recommendations I submitted to the President.

Indeed, it is in the economic area that we have, in my judgment, the greatest opportunity to strengthen relations between the United States and the Republics of Latin America.

My most important recommendation here was that the United States adopt and adhere to trade policies with Latin America which possess stability and a minimum of mechanisms permitting the imposition of increased tariffs or quotas. I emphasized that real cooperation in this hemisphere can flow only from adherence to consistent economic programs, honorably and continuously observed.

A tremendously important United States contribution to improved inter-American economic relations occurred when the President announced clear and reasonable policies with respect to trade, international finance, and technical aid. Application of these policies in this hemisphere can decisively benefit the economies of all American Republics, including the United States.

The policy of our national administration with respect to international trade was stated in two special messages which the President sent to the Congress during the past 12 months. In those messages the President insists we must have a foreign economic program that will stimulate economic growth in the free world; that it is essential for us to take the leadership in promoting the achievement of those high levels of trade that will bring to all the economic strength upon which the freedom and security of all depends; that such levels can be promoted by specific measures with respect to trade barriers; and that we and our friends abroad together undertake the lowering of barriers to trade and investment.

A policy of reduced tariff barriers and expanded trade will contribute more toward the strengthening of the economies of all American republics than any other single measure which could be adopted. Assurance of access to the great market of the United States is the most effective guaranty of economic stability in Latin America. Similar assurance that the other nations of this hemisphere can continue to buy much of our surplus production is one essential of economic prosperity in the United States. During 1954 our Government demonstrated its determination to assure continued access of Latin American products to this market; thus, the President refused to impose new trade restrictions on lead, zinc, and tung oil.

In a second economic field, that of international finance, our Government has recognized that public and private lending for sound economic development projects must go forward on a substantial scale. In 1954 the United States announced a new policy in this regard. That policy recognizes Latin America's need for additional capital and seeks to meet it, first, by encouraging more activity of private investors, both domestic and foreign and, second, by an expanded program of governmental lending.

Primary emphasis is placed, as it should be, on measures to encourage private investment. Obviously, this encouragement can most effectively be given by the Latin American governments themselves, though we can be helpful.

Of course the best incentive the United States can give to private investment in Latin America is the maintenance of stable trade relations and a high level of economic activity in our own country, thus helping to assure similar conditions in those countries. Another opportunity to encourage private investment has to do with tax policies. In his message of January 10, the President recommended enactment of legislation that would provide for taxation of business income from foreign subsidiaries or branches at a rate 14 percentage points lower than the regular corporate rate. He recommended that taxes on this income be deferred until it is removed from the country where it is earned. He suggested that we explore the use of tax treaties as a means of encouraging the flow of United States capital abroad, and recommended still other measures which, when adopted, should afford strong encouragement for larger amounts of pri-

vate capital to flow from the United States to those areas in Latin America where the local investment climate is favorable.

But it is not enough merely to encourage the flow of United States private capital. Public loans should finance desirable, sound projects for which private financing is not available.

In my report I recommended that lending by the Export-Import Bank be expanded and intensified. That has been done. Our Government has assured the nations of Latin America that we will do our utmost to satisfy all applications for sound economic development loans for which capital is not reasonably available from private sources or from the International Bank.

This change in policy is more important than most seem to have realized. Public lending, intelligently managed, can stimulate the development of certain key enterprises—such as transportation—which will make possible the growth of sound private industries and businesses, and for those private capital can be found. Today, in Latin America we have about $6 billion in private investments, and more than one and a half billion of public investments. On the whole, the return on these investments has been satisfactory. But the flow of capital had at this same time slowed appreciably.

The new Export-Import Bank policy was announced in the middle of 1954. Since then, the bank has authorized 22 loans in 10 Latin American countries, for a total of more than $158 million. These included loans to private, governmental, and mixed borrowers. They involved agriculture, aviation, railways, highways, power production, municipal water systems, mining, steel production, and a variety of industrial enterprises.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, also active during the past year, authorized loans to 6 countries, totaling more than $111 million.

These figures show that substantial public credits are now being extended. Our new Government policy insures that this will continue if a sufficient volume of applications for sound loans develops. At present, interestingly enough, both the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank, with ample funds to lend, are prepared to process applications greatly in excess of those now on hand.

The President has announced that, as agreed at the Rio Conference, the administration will support the creation of a new international financing agency. He has recommended approval of Congress for the United States to participate in an International Finance Corporation, as an affiliate to the International Bank. The new corporation will stimulate private investment abroad by making loans without governmental guaranties. Its proposal capital of $100 million will enable it to undertake operations greatly exceeding that amount by participating with private capital in jointly financing productive enterprises.

The economic development of the Western Hemisphere is just as dependent upon access to technical knowledge and experience as it is upon access to capital and markets. Our technical cooperation programs have been effective in Latin America. This is true of the programs we have undertaken directly with many Latin American governments, and of those conducted by the Organization of American States and the United Nations.

In 1953 I urged that United States participation in these programs be expanded. I am happy to say that United States funds for direct help in Latin America were increased from $20.4 million last year to $26 million this year and will likely be increased still more next year; the "servicio" type of cooperative administration—involving United States and host-country sharing of responsibility—has been strengthened; greater use in technical matters has been made of the United States universities, with contracts for such purpose jumping from $700,000 to $4.3 million, and a further increase in sight. And our contribution to the technical program of the Organization of American States has been increased from $1 to $1.5 million annually.

The United States has recently gone to the aid of several Latin American neighbors when they faced emergency difficulties. Thus, when Bolivia faced a chaotic condition caused by declining tin prices and a resulting inability to import sufficient food to meet the minimum needs of her people—Bolivia normally imports half of the food she consumes—we undertook a program of emergency assistance in that country. That program is providing emergency food supplies, and is also helping Bolivia increase her food production and transportation facilities so that she will not long need outside help.

Also as an emergency measure, we are now helping Guatemala overcome some of the adverse effects upon her economy left by a period of Communist influence. Similarly, when Haiti was hard hit by hurricane and flood damage last fall, we provided foodstuffs, medical equipment, and other materials which helped her to meet the emergency.

So it is with real satisfaction that we can review recent developments in our inter-American relations. Since the submission of my report to the President, our Government has developed policies of profound importance to all nations of this hemisphere. Applied positively and consistently, those policies will further strengthen the cultural, political, and economic ties that bind together the American family of nations.

These new policies have been exhaustively analyzed in two historic inter-American conferences. They appear to be acceptable to the overwhelming majority of Latin American leaders. At the conclusion of the Rio Economic Conference a statement, unanimously issued by the heads of the 21 delegations, said:

"We leave this conference with the satisfaction of having proved that the American nations here represented are in complete agreement as regards their great objectives in the economic field. These may be summarized as a determination to speed up the progress of each and every one of them within the framework of freedom and justice, through substantial intensification of our inter-American economic, financial and technical cooperation."

The delegates to the Rio Conference initiated a number of important studies and agreed to meet again—the next time in Buenos Aires in 1956.

Finally, may I say that the new United States policies have the enthusiastic, bipartisan support of all our people. The things we have said we will do are being done.

Let no man, no leader, here or anywhere in the hemisphere doubt the sincerity, the intention, the determination of our Government and our people to do all that is feasible to build a stronger family of nations in this hemisphere.

The President has underscored this determination. In his message to the delegates of the Rio Conference he said that, in the American family of nations, the United States will seek to be more than a good neighbor. It will be a good partner.

This signifies more than a difference of words. It emphasizes a new approach to the problems with which we and our friends in the hemisphere are wrestling. This new approach is a logical evolution of the good neighbor relationship. As good neighbors each American republic tried in the economic field to adopt policies and pursue courses which would not prejudice the interests of the other members of the total community. Each sought in good faith to respond constructively to requests for cooperation and assistance from the others. In our own country this bipartisan policy gave meaningful direction to our hemispheric relations.

That policy has logically carried us to the relationship that exists between us today, one which is so close that it can no longer accurately be described as that of neighbors. So interdependent are our destinies today that each American republic must recognize its direct, continuing, and even selfish interest in the solution of the critical problems of every other member of the family. We must now be dependable partners in a great and lasting enterprise—the peaceful independence, the prosperity, and the happiness of all our peoples—peoples with great cultural diversity but with interdependent common goals.

This partnership concept is, I believe, shared by our neighbors. It found expression last year not only at two conferences involving all members of OAS, but also in regional conferences in which interdependence and mutuality were the keynotes.

I am grateful to you for asking that I undertake this review. It was almost historic accident, so far as I personally am concerned, that I should have represented the Government and people of the United States on a mission designed to improve relations among some 20 interdependent nations. I knew upon my return that whether relations actually improved would depend upon attitudes yet to be formed, actions yet to be taken. Fortunately, most developments since my trip and report have exceeded my fondest hopes. I should like to express my admiration for this fact to the leaders and peoples throughout the hemisphere.

Surely it will be generally agreed that in the past 14 months we have made progress toward better understanding and mutual respect, and better political, military, and economic cooperation. That is of transcendental importance. As I said in concluding my report, "Working together, the nations of this hemisphere can, if history should so decree, stand firmly against any enemy in war, and prosper mightily together in times of peace."

We Must Stay One Jump Ahead of Our Enemy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "We Must Stay One Jump Ahead of Our Enemy," which appeared in the January 31, 1955, issue of the Park City Daily News, of Bowling Green, Ky.

With the prospects of a hot war in the Far East it is of supreme importance that the best engineering brains in our country be encouraged to help develop new weapons and methods of warfare entirely different from anything we have had in the past. The attractive future that Russia holds out to young people in this field is increasing her number of scientists at an alarming rate while in the United States the number is dimin-

ishing. A lag in the development of new weapons could mean the margin of freedom.

The editorial is as follows:

WE MUST STAY ONE JUMP AHEAD OF OUR ENEMY

When France dug in behind the costly Maginot line after World War I, it was common for forwardlooking military men to say the French were "preparing to fight the last war again." France's bitter defeat in World War II seemed to confirm this judgment, and free peoples have tried to learn a hard lesson from that experience.

The lesson is that we must not be shackled by outmoded weapons and materials and strategies as we plan for our safety in the face of hostile forces. The pace of technological advance today is terrific. We must stay abreast of it in the military field particularly, if we want to hold our freedom secure.

Our leaders well know this. And while we are still planning specifically for a possible war in which nuclear explosives would be delivered by piloted aircraft, we are actually developing weapons for an even more frightening phase of warfare—the age of intercontinental missiles.

American defense authorities tell us they have reached the "pay-off stage" in putting together a guided missile that will be able to sweep 5,000 miles across the globe at speeds up to an incredible 9,000 miles per hour.

This means that such a weapon launched from a site near our eastern seaboard could in little more than half an hour strike deep into eastern Germany. Missiles launched westward from Hawaii could seek out targets on the huge China mainland.

One of the most amazing features of this rocket, which would of course be fitted with an atomic warhead, is its potential accuracy. Our experts are aiming at a weapon which will strike within a 20-mile-wide circle after a 5,000-mile trip through the stratosphere.

Presumably our experimental missiles are not yet that accurate, and they will not be tested on any important scale until they approach that goal. When that time arrives—and even informed guesses about it are rated military secrets—we will have to begin seriously reshaping both our offensive and defensive strategies.

Indeed, it is not too early now to start thinking about the kind of warning systems and defensive weapons we shall need when intercontinental missiles become a major part of not only our arsenal but Russia's as well.

There can no longer be comfort for us in mere numerical superiority, whether it be in "conventional" nuclear weapons or the new guided missiles. Our future safety may depend on the quality and ingeniousness of the weapons we devise. As our experts put it, we must stay one jump ahead of our enemy.

That one jump could be the margin of freedom.

Opinion of Vegetable Growers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL C. KING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. KING of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following resolutions of the Vegetable Growers Association of America:

1. Subsidies and price supports: We are opposed to public subsidies and Government price supports for the production of vegetables because they decrease efficiency of production, increase cost to the consumer, and in the end involve Government regulation and artificial controls of production itself. We urge all other segments of agriculture to embrace this principle as rapidly as possible and thus avoid the otherwise ultimate socialization of agriculture and the further degeneration of the individual.

2. Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson: The Vegetable Growers Association of America commends Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, for his effort to bring marketing and production freedom to American agriculture and endorses his position that high, mandatory supports encourage overproduction, inefficient farming, and ultimately lowered prices.

3. Released acreage under price-supported crops (diverted acreage): The Government is temporarily committed to high price supports for certain agricultural commodities, and under the production controls of those crops substantial acreage will be forcibly removed. In the interest of avoiding a shifting of the crisis of overproduction from crop to crop and particularly to those crops whose producers request no artificial supports by public moneys, American sense of fair play and equity demand that all acreage thus removed from production of supported crops be planted or devoted to soil-building crops for nonharvested, nongrazing, soil-conserving purposes only, and that such compliance be made a condition of eligibility for any price supports or subsidy payments. Legislation is required to define and accomplish this purpose.

Ten Commands for Our Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, the youth activities committee of the Asbury Park Elks Lodge, No. 128, under the leadership and inspiration of Joseph A. Liebesman, has started a movement to promote a more thoughtful approach to life and American principles and ideals among the youth of the land, and I am glad to call it to the attention of my colleagues. They have had printed in color on special paper, approximately 8 by 10 inches in size, what is entitled "Ten Commands for Our Youth," which are as follows:

Thou shall have faith in our country.
Thou shall have faith in our leaders.
Thou shall have respect for thy teachers.
Thou shall have good thoughts.
Thou shall keep good company.
Thou shall be optimistic.
Thou shall help the unfortunate.
Thou shall honor and respect thy parents.
Thou shall be thankful for America.
Thou shall practice the Golden Rule.

Copies have been distributed widely through various outlets by the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks in different parts of the country, and it has met with general approval by many who have to do with the problems of youth. May I quote from a few of the letters which Mr. Liebesman has received:

It was nice of you to offer the very important youth commands, and we will be happy to make these available to our scout organization.—J. Fred Billett, scout executive.

May I thank you for your courtesy in this matter. We are impressed with the tenets there set forth for the guidance of young American.—Rear Adm. W. F. Boone, Superintendent, United States Naval Academy.

We have in Spokane several gentlemen who are interested in young men and they were delighted to receive these, and will make good use of them in their work.—Arthur Meehan, mayor, Spokane, Wash.

I wanted you to know how pleased I am to receive copies of the Ten Commands for Our Youth. This advice to the youth of our country is indeed appropriate, and you are most thoughtful in bringing these commands to my attention.—J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for sending me the copies of Ten Commandments for Our Youth. I believe they are very good. You are to be commended for your work on behalf of the youth of our Nation. I plan to display these Ten Commandments on our reading table—I believe that they have a great deal of merit, not only for the youth, but for we older people as well.—Sigurd Anderson, Governor of South Dakota.

Mr. Speaker, these are only a few quotations from the many letters which Mr. Liebesman has received, and I am sure we all wish him well in distributing such a sound doctrine for the benefit of the youth of our country.

The President's Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article taken from a recent bulletin issued by the Southern States Industrial Council, as follows:

Ike's budget presents a number of contradictions and some possibly wishful thinking. First, some of the contradictions:

The President says that this budget was shaped by a "liberal attitude toward the welfare of the people and a conservative approach to the use of their money."

Just what, precisely, does that mean?

Does it means that the liberal attitude toward welfare is to remain an attitude only, that it is not to be implemented by various welfare programs, all of which cost money?

In other parts of the budget we find the answer: An increase in spending for health, education, and welfare. "I am recommending," the President said, "somewhat increased expenditures in particular areas important to human well-being."

As a matter of fact, and showing the trend, this is the largest request for welfare funds ever submitted to Congress. For the first time, requested appropriations for this purpose are greater than those for agriculture, commerce, general government, or natural

resources. Only the proposed appropriations for national defense, veterans' benefits, interest on the national debt, and foreign aid are greater.

Another contradiction is found in the view, which is a new one for Ike: That the budget can never be balanced by reduced spending, but only through increased revenues.

In a budget which includes such astronomical sums as $12 billion for "the various civil benefit programs of the Government" and $3.5 billion for foreign aid—an increase, incidentally, of three-quarters of a billion over what Congress appropriated for this year—it should be possible to find areas where additional cuts can be made. To deny this, it is argued, is scarcely the best way to "foster the traditional incentive of the American people." As the President himself admitted, Federal taxes now take approximately 25 percent of the national income.

That the present boom will continue to roll and expand is the fervent hope of the administration and almost everyone else. Maybe it will. Ike has been almost fantastically lucky. But is this hope and Ike's luck sufficient warrant for the assumption that there will not be even a slight recession during the coming 18 months? Many people here feel that it is not—that a greater margin of safety should have been allowed.

Congress Shouldn't Trim on Pay Hikes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Chicago Sun-Times of February 5, 1955:

CONGRESS SHOULDN'T TRIM ON PAY HIKES

If the salary scale for Federal judges and Members of Congress were based on individual merit or time spent on the job, some would deserve substantial pay cuts.

But a majority of the Members of Congress and of the Federal judiciary are conscientious, hard working and underpaid. They shouldn't be penalized as a class for the derelictions of a few dunderheads and laggards who happen to be in their midst.

The arguments in favor of raising the pay of judges and Federal lawmakers are overwhelming. For one thing, higher compensation would be bound to attract candidates for Congress who are well qualified but who now hesitate to run because of the financial sacrifices that would be involved. While few lawyers would turn down an appointment to the Federal bench, it is nevertheless true that many have accepted the posts at a sacrifice far beyond the normal call of duty.

The average Senator and House Member must maintain two homes—one where he hails from and the other in Washington. Some get around this expensive problem by maintaining full-time residences in the Capital and part-time residences, sometimes in a hotel, at home. But even that, or a reverse of it, is not cheap. Moreover, the average Member of Congress is expected to keep in fairly close touch which his constituents and that entails considerable travel to and from the Capital—most of it being paid for out of the lawmaker's own pocket.

He is expected to dine, if not wine, his constituents when they visit him in Washington. Not infrequently, a visiting constituent may ask him for a memento, such as a flag which has been flown briefly over the Capitol and which the constituent can boast about after he has returned home. These items are paid for by the lawmakers.

At present, Senators and House Members receive a total personal compensation of $15,000 a year. While many of them could live comfortably on that salary as private citizens at home, they, as Members of Congress, are unable to make ends meet. As a consequence, many Senators and House members take to the lecture platform or write magazine articles to increase their incomes to meet family obligations.

Of course, some Members of Congress are men of private means and others have law practices which benefit as a result of their holding congressional office. But wealth or a law practice should not be a requisite for men or women seeking a seat in Congress.

The salary of a Member of Congress should be enough to enable him to live in dignity without going into debt, and to permit him to meet his obligations as a Federal lawmaker as well as private citizen.

Senate and House subcommittees have now approved congressional pay raises that vary between $7,500 and $10,000 a year. We believe that the higher figure, recommended by a special commission last year, is the one that should be adopted. The overall difference between the higher and the lower figure in the Federal budget would be infinitesimal. Congress should have the courage to do right by itself, regardless of what some disgruntled constituents or political opponents at home may say.

By the same token, the boosts in pay for Federal judges recommended by the same committees are generous, but not generous enough. The present recommendation is to raise United States district court judges from $15,000 a year to $22,500, instead of the $27,500 recommended by the special commission last year. Supreme Court Justices would be raised form $25,000 to $35,000, instead of the $39,500 urged by the commission.

As in the case of the congressional pay increases, we feel that the Nation would be better served if Congress were to approve the higher rather than the lower figures for the Federal judiciary.

Free China Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include remarks made by me on October 10, 1954, in Boston, Mass., at a dinner conducted by the Chinese Community in Boston celebrating Free China Day, proclaimed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the city council and mayor of the city of Boston.

The address follows:

October 10 is a great day among freedom-loving Chinese all over the world. It is to the freedom-loving people of China and to Chinese nationals here and abroad what the Fourth of July is to our beloved country.

And it was on October 10, 1911, that Dr. Sun Yat-sen put into motion the democratic revolution in China that changed the face of Asia. This is the "double 10" anniversary of the free Chinese all over the world, commemorating that great event and rededicating themselves to the principles for which Dr. Sun stood and which the Chinese revolution carried into effect.

We all know of the great principles that Dr. Sun stood for and put into operation, of his struggle for a free government in China, of the ideal of government that was truly representative, truly free, and dedicated to the welfare of the people.

The policy of our Government in relation to Formosa and adjoining islands under control of the Nationalist Chinese Government is most confusing to me, and I am sure to you.

We know that under President Truman there was a firm policy which was clearly understood by everyone. That policy did not change from week to week or from month to month.

We remember the promise of the present administration to unleash Chiang Kai-shek and his forces, meaning they would return some day to the mainland to liberate China and its people. It is well know that millions of Chinese on the mainland oppose the Communist regime and are waiting and praying for the day of their deliverance.

They are waiting to help overthrow their vicious tyrants, for the Chinese are a liberty-loving people with an intense love of the family life.

Some months ago we found out that Chiang could not engage in any activity—even from islands other than Formosa, without the consent or permission of our Government. That was a great surprise to me, as I am sure it was to you. That secret agreement was inconsistent with the other promise openly made: To unleash the forces of Chiang Kai-shek.

There was certainly no unleashing if Chiang and his forces could not move without our permission.

In recent months, the aggressive Red move against Quemoy has brought about some noticeable changes.

You will remember, as I do, that the President said, in substance, that the Red Chinese would have to roll over the 7th Fleet if they attacked Formosa.

That was a clear and understandable statement.

But statements have been made in recent months which tend to conflict with this and to confuse me.

It was only recently that an admiral with the 7th Fleet said that we would not consider nuisance air attacks by Red China on Formosa as a violation of our policy. In the first instance, it was strange that a military man should issue this statement which if true, and it has not been denied, constitutes a change in our policy toward Formosa itself.

It is most unusual under our form of government for military men to announce a policy, and this particularly applies to foreign affairs. This disturbs me very much.

Military leaders submit their views within their proper field. But decisions on foreign affairs and their announcement is a civilian duty and responsibility under our form of government.

When made, involving the military, the military carries out the decisions and the policy.

This is not the first time in recent months when a military leader has made public announcement concerning foreign policy.

You will also remember it was an admiral who publicly announced that the Pescadore Islands would be defended by the 7th Fleet, in the event of a Red attack. While I agree with this, it should have been announced by civilian and not military authorities.

For ours is a civilian and not a military government. I am greatly disturbed during the past 2 years with the military usurping civilian responsibility.

I am a strong supporter of a powerful military organization—but as the servants are

not the masters of our Government, we cannot afford the military to inject themselves further into matters that belong to the civilian side of government.

Furthermore, what is a nuisance attack?

That raises many serious questions.

It might well be observed that that statement could well operate as an excuse for the Reds to attack Formosa by air. If so will we tie the hands of Chiang in any action to meet and prevent such attacks?

Is such a statement consistent with rolling over the 7th Fleet?

When is nuisance attack not a nuisance attack?

Who will determine this question?

My understanding is that the Reds would have to roll over the 7th Fleet was that any kind of attack on Formosa would violate this policy. That seems to me to be commonsense.

And I now find out that nuisance attacks will not. What number of Red planes would constitute a nuisance attack?

I am wondering where does that leave us.

What interpretation will be placed upon it by the Chinese Reds and the Soviet Union? Will they consider such a statement an excuse or an invitation to attack by air?

And what about Quemoy?

Outside of a few persons, and I am not one of them, no one knows what our policy will be if the Reds attack Quemoy.

There have been intimations from responsible American sources that if Quemoy is attacked—outside of furnishing arms and advice—the United States will remain inactive.

One admiral connected with the 7th Fleet has indicated this in a press conference of a few weeks ago.

Admiral Radford, to the contrary, in a recent speech strongly indicated that the loss of Quemoy would be harmful to the defense of Formosa. In other words, the defeat of Quemoy would make it easier for a successful Red attack on Formosa.

And yet our policy, so far as I can ascertain from the newspapers, is supposed to be a flexible one—we will keep the Reds guessing. That involves a calculated risk, either way.

It is my strong opinion that a firm statement by our duly substituted authorities that a Red attack on Quemoy would be considered an act of aggression might well deter such an attack being made.

It is my feeling that our present policy in relation to Quemoy will invite and might well prompt the Reds to attack.

And then we come to the latest information with reference to our policy in relation to Formosa and the islands held by the Nationalist Government.

While to date there is no official announcement, all papers have carried the story from reliable diplomatic sources that "Nationalist China has stopped bombing attacks on the Chinese mainland at the suggestion of the United States." This confuses me further.

Certainly this is not carrying out the promise of unleashing Chiang Kai-shek and his forces. It seems to me that, if the news item is correct, this would seem to be tying his hands.

I am frank in stating that I am confused. I have no definite idea as to what our policy is now in connection with Formosa and that important area of the world.

It is my opinion that our policy should be a firm one, should be made known, and the line drawn, and that we let the Reds know we will stand by our policy.

Certainly, if we will help defend Formosa and the Pescadores Islands in case of attack, if that is our policy, and I consider it a wise one, it seems to me that this should cover any other Nationalist-held islands that are important to the defense of the Formosa and the Pescadores group.

Population of 220 Million Seen by 1975

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Population of 220 Million Seen by 1975," which appeared in the February 2, 1955, issue of the Owensboro Messenger, of Owensboro, Ky.

This editorial urges that our planners from the White House down to our little township offices study these figures and in turn take proper action thereon. I am in complete agreement with this view.

When we realize that we have 7,000 new mouths to feed each day in this country it is time for us to pause and consider just what this increasing population means to our agricultural policies and programs. This increase means that more production will be needed every year unless we reduce our standard of living.

The editorial is as follows:

POPULATION OF 220 MILLION SEEN BY 1975

Some of the American people may think the population experts are talking through their hats when they predict a United States population of 220 million by 1975. But the figures for 1954 certainly make the experts look good.

Last year the number of Americans increased by 2,830,000, the largest yearly gain in the country's entire history. For 8 straight years, we have added more than 2,500,000 people annually to the population.

How do these astonishing figures come about?

In the first place, in 1954 we had around 4,060,000 births, the most in any year on record. Secondly, tentative indications are that the death rate dropped to an all-time low of 9.2 per 1,000 population.

The great boom in births is by now an old story. Not so well appreciated is this continuing improvement in the national health, as reflected by declining death rates. The death rate has now been below 10 per 1,000 for seven successive years, an especially notable thing in the light of the steady rise in the proportion of older folk in the American population.

In addition to these factors, of course, we get each year a small increment from immigration. Last year it came to some 200,000.

But obviously, in projecting population prospects for the next two decades and beyond, the experts are deeply impressed by the continuing remarkable trends in birth and death rates.

Trends are not sure-fire. They can be radically altered by unforeseen factors. Another great war, a real depression, such cataclysmic events could upset all predictions. World War II and its aftermath certainly threw out of the window the experts' forecasts made during the 1930's.

As a sidelight on the gains that have brought our present population total to approximately 164 million, it is interesting to note that the Pacific Coast States still are climbing at a rate higher than the national average, though not as fast as during the 1940's. Florida is still pushing upward with gains of around 6 percent a year, three times the United States average. Nevada and Arizona have even higher rates of increase, but they start from a low total population base.

Let's hope that our planners, from the White House down to dusty little township offices, are reading these figures and acting upon them. If they do not, the United States by 1975 will be the most tangled civilization on the face of the globe.

Sale of Government-Owned Synthetic-Rubber Plants to Private Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, on January 24 there was submitted to this House and referred to the Armed Services Committee a report recommending sale of the Government-owned synthetic-rubber plants to private industry.

I have spoken on previous occasions of the legislation which we passed to authorize this sale. Today I would like to commend the Rubber Producing Facilities Disposal Commission on an outstanding job.

Since we required them to operate under a very strict set of ground rules with respect to assuring free competition, obtaining full fair value, and guaranteeing the security interests of the United States, they were compelled literally to pioneer new fields. No previous disposal of Government property had ever been taken under such restrictive rules.

How well they did this job is reflected in the report now before us.

As for security, contracts for every facility contain clauses assuring the availability of that facility to the Nation's security needs for 10 years.

As to the fair value criterion, the recommendations point out that the synthetic-rubber program, including contract prices, cash on hand, and inventories to be disposed of, will return $401,565,000 to the United States Treasury. Of this amount, the recommended sales of the plants, miscellaneous equipment, and inventory accounts for $310,565,000.

Not all of the facilities are being sold. Because there were no bids on some facilities or because bids on another were too low, the Commission recommends placing in ready standby three facilities with a net book value as of April 30, 1955, of $18,557,000.

The unrecovered investment of the American people in the plants recommended for sale, plus the plants to be put in standby, plus operating losses for the wartime years, is placed by the Commission at $272,918,800. Recommended plant sales—even taking into account the plants earmarked for standby—represent 96.6 percent of the taxpayers' unrecovered investment.

Against the yardstick of any previous disposal of Government's property, this would certainly represent full fair value, in my opinion.

As regards the Commission's directive from the Congress to develop a disposal pattern shaped to foster a free and competitive industry, I would call attention to this phase of the report.

Rubber manufacturers who were successful bidders and have in their own requirements for rubber a captive market are required by contract to divert fixed percentages of their production to the free market to be available to small business.

In two instances, sales were made to nonrubber manufacturers who have no captive market. It is interesting to note that the several hundred rubber manufacturing companies which will have no interest in the facilities disposed of, purchased from the Government last year 127,000 long tons of general purpose synthetic rubber to meet their requirements in a year of high industrial activity.

The disposal recommendations create a pattern which would make 242,000 tons of total rubber available to the noncaptive market.

This would in effect put 2 pounds of supply in competition for every pound of market in the whole area of noncaptive rubber requirements. This will be a reassuring thing, I am sure, to the small consumer. It is evidence, moreover, of the earnest effort put forth by the Commission to satisfy the criterion of free competition which we laid down in the Disposal Act of 1953.

In this connection, I would like to call your attention to the following editorial from the Akron Beacon Journal of January 26, 1955, which I feel makes significant comment on the Commission's report:

GOING, GOING

Unless Congress disapproves within 60 days, 24 plants which comprise the bulk of the Government-owned synthetic rubber industry will be sold to private corporations for a total of $310,565,000.

Far from disapproving, Congress and the Nation as a whole ought to applaud this highly satisfactory conclusion of a history-making chapter of cooperation between the Government and private industry.

Of the billions upon billions of dollars which the United States had to spend to carry World War II to a successful conclusion, none produced a greater money's worth at the time nor has turned out to have a better "cash-in" value.

Creation of the plants early in the war was an industrial miracle, brought about by Government money and priorities and the rubber, chemical, and oil industry's technical knowledge. Without this source of rubber, every phase of our military and civilian activities would have been crippled and victory would have been long delayed.

In the years immediately following the war, the rubber-making facilities kept consumers—and that includes everyone in this country—from being gouged of hundreds of millions of dollars in inflated prices for natural rubber.

Ever since 1948, the Beacon Journal has been urging that the plants ought to be sold to private industry; that in peacetime the Government had no proper function as a manufacturer and that private competition might improve the product and lower the cost.

The Korean war postponed active steps toward disposal but in 1953 a Republican Congress set up a procedure for sale, based largely on a pattern set under a Democratic administration in 1948.

On July 25, 1953, we said:

"The surest way to carry the rubber disposal program on to a successful conclusion would be for the President to name to the Commission three men of such recognized integrity and sound judgment that no one would think of questioning their recommendations.

"This would be a Commission of comparable standing to the one which, in 1942, sized up the Nation's serious rubber shortage and made drastic recommendations for its solution."

President Eisenhower appointed Holman D. Pettibone, a Chicago banker, as Chairman; Leslie R. Rounds, a banker from New York and Maine, and Everett R. Cooke, a Memphis cotton broker. They, in turn, chose Eugene Holland, a Chicago industrialist, as executive director.

This group was not as well known as the Baruch-Conant-Compton Commission of 1942 but its performance has been equally as competent, hardheaded, and patriotic.

After surveying its responsibilities through a personal inspection of all the facilities, the Commission carried on months of tough bargaining with potential buyers and has come up with bids that represent a return to the taxpayers of 96.6 of their total unrecovered investment.

No one but an out-and-out demogog could possibly call these proposed sales a giveaway.

No one but an out-and-out Socialist would argue that ownership of these facilities should remain in the hands of the Government.

Adequate safeguards have been provided to make sure that defense need will be fulfilled in case of war. The Attorney General has certified that the prospective distribution of ownership is such that no problem of monopoly is involved.

By all means, Congress ought to give its blessing to the sales as arranged by the Rubber Producing Facilities Disposal Commission.

Federal Aid to Education Means Federal Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorials from the Shelbyville (Ind.) News and the Greenfield Daily Reporter:

[From the Shelbyville (Ind.) News]

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION MEANS FEDERAL CONTROL

The Indiana PTA Members Study Group, which has long contended that the members of every local parent-teacher association should have a vote on the legislative program of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, has come forth with some statements which seem to us to make good sense in reference to Federal aid to education.

"No responsible person," says a bulletin from the study group, "advocates Federal control of education. In fact, proponents of Federal aid invariably couple with their proposals the qualifying phrase, 'with maximum local control.'

"This is a very important fact to remember. For in any controversy, each point that can be removed from the realm of dispute simplifies the consideration of issues that remain.

"If, therefore, all agree that Federal control of education is bad, the only question left is whether or not Federal aid to education is likely to bring Federal control of education.

"The friends of Federal aid take a cheerful view of this question. Their zeal seems to overwhelm their judgment. They are confident that education can be financed in Washington but controlled at home.

"The foes of Federal aid prefer to base their predictions on history rather than hope.

"Vocational education has long enjoyed the fruits of Federal aid and it is most frequently set forth as exhibit A in proof that the Federal purse strings need not become instruments of control.

"Of course only the naive, or those who thought their listeners were naive, would refer to this example. For the slightest investigation readily reveals that in vocational education, as in every other endeavor importantly financed by the Federal Government, the Federal Government controls the program."

The PTA Members Study Group Bulletin also calls attention to House of Representatives Document No. 529, 75th Congress, 3d session, as a summary of the happenings in the cited instance as follows:

"The conclusion is inescapable that the Federal control over vocational education has been so administered under the authority of the statutes as to shape very definitely and decidedly the development of the programs of vocational education in the States and local communities. The federally supported program has to a considerable extent become a federally dictated program. * * *"

The same sentiment, the bulletin cites, has been expressed as follows by George E. Myers, professor of vocational education at the University of Michigan, in an article appearing in the Harvard Educational Review:

"The control will go more and more to the Federal Government, whatever legislation is enacted. Many State directors of vocational education are coming to be looked on as agents of the United States Office of Education rather than as employees of their State boards of vocational education."

"The lessons of history," the study group bulletin adds, "are clear and without exception. In every instance, in every field, Federal control has accompanied Federal money. Thus only those who want such controls should seek Federal funds. When this point is clearly understood the whole movement for Federal aid to education will promptly and properly collapse."

Another important instance of the workings of Federal control is cited in the fact that the State of Indiana has been ordered by the United States Civil Service Commission to fire four employees of the State Department of Conservation because they allegedly took part in politics in violation of the Hatch Act governing Federal employees. The Federal Government takes the position it has the right to dictate to our State in this manner because it gives Indiana some $345,000 a year for conservation. Thus we are again forcibly reminded that a State cannot take Federal aid without taking Federal orders.

In short, the Government in Washington considers that it has bought and paid for the right to control us. But bought it with what? With $345,000 of our own money. "If you'll be good," they as much as say, "we'll give you back $345,000 of the more than a billion dollars we take from you each year."

And yet there are those who say that we can get Federal aid for our school budgets and for erecting new school buildings without sacrificing our independents to run our own school affairs.

[From the Greenfield (Ind.) Daily Reporter]

COME EASY—GO EASY

Aside from an FHA-style loan insurance by the Federal Government for local communities faced with the necessity of heavy borrowing for school expansion, which will be included in the coming presidential proposals for the school emergency, there is still a strong sentiment in Congress for more direct and substantial cash aid from Uncle Sam.

Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama, chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, has introduced a bill along this line. In a broad sense it proposes to take the ultimate revenues which the Government stands to gain from the present arrangement as to offshore oil, and spend a considerable portion of this in aid for school construction.

Of course, this is strictly "counting your chickens before they hatch." There are estimates of the value of the United States portion of this petroleum at around $6 billions. But this is ultimate, not now, as the oil is still in the rock. There might be a lot of illiterates reach adulthood before these funds were available, were they the only source of school development.

However, a speculative, "windfall" proposition has considerable appeal to a lot of people. At least, it would be a substantial fund which would not be directly reflected in Federal taxes or deficits. "Come easy, go easy" has a human connotation.

Even if the supposed fabulous fortunes of offshore oil were already available, we still would not favor a free-hand distribution to the pressed local school corporations of the land. Such a situation encourages extravagance and waste, as well as encouraging local school corporations to relinquish a part of their rights and responsibilities for operating schools to a far away central government, which soon might be dictating method and curriculum and extending centralized control over a vital local job.

It is not too hard to imagine some future Washington administration which might seize upon the opportunity to indoctrinate socially and politically the youngsters required to attend the schools thus partially built or maintained. This could be done by a Federal hand in the selection of school texts, twisted histories, biased economics. You say: "It couldn't happen here." Perhaps not, but it did in Germany and Russia where the Central Government had free hand with the schools. We have had occasional trouble in this country, with text selections pinned to the State levels, where books which were quite notably slanted crept into the approved lists and there has been the Devil's own time getting rid of them, even after they had been discovered and exposed.

School corporations fall broadly into three categories: (1) Those who are able and willing and stoutly shoulder the considerable load of maintaining adequate schools; (2) those which by reason of poverty, extravagance, poor management or other unusual circumstances are honestly, although perhaps temporarily, unable to do the best of school jobs; (3) schools who have a similarity to Secretary Wilson's "kennel dogs." They are content to sit on their tails and howl, far short of being fully extended, awaiting some good fairy to come along with an easy solution to their dilemma.

Our observation is that several areas have quite a percentage of these last. They appear more frequently in States where the public-school system has never been exemplary or on a high standard. Always primitive, they remain so, and are frequently selected as horrible examples by those who are the most earnest partisans of promoting substantial aid from outside.

But there is not good reason to penalize the taxpayers residing in those areas which are willing and able and doing a good job with their schools, in order to help the other areas whose citizens are unwilling to go all out under their own power to accomplish school improvement. And, that is definitely what most forms of Federal grants of funds would do.

What Can We Do About Communism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include, with pleasure, the articles written by a close friend whom I admire very much, Hon. Thomas Dorgan, of Boston, Mass., clerk of the Superior Court for Criminal Business of Suffolk County, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The first article, "Truth Destroys Reds," appeared in the Boston Traveler of January 27, 1955, and the second one, "Atheism Is Red Source," in the Boston Traveler of February 3, 1955. Mr. Dorgan has consistently and intelligently fought and exposed for years the sinister evil and destructive plans and purposes of international Communism in the United States and on the world scale.

The articles follow:

[From the Boston Traveler of January 27, 1955]

WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT COMMUNISM?—TRUTH DESTROYS REDS

(By Thomas Dorgan)

In fighting against the Communist conspiracy it is necessary to enlist the powerful weapon of public opinion. We have seen how the Communist conspirators hate the light.

They cannot stand exposure. They shout hysterically when their actions are being uncovered. They are afraid of public opinion.

An attitude is often more important than a law in society. In a women's club, where there is no law against drinking on the premises but where there is a firm attitude against it, you will have no drinking.

But if there is a club with a law against drinking, while at the same time the attitude of the members favors drinking, you will have much violation of the law.

POWERFUL FORCE FOR CORRECTION

So it is with public opinion. A properly formed and informed public opinion is one of the most powerful forces for correcting social evils, deterring crime, encouraging integrity among public officials and fostering public decency and morality.

In a free society, people have free access to the truth. The organs of public education and information are dedicated to the spread of truth.

The schools, the press, and radio, the pulpit, and public rostrum seek to discharge their public responsibility by first of all being loyal to the truth.

If the people became confused, misinformed on vital issues, then the society of such people is being threatened with extinction through indifference, or explosion through blind revolution.

SOFTEN UP PUBLIC OPINION

Before they can take over a country, the conspirators must soften up public opinion.

When the Red and pink press enthusiastically pumped the party line into the stream of American public opinion, Americans naturally became confused about the reality of the Communist conspiracy.

Today, American public opinion is changing. The public exposures of the congressional investigating committees are having a telling effect.

People want to learn more about the great conspiracy and are more opened-minded toward information concerning it.

The publishing houses are responding to the ready market. Writers and journalists who are anti-Communist have readier access to contact public opinion.

A few of the basic ideas that the Red and pink press repeated constantly to the confusion of public opinion are:

1. Communism is an idea and must be taken care of in the market of ideas.

But there was a big void in the market of scholarly writing and documented records opposing the evil of the conspiracy. The "market" often was closed to anti-Communists.

2. The challenge of communism can be met only by social reform.

But if the Communist conspiracy goes unchecked, social justice will have no future.

3. Let's clean up our own backyard first.

No one will contest the sound advice contained in this idea. But the muddled liberals made it mean that we should concentrate exclusively on removing the injustices from western democracies while ignoring the much greater and inhuman injustices of the Communist conspirators throughout the world.

4. The Communist Party in America is only a political party.

They want us to think that the Communist group of conspirators must be given the same legal recognition and protection for public assembly and discussion and propaganda as any organization of loyal American citizens. The tragedy is, they have largely succeeded.

5. Something ought to be done about communism, but—

This was the line followed by the pinkoes who talked out of both sides of their mouths at the same time. They professed to be opposed to communism theoretically.

But they maintained you could not find any practical way to restrain it without destroying the "freedom" and "liberty" of loyal citizens.

6. Everybody has a right to a government job.

When the Eisenhower administration said the basic issue was not loyalty but rather security, and openly declared that the safety of the Nation came first, it helped to clarify public opinion and protect the Nation against this false idea.

7. Nobody can incur guilt by association with Communists.

In upholding the constitutionality of New York State's Feinberg law, the United States Supreme Court, by a majority vote of 6 to 3, dealt a decisive legal blow to all psuedo-liberal "associationists." The Court said:

"One's associates, past and present, as well as one's conduct, may properly be considered in determining fitness and loyalty."

What can we do about communism?

One of the main answers surely ought to be to clarify our own minds on the confused ideas that work as a smokescreen for the conspiracy.

The truth shall make men free, and this is particularly important in dealing with the great conspiracy that loves darkness and confusion.

An informed public opinion is one of the most powerful antidotes to the poison of militant atheistic communism.

[From the Boston Traveler of February 3, 1955]

WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT COMMUNISM?—ATHEISM IS RED SOURCE

(By Thomas Dorgan)

The main problem presented by communism is a spiritual problem. Before you can find out what human society should be, you have to know what man is.

The question many people must begin to answer today is: "Are we apes or men?"

Those who believe in God also believe there is a difference between the ape and a man. They believe a man has been made in God's image and likeness.

SOURCE OF ALL IDEALS

That is why they have such a high idea of man's dignity. That is where they find the source of man's inalienable rights.

That is where they get the foundation for man's code of conduct.

For people who do not believe in God, there is only a difference of degree between apes in the jungle and his blood-brothers dwelling in cities.

The difference is merely in the fact that city dwellers have been domesticated. They have been tamed. They have been trained by education.

It is not surprising that, when cornered or frustrated, the atheist easily reverts to the law of the jungle.

EXPLAINS RED CHARACTERISTICS

This explains the constant, cunning deceit, the butchery and torture, the heartless defiance of human dignity, moral law, international law, civilization and world opinion that has characterized the inhuman march of the atheistic comrades toward world conquest.

When people ask what can we de do about communism, many answers can be given.

I have suggested a few in this series of articles, which is being completed today.

I believe that on the basis of the record of the past 35 years, it is utterly futile to try to discuss human affairs intelligently with these barbarians.

The "ape men" in the Kremlin should never had been permitted to sit as equals in the society of nations.

(The United Nations Charter calls for "peace-loving nations" to sit within its chamber. What is peace-loving about Russia and her satellites?)

FORCE IS ONLY CHECK

Internationally, the only check for the advance of this 20th century barbarism is superior force of arms.

On the national level, as I have pointed out, communism should be checked by constantly relentless public exposure, plus firm and adequate legal measures enforced by civil authority.

But to check communism is not the same as to conquer it. You can check it on 100 different fronts. To conquer it you must go after the source.

The source of the horrible evil is found in atheism.

If we want to get rid of the Marx-Lenin-Malenkov-Stalin brand of communism, we must get rid of atheism.

We cannot do this with guns. It is a problem for our spiritual leaders.

It is a problem for all men of good will, rekindling the fires of their faith and love.

MUST TEST CONSCIENCE

But it will help mightily in this battle if, as a nation, we make a healthy examination of conscience and find out the source of the spread of atheism.

It is foolish to wait until we have to face the conspiracy on the battlefield. We must be concerned with it here and now as it exists in our midst.

What can we do about communism? There are many answers.

Let us not underestimate it. Let us know it. Let us relentlessly expose it. Let us take legal measures to check it.

Let us seek to eliminate its harmful influence that rises from its poisoned source on the lips of those professors who brazenly propagate or subtly insinuate atheism in our schools and colleges.

Let school boards and boards of trustees be more vigilant in whom they hire.

Above all, let us join with all men of good will in bringing about a spiritual reawakening in the lives of our communities.

If Communists are militant, let us be more militant. If Communists seek brotherhood, let us seek brotherhood more earnestly.

But let the watchword be "freedom and brotherhood under God."

"Junk" Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following petition of the Saginaw-Bay-Midland branch of the Michigan Rural Letter Carrier's Association and concerning the rates on first- and third-class mail:

RESOLUTION OF THE SAGINAW-BAY-MIDLAND COUNTIES BRANCH OF THE MICHIGAN RURAL LETTER CARRIERS' ASSOCIATION

Whereas the Post Office Department has admitted, by its retraction of the "simplified address" order, that this type of "junk" mail does not pay its way, and also hinders the expeditious handling of other types of mail; and

Whereas there can be no defense of taxpayers' money being used subsidize advertisers who use this type of mail; and

Whereas there is no demand for this service from any group except the advertisers; and

Whereas rural patrons complain about the flooding of their mailboxes with unwanted, unaddressed circulars: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Saginaw-Bay-Midland branch, RLCA, go on record as unalterably opposed to the omission of rural routes from the cease and desist order of the Post Office Department, which is scheduled to be effective April 1, 1955, and which will prohibit mailing of "simplified address" mail for delivery anywhere except on rural and star routes; and be it further

Resolved, That said branch, RLCA, is also opposed to the raising of the first-class rate, unless and until the third-class rate is adjusted to cover the full cost of handling such matter; and be it further

Resolved, That said branch, RLCA, herewith petitions it's national officers to work to these same ends; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to our national and State presidents, chairman of the Senate and House Post Office Commitees, and our Michigan Senators and district Representatives.

The above was presented to a regular meeting of Saginaw-Bay-Midland. On motion duly made and supported it was adopted.

R. ROY MCLAUGHLIN,
Secretary.

FREELAND, MICH.

A Flexible Approach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Kendallville (Ind.) News-Sun. It seems to me that the thinking contained therein is particularly appropriate just now.

The editorial follows:

A FLEXIBLE APPROACH

The Formosan policy which President Eisenhower laid down and Congress has moved swiftly to support is designed with a shrewd flexibility that should serve well America's interests in the Far East.

At root this policy is not new. We are flatly and firmly committed to the defense of Formosa and the nearby Pescadores islands. Any attempt by the Chinese Reds to conquer these territories means war with the United States. Our unratified Formosan treaty with Chiang Kai-shek spells out this commitment.

The Communists have known for a long time that if they tried to take these islands they would have to pierce the protective screen provided by the United States 7th Fleet. Congress is now authorizing the President to employ American forces more broadly, which at least would also include our air arm, to safeguard Formosa.

Where Mr. Eisenhower's newly enunciated policy is most distinctively different, where it is most flexible, is in the matter of our possible defense of other areas, particularly islands close offshore from mainland China, which are related to the protection of Formosa.

The President did not ask Congress to commit this country to the defense of Quemoy, Matsu, the Tachens, or any other coastal isles. Instead he is getting the authority to send United States forces "wherever they are needed" for the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores.

This broad power quite obviously could allow use of our naval and air arms for defensive operations in and around the key coastal islands. On the other hand, we are leaving the way open for not coming to their aid, if our military men should view such action as impractical and unwise.

Most of the coastal islands are within shellfire range of the Red mainland. Our fleet might be sorely handicapped in attempts to manuever effectively in the narrow waters between the continent and those offshore patches. Furthermore, there are reports that the Reds have superior air power in this general area today; the fleet might be hard pressed unless we first engineered a considerable buildup of our own air strength there.

The net military effect of the latest American policy moves would seem to make it crystal clear to Red China that the American people, through both their President and their Congress, are stoutly braced against any Communist intrusion upon Formosa; but to keep the Reds still guessing as to what this Nation will do about any specific advance against the coastal islands.

The coastal group gives Chiang bases for minor harassment of the mainland and serves secondarily as observation outposts. And while we have discouraged him from any mainland ventures of major scale we would be pleased if he could hold these is-

lands. Their vulnerability, however, would appear to limit what we can do in their defense.

Herbert Hoover—When Was He Right? When Was He Wrong?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the No. 45 winter issue, 1954–55, of the magazine entitled "Prevent World War III":

HERBERT HOOVER—WHEN WAS HE RIGHT? WHEN WAS HE WRONG?

During his many years of service in public life ex-President Herbert Hoover has displayed a marked interest in German affairs. He has been regarded by the Germans as one of their tried and trusted friends. Indeed, when he visited Germany recently he was hailed as their "savior." Since the end of World War II, Mr. Hoover has played a leading part in the formulation of United States policy toward Germany. Of late, he has been quite definite in his views with regard to the future role of Germany. "I have always said that Western civilization cannot survive without a unified Germany" (New York Times, October 31, 1954). Mr. Hoover has stated that German nationalism is not a bad thing per se and that Germany can be depended upon to act as the great defender of democracy. "My prayer is that Germany may be given the unity and full freedom which will restore her to that mission in the world" (New York Herald Tribune, November 25, 1954).

Mr. Hoover did not always believe in Germany's mission to save Western civilization. In this connection we cite two examples:

EXHIBIT A

In 1918 a book was published entitled "The Iron Circle, The Future of German Industrial Exports, Etc.," by S. Herzog. Mr. Hoover signed the introduction, excerpts of which we publish herewith:

"'If there is anything to be gained by being honest, let us be honest; if it is necessary to deceive, let us deceive.' Thus wrote Frederick the Great in the middle of the 18th century—the man who laid the foundation of Pan-Germanism, which this world war was expected to achieve. Not content with dominion by force of arms, we find Germany plotting for commercial supremacy with that insolent disregard of the rights of others and that resort to deception that has characterized all her policies since Frederick the Great's reign. * * *

"For 40 years the Germans have been plotting to realize their dream of Pan-Germanism—eventual world conquest and dominion. For two generations they have been thinking in terms unknown or little understood by an innocent and unsuspecting world. The Prussian philosophy that might makes right, that the state is supreme, has completely possessed the ruling and upper classes of Germany, both military and commercial, until deception and fraud form the background of their most important international relations and undertakings. They have made Germany an inherently dishonest nation. * * *

"German rule means the breaking-down of all order, the exchange of personal liberty and national freedom for force, of right for might, of justice for the mailed fist.

"The world should have been forewarned. Books were written, maps constructed, by well-known German authorities for the enlightenment of the German people, and these books reached the outside world, but civilization, accustomed to the pursuits of peace, turned a deaf ear, and is now paying the penalty for refusing to see and hear.

"Now another conception comes out of the heart of Germany, that threatens the commercial interests of unsuspecting nations—carefully thought out, with characteristic German thoroughness, openly advocating the breaking down of all business ethics, relying upon trickery and circumvention to gain their end. This promises to stop at nothing, from national dumping of goods to crush competition to false labels and disguise of the origin and the breaking of contracts that prove disadvantageous to the German.

"Let the manufacturing and banking interests and the laboring and professional classes of all nations be warned in time to devise antidotes and counterattacks to the Machiavellian devices of a class gone mad with lust for conquest, deliberately plotting to fatten itself upon the life blood of other peoples even after the war. Let us consider in making peace what protection we can give to the commercial existence of the freed nations."

EXHIBIT B

On the eve of the San Francisco Conference (1945) which created the United Nations, Mr. Hoover wrote a special piece for the North American Newspaper Alliance. Here are excerpts of this article:

"My fourth proposal for the San Francisco Conference is that agreement upon continued and total disarmament of the enemy nations must be entered into either as part of the United Nations Charter or as a separate agreement. In any event it will have to be enforced by the Security Council. And it profoundly affects the whole question of peace.

"Three years ago Mr. Gibson (Hugh Gibson, American diplomat) and I proposed that the enemy states must be completely disarmed for an entire generation. We pointed out one of the great errors of the Treaty of Versailles in which Germany was permitted to retain a professional army of 100,000 men, supposedly for the purposes of maintaining internal order. She was permitted to have a navy limited only in tonnage and type of ships. We stated that this leeway perpetuated her professional armies and navies. It perpetuated the warrior caste and all its traditions. It afforded a skeleton army and navy of skilled men ready for quick expansion. It insured the continuity of the general staff with its military skill, brains, and ambitions. It perpetuated their know-how to make war.

"Repeated experience with the warrior caste of these nations in their intimidations, aggressions, blitzes, and attacks without even declarations of war should be enough for the world in this particular. We must make a better job of it this time. We should prohibit the manufacture of arms of any kind by these countries."

Prayer for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a short letter received from Rev. David W. Bletscher, pastor of the Evangelical United Brethren Church, Randolph, Kans.

In a few words, I believe this letter expresses the hopes and thinking of thousands of mothers and fathers in our State of Kansas. Because of the tense situation in the Formosa area, I feel this letter is of particular significance at this time.

The letter follows:

THE EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH,
Randolph, Kans., January 25, 1955.

Hon. WILLIAM AVERY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. AVERY: Greetings. I am writing to you as our Representative and asking you to use every influence you can to keep us out of war. We hope and pray that there will be another way to solve the Formosa situation besides war, which never has and never will settle anything.

I am a rural pastor and I hear very little complaint on the part of the farmers. Generally they seem to be well satisfied with the Republican administration in Washington. If we can be kept on this fine peacetime basis, it will be much better all the way round than a wartime basis, say nothing of the moral, spiritual, and economic disaster that always follows. I know I am speaking for thousands of fellow Americans.

May I suggest that we make this matter a matter of earnest prayer, praying that our Nation may be kept in peace and that peace may come to all the world.

May I also suggest that Congress set aside a day of prayer and penitence, asking God to keep us in the ways of peace.

You probably remember my wife as the former Goldie Thrush from Wakefield. May God bless you in your responsibility.

Sincerely,

DAVID W. BLETSCHER.

Salary Increases for Postal Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, many times in the past 2 years have I spoken to this body on the need to enact adequate legislation to increase the salaries of our postal workers.

During the last Congress, I had introduced a bill calling for an $800 per annum increase for postal workers, but, unfortunately, no action was taken on this measure. However, legislation granting somewhat smaller increases to postal and other Federal workers was approved by the House and the Senate and sent to President Eisenhower for signature. The President chose to veto the bill on August 23, 1954, after the adjournment of Congress when it was impossible for the Congress to take any additional action to override the veto.

Legislation has been introduced in in both the House and the Senate which will provide a 10-percent increase in the basic compensation of postal employees, with a minimum increase of $400 per annum, and I am introducing similar legislation in the House today, with the hope that this measure will be reported favorably by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

There has been a move afoot to tie in the salary increase with an increase in the postal rates. The one is not interdependent upon the other and to approve such tie-in legislation would be to establish a very poor precedent.

The last increase granted the postal employees was in 1951, and we are all well aware of the fact that the cost of living has increased considerably since that time. These employees have been desperately trying to catch up with the rapidly rising cost of living, but are far short of the goal and hard pressed to provide their families with even the bare necessities. The vast majority of postal workers have been forced to supplement their incomes by taking part-time employment elsewhere or having their wives work—a situation which is certainly far from ideal, particularly when there are children in the home.

The employees of the Post Office Department are hard working, loyal, and most deserving of our prompt and favorable consideration, and I respectfully urge each and every Member of the House to get behind this legislation to provide more adequate remuneration for those who have served us so faithfully and efficiently.

The President's Conflicting Advice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Roscoe Drummond from the New York Herald Tribune of February 7, 1955:

THE PRESIDENT'S CONFLICTING ADVICE
(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—If you were President of the United States, which of these two alternative lines of advice would you take in ordering a review of the Government's personnel security program?

It is agreed by the differing advisers—and by the President—that there has been a sufficient number of injustices to individuals and loss of skilled people to the Government so that some reexamination of the system itself is necessary. The issue isn't whether the system, including Executive Order 10450, shall be reviewed but how thoroughly it should be reviewed, whether there should be an incidental look-see by a few officials already busily operating the system, or a major clinical checkup, including X-rays, by a detached and distinguished bipartisan commission.

That is the question and here is the conflicting advice the President is receiving.

"There are two reasons for not making any big-splash issue out of reviewing the security program.

"First, it is, in the main, working well and the greatest anxiety of the country is that we safeguard the Government. The percentage of cases which have gone wrong is relatively low.

"Second, if you name an outside, bipartisan commission to study how to improve the system, you will take the issue of dealing with subversion out of politics, and it shouldn't be taken out of politics. To do so would be to strike from the hands of the Republicans a legitimate political issue; namely, that we can and are doing the job better than did the Democrats."

The counteradvice, which also comes from presidential associates inside and outside the administration, is this:

"The American people are united on these two objectives—to protect the Government from subversion and to protect the employee from unfairness by his Government. To continue to make this security issue a partisan matter is to divide a united people and is bad politics, not good.

"There are many more miscarriages of justice under the security system than you realize, Mr. President. You ought to get all the facts and find out what has brought them about. The best way to do so is to let a commission of trusted people look frankly and thoroughly into the system to see where it can be improved.

"Remember, the Truman administration was hurt—and rightly hurt—because, for a period at least, it was not sufficiently alert to protecting the Government against subversion. Your administration can and will be hurt if it allows the country to feel that it is not sufficiently alert to protecting the employee from unfairness by his Government."

There are the alternative lines of action which continue to be explored when the question is discussed between the President and his close advisers. Thus far Mr. Eisenhower favors the within-the-administration review of the security operation and rejects the high-level commission approach. But I would not think that a different decision is permanently foreclosed.

I know of one high official of the Government, who has no personal stake whatsoever in the matter, who is convinced that an administration which decisively takes the security program out of politics and operates it with full regard to both security and fairness will be rewarded by the voters.

For this reason, he would recommend—and his recommendation has not yet reached the White House—that Mr. Eisenhower appoint the most bipartisan commission within his power to review the program. He is prepared to name names.

For chairman he proposes the only living retired Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Owen J. Roberts.

For the others he proposes the only two living ex-Presidents of the United States—Herbert C. Hoover and Harry S. Truman—and the two latest defeated Republican and Democratic Presidential nominees—Thomas E. Dewey and Adlai E. Stevenson.

Some might think that such a commission would produce only disagreement. I suspect that, after looking at all the facts, it would produce remarkable unanimity.

I Speak for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. PAT JENNINGS
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech of one of my young constituents, Miss Pauline Rose, a student of the Tazewell (Va.) High School.

Miss Rose has shown an exceptional understanding of the American way of life and has included her ideas in this outstanding speech. I feel that it deserves appropriate notice and I commend her for the interest and initiative she has demonstrated. The speech follows:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY
(By Pauline Rose)

I speak for democracy. I speak for the golden land of opportunity—a land where the people have more food, clothing, medicines, automobiles, radios and TV sets, schools and playgrounds—than the people of any other country. But it is a land, where the innermost desire of every individual to think, to believe, and to live, is fulfilled.

A land where great universities, well-equipped libraries, and modern laboratories are open to those who are willing to work and try, whether they be rich or poor. The highest offices in our schools, communities, and Nation are held by persons belonging, not to a royal family or privileged class, but by persons whom the people have chosen.

We have cast our ballots and bestowed the highest honor in our country upon men from every walk of life. Abraham Lincoln was born in a log cabin in the backwoods of our country. Andrew Johnson was a humble tailor; George Washington, a plantation owner; Franklin D. Roosevelt, a cripple; Dwight D. Eisenhower, a soldier. These are only a few of the truly great Americans who, through their own initiative and ability, have held the highest office in our country.

The many liberties of Americans are revealed by our daily lives. The right to choose can be seen in a young high-school boy looking at a college catalog, planning his own future, or in a newly wed couple studying the designs of a home, which they will build by the quiet seaside. A newspaper boy on the street of a small American town crying, "Extra! Extra! Get your papers. Read all about it," rings out the news of freedom to publish and to read. The determined voice of a politician, the calm voice of a minister, or the noise of a newsreel, coming to the American people over millions of radios and TV sets, demonstrate our opportunity to speak and to hear. Jewish synagogues, beautifully decorated Catholic cathedrals, tall, peaceful Protestant churches, standing on the streets in the busy cities, in quiet towns, and in the lovely countryside, show in a way that nothing else could, an American's wonderful privilege to worship God as he chooses.

An American's happiness can be seen in the smile of a medical student, as he receives his diploma giving him the right to administer to the sick, or in the joy of a mechanic having just finished repairs on an automobile, both typical of every American, smiling because he is completely satisfied, proud and happy to be using the talents which God has given him.

Combine this nationwide happiness, liberty, and equality, and you have a golden land of opportunity.

Yes, it is true that persons wishing to control and conquer the lives of men have tried to destroy these opportunities, but through the courage, faith, and bloodshed of men such as those who fought at Valley Forge, Old Baldy, Argonne Forest, and Iwo Jima, and the Yalu River of Korea, these opportunities live on today.

To any of you who have the slightest doubt concerning the ideas of democracy, I ask you to compare the possessions, the liberty, the equality, and happiness of every American man, woman, and child to the people of any other country, and I believe that all doubts will be erased from your minds. I know, for I live in this golden land of opportunity, I speak for democracy.

An Analysis of H. R. 864

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 864, a bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930, introduced by Congressman VAN ZANDT, is designed to restore to Congress the final responsibility for any adjustments made in the tariff. To this end H. R. 864 would empower the Tariff Commission under stated conditions to increase or reduce or to establish rates of duty, or to impose, modify, or withdraw import quotas, subject only to congressional veto.

The stated aim of the bill is to establish imports on a fair competitive basis, first, by avoiding import injury to domestic producers; and, second, by providing means of reducing excessive rates to the peril point, that is, to the point below which import injury would occur. This might include complete removal of a duty.

Mr. Speaker, H. R. 864 would give statutory standing to the rates now owing their existence to a trade-agreement concession. Therefore, there would be no increase in any rate of duty upon expiration of the existing trade agreements law. All existing trade agreements would remain in effect in accordance with their own terms until or unless expressly repealed.

The overall objective of this bill is to assure the largest volume of imports that may be absorbed by this country without causing import injury. It provides the machinery by which our tariff may be adjusted, item by item in individually investigated cases, to bring about such a maximum volume of trade.

The adjustment of any tariff rate could be initiated in a manner very similar to the present initiation of an escape-clause action. To date this has been confined to applicant industries that have alleged serious injury from imports. Under H. R. 864 producers who suffer injury from import competition could apply to the Tariff Commission for a tariff adjustment. The Commission would make an investigation, hold hearings, and—if convinced of the need for relief—would issue a tariff adjustment order consisting of a change in the tariff or a quota limitation or both.

The tariff adjustment order would then go to Congress where it would lie for a period of 60 days. If the order were not voted down by either House during that period, it would go into effect.

Export or import interests who feel that a particular rate of duty is too high could likewise apply to the Tariff Commission under the same procedure. If the Commission found the rate to be too high, it would issue an order reducing it to the peril point. From there the procedure would be the same.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress, through the provisions of this bill, would lay down guides to the Tariff Commission for its use in judging whether import injury or lack of fair import competition exists. Eleven points of evidence of injury are set forth as a guide.

While the executive branch would no longer have the final word in a tariff adjustment, the bill, nevertheless, provides that the Department of State might, if it so desired, send to Congress a statement setting forth its views on any tariff adjustment order. The National Security Council would likewise be given a voice in the determination of cases to the extent of having a representative sit with the Tariff Commission during hearings.

Mr. Speaker, the system proposed by H. R. 864 would not lead to any general increase or reduction of the tariff. Rate changes would be made or quotas would only be imposed or modified after investigation of individual cases. If an existing rate were satisfactory or no application were made to have it modified, there would be no modification. Thus, only a limited number of rates would be changed—increased or reduced—per year. The Tariff Commission would be given 9 months to conclude any 1 investigation.

There is no similarity in this procedure to—or remote connection with—the old system of logrolling when Congress itself wrote the rates. The principal difference between this method of changing the tariff and the present system lies in changing the final authority in a tariff modification from the executive to the legislative branch. Also, the tariff would no longer be used as an instrument of diplomacy by the State Department or as a means of bargaining for concessions from other countries.

Small Business the Backbone of Our Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, small business is the backbone of our Nation and the very foundation upon which our free-enterprise system is founded.

Through small business, the individual citizen has the right to "be his own man," to take upon his own shoulders the responsibility for his future, and to rise or fall as a result of his own ability, industry, and perseverance. Big business is, after all, merely an extension of small business, and if the history of most of our great corporations were examined, they are the direct result of the foresight, courage, and labor of an American who founded a small business which grew and grew.

Today we frequently hear words of discouragement to the young men and women who are considering entrance into the field of small business. They are told that small business is declining, that the risks are too great, the profits too small.

This is not true and it is important to the future of our Nation that the truth be known about small business, that our citizens be encouraged to become small businessmen, and that the Federal Government continue its assistance to small business which today holds a vital place in our national economy.

The following editorial which recently appeared in the Los Angeles Times repudiates many of the false allegations circulated about small business and is an excellent review of the true facts about small business and its importance to our Nation:

SOME FACTS ABOUT SMALL BUSINESS

Generalizations are frequently employed by those who are not too sure of their facts.

One of the generalizations we have been hearing frequently in recent years is that the importance of small businesses is declining. A picture has been drawn of small businesses withering like stunted saplings in a forest, denied the life-giving sunlight by the growing shadows of big business.

THE STORY AS IT GOES

Small business is on the way out, we are told, and big business is taking everything over. It costs too much to start a small business and too much to run it. The chances of failure are too great.

Now for some facts. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States in a pamphlet, "Small Business: Its Role and Its Problems," which may be obtained by sending 50 cents addressed to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., presents some interesting figures.

One—and this may come as a surprise—is that about 95 percent of all businesses in the country employ less than 20 employees. Another is that about 75 percent employ 3 or less employees. Even in manufacturing where the popular conception of big business is centered, the percentage of establishments with 3 or less employees is far in excess of those employing 20 or more. Of 331,000 manufacturing plants, there are 148,000 with under 4 employees.

THE 50-YEAR HISTORY

This does not seem to indicate that small business is on the verge of extinction. On the contrary, according to the national chamber, small business is showing big gains. As recently as 2 years ago 340,500 businesses were launched, most of them small.

It is also important to note that over a 50-year period the average manufacturing firm has doubled in size while the relative proportion of small, medium and large firms has remained at about the same level. There is, of course, a high portion of resources concentrated in large firms, but on the other hand corporations with assets of $250,000 or less possess resources totaling a substantial $29 billion.

The national chamber observes that "the ability to experiment, to adapt, and to change is one reason why the small business is so important to the economy as a whole. The small business is the economic seedbed from which arises the majority of new ideas, new methods, and inventions * * * with some 330,600 different manufacturers and hundreds of thousands of service establishments, each competing for the market, prices tend to be lowered and quality improved."

It must be recalled, also, that some of our largest industries of today were relatively small operations in their beginning. Automobiles are a case in point; radio, television, and aircraft are more recent examples. The man who starts a small business cannot al-

ways be sure it will remain a small business. But small business which remains small has a permanent place.

THERE ARE PROBLEMS

Small business provides products and services that big business can't possibly hope to offer. As far as personal products are concerned, take the case of women's hats. It would require a vivid imagination to picture a woman purchasing a hat identical with 20 million other mass-produced hats. There are fields in mass production which small businesses are not suited to enter just as there are fields in small business which will never be encroached upon by big business.

This is not to say that the life of a small-business man is without problems. The national chamber has listed two major problems for the small business. One is inefficiency or incompetency and the other is restrictive tax policies.

Inefficiency and incompetency are strictly the affair of the operator . But high corporate and personal income taxes are something else. If the Government wants to give small business help, it can do it, as the national chamber says, not through special privileges, but by maintaining conditions which stimulate business in general.

In any event, small business was, and is, a major part of our American economy. It will remain so just as long as we have men with ideas, intiative, and resources, and a governmental atmosphere that affords them the hope of securing a fair return.

Federal Aid to Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following articles, one from the Saginaw News of February 2, 1955, and concerning Federal aid to schools, and the second from the Detroit Free Press of February 3, 1955, and concerning unemployment:

[From the Saginaw News of February 2, 1955]

MICHIGAN WOULD LOSE IN SCHOOL AID POOL

States with low money resources are constantly after a share of other States' wealth. Their most successful approach has been through formulation of Federal aid legislation.

If some of our Michigan Representatives in Congress would forever keep that fact in mind, they would not be tempted into plumping for more Federal spending.

Most recent example is the bid for Federal emergency school construction money. Michigan's Democratic Senator MCNAMARA has been sitting in on Labor and Public Welfare Committee hearings on the subject. Senator HILL, of Alabama, is its chairman.

Apparently Mr. MCNAMARA has heard enough to satisfy him that Federal aid is the only solution. Having served as a member of the Detroit Board of Education, he undoubtedly has a good working knowledge of the problems confronting education generally.

But Mr. MCNAMARA would do well to consider what cost to Michigan would be imposed. As a State contributing heavily to support of the Federal Government, Michigan could expect only to pay in far more than would ever be returned here in Federal grants.

Michigan's school construction problem is chiefly one of finance. Michigan has the resources to meet the problem. Why invite even greater burdens by encouraging a Federal program?

Mr. MCNAMARA has expressed impatience with Congress for its failure to have enacted Federal aid legislation long ago. He wants an immediate appropriation authorized.

If we could generate this kind of zeal at the home community level, the school problem would be solved much faster—and at far less cost.

It is not narrow selfishness that dictates a do-it-yourself viewpoint. All of us must assume a share of the burden where extreme distress exists in the country. But emergency aid is far different from creation of a nationwide building fund into which all 48 States would dip greedily. Many, like Michigan, if such a fund were set up, would be forced to it in self-defense—in an effort to salvage something from the State taxes taken from them by the Federal Government. Many others would dip in glee at the fat sums falling to them for free.

Beyond the unnecessary inequity and inevitable extravagance that accompanies federally administered domestic programs is a moral question of educational freedom.

Sooner or later the Federal Government, through increasing support of education, would exert an ever greater control of education. Local communities would be forced to abdicate some of their responsibility to Central Government.

Michigan taxpayers should should know this even as they view the history of their State sales tax, most of which is now frozen into constitutional provision for distribution to schools under a rigid formula.

Our own State aid to education has become a political concern, taken almost entirely out of the hands of local communities. School boards and school administrators lay plans, seek or reject students, with an eye to the State aid formula. And all the while these same dollars were potentially available in most home communities.

Because local taxpayers chose to duck or reject home responsibilities to their schools, the school people carried their case to the State capital. As a result, a State tax has been blanketed in for all time, and offending communities, Saginaw among them, are being penalized as tax contributors exceeding taxes returned.

The proposed Federal program is but a magnified blueprint of State aid. Better to get Federal spending down for the day of lower Federal taxes so that the taxpayer can better afford to support his own schools in his own community. That is always the better way.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 3, 1955]

JOBLESS INCREASE AMID PROSPERITY IS GROWING PROBLEM

(By Sylvia Porter)

There are probably more than 3,500,000 American men and women looking for jobs, and when the Government's official tally of unemployment in the February–March period is released, it may show the total above 4 million.

This total admittedly would be an economic red flag and be politically explosive.

Yet, there unquestionably is a rosy glow throughout our economy in this second month of 1955.

There is no doubt that we have been in a rising business trend since the fall of 1954. It well may be that this year our output of goods and service will hit an all-time high.

This is it, the economic paradox of our times: A hard core of unemployment and, at certain seasons, a steeply rising total of jobless in a period of overall good times.

To date, all official statements from the administration have soft-pedaled or ignored this.

In his economic report, for instance, President Eisenhower simply said developments "hold out promise that we shall achieve a high and satisfactory level of employment within the current year."

Yet, the puzzler remains: In today's good times, millions can't find jobs, and in some areas unemployment is critical.

Why this paradox? Let's rip apart the economists' technical jargon, put it into our language. Here are the reasons why:

1. Every year more people are coming into our labor force than are leaving it, and at today's pace of advance, industry is not creating enough new jobs to absorb the extra workers.

The official estimate is that a full million additional workers will be seeking jobs in 1955. To absorb all of these, our economy would have to be expanding at a much faster rate than it is.

2. Every year our workers and machines are becoming more efficient, meaning it is taking fewer workers to turn out the same total of goods.

In November 1954, industry turned out the same total of goods as in November 1953, but with 850,000 fewer workers.

The considered forecast of top experts is that our economy will expand by 10 to 12 billion dollars this year. But to slash unemployment to 1953's good times level, the judgment is that our growth in 1955 would have to reach 25 to 30 billion. Mighty few think this is in the cards.

So this is our choice:

We can settle for a steady but moderate expansion in our economy this year and in the years to come. And we can argue that in this sort of business climate prices will be stable, inflation will remain under control, the dollar's value will hold, and, in the end, America will be stronger and the majority will be better off.

But if we settle for this, we also accept the likelihood that millions of jobless families will find chatter of prosperity a bitter mockery and unemployment will be our key problem.

Or we can insist on a much bigger and faster expansion this year and in the years to come, and we can demand Government actions—immediate tax cuts, speeded-up spending, etc.—to impel the growth.

But if we insist on this, we also accept the risks of a rising price level, a renewed inflation and the danger that the dollar's value will shrink year after year.

This is the dilemma that rises out of the paradox.

Business is not yet facing up to it. Neither is our Government. But both will have to. And how much better for all of us it would be if industry meets the challenge first and thus proves it truly understands its responsibilities and can fight for the freedoms it cherishes.

On Food Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the

Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include an editorial and a column from yesterday's Washington Post and Times-Herald:

BRAKE ON SOVIET POWER

If the Soviet bloc were as successful in expanding its agriculture as it has been in building its industry, it would be a much more formidable opponent of the West than it is today. Agriculture is the real limiting factor in Soviet strength. Nothing that is being done indicates that Russia is about to overcome its weakness in this important area, for the Kremlin is combating human nature, the elements, and vast areas of impoverished land. Today half the population of the Soviet bloc is required for farm work compared to one-third of the population in Western Europe and one-seventh in the United States. "Agricultural production is the tightest bottleneck standing in the way of the further rapid industrialization of both the Soviet Union and the captive countries of Eastern Europe," the Congressional Joint Economic Committee says in a timely report on the relative strength of the Soviet and Western Powers.

Russia's propaganda has glossed over her agricultural failings and boasted of her great industrial gains. Some of these have been extraordinary, but unless the farm picture is taken fully into account it is impossible to get an accurate picture of the Soviet's economic strength. The speed of Soviet industrial development is what has captured the imagination of the underdeveloped countries. Thirty years ago Russia was unimportant as an industrial nation; now it is second only to the United States. Since 1929, Soviet production has expanded at a much greater rate than American production, but in the last 5 years the difference has been narrowed.

The joint committee's report—prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress—says that while the rate of growth in Russia may continue to be higher than in the United States the absolute gap in the size of the two economies will widen over the next two decades as the United States builds from a larger and stronger base. This also is the conclusion of Donald R. Hodgman in his book, Soviet Industrial Production. Further industrial expansion, Professor Hodgman says, will be at a declining rate because so much of the Soviet labor force will continue to be needed on the farm and because technological expansion will not be so rapid as when machines first were introduced.

Three other limiting factors in the development of Russia's industrial potential are inadequate power and transportation, consumer goods, and housing. However, if Russia should develop low-cost atomic power before the West does, its economic position would be materially improved. As was shown by their success in developing atomic and hydrogen bombs, Russian scientists have the skill and the governmental support necessary for very rapid work. Russia does not hesitate to spend great sums of money where it thinks results can be achieved. The Kremlin thus can develop a concentration of effort that may not always be possible in the free countries, and this is an extremely important factor in industrial expansion.

Grover W. Ensley, staff director of the joint committee, emphasizes this point in insisting that "above all, sight must not be lost of the intense, continuing efforts of the Soviet Union to maximize production within its own borders and within those of the captive countries of Europe." It is not enough, he correctly says, to have recovery in the free world. There must be a continued, dynamic economic growth if the West is to maintain its economic lead over the Communist bloc.

A POPULATION MYTH EXPLODED FOR UNITED STATES

(By Herbert Elliston)

Nowadays we are inclined to look outside our shores for what have come to be called the underdeveloped areas. Thinking of what may be done for China with point 4 aid, for instance, we point to that country as a great underdeveloped area. The fact is that nowhere in the world does agriculture reach the same levels of intensive production as in China. Look to the West for the real underdevolpment. Dr. L. Dudley Stamp, the renowned geographer, has written in a new book called, Land for Tomorrow, that one of the outstanding underdeveloped countries is the United States. He estimates that the Mississippi Valley alone should be able to provide enough food for half a billion people, given the application of existing ideas of husbandry.

Dr. Stamp supports his statement about American underdevelopment with data of actual and potential populations that are and could be sustained on land resources now used. He finds that northwestern Europe employs its used acres at maximum. What would happen, he asks, if other arable lands of the world were farmed as efficiently as they are in northwestern Europe? This startling result is what this great authority on land use finds on the basis of a recent, though unstated, year:

Population

[In millions]

	Actual	Potential
England and Wales	44.5	24.5
United States	150.0	500.0
India and Pakistan	420.0	330.0
Canada	13.0	90.0
U. S. S. R.	200.0	556.0

NOTE.—Since this base year our own population has burgeoned to 163,900,000.

Thus the old countries are, by present standards, overpopulated. To cope with overpopulation, Britain imports, India is underfed; while Canada and the United States are not only self-contained but have great possibilities for population increase, and at higher living standards.

Let us now look at the data on population increase to see what is actually going on in this department as recorded by Dr. Stamp.

Our flesh is often made to creep with the statement that the colored races since the war are outstripping and will continue to outstrip the whites. Fifty years ago, Henry and Brooks Adams held to this pessimistic belief. Brooks Adams wrote with inspissated gloom of the passing of the white race as the result of outbreeding on the part of the colored peoples themselves. Negro writers in the United States are sometimes themselves guilty of writing about absorbing the world's white minority. Such writing is much more common now than last century because of the revolutionary fever for independence.

Such a misconception is related to the myth of underdevelopment, and ought to be scotched at the same time. Actually the censuses show that the high rates of natural increase are not in India or China or in Europe, which are overcrowded. Nor are they in Africa, which is overcrowded in big areas and as a whole has lost ground so markedly in a relative sense that the black peoples have dropped from one fifth of the population of the world to one fifteenth. The high, the highest rates of natural increase are in—the Americas.

More narrowly, the English-speaking whites in the Americas have shown the greatest growth since 1945. We are noting, of course, natural increase. The English-speaking whites in the Americas have increased four times as rapidly as the peoples of the world as a whole. Yet it seems only the other day that the experts were forecasting a stationary population for the United States.

Compare the United States and India. In India, the net gain was 13.3 per 1,000 in 1933, but only 1.4 in 1944. In the United States, the net gain shot up from 5.9 per 1,000 in 1933 to 15.7 in 1947. In other words, America is prolific in babies (a record 4,000,000 last year) as in everything else, and in babies who survive as well; and she is outspeeding the word in this department. Truly there is much we believe that is not so.

A final word—about the Soviet Union. Last century it used to be said that the fecundity of the Slav woman was the greatest menace confronting the British Empire. Data, however, are unreliable, even loaded. In 1927 I recall taking a bunch of statistics from Moscow with me to an appointment I had in Berlin with the head of the Reich statistical office, Dr. Ernst Wagemann. In my innocence I said these figures came from statisticians who were retained from the Tsarist regime. "No wonder," Wagemann snorted. "Those fellows were such accomplished liars."

House Joint Resolution 172, Proposing a Constitutional Amendment To Limit the Treatymaking Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, recently the Honorable George A. Finch, an eminent authority on constitutional law, said that "the Yalta agreement is the blackest page in American diplomatic history."

To avoid more Yaltas I have proposed a constitutional amendment that if adopted would limit the treatymaking of the President.

Mr. Speaker, my House Joint Resolution 172 is a revised draft of a constitutional amendment to limit the treatymaking power. It will be observed that it omits in terms the controversial "which" clause.

However, it would not be fair to say that it puts no limitation on the creation of power in Congress to enact legislation through the exercise of the treaty power.

If, as was indicated by the late Chief Justice Hughes in his address before the American Society of International Law in 1929, the treaty power is not subject to any express, and may not be subject to any implied, constitutional limitations, then section 1 does subject the treatymaking power to constitutional limitations.

Section 1 provides that a treaty to become the supreme law of the land must be made pursuant to the Constitution. That provision is intended to overrule the concept that a treaty to be valid need

only be made under the authority of the United States, and not in pursuance of the Constitution, as is the case with statutes. Under this provision treaties as well as statutes must conform to the Constitution.

Section 1 also provides that a treaty must not conflict with any provision of the Constitution. The purpose of that provision is to overcome a possible construction that since the treaty power is created without any express limitations, and perhaps even without any implied limitations, other provisions of the Constitution must be construed and reconciled with the treaty provisions and be regarded as not limiting the power to make treaties; in other words, that other provisions of the Constitution must give way to an unlimited treatymaking power.

An example of what the provision is intended to accomplish is illustrated by the *Pink* case (315 U. S. 203 (1942)). In that case an international agreement made without the advice and consent of the Senate accomplished the taking of property without compensation in violation of the prohibition of the fifth amendment. This taking was held valid. Why should it be possible to assert that a treaty should be permitted to violate constitutional prohibitions? Why should it be possible for a treaty to "override the Constitution"? Why should the treatymaking power be greater than its source, the Constitution of the United States? Why should it be constitutionally possible to cut across the Bill of Rights? He is indeed bold who asserts that it should be possible by treaty to subject an American citizen for an offense committed within our territorial limits to the jurisdiction of an international criminal court without the safeguards which our Constitution provides for the protection of persons charged and tried in our own courts?

The Constitution provides that "all legislative powers" therein granted are vested in the Congress. Can it be doubted that it should not be constitutionally possible by treaty to transfer that power to the Executive or to vest it in an international organization or body?

This does not mean that the power will not exist to make any treaty essential to the proper conduct of our foreign affairs and the carrying on of our external relations. But it does mean that the treaty power must conform to the provisions of the Constitution as a whole and must not violate the intent and spirit of any individual constitutional provision. This resolution will not interfere in any way with the power of the executive branch to conduct our foreign relations and enter into treaties, conventions, and agreements with foreign nations with respect to our external affairs; but it will prevent a violation of the provisions of the Constitution through the exercise of the treatymaking power. For example, it will prevent the taking by treaty of a person's property without due process of law and the payment of just compensation. It will prevent the creation of power in the Congress by international agreement to legislate with respect to those matters that have no legitimate relation to the conduct of our foreign affairs—matters that have traditionally been and should be within the local jurisdiction of the States.

Section 2 places no limitation on the power to make treaties or other international agreements self-executing by virtue of their terms, insofar as they bind the United States under international law as a party thereto, and deal with foreign relations and external affairs; but it does prevent them from becoming internal law within the United States binding on individuals without the sanction of legislation.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I am including the following copy of my resolution hereinbefore referred to as I have introduced it:

House Joint Resolution 172

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the making of treaties and executive agreements

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, within 7 years from the date of its submission:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. A treaty or other international agreement, or any provision thereof, not made in pursuance of this Constitution or in conflict with any of its provisions, shall not be the supreme law of the land nor have any force or effect.

"SEC. 2. A treaty or other international agreement shall be effective as internal law within the United States only through legislation.

"SEC. 3. On the question of advising on, and consenting to, the ratification of a treaty, the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against shall be entered on the Journal of the Senate."

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked—VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, here is the sixth article of the series by Bob Considine telling the story of America's gambling mecca, Las Vegas, which appeared in the Chicago American on January 28, 1955:

LAS VEGAS UNMASKED—OTHER SIDE OF NEVADA'S GAMBLING

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 28.—Nevada treats gambling like any other State treats its biggest industry.

It has surrounded wagering with rules and regulations. It is as dependent upon games of chance as Michigan is on the auto plants.

Many dark illusions have been made to sinister tie-ins between big gambling operators and the politicians at Carson City and elsewhere in the State. Actually, there is little need for the gambling fraternity to spend much money attempting to elect "safe" officials.

An antigambling politician would stand no chance in Nevada. Gambling is as legitimate as churchgoing, but attracts many more people.

The aspiration of Nevada officials is to keep the thing clean and without warfare, to police it as well as a limited budget permits. They also aim to discourage the arrival of hoodlums of too recent vintage.

CRIME GROUP

Newly elected Republican Gov. Charles H. Russell has asked the legislature for a Nevada crime committee, to be set up with private funds. It would be fashioned after similar groups in Illinois, California, New York, and Florida. Russell also has asked for extraordinary personal authority to revoke gambling licenses.

Under present law an operator suspected of violating the codes is first presented with a show cause order. Weeks and months usually drag on while an inquiry is made.

Russell wants the right to clamp down in a hurry, an authority which successive Nevada legislatures have withheld from their governors.

Gambling in Nevada is controlled by the State Tax Commission, a seven-man group named and headed by the governor. The commissioners are chosen from loftier professions, serve without pay, and currently appear to be held in a combination of respect and awe by most operators.

GAMBLING LAW

The Nevada gambling law was passed in 1931 when the State teetered on the brink of bankruptcy because its mining and cattle industries were almost extinct. It covered 15 pages of fine print. Basically, it provides:

No operation may begin until the applicant has obtained all the required licenses—State, county, city, or town. The granting of a license by one political subdivision is not binding upon another. Refusal to grant a license by one licensing agency renders the remainder inoperative.

All applicants for licenses are fingerprinted and the prints checked with the FBI. Along the Las Vegas "strip" no one can receive a license who has been convicted within 5 years of the date of application. In the city itself, the limit is 20 years.

Names and records of partners and stockholders owning 2 percent or more of a gambling place must be supplied under pain of losing the license.

No person licensed to conduct gambling in Nevada may own or control any interest of any kind in gambling establishments or games in States where gambling is illegal.

Regular inspection of gaming equipment and slot machines is provided by law. Violators who tamper with the dice, cards, wheels, and machines are subject to a fine of $1,000 or 6 months in jail, or both.

INCOME RISES

When Bugsy Siegel came to Las Vegas and brewed his dreams of making it the gambling mecca of the country, the State had no concept of what it might draw out of the lusty industry.

In 1945 the State's bit came to only $100,792.22. In mid-1947 Nevada increased its tax bite from 1 percent to 2, put a fee on tables and instituted a tighter system of small fines for minor infractions. In 1950 it taxed the race-wire business.

By 1953 its 2 percent of the gross winnings amounted to $1,668,896.86. Additional levies and fines brought the figure to $2,170,272.21—plus $350,000 from pari mutuel racing.

One can only guess how much money is brought into the State treasury indirectly

from gambling. Only a microscopic fraction of the stream of visitors to Nevada fails to stop off and spend money for goods, services, or at games of chance. There is a furious building program in the Las Vegas area. Real estate has skyrocketed in value.

WORKERS ARRIVE

Gambling has brought thousands of workers to Nevada, notably to Las Vegas, to man the big establishments. More and more build homes, take root, and contribute to the State through property taxes and other ways. Lt. Gov. Rex Bell, former Hollywood cowpoke, declares:

"I don't know why we should be put in the position of apologizing for our gambling industry.

"Does New York apologize for Belmont Park? Does California apologize for Santa Anita? No. But everybody knows that racing doesn't give the player nearly the honest shake that, say, dice does. There aren't enough people in the whole State of Nevada to keep a New York or California racetrack going."

Big operators around Las Vegas fear that what they call the "Bible belt" Congressmen in Washington soon will be demanding a Federal share of money being gambled all over the State.

HIGHER TAXES

They plead a Federal tax would be confiscatory. But they seem resigned to the fact that the politicos at Carson City will in time increase the State tax. At this writing there are plans for a jump to 4 percent. The operators will fight it.

Some of gambling's earliest promoters here were criminals. A handful remain, but the trend long has been toward respectability.

The older thugs are in happy retirement here, by and large, content to sit back and let the house percentage take care of them.

COLLEGE TRAINED

The elders lean more and more on young men they scarcely would have trusted in the old days. These are mostly college trained and willing to put in long hours.

The prototype of this second generation of important figures in the Las Vegas gambling, hotel and entertainment picture is Allard Roen of the Desert Inn—which was begun by Wilbur Clark and completed by a Cleveland bootlegging and gambling combination, which retains control.

In response to queries, Roen writes:

"Our earnings are made on a relatively small percentage and operate no more dramatically than the stock market fluctuations.

"Owners and operators of Las Vegas and Reno establishments are busy training a new group of younger people to handle this occupation. I am of this group. I was graduated from Duke University in 1942, majoring in business administration. I entered the Navy in 1943 and served until 1947, a period which included 27 months in the Pacific and participation in several engagements, including Okinawa. I left with the grade of senior lieutenant.

"I studied complete hotel management, for that is what this hotel embraces. My work entails booking and supervising the production of our stage shows, setting up credit systems for casino as well as hotel operations, and a host of other duties which include scheduling and handling the activities of our annual golf Tournament of Champions, from whose proceeds we donate each year $35,000 to the Damon Runyon Cancer Fund.

"Beyond a program of perpetual building, the revamping of existing structures, and maintaining this 400-room operation, I work closely with Lawrence Hughes, who built our golf course from the desert up.

"These multifarious details have been my responsibility. I, too, have just completed a home on the course for my wife, Evelyn, and our daughters, Priscilla and Judith Anne.

"There is no onus attached to gambling in Las Vegas. The community has a good moral tone, a low crime rate, a population of almost 50,000 who attend 35 churches of all denominations. There is a good junior and senior grade school system. Residents, in general, are proud of Las Vegas.

BRINGS PROSPERITY

"The present prosperity of Las Vegas is, of course, due to gambling. Most Americans know this is a legal business in Nevada, carefully controlled by officials appointed by the Governor.

"Gambling in Nevada is directed by men who have been engaged in this occupation for many years. Western States were a natural for gambling, what with mining camps, prospectors, and quick fortunes in gold and silver mines. Nevada comes honestly by this principal occupation. It was a pioneer business, once illegal but now respectable and very important to the State's economy.

"Those who are attracted to Nevada to practice the business of gambling were men who had learned their trade elsewhere, and beyond the law. Until recent times there were no legal practitioners of this business because there was no place to learn it in the full light of legality.

HIS PHILOSOPHY

"You ask me to outline my philosophy about choosing this career. I feel that many of the biggest fortunes in our country were originated by men who ignored the laws of the time to take advantage of the natural needs of supply and demand.

"These included fur trappers, land poachers, cattle rustlers, early railroad barons, and bootleggers, among others. But time and a new life within the law and the raising of families placed their descendants among the blue bloods of the Nation's society.

"In the old days of floating crap games and high-stakes contests an operator might make a quick killing and move his action to another locale.

"Our setup is different. We are now, and hope to remain, a permanent fixture in Las Vegas, performing in a perfectly legitimate manner. To the very best of my knowledge, the operators are civic-minded and charitable and have been exemplary members of the community.

"I do hope this gives you another view of our town."

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked—VII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the following is the seventh and last article in the series by Bob Considine on the story of Las Vegas, the gambling capital of the United States, which was published in the Chicago American on January 29, 1955:

CHICAGO HOODLUMS HOLD HIGH SPOTS IN VICE CITY

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 29.—If you collect characters, this is your town.

If you want contrasts, buy a ticket to Las Vegas, which was located a million miles from nowhere until circumstances turned it into the world's lushest gambling spa, serviced by several airlines, the Union Pacific Railroad, bus companies, and fine roads.

If an early figure in the gambling business in Las Vegas, Tutor Scherer, a well-educated and frequently married man, took a full page in the January issue of Las Vegas Magazine, hired an artist to draw the head of a man looking hungrily at a voluptuous doll, and with his eye in a fine frenzy rolling, wrote:

"I love your hands;
I hold them.
I love your arms;
I fold them.
I love your lips;
I kiss them.
I love your eyes;
I miss them
When closed in sleep."

—Tutor Scherer, Poet Laureate of Nevada.

Scherer, in his 70's, married Laveeda Marie Varley in what turned out to be Las Vegas' biggest social event of 1951. The attractive bride, about half a century his junior, was a former cocktail waitress and bingo manager.

TWENTY-FIVE-THOUSAND-DOLLAR CHAMPAGNE PARTY

The champagne party after the wedding was reputed to have set back the happy poet-gambler $25,000, and the necklace he gave his bride was valued in the local press at $50,000.

Not long after this happy event, Tutor showed up in a hospital shot through both legs, but filed no complaint.

Shortly thereafter, Laveeda sued for divorce and, in court, estimated her husband's income at a good $50,000 a year more than the President of the United States receives. Several of his friends were offended because, they said, she low-rated him.

The poet laureate is happily remarried, this time to Judy Cauley, 24-year-old former cocktail waitress.

Las Vegas lost a colorful resident when Benny Binion, once of Dallas, was cordially invited to jail as a tax dodger.

Benny, an old-style gambling operator who would also gamble, arrived in Las Vegas somewhat hurriedly several years ago in the wake of an indictment that associated him with the numbers business in the Dallas area and a dynamiting job on the car of a business rival, Herbert Noble.

Mrs. Noble, unfortunately, was the one to step on the starter of the car, touching off the volcanic charge.

Binion was succeeded in the operation of the huge Horseshoe Club in downtown Las Vegas by Joe W. Brown, who casually paid him $858,000 for the property and is proud of the fact that he got his license pronto.

Brown has oil and gas holdings that bring him $40,000 a month, and made a great fortune running gambling establishments in New Orleans in competition to Frank Costello and Phil Kastell, and in Texas.

A distinguished-looking and articulate man, Brown told me as we sat in his office, not far from the $1 million in cash he has on display at his front door:

"Don't listen to any talk that I have silent partners. The only partner I have in this enterprise is Mrs. Brown. I didn't need this, financially. I went into it to help Binion, a friend of mine, though it didn't turn out to be much help to him. Also I had a dozen fellows who had been with me a long time in gambling operations, and I wanted to see they had a steady place to work in."

Brown, who has 50 thoroughbreds in training, and owned the famous Dorsett line, employs 400 in his Casino at wages ranging from $50 a day pit men (supervisors) to $25 a day dealers. His payroll runs a couple of million dollars a year. He told me:

"But I make money here. I want anything I do to be a success. It's a matter of pride, I guess."

I asked him if he was ever tempted to gamble himself. He seemed surprised, and said:

"We get a 1.40 percent break on craps and the rest of the games give us more. If I went against that, even the dice I figure my arm would drop off."

A MONEY-MAD TOWN

"But," he continued, listening contentedly to the offstage sounds of a busy day, "I guess a lot of people don't agree."

Las Vegas is a town which produced an $8,000-a-year executive secretary who quit her job to become a cocktail waitress in one of the "strip" hotels. Figured she could make more money—and had the figure to do it.

It is a place where one of the property holders—apartment houses—is Marshall Caifano, who made the mistake of going over to Beverly Hills, Calif., the weekend before last. There, Police Chief Clinton C. Anderson arrested him for failure to register as a convicted felon—a precaution Caifano (a handsome Chicago hoodlum also known as Joe Russo, Frank Rinaldi, and George Mariani) does not have to take in Las Vegas. He was fined $50 and told to blow.

Anderson said Caifano had a record of 12 arrests between 1929 and 1952, including arrests on murder, auto theft, and bank-robbery charges.

Caifano is expected to get a thorough-going inspection from the Nevada Crime Committee when and is set up. He has not applied for a gambling license, which would have to be screened by the State tax commission. The crime committee, however, is not limited to such things.

VIRGIL PETERSON'S OPINION

Las Vegas police say Caifano, sometimes called Mr. Marshall, is the messenger for Tony Accardo, who once was arrested as a vagrant (one of the richest ever) in the city of Las Vegas but is welcome along the "strip" outside.

Virgil Peterson, director of the Chicago Crime Commission, calls Caifano important in what is left of the Capone organization.

Insiders say that in June of last year a meeting was held in Chicago which served as a test of strength oetween Accardo and Paul (the Waiter) Ricca, jockeying for the overall top spot. The meeting proved indecisive.

A second meeting was held in July with Frank (Buster) Wortman, syndicate chief in East St. Louis, and his lieutenant, Elmer (Dutch) Dowling, attending along with Accardo and Ricca. Johnny Torrio, Chicago boss before Capone, sat in as mediator. Still nothing conclusive.

In August a third meeting was held, this time in Las Vegas. Caifano sat in on that one, along with Phil (Milwaukee) Alderisio and James (the Weasel) Fratianno. Meyer and Jake Lansky were on hand, too, according to reports.

These meetings preceded the violent deaths of Charles (Cherry Nose) Gioe and Frank (the Immune) Maritote, Al Capone's brother-in-law and one-time muscleman for the outfit.

Caifano, who carries a slight cauliflower from his ring days, is the younger brother of Leonard (Fats) Caifano, killed in 1951 while attempting to kidnap Theodore Roe, wealthy Negro numbers king in Chicago. Marshall was picked up for questioning in that case but Roe could not identify him. A few weeks later, Roe was killed.

CAIFANO'S CHICAGO CAREER

Caifano was a familiar figure on Chicago police blotters by 1943 when he was questioned in the bludgeoning and burning to death of Estelle Carey, dice girl and friend of a hoodlum named Nick (Dean) Circella, now fighting deportation.

In 1950 he was questioned again after the murder of former Chicago police lieutenant William Drury, foe of Accardo and Jake (Greasy Thumb) Guzik.

When he was arrested in the Roe case, it meant the 19th time he had been pinched for crimes ranging from bad to worse.

But Mr. Marshall up to now is as accepted along the "strip" of Las Vegas as Marlene Dietrich, who was paid somewhere in the neighborhood of $25,000 a week for singing and wearing a dress with a plastic bodice, or that even more welcome soul, Joe Blow, a visitor eager to try his hand at the tables.

Caifano lives or lived not far from the Last Frontier Hotel in whose dining room the Rotary Club, among other local civic groups, meets.

I went to one of the club's luncheons during my stay in Las Vegas early this month. It could have been a Rotary luncheon in Osawatomie, Kans., or Snohomish, Wash.

ROTARY FUNCTIONS NORMALLY

We sang America, pledged allegiance to the flag, ate chicken and peas, sang Happy Birthday to a lot of fine elderly members, and listened to a speech on communism by Chet Lauck, who is Lum of Lum and Abner, and had just returned from making a TV film in Yugoslavia.

Explained Maxwell Kelch, who runs radio station KENO:

"Las Vegas has three populations. First are the tourists, who range from 20,000 to 25,000 a day, even in summertime—now that almost everything is air conditioned.

"Then there is the gambling fraternity, perhaps 8,000 to 10,000 strong and tending now to be less transient and settle here.

"And finally the basic population, moral and sober sided. There's a church for nearly every 1,000 of us. We're building new schoolrooms at the rate of about 2 a day. Our bank accounts are about 75 percent demand, or checking accounts, and 25 percent savings, which is about right for an expanding area.

"The locals do little gambling. In fact, I don't think the operators like to have us around the tables. But we're not too hard to discourage. We just have other things on our minds. That's why the racetrack here failed. A track needs a solid local gambling backing. We couldn't supply it."

GAMBLING HELL IN NEXT ROOM

While we ate, sang, prayed, and listened to Lum on Tito, action was fast and loud in the next room of what was then largely Jake Kozloff's Gambling Hell.

Since then, Jake has bowed out and been replaced chiefly by Belden Katleman, young (36) lone wolf with a nongangster background who has almost if not all of El Rancho Vegas down the road.

Jake won't starve, exactly. Years ago as time is measured in fast-moving Las Vegas he picked up a slab of desert hard by the colorful old Last Frontier. It cost him the Vegas equivalent of peanuts.

It cost him $40,000 in 1948. It is now worth $550,000.

There are a variety of stories as to why Kozloff, a former brewer, bowed out. He denies the report that it is a result of Katleman's vigorous demand—as a stockholder—that the books be scrutinized.

Kozloff, the favorite innkeeper of the younger and livelier nuclear physicists who come to Las Vegas for A-bomb tests, says he agrees with oldtime downtown gambler Guy McAfee, who states:

"Gamblers have too much invested to gamble with trouble. We'd be knocked right out of the box."

Gambling in Las Vegas, and probably elsewhere through the State, often has financial structures and labyrinths which would confound the wolf of Wall Street.

The Hot Dice Hotel and Casino, to name a mythical spot, but one not far from actuality, may have up to 50 owners of the basic corporation, which owns the land and the main building. But they've usually plunked down only a downpayment on this property and have a husky mortgage to sweat out.

CORPORATIONS GALORE

The basic corporation, once it has its license, leases out the gambling, the bar, restaurants, newsstand, and other shops.

Whoever takes over the gambling concession usually must underwrite the loss on the cabaret, where the floor show could cost almost as much per week as fine long-playing Broadway productions used to cost.

Often the gambling equipment is on lease from as many as 10 different corporations.

If the Hot Dice Hotel and Casina takes hold, it begins to expand. A wing of rooms is put up by a new finance group and leased back to the basic corporation, which may guarantee as much as a 12- to 25-percent-a-year return on the investment.

And so on. One famous "strip" hotel and casino is a nest of 67 separate corporations and leases.

People, by and large, don't seem to care. They are pouring through Las Vegas, for instance, at the rate of about a million a year, leaving behind tens of millions of dollars. They would rather see "Nick the Greek" play faro or "go with the house" all night at dice than know about the worries and connivings of the operators behind the scenes.

Americans like to gamble, and as long as Las Vegas lasts they won't have the slightest difficulty getting a little action—with girls, comedians, crooners, attractive hotel rates, sun, A-bombs, jet planes, and a dam named Hoover to boot.

The Tragedy of Yalta Should Be Repudiated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, today, February 7, 1955, marks an anniversary in history. Not a glorious anniversary for celebration and rejoicing, for honor and commemoration, but the anniversary of an event which has cast a shadow across the bright unsullied shield of the United States itself. Today, February 7, is the 10th anniversary of the "Big Three" meeting at Yalta which led to the now infamous Yalta agreement.

This was an agreement reached by Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt. It was an agreement entered into by Franklin Delano Roosevelt as a great career was fast drawing to its close. Ill, worn by the terrible responsibility of the war years, forced to look to those he trusted for the facts upon which to base his momentous decision, with a scant 60-odd days of life remaining, Roosevelt in the eyes of history made a tragic mistake in entering into the Yalta agreement.

The United States was just emerging triumphant in victory in the last months of World War II. By force of arms and sacrifice, at the cost of the youth of our Nation, a war was won. At Yalta in a few ill-fated hours, the victory and the peace were irrevocably lost.

A decade of uneasy peace, hot and cold war, record spending and debt which has

placed a yoke of high taxes, military conscription, and depleted value of currency upon the American people has emerged as the result of the Yalta agreement.

Through the door opened at Yalta, Russian imperialistic expansion has reached the proportions of a menace to all freedom-loving nations of the world.

During the last decade China has been lost to the Reds. Poland was abandoned to Soviet domination. The Iron Curtain was forged shutting off millions from the freedom they had cherished and fought for. Korea brought a futile war where for the first time in the history of the United States victory was not the objective. Indochina fell.

And today only the 11th hour decision of our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, to stand firm in the Far East to stem the Communist aggression of Red China, and the instant backing of his policy by the Congress, has momentarily stemmed the Red tide.

The Yalta agreement was indeed the opening of a modern Pandora's box which has brought and is still bringing tragedy to the free world.

But we can be grateful for one thing. The Yalta agreement was never given the force of a treaty. It was referred to the Senate but it was never ratified, and thus is not legally binding upon the United States.

And its complete repudiation should be effected by the Congress and the Executive to eliminate all doubt as to the position of the United States on this agreement.

To fully realize the infamy of the Yalta Agreement, perhaps the best example for examination is the tragic plight of Poland, a nation which throughout its history has championed the cause of individual freedom and religious tolerance, two of the most cherished ideals of our own Nation and fundamental to our American philosophy.

The Poles have founght courageously and tirelessly in the face of insurmountable odds to restore freedom to Poland during their darkest hours of enslavement. During the black years of partition, Polish legionnaires fought with French troops in the hope that a Napoleonic victory would bring liberation to Poland. Seventy thousand of them marched with Napoleon's Grand Army into Russia, and the battlefields of Europe heard the song of the Polish legions:

> Poland has not perished wholly
> While we live to own her.

This song is echoed in the hearts of Poles wherever they may be found in the world today.

Parliamentary procedure existed in Poland dating from 1454, and as early as 1505 Poland gave its citizens the greatest guaranty of personal freedom and independence. It was a nation where religious wars never took place in spite of the deep religious conviction of its people.

As an example of Polish tolerance, these were the words of Chancellor Zamoyski, who served the Polish people during the reign of Stephen Batory. Referring to Poles who had strayed from the church, he said:

> I would give half my life if those who have abandoned the church should voluntarily return to its fold; but I would rather give all my life than suffer anybody to be constrained to do it, for I would rather die than witness such oppression.

Poland regained its independence as a nation at the end of World War I as a result of the Allied victory. The work of restoration of the Republic was monumental, but great strides were made and a nation described as "by the whole of the people for the whole of the people" emerged.

It is, indeed, a tragedy that the Allied victory in World War II and the resultant Yalta agreement destroyed Polish hopes of freedom and independence.

Poland enjoyed a scant 20 years of liberation before the German invasion, and now Poles in all parts of the world as well as in the Polish homeland pray for independence for their nation, which was denied at Yalta.

It is high time the Congress of the United States takes official action to repudiate the Yalta agreement which has brought so many millions under the Communist domination of Soviet Russia, and on this 10th anniversary of the Yalta agreement I sincerely urge that this action be taken without further delay.

Administration Health Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced the administration's health bill, H. R. 3720. It is an omnibus bill that has six titles. These separate titles provide the necessary legislation to make effective the several recommendations made by President Eisenhower in his health message addressed to Congress.

The enactment of the legislation would go far in providing improved health facilities for our people. It deserves the favorable consideration of the Congress.

The following is a summary of the several titles of the bill as they deal with separate features of the legislation:

SUMMARY OF TITLE I—HEALTH SERVICES PREPAYMENT PLANS

IN GENERAL

As a partial attack on the problem of making needed health services and facilities available to the maximum number of people on a prepayment basis, this title of the bill would authorize a two-pronged program within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, namely (a) technical advisory and informational services, without charge, to health services prepayment plans, and (b) reinsurance for health services prepayment plans established and operated by commercial insurance carriers or by nonprofit carriers.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

1. The bill would vest all responsibility for the administration of the program in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. (Under existing law, the Secretary could delegate all or any part of this function and either place it in an existing major unit within the Department or place it in a new unit.)

2. The bill would provide for a national advisory council on health services prepayment plans consisting of 12 members appointed by the President, one of whom would be designated by the President as chairman. The council would advise, consult with, and make recommendations to the Secretary on matters of policy relating to the Secretary's activities and functions under this title of the bill.

3. In addition to authorizing, in general terms, utilization of other Federal agencies, or of any other public or nonprofit agency or institution, the bill would provide for maximum utilization by the Secretary of the various State insurance departments (or other State agencies supervising carriers of health services prepayment plans), especially in determining compliance with requirements and standards prescribed by the Secretary as a condition of approval of a health services prepayment plan for reinsurance. Final responsibility for such determinations would, of course, rest with the Secretary.

4. Regulations under this title of the bill could not authorize any Federal officer or employee to exercise any supervision or regulatory control over any participating carrier, or over any hospital or other health facility or personnel furnishing personal health services covered by a participating prepayment plan.

TECHNICAL AND ADVISORY SERVICES

Under this part of the program, the Secretary would be authorized to conduct studies and collect information on the organizational, actuarial, and other problems of health services prepayment plans, make the results of such studies and the information so collected generally available, and provide to sponsors of such plans, without charge, organizational and other technical advice and information, including information on morbidity and organizational methods.

For this part of the program a separate appropriation would be authorized.

REINSURANCE PROGRAM

1. Four types of plans would be eligible for reinsurance under title I of the bill.

(a) Plans for average and lower income families: These are plans designed primarily to provide reasonable coverage for families of average or lower income, and which meet certain requirements set forth in the bill. These requirements are—

(1) For service type plans, provision of—

(i) Seventy or more days hospitalization per year;

(ii) in-hospital surgical and other medical care;

(iii) home and office physician care.

(2) For indemnity-type plans—

(i) not more than 15 percent coinsurance for hospital care, 25 percent for physician care, and 25 percent for other care and services included in the plan;

(ii) maximum deductible of $100 per illness per beneficiary or $150 per year per beneficiary or family and maximum liability of at least $750 per illness per beneficiary, or $1,000 per year per beneficiary or family.

(3) For both types of plans—

(i) no illness exclusions (except for certain specified illnesses, such as tuberculosis, etc.);

(ii) maximum age of at least 70 years and automatic renewal on reasonable terms after 5 years;

(iii) conversion of group policies on reasonable terms;

(iv) compliance with other requirements in regulations.

(b) Major medical expense plans: These are plans designed to provide protection against the exceptionally high costs of medi-

cal and hospital care per illness per beneficiary, which meet certain specified conditions. These are: Not more than 25 percent coinsurance (with respect to the personal health services specified in the plan), coverage of all illnesses (except for certain specified ones), conversion of group policies on reasonable terms, and other requirements in regulations.

(c) Plans for rural area families: Plans designed primarily for rural area families which comply with requirements in regulations.

(d) Other plans: Other plans which will carry out the purposes of this title of the bill and which comply with requirements in regulations.

The Secretary would also be authorized, as a condition of granting reinsurance, to establish by regulation terms, conditions, and requirements as to the other types and kinds of prepayment plans which will be reinsured, coinsurance, deductible amounts, etc.

2. This program is designed to be self-sustaining, over a reasonable term, through reinsurance premiums paid into a revolving reinsurance fund. An appropriation of not to exceed $100 million to a capital-advance account in the Treasury would be authorized, which would be available, without fiscal-year limitation, as a line of credit for advances of working capital to the reinsurance fund. When and as the condition of the fund permits, such advances would be repayable to the capital-advance account and the amount so repaid would again be available for future advances to the fund if needed. Until repayment, interest on the outstanding balance of advances to the fund would be payable to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

3. Reinsurance premiums would, pursuant to regulation, be fixed by the Secretary at rates determined with a view to achieving the objectives of the program and fiscal self-sufficiency over a reasonable term. Such premiums could, and probably would, be fixed separately for each plan (for the initial reinsurance term, and thereafter again for each renewal term).

4. Reinsurance liabilities under the program would be limited to and paid from the fund, except that the Secretary could set up separate reinsurance accounts within the fund, in which event liability would be limited to the account to which a plan is allocated. It would be possible, under this provision, to establish, for example, special reinsurance accounts for each of the types of plans eligible for reinsurance as described above in paragraph 1, for classes of carriers, or for members of a group of affiliated or associated carriers.

5. The fund would be invested in Federal, or federally guaranteed, interest-bearing securities.

6. Authority to write reinsurance in a given field would be subject to a standby or no-competition provision. That is to say, the Secretary could reinsure plans of a given kind or type only if, in the Secretary's judgment, reinsurance for such plans, on terms and conditions, and at premium rates, comparable to those offered under this title of the bill, is not available from private sources to an extent adequate to promote the purposes of the program. By implication, the Secretary would have to stop writing reinsurance when such a finding could no longer be made.

7. Reinsurance for a plan could not be granted unless (a) the applicant carrier is operating and proposes to operate according to law, (b) there is no reason to believe that the carrier is financially unsound or that it operates in an unsafe manner, (c) the reinsurance of the plan will promote the purposes of the program, (d) the carrier agrees to submit such reports concerning its operations under the reinsured plan as the Secretary may from time to time reasonably require, (e) the carrier has agreed to the reinsurance premium rate fixed by the Secretary for the plan, and (f) the plan, the policies or contracts thereunder, and proposed method of operation comply with the terms and conditions prescribed for reinsurance. Certification by the State insurance department (or corresponding supervisory agency) of the carrier's home State as to whether there is reason to believe the carrier is financially unsound or unsafe, as determined in accordance with criteria established by the Secretary, could be accepted by the Secretary as conclusive. As to utilization of State agencies with respect to (f), see paragraph 8.

8. As a condition of granting reinsurance, the Secretary could, among other things, specify (a) minimum benefits; (b) safeguards against undue exclusions of preexisting conditions or of specific illnesses, or against other undue exclusions or limitations; (c) standards for deductible and coinsurance provisions, limits of maximum liability, waiting periods for benefits, and other such policy provisions; (d) standards for the duration, cancellability, and renewability of such policies or contracts; and (e) standards for plan provisions with respect to costs and charges of providers of personal health services payable by the carrier, to the extent such standards are necessary to protect the fund against abuses or arbitrary cost increases. The Secretary would be precluded from reinsuring any plan for which the carrier's premium rates are such as to make the plan financially unsound, or any plan with respect to which the carrier's breakdown of its single-premium rate, as between reinsured and nonreinsured types of benefit costs, is unreasonable, or any plan reinsurance of which would not promote the purposes of this title of the bill, but in other respects the Secretary would be precluded from setting any standards for the carrier's premium rates. The State insurance department or corresponding State agency of a carrier's home State (as defined) would, if willing, be utilized to certify to the Secretary whether the plan complies with the terms and conditions stipulated as a condition of granting reinsurance.

9. The Secretary could not approve for reinsurance any plan for direct provision of medical or dental services by the carrier through a salaried staff of physicians, surgeons, or dentists in the employ of such carrier, unless the carrier has an organizational structure vesting control over the practice of medicine or dentistry solely in duly licensed members of the professions involved.

10. The liability of the reinsurance fund with respect to a reinsured plan would be fixed and limited as follows:

(a) *The reinsurance base*

The fund would not underwrite all of the carrier's annual benefit costs under the plan. Rather, the reinsured portion of such costs would be limited to the excess, if any, of

(1) aggregate annual incurred benefit costs under the plan, over

(2) the difference between (1) gross annual earned premium income and (ii) a portion of such income called the "administrative-expense allowance."

The administrative-expense allowance applicable to a given year for a reinsured plan would be determined by multiplying the gross earned premium income for the year by seven-eighths of the carrier's preestimated (and thus predetermined, prior to the commencement of the reinsurance term into which the year falls) ratio of its annual administrative expenses under the plan[1] to its annual earned premium income under the plan.

Thus, before reinsurance would begin to apply, the carrier would in effect have to absorb fully out of its premium income, as benefit costs, (1) the anticipated portion of premium income normally devoted to benefit costs for such a plan, (2) the portion anticipated as available for profits (in the case of a carrier organized for profit) and for contingencies, and (3) one-eighth of the portion of premium income anticipated as administrative expenses. However, there is one variation of the foregoing for rural-area plans. Instead of absorbing one-eighth of the anticipated administrative expenses, the carrier could at its option absorb 2 percent of its anticipated premium income if this would result in reinsurance of a larger portion of its benefit costs.

Procedurally, the ratio of administrative expenses to earned premium income of the carrier under the plan would be estimated by the carrier, and that estimate would be submitted, with supporting data, with the application for initial reinsurance or renewal of reinsurance. In order to prevent distortion, the Secretary could require the submission of an average ratio based on a period not in excess of 3 years. The carrier's estimate would have to be approved by the Secretary unless considered to be unreasonable or not in good faith.

For plans operated to a substantial extent on the basis of personal health services to be furnished by the carrier directly through its own staff or indirectly through the staff of an affiliate, or on the basis of payments made by the carrier to a provider of personal health services which is an affiliate of the carrier, the above formula would not apply, but the Secretary would, by regulation, prescribe a formula calculated to achieve for such plans reinsurance protection reasonably comparable in scope and extent to that provided for other types, taking into account their inherent differences.

(b) *Coinsurance*

The liability of the fund would be limited to 75 percent of the carrier's reinsured cost so arrived at. This is an adoption, for this purpose, of the principle of coinsurance.

11. The reinsurance term would be stipulated for a given (regular) period, e. g., a year, in the reinsurance certificate, but the Secretary could, by or pursuant to regulation, provide for letting the reinsurance term extend beyond such regular period with respect to policies or subscriber contracts issued during such period and running beyond it. Also authorized pursuant to regulations would be the combination of a carrier's experience under two or more reinsured plans during the same term. In addition, regulations could provide for the extent to which experience during a term will be combined with experience during extensions thereof and the extent to which policies issued during, but running beyond, the reinsurance term will be treated as though issued in a subsequent term.

12. Reinsurance for a plan could be terminated by the Secretary on any ground specified in regulations in effect not less than 90 days in advance of the commencement of the current initial or renewal term of such reinsurance. However, reinsurance with respect to policies or subscriber con-

[1] As here used, the term "administrative expenses" is intended to include all of the carrier's expenses and charges incurred under the plan, except the benefit costs and except any provision for contingencies, profits, dividends, and refunds. The Secretary would be authorized to define "administrative expenses" for such purposes more particularly.

tracts in effect on the effective date of such termination would remain in force until the normal expiration of the term.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. The bill would confer broad powers on the Secretary with respect to enforcement or settlement of claims, and would authorize the Secretary to hold hearings, etc., in connection with investigations under the program.

2. Criminal penalties would be imposed, not only for falsely advertising or representing that a carrier is reinsured or has applied for reinsurance but, regardless of the truth or falsity of the representation, also if the representation is not authorized by, or fails to conform to, regulations prescribed by the Secretary.

3. The effective date would be the 30th day following enactment, but in view of the necessity for a preparatory period the Secretary would not be required to receive or consider applications for reinsurance before a date determined by the Secretary.

SUMMARY OF TITLE II—MORTGAGE INSURANCE FOR CONSTRUCTION OF HEALTH FACILITIES

IN GENERAL

In order to facilitate further the financing and development of needed facilities, the bill would authorize the establishment, within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, of a program of mortgage insurance to stimulate, on a self-sustaining basis, a continuing flow of private credit to finance the construction, expansion, modernization, and conversion of privately owned and operated health facilities. It would also remove certain restrictions on certain federally regulated lending institutions with respect to their investments in loans on real property in the case of such federally insured mortgages, and the existence of the program would encourage the removal of similar restrictions imposed on such loans under State law.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

1. The bill would vest responsibility for the administration of the program in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Under existing law the Secretary could delegate all or any part of this function and either place it in an existing major unit within the Department or place it in a new unit. In addition, the bill carries express authority to utilize, by delegation or otherwise, the services and facilities of any other Federal agency by agreement with the head of the agency.

2. The bill would authorize the Secretary to consult with and otherwise use the services of existing advisory councils, to appoint new members to serve with such councils for purposes of this program, or to establish additional advisory groups as deemed necessary.

3. Except as otherwise specifically provided, no Federal officer or employee would be authorized to exercise any supervision or control over the administration, personnel, or operation of any privately owned and operated health facility. The bill also expressly precludes any possibility of its being interpreted as authorizing any association or corporation to engage in the practice of healing or medicine as defined by State law, or as conferring on any person the right to exercise any control over any individual's personal right to select his own hospital, physician, or group of physicians.

FINANCING OF THE PROGRAM

1. The health facilities mortgage insurance program is designed as a self-sustaining business-type financial operation. Premiums for insurance of the principal of eligible mortgages would be paid into a revolving fund, to be known as the health facilities mortgage insurance fund, which would be used for carrying out the program. An initial appropriation of $10 million, and such additional sums thereafter as necessary, would be authorized for the purpose of establishing a separate working-capital account from which needed capital would be transferred to the health facilities mortgage insurance fund by the Secretary. Such capital advances would be repayable to the working-capital account as the condition of the insurance fund permits, beginning not later than July 1, 1965, and would then be available for future advances to the fund on like terms. (Interest would accrue to the Treasury on such capital advances, and would be payable annually as and when sufficient reserves, etc., have been built up in the insurance fund.) Should additional funds be required to meet liabilities incurred under insurance contracts of the program, such funds could be obtained by the sale of notes or other interest-bearing obligations to the Treasury, which would become liabilities of the insurance fund and be redeemable out of income and other assets of the fund. This line of credit has a limit of $25 million or, if greater, 75 percent of the outstanding total insurance under the program.

2. The aggregate authorized insurance outstanding at any one time would be limited to $200 million. This program ceiling could be raised by the President up to an aggregate increase of $150 million, if he determined that such increases were in the public interest.

3. The Secretary would be authorized to fix premium charges at rates adequate to cover expenses and reserves but not in excess of 1 percent of the outstanding principal obligation of insured mortgages. Reasonable charges for appraisal and inspection would also be authorized.

ELIGIBILITY FOR MORTGAGE LOAN INSURANCE

1. Mortgages would be eligible for insurance if made to secure loans to finance health facilities conforming to standards of construction and equipment satisfactory to the Secretary and to all applicable requirements of State law. The mortgagor would also be required, as a condition of eligibility, to give satisfactory assurance that operation and maintenance of the completed facility would be in compliance with applicable requirements of State law. No mortgagor would be eligible who was not the owner and operator, or prospective operator, of the facility and who could not satisfy the Secretary as to his responsibility and ability to repay. However, employers and nonprofit organizations (as defined) would be considered "operators" for purposes of this program if they owned the facility and had made contractual arrangements with providers of health services to use the facility primarily for furnishing services in the facility for such owner's employees, subscribers, or members, or their dependents, under a plan of such employer or organization, though use of the facility would not necessarily be restricted to such employees, subscribers, members, or dependents. No mortgagee would be eligible unless approved by the Secretary as responsible and able to service the mortgage properly.

2. The mortgage insurance program would assist in financing the new construction, or expansion, modernization, and so forth, of a wide variety of health facilities, including hospitals, diagnostic or treatment centers, nursing homes licensed by the States, and rehabilitation centers. It would not be available to finance facilities devoted primarily to domiciliary care. The loan secured by the insured mortgage could include costs of construction, initial equipment, and site acquisition, and, in the case of expansion, remodeling, or conversion of an existing building, it could include the cost of acquiring the existing building and site or of refinancing an existing indebtedness thereon.

3. Mortgage insurance would be authorized for mortgages securing loans in amounts not in excess of 80 percent of the estimated value (upon completion) of the property (including the land), for terms not in excess of 30 years. This maximum percentage could be lowered by regulation, either for particular classes or types of facilities or otherwise. As a condition of insurance the mortgagor would be required to agree to repay forthwith any amount by which the mortgage loan exceeded 80 percent of the actual cost (as defined). (In determining such estimated value or such "actual cost," the Secretary would be required to deduct the amount of any Federal grant, such as a grant under the hospital survey and construction program, to which the sponsor is entitled for the project.)

4. The Secretary would be authorized to prescribe by regulation the form and content of applications to be made by the mortgagee and other terms and conditions for the insurance of eligible mortgages and would be required to find in each case, as a condition of insurance, that the project was economically sound and that the health facility would be operated on a basis that provided a reasonable prospect of continuing and adequate sources of revenue to pay the secured obligation. (In passing on the question of economic soundness in the case of a hospital project, the Secretary would be required to take into account available information as to existing hospital facilities, population-bed ratios, and bed-utilization rates in the area to be served, other programed hospital construction which would affect utilization of the projected facility, and similar relevant matters.) Each mortgage would be required, among other things, to contain an undertaking that, except as authorized by the Secretary and the mortgagee, the property would be used as a health facility during the life of the mortgage or until the contract of insurance had been otherwise terminated.

INSURANCE CONTRACT AND INSURANCE BENEFITS

1. The insurancy fund would be primarily liable under mortgage insurance contracts. The Government's obligation under the contract of insurance would be to pay in cash to the mortgagee, upon 30 days' default of the mortgagor, 95 percent of the value of the mortgage (defined as unpaid principal, plus certain charges and expenses for taxes, insurance, etc.) with 3-percent interest from the date of default. As a condition of this payment the mortgagee would either assign the mortgage to the Secretary or, through foreclosure or otherwise, convey to the Secretary title to the mortgaged property, but in the event of mere assignment of the mortgage to the Secretary, which would relieve the mortgagee of foreclosure costs, etc., 1 percent of the unpaid principal of the mortgage would be deducted from the insurance payment.

2. In addition to the payment in cash of an amount equal to 95 percent of the value of the mortgage, the Secretary would also issue to the mortgagee a certificate of claim for the difference between the amount of the cash payment and the amount the mortgagee would have received if the mortgagor had paid all his obligations in full under the mortgage, plus an allowance for the mortgagee's expenses where the mortgagee had foreclased the mortgage or otherwise acquired title for the Secretary. The certificate of claim would bear 3-percent interest but would be payable only out of the proceeds of the property after the fund had been made whole for all payments and expenses incurred under the mortgage insurance transaction.

3. The bill provides for adjustment of premium charges in case the principal obligation of an insured mortgage is paid in full prior to maturity, and for termination of the insurance contract in the event the mortgagee, after 30 days' default of the mortgagor, fails to assign the mortgage, or to have title delivered to the Secretary, as required under the bill in such cases and elects not to claim the insurance after de-

fault of the mortgagor. In addition the Secretary would be authorized to require the mortgagee to accelerate the debt on breach of covenant or other undertaking contained in the mortgage, if that course should be found to be necessary for the protection of the insurance fund or required by the purposes of the program.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. The Secretary would be given broad powers to sue and be sued, compromise claims, acquire, manage, and convey property in carrying out the program, and generally to exercise all the rights of a mortgagee with respect to mortgages and the rights of an owner with respect to property acquired in the administration of the mortgage insurance program. In order to facilitate the sale of mortgages acquired by the Secretary or executed in connection with the sale of property which had been acquired by the Secretary, the insurance of such mortgages would be authorized without regard to the limitations with respect to eligibility for mortgage insurance otherwise applicable.

2. The bill would authorize the collection and distribution of information and statistics pertaining to the insurance of mortgages.

3. Insured mortgages would be exempted from certain investment and other restrictions under Federal laws, as is the case with mortgages insured under the National Housing Act.

4. Criminal penalties are provided for in the bill for fraud or forgery in connection with transactions under the mortgage insurance program.

5. The effective date of this program would be October 1, 1955.

SUMMARY OF TITLE III—PRACTICAL NURSE TRAINING

Title III of the bill authorizes a 5-year program in the Office of Education for the extension and improvement of practical nurse training through grants to State vocational education agencies for the training of practical nurses.

GENERAL

Vocational education grants to States for the 5-year period beginning July 1, 1955, for extension and improvement of practical nurse training of less than college grade would be authorized. The program would be applicable to all States, including Alaska, Hawaii, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia.

APPROPRIATION AUTHORIZATION

Two million dollars would be authorized for fiscal 1956, $3 million for fiscal 1957, and $4 million each for fiscal 1958, 1959, and 1960.

ALLOTMENTS

Allotments to the States would be based on relative State population, but with a minimum to each State of $7,500 per fiscal year ($3,750 in case of the Virgin Islands).

MATCHING

The Federal share of approved projects for extension and improvement of practical nurse training would be 75 percent for the first 2 fiscal years, and 50 percent for last 3 fiscal years.

STATE PLANS

The States would have to submit plans—

1. Designating the State board (the State board of vocational education or the State board primarily responsible for supervision of elementary and secondary education) as the sole agency for administration of the plan, or for supervision of administration by local educational agencies, with a registered professional nurse in charge of or available for consultation to the State board.

2. Showing the plans, policies, and methods to be followed under the plan and providing such fiscal procedures, etc., as are necessary for efficient administration.

3. Containing minimum qualifications for teachers, teacher-trainers, supervisors, and directors.

4. Providing for reports to the Commissioner of Education as necessary.

WITHHOLDING OF FUNDS

The Commissioner may withhold payments, after notice and hearing to the State board, for failure to comply with requirements applicable to State plans. A State may appeal to Circuit Court of Appeals and then to United States Supreme Court if dissatisfied with the withholding of funds.

ADMINISTRATION

This title of the bill would be administered by the Commissioner of Education. The Commissioner would (a) make relevant studies, investigations, and reports, (b) render technical assistance to States, and (c) disseminate pertinent information. He would also be authorized to make rules and regulations and to delegate his powers and duties, other than rule-making, within the Office of Education.

EFFECT ON OTHER LAWS

Nothing in this title would affect the availability of amounts paid to States under the Smith-Hughes Act (39 Stat. 929), as amended and extended, or the George-Barden Act (60 Stat. 775), as amended and extended, for practical nurse training.

SUMMARY OF TITLE IV—GRADUATE TRAINING OF PROFESSIONAL NURSES AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL HEALTH PERSONNEL

Title IV of the bill authorizes a revised program of traineeships in graduate nursing and in public-health specialties.

This title of the bill adds a new section 305 to the Public Health Service Act authorizing the Surgeon General to establish and maintain two broad categories of traineeships in the service and elsewhere. There would be traineeships for graduate or specialized training in public health for doctors, engineers, nurses, and other professional health personnel; also authorized would be traineeships for training professional nurses for teaching or for administrative or supervisory duties in the various fields of nursing.

This new section of the Public Health Service Act also authorizes the provision of the traineeships through grants to public and nonprofit institutions. The traineeships would include stipends and allowances in amounts to be determined administratively.

SUMMARY OF TITLE V—PUBLIC HEALTH

This title of the bill would, effective July 1, 1955, replace the present separate authorizations for public-health grants under section 314 of the Public Health Service Act, including the separate authorizations for control of particular diseases, with an authorization for grants for support of public-health services generally and for extension and improvement of such services and grants for special projects.

GRANTS TO STATES FOR PUBLIC-HEALTH SERVICES

Allotments and payments for public-health services

Allotments and payments under the revised section 314 of the Public Health Service Act for general support grants would be made as follows:

1. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, each State would be allotted an amount equal to its allotment under section 314 for the current fiscal year (ending June 30, 1955), including its current allotment for cancer grants but excluding its current allotment for mental-health grants.

2. The remainder, after allotment according to paragraph (1), of the appropriations for the fiscal years 1956 and 1957, and all sums appropriated in succeeding fiscal years would be allotted in accordance with regulations on the basis of (A) population, (B) extent of particular health problems, and (C) relative financial need of the States.

3. Payments from the State's allotment, except from sums set aside under subsection (c) for extension and improvement grants, would be made in accordance with the Federal share (established for each State, as described below, on the basis of relative per capita income) of the cost of public health services under the State plan, the cost of training personnel for State and local public health work and the cost of administering the State plan.

Extension and improvement grants

The Surgeon General would be authorized to establish a percentage, not in excess of 20 percent, to be set aside from the allotments to the States for public health services. The percentage would be uniform for all States. The percentage of the allotments so earmarked could be used only for approved projects for extension and improvement of public-health services, which are included in the State plan. Payments for any 1 such project could be made for 4 years only. Payments would equal 75 percent of the cost of the project for the first 2 years, and thereafter could meet not more than 50 percent of project costs, including costs for administration and training of personnel for State and local public-health work.

State plans

The Surgeon General would be required to approve any State plan which meets the requirements prescribed by regulation. Separate State plans for mental health would have to be submitted in States with a separate State mental health authority.

Regulations

As under existing law, all regulations with respect to grants to States under the new section 314 could be made only after consultation with a conference of State health authorities, including State mental health authorities when grants for work in the mental health field are concerned, and with their concurrence insofar as practicable.

Withholding of grants

As under existing law, notice and hearing to the State authority is required prior to the discontinuance of grants for noncompliance with the requirements applicable to the State plan.

Such withholding would apply to the State's allotments for public health services, including extension and improvement thereof, and including its allotments under the new section 315 for mental health services, or the withholding could apply only to a particular project or portion of the State plan affected by the State's failure if the Surgeon General deemed such action appropriate.

Judicial review would be authorized for any State dissatisfied with the Surgeon General's action withholding its allotments.

The Federal share

The Federal share establishes the portion of the cost of public health services which may be paid from grants under the new section 314 (not earmarked for extension and improvement projects). It is defined as a percentage which equals 100 percent minus the percentage which bears the same ratio to 50 percent as the per capita income of the State bears to the per capita income of the continental United States (excluding Alaska). However, the Federal share could not exceed a maximum of 66⅔ percent nor could it be less than 33⅓ percent; and the Federal share would be fixed at 50 percent for Hawaii and Alaska, and at 66⅔ percent for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Method of computation and payment of grants

Payments of amounts from the State allotments (including the portion for exten-

sion and improvement projects) would be based on estimates made on the basis of records and information furnished by the State and any other necessary investigation with subsequent adjustment to correct any errors in estimates. Payments would be made in such installments as the Surgeon General might determine.

In case an officer or employee of the Public Health Service is detailed to a State, or to a political subdivision, or public or nonprofit organization or agency in the State, for the convenience and at the request of the State, the Surgeon General would be authorized, when so requested by the State health authority, to reduce any payment to the State by the amount of the pay, allowances, traveling expenses, and other costs related to the detail of such officer or employee. The amount of that reduction would then be available for payment by the Surgeon General of the costs of the detail.

Technical assistance and detail of personnel

The Surgeon General would also be authorized, in order to assist further in the extension and improvement of public health services, to train personnel for State and local public health work, to detail personnel to Guam and American Samoa, and to extend training investigation, demonstration, and consultative services to Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Combination of allotments

The new section 314 also authorizes the Surgeon General, at the request of a State, to combine a portion of its allotment for public health services, or extension and improvement projects, with that of another State for purposes of supporting a particular and clearly defined public health service, or a project, undertaken by another State.

GRANTS FOR SPECIAL PROJECTS

Section 502 of the draft bill would amend section 303 of the Public Health Service Act (which now relates to mental health) by replacing it with a new section.

The new section 303 would authorize appropriations, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, to enable the Surgeon General to make two types of project grants: (1) grants to States (or with the approval of the State authorities, to interstate agencies or political subdivisions) for part of the cost of public health services having importance for the solution of public health problems which are emergent or acute in specific geographical areas or are common to several States, or problems for which the Federal Government has a special responsibility; and (2) grants to State and local agencies, universities, laboratories, and to individuals for investigations, experiments, demonstrations, studies, and research projects which have been recommended by the National Advisory Health Council.

For purposes of this section, Guam would be deemed a State.

SUMMARY OF TITLE VI—MENTAL HEALTH

Title VI of the bill would authorize a separate grant program for mental health for the 5-year period beginning July 1, 1955, consisting of grants for public health services in the field of mental health, comparable to the grants authorized by title V for public health services in general. It would also authorize special project grants for specific problems related to the improvement of care, treatment, or rehabilitation of the mentally ill and improvement in the administration of institutions providing care for such persons.

GRANTS TO STATES FOR MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

Section 601 of the bill would amend the Public Health Service Act by redesignating present section 315 as 316 and inserting a new section 315.

The new section 315 would authorize, in addition to the sums appropriated under the new section 314, which are also available for mental public health programs, additional appropriations for a 5-year period, beginning with the fiscal year 1956, to be available specifically for public health services in the field of mental health.

Allotments from these appropriations to the States would be made in accordance with regulations, on the basis of population, extent of mental health problems, and financial need.

The provisions on payments from the State allotments are the same as under section 314 (as amended by title V of the bill); and the provisions of that section on regulations, methods of payment, and combination of allotments of States would be applicable here also.

GRANTS FOR SPECIAL PROJECTS IN MENTAL HEALTH

Section 602 of the bill would amend the Public Health Service Act to add a new section 304.

The new section 304 would authorize annual appropriations for a 5-year period, beginning with the fiscal year 1956, to enable the Surgeon General to make project grants in the mental-health field similar to the grants authorized in section 303 (a) (2) for public health in general. The special projects in mental health authorized under this section would be directed particularly toward improved methods of care and treatment of the mentally ill and improved methods of operation and administration for institutions providing such care and treatment. Grants could be made to individuals and to public and private agencies, including the State agencies responsible for administration of State institutions for care and treatment of the mentally ill. Grants could be made only upon recommendation of the National Advisory Mental Health Council.

For purposes of this section, Guam would be deemed to be a State.

TRAINEESHIPS IN MENTAL HEALTH

Section 603 would amend the Public Health Service Act by adding a new section 306.

The new section 306 would make clear that the general authority of the Surgeon General (sec. 433 of the Public Health Service Act) to establish and maintain traineeships in fields of diseases in which an institute has been established in the Public Health Service applies in the field of mental health.

Salty Alameda History Recalled by Windjammer Restoration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the slender masts of the Alaska packers' fleet of sailing ships were a part of Alameda, Calif., up until the early thirties.

The estuary of San Antonio knew the graceful lines and towering masts of windjammers long beyond the memory of our oldest living inhabitant.

I am glad that the Alameda Times-Star has assigned Thad Spinola to write a series of articles on the history of these once-proud ships. It is part of the heritage of the West that should be preserved.

Mr. Speaker, here is the first of these articles:

SALTY ALAMEDA HISTORY RECALLED BY WINDJAMMER RESTORATION

(By Thad Spinola)

"Two big windjammers, right, tight, and shipshape, poked their clean-cut bows through the Golden Gate on the morning of April 3 (1928) bound for the shores of Bristol Bay * * * just north of the Aleutian Archipelago.

"When well clear of The Heads, towlines were let go as big ships broke out their gleaming white tops'ls, to-gallants'ls and fore-and-afters. Their high-flung canvas caught a rollicking breeze out of the southwest—a fair wind—sending them scuttling away into the North, the spume hissing and roaring under each sharp prow."

The two windjammers were both flying the house flag of the Alaska Packers Association and they were contending for speed honors in the last blue-water classic the world was ever privileged to witness.

LAST RACE

The bark *Star of England* and the ship *Star of Alaska*, both Yankee windjammers, were subjects of a stirring account written by Tom White in the July 22, 1928, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle. The occasion being a do-or-die race to Alaska and the stakes being the high-flying honor and glory of two of APA's most illustrious ships.

The race was reminiscent of the days when hard-sailing, hard-fisted skippers cracked on every drag they could find to be the first home with their fragrant cargoes from the Far East, wrote White:

"Oh, a Yankee ship came down the river;
Blow, bullies, blow.
A Yankee ship with a Yankee skipper,
Blow boys, bully boys, blow."

The *Star of Alaska* got her canvas up first almost as soon the red-stack tugs dropped their towlines and left the two ships to the skilled hands of their skippers. As the tugs pulled away, the *Star of Alaska* was clearly 6 miles ahead of her sister rival, the *Star of England*.

The wagers were against the *Alaska*, but the racing wind filled her sails fit to burst as if in contempt of the bettors, and in 17 days, 21 hours, with her bow raking the sky like she owned it, the *Star of Alaska* dropped anchor off Chirikof Island. She had won a cup of gold—the fastest run between San Francisco and Alaska ever made.

Romping with the spirit of the victor, she set sail again westward to Chignik, making the passage in 19 days, beating her rival by 14 days, 4 hours.

Telegraph Hill and Cliff House were favorite sitting spots for shipping men and the old skippers who watched as the old windjammers slipped through the Golden Gate (the heads) and dipped obediently to the long swells of the sparkling Pacific, headed north.

ALASKA RUN

Out in the spring and back in the fall. The Star Fleet outward bound carried tinplate, box shooks, cannery supplies, and other materials for putting up the salmon pack, and the cannery workers themselves—150 to 200 packed 'tween decks.

This was the beginning of the end of the Star Fleet. The long, black wispy hair of smoke along the horizon coming from the newfangled steamers looked threatening and forbidding to the oldtime sailors, whose contempt knew no limits when expressing their opinions about the lumbering hulks that bullied themselves through the sea, blackening the skies all the while.

It was a battle to the death between wind and steam power—between the windjammer and the coal-burning steamer—and the monkey wrench all but vanquished the marlinspike.

Alaska Packers operated 25 of the old-timers even as late as 1922; but their number was gradually cut down, with the old ships returning 5 and 6 at a time to be laid up indefinitely.

Nineteen of these were "Star ships"—The *Star of France*, the *Star of Russia*, the *Star of Bengal*, the *Star of Italy*, the *Star of England*, the *Star of Chile*, the *Star of Falkland*, the *Star of Finland*, the *Star of Greenland*, the *Star of Holland*, the *Star of Iceland*, the *Star of India* (called the fleet's fairest), the *Star of Lapland*, and the *Star of Peru*, the *Star of Poland*, the *Star of Scotland*, the *Star of Shetland*, and the *Star of Zealand* are all part of a rich history now and but only one remains to tell of it.

Moored to the narrow quays at their Alameda winter quarters, their long, slender bowsprits nuzzled gently against but well over the poop deck of the one just ahead, the slender sisters of the Star fleet crooned softly in the language of ships, recounting weird tales of adventure in the Bay of Bengal, the terrible Cape of Good Hope, the howling Hatteras hurricanes, and the heady breath of offshore winds in the South Seas.

DIFFERENT ENDS

Many of the ships went many different ways. Some gave up the struggles against the pounding sea and now rest on the ocean's breast; others were mutilated, stripped of their identity, hulls used to cart copra between the Tropics; coal from New Zealand. Others were bought greedily for scrap iron by the Japanese and some became targets for Nazi torpedoes during World War II.

Of one of the ships that went the way intended for it, White wrote:

"But this fall when the prim old ladies of the deep remove their quaint, white hats and shawls and foregather for another winter their tales will be tempered with a note of sadness at the loss of one of their sisters, the *Star of Falkland*, whose battered hulk with tangled rigging lies on the rocks of Unimak Pass.

"Better at that," they agree bitterly, "than to end her days as a coal barge."

"The packer's ships are headin' north;
There's one that sails today,
Her skipper had his orders
To proceed to Bristol Bay."

The *Star of Alaska* returned to Alameda last summer, the last of a long and laudable breed, she was spared an indecent end when a group of public-spirited citizens in San Francisco decided to buy the ship, restore it as much as financially possible, and place it on view for all future generations to see.

The San Francisco Maritime Museum believes "from understanding of our past flows confidence in our future." Argonaut Bay, where the *Star* and other vessels will be anchored, will be a living memorial to the great sailing ship era, and to the men and ships that made it great.

TWO REMEMBER

There aren't many men left who remember the iron sailing ships, but there are a few who de recall that the *Star of Alaska*, now the *Pacific Queen*, was launched in Scotland, christened *Balclutha*. At least two of these men still live in Alameda.

The ship was built in 1886 at Glasgow, Scotland, by C. Connell & Co., for R. McMillan, of Dumbarton, who ordered two full-rigged ships of 1,600 tons each to join his *McCleod*. The *Sirenia* and her sister ship, *Balclutha*, were the first steel ships built by Connell.

The *Sirenia* was lost 2 years after her launching when she sank off the Isle of Wight, homeward bound from San Francisco, according to information furnished by D. P. Campbell, captain and master mariner who joined the *Sirenia* as an apprentice seaman and served aboard her until she was lost in March 1888.

A. K. Tichenor, former vice president and superintendent of Alaska Packers, now retired, lives at 1717 Dayton Street. The other man sailed under the late Capt. Nick Wagner on the *Star of Alaska* as a carpenter in 1905.

He is John Rankin, of 2151 Lincoln Avenue, born in Scotland, the birthplace of the *Balclutha*.

Small Business and Government Procurement Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the arbitrary definition and classification of small business in connection with Government procurement programs is completely failing to achieve the objective of Congress when it created the Small Business Administration. The intent of the law was "to utilize the potential production capacity of plants operated by small business concerns." I am told that the standard of 500 or fewer set by the Defense Department and acceded to by the Small Business Administration can be and is being vitiated by the simple process of large concerns appointing individual sales agents. It appears to me Congress should spell out its intent and see to it that small manufacturers are favored in Government procurement.

For the information of Members, I am inserting a copy of my letter to the Administrator of the Small Business Administration together with a copy of his reply.

Needless to say, I think the reply is unrealistic and unsatisfactory.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1955.

Mr. WENDELL B. BARNES,
Administrator, Small Business Administration, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BARNES: As you know, Congress provided in the Small Business Act of 1953 that a small-business concern shall be deemed to be one which is independently owned and operated and which is not dominant in its field of operation. Thus, it is the policy of the Congress that a fair proportion of the total purchases and contracts for supplies and services for the Government be placed with small-business enterprises.

I understand that the Small Business Administration has the power and is directed "to consult and cooperate with officers of the Government having procurement powers in order to utilize the potential production capacity of plants operated by small-business concerns." This consultation with procurement officers has included defining of small business, and after such consultation I am informed it was decided that the Small Business Administration would follow the same definition in procurement-assistance programs that the Department of Defense uses; namely, any business having 500 or fewer employees including affiliates is considered small.

Is this arbitrary ruling regarding 500 or fewer employees in conformity with the policy of Congress? I think not and, in fact, I believe it will be found that this definition in many cases actually is working to the detriment of small business.

The glaring weakness of the 500 employees or less classification definition is that in one line of business 1,000 employees is small business, such as in the steel industry, whereas in another type of business 500 employees would be definitely big business. But the real weakness, in my opinion, of the arbitrary ruling comes from failure to distinguish between the manufacturer and the distributor. Thus, a large manufacturer represented by a small distributor or sales agent is favored as against a small manufacturer represented by a large distributor.

A fairer method of classifying big versus small business could easily be worked out within the wording and intent of the present law. But it appears that the Small Business Administration is reluctant to open up this subject and prefers to duck its responsibility by going along with the old Defense Department definition.

Meanwhile, I am informed that many large manufacturers are appointing individual agents to handle their bids on Government business. Incidentally, this results in unsatisfactory service to Government agencies because individual agents do not carry inventories or give the service offered by regular distributors. However, I believe the important factor which the Congress should consider is that aid to small business is best accomplished at the production level. In other words, production per dollar involves many times the expenditure of labor that selling or the distribution dollar involves. Thus, it appears to me the size of a sales force of a business concern is not nearly as important as the size of a manufacturer's payroll. No consideration is apparently given to the number of employees in the manufacturer's plant; rather, preference is given in procurement by the Federal Government to the number of employees of the selling agent.

Altogether it seems to me that appropriate legislation to correct this situation should be considered by Congress, or the Small Business Administration should recognize its responsibility and forthwith review its present policy.

Before bringing this subject to the attention of the Congress, I would greatly appreciate a statement of your viewpoint.

Sincerely,

THOMAS M. PELLY.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., February 1, 1955.

Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PELLY: This is in reply to your recent letter pertaining to the definition of small business.

As you state, for procurement purposes any concern with fewer than 500 employees including affiliates is considered a small business. As you know, this definition has been used by the Government procurement agencies for several years.

We recognize that size varies depending on the industry or other kind of business activity. We also recognize the inequities of the 500 standard, or any other single numerical standard to define a small-business concern. While we take size variations into consideration in designating which business concerns are small for SBA financial assistance program purposes, the number of small business-loan applications is very few compared with the number of Government procurement transactions. This difference in numbers permits us to consider applications for loans more deliberately on an individual basis than is possible for Government procurement actions.

A departure from the 500 standard has been discussed with officials in the Department of Defense. After careful consideration of the administrative problems which would result from changing the present standard and of what would be gained in the way of small business procurement assistance as a result of such change, it has been decided that it is not advisable at this time to change the definition of small business for the purposes of procurement-assistance programs.

We are also aware that a small distributor may sell commodities purchased from a large manufacturer and that occasionally a small manufacturer does lose out to a small distributor. On the other hand, our experience is that this happens infrequently.

In the circumstances, we feel that we are doing a reasonably good job by using our present definition of small business. We think you will agree that it would not be possible to achieve absolute perfection no matter what approach were taken to the solution of this problem. The choice which has to be made is to provide the maximum of assistance to small business with the resources which are available.

Sincerely yours,

WENDELL B. BARNES,
Administrator.

Tenth Anniversary of Yalta Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the approach of the 10th anniversary, on February 7, 1955, of the famous wartime meeting at Yalta of the Big Three, which marked the beginning of a series of retreats of the free world before the forward march of Soviet aggression, serves to forcefully remind us of the continuing tragic fate of Poland.

With the current gravity of governmental indecision in the Republic of France, and the pregnant situation in the Far East, it is becoming increasingly evident that the American people must concentrate upon the vital need for a prompt overall European settlement. It is supremely important that the Government of the United States decide whether any peaceful and lasting world order can be achieved when such international commitments as those written in the Atlantic Charter and the Yalta agreement are so boldly violated.

It is increasingly evident that there is no semblance and no intent whatever of any real democracy being permitted to exist in Poland under Russian dominance.

This country is morally bound to make it clear that in its conscientious judgment what did occur, and is now occurring, in Poland embraces a violation of the third article of the Atlantic Charter, to which every member of the United Nations is committed.

The duty of the American Government to take a decisive stand in Poland's case cannot be forever disregarded. It is a matter of official record that in addition to the pledges set forth in the Yalta agreement, the United States during the war years repeatedly and specifically assured the Polish people, through their representatives, that it would never recognize a government "not representative of Poland."

The United States cannot hope to retain the confidence of the smaller nations, and to exercise a continued influence in world affairs, if it disregards pledges of so solemn a character. The United States must redeem our pledge by calling upon the United Nations to assume the humanitarian responsibility of demanding that the Christian people of Poland, who suffered so much in the Allied cause, shall not become victims of the ruthless pagan imperialism of an oppressive totalitarian government.

Lynwood, Calif., High-School Students Put on Successful Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign in the November 2, 1954, Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me heretofore so to do, I am pleased to herewith set forth information and evidence of the very active, very well-organized, and very successful campaign by the students of the Lynwood, Los Angeles County, Calif., High School, which started October 18, 1954, and continued through election day, November 2, 1954.

The Lynwood Press, a community-conscious newspaper, gave the students deserved and extensive publicity by printing on the very front page thereof on October 28, 1954, the following letter:

OCTOBER 18, 1954.

DEAR STUDENT BODY: We seniors at Lynwood High School are out to prove that we have what it takes to really make democracy live. Seniors in previous years became truly alarmed when they learned that but 67 percent of the qualified voters of Lynwood had shown up at the polls when some truly crucial issues were at stake. The senior problems classes sparked a "Get out the vote" campaign, the results of which were astounding. In the presidential campaign of 1952, 92 percent voted.

We're proud of what these "alums" did, but we're not yet satisfied with the civic participation of our voters. We know more moms and dads should get to the polls. We're wondering how you feel about this situation, and we're thinking maybe you will be interested in knowing what we are doing. Maybe you can give us some ideas, too.

Under the chairmanship of two livewire seniors, we've organized committees that are really on the beam. We've a big sign ready to stretch from walk to walk over our main street. When Mom goes to the market she's going to find a right smart hand bill stowed away with the groceries. Even car bumpers are reminding Lynwoodites that November 2 is a day to remember. (We're particularly proud of the seniors who designed these signs, and of the printshop boys who did the producing.) One of the very special features of our homecoming parade is going to be the surprise "Get out the vote" senior float.

To be sure that mom gets to the polls, we're sending out crews of specially trained baby sitters; expert chauffeurs will drive her to the polls if she doesn't have her own transportation. We don't care how mom votes, and dad's choice for Senator is his own secret, but we do want to be sure they both get to the polls—our neighbors, too. We want to make the voting percentage of our Lynwood the highest in the good old United States.

Will you go along with us on this project, and make your plans for a get-out-the-vote campaign? May we hear from you?

Footnote: As the November elections draw nearer Lynwood high-school students are working fast and furiously toward a goal which is vastly important to us and to the American way of life.

What we are asking of you, our parents, is not a difficult thing to accomplish. It requires no effort, no money, and very little time. What it does require is thought—thought for your future and for ours—thought for freedom and a way of life surpassed nowhere, by no one. When the November elections roll around, we want you to get out and vote.

We want to keep alive not only the idea of democracy, but the practice of it as well.

Our efforts in this campaign are not entirely unselfish, however. We want to be sure you leave our country in great shape for the time when we take over your privileges and responsibilities—the greatest of which is the right to vote.

If you need transportation or a baby sitter so that you can visit the polls, call NE 1-6153. The candidates will not thank you for your votes nearly as much as we will, the future citizens, who will benefit by them.

We are willing to put forth time and effort to get you to the polls. Are you willing to get out and vote?

NORA GAEDE and JIM DUNN,
Cochairman of Steering Committee.
FLORENE HERREID, *Secretary.*
SALLY JOHNSON,
Director of Public Relations.
TOM BANCROFT, *Supervisor.*

Other publicity channels carried the same story and the Lynwood High School student paper Castle Courier on October 29, 1954, on the front page of that splendid, sizable 6-page student publication carried in prominent place the following text:

VOTE—STUDENTS IN ALL-OUT CAMPAIGN FOR URGING COMMUNITY TO VOTE

Vote more in 1954. That is the slogan used by the senior class this year in an all-out campaign to get citizens of Lynwood out to vote November 2.

The campaign is under the direction of Mr. Tom Bancroft, faculty advisor, and Nora Gaede and Jim Dunn, student chairman of the student steering committee. The members of this committee are Florene Herried, Secretary; Jerry Ackley, Dale Costa, Sam Leonard, Diane Olhoeft, Meredith Perkins, Sondra Sanders, Carol Sturtevant, Sally Steele, Mary Cornell, Arlene Watts, Jackie Crammer, and Margie Stone.

The committee has organized various activities that they are undertaking. They have already sent out letters to every school in southern California telling of plans and asking that they might try to do something on the same order to try to increase their voting percentage.

Students have contacted the ministers of Lynwood asking them to remind the people of their churches to vote. Handbills were printed and were distributed throughout the community in the gas stations and in the grocery stores. Speeches were made to the various service clubs and to the schools around Lynwood.

A banner was erected to hang across Long Beach Boulevard in front of the bank. This is a constant reminder to the citizens of Lynwood to vote on November 2.

A float that will long be remembered by everyone in Lynwood was the one entered by the student steering committee, in the homecoming parade.

The senior class has asked that the citizens who vote on November 2 turn on their porch lights. If their porch light is not on it will help the students to find the ones who have not yet voted and they will remind them to do so.

Meredith Perkins, senior class president, says, "We of the senior class are hopeful of a 100 percent turnout this year for Lynwood."

In addition thereto the same Castle Courier, on its editorial page carried the following:

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Vote. Vote. Vote. That is the cry of the senior class. This year they are going all out in a campaign to get 13,000 people out to vote.

How do they propose to do it? Well, they have many activities planned and they are working very hard to carry them out. The senior problems classes elected a representative to represent them on the Student Steering Committee. They are Jerry Ackley, Dale Costa, Mary Cornell, Jackie Crammer, Jim Dunn, Nora Gaede, Florene Herreid, Sam Leonard, Diane Olhoeft, Meredith Perkins, Sondra Sanders, Margie Stone, Lynn Butler, Carole Sturtevant, Sally Steele, and Arlene Watts. They are guided by a very efficient advisor by the name of Mr. Tom Bancroft.

From this committee they appointed two co-chairmen who are Nora Gaede and Jim Dunn. Also a secretary, Florene Herreid.

Among the activities that they have carried out, has been, the banner stretched across Long Beach Boulevard, reminding the voters to vote on November 1.

The print shop has been busy printing up the handbill which will be passed out throughout the community to the gas stations and grocery stores. They have been busy making speeches to the primary schools, in an effort to get them to tell their parents about the campaign. Also they were given the handbills to take home to their parents and to those who don't have children.

Letters were sent to all the schools in southern California, telling them all about the all-out campaign put on by the senior class, and suggesting that they might do the same.

Speeches were given to the service organizations of Lynwood asking for their support.

Then they had their float in the homecoming parade advertising their campaign. The public address system was used to advertise it all the more.

Election day they will supply free babysitters and free transportation for mothers who wish to vote at that time.

These students have put hours upon hours of work on this, and I think we should all take our hats off to them and the whole senior class for the tremendous job that they have done.

Now let's all help them by reminding our parents to vote on November 1.

FLORENE HERREID,
Assistant Editor.

The same Lynwood Press carried the following:

TURN ON YOUR PORCH LIGHT AT 5 P. M. IF YOU HAVE VOTED

Next Tuesday, November 2, is election day in California. Every registered voter is urged to get out and vote for the candidate of his choice by the get-out-the-vote committees of the Lynwood High School, chamber of commerce, Kiwanis Club, realtors, and many other organizations.

The committee at the high school asks that at 5 o'clock, if you have voted, turn on your porch light. Students will call on every home without the porch light on, to remind the residents that it is still not too late. If you need a babysitter call the high school, NE 1-6153, and one will be furnished. If you need transportation the high-school students or any member of the Lynwood-Compton Realty Board will furnish it.

The sample ballots mailed recently tell where to vote.

In addition to all the foregoing vigorous and timely publicity, the Lynwood High School students in their own print shop produced many thousands of handbills on the outside of which were the following words: "For Adults Only," while on the inside thereof was used a graph of a Democratic donkey and a Republican elephant. But in addition thereto the following language in very readable type: "Get-out-the-vote campaign—sponsored by Lynwood High seniors and Lynwood Chamber of Commerce. For free transportation and baby care call NE 1-6153 until 3:30 p. m." These were distributed throughout the total city population.

Nor was this Lynwood student body in my great 23d Congressional District the only student body which actively put on campaigns to get out the vote. However, so far as has come to my attention, it appears that the Lynwood High School student body was the most active with its punch line and with a large number of students participating and with a very sizable and active community response and cooperation.

Mr. Speaker, I know that you and all my distinguished colleagues join with me in extending congratulations to this very large high-school student body which, by the evidence of its activity to get out the vote has become early conscious of this duty of every American entitled to cast his or her ballot.

As you well know, Mr. Speaker, each one of the four terms I have already previously served in this great legislative body I have very strongly emphasized on the floor of this house and in many visible ways my belief that it was the duty of every Member of this great legislative body to do his or her utmost in their respective congressional districts to cooperate with all community groups and organizations to see to it that the maximum number of American citizens exercise their voting franchise and perform their duty at the polls. For instance, on August 4, 1954, on pages 12449 and 12450, appear my remarks on the subject of "vote on election day."

And now I wish to emphatically state that I think it is not too early for all Members of this great Congress to in every practical way urge and assist every possible community effort in their respective congressional districts to promote and plan that the largest possible number of American voters in their respective congressional districts shall go to the polls and vote. Nor do I confine myself just to elections for Members of Congress and for the President of the United States. I refer to what might be termed local elections, as well as State, county, and national elections.

This voting participation is one of the factors which is clearly certain to help perpetuate democratic processes and, therefore, our American way of life

The Serious Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Textile Challenger, official publication of the United Textile Workers of America:

THE SERIOUS GAME

President Eisenhower believes that 90 cents an hour is enough for millions of underpaid workers.

His economic advisers certainly know that living costs are at the peak and that man-hour productivity has reached the highest point.

There is a delightful musical on Broadway called The Pajama Game based on the book Seven and One-half Cents, the same being an increase in wages demanded by overworked pajama workers. The President has increased the 7½ cents, but the Pajama Game is a play; we are dealing here with real, live, hard-working humans. "This is for keeps" affecting the home life of millions of men, women, and children. They want and need a living wage.

A DECENT MINIMUM

Labor is united for $1.25 an hour as a minimum and this can be justified when we consider what has happened to the dollar and to living costs since the 75 cents an hour became effective.

The President's economic advisers should also know, for example, that workers in the textile industry are producing at back-breaking speed, and if they can work 40 hours at 90 cents, their weekly wage of $36 is not a living wage.

Labor's proposal for $1.25 would not only provide decent living standards, it would provide increased purchasing and consumer power with more employment. Last but not least, it would provide added compensation for increased production, a vital necessity if we desire to keep the economy in balance.

Governor Harriman, of New York, has recognized these principles when he advocated a minimum wage of $1.25. He sees it as the means of combatting unfair competition, creating industrial stability, a curb on runaway mills, and the evil of migratory subsidies.

The working people are looking with expectation to Congress. The President's proposal is inadequate. Ninety cents is too low. Congress can right the wrong.

New York's multi-million dollar men's clothing industry backed Governor Harriman in his appeal for a Federal minimum wage of $1.25 an hour.

EMPLOYERS FAVOR $1.25

The New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, representing 36 companies with 40,000 workers, became the first major employer group to record itself in favor of a 50-cent rise in the present wage floor.

The clothing association, whose members all pay wages well above $1.25, sent telegrams to all members of the legislature endorsing the Harriman proposal.

CHANGE WOULD AID INDUSTRY

The employer group contended that the $1.25 base would "protect New York industry against the unfair competition of low-wage areas, would deter movement of industry out of the State, and would improve business by increasing consumer purchasing power."

The messages were signed by Isidore Grossman, president of the exchange, and Arthur J. White, its executive secretary.

Some sections of the clothing industry have been especially hard hit in recent years by the establishment of rival plants in the South and in other areas where unions are weak and wage standards are low.

The Open Shop Crusade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from Trainman News, official publication of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen:

THE OPEN SHOP CRUSADE

Not many railroad workers are going to be fooled by the so-called right-to-work bills now being pushed in State legislatures throughout the country by the Nation's most reactionary interests.

At least none will be fooled who stops to recall another trick phrase which down through the years has prejudiced people against us and persuaded some lawmakers that we are just a bunch of highbinders trying to get something for nothing.

That phrase is "featherbedding."

It was coined by an unprincipled word artist who didn't know anything about railroading or about the workers who keep the railroads running and cared less.

He did know how to count, however, so he just took what the railroad companies said about us and made it pay off handsomely for himself and for the railroads.

The result was one of the most effective propaganda weapons ever conceived to impede organized labor's march toward fairer wages and working conditions and economic justice generally.

The word "featherbedding" poisoned the minds of many people against the railroad man and his goals and has been a formidable obstacle in every wage and rule campaign.

And it all started when the railroad companies dangled some gold before a conscienceless writer.

We don't know who thought up the term, "right to work," but judging by the sponsors of such legislation we're fairly sure that they don't care much about anybody's rights and positive that they don't give a damn about any worker's rights.

The people behind these laws are those who have always fought labor every inch of the way in its struggle for economic and social justice and just a plain square deal for the Nation's workers. They're the open shoppers, the hirers of thugs and strikebreakers in days gone by, the die-hard opposers of social security, fair labor laws, railroad retirement, broader public education, and every other endeavor of the workingman to improve his way of life and to participate more fully in the fruits of civilization and technological progress.

The right-to-work drive is a concerted, well-planned, and richly financed campaign of the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and many State and local affiliates, various employer associations, and certain so-called better citizens and patriotic groups which are nothing more or less than political arms of the giant corporations.

The reason they're working so hard now on the States is that they know in the present Congress there isn't a ghost of a chance in making the Taft-Hartley Act into a tighter straitjacket than it already is. And they want to get all their licks in against labor before the next presidential year, when the voters are apt to be fed up with reaction and turn out the legislators upon whom they must depend to tie labor into knots.

The right-to-work bills have no relation to anybody's right to work. They have been conceived as a device calculated to destroy labor unions, reduce workers to what would amount to slavery, and in general put workers in their place, which means at the mercy of the bosses.

These laws do not guarantee a man a right to work any more than they create employment. If anything, they curtail the right to work by placing the employee at the whim of his employer—for wage cuts, complete loss of employment, dignity, and self-respect.

Delegates to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen's recent convention put the BRT squarely on record against such legislation when they said: "We denounce the use of the title 'Right To Work' to describe these measures as a subterfuge, intended by false and misleading language to obtain a favorable response from citizens who are all of one mind respecting our right to work, when, as a matter of fact, these vicious open-shop measures have the real purpose of undermining existing trade unions, preventing their growth and responsibility in the field of collective bargaining."

Some people are bound to be misled by Big Business' self-righteousness and its proclaimed big bleeding heart for the rights and welfare of labor. Not many unionists, however, will fall into the trap. Even if they're too young to remember labor's long and bitter struggle for recognition and for achievement, their commonsense should tell them that the Devil doesn't prescribe any elixir for long life.

"Featherbedding" or "right to work," they're both trick phrases to blitz labor unions. Is there anything in the NAM's or chamber's record to indicate any concern at any time for the welfare of workers?

We're not fooled, and we're going to do everything in our power to see that the public and the legislators are not fooled, although it's an uphill fight all the way, with the press, radio, and propaganda media all at the disposal of the open-shoppers

Authorizing the President To Employ Armed Forces of United States To Defend Formosa, Etc.

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with keen attention to the words of our wise and beloved Speaker the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN], and with equal deference to the opinions of our level-headed and experienced colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY] as he, too, expounded his views regarding the requested authority by President Eisenhower in connection with the Formosa threat. I agree heartily with all they said. Their deductions are patriotic, sound, and unimpeachable, but I am not going to quibble about the President's interpretations to the contrary. I am going to vote as the President requests, to prove to the world that there is unity among us on the point of presenting a solid front, and to disregard minor differences where security and peace are the chief concern.

I agree, too, with my good friend the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] whose analytical mind and brilliance are equaled by his patriotism and aggressiveness, so valuable to our beloved country. I not only listened to his brief remarks here on the floor, but also read and agree with his statement which is to be printed in the RECORD and which was released to the press. I believe the President owes it to the people to make some explanations about the employment of the 7th Fleet. What he, the President, said to Congress on February 2, 1953, does not square with what was said as he backtracked on the same subject in his address to the Congress on January 24, 1955. I shall circulate the released Holifield statement in my district should I deem it necessary to do so for the edification of the people who are interested in unimpeachable facts.

Who Owns Formosa?—Walter Lippmann Says Nobody, Vicente Villamin Says the Republic of China (Nationalist)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 7, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the question of who owns Formosa has been raised by Mr. Walter Lippmann, the distinguished columnist. He contends that its ownership has not yet been determined. Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the former candidate for President, and an increasing number of radio commentators and writers agree with him.

Mr. Vicente Villamin, the well-known Filipino lawyer, economist and writer, disagrees with Mr. Lippmann and says that Formosa is a part of the Republic of China—Nationalist—having been automatically reincorporated into the Chinese national domain immediately after Japan lost the war and lost control of that island which she took from Japan as a war booty in 1895.

His article follows:

FORMOSA IS PART OF CHINA

(By Vicente Villamin)

In a recent article Mr. Walter Lippmann said that Formosa belongs neither to Nationalist nor to Communist China (Mr. Adlai Stevenson has since repeated it), and

that the right of the United States to defend that island from Communist attack "rests on the fact that it is territory ceded by Japan about which 'the ultimate disposition' has not not been settled." He also said that Formosa was "captured from Japan by the United States, not by China."

He then asserted that, in saying that the United States would defend Formosa and the Pescadores but not certain islands which are not vital to their defense, President Eisenhower predicated the policy position of the United States on consideration of strategy rather than law, and he called it American imperialism and implied that the United States was intervening in Chinese internal affairs—the very claims the Communists have been loudly making.

If Mr. Lippmann is right that Formosa's legal status is not yet settled, then the Nationalists have no right to be in Formosa and exercise sovereignty there, as the Communists equally have no right to displace them on that island. From that premise it may be stated that not only the United States but all her allies, 47 signatories to the Japanese Peace Treaty of San Francisco, should defend Formosa from Communist attacks because, if they succeeded, they would take over the island. Therefore, Mr. Lippmann's theory, if carried out, would lead to a general war, the very sequel he is trying to avoid.

This paper contends that Formosa automatically became a part of China when the war was won by the Allies in 1945 and before the conclusion of the Japanese Peace Treaty in 1951—6 years after. It was recaptured from Japan, the illegal possessor, not by the United States alone, though, indeed, she exerted the major effort, but with the help of her allies, including China, which had been fighting Japan for 4 years before the United States entered the war.

Now let me give the ground for my contention: Chapter II, article 2–b of the Japanese Peace Treaty, which Mr. Lippmann cites to uphold his thesis, states that "Japan renounces all right, title, and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores." Then he called attention to the fact that "though Japan has renounced the title, no one else has acquired it," that is, China, its lawful owner, had not acquired it.

Mr. Lippmann is upheld, but only episodically, by the following language in the report on the treaty of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "It is important to remember that article (chapter) 2 is a renunciatory article and makes no provision for the power or powers which are to succeed Japan in the possession of and sovereignty over the ceded territory."

A similar thought is expressed in the statement of principles which the United States delegation to the peace conference operated under. Its relevant part reads: "Japan * * * (c) would accept the future decision of the United Kingdom, the U. S. S. R., China, and the United States with reference to the status of Formosa, Pescadores, South Sakhalin, and the Kuriles. In the event of no decision within a year after the treaty came into effect, the United Nations General Assembly would decide. Special rights and interests in China would be renounced."

Of the above statement, only the last sentence found expression in the peace treaty, in chapter 4, article 10. The rest was not acted upon by the conference and therefore not binding.

Now for the refutation of Mr. Lippmann's thesis. On behalf of the United States delegation, which was headed by the then Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Mr. John Foster Dulles, the author of the treaty, told the peace conference the following: "What is the territory of Japanese sovereignty (under the treaty)? Chapter II deals with that. Japan formally ratifies the territorial provisions of the Potsdam surrender terms. * * * The Potsdam surrender terms constitute the only definition of peace terms to which, and by which, Japan and the Allied Powers as a whole are bound."

The Senate committee report, mentioned above, follows the thinking of Mr. Dulles and says: "Japan surrenders sovereignty over the territory which representatives of the great powers at the Potsdam conference agreed should be taken from it. Article 8 of the proclamation defining the terms of the Japanese surrender adopted at Potsdam on July 26, 1945, states: 'The terms of the Cairo declaration shall be carried out.'" In other words, that declaration, is a part of the surrender terms, which, in turn, are a part of the peace treaty, specifically those provisions relating to territorial dispositions.

The pertinent part of the Cairo declaration, dated December 1, 1943, follows: "The three great allies (as represented at Cario, Egypt, by President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Prime Minister Churchill) are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914, and that all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China."

The declaration was endorsed by Soviet Russia in her war declaration against Japan, dated August 8, 1945, in the following words: "True to its obligation as an ally, the Soviet Government has accepted the proposal of the allies and has joined in the declaration of the allied powers of July 26," (Potsdam) which says that "the terms of the Cairo declaration shall be carried out."

Conclusion: The Cairo Declaration is written into the Japanese Peace Treaty. When Japan was defeated it became automatically effective even before the treaty was concluded 6 years later, and Nationalist China established its Government there forthwith nearly 4 years before President Chiang Kai-shek arrived there from the mainland. Its sovereignty was tacitly recognized by the peace conference by its omission to challenge it and to provide for a future conference to determine its status. The fair inference from these two omissions is that the members of the conference accepted the fact of Chinese sovereignty over that island.

Indeed, with its occupation by its rightful owner, China, after the trespasser, Japan, had been driven out, Formosa was thereby reincorporated into China's national domain. There was no need for a formal conveyance because the ownership of China was universally conceded. Formosa had been a part of China from time immemorial until it was wrested from her by Japan as a war booty. Her recovery was the result also of a war.

Conceding for the sake of argument that a settlement is to be made in the future as to who owns Formosa, it would be unthinkable that that island would not be adjudicated to China. A negative determination would be a travesty on history and justice. Verily, to challenge now the ownership of China over Formosa is academic, pure and plain.

The United States position as to Formosa is correct, legally, morally, historically, and internationally. She recognizes Nationalist China as the only legitimate Government of China. Her policy is to defend Formosa and the Pescadores and such islands as the President as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces decides to defend. That policy is based on her own vital interests and on her treaty obligations to countries, including the Republic of China (Nationalist China), which are alined with her in the life-and-death struggle against the Communists and their plan of world conquest and domination.

The Formosa Debates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an admirable editorial by the Wall Street Journal of January 31, 1955. This is a cool and objective appraisal of the present Formosa crisis and its relation to American-China policy, past and present.

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK

THE FORMOSA DEBATES

The Senate debate on the Formosa resolution finished Friday night. This morning the United Nations Security Council begins its debate on a cease-fire in the Formosa area. There are those who feel misgivings about both the character of the Senate debate and the implications of the Security Council debate.

It is feared, for example, that a proposal to let the Chinese Communists attend, without voting power, the Security Council sessions will only increase their international prestige and might even be the prelude to U. N. membership for them.

That the Communists' presence at the U. N., if they come, would increase their prestige, particularly in Asia, is certain. But the more important question is whether there should be efforts toward a cease-fire. If there should be such efforts, then clearly it is necessary to meet with the Communists. The fact that the meeting place, the U. N., happens to be in New York City does not mean that the United States is appeasing the Communists if it lets them into this country for this purpose. In fact, the United States did the same thing in 1950, in connection with the Korean war.

Should the United States, then, associate itself with efforts toward a cease-fire? It depends on what is understood by a cease-fire. Some of our allies may be toying with the idea of a deal whereby the Communists would be given eventual U. N. membership in exchange for a cease-fire. That kind of arrangement the United States could not countenance, and there is no shred of evidence to indicate that Washington would countenance it.

It should be emphasized, however, that a cease-fire which means literally what it says—a cessation of the present fighting in preparation for a peaceful settlement of the Formosa issue—is not appeasement. Those who contend that it is must ask themselves what is the alternative.

Whether there is any hope of a cease-fire is something else again. The propaganda blasts reported yesterday from both Moscow and Peiping do not seem to offer much hope. But the attempt to arrange a cease-fire, providing it is the right kind, is one with which the United States can honorably identify itself.

As for the Senate debate, some concern is expressed about the delay in passing the Formosan resolution. It is thought that this, plus the charges exchanged and the reservations voiced during and after the debate, shows a lack of complete unity on the issue and might play into the hands of the Communist propagandists.

It is certainly true that some of the objections raised in the Senate—particularly the one that the resolution is a green light for preventive war—were ill-considered and remote from reality. All the same, we think it is a very good thing that the lawmakers took as much time as they did to examine

President Eisenhower's request. There are several reasons.

The commitment to defend Formosa and the Pescadores is an old one, made by President Truman at the start of the Korean War. But the resolution offered the Senate does broaden the commitment to permit Mr. Eisenhower to take action affecting other islands and even the Red China mainland if he considers it necessary for the protection of Formosa.

This extension of the original commitment undoubtedly makes military sense. But precisely because it represents an important further step it merited careful questioning. One may deplore the lack of wisdom of some of the criticism, but one cannot deplore the fact of debate on a matter of major policy. The Senate of the United States is not the Soviet parliament.

Moreover, the debate promptly produced a tangible result in the form of a clarification of the President's intentions. To still the idle chatter about preventive war, Mr. Eisenhower explained that he alone would decide whether United States forces should be used for purposes "other than immediate self-defense or in direct defense of Formosa and the Pescadores."

In other words, he ruled out two possible dangers—that American commanders might too broadly interpret their authority, and that the Chinese Nationalists might bring this country into war by attacking the mainland. The military discretion is solely reserved to a man who has consistently sought to lessen rather than enhance the chances of war.

This clarification should soothe any foreign fears of American "impetuousness." The slowness of action charged against the Senate debate should operate to the same end. It shows that the Senate, far from being stampeded, took days to scrutinize the resolution to make sure that it did not authorize any rash or precipitate action.

And if the debate stimulates the American people to think deeper about our Far Eastern policy it will serve a further useful purpose. For the reaffirmation of the decision to defend Formosa does not answer all the questions about that policy.

In the circumstances there was no practicable alternative to reaffirming the original decision. But that is not the same as saying the decision was sound in the first place, or that a general policy of defending every piece of the Far East the Communists might choose to threaten is necessarily the best way of strengthening our defenses against communism. We do not profess to know whether it is. But we do know this country has already fought two major Far Eastern wars in little more than a decade; it nearly got into another last year and now again is endangered.

The Senate debate did not go into these broader questions. It was not the occasion. Nor can the Security Council debate be expected to shed much light on them. But the debates may suggest that the questions exist. At some point they will have to be asked.

Statement on Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, this is the 10th anniversary of the enslavement of the Polish Nation at Yalta on February 7, 1945. We who have friends and relatives in Poland under the present dictatorship, and who are interested in the regaining of the freedom and independence by the Polish people, keep this date on our calendars for remembrance and for renewed hope.

We commemorate this day each year and renew our associations with our friends in a determined reserve to see a free and independent Poland.

We look forward with confidence to the time when Poland, a free and independent nation, will join the peaceful nations of the world in advancing the progress and raising the standards of living in cooperation with all the friendly nations and the citizens of the free world.

Addresses by Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include three addresses delivered by General of the Army Douglas MacArthur at Los Angeles on January 26.

The three addresses are complementary and I think they should be printed together. I request, under unanimous consent, that these important addresses be printed as parts of one insertion.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, MADE JANUARY 26, 1955, AT THE DEDICATION OF A MONUMENT TO HIM IN LOS ANGELES

I have listened with deep emotion to these solemn proceedings. My heart is too full for my lips to express adequately my thanks and appreciation for the extraordinary honor you do me. Even so, I understand full well that this memorial is intended to commemorate an epic rather than an individual; an armed force, rather than its commander; a nation, rather than its servant; an ideal, rather than a personality.

But this only increases my pride that my name has been one chosen as the symbol of an epic struggle in victory by millions of unnamed others.

It is their heroism, their sacrifice, their success, that you honor today in so unforgettable a manner. And this statute and this park are but the selected reminders of their grandeur.

Most of them were citizen soldiers, sailors, or airmen; men from the farm, from the city, from the schoolroom, from the college campus; men not dedicated to the profession of arms; men not primarily skilled in the art of war; men most amazingly like the men you see and meet and know each day of your life. But men inspired, animated, and ennobled by a sublime cause to the defense of their country, of their native land, of their very hearthstones.

DIVINE IMPULSES GUIDED MEN

The most divine of all human sentiments and impulses guided them, the spirit and the willingness to sacrifice.

He who dares to die, who lays his life on the altar of his nation's need, is beyond doubt the noblest development of mankind. In this he comes closest to the image of his Creator who died on the cross that the human soul might live.

These men were my comrades in arms. With me they knew the call of the bugle at reveille, the distant roll of drums at nightfall, the endless tramp of marching feet, the incessant whine of sniper bullets, the ceaseless rattle of sputtering machineguns, the sinister wail of air sirens, the deafening blast and crash of bombs, the stealthy stroke of hidden torpedoes, the aimless lurch of perilous waves, the dark majesty of fighting ships, the mad din of battlelines, and all the stench and ghastly horror and savage destruction of a stricken area of war.

They suffered hunger and thirst, the broiling sun of relentless heat, the torrential rains of tropical storms, the loneliness and utter desolation of jungle trails, the bitterness of separation from those they loved and cherished. They went on and on and when everything within them seemed to stop and die. They grew old in youth; they burned out in searing minutes all that life owed them in tranquil years.

KNOWS GLORY OF THEIR DEATH

When I think of their patience under adversity, of their courage under fire, and of their modesty in victory, I am filled with an emotion I cannot express.

Many of them trod the tragic path of unknown fame that led to a stark, white cross on a lonely grave. And from their tortured, dying lips, with the dreadful gurgle of the death rattle in their throats, always came the same gasping prayer that we who were left would go on to victory.

I do not know the dignity of their birth, but I do know the glory of their death. And I am sure a merciful God has taken them unto Himself.

In these troublesome times of confused and bewildered international sophistication, let no man misunderstand why they did that which they did. These were patriots, pure and plain; these were men who fought and perchance died for one reason only—for their country, for America. No complex philosophy of world intrigue and conspiracy dominated their thoughts. No exploitation or extravagance of propaganda dimmed their sensibilities. Just the simple fact that their country called them, just the devoted doctrine of Stephen Decatur when he said: "My country, may she always be right. But, right or wrong, my country."

BULWARK OF NATIONAL STRENGTH

Be not deceived by strange voices heard across the land, decrying this old and proven concept of patriotism. From the very beginning it has been the main bulwark of our national strength and integrity.

Seductive murmurs are arising that it is now outmoded by some more comprehensive and all-embracing philosophy; that we are provincial and immature, or reactionary and stupid when we idealize our own country; that there is a higher destiny for us under another more general flag; that no longer when we send our sons and daughters to the battlefield must we see them through all the way to victory; that we can call upon them to fight and even to die in some half-hearted and indecisive effort.

That we can plunge them recklessly into war and then suddenly decide that it is a wrong war, or in the wrong place, or at a wrong time; or even that we call it not a war at all, but by some more euphemistic and generic name; that we can treat them as expendables, although they are our own flesh and blood. And even in times of peace, for some romantic reason, they must share—not as an act of generosity but as a bounden duty, their national blessings and goods built from nothing to a height never before reached by man—with others because, whether for neglect or not, they have not fared so well.

IGNORE PROPHETS OF DISASTER

That we, the strongest Nation in the world, have suddenly become dependent upon

others for our security and even our welfare. Listen not to these voices, be they from one political party or from the other; be they from the high and the mighty, or the lowly and the forgotten. Heed them not. Visit upon them a righteous scorn born of the past sacrifices of your fighting sons and daughters.

Repudiate them in the market place, on the platform, in the pulpit. Those who are our friends will understand. Those who are not we can pass by. Be proud to be called patriots or nationalists or what you will, if it means that you love your country above all else, and will place your life if need be at the service of our flag.

I wish again to express to the citizens of this community my gratitude for their generosity in creating this memorial, and my thanks and appreciation to all those present here today.

You have etched for me in indelible memory a patriotic friendship and sympathetic understanding. You have made me feel far greater than my just deserts and yet more humble than I care to admit.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, DELIVERED JANUARY 26, 1955, AT A BANQUET SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN LEGION IN LOS ANGELES

Seldom in history has living man been honored as this famous community of Los Angeles has honored me today. You have etched in my heart an unforgettable memory of patriotic fever and national devotion. You have aroused an indelible emotion of gratitude that I am unable to express adequately in words. Yet, the reality of life enables me to apply an appraising perspective; to understand that your action springs not so much from a desire to memorialize a personality as to proclaim a people's adherence to ideals long ago fabricated into the warp and woof of what is called the American way of life.

That you have chosen me to symbolize this rich heritage of principles is an honor which makes me feel far greater than any just merit; that my name should stand for the millions of unnamed others whose faith and courage built the immortal way from which was fashioned the true greatness of our country creates within me a feeling of humility far in excess of all possible pride. It makes me revere the stars in our flag far more than any stars on my shoulders.

I am so grateful to all who have wished me birthday greetings. I know such expressions of good will would have brightened the eyes of that gentle Virginia lady, my mother, on this her day. Thank you—thank you in her name again and again—and, as "old soldiers never die," I promise to keep on living as though I expected to live forever. That famous barrack-room ballad apparently counts on us, those old soldiers who have escaped the carnage of the battlefield, to find the fountain of youth. And, indeed, we might if we only understood what the poet said, that youth is not entirely a time of life—it is a state of mind. It is not wholly a matter of ripe checks, red lips or supple knees. It is a temper of the will, a quality of the imagination, a vigor of the emotions, a freshness of the deep springs of life. It means a temperamental predominance of courage over timidity, of an appetite for adventure over love of ease. Nobody grows old by merely living a number of years. People grow old only by deserting their ideals. Years may wrinkle the skin, but to give up interest wrinkles the soul.

Worry, doubt, self-distrust, fear, and despair—these are the long, long years that bow the head and turn the growing spirit back to dust. Whatever your years, there is in every being's heart the love of wonder, the undaunted challenge of events, the unfailing childlike appetite for what next, and the joy and the game of life. You are as young as your faith, as old as your doubt; as young as your self-confidence, as old as your fear; as young as your hope, as old as your despair. In the central place of every heart there is a recording chamber; so long as it receives messages of beauty, hope, cheer, and courage, so long are you young. When the wires are all down and your heart is covered with the snows of pessimism and the ice of cynicism, then, and then only, are you grown old—and then, indeed, as the ballad says, you just fade away.

Many in this brilliant audience were my comrades in arms in the days of used to be. They have known war in all its horror and, as veterans, hope against its recurrence. How, we ask ourselves, did such an institution become so integrated with man's life and civilization? How has it grown to be the most vital factor in our existence?

It started in a modest enough way as a sort of gladiatorial method of settling disputes between conflicting tribes. One of oldest and most classical examples is the Biblical story of David and Goliath. Each of the two contesting groups selected its champion. They fought and, based upon the outcome, an agreement resulted. Then, as time went on, small professional groups known as armies replaced the individual champions, and these groups fought in some obscure corner of the world and victory or defeat was accepted as the basis of an ensuing peace; and from then on, down through the ages, the constant record is an increase in the character and strength of the forces, with the rate of increase always accelerating. From a small percentage of the populace it finally engulfed all. It is now the nation in arms.

Within the span of my own life I have witnessed this evolution. At the turn of the century, when I entered the Army, the target was one enemy casualty at the end of a rifle or bayonet or sword. Then came the machinegun designed to kill by the dozen. After that, the heavy artillery raining death upon the hundreds. Then the aerial bomb to strike by the thousands—followed by the atom explosion to reach the hundreds of thousands. Now, electronics and and other processes of science have raised the destructive potential to encompass millions, and with restless hands we work feverishly in dark laboratories to find the means to destroy all at one blow.

But this very triumph of scientific annihilation—this very success of invention—has destroyed the possibility of war being a medium of practical settlement of international differences. The enormous destruction to both sides of closely matched opponents makes it impossible for the winner to translate it into anything but his own disaster.

The Second World War, even with its now antiquated armaments, clearly demonstrated that the victor had to bear in large part the very injuries inflicted on his foe. Our own country spent billions of dollars and untold energies to heal the wounds of Germany and Japan. War has become a Frankenstein to destroy both sides. No longer is it the weapon of adventure whereby a shortcut to international wealth and power—a place in the sun—can be gained. If you lose, you are annihilated; if you win, you stand only to lose. No longer does it possess the chance of the winner of a duel; it contains rather the germs of double suicide. Science has clearly outmoded it as a feasible arbiter.

The great question is—does this mean that war can now be outlawed from the world? If so, it would mark the greatest advance in civilization since the Sermon on the Mount. It would lift at one stroke the darkest shadow which has engulfed mankind from the beginning. It would not only remove fear and bring security—it would not only create new moral and spiritual values—it would produce an economic wave of prosperity that would raise the world's standard of living beyond anything ever dreamed of by man. The hundreds of billions of dollars now spent in mutual preparedness could conceivably abolish poverty from the face of the globe. It would accomplish even more than this; it would at one stroke reduce the international tensions that seem so insurmountable now to matters of more probable solution.

For instance, the complex problems of German rearmament, of preventive war, of satellite dominance by major powers, of universal military service, of unconscionable taxation, of nuclear development for industry, of freer exchange of goods and people, of foreign aid and, indeed, of all issues involving the application of armed force. It would have equally potent political effects. It would reduce immeasurably the power of leaders of government and thus render more precarious totalitarian or autocratic rule. The growing and dangerous control by an individual over the masses—the socialistic and paternal trends resulting therefrom—is largely by virtue of his influence to induce war or to maintain peace. Abolish this threat and the position of chief magistrate falls into a more proper civic perspective.

You will say at once that although the abolition of war has been the dream of man for centuries every proposition to that end has been promptly discarded as impossible and fantastic. Every cynic, every pessimist, every adventurer, every swashbuckler in the world has always disclaimed its feasibility. But that was before the science of the past decade made mass destruction a reality. The argument then was along spiritual and moral lines, and lost.

It is a sad truth that human character has never reached a theological development which would permit the application of pure idealism. In the last 2,000 years its rate of change has been deplorably slow compared to that of the arts and the sciences. But now the tremendous and present evolution of nuclear and other potentials of destruction has suddenly taken the problem away from its primary consideration as a moral and spiritual question and brought it abreast of scientific realism. It is no longer an ethical equation to be pondered solely by learned philosophers and ecclesiastics but a hard-core one for the decision of the masses whose survival is the issue.

This is as true of the Soviet side of the world as of the free side, as true behind the Iron Curtain as in front of it. The ordinary people of the world, whether free or slave, are all in agreement on this solution; and this perhaps is the only thing in the world they do agree upon. But it is the most vital and determinate of all. The leaders are the laggards. The disease of power seems to confuse and befuddle them. They have not even approached the basic problem, much less evolved a working formula to implement this public demand. They debate and turmoil over a hundred issues, they bring us to the verge of despair or raise our hopes to Utopian heights over the corollary misunderstandings that stem from the threat of war, but never in the chancelleries of the world or the halls of the United Nations is the real problem raised. Never do they dare to state the bald truth, that the next great advance in the evolution of civilization cannot take place until war is abolished.

It may take another cataclysm of destruction to prove to them this simple truth. But, strange as it may seem, it is known now by all common men. It is the one issue upon which both sides can agree, for it is the one issue upon which both sides will profit equally. It is the one issue—and the only decisive one—in which the interests of both are completely parallel. It is the one issue which, if settled, might settle all others.

Time has shown that agreements between modern nations are generally no longer honored as valid unless both profit there-

from. But both sides can be trusted when both do profit. It becomes then no longer a problem based upon relative integrity. It is now no longer convincing to argue, even if true, that we cannot trust the other side, that one maverick can destroy the herd. It would no longer be a matter depending upon trust, the self-interest of each nation outlawing war would keep it true to itself. And there is no influence so potent and powerful as self-interest. It would not necessarily require international inspection of relative armaments, the public opinion of every part of the world would be the great denominator which would ensure the issue, each nation would so profit that it could not fail eventually to comply.

This would not, of course, mean the abandonment of all armed forces, but it would reduce them to the simpler problems of internal order and international police. It would not mean utopia at one fell stroke, but it would mean that the great roadblock now existing to the development of the human race would have been cleared.

The present tensions with their threat of national annihilation are kept alive by two great illusions. The one, a complete belief on the part of the Soviet world that the capitalist countries are preparing to attack them; that sooner or later we intend to strike. And the other, a complete belief on the part of the capitalist countries that the Soviets are preparing to attack us; that sooner or later they intend to strike. Both are wrong. Each side, so far as the masses are concerned is equally desirous of peace. For either side, war with the other would mean nothing but disaster. Both equally dread it. But the constant acceleration of preparation may well, without specific intent, ultimately produce a spontaneous combustion.

I am sure that every pundit in the world, every cynic and hypocrite, every paid brainwasher, every egotist, every troublemaker, and many others of entirely different mold, will tell you with mockery and ridicule that this can be only a dream—that it is but the vague imaginings of a visionary. But, as David Lloyd George once said in Commons at the crisis of the First World War, "We must go on or we will go under." And the great criticism we can make of the world's leaders is their lack of a plan which will enable us "to go on."

All they propose merely gravitates around but dares not face the real problem. They increase preparedness by alliances, by distributing resources throughout the world, by feverish activity in developing new and deadlier weapons, by applying conscription in times of peace—all of which is instantly matched by the prospective opponent. We are told that this increases the chances of peace—which is doubtful—and increases the chances of victory if war comes—which would be incontestable if the other side did not increase in like proportion. Actually, the truth is that the relative strengths of the two change little with the years. Action by one is promptly matched by reaction from the other.

We are told we must go on indefinitely as at present—some say 50 years or more. With what at the end? None say—there is no definite objective. They but pass along to those that follow the search for a final solution. And, at the end, the problem will be exactly the same as that which we face now. Must we live for generations under the killing punishment of accelerating preparedness without an announced final purpose or, as an alternative, suicidal war; and trifle in the meanwhile with corollary and indeterminate theses—such as limitation of armament, restriction on the use of nuclear power, adoption of new legal standards as propounded at Nuremberg—all of which are but palliatives and all of which in varying form have been tried in the past with negligible results?

Dangerous doctrines, too, appear—doctrines which might result in actual defeat; such doctrines as a limited war, of enemy sanctuary, of failure to protect our fighting men when captured, of national subversive and sabotage agencies, of a substitute for victory on the battlefield—all in the name of peace. Peace, indeed, can be obtained at least temporarily by any nation if it is prepared to yield its freedom principles. But peace at any price—peace with appeasement—peace which passes the dreadful finality to future generations—is a peace of sham and shame which can end only in war or slavery.

I recall so vividly this problem when it faced the Japanese in their new constitution. They are realists; and they are the only ones that know by dread experience the fearful effect of mass annihilation. They realize in their limited geographical area, caught up as a sort of no-man's land between two great ideologies, that to engage in another war, whether on the winning or the losing side, would spell the probable doom of their race. And their wise old Prime Minister, Shidehara, came to me and urged that to save themselves they should abolish war as an international instrument. When I agreed, he turned to me and said, "The world will laugh and mock us as impractical visionaries, but a hundred years from now we will be called prophets."

Sooner or later the world, if it is to survive, must reach this decision. The only question is. When? Must we fight again before we learn? When will some great figure in power have sufficient imagination and moral courage to translate this universal wish—which is rapidly becoming a universal necessity—into actuality? We are in a new era. The old methods and solutions no longer suffice. We must have new thoughts, new ideas, new concepts, just as did our venerated forefathers when they faced a New World. We must break out of the straitjacket of the past. There must always be one to lead, and we should be that one. We should now proclaim our readiness to abolish war in concert with the great powers of the world. The result might be magical.

This may sound somewhat academic in view of the acuteness of the situation in the Far East. Strategically, the problem there has developed along classical lines—the familiar case of a concentrated enemy in a central position deployed against scattered allies. Red China, inherently weak in industrial output for modern war but strong in manpower, engaged on three fronts—Korea, Indochina, and in civil war with Nationalist China. Fighting on all three simultaneously meant defeat, but individually the chances were excellent. The hope for victory depended on getting a cease-fire on some fronts so that the full potential of its limited military might could be thrown against the remaining one or ones.

That is what has happened and is happening. First was the cessation of the civil-war action by the isolation in the Formosa area which practically immobilized National China, one of the allies. Red China then concentrated against Korea and Indochina. But even the double front was too much for its strained resources. So a cease-fire was obtained in Korea. This immobilized the so-called United Nations forces and the South Koreans and left Red China free to concentrate on the third front—Indochina and the French. Successful there, the Reds now turn back to the old first front located in Formosa. As Napoleon Bonaparte once said: "Give me allies as an enemy so that I can defeat them one by one."

Militarily the situation demonstrates the inherent weakness of the theory of collective security—the chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and what is even more vital—its full power can only be utilized when all links are brought simultaneously into action. The diverse interests of allies always tend toward separation rather than unity.

Whatever betides the ultimate fate of the Far East—and indeed of the world—will not be settled by force of arms. We may all be practically annihilated—but war can no longer be an arbiter of survival.

I cannot close without once more thanking this beautiful city of Los Angeles for its gracious hospitality. It has been an inspiration to be here, where missions once stood as lonely outposts in the advance of our Christian civilization, but where this great metropolis now stands as a monument to American industry and adventure—a symbolic reminder of Californian strength and fortitude. I hate to leave—but, as I once pledged under very different circumstances, I shall return.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, MADE ON JANUARY 26, 1955, UPON RECEIVING IN LOS ANGELES AN AWARD OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE TO THE CHURCH OF GOD AS A CHRISTIAN STATESMAN AND SOLDIER

Your honor, your grace, and all in reverent attendance at this convention, I cannot begin to express adequately my thanks and appreciation for the signal honor you have conferred upon me. It creates an unforgettable sense of distinction far in excess of any just merit, and arouses a feeling of gratitude that is indelible.

Much of my life has been dedicated to the profession of arms. Much of my experience has been in the practice of the art of war. For such a one it is a rare privilege, indeed, when an occasion arises permitting construction rather than destruction, to build not to destroy.

Such was the unusual and unique opportunity presenting itself in the field of religion when our victorious soldiers entered Japan. These were veteran troops, troops who had come from behind, soldiers constantly outnumbered, and consequently constantly operating in the shadow of death. Now they had come through against all odds, and were duly thankful to a merciful God. They were spiritual to the highest degree. The most religious army of modern times. Men who prayed before they fought. Men who built their churches even before they built their hospitals.

Japan itself was in a state of utter collapse. It was completely exhausted. Its long war effort had reduced its industrial output to almost nothing. Its military defeat had destroyed not only its sense of self-reliance, but its sense of self-respect. The religious disintegration was even worse. It was universal and absolute.

In this vacuum, material, social and spiritual, the occupation began. Three concepts of divinity existed in Japan prior to the war: Shintoism, bred to the native culture of the Japanese; Buddhism, introduced from the Asiatic mainland; and Christianity, an occidental importation, a poor third. The latter influence became negligible during the war.

The first two were practically taken over by the Government as a means of regimentation of the masses. The priesthood represented one of the most cultured, influential and intellectual segments of society, but was dominated by the state. The temples were supported by national funds, and the priests themselves, to all intents and purposes, were but agents of those in political power.

Under Government tutelage, the people had been thoroughly indoctrinated with a belief in the invincible character of their armed forces. The propaganda was complete, and up to the very end no Japanese dreamed of anything but victory. The shock of sudden defeat was thus enormously increased, and left the populace doubtful and resentful, not only of their military and political leaders, but of their religions as well.

I am a Christitan and an Episcopalian, but I believe in all religions. They may differ in form and ritual, but all recognize a divine Creator, a superior power, that transcends all that is mortal. I, therefore, felt that it became my duty as a soldier of God to attempt to restore and revive religion in Japan, to fill this moral vacuum, just as it was my duty as a soldier of the Republic to revitalize the material well-being of the country; that to fulfill my obligation it must be of the spiritual as well as of the flesh. But the problem was how.

Should I, with my full military power, arbitrarily decree the adoption of the Christian faith as a national religion? Like all men of human frailty in their hour of defeat and despairing agony, I knew they must turn to some higher spiritual power for moral comfort and support. Would not this be the moment to order them to abandon their own and turn to our God? Their utter helplessness, their dire necessity, born of complete disaster and dependence, would have perhaps forced an outward compliance, but it would have been only a fictitious and superficial sham, and would surely have defeated the very purpose I had in mind.

The solution I adopted I believe you would have approved. It was to befriend all religions, to permit complete freedom of religious worship as individuals might choose, to free all creeds, Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian, from any Government control, to stop all proselyting of the church by national subsidy, to return to the temples their fundamental obligation of religious tutelage, to make the priest no longer an agent of political coercion or espionage activity. In short, to render unto God that which is His, and not unto Caesar which he would.

It worked like a charm. The priesthood responded to their relief from governmental dominance with a spiritual fervor that swept all before it. No slave passing to freedom ever exceeded their buoyant reaction. The religious vacuum disappeared, and, because I was Christian, and had acted so, it aroused among the Shintoist and Buddhist a great curiosity of the religion which had dictated my decision.

Their own creeds, good in part as they were, were based to some extent on a quid pro quo concept that one should do good in this life, because he would profit from it in the life to come; that he would be repaid; that he would get back more than he put in as a reward in another world was a main incentive. The concept of faith, the concept of Christ that man should do what is right, even if it entailed personal sacrifice, that the urge of conscience was greater than any material reward, was something new and novel.

It seemed to me that the great opportunity was to guide Shintoism and Buddhism toward this basic concept of religious faith, rather than the impossible task of replacement by a conqueror's own creed. That if the lessons of the Scriptures of the Sermon on the Mount could be integrated and welded into their own religious cultures, if basic spirituality could be common to all, it would mean little whether a Japanese were a Buddhist, a Shintoist, or a Christian.

I called upon America for Bibles. An offer of 100,000 was raised by me to 10 million, with an ultimate figure of three times that number, and that is the story up to now.

I am not trained in ecclesiastical methods, nor am I skilled in theological lore, but I want you to know that with such frail personal equipment as was mine I did my best, and that no phase of the occupation, with its many attempted military, political, social, and economic reforms, has left me with a greater sense of personal satisfaction than my spiritual stewardship. Although I am of Caesar, I did try to render unto God that which is His. And I even dared to hope that through this resurgence of religion Japan will, in the struggle that lies ahead, be indissolubly confirmed against any whose doctrines embrace the deadly poison of atheism. It might prove more potent than bullets, or bayonets, or bombs, or even bread.

Eisenhower Position Squeezes Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following article by Roscoe Drummond, from the Christian Science Monitor of February 5, 1955, entitled "Eisenhower Position Squeezes Democrats":

EISENHOWER POSITION SQUEEZES DEMOCRATS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The 84th Congress is into its second month and, in the judgment of most correspondents, the Democrats have not come up with a national issue they can use effectively against the Eisenhower administration either this year or next.

There is Democratic criticism of the administration decision to bring down the military manpower during the next 18 months, but few Americans will distrust the President in believing he would lightly put dollars ahead of needed defense.

There is Democratic controversy over the Dixon - Yates - Atomic-Energy - Commission private power contract, but this is not an issue on which elections are won or lost.

There is Democratic talk of trying to repeal the Benson flexible farm price support program and restore the rigid 90 percent of parity in its place, but it is doubtful if the Democrats have the votes. Also, the principal evidence in the 1954 congressional campaign was that the farm vote stayed substantially on the Republican side.

What is significant about this Democratic plight is that it looks as though it might continue. Naturally, you can't rule out sudden and unexpected political change, but the present consensus is that the Democrats have not any good issues in prospect unless there is a recession.

As the White House sees it, this is no accident. There's a reason. Its reason is that the Eisenhower leadership is succeeding in making conservative government sufficiently humanitarian—in fact, not just in theory—in staking out the best political ground come 1956.

The significant political fact is that Mr. Eisenhower is proving himself effective in making his brand of conservatism popular largely because this conservative administration is not negative and is showing that the conservative approach, while different from the New Deal at vital points, is a way of dealing with national problems, not an excuse for neglecting them.

As measured by presidential elections, conservative leadership has not been nationally popular with the American electorate since the depression—until Dwight D. Eisenhower became the symbol of the Republican Party. Mr. Eisenhower has disappointed some Republicans by showing himself too humanitarian. He has dismayed many Democrats by showing himself too effectively humanitarian.

I foresee that if the President's principal policies become the fabric as well as the symbol of the Republican Party and if the Republican Members of Congress give him genuine voting support, the Democrats face a formidable political drought.

Mr. Eisenhower constantly identifies himself as a middle-road person. What this means, it seems to me, is that the President—probably because it comes natural to him—has planted himself right in the middle of American thinking. His leadership leaves the Democrats relatively little room in which to maneuver for position. This is the plight in which the Democrats in this Democratic-controlling 84th Congress find themselves. The consequence is that the Democrats today are having a hard time finding points at which to attack him without sliding off into one extreme or the other.

Some right-wing Republicans will argue that President Eisenhower is just a New Deal welfare stater under a conservative label, and some left-wing Democrats will argue that he is just an economic reactionary under a humanitarian label. It is a fair and fundamental question to ask, therefore, what the President really means by "conservative" and "humanitarian." These are his own terms. He uses them often—"conservative" with the people's money and "humanitarian" in dealing with their problems. What are the tests of "conservatism" and "humanitarianism"? I think it accurate to say that the administration considers itself truly conservative:

Because it stands against what it deems the central error of the New Deal philosophy—the "Federal fixation," the theory that "Washington knows best," that the best solution to any problem anywhere in the United States is for the Federal Government to pass a law about it, appropriate a billion dollars, and spend it fast.

Because it is arresting, slowly but visibly, the long trend toward drawing to Washington more and more power over more and more things.

Because it is steadily replacing this policy of Federal control with a policy of Federal-State partnership. This applies to power development, school construction, medical facilities, etc.

Because it aims to take the Government out of competition with private business (for example, the recent sale of 24 Government synthetic-rubber plants) and free competitive private enterprise from most controls.

Because it believes that American competitive enterprise will be more productive and expansive for the benefit of all without minute governmental direction, and that the Government can do more for both capital and labor by creating a favorable climate for both than by trying to ration the economic raindrops.

On such a foundation the Eisenhower administration believes it can erect sound social-welfare measures without fostering the welfare state. It is carrying forward most of the social legislation initiated during the New Deal and expanding some of it. Its conviction is that these measures—expanded social security, unemployment insurance, health reinsurance program, etc.—make for a fluid, stable, resilient society when they are sustained by a private enterprise free from continuous Government intervention. Its purpose is not to use welfare measures to redistribute the wealth but to distribute wealth by increasing it.

This is not to suggest that the Eisenhower administration is always right and that performance parallels promise. But these are its fundamental directives and its fundamental direction.

Travelers Aid Celebrates Its 65th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Travelers Aid Society of Chicago is commemorating its 65th anniversary of continuous service to humanity, irrespective of creed, color, or national origin. Here is an agency of mercy that has been and is daily accomplishing miracles, without fanfare or publicity. Very few are familiar with the vast and complex problems that confront these fine workers every hour of the day and night. In this complex world, of which we are all a part, we are prone to take for granted the existence of certain agencies composed of many good men and women who go about doing some of God's work, with the only reward being the consciousness of knowing that they are helping mankind. In 1953, over 234,000 people were helped in some way by Chicago Travelers Aid; over 18,000 of these had serious problems requiring casework service. Their volunteers served over 71,000 hours gratuitously, and its board of directors include some of the leading citizens of the great community of Chicago. In this connection, I direct the attention of my colleagues to the following article which recently appeared in the Chicago Tribune:

TRAVELERS AID CELEBRATES ITS 65TH ANNIVERSARY

(By Norma Lee Browning)

It was a day just like any other at the La Salle Street station—milling mobs, clanging bells, droning loudspeaker announcements of train departures—and a young girl alone threading her way cautiously through the crowd in search of something.

She found it, a desk with a white globe thus lettered in blue, "Travelers Aid."

"I want to see someone about getting a job," she told the volunteer worker at the desk.

The girl wore blue jeans, yellow T-shirt, white ankle socks, and black-patent sandals. She carried a gray poplin jacket and no luggage. She was slender and pretty, but dishevelled, tired, and obviously bewildered. She wore a wedding band. Inside the office as a caseworker interviewed her she began to cry.

It happens every day and dozens of times a day in Chicago's big, bustling railroad and bus terminals. Here at the Nation's transit crossroads thousands of runaways, escapees from life, get trapped in the crossroads of their own emotions.

Here, where east meets west with a railroad timetable, the big station clock ticks off a steady stream of broken hearts in flight. Destination: nowhere.

Like the girl who asked Travelers Aid for a job. She didn't want a job. She had just left her husband, an alcoholic, and two children, walked out on them cold, hitchhiked for 3 days, and wound up in Chicago—her first big city—with only $2. Hers is a typical, not an isolated, case. Behind the simplest request at the Travelers Aid desks is usually a well-masked emotional scar. The woman who asks for a diaper pin is probably running away from herself—or trying to.

"And it can't be done," says Dr. Henry H. Fineberg, psychiatric consultant and board member of the Travelers Aid Society. "Trying to escape through travel is a very common experience, but you cannot escape what's inside you. Flight is one of the fundamental characteristics of the human animal. When trouble hits, it's either fight or flight, and those who can't fight try to maintain the phantasy of escape through flight.

"They always hope that somewhere else things will be different, but hope is merely a delusion for those who hit the road to get away from it all."

Traveling, adds Dr. Fineberg, is not really living, and anyone who travels excessively and purposelessly, anyone who talks of retiring just to travel constantly, anyone who floats from job to job, from city to city, is fleeing from some inner conflict he cannot solve.

His theory is borne out by the day-by-day records of the Travelers Aid workers. Most people think of Travelers Aid as a between-trains service of incidentals such as checking schedules, playing nursemaid to children, advancing short-term emergency loans when a ticket is lost, or finding overnight housing for stranded passengers. All this and much more Travelers Aid does.

But 90 percent of its time and money is spent on travelers in flight from reality.

Some are searching for the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow, some are drowning their troubles, some are seeking a one-way ticket to a hazy and happier past that won't be the same when they get there.

Not long ago a feeble, 84-year-old man was guided to the Travelers Aid desk by a stationmaster. He was distinguished looking, impeccably groomed, and independent as a hog on ice. All he needed, he said, was a day's rest. He had plenty of money; he used to be an engineer. But he'd been living in London, Ontario, and his last wish in life was to go West and die with his boots on. So he was going.

Travelers Aid found him a room and, to his disgust, a physician who advised against continuing the trip until he was stronger.

He escaped. A week later a Dallas newspaper carried his obituary, the brief account of a bewhiskered old gentleman who had insisted on dying with his cowboy boots on, but a complete stranger to the past he had tried to recapture. No friends or relatives came to claim his body. It was sent back to Ontario.

These things happen daily, a pathetic parade of old people returning to the past, but even more tragic are the unwanted ones shunted from relative to relative.

An 83-year-old man was brought to the desk in a wheelchair. He sobbed out a story that is all too familiar to the case workers. His daughter and her husband had put him on the train in Montana, presumably to visit relatives in a nearby town.

It was long after the train pulled out before he realized what had happened. His ticket read Chicago. He had no friends or relatives here. He was suffering from severe fatigue and malnutrition, and was placed in a sanitarium while Travelers Aid got busy locating his relatives. A son in New York, whom he hadn't seen in 4 years, offered to come to Chicago and get him. Overjoyed, he kept saying he didn't know that any of his children would do that much for him. He was luckier than many.

In-flight travelers fall into six major categories: (1) the senile, (2) runaway children and teen-agers, (3) custody cases, i. e., youngsters shunted between squabbling parents and relatives, (4) fugitives from marital problems, (5) chronic wanderers, and (6) serious neurotics or psychotics.

Last June, Travelers Aid in Chicago helped write finis to an incredible but true flight from reality case that had baffled social agencies and police for 12 months in nearly 48 States.

A policeman found a small boy sitting sobbing on a suitcase in the Greyhound bus station. He took the child to the Travelers Aid desk. The boy said his mother had told him to sit there until she got back. He had been waiting for 2 days. The child was placed in a home. Two more days later the mother walked into the bus station and nonchalantly asked, "Where's my child?"

She had got a job as a waitress, she explained, and fully intended to come back for her son when she had enough money to buy a bus ticket.

It developed that the woman was a paranoid. She had escaped from a mental hospital in the South, kidnaped her own son, and for more than a year had been traveling from town to town and leaving her child at the bus station while she earned a day's wages to exist and move on. She carried a revolver and had definite homicidal tendencies.

Her husband and family back home, in a small backwoods town, had been paralyzed by fear and shame and apparently had not made much effort to find her. A Travelers Aid worker escorted the boy home to his father. The deranged mother is now safe behind the walls of Cook County Hospital's psychopathic unit.

This, of course, is an extreme case. Most travelers who need aid are not psychotics at all, but emotionally disturbed people running away from life's problems.

In some, particularly the chronic wanderers, the basic problem is so deeply rooted there is little a social agency can do except offer temporary superficial assistance.

There is, for instance, Horace, the nice, docile little man who drifts in and out regularly. Travelers Aid has become probably his only permanent address. He usually turns up in Chicago in the spring of the year, or sometimes in the fall. Travelers Aid helps him find a cheap room and a job—as a waiter, busboy, or bellhop—and tries to persuade him to save enough money to go home and visit his old mother in Alabama. But he never does.

When the loneliness of one city overpowers him he moves on to another.

Why?

"We've never found out," says Mrs. Betty Gordon, supervisor of Travelers' Aid case workers at La Salle Street and Dearborn stations. "Horace comes back to us every year, but all we know is that in some way life has damaged him too much."

On the records Horace is listed simply as a statistic under the heading "Financial Difficulties." But, like many of the more than 300,000 served annually by the Chicago Travelers' Aid, he is fleeing from something inside himself.

Sometimes in a strange city, a strange setting, in the muted, kaleidoscopic chaos of a railroad station, the fugitive does his first backtracking to reality. He may suddenly think, "My God, what have I done?" Or she may cry her heart out in the waiting room, then take the first train home.

A matron found a 19-year-old serviceman's wife sobbing hysterically in the waiting room and called a Travelers' Aid worker. The girl had a 5 months' old baby. When she was finally calmed and could talk coherently, she said she had been home with her husband on leave, visiting his family in Ohio, and after an argument had stormed out of the house—with no place to go. She had no family or relatives. She was sure he wouldn't want her back, and, besides, she didn't know where to locate him. He was being transferred, to San Diego, or Portland, or somewhere.

He was eventually located and took his wife back.

Chicago's Travelers' Aid was organized at the YWCA in 1890 to meet trains bringing girls to the city in search of jobs. This was

in the heyday of the notorious Everleigh sisters' bawdy-house business, and the main purpose of Travelers' Aid then was to keep good girls from going wrong in the city.

Today some 500 part-time volunteers, plus nearly 100 full-time paid employees, including 22 caseworkers and 5 supervisors, cover 8 big transportation terminals—6 railroads, bus, and airport. Last year the agency advanced $99,821.97 in emergency relief loans to stranded passengers and got $97,450.22 of it back—a 97.6-percent reimbursement.

"Most people who come to us," said Mrs. Gordon, "are honest. But they're unhappy. They're seeking some kind of temporary gratification in flight. Often it's a minor request—for a safety pin or a train schedule—that provides an outlet for an emotional tempest that has been brewing.

"We try to help them pick up the pieces, bring their problems into focus, and face realities with this question: 'Is this really the thing I want to do?' Not only are they passengers stranded between trains; they are people stranded between conflicts that are too much to cope with; they always think they'll be happier somewhere else, and it just is not true."

A fat woman trailed by five rumpled youngsters approached the desk and asked, "How do I change my ticket from Portland, Oreg., to Mississippi?" Then she broke into sobs; bells clanged; the loudspeaker droned on; and the big station clock ticked off another runaway trapped at the crossroads.

An Open Letter on Tariffs to All Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I assume that the Members of the House are aware of the fact that a member of the Randall Commission has proposed, in connection with H. R. 1—the trade-agreement extension—that any industry, or the town in which it is located, that is ruined by imports shall be moved to some other part of the country, and if necessary the employees of that industry be retrained for some other line of business. This proposal is meeting with violent opposition from the employees of the various industries of this country. The employees are so worried over this proposal that they are carrying paid advertisements to let the Members of Congress know how deeply they and their families feel against this un-American proposal.

Under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting the 1-page advertisement which appeared in the Stafford Press, Stafford, Conn., on Thursday, February 3, 1955, which was paid for by 1,004 workers in the textile, button, and allied industries:

AN OPEN LETTER ON TARIFFS TO ALL CONGRESSMEN

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I like living in the United States. I like living in Connecticut. I like living in Stafford, because it's my own choice, so is my job.

But Mr. Congressman, H. R. 1 will change my freedom of choice. It will give away my job protection. I may have to move and find another job. Maybe I am too old.

And, Mr. Congressman, if you have the right to set my minimum pay, why give up your right to protect me from wages in foreign countries that are from less than one-tenth to one-third of what I get.

My boss has spent a lot of money for new equipment to make my job easier. Even so, I can't compete with the fellow overseas. I don't want to lower my standard of living nor give up my freedom of choice of job and where I live.

And, Mr. Congressman, there are a lot of people just like me all over the country.

And, Mr. Congressman, there are lot of other people in this town and in other towns that are dependent on my job and pay and that of my fellow workers for their livelihood.

And, Mr. Congressman, don't forget a uniform is the first issue to a boy in the Armed Forces. I have helped make a lot of woolen cloth for those boys. I don't want the uniform of my son or any other boys to come from some foreign country.

And please, Mr. Congressman, if you are interested in me, my family, my home, my job, and my town don't approve H. R. 1.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES W. FITZ,
A Worried Worker.

(This advertisement was paid for by 1,004 workers in the textile, button, and allied industries.)

The Late Judge Camille Kelley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Judge Camille Kelley at the home of her son, Heiskell B. Kelley, in Little Rock, the Nation lost a distinguished jurist. The universal esteem in which Judge Kelley was held was well expressed in a tribute in the Arkansas Gazette, and under leave to extend my remarks I include the following editorial which appeared on January 30:

JUDGE CAMILLE KELLEY

Judge Camille McGee Kelley left a deep and lasting imprint on the social fabric of her generation. Few jurists have achieved the wide recognition she won in her chosen field—the juvenile court.

The kindness and understanding of the problems of the young prompted the National Probation Association to award her court the description of second to none in spirit. It also became known as the heart center of Memphis and the city honored her further by setting aside February 20 as Camille Kelley Day to commemorate her work among the youth.

Camille Kelley's interests were broad and far reaching. She was a noted speaker, an authority on juvenile delinquency, and following her retirement in 1950 had written an impressive number of books and television scripts on her career as an aid and adviser to young people in trouble. They, along with the learned members of her profession and the laity as well, will remember her as a wise and gentle lady whose presence made the world of young people a better place.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith a statement of the Lead Pencil Manufacturers Association, Inc., re H. R. 1 submitted to the Committee on Ways and Means. I enclose the statement because of the presence in the city of Jersey City, which city I represent in the Congress, of the Joseph Dixon Crucible Co. and the General Pencil Co., members of the association. If these firms are adversely affected by H. R. 1, I am afraid that serious unemployment difficulties may arise in my district. The statement reads as follows:

STATEMENT RE H. R. 1

PURPOSE OF STATEMENT

It is the purpose of this statement to present the viewpoint of the lead-pencil manufacturing industry relative to pending legislation which would permit further possible reductions in lead-pencil tariff rates.

This statement is submitted by the Lead-Pencil Manufacturers Association, Inc., 60 East 42d Street, New York, N. Y., on behalf of the 18 lead-pencil manufacturing companies of the United States, comprising 13 association member companies and 5 nonmember companies which have specifically approved this statement. A full list of the participating companies is attached to this statement as exhibit A.

BACKGROUND OF INDUSTRY

Nature of product

The lead-pencil manufacturing industry is approximately 100 years old in the United States. During this period, the lead pencil has been the basic writing instrument of education and industry at an economic, consistently low cost to users, in striking contrast to the general price inflation seen in other consumer products.

The lead pencil is a precision-made instrument, composed of up to 40 ingredients which are put through more than 125 operations to bring to the public the writing tool with which it is so familiar. Among the better known ingredients are California incense cedar, sheet brass, crude and synthetic rubber, graphite, clay, waxes, adhesives, pigments, lacquers, and packaging materials. The industry is a substantial contributor, relative to its size, to the import trade through its foreign purchase of clay, graphite, rubber, waxes, an dother raw materials.

Makeup of industry

The lead-pencil manufacturing industry is a small industry. The 18 manufacturers, who account for the entire production, range in size from firms employing less than 50 persons to those having upwards of 500 employees. In total, the industry employed 5,433 persons as of January 1, 1954, and its payroll amounted to $15,504,000 in 1953, representing 57.3 percent of the industry's $27,024,000 sales during that year.

The 18 manufacturers of lead pencils in the United States have an investment in land, buildings, production equipment, and inventories in excess of $60 million. In 1953, the industry paid taxes of more than $2 million to Federal, State, and local agencies, aside from the taxes paid by its employees, and in 1954 paid at least an equal amount.

ESSENTIALITY OF PRODUCT

Black and colored pencils are indispensable operating supplies for every branch of the Armed Forces and are essential to the maintenance of practically all functions and operations of cooperative life and business. They are required for the entire student population. They are indispenable in the pursuit of all trade and commerce, for the use of financial and insurance organizations, for the operation of all transportation and communication services and systems and for public utilities, and by all operating departments of the Federal, State, and local governments.

Because production of all machines, machine products, and construction of every type starts on the drawing boards, the lead pencil is a basic tool of the designer and draftsman in preparing his original sketches, finished drawings, and blueprints. The products of the industry are used not only in offices and drafting rooms, but black-lead pencils, colored and copying pencils of many types are used in all factories for planning, supervising, and directing production, and for recording production data on which workers are rated and compensated.

The wood-cased pencil is a product which meets all of the standards of essentiality laid down by the War Manpower Commission in World War II, except that it is not directly utilized for combat purposes. In a large measure, it is almost like a machine tool: Neither is used directly in combat, but both are essential to the manufacture of combat materials. Actually, huge quantities of pencils go into combat areas along with other small but indispensable items.

A review of lead-pencil import figures during the past 50 years will show clearly that in 1914 and 1940 this country and its allies were abruptly cut off from all foreign supplies of lead pencils. Had not American manufacturers been able to fill the critical need for general and special pencils required by all civilian, military, and industrial elements a truly serious situation would have resulted. Maintenance of the pencil industry and its skills on a standby basis, to be activated only in time of war, is impossible.

CURRENT DISTRESSED INDUSTRY CONDITIONS

Competitive industry

The lead-pencil manufacturing industry in the United States is a highly competitive, low-profit industry. Due to falling exports and other factors, present production is considerably less than the industry's capacity, which was enlarged to meet war and early postwar demands. This has resulted in intense competition in the domestic market and a depressed price level. In spite of drastic cost increases, as will be shown later, lead pencils are still selling at the same retail prices of 2 for 5 cents, 5 cents, and 10 cents, which our grandfathers paid 50 years ago for pencils that could not compare in quality with today's product.

As a result of this, it is well to note that the rate of profit for the lead-pencil industry in 1953, although sales volume increased, was below 1 percent of invested capital. This is in marked contrast to the average rate of profit for all manufacturing corporations in 1953, which was 10.4 percent, according to a Federal Trade Commission study. Figures for 1954 are not yet available, but they would show no improvement over 1953.

Rising costs

During the last 20 years (1934–54), all elements of industry costs have increased substantially. A 1954 survey showed that wood costs are up by 189 percent, erasers by 103 percent, leads by 180 percent, brass by 187 percent, packaging by 176 percent, and labor by 265 percent. Since the survey date, wood, rubber, and brass costs have again risen. The industry's cost increases from 1934 to the present time have far exceeded the 1930 tariff rate on imported lead pencils. The industry has barely managed to survive by improving its processes and equipment to the maximum possible extent.

Falling production

The last official Bureau of the Census production figures for this industry, covering the year 1947, reveal that 10,890,000 gross of pencils, having a manufacturers' value of $31,181,000, were produced, of which 2,968,220 gross were exported. By 1953, industry grossage, according to industry records, had fallen to 9,472,000, with a manufacturers' value of $27,024,000, of which only 553,347 gross were reported.

The substantial decline of pencil exports in recent years has been a serious blow to the industry. Exports have fallen 81.3 percent between 1947 and 1954. Some of the industry's most important export markets have been entirely lost to foreign manufactures following their postwar rehabilitation. Domestic manufacturers are unable to compete pricewise in the few export markets still open to them because of the substantially lower cost advantages enjoyed by foreign producers.

Exports and imports

Our industry is vulnerable to foreign competition, in both export and domestic markets. Because of the industry's difficulties, caused by keen competition, distressed price levels, a production overcapacity, and the fact that exports have been drastically reduced, the industry is definitely at the peril point, or below, under present tariff rates. Any further reduction of lead pencil tariff rates would greatly increase pencil imports and destroy the domestic industry. Even under present rates, foreign manufacturers continue to increase their share of the American market. They do not need lower tariff rates to be effectively competitive in a normal, peacetime economy.

The reasons for this are clear. Our domestic pencil products have no important differences in appearance or performance to shield them from being displaced by closely comparable imports. Foreign manufacturers are equally mechanized and have equivalent know-how. Their production per man-hour is equal to ours. However, according to official Government figures, the average hourly earnings for individual workers in the United States is $1.78, while in Japan it is $0.19, and in Germany it is $0.44, and this substantial wage gap will probably increase as higher wage minimums are enacted. The effect of this tremendous disparity in wage rates can be judged by the fact that payroll represents over 57 percent of the industry's dollar volume.

In 1932 and 1933, when the full tariff rate of 50 cents per gross and 30 percent ad valorem was in effect, Japanese producers were able to flood the American market with cheap pencils. This created such a serious condition for our industry that the United States Tariff Commission, after an exhaustive study of the wood-cased lead pencil industry, sent its Report No. 91 (second series) to the President of the United States, with recommendations to give the industry relief from this foreign competition. As a result of this study, the State Department negotiated an agreement fixing a quota restriction on the Japanese imports complained about. This relief was granted in recognition of the distressed economic status of the pencil industry, shown by the conditions in the industry set forth in the Tariff Commission's report.

Since 1945, the ad valorem duty on lead pencils has been cut by 50 percent. To further reduce these tariff rates would cause dire hardship to American lead pencil manufacturers.

CONCLUSIONS

The lead pencil manufacturing industry of the United States earnestly opposes legislative provisions that permit further reductions in import duties on pencils or pencil leads. The lead-pencil industry is already at the peril point and must have for survival at least the present tariff protection for the following reasons:

1. The ad valorem duty on all important classifications has already been reduced the full 50 percent permitted under existing law.

2. The industry's products are articles of prime essentiality and of strategic necessity.

3. Since the industry is in serious difficulty because of rising costs, loss of exports, and a depressed price level resulting from intense domestic competition, it is clear that a large influx of foreign pencils, which would inevitably follow a further reduction in duty, would be fatal to American manufacturers.

4. The American pencil industry cannot convert its main productive facilities into the manufacture of any other product; its machinery can be used only to make pencils.

5. The total dollar volume of the American pencil industry is so small that if foreign-made pencils captured the entire domestic market the resulting benefit to international trade would be insignificant, yet American workers would lose wages in excess of $15 million each year, Government would lose annual industry taxes of more than $2 million, and a century-old industry, essential to the Nation in time of war and peace, would be destroyed.

6. So long as our domestic market is protected by a reasonable, competitive tariff, the sale of lead pencils in the United States, as shown by past records, will rise and fall according to general business activity. This industry does not wish its domestic market to be curtailed by unemployment and business depression brought about by reducing tariffs that now protect many other industries vulnerable to foreign competition, which industries, we understand, employ more people in this country than industries whose productivity or special nature is such as to make them independent of foreign competition.

H. B. VAN DORN,
Chairman, Foreign Trade and Tariff Committee, Lead Pencil Manufacturers Association, Inc.

Delaware River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolution passed by the City Council of the City of Philadelphia relative to the deepening of the Delaware River:

Resolution memorializing the President of the United States, the United States Senate, and the House of Representatives relative to the deepening of the Delaware River at Federal expense

Whereas the Delaware River from Trenton, N. J., to the Atlantic Ocean is the very lifeline of one of the most populous areas of the United States; and

Whereas the industry and commerce of this great section depends in a large measure on the possibility of oceangoing vessels making their way safely to the great cities on its banks, including Philadelphia and Chester in Pennsylvania, Trenton and Camden in New Jersey, and Wilmington in Delaware, in

addition to many other smaller communities; and

Whereas since the earliest days of our national history it has been the responsibility of our Federal Government to maintain rivers and harbors in navigable condition for the promotion of trade as well as for the security of our Nation; and

Whereas this policy remains in effect, as witness the Federal Government defraying the cost of river and harbor operations in the St. Lawrence, in Puget Sound, in the Florida Keys, and elsewhere; and

Whereas the Delaware River must be dredged to the depth of 40 feet to permit the safe passage of craft bearing supplies for defense plants and other industries; and

Whereas the Federal Government appears to be discriminating against the three States of Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania in requiring that local interests must defray two-thirds of the cost of the operation, a requirement unprecedented in the history of our Nation; and

Whereas this requirement will do much to destroy the growth of business and industry in Delaware Valley, United States of America, an area of 10 million inhabitants: Therefore

Resolved by the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That we hereby memorialize the President of the United States, the United States Senate, and the House of Representatives to avoid this unfair discrimination and, on behalf of the security of the Nation, and the prosperity of Delaware Valley, United States of America, to proceed forthwith with this vital project of deepening the Delaware River, and at Federal expense; and be it further

Resolved, That certified copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the United States Senators from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, and the Members of Congress from the metropolitan area representing districts in the Delaware River Valley.

JAMES H. J. TATE,
President of City Council.

Senator Taft on Formosa in 1950

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, from a newspaper editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune of February 5, 1955, it appears that the late Senator Taft, in January of 1950, suggested that the United States Navy patrol the Straits of Formosa to prevent a Red invasion. At that time, his suggestion was not looked upon with any favor. Five years have lapsed since he made that suggestion. Now the general agreement as expressed by Congress in its passage of the Formosa resolution shows the wisdom with which Senator Taft was endowed.

The editorial is as follows:

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ANVIL CHORUS?

We have been waiting in vain for some manifestations of dissent to Mr. Eisenhower's assertion that Formosa is essential to American security and that the United States will not permit it to fall to communism, even if there has to be a shooting defense.

For, in January 1950, when the late Senator Taft suggested that the United States Navy patrol the Straits of Formosa to prevent a Red invasion, the verdict was practically unanimous that he was all wet.

When Dean Acheson, then Secretary of State, made a speech dismissing Mr. Taft as a backward pupil, the Washington Star pronounced this rebuttal brilliant and far reaching and said it should be "required reading for all Americans who have let their emotions get the better of their heads" over China.

The Star has now said (January 25) of Mr. Eisenhower's request for a conditional declaration of war in defense of Formosa, "No one disputes the point that the security of the United States requires that Formosa be kept out of Communist hands." But we thought that was just what the Star was disputing when Senator Taft said it.

The New York Herald Tribune announced its position even in advance of Senator Taft's statement. On December 31, 1949, it said editorially that the risk of identifying American policy with the now discredited Chiang, are greater than the political risks which would have to be accepted should the island fall to the Communists and so become a base for further Communist infiltration."

Now that Eisenhower has spoken, the Herald Tribune has no objection to defending Formosa and the Pescadores, and even talks of the support from free nations which we can properly expect in executing this policy. This newspaper also says, "The President's message will stand as a landmark in the development of American policy, an example of the way a great nation can use its strength for good."

This catalog of flip-flops could be extended endlessly through a whole roster of newspapers and commentators. But the point is plain enough: When Mr. Eisenhower catches up with one of Senator Taft's ideas 5 years later, it is an inspired decision and everybody is disposed to say, along with the New York Times, "We welcome this development."

But when Senator Taft, along with General MacArthur, and Herbert Hoover, had the original idea, nobody had a kind word.

Rules of Debate in the Senate and House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the people generally have an idea from what is taught in our schools just how Congress works, but that theory is far from the actual operation of Congress. I am not familiar with how the Senate operates, but, from reading the newspapers, it seems to me that it is like ancient Gaul, divided into three parts. Those are the majority, the minority, and investigation committees. In this body there are more investigating committees than fleas on a homeless dog. Every department has to be investigated, employees have to be investigated, Senators have to be investigated, then, finally, the Senators have to talk. There is no limit in the Senate how long a Senator can talk. It depends not on what he knows about the subject but the state of his health. If he can talk for 4 nights and 3 days without stopping he impresses the country. There may be no one in the Senate but the Presiding Officer and the clerks, but he can take encouragement because when one of the 2-mile horses gets going the public likes to see him go. I do not know whether the public bets on him or not, but it is safer than betting on horses. A horse may quit, but a Senator never. Senators like two I have heard do not look like endurance champions, but you cannot always go by looks. You would swear that neither one of them could last 30 minutes, but there is where the public is fooled. Either one can talk from Washington's Birthday to the Fourth of July without any perceptible weariness. One stumbled and fell once, but before he received any aid he was up and going stronger than ever.

It is an education in itself to hear these 2-milers talk. You can never tell what the subject is, for they go into minute details from building a mousetrap to building an atomic bomb, and, of course, they are not experts at either. They are not curtailed because they might give away top secrets. What they say is not top secret at all, but it is something that everybody already knows. New thoughts are seldom added, but they grind up known information and spit it out in better rhetorical form than the language facts come in. Football, baseball, horseracing, and the other sports will never please the rooters like one of these marathon exertions of a Senator.

In the House the Members have no such unbridled liberties. The majority and minority committee members deal out the time. Committee members have the first call, and if a Member wants to talk on a subject where there are 30 committee members each having 30 minutes—and this is greatly underestimated—900 minutes are consumed by these members. That would be 15 hours debate. Usually the longest debates are 8 hours, so you can see where a Member, if not a committee member, gets limited time.

There is only one way another Member can talk at all, and that is when the actual debate ends and the bill is read for amendment. A Member can speak then, providing he offers an amendment that the Speaker thinks is germane, and he has 5 minutes. Most of these attempts are ruled out as "Not being germane," whatever that means. Anyway, it means that the Member cannot talk.

The worst part of the whole proceeding is that if a Member thinks he has just a mere chance of getting the floor, he has to stay in the Chamber and hear all these speeches and grin and bear it. Some do not even grin. Another impediment to a noncommittee Member is that after he gets his 5 minutes, he is asked to yield by some friendly Member—and these noncommittee Members are always polite—and the natural result is that most of his time has been consumed before he has said a word on the pending bill. This happened to me one time—I obtained 5 minutes and a friendly Member asked me to yield and, being polite, I did so. This Member

consumed 4 minutes—a little over that—and I saw that the Chairman was getting all set to bang down the gavel and end the great contribution I was making to the bill. I saw my time was short. I did not want to say "Goodby" as I was too riled up for that, so I had time to say, "I have waited a year to speak on this bill. I did not have time to say a word about it, so if you Members do not see me in the well of this House for another year, allow me to wish you all a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year."

There is one good thing about the House practice, though. If you never say anything, you cannot be quoted in the next campaign by some devilish upstart that goes gunning for your seat in Congress. This has brought me through a winner in many campaigns. Probably if I had been permitted to talk, as I wanted to, I would not be here now. So you can see that while you are limited in debate by the rules of the House, plus the advice of the Speaker, I presume it is a premeditated plan to keep these silent Members in Congress.

Personally, I would rather spend a short time in Congress than to be roped and hog-tied for 20 years. During my service here I have learned to be a good listener, and while you hear very little that will enlighten you, good manners and the rules of the House give you great protection in campaigns if you have your heart set on being a Member of Congress term after term. Increased congressional salaries will be before the House in a few days now, and when it comes up I am going to propose that hog-tied Members receive a raise and the volatile Members get just what they are now getting, or less. It is worth more to sit here year after year and be compelled to listen to what committee members have to offer—which is not much.

Here you have a picture of the debates in the Senate and House; which method to pursue, for political reasons, I hesitate to say.

Democrats Impair Atomic-Energy Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, according to an editorial in the Washington Star of February 5, it is stated that the Democratic member of the Atomic Energy Commission has testified that the controversy over the Dixon-Yates contract has impaired the Atomic Energy Commission's work in both the military and nonmilitary fields, and he has warned that there is likely to be further serious damage in that respect if the administration insists upon going ahead with the project.

If the above is true, then the Democrats ought to put the welfare of their country above partisan politics and permit the Dixon-Yates contract to go through without further obstruction, so we can get along with our atomic-energy program.

What should come first—the country's welfare or partisan politics?

The editorial from the Washington Star is as follows:

POLITICS AND THE ATOM

It is unfortunate that the Joint Congressional Committee on the Atom continues to be at political war with itself, along strict party lines, over the so-called Dixon-Yates contract, and more unfortunate still is the fact that the Atomic Energy Commission remains caught in the middle of the fight. Nevertheless, if the contract itself is as meritorious as he obviously believes it to be, the President is on sound ground in declaring his firm intent to go through with it even though the committee's Democratic majority has voted solidly in favor of cancellation.

True enough, veteran Commissioner Thomas E. Murray has testified that the controversy over this issue has impaired the AEC's work in both the military and nonmilitary fields, and he has warned that there is likely to be further serious damage in that respect if the administration insists upon going ahead with the project—a private undertaking designed to supply the TVA system with 600,000 kilowatts in the Memphis area in order to make up for a comparable amount of TVA power being delivered to our atomic plants at Paducah. But Mr. Murray has taken an on-again-off-again position on the matter—first opposing the contract, then approving it in its final form, and now switching back to the opposition—and his latest change of mind seems to have been brought about primarily by a desire to put an end to partisan politicking rather than by any sudden discovery of grievous faults in the contract's terms.

In other words, if this is a fair assessment of his new position, Mr. Murray would abandon the contract, not so much because it lacks merit as because the joint committee's Democratic members (who do not have the unanimous support of their party colleagues) threaten to keep on vexing and distracting the AEC with unremitting attacks on the Dixon-Yates project. However, the Republican administration can hardly be expected to surrender to such a threat if it is honestly convinced of the project's worthwhileness, and this seems particularly true in view of considerations like the following: (1) Chairman Lewis L. Strauss' categorical assertion that the undertaking has in no degree been injurious to the AEC's primary operations, and (2) the fact that the contract's terms appear to be economically better than those already in effect with private companies supplying power to atomic installations elsewhere.

Yet, politics being what they are, and because advocates of public power regard Dixon-Yates as a phrase meaning an encroachment of "creeping capitalism" on the territory of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the joint committee's Democrats are not likely to diminish their attacks.

Thoughts From the Grassroots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an editorial appearing in the News-Herald, of Owenton, Ky., on February 3, 1955. While the comments paint a rather desolate and dark picture, it nevertheless points up very lucidly the situation with which many of our smaller communities are confronted. It brings home the need for prompt and immediate action on the part of Congress to provide a program of Federal assistance for school-construction purposes during this session. It is our responsibility; the needs are known to all of us. Further delay on the part of Congress in enacting an affirmative, constructive, and practical program under which there would be eliminated these black marks would be a serious error of omission.

I urge each of my colleagues to read this splendid editorial carefully.

OUR SCHOOL PROBLEMS

Once again a group of citizens are organizing themselves in the county to try and help solve the many problems facing the county board of education. A large group of parents met Monday night at the REA building and set up a committee. Highly unsanitary conditions at the Owenton elementary school was the chief topic of concern—although the list of complaints is a long one. The group visited the school on Tuesday morning for a personal inspection of the building.

Previously a committee had been set up by the New Liberty School PTA to tackle similar problems in their school.

Many of the Owenton group reported that, despite the conditions of the building which is in reality too old and unsafe to be used, the place is not kept clean. Everyone knows the danger in this. Disease germs breed in uncleanliness and filth. This is too great a risk to run for the welfare and health of our children and community.

We believe these unsanitary conditions can be corrected and the heating system operated to provide sufficient heat for the children and teachers. On cold days they are forced to keep their overcoats on until around noon.

All this reemphasizes the age-old problem of the county school system. There is not sufficient revenue for the school board to operate all the schools properly. Something is going to have to be done in the not too distant future as far as financing is concerned. Several of the school buildings in the county are inadequate. They must be replaced. We don't know where the money is coming from to do all this—but the problem has been put off about as long as possible.

Granahan Says Showdown on Delaware River Project Will Come in Appropriation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith a statement I have made in support of legislation I introduced making an appropriation for the prosecution of the Delaware River Channel deepening project:

GRANAHAN SAYS SHOWDOWN ON DELAWARE RIVER PROJECT WILL COME IN APPROPRIATION BILL

Congressman WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN, Democrat, of Philadelphia, said today the showdown on the Delaware River Channel project from Philadelphia to Trenton "will probably have to come in the appropriation bill if present efforts to persuade the President to change his mind do not succeed."

GRANAHAN introduced a bill today to provide for a $25 million Federal appropriation in the coming fiscal year to begin work on the $90 million project. President Eisenhower's budget for the 1956 fiscal year had called for only a $6 million appropriation contingent on local industrial interests (United States Steel Corp.) providing $18 million toward the project before any Federal funds are made available.

"The series of conferences we have been holding in devising strategy to try to get the President to change his mind and allow this project to go forward—as Congress said it should—without the $18 million local contribution, may be effective, and should certainly be pushed full-speed ahead. Governor Leader, Governor Meyner, and Governor Boggs are all making a fine contribution to this goal.

"But unless the President changes his mind, we will have to get this thing accomplished in the same way we pushed through the enabling legislation last year—that is, by convincing the Congress of the dangerous precedent which would be set if the administration's position were allowed to prevail.

"That is why I am cosponsoring a special appropriation bill to get this matter formally before the House Appropriations Committee when the civil functions appropriation bill is called up for hearings.

"We must not only convince the Appropriations Committee of the soundness of our position but we must also impress on all Members of Congress whose districts include navigable waterways that the President's idea of requiring huge private contributions to waterways-development work will stifle industrial expansion and raise all kinds of serious economic problems for the future.

"We are pretty much in the same situation that we were last year when the enabling legislation was before Congress. At that time the administration insisted that the authorizing law require an $18 million local contribution. Intense efforts were made to try to get the administration to change that position. When those efforts failed, we took the fight to the Congress and won. We may have to do exactly the same thing again—and I sincerely believe we can win the fight all over again."

Devastation of Low Tariff on Industrial Expansion in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting, under leave to extend, a letter from Mr. Earle W. Gage, editor of the Jamestown Shopping Guide, of Jamestown, N. Y., together with an article which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News of February 1, 1955. As stated in the article the Depew, N. Y., mill of the Albert Goode Bedin, Inc., has abandoned plans to erect a new plant in Depew because of the threat of strong competition from imported goods.

FEBRUARY 2, 1955.

Hon. DANIEL A. REED,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. REED: I enclose clipping from Buffalo News which is in line with your brave fight against reducing tariff rates, and hope that you may place this in the RECORD for all to read who wish to know what could happen to American industry with flood of cheaply made foreign products.

Sincerely,

EARLE W. GAGE.

[From the Buffalo Evening News of February 1, 1955]

TOLD TARIFF CUT IS THREAT TO JOBS—GOODE BEDIN CONCERN ABANDONS PLAN TO BUILD NEW PLANT, SAYS IT MAY HAVE TO SHUT OLD ONE

A 37-year-old weaving mill in Depew which makes silk bolting cloth and stencil silk has told its employees that their jobs are in danger because of a proposal before Congress to cut the tariff on this type of textile.

The mill is the production unit of Albert Goode Bedin, Inc., 437 Fifth Avenue, which does an extensive business in silk bolting cloth and nylon and vinyon-filter fabrics. About 60 are employed in the Depew plant. Many of them are writing United States Senators and Representatives protesting the tariff-lowering proposal.

Because of the threat of strong competition from imported goods, the Depew mill has abandoned plans to erect a new plant in Depew, according to Julian Faisant, superintendent.

ASKS HELP OF EMPLOYEES

The new building was to have been located on Calumet Street. Operations will be continued in the older plant at Calumet Street and Terrace Boulevard, part of which was taken over by the Marco Industries about 10 years ago.

Bolting cloth is used in flour mills to sift flour. It is in a class with stencil silk used in the process of printing on fabrics.

President Henri Barbet, of Albert Goode Bedin, Inc., in a bulletin for the employees at Depew, said:

"If the proposed cut in the tariff becomes effective, this country will be flooded with Japanese stencil silk which, in the event of war, could no longer reach our shores. • • • Your help is needed to put a stop to this tariff-cutting plan."

CALLED STRATEGIC MATERIAL

Mr. Barbet told the employees in Depew that "this time the Government people want the tariff cuts to apply directly for the benefit of Japan. They have said so officially." He added:

"If the United States goes on cutting tariffs without seeing to it that foreign nations do their fair part in helping build up trade, this company believes our country will be hurt badly. We believe your jobs will be endangered.

"Sooner or later, lower tariffs can only mean the closing of this company and the loss of your job. In the long run, it won't help Japan or anybody else if tariff cuts wreck an American industry."

Mr. Barbet pointed out that bolting cloth is regarded as a strategic material—that this textile has been used to sift explosives, abrasives, and chemicals, ingredients necessary for the conduct of war.

The Spirit of Free Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, the 7th of February marks the 10th anniversary of the famous wartime meeting of the Big Three which marked the beginning of a series of retreats of the free world before the forward march of Soviet aggression. The spirit of Poland, although at times under the yoke of foreign aggression, still lived in the hearts of the Polish people, and we firmly believe that it survives today. Her courage under various circumstances should be an inspiration for future generations of Poles to carry on with that same indomitable spirit which has characterized their actions throughout the years.

Much disappointment has been felt not only by the people of Poland, but by many nations who share the spirit of liberty, that the Atlantic Charter has failed to carry out its provisions with regard to the rights and freedoms of people who have been subjected to the yoke of oppression. Those who committed their signature to the Atlantic Charter gave their approval to the following ideals on the part of the charter's membership.

First. Countries should seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise.

Second. The signators desire no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

Third. The rights of all people to choose a form of government under which they will live is sanctioned by the Atlantic Charter, and the charter expresses the dictum that the sovereign rights and self-government shall be restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics endorsed these objectives and became a signator to this charter on January 1, 1942. The freedom-loving people of Poland accepted this charter and hoped that it meant a spiritual rebirth of the principles of freedom to which they had dedicated their lives on May 3, 1791. By their previous record they had earned the right to such expectations. They had made the same sacrifices on the altar of human decency and liberty as the soldiers of other lands in their fight against the tyranny imposed by Adolf Hitler. They had also placed their trust and their faith in the intellectual honesty of America.

But what happened? The agreements made at Yalta surrendered much of the principles which had been laid down in the Atlantic Charter. The freedom-loving people of Poland were locked behind the Iron Curtain, where they remain today. The events of those fateful hours at Yalta in the year 1945 constitute, perhaps, the darkest pages in the history of

our Republic. We pray that in some manner we may atone for the wrongs committed on a people who placed their trust in our honor.

Today the Polish people are under the yoke of a conqueror, but their spirit is not crushed. That intense patriotism which has always characterized this people will continue to exist until the day when they will again throw off the rule of the oppressor and take their rightful place among the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

Spiritual Issue in World Schism Will Be Neglected at Our Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial that appeared on Sunday, Februrary 6, 1955, in the Charlotte Observer of Charlotte, N. C. This is a thought-provoking editorial and makes points about which too little has been said in the debates on our foreign-aid programs. I commend the contents of this editorial to the consideration of my colleagues in the House. I also hope it comes to the attention of officials in the State Department and in FOA.

Norman S. Buchanan and Howard S. Ellis, of the University of California, have made a report for the 20th century fund saying that one of the best weapons against communism is to help underdeveloped countries improve their economic status. They offer this as an offset to the quick and easy remedies of communism.

The two professors do not say that economic development is the only antidote to communism, but too many people do. They do not contend that a higher standard of living will automatically make good democrats, but many other people do. The professors argue that economic improvement cannot be imposed from without but must grow up from within, stimulated by only a minimum of outside aid. This aid, they say, should be chiefly in the form of private capital investment and a better opportunity to sell goods on the world market.

With all of that we are in hearty accord. But the danger of overemphasizing economic development as an antidote to communism is that we shall look upon it as a quick and easy remedy on our side. We have been doing that too much already. Many Americans were so enthusiastic about such panaceas as point 4 that they became convinced that all that is needed to make good democrats of a backward people is to raise their standard of living.

That reasoning is an adaptation of the very Marxist materialism that we are trying to counteract. Those who contend that materialism can be overcome by more materialism have forgotten that the facts of history do not bear them out.

The classic example of how a backward country can be opened up and helped to develop economically was United States friendly aid to Japan beginning with Peary's visit in 1860. The subsequent economic growth of Japan was one of the marvels of the next half century, but it did not make Japan a democratic nation—just the opposite. The Japanese did not become democrats until we crushed them in a bloody war, and there is some doubt even yet.

Few nations have been more advanced technically, economically, or educationally than Germany under the Kaisers and under Hitler. Czechoslovakia, one of the most industrialized countries of Europe with one of the highest living standards, was an easy prey to communism. The countries that fell first and most easily to communism were not backward nations.

On the other hand, the stanchest foes of communism have been Greece, Turkey, and Spain, all backward industrially and with low living standards. Iran, one of the most underdeveloped of all, has been under the direct threat of Russia for years but has stubbornly held to its independence.

Economic improvement is desirable; it will be a great help in the struggle against communism; it should be promoted by all practicable means. It is not, however, the main issue in this world schism. That issue is moral and spiritual. The underdeveloped people want independence and freedom more than they want any amount of industry; they want human dignity more than they want the highest standard of living.

Those moral and spiritual values are America's specialty. They are the one boon we can give to oppressed peoples that communism cannot give them. If we forget that—if we allow ourselves to be deluded into offering those people the stone of materialism when they ask for the bread of the spirit—we shall throw away our strongest weapon.

Discrimination in Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to number among my constituents Dr. Quentin D. Young, an eminent physician who on January 24, 1955, spoke at the luncheon circle meeting of the Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination in Greater Chicago, on the board of which worthy organization I have enjoyed the high privilege and honor of serving. I commend Dr. Young's address to the thoughtful reading of my colleagues.

Dr. Young's address is made the more noteworthy by statistics, compiled by indefatigable research, showing that many sick persons of a minority group who are willing and able to pay for hospitalization are compelled to go as charity patients to a public hospital for the one and only reason that there are no facilities available for them in private hospitals.

Because of the unusually clear and illuminatingly practical nature of this address on a subject challenging the interest of all good Americans, and believing that many of my colleagues having read it will wish to preserve it for future use and reference, I have sought to make its reading easier by inserting subheads. The address follows, the subheads being mine:

This afternoon, in a spirit of mixed optimism and distress, I shall attempt to bring you up to date on the pattern of discrimination against minority groups in hospitals. The optimism stems from increasing signs that conscience and social pressure are combining to effect a decisive change in a bad situation. Distress, because even at this late date, the actual gains have been small. The established practices in so fundamental an area as accessibility to health facilities remain indefensible and demand correction.

In Chicago, when one speaks of a minority, one speaks of the Negro segment, which constitutes perhaps one-sixth of the total population. Of course, it is self-evident that the meeting of health needs requires more than access to hospitals: poor housing, low income, inadequate education, all contribute to intensifying health needs. However, this afternoon I hope to delineate the extent of the discriminatory pattern as regards hospitals, and to suggest some reasonable and workable proposals for revision.

One way to analyze the effects of inequality of health opportunities is to examine the causes of death of the minority population and compare these with the causes of death among the white population. Dr. Herman M. Bundesen, president of the board of health of the city of Chicago, has very generously prepared for us a body of statistical material which, I submit, vividly portrays in terms of death the culmination of discrimination. These figures are based on the latest available information, all deaths throughout the city of Chicago in 1953.

WHAT NEGROES DIE OF

There is a group of so-called degenerative diseases, such as heart disease, cancer, cirrhosis of the liver, which are generally associated with increasing age and represent processes which medical science has so far failed to cure. Sixty-six and two-tenths percent of white deaths were of these three causes, whereas only 49 percent of the Negro deaths fell in this category of essentially unpreventable deaths. What, then, did the Negroes die of? Reviewing Dr. Bundesen's tables, we find that accidents, tuberculosis, pneumonia and influenza, and diseases of infancy—all causes of death which modern techniques have largely controlled—accounted for 9.5 percent of white deaths, while Negroes dying of these causes constituted a startling 21.1 percent of total Negro deaths. These cold figures represent, in terms of death, net costs of inequality to the Negro population.

An interesting sidelight is the fact that a significantly higher proportion of Negroes (59.3 percent) die in hospitals than do whites (50 percent). This stems from the causes of death themselves in that the acute, overwhelming cause of death results in hospitalization more consistently than does a terminal chronic, degenerative disease. We have the paradox, then, of proportionately more Negroes dying in hospitals—and incidentally, proportionately more than twice as many Negroes as whites dying en route to hospitals—and yet, when we examine the opportunities of these people to enter hospitals in Chicago, we are confronted by an ominous and menacing picture.

COOK COUNTY HOSPITALS GETS 71 PERCENT

Warden Fred A. Hertwig, chief administrator of Cook County Hospital, has asserted, "We're the attending physician to Chicago's Negroes. While some other hospitals in the city—notably Provident and Michael Reese—do care for a large number of Negroes, we get more. The plain truth is that there are not enough other medical services available to Negroes in Chicago today." With these words, Mr. Hertwig has ably defined the problem.

Dr. Bundesen was unable to supply statistics relative to the racial distribution of hospital admissions, since "hospital admis-

sions are not reported to the board of health by race." However, there remained another valid yardstick for measuring the composition of hospital populations—the number of deaths, Negro and white, which occurred in these hospitals during the period of a year. In the few hospitals where the racial composition is known, notably Cook County, Michael Reese, and Provident, deaths by races conform closely to admissions by races.

To validate Warden Hertwig's statement, 71 percent of all Negro hospital deaths in 1953 occurred at Cook County Hospital. Indeed, a Negro dying anywhere in Chicago in 1953 had a 42-percent chance of breathing his last at County Hospital. There are 8 other hospitals in Chicago—2 of them, like County, public institutions—which accounted for 21.5 percent of Negro hospital deaths. Thus, in all, the other sixty-odd hospitals in Chicago, 7½ percent of Negro hospital deaths occurred. In 22 hospitals not 1 solitary Negro death occurred (although as many as 432 whites died at just 1 of these hospitals). Seven hospitals had one Negro death. Six hospitals had two. These 35 hospitals reported 19 Negro deaths out of a total of 6,643. This is the pattern of discrimination in Chicago hospitals.

SCANT MATERNITY FACILITIES

The Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago in May 1953 published an extremely complete and authoritative study of maternity facilities in Cook County. This report deserves careful study by every thoughtful citizen. But just a few quotes will reveal how even childbirth is beset by bigotry:

"Seventeen of the 61 [maternity] hospitals had no Negro births and 24 had less than 10 Negro births. On the far South Side of Chicago, the area with the second largest number of Negro mothers in 1951, no hospital reported as many as 10 Negro births." (Yet 22 percent of Negro mothers lived there.)

"Eighty-two percent of Negro births in 1951 were in four hospitals, or under the supervision of the Chicago Maternity Center; 54 percent took place at Cook County Hospital, as compared to 2 percent of the white births."

QUESTION OF INDIGENCY

Invariably the question of indigency is raised when discrimination is under scrutiny, yet a survey of Cook County maternity patients in the welfare council's report indicated that in 1 sampling 20 percent of patients were of sufficient income for private care and 78 percent of these were Negroes. The whole problem is best summarized by the welfare council report itself:

"3. Regarding lack of availability of beds to Negro patients:

"(a) Voluntary hospitals and their medical staffs would need to remove intake limitations based on race, where such limitations exist, to relieve Cook County Hospital of its large load of patients (principally Negro) who are not medically indigent. Relaxation of limitations based on race would enable voluntary hospitals to use their beds more fully for the medically indigent in the event that additional funds from public or private sources are made available for this purpose.

"(b) Although approximately 20 percent of births in Cook County are Negro, maternity beds are virtually unavailable for Negroes in 2 out of every 3 hospitals.

"(c) The concentration of the Negro population in certain areas makes some maternity beds too far distant to be available, practically.

"(d) The almost complete lack of medical staff appointments for Negro physicians in virtually all voluntary hospitals limits the opportunity of Negroes who are private patients of Negro physicians to receive hospital maternity care under the supervision of their own private physicians."

WILLING AND ABLE TO PAY

The problem of discrimination is only to a very small extent a problem of indigency. Of far greater concern to the fair-minded citizen must be the denial of access to hospitals of the financially competent citizen, because of race. The direct effect of this ill, of course, is denial of free choice of physician, the bulwark of our free American system of medicine. Far from being medically indigent, thousands of Negro citizens are excellently prepared for hospital costs by virtue of their employment in basic industries. These industries, such as steel, meatpacking, farm equipment manufacture, all have as a condition of employment comprehensive health insurance plans. Is it fair for American citizens to spend substantial amounts of money in good faith to insure against hospital costs, only to find themselves at the county hospital, an institution created by law for charity patients? The effect of this highly developed trend is to strain the already loaded facilities of Cook County Hospital, at the taxpayers' expense, by patients who are willing and able to bear their costs in private hospitals. The time is arriving when insurance carriers and the general public must answer whether this practice can, in conscience, be considered justifiable.

Just one example will dramatize the inequalities in the situation: all employees of the meatpacking industry in Chicago are the beneficiaries of the most liberal type of health insurance plan. Far from being medically indigent, a man and his family so insured are well prepared to meet major medical costs. Local No. 347, UPW, CIO, covering Armour & Co. employees, examined the claims from hospitals from December 1, 1953, through November 18, 1954. There were 946 such claims, 217 or 23 percent of which were from Cook County Hospital. Eighty percent of the members of this local union are Negroes.

SUGGESTION OF REMEDIES

This, then, is the pattern of discrimination. What remedies are available? Some reside in the conscience and good faith of the community and responsible authorities. We physicians and our organizations must extend our traditional concern for maximum private free choice medicine to the area of minority citizens. Hospitals, hospital councils, and hospital board members must face their responsibilities to render care without racial discrimination. Finally, taxpayers and county officials must safeguard charity institutions from the abuse wherein financially competent persons of the unwanted race are channelled into county hospital.

In addition, there are specific legislative remedies: the tax-exempt status enjoyed by most hospitals is, in effect, a subsidy from all citizens. Certainly, this privilege from the State of Illinois cannot justifiably be granted an institution which will not serve an important segment of the State of Illinois, the Negro people. Therefore, a bill to remove the tax-exempt status of hospitals which discriminate because of race or color has been introduced into the State legislature and should be adopted.

The Chicago Board of Health licenses hospitals and requires certain health and safety standards to be maintained—discriminatory admission practices logically fall within this purview, and therefore the ordinance which provides "no hospital shall deny admission or equality of care, or the use of any of its facilities to any person on account of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, except that hospitals maintained by religious, fraternal or other associations may limit admission exclusively to members of its group or may grant preferential admission to said members, provided however, that all admissions and care provided for persons other than said members be made available without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry" should be passed.

BRANCH OF COUNTY HOSPITAL

There is one other legislative matter of importance. There has lately been considerable serious discussion and proposal of an extension or branch of the Cook County Hospital. Certainly all needed expansion of that institution to meet its legally constituted responsibility—the care of charity patients—must be provided. However, the expedient of locating a branch of county hospital in the midst of the Negro area of the city might well serve to extend and crystallize the pattern of shunting all Negro patients to county. A logical location of any needed extension would be on the far south side of Cook County, where distance is a factor in securing hospital care for many medical indigents.

In presenting this outline of the current situation, I feel I must not leave you with a sense of inactivity. A number of factors are combining which seem to indicate that a basic change is in the making. Several outstanding institutions, of which Michael Reese and Billings Hospital are examples, have a rich experience in democratic, interracial policies. Their success offers all the reassurance needed to the rest of the hospital community. A small but significant number of Negro physicians has been admitted to white staffs. I must stress that staff membership for the Negro doctor is the crux of this entire problem. No total solution can be implemented that does not provide for full equality for the Negro physician.

In the American tradition, injustice is not countenanced endlessly. More and more, individuals and organizations have concerned themselves with the search for a solution to this problem. And I am confident it will soon be solved when reason, fair play, and maturity, coupled with sound medical practice, prevail.

Back Home Again—Mission Accomplished

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HINSHAW
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following clipping from the Pasadena Star News, January 17, 1955, by the sports editor, Rube Samuelsen, title of the article, "Back Home Again—Mission Accomplished":

RUBE-BARBS

(By Rube Samuelsen)

BACK HOME AGAIN—MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

It happened in Bombay. Maj. Sammy Lee, the world's greatest diver and a good-will emissary of the United States State Department, was giving an exhibition from the high tower. As he appeared for the third straight day, attendance had increased to the extent where fences were broken down and ropes severed when the crowd became unwieldy. Police reserves were called out. An Indian girl was hurried before a microphone—to sing that country's national anthem.

Why the turmoil? Why the unmanageable excitement?

It is best explained by the fact that the tiny Lee, standing out 5 feet 1¾ inches in height, so captured the Indians' imagina-

tion—even the Communists—that, by the hundreds, they impetuously sought his autograph, to shake his hand, or, more than anything else, to touch him. The hope, apparently, was that some of Sammy Lee's class, his very beliefs, would rub off on them.

Sammy, now visiting here with his charming Chinese wife, Rosalind, says one of his strongest memories is that of, when he was being ushered out through quickly drawn police lines, seeing two long rows of outstretched hands. All of them, as he passed by, strove to rub his arms softly. That, incidentally, is an oldtime custom in India.

ON BOTH COUNTS

It need not be emphasized that Maj. Sammy Lee, United States Army Medical Corps, and self-styled oriental from occidental, did himself, and also Uncle Sam, proud during his recent tour of southeastern Asia, Brutus Hamilton is in India now, bent upon a similar mission, while Rev. Bob Richards, Mal Whitfield, and Harrison Dillard have also had State Department assignments in recent months. But it was Sammy Lee, the dedicated patriot, who blazed the trail. Nor could a better choice, which was that of a young man of vision in the State Department by the name of Harold E. Howland, have been made.

Sammy, who will remain here for another week before reporting at Fort Carson, Colo., his next base, reveals a tell-tale incident in Colombo, Ceylon, which points up the effectiveness of his good-will trip. So expertly have the Communists propagandized that portion of Asia that a large percentage of the natives believe that members of minority races get nothing but the shabbiest of treatment in the United States. For instance they couldn't conceive of Lee, a brown-skinned Korean by ancestry, being both a world's champion athlete and a man with a profession (ear, nose, and throat specialist). And so, he had a straightforward, point-by-point debate with a rabid Communist who insisted the United States frowned upon a two-doctrine world and, as a result, communism would be adopted sooner or later on a worldwide basis.

"Why can't the entire world be democratic?" Lee asked.

"Because your capitalistic country insists upon subjugating the colored races," was the answer.

"Then," persisted Lee, "how could I possibly become a world's diving champion and also a doctor of medicine? And, how is it that, in two Olympics, I have never seen a member of the colored races represent the Soviet Union or one of its satellites in that brotherly competition?"

"That is because orientals are backward in the Soviet Union," the Communist returned.

"Then who, in this world of two doctrines, is retarding the colored races' development?" Lee declared.

Score one for the champion. That's the way it went for Sammy Lee all over southeastern Asia. I say it was one of the best one-man jobs ever turned in for his country.

IN A LIGHTER VEIN

Now for the humorous side:

It happened at Dalac, Vietnam. No pool being available, Sammy was asked to dive into a muddy river in giving his exhibition. Assured the depth was 18 feet and that the bottom was free of sharp objects, Lee gave his quick assent.

On his last dive, Sammy, upon returning, cut his foot on broken glass and, reaching the surface, shouted to the French recreational director in charge, that he was in trouble. The director gave gestured instructions to an aid, who scurried away and soon returned with a small bottle. Then he gave it to Lee, who started to pour the contents on his bleeding foot.

The director, astounded, held up his hands in horror.

"No, no, no," he remonstrated. "Eeet ees 20-year cognac. You do not geeve eet to the feet. You dreenk eet."

Welcome back, Sam.

Shocking and Dangerous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill providing for scholarships in the undergraduate and graduate levels for students desiring to engage in a career relating to the field of atomic energy.

Each Senator and Representative would nominate a worthy applicant to be the recipient of a Government scholarship to include tuition and living expenses of the student.

If the student accepts employment in the Government within 90 days of the completion of the course of study, that time spent in school would be considered as a continuous period of Government employment.

Each day spent under the scholarship program would be considered the equivalent of one-half day of service by the then applicable military training law.

In view of the fact that at our present rate of graduation of scientists and engineers the United States will lose its lead by 1960, as a member of the Atomic Energy Committee, I feel the passage of my bill is a long-needed and most important step in the right direction. By recognizing the importance of our scientists in our overall military preparedness program, congressional attention on much the same basis as already granted to officer-training programs would be effected.

Under this plan, both men and women of outstanding caliber would be selected to further provide scientific leadership of our Nation for both peacetime technological advances and national security.

While we are all aware of the lack of trained scientists and engineers in our industrial activities and Government agencies, this program should alleviate to some extent at least the shortage now existing.

The following is an editorial from the Washington Evening Star:

SHOCKING AND DANGEROUS

It is clear that the United States is facing a serious shortage of sorely needed engineers. The latest warning to that effect—voiced at a press conference in New York the other day—has come from a group of distinguished authorities, including Dr. M. H. Trytten of the National Research Council and Dr. John R. Dunning, atomic expert and dean of Columbia University's School of Engineering. These men are not alarmists, but they have left no room for doubt that there is reason for deep concern over indications that the Soviet educational system threatens to move far ahead of ours in training young people for scientific work.

In fact, in Dr. Dunning's judgment, it is impossible to overemphasize "the true gravity of the situation." This is his feeling because authoritative figures show that we are in danger of quickly losing the present advantage we enjoy in having about 15 or 20 percent more engineers than the total at work in the Soviet Union. Of course, if such a margin of difference could be counted upon to be lasting, there would be no cause for alarm. Unfortunately, however, if present trends continue—that is to say, if our educational system fails to effect a sharp increase in the annual output of engineering graduates—the Russians will catch up with us in the next 5 years, and after that they will pass us in the race.

To bear out Dr. Dunning's warning, Dr. Trytten has cited a fact whose seriousness can hardly be exaggerated. As he has put it, "Although the industries and the Government of the United States are urgently calling for more scientists and engineers, the supply fell from a peak of 50,000 engineering graduates in 1950 to 19,000 in 1954." Meanwhile, by way of contrast, "Russia completely reversed this situation, with 28,000 graduates in 1950 and 53,000 in 1954." In other words, there has been a steady and drastic decrease in the number of such scientifically trained personnel turned out by our schools, while in the Soviet Union there has been a spectacular increase. The comparative figures seem almost unbelievable, but they are none the less true, and they should shock the Nation into taking corrective action.

Certainly, in this supremely technological age, our shortage of engineers (and a similar deficiency exists in other categories of scientific personnel) is much too dangerous in its potentialities to be shrugged off and ignored. Quite obviously, with our population increasing at a rate of about 24 million every decade, and with our country confronted with implacable hostility from the Communist world, we need far, far more engineering graduates than our schools are turning out. And action, not just talk, is what we must have to solve the problem. Otherwise, by continuing to be negligent or indifferent in this field, our Nation can lose vital ground to the Kremlin.

Lincoln: A Great American Who Sought To Preserve Union Without Bloodshed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in the history of the world truly great men seldom advance beyond their own geographical confines and become world characters. Again, it is not only the ability of the man himself, but the surroundings in which he is placed and the gravity of the situation before him that brings out those characteristics and qualities that stamp him as an immortal in history.

The United States has contributed its share of great statesmen who have risen above their own territorial limits.

In this category George Washington's name stands out among us, and throughout the world itself, because he led a movement for freedom, and not content with winning the cause of which he was

the commander, he followed it up with the organization of a great republic in the New World, where life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness was guaranteed to every citizen. This purpose of government was the prayer of man for ages; hence it was that the name of George Washington is a familiar one in every country on earth.

The name of Thomas Jefferson is another name that has flashed across the history of the world, due to his able writings on the principles to be pursued in a republic such as ours. Many nations in adopting their constitutions, were inspired by Jefferson and their documents followed his words very closely.

HOPE TO OPPRESSED

The name of Abraham Lincoln flashed across the country and did not dim at territorial lines, but went on and on throughout the world where people were struggling for freedom. Abraham Lincoln was unique, as he came up from poor people and did not have the advantages of schools to attend, but was largely his own teacher. He struggled for an education; he struggled against poverty; and what he learned in this fiery furnace of necessity he never forgot.

Some have said and written that he was an accident, but when you come to study his ancestry you find that one of his granduncles was a surveyor for General Washington and author of a book on mathematics. The textbooks he wrote were written in longhand and illustrated in freehand; and anyone examining one of these rare books is impressed with the exactness of the writing and the illustrating figures. There is not a blot in the whole book, not a line retraced. Several of the early Lincolns were men of this type, and it is not surprising that Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg is a model of English expression.

The environment surrounding Lincoln was a grave epoch in the history of the United States. The old question of the sovereign rights of States as to owning slaves was not settled in the Constitutional Convention, and in Lincoln's time was threatening the preservation of the Union. The South was backing the cause of State rights and the North was aroused over slavery. Lincoln saw that the people were divided and he did his utmost to pacify the two divergent views. His famous statement that "a house divided against itself could not stand," while logical and prophetic, did not allay the rising storm.

ASKED COMMONSENSE

On entering upon his duties as President of the United States he again appealed to the commonsense of the people to avert hostilities and unite in preserving the Union. This failed of its purpose and the War Between the States ensued.

Some of his contemporaries thought he was too slow to action and too temporizing with those who had declared themselves out of the Union, but he stood firm as a rock upon the proposition that the Union must be preserved, and prayed that it might be done without bloodshed.

His own administrative assistants were not always working in the best interests of the President, and many of them were candidates for that office themselves. Knowing of the many disloyal acts and disagreements between himself and some members of his Cabinet, most Presidents would have discharged these men, but Lincoln knew, and said that in spite of their interference with his plans they were the best men for their places.

He was besieged for jobs, and one illustration of this annoyance may be cited. A gentleman from Ohio, who had done outstanding work for the President in the campaign, wanted a job. He came to Washington and saw Lincoln. During the course of his conversation with the President, this man asked, "Mr. Lincoln, don't you think I merit a job with the Government?" Lincoln then stated, "Of course you are entitled to a place, but the trouble is I do not seem to have much influence with my administration."

CONVINCED BANKERS

When a delegation of bankers met with the President and protested against his plan to issue greenbacks directly from the Government, a great and noisy argument ensued. In the midst of all the talk Lincoln said that the situation reminded him of a man who was traveling horseback through an unsettled portion of Kentucky where there were only trails and no roads and in some way missed his path. To add to his difficulties night came on, and with it a terrific rainstorm. The lightning crashed all around the traveler, and it was only on these occasions that he could see any portion of the trail. Soon a terrific flash of lightning struck. The man fell off his horse and was brought to his knees on the ground. He was by no means a praying man, but since he was already on his knees and the storm still raged, he made the following prayer: "Oh, Lord, if it is all the same to you, give us a little more light and less noise." That settled the conference and the bankers left. The greenbacks were issued, and some are still in circulation.

People in any country who read the life of Lincoln can see how a very humble citizen had arisen in the Republic of the United States to carry the torch of freedom.

Lincoln's ringing voice we still hear when he said:

Our safety, our liberty, depends upon preserving the Constitution of the United States as our fathers made it, inviolate.

The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congress and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.

Lincoln's sound judgment, his patience, his indifference to any consequences that might come to him, his great human heart, his deep and abiding sympathy, always exhibited in every act of his as President, gave a new definition to this Republic, and people throughout the world came to love this great man of the people. A world character he surely is, and his thoughts and actions live with us today. The name of Abraham Lincoln today means more to the people of the world than the name of any other man who has crossed the stage of history, save one.

Lincoln and Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to participate in the 30th annual Lincoln Day memorial exercises held Sunday, February 6, at the Nancy Hanks Lincoln State Memorial at Lincoln City, Ind. The impressive program honoring the memory of Abraham Lincoln and his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, was sponsored by the Santa Claus (Ind.) Chamber of Commerce. Among organizations taking part in thees traditional ceremonies were St. Meinrad's Archabbey, the Funkhouser American Legion Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Indiana Department of Conservation, and the Spencer County Home Demonstration Chorus. It was a matter of particular pleasure to me that I was introduced by my former colleague in the House of Representatives, the Honorable D. Bailey Merrill. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the text of my address on Lincoln and Unity, delivered on this occasion:

Not so long ago, as the world measures time, a barefoot lad came with his family from the hills of Kentucky to begin a new life here among the rugged pioneers of the old Pigeon Creek neighborhood of Spencer County.

The family's heavy burden of poverty is a matter of historic record.

We can only imagine the added anguish suffered by the little boy and his sister occasioned by the illness and death of their beloved mother not long after they had arrived on Hoosier soil.

That we are here today paying homage to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, a backwoods boy, and his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, is, in itself, a tribute to the greatness of America and to the greatness of our people.

Abraham Lincoln and his family were what our sociologists today would probably call underprivileged people.

Fortunately for us, Lincoln didn't know he was underprivileged.

My guess is that he felt lucky to be a free-born American.

Certainly, at any rate, he refused to give up to what must have appeared to him a forlorn prospect that he would ever amount to much.

There is, perhaps, little new we can say about Lincoln's life here in southern Indiana.

We know this is where he spent his formative years—14 of them—growing into manhood before he moved once more with his family, this time to Illinois.

In our mind's eye, we can see Abraham Lincoln, the boy, doing what he could as a child to help the family carve a home out of the wilderness.

We can see him as a youth, doing the physical work of a man to provide the essentials of life, not only for himself but for others of a household enlarged as a result of his father's remarriage to a good widow with three children of her own.

We know of Lincoln's early thirst for knowledge and we have read of his attempts to educate himself by reading the Bible, Pilgrim's Progress, Weem's Life of Washing-

ton, and whatever other books might come his way in a day when schools were few and far between and public libraries were an unknown luxury.

Yes; history leaves no doubt that Lincoln's earlier life was one of underprivilege as far as material blessings were concerned.

We must go deeper into his background to discover and to understand the secret of his greatness.

The devotion of mother and son offers us a clue.

The later understanding and sympathy of a stepmother offers another.

What did Sarah Johnson, this widow with three children of her own, see in little Abe that led her to give him the encouragement that meant so much?

Did she, perhaps, detect the spark of greatness even then developing into a flame destined to light the way for freemen through the ages?

As Hoosiers, we like to think, and I believe not without justification, that the hard and simple life of Pigeon Creek in the early part of the 19th century offers us another clue to the genesis of Lincoln's wisdom and character.

Lincoln came to Indiana because his was a family seeking a better way of life—not an easier way of life, but a better way.

Here he joined in the work and play of other rugged Christian pioneers—God-fearing people dedicated to the simple virtues of honesty, thrift, and self-reliance, a dedication, may I say, still appropriate for every American citizen.

It was here in Indiana that Abraham Lincoln developed his sense of perspective.

It was as a Hoosier that he learned patience, tolerance of others, and his deep humility.

And we can surmise with safety that here he enjoyed a companionship rich in the ways of homely Indiana humor—a peculiarly Hoosier type of wit which Lincoln himself employed so often and to such good purpose throughout his adult career.

The sad face of Lincoln the President portrays vividly the loneliness, the personal tragedies, and the compassion of this great man.

But if the gravity of his responsibilities left their mark on his soul, one thing we know about Lincoln—and it is one more great-hearted virtue that endears him to us—Abraham Lincoln could laugh at himself.

He was a man of positive virtues—integrity, ambition, courage in the face of adversity, and an abiding faith in his fellow men.

However, there is, it seems to me, something else we must consider in seeking the ultimate answer to Lincoln's greatness.

Lincoln was a man incapable of malice.

"I shall do nothing in malice," he once wrote to a friend. "What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing."

There was no trace of bitterness in his soul—this man who might well have excused whatever failures came his way on the grounds that, after all, he had never had the advantages of more than the barest material wealth nor more than a meagar formal education.

Here, I think, was the true measure of Lincoln's greatness: the measure of a man fighting his way from humble circumstance to the most powerful office in the world, without losing that most precious of gifts—gentleness of character.

This, my good Hoosier friends, is the mark of a truly noble man.

The time of Abraham Lincoln was a difficult period for America.

This young Nation, dedicated, as he put it, "to the proposition that all men are created equal," had been forced to the acid test by the secession of the Southern States.

Fortunately for us, the country had at its helm during those trying days a man who had learned, as a member of a family working together for its very survival here in Indiana, that in unity there is strength.

Succeeding generations of Americans have revered Abraham Lincoln as the man who saved the Union in its darkest hours. Engraved on the wall of the magnificent Lincoln Memorial in Washington are these majestic words: "In this temple as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the Union the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever."

Today, we look to his memory for strength and guidance in another battle to preserve our way of life from the threat of a creeping menace—the menace of a militant communism determined to destroy human liberty as we have known it.

These, too, are times that try men's souls.

Already a great portion of the world's people has been trapped into a new form of bondage—slavery to political masters—and the end is not yet in sight.

There can be only one answer to that threat.

It is the answer Lincoln would have given.

Americans must stand united in their determination to defend the precious birthright of freedom regardless of the sacrifice.

We have witnessed a heartening demonstration of such unity of purpose in recent weeks.

The Congress of the United States, almost to a man, acting as the elected representatives of the people of this Nation, has stood foursquare behind the President in his courageous decision with respect to our foreign policy in the Pacific.

By this action, we have demonstrated our ability once more to rise above partisanship for the common good.

By this action, we have kept faith with Lincoln's admonition: "Let us at all times remember that all American citizens are brothers of a common country, and should dwell together in the bonds of fraternal feeling."

Lest I be misunderstood, let me hasten to assure one and all that we have not reached the millenium in Washington.

The art of politics—that art so deeply relished by our good citizens of Indiana—and an art, I might say, in which Abraham Lincoln himself was no amateur—is still very much alive in the Nation's Capital.

Lincoln, we must not forget, was a firm champion of the two-party system—a champion who understood its strength and its weaknesses.

And it is by no means to his discredit that he worked for the success of the party he represented—that he worked at politics, if you please—in his long and difficult campaign toward the Presidency.

One of the Lincoln anecdotes which took on a new significance for me after November of 1952, and which serves to illustrate the ridiculous extremes of responsibility which sometimes fall to a man in the White House, is this one:

When Lincoln became President, the Democrat Party had been in power for many years.

(That part of the story certain has a familiar ring.)

Every patronage job had been filled with a Democrat, and now Republicans besieged the White House demanding appointments.

(So does that.)

One day, a Senator, coming into the President's office, found him holding a note. There was an expression of anxiety and dejection on Lincoln's face.

"What's the matter, Mr. President?" the Senator inquired.

"Has something gone wrong? Have you heard bad news from Fort Sumter?"

"No," said the President, shaking his head wearily, "It's the post office at Jonesville, Mo."

So, I don't want to imply that the recent display of unity in Washington means that a complete moratorium has been declared as far as partisan politics is concerned.

But I do think this action in support of President Eisenhower serves to point up an awareness on the part of all men and women in responsible positions that these are, indeed, serious times.

These are times when all of us—we in public life and you with your important duties and obligations as private citizens of this great Republic—must do our best to heed the precepts of Lincoln.

We must do our best to be worthy of the priceless heritage of freedom—a heritage, may I say, saved for posterity by this noble man and the thousands of his fellow Americans who rallied to his leadership.

Make no mistake about this: America is faced with a battle for survival today just as much as America was faced with a battle for survival during the time of Abraham Lincoln.

The foe today is external, but it is no less dangerous to our national security.

History plays no favorites.

During the Civil War, the Nation was guided by Republican leadership.

During World Wars I and II, and for most of the Korean war, leaders of the Democrat Party were at the helm.

At all such times, right-thinking Americans dedicate themselves to the task of defending their beloved country.

So today, as we struggle to solve the problems arising from the aggressive intent of dictator nations, it seems to me that all loyal citizens will want the present leadership to succeed in its program to provide for the security of our Nation and to achieve a just and lasting peace for the world.

We are not in a war.

Living, as we are today, in the awesome shadow of the mushroom of the atomic bomb, it is the hope and prayer of all of us that we will never be subjected to the horrors of a military holocaust.

But ours is a world of uneasy peace.

The task before us is to win that peace, however long and difficult the road.

It is a task calling for an exercise of those virtues which characterized Abraham Lincoln's leadership:

Integrity.

Patience and forbearance.

Courage and steadfastness of purpose.

Self-reliance and a willingness to sacrifice.

Faith in the Almighty and a belief in the dignity of man.

The program set before us for winning the peace is not an easy one.

The burden of building and maintaining a defense adequate for America is heavy.

The necessity for calling our young men into the service as long as the threat to our freedom exists is not to the liking of a people by tradition unmilitary in their inclinations.

But we are today in a zone of uncertainty—a zone of dim shapes and shadows, some reassuring in their promise of things to come, others fearful in their portent of evil.

Let us all hope we are in the morning light of a lasting peace and not groping in the twilight hours before a new darkness of armed conflict.

In such a period, these words of Abraham Lincoln echo from another age:

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew."

Today it is the challenge of communism which must be met.

We dare to hope the time will never come when that challenge must be resolved on the field of battle.

Of this you may be certain: Under the leadership of Dwight D. Eisenhower, every avenue in the direction of an honorable world peace is being—and will continue to be—explored.

But until that way is found, we cannot relax our efforts to provide a maximum defense against armed attack—a maximum defense consistent with the minimum needs of our domestic economy.

This is the crux of the Eisenhower administration's program for a secure and prosperous Nation.

Somewhere between the extremes of opinion on what our course of action should be lies the proper balancing of needs—needs of our Armed Forces and needs of the civilian machinery on which the military must always depend for its sustenance.

I see these extremes of opinion reflected in the mail I get as a Congressman and I respect the sincerity of those expressing such views.

There are some, for instance, who believe the efforts we are making to provide an adequate defense against Communist aggression are too little.

These people urge an all-out mobilization now.

There are others who hold that the defensive structure we are undertaking to maintain is too much—that disarmament and wholesale discharge of military personnel, together with an end to the draft, is the surest way to peace.

Close examination of either position poses sober questions.

How long, we may fairly ask, could this Nation, great as it is—with all its vast resources, its massive industrial potential, its inventive genius, and its capacity for production—how long could we stand the strain of an all-out mobilization?

And what if, having mobilized, we found ourselves without a war?

The risk of such a course is obvious.

It is the risk of the destruction of our economic system from within—a system crushed under the sheer weight of a defense-spending burden—without a shot having been fired either by or at us.

The Communists would like that. It must not happen.

Even more evident, however, is the peril to our security in a course of drastic disarmament and cutbacks in military manpower at this time.

No, my friends, the realism and commonsense that was so typical of Abraham Lincoln demands that we maintain what has been aptly called a posture of strength as long as the leaders of Communist-dominated nations maintain their hostile and belligerent attitudes toward the peoples of the free world.

Until, by acts of good faith, these leaders demonstrate an unmistakable willingness to forego aggression as an instrument of international policy, realism and commonsense dictate that we remain prepared and vigilant.

As we set ourselves to this continuing task, it is vital, as President Eisenhower pointed out in his state of the Union message to the Congress, "that each of us understand the true nature of the struggle now taking place in the world."

"It is not," he said, "a struggle merely of economic theories, or of forms of government, or of military power. At issue is the true nature of man.

"Either man is the creature whom the psalmist described as 'a little lower than the angels,' crowned with glory and honor, holding 'dominion over the works' of his Creator; or man is a soulless, animated machine to be enslaved, used, and consumed by the state for its own glorification.

"It is, therefore, a struggle which goes to the roots of the human spirit, and its shadow falls across the long sweep of man's destiny. This prize, so precious, so fraught with ultimate meaning, is the true object of the contending forces in the world."

No mortal in the history of the world was ever more deeply conscious of the majesty of the human soul than Abraham Lincoln.

None was ever a greater champion of liberty.

We honor him today for his magnificent contribution to freedom, justice, and peace, the support of which is—today as then—foremost among the purposes of government.

As we meet here on ground hallowed by association with our martyred President, it is fitting and proper that we heed his admonition, delivered in those immortal words at Gettysburg:

"It is * * * for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave their last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

A man named Homer Hoch once wrote, "There is no new thing to be said of Lincoln.

"There is no new thing to be said of the mountains, or of the sea, or of the stars.

"The years go their way, but the same old mountains lift their granite shoulders above the drifting clouds, the same mysterious sea beats upon the shore, and the same silent stars keep holy vigil above a tired world.

"But to mountains and sea and stars men turn forever in unwearied homage.

"And thus with Lincoln.

"For he was mountain in grandeur of soul, he was sea in deep undervoice of mystic loneliness, he was star in steadfast purity of purpose and of service. And he abides."

Yes, Lincoln abides.

And we need say nothing new of him.

We need only look to his memory as a source of towering strength in these years of turmoil and strife.

His strength is our strength and his great faith in America—her institutions and her people—is our faith as we move with courage and diligence toward a brighter and happier tomorrow.

The Turning of the Tide in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, with the attention of the world concentrated on Formosa and the Communist threat toward it, the critical and perhaps encouraging situation in Vietnam is escaping attention.

Having studied this situation by first-hand observation last September, I am happy to present to the House and for the RECORD a summary of the situation which appeared in the January 1955 issue of Vietnam, which says in part:

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE

After the Geneva armistice of July 1954, a dangerous pessimism about Vietnam developed in America, a pessimism fed by stories and newspaper reports, true or false, of internal dissensions in South Vietnam among the different authorities and forces that should have been working together for the defense of the free world. Reports circulated of disagreement among the American and French authorities; among the Vietnamese Government, the police, and the army; and among the politico-religious sects. In the light of recent developments in Vietnam, is that pessimism justified?

That there were disagreements no one can deny. And in truth, the rebellion of the army chief of staff set an example of insubordination and paralyzed the government for nearly 3 months, at one of the most critical periods in the history of Vietnam. The rebellion was finally quashed by his dismissal from office at the end of November 1954 by Vietnam's chief of state, His Majesty Bao Dai.

Since then, in just 6 weeks, President Ngo dinh Diem has succeeded in restoring order through a series of political successes, the vital importance of which has gone almost unnoticed in the United States, lost in the bustle and preoccupations of the new year.

The following events are of decisive importance for the future of Vietnam and deserve to be better known and understood in the United States.

DIRECT AMERICAN AID

1. On December 21, Gen. Lawton Collins handed a check for $28 million to President Ngo dinh Diem to be used for aid to the refugees. Compared to the enormous needs to be met and to the hundreds of millions of dollars lost by the United States in the Indochinese war, the sum is relatively modest, but "it is not what you give, it is the way that you give it"—this check marked the beginning of direct American aid which alone could have saved and can still save Vietnam.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

2. On December 31 the government obtained the abrogation of the Pau Accords of November 1950, which had permitted the French authorities to maintain control of the economy and finances of Indochina. New economic accords were passed, the administration of the port of Saigon was transferred to the Vietnamese Government and, on January 5, the Bank of Issue and the Office of Exchange as well. Without these Vietnamese independence had been largely theoretical.

THE SECTS RALLY

3. Early this month, armed only with high principles, President Diem was bold enough to order the closing of the famous gambling house, Le Grand Monde, operated by a powerful armed sect, the Binh Xuyen, said to be in control of the Saigon-Cholon area. Gen. Le van Vien, the head of this sect, the so-called gangster, had enough wisdom and patriotism himself to bow to this decision and to accept the integration of his private troops into the national army as well. Le Grand Monde and two other gambling houses were closed on January 16.

4. On January 9, Col. Trinh Minh The, leader of the Cao Dai dissidents, who for more than 2 years operated on a guerrilla basis in order to fight both the French and the Viet Minh, announced that he was going to rally to the national government, with his army of 5,000 men.

5. On January 16, Col. Nguyen Van Hue, one of the leaders of the Hoa Hao religious sect, who had also gone underground for the same reasons, offered to come over unconditionally with about 3,000 armed men, "having become convinced," he said, "that Vietnam was now independent of French rule."

WELCOME TO DIEM

6. In the first days of January President Diem received a movingly enthusiastic welcome from the people during his 3-day tour of the Nha Trang Phan Rang, Phan Ri, and

Pham Thiet areas of South Vietnam, which had just been freed from Viet Minh control. His trip is described in Time of January 17 as well as in a report from the United States Information Service dated January 5 and reprinted here.

THE EXODUS CONTINUES

7. On December 31, 4,549 refugees arrived in Saigon aboard the American ship, *General Howze*. Among them were 2,900 coming from Vinh, the native Province of Ho Chi Minh.

8. On January 4, 4,000 more refugees left Haiphong for the south.

9. The newspapers of January 11 reported that three highly placed Viet Minh officials had asked to leave the north.

10. On January 11 the International Control Commission had to send 2 international mobile units, one after the other, to settle a bloody incident which broke out at Ba Lang between 10,000 Catholics, who wished to evacuate, and regular Viet Minh troops, who were attempting to stop them.

Coming just at Christmas and the new year, these events passed almost unnoticed. Yet they are very important and indicate that the press reports of a month ago erred in representing President Diem as an incorruptible, patriotic, but politically incapable leader. The best government in the world could not have obtained better or more important political results in so short a time and under such difficult circumstances.

THE TIDE TURNS

Above all, these events show that there is no reason to be pessimistic, and that in Vietnam the tide is turning, even turning strongly, in favor of the free world. It was enough for the Ngo Dinh Diem government to act as an authentically national and rigorously honest government, and for it to receive firm American moral support. The rallying of thousands of Hoa Hao and Cao Dai dissidents who controlled large areas in South Vietnam and thus created a state of insecurity which favored Communist expansion; the continuing flow of refugees from the north, abandoning all their possessions, risking their lives on frail boats, and even fighting, barehanded, with Viet Minh regular troops that try to stop them; the warm reception given President Diem as he toured South and Central Vietnam; all are moving testimony to growing countrywide support. And thus this government which had been called shaky has been able to bring about an almost miraculous reversal of the political situation within a few weeks and to become the rallying center of the anti-Communist forces of Vietnam.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

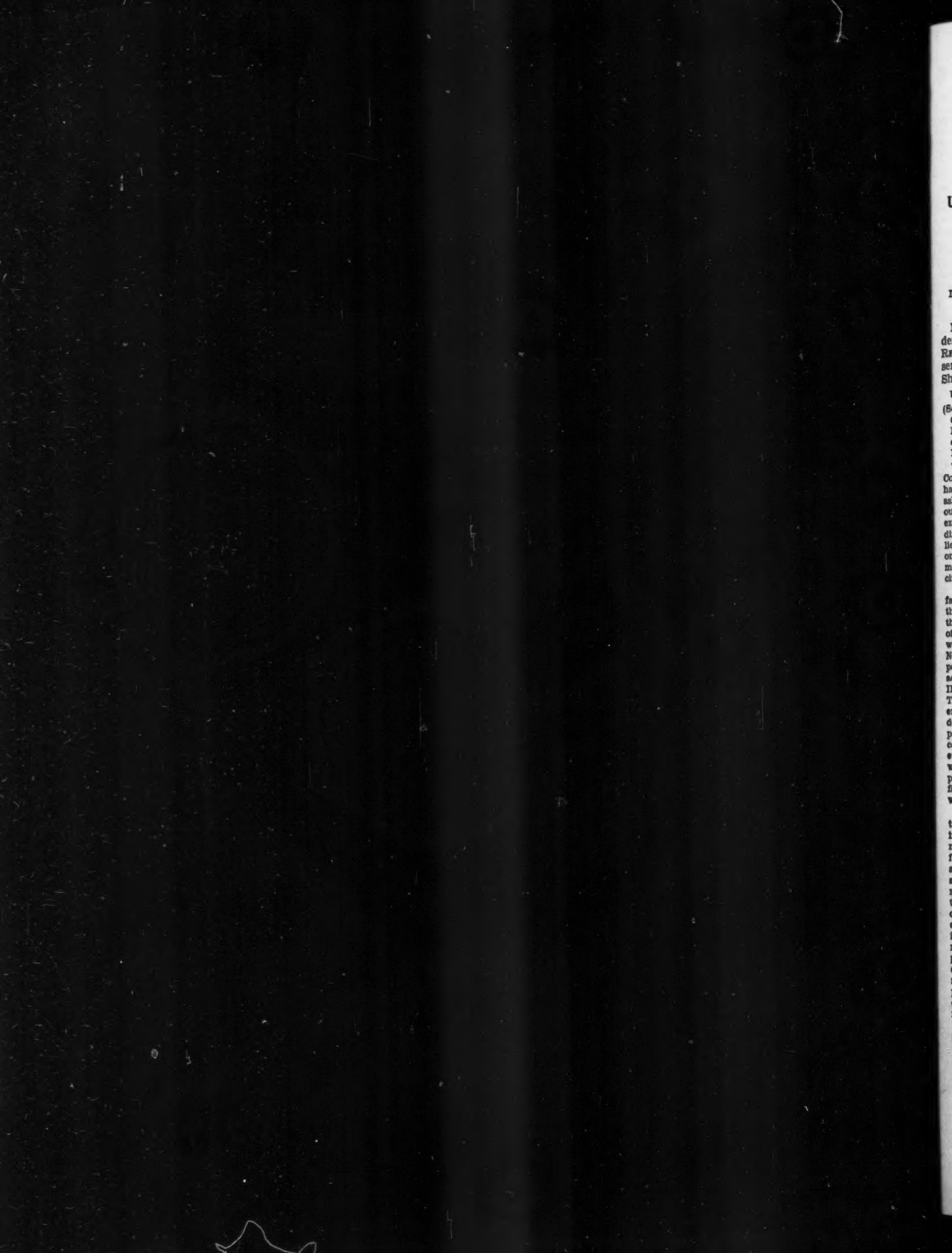

Appendix

Unity in Charity—Freedom in Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following splendid sermon of Most Rev. Lawrence J. Shehan, bishop of Bridgeport:

UNITY IN CHARITY—FREEDOM IN JUSTICE

(Sermon delivered at the Red Mass in the Cathedral of St. Matthew, Washington, D. C., February 6, 1955, by the Most Reverend Lawrence J. Shehan, bishop of Bridgeport)

While the year is still young and the new Congress is still planning its program, we have come to the Cathedral of St. Matthew to ask God's blessing on the three branches of our Government: On the President and the executive departments which are under his direction; on the Congress in whose hands lies the legislative power of our country, and on the judiciary to whose wisdom is committed the interpretation of the law in the circumstances of our national life.

It is doubtful if our Government ever faced a more difficult and important task than that which now confronts it. During the Civil War, it is true, the whole future of our country was at stake. But then it was only our own country that was involved. Now the fate of all Western civilization depends in large measure on the decisions and actions of our Government. In World War II we lived through some very dafk days. Then, however, we were united by the presence of a threatening enemy and by our determination to triumph, and we were supported by allies who were joined to us in a common will to victory. Now we face an even more powerful and insidious enemy with our unity often severely tested but happily, in recent days overwhelmingly reaffirmed with and uncertainty about allies on whom we can count.

Nor is the problem simply one of external threat. Here at home are grave evils which, if permitted to grow, are bound to sap our national strength. Increasing breakdown of family stability, mounting crimes of violence and dishonesty, of wanton cruelty and gross sensuality; youthful delinquency of a magnitude frightening in its implications for the whole of our younger generation—all demand our undivided attention and united effort. Nor can we overlook the fact that in the years of our greatest prosperity the national debt has grown to a size that surpasses our powers of realization. In spite of earnest efforts to balance our budget, our mounting financial obligations constitute a problem which requires the joint concern of both parties, of all branches and departments of government, and of all our people.

If we are to meet these problems, we as a Nation must have unity—unity of mind, unity of heart, unity of effort. What we need is not that monolithic unity imposed from above, which from the beginning has been characteristic of Soviet Russia and every country that has come within its orbit, as it was also the mark of Nazi Germany. Such a unity is contrary to our most sacred traditions and is repugnant to the free institutions which have been our most prized possession and the source of our greatest strength. What we need is a moral unity—a unity which springs from the will of all our people—a unity which, with a full recognition of the gravity of our problems, will lead us to join our efforts in the determination to save not only ourselves, but also the whole free world, from disaster. Such a unity can be achieved only in a national atmosphere of charity; for charity is the bond of unity—it is the first duty that springs from our common brotherhood.

The brotherhood of man is more than a mere phrase—it is a sacred truth springing from the fatherhood of God and capable, with God's inspiration and grace, of transforming man's world. That, in the face of this common bond, enmity should exist anywhere in the world is indeed a tragedy; that there should be enmity, bitterness, dissension among the citizens of this country is a double tragedy. For, in addition to the bond of our common brotherhood, the ties that should bind us together in mutual love and understanding are stronger and more urgent here than anywhere else on earth.

First, there is the bond of our common heritage. Practically all of us are descended from ancestors who came to this country to escape oppression of some sort—religious, political, or economic. Here they established, or came into the enjoyment of, true freedom. Here they found unrivaled opportunity. Here they found abundance waiting to be called from the rich land by their skill and effort. Here they developed a civilization and a culture, admirable in many respects and great with potentialities—a civilization and a culture which is our very own. All these form the heritage which together we must preserve.

No part of our common heritage is more sacred in our eyes than the freedom which has always been the outstanding characteristic of our country and the dominant theme of its history. What particularly we must bear in mind is that freedom depends upon justice just as truly as the plant depends upon the soil in which it grows. Because freedom is man's distinguishing characteristic and, after life, his most basic right, justice has no higher object than the protection and preservation of man's liberty. Furthermore, freedom can exist only as a sacred right; it cannot exist as a privilege granted by government. It is no accident that under regimes that have discarded tlie concept of man's rights, the ideals of both justice and freedom have been banished.

So close is the dependence of freedom on justice that, whenever justice is breached, freedom is impaired; where justice is seriously and consistently impeded, freedom ceases to be. In the early history of our own country, the blot of slavery could have existed only against a background of grave injustice to the members of a whole race. The history of the labor movement shows that insofar and just so long as the workingman failed to obtain real justice, he was deprived of true liberty. Religious freedom, on the other hand, has continued to flourish in this country because from the very beginning it has been protected by provisions of justice written into the Constitution through the amendments known as the Bill of Rights. It is justice then that safeguards liberty; when justice fails freedom is imperiled.

One of our most precious rights is freedom of education, so closely allied to freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly. Like all freedom, that of education can be hampered and even destroyed by lack of justice. While no one will deny that the state has a legitimate and even necessary concern with education, yet it seems to many of us that the exclusive support by government of a system of state education of ever-increasing costliness can, in the long run, seriously hamper and ultimately destroy real freedom of education. The wealthy, no doubt, will continue to be able to support, in addition to the state program, the kind of education they desire for their children. But already is some places freedom of education seems to be threatened for the man of small or moderate means, who feels that he has a duty to provide for his children the kind of education which includes religious instruction and training as an integral part of the school curriculum. Justice would seem to require recognition of the public service involved in all properly qualified educational programs carried on by private groups and voluntary associations. At a time when increasing recognition is being given to the importance of restoring religious and moral influence to education and to the whole of life, those should not be misunderstood who ask for consideration of what justice requires for the preservation of freedom as a part of their sacred heritage.

Even more than by a consciousness of our common heritage the citizens of this country should be united by a sense of their mutual dependence. For all the good things we possess come not from the wisdom and power of some benevolent despot who has set us to work and stands ready to turn benevolence into tyranny at the first sign of our lagging. Under God it has come from the joint thinking and planning and working of the millions who have found in this land their true home. It is perfectly clear that our blessings will remain secure in our hands only so long as we continue to think and plan and labor together.

But that love which is the bond of our unity involves something more than a consciousness of our common brotherhood, an appreciation of our joint heritage and a sense of our mutual dependence. It involves also love of the country of which each of us forms an integral part. America is something more than the sum total of its land and its citizens. It is a nation; it is a state; it is a body politic in which each of us has a voice, and each of us exercises a vital function. No nation on earth can boast an origin more noble and inspiring. None of the great states of the world was conceived and brought into being with such deliberation, such wisdom, such care. No body politic has more consistently pursued as the object of its existence the common good of its people.

In the course of our history the Constitution has become the symbol of what is best in this country and the foundation of that juridical system which is the framework of our national life. The strength of that Constitution comes not merely from the human wisdom with which a system of government truly representative of the people was devised. It comes also and especially from the clear concepts embodied within it, first of the dependence of civil law on moral law,

and, secondly, of the true nature of the common good as the sole object of government.

Our own times have seen a tendency worldwide in scope to ignore or to deny the connection of moral and civil law, and to substitute the good of the state, i. e., the advantage of the government, for the common good. In the broadest and true sense the good of the government must coincide with the common good, since government has no other reason for existence. But often there is a vast difference between the common good entertained by governing people. Too often men who come into power show a tendency to make the common good secondary to the good of themselves and their party. That legislators, administrators, and jurists in this country have some times been affected by this trend is no doubt true. It is to be hoped that by increasing emphasis on moral law as the foundation of all law, and on the concept of common good as the sole object of government, our country will preserve its noblest traditions which are the basis of our patriotic love.

Perhaps that which has done most to endanger the sense of brotherhood and the feeling of grateful love of the country which has brought us so many blessings has been man's worship of material progress—particularly his worship of the science which was so largely responsible for that progress. In a little book published not long after the end of World War II, Charles Lindbergh, who perhaps more than any man has symbolized the generation which came to manhood in the years following World War I, and to the full stature of maturity during World War II, tells us how he and so many of his generation worshipped at the altar of science. "I grew up," he says, "as a disciple of science. I know its fascination; I have felt the God-like power man derives from his machines. To me in youth science was more important than man or God."

But in the wisdom that came with the experiences of World War II, the illusions of youth faded away. At its end, seeing the horrible destruction science has brought about, and contemplating the even more horrible disaster of a possible world war III, he came to the conclusion that: "if his civilization is to continue, modern man must direct the material power of his science by the spiritual truths of God." And he ends with these words: "There is no material solution, no practical formula which alone can save us. Man has never been able to find his salvation in the exact terms of politics, economics, and logic." From Plato's Republic down to the latest blueprint for a better order of things, "his planned utopias have not proved the answer, for the answer is at a deeper level. Our salvation, and our only salvation, lies in controlling the arm of western science by the mind of western philosophy, guided by the eternal truths of God."

To God then modern man must turn for his salvation. That salvation will come not merely from a knowledge of the truths of God, but from the love of God which is the essence of true religion. From God comes the brotherhood of man, and from God comes all the blessings this country has brought to us. Only through love of God can man overcome that selfishness which seeks to destroy both love of fellowmen and love of country.

In our hour of need we turn to Christ, the God-Man, who in His unity with the Father and the Holy Spirit is the perfect exemplar of that unity which must exist among men. In His hour of peril He prayed: "that all may be one as Thou Father in Me and I in Thee; that they may be one in Us." In that prayer we, the people of this country, are included.

Dear Saviour of mankind, in our hour of trial and temptation give to Thy children of this great country true unity of mind and heart. Grant that they may put aside all hatred, rancor, and division. Give to them the wisdom to see clearly the tasks that must be done. Grant that, being truly united, they may put forth that strength which may save both themselves and all the world from the forces of slavery and of destruction. Amen.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted to me, I should like to introduce into the RECORD a letter addressed to my colleague, the Honorable ANTONI SADLAK, Congressman at Large of the State of Connecticut and a member of the Ways and Means Committee, from Alfred C. Gilbert, Jr., president of the A. C. Gilbert Co., of New Haven, in my district.

The letter and accompanying statistics are self-explanatory.

When I was a young man, still in my teens and working my way through school, I was an employee of the A. C. Gilbert Co., and have had the privilege of seeing this small concern grow to its present size and contribute so much to the welfare of the youth of America, as well as to the defense of our country.

I am mindful of the inroads made on this company by the importation of Japanese-made goods and the importation and sale in this country of a competitive erector set, which is the hallmark of this company. It must compete with an inferior quality of merchandise, a much lower wage scale, and, to add insult to injury, a competitive name used with the obvious intent of deceiving the American buying public.

While I am mindful of the very serious consideration to which H. R. 1 is entitled, nevertheless, I believe this is an industry which would be vitally affected if any further changes were made in the tariff schedules which would permit further importation at further reduced tariff rates.

The letter follows:

JANUARY 27, 1955.

Hon. ANTONI SADLAK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SADLAK: As a toy manufacturer I am extremely concerned with the President's request for power to cut tariff rates, toys having been specifically mentioned. I understand that hearings are now underway on H. R. 1 before the House Ways and Means Committee, of which you are a member.

About 40 years ago my father appeared before this committee, then considering the Smoot-Hawley Act. As a result, toys were given a 75 percent ad valorem rate. At that time, even Senator Garner, a free trader, approved of the provision for the toy industry on the basis that next to the school itself the toy industry is the most important educational factor in America. Many toys, such as the career-building ones we manufacture (chemistry, microscope, erector), are responsible for the great national interest in engineering and science. Many great scientists and engineers have told us our toys were the original stimulus for their having followed technical vocations.

President Eisenhower has expressed concern for the preservation of essential defense industries. I submit that the supply of technically trained men is the most vital factor in our whole defense program. Since it is an established fact that educational toys are a key factor in getting men into the technical sciences and professions at an early age, it should certainly be obvious that our toy industry should not be sabotaged by imports of foreign toys, primarily from Germany and Japan. Today there are Japanese microscopes in toy stores that undersell ours due to the fantastic differences in wages paid their workers. The same holds true for German electric trains.

If the American toy industry was deemed essential by the administration 40 years ago, and since the reasons for its importance are even stronger today, let's not ruin it by further reducing tariff rates on imported toys.

Yours very truly,
THE A. C. GILBERT CO.,
A. C. GILBERT, JR.,
President.

Net sales by year, civilian versus Government (defense and war)

	Civilian	Government	Total	Percentage, Government to total
1941	4, 102, 000	77, 000	4, 179, 000	1.8
1942	2, 262, 000	5, 015, 000	7, 277, 000	69
1943	898, 000	9, 535, 000	10, 433, 000	91
1944	846, 000	11, 752, 000	12, 598, 000	93.5
1945	1, 509, 000	6, 184, 000	7, 693, 000	80
1946	6, 028, 000		6, 028, 000	
1947	10, 729, 000		10, 729, 000	
1948	13, 933, 000		13, 933, 000	
1949	11, 025, 000		11, 025, 000	
1950	12, 429, 000	103, 000	12, 532, 000	2.6
1951	13, 519, 000	1, 015, 000	14, 524, 000	7
1952	13, 013, 000	5, 022, 000	18, 035, 000	28
1953	16, 641, 000	2, 682, 000	19, 323, 000	14
1954	14, 640, 000	977, 000	15, 617, 000	6.2

Our average wage for men, $1.62; for women, $1.41.

Sermon of Most Rev. Lawrence J. Shehan, Bishop of Bridgeport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I have been informed that my colleague from Massachusetts, the Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, will secure permission to print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the sermon of Most Rev. Lawrence J. Shehan delivered yesterday at the Red Mass at the Cathedral of St. Matthew here in Washington. It is a beautiful sermon and I greatly enjoyed hearing it. I am sure it will be inspiring to others. When Bishop Shehan was at St. Patrick's Church here in Washington, I always enjoyed talking with him when there was an opportunity, being fellow New Englanders we had a good many things in common.

The Formosan Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article by the distinguished columnist and author, Mr. Walter Lippmann, entitled "A Main Clew," which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on February 7, 1955. I think it will be of much interest to Members of the Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
A MAIN CLEW

In calculating the risks and in estimating the top abilities in the Far East, we need an explanation of the fact that both Peking and Washington talk as if the struggle to seize Formosa were a near possibility. Yet, except for the lone voice of Mr. Joseph Alsop, who thinks that the intelligence estimates of Chinese power may be unreliable, the general assumption is that the Red Chinese do not have the military means needed to conquer Formosa. They have no navy and the hundred miles of water in the Formosa Strait are guarded by the most powerful navy in the world. Yet, as Mr. Alsop says, "the Peking government has been promising its people to take Formosa this year at the top of its voice," and "it is really hard to see why the brilliant Chou En-lai should have engaged Peking's prestige to the very hilt if the threat to Formosa is a mere vain-glorious maneuver."

Mr. Alsop's point is, I believe, well taken. The question then is why Chou En-lai, who has no navy, can afford to talk about conquering an island a hundred miles out at sea? How does he think he can capture Formosa this year, or even next year? The answer to this question, and the answer to many of the obscurities and ambiguities in the whole problem is that Chou En-lai is counting upon the instability of Chiang Kai-shek's regime in Formosa. He could not be promising to "liberate" Formosa soon unless he hoped and believed that the Chinese Army and officials might do on Formosa what was done so often during the civil war on the mainland—that is to say, to change sides and to make peace.

If this is the basis of Chou En-lai's hope, it is the basis of Washington's underlying fears. No doubt we believe that Chiang's regime is more solid than Chou En-lai is assuming it to be. But a dominating consideration in our whole Chinese policy is the knowledge that the regime at Formosa is fragile and that to keep it going everything must be done to bolster its morale. If the administration felt sure that Chiang's regime in Formosa were solid, it would not hesitate much longer to recognize it for what it really is—as the government not of China but of Formosa. The bloc to that policy is the well grounded fear that the Chinese in Formosa would not settle down peacefully as exiles but would come to terms with the mainland Chinese.

The Chinese on Formosa tell us, and Americans who are in close touch with them believe that Chiang's regime would crumble in disaffection and intrigue if there were cut off the practical hope of a return to the mainland. Whether or not this is the fact, the Formosan Chinese insist on it and their supporters in Washington agree with it. Yet the fact of the matter is that the United Sates Government has not only abandoned hope of a restoration but has put its decision in this matter in writing in connection with the proposed Formosa pact.

Nevertheless, in Formosa the decision is not regarded as final and conclusive. The speculation is still alive that the United States will be and can be drawn into a great war in which Chiang might be able to return to the mainland. The Administration, afraid that morale might crumble, has allowed the government in Formosa to nourish this hope. It has at least refrained from dashing it conclusively. This desire to keep up Chiang's spirits by letting him go on hoping for war is almost surely the real reason for the costly and dangerous fuzziness about the offshore islands. These islands are not part of the strategic defense of Formosa. They are symbols of a conceivable return to the mainland.

The administration does not have a clear policy. There is in it a basic contradiction which will in one form or another have to be resolved.

On the one hand, there is the decision not to support an attempt by Chiang to return to the mainland. This decision carries with it the unavoidable conclusion that Chiang's government in Formosa is not the Government of China, and that it is not entitled to the Chinese seat in the United Nations.

On the other hand, there is the desire to keep Formosa out of Red Chinese control, and the assumption that the only way to do this is by supporting the Chinese Government in Formosa.

The combination of these 2 decisions would be the policy of the 2 Chinas, and it would be a feasible policy if only 1 uncertainty could be removed. That is whether the Chinese in Formosa would stay in Formosa and would not make their peace with Peking. If we could be sure of that, which we cannot, the defense of Formosa ought to be quite feasible.

Chou En-lai's hopes are based on the belief that the Chinese in Formosa can be induced to come over to his side. We are not sure that they cannot be induced to do that. It is not a comfortable situation, and that is why every one who is serious about this business feels that he is standing on very uncertain ground.

We have staked a lot on the reliability of Chiang's regime. Yet in deciding, as our own vital interests require, against supporting his return to the mainland, we have done what is most likely to sow fatal doubts within his regime. To offset these doubts, to preserve the morale of the Chinese of Formosa, we have felt compelled to become entangled in the Chinese civil war on the offshore islands. So we find ourselves unable to draw a clear line or to take an intelligible position that can command the support of world opinion.

The President's Stand on Formosa and the Pescadores

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The President Backed," which appeared on January 30, 1955, in the Greenville News, of Greenville, S. C. The editorial lauds the unity of Congress in backing the Formosa joint resolution, and appears in one of the Nation's outstanding newspapers.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT BACKED

There have been few displays of such unity as that Congress showed in backing the resolution authorizing President Eisenhower to use our Armed Forces as he sees fit in guarding Formosa, the Pescadores, and related positions and territories against Chinese Communist attack. The House supported it by a vote of 409 to 3, the Senate by 85 to 3. Some constitutional lawyers contend that it did not confer upon the President any power that he did not already have, but certainly it makes it clear that the people's representatives approve the policy of removing any doubts that the potential enemy might have about our readiness to fight for the preservation of what we consider our own defense line.

The authority now specifically given the President means that should the Chinese Reds force war upon us there will be no privileged sanctuaries on the mainland. Moreover, in the event of such a development, the United States forces will be in action in support of their own Government's proclaimed policy, and presumably would not be subjected to United Nations restrictions which many people feel cost us a real victory in Korea. That does not mean that we are not sincerely hopeful that the U. N. may be able to bring about an acceptable cease-fire agreement before matters worsen.

Passage of the resolution is a tribute to the trust that the American people have in President Eisenhower. No one desires peace more earnestly than they; yet they are willing, under his leadership, to run the gravest risk of war in the hope that such action will prevent it. This is the response to the way in which the President himself has shown his eagerness for the establishment and preservation of real peace in the world. If war should come, it will certainly be despite very valiant Presidential efforts to avoid it.

Address Delivered by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California, Before the Montgomery County Republican Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on February 2, 1955, at the Congressional Country Club, Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND delivered an address before the Montgomery County Republican organization.

The force and scope of that address so impressed me that I ask unanimous consent to have it made part of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE OF THE PACIFIC

(Address by Senator WILLIAM E. KNOWLAND)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and fellow Americans, we are gathered here to pay tribute not only to our first President but to discuss in the limited time that we have some of the accomplishments of the administration of a great American and outstanding President of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower. Now in the few years that he has occupied the office of President of the United States, he has given leadership to this Nation and has helped to bring our economy back to our free economic system which built this Nation of ours from a small colony of 3 million on the Atlantic seaboard to a great Nation of 165 million people with the most productive industrial and agricultural economy the world has ever known. When he took office, the Nation was under a system of controls—price controls, wage controls, and the allocation of materials. And in conformity with the platform pledges, they were removed. The cost to the Federal Government in the limited period of time he has occupied the White House has been cut by more than $10 billion. The American people have been given substantial tax reductions by the last Congress amounting to over $7½ billion. In addition to that we have had a better administration of the Federal Government. We have had a number of reorganization acts passed. We have created the new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The President, who perhaps more than any other man has a keen knowledge of the defense needs of the Nation, has been giving his personal attention to the increasing of the firepower of our armed services in the troubled world in which we find ourselves. There has been an extension of social-security legislation and the unemployment-reserves legislation.

But tonight I want to talk with you about one of the great problems that concerns us not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans. I speak of the issue now growing up in the Pacific relating to the defenses of this Nation and the defenses of the free world. It has been my position, and I believe it has been the position of responsible Republicans in the administration and in the Congress of the United States, that in these grave problems facing our Nation, Americans regardless of their partisan affiliation must stand shoulder to shoulder in meeting whatever the challenge that may confront us. I have said time and time again that there is only one party of treason in our Nation. That is the Communist Party and all Americans should stand shoulder to shoulder in seeing that that does not subvert our institutions. So it happens that in addition to being the anniversary of the first of our Republican Presidents, the month of February is also another anniversary and one that we do not remember quite as timely. This coming week is the 10th anniversary of the Yalta conference which met in the Crimea 10 years ago from February 4 to February 11, and in that brief span of 1 decade, the Communist world has increased its hold upon human beings—increased it from 200 million in 1945 until today they control more than 800 millions of people as we meet here tonight. This has been a tremendous change in the world's balance of power. The President of the United States this past week came to the Congress with a message dealing with the critical situation in Formosa and in the far Pacific. He made his recommendations, and in a display of national unity seldom equaled in our Nation, the House by a vote of 409 to 3, and the Senate by a vote of 85 to 3 approved the necessary resolution supporting the President. Now I believe that this was a demonstration of President Eisenhower's fundamental belief in our constitutional system of Government. There are some who legalistically might argue that as Commander in Chief, it was not necessary for him to come to the Congress of the United States, but he has felt and he has known that under our constitutional system, the President and the Congress are coequal branches of the Federal Government. He has never wanted and he has never expected and does not want and does not expect the Congress of the United States to be a mere rubber stamp. And in this great problem which confronted our Nation and after consultation not alone with his own party leaders in the House and the Senate but on a bipartisan basis with the Democratic leaders as well, he determined to submit the matter to the Congress so that we could present to our friends abroad and to the would-be aggressors abroad a demonstration of what a great and free constitutional Republic can do when it has finally been challenged in the matter that affects its own vital security interests. And that was done. Now there are some who tried to make out that this resolution was an act or a prelude to an act of aggression on our part. It was no such thing. Those who made charges of that kind knew that they were not true. There is not a single scintilla of evidence to support any such thesis that this was anything other than what the President purported it to be and that was an effort to stabilize conditions in the Pacific and to preserve the peace of the world. It was on this basis and after free and full debate in the House and in the Senate of the United States that he received overwhelming approval. Now some may have asked what is the importance of Formosa in this scheme of things as far as our defense is concerned. Formosa is not some isolated island in the Pacific.

It contains 9½ million of free Chinese. This is a larger population than 32 members of the United Nations have today. It is a larger population than such important countries as Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Austria, Ireland, and New Zealand, and it is the approximate population of Australia. So, in itself from a population point of view, it is important that it not pass behind the Iron Curtain. But what is more important is that it is a part of a defense chain in the Pacific for ourselves and the free world which runs from the Aleutians down through Japan through our great air base at Okinawa through Formosa to the Philippines and anchors on Australia. And if the island of Formosa should pass into unfriendly hands, it would drive a wedge into the heart of that defense position. It would outflank Okinawa a few hundred miles to the north and would outflank the Philippines a few hundred miles to the south. The think that is difficult for me to understand is how some of our associates in the United Nations or elsewhere constantly tell that the way of solving the problem with the Communist world is by taking the road to appeasement. The world should have learned at the time of Munich that the road to appeasement is not the road to peace. It is only surrender on the installment plan. Now we have drawn a line in the Pacific. It is for the purpose of preserving the peace in the Pacific and the peace of the world. There is no intent of aggression against any other nation on the face of the earth. But if our Air Force is challenged and fired upon, they are not going to sit there as sitting ducks. They are going to fire back with effective fire. If our fleet which in consultation with the Government of the Republic of China may be used for a screening opposition is subjected to attack, they in turn will defend themselves. But this, Mr. Chou En-lai and Mr. Mao Tse-tung should understand; they should understand in advance. If there is trouble in the Pacific, it will come because they have precipitated it. And if they precipitate trouble in the Pacific, they must know in advance that there will never again be a Yalu River sanctuary behind which they can go to rearm and refuel. Now we must not be deceived by those who would think that we can get a cheap and easy solution to this problem through the course of appeasement.

There are some who believe that this doctrine of so-called peaceful coexistence is some new indication of a basic change in Soviet policy. It is no such thing. The basic concept of Soviet policy is no different today under Malenkov than it was under Stalin or under Lenin. Their idea and peaceful coexistence was discussed by Lenin and by Stalin. Their idea of peaceful coexistence is that they will allow their neighbors to exist only until they can be subverted from within or destroyed by armed aggression from without. It is the type of peaceful coexistence that they planned for us that a Thanksgiving turkey has up until a few days before our national holiday of being well fed and housed until the ax falls on its neck. Now I had a letter not many days ago from a minister of the Gospel who had been concerned by this talk of peaceful coexistence. He had known some associates of his who had suffered at Communist hands in Communist China and in some of the satellite states of eastern Europe. He sent me this quotation from the second Corinthians 6, 14: Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers, for what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion has light with darkness. I think that the minister who wrote me had a much better appreciation of the meaning of communism and their type of coexistence than the sum of our so-called neutralist friends of India and others who even tonight as we are meeting here have come up with various suggestions including the admission of Communist China into the United Nations; the giving up of the islands of Quemoy and Matsu to the Chinese Communists; the ultimate turning over if need be of the entire island of Formosa to the Chinese Communists. I have said on the floor of the Senate of the United States and I repeat to you here tonight that in my judgment the admission of Communist China into the United Nations would be a betrayal of every principle that that organization is supposed to represent. They have not qualified in any sense of the word as being either willing or able to live up to the charter obligations of a nation devoted to international law and order. As far as I am concerned, as long as I have a voice and a vote in the Senate of the United States, I shall oppose the admission of Communist China into that Organization.

Now the American people want peace, but we want peace with honor, and there is a vast difference between peace with honor and peace at any price. If anyone asks what the hopes and the aspirations of the American Government and the American people are in regard to living together with our neighbors, I would point to our great neighbor of Canada to the north where we have a frontier of more than 3,000 miles stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Along that entire frontier there is not a single fort or military post of any type or character whatsoever. Our hope would be in our lifetime or that of our children other nations would be as civilized and as peaceloving as our great neighbor of Canada to the north so that not only in the Americas but in Europe and in Asia and in the Middle East people might live together as good neighbors as we live

with our great neighbor of Canada to the north. But, if we are half as prudent as the men who gave us our Republic, if we are half as prudent as those who pioneered the winning of the West, we will continue to hope and to pray for peace, but we will, like they, keep our powder dry. For we know that the age in which we find ourselves all nations are not as civilized or as peaceloving as are some of our friends to whom I have referred. I am reminded of a quotation out of one of Kipling's verses called the "Truce of the Bear." He said, "When he stands up like a tired man, tottering near and near; when he stands up as pleading, in wavering, man-brute guise; when he veils the hate and cunning of his little, swinish eyes; 'when he shows as seeking quarter, with paws like hands in prayer, that is the time of peril—the time of the truce of the bear'."

I think we must recognize that the mere fact that the Chinese Communists may accept an invitation to go to New York and discuss a cease-fire is no guaranty that while they are discussing they may not at the same time be fighting. I call your attention to the fact that when the negotiations at Panmunjom were going on some of the bitterest fighting of the Korean war took place. Why? because the Communist technique is to try to win victories and to break the morale of the opposition. When the great powers had gathered together at Geneva, out of a spirit of mercy the request had been made that they permit the evacuation of the wounded from the fortress of Dien Bien Phu. They turned it down and they insisted—while the countries were meeting—on reducing that fortress and causing a complete surrender of its garrison. So in that case the mere fact that they negotiate in no sense guarantees that they may not use the same time to cause us trouble if they can. There have been some who have suggested that perhaps, as a price of a temporary cease-fire, the Chinese Nationalist Government should be requested to give up fortress outposts of Quemoy and Matsu. This not only would be detrimental, in my judgment, to the defense of Formosa because it would open up the great harbors of Amoy and Foochou in which invasion fleets would be mobilized for the amphibious attack upon Formosa, but, in addition to that fact, it would be psychological defeat for the Republic of China, which again wuld be asked to give up more territory as the price of appeasement to the Chinese Communists. They will not be satisfied with any such price being paid, for they have publicly time and time again announced that their determination, regardless of our position and that of the free world, is to take Formosa by force. I do not know why it is that there are some nations in the world, who should know better, who constantly advocate that the free world retire and give up territory and give up human beings behind the Iron Curtain. I have never seen a suggestion from Mr. Nehru or any of the others that the Communist world give up some of its territory and free some of its people.

They suggest the doctrine of the two Chinas—a fatal policy. For in the first place neither the Communists or the Nationalists could possibly accept the doctrine of the two Chinas. You would not bring peace in the Pacific. You would make inevitable a conflict. Just as in the long term of history you cannot have two Germanys or two Koreas. But I am convinced that if we as a Government and we as a people only use the same courage and the same commonsense that motivated the men who sat at Philadelphia and under what I believe was divine inspiration gave us first our Declaration of Independence and later our Constitution of the United States, there are none of our domestic problems which we as a free people cannot solve, and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

Address of Paul M. Butler, Chairman, National Democratic Committee, Before the National Press Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech by Paul M. Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., February 1, 1955:

Since coming to Washington as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, I have been impressed repeatedly with the truth of the observation that "most of the world's troubles arise from words."

This was not said originally, as some may suppose, as a comment on John Foster Dulles' diplomatic methods. It is generally credited to Lord Mansfield back in the 18th century.

So it seems that the habit of using words carelessly or imperfectly is not a recent phenomenon, nor is it entirely a peculiarity of Republican Washington. This business of words is, of course, an old story to you, but it is a subject endowed with perpetually fresh interest to man who is just beginning to learn his way around in the verbose air of the National Capital.

For one thing, I find that publicity and public relations represent a large and growing part of the national committee chairman's duties. For another, our committee develops material for a certain monthly magazine, the Democratic Digest, 35 cents a copy, only $3 a year. We also issue fact sheets featuring analyses of Presidential messages, and we prepare other memoranda—both special and confidential—which steadily grow more numerous and, we think, more interesting.

This development is not at all surprising in a day when the range, volume, and complexity of our public affairs taxes the indexing powers of even the New York Times. Though much of this is routine to most of you, I propose to discuss it here today since the operation is largely new to me, and I am concerned with ways in which we can make the Democratic National Committee's part in the news presentation more useful to you, to the general public, and the Democratic Party. We have to live together and work together, and a better understanding of each other's operations and purposes will contribute much to the pleasantness and the efficiency of that relationship. Perhaps I can best illustrate the point by referring to a few recent incidents which indicated that understanding of our committee's functions was something less than total.

Let me say here that I mention these matters not at all in a spirit of complaint or faultfinding, but entirely with the object of reaching a clearer definition of responsibilities that rest on all of us in the realm of public debate in a free society. Some of you doubtless recall there was a difference in interpretations of my New Orleans statement last December. My remarks were reported accurately in the press, but in some quarters there seemsd to be an exaggerated notion as to what constitutes a personal blast. You know, of course, that there is a profound difference between personal attacks, such as those made on the President by a conspicuous member of his own party, and questioning or challenging his conduct of national affairs. I have said this before, but apparently not too often. You know, too, that the normal practice in American politics is to hold the President responsible for the act of his administration and the leadership of his party. To pretend—as some do—that the taking of such a stand is introducing a new policy, or is a departure that is somehow inimical to orderly political relations, is simply preposterous. Worse than that, such confusion over our natural and traditional political processes cannot but have the purpose to discourage the normal exchange of information, views, and opinions, upon the continuation of which the good health of the Republic depends.

When the Republican national chairman and others sought to dismiss my statement as a personal attack on the President, and as a junking of Democratic pledges of cooperation in the 84th Congress, they were at variance with the long-established ground rules for American political debate. It is impossible to view their action as other than an effort to muffle legitimate Democratic criticism of the man who today heads the Republican administration. The effort to put the President on a pedestal, ruling out realistic debate whenever it touches the Chief Executive, is detrimental to effective Government today and every day. None of our past Presidents has been sacrosanct. Republicans who seek to silence Democratic critics of Mr. Eisennower today were following a quite different rule when Mr. Truman and Mr. Roosevelt were in office.

Let us face it, the rule which the Republicans now are attempting to introduce would limit us to blind opposition or blind approbation. Through 20 years, the Republican leadership followed the rule of blind opposition. Viewing the effects of that partisan extremism today, Democrats are not tempted to follow their example. But blind approbation can have even more devastating results. A nation without an articulate opposition is no longer a democracy. If we were to retreat to the position deemed proper for Democrats by Chairman Hall and others who want to hear no word of Mr. Eisenhower's mistakes, we might as well close up shop at Democratic headquarters and discard the two-party system. There is going to be no such retreat, I can assure you, but instead, there will be a continuing effort to play the part of a responsible constructively critical opposition.

This represents no departure from the Democratic position in this matter which was stated repeatedly and definitely long before my election as chairman. One of the notable statements came near the close of the 1954 campaign, when Mr. Eisenhower's confusion of cold-war tactics with domestic politics prompted Democratic Senate Leader LYNDON JOHNSON and House Democratic Leader SAM RAYBURN to send the President a joint telegram. In view of some subsequent events, I believe that their remarks on that occasion bear repeating. After citing the numerous instances in the 83d Congress where the Democrats upheld the President against the extremists of his own party, on important policy questions, they said:

"We believe that issues like these are the overriding ones that are vital to the continued security of our Nation, and we believe that on these issues a Democratic Congress and any man who is determined to be President of all Americans can work together in harmony. This is no pledge of rubber-stamp support. We will continue to oppose you when we believe you are wrong. To do any less would be to betray ourselves and those who voted for us."

I do not see how anyone can read into that message any declaration of a Democratic moratorium on legitimate criticism of the Chief Executive. I have not heard from any Democratic source on Capitol Hill or elsewhere the slightest suggestion that we are

now committed to a policy of unthinking approbation. On the contrary, in this and in all other Democratic expressions we find a clear restatement of the Democratic policy of responsible opposition.

The record of the 83d Congress shows that the Democratic Party consistently stood on this ground—when the Democrats fought to protect the President's rights against the GOP Old Guard which tried so hard to reduce them, and when they criticized the President for his surrenders of Executive rights; when Democrats supported the President on foreign policy, but opposed his New Look cuts in our defense program; when they fought for the President's liberalized trade program, but opposed his effort to pack the Tariff Commission with high protectionists; when they fought to save the President's public housing program, but still criticized the Executive for his inadequate housing plan. In the 84th Congress, which they control, the Democrats continue to follow this balanced approach to the twin objectives of bipartisan action and intelligent opposition.

All of us are improved by legitimate criticism. Dwight Eisenhower, I should say, has been blessed in this regard. Whatever progress his administration has made, he owes quite as much to the thoughtful Democratic criticism he has received as to the discriminating support from the same quarter.

Republican confusion over the ground rules in the exchange of public information was demonstrated again in the GOP reaction to Democratic analyses of the President's messages to the 84th Congress. For example, our committee's memorandum on the state of the Union message was pictured in some quarters as dooming the bipartisan approach in the present session of Congress. Senator STYLES BRIDGES, Republican policy chairman, spoke of this preliminary analysis of the state of the Union message as a "blast" against harmony in Congress. Senator ESTES KEFAUVER pointed out that it was strictly an analysis, confined entirely to relevant figures, facts, and questions. Senator KEFAUVER cleared up the confusion by reading sample passages from the memorandum itself. It's a technique which Democrats recommend to others. Let us use it here as applied to just one item in the analysis of the state of the Union message. The committee memo quoted this passage from the President's message: "So today, the transition to a peacetime economy is largely behind us." The comment in the Democratic memo was: "This could hardly be called a peacetime economy since defense spending, while down from its peak, is still well above what it was at the height of the Korean fighting."

In both his state of the Union and his budget messages, Mr. Eisenhower spoke of the supposed war-to-peace transition. Now the committee's memos did not point, as they might well have, that these phrases on the mythical war-to-peace transition repeated one of the major Eisenhower themes in the recent campaign. Some might question the propriety of injecting stump speeches into messages of state. However, we left the Republicans to follow their own sense of the proprieties. On the other hand, we admit to some surprise when Democrats are accused of adopting disruptive partisan tactics on the basis of a release which simply points up facts that do not support the war-to-peace transition fable.

These memos and fact sheets are routine operations of the committee. The one issued on the state of the Union message represented no departure, in either style or content, from what the committee has been doing for the last 2 years. In other words, they come under the heading of pure and essential research. They are, we believe, useful to our busy Senators, Congressmen, and other party leaders. And we hope they are also useful to the press in getting a balanced account of the issues before the reading public.

It is only natural, I suppose, that there should be a certain amount of misinterpretation and misunderstanding over almost every conceivable report or comment in the political arena. You encounter this phenomenon in your own work quite as much as we do in ours, I am sure. I am also certain that you have observed that the habit of mislabeling research and objective reporting as something irreverent and even unpatriotic has been carried to ridiculous and dangerous extremes by overzealous partisans.

In addition to the incidents I have already mentioned, there are other recent instances in which research and criticism have been falsely pictured, in what seems to me a patent attempt to drown out the voice of the opposition, or to make it unpopular to exercise the critical faculty.

You will recall that not so long ago the Republicans advanced the proposition that the Democratic Digest should be stopped at the water's edge, on the basis of the unsupported accusation that the Digest was—and I quote—"deliberately encouraging distrust of ourselves and our ideals abroad."

Actually, what troubled the GOP was that the Democratic Digest was rather completely reporting the masterful job that anti-Eisenhower Republicans were doing to undermine confidence in the President's stoutest policies.

You remember, too, the recent Republican "gloom and doom" chant, which was designed to drop a black-out on realistic discussion of the nation's economic condition.

But why go on? There are about us today too many evidences of pressures which would drive Americans toward blind approbation.

These matters are of immediate concern to you, for the effort to stifle Democratic criticism is one part of a still growing movement to restrict freedom of expression in many espects of our national life. In the last two years, you gentlemen of the press have engaged in a long series of battles against that backward trend.

One of the major issues today is this Administration's Federal employees' security program. Without the light that was shed by a free press, there would have been no effective stand against the fantastic injustice that was done against Wolf Ladejinsky. For the partial redress that was made when he was reinstated in Harold Stassen's FOA, Mr. Ladejinsky acknowledged his debt to our newspapers, radio, and TV. In what certainly must be classed as one of the year's more eloquent statements, he said: "I propose three cheers for these media." I am happy to join him in that toast.

But the battle is far from over. The press already has turned a searing light on the GOP's "security risk" numbers game, but the recent upping of the hoax figure to 8,008 tells us that the searchlight of an informed public must have a still wider and more piercing beam.

Masked political raids on the civil-service system have raised a challenge which can be met only by an active opposition and a free press. The Nation needs to have much more information about the administration's defense cuts. Commerce Secretary Weeks' establishment of an Office of Stategic Information designed to guide newsmen in publishing information concerning unclassified strategic data, needs much more explaining. The Dixon-Yates deal requires further airing.

In all these matters there is a concerted effort to pit the President's popularity against the public's right to know. The mere questioning of the accuracy of a presidential statement of fact is represented as a personal attack on the President, or a scrapping of bipartisan harmony. Whether or not it is designed to do so, this tends to have a restraining influence on potential critics—and it is a disservice to both the President and his country when his prestige is used to stifle honest dissent.

Now there are those who centend that there remain few, if any, vital issues between the two parties, since, it is claimed, President Eisenhower has stolen the Fair Deal-New Deal thunder, and left us no issues for 1956. Actually, there are rather more grave issues than is good for the country—and it is not a healthy sign when some of our important citizens are blind to that fact.

We do not mind when President Eisenhower borrows Democratic policies, for he always returns them as he did after the 1952 campaign. But those of us who are genuinely devoted to those policies could wish that his attachment to Democratic ideas was a little less fleeting as in the cases of his pledges on 90 percent parity prices for farmers, TVA, civil-service protection, Federal aid to education, rural electrification, and a long list of other programs.

In closing, I must refer again to the issues that is, or should be, the first concern to all of us—the issue of the free press, monitor of all our liberties.

In our committee, we read some 200 daily newspapers and also check carefully some 80 other periodicals, along with radio and TV cripts. We get, I think, a pretty good cross-section of what the press is saying and we have a very lively appreciation of the contributions which this Nation's publishers, editors, and reporters are making to the defense of our first freedom.

Bearing on this point, I would like to quote briefly from a recent address by one of the country's foremost editors. It was spoken in memorial tribute to John Peter Zenger, the first American editor to go to jail in the long stand against tyranny.

"Liberty, like peace, is indivisible," said Editor Palmer Hoyt, of the Denver Post. "Once we permit any demagog to lay hands on the rights of individuals and let him get away with it, it only becomes a matter of time before all other rights guaranteed under the Constitution, including freedom of the press, are placed in mortal jeopardy."

We have seen, in our daily study of the press, a growing realization that the drive toward anti-intellectualism, toward conformity and creation of a fear psychosis, is aimed at shackling free speech and freedom of thought. We have observed mounting awareness that the distortions and the intimidation methods practiced by some among us strike first and hardest at the integrity of the press. We have seen increasing recognition that the deliberate perversion of words and facts is as violent an attack on the free press as are overt invasions of constitutional guarantees.

We have seen more and more evidence that newspapermen realize that their own freedom is under attack when the constitutional rights of Government employees are infringed under an unconscionable "security risk" system, designed primarily to serve partisan ends; when ministers, teachers, and scientists are falsely linked with subversion under the evil doctrine of guilt by association; when our great foundations are sullied by political extremists who label honest research and experimentation as "socialism" or "communism."

In our own magazine, we have told some of the recent instances of the editorial profession's stout defense of the questing mind, and we will tell more. In this work, we like to think not only that we are useful to the free press but that we are in fact a part of the free press.

There has been frequent comment on the fact that many of the reports and comments in the Democratic Digest come from Republican or pro-administration journals. Actually, there is nothing remarkable in this, for the free press knows no party line. There is still a large one-party press in this country but there is also a vigorous "no-

party press." It dwells in city rooms all over the country, and these enlightened independents include some who are Democratic and some who are Republican by inclination. But they are all newspapermen first, and they have a much greater future than the one-party press.

My sentiments are well expressed in the often quoted remark of Thomas Jefferson:

"Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

Fortunately, we do not have to make that choice, but it is perhaps truer today than it was in Jefferson's time that man's hope for the reign of liberty, justice, and decency on earth is principally in the keeping of the gentlemen of the press. Nowhere is the image of a better tomorrow imprinted more clearly than upon a column of clean type.

Thank you.

Address by Hon. Theodore R. McKeldin at Dorchester Day Memorial Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DeWITT S. HYDE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following speech made by the Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, Governor of the State of Maryland, on February 4, at the Dorchester Day memorial service at the B'nai Israel Synagogue, Washington, D. C.:

We are gathered here today to pay tribute to a living man. True, his body was long ago claimed by the insatiable sea and, in our petty carnal way of reckoning, the place that knew him shall know him no more forever; but he has passed beyond that reckoning, and places that never knew him in the flesh know him now—all places where valor is held in honor and holiness in reverence know him, and shall know him forever. He lives in a truer sense than you and I, here present in the body, are living; he is more vibrantly alive than most of us will ever be.

With our feeble human mathematics we count him as one of four, but in a tremendous moment of terror and glory the four were fused into one. Our creeping, earth-bound logic deems him a Jew standing with a Catholic and two Protestants; but in the soaring logic that rules the universe there stood together neither Jew nor Catholic nor Protestant, neither creed nor dogma, no trace of division but only a group of servants of the Most High God who, standing face to face with the Arch Fear, proved worthy of their Master.

The tale has the stark simplicity of all great epics. Four chaplains, noncombatants charged with the cure of souls of our fighting men, were on a ship struck by the enemy so swiftly and so furiously that it was immediately plain that all could not escape; so the men of peace handed to men-at-arms the lifebelts that might have meant rescue, and standing together on the blood-smeared, battle-torn deck, repeated the supreme confession of faith of the patriarch Job, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust him; he also shall be my salvation."

The sea closed over them, but "dull must he be of soul" who could think that that was the end of their lives. On the contrary, that was the moment when millions first learned of their existence, and it is only since that moment that they have been shining figures in the hearts and minds of men throughout the Nation. At the moment when the sea closed over them, the mortal put on immortality, and a nation filled with pity and awe could begin to understand the meaning of that great taunt to the terror of the world: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

"Let us now praise famous men," sang him whom we know only as the Preacher, and we are gathered here in response to that admonition; and we do well to respond, for—

"The Lord hath wrought great glory by them
Through His great power from the beginning.
These were honored in their generations,
And were the glory of their times."

But we shall not do well if we pay tribute only to the splendor of the deed and take no note of the stern rebuke it carries to the narrow mind, the small soul, the bitter heart all too prevalent among us. How dare I say, how dare you say of any man among them, "He was not of my religion"? If my religion teaches that it is God who has planted in the human heart the knowledge that there is something more precious than life, something more necessary that life, then in the fundamental thing he was of my religion and I am of his. In the presence of that great unity, the bickering and strife, the spite and prejudice that we allow to creep into our human relations shrivel into cinders, little and mean and pitiful.

As a schoolboy I was taught that George Washington, when he was a schoolboy, entered in his copybook the motto, "Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire—conscience." As a schoolboy I accepted it as a pious platitude, without thinking much about it. Not until I had become a man did the experience of life pound into my mind with hammer-blows the reason for keeping alive the spark of celestial fire. It is by way of preparation of one of those terrible moments that come to every man when he stands face to face with stark reality.

For if the spark is still aglow when that moment comes, the blast of the tempest may cause it to burst into full flame and the man is transformed, is lifted above the human level and becomes a miracle striking all beholders with amazement and dread. I am certain that this is what occurred in the case of the four chaplains. As far as we know, all their lives up to that moment they had been quite ordinary men, not very different from you and me; but throughout all their humdrum days they had kept alive the spark of celestial fire, and that made the difference. Blown upon by the fury of the storm it flamed up and enveloped them, so that they were no longer men but became what Moses encountered when he saw the bush that burned and was not consumed—they were visible evidence of the presence and power of God and the place whereon they stood was holy ground.

So their story comes down to us as both a rebuke and a promise, and so we must cherish it while memory lasts. It is a stern reminder of how the quarrels and spites and prejudices that we think important—

"Thronging the safe, companion'd ways of life,
Shrink trembling from the cold, clear eye of death."

Which sees all men as one. It rebukes our wasted years and wasted energies, our silly pride and our equally silly fears. Down through the years it calls to us in the words of Abraham speaking to Lot: "Why should there be strife between thee and me? For we be brethren."

Let us acknowledge here today that the rebuke is merited. Let us make part of our tribute a firm resolve that it shall be heeded, not in a moment of transfiguration, but in our daily lives, and that the influence of these men, far from diminishing, shall strengthen and increase with passing times; so they shall live forever and mortality have no power over them.

The promise of the story lies in the fact that we, too, carry within our breasts the celestial spark unless we shall have extinguished it by our own act; and while it glows we to may hope that in the moment of our utmost need it may be fanned into flame, giving us power not of ourselves to face triumphantly what of our own strength we could not bear.

So bringing to this rite of remembrance humility and contrition we may carry away from it pride and confidence, not in ourselves, but in the knowledge that he who is the servant of the Most High may hope in his most dreadful hour—to stand not of himself alone, but with the borrowed strength of the God of Hosts, "and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Yet while I believe that this story tells of a moment of transfiguration when the spirit of God lifted mortal men above the human level, there still remains the purely human side. After all, they did wear the uniform of the United States of America, and, after all, they did add to the wordly honor of this Nation. Therefore they are due the customary honor that the world pays to the brave; and while I regard it as a lesser thing than their spiritual honor, I render it gladly, it briefly.

These were among the valiant whom it is not fitting to mourn, but only to honor and praise; and the style has been set for us in the stately music of John Milton. Here then, is their epitaph:

"Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
or knock the breasts; no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise, or blame; nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble."

A Program for an Expanding New England Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following program for an expanding New England economy adopted by the newly formed New England Council of the CIO, which I am confident the membership will find to be of interest and enlightening:

We, the trade unionists of New England, have faith in the future of our region and are determined to work for the growth and stability of the economy of these 6 States.

We point to the weak spots in the economy of New England so that we may develop sound plans to protect our standards and build for the future of our region.

The CIO economic program for New England seeks to protect and promote the regional economy and support the growth of the national economy. There are special problems within the region which require attention. They stem from the contraction of the textile, leather, and electrical products

industries, which are shrinking in the region either through direct closings or migration. The protection of our standards from unhealthy competitive pressure must be combined with a positive program of stimulation of the regional economy to both help the older industries and aid in the development of new plants and employment opportunities.

We look askance upon the ideas promoted by financial circles that only the increase in jobs in service and durable-goods manufacturing industries means improvement for the region. The exact reverse has taken place. The wages paid by many new plants continue to be low and to undercut the wage levels in the established textile, leather, and electrical products industries.

The CIO dedicates itself to rally the workers in these plants to correct this condition through trade-union action. But we note with alarm that the workers formerly employed by closed plants who have obtained new employments have had their earnings severely cut in these new industries. We must face up to the fact that thousands of displaced workers from older plants have not been absorbed by new plants or industries.

The New England community has not addressed itself wholeheartedly and with determination to the stimulation of new employments and enterprise. The CIO program is intended to awaken the entire region to the need for concerted action by all groups working unitedly behind the planks which we herewith offer. Our program will aid all sectors of the population and convert our economic stagnancy into one of active, healthy growth.

1. Minimum wage: We urge the approval of $1.25 minimum wage.

2. Walsh-Healy Act: We urge repeal of the Fulbright amendment, immediate enforcement of the Secretary of Labor's findings and full implementation of the act.

3. Federal tax system: We urge the denial of all tax exemptions to local government bonds issued for the purpose of financing the construction of equipment of private enterprises or the use of local communities' concessions in the capitalization of any company for tax purposes. The Federal tax law must disallow as expenses all allowances for transportation of machinery and equipment where such transportation results from the abandonment of a plant and disallow the deduction of rent from taxable income by companies which lease plants built from the proceeds of municipal bond issues.

4. State and local tax laws: We urge the prohibition of all tax exemptions or subsidies or the use of public credit for private business enterprise.

5. Federal tax on abandoned plants: We urge a 25 percent tax on all gains from liquidation of plants. Such proceeds should be used to finance local development programs, aid workers to adjust themselves and set up public works and development of local resources and facilities.

6. Unemployment insurance: We urge the adoption of Federal minimum standards which shall provide benefits of at least 65 percent of a worker's full-time weekly wage, up to the State minimum which should be at least two-thirds of average weekly wages in covered employment, for a period of 39 weeks.

7. Federal old-age security: We urge the enactment of a Federal long-term disability law; 60-year retirement age for employees displaced as a result of plant closings; liberalization of benefit provisions.

8. Vocational education: We shall work for a more adequate program of Federal and State vocational education to enable persons displaced from older industries to adapt and train themselves to newer employments.

9. Textile industry: The Federal Government should immediately pursue the following course to help the stimulation of the textile industry:

(a) Government stockpiles of textiles for military uses so that production orders can be released immediately.

(b) American textiles should be used in the same fashion as surplus food and coal for the relief of needy peoples overseas.

(c) Textiles should be distributed to needy Americans as surplus food is now distributed.

(d) Government contracts should be negotiated and awarded to mills in distressed manpower areas.

(e) The United States Department of Agriculture should provide the leadership in establishing a wool fabric "library" to stimulate new design and aggressive merchandising.

(f) The Federal Government should provide a research program for the development of new products, uses, markets and programs for stimulating new demands for textiles and textile products.

10. New England tax system: We urge greater reliance by State governments on personal and corporate income taxes and reduction and elimination of sales taxes.

11. New England power: Public development of power resources must be undertaken by valley authorities. Funds for the development of Passamaquoddy power must be appropriated by the Federal Government. We applaud Governor Muskie's proposal for the repeal of the Fernald Act. A regional investigation must be undertaken to determine why power rates in New England are the highest in the United States. Necessary steps must be taken to assure that power from St. Lawrence and Niagara is made available to the public and nonprofit bodies at the lowest possible cost.

12. Regional expansion: A regional planning and development board should be established representative of the various interested groups, to undertake the study and development of the regional economy. It shall also provide aid to State and local community development projects.

13. Small business: Development of lending technical assistance and government contract aid for small business.

14. Integrated steel mills: We urge the establishment of an integrated steel mill in New England.

15. Atomic energy: We urge the formation of a public corporation to produce and distribute electricity produced by atomic reactors.

The CIO State councils hereby establish a New England Council of CIO to promote and follow up on the enactment and realization of this program.

Tariffs on Textiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and statement:

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA,
New York, N. Y., January 11, 1955.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN ROGERS: We are enclosing a copy of a statement we filed with the United States Tariff Commission in connection with the pending treaty negotiations with Japan. We are inalterably opposed to any reduction of ad valorem or specific rates on textile items. The attached brief provides the basic facts in support of our position.

Our position stems from the serious dislocations and widespread unemployment in all regions in the textile industry. Further reductions in tariff rates on textiles would invite a greater flood of goods at reduced prices which will compound the unfortunate plight in which hundreds of thousands of textile workers find themselves. The shrinkage in the industry resulting from the loss of markets to competitive materials and technological advances are displacing large numbers of workers. This is not a proper time to aggravate internal conditions.

The rising level of productivity will ultimately permit the American textile industry to hold the domestic market in face of any foreign competition. As a result, no foreign country can hope to hold permanently markets which it would gain temporarily in this country. Tariff reductions would aggravate bad conditions in the domestic industry without providing permanent outlets for increased foreign trade.

We hope that we can count on your support for this program to exempt the textile industry from reductions in tariff rates in the forthcoming trade agreement negotiations with Japan.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN CHUPKA.

STATEMENT TO THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION CONCERNING POSSIBLE TARIFF CONCESSIONS ON TEXTILE ITEMS IN THE NEGOTIATION OF RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS WITH JAPAN, SUBMITTED BY SOLOMON BARKIN, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, CIO, DECEMBER 22, 1954

We appear before your committee to attest to the impropriety of reducing tariff rates on textile items. An expansion of textile imports would have a highly unfortunate effect upon the workers in the industry. They are now suffering under the double impact of a high rate of technological change and intense competition among different fibers, processes, and products. Thousands of workers have been displaced and thrown onto a labor market where few opportunities for alternative employment exists. It would be unfortunate to add to the workers' dislocation and anxieties by threatening the continued existence of those branches of the industry which would be seriously affected by foreign competition. Moreover, the lowering of tariff rates would create further dislocations without providing a substantial permanent market for the foreign textile industries in this country.

We are impressed with the unusually high level of unemployment in our industry at a time when the country is enjoying a high level of employment and business activity. The high rate of displacement of jobs because of technological and style changes is of a continuing character and therefore any move which would add to the difficulties of the industry would have lasting effects upon the economy and would seriously aggravate the problems of the unemployed.

The utmost care must be employed in a review of tariff rates on textiles at this time. We submit the following propositions as basic to the consideration of the textile tariff problems:

1. A high level of unemployment prevails in many divisions of the textile industry. Alternative employments are limited in textile areas.

2. Current technological changes, interfiber, interprocess and interproduct competition are threatening many more jobs.

3. In view of the prevalance of unemployment this is an inopportune time for further concessions which would complicate the adjustment process.

4. Certain branches of the textile industry included in the current negotiations are the branches of the traditional industries which

have the best chance for continued survival in interfiber competition and therefore should not be threatened by a new increase in the volume of imports.

5. The industry has lost many foreign markets and export volume has been sharply reduced and is further threatened.

6. Concessions to Japan under Most Favored Nations Treaty will extend to all world textile exporters.

7. Textile imports should not be conceived as primary sources of international trade for countries involved in the proposed negotiations.

8. The maintenance of an adequate American textile industry is essential to our national standard of living, position, and defense.

9. The American textile industry is one of the largest of all national textile industries and its position must be maintained.

10. Protection of the American industry has had few unfavorable effects upon the American or world textile economy.

11. The tariff mechanism is a faulty determinant of the flow of textiles and is complicated by current raw material price policies.

12. Concessions should not be negotiated for products which are primarily supplied by countries other than those with whom negotiations are contemplated.

13. Limited types of imports of textile products can contribute to new ideas, developments, fabrics, and designs but they should not come in such volume as will destroy segments of the American industry.

14. We urge the promotion of international fair-labor standards in the world textile industry to avoid competition on the basis of exploited labor.

I. A HIGH LEVEL OF UNEMPLOYMENT PREVAILS IN ALL DIVISIONS OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY. ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENTS ARE LIMITED IN TEXTILE AREAS. TEXTILE WORKERS ARE OLDER PERSONS SO THAT REEMPLOYMENT PROVES DIFFICULT; PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT PROLONGED; MANY EXHAUST UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS; LARGE NUMBERS PREMATURELY FORCED OUT OF LABOR MARKET

Unemployment is currently widespread among textile workers throughout the country. The number of workers in the textile-products mills in October 1954 was 988,000 which is 281,000 less than in February 1951. This is the net reduction in jobs. The total number displaced is much greater, as many who lost their jobs have been replaced by others.

All textile areas are suffering from this unemployment. (See table I). One hundred and seventeen thousand jobs were lost to the industry during the past 2 years in New England, 85,000 in Middle Atlantic States, and 52,000 in the South. The largest employment reductions were suffered in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and substantial losses were also registered in several southern States.

As textile mills are generally located in nonmetropolitan areas, frequently comprising 1-industry or 1-mill communities, alternative employments in the locality are lacking. The slump in textile employment, therefore, depresses entire communities and leaves workers and their families stranded. The significance of this concentration is borne out by the fact that 5 of the 8 major areas in the continental United States which are designated areas of very substantial labor surplus by the Bureau of Employment Security, are textile areas. In addition, 4 smaller textile areas are classified in this category (having 12 percent or more of the labor force unemployed). There are also 20 textile areas (including 7 major communities) in the substantial labor-surplus classification, i. e., with more than 6 but less than 12 percent of the labor force employed. (See table II). These communities have not prepared for this situation with new industrial developments. The people have a lifetime investment of skills in the textile industry.

The concentraton of textie manufacturing in the States along the Atlantic seaboard makes these areas peculiarly dependent upon the industry. The proportion of total manufacturing employment accounted for by the textile industry is in excess of 50 percent in North and South Carolina and more than 25 percent in Rhode Island and Georgia. In addition, substantial proportions of the factory employment in New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, Alabama, and Tennessee are provided by the textile industry.

Many thousands of the textile workers who are unemployed have no prospect of reemployment in their communities because the mills in which they were employed are permanently closed. At least 556 plants in the major branches of the textile industry (cotton and rayon, woolen and worsted, and dyeing and finishing) have been liquidated since the end of the war, throwing more than 144,000 workers out of their jobs. (See table III.) Many of these are located in isolated communities where no opportunity for other employment exists. As a result, with year ended June 30, 1954, almost 100,000 New England workers were unable to find jobs during the period covered by unemployment compensation, exhausting their benefit rights.

The effect of the current drastic contraction in the textile industry is being felt particularly by the older workers because this industry has an unusually large proportion of mature and middle-aged employees. Mill liquidations and reductions in employment are most severe in the areas with the oldest work populations. The latest study of the ages of workers in establishments covered by the old-age and survivors insurance shows that the proportion of male workers 65 years of age and over was 5.2 percent in textiles as compared with the average for all manufacturing industries of 2.7 percent.

The older workers are the chief sufferers from mill liquidations. They have the greatest difficulty in finding new jobs when the mills in which they have been working, frequently for several decades, shut down. The skills which they have acquired over the years are largely wasted, as there has been little transferability of skills from the textile industry to the industries which are growing in textile areas. Indeed, the recruitment policies of the firms which are expanding militate against the employment of former textile workers because of the emphasis on hiring young people. As a result, thousands of able-bodied men and women are being relegated to a new industrial scrap heap.

The insurmountable obstacles faced by older workers seeking employment as a result of technological displacement or plant shutdowns are indicated in a number of surveys conducted in recent years on the experience of the labor force of liquidated textile mills. In July 1947, the Oakes Mill in Bloomfield, N. J., was closed permanently and the union surveyed 132 of the former employees a year later to determine their experience in obtaining employment. While 63 percent of the workers had found some job during the year following the mill's closing, only 6 percent of the workers aged 65 and over had been so fortunate. Moreover, while 44 percent of the workers were still employed on the date of the survey (July 31, 1948), none of the 65 and over group had retained his job.

In May 1948, the Esmond Mills in Esmond, R. I., was liquidated and a union survey of 628 former employees in November 1948 revealed that while 48 percent of the workers were able to obtain a job in the half year following the mill's shutdown, the proportion of successful job seekers dropped sharply after the age of 50: In the 40–49 bracket, 56 percent had obtained a job, 30 percent in the 50–59 class, 28 percent in the 60–64 class, and only 15 percent in the 65 and over category. Similar disparities were indicated in the distribution of former Esmond Mill workers who were employed as of November 30, 1948: While 39 percent of all workers were employed, only 15 percent of the 65 and over group had a job.

In 1952, the staff of the Committee of New England of the National Planning Association conducted studies of the postliquidation experience of employees of two textile mills. The report of the committee is currently in the process of publication. It will show that there was little transference of skill levels among those who were able to find jobs. With regard to one of the plants studied (a New Hampshire woolen and worsted mill) the committee found that 13 percent of the labor force withdrew from the labor market after losing their jobs, most of these being older workers, particularly women past 60 years of age.

A study currently underway by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University in Boston, has resulted in the interviewing of 756 workers from 3 liquidated mills in New Hampshire and Massachusetts (1 in Fall River and 1 in Lowell). William H. Miernyk, director of this study, has reported the first findings as follows: Displaced textile workers are generally not being absorbed by the growth industries. "New industries evidently are filling jobs with newcomers in the labor market instead of with displaced textile workers, according to the bureau's findings," reports Business Week, March 6, 1954. "In Lowell, younger male workers found new jobs, but those over 45 years of age still were largely unemployed after a year. In New Hampshire, 2 years after the shutdown, almost a third of the 200 laid off in the woolen mill were still out of work."

The above report of the Committee of New England concludes that "job displacement as a result of the liquidation or migration of a mill or factory is particularly hard on the older worker. If a worker past 50 years of age can continue at this present work, he may have many years of productive and remunerative employment left to him. If he loses his job most employers will be reluctant to hire him. He may be barred from productive work at a relatively early age and he may be forced to accept such casual employment as comes his way or to withdraw from the labor force entirely."

The prevalence of these circumstances in the textile communities makes it vital for us to insist that no concessions in tariff rates be granted which would aggravate this condition.

II. CURRENT TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES, INTERFIBER, INTERPROCESS, AND INTERPRODUCT COMPETITION ARE THREATENING MANY OTHER JOBS

The record of postwar technological changes in the textile industry is most impressive. The advances of modern technology are penetrating the American textile industry and affecting processes, procedures, mill layout, and mill management. It is not our purpose herein to provide any detailed sketch of these changes. We mean merely to indicate that productivity per man-hour is rising primarily through the reduction of manpower. The current rate of increase is in excess of 5 percent per annum. The large numbers of employees already displaced is a symbol of the more far-reaching difficulties facing the textile worker. Older skills and personal associations are being eliminated by these advances.

A measure of the amount of technological change is provided by data on textile mill expenditures for new plant and equipment

reported by the Department of Commerce. Since World War II, the industry's expenditures have amounted to over $4 billion. The bulk of these expenditures was for the purchase of new equipment rather than new buildings. Moreover, the rush of new equipment suggests strongly that there are new and more far-reaching changes on the drawing boards and in the pilot stage. These are radically changing the production methods in the industry.

These new innovations are of many kinds. The most dramatic is of course the introduction of new fibers. Rayon came in the thirties. Nylon was truly the fiber of the early postwar period. Now orlon and dacron have gained substantial footholds, displacing the older textile fibers. Saran, glass, dynel, and other fibers are being produced. Silk was dealt a striking blow by nylon. Wool is now being seriously threatened by dacron and other synthetics in the suiting fields, by synthetics in the floor-covering area, and by new chemical finishes which provide insulation.

The mills whose products are being displaced generally cannot handle the new fibers. Plants which had not manufactured these products have come into the field to take the place of the traditional producers. Ghost towns are beginning to develop and workers are left stranded.

Older textile industries are being revolutionized by new machines. They are sturdier, faster, run more smoothly, telescope processes into fewer operations, and reduce the amount of labor required for their operation. Parts are being added which facilitate the operation and thereby reduce subsequent processing. Better mechanical and new electronic controls are increasing the precision of each operation and make them more and more automatic. Material is being mechanically delivered and removed. Better layouts are reducing the required floor space and the amount of handling. Fans, blowers, and suction pipes are eliminating much of the manual cleaning. Oiling is being done by mechanical oiling systems or parts are being inserted which require little oiling. Air conditioning is improving operations and reducing yarn-breaks. Better parts are insuring longer life, less replacement, and less maintenance.

These changes can be found in each division of the industry. One-process pickers and material-handling devices have sharply cut the manpower in the opening and picking operations in the cotton mills. New drawing frames and long-draft devices have telescoped the roving and spinning operations. Winding has become so automatic that the work force on these operations is a mere fraction of the labor required in prewar mills. Warpers have been speeded, slashers have been made more automatic. Looms have been speeded and made more versatile and more revolutionary changes are impending.

In the woolen industry, opening and picking have been mechanized. The mules have been displaced by spinning frames. High-speed winders and warpers have replaced older equipment. The nonautomatic loom has practically disappeared. In the worsted industry, the most radical changes have been the introduction of the pin drafter and long draft frame spinning which have radically reduced manpower complements.

The finishing processes on all fibers have been revolutionized through the introduction of ranges which combine several operations in continuous processes with machinery which is controlled through instrumentation.

But these changes have also been accompanied by process competition. Cotton-type spinning equipment is making great inroads in the worsted-type processing of long fibers. The conversion of tow into yarn is competing with the spun-rayon manufacture. Bonded fibers and roving are competing with fabrics, yarns, and ropes. Knitted products are supplanting woven products in many areas. Tufted carpets are replacing woven ones. Synthetic filament fabrics are displacing spun-yarn fabrics of different fibers. Finishing processes are being required to perform services which the weaving industry had formerly done.

In addition to these changes, the textile industry is losing out to other products. Plastics are substituting for textile fabrics in some uses such as automobile-seat covering, household uses such as draperies, tablecloths, seat coverings, packaging. Paper products have displaced textiles in household uses such as towels, napkins, bookbinding, packaging, etc.

The increase in the rate of technological change has also affected management. The accent today is on efficiency. Management has been reorganized to exercise centralized control over production. New techniques have been developed to safeguard quality. Mechanical controls have been introduced at virtually every point in the manufacturing process. Time and motion study methods have been used to improve plant layout and raise work assignments. Incentive wage systems have been more widely adopted. The chief objective and chief result of this pursuit of efficiency has been to reduce the labor required per unit of output.

On top of all these technological and fiber changes the textile industry has been hit hard by marked changes in consumer tastes. With millions of families moving to the suburbs, taking up backyard sports, and puttering around home workshops and gardens, interest in attire has been lessened. Television has helped make the home the focal point for leisure-time activities. As a result, apparel has become a more casual item in the consumer budget and casual wear has become acceptable for a multitude of uses formerly requiring "dressy" attire. Thus, production of men's suits fell to 21.8 million in 1953, a decline of 25 percent per capita from the 1939 level. Along with this trend toward casual attire there has been a marked shift toward lighter clothing and housefurnishings. Men's overcoat and topcoat production in 1953 was at the same level as in 1939 in spite of the rise in the population of males 18 years and over of 17 percent. Blankets and comforters are among the other products which have felt the impact of these trends.

The net effect of these shifts in popular preference and the vast increase in consumer indebtedness flowing from the postwar boom in housing construction and consumption of durable goods like TV sets, automobiles, refrigerators, and the like, has been a sharp decline in the proportion of total consumer expenditures going for apparel. From 10.4 percent in 1946, this proportion declined to 7.3 percent in 1953, and the 1954 ratio will probably be less than 7 percent. This production is well below the prewar level of 8.6 percent recorded in 1939.

The combined result of these changes and shifts has been a serious blow to the workers in the industry. Such industrial transitions are rarely easy even when other jobs are available. The new openings seldom arise at a time and place where displaced workers can take advantage of them. Moreover, the long-term trend in the consumption of textiles is not reassuring. The higher productivity of the industry is not being matched by a rise in the per capita consumption of textile products. New uses have not arisen. Further contraction of employment opportunities in this industry appears inevitable even in a period of relatively high employment in the economy as a whole.

We are therefore particularly concerned lest the number of jobs be further reduced through the substitution of foreign products for American output.

III. CERTAIN BRANCHES OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY INCLUDED IN THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS ARE THOSE WITH THE BEST CHANCE FOR CONTINUED SURVIVAL IN INTERFIBER COMPETITION AND THEREFORE SHOULD NOT BE THREATENED BY A NEW HIGH VOLUME OF IMPORTS

A number of branches of industry as indicated above are faced with serious competition from new fibers and processes. These are bringing critical problems to the fore. However, several branches of the industry subject to the forthcoming negotiations are the ones in the best position to survive this competition and thereby moderate the degree of disturbance within the textile industry. The workers involved will continue to be subjected to the sweeping technological changes now being effected. It is essential to avoid challenging the survival of these branches through a higher volume of imports.

The products which are in a good position to provide a degree of stability to the industry during these difficult times are, among others, the following:

Fine cotton fabrics (par. 904).
Velveteens (par. 905).
Sheets and pillowcases (par. 911 (b)).
Lacings (par. 912).
Staple fiber (par. 1302).
Bureau and table covers, etc. (par. 1529 (a)).
Quilts and bedspreads (pars. 911 (a) and 1529 (a)).

Specific discussion of a number of other items will be presented in a detailed analysis of the specific commodities.

IV. TEXTILE IMPORTS SHOULD NOT BE CONCEIVED AS A PRIMARY SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE FOR COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS

One major problem in formulating tariff policy is to determine whether the encouragement of the imports of textiles into this country will in the long run be desirable for these countries. Can they be expected to maintain long run advantages? Can they be expected to maintain a textile export industry?

Current technological product and fiber changes in the American textile industry point to large-scale reductions in labor requirements per unit of output. A significant proportion of these technical changes are American in origin and spring from our needs and technical culture. Moreover, the increased penetration of modern scientific development in the textile industry of the United States is suggestive of the continuing future volume of changes.

In the utilization of these technical innovations, the American industry enjoys many advantages which assure its wider use of these developments. First is the great wealth of the American textile industry. Its huge war and postwar profits have resulted in the amassing of tremendous capital resources, which, at the end of 1953 amounted to $6.2 billion as compared with $2.5 billion at the end of 1939. The industry can afford to spend freely for innovations. Some new textile buildings are coming up to exploit the advantages of modern plant design. In contrast, other countries do not have the money for complete modernization of their equipment and structures. Japan had one major experience in the post war period but is not likely to engage in a similar program again. As time passes, the advantages of more modern productive capacity in the United States will probably become more marked and should offset the differences in wage rates.

Our textile manufacturer is acquiring an increasing knowledge of the procedures and methods followed in other American industries. They are being introduced into the textile industry. These procedures are particularly adapted to our large mass market. Textile production and marketing

techniques are feeling the influence of the introduction of characteristic American industrial techniques. By converting the industry into a modern one, the American product becomes less vulnerable to foreign competition.

Our working population is also best prepared for the operation, maintenance, and development of the newer technology. The new, precision-built machines need a highly trained operative who can keep records and understand the principles of production.

The textile worker had been converted into a machine tender after serving years as an artisan. Now he is being increasingly required to be the operator and regulator of complicated machines which involve refined use of electronic techniques and instrument controls and careful recording of observed performance. The high level of education makes it easier to install these techniques on a wholesale scale in this country.

The large-scale organizations in this country with accumulations of capital, scientific knowledge and skilled technical, production, and merchandising personnel, provide a base for the introduction and rapid extension of technological changes.

In contrast, the other countries of the world are short of capital, lacking in facilities for large-scale modernization, and suffering from a shortage in trained personnel. The more advanced industrial countries are likely to find, as England is concluding, that there are more attractive avenues for investment of such capital as it does have available. In the search for relative returns on various type of industries, textiles will rate very low in advanced countries and in Japan.

Another phase of the problem is the determination as to whether the foreign countries are likely to maintain a large volume of textile exports. There has been an expansion of textile capacity into new countries and in older industrialized countries, despite the destruction of equipment during the war. Among the countries which have expanded cotton goods production are the following: India (from 3.9 billion yards before the war to 4.9 billion in 1953); Pakistan (240 million yards in 1953); Chile (from 14 million yards before the war to 28 million yards in 1952). Total world consumption of cotton has risen by 10 percent since 1939 (from 30.6 million bales in crop year 1939 to 33.4 million in crop year 1953).

The significant fact about the volume of production is that it has been moving into new areas. With this expansion has come the contraction in the volume of international trade. While total production of textiles has expanded over the last few decades, the volume of international trade has steadily declined. In cotton textiles, world trade was estimated at 9.5 billion yards per year before World War I. The volume declined to an average of 8.5 billion in 1926–28, to 6.4 billion in 1936–38, and was 5.8 billion in 1951–53. The proportion of total consumption supplied by domestic production was 82 percent in 1936–38 as compared with 73 percent in 1926–28. In 1951–53 the proportion of consumption provided by domestic production of cotton goods was approximately 88 percent.

There is every indication that these trends are being continued. The newly industrialized countries are determined to provide their own textiles and reduce their dependence on textile imports.

We believe that it is unwise to build up any significant degree of dependence in these countries upon the export of textile products. Moreover, these very countries are likely to have to expand their own consumption of textiles in order to raise the standard of living of their own peoples. The more advanced industrial countries, some of which are included in these negotiations, must look toward more productive channels for their industrial expansion. One such channel may well come through the utilization of their textile experience in the production of textile equipment.

V. THE MAINTENANCE OF THE AMERICAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR NATIONAL STANDARD OF LIVING, POSITION, AND DEFENSE

The American textile industry has developed many characteristics peculiar to the American market. Unlike the textile industries in other countries, its products are designed for mass production and consumption of quality merchandise. The manufacture and distribution of apparel fabrics is responsive to the desire for an economic product which meets style trends prevailing in this country. The great middle class provides the pattern for our goods.

Our producers are constantly developing new effects and products which can gain favor in the American market. Innovations must be devised and experimented with in this country. The very nature of the style trends requires proximity to the market and close understanding of the underlying trends within the society.

The textile industries in other countries have been differently fashioned. They have either sought to meet the needs of the lowest income groups or the luxury trade; they have grown up in periods when mass markets were not available; they have emphasized short runs for the international luxury trade or large runs of staple fabrics for special export markets; they reflect the patterns of the economies in their countries, in which the distinctions in consumption patterns among various income levels are much sharper than they are in this country.

In the field of household fabrics the same trends may be noted. We have an emphasis on mass consumption even of the more highly priced fabrics. Our large expanse makes this possible. The ready acceptance of new style trends makes it easy to introduce the higher-priced material in great volume. The foreign textile producers have not adjusted themselves to this type of production and merchandising.

We wish also to point out that it is essential to maintain the textile industry of our country to furnish us the textile products needed for military defense. The capacity which was considered excessive in the prewar years proved indispensable to military victory. Cotton production was expanded to 12 billion yards, woolen and worsteds to one-half billion yards, and rayon to 1.5 billion yards, and many other textile products were turned out. Without them we could not have clothed the large armies we put into the field nor met the large needs of our allies. Nor could the industries of our country have been kept going. No combination of countries in the world could have performed the assignment in textile production which we met. It is, therefore, vital to keep this capacity available.

VI. THE AMERICAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY IS ONE OF THE LARGEST OF ALL NATIONAL TEXTILE INDUSTRIES AND ITS POSITION MUST BE MAINTAINED

By clearly comprehending the size and proportions of the American textile industry, we can appreciate the degree of caution which one must use in proceeding to affect its ability to meet the country's needs.

A. The total number of employees covered by all sections of the textile products and synthetic-yarn industry in December 1953 was 1,200,000. (Textile mill products plus textile bags, handkerchiefs, curtains, draperies, and other textile housefurnishings, and synthetic-yarn fibers).

B. These workers constitute a substantial proportion of the total employment in a number of States along the Atlantic seaboard.

The high concentration of textile employment in several States is significant for several reasons: (1) It suggests the absence of local alternative employment, and (2) the dependence of vast areas of our country upon this industry. The industry has deep roots in many local and State economies. The largest proportion of the industry is located in the nonmetropolitan areas. They are concentrated in one-industry and some times one-mill communities. Alternative opportunities and facilities for transfer are completely lacking. The disappearance of industries in many areas means migration for the workers as new local industries are not usually available. The communities have been backward in securing diversified industrial development. Textile employers in many instances have discouraged such diversification. Such migration as will result would have to be out of the regions affected. It is therefore vital to legislate with great care.

Employers and our private economy have blindly pushed ahead in the pursuit of their profits and left ghost towns and displaced thousands of persons. We call upon the Government not to aggravate the condition of the textile communities.

C. The American textile industry is one of the largest in the world. As of July 31, 1953, we had 22.9 million cotton-system spindles in place, 18 percent of the world's total. In the year ended July 31, 1953, we consumed 9,457,000 bales of cotton, over 28 percent of the total consumed in the world. Per capita consumption of the 3 major apparel fibers in the United States was 16.9 kilograms in 1952, compared to a world average of 4 kilograms.

The destruction of the textile capacity of this country would be a disservice to the world economy. It would aggravate the net deficit in textile-producing capacity which is likely to exist over the next several years. The lifting of the standards of living in all parts of the world will require an expansion of consumption. A destruction of capacity would therefore be undesirable. The development of a fund of dollars for international trade must come from other sources.

VII. PROTECTION OF THE AMERICAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY HAS HAD FEW UNFAVORABLE EFFECTS UPON THE AMERICAN OR WORLD TEXTILE ECONOMY

One of the complaints against protection has been that it results in monopoly and consequently high prices. This contention cannot stand up in the case of the textile industries.

Most of the American textile industries have been highly competitive as to price. The reductions in costs of production through technological developments have been transmitted to the consumers. In fact, during the thirties, the consumers reaped the greatest benefits so that the workers were kept at substandard wage levels.

It may be confidentially declared that textiles are now better and cheaper the world over because of the contributions made by the American industry. More recent changes have been initiated in this country than in any other. The American environment has been and is at present conducive to technical advances. No other country has made the strides we have, and we have shared them with the rest of the world.

Prices of American textiles at the present time are, with few exceptions, within the range of reasonableness which is to be found in American industry.

We have established the highest wage levels in the textile industry the world over and, therefore, have provided a wage target toward which textile workers in other countries might aspire. We have not attained the wage levels of the large modern industries characteristic of American production, but our organization is determined to move in that direction. Average straight-time hourly earnings in the textile industry are now

$1.33. In the synthetic-yarn industry the average hourly earnings are $1.80.

The textile industry in the United States has been the most technically progressive one in the world. It has contributed substantially to the advances in foreign technology, styling, and merchandising.

VIII. THE TARIFF MECHANISM IS CIRCUMVENTED BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENT POLICY AND IS COMPLICATED BY CURRENT RAW MATERIAL PRICE POLICIES

The tariff mechanism is based on the assumption of a free market in which only commercial considerations enter into the determination of the final selling price. This assumption is no longer characteristic of most foreign countries. In many countries, industries enjoy special advantages in the form of subsidies either in the purchase of equipment or raw material or in the sale of goods to foreign countries. The final costs are not truly representative of those common to a private industrial enterprise. The wholesale manner in which subsidies are applied considerably affects the competitive situation. Prices offered by foreign sellers may not truly represent the comparative advantages of their countries in the production of various goods for international trade. These unusual price determinants are now strongly affecting the flow of commerce. To protect the American textile industry from low wage and subsidized industries, the tariff rates must be maintained.

The current Japanese experience highlights this fact. A cutback of some 15 percent in cotton spinning is being contemplated to dispose of a surplus of stocks and to effect a rise in export prices. Various attempts to check the dominant trend in export prices had failed because mills which had previously agreed on a voluntary reduction had violated the agreement. Japanese stocks of cotton goods at the end of June had risen to 420,000 bales. While exports during the first 9 months had increased from 634 million square yards to 924 million square yards, prices had dropped more than 25 percent. The Japanese cotton manufacturers carrying large debts at high interest rates given to them by banks dependent on government aid felt compelled to dump goods on the world market almost in the prewar manner in order to keep ahead of the banker.

In the textile industry we have another serious problem arising in connection with the prices of raw materials. American cotton prices are maintained by an internal price control program which has raised them to abnormal levels. They are unrelated to the actual costs of production. If it is desired to relieve the foreign drain on American dollars, there is a suitable procedure for doing so by lowering the prices of raw cotton exports. They are a heavy call on available dollar exchange. If this country is intent upon protecting the price of raw cotton and maintaining a market for cotton in the United States, then the cotton textile industry must not be victimized by a flood of foreign imports.

We have been financing the export of raw cotton to Japan. Now in order to permit that country to pay, we are being urged to permit the Japanese to displace American textile products so as to provide them with dollar exchange to repay in part the cost of the cotton we sent them. The result is that we are asking the cotton textile industry to be sacrificed for the large raw cotton growers with little ultimate benefit to them. Since each yard of Japanese cloth sold in this country will displace a yard of American cloth with a consequent loss of an equivalent American market for raw cotton. Moreover, the prices paid by Japan for cotton are exorbitantly high as they are for the American consumer. The American taxpayer, including the textile worker has underwritten these high prices. We are therefore financing the very forces which seek destruction of major sectors of the American cotton textile industry.

We are being asked in the interest of cotton growers who have forced the sales, to help Japan pay them, and the Government endorsed loans.

The textile workers are being asked to yield their jobs to help cotton growers continue to sell their surpluses to Japan as the growers have been unwilling to curtail their acreage in the degree necessary to obviate this necessity. We do not believe that the textile-mill industry should be sacrificed to get the growers out of difficulty which they have brought upon themselves and which course can be of no ultimate profit to themselves.

In the case of wool, another price problem exists. Our domestic wool industry is protected by tariff rates and financial grants. The domestic consumption of woolen products is handicapped by the constant rise in raw wool prices. If they continue to increase on the international market, the woolen products may truly become luxury items. One of the ways in which to reduce the cost and thereby assure a higher volume of raw wool imports is to eliminate the raw wool tariff and increase the direct financial aids to the domestic wool grower. But if the present tariff on raw wool is maintained, the tampering with tariff rates on woolen products will only have adverse effects on the consumption of wool in this country. The program designed to protect domestic wool growers will also be injured. The soundest solution is a program of lower tariff rates for raw wool and an income-support program for wool growers.

The Textile Works Union of America, CIO, has affirmed its keen interest in a restudy of the agricultural price practices in this country. Certainly, the present program, except for the new wool-payments system, benefits the small farmer only moderately and pays off substantially to the larger farmers. The domestic consumer pays twice for this program, through high prices and high governmental expenditures. The conflict in approaches between the foreign-trade program and the agricultural-price program is brought sharply into focus in the discussion of textile items. To allow any substantial increase in the volume of imports of textile products would be injurious to the agricultural program. Present high prices are also reducing the consumption of textiles. The way to approach this basic question is not by adversely affecting the textile-producing industries. It is by finding a new method of aiding the agricultural population which would lower raw-material prices, encourage expanded consumption, and assure adequate income to farmers and growers, provide foreign countries with lower-priced raw materials and allow for higher imports of raw materials.

IX. CONCESSIONS SHOULD NOT BE NEGOTIATED IN THE FORTHCOMING DISCUSSIONS FOR PRODUCTS WHICH ARE PRIMARILY SUPPLIED BY COUNTRIES OTHER THAN THOSE WITH WHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BE CARRIED ON

A number of the products up for negotiation in the forthcoming discussions are substantially supplied to the United States by countries other than Japan. Thus, in 1953, the United Kingdom was the largest source of United States imports of bleached countable cotton cloth (3,934,000 square yards, as compared to imports from Japan of 2,102,000 square yards) (tariff par. 904 (b)). India was the major supplier of imported quilts and bedspreads, block printed (excluding jacquared-figured), accounting for 71,707 of the 102,959 articles imported; only 9 came from Japan (tariff par. 911 (a)). The Republic of the Philippines accounted for imports of 180,443 dozen pairs of knitted gloves and mittens wholly or chiefly cotton or other vegetable fiber, compared to 83,555 dozen from Japan (tariff par. 915). Belgium shipped us 5,802 terry-woven towels (not under 45 cents each) and we received none of this category from Japan in 1953 (tariff par. 923).

In schedules 10, 11, 12, 13, and paragraph 1529, most articles currently under consideration are predominantly supplied by countries other than Japan. In fact, the 1953 record shows no imports from Japan in the following categories:

Jute yarns or roving (single) and sliver (par. 1003).

Jute webbings (par. 1015).

Jute bagging (par. 1019).

Wool blankets (par. 1111).

Wool floor coverings, n. s. p. f., valued over 40 cents per square yard (par. 1117 (c)).

Silk gloves and mittens, not embroidered, no lace (par. 1208).

Rayon and other synthetic yarns, except single yarns weighing 150 deniers or more (par. 1301).

We believe that it is desirable that these products not be included in the discussions since the principal beneficiaries from any concessions would not be required to reciprocate.

X. LIMITED TYPES OF TEXTILE IMPORTS CAN CONTRIBUTE TO NEW IDEAS, DEVELOPMENTS, FABRICS, AND DESIGNS, BUT THEY SHOULD NOT COME IN SUCH VOLUME AS WILL DESTROY SEGMENTS OF THE AMERICAN INDUSTRY

We recognize that there is a place for a limited import volume of specialized textile products. These can offer new ideas in design, pattern, use, and style. We can learn much from foreign countries. In fact, some of the products imported into this country can stimulate domestic interest and demand for textile products. But these imports must be selective. The present tariff rates allow for such imports. They have come in. No prohibition of textile imports is contemplated by the present tariff-rate structure.

XI. WE URGE THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL FAIR LABOR STANDARDS IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY TO AVOID THE PRODUCTION OF TEXTILES ON THE BASIS OF EXPLOITED LABOR

We wish to point out that the labor movements of various countries recognize that low earnings and substandard working conditions and long hours have provided unfair competition with the workers in other countries.

Many of the complaints of unfair competition built on law wages could be eliminated through the negotiation of fair minimum labor standards for all textile producing countries.

We shall submit specific data and analyses on the individual items to be considered in the negotiations.

TABLE I.—*Employment in the textile-mill-products industry, by State, February 1951 and October 1954*

State	Employment (wage and salary workers)		Change February 1951–October 1954	
	February 1951	October 1954	Aggregate	Percent
	Thous.	*Thous.*	*Thous.*	
United States [1]	1,365.0	1,082.0	−283.0	−20.7
New England	286.1	169.5	−116.6	−40.8
Maine	27.5	20.8	−6.7	−24.4
New Hampshire	21.1	14.1	−7.0	−33.2
Vermont	5.2	2.4	−2.8	−53.8
Massachusetts	125.0	66.8	−58.2	−46.6
Connecticut	41.6	26.9	−14.7	−35.3
Rhode Island	65.7	38.4	−27.3	−41.6

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE I.—*Employment in the textile-mill-products industry, by State, February 1951 and October 1954*—Continued

State	Employment (wage and salary workers)		Change February 1951–October 1954	
	February 1951	October 1954	Aggregate	Percent
	Thous.	*Thous.*	*Thous.*	
Middle Atlantic	307.2	222.6	−84.6	−27.5
New York	96.1	69.0	−27.1	−28.2
New Jersey	65.8	46.0	−19.8	−30.1
Pennsylvania	141.7	104.9	−36.8	−26.0
Delaware	3.6	2.7	−0.9	−25.0
South [1]	658.1	605.7	−52.4	−8.0
Maryland	11.6	7.6	−4.0	−34.5
Virginia	42.7	38.4	−4.3	−10.1
North Carolina	244.2	[2] 224.3	−19.9	−8.1
South Carolina	139.8	132.4	−7.4	−5.3
Georgia	114.8	104.1	−10.7	−9.3
Alabama	55.5	47.9	−7.6	−13.7
Tennessee	39.9	[2] 34.9	−5.0	−12.5
Texas	10.2	8.9	−1.3	−12.7
Midwest	22.1	17.3	−4.8	−21.7
Illinois	13.5	11.1	−2.4	−17.8
Minnesota	4.9	3.1	−1.8	−36.7
Missouri	3.7	[3] 3.1	−.6	−16.2
Far West: California	8.2	6.3	−1.9	−23.2

[1] Data includes States not shown separately.
[2] October 1954 figure is not available; figure shown is for August 1954.
[3] October 1954 figures are not available; figures shown are for September 1954.

Source: State Departments of Labor and U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE II.—*Textile areas of substantial labor surplus, September 1954*

Substantial surplus [1]	*Very substantial surplus* [2]
MAINE	
Biddeford	
VERMONT	
Burlington	
MASSACHUSETTS	
Fall River [3]	Lawrence [3]
Lowell [3]	Southbridge-Webster
Milford	
New Bedford [3]	
North Adams	
RHODE ISLAND	
	Providence [3]
NEW YORK	
Hudson	Amsterdam
Utica-Rome [3]	
NEW JERSEY	
Paterson [3]	
PENNSYLVANIA	
Reading [3]	Altoona [3]
Williamsport	Scranton [3]
	Sunbury-Shamokin-Mount Carmel
	Wilkes-Barre-Hazelton [3]
MARYLAND	
	Cumberland
WEST VIRGINIA	
Parkersburg	
GEORGIA	
Cedartown-Rockmart	
Columbus [3]	
ALABAMA	
Alexander City	
Anniston	
Decatur	
Gadsden	
Talladega	

[1] Unemployment from 8 up to 12 percent of labor force.
[2] Unemployment 12 percent or more of labor force.
[3] Major area.

Source: Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor.

TABLE III.—*Textile mill liquidations, 1945–54* [1]

	Plants	Employees
1945	2	600
1946	8	1,000
1947	28	8,000
1948	65	15,000
1949	74	16,400
1950	51	5,500
1951	65	9,600
1952	92	27,800
1953	86	23,500
1954	85	38,000

[1] Includes spinning, weaving, dyeing, and finishing plants; excludes knitting and synthetic fiber plants.

"Voice of Democracy" Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD H. VELDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Speaker, again this year I should like to call attention to some of the splendid work being done by several of the high-school students in my congressional district.

For the past 8 years the Radio & Television Manufacturers' Association and the Association of Radio & Television Broadcasters have, in conjunction with the junior chamber of commerce, sponsored nationally the "Voice of Democracy" contest. The competition is limited to all sophomore, junior and senior high-school students, who must prepare and deliver a 5-minute script designed for broadcast purposes.

I am sure Members of this House will find the thoughts as expressed by these young people very enlightening and most refreshing.

Following are the names and texts of the four finalists for the Voice of Democracy contest in our Peoria, Ill., area:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(By Ben Garber, senior, Peoria High School)

When I came to the United States 5 years ago, many things arrested my attention in this great country. I was amazed by the huge size of everything, the hustle and hurry of the people, the roar of the motors and the factories and the beauty and richness of the American countryside. All these things and many more made me realize what it is to be an American. Yet, there is one thing which stood out in my mind. It was the great number of cars which I saw in the streets. It seemed that every American owned a car, his own car, something which the most powerful and greatest Government upon this earth couldn't take away from him. From the European country that I am from the people didn't own any cars, the people didn't own anything. All your possessions as well as yourself belonged and were a part of the State.

I remember the first time when I went to an American school, I couldn't speak in English. Upon entering the classroom I was afraid, greatly afraid that the boys and girls staring at me right now wouldn't accept me and make me a part of their crowd. The teacher introduced me to the class and I sat down in my seat. Very hard and painfully I tried to understand what the teacher was saying. After some time fear took hold of me, the kind of fear I knew during the Nazi occupation and later during the Russian regime. The fear grew on me from second to second, I wanted to run away, go back to Europe, go anywhere but stay in that classroom. After a while the bell rang and I went out with the other boys into the schoolyard. I stood there alone for a while, when all of a sudden several boys walked up to me and started talking. Although I couldn't understand what they were saying, I realized that they wanted me to join them in a game. Without any hesitation I did, and that is how I played my first game of tag in America. Later, after school they walked home with me. Even then I wasn't sure of them, but after a while I realized that I was a part of a crowd, a part of America. On that day I learned my first English words. I learned to say "Yes," "No," "How are you?" and above all I could say "hokay" like a real American. After getting home I walked to the window and watched them go away. They waved to me and I waved right back to them. "Tomorrow," they said, "we play football, and basketball, and many other games." "Hokay," I shouted back "tomorrow." Right then and there, for the first time since stepping on American soil I felt at home once more.

I also remember the day when my father came rushing home from work. He ran up excitedly to my mother, kissed her and exclaimed, "Lisa, look what I got." As we looked at the small piece of paper that he held in his hand he said, "My first paycheck $20. Look everyboy, my first paycheck." That check wasn't just $20. No it was a symbol, a symbol of the countless doors of opportunity which are open to every American boy and girl no matter what their creed is color or religion. It also means that even an immigrant like my dad has a chance for a better and more prosperous life in these United States.

To me America means many things. One of them is that on our Jewish holidays I can go to our synogogue and worship God in my way and not be persecuted for doing so. For in Europe six million of my people were killed by the Fascists and now many more are being killed by the Kremlin's servants because they are Jews.

To me America is laughter, vitality, energy, strength and power to remove any fears from the hearts of the most persecuted people in the world.

To me America is an equal chance and opportunity for all people, no matter what their background may be.

To me America is the right to express one's thoughts and not being afraid to do so. I have been to many countries in the world, yet I have not found one where people can say anything they like about their government and get away with it.

These things I speak of and many more represent America to me. I love this country and these people. And I wouldn't change it for any way of life on earth, for there is no country as great and as wonderful as ours. Like you, I am an American; I speak and I will speak for democracy.

VOICE OF DEMOCRACY

(By John Harris, sophomore, Chillicothe Township High School)

Today the whole world talks of democracy. What is it? It is a word that has many meanings. It is a way of life which changes

with the years. It is a state of mind which like the spirit of God is always present. Yet, always must be sought. Democracy is a word, a way of life, a state of mind. It arose from the dreams and ideals of Thomas Jefferson—a flaming sword which made thrones tremble, a guiding light to the enslaved people of the world, and a priceless heritage.

Let us listen to Jefferson's address to the House of Burgesses, as he links this heritage to the future. "Gentlemen, for the first time in the history of this world we have a privilege never given to civilized men before—the privilege of beginning anew, here, now, a government of freemen. This is a glorious challenge."

Our forefathers accepted this challenge and so began a new way of life—democracy. Having secured this precious heritage of democracy, what do I, a twentieth century high school student, possess? What do I, and my fellow Americans, hold in our hands?

First of all I am free. My parents were American citizens and I was born to the high privilege of citizenship in this republic. Any person so born is free.

I am the spiritual descendent of those who fought at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. The blood of Ticonderoga, Valley Forge, and Yorktown was shed for me. John Paul Jones, Ethan Allen, and George Washington are my spiritual forebearers. I am an American. Every door is open to me because I am an American.

When I was old enough to begin my education the finest free school system in the world was at my disposal. I did not need a rich father to secure my admission. I had a rich uncle—Uncle Sam. When I completed my elementary education, a fine high school was waiting, and when I graduated from high school, a State-supported university—all free.

If I enter politics I can aspire to the highest honors in the land for which my talents and abilities have fitted me.

In commerce I can win my way without interference of class or handicap of birth. Every great American fortune has been accumulated by a poor man of genius and ambition who was willing to work.

This is the heritage. These are a few of the privileges and opportunities that I, and my fellow Americans, hold in our hands.

For every privilege there is a responsibility. So it is with democracy. It is our responsibility as Americans to defend democracy from the common dangers. Two of these main common dangers as I see them, are: First, ruthless foreign agents here in America want to overthrow our free Government. Let us be on guard. Let's be modern minutemen and fight anyone who attempts to take away our rights, our privileges, and our freedom. Second, let us not be lulled into the false assumption that one vote alone does not count. Your influence and your vote does count. In order to maintain our rights, we must continue to exercise our rights as Americans.

As Jefferson and our forefathers accepted the challenge of forming a new government, we must accept the challenge of defending that government. No price is too high, no dangers too great in our struggle for freedom. Our struggle is our strength and glory.

The words of courageous Samuel Adams echo through the years: "For my part, I ask no greater blessing than to share the common dangers, and the common glory."

The greater the struggle, the more glorious the victory. Beware, anti-Americanism. I speak for democracy.

I Speak for Democracy

(By Dave Sills, junior, Woodruff High School)

"Democracy" a word derived from the Greek "demos" meaning people and "kratos" meaning government, which literally translated reads "government by the people." If we looked up democracy in the card catalogue in the library, we find many correlated subjects—like this:

Democracy: See also elections, individualism, laissey faire, and liberty. It would appear then that democracy means many things. To the politician it is our country's great political system; to the businessman it is our vast and prosperous economic system; to the scientist it's man's initiative to create; and to the teacher it's the right to question in search of the truth. Many different ideas and no two alike, and yet it is this divergency of opinion which is the very essence of democracy. Democracy to me then, is each person's idea of what it is; it's the thing which belongs to you and to me and makes us individuals. This is the American ideal of democracy..

Around this ideal we have built our way of life founding it on three basic principles. The first of these is social freedom. Our forefathers sought these shores to break away from a society of privilege to establish a free society based upon justice and equality. In our democracy authority and leadership are dependent upon the individual's diligence, his ability, and his toil. Men are judged according to their abilities, not upon their hereditary rank, wealth, or prestige. Our system of free schools and public libraries manifest this equality of opportunity which is the birthright of every American. And as a result of this every citizen enjoys an equal chance to succeed.

The second principle of democracy, economic freedom, is inseparable from the first. Social freedom would be worthless to us if we were victims of a regimented economy. For this very reason we respect and encourage free enterprise and private initiative. Every American, great or obscure, rich or poor, is free to select his own occupation. We can till the soil, serve industry, or aspire to the Presidency, but most important, it's our choice, and democracy gives us the right to decide for ourselves. This spirit of fair competition has built for us a dynamic economy which has given us a higher standard of living than any other people in any other place at any other time.

The third principle of the American way is political freedom. Political freedom is more than majority rule or representative government. It is that freedom granted to all of us to speak, to read, and to think as we please. It is our right to worship God as our conscience dictates. It is our guaranty to a speedy and just trial and our protection against cruel seizure or punishment. Such freedom does not, however, give us the right to infringe upon the liberties of others. It simply means that we must respect the rights of all people, remembering our freedom ends where the other fellow's begins.

These are the principles, as I see them, upon which democracy is founded. I have attempted to state them clearly and simply so that everyone, child or adult, American or foreigner, can understand them. For by understanding them, we can recapture the confidence, the enthusiasm, the shining faith in democracy which will enable us to meet and surpass the fanatic fervor of those who would change democratic Americanism for isms of another sort.

The future of democracy rests with me and thousands like me. I am only one, and I can't do everything, but I can do something; what I can do I ought to do, and what I ought to do, by the grace of God I will do, for I am part of the whole which is democracy.

I Speak for Democracy

(By Mary Jane Tedford, junior, Academy of Our Lady)

I believe in America. I have faith in America because I believe that faith in democracy goes hand in hand with faith in God. I speak for democracy, that light of freedom and liberty which has become a living part of our existence.

Follow this light with me. See our democracy, founded on Christian principles, lit by the torch of freedom. Watch the light. It is a burning, searing fire at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, at Richmond, at Vicksburg, and at Gettysburg. It is a roaring sheet of flame eating Berlin, pushing back the enemy at the Marne, turning the Pacific a gory red at Pearl Harbor, gleaming on battleworn, victorious faces in Normandy. It burned in the men at Seoul. This light of freedom casts a red glow of courage over the marble monument of the Unknown Soldier and above the row upon row of white crosses in the battlefields of the world where the valiant lie. But our national tradition is not confined to the glories of war or national heroes: It is the light in the first grade of a country schoolhouse where a freckle-faced little girl in a plaid dress is reciting her A B C's; it is in the high school, where the son of an Italian immigrant is being handed the tools to carve a prosperous future; it is in the university, where a young man is developing into a brilliant lawyer, doctor; it is in a school for the handicapped, where a blind person is learning to lead a happy, useful life.

It is the flame under a scientist's test tube, who seeks a cure for cancer; it melts the Nation's gold, silver, and iron; it turns the wheels of the gigantic machinery in America's industrial centers; it shines in the artist's studio, the writer's den, and on the blueprints of the architect. See the light of democracy reflected on our American coins. True, the writing is small, but the message tremendous: In God we trust.

It is the warming sun at a baseball game, at a Sunday concert in the park, at a family picnic on Labor Day. It is the soft rays of the moon beaming on a canoe, or hovering on the rooftops of millions of happy, free American homes, reflecting on mile after mile of winding highways.

It is the spotlight on the goods of the Nation where Americans can buy the products of a free industry—penicillin and aspirin, automobiles and kiddie cars, bobbypins and home permanents, stoves, refrigerators. These are bigger, better, and more abundant because the light of democracy has shown the way to wealth, opportunity, prosperity.

It is the fire that cooks the Nation's food, the electricity that freezes its ice cream, the power that purifies its milk.

It is the flame of candles in a Catholic chapel, in a Protestant church, in a Jewish synagogue. It is the light that guides our Congress. It is the first light an American baby sees and the last light to a dying man before he goes to meet his God.

The light of freedom shows us human dignity at its fullest glory, because America is founded and depends on the belief that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Because this light is founded on the recognition of God it becomes the only key to American democracy. It is its origin, its existence, its future. Is this light the key to world peace? I think it is. I believe it is. And because I have faith in the American way of life, I speak for democracy as the light of the world.

A Costly Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Kane Republican of February 1, 1955:

A Costly Business

The Pennsylvania Commission on Intergovernmental Relations recently published some interesting facts bearing on what Uncle Sam does for the people of Pennsylvania in the form of financial aid. Among its conclusions was the finding that the Keystone State could easily go it alone, without Federal aid, if left to its own resources.

In 1953, for example, we received a total of $120,549,000 in Federal grants, as reported by the Census Bureau. Our total income payments to the Federal Government were $19.4 billion. Of this, $2.9 billion were in individual income tax payments and withheld old-age insurance payroll taxes. The other billions were made up in corporate income, excise, estate and gift taxes. The conclusion here is simple: Federal aid programs are costing the citizens of Pennsylvania much more than they are receiving.

What's more the Federal grants to Pennsylvania only amount to $9.62 per person while the average for all of the States is $16.32. And Federal grants to Pennsylvania were only 0.5 percent of the amount we pay the Federal Government compared with a national average of 0.9 percent.

All of which proves that big government and the socialistic theory that Washington ought to handle everything for the people of the United States is a very costly business for the people of Pennsylvania. The less we have of it the better.

The Republican Record and the Challenge We Face

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an address made by the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, before the Women's National Republican Club at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on January 29:

The Republican Record and the Challenge We Face

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson)

It is a signal honor and a most welcome privilege to be your guest at this 34th annual luncheon of the Women's National Republican Club.

Since November 2 my talks have been largely concerned with such things as parity, the corn-hog ratio, and efficient farming. I am happy to have this opportunity to don my political headgear for the day and discuss the Republican record and the challenge which confronts our party.

Although this is a larger gathering of women than I ordinarily have the pleasure of dining with, I am not a complete stranger to such company. In addition to Mrs. Benson, there are four young ladies on the distaff side of our family. Consequently, although I may not always know what women are thinking about, I am something of an authority on what they are talking about.

And—very seriously—I believe the foremost issue American women are thinking about, talking about, and trying to do something about is the preservation of peace. They want, above all else, a world in which the family life of each succeeding generation shall not be broken or even shattered by the juggernaut of war. The wives and mothers and the children of this world have suffered too long from such disasters.

Here in the United States, this quest for a peaceful and more secure world has unquestionably been reflected in political developments of recent years. American women are participating more actively in politics than ever before. They are not only registering and voting. They are joining political organizations such as yours. They are becoming candidates—and successful candidates—for public office in greater numbers.

I am told that in New York State, more women than men registered for the 1952 elections—the first time this had ever happened. The conclusion is inescapable that a great majority of the new women registrants voted for President Eisenhower. The political pulse-takers are generally agreed the women of this country contributed greatly to the sweeping Republican victories of 2 years ago.

There is some evidence that the women of America are still more strongly Republican than the men. As you know, Minnesota has been one of the most consistent "barometer" States in presidential elections. A recent poll conducted in that State by the Minneapolis Tribune is most interesting in that connection. It shows that President Eisenhower would again carry Minnesota by a comfortable margin, against the same opponent, and that his popularity is greatest among women voters. Fifty-eight percent of the women polled said they would vote for President Eisenhower; only 38 percent for Governor Stevenson. Male voters indicated a preference of 53 percent for the President; 41 percent for Stevenson.

There is a further statistic which I pass along to you without comment. Six percent of the men who were polled couldn't make up their minds. Among women the figure was only 4 percent.

All of this suggests that American politics might be in surer hands if we follow the advice of that panel show and Leave It to the Girls. Certainly "the girls" — the women of America—our wives and mothers—have made themselves a force to be reckoned with in the political arena. And I will be candid enough to admit that this has come about in no small measure because the men were not always doing the best possible job. Women are exerting a constructive, healthy influence upon our national affairs today—in elective and appointive positions and as informed and vigilant voters.

When historians of the future appraise the record of the Eisenhower administration, I am certain that the efforts to achieve lasting world peace will rank high on the list of accomplishments. The constant objective has been to attain not peace at any price but a permanent peace with honor.

There is peace in the world today, uneasy though it may be. The prolonged fighting in Korea has been brought to an end.

The transition from war to peace always involves some economic readjustments. The American people infinitely prefer these readjustments to war and bloodshed.

Actually, we have been making the changeover to a peacetime economy with far fewer dislocations than ever before. There is still some unemployment, but it is less than in 1950 and only a fraction of what it was in the decade preceding World War II. Disposable personal income reached a record rate last month. As a matter of fact, 1954 was the most prosperous year of peace in all of our history.

Truly the economic health of America is good.

Gross national production in 1955 will equal, probably exceed, the 1954 level of $357 billion. It could even equal the record of $365 billion in 1953. Our gross production is expected to reach $500 billion by 1965. This would mean an average increase of 20 percent for each of us, above our present living standards.

Ranking high on the overall list of administration accomplishments is the restoration of honesty, integrity, and efficiency in Government. The saving, rather than the spending, of a dollar has again become a respectable objective in Washington. Sharp reductions in Government expenditures—$11 billion last year—made possible the greatest tax cut in history—$7.4 billion. That is the equivalent of $180 for every family in America.

Inflation has been halted. The dollar has been stabilized. The savings of our people, the pensions of our retired citizens are no longer being gnawed away by a continuing decline in the buying power of the dollar.

Stifling bureaucratic controls over the national economy have been ended. The housewife no longer has to get in line to buy a roast at the grocery store.

Today we have the strongest and most efficient Armed Forces in all of our peacetime history. A tax dollar is buying a dollar's worth of defense.

We have an agricultural program which will permit us in the years ahead to work toward better balanced production and a generally prosperous, expanding, and free farm economy .

This Nation has made real progress during the first 2 years of the Eisenhower administration. That forward march will be continued during the 2 years ahead and—I sincerely hope—well beyond 1957.

In our great President, we have a man of character, a man of honor, a man of unswerving devotion, and dedication to the eternal principles which made this Nation great. Yes, he is a man of deep spirituality who recognizes that this Nation has a spiritual foundation. He is providing the kind of leadership that is so sorely needed in this troubled world—the kind of leadership that gave this country direction in its formative years.

I believe with all my heart that our Constitution was established by men whom the God of Heaven raised up for that very purpose. I believe that this is a Nation with a great mission—a great destiny. It's not just another nation. It's a truly special great country. The God of Heaven intended that it should serve as a beacon to liberty-loving people everywhere.

I believe that liberty—freedom—is a God-given eternal principle. It didn't begin with the Founding Fathers. They didn't originate it. It came from above. It's one of those inalienable rights—this right of men to be free. It's not right in the eyes of the Almighty that men should be in bondage one to another. It was intended that men should be free. This means freedom of choice, freedom to make their own decisions, freedom to move about, freedom to choose their own vocations, freedom to assemble and speak their own minds, freedom to make mistakes and to pay the penalty for those mistakes.

Governments were intended to be the servants of the people, not their masters. There's no true joy without freedom. When there's coercion, intimidation, and force, the antithesis of freedom, there can be no real soul-satisfying joy and happiness.

I believe today we are living a part of eternity and it is our obligation while living here to build ourselves into upright men and women. Character is the one thing we make in this life and take with us into the next. Any program, whether it is sponsored by one party or another, one group of men or another, by one government or another, any program which tends to weaken character, is not worth the price.

A planned and subsidized economy tends to destroy character—to demoralize the people. Programs sponsored by government should help people to help themselves and protect, preserve, and strengthen their freedom of activity. No program sponsored by

government should ever be manipulated to serve partisan political purposes.

Now, I don't claim to be a historian but I love to read history. I enjoy prophecies. And true prophecy is just history in reverse. It's an account of things before they happen and history is an account of events after they have transpired. I am deeply impressed by the causes eminent historians have assigned for the collapse of some of our earlier civilizations. One book, entitled "Caesar and Christ," embraces the years from 800 B. C. to 325 A. D. It covers the period of the rise and fall of the Roman Empire and the coming of Christianity. As I read it for the first time some years ago, I couldn't help but think: Are we in America moving in the same direction? And I became convinced that in some particulars, at least, we were tending to move in the same direction. I checked some other accounts of the fall of the great Roman Empire and other empires now dead. I jotted down a summary of the things that seemed to cause those great empires to crumble.

The first reasons were what you might call social. They have to do with the family, the weakening of the home, the refusal of people to shoulder the sacred, all-important responsibilities that must go with home and family life. Moral decay resulted. There was a deferment and avoidance of marriage. It started first among the wealthy classes, the so-called educated classes, and then spread.

Another group of causes had to do with the waste of natural resources; with deforestation, erosion, neglect of irrigation systems. But most important of all was the national neglect of harassed and discouraged men—the failure to teach high moral principles even to the youth of the land. Of course, youth is every nation's greatest asset.

Then, there was another group of causes: the rising costs of government created by great standing armies, by doles, public works, expanding bureaucracy, by parasitic courts. There was depreciation of the currency and absorption of investment capital by confiscatory taxation. Inflation stole the savings of the people. Doles weakened the poor. Luxury weakened the rich. National decay resulted.

Then, there was a group of political causes rooted in centralized control and the increasing despotism of the state. This tended to destroy the citizens' civic sense and to dry up statesmanship at its source. People became powerless to express themselves because of the authority of the state and its control over the mass media of information. The people lost interest in government. Yet I presume, in the case of Rome at least, she had few rivals in the art of government. She certainly achieved a democracy of free men and then destroyed it by mismanagement, by corruption, by violence.

We have seen in the last two decades some evidence of tendencies in these same directions. Nations may sow the seeds of their own destruction while enjoying high prosperity, full employment, and other outward appearances of strength.

In fact, a nation may sow the seeds of its own destruction long before it reaches the zenith of its power. I believe there are a few signposts along the road today if we will look. Even in this blessed land, there is always the danger that we will be lulled away into a sense of false security. That is why we need real leadership in government—men of strength, men of character and principle, men of vision—for where there is no vision the people perish—men who will put the national welfare above their own personal interests.

It seems to me that the goal of any administration in Washington should be—and the goal of this administration is—to preserve our eternal principles, to strengthen the American way of life, to achieve a productive, free, and expanding economy in which all of our people will share. It should preserve and strengthen our capitalistic system—our free enterprise system. Admittedly this system has some weaknesses because it's operated by men and women who have weaknesses. Yet it has produced more of the good things of life, a higher standard of living, and a greater abundance of individual freedom, than any other system. It is still fashionable in some quarters to point out the weaknesses of our system without referring to its virtues and its accomplishments.

The job of defending the American way against creeping socialism and the other "isms" has fallen largely upon the Republican Party during the last 2 decades. This is not to say that only the Republican Party stands for free enterprise and for the preservation of our Constitutional rights. Millions of Democrats believe in these same things. But I do say that the Republican Party has never been successfully penetrated by left-wing elements. Republican Party policies have never been shaped by the starry-eyed dreamers who would remake America as a welfare state. And, to borrow a phrase from the advertising copywriters, no other major political party can make that statement.

Now I realize that some of our Democratic friends are very sensitive on this point. They have never been at all comfortable in the associations which have been forced upon them through the ADA and certain other adjuncts of the Democratic Party.

It is the responsibility and the duty of the Republican Party to carry forward the fight against creeping socialism, subversion and undue concentration of power in the Federal Government. In that effort I am sure we will be joined by those Democrats who still believe in the principles of representative government laid down by Thomas Jefferson many years ago. We must preserve and strengthen the foundations of our free enterprise system which has made possible so many of the good things of life for all of us.

The Republican Party must also exercise continued vigilance to insure integrity and efficiency in the operations of our Government. This must flow from the top down, as well as from the bottom up.

Economy must remain a watchword. We know that greater local responsibility—both in administration and cost-sharing—can promote increased efficiency and considerable savings in some of our Federal assistance programs. A tax dollar just can't make the trip to Washington and back home again without a substantial bite being taken out of it. We'd like to see our people spend more of their tax dollars at home.

I believe there is a growing sentiment in America for less competition by Government with its own citizens in various business fields. Before Government embarks upon any new enterprise, it seems to me that we should ask three questions: First, can this service, assuming it is needed, be performed more efficiently by Government than by private enterprise? Second, how will this venture affect our free institutions, our State and local governments, the home, and our schools and churches? Third, we need to ask how will it affect the morale, the character and the general well-being of our citizens? Unless the people can be reassured on these three points, Government should certainly not undertake the program.

Just as an example of government encroachment, you might be interested to learn that when I became Secretary of Agriculture, I also found myself in the hotel business. As a member of the Virgin Islands Corporation Board, I discovered that among our properties, which by the way way were losing huge sums annually, was Blue Beard's Castle Hotel, a plush establishment when built by the Government back in 1934.

For a hotel operating as far in the red as this one was, the use of the word "blue" in its name seemed singularly inappropriate. We sold it for $410,000. It has been estimated that when the Eisenhower administration was installed 2 years ago, the Federal Government owned or had a stake in $130 billion worth of railroads, ships, coffee roasting plants, sawmills, paint factories, bakeries, and refineries, as well as a rum distillery and a package liquor trade, and countless other enterprises. It was operating more than 100 business-type activities and was adding steadily to the list.

We are at last moving steadily in the opposite direction now. And none too soon.

You—along with many other active party workers throughout the Nation—will determine in large measure whether this Republican crusade shall continue. Your ability to convince your fellow citizens—Republicans, Independents and Democrats alike—that the interests of this country will be best served under a Republican administration will again be tested next year. It is not too early even now to begin the spadework within the precincts.

The Women's National Republican Club, under the fine leadership of Mrs. Anderson and your other officials, has a great opportunity to keep the fires of freedom burning. I know that you, as members of this great organization, will welcome this opportunity for service to your country and will accept the challenge under the leadership of our great President. With your help we will not fail in the great task that lies ahead.

I have never posed as a political expert. Most of my experience has been in other fields. Yet I have always felt that what is right is good politics. And I know that this administration is firmly dedicated to what is economically, morally, an spiritually right. I wish I might take each one of you into a Friday morning Cabinet meeting that you too might feel the spirit of your administration in Washington.

"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the rest is in the hands of God." These words of George Washington, spoken before the Constitutional Convention, are as sound today as they were in 1787.

Yes, there is a new look in Washington today and the Nation is better off because of it. Government costs have been cut. Taxes have been reduced. Inflation has been halted. Living costs have been stabilized.

We have proven that it is possible to have peace and prosperity at the same time. The transition from war to peace has been made with fewer dislocations than most people thought possible. The economy is prosperous and stable. The trend toward centralized controls has been reversed. Bureaucracy is on the decline. There is less looking to Washington for direction and more of a feeling of pride and responsibility in the States, counties, and local communities. Integrity, honesty, and efficiency in government have been restored.

But we have only made a start. The crusade for honesty, integrity, and efficiency in government must go on.

Some of the grave decisions which lie ahead may not be ours to make. The Communist aggressors who have enslaved half the world give little indication that they will be content with less than all of it. We may have to live with this constant threat for many years.

However difficult the road ahead may appear, however discouraged we may become in our diplomatic dealings with men who recognize neither truth nor compassion, we must for the sake of all humanity continue to seek a peaceful solution to the seemingly insoluble problems of our age. At the same time, we must remain strong—strong economically, strong socially, and, above all, strong spiritually—strong enough to meet this ever-present threat of new Communist aggression. To be strong, we must remain

productive, for it is the almost unlimited productivity of our Nation which stands as the great barrier against the Red onslaught.

We must hold high America's bright-burning torch of freedom that one day it will surely dispel the shadows of ignorance and despair now blanketing the minds of communism's slaves.

May God strengthen us in that resolution.

Mettler's Woods and Trenton Marshes Are irreplaceable and Should Be Conserved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the following letter was carried in the letters to the New York Times of February 7, 1955. The author, Julian P. Boyd, is the librarian of Princeton University and the distinguished historian and editor of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson.

Dr. Boyd argues that Mettler's Woods and the Trenton Marshes, virtually untouched by man through the centuries, should be preserved for posterity. Mettler's Woods has more than a monetary value: It has been and should continue to be useful to botanists and others interested in studying a climax forest in equilibrium with its surroundings. The Trenton Marshes, a marsh and lowland area of 2,000 acres of great archeological and ornithological interest, is one of the most valuable feeding and nesting stations for migratory birds to be found on the Delaware River, and is also the site of the largest and best-known Indian village of New Jersey, an area once occupied by aboriginal peoples for over 2,000 years.

The letter is included for its great informational value:

LETTERS TO THE TIMES—TO CONSERVE JERSEY AREAS — METTLER'S WOODS, TRENTON MARSHES DECLARED IRREPLACEABLE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The writer of the following letter, librarian of the Princeton University Library, is the editor of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The announcement in the New York Times of January 2 that the State of New Jersey had acquired some 56,000 acres of south Jersey woodlands, comprising the greater part of the famous Wharton tract, is good news for all who are interested in the protection of our natural resources.

In July 1953, under Governor Driscoll's administration, the State bought from the Phipps heirs the 10-mile spit of sand dunes and coastal forest separating Barnegat Bay from the ocean, the only primitive beachland in the State still preserved in the condition in which it was seen by 16th-century explorers.

In September 1954, under Governor's Meyner's administration, the State acquired the Worthington tract, adjoining the Delaware Water Gap, containing some 6,000 acres of woodlands along a 5-mile stretch of river, including a mountain stream with falls and pools along slopes covered with laurel, birch, and hemlock; a lake at an altitude of 1,300 feet, and a forest-crowned summit that provides a spectacular panorama of the mountain ranges of eastern Pennsylvania.

UNIQUE RESOURCES

These and other acquisitions represent a wonderful step forward, and all who have had a part in them deserve applause—the private citizens who labored early and late to awaken the public conscience in the cause of conservation; the State officials who acted with wisdom and far-sighted attention to the best interests of the people, and the owners who recognized the quasi-trusteeship involved in the possession of unique and irreplaceable natural resources.

But much yet remains to be done. Mettler's Woods and the Trenton Marshes, to mention only two tracts that are sorely threatened, should be removed for all time from the dangers of encroachment or destruction that threaten them.

It is to be hoped that the State will take up the option on the remaining 46,000 acres of the Wharton tract. But it would be far better to waive this option than to allow Mettler's Woods to be destroyed by lumber interests that have looked with acquisitive eyes on its 65 acres of oaks and hickories.

This little tract of woods, preserved virtually untouched in one family since its first settlement in 1701, is a tiny island of primitive forest such as the earliest inhabitants of this region knew. Its great hardwoods with underlayers of dogwood and deep shade plants rise out of a carpet of leaf mold and virgin soil that is in places as much as 3 feet deep.

Its surrounding acres of thin, eroded topsoil and shale stand as an eloquent witness to the contrast between nature as the first settlers found it and as, during two and a half centuries, they and their descendants have affected it.

VALUE TO BOTANISTS

Even if it thus stands as a symbolic rebuke, Mettler's Woods has more than a monitory value; it has been and should continue to be useful to botanists and others interested in studying a climax forest in equilibrium with its surroundings. Its acquisition would require only a fraction of the amount of money needed for the remainder of the Wharton tract and would protect such a resource as cannot be duplicated elsewhere in the State, whereas the purchase of the additional Wharton lands, though desirable, would only add another tract of woodland similar to that already possessed. Both should be protected for the future, but the priority should on all counts be granted to Mettler's Woods.

The same may be said for the Trenton Marshes, a marsh and lowland area of 2,000 acres of great archaeological and ornithological interest. This tract, one of the most valuable feeding and nesting stations for migratory birds to be found on the Delaware, is also the site of the largest and best known Indian village of New Jersey, an area once occupied by aboriginal peoples for over 2,000 years.

It would be tragic if these woods and marshes, virtually untouched by man through centuries, were not to be preserved "for another century," as John Quincy Adams used to say when in his old age he planted young saplings. These salutary resources of forests and mountain streams, of marshes and beach lands, are invaluable to us even today. But, great as our need is, the next century will need them infinitely more, if a thousand signs mean anything at all.

JULIAN P. BOYD.

PRINCETON, N. J., *January 31, 1955.*

Face the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following transcript of a television broadcast of Sunday, February 6, 1955:

FACE THE NATION

Guest: Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Republican, of Massachusetts; Ted Koop, director of public affairs, CBS, Washington, moderator; William H. Lawrence, national correspondent for the New York Times; Jack Steele, Washington correspondent for Scripps-Howard newspapers; William K. Hutchinson, Washington bureau chief for International News Service.

Mr. KOOP. How do you do. And welcome to Face the Nation.

Mr. MARTIN, or, as many people call you, "Mr. Republican," we are particularly happy to have you with us today on your first appearance of this kind.

You are starting your 31st year as a Member of the House of Representative from Massachusetts. Today you are the minority, that is, the Republican floor leader. You and the Democrats' SAM RAYBURN have been swapping the title of "Mr. Speaker" back and forth for more years than we care to remember.

And, as you phrased it when you turned over the gavel to him last month, it's been a case of "Off agin, on agin, gone agin, Finnegan."

Next Saturday is Lincoln's birthday, and this week the Nation will resound with traditional Republican oratory. You, as "Mr. Republican," will be in the forefront of the celebrations, and within this oratory may well lie some of the answers to success or failure of President Eisenhower's legislative program, for which you are responsible in the Democratic-controlled House.

The storm signals are already flying on such issues as the size of the Army, the Dixon-Yates contract, and, above all, the serious situation in Formosa, where the answer may well be peace or war.

Millions of Americans are seeking responsible answers to these vital issues.

To direct their questions to you, here is our panel of newsmen:

Mr. William H. Lawrence, national correspondent for the New York Times; Mr. Jack Steele, Washington correspondent for the Scripps-Howard newspapers; and Mr. William K. Hutchinson, Washington bureau chief of International News Service.

Now, for the first question, Mr. Lawrence.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, are we heading into war in the Far East?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I don't think we are. I think the Formosa resolution showed strength and was the best guaranty I know of for peace. I believe that the—Red China, they are going as far as they possibly can go without fighting, and that they are testing the American people, but I don't believe there will be any war.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, there was, of course, remarkable unanimity on this action proposed by the President and approved by the Congress; and it is, of course, the hope of everybody who passed it that it doesn't mean war. But, do you expect any challenges, do you expect some skirmishes, perhaps, if not fighting?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, no one could say with certainty that there wouldn't be some skirmishes, but I don't think that it could lead to war. Because, after all, you must realize that Red China can't make any war with the United States. Red China is a country that has no manufacturing of ammunition, and no chemical industry; half of the freight of China is transported on human backs. A nation like that couldn't wage a successful war with the United States.

Mr. HUTCHISON. Mr. Speaker, along that line, I have heard estimates in the last few days that if the United States was forced into war with Red China, the United States would win within a possible 6 hours, or possibly it might last as long as 30 days.

What are your views on that?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I am naturally conservative and don't want to go in for any extravagant claims; but I wouldn't think that Red China could hold out for 30 days.

Now, of course, they'll get, if they should get support from Communist Russia, which I doubt very much, that might keep some semblance of fighting going on, but it couldn't be much because you have to remember that Russia doesn't want to lose its existence, either. It isn't going to go into a hopeless engagement.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. You don't expect Russia to intervene, then, if the United States should go——

Mr. MARTIN. No; I don't think so because the Russian people must realize what happened to Hitler and those others—the other people who have challenged the free world. I don't believe that Russia would dare risk a general engagement.

Mr. KOOP. Gentlemen, just as we came on the air I was handed this Associated Press bulletin from Tokyo that reads:

"The Red Chinese Peiping radio says the United States 7th Fleet has been conducting military provocations near Chinese waters. The broadcast, which was heard in Tokyo, says the provocations threaten the peace and security of China and the Far East. The broadcast gives no clue as to whether the Communists would interfere with the Tachen evacuation, but, the Associated Press adds, it has an ominous sound."

Mr. MARTIN. Well, every sound that comes from the Far East will be ominous from now on, and, of course, I am a newspaperman, like you folks are, and we don't underwrite a story.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. MARTIN, the agreement yesterday between Nationalist China and our Government to evacuate the Tachens focuses the spotlight on two other island groups, Quemoy and Matsu. As you know, they are just off the coast of China and they are regarded as possible stepping stones for a Communist invasion of Formosa.

Do you think we should defend Quemoy and Matsu in event the Reds try to invade them?

Mr. MARTIN. I'll answer that question, which I had anticipated, by reading a quotation from a very famous statesman. He said:

"The belief that security can be obtained by throwing a small state to the wolves is a fatal delusion."

Those are the words of Mr. Churchill, of England, and I believe it. I believe it is necessary—and I think, from what I understand, what I gather, it is necessary—I believe that we shouldn't permit the Red Chinese to get these islands, which would make it easier for an attack on Formosa.

If we are going to defend Formosa and the Pescadores, we've got to make—defend it under the best possible conditions; and I agree with Churchill that giving another—a little more to—another little nibble, you might call it that—to the Red Chinese would not be the best way of defending Formosa.

Mr. STEELE. May I carry that one step further?

President Eisenhower has not given any public pledge to Chiang and the Nationalists that we will help them defend Quemoy and Matsu if they are invaded. At the same time, administration spokesmen have been quoted as saying that we will.

Do you think it will be our policy, or is our policy now, to defend them in that case?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not want to anticipate what the President would do, or the State Department might make—recommend; but I do believe that it is wise not to make it too definite. I believe President Eisenhower should have all the leeway that he desires to do that which he thinks is best to establish the American viewpoint in Formosa.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, indeed, Mr. Speaker, the Congress did give him precisely that broad authority.

Mr. MARTIN. That's why we gave it to him.

Mr. LAWRENCE. In the face of efforts to restrict it.

Mr. MARTIN. That's right.

Mr. LAWRENCE. It did not include Quemoy and Matsu.

Mr. MARTIN. We wanted to give him a free hand because we can trust Mr. Eisenhower. And we know he is a soldier; he knows the dangers of war and peace, and he knows also how to protect the country; and so we did, with, I think, only three exceptions in both the House and the Senate, we gave him that authority.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, now——

Mr. KOOP. Go ahead, Mr. Lawrence.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Now, Mr. Speaker, I'd like to follow up a bit an answer which you gave to Mr. Hutchinson.

You said that you thought if war came, and you don't regard it as likely, but if it came, that you didn't think the Red Chinese could hold out for 30 days.

Mr. MARTIN. No; not as the Red Chinese.

Mr. LAWRENCE. By that are you talking about a limited kind of war, or are you talking about conquering the mainland of China?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, well, what I mean is that they wouldn't be any formidable opposition after 30 days. They'd be so flattened out.

Wars can go for years, and—take the Philippine Insurrection, how many years that ran after war was practically at an end. I wouldn't say there wouldn't be some guerrilla warfare.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Where, sir? On the mainland of China?

Mr. MARTIN. Not with us, because we wouldn't send troops to the mainland.

Mr. LAWRENCE. That is what I was getting at. Are you talking about a successful defense, or resisting an attack based on these current operations, rather than a full-scale war with Red China?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, I don't think there will be a full-scale war. It's not our policy, and I don't think it will be our policy to send any troops into the mainland. We, I think, are pretty unanimous, both Democrats and Republicans, as far as that's concerned.

Mr. LAWRENCE. I just wanted to bring that back into scope, because——

Mr. MARTIN. I am glad you did, so there will be no misunderstanding.

Mr. STEELE. May I follow that, one other step further: Do you think we might have to send our ground troops into Formosa, or into Quemoy or Matsu, to defend them in case of a Nationalist—or a Communist invasion of the Nationalist territory?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, of course, I am not a soldier, Jack, but I don't believe we would. I think the Chinese Nationalists have got troops enough to defend it with the aid of our Air Force and our Fleet. The Chinese Nationalists in the last 2 years have come a long way in being trained and equipped, and I think they have sufficient forces to defend themselves with our umbrella, so to speak.

Mr. KOOP. In such a case, you would not anticipate the Congress would issue a declaration of war, but would just let the President act under his new authority?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I think, Ted, we probably would let him act under his authority, but you can never safely predict what Congress would do.

Mr. STEELE. Well, in a sense, Mr. Martin, didn't Congress, in this resolution, which passed so overwhelmingly, abdicate its power to declare war to the President?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it makes a difference, Jack, what you mean by "declaring war."

There are wars that go along, and they are pretty good sized wars, too, but you make no declaration.

Mr. STEELE. But this war might be, perhaps, as violent and as vigorous and as large-scaled, perhaps, as the Korean war, without having a declaration of war.

Mr. MARTIN. We gave the President unreserved authority to defend Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, and he doesn't need to come to Congress, if he doesn't want to. He didn't need, I don't believe really, to ask for that authority. I think that's in his—although I understand that it was a twilight border, and he wanted to get this authority to, not only to have the united support of the people back of him, but also to clear up any doubt that might exist in anybody's mind.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, politically, you were drawing a bit of a contrast, were you not, between the handling of this one and the handling of Korea?

Mr. MARTIN. Why, there is no politics in foreign affairs, you know, Bill.

Mr. LAWRENCE. There never has been, you'll excuse me; it was just an oversight on my part, because I thought there was.

But, to return to the political thing, didn't you think that was a pretty remarkable demonstration of Republican and Democratic——

Mr. MARTIN. I though it was a remarkable demonstration of unity on both the Democratic and Republican sides.

Mr. KOOP. In view of this situation in the Far East, Mr. MARTIN, what do you think of the President's proposal to cut the size of the Army?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I think it is a good suggestion, because, I'll tell you why: He is going to devote, he believes, as I understand it, in devoting more money for the atomic weapons that would keep war away from the United States.

You take, it would cost probably, if these additional soldiers were kept, about $2 million a year, which is a lot of money, and before those soldiers could ever be brought into action, in the event of war, before they could ever be brought into action, we'd have to provide the transportation to bring them over to across the water, and in that interval you could train all the men you wanted to.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, you do remember that we found ourselves caught a little short when we ran into an old-fashioned type of war in Korea.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I don't think we are in that position today.

Yes, we were caught very well short in Korea.

I remember when the Tenth Army was being chased to the sea, we didn't have but one division in the United States that could be sent, and they didn't quite dare to send that because they though it might be needed somewhere else; but we have come a long way in the last 2 or 3 years——

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, aren't the Republicans and the administration taking a chance with this cutback in the Army, that if we should get into that kind of a situation again, the country would be pretty well up in arms about it, that there was this cutback with the possibility of that situation?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't think we'll get caught in that way.

Another thing to be thought of is this: You can collapse through spending just as well as you can collapse through assault on the battlefield, and apparently the Com-

munist is intent on war some time or other, at least his actions would indicate that. He is only waiting for the day when he thinks he can safely attack. He knows he can't beat us now, and we've got to have—be able financially to continue that defense, so that hour he waits for will never come.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. You see a whole difference, a lot of difference between fighting in Korea and fighting in China; this time there won't be any river boundary that you can't go across.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I would expect, Mister, if we got into any war, that all—we would fight to win.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. And with the atomic bomb, too, wouldn't we?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I would expect we would——

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Atomic weapons.

Mr. MARTIN. Use all the weapons within the command of the American forces to win, because we can't—if we got forced into another engagement, we can't continue these frittering wars that fritter away the strength of America and not affecting the nation that is particularly seeking to put its ideology all over the world.

Mr. STEELE. Has something the President said convinced you that that would be the case, that we would attack the Chinese mainland and bomb it?

Mr. MARTIN. No, the President has never given me any intimation of what his course would be, and of course I wouldn't tell you if he had, to be perfectly frank about it, but I am not disturbed over the strength—

You know what I think? I think we, here, not so much in America but in many of the other nations of the world, and perhaps it's logical they should be, because they are nearer to the scene, I think the free world is losing because they fear Russia.

Mr. LAWRENCE. And this is a step in the other direction, you say——

Mr. MARTIN. Let them know that we are determined that there is going to be a free world, in this country, in this world.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, again, the answer you gave Mr. Hutchinson, it seems to me, I'd like to follow up a bit.

It's been sugegsted in very responsible quarters that we are not talking in terms of conflict here that would involve trying to destroy China; it would simply be to try to destroy any attack upon our forces or upon any attack which might be made against Formosa or in the related areas, which includes Quemoy and Matsu.

Mr. MARTIN. There isn't any question, the United States wants peace, and they are not going to be the aggressor, but we are not going to let Red China take islands that would make it so that we would be subject—that not only Japan and the Philippines and western coast of the United States would be open to attack.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, we've talked a lot in the last year about massive retaliation, the doctrine laid down by Mr. Dulles. It's been suggested in this occasion that massive retaliation is "out the window," that that is not what we are talking about.

Mr. MARTIN. We are not going to send soldiers over. I haven't got the slightest idea that we will send soldiers in millions, like we did in the other wars. No, I don't think that, I think that's out of the question. That's why it isn't necessary to have so many men on the mainland. We are building up a pretty good National Guard, we are developing reserves, we've got pretty good forces that could take care of anything that might happen, if we come under attack here.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Can I take you to politics for a moment?

Mr. MARTIN. Certainly.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. You've been, I think you have a world's record as serving as convention chairman—four times.

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know anything about the world's record; I have the record in America here.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Political party conventions, let me put it that way.

Do you intend to serve again in 1956 as chairman of the Republican Presidential Convention?

Mr. MARTIN. Bill, I'd even hate to think of it. That's the hardest job I know of. A chairman of conventions sees less of the convention than any man in the convention.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Except the reporters.

Mr. KOOP. Do you know where the Republicans are going to held their convention yet?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I do not. I suppose it will be between Chicago and Philadelphia, and, of course, Philadelphia is handicapped a bit because of its hotel situation; and, it is further handicapped by the decision of the Democrats to go to Chicago.

I don't necessarily mean that we've got to do what the Democrats do. I'd like once, if it could be brought about, for the Republicans to have their convention after the Democrats. I don't think it makes too much difference in 1956, but one year I'd like to try that just for the novelty of it.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Who are you going to nominate in 1956?

Mr. MARTIN. Personally, I believe that it will be inevitable that Mr. Eisenhower will be renominated and reelected.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Has he suggested to you that he would prefer not to run?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. He has, but I will tell you a little story:

A year and a half ago, I, in an indiscreet moment perhaps, said in Wellesley, Mass., that I thought Mr. Eisenhower would be nominated and elected. The next—2 days later—I happened to be sitting next to him in the Gridiron dinner, and he says, "I saw what you said," and he says, "What would you bet on that?"

"Well," I says, "I am not a betting man, and I wouldn't bet."

I says, "No; let me tell you, Mr. President: I know you are sincere, and I know you believe what you say, but I've been here 30 years, and I know conditions develop that make it inevitable for a President to be—to accept another nomination and be reelected. Those things work that way."

And, in my judgment, they are getting more serious than I could have anticipated at that time. You have a foreign situation so tense and so—everybody wondering what is going to happen. He's an experienced man, a man that has been through it all. You have the soldier that knows how to fight a war, if one comes, which we all pray to God won't come. So, I think it's inevitable, his nomination and election.

Mr. STEELE. You think he would yield to that pressure?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I'll tell you why I think he will.

They teach, at West Point and Annapolis, service to the country. Mr. Eisenhower has been taught to serve his country if the call comes. If the call comes, I don't think he would refuse.

Mr. STEELE. Well, despite your confidence——

Mr. MARTIN. That he could refuse.

Mr. STEELE. If he should refuse, does the Republican Party have a lot of other potential candidates around that you could go to, do you think?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I haven't even thought of any more because I felt for a certainty that he would be the one.

Mr. KOOP. Now that the Democrats are in control of Congress, how are you getting along with them?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh; I always get along very well with the Democrats.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Going back to your 30 years, Mr. Speaker, in the Congress, you came here about 1924, didn't you?

Mr. MARTIN. That's right.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. What do you think of the seniority rule for bossing Congress?

Mr. MARTIN. For what?

Mr. HUTCHINSON. The seniority rule.

Mr. MARTIN. You mean in the committees——

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Committee chairmen.

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know; there are faults in that system but, frankly, I don't know of any system that is a better system.

Most any man who reaches the top of a committee has had years of service and years of study, and if he is of the caliber that he normally is, he makes a good chairman.

Now, there are exceptions. There are people that get there at the top that aren't; but I think, on the whole, that the—service is the only way you can pick a chairman.

Mr. LAWRENCE. To go back to the statement you made a while ago, that you always get along with the Democrats, I did a little research and find that on September 15, out in Louisville, Ky., 1954, when there was a campaign going on, you said this:

"Should the Democrats control the Congress, there would be a stalemate in Washington. That is something no thoughtful American wants to see happen."

Is your prophecy standing up, or——

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know yet. That will be dependent on how the Democrats take action on major parts of the Eisenhower legislation. Certainly anyone knows that it would be—that a stalemate in Congress, between the Congress and the President, is not desirable for the country. It's not a healthy picture, because you can't plan your program as you'd like to plan it. You can't put it through in the shape in which you always want it to go through.

Mr. STEELE. Do you see any signs——

Mr. MARTIN. What's that?

Mr. STEELE. Do you see any signs of this stalemate developing as yet in the action in the House?

Mr. MARTIN. Jack, we haven't started yet. We have—the committees are still working, and I think—of course, they are protesting; many Democrats were elected on the platform that they could support the President more efficiently than could the Republicans.

They haven't been given their chance. I think they will, in many instances, and I think occasionally, probably on a vital bill, the temptation, thinking of 1956, will be too much for them.

Mr. LAWRENCE. What is the—what are the big, vital bills that you see, that have just got to go through this year?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, there is the reciprocal-trade bill.

Mr. LAWRENCE. The Democrats will help on that; won't they?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes——

Mr. LAWRENCE. Probably more than the majority of the Republicans?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I don't know. I'm not so sure about that, Bill. I did think so before the session started, but I have noticed that since the industry went down South, that there's been quite a parade of Alabama and Georgia and North Carolina and Louisiana people up and down to the well of the House, all preaching for protection. So, you see, you can't always anticipate what will happen.

Mr. LAWRENCE. You think somebody else's ox is being gored?

Mr. MARTIN. It's just as General Hancock said a great many years ago:

"A tariff is a local issue; when it gets so that it affects adversely any local industry, why, sometimes statesmanship vanishes."

Mr. KOOP. I believe you are making some Lincoln Day speeches down South this week, aren't you, Mr. MARTIN?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, I am. I am making 3 in Florida and 1 in Texas. It happens these speeches are for the most part in—where we elected a Republican Congressman

last year, the party having had a beachhold, we are going to try to see if we can expand a little bit more.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Do you expect to win more Republican seats in the South next year?

Mr. MARTIN. We've got very substantial chances.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. In Florida?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, we might get 2 more; that may amaze you, but there are 2 good chances, and of course we are not going to——

Mr. HUTCHINSON. What about Texas?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I wouldn't say too much about Texas, although we have—if they redistrict Texas, and cut up Houston, it will take one of the Houston districts.

Mr. LAWRENCE. When is that up; is that up this year?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it can always be up, because they have a Congressman at Large in Texas, and at some time or other they get around to redistricting.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. MARTIN, I would like to get in a question——

Mr. MARTIN. And in Houston is where probably the break would come, because Houston has got more people than two Congressmen would take care of.

Mr. STEELE. I would like to get in a question that some of your colleagues consider rather touchy.

As you know, the House Judiciary Committee has reported out a bill to increase the pay of Members of Congress from $15,000 to $25,000 a year.

I wondered whether you are going to be for that; have you made up your mind?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, Jack, I don't know. It hasn't come out. I think they are going to report it out on Tuesday. I think that—I don't know what the amount will be when it finally comes out of committee, but I am frank to admit, this doesn't apply to me so much because I'm a single man and don't have the demands upon my purse that a great many other people would. But these young men, the very type of men you want in Congress, they are coming in with a couple of boys they have to send to college, and girls that they have to send to school, and they are unable to live on the salary that they get, and I think it is better for the country to pay them satisfactory salaries.

Mr. KOOP. Since you brought it up, how have you managed to remain a bachelor all this time? I can ask the question which the married men here cannot.

Mr. MARTIN. And I am glad you asked, rather than Bill.

Because I haven't had any great temptations——

Mr. KOOP. Thank you, Mr. MARTIN, for facing the Nation, and answering the questions being asked today by our panel of correspondents: Mr. William Lawrence, of the New York Times; Mr. Jack Steele, of the Scripps-Howard newspapers; and Mr. William K. Hutchinson, of the International News Service.

School Situation in Chicago—Need of Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the following letter from John M. Fewkes, president of the Chicago Teachers' Union, which merits the attention of Members on both sides of the aisle:

Hon. BARRATT O'HARA,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE O'HARA: The Chicago Teachers Union urges speedy action of Federal aid for school construction.

The children of Chicago are housed today in an inadequate number of buildings, many of which are too old for use. Thirty-six percent of the 434 elementary buildings in Chicago were built in 1900 or earlier, and several before the Civil War. To replace these outworn buildings is an educational necessity.

For the next 6 years, children already born will increase the school population by ten thousand every year. It will require 15 new elementary schools each year to house this increase alone. If the 15 new elementary schools are not built, 20 thousand more pupils will go on double shift (or half day) each year. By 1960, the high school population will double. Several of the 43 Chicago high schools are already on extended day programs.

In 1951, the board of education succeeded in obtaining one bond issue for school buildings of $50 million. This amount has been spent. The legislature on January 31, 1955, authorized a referendum of the voters of Chicago in April on a second $50 million bond issue, secured by an increase in the property tax. This amount will provide only 27 elementary schools. Thirty are needed for immediate use in the next two years merely to keep up with the increase in pupils without replacing old structures, during that time.

The Chicago Teachers Union is working hard to obtain State aid for school construction. We know however, that the State does not have the resources to make the total appropriation needed. There must be Federal aid, and aid immediately.

Congress is investigating the causes of juvenile delinquency. Inadequate school opportunities are clearly one cause. Here is a major service the Federal Government can render quickly to the youth of the Nation.

We ask your active support of immediate Federal aid to education.

Respectfully yours,
JOHN M. FEWKES,
President.

Let's Be Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the State of Washington is holding its fourth international trade fair in Seattle March 11 to 25, 1955. Members of Congress who were here during the 83d Congress will recall the passage of House Joint Resolution 537 authorizing goods for exhibit at this fair to be brought into the United States duty free. Now, as a result of that legislation, another fine example of an enlightened international merchandising program is about to become a reality.

Following is a short explanation, taken from the official prospectus, which I think covers the idea back of this trade fair:

LET'S BE FRIENDS

The international trade fair grew out of an oceanwide desire to be friends and exchange goods.

It reaches maturity this year because that desire is universal among the free nations of the Orient and the Far East, just as it is along the western fringes of the world's biggest sea.

The idea of a trade fair first was voiced in Seattle. This city's emissaries carried the thought to Japan where its counterpart already was alive. Out of their meeting of minds grew the initial fair in 1951. The seeds of that exposition found fertile soil in many nations.

In 1954, the third international trade fair attracted exhibits from more than a score of nations. This year, many of the 40 free countries of the Pacific rim, the Far East and the western units of Latin America will display their native merchandise before buyers from throughout the United States and Canada.

The sales made at the trade fair mean precious dollars to this Nation's friends abroad. Many of these dollars return to buy our farm and industrial products. Thus, the trade fair becomes a two-way street. And it also exemplifies the commonsense of the policy known as trade—not aid.

Nowhere else in the world can a fair of this scope and significance be found.

Not only is the international trade fair unique in its concept, but it is unmatched in the nature and variety of the products exhibited.

From these many foreign lands, with their millions of artisans, the fair attracts the quality handicrafts. The very best that the age-old skills and and traditions of Pacific Asia can produce are offered to all North America.

As a market place, it is an economic factor of great significance. As a public showplace, it is unsurpassed in color and interest.

And as an expression of American policy in a troubled world, the fair voices the strongest urge of all who are still free—"let us be friends."

Some Lessons of Our International Experience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk the text of an address which I was pleased to deliver last Thursday night in Dayton, Ohio, to the Dayton Council of World Affairs. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME LESSONS OF OUR INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE: THE DANGER OF APPEASEMENT AND THE DANGER OF CHARACTERIZING ALL NEGOTIATION AS APPEASEMENT

(Address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin)

It is a great privilege to address this outstanding organization.

I am talking tonight to leaders in this community and its surrounding area, leaders in constructive thinking on America's position in world affairs.

DAYTON: CENTER OF THE AIR AGE

It is most appropriate that we consider America's future course in this great city of Dayton whose plants and laboratories produce so vast a quantity of goods for America's security, as well as for our ever higher standard of living.

It was a fortunate choice for America's welfare that placed the Wright-Patterson Air Base in your area.

The Wright Air Development Center spends, I understand, more than 75 percent of all funds allocated for Air Force research. It has contracts assigned to over 130 colleges and universities in addition to commercial laboratories and manufacturers. This research money is as integral a part of future American defense as is the Strategic Air Force, or the Continental Air Defense Command, or any of the other indispensable arms of United States security which depend so crucially on research.

Fortunately, the leadership of Dayton in science and invention is not a new thing. Many Daytonians who are living today knew the modest pioneer inventors, Orville and Wilbur Wright, thanks to whose efforts man first took wing, thus ushering in a new age of speed and opportunity and challenge.

One of the great inventors of our time "Boss" Kettering, chairman of the Department of Commerce's National Inventors' Council, calls Dayton home. This Council by the way, is in my judgment, one of the outstanding instrumentalities for American strength in this atomic age. Unfortunately, in the postwar years, it has practically been starved for funds, but I have hopes that we are going to see some constructive changes in that picture.

The inventive genius of America, joined with the inventive genius of other Allied Nations, is one of our greatest assets in the critical race—with the Soviet Union—for technological superiority.

"Research, research, and more research"—pure and applied research—these are the indispensable ingredients for our survival.

You, here in Dayton, a center of the Air Age—know that we of America cannot rest on previous laurels or live in an outmoded past. You know that we cannot, in this contracted world, live unto ourselves alone. You know that the free, peace-loving nations must stand together or they will fall separately.

You know that the moth-eaten arguments of the isolationists, the backward longers for a so-called "Fortress America", are as impractical as the horse and buggy in this jet age of supersonic flight.

Peace is only attainable by the strong, the forward-looking, the bold.

SEVERAL SIGNIFICANT CURRENT PROBLEMS

Now, as we look around this fast changing world of the atomic age, we see innumerable phases of foreign policy which command our attention. The most obvious phase is, of course, the crisis in the western Pacific.

But there are a great many other problems as well, less dramatic, perhaps, less urgent, but in the long run, equally or almost as significant.

I refer, for example, to the challenge of implementing the inspiring "Atoms for Peace Program," which was advanced by President Eisenhower in his unforgettable address to the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, 1953.

I refer to the future of the U. N. itself and to possible revision of the U. N. Charter;

I refer to the vital world economic problem, to the conference in Geneva on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and other phases of the problem of increased worldwide exchange of goods and services;

I refer to the nationalist and racial and economic ferment in the huge underdeveloped regions of the earth, the scene of communism's most spectacular advances—in the recent past, and, unless we are alert and adequate, possibly in the early future.

But since time will not permit my attempting to cover these important questions, let me turn to the immediate problem in the Pacific. And then let us look at a few of the overall lessons which we have learned on the international scene.

LITTLE MARGIN FOR ERROR TODAY

Why learn these lessons?

The reason we must do so is that, as one wise man well said:

"Those who ignore the errors of history are condemned to repeat those errors."

And another thinker said:

"Every time history repeats itself, the price goes up."

Today, it is particularly important that we profit from the lessons of the past. Why? Because we have little margin for error in today's world.

In times past, diplomats or military leaders or politicians could make mistakes. The consequences of their mistakes were usually rather limited—by today's standards.

But today the results of international error, the results or miscalculations are potentially so ominous as to give pause to any thinking individual anywhere in the world.

The decisions which we make must be the right ones—and they must be timed right.

This does not mean that we can be certain in advance that they are indeed the right ones. On the contrary, almost anything we do or don't do involves risks. Invariably, our choices are between several possibilities, none of which is particularly appealing, and all of which are fraught with varying degrees of danger.

CONGRESS' FORMOSA RESOLUTION A BOLD STEP FOR PEACE

When Congress so overwhelmingly enacted the joint resolution relating to Formosa, the Pescadores, and related areas, there could be no guaranty of the resolution's success in deterring war in the Pacific.

But the fact of the matter is that the alternative to our passing that resolution was an almost certain guarantee of failure.

And so, we chose a path of strength and firmness. We did so with due deliberation and in one of the great historic demonstrations of executive-legislative teamwork in our time.

Thus the test which we must continue to apply is: not which path is certain to bring us peace, but which path is relatively more likely than other paths to bring us peace.

When you are making history, as we particularly of the Atlantic community are, by our system of collective security—there is no guaranty that history will occur ultimately the way we want it.

But if you leave it to others to make history—particularly if you leave the initiative to the force of international communism—you can be quite sure that the contents of tomorrow's pages in history books will not be anything like what you and I would want them.

COMPLEX EVENTS INTERACT

Making history constructively is not easy. It cannot be done at any one place and in only one way.

The Pacific crisis is a striking illustration of how events breaking in the four corners of the world interact on one another. You cannot simply keep your eye on Matsu or Quemoy, you must keep pace with developments almost everywhere. The recent events have been breaking principally in 7 places: In the committees and on the floor of the United States Congress; in the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London; at United Nations headquarters in New York; in the Kremlin in Moscow; in Peking, headquarters of the so-called Chinese People's Republic; in Taipeh, capital of Formosa and of our brave Nationalist Chinese ally; and in the embattled Straits of Formosa themselves.

Some people, however, refuse to open up their eyes to these facts.

They refuse to acknowledge the nature of today's world is such that we cannot assume to contribute to it alone from the capital of our own country. We cannot wave a magic wand in Washington, D. C., or anywhere else in our land and have history as we would want it. We must work and consult with our friends and allies in many different places, and, yes, we must talk with our foes as well—a point to which I shall refer again later on.

Only a child believes that daddy can remake the world exactly the way the child wants it. A mature adult knows that we can and should do our part for a better world, but we must not assume that we are omnipotent or omniscient.

THE LESSON OF THE FOLLY OF APPEASEMENT

We should have learned this from the past.

But now what about those overall lessons to which I referred earlier?

The very first lesson which I shall elaborate on is the lesson of the folly of appeasement.

I need not spell out to you in detail that the world has learned to its sorrow that you can never succeed in satisfying the appetite of a criminal by offering him new victims.

In the 1930's, we witnessed the criminal aggression, step by step, nation by nation, of the Axis Powers.

In the latter part of World War II, and in the postwar years, we witnessed step by step the aggression of international communism and its enslavement of peoples.

We should know now that communism cannot be appeased. We should know that it respects only strength. We should know that surrender of one free nation to it only paves the way for the Politburo's demanding the surrender of additional free peoples. We should know that appeasement whets the Communist appetite, increases the Communists' disrespect for the free world, tempts it to further aggression.

THE DANGER OF TERMING ALL NEGOTIATION AS "APPEASEMENT"

At the same time, I want to state very clearly that there is a danger of "going overboard" and characterizing every effort to negotiate—through strength—with the Communists, as so-called appeasement.

I say that there are some quarters in the United States that seem to think that any and every reasonable effort which we make—even with utmost caution and care—in trying to sit down with the Communists and work out our problems at the United Nations or at other international conferences constitutes "appeasement."

"Appeasement" has become such an evil label that it is being used irresponsibly by some to smear reasonable diplomatic efforts.

I say that it is not appeasement to explore every possible basis for a stable, workable system of peace.

It is definitely not appeasement to talk face to face with the Red Chinese, as the United Nations Secretary General did at Peiping, or as the United Nations has sought to do in connection with the proposed ceasefire in the Formosa Strait.

It is not the act of talking with the Communists which is appeasement. It is what might conceivably be said to the Communists at the talk which theoretically could constitute appeasement.

But I say we need have little fear that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles or U. N. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge—two great courageous public servants—will talk appeasement. So, I say, give them a chance, give our other allied and neutralist diplomats a chance to talk, to explore, to evaluate, rather than mistakenly label every discussion as "appeasement."

There are some people, however (and I do not question their patriotic motive) who seem to want to slam the door to all east-west talk. These are the people who talk irresponsibly of "our getting out of the United Nations." These are the people who want us to proceed unilaterally, independent of our allies, independent of the U. N., in attempting now—all by ourselves—an arbitrary naval blockade of the more than 2,000 miles of Chinese coast.

Some likeminded people—the extremists in this group—even seem to want to throw ultimatums at Red China. They, of course, ignore what could happen if the ultimatum deadline were to pass.

Yes, some few of these extremists talk loosely of a "showdown now with Red China," as if we were doomed unless we were to force issues to a head within the next few days or weeks.

"PREVENTIVE WAR TALK" IS NONSENSE

Fortunately, these people are in the minority—a very tiny minority. Fortunately, the responsible leadership of the United States Government, executive and legislative, totally rejects this type of an "all-or-nothing" concept, of a "showdown now" concept.

You and I know that the concept of a so-called preventive war which is implied by a very few extremists—all of whom are out of office—is sheer madness. A preventive war actually means world war III—in all its horror. This absurd concept has gotten exactly nowhere, and will get exactly nowhere with our countrymen. Moscow, kindly note. Your propaganda to the contrary is a lie and you know it. Peace is and always has been our mission.

We are grateful that the man who occupies the White House today is a man of peace. He has seen war in all its fury and bitterness and devastation. He has seen young men under his command make the supreme sacrifice. He has seen the tragic aftermath of war in the wrecked minds and bodies in the Nation's veterans hospitals. So, Dwight D. Eisenhower is determined to maintain peace and the American people are determined to give him every possible support in his patient efforts for peace.

It will not be—it could not be—a peace of appeasement. But neither can it possibly be a peace which refuses all diplomatic face-to-face exchanges, a peace which spurns efforts at reasonable negotiation—from strength.

Now, before I leave this matter of the problem in the Pacific, let me point out that the next move is squarely up to Red China. If the Peking government and the Moscow-government desire war (which I for one doubt) then the world will recognize that the sole blame for whatever ensues is at the doorstep of Peking and Moscow.

For ourselves we desire peace, security and freedom in the Pacific and elsewhere.

We are not looking for trouble. We do not want trouble. But neither are we running away from trouble.

Now, no man here can foretell what Red China will choose to do in the Western Pacific.

My own feeling is that the strong demonstration of American unity and American toughness will deter Peking from starting a chain reaction which could lead to world war.

The long-run danger I feel is really elsewhere, as in southeast Asia. The Formosa Straits issue should not blind us to ominous events there and in other areas.

DANGER IN OTHER THEATERS

I refer, for example to the disturbing intensification of Red activity in the Republic of Indonesia. There, a Communist party, reputedly 500,000 strong is wielding increasing power.

But, that is not the only danger sign. Inflation, guerrilla war and other difficulties are also occuring in this land which, by all rights, should be a garden of Eden. But due to a combination of circumstances, Indonesia is unfortunately experiencing serious internal difficulties—which provide ideal setting for the Reds to exploit.

As for ourselves, we have nothing but good will for Indonesia. We wish naught but peace and prosperity and freedom for this vast nation which emerged less than a half-decade ago from colonial rule. It is our earnest hope that the forces of freedom in Indonesia will find it possible adequately to protect that land from Communist imperialism.

DANGER OF STRAIGHTJACKETING PRESIDENT

But now, let us turn to a second lesson of our recent past.

It is the lesson that the Chief Executive of our country must remain in a strong position to fulfill his Constitutional authority.

Our experience with respect to the Formosan crisis is a complete vindication of the position which many of us had taken last year on the controversy over treaties and executive agreements.

You will remember that in the 83d Congress, the Senate soundly rejected efforts which would have attempted seriously to limit the treatymaking powers of the President of the United States and the powers of making executive agreements.

It was our position that there are more than ample safeguards under the Constitution against any Executive abuse of power.

We contended that the nature of the atomic age is such that the President of the United States must at all times be in a position to take emergency action with our allies—action necessary for the protection of our country. Such action would always, of course, be within the framework of the Chief Executive's constitutional authority.

On the other hand, our opponents (who were then fortunately in the minority and who are today in a still smaller minority) contended the reverse. They preferred in effect to straitjacket the hands of the President. They were so fearful of abuse of power that they wanted very little power to be exercised without the most detailed congressional supervision.

I, for one, throughout the debate, had pointed out that no one could possibly foresee the many types of emergencies which might arise which might require almost split-second decision by the executive branch.

EVENTS HAVE DEBUNKED OPPOSITION ARGUMENTS

I contended that it would gravely weaken American foreign policy if the strongest Nation in the world, to whom all freemen look, were to paralyze the one man who, under the Constitution, is supposed to spearhead our foreign policy—the Chief Executive.

Now, my contentions and those of many individuals who supported this position, have been completely sustained. The opposition has been flattened—not by words, but by events—whether they realize it or not.

Many of those who wanted to tie the hands of the Chief Executive practically did a complete flip-flop once they were confronted with the Formosa crisis. Most of them said nothing about the considerable power which was being confirmed as residing in the Chief Executive's hands.

Some who did speak, emphasized that, in their judgment, there was really no alternative but to pass the joint resolution.

I want to commend these men with whom I have disagreed for recognizing the hard facts of the international situation.

I hope, however, tht they will realize that the Formosa crisis was not a rare exception. It is the sort of crisis which may recur on many occasions in many places in the future—when international communism prepares a thrust and when the Chief Executive must be in a position to parry that thrust.

THE LESSON OF "DOING THE IMPOSSIBLE"

The third and last lesson to describe within the available time—another lesson that we should have learned—is that the word "impossible" should rarely be used in foreign affairs. "Impossible" is usually used by gloomy pessimists to justify a status quo position.

Some people dismally assumed it was impossible to set up an effective United Nations Organization or to make the Marshall plan work, or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or now the Southeast Asia Alliance.

They assumed that it was impossible to make the Organization of American States a dynamic entity.

As a matter of fact, every time we have tried to progress in international relations the gloom mongers have said that it "couldn't be done." But usually it has been done. We have made substantial progress. We have done the so-called impossible in all the instrumentalities which I have just mentioned.

Further, I cite to you the situation in the troubled Middle East. Certainly here is an area in which there are difficulties which would faze even the most optimistic negotiator.

Yet what do we see? We see a skilled Presidential envoy, Eric Johnston, patiently making splendid progress toward an historic Arab-Israel agreement on Jordanian and other water, long considered a so-called impossible objective.

Now, too, we see Iraq prepared to enter into an agreement with our stanch friend, Turkey, thus complementing the Turkish-Pakistani Alliance already existing in a necessary northern tier of security.

We see, too, that the so-called impossible dispute over the Suez Canal has been settled; the so-called impossible Iranian oil impasse resolved.

Now, I do not mean to imply that we can expect miracles. I do not mean to imply that all disputes are capable of quick solution, because obviously they are not. But what I do mean is that there are very few, if any, problems which do not yield to progressive change if we are willing to dedicate our abilities and our hearts to the cause.

We have seen our great Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, travel tirelessly around the world in the cause of peace. We have seen him time and again snatch diplomatic victory from the jaws of apparent defeat. We have seen his great spiritual faith vindicated by the resolving of apparent deadlocks and defeats, as when EDC was transformed into a Western European Union.

Let us, therefore, share the President's and Mr. Dulles' faith.

Let us give no heed to the gloom-mongers, who assume that what exists today will exist tomorrow, or that evil will grow stronger and good weaker, that tension will give way only to increased tension.

Let us have faith that we can make progress, and I say, we will indeed make progress.

CONCLUSION

It is on this sound note of faith that I should like to conclude. It is on this note of realistic optimism that I should like to turn this subject over to your own consideration.

I began by stating that it is appropriate that here in Dayton, a great center of aeronautical research, that you and I ponder America's future in world affairs.

The essence of research is faith—faith that we can unlock the mysteries of nature, the mysteries of the atom, the mysteries of time and space.

The essence of research is courage—the courage to look forward and not backward.

You of the Dayton Council on World Affairs are similarly dedicated to blazing new trails for America.

As the scientist in his laboratory pierces the veil of the future, so you in this council seek to have us pierce the past mists of international prejudice, of blindness, of fear, and emerge into the clear light of peace and progress and faith.

Few missions could be more important for a citizen or for a public official.

Thanks for your kind attention, and good luck to you all.

Progress in Reverse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I had prepared for delivery before the antitrust law section of the New York State Bar Association, New York, on January 26, 1955.

Unfortunately, because of the meeting of the Senate on that day, I was unable to deliver the address personally. Instead, it was delivered by the very competent and able counsel for the Antimonopoly Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, Mr. Sidney Davis, to whose work on the subcommittee I wish to pay high tribute. I have been informed by Mr. Davis that the subject matter of the address gave rise to some interesting discussions at the meeting.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROGRESS IN REVERSE

(Address of Hon. ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee)

The general theme of today's session is given as Antitrust Law Progress. For reasons which I shall endeavor to make clear the title of my address is Progress in Reverse.

As the antimonopoly subcommittee pointed out in a report printed Monday, January 23: "The attention of the country has been focused more and more on the gathering momentum of the corporate merger movement. Our economy was subjected to its first great merger movement in the two decades, 1885–1905. A second significant wave of corporate mergers took place in the latter part of the 1920's * * *. Against this background, it is understandable that the third great corporate merger movement in our history, now in progress, should be the subject of widespread public, governmental, and congressional concern."

As I look at what has become of our antitrust laws in very recent years, and note the continuing increase in economic concentration and the wave of industrial mergers now taking place, I am reminded of the story of a recent atomic bomb explosion which took place down in my part of the country. After everyone had been moved to a safe distance, the bomb was set off, creating an enormous hole in the ground. The experts went to the edge of the chasm, peered over the side, and much to their astonishment saw at the bottom a human figure who slowly picked himself up off the ground and then began to climb to the top. When he reached the top, they found themselves confronted to their further amazement with a gaunt old man dressed in an old Confederate uniform and carrying an old Confederate musket. The man shook the dust from his clothes, looked into the chasm, sighed, and said, "I don't care what General Lee says, I'm giving up."

Back in 1946, as chairman of a Subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee, I issued a 432-page report on the then current status of the antitrust laws, entitled "United States versus Economic Concentration and Monopoly." In our report we stated that: "Concentration of economic power is a constantly moving, powerful force which can only be fought by an aggressive and consistent Federal legislative program, followed up by a steadily continuing active enforcement of antitrust laws by the executive agencies." After making an industry-by-industry analysis of the concentration problem and a detailed investigation of the operations and effectiveness of the antitrust agencies, we concluded that "the imprint of failure is everywhere." In retrospect, all I can say is that if "failure" was the right word for 1946, the right word for today is "calamity." The temptation is strong indeed to echo the sentiments of the old Confederate veteran.

Let us consider some of the differences between then and now. There is first the subject of appropriations, a matter of prime interest to the antitrust agencies. In the late forties and early fifties appropriations for the antitrust agencies were on the increase; between 1946 and 1953 appropriations for the Federal Trade Commission rose by 92 percent, while those for the Antitrust Division increased by 106 percent. Despite these increases the resources available to the antitrust agencies were pathetically inadequate. Yet, since 1953 the trend has been in the opposite direction; between 1953 and 1955 appropriations have fallen 3 percent for the Federal Trade Commission and 11 percent for the Antitrust Division.

Then what has become of the Government's efforts to break up existing monopolies? In 1946 we had grounds to be reasonably hopeful on this score. In its decision in the Aluminum case handed down in 1945 the special court headed by Justice Learned Hand held that 90 percent control of an industry by one company was sufficient and that 64 percent control might be sufficient to constitute a violation of the Sherman Act. In the Tobacco case decided a year later the Supreme Court stated that it welcomed the opportunity to endorse certain statements in the Aluminum case opinion, which were to the effect that a monopoly cannot be disassociated from its power, that its power cannot be dissasociated from its exercise, and that if 90 percent of the ingot producers had combined it would have constituted an unlawful monopoly. On May 31, 1946 the then Attorney General, Mr. Tom Clark, announced a new program designed to break up existing monopolies, stating that the times required that competition be restored "by the seldom used processes of divestiture, divorcement and dissolution." The cases instituted in the next few years against the United Shoe Machinery Co., the major meatpacking companies, the Western Electric Co. and A. T. & T., the Du Pont Co., and General Motors were all part of this program. But where is any dissolution program today?

Perhaps the bitterest pill is what has happened in the field of mergers and acquisitions. In 1946 we were striving to plug up the long-standing loophole in section 7 of the Clayton Act, and we had every reason to believe that once this had been done, the Government would at long last be able to put a halt to competition-destroying mergers. Finally, after a truly incredible amount of work the Celler-Kefauver Antimerger Act was passed in 1950. As anyone who reads its legislative history and the accompanying committee reports must agree, this is a strong and potentially far-reaching measure. Yet what use has been made of it? According to the Federal Trade Commission 2,300 mergers and acquisitions were reported to have taken place between 1951 and 1953. If the merger movement continued at the same rate through 1954, this would mean a total of around 3,000 mergers and acquisitions since the act was passed. I am not contending for a moment that all mergers are necessarily harmful in and of themselves. Yet it is almost inconceivable that out of this total there are not at least scores which might have adverse effects upon competition. Against this wave of merger activity what have the antitrust agencies done? We find that the Federal Trade Commission has issued 3 complaints and the Department of Justice has announced in the case of 1 proposed merger that it will object, should the merger take place. No final orders of any kind have yet been issued. So the box score reads, out of probably scores of times at bat, 4 hits and no runs.

There are still other issues where the promise of yesterday is the despair of today. Take, for example, the matter of basing point pricing. In 1946 we were most hopeful that the Supreme Court would uphold the Federal Trade Commission in the Cement case and that we would at last be rid of the evil, restrictive effects of this monopolistic price-fixing device. Insofar as the Court's decision is concerned, our hopes proved to be not unfounded. But what use has been made of that magnificent legal victory? During the last 2 years accounts have appeared in the press suggesting that industries which, following the Cement decision, abandoned the basing point system, have been quietly returning to it, or to something which closely resembles it.

Or, as another example, we did not dream back in 1946 that in an antitrust case the Supreme Court would turn back the clock and make the question of subjective intent paramount above all other considerations, even the effect on competition. But that is exactly what did happend when the court handed down its decision in the Standard Oil of Indiana case. As a result "good faith" is now a complete defense to a charge of price discrimination. As Senators MAGNUSON, LANGER, and I said in a report dealing with this decision: "We do not think that good faith should be paramount and controlling above all else. * * * We know of no other satute, past or present, in which good faith licenses a person to violate the prohibitions of the law with impunity and without interference. The controlling consideration must be the actual effect on competition, not the question of good faith."

The crippling effects of that decision can be seen in the fact that since it was handed down, the Federal Trade Commission under its new administration has not issued a cease and desist order in a single contested Robinson-Patman Act case in which the good faith defense was offered.

I could go on to cite other illustrations of deterioration in the antitrust laws and in antitrust enforcement, but these examples should make it clear why I have entitled my address, "Progress in Reverse".

As serious as these setbacks have been, they may well be overshadowed by a new development which casts a threatening shadow over the entire structure of the antitrust laws. I am referring to the current agitation not only to revive but to extend the so-called Rule of Reason.

There is something plausible about the phrase "Rule of Reason," which, unfortunately has a peculiar semantic appeal. The semantics are also beguiling for other terms, such as "workable competition" and "taking all relevant economic factors into consideration," terms which appear with such frequency in current antitrust literature, and

which seem to be the modern-day synonyms of the "Rule of Reason."

Apart from its plausible sound, the term "Rule of Reason," as every member of this audience knows, is a term of art, with a special, and to my way of thinking, deplorable meaning of its own. Since first handed down in the Standard Oil case in 1911, it has probably done more damage to the effective enforcement of the antitrust laws than all other rulings combined. Let us recall the prophetic words of Justice Harlan in his vigorous dissent in that case. Pointing out that the Supreme Court had on two previous occasions refused to accept this doctrine, Justice Harlan stated:

"But my brethren, in their wisdom, have deemed it best to pursue a different course. They have now said to those who condemn our former decision and who object to all legislative prohibitions of contracts, combinations and trusts in restraint of interstate commerce, 'You may now restrain such commerce, provided you are reasonable about it; only take care that the restraint is not undue.' * * * When Congress prohibited every contract, combination, or monopoly, in restraint of commerce, it prescribed a simple, definite rule that all could understand and which could be easily applied by everyone wishing to obey the law, and not to conduct their business in violation of the law. But now, it is to be feared, we are to have, in cases without number, the constantly recurring inquiry—difficult to solve by proof—whether the particular contract, combination, or trust involved is or is not an 'unreasonable' or 'undue' restraint of trade." (221 U. S. 102, 103 emphasis in original.)

Before this audience I need not dwell upon the catastrophic effects of the introduction of this doctrine into the enforcement of the Sherman Act, particularly with respect to dissolution cases. Against the known record of the carnage which it has wrought, it is hard to realize that this doctrine is not only being strongly urged as the standard of lawfulness, but is apparently receiving increasing acceptance.

It may have been forgotten in some quarters, but one of the principal reasons behind the enactment of the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Act in 1914 was the desire of Congress to pass legislation to which the "rule of reason" would not be applicable. The legislative history leaves no room for doubt on this issue. Thus the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee in its report of February 26, 1913 on what became the Federal Trade Commission Act recognized that the Sherman Act had become subject to the "rule of reason," and stated that because of that very fact new legislation was needed to which this doctrine would not apply. Referring to the majority decision in the Standard Oil case, the committee said:

"The fair conclusion is that it is now the settled doctrine of the Supreme Court that only undue or unreasonable restraints of trade are made unlawful by the Sherman Antitrust Act, and that in each instance it is for the Court to determine whether the established restraint of trade is a due restraint or an undue restraint."

Then after making it clear that it had "full confidence" in the "integrity, intelligence and patriotism" of the Supreme Court, the committee went on to state that—

"It is unwilling to repose in that court or any other court, the vast and undefined power which it must exercise in the administration of the statute under the rule which it has promulgated. It substitutes the court in the place of Congress, for whenever the rule is invoked the court does not administer the law, but makes the law. If it continues in force, the Federal courts will, so far as restraint of trade is concerned, make a common law for the United States just as the English courts have made a common law for England.

"The people of this country will not permit the courts to declare a policy for them with respect to this subject. . . . It is inconceivable that in a country governed by a written Constitution and statute law the courts can be permitted to test each restraint of trade by the economic standard which the individual members of the court may happen to approve." (62d Cong., 3d sess., S. Rept. No. 1326, p. 10.)

It is gratifying for me to note that Judge Medina, speaking for the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, made the same interpretation of Congressional intent in his recent decision in the Dictograph case. This case involves exclusive dealing contracts which, the court held, were in violation of section 3 of the Clayton Act. In discussing the legislative history of this section Judge Medina stated:

"With respect to exclusive-dealing contracts, the evident impulsion toward including a specific proscriptive provision was the desire on the part of the Congress to overrule by legislation an earlier decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals * * * upholding, as not violative of the Sherman Act, what was tantamount to the refusal, by a leading producer of chewing tobacco, to sell to a dealer because the dealer would not agree to deal exclusively in the seller's products * * * It was to make sure that the Sherman Act 'rule of reason' would not be employed to validate further transactions of such a patently undesirable nature that the proscriptive provision under discussion was thought necessary. It is hardly likely that the insertion of the qualifying phrase, 'where the effect * * * may be to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly,' was intended to reinstate the same Sherman Act tests which had, at that very time, been determined to be inadequate." (*Dictograph Products Inc. v. Federal Trade Commission*, October term, 1954.)

Frankly I have become increasingly distressed by signs that the Federal Trade Commission, is reading the "Rule of Reason" into parts of the law where it is no longer applied by the Supreme Court, or what is worse, reading it into other parts of the law where Congress never intended it to apply. The essential question is whether the requirements now being imposed as to the amount and type of evidence constitutes in effect the adoption of the "Rule of Reason." I am concerned particularly with recent actions by the Federal Trade Commission in requiring extensive and perhaps unnecessary bodies of evidence.

The best description of what I am worried about appears in the November 1954 issue of Fortune magazine, entitled "The Urge to Merge." Referring to the Department of Justice's case against the Du Pont Co. for monopolizing the cellophane industry, the article states that, "Unless the decision is reversed by the Supreme Court, the case appears to have shifted antitrust enforcement policy back to the 'rule of reason' of the 1920's." The article then goes on to say:

"Essentially, this means that management, using its own data, can itself decide how much of a market it can exploit safely through a merger without inviting an antitrust action. Economists and statisticians, in other words, take the place of lawyers in helping management reach decisions of this kind. How good this is for the economy and how much it will lessen competition only the future will tell. Rule-of-reason enforcement has undoubtedly slowed down enforcement of antitrust; neither the Department of Justice nor the Federal Trade Commission has the budget or trained personnel to watch the markets constantly and move against a company or a group of them trying to rig one. The threat of antitrust action probably will stop flagrant attempts to minimize competition, but it need not stop a merger if management's conception of the market position after merger is sound in antitrust terms. If Eugene Grace, for example, believes that the proposed merger of Bethlehem and Youngstown will strengthen competition in the steel industry (and many outsiders believe it will), chances are the merger will go through."

I realize, of course, that no journal speaks officially for the administration. At the same time, however, Fortune is a most reputable organ which, before publishing such an article, could certainly be expected to have familiarized itself with the administration's views. Moreover, the emphasis upon the rule of reason as the test of what is sound in antitrust terms is, of course, wholly in keeping with the general philosophy of Professor Oppenheim who, after all, is the cochairman of the Attorney General's committee on antitrust law revision. If this passage represents anything approaching an accurate reflection of the administration's views, the area of difference between the administration's interpretation of congressional intent and the interpretation made by those of us in Congress who sponsored and supported the measure is rather wide.

There is a possible historical parallel here which is worth noting. Several years before the Supreme Court established the "rule of reason" in its decision in the Standard Oil case, a bill was introduced to accomplish this same result through legislation. On behalf of the Senate Judiciary Committee Senator Nelson in 1909 reported adversely on the bill and it subsequently died. In his report Senator Nelson stated:

"The injection of the rule of reasonableness or unreasonableness would lead to the greatest variableness and uncertainty in the enforcement of the law. The defense of reasonable restraint would be made in every case and there would be as many rules of reasonableness as cases, courts and juries. A court or jury in Ohio might find a given agreement or combination reasonable, while a court and jury in Wisconsin might find the same agreement and combination unreasonable * * * To amend the Antitrust Act, as suggested by this bill, would be to entirely emasculate it, and for all practical purposes render it nugatory as a remedial statute." (Cited and quoted in 221 U. S. 96, 97.)

What Congress refused to enact in 1909, the Supreme Court read into the law in 1911. The Federal Trade Commission may be sorely tempted to emulate the Supreme Court of 45 years ago. It may be sorely tempted, but I trust it will not do so.

The daily press tells us that American business is today combining, uniting, grouping and regrouping, merging, remerging and merging again. Competition as a way of life is under constant attack and small, independent business is on the decline. I, therefore, think it is of the utmost importance that Congress develop facts concerning the scope of the merger movement, the extent and strength of the thrust toward monopoly, and the decline of competition in our economic life.

Congress needs to make an examination into the rise of new financial and industrial oligarchies, and highly integrated forms of business and management. Congress needs to examine business practices aimed at limiting or eliminating competition. The investigation which our subcommittee conducted of monopoly in the power industry should be continued and broadened and deepened, so that the Congress may be fully informed as to the extent of monopolistic abuses which threaten a repetition of the Insull-Hopson scandal. We need a full-scale inquiry into the growth of monopoly, its withering effects upon the small business of this country, and its effect upon our free competitive economy.

Perhaps new and better tools and policies of enforcement are called for. Meanwhile, it is important that the executive branch

make the best use possible of the tools now at its disposal. Congress meanwhile must concern itself not only with its important policymaking function in the field of monopoly but also with enforcement of these policies by the executive branch of the Government.

I can emphasize the necessity for this no better than by reading to you the concluding paragraph of the report published Monday by our subcommittee:

"The danger to the country from monopoly run wild is written in large letters across the recent economic and political history of this Nation. The committee therefore feels that it cannot overstate the imperative necessity for the Congress to deal with this issue immediately."

Thank you.

Address Delivered by Former Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD a very penetrating and keen analysis of American Asiatic problems and policies, set forth in a speech delivered last Saturday by the former Secretary of the Air Force Mr. Thomas K. Finletter.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF THOMAS K. FINLETTER AT ROOSEVELT DAY DINNER, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 5, 1955, UNDER AUSPICES OF AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

It is now nearly 10 years since the death of the great President whose memory and achievements we honor tonight.

It is often said that one of these great achievements—the New Deal—has had its day; and that the Democratic Party had better stop thinking of the old policies of the 1930's and 1940's and of the coalition of groups of voters which brought it the victories of those days.

This attitude misunderstands what Franklin D. Roosevelt did for the Democratic Party and for the country from 1933 on. For, while it is true that the Roosevelt revolution is now a part of our accepted social fabric and that a party cannot live on the remembrance of things past, there is one part of the New Deal that still lives on with continued, dynamic vitality. That is its deeply felt concern for the just and right, and its spirit of adventure in seeking the good.

I am not speaking, of course, of the aggregation of policies of the 1933–40 period. Nor do I mean the result of those New Deal policies—the coalition of groupings of voters which kept the Democratic Party in power for 20 years.

I mean the spirit which motivated these policies, a spirit whose great quality is a willingness to make a change, to try the untried, if doing so will help satisfy a deeply-felt urge to defeat injustice, illiteracy, ill health and poverty, and to see to it that the people of America have full access to the privileges of free men.

It is important that this spirit be kept alive and vigorous. Important to the Democratic Party. Important to all the people of the country.

I do not believe that the Democratic Party can win the votes of the American people unless it keeps this sense of adventure for the good. The one thing the Democratic Party has which the Republican Party has not, is this spirit.

The reason the country went normally Democratic in 1933 and has stayed that way is because after their experience with Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman the people came to believe in the Democratic Party. The reason they believed in it was that they were right in believing it. The party was not fooling them; it was not trying to win votes with favors and promises of favors. This was not circuses and bread. It was the real thing.

I do not mean that the Democratic Party was not trying to win the votes of the people during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Of course it was. But it was the way it sought the votes that was important. It sought them by offering the best merchandise for the money. It did not offer shoddy goods. It did not offer goods that looked well on the surface but were intended to wear out so that replacements would have to be bought. It did not rely on advertising packaging, or merchandising. It offered the best it could make, the goods which would serve the customer best.

Of course there were failures, of course there were exceptions to this high-minded New Deal standard. The Democratic Party being part of the human race is not perfect. But I do think that this description I have just given rightly describes the spirit which dominated the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

At the moment temptation is in the air. For there is another way of appealing for the votes of the people and it seems to be mighty effective with so many of the voters. This other way is the opposite of what I have described as the New Deal way. It is the way of salesmanship, of the bad kind of salesmanship, the kind that does not concern itself with the quality of what it sells. It is a political salesmanship which seeks to keep the people's mind off the issues that are important, the issues on which we Democrats know the people would support us if it were possible to have a debate on the merits. This political salesmanship is a short-term operation. It uses gadgets and tricks whose impact is immediate, violent and effective. It focuses on getting those votes in that next election. It relies heavily on the techniques of advertising. It sometimes—too often, alas—relies on falsehoods. Worst of all, on issues of great importance it often puts the interests of the party above those of the country. This political salesmanship is in a deep sense unconstitutional. For unless we use restraint in our struggles between the two great parties, unless we mark a boundary beyond which it is not permissible to go, no matter how close the election and how much either party wants to win it, our constitutional system will not stand the strain upon it. All Americans know or should know where this boundary is, in any given circumstance. It is where the politicking begins to harm the interests of the country. And all Americans know or should know that this boundary has been badly violated in the recent past.

There is a real problem for the Democratic Party how to meet this kind of political campaigning. It is all very well to say, let us believe in and practice the right, and right will triumph. But it is understandable that men in the Democratic Party should think; let us fight fire with fire, we can have our ideals (to be put into practice when we get into power) but there is this important preliminary business of getting elected. Let us fight this battle with the weapons, however illegitimate they may be, which now seems to be the customary ones. Then, having beaten our opponents at their own game, we can go back to being what we really are.

Fortunately, for its own sake and for the country's, the Democratic Party has no intention of meeting fire with fire in this way.

The Democratic Party can defend itself against the techniques of salesmanship only by having confidence in the American people and by doing what it can to unmask the slogans and the advertising, and the falsehoods, so that the voters will be able to judge the two parties on their merits of their intentions and their acts.

But at the same time, the Democratic Party must continue to be better than the Republican Party on the merits. This it will not do unless it keeps up that readiness to explore and that concern with the well-being and the individual rights of human beings which are the substance and the soul of the New Deal.

It is not only of the political fortunes of the Democratic Party of which I am speaking. For as goes this struggle between political salesmanship on the one hand and the spirit of responsibility and concern for the right on the other, so will go the future of the American ideal of individual liberty under law. Unless the spirit of adventure in method and of idealism in substance wins out, liberalism in the United States will not come safely through the crisis in which we now are.

May I digress to defend that word "liberalism"? I might have used the word "freedom," and that would have been unexceptionable. But it is high time that we reject the slurs that have been put on the words "liberal" and "liberalism" and restore them to the high estate to which they are entitled. Liberalism is the method of freedom. If we let slander take that word away from us we shall have lost something of priceless worth. And slander is the way our opponents often take to try to make us give up the principles in which we believe.

May I add, too, that Americans for Democratic Action, now, and particularly now, has an important role in this struggle. The fundamental rights of freemen for which this country fought the Revolutionary War, and for which it has battled ever since, are under attack. Liberalism and idealism, and the organizations that stand for liberalism and idealism, as does the ADA, are the targets. Liberalism and those who support it are the bulwarks of the rights of freedom. They must not yield; they must be brought through the crisis in which they are now, to their old high place of prestige and honor in our great country.

It is for these things, for the substance of freedom and the method of liberalism, that we are now fighting. It is not alone, or even I think primarily, our physical safety which is threatened by Russia and its evil creed of communism. Of equal importance with our hides are our souls. And so far it is the latter which have received the worst wounds and are the most threatened, not, tragically enough, by our enemies but by ourselves.

This integrity of the creeds and of methods of freedom is an end, indeed, the greatest of political ends, in itself. So I could stop this argument at this point, and say that the end of freedom and the means of liberalism must be defended for their own sake against these improper and unconstitutional attacks that are being made upon them.

But there is one more point that is important and should be said. It is that unless we show considerably more respect for the proper limits of political debate on matters affecting our foreign policy, if we continue this idea that anything goes in politics so long as it wins votes, regardless of what harm it may do to our efforts to defend ourselves in the world and to seek peace, then

we cannot possibly have a proper foreign policy and cannot possibly defend ourselves adequately in the dangerous world in which we live.

Already our failure to respect the proper limits of political debate, our injection of domestic political considerations into our national policies, have harmed us grievously in many ways.

It has harmed us in the image which we project of ourselves abroad. Our failure to stand by our principles of freedom and of liberalism at home have worried our friends in Europe and have discredited us in Asia.

Our use of slogans and catch-words has impaired our military strength. Slogans have actually cut into our military striking power, slogans such as the curious notion that cutting the military budget will give us more military strength than we had when we spent more money under the Democratic administrations; that a new magic efficiency will give us, in the words of that inelegant slogan, "more bank for a buck"; the talk of "paper wings" in the Air Force under the Democrats; and by those who put budget balancing above the Nation's safety, the line that the Russians are plotting to trick us into spending ourselves into bankruptcy.

Slogans such as these have cut our military budget below the safe level, and similar slogans have weakened our foreign policy or led it into dangerous paths in Europe and in Asia.

As a result our prestige and our influence are at new lows in Europe and in the world outside of Europe.

We used to say, somewhat immodestly, that we, the United States, were the leaders of the free world. We do not hear so much of this talk now, not since the British and French took over the responsibilities of the free world at the Geneva Conference last November, after the Chinese had defied all our threats of massive violence and, disregarding the large chip on our shoulder, conquered Dienbienphu and all of northern Vietnam. Nor was our talk of our world leadership stimulated by the French rejection of the European Defense Community in the face of the most awesome warnings from us that we would massively withdraw from Europe unless she signed the EDC treaty promptly.

At the moment it is in Asia where we are in special trouble, with the dangerous crisis of Formosa, the second such we have had within a year. First it was in Indochina where threats by the United States clashed with Chinese aggression, and we came close to war. Now it is in the Formosa Straits.

This is not the time, unfortunately, to talk about how we got into our present position of defending Formosa and the Pescadores, alone, without allies, and not as part of an agreed United Nations position. Nor is this the time to discuss the merits, or lack of merits, of the foreign policies, and of the domestic political partisanship which brought this about. The critical nature of our position in the Formosa area, and the truculence of the Red Chinese, put upon all of us the obligation to support the President unitedly if the Red Chinese try to take Formosa and the Pescadores by war.

At some later date, when the situation, let us hope, will have become less dangerous, we must discuss this far-eastern policy of the administration, and particularly how it is that we got ourselves into the position of being alone the defenders of Formosa, and why we have failed to try to internationalize our position of trusteeship in the area. For the present we must be restrained in our debate so that the Chinese and the Russians will have no grounds at all for doubting of our unity and our determination.

But this is not to say that there shall be no debate at all upon our Formosan policy. As long as we make clear to the Chinese and the Russians that we are united to resist any attempt by them to take Formosa and the Pescadores by war we may properly question various aspects of our policies in that area. The Chinese and the Russians will understand that debate in a free democracy is a proof and a source of strength, not of weakness.

The debate of this issue has already clarified and improved our agreed national policy. We have been assured by the President that he alone and not his military or his other advisers, especially the less temperate ones, will make the decisions where and how we are to fight if we are to. And we have been assured too that the President will allow our Armed Forces to be used for defensive purposes only.

I say our Armed Forces, for no one can be sure that once the fighting starts it can be limited to air and sea forces alone, or that it can be surely confined to the area of Formosa and the adjacent mainland, or even to the Continent of China itself. Let us not delude ourselves with the notion which has been so prevalent in much of our Far Eastern policy, that if we do have to fight we can do so cheaply, as the West used to do during the weak period of China under the Manchus and the Republic of 1912. There is no sure foreseeable limit to the fighting once it may start in the Formosa Straits.

So, in our constructive debate on the Formosa policy we may ask some questions. We may question whether it is a good practice to give warnings to our enemies, in advance, of just what we will and will not do with respect to this and that area of the world, and whether these warnings should be made by the executive branch alone or in the form of a joint resolution submitted to the Congress for its action. My own view is that as a general matter this policy of specific warnings should be applied only in exceptional cases; but that in the present instance it was necessary to use it. This, for the reason that our failure to follow through in Indochina on our warnings to the Chinese Reds about massive retaliation if they advanced further into Vietnam might have given the Red Chinese the idea, unless we had fortified our warnings about Formosa by the debate in Congress on the joint resolution, that we would also fail to react if they attacked Formosa and the Pescadores.

We may also ask whether the Administration still wishes to press for a ratification of the United States-Nationalist Chinese Defense Treaty, or whether events have not so changed that this treaty would now run counter to the prospects of internationalizing Formosa and the Pescadores.

And, in this connection, we may ask for a clarification of the reasons for our position in Formosa. During the course of the tough line we have been following, alone, in the Far East recently we took on some serious moral commitments, including this commitment to Formosa and the Pescadores to defend them if they were attacked by the Red Chinese. But it is not clear whether this moral commitment is the basis for the action we have taken in the recent joint resolution or whether the basis for it is the military importance to the United States of Formosa and the Pescadores. The joint resolution itself seems to indicate that the reason is that "the secure possession by a friendly government of the western Pacific island chain, of which Formosa is a part, is essential to the vital interests of the United States." If this is true, the situation is very serious indeed. The word vital means necessary to life, the life that is, of the United States. This premise, it seems to me, needs some examination.

Particularly, too, may we ask about this question of the internationalization of the islands, of our giving up our go-it-alone policy there. Why is it that the policy of internationalization of Formosa, which had been begun at the time of the Korean war, has been neglected.

You will remember that shortly after the Korean war President Truman announced that the future of Formosa and the Pescadores would be decided in the Japanese Peace Treaty or by the United Nations. Later in the same year 1950, in a note to Russia, the United States proposed a peace treaty with Japan which would have the four major powers concerned, Russia, China, Britain, and the United States, decide the future of these islands; or if they failed to agree within 1 year, would have the matter settled by the General Assembly of the United Nations where, it will be noted, there is no veto.

The Japanese Peace Treaty was finally signed, not just by the United States alone, but by 48 other nations. Certain areas not including Formosa and the Pescadores, were trusteed with the United Nations, with the United States as the sole administering authority; but the future of Formosa and the Pescadores was left open. Japan relinquished her claims to them, but where the title went to was not clear. If it went anywhere it would seem to have gone to the 48 nations which signed the peace treaty with Japan, as trustees, and with the duty to turn over their trust responsibilities to the United Nations just as soon as that body would accept them.

Clearly this Formosa-Pescadores problem is no longer a matter for the United States alone. It is for the United States to insist not only that the United Nations resist any aggression by the Red Chinese and do its best to arrange a cease-fire, but also that it relieve the United States from the go-it-alone responsibility which the United States has assumed for the protection of these islands, and further, that the United Nations take over the juridical duty of adjudicating the future of the inshore islands and of Formosa and the Pescadores as well.

The United States, I believe, should give up entirely this go-it-alone policy in Formosa and the rest of the Far East and should substitute for it a policy founded on juridical commitments and juridical principles. If we stop showing how tough we are and start showing how lawful we are we may have success and peace in our policy in the Far East.

Admittedly, we are dealing with a truculent and difficult enemy in that part of the world, who is not concerned with law, an enemy who has little interest in juridical principles. But if we, the United States, show that our concern is to do what is right and lawful, we may be sure of two things. First, that our national security will not be thereby impaired; on the contrary, it will be strengthened. And, second, that world opinion will support us and not the Red Chinese.

If we follow the opposite course, if we purport to act as the go-it-alone arbiter of much of the world, we shall imperil our politico-military security and we shall not have the support of world opinion.

Thus, because of the dangerous importance to the American people of the Formosan question, one is justified I believe, in suggesting that our policy there follow certain lines. For example:

1. The country will support the administration in the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores if the Red Chinese make war to conquer them.

2. We should quickly liquidate the position we find ourselves in of being alone, without allies, and not as a part of the United Nations, in defending Formosa and the Pescadores. We should quickly, wholeheartedly, and forcefully submit to the United Nations that the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores be internationalized; that those who, under international principles and international commitments are responsible with us for this defense, join fully in it; and that the responsibility for deciding the juridical status of Formosa and the Pes-

cadores, and of the inshore islands as well, be internationalized. These tasks should, most preferably, be undertaken by the United Nations. The solitary, go-it-alone position of the United States should be liquidated as rapidly as it can be.

3. The Armed Forces of the United States must be used only and strictly only for defensive purposes. The Commander in Chief will decide what that requires. But it is of the highest importance that our United States forces be so deployed and employed as to avoid any legitimate charge that they have been provocative. It must be very plain, for world opinion and more importantly for United States opinion, that if shooting starts in this area it will be unmistakably the result of Red Chinese initiative.

The United States, which Franklin Delano Roosevelt did so much to build, is in a dangerous crisis. We must pray, devoutly and more solemnly than we may have for a long time, that we shall come safely through it, with honor, and with peace.

James F. Byrnes, Educator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "James F. Byrnes, Educator," which was published on January 23, 1955, in the State, of Columbia, S. C. This newspaper is one of the Nation's outstanding publications.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JAMES F. BYRNES, EDUCATOR

In his long public career Mr. Byrnes excelled in many fields of public endeavor. As a member of each branch of the Congress of the United States he displayed unusual and effective legislative abilities. He was able to reconcile conflicting views and to fashion from these reconciliations well-drafted legislation. Though without any senatorial seniority, it was Mr. Byrnes, more than any other Senator, who was the effective force in pushing through the sweeping changes made in the first two terms of Franklyn D. Roosevelt's administration. As war mobilizer and assistant President he made a magnificent contribution to our World War II efforts. As Secretary of State under President Truman he was the discoverer of the realities of Russian political ambitions and the architect of our present foreign policies.

Conceding the important services rendered in these and in other fields, it is Mr. Byrnes' contribution to public education, of which we wish to speak today. He had little formal education himself. He attended no high school, no college, no law school. He holds only honorary degrees from colleges and universities. Yet, because he made an unexcelled contribution to public education, no one more richly deserves the title of "Educator."

During his administration as governor, 1,200 small and uneconomical public school districts have been consolidated into 102 effective units. The value of school buildings has increased from about $90 million to $190 million. Within these four years school facilities have been equalized as between white and Negro. This has been accomplished by allocating some 60 per cent of the capital funds for school construction to Negro schools. An average of $147 has been allocated for each white pupil and $314 for each Negro pupil.

Equally important has been the equalization between rural and urban children. In our concern over the inequalities as between races, we lost sight of the fact that the small country school district could not adequately provide for its children. For many years the Negro child in Columbia or Charleston has received a better education than many white children in our rural areas.

A statewide school bus transportation system has been effected so that all school children have modern transportation to consolidated and efficient schools. Teacher pay has been increased. Colleges have been given funds to help keep pace with the public schools and to provide teachers for them.

Much remains to be done. Much of the credit for this educational revolution belongs to legislators, to reports of educators, to school administrators, to experts in education and in finance. We are glad to say that our newspaper was an early advocate of a bond issue for school improvements. There is credit enough for all.

But without Mr. Byrnes the revolution would not have occurred. He sensed the need for immediate action. It was his standing in the State that encouraged the legislature to enact the needed legislation. It was his influence that speeded the consolidation of school districts and the equalization of facilities.

Truly he has proved himself one of South Carolina's leading educators of all time.

Some Interesting Facts on Big Business, Big Government, and Big Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I wish to submit for the RECORD an article by Mr. Gardner Cowles which appeared in Look magazine on February 8, 1955. It pertains to a survey which I believe will be of interest to those who read the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

An overwhelming majority of American adults today accept—and endorse—the viewpoint that big business is a good thing for the country. Those who approve outnumber those who disapprove by a proportion of 10 to 1. This approval is strengthened because the majority can, and do, cite specific reasons for their attitude.

These are major findings in a nationwide survey recently conducted for Look by the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, N. J. The survey reached into 83 communities in all parts of the country and sampled the opinions of all political and economic groups. Those who answered constitute a statistically accurate profile of the United States voting population.

For a new Congress, it may be politically significant that the survey shows general satisfaction with present laws regulating big business. The findings also establish that three times as many people worry about the power of big labor unions as worry about the power of big business.

Bigness in government itself causes concern to just as many people as does bigness in business, the survey indicates.

Despite disclosing a generally favorable attitude toward big business, and an impressively large acceptance of the idea that it is good for the country, the survey provides no sweeping mandate for big business to extend its political or economic influence. As tables and figures which follow indicate, sizable groups have criticisms of some business methods—although not of the concept of bigness in business itself.

The Opinion Research Corporation report closely follows a period in which considerable attention has been paid by the press and some agencies of government to several mergers of sizable industrial enterprises. It was likewise a period in which some elements in the Congress were announcing plans for active investigations into mergers and alleged tendencies toward monopoly. Yet, only one in a hundred of all those surveyed raised any question voluntarily about mergers, and less than a fourth expressed any fear of a tendency toward monopoly.

The ORC report, however, speaks for itself, and readers may draw their own conclusions from the factual material here presented. It has been abstracted from a series of detailed statistical tables.

This was the first question asked in the survey: "In general, do you think that big business has been a good thing, or not, for the country?" It produced these responses:

	Percent
Good for the Nation	80
Not good	8
Both good and bad	7
No opinion	5

This basic idea that big business is good, rather than bad, cuts across the boundaries of the Nation's accepted political and economic groupings.

Percent saying big business good

	Percent
Upper income	84
Middle income	82
Lower income	75
Men	84
Women	76
Republicans	84
Democrats	79
Independents	79
Union members	79
Nonmembers	81

Conductors of the survey went beyond this general question to find reasons for the attitudes expressed. They asked for volunteer comments on what was good or bad about big business. They then presented a series of statements on each side of the question and recorded agreement with statements. Then they asked which 2 or 3 of the comments seemed most important in each case. Here are some of those findings:

1. Big business provides many jobs—37 percent volunteered this as the greatest contribution of big business; 63 percent ranked this among the most important factors; 90 percent agreed when the statement was read to them. It was the most important pro-business factor in all three measurements.

2. It lowers prices through mass production—25 percent volunteered; 41 percent ranked it of highest importance; 83 percent agreed.

3. It promotes research—12 percent volunteered the observation; 40 percent—the third largest group—called it a most important factor; 87 percent agreed.

4. It is the backbone of defense production—only 3 percent volunteered this point about national role of big business, 27 percent ranked this in the most important factors; but 79 percent—the fourth largest group—agreed with it.

5. It helps the Nation's growth and prosperity—13 percent volunteered; 26 percent ranked it in the most important list; 79 percent agreed with it.

6. It improves our standard of living—12 percent volunteered this comment; another 14 percent cited better wages and benefits, and 20 percent mentioned that it provided more and better products. Two out of three agreed that big business provided better wages and benefits, and 57 percent agreed on the benefits of mass production.

Against this background, the survey then sought out attitudes on the regulation of business. Two out of every three persons felt that present laws regulating business were sufficiently broad and strong, and more than half felt that these laws were being adequately enforced. Nearly two-thirds thought a good job has been done in regulating big business, and 3 out of 4 thought that regulation in the present form was necessary and proper.

In this connection, the comment of a beauty-parlor operator in Missouri was one of many which seemed to sum up the attitude found in the survey: "I see no reason why they should be broken up by the Government if they are not infringing the laws. Let the Government stay out. If the business is law-abiding, why should the Government interfere?" On the question whether big business should be broken up, 84 percent favored keeping a close watch on them, only 10 percent favored breaking them up.

Against the feeling that a good job had been done in regulating big business, only 35 percent felt a good job had been done in keeping labor unions under control, while 56 percent thought that big labor unions were getting out of hand and this attitude cut across economic and political lines:

	Unions under control	Out of hand
	Percent	*Percent*
Upper income	31	64
Middle income	34	57
Lower income	41	48
Republicans	26	68
Democrats	43	47
Independents	34	54

Principal fears about big business are: It may harm small business or it may abuse its great economic power. Volunteered comments showed that 28 percent felt that the pressure on small business was the greatest problem, 24 percent that big business tended to become monopolistic and 15 percent that it represented too much power. When similar statements were read to people, a majority agreed that these are the major problems arising from big-business operations.

But the chart above indicates a marked rise in the number of business enterprises in the country. In May 1954, The Survey of Current Business reported: "Some 55 percent of the 1945–51 over-all increase in employment was in firms with less than 20 employees. * * * This group accounts roughly for 95 percent of all firms and about one-fourth of all paid employment."

As the table at right indicates, the public still holds many erroneous notions about big business. What seems most significant is that, despite these notions, there is that broad underlying acceptance of and endorsement of bigness in business. On balance, it would indeed appear that these public attitudes should have a thought-provoking effect on any groups which seek to make bigness in business a political issue.

Statements read by interviewer	People think statement is—		
	True	False	No opinion
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
1. Practically all big companies make at least 6 percent net profit on sales	67	20	13
Fact: In 1953, 52 of the 100 largest manufacturers earned under 6 percent net profit on sales; 16 of those earned under 3 percent.			
2. Since World War II, auto prices have gone up more than auto-industry wages	45	32	23
Fact: Average hourly earnings are running 62 percent and average weekly earnings 71 percent over 1946 levels, auto prices 49 percent higher.			
3. Practically all big companies have more employees than stockholders	65	23	12
Fact: Of the 100 largest manufacturers, 55 have more stockholders than employees—General Electric, for example, has 248,000 shareholders versus 222,000 employees.			
4. Growing big companies have cut down the number of small companies in last 10 years	60	25	15
Fact: U. S. Treasury statistics show number of small firms, in last 10 years, increasing at about same rate as large companies.			
5. Big companies usually make more profit on defense orders than on regular business	66	21	13
Fact: Precise statistics are unavailable, but financial statements of large firms certify that defense work is low-profit business.			
6. In industry, big firms do a larger share of the business than they did 15 years ago	88	5	7
Fact: Big firms' share of market is increasing but very slowly. In 1935, 200 largest manufacturers did 38 percent; in 1953, got 41 percent of all sales.			
7. Most oil refining in United States is done by 3 or 4 big companies	75	14	11
Fact: Latest census gives first 4 firms 37.3 percent of oil-refining business, a ratio that has actually declined since the 1930's.			
8. The 100 largest corporations make more profit than all the others put together	48	23	29
Fact: They account for much less than half of total corporate income. In 1953, their share of total corporate income (net) was 33 percent.			
9. After paying all expenses and taxes, what percent net profit on sales would you say the typical corporation makes? 3 out of 10 persons replying could not guess. The median estimate of those who did was 14.1 percent net profit.			
Fact: In 1953, the average net profit on sales for all corporations was 3.3 percent. The 1929–53 average was 3 percent.			

The Situation in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on Sunday evening, January 30, Mr. Justice William O. Douglas, of the Supreme Court, delivered a speech at New York University on a subject he knows well, and at first-hand—the situation in Asia.

In the course of that speech Justice Douglas made what I consider some very arresting suggestions. I ask unanimous consent that this important speech by one of the outstanding public figures of our time be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Asia these days is turbulent; and the turbulence can be expected to increase in the years ahead. There was a time when a gunboat could go up the Yangtze or enter some troubled Asian port and perhaps without firing a shot, quiet the troubled waters. Those days are gone—forever. For those days, which meant quiet and peace to the western world, meant oppression and exploitation to the East.

Asia is on the march. She is partly democratic, partly Communist. Both forces are strong—one symbolized by Nehru of India, the other by Mao Tse-tung of Red China. Which of those forces will in the end be dominant in Asia, no one knows. But it is fairly clear that any victory of the democratic forces in Asia will turn primarily on the Asians themselves. If Asia is saved from communism, the Asians must save it. If the tide of communism is to be turned back in Asia or checked, the Asians themselves must manage it. No western power can determine Asia's fate.

India, protaganist of the democratic faith, is in a dramatic race with Red China, champion of communism. Each nation is bent on raising the standard of living of its people through an industialization program. Red China is doing it the Communist way; India, the democratic way. What the western nations do at this critical point in history is, of course, extremely important. If, for example, India requests increased financial aid for her program, the West would aid mightily in the fight against communism by pouring the aid to India.

But the west is in no position to dictate. The nations of Asia, though young, are intensely proud. They are bent on retaining their independence. They are extremely sensitive to any intimation or suggestion that they should do the bidding of any foreign power. They seek recognition among nations as equals. They are determined to be beholden to none.

One reason why the Asian nations are acutely sensitive is the inferior status they were accorded by the foreigner through the centuries. The Asians are the colored people of the world, long looked down upon by the whites, long under the domination of colonial powers.

That history has made them sensitive to criticism from the West; stubborn when ordered around; militant when their independence is even remotely threatened.

These emotions run deep in Asia. That is why great disaster rides on the tides now sweeping Red China and Formosa.

Chiang Kai-shek's army is a good one. I was with it on maneuvers in 1952. But it is old; it is small; it is limited. It would not be able to land on Red China's coast unless the United States Navy put it there; and it would not be able to stay on the Chinese mainland, unless the United States Army and Air Force kept it there. In other words, if Red China is to be invaded, the United States must do it.

Invasion of Red China would be the most disastrous adventure possible for America. The sacrifice of our men and the waste of our fortunes would be part of the disaster. China is so vast and so deep and so heavily populated that armies can be easily swallowed up. Every invader learned the impossibility of conquest.

But there would be more than military tragedy in a war with Red China. The presence of a foreign army on China's shores would have two instant results. First, China would become united behind Mao Tse-tung just as we would become instantly united, if an Asian army ever landed on the west coast. Second, we would squander at once most of our prestige in Asia. We would demonstrate by deeds that we

were bent on a program of military, not political action in Asia.

While an invasion of Red China would be sheer tragedy, a surrender of Formosa to the Communists would be equally tragic. I have said before and I say again that the leadership in Formosa represents the past that failed, not the future with its hopes. The leadership in Formosa has no major following in Asia. Asia marches under reform banners, not under the flag of the old Kuomintang. But Formosa nevertheless represents important values. It has important military values to us, in the sense that our position would be weakened if it were in hostile hands. But I do not speak of that. I speak of the great humanitarian values at stake in Formosa.

That island has about 7 million people. They are mostly refugees—some Christian, some not, but most of them good citizens of the world community. Though Formosa is more or less a police state, social and economic programs of reconstruction have gone ahead at a good pace. Those programs would in time have saved the mainland from the scourge of communism. And on Formosa they offer a fair measure of social justice to the common man so far as his livelihood and his health are concerned.

It would lie very heavy on our conscience if we surrendered those seven million people to the communist executioners either by agreement or by the act of forsaking them. The President's decision to stand by them is, therefore, the only course which we in good conscience could tolerate.

That course, however, is only the beginning of the problem. Unless we look beyond it to the possibility of an ultimate peaceful solution, we may have no alternative but all-out war with Red China. And as I have said, that would be the most disastrous event that could befall us.

Political solutions of the China question are, I think, not only possible but within reach if we start from the premise that there are today two Chinas—the China of Formosa and the China of the mainland. The problem is to draw a line between them and get a guaranty of nonaggression from each with some sort of United Nations trusteeship over the intervening islands involved in the controversy, until the dispute can be amicably resolved. That at least is the starting point. From there on the problem involves settlement of the differences between Red China and the West and the admission of Red China into the United Nations, not to take the place of the other China but to take another seat. That is to say, the ultimate political settlement of the China problem involves recognition of two Chinas and the grant of seats in the United Nations to both of them. That is, I think, substantially the British viewpoint. The fact that it's British does not, of course, mean that it is necessarily sound. But at this point of time in history the British attitudes and policies toward Asia have a realism we sometimes lack. For the British Commonwealth not only has roots in Asia as well as in Europe and North America. It is multiracial as well. Today Churchill therefore speaks with more authority the world around than we can often command.

The Charter of the United Nations presently includes the Republic of China in the Security Council and that seat is held by Chiang's China. Some change in that arrangement would be necessary. India, Pakistan, or some other democratic Asian nation could be substituted for China or added as a counterpoise to China on the Security Council. Or the present China seat on the Security Council might rotate among the larger Asian nations.

The continued nonrecognition of Red China will mean constant turmoil and trouble in Asia. There may be continuation of the turmoil and trouble, even after Red China gains admission to the United Nations. But the situation will be more manageable with Red China in, than when she is an outlaw. As an outlaw on the outside she will gain stature as a martyr in millions of Asian eyes. Inside she will be forced to a more responsible role. With Red China inside the United Nations we all will have a better chance to observe how tightly tied to Soviet Russia she really is.

The bald truth is that Mao is in control of the mainland with no prospect for an overthrow of his regime. It is the historic policy of the United States to recognize regimes who are firmly in control of a nation whether we like them or not. Recognition does not mean, and never has meant, approval. Recognition merely means (1) an acknowledgment that a regime is in control of a nation; and (2) that we should undertake to treat diplomatically with that power.

The subject of Red China has long been a bugaboo in American public discussion. Discussion of the subject has been banned from some schools. Those who expressed themselves in favor of recognizing Red China were disqualified for certain posts. One's attitude on the subject almost seemed to be a litmus paper test of his loyalty. It is time to put an end to the rule of the black silence of fear. It is time we got rid of the bugaboo. It is time we faced the issue of Red China squarely. This is the hour to bring into plain focus all the fears and suspicions and problems concerning Red China and to resolve them by debate.

If we do not face them now, we may be swept into the cataclysm. The risk of the cataclysm is needless. For our political ingenuity working through the offices of the United Nations are equal even to the staggering problems of Asia.

Water Conservation Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, a very excellent essay contest is being conducted in Kentucky by the Louisville Courier-Journal, the Louisville Times, and radio station WHAS, in conjunction with the soil conservation districts in the Commonwealth. This is the annual soil conservation essay contest participated in by the high-school students.

The fact that these essays are the work of our younger citizens is a good sign for the future. These young men and women show remarkable understanding of the vital part conservation plays in protecting the natural resources of our Nation.

The Rowan County News, of Morehead, Ky., in its issue of February 3, discusses this contest and reprints the winning entry in the Rowan County Soil Conservation District. The winner in this district was James Caudill, 16, of Elliottville, Ky. I believe James has written a very excellent essay, and to me it is a fine example of the many entries by students throughout Kentucky. I recommend a reading of it by my colleagues.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article from the Morehead newspaper regarding the prize-winning essay inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARMER WISE TO FOLLOW GOOD WATER CONSERVATION PLAN, DECLARES ESSAY CONTEST WINNER

(By John D. Alexander)

James Caudill, 16, son of Mr. and Mrs. John Henry Caudill, Elliottville, a student at Morehead High School, has been selected by the local soil-conservation district as the Rowan County winner in the annual soil-conservation essay contest sponsored by the Courier-Journal, Louisville Times, radio station WHAS, and the Rowan County soil-conservation district. James will receive a $25 savings bond for submitting the best essay in the contest.

The Rowan County soil-conservation district also sponsored a second place award of $10 and a third place award of $5. The second place award was won by Carl Caudill, 15, son of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Caudill, Sharkey, and the third place award was won by Freeman Hamilton, 16, son of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Lewis, Smile.

The subject of the essay was, How Water Conservation Benefits My Community. A total of 66 essays were entered in the contest. The three winners were students of Morehead High School and are members of the local Future Farmers of America chapter under the direction of Herbert Webb, vocational agriculture teacher.

The first and second place essays were submitted to the Courier-Journal, Louisville Times, and radio station WHAS for competition in the State contest.

The following essay, written by James Caudill, won first place in the Rowan County Soil Conservation District contest:

"HOW WATER CONSERVATION BENEFITS MY COMMUNITY

"Everyone should have a vital interest in water conservation. Water is so important that without it we would be unable to live. Without water our fertilizers would be worthless. We all are affected by the conditions of the water in the community. This should be for everyone. They should be willing to make whatever contribution they can to water conservation. Cheap food today at the cost of water will mean not only high-cost goods tomorrow, but malnutrition and inefficiency.

"The farmer who follows good water-conservation practices has a better standard of living. He participates in many community activities, has a better income, pays his taxes, and is able to make a greater contribution to his community. The farmer who fails to follow good water-conservation practices differs somewhat in his judgment of values. He gets in few community activities, pays a minimum of taxes, and seems to get little joy out of life.

"The people of our community are bound together by common interests and ties. The community uses water for fire protection, sanitation, irrigation purposes, recreation, drinking purposes, animal growth, and other uses. In order to have good tobacco, corn, hay, pastures, or anything else, it is necessary to have a good water-conservation program.

"To do a complete job of soil and water conservation, a farmer must control erosion. He must drain excess water from wet land that is to be used for crops. He must farm his land in such a way that the soil will not run together. He must keep a good supply of plant food and organic matter in the soil. He must handle irrigation water, where irrigation is used, in such a way that he will not waste water or damage soil.

"Pastures cannot be used to good advantage without a dependable supply of water for livestock. On some farms this can be provided by developing springs, and making use of streams flowing through the farms. Ponds are also very useful for recreational purposes.

"Irrigation is being used more and more as a tool in conservation farming. Irrigation guarantees early germination and continued rapid growth of fall seedings of winter cover crops on rotation cropland. It makes possible good production of forage crops in periods of dry weather. Irrigation is most profitable on fertile soils.

"The area of our county is small. Morehead is the county seat and community center. People buy necessities, pay taxes, work, and live here. Morehead serves all of Rowan County, and sometimes neighboring counties. There is some industry here, but the people of the community depend largely upon farming for a living. This makes water conservation very important to them.

"Our water comes from rain and snow. A part of this water soaks into the soil. This supplies springs and wells. The movement of water from the clouds to the land, from the land to the oceans, and from the oceans back to the clouds is known as the hydrologic cycle.

"The community has a medium water supply. The average rainfall for Rowan County is 46 inches per year. We have some underground water, which supplies wells. The community gets water from ponds, lakes, and water that is impounded. We also get some water from streams.

"The importance of watersheds and reservoirs has been brought to our attention with the coming of the Soil Conservation Service and other agricultural agencies. The watersheds of our community are relatively small. The main stream is the Licking River. Some of its tributaries are Christy Creek, North Fork of Licking, Triplett Creek, and North Fork of Triplett. A watershed is all the area from which water flows to a central point. It may be a few hundred acres draining into a small creek, or it may be a million acres. All the water from the Licking River and Ohio River drains into the Mississippi River, and it, in turn, drains into the Atlantic Ocean. Everyone in the community benefits from a watershed-protection program. The farmers profit from higher incomes per acre and improved yields. City people benefit from the higher purchasing power. A watershed-protection program also keeps silt out of lakes and reservoirs and helps maintain water supplies for industry and the homes.

"Frequent floods are caused by lack of a watershed-protection program. A watershed-protection program includes using each piece of land for what it is best suited. These practices include: Soil treatment, contour cultivation, sod waterways, cover crops, terraces, diversion channels, ponds, woodland conservation, and many other related practices.

"We should pay more attention to terracing and contouring. They reduce erosion. A contour is a line around a slope at the same elevation at all points. Terraces are constructed across a slope so that water will soak into the soil, as it flows slowly off the land. Water properly managed does not wash away our topsoil. We should sow our fields in cover crops to reduce erosion, take up available nitrogen, and add more organic matter to the soil.

"Our community is affected by mismanagement of water. One mismanagement of water is the pollution of streams. This makes water unsafe for use. Some people clear the hills and cultivate them, thus causing siltation of the streams. We should not burn the forest or let livestock graze the woodlands. Protecting the forests will not only improve the woodland stand, but will also leave more leaves on the ground to hold water.

"Last summer people had a shortage of water. Many ponds were constructed because of a shortage of water. This shortage of water causes farmers to receive lower yields of crops and less production of livestock. This brings about a lower standard of living.

"Our lives, the growth and health of our communities, the growth of industry, our prosperity, all depend upon a regular supply of good, clean, and usable water. To live a healthy, happy life, to go boating, swimming, and fishing, we need good water."

Irrigation Brightens Dixie's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Irrigation Brightens Dixie's Future," which appeared in Nation's Business magazine for February 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IRRIGATION BRIGHTENS DIXIE'S FUTURE

(By Stanley Frank)

Irrigation that transformed western deserts into productive land is moving back to the South and Southeast to help fight prolonged dry spells in a normally heavy rainfall area.

Less than 3 percent of the tilled land in the United States today is irrigated. Yet it yields a fourth of the Nation's agricultural products. Southern farmers never thought they needed irrigation. They're now finding out that having water when it's needed can mean increased production and elimination of damage to crops by drought.

The drought that ravaged the South last year, the worst ever recorded, was a disaster forecast by Jim Eleazer with the fervor and conviction of a Biblical prophet.

Mr. Eleazer, a homespun South Carolinian, has been the most ardent missionary for irrigated farming in his section for a decade. Like other crusaders with long-range objectives, his warnings have been shrugged off as false alarms. Few men can restrain the impulse to crow "I told you so" when their vision is vindicated, but the fulfillment of his prediction gave Mr. Eleazer no satisfaction. It was a victory achieved at frightful cost. In his home State alone, $120 million worth of crops withered on the vine in 1954.

"The tragic part of the whole thing is that irrigation could have brought profits 3 times greater than the losses," says Mr. Eleazer, agricultural information specialist at Clemson College.

"That figure is not guesswork," he says. Controlled experiments in Southeastern States have proved conclusively that irrigation triples, at the very least, the productivity of the soil.

All the money that went down the drain last year could have irrigated the 11 million acres under cultivation in South Carolina if farmers had prepared for it a few years ago when times were good.

Cost of installing and operating irrigation systems in that region is negligible compared to costs in the West.

"We don't have to bring water a thousand miles from distant snowfields," Mr. Eleazer says. "The Good Lord sends us ample rain. The trouble is it doesn't always come when we need it. Our problem is to conserve rain and draw upon it when dry spells threaten crops during critical growing periods."

Mr. Eleazer believes that something as simple as digging a pond, or a big, open pit on every farm will do the trick. The water lost by seepage and evaporation will be balanced by the average rainfall, he says.

"If that supply is not sufficient," he continues, "another cheap source of water can be tapped from wells. Although the water table is at an all-time low due to last year's drought, surveys show there is much better than an even chance of hitting an underground spring practically anywhere in the southeast. It's a sad commentary that our farmers had to pay through the nose before they were convinced that irrigation is crop insurance, but it's a lesson they won't forget in a hurry."

Irrigation, the new byword, is a strange word in the South. Every schoolboy knows the vital role irrigation has played in the development of the West and in the expansion of the national economy, but the South ignored the tremendous implications of the new water frontier opened beyond the Mississippi.

The fertility of vast western tracts which were barren 2 generations ago has been achieved at no expense to the Government. A common misconception is that western farmers owe their prosperity to lavish handouts from Federal agencies in the form of dams and watersheds built with public funds. Such is not the case.

Fully two-thirds of the 22 million acres now under irrigation are serviced by privately and cooperatively owned enterprises. The remaining 7 million acres are supplied with water from 69 major projects built by the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Reclamation and operated on a self-liquidating basis. Assessments vary with distance and terrain, but farmers pay an average of $3.50 for every acre-foot of water used and they are charged about $3 per acre a year to amortize construction costs.

Further, the tax revenue from land irrigated by Federal facilities has amounted to more than $3 billion since 1916—a sum that exceeds by 25 percent the total cost of building and equipping the projects. The evidence is clear that irrigation is good business for all concerned.

In the past 50 years there have been two great revolutions in America's largest industry—mechanization and irrigation. The traditionally conservative South adopted mechanization, the more expensive proposition, but irrigation was considered unnecessary in an area singularly favored by indulgent nature.

Meteorologists call the region between the Mississippi and the Atlantic the rainfall belt. Compared to the rest of the country, it is. The average annual precipitation in the United States is 30 inches. Southern States average 50 inches of rain a year, apparently adequate for the inch of water a week which crops need for good harvests. The Appalachian Mountain Range, running like a spinal column from Alabama to the Canadian border, feeds an extensive network of rivers and streams. The South is in fine shape for water—but it's all a snare and a delusion.

"Official records of the past half century show that South Carolina averages six

droughts a year, each lasting at least 2 weeks," Mr. Eleazer points out. "The figures for neighboring States are about the same as ours. It's a mortal cinch that one important crop a year will be ruined by a dry spell. But from time immemorial farmers have accepted crop failures as unavoidable hazards.

"That's utter nonsense. It's high time they took measures to protect their investments in crops. I shudder to think of the consequences if they don't. Long-range weather forecasters say we are heading for a period of prolonged drought. We had one of those cycles in the early 1900's and I still have a vivid recollection of the suffering it caused. I don't want to see a catastrophe like that again."

Southern farmers are not the only people who have been guilty of apathy and lack of foresight in failing to embrace the advantages of irrigation. Experts were guilty of the identical charge. They pulled a monumental boner when the Tennessee Valley Authority was created in 1933. Congress approved the construction of 27 dams for power, flood control and navigation in an area of 41,000 square miles—but not a single mention was made of irrigation.

"It's incomprehensible that irrigation was not included in the TVA Act," comments D. S. Mitchell, chief of the Bureau of Reclamation's land and water division. "The added cost would have been a drop in the bucket, but everyone subscribed to the belief that supplementary irrigation was not needed in the South." Mr. Mitchell adds that another stumbling block was an old law restricting the Bureau to operating irrigation projects in 17 States west of the 100th meridian.

"That law is still in effect," he says, "but there is no question that it must be amended. Every section of the country can use irrigation sometime during the year. Farmers in the rainfall belt think they can do without it, but once every 4 or 5 years they're hit by drought—and they clamor for help. Right now, truck gardeners are putting on a big drive for irrigation on the Maryland peninsula, where it seems to rain all the time."

• • • • •

The South's currently intense interest in irrigation stems directly from the efforts of two men. One, of course, is Mr. Eleazer. The other is W. B. Camp who, by Mr. Eleazer's own testimony, "is my mentor, sponsor, and chief inspiration."

A South Carolinian, Mr. Camp went to work for the United States Department of Agriculture after graduating from Clemson College in 1916. He was sent to Bakersfield, Calif., to make trial plantings of long-fiber cotton and promptly ran into violent opposition. Californians called cotton a "poverty crop" and wanted no part of it.

Today, the revenue from cotton exceeds California's combined income from fruit, the State's better-known product. The Kern County Land Company gave him a small plot of undeveloped land for the Shafter Experimental Station, however, and he began to raise cotton by irrigation.

In 1928, Mr. Camp left Government service to go into irrigation farming on his own. He now is one of the biggest farmers in the country with his bumper crops of cotton, potatoes, alfalfa, and sugar beets. A measure of his success is that it costs him about $6 million just to plant his potatoes.

In 1946, he returned to Clemson College in South Carolina for his 30th class reunion, an event that was to have a significant impact on southern agriculture. Disturbed by conditions in his home State, Mr. Camp decided to do what he could to raise the level of farm income among his old friends and neighbors, and he knew no better agency than irrigation, which had conferred such bountiful benefits upon him. He chose Mr. Eleazer, his classmate, to be his disciple and to spread the gospel of irrigation.

Jim Eleazer, the son of a poor country doctor, wanted a farm "so bad I could taste it" after graduation, but he had to settle for a job as county agent, keeping farmers informed of new developments. By 1941 he was known so well in the field that approximately 100 newspapers printed his weekly columns and a network of rural stations carried his weekly radio programs. During the war, Mr. Eleazer also ran the Clemson College agricultural information service in his spare time. He admits he had nothing more than an academic interest in irrigation until he was exposed to Mr. Camp's contagious enthusiasm, and then he went whole hog for it.

The crusade was launched with a $15,000 donation from Mr. Camp for portable irrigation equipment to give demonstrations in South Carolina and adjoining States. Mr. Eleazer applied his knowledge to experiments on private farms and State agricultural stations. You don't have to hold a degree in agronomy or even know which end of a cow eats to understand the spectacular results achieved. The figures tell an eloquent story.

Two adjacent acres were planted with cotton at Clemson last spring. One, not irrigated, produced four-tenths of a bale worth $80. The other was irrigated and produced 1.6 bales worth $320. It cost $100 to prepare the acre for irrigation, leaving a difference of $140 in additional income. The differential will be closer to $230 an acre, however, because irrigation costs are only $10 a year after equipment is installed. In another experiment, at the Watkinsville Experimental Station in Georgia, an average of 742 pounds of seed cotton was gathered from an acre of irrigated land in 1952 against 253 pounds from fields watered only by rain.

W. N. Henderson, of Ninety Six, S. C., watered 1 cornfield 4 times in 1953, and got 110.6 bushels an acre. Another field, irrigated twice, produced 73 bushels an acre. A third field that was not irrigated at all gave 8.3 bushels of nubbins. Veteran farmers were flabbergasted when the national corn-growing champion of 1952 turned out to be 13-year-old Lamar Ratliff, of Baldwin, Miss. In a year of severe drought, Lamar grew 214 bushels of corn on 1 acre. He used irrigation.

• • • • •

Other experiments have proved equally astounding. W. D. Workman, of Timmonsville, S. C., increased his tobacco yield by 498.7 pounds an acre with irrigation. In Kentucky, the tobacco yield was increased by an average of 561 pounds per acre on 42 farms in 19 counties.

• • • • •

Unmistakable evidence of an awareness of Mr. Eleazer's drive for irrigation can be seen and heard at every turn in South Carolina. At the Clemson House, where I checked in recently, I asked the bellman, who was obviously a student at the college across the road how things were going.

"Everything would be fine if it would only rain," the boy answered. "We won't have to worry about that in a few years, though. We won't have to depend on the weather when we have irrigation."

The following day the paper featured the prize-winning exhibit at the Anderson Fair, a model of a farm bearing the inscription: "Irrigation—The Missing Link." The Commercial Bank & Trust Co. of South Carolina ran a page advertisement in the Columbia State urging the legislature to enact laws making water available for irrigation. "This bank and the other banks in the State of South Carolina have plenty of money to loan good, substantial farmers to buy irrigation equipment, if water can be provided," the ad read.

"Such measures must be taken to protect the farmer and the economy of the country," Mr. Eleazer maintains. "Irrigation insures the good harvests a farmer requires today to meet high costs of production. In the old days, all a farmer needed was a good, strong arm and a compost heap for fertilizer. If a drought wiped out his crops, he tightened his belt, his family wore patched clothes, he put off painting his house and maybe his children didn't go to school. He managed to tide himself over until the next year by selling timber or a few head of livestock.

"But those days are gone forever. The farmer now has a heavy capital investment in machinery and improvements on his land. He no longer can afford losses. Farming is big business today. To realize his potential, a farmer must be assured of water when he needs it and irrigation is the only solution to his age-old uncertainty. Without it he faces the specter of ruin constantly."

Mr. Eleazer's argument is irrefutable. The farmer is a businessman, with an average investment of more than $14,000 in land and property. That is somewhat more than the corresponding figure for many small retail stores.

Research Foundation at Lowell Technological Institute, Lowell, Mass., Is Known as the Textile Bureau of Standards

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following material by Mr. James Nevin Miller concerning the work being done at the Lowell Technological Institute at Lowell, Mass., in testing textiles for the Department of the Air Force:

PULLING STRINGS FOR THE AIR FORCE—RESEARCH FOUNDATION AT LOWELL TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE TESTS PARACHUTE FABRICS BY ELECTRONICS TO LEARN BREAKING POINT

(By James Nevin Miller)

All over America Lowell Technological Institute is known as the Textile Bureau of Standards. The nickname is well earned. The institute occupies the No. 1 position in education in the fields of textile chemistry, manufacturing and engineering.

Tech also maintains one of the Nation's leading research foundations. Under the guidance of John H. Skinkle, a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the foundation is investigating industrial and military problems relating to physics, biology, engineering and industrial economics in the fields of textiles, paper, leather, plastics, electronics and related areas of interest.

Take note of some recent achievements of the foundation while conducting safety research for the United States Air Force. Outstanding is the development of a device that can measure shock forces built up when a truckload of supplies worth up to $25,000 and weighing 100,000 pounds is dropped from an airplane. Then there's a new test procedure that tells in a matter of minutes exactly how and why a piece of nylon fabric breaks and causes a parachute to open improperly.

For months the Air Force has been using various cushioning materials that are placed around aircraft "drop kits." The latter are boxes containing supplies and equipment, which are dropped from airplanes into remote areas. Sometimes complete truckloads weighing up to 60 tons are dropped and

often the cost to Uncle Sam for a single load may exceed $25,000.

Obviously, the cushioning material must be foolproof. For evaluating its worth, the Lowell researchers devised the shock-measuring machine. The only one of its kind, it analyzes samples up to 2 feet in diameter and 1 foot high at temperature extremes down to −60° F. and up to 160°. Impact loads in excess of 100,000 pounds have been recorded at simulated speeds up to 35 miles per hour. On the basis of the data now being obtained, the Lowell scientists hope they can help select the safest and best cushioning materials.

Used in connection with the shock machine is the standard testing device called an analog computer. This calculates and records the results of tests made in the shock machine. The device will do in 1 minute the complicated work that normally requires 3 scientists a full day to complete.

The new test procedure developed for measuring wear and tear on nylon parachute fabrics uses an electronic-mechanical machine that simulates the effects of wind speeds and other factors that create friction on the parachutes and reduce their wear. James Sweeney is the top technician on this program. Under the method, he explains, a small piece of fabric from the main "umbrella" of a parachute is wrapped around a wheel. A piece of parachute shroud is wrapped over that, with a dead weight hanging from it. The wheel, with the two pieces of attached fabric, is then made to rotate at a speed of 50 miles per hour for 30 seconds. From the damage recorded on the fabric the researcher not only evaluates exactly how and why the fabric wears and tears but also the value of lubricants used in the fabric to give it special qualities.

The importance of such research scarcely can be exaggerated. For years the Air Force has been studying the improper functioning of parachutes caused by tears on the canopy and shroud lines. The big safety problem is to find methods of preventing such tears. Another aim is to develop new and more efficient lubricants. As soon as the Lowell research has been completed and analyzed, the immediate objective is to place parachute fabrics in wind tunnels and see how they stand up under the battering of strong winds that develop at simulated supersonic speeds.

Another new machine developed at Tech is one that measures the amount of static electricity in a piece of parachute fabric. The machine is so sensitive that it can record the breathing of a man 10 feet away. Static electricity may not sound important to the average person, but it always has been a headache to manufacturers of women's nylon slips. Sometimes during the manufacturing process the static gets so bad the materials cling to the machinery and damage the fabric. Fibres and yarns also tend to stick together. The problem is even more serious to the air force because if a section of parachute is even slightly worn due to static electricity, the 'chute may rip apart and fail to carry an airman to the ground.

Today the static electricity machine is being used mainly to evaluate a number of new antistatic agents used in parachute fabrics. It is airtight and can be set up for any desired temperature and humidity, as low as −30° F., and as high as 125°. Operator of the machine places a sample piece of fabric between two electrodes and in less than a minute is able to measure the electrical resistance of the sample, either in its original, manufactured state, or when impregnated with an antistatic agent.

Such are a few of the recent achievements of Lowell Tech's research foundation. It is performing valiant service for the Air Force, the Bay State, and the Nation.

Kaiser Aluminum Grows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the American Metal Market, entitled "Kaiser Aluminum Grows," which reviews the growth of the company since 1946, including the proposed plant at Ravenswood, W. Va.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KAISER ALUMINUM GROWS

The recent acquisition of an aluminum forging plant at Erie, Pa., by Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., and that firm's earlier announcement of its plans to build a sheet and foil rolling mill at Ravenswood, W. Va., attract attention to an industrial organization whose rapidity and solidity of growth are remarkable even in the aluminum industry—itself a phenomenon of growth among industries.

Growth is probably the salient characteristic of Kaiser Aluminum's corporate "personality." An instinct for dynamic and aggressive growth, tempered by an innate businesslike conservatism which causes the firm to consolidate its position in each area before moving on to new fields of endeavor, has enabled the company, in the brief span of 8 years, to establish itself as one of the major pillars of the Nation's aluminum industry. In the past 3 years the corporation has more than doubled its production. It now produces close to 30 percent of the Nation's total aluminum output and is constantly extending its fabricating activities into new fields. Or the record, there would seem to be a sound basis of fact for Kaiser's claim to be the fastest growing of the major aluminum producers.

An interesting feature of this company's growth pattern is that it reverses the historical direction of industrial expansion in the United States—Kaiser Aluminum has expanded from the West to the East.

From the firm's point of origin on the west coast, where it has corporate headquarters at Oakland, Calif., the center of gravity in Kaiser Aluminum's activities has shifted steadily eastward toward the Nation's biggest markets. The company's sales headquarters are in Chicago, a central position from which the firm can closely direct its competitive effort in the Midwest and East. With the advent of the Ravenswood and Erie projects, the bulk of Kaiser's operations now lie east of the Mississippi.

While Kaiser Aluminum's growth has been rapid, apparently each move has been carefully planned. The location of the firm's proposed Ravenswood sheet mill is a case in point. Centrally situated with respect to the great markets in the East and Midwest, the mill will be in the rapidly growing Ohio River Valley industrial area—an advantageous site for the many smaller aluminum fabricating firms that invariably spring up in the vicinity of a major producer's plant. Another advantage of this location on the Ohio River lies in the fact that Kaiser's huge Chalmette, La., reduction plant—the Nation's largest—is located on the Mississippi, providing a potentional transportation link.

The driving force behind Kaiser's growth has been a basic optimism with regard to aluminum's future. When the company, privately capitalized, entered the aluminum field in 1946 by leasing—and later buying—the Mead reduction plant, Trentwood rolling mill, and Baton Rouge alumina plant, many economists and industrial experts viewed aluminum's postwar potential with misgivings. "Aluminum will be coming out of our ears" was an expression frequently used to characterize the metal's market prospects. All these facilities had been closed at the end of World War II, and the Defense Plants Corporation almost despaired of finding a qualified firm willing to assume the responsibility of owning and operating them. Kaiser was willing to shoulder not only these responsibilities, but new ones. In 1947 the firm purchased a second aluminum reduction plant at Tacoma, Wash., and in 1949—only 3 years after entering the aluminum field—it purchased, with private capital, the 3 originally leased plants.

Expansion and integration of these plants and diversification of their products began almost immediately, followed by planning for new facilities to keep pace with the rapidly expanding market for aluminum products. By 1949, also, the firm had established a rod, bar, and wire plant at Newark, Ohio, and was rolling foil in a mill at Permanente, Calif. In 1951 it began operating an extrusion plant at Halethorpe, Md.

Upon completion of these installations, a $230 million facilities expansion program—again privately financed—was launched. It came to a climax with the completion of the Nation's largest reduction plant at Chalmette, La., and development of company-owned bauxite mines on Jamaica in the Caribbean.

Kaiser's primary aluminum capacity in 1946 was 216 million pounds. Today its annual capacity is more than 800 million pounds—nearly 30 percent of the Nation's total primary capacity. In addition, Kaiser is today capable of turning out 600 million pounds of aluminum mill products. Sales for the past fiscal year totaled $226,641,000. The company employs approximately 13,500 persons who share a payroll totaling more than $50 million. It pays $10 million yearly in Federal, State, and local taxes. It spends $88 million on purchases throughout the Nation. Altogether, Kaiser can view its past 8 years with justifiable pride.

Venezuela's Solidarity and the Campaign Against Petroleum Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Americas Daily, of Miami, Fla., on February 2, 1955:

VENEZUELA'S SOLIDARITY AND THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST PETROLEUM IMPORTS

For some years a movement has been detected in a certain sector of the United States, with tendencies toward the restriction of foreign petroleum imports, which, if it evolved into a Federal law, would be disadvantageous to the Venezuelan economy.

During the last few months the campaign has been gaining momentum, and although

It has not as yet found acceptance in the spirit of the leaders of public opinion and in Congress, the problem has been evolving in a manner that takes chances, for want of a better word, with the good commercial relations existent between the United States and Venezuela.

It is tremendously important to the Government and the people of the United States to have petroleum in Venezuela and that those wells be in full production, in the case of a military emergency and, in addition, so that Venezuela can export it and acquire dollars to permit it, as it is doing, to import great quantities of materials from the United States.

As soon as the crisis in the Far East took on proportions of grave danger, the Venezuelan Government manifested its solidarity with the Government in Washington and, above all, has emphasized their offer of natural and strategic resources.

If, unfortunately, a third world war were to break out, a terrible but not discarded possibility, the Venezuelan petroleum which a minority in the United States would now refuse, would become extraordinarily and decisively important in the defense of this country and the Western World.

It would not be fair, to say the least, to think about closing the doors to this Venezuelan product in time of peace, to later take advantage of it, as a matter of urgency, when the circumstances of war demanded it.

There is an overt contrast between the solidarity offered by Venezuela to the United States and the attitude assumed by a certain sector of the economy of this country which is exerting political influence, or trying to exert it, for the purpose of disrupting the Venezuelan economy with measures, which in reality, will benefit but little the economy of the United States.

On the other hand, removing the problem from the field of political solidarity and from its military aspect, it is well to emphasize that the economic advantages that might accrue to this country as a result of limiting petroleum imports could result in very bad commercial consequences for the United States. And that is so because drastically reducing the buying power of Venezuela, would of necessity imply reduction in the volume of imports made by that country from the United States, imports which reach many hundreds of millions of dollars per year.

Fortunately the movement to which we have referred has not been favorably received by the majority of the official circles in the Capitol nor by the President. On the contrary, the attitude of the White House has been clear in discouraging any measure tending to harm the economy of Venezuela or of any other Latin American country.

Statement by Mr. Charles P. Taft, President, Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., Before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives in Support of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955, February 7, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERE COOPER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

There has been a simple pattern in the testimony on H. R. 1 over the past 10 days. Those who have testified in support of H. R. 1 have included spokesmen for practically every large organization whose primary concern is with the national interest. The bill has also been supported by many individuals representing many industries or groups of industries. On the other hand, almost all of the testimony in opposition to the bill has come from groups which were worried about some particular product or some particular segment of their industry.

There have been allegations of specific injury calling for protection. There have also been broader-based attacks on the bill. Take the question of defense. The people in one fragment of the chemical industry, part of the watch industry, some segments of the petroleum industry, and some of the electrical industry have told you that more tariff reductions will hurt our defense production facilities. But Secretary Dulles and Secretary Wilson, who worry about our defenses on a full-time basis, have said that we need H. R. 1 to keep our defenses strong.

Consider the question of employment. The glass workers, pottery workers, fishermen, mine workers, and hat workers, have told you in effect that they are afraid some of them may lose their jobs if this bill is passed. But the national organizations of the CIO and the A. F. of L. and the Railway Clerks say that this bill will help American labor and will increase job opportunities. And the Secretary of Labor agrees with them.

Very much the same pattern has held in the testimony of business and other groups. Representatives from a score or so of different industries have testified that H. R. 1 is bad for their business. But broadly-based business groups, like the United States Chamber of Commerce, the CED, and the Committee for a National Trade Policy and the groups that represent just people, like the League of Women Voters, say that this bill is good for the national economy.

This distinction occasions no surprise to anybody. It is the same distinction that existed 10 years ago, in 1945, when the only previous debate on increased authority for the reciprocal trade-agreements program took place. Then, as now, the pottery industry, the glass industry, the organic chemical group, the glove industry, the hatters and others told you that the trade-agreements program would destroy them. Then, as now, the administration and the broad national groups representing labor, industry, and the consumer, denied it, and opposed the position of these industries. Then, as now, I stood here before this committee and urged the continuation and expansion of the reciprocal trade-agreements program. Many of you gentlemen behind the bench today were present then to hear both sides of the issue.

The plain fact is that few industries which have to face foreign competition like the idea. Except for the once rare but now more numerous business statesmen like John Coleman, Charles H. Percy, and Clarence Randall, not many are ready to agree that the foreign competition they face in this market may be good for them. Yet when they get off to one side, away from the worries and strains of their own particular businesses, and think of themselves as part of the whole American economy, most of them are driven to this only possible answer—that more foreign trade is good for this Nation, good for its foreign policy, good for its defense, good for its jobs, and good for its consumers.

This is one basic fact we should not lose sight of. Most Americans, including most businessmen, are for the continued gradual reduction of our tariffs. There have been Gallup polls, polls by the League of Women Voters, polls by Congressmen of their constituents, and other straw votes. The Gallup polls, like the others, show more Republicans for reducing the tariff than for raising it. I think it is fair to say that of those Americans who express an opinion there are twice as many for the continuation of the program as are against it. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for August 4, 1953, Senator, then Congressman, GEORGE BENDER, of Ohio, reported on a poll made of every elected Republican precinct committeeman and woman in Ohio. In response to the question "Do you approve of the reciprocal trade-agreements program?", 3,330 said "Yes" and only 1,970 said "No." The most extraordinary poll, because it came last year in New England, which used to be the stronghold of protectionism, was the poll by the New England Council. The poll showed that 63.5 percent of the 800 businessmen polled were in favor of lower tariffs.

Though the leaders on both sides of this issue have not changed much since 1945, except perhaps for a little graying at the temples, the world in which we live has changed a great deal. Time has proved that we who spoke on our side of the debate in 1945 were better prophets than those who opposed us. Although our imports of goods, as greatly feared then as now, have increased from $3.9 billion in 1944 to $10.9 billion in 1953, our gross national product has in the same period increased from $211 billion to $364.8 billion and our employment to record figures. Our exports have risen again well above the wartime lend-lease levels to $15.6 billion in 1953 and contributed substantially to our high employment and prosperity. If the reciprocal trade-agreements program has hurt us, it has been a hurt very well concealed.

THE OPPOSITION RECORD

I don't for a moment want to leave the impression that some of the industries that have spread their complaints before you over the past 10 days don't have problems. Of course they have problems. In some cases the problems may not be quite as serious as they would have you believe. For sick industries, some of them have displayed an enormous amount of vitality, tenacity, and financial resources in attempting to defeat H. R. 1.

To be sure, some of these industries, like the chemical, electrical, and cotton-textile-goods producers, may be confusing sickness with growing pains. The spectacle of these enormous, vital industries threatened by a trickle of foreign imports is a picture which defies belief.

They are still as much prophets of gloom today when they talk about tariff and the effects of its possible reduction as they were in 1945.

In 1945 Mr. Rose, of the American Tariff League, described the bill for new authority, a possible 50-percent cut from then existing tariff levels, as involving "the possible breakdown of the American market, American price structure, American wage level, and American living standards by opening the gates of this country to widespread competition with the products of other countries 'with the thing we grow or make in this country.' "

On November 5, 1953, in a statement to the Business Advisory Council, Edgar Queeny of Monsanto wrote just what he and his associates have told you here:

"Should not the United States freeze present duties until their full effect in a surplus economy can be observed? For, even at their present level, our adverse balance during the first 6 months of 1953 indicates that before too long we may again see apple selling by the unemployed during this Republican administration, too."

This is the official position of the opponents of H. R. 1 in 1955 as it was in 1953 and 1945. On January 26, Mr. Anthony, of the American Tariff League, said here that the President's program includes the ingredients of general economic distress which could help set off a downward trend in the national level of prosperity.

These people, for all their extraordinary business record since 1945 and their optimism in their annual statements to stock-

holders, are professional pessimists when they talk to Congress about tariffs.

Mr. Calvin Campbell of Dow, about the same time as Mr. Queeny's statement of 1953, said in a speech to the American Tariff League:

"We know that in isolated instances we excel in technology or other advantages to a degree sufficient to offset the wage differential."

THE CHEMICALS INDUSTRY

Now really. Would you believe that with such a poor opinion of the strength of our economy and of their own industry the chemical industry would put into new plants in 1954 $1.2 billion and project $1.5 billion for 1955? But that they did, and it is better evidence of their real judgment than what they feel and say here about the tariff and its effects. They produce annually $20 billion of goods and chemical exports for the first 9 months of 1954 were running at the annual rate of $894 million excluding special military items, against only $242 million of imports. They have grown 10 percent a year for 25 years, and developed more than 7,500 new products in that period.

Mr. Campbell and Mr. Queeny and Mr. Lehner are more concerned about synthetic organics. Very well. The total production in this category was about $4 billion, of which $300 million was exported in 1953 against only $50 million imported. Mr. Lehner admitted to you that in the coal-tar-chemical category of synthetic organics, where, incidentally, exports still exceed imports, no more than $10 million in 1953 was competitive under Tariff Commission determination. A recent check of Tariff Commission data shows that the accurate figure for competitive coal-tar-chemical imports was only $5.8 million in that year.

This is a price question, not one of taking away business. Here is what a purchasing agent of one of the smaller chemical companies told his own industry a few weeks ago:

"The howls against chemical imports are even more ridiculous than those of the sick coal industry against imported crude oil. Imported oil is a tiny fraction of the problem, but it makes the best headlines. What the coal industry really wants is a return to steam locomotives, no gas pipelines, lower wages, and subsidized exports. It has done a notoriously poor job of uniting to find new uses for coal and it seems determined not to face the future problem of atomic energy. The healthy chemical industry should devote less energy to fighting a few imports and more toward new production techniques or superior competitive products where imports are a threat. And, to give due credit, ultimately American manufacturers do meet the threat by lowering their prices, revealing their excessive profit margins, and claiming that they were about to do so anyway. (Just between us purchasing agents, most of us know why the prices come down.)

"Incidentally, some of those who rail against imports of chemicals have been remarkably avid in importing new chemical ideas from abroad, to the certain detriment of less alert competitors. Synthetic detergents came out of Germany two decades ago. Thorazine originated in France. Versatile polyurethane is a powerful newcomer from Germany which promises to make deep inroads into the foam-rubber business. My own company has felt the competition of reserpine, an importation from India. Instead of yelling to Congress about how our business has been hurt by this 'foreigner,' we are rushing development of new specialties of our own which we believe will be even more effective. Like the rest of our industry, we are constantly searching around the world for new ideas to relieve the ills of mankind. That's competition and that's progress, and the beneficiary is the American citizen's comfort and his pocketbook.

"It is to your own self-interest on three counts to keep international competition active. First, as purchasing agent for your own company, your job should be to lower your company's costs in any legitimate way you can while insisting on the triple standard of quality, service, and price. If you haven't the courage to combat the arguments of the 'one-standard-all-American-price' boys, you will do your management a favor by resigning and letting your secretary copy prices from vendors' catalogues and the Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter. Your self-interest also requires that you keep American competion alive as protection against foreign monopoly, and most experienced purchasing agents don't need to be told how to distribute your purchases to keep them all bidding."

THE ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY

I don't need to add much about the electrical industry. Its production reached $17 billion in 1953 and it exported $800 million in that year. Imports were a little over $50 million, or one-third of 1 percent.

As to electrical equipment for power plants, the domestic industry still retains considerably over 98 percent of the American market. Phil Reed told this committee last week he was particularly concerned about sales of foreign equipment to the United States Government, and pointed out the very great difficulty the American industry had in competing with foreign producers.

It seems to me there is one extremely significant aspect of this situation which has not been emphasized. That is the matter of economy to the United States Government which merely having foreign bidders in the picture appears to afford. In the case of the eight large generators for the Dalles Dam the General Electric bid was over $1½ million below that of the nearest foreign bidder—English Electric. In the case of generators for Chief Joseph Dam, after the first bids were thrown out, Westinghouse secured the contract with a reduction of $716,000 from its original bid price, or a reduction of about 14 percent.

One is forced to wonder whether it is not the pressure on profits which causes leaders of the heavy electrical equipment industry to testify against foreign competition rather than pressure on costs. These two cases make one believe that United States industry can in fact compete on this kind of equipment if it is forced to. In any case, as was admitted by Messrs. Reed and Price, this is not a tariff problem. Tariffs on heavy electrical equipment are only 15 percent ad valorem and H. R. 1 would, at the maximum, bring a reduction in duty of 2.25 percentage points in 3 years.

FREE ENTERPRISE AND COMPETITION

Do these men really understand what free enterprise means as an American institution? It means competition. It certainly does not mean a domestic monopoly of the American market. Of course we believe in policing our domestic competition here, but since when have we ceased to compete domestically in standards of pay? Wages are low elsewhere because they can't produce as efficiently or at as low costs. We stay ahead on know-how and ingenuity with high wages. Do you remember your Kipling? Here the skipper of the *Mary Gloster*:

"They copied all they could follow,
But they couldn't copy my mind,
And I left 'em sweating and stealing
A year and a half behind."

Americans worry about foreign cartels. Cartels are not progressive. The cartel mind tries to eliminate risk taking, which is an essential part of the free-enterprise system. Is there not perhaps a little of the cartel psychology involved in an unwillingness to meet competitive pricing?

Free enterprise depends on free choices and flexibility and mobility, not on fixing the pattern forever. Robert Calkins, president of the Brookings Institution, put it right 2 weeks ago. "No settling down to established practice is in sight. Instead wave after wave of technological innovation is in prospect." The president of the Methods Engineering Council of Pittsburgh said the same thing 3 days later and applied it to the tariff. While conceding that tariff protection is sometimes necessary on a temporary basis, he maintained that "a tariff which permits a company to do business without the necessity for improving its methods is a dangerous expedient."

Free enterprise depends on integrity, too. That is not promoted by phony statistics to prove that Great Britain, for instance, is a high tariff country. The United Kingdom imposes its tobacco and gasoline taxes at the time of import of the raw materials or finished product. This is not a protective device or trade restriction at all, but a revenue producing measure, such as the United States taxes tobacco and gasoline for revenue. If you take these taxes out, the United Kingdom tariff average, even on the American Tariff League basis, is 4.6 percent, lower than ours at 5.6 percent.

HOW HIGH IS OUR TARIFF?

Calling our tariffs "low" depends upon ignoring what is kept out by the tariff. Below there is a table showing the rates on some important chemicals with their 1952 import figures in dollars, which indicate how prohibitive rates keep out imports.

TABLE I

Tariff paragraph	Tariff schedule and commodity (commodity description abbreviated)	Value of United States imports, 1952	Rate in effect on Jan. 1, 1953, or ad valorem equivalent thereof
	SCH. 1. CHEMICALS, OILS, AND PAINTS:		
24	Chemical compounds, n. e. s.:	*Thous. dols.*	*Percent*
	20 percent or less alcohol	2	67.0
	20 to 50 percent alcohol	(1)	103.7
	Ethers and esters, 20 to 50 percent alcohol	(1)	100.0
	Medicinal preparations, etc., over 50 percent alcohol	5	83.9
	Flavoring extracts, etc., except from Cuba:		
	20 percent or less alcohol	3	50.3
	20 to 50 percent alcohol	12	50.4
	Over 50 percent alcohol	(1)	73.3
26	Diethylbarbituric acid, salts, etc	(1)	250.0
28 (a)	Benzyl acetate, etc., and other synthetic odoriferous or aromatic chemicals, n. e. s.[2]	104	55.9
	Synthetic tanning materials [2]	6	68.9
	Coal-tar medicinals: 2-benzyl-4 etc., except from Cuba	81	45.1
	Photographic chemicals (coal tar) [2]	3	50.9
	Ink powder	2	51.4
	Alizarin, natural; indigo, natural; etc., color acids, n. e. s.[2]	15	49.3
	All other finished coal-tar products, n. e. s.[2]	6	51.1
31 (a)	Cellulose acetate waste	(1)	163.6
49	Magnesium oxide	(1)	67.3
75	Spirit varnishes, less than 5 percent methyl alcohol	1	50.4
81	Sodium nitrite	1	87.6

[1] Indicates imports of less than $500.
[2] Values and equivalent ad valorem rates are in terms of American selling price or United States value.

Calling us low in relation to Canada is shown up in another chemical table where in all but one case entry to Canada is free while our tariff is the equivalent of 40 percent ad valorem.

TABLE II

Product	Manufacturing investment in Canada [1]	Duty	
		Canada	United States
Ethylene glycol (antifreeze)	[2] $25,000,000	Free	(3 cents per pound plus 15 percent ad valorem); about 40 percent ad valorem.
Polyethylene (resin)	13,000,000	do	(4 cents per pound plus 30 percent ad valorem); about 40 percent ad valorem.
Magnesium metal	10,000,000	20 percent	(20 cents per pound); about 73 percent ad valorem.
Phthalic anhydride	6,000,000	Free	(3½ cents plus 20 percent ad valorem); about 40 percent ad valorem.

[1] Exclusive of converters.
[2] Estimated.

PROBLEM AREAS

Many industries do have problems. I don't know that hand-blown glass should be put down so much as an industry. Is it not rather an art? As such it competes not on price but on prestige and taste. The tariff can't help it much; it would take an embargo. Are we going to embargo prestige and taste and art that belongs to foreigners?

Nobody could deny that the hat industry has been plagued by the insistence of American men and women on going bareheaded. Do we therefore put an excise tax on bare heads?

COAL

The coal problem, like that of the wool textile business, is the problem of a sick industry. Let us by all means do all we can to help each cure itself. But let us have all the facts, not the selected ones which coal spokesmen and their auxiliaries bring to this committee.

Let me give you a few basic ones.

1947 was the all-time peak production year for bituminous coal. Since 1947, through 1953, bituminous coal demand has decreased by 155 million tons.

What was the composition of this decline in demand? Bituminous lost: (1) 82 million tons in railroads, largely to diesel oils; (2) 38 million tons in space heating to natural gas and light fuels; (3) 35 million tons in exports; (4) 29 million tons to other industries.

Coal consumption in public utilities increased 26 million tons. There have also been minor gains in other categories. Compared to this coal loss of 155 million tons in 6 years, heavy residual fuel oil consumption increased by only 11 million tons equivalent over the same period. Six million tons of this was in public utilities where coal consumption increased by 26 million tons.

In the face of that record, how can the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad come in here and blame residual oil for anything? His answer to Mr. MILLS on this implied that he would not mind the injury to the coal business if only residual oil were domestically produced; that domestic products in the last analysis were to be preferred to foreign, irrespective of price and convenience. Are these his instructions to his own purchasing agents? Doesn't he support foreign trade at all? Has he ever added up the exports and imports which his railroad carries in and out of New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Baltimore?

Residual oil is not "dumped." Over a period of 7 or 8 years, except for 20 months total, the barge-delivered price of heavy fuel oil in New York Harbor area was higher on an equivalent basis than barge-delivered coal. The prices fluctuated independently. The coal people have never made any request to the Government under the Antidumping Act.

There is no evidence that shutting out residual oil helps coal. In the first 10 months of 1954, use of residual oil by public utilities reporting to the Federal Power Commission dropped 21.4 percent from the prior year, coal increased 1 percent (more than accounted for by new facilities), and natural gas increased 13.6 percent.

Shutting out residual oil definitely hurts American manufacturers in 30 States employing 30,000 people in manufacturing for export to Venezuela. They send $170 million of goods paid for by the 80 percent of Venezuela residual oil imports that would be excluded by the proposed 5-percent quota.

So far as national defense is concerned, existing mines by going to a full week without overtime could add 150 to 200 million tons of coal a year. With all the shifts that have taken place to oil and gas, even with our present industrial capacity, 400 million tons of bituminous in 1954 plus 70 million tons is ample for war needs. According to the latest Bureau of Mines data, current capacity in the bituminous industry actually is 670 million tons.

The real employment problem in coal mining is the turn to strip mining, which accounts for fully 25 percent of total bituminous production. This is a technological change opposed as vigorously by the United Mine Workers as is the importation of residual oil, but with less publicity. This is because strip mining employs many fewer people, and has no place for most of the skills of deep miners. In fact, of the 142,000 out of work since 1947, the loss of 85,000 can be attributed to improvements in technology and productivity. How much of this is better machinery in deep mines and how much strip mining, is a question the coal people had better answer to this committee. At least it is not imports of residual oil.

In addition I found out last week that the mines in southern Kentucky and Tennessee, on the Southern Railroad at least, had no competition from residual oil since the last reduction in freight rates down there.

TEXTILES

The other industry that is often called sick is textiles. This is another case where we need to look at the facts. There is not one textile industry but many, and only a few are sick. Woolens and worsteds and carpets have been sick. Cottons and synthetics have not. We export 6 percent of our production of cotton textiles and import the equivalent of only one-half of 1 percent. In cottons, the great middle area has no important competition. Only in very high grade specialties and in the very cheap lines has there been any particular effects from imports.

For support of this last statement I quote Matthew J. Cuffe, president of the Textile Export Association in a speech to the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute at New Orleans on April 23, 1954. In the so-called middle ground, he said, United States cotton textiles cannot be surpassed in price or quality.

"There are no mills in the world which can produce denim, percales, chambrays, vat-dyed twills and drills, corduroys, sheets, towels, and other items at prices equal to ours when quality factors are taken into consideration."

The best labor union economist in the business told me the same thing a year ago. Our cotton textile industry is the most efficient and most innovating in the world. Any temporary advantage in wages abroad will not upset the industry.

The synthetic textiles are even better off.

As to most countries trying to send staple textiles here, their textile industries have been built up as part of a colonial system and they are not efficient. The number of European textile workers has shrunk greatly and is still shrinking. A United Nations report published in Geneva on Monday a week ago confirmed this. The director of the study also confirmed my main point to this committee that the capacity of economic systems to change is one of the main determinants of their capacity to grow. Protecting the status quo by using tariffs is stagnation and death, not American growth and success.

Wool textiles are in a different status. They have been badly organized. There were many old inefficient mills which had to be reorganized. Synthetics hit them hard. From 1947 to 1953 there was a decline in sales of men's woolen suits of 7 million units. High protected wool prices, fluctuating widely, aggravated a bad situation. The rash of mergers in the last year has helped; the last and one of the most important of these was announced last Friday. The conclusion from all this is that the manufacture of woolen textiles must be done in integrated companies which can adjust flexibly to consumer tastes and demand. They are now moving fast in that direction and the prospects are good.

I would agree that reductions in these tariffs should be aproached cautiously, but the approach should favor efficient operations. This is exactly what H. R. 1 would do.

HIGH PRODUCTIVITY VERSUS LOW WAGES

Since they cannot demonstrate actual injury, the opponents of the bill shift to arguments about the threat of injury in the future. At the center of their position is the age-old slave-wage argument. You all know that one too well for me to add anything. But let me say a word, anyhow.

There are a few cases in which foreign industry, operating with cheaper labor costs, has managed to overcome all of its other obstacles and has undersold its American competitors in this country. In the few cases in which this has happened it has represented a real triumph of man over his environment. For the European competitor of the American manufacturer starts with close to three strikes against him. In many European industries cheap labor is not cheap at all, once the manufacturer calculates his costs on a unit basis; it costs very little by the hour but often costs a great deal by the piece. In every industry, the European pays 2 or 3 times more for his capital than his American competitor. In every industry, his power costs are higher; in most industries, his raw material costs are higher, too. Almost universally, he does business on a scale so small that he cannot begin to equal the economies of his American competitor. And, finally, he often operates in an environment saddled with the restrictions of cartels, where the incentive to cut costs is weak and diffused. His wage costs are multiplied by fringe benefits, too. With these handicaps, the European who can match our prices in our market is a man to be admired.

In any case, for every case in which a European industry can match our price here, there are a dozen which run the other way. Scores of American industries, big and little, have been able to outsell Europeans in their own home territory and in third-country markets. Our export figures already referred to are a conclusive demonstration of the position of American industry abroad. The fact that foreign countries have had to ration the dollars which their citizens use to buy our goods only emphasizes how much our goods are demanded and bought.

THE CONCEPT OF RECIPROCITY

Ten years ago and again in 1948, when I appeared before this same committee, there was a great deal of discussion as to whether

this reciprocal-trade program was really "reciprocal." There is even more discussion of that point today.

As far as I am concerned, I think that the record of the last 10 years bears out the most optimistic expectations as to the response of other countries to a reciprocal-trade program. Look at the facts.

Ever since 1945, there has been what amounts to a universal tariff truce throughout the world; there have been none of the outbursts of tariff wars that sporadically used to rock the world's trade between the two great wars. More than that, well over 50,000 items in the tariff laws in more than 40 countries have been reduced or prevented from increasing under this program.

It has become fashionable to say that other countries' tariffs don't really matter; that quantitative restrictions and exchange controls have taken their place. This is a substantial overstatement of the case, of course, since some of our biggest customers, such as Canada and Cuba, do not use quantitative restrictions and others, such as Switzerland, use them sparingly.

But let us have a close look at the picture on quantitative restrictions. In 1946 practically every nation on the globe except the United States was maintaining extremely tight quantitative restrictions on its imports. Most of them had no choice; they had to use their scarce dollars to buy American cotton, wheat, oil, and machinery, even if it meant denying their citizens other American products they also wanted.

Since 1946 there has been an extraordinary change in this picture; the change has come about by little unspectacular steps, by slow and cautious measures, but its total impact has been little less than revolutionary. Whereas close to 100 percent of our exports in 1946 were subject to quotas and import licensing restrictions, I would judge that half our exports—perhaps even more—are now free of such restrictions.

The trend began with Canada. In 1948 the Canadians dropped the quantitative restrictions they had been using to ration their scarce dollars and invited United States goods to come in without license.

The next major steps took place in 1951 and 1952, when Belgium first began to relax its import restrictions against dollar goods on a broad scale; today the Belgians have just about wiped out the extensive system of restrictions they had 4 years ago.

In 1952, the dismantling process moved a great deal faster. The U. K. paced the process when in the fall of 1953 it authorized unlimited imports of wool, wheat, and grains, then followed up by freeing copper, lead, zinc, and many chemicals from import restrictions. In 1954, the U. K. went so much further in the process that by the end of the year 50 percent of its trade with the United States was free of restrictions.

In Germany, Holland, Italy, Greece, and other western European countries, very much the same process has been taking place.

Now, I am not sure how one goes about measuring "reciprocity" precisely in the trade agreements program. But this much is clear: other countries have made substantial reductions in their tariffs in return for the tariff reductions we have made. More recently, they have taken major steps in scrapping the system of quota restrictions which existed at the time we entered into our agreements with them. On our side, to the contrary, the trend has been the other way; we have more quota restrictions on imports in effect today than at any time since the end of World War II. If these trends continue, the case of unreciprocated concessions may more frequently be made by other nations than by us.

DEFENSE ARGUMENT FOR PROTECTION

Although our committee fully supports the necessity for such protection of defense industries as may be really required, I have not said much so far about the relation of this problem to the trade-agreements program. A few additional words do need to be said. First, the Symington Amendment to the present act remains in force, stipulating that no duty should be reduced if the President finds that such reduction would threaten domestic production needed for projected national defense requirements. That places the responsibility for taking into account national security considerations exactly where it belongs—with the President, his National Security Council, and his Department of Defense, which are primarily and directly concerned with these matters.

But beyond that, nobody is really sure what the right defense-mobilization base may be for an era of thermonuclear warfare. It is not clear to me, and I do not apologize for my ignorance, whether we are better off relying on plants concentrated in the industrial areas of the United States, or on plants scattered throughout the free world to supply the needs of ourselves and our allies if we are to meet this strange new type of warfare. I am not even sure whether a mobilization base will be a meaningful concept any more in such a war, or whether we shall simply have to make do with the material at hand after one great initial strike.

However, if we can afford to think of a mobilization base in conventional terms, then the question is whether the trade-agreements program helps or hinders the development of such a base. On that score, this committee has heard a succession of claims from sections of one industry or another that its particular plant and its particular set of skills are crucial to the conduct of warfare and that foreign competition is squeezing out its plant and its skill.

The one major mistake this Nation could make in mobilizing itself for modern warfare—convention or otherwise—is to compartmentalize its skills. If another war should ever occur, even the most optimistic of us will have to assume that our plants and industries will be cruelly bombed. Crucial plants may be razed; transportation facilities disrupted.

The experience of Germany in World War II, as disclosed by the Strategic Bombing Survey, taught us one major lesson in the conduct of that kind of warfare. Nations can get on with next to nothing in resources, provided they have versatility and flexibility in their industry; they can substitute and made do so long as the general level of their industrial skills and engineering and executive abilities is high.

This is the antithesis of the pattern into which we would be pushed if we were to succumb to the pressure of protecting every little pocket of specialized industry, every little branch of specialized skills. The one thing we cannot afford to do is to allow the extraordinary talent in our chemical industry, our electrical industry and our machine-tool industry to grow soft under easy competition. On the contrary, every American skill should be constantly exposed to the best competition the world can bring to bear against it. Every stimulus should be encouraged to find new ways in American industry of making better products at lower costs. I am confident that American industry, by and large, will meet most of the challenges thrown in its way by foreign competition. Whether it meets the challenge or not in each individual test, America's knowledge and strength will be enhanced in the process of trying. If we insulate ourselves from the impact of foreign competition, the smugness and dry rot of protected industry will sap our strength without our even being aware of the process.

While I am on the subject of America's defense, let me say a word about Japan. I cannot for the life of me understand the callousness with which some of us approach the problems of trading with Japan. A few days ago, the American Congress gave the President the power to go to war if necessary in order to protect our outposts in Formosa. We look on the maintenance of this island—rightly, I think—as so important to our future that we are willing to risk our national life to retain it.

But there are more ways than one of losing an island. If Japan goes over to the other side—or if Japan decides that she has to play economic ball with both sides of the Iron Curtain in order to live—we will have lost an outpost more important than Formosa. Yet there are those who urge that this risk ought to be taken in order to preserve America's knit-glove industry and the handkerchief lines in our textile mills. I do not think that our knit-glove industry or our handkerchief lines will disappear in the face of Japanese competition, but, even if they did disappear, the plain fact is that it would be far better to lose them than to lose Japan.

Civil Defense Faces New Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House Concurrent Resolution 66, which provides for a joint committee to study the feasibility of industrial and urban dispersal as a means of defense against H-bomb attack, there follows an article by Ralph E. Lapp, which appeared in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists for November 1954. In language understandable to the layman, Dr. Lapp discusses radioactive fall-out, that new and little understood threat to the human race:

CIVIL DEFENSE FACES NEW PERIL
(By Ralph E. Lapp)

On March 1, 1954, chalk-white dust fell on 23 Japanese fishermen 72 miles from Bikini. It took 3 hours for the pulverized coral to start falling-out from the air and coat the *Lucky Dragon* tuna ship with a mantle of radioactive debris. However, it was not until late this summer that the Federal Civil Defense Administration felt the impact of "fall-out."

Q-cleared officials in FCDA were briefed on the nature of the fall-out. They were shown colored charts with neat elliptical contours describing the range of lethality of the residual radioactivity from superweapon explosions. Up to this point FCDA had worked and thought mostly in terms of circles—the symmetric patterns of primary damage from superbombs which the Bulletin published last month.[1] Now superimposed upon the great circles of H-bomb blast and heat, there were zeppelin-shaped ellipses which stretched far beyond the circles of primary damage.

These ellipses stunned civil defense planners. By a major shift of policy they had replaced previous "duck-and-cover" or "stay put" planning by a policy of preattack evacuation which dispersed metropolitan populations beyond the inner circles of near-total and heavy blast damage. Gov. Val Peterson, as head of FCDA, made the policy switch once he took a good hard look at the blast and heat effects of our MIKE explosion of November 1, 1952.[2] What Governor Peterson realized very clearly was that

Footnotes at end of speech.

MIKE was not the last word in superweapon development. Indeed, a weapon twice its power was tested in the March-April CASTLE series of tests in the Pacific in 1954. Moreover, this weapon was a bomb, not a "device"—meaning that the United States now possesses a droppable bomb in the range of 20 megatons.

Faced with the prospect of corresponding weapons in the Soviet arsenal, Governor Peterson recognized that too much of America's metropolitan population resided inside the 14-mile radius of the superbomb's punch. It was sheer suicide, he reasoned, to put 35 million Americans in the sitting-duck category. This is the simple background for the policy of evacuation which is now being implemented.

It was at this point in the evolution of civil defense policy that "fall-out" descended upon civil defense planners.

Now radioactivity was not a new wrinkle to the planners. The Baker shot of a 20 kilotron bomb in the Bikini lakoon in July of 1946 saturated the mushroom cloud with awesome quantities of radioactivity. Millions of tons of salt water were erupted into the air and a misty radioactive steam surged across the lagoon surface. An egg-shaped ellipse about 3 miles in length constituted the lethal area of this radioactivity. This area was not comparable to that of a metropolis, so as time went by radioactivity as a menace shrunk to less formidable proportions in civil-defense planning.

The dimensions of the superbomb "fall-out" greatly exceed those for a 1946 A-bomb explosion. Unfortunately, the exact or even rough forecasting of these dimensions is subject to a number of uncertainties. These can be appreciated by describing the fall-out from a superbomb detonation. When the bomb explodes there is a flash of penetrating radiation consisting of neutrons and gamma rays. Fortunately, the area subjected to lethal bombardment by this primary flash is small compared with that affected by the heat and blast of the explosion. Although altitude-dependent, the area is much less than that of total destruction from the blast wave.

Once the bomb explodes and the heat-blast waves have run their course, we have to consider the fate of the bomb cloud. If the bomb is burst high in the air so that there is no significant cratering effect, the bomb cloud will contain only such surface debris as is sucked up into the ascending column. In this case, the cloud radioactivity consists predominantly of split uranium or plutonium atoms (technically called fission products) which are intensely radioactive. Two factors take their tool in reducing the menace of this activity. One—the high velocity upper air winds disperse the fine (usually invisible) particles in the bomb cloud so that they are dispersed over a very large area before they finally settle out and come to earth. Two—radioactive decay sharply reduces the activity on the following time schedule:

Time (after burst):	*Radioactivity (arbitrary units)*
1 minute	1,000,000
1 hour	7,300
1 day	162
1 week	16
1 month	3

Assuming that there were no mass deposits of radioactive debris in the early history of the bomb cloud, then we would have to relegate the problem of cloud activity to the controversial area of global atmospheric contamination and human genetics.

Superbombs which burst close to the surface present quite another problem. In this case, the 3¼-mile-wide fireball of a 10-megaton bomb introduces a radically new factor into the fallout equation. Much of the substratum below the exploding bomb is dislodged and volatilized into particles impregnated with radioactivity. In addition, some of the elements in the substratum may become radioactive by the primary penetrating radiation from the bomb. Sodium in sea water, for example, is easily activated (made radioactive) and can become a hazard. The pulverized substratum is funneled upward much in the manner of a cyclone. In this way, the coral and sand of a low-lying Bikini atoll island were sucked up into the bomb cloud.

As is well known the cauliflower cloud mushrooms upward to a height of over 10 miles in about 12 minutes. The characteristic 40- to 60-knot winds of the stratosphere then distort the mushroom in a downward direction. At this point the difference between a high air burst and a low one becomes significant. The subsurface particles tend to fall out from the bomb cloud early in its history because of their massiveness. Fall-out of up to 50 percent of the radioactive debris occurs in the first 24 hours with the maximum activity being deposited in the 1- to 3-hour period.

Estimation of the area of serious-to-lethal fallout involves many unknowns. First, there is the power of the bomb. Second, the architecture of the weapon, involving principally the contribution of fission to the energy release in the bomb. Third, there is the height of the bomb burst. Fourth, one is confronted with the nature of the substratum—both as a carrier of the radioactivity and also as a producer of radioactivity. (In general, it would seem that induced activities cannot compete with the radioactivity produced in the bomb itself. However, a bomb burst close to sea water would produce vast quantities of radiosodium and radiochlorine. For example, a bomb burst in the Pacific Ocean off the coast of Los Angeles would probably cloak the city in a lethal fog even though no blast shook the city.) Finally, the meteorology at the time of the burst would determine the location and extent of the fallout.

It is like seeking the Holy Grail to quest for hard data on the fallout as applied to an American city. The unknowns enumerated above make prediction of the fallout a highly tentative business. About all one can hope to do is to define what might happen. Assuming a 15 megaton superbomb burst close to the ground the author has made the following estimates [1] for the fallout ellipses:

Time (after burst) (hours)	Area (square miles)	Average intensity (gamma radiation) (Roentgen-hours)
1	250	2,500
3	1,200	200
6	4,000	30

It must be remembered that this fallout will occur downwind. Upwind for 15 miles and sideways for 20 miles the fallout should not be lethal. Integration of the dosage rate for the 4,000-square-mile area leads to the conclusion that people will receive a serious to lethal dose in the first day. The area and hazard represents a conservative calculation. The radioactive hazard is truly immense. The explosion of 50 superbombs could blanket the entire northeast United States in a serious to lethal radioactive fog.

A schedule for the effects of external radiation upon a man in the open is as follows:

Dose [1] (Roentgen units)	Effect on man
50 to 100	Few percent casualties.
150 to 200	50 percent casualties.
200 to 300	100 percent casualties plus some mortality.
400 to 500	50 percent mortality.
700	Close to 100 percent mortality.

[1] Delivered in a period of less than 1 hour. If delivered over several days the required effect dosage is doubled.

Applying the 500 roentgen criterion to the fall-out pattern at 1 hour after the bomb burst it is clear that an individual within the 2,500 r/hour area would accumulate this dose in 12 minutes. At 3 hours a person much farther downwind might be exposed to a very serious dose. Here we must consider the relation between the intensity of the radioactivity and the time of exposure. Fortunately, the process of radioactive decay reduces the intensity quite sharply as time goes by. However, one must seek shelter as a protection against the radiation if caught in a near-lethal area. That is, unless some means is provided to direct downwind populations out of the path of the fall-out.

Just what kind of shelter protection is required? The answer depends upon how close to ground zero one locates the shelter since blast then becomes the criterion. Assuming, however, that the shelter is located beyond the range of primary blast, the radiation shielding requirements are as follows:

Reduction factor	10	50	100	1,000
Inches of concrete	6	11	13	19
or				
Inches of packed soil	11	18	21	30

The relatively small thicknesses of concrete or earth shielding needed to reduce the incident radiation to one-hundredth of its topside value may surprise the layman. Exponential absorption of gamma radiation accounts for the fact that a foot and a half of hard packed soil can reduce an intensity of 2,500 r/hour to 50 r/hour. Thirty inches of soil cuts this intensity down to 2.5 r/hour which can be regarded as acceptable for survival in a shelter.

In addition to the external radiation hazard there is the enigma of ingested or inhaled radioactive debris. Judging from the brief reports issued by the Atomic Energy Commission on the medical histories of the Marshall Islanders exposed to fall-out, the internal radiation hazard may be less serious than generally believed. However, data on the Japanese survivors (see J. Arnold's article, pp. 347–348) does not make for complacency on the significance of radioactive material taken into the body.

From the foregoing description it can be readily appreciated that fall-out presents civil defense with potentially greater perils than those of heat and blast. Blast can be readily felt as can heat and they both come in a flash. Radioactivity, on the other hand, cannot be felt and possesses all the terror of the unknown. It is something which evokes revulsion and helplessness—like a bubonic plague.

Having been already weighted down by the incubus of the immense primary effects of the superbomb, civil defense planners may well feel that they are condemned to a labor of a Sisyphus. Unless the challenge of the fall-out is met head-on, the very burden may kill civil defense in this country. Those who oppose the FCDA policy of evacuation may use fall-out as the excuse for rejecting the recommendation. They can (and with partial justification) point out that the mass

Footnotes at end of speech.

removal of metropolitan populations to the suburbs or open country may be like jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Civil defense must recokon with the hazards of fall-out, but it would be utterly disastrous if it abandoned its policy of evacuation at this time. No one is going to come up with a perfect civil defense plan. As long as we have such huge agglomerations of people on a few bits of territory there can be no perfect civil defense. There will always have to be the element of the calculated risk to civil defense just as there is for the soldier at the front line. What civil defense must do is to acknowledge certain risks in its planning.

First things must come first in any good civil defense plan. This means that one must deal with the certain primary effects of superweapons. The great circles of heat and blast effects for weapons in the 10 to 40 megaton range are simply too large to neglect. They are predictable whereas fall-out is not. Furthermore, it makes no sense whatsoever to plan for a secondary hazard if you fail to survive the primary effects of the bomb.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration has assessed the true significance of the circles of damage from H-bombs and has boldly put forth an evacuation policy to deploy urbanites to the suburbs beyond the 12 to 14 mile radius of the city. This policy has yet to be implemented but cities are going ahead with their plans. Milwaukee, Washington, Seattle, and Detroit are a few that have reached an advanced state of planning.

Consideration of the fall-out ellipses must be made and the CD plan of each city modified accordingly. One thing is perfectly clear—evacuation even on present plans does provide a large measure of protection for people since distance is still the best defense against the bomb. Those who are deployed upwind or laterally will escape the lethal fall-out. In general, viewed as a problem in geometry, it is the area of the evacuation circles which is intersected by the fall-out ellipse which requires special planning. It will be argued that since we have so many unkowns it is futile to plan. For example, the wind may be in a contrary direction. However, local data on upper air winds often show a pattern of prevailing winds which may indicate preferential evacuation in upwind directions. Moreover, when an alert comes civil defense directors can make an immediate prognostication of the probable fall-out area based on current weather data.

The alert is the great and vexing problem in evacuation. It is often pointed out that there may be no warning whatsoever. This is possible but it certainly does not apply to all cities. Moreover, it flies in the face of probability. There may, in fact, be a long period of alert—a strategical alert of days, weeks, or even months.

Dr. Vannevar Bush, in his testimony before the Richiman subcommittee, pointed out that conventional warfare might precede nuclear warfare due to the initial respect which each nation might have for the other's nuclear capability. Such a period of tension would make possible gradual decentralization of urban populations in anticipation of a nuclear attack. Time would also be given, plus the incentive of imminent attack, to prepare peripheral shelters to accommodate evacuees.

Besides the strategical alert period accompanying Dr. Bush's concept, there is a shorter term alert which would be concommitant with Soviet aggression into zones to which we guaranteed military support. Should the Soviets strike in such an area they might well limit themselves to conventional weapons, and it would then be up to the President to issue the fateful ultimatum for "retaliation in advance." Any such ultimatum would be, if sanity prevailed, accompanied by a nationwide evacuation order.

The announcement that a distant early warning line of radar posts is to be established in the far North provides hope that before long a 4-hour tactical alert will be assured for continental cities. Four hours is sufficient for most cities to deploy their populations to relatively safe sites provided evacuation plans are perfected and test drills are inaugurated.

Progress is being made in civil defense despite the vertiginous, almost exponential, rise in the hazards faced. The year 1954 may well mark the turning point in our civil defense activities. One very favorable index is that more and more top advisers in the Government are becoming serious about civil defense. More and more, it is becoming clear that the security of the home base is of paramount importance. In this security, civil defense must assume a high priority.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration must be permitted access to classified data about fall-out. Furthermore, the agency must be able to translate these data or sanitize"[4] them so that a realistic picture of the radioactive hazard can be given to the American people. Local communities should not be left to plan in the dark nor should they be put in the position of planning on the basis of newspaper reports.

In the final analysis the solution to civil-defense problems will not come from Washington. It is in the local communities that they will find solution. The Federal Government can help with solid planning data, with technical assistance, and with financial support. But the real burden of the work must be shouldered by the people who reside in the cities. However, the new peril from radioactive fall-out is more than just a threat to civil defense—it is a peril to humanity.

---

[1] See article by Dr. Harold A. Knapp, Jr., South Woodley Looks at the H-Bomb, Bulletin, 10 (Oct. 1954), 306–11.

[2] Originally estimated to be 5 megatons in power, this bomb has since been reestimated as being 10 megatons.

[3] The shape of the elliptical areas will depend upon the nature of the winds aloft. The ellipses at 1, 3, and 6 hours may show some overlap.

[4] New language used in the Pentagon to describe the process of removing sensitive data from a classified report.

Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN M. VORYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, Yalta is a word that will live in infamy in history. On this 10th anniversary of the ill-fated meeting between Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Winston S. Churchill, which started February 7 in 1945, we should remind ourselves of the tragic events that have occurred in the decade since that meeting during which the whole series of World War II agreements have been misinterpreted, ignored, or violated by the Soviets to enslave millions of free peoples.

Two years ago, in accordance with one of the first foreign-policy requests of President Eisenhower, I introduced House Joint Resolution 200, declaring that the United States reject any interpretations or applications of any international agreements or understandings made during the course of World War II, which have been perverted to bring about the subjection of free peoples; and proclaiming the hope that the peoples who have been subjected to the captivity of Soviet despotism shall again enjoy the right of self-determination within a framework which will sustain the peace; that they shall again have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live, and that sovereign rights of self-government shall be restored to them.

This resolution was unanimously reported by our committee, without amendment, but this denunciation of Soviet misinterpretation and violations of the Yalta agreement became involved in a partisan debate as to whether the Yalta agreements and other ill-considered wartime agreements could safely be repudiated in toto, and the House took no further action on the resolution.

In August 1953, however, the House had another opportunity to act in this regard. On August 1, I secured unanimous consent for consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 178, "expressing the hopes of the American people for the early reunification of Germany by free elections and for the achievement by the peoples of East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, and other Communist-dominated countries of their basic human rights and freedom."

This was a combination of a number of resolutions by various Members of Congress. My own contribution was one sentence, "that the Congress commends and encourages the valiant struggle of these captive peoples for freedom."

This combination resolution passed the House without a single objection and was substituted by Senate Concurrent Resolution 36 by Mr. WATKINS, of Utah. The Senate concurred in the House amendment and thus this resolution represents a formal concurrent expression of the House and Senate on the results of Yalta.

This action, which took place during the closing days of the 1st session of the 82d Congress, has not received the attention it deserves. Many Members of Congress have introduced resolutions on this subject. Each such resolution causes encouragement to the captive peoples when it is introduced, and a measure of discouragement that it fails of final approval. I learned, from my experience with my own resolution, and from my efforts to resolve and adjust the differences in the series of resolutions which were combined in House Concurrent Resolution 178, how difficult it is to secure language which is satisfactory to many Members who may have a single purpose in view. Under the circumstances, I am proud to have had a part in putting through House Concurrent Resolution 178. I am proud that this resolution was unanimously approved by both the House and Senate and that it contains the sentence I inserted,

"that the Congress commends and encourages the valiant struggle of these captive peoples for freedom."

On this somber 10th anniversary, the Polish nation, the prime victim of the Yalta deal, and the other nations victimized by Soviet imperialism, can take heart in knowing that this recent and unanimous condemnation and encouragement of their struggle for freedom stands unchanged as an official expression of Congress.

Tribute to the United States Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a fine and informative article from the Oregonian of February 1, 1955, about the 50th anniversary of the United States Forest Service. The article is by Merlin Blais, the business and forestry editor of that publication.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EARLY CRITICISM BY PUBLIC OF FOREST SERVICE DIES DOWN AS CITIZENS BECOME MORE AWARE OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

(By MERLIN BLAIS)

When that fire-eating conservationist team, Teddy Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, started the United States Forest Service just 50 years ago, the Pacific Northwest was cool and suspicious toward the idea of bureaucrats 3,000 miles away running huge chunks of its wooded landscape.

A new Government agency to control more than 100 million acres of the Nations lands in forest preserves was a blow to the pioneering tradition, which encouraged citizens to take up public land at little cost. Foundations for many of the regions fortunes were being laid by the more daring speculators.

Conservation was widely understood to mean locking up of resources. And when Pinchot decided to meet the bureaucracy charge by decentralizing and shipping most of his staff permanently out to six regional offices, it didn't greatly help matter at first.

EDITORIAL WRITER CRITICAL

Portland's contingent arrived December 1, 1908, led by eager young graduates of then new eastern forestry schools, which knew virtually nothing of the Far West's magnificent tree stands and towering mountains.

An Oregonian editorial at the time described the newcomers as "callow youths rushing around throughout the Northwest carrying shiny briefcases and talking glibly about 'the field,' not even knowing what the term meant." It excorriated them as "minions of the Forest Service * * * reeking of musk and insolence."

But the Nation's intentions were firm. The Northwest's citizenry was not so aware as easterners of the havoc left in the wake of the loggers who leap-frogged from Maine to Michigan and on west. And the West had its army of land locators who ranked Government foresters in the same class as moonshiners put revenue agents.

GOSPEL CONVERTS COUNTRY

The conservation gospel preached by Roosevelt and the first chief forester, Pinchot converted the country. Vast forests were in truth locked up—from private homesteading or purchase for $2.50 or so an acre. Enemies of the preserves charged the Government with impoverishing the economy by barring their use.

But through the decades the Forest Service has been steadily bolstering proof that such was not the case. And by the same effort it has grown in regional stature and esteem. In recent years the agency's key place in management of timber, water resources, grasslands, and recreational areas has been accorded confidence of the general public.

Its golden anniversary Tuesday finds the Forest Service fully utilizing long experience in its administering 23,351,000 acres of Oregon and Washington countryside, more than one-fifth of the 2 States. Benefits to the region are in uncounted millions of dollars.

GREATEST GOOD GOAL

But the unfolding cornucopia has not resulted from any change in policy, the Forest Service insists. On February 1, 1905, Secretary of Agriculture "Tama Jim" Wilson adjured the infant agency:

"All land is to be devoted to its most productive use for the permanent good of the whole people and not for the temporary benefit of individuals or companies * * * local questions will be decided upon local grounds * * * where conflicting interests must be reconciled, the question will always be decided from the standpoint of the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run."

Fruits of this policy are abundantly evident today. In 1954 the 18 national forests of the 2 States comprising region 6 poured a record-breaking flow of 2,585,000,000 board feet of logs into sawmills, plywood and pulp plants and pole yards—nearly $35 million worth.

WILD GAME INCREASES

Their meadows and grasslands feed 85,000 cattle and horses and 175,000 sheep allowed by permits. Wild game has increased so greatly under the foresters' custodianship they now include an estimated 306,000 deer, 51,000 elk and 900 antelope. Mountain goats, once nearly exterminated, now number 5,000.

Game animals are an important localized resource. Forest Service and the States allow an annual "cropping" to balance game with available forage. Hunters in Oregon, as a major result, take out more than 100,000 deer a year.

Recreation, though unmeasured in dollars has become a big resource. Northwest forests annually lure more than 3 million people. These include an estimated 888,000 anglers on their streams and lakes, 300,000 hunters in their woods and fields. Improved camp and picnic areas number about 1,000.

Winter sports are growing phenomenally. Twenty-six locations developed for skiing and related sports lured an estimated 601,000 visitors in the 1953–54 season. Those on Mount Hood are the most widely enjoyed of all United States forests.

GRAZING DEVELOPS BITTERNESS

Five decades and more ago the picture was far different. The timber was virtually inaccessible; in 1909, earliest year recorded here, the cut amounted to only 10,391,000 feet in Oregon and 22,037,000 in Washington.

Stumpage prices were only a fraction of last year's average of $19.73 per thousand of ponderosa pine and $17.29 for Douglas fir.

Forty-five years ago the average price was only $1.70, and it was still shy of $3 in 1942.

But livestock grazing was heavier than grasslands could stand. Unrestricted by regulation, it grew until in 1918 there were 200,000 cattle and horses and 1 million sheep on the national forests of the Northwest.

Some bitterness developed as the rangers endeavored to reduce grazing. Sheep have declined the most, due in part to a shortage of herders since the 1930's and fluctuations in meat and wool prices. Many abandoned sheep ranges have grown up to brush.

Cattle have been more stable. About 10 million acres are in the grazing classification.

WATER RESOURCES VITAL

Mining has never been strong in this region's forests, though accessibility has improved. Low grade of most ores and the general tough going for much of that industry are chiefly to blame. But the importance of the water resource has expanded steadily as population multiplied in the farm valleys and factory towns below.

The region's first Federal forest reserve, in fact, was the 142,080-acre Bull Run district set aside to protect Portland's domestic water supply. President Benjamin Harrison signed the withdrawal order June 17, 1892, and Congress barred livestock from the area in 1904.

First general forest reserves were set up in 1893, a dozen years before the Government's embryonic policies evolved into a positive management system with transfer of the reserves from the Interior Department to Agriculture.

Harrison established a Cascade Range reserve taking in a huge area from Mount Hood south, and a Pacific reserve with Mount Rainier in Washington the pivot. Four years later Mount Rainer was singled out for a national park, and in 1902 Crater Lake.

Just 2 years after the Forest Service began its land boundaries became established at about what they are today, so far as Oregon and Washington are concerned.

Western opponents of the agency put through a law prohibiting new additions by Presidential proclamation. A few days before signing the bill President Roosevelt issued 33 proclamations adding 15,645,000 acres to the forest reserves of the Nation. Two major programs since voted by Congress helped to build up the system to the present 152 national forests in 36 of the States, Alaska, and Puerto Rico—a grand total of 180 million acres—but little of the later growth was in the Northwest.

TIMBER BIG MONEYMAKER

Timber is the big moneymaker on the national forests, and is the reason they took in $12 million more in 1953 than the $64,540,000 spent from appropriations. This region contributed more than two-fifths of the $70,616,000 collected from timber.

Still these forests are furnishing a relatively small proportion of the total Oregon-Washington cut. In 1952 the 2 States harvested about 14 billion feet of logs, and the national forests contributed less than 14 percent.

Pressure has been steadily increasing from industry to force heavier cutting, for these reserves contain about 210 billion feet of available merchantable timber by Forest Service's present reckoning. The agency expects it will be figured higher as new surveys are completed. This includes more than 40 percent of all remaining virgin Douglas-fir stands.

LOGGING GAINS HEAVILY

Logging has vastly increased since World War II, however. In 1925 the national forests contributed only 3 percent of the Northwest's log volume, and their cutting decreased during the depression when it was agreed that Federal timber would be kept off the market as an aid to hard-hit private owners. By 1942 logging on the forests had more than doubled.

Just how much greater the cut will become will be subject to much pushing and pulling.

The Forest Service, as do many private timber owners, calculates its allowable annual cut on a basis aimed at assuring a permanent or sustained yield. Its 1954 cut was only 5 percent short of the present annual allowable harvest.

FASTER CUTTING URGED

Industry critics urge a scrapping of this limitation, arguing that most of the forest timber is overripe and actually losing good wood to disease and insects at a serious rate. The sooner the old stands are used, the sooner new growth will start in their place, adding more supplies for future logging.

Some industry leaders have advocated sale of large chunks of the Federal forests to private operators to assure the best use of their resources. Presumably, this would leave still in Government hands the less productive areas and mountain tops.

United States foresters are willing to boost allowable cuts at least on the basis of new acreage yield figures, which reflect mostly a higher degree of utilization. But the major threat to a continuing rise in the harvest is the lagging roads program.

At present the 18 forests have 14,000 miles of main-line roads in condition for timber hauling. But if full cutting is to be reached and maintained, an additional 7,500 miles of access roads must be built by 1960, the agency estimates.

Here again another conflict has persisted over how much construction should be by the Government and how much by operators in connection with timber purchases. In 1953 operators built 673 miles of permanent roads and 664 miles of temporary roads, as against only 64 miles by Uncle Sam.

Smaller operators want more Government road building, because the size of timber tracts put out for competitive bidding is too great for them if they are designed to cover access-road work. They argue, too, the Treasury will benefit from higher subsequent timber prices if roads are already in.

Reforesting has made gains. The 18 forests contain some 500,000 acres of old burns and cutover lands, but appropriations are providing for planting of only 1,500 acres a year. Current logging takes care of its own replanting where it proves needed. Loggers pay from 15 cents to more than $1 per 100 board-feet of logs into a stand improvement reserve.

Another critical need in the National Forests is recreational development. Foresters admit they are unable even to maintain facilities created by CCC crews in the depression thirties. Some camps have been closed and others are threatened by deterioration. But appropriations are lacking for the work.

Campgrounds should be increased from the present 1,000 to 2,100, and the mileage of roads serving them from 60 to about 130 miles, if the mounting tide of recreationists is to be served, the foresters estimate. Winter sports areas need more and better ski tows and shelters. The 900-mile Pacific Crest trail is one of America's best, and others are desirable. Eleven wildnerness and primitive areas have been set aside.

SMOKE JUMPER VITAL

Housekeeping is a vast chore on region 6 forests, which cover an area larger than Indiana. Fire, insects, and disease are the worst enemies, but progress has been made against some of these.

Most spectacular weapon against fire, which has been held to dwindling losses in recent years, is the smoke jumper. Weird in canvas suit and mask to ward off branches and brush, he carries a rope and knife to let himself down if he hangs up in a tree, and basic tools to clear fire breaks.

By leaping from a plane he can reach the most remote blaze within an hour or two after lookouts spot it. The Forest Service maintains one squad in the Illinois Valley in southern Oregon and another in the Chelan area of north central Washington. Each has 28 jumpers.

SIX PLANES IN REGION

Region 6 owns 6 planes, 4 capable of carrying and dropping men and supplies by chute.

Scattered along high points of the 18 forests are 376 lookouts, and in fire season the agency about doubles its regular 1,150 personnel.

Fire systems have greatly improved through the years. Short-wave radio, more roads, bulldozers, and pump and tank trucks on the fire lines have helped to beat back the menace. Important, too, is the steadily improving coordination among Federal, State, and private organizations in pooling efforts against fire.

TIMBER SALVAGE PUSHED

This cooperation has extended to the war on forest insects. To check a spruce budworm epidemic all joined in an aerial spraying campaign which has checked this tree killed on 3,250,000 acres. The job must continue on another 1 million acres.

The Forest Service has joined other owners in attempting to salvage 3,500,000,000 board feet of timber killed since 1951 by the Douglas fir bark beetle, but is lagging because of the road dearth. East of the Cascades sanitation logging has reduced losses from the western pine beetle.

Many of today's methods in the woods are results of research carried on by the Pacific Northwest forest and range experiment station. Its work began in 1912 on Wind River at Carson, Wash., but headquarters moved to Portland in 1924.

Clear cutting of Douglas fir in patches is largely the result of the station's research. Low-humidity closings for loggers in fire season followed its development of a fire index system. Selection of trees for cutting in the pine forests on a basis of susceptibility to the pine beetle as well as diameter developed from its findings. A switch to hardier range grasses has resulted from its tests.

Its 50 technicians working on 6 field units, 11 experimental forests and 1 range plot are studying growth and yield of species, nursery practices, and logging methods as they affect range and wildlife conditions, streamflow and erosion.

New research, they are hoping, will improve tree crops as much as past research has helped with hybrid corn, grain, and vegetables.

Representative Pelly Supports Aircraft Carrier Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place in the RECORD an editorial from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of February 4, 1955, which is highly complimentary of my distinguished colleague, the Honorable THOMAS PELLY, who so ably represents the First Congressional District of the State of Washington. His congressional activities in behalf of his district and the Nation have merited the respect of his constituents and the high regard of his colleagues. The editorial is timely and well learned. It follows:

LET'S GIVE A HAND

All unnoticed—and rather alone—Representative THOMAS M. PELLY, of Washington State's First District, played an important role in the recent debate on the President's "Formosa Resolution."

Representative PELLY, in the name of seaport cammunities, stood up for the importance of the modern aircraft-carrier program of the Navy.

There has been a good deal of misunderstanding about the aircraft-carrier program. But the concept is simple enough.

And it is just this: all of us have been for strong air power. There is a type of air power which springs from land, and the kind of air power which springs from the sea.

The Reds are right now at the very serious business of nibbling away our land bases in the great Pacific. They are doing a very good job of it. You can bet that they will do better yet.

So that is where aircraft carriers come in.

Don't ever let the Navy-haters, and, strangely, there are many such—transfer the old argument against "battleship admirals" to "carrier admirals." Have you any real idea how big the Pacific is, in comparison with the Atlantic?

If not, have a look at some maps, or a world globe.

It will give you a New Look about aircraft carriers. And while you are taking that look, think of this: if Red China gets Formosa she will use it as a springboard to the Philippines, just as the Japanese did.

During Congressman PELLY's stanch argument for the carrier program a gentleman of the House—from Missouri, by the way—said he had heard that in the next world war an aircraft carrier "would not be afloat for more than 10 hours after war was declared."

That is a silly statement, but typical. The answer to it is that in the kind of a war the next "all-out war" is to be, those 10 hours could be important, indeed.

But Representative PELLY had something to say, and could quote his authority. He quoted Gen. Omar Bradley: "The primary mission of the big carriers is shifting toward strategic air attack."

That's from an Army man. And it's all the Navy ever claimed about the big carriers.

But TOM PELLY had other authorities behind him. American GI's.

He said: "I'm sure that none of these did anything but thank God for the overhead protection of carrier-based naval planes in the recent unhappy Korean police action."

The GI—the foot soldier—TOM PELLY said in Congress—was the real authority on the aircraft-carrier program.

We go with that. What's more we think people in cities like Bremerton and Seattle should give TOM PELLY—and the GI's of the next "police action"—a big assist.

Let's wind up and get the whole thing straight while we are at it. The Navy understands the Pacific as some politicians do not and never have.

As coastal and seafaring peoples—most of whose sons are in the Army rather than the Navy—why don't we say so?

Why don't we help TOM PELLY out?

The Post-Intelligencer doesn't want war, any more than you do.

But it wants aircraft carriers, and enough of them.

Some of them would be built in Bremerton, yes. Probably more would be built in Boston, in Philadelphia, in Brooklyn, in Newport News.

Where they are built is of little moment now.

But they should be built. And if the gentlemen from Missouri—where Truman came from—if the man from Missouri does not understand that 10 hours has been the history of many a gallant ship after war is

declared—if he doesn't grasp that fact, where has he been?

There was talk a while back about unified military thinking. What happened to that? Sure, there must be air power. And that power includes the planes of our Air Force, the Army, the Navy, and the Marines.

A plane has to take off from something. You may be sure that if it takes off from a carrier it will be a piece of the Pacific sea frontier which the Reds won't occupy tomorrow or next week.

Marie Theresa Connery Favors Family Allowances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, Marie Theresa Connery proudly bears a surname that is well known to many older Members of the House of Representatives.

One that is indelibly associated with the constructive and humanitarian legislation that was passed by the Congress during the peaceful revolution of the 1930's.

Her father was William P. Connery, Jr., who served for many years the District which I now have the humble honor to represent. Billy Connery, tireless and true, was a valiant champion of progressive legislation. As the key member of the Committee on Education and Labor, he was the administration spokesman for the great reforms that were achieved during that era—that raised American labor to a standard of living and a dignity unparalleled in the history of this country or that of the world.

Billy Connery died before his time, worn out by his uncompromising and successful struggle to bring a great measure of security to all Americans.

His brother, Lawrence J. Connery, succeeded him as Congressman from the Seventh Massachusetts District, and carried on with the same generous heart and unyielding devotion to the common welfare that is the outstanding trait of the Connery family. He, too, died in his prime, a martyr to public service.

Mrs. William P. Connery, Jr., with the mutuality of interest that blessed the happy years of her marriage, spent her widowhood in bringing help and cheer to the unfortunate, until she was forced to retire by a disabling illness.

And now her daughter, Marie Theresa Connery, who majored in social science at college, and is now employed in that capacity with the Welfare Department of Lynn, Mass., continues the benevolent spirit and accomplishments that distinguished her father, her mother, and her uncle.

Miss Connery points to the future and to the need for family allowances as a further step in progressive social legislation. She calls our attention to the following thought-provoking article by the Reverend John S. Cronin, S. S., that was published in the December 19, 1954, issue of the Boston Pilot, which serves the very large Catholic population of the archdiocese of Boston.

The article follows:

FAMILY ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

(Rev. John F. Cronin, S. S.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Monsignor Higgins has as guest columnist this week, Father Cronin, also an assistant director of the social action department, NCWC.)

Last week's column used several family social problems as illustrations of social action. This week we might well center our attention upon economic problems of the family as further illustrations of this basic point. The main economic problems for the family center around family income and expenses. Is the income of the main wage-earner adequate? Are there ways of cutting down costs, particularly family medical costs?

The facts involved are fairly clear. First we note average worker income. With fringe benefits included, average income before taxes is less than $4,000 a year. Next we note that over half the working force of women are married, and a majority of these have minor children. Roughly speaking, about one-quarter of our families have working wives.

Inquiries as to why married women work, bring a variety of responses. But the majority cite inadequacy of total family income. That means that the husband is not bringing in enough to support the family according to accepted American living standards. In some cases, at least, children suffer various degrees of neglect because of lack of adequate parental care. The marriage itself is strained when a wife must carry the double burden of holding an outside job and managing things at home.

When a young wife continues to work, there is the temptation to postpone the children and thus frustrate natural desires for a large family. This temptation is sometimes strengthened by high costs of medical care, particularly maternity and pediatric treatment. Prohibitive costs for adequate housing may also enter into this picture.

CONSTRAINTS STILL FELT

Faced with these problems, our response has been partly in terms of individual action, partly a program of social action. The individual response has not been satisfactory. It consists of such doubtful measures as having the wife work outside the home, postponing the arrival of children, and living in overcrowded quarters. Generally speaking, these solutions bring many evils in their wake.

The main social response involves union efforts to raise wages. These efforts have been successful, since wages have risen more rapidly than prices in the last 25 years. While the lion's share of the gains have gone to union workers, other wages have tended to follow the pattern. In addition to these steps, other measures such as public housing, limited-dividend private housing, prepayment health plans, union health plans, and the like have eased family pressures considerably.

But the fact that families still feel economic constraints shows that all these measures have not been enough. More work must be done to raise incomes, cut costs, or do both at the same time. What is more, methods previously used can be pushed only a few steps further in a short period of time. Long-run wage increases (without price rises to cancel them out) depend largely upon increased efficiency of production. Such increases have averaged about 2 percent a year. Average real wage gains beyond that level will be hard to secure.

THE FAMILY APPROACH

Accordingly, we should give thought to a different method of distribution of the increased national product. Instead of passing out these gains indiscriminately to workers and shareholders in accordance with existing patterns, we should give serious thought to a new, family-centered pattern of distribution. Under the present system, a rise in wages goes equally to married and unmarried workers, to families with many children and to childless homes. As a result, those who contribute least to society are best off financially.

The framework of an alternate pattern of distribution has been worked out in a score of countries that have one or another variety of family-allowance systems. By some method a pool of income is formed. From this pool, extra sums are given to workers in accord with the size of their families. It is obvious that such an approach offers quick relief for the economic problems of the family. If national income were to gain $6 billion in a year, much of the gain today would go to 75 million workers and shareholders.

If, instead, this sum were distributed among 20 million families with children under 18, the average gain for these families would be roughly 3 times as great. This could make a considerable difference in family living standards in a short period of time. Thus far, Americans have been indifferent toward the family-allowance system. But now that large families are again fashionable, we might find it easier to get a response for such a movement.

This would make a good social-action project for Catholic family groups, women's organizations, and Catholics working with labor unions. But it will not be effective if we work exclusively within our own circles. We must find allies in other groups, equally concerned with the welfare of the family, and jointly strive to make the family a major center of American life and thought.

Federal Aid for Library Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama are vitally interested in expanded library services. Just this past week, the Cullman Tribune, a newspaper published in Cullman County, Ala., in the Seventh District, commented on Fed- of Alabama are vitally interested in exeral aid for library services. I ask unanimous consent to have it published in the Appendix of the RECORD:

FEDERAL AID FOR LIBRARY SERVICES

Federal help, without Federal control, is being proposed in the library services bill that is being sponsored jointly by Democrats and Republicans in both Houses of Congress.

The proposed Federal legislation for library services provide $7½ million each year for a 5-year period. The State would have to match the Federal money when appropriated for this specified purpose. Full jurisdiction over the Federal aid would be granted the State library agencies if this legislation is approved by Congress.

Among national organizations favorable to the proposed Federal aid for library services are: National Congress of Parents and Teach-

ers, American Home Economics Association, and the National Education Association.

The granting of this Federal aid for library services would provide more books for the traveling library now serving residents of Cullman and Winston Counties.

The Selective Service Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution on the Selective Service Act, adopted by the executive committee of the veterans' ticket committee of Essex County, N. J. With this important subject now being reexamined by the Congress, I know the Members will be interested in the viewpoint of this committee composed of veterans of military service:

RESOLUTIONS TO CHANGE THE SELECTIVE SERVICE LAWS AND REGULATIONS

Whereas there have been volumes of printed matter and millions of words spoken on the question of juvenile delinquency, but for the most part, youth, their parents, teachers, the church, and the community are often blamed in one way or another and nowhere have we read or heard the indirect manner in which our National Government is included; and

Whereas it appears that few have given thought to the relationship between the selective service and the cause for juvenile delinquency, here are some of the facts:

All boys on reaching their 18th birthday must register with their respective draft boards. At age 18 the boy, for the most part, has graduated from high school and may ponder whether he should get a job, enter college, or wait until he is called into the Armed Forces.

Often he hesitates about going to college, feeling that he would prefer to wait until after he has completed his military obligation to his country rather than having his education interrupted.

Soon thereafter registration he receives a 1A classification card from his local draft board. Those boys who cannot, for one reason or another, go to college and want to get a job find it difficult to secure one because upon being informed that the boy is in 1A the employer refuses to employ him on the basis that he is not going to train the boy into a job only to have him enter military service soon thereafter. One can readily see what develops thereafter and how delinquency soon occurs in these youngsters, since he must wait between the age of 18 to 21 or 22 before he is called by his draft board to enter military service.

What can be done, one would ask? The answer is a simple one. Amend the selective service laws to provide that at age 18 and just as soon thereafter as can be arranged by the military, the boy would be inducted and sent to a military camp within his State or nearby. There is no need to pay transportation to send him across the continent. He must go through training at camp for a period of 90 days. There would be no exception, unless the boy is not physically capable of undergoing military training for 90 days, whether or not he plans to go to college or get a job. After 90 days the boy would return home, to college if he so plans where he must enter the ROTC at his college; if there is no ROTC he must enter the National Guard in that location for the full 4 years, drilling 1 night each week and going to camp for 2 weeks in the summer with the National Guard. The boy who does not plan to go to college must enter the National Guard, drilling 1 night each week and going to camp for 2 weeks with the National Guard in the summer. After 4 years in the ROTC or National Guard, the boy would be placed in the inactive Reserve for 4 years, and unless an emergency occurs, he would be considered to have completed his military obligations.

Should any boy fail to live up to the obligation of the ROTC or National Guard he would be called by his draft board and inducted into the regular service for 2 years.

This plan would prevent the heartaches, the breaking up of homes, loss of business and other matters that exists now under the present law. For example, at present there are men who were discharged from the service and sent home. After years at home they married, entered business, had children, and so on, only to be called back into service because the Armed Forces discharged them before they had completed the full 2 years. Upon being called back, they must complete, not the remainder of the time to make up 2 years but must start from scratch and serve 2 full years. This is not exactly justice. The same is true of men whom the Army rejected at induction stations because of health reasons. These men return, start life in the normal manner again only, in many instances, after many years, to be reexamined and because the physical standards have been lowered are admitted and must serve for 2 years.

The question of filling the ranks of the Regular Services would be accomplished by making the armed services a career for men who wish to remain there by giving the pay and opportunities nearly comparable to industry, since industry has no difficulty in finding men for the most dangerous assignment anywhere at any time. There is no difficulty in finding policemen for the State or any given municipality, and since our soldiers are really policemen of the Nation there should be no difficulty in finding men if given the pay and treatment necessary.

The plan outlined as an amendment to the draft laws would save the Government billions of dollars, would place the boy in a more home-like environment at the National Guard Armory. He would be with his classmates and should war come, which God forbid, the National Guard which has always been the first group to hold the lines until recruits can be organized, would be ready. The cost for additional armories would be a small sum compared with the saving that would come as the result of the adoption of this plan which would not interrupt any man's life while at the same time every able-bodied man, without exception, would have served his time without any special exemption to any special group of men because of their studies or occupations: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That upon the adoption of these resolutions that they be signed by the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, the general chairman and the executive secretary, that they be spread upon the minutes of the Essex County Veterans' Ticket Committee, that copies be sent to the Congressmen from New Jersey, the Governor, and the press.

EDWARD BARRY,
Chairman, Committee on Resolutions.
EDWARD SIMANDL,
General Chairman.
CARLOS V. GIROD,
Executive Secretary.

Negation of the Yalta Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, February 7, 1955, marked the 10th anniversary of the Yalta Conference which culminated in the controversial and widely criticized Yalta agreement.

On a number of separate occasions since my first election to Congress, I stated on this floor that I favor the negation of that agreement. I wish to reiterate and reaffirm that position today.

I believe that I have made it very plain that I have no sympathy for the extremist critics of the Yalta agreement, whose vociferous condemnations were founded in political expediency rather than in any sincere desire to repair the damage done by the pact. Nevertheless, it has been my steadfast contention that the agreement was shortsighted and, in the provision dealing with the eastern boundary of Poland, inconsistent with the traditional policies and principles of the American people. For these reasons, I had repeatedly urged that the negation of the entire Yalta agreement, which can be accomplished on valid grounds, be given favorable consideration.

There are several basic reasons for the negation of the Yalta agreement. In the first place, it is uncertain that the late President Roosevelt intended to enter into an agreement at Yalta which would be legally binding on the United States.

Secondly, there is no body of established precedents with respect to Executive agreements to show that any one of them is to be regarded as valid beyond the term in office of the Chief Executive who entered into it. In conjunction with this point, we should note that there is nothing in the Yalta agreement as to its intended duration.

Thirdly, the Yalta agreement has been in effect nullified by the repeated violations of its terms on the part of the Soviet Union. This is perhaps the chief reason why we should negate the agreement.

The negation of the Yalta pact will not free Poland, any more than the absence of this agreement would have prevented Soviet occupation of that country. We must remember that at the time of the Yalta Conference the Soviet armies had already moved through Poland and were within 32 miles of Berlin. Even if the Yalta agreement had never materialized, it would probably have been necessary to start a new war in 1945 in order to free Poland of Soviet occupation. I need not add that the allies, led by the United States, were not in favor of such a course at the time. It was believed during that period that the restoration of independence to the Eastern European nations could be achieved gradually through peaceful

means. This belief, of course, had proved to be completely unjustified with the passage of time.

The negation of the Yalta agreement would, however, give us a starting point for demanding the restoration of Poland's proper boundaries and Poland's return to the family of free nations.

If the persons who had clamored for the repudiation of the Yalta pact are sincere, I urge them to lend their efforts to the task of bringing about the negation of the agreement.

Postal Salary Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of Andrew T. Walker, president, branch 1, New York City, United National Association of Post Office Clerks, on postal salary hearings before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, on Monday, February 7, 1955:

Chairman MURRAY and members of the committee, for the purpose of the record, my name is Andrew T. Walker and I am the president of Branch 1, of the United National Association of Post Office Clerks. The branch I head is in New York City, the largest in the Nation and composed of over 8,500 postal clerks.

I have spent almost 50 years in the postal service and I have witnessed many trying times in the economic life of postal employees when the need arose for a deserving salary increase. The need was never greater than it is at this time for a fair and equitable salary increase. The record of the 83d Congress during which time untold pages of testimony was taken down by this very same committee from postal representatives attesting to the need of an increase of salary. I respectfully refer you, gentlemen, that record for the situation has not grown brighter but definitely worsened.

Almost every concern in New York City having night work has enrolled among its employees postal clerks and many of other classifications. In many cases postal wives are compelled to go out into the labor market to find a job in order to supplement their husband's income. It is a crying shame when we find not just the junior postal clerks but senior clerks with over 20 years or more seeking such supplemental income from a part-time job after his postal tour of duty. Children of postal employees as a result are particularly the victims of the lack of parental care, and all because of an inadequate salary. New York City's garbage collectors get a higher rate of pay than the postal clerk.

I urge you gentlemen to give full consideration to a pay raise of not lower than 10 percent. If postal employees are to maintain their present feeling that "Civil Service is Public Service" then Congress should provide the means for loyal servants to have the wherewithal to bring up their families in the true American standards. A standard which calls for a fair measure of the necessities of life, an education of mind and heart that brings with it an appreciation of a religion and a faith in God. Such a training leads to good and healthy citizenry.

I also wish to convey to you, gentlemen, the mounting resentment among the employees of the New York post office against the pending reclassification of the postal service bill, H. R. 2987. From a pulse beat count of my own large group I say that this bill with its wide latitude of duty-assigning features represents the basis of true fear by all well-intended postal men and women. Postal employees want you Members of Congress to retain all such privileges such as grade fixing, duty definition and assignment, present job protection, protecting civil service by not permitting an executive department head from bringing in individuals from private life into any levels beneath those of a policy fixing nature. Down through the years postal men and women have been assured of job and grade protection because no such authority has ever assigned to the executive branch of the Government and that is as it should be and I hope you Members of Congress see fit to keep it so. It is a common belief among postal and Federal employees that when President Dwight D. Eisenhower vetoed the small Federal pay hike in 1954 he was misinformed. He said at that time, that he did so, because the pay measure was not accompanied by a postal rate increase bill. This reason is not now binding upon the Congress because the administration has already conceded to the fairness of enacting a pay increase bill on its own merit and not contingent upon a postage rate increase rider.

A survey of postal employees in New York City highlights their reaction that President Eisenhower will not veto a 10 percent pay raise bill if passed by Congress without any tie-in legislation.

I thank you gentlemen for the courtesy of presenting this statement.

Universal Military Training and Service Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, no one regrets more deeply than I the need to continue and extend the Universal Military Training and Service Act. I regret the need for any legislation which will serve to take our young men out of their homes and schools. I regret the need to interrupt their lives and plans from the peaceful pursuit of their education and professions. But most of all, Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret that in this highly advanced age, society has not yet found the avenue to a lasting peace.

Much as I regret the need for this legislation, I am constrained to support it now as I did in our committee. As a matter of fact, I expressed grave doubts in committee as to the wisdom of the cut in our ground forces at this time. With the Communist threat looming larger and more serious every day, we must not, even in the slightest degree, lessen our defense effort or weaken our national security.

With our goal as peace, we must be so strong that no aggressor will dare to challenge us. We must never close the door to the conference room. We must, as we strengthen and fortify ourselves, proceed on the theory that peace is attainable and that war is not inevitable.

In supporting this legislation, I voice the hope and prayer that events prove it to have been unnecessary and that the safety of our country will never again require it.

President Cites Need for Reserve Militia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, a very important issue before the Congress as it considers strengthening our military manpower program is the need for Federal recognition of the State guard or the State militia.

I am happy that the President in his message placed emphasis upon the need for a State guard or a State militia to preserve order and prevent chaos in times of emergency when the National Guard has been called to active duty. I am happy, too, that a subcommittee headed by our colleague, Hon. OVERTON BROOKS, of Louisiana, is now holding hearings on H. R. 2967 which includes Federal recognition of the State guard or the State militia.

On January 24, 1955, there appeared an editorial in the Austin-American of Austin, Tex., which was written by that newspaper's editorial writer, Mr. Raymond Brooks, which points out the important role the Texas State Guard Reserve Corps has had in the development of an active State guard in our State and emphasizes the need for the legislation now being considered by the subcommittee of the House Committee on Armed Services.

I call the attention of the membership of the House to this excellent editorial which is as follows:

PRESIDENT CITES NEED FOR RESERVE MILITIA

President Eisenhower, in his military manpower message to Congress, dealt with all phases of recruitment, training, Active and Reserve mobilization. He urged the building up of a powerful and Ready Reserve, along with the more intensive training of a smaller and more mobile active-duty Army. He followed the traditional principle that a trained and Ready Reserve, a nonprofessional citizen-soldier Reserve, is the backbone of American defense.

In the area of internal security and Reserve militia, President Eisenhower gave direct and emphatic approval to a policy in which Texas has taken the lead among the States, and which it now is urging for the critical tasks involved in potential disaster at home, or in war emergency conditions calling out combat troops.

That is the maintenance of State guards, Reserve militia cadres, made up of veterans, mostly with combat experience, organized and ready for instant call.

President Eisenhower asked that Congress renew enabling legislation that lapsed after World War II, to permit States to maintain militia units which would replace the Na-

tional Guard units when called to active duty in an emergency.

The States are permitted, under the Constitution, to maintain militia forces. The enabling legislation would be provision for keeping such reserve forces organized, in training and making them eligible for uniforms, equipment, arms, and training facilities and programs.

Texas had an active State guard, created by State law, during and immediately after World War II. The National Guard was reconstituted after that war, as after World War I. Then, the legislature provided that the State guard should be retained permanent, as a reserve corps. That has been done.

More than 20,000 Texans, veterans of United States military service, have kept up their affiliation with it, and in many cases have continued volunteer training programs. The Texas State Guard Reserve Corps has built an outstanding communications network. It has served with the civil defense and disaster relief organization in many instances. It helps train ROTC units.

The State Guard Reserve Corps is composed of three brigades, plus detached units and a large number of security units throughout the State, and it has a provost marshal section, tied directly to the State, city, and county law authorities.

Texans took the lead last fall in organizing the National Association of State Guards, joined by 20 or more other States which also have kept intact their reserve militia cadres.

Former Texas Congressman Lloyd M. Bentsen, Sr., in the last Congress offered the bill to reinstate Federal authorization and recognition for the call of the reserve militia, or any of its units, into active service when the National Guard, or any parts of it, were recalled to Federal service. Like hundreds of other bills, it failed to get action.

Now the national association and a large number of States are supporting directly that phase of legislation within President Eisenhower's recommended program.

Brig. Gen. Allen D. Rooke, of Woodsboro, brigade commander and deputy corps commander of the Texas State Guard Reserve Corps, is president of the national association, and Col. Donald W. Peacock, of San Antonio, its national adjutant.

Colonel Peacock, representing the adjutant general's department of Texas, and Col. Carl C. Hardin, Jr., legislative chairman of the national association, will join representatives of many other States in Washington early in February, to confer with the Department of Defense and with appropriate congressional committees, on the pending Federal legislation, and steps within the various States to activate the internal security and reserve militia programs outlined by the President.

A Great Christian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the death last week of Dr. John R. Mott marked the passing of one of the world's greatest leaders, the Christian religion has ever had. It was my privilege to know Dr. Mott personally and to have my mind stretched, horizons widened, and spirit uplifted by his world vision and his unconquerable faith.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include a tribute paid to Dr. Mott in the editorial columns of the Minneapolis Tribune:

A GREAT CHRISTIAN

Few men engaged in Christian work in modern times have had as great an impact over as long a period as John R. Mott, who died Monday at the age of 89.

More than any other individual, Dr. Mott gave direction and momentum to the Young Men's Christian Association movement in the United States and throughout the world.

During World War I he directed the raising of funds for the YWCA, the National Catholic Welfare Council, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Salvation Army, the War Camp Community Service, and the American Library Association as well as the worldwide activities of the YMCA for members of the Allied Armed Forces and prisoners of war.

The world was Dr. Mott's parish from the time he graduated from Cornell University in 1888, until he was well into the eighties. Dr. Mott devoted his exceptional gifts as a speaker and organizer to interesting college students in Christian living and missionary effort.

During the 30 years in which he was chairman of the Student Volunteer Movement, 12,000 students went out to serve as educational, medical, industrial, rural, and evangelistic workers in all parts of the non-Christian world.

Dr. Mott's goal of "the world for Christ in one generation" was not acheived but the movement to which he gave his life pioneered in important phases of work for underdeveloped nations now being undertaken by the United States and the U. N.

For his distinguished services, Dr. Mott was honored with a Nobel peace prize in 1946 and the Prince Carl Medal. He was decorated by seven governments in addition to the Distinguished Service Medal given him by the United States. He had honorary degrees from many universities. His was a full life and countless people in many lands, living and dead, have had reason to be grateful that he lived it as he did.

The Rights of Parents in Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, Cardinal James Francis McIntyre, of Los Angeles, is lovingly remembered in New York for his fruitful labors as coadjutor archbishop. He was appointed to the Los Angeles See in 1948 and was created cardinal in 1952 by Pope Pius XII.

His eminence was present at a Holy Name Union breakfast in Los Angeles on January 23, 1955, and there delivered a a brief address on parents' rights in education. Highlights of his address were published in the Los Angeles Tidings. I am certain his views on the subject will be of great interest to many parents and, therefore, I am inserting this brief article into the RECORD.

Another speaker at the breakfast was Superior Court Judge John J. Ford, of Los Angeles, who is a past president of the Holy Name Society and a member of the board of trustees of the Catholic Welfare Bureau of that city. His address also touches on the subject of the rights of parents to educate their children. I am inserting his address in the RECORD, too, following the remarks of Cardinal McIntyre.

PARENTS' RIGHTS IN EDUCATION

Any attempt to force all American children to attend State-sponsored schools is Hitlerian and un-American, His Eminence James Francis Cardinal McIntyre said here Sunday.

Speaking before 1,200 men at the 19th annual Holy Name Union breakfast, the Cardinal charged that the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association had begun an open attack on the rights of parents in education.

Specific target of the attack, His Eminence said, is the United States Supreme Court's 1925 decision in the Oregon school case which declared unanimously that the rights of parents must prevail in education. It outlawed a proposal that all children be forced to attend public schools.

REAL INTENT REVEALED

"In our United States today there is prevalent a tendency to bring about the complete education of all children in public schools."

This was evident, the Cardinal said, in a booklet recently issued by the NEA's Educational Policies Commission.

"Now their real intent is revealed to the country. They are attempting to establish a common universal state education which will place every child in every place in a public school.

" 'This was the policy of Hitler'," the Cardinal said.

"This is entirely contrary to the policy of our country. There is no freedom in this."

The NEA agency's booklet is titled "Public Education and the Future of America."

"The booklet exaggerates greatly the merits of public education and casts grave reflection on private education," His Eminence said.

"The booklet is historically wrong; it gives a false impression of education. It is un-American and its proposal is not the mind of the Founding Fathers or of our Constitution."

PROPOSALS THREATEN FREEDOM

The Cardinal emphasized that the Founding Fathers of the country were educated in private schools and that a long period of years passed between their education and the establishment of public schools.

Proposals of the NEA agency are a threat to liberty, the Cardinal said, and constitute a real problem in our time.

JUDGE FORD'S ADDRESS

Your Eminence, Mr. President, reverend fathers, and gentlemen of the Holy Name Society, many of you, I am sure, will recall the letter which Comdr. John J. Shea, of the United States Navy, wrote to his young son a short time before the commander lost his life in the Battle of the Solomons. The beauty of its expression of sincere adherence to religious and patriotic principles caused it to be published in newspapers and magazines the country over. In that letter the father counselled his son, "Be a good Catholic, and you can't help being a good American."

By your actions this morning you, as Holy Name men, have given glowing proof of your loyalty to the tenets of your religious faith. Underlying that devotion are principles derived from the eternal law of God to which you adhere and which assure your loyalty to your country in that sphere of your life in

which the state can justly require your obedience.

Such loyalty is in essence a submission to authority, for authority is the right to direct and command and, in turn, to obtain obedience. Therefore, we are concerned with the origin and nature of the authority which the state is entitled to exercise.

The family is a natural society because it is essential to the propagation of the race and to the proper upbringing of children. But it is also necessary that man live in civil society. That society in the form of the state can provide in suitable measure those necessities, such as protection from harm, which would otherwise not be available to the individual or to the family group. Thus the state promotes the common welfare. It affords to man the opportunity to reach the highest goal in material, intellectual and moral development. Certainly it is clear to all of us that only by such organization can man's rights be recognized and made fully effective and his liberty preserved. The state, therefore, being necessary for man, must be part of the plan of God. Moreover, the state, once constituted, is a perfect society because it depends on no higher power than God alone.

But a State cannot maintain order and achieve its proper end unless it possesses authority. Authority being essential to the function of the State, its basis must be found in the natural law by which all reasonable beings participate in the eternal reason. Such authority is, therefore, from God.

Our next inquiry must be: Where has God placed such authority, by whom is it to be exercised, and to what limitations is it subject? In the language of one of our greatest statesmen is found the key to the answer. When Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg spoke of "government of the people, by the people, for the people," he embodied in a few simple words the whole Christian philosophy of the nature of authority in the State.

The authority necessary for the proper conduct of the functions of civil society is first vested by God immediately in the people. Hence what we have is a government of the people. But obviously such authority cannot be exercised directly by the people for chaos would result. Consequently, the people transfer such authority to their representatives in the organization of the State. In the hands of such representatives are placed the reins of government. To guard against abuse or misuse of that authority, the people retain a measure of control over their representatives, such as is found in the practice of periodic elections.

Furthermore, the government must be for the people because the very purpose for which authority is exercised by the State is the achievement of the common good of human persons. It cannot be an absolute authority but rather one that recognizes and protects the God-given rights of man, for, as the great philosopher of our day, Maritain, so well states it, "If the human person is without rights, then rights and, consequently, authority exist nowhere."

Let us dwell for a moment on just one of those rights since it is a right which is so often the target of sniping attacks. I refer to the natural right of parents to educate their children. Since the upbringing of the child is primarily and essentially the right and the duty of the parents, certainly the education of the child—being that part of his rearing which relates to the training of his mind—is primarily and essentially their right. As must be clear from what has earlier been said, the function of the State is only to supply those services which private endeavor does not or cannot provide. Accordingly, the rights of the State are limited. It has no absolute power as those who would treat the State as the source of its own authority—in effect making a god out of the State and denying the dignity of man—would have us believe. The State cannot supersede the basic social group, the family, but can only supplement it. All other agencies interested in education must recognize the rights and duties of parents and serve only in the capacity of those to whom parents have delegated authority. Therefore, while the State has the right and the duty to demand of all its citizens a certain minimum education, it has no right to monopolize the field of education. This was so clearly pointed out by the Supreme Court of the United States 30 years ago that the language then used is worthy of frequent repetition. The Supreme Court said:

"The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the state to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nuture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations."

The founders of our great Nation clearly understood that the State's authority has its roots in the natural law and must be exercised in harmony with its principles. Listen, for example, to the words of George Washington in his first inaugural address. He told his countrymen that "the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected in a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained."

We know, then, that the state is a society necessary for man if he is to lead a natural life as a creature. It safeguards and promotes man's temporal good. But man has a destiny beyond the temporal order. Let us, therefore, turn for the moment from the state and consider the church, a supernatural rather than a natural society. The mission of the church is to secure man's spiritual and eternal welfare. It is a perfect society because, like the state, it is sovereign in its own sphere and depends on no power other than God. In the exercise of its divine authority in the sphere set aside to it under the design of God, the church is entitled to the protection of the state and to be free from interference in matters relating to faith and morals. Since man's eternal welfare is more important than anything in the world, the authority of the state, which has as its ultimate aim the promotion of the common welfare, should be asserted in complete harmony with that of the church. Each—the church and the state—is necessary, for each adds something to man's development which the other does not have the power to give. As Christ himself commanded us, that which is Caesar's is to be rendered to Caesar, and that which belongs to God is to be rendered to God.

You may wonder why it is necessary to review principles which, I am sure, you all know and accept. The difficulty is that in the thought of so many persons throughout the world, and even in our own country, these principles have been twisted, denied or forgotten. Brute power without authority and, consequently, without the foundation of justice and law, has conquered much of the surface of the globe. Instead of a state cognizant of the dignity of the human being and striving for the protection of man's inalienable rights and for the promotion of the common welfare within the framework of the natural law, in some parts of the world governments have been established which have deified the state and gloried in contempt for the human person. A spiritual issue is involved and we must be ever alert to insist upon the principles which underlie our Christian civilization for, as Christopher Dawson warned us many years ago, "Whenever the city of man sets itself up as an end in itself and becomes the center of a self-contained and self-regarding order, it becomes the natural enemy of the city of God."

Let us pray that we as Americans will ever keep in mind that the rational basis of our democracy is found in the truths of philosophy and religion. For our part, let us always keep before us those words of Lincoln—simple yet so full of meaning—"This Nation, under God."

United States "Dorchester Day"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, there is a heroic story of the sea which has earned its right to be forever memorialized in the history of our country. It is a story valuable to the American tradition because it is a lesson in the essential unity of our people and their separate faiths—Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. It is a story of sublime sacrifice by men of religion who thus gave concrete, physical expression to their religious ideals. It is altogether a story so rich in human drama, so gripping on the imagination, and so colored by crisis and excitement at sea in time of war, that I ask the event be set down in the official calendar of American holidays. To me it is essentially a story of basic American solidarity.

It is for these reasons that I have introduced into the first session of this, the 84th Congress of the United States, House Joint Resolution 77. It designates the 3d day of February in each year as Dorchester Day. In doing this we shall commemorate the sinking of the Army transport *Dorchester* by enemy action off the coast of Greenland on the day thus set apart. You will remember that was the tragedy at sea when four Army chaplains of different religious faiths lost their lives because—according to the reports of survivors—they pressed upon soldiers caught helpless on the sinking craft, their own lifebelts. They then perished together, linked arm in arm, in the high seas.

What the record does not and cannot show—because of the dreadful circumstances of the tragedy—is something I take the liberty to assume. I assume that when these four noble Americans—Catholic, Protestants, and Jew—went down into the ice and the water of that awful night, they uttered a common prayer in a joint plea to the God and Father of all men. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, an act of incredible neglect that an event written in terms of grand tragedy, so meaningful for all future generations of Americans, should thus go undistinguished on the calendar of the days we honor. Therefore, I ask that this year this omission be corrected and that this House act favorably on my measure.

School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include a letter and tabulation from the United States Office of Education relative to the plight of the public schools in Carlisle, Pa., and other places.

I invite the attention of my colleagues, and particularly those colleagues who are members of the Committee on Education and Labor and the Appropriations Subcommittee dealing with the Office of Education, to this problem.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that the Congress will amend the so-called Federal impact program so that Carlisle and these other school districts may receive the aid to which they are entitled.

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
OFFICE OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D. C., February 4, 1955.

Hon. JAMES M. QUIGLEY,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN QUIGLEY: This is in reference to your letter of February 3, 1955, requesting a list of the school districts which did not receive the maximum payment computed for them under Public Law 815, as amended by Public Law 246, because the school districts let contracts to construct school facilities between November 24, 1953, the first cutoff date for receipt of applications, and the final cutoff date of June 30, 1954.

You will not that a total of 27 school districts in 14 tates failed to receive $5,945,109, because the school districts let contracts for construction of school facilities with local funds between the two cutoff dates. Of the total of 27 school districts listed, 18 had received no allotment under Public Law 815, and the other 9 had received part of their maximum payment.

These situations occur because of the following circumstances: Public Law 815 provides that the Office of Education shall compute a maximum payment for a school district based on the number of eligible federally connected children in each category times the rate. The maximum amount a school district may receive is the cost of constructing minimum school facilities for the unhoused children, but not to exceed the amount of the maximum payment. The act also provides that when the Comimissioner of Education determines that the funds that will be available for any fiscal year will not be sufficient to meet all of the requests on file he shall set a cutoff date or dates for receipt of applications to participate in any funds that may be available for that fiscal year. The act further provides that any contracts entered into by the school district for construction of school facilities as of the cutoff date or dates shall be counted as capacity available in determining the number of unhoused school children in the district.

A total of $70 million was appropriated for the 1954 fiscal year for this program, and the Commissioner of Education believing that this would not be enough to approve all eligible applications on file, set a cutoff date as of November 24, 1953, for receipt of applications to participate in that $70 million. A second and final cutoff date was established as of June 30, 1954. A number of school districts that had not submitted applications by the first cutoff date did submit applications by the second date. The funds available during the 1954 fiscal year were sufficient to make allotments to those school districts that had a priority index of a little over 20. Those school districts that did not receive allotments from the first appropriation were considered together with the new applicants in determining the priority as of the second cutoff date of June 30, 1954. This June 30, 1954, date was used in counting contracts let for construction of school facilities to determine the number of unhoused children for this group of new applicants and for the applicants that submitted applications by the first cutoff date, but were not high enough on the priority list to receive funds.

The school districts listed on the enclosure all had submitted applications by the first cutoff date and had a maximum Federal allowance as shown in column 2. None of these school districts received funds under the first appropriation and the contracts which they let to construct school facilities with State and local funds between the first cutoff date of November 24, 1953, and the second cut-off date of June 30, 1954, reduced the maximum Federal allowance by the amount shown in column 4.

If there is any further information you desire regarding this matter please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely yours,

B. ALDEN LILLYWHITE,
Associate Director for Federally Affected Areas.

List of applicants under Public Law 815, as amended by sec. 246, who lost Federal funds because contracts for the construction of school facilities were let after Nov. 24, 1953, and on or before June 30, 1954 (col. 2 shows maximum funds for which applicants qualified, col. 3 shows funds approved, and col. 4 shows funds lost because of the above contracts)

Applicant	Maximum Federal allowance	Federal funds reserved	Loss in Federal allowance
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
CALIFORNIA			
10—Monterey City School District	$885,150	$810,144	$75,006
56—Mojave Unified School District	37,170		37,170
57—Chula Vista City School District	411,390	251,000	160,390
58—San Diego Unified School District	1,713,600	580,230	1,133,370
201—Arcada Elementary School District	271,530		271,530
220—Torrance Unified School District	1,277,073	503,126	773,947
238—Alamitos Elementary School District	48,510		48,510
257—Manhattan Beach City School District	492,723	320,260	172,463
419—Escondido Union School District	63,000		63,000
Total	5,200,146	2,464,760	2,735,386
COLORADO			
402—School District No. 50, Adams County	53,900		53,900
CONNECTICUT			
205—Town of Southington	127,160		127,160
FLORIDA			
7—Special Tax District No. 1, Okaloosa County	464,085	297,000	167,085
MARYLAND			
4—Montgomery County Board of Education	3,195,390	2,022,000	1,173,390
MICHIGAN			
419—Brownstown Graded School District No. 11F	2,700		2,700
MONTANA			
407—School District No. 52, Stillwater County	15,370		15,370
NEW YORK			
203—Union Free School District No. 3, town of Hempstead	1,111,120	685,000	426,120
208—Union Free School District No. 22, towns of Oyster Bay and Babylon	339,120		339,120
403—Union Free School District No. 23, Massapequa	309,600		309,600
Total	1,759,840	685,000	1,074,840
OHIO			
421—Strongsville Village School District	23,400		23,400
PENNSYLVANIA			
401—Carlisle School District	279,110		279,110
RHODE ISLAND			
402—Town of Jamestown	9,000		9,000
TEXAS			
21—Kingsville Independent School District	164,350	148,200	16,150
22—Birdville Independent School District	157,250		157,250
401—A. & M. Consolidated Independent School District	29,500		29,500
Total	351,100	148,200	202,900
WASHINGTON			
401—Quincy School District No. 144	49,068		49,068
WISCONSIN			
203—City of Baraboo	18,000		18,000
402—Joint School District No. 3, Village of Paynette, towns of Arlington, Lowville, Leeds, and Dekorra	13,800		13,800
Total	31,800		31,800
Grand total	11,562,069	5,616,960	5,945,109

American Legion Support of American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, since World War II we have been letting our merchant marine, our vital maritime industries, deteriorate at an alarming rate. I am hopeful that in this Congress we will be able to arrest and reverse this dangerous trend.

Unquestionably, one of the reasons for this situation is a general lack of public understanding of the significance of the merchant marine and the intimate relationship it bears to the life and security of every American. Perhaps this is because the physical presence of ships seems so remote to many of us as not to warrant more than a passing thought, for those who know from intimate experience the place of a strong merchant marine in our national security are its wholehearted supporters.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated February 4, 1955, from Mr. Miles Kennedy, director, national legislative commission of the American Legion, and a copy of Resolution 499 adopted at the 1954 national convention setting forth the Legion's position with regard to a long-range merchant marine program.

The letter and resolutions follow:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
Washington, D. C., February 4, 1955.

Hon. HERBERT C. BONNER,
Chairman, House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BONNER: Referring to the hearings now being conducted by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries relative to construction, conversion, and repair of ships, etc., I enclose copy of Resolution 499 adopted at the 1954 national convention of the American Legion, and setting forth our position on the long-range merchant marine program.

While we are not asking for an opportunity to be heard in person I would appreciate it if you would kindly have this letter and the attached resolution incorporated in the record of the hearings.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am,
Sincerely yours,
MILES D. KENNEDY,
Director.

LONG-RANGE MERCHANT MARINE PROGRAM

Whereas modern seapower attack is making World War II merchant ships obsolete and the future requires a modern fleet of fast ships "in being" and ready at the instant of an overt nuclear explosion; and

Whereas the maintenance of an adequate merchant marine is sound national policy, absolutely essential to our national security and contributes substantially to our economic welfare; and

Whereas past experience clearly demonstrates that reliance upon the merchant fleets of foreign nations not only is inadequate and costly but dangerous to our national security; and

Whereas the threat of intercontinental warfare to the security of the free world and our widespread global commitments have indefinitely increased our need for added naval power and ocean transportation; and

Whereas the United States depends on foreign overseas sources for many strategic raw materials essential to our domestic industrial production and defense requirements; and

Whereas maintaining of ship construction potential and providing the indispensable minimum of ready-for-action merchant ships as deemed necessary by the Department of Defense is dependent upon the continuous availability of shipyards, plant know-how and a nucleus of skilled workers, dispersed along the coasts of the United States; and

Whereas the Department of Commerce has recommended a stepped-up construction program of oceangoing vessels; and

Whereas the American Legion has long recognized that a strong American-flag merchant fleet is essential to the defensive strength of the Nation and to the prosperity of our country; Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Legion reaffirms its 36-year support of a strong, privately owned and operated American merchant marine, and urges the adoption of such policies and procedures as will:

1. More fully implement the sound principles and procedures in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936.

2. Develop workable and consistent formulas for Government aid and liberal mortgage guaranties to encourage private investment capital to finance construction of American ships.

3. Establish a long-range ship construction program to provide replacements and avoid block obsolescence of our aging merchant ships.

4. Restore our American coastwise fleet, the "hard core" of merchant shipping so that it will again be available for any emergency.

5. Encourage intercoastal shipping by revising tolls on United States ships for passage through the Panama Canal to provide that such tolls should be adequate to pay the costs actually attributable to the operation of the waterway but should not defray the overall cost of maintaining the Canal Zone.

6. Continue the statutory requirements that at least 50 percent of all cargoes financed directly or indirectly by the United States move on American flag vessels.

7. Reactivate the Merchant Marine Naval Reserve as an effective component of the United States Naval Reserve.

8. Encourage construction repair and overhaul of ships by private industry.

9. Withdraw ships operated by Government agencies from services where private ships can provide adequate ocean transportation.

10. Seek to remove existing discriminatory practices of foreign nations against American shipping.

11. Maintain the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y., as a permanent institution comparable to the service academies and to continue to encourage and support the maritime academies in Maine, Massachusetts, California, and New York.

Whereas the American Legion has adopted and intends to continue a program of direct action for a strong American merchant marine; and

Whereas in order to implement the board and extensive information and educational campaign by the American Legion on behalf of a strong American merchant marine for our national security: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the director of the National Security Commission and the chairman of the Merchant Marine Committee of the American Legion are hereby directed to continue to seek and obtain from all possible sources such information and assistance as will insure the effectiveness of the mandates of this convention concerning the American merchant marine; and to encourage public relations officers of the various departments of the American Legion to arrange meeting and forum discussions on maritime affairs and recommend that the department commanders invite informed speakers on such subjects to appear before their annual department conventions; and, further, that the director and the chairman of the Merchant Marine Committee be, and are hereby authorized to participate in all hearings affecting said program; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Legion at its 36th annual national convention, assembled in Washington, D. C., August 30–September 2, 1954, instructs the national headquarters of the American Legion to prepare and to conduct an extensive informational and educational program about the American merchant marine as "our fourth arm" of national security.

Tributes to Ambassador Warren Austin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH E. FLANDERS
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the tributes given during, and newspaper reports on, the memorial dinner given Ambassador Warren Austin in Burlington, Vt., on January 30, 1955.

I was privileged to attend the dinner, in which so many persons from various parts of the country gave testimony in honor of the former Senator, who contributed so much in these Halls and in the United Nations.

The instance of this particular event was the announcement of a memorial forest in Israel, named in honor of the Ambassador, by virtue of which a plaque recording that tribute was presented to him by the Vermont Jewish community.

There being no objection, the tributes and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press of January 31, 1955]

FAITH ONLY ROAD TO PEACE, SAYS AUSTIN AT TESTIMONIAL

Warren R. Austin, visibly moved by one glowing testimonial after another, accepted the tributes of world, National, State, and local dignitaries here yesterday for his "outstanding contribution to the cause of freedom and democracy" and for his "glorious part in the historic drama of the restoration of Israel."

The former United States Senator and Ambassador to the United Nations received the plaudits at a testimonial staged by the Vermont Jewish community and attended by some 650 persons at the synagogue center. Highlight was the presentation of a plaque citing Austin's accomplishments and marking the establishment of a Warren R. Austin Forest in Israel.

Austin received personal commendations from Ambassador Abba Eban of Israel, Senator Ralph Flanders, Gov. Joseph Johnson,

Mayor J. Edward Moran, Rabbi Max Wall, program chairman, and Dr. Arthur Gladstone, president of the Vermont Jewish Council, who presented the plaque.

And he was commended through letters and telegrams by President Eisenhower; Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., present U. N. Ambassador; Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of the U. N.; Cabinet members; leaders of House and Senate; former President Harry S. Truman; and many other former colleagues in public life.

RARE PUBLIC APPEARANCE

Austin, making one of his rare public appearances, responded by speaking of the "tremendous, vital faith" which stimulated the Jews to establish a political state in the Holy Land.

"Such faith," Austin said, "was strong enough to carry them over when the time came to establish the promised land."

And, he said: "Faith is the only real way of arriving at the goal of world peace.

"I have that faith myself."

STANDING OVATION

The packed assembly gave him a standing ovation when he finished speaking.

The vigorous young Israeli diplomat said Austin was the father and pioneer of the American tradition in the work of the United Nations.

"He has served with strength and dignity admidst high issues of conflict and conciliation," Eban said. "But I venture to presume that as he looks back over that crowded record he will find no greater spiritual satisfaction than that of belonging to his historic role in assisting this small but immortal people to achieve its statehood, assume its sovereign rights and take its place after 2,000 anguished years in the family of free nations."

Governor Johnson said he brought the high pride of Vermont to the testimonial.

"It is not that the State honors Austin," said the Governor, "but that it is Austin who honors the State."

Senator FLANDERS called Austin a man with an uncompromising refusal to compromise with evil and a desire to meet nations on a basis of living together.

HAS SERVED HIGH PURPOSES

Rabbi Wall said Austin, both in the U. N. and the Senate, has served the high purposes and best interests of our Nation and of the peoples of the world.

The rabbi said: "To this man, undeterred by threats of reprisal and boycott, we owe a debt of gratitude which can merely be expressed but never paid."

And, referring to the Warren Austin Forest to be planted through the cooperation of the Jewish national fund, Wall said: "We have joined together and dedicated a living testimonial to this man * * * this forest will remind us of the many bonds and invaluable links between our country and Israel."

The President said in a written message that he was happy to join the Jewish communities of the State in paying tribute to Austin.

"For his dedicated service," wrote Eisenhower, "all who seek a just world peace are in his debt."

Most Rev. Edward F. Ryan, bishop of the Burlington diocese, pronounced the invocation. Bishop Vedder Van Dyck, of the Episcopal diocese of Vermont, gave the benediction.

Others on the speakers' platform were Lt. Gov. Consuelo Northrop Bailey, Mrs. Austin, Rev. Barry Fontaine, diocesan chancellor; and Consul Reuven Dafni, of Israel.

TRIBUTE TO WARREN R. AUSTIN APPEARING ON PROGRAM OF TESTIMONIAL DINNER

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 10, 1955.

I am happy to join with the Jewish communities of the State of Vermont in paying tribute to Warren R. Austin.

His outstanding ability and devotion to principle—evidenced in his career in the United States Senate—fitted him well for the difficult post of United States representative to the United Nations. For 7 years Ambassador Austin was a leader in the new organization's efforts to further international cooperation, and for this dedicated service all who seek a just world peace are in his debt. It is therefore gratifying to know of your expression of appreciation for his work and for his part in the United Nations action leading to the creation of the State of Israel.

To him I extend congratulations, and to all attending the meeting in his honor, I send warm good wishes.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

I am certainly pleased and happy that you decided to honor my good friend, the Honorable Warren Austin. I know of no one who has made a greater contribution to his country than has Ambassador Austin. During his period of service in the United States Senate he was responsible for many acts of important legislation. Warren Austin's work as our chief delegate to the United Nations was an example of great skill and statesmanship.

Please express my congratulations to the Ambassador and tell him that I am very sorry I can't be present in person to shake his hand.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

TO WARREN R. AUSTIN

We the Jews of the State of Vermont, dedicate the Austin Forest in Israel to an American statesman who has consistently over many years embodied in his personal life and his political acts the authentic ideal and the loftiest aspirations of America.

We offer our profound respect and gratitude to one who has truly been our friend and neighbor and who, as such, has shown us what it means to live in the spirit of humanity and of justice and to fight the good fight in all the causes of freedom and of peace.

The Austin Forest in the land and State of Israel will commemorate this noble spirit. Its everlasting greenness will bear permanent witness to the gratitude which the Jews of the Green Mountain State treasure forever in their hearts for one who in the councils of the United Nations raised his voice in crucial and formative days for the State of Israel. May he live long and see the verdure of the forest which bears his name.

SAUL SPIRO,
Chairman, Warren R. Austin Testimonal.

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

The deep affection and regard with which the community holds Warren Austin is the finest tribute that any man can receive.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr.

May God bless the guest of honor and all who honor him, and may His grace prosper the cause of human brotherhood.

ROBERT F. JOYCE,
Auxiliary Bishop of Burlington.

It is gratifying to all the friends and admirers of Ambassador Austin that a forest will be planted in Israel in recognition of the outstanding public service of this great statesman and diplomat.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN,
United States Senator.

It is a privilege for me to be given this opportunity to pay my personal respects to Warren R. Austin with whom I have served in the United States Senate and for whom I have always had the highest respect and admiration.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,
United States Senator.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE,
New York, N. Y.

It is with extreme pleasure that I convey my greetings to the testimonial being held in honor of Warren Austin. I recall most vividly the exciting days of consultation with this illustrious statesman in the United Nations and his unceasing efforts and unsparing devotion to the cause of Israel.

EMANUEL NEUMANN.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND.

The project to plant a forest in Israel in honor of Ambassador Warren R. Austin is an act of poetic, albeit belated justice. Few men in America have evinced greater friendship for the Jewish people or have rendered greater service to the cause of Israel.

MENDEL N. FISHER,
Executive Director,
Jewish National Fund.
HARRIS J. LEVINE,
President, Jewish National Fund.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE,
New York, N. Y.

For you Vermonters, Senator Austin is, of course, the favorite son par excellence. But the fact is that in this choice of yours every good American throughout the land and regardless of political affiliation, enthusiastically concurs. Lawyer, legislator, diplomat, statesman, and guardian of America's unconquerable liberal tradition. Mr. Austin has long deserved the admiration of his countrymen and of America's friends throughout the world.

JACOB BLAUSTEIN,
Honorary President.

SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA,
New York, N. Y.

Senator Austin possessed in abundance those qualities that have made New England famous, straightforwardness, love of democracy, justice, and fair play to all men. It is in the Biblical tradition that they have their root and it is in that tradition that America found its inspiration and Warren Austin his earliest instruction.

Rabbi NORMAN SALIT,
President.

B'NAI B'RITH,
Washington, D. C.

It gives me an enormous amount of pleasure to learn of the project that is being established in honor of a great American, Warren Austin. This testimonial on the part of the Jewish communities of Vermont is a fitting commemoration of the substantial assistance rendered by Mr. Austin to the people of Israel in the Halls of the United States Senate and the United Nations.

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK,
President.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA.

It gives me great pleasure to extend, on behalf of my fellow officers of the Zionist Organization of America and on my own behalf, warmest greetings to the testimonial which the Jewish community of Vermont is holding in honor of Warren R. Austin.

MORTIMER MAY,
President.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL,
New York, N. Y.

Warren Austin has earned a secure place in history and in the hearts of his countrymen. He is a living examplar of those great New England virtues which American Jews are happy to think derive their strength and vitality from the noble tradition which we share in common.

IRVING MILLER,
Chairman.

VERMONT JEWISH COUNCIL.

On behalf of the Vermont Jewish Council, I wish to tell you how pleased we are to participate in the expression of appreciation and honor of our esteemed friend, Warren R. Austin. Being so interested in the Jewish national fund, and having this past year seen at first hand their achievements in reforestation of the land of Israel, I know of no more appropriate way for Vermont Jewry to honor a man who did so much toward the realization of the Jewish State, than to create a Warren Austin Forest.

ARTHUR A. GLADSTON, M. D.,
President.

I greatly appreciate having the opportunity to join the many friends who will be meeting together on January 30, 1955, to honor one of America's most distinguished citizens, the Honorable Warren R. Austin. His outstanding record during the years he spent in the Senate, his pioneering work in the United Nations, as well as his lasting contributions toward the establishment of the State of Israel, are only a few of his many notable achievements.

This will be a memorable occasion, and I want to express my own personal gratitude to Warren Austin, whose life has been so full of service to others, and to wish for him the happiness and good health he so rightfully deserves in the years to come.

RICHARD NIXON.

WARREN R. AUSTIN TESTIMONIAL,
Burlington, Vt.

The Rabbinical Assembly of America considers it a great privilege to congratulate the Jewish communities of Vermont on the establishment of a forest in Israel in honor of Senator Warren R. Austin, noble representative of our beloved country in the councils of Government and in the United Nations. May it be an eternal reminder of the values which he espoused so eloquently and symbolized in his own person.

Rabbi HARRY HALPERN,
President.
Rabbi WOLFE KELMAN,
Executive Secretary.

UNITED STATES SENATE.

The Jewish communities of Vermont are to be commended for paying this well-deserved honor to Ambassador Austin. His distinguished work in both the United States Senate and United Nations, and especially his work for the establishment of the State of Israel, command the respect of us all. I am happy to know that Vermonters of the Jewish faith are undertaking to accord him the honor he richly deserves.

GEORGE D. AIKEN.

JANUARY 4, 1955.

The magnificent contributions which Ambassador Austin has made to elevate the stature of the United Nations and advance the cause of world peace have ennobled our State and Nation. I hope that in the years ahead he will rejoice in seeing the seeds of international understanding which he has sown bring forth a world free from tyranny and armed strife.

WINSTON L. PROUTY,
Member of Congress.

I am happy to join with you in saluting Ambassador Warren R. Austin on the occasion of the establishment by Vermont Jewry of the Austin Forest in Israel.

Ambassador Austin is among those American statesmen who have championed the State of Israel and who have seen in its establishment the setting up of an extension of the American democratic idea in the Middle East. Appreciating as he does the Hebraic ideals that have helped fashion our American Republic, he has been motivated by the highest ideals in lending his valued support to the establishment and the promotion of the State of Israel. The Jewish communities of Vermont honor themselves in honoring this American whose New England Pilgrim and Puritan traditions are so close to those of our own coreligionists.

Sincerely yours,
Rabbi BARNETT R. BRICKNER,
President, Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Over a long span of years he has served his native State of Vermont, his country, and humanity at large. As a judge, as a United States Senator, and as his country's Ambassador to the United Nations, he has worked tirelessly. His wisdom, courage, and kindness have been invaluable assets in the quest for peace. I am grateful for this opportunity of paying tribute to a valued friend.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

NEW ENGLAND JEWISH NATIONAL FUND.

In behalf of the Jewish National Fund of New England, we wish to express our deep appreciation to you and your committee for honoring our distinguished friend, Ambassador Warren R. Austin, in this tribute by the Jewish community of Vermont. With his help and cooperation at the United Nations, the State of Israel was established.

FRED MONOSSON,
President.

THE BURLINGTON FREE PRESS,
Burlington, Vt.

A man of great talent, forceful in thought and expression, of deep convictions, with sincerity, warmth, and courage, Warren Austin has aroused our admiration especially for the whole-souled consecration that was embodied in his contribution to public service and to the cause of world peace. Mr. Austin made great sacrifices and never spared himself or thought of self in his urgent quest for sound and lasting international peace.

DAVID W. HOWE.

The Significant Role of Farm and Rural Voters in the 1954 Oregon Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Christian Science Monitor of December 10, 1954, by Malcolm Bauer, of Portland, who is the Oregon correspondent for that very informative and outstanding daily newspaper. The article indicates clearly the significant role played by farm and rural voters in the historic Oregon election of 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OREGON ELECTION ANALYZED: RURAL VOTE ELECTED NEUBERGER

(By Malcolm Bauer)

SALEM, OREG.—Now that the United States Senate victory of Democratic RICHARD L. NEUBERGER over the GOP incumbent, Guy Cordon, has been confirmed officially by a statewide vote canvass, the sources of Mr. NEUBERGER's strength can be analyzed with more accuracy.

Consensus has been that Oregon Democrats' first Senate seat conquest in 40 years was due to but 2 factors: The support and political activity of organized labor in metropolitan Portland and the dissatisfaction of Oregon voters with the Eisenhower administration's natural-resources policies.

The importance of these points is confirmed by the vote canvass, but the precinct-by-precinct tally also reveals another significan fact: Mr. NEUBERGER ran unusually strong in farming areas.

NEUBERGER STRONG UPSTATE

In explaining reasons for his defeat to the editors of U. S. News & World Report, Senator Cordon said: "The final event was determined by a heavy Democratic majority in the city of Portland. I got a terrific majority outstate and that meant, of course, in the farming areas. I piled up my majority, but it wasn't enough to overtake his (NEUBERGER'S) Democratic majority in the city of Portland."

But official precinct totals, which were disclosed 2 weeks after Senator Cordon's statement, present a different picture. Mr. NEUBERGER'S official margin was 2,462 votes, less than 1 each for the State's 2,499 precincts. His 16,788 majority out of the 198,556 votes cast in Multnomah County was by no means an overpowering one. He ran a stronger race in upstate counties than has any major Democratic candidate in years, and in some instances captured a majority in rural counties.

"If I had been told I would have no more of a majority than I won in Multnomah County," the Senator-elect told this writer, "I would have been sure I was sunk."

RURAL VOTE WENT FOR DICK

Actually, the Neuberger upset can be credited in part to rural Oregon.

Biggest wheat-growing county in the State is Umatilla and that county, in which labor's influence is negligible, gave Mr. NEUBERGER a 7,251 to 6,632 majority. Neighboring Union, Baker, and Wallowa Counties are predominantly rural, and Mr. NEUBERGER won in all three. In these latter counties the private power versus public power issue, as represented in the Hells Canyon Dam controversy, was an important one.

It is significant that the wheatgrowers of Umatilla County went Democratic in 1954 after they had given Senator Cordon an overwhelming 7,348 to 3,623 margin in the general election of 1948.

In Lane County, which has thousands of small, diversified farms, Mr. NEUBERGER ran unexpectedly strong in rural precincts; and the Cordon margin in the county was less than 2,000 in a total of more than 45,000 votes cast in the county. In 1948, Senator Cordon won by nearly 2 to 1 over his Democratic opponent—22,916 to 12,757.

GRANGE FAVORS PUBLIC POWER

It is possible to attribute the NEUBERGER rural strength to a number of reasons, not all of them directly concerned with farm policy. The Oregon Grange, unlike the national parent body, is a strong advocate of public power, and that fact doubtless accounted for many NEUBERGER votes in farming areas.

The labor vote is firmly tied to the rural vote also in some counties, where union members who work in the woods or as fishermen, are also part-time farmers. Two such counties are Clatsop and Coos on the Oregon coast. Both gave majorities to Mr. NEUBERGER.

But whatever the reasons, the evidence of the canvass is clear. Many Oregon farmers and farm workers had a hand in putting Mr. NEUBERGER in the Senate and thereby clinch-

ing for the Democratic Party the narrow control of the upper house.

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHT THOUSAND DOLLARS VERSUS ONE HUNDRED AND THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS

Another tardy record upset an early conception of the Neuberger-Cordon race: That the Republican candidate was possessed of an overpowering campaign chest. Final financial reports have disclosed that the Cordon campaign organizations spent a total of $138,000 as compared to $103,000 for Neuberger organizations, far from as great a differential as had been anticipated. No Democratic candidate has ever had such strong financial backing in Oregon.

Thus it has been demonstrated that the Democratic Party in Oregon may henceforth be able to hold its own in the fund-raising department; although the size of the total expenditure in the Senate race—16 times the annual salary of a Senator—has been deplored by many Oregonians.

Restoration of the Windjammers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, following are the second and third in the series of articles on the Alaska packers' fleet published by the Alameda Times-Star February 1 and 2, 1955.

These articles, written by Thad Spinola, tell the colorful history of the windjammers that plied the seas between San Francisco, Alameda, and Alaska during an illustrious era of the West:

[From the Alameda Times-Star of February 1, 1955]

SHIP, MAN PARALLEL LIVES—ALAMEDAN, QUEEN, BORN IN SAME CITY, RETIRE TOGETHER

(By Thad Spinola)

There's nothing so strong as binds a man and ship together as a common love for the sea.

And when John Rankine was born, his life's course was charter as sure as any merchantman's.

For, born in the same Scottish city as Rankine, was a handsome windjammer which he was to meet again on the other side of the world and on which he was to sail many a day until both man and ship should retire together in the same port.

The *Star of Alaska* was to come along 3 years after John was born. But both can claim the same birthplace. For the man was born in Glasgow on March 26, 1883, near the shipbuilding town on the Clyde; and the ship got her first taste of the tangy sea in January 1886, when she was launched from the ways of the C. Connell shipyard.

PATHS CROSS

As if drawn by the steady hand of a veteran navigator, the separate lives of the man and the ship were to meet again, but not until many years later.

Rankine, who now lives at 2115 Lincoln Avenue with his charming wife, is probably the last of the many men who sailed aboard the *Star of Alaska*, nee *Balclutha*, or better known as the *Pacific Queen*.

He was born to Mr. and Mrs. James Rankine, he a proud and able shipwright. The family moved to San Francisco in 1888, where the elder Rankine became foreman of the Pacific Mail Docks.

Of a nature like his father, young Rankine soon tired of books and things prosaic and so signed aboard a windjammer as a cabin boy where he learned the rudiments of seamanship.

SAILS AS CARPENTER

It was not until 1905, when he was 22 years old, that he got his shipping papers and boarded, as carpenter, the *Star of Alaska*, his old friend from Glasgow.

The Star had made numerous voyages under the flag of other shipping firms. From Cardiff to San Francisco and back; from Swansea to San Francisco and return; to Antwerp, to London, and Calcutta, and Montevideo, the steel hull of the sleek windjammer slipped into many a foreign port carying coal and hides and many another item of water-borne commerce.

In 1899 she arrived in San Francisco for the last time from England and was bought by three San Francisco firms for carrying grain from the rich San Joaquin Valley and lumber from the forests of Washington and Oregon.

In 1903, the San Francisco firm of Pope and Talbot chartered the Balclutha, as she was then known, for the season of salmon fishing in Alaska. In 1904 she was again chartered but 23 days after leaving, she was wrecked on the north end of Sitkinak Island.

It was then that the Alaska Packers Company purchased her for $500 and rough repairs were made at Chip's Cove. She remained there throughout 1905, and in the spring of the following year a crew of repairmen with supplies and new gear was sent up from San Francisco.

Rankine was abroad the relief ship and lent his skilled hands in repairing the damage. Under the command of Capt. Nicholas Wagner she arrived in San Francisco August 7 and was laid up at the United Engineering Works for complete repairs.

[From the Alameda Times Star of February 2, 1955]

SHIP IS RESTORED BY MUSEUM

(By Thad Spinola)

It is a hard fact for the oldtimers to admit, but the windjammers that worked the Alaska cannery run were not fitting ships for a family man to bend his life to, and when he was in his late twenty's, John Rankine left the sea for sounder sources of income.

For 24 years the *Star of Alaska* plied between San Francisco, Alameda, and Alaska, hauling for the salmon season. The windjammers were tied up 9 months out of the year and made the long, tedious voyages somewhat bedraggled and sea-torn.

Her best time from San Francisco to Chignik was in 1926, when she sailed from the Golden Gate on April 3 and arrived at the Alaskan port on the 17th, making the trip in 2 weeks. Her average day's run was 143 miles, and her average speed, 6 knots all the way.

The *Star* was the most consistent ship in the Star fleet, never taking over 32 days on the northward passage and the longest time she took coming home was 20 days in 1922 and 1923.

During all this time, Rankine had acquired a wife, had served several hitches in the Navy and finally went to work at the Mare Island naval shipyard. He had also taken time out to fight in the Spanish-American War and had left the Navy with the rank of warrant officer.

END NEAR

But the end of the *Star* was near.

In 1929 only two of the original windjammers were left in the fleet. A year later, the *Star of Holland* was retired from the service, and the *Star of Alaska* made the last voyage alone to the far northern port.

Steamers, most efficient, faster and less costly, with their strange, bellowing blasts from their funnels, sounded the end of a great era. After being laid up for nearly 2 years, the *Star of Alaska* was sold to Frank Kissinger, a carnival promoter, for $5000.

On February 4, 1934, she set sail for Los Angeles, arriving 10 days later. For a year she lay in Los Angeles harbor, during which time she appeared in several movies; including "Mutiny of the Bounty," "Souls at Sea" and others.

Kissinger saved the windjammer from the scrap heap many a time, and during World War II union and other shipping officials prevented the Government from claiming her for scrap. She was the last full-rigged sailing ship to fly the American flag.

She ended her active years on the sloughs of Sausalito until she was bought by the San Francisco Maritime Museum for $25,000. The museum, in an unprecedented show of salesmanship, signed various shipping firms to donate repair work and material in restoring the old windjammer.

The *Star of Alaska* sometime this year will again be that "right, tight and shipshape" vessel she was years ago. But will be forever moored in proposed Aquatic Park, as a reminder to future generations of a great, bygone age.

TO MUSEUM

But until then, she bears the name *Pacific Queen*, given her by her former owners. Tied up to the Moore Drydock Company yard at the foot of Paru Street in Alameda, the *Queen* doesn't have many visitors. But on Saturdays, droves of shipyard men swarm over her decks and rigging, giving their time to the cause.

One of them is Rankine, employed by the museum as a carpenter and shipwright again, just as he was 50 years ago, and he can relate many a fact about the old ship.

"There are many times when I could have sued her for alienation of affections," his wife says with a smile, "and I remember many an evening alone at home."

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955—No. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the fabulous growth, expansion, and increase in population in Los Angeles and southern California between the years 1945 to 1955 as told in the midwinter issue of the Los Angeles Times is one of the most astounding examples of American enterprise and resourcefulness in the history of the Nation.

I am proud to have the privilege of representing in the Congress a section of the great empire known as southern California, and I include in my remarks the following article under the title "For

the Past 10 Years We Have Opened the Door to 500 New Residents a Day":

FOR THE PAST 10 YEARS WE HAVE OPENED THE DOOR TO 500 NEW RESIDENTS A DAY

(By Charles Detoy, president, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce)

If the entire population of Pittsburgh and Baltimore—1,755,000—were transported westward and settled within the Los Angeles metropolitan area, you would have a fair estimate of our population increase between January 1, 1945, and January 1, 1955.

The impact of this migration, averaging nearly 500 new residents a day for 10 years, makes even seasoned statisticians sit up and take notice.

While the city's population climbed from 1,725,000 in 1945 to its present estimated 2,150,000, a 24.6 percent increase, Los Angeles County became the most populous county in the country, second in the world. The county jumped from 3,345,000 residents 10 years ago to 4,950,000 today, and hasn't stopped yet.

With a 50-percent rate of increase for the metropolitan area chalked up during the past decade, a population larger than that of Albany, capital of New York, has been added to this area each year. Certainly the problems inherent in this number of increased residents stagger the imagination and resources of any community.

Only five United States cities—New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles—exceed the present 1,041,140 population of the San Gabriel Valley, which now accounts for more than a fifth of the county's population, according to figures compiled by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

San Fernando Valley, starting with about 200,000 residents in 1945, now has more than 600,000 inhabitants, more than the population of Minneapolis or Buffalo.

Los Angeles, city, county, and metropolitan area, has met the challenge of fantastic growth with a creativity and resourcefulness characteristic of the Southland.

Los Angeles manufacturing gathered momentum with more than $1,600 million capital investment in new plants and equipment for the 10-year period. As a result, value added by manufacture was doubled in that short time from $2,052 million to $4,623 million.

To house the burgeoning population, county builders added $7,900 million worth of construction, including 700,000 new dwelling units—enough to house the entire population of the city of Philadelphia.

Although the mushrooming clusters of neat, trim California-styled homes which appear almost overnight in erstwhile orange groves, bean fields, and cabbage patches have become an occurrence of regularity in the lives of Angelenos, a glance at the comparative population figures of the decades dramatically highlights the story.

West Covina, a community of 1,600 in 1945, experienced a 1,346-percent increase during the 10 years it took to emerge as a city of 23,300 inhabitants.

The birth of one community contributed a tremendous population influx. Lakewood, with its present estimated 58,000 inhabitants, more than Lexington, Ky.; Jackson, Miss.; or Orlando, Fla., became Los Angeles County's 46th incorporated city in April 1954. In 1945 Lakewood was virtually uninhabited wasteland.

Encino skyrocketed from 2,250 residents in 1945 to its present 16,900—a 651-percent increase, almost duplicated by the 620-percent increase recorded for Reseda, where the population grew from 7,550 to more than 54,000 today.

As night follows day, booming retail sales followed the terrific influx of people to the Southland. With employment in manufacturing rising from less than 400,000 in 1946 to 630,000 today, the expanded payroll made itself evident in annual retail sales dollar volume reports—$2,550,500,000 in 1945, more than $6 billion estimated for 1954.

If recent population predictions come true, and California has a population of 16,225,000 by 1965—a 3,500,000 increase over the current estimate—the Los Angeles metropolitan area will have nearly 8 million people within its environs.

Despite the tremendous growth of industry in the area and the loss of farmland to the new crops of homes, Los Angeles County maintained its position as the leading agricultural county of the Nation, producing from its fertile soils $2,200,000,000 worth of agricultural products during the fruitful decade.

From under its prolific soil came 915 million barrels of crude oil, more "black gold" than the entire 1952 output of the oil-rich Middle East or Venezuela.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955—No. 2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to building development under the title of "Eight Billion Dollar Decade":

EIGHT BILLION DOLLAR DECADE—THAT'S THE BUILDING RECORD LOS ANGELES METROPOLITAN AREA SET SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II

(By Charles C. Cohan)

The Los Angeles Metropolitan District (officially all Los Angeles and partly Orange Counties) has just rounded out its greatest 10 years, with a new and equally bright era dawning.

Here's a gauge of the progress. Building permits totaling $8,259 million were issued in the district in that decade by the time the 1945–54 span was approaching its close. In that huge volume was a $2,990,314,100 total of permits for constructions in the city of Los Angeles alone. In metropolitan area permits were some 690,000 for family dwelling units. New factories and plant expansions in Los Angeles County in that time totaled $1,559,054,639 investment.

These figures are the statistical measure of a wonderful saga—one of the most remarkable chapters in the American story of development to top place in world history.

It is a saga of a continuing westward migration that long has astonished the world, of fulfilled desire of thousands of people for location, homeownership, and a part in aiding welfare and progress in this region of special charms. It is a mighty saga of the furtherance of free enterprise for the general benefit of region, State, and Nation.

It was 1945. World War II was drawing to an end. Transition from wartime conditions to peacetime situation was beginning. The war years had seen a great upsurge of industrial expansion in this region, new factories and expanded facilities to meet wartime needs. Thousands of war workers had streamed into this area. Dwellings had to be built to meet the greatly increased housing demand—war-worker homes alone were authorized. Thousands of them were built in this metropolitan district. There had been tremendous activity—wartime activity. Then what of the postwar era dawning?

Rumors grew as they flew—fear-tinged guesses, predictions that there would be a sharp industrial slump, that thousands of workers would leave, that thousands of houses would stand empty making a lot of little ghost communities.

These things didn't happen, just as some of us said they wouldn't. There was no exodus. There was no industrial slump. There were no ghost towns. Very much the contrary was true.

Industry had wisely prepared to gear itself to peacetime needs. There were more new factories built and plant expansions in Los Angeles County in the first 5 postwar years than in wartime. In those postwar years industry in this metropolitan region took wider strides toward becoming, as it now is, third in magnitude in the Nation, just back of the industrial position of New York and Chicago.

New residents came here from all directions. Population never ceased increasing in those years.

Postwar removal of the ban on any constructions but those essential to war and other important needs spurred great new building activity. There was a huge backlog of demand for dwellings. Many other kinds of building projects were needed to keep peacetime economy in balance and also to further cultural development.

There was a notable boost in realty market activity. Price levels for existent dwellings rose sharply—prices quickly were twofold, threefold what they were in the 1939–40 period. Wisely and effectively there was prevention of a wild, hysterical boom that might have brought a serious slump. However, there was no trend of return to anything like the 1939–40 levels and it doesn't look like there ever will be.

The vivid picture of great postwar development and progress has as a brilliant highlight the tremendous importance of subdivision formations throughout the region. There were created new communities—with thousands of homes on landscaped sites.

WHAT THE BOOM BROUGHT

Of houses built on subdivisions formed in 8 southern California counties since 1946 to late in 1954, about four-fifths (conservatively estimated) or about 371,200 were built in the Los Angeles metropolitan area—enough homes to supply housing for 371,000 families or around 1,300,000 men, women, and children. And, of course, in that same time thousands more dwellings were built on previously formed subdivisions and on scattered lots.

Strongly indicated is that the recently enacted National Housing Act signed by President Eisenhower will stimulate home building and home-improvement projects. That new widening of the way to homeownership is one of the phases of the strong building and realty activities and general progress here during the past 2 years that give impetus to continuance of very favorable trends in this new year and thereafter.

In the 556,380 building permits, totaling $2,990,314,100, issued in Los Angeles (city) in the span from January 1, 1945, to the final third of 1954, there were 139,578, amounting to $1,143,066,978, for single-family dwellings; 6,456 permits, $73,990,583, for double dwellings, and 7,606 permits, $333,091,567, for apartment buildings.

Los Angeles has no slum or substandard housing conditions such as have been exposed in various other big cities of the Nation, but a metropolis of the size of Los Angeles is certain to have some such problem and to be aware of the importance of prevention of that condition.

Anyhow, the Los Angeles housing rehabilitation program has brought excellent results. So has this city's housing conserva-

tion program. The first mentioned program, inaugurated in Los Angeles in July 1952 by the city's department of building and safety, had, as of last September 1, this record—8,274 units surveyed and 82,740 items corrected or in process of correction as result of 32,532 inspections. The other mentioned program is a preventive maintenance program to preclude spread of blight or slum conditions into new areas.

Los Angeles' position in the national building and realty activity picture is impressive.

The extent to which the Los Angeles building pace has, for years, outdistanced that of various other great American cities is not cited herein to decry the progress those other places have made, but to evidence the amazing advance of Los Angeles.

Here's what a report covering the first 8 months of 1954 discloses:

The $277,147,363 worth of building permits issued in Los Angeles in that time topped the combined totals of Chicago and Philadelphia by $27,316,483 and went $190,778,587 ahead of the Detroit total.

The total for New York (comprising five boroughs or counties, including Brooklyn) was $382,891,479. Also there's the pertinent fact that New York has to consider the building needs of a population of about 8 million while Los Angeles building is aimed at meeting the requirements of a population that now is about 2,100,000, making this city a strong claimant for position of third most populous city in the Nation. And, for the record, it may be remarked again that in the first quarter of 1953 the Los Angeles building permit valuation exceeded the New York amount by $28,797,160.

A summary of the Los Angeles metropolitan region's progress in the last 10 years and its prospects for the next 10 would not be complete without mention of the ever-widening flow of investment capital into this area from all directions. There was a tremendous volume of it in the past year.

All these facts and figures of this region's advance plus the increasing importance of its harbors as portals of commerce, its expanding greatness as a market center, and what the last 10 years—especially the later years of the decade—have seen accomplished and planned in facilities for cultural furtherance, tell why the Los Angeles metropolitan district has a story of amazing 10-year development for all the world to note.

The building record for the 1945–54 decade is indicated here.

Statistics were gathered as 1954 was approaching its close.

Metropolitan district:	
Valuation of all building permits	$8,259,000,000
Permits for family-dwelling units	some 690,000
In city of Los Angeles:	
Valuation for all building permits	2,990,314,100
Permits for single-family dwelling units	139,578
Valuation of single-family dwelling unit permits	1,143,066,978
Permits for multiple dwellings	6,456
Valuation of multiple dwelling permits	73,990,583
Permits for apartment buildings	7,609
Valuation of apartment-building permits	333,091,567

Great Accomplishment When Labor and Management Cooperate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, most news stories and editorials concerning labor and management deal with strife and conflict. Sometimes we almost forget that in the overwhelming majority of labor-management relationships there is a real spirit of cooperation. Collective bargaining is a recognized principle in most cases and the sense of right and fair play on the side of both management and labor most often results in discussing calmly those grievances which are bound to come up and making decisions which are mutually beneficial.

In Minneapolis we have had for the last 15 years a labor-management record of which we are proud. One of the outstanding examples of what can be accomplished without strife when there is a sense of maturity and reasonableness in labor negotiations is the record of 14 years of labor peace at the Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co. where the workers are represented by Teamsters' Local, No. 1145.

The following editorial from the Minneapolis Star of February 2, 1955, points up the accomplishment:

FOURTEEN YEARS OF LABOR PEACE

A pair of Minnesota industrial giants—1 management and 1 labor—have successfully completed their 14th year of collective bargaining negotiations without a strike.

Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co., Minnesota's largest single employer with more than 12,000 employees (about 8,000 of them production workers), and Teamster Local 1145, Minnesota's largest single union local, are understandably proud of their accomplishment.

Spokesmen for both frankly explain that the record isn't a matter of "365 days of nothing but smiles for 14 years." There have been years when they "did some growling" at each other. Both quickly point out that the record has been achieved because both sides have matured in their relations toward each other.

What the two sides agree on is that avoiding a strike is a two-way street. The company, a spokesman said, has a responsibility to its stockholders as well as to its workers. The union, a spokesman said, recognizes its responsibility to its members but also recognizes that without a profit due to decent production and other factors, there would be no money for a raise.

Their bargaining achievement rates some unusual nationwide attention later this month. The American Management Association conference in Chicago has invited H. Skidmore Olsen, Honeywell director of personnel and industrial relations, and Robert I. Wishart, business agent for 1145, to tell how they have traveled the two-way street.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955—No. 3

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to industrial development under the title of "Our Production Picture Unfolds":

OUR PRODUCTION PICTURE UNFOLDS—LOS ANGELES IN THIRD PLACE NATIONALLY IN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND EXPANSION

(By F. Marion Banks)

The 10-year record of industrial growth, 1945–54, in Los Angeles County measured in capital dollars invested was $1,661,090,000. Of the total $552,900,000 or 33.2 percent was money invested in new business ventures or branch plant operations. The balance, $1,108,190,000 or 66.8 percent, was invested in expansion and improvement of existing manufacturing facilities.

This investment in new and expanding facilities has brought to Los Angeles the distinction of being the third largest industrial and marketing center in the United States behind only New York and Chicago. Actually if Los Angeles continues to grow at its present rate and Chicago continues at its present rate then Los Angeles should surpass Chicago within the next decade and become the second largest industrial center in the United States.

Yes, the industrial growth of this area has been tremendous, but there has been a definite reason behind it. Industry has developed and expanded here as population has grown to better serve the ever-increasing demands of a growing market. Plants have moved westward to this area and have grown with the market by trading on the differential between the cost of shipping in raw materials and cost of shipping in competitive finished products. In addition, the advantages of low-cost construction, fuel, and water, and power have made it comparatively easy to start a manufacturing operation here.

As a result, Los Angeles has developed a higher degree of diversification in industry and a greater number of small factories than is the case in other industrial areas in the Nation. This has meant an ever-increasing opportunity for eastern and midwestern firms to participate in the economic growth of the area by building branch plants here.

With the close of the war Los Angeles entered and is still in a period of growth that has seen an almost yearly change in the industrial picture in new and expanding manufacturing operations. In 1945 companies saw an opportunity to reach the growing market that was established here to serve the war effort. The biggest leader to establish in this area was the automotive industries who after 4 years of war effort had a huge market for their products. Second in new industries were metal products, whose leaders saw an opportunity to place their products before the public.

For the year 1946 the motion-picture industry led in new plants with foodstuffs in second place. Plant expansion for 1946 was headed by the petroleum industry, which is

particularly significant inasmuch as this was the first postwar year when Los Angeles industry was presumed to be declining from peak war activity. Second in plant expansion, again, was foodstuffs.

In 1947 the trend of new industry was toward metal products—induced, no doubt, by the advent of the great development of west coast steel production and the increased demand for west coast goods. The ever-growing population in the Western States and the increasing national demand for California products brought foodstuffs up in second place again in the "new plant" investment category. Expansion of plants in 1947 had for its leader foodstuffs with metal products in second place.

The year of 1948 indicates a leveling influence in expansion and greater utilization of existing production facilities; that year metal products led the procession.

Building materials and supplies came into their own this year in second position to meet the unprecedented demand for housing, commercial and industrial growth.

The year 1949 brought a new entry into the field—chemicals, drugs, and paints—as the leader with metal products as second. Expansion capital again highlighted the petroleum products industry with metal products second.

Chemicals took the top spot for 1950 for new manufacturing establishments, a factor which is rapidly making Los Angeles County one of the Nation's most important chemical producing areas. The automotive industry was second in standing of new plants for that year, which keeps Los Angeles next to Detroit as producer of automobiles in the Nation. To meet the accelerated demand for new cars and trucks for the west coast markets the automotive industry also led in industrial expansion in 1950.

In 1951, with the increased activity in national defense, aviation led in new industries with chemicals and paints second. Petroleum and aviation were the leaders for 1951 for expanding operations.

Los Angeles in 1952 was chosen as the plant site for 2 large breweries, which brought foodstuffs and beverages to the lead in new industries with chemicals and paints second. With the start of the Korean outbreak aviation and petroleum led in expansions to help supply our Armed Forces.

A new name in industrial leaders came to the forefront in 1953—electronics. This industry led in new units followed by foodstuffs and beverages, which also ranked first in expanding activities.

Last year, 1954, saw metal products as the leader in new industrial establishments with petroleum products in second place. Again electronics appeared with its application to guided missiles and atomic research to lead in expansions.

Thus we have seen industry in action during the past 10 years giving to Los Angeles a high place in the economy of the Nation. The next 10 years can be as big and even bigger as this area offers to those who are here and who have yet to come an opportunity for the future.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955—No. 4

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to our economic expansion under the title of "Thrift and Savings in Billions":

THRIFT AND SAVINGS IN BILLIONS

(By Neill Davis, executive vice president, California Savings and Loan League)

Growth of California's savings and loan business has been so spectacular that the State is destined to occupy the No. 1 spot in the Nation in 1955.

During 1954, assets of California's savings associations passed the $3-billion mark, the largest gain of any State.

Brightest spot in the picture is southern California, where assets of these thrift and home-financing institutions now stand at an estimated $2,680,170,000, up $504,569,690 over the December 31, 1953, assets total for a 23 percent gain in a year's time.

Contrary to recessionary opinions voiced for 1954 year-end totals with respect to savings and home lending, savings associations have continued to up their figures in both phases of operation.

An important facet of the business is its role in the home-financing picture. Savings institutions in southern California are currently making 37 percent of all home loans in the area and are the largest institutional home lenders. They are playing a stellar role in providing home-financing funds for established residents and for the thousands who enter southern California each month.

During 1954 savings associations in southern California made nearly 93,000 home loans, totaling an estimated 893,000,000. Charted in terms of growth, this means that the amount is up 12 percent or $96,170,000 over the 1953 record. Total loans now held by these institutions number 346,000 and amount to $2,284,986,000, which means a gain of $449,192,116, or 24 percent, during the past 12 months.

In addition to financing homes for southern California's population, savings associations engage in another function—that of providing a safe place for the investment of the public's savings and giving investors the highest return on their money consistent with safety. Attesting to the high esteem the public places in this savings medium is the fact that nearly 848,000 southern Californians have invested $2,178,446,000 of their savings in these institutions. This amount is a 27-percent gain over December 31, 1953, or $457,796,437, dollarwise, according to estimates.

Savings and loan associations in southern California are practically all members of the Federal Home Loan Bank System, which acts in a reserve credit capacity for these institutions. In addition, savings accounts are insured up to $10,000, providing another safety factor for investors.

Southern California associations are among the most modern and aggressive in the country and the largest concentration of new and beautiful office quarters is located here. In addition to the most up-to-date equipment and operating methods, savings associations also offer the best customer service available—with the same friendly attention given to the large or small investor or borrower.

While savings associations enjoy excellent public relations, they also enjoy excellent employee relations. Thousands of persons are employed by the business in southern California and associations are noted for their good employer-employee relationship. They excel in providing facilities such as recreation rooms, lunchrooms, and a myriad of employee benefits, such as health and life insurance and generous pension plans. Employees also are encouraged to attend courses offered by the American Savings & Loan Institute, educational arm of the industry. In most instances the tuition is paid for by the association.

Representing California's thrift and home-financing business is the California Savings & Loan League, statewide trade organization of these 200 institutions. From a humble beginning back in 1890, the league has grown to the point where it enjoys nearly 100 percent membership among California associations. It has waged a steady battle to bring about legislation and operating methods which will be in the best interests of the public and the business itself.

Culmination of the league's work came in November, when the importance of the business in California was recognized in a proclamation signed by Mayor Norris Poulson designating a savings and loan week in Los Angeles. During the week of November 14, over 3,000 delegates from throughout the Nation gathered in Los Angeles for the combined conventions of the California and the United States Savings & Loan Leagues. At that time the industry was publicly commended for the important role it has played in the thrift and home-financing branches of the economy.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955—No. 5

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to our world trade under the title of "World Commerce and Los Angeles-Long Beach Harbor Expansion":

WORLD COMMERCE AND LOS ANGELES-LONG BEACH HARBOR EXPANSION—LOS ANGELES HARBOR'S GROWING POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT CLIMAXED BY RECORD YEAR IN 1954—26,200,000 TONS OF CARGO

(By Charles Crawford)

Through the portals of Los Angeles Harbor and across the 120 improved docks of this $150 million port there flowed during the past year more than 26,200,000 tons of cargo. It was the greatest shipping year in the harbor's nearly 100-year history and it climaxed a steady postwar growth destined to make the Pacific the future theater of world commerce.

World trade through Los Angeles Harbor during the past decade has maintained a constantly increasing tempo to keep pace with industrial development of the Southland and to satisfy the demands of our growing population. During the postwar years more than $25 million in improvements have been made on the 7,000 acres and 28-mile-long waterfront of Los Angeles Harbor.

Two of the world's finest passenger-cargo terminals, the $8,500,000 Matson Line facility and a $6,500,000 base for American President Lines, are among the many improvements. During the past year another $3 million worth of expansion projects including widening of terminal sheds and new facilities for the world's greatest fishing fleet were started.

More than 5,600 ships entered the Harbor area last year with 4,707 docking at Los Angeles Harbor piers and terminals. Cargo movement showed an increase of 1,437,413 tons over the previous year.

Scores of new ships and markets opened to trade activities during the year. Japanese shipping, showing a remarkable gain since end of World War II, jumped into first place among the more than 2,200 foreign-ship arrivals with 409 ships, supplanting Great Britain as the No. 1 foreign-flag operator.

British ships slid to third place and Norwegian ships stayed in second place with 378. Liberian ships numbering 99 appeared in the harbor for the first time.

Panamanian flagships numbering 209, Greek trade with 105 ships in port, reappearance for the first time in 13 years of German merchant vessels and appearance for first time in port of Yugoslav, Israel, Chinese, Swiss, and Irish ships gave emphasis to the booming world trade of the port. Another 65 Mexican ships calling at the port had an important part in the moving of $43 million in exports and $31 million in imports between southern California and northwest Mexico and Baja California.

Total export trade from the Los Angeles district during the first 6 months of 1954 jumped to $215,045,698 compared to $146,824,082 in 1953, and imports totaled $127,059,185 against $140,173,135, United States Department of Commerce figures revealed.

Oil imports of 47,141,393 barrels, exports of 76,917,367 barrels and bunker fuel supplied ships calling at the harbor totaling 24,282,850 barrels made up a postwar high movement of 148,341,610 barrels of petroleum through the harbor.

More than 600 commercial fishing vessels employing 3,000 fishermen brought 108,327 tons of fish to 11 port canneries and another 9 million pounds to fresh fish markets. Approximately 8,500 cannery workers, drawing an annual payroll of $15 million, packed nearly 12 million cases of fish for distribution throughout the world.

A half dozen sport fishing landings and some 200 sport fishing boats took out 125,000 southland anglers who landed 461,472 deep-sea fish, according to the California Department of Fish and Game.

Nineteen pleasure boat anchorages, 4 of them newly developed, accommodate approximately 3,800 pleasure craft representing a value of nearly $20 million in Los Angeles Harbor and yachtsmen and their friends spend an estimated $10 million per year on boating activities of which $2 million is for boat maintenance alone.

Cotton and agricultural products top Los Angeles Harbor's export picture but manufactured articles are in second place, having thrust oil into third position as southern California's great industrial growth gains in importance.

Oil-rich Long Beach Harbor, adjacent to the Los Angeles port, is rapidly coming into prominence. During the past 10 years Long Beach has spent $33 million in port facilities to nearly double shipping facilities. Capital improvements now total $51,978,208.

Long Beach Harbor Department has rung up $171,553,915 in net oil revenues of which 20 percent goes into the port revenue fund, 30 percent into a reserve fund and 50 percent to the city of Long Beach.

New terminal facilities costing approximately $2 million are under construction, contracts have been let for $1,500,000 worth of new terminals and another $3 million in improvements is planned.

Building of bridges across the Los Angeles River, maintenance and operation of the only floating bridge in southern California and of the huge lift span bridge across Cerritos Channel and the establishment of new freeways connecting Long Beach Harbor with the Greater Los Angeles area are all part of the Long Beach Department program.

Commerce in Long Beach Harbor totaled 5,600,000 tons in 1946 compared to 7,260,000 tons during the past year. Newsprint imports of 285,000 tons were listed as the top item for the port's incoming cargo with gypsum second with 273,000 tons and steel third with 265,000 tons.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955—No. 6

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to airplane manufacturing under the title of "Airpower Roars Back":

AIRPOWER ROARS BACK

(By Marvin Miles, Times aviation editor)

In Los Angeles—as in California and the Nation—aircraft is the largest, the dominant manufacturing industry.

Plunging from the World War II high of 272,000 workers a little more than a decade ago, employee rolls dropped off to a scant 57,700 in 1948 during the postwar slump that saw destruction of the world's finest Air Force.

But then came Korea and the dawning realization that without adequate air power this Nation cannot survive.

Today, with a solid 178,000 people and a plant area of nearly 30 million square feet, the aircraft and aircraft parts industry in the Los Angeles area is estimated to exceed by a substantial margin the value of the area's petroleum and natural gas production, the value of motion pictures produced or agricultural crops grown or tourist and conventioner moneys expended here.

From the standpoint of area employment, the aircraft industry has three times as many persons as the agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, and petroleum industries combined. It has more workers than all contract construction, more than all organizations in transportation, communications, and public utilities, more than wholesale trade, more than the combined personnel totals in the fields of finance, insurance, and real estate in Los Angeles.

Today's aircraft employment represents about 28 percent of the total manufacturing employment and accounts for approximately 29 percent of the manufacturing payroll—which in 1954 was approximately $880 million or nearly $17 million a week.

Of vast economic importance to the area, these payrolls mean gainful employment for additional thousands of persons who sell the necessities of everyday personal life.

From $17 million weekly, the United States Bureau of Census average buying habit formula indicates, purchases include $3,250,000 for groceries and meats, $2,250,000 for automobiles, gasoline and motorcar services, $1,333,000 for clothing, more than $1,250,000 for personal services such as dry cleaning, laundry, beauty shops, etc., a similar amount for miscellaneous items and almost $1 million for furniture and household appliances.

All of which, by chain reaction, contributes heavily to the area's economy and its ability to absorb and employ its rapidly growing population.

And behind these vital economic realities is the fact that the extreme complexity of today's aircraft and missiles requires that the predominant percentage of those employed in the industry must be well trained in particular skills—high-type workers who comprise an important community asset.

Productionwise the aviation picture has changed vastly from the World War II scene. The jet age is well underway. Missiles are coming into their own and atomic flight is deep into research stages.

Gone are most of the famed piston types that helped clear the skies over Europe and the Pacific, outmoded by advances in design and power, banished by the gargantuan, snarling thrust of the turbojet as the "big four" of the Los Angeles area—Douglas, Lockheed, North American, and Northrop—and Convair in San Diego probe deeper and deeper for better performance, greater speed, higher altitude, extended range, and heavier loads.

Not only the five major plants, but factories like Hughes Aircraft and Aerojet and many smaller up-to-the-minute concerns such as AiResearch and the William R. Whittaker valve company contributed steadily to the screeching bellow of progress through the sky.

Today's thriving industry was built from a low ebb that this Nation hopefully will never see again. It is perhaps best described by J. H. (Dutch) Kindelberger, board chairman of North American Aviation:

"Ten years ago the United States had the most powerful Air Force in the world. What happened? The answer is quite simple. We took the peace seriously, virtually stopped our aircraft production, and all but scrapped our airpower. The great air fleets that scourged the European skies and moved on to command the vast reaches of the Pacific were shot down overnight by our own overoptimism, our complacency, and our eagerness to put aside the sword in favor of the plow."

The buildup sparked by the suddenness of Korea and the sharp realization that Russia, too, can build fighting jets has today leveled off into what will probably be a steady production program—unless America is again swept into a full-fledged war.

With a backlog of nearly $4 billion, the major plants in this area are pursuing research and development along many lines and the secrets behind the locked doors of southern California aircraft laboratories would be startling to the layman if we could but know them now.

Foremost among these would be the missiles currently in design and production, deadly accurate supersonic weapons of all ranges, short, medium, intercontinental, and of all types, ground-to-ground, such as Northrop's Snark; ground-to-air, exemplified currently in the Douglas Nike; air-to-air types, such as the Hughes Falcon; air-to-ground—even subsurface (submarine) to air and air-to-subsurface. And one can read in military announcement of a missile the fact that it would not be announced unless something better and faster and harder hitting was in the offing.

Exemplifying the startling innovations of the year just past are the two VTO (vertical takeoff) fighters, vonCair's XFY–1 and Lockheed's XFV–1, both built for the Navy and announced in 1954. These unique aircraft, powered with turbine engines turning massive propellers, stand on their tails, climb straight up, and land—tail first—straight down. In the future, perhaps, they'll fly from the restricted decks of cargo ships or from postage-stamp mountain areas impossible for other aircraft.

Along with the continual striving for speed—with a top of 1,650 miles per hour achieved at nearby Edwards Air Force Base, and altitude, an estimated 90,000 feet, also at Edwards Air Force Base Flight Test Center—lightness has become a prerequisite for certain types exemplified in Chief Engineer Ed Heinemann's A4D hotrod Skyhawk bantam bomber, for Douglas El Segundo, and the

Navy and Lockheed's forthcoming XF-104 United States Air Force fighter which, it is guessed, will have a top speed twice that of sound.

Developments and refinements of planes already developed were many during the year. North American's supersonic (level flight) F-100 Super Sabre was delivered to the first operational wing to have such aircraft at George Air Force Base near Victorville. Northrop's refined and superpowered F-89 Scorpion—most heavily armed United States interceptor—went on long-range guard duty in the Arctic. Convair's delta wing F-102 Air Force interceptor was testing at Edwards Air Force Base, with refinements under way. At the same time the San Diego company's delta wing bomber was taking shape and flight studies of its triangle wing Sea Dart water-ski jet fighter continued.

Douglas boosted the power of its record-holding (speed) F4D Skyray, Navy fighter, which should now be supersonic, and at the same time went into full-scale production on the swept-wing A3D Skywarrior attack plane, a twin jet that will be the Navy's heaviest carrier-based aircraft.

Lockheed flew its weight-lugging C-130 turbo-prop transport, demonstrated a new two-place jet trainer for military use, showed off a turbo-prop version of the Super Constellation (to be built for both the Navy and the Air Force) and also demonstrated the latest version of its radar-eyed early-warning adapation of the versatile transport.

Another Lockheed development was announced for the famed P2V Navy patrol bomber series, auxiliary jet engines for the ship's two conventional powerplants, along with an extended tail boom to carry additional submarine-detecting electronics gear.

And while these and other programs were being pushed in the bustling factories, engineers were delving deeper and deeper into the next major problem—the heat barrier. Unlike the sonic wall, which was a sharply defined single hurdle, the wall of heat has infinite depth—the faster planes and missiles fly the hotter they will become until plexiglass softens, metal warps, equipment fails and pilots scorch.

And what of air transportation? Douglas DC-7s, the fast turbo-compound engine transports, continued to pile up records for cross-country schedules in both speed and passenger loads. Lockheed Connies criss-crossed the Nation, Los Angeles Airways inaugurated the first of a series of passenger helicopter services between Los Angeles (International Airport) and Long Beach. Scandinavian Airlines System inaugurated transpolar service to Europe via the Copenhagen gateway, linking Los Angeles directly to continental capitals for the first time; Western Air Lines inaugurated "champagne flights" with "bubbly" and orchids for passengers.

But perhaps the best way to tell the transport story is to capsule the development of Los Angeles International Airport which now covers 3000 acres in the southwest corner of the city, with 1100 acres currently in use and the remaining acreage ready for final and ultimate expansion to three times the capacity of today's airport—even now one of the world's busiest transportation centers.

Since 1947, the first full year of airlane operation, the number of passengers has increased 123.30 percent to more than 2,754,728 for the year 1954. This figure is more than the entire population of Los Angeles. And by 1960 it is estimated 5 million passengers will clear the airport's runways.

Air freight and express show 193.32 percent gain in '54 over '47 and air mail volume has jumped 104.93 percent.

There are 12 air carriers: American Airlines, Bonanza Airlines, California Central Airlines, Compania Mexicana de Aviacion, Mercury Air Lines, Pan American World Airways, Scandinavian Airlines System, Southwest Airways, Trans World Airlines, United Air Lines, Western Air Lines and Los Angeles Airways.

Operation of passenger, air mail and freight services is from buildings intended as temporary quarters until completion of the master airport with permanent passenger and air mail facilities west of Sepulveda Boulevard. Air freight will eventually occupy the present buildings and ramp area which has 26 plane loading positions. The permanent terminal will have a minimum of 40 loading positions plus helicopter loading areas.

As an industrial center, International Airport is unique. Located on it and within a half-mile radius are 110 industries employing more than 70,000 persons at a weekly payroll in excess of $6 million. While aircraft manufacture and allied parts predominate, there is also a wide assortment of other industries, such as cosmetics, bathing suit, furniture, toy, food and other manufacturing centers.

Functionally, the airport is among the safest in the world. It conforms to a majority of the recommendations set forth by the President's Airport Commission, headed by Gen. Jimmy Doolittle. The main east-west runway system, 8,500 feet long, can be extended to 12,500 feet, when and if necessary. To the east, the city owns the half-mile approach zone. To the west, the approach zone extends to the Pacific Ocean.

Located here is every navigational aid—radar, instrument-landing system, high-intensity runway and slope-line approach lights. There are no obstructions, natural or manmade, over 500 feet high in an area of 300 square miles surrounding the airport. Cleared approaches combine with level terrain, favorable winds from the Pacific and navigational aids to earn the airport the highest rating as a safe and functional airport.

Financially speaking, the airport has also astounded the experts. It was the first and is still one of the very few airports which pay all operating expenses, set aside for depreciation, pay interest on outstanding bonds and show an annual profit.

Source of the airport's revenue dollar is as follows: Concessions, 43 cents; airlines, 24 cents; manufacturing companies, 22 cents; miscellaneous rentals, 9 cents; and miscellaneous, 2 cents.

Completion of the master airport by 1960 becomes an acute need in order to handle the vast volume of air commerce flowing into this area. The citizens of Los Angeles will be asked to advance the necessary money through a bond issue. Then the airport with its completed facilities and much greater earning capacity will repay the loan from revenues.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955—No. 7

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to the development and expansion of electronics under the title of "Electronics, a Success Story":

ELECTRONICS: A SUCCESS STORY—IN A DECADE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EMERGES NATION'S MAJOR PRODUCER

(By E. P. Gertsch, president, West Coast Electric Manufacturers Association)

Probably no industry has ever seen the meteoric growth that has taken place in electronics—a growth so fast that the public's knowledge of the industry has not kept up with the development.

In 1940 the industry volume nationally was approximately $700 million. In 1954 the volume was estimated at nearly 10 times that amount, or $6.5 billion. Many think that the next 6 years should bring electronic industry volume to more than $12 billion annually.

Southern California has become a major producer of electronic equipment, doing an estimated 17 to 20 percent of the industry's total dollar volume.

Development of the industry here was not by accident. There were pioneers in the electronic business early in the 1940s. They were small manufacturers who banded together to form the West Coast Electronic Manufacturers Association back in 1943. Collectively, they went to eastern points where purchasing was being done, and proved that southern California was the natural place for development of electronics in every phase. We had the climate to attract skilled engineers necessary for research and development. We had the educational institutions where further training could take place. We had the aircraft industry, one of the most important users of electronic apparatus. And most important, those pioneers of the forties had the will to do a job for the national defense.

From that start has grown an industry which is one of southern California's greatest, with over 125 electronic-producing companies now participating in the expanded activities of the West Coast Electronic Manufacturers Association.

Few people really know what electronics is. Sure, it is radio and television and communications systems. But more than that, it is the key to national defense and becoming increasingly important. The guided missile could not be controlled without electronics. Our aircraft have reached such speeds that the human brain cannot work fast enough to fire the guns at the right time, so electronic gear sights the target and triggers the weapons.

Since possible enemies have the same kind of equipment we have, countermeasures are necessary to help us defend ourselves by jamming enemy equipment. Radar in commercial as well as military aircraft protects everyone who rides a plane. Now we are operating business by means of electronic apparatus, solving difficult problems in minutes which would require hundreds of man-hours otherwise.

Automation is becoming an important phase of electronic development. Economists and industrial analysts conclude that in order to maintain the present rate of increase in living standards in this country, the output of goods and services per worker must increase approximately 33 percent between 1950 and 1960. Because the worker is already taxed to his limit in industry, this increase must come through the automation of production. Electronics plays the most important part in the automatic factory.

Electronically generated ultrasonic vibrations have been used to treat cancer in mice and mental disorders in humans in recent tests.

In southern California, members of the West Coast Electronic Manufacturers Association use 5,409,800 square feet of floor area and employ over 40,000 people. There probably is an additional 50 percent of area and personnel in electronics in this area, used by nonmembers of the association. Most of

these are divisions of our major aircraft plants.

The electronics industry here has moved into adulthood in little more than a decade, and passed other sections of the country in volume by sizable margins. Now we have a major industry—free of smog-producing equipment—and tailored to the climate of the area as well as the dynamic industry growth which has taken place.

Kansas, the 34th Star

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ERRETT P. SCRIVNER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, on January 29, 1861, the 34th star was added to our flag, denoting the admission of the Territory of Kansas as a State in the Union.

In keeping with the birthday spirit, I gave a radio talk over KCMO, Kansas City, Mo., the subject of which was Kansas.

That speech, substantially as given, follows:

Inasmuch as January 29 is the 94th birthday of the State of Kansas, a day that will be celebrated all over the Nation, and especially at Topeka, it seems fitting and proper that, as a native Kansan, and as a Representative in Congress from Kansas, I should make Kansas the subject of my initial broadcast.

Did you ever notice what happens when you meet somebody from Texas? The first thing they do is start bragging about Texas—it's Texas this—Texas that. Let's admit, right off of the bat, that Texas is a big State.

Now Texas does raise a lot of cattle, but that beef wouldn't be fit to eat if it wasn't fed on that fine blue stem grass of the Kansas Flint Hills, and if it wasn't finished off with Kansas—yes, Missouri—corn in Kansas and Missouri feed lots.

Take away the military installations in Texas—yes, and its oil wells—well, you guess what would happen.

Kansas and Kansans have lots of things to be proud of, and to rightfully boast about. We have even more right to brag than Texans, and we should do it every chance we get.

Kansas is roughly 200 miles wide and 400 long; a little better than 80,000 square miles. That's about one-third the size of Texas.

In those 80,000 square miles, we have many natural resources, for which we claim no credit. The Lord provided those. But they are there. There's lots of oil, although not as much as Texas. There's natural gas—and there's coal. Kansas is the greatest supplier of fuel and energy in the United States.

When you speak of gold, most of us think of Alaska, or perhaps, Cripple Creek, Colo., and gold means great wealth. We don't mine any gold in Kansas, but in mineral resources, Kansas produces five times as much as Alaska with its gold, and our mineral production far exceeds the minerals produced in the reputedly mineral rich States of the Rocky Mountains.

Salt is a commonly accepted household item here, but in many countries I have visited it is a luxury selling for as much as $10 a pound. Kansas has enough salt to last the entire world thousands of years.

In less spectacular quantities, Kansas produces lead, zinc, gypsum, clays, cement, chalk, helium, and an enviable amount of fine sand and gravel.

Far from being the drab, ugly, flat State many uninformed writers have pictured it, Kansas is full of scenic beauty, starting with the rolling hills and the valley of the Marias des Cygne on out to prehistoric grounds and the Rock Canyons of Ellsworth which vie, in beauty, with some of the highly advertised national parks.

The heart of America, the very center of the United States, Kansas is crossed and recrossed by 13 railroads, 4 of which are transcontinental lines. Several major airlines cross the State; and talking of flying, Kansas has more "flying farmers" than any State in the Union. Even though Texas is three times as big as Kansas, Kansas has far more miles of improved highways than Texas. In fact, Kansas is second, in the United States, in highway mileage.

Although visited by droughts at times, we are not as hard hit by them as many other States. Kansas is a commercial corn-growing State. Its output of soybeans is prodigious and everybody knows that Kansas grows one-fifth of all the wheat grown in this country.

Kansas raises lots of high-grade beef, but what is not generally known is that turkey raising is a multi-million dollar business in Kansas, and that Kansas ranks among the top eight States in poultry and egg production.

While 90 percent of our area is farms, Kansas is growing rapidly as an industrial State. More than 3,000 factories turn out thousands of various industrial items.

Much of the cement going into our new homes, highways, and buildings comes from Kansas plants like those at Bonner Springs, Iola, and Humboldt.

The automobile tire plant at Topeka and the huge oil refineries like the Phillips plant in Kansas City, Kans., keep the Nation's wheels of commerce turning.

Better crops are grown as the result of the chemical plants such as the Co-op plant at Lawrence, and Spencer, and Pittsburg.

Strange as it may seem and sound, during World War II, Kansas had 2 shipyards in operation, 1 at Leavenworth and 1, the Darby plant on Kaw Point in Kansas City, Kans. In these yards were built landing craft used in the beachhead operations at Omaha Beach, Anzio, and Iwo Jima.

In Kansas City, Kans., B–25 Mitchell bombers were turned out by the hundreds, while at Wichita, Boeing made the famous B–29. Today the Kansas City, Kans., plant is turning out F–84–F's and just recently Boeing, at Wichita, turned out its 1,000th B–47 jet bomber and is now producing the even bigger B–52.

At Sunflower, millions of pounds of explosives were produced, and at Parsons countless thousands of bombs were loaded and sent on their way to bring victory.

Tell your Texas friends to come to Kansas and we'll show them the biggest grain elevator in the world—right in Kansas City, Kans.; the biggest natural cold storage cave at Bonner Springs; and down by Pleasanton they'll see the biggest electric shovel in the world which digs coal almost by the carload. Yes, we have big things in Kansas, too.

These are only a few of the industrial contributions Kansas makes in war or peace—a production so great that Kansas in dollar volume was 5th in the 48 in World War II.

With all of the vast production and the problems involved, Kansas had the best labor record of all, with little or no loss of time or war material from strikes.

Kansas has an amazingly interesting historical background. Even though we have no Alamo, our future was determined by hard-riding, hard-fighting men skilled in handling the six-guns and Sharp's rifles.

Our earliest recorded history goes back to Coronado's conquest in 1541—60 years before Pocahontas saved John Smith's neck.

Kansas is dotted with historical sites reminiscent of the gold rush, and the Santa Fe Trail, Indian wars, the Pony Express, border warfare, cow towns, along the Chisholm Trail, Dodge City, Abilene.

At the mouth of the Kaw, Lewis and Clark started their famous expedition.

Close at home is the Shawnee Indian Mission. Osawatomie is the site of John Brown's cabin. Then, too, there is Trading Post, scene of ruffian border war, Lawrence, and Quantrill's raid, with the reciprocating raids into Missouri by Jayhawkers.

Council Grove was the site of Indian treaties. At Fort Scott we still have the old pre-Civil War barracks and blockhouse.

All of these are part of the great heritage of Kansas. However, the greatest asset of our State is its people.

Today the No. 1 Kansan is President Eisenhower—but we have had other great men. Charles Curtis, proud of his Indian blood, was Vice President. We have given the Nation outstanding men and women in all fields of activity.

One of the long-time best sellers, "In His Steps" was written by Rev. Charles Sheldon.

The literary world recognizes such men as William Allen White and his son young Bill; yes, and John J. Ingalls, President pro tempore of the United States Senate and author of Ironquill. Albert T. Reid, Gene Howe, and Arthur Capper graced the news field, along with today's Ben Hibbs, of the Saturday Evening Post, and Ernest K. Lindley, and last but by no means least is the beloved Merle Thorpe.

In the broadcasting field a Kansan's voice is ranked best, John Cameron Swayze, and close behind him is a Kansas University graduate, Richard Harkness.

Whenever one thinks of sports he thinks of Jess Willard, heavyweight champion, and the "Big Train" Walter Johnson in baseball, and the epitome of determination and grit, the great runner, Glenn Cunningham, and in more recent years the all-American football star, Ray Evans.

In the field of adventure two Kansas women are at the top of the list, Mrs. Osa Johnson, explorer, and Amelia Earhart, the lost aviatrix.

When it comes to beauty and grace Kansans can be proud of little Donna Attwood, star of Ice Capades.

Bradbury Thompson, of Topeka, art director of Madamoiselle and Living, was recently declared the art editor of the year.

Walter Beech in aviation history; George Washington Carver in science and racial progress; yes, ever so many others, including the top men in industry, science, and business throughout the Nation.

That Kansas should have produced such men is no accident. Their background, training, and surroundings were exceptional. Kansas is proud of its churches and schools. Despite the fact that Massachusetts has Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Kansas, second in the United States, is far above the Bay State in literacy, and Kansas has the largest number of college students per thousand of any State in the Union.

In all of our wars, Kansas has made big contributions. Missouri had her Pershing. Kansas had her Funston. Kansans have won all sorts of awards from the Congressional Medal on down. In World War I, Kansas had the smallest number of men rejected for military service—which demonstrates the physical sturdiness of her sons. In World War II, with many Kansans having settled there, Oregon pushed us into second place. But with the coming of the Korean war, Kansas again had the fewest rejections. Yet Texas has the audacity to brag of the hardiness of her menfolk

Kansas has the highest percentage of native-born residents of any of the States. And while we think of New York as a wealthy State, the per capita wealth of Kansas is greater than that of New York.

From what I have said you may well guess that I am proud of Kansas and proud to be a Kansan. I am.

We have more than our share of good things—and fewer of the bad than many have claimed. We have had far fewer cyclones than many of the southern States, so stories about Kansas being a cyclone State are libelous. We have had our share of hard times, too. Our motto—Ad astra per aspira—"To the stars through difficulty" is particularly appropriate. Those courageous ancestors of ours, who left comforts behind, came to Kansas and carved out a great future for us, did face hardships and difficulties. Their courage, stamina, and faith brought them through. We, their children, can see the bright stars of the future.

With this great history, it is perfectly natural that on Kansas Day, Kansans should gather together and celebrate their State's birthday.

These Kansas Day celebrations were started nearly 75 years ago by about 100 men headed by a great threesome of newspaper fame, William Allen White, Ewing Herbert, and Charles Harger, the sole survivor of that famous trio.

For nearly fourscore years these meetings have taken place with the activities centered around Topeka.

Soon we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of Kansas statehood, just as we have celebrated the Territorial Centennial this past year.

That century has marked the development of God-given natural resources by resourceful courageous Kansans.

The story of that century is as gripping as fiction, as colorful as a modern-day western. The cast of characters is as varied as can be imagined: Indians and white men, saints and sinners, lawmakers and lawbreakers, laborers and financiers, teachers and preachers. Long-remembered names such as Billy the Kid, Bat Masterson, Kit Carson, Lincoln and Douglas and their great debates, Carrie Nation, Horace Greeley, Walt Mason, all left their mark as the story of Kansas unfolds.

The scenes were as varied as the characters; tepees and sodhouses, churches and saloons, courthouses and jails, factories and farms, battlefields, cradles, and graves.

The pages of that century of history are punctuated by spurting six guns, splattered with blood of border warfare, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, two World Wars, and Korea.

That hundred years has served to try Kansas and Kansans. They have been tested; they've been found true, loyal, and courageous.

Here, indeed, and in fact, is the heart of America.

And in closing, may I read the product of the skilled pen of Charles Harger, what has been called the Kansan's Creed:

"We believe in Kansas, in the glory of her prairies, in the richness of her soil, in the beauty of her skies, and in the healthfulness of her climate.

"We believe in the Kansas people, in their sturdy faith, and abounding enthusiasm; in their patriotism and their fidelity to the good things of civilization; in their respect for law and their love of justice; in their courage and zeal; in their independence; and in their devotion to uplifting influences in education and religion.

"We believe in Kansas institutions; in the Kansas language and in Kansas ideals; in her uprightness in society; and in her demands that honor, sobriety, and respect be maintained in public and private life; in her marvelous productiveness; and in her wonderful future."

Yes, I am a Kansan. I am proud of it. If you, too, are a Kansan, I trust that you join me in that pride. If you are not a Kansan, I hope you feel that this pride is justified.

The Church the Reds Silenced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to introduce in the RECORD an article by Brother Jerome J. Barnych, of the Order of St. Basil the Great. As will be seen, this deals with the suppression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church behind the Red curtain and is another indication of the fanaticism of the forces with which we must contend and that we cannot counter effectively, without a full knowledge of what is going on.

THE CHURCH THE REDS SILENCED—NINE YEARS OF MERCILESS PERSECUTION HAVE COMPLETELY DESTROYED THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

On December 15, 1952, Pope Pius XII, with his encyclical the Oriental Churches, broke once again the harsh silence that pervades the persecuted church behind the impenetrable Iron Curtain. This was the second time since 1945 that the Holy Father, guardian of truth and defender of the oppressed, turned his encyclical voice toward the suffering brethren of the eastern rites.

The Pope requested that Catholics throughout the world unite in prayer for these afflicted souls who weep bitterly as they see their bishops put to death or dispersed * * * as they behold so many of their churches destined to profane uses or in squalid abandon; that the all-compassionate God grant them heroic fortitude in enduring their hardships and even martyrdom for the faith and that He put an end to this sad state of affairs.

These sympathetic and encouraging words of Christ's vicar met wide acclaim and humble gratitude from Ukrainian Catholics the world over.

The Church of Silence, as the Holy Father appropriately calls, among others, the Ukrainian Catholic Church, has hardly known the word "peace." Ever since Ukraine reunited with the Holy See (1595), its land has become a battlefield of continual political and religious aggression of neighboring countries. The present Communist regime is merely pursuing the dreadful policy adopted by the Czars: complete annihilation of Ukrainian Catholicism.

Why is the godless Kremlin so intent on wiping out the Catholic Church? Primarily, because communism is fundamentally atheistic; religious tolerance is absolutely foreign to Marxism. This many fail to realize. Communist ideology is the only admittedly set form of worship. Presently the Reds permit the Orthodox Church to function, but that is only after purging it with unprecedented inhumanity and infiltrating it with agents—the Secret Police, their own clerical products. Today the Orthodox Church is fully controlled by the Reds and is actually being used in promoting their grievous designs.

The Ukrainian Catholics fell the first victims of Communist persecution. Why? In the 16th century, when Ukraine entered in union with the Holy See, it retained its eastern liturgical rite, language, and customs. To this very day this fact is a living proof to the dissident Russian people that they too could achieve church unity with Rome without forfeiting any of the ancient ritual customs they cherish. Furthermore, the Czars forever sought to establish Moscow as the third Rome. And as long as the Ukrainians living under Czarist rule remained faithful to Catholicism, Moscow's ambitious aspirations were utterly frustrate. Thus thousands of Catholic priests, monks, and laity were martyred for their blunt refusal to acknowledge the dissident Patriarch of Moscow. However 85 percent of the people were finally dragged into the schism "by force and fraud," as Pope Pius XII stated in his encyclical in 1945. The remaining millions of Catholics in Galicia held fast to their faith and thus constituted an insuperable barrier for realizing their covetous plan. Consequently, the existence, expansion, and influence of Ukrainian Catholicism was regarded by the Holy See as the spark of hope that would bridge the gap between the Orthodox East and the true fold. Apropos of this fact Pope Urban VIII hopefully predicted: "Through you, my Ukrainians, I hope to convert the East."

However, what the white terror of imperialism futilely attempted for four centuries, the Red terror of communism has accomplished in a decade. Five million Ukrainian Catholics have fallen prey to the worst of Soviet persecutions; 10 bishops have been either ruthlessly martyred or condemned to forced labor in Siberia; 3,470 priests have been deported or imprisoned; 1,600 nuns were expelled from their convents; 195 monasteries, religious houses, were pillaged, confiscated, occupied by schismatics; 3,040 parishes, together with 4,440 churches and chapels, were closed or violently appropriated by the dissidents; about 10,000 Catholic schools have been converted into Red anti-Catholic factories.

The Reds hurled their first overt attack at the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1939. This lasted 22 months. The Commies classified religion as a lucrative business. Thus church property was heavily taxed. They grabbed control of the schools quickly. Priests were barred from visiting hospitals. But, much through the aid of nuns working incognito as nurses, the priests ministered the sacraments to the dying patients. Red authorities confiscated all presses, even private typewriters. Within this short period the Red secret police deported and murdered 250,000 Ukrainian Catholics from the Lviv diocese. Among these first victims of Red terror were 33 priests. The great metropolitan of Ukraine, Andrew Sheptytskyj, protested vehemently, but futilely. He wrote to the Vatican describing the persecution as a "direct application of the militant, atheistic principles adopted in Spain during the civil war."

The prospect of a dark and stormy future urged the aging prelate of Ukraine to warn his Catholic youth of the grave dangers to which it would be exposed. "Dear children," he wrote, "do me this favor: Copy this letter for yourselves and refer to it often. Remind others of its contents. * * * Beware of the sing against the holy faith. Remain loyal to the holy church. As betrayal of the native country, so betrayal of the church—our mother, who guides us from infancy till death lending her hand in all our needs, is a base crime. * * * Most of all, dear children, I recommend you to receive the sacraments frequently." * * *

"With this letter," the great metropolitan continues, "I bid you farewell, since I do not know if God will permit me to labor and pray for you much longer."

The Red armies returned to Ukraine in 1944. With the metropolitan dead, the Soviets were bent upon completely elimi-

nating the church in Ukraine. At first they maintained a respectful attitude toward religion. Sermons were once more freely preached in churches; taxes on church property temporarily modified; Red officers and soldiers attended religious services. Purposely of course. But Catholic publications were strictly prohibited. Clerics were exempted from military service. They were considered unworthy to serve the Soviet Government. The real reason was the Reds didn't want priests sustaining religious beliefs and duties among the soldiers.

In the winter of 1944–45 the secret police began summoning the clergy for reeducational conferences. They would dishonor the church, the Holy Father, then cross-examine their pupils incessantly through the night. Brainwashing was in practice long before the Korean conflict.

April 11, 1945, brought the sudden arrest of five Ukrainian Catholic bishops. They were deported to Russia. Archbishop Joseph Slipyj, the new metropolitan, was one of the victims. He was condemned to 8 years of forced labor in Siberia. The Reds recently prolonged his imprisonment to 17 more years. German ex-prisoners returning from Siberia reported seeing His Excellency at work combing wool.

With the hierarchy arrested, the Soviets published an order prohibiting all religious ceremonies. Only state-registered priests were allowed to celebrate Mass. Then Red authorities began promoting a movement for the reunion of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the dissident church. Refusal to collaborate spelled immediate arrest. Thus more than 500 priests were seized, in the street or at home, and deported. A railway worker relates that 1 night he saw 150 priests being transported from the district of Ternopil to Siberia. And an Armenian priest testified that 800 Ukrainian Catholic priests were with him in prison back in 1946. He escaped later on.

The Ukrainian Catholics in Red-occupied Poland met a similar fate. On September 21, 1945, Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovskyj was arrested by the NKVD. Later Bishop Lakota and the whole diocesan chapter were thrown into prison. The secret police tried to force them into renouncing their allegiance to Rome. They resorted to atrocious tortures and threats of death. But not one succumbed. Bishop Lakota is reportedly dead somewhere in Siberia. Bishop Katsylovskyj died in prison November 17, 1947. His last written words remarkably depict his loyal character: "In case of my arrest and deportation, I humbly beg to notify the Holy Father that I place before him my vow of fidelity and absolute devotion until my last breath, last beat of my heart, asking for his paternal blessing."

The subjugation of Ukrainian Catholics in Carpathian Ukraine was equally merciless. This stretch of land, as large as Massachusetts, boasted of over half a million Catholics of the eastern rite, 459 churches, and 354 priests. Today the diocese is in orthodox hands, and under Red subservience.

The Red Army entered the capital of Carpatho-Ukraine on October 27, 1944. Their purpose was to annihilate the Eastern-rite Church immediately. Soldiers pillaged the churches, burning the vestments and liturgical books. Later on, schismatic clergy, aided by the Soviet police, grabbed whole parishes from the Catholics. Many Catholic priests resisted this barbarity. They were arrested and shot. Hundreds of men and women were inhumanly massacred by the NKVD; others were deported. The people literally defended the churches with their bodies, falling in large numbers on the doorsteps while Red soldiers beat them with rifles and the dissidents stoned them.

Lintur, a stanch Communist and extreme atheist, traveled from town to town urging the Catholics to join the Orthodox Church. The people shouted back defiantly: "Give us bread." "Give us clothes." "Is this the freedom you offer."

The Soviets employed dire methods to force the newly consecrated bishop, Theodore Romza, into joining the Orthodox Church. But the young and energetic prelate replied firmly: "Suffering and death are preferable to betrayal of the church." So they began seeking among the influential clergy a possible renegade who would accept the episcopal ring of which they intended to deprive Bishop Romza. Interminably through the night the NKVD would importune, fatigue, and terrorize the priests. "Deport, torture, kill us," they cried, "but we won't betray our church." Many of the priests were cruelly martyred later on.

On Assumption Day, 1947, 80,000 Catholics rallied in Mukachiv for their annual pilgrimage. Red soldiers blocked all the roads leading to the church. The pilgrims had to trudge through fields of mealy soil and wade through a river in order to reach the church. Many of the people had to journey on foot 2 and even 3 days. But they came in enormous processions. Banners of the Blessed Mother fluttered over their proud heads; and the whole countryside echoed with hymns in her honor. The Commies were utterly foiled.

Bishop Theodore knew the Reds were desperate about removing him. So the young prelate availed himself of every opportunity to inspire, strengthen and sustain the people. His unremitting zeal and devotion, trust in God captivated the orthodox. They began running to the church in large numbers.

On October 27, 1947, the bishop met his fate. The previous day he had consecrated a church and was now returning home. The horse-drawn carriage was riding along peacefully when suddenly an armored truck crashed into them. It was a premeditated attempt on his life. The horses were killed instantly; the occupants thrown from the shattered vehicle onto the road. Red soldiers alighted quickly from the truck; struck the helpless priests and bishop with their rifles; and sped on. The bishop lay in a ditch, unconscious. Blood trickled from his mangled teeth down his broken jaw. Late that evening he was taken to a hospital.

Bishop Romza died 2 days later. The cause of his death was diagnosed by specialists as a heart attack. Strangely though, prior to his sudden death, the Catholic nuns who attended the bishop were forcibly discharged. They declared his condition to priests as improving. And an hour before this alleged heart attack some unknown person telephoned long-distance to the hospital, asking briefly: "Did the bishop die yet?" The building attendant, surprised and terrified by the call, dropped the phone and left the hospital immediately. No doubt, Bishop Romza was poisoned by the substitute nurse. The sisters whom she replaced noticed her foreign dialect.

The following day Catholics and Orthodox alike thronged to the bishop's coffin in thousands. They touched his silent corpse with religious articles as if to have relics of the saintly martyr. His eyes glowed with a profound peace; his smile radiated heavenly sweetness—the glory of his martyrdom.

That evening the weeping, pastorless people lined the road for 20 miles. They wished to bid farewell to their pastor. However, the Reds had his coffin transported at midnight by train. Still thousands waited till he departed. "Now we are left as orphans," writes our witness, "but we are certain that in Heaven we have a (mighty) protector."

The Ukrainian Catholics living in Czechoslovakia enjoyed a measure of religious tolerance until January 1951. Then Bishop Paul Gojdich, OSBM, renown for his holiness, was condemned to life imprisonment. The charge: "Guilty of alleged espionage and treason to the People's Republic." The Commies trumped up these crimes to justify their act before world opinion. Actually the bishop bluntly refused to collaborate with the Red-infiltrated Orthodox Church. Later, Auxiliary Bishop Hopko was imprisoned without even a trial. Thus 321,000 Catholics of the eastern rite, with 311 priests, are now at the mercy of the Reds.

Though the Reds have wrought havoc upon Ukrainian Catholicism, desecrated countless churches and monasteries, deported and murdered bishops, thousands of priests, monks, and faithful, they cannot eradicate the faith from the hearts of the people. Escapees declared that the people travel long distances to visit Catholic priests who labor incognito as farmers, woodsmen, miners, and store clerks. They avoid all possible contact with the clergical renegades and puppet Orthodox clergy. As one wrote on a postcard to Rome recently: "We don't go to see George anymore, for George doesn't belong to us." "George" is an ancient Ukrainian cathedral in Lwiw. The dissidents seized it from the Catholic hierarchy.

The insatiable Kremlin, in its cruel and gory war against God and His church, has now turned its fury upon the Latin rite Catholics of Poland overtly. Communism, in its essence, is more than a mere political aggressor or warmonger. It preys ravenously on the whole Christian world and will strike at the proper moment.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I wish to include the text of my statement registering my opposition with the House Ways and Means Committee against H. R. 1, to extend the authority of the President to enter into trade agreements.

My statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, the case for the extension of reciprocal trade has one fatal weakness; it cannot explain away the harm that would be done to the American textile industry (in company with some other industries) by forcing it to compete in our domestic market, with foreign goods produced at a fraction of our labor costs.

The wage gap cannot be rationalized into balance.

And protection is stripped away from those of our industries that need it.

With their eyes on export opportunities for some industries, the supporters of Reciprocal Trade would sacrifice textiles, watchmaking, fishing, and other industries.

They would sell out our textile industry to Japan, giving up our self-sufficiency, and making us dependent upon other nations for the cloth we once manufactured ourselves just to provide extra export-markets for favored industries under the guise of international cooperation.

And what of the tens of thousands of Americans who would be added to the labor surplus existing in so many of our textile manufacturing communities?

Studies prove that these middle-aged unemployed are not absorbed by growth industries. Those few who do find other work, have to back down into jobs that barely pay the so-called minimum wage, better known as the starvation wage.

Our duty is toward our own people first even unto the least of them.

Not to give away a vital but hard-pressed industry just to promote international good will.

Gentlemen, I ask you not to dodge this fact.

Look at the labor-surplus areas in the United States.

Observe how many of them are depressed textile communities.

Consider the inevitable damage you would inflict upon these communities by opening the gates to competing imports produced at one-half to one-tenth of the wages necessary to maintain the average American worker's standard of living.

And ask yourselves if there is any possible justification for doing this to the people of our textile communities.

The gross hourly earnings of the textile industry in the United States range from a high of $1.59 in Connecticut to a low of $1.22 in Alabama and Georgia.

This disparity has brought real hardship to New England textiles.

But if we have to contend with unlimited competition from low-cost imports, our situation will become hopeless.

On this the battling factions of the American textile industry join ranks in united opposition to reciprocal trade.

Reciprocity would be impossible.

The traffic would be all one way—an invasion of our home market by foreign textiles that would put most of our mills out of business and would add to the critical unemployment prevailing in this industry.

For the mills in Georgia and Alabama could not compete with the mills in Great Britain that pay only 45.5 cents per hour, or those in Japan whose labor costs are at the impossibly low level of only 11.9 cents per hour.

And if these fatal figures are not enough to convince you that reciprocal trade would be a death sentence for our textile industry, I put to you this further challenge: Why should we encourage imports of those manufactured goods that we are overproducing ourselves?

It would be just as senseless and inhuman to import agricultural commodities at half price or less to add to our own surpluses.

We from the textile areas demand the same consideration in our domestic market as that enjoyed by agriculture which has the protection of Government supports.

We submit that it is grossly unfair and dangerous to coddle one industry and abandon another.

Those who beat the drums for free trade slide over the fact that we cannot compete with slave-labor products that are admitted to the American markets without abandoning our own progress and retreating to the 19th century.

They also ignore the fact that there is no such thing as unlimited competition.

We have laws on our own books to guarantee a minimum wage that is already considered to be inadequate.

That minimum will soon be raised and rightly so.

The extension of reciprocal trade would result in the cancellation of that law by indirection. It is a thinly disguised move, among other purposes, to increase Japanese textile exports to the United States at the expense of our own textile industry. It would drive mills and workers out of business, bringing back all the abuses of unfair competition.

Healthy trade depends upon the import of those products or materials that we need and the export of such goods as others want from us.

We cannot risk the delegation of arbitrary authority over such matters through the medium of a blank check.

Where it is clear that some industries will be hurt they must be given some protection in the national interest.

We oppose extension of reciprocal trade as being too large a grant of power.

The American textile industry needs sympathetic understanding and assistance from the Federal Government in place of the proposed legislation which threatens its survival.

Can Freedom Live With Internal Security?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, every thoughtful citizen is deeply troubled about the serious problem posed in the above title. We must have security against disloyal or unreliable persons in the public service, in order to maintain our national independence and personal freedom. But we can lose that personal freedom in our very zeal to defend it, if our security measures are not most wisely devised and judiciously administered.

The most penetrating and sensible discussion of this problem that I have seen anywhere was given by former Senator Harry P. Cain, of Washington, now a member of the Federal Subversive Activities Control Board, at a Republican rally in Spokane, Wash., on January 15. Senator Cain has been a most courageous and valiant fighter against Communist subversion and smear tactics. No one can accuse him of softness, or naivete. That makes his analysis and proposals all the more worthy of the serious consideration I hope they will be given by our highest officials. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Senator Cain's address:

CAN FREEDOM LIVE WITH INTERNAL SECURITY?

Mr. Chairman, through what I am about to say, I shall endeavor to adequately express the keenness of my appreciation for your invitation and the joy I am receiving from being in your company. This is no small undertaking for it has been more than 2 years since last I was among you.

Robert Paine suggested that you might be interested in what I have been doing in these last 2 years and how I think the Nation and the Republican Party are doing.

I can satisfy a portion of the suggestions in a single sentence. For the better part of 2 years I have been sitting, listening, and thinking.

In this period, I have been a member of a board of inquiry, referred to by the somber title, the Subversive Activities Control Board, which is a basic part of your Nation's developing internal security system. In this work, my four colleagues and myself endeavor to determine whether the Attorney General of the United States is absolutely correct in his allegations that listed organizations in our country are dominated, controlled, and directed by the Communist Party, U. S. A., or by foreign powers which seek the overthrow and ultimate destruction of the United States.

You read and hear very little about the labors of the Subversive Control Board for reasons which are clear and understandable. The Board itself makes every effort to be free of controversy and the Board looks to our high courts for statements of explanation when Board orders, requiring public registration by Communists and fellow-travelers, are made final.

It is encouraging that Communist leaders have repeatedly testified that the Communist Party, U. S. A., will be required to commit suicide should the Supreme Court finalize the Board's registration order against that organization.

A fuller discussion about the Board's procedures and substantial legislative authority can be provided in some future opportunity but not tonight. I ought, however, to make an observation. This segment of our internal security system does not suffer, aside from some complicated constitutional questions which are now before the courts, from public criticism or misunderstanding because the methods it employs are in support of the spirit of the Constitution and they provide equal fairness, objectivity, and due process to both parties in any case which is offered to us for adjudication. As a member of the Board, I speak for it in saying that we take nothing for granted nor do we assume that any individual or organization is guilty as charged until that result has been established to our own satisfaction on the public record.

I have a reasonable doubt that anyone evermore enjoyed his service in the United States Senate than I did. Its only conceivable drawback was an exaggerated emphasis on work of every possible kind rather than on an output of thought. I readily confess that I attempted to accomplish too much for too many people in too many directions all at once. In attempting all of this, I lost sight of some fundamentals which have returned to focus during the past 2 years.

Before reflecting on these fundamentals, I want to establish this attitude to be true. In my remarks there will not be, if I can help it, a single unreasonable, unsupportable, or destructive political reference. I am here as a proud Republican but I am speaking as one who feels that his basic allegiance is to his Nation rather than to the political party of his deliberate and considered choice. I labor as a Republican from a hope to be of some small service to our Republic.

No one among us denies that the present is an age of peril. Were we in disagreement about this, we could reach agreement about nothing.

Most of those in authority in each political party refer to the present and the years of our immediate future to be an intended period of peaceful coexistence with our enemies. It makes me much more alert and less gullible to think of these years as being coexistence with conflict. Call these years what you will, they will be demanding of us a national preparedness and readiness in the armed services, which will long continue the draft or some counterpart—on the farm and throughout industry—sufficient to call for hard sacrifices and participation by all of us.

This knowledge doesn't bother or perplex me. I accept it willingly. Like you, I am not living in the past or in the future. We must contribute in some real measure to the age in which we live.

As between our material strength and that of the Soviet Union, I see no particular hazards or defeat in store for the United States. I can only believe as I do that our present leaders and those to come will pursue every intelligent avenue for reconciling our differences with the leaders of international communism short of war. I must remain convinced, as I am, that we shall prevail and survive through any war which may be forced on civilization. In this sense and as a citizen, I have no fear of the Soviet Union whatsoever.

My only major concern is with what we are to be when international communism's am-

bition for world domination has been defeated in one way or another. Will we or those who follow us be able to say after the conflict has run its course that through its years, even though they be a hundred, we Americans and our Government have maintained and left untarnished our self-respect?

Will we then be able to reassure the rest of the world that America remains a place in which the individual is free because his Government and those in authority in every walk of life have been just?

As for myself, justice or equity and freedom or liberty are the two evidences of human progress and hope which distinguish representative governments and their peoples from those directed by tyrants, dictators, and despots. Other differences are only skin deep and hardly worth mentioning.

I want no victory over the godless forces of oppression which does not include the preservation of these assets without which a free people die and wither away.

Here we are confronted with the greatest challenge of our time. Now is when we must inquire about and make certain that in working to become victorious across the seas, we are permitting no domestic enemies or any acts of cowardice, short-sightedness, arrogance, or stupidity to assault or cripple our bastions of freedom here at home.

How often do you hear it said that because of our overwhelming fear of communism, we are blindly or blithely destroying the Constitution and the Bill of Rights? How often do you hear it said that muddle-headed if well-intentioned dreamers are so enamored of liberty in the abstract that we are doing too little or nothing meaningful in opposing the conspiracy which seeks to drive freedom from the earth?

I listen each day to those who frantically espouse each of these premises. In my judgment, neither contention is even remotely correct but there are far too many citizens who believe one or the other of these contradictory courses to be true.

In our struggle to survive as free men and women, we must keep three elements in balance. They are justice, security, and freedom. It seems apparent to me that none of these elements can stand alone and that no two can operate successfully without the other.

In the years of our past, we have lived by the dictates of freedom and justice. We have known what they were and we have long taken their blessings for granted. We can't say as much about internal security. We have had only the most limited experience with it and that experience seldom touched the majority among our citizens as individuals.

In terms of time it is reasonable to say that our Nation didn't recognize the pressing need for an internal security system prior to 1947, a mere 8 years ago.

Until the very recent past, there was an understandable reluctance to acknowledge or believe that some Americans, perhaps in considerable numbers, were seeking ways through which to overthrow our Government and destroy our free institutions. Many hard-headed patriots, as well as soft-headed ones, couldn't bring themselves to comprehend that some of our citizens were giving their allegiance to a foreign conspiracy which seeks to enslave us. This is America, they said, and such things couldn't happen here. I don't know anyone who now refuses to admit that such evil things have happened here. The public record is replete with sad and damaging instances.

During the life of the 80th Congress, our Nation began to grapple with the realities of the postwar era. We were forced to agree that the Kremlin was our enemy because our extended hand of friendship had been cast aside times without number. We were required to admit that the masters of the Kremlin intended to carry out the preachments of Nicolas Lenin exactly as Adolf Hitler attempted to satisfy every intention set forth in Mein Kampf. In both cases the visualized result was to be the same—a return to the Dark Ages.

I do not believe that this current and general understanding prevailed throughout the United States before you sent me to the Senate in late 1946. There were then as many or more who disbelieved it, or did not bother to think about it, as believed this evaluation to be true.

In any event, it was along about 1947 when citizens everywhere began to appreciate that a lasting freedom for the individual was somehow inseparably connected with our national security. From that time on, we have made haste, not always wisely, to perfect and operate a system of internal security which would enable us to remain free as individuals. There could be no other possible reason for such a system in a republic.

I think it a great pity that it took us so long to recognize the intentions and determinations of communism for what they are but I can serve no good purpose by blaming administrations of the past for their failures to specialize on contemporary history or to admit that evil-minded termites were boring from within or to agree that the Federal establishment included those who were traitors as well as the majority who were and are solidly patriotic. The legitimate purpose of this reference is to indicate the national status of our unawareness, unpreparedness, and inexperience when we began to fashion and tailor a system of internal security for the United States.

Before 1947, the Nation's No. 1 domestic security sentinel was the Federal Bureau of Investigation. But this extremely conscientious and splendid agency, which takes pride in being referred to as Uncle Sam's watchdog, expresses no opinions, grants no clearances, and makes no recommendations. The FBI gathers facts and information, that's all, and leaves an evaluation of these matters, a really difficult undertaking, and the action to be taken on them, if any, up to others.

What too often happened before 1947 was that many in authority perceived too little from the files of substance laid before them by the FBI. It goes without saying that if you can perceive too little, you can also perceive too much and I want to explore this side of the question before I am through.

To those of you who have thought that your Government has been soft on communism, I would urge a consideration of the following developments:

In March of 1947, our Nation departed from the more tranquil life and times of the past. A Government program was established to examine into the loyalty of those many individuals who serve the Federal establishment as employees.

This was followed by the Internal Security Act of 1950, which created the Subversive Activities Control Board and other domestic security activities. Then came the adoption of the Federal employees security program in April of 1953. As its predecessor loyalty program did, this program requires that every civilian employee or applicant for employment in the executive branch of the Government submit to an investigation for loyalty but it goes much further than loyalty and considers a number of other factors like excess drinking, sex perversion, and bad company which affect the Nation's security. In addition to these far-reaching measures, the last, or 83d Congress, stiffened up most of the statutes dealing with espionage, counterespionage, and sabotage. You may now, for example, be executed as a spy in peacetime.

When you add all of this to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the Smith Act, various rulings by various Attorneys General, the continuing and vigilant activities of congressional investigative committees, and the investigative processes of the Civil Service Commission, you have in absolute fact today an internal-security system of practically all-inclusive dimensions. With the exception of wiretapping authority, would you establish much more were you an autocratic ruler in our land?

To those of you who have thought that your Government is so bewildered and frightened about communism as to annihilate the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence at one fell swoop, I can offer these reassurances from our Nation's Chief Executive:

More than a year ago, when our present security system was but several months of age, the President said:

"In this country if someone accuses you, he must confront you; he cannot assassinate you or your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will impose."

In his state of the Union message last week, Dwight Eisenhower said what I believe he means literally.

"We shall," said he, "ferret out Communist subversion while carefully preserving our traditions and the basic rights of our citizens."

To this point my effort has been to convince you that (a) the United States presently possesses an internal-security system which is as devastating and powerful in potential as any other such system to be found anywhere, and that (b) the authoritative declarations which constitute the foundation on which this system has been constructed are in support of our constitutional concepts and traditions. Please permit me to press each of these contentions just a little further.

On the pages of history we see at a glance that the manner in which a government handles the problem of internal security is a significant measuring rod for the freedom that its people hold.

Under the internal-security system imposed by the Soviet Union, freedom as we understand it is denied to the average Russian citizen. He lives in dread of the absolute surveillance and the unrelenting control of his conduct. That system is not for us, we say, but the system under which we operate shares a common purpose with the other. Both are designed to protect, to give stability to the form of government in each nation. I know that either system can be employed to serve the same ends—to keep citizens free or put them in chains.

What I must restate is that we have constructed, because of an imperative need which is recognized by all, a system which can, unless we make it operate in accordance with the assurances offered publicly by the President of our Republic, snuff out the lights of learning while making cowards and mental robots out of free men and women.

These assurances that justice will determine security decisions represent the only foundation strong enough to support a domestic security system for the United States. In no other fashion can we build a system we can trust or live with and any other system will shortly become identical with what we so rebel against in the Soviet Union and fought so hard against and vanquished so completely in Hitler's Germany.

Let us never forget that in an effort to keep our Nation secure at home, we have constructed an apparatus which can destroy us if we don't watch out.

When Dwight Eisenhower referred to an outraged citizenry, he was encouraging each one among you to cry out in indignation whenever you encounter or uncover an act of injustice to your fellowman.

The President has told all of us how the internal security machine is expected to work, but he must largely delegate to us, in and out of the Government, the energy,

vigilance, courage, and determination to make it work.

Since April of 1953, the Nation has been living with Executive Order 10450 which looks into the loyalty and security reliability of millions of our citizens who are employed by or seek now and in the future to be employed by the Federal Establishment. The cornerstone or guide within this order is that no individual shall be employed by or work for the Government unless his or her retention is clearly consistent with the national interest.

What have we learned out of this unique and new experience?

The most encouraging lession is an admission by many responsible persons in executive and legislative authority that we suffer most from a lack of experience with the security program we have created. I know but few who think the administration of the system has been adequate to the reasonable requirements of freedom. I know but few who believe the system is an adequate answer to the reasonable demands of internal security.

One takes heart from appreciating that changes are under study and improvements in prospect.

We know that the system is under serious attack from many quarters. How much of this is generated by partisan politics or by the Communist inciters of trouble and confusion, I do not know. I was impressed on Wednesday of this week when the District of Columbia Bar Association publicly announced that a special and continuing committee of its leading members has been established to provide legal representation for Government employees who become involved in security cases. This service will be provided without any cost whatsoever to those employees who are unable to obtain counsel of their own choosing or who are without funds to retain an attorney. I need not say that this bar association is strongly opposed to subversion and communism or that a majority of its hundreds of members probably are registered Republicans. It should be noted that the special committee was established with strong encouragement from the president of the American Bar Association and from many high officers within the administration of the Government.

To be impressed by this development is not sufficient. Never before in our history has it been thought necessary to provide protection from the outside, free of charge, for the individual against possible and unwarranted abuse and condemnation by his Government. If any steps will cause us to stop and think—this is it.

The only thing of which I am certain is that thoughtful citizens throughout the country are sorely troubled by a lack of information concerning what is going on. I hope the day soon comes when their doubts can be resolved. I hope that Republican leaders will begin to acknowledge the criticisms more rapidly and move more swiftly in correcting mistakes in judgment or procedure when they occur.

My own considered view is that our security system has worked well and fairly on the average but that conspicuous and inexcusable examples to the contrary have occurred much too often. It isn't persuasive that we should be complimented, because we seldom err. Our Nation can't long tolerate a system which doesn't soon eliminate the possibility for errors which are disastrous to anyone like you or me when they arise. As I see it, some changes in both attitudes and procedures must be agreed to or the system will never work as the President intends that it shall operate.

Before listing some specific recommendations which I believe might add to the strength and resourcefulness of our beloved country, I want you to think about three instances in which our internal security apparatus has failed completely in one respect or another in its mission of balancing the requirements of freedom with the demands of security.

The first: The case of Wolf Ladejinsky has the more recently been in the public's eye. In reflecting on this sad matter, I speak as a part of that "outraged citizenry" to which Dwight Eisenhower made proper and pointed reference.

I am mindful that some impositions of governmental authority much higher than my own do not share my anxiety over the consequences I expect from the Ladejinsky question. My earnest hope is that they will consider a responsible citizen's point of view.

The Ladejinsky case points up practically every weakness which we can find or trace in our prevailing security system. It includes evidences of the shortsightedness, ruthlessness, smugness, and brutality of bureaucracy at their worst.

Wolf Ladejinsky was naturalized a citizen in 1928. He became a public servant for the Government in 1935 and has been on the Federal payroll ever since. During these 20 years, his written record of service has been noted for its reliability and competence and for his intelligent contributions to our Nation's fight against international communism. Ladejinsky was a powerful fighter in the forces against oppression and slavery long before many among us were conscious of the problem. In his years of service, no supportable question against Ladejinsky's loyalty was ever raised.

Not many months ago, the Foreign Operations Administration sought to secure the services of Ladejinsky who was then under the Agricultural Department's control in Japan. This request was denied because the Agricultural Department stated that Ladejinsky was too invaluable to be replaced.

Subsequently, several new security officers were given assignments by the Agricultural Department. One assumed his duties in early December of last year. They discovered, what everybody knew, that Ladejinsky had worked for Amtorg, a Russian trading concern, through parts of 1929 and 1930 and that he had three sisters who assumedly remain alive today in Russia. Ladejinsky had so stated years ago when he first applied for Government service.

In years and months gone by these matters had been scrutinized carefully by the very strict security division of the State Department when Ladejinsky was on that payroll. This examination took into thoughtful consideration Ladejinsky's faithful years of employment.

The Agriculture Department was unimpressed by the State Department's voluminous file in the matter. Ladejinsky was declared by the Agriculture Department to be a security risk and its security officer announced that the three sisters whom he assumed were alive in Russia was cause sufficient to so stigmatize Mr. Ladejinsky. The brother of these Ladejinsky sisters doesn't know whether they are dead or alive. He has had no word from them or about them in over 8 years.

You have read that the FOA has announced its intention of sending Ladejinsky to the very same assignment for which his services were recently denied because he was said to be indispensable in Japan.

So far as I know, Wolf Ladejinsky has never been faced by any accuser nor has he been confronted with any charges. He became unwillingly a cause celebre because some eager beavers and Johnny-come-latelys in our necessary effort to keep America strong couldn't take the time to talk with him or to relate the points in question to 20 years of a man's private and public life. By such indifference and impetuousness can the good reputation of a good citizen be demolished.

Ladejinsky was saved, if that be the proper way to put it, but his Nation's reputation for the exercise of sound judgment and fair play suffered a real blow, not just here at home but all around the world in those quarters where we seek to merchandise our finest exportable product which is labeled justice.

Ladejinsky was saved because he had friends in high places who have known him intimately through the years, and because nameless outraged citizens cried aloud in their indignation.

It isn't everyone who can call on a Douglas MacArthur, a WALTER JUDD, and members of both parties in both Houses of the Congress. Men and women of smaller reputations might only consider themselves caught in a trap without knowing where to turn for help or an opportunity to state their case.

I shed bitter tears for a political reason as well. The case of Wolf Ladejinsky hasn't been solved with finality. There has been no retraction or apology over his being labeled a security risk. Great agencies of our great Government proclaim the man's loyalty and need for his splendid services. Another equally great department is silent and seemingly content to let a cloud on a citizen's priceless reputation hang on.

You will hear more about Wolf Ladejinsky. Your political opponents will demand, with justification I cannot deny, that a full explanation of the circumstances and details be spread on the public record. This was our job to undertake. We were the ones who blundered. It was for us to explain the manner in which the injustice and contradiction occurred in order that you citizens would be reassured that no similar injustice would happen again. The measure of our collective and individual character is always determined by the way in which we admit our weaknesses and by the steps we take to correct them.

My own prayer is that the examination by the opposition will concern itself solely with facts and not with politics. In this case, we can be further and needlessly hurt regardless of the approach employed.

The second: Victor Havris, of Detroit, was a master sergeant stationed in Europe in 1953. At the age of 32, he had 14 years of loyal service behind him. It was thought by someone that the young man's father had been a Communist. It was developed through a hearing conducted by an Air Force security board that Victor Havris at the age of 12 had been taken by his father, now dead, to some Communist Party meetings. There was no evidence or charge that young Havris was a Communist or a fellow traveler or that he had ever attended any Communist gathering since he was 12 years old.

Because of the disclosure that yonng Havris had been led by the hand of his father to a Communist meeting, he was declared to be a security risk and faced dismissal from the Air Force.

This recommendation was overruled by a special board which was appointed to reexamine the case. A Democratic Congressman from Michigan was the one who prevailed upon the Air Force to delay and reexamine its dismissal decision.

This Congressman, whom I do not know, was an outraged citizen. He understood that the first intention of the Air Force was too much in keeping with the corruption of blood practice which the third article of our Constitution denies and which we so deplore in the Soviet Union. In this country, the crimes of the father are not to be visited on the children. A citizen must be judged on his own conduct and performance.

The third: Milo J. Radulovich was a first lieutenant in the Air Force who was not on active duty when questions about his being a security risk were raised in 1953. No doubt about his loyalty was intimated publicly. The case against Radulovich, who was a physics student at the University of Michigan under the GI bill of rights, was based on accusations that his father, John Radulovich, had

read pro-Communist publications and that his sister, Mrs. Margaret Fishman, had marched as a picket in pro-Communist demonstrations.

For these reasons, ouster proceedings were initiated against Milo Radulovich. This intended action was concurred in by the board of three colonels who first heard the case and by every staff level until the question was laid before the Air Force Secretary.

Here the Air Force Secretary announced his faith in the American way by reversing the ouster decision, by removing the security risk stigma, and by his declaration that we do not impose retribution on the family as is done so destructively in slave states everywhere. In the case of Radulovich there was a general assumption, short of the Air Force Secretary, that a person tempted because of family ties must inevitably succumb to temptation; that any person subjected to pressure must inevitably weaken even if it requires him to betray his country.

Justice was slow in coming to Milo Radulovich and it remained for one man to grant it. My concern about Radulovich was the attitude of mind which gave birth to the ouster proceedings.

When Milo Radulovich, age 26, heard that his reputation had been restored by the Air Force Secretary, he said, "It's just like having your future handed back to you. Just to say thanks isn't enough. I never expected it; I'm kind of bowled over."

It's time that we begin to worry when a young American, age 26, expresses surprise that he was dealt with justly by his Government.

I now offer to you some recommendations and suggestions which perhaps are durable and lasting in their value. In any event, they represent what I have been thinking about and puzzling over since last we met.

(a) There is a pressing need for the adoption of some method which will guarantee that important or unreconcilable differences between heads of departments in the loyalty and/or internal-security fields will be referred for decision to a higher authority.

No internal-security system can become effective, understandable, or reasonable unless its standards and the procedures for implementing them are national standards, not departmental or bureau standards.

In the Ladejinsky affair, one standard was advanced by the State Department and the Foreign Operations Administration while a fundamentally contradictory standard was supported by the Agriculture Department. This incredible result bewildered employees throughout the Government and confused people within our country and all around the world.

Probably all of the harm to our Nation's pride, judgment, and reputation for fairness could have been avoided if the difference between the Departments had been resolved by a higher authority before any public announcement had been made.

If there isn't one national policy which is advocated and supported from the very top, there can't be any system or understanding or order at all.

The highest authority in question could be the Chief Executive or some high-ranking official to whom such a task is assigned or to a commission which certainly would include within it private citizens for whom the Nation has the fullest measure of respect and confidence in their characters and judgment. I dislike thinking that another burden should be imposed on the President but thought should be given to the need.

(b) We must employ a more meticulous care in the selection of security officers. Because of the scope and newness of the problem, some are assigned to judge others who are simply not qualified for these most difficult of all assignments.

Above all else, the Nation's need is for security personnel who can tell the difference between disloyalty and nonconformity; between treason and heresy.

Every Government worker must be loyal and reliable but there is no reason why they must be rigidly orthodox in their thinking. There is every reason to encourage the iconoclast as well as the conformist to serve the Republic on the public payroll you taxpayers support.

Whether in or out of Government, the orthodox mind, because of its strength and singleness of purpose, maintains and preserves progress, but the dreamer and the non-conformist make progress. The opportunity to be different, while being strictly loyal, is a climate we ought to take pains to develop.

I consider the security officer to be the cornerstone in our fight to remain strong and free. Any misfits or second-raters among them are more dangerous to our future than the subversives they endeavor to catch. These are the people who indict the innocent without reason and overlook the guilty for lack of knowledge, training, and experience.

Were I appointing a security officer, I would select no one whose background didn't include a sound and wide knowledge of the theoretical advance and practice of communism since the times of Karl Marx and this same individual would be required to have an equal knowledge and understanding of our Constitution, its Bill of Rights, the movements which produced the Declaration of Independence, and the history of the United States.

(c) Under Executive Order 10450, the function of a security hearing board is to conduct hearings on security cases and offer their decisions to the head of a given agency for him to accept or reject as he thinks best.

The members of these hearing boards are generally chosen from the top level of the administrative working force. The rather large number whom I know personally are conscientious, competent, and desirous of being fair.

Their liabilities are few but important. They have no tenure of office and they lack a feeling of independence because they are subordinates and subject to the directions of superiors. Another sizable fault is that a majority of them have had no previous experience with hearings and the kind of testimony with which these hearings deal.

These security hearing board members lay no claim to being professionals. They started as rank amateurs and it will take time for some to learn their new business and longer for others. I can only recognize their inexperience to be a perplexing problem. I constantly wonder whether professional hearing examiners could better keep the balance we seek between security and justice?

(d) It might be advantageous to separate the personnel function from the function of internal security. It often happens that the job suitability interviewer or the processor of personnel forms is called upon to make at least a preliminary judgment on questions of loyalty and security.

As often as not these persons are trained only in the semiscience of relating an individual's qualifications to a given job which needs to be filled.

Why shouldn't the interviewer or processor pigeonhole an application which indicates that the applicant has been a member of organizations alleged to be subversive? These organizations may not be subversive or perhaps they weren't before they went out of business years ago. No one is likely to encounter any future trouble by shelving a troublesome looking application. Many a personnel officer will react to security questions as he would to poison. He wants none of either.

Too much has been said about Government employment being a privilege and not a right. Of course it's a privilege. Why labor the obvious? All an applicant is entitled to is a fair and impartial break. He or she does have that right to be judged competitively and fairly on their job qualifications. Their security status could be judged subsequently by one who is an authority in that field.

We must be alert always to avoid procedures, forms, and attitudes which stimulate the advancement of mediocrity in any way within the Federal structure.

(e) We must increasingly learn to tailor security to the job. An individual may be unsuited for the strictness of security demanded by a particularly sensitive assignment. This does not necessarily imply that the individual couldn't fill many other important assignments with credit to himself and the Government. Our operations and the living in the past never called for such an exercise of good judgment as does the present. If this were Russia, we wouldn't bother much about this exercise. Because we live in America, we must be bothered constantly.

(f) The basic criterion in Executive Order 10450 ought, I think, to be reexamined in the light of every development in the last 20 months.

This criterion, that an accused applicant or employee must meet the test that his employment is "clearly consistent with the interest of the United States" would and does, where literally applied, constitute a burden which can hardly be borne by anyone. It almost makes the employee affirmatively prove that the national interest requires the retention or continuation of his services. Who among us could do that?

I believe that the phrase "clearly consistent" has been the source of much of our trouble and that the cases previously referred to, and others like them, were instigated by it.

"Clearly consistent" can easily be construed to mean without doubts, real or fancied, of any kind. It can be read to mean that pure hearsay or malicious gossip or unsupported allegiations constitute doubts to be resolved in favor of the Government. To my knowledge it has been so read.

Such an interpretation implies that a domestic system of absolute security is both desirable and possible. In point of logic and commonsense, it cannot be either possible or desirable.

Any system through which men and women are judged must provide the judges with room for judgment and discretion.

Instead of the rigidity of "clearly consistent" we might better work toward the latitudes included in language like this:

"No person should be dismissed or denied employment from the Federal Service as a security risk unless it is affirmatively found that his retention or employment is reasonably inconsistent with the national interest."

I am not suggesting that an established doubt should not be resolved in favor of the Government. It should be so resolved. What I am suggesting, and what our Nation ought to demand, is that the doubt about an individual be first established before it is resolved against him.

Let the Government judges assume their rightful responsibility for establishing their doubts about any individual to be valid and most of the fear and skepticism concerning our security system would disappear over night.

In expressing this conviction, I am thinking about you and what you are entitled to should you endeavor to join or remain within the Federal establishment.

(g) The general public has a tendency to consider loyalty and security as being one and the same thing. That doesn't follow. A loyal person can be a security risk and a

security risk can be truly loyal. Obviously, a disloyal person is a risk.

We should, I believe, be more specific in our use of the term security risk.

Drunkards, perverts, drug users, gossipers and those who insist on keeping bad company may well be security risks while being loyal. We ought to make this distinction clear. When a person is fired as a risk, the reason for his being so considered ought to be stated.

A person who drinks too much can often recover from that indiscretion and build a new life if given a chance. The risk dismissed for being disloyal will remain disgraced for life.

Here again we should be trying to strengthen our Federal structure without unnecessarily destroying individuals in the process.

Espionage agents will be found among the disloyal. These are the ones we ought to try the hardest to discover. When we do, we ought to execute them. Risks who are otherwise loyal will not often be found in this category. We ought to treat them accordingly—without needless embarrassment or harassment.

You've been most indulgent to permit me to speak so long. There is yet more that could be constructively said but I thought tonight I could say no less. One further observation and I'm through.

The days of the present aren't easy or uncomplicated, yet several simple ideals and principles can't be misunderstood.

A whole clique of spies could hardly do as much damage to us as could our failure as a government to have confidence in our people. Any government, to deserve to survive, must deserve the respect of its citizenry. A government is under no compulsion to be less than severe in punishing crimes against the state, but that government is under every compulsion to extend consideration and just treatment to every citizen. He or she must be treated as what they actually are—the fiber and substance from which a free nation derives its strength and purpose.

Some wise man in the early days of our beginning, perhaps it was Franklin, said: "I give you a Republic if you can keep it."

That's what I've tried to talk about, as a citizen, tonight—how to keep it.

At Yalta, Poland Was Betrayed and Enslaved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the time is February 7, 1955.

The American people are restive, fearful that another secret arrangement may be in process that will sanction Communist aggression and dishonor the principles by which we live.

Even as the blunders at Yalta deprived Poland of its independence, led to the enslavement of other peoples who trusted us, and opened the way to the spread of communism which now threatens the world.

Secret diplomacy continues to be the curse of international relations.

It is dictatorial by nature, considering itself superior to the common sense and character of the people.

In its preoccupation with convenience and expediency, it loses sight of moral values.

Even in the United States today, for narrow partisan reasons, the true facts of Yalta are withheld from the people, while subtle negotiations are going on that will lead to the admission of Red China to the United Nations by the back door.

Appeasement on the installment plan. This will not fool the people.

We never endorsed the Yalta deal with Red Russia, and we will never approve of a Red China deal.

Communism must purge itself of every aggression committed against every other nation.

This is the policy of the American people, based on moral principles that we will never compromise or surrender.

In justice to the Polish people, first victims of the new appeasement, we denounce the furtive Yalta agreements.

Until those freedoms which have been betrayed are restored the freedom of the United States is in danger.

God grant us leadership with the courage to be right and honorable.

New Possibilities for the Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, finding expanded markets for coal is one of the major problems faced by those of us who live in the major coal-producing areas of the United States. Certainly it is the major task facing Walker County, Ala., in the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama, which I represent here.

I was pleased to read on January 29 an editorial in the Birmingham (Ala.) News dealing with some of the possibilities scientists see in the future use of coal.

The editorial follows:

A SOUTHERN RESEARCH SCIENTIST POINTS OUT POSSIBILITIES IN THE COAL INDUSTRY

We in Birmingham, naturally, are specially interested in the condition of the coal industry and its future. The industry throughout the country has been experiencing difficulties, having lost many of its former markets and having been faced simultaneously with rising costs of production. In this district many mines in Jefferson and neighboring counties have been closed while others have been operating on reduced schedules.

While the industry, however, currently is in a somewhat depressed condition, many scientists and leaders in the field have predicted a bright future—in the next 10 to 25 years. Some of these possibilities have been pointed out in these columns. And in the current bulletin of the Southern Research Institute, Edward Lang, head of the chemical engineering section of the institute, usefully summarizes current developments in coal research programs.

Mr. Lang points out that whereas higher prices are anticipated in the near future for all other sources of energy, the price of coal is expected to remain fairly steady for the next 25 years.

"Therefore," he writes, "this period will see a shift back to coal as our basic fuel source. Coal will take over more of the generation of power except in locations where coal is unusually expensive and where atomic fuel can be used. Coal must start furnishing a portion of the liquid fuels before 1970, as petroleum prices rise. Coal will regain some of the market for domestic fuel and much of that for commercial and industrial fuels. The greatly increasing demand for chemicals will have to be supplied largely from coal."

There should be, the Southern Research scientist says, a slight increase in demand for coal this year and the demand should increase slowly until 1960–65. By then price increases in competitive fuels should make large increases in coal production necessary.

Mr. Lang lists some of the technological developments in the industry, including the interesting experiments being conducted at Gorgas in underground gasification.

He concludes that coal research programs indicate the tremendous effect that technology can have on the industry in the 10 or 15 critical years just ahead. If the industry weathers this period successfully, the longer-range picture looks very bright indeed. With sharply increasing demands for energy, paralleled by decreasing oil and gas reserves and higher prices for these fuels, coal should furnish an ever-increasing share of the requirements for electric power generation. Demand for coal will receive a tremendous impetus also as coal becomes widely used as the raw material for synthetic liquid fuels and new chemicals. Thus this industry, which is on the sick list today, seems destined for a resounding recovery in the next quarter-century.

Last summer President Eisenhower appointed two committees to study coal troubles and make recommendations. These committees were to have reported by December 1. We have not seen the reports but their contents should be interesting. And this month there is supposed to be a meeting in Washington of the governors of the major coal-producing States to discuss with their States' Members of Congress a legislative program to help the industry.

President Hoover Receives Silver Quill Award of National Business Publications, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include excerpts from the proceedings of the state of the Nation dinner of National Business Publications, Inc., at Hotel Statler in Washington, D. C., on January 29, at which the Vice President of the United States presented the 1954 silver quill award of NBP—highest tribute of the Business Press—to former President Herbert Hoover for most distinguished services to business and industry through the leadership he has provided the planning, programing and progress of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY MASTER OF CEREMONIES HARVEY CONOVER, PRESIDENT, CONOVER-MAST PUBLICATIONS, INC., AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, NATIONAL BUSINESS PUBLICATIONS, INC.

Permit me, please, just a few words about ourselves and our purposes.

National Business Publications is an association of publishers of 171 technical, professional, industrial, scientific, merchandising, and marketing magazines.

Business publications perform a unique service to the economy. They facilitate the exchange of business education and industrial know-how. They stimulate our enterprise. They power the progress of our technology.

Business magazines are deliberately designed to serve the needs of the specialist who must keep abreast of the newest developments in his highly specialized field.

The history of business publishing parallels the growth of business and industry in America. The result is that there are today fields of vital activity never dreamed of only a few years ago that are served by technical periodicals specializing in electronics, antibiotics, synthetics, atomics, and the like.

Millions of men and women in business and industry, after leaving college or trade school, must stay in touch with quick-changing know-how in such areas as virus vaccines, supersonic flight, automaton and nuclear propulsion. This they do almost exclusively through the business press.

The same is true of other millions in merchandising and distribution—the advertising agencies, buying syndicates, supermarkets, and chain stores—each teeming with new terms and techniques. As business and industry has specialized, so has the individual.

Among our principles of practice, which are found on the back cover of your program, there is one that pledges active allegiance to the American economic system. And therein lies our reason for being here tonight.

Sound business decisions are essential to the continued prosperity of our enlightened economy. Business magazines are dedicated to the enduring service of providing the knowledge that is necessary for those sound decisions.

That is why we seek each year to present our silver-quill award to that person who has best epitomized those things for which we stand and in which we serve. The silver quill of NBP, like the organization that awards it, is synonymous with consecrated service to business and industry and to the Government that guarantees our freedom of enterprise.

We come now to a proud moment for the Business Press—the presentation of its silver-quill award by Vice President NIXON to EX-President Hoover. There were, of course, numerous outstanding persons considered by the selection committee. But, when the name of Herbert Hoover was made known, all others faded away and there was, really, only one candidate for the 1954 award.

Not only because of his distinguished services to business and industry—through the leadership that he has provided the planning, programing and progress of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government—but because we remember and salute him tonight as the first President of the United States to recognize the far-reaching values of business publications; as the first President to welcome Business Press correspondents to the White House; as the first President and Cabinet officer to personally encourage wider acceptance of business magazines for adult education and exchange of technological know-how; as the Secretary of Commerce who helped organize the first Washington conference of business magazine editors.

As has been underscored by many messages of commendation to this dinner, it is we who are honored, beyond measure, in having the privilege of honoring so great an American.

Since silver-quill tradition calls for last year's recipient serving as chairman of the selection committee, Vice President NIXON graciously and characteristically agreed to act as committee chairman and to be with us again tonight to present the silver quill to his fellow Californian, who is and remains the grandest Republican of them all. Mr. Vice President, the Business Press is and always will be honored by your presence, which denotes your friendship, and we are delighted to have you here, as our good friend, to make the presentation, at this time, to so great a lifelong friend of the Business Press.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT NIXON IN PRESENTING THE NBP SILVER QUILL AWARD TO FORMER PRESIDENT HOOVER

Vice President NIXON. Mr. Chairman, President Hoover, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen, it was a proud moment for me a year ago to be the recipient of the silver quill award, but tonight it is an even greater honor to present that award to one of those rare individuals who lives to hear the verdict of history on his career.

Ladies and gentlemen, I proudly present the 1954 silver quill award to a man recognized throughout the world as one of the truly great men of the century, President Herbert Hoover.

REMARKS OF HERBERT HOOVER AFTER RECEIVING THE SILVER QUILL AWARD

Your committee mentioned my association with the publishers and editors of the National Business Press of many years ago, I still reflect with great pleasure upon the monthly dinners which we held while I was Secretary of Commerce and the yeoman service which you did in furthering our legitimate efforts at that time. And again I met with you and received your warm support while I was in the White House.

WHAT HAPPENED TO OUR GOVERNMENT SINCE THEN?

In the 23 years since those days, as the result of our financial medicines for social and economic ills, plus hot and cold wars, our machinery of Government has expanded with a speed greater than any government since Cheops built his sunboat.

Certainly we have moved into a region of higher dimensional mathematics and the decimal point is being constantly pushed around by the ciphers.

Out of this sudden growth there have come a mass of problems in Government. As you know, 6 years ago, I was appointed to head up the job of finding some roads through this labyrinth which would lead to reduction in the cost of Government. We made substantial progress, but we lost ground again with the Korean war and rearmament. And now again the Congress and the President have drafted me for that job.

In this Commission we are dealing with problems in Government which require more comprehensive investigation than Members of the Congress with their many other responsibilities can undertake. And we are dealing with problems beyond the ability of any one executive official to solve because they stretch over many different agencies and require much legislative action.

It is my conviction, and it was borne out by the results of the first Commission, that exhaustive examination of the facts and national experience leads to irrefutable conclusions. My aspiration is that from these conclusions we can set up further courageous, commonsense standards, methods, and policies by which the service of the Government can be more efficient and savings made for the taxpayer.

Some people will dislike these deductions. At least I get comfort out of the fact that old reformers never die. They get thrown out.

Some of these problems are complicated puzzles. In case you are skeptical, I may give you a few samples.

I may tell you that today the Federal Government has 104 agencies engaged in the business of lending, guaranteeing, and insurance, involving the Government in these kind of financial operations to over $250 billion, and this does not include either the national debt or social security. As you may not know what a billion is, I may explain that it is a thousand million.

I might also mention that we have accumulated surplus and obsolete real and personal property which cost about $30 billion. They require a multitude of warehouses which cost millions for rent and operation.

The Congress specifically instructed us to look into the Federal Government's "business enterprises which compete with the citizen." So far as we know about some 1,500 of them, great and small. In this case the competing citizen has the puzzle.

We have recently completed the first part of a report on paperwork in the Government. That does not sound like much. You would understand it better if it were called the birth control of Federal documents. The gist of this report is that aside from hundreds of tons of printed matter, the Federal Government circulates about 25 billion pieces of paper each year at a cost of about four thousand million dollars to prepare them, send them out, and file them. Some 18 billion of these are forms—mostly questionnaires by which the Federal Government discovers your inner life. That is where you get the puzzle. Our recommended methods of saving $250 million is perhaps peanuts as Government expenditures go these days.

The second part of this report, which is not yet completed, will be of more interest to you because we are trying to find out about how much it costs you to reply to Government inquiries by way of clerical services, lawyers, accountants, and loss of sleep. We have reason to believe that with the cooperation of the departments, industry, and the Congress, we can save you some worry by some simplifications of the puzzles. But do not forget that the Government must know a lot about your business if it is to operate efficiently and also collect taxes.

I could go on for hours on these ills, but I will not disturb your dreams further. There are 26 more of them.

It is a certainty that if the present Commission is to secure its reforms, it will again need the help of the business publications and the press generally. We are preparing midnight hours of work for you.

But the American people need not dwell altogether on troubles. There are huge blessings in progress.

The last few years have seen advances in science and technology which amounts to a revolution of expanded productivity.

Few realize how great an increase in productivity has come to us in these very few years. Today we have about 12 million adults out of our working force of 65 million, who are doing wholly nonproductive work. They are the Government officials, the Armed Forces, and those at work making and transporting supplies for the Government. Yet despite all this load our increase in productivity has enabled us to carry this burden with all its taxes and at the same time maintain the standard of living that we had before we entered these forests of trouble.

And if we maintain free minds, free spirits, and direct our steps aright, still new horizons and new frontiers will open to us. New inventions and new applications of old knowledge will come to us daily, and our burdens be steadily less hard to bear.

Another War To Stay Out Of

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the Members of this body continue to be gravely concerned about the Formosa crisis. The situation in that troubled area is no less fraught with danger as a result of the passage of the resolution submitted to Congress by the President.

In order that we may have access to the best thinking available in our struggle with the problems arising from the Formosa situation, I am presenting today a sober, forceful editorial entitled "Another War To Stay Out Of," which appeared last Sunday in the highly respected St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Perhaps few of us will concur wholly with this editorial, but one can safely say it does reflect many of the fears, hopes, and judgment held by Members of this body:

ANOTHER WAR TO STAY OUT OF

Eight months ago, when some military leaders in the United States were all for getting this country involved in the Indochina war, the Post-Dispatch described that tragic, draining conflict as a war to stay out of. We think the time has now come to describe the Chinese civil war in the same plain terms. The Chinese war also is a war to stay out of.

The danger of becoming involved in the Chinese civil war is all the greater now that Chiang Kai-shek has decided that he wants to evacuate the Tachen Islands and needs the help of the United States in doing so. The President has ordered the 7th Fleet to fulfill Chiang's request and this means that our vessels are going into Chinese coastal waters in which te civil war is being waged.

If the Chinese Communists allow the evacuation to proceed peaceably there should be no harm to our ships or aircraft or the personnel on them. But if fighting breaks out in the redeployment, this country could easily be the victim of an inflammatory incident and thus drawn into the long struggle between the two Chinas.

This hazardous development follows in the train of the President's special message and overwhelming passage in Congress of the resolution of authority for which he asked. In his message Mr. Eisenhower said that while he did not suggest enlargement of our "defensive obligations beyond Formosa and the Pescadores," he believed "the danger of armed attack directed against that area compels us to take into account closely related localities."

This special message and the act of Congress in passing the Richards-George resolution implementing it have had two contradictory results.

One result is to further the cause of peace. Peace is furthered to the extent that the message served as a clear warning that the United States will defend Formosa as part of a far eastern protective chain, including Japan, Okinawa, and the Philippines, against communism's spread.

HOW FAR ARE WE TO GO?

But there is also the opposite result. The message and the resolution added to the uncertainties that already existed about the Far East. Thus they increased the risk of war. This increased risk arises from the fact that the message and the resolution went beyond the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores and, in a vague way, referred to closely "related" areas. These last three words were widely interpreted to include not only the Nationalist-held Tachen Islands and the Quemoy and Matsu Islands groups, but also areas of concentration of Communist troops, war planes and ships on the mainland.

Some Members of Congress read this as an indication that the Eisenhower administration might be considering "preventive war" against the Chinese Communists. These Senators and Representatives wondered whether the request for the resolution was in part designed to obtain the approval of Congress in advance for a possible strike that the military might consider necessary against the Chinese mainland.

President Eisenhower was quick to recognize the gravity of these concerns. While the resolution was under debate in the Senate, he sought to reassure Congress and the country by saying that he alone would make any decision to use our forces beyond the defense of Formosa.

These pledges were reassuring insofar as the President's course was concerned, but they did not remove all the areas of doubt. In fact Mr. Eisenhower himself confirmed the existence of this uncertainty at his latest press conference, on Wednesday. He said in effect that the United States would use its forces to protect Formosa and the Pescadores. He then declined to answer as to Quemoy and Matsu.

UNCERTAIN POLICY AS TO QUEMOY

The President and his staff have access to military intelligence that properly is denied to the rest of us. It may be that he has good reason for keeping silent at this time on the United States intentions concerning these small coastal islands that are both geographically and historically part of mainland China.

The appearance at least is different. The appearance is that this silence with respect to Quemoy and Matsu is a continuation of what Secretary Dulles described some months ago as a policy of keeping the other side guessing.

If this is all the policy there is on Quemoy and Matsu, then it happens that the people of the United States and their friends in the free world are kept guessing no less than our possible enemies. From this confusion and doubt arises the continuing fear of an unnecessary involvement of the United States in the Far East.

Let us assume that the situation in the Chinese civil war is as it appears to be. Then Chiang's Nationalist soldiers on Formosa cannot by themselves ever hope to invade the Chinese mainland. Neither can Mao Tse-tung's Communist forces, however much the Peiping propagandists bluster, now or in the immediate future, attack and capture Formosa. If this is the situation, and there are sound reasons to believe it is, then a United States policy of noninvolvement in the Chinese civil war takes form.

The first element in this policy of noninvolvement is not to be maneuvered into losing one or more vessels of the 7th Fleet, or supporting aircraft, and their personnel, while Chiang's evacuation of the Tachens proceeds.

DANGER IN THE DEFENSE TREATY

Chiang Kai-shek was our ally in World War II and that is reason enough to sympathize with him in his concern for his men on islands that lie so close to the Communist mainland. We may hope that he will get his personnel and equipment off the Tachens, but not at the price of involving this country in war.

The second element in this policy of noninvolvement is to be careful not to become caught up in the still more dangerous zones of Quemoy and Matsu just off the mainland.

The speculation that the United States might help redeploy Chiang's troops from the Tachens in order to strengthen his forces on Quemoy and Matsu envisions a maneuver that is doubly dangerous. In such a ferrying operation, a United States naval vessel would run the risk of being destroyed at the Tachens, at Quemoy or Matsu or anywhere en route between them.

The third major element in a policy of noninvolvement, so the Post-Dispatch believes, is rejection by the Senate of the mutual-defense treaty between the United States and Chiang.

This proposed treaty, which Secretary of State Dulles signed last December 2, was ratified unanimously by Chiang's refugee assembly January 14. It is pending in the Senate committee, where it carries strong endorsement by the President.

We are fully aware of the arguments for ratifying this treaty. Approval by the Senate would bolster the morale of Chiang and his troops. Conversely disapproval would seriously embarrass them in the eyes of their Communist enemies.

These considerations of morale are important. However, they are not the only considerations. If the United States becomes a treaty partner with Chiang he is our colleague for better or worse. In view of his regime's record of corruption on the mainland and brutality on Formosa, he might deliberately provoke a military aggression that would involve our forces.

There is some protection for us in the provision that either party can, on a year's notice, abrogate the treaty. But long before abrogation could take effect, an act of war might occur.

A letter exchange, filed with the treaty, states that neither side is obligated to give military assistance if military action is taken without prior consultation between the parties. We might be reassured by this were the other signatory not Chiang. But we do not trust him and we do not think that the President or the American people should trust him. Chiang's opposition at this moment to a cease-fire is warning not to join with him in a mutual-defense treaty.

BETWEEN IMPERFECT ALTERNATIVES

The choice is between imperfect alternatives and we think it is the wiser, sounder course to take the alternative that is more likely to turn out better for the United States and the free world.

Therefore we propose:

First, that while the United States should not in any way weaken its warning to Communist China to keep hands off Formosa and the Pescadores, this country make it a strict policy not to run risks, in the waters of the coastal islands, likely to involve the United States in war.

Second, that the possibility of achieving a cease-fire be explored to the fullest notwithstanding the denunciations of a truce by Chiang and the rejection by Chou En-lai, Chinese Communist diplomat, of a U. N. cease-fire conference, except on extreme terms that Chiang could not accept. Inside the U. N. or on the outside, through some such grouping as the British Commonwealth States which met at Colombo, Ceylon, the search for a fair cease-fire formula must go on.

Third, that plans be undertaken for an eventual solution of the problem of Formosa as an international responsibility. This might take the form of a U. N. trusteeship. It might evolve as an international protectorate under the watchful eyes of the nations of southeast Asia which recently concluded a defense pact for their part of the world similar to NATO for the Atlantic area.

This might well mean that the United States would be forced to send troops to Formosa to participate in an international army. But by some means Formosa's integrity must be secured for the Formosan people either through the U. N. or other international agency. If the prospect does not look

too bright, we must not forget that the U. N. stopped military aggression in Korea.

PROBLEM OF CHIANG'S TROOPS

Fourth, that the difficult question of the disposition of Chiang's troops (in the event of a cease-fire and the securing of Formosa) be approached as a matter similar to the problem of the prisoner exchange following the Korean war. Some of Chiang's troops doubtless would be glad to return to the mainland and their homes and families if they had the opportunity. Others could not return without being killed.

Fifth, that a climate be developed which would enable the free world to place trust in pledges from the Communist side—something not now possible. This would require the observance by the Communists of the truce in Korea. It would require the freeing of American and other U. N. personnel now held in prison. It would require full respect by the Communists for the integrity of the remaining free areas of Indochina and observance of a cease-fire in the Chinese civil war if a truce should be worked out.

Conceivably these steps, if taken in fully demonstrated good faith, could lead to the eventual admission of the Peiping government to the U. N. as the government-in-fact of China. The very thought of Communist China at the U. N. is repugnant to Americans who have been outraged repeatedly by Red Chinese inhumanity.

Yet admission of the Chinese Communist government to the U. N. would be no more than recognition of a geographical reality that can be seen from looking at the map. It would not mean approval of the inhumane acts of Red China any more than the presence of the Soviet Union at the U. N. means our indorsement of the Kremlin and its totalitarian rule.

UPSETTING TO SENATOR KNOWLAND

Admission of the Peiping Government to the U. N. would come, if it ever came, only after a demonstration that Red China had learned the meaning of peaceful coexistence. No less a person than John Foster Dulles himself made a statement last March of the terms under which Red China might conceivably enter the U. N.

Some of these proposals will be anathema to Chiang. Some of them will bring outcries from Senator KNOWLAND, of California, who has been Chiang's chief apologist in the Senate for nearly 10 years. Admittedly they run the risk of sharpening the foreign policy division within the President's party in Congress. This is regrettable, but it is a political fact that the Eisenhower administration must face sooner or later.

No American citizen who cares for the future of his country wants the Communist areas of the world to spread further. He does not want appeasement. He does not want a Munich in the Far East. And he is ready if necessary to fight to keep Communist aggressors from taking over vital areas that could be used as stepping stones.

Neither does the citizen want a hydrogen bomb in his backyard as the result of some wholly unnecessary incident. And the unguarded trigger that might put that bomb in his backyard is thousands of miles away in the Far East.

PRESSURES ON THE PRESIDENT

The pressures on President Eisenhower for deeper involvement are tremendous. They come from his highest military leader, Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other officers of high rank. To his great credit, the President has resisted these pressures up to now.

A year ago the President said the free nations should do what they can to "work out a practical way of getting along" in the world. In this new crisis that still must be our goal.

The President needs the benefit of public opinion to enable him to resist the continuing pressures for involvement. He needs more than ever the country's help in working out that practical way of "getting along."

What this country may be required to do in connection with an eventual defense of Formosa, no one can fortell. But the Chinese civil war, as it swirls about the small coastal islands—the Tachens, Quemoy, and Matsu—is another war to stay out of.

What America Can Learn From Asian Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Chester Bowles, former United States Ambassador to India, and an old friend for whom I have great respect and admiration, has written for the Institute for International Education about what America can learn from the Asian students. The increasing importance of our relations with Asia points up the significance of such thinking as Mr. Bowles expresses. What he says seems to me to deserve wide reading and reflection:

WHAT AMERICA CAN LEARN FROM THE ASIAN STUDENTS

(By Chester Bowles)

The 1,800 students from India who are now studying in America, and hundreds more from other Asian nations, have paid us the compliment of coming to our country to obtain their education, so that they may return to participate more effectively in the building of their new nations.

I would like to pay them a compliment by suggesting that they have a great deal to teach America. During their stay I earnestly hope they will share with us not only their knowledge of Asia, but also the faith in American democracy which brought them here.

Many Asian students with whom I have talked have expressed their surprise at the ignorance of even well-educated Americans on the history and culture of Asia. I am afraid that they are only too right. Of the 50 or more universities and colleges which I have visited in the last year, only one—West Point—had a standard, well-attended undergraduate course in Asian history. For most Americans in primary and secondary schools as well as in college, world history has been the history of the Greco-Roman-European world, perhaps beginning with the Egyptians. These narrow dimensions no longer encompass our world, and we have a lot of homework to do.

Asian students can contribute enormously if they will help to introduce us to broader horizons with particular emphasis on the awakening new world of the East.

Not only do we need to know something about the old and significant history of such civilizations as India, and such religions as Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism, but we need to know the exciting events of this century. If we are to talk persuasively with dynamic modern Asia, we must know the story of the independence struggle in new nations like Indonesia and Burma, and the stories of such men as Gandhi. We need to understand why a social revolution is impelling Asia now to demand land reforms and economic development.

When we know some of the facts of Asian poverty, when we know about the half of Nehru's adult life that he spent in British prisons, then we will see why independence, reforms, and development are not just problems that take priority but passions that brook no delay.

There is another way, fundamental to today's complex world, in which these young visitors from abroad can help us. Many Asian students have told me that they are impressed with the fears that grip America today and with our rather negative and narrow reaction to the problems which confront free men everywhere.

America, they point out, was built, not out of fear, but out of faith. Our public school system, or community life, our labor organizations, our TVA's and our churches are living expressions of America's faith in the concept of expanding freedom and opportunity for all men.

Why then, they ask, do you seem to lose touch with this great positive American concept that has created so much for your own people and which has so much to offer the whole free world?

Most thoughtful Americans will agree that this question is pertinent. Nevertheless, Asians, anxious to know the real America, should seek to understand the incredible strain and pressures to which we have been subjected in the last few years.

When the war was over we anxiously sought the friendship and goodwill of all peoples including the Russians who had fought so valiantly in the struggle against the Nazis.

For generations we had felt close to the Chinese, thousands of whom were educated in American unievrsities. In the postwar years we wanted not a cold war or a bleak coexistence, but friendship, understanding, and an opportunity to work with all people towards a better world.

The harsh realities of the postwar world hit us with unexpected and brutal force. Instead of the constructive comradeship of friends, allies, and former enemies working constructively through the United Nations, we found ourselves faced with the bitter, unrelenting antagonism of the Communist movement, bent on overruning Europe and eventually Asia and the world.

In 1950 as we debated the question of Communist China's recognition, the United Nations was suddenly faced with aggression in Korea and eventually an all-out attack by the Chinese armies. In the following years 33,000 young Americans were killed, and there was scarcely a town in America that did not again feel the impact of war.

In the confusion and uncertainties of the last few years we have, as most Americans must agree, placed too much faith in military power alone, while neglecting the great basic strengths of our democratic tradition. We have often been forgetful of our own struggle against colonialism, and in the interest of military expediency we have seemed willing to prop up decrepit colonial regimes in Asia and Africa.

Ironically, Asian students who come to America are sometimes more conscious than we of the fundamental American democratic concepts which for generations have inspired the freedom movements throughout the world. If they will seek sympathetically to understand our own hopes and fears for the future, they can bring a fresh, clear perspective about America's great potential influence and strength which may help to restore our own sense of values and to regain for us greater confidence in ourselves and the freedoms on which our Nation has been built.

Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt are names which are known and revered by every thoughful, edu-

cated Asian. If these great men of the American past could sit around a table today with such Asian leaders as Soekarno, U Nu, Nehru, and Magsaysay, they would, I believe, share much the same viewpoint and the same hopes for the future.

The language with which America is capable of speaking to the world is a universal language which can arouse the people in remote villages, in the crowded cities of Tokyo, Bangkok, and Calcutta, in the universities and government offices. It is a language with which Asian students, who in some ways have been forced to come to grips more closely than we with the realities of mankind's struggle for survival in a complex and tortured world, are fully familiar.

While we improve our Voice of America—by putting it on the side of Asian freedom and reform as well as against Asian communism—we should listen also to the Asian voices to America. When Asian students come here or when Asian leaders speak to us in their own parliaments and in the United Nations, we should listen to them, disagree with them, if we must, but listen. They have much to teach us.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last week it was my privilege to address an all-university convocation of students at the University of Cincinnati on the subject of American foreign policy.

I send to the desk now the text of my speech, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNISM

(Address by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, at all-university convocation of students, University of Cincinnati, February 4, 1955)

I am delighted to have the opportunity to address this distinguished and learned audience. I always regard it an honor to address an academic group of this kind. It is a special honor to appear before such an audience in this great State which has given our Nation one of its foremost families: I speak of the Tafts of Ohio.

THE RESOLUTION ON FORMOSA

I speak to you at a critical juncture in the affairs of this Nation. Last week the United States Congress with only 6 dissenting votes authorized the President of the United States to use our Armed Forces to protect the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores from possible attack by Communist China. The facts are relatively simple, but the possible consequences are great.

Every competent military man I have talked with in recent years including General MacArthur, General Marshall, General Bradley, General Wedemeyer, Admiral Radford, Admiral Carney, and General Ridgway, to name but a few, agree that if Formosa were to fall into unfriendly hands it would seriously jeopardize the security interests of this Nation. Our great base at Okinawa would be flanked. Attack on the Philippine Republic would be threatened. Japan would be exposed to Communist military threat. And the whole of southeast Asia might eventually be in danger of falling like a ripe plum into the maw of communism.

It was the purpose of President Eisenhower, supported by a nearly unanimous Congress, to draw a line, to make it clear to Communist China that this Nation felt that its self-preservation would be endangered by further Communist expansion in the western Pacific.

Wars have resulted in the past from misjudgments as to when a Nation believes its vital interests are endangered. The resolution passed last week will make it crystal clear to Communist China that we believe our vital interests would be endangered if Formosa and the Pescadores are threatened by military force.

In order to understand the need for this action, I propose to review with you tonight the threat to freemen which is posed by communism and then to examine what we are doing about it internally and externally. I then will consider some of the attitudes which we as Americans must cultivate and develop so that we may be true to the heritage of freedom to which we are heir.

POSSIBILITY OF A CEASE-FIRE

First, however, let me refer briefly to the possibility of a cease-fire in the Formosa area. The resolution which the Congress passed contains a very significant provision. It provides that the authority granted the President is to expire when the peace and security of the area are assured by, and I quote, "international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise."

Last Monday the Security Council of the United Nations met to begin discussion of some method to bring hostilities in the Formosa area to an end. It will be necessary, if these negotiations are to be successful, for Communist China to participate. Indeed, the charter requires that parties to disputes considered by the United Nations are not to be excluded.

During the past few days, a good many people have indicated their fear that if Communist China participates in negotiations for a cease-fire, this will be the first step toward admitting Communist China to the United Nations. I cannot share these fears. Our negotiations through the United Nations are designed to stop the fighting, because as long as shooting is going on in this area there is a very real danger that hostilities may spread. I am confident that our negotiators at the United Nations, led by former Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, under the guidance of President Eisenhower, will not be parties to any cease-fire arrangement which would involve a surrender of the basic principles for which we stand. I am not nearly as fearful of what might happen as the result of negotiations in the United Nations to bring about a cease-fire, as I am fearful of possible consequences of failure to stop the shooting. It seems essential to me that if the American people, through their representatives in Congress, have been willing to give President Eisenhower broad authority to use our Armed Forces to protect Formosa, we must also be willing to rely on his good sense and ability to negotiate a cease-fire without imperiling our vital interests.

EXPANSION OF COMMUNISM

For many of us communism is nothing new. We have been living with it for a long time—since 1918, to be exact. We have watched it grow in four decades from a small band of Petrograd revolutionaries led by Lenin to a force enveloping some 800 million people and extending over 14½ million square miles of the earth's surface. Little did we realize in 1918 that communism would today be so extensive and so menacing a threat to our free civilization.

Soviet territorial aggrandizement, which began with the conquest of Russia herself, has continued with unrelenting drive. Much of Eastern Europe is under Soviet control. And in the Far East, communism has enveloped China, North Korea, and North Vietnam, while in other areas of Asia and the Western Pacific communism has mounted strong forces of infiltration and envelopment.

NATURE OF COMMUNISM, THE PROBLEM OF OUR TIME

Fundamentally, communism is hostile to everything we stand for. It is hostile to democracy; to our economic system; and to our religious and cultural values. It seeks to destroy the humane ideals inherent in democratic doctrine. It thrives on the miseries of mankind. Its gospel is one of hatred, fear, and distrust. It is nourished by poverty, disharmony, and discord. A dangerous force inspired by false messianic hopes, communism teaches deceit, treachery, and terrorism and seeks totality of conquest in the realm of both the physical and the spirtual. Its methods are criminal; its philosophy is godless; its way of life is a way of death for mankind. Communism professes to give man a paradise on earth; but instead it gives man only the chains of slavery, an eternity of human bondage.

The threat of communism is the problem we Americans must face today. There is no easy solution. There is no panacea; no patent cure. There is no escape to isolationism.

I am reminded of a cartoon appearing in a New York magazine a few years ago. It depicted a rather rotund, middle-class gentleman of 50, reclining in a comfortable hammock suspended between two trees behind his comfortable suburban home. In his one hand he had a drink and in the other a newspaper. This man could have been a happy man relaxing there on a delightful summer's day. But obviously he was not, for he remarked, in a note of resigned exasperation: "What a great world this would be if it weren't for the Russians."

We cannot wish away our troubles. We have to face up to the great challenge of our day. I am happy to say that we have, and we shall continue to do so. We must, because our own lives, the life of our Nation, and even the life of western civilization depend on it.

AMERICAN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNISM: INTERNAL

The American approach to the problem of communism has been a dual approach. It has been internal and external; and necessarily so, because rarely if ever is foreign policy something separate and distinct from domestic affairs. In the realm of domestic affairs we have met the Communist menace in a variety of ways. We have taken steps to preserve the internal security of our Nation against Communist subversion. We have met the internal Communist problem by the continued maintenance of a free, vigorous, expanding, and prosperous economy.

I want to emphasize particularly the importance of this factor. Basic to the whole structure of our foreign policy is the economic strength of our Nation. It is upon the economic foundation of our Nation that there has been built a foreign policy the main features of which have required vast outlays of capital and goods in foreign aid and vast expenditures for national defense. Were it not for the strength, vitality and expansiveness of our economy it would not have been possible to sustain the global political commitments which we have assumed.

A final factor in the domestic aspects of our effort to meet the problem of communism is the dedication and resolution of our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, to maintain the high standard of progress achieved by America in the past decades. Communism is nourished by poverty and misery—the twin cancers which can destroy a vigorous and free society. But so long as we are motivated by the desire to insure freedom from want for all of our citizens we have little to fear from domestic communism.

AMERICAN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNISM: EXTERNAL

In the external aspects of our approach to the Communist problem we must continue to be guided by basic principles which to my mind are vital to the ultimate success of our foreign policy.

In the first place, it should always be our fixed policy to secure and maintain world peace. That is basic to our action last week regarding Formosa. To be sure, world peace is a difficult goal to achieve; but we must never diminish our zeal or falter in our resolve to accomplish that ojbective, whatever the obstacles. We are not a warlike people; we are a peace-loving people who have only engaged in wars of self defense and then only after grave provocation.

We have demonstrated our interest in world peace by our participation in the United Nations. There are many who would find flaws in the United Nations. It is my conviction that the United Nations is a vital instrumentality for world peace—if the members would only use it. The fault lies with the member states and not with the United Nations.

Personally, I am proud of our role in helping to build the United Nations and in supporting it. It is the best instrument through which we may seek to fulfill our policy of assuring world peace.

In the second place, our foreign policy must continue to be based upon a global concept. Our interests and our commitments are global. So are the interests and commitments of our Communist adversaries. This means we must keep ourselves constantly in a position to give the uncommitted people of this earth a chance to contrast the Communist way of life with the free way of life.

The third principle for the success of our foreign policy is the continued emphasis upon collective security. We cannot go it alone in any vigorous effort to checkmate Communist expansion. Basic to our foreign policy is the support of our allies, in NATO, ANZUS, SEATO, and the other pacts of collective security such as the Rio Pact. We must maintain the strength and vitality of this network of engagements, bearing in mind in all diplomatic conduct the need for solidarity among our friends.

Bipartisanship, or nonpartisanship as I call it, is another principle that must be maintained if we are to be successful in our foreign policy. I do not mean that there should be no criticism of foreign policy. On the contrary, when criticism is warranted and where it will be constructive, it should be made without hesitation. Our democracy thrives on the free interplay of ideas so that out of the clash of conflicting views carried on in statesmanlike debate the most reasonable course of action will emerge.

It is the duty, indeed, the moral obligation, of every legislator, whatever his party, to voice dissent when in his conscience a given policy is open to criticism. If criticism is to be made, however, it ought to be constructive, statesmanlike, and patriotically inspired. In the realm of foreign affairs there is no room for irresponsible charges, demagogic exhortations, and petty carping that exploits the fears of a people, sows discord, and creates doubt where there should be courage, unity and confidence.

UNITY IS NECESSARY

I have said time and again that partisan politics should stop at the water's edge. The eyes of the politician should not be fixed upon the next election but rather upon the next generation. I would like to say emphatically that I am confident that the American people have nothing to fear on this score. I feel sure President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles will establish and maintain a system of real and meaningful consultation with both parties on major issues that arise in the conduct of our foreign policy.

The passage of the resolution on Formosa demonstrated once again this kind of solidarity. Many people, I know, argued that President Eisenhower already possessed ample authority under the Constitution to use our Armed Forces in defense of Formosa and the Pescadores without the consent of the Congress.

But that was not the real issue. The real issue was whether the President and the Congress would join hands and display the kind of unity that gives weight and substance to American policy. The Senate vote of 85 to 3—together with a similarly heavy House vote—let the Communists know in no uncertain terms exactly how America feels about the defense of Formosa.

A STRONG MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

In addition to the guiding principles of foreign policy which I have mentioned it is necessary that we continue to maintain a strong military establishment if we are to succeed in our struggle against communism. Military and foreign policy are inextricably interrelated; they cannot be separated; they must be designed to work in concert with one another. More than ever before the success of American foreign policy without power is meaningless.

The world today is divided into armed camps, and however much we may wish to ignore the realities of tension and struggle, we cannot do so. Our diplomatic commitments are many; they are far reaching; they are global in scope. To support these commitments we must maintain a strong defense structure. Our commitments must square with the realities of our national interest; our military establishment must be maintained in proper proportion to the extension of our political commitments.

Thus, we must continue to maintain a strong Navy, Air Force, and Army, however great the personal sacrifice for each one of us. We must have a trained and ready Reserve upon which to draw in time of emergency. We must maintain a strong continental-defense system. In this day of A-bombs, H-bombs, intercontinental ballistic missiles, and supersonic air speed we cannot quibble about cost of such a defense. The stake is great; it m y well be our national existence.

We ought never to forget that the countries of the Communist bloc have a standing armed force of over 11 million men, with a great manpower potential held in reserve. We ought never to forget that Soviet Russia has a first-rate air force with intercontinental bombers. We ought never to forget that Soviet Russia has a navy second only to the United States Navy. We ought never to forget that Soviet Russia, too, has weapons of mass destruction. We must be on our guard; we must be vigilant.

I have often said—and I repeat now—that if our foreign policy is to be respected, our Armed Forces must be kept in balance with our security commitments throughout the world. I wonder, therefore, whether we are not making a serious mistake by reducing our Armed Forces at the very time we are taking on additional commitments in the Pacific.

A final factor in the determination of the external aspects of our approach to the Communist problem is the vital need to maintain limited amounts of foreign economic aid, especially in the Far East. Much can be done, especially in underdeveloped areas, through programs of technical assistance to build the elements of resistance to Communist aggression. We must have military bases abroad—no one doubts that; but we must also seek bases in the hearts of men. That we can do at least in one way by carrying on—yes, even extending—our program of technical assistance.

SOME REQUIREMENTS FOR EFFECTIVE FOREIGN RELATIONS

Such is the problem facing us today, and such are the ways of facing up to this problem. This is indeed a time of trouble for all of us. The demands upon all of us are far greater than ever before in our national history. What, then, are some of the requirements for carrying on effective foreign relations?

In the first place, we must be mindful of the innate prejudices that we ourselves have and also the prejudices that foreign people have toward us. Knowing these prejudices we must counteract them with reason, and thus seek to establish a better bond of relations. It is well known that foreign folk, especially Europeans, think that we are a headstrong, impulsive, and sometimes irresponsible people. We are an energetic, optimistic, confident people—that we shall never deny. Unfortunately our critics abroad do not differentiate between official irresponsibility and individual irresponsibility. Too often are they led to believe that the irresponsible comment of one American represents the true attitude of the American people and even the Government and administration itself. The press, foreign and domestic, thrives on news especially of an irregular and sensational nature. And more often than not the minority—even individual—opinion is represented as being the prevailing thought, which is in fact far from the truth.

Our friends abroad must realize that despite some outward manifestations of excitability, we Americans are at bottom a conservative people. We are not precipitate in our actions. Rather we are cautious, generally slow to anger, and sometimes even slow to act. Certainly in our relations with the Soviet Union we have displayed a remarkable, if not heroic, amount of self-restraint.

AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY

Some of our friends abroad also believe that in matters of foreign affairs we are inexperienced—a child with a new and dangerous toy. Perhaps, if centuries of diplomatic history are to be the criterion, we are indeed inexperienced. The older powers of the world have lived with their problems for a long time. For us, it has not been so long. However, it seems to me that experience in foreign affairs is measured not by time but by action. With this as a criterion I believe we can conclude that we are not without experience in diplomacy.

Since 1898, America has been an active participant upon the state of world affairs. During that period we have matured and our diplomatic abilities have sharpened. We have played a role in the great diplomatic crises of the century; we have adjusted ourselves to the demands of our national interests and responsibility. We have produced outstanding diplomats, many of whom stand in the forefront of the world's greatest. But more important, it seems to me, the American people have been willing to accept the responsibility of world leadership which has been thrust upon them. Experience should be equated with knowledge and maturity. Certainly the realization of our new role in world affairs and the acceptance of it are truly marks of great maturity.

Undoubtedly, one of the gravest misconceptions colonial peoples have about us concerns colonialism. There is a misconception in Asia that we support colonialism. The

very existence of this misconception is a measure of the success of Communist propaganda. America does not sustain colonialism. Our Secretary of State has made this abundantly clear by such statements as: "We do not seek to perpetuate western colonialism"; and "The United States will never fight for colonialism." We ourselves are a former colonial people. We threw off the bonds of colonialism over 175 years ago. The underlying concept of our democracy is the right of self-determination of people. These are facts, I believe, that the Asians must be helped to understand because this is the true spirit of America. Moreover, we must help them see that the attitude of the Communists on the colonial question is a contradiction: On the one hand they denounce imperialism and colonialism; and yet communism is the greatest force of imperialism and colonialism in modern times.

THE NEED FOR SELF-EXAMINATION

Americans, too, have innate prejudices that must be overcome in our relations with people in foreign lands. We must be tolerant of those unlike ourselves. Deep in the American consciousness is a trace of antiforeignism which has been nourished by the effects of our historic concept of "no entangling alliances." We must accept foreign folk on their own terms and not expect from them the same customs, likes and dislikes, beliefs and standards of behavior as ourselves. We are all brothers under the Fatherhood of God. Fortunately, as a Nation derived from numerous nationalities, we have demonstrated that we know the secret of how different peoples can get along together.

Clearly associated with the cultivation of a proper attitude toward other peoples is the need for self-examination—that is, to see ourselves as others see us. If we want peoples in foreign lands to respect our way of life and to be influenced by it, we must do all in our power to be an example before the world. Self-criticism is in many ways a noble practice; but it is still a nobler virtue to practice what one preaches.

Perhaps one of the great fears of our foreign friends is the fear that America will withdraw into herself, donning the cloak of isolation and rejecting the role of world leadership. Certainly among us there is sometimes a longing to return to the less turbulent days of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Life was peaceful, relatively easy-going and uncomplicated then. But the fears that there will rise a neoisolationism as manifested in the fortress-of-America concept are groundless. Americans have accepted their role of world leadership—perhaps the greatest diplomatic revolution of modern times. We have set our hand to the plow, and we shall never turn back

PATIENCE IS NECESSARY

A second requirement for the success of our foreign relations especially today is the need for patience and forbearance. We are an energetic people; we are a dynamic, vigorous people who are used to seeking quick results from our work. We have never known what it is to wait patiently in an atmosphere highly charged with emotion. In foreign affairs especially we must display a type of Galilean forbearance never before demanded of us. We must always bear in mind the larger problem rather than the purely localized one. We must take the large view; weigh the consequences; and above all else, we must be patient.

Diplomacy, it has been said, is the art of letting the other fellow have your way. It is the art of achieving in a realistic world what is possible and practicable. Seldom does the diplomat obtain solutions in an absolute sense. Solutions, such as they are, come only after painstaking negotiations, and with many disappointments, setbacks, and frustrations. And then these negotiations may well result in something far less than the original objective. If this were a perfect world, solutions would be as we desired them. But the world is far from perfect. Patience is, therefore, highly important, especially in a democracy where public opinion determines so much the course of diplomacy. Patience and forbearance are not necessarily elements of weakness. There can be and there often is courage in patience; resolution in forbearance; and wisdom in self-restraint.

AN INFORMED PUBLIC

Then, my friends, to maintain an effective foreign policy there is the need for informed opinion. In the conduct of foreign relations and in the laying down of policy there is no substitute for clarity of thought, soundness of judgment, intelligence, and knowledge. Knowledge dispels fear, combats irresponsibility, sobers the excited and the impatient, and lights the path before us. In our Government, in the executive departments, and in Congress we must always have well-trained, intelligent people, informed in the complexities of world affairs and capable of coping with the many problems that arise from them.

And among our people there must be an informed public opinion. This is very important. It was William Henry Seward, a founder of the Republican Party and one of our greatest Secretaries of State, who said, "The policy of the United States is not a creature of the Government, but it is an inspiration of the people."

Our foreign policy is an inspiration of the people. It behooves us, therefore, to have an informed public opinion; for the quality of our foreign policy can rise no higher than the level of our people, their intelligence, their interests, and their willingness to participate in world affairs. We must have a citizenry aware of the pitfalls in foreign affairs; conscious of our own limitations; and fully cognizant of the depth and breadth of our problems in the world.

Here I want to emphasize the importance of our instruments of communications in relation to foreign affairs. The responsibility of our newspapers, magazines, learned periodicals, and especially the radio and television media is considerable in the formation of an informed opinion. In a democracy a responsible press and a public-minded radio-television network play a role of inestimable value in contributing to the success of foreign policy.

The greatest source of an informed public is, however, our educational system. Destroy our schools, close our universities, exile our teachers and professors, interdict communication of knowledge, and our great Nation would disintegrate and perish. Conversely, if we are to fulfill our destiny as a great nation, if we are to have an informed public and able leadership; and if we are to have a sound structure of government, we must have a vigorous and expanding educational system. Our Nation depends on it; our Government depends on it; the free world depends on it.

It is axiomatic to say that our schools, colleges, and universities give us our future leaders. But the obligations and duties of our educational institutions go beyond that because they are beacons of enlightenment for our Nation as a whole. They are the real foundations of an intelligent public opinion upon which the direction of our foreign policy depends so much.

THE DANGERS OF COEXISTENCE

Let me illustrate one point. Today we hear Moscow sounding the soft and gentle chords of peaceful coexistence. That message has attracted much attention throughout the world and well it should because it comes from the world's principal aggressor and because it might appear to some to promise what the world desires most: Peace. However, if we analyze this theme carefully in the light of past experience and present world conditions; if we analyze this theme in terms of communistic philosophy, we can only come to the conclusion that peaceful coexistence is purely a ruse, a clever propaganda device intended to disarm the vigilant, to undermine the vitality and destroy the cohesion of the anti-Communist world. It is not peaceful coexistence the Soviets want; it is peaceful infiltration.

Let it never be forgotten that the present rulers of Moscow are not only the heirs but they are the students, the coworkers of Stalin. It was they who labored with Stalin to make the Soviet Union what it is today, and with some minor exceptions the course of their policy and their ultimate objective are no different from Stalin's.

This theme of peaceful coexistence cannot be combated with guns, warships, airplanes, A-bombs, or H-bombs. It can only be combated with knowledge; knowledge of the Soviet Union; knowledge of the strategy and tactics of communism; knowledge of world affairs today within the context of the East-West power struggle.

THE NEED FOR FAITH AND CONFIDENCE

The final factor in determining the requirements for effective foreign relations is the need for faith and confidence. I believe that one of the greatest cohesive forces in a democracy is faith and confidence. To the working of a democratic system of government faith and confidence are fundamental; for they establish a bond of affection without which there can be no unity of purpose, nor can there be efficient government, marked national progress or success in foreign relations. In a democracy we must put into practice the simple doctrine of the Master to love thy neighbor. Upon this simple but monumental doctrine rests the requirements for success in a democracy. If ever our Republic shall come upon unhappy times, it will be because we have lost our faith and lost our confidence. Fear of our neighbor, distrust of our own abilities, suspicion of those who govern us, disbelief in a Supreme Being—they are the heresies that lead to destruction. If they consumed us, they could destroy the foundation of our Nation.

We must have faith in our President. We must rely upon his good judgment as Chief Executive and as representative of all the people. We must have faith and confidence in our elected representatives in Congress. We must likewise have faith and confidence in our Government as a whole, our leaders in defense and diplomacy, our men and women in the Foreign Service, and our leaders in State and local government.

Most of all we must have faith and confidence in our neighbors, and faith and confidence in ourselves. We are by nature an optimistic people and in our zeal we must guard against the excesses of exaggerated self-confidence. Our limitations we must know; and in all our actions we must be guided by a sense of high moral purpose and also by a reverence for reason.

America is a nation whose roots are embedded in the 18th century age of reason. Its roots are likewise embedded in the rich religious traditions of the Old World. Our forefathers were men born into these traditions, and we are their children. Let us find inspiration and guidance in their moral outlook; let us find inspiration and guidance in their reverance for reason; for with reason as our guide and their moral virtue as our inspiration, we shall never fear for the future. And with faith and confidence in ourselves and in our national destiny, we shall meet successfully all challenges, however great and from whatever quarter.

Address by Hon. John W. Bricker, of Ohio, Before Edison Pioneers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] before the Edison Pioneers, in New York City on February 5, 1955, in observance of the 108th anniversary of Thomas A. Edison's birth.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDISON, SON OF OHIO

(Address by Senator JOHN W. BRICKER before the Edison Pioneers, New York, N. Y., February 5, 1955)

It is a real pleasure for me to join with the Edison Pioneers in observing the 108th anniversary of Thomas A. Edison's birth. With Mr. Edison's birthday being February 11 and Abraham Lincoln's the day following, we are naturally led to compare the influences shaping the lives of these two great Americans.

Thomas A. Edison was born at Milan, Ohio, on February 11, 1847. Although Edison, like Lincoln, belongs to the ages, Ohioans take special pride in the fact that his formative years were spent in the Buckeye State. Having had Edison, we in Ohio understand the sentiment which leads the people of Illinois to describe their State as the "Land of Lincoln."

No generation is an island unto itself. Edmund Burke developed the best definition on the nature of civilized society when he said:

"As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are dead, and those who are to be born."

And so, we cannot know all about Lincoln or Edison or anyone else if we merely begin our study at the date of birth. All men are molded to some degree by local civil, political, and cultural traditions. One of the most important factors in the development of those traditions in the Northwest Territory was the ordinance of 1787.

The Northwest Ordinance was passed by the Confederate Congress on July 13, 1787, almost 2 years before ratification of the Constitution. Provision was made for representative government whenever a prospective State should have 5,000 male inhabitants. This farsighted legislation provided for the admission of States into the Union on an equal footing with the Original States whenever any State should reach a population of 60,000. Article II of the Northwest Ordinance recognized many fundamental rights which were not in the original Constitution but added later as the Bill of Rights. Slavery in the Northwest Territory was prohibited. Article III of the Northwest Ordinance provided: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

A frontier territory divorced from tradition or run as a dependent colony from Washington could not have produced so soon after statehood such men as Lincoln and Edison. Today the Articles of Confederation and the Confederate Congress are commonly presented as horrible examples of political impotence. Yet I venture to suggest that no Congress under the Constitution has enacted into law a more beneficent piece of legislation than the Northwest Ordinance.

Neither Lincoln nor Edison had much formal schooling. This is a fact which the taxpayers of today must view with ever-increasing amazement. No responsible person, of course, advocates going back to the little red schoolhouse. We all recognize the need for more and better schools. There is no point in laboring the obvious. But regardless of the excellence of our educational plant and even if illiteracy is completely abolished, modern education will have failed unless it produces a few men of the stature of Lincoln and Edison. Who can set a price on the value of their services to the Nation?

Though formal education did not appeal to Edison, he was not anti-intellectual. At the age of 11, for example, he had read such books as Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. I suspect that not many of the current crop of 11-year-olds have tasted such intellectual fare.

Mr. Edison's recognition of the value of education was evidenced in ways too numerous to mention. He was unyielding in his insistence on concentrated thought. Framed on his laboratory wall was this quotation from Sir Joshua Reynolds: "There is no expedient to which man will not resort to avoid the real labor of thinking."

Commenting on this quotation, Edison said: "Thinking is the hardest thing in the world for those to do who have not formed the habit."

In the scientific world the mind has many mansions. Thomas Edison was primarily an inventor rather than a discoverer. Curiously enough, it was Abraham Lincoln who best explained the difference between discovery and invention. In a lyceum lecture delivered in 1860, Mr. Lincoln said: "All creation is a mine, and every man a miner. In the beginning the mine was unopened and the miner stood naked and knowledgeless upon it. * * * Man is not the only animal that labors, but he is the only one that improves his workmanship."

And then Lincoln remarked how strange it was that the discovery of steam power preceded by 2,000 years its useful application.

Eleven hundred patents resulted from Mr. Edison's research in applied science. It has been said that he kept the path to the Patent Office hot with his footsteps. For me to enumerate for the Edison Pioneers his more important inventions would indeed be carrying coals to Newcastle.

We can recall with profit, however, the principal ingredients of Mr. Edison's astounding success. We might start with the three qualities which Mr. Edison on his 67th birthday cited as the secret of his success. These qualities, said Edison, were a will to work, imagination, and ambition.

A will to work marked Edison's life from boyhood. Unquestionably the industry and ingenuity of his father set the example. Samuel Edison had developed a successful business making shingles in Milan, Ohio. But when the railroad linking Toledo and Buffalo through Norwalk and Sandusky doomed Milan as a world port, Samuel Edison moved on to Port Huron. Similarly, Thomas Edison never hesitated to move to greener economic pastures.

Certainly no teen-age boy ever had more entrepreneurial experience than young Edison. After his remarkable boyhood experience he could never have had any illusions about the ability of government to produce wealth. A socialistic government, as Edison knew, could redistribute wealth but not create it. And, it may be added a socialistic economy will never produce an Edison.

Thomas Edison's imagination is to me the most fascinating aspect of his personality. Mr. Edison himself gave us a good insight on the quality of his imagination with this story:

"Have you seen that big electric engine on the New York Central Railroad—how the power is coupled to the wheels? No? I'll tell you a story about it to show what happens to any of us when we get in a rut from knowing too much about the difficulties. Those engineers had finished the engine, all but one detail. They couldn't think of a proper way to get the power down to the wheels. That silly problem has bothered engineers all over the world. You will see if you look in how many different ways they have solved it. Well, these engineers were stuck, all in a rut. They had looked at the thing so long and knew so much about it that they couldn't see it. So they posted a notice. Five hundred dollars to anyone who could make a working suggestion. Weeks passed. Still nobody could think of a way to couple the power to the wheels.

"One day a boy from the drafting room stopped at the chief engineer's desk and made a little scrawl of a pencil sketch. 'I don't know anything about it,' he said, 'but would this work?' The engineer looked at it and said he believed it might—and it did. You will see it working the next time you leave the Grand Central Terminal. That boy wasn't in a rut. He didn't know what the difficulties were. He just looked at the thing."

And so, Edison approached all problems with an open mind, taking nothing for granted. This does not mean, however, that Edison's inventions sprung from some spontaneous mental combustion. Edison, as you know, defined genius as 2 percent inspiration and 98 percent perspiration.

About 12 years ago the Supreme Court of the United States held that an invention within the meaning of the patent laws must be the result of a "flash of genius." This "flash of genius" test for inventions was a judicial aberration which the Congress later corrected. The most telling argument against the "flash of genius" test was that few, if any, of Thomas Edison's inventions would have been patentable. Almost as important as Edison's inventions was his method of inventing. Instead of waiting for genius to flash, he experimented endlessly, at first alone and later with a staff of competent men with whom he worked in a well-equipped laboratory.

The intensity of Edison's ambition accounts for his almost superhuman energy. He was not interested in money except as a means to an end. That end he described as follows:

"My desire to do everything within my power to further free the people from drudgery, and create the largest possible measure of happiness and prosperity."

It is most fitting and proper that we acknowledge each year about this time the priceless gifts resulting from Mr. Edison's fertile imagination and his indefatigable labors. America is prone, however, to accept Mr. Edison's contributions without recognizing any corresponding obligation. Unless we recognize those obligations, Mr. Edison's marvelous inventions will contribute not to happiness but to despair.

Consider, for example, the highways to knowledge and understanding opened by invention of the incandescent lamp. However, the value of Edison's greatest invention depends finally on the way we use it. Today, we can hardly imagine how difficult it was to reach before Edison gave his light to the world. Nevertheless, many of the contemporaries of Lincoln and Edison read the Bible and other great literature by candlelight. It was not uncommon to read aloud in the intimacy of the family circle. When parents today read Mickey Spillane and their children read horror comics, they depreciate Edison's great gift.

Mr. Edison was well aware of the degrading uses to which his inventions could be put. He was one of the first to protest sex and "white slave" motion pictures. He said on one occasion: "Those we make here can be witnessed by any child. If white slave pictures are to be made, I will let the other fellow make them."

We can handle the problem of obscenity without undue difficulty. However, the vulgarity and the mediocrity present in so many forms of communication is producing a mass culture which increasing numbers of thoughtful Americans view with alarm and dismay.

More than any man in history, Edison succeeded in freeing the people from drudgery. At the same time, however, he created a problem of leisure which Americans have not yet solved. Edison's inventions did not give us leisure. They merely created the opportunity for leisure. And we cannot solve the problem of leisure without a clear understanding of what the word means.

Leisure is not mere idleness. It is not the insatiable pursuit of new sensations nor a state of voluptuous sloth. No Communist understands true leisure. It is either regarded as the luxurious idleness of privileged classes, or as Karl Marx described the leisure of Communist society wherein all men would "hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, and make love in the evening." As Mr. Russell Kirk explains in his book, A Program for Conservatives:

"If true leisure, as distinguished from the boredom of idleness, is to be restored to the mass of men, we must relate our opportunities for leisure to the ends of life that men have pursued since time out of mind. We must remember that the Christian idea of leisure is expressed in the holy day. We must remind ourselves that a chief practical object of leisure is self-improvement, or emulation of the highest types of humanity. We must relate our leisure hours to the concerns of family, the welfare of our children, and the improvement of our homes. We ought to recall that one form of leisure is to turn from our accustomed work to another sort of work, equally productive, but less monotonous and employing individual skills."

Without the inventions of Mr. Edison most men would still be chained to their work for so long as to make true leisure impossible. But if mankind does not employ the time made available by Edison and others in meaningful leisure, it will sink into a boredom more oppressive than tyranny.

Mr. Edison had political convictions. He did not, however, trade on his reputation as a great scientist to influence public opinion on foreign or defense policy or on other political matters outside his field of special competence. In that, of course, he was not like some present-day scientists. I do not recall, for example, that he broadcast to the Nation advice on how to rewrite the immigration laws. He had none of the egotism which leads some scientists to equate scientific wisdom and wisdom in all the other affairs of life. Perhaps he knew the story about the French butcher who became involved in litigation, and not knowing any lawyer in Paris, called on each one, finally selecting the fattest to represent him.

Also unlike many scientists, Thomas Edison set up no opposition between science and religion. Edison said, for example: "Too many people have a microscopic idea of the Creator. If they would study His wonderful works as I have spent my life in doing, in the natural laws of the universe; if they would but look, they would have a much broader idea of the Great Engineer and His divine power."

We all know in a general way what happens when we snap the light switch at home. We do not know as much about the force of electromagnetism as Mr. Edison. But in the last analysis neither Mr. Edison nor anyone else has known precisely what that force is.

All of you know the Negro spiritual:

"Ezekiel saw the wheel
Way up in the middle of the air.
Little wheel run by faith,
Big wheel run by the grace of God,
Way up in the middle of the air."

The late Garet Garrett in his book, The American Omen, observed with reference to this Negro spiritual:

"Here, besides the rare aesthetic perception to make poetical use of a mechanical image, is a profound truth. Every wheel we have is a wheel within a wheel. Every wheel that runs does run by faith, though you take it to be only the faith implicit among us that the big cosmic wheel will run true and not fail. And what makes the big wheel run at all nobody knows."

So long as we retain our faith in that big cosmic wheel directed by a divine providence, the contributions of Edison and other great men of science will facilitate man's progress toward enlightenment. Without such faith the contributions of science will accelerate the speed of progress toward barbarism. In deciding between religious faith and secular knowledge as the ultimate value in life, we will fulfill or repudiate our obligation to Thomas A. Edison.

The Right-To-Work Law a Threat to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, in recent months Americans have read many statements, often contradictory, by the President, the Secretary of Labor, and others directly involved in labor-management relations, concerning the so-called right-to-work laws which effectively prohibit various forms of union security agreements.

I have recently received a very interesting message which was issued last month by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. I commend this message to every Member of Congress who is interested in stable labor-management relations, and I ask unanimous consent to have this 1954 message of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW: THREAT TO AMERICA

(Statement by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, New York, N. Y., January 1, 1955)

The following is the 1954 message of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists for the New Year:

Sound legislative policy will ever take into account the realities of that area of activity it seeks to direct through law. It is, therefore, unfortunate that there is today so much evidence of flagrant disregard for the facts of labor-management relations in America whenever certain misnamed right-to-work laws are passed in several of the States. The existence of these laws is a serious setback in the pattern of progress toward peaceful labor relations in the United States.

I. THE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS AND NATIONAL LABOR POLICY

One of the cornerstones of peaceful industrial relations is a uniform national labor policy. In accord with this, America had progressed slowly and painfully toward accepting the idea of a national labor relations policy until it finally came to some realization in the Wagner Act of 1935.

The next decade saw the broad growth of American labor, but the unnatural shifts in the national economy from peacetime to wartime conditions, and then again to reconversion, were not without their effect upon labor. Among other factors, the strains upon labor-management relations, which in peacetime might have been eased by sensible action on both sides, were heightened by the necessity of certain restrictions on both labor and capital management. With the end of the war, the reaction against labor's strong place on the national scene was able to create a powerful movement for radically modifying the national labor relations policy by the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947.

One of the chief provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act is that it relinquishes jurisdiction over the regulation of union security in those States and territories which have enacted more restrictive union-security legislation. As a result, the various States are free to outlaw the union shop, which many have done on the pretense of defending a man's right to work. The first effect of this provision of the Taft-Hartley Act is that it shatters the uniform pattern of collective bargaining by allowing unions to be treated differently within every State and territory of America. This is not without producing an effect upon the whole national economy, since it leaves the way open for an immediate radical variation in the wage scale of workers of different areas in the Nation.

While the right-to-work laws are passed within the various States on the principle that it is the individual State's right to determine the restrictions to be put upon unions, we are overwhelmed by the broad picture which is fast coming into focus. Whereas the supporters of the right-to-work laws oppose a national labor relations policy under Federal law, the right-to-work law movement has already assumed such national proportions that the Secretary of Labor found it necessary on December 7, 1954, to voice his opposition to a recently formed National Committee for Right-to-Work Laws.

Complex and geographically extended though it may be, there can be no denying the fact that our national economy has its own uniform identity, upon the character of which any one of innumerable and variable factors can have a profound effect. Capital-management long ago accepted the idea of one national economy, and contributed towards its stabilization by developing, under governmental authority, the concepts of corporate and other forms of ownership association dependent upon widespread markets for the national investment basis of corporate business. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that American labor, so important a factor in the national economy, should also be regarded as properly the object of a single and uniform national public policy which recognizes as the foundation of the trade union the right of free association for the common good and the collorary right to those measures necessary for the securtiy of that association.

Employers who are sincere in their desire to respect the rights of the workingman have learned that the enormous complexity of modern business and industry makes personal dealings impossible. The collective nature of corporate enterprise and its in-

herent interests, together with the equally collective nature of the society and interests into which a man enters when he exercises his right to work by taking a job—all combine to produce the necessity, on the practical level alone, for labor as well as business to organize. It is equally necessary that Government take these facts into consideration when passing upon public labor relations policy.

At present there are 17 States which have this so-called right-to-work legislation on their books, 5 other States having since repealed their so-called right-to-work laws, and similar right-to-work laws are pending in at least 6 more of the United States. The laws themselves vary to some extent in content and presentation, though many of them are carbon copies of each other. They are all directed, however, toward one point—the elimination of the union shop. Now, the actual experience of the American labor movement has been that where some form of the union shop is not guaranteed in the contract, there is little or no chance for the union to attain that stable unity and security which is altogether necessary on the practical level if an association of workingmen is to be enabled to operate for the common good.

The bitter experience of the American workingman is that where he cannot stand in organized solidarity with his fellow workers, his further right to a just living family wage is rarely recognized, if at all. The labor movement in America has been the greatest factor in raising the standard of living of the wage-earner, in helping the individual worker to attain that level of decent living which befits his human dignity—and which, therefore, by wholesome sharing in the material goods of this world, enables him to freely exercise his mind and will in the true purpose of his life here on earth, namely the worship and love of Almighty God.

It is not the American worker who has been bleating so loudly about the need to protect a man's right to work. The new expounders of the right-to-work are those who would have the worker stand alone before them in his request to exercise that right—where they can dictate the conditions of that work—conditions which in the past have brought untold misery and hardship to the workingman.

II. THE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS AND THE MORAL LAW

Because we are speaking here of human rights, we must ask ourselves how the right-to-work laws are to be viewed in the light of the moral law. Endowed with truly glorious human freedom by his Creator, a man has many rights and is free to exercise them. But the very number and quality of those rights demand that his freedom to exercise them be directed towards constructing a harmony in his life among all his human rights both personal and social.

Concerned as they are with this matter, we invite the supporters of those laws to scrutinize all the implications of the right to work. The right to work, as every human right, is not absolute but restricted The right to work is restricted by the duty of the worker to respect all the rights of his fellow workers. One of these other rights is the right to organize into free associations with each other for the common good. This is a basic right of every man which has been emphasized by the Holy Fathers, especially since the time of Pope Leo XIII, whenever they have spoken of the workingman.

This right to organize includes the right to those means necessary for the security of the organizations operating for the common good. Practical experience has shown us in this country that the union shop is one of the most effective means of attaining security in the trade-union movement. Without it, the labor union cannot devote its full time to working for the benefit of the members but must dissipate its energies in an unending struggle for its very existence.

Furthermore, there are many Catholic moralists who find in the teachings of the Popes and the precepts of the natural law a general obligation arising from man's nature to organize with his fellow man for the common good. This can, in fact, require a man in certain circumstances to join or organize a labor union.

(Although we speak of a right to work, we must recognize that a man can as often have the duty to work, both in the interests of his family's welfare, and in the interests of the common good of society. Equally important when discussing the right to work is the no less real duty on the part of those in a position to do so to provide a man with work.)

Nor in speaking of the right to work and its commitment rights and duties can we pass over the fact that the union shop in the hands of racketeering or Communist labor leaders is harmful to both the workers and the employer. However, this does not destroy the labor movement's right to a union shop for the right of a worker to organize a union carries with it the grave obligation to see to it that his union operates for the common good and this common good demands respect for both the workers' and employers' rights.

It is the duty of employers and of the State to recognize the important significance of labor unions and the necessity of recognizing the rights and duties of workers in reference to the common good by positive and intelligent attitudes on their own part.

Nor are all these rights and duties of workers to be indiscriminately considered. The papal encyclicals have never tired of prompting both management and labor toward that organized cooperation which is the natural and desirable development of organization within their own respective ranks. The collective bargaining process is the keystone on which this cooperation must build itself in our present society. To deny to labor the opportunity to organize and bargain collectively is, therefore, disruptive of any possible harmony in industrial relations.

The right-to-work laws, by their elimination of the union shop—which is labor's basic element of secure organization—open the way for that spirit of class warfare which is inevitably fomented when men think of themselves as disassociated from the common good and interests of their fellow men.

Only respect and support for the rights and duties of labor and capital-management can give rise to peaceful cooperation in society. Those who strive to separate and classify the members of society, i. e., those who support either communism or extreme individualism, must necessarily, therefore, both strive for conditions under which class warfare is inevitable—for they both err in believing that that society is best in which moral responsibility does not exist.

The hidden attack on the social responsibilities of the worker which is embodied in the current right-to-work laws must be recognized as one more instance of that secularism in human affairs which the Catholic Church has always condemned and continues to vociferously condemn.

III. RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS AND THE FAMILY

Unfortunately, these laws are a result of our inheritance of that destruction of community life which makes the individual free worker a microcosmic society—"a man unto himself"—and which thereby threatens even the sanctity of the focal point of all society—the family.

For, by undermining the security of his association with his fellow men, these laws prevent the worker from carrying out his obligations to the common good and thus blur his conscience in those matters pertaining even to his own and his family's spiritual and temporal welfare. The subterfuge of defending the right to work cannot stand up in the face of practical experience and in the light of the real implications of a man's right to work.

IV. CONCLUSION

We ask, therefore that the right-to-work laws be reconsidered in the light of their effect upon the real meaning of the right to work and its relation to a man's other rights. We submit, furthermore, that any effort to oppose these right-to-work laws will be completely ineffective if it is not directed toward establishing a sound national industrial relations policy.

A Toast to Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "A Toast to Kansas," delivered by Hall Smith, Jr., at the annual Kansas Day dinner on January 29, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TOAST TO KANSAS DELIVERED BY HALL SMITH, JR., AT THE ANNUAL KANSAS DAY DINNER, JANUARY 29, 1955

Thank you, Mr. Josserand, Governor Hall, distinguished guests, my fellow Kansans, from its birth, Kansas has enjoyed a distinctiveness of character accorded no other State in the Union. The passage of the organic act that brought her into existence rekindled the smoldering fires of national discord. To preserve the political equilibrium of the Union it had been the policy of the Congress, from the first, to admit States in pairs, one free State for one slave State. The South had exhausted territory for expansion. The only territory available for annexation at the time was the Midwest Plains territory. The North and South made a compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. Kansas was to become the migratory goal for the South and Nebraska for the North. Proslave forces were fast to capitalize on the bill, and obtained control of Kansas rapidly. However, the people of Kansas were against any form of inequality and a conflict arose as the inhabitants of Kansas territory asserted their endowed rights. Irritation grew as the events of the time evidenced. Proslavery forces fired 50 cannon shots into, and then burned, the Eldridge Hotel in Lawrence, which was then free State headquarters. A midnight massacre of five proslavery men on the Pottawatomie, and other such incidents earned this territory its name of "Bleeding Kansas." As the determined inhabitants became organized and began their quest for self-government, or rule by the majority, the slave element withdrew to a more healthy locale. While not being one of the Original Thirteen States, Kansas has had the privilege to first fight for her convictions and recognition for what she was, and in the victorious outcome be awarded admission to the Union in 1861, 94 years ago today. This was, indeed, a tribute to the character of the people of Kansas then as now.

It is my privilege, here tonight, to deliver the traditional toast to Kansas, which I propose to do in words not my own, but rather those of Gordon Martin, who so eloquently expressed what I am sure is the sentiment of all of us, when he said:

"You ask me, What is Kansas?

"And I reply, Kansas is all things to her sons and daughters.

"Kansas is the lilting call of the meadowlark wafted across a meadow where a rock-cradled creek beckons sheep to water; the shrill whistle of the Bobwhite, a bird dog frozen on point, and the silence-shattering explosion of a shotgun.

"Kansas is the smell of moist earth in springtime, the puffing labor of a farmer's tractor, and the cheery call of a driver to his willing horses.

"Kansas is the redbud of the Elk River Valley, the rocky glens of Atchison, and the sandhills of Kearny County.

"Kansas is the mass of wheat that rolls for miles like a golden ocean under the driving, growing rays of a summer sun, the sweat-soaked shirt of a harvest hand who pauses for a cooling drink from the water-barrel.

"Kansas is the frosty morning when frisky animals welcome the bite of the late October air, the swirl of snow which beats against windows while a family gathers around the hearth.

"Kansas is the oil derrick silhouetted against the blue of a boundless sky, the ruddy sunset on glowing rails sweeping ever westward, and the mesh of gears in the machines of industry.

"Kansas is appreciation for the public schoolhouse as the first great hope of a living democracy, the swelling roar of 'Rock Chalk, Jayhawk, K. U.' booming down from Mount Oread.

"Kansas is the stubborn belief in moderation and the reluctance to depart from innate conservatism, but having chosen new ways, seizes upon them with a zest to know the truth.

"Kansas is the guts to fight drought and pestilence and all adversity with a will to win.

"Kansas is the political fight that asks no quarter and gives none, the reason why the mayor of the town declares that on his main street are the most solid citizens of the Nation, the reason why the weatherman says his elements demand and breed a vigorous people.

"Kansas is the return of the native who has wandered far and comes home with full heart to the earthy strength of his forebears.

"You ask me, What is Kansas?

"Why, Kansas is all things, and more, as she goes onward, sometimes inching, sometimes marching, sometimes rushing, but moving, always moving, toward a greater dawn tomorrow."

The Senate Must Be Alert To Prevent Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. MCNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD certain data taken from the January 1955 Economic Report of the President, various quotations from the Employment Act of 1946, and some conclusions drawn from those data and quotations.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The data given in the Economic Report by the President are as follows:

Year	Total employment [1]	Gross national production [2]	Production per employed worker [3]
	Millions	*Billions*	
1929	49.4	$104.4	$2,110
1948	62.9	257.3	4,090
1953	67.3	364.9	5,415

[1] Table D-16, p. 153.
[2] Table D-1, p. 137.
[3] The figure in this column is derived from the preceding columns.

Source: Economic Report of the President, January 1955.

The years shown above were prosperous years. Even 1953 was a good year before the Republican administration decided to slam on the brakes and almost threw us through the windshield.

The figures for these 3 prosperous years draw attention to the fact that, while the number of workers grew, their production grew even faster. The amount of money that had to be spent in order to keep each of these workers on the job grew with amazing speed. In 5 years, from 1948 to 1953, it jumped by $1,325 per worker.

This growth in production per worker continues. If we were to achieve full employment in 1955, the average worker's production would probably run approximately $5,860, nearly $450 greater than his production 2 years ago.

However, this increase in production would take place only if the buying power in the pockets of our people and investments by our business firms and spending by Government kept up with this astonishing growth in production.

This is not likely to happen unless this Congress decides to make it happen. My understanding is that while spending by consumers is expected to increase a little, no one expects the increase to be enough to push total spending to the necessary level in view of the drop in investment by business and in Government spending. However, I can only guess at this, because the Economic Report sent us by the President tells us nothing about this, perhaps the most crucial single fact in the economic picture.

The result may well be that there will not be full-time jobs for all those who are able, willing, and seeking work. Millions of American homes may again feel the blight of having the breadwinner laid off. Additional hundreds of small-business men may close their doors. Small farmers may continue to feel the pinch as their incomes fall. And the goods and services that ought to be forthcoming to raise living standards for American people are likely to be choked off at the source.

In Michigan, the memory of 1954 is kept alive by the fear of what lies ahead in 1955.

Even before the auto shutdowns in late 1954, approximately 215,000 people were out of work in Michigan, with 135,000 of them in Detroit alone. The fact that the automobile industry is today borrowing jobs from the future, and that the debt will probably be paid this fall, may be the basis for something approaching disaster in Michigan before the year is over.

We cannot blame this economic failure on nature or on any other force beyond our control. The blame lies with those people in high places who refuse to plan for full production, who may even prefer that we have something less than full employment and full production.

The laws of this country place the responsibility for this situation on the President of the United States. Public Law 304, the Employment Act of 1946, declares that "it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to use all practicable means * * * to coordinate and use all its plans, functions, and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining * * * conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment for those able, willing, and seeking work, and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power."

The act declares further, "The President shall transmit to the Congress * * * a program for carrying out [this policy] together with such recommendations for legislation as he may deem necessary or desirable."

If the Senate has yet received from the President the kind of program and recommendations which I believe were contemplated by this act, and which would give this body the material we need, to reach the goal of full employment, I have not been able to discover it.

As a matter of fact, his economic report is silent on some of the points where it ought to be most useful. It leaves out some of the most important information that this Congress ought to have to work with.

I am sure that the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, under the chairmanship of the able and distinguished Senator from Illinois, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, will do whatever is possible to remedy the failure of the administration to do what the act requires and the country needs. I hope that when the committee makes its recommendations, this body will be alert to do what must be done, and do it quickly, if 1955 is not to be another year of inexcusable unemployment, underproduction, and hardship for many people.

A Model for United States Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, in my travels through various parts of the world I have frequently gone into the libraries which are maintained by the United States Information Service, and I have been impressed by the large numbers of persons in those areas who use the libraries.

In the New York Times magazine section for last Sunday, February 6, 1955, there was published an article entitled "A Model for United States Propaganda," written by Peggy Durdin, who is the wife of Tillman Durdin, chief correspondent of the New York Times in southeast Asia. Under the title of the article appeared the following sentence:

A striking instance of how democracy can win friends and influence people is the American Library in Burma.

Mr. President, the article is a very stimulating one and makes an important contribution, it seems to me, to our thinking about an important aspect of our foreign and. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MODEL FOR UNITED STATES PROPAGANDA—A STRIKING INSTANCE OF HOW DEMOCRACY CAN WIN FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE IS THE AMERICAN LIBRARY IN BURMA—"IT EXEMPLIFIES THE KIND OF AID ASIA REALLY WELCOMES"

(By Peggy Durdin)

RANGOON.—Aside from her gold-domed pagodas and Buddhist temples, the most popular place in all Burma is a simple American library which might have been whisked overnight on a magic carpet to Asia from any town or city between Maine and California. A huge, light-filled, book-lined room on the ground floor of a British bank in Rangoon, it radiates friendliness, informality, and cheerful service in the best American tradition. Without fuss or fanfare, it has made thousands of friends for the United States in a part of the world where people automatically suspect and distrust the motives of the West and where the Communists' chief propaganda line is anti-Americanism.

Regarded by Washington as the most successful library the United States Information Agency has established anywhere abroad, it exemplifies the kind of aid which Asian countries really welcome. It benefits the community and is a part of it—and so is not an obvious device to sell a "bill of goods."

Every American who pays taxes for foreign aid can be proud of the way this United States institution has helped the young government of Burma—independent only since 1948—cope with Communist insurrection and build a stable country, probably the most hopeful one in southeast Asia today. Since Burma's own Communists are in armed rebellion, since it shares a long border with a resurgent China, which has historically been aggressive westward, and since a Peiping-directed embassy in Rangoon actively conspires among the local Chinese community, Burmese leaders have not needed forced feeding of propaganda from Americans to understand and fight communism. What they have desperately needed—and what the American library has consistently supplied—is information and help in setting up an administration and service so effective that the people would not become discontented and readily swallow the lies and promises of the Communists.

The library reaches not only officials but private citizens of all ages in every part of Burma. More than 1,300 Burmese come every day to this busy establishment. Men and women in gay sarongs pore over the racks of magazines, take notes from technical volumes, browse through the biography and fiction or, if they cannot read English, look at the brightly illustrated books in the children's annex. Pretty Burmese attendants decked with bits of glittering jewelry break with Asian custom by giving rich and poor, ragged and elegant, the same courteous attention. The patrons range from dirty little barefoot urchins, who sleep on the sidewalk at night, to dignified Buddhist monks and the highest officials of the Burmese Government.

The library's books travel by river boat, by plane, and on the backs of human porters through and into Communist-held territory, across thousands of miles of jungle and mountains. Burmese read them eagerly in an umbrella cooperative in Bassein, a school in Mandalay, a prisoner's reading room in Myitkyina, an army officers' club in Akyab, and a youth league in Moulmein. A doctor who has to perform a complicated new operation, a merchant who wants to make "sparklers," and a landowner who plans to set up a model village on his property, turn for help to the American library.

The father of a Communist university student borrowed a standard economics textbook, studied it and passed it on to his son. They discussed it together. When he returned the book the man said, "This book gave my son the true facts. He is no longer a Communist."

A teacher in a remote Burmese village wrote the librarian, "We owe you thousands of thanks. Long live America and democracy." Another reader offered to teach Burmese to the library's American staff members free of charge in token of his gratitude.

The Burmese, official and civilian, appreciate the library because they so desperately needed it. Before the war, when Burma was a British colony, libraries were regarded as special preserves for scholars—small, gloomy places where books were hidden in a back closet or, at best, locked behind glass panes where no one could finger them.

During the 4-year period of Japanese occupation and the Pacific war, fighting and Allied bombing destroyed most of the libraries and very few books were printed or imported. At the war's end, bookstores were virtually empty and many schools had not a single textbook. Cut off from contact with the rest of the world for so long, lacking the magazines, newspapers, radio, television and newsreels that Americans take for granted, Burmese of every age in thousands of little villages were book hungry.

Then, before the country was rehabilitated, Burma got her independence. Almost immediately the country's future was jeopardized by large-scale armed rebellion, both Communist and non-Communist (and not yet wiped out completely though no longer strong enough to wreck the state). At the same time, the Burmese were faced with the tremendous tasks of rebuilding their badly damaged cities, roads and railways and setting up the entire machinery of government: central and local administrations, tax and education systems, public health, public works ,police and defense forces. In the capital city of Rangoon and all over the rest of Burma, patriotic young people, full of enthusiasm and hope, started new jobs without much technical know-how or administrative experience to guide them.

It was at this critical stage of Burma's development, when many of its friends wondered whether it would disintegrate into chaos, that the United States Information Agency appointed Zelma Graham to transform the little American reading room in Rangoon into a real library. A friendly, level-headed Pennsylvanian in her early forties, unmistakably and even typically American, the widow of a Baptist missionary in Burma, she had joined Dr. Seagrave's famous medical unit after Pearl Harbor and was evacuated to India just ahead of the Japanese.

Then she worked for the American Army and Government in India, North Burma, West China, and Thailand. When she got the Rangoon job, she took a quick librarian's course at Columbia University and arrived in Burma when the country, like all newly independent ex-colonial Asian nations, was full of suspicions and resentments of the West.

Mrs. Graham immediately inaugurated a lending service and began to harass Washington for books. She got them; she always gets them. She set up a few simple lines of policy, as American as pumpkin pie. First of all, she produced the first physically attractive library in all Burmese history; it has gay curtains, spacious tables, comfortable chairs, and lots of space and light. The next great innovation was that books were placed on open shelves and everyone was encouraged to enjoy the hitherto unheard-of luxury of browsing through them.

Then she trained her staff of Americans, Burmese, Indians, Chinese, and Pakistanis to disregard the demands of "face" and treat a shy, threadbare little clerk and the Chief Justice of Burma with exactly the same smiling courtesy. She made a rule, quickly recognized all over Burma, that the library would never refuse a single reasonable request for help. Her own little office is open to everyone; if the book or information wanted is not available, she gets it from Washington, by cable if the need is urgent.

Perhaps most important of all, the library was and is designed, in solid American tradition, to be of service to the community and country, not as a propaganda device. When the sensitive and suspicious Burmese realized that propaganda was not going to be rammed down their throats, they began to throng to the American library.

Over and over again, Burmese officials, faced with new and knotty problems, have come to the library for guidance. Frequently they ask for everything the United States is doing in this field.

They want help on public water supply, low-cost housing, the architectural design of schools and gymnasiums for hot climates, census taking, improved farming techniques, character education for children, 4-H Clubs, traffic control in civil aviation, tax systems, and the training of naval cadets. The police use American books on prison reform, the FBI, juvenile delinquency, police training and methods. (One officer asked for "the American way to catch a spy.")

When a young Government official from Burma's Far Northeast wrote in, "I am a public-relations officer for this State, but I don't know what it is. Can you tell me?" Mrs. Graham sent him the appropriate book.

The importance of adequate transportation and communications in good administration—and in fighting rebellion—is obvious. Officials of the Government-owned Burma railways say they could not have operated without the library. Their own technical collection destroyed during the war, rebuilt and destroyed a second time by insurgents, they draft their training material from American texts. The chief engineer circulates a history of American railroads among his staff, "to give my men a vision of what we can accomplish."

Material from the American library helped the Burmese Parliament decide to support the U. N. action on Korea in 1950. The Government constantly asks for information on the United Nations, American foreign policy, and democracy. The commission entrusted with the vital task of writing school texts for Burma has been using American schoolbooks for reference.

Thousands of individuals write or come in for specific information unavailable anywhere else in the country. "What is the Pentagon?" "Where can I locate world freight rates?" "Where can one get artificial limbs for children?"

Special loan collections of books go all over Burma to schools, to reading rooms of the Armed Forces and Government, to youth hostels and all kinds of student organizations, to a Buddhist training school for monks and to the influential Buddhist monasteries.

The books are read in little family clubs of 20 or 30 members and in community reading centers. Sometimes all the members of one of these village reading rooms pile into buses to visit the Rangoon library; several hundred Burmese—including babies slung across their mothers' hips and white-haired old grandfathers—will then spend a fascinated hour touring the library much as Americans tour the Louvre in Paris.

A member of Parliament from the far Chin Hills in western Burma always takes books back with him by air when he returns to his constituency. Porters meet his plane and carry the boxes of reading material on their backs for 5 days to the various little schools in his area.

One day four stately, saffron-robed Buddhist monks walked into the library to "look at this place we have been hearing about." They explained that some of the pupils in their monastery school had told the unlikely story that everyone, even children, could come in and sit and read or take out books,

and they wanted to know whether this could actually be true. After looking around the main library and the children's annex, one of the monks said to a Burmese attendant, "America must feel really friendly to the Burmese, to give them such a good library anyone can use without paying anything."

Zelma Graham opened the children's section—the first public library for young people in Burma's history—in early 1949, when the only equipment in many Rongoon schools was broken slate and chalk, and the few children's books available in Burma were printed on cheap, flimsy paper without any illustrations or pictures.

After the first few days, not one of the several hundred volumes ever touched the library shelves; at least six children waited for every book returned by a borrower. In those first few months, some books were re-covered half a dozen times. Today there are thousands of books for the 14,000 members of the children's annex.

An important virtue of the library is that it helps to break down the barriers of nationality, religion and economic standing that separate Burmese children in their school and play. Rich or poor, Hindu, Christian, or Buddhist, they all come together in the American library. Gathered around the librarian will be a 12-year-old boy in a faded, threadbare sarong carrying a fat Burma cheroot; a dainty little Indian belle with black painted eyes and diamonds in her nose; a 10-year-old child with a baby slung over one slender hip; a rich little Burmese with gold earrings and buttons and flowers in her hair, and escorted by an "ayah"; a little Chinese Boy Scout in khaki; a Sikh youngster with a magnificent turban.

At the low tables, together with the youngsters, are a scattering of young men in their late teens or early 20's who are just learning English. Frequently one or two big Buddhist monks who can't read English at all sit among the children, their shaven heads bent intently over colored illustrations of great cities, strange animals, foreign countries, farms, trains, and airplanes.

There is always an orderly queue of children waiting to take out books. Burmese boys and girls are not used to standing in line for things, particularly if they have money and social standing. The librarians explained to them that this was the custom in the United States. Now the children themselves tell new members, "You must stand in line. This is the way we do it in the American library."

"My son tells me he has to wait in line to get books in your library," a government official said with a frown one day to Mrs. Graham.

"Yes, he does. Everyone does," she said.

"He tells me he has to stand in the same line with the servants' children."

"Yes," she answered. "It's the same line for everyone."

"Well," he said finally, with a grin, "my son seems to like it. So I guess it must be all right."

The children greatly enjoy other activities of the library which are seldom included in their school curriculum: a weekly newspaper (the only one for young people in all Burma); exhibits of things they make themselves, like model boats and houses; singing, story telling, and play with blocks, clay, and crayons.

When Mrs. Graham tried to cut the music period from twice to once a week, a committee of Burmese about 2 feet high presented themselves before her desk and said politely but firmly in their best English: "We demand music, please. We demand not stop music class."

Though most of them are Buddhists, the children love to sing carols and start asking for them months before Christmas. Only once did a slight hitch arise in the music hour—the singing of "Scotland's burning; fire! fire! fire! fire!" had to be discontinued because of the old Burmese superstition that the prophecies of children and fools come true.

One important way in which the whole library contributes to Burmese-American friendship and indirectly counters Communist propaganda is that it gives the ordinary Burmese a chance to get acquainted, on his own initiative, with the real United States. Burmese ideas of America come chiefly from Communist literature and the poorer Hollywood movies.

As a result, they tend to think of the United States as a nation of selfish, wealthy moneygrubbers who cannot possibly understand or sympathize with the simple people and the problems of an underdeveloped Asian country. From the library's special exhibits, books, and weekly educational films the Burmese build for themselves a much more accurate picture, one they accept because it has not been forced on them.

After watching movies on American life, people ask such questions as, "Why don't Americans lose face when they do their own housework, carry their own packages and drive their own car?" "How do communities finance all these things that Americans seem to get free?" and "What causes the high standard of living in your country?"

In addition to helping interpret America, the library itself has become a model for similar Burmese institutions; it gives short training courses to Burmese librarians and has aided the University of Rangoon and other key organizations in building up and organizing their own book collections.

No one will ever be able to measure finally the help this library has given government and individuals in Burma, the understanding of America it has spread, or the goodwill it has created by giving good and friendly service in a simple, unassuming fashion. Selling democracy over the world is perhaps, after all, not so different from selling a car to an American. Doubtless the salesman's patter is important. But what matters in the long run—and what this American library gives—is performance.

Why the Delay on Judgeships?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Why the Delay on Judgeships?" which was published in the Bismarck Tribune of December 18, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY THE DELAY ON JUDGESHIPS?

For reasons unbeknown to the public, two Federal district judgeships in North Dakota are continuing unfilled.

Senator LANGER, of North Dakota, charged this week that the American Bar Association was the source of opposition to the nomination of the 2 men apparently slated for appointment to the 2 judgeships.

They are Clifford Jansonius, of Bismarck, and Ronald N. Davies, of Grand Forks.

Meanwhile, the backlog of Federal court work continues to pile up in North Dakota. Meanwhile, also, the former Federal district judge in North Dakota, Charles J. Vogel, of Fargo, continues on a temporary basis to handle court work in this district despite his elevation to the eighth circuit court of appeals.

Insofar as is publicly known, no North Dakota opposition, political or otherwise, to the appointment of at least Jansonius has been expressed. If there is opposition to the Bismarck lawyer in this State, no one has stated it publicly.

On the contrary, Senator LANGER, leader of one Republican faction in the State, has indicated he is pressing for nomination of both Jansonius and Davies. Senator YOUNG, affiliated with the other faction, has indicated that both nominations suit him. GOP National Committeeman Milton Rue, of Bismarck has endorsed both. This is almost as unanimous as political backing for appointments like this could be. It is unlikely that more unanimity could be attained with other nominees.

It should not be necessary to prolong this impasse. If Jansonius and Davies are nominated, they will almost certainly be confirmed by the Senate. If they are to be nominated, why not get on with it and have the two posts filled? If they are not to be nominated, why not bring the reasons for it—and the source of it—out from behind the bushes and let the public have a look at it?

Federal judgeships, like all public offices, elective and appointive, are the people's business and not the private property of the American Bar Association or of politicians. The continuing delay in this matter, with no precise public explanation of the reason for it, is becoming embarrassing. What's behind it? An explanation, and action, are due.

Our Kansas Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Mother Kansas, 94, Hale and Hearty," by Rolla A. Clymer, editor of the El Dorado Times, El Dorado, Kans.

Last year Kansas celebrated its territorial centennial, and we are looking forward to 1961, when we will celebrate our State centennial.

We, as Kansans, have a great heritage and are indebted to those who have gone before and given us these great opportunities that we have, not only in Kansas, but in the Nation.

This article on her 94th birthday describes this youngster—which has grown to maturity—and gives us encouragement for great hopes in the future.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOTHER KANSAS, 94, HALE AND HEARTY

(Rolla A. Clymer, El Dorado Times)

Mother Kansas now attains the age of 94. At this age, she is hale and hearty—and probably never felt better. Last year, she celebrated her first centennial—that of Territorial status—and within a few more years will have attained the first full century of statehood.

During the centennial period, Mother Kansas and all her numerous brood recalled her early years when pioneers first

broke the sod and laid firm foundations for what was to come. There were tales of anguish and suffering, and also talk of the joyous and lusty spirit that sparked these ancient wonder workers. Kansas looked backward for a time—which was valuable experience—and paid proper meed of gratitude to the comparative few who wrought so well when this State was young.

Now that centennial mood has passed—and Kansas, according to her wont, is looking ahead. Having accomplished so much in less than a hundred years, she confidently feels that she can achieve greatly and on perhaps a magnificent scale in the days to come. Essentially a creature of action, Kansas ponders well her stock of resources before she moves.

Today, she views her vast agricultural domain and finds its various components in sound and substantial condition—barring temporary moods—for enormous gains in coming food production. She considers her rich stores of petroleum and gas, the ceaseless output of her mines, and the coming of a flood of industry—many of these employing materials from an agricultural base. Her manufactures are increasing every year in wide variety, and she is expanding rapidly in the fields of aviation and transportation. Her surface is netted with highway links—and none of her towns and villages today is remote from any other.

Mother Kansas' people are ingenious and, in the main, prosperous and happy. Few of them are excessively rich and few are painfully poor. Schools and churches and worthy institutions of many sorts stud her plains. Kansas is moving to bring all her children a greater degree of happiness of comfort and of care for whatever they lack. Her leaders plan that she may have a full hand in the civilization being reared all around and that in its consummation she may bring to bear the force of her spirit and conscience.

Mother Kansas at 94 is a charming character—wise bustlingly busy and of happy and neighborly mien. Her sons and daughters, at this natal time, should accord her the solemn and appreciative salute she so richly deserves.

Employment Problem of the Aging and Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, the problem of employment faced by the aging and the aged is a national one; yet it varies somewhat from place to place. The situation with regard to these unfortunate men and women in my own State, and particularly those in Detroit, my State's largest city, has been excellently reported in the Detroit Times in a series of articles by Jack Crellin, that newspaper's labor editor. The series brought into clear focus the need for action on this vital problem. Mr. Crellin's searching survey cited specific cases.

I should like to call these articles to the attention of the Senate, especially in connection with my recent introduction of S. 693, in which I was joined by 55 Members of this body, providing for the establishment of a United States Commission on the Aging and Aged.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this newspaper series, which graphically demonstrates the necessity for prompt consideration of the proposal.

I have been advised by the Government Printing Office that the newspaper articles slightly exceed the two printed pages allowed under the rule, and that the cost of printing them in the RECORD will be $294. Notwithstanding the cost, I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Detroit Times of January 23, 1955]

"TOO OLD AT 45," IT'S HEARD DAILY BY JOB SEEKERS

(By Jack Crellin)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of a series of seven articles by Jack Crellin, Detroit Times labor editor, on the problems facing a man of 45 or older who finds himself out of work. Crellin has consulted numerous sources in an effort to weigh—from all angles—the problem which is a very real one in Detroit.)

The stocky, gray-haired man in the windbreaker shuffled slowly away from the employment office.

Passing the long line of job seekers, he twisted the bill of his cap far down over his eyes to hide tears of frustration.

It was the fourth time that day he had been turned down in his quest for a job.

Above the chatter and stomping of restless feet of those about him, he could hear but one refrain:

"Too old. Too old. Too old."

He had never regarded himself as old until recent weeks.

THE INS AND OUTS AT 50

Sure, he was 50. So were a lot of other guys, guys working inside that very plant.

He was strong, wasn't he? Still in good physical shape after 25 years on the assembly line.

His fingers toyed with the few coins in his pockets. If he spent them for coffee and doughnuts he wouldn't have enough for carfare. Shucks, he'd show them. He'd eat and walk the 5 miles home without even being short of breath.

Far out on the edge of town in a smart suburban community another man paced nervously back and forth in the living room of his luxurious home. His back was erect, his waist trim. Only a few flecks of gray peeped through his shock of black hair.

He, too, was looking for a job.

Let out as an executive because of reorganization of the firm he helped to build, he had been idle for almost a year.

WAITS IN VAIN FOR HIS CALL

After writing scores of letters to prospective employers and listing his name with innumerable employment agencies, he had nothing to do but wait for the postman to come or the telephone to ring.

True, he had received many replies to inquiries. Couched in diplomatic but firm language, the letters stated his application would be given every consideration; but the cold, hard facts were that he was too old.

Too old at 48.

Unlike his counterpart at the plant gates, this man's problems were not financial. They were mental. He had to have something to do, despite the fact he might be able to live comfortably for several years on the balance in his bank account.

Exaggeration of conditions?

Not at all. It's happening every day in Detroit.

These are the men whom Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell was talking about when he warned the Nation the other day that half its adult population may be jobless 20 years from now unless prejudices against older workers are overcome.

Mitchell said the number of persons 45 and older is steadily increasing and that by 1975 they will constitute half the adult population.

Declared Mitchell:

"If our economy is to continue its high rate of production and not suffer the pangs of mass unemployment, our older workers must be allowed to keep their skills up to date and not grow rusty from inactivity."

Mitchell charged that employers and labor unions too often set up barriers against hiring older workers, without due regard to their skills and maturity.

He said he planned to call a conference of employers shortly to find out what to do about the problem.

Meantime, the Detroit Times set out to find the facts, particularly in the Detroit area.

Does the problem exist here?

If so, what are its proportions?

What do the men affected have to say?

What about the employers' attitude?

Labor unions?

Government agencies?

What are the possible solutions?

In the accompanying series of articles, all available facts will be presented.

To get them, the Detroit Times interviewed men at employment offices, business executives, labor leaders, and spokesmen for various Government agencies.

[From the Detroit Times of January 24, 1955]

THIRTY-FOUR THOUSAND OLDSTERS HUNT FOR WORK

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is article two of a series)

The problem of the older man—or woman—finding employment is a very real one in the Detroit area, as in every other industrial community.

According to O. K. Fjetland, director of employment services for the Michigan Employment Security Commission, as of last December 15, the commission knew of at least 20,838 persons 45 years of age or older registered with the agency who were seeking employment.

These were the ones who needed a source of income to keep them going.

But since not all the unemployed register with the commission, Fjetland estimated the actual number of older persons unemployed at closer to 34,000.

His records show that 13,613 men between the ages of 45 and 64 were out of work and seeking jobs and in addition there were 3,086 in the 65 or over group in the same predicament.

OLDSTERS 25 PERCENT OF UNEMPLOYED

Surprisingly, there were 3,856 women between 45 and 64 seeking work and 284 above the age of 65.

Thus, the total unemployed in the age group of 45 and over represented almost 25 percent of the 85,000 unemployed in the Detroit area as of December 15.

Fjetland recognizes the problem. As he explains:

"I'm 63. If I went out of here tomorrow I don't know where I would look for a job. Sure I could go to my friends—men I have known for years. I know they would be sympathetic, but they wouldn't hire me."

In recent years he has seen the percentage of older workers unemployed mount steadily.

One of the chief factors contributing to this rise, particularly in industry, he points out, has been the merger of firms here. This has resulted in older employees, ordinarily

protected by seniority, being dismissed with no place to go.

PREFER YOUTH

What happens when such mergers occur? Fjetland is realistic:

"The employees start looking elsewhere for jobs.

"What would you do if you were a prospective employer approached by two men, one 55 and the other 30, with similar qualifications? You would undoubtedly hire the younger man.

"The preference in hiring is for people who are younger, who have more years of service to offer a company."

Fjetland pointed out the large bulk of those between 45 and 65 unemployed here at present are either semiskilled or unskilled workers. However, among the 13,612 there were 3,417 skilled employees.

UNDER 45

Competing against this group, according to the latest unemployment figures, were 32,922 in the desirable age group of between 21 and 44 of whom 5,485 were in the skilled classification.

Fjetland said a majority of the orders for employers received by the commission are for workers under 45. He added:

"We do have some open orders but when we refer two men of different ages with like qualifications we find the younger one invariably gets the job."

Fjetland is somewhat puzzled by this attitude of employers, although he realizes they are operating on a businesslike basis. He said:

"Insofar as I know the employer does not pay a penalty either because of pensions or insurance when he hires the older man. The insurance premium is based on the accident rate."

GOOD WORKERS

"Statistics show—and several studies have been made—the older worker is no more prone to accidents than the younger man, if he is in good physical condition.

"Records will prove the absentee rate among older men is no greater than that among younger employees.

"Every analysis indicates the older worker will contribute a good day's work, again providing he is in good physical shape."

Some employers do hire older workers, Fjetland says. He explained:

"They'll hire an older man if he's got what they want, but they prefer the younger worker."

INDIVIDUAL TASK

Fjetland said he knows of two major concerns in the Detroit area who, recognizing the unemployment problem, have restricted hiring to their own geographical area.

"They won't even take a man who lives across town, and they are hiring older persons."

The commission has not been idle in seeking placement of older persons. It has a section which deals exclusively with the problem.

Fjetland explained, however, the placement of such workers requires an approach on the individual rather than the group basis. He said:

"If you asked an employer to hire older employees on a group basis he would just shake his head.

"When an order comes in and we find the man best suited is between 45 and 64 we call the employer and try to sell the individual to him solely on his capabilities."

NO ANSWER

Fjetland said that while inmigration of workers continues here it is not so great as it has been.

What about complaints that men who have lived and worked here most of their lives are being shoved aside and younger outsiders being hired?

Said Fjetland:

"That brings up a question I wish some one would answer:

"What would you do if you were an employer approached by three men looking for jobs?

"One man was 21, looking for a start in life, the other was 35, married, the father of 2 children and buying a home, and the third was 48, his children grown but his house not paid for and in desperate need of a job, which would you hire?"

Fjetland refused to answer his own question.

His solution to the entire problem: "Provide enough job opportunities so that everyone who wants to can work."

[From the Detroit Times of January 25, 1955]

EMPLOYERS DENY ANTIAGE POLICY

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is the third article in a series)

Do employers discriminate against the older man seeking work?

Virtually all deny it.

They say they pick their employees solely on the basis of qualifications for the particular job.

In Detroit, spokesmen for the automotive Big Three—Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors—insist they have set no arbitrary age limits on prospective employees.

Says Mel B. Lindquist, general industrial relations manager of the Ford Motor Co.:

"The Ford Motor Co. has no policy of any kind against hiring of older employees. Every applicant for employment is considered solely on the basis of his qualifications and of our need for persons with those qualifications."

STRICTLY ON QUALIFICATIONS

A spokesman for General Motors Corp. flatly denied the existence of any established policy opposing the hiring of older persons.

Chrysler likewise said it makes its selections of employees strictly on the basis of their qualifications, irrespective of age.

One Chrysler spokesman said:

"As a matter of fact, we have found in most instances, the older, more experienced men make better workers because they have come up through the school of hard knocks.

"We find, too, because of their responsibilities, they are steadier than the younger employees."

GUIDED BY JOB SPECIFICATIONS

Wayne Stettbacher, general manager of the Employees Association of Detroit, which represents a cross-section of Detroit industries, said that insofar as he knew none of the companies in this area had a fixed policy on age limitations.

He pointed out, however, that personnel men—the men who do the hiring—are guided by specifications outlined by the foreman of a particular department where manpower is needed.

Said Stettbacher:

"The foreman tells the employment manager what he expects. He isn't interested in the sociological problems.

"The foreman is held to a certain measure of efficiency. He has to keep unit costs down in terms of output. If he were not held accountable for unit costs, he could afford to take all comers.

"Many foremen take the view the older man is not as adaptable to changing conditions. They know they have to have a flexible work force, and the younger man gives them that flexibility."

Stettbacher recognizes the problem of the older man. He knows it exists in Detroit today.

One of the reasons, he says, is the condition of the labor market. He explained:

"The employer wants the best the labor market can offer him. He's buying time. He doesn't want to take an inferior product. If labor supply is tight, he'll tolerate the less efficient worker out of necessity."

One thing it evident. The attitude of the corporations certainly is not one of callous indifference. They would like to see everybody in Detroit, who is able and willing, on the job.

AWARE OF PLIGHT

Edward L. Cushman, director of industrial relations of American Motors, is acutely aware of the plight many Hudson workers found themselves in when Hudson and Nash merged.

He says:

"We are doing everything possible to try and get work in the Hudson plant and recall the men. We notified the union almost 6 months in advance of the merger and made arrangements with the Michigan Employment Security Commission to help the men get other jobs. The MESC gave us some genuine assistance."

SEEK DEFENSE WORK

Cushman said American Motors is pushing hard to get more defense work into the Hudson plant, where work is already in progress on two different aircraft contracts as well as the manufacture of engines for Hudson Hornets.

Assuming that employers want the best employee they can get at prevailing rates, it would appear utter foolishness on their part arbitrarily to turn down a man because of his age.

Almost every responsible survey shows that older workers are as good as, or better than, younger employees.

One such survey conducted by the University of Illinois dealt with employees 60 and over.

AS GOOD OR BETTER

Supervisors in 20 companies were asked what they thought of 1,025 workers in their 60's and 70's with reference to overall performance, absenteeism, dependability, work quality, amount of output, and ability to get along with others.

The results were startling.

In overall performance, 16 percent of the older workers were rated as excellent, 32 percent very good, 36 percent good, 15 percent fair, and only 1 percent poor.

As for absenteeism, 70 percent were said to be absent less often that younger workers, 23 percent about the same, and 7 percent more often.

MORE DEPENDABLE

On dependability, 50 percent were judged more dependable than younger employees and 6 percent were said to be less dependable.

More than 75 percent had production records equal to or higher than those of younger workers.

Evaluators of the survey cautioned against taking the results to mean that age in itself brings greater efficiency.

The survey was selective to the extent that workers rated were persons with motivation to keep working, with good capabilities, and with fitness enough to survive dismissal at an advanced age.

NEED YOUNGER MEN

There was no inference in the findings that older persons should be hired in preference to young ones.

The evaluators noted that employers still need younger persons to give long years of service and to get ready to replace senior workers when they do retire.

[From the Detroit Times of January 26, 1955]

PLANT TRANSFERS RUIN OLDSTERS

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is the fourth article in a series)

Ever wonder what happens to an older employee—one between 45 and 64 years old—when a company goes out of business or moves elsewhere?

Such things have happened in Detroit.

Remember Kaiser-Fraser, Bohn Aluminum, Murray Body, Hudson Motorcar Co.?

Joss Chatwin, president of Hudson Local 154, UAW-CIO, where approximately 13,000 were laid off last fall when Hudson merged with Nash to become American Motors Corp., said he thought he could supply some of the answers.

FIVE THOUSAND VICTIMS AT ONCE

Chatwin had no difficulting rounding up some of the older men. He estimated that close to 5,000 of the 13,000 idled are 45 years or older.

Many of them haven't been able to find other employment.

Their unemployment benefits are running out.

They have found they are too old to work and too young to die or retire.

But let a few of them tell their stories:

Walter Checque, 57, worked in the same factory 21 years.

He prides himself that he can do just about anything around an automobile plant. His particular line is in the paint and polishing departments.

TELLS OF HUNT FOR JOB

It was last October 28 Walter was handed a pink slip notifying him of:

"Permanent layoff due to transfer of automobile production."

Those few typewritten words shattered any hopes he had been nurturing that the layoff might only be temporary.

He applied for unemployment compensation, is still drawing $32 a week.

Says Checque, who owns his home at 17162 Omira:

"I started looking for another job. First I went to a couple of warehouses. They told me they didn't need anybody. I hung around and watched them hiring younger guys.

"Then I went to a manufacturing plant. Same story.

"Believe me, it's the age that gets you. They just won't give a guy my age a job. I want to work. I could tackle any job they gave me."

EIGHT YEARS TO PENSION

Checque must wait almost 8 years before he is eligible for a pension.

"Right now the unemployment check is just paying the grocery bills. I have to cash a bond every now and then to pay other bills. When there's no more coming in, I suppose I'll have to sell my house."

Wilson Sipe is 62. He lives at 16409 Owen, East Detroit, and worked for Hudson 21 years. He has 3 years to wait before being eligible for a pension.

SEES IT WORK

But Sipe isn't thinking about a pension. He wants to work. He says:

"Right after I was laid off I went to see my brother, a foreman at another auto plant, and asked him to try to get me a job as a welder.

"He did everything he could, but he told me they wouldn't hire me because my age was against me.

"Then I answered a company's ad for a gas welder. The guy took one look at me and told me they filled the position the day before. I noticed the same ad kept running for 2 weeks after I was there.

"I guess I'll just have to keep looking until I find something. I'm a handyman, can do just about anything."

FATHER OF FOUR

Sipe is the father of four grown children. He owns his home.

Earl Manning, 64, worked for the company 25 years in the paint shop, on general repair and in supervision.

He's looking forward to retirement next November. Because his wife will be eligible for social security at the same time, he estimates he will retire on between $170 and $200 a month.

Meantime, he's got to continue rent payments of $71 a month out of unemployment benefits of $31 a week.

"JUST TOO OLD"

Says Manning: "I've looked for jobs. They tell me I'm just too old to hire. One plant I went to they turned me down and then hired two men I broke in at Hudson."

Joe Castelnuovo, 59, of 16250 Liberal, has worked at the same place off and on since 1920. He worked there steadily for 13 years up until November.

He owns his home and has three grown children, all married.

ALL IN PATTERN

Said Joe: "You can tell the way they look at you when you go to these other plants. They just shake their heads. They won't even let you fill out an application."

Joe is a tall, muscular man who smokes a pipe.

He flexes his hands and declares:

"I can put in a good day's work alongside any man."

These are the stories of only a few of the men. The others follow the same pattern.

At least 70 percent of those interviewed own their homes, have been residents of Detroit from 20 to 30 years.

THREE SUICIDES

How desperate are these men? Chatwin shrugs his shoulders:

"I can tell you that at least three have committed suicide since being laid off. There may be others.

"Wives of the men call me at home. Some of them are hysterical. They want the union to do something about getting their husbands jobs.

"There isn't much we can do. Right now we are in the process of trying to work out an agreement between Nash Local 72, UAW, in Kenosha, and American Motors Corps—so the seniority of the workers here and Kenosha can be integrated."

Chatwin said a substantial number of Hudson employees have indicated their willingness to move to Kenosha if arrangements can be made.

THEIR HOMETOWN

He continued:

"A lot of these older men have their roots here. This is their hometown.

"We don't want to interfere with management's right to hire whom it pleases, but I think if a man lives and pays his taxes here he should be given preference over an outsider. Something has got to be done."

William Hinson, local financial secretary, said some older workers already are faced with the threat of loss of their homes.

[From the Detroit Times of January 27, 1955]

WHITE COLLARS CAST ASIDE, TOO

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is the fifth article in a series)

What about the white-collar man or the executive who at 45 suddenly finds himself out of a job?

The answers came from two sources.

Dave Russell, 53, a white-collar worker, had been active all his adult life.

When he wasn't busy earning a living, Dave devoted his time to voluntary work with the Boy Scouts, American Legion, and numerous civic activities.

Happily married, owner of his home at 5906 Cooper, the father of two children, he was looking forward to the golden years of retirement.

NOT WORRIED BY JOB LOSS

But last March Dave was forced to make an adjustment which has left him disillusioned and bitter.

The steel company where he was employed as a time-study man had to lay him off because of a lack of demand for its products.

At the time, Dave, a slightly built, intense man, was not concerned. He had been let go from other jobs and always managed to find a new one.

He applied for unemployment compensation, began making the rounds of prospective employers.

Days and weeks rolled by.

AGE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR

Personnel men interviewed him, discussed his qualifications, and nodded approval. They said he would undoubtedly be hearing from them. He never did.

Dave was proud of his experience in his particular field, and of his work record. His last job paid him $600 a month.

Says Dave: "Just to make sure I was not passing any bets, I registered at a second office of the unemployment compensation commission and put applications in at two private employment agencies. I was sure I would score."

Gradually he realized his age was an important factor in his inability to land a job.

He said:

"I would spend from 1 to 2 hours filling out a form at an employment office, go in for an interview, and find the man was primarily interested in only one thing—the place where I listed my age. The interview usually ended in less than a minute."

Then it happened.

"One personnel manager picked up my application and told me right to my face I was too old. I grabbed the application out of his hands, tore it up, and threw the scraps on the floor."

He recalls another occasion when he answered an advertisement for a man of his qualifications:

"I sat in that office from 8 o'clock in the morning until 3 p. m. I didn't even dare go out for lunch for fear of losing my place. Then when I was called in I was told they were sorry, but they were looking for a man 30 to 35 years of age.

"A displaced person, a man who couldn't even speak good English, was hired.

"Don't misunderstand me. I didn't begrudge him getting the job. While we were waiting to be interviewed he told me about the tough time he was having trying to support his wife and four small children."

STARTED OWN FIRM

But Dave is not the type to take things lying down.

He took some of his savings and started a small company specializing in fire prevention.

His plans for the future?

"Things aren't going too well right now, but in the near future, if business continues to pick up, I'm going to do some hiring—all men over 40."

We asked D. R. Murrell, managing director of the Forty Plus Club, Inc., about men of the executive type who are over 45.

NONE GOT JOBS

Murrell tilted back in his chair in the sparsely furnished club headquarters at 501 Park and laughed.

"Are you kidding? Last year was the worst we have ever had. We didn't place a single member."

The club was established in 1937 to assist men of the executive type who have passed the 40-year mark to find positions. Its membership is limited to those who earned $5,000 or more a year. Not a staggering sum by today's standards.

Among the men for whom the club has been seeking jobs are two former presidents of Michigan concerns, vice presidents, industrial-relations directors, treasurers, controllers, engineers, and economists.

The club sends a monthly bulletin to top officials of 3,000 employing concerns in 33 States. The bulletin lists the type of men available, their training, experience, and the kind of position they desire.

Murrell reached in his desk drawer and withdrew a sheet of paper.

"This is a letter we received from one Detroit employer who contacted us in his search for a controller. We sent him files on eight men. Two were 47 years old, one was 48, two were 51 and three were 58. The answer is typical of the letters we receive."

The employer's reply stated in part:

"Unfortunately, at the present time I feel that all of the potential employees are a little too old for our company. Forty-five is really the top age. I would, however, be very pleased to have you keep in touch with us as I think you are doing a magnificent job with motivations of great quality."

MAKES MORE NOW

Murrell exhibits little patience with this attitude.

"If we had a war I know what the answer would be. We couldn't find men fast enough for them. During World War II we placed 1,200 and could have placed that many more if they were available."

Murrell cites a couple of examples as proof of what he considers short sightedness on the part of employers in their hiring and retirement programs.

"One large Detroit concern, I won't mention any names, forced their chief engineer to retire because he was 65. The man went out and set himself up as a consultant with a minimum fee of $100 a day.

"Know who his best customer is? The company that retired him. He received more in fees from them last year than he earned annually while on their payroll."

Another man of 64 was unable to find a job in Detroit although he worked here most of his life. He, too, was an engineer.

Said Murrell:

"We finally got him on with a large eastern concern which didn't consider age a factor. His starting pay was $7,500. Today he's making twice that."

"Not too many of them have financial problems. But every one of them knows that you can't loaf and get away with it. They know if they don't keep their minds active they must deteriorate."

PENSIONS COSTLY

There are several things which work against the older man obtaining employment, Murrell says.

Among these are the pension and insurance factors. Most companies maintain insurance on their executives and as a man gets older the premiums go up. Pensions for this type of employee also prove more costly, Murrell said.

He was quick to add, however, that men seeking employment through the club, for the most part, are willing to waive both insurance and pensions.

Murrell thinks the solution may lie in some type of employment legislation which would prohibit discrimination against the older men.

[From the Detroit Times of January 28, 1955]

PENSION PLANS STYMIE HIRING

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is the sixth article in a series)

The problem of the older person obtaining employment is not a new one.

The Forty Plus Club, Inc., mentioned earlier in this series, was founded back 1937.

At the same time the trade union movement, having established a firm foothold in industry of the Nation, pressed for a solution.

Labor leaders recognized the difficulties older men were encountering in either getting or holding a job. So did employers.

PREMIUM PUT ON LENGTH OF SERVICE

Out of this mutual understanding developed seniority agreements placing a premium on length of service with a company in retaining a job at the time of layoffs due to production cutbacks.

This worked out fine for the older employee so long as his company continued to operate. Few foresaw present day shutdowns due to mergers or lack of business.

Then World War II came along and the problem ceased to exist. There were jobs available for everybody.

Changing conditions have brought about the present situation.

While there are more jobs available than prior to World War II, the labor market also has expanded.

Furthermore, the seniority agreements which had been initiated by union leaders and which, at first, looked like ideal security for workers, turned out in too many instances to boomerang to their disadvantage.

LOSES NEARLY ALL

For example, a man has achieved, say, 15 years seniority working steadily for the ABC company.

Should it shut down for an extended period he might have a chance to work for the XYZ company temporarily, but that automatically would cancel his seniority with the ABC company, and in the event he returned there when they reopened he would have to start all over again building up seniority.

Labor statistics show that every year 800,000 more persons are added to the labor market. Not all of these have been absorbed. Competition for jobs increases daily.

PENSION ANGLE

Wayne Stettbacher, general manager of the Employers Association of Detroit, says that employers can afford to be more selective.

One factor, says Stettbacher, operating against the older worker is that the younger man may be more desirable due to the cost of pensions and other fringe benefits.

He pointed out that when a company hires an older man it has that much less time to build up the individual's pension credits. Insurance rates, based on experience, also go up, Stettbacher said.

In this connection many workers argue the unions are most at fault for the plight of older workers. They say the high pressure union insistence during negotiation, for pension and fringe benefits, make it extremely difficult for employers to hire men over 45.

However Walter Reuther, UAW-CIO president, argues that industrial-type pensions, such as his union has negotiated with automobile manufacturers, in no way could be considered a barrier to hiring an older man.

"NO PENALTIES"

Said Reuther: "Economic-wise, there are no penalties. If a man 45 or 50 moves from one auto company to another, it doesn't cost the second company 1 cent more. The company's contribution remains the same regardless of age."

What the individual in such a case does is lose his pension credits with his previous employer. The union hopes to change that.

The auto worker's pension plan is based on his length of employment with a particular company at the time of retirement. He receives approximately $1.75 a month in benefits for each year of service.

GROUP RATES SET

As for insurance, Reuther argues that rates are based on the average age for an entire group and that only a microscopic change would result because of the hiring of a few older employes.

He said the union had been trying for years to persuade employers in this area to give job preference to persons with homes here who have been laid off at other plants.

He is opposed to what he says is the practice of some Detroit companies of enticing workers here from elsewhere in the Nation while men willing and able to work are still unemployed.

[From the Detroit Times of January 29, 1955]

OLDER WORKERS MUST BE HIRED

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is the final article in a series)

What is the solution to the problem of the worker over 45 obtaining employment?

The simplest would be full employment.

Walter Reuther, UAW and CIO president, advocates full employment as the only answer.

His views are shared by the Forty Plus Club, the Employers Association of Detroit, and the Michigan Employment Service.

But since there are not enough jobs for everybody in the country today, other courses must be followed.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, who is championing the cause of the older worker, set up a departmental committee to tackle the problem.

SIX-POINT PROGRAM RECOMMENDED

The committee recommended that Mitchell propose to labor and management the following six-point program:

That workers be selected for employment and training on the basis of ability and qualifications for the job, regardless of age.

That workers reaching retirement age be enabled to continue working, if they desire and are able to do satisfactory work.

That sound labor standards, including health and safety measures and equal pay for comparable work, be maintained in order to increase the employment opportunities of older workers.

That inquiries and studies be conducted into the major reasons for existing limitations on jobs and job opportunities, and that the validity of these reasons be evaluated.

That a program of services to older workers, including counseling, selective placement, individualized job development, training, and community cooperation be developed through the State employment security agencies and other public and private agencies.

That consideration be given to the establishment of systematic programs designed to assist older workers who are eligible and willing to retire to make appropriate plans for the productive use of their time so transition from employment to retirement does not bring undue psychological, social, and economic shock to the individual.

PRODUCE AS WELL

In a recent article for a national magazine, Mitchell blasted several of the myths about the older employee.

Answering claims that older employees result in increased production costs, he pointed to a Department of Labor survey which showed older workers produced just as much and sometimes more than the younger workers.

He also cited a survey by the National Association of Manufacturers, made in 1951 and covering 3,000 companies employing more than 3 million people.

The survey revealed 93 percent of the reporting companies felt that workers 45 and over were equal or superior in performance to younger workers.

WITCHES' TALES

Mitchell labeled as "witches' tales" claims that older workers are injured more frequently than younger employees.

He said a study of 17,800 workers in a variety of manufacturing industries, made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, showed the opposite was true.

In the matter of job attendance, Mitchell said a BLS study of 16,500 men in 109 manufacturing industries showed older workers had a 20-percent better attendance record than younger employees.

According to Mitchell, part of the answer to the objection to older men is found in

the fact that most companies have a career policy of promoting from within.

These companies argue that if they let the older men remain on the job there will be no positions for the younger men.

USE OLD RATE

To refute these arguments, Mitchell cited the fact that only four decades ago the average life expectancy of an urban worker was 46.6 years. Today, it is 68.5 years.

The 40-year-old man today has approximately 25 years of productive labor ahead of him.

But, said Mitchell, many industries still base employment practices on an obsolete life-expectancy rate.

Mitchell warned if the country failed in efforts to help older workers it could expect increasing pressure for retirement at earlier ages.

Mitchell has a solution: Hire the older worker and make a profit from his production.

American Legion's Legislative Recommendations for 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on February 8, 1955, Mr. Seaborn P. Collins, national commander of the American Legion, appeared before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to present the recommendations of that organization as they pertain to veterans. In order that other Members may have an opportunity to examine Mr. Collins' statement, it is included for the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF SEABORN P COLLINS, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 8, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members, the appearance of our representatives before your committee continues one of the most satisfactory relationships with the Congress that has existed down through the years. May I say, as national commander, that the thanks of our organization are due the members of this commmittee, and the committee, for the undeviating attention given to the problems of the disabled war veterans, and for the privilege of this appearance before you. May we also welcome the new members of the committee.

We join with you in expressing our thanks before God that, for the first time in years, there is no shooting war bringing new problems and more war disabled to your attention. It is our devout wish that this period may be continued. We hope for a return of the period when reasonable nations, like reasonable men, with a common objective, in the presence of facts, may find it possible to reach a solution of their differences, without resort to war, either hot or cold.

The continued absence of war may permit the Congress to approach the question of benefits and services for veterans with quiet and earnest consideration of all the factors involved. The years since 1949 have been those in which there have been continued efforts to change, to eliminate, to weaken, or to distort the form and substance of Federal legislation dealing with veterans. During this period your committee has retained its steadfast support for such laws and such legislation, keeping always in mind the fact that the benefits and services provided by the Congress, were in return for services performed for a grateful Nation by those called to military service in time of war.

In our opinion it is significant that many actions have been taken, officially and otherwise, to demean the position of the veteran in the life of America today. Efforts to curtail and combine benefits and services for veterans, or to submerge such benefits in other programs, have been initiated and are continuing. This has occurred, and is occurring, during a period of expanding economy, when wages and benefits in the Nation are on the increase, and when the Federal Government is giving additional pay and added fringe benefits to the civilian employees and other segments of those groups depending upon the Federal Government for their livelihood. We believe the veteran should be restored to, and maintained in, a position of honor, as a special class of citizen (made so by the Federal Government), and we are convinced your committee will concur in the attainment of such a goal.

From the chairman of your committee we have received a request for a reply to certain matters currently engaging your attention. Let me give at least a preliminary reply to those questions as a first order of business.

1. The amended 10–P–10: The calm appraisal of our American Legion department service officers is that this new form has been received and used with a minimum of announced dissatisfaction. Our representatives in the field have discussed this matter with VA hospital managers. There has been no decrease in the number of those applying for VA medical and hospital care. We submit that this is an indication of the sincerity and the true eligibility of those making use of this privilege. Only a small number of cases have come to light where the application has been withdrawn when those seeking hospital care have faced the questions having relationship to their financial and economic status. Generally speaking, the new procedure has worked well.

2. The President's Executive order of January 1 terminating the period of emergency insofar as such an emergency relates to veterans' benefits and services changes the situation since this question from you was proposed. I think you should know that, prior to the issuance of this Presidential order, I expressed, in person to the President, my thoughts as to the desirability of issuing such an order. You may know that the American Legion has acted to declare eligibility for membership in the American Legion ended as of the date of the Korean armistice, July 27, 1953. Legislation to permit the amedment of our constitution will be sought in the 84th Congress. Since ours is an organization of war veterans, we believe our status and that of war benefits and services should be maintained on that basis.

Your chairman subsequently has asked our opinion of legislation he has introduced to continue certain educational benefits for veterans beyond the January 31, 1955, cutoff date for those in service prior to that time.

Insofar as the purposes of this question are answered by the bill introduced by your chairman (H. R. 587) you already have an answer from the testimony of our staff on the hearings conducted relative to the bill. Approval of the bill was recommended in that testimony.

With relation to other phases of veterans' benefits and services eliminated or reduced to peacetime status by the Presidential order, I think you should recall that our national rehabilitation commission will have meetings here in Washington beginning February 28. Discussion of such items is the first order of business on the agenda for such meetings.

To the extent that the impression has gone out that the peacetime veteran benefits and services have been abandoned, I think there should be a reappraisal of the considerable body of such benefits that remains. The list of such benefits as compiled by the Veterans' Administration and distributed in an information release February 1 should command respect and attention.

3. There is being submitted a supporting statement in the matter of VA budgetary needs for major alterations, improvements, and repairs. This report reflects the judgment of our field representatives who have conducted a special survey of the hospitals to arrive at their position. In general it is believed the question of property management and maintenance in the VA is a part of the larger question of how the Government views this question. There does not appear to be an effective general Federal policy in the matter of caring for the items of maintenance, improvements, obsolescence, depreciation, and related questions. Whether the Congress is ready to adopt a general policy and appropriate the funds to maintain VA facilities in line with modern usage and economy of operation is a broad question. There is no doubt in our minds that, since there appears to be a limit on the number of hospital beds to be provided fo rthe disabled veteran, it is imperative that those beds in existence, and the facilities housing them, shall be replaced where necessary and modernized in other cases. The lack of consistent attention to the problem magnifies the size and cost of the problem. The sooner some decision is given by the Congress the better it will be for the maintenance of those facilities dealing with the care of the disabled veteran. Whether the amount needed for this purpose, at this time, is in line with the VA estimate of $800 million or some other figure, the fact may not be gainsaid that further delay is not the answer that should be given.

4. The home-loan-guaranty program and the direct-loan program, created to give the veteran in money short areas something more than a fishing license, were designed to permit the veteran to overcome a part of the economic displacement brought about as a result of his participation in war. While the national conventions of the American Legion are silent on the question here raised, it is apparent that, as you have stated the question, our organization would be in favor of equalizing the disparity existing between the town and country veteran in the guaranty program. In the average case the veteran interested in earning an agricultural livelihood will want to purchase farm real estate along with a farm home.

With reference to amending the direct-loan program, on the subject of farm and farmhouse purchase, we feel that consideration should be given to the $10,000 maximum as such maximum relates to existing farm prices for one-family units, and the additional need of the veteran for funds to secure equipment, supplies, and working capital in the period immediately following purchase.

Pending appropriate action by our governing bodies on the question raised, the American Legion is interested in studying specific legislation proposed to remedy the situation. The staff in our economic commission, which has American Legion jurisdiction of the loan-guaranty program and collateral legislation, has considered the legislation already introduced or proposed on this subject. You may be sure that our views on such legislation will be made in reference to specific legislation at the will of your committee.

5. Scholarship assistance program: Our national conventions have not taken action that is directly in point on this question. In general, the question of education in the American Legion is handled by our Americanism and child-welfare commissions. On the subject of education of orphans of veterans limited programs have been handled by the Armed Services Committees in Congress in previous years. Our child-welfare commission is seeking amendatory social-

security legislation to extend children's survivor benefits beyond the age of 18 when such children are continuing their educational programs; the same commission is approaching State legislative bodies in the search for additional scholarship benefits. While we do not have specific authority to appear on scholarship legislation within the jurisdiction of this committee, we should like to present a cautionary viewpoint. We feel that legislation which broadens the field of benefits and services beyond those granted the veteran directly might have a tendency to weaken the existing structure of benefits and services to veterans. In a period when existing veterans' legislation is under attack in areas not within the jurisdiction of this committee, we are reluctant to advocate broadening the field with new programs.

THE AMERICAN LEGION PROGRAM

We come now to the matter of our legislative program prepared on the basis of action by our national convention and our national executive committee. The staff of our rehabilitation commission has prepared bills for presentation through the aegis of Members of the Congress. You will appreciate that in my presentation there is not time to enter into a detailed discussion of such proposals. With your continued indulgence I should like to stress the importance of some of these proposals. If 1 or 2 do not lie within the province of this committee, they nevertheless deal with subjects that have your interest and concern.

ADEQUACY OF FUNDS FOR VA OPERATIONS

The department of Texas is the sponsor of a resolution (No. 473) recording opposition to any limitation in money supply which would result in inadequacy of services and benefits to veterans, their dependents, and survivors of those who have died.

In testifying before the President's Committee on Veterans' Medical Services 5 years ago we stated:

"Certainly the work of the Veterans' Administration as given it by Congress is sufficiently important to call for and justify a permanent policy of understanding on the part of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, the Budget Bureau, and Congress as to the amount of money needed and the number of people required to do their business."

As this committee knows, the inpatient care program provided for in the appropriations for fiscal 1955 is based on the assumption that the Veterans' Administration will maintain a total of 127,570 beneficiaries in VA hospitals, non-VA hospitals, and domiciliaries.

The VA Chief Medical Director has stated to our national rehabilitation commission that present planning indicates that this program can be accomplished within the amounts of the present appropriations. We, nevertheless, wish to call the attention of this committee to 1 or 2 matters which may make this accomplishment much more difficult.

After the appropriation act was passed (June 24, 1954), three other laws were enacted which called for additional funds. One of them is Public Law 613, 83d Congress, which increased the maximum amount of Federal aid to State homes for the care of each VA beneficiary housed there, from $500 to $700 per year. Supplemental funds to cover this increase may be needed. We do not feel that the Veterans' Administration should skimp on other programs to make up this difference.

Also, there is Public Law 598, 83d Congress, the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act. This also calls for additional funds to enable the agency to meet its share of the new insurance program. The estimated cost this year is between $1,-200,000 and $1,500,000. The agency is required to absorb this additional cost without supplemental funds. That means other services and programs may have to be restricted somewhat to meet this additional obligation. We are advised that the additional cost is contemplated in the figures for fiscal 1956.

A third law which passed after the budget was set up is No. 763, 83d Congress, popularly referred to as the fringe benefits law. This brings about the transfer of certain custodial and protective positions to general services classification, with consequent increase in pay. There are also adjustments as to overtime work, incentive awards, and other miscellaneous items. Although the additional cost to the Veterans' Administration this current year may be nominal, again the agency is required to absorb the increase in its already established budget.

Shortly after the close of the first quarter of the current fiscal year there were presented to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs by the director of the national rehabilitation commission excerpts of reports from our national field representatives. These reports contained observations of how certain Veterans' Administration hospitals were faring under the current budget. Full and detailed reports on each one had been filed previously. This summary was a reminder to the Veterans' Administration on how the functioning of these hospitals appeared to representatives of veterans privileged to make periodic visits to the institutions. Briefly, the composite of these reports is to the effect that hospitals had pared down to the bone in cutting operating expenses and in still trying to maintain their individual average daily patient load on a high plane of medical quality and efficiency.

In response to that presentation the Administrator stated that a review of the first quarter of fiscal 1955 operations had been completed. As a result of this review certain adjustments in primary-fund allocations in certain hospitals were being made. He stated further that the current budget required that certain economies be effected, that every effort was being made to accomplish them; at the same time he expressed his intention that these economies would not be effected at a sacrifice in the quality of medical care for eligible veterans.

The American Legion has testified before congressional committees as to its advocacy of efficient and economical operation of the VA enterprise. Yet we feel deeply that the importance of all the programs fully justifies a meeting of the minds and an understanding on the part of those who are placed in charge of them, including the VA, the top budgetary agency of the Government, and Congress, as to what is adequate for conduct of the business. The thoroughgoing scrutiny, analysis, and appraisal of requirements made by the agency itself and by the Budget Bureau, starting sometimes 15 months before the budgetary period to be covered, and based as it is upon experience and firsthand observation, should afford Congress and all committees interested a sound basis upon which to compute the appropriations needed. The American Legion would like to see this procedure accomplished without acrimony on the part of representatives of the groups involved (Appropriations Committee, VA, Bureau of the Budget) and in ample time before the beginning of the budgetary period to be covered.

This appearance before your committee presents a good opportunity to thank those members who have gone before other committees of the Congress dealing with veterans' appropriations. Such action on the part of your committee members has served not alone to provide strong assistance in securing more nearly adequate appropriations, but also in dealing with the practice that we deplore, i. e., in lessening the desire to legislate in the field of veterans' affairs through the medium of riders to the appropriation bills.

VETERANS' HOSPITALIZATION PROGRAM

The American Legion is deeply grateful to this committee for the resolution it passed in March 1954 and for its abiding alertness to the operation of this important program. The national convention approved an outstanding resolution (No. 494) sponsored by the Department of Iowa expressing again the stand of our organization in support of this committee and Congress in maintaining this program.

We have no special legislation to propose in this field. We are continuing our surveys among hospitalized veterans to ascertain their views and status as to how they came to the VA hospital. Our findings are the same as when we started these surveys, over 2 years ago. We find no basis for the charge that the privilege of hospitalization is being abused.

COMPENSATION AND PENSION

We repeat our recommendation and have prepared a bill which, if enacted, would put into effect and reestablish a monthly compensation rate for disabilities evaluated 10 to 49 percent so that amounts payable in that bracket will bear the same ratio to the amount for total disability as the degree of disability bears to total disability (Res. 311). In other words, the American Legion strongly advocates that the differential between the basis for evaluating disabilities 50 percent or more and those less than 50 percent be eliminated. As you know, this came about through section 1 of Public 356, 82d Congress (May 23, 1952) when rates for disabilities evaluated 10 to 49 percent were increased by 5 percent, and those rated 50 to 100 percent were increased by 15 percent. Our position would restore a basis for award which we regard as equitable and which was in effect from the days of World War I up to July 1, 1952.

While this is an equalization that we are advocating, we realize that this would mean an increase, however delayed, for those rated less than 50 percent disabled. We think it is appropriate to remind the members of this committee that, at a time when pay relief is being given civilian workers, members of the Armed Forces, and other groups, on the part of the Government, the conditions of those who are living on fixed income, in whole or in part, is more severe for the partially disabled than for those in position to work without the disadvantages of decompensating disabilities.

WIDOW'S PENSION

Here we seek legislation that will exclude the payments made by widows and children for the last illness and burial of a veteran from the annual income computation for death-pension purposes (Res. 32). Our service officers have observed and assisted in a great many cases where the surviving widow failed to qualify for the modest death pension provided because she was not permitted to exclude the amounts she had to pay for expenses connected with the last illness and death of her husband from the computation of her annual income.

In this same field we advocate that present laws be amended so as to provide the same basis for award of death pension to surviving widows and orphans of veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict as now established for survivors of deceased World War I veterans (Res. 129). At present, widows of World War II and Korean conflict veterans are required to prove the existence of a service-connected disability at time of the veteran's death for which compensation would be payable if 10 percent or more, whereas the widow of a World War I veteran does not have to establish such disability on the part of her husband.

INSURANCE

We wish to advise this committee that the American Legion maintains an insurance advisory board. All resolutions pertaining to

the various forms of Government life insurance and indemnity available to veterans and inservice personnel originating in our organization are passed upon by this board and by our national rehabilitation commission. Pending before your committee are several comprehensive and technical bills embodying the several resolutions in this field which have been considered by the advisory board and approved by either the national convention or the national executive committee.

Experts on the staff of the national rehabilitation commission will be prepared to appear before this committee and explain in detail the basis and effect of the various proposals.

EDUCATION

The department of Massachusetts is the sponsor of a resolution (No. 34) which was approved and which has been translated into a bill soon to be before this committee for consideration. This bill seeks to afford education and training under title II of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 in the cases of certain seriously disabled veterans notwithstanding the time limitations of such act. Section 1 of the bill would authorize the Administrator to afford this veteran a reasonable period of time to initiate a course of education under part VIII following recovery from a physical or mental disability which was determined by the Administrator to have prevented the veteran from timely initiation of such a course.

Section 2 of the bill would enable this veteran to take full advantage of his earned eligibility and complete the course initiated under authority conferred by section 1 notwithstanding the time limitation of July 25, 1956 otherwise applicable.

In this field our staff has expressed our support of the bill introduced by the chairman which would continue the accrual educational rights for the veterans of the Korean conflict period who were in service prior to February 1, 1955, notwithstanding the termination date of January 31, 1955 established by Presidential Executive order.

CONCLUSION

In the past there have been occasions when veterans' affairs have come to the attention of congressional committees other than yours. At times some advantage has accrued to the veteran, or to his surviving relatives. At the same time some other right has been taken from the great body of the veteran population.

Executive and legislative committees were active during the period of the 83d Congress in giving separate study to various benefits provided not alone for veterans but for other groups of beneficiaries. We applaud the desire of such committees to correct certain inadequacies and deficiencies and to explore the possibility of securing simplification of the methods of making the award of benefits. We are hopeful that all Members of Congress, including the members of your committee, will study the results of such studies as legislation is prepared in the 84th Congress dealing with such benefits. We are are hopeful that the Congress will not, in considering such legislation, let the zeal of those who are striving for dollar efficiency subordinate the purposes for which the benefit programs were established by the Congress in the first place. There is little comfort for the disabled veteran in the testimony of the General Accounting Office Counsel who said that all benefit programs should, and would, be consolidated under social security.

The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government is making its reports to Congress. There are several areas in this field dealing with veterans' benefits. If past practice is followed, then other committees of Congress may handle some of these questions. In this field, as in the matter of reports from the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, we are hopeful that your committee members will take an active interest.

Our legislative director, Mr. Miles D. Kennedy, has informed you that supplemental statements will be filed along with my statement giving more detailed and technical comment on some phases of the legislation in which the American Legion is interested. In the future, as in the past, we shall appreciate, and we thank you now, for the opportunities your committee has provided us to make known our opinions in the matter of veterans' affairs.

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT OF SEABORN P. COLLINS, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE THE HOUSE VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE REGARDING THE LOAN GUARANTY PROGRAM, FEBRUARY 8, 1955

This supplemental statement is submitted for the purpose of discussing the issues placed before the American Legion by your chairman in his letter to me of December 14, 1954, concerning the operation of the Veterans' Administration's guaranty and direct loan programs as it relates to certain differences existing between veterans purchasing residential property and those purchasing farm real estate to be used as a home.

A review of the evolution of the GI loan program, as it is popularly referred to, reveals that the present application of the program's provisions discriminate to a certain extent against the veteran purchasing farm real estate for use as a home.

Before referring specifically to the major existing differences, it might be well to define certain terms used. These definitions are based upon information received from the Veterans' Administration. They are reflected in the Veterans' Administration's administrative decisions on this subject.

A house which is to be used as a home is defined as a residential dwelling if the occupant derives his income from a salaried position, or from self-employment (other than farming any land adjacent to the house); a house used as a home is a farmhouse if the occupant derives his income from farming the adjacent land. Thus a residential dwelling may be physically located in the country. The nature of the dwelling is determined primarily by use rather than location.

With the foregoing as background, these are the major discrepancies in the program, as I see them. First, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs will guarantee a loan for the purchase, construction, alteration, or repair of a residential dwelling to the extent of 60 percent of the principal amount, or $7,500, whichever is less. However, the Administrator will guarantee a loan for the purpose of purchasing or constructing a farmhouse to the extent of 50 percent of the principal amount, or $4,000, whichever is less. In connection with the direct-loan phase of the program, a veteran, if otherwise entitled, can obtain a loan for the purchase or construction of a residential dwelling, but the veteran who is interested in a farmhouse may obtain a direct loan only for the purpose of constructing a farmhouse, but not for the purpose of purchasing an existing one. Hence, in both the guaranty and direct-loan phase of the program we have a situation wherein the veteran interested in securing a farmhouse is not afforded the same assistance given to the veteran seeking to purchase a residential dwelling.

There are also 1 or 2 minor discrepancies existing which I feel should be mentioned. The veteran owning a residential dwelling, if otherwise qualified, may obtain a guaranteed loan for the purpose of altering or repairing the home, but such is not the case of the farmhouse owner. Finally, both the farm and urban veteran may use part of the proceeds of a loan to release the building site from a prior lien. While this is a simple task in the case of a residential dwelling building lot, it sometimes is quite difficult to adequately separate the farmhouse building site from the rest of the farm.

As this committee has been informed previously, the American Legion has no mandates dealing specifically with any of the above-mentioned problems. However, it is my opinion that any legislation which would eliminate any of these discrepancies would be received favorably by our organization.

It is my opinion that the evening up, so to speak, of the benefits and assistance afforded to both the urban and rural veteran, under both the guaranty and direct-loan phases of the program, would benefit the veteran, yet would not adversely affect any of the other interests intimately connected with the program, since, in all transactions, either the private lending institution or the Veterans' Administration have every opportunity to determine the business propriety of each individual transaction.

Department of Defense Procurement Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to enclose the following resolution adopted by the CIO executive board, which I was requested to bring to the attention of the membership of this body:

RESOLUTION OF CIO EXECUTIVE BOARD CALLING FOR CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF THE POLICY OF PROCUREMENT AGENCIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE IN STRIKE SITUATIONS

The United Automobile Workers and the United Steelworkers are presently engaged in bitter struggles for union recognition and economic justice for their members at the Kohler Co. and Buffalo Arms, Inc. These two companies are viciously antiunion and will stop at nothing, including flagrant violations of law, in their efforts to undermine and destroy unionism at their plants.

Unfortunately the procurement agencies of the Federal Government have been giving vital aid and comfort to these employers in their campaigns to break the union. This is a matter of gravest concern which requires prompt and effective remedial action.

The UAW strike at Kohler began April 5, 1954, when the company refused to offer an adequate wage increase and insisted on elimination of a contract clause calling for arbitration of discharges and layoffs. The company's attitude was bluntly stated by its chief negotiator when he said the company intends to teach the union a lesson and that we went through a bitter strike in 1934 which brought us 20 years of labor peace and we hope to get 20 more years of peace out of this strike. Although the union accepted a suggestion by the governor for arbitration of the contract dispute, the company has steadfastly refused to arbitrate.

Herbert Kohler, company president, in proceedings before the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board, admitted that the company had a store of clubs left over from the 1934 dispute and that it had purchased more clubs, guns, and tear gas. Possession of such munitions is illegal under Wisconsin law.

On April 12, 1954, the NLRB unanimously found that the company had engaged in

acts of interference, restraint, and coercion in violation of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended. However, the company has refused to comply with the Board's order to cease and correct these unfair-labor practices.

Additional charges of unfair-labor practices, including refusal to bargain in good faith and intimidation, were filed with the NLRB by the union in July 1954. The General Counsel of the Board recognized the merit of the union's charges and has issued a complaint against the company. The complaint is now awaiting hearing.

Despite the existence of a strike at the plant and the company's refusal to comply with an order of the National Labor Relations Board and its commission of new unfair labor practices, the Department of the Army in November 1954 awarded a $2 million contract for the manufacture of shell casings to the company. The company immediately seized upon this contract as a vindication of its position and it relied upon the contract to stimulate a back-to-work movement by means of letters to its employees and newspaper advertisements.

Wittingly or unwittingly, this procurement agency of the Defense Department thus became a full-fledged partner of the company in the company's campaign to break the strike and the union, in the face of a determination by another arm of the Federal Government that the company is in violation of Federal law.

The Department of the Army has played a similarly unjustified role in the Buffalo Arms situation. The steelworkers went on strike against this company in June 1954 to protest the failure of the company to bargain with the union following the union's certification as exclusive collective bargaining representative by the NLRB. Charges were filed with the NLRB by the union and the NLRB trial examiner sustained the union's charges in September. Among other things, he ordered the employer to bargain with the union. The trial examiner's findings and conclusions were adopted by the Board in November and the Board also ordered the company to bargain with the union.

The company has refused to comply with these orders. Nevertheless, the company has been favored by the Department of the Army with defense contracts throughout this period in which the union has been on strike and the company has been in violation of Federal law as determined by the NLRB.

The position of the Department of the Army is that it may not even consider the fact that a company is in violation of NLRB rulings in determining whether to award a contract to the company. In a letter to the steelworkers, Assistant Secretary of the Army F. H. Higgins stated: "Procuring agencies may not refuse to award a contract to a firm because that firm is refusing to comply with an NLRB order to cease and desist from an unfair labor practice. Thus, the Department of the Army is precluded from considering a contractor's status under the National Labor Relations Act in the award or administration of contracts."

This position of the Department of the Army raises grave problems bearing on our national labor policy. A situation in which openly antiunion employers who breach the Federal law are rewarded by Federal contracts and are thus aided and abetted in their efforts to break strikes and destroy unions is completely intolerable.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, the CIO executive board condemns the policy of the Department of the Army in awarding contracts to companies which are on strike and have been found by the NLRB to be in violation of Federal law.

We urge Congress to institute a prompt and thorough investigation of this policy of procurement agencies of the Defense Department and to rectify this intolerable situation by legislation, if necessary.

We commend the members of the UAW and the USA at the Kohler and Buffalo Arms Companies for their valiant and self-sacrificing actions against their union-busting employers. We pledge our sister unions and their members at these plants our full support in their just struggle for union recognition and decent contracts.

Special Competence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Special Competence," published in the Washington Post of February 8, 1955; also a letter addressed to the editor, signed by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER].

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of February 8, 1955]

SPECIAL COMPETENCE

Senator JOHN W. BRICKER, a man who has specialized in politics for most of his adult life, espoused a somewhat puzzling doctrine in a speech on Saturday commemorating Thomas A. Edison's birthday. Without naming any names, he roundly criticized some present-day scientists who talk publicly about political matters that are outside their fields of special competence. This criticism, although an anomalous one in a self-governing society committed to the idea that political wisdom is most likely to be derived from full and free discussion by all its members, is rather widely held these days—and especially in regard to men of learning in the physical sciences.

Those who subscribe to this criticism like to think of nuclear physicists, for example, as innocent, unworldly, cloistered fellows puttering about in ivy-covered laboratories and perfecting atomic bombs without a care in the world as to what more practical men like Senator BRICKER may choose to do with them. But the truth is that those who probe the mysteries of nature are prone to think about them—sometimes with a heavy sense of responsibility. And perhaps they ought to be pardoned if they wonder whether political science is so far advanced as to know definitively how best to deal with the discoveries of physical science.

Senator BRICKER may have been quite justified in declining to equate scientific wisdom and wisdom in all the other affairs of life. No doubt there are foolish scientists just as there are foolish politicians. But it does not follow that men of science ought to keep silent about their convictions or that what they say may not be instinct with a reflection and understanding not common among men who do not share their special knowledge.

The Senator went on to tell his audience that, if mankind did not employ the time made available by the inventions of Mr. Edison and others in meaningful leisure, leisure would sink into a boredom more oppressive than tyranny. This strikes us as a pregnant observation. But his listeners must have wondered what there was in Mr. BRICKER's experience and training that gave him the authority to utter it. "Leisure" is not a subject on which we should expect any Senator to claim any special competence. Perhaps, however, it would be best to weigh Mr. BRICKER's opinions, and the opinions of other men as well, on their own merits.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., February 9, 1955.

The EDITOR,
Washington Post and Times Herald,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your editorial, Special Competence (February 8, 1955), states that I "roundly criticized" in a recent address scientists "who talk publicly about political matters that are outside their fields of 'special competence.'"

You say this is "a somewhat puzzling doctrine." Puzzling? It is rather a reactionary doctrine—a doctrine of gag that I oppose as much as you. In my speech commemorating Edison's birthday, I advanced no such doctrine; nor did I utter the criticism which is the basis of your editorial.

As urged in your editorial, all opinions should be weighed "on their own merits." Too often, however, political opinions are weighed primarily on the basis of fame acquired in a totally unrelated field of endeavor. I praised Mr. Edison for refusing to "trade on his reputation as a great scientist" to win public acceptance of his opinions on complex political issues. In this, I said, Edison "was not like some present-day scientists."

Edison's work habits are a matter of common knowledge. Accordingly, I did not think it necessary or proper to spell out in a commemorative address that the political opinions which Mr. Edison was reluctant to broadcast were not derived from independent study or from serious reflection. Not having the full text of my remarks, and relying no doubt on a misleading story in the New York Sunday Times (February 6, 1955) captioned "BRICKER Decries Scientists' Talk," I can understand how you could draw in good faith unfavorable inferences from my remarks.

I appreciate your editorial comment on the problem of leisure. On that subject I disavow any "special competence," perhaps at the risk of a New York Times story under the heading "BRICKER Declares Self Incompetent." The problem of leisure, however, is that of every man and one which each individual must solve in his own way.

I am placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of this letter, your editorial, and my speech on Edison.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN BRICKER.

(Copies to editor, New York Times; editor, the Boston Daily Globe.)

Our Prayers Could Change the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Our Prayers Could Change the World," written by Stanley High.

This article appeared in the February issue of the Reader's Digest. St. Paul writes in the Gospel, "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." It occurs to me that in this confused and uncertain period in our Nation's history, we might well give serious

thought to prayer, which has played such an important part in the history of our Nation.

There are many instances, both in our public and in our personal life, where prayer has definitely directed the course.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR PRAYERS COULD CHANGE THE WORLD

(By Stanley High)

How can the average American, the average citizen of any free nation, help win the struggle to save freedom and achieve a just and lasting peace?

The answer to this universal question now comes from the weighty testimony of many distinguished men. It is this: A lasting peace can be achieved only through the rediscovery of the free world's spiritual resources, the reviving among free peoples of a dynamic religious faith.

"Peace cannot be left to the diplomat and the soldier," says President Eisenhower. "It desperately needs the transforming power that comes from men and women, the world over, responding to their highest allegiances and to their best motives. The cause of peace needs God."

"The West has erred," says the historian Arnold J. Toynbee, "because it has chosen to fight communism with communism's own materialist weapons. As long as the battle is fought on these terms, the Communists will keep on winning. Western democracy must base its appeal on more than freedom, more than prosperity; it must base its appeal on religion. Only in this way can democracy turn the tables on the Communist assailants. The grace of God might bring about this miracle."

Charles Malik, Lebanese Ambassador to the United States and an Arab spokesman in the United Nations, says, "Nothing is more ridiculous than those who say 'fight communism' and then concentrate on the economic and social alone. The real challenge is intellectual and spiritual. What is needed is a positive message, something humble, outreaching, touching the hearts of men, touching their need for understanding, providing hope. How can such a message be given reality save by multitudes of ordinary men and women stirred and exalted by religious faith?"

Is there a way whereby religion's power to shape events can be made effective? President Eisenhower believes there is. He set it forth before the Assembly of the World Council of Churches:

"How can we help strike this spark of dedication in receptive hearts around the earth? By personal prayer by hundreds upon hundreds of millions. The goal should be nothing short of inviting every single person in every single country who believes in a Supreme Being to join in this mighty, intense act of faith. If this mass dedication launched an unending campaign for peace, supported by prayer, I am certain wondrous results would ensue."

This conviction of the President is backed up by the judgment of other Americans who, in times of great crisis, acknowledged their faith in prayer. When, in 1787, the threat of failure loomed over the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin called for daily prayers:

"I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see that God governs in the affairs of men. We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings, that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe that, without His concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel."

With the fate of the Union at stake in his decisions, Abraham Lincoln said: "I talk to God. My mind seems relieved when I do and a way is suggested. I should be a self-conceited blockhead if I should hope to get along without the wisdom that comes from God and not from man."

If each of us set aside some time every day to pray fervently for a just and lasting peace, is it likely that wondrous results would ensue?

For the answer to this question do not look to those who are skepical of prayer and ignorant of praying. The opinions on prayer of such men, says Dr. George A. Buttrick, are like those of tone-deaf men judging music. Here, as in any field of knowledge, we should turn to experts: men who speak of prayer from their own observation and experience.

"If prayers were not answered," says Dr. Buttrick in his book Prayer, "praying would long since have vanished in man's despair and pain."

"If praying did not produce results," said the late Rufus Jones, renowned Quaker philosopher, "it would soon be weeded out of the human race. It would shrivel like the functionless organ."

In these times it is not prayer which has failed, but we who have failed to pray. Dr. Alexis Carrel believed that prayer is our greatest source of power. "But," he added, "it is miserably underdeveloped."

God does not "force His assistance on us," says Father James Keller, founder of the Christophers. "He leaves us free to take it or leave it. The key to the door is given in Jesus' words: 'Ask,' 'seek,' 'knock.'

"It is as clear, as simple as the story of the small boy struggling, mightily, to lift a heavy stone. He couldn't budge it. Happening to pass by, his father asked, 'Are you using all your strength?' 'Yes, I am,' said the boy impatiently. 'I don't think you are,' said the father. 'You haven't asked me to help.'

"The road to a just and lasting peace has some mighty big stones in it."

"Some years ago," says Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, "the scientist Steinmetz prophesied the time would come when we would take prayer into our laboratories and release tremendous power. Countless men and women today, in the laboratories of their own lives, are proving what prayer can do. A hard core of thoroughly dedicated prayer-scientists, focusing spiritual power on men and events, could loose a redeeming, creating force in the world which no evil host, not even the Communists, could stand against. I believe there are tens of thousands of people around the world ready to join in the fellowship and adventure of such an experiment."

"We will never rid the world of war," says evangelist Billy Graham, "until we ourselves are rid of iniquity. What does God say? 'From whence come wars and fightings among you * * * come they not from your lusts?' What has God promised? 'When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.' "

"Is there any doubt," asks Dr. Rheinhold Niebuhr, that "our dedication would influence the policies of nations? The task of overcoming pride and arrogance, which assail every nation and are an obstacle to peace, is a religious one. Greater humility and patience in our dealings with other nations must begin with a deeper humility and patience in us, as individuals. Granted we deal with an unscrupulous foe. Yet, how better than by the spirit born of our prayers can we convince him of the honesty of our purposes, the sincerity of our desire for peace?"

From our dedication through prayer we could expect a unity for peace among the world's peoples made vastly stronger because its source was spiritual, not merely military and material. Father Keller quotes the conclusion of Napoleon as he looked back from St. Helena on the ruins of his conquests: "There are two world powers, the sword and the spirit. The spirit has always vanquished the sword."

"Faith has indeed moved mountains," says President Eisenhower. "Ours is a time when great things must again be dared in faith."

Millions profess that belief. Will we accept the challenge?

Quemoy and Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Quemoy and Formosa," which was published in the January 27, 1955, issue of the Manchester Guardian Weekly.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

QUEMOY AND FORMOSA

The ambiguities of President Eisenhower's special message to Congress on Formosa are deplorable. The message is so clumsily constructed that it appears to contain a veiled threat of American attack upon the Chinese mainland. It says that the United States must be prepared to "take appropriate military action" against "any concentration of Chinese Communist forces obviously undertaken to facilitate attack upon Formosa." It says this after citing the shelling of Quemoy in September as part of "a series of provocative political and military actions establishing a pattern of aggressive purpose." The Communist purpose, it says, is the conquest of Formosa. Quemoy is described as "one of the natural approaches to Formosa." It suggests that American obligations should not be enlarged beyond Formosa and the Pescadores, but adds that "unhappily" the United States must take into account "closely related localities" and actions which "might determine the failure or success" of an attack upon Formosa. Since Quemoy is a "natural approach" to Formosa it is presumably a "closely related locality." Since concentrations of shipping at Foochow or Amoy and concentrations of aircraft at nearby mainland airfields may be regarded as "undertaken to facilitate attack upon Formosa," they are presumably the concentrations against which American forces must be ready to "take appropriate military action." Thus the message can be read as threatening an American attack upon the mainland. That may or may not have been President Eisenhower's intention—it probably was not—but it is the effect. It gives apparent credibility to some of the Communist propaganda claiming that the United States is planning an attack upon China. It is a gross blunder.

The damaging effect of these phrases cannot be undone by saying that their aim is no more than to assure the security of Formosa and the Pescadores. The threat to the mainland and the implicit American commitment to defend Quemoy remain. It does not help to declaim about "the free world's stake in a free Formosa." Nine-tenths of the free

world has grave doubts about the kind of freedom provided by Chiang's regime (even if it has graver doubts about the Communists). Nor does it help to speak of the loss of Formosa as "breaching the island chain" which constitutes the "geographical backbone" of American security, for Okinawa and the Philippines complete that chain without Formosa (even if the chain is regarded as essential). And none of these things justifies a belligerent threat or will help toward the kind of peacemaking which President Eisenhower seems to have wanted. Even the offer of American military assistance for the "redeployment" of Chiang's troops, conceived at first as a means of withdrawing them without provoking further fighting, has been so phrased that it may be read as meaning that those troops may merely be consolidated in better positions near the mainland. The wretched tragedy is that this American initiative, intended to promote a settlement, is going to have the opposite effect. The damage caused by Monday's message will be hard to undo.

Is Dispersal Obsolete?—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House Concurrent Resolution 66, which provides for a joint committee to study the feasibility of industrial and urban dispersal as a means of defense against H-bomb attack, there follows part I of an article by Donald Monson which appeared in the December issue of Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists:

Is Dispersal Obsolete?
(By Donald Monson)

Since 1945 the Bulletin has called for dispersal—that is, defense through decentralization—as the only real protection against nuclear weapons. In this it has been joined by most city planners, who have also held that space is the only effective "before the fact" defense against the A-bomb. In 1953 project East River, in the sections on the reduction of urban vulnerability, presented two dispersion alternatives:

(a) The direction of all new urban construction away from congested central areas to their outer fringes and suburbs in low-density continuous development.

(b) The prevention of the metropolitan core's further spread by directing new construction into small, widely spaced satellite towns, coupled with the breaking up of the central city into a number of smaller towns separated by broad open firebreaks containing escape highways, parks, etc.

Just as these ideas were beginning to be understood, the H-bomb upset the public and defense authorities alike. In this rapid advance in destructive techniques, defense by any system of dispersal has been seriously questioned. Prof. Hornell Hart came to the conclusion that dispersion was obsolete and was essentially like matching a sleeping tortoise against a racing automobile.[1]

Four new developments have been discussed in the public press which bring into question the effectiveness of urban dispersal:

(a) The increased power of the H-bomb, alleged by AEC Chairman Strauss as now capable of knocking out "any" metropolitan complex.

(b) The radioactive fallout accompanying an H-bomb explosion, which is said to extend well beyond the area of blast and heat.

(c) The alleged accuracy of intercontinental ballistic and guided missiles.

(d) The rumored C-bomb, whose lethal radioactivity would endanger not only metropolitan areas but, in the more lurid reports, "wipe life as we know it from the earth."

The maximum implications of the above four items, taken together, leave little hope of using present city planning practices to achieve a demonstrably greater measure of safety under attack. City planners cannot be blamed for throwing up their hands and going back to their profession along the less awesome, preatomic lines. They are unable to deal with the threats posed by the new weapons because there is no information generally available. The Effects of Atomic Weapons, based on the Hiroshima and Nagasaki explosions, has not yet been brought up to date by the AEC. The writer, therefore, offers the following discussion, incomplete as it may be, on the basis of such unclassified data as was available to him from published sources, supplemented by unpublished data supplied by Ralph Lapp.

THE BLAST AND HEAT EFFECTS OF THE H-BOMB

The Civil Defense Administration has classified possible blast damage from nuclear attack into the following four damage zones:

Zone A: Complete destruction of all structures;

Zone B: All structures severely damaged; if repairable, must be vacated for repairs;

Zone C: All structures moderately or severely damaged; if repairable, must be vacated for repairs;

Zone D: Buildings apt to be moderately or lightly damaged; need not be vacated for repairs.

It is assumed that in a dispersal program new construction would be far enough from probable ground zero to fall into Zone D. As a bomb will not necessarily fall in the geographic center of the built-up area, point zero, for dispersal planning purposes, should be assumed to be anywhere on the rough circumferential line bordering the more-or-less solidly built-up area of the central metropolitan city and its contiguous suburbs. Knapp[2] estimated that a 20-megaton bomb (the size of the April 1954 Pacific test) would extend the outer edge of zone C, insofar as blast damage is concerned, to a distance of about 15 miles from point zero. If the bomb is increased to the limit of the chart at 45 megatons, the distance would be about 20 miles. Increasing the curve by crude projection to 100 megatons (assuming that the scaling laws hold), the distance would be about 25 miles, the curve seemingly becoming asymptotic at that point.

A related factor bearing upon the required open space between a new satellite town and the edge of the builtup area of the old metropolitan center, or between satellites, is the effect of the heat wave. Knapp puts the maximum safety level of thermal intensity at three calories per square centimeter. A 50-megaton bomb, he estimates, would exceed this amount only within the 20-mile limit on a very clear day—any haze in the atmosphere shortening the distance. Since the blast effects would carry the C-zone damage slightly further, it would appear that the thermal effects of the bomb are contained within the probable blast damage area and hence may be disregarded in determining the minimum dispersal distance between urban developments.

RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT

The enormous megatonnage of the H-bomb introduced a new factor into the catalog of the lethal effects of nuclear weapons: the impregnation with radioactivity of the dislodged and volatilized material from the earth's surface below the exploding bomb, the particles of which are then carried for greater or lesser distances by air currents and then fall out over an area of considerable extent.[3]

Lapp points out that the lethal effects of direct radiation from high megatonnage bomb bursts are contained within the primary damage zones of the heat and blast effects. The same is true of the lethal effects of the radioactivity in the cloud of steam resulting from a bomb bursting in, or near the surface of, a body of salt water. In the Bikini lagoon this steam bath is reported to have contaminated an egg-shaped area about 3 miles in length, well within the blast damage zone, and so may be discounted.

The fallout is a far more serious matter. Lapp points out that the extent and degree of radioactivity of the fallout depend on several factors: the power and composition of the bomb, height of the explosion, velocity and direction of the wind, and composition of the debris. The worst problems occur when bombs of high megatonnage are set off close to the earth's surface. These factors make it more difficult to set up definite rules for citing satellite towns to avoid the lethal effects of the fallout than in the case of blast and heat.

The fallout will, however, normally occur downwind and will be scattered by the combined effects of the surface winds and the characteristic 40-to-60 knot winds of the stratosphere. Because of the weight of the subsurface particles, half the debris can be expected to fall within the first 24 hours after the explosion, with the maximum activity in the first 3 hours. During this period the surface winds will govern the bulk of the fallout. The finer particles will be carried upward longer and farther by the upper air currents and will be distributed by both stratospheric and surface winds. Because of the rapid decay in radioactivity of most of the fission products, the major danger is in the first hours after the blast.

Since radioactivity is essentially a weapon against human beings rather than structures, relatively simple shelters covered by a few feet of packed earth seem to offer fair chances of surviving the lethal effects of fallout, provided that the shelter is not infiltrated by air-borne radioactive particles, that a covered reserve of drinking water is at hand, and that people stay in the shelter long enough for the level of radioactivity to recede to tolerable amounts.

Meteorologists in the Civil Defense Administration should be able to supply city planners with charts, showing prevailing wind directions for all our metropolitan target areas and the sectors of the region most likely to be covered by the fallout shadow. In most areas it will be quite possible to site satellite towns outside this shadow. As dispersal progresses, it may be necessary in some areas to locate new towns in the direction of the shadow either because the wind is not prevalently in one direction or because the population is so large that not enough sites exist elsewhere. Even in this latter event, it seems advisable that no town should be located within the radioactive shadow at a distance less than 50 miles from ground zero. Planners will have to decide, in each metropolitan region, what relative weights can be safely assigned to (1) the new town's distance from the builtup area; (2) the estimated amount of time between the bomb burst and the arrival of the radioactive cloud; (3) the shelter program; (4) the length of time people can be expected to stay in the shelters; (5) the period during which the town may be contaminated; and (6) the evacuation of the people as soon as it is safe for them to leave the shelters.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Radioactivity resulting from atomic explosions may also, it has been said, be raised on a global basis to the point of affecting human genetics. Serious as this may be, it does not affect the question of dispersal directly and so is not considered here.

INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC AND GUIDED MISSILES

Senator STUART SYMINGTON, in a speech delivered on the Senate floor July 21, 1954, suggested that "within a few years it will be possible to deliver atomic and hydrogen weapons by long-range, intercontinental ballistic missiles * * * so precisely that any error in accuracy can be measured, not in miles, but in hundreds of yards."

If this is true, any kind of dispersion short of spreading the entire population evenly through the whole country will not be of much help. One thing, however, is certain: It is a great deal easier to hit an urban agglomeration of the size of one of our present great metropolitan cities than a series of small towns scattered at random in the landscape. To destroy small satellite cities at long range, missiles would have to be of almost incredible accuracy or be guided by electronic devices which in turn would be subject to defensive measures.

THE COBALT BOMB

One of the more alarming possibilities in the advance toward the development of absolute weapons is the alleged theory that by substituting a cobalt shell for the usual metal casing of the H-bomb, a weapon can be made which is capable of endangering whole nations, continents, and—say the more imaginative—the whole world. The writer has no way of evaluating this possibility, though it does not appear to be taken too seriously by the scientists.

HOW FAR IS FAR ENOUGH?

Summarizing the discussion so far, it is found that a rough distance of 20 miles from the edge of an existing metropolitan built-up area or between new towns is enough to insure reasonable safety for a satellite town, providing it is not located within the radioactive shadow. Taking as a basis Lapp's estimate of the area likely to be affected within the first few hours after a blast, such a new satellite town ought perhaps to be at least 50 miles from the built-up area. These distances represent compromises which would permit new construction to be located within our metropolitan regions and at the same time would minimize the danger of their being too severely damaged by future intercontinental guided or ballistic missiles.

In most metropolitan areas the problem of siting the first half-dozen satellite cities would not be too difficult.[4] The New York metropolitan region in this respect presents the most difficult problem. There, any extensive dispersal on satellite principles—or any other, for that matter—on a scale set by the H-bomb might well necessitate a total reduction of the area's population and migration on a considerable scale outside the normally defined metropolitan area.

IS THERE TIME FOR DISPERSAL TO BE EFFECTIVE?

Even though they grant that satellite dispersion has theoretical validity, a number of writers have dismissed it as a practical defense measure on the grounds that there is not enough time for it to become effective. Discounting dispersion because of the time available fails to give proper consideration to a number of factors:

(a) It does not recognize that the Soviets will not necessarily attack as soon as they have the wherewithal to do so.

(b) It fails to differentiate between the two theories of dispersion.

(c) It does not distinguish whether the purpose of the first steps in dispersion is a civil-defense measure intended merely to cut down the number of civilian casualties or a means to insure that the economy can survive the shock of an all-out attack.

(d) It assumes that because absolute security is virtually unattainable relative security is of little value.

CAPABILITY DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN INTENTION

The year 1957 in Professor Hart's analysis is indicative of when the U. S. S. R. can strike, not when she may or will strike.[5] For the purposes of this article, it is enough to say that there are two schools of thought suggesting a delay in a Russian attack: The first is advanced by many economic and political observers and holds that as long as the Soviets can advance their influence short of general war, they will not start world war III as they have no need to do so; the second is advanced by the proponents of a greater strategic Air Force, who hold that the ability of the United States to inflict massive retaliation on the Soviet homeland will deter the Communist dictatorship from risking world war III. As dispersion is not a substitute for either economic aid to our allies or an adequate strategic Air Force backed by high levels of weapon research and other suitable military defense measures, it is enough to point out that facing up to the situation and doing our best in all fields, strengthens the hope of an uneasy truce which may last for many years.

SCATTER VERSUS NUCLEATED SATELLITES

The fact that there are two distinct theories of dispersal—one which simply seeks to spread out the population at a lower density, another which locates industry and population in small satellite towns located at predetermined points in the metropolitan region—is not yet well understood. Dispersion as a simple reduction in density is based on the theory that the fewer people and the less industry per given unit of area, the lower the number of casualties and the less the property damage which will occur under any given bomb.

This is true as far as it goes, the chief attraction of this system being that it requires the least divergence from business as usual, the least change in the way we build and rebuild our metropolitan centers. However, this method also has severe inherent weaknesses, the chief of which is that it extends even further the unbroken developed area of our large cities—thus making them even bigger targets and at the same time even less efficient in their functioning than they are today.

Dispersion by acceleration of the flight to the contiguous suburbs only aggravates the long-recognized problems of the metropolitan city and its suburban area.

But the case against dispersion by scatter-as-usual-only-more-so does not rest only on on the aggravation of old metropolitan problems. A general A- and H-bomb strike against the main population centers of the country would disrupt their present transport and communication grids, cause general fuel shortages, create shortages of skilled and general labor, and generate enormous demands for relief and rehabilitation. Scatter dispersion would make this situation worse in that the more the population is spread out, the more it will have to depend upon a high per-capita expenditure of transport and services to keep producing. The very demands and shortages resulting from a general air attack may well isolate a high percentage of the scattered population, making them of little value for continued production or relief work.

The satellite town system of dispersal is in sharp contrast to the above in that it meets the problems of the metropolitan area and does not add to them. Should the core of the area be knocked out, the satellite would remain intact as a productive urban entity. A metropolitan region having a number of satellite towns would interconnect them with power, transport, and communication grids so that it would be virtually impossible to break contact between any two for more than a very short time.

THE PROBLEM OF SELECTIVE DISPERSAL

Another misconception as to the role of dispersion is found in its failure to define objectives. The Bulletin has pointed out editorially that the basic problem here is not a matter of reducing casualties—important as that may be—but rather a question of insuring that the Nation will not be put out of action by an all-out attack. Dispersal by satellite towns is peculiarly adapted to this end. At the present time an appalling concentration of production, storage, and administration lies in the centers of a relatively few metropolitan areas. The extent of the damage which it is possible for an enemy to inflict on the Nation by striking at these concentrations is bad enough, but the resultant disorganization of the country may well decide the outcome of a war. It is this additional problem which a program of satellite dispersal can mitigate and which is the proper first objective of a planned dispersal program.

The nucleation of selected new construction into small satellite cities so as to minimize the need of expensive transport and other public facilities in case of attack is the positive aspect of such a program. If a metropolitan center is destroyed, there will be an urgent need to conserve drastically all remaining transport, fuel, manpower, and supplies of all kinds. Having our population thinly scattered over great areas will contribute to the aggravation of the breakdown in case of attack. The negative aspect of the satellite dispersal program, therefore, becomes the prevention of the continuous spread of the central metropolis and contiguous suburbs, both for the sake of efficiency in a postattack period and to prevent the central area from becoming a more attractive target.

At first glance it might seem that dispersal by scatter would spread the population over a greater area than dispersion of the same population in small cities and thus give a greater measure of protection. Since the missiles would presumably be aimed at the centers of the metropolitan areas, the problem is to keep any additional development from taking place at their peripheries, which are normally well within the H-bomb's danger area. Planless dispersion inevitably results in building, first, close to the periphery of the existing urban area, and then, as the density adjacent to the old builtup area rises, moving outward. This is inherent in our present way of building suburban developments, since the average builder cannot tie up his capital in land for long periods and must attach his project to some existing town which can supply him with public utilities. The net result is that, though any single unit of area in the metropolitan sprawl may have a lower density than a corresponding area in a satellite town, the bulk of the scattered dispersed population would be in greater danger than in new towns because they would be living in areas which were extensions of the primary target area.

ABSOLUTE VERSUS RELATIVE SAFETY

Finally, there is the argument that there is no use in starting a program of dispersal because even at best it could not prevent a large number of casualties. A realistic appraisal of the time we may have in which to disperse must also, of course, recognize that war could come before a pattern of small cities emerges in many of our large metropolitan areas. This does not mean, however, that the effort should not be made to build as many satellite cities as time permits. As was stated above, the first purpose

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

of these new satellites is not just to save the lives of the lucky persons dispersed from the old city, but to pull out of the metropolis in ever-increasing volume the industry and workers which are necessary to the Nation's defense in case of war. Thus the industries in the first satellites would be selected and their management and workers given incentives to move to the new town. The cost of such incentives would properly be a national defense expenditure. As time goes on it would become increasingly difficult for an enemy to knock out our industrial plant; the bombing of our large cities would become less and less attractive to an aggressor.

[1] Hornell Hart, The Remedies Versus the Menace, Bulletin, 10 (June 1954), pp. 197–205.

[2] Harold A. Knapp, Jr., South Woodley Looks at the H-bomb, Bulletin, 10 (October 1954), pp. 306–311.

[3] Ralph E. Lapp, Civil Defense Faces New Peril, Bulletin, 10 (November 1954).

[4] A normal extension of the concept of dispersal, from one of building entirely new towns to enlargement of existing small towns which can be suitably increased in size, has taken place in Britain under the Conservative Government with the passage of the Town Development Act of 1952.

[5] Hornell Hart, op. cit.

Is Dispersal Obsolete?—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House Concurrent Resolution 66, which provides for a joint committee to study the feasibility of industrial and urban dispersal as a means of defense against H-bomb attack, there follows part II of an article by Donald Monson which appeared in the December issue of Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists:

DISPERSION AND THE METROPOLITAN AREA—THE REGIONAL PATTERN

The distances required by the H-bomb make the present halfhearted attempts at dispersion futile. Planners are in general agreement on the form a metropolitan region ought to take to meet the problem of dispersion. As project East River put it, "a central core and satellite pattern for metropolitan areas [have been] long recommended by professional city planners. * * * Existing metropolitan areas conform rather crudely to this pattern. Both classical statements in city planning and recent and progressive master plans for major metropoli describe a similar arrangement. This theory of metropolitan structure has never been seriously challenged." [6]

The application of the safe distances presented earlier in this article would not destroy the validity of this pattern, but to make this classical concept of the metropolitan city the basis of a national defense program for dispersal, means solving the problems in a field of government most marked by confusion and disorganization—the metropolitan region. This is the heart of the difficulty.

Footnotes at end of speech.

THE SATELLITE IN THE REGION

Robert E. Merriam, writing in the Bulletin's issue on decentralization and speaking as an alderman of the city of Chicago, was skeptical of dispersion because it was not advanced as a part of a solution of the greater problem of metropolitan government. "In the Chicago area, for example," wrote Merriam, "there are an estimated 1,600 units of local government, many of them with important governmental functions. The horrible spectacle of some suburban communities in this area in 1950 refusing to cooperate even in the planning for civilian defense, the haggling over water supply, the perpetual fight over garbage dumps, the never-ending problem of industrial plant location, and the nightmare of seven major governments operating within the city of Chicago, all are symptoms of one of the gravest problems American democracy faces today. * * * To meet successfully all the growing problems of modern urban living, including the threat of atomic attack, requires a reorganization of the metropolitan complexes into some rational governmental, social, and economic patterns. The overlapping, duplicating, wasteful, inefficient system of governmental organization must be simplified." [7]

Mayor Joseph Clark, of Philadelphia, speaking to the recent annual convention of the American Society of Planning Officials, suggested that a Delaware Valley authority would be an ideal framework within which to tackle the multitudinous problems of urbanization in the three States containing the Philadelphia metropolitan region. Such an authority, the mayor added, could more effectively handle the regional problems now spawning a series of ad hoc bodies working without adequate coordination.

Meanwhile, in the absence of a functioning regional authority in the Philadelphia area, we have seen in the last few years the location of a new major steel plant, Fairless, 7½ miles from the border of Philadelphia and just across the river from Trenton, N. J., a city already having a population of 128,000. The working force of the new plant is concentrated in the new communities of Fairless Hills and Levittown, where new homes for 16,000 persons were built in 1950 and 1951 alone. This new plant and the now towns indicate that rapid construction of a planned system of satellite towns is wholly feasible even under our present mortgage and building practices. But in the absence of metropolitan direction and a program of planned dispersion based on knowledge of modern weapons, the towns were, unfortunately built between the plant and the builtup areas of Philadelphia. If the present trends continue, a few years will find that the net result of this dispersion was only to connect, with a solid mass of development, the existing Philadelphia area with the smaller concentration of Trenton.

NEED FOR FEDERAL LEADERSHIP

To break this impassé in metropolitan regional development, Federal leadership in the interests of national defense is needed. The central cities have long complained that they are being suffocated by their suburbs, by the flight of industry, the loss of their tax base; but only in a few cases in the last decades—notably Atlanta, Ga., and Toronto, Ontario—have any big cities managed to extend their boundaries and thus control the development of their metropolitan regions.

Many of our big metropolitan areas lie in more than one State and to expect them or the States to meet the problem unassisted is hopeless; even where the area is in one State, solutions are tied to the problem of political rivalries between farm and urban areas, the farm legislators siding with the suburbs in questions involving their submission to regional controls.

The Federal Government has been increasingly concerned with urban affairs. The Bulletin has repeatedly carried articles by various authors listing the Federal powers and agencies which are already at hand and can be used to implement a dispersal policy. What is needed is coordination of these various programs to initiate an urban satellite dispersal program on a metropolitan basis. [8]

The present Federal policy does not do this. In the industrial field, tax-incentive programs have given but a perfunctory nod to dispersal requirements, even on the merest scatter basis. The concentration of defense contracts with General Motors has not helped spread the base of industrial power, whether or not it may have reduced the national budget unbalance. The Federal housing programs, with their present emphasis on redevelopment and rehabilitation, largely ignore defense and dispersion considerations; highway programs are primarily directed toward relieving peacetime congestion. The budget ought to be balanced, our cities need rehabilitation, congestion should be relieved—but these measures can and should be coordinated with a metropolitan defense program through planned satellite dispersion.

CAN WE AFFORD DISPERSAL?

One of the arguments frequently heard against a dispersal program is that it is expensive and would mean that the national defense effort would suffer in other directions were such a program energetically followed. This is true, at least partially, of dispersion by scatter, which would be costly in terms of the public utilities and service facilities widespread low-density development requires; it is not true of a planned metropolitan dispersal program which, over a period of years, merely directs all new construction into a series of planned satellite towns. Such a program involves no abortive investments; what is built will be in the course of the normal growth of our cities. We will spend these sums anyway, even without metropolitan planning, and we may well spend them less efficiently. The role of of the National Government, charged as it is with responsibility for the national defense, is to break the Gordian knot of metropolitan disorder so that these normal investments in the Nation's growth can be made consistent with the demands of the country's security. In this light the question may well be asked whether we can afford not to disperse.

Adm. Ben Moreell, chairman of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., recently analyzed the vulnerability of our iron and steel industry before the chief executives group of the American Iron and Steel Institute and properly termed the movement of industry to outlying sites as "progressive dispersion." [9] He did not advocate the immediate wholesale dispersion of the iron and steel industry, but stated that within a realistic plan, as replacement of existing capacity becomes necessary at a rate of, say, 3 percent a year, one-quarter of the country's total capacity could be dispersed within 8 years. Admiral Moreell reported the estimated cost of such a 25-percent dispersal of plant facilities as $9,236,000,000, with an additional $2,500,000,000 required if all employees were also housed in the new towns.

Between 1940 and 1950, the total population increase in the 12 largest metropolitan centers of the United States was over 6,500,000 persons. Of this increase, 4,700,000 were in suburban districts. If a policy of directing the suburban growth of these 12 areas alone into properly dispersed satellite towns had been instituted at the beginning of World

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

War II, almost a hundred complete new towns of 50,000 persons each would now have the necessary open space around them which alone can give any real protection against nuclear attack.

Joint estimates of the Labor and Commerce Departments forecast a new construction level of $36 billion in the current year. This figure, taken with Admiral Moreell's estimate, for dispersing a quarter of the country's steel and iron ingot capacity, of about $12 billion in 8 years, indicates that the problem is not so much to increase the rate of new construction as it is to direct such construction in the interests of national defense.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, then, it seems reasonable on the basis of the evidence so far available that urban dispersal on a metropolitan system of satellite towns is still valid as a defense measure. The upper limits of the power of the new weapons have been delineated with sufficient precision so that if we build our new towns in any metropolitan region, about 20 miles from the edge of the buildup area of the old city and from one another, and a greater distance downwind, our new satellites will be relatively safe. Building such a series of new towns around each of our big cities is essentially the problem of metropolitan government, whose solution requires Federal leadership—leadership which already has most of its necessary tools at hand, and which does not necessarily mean greater national expenditures but rather the guiding of normal investment in the extension and redevelopment of our cities to give maximum efficiency and security.

The metropolitan pattern outlined above does not take urban life away from the sun and air and seek to protect it in some impregnable fortress deep in the bowel of the earth; it is the best way we know how to build our cities had there never been an atomic bomb. If the catastrophic threat of the new weapons forces us to build our cities in this way, then there will have been a silver lining to the grim cloud genius has released from the scientific bottle.

---

[6] Project East River, Report, Appendix V–B, p. 28–B.

[7] Robert Merriam, Cities Are Here to Stay, Bulletin, 7 (September 1951), p. 255.

[8] There are many possible ways of setting up the complex Federal-local relationships which such a program would entail. One possible framework was outlined by the author in the Bulletin in A Program for Urban Dispersal, (September 1951). See also How Can We Disperse Our Large Cities, by the author, in the American City (December 1950 and January 1951).

[9] U. S. News & World Report, What the H-Bomb Can Do to United States Industries, by Adm. Ben Moreell (U. S. Navy, retired), May 7, 1954, p. 58 ff. Summarized in the Bulletin, 10 (June 1954), pp. 196, 205.

Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Homer Hoch, a former Member of the House from the congressional district I represent, delivered a tribute to Abraham Lincoln. This tribute was delivered more than 20 years ago. It is a timely statement and one, I believe, the Members of the House and others who take the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be glad to read.

There is no new thing to be said of Lincoln. Nor is there a new thing to be said of the mountains or the sea or the stars. The mountains ever tower in solemn majesty above the drifting clouds, the mysterious sea ever sobs upon the shore, and the silent stars ever keep holy vigil above a tired world—but to mountain and sea and star men turn forever in unwearied homage. And thus was Lincoln. For he was mountain in grandeur of soul, he was sea in deep undervoice of sadness and mystery, he was star in steadfast purity of purpose and of service. And he abides. With the name of Lincoln tears are called from old men's eyes, and with the name of Lincoln childhood learns to lisp a patriot's devotion. And there is no new thing to be said of him—what need, for such as he. But while the Republic stands on whose altar he laid his great mind and heart, while liberty is cherished, while civic virtue and service and sacrifice are honored in the earth, the name of Lincoln will be spoken in undying love by the sons of men.

Address by Judge Learned Hand on Liberty and the Rights of Man, and Review of Published Papers and Addresses by Judge Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on Saturday night, January 29, the great American jurist, one of the modern giants of the law, the beloved Judge Learned Hand, of New York, received the annual human rights award of the American Jewish Committee. On that occasion, Judge Hand delivered a moving and compelling speech on the subject of liberty and the rights of man. I ask unanimous consent that his penetrating address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There has recently been compiled in a book the papers and addresses of Judge Hand, together with an introduction and notes by an eminent American journalist, Mr. Irving Dilliard. The title of the collection in its published form is "The Spirit of Liberty."

Recently there appeared in the noted British publication, The Economist, a review of this book. That review, written by a Mr. Hamish Hamilton, in itself makes fascinating reading, constituting, as it does a British recognition of the great contribution made by Judge Hand to the thought and literature of freedom.

I ask unanimous consent that the review entitled "A Great American Humanist," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, following the text of Judge Hand's speech before the American Jewish Committee.

There being no objection, the address and review were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FANFARE FOR PROMETHEUS

(Full text of address by Judge Learned Hand at the 48th annual meeting dinner of the American Jewish Committee, Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, Saturday night, January 29, 1955)

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I should have to be more than human, if I was not staggered by the terms in which your president announced to me that you proposed to single me out for this unique evidence of your regard. In what I have to say I shall not try to justify him; rather I am going to suggest that you join me in asking what we mean by those "principles of civil liberties and human rights," of which he credits me with being a votary. You will agree, will you not, that we cannot go far in that inquiry until we have achieved some notion of what we mean by liberty; and that has always proved a hard concept to define. The natural, though naive, opinion is that it means no more than that each individual shall be allowed to pursue his own desires without let or hindrance; and that, although it is true that this is practically impossible, still it does remain the goal, approach to which measures our success. Why then is not a beehive or an anthill a perfect example of a free society? Surely you have been a curious and amused watcher beside one of these. In and out of their crowded pueblo the denizens pass in great number, each bent upon his own urgent mission, quite oblivious of all the rest except as he must bend his path to avoid them. It is a scene of strenuous purposeful endeavor in which each appears to be, and no doubt in fact is, accomplishing his own purpose; and yet he is at the same time accomplishing the purpose of the group as a whole. As I have gazed at it, the sentence from the collect of the Episcopal prayerbook has come to me: "Whose service is perfect freedom."

Why is it then that we so positively rebel against the hive and the hill as a specimen of a free society? Why is it that such prototypes of totalitarianism arouse our deepest hostility? Unhappily it is not because they cannot be realized; or, at least, because they cannot be approached, for a substantial period. Who can be sure that such appalling forecasts as Aldous Huxley's Brave New World, or Orwell's 1984 are not prophetic? Indeed, there have often been near approaches to such an order. Germany, at the end of 1940, was probably not far removed from one; and who of us knows that there are not countless persons, today living within the boundaries of Russia, and perhaps of China, who are not willing partners, accepting as their personal aspirations the official definitions of the good, the true, and the beautiful? Indeed, there have been, and still are, in our own United States, large and powerful groups who, if we are to judge their purposes by their conduct, see treason in all dissidence, and would welcome an era in which all of us should think, feel, and live in consonance with duly prescribed patterns. Human nature is malleable, especially if you can indoctrinate the disciple with indefectible principles before anyone else reaches him. (I fancy that the Janissaries were as fervent Mohammedans as the authentic Turks.) Indeed, we hear from those who are entitled to an opinion that at times the abject confessions, made in Russia by victims who know that they are already marked for slaughter, are not wrung from them by torture or threats against their families. Rather they come from partisans, so obsessed with the faith that, when they are told that the occasion calls for scapegoats and that they have been selected, recognise and assent to the propriety of the demand and cooperate in its satisfaction. It is as though, when the right time comes, the drones agreed to their extinction in the interest of the hive.

Nor need we be surprised that men so often embrace almost any doctrines, if they are proclaimed with a voice of absolute assurance. In a universe that we do not understand, but with which we must in one way or another somehow manage to deal, and aware of the conflicting desires that clamorously beset us, between which we must choose and which we must therefore manage to weigh, we turn in our bewilderment to those who tell us that they have found a path out of the thickets, and possess the scales by which to appraise our needs. Over and over again such prophets succeed in converting us to unquestioning acceptance; there is scarcely a monstrous belief that has not had its day and its passionate adherents, so eager are we for safe footholds in our dubious course. How certain is any one of us that he too might not be content to follow any fantastic creed, if he was satisfied that nothing would ever wake him from the dream? And, indeed, if there were nothing to wake him, how should he distinguish its articles from the authentic dictates of verity? Remember, too, that it is by no means clear that we are happier in the faith we do profess than we should be under the spell of an orthodoxy that was safe against all heresy. Cruel and savage as orthodoxies have always proved to be, the faithful seem able to convince themselves that the heretics, as they continue to crop up, get nothing worse than their due, and to rest with an easy conscience.

In any event my thesis is that the best answer to such systems is not so much in their immoral quality—immoral though they be—as in the fact that they are inherently unstable, because they are at war with our only trustworthy way of living in accord with the facts. For I submit that it is only by trial and error, by insistent scrutiny, and by readiness to reexamine presently accredited conclusions that we have risen, so far as in fact we have risen, from our brutish ancestors; and I believe that in our loyalty to these habits lies our only chance, not merely of progress, but even of survival. They were not indeed a part of our aboriginal endowment: Man, as he emerged, was not prodigally equipped to master the infinite diversity of his environment. Obviously, enough of us did manage to get through; but it has been a statistical survival, for the individual's native powers of adjustment are by no means enough for his personal safety, any more than are those of other creatures. The precipitate of our experience is far from absolute verity; and our exasperated resentment at all dissent is a sure index of our doubts. Take, for instance, our constant recourse to the word "subversive" as a touchstone of impermissible deviation from accepted canons.

All discussion, all debate, all dissidence tends to question, and in consequence to upset, existing convictions; that is precisely its purpose and its justification. He is, indeed, a "subversive" who disputes those precepts that I most treasure and seeks to persuade me to substitute his own. He may have no shadow of desire to resort to anything but persuasion; he may be of those to whom any forcible sanction of conformity is anathema; yet it remains true that he is trying to bring about my apostasy, and I hate him just in proportion as I fear his success. Contrast this protective resentment with the assumption that lies at the base of our whole system that the best chance for truth to emerge is a fair field for all ideas. Nothing, I submit, more completely betrays our latent disloyalty to this premise to all that we pretend to believe, than the increasingly common resort to this and other question-begging words. Their imprecision comforts us by enabling us to suppress arguments that disturb our complacency, and yet to continue to congratulate ourselves on keeping the faith as we have received it from the Founding Fathers.

Heretics have been hateful from the beginning of recorded time; they have been ostracized, exiled, tortured, maimed, and butchered; but it has generally proved impossible to smother them; and when it has not, the society that has succeeded has always declined. Facades of authority, however imposing, do not survive after it has appeared that they rest upon the sands of human conjecture and compromise. And so, if I am to say what are "the principles of civil liberties and human rights," I answer that they lie in habits, customs—conventions, if you will—that tolerate dissent, and can live without irrefragible certainties; that are ready to overhaul existing assumptions; that recognize that we never see save through a glass, darkly; and that at long last we shall succeed only so far as we continue to undertake "the intolerable labor of thought"—that most distasteful of all our activities. If such a habit and such a temper pervade a society, it will not need institutions to protect its civil liberties and human rights; so far as they do not, I venture to doubt how far anything else can protect them, whether it be bills of rights, or courts that must in the name of interpretation read their meaning into them.

This may seem to you a bleak and cheerless conclusion, too alien to our nature to be practical. "We must live from day to day"—you will say—"to live is to act, and to act is to choose and decide. How can we carry on at all without some principles, some patterns to meet the conflicts in which each day involves us?" Indeed, we cannot, nor am I suggesting that we should try; but I am suggesting that it makes a vital difference—the vital difference—whether we deem our principles and our patterns to be eternal verities, rather than the best postulates so far attainable. Was it not Holmes who said: "The highest courage is to stake everything on a premise that you know tomorrow's evidence may disprove?" "Ah"—you will reply—"there's the rub. That may be the highest courage, but how many have it? You are hopelessly wrong, if you assume the general prevalence of such a virtue; ordinary men must be given more than conjectures, if they are to face grave dangers." But do you really believe that? Do you not see about you every day and everywhere the precise opposite? Not alone on the battlefield; but in the forest, the desert and the plain; in the mountains, at sea, on the playing field, even in the laboratory and the factory, yes (do not laugh) at the card table and the racetrack, men are forever putting it "upon the touch to win or lose it all." Without some smack of uncertainty and danger, to most of us the world would be a tepid, pallid show. Surely, like me, you have all felt something of this, when you have looked on those pathetic attempts to depict in paint or stone the delights of Paradise. I own that the torments of Hell never fail to horrify me; not even the glee of the demons in charge is an adequate relief, though the artist has generally been successful in giving a veracious impression of the gusto with which they discharge their duties. But when I turn to the Congregation of the Blessed, I cannot avoid a sense of anticlimax; strive as I may, the social atmosphere seems a bit forced; and I recall those very irreverent verses of Lowes Dickinson:

"Burning at first no doubt would be worse,
But time the impression would soften,
While those who are bored with praising the Lord,
Would be more bored with praising him often."

By some happy fortuity man is a projector, a designer, a builder, a craftsman; it is among his most dependable joys to impose upon the flux that passes before him some mark of himself, aware though he always must be of the odds against him. His reward is not so much in the work as in its making; not so much in the prize as in the race. We may win when we lose, if we have done what we can; for by so doing we have made real at least some part of that finished product in whose fabrication we are most concerned—ourselves. And if at the end some friendly critic shall pass by and say: "My friend, how good a job do you really think you have made of it all?", we can answer: "I know as well as you that it is not of high quality; but I did put into it whatever I had, and that was the game I started out to play." It is still in the lap of the gods whether a society can succeed, based on civil liberties and human rights, conceived as I have tried to describe them; but of one thing at least we may be sure: the alternatives that have so far appeared, have been immeasurably worse; and so, whatever the outcome, I submit to you that we must press along. Borrowing from Epictetus, let us say to ourselves: "Since we are men, we will play the part of a man"; and how can I better end than by recalling to you the concluding passage of Prometheus Unbound?

"To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory."

[From the Economist of January 22, 1955]

A GREAT AMERICAN HUMANIST

Certain clichés used by the English in thinking about Americans are so widespread that they can virtually be called the settled English view of the American people. One such is the conviction that the mass mind has reached a further stage of development in the United States than anywhere else. The country par excellence of the common man has such standardized interests, amusements, activities, prejudices and fears that if you know one, you know them all. Moreover, the type that is produced is not, culturally, of a very high order. Technology and gadgets have swallowed up the higher things of life and the result, to quote the best loved cliché of all, is a society which has passed from barbarism to decadence without any intervening phase of civilization. Naturally, these prejudices were triumphantly confirmed during the McCarthy era when the junior Senator from Wisconsin not only appeared to be a symbol of barbarism or decadence (or both) but excluded most other Americans from the world's attention.

It is a pity that those who repeat the catchphrases most confidently are least likely to read the collection of papers and addresses of that great American jurist, Judge Learned Hand, now published together under the title of "The Spirit of Liberty." There they would find a personality, a style, and a view of life as far removed from the common, trivial, and the undercivilized mass mind as it is conceivable for a man to be. It is not simply a matter of urbanity and wit—as lively and on occasion as irreverent in his ninth decade as in this third—although the direction of that wit, toward modesty and self-depreciation, against pomposity and platitude, is in itself an essential element in the wise philosophy of Learned Hand. The contradiction to the great clichés about America lies above all in the passionate concern for the freedom, the untrammeled idiosyncrasy of each individual mind that pervades virtually every page of this book. Judge Learned Hand seeks freedom in the ultimate sense of each man being free to discover his own nature and to develop himself not as a unit in mass society but as an unpredictable, unjudgeable, unclassifiable human being who is known only to himself and can be

measured only by himself. Now this kind of liberty demands the utmost forbearance from everyone, for among man's dearest occupations is undoubtedly that of "making friends and influencing people"—attempting to mold others in his own image, squeezing neighbors into the social conformity of mass reactions and mass ideas. Yet while this process may give comfort, it does not give freedom. As Judge Learned Hand suggests:

"The spirit of liberty is the spirit that is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near 2,000 years ago, taught mankind that lesson that it has never learnt but never quite forgotten: that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest."

As these words suggest, freedom is not, however, the unfettered pursuit of individual preference. The freedom Judge Hand prizes is far from the freedom to concentrate solely on trivial pursuits or material success. "There is no democracy in human values, however each may cry for an equal vote. It is the business of the soul to impose her own order upon the clamorous rout." His own dedication is to such supposedly un-American activities as the arts, philosophy, the study of history, the cult of the curious mind, the practice of great moral fealties. But these things are not worth much unless the individual soul comes to them of herself "to establish a hierarchy appropriate to the demands of her own nature." It is the second-hand, the glibly accepted, the mass-conditioned that is the enemy of freedom. Men must be themselves or they will not be free.

It is not surprising that such a vision of liberty—so far removed from the accepted notion of America's uniform thought and conditioned social behavior—has consequences far beyond the personal sphere. Since its realization is inconceivable save in a tolerant—and decent—society, Judge Hand's voice has been raised probably more eloquently than any other in the free world to denounce the evils of the McCarthyism—evils which occur certainly not only in America but in any society where the doctrinaire and the ideologue are ready to beat in the heads of those who will not be their brothers. It is not only to Americans that these words might be addressed.

"Risk for risk, for myself I would rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry. I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy * * * where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent, where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists, to win or lose."

This is the great tradition of western civilization, but in a stream of thought which western civilization has often lacked, to its appalling cost. The skeptical Erasmus, the tolerant Montaigne, the magnanimous Lincoln, each working against the grain of hard intolerance in his own age, come to mind in the reading of Judge Hand's papers, and it is to this select company of wise and charitable men that his contemporaries will assign him. As for the clichémongers, they can at least reflect that the society which produced McCarthy has also formed, advanced, and honored the most eloquent exponent of liberty and tolerance living in our day.

FHA Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the House Banking and Currency Committee started hearings on February 9, 1955, on a request from the administration to increase by $1½ billion the FHA authorization with which to insure loans for dwellings and dwelling improvements.

The following open letter to our President is, indeed, apropos. It appeared in the January 1955 issue of House and Home Magazine.

One need not agree with all that is said there to conclude that serious problems in housing are crying for solution.

[From House and Home of January 1955]

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON BEHALF OF THE HOME-BUILDING INDUSTRY

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Now that the election is over, we urge, advise, and entreat you to find out for yourself what today's true situation is in housing and the housing agencies—what needs to be done, what needs to be stopped. And why.

Your present easy money policies are booming homebuilding as never before, so concern for our industry's profits today is no part of the reason we urge you to take a closer look at what has been or is being done with your implied approval.

We just think you would be surprised and troubled by what that closer look would show you.

We think you would be troubled by the many unfairnesses manifest in both FHA investigations, troubled by the half-truths, and even bold untruths given official utterance, troubled by the politics that are being played, troubled by the general confusion in housing that is now hidden behind the easy money boom, troubled by the way this confusion and lack of direction is now frustrating the program you had previously endorsed for housing progress.

And we think it is high time someone spoke up honestly and clearly in defense of our industry and helped you find out what is going on.

Nobody doubts even for an instant your own high purposes in housing as in every other field, but you deserve and need better advice on housing than you have been getting these past 9 months.

Little of this advice has been constructive. Much has been bad, and some has been dangerous for your administration.

Some of this bad advice must have come from men who are themselves uninformed on housing and do not understand the very complex partnership of Government and business through FHA that changed homebuilding from a backward handicraft to a dynamic industry and made it a mainstay of national prosperity—all at no cost to the taxpayers.

But most of the bad advice must have come from men whose primary interest in housing is political rather than social and economic—advisers who care less about helping you find better solutions for our many remaining housing problems than they care about shouting up an old scandal for partisan advantage.

We endorse and support your basic concept of government by delegating responsibility to able lieutenants and then relying on their guidance.

We only wish you would put your faith in just such strong and well-informed lieutenants in the field of housing, too.

Your administration got off to a wonderful start in housing because you picked your first housing advisers from the outstanding leaders of our industry—architects, builders, lenders, realtors, suppliers, and spokesmen for the public-interest groups most deeply concerned with better homes. These men helped you develop a fine new middle-of-the-road program of housing progress and reform—a program to save the taxpayers billions of dollars, a program to bring housing policy back in line with changing housing needs, a program to raise housing standards and build more quality homes, a program to reverse the spread of blight.

Who persuaded you to turn away from these informed counselors?

In difficult times like this it is worse than confusing not to know who is calling the signals.

Who were the men from other departments and agencies who moved in on housing last April? Who forced the hand of the Administrator to whom titular authority for housing had been given? Who were the members of your fateful five-man housing committee? Is this committee still in charge?

No doubt these new advisers told you they were driving out corruption, restoring faith in the Government services, cleaning up abuses, and enforcing long-needed moral reforms.

But if you wish to get at the truth quickly, you might do well to insist on a straight answer to these four questions:

Question No. 1: Has the FHA purge raised the standard of public service as you hoped?

You will find the answer is "No." The purge has driven more good men than bad out of FHA, eliminated more livewires than deadwood. The headline-hunting methods used to expose a few malefactors have so discredited, dishonored, and demoralized the agency that able and devoted public servants are quitting faster than FHA can replace them. You were fortunate, indeed, that Norman Mason was willing to accept the post of FHA Commissioner under such difficult circumstances, but did you know that for 8 months he has found it impossible to get a good permanent man to fill even the No. 1 job on his staff? Too few people realize the enormous handicaps under which he is trying to rebuild the FHA organization and restore its morale.

Question No. 2: Has the attack on FHA won the respect of men who know?

Once again the answer is "No." In all the housing industry there is hardly a leader who does not believe the purge is more political than moral. It was not a Democrat but the Republican president of a big New York bank who explained angrily that FHA was the best of all the New Deal agencies, so the Republicans felt they had to do something to discredit it.

Everyone agrees that corruption must be rooted out of Government and malefactors must be brought to justice. But no one familiar with the great public service FHA performed over 20 years in raising housing standards and enabling millions of families to buy better homes will believe it was necessary to shame its entire staff to expose a few men who had fallen for temptation.

Question No. 3: Are the probes and purges furthering your own housing program?

Once again the answer is "No." Only the most debatable feature of the new housing law is really working—the extreme liberalization of insured and guaranteed mortgage credit put into effect at the peak of a building boom. The more constructive ideas and reforms you sponsored are being largely nullified, partly by some of the mistaken restrictions tacked onto your program as a result of the scandal headlines, partly because Congress declined to let FHA spend

enough of its own income to handle its new assignments, partly because the purges have so terrorized the agency around which your housing program was built, that it is afraid to assume responsibility.

Question No. 4: Has the probe brought a salutary reform in the use of Federal mortgage credit?

Once again the answer is "No." Your partisans have noisily locked the door through which 608 builders mortgaged out 6 years ago,[1] but what if anything did they do to halt equally questionable happenings in 1954—happenings which are worrying every responsible leader of our industry?

Today the housing shortage which may have justified section 608 is long past; yet your administration is now guaranteeing not 90 percent but 100 percent loans on houses selling for nearly twice the 608 limit. How can this fail to inflate prices and focus buyer interest on easy terms rather than quality and longtime value? What greater temptation could be offered to take a big profit out of the mortgage money? Why do you think as much as $300 is being bid to induce veterans to buy a $12,900 house for nothing down?

We realize that you are already carrying tremendous responsibilities at home and abroad, responsibilities for war and peace, responsibilities for world trade and world prosperity. We realize that you must delegate many decisions, and so we hesitate to ask your special attention to the problems of our industry.

But here are four more reasons why we believe homebuilding should have your careful consideration at this time:

1. Homebuilding is far too important to be left a political football: There is no other industry so dynamic, no other industry that can do as much to sustain the prosperity which is so essential to the success of your administration. There is no other industry which touches so closely the lives of so many millions of families, no other industry whose full production is so necessary if we are to raise our American standard of living.

2. There is no industry in which the Federal Government is so deeply involved, except perhaps, agriculture: Twenty-two years ago Fortune called housing the industry capitalism forgot, a disgrace to our free-enterprise economy. The partnership with Government first proposed by President Hoover and realized under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman has brought the industrial revolution to homebuilding and raised housing standards from coast to coast.

3. Your party has walked into a dangerous political position in housing:

The Republicans have lost control of the Senate and House investigating committees—the sounding board for scandal that Walter Lippmann called the biggest prize at stake in last November's election. You could have real trouble if the Democrats decide it is their turn to make political hay of what your administration let happen in home finance in 1954.

Until the muckraking started last spring Republicans and Democrats had worked together for 20 years on a bipartisan housing program, and even last summer the Democrats gave you good support on the Housing Act which could have been—and still can be made—one of the outstanding legislative achievements of your administration. After what has happened in the past 9 months no one less than yourself can hope to reestablish that bipartisan collaboration in housing before it is too late.

4. There is still a tremendous need of constructive leadership in housing. Here are just a few of the major problems within homebuilding which merit your personal attention:

How to get politics out of FHA and FHA permanently out of politics, just as everyone agrees the Federal Reserve should be kept out of politics.

How to reduce the Government's vast contingent liability for mortgages.

How to reconcile the needless conflict between conventional and insured lending so that each can make its best contribution to help all Americans have better homes. Would the English plan of insuring only the risk portion of the loan be better as well as cheaper than our system of charging too low a premium on the risk portion and too high a premium on the balance?

How to help the FHA Commissioner in his single-handed crusade to modernize his agency's appraisal attitudes and find a better solution to the problem of standards.

How to bring enough more money into the mortgage market to make the new Housing Act work.

How to reconcile the FHA and VA lending programs and stop VA abuses.

For these and many other constructive steps your interest and guidance are urgently needed.

[1] This magazine is no apologist for everything that went on under sec. 608. Five years ago this month we called it a program of public risk for private profit and explained in detail how a builder of reasonable acumen could take up to 12 percent cash out of his Government-insured loan. Except for filling in some names, all the recent headlines have revealed very little that Senator CAPEHART could not have read in Architectural Forum for January 1950. For that matter, they have revealed little that Senator LONG did not warn the Senate to expect when he vainly urged the Senate to provide safeguards against mortgaging out back in 1948.

But sec. 608 was always recognized as an emergency measure to meet an explosive war-born shortage of rental housing for returning veterans; furthermore, the 608 program included a price ceiling of $8,100 per unit and at least in theory set a loan ceiling of 90 percent of estimated cost.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Federal Fine Arts Center in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, one of the most effective weapons being used by the Russians in the cold war they are conducting against the United States, of which the palace revolution resulting in the overthrow of Malenkov is but an incident, is their cultural offensive which pictures us as a nation of materialistic barbarians. The U. S. S. R. is spending hundreds of millions of dollars a year on this drive alone and has done so for a long time.

Former Congressman Jacob K. Javits made the telling point before a special subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee in June 1954, that if "we do not want to fight the Russians with the atom bomb, then we have got to defeat their efforts to have communism take over the world with two other weapons—economic and cultural. We are not doing nearly what we should on the economic field, and many of us are working on that, but in the cultural field we have not even touched it."

Under the able chairmanship of the gentleman from Louisiana, JAMES H. MORRISON, a special subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives, has begun hearings on several bills which would advance the cultural status of the Nation's Capital vis-a-vis other world capitals creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center.

Bills on the subject which are identical, similar, or related have been introduced by the gentleman from Louisiana, JAMES H. MORRISON; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, CARROLL D. KEARNS; the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from New Jersey, FRANK THOMPSON, JR.; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, GEORGE M. RHODES; the gentleman from Minnesota, ROY W. WIER; the gentleman from Connecticut, ALBERT P. MORANO; the gentleman from Minnesota, JOHN A. BLATNIK; the gentleman from New York, ADAM C. POWELL, JR.; the gentleman from Arkansas, OREN HARRIS; the gentleman from New Hampshire, CHESTER E. MERROW; the gentleman from New Jersey, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.; and myself.

One of the most telling statements in support of these bills was presented on behalf of the Congress of Industrial Organizations by former Congressman Thomas A. Burke, of Ohio, presently chief of congressional liaison for the CIO. Mr. Burke pointed out that ours is the only great nation of the world today which is not actively subsidizing the fine arts at home. This is somewhat ironic, he goes on to say, since, for many years we have been actively subsidizing the fine arts abroad, and he gives several examples of this. This statement is also included here.

This presentation of the concrete steps that are being taken to give the lie to the expensive propaganda efforts of the U. S. S. R. would not be complete without mention of the President's special fund for United States cultural representation abroad, a report on which was submitted to the Congress on January 12, 1955, by Dr. J. L. Morrill, Chairman, United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange of the Department of State. An excerpt from the report—House Document No. 67, 84th Congress, 1st session—is included here also:

STATEMENT OF THOMAS H. BURKE, CHIEF OF CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON, CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BEFORE THE HOUSE DISTRICT COMMITTEE, IN SUPPORT OF BILLS CREATING A FEDERAL COMMISSION TO FORMULATE PLANS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A FINE ARTS CENTER IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1955

The CIO is delighted once again to appear in support of the proposal before this committee in H. R. 1825, introduced by Representative MORRISON, Democrat, of Louisiana, and in identical measures sponsored by Representatives BLATNIK, Democrat, of Minnesota; CELLER, Democrat, of New York; METCALF, Democrat, of Montana; MORANO, Republican, of Connecticut; RHODES, Democrat, of Pennsylvania; THOMPSON, Democrat, of New Jersey, and WIER, Democrat, of Minnesota.

Our support for this legislation is not new. We have testified before previous Congresses in support of similar proposals, and, I might add, in support of measures which would go far beyond the action proposed in this pending legislation in support of a Federal program of aid to the fine arts.

Therefore, today we not only give our wholehearted support to this matter, but would urge upon this committee that it is a step long overdue. We would also like the record to show that, while we give our unqualified support to H. R. 1825 as far as it goes, we are convinced that a much broader program of Federal activities in the field of the fine arts is needed. This statement is made, of course, with the full realization that this broader program is not properly the responsibility of this committee, or properly within the scope of the legislation it is considering.

The present measure, which would create a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the Nation's Capital of a civic auditorium with connected facilities making it a center for music and the fine arts, is a logical first step toward helping to overcome a serious cultural lag. This deficiency today is proving to be a serious handicap to this country as it competes with the Soviet Union in the cold war.

Ours is the only great Nation of the world which is not actively subsidizing the fine arts at home. This is somewhat ironic. We have for many years been actively subsidizing the fine arts abroad. For example, quoting from the hearings on Federal Grants for Fine Arts Programs before the House Labor Subcommittee last June, page 111, Curt Schiffeler, president of the National Opera Guild of Washington, D. C., said:

"We are particularly interested in the creation of an opera house or art center and we sincerely hope that during the next Congress, we are able to get sufficient funds from Congress to begin the building of such an edifice, so sadly needed in our Capital. It seems almost wicked, when in the past few years we have spent some of our Marshall-plan money in rebuilding and rejuvenating six opera houses in Europe and here in our city, which is the most dynamic Capital in the world, today, we are lacking such a cultural facility."

In the same hearings, page 113, George Szell, conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra, is quoted with regard to the financial assistance which our country was giving to the Berliner Philharmonic Building, as follows:

"Surely if the money of United States taxpayers is being used to rebuild the home of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, there cannot be any valid argument against this kind of money being used to help and support our own organizations."

While we have been rendering such assistance abroad, the fine arts in this country have clearly suffered. Since the current cold war is in large part a struggle for men's minds, the Soviet Union has throughout this period won a decided advantage from the deficiency of our fine arts program. Even as I am speaking, Russian artists and entertainers traveling abroad under large subsidies from their government are picturing the United States as a Nation of barbarians. At the same time the Soviet Union is sending the best of its ballet troupes and other artists abroad to picture Russia as the artist's dream of a Garden of Eden.

President Eisenhower has underscored the importance of stepping up our fine-arts program in his state of the Union message. On the more practical level of day-to-day government, Judge Learned Hand has emphasized that "An education which includes the humanities is essential to political wisdom."

As an organization which represents the working men and women of America, the CIO knows that the people of the United States have a deep and sincere appreciation of music, art, literature, and other cultural activities. We have constantly supported all efforts on a local level to maintain city art museums and civic operas, orchestras, and dramatic groups. To us it seems a national disgrace that the richest and one of the most culturally articulate nations of the world has not yet provided a national opera house and fine arts center in the Nation's Capital.

We know, however, the forces of narrow self-interest which have blocked all efforts to build such a center in the past. Former President Truman, in a speech reported in

the Washington Evening Star of September 26, 1952, named these lobbyists against such legislation. According to the Star:

"In urging an auditorium and opera house, Mr. Truman recalled that as a Senator he had twice helped to push through the Senate legislation providing such a building. But he said the bills had been 'murdered in the House' by the efforts of lobbyists acting for cities around Washington. 'They didn't appreciate the fact that Washington was to be the capital of the world,' the President said. He said he had seen showplaces in Mexico City, Paris, and Rio de Janeiro, and he remarked: 'There isn't a reason in the world why Washington shouldn't have a place where the greatest symphony in the world can play for the public.'"

In January of 1953 when President Eisenhower was inaugurated, the people of our Capital city suffered the humiliation of not being able to hold the Inaugural Ball in a proper manner. Because there was no auditorium adequate to the needs of the occasion, three separate buildings had to be used. Commenting upon the lack of facilities, Richard L. Coe, drama critic of the Washington Post and Times Herald, said in his column of January 21, 1953:

"These things could be handled in the municipal buildings, such as those possessed by San Francisco or St. Louis, or the National War Memorial Theater and Opera House, envisioned by Representatives Howell and Kearns. But future snafus are inevitable so long as the Capital of the Western World lacks the proper facilities."

The need for such a center is clear. It is equally clear that the need is not only that of the city of Washington, but it is a need of the Nation as a whole. The people of the United States are entitled to a national center for the fine arts in Washington. They will not permit the narrow, selfish interests of a few nearby chambers of commerce to deny the Nation this birthright. We urge immediate adoption of H. R. 1825.

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE,
January 12, 1955.

The Honorable SAM RAYBURN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SIR: The United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange submits herewith its 13th semiannual report on the educational exchange activities conducted under the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Public Law 402, 80th Cong.) from July 1 to December 31, 1954.

This report fulfills the requirements of section 603 of the above-mentioned act, which states that this statutory Commission shall transmit "to the Congress a semiannual report of all programs and activities carried on under authority of this act, including appraisals, where feasible, as to the effectiveness of the programs and such recommendations as shall have been made * * * to the Secretary of State for effectuating the purposes and objectives of this act and the action taken to carry out such recommendations."

The membership of this Commission is as follows:

J. L. Morrill, Chairman.
Arthur H. Edens, Vice Chairman.
Rufus H. Fitzgerald, member.
Arthur A. Hauck, member.
Anna L. Rose Hawkes, member.

A duplicate copy of this report is being furnished to the Senate.

Very truly yours,

J. L. MORRILL,
Chairman, United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange.

(Enclosure: Advisory Commission's 13th Semiannual Report to the Congress.)

III. THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL FUND FOR UNITED STATES CULTURAL REPRESENTATION ABROAD

At its meeting, on October 4, 1954, the Department informed the Commission of the special $5 million fund which had recently been appropriated by the Congress at the request of the President for his use to meet unusual circumstances arising in the international field. This fund is to be used (1) to increase United States participation, mostly through private industry in international trade fairs, and (2) to encourage outstanding American cultural and artistic groups to visit abroad.

The President has appointed the Secretary of State to Chair a Cabinet committee to assist him in making effective use of this fund in spreading world knowledge of American progress in the performing arts through the democratic system of free enterprise. The President designated Mr. Theodore A. Streibert, Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA), as executive agent of this Committee.

Two subcommittees, one under the chairmanship of the Under Secretary of Commerce and the other under the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, have been appointed to provide general supervision and policy guidance over the two aspects of this special fund. The Department of Commerce Subcommittee is concerned exclusively with the participation by the United States in international trade fairs abroad. The Department of State Subcommittee, which is made up of representatives of USIA, the Bureau of the Budget, Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), Operations Coordinating Board (OCB), and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in addition to those from the State Department, is concerned with the cultural presentation abroad.

The Department of State is concerned with cultural presentations abroad of American performing artists, and the International Educational Exchange Service has been designated as the element of the Government responsible for the actual administration of this part of the program.

The International Educational Exchange Service presented to the Commission its detailed plans for administering the portion of the program concerned with cultural presentations abroad for review and comments. Attention was called to the proposed operating principles, developed by the Department of State and approved by the interagency subcommittee to provide guidance in the administration of this program. Briefly, these basic operating principles provide that—

1. To the maximum extent possible, all details should be conducted through private channels. Similarly, all domestic aspects of the program should be handled by private, nonprofit organizations under contract to the Department.

2. Priority will be given to professional and amateur presentations of dramatic productions, musical comedies, operas, ballet productions, concert groups and individual singers, dancers and concert artists, and sports groups.

3. Financial assistance will be given only to performances abroad by such American individuals or groups as are generally recognized to be of the highest distinction in their fields.

4. The selection of individuals and groups to be assisted should be determined in consultation with groups of private citizens who are generally recognized by the public as authoritative in the appropriate field.

5. Funds be used principally for the purpose of underwriting the cost of a free flow of certain professional and amateur performances through normal commercial channels to regular paying audiences by providing international transportation and by insuring the performers against potential losses, and to extend the travel of performers into areas not usually considered commercially feasible but which could fill a need for making an effective cultural impact upon selected local communities.

6. Only projects of urgency in priority fields and areas, as indicated by comments, reports, or requests from Foreign Service posts be considered for support.

7. Appropriate consideration should be given, especially in the fields of drama and music to the presentation by American performers of works by American writers and composers, and that normally assistance be given only to individuals and groups of American citizenship.

8. Appropriate clearances be obtained in connection with public relations and security problems involved in selecting individuals to participate in this program.

In accordance with the provisions of the Department's policy, as set forth above, the American National Theater Academy (ANTA), a recognized private agency with competence in this field, was selected as the contracting agency to assist the Department in carrying out this project. A contract has been signed with ANTA, which has set up three panels (music, theater, and the ballet), composed of the most eminent and competent people in those professions, to advise ANTA, as an agent, in determining what artistic productions have the merit necessary to meet the President's requirement standards.

The Commission expressed its approval of this expanded program in international cultural exchanges and commended the Department of State for its proposed general administration of such a program through the auspices of a nongovernmental organization.

The Commission, moreover, unanimously approved a proposal, formulated by the Department, to be submitted to a leading private foundation for larger and continuing support of this program, supplementing governmental assistance.

Paying for the Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald dated January 29, 1955:

PAYING FOR THE MAIL

Postmaster General Summerfield has made a better case for raising the first-class postage rate than President Eisenhower did in his recent message. Mr. Summerfield points to a virtual doubling of postal costs since the 3-cent letter rate was established 22 years ago. Overdue wage increases recommended to Congress will add to the estimated $324 million postal deficit for 1955 unless they are offset by rate increases. A new first-class rate of 4 cents for the first ounce and 3 cents for each additional ounce would bring in an estimated $237 million more, and well warranted increases in second- and third-class rates would further reduce the deficit.

Recently this newspaper raised a question about whether first-class mail was not actually paying its way. The answer is that although first-class service under present rates has not incurred an out-of-pocket deficit, it fails to carry its fair share of postal costs. First-class mail in 1954 accounted for 51.9 percent of the total pieces handled (and

with expedited service) but brought in only 39.3 percent of total revenue. In 1954 the cost of handling the average piece of first-class mail was 3.12 cents, as contrasted with 1.89 cents in 1932. The absence of an actual deficit at the 3-cent rate is explained by the fact that some pieces carry more than minimum postage.

With costs continuing to increase, obviously an adjustment is necessary. At 4 cents the letter rate still will be a bargain. Apparently the same factors of cost, however, rule out hopes for restoration of two-a-day residential delivery. It is doubtful whether this concession to convenience would justify the $80 million annual expense while the general postal deficit remains.

What is to be hoped is that Congress will take a constructive and nonpolitical view of the need to raise postal rates. The American people are adult enough to understand that their lawmakers only kid them by keeping postal rates artificially low and making up the difference through taxation. Congress could spare itself the embarrassment of these periodic haggles by accompanying the increases with authorization for a permanent independent commission to decide on future rates.

Federal School Aid Limited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following column by Doris Fleeson entitled "Federal School Aid Limited," which appeared in yesterday's Washington Evening Star:

FEDERAL SCHOOL AID LIMITED—PROGRAM ASKS MILLIONS, BUT BILLIONS ARE NEEDED; CAN PRESIDENT SEE ITS EMERGENCY PROPORTIONS?

(By Doris Fleeson)

President Eisenhower's school aid program does not represent a serious attempt to deal with the national emergency in education.

It is little more than a letter of condolence to the localities and school authorities which are struggling against an enormous and growing shortage of classrooms.

The President's own Commissioner of Education, Samuel Brownell, has placed the current need at 370,000 classrooms. Federal cost estimates indicate that the job well done would cost more than $12 billion.

The President has suggested only $200 million in direct aid for 3 years, which is about $65 million a year. Even if all went well and exactly as planned, it would build only a few thousand of the missing classrooms.

School authorities are equally skeptical about the proposed plans to help school districts and States. Twenty States are said to have constitutional debt limits which will prevent any new borrowing. In both Maine and Wisconsin, the courts have declared school construction authorities unconstitutional.

The school experts say also that it would be at least a year before any results would show from the Eisenhower plan. Meanwhile, school enrollment is going up at a rate of more than a million a year. This year it is 30.8 million—up 22 percent over 1950.

The President's philosophical approach provokes as much gloom in school circles as his practical suggestions. As they see it, he has dealt with what they regard as the gravest internal crisis in this democracy in the spirit of a Lady Bountiful who restricts her gifts to the worthy poor.

The reference is to the President's ban on outright grants except to communities too poor to build their own schools. There will be no States and few communities willing to take the pauper's oath on this or any other proposition. Actually, many of the wealthiest States which spend proportionately the largest share of their revenues on education are among the most hard-pressed.

The idea that some parts of this country should publicly admit to their poverty and throw themselves on the mercy of richer States or the Federal Government seems to have appeal in many quarters. It emerges regularly at the annual conference of the State Governors and as regularly the overwhelming majority of the Governors turn the cold shoulder.

This quarrel is basic. The original architects of the welfare state—most of which the President has accepted, at least, in theory—believe in prompt and ample Federal action to meet national social emergencies like that confronting the schools. From their point of view the President's approach in the new message looks back—way back.

Perhaps one trouble with the present special school problem is that Washington draws to it for the most part the successful, the well-to-do, and the more mature citizens. Their children are not victims of the present cruel classroom shortage and, as a French philosopher said, one bears with equanimity the misfortunes of others.

Reciprocal Trade and Residual Oil Shipments to the United States and Canada

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following resolution adopted by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen at their quadrennial convention in Miami Beach, Fla., September 22, 1954, on the subject of Reciprocal Trade and Residual Oil Shipments to the United States and Canada:

Whereas the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has long been on record favoring such international trade relationships as are mutually advantageous; and

We are firmly committed to that approach toward international trade which strengthens the ties binding friendly nations, seeking thereby to promote the common defense against antidemocratic forces; and

We recognize the need of the United States and Canada for many raw materials and certain finished goods to maintain our industries and promote our standards of living; yet

We note the existence of a situation that does none of these things, namely, the movement to our shores of residual oil, which is shipped to us by certain large oil corporations at large profit to them; and

This is done because residual oil is a surplus commodity in these foreign countries where its production is by underpaid workers, a product of cheap labor whose uneconomic production costs make it possible for residual oil to displace coal produced in the United States and Canada by union labor paid a living wage and moved by union railroad labor from the mines to the centers of industry; and

This situation has made many thousands of workers both in mines and on the railroads unemployed at times when other jobs are not available; and

This is a national disaster: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, That this convention deplores the shipment of residual oil under these conditions, and seeks its removal from reciprocal trade agreements. To this end, a copy of this resolution shall be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretaries of State, Commerce, and Labor, both Houses of Congress for transmission to their appropriate committees, and to the Prime Minister of Canada, the Minister of Trade and Commerce of Canada, and to the President of the United Mine Workers of America.

The Folly of Low Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to H. R. 1, a bill designed to open the American market further to products made by cheap foreign labor.

Mr. Speaker, in order to maintain prosperity on our farms and in our factories and to maintain our standard of living, which is at once both the pride and the envy of the world, we must maintain reasonable tariffs to protect our industries and our workers from the competition of cheap foreign labor. I am as convinced of this as I am that to open our markets to a flood of low-cost foreign goods spells economic disaster to our Nation.

This deep-seated conviction of mine was not reached hastily. It is not the result of theoretical reasoning. Nor is it based on some nebulous economic hypothesis. It is the conclusion of experience.

If there were only one lesson which history had taught us since the founding of the Republic, it would be this—that tariff protection has brought us prosperity and that low tariffs have always left economic disaster in their wake.

Mr. Speaker, let us consider for a few moments the history of our Nation. Let us see how the raising and lowering of our tariffs over the years has had its impact on the economy and prosperity of the country. Let us listen with an attentive ear to what the great men of another generation, Democrat and Republican alike, have had to say concerning this historic issue.

After the war with England and the ratification of the treaty of Ghent, President Madison sent a special message to Congress in which he cautioned against destroying our commerce in the framing of a new tariff law. He urged consideration for our industrial enterprises, and had his Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander J. Dallas, make an estimate of

what amount of reduction would be safe. He made it plain that the protective feature of our tariff system was to be cautiously preserved. Contrary to his recommendations, the duties contained in the new tariff law were low and the economic progress of the infant Republic was checked.

Let me offer the testimony of a great Democrat. In the third volume of his History of the American Republic, Woodrow Wilson says on this early phase of a low-tariff policy:

It was manifestly injurious to every young industry that a flood of English imports should continue to pour into the country at the open ports. The remedy was a protective tariff.

Commenting on the results of the Tariff Act of 1816, Senator Tom H. Benton, of Missouri, a southern Democrat, declared:

No price for property, no sales except those of the sheriff and the marshall; no employment for industry; no demand for labor; no sale for the products of the farmer. Distress was the universal cry of the people.

In similar vein, Henry Clay had this to say:

If one desires to find the 7 years of greatest adversity in this country since the adoption of the Constitution, let him examine the 7 years before 1824.

Even Thomas Jefferson, living in retirment at Monticello, wrote to Silliam Simpson and spoke of the grave danger of tariff duties so low that British merchants could override them.

What was done following the period of distress caused by the low Tariff Act of 1816? In 1818, 1824, and 1828, protective measures were enacted. Industrial progress was so substantial that Daniel Webster surrendered his free-trade theories in the face of the overwhelming physical facts and was forever afterward a stanch protectionist. Moreover, Andrew Jackson also testified to the benefits derived from the higher duties under the act of 1824 in these words:

Our country presents on every side marks of prosperity unequaled perhaps in any portion of the world.

A compromise bill to pacify the free-trade element, the exporters of cotton, which act was introduced by Henry Clay, became law on March 2, 1833. What happened? Foreign commerce rode over these reduced duties and calamity followed; 1837 was the year of the first great American depression. Distress followed until duties were again advanced to the protection point.

This disaster caused by the compromise act, reducing duties on imports, was repaired by a tariff bill in 1842, which carried duties high enough to encourage American industries. Under this tariff act in the 4 years between 1842 and 1846, the country entirely recovered from the depression.

Let me call as a witness to the effect of the increase on duties under the Tariff Act of 1942, the Honorable John M. Berrin, United States Senator from Georgia. He declared:

The credit of the Government was prostrate and has been redeemed. The Treasury was empty, it is now replenished. The commerce and navigation of the country have increased. Its agricultural condition has improved.

Next came the election in 1844. The election of Polk called for reduction in import duties. As a result, the Democratic Congress reduced tariffs under the Tariff Act of 1846.

The country was prosperous when the so-called Walker tariff bill became a law. The evidence of this is recorded in President Polk's message to Congress in that same year, which reads as follows:

Abundance has crowned the toil of the husbandman, and labor in all its branches is receiving an ample reward. * * * The progress of our country in her career of greatness, not only in the vast extension of our territorial limits and the rapid increase of our population, but in resources and wealth, and in the happy conditions of our people, is without an example in the history of nations.

Three physical events staved off the evil day of this low Tariff Act of 1846. The Mexican War, discovery of gold in California, and the Crimean struggle in Europe which involved Great Britain, France, Germany, and Turkey.

The day of doom to American industry, labor, and agriculture came when peace came.

When peace came to the Old World the vessels which had been employed in supplying strength for each battling nation were released and the importers' flag flew through our open ports. American markets were flooded with cheap wares from abroad, and the political sin of a low tariff brought its inevitable disaster.

As usual, the free traders, refusing to profit by past experience, closed their eyes and ears to facts and logic and instead of meeting the problem by protection, forced a further reduction in tariffs in 1857.

Let a Democrat describe what followed. President Buchanan in his message to Congress in 1858 said:

With all the elements of national wealth in abundance our manufacturers were suspended, our useful public enterprises were arrested, and thousands of laborers were deprived of employment and reduced to want. Universal distress prevailed among the commercial manufacturing and mechanical classes.

A financial crisis swept the country. The depression of 1857 in many ways exceeded in violence that of 1837. After the low tariffs had been in operation for 3 years, President Buchanan, on December 4, 1860, said, regarding the widespread disaster:

Indeed all hope seems to have deserted the minds of men.

This indisputable evidence of the devastating result to the country under a low-tariff policy was recorded not only when President Buchanan went out of office in 1861; but also, to look ahead for a few years, when Grover Cleveland went out of office in 1897, and when Woodrow Wilson went out of office in 1921.

Horace Greeley has left his testimony as to one of these devastation periods in these words:

The 3 years of low duties, as in two former periods of relatively free trade, had been years of general depression, of numerous bankruptcies, of labor widely destitute of employment, of enormous and harassing commercial indebtedness abroad and of stagnation in improvements at home. Protection has proven beneficial to all the American people.

Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt but that during the 14 years prior to the Civil War when the party in power made no effort to safeguard enterprise of an industrial nature in this country, the fatal and unavoidable consequence was that few competitive mills or factories were built and labor and agriculture suffered.

This surrender to foreign influence and interest came to an end when the Morrill Tariff Act of 1861 restored the American protective tariff policy. Industry and agriculture were immediately rejuvenated. Under the protective tariff the Nation had expanded tremendously, and, by 1872, was nearing the crest of a new era of prosperity. However, the country had still not learned the lesson of bitter experience. Again there was agitation for lower tariffs, and in the act of 1872 very substantial reductions were made. Again the Nation entered into a period of depression marked by the panic of 1873.

There was some upward adjustment of tariffs by the act of 1883, although, however, on the whole, no important changes were made until 1890.

In 1890 Congress passed the so-called McKinley tariff, intended to stimulate further development of agriculture and industry. The result was an average rate of duty of about 49 percent during the 3 fiscal years 1892–94. President Harrison said in December 1892, relative to the Nation's economic condition:

There never has been a time in our history when work was so abundant or wages were so high, whether measured by the currency in which they are paid or by their own power to supply the necessities and comforts of life.

When Grover Cleveland was returned to office in 1893, he immediately began to work for lower tariffs. Little wonder then that uncertainty and pessimism spread throughout the country, culminating in the financial panic of 1893. But still the lesson had not been learned. The freetraders remained blind to the teachings of history. President Cleveland epitomized this refusal to face the facts when he said:

With plenteous crops, with abundant promises of remuneration production and manufacture, with unusual invitations to safe investment and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distress and fear have sprung up on every side. * * * Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business.

The political campaign of 1890 was waged almost solely on the issue of free silver, but following the election of William McKinley as President, steps were immediately taken for returning our tariffs to protective standards. The Dingley Tariff Act, passed in 1897, provided a general increase in rates, and the country was quickly brought back to health, strength, and prosperity.

Following a split in the Republican Party, Woodrow Wilson was elected President in 1912, and once again the

agitation for tariff reduction began. In 1913 the Underwood Tariff Act, adding many items to the free list, was enacted.

It is interesting in the light of the present low-tariff trade-agreement policy to listen to the prophecy made by Jonathan P. Dolliver during the debate on the Wilson measure. He said:

I, for one, am not discouraged even if Congress should enact this into law because I know that the people of the United States, having learned their lesson in the midst of broken fortunes and impoverished industries, will come back speedily to the historic standards of American commonsense.

Another prominent Democrat, commenting on the bill, said:

The disregard of experience, the closing of our eyes to truths chiseled on the walls of time, forever send us to the mourner's bench, sinners against political wisdom.

Mr. Speaker, it does, indeed, appear to have been our unhappy fate over the years—and apparently is still our fate today—to ignore those lessons of history for which we have paid so dearly.

The Democratic Party conducted a rebellion against reason and experience when it lowered the tariff rates in 1913. The country had been prosperous, but what were the consequences by the middle of 1914? Four million people walked the streets of America in idleness; industry was in distress; business lay prostrate; want had its foot inside the door of every home. It was a repetition of the same old free-trade tragedy.

Of course, the World War intervened and raised a wall of protection around the United States as high as the Embargo Act employed by Thomas Jefferson. War orders from Europe poured in like a torrent; imports declined; exports boomed. The day of reckoning was postponed.

However, the low Tariff Act of 1913 was on the statute books when war ceased. Let me quote from a Democrat as to what followed:

But after the World War was over, after the vessels of the Old World were released from their burdens to fly the shippers' flag, after Europe caught up in production and had something to sell, England with her surplus lying in warehouses, Australia with an abundance of wool, South America with cheap meats, and the Far East with vegetable oils, all turned to the land of gold, to America, and commenced dumping their wares upon our shores. * * * A situation was immediately brought about which beggars description—ruin run riot from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific coast.

And then he said:

This could not have happened with a protective policy in effect.

He refers to the situation of the cattlemen in these dramatic words:

Stockmen, rich and powerful one day, found themselves almost the next without credit and without equity in their vast herds roaming the broad prairies and thousands of hills. The work of years wasted, the earnings of the hazardous task of a midnight guard riding by running steers when the deadly lightning played upon their barns, were scattered in the winds of tariff heresy.

The cattle industry suffered in particular. Every cattleman knows that when the First World War was over the foreign accumulated supply of wool and beef came into our ports, overwhelmed the domestic markets, and one of the most flourishing industries of America was laid waste. That was under a low tariff bill. It was then that the Argentine began to send boat loads of frozen carcasses into New York and other American ports below the cost of production on the ranges of the Southwest. Also be it remembered that a cattle raiser of the Argentine can put his cattle upon the consuming markets of this country for less shipping rate than the producers of the South and West.

The negotiations for an Argentine trade agreement is temporarily suspended, but negotiations can be resumed. If it is, are the cattlemen of the United States again to be subjected to the same character of competition as they were under the tariff bill of 1913? It must not be forgotten that it was under the low tariff of 1913 that the cattlemen of Texas and New Mexico, and Arizona, and Wyoming, and other producing States saw their market glutted, paralyzed, and their credit destroyed in 1920.

The flood of imports which followed the war led to the Emergency Act of May 1921, which increased duties on agricultural commodities, and provided against unfair methods of competition, especially dumping. A qualified embargo was placed upon dyes and certain other chemicals. In 1922 the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act was passed again providing protection to American industry. What did the Fordney-McCumber law do? It produced more revenue the first year of its operation than any tariff law that ever existed in this country. It opened up factories. It put 5 million idle men back on the payrolls of America. It made purchasers and consumers for the farmers.

The Fordney-McCumber law went into operation in September 1922. By the time it had been in operation 12 months the sheep and wool industry showed complete recovery and agricultural conditions in the South had made notable gains. The cotton and peanut producers of Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas were enjoying unparalleled prosperity. It was in May 1923, following the passage of this law that a commission of southern governors came to Washington and told President Harding that their States were doing well since a duty had been placed on vegetable oils and urged that the existing schedule be retained.

The postwar decade, 1920 to 1930, was one of great national prosperity and expansion. In 1930 the Smoot-Hawley Act was enacted containing a complete general tariff revision. Of course, the worldwide financial and economic depression had already commenced to spread to the United States from foreign areas by June 1930, when the act was passed. As a result, there is no statistical basis for estimating its effect upon the foreign commerce of this country since during the period 1930 to 1933 price of practically all commodities in the world collapsed and international trade was completely disorganized.

From 1934 on the trade agreements authority has been in effect. During this period the country has been in the depths of depression or engaged in war or busy rebuilding the war-torn economies of the rest of the world. There is, thus, little basis for estimating the effect on the economy of the present tariff program. Of course, one of the most tragic aspects of our pre-World War II trade was our tremendous shipments of war materials to Japan. Millions of tons of scrap metals were shipped from the United States to Japan during that period. The free traders insisted at that time that we were increasing the chances for peace by bolstering Japan's economy. On December 7, 1941, this folly was rewarded. Pearl Harbor was our first dividend on our investment in peace. Once again the lesson had to be learned—this time in the blood of American boys.

Mr. Speaker, once more we are approaching the fateful crossroad. The world is again in arms. The Soviet menace stretches from the banks of the Elbe to the shores of the Pacific. We are asked to delegate to the Executive even broader powers to lower our tariffs—once more in the name of peace and prosperity.

I wish to quote from a speech made by our beloved ex-President Herbert Hoover on his 80th birthday at West Branch, Iowa, the place of his birth. On this occasion Mr. Hoover, among other things, said:

In our foreign relations there are great dangers and also vital safeguards to freemen. During the last war we witnessed a special encroachment of the Executive upon the legislative branch. This has been through a new type of commitment of the United States to other nations. I am not going to argue legalisms—

Said Mr. Hoover—

for they do not go to the center of the issue. The real issue is in whether the President, through declaration or implication or by appeasement or by acquiescence, or by joint statement with foreign officials, can commit the American people to foreign nations without the specific consent of the elected representatives of the people.

Continuing, Mr. Hoover said:

There has been a grievous list of such commitments. They include international agreements which shackle our economy by limiting a free market. But more terrible were such executive agreements as our recognition of Soviet Russia which opened the floodgates for a torrent of traitors. Our tacit alliance with Soviet Russia spread communism over the earth. Our acquiescence in the annexation by Russia of the Baltic States at Moscow and the partition of Poland at Tehran extinguished the liberties of tens of millions of people.

Worse still—

Said Mr. Hoover—

was the appeasement and surrender at Yalta of 10 nations to slavery. And there was the secret agreement with respect to China which set in train the communization of Mongolia, North Korea, and all of China. These unrestrained Presidential actions have resulted in a shrinking of human freedom over the whole world.

From these actions came the jeopardies of the cold war. As a byproduct these actions have shrunk our freedoms by crushing taxes, huge defense costs, inflation, and compulsory military service.

We must make such misuse of power forever impossible. And let me say I have no

fears of this evil from President Eisenhower, but he will not always be President.

Mr. Speaker, I, too, have the greatest confidence in President Eisenhower and his use of such powers as are granted to him by Congress; but in the light of what has been done by other Presidents in the use of executive power without reference to the people's representatives, the fact must not be ignored that President Eisenhower will not always be our Chief Executive.

Mr. Speaker, it is a fine thing to be concerned for our friends abroad, to wish to raise their standards of living, to strengthen the economies of the rest of the world. But, Mr. Speaker, in so doing let us not forget the United States. Unless our own economy is strong and our own people prosperous, the free world will indeed be in a hopeless plight.

Mr. Speaker, let us learn the lessons of experience before it is forever too late.

About Farm Prices: Congress Should Act Quickly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. POAGE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Progressive Farmer of February 1955:

ABOUT FARM PRICES: CONGRESS SHOULD ACT QUICKLY

To our Senators and Representatives From the Southern States:

DEAR FRIENDS: As the 84th Congress gets underway, what is the very first major economic subject that should have your attention?

Unquestionably, in our opinion, it is the serious situation caused by low farm prices and the worsened situation that exists because of (1) the relatively low prices the farmer gets for what he sells and (2) the relatively high prices he must pay for what he buys.

Nor is this a case where we are simply giving you somebody's opinion, theory, hearsay, or belief. Please study on this page an authoritative chart based on the official figures of the United States Department of Agriculture itself. As compared with the official 1910-14 base, prices received by farmers now stand at only 239 percent, while prices paid (including interest, taxes, and hired labor) are 279 percent. And while the overall farm parity ratio on December 15, 1953, was 91 percent, by December 15, 1954, it had dropped to 86 percent.

In view of this bad and worsening situation, can you Senators and Representatives, chosen from primarily rural States, afford to look on with complacency? Or can you afford to be unconcerned if you turned to the recent 1955 forecast issue of one of America's leading publications concerned with economic trends, the U. S. News & World Report, and noted on page 67 a table headed—"The Climb in Real Income."

(Average weekly pay, after Federal taxes, with adjustments for increases in living costs since 1950, first year of Korean war.)

Then followed a table prepared after long and careful study by economic experts. It shows net weekly earnings or weekly buying power of 20 leading classes of employed people in the United States in 1950, 1954, and their estimated income for 1955. Here are figures for one dozen of the most important of these 20 occupations.

	Buying power in 1950	Buying power in 1954	Estimated 1955 buying power
Average factory worker	$57.19	$59.70	$61.37
Auto worker	69.01	71.54	72.84
Steelworker	64.18	68.14	71.32
Soft-coal miner	66.44	65.84	69.26
Machinery-manufacturing employee	63.92	67.15	67.82
Farm-implement worker	61.61	64.36	65.50
Railroad worker	58.16	62.27	64.41
Schoolteacher	56.63	61.28	64.25
Federal employee	60.74	60.87	63.60
Textile worker	48.22	45.59	46.62
Clothing worker	43.02	41.91	43.03
Farm owner	42.10	39.52	37.24

What are the 2 most remarkable things developed by these statistics about 20 different occupations?

1. For all 20 occupations, income increased from 1953 to 1954—with only 3 exceptions, the former being 1.

2. For all 20 occupations, income is expected to increase in 1955, with only 1 exception. What is that one? Again the farmer.

And why is the farmer suffering? Is it because he is less industrious, less efficient? Is he falling down on his job of feeding and clothing America? Not at all. On the contrary, all this is happening when the American farmer is reaching a degree of efficiency unprecedented in his own occupation—and hardly equalled by workers in any of the other occupations in America. In 1910, 1 farm worker produced only enough farm products for himself and 6 others; in 1953, enough for himself and 17 others. In other words, in 1910 it took 35 Americans out of each 100 to produce crops and livestock to feed and clothe America; in 1930, only 25; in 1945, only 18; and in 1954, only 14.

Under such conditions, is it not high time for all five agencies that might do something about this matter to hear "the firebell at night," and do something about it? And what five agencies do we mean? Here is our list:

1. The President of the United States.
2. The United States Senate.
3. The House of Representatives.
4. Our farm organizations—Farm Bureau, Grange, and Farmers Union.
5. The Secretary of Agriculture.

We are not passing on the justice of their complaint, but many farmers now say this—that many to whom they looked for help have seemed more concerned about reducing price safeguards for farmers than about checking this terrible price-squeeze that is bringing trouble to nearly all small farmers and many large farmers as well. And right here we might add two other agencies that farmers are watching—and have a right to watch—with real concern and purposefulness. What are these two?

Here they are:

6. The Democratic Party.
7. The Republican Party.

What did the Republican presidential nominee of 1952, and present President of the United States, say about farm prices in 1952? Let's see:

At Brookings, S. Dak., on October 4, he said: "The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90 percent parity price support and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100 percent parity, with the guaranty in the price supports of 90."

At Kasson, Minn., on September 6, he said: "As provided in the Republican platform, the nonperishable crops so important to the diversified farmer—crops such as oats, barley, rye, and soybeans—should be given the same protection as available to the major cash crops."

Not only did the Republican nominee say these things, but the Democratic nominee said: "The Republican nominee has climbed on my platform." The Democrats promised in 1952—and again in 1954, "We'll do better by farmers than the Republicans have ever done."

Well, now the Democrats have Congress and the Republicans have the administration and farmers are ready to hold both parties responsible for what they do or fail to do right now—in 1955.

The National Planning Association has already predicted that unemployment will rise this year and thereafter "unless Government and industry act to increase consumer buying power and industrial production." What terribly disappoints us is that the President is trying "to increase consumer buying power" only by increasing hourly wages for labor, while proposing nothing important about the more desperately needed increase in consumer purchasing on American farms.

Vice President Thomas Kennedy, of the United Mine Workers of America, Urges Realization of the Fact That the Devastating Effects of Reciprocal Trade Agreements on the Coal, Railroad, Chemical, and Allied Industries Reveal That the Slogan "You Buy Our Goods and We'll Buy Yours" Is Wishful Thinking and Not Supported by Actual Experience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following statement by Vice President Thomas Kennedy, recently delivered before the House Ways and Means Committee, contains some of the sound objections against the unregulated flood of foreign products that are destroying the jobs of American wage earners:

STATEMENT OF THOMAS KENNEDY, VICE PRESIDENT, UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, IN RE H. R. 1, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

My name is Thomas Kennedy, vice president of the United Mine Workers of America. I live at Hazleton, Pa., and represent the United Mine Workers of America with respect to this legislation.

The meat of this bill is contained in section (A) starting on page 2, as follows:

The President is authorized:

"(A) To enter into foreign-trade agreements with foreign governments or instrumentalities thereof containing provisions with respect to international trade, including provisions relating to tariffs, to most-favored-nation standards and other standards of nondiscriminatory treatment affecting such trade, to quantitative import and export restrictions, to customs formalities, and to other matters relating to such trade designed to promote the purpose of this section similar to any of the foregoing: *Pro-*

vided, That, except as authorized by subparagraph (B) of this paragraph, no such provision shall be given effect in the United States in a manner inconsistent with existing legislation of the United States."

I am not a lawyer, but I know a little about legislation and it seems to me after reading this section of the bill that Congress is giving to the President greater powers than have ever been given to any previous President; in fact, it is my thought that Congress is really abdicating and delegating to the President, legislative authority on this subject, which inherently belongs to Congress itself. Whenever we clothe the executive branch of the Government with authority to legislate, we are, in my opinion, getting away from the fundamentals of our form of government, and in my judgment, if this bill is enacted, the State Department will run the show from here on in with no regard for our own economic problems affected by international trade. From my personal experience I know of no department of Government which knows less about economic affairs in the United States than the State Department.

When the first reciprocal trade agreement was made back in 1934, I was one of a committee that met with Secretary of State Cordell Hull with reference to an agreement then under consideration with Venezuela. We talked about the repercussions on the coal industry that would be brought about by the importation and dumping of oil from Venezuela. With all due respect to Secretary Hull, who was an able and honest man, we could not interest him in any of the economic phases of trade agreements. His only concern seemed to be one of preventing wars and preserving peace in the world, and he repeatedly told us that these trade agreements would prevent wars. Well, they did not prevent wars. World War II blew up in our face and the world ever since has been in turmoil and trouble bordering upon war.

Our Government is now approaching the subject matter of reciprocal trade relations in the belief that by building up industries and production throughout the world we will be staying the hand of communism and prevent wars. Another purpose the proponents of this bill have in mind is virtually free trade. As one who has attended many international meetings of labor throughout Europe, it is my judgment that we have failed in this enterprise of stemming the tide of communism not only in Europe, but in Asia and in the Latin American countries.

We are told that if we buy foreign goods it will give those countries from which we buy, American dollars to purchase our goods. But this is not the way it works, because these countries shop around Europe and buy in the cheapest markets. With our dollars, France, Italy, Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries have been buying Polish coal. Belgium recently concluded a sales agreement direct with Russia to buy coal and other commodities. England has also purchased coal from some of the countries behind the Iron Curtain. These facts certainly sweep away the slogan "You buy our goods, and we will buy yours." It should better read, you take our goods, give us your dollars, and we will buy where we please in the cheapest countries, even though the goods we buy may be subsidized by governments.

Wage rates, wage standards and conditions of the workers in foreign countries are evidently never taken into consideration by governments in arranging trade agreements—to illustrate briefly: This Congress in the last session and in many previous sessions was told by the President of the United States, by the State Department, and by Army engineers that the building of the St. Lawrence seaway and the building of power projects on the St. Lawrence River would aid in American employment and greater productivity in American industry and would result in greater trade between Canada and the United States. I was in Canada in the early part of October of last year and read a news release in one of the Canadian papers to the effect that the first contract for steel in connection with these projects was let, and the steel was not from the United States nor from Canada, but from Dortmund in Western Germany, where at this moment the Federal Government of Western Germany has in effect an import licensing system which prevents the importation of foreign goods or commodities where they would compete with like products and commodities of Western Germany.

Under the Schuman plan, in effect in 5 or 6 countries on the Continent as affecting coal and steel, that authority recently borrowed $100 million, which was underwritten by our Government. I was recently at meetings in Paris and London and discussed this matter with delegates from some of the countries affected, and found out that very little of this money is being used to improve wage and condition standards in the mining industry. The first $25 million is to be used for building miners' homes and for transferring miners from high-cost areas to low-cost areas. Creeping communism has not been stopped—and I know whereof I speak. It seems to me that we are attempting to build up industry in foreign countries at the expense of our own industry in the United States—especially the coal industry.

I wish to call particular attention to the dumping of residual oil on the eastern seaboard, most of which comes from Venezuela—not a Communist dictatorship, but a military dictatorship, which from the standpoint of freedom and justice is just as bad as a Communist dictatorship. Residual oil last year displaced over 30 million tons of American coal. We had in the American coal-mining industry in the month of December 1954 over 143,000 persons unemployed, with thousands of others working part time. If the dumping of residual oil were stopped and placed upon a quota basis, it would mean about 3 weeks extra work for the coal-mining industry. It has been pretty well established as public policy that the dumping of commodities on our shores is wrong and in violation of every concept of fairness and equity and yet the practice continues merrily along its way. I repeat, we are in favor of a quota system being applied to residual oil in much the same way as most of these countries prevent the importation of American goods and commodities by a quota system.

Our State Department, which handles most of our international trade and other problems, and as they would continue to do under this bill as I have indicated, is not concerned with the economics in this matter at all. They want to bring about the prevention of wars and the preservation of peace, a very laudable objective, but they are evidently not concerned with the fact that our industries and our people should have our own interests first protected because the peace of the world, in my judgment, depends upon the strength and the greatness of our own country, and this cannot be accomplished by ruining the basic coal industry which, in the event of war, must be depended upon for energy not only in our own country, but also those of our allies. Surely with all of the statesmanship in this Congress and this committee, we can find a better way to provide full employment and stabilization of our own industries and aid in stabilizing industries of other countries.

Unemployment in the coal industry in the United States affects many other industries adversely. This is also true of the chemical industry of the United States—much of it being based upon the byproducts of coal. District No. 50 of the United Mine Workers of America represents most of the unionized employees in the chemical industry and is the largest labor organization in the chemical industry.

In 1953 there were 608 manufacturers of synthetic organic chemicals in the United States with a total production for that year of about 29.1 billion pounds. Total sales in 1953 (less tars and crudes) were $4 billion—approximately 20 percent of the $19,800,000,000 sales for all chemical and allied products in 1953.

The coal and chemical industries are interrelated and as coal is an indispensable source of power, it is also an indispensable raw material source of the synthetic organic chemical industry. The importation or chemical produced by cheap labor affects the employment opportunities and standard of living of the chemical workers directly and, in turn, the coal miners also. It does not stop there. It affects the employment opportunities and the living standards of employees in the vast number of industries where chemicals form an important part of the finished product.

To briefly illustrate this point—coal is often called the black diamond. The analogy obtains not only because both consist of carbon but because from both we get a rainbow of colors, one from the effect of light and the other from the action of various chemicals. If we follow through the manifold chemical and engineering changes that transform coal by the action of many other chemicals into literally a thousand chemicals which in turn throws a protective mantle over many another industry and, of equal importance, over a wise and prudent scheme of national preparednes and defense.

For example, $1 worth of such chemicals makes salable $100 worth of other products. Thus, $60 million to $70 million worth of such chemicals help mightily in the disposal and sale of $6 to $7 billion worth of other products entering our modern technical civilization.

To that extent companies in the chemical industry are thus customers and competitors of one another. Chemicals provide the essential ingredients that enter into the manufacture and sales of the countless multitude of other industrial products. To a similar extent employees in all of these industries are adversely affected, some directly, and others in the manner of a chain reaction by the impact of imports of chemicals produced by foreign countries by substantially cheaper labor and costs.

Last year, the total imports of chemical and allied products was about $259 million. This is a 142-percent increase over the value of such imports in 1949.

Our tariffs on imports are now the lowest in relation to the value of imports of all the countries of the world.

The ratio of customs collected to the value of imports of the principal countries on the European Continent, as compared with the United States, is as follows:

Ratio of customs collected to value of imports

Country:	
United Kingdom	25.6
France	10.6
Italy	8.4
Germany	5.8
United States	5.1

Now let us compare wage rates in the chemical industry of the above European countries with those in the United States, as follows:

Country	Average hourly rate	Average rate, including fringe benefits
Italy	$0.29	$0.53
Germany	.33	.50
France	.37	.58
England	.53	.65
United States	1.98	2.50

Some people may argue that the higher productivity per man-hour or man-day in the United States should overcome or offset this disparity in wage rates, but the difference is too great.

It is true that the American worker in the chemical industry produced from 2½ to 5 times as many tons of chemicals per man-hour or man-day as his European counterpret. That vastly superior productivity is not enough to overcome the wage cost alone. It must also be taken into account our own present tariff disadvantage plus the ease and facility with which other governments may adjust the value of their currencies in relation to the value of our own to further enhance the advantage of their chemicals and other products in our market.

In addition to maintaining employment opportunities at American standards for the present number of workers in our labor force in the United States, there are about 1,600,000 young men and women coming of age each year. As our population continues to increase, the number of young men and women coming of age will be increasing proportionately.

The number of new additions to our labor forces in the United States is now running about 500,000 per year. As our net population increases, the number of additions to our labor force will also increase proportionately.

These new additions to our labor force as well as the sixty-five-odd million in our present labor force must find employment opportunities, at American standards of wages and incomes, in our own expanding industrial economy.

A brief word about preparedness or national defense: We are now and have been making vast expenditures for national defense. While we are doing this, it would be folly for the United States to adopt a policy authorizing a further reduction in tariffs that would tend to disable our domestic economy and particularly our synthetic organic chemical production markets, chemical research and, in turn, the employment opportunities of our people.

No important segment of our chemical nor of our coal-mining industry can be put in mothballs and then taken out in full bloom in case of emergency.

Chemical research cannot be put in mothballs to be taken out in case of emergency. Even the tortoise would win that kind of an industrial production race.

The skilled labor that is so vital to the operation and processing of chemical production and coal mining cannot be diverted to other work or idleness and then recalled in case of emergency—that time and technical know-how is only lost forever.

The military preparedness of our Nation and the nations of the world associated with us depends upon the live, active, operating scientific technical know-how to more than offset the numerically superior forces that can be arrayed against us.

Our security is in our economic health—that should be our first consideration.

Proponents of H. R. 1 are evidently not sure that the proposed bill will accomplish the result of putting more people to work in the United States because they offer to support legislation introduced to provide for industries and unemployed persons attached to those industries which may be adversely affected to be cared for by increased unemployment compensation, old-age pensions, and help for these industries. If reciprocal trade is what they claim it to be, why the need for such legislation?—and I might propound this question: Where are we going to move displaced persons where they can find employment when practically every industry in the Nation is now affected by unemployment and part-time work?

Industrial plants, for instance those built in Scranton by the people, are only operating on a part-time basis due to the fact that they cannot get contracts from the Government because General Motors, the Chrysler Corp. and others are getting all of the work. How does Congress propose to solve this problem?

I personally suggested to a conference in Pittsburgh several years ago that unemployment compensation payments should be made for the full period of unemployment and not for 26 weeks as is now prescribed by law. I would further suggest that eligibility for pensions should be fixed at 60 years of age, if a person is unemployed. Regardless of this bill or any other bill, it should be done as a general relief proposition which I think is equitable and just under the circumstances.

The coal industry is basic to the security of this Nation and basic to the extent of supplying coal to other nations. It seems to me an overall proposition that H. R. 1 is not going to solve the problem, and it might be better for all concerned, if we put some teeth in the present tariff and trade relations program and speed it up. We could then require this agency (Tariff Commission) to make reports to Congress on trade agreements or tariff adjustments before they become operative. In this way Congress would be preserving its rights under the Constitution with respect to tariffs, reciprocal trade or any other matter relating thereto.

As given to the committee this statement deals particularly in relation to coal and its allied chemical industries. Other industries related to coal are also affected such as steel, lumber, explosives, machinery, and railroads, and I hope that my statement will be given the consideration that is due it before this committee and the Congress.

Puerto Rico—America's Exhibit A

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am happy to call attention to an article published in This Week magazine with the Sunday edition of leading newspapers in a number of American cities on Sunday, January 30, 1955.

This article entitled "Puerto Rico: America's Exhibit A" tells how the island commonwealth which gets no point-4 funds for itself is showing students from 79 nations the best way to use theirs.

I am sure that all who read it will find this article by Henry La Cossitt valuably informative:

PUERTO RICO: AMERICA'S EXHIBIT A

Octavio Alzona is a captain in the Army of the Republic of the Philippines. He is attached to what is known as the Economic Development Corps which, since 1951, has been charged with the resettlement of ex-rebel Hukbalahaps who has surrendered after being promised safe conduct and land.

Resettlement, however, has proved to be a vexatious problem for which the government was not entirely prepared. So Captain Alzona was sent to, of all places, Puerto Rico, where I met him in an office of the Puerto Rican Department of State on Fortaleza Street in San Juan.

Captain Alzona was there because of a project that is proving to be one of the most effective international public-relations programs the United States ever had. That the idea originated in Puerto Rico, not in Washington, does not detract from its value.

Captain Alzona was a guest of Harold Stassen's Foreign Operations Administration. He was one of some 1,500 students who, over the past 4 years, have been sent by 79 nations to see how Puerto Rico, in partnership with the United States, does it. He was studying Puerto Rican rural resettlement and related activities under what is known as the technical cooperation program, a joint operation of the United States and Puerto Rico. "What I learn here," Captain Alzona told me, "we can apply at home."

This is precisely what Puerto Rican Governor Luis Muñoz Marín, a Georgetown University alumnus, had in mind in the summer of 1949 when he went to Washington to suggest the program to President Truman. It was his idea that Puerto Rico—poor, underdeveloped, overpopulated, underresourced, struggling to raise its standard of living and achieve economic balance—could serve as a working model for point-4 applicants, most of which would be suffering from one or another—or all—of these ills.

Puerto Rico is part of the American political system and receives grants-in-aid in the manner of the several States, as well as other Federal financial help. Thus it is not eligible for point-4 aid as such, but the principle is the same, as President agreed. In 1950 the Puerto Rican Legislature appropriated $50,000 to set up an office in San Juan and Washington then formally designated the island as a point-4 training center. The program has been operating ever since the bipartisan support, with the Interior Department acting as coordinator for FOA and the Puerto Rican Department of State. It is under the direction of an alumnus of the University of Texas and Columbia, Dr. Artura Morales Carrion, Under Secretary in Puerto Rico's State Department.

PARALLELS WITH INDIA

Applicants ask for point 4 funds for projects in almost every field: economic, political, or social. In each of these, Puerto Rico has an example of solid achievement.

Somebody has said that it is an emotional compulsion below the Rio Grande to have a case against the United States. This may be true—but 35 people from information offices in Latin American nations went home last March after 5 months' study of community education, astonished at Puerto Rican gains.

Some students come from the colonies of other nations. Puerto Rico was once a colony itself and is now a free associated state, or commonwealth, and the students want, among other things, to see how this transition was accomplished. Among them, for example, was A. L. Adu, an administrator of the Africanization program of the Gold Coast, which is moving toward autonomy.

Indian students, of whom there have been more than expected, all remark on the similarities between Puerto Rico and India, despite the enormous difference in size. Both, they point out, were former colonies; both are poor and underdeveloped and overpopulated. One Indian, Junreivat Chinda, said the island's success or failure "is of first importance to millions living in underdeveloped areas throughout the world."

Western Hemisphere colonies also send students and it is a curious fact that most complaints against the program come from these. Many come for industrial education and attend the mammoth Metropolitan Vocational School at San Juan. Some say the school does not measure up to what Stassen's FOA said it was. The complaints are sifted and evaluated and the condition corrected, if possible.

Many colonials also come to observe self-help housing activities, a thing Captain Alzona studied for possible application in the Hukbalahap resettlement. These work out something like this:

The jibaros, or people of the rural areas, are resettled on government land in communities in order that electrification, water facilities, and other government services, impossible to apply to scattered homes, may be brought to them. In the new community area they draw lots for their 300-square-meter homesites. Then they build the houses themselves, with the help of their neighbors. The government furnishes the materials, which cost $300, or which the owner is required to pay half, $15 down with 10 years to pay the balance, with the government furnishing the pouring machine or block cutter free.

Now comes community education. This does not mean the actual teaching of skills—although help in this is furnished if absolutely necessary—or even help in organizing the community. It is, rather, an effort to instill into the people of the 1,200 defined rural communities of Puerto Rico the idea that by working together, as did the American pioneers, they can achieve wonders.

ROADS AND BRIDGES

Community education has worked particularly well in places where neither the government nor the people themselves could afford to buy what was needed. In Barrio la Yuca, high in the mountains, 450 citizens built a schoolhouse out of timber and materials of the neighborhood with but little help from the government expert.

In another case, a rural community built a bridge out of an old truck chassis and used the sand from the little river itself in pouring the concrete. In still another instance a rural community made a road. This was to get their products—tobacco and pineapples—to market and so a doctor could get through in emergencies.

Such activities are fascinating to people from nations faced with similar problems. One of these is U Sein Hla, of the Burmese National Housing Development Board. In his case, there is the necessity of building 3,000 rural communities in Burma and what he saw in Puerto Rico can, he says, be applied in his nation.

THREE-YEAR RENEWAL

Under a new agreement reached with Puerto Rico last summer, FOA is extending the program for another 3 years, or until 1957. By its terms FOA will supply up to $1,323,000—an amount Puerto Rico will match with cash and services—for the training of 1,800 point 4 students. This is 800 percent more than was spent in the previous 3 years but, as somebody has observed, technical cooperation pays for itself by teaching fund-saving efficiency.

The 1,800 new students will study a country that in 13 years has increased its net income by 300 percent, its production by 302 percent, its wages and salaries by 358 percent, its agricultural production by 172 percent. They will study a government that uses public funds freely for public welfare, but which has, through shrewd tax procedures, encouraged private enterprise and brought in 300 new industries where there were practically none before.

They will find out how Puerto Rico eliminated malaria, brought hookworm and other parasitic diseases under control, reduced tuberculosis and venereal disease and dropped its annual death rate from 18.4 to 8.1 per 1,000 or below that of the continental United States.

Muñoz-Marín told me this: "We have done all these things in a democratic way and that gives us a sense of pride in accomplishment that we like to pass along to other poor nations so that they may have the same thing. In the modern world it is the struggle for the mind that is important."

Director Carrion puts it this way: "We show them what the poor of the world can do when they have courage. In the world struggle the poor and underdeveloped countries are going to have the last word."

He could be right.

United States Market and Wages in Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the hearings on H. R. 1, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Extension Act, which were held recently before the House Ways and Means Committee, I should like to insert in the RECORD the following article by Ira E. Bennett entitled "United States Market and Wages in Peril," which appeared in the National Republic for February 1955:

UNITED STATES MARKET AND WAGES IN PERIL

(By Ira E. Bennett)

The plan of domestic and foreign enthusiasts to open the United States to imports produced by cheap labor is now resumed with extraordinary vigor. It is encouraged by the President in his recent state of the Union message asking Congress for certain delegation of authority over tariffs. Ostensibly the request is only for authority to reduce duties by not more than 15 percent during a period of 3 years. Unfortunately, however, the proposed reciprocal trade-agreement legislation could pave the way for tariffmaking by the Executive instead of by Congress.

"Trade, not aid," is a misleading phrase that has been invented by foreign political leaders to camouflage their plans to capture the American market. All kinds of arguments are used to convince Americans that they should liberalize world trade by giving foreign countries access to our market. It is urged that Americans are not only destined to risk bankruptcy by excessive handouts to impoverished foreign countries, but are stupid in failing to share their market with those countries, to the infinite benefit of all, and to the benefit of world peace. Free trade, they say, or an arrangement as near free trade as possible, would be in fact an assurance of the success of peaceful coexistence with Soviet bloc countries. Thus, by sharing the world's poverty, it is said, Americans would avoid the danger of atomic annihilation.

The foreign leaders who so kindly outline America's duty to itself and the world do not go so far as to suggest that the United States market should be opened to the Communist enemy. No, let the enemy wait. Let free nations exploit the American market.

These foreign political philanthropists do not explain how the high standard of American wages would be maintained if our market should be filled with imports produced by cheaply paid foreign labor. They meet this question by denying that our market would be flooded. They ask only for reciprocal agreements for the importation of commodities that would not compete with domestic products. American wages, they say, would not be affected.

To every objection to the giveaway of the American market these overseas gentlemen have a ready answer. It is all polite, patient, and convincing—but Americans are slow to understand.

Some years ago, when the great hybrid-corn philosopher Henry Wallace was spokesman for world trade reciprocity, he told Congress that foreign goods should be freely admitted, and that if any American producer could not meet the foreign competition he should close up shop. He cited several industries, including toymaking, that should give place to superior foreign competitors. What he said seemed like insanity to some of the legislators, but it was not; it was sound reason and conclusive logic, assuming that all countries should have access to all markets on equal terms in the name of world welfare and peace.

The American market, however, is the richest free-trade area in the world. It now sustains many countries. The markets of those countries are beggarly in comparison with the trade between Michigan and Illinois, for example. If England could have the fruits of trade in the Mississippi Valley it could turn away from its slide into socialism-communism and put on airs again. France, verging on collapse and living on Yankee handouts, would be rich if she could take over the profits of the American automobile and airplane industries.

Aside from the chaos that would follow the disturbance of the American wage scale by excessive cheap-labor imports—a chaos of unforeseeable injury to American society—the chief factor of alarm in and out of Congress is the conversion of millions of citizens to the delusions of world government, and the idea that the United States is bound, somehow, to assert its leadership of all nations at any cost. The extension of this crackpot ideology to the economic field, involving the dissipation of America's wealth and sources of wealth, and lowering its working people to the level of serfs and peons, is actually the core of the project to destroy tariff protection. It is a plan to tariff-making to the White House as part of the plan to wield world power.

Protection of American workers, farmers, and small industries, against the competition of pauper and coolie labor is a cardinal principle of domestic policy. It has enabled the people of this country to develop its vast extent and immense resources, so that the United States now stands foremost among all nations. This was the dream of its founder; but his warning against foreign entanglements, if not soon heeded, may explain the ultimate ruin of the country and serve as its epitaph.

These observations are forced upon one when even a quick glance is cast over the drift of events since the two world wars. In 1920, the people rejected the movement to merge the country into an international arrangement in which Americans would no longer control their own Government and resources. By 1945, the people seemingly approved of an arrangement whereby they relinquished part of their independence. Since that time misfortune has been the rule. It is no longer a matter of universal protest when the Constitution is violated. Economic conditions, including high wages, seem to have made many of the people indifferent to what is happening. The drift to socialism and internationalism is not only tolerated, but often applauded.

Every step toward socialism is a step away from the system that has made America great—the system of individual and private enterprise. This way of life is endangered by the threat of opening American markets to foreign competitors whenever the Executive thinks it sees a possible bargain. Interference with the delicate balance by which industry manages to flourish in spite of paying the highest wages in the world might easily ruin a private enterprise whose founders were not mere theorists, but hardheaded pioneers and business geniuses. Government

bureaucracy cannot furnish the ability to create a great industry like the automobile or airplane industry, but it can easily ruin it.

Nearly 200 years ago Americans agreed that the true role of Government is to serve as an umpire and guardian of the integrity of private liberty and enterprise. Every man was to be free to exercise his talents and capitalize upon his own energy, always protected against injustice by his Government. Under this rule Congress enacted the first law it ever made, which was a tariff act for revenue and protection. Thereupon Americans were encouraged to go out and conquer the wilderness. The European vultures of trade, hovering on the coast, hoping to swoop down and devour American wealth, were barred out by a vigilant Government. Every dollar earned belonged to the man who earned it by labor or investment or management.

Private enterprise, protected by Government, was made a rule of life in the United States according to the inspired Declaration of Independence, which held that man is endowed by his Creator with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. What is meant by "pursuit of happiness," if it is not the right to enjoy work best fitted to a man, by the man best fitted to excel in it, to accumulate wealth and leisure, to sit under his own vine and fig tree, and at sundown to drift quietly to sleep with his fathers?

Protection and liberty have encouraged every American genius and private enterprise to develop the wealth inherent in the United States. It is a vast country, to be sure, but not as large as the Soviet Union, China, Canada, Brazil, or British Africa. Yet it produces more wealth than all other nations combined. Why? Because Americans are among its products—Americans who know how to work, invent, explore, experiment, organize, pioneer, and cooperate, in liberty.

Mix these Americans with other tribes, and we don't know what the mixture would be—but it would not be a product to be proud of.

Imagination, daring, teamwork, liberty—these are the elements of Americanism which are attacked by theorists who would open the American market.

The American Federation of Labor boasts that it has 10 million members. The CIO and other organized labor groups number additional millions. These are all free men, protected in their liberty as they perform the teamwork that keeps America at the head of nations. Unorganized workers, not in unions, make up the bulk of the population. All of them, all equal under law, are entitled to protection by their Government. One of them invented the telephone, and all mankind is now in instant communication. Another invented electric light, and now American liberty enlightens the world. An American, inventing the automobile, revolutionized human transport. Two brothers, Americans, have given humanity the ability to fly around the world. Americans invented motion pictures, perfected radio, and developed television. Innumerable minor inventions by Americans have been a blessing to workers everywhere.

Are not these gifts to mankind a contribution worth more than the American market itself? What would foreign nations gain if they should gorge themselves upon America's present wealth and forfeit the advantages that come from the American system of free enterprise?

Americans pride themselves upon being shrewd traders—and they are. But they are often swindled by crooked foreign governments and traders. President Eisenhower appeals to American capital to go abroad to help develop backward countries. But American capital has been stung too often to be attracted by lures of foreign profits. Its profits are confiscated by various subterfuges; its foreign workers are worthless; it is overtaxed; its cannot employ American workers or American methods.

Experience in reciprocal trade agreements is not satisfactory. The negotiators may think they are making a good bargain on each side, but something usually crops up to disappoint our side. The agreement with Venezuela, for instance, is making ghost towns in West Virginia by destroying the market for bituminous coal and substituting residual oil from Venezuela—oil that has been worked over for its good qualities and then shipped to this country for crude fuel. Enormous quantities of this stuff have supplanted coal in Northeastern sections of this country, robbing coal miners of their livelihood. Did the American negotiators foresee this fraud upon West Virginia? If not, they were blind. The facts regarding this trade agreement and its evil effects will be revealed during the debate over the pending bill. They will show that nobody can be sure of the operation of trade agreements. They strike innocent parties with unexpected losses and injustice. They disturb labor relations and thus instigate domestic strife and unemployment.

America has been and is still giving more than its share to the uplift of the world. It is willing to do more, whenever the aid it gives shows proof of the betterment of nations. But America should be its own judge of its policy. Foreigners do not know what is best for the United States, and have no sense of responsibility to it. The readiness of leading foreign governments to trade with the world's enemy proves that they do not know what is best for them. How then, can they be expected to know what is best for the United States? They sound the shibboleth of peaceful coexistence, but what they actually favor is appeaseful coexistence with the Reds and coexploitation of America's wealth.

Communist China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a telegram from the Sunshine Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, of Sarasota, Fla., relative to Communist China and my remarks on that subject.

The members of the Sarasota Veterans of Foreign Wars post met on February 1 and considered the news reports of the United Nations' invitation to Communist China to send delegates to the United Nations in New York to discuss a cease fire between the Communist and Nationalist Chinese Governments. After a thorough discussion and debate, the members of the Sunshine Post voted unanimously to send me, their Representative, a telegram vigorously protesting the passage through this country of Communist China officials while our servicemen are being illegally held by that government.

This highly patriotic organization has raised the significant point that by allowing Communist China officials to enter the United States, for any reason, we could be leaving ourselves liable for further complications. Therefore, I have asked permission to include herewith their telegram so that you may know their thoughts on this problem. The telegram follows:

Hon. JAMES A. HALEY,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

News dispatches state officials of Red China are being invited to the United Nations to discuss the Formosa situation. The membership of Sunshine Post, No. 3233, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Sarasota, Fla., in meeting assembled February 1, 1955, unanimously urge that you arise on the floor of the House of Representatives and vigorously protest the passage through this country of any and all officials of Red China while our Armed Forces personnel are held imprisoned in Red China contrary to treaty agreements. Red China is not a part of the U. N. and Red China officials have no right of ingress to the United States or egress therefrom. Nor does the U. N. have the right to govern our passports to its nonmembers.

SUNSHINE POST VFW.

Director and Assistant Directors of Locomotive Inspection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES I. DOLLIVER
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following memorandum issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission:

MEMORANDUM TO HEADS OF OFFICES AND BUREAUS, ALL FIELD PERSONNEL

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., February 1, 1955.

In the last 2 weeks, reports published in at least three nationally circulated publications have contained inaccurate statements concerning this Commission's attitude toward the appointment of the Director and Assistant Directors of Locomotive Inspection, and the field locomotive inspectors, and alleging the Commission is "putting politics ahead of railroad safety." We believe it is important that all employees of the Commission, and particularly the field safety inspectors, know the truth.

One year ago, Commission representatives appeared before a congressional committee to recommend that the positions of Director and Assistant Directors of Locomotive Inspection be placed under the civil-service system.

Since enactment of the Locomotive Inspection Act in 1911, these three positions have been filled by presidential appointment, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Except for the 11 Commissioners, all other positions in the Commission are filled under the civil-service system. We are not advocating any change in this whatsoever, either for Washington headquarters personnel or for the field personnel. The Commission wants all ICC employees, without exception, to be placed or retained under the civil-service system.

The Commission has always taken pride in its contribution to railroad safety. A major role in this contribution has been and is being layed by the field inspectors, and the improvement in the railroads' safety record over the years is the best possible evidence

that their work is being performed well. Yet it has been alleged that, insofar as locomotive inspectors are concerned, "inspection morale is at a low ebb" and, therefore, railroad accidents due to locomotive failures have more than doubled. This is entirely incorrect.

For your information, here are the latest accident figures for steam locomotives and locomotive units other than steam, as reported by the Director of Locomotive Inspection in his annual report to the Commission:

1. Accidents and casualties caused by failure of some part of the steam locomotive, including boiler, or tender:

	Year ended June 30, 1954	Year ended June 30, 1953
Number of accidents	32	59
Number of persons killed	1	12
Number of persons injured	39	62

2. Accidents and casualties caused by failure of some part or appurtenance of locomotive units other than steam:

	Year ended June 30, 1954	Year ended June 30, 1953
Number of accidents	73	75
Number of persons killed	2	----------
Number of persons injured	263	88

In both tables, the total number of accidents declined. In the second table, there is a marked increase in the number of persons injured, accounted for not by a doubling of the number of accidents, but by a single accident in which 189 persons were injured. As you may recall, this accident involved the derailment of 2 locomotive units and 11 passenger cars because of a false flange on a slid flat driving wheel resulting from a seized traction motor pinion bearing on a diesel-electric locomotive unit.

An accident in which so many persons are injured is, of course, tragic and deplorable. It is completely inaccurate, however, to cite it as evidence that our inspection work has failed, or that the quality of that work has deteriorated. The decline in the number of accidents plainly contradicts such an allegation.

For the future, there is now before the Congress a budget for the fiscal year beginning next July 1 which calls for the same expenditure—$709,500—for locomotive inspection work as is provided in the current budget. The new budget also provides for precisely the same number of positions—100—as are provided for in the current budget.

Please be assured that the Commission is well aware of the importance of its duties in the field of railroad safety. It has no intention of playing politics in this field or in any other.

Actually, the Commission is gratified that its railroad safety work has accomplished so much toward the greater safety of the general public and of railroad employees. It is also gratified that this picture continues to show improvement.

I should like to take this opportunity to commend our locomotive and other field safety inspectors for maintaining high standards of performance in their public service, and to urge them to guard against any relaxation of these standards. To a marked degree, the safety of railroad employees and the general public is in your hands, and I am confident those hands are as capable as they have ever been in the history of this vital work.

RICHARD F. MITCHELL,
Chairman.

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, who has devoted his entire life to the service of his country, recently celebrated his 75th birthday. In this connection, I call attention to the following editorial from the January 28, 1955, edition of the Traer (Iowa) Star-Clipper, which has three times been selected by the National Editorial Association as America's best weekly newspaper:

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur was 75 years old Wednesday. His birth dates are usualy observed on a strictly business-as-usual routine. This time he made an exception. Accompanied by his wife and son Arthur, he went to Los Angeles for public ceremonies of dedication of a city park named for him, and the unveiling of a new MacArthur statue.

One of the unforgettable experiences of the Star-Clipper editor was seeing and hearing General MacArthur at the Republican National Convention in 1952 in Chicago, and the electrifying effect on the capacity crowd in the International Amphitheater at the first sight of the general as he was escorted down the center aisle. It was like an electric spark touching off an explosion. For an hour and a quarter he eloquently blistered the Truman administration, and the cheers were nearly deafening.

The best published report on that event, we thought, was the comment by the novelist, Louis Bromfield, who wrote: "General MacArthur has a natural flair for the dramatic, and cannot avoid giving a great performance. It is quite possible that he could read a telephone directory with electrifying effect. He is a man whose dignity could never possibly be questioned."

We would like to have been in Los Angeles Wednesday, and we hope the speech is televised nationally. Like Herbert Hoover, General MacArthur is a master of the English language, and expert in the right words to fit every situation. His speeches are not the work of any ghost writer.

One of the most cruel and unnecessary acts of a President of the United States, in our opinion, was that of Truman in firing Douglas MacArthur as supreme commander in the Far East. The consequences of that ill-advised action are being felt more and more in the growing crisis involving the United States in Asia. Every general who followed MacArthur as head of the U. N. armies in Korea had much the same experiences and criticisms as he did of the inept handling of the war by petty bureaucrats in Washington. We stand to lose all of Asia to the Communists largely because our State Department was at all times afraid to attempt anything that might bring Russia into the war more actively. The United Nations, and particularly the British, entered the Korean war as a U. N. enterprise against their better judgment, and supported it grudgingly, not with the idea of trying to win it, but only to get out under the easiest terms offered by the Reds.

MacArthur got in bad with most of these people because he believed there was an opportunity to win, and he was forbidden to use it. The pressure on Truman to get rid of MacArthur was strong, not only from the One Worlders in our State Department, but also from U. N. officials and British and French leaders. Although the United States furnished 90 percent of the U. N. military forces and virtually all of the money and supplies for the Korean war, the politicians managing it seldom made a move without consulting the foreigners. That policy has not changed much today. We seem to depend on the U. N. and Britain to tell us what to do next.

MacArthur's record as administrator of occupied Japan, where he had been allowed great freedom of action, had been praised in practically all quarters. His successful postwar handling of the Japanese was in great contrast to the blundering of the Allies in the early postwar German occupation policies.

In the U. N. police action in Korea, MacArthur found the Truman administration and U. N. officials often arrayed against him in policy matters. He chafed at the bit because of the many restrictions he was working under. He often had to wait months for the Washington politicians to talk things over with the U. N. and Britain, and make important decisions. Strategic and tactical planning of the war was stymied by the indecisions. A powerful foe was permitted to throw all it had against his forces, but the general was not allowed to strike back with all the power at his command. For example, he had great superior advantage in our airpower, but was forbidden to use it to destroy Communist bases just across the border in Manchuria. The Chinese Reds were receiving some air support from Russia, and their supply of manpower was apparently inexhaustible. MacArthur complained that under the restrictions there was no chance of ending the long stalemate. The U. N. pattern of war in Korea was a little like a football game in which our foes had the full range of the field while our forces had to stop at the 50-yard line. Nearly every move had to be submitted to an inept and inert U. N., which was not always in session.

When the U. N. finally met, it decided there was no longer any hope of unifying Korea or of driving the Communists out of North Korea. In a series of informal meetings, the decision was made to deny MacArthur authority to bomb Manchuria bases supplying the Red armies, or to furnish him more troops. He was directed to hold the line at the 38th parallel, while the U. N. continued efforts for peace.

Truman's decision to fire MacArthur apparently was made after the general, in a letter to the Republican floor leader of the House, JOSEPH MARTIN, stated that Chinese Nationalist troops on Formosa should be permitted to attack the Chinese mainland and take some of the pressure off of the U. N. troops in Korea. The Chinese Nationalist leader, Chiang Kai-shek, had been proposing for months to open up a second front against Red China in support of U. N. forces in Korea. Chiang claimed to have nearly 500,000 troops ready for combat, and enough shipping to transport 350,000 across the Formosan straits to attack the thinly armed China coast. Chiang is reported to have asked Washington only for guns, ammunition, oil and gasoline, and claimed that he could handle the invasion of China alone. MacArthur urged that he be permitted to do so. The Truman administration replied, "Nix." The United States Seventh Fleet was ordered by the President to defend Formosa against attack by the Reds and also to defend Red China from attack by Chiang.

A nationally syndicated newspaper columnist, a day or two after Truman fired MacArthur, spoke the sentiments of many millions of American people when he wrote with high indignation:

"The architects of the Constitution were brave men, willing to go to any lengths to uphold the dignity of Americans and freemen everywhere. Mr. Truman used it to

humiliate a brave American. Does Mr. Truman have in his Cabinet or in his personal entourage anyone to compare with MacArthur? If he does, won't he bring them forth? A Nation would be grateful.

"Does Mr. Truman place himself in the same class as General MacArthur? Does he think he is the equal in stature of the general he humbled behind the official seal of the United States? If he does, he'll have a hard time proving it. I suppose he knows as much law as does MacArthur and I would give him the edge in knowledge of political machines, including the Pendergast one, but, outside of that, my bet rides with the general.

"One of the things that turned my stomach—and it isn't easily turned—was a paragraph from the Presidential communique to MacArthur. I quote it: 'You are authorized to have issued such orders as are necessary to complete desired travel to such place as you may select.' A second lieutenant gets that sort of order when he is being moved from Fort Riley to Fort Knox. So help me, a private in the infantry gets almost as nice a note. A gracious thing to do to a man who has given so much to his country. I say flatly that a paragraph like that to General MacArthur proves the signer a petty, little, ill-tempered man—not a gentleman as the world knows a gentleman. I think a man who would do that is a risk to a great Nation and from here on out we should be a little more careful of our ballot.

"General MacArthur, in the message that fired him, was told that he couldn't fit in with the policies of the United Nations. What honest man would?

"The United Nations is talk, more talk, and then a little more talk. There isn't a member who could break down a gun of any caliber and put it together and then use it.

"The United Nations told MacArthur to fight. He did. And what has the United Nations done? So little that you have to laugh when you read of United Nations troops making an attack, or falling back, when all the time you know that the troops are Americans, that the bullets are American, and that the gas for the planes and tanks and trucks is American.

"MacArthur just isn't a phony. This is a country of phonies right now. Five percenters, lobbyists, hustlers, cheaters, bums, lightweights—you finish it. The greatest concentration is in Washington.

"The Government has no power to hurt a Greasy Thumb Guzik, but it does have the power to hurt a MacArthur.

"Let us all hope and pray that the good Lord will let us live until 1952."

The columnist quoted above was hoping, as were many of us, that the 1952 elections and a Republican victory would bring changes in the policies of our Government, by the election of a President and a Congress that would be pro-American, and that there would be a return to constitutional government. A great many changes were promised. Not many have been forthcoming.

MacArthur is described by intimate friends as a general who never wanted to retire, and still awaits a call back to duty that has never come. With our country facing a great crisis today, and a mountain of defense problems, it is tragic that the services of General MacArthur are not being utilized in any way for our military defense.

The reason General MacArthur, though needed, is being shunned and ignored is that he still "doesn't fit" in the policies of the United Nations. And in Washington, the interests of the United Nations still have high priority over those of the United States. Since the Eisenhower administration has adopted the foreign policies of the Truman-Acheson administration, anyone who places our own country first really has no place to go, and that even goes for a great American like Douglas MacArthur.

Since the above was written we note a press dispatch from Washington which says that our Third District Congressman, H. R. GROSS, has addressed a letter to President Eisenhower urging that General MacArthur be recalled to active duty for service in connection with the Far East crisis. Representative GROSS' letter said, in part:

"In this uncertain and grave situation, I call your attention to the presence in our midst of a great American, a great military strategist and commander, a man of vast and unquestioned knowledge of Asia and the workings of the oriental mind—Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

"I urge you with all sincerity at my command to immediately recall from retirement General MacArthur and utilize to the fullest extent in this growing crisis the abilities he has so well demonstrated."

He urged that "disagreements of the past be set aside," and that neither MacArthur nor any other commander of United States military forces be fettered with the shackles of a politically divided United Nations command as in Korea."

It is not likely that Mr. GROSS' advice to the President will be heeded, but we commend him for offering it.

GROSS commended the President for his message to Congress Monday requesting congressional approval of the use of military forces in defense of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. He said he was confident that the American people approve the President's action seeking congressional backing for any action that may be required. Mr. Eisenhower must be given credit for at least asking Congress for authority to intervene in another war in the Far East—a departure from the example of his predecessor, Mr. Truman, who started a "police action" in Korea without consulting the legislators, who, under the United States Constitution, are given the power to declare wars.

John C. Hazzard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heartfelt sense of personal loss and with deep regret that I announce the death of John C. Hazzard who passed away on January 29, 1955.

Among the many positions held by Mr. Hazzard were the following: chairman, Public Service Commission, State of Delaware; sales manager for Warner Co., Wilmington, Del.; Democratic National Committeeman for the State of Delaware; past chairman of the State Park Commission for the State of Delaware; and Democratic candidate for Congress in 1934. Mr. Hazzard was a distinguished citizen of the State of Delaware who attained much success in business and governmental affairs.

A recognized leader among men he was a devoted and loyal servant of the State of Delaware and of the Nation. His contributions to better government were many and he performed his duties in his many positions of trust with a zeal and faithfulness.

Of his many fine personal attributes, his capacity to get along with others and the practical way in which he got things done were outstanding. He was possessed of a keen sense of humor and a friendliness that were ever present in his associations with people of all walks of life. My State and I have suffered a great loss and my warmest sympathy goes out to his family and many friends in this time of deep sorrow.

John C. Hazzard was truly a fine American, loyal Delawarean, and worthy friend.

A Historic Congregation Is on the March

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, recently, in my home town, Jacksonville, Fla., the Union Congregational Church made the decision to move from the congested downtown locality where it had devoutly worshiped for many years and to locate its new church building in a growing suburban area. On the occasion of the last service in the old structure my good friend, Dr. Richard K. Morton, the able pastor of the congregation, delivered a thought-provoking sermon, part of which I include here for the benefit of others than those for whom the words were first spoken:

(Psalm 26: 8: "Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house, and the place where Thine honour dwelleth.")

God guided lovingling and wisely those loyal and enterprising folk who formed the first fellowship, in 1875, which took the name, Union Congregational Church. * * *

These walls became hallowed and sanctified by the devotion of those who built and those who served. A building became a temple. A structure created by the hand of man spoke to nearly two generations about our blessings at the hand of God.

Through these doors have come many, young and old, seeking, inquiring, hoping, yearning. They have sometimes come in joy, sometimes in sorrow. They have sometimes come in faith, sometimes in doubt. But as tears were shed, words of compassion said, and ministeries of love poured out, these walls have become a temple.

We and many before us have justly loved this place, which became for us a chosen place of worship. We who have known what was involved in making a structure into a sanctuary should thus be the first to recognize that God is ready to dwell with the human heart wherever it may be. He is placed on no one fixed site. He is a God who can and does move. As we have loved these familiar walls, we must remind ourselves that love of God must not be confined to associations familiar to one location, one type of building, one form of symbolism. * * *

Among the early Hebrews the Lord was believed to dwell in the tents of the faithful or to be present in the ark or the tabernacle. The ark was most reverently carried about, even into battle, and great was the consternation if it was captured or damaged in any way.

"Lead on, O King Eternal, our day of march has come!" In this slightly changed version of words from a great hymn, let us find a way to make this cherished house of worship something which cannot remain fixed or a thing of stones and bricks and wood, but must ever be on the march, in

the hearts of men, proclaiming the day of the Lord and the unsearchable riches of Christ and His redeeming gospel.

• • • • •

We have set up habits and ways we are loath to change. But change is often the gateway to new strength, new joy, and new discipleship.

These walls have become a temple not to be revered, for itself, forever—but to signify a great spiritual power within the fellowship making use of it. This temple was never built to keep something inside—but to pour something outside. It was never designed to be an unaging shelter, but to proclaim an unaging word. • • •

These walls have indeed to us become a temple, but one which is not an end in itself, but a symbol and a means to promote a great service in the Master's name. As it is reduced to dust and is seen no more, we shall thank God that it did exist, and that it did send us forth to build more nobly and to serve more faithfully.

The Indians Are Going to Town

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to a significant article in the Reader's Digest for January 1955 entitled "The Indians Are Going to Town," by O. K. and Marjorie Armstrong. Mr. Armstrong will be remembered by many of our colleagues as a Member of the 82d Congress from Missouri, and one who was greatly interested in proposals for improving the lot of our Indian citizens.

This article deals with the whole program of relocating in productive jobs all Indians who desire to leave their home reservations and areas and find greater economic opportunity elsewhere. I personally feel that it is a program worthy of the support of the Congress and of citizens of all races.

I wish to commend the authors for their presentation of this matter, so timely and of such great importance to the Indians, our original Americans.

The article follows:

"Sixth floor—Indian Bureau. All Indians off," sang out the elevator operator at 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago. In an aside to us he said, "They all go to the same place."

Off stepped a young Indian couple, the man wearing a red shirt and jeans with a belt of silver circles; she in a print dress with an enormous turquoise necklace. She carried a tiny baby on one arm and was leading a toddler. They were followed by a tall Indian in cowboy boots.

All were plainly ill at ease and smiled their appreciation when we volunteered to show them to the Indian Relocation Office. In the reception room a neatly dressed young Indian woman spoke to the couple in their own Navaho tongue, calling their names, Hola and Ula Sunrise. Delighted, they responded to her welcome. Then she turned inquiringly to the tall man.

"Me—I'm Charley Gray Fox, a Sioux from Rosebud, S. Dak.," he announced with a grin.

During the next hour three other Indians arrived—a Cheyenne from Montana, a Creek from Oklahoma, and another Navaho from Window Rock, Ariz. All had been picked by officials at their reservations to begin a new life in the big city and had suitable homes and jobs waiting for them through the efforts of Kurt Dreifuss, director of the relocation office, and his staff.

"Why did you leave your reservation?" we asked Charley Gray Fox.

"Me—I'm tired of little odd jobs around Rosebud. I want a regular pay check."

"What job will you take?"

He held up his huge bronzed hands. "Anything I can do with these. I like to work with my hands. Mechanics—anything. Just so I'm building something."

We asked the Sunrises why they came to Chicago. The young husband waved expressively toward his baby and the toddler peeping from behind the mother.

"Too many Navahos—not enough to eat," he answered.

The American Indians are on the warpath again. "Operation relocation," begun in 1952 under former Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dillon Myer, is developing into a major activity of the Indian Bureau under present Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons. Its purpose is to give a helping hand to Indians who want to leave the reservations to find employment. Some 6,200 of the estimated 245,000 Indians on reservations had been resettled by late 1954 (of whom 2,500 are workers in good jobs) via relocation centers established in Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, and Oakland. Additional centers are being considered for Seattle, St. Louis, and Kansas City.

"At long last," says Commissioner Emmons, "we are doing more than keeping the Indian on relief. We are helping him to help himself."

For several weeks last summer we visited reservations—westward from the Dakotas to Oregon, thence southward through California, then east to the great Navaho, Hopi, Apache, Pueblo, and other southwestern areas. Everywhere we saw the tragedy of these twin evils—overpopulation in proportion to resources and underemployment for men and women anxious to work.

When Kit Carson herded the Navahos into their huge barren tract in 1868 there were only 7,800 of them. Today there are 71,000. The grazing lands and other resources won't adequately support more than half this population.

In South Dakota the Indian population has grown from 21,000 in 1930 to 30,000 today—and this is about the proportion of increase in all Indian areas.

A few tribes receive good incomes from their reservations, such as the Klamaths in Oregon from timber and the Arapaho in Wyoming from oil and gas. But the majority of reservations are little better than country slums. Not more than 20 percent of the Crow Indians of Montana or the Shoshoni-Bannocks in Idaho make a living from their own use of reservation lands. Of the 1,700 families on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, only 200 are self-supporting.

We asked Charles F. Miller, chief of the Indian Bureau's Relocation Branch: "Why haven't more Indians left for better jobs on their own?"

"Suppose you had never been very far from home," he responded. "Suppose your land and money were held in trust by the Government, and you feared discrimination because of your race if you ventured outside. Suppose maybe you had difficulty speaking English. Wouldn't you hesitate to buck a big city looking for work? Well, that's the situation for many reservation Indians."

Success of the relocation program, Mr. Miller feels, is due to three important things: Careful selection of applicants, fitting the Indian to the right job, and adjusting him and his family to the new community.

On each reservation a relocation officer makes contact with those who show an interest in resettling. An applicant must be 18 years old or more, in good health, and of satisfactory reputation. His fare is paid to the relocation center of his choice, and the center pays his living expenses until he receives his first full paycheck. He is told plainly that he will be expected to stand on his own feet after he gets the job.

At the relocation office, expert interviewers discuss his experience, ability, and interests, take him to visit plants and places of business where jobs are available, help him choose. Housing is found for him—and his family, if he has one. Employees of the relocation office follow through with help on getting the children into school, how to shop at department stores and supermarkets. A minister or priest of the family's faith may call and add his words of welcome.

Several big industrial firms give the relocatees on-the-job training. Many of the Indians attend night school, and the Indian Bureau is now emphasizing manual and vocational training on the reservations.

Why the big cities for Indian workers? Why not small towns near home? Relocation officers give three reasons:

First, unhappily, the greatest discrimination against Indians exists in non-Indian communities near the reservations. But in big cities Indians are readily accepted into school, church, and community life.

Second, there are more job possibilities in the cities. Mary Nan Gamble, director of the Los Angeles Relocation Office, pointed out: "Every sort of industry, big and little, is located here. We have 1,000 contacts with potential employers in our files, and 375 have already accepted Indian workers. We hope to double those figures in another year."

Third reason is suitability of Indians for industrial occupations. Says Brice Lay, relocation director at Oakland: "With proper training, an Indian can learn to do almost anything skillfully. Our underemployed Indians constitute the most needless waste of human resources in America. For these people the relocation program comes as a rainbow of hope."

From many Indians working at their jobs, and from their employers, we learned how bright that rainbow can be. The Stewart-Warner Corp. in Chicago has employed about 30 relocatees. "Indians make good workers," Burt Muldoon, personnel director, told us. "We start them at $1.40 per hour, and after a year many have reached $1.80. Our machines work fast, but nothing is too fast for a well-trained Indian."

Because of the good record made by several Indian employees, the Boeing Airplane Co. in Seattle plans to hire more Indians when that city's relocation office opens. North American Aviation, Los Angeles, has employed 200 resettled Indians, finds them particularly skillful at cutting, shaping, and riveting sheet metal. "They are intelligent, industrious people," J. M. Wright, employment supervisor, declared. "We plan to continue participating in this program."

Employers are discovering how adept Indian women are as stenographers and machine operators. (About one-fourth of all relocated workers are women.) Betty Koester, personnel director of Swimwear, Inc., a plant in Los Angeles which makes women's swim suits and beach towels, walked with us down long rows of sewing machines. Of the 200 employes, 32 were relocated Indian girls. "Navahos, Pueblos, Utes—we like them all," she said. "They are neat, diligent, and skillful."

Relocation has a strong appeal to younger Indians. The largest group of relocatees is composed of former GI's from 28 to 33 years old, married, with 1 or 2 children. With quiet earnestness, Benny Bearskin, a Win-

nebago whom we met in Chicago, expressed sentiments we heard echoed by many other young Indians: "They've kept the old folks as museum pieces, through ignorance and idleness, but we young Indians are going to free ourselves by education and work. We can be good Americans, making a decent living, and still keep our Indian culture."

Visiting the Indians, we saw a normal and happy integration into the community. Several were buying their own homes. There were schoolbooks for children of parents who never went beyond the third grade in reservation schools. There were radios and television sets.

Indian centers in Chicago and Los Angeles provide a club house with reading rooms, kitchen for refreshments, and recreation hall. They are usually open day and evening, and every Indian in town is invited to come in and get acquainted with members of all the tribes represented in the city. The Chicago All-Tribes American Indian Center sponsors a baseball team, appropriately called the Braves. Its news sheet, Tom Tom Echoes, keeps all tribes informed of Indian doings. Teen-age parties are lively affairs. Hearts are never lonely at the Indian center. Many romances blossom.

In Chicago the center's chieftain is Ted White, whose father was Sioux and mother Oneida. Winnebago Benny Bearskin helps him with dances and pageants. "We do what the Government can't do—we make them feel at home," White told us.

Not all relocatees are readily adjusted. About 30 percent go back to the reservations—mostly because of homesickness. But after seeing the folks an increasing number leave home a second time. Steady work and regular pay have a strong pull. Those who return usually bring a list of names of relatives (meaning good friends) whom they want relocated pronto.

Average cost of relocating an Indian worker in all areas is about $200. "The best investment the Indian Bureau ever made, both in money and in human values," Mr. Miller calls it. He showed us reports on Indians who had worked at their new jobs for a year or longer. Selecting five Indian families, he found it had cost the American taxpayers only $1,156 for relocation expenses, while from their combined incomes of about $15,000 during their first year they had paid income taxes totaling $1,418.

Among the Indians relocated by George T. Barrett when he was area relocation director at Billings, Mont., were John Houle and his wife of the Cree tribe. Later Mrs. Houle wrote these words of appreciation:

"We are working and finding friends among those we once feared. The things we work for are ours. We can pass them on to our children. By the work of our hands and the understanding of our hearts we have won back our birthright."

As the relocation program progresses, the existing reservations can better support those Indians who desire to live close to the soil on farm or ranch. The others can find their places in new homes and chosen occupations, and the stream of a truly noble race, so long dammed by tradition and prejudice, will strengthen the current of American life.

Seattle-Honolulu Airline Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in yesterday's Washington Post and Times Herald makes a point which I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues.

That point is the dangers inherent in the overriding by the White House of the considered judgments of regulatory agencies on problems which those agencies were constituted to decide.

In this instance, the White House changed its mind after being convinced, apparently, of the error of its original decision, and happily so. But this emphasizes that snap judgments should not be substituted for the considered determinations of experts in the subject at hand.

The final decision to permit Northwest Airlines to continue its Seattle-Honolulu service, as the Civil Aeronautics Board had recommended, was the correct one, and I am pleased that it came out as it did.

The editorial to which I referred follows:

REVERSE PROPELLER

Pressure on the White House has again produced a change in aviation policy, this time in the reversal of President Eisenhower's decision to cancel Northwest Airlines' route from Seattle to Honolulu. In this instance the protests seem to have been justified, and the President deserves credit for the tacit acknowledgment that he made a mistake. But why, then, did he upset the recommendation of the Civil Aeronautics Board in the first place? The CAB had unanimously recommended that Northwest's authority for the Seattle-Honolulu operation be continued and that the parallel route of Pan American World Airways be canceled. Now both routes are to continue, at least temporarily.

Quite apart from questions of economics, there are two things very wrong with this picture. In the first place, if the present decision is a right one, then the President did not investigate the situation very thoroughly when he undertook, apparently on the advice of Commerce Secretary Weeks, to overrule the CAB. In the second place, the manner of the reversal leaves the clear implication that the White House can be deflected from its purposes by pressure. There was evidence of this in the earlier withdrawal of a prospective nominee for the CAB after the White House was deluged with organized protests.

Now, protests and pressures are an inevitable part of the democratic system. What is bad is to permit them to become a substitute for independent judgment. Even though the reversal in this case may have been proper, the whole zigzag performance leaves international aviation in confusion and constitutes an open invitation for contenders henceforth to run to the White House. This is what inevitably happens when the President and his advisers attempt to take on themselves regulatory functions which in the absence of compelling reason, ought to be left with the agencies established to perform them.

Echo From a Recession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the New York Daily News entitled "Echo From a Recession," which appeared Wednesday, February 2, 1955, accompanied by a cartoon drawing of President Eisenhower:

ECHO FROM A RECESSION

Interesting news almost always comes from the annual meetings of the American Federation of Labor's executive council in luxurious Miami Beach, Fla. The 1955 session, which began yesterday, has already yielded one unusually interesting item.

This one is from the A. F. of L.'s staff of economists, and concerns what happened to the American working man and woman in 1954, which a lot of labor leaders and Democratic politicians insisted on calling a recession year.

According to the A. F. of L. economists, United States workers did better with the money they made in 1954 than in any other year since World War II.

It wasn't that they got huge raises in pay. They didn't.

What happened was that the money the workers made was real money—meaning its purchasing power stayed put. The dough they earned in former years since the war looked bigger and bigger, but bought less and less. Inflation was steadily eating away the dollar's buying power.

Inflation has now been stopped, the A. F. of L. research experts concede, and we have stable money—about the most valuable single asset any nation can have.

And who halted inflation? So far as we know, this A. F. of L. report doesn't identify the person or persons who brought this enormous boon to the American people. We'll supply that information by noting that it was a certain Republican administration in Washington, heading up in the mystery man whose picture appears herewith, and you can have one guess as to who the gentleman is.

Lithuanian Independence: A Tribute to a Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, on this occasion I wish to say that any nation that has withstood for more than a century and a quarter continued foreign domination and oppression from a ruthless and tyrannical neighbor and still survive certainly deserves the praise of mankind. Such praise Lithuania deserves; for in spite of the fact that Lithuania has been occupied and ruthlessly dominated by Imperial Russia and Soviet Russia for periods totaling over 125 years this nation still lives.

In many respects the Lithuanian people today are ruled by a far more ruthless master than in the days prior to the foundation of the Lithuanian nationality was relegated to an inferior status in the days of Czarist Russia; but the suppression exercised by the Czar might well be termed moderate when compared to the suppression imposed by the Soviet.

In this 20th century our language has taken on a new word—genocide—which means the willful destruction of a nation

and a people. Genocide is the long-range objective of the Soviet rules; it is to destroy the Lithuanian nation. Deportations of thousands of Lithuanian people and the resettlement of Russians and other Soviet peoples in Lithuania have thus far done much to change the ethnic character not only of that country but also of the other Baltic States—Latvia and Estonia. As part of its scheme of communization Soviet Russia has laid down a plan calculated to eradicate the Lithuanian national consciousness. Along with their plan to destroy the idea of Lithuanian nationality, the Communist are seeking to remold this once free and happy country in the image of the Soviet state.

That Lithuania is going through an epoch of great trial goes without saying. But the Lithuanian nation is a virile nation. It is a nation with a glorious historical past and a sense of national destiny for the future. It is a nation which has survived other oppressions and shall survive this one.

On this occasion commemorating the 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence the message of America is a message of hope that one day the Lithuanian people shall fulfill their national destiny and that they shall again enjoy the natural right of every nation to be free, as they once were, so that they can once more resume their tasks of development and progress, and pursue the happiness they once enjoyed as a free and independent people.

Butter for Servicemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, in January 1953 I requested a report from the Quartermaster General's office and found to my amazement that the Army purchased in January 1953 over 3 million pounds of oleomargarine and only 1 million pounds of butter. I successfully offered amendments to the Agricultural Act of 1954 to correct this unfortunate situation which had developed over a period of 4 or 5 years. I am happy to report that as a result of my inquiry over 2 years ago and as a result of my amendments which were adopted last year, progress has been made in putting butter on the tables of the men and women in the Armed Forces. The report which I received from the Quartermaster General's office as of February 2, 1955, is as follows:

Prior to 1953 the Army purchased both butter and margarine for Army and Air Force use depending upon local troop preference. In 1953 pursuant to an agreement with the Commodity Credit Corporation the Quartermaster Corps, Department of the Army, which is responsible for the central purchase of subsistence for the armed services, began obtaining Commodity Credit Corporation butter for troop issue for the Army and Air Force in lieu of margarine. This butter was for both domestic and overseas requirements, with the exception of those areas lacking refrigeration facilities where canned margarine was issued, because a suitable canned butter was not available. Since the Department of the Navy is prohibited by law from using oleomargarine for troop feeding, it did not participate in the use of surplus butter procured under the 1953 agreement. Normal military requirements for butter for all services continued to be met by the purchase of butter in the United States on the open market except for some overseas requirements. However, since October 31, 1954, pursuant to an agreement between the Quartermaster General and the Commodity Credit Corporation, under the authority of Public Law 690, 83d Congress (the Agricultural Act of 1954), butter, in addition to the quantities usually procured in the normal channels of trade, is being obtained from the Commodity Credit Corporation, without reimbursement, for use by the Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps.

Although substantial quantities of butter were procured in the United States for overseas use, the European and Far East Commands were purchasing a portion of their resale and troop issue requirements of butter in their respective areas when readily available, pursuant to authorization granted under the provisions of the Department of Defense Appropriation Act, which permitted the purchase of perishable foods from overseas sources by establishments located outside the United States for the use of personnel attached thereto. About October 1, 1954, instructions were issued to those commands to discontinue, upon completion of existing contracts, the procurement of butter from foreign sources for troop issue in their areas. Overseas commands now are permitted to purchase butter from local sources only for resale to authorized commissary patrons. Since October 1, 1954, butter has been obtained from the Commodity Credit Corporation at world market prices for troop issue in Europe and the Far East.

Purchases of butter and margarine by the Quartermaster Corps for the armed services during 1953 and 1954 were as follows:

BUTTER

Sources	Calendar year 1953	Calendar year 1954
	Pounds	*Pounds*
Domestic open market	27,500,000	32,400,000
Domestic CCC	[1] 15,000,000	[2] 22,000,000
Overseas	13,240,000	10,160,000

[1] purchased in lieu of margarine for supply to Army and Air Force troops in continental United States and overseas.

[2] Figure includes 18,400,000 pounds obtained in lieu of margarine prior to November 1954 and 3,600,000 pounds purchased at world market prices for troop issue in Europe and the Far East in lieu of foreign purchases. Although coinplete figures are not yet available for butter received from CCC under Public Law 690, 83d Cong., it is estimated that during the period Nov. 1, 1954, through Jan. 24, 1955, 10,400,000 pounds (not included in this figure) have been so obtained.

MARGARINE

Source	Calendar year 1953	Calendar year 1954
	Pounds	*Pounds*
Domestic open market	19,600,000	[1] 2,700,000

[1] This quantity represents purchases by brand name for sale to authorized commissary patrons. No purchases were made for troop issue purposes.

The Growth of San Mateo County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article from the San Mateo Times of February 5, about the growth of San Mateo County, which is the Ninth Congressional District of California. We are particularly proud of the growth of our community in population, but more especially are we proud of the per capita income increase which has occurred since 1940.

The article follows:

COUNTY'S POPULATION GROWTH LEADS STATE

From 1940 to 1950 the population of San Mateo County more than doubled. As of July 1954, it had grown to 321,900, an increase of 37 percent since 1950 or more than twice the rate of growth experienced elsewhere in the State, the research department of California State Chamber of Commerce reported today.

In its recently published Economic Survey of California and Its Counties—1954, the State chamber noted that individual incomes of San Mateo County residents showed a 499 percent increase between 1940 and 1952, rising from $96,163,000 to $576,009,000. Per capita incomes had risen by 158 percent from $844 in 1940 to $2,174 in 1952, and were considerably above the per capita figure for the State. Median incomes were the highest, according to census data, for any county in California.

STATEWIDE SURVEY

San Mateo is one of the State's 58 counties covered individually in the chamber's 300-page survey published every 4 years by the State of California. The data, collected and compiled by the chamber, will be used by marketing and business research agencies, management consulting, factory locating services, libraries, and information services throughout the country. Information on each county includes population, incomes, manufacturing, mining, business, agriculture, resources, and trends.

In an effort to give a comprehensive picture of each county in the State, the survey includes a brief account of each county's history, topography, climate, and tourist attractions. Uniform tables on economic data also afford quick and easy comparison for each county.

ENCROACHMENT ON FARMS

In its report the chamber had this to say about the rapidly growing county of San Mateo:

"Urbanization and industrialization has encroached greatly upon farm areas in the county. Number of farms, land in farms, and potential cropland, all have declined. Land in crops dropped from 48,000 acres in 1940 to 32,000 in 1953. Agriculture, however, remains an important part of the county's economy. Total value of production rose from $7,723,811 in 1940 to $16,242,216 in 1953. Largest relative decline in the period was in dairy products with a drop in the number of milk cows from 13,575 to 6,849.

"Due to its adjacency to metropolitan centers, San Mateo's agriculture is dominated by specialty crops. Most important are

flowers and nursery stock, valued in 1953 at $6,855,435. About half were grown outdoors on 1,313 acres, the remainder under glass on an area of 3,011,017 square feet. Truck crops are second in importance with a 1953 valuation of $4,431,651."

Hand in hand with the rapid increase in San Mateo's population is its industrialization. Factory payrolls jumped 204 percent during the 6-year period from 1947 to 1953, compared with an increase of 109 percent for the State. Employment rose from 8,577 in the third quarter of 1947 to 18,667 during the same months of 1953, a 118-percent increase—more than 2½ times that experienced in the State.

Employment and payrolls of the electrical machinery industry show it to be the most important in the county. During the third quarter of 1952, 22 establishments employed an average of 4,064 persons and its annual payrolls exceeded $18 million, or 25 percent of the county's total manufacturing payrolls in 1952. The electronics branch of the industry dominated the field.

According to the State chamber, Belmont is the most rapidly growing community in the county, followed by Menlo Park. Other rapidly growing communities are south San Francisco and Daly City in the northern extreme, San Mateo in the center, and Redwood City at the southern end.

Wage-Payment Law for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill in Congress to regulate the payment and collection of wages in the District of Columbia similar to the labor laws of Connecticut.

I am amazed to find that Washington, D. C., has no wage-payment law. I am offering my bill to fill this vacuum. My bill is solely designed to afford the wage-earners of the Nation's Capital the same degree of protection now enjoyed by workers in the more progressive States like Connecticut.

As a member of the House District of Columbia Committee it is my duty to give legislative attention to correcting glaring inequities in the laws of this Federal city where the citizens are denied the right to vote on their own laws. Members of Congress who are assigned to the District of Columbia Committees have this responsibility in addition to looking after the best interests of their own States and the Nation.

My wage-payment bill if enacted will not materially affect the responsible business establishments of Washington, but is directed specifically at the fly-by-night afterhours bottle clubs and irresponsible subcontractors that pull up and leave without properly settling with their dismissed workers.

I am advised by the Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board that this Board can enforce a statute along the lines of my bill at a very small additional cost to their regular operations, and would be of assistance in the enforcement of minimum-wage laws in the District of Columbia.

The language and the principles incorporated in my bill were initially adopted by a committee of State labor commissioners, with the endorsements of the United States Department of Labor, the International Association of Governmental Labor Officials, the National Conference of Labor Legislation, and the American Federation of Labor.

The purpose of my bill is to require regular payment of wages at least semimonthly in Washington, D. C., and to assist employees in collecting valid claims for wages due. Where, however, by custom or contract, an employer has been accustomed to paying employees at least monthly he may continue to do so.

My bill further provides that wages shall be regularly paid in cash or by check; it provides for payment of wages in the event of discharge, voluntary quitting, or in consequence of a labor dispute, and specifies the method of payment in the event of a dispute concerning the amount of wages due.

The Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board of the District of Columbia would be authorized to represent employees in the collection of wages due them and unpaid.

Forty-six States now have comparable legislation; only Delaware, Florida, and the District of Columbia are without a wage-payment law.

About two-thirds of the States, including Connecticut, require prompt payment of wages to discharged employees.

Almost half of the States, including Connecticut, give similar protection to workers who quit.

Also, my bill provides that willful violations of the act are subject to punishment as misdemeanors, and liquidated damages, not to exceed the amount of unpaid wages, are provided as a means of enforcing the act.

A similar bill was passed by the Senate last year, but Congress adjourned before the House took action.

A comparable bill is now pending before the Senate District of Columbia Committee.

Centennials of the Opening of the Pacific Overland Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the text of a resolution passed on January 17, 1955, by the California State Legislature, relative to the observance of the centennials of the opening of the Pacific overland mail. The text of the resolution follows:

Assembly Joint Resolution 3

Joint resolution relative to the observance of the centennials of the opening of the Pacific overland mail

Whereas by act of Congress, dated March 3, 1857, the Postmaster General of the United States was, for the first time, authorized to contract for the conveyance overland, from the Mississippi River to San Francisco, Calif., of all letter mail; and

Whereas until that time the conveyance of letter mail to the Pacific coast had been by the long, slow, arduous ocean route fraught with danger from storm and sea and totally dependent upon the vagaries of the wind; and

Whereas the opening of service upon the overland route authorized by Congress was the culminating event of a series of events of prime importance not only to the development of the West and California, but also to the development of the United States; and

Whereas centennialy celebrations of these events should be fittingly observed throughout the length and breadth of the Nation for from the modest "four horse coaches, or spring wagons suitable for the conveyance of passengers, as well as the safety and security of the mails," required by the act, have developed our modern systems of communications which bind the east and west into one great Nation; and

Whereas the American Association for State and Local History has undertaken the national sponsorship of centennials and has established regional committees to plan such centennials; and

Whereas a regional committee has been set up in California which is known as the California Committee, Overland Mail Centennials, 1957–58: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and the Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States to take appropriate action to insure the cooperation of the Federal Government in the celebration of the centennials of the Opening of the Pacific Overland Mail; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully urges that all State and local governmental units; public schools; civic, patriotic, and historical societies; and all agencies of communication do participate wholeheartedly in the observance of the celebration of the centennials of the Opening of the Pacific Overland Mail by cooperating fully with the California Committee, Overland Mail Centennials, 1957–58, in commemorating the acts, the accomplishments, and the memories of those sturdy pioneers who engineered the beginnings of overland communication between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of California does hereby commend the American Association for State and Local History for its action in undertaking on a national scale the sponsorship for the centennial observances of the Opening of the Pacific Overland Mail; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of California does hereby respectfully request that the Governor of the State of California transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States; to the Speaker of the House; to the Senators and Representatives of the State of California in Congress; to the governors of the several States and Territories; to the board of supervisors of each California county; to the mayor of each incorporated city; to the titular head of the American Association for State and Local History, American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, California Historical Society, Historical Society of Southern California, Conference of California Historical Societies, California History Foundation, Native Sons of the Golden West,

Native Daughters of the Golden West, National Committee for the Overland Mail Centennials, and California Committee for the Overland Mail Centennials.

Some Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Americans Who Personally Knew Him

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, heretofore granted me, I have the privilege and honor of making these few remarks about Abraham Lincoln—he it is who has been my idol and example in American political life ever since I was a young elementary schoolboy and my schoolteacher in the fifth grade frequently cracked my knuckles with a heavy wooden ruler because she would frequently catch me making a drawing of Abe Lincoln's birthplace cabin when I should, in her judgment, have been studying my lessons.

This coming Saturday, February 12, 1955, is again the birthday of this former Member of this House of Representatives—he having been born February 12, 1809.

In making these few remarks, Mr. Speaker, on this occasion, I am again doing what I have had the privilege of doing each of my 8 previous years as a Member of this great legislative body. On this present occasion I am doing something which I have not done on any other occasion; to wit, I will quote from comments about Abraham Lincoln as set forth in one of the very valuable books in my Lincoln library—Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time—collected and edited by Allen Thorndike Rice, editor of the North American Review.

These incidents which I set forth will prove of different and unique interest and inspiration to all of us, I hope, because they were published fairly soon after the untimely assassination of Mr. Lincoln and were by distinguished men who knew him personally.

Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, ex-Governor of Massachusetts:

I first saw Lincoln in 1840, making a speech in that memorable campaign in the city hall at Lowell; and not again till I was more than 21 years older, when I called on him at the White House to make acknowledgments for my appointment as major general. When he handed me the commission, with some kindly words of compliment, I replied, "I do not know whether I ought to accept this. I received my orders to prepare my brigade to march to Washington while trying a cause to a jury. I stated the fact to the court and asked that the case might be continued, which was at once consented to, and I left to come here the second morning after, my business in utter confusion." He said: "I guess we both wish we were back trying cases," with a quizzical look upon his countenance. I said: "Besides, Mr. President, you may not be aware that I was the Breckinridge candidate for governor in my State in the last campaign, and did all I could to prevent your election." "All the better," he said, "I hope your example will bring many of the same sort with you." "But, I answered, I do not know that I can support the measures of your administration, Mr. President." "I do not care whether you do or not," was his reply, "if you will fight for the country." "I will take the commission and loyally serve while I may, and bring it back to you when I can go with you no further." "That is frank; but tell me wherein you think my administration wrong before you resign," he said. "Report to General Scott."

Hon. Schulyer Colfax, ex-Vice President of the United States:

Finally, there was a very flagrant case of a soldier who, in the crisis of a battle, demoralized his regiment by his cowardice, throwing down his gun and hiding behind the friendly stump. When tried for his cowardice there was no defense. The court-martial, in examining his antecedents, found that he had neither father or mother living, nor wife nor child; that he was unfit to wear the loyal uniform, and that he was a thief who stole continually from his comrades. "Here," said Judge Holt, "is a case which comes exactly within your requirements. He does not deny his guilt; he will better serve the country dead than living, as he has no relations to mourn him, and he is not fit to be in the ranks of patriots, at any rate." Mr. Lincoln's refuge of excuse was all swept away. Judge Holt expected, of course, that he would write "approved" on the paper; but the President, running his long fingers through his hair, as he so often used to do when in anxious thought, replied, "Well, after all, Judge, I think I must put this with my leg cases."

"Leg cases," said Judge Holt with a frown at this supposed levity of the President in a case of life and death. "What do you mean by leg cases, sir?"

"Why, why," replied Mr. Lincoln, "do you see those papers crowded into those pigeonholes? They are the cases that you call by that long title, 'Cowardice in the face of the enemy,' but I call them, for short, my 'leg cases.' But I put it to you, and I leave it for you to decide for yourself, if Almighty God gives a man a cowardly pair of legs, how can he help their running away with him?"

Hon. George S. Bautwell, ex-Secretary of the Treasury:

Mr. Bancroft gave voice to the considerate judgment of mankind when, in conversation, he said, "Beyond question, General Washington, intellectually, is the first of Americans." If this statement be open to question, the question springs from the limitation, for beyond doubt Washington is the first of Americans. His preeminence, his greatness, appear in the fact that his faculties and powers were so fully developed, so evenly adjusted and nicely balanced, that in all the various and difficult duties of military and civil life he never for an instant failed to meet the demand which his position and the attendant circumstances made upon him. This was the opinion of his contemporaries. His preeminence was felt and recognized by the leaders of the savage tribes of America, by the most sagacious statesmen and wisest observers in foreign lands, and by all of his countrymen who were able to escape the influence of passion and to consider passing events in the light of pure reason.

It is the glory of Washington that he was the first great military chief who did not exhibit the military spirit; and in this he has given to his country an example and a rule of the highest value. The problem of republics is to develop military capacity without fostering the military spirit. This Washington did in himself, and this also his country has done. The zeal of the young men of the Republic to enter the military service for the defense of the Union, and the satisfaction with which they accepted peace and returned to the employments of peace, all in obedience to the example of Washington, are his highest praise.

With this estimate, not an unusual nor an exaggerated estimate, I venture to claim for Abraham Lincoln the place next to Washington, whether we have regard to private character, to intellectual qualities, to public services, or to the weight of obligation laid upon the country and upon mankind. Between Washington and Lincoln there were two full generations of men; but, of them all, I see not one who can be compared with either.

Submitting this opinion, in advance of all evidence, I proceed to deal with those qualities, opportunities, characteristics, and services on which Lincoln's claim rests for the broad and most enduring fame of which I have spoken. We are attracted naturally by the career of a man who has passed from the humblest condition in early life to stations of honor nad fame in maturer years. With Lincoln this space was the broadest possible in civilized life. His childhood was spent in a cabin upon a mud floor, and his youth and early manhood were checkered with more than the usual share of vicissitudes and disappointments. The chief blessing of his early life was his step-mother, Sally Bush, who, by her affectionate treatment and wise conduct, did much to elevate the character of the class of women to which she belonged. His opportunities for training in the schools were few, and his hours of study were limited. The books that he could obtain were read and re-read, and a grammar and geometry were his constant companions for a time; but his means of education bore no logical relation to the position he finally reached as a thinker, writer, and speaker.

Of all the self-made men of America, Lincoln owed least to books, schools, and society. Washington owed much to these, and all his self-assertion, which was considerable, in society, in the Army, and in civil affairs, was the assertion of a trained man. Lincoln asserted nothing but his capacity, when it was his duty to decide what was wise and what was right. He claimed nothing for himself, in his personal character, in the nature of deference to others, and too little, perhaps, for the great office he held. The schools create nothing; they only bring out what is; but as long as the mass of mankind think otherwise, an untrained person like Lincoln has an immense advantage over the scholar in the contest for immortality. In this particular, however, the instincts of men have a large share of wisdom in them. When we speak of human greatness we mean natural, innate faculty and power. We distinguish the gift of God from the culture of the schools. The unlearned give the schools too much credit in the work of developing power and forming character; the learned, perhaps, give them too little. But whether judged by the learned or the unlearned, Lincoln is the most commanding figure in the ranks of self-made men which America has yet produced.

Mr. Lincoln possessed the almost divine faculty of interpreting the will of the people without any expression by them. We often hear of the influence of the atmosphere of Washington upon the public men residing there. It never affected him. He was of all men most independent of locality and social influences. He was wholly self-contained in all that concerned his opinions upon public questions and in all his judgments of the popular will. Conditions being given, he could anticipate the popular will and conduct. When the proceedings of the

convention of dissenting Republicans, which assembled at Cleveland in 1864, were mentioned to him and his opinion sought, he told the story of two fresh Irishmen who attempted to find a tree toad that they heard in the forest, and how, after a fruitless hunt, one of them consoled himself and his companion with the expression, "An' faith, it was nothing but a noise."

Mr. Speaker, I wish to again do that which I have often frequently done in this great legislative body, which is to urge that each and every one of my colleagues and any who may read these humble remarks by me, and these reminiscences by these former great American citizens, visit as many of the landmarks, statues, and memorials of Abraham Lincoln—and former Lincoln dwelling places—as possible. Also, I urge that if any of you do so you take your children and young people in your families and in your family connections with you. For instance, go to New Salem, Ill. Go to Hodgensville, Ky. Go to Springfield, Ill. Go to the old Ford Theater here in the Nation's Capital. Go to the Lincoln Memorial here at the Nation's Capital.

Subsidies Became Our Lifeblood—The Remedies Now Appearing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, some time ago the Government took by force private property by taxation and gave big gobs of it to the beef cattlemen. In effect, beef became the public property of the Government. More and more people went into raising beef for Government subsidies. Surpluses of cattle increased. Prices to the consumers were fixed high by the Government, in spite of increasing surpluses.

BEEF REVOLTS

Suddenly the people quit eating beef. They struck. Just as suddenly the sturdy big-hatted ranchers woke up to the fact that they were raising socialized beef for Government, a most unrealiable political customer. They had lost their real dependable customers, the American people. So the cattlemen took a vote and threw out Government price supports and control of their business. They chose the hard road of winning back their customers in a free beef market. That meant lower prices, but increased beef consumption from 62 to 76 pounds per capita—an alltime record. Congress was not smart enough to stop subsidies, but the cattlemen were.

POTATOES GAIN FREEDOM

The potato growers were corrupted for years by Government checks totaling $478 million. They, too, delivered their potatoes to the Government instead of the consumers. Suddenly the taxpayers were shocked to see the Government paying farmers for potatoes with taxpayers' money, then burning the potatoes to make them scarce to keep the prices high. To make it worse, after destroying the potatoes on one side of the road, the Government bought potatoes from Canada to feed the people on the other side. Year after year Congress could not stop it. The growers themselves did stop it. Potatoes won their freedom from Government. And tough as freedom is, potatoes would not go back into socialism, viz, management, ownership, and control by the Government.

PEOPLE REJECT GOVERNMENT HOUSING TOO

In the same way the Government has been insisting on taking by force of taxation uncountable millions of private property and building publicly owned Government houses. It rents them at half rent, exempt from taxation. Here again uncountable millions of taxes must be paid by private property owners which Government tenants should but do not pay. They are exempt.

Of course, Government expects tenants to vote right in return for such favors. A very narrow majority in Congress has been insisting lately on forcing public houses onto the people in spite of the fact that the people do not want them. Generally wherever the people vote they throw out Government housing, keep their own money at home and build their own houses. Constitutional amendments are proposed to stop this sort of Government business.

SCHOOLBOYS UNDERSTAND BUT CONGRESS DOES NOT

Now come the people of Tennessee telling the true story of TVA, the first and most highly touted of American socialistic experiments. It is turning out very badly for Tennessee. For Tennessee has become totally dependent upon Government for electric power and appropriations from Congress. It is falling behind the other 10 Southeastern States in production and distribution. That is because the other States are not dependent on what Congress may or may not do. The other States make and pay for their own electric power and depend on themselves. Tennessee has found by bitter experience that business firms will not move into their State where electric power depends on Congress taking money by force from far-distant States. What's more, Congress is finding it more and more impossible to buy votes in Tennessee by charging the cost to Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, and other States. Even the little schoolboys now define TVA as "a river that flows through 7 States and drains 41." They were drained again in 1954 for the 22d year. TVA will be coming up to the public trough again in 1955. The total take to date by TVA is about $2 billion—all from taxpayers. That will help heat Tennessee houses with electricity, though Tennesseans have plenty of coal in their backyards which they could use. They could also use oil like other people. But it is cheaper to use electricity so long as taxpayers in other States can be socked to provide it. But Tennessee knows that no scheme to buy votes as crazy and incredible as TVA can last. This administration has already given fair warning. So Mr. Robert M. Metcalf, Jr., vice president of Guaranty Mortgage & Trust Co., of Memphis, Tenn., comes up with this remedy. He proposed a new and greater TVA in Spotlight for the Nation.

He suggests that the power-generating facilities of TVA be sold to the people in the area which it serves. This would result in relief for the taxpayers of the remainder of the Nation and at the same time give to the people of the TVA reservation exclusive control over the agency upon which they are completely dependent for their power. Perhaps even more important than these immediate tangible gains, is the fact that such a sale would represent a reversal of the largest, most clear-cut Socialist step the United States has ever taken.

I have been criticized for characterizing TVA as socialistic. However, my opinion conforms with that of the authorities. The Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times of February 15, 1934, quotes Norman Thomas as saying:

> The TVA is the only genuinely socialistic act (in the New Deal)—a flower in the midst of weeds.

Of course, TVA has never been officially represented as being the first Socialist experiment undertaken in the United States. But it is common knowledge that the Public Utility League pressed for passage of TVA legislation all through the 1920's. It was finally passed in the early days of the New Deal as conversation, flood control, and navigation legislation.

Since that time about $2 billion of capital has been invested in and used to finance TVA. Only $101.1 million has been repaid and that merely represents a credit on the books. The 1954 appropriation to TVA was $188,546,000, which is about the average of congressional advances that have been made in recent years. Thus, in a single year, Congress appropriated $87 million more than TVA was credited for repayments during its entire life of 23 years.

Except for a low rate of interest paid on about $65 million worth of bonds which were bought by the United States Treasury, TVA has paid no interest on the capital advances made to it. It has been estimated that, if TVA repaid the Federal Government for the interest costs alone of Federal moneys spent through TVA, the bills from TVA to its customers would have to be increased over $40 million a year.

TVA pays no Federal taxes at all. Therefore, it does not contribute a dime of its proper share in our national defense. It pays nothing toward the salaries of the Congress and the President. In 1954 the Consolidated Edison Co., of New York, paid $113,442,477 in State and Federal taxes, or about 24.4 percent of its revenues. TVA, in 1954, paid $3,578,668 in lieu of State taxes, or 2.7 percent of its revenues.

From the foregoing it is clear that about 24 cents out of every dollar of power bills paid by customers of private utility companies is used in part to pay the costs, the taxes, the interest, and the capital of TVA, which it should pay for but does not.

The TVA is so weak and totally dependent on what Congress will do that it cannot build new power facilities to

meet the growing demand for power; it cannot pay interest or principal; the payment of proper taxes alone would sink the TVA ship. In a debate on the floor of the Senate — 1939 — Senator George W. Norris, of Nebraska, the author of the TVA legislation, had this to say:

A proposal from a great association of Tennessee says, in effect, "Let the TVA property be subject to taxation the same as everybody else's property." * * * If we go to that extreme, Senators, you can see that the TVA would be out of business in 3 months.

For 20 years Congress indulged itself in a kind of vote-getting game, sometimes under the lash of a President, to redistribute the wealth. They indulged in doing good with other people's money without too much disturbance to conscience. If conscience were disturbed, alleged national defense relieved it.

But by now each group getting the benefits of the redistribution are running head on into each other or running out of benefits. Indeed the mess, which Congress came into power 2 years ago to clean up, has smeared the faces of those who have quite diligently wrestled with it.

WHICH SUBSIDY TO KNOCK OUT FIRST

If there are critics of the failure of Congress to reverse the New Deal trend and reduce taxes much more, let them answer these questions. Which particular group feeding in the public trough would they knock out first? Which subsidy law would they repeal to start with? They must be repealed one at a time. That is, which group's vote would they risk losing first? The attempt has been made.

CORN ATTACKS PEANUTS

In the last session of Congress the Illinois delegation in Congress representing corn attacked peanuts. Corn having been for nearly 20 years in the public trough and feeling quite secure said in effect: "Now what basic rights have peanuts to put their feet in this trough?" "Why the country would never miss them if we never raised another peanut. They are indigestible anyway." And corn called for a vote of all the others to throw peanuts out. Whereupon peanuts furiously counterattacked with most devastating effect. They said, "Why of all those feeding in this trough that have grown sleek and fat and should be thrown out, it's corn. Above all others it should fall on its knees and ask forgiveness for its sins in the well of this House." So little peanuts, who really had no case at all shamed corn and scared the others so that the vote was 228 to 170 to keep peanuts in. After the fight it appeared that peanuts might get nearly as much subsidy as corn got for keeping itself padlocked in cribs so as to make itself look scarce and high priced.

APPLES TAKE INTEREST

After that vote in which peanuts did so well, apples were heard tumbling all over themselves out in the Halls of Congress. They said, "Why sure enough we are just as basic as any of the rest. Besides we can be kept by freezing. What's more basic than an apple a day keeping the doctor away?" In the distance you could hear groups without number organizing the votes. So every seat in the House may be endangered unless the Member votes to give each new group theirs for no good reason except that all the others are getting theirs. When I asked a friend on the floor if this would ever stop, he answered "No; it will go on forever." Of course it must go on forever unless an overall reversal and total stoppage is devised. For if corn subsidies are lawful, the steer, the cow, the pig, and chicken that eats corn must be subsidized. And so it must go on and on without end until it is all stopped.

GOVERNMENT SUBSTITUTE FOR GOD

Does not history prove that when government controls the economic laws of food, it controls the moral laws of people surrounding food? If government owns your house, and rents it to you, it will tell you how to live in it. You may commit one sin or have one illegitimate child in government housing but not two. This is the rule in the housing authority book of morals in Houston, Tex. You are free to vote, of course, but if you vote against the party that provided your house you may expect to move. And so all dependents on government power loans, health, houses, fruits of fields and forest must do the will of government and not of God. Government pretends to be a substitute for God. The remedy is to reject the idea utterly.

CONGRESS NEEDS HELP OF THE STATES

The people of the United States have witnessed two decades of unprecedented assumption of governmental power, confiscation of private property by taxation, inflation, and debts. As the Government has grown in power and property the individual has been correspondingly reduced in property and weakened in his power to manage his own affairs.

The January 25, 1955, issue of Look magazine concludes that these conditions are here to stay, regardless of which political party wins. This is so because each party tries to be elected by promising to exercise the unlimited power of government to tax and spend and borrow to satisfy special interest groups in return for their votes. Indeed, this is in itself a fatal blow to the two-party system and makes the one-party or monolithic state inevitable. It makes no sense to have two candidates each with the same idea.

Resistance to the trend has been wholly ineffectual. The economic groups affected either use the Government's power for their special advantage or seek exemption from it in return for votes. Presidents and Congresses will not do anything about this situation because as long as they have unlimited power they will use it to satisfy these groups. It should be obvious, therefore, that unlimited government is absurd.

The remedy can be found in this paraphrase of Edmund Burke:

When government acquires unlimited power, good men must associate; else they will fall, 1 by 1, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.

And so, united action of good men has become apparent and necessary. This effort must be made in and by the States. As parties to the original contract, they must come forward to redefine, clarify, and reaffirm the limitations of that contract.

The President's Health Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the February 3, 1955, edition of the New York Times:

THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH PLAN

In his latest message to Congress President Eisenhower has forthrightly declared the health of the American people to be a proper national concern. The proposals he makes also show that he believes the Federal Government should accept a large measure of responsibility for the protection and improvement of our physical and mental well-being. The degree to which the Federal Government should assume this burden is subject to debate; but the basic principle is sound and the American people are insistent on action by whatever Government agencies are best fitted to help solve the health problems that bedevil them.

The message also shows the President's recognition of what some of these problems are. He rightly rates meeting the cost of medical care at the top of the list. Few of us have avoided the financial crisis—even catastrophe—of a major accident or illness and the strain of continuing smaller disabilities. But the adequacy of medical care is also crucially important. The President has recognized the necessity of trained personnel—now in critically short supply—and of adequate physical facilities: hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, and their equipment—now far from adequate in quality, quantity and geographical distribution.

The President has, rightly we believe, accepted insurance as the best method of meeting the costs of medical care. Also, he probably reflects the opinion of most Americans in saying that it should be furnished by private and voluntary agencies. But we doubt whether insurance can, or should, be limited only to those high-cost risks which may be beyond the capacity of the individual to bear. The experience of leading health insurance plans has disclosed the cumulative economic effects of smaller illnesses, each one of which might be met by itself, and also the saving in expense and energy that flow from early diagnosis of what may seem at first only minor ailments.

As a means to the goal at which we should aim, the President's renewed proposal for Federal reinsurance of existing health plans—rejected by Congress last year—is far from adequate. In the first place, reinsurance does not add a penny to the working capital needed by insurance agencies to organize or to increase the number of their subscribers and the scope of the coverage after they get going. Nor does it help to reduce the prices they have to charge for the protection they give. Essentially, reinsurance is merely a help to the agencies in meeting exceptional demands for benefit payments. At best it is a temporary aid to them—which they have eventually to pay for through reinsurance premiums. Furthermore, testimony at last year's hearings on the Federal reinsurance

bill showed no enthusiasm for it on the part of the agencies themselves. Finally, reinsurance offers no help to the 60 million people in the United States who now have no protection at all through existing insurance agencies.

The least the Federal Government should do, we believe, is provide loans to nonprofit agencies—especially those which offer full coverage through groups of doctors working together—so they can organize and operate more effectively.

The President does recommend direct grants to the States to meet costs of medical care for the 5 million people who can't afford to pay for it; but, all in all, his plan does not seem to recognize that unless private agencies rapidly extend their coverage, both of risks and population, the new latent surge toward compulsory Government insurance will eventually be hard to stem.

On two other important counts the President's message falls short of what the Nation's health situation so urgently demands. While he recognized the necessity for more trained personnel he mentioned only nurses—for whose training he recommended grants to State agencies and an expansion of the traineeship program of the Public Health Service. This proposal completely neglects the crying need for more and better doctors. The medical schools of the country are desperately short of funds. Whether the Federal Government should directly help support them is debatable. Certainly the foundations, whose generous grants put the leading schools on their feet in the first place, might well take the lead now in coming to their rescue. But, failing that, some ways might be found for Federal money to be made available without dangerous political controls.

Finally, the President's plan fails to deal effectively with the needs of medical research—the foundation on which all therapy depends. In his health message last year he warned the country of the rising threat of heart disease and cancer, and urged strengthening the National Institutes of Health in the Public Health Service, which are carrying on a specially vigorous research attack on these menaces, both directly and through grants to other agencies. This year the message urged more increasing research on air and water pollution but did not mention heart disease and cancer. Furthermore, the Federal budget which he has presented provides less than 10 percent more next year than this for the Institutes' work. Nor did the President say anything about what the Federal Government might do to further medical research by outside agencies, either public or private.

We Must Help Our Underpaid Postal and Federal Employees Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, the following is my statement of February 1, 1955, to the chairman and members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service:

On January 5, 1955, I introduced H. R. 274, which provides for an increase in pay of $1,000 per annum for postal workers.

Last year, when the postal and Federal employees pay increase bill came before us, although the increase was inadequate, I voted for the measure because it was the best that we could get at that time. It was a grave disappointment to me and a serious blow to the employees when the President vetoed the measure, for a pay raise was long overdue and they were entitled to it.

Postal and Federal employees are many years behind in catching up with the cost of living. They cannot meet their obligations or give their families adequate care or support on their present pay. They suffer hardships and anxiety.

Living costs continue to rise, the tax burden is being shifted more and more to the shoulders of the low- and middle-income families, and there is no reason why the Federal Government should not provide its postal and Federal employees with a justified wage increase so that they can enjoy a decent standard of living.

Postal workers, who have always been underpaid, need a raise of at least $1,000 per year. Likewise, the other Federal employees need the same help. This sum would bring their pay only to the level of pay they would receive from private industry for similar effort on their part. If we wish to maintain the efficiency of our postal service, then we must recognize the necessity of providing adequate pay for faithful and competent work, and this also applies to all Federal service.

It is our duty to grant this increase in pay without further delay. I trust that your committee will take prompt and favorable action so that Congress may have the opportunity to vote on the necessary legislation in the very near future.

Selling Milk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial from the Marshfield News-Herald of January 31, 1955, one of the leading daily newspapers in Wisconsin. The editorial is as follows:

SELLING MILK

Wisconsin farmers and other representatives of the State's dairy industry will be pleased to note that the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin have approved the installation of 10 coin-operated milk vending machines in university buildings, with 10 more to be installed later.

The expected sale of 3,000 containers of milk each day by this means is not, of course, of any tremendous benefit to the dairy industry. The College of Agriculture dairy herd will supply it and it will be as a drop in the bucket to Madison's milk business.

What counts is that the presence of these vendors in the university buildings will serve as a demonstration of the State's interest in its great product and as one of the finest advertisements the dairy industry can display.

Wisconsin's facilities for the production of top quality milk and dairy products are unexcelled, and its dairy output reflects the fact. But Wisconsin people cannot possibly use its dairy production any more than the Southern States can use up their cotton or the Plains States their wheat.

Since we must find out-of-State markets for the output of our 150,000 dairy farms, it also devolves upon us to demonstrate our regard for our own product by making generous use of it ourselves. Our per capita consumption of milk, which is so readily available to us, should far exceed that of any State.

We should be promoting dairy products all of the time, and one of the ways to do it is to make pure milk easily obtainable in all of our colleges and schools where young people assemble. By fostering a liking for milk among them we not only help to keep them healthy, we also build up a convincing corps of milk promoters.

The Great Game of Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following column, written by Frank R. Kent, entitled "The Great Game of Politics," which appeared in the Baltimore Sun Sunday morning, January 23, 1955:

THE GREAT GAME OF POLITICS
(By Frank R. Kent)

WASHINGTON, January 22.—The present Democratic strategy is in conflict with one of the soundest statements of the party's oldest, most regular, most generous, and distinguished member, Bernard M. Baruch. A good many years ago Mr. Baruch, in a speech before the War College in Washington, made a comment that has been widely printed, often quoted, and never disputed. "Every man," said Mr. Baruch, "has a right to his own opinion, but no man has a right to be wrong in his facts."

Yet in two outstanding instances the Democratic National Committee has violated this indisputable Baruch axiom. One is in the matter of the Dixon-Yates contract. Mr. Stephen Mitchell, former chairman of the National Committee, started this controversy off with the dirty insinuation that President Eisenhower had espoused this contract because one of its beneficiaries would be Bobby Jones, an old friend of Mr. Eisenhower, and a very small stockholder in the Dixon-Yates concern. After Mr. Eisenhower spoke Mr. Mitchell hastily retreated from this position and his contemptible innuendo has not been repeated. However, the Dixon-Yates opposition, inspired by the Democratic committee, has continued to distort and misrepresent the facts to an extraordinary degree. It completely avoids the only real issue in the fight which is the large one between the advocates of expanded public power operation and ownership and those who do not believe in that expansion.

The other instance in which the Democratic committee, now headed by Mr. Paul Butler, is proceeding in disregard of the facts is in the organized and vicious attack upon Vice President RICHARD NIXON, who was, perhaps, the most effective Republican campaigner in the 1954 campaign. The charge against Mr. NIXON is that he had indicted the whole Democratic Party as "the party of treason." It turns out that Mr. NIXON did no such thing. It was Senator MCCARTHY who used that phrase—not Mr. NIXON. It turns out that Mr. NIXON at no time accused the Democratic Party as a whole although he did accuse the preceding Democratic administrations as "being soft" toward Communists and having failed to pre-

vent communistic infiltration in the State Department.

It is not possible for anyone with any regard for the truth to question the correctness of Mr. NIXON'S statement on these matters. Certainly, no one now doubts that if it had not been for Mr. NIXON, then a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Alger Hiss would never have been indicted or convicted. With equal certainty, under the Truman administration, treatment of the FBI revealed facts about the late Harry Dexter White and the evidence of his treachery to the United States constituted an inexcusable laxity or stupidity, or collusion—or all three. At no time has the Democratic committee attempted to deal with these matters on a realistic basis.

On the contrary, apparently it has elected to disregard the facts and factual denials and continue to repeat its reckless charges as though they had been substantiated instead of having been discredited. Thus, it seems that we are going through the next 20 months with the Democrats trying, through sheer noise and repetition, to make their charges against Mr. NIXON and the Dixon-Yates affair stick, regardless of the facts. It hardly seems that they can be successful. One hesitates, of course, to disregard the great power of skillful mass propaganda. Nevertheless, to make a case as false as that against Mr. NIXON and as utterly destitute of honesty as that against the Dixon-Yates contract stand up is to concede that truth is of no avail and the way to succeed is to bear false witness.

Of course, it is foolish to predict what a Congress as evenly divided as the present one, and as fully saturated with presidential politics, will do. However, it does seem safe to say that if tactics so clearly founded on fiction and so overwhelmingly flavored with partisanship can really pay, then two rather unpleasant things will be established: (1) that the obvious philosophy of former Chairman Mitchell and his successor, Chairman Butler, that it is better to be clever than to be right, is sound; (2) that Mr. Baruch's idea that "every man has a right to his own opinion, but no man has a right to be wrong in his facts" makes him just (to use one of his favorite expressions) an "old china egg" who does not know what he is talking about. Definitely, the record refutes that.

How Montana Farmers Get Cheaper Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ORVIN B. FJARE
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. FJARE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Paul Friggens in the western edition of the Farm Journal. The article is entitled "How Montana Farmers Get Cheaper Water" and will be of interest to all of the Members of the House interested in irrigation projects. It follows:

HOW MONTANA FARMERS GET CHEAPER WATER

(By Paul Friggens)

For $2 or $3 per acre, Montana is developing some of the cheapest water farmers can buy.

They're pioneering small, State-built irrigation projects that could be the answer to low-cost irrigation in your State, too.

These State-built projects don't compete with Federal programs. They're small or medium sized, and only a few bring in new land. Most of them provide extra water for farmers who are already irrigating—drought insurance to stabilize Montana's agriculture.

They cost considerably less than public projects, too. "We built some for what it would cost the Federal Government just to investigate a big project," says the water conservation board.

Montana's projects are financed by a new and simple plan—with no liens on the land. Ordinarily, farmers form irrigation districts, which saddle every acre with the full project debt.

Not so in Montana. You just pay for your own water—you're not liable for your neighbor's.

The State builds the project. On some, farmers dollar-match; on others, they provide labor. Once built, the farmers take over and run the project pretty much on their own. They pay back the State on a long-term basis—something like REA.

Other States are getting interested in the Montana plan. Recently I visited a string of projects that are commencing to make a real impact on the State's economy.

Take the 1,900-acre Big Horn-Tullock project, a private system that never got enough water, and finally went broke.

Farmers put up $30,000, and the State $35,000, to build a rock-brush dam and bigger canals. It paid off:

From the abandoned land, Big Horn farmers harvested a whole trainload of sugar in one season.

These Big Horn farmers repay only $1.50 per acre-foot construction charges for 30 years. There's no operation and maintenance charge; they keep up the dams and ditches themselves. "When there's trouble we just hustle a crew and fix it," says director and water-user Ed Verhelst.

Inspired by the Big Horn success, neighboring, burned-out wheat farmers organized the Hysham Water Users Association, and petitioned the State to build a $500,000 project to pump-irrigate 7,500 acres with water from the Yellowstone River.

Today 54 members are growing 20-ton sugar beets, 5-ton alfalfa, are dairying, and running three steers per acre on irrigated pasture. Their water costs $2.50 per acre-foot—$87½ for repaying the loan, and $1.62 for pumping and maintenance.

"Few years ago, we were going broke trying to grow wheat," says Harold Zent, president of the Hysham Water Users Association. "Nobody's selling us out now."

Zent estimates that the project has already doubled the county's taxable valuation. He pointed out Hysham's new $235,000 county high school. "We're sprouting new homes and stores, too."

Hysham is a good place to see how a typical project operates. A farmer-elected, five-man board runs the show. The maintain the system, levy, and collect all water charges, and send the State its repayment. The State keeps hands off, except to give technical advice, O. K. the budget, and bill the users.

"We like it this way," says Zent.

"But the big thing," water-user Ray Kimball told me, "is that I'm not mortgaged for my water; not obligated for the other fellow. I've got a chance to make it on my own. That district idea has wrecked many farmers."

The Montana Water Conservation Board now has engineered and constructed 173 projects, some smaller, some larger than Big Horn-Tullock and Hysham. Total investment is about $17 million to irrigate 386,000 acres.

A good chunk of this is Federal money, which started Montana on the projects back in the drought-and-depression thirties. But finding that the idea paid, Montana—with only 600,000 people—has been spending about $1 million per year ever since.

Seeking to stabilize its dryland agriculture, Montana first planned these projects back in the twenties. But it lacked financing. With the drought-depression years and first PWA grants, Montana was ready with a program.

"We want irrigation insurance against another drought," Montanans told Washington.

Frank Cooney, then Governor, called a special session of the legislature in 1934. It created a water-conservation board, with powers to appropriate any unused waters in Montana.

Cooney appointed some of Montana's top irrigation men to the first board, including Rancher D. P. Fabrick, who is a member of the present board, along with Gov. J. Hugo Aronson, C. H. Raymond, Hamilton banker; Max Mathews, Billings REA manager; and Fred Buck, State engineer.

Today, you can see dramatic proof of what the program has done in the 170-mile Musselshell Valley.

The drought in the thirties hit the Musselshell hard. Farmers went broke. "The economy collapsed completely," says Board Member Fabrick, "simply because the farmers didn't have a dependable supply of water."

With about $2 million PWA and State funds, engineers built a chain of 3 reservoirs, to supplement irrigation on 60,000 acres, and thus stabilize the entire Musselshell watershed. Now, it's cow country again.

"Grow 10 tons of feed where we used to raise 1," ranchers told me. Cost of their drought insurance, between $1.50 and $3 per acre.

Here are water costs on some other Montana projects (per acre-foot, including both construction and operation and maintenance): Rock Creek, $1.15; Willow Creek, $0.95; Flint Creek, $1.20; Ruby River, $0.71; Tongue River, $1.40; Deadman's Basin, $0.95; Vigilante Canal, $1.44; and Broadwater-Missouri, $1.28.

The Broadwater-Missouri project is bringing in the biggest chunk of new land under the Montana setup. Financed with $1 million PWA-State funds also, it was finished just before World War II.

Townsend, Mont., business people estimate that this project has tripled county income. "Been paying a lot of income taxes I never paid before," says pioneer settler Guy Kircher.

These small projects have their problems—upkeep, water loss, drainage—the same as every irrigation setup. But I found farmers overwhelmingly favorable.

"Best thing that's happened to Montana," is how O. P. Balgord, of Lavina, summed it up.

The Montana Water Board often serves the entire rural community. The board has also engineered and build—at a substantial saving—12,000 miles of REA lines.

Recently it's been coming to the rescue of small towns short of water. Conrad, Mont., was desperate for water, but had already spent up to its legal debt limit. So the State water board built a 12-mile lake supply line, and sold the town its water on a monthly contract. Conrad paid up its old debts, and will soon pay for the pipeline. The board is doing the same for other hard-pressed Montana towns.

The State water board has a project backlog. "We aren't promoting, and we don't have money to throw around," says veteran Water Board Secretary Robert Kelly. "We just find out what farmers need, and build it to pay out. Every project stands on its own."

Congress Urged by Unions To Protect Railroad Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Labor of February 12, 1955:

CONGRESS URGED BY UNIONS TO PROTECT RAILROAD SAFETY—ACTION ALSO ASKED TO BLOCK "SPOILS POLITICS" SCHEME—OPPOSE CONFIRMATION OF HALL AS INSPECTION CHIEF IN COMMERCE COMMISSION

Standard railroad labor organizations this week pressed an all-out battle against injection of "spoils politics" into the operations of the Interstate Commerce Commission and against renewed attempts to undermine safety on the railroads.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association, speaking for the chiefs of 19 unions with over a million members on the "iron horse," prepared to take the crucial fight to the Halls of Congress.

Keynoting this struggle is a three-point program adopted unanimously by the association:

1. The unions emphatically oppose, as they did in the past, proposals to lump together funds for the Commission's Bureau of Locomotive Inspection with those of the Bureau of Safety and Service. Such scheme, the unions contend, would destroy the long-standing independence of the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection, which was set up by a separate law. Also, it would greatly weaken the adequacy of the inspection.

OPPOSE CONSOLIDATION

2. The unions also vigorously oppose any legislation which would force a consolidation of the bureaus under one head. This, like the lump-sum scheme, would nullify the Locomotive Inspection Act and "strike at the heart of safety on the rails," the unions maintain.

3. In addition, these unions unitedly oppose Senate confirmation of John H. Hall to serve as Director of the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection on grounds that he is a political appointee and without adequate background or competence for this vital safety post.

These actions come on the heels of a denunciation by rail labor spokesmen a fortnight ago of an extraordinary proposal made by the ICC to Congress.

"We recommend," the Commission said, "that the Locomotive Inspection Act be amended so as to eliminate the provisions relating to the appointment of the Director and Assistant Directors of Locomotive Inspection and the detailed requirements relating to the employment of inspectors."

SEE PERIL TO SAFETY

This would, the unions fear, open the door wide to appointment of "political hacks," thus imperiling safety on the rails. Also, it would apparently wipe out existing requirements that the Bureau's supervisory officials be selected on the basis of practical knowledge and experience. Hitherto the top officials have been chosen on the basis of promotion from the ranks.

To protect the present setup, which has functioned well, the unions affiliated with the RLEA stressed that "seniority and qualification constitute a sound basis for promotion within the Bureau consistent with the public interest."

Also, they adopted a declaration urging that appointments in the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection "shall be made without respect to political affiliation of any applicant," and only from among applicants "who have qualified by training and experience" and who "have successfully passed the competitive civil-service examination."

QUALIFICATIONS STRESSED

Finally, they stressed also that appointments to the positions of Director and Assistant Directors shall be made from among those who have qualified and served as inspectors of the Bureau.

"Technical and administrative qualifications to fill these positions shall be the determining factors, together with seniority within the Bureau," the unions added.

In line with those yardsticks, the unions are opposing confirmation of the existing appointee to the Director's post—John Hall, a former engineer from San Francisco, who had never served on the Bureau's staff, nor ever even taken an examination for an inspector's job in the Bureau.

President Eisenhower at first had followed tradition in filling the post. Last year he named Charles H. Grossman as Bureau Director. Grossman was senior inspector in the Bureau, having been with it since 1918. Grossman was to succeed Director Edward H. Davidson, who retired.

REVERSAL ON GROSSMAN

In the meantime, Grossman testified against a bill introduced by Senator JOHN H. BRICKER, Republican, of Ohio, then chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, which would undermine the independence of the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection.

Presto! Grossman's name was then withdrawn by the White House—and that of Hall, never before heard of in connection with rail safety, was substituted. Hall is now serving in the post by interim appointment, but he has not been confirmed by the Senate.

The RLEA explained it unanimously opposes Hall's confirmation: First, because he has absolutely no qualifications for the post; and, secondly, because his appointment violated the practice followed since the Bureau was established 44 years ago of selecting the Director from among qualified senior persons on the staff.

Dumping of Trash Along Our Public Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from a high school student in my district to urge more rigid enforcement of the law that prohibits dumping of trash along our public highways. Although this is a rather unusual accident, it does point up the fact that the public feels little pride or responsibility in observing Federal or State statutes that prohibit the promiscuous scattering of trash and litter along our system of public roads.

This careless practice is highly objectionable from a standpoint of safety, health, and beauty.

The letter follows:

BERN, KANS., *February 4, 1955.*

DEAR MR. AVERY: I am a 16-year-old high-school junior. Just last week I lost the dearest friend and closest companion I ever had or ever hope to have. He was my 6-year-old saddle horse, Buddy. I loved him more than anything else. The reason I am writing is because my Buddy was killed as a result of trash-dumping along roads. There is a ditch leading away from the road. A broken beer bottle was washed down the ditch into our pasture. Last Sunday it was snowy and slick. Buddy jumped the ditch, just as he had done so many times before. As he hit the other side, one hind foot slipped and was slashed by the broken beer bottle. It severed some arteries and though he tried to get home, he never made it. Daddy found him at the top of a hill. He had bled to death.

I don't know if the pleas of one person can do it, but won't you please try to make someone enforce the laws concerning trash-dumping along roads. It is too late to bring my Buddy back and maybe something like that will never happen again, but it has happened once and I think that is once too often. Why should my daddy and myself pay (in heartache) for someone else's ignorance? Again I plead with you to make someone enforce the laws concerning trash-dumping along roads.

Sincerely and hopefully,
LENIS PLATTNER.

Statement of National Commander of AMVETS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the statement of Rufus H. Wilson, national commander of AMVETS, before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, on February 9, 1955. As a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, I feel that this statement warrants the attention of the Members of Congress. In addition, I have particular pleasure in presenting it, not only because I am aware of Mr. Wilson's ability and am happy to know that it has been recognized by the AMVETS, but because Mr. Wilson is one of my constituents from the Highland Park area of Michigan's 13th Congressional District.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF RUFUS H. WILSON, NATIONAL COMMANDER OF AMVETS, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON AMVETS 1955 LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM, FEBRUARY 9, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, AMVETS appreciate the opportunity to appear today to present the highlights of our legislative recommendations for the first session of the 84th Congress.

Having served as national legislative director of AMVETS for several years prior to my election as national commander, I have some knowledge of the fine work being performed by this committee and its very capable staff. Your objective attitude toward veteran problems merits our sincere thanks. We are confident that your continued care-

ful study, nonpartisan action, and constructive criticism on all matters affecting veterans will preserve and strengthen the great rehabilitation program provided by the people of this Nation to their veterans.

We desire to submit for the record a digest of resolutions on veterans' affairs adopted in August of 1954 by the 10th annual national convention of AMVETS. We also desire to submit a digest of resolutions adopted by the AMVETS national executive committee at their meeting on December 11 and 12, 1954, and then speak briefly on certain matters of current interest to all veterans.

PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION

As you know, the President has appointed a Commission on Veterans' Pensions to make a comprehensive study of the "structure, scope and administration of laws pertaining to pension, compensation, and related nonmedical benefits for veterans and their dependents."

AMVETS have never been afraid of studies or investigations per se. In fact, we have always welcomed them, hoping for an ever-improving, sound, equitable structure of veteran benefits in complete consonance with our Nation's obligation to its veterans.

History, however, gives us cause for some concern. We have seen some well-meaning commissions foredoomed to failure because of the simple fact that technical matters were entrusted to nontechnicians and because economy became more important than equity.

Because of our apprehension on this score, we recently asked the Chief Executive to appoint members of this committee and representatives of organized veterans to the new Commission. Although we have received no word as to whether or not the President will accept our recommendations, we have received assurances from the White House that this committee will be consulted as the first order of business of the Commission. We are also advised that veterans' organizations, the House Select Committee on Survivor Benefits, and the Senate committees responsible for veterans' legislation will also be consulted. These assurances are most encouraging.

Legislative recommendations stemming from this study will undoubtedly be referred to this committee. We will not prejudge them. Our objectives are relatively simple. Perhaps, however, they bear repeating. We desire to maintain compensation as the self-evident backbone of the VA benefit structure. We desire to maintain a VA pension system as being both necessary and equitable. If it is determined that there is redtape, confusion, overlapping laws, or inequalities, we desire to eliminate them. And we desire to maintain the structure of veterans' benefits as a separate and distinct entity, simplified and strengthened perhaps, but still identified as a program for veterans and their dependents. Any recommendations made that fall into the pattern of these basic objectives will receive our unwavering support. No other objectives would appear to us to be consistent with our very reason for being. We trust that the objectives of the Commission will be in the same vein. We trust also that the tremendous influence of this committee will be exerted in this direction.

CHAIRMAN'S LETTER

On December 14 of last year, Mr. Chairman, I received a communication from you suggesting that this committee would find it most helpful if I would discuss AMVETS position on five specific subjects. It is to these subjects that we now address ourselves.

EFFECT OF AMENDED P–10

In our effort to assist your committee in the evaluation of the effect of the amended VA Form 10–P–10 now being used in connection with the hospitalization of veterans for the treatment of non-service-connected disabilities, we asked 25 AMVET national service officers to study this question and report upon it.

They were unanimous in their reports that the amended P–10 had in no way curtailed the volume of non-service-connected hospital admissions, but that it had served as a deterrent, keeping many of those who could well afford to pay for hospital treatment from seeking admission to VA facilities for the treatment of non-service-connected conditions.

We have always maintained that abuses in this program have been relatively few. This is corroborated in summing up the reports of our field people. One service officer in particular reports that out of 13,000 applicants for non-service-connected hospitalization, less than 12 have been denied because of either a VA determination or their own admission that they could afford to pay.

Because the ability-to-pay requirement was not spotlighted or featured prior to the inauguration of the addendum, I believe we can logically assume that this small group would very possibly have been admitted to the hospital. It, therefore, seems obvious to us that the addendum has served as a deterrent. It seems equally obvious that the cases of abuse are relatively few in comparison to the total number of applicants. The primary concern to be drawn from the P–10 addendum is that it has effectively answered false criticism of this veterans' benefit.

AMVETS subscribe wholeheartedly to the theory that veterans should be treated in VA hospitals for non-service-connected conditions provided they cannot assume the cost of hospitalization and a bed is available. We urge this committee to continue to support this basic philosophy also. To protect the integrity of the thousands of veterans rightfully entitled to this benefit, however, we suggest that the inspection authorized by House Resolution 63 include a further study of the nature and extent of abuses in this program. If it is determined that abuses are still prevalent, AMVETS will support any sound recommendation for their elimination just as we supported and recommended the addendum to the P–10.

TERMINATION OF WARTIME BENEFITS

At a meeting of the national executive committee of AMVETS on December 11 and 12, a resolution calling for the termination of the broad wartime benefit program was adopted. This same resolution, recognizing the continuing need for an above normal complement of personnel in the Armed Forces, recommended that a limited benefit program be established to serve those men and women who will be needed by our armed services to fulfill defense requirements. We desire to submit for the record the complete text of this resolution.

The Presidential proclamation of January 1, 1955, has accomplished the intent of the first portion of our mandate. We are now concerned with the second portion.

In any benefit program for those entering service after February 1 of this year, first consideration should be given to an education and training program patterned in some fashion after title II of the Servicemen's Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952.

The availability of such a benefit for personnel entering service after February 1 should serve as a stimulus to enlistments. In addition, the benefit to the Nation of such an educational program has already been demonstrated by the results of the World War II education and training program. It has been recorded that the income level of those who have taken advantage of this program has been raised to a point where they are now paying an extra billion dollars a year in income taxes to the United States.

To meet the immediate financial needs of dischargees, we recommend the continuation of mustering-out pay. It is our considered opinion that this benefit assists immeasurably in effecting the transition from military to civilian life and should be made available to servicemen without regard to the circumstances of service. We also recommend that unemployment compensation similar to that paid under title 4, Public Law 550, be made available to the group serving after February 1, 1955.

HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR

Undoubtedly, the most pressing need in the hospital and domiciliary repair or renovation program is the replacement of the cantonment-type hospital or domiciliary home. These facilities were constructed as temporary structures. After many, many years of occupancy they are now obsolete. It is becoming increasingly costly to maintain these structures in a state of repair. This horizontal-type hospital does not lend itself easily to efficiency of operation or administrative economies. Because of the widespread distribution of wards and the many miles of corridors, the serving of food creates a special problem. No less important is the fact that this type of installation poses certain handicapping problems in connection with surgical operations. The surgical suites are for the most part poorly located, making it necessary to transport patients over miles of rough, uneven corridors and ramps following major surgery.

If the Government is to receive 100 cents value of every dollar spent in the Veterans' Administration medical program, it is vitally necessary that the construction, renovation, and repair of older hospital and domiciliary facilities be accelerated. Modernization and replacement of facilities and equipment will promote greater efficiency and economy of operation. The difference, in many instances, between the chronic long-term illness and the short-term illness is the availability of modern medical and therapeutic facilities.

LOAN GUARANTY PROGRAM

In 1950 the Congress recognized an inequity in the Loan Guaranty Program between veterans located in areas where private capital was readily available and those located in areas where such financing was not easily obtained, by enacting legislation authorizing the Veterans' Administration to make direct housing loans to veterans in areas where guaranteed private mortgages were not available. A further inequity was created, however, by the failure to extend this direct loan program to those veterans desiring to purchase a farm residence in areas where private capital was not available. In the same legislation which created the direct loan program, the VA guaranty on home loans was increased from $4,000 to $7,500, while the guaranty for farm residential loans was and is only $4,000.

We recommend that this committee approve at an early date legislation that will extend eligibility for direct loans to those veterans who wish to purchase a farm residence in areas where private capital is not available. We further recommend that the amount of VA guaranty for farm residential loans be increased from its present $4,000 maximum to $7,500.

FEDERAL SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

AMVETS have long recognized the desirability of a scholarship program for the children of certain ex-servicemen. Because we have felt that such a program was warranted, we ourselves have taken some steps in this direction. Our National Service Foundation has sought to bridge a small part of the gap in its own AMVET memorial scholarship program which annually awards 6 $2,000 4-year college scholarships to high-school seniors whose fathers lost their lives or became permanently and totally disabled as the result of military service during World

War II or the Korean conflict. Such a program sponsored by the Federal Government on a broader scale would provide a brighter future for those youngsters whose fathers' sacrifices have prejudiced their own educational opportunities. We urge this committee to hold early hearings on this subject.

LEGISLATION BY APPROPRIATION

AMVETS continue to be concerned by the tendency of the Congress to legislate on appropriation bills. As this legislative body enters the period where consideration of appropriations for Government departments and agencies will consume a great deal of your time, we respectfully call your attention to this serious problem. We repeat that it matters little that honorable objectives have been sought in this manner. It matters not that good moves are sometimes made through this medium. Legislative riders on appropriation bills do not properly resolve important matters of policy. Most important is that the long, hard battle for legitimate veterans' benefits can be lost in a moment through this process. We respectfully petition this committee to continue its opposition to this method of circumvention of its jurisdiction.

CONCLUSION

In this, my first public appearance before the newly organized Committee on Veterans' Affairs, I desire to reaffirm that AMVETS is dedicated to promoting the welfare of the veteran and his dependents. We recognize in our deliberations that what is good for the Nation is good for the veteran. We are neither partisan nor political and in keeping faith with our responsibilities as citizens of the Nation, we shall always be actively concerned for those who have served our country well.

We welcome the opportunity to appear before this committee from time to time to express our views on veterans' problems. As you embark upon your duties in this year of uncertainty, we wish you well. We pray that you may be blessed with the wisdom and foresight necessary to plot the best course for the millions of veterans and their dependents whom you serve. We pledge to you our cooperation and objective thinking in arriving at our mutual objectives.

DIGEST OF RESOLUTIONS ON VETERANS AFFAIRS ADOPTED BY AMVETS 10TH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION, MIAMI BEACH, FLA., AUGUST 25–29, 1954

1. *Resolved,* That AMVETS are first of all Americans and must view all legislation primarily as citizens of this Nation and secondarily as members of a group of veterans.

2. *Resolved,* That any legislation specifically benefiting AMVETS as veterans must be primarily viewed for its effect on the Nation as a whole.

3. *Resolved,* That AMVETS remain loyal to themselves as veterans by seeking to strengthen services rendered to all veterans and that we try to further the legitimate ends of this group of proven good citizens, that they may continue to make their individual maximum contribution to the continued progress of the United States of America.

4. *Resolved,* That we commend the Veterans' Administration for its diligence in proceeding with the reorganization plan.

5. *Resolved,* That we particularly commend the Administrator, Mr. Harvey V. Higley, for his brilliant leadership.

6. *Resolved,* That we again call upon the Veterans' Administration to continue its efforts to strengthen itself as a one-stop agency for all veterans and their dependents.

7. *Resolved,* That AMVETS oppose actively any efforts to split and dismember the Veterans' Administration and use all the efforts of the AMVETS organization to maintain the VA as an intact and central functioning agency.

8. *Resolved,* That an amendment be made to section 5 of Public Law 23 and section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance Act, to provide a period of 2 years in lieu of the present 120 days.

9. *Resolved,* That Public Law 23 be amended to allow veterans the privilege of purchasing United States Government life insurance or National Service life insurance within 2 years following the date of enactment carrying out this provision.

10. *Resolved,* That existing veterans' insurance laws be amended to abolish those provisions which allow the existence of a service-connected disability to be a bar to reinstatement of Government insurance.

11. *Resolved,* That we recommend legislation to delete from the incontestability provision of the National Service Life Insurance Act the words "except by fraud" and substitute therefor "except by fraud discovered by the VA within the first 2 years from the date of issuing or converting a National Service Life Insurance policy, or within 5 years from the date of reinstating a National Service Life Insurance policy."

12. *Resolved,* That we recommend legislation which would "toll the statute" under section 620 of the National Service Life Insurance Act as to mentally incompetent veterans on whose behalf life-insurance protection is desirable.

13. *Resolved,* That the Congress of the United States be strongly petitioned to provide an adequate increase in pay to Federal employees, with the provision that any pay action voted by the Congress be supported by supplemental appropriation sufficient to prevent reductions in force.

14. *Resolved,* That Congress enact legislation prohibiting the employment of enlisted military or naval personnel on major overhaul, repair, or maintenance of naval vessels or military equipment performed within the continental United States; and further that no enlisted military or naval personnel be assigned to work ordinarily performed by civilian workers, except for training purposes, and consistent with military or naval requirements.

15. *Resolved,* That the Congress of the United States enact legislation coordinating, under one central governmental agency, the different agency pay systems for "ungraded" or "wage board" employees, so that all such employees in a given or established work area receive the same rate of pay for the same work performed.

16. *Resolved,* That the Civil Service Commission be requested to review the classification standards for medical X-ray technicians in the Veterans' Administration.

17. *Resolved,* That the Congress of the United States be strongly urged to retain the present retirement system for Federal employees.

18. *Resolved,* That AMVETS support the Civil Service Commission in its request for adequate funds for the satisfactory execution of all of its assigned and delegated authorities and responsibilities basic to veterans' rights, benefits, and privileges.

19. *Resolved,* That the AMVETS view with approval the United States Civil Service Commission's program for counseling veterans in Federal employment opportunities and their rights and benefits under the Veterans Preference Act of 1944. We urge the continuance of the veterans' counseling program with adequate appropriation from Congress to support fully this program.

20. *Resolved,* That AMVETS oppose any and all attempts to weaken or reduce the privileges and benefits afforded to veterans by either the Veterans Preference Act of 1944 or by other pertinent statutes.

21. *Resolved,* That AMVETS initiate and support legislation to provide a penalty for the knowing or willful violation of the Veterans Preference Act of 1944 as presently amended.

22. *Resolved,* That AMVETS initiate and support legislation that will strengthen the merit system in all governmental agencies.

23. *Resolved,* That AMVETS seek legislation to provide that the Retirement Act of 1930 as amended, be further amended to permit the voluntary retirement with no reduction in pension compensation for all Federal employees completing 30 years of creditable service.

24. *Resolved,* That the United States Senate be urged to establish a Veterans Affairs Committee.

25. *Resolved,* That we recommend the decentralization of death claims involving compensation and pension from the VA district office level to the regional office level.

26. *Resolved,* That we recommend equalization of death benefits for widows of World War II and Korean conflict veterans comparable to benefits paid to widows of World War I veterans.

27. *Resolved,* That we recommend that veterans be permitted 1 year from the date of award to submit evidence of entitlement to benefits under Public Law 877 as amended.

28. *Resolved,* That we recommend an amendment to existing legislation whereby retired veterans must waive part of their retirement pay to receive out-patient care by the Veterans' Administration.

29. *Resolved,* That AMVETS study and propose amendments to the Code of Mililtary Justice calling for uniform procedures governing discharges from all branches of the armed services.

30. *Resolved,* That we recommend that the Veterans' Administration reinstate the traveling Board of Veterans' Appeals, and further, that supervisors of the claims division visit each regional office at least once each year.

31. *Resolved,* That we recommend that any planned policy or regulation to eliminate presumptive service connection be opposed.

32. *Resolved,* That we recommend the enactment of legislation by amendments to part I, Veterans Regulation IA, as amended, providing for a 2-year presumptive period for psychosis.

33. *Resolved,* That we recommend that the Veterans' Administration revise the present rating schedule so that it will include all current considerations for disability evaluation, and that we support any necessary action to bring a newly consolidated rating schedule into use; preferably one of the loose-leaf variety.

34. *Resolved,* That AMVETS go on record favoring that the Federal Government initiate a scholarship-assistance program for the children of veterans who died in service or are service-connected totally disabled, to overcome the loss of educational opportunities occasioned by their parents' sacrifices during a national emergency or war while preserving our democratic way of life.

35. *Resolved,* That AMVETS propose a definite delineation between wartime and peacetime benefits by the establishment of a specific cutoff date for entitlement to educational benefits under Public Law 550.

36. *Resolved,* That we call upon Congress to study the advisability of establishing an educational program for youth who are drafted during peacetime.

37. *Resolved,* That we oppose any plan reverting to the former practice under Public Law 346 of direct tuition payments by the Veterans Administration to educational institutions or training establishments.

38. *Resolved,* That AMVETS continue to actively support all programs which would bring about improved educational opportunities for all.

39. *Resolved,* That AMVETS request adequate funds to be appropriated by the Federal Government to continue promotion of the apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs that have been carried on cooperatively by our State and National Governments within our industries.

40. *Resolved*, That all posts in our State and national departments again approve and actually participate in the observance of National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week.

41. *Resolved*, That AMVETS request that additional funds be appropriated by Congress to staff the Bureau of Veterans Reemployment Rights, so that veterans may have their reinstatement, seniority and promotion rights sustained.

42. *Resolved*, That AMVETS recommend that section 409 of Public Law 550 be amended to provide for the termination of unemployment benefits to the individual veteran, but not for the discontinuance of the program, and recommend that such an amendment provide that no compensation be paid under title 4 of Public Law 550 for any week commencing 3 years after the veteran's last date of discharge or the date of enactment of this amendment, whichever is the later, provided that a veteran pursuing a training program under title 2 of Public Law 550 or Public Law 894 may receive compensation during 1 year after such training period.

43. *Resolved*, That AMVETS endorse the employment security program, the three employment services and related activities.

44. *Resolved*, That AMVETS request the United States Employment Service and its affiliated State employment services to continue the policy of extending preferential treatment to disabled veterans and priority in referral of all job openings to qualified veterans.

45. *Resolved*, That AMVETS will use every effort within its power to assure adequate appropriations for the effective operation of the Bureau of Employment Security, the Veterans Employment Service and the State employment security agencies.

46. *Resolved*, That AMVETS go on record as being actively opposed to the indulgence of the policymaking body of the American Medical Association in activities intended to deprive veterans of benefits to which they are justly entitled.

47. *Resolved*, That AMVETS advocate through congressional legislation that veterans honorably discharged from service be granted the right to complete dental treatment once for each and every tooth which is or becomes defective and is established as being service-connected.

48. *Resolved*, That in the interest of all veterans we recommend that the doctors' draft be amended so as to exclude the drafting of medical doctors serving full time with the Veterans' Administration in such cases as the VA requests a deferment.

49. *Resolved*, That we request that Deans' committees be continued, broadened, better financed, and encouraged as a means toward improving the quality of medical care given to veterans.

50. *Resolved*, That AMVETS support legislation that will result in financing adequate VA medical services in keeping with the request of the VA for their medical program.

51. *Resolved*, That AMVETS commend the Chief Medical Director of the Veterans' Administration for his leadership and contribution to rendering outstanding medical care to the veterans of this Nation.

52. *Resolved*, That AMVETS support legislation that would reestablish the maximum rate of interest on GI home loans at 4 percent.

53. *Resolved*, That the loan guaranty program of the Veterans' Administration be recognized as a completely separate program and that it be kept entirely separate from any other governmental housing, financing, and lending programs.

54. *Resolved*, That a set of requirements and specifications be established for the loan guaranty program.

55. *Resolved*, That the term of the loan-guaranty program be extended for the veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict for 2 additional years.

56. *Resolved*, That AMVETS recommend and urge that the FHA extend and enlarge the Federal housing program to include provision for the construction of Wherry-type housing in critical and isolated areas, such as at radar, airbase, and any aircraft sites.

57. *Resolved*, That AMVETS, through its national publications and through other public information sources, educate all veterans to the dangers of the actions of unscrupulous persons who urge the exercise of GI home-loan privileges for the use and benefit of others than the veteran in acquiring homes.

58. *Resolved*, That AMVETS go on record as recommending the increase of title I, FHA repair and modernization program, to $3,000 and 5 years in which to pay.

59. *Resolved*, That we reaffirm our stand on the military training of our Nation's youth to the end that the young men of this country be adequately prepared for service in the Armed Forces in time of war, just as they are prepared for civilian life through the educational institutions of the United States. We recommend, therefore, favorable consideration of the national security training program.

60. *Resolved*, That we contend that the operation of the Selective Service Act should not be diminished and that priority for those called into service should be from those who have not previously served in the Armed Forces of their country. It is urged that the Selective Service Act be reenacted before its expiration date, June 30, 1955, and as reenacted be strictly enforced and that deferments be granted only under the most unusual circumstances.

61. *Resolved*, That we support the World Veterans Federation in its effort to make policies and programs known before the United Nations, governments of nations involved and war veterans everywhere.

62. *Resolved*, That we urge that representatives of the Nation's veterans organizations be designated on a revolving basis as members of the National Committee of UNESCO, affiliated with the United Nations specialized agency responsible for world cooperation in the education, scientific, and cultural fields.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY AMVETS NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 11–12, 1954, WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. *Resolved*, That AMVETS recommend to the Congress that a definite cutoff date be established for the broad wartime veterans' benefits programs.

2. *Resolved*, That simultaneously with the discontinuance of the above programs a limited benefit program be established to serve those men and women who will be needed by our armed services to fulfill our defense requirements.

3. *Resolved*, That AMVETS urge the Congress to explore the advisability of amending section 232 of Public Law 550, 82d Congress so that the periodic reductions will be delayed during the 1st year of training and that they begin upon completion of the first 4 months of the 2d year of training.

4. *Resolved*, That AMVETS request an amendment to existing legislation that will extend the direct-loan program to make eligible for such loans veterans desiring to purchase a farm residence.

5. *Resolved*, That in areas where private capital is available that the amount of guaranty for farm residential loans be increased from the present $4,000 maximum to $7,500 maximum.

The Agricultural Situation Today in the United States and in Washington

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech made by me at the vocational seminar of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, Thursday, February 10, 1955:

Mr. Chairman, members of the National Council of Churches in America, it is with a deep sense of humility and gratitude that I address this respected organization today. You have honored the people of the Ninth District of Minnesota by inviting me to speak to you on the subject of farm problems as I see them. These problems we have had with us, to a lesser or greater degree, since time began. But I am happy to know that our churches and our Christian leaders in the last few years have begun to be gravely concerned and to take an active interest in our problems also. Christ, too, was not only concerned with spiritual food but also with that food which sustained our bodies. In the Old Testament God provided manna for His people walking in the wilderness. It seems to have taken us a long time to understand and to work out from that premise that the two kinds of food, the spiritual and material, are very closely related.

Our storage program is almost as old as the Bible itself. It was the wisdom of Joseph that saved his people from famine and starvation, even to the extent of sharing food with others outside his own tribes. Our missionaries now, too, help and supervise the production of crops and foodstuffs as part of their spiritual welfare programs.

We have tried to solve our problems through many and varied ways over a period of years, but none of them have succeeded all the way. Many times we have had drives for increased sales, notably in the 1890's, 1920's, and now. We have had an advertising program, the cost of which has been deducted from the price the farmers get, the farmer absorbing the burden rather than passing it on to the consumer. Secretary Benson gave dairymen 1 year to conduct the sales campaign, but it was utterly unsuccessful. No piecemeal solution will work here. It is an overall long-range planned program that will come the nearest to preserving our rural way of life.

We must be concerned with agriculture to prevent a complete breakdown of that part of our economy. The great depression is burned into our memories by the 25-cent wheat and 5-cent cotton, the loss of farms through foreclosure, and the great swirling black clouds of dust that blotted out the sun and the hope of a crop for another year. With it came grasshoppers. I lived on my parents' farm in North Dakota at the time grasshoppers stopped for lunch. When they took off again, our crops went with them.

During the 10 years after World War I, more than 450,000 farmers lost their farms because they couldn't make enough money to pay off their loans. Two hundred thousand farmers became tenants, because they were unable to buy their farms.

You may remember the name of Milo Reno who organized the Iowa farmers into the Farm Holiday Association. They blocked roads, tipped over milk trucks, and refused

to let food into Sioux City until the cost of production had been obtained. One elderly Iowa farmer told a reporter, "They say blocking the highway is illegal. I says, 'Seems to me there was a tea party in Boston that was illegal too.' Friends this is the desperation we want to avoid for a free and secure people.

Most of our forefathers were subsidized by homesteads. The desire to settle land, to populate it, and to keep it productive, is still with us. Our farmers are 13.6 percent of the population of the United States but they have only 6 percent of the income. Official Government figures show that from 1919 to 1922 all farm prices dropped 40 percent. At the same time if the flexible theory is correct, we should have seen a definite drop in the production of farm commodities. Despite the 40-percent drop, farm production went up 1 percent; from 1930 to 1932 farm prices went down 57 percent but farm production went up 4 percent; 1936 to 1939 farm prices dropped 17 percent, but production went up 18 percent. As a Nation we must be concerned with a fair standard of living for all of our people including the farmer.

First. Let me develop the needs of agriculture as I see them from the experience in the Ninth District of Minnesota.

I have found that to start farming today, one needs capital outlay of from $20,000 to $40,000. Our farming is now a highly specialized occupation. When I lived on the farm, it meant getting up at 5 o'clock in the morning to help with the milking before breakfast. For my husband it meant that after breakfast, he got the machinery ready to do whatever was necessary and urgent for that day. It could be plowing, cultivating, harvesting, threshing, or hauling hay in winter. Much of the time, the weather was below zero. If there was a breakdown of machinery, it meant he had to go to town for repairs and parts, another time-consuming venture. Often our work was hindered by weather, too much of the wrong kind, and lack of the kind that would bring our crops through. Farming on the family-type farm is not a seasonal job. It has to be a year-round job to have some income.

We were constantly tied down. We couldn't take a week or two for a vacation. We couldn't afford $150 a month for a farmhand. Our margin was too narrow between price and cost.

Did you know that the cost of a two-plow tractor at today's prices would have financed the production expenses on an average United States farm in 1910 for 3½ years? I have found that in terms of current dollars, today's farm production expenses are about 6 times those of the 1910 to 1914 period. Today that means that the price of a plow equals the expense of running an average farm only 6 months.

As farmers, we are dependent, to a large extent, on the rest of the economy. The only real benefit we derive nowadays from living on the farm is the milk we drink and the eggs we eat. We have meat in the lockers and some of us still have gardens. For this the farmer pays about half in the cost of its production. Let us measure this against the higher taxes we have because of improved roads, school and public buildings, and the increased costs of farming. Rising costs and falling prices have brought the farmer at the end of 1953 to the smallest share of the national income on record. The average person living on the farm has less than half the income of the average nonfarm individual. Though taxes are high, Government outlays for agriculture, however, represent such a small percent of the total Federal expenditure that the average taxpayer would scarcely notice the difference even if all Government farm programs were abolished. In fact, the income tax alone that farmers paid, when receiving parity, nearly covered the total cost of the farm program. Of the budget dollars in 1954, 17 cents was allotted to the cost of running the Government, providing all the services to labor, industry, agriculture, including health, education, welfare programs, and the development of natural resources.

Second. We must be concerned with the standard of living our rural population has. Forty years ago, farmers produced most of their own power, raised most of their own fuel, and depended mainly on farm-produced fertilizer. As we can see, most of the material for production came from the farm. Before the midthirties, farmers could reduce their purchases from industry without a serious loss in production. But today farmers cannot produce without material from industry. These must be paid for in cash. Today farmers are producing more with less labor and little more land, because petroleum and electrically driven machines are more efficiently performing the work once done by men and animals. As late as 1935 there were only 1 million tractors on farms. Today we have 4 million. In 1935 we had about 900,000 trucks; now we have 2,280,000. At that time there were 120,000 milking machines; now there are 655,000. Farmers use each year 7 million tons of finished steel, more than the quantity that goes into a year's output of passenger cars. Farmers are big consumers, buyers of tremendous amounts of goods.

In other materials produced by industry and labor, farmers use 50 million tons of chemical material, 16½ billion gallons of crude oil, more than is used by any other industry. Today farmers are using 320 million pounds of raw rubber, enough rubber to make tires for 6 million cars. Our farmers use 15 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power, which is enough to supply Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore, and Houston for 1 year.

We have come to the crossroads where the American farmer is concerned. If we are to preserve farming as a way of life, if we are to be concerned with their standard of living, if we are to keep them from being driven off their land by a flexible price-support program, which, in a few years, is no support program at all, then we will have to include in the prices farmers receive for their products the cost of production, like the other groups of economy in our Nation.

Parity is the measuring stick for the farmer, the cost of products he has to buy as measured against the money he receives for what he has to sell. He must receive 100-percent parity to cover the cost of seed, operating expenses, and the labor to maintain his living standard. Cost of production has never gone below 60-percent parity, and has often been as high as 80- to 85-percent parity. At 100-percent parity, roughly speaking, the farmer may maintain his standard of living comparable to the average wage earner. At present, a farmer can put money into the bank only if he receives 108- to 109-percent parity.

Wealth must be produced from the grassroots up, not the top down. Wealth must percolate up from the bottom, not trickle down from the top.

Third. We must be concerned that as an intelligent and progressive people that we maintain a progressive standard of living for our whole Nation.

The population of the United States has increased 68 percent since 1910. Our farm production has increased about the same amount during the same period but with most of the increase coming in the last 15 years. Population has caught up with production, so now our problem lies in distribution.

People who lack proper diets number among the 60 percent that make less than $4,000 a year. Folks above this figure buy just about all the food they want and need. As the incomes go lower, the consumption of healthful foods go with it, so that finally protective foods reach the vanishing point. The Paley Commission gave a conservative estimate that we will need 40 percent more food and fiber by 1975 to adequately feed and clothe our people. This increase will have to come from our family-type farms.

Our largest overall problem lies in distribution. America must grow to be prosperous. With the growth of America comes more jobs, more income, more consumption of food and fiber.

We are at the beginning of a new era. We must go forward with our abundance, the creation of which grows from the bottom up. We need a steady climb up the economic ladder, a ladder that was itself on the rise. We cannot let it skid any further. Holding the ladder firmly in place is our Government. With the advent of World War II, as the noted economist, Stuart Chase, expressed it, came the advent of a new regulator on the flow of our economic resources. Where Wall Street previously controlled a volume of money which directly affected our country, sometimes used for our good, sometimes to our detriment, now the Federal spending and Federal regulation have firm control of the ladder's legs to guard the destiny of our economy. Principals of Government help have been accepted by every segment of our people. Perhaps business was one of the first to accept help. When industry needed help or protection, a tariff was used to prevent smothering competition. We also have trade regulation to maintain fair practices. We have established minimum wage laws. These are accepted patterns in complicated society. Where problems grow so large that individuals cannot cope with them, we must solve those problems with Government help.

Therefore parity prices now mean even prices in troublesome times with the added advantages of plenty. Parity simply means justice, fairness. I want parity for the farmer, too. We must not sacrifice the farmer and his family when he is nailed against high costs of production over which he has no control.

I do not propose to know everything and all of the solutions. However, I do know the practices that have proved themselves should be used, not reversed, not forsaken. In the terms of progress we must explore the new avenues which we have not used. We need at least 90 percent parity until another solution takes over. Let us promote adequate diets for the 15 million people on public assistance and the unemployed. Let all our schools have lunch programs to help equalize opportunity for healthy minds to learn. Food for international aid should be used in such a way that it will be welcome and not revolting to needy people.

Friends, we can develop our farm life to take its rightful place in our standard of living and to maintain it as a most satisfying way of life.

This is a crucial problem affecting us—our stake—yours and mine. Conditions for the first tobacco grower, who settled in Virginia, creased his troubled brow to be solved by his thought and imagination, just like we must wipe the crease of hardship from our farmer's brow today. Our son tugs into his uniform of service for our protection. When he leaves our Armed Forces, opportunity must be available for him and all others to choose as he pleases. Whether he wishes a drygoods store in Brooklyn, or a $30,000 farm in Minnesota, the choice to a fair standard of living is right for us all. The glitter of opportunity has always been the gem of America.

Passive Defense for Atomic War—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House Congressional Resolution 66 which provides for a joint committee to study the feasibility of industrial and urban dispersal as a means of defense against H-bomb attack, there follows part I of a paper by Klaus Knorr on Passive Defense for Atomic War which was published by the Center of International Studies, Princeton University:

INTRODUCTION

(NOTE.—The author is indebted to his colleagues William W. Kaufmann and Roger Hilsman, who, in numerous discussions, helped him to clarify some of the issues presented in this paper. He also benefited from a conversation with Ansley J. Coale. They are not responsible, of course, for the views presented.)

In view of the uncertainties surrounding the use of A- and H-bombs in any future war, the bearing of these weapons on a realistic foreign and defense policy is necessarily controversial. These uncertainties not only baffle the nonofficial outsider, but also must weigh heavily on those admitted to the inner sanctum of classified information. The implications of these new weapons are so tremendous in their consequences that they should be allowed to challenge our ingenuity without restraint if we are to make the best preparation for surviving in the age of new technology and old international conflict.

To the outsider unfamiliar with official knowledge and deliberation, it is puzzling to see the merits and demerits of alternative policies discussed within extremely limited circles, with the majority of the interested public condemned to the sidelines by deliberate exclusion from official calculations. It is equally puzzling to find official policy on airpower committed to a rather one-sided emphasis on the offensive arm with a corresponding neglect of air defense.[1] On the basis of public knowledge[2]—and on most assumptions, this knowledge should suffice for the purpose at hand—the official orientation seems debatable and, possibly, illogical and dangerous. Leaving aside the important question of providing for waging peripheral hostilities, limited in theater of operations, in the use of weapons, or in both, and concentrating on the problem of a major and unlimited war, a strong case can be made for preparing defenses against air attack. There is active defense, which comprises warning and interception of air attacks, and civilian defense, which is concerned with emergency measures toward minimizing casualties in the event of air raids. There is passive defense, designed to diminish vulnerability by changing the nature or location of industrial and urban targets, thus making them less susceptible to bomb damage.

THE OFFICIAL DOCTRINE ON AIRPOWER

The official American doctrine on airpower—which, with slight modifications, also informs British policy—assigns an overwhelming proportion of resources available for airpower to the strategic air force. A strong Strategic Air Command (SAC) is to endow the United States with the capacity for instant and massive destruction of Soviet cities and industries. A powerful force of intercontinental bombers, plenty of fission and fusion bombs, a farflung string of air bases, and the certainty that this capacity will be exerted in the event of major war—all these factors combined are to deter aggression from getting started. As Secretary Dulles pointed out, the heart of our defense problem is how to deter attack. "This, we believe, requires that a potential aggressor be left in no doubt that he would be certain to suffer damage outweighing any possible gains from aggression. The free world must make imaginative use of the deterrent capabilities of these new weapons. * * * Properly used, they can produce defensive power able to retaliate at once and effectively against any aggression."[3] Similarly, British Air Marshal Slessor professes the belief that "the continued existence of atomic weapons gives us an almost certain chance of preventing another world war. * * * America's safety lies in the prevention * * * of war, just as does ours."[4] It is an integral part of this policy that air defense, both active and passive, receive a great deal less attention than nurturing and preserving offensive strength, except insofar as active defense is needed for protecting the ability to mount a massive retaliatory blow.

Whatever merits this doctrine could claim so long as the United States enjoyed a monopoly of, or decisive lead in, the development of atomic bombs, it remains the mainstay of policy even now, when this monopoly has ceased and any persisting American superiority in weapons is diminishing and may well diminish further or disappear altogether in the course of time.

IS RETALIATORY CAPACITY SURE TO DETER?

The extreme emphasis on the big deterrent is sound under three conditions. First, it is unquestionably sound if the big Sunday punch will actually deter major aggression. But can this effect be taken for granted, even though its achievement is likely? Air Marshal Slessor, for example, thinks that the existence of atomic weapons will give us "an almost certain chance of preventing another world war."[5] But "almost certain" falls short of certain, and even his qualified prediction may be fallible. He does concede moreover, that atomic weapons will be used "in the unlikely event of another great war."[6] If we cannot expect the possession of the Sunday punch to deter with certainty, then it is doubtful wisdom to stake everything on this one card, for if the card turns out not to be high enough, the consequences will be frightful. The deterrent weapon may not deter because a possible aggressor—the U. S. S. R., for instance—decides on peace or war according to cost calculations which are not necessarily identical with those that seem reasonable from the viewpoint of American goals and preferences. Soviet leaders may, for example, put a lower value on avoiding the casualties which they must expect to suffer in unrestricted warfare than American leaders put on the lives of their own people. With an assortment of objectives different from ours, the Soviet elite may also foresee greater gains from unlimited war, at any particular time, than we would anticipate. Furthermore, the big deterrent may fail to deter because we slide, more or less unwittingly, into atomic warfare. A trigger-happy or desperate commander, or anxiety not to sustain the first nuclear blow on the homeland, might turn a more limited form of war into one of unrestricted air attacks.

If the strategy of the big deterrent should prove mistaken—that is, if a major war involving nuclear air attacks should be precipitated by the other side,[7] then the United States could presumably retaliate in kind. While it would give us satisfaction to chastise the aggressor, we might still be defeated and, even in the best of circumstances, be burdened with a degree of destruction that spelled the end of the American way of life with finality for tens of millions of casualties, and for the survivors as well for a long time to come.

Furthermore, we shall be severely limited in our freedom of action if we cannot be sure that our capacity to retaliate will deter aggression, for a determined aggressor could then blackmail us ad infinitum, provided he were less loath than we are to unleash the full fury of nuclear bombs. Air Marshal Slessor is correct when he observes that "nothing would be more dangerous than to give the impression to a potential aggressor that we should not use them [atomic bombs] in the event of aggression."[8]

It is difficult to see how we can feel sure that SAC's Sunday punch will prevent large-scale war from occurring and, if we cannot, the one-sided concentration of air power in a powerful SAC is a risky policy.

IS AIR DEFENSE TECHNICALLY IMPOSSIBLE?

The second condition under which this stress on offensive prowess is sound involves the impracticability of mounting any effective air defense because defense is physically unfeasible.

It may be true that effective air defense, both active and passive, is indeed technically impossible and that unlimited resort to fission and fusion bombs will literally wipe out civilization. This possibility suggests the well-known image of two scorpions confined in a bottle, each able to kill the other only at the cost of being killed himself. So far as public knowledge goes, this condition does not now prevail. We have been told that H-bombs can be made with an explosive power about 1,000 times as large as the A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima, and that this bomb can inflict destruction up to a radius of some 10 miles, or over an area of about 300 square miles. We have also been told that, given a sufficient supply of A-bombs, the manufacture of H-bombs is relatively cheap. These are dreadful dimensions. Yet since bombs must be delivered, and delivery is not as yet cheap, they do not suggest the likelihood that life in a country of nearly 3 million square miles can be obliterated with ease.

Senator SYMINGTON has stressed that intercontinental ballistic missiles are sure to be available in the not too remote future; that there is no present defense against them, once they are launched, for they do not depend on electronic guidance and hence cannot be diverted from their course by electronic jamming; that accuracy in delivering these weapons will become less and less important; and that target dispersal will no longer offer a solution to the problem of defense.[9] It is possible that radioactive vapor will threaten the lives of populations not directly killed by enemy bombs. The question is whether this stage has been reached or will be reached soon. And in making such predictions, it must not be ignored that, whatever the awful destructiveness of the bombs and however cheap they may be, the ingenuity which invented them, although only by dint of tremendous effort, may also, if urgently turned in this direction, improve our capacity for destroying bomb carriers. That such a development is not now in sight does not offer conclusive proof of technical infeasibility.

CONCEPTS OF EFFECTIVE DEFENSE

Even should defense be technically possible, its effective establishment might call for installations, equipment, trained manpower, and a dispersal over space and underground on a scale that would entail economic suicide and bring down civilized life in any case. Without access to all the information, the outsider can make no judg-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

ment on this matter. However, gross concentration on an offensive striking force would be debatable, and perhaps wrong, should defensive preparation be neither physically impossible nor suicidal economically. It is on this assumption that the following arguments rest.

Conclusions about the merits of building up effective defensive strength hinge in large measure, of course, on concepts of what constitutes effective defense. The concept which appears to dominate a great deal of the current debate on the subject is of the all-or-nothing variety. To be effective, air defense must, according to this school of thought, prevent all but minor destruction of life and property. Defense tends to be regarded as ineffective if it is reasonable to expect a huge outlay on air defense merely to reduce casualties from a hypothetical 40 million to a hypothetical 20 million, and the destruction of our productive capacity from a hypothetical 50 to a hypothetical 35 percent.[10] The discussion of active air defense, designed to intercept hostile aircraft or missiles, exhibits this disposition. Air Marshal Slessor, for example, argues that an attrition rate on attacking bombers of from 5 to 10 percent was effective over time under the conditions of the last World War, but that this rate is appallingly inadequate in view of the awesome destructiveness of a single nuclear bomb. In his view, the kill rate must approach 100 percent to make active air defense effective.[11] The United States Air Force has announced publicly that a kill rate of no more than 20 to 30 percent could be counted on under recent conditions, and it is the conclusion of many experts that this state of affairs renders active air defense impotent.

Whether one expects 20 or 40 million victims, depending upon more or less defensive capacity, a horrible mauling is implied in either case. But is it actually an equal mauling? Is the hypothetical difference of 20 million survivors really negligible, when another 20 million are doomed to perish? If this is our response, then we are saying in effect that either the deterrent weapon works to prevent war, implying our firm resolve to use this weapon in an eventuality, or—if it fails to deter—we think ourselves lost and might as well throw in the sponge in any case. And this amounts to saying that the additional 20 million survivors, who could have been saved by defensive measures, would in that event proceed to commit mass suicide or submit to a worse fate than death. While it is, of course, repulsive to consider these contingencies, is it wise to refuse to face the issue?

In the following, this issue is faced on the assumption, already stated, that an atomic assault on the United States will not snuff out all life with one murderous blow; on the further assumptions that a majority of Americans will in fact survive such an attack and that the size of this majority can be increased appreciably by appropriate defense action; and on the final assumption that, when the chips are down, Americans will rather fight than surrender, and rather live than commit suicide. All of these assumptions can be questioned. But they cannot be dropped before they are proved wrong or extremely farfetched. Moreover, even if the pessimists are right and a majority of the population cannot expect to survive, the question remains whether it is not worthwhile to increase the number of survivors, provided the increase can be of appreciable size.

HOW MUCH CAN WE AFFORD FOR AIR DEFENSE?

The official doctrine on airpower could also claim strong support under a third condition: If an adequate provision for an effective air defense would be so costly as to wreck the economy. It has been argued that we cannot afford to maintain both offensive and defensive power, that there is some immovable ceiling on what we can spend on defense, that our expenditures are bumping against this ceiling now, and that—because deterrent force holds out great hope of averting major war altogether—we must allocate to SAC nearly all we can afford apart from outlays on conventional armed forces.

This condition is almost certainly a figment of the imagination. Unhappily, there is no general agreement on any criterion which will permit rational decision on what is or is not too expensive. The argument is usually in terms of undermining or wrecking the economy without any definition of these terms or of precisely how these effects would result from various levels of investment in passive air defense. Only reference to quantitative factors can afford a basis for enlightenment.

As will be argued below, a great deal can be done to lessen American vulnerability to hostile air attack without increasing the current defense budget by more than a fifth or even less. It makes no sense to say that the United States cannot sustain such a rise in defense outlays without subjecting the economy to unbearable strain. This country has spent a great deal more than these amounts in wartime and has done so with a thriving and expanding economy. This is perhaps not entirely relevant, since the Nation will be averse to putting up with the sacrifices of a perpetual emergency. Yet, according to a sober study, sponsored by the National Planning Association, the United States could appreciably add to its defense budget without sapping its economic strength.[12] Defense spending rising gradually above current levels at a rate of $10 billion a year by 1956 would—given a normal growth of the economy—neither interfere with further economic expansion nor prevent a continuing rise of civilian consumption. It would permit some tax reductions and not necessitate comprehensive direct controls over spending. A larger increase by $20 billion per annum would still permit per capita consumption to rise moderately and net investments to increase, provided the labor force were somewhat expanded and the average workweek somewhat lengthened; and this could be achieved by only continuing 1953 rates of taxation or their equivalent.

If defensive capacity can be improved appreciably by expenditures within these ranges, then there is no reasonable economic argument against doing so; and the question of whether or not to make these outlays can and should be decided primarily on military and political grounds. This is not to pretend that, excepting expenditures made under conditions of unemployment, defense could be bolstered without sacrifice in terms of somewhat lower levels of investment and/or consumption than could be maintained otherwise; and there is therefore good reason to keep military preparation to the minimum consistent with safety. The range of these sacrifices, however, is so moderate that they seem a small insurance premium when viewed against the horrendous scale of destruction which atomic warfare is likely to inflict. Atomic weapons do not belong to a dream world. They are part of a very real world which Americans, and especially Americans, inhabit.

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE AIR DEFENSE

There is a good deal that can and should be done in the area of civil defense by way of providing air-raid shelters, emergency reception centers for evacuated persons, fire-fighting and medical facilities, relief of congested traffic arteries, and many other emergency facilities of this kind. There is a great deal more that can be done to set up an effective warning and interception system. Some of these tasks are already being undertaken, although on a scale which those in charge regard as far too stingy. These measures of air defense would doubtless be very costly in absolute amounts, especially since changes in the technology of offensive and defensive means and operations may cause a high rate of obsolescence. Yet, relative to the strength of the American economy, and relative also to the additional margin of protection that these measures can afford[13]—even if this protection is far from 100 percent—they are likely to be reasonably cheap. Would an outlay of, say, $4 billion a year for such preparations be too expensive? Do not both a false conception of economy and a psychological impediment to considering the full consequences of weak defenses paralyze sound planning in this realm?

Important as such defense preparations are, they should not be allowed to blind us to the opportunities for exploiting one great asset which the United States, unlike its European allies, posseses in abundance: space. There are, moreover, good reasons for expecting that the costs of utilizing this asset are relatively small compared with the costs of active and passive civil air defense, which require large outlays on installations useless for anything but their specific purpose and highly trained manpower to man them. For a nation endowed with the advantage of ample space, the first objective of passive air defense must be in the direction of maintaining as large a proportion of the population as possible outside obvious and highly concentrated target areas. Being the abundant resource, space is relatively cheap; and over a wide range of locations for production and residence, the disadvantage of one over the other must be relatively marginal.

---

[1] This neglect of air defense also marks most private discussion. For a notable exception, see J. Robert Oppenheimer, Atomic Weapons and American Policy, Foreign Affairs, XXXI (1953), pp. 525–535.

[2] This memorandum is written without benefit of any classified material. The author has been told that there are a few studies which present a point of view similar to that taken here, but these documents are not available to the public.

[3] John Foster Dulles, Policy for Security and Peace, Foreign Affairs, XXXII (1954), pp. 357–358.

[4] Sir John Slessor, Strategy for the West, New York, William Morrow, 1954, pp. 18, 21.

[5] Ibid., p. 18.

[6] Ibid., p. 19.

[7] It is unimaginable, for obvious reasons, that the United States should plan to start an atomic preventive war. Nor would doing so make sense now that the Soviet Union may be able to retaliate instantly and in kind. Why should we want to initiate hostilities which are bound to lay waste to our cities and fatally cripple the economic capacity of this country? If this were a possible strategy, moreover, it would most likely be a possible strategy for the Kremlin as well, and to concede this is to shatter the doctrine of deterrence.

[8] Ibid., p. 18.

[9] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, U. S. Senate, 83d Cong., 2d sess., July 21, 1954, pp. 10707-10710.

[10] According to one authority, a strong civil-defense program may cut casualties by half. Cf. Gordon Dean, Report on the Atom, New York, Knopf, 1953, p. 129.

[11] Strategy for the West, p. 19.

[12] Gerhard Colm, Can We Afford Additional Programs for National Security? National Planning Association, Planning Pamphlets No. 84, Washington, D. C., October 1953.

[13] The current deemphasis on defense may be retarding technological advance in the design of defense instruments and tactics which would increase the margin of protection.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Passive Defense for Atomic War—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House Concurrent Resolution 66, which provides for a joint committee to study the feasibility of industrial and urban dispersal as a means of defense against H-bomb attack, there follows part II of a paper by Klaus Knorr on Passive Defense for Atomic War which was published by the Center of International Studies, Princeton University:

PARTIAL PASSIVE DEFENSE IS NOT TOO COSTLY

Following the development of the A-bomb, some serious thought was indeed given to the possibility of dispersal. Yet this idea was quickly dismissed by most students as unrealistic, on the grounds that disassembling our great urban and industrial centers would surely be of prohibitive cost, ruinous to the economy, and scarcely feasible politically. These conclusions were justified. But consideration of the case for extreme dispersal did, unfortunately, do an injustice to the cause of far more limited and gradual dispersal, which, although falling far short of giving complete protection, might still save millions of lives and a corresponding quantity of productive assets. Merely to ask whether the existing capital facilities should be moved or abandoned was a loaded question to which there could be only a negative answer.

There is a different order of question that could have been raised then and deserves to be raised now. The United States has a rapidly growing population and is constantly rebuilding and adding to its capital assets: Residential housing, office building and plant, merchandising and transportation facilities, public utilities, etc. From 1945 to 1953, the population grew by no fewer than 20 million. Marriages have been averaging over 10 per annum per 1,000 of population. The output of electricity has risen from 23.5 billion kilowatt-hours per month in 1948 to 36.8 billion a month in 1953. Housing starts (nonfarm only) have amounted to 8.2 million units from 1946 to 1953. Including residential construction, but excluding public investment, gross domestic investment has run to about $354 billion from 1946 to 1953. Of this, $80 billion has been for new business construction, not counting equipment. Would it have been unreasonable or too costly to have caused this rebuilding and growth to have taken place in a somewhat more dispersed fashion than it did? And would it be unreasonable or too costly to cause some spatial redirection of maintenance and growth in the future?

The fact is that, in this respect, the United States has been benefiting during the postwar years from some spontaneous and gratuitous dispersal, as is evidenced by the establishment of numerous new plants outside the traditional metropolitan and industrial agglomerations, the rapid economic development of the South, the continued expansion of the West, and the remarkable push of urban populations toward the suburbs. There are good reasons for this relative deconcentration. In a wealthy country, further industrial development means in general a rising ratio of value added to the raw material, and this makes location near the sources of raw maerials less compelling than before. Production also is becoming less dependent on coal, and the increasing use of electric power and natural gas means a shift to fuels which are available in many localities that cannot be cheaply provided with coal. The trend visible in many large corporations toward diversifying their output and granting a high degree of autonomy to individual production units facilitates industrial dispersal. So does the sensitivity of many businesses to seeking out areas of relatively cheap labor and land and low taxation. In a wealthy economy which characteristically sees service industries grow faster than manufacturing or primary production, there is also a strong incentive to locate production in or near markets. Once some key industries establish new plants in a new area, it will become profitable for others, especially subsidiary industries, to follow suit; and any influx of labor will attract the construction industry, merchandising and other service trades, and such manufacturing production as benefits from close proximity to markets. Any sizable relocation of production is likely to have multiple effects in attracting population.

What is required for a sensible policy of dispersal is to supply a marginal stimulus and thus strengthen the spontaneous trends which are already operating and which will come to operate as facilities in new areas expand. If dispersal is encouraged at the margin, where on all other considerations not much of an incentive is needed to tip the balance in favor of one location rather than another, then the expense of giving such encouragement cannot be prohibitive. There may be numerous instances, once dispersal gets underway, where it is cheaper, from a strictly economic point of view, to provide houses, schools, utilities, and roads in areas of relatively sparse population than in the big urban centers. It is possible that, if the public has become more keenly aware of the horrible specter of modern war, many workers and entrepreneurs will let these considerations influence their choice of where to work and live; and, once this happens, it becomes profitable for other businesses to follow. Once the problem is grasped, provision of tax incentives—some tax deterrent to putting up new facilities in specified areas of congestion, and perhaps some incentives for choosing locations in specified areas of lesser concentration—may suffice to give considerable impetus to practicable dispersal of people and property.[14] The required tax incentive may be obtained by allowing a more or less rapid writeoff of new construction; and this technique could be applied to relatively few key industries instead of to all businesses or industries.

Another suggestion has been to set up a compulsory scheme of war damage insurance with premiums varied according to risks.[15] For newly growing towns, it will be cheaper than in old established ones to provide ample traffic facilities; for houses about to be constructed, it may be worth exploring whether solid cellars, affording protection against blast damage near the periphery of a bomb explosion, would not be feasible at a relatively modest cost; and there are, no doubt, other protective techniques that are more easily applied in new structures and towns than in the old urban centers.

Thus, some dispersal could result from simply helping citizens to make locative decisions which reflect the contingency of nuclear warfare, and individuals themselves would, in that event, bear the presumably small cost of choosing, at the margin, one locality rather than another. Employment of other techniques, such as tax or insurance schemes, need not cost the Government anything, or will cost it only little, since tax or premium concessions could be made to offset tax or premium penalties; so that the costs, again presumably modest, would devolve upon individual businesses or citizens. If, and to the extent that, dispersal would add to the Nation's transportation bill, the expense would also fall largely on private citizens; and these costs should be low so long as only a moderate push toward increased dispersal is in question.

But the Government has opportunities for promoting decentralization by direct expenditures. If desired, it could subsidize certain protective measures, such as the building of cellars adequate to afford some safety at the periphery of bomb bursts. It could disperse public enterprises, such as arsenals, and participate vigorously in the construction of irrigation systems, power facilities, highways, and other assets for the purpose of influencing the geographic distribution of an expanding economy and population.

So far as a subetantial but practicable program for dispersal requires Government expenditures, there is a further point to the problem of costs. These expenditures would represent real costs in an economy operating at full-employment level. There would be additional and highly undesirable effects if these expenditures were injected into an economy subject to strong inflationary pressures. On the other hand, the real costs would be small or nil when these expenditures were made at a time of unemployment or economic stagnation, for they would set to work resources which would produce nothing otherwise. It cannot be demonstrated that the recession which the United States has been experiencing since the middle of 1953 has been induced by the cut in defense expenditures and its anticipation, but it is not unlikely that this retrenchment fed whatever deflationary factors were at work at the time. What is important is that this decline in business activity has cost the United States more than $20 billion of goods and services that would have been produced if the preceding expansionary trend had not been interrupted. There are times when the economy is depressed or stagnating, during which a program for passive air defense could be pursued at zero or slight real costs. At such a time, expenditures of this kind would strengthen rather than weaken the economy.[16] This is not to suggest that such a program should await times of economic slack for its implementation. It deserves a priority which does not tolerate deferment. But since the program is a long-range one, there are opportunities when it can be stepped up at low cost.

The costs of thus paring our vulnerability to enemy air attacks are not, of course, entirely economic. One cost would certainly be the abandonment by some people of psychological income which is peculiarly available in large metropolitan areas and which they happen to cherish. Another cost would be the requirement that people accept the burden of thinking out the implications of possible atomic warfare, and that the Government insist on their doing so. A third cost item would be a somewhat increased measure of government interference in the location of production and residence. Finally, dispersal might well affect, in some cases, the relative position of different States in the Union and, on this account, raise awkward problems and political resistance to which a feasible program would have to make reasonable adjustments. These are heavy drawbacks. But they may be worth accepting in view of the greater protection to be afforded in time of war.

A scheme for dispersal may be practical and fairly inexpensive and yet fail to be worth undertaking if it costs a would-be aggressor even less to add to his offensive strength. Little would be gained, for example, if it cost the U. S. S. R. fewer resources to double its capacity to deliver bombs on American targets than it cost us to double the number of targets through dispersal. It is doubtful, unfortunately, that such a comparative calculation could be made with any pretense to accuracy or that it would not quickly become out of date if it could be made for present conditions. The chief fac-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

tors involved—the offensive air power of a possible enemy and our active defense—are highly variable in terms of technology, the actual production of facilities, and the skill of the military services. If all these considerations are taken into account, the prospects are likely to indicate that dispersal is a reasonable insurance policy.

On the basis of the assumptions made, there seems to be a persuasive case for giving the problem of passive defense an expeditious and generous airing. A substantial program—though not a program to protect everyone—seems feasible and inexpensive. What is involved is not the abandonment of the large urban centers, but that they grow less than they otherwise would, and some promotion of medium-sized cities of between 30,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, still large enough to provide manpower for manufacturing enterprises of economic scale even when they are not located on the periphery of metropolitan centers. What is also involved is a gradual rather than immediate diminution of vulnerability.

Psychological and Political Impediments

If the above analysis is reasonable on the basis of the assumptions that have been set forth, then it is curious and astonishing that passive air defense has been neglected in the United States. Three reasons may chiefly account for this neglect. In contrast to the economic argument, they are rarely mentioned in public discussion and cannot be measured in their impact.

1. Conceivably, American policy for air defense lacks overall balance because passive defense would fall largely outside the province of the military. Therefore, so far as the Pentagon determines defense policy, this institutional obstacle might well prejudice the case for reducing United States vulnerability. Since defense funds never seem large enough, the inclination of the military to emphasize their own activities is certainly understandable, and the corrective to be applied is a compensatory intrusion of civilian government.

2. Consideration of passive air defense may also suffer from an emotional block. Among military and civilians alike, there is a widespread preference for contemplating offensive as against defensive operations, a belittling of defense-mindedness, which is easily shrugged off as Maginot-line mentality, and an irrational faith that, somehow, "It can't happen here," an abiding conviction that this country is not really violable.[14]

This wishful faith in the ultimate safety of the United States is held, inconsistently enough, even by people who are—in a separate cerebral compartment, so to speak—fully cognizant of the danger actually confronting the country. It is a faith, therefore, which will not readily retreat before the disagreeable tenor of rational expectation. On the other hand, considerations of defense, in addition to mobilizing offensive strength, do not in the least imply softness or lack of viability. They are the outcome of a rational attitude not at all incompatible with a bold and firm posture. Maginot-line mentality, finally, is not to be equated with the attitude of discovering that combination of defensive as well as offensive strategies which will maximize military strength from available resources. It denotes rather a one-sided preoccupation with putting all reliance on a single strategy. It is possible that excessive concentration on the Sunday punch represents Maginot line mentality in its true essence.

3. There is also the grave question of whether those in the Government who possess full knowledge of the potentialities of nuclear war dare to draw the general public into their confidence. They may hesitate to do so on two grounds. Supposing that the general public does desire to receive full clarification of its involvement in the atomic age. Those in charge of official policy, as well as those aspiring to the responsibilities of office, may fear that an informed public will fall victim to at least a temporary case of severe jitters and thus circumscribe still more than is already the case, the available room for maneuver in foreign affairs. If, on the other hand, the public is reluctant to face enlightenment, they may suspect that a government placing the burden of knowledge upon it will not be a popular government, especially when it becomes clear that what the government can do to protect the nation is in any event limited. Among a frustrated and resentful part of the electorate, the desire to find scapegoats might cause repudiation of those who insist on revealing the awful consequences of major war.

The first fear—if it holds sway in high quarters—may or may not be justified. But it can hardly be argued seriously that the power and foreign policy of the United States is best served over the longer run by not assisting the general public to realize the facts of life in the atomic age; for the shock of realization may come at a critical time and then undermine the very foundations on which American foreign policy was built.

Government inaction is more pardonable if it is the second fear which prevents political leaders from pushing an unwilling public into an awareness of the predicament. In a democratic society, it is the business of leaders to seek, rather than jeopardize, public support. Yet it is far from certain that more than a small proportion of the citizenry would, in fact, react with hostility to being informed of the choices open to it. In order to minimize the risk and overcome public reluctance to face the issue, the undertaking should be put on a nonpartisan basis and enlist sensitive opinion leaders from all groups. Information is only the first step in such an attempt and must be followed by an effort to arouse concern about the dangers of nuclear weapons and assist in evaluating alternative courses of action. To do this, and to minimize the shock of recognizing the terrifying implications of the situation, it is necessary to suggest programs by which the danger can be lessened appreciably.[15]

So far, the majority of the general public has apparently chosen to ignore the consequences to themselves of atomic warfare, even though the subject has received a great deal of attention in press and radio, and even though the public shares a fairly high expectancy of large-scale war. In part, people justify this inconsistency by assuming either that the Nation's military forces will, in fact, prevent heavy damage to the cities, or that, in this matter, the individual is helpless and must leave it to Washington to find a solution. Probably it is fear which, among the larger public, accounts for the fact that the problem is more or less suppressed.[16]

No large-scale preparations for air defense—active or passive—can be undertaken without strong public support. Reluctance to secure this support forecloses the possibility of a balanced strategy. Provided defense is technically feasible, it will be political impracticability, rather than economic cost, which actually militates against a rational consideration of defense.

ADDED STRENGTH FROM LESSENED VULNERABILITY

Assuming that SAC cannot certainly prevent full-fledged atomic war and that a worthwhile measure of effective air defense, especially passive defense, is both technically possible and economically supportable, the doctrine on air power currently in vogue contains a serious fallacy. Over a wide range of military considerations, it is clearly useful to distinguish the defensive arm from offensive capability. When overall strategy is at issue, however, this distinction can be carried to excessive lengths and become productive of faulty inferences. From this broad point of view, offensive air power and air defense are surely integral parts of one capability, military air power. Our military literature reveals that American strategists are seriously concerned both with Russia's active air defense, which must affect our ability to deliver bombs on selected targets, and with Russia's passive air defense, which must affect her vulnerability to our retaliation. We assume that their air power rests on several foundations. What holds true of the Soviet Union as an air power must hold true also of the United States.

By reducing, over time, the vulnerability of the United States to the atomic weapons of an aggressor, passive as well as active air defense would not merely save lives and property—it would also confer on us several other advantages. By reducing the offensive power of an aggressor, it would force him to consider allotting more scarce resources to an expansion of his bomb stockpiles and trucking facilities. By making our own country less violable by air attack, such a balanced program would diminish the aggressor's ability to intimidate us or to defeat us if he precipitates war. This means that our capacity to use our offensive power is enhanced, for our willingness to use this power is not independent of our own vulnerability. Defensive preparations would demonstrate to any would-be aggressor that the United States is neither given to delusion nor bluffing, but that it means business. If these expectations are correct, then a strengthening of defense might, by discouraging attack, increase the likelihood that we shall be spared disaster.

It is also possible that nuclear attacks would start a war, but not finish it. Increased defensive capacity, in these circumstances, could enable us to mobilize resources for the more conventional types of military action which might ensue. Nor is this Nation only interested in preventing war if possible, and in winning it if unlimited war is precipitated by an aggressor. It is also interested in reconstruction thereafter. If defense against air raids can save life and property, it can also increase our capacity for recuperation.

In conclusion, once we have built up our strategic striking force, there must come a marginal point at which our total air power would gain more from allocating a relatively larger, rather than a relatively smaller, proportion of available resources to expanding defensive, rather than offensive, facilities. No doubt, it will be difficult to settle even approximately on the most efficient distribution of resources—difficult particularly in view of continuous technological and military changes; but the principle is sound and its recognition would promise a healthy consideration of defensive efforts. The United States could have more confidence in its Sunday punch if it were associated with some capacity to absorb punishment.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[14] The United States initiated such a dispersal program under the Truman administration, but it was confined to key defense plants and has since been reduced to an extremely minor operation.

[15] Cf. Carl Kaysen, The Vulnerability of the United States to Enemy Attack, World Politics, VI (1954), p. 203.

[16] Cf. Opportunities for Economic Expansion, National Planning Association, Planning Pamphlets No. 87, Washington, D. C., July 1954, pp. 1–10.

[17] This point has been made strongly by Bernard Brodie, Possible United States Military Strategies, The Rand Corp. (p. 524), April 1954, pp. 11–13.

[18] Cf. William A. Scott, Attitudes Toward Participation in Civil Defense, Public Opinion Quarterly, XVII (1953), p. 384. Carl I. Hovland and others, Communication and

Persuasion, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, p. 65.

» Elizabeth Douvan and Stephen B. Withey, Some Attitudinal Consequences of Atomic Energy, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXC (November 1953), pp. 108–17.

Extending Universal Military Training and Service Act

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3005) to further amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act by extending the authority to induct certain individuals, and to extend the benefits under the Dependents Assistance Act to July 1, 1959.

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARSHALL. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. VINSON. So the issue can be clear before the Committee, the gentleman is making it applicable only to educational deferments that a man can be drafted over 26 years of age?

Mr. MARSHALL. What I am saying is that except for those who have been deferred for educational, research, or study purposes, all others between 26 and 35 would be exempted.

This is a comparatively simple amendment. We have been faced with a rather odd situation which was mentioned on the floor earlier today. The Army has lowered its mental requirements and its physical requirements, and one of the things that that has brought about has been the induction of people who were previously exempt from induction. That has brought these people into the service at a later period in their lives and it has created uncertainty among the local boards because they do not know exactly what to do in connection with some of these people. They have no way they can find to exempt them and, therefore, they induct them. They induct them into the service and the Army as a rule does not want them. They do not want them because their years of service are certainly limited and their ability to take the rigors of training is somewhat limited. We had an odd thing happen. I know of one young man, 29 years of age, who was inducted in my district. He has a crushed ankle and a silver spike in that ankle. He was inducted at the age of 29 years. The Army doctors examined him and they immediately said he is subject to limited service. All I am doing by this amendment is to exempt those who have previously been deferred for hardship reasons or for any other of a number of reasons, and to permanently exempt those between the age of 26 and 35 who are presently subject to induction. I am making an exception. I am saying that those who are granted deferments to complete their education or to engage in research or to engage in the numerous other things that some of these people were exempt for in the way of education will not be deferred, and they are subject to induction into the Army to complete their period of service as I justly think they should be. That was the obligation of the contract that they entered into. Then I again want to repeat, this merely exempts those who at the age of 26 to 35 are available for induction. I am granting permanent deferment to those men. I think that is the thing that local boards desire, and I think it is the thing that local communities desire. I cannot for the life of me see any purpose in inducting that group of men into the armed services. The testimony before the committee itself said that this past year this group only made up 6 percent of the number inducted. That 6 percent includes people who were previously deferred to get their education and to get their training and for research and other purposes. It seems to me this would be a good and fair way to handle this problem. I hope that the chairman of the committee who is such an outstanding American and who so thoroughly understands these things agrees with me. I am sure he would agree with me if he understood fully what I am trying to say. I am sure he must understand what I am talking about. I am sure he wants a strong armed services. I am sure he wants one of the best armed services we can possibly get. I am sure we are going to get a better and a more vigilant and a more useful Armed Force and get a better training program, if my amendment is accepted.

Mr. Chairman, I do hope that the gentleman from Georgia accepts my amendment and I am glad now to yield to the distinguished chairman of the committee.

Mr. VINSON. I thank the gentleman for the compliments, but I am sorry to say that notwithstanding I have to disagree with you because what you accomplish will, as I mentioned today, free these people from induction. As I said, there are 17,000 occupational deferments. Under your amendment, everyone of those 17,000 men would go free of liability for induction if they reached the age of 26. Under the law today they are liable to age 35. The only people your amendment will hold are those engaged in research, educational work or studies. But so far as all occupational deferments are concerned, if they are still deferred when they reach 26 years of age, you turn them loose and they will have served the country at no time and yet have received constant deferments because of their occupation. Do you think that is fair?

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Chairman, I have a high regard for the gentleman from Georgia, but I must disagree with you to the extent that you use the word "occupational deferment."

Mr. VINSON. Well, that is what it is.

Mr. MARSHALL. I would almost be inclined to agree with you to an extent if you were to say it were a hardship deferment, but I believe there has been ample testimony before your committee in favor of this younger group. I believe someone testified before your committee saying that if your present policies were carried out in connection with the age limits before you would get a group at the present rate of induction that is needed for the armed services, some of the men would be 90 years of age before they would have a chance to serve their country.

Is that right? That is before your committee, is it not?

Mr. VINSON. I am sorry to say I could not follow the gentleman on that. But go ahead and make your statement.

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this? Are there not ample people in the age limits below 26 to fill all of the requirements this country is going to have?

Mr. VINSON. What the gentleman is driving at is to have this burden fall exclusively almost on the shoulders of the younger group each year as they come in, and let out those in the over 26-year group. Now it is not fair. These other people owe an obligation as well as the 18-year-old boys.

Mr. MARSHALL. I think my amendment is fair.

Mr. VINSON. I hope this amendment is voted down. I think the committee understands the purport of it.

Cheerful Information for Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD the following release issued by the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., under date of February 6, 1955:

The announcement of Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General, that the Department of Justice has filed notice of appeal to the United States Supreme Court to overrule the decision of the lower court in dismissing Government charges of monopolistic and restraint-of-trade practices against Du Pont, General Motors, U. S. Rubber empire was hailed by George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business, as a forward step by the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice to put "real teeth" in the enforcement of the antitrust laws.

He continued that the Federation has made continued demands since the decision was made by the lower court that the Department of Justice appeal the decision—that if the lower court action was allowed to stand, with no further action taken by the Government, all business, both small and large, would believe that the "lip service" action that has prevailed for nearly 40 years in the enforcement of antitrust laws was still continuing.

Burger concluded that the present head of the Antitrust Division, Judge Stanley Barnes, due to his vigorous action in the enforcement of the antitrust laws, has convinced small business that at last they see real relief for them from those in industry who looked upon the antitrust laws as "dead-letter laws."

The Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, there have been many misrepresentations of the facts in the much-discussed Dixon-Yates contract during the past few months. This discussion and the resultant confusion brought by the charges and half-truths have left many people uncertain about what the true facts in the case really are. There is sufficient confusion that I feel some effort must be made to bring the real facts on the controversy to the attention of my colleagues and the people of this Nation. I would like therefore to explain and discuss this important project at this time. The following questions and answers bring out many of the issues that have been clouded by the recurrent misrepresentations. Some of the facts I have obtained for this purpose, Mr. Speaker, are from an informational bulletin published January 25, 1955, by the News and Information and Natural Resources Departments of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

1. WHAT IS THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT?

The Dixon-Yates contract is an agreement between the Atomic Energy Commission and the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. under which the company will provide 600,000 kilowatts of electric power needed by the Commission. The Mississippi Valley Generating Co. was formed specifically for this purpose by Middle South Utilities, Inc., whose president is Edgar H. Dixon, and the Southern Co., whose board chairman is Eugene A. Yates.

The contract stipulates that 500,000 kilowatts to be provided by the newly formed utility will replace power being supplied by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) to the Commission's atomic-energy plant at Paducah, Ky., while the remaining 100,000 kilowatts will represent additional power for the Commission's plant at Oak Ridge, Tenn. The 500,000 kilowatts of TVA power thus released will become available to regular TVA consumers in the Memphis area where there is a growing shortage of electric power.

The Mississippi Valley Co. proposes to build a generating plant at West Memphis, Ark., at a total cost of $107,250,000, all of it to be provided by private sources. For technical reasons, the power generated by the company will be delivered to TVA at Memphis, which in turn will deliver an equal amount of power to the Atomic Energy Commission's plants.

2. IS THERE AND PRECEDENT FOR THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT?

Yes. The Atomic Energy Commission signed similar contracts with other private companies to supply power for AEC facilities at Paducah, Ky., and Portsmouth, Ohio. Neither of these projects caused any controversy.

3. WHY HAS THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT STIRRED UP SO MUCH CONTROVERSY?

Chiefly because some persons see the contract with private firms as an attack on the Tennessee Valley Authority, a Government agency, whose officials wanted to supply the power needed by the Atomic Energy Commission. Opponents of the contract argue that it is a first step toward permitting private power firms to take over TVA's power operations.

However, President Eisenhower has said that nobody in his administration has any intention of destroying or damaging TVA or of diminishing its effectiveness in any way. He has also said there is nothing in the Dixon-Yates contract to raise by a single cent the price TVA power customers must pay.

The contract does not diminish TVA's production of power. It simply makes unnecessary, for the time being, an increase in TVA's facilities at taxpayers' expense. Actually, the contract provides that the 600,000 kilowatts to be produced by the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. will be distributed by TVA. Thus a huge additional block of power becomes available to TVA.

4. WHY DID THE GOVERNMENT SELECT A PRIVATE FIRM TO PRODUCE THE ELECTRIC POWER NEEDED BY THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION'S PLANTS?

The only alternative to the Dixon-Yates plan was construction of a steam generating plant by TVA at Fulton, Tenn., costing taxpayers $100 million. Even before the Dixon-Yates issue arose, Congress three times had rejected a proposal by TVA to build the Fulton plant. There seemed to be a strong belief on Capitol Hill that in building steam plants to generate power, TVA was going beyond its professed original purpose of improving navigation in the Tennessee River and preventing floods. Production of electric power was to have been only incidental to these objectives.

The Dixon-Yates plan revived the question of how far TVA should be permitted to go in producing power which competed directly with private enterprise. It also raised an even more vital question: Why should residents of the Tennessee Valley area enjoy privileges not shared by citizens in other parts of the country?

President Eisenhower summed up this question last November in a letter on the Dixon-Yates contract to Representative W. STERLING COLE, then chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. The President said:

"It seems to me that all arguments for the construction by the Federal Government of the additional steam plants ignore this one and very important truth: If the Federal Government assumes responsibility in perpetuity for providing the TVA with all the power it can accept, generated by any means whatsoever, it has a similar responsibility with respect to every other area and region and corner of the United States of America. * * *

"The directive to the AEC to make arrangements for the purchase of private power—either directly or by finding a new private source to replace available TVA power—was designed to allow time for a thorough examination of this whole vast field, without hurting the citizens of the valley."

5. DOES THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT GUARANTEE A PROFIT TO THE POWER COMPANIES?

No. The contract permits a theoretical profit of 9 percent on the $5,500,000 which Middle South Utilities and the Southern Co. will raise by selling stock in the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. (Average return on equity capital is close to 10 percent for all United States private utilities.) In the heat of the Dixon-Yates controversy this was widely mistaken for a guaranty of 9-percent profit on the entire investment. If costs go too high, it is entirely possible for the companies to take a loss.

If costs are kept within the original estimate of $107,250,000 total investment in the Mississippi Co. (all but the $5,500,000 to be supplied by banks), the rate of return on the $107,250,000 will be from 3.75 to 4 percent. This compares with the approximately 6 percent which regulated electric companies normally are allowed to earn. Interest charges on the borrowed capital, as well as stockholders' dividends, must be paid out of this return.

6. WHAT ADVANTAGES TO THE GOVERNMENT DOES THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT PROVIDE?

The principal advantage is an immediate saving of $100 million, which taxpayers would have to provide were the powerplant to be built by TVA. In addition, Mississippi Valley Generating Co., which will operate the plant, will pay Federal, State, and local taxes. TVA pays no Federal income tax, and only token State and local taxes on its power operations. Thus Federal, State, and local governments will benefit along with Federal taxpayers.

The Atomic Energy Commission has estimated that the rates it will pay for power under Dixon-Yates contract will be lower than those provided in any present AEC power contract, when allowance is made for taxes the company will pay.

Finally, AEC can take over the plant at any time within 3 years after the contract becomes effective, and can cancel the contract during the construction period, or on 3 years' notice after the plant is completed. The company, however, cannot cancel. The contract is essentially a fixed-cost, not a cost-plus, agreement. Before it was signed (in November 1954) the contract was examined and reexamined by many Government agencies, including the AEC, the Bureau of the Budget, the General Accounting Office, the Federal Power Commission, and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy.

7. WHAT IS THE BASIC ISSUE INVOLVED IN THE DIXON-YATES CONTROVERSY?

The basic issue is public against private power. It is a political issue. At the same time, there are many sincere people on both sides of the fence. Public power advocates believe that electric power created by Federal dams should be sold to private consumers by the Government. They argue that water, unlike man-made products, is a natural resource belonging to all the people, and its benefits, including electric power, should be distributed by the National Government. They go further and argue that hydroelectric power (water power) should be supplemented by power created by steam generators. In other words, they want the Government to go into the power business in competition with private firms. They say that consumers benefit because Federal power is cheaper than private power.

Private power advocates say that Federal power is cheaper only because Government powerplants pay no Federal taxes, and not all of them make even token payments in lieu of State and local taxes. TVA, unlike other Government power agencies, can borrow capital from the Treasury without interest. Thus, the taxpayers actually pay the difference in cost between public and private power. Private power firms, on the other hand, not only pay taxes but also provide their own capital without recourse to public funds.

Before the recent tremendous growth of the private power industry, public power advocates also argued that Government should go into the power business because private firms were unable to provide facilities for such huge projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority. This argument is heard less often today. The administration, in advancing its policy of partnership in development of natural resources, states frankly that "Government can't do it all."

8. WHAT IS THE ADMINISTRATION'S PARTNERSHIP POLICY?

The policy holds that our natural resources can be most wisely developed by emphasizing Federal cooperation with State, local, and private interests.

Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior, says this policy fully recognizes Federal re-

sponsibility for resource development. At the same time, Secretary McKay states that the task of resource development is too vast to be carried out by the Federal Government alone. Those who contend otherwise, he asserts, are either misinformed "or attempting to mislead the public."

As an example of the partnership policy, Secretary McKay recently cited the plans for development of the Columbia River Basin. Here States, local government agencies, and private companies are ready to spend an estimated $2 billion for development and control of water resources.

With respect to development of electric power, the partnership policy simply means that the Federal Government does not assume that it has exclusive rights or responsibility for the construction of dams or the generation, transmission, and sale of electric energy in any area, basin, or region.

President Eisenhower has said: "We shall avoid extremes. We shall neither withdraw from the power field nor federalize all electric generators in the United States. * * * Where local enterprise can shoulder the burden, it will be encouraged. * * * But where local action cannot or should not fully meet the need, we shall have Federal action."

9. DOES THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT FIT INTO PARTNERSHIP POLICY

Yes. The offer of private utilities to build a powerplant to meet Government needs was in direct response to President Eisenhower's challenge to local groups, public and private, to share in large governmental projects.

With the Atomic Energy Commission requiring more and more electric power from TVA, power supply in the Memphis area was becoming critically short. Tennessee Valley Authority was seeking $100 million to build a steam plant to provide the power needed by AEC. Since the private utilities were able to satisfy AEC that they could provide the needed power, no reason was seen for allowing a Government agency to build the plant at taxpayers' expense.

Suspension of Import Duties on Scrap Metal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill to suspend the import duties on all metal scrap in order to insure an adequate supply of essential raw materials for Connecticut industries and to reduce the amount of strategic metals now going to Russia, China, and other nations in the Soviet bloc.

My bill continuing the suspension of import duties on metal scrap is only one step in the direction of protecting our industrial economy, but it is a vital step. In the 80th Congress, I was the original sponsor of legislation to take the duties off copper imports badly needed by Connecticut's great copper and brass industries. I am gratified that each succeeding Congress has voted the continued suspension of taxes on imported copper. I need hardly add that I will continue the fight to get essentials for Connecticut's industries. There is much to be done yet.

In connection with the present bill I wish to explain that scrap metal is an essential raw material, the processing of which provides work for Connecticut labor. It should be permitted to enter the United States free of duty or import tax as an essential raw material.

The tonnage of scrap metal imported is very small when compared with United States production and consumption of such metals, but this small tonnage is very important to the welfare of the waste materials industry.

Imports of lead scrap and zinc scrap are principally from Canada and other countries in the Western Hemisphere which are good customers for articles produced in Connecticut. Every ton of scrap metal imported reduces the drain on our natural resources, and insures a stable market for domestic scrap and in preventing temporary shortages of metal scrap with the accompanying excessive variations in price due to the sudden jump in the London market.

I, therefore, recommend to Congress that legislation be enacted to provide for the suspension of import duties and import taxes on all metal scrap for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956. I feel confident that Congress will see the need for such legislation in view of the critical world situation today.

Importations of Frozen Tuna From Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the tuna industry of California has been hard hit by increasing importations of frozen tuna from Japan. There is currently no tariff on tuna in frozen form, and the resultant flood of imports has had a serious effect on our domestic producers of this popular American foodstuff. Our long-range fishing fleet is rapidly declining in numbers, and unless some relief is forthcoming, we may well see American consumers entirely dependent on foreign producers of tuna.

A clear-thinking spokesman of the fishing fleet, Mr. Harold Cary, general manager of the American Tunaboat Association of San Diego, in my district, recently summarized the position of the industry in regard to current trade negotiations.

I include his remarks in the RECORD.

JAPANESE-UNITED STATES TRADE AGREEMENT HEARINGS

The United States Government is preparing to negotiate a trade agreement with Japan. In that agreement the United States is preparing concessions to Japan on a large number of products, on which a list was published. The published list includes frozen tuna, tuna canned in oil, and tuna canned in brine. The concessions granted by the United States usually take the form of a reduction in the tariff or duty rate charged by the United States on imports into the United States.

Before actual negotiations begin with Japan the United States Government allows interested persons or groups to appear before a committee known as the Committee for Reciprocity Information and before the United States Tariff Commission to state why they believe a concession should or should not be granted to Japan.

Once negotiations with Japan are undertaken the United States Government, through the executive branch, would have the authority to cut the duty on tuna canned in oil from 45 percent to 22½ percent, and to cut the duty on tuna canned in brine from 12½ percent to 6¼ percent. A different situation presents itself in regard to frozen tuna. There is presently no duty on frozen tuna. Therefore a question arises as to what concessions the United States could grant to Japan on this item. The negotiators could act to bind the present duty rate through negotiation of a trade agreement with Japan. This means, in its simplest practical terms, that the United States Government would be agreeing with Japan that there would be no duty rate or quota imposed on the product, frozen tuna, in the future.

An action to bind the duty rate at zero on frozen tuna would be, in essence, a statement to the world at large and to the Japanese tuna industry in particular, that the tuna-producing industry of the United States (the boat owners and fishermen) is completely dispensable.

The association appeared before both the committee and the Commission on December 20, taking the position that the United States Government should take no action to bind the present zero duty rate. In addition, it was pointed out that no change should be made in the canned-tuna duty rates.

THE BASIS OF THE ASSOCIATION'S POSITION

It is a fundamental of United States trade policy that foreign trade be encouraged, but not at the risk of injury to domestic industry, labor, or agriculture. The Trade Agreements Act itself lists certain ways by which injury may be measured. If there is a decline in the domestic production, prices, wages, or profits of an industry, there is evidence of injury. If there is an increase in actual imports or an increase in relative imports, there is evidence of injury. If there is a decline in the proportion of the domestic market supplied by the domestic producer, there is evidence of injury.

A part of the association's presentation was to use these means of measurement to show what has happened to the United States producer. The following figures are taken from the statement submitted to the committee and to the Commission:

1. Domestic production: The following figures illustrate the trend of production by the total domestic fleet, including the baitboats, purse seiners, and albacore boats:

	Pounds
1948	331,624,000
1949	335,680,000
1950	392,273,000
1951	319,748,000
1952	324,914,000
1953	[1] 318,000,000
1954	[1] 322,000,000

[1] Estimated.

From the foregoing it will be seen that there has been a decline in domestic production.

2. Prices: There has been a decline in the price structure for raw fish. A comparison made between 1948 and the end of 1954 shows an overall decline of 14.4 percent in the prices paid for yellowfin and skipjack tuna.

During this same period the costs of boat operation have risen. There is no item of expense in the conduct of the fishing business which has lessened during this period. The expenses of operation for a trip, which

include provisions, fuel, and foreign licenses, in addition to fishing gear, have all increased. In addition, the boat owners' costs for the repair and maintenance of their vessels, the insurance on the vessels, and the replacement of major components have all likewise increased.

3. Profits: There has been a decline in profits from boat operations resulting from declines in price and declines in volume of production. A measurement may be made of this by placing the profits for 1948 on the basis of an index of 100 and measuring subsequent years on the basis of data received to date, as follows:

1948	100.00
1949	86.79
1950	87.67
1951	38.39
1952	−00.6
1953	−16.00

4. Wages and employment: There has been a decline in wages paid to fishermen on a share basis and in employment of fishermen. A survey of wages has been made and placed on an index basis, as follows:

1948	100.0
1949	93.3
1950	92.8
1951	71.4
1952	[1] 70.0
1953	[1] 70.0
1954	[1] 80.0

[1] An estimate.

The loss of a number of vessels from the southern California fleet, particularly in the bait-boat fleet, but also affecting the purse-seine fleet, has cost many hundreds of jobs. It is estimated that the decline in employment in the bait-boat fleet alone approximates 500 persons in the past 3 years.

5. Increase in actual imports: Frozen-tuna figures show amazing increases in imports into the United States. The following figures are given on the basis of pounds of round weight:

1948	9,143,000
1949	20,606,000
1950	56,712,000
1951	62,035,000
1952	69,003,000
1953	95,038,000
1954	[1] 110,759,000

[1] Jan. 1 to Oct. 31 only.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the imports have increased over 12 times in a period of 6 years, even though that rate of increase is measured on the basis that the last year is given only for a 10-month period.

The subject of the trade-agreement hearings was whether or not a trade agreement should be negotiated with Japan. Japan's participation in sales of frozen tuna to the United States is, of course, of major interest. The following are the figures from Japan, the principal supplier:

	Pounds	Percent of total
1948	2,392,000	26.2
1949	2,839,000	13.8
1950	25,369,000	44.7
1951	35,727,000	56.7
1952	50,985,000	73.9
1953	77,112,000	81.1
1954 [1]	[1] 89,901,000	[1] 81.2

[1] Jan. 1–Oct. 31 only.

From the foregoing analysis the pattern of import supply has each year tended to become more fixed in Japan, principal supplying country, with the total percentage of frozen imports increasing steadily from 13.8 percent in 1949 to 81.2 percent in 1954 for the first 10 months.

There have also been significant changes in the types of tuna imported from Japan. Prior to 1954 the overwhelming majority of this tuna was albacore. In 1954 for the first 10 months albacore represented 51,054,000 pounds, or 56.8 percent, while yellowfin and skipjack totaled 38,847,000, or 43.2 percent.

While the brief of the association was directed chiefly to the item, fresh and frozen tuna, the following figures on tuna canned in oil and in brine are of importance and illustrate another great increase:

	Pounds of processed weight
1948	8,302,000
1949	4,584,000
1950	36,790,000
1951	12,970,000
1952	23,321,000
1953	34,593,000
1954 [1]	24,438,000

[1] Jan. 1–Sept. 30 only.

Japan has become the leading supplier of canned tuna, increasing her percentage of the imports from 7.8 percent in 1948 to 93.6 percent in 1953.

6. Relative imports:

One way of measuring the rate of imports is to take the amount imported and compare it, percentagewise, with the amount produced by the domestic producers. The following percentage tabulation shows the percent which imports bear to the total amount produced by domestic producers:

	Percent
1948	2.76
1949	6.14
1950	14.46
1951	19.42
1952	21.24
1953	29.88
1954 [1]	39.10

[1] Jan. 1–Oct. 31 only.

Therefore, there has been a sharp increase in the amount of imports relative to domestic production.

7. Proportion of the domestic market supplied by the domestic producer:

There has been a decrease in the proportion of the domestic market supplied by the domestic producer. Taking into account production of canned tuna from imported frozen fish and considering that as foreign production, and adding to that the importation of tuna and tuna-like fish already processed and canned, this is the condition with respect to the percentage of the market filled by domestically produced fish:

	Domestic producers' percentage of the market
1948	91.4
1949	85.3
1950	67.4
1951	70.9
1952	66.0
1953	59.9
1954 [1]	55.9

[1] Jan. 1–Sept. 30 only.

Meanwhile, the percentage of the total United States market represented by importations from Japan of tuna in all forms has increased as follows:

	Percent
1948	1.3
1949	2.6
1950	20.3
1951	15.5
1952	23.2
1953	30.9
1954 [1]	32.4

[1] Jan. 1–Sept. 30 only.

8. Other considerations:

The change in the number of producing units (in the case of the fishing industry the increase or decrease in the size of the fleet) is also an important measurement of the trends of a business. If a fleet is expanding it illustrates that venture capital is available and people are willing to make the venture. If the fleet is declining it appears that there is an excess of caution in the investment of funds. The following figures exhibit the decline in size of the domestic bait-boat fleet:

	Vessels	Capacity
		Tons
Dec. 31, 1951	210	44,300
Dec. 31, 1952	191	42,470
Dec. 31, 1953	180	40,535
Oct. 31, 1954	168	37,915

Since the end of 1951 the fleet has declined to the extent of 42 vessels through casualties and transfers. Of the 32 vessels lost through various types of casualties during this period only 2 have been replaced, and these have only very recently joined the fleet. Twelve vessels have transferred their operations to other areas.

The purse seine fleet in the meantime has shown a decline, as evidenced by the fact that, in 1948, 102 vessels took out Mexican fishing licenses, while, in 1954, only 67 vessels used such licenses.

The foregoing figures are significant and indicative of a trend. They become far more significant when they are compared with what has happened in the Japanese fleet of tuna-skipjack vessels similar in size (from 50 tons carrying capacity and upward). For the 30 months, from January 1, 1952, to June 30, 1954, the following increases have taken place:

	Japanese vessels	Gross tonnage
Dec. 31, 1951	272	40,714
Dec. 31, 1952	292	47,622
Dec. 31, 1953	332	63,122
June 30, 1954	388	78,684

The statement of the association before the committee and the Commission contained a considerable amount of additional information, plus a number of reasons why the United States Government should not take action to bind the present duty-free status of fresh and frozen tuna.

Income Tax Deduction for College Tuition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill in Congress to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide, in the case of individual taxpayers, a deduction equal to 30 percent of amounts paid as tuition for college or university students.

The purpose of my bill is to afford a higher educational opportunity to many young men and women who might otherwise be denied the benefit of a college education that opens the door to successful careers in all walks of life. This is accomplished by easing the tax burden on the parent or benefactor who pays the tuition fees for college students. The taxpayer receives a 30-percent deduction of amounts paid for tuitions. Not only

does this provide tax relief for low-income families struggling to send their children to college but offers an incentive to higher-income benefactors to cut their income tax by sending talented and deserving young persons to college.

From the national standpoint, the proposed legislation I am now offering will materially assist in providing a future supply of trained leadership and technical skill. In his budget message, President Eisenhower stressed the need for highly qualified scientists. Furthermore, today there is a pressing need for engineers and technologists in the rapidly expanding field of new industries and commerce. There is always the need to fill the vacancies in the older professions in this great Nation of free enterprise.

According to a recent survey conducted by the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training, only about 51 percent of the highest talented high-school graduates are currently enrolling in college. My tax relief proposal for education is especially designed to aid that 49 percent denied the privilege of educational advancement. The cornerstone of our Republic is our system of free enterprise, and there is no higher aspiration of free enterprise than pursuit of education.

Friendship Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to read in the Wall Street Journal of February 4 an article by Mr. William Henry Chamberlin entitled "Friendship Drive," and with permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this article. I hope the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will peruse this carefully, for it contains a viewpoint many of us seem to have forgotten.

FRIENDSHIP DRIVE—SOVIET OFFICIALS TRY TO REGAIN SOME OF THE CONFIDENCE THE UNITED STATES UNCRITICALLY GAVE THEM DURING THE WAR

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

During the war it was almost worth an American's reputation as a loyal citizen to voice distaste for Communist methods of rule in Russia or to express distrust as to the use which the Soviet Government would make of the immense power which it was clearly building up.

Today, despite such possibly ominous signs as a new emphasis on heavy industry for arms production, the Soviets are trying to recreate some of that wartime confidence. They do not now, it is true, have the same amount of gratuitous help in this country they had then, but they are trying.

In those not-so-long-ago days, the most influential and publicized press and radio commentators went out of their way to read sermons on how the Soviet Union had been wronged and misunderstood and how hope for a brave new world after the war was linked to trust in Stalin's benevolent intentions toward the whole human race. It was not only the publications of red and pink tint that enjoyed a field day. Pro-Soviet propaganda of the most inaccurate and undiscriminating kind found it way into normally conservative publications.

In this connection, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom has recently published an interesting little pamphlet by Paul Willen, entitled "Who Collaborated With Russia?" This work is not complete and one may take exception to some of its conclusions. The author seems inclined to let off the Roosevelt administration too easily and to accept, in retrospect, this phenomenon of collaboration somewhat too fatalistically.

DOUBTS NOT ENCOURAGED

Still, there is enough authentic data in the pamphlet to make some faces in very respectable editorial rooms distinctly red. That was a time when State Department officials who refused to swim with the tide and retained their doubts about the grand design of Soviet foreign policy found it advisable, for the sake of their careers, to be very cautious about being seen in public with persons of known anti-Communist views.

The theory of trusting Stalin and hoping for the best became the leitmotiv of American foreign policy and led to Teheran, to Yalta, to Potsdam—and ultimately to a cold war that is being fought under far less favorable conditions than would have prevailed if healthy distrust of Soviet ultimate intentions had been cherished even when American-Soviet military collaboration was considered a practical necessity by both countries.

The current effort to recreate this atmosphere of trusting confidence began after the death of Stalin. Soviet diplomats are coming out of their isolated towers of grim seclusion, inviting conversations with non-Communist diplomats and journalists and saying, in effect: "We really want to be friends. Why do you distrust us?"

Since human memory is short, it may be worthwhile to recall briefly a few valid reasons for distrust of what seems to be a carefully rehearsed and stage-managed Soviet friendship and confidence offensive.

First, there is the theory on which the Soviet state was set up. This was implacable hostility between the Soviet Union and the non-Communist world. As Lenin put it: "It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long time side by side with imperialist states. Uultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states are inevitable."

It may be suggested that all revolutions start out with frothy language and tend to settle down with the passing of time. If it were only a case of a theoretical belief of Communists that their system would outlast ours, as a result of immutable laws of history, we could take this in our stride and leave the verdict to the future.

Unfortunately, the Soviet Communists, from the very beginning, felt a strong urge to give history a helping hand. So they built up throughout the world an enormous fifth column, composed of local Communist parties which are completely subservient to Moscow and faithfully follow every zig and zag of the tortuous Soviet foreign policy.

THE DIFFICULT NEIGHBOR

Partly by this device, practiced on a scale without parallel in history, partly by outright force, partly by capitalizing on the social and economic chaos which World War II brought to many parts of the world, Soviet communism in less than 40 years has become an enormous imperial power, controlling the destinies of one-third of the population of the world.

Such an empire would have been a formidable neighbor in the best of circumstances. With its rulers committed to militarization at home and expansion abroad this empire becomes a very difficult neighbor. It is, moreover, a regime that has always practiced Lenin's maxim: "It is necessary to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth."

One of the silliest of the wartime legends represented Stalin as a basically likable character, a little rough and blunt perhaps, but a man whose word could always be relied on. The truth is that Stalin was one of the most devious and cunning of politicians, with a record for breaking treaties and promises that Hitler perhaps equalled, but did not surpass. Stalin built his empire by fraud as much as by force, concluding treaties of friendship and nonaggression with neighboring states which he took over at the first convenient opportunity.

There are two other characteristics of the Soviet regime which are scarcely compatible with an attitude of cordial confidence on the part of the outside world. The Soviet government recognizes no control on its actions except that of equal or superior force. There is no recorded case when it has accepted arbitration as a means of settling a dispute with some other state.

HOODWINKING THE PEOPLE

And the Soviet population is so shut off from normal contacts with the outside world—despite recent surface relaxations, and newspapers are not freely sold, contacts between Russians and foreigners are few and restricted—that it can be hoodwinked into regarding an act of aggression as an act of self-defense.

There is not much danger the American people will respond to the present Soviet offensive by succumbing to another wave of uncritical adulation, though unhappily the same cannot be said of all non-Communist countries. But the friendship offensive is at least a reminder that until and unless the basic characteristics of Soviet rule are changed, a wary skepticism about Soviet words unsupported by Soviet deeds will continue to be a sign of elementary common sense.

Michigan State College Founders' Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Menominee Herald-Leader pertaining to the centennial awards which Michigan State College will present at its Founders' Day program on February 12. Among the 27 to receive these rewards are two outstanding citizens of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and who are very deserving of the honors which will be bestowed upon them.

Michigan State College will honor 27 persons with centennial awards at its Founders' Day program February 12. Among them are two men from the Upper Peninsula, George A. Osborn, publisher of the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News, and George E. Bishop, secretary-manager of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau. Both men have served the Upper Peninsula and Michigan well and are deserving of the honors which Michigan State, marking its hundredth year, will confer on them.

Osborn has devoted himself for years to helping peninsula progress. He has served on the board of Houghton Tech, on the

Mackinac Straits Bridge Authority, on the International Bridge Authority, on countless commisions and committees in his profession of journalism and in civic affairs. He is very apt to be found present wherever there is a gathering to plan a major Upper Peninsula promotion. An indefatigable traveler and planner, he has made his Soo News a reflection of its publisher's personality—clean, helpful, and orderly.

George Bishop, the executive officer of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau for more than 30 years, has rallied and united Upper Peninsula promotional forces again and again. He would deserve honor for the resolution and persistence which he has brought to his work if it had not been accomplished as much as it has, and it has done much. He has been a valuable educational force in the peninsula, teaching patiently (he used to be a school teacher) that cooperation is the way to achievement, uniting the peninsula in projects for its common good, preaching a love of this northern land, its iron ranges and great forests, its lake deeps and rushing streams, and especially of its people.

Had the Upper Peninsula itself nominated two eminent citizens for citation by Michigan State College at its centennial celebration it could not have done better than the college itself has done in the selection of George Osborn and George Bishop.

Health Reinsurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I quote herewith an editorial which appeared in the February 1, 1955, issue of the Daily Advance, a newspaper published daily in the city of Lynchburg, Va.:

WELFARE SHOT IN THE ARM

The President's dissertation to the Congress on reinsurance of private health insurance plans is an interesting message. It is rather glowing in its concern for the health of the people and in specifying how vital that is to the Nation. But it is a shot in the arm for all the welfare state programs and proposals of the New Deal and Fair Deal to which the Republicans were so opposed, and to which conservative Democrats who really elected Mr. Eisenhower, were opposed.

The bureaucracy necessary to carry out such a program as the one he now has presented to the Congress means more people in Government to exercise paternalistic supervision of those not in Government. It is another blow against individualism, the self-sufficiency of the individual which is at the same time his evidence of growth into the best kind of citizen.

The health program is apparently, to pin it down, a substitution for socialized medicine. It is another form of paying medical costs, with the Government in a considerable degree guaranteeing those costs, so that in extremely numerous cases the Government will be paying part or even all costs.

This is so far from what all of us have been taught about strength through doing it yourself, exercising your muscles if you want to be strong—to put it in its simplest form—that it is hard to swallow.

That it will have considerable support is certain. And this will come from both parties. And it will be widespread in the land and will come from unexpected sources. States burdened with welfare costs, care of the mentally and physically ill, with all the increasing difficulty in meeting these costs, will see in this program Federal funds to ease the State or locality burden. And this is the result of the tax system, where Federal taxes take so large a part that State and locality cannot find revenue to do what they would prefer to do instead of channeling everything through Washington.

The cost is set casually at $100 million—as a beginning. But every time a program is instituted which does this it grows, eventually is added to the debt, from the beginning increases the centralization of government, of power, of control, and diminishes the strength of every political subdivision in its role and initiative. And the initiative and individual dignity and strength of the citizen.

This is done by men who are not social, not political philosophers but politicians. Sole blame and burden of it lies not on the President but on advisers and the forces influencing these advisers. For it seems now that it does not matter who the President or which the party—the welfare state grows. And there still are many Americans who prefer, and who will insist, that it is better for man to earn his way, better to contrive his own systems outside of government for taking care of human welfare except in cases of unavoidable indigency.

There is at each level of government a legitimate place for concern with human welfare, but when it takes the form of subsidy for which all pay, and in which all are ultimately also to be benefactors, it is moving toward a situation about which no man can be informed, for it is largely a process of taking out of one pocket, passing it through government hands, returning less to the other pocket after costs of government processing, until the time comes when both pockets will be empty.

One man's utopia can be another man's poison. In theory, that is, for the utopia remains, ultimately, a dream.

What Is Just Parity Percentage?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. POAGE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the February 1955 issue of the Progressive Farmer:

WHAT IS JUST PARITY PERCENTAGE?

More and more a radically new attitude toward this whole problem of parity seems absolutely necessary if farmers are ever to get out of the terrible financial squeeze in which they are now caught. Somehow or other our city people and the city press (aided, alas, by some in our own Department of Agriculture and some agricultural leaders) have spread abroad the notion that full 100-percent parity prices would mean inexcusable prosperity for farmers—a sort of "all this and heaven, too" situation where farmers would be carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease. This is not only not true, but it is the absolute reverse of truth as proved by these demonstrated statistical facts which the Progressive Farmer has more than once mentioned:

1. In 1949 farm prices stood at 99 percent of parity, and yet the average net income per farm person was only one-half that of the average nonfarm person.

2. In 1951 farm prices were 107 percent of parity, and yet the average net income of farm workers and industrial workers compared as follows: For farm workers, $1,718; for industrial workers, $3,416.

Plainly, therefore, 100-percent parity will not give farmers real prosperity, but only a fairly decent income. They should never be content with anything less than 100 percent. On products for which any variable price-support formula is set up it should be at 85 to 95 percent of parity—not 75 to 90. And where farmers are willing to provide their own production control and reduce their acreages or other production factors in order to make production fit expected demand, then we believe price supports should be guaranteed at 95 percent of parity instead of the 90 percent which has proved unequal to the task of giving farmers the decent income to which their efficiency entitles them. To restore 90-percent price supports may be all that is expedient as to this Congress, but who can say farmers do not honestly earn the definitely larger percentages just suggested?

Devastating Effect of Foreign Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, we have furnished foreign nations with billions of our taxpayers' money. We furnished them with the blood of our fine American boys, and now we are asked to surrender our payrolls—in other words, the jobs of our American workers, to further benefit foreign countries. Is there to be no stop to this raid on the economy of the United States? I can answer that question by saying that with such legislation as H. R. 1, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, there will be no end to it.

The pending Japanese Treaty is another example where it is proposed to open our market to their low labor products, and drive many of our industries into bankruptcy.

Under leave to extend, I am including an article which appeared in the Olean (N. Y.) Times-Herald on February 7, 1955:

BICYCLE-MAKING BUSINESS IN NEW YORK IS MENACED

In an editorial one evening last week, this newspaper, in speaking of the grave situation that had arisen concerning the migration of industry from New York State, mentioned the removal of a big carpet-manufacturing concern from Amsterdam, N. Y., to a location in another State in which it could operate more profitably.

This, as it happens, was one of Amsterdam's largest industries—maybe its largest—and the payroll of 1,700 workers will be lost to the community.

And what will that mean in terms of cold dollars and cents?

Well, let us figure the average weekly wage conservatively at $40. It was probably considerably higher.

At $40, the weekly payroll would be $68,000; and this would mean an annual payroll of $3,536,000.

All of us can understand just what the loss of such an industry and payroll will mean to Amsterdam.

This concern, however, found it desirable to move elsewhere purely for domestic reasons.

What many of us may not have realized is that some of the State's industries are falling by the wayside because of cheaper foreign importations.

Take the bicycle industry, for instance. In Little Falls is the plant of the H. P. Snyder Manufacturing Co.

The Snyder people make bicycles. They make good bicycles. But there are foreign bicycle makers who also make good bicycles; and because they can turn them out cheaper, they can be imported into this country and undersell the Snyder concern and other American bicycle manufacturers.

British bicycles, for instance, can be placed on the docks here at $21, even after paying the duty, when it costs $29 to make the same product in Little Falls.

Well, what's the solution? Increase the duty on foreign-made bicycles?

That is the conviction of Assemblyman Leo A. Lawrence, of Herkimer, who has introduced a resolution in the legislature in which both the assembly and senate are urged to memorialize Congress to provide tariff protection.

The comment of the assemblyman may be noted:

"We've seen Amsterdam lose a big industry," he observes, "and we don't want the same thing to happen in Little Falls."

Nor does anyone else. It's time to get right down to brass tacks, isn't it?

A Letter From a Coal Miner's Wife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert a letter from one of my constituents, a coal miner's wife—whose name, of necessity, I have omitted—which speaks for itself in bringing to the fore the seriousness of the emergency in which our coal industry finds itself today:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KELLEY: Oh, I am so puzzled and downhearted over the situation that I don't even know how to write this letter. But I will try my best and do hope you try your best to understand.

It is about the coal mines. Do you really understand that this situation is getting worse by the days? More layoffs are taking place right now. It is pitiful to see some of the miners' families. I have a neighbor that is out of work almost a year and a half. A family of five. Really pitiful. I tried my best to help them out, especially with clothing. I can't anymore. Who will help me and my children? Most men from Mount Pleasant work at Leisenring 3, Collier, and Bridgeport. More layoffs at Leis; three, and more to come next week. Why? Because they are bringing new machines in and the men are told, "We don't need you." Those poor men stand their looking at their two hands. Yes, their hands can do the work; they are willing and able to work. But they would rather see the man out of work and let the machine do it. Is it fair for children to go hungry because of a new machine?

Answer this for me please. How can one manage on a check at $30 a week? A family of five. My family. Our eats, electricity, gas, water, coal, insurance, our clothes, how? Impossible. And a house payment. Yes, we are struggling to build a home for the children. We now live in our foundation. Well the old saying, "A coal miner is just a rat under the ground, so a miner's family should live down in the ground also."

I had a neighbor visiting me Monday evening. Her husband, a millworker. She hurt my feelings terribly. "Oh, we don't need coal any more. Everything is gas and oil nowadays. You just ask my husband. They use gas at their plant. We have an oil furnace. I think John L. Lewis is a fake." That is what she said. A coal miner is always laughed at. All I can do at times like this is turn around and go into tears. My husband wants to work. Someone, somewhere won't let those men work. So many articles I have read, "Brighter future for coal industry." Is it true or is it propaganda? Just the big shots have work and good incomes. Not the poor man. Not even a chance.

My oldest child will be out of school this May. A boy. Is there any future for him? Is there anywhere he could start looking for a job? So many times he says, "Mom, wait till I'm out of school. I'll work and help so we can build up." Oh that dear child. Does he know? Where should he look for work? If you, dear Mr. KELLEY, have any idea please, oh please let me know. Let him and others have some kind of a future. Mr. KELLEY would it pay to write personally to Mr. Lewis about these conditions? These machines in the mines that are taking our men's jobs away? Please let me know.

I will fight and not stop until something is done. My children cannot go hungry. The Government buys up so much surplus articles; why can't it buy up some surplus coal and have our men working? Help me and I will help others by passing on the word.

Loads of luck to our Congressman, and may God bless you.

JUST A MINER'S WIFE.

Congressional Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRADY GENTRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. GENTRY. Mr. Speaker, a bill has been reported to the House which would raise congressional salaries from $15,000 to $25,000.

I oppose this legislation on two grounds. The first is that the present salary will suffice, or should be made to suffice, at least until Congress is willing to stop voting appropriations that, even with our very high taxes, prevent our Government from living within its income and result in more borrowing and more debt. The Treasury will have to borrow the money to pay any increase in salary we vote ourselves, and the taxpayers will have to pay interest on it for generations. My second objection to this legislation is that the granting ourselves of this large increase in salary on the recommendation of the President would unconsciously, if not consciously, make us more responsive to pressure groups which will insist on the passage of the remainder of the President's recommendations, much of which cannot be afforded by our people because of its great cost.

Of all salaried and wage-earning people in America, 90 percent get less than $5,000 per year and less than 1 out of each 450 receives as much as the $15,000 already paid Congressmen. A Member of Congress, however, actually receives more than $15,000. Congressmen passed a law 9 years ago giving themselves retirement at 62 with 6 or more years' service. The retirement age was later lowered to 60. Retirement pay is $200 per month after 6 years' service, $400 per month after 14 years' service, and $700 per month after 26 years' service. These payments last for life. If the pay raise passes, retirement payments will increase in proportion to the raise in salary.

One-half of the funds necessary to meet these retirement payments are contributed by Congressmen during their service, the other half being contributed by the taxpayers. Members also receive certain traveling expenses. In addition, Congressmen, under the duties of their office, may travel extensively, not only throughout the United States, but throughout the world. This is a privilege which, by reason of circumstances, is denied most of the people of our country. In addition to the $600 income exemption given all taxpayers, Congressmen passed a law giving themselves an additional $3,000 exemption upon showing expenses of that amount while living in Washington. The Government, under a law passed by Congress, also gives each Member of Congress life insurance of $5,000, free of any cost.

There are those who say the salary here should be large enough to make one resist temptation, while some say it should be large in order that others than the rich can afford to come here. An answer to the first would seem to be that only honest people should be sent here and that honest men do not yield to temptation. Since it is contended that the salary here has not been sufficient for several years now, the charge that this condition makes it possible for only rich men to serve here seems completely disproved by the fact that only a handful of the present Members are men of even moderate means. It is entirely likely that larger salaries would result in more men of wealth trying to come to Congress, instead of fewer.

Members of Congress should be paid reasonable salaries, of course. Is not $15,000, with all the added considerations, a reasonable salary? And, is it not true that a man who loves public service and devotes his time to the discharge of the duties of his office will find that a reasonable salary is sufficient for his normal mode of living? One of the great compensations in occupying any place of public trust is the satisfaction of having served your country in a position that gives a measure of public recognition. The office of a Representative

in the United States Congress is such a position, one that is honored in the estimation of the American people.

Under all the circumstances would it not be fair for this proposed legislation to be deferred until after the next election? Then, the position of every candidate for Congress next year can be made known on this issue and the people themselves can decide it. If that is not acceptable, would it not be only fair to at least defer passing it until late in next year's session in order that the people of the Nation may, in effect, pass judgment on it soon thereafter?

The President's state of the Union message which recommended that congressional salaries be raised, also made other recommendations which would require additional expenditures of more than $25 billion. While there will be many urging congressmen to pass the particular recommendations in which they are interested, most of these recommendations should be rejected. This is true because their passage, at a time when the Treasury is absolutely bare, can only result in the Government taking and spending more of the people's savings, thereby further increasing an already dangerous public debt.

The combined debt today of the Federal Government, State and local governments, businesses, and individuals, is more than $650 billion. It amounts to $16,000 for each American family. This debt has tripled during the last 15 years. It has increased by one-third in the last 5 years. Even more alarming is the fact that both individual debts and State debts have actually doubled within 5 years. The Federal debt alone is $280 billion.

Our taxes today are so high that a person on a salary of $250 per month must pay an income tax of $422 per year. If one makes $300 per month, the income tax is $541. These do not include social-security payments. This illustrates the severity of present-day taxes and argues strongly against our increasing them for our own benefit.

If we now give ourselves a large salary increase, will not that action make it less likely that we will resist those who will so strongly insist that we pass all others of the President's recommendations just as we did his recommendation concerning ourselves? If we do that, when will we ever have the responsible fiscal policy which has been promised and which is so vitally needed here in Washington? When will we, if ever, lighten the tax load that so heavily burdens the American people?

Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, it is the 10th anniversary of the Yalta Conference, at which Russia promised free elections to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the other lands now behind the Iron Curtain.

In the 10 years that have passed, we have seen this solemnly pledged word betrayed again and again. The gallant people of Poland and the other countries of Eastern Europe groan under a totalitarian regime.

"The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceeding fine." Just as surely as the daylight follows the darkness, as truth and justice ultimately prevail over deceit and wickedness, the time will come when the people of Poland and the other enslaved lands will once again breathe the air of freedom. The United States will never forget its goal of free elections for the unhappy people of Eastern Europe.

Struggle Inside Kremlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the events of the past week in the Kremlin may have taken some of us by surprise. However, those among us who had read the January 21, 1955, issue of U. S. News & World Report were in possession of a good deal of information as to what the shift in power in the Kremlin portends.

For those Members who may not have read the magazine's interview with former Soviet spy, Nikolai E. Khakhlov, I recommend his article to their attention. He predicted with astonishing accuracy the events of the past week and his analysis of what these events portend should receive careful consideration. The U. S. News & World Report deserves commendation for its diligent pursuit of the news and its meaning—particularly in this instance.

Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the RECORD the editor's note that accompanies the article entitled "Executioners' Shots Reveal New Struggle Inside Kremlin":

EDITOR'S NOTE.—There's an important new change in Soviet policy that increases the danger of war. Another struggle for power is developing inside the Kremlin: It's Malenkov versus Khrushchev.

Authority for these statements is a man who until less than a year ago was a captain in the Soviet Intelligence Service, Nikolai E. Khokhlov. To get the inside story of what is going on in the Soviet Union, U. S. News & World Report invited Mr. Khokhlov to its conference room. In the interview that follows, he tells what is behind the current struggle in Russia—and why it is dangerous to the West.

Nikolai E. Khokhlov spent 13 years in the Soviet Intelligence Service. He joined it at the age of 19, was a spy behind German lines in World War II. After the war he performed special missions in Rumania and Western Europe, rose to captain.

In 1954, Mr. Khokhlov was assigned to supervise the assassination of an anti-Communist Russian leader in Frankfurt, Germany. Disillusioned by communism—and encouraged by his wife—he foiled the plot and joined the anti-Communists. He is now in the United States. Efforts to rescue his wife and child failed and they remain in Russia, their fate unknown.

The Distressed Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, an audience of leading statesman, diplomats, and industrialists was in attendance at the Silver Quill Award Dinner in this city a week ago last Saturday.

One of the highlights of this occasion was the novel way in which various spokesmen presented information on their respective industries and governmental activities. This information was elicited through questions such as that asked of L. C. Campbell, president of the National Coal Association, and vice president of Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates, some of whose mining operations are in my district. His response was in answer to this question:

If coal is the sick industry that it is reported to be, will you as the man responsible for the coal development at Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates, as well as president of the National Coal Association, tell us what steps are being taken by producers to bolster the future security of your industry, which is of course tied to the security of the Nation?

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including his answer in the RECORD. I should like also to associate myself with the views herein expressed in respect to prevailing conditions in many of our coal-mining communities. I want to emphasize Mr. Campbell's comment regarding the fact that a single plant which closes down sometimes takes the jobs of as many as 800 miners. On an average, the number of human beings thus directly affected is in the neighborhood of four or five thousand. Yes; besides those 800 men are the women and children who are automatically deprived of many of the actual necessities of life once the breadwinner's income is removed. It is true that, for a short time, unemployment benefit payments provide a part of the food and clothing which every normal family requires, but when those benefits are exhausted these persons must depend entirely upon surplus food commodities for subsistence. Today if you should walk into many of the schools in the mining communities of West Virginia, you would meet numerous children who left their homes this morning without an adequate breakfast. By this time, they will have participated in the free lunch program, but by nightfall they will again sit down to a meal that is sadly lacking in the nourishment necessary for proper growth. Many of those children are improperly clothed, and there is little chance that they will obtain new coats or dresses or suits or shoes so long as current conditions persist.

Mr. Campbell stated very precisely that it is dangerous from a defense standpoint to take for granted that a crippled industry can respond to the demands that would come about in a national emergency. I believe that none among us could ignore coal's place in the national security if only this statement from Mr. Campbell's address were observed and considered:

A ton of coal per ton of steel—a pound of coal per kilowatt-hour of electricity—there you have the lifeblood of America's industrial might today and tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, Congress is empowered with the authority to alleviate at least a portion of the distress that has enveloped coal communities. It can return employment to many thousands of our miners and make it possible for the families of these men to again assume the God-given right to adequate food and clothing if it will enact legislation to provide a 10-percent quota limitation on foreign residual and crude oil shipped into this country. In the last paragraph of the Campbell statement, he mentioned that most of his audience had never seen a coal miner. As a person who was brought up in a coal-miner's home, I would like to assure you that the story of poverty that has come to coal communities is not an exaggeration. I lived in a coal-mining town when foreign residual oil began to trickle into the fuel markets of the east coast. As this inflow increased in intensity, mine after mine was forced to cut back production, and the "no work tomorrow" sign began to haunt more and more mining families. As the imports reached flood stage, jobs were wiped out completely, and today throughout West Virginia there is ample evidence of the dire consequence of the policies which have permitted these imports to plague the coal industry. I believe that the present predicament of our mining families is the most compelling testimony for need of a quota restriction on oil imports.

Following is the text of Mr. Campbell's statement:

STATEMENT OF MR. L. C. CAMPBELL, BEFORE THE SILVER QUILL BANQUET OF THE NATIONAL BUSINESS PUBLICATIONS, INC., ON JANUARY 29, 1955

Question: If coal is the sick industry that it is reported to be, will you, as the man responsible for the coal development at Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates, as well as president of the National Coal Association, tell us what steps are being taken by producers to bolster the future security of your industry, which is of course tied to the security of the Nation?

Mr. Chairman, may I say that coal is not necessarily a sick industry, but rather that its economic health is seriously impaired. This is evidenced by the fact that whereas 95 percent of the Nation's power and fuel needs at one time were supplied by coal, today coal accounts for about 45 percent, petroleum and natural gas supply 25 percent each, and the balance is supplied by water power.

Production of 630 million tons of coal in 1947 has declined to less than 400 million tons in 1954. Manpower of more than 600,000 has declined to slightly over 200,000 in 1954. One hundred thousand miners went off the payrolls in that year alone. These jobless miners have thus become our displaced persons in the United States. This is a brief sketch of the gradual dismantling of the great basic coal mining industry on which the industrial might of America was built.

There exists a tremendous conflict of the energy supply available from coal, oil, natural gas, and electricity. The attrition of the coal mining industry still goes on. The tragedy of displaced workmen stalks every coal field in the country. Whole communities see their only source of livelihood wiped out. Plant after plant is closed down. The dismantling of a single plant frequently takes the jobs of as many as 800 miners.

Despite factors contributing to the present situation, including competition from domestic as well as imported fuel, coal producers have invested millions on millions of dollars to improve mining methods and the quality of the product. Mechanization and modernization of mining plants and methods have increased the man-day output from 4½ tons per man-day 20 years ago to more than 9 tons per man-day in 1954, and 10 tons per man-day is in sight. This compares with a little over 1 ton per man-day in European mining. The effect has been to lower the price of the product at the mine to an average of $4.82 a ton in 1954, in spite of wage increases which have taken place in all industry over a period of years.

Reliable estimates place the demand for coal in an all-out emergency mobilization at 650 to 700 million tons annually. To reach that figure in a given year the industry must have a minimum year-to-year production of 500 million tons. The 1954 production was more than 100 million tons below the safe level.

American coal producers have never yet failed to meet the challenge for necessary coal in every national emergency. The Nation should not take for granted that a crippled industry can again thus respond unless an adequate going industry, properly manned and equipped, is available for the expansion in this mechanical mining age. The Nation's welfare and security demand that the industry be given proper scrutiny by the Government to the end that appropriate policy changes be effected, so that the coal industry's own efforts to meet the challenge of not only emergency but normal requirements may no longer be impeded by factors beyond its control.

A ton of coal per ton of steel—a pound of coal per kilowatt-hour of electricity—there you have the life-blood of America's industrial might today and tomorrow. The challenge is for all of us to do our part to keep it flowing.

Most of you have never seen a coal miner. I appreciate the opportunity to be here as one who has spent 30 interesting years in the industry and express my appreciation to the business publications which have contributed so much to our American story on industry, and especially to the group who speak for coal.

Edison the Philosopher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, I know that the Members will read with pleasure and profit the following thoughtful address entitled "Edison the Philosopher," delivered by Mr. George E. Stringfellow, long-time business associate of the late Thomas Alva Edison, before the Kiwanis Club of New York City on February 9, 1955.

Mr. Stringfellow is a director and senior vice president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., West Orange, and a director of Thomas A. Edison of Canada, Ltd., and Thomas A. Edison Ltd., Scotland.

Mr. Stringfellow is also director of Mine Safety Appliances Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; member of the board of directors of the American Mining Congress, Washington, D. C.; member of the American Iron and Steel Institute and the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, New York City; member of the board of directors of Indiana Technical College, Fort Wayne, Ind.; and member of the board of governors, American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry, New York City.

His heavy business responsibilities have not prevented Mr. Stringfellow from taking a highly active interest in numerous civic and humanitarian organizations. He served two terms as president of the Kiwanis Club of New York City and two terms as president of the Chamber of Commerce and Civics of the Oranges and Maplewood. He is an honorary member of the New Jersey Medical Society; was awarded the certificate of service by the Rotary Club of Orange, N. J.; was cited as the outstanding citizen of the Oranges and Maplewood; was cited by the Brotherhood Committee of Christians and Jews for bringing about a better understanding among the three religious sects.

Mr. Stringfellow is a member of the Imperial Divan of the Shrine of North America; president and director of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association; member of the board of directors and executive committee of the American Cancer Society. He was the founder and first president of the New Jersey division of the society, and the recipient of the American Cancer Society award. He is also former chairman of the New Jersey Republican Finance Committee.

Among the numerous honors that Mr. Stringfellow's impressive achievements have won for him are honorary degrees of doctor of laws from South Jersey Law School and Upsala College; doctor of fine arts from Ithaca College; doctor of humanities from Indiana Technical College; and a citation of merit award from the New Jersey Association of Business Schools.

As the foregoing sketch indicates, Mr. Stringfellow possesses the same noble qualities that characterized the great Edison. He has truly followed Mr. Edison's advice, which he quoted in his address yesterday:

Be courageous. * * * History repeats itself again and again. Be as brave as your fathers before you. Have faith. Go forward.

His inspiring speech on Edison the Philosopher reads in full:

ADDRESS OF GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, THOMAS A. EDISON, INC., WEST ORANGE, N. J., LONG-TIME BUSINESS ASSOCIATE OF THE LATE THOMAS ALVA EDISON, AND PRESIDENT, NEW JERSEY TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE KIWANIS CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY 9, 1955

EDISON THE PHILOSOPHER

When I mentioned the fact that I was going to speak to the members of this club

about Thomas Alva Edison, I was asked whether it is possible to say anything more about that great man that has not already been said. But, when anyone studies the life and the contributions to civilization of so great a man as Edison, one soon realizes that hundreds of talks would not exhaust the subject.

Edison is most often identified as the greatest inventor that ever lived. In a nationwide newspaper poll he was voted 1 of the 4 great Americans of all time. Among the innumerable fascinating facets of his life that one could talk about, I have chosen on this occasion to look at the one that shows him to have been a great philosopher—a man with an intense love of wisdom, concerned with the science that investigates the facts and principles of reality, and, in Edison's case, seeks to convert them to the service of his fellow men.

Like all great philosophers, Edison had the ability to turn misfortune to advantage. You know much about his success. Let me tell you something about his failures, for it is mainly from their failures and what they did in the face of their troubles that we learn most about the great men of history.

Edison insisted that he could not have succeeded without the lessons of his misfortunes and failures. In fact he emphasized that even his deafness, from which he never recovered, was a great asset. "My deafness has not been a handicap but a help to me," said Edison. "From the very start, after the earache pain ceased, deafness probably drove me to reading." He was in his energy, courage, and sincerity, even thankful for the necessity of adapting his experiments to his affliction. He attributed at least two important developments to that necessity—the telephone as civilization knows it and the phonograph.

"In experimenting on the telephone," Edison explained, "I had to improve the transmitter so I could hear. This made the telephone commercially practical, as Bell's magneto telephone receiver was too weak to be used as a transmitter commercially.

"It was the same with the phonograph. The great defect of that instrument was the rendering of the overtones in the music and the hissing consonants in speech. I worked a year, 20 hours a day, Sundays and all, to get the word 'specie' perfectly recorded. When this was done I knew that everything else could be recorded."

Edison had the philosopher's unquenchable thirst for knowledge. Although his formal education ended in the fourth grade, he had read and absorbed far more worthwhile books than the average college graduate, not just on technical subjects, but on history, literature, art, philosophy, and music.

The great inventor was not discouraged by his meager education and by what he believed to be his limited knowledge of anything. He worked that much harder to overcome his shortcoming, so that it wasn't so much what he knew that helped him, but what he tried to know, and what he did with what he knew.

Edison knew that freedom and progress for an individual or a nation does not mean "I do not have to work." He knew the future belongs to those who prepare for it. He knew the commonest form of opportunity is harder work and better work. When he was declared to be a genius, in true Edison philosophy he coined the famous adage, "Genius is 1 percent inspiration and 99 percent perspiration."

Among the distinguishing characteristics of any philosopher is the patient, persevering search for truth, and Edison possessed that drive to an unlimited extent. At one time, after he and his associates had conducted thousands of experiments on a certain project without solving the problem, one of his fellow workers expressed discouragement and disguest over having failed to find out anything. "But," said Edison, "we learned something. We learned for a certainty that we can't do it that way, and that we will have to try some other way." And in his patience, he tried again and again until he found what he was searching for.

In inventing the incandescent lamp, it took 361 days of trial-and-error experiments, constant watchfulness, and everlasting faith to produce the satisfactory glow in the lamp. And then the real work started, for the lamp was only a fraction of what Edison needed if the light was to be useful on streets, in homes, in workplaces, and if the thousands of future tasks of electricity were to be born. He had to develop an entire generating and distributing system, including the invention and construction of giant dynamos, conduits, power lines, wires, insulators, sockets, meters, fuses—everything.

But that was one of his successes. I spoke of failure a few minutes ago. This is what I meant.

About 11 years after the first success of his electric light, Edison set out to devise a system of mining and milling low-grade iron ore that would be economically sound. He was convinced that the country's known deposits of iron ore were disappearing. Through tremendous effort and enormous expenditure Edison invented and put into operation a revolutionary method of reclaiming iron ore. It was called the magnetic ore separator. Then the unexpected happened. New and immensely rich iron-ore deposits were discovered, making Edison's refining method unnecessary and costly.

Looking back on this period, Edison said: "For a good many years I worried about my payroll; didn't know how I was always going to meet it. My trouble had been that I always had too much ambition and tried to do things that were financially too big for me. If I had not had so much ambition and had not tried to do so many things, I probably would have been happier, but less useful." Yes, and it would have been a darker world for us if it hadn't been for his ambition and his desire to advance the welfare of mankind.

Probably the final measure of every philosopher is the degree to which he has changed the thinking of the world. In the case of Thomas Alva Edison consider the effect there has been on humanity's entire outlook because of his vital contributions. When man can command abundant light by pressing a button; can go faster from place to place with the aid of electrical motor power systems and batteries; can hear the music of the ages and words of statesmen; can view living history, drama, and current events with no trouble or even inconvenience—when man can do those things—the world has surely attained a new era.

Understanding, light, warmth, joy, and a higher living standard—all this we owe to Edison. But with a full measure of friendliness and good will, Edison expressed gratitude to those who saw him through—his associates and his financial backers. He credited the American free-opportunity system as an essential factor in what he was able to do for all mankind.

He pointed out that it was cooperation, vitality, and risk-taking willingness of American business enterprise that sustained him and brought his results within reach of all. It was this American opportunity for enterprise that left him free to develop his wonderful talents of invention and development. It ran the risk and supplied the vast capital needed to translate his inventions into tools for human advancement, and made them available to the average people, at a low cost to all. In other words, American enterprise encouraged and promoted the dreams of a humanitarian, the skill of a genius and the wisdom of a philosopher for the benefit of humanity.

Under the American system of free enterprise, more good things have happened to us than to men and women any place in the world. And the great days of America are by no means done. We have only touched the border of our achievement. If you and I did not believe this, we would not believe in America. Let us heed the wisdom of Edison's last message to the American people: "Be courageous * * * History repeats itself again and again. Be as brave as your fathers before you. Have faith. Go forward."

American Participation in World Trade Fairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my sincere congratulations to the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, United States Secretary of Commerce, for his forthright action in establishing the new Office of International Trade Fairs in the Commerce Department and appointing Mr. Roy F. Williams, Boston industrialist, to direct the new organization set up to promote American foreign trade expansion.

Soviet Russia has been grabbing the spotlight in all the world trade fairs. This is an integral part of the Soviets' aggressive program to exploit the world markets in a vicious campaign of economic warfare.

It is gratifying that Secretary Weeks is taking forthright action to put America to the forefront in the race to win the world markets.

It is my understanding that Secretary Weeks has no intention to compete with Russia in purely propaganda assaults, but to win sales contracts by attractively presenting superior American-made products and by superior American merchandising know-how.

The Russian Government has budgeted vast funds to build the most magnificent pavilions stocked with the biggest display of exhibits at these world trade fairs. How much the Russians have grabbed in the way of sales contracts is a debatable question. But we do know the Communist traders are making inroads in the world markets strategically designed to undercut American exports and thus create unemployment in the United States. This is the same old pattern of Soviet trade before World War II when the Soviet dumping program depressed the world market.

Secretary Weeks' projected program is the first time America has seriously sought to participate in the world-trade fairs except by small-scale representations. Historically speaking, these trade fairs are long-established trade marts in Europe extending back to the early middle ages. In the days of Charlemagne the annual trade fairs were great festival occasions where the East met West over the bargaining counter.

Today West meets East but not to barter with the rich merchants of the East with their rare perfumes, spices, and silks. Today a ruthless politico-economic power, producing with slave-labor, prepares to dump cheap commodities on the world market in a shrewd exchange for the raw materials and implements of war.

In order to avoid misunderstandings about these world-trade fairs, please permit me to explain that these world fairs are not operated for the entertainment of the general public nor for the benefit of sightseeing tourists.

Admission to these trade fairs is by official invitation only. Invitations are generally limited to big buyers in the world markets, industrialists, scientists, engineers, labor leaders, diplomatists, and high political leaders.

The big-scale operations of these world-trade fairs may be pictured by just one example, namely, the 1954 International Samples Fair at Milan, Italy, where 12,336 exhibitors displayed 900,000 samples and 84,213 foreign buyers representing 109 nationalities, inspected the displays in the colorful, flag-draped pavilions of all the leading exporting nations of the world. And the forthcoming International Trade Fair at Paris will be the world's biggest affair of its kind. America will be represented by a central exhibit entitled "Main Street, U. S. A." depicting the fuller, better life that is possible with American-made products.

These world-trade fairs are the cheapest and most effective advertising methods ever devised. Here sellers meet buyers from the far corners of the earth and are afforded the opportunity of getting acquainted and dealing directly. I am going to urge the Atomic Energy Commission within bounds of security to design an exhibit portraying the peaceful use of atomic energy to be entered in the Paris fair beginning May 14 of this year.

Another exhibit at the Paris Fair will be a four-sectional exhibit of a New England manufacturing town, showing a home, a school, and a farm, and a factory. A large-scale model of a typical New England house will have a full-scale furnished kitchen, diningroom, and livingroom in which life-size models of residents are placed. Many labor-saving household devices will make it clear how well we live in New England under our great system of free enterprise. This is one of many American exhibits for the Paris Fair.

There is keen competition among businessmen for the limited space in the American pavilion. I hope to see Connecticut's skilled techniques and high-quality products displayed at all the world trade fairs during the coming months.

I will be glad to help get proposed Connecticut exhibits entered in the limited American space available. I will be happy to cooperate with Connecticut industry and labor in promoting our State's foreign-trade expansion by soliciting the Commerce Department for our equitable share of recognition in the activities programed by the new Office of International Trade Fairs.

I offer the following information relative to dates and places of the world-trade fairs selected by the Commerce Department for United States participation:

The international spring fair at Frankfort, Germany, to be held March 6–10 is the first European fair selected under the 1955 program. Over the 200 American industrial products—from an eggbeater to a tractor—will be exhibited by American companies at the central exhibit.

Protection of Domestic Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert a statement which I made before the House Committee on Ways and Means on January 31, 1955. My statement was made during the hearings on H. R. 1, and I emphasized to the members of the committee the imperative need for protection of domestic industries such as the coal, chemical, glass, and railroad industries. Thousands of our fellow Americans who formerly worked in these industries have lost their jobs, but there are thousands of other workers still employed who will be thrown out of work unless adequate safeguards are provided against foreign competition. Not only should we be concerned about unemployment in these fields, but we also must remember that these industries are our first line of defense. If they suffer, we suffer; and if they perish, we perish. The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN ROBERT C. BYRD BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, JANUARY 31, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee:

We are again faced with a crisis in world events—a crisis which could plunge us overnight into a world conflict for actual survival. Pray God this does not happen. But if it does, I am seriously disturbed over the grave danger to our country if we fail to recognize and halt the serious disintegration and deterioration of one of our basic and most important resources.

I refer, of course, to the coal industry.

When World War II broke out, there was an immediate demand for vast new amounts of energy to run our tremendous war production effort. Tanks, guns, planes, and all the other equipment of a modern fighting force had to come rolling out of our converted factories at rates unprecedented in world's history.

Total energy demands, excluding motor fuels, rose 19 percent in 1942 and 32 percent in 1944. Most of this new energy source had to be supplied by coal.

Submarines practically halted the import of petroleum products because the Nazis were in almost undisputed possession of the waters along the entire Atlantic coast during the early months of the war. An official publication of the United States Department of the Interior states: "From the Caribbean to Cape Race, no spot was safe * * * From then on, until the last year of the war, tanker deliveries were an insignificant factor in supplying the oil needs of the east coast."

We have all read accounts of Russia's new, modern submarine force. There can be no question that it is far superior to the one with which Germany was able to almost entirely halt oil deliveries from abroad. Thus, we must accept the fact that foreign petroleum will not be available to us in case of a new war.

It would seem only the part of wisdom and prudence, then, that we look carefully at our domestic resources for fuel and energy, and make certain that they will again be able to meet a new emergency as they did in 1942.

Unfortunately, there is every reason to fear that they will not, unless immediate steps are taken by this Congress.

In recent years of an expanding economy and new levels of prosperity and production for almost every other industry in America, the coal industry has sunk to critical levels of low production and disintegration.

Production of bituminous coal, which is the major industry of my own State of West Virginia, fell from a high of 613 million tons in 1947 to less than 400 million last year.

Employment in the mines has been cut in half, dropping from 400,000 men 6 years ago to no more than 200,000 now. Gentlemen, this state of affairs should be cause for grave concern for every one of us. We cannot afford to sit idly by and watch the destruction of the livelihood of thousands of our fellow Americans, and at the same time the weakening of our productive capacity for national defense to the critical point.

The demand for bituminous coal and lignite rose from 461 million tons in 1940 to 620 million in 1944. I am told by competent authority that the demand to run our expanded industrial machine in case of a new war would be much greater.

Leaders in the coal industry estimate that an annual peacetime production of 500 million tons would be necessary to keep the industry at a level from which it could rapidly expend to meet such war demands. Yet last year, the Bureau of Mines estimates, we produced only 390 million tons.

Throughout the coal fields of my State, and of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and all the other great producers, are idle tipples, idle railroad cars, deserted shafts, and mine after mine closed down. During the past 3 years, at least 150 commercial mines have closed in the State of West Virginia, idling thousands of miners. Add to these the thousands who depend on coal for a livelihood—railroad workers, storekeepers, service station owners, and a host of others, and we begin to get some picture of a real depression in coal producing areas.

But the best picture, Mr. Chairman, could be gotten by the committee itself were it to delegate a subcommittee to visit these forsaken and miserable people who have long since despaired of a return to full employment in the only occupation they have ever known. In view of the seriousness of the problem as it affects coal producing communities, in the light of depressed conditions in the chemical, glass, pottery, and other industries; and because of the profound controversy which centers around H. R. 1, on-the-spot hearings would seem advisable, desirable, and necessary.

Mr. Chairman, I live in the Beckley area of West Virginia, and in that area alone, the percentage of total employment as represented by mining has declined 43 percent from that of 1 year ago. Practically all of the unemployed are men who are over 45 years of age, with none other than mining experience, a fact which in many instances precludes them from finding employment

elsewhere. A recent report shows 3,500 persons a month exhausting their unemployment benefit payments in my State, and many individuals passed this point of exhausted benefits months ago.

On January 1 of this year, 223,847 people in West Virginia were depending upon Government surplus food commodities for survival, and the figure is increasing at the rate of 10,000 each 2 weeks, I have been informed. School lunch programs have been seriously affected in these mining areas, as more and more children of unemployed workers are forced to depend upon free school lunches. Many requests are being received by teachers for clothing to keep children warm. The situation, in many instances, is desperate, to say the least.

Mr. Chairman, throughout many months, I and other Members of Congress have offered evidence of rising unemployment, hunger, and destitution in coal-producing States. Our arguments have gone for naught. If the attitude we have met continues to prevail, I assume that to offer further evidence would be "Love's labor lost." Some may say that the difficulties confronting these people are so provincial as to be excluded from consideration in a program devoted to international-trade policies, but there are other aspects of the damaging impact of foreign residual which cannot be looked upon as sectional problems. Coal mining and railroading are as essential to the conduct of a mobilization program as are aircraft industries, munitions works, and shipbuilding. Coal mines and railroads cannot survive under a system which demands that they operate like a stop-and-go traffic light—on again, off again, on again, gone again. The caution light is now burning and, unless the rail and coal industries are given consideration in the immediate future, the red light may be on when this Nation's security is in jeopardy and these great basic industries are called upon once more to deliver the goods.

Large among the factors which have contributed to the decline of coal sales in the United States is the importation of cheap, residual oil from Venezuela and the Netherlands West Indies. This oil, a residue remaining after crude has been refined and lighter oils, gasoline, and the like taken off, was formerly treated as a waste product and dumped into the ocean. Now, however, it is "dumped" on the east coast of the United States, and is playing a large part in wrecking America's coal industry. Total imports in 1954 were over 131 million barrels, totaling 32 million tons coal equivalent. In addition must be considered some 15 million tons coal equivalent residual refined from foreign crudes, giving a total entry of heavy fuel oil amounting to 47 million tons coal equivalent.

Some may say that about 17 million tons coal equivalent is needed to satisfy the preferred uses of the oil for ship bunkering and other noncompetitive purposes. However, the current domestic-origin residual supply on the East coast is at a rate of 17 million tons coal equivalent, enough to satisfy the preferred uses. The 47-million-ton figure broadly measures the residual oil available from foreign sources after preferred-use demands have been met. This figure is representative, it is believed, of the overall impact of foreign-origin residual fuel oil upon the coal industry.

On the basis of this figure, what has been the effect upon the coal and rail industries?

The loss in sales to coal producers exceeds $225 million, and the loss in freight revenues to the railroads accounts for an additional $180 million—a combined total of over $400 million.

If one considers only the direct residual oil imports annually running to 32 million tons coal equivalent, the figures are still very disturbing. This amount represents a loss in coal industry sales of $153 million annually, a loss in miners' wages of $74 million, a freight revenue loss of $90 million, and a loss of $40 million in wages to railroad employees. Over and above this is a continuing uncertainty facing coal and railroad management in programing of capacity, financing, development of reserves, research, and the like.

Mr. Chairman, too long have we flirted with national disaster by failing to give domestic industries an opportunity to regain some of the vigor needed in a mobilization period. Can we afford to delay longer? The answer is best spoken in the word of Poe's ghastly, grim, and ancient raven—"Nevermore."

Several Members have introduced a measure which would limit the importation of foreign residual to not more than 10 percent of the domestic demand during the corresponding calendar quarter of the preceding year.

This is not a drastic restriction of such imports, but it would provide a real benefit to the American coal and railroad industries and thousands of unemployed workers.

Total domestic demand for residual in 1954 is estimated at about 565 million barrels, while imports of residual totaled approximately 131 million. Under the suggested 10-percent quota, 57 million barrels would be allowed.

This protection would be a major step in restoring the coal industry to a level of production which would enable it to meet the demands of any new war emergency.

We simply cannot dare to let our most basic fuel supply deteriorate. It takes a ton of coal to make every ton of steel we produce for war or peace. It takes almost a pound of coal to produce a kilowatt of electric power. Coal is essential in the production of thousands of vital drugs and chemicals, and for other uses so varied and widespread it would take pages to list them.

Too long have our domestic industries sought relief in vain. The coal industry, the glass and chemical industries, and many others must be protected by placing adequate safeguards, in the form of amendments, in H. R. 1.

Let us prepare while there is yet time, lest, like the five foolish virgins, America be found wanting in her most critical hour.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 2 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Lincoln Day Address by Hon. George H. Bender, of Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address delivered by the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. BENDER] at the Lincoln Day meeting in Portsmouth, Ohio, may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am very happy to be here this evening.

Anyone who has ever gone through a statewide election campaign can never forget it. And when you have gone through a campaign, an unofficial count, an official count—and then a recount—never seems too short.

I am most grateful to you for your help during the difficult weeks before, and after, November. You may be sure that I shall work my hardest to show my gratitude.

We Republicans have good reason to observe our Lincoln Day tradition every year. It serves to remind us of many fundamental truths. First, and perhaps most important, is the reminder that crises are nothing new to the American people. There is no war more shattering to a nation than a civil war. Lincoln led us through the valley of the shadow of death to a new understanding of the Union. Division and disunity have become unthinkable in our country since his time. We may differ, we may disagree violently, but we shall never again divide.

There are other reminders, too, in the Lincoln story. We have almost forgotten that the War Between the States was also a time of international tension. We had enemies overseas in the 1860's. They were ready to do everything in their power to disrupt the Federal Union. They encouraged rebellion and hoped for American weakness. With civil war raging, they planted a foreign emperor upon the soil of Mexico. This fantastic episode in our continent's history has faded from sight, but it was a major threat to our peace and security then. Foreign problems are nothing new to our people. We have met them and we have overcome them before. We shall do it again.

I think of still another lesson from the Lincoln legend. No man in the pages of history was ever a more direct example of Micah's Biblical injunction: "Do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God." Lincoln never strayed far from these guides to human conduct. He showed in his life that men can achieve greatness without violence, without injustice, and without arrogance.

We know all these things. I emphasize them because there is a strong similarity between our own times and the troubled days of the 19th century. There is a strong similarity between the man who leads our country today and Lincoln.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower is a great man. He is a humble, God-fearing man.

There are people who disagree with him. There were many who disagreed with Abe Lincoln. That is as it should be. There is room for honest division of opinion on the policies and the program of any President. But there can be no disagreement on the absolute integrity, the single-minded devotion, and the firm determination of President Eisenhower.

This is the 166th year of our Republic. We are just beginning the second century of the Republican Party. Our country's greatness is just beginning.

The times are difficult. When were they ever otherwise?

I am an optimist. In the midst of our trials, I look to the future with confidence. There are some people who have little faith in the future of our country. They call themselves Democrats. During the difficult years of the 1930's, these Democrats told us to plow under our crops, to destroy the little pigs, and throw in the towel. America was through. Some new form of socialism was going to sweep the land.

Last year, these same Cassandras were out in full cry, scaring up a depression which never occurred, looking for the age of darkness under every burned-out electric-light bulb. They closed their eyes to the real wave of the future, the tremendous new age which is almost here.

In the last few weeks, I read the report of the Atomic Energy Commission. They have a tiny atomic device, only a few inches square, which can generate the same amount of cancer treatment as $20 million worth of radium. They have a new atomic plant which will preserve food for as long as 2 years without a trace of spoilage. I don't know if you will like this one, but they say they can turn out women's stockings that will never wear out. We know that atomic energy will drive ships, fly planes, heat cities, and do almost everything we can think of except find a place to park our car.

Maybe there won't be too many cars. The next generation may be flying the family plane exactly the same way we have been driving the family auto. You can sit down and start thinking of the most incredible new inventions you can imagine. Somebody already has it on a drafting board. We have come to take these things for granted.

I don't think we ever should. Look back with me for a moment into this whole amazing period. How did our side win the atomic race? Before World War II, German scientists were as far advanced as our own—perhaps further advanced. Yet, somehow, thanks to the policies of Hitler and Mussolini, the greatest minds of Italy and Germany and Central Europe were driven to our country at the most critical moment of modern history. Enrico Fermi, possibly the master mind of all the great minds in atomic physics, came to America because of his wife. Albert Einstein and Niels Bohr fled from Europe because they could not breathe in the stifling atmosphere of fear and hatred. These were not accidents. They were the hand of destiny. The outcome of World War II might have been far different without this divine intervention.

Abraham Lincoln was always aware of God's presence in human affairs. One time a delegation of northern clergymen came to see him in the White House. One of them said, "I pray that the Lord will always be on our side." Lincoln looked up and said, "I would like to modify that prayer. Let us pray that we shall always be on the Lord's side."

Our President today is the same kind of man. He is a fighter who prays for guidance. We need it today. Let there be no mistake about the facts before us. The administration in Washington has not created the problems we must solve. We have inherited them. They were the legacy of those New Dealers who dealt the cards from marked deck under the table at Yalta. No one has yet analyzed fully the significance of that infamous conference. It was a sellout of China. Personal, secret agreements were entered into by Mr. Roosevelt, by Stalin and Churchill. Roosevelt approved all of Russia's encroachments upon China. He approved Russia's claim to preeminence in Manchuria. In 1951 Dean Acheson admitted to a Senate committee that the Government of China knew nothing of this secret agreement.

At this same conference, we sanctioned the occupation of North Korea by the Communists. These were the two big decisions at Yalta. They have been the root of all the problems in Asia ever since. Because of Yalta, we found ourselves fighting an undeclared war in Korea.

Because of Yalta, we find ourselves in a desperate dilemma today in the Straits of Formosa.

This is by no means all of the story. We made other deals, unknown to the American people, involving all of Europe. Poland was not turned over to the Communists by action of the Polish people. A few men sitting around a table made the decision. They did not consult with the leadership of the countries involved. They did not even consult with the leadership of our American Congress, much less the full membership. When Roosevelt reported to Congress on March 1, 1945, after the Yalta meeting, he said that the formula for the future of Poland was "agreed to by Russia, by Britain, and by me."

The decisions on East Germany, turning over the great industrial centers of Silesia, Saxony, and Bohemia to the Soviet Union, were made by a few individuals. They were not produced by bipartisan agreements or even by partisan consultation with one party.

Lenin once wrote that communism would conquer Europe in a bypass through Asia. They are trying; they have seized China; they have seized Korea. Now they have taken the northern part of Indochina. The battle for Formosa is already on. Let us not deceive ourselves or permit others to deceive us.

Some people ask why we are concerned. They say that we should not be fighting in a Chinese civil war. This is not a civil war. It is a war between international communism and the free world. There can be no misunderstanding of this fundamental issue.

Formosa in the hands of Red China would be exacty what President Eisenhower described—a dagger thrust into the heart of the Pacific.

For half a century our lines of defense have been committed to the Philipine Islands. We saw how our own country could be endangered in 1941. An air attack based from Japan came within a hair's breadth of destroying our Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor. That destruction would have opened the whole of our Pacific coast to the threat of invasion.

Thanks to President Eisenhower, we are far stronger today than we were in 1941. We have learned the realities of life the hard way.

Our country wants peace. We know that in a new war there will be no victors. Albert Einstein has said that he does not know all the weapons which could be used in world war III. But he does know the kind which will be used in world war IV. They will be bows and arrows.

This terrible paradox confronts us today. We have arrived at a moment when we can look forward to a new era of tremendous human progress—at exactly the same moment when we have discovered the means of wiping mankind from the face of the earth. Our scientists are frightened at the Frankenstein they have created. They tell us that the "fall-out" of atomic radiation from a hydrogen bomb can impair life for hundreds of miles away from the spot where the bomb hits. What sane men will risk war with this knowledge?

These are the serious facts of life today. The next 25 years will be filled with crises. When we analyze them, they always come down to the same basic issue. Each one represents the fight of the State to own our souls. Communism says, "Give me your birthright, and I will feed your stomach. Let the state run your life for you."

In America the Republican Party is still fighting for the rights of the individual. We know what happens when governments take over the responsibilities of the people. They surrender their birthright of freedom for a mess of pottage. In our day we have seen how this works. Here in our own country the Democratic Party is offering us the same bait. Turn to Washington for everything you need. We will take care of you. All we want in return is your vote, your taxes, and your soul.

The Republican Party has never followed this theme. We fight the belief that there is some magic in a mysterious thing called the state. We object to the theory that the people of this country are members to be manipulated for political purposes, like puppets dangling from a string. We believe in free men, living in a free economy, leading a free world.

Look back at the record of our service. From 1860 until 1900 only one Democrat was elected President. In that span of time our population grew from 23 million to 76 million. Our railroads crossed the continent. American unearthed the treasures of our natural resources. They developed mines; they poured out a never-ending stream of inventive genius. America became a world power. It was an unmatched period in history. All that has happened since that time has been an extension of this magnificent effort.

Republican leadership, Republican foresight made the system of free enterprise a symbol of creative skill. They made free enterprise a living force throughout the world.

When he came to the crucial questions, he understood how America had become great back in 1860. "We are a great empire. We are 80 years old," he said. "We stand at once the wonder and the admiration of the whole world, and we must inquire what it is that has given us so much prosperity, and we shall understand that to give up one thing, our free government, would be to give up all future prosperity. This cause it is that every man can make himself. It has been said that such a race of prosperity has been run nowhere else."

That is the story. The words are just as true as they were when Abraham Lincoln said them. The only way to improve our condition is to increase our business by investing more money and making more jobs for more people. If we kill the goose there can be no eggs. We are not going to kill our geese, and there are going to be enough eggs for everybody.

I think that we have made long strides forward in the past 2 years in Washington. Lincoln would have approved our efforts. He was a man who abhorred violence and bloodshed, but he was not afraid to use all the power at his command to fight for what he believed right.

He enjoyed peace and quiet, but he fought one of the fiercest wars ever fought for principles—not power.

In our own time, too, Americans have been called upon to perform repugnant tasks. We have done them well. I like to think in terms of parallels. History does not ever really repeat itself. We like to interpret it in terms of the past, so that it has meaning and continuity.

President Eisenhower, like Abe Lincoln, stepped into the White House after years of Democratic supremacy. He too has been forced to clean the stables. In the very short space of 2 years, people have forgotten what we endured before. This is a tribute to our Republican administration. The stale odor has gone and a fresh spirit moves into Washington.

No one can tell us what the future will bring. A few months ago, President Eisenhower used a neutron wand in Denver, Colo., to break ground in Pennsylvania for the first commercial plant powered by atomic energy. The first atomic battery has already been manufactured. Think of what a small atomic generator in your home would be able to do. All of your heat, light, and fuel will be provided for as long as you can foresee. Salt water will be converted to fresh in quantities sufficient to feed the deserts into life.

Those are some of the miracles before us tomorrow, if only we have the courage and the wit to overcome the problems that plague us today. Here in our country, we have the technical know-how, the scientific skills, the manpower necessary to realize these dreams.

Political parties and their programs have played a tremendous part in the development of our Republic. The Republican Party has always stood for stability. We do not believe in the quick shortcuts, or in the planned utopias of the New Deal intellectuals.

The WPA, the PWA, the CCC, and all the rest of the alphabetical agencies never achieved security, or stability or prosperity. They were emergency measures designed for the moment only. When they ended, we were as badly off as we were when they began.

We Republicans differ from the Democrats in much of our outlook.

In the field of public spending, there is a basic difference between Republicans and Democrats. The Democrats like inflation. Republicans abhor it.

We have seen what happens when money declines in purchasing power. Every man and woman who plans ahead and saves for the future knows that he has been cheated when our dollar is worth only 35 cents.

The Republican Party does not believe in controls. We want to keep the system of free enterprise which built this country. The Democrats are split into two groups on this vital issue. Many of them are conservatives. They want to keep the system. But the leadership of the Democratic Party today has been captured by the leftwing group which does not like our system. They are the Americans for Democratic Action, the professional labor leaders who are using the Democratic Party as a handy vehicle. They want to turn the Democrats into a party patterned after the British Labor Party. No matter how loudly they protest, this is the record of the Democratic Party. It is one thing in the North and another in the South. It is one kind of party when it calls on Harry Truman.

It is quite another when it calls on Adlai Stevenson.

Let me call your attention to still another major difference between the two parties. In the field of taxation, the Democrats are trying one of the greatest feats of magic ever conceived. They have suddenly discovered that taxpayers are voters. For 20 years, no Democratic Congress ever thought of a tax cut.

Suddenly, when the Republicans come up with a real cut for everybody, they decide that we didn't cut enough. But, interestingly enough, although they criticize us for not cutting down on taxes more heavily, some of them are demanding bigger military spending.

I think the American people know what we want. We want consistency. We want firmness. We want a prosperous economy. We do not want to walk through the world with a chip on our shoulder. But we don't want anyone to think we're afraid to fight for our beliefs.

We have a President who is committed to these principles. He does not compromise with them. He has made them clear not only to us but also to those who challenge us.

I admire his courage. I regard him as a great man. Some folks have been asking me if I think he will seek reelection in 1956.

Back in 1864, a reporter asker President Lincoln the same question. He did not want to answer, so he told him this story of an old friend back in Springfield, Ill.

It seems that a very mild-mannered little preacher came to see him one day to rent a hall for a series of lectures. "You can't rent any hall in this town," he was told, "until we know who you are and what you propose to preach about." The preacher looked at him and said, "My subject shall be the Second Coming of Our Lord." "Then you're wasting your time. If the Lord has been to this town once he knows better than to come back a second time."

Mr. Lincoln did choose to come back a second time. And you know there were people who opposed his renomination. Some of them were Republicans and they held a convention in Cleveland. They wanted to nominate General Fremont. The convention was a complete fizzle. Only about 400 people attended, and when President Lincoln heard about it he called for his Bible and opened it to the First Book of Samuel, chapter 22, and he read it out loud: "And everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was discontended," he read, "gathered themselves unto him, and he became a captain over them, and there were with him about 400 persons."

I don't think any opponent to Dwight D. Eisenhower would do any better.

Address by Hon. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri, Before Lawyers Association of St. Louis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, recently it was my privilege to address the Lawyers Association of St. Louis, Mo., on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of its founding. My speech was devoted to the problem of establishing proper standards for the conduct of congressional investigations. I ask unanimous consent

to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of that speech.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY UNITED STATES SENATOR THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., OF MISSOURI, BEFORE THE LAWYERS ASSOCIATION OF ST. LOUIS, DECEMBER 3, 1954

Mr. Susman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am greatly honored to be invited to address you on this occasion as part of the 20th anniversary celebration of the Lawyers Association of St. Louis. In the 20 years since the formation of this distinguished society of lawyers on April 24, 1934, you have achieved a record of which you may be justifiably proud. To review the list of the many accomplishments of the Lawyers Association of St. Louis, would, I think, consume the better part of the time which you have so graciously allotted me. Moreover, most of you well know the record, having shared in these achievements.

We have had the pleasure of participating this evening in ceremonies honoring the service of past presidents of this association, among whom I have had some of my closest associations and friendships in my practice at the St. Louis bar. These 19 past presidents, together with Bernard Susman, your present presiding officer, would constitute a distinguished bar anywhere in the land or wherever Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence is a shield and a bulwark. Beyond this, the Lawyers Association of St. Louis has numbered among its members many of our State's leading lawyers. In short, this a society in which any lawyer or counselor-at-law is very proud to claim the honor of membership.

This evening I am going to talk about something we all recognize and believe deeply—the importance to our country and our civilization of an independent and fearless bar and incorruptible judiciary as the foundation of constitutional democracy. With this theme in mind, I think it fitting that I repeat tonight the preamble of the constitution of the Lawyers Association. As you know, it reads: "To promote the study of law as a science and its practice as a learned profession; to defend the courts, their officers, and the administration of justice; to maintain the honor, dignity and worthy traditions of the profession of law; to encourage general improvements of conditions among lawyers in the practice of their profession; and to secure reasonable reforms and improvements of law and procedure." In these words, the Lawyers Association has set for itself high standards and worthy objectives. In the past, you have fulfilled these standards and met these objectives. I am confident that in the trying years ahead, you shall continue, as an association and as individuals, to make these precepts dynamic and vital.

I think we can take it as axiomatic, and especially so among lawyers, that liberty of person and security of property cannot be said to exist without impartial justice, adequate juridicial defense and proper representation.

For Anglo-Saxon lawyers almost from the 13th century, it has been a tradition that to provide a fair trial and an adequate defense for one accused of crime is the highest dignity to which the law can attain. As stated by Thomas Erskine on the 18th of December, 1792, in his defense of Thomas Paine then being tried, in absentia, for libel and sedition, "If I were to ask you gentlemen of the jury what is the choicest flower that grows upon the tree of English liberty, you would answer security under the law. If I were to ask the whole people of England the return they look for at the hands of government, from the burdens under which they bend to support it. I should still be answered, security under the laws; or, in other words, an impartial administration of justice." Erskine, you will remember, later to become Lord Chancellor, was, at the time of his defense of Thomas Paine, the foremost advocate in England and, even though only 42, had already made a fortune at the bar handling civil as well as criminal matters, and had behind him a distinguished record of successfully defending in a hostile atmosphere many persons accused of crime.

But, to have liberty of person and security of property based on the impartial administration of justice we must have stable and orderly government. Indispensable ingredients for justice are an independent and incorruptible judiciary and an informed and fearless advocacy. We lawyers often bear the brunt of heavy criticism for being conservative, for resisting change, and for defending the status quo. Our basic conservatism is our tradition and our heritage. It flows naturally from our knowledge of history, from our intimate acquaintance with legal institutions, and from our deepfelt realization that liberty and security are, at best, precarious. Our training and our traditions at the bar insist that, in spite of calumny that may be heaped upon us, we must do everything within the law to preserve our ancient rights, including the right of one accused of crime, however heinous, to receive an adequate defense.

Lately, in this country, we have been witness to certain reprehensible tendencies toward disorderly government. To you, my friends, who have been trained in and daily practice the orderly procedures of our law courts, to you I do not have to expand in great detail concerning the tendencies to which I have alluded. You are all aware that some congressional committees have tended with increasing tempo to go beyond the restraints dictated by orderly procedures.

Congressional investigations have been the subject of increasing concern among thoughtful people for two reasons. First, in some instances they have amounted to unconstitutional attacks on the authority and prerogatives of the executive. And second, they have failed, in some cases, to provide due process of law.

Insofar as unlawful attacks upon the executive branch are concerned, it seems to me that we must look to the President to provide the proper checks and balances by asserting his authority. Members of the Congress can assist him by speaking out, as they have done in recent attacks on his authority. Insofar as congressional committees have failed to provide due process of law in their investigations, the Congress, and the Congress alone, has full responsibility.

To the charge that some congressional committees have, at times, used star-chamber methods and have denied due process of law by refusing to persons whose integrity or loyalty are impugned the right to present evidence, to be represented by counsel, and to cross-examine adverse witnesses, we have heard the argument that these investigations are being conducted to get the facts. To the charge that some committees have, at times, conducted inquisitorial investigations on the premise that one is presumed guilty until proven innocent, we have heard the reply that such investigations are not judicial trials to which "due process" applies. And we hear repeatedly, in answer to these charges, that these investigations are conducted to expose Communists and that, therefore, the niceties of fair procedure are irrelevant.

This last-mentioned defense, of course, calls to mind a basic doctrine of the Communists—that "the end justifies the means." It is this concept which threatens the core of our personal liberties—the liberties for which our Republic was founded. We have been shocked with the thoughtless comments of those who assert: "I don't like the methods, but I approve of the end result." As lawyers, we know that there can be no liberty without due process of law.

We have also heard the argument that to compel congressional investigating committees to meet the minimum standards of due process would add unduly to the burden of these committees, that it would be time-consuming and would impede the work of the committee in getting at the facts. In this connection, we may recall that one of the reasons set forth for the establishment of the court of Star Chamber in 1487 was that the convictions by the regular courts of justice were so slow as to enable felons to break the peace with impunity. In fact, statute 3, Henry VII, chapter I, creating the court of star chamber, provided that the body should punish misdoers "as they should and ought to be punished if they were thereof convicted after the due order of the law."

In considering what standards should govern the conduct of congressional investigations, we should bear in mind that congressional investigations or hearings, in general, fall into 2 fairly distinct types; 1 is what I would term the legislative hearing, the other I would call an inquisitorial hearing. It is the latter about which we are disturbed. The procedures that are quite appropriate for the legislative hearings are not appropriate for the other type. One of our principal difficulties with inquisitorial investigations, I think, stems largely from our failure, until very recently, to note the basic difference between the two types of hearings and our consequent failure to apply different rules to them.

In legislative hearings the purpose is to develop concise and adequate information in order to formulate intelligent legislative policy. Such hearings often involve the wisdom of actions that Government officials have taken and invariably explore questions of governmental policy and the administration of particular programs. Such hearings seldom, however, explore the integrity or loyalty of individuals and the committees holding such hearings have not had to concern themselves with the problem of providing persons under attack with an adequate opportunity to defend themselves. When the problem presents itself, however, I think committees ought to give it special attention.

In the case of inquisitorial investigations to ferret out disloyalty or dishonesty, the purpose is, or at least it should be, to supplement the extensive investigative machinery at work in the executive branch and to provide information on which to base legislation, that is, to strengthen our laws dealing with crime and corruption generally, and, in particular, with acts and conspiracies against national security.

The inquisitorial investigations have affronted our standards of fair play and fair hearing. They have at times caused irreparable damage to loyal and innocent persons. However, even for persons who may not be honest or loyal, there must be fair hearings in the legislative branch as well as in the courts. We cannot have one code of procedure for innocent people and another code of procedure for guilty people. The abuses that have been practiced in congressional inquisitorial hearings must be brought to an end as quickly as possible.

In coping with this problem, it would be well for us to bear in mind that no Senator or Representative of the Federal Legislature has any power to investigate on his own beyond that enjoyed by every citizen. The same is also true of congressional committees. They hold their powers at the pleasure of the Senate or the House acting as a body. They have only the power which the Senate or the House delegates to them. And, likewise, subcommittees, whether they consist of one or more members, may enjoy power

only as it is delegated from the parent committee. The Senate and the House may at any time take away the powers given to a committee.

What I have just said is, of course, a simple truth that is obvious to everybody. I think, however, that many persons, including Members of the Congress, have at times overlooked these basic facts. From these facts we may conclude that it is within the power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, to deal with abuses of its committees or its own Members. With this in mind, a good many Members of the Congress in both Houses have introduced measures that would establish mandatory codes of fair procedure for committees. I, myself, have been a cosponsor of one or more already introduced in the Senate.

While some changes are apparently needed in the rules governing investigative committees, the problem with which we have recently been confronted in the Congress, cannot, in the end, be reached by rules. It is a matter which, in its basic elements, involves moral standards, self-restraint and ideals of fair play. Can any of you imagine the kind of scenes which we have so recently witnessed occurring in a court of law? It is offensive to us. It is unthinkable. And while for obvious reasons, the rules of procedure governing the conduct of cases in our law courts cannot be carried over into legislative matters, it is our duty to be ever vigilant and to have one eye on the traditions and the standards of our law courts as a guide to orderly procedure and fair conduct in legislative matters.

Our present day difficulties with congressional investigations would not have reached the present point of crisis if Russian Communist conspiracy and treachery were not abroad in the world.

The convictions of Klaus Fuchs, in England, and of the Rosenbergs and others here for espionage in connection with atomic secrets; the conviction of the top Communist leaders in this country; the charges of Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley leading to the conviction of Hiss and Remington—these dramatic events together with other developments including the seeking of refuge in the fifth amendment by many witnesses before various congressional committees, set the stage for abuses of committee power. The point I am making is that without the Communist conspiracy, congressional committees would not have had occasion to take on the inquisitorial aspects which I have just discussed.

In this era of the hydrogen bomb—in this period of neither peace nor war so aptly called the cold war—all loyal Americans are concerned about our national security and bitter against traitors. Some loyal citizens have even become hysterical and stand ready to pillory those who insist on orderly democratic government, on the preservation of constitutional rights, and on lawful procedures even in the exposure and conviction of traitors.

In this period of tenseness, lawyers have a great opportunity and an equal responsibility to lend a steady hand to the course of public affairs and to bring the full pressure of their wisdom and sound judgment to bear against disorderly and illegal extremes.

So far, we have come through this period fairly well and with reasonable dignity, but, at times, I have felt that the atmosphere of public affairs was in danger of being permanently polluted by fear, intolerance, and hysteria. During this period, altogether loyal and usually restrained Americans have felt impelled to employ such epithets as "witch hunt" and "book burning" to describe some of the excesses.

In pondering our present problems, I have searched for a period of history which, while not on all fours with our own—no two periods are ever identical—would contain some of the elements of tension and world unrest that we are now experiencing. I wanted to consider what fearless advocates did to meet the crises of their times. My thoughts turned to the events in England and France, during the French Revolution, beginning with the fall of the Bastille on the 14th of July 1789. Conservative Englishmen, in that day, viewed the atrocities committed by the Paris Commune with its Committee of Surveillance and its mob rule with a horror and a fear even as great as that with which we view the conspiracies and the treachery of the men in the Kremlin. The French revolutionists, it is true, did have many sympathizers among the British people, and even distinguished defenders in the House of Commons, such as Charles James Fox, the great Whig leader. On the other hand, we will recall that it was Fox's former friend and colleague, Edmund Burke, who after his dramatic appearance in the House of Commons dressed in the blue and buff of revolutionary America to defend our War of Independence, was now so shaken by the terror in Paris, that he wrote and published his historic philippic against the French, Reflections on the French Revolution. You will remember that this bitter controversy ended the long association and friendship of these two great titans of the Whig Party.

William Pitt, the Younger, then Prime Minister of England, decided that Thomas Paine should be indicted for libel and sedition against the Crown for having written part II of his famous essay The Rights of Man as an answer to Burke. In November of 1792, the trial of Paine was commenced before the Court of King's Bench. Paine was at the time in Paris, having been elected a member of the National Convention, and he was tried in absentia, the laws of England at that time permitting the trial of criminal defendants without their presence before the court. Friends of Paine urged Thomas Erskine to take Paine's case. Erskine, at the height of his career as England's ablest advocate, was faced with a hard decision. Should he provide, for Thomas Paine, charged, in effect, with treason against the British Crown the best defense possible in England—not just an ordinary defense which Paine might otherwise get—but a defense in the hands of this master of the English juries, or should be heed the cautious warnings of his friends not to be identified with this defendant who was anathema to British conservatism and respectability? As you all know, Erskine took Paine's brief and stood before the King's judges while his client, as a member of the French Revolutionary Government, remained safely beyond the reach of the court. You will also remember Erskine's magnificent address to the hostile jury in the face of what he knew was certain defeat for his client.

This case was soon followed by the trial of John Frost, a London solicitor of great eminence and respectability who was pronounced guilty of sedition on the evidence of a copy of The Rights of Man found in the pocket of his greatcoat. This case Erskine likewise took in the face of an almost certain verdict of guilty.

Erskine, intrepid advocate that he was, continued to act as counsel for persons accused of sedition and in December 1793 won an acquittal before a jury for the owners of the Morning Chronicle. Soon after, Erskine successfully defended Thomas Walker, of Manchester, who likewise had fallen victim to an oppressive zeal to prosecute anyone who dared to question Government policy. And there were many others. This period came to be known as England's reign of terror. But in the end, fearless, resolute British advocacy won through. As you know, Erskine on April 7, 1806, became Lord Chancellor of England and took as his motto for his peerage Trial by Jury.

My friends, I have dwelt at some length on the history of Lord Erskine not so much because he was an exception to the rule—I think he was not. He merely took his place among the many before and after him who have maintained the highest tradition of the British and the American Bar. You and I can cite cases much closer to hand if there were need to do so. I think, however, I have illustrated my point.

As lawyers in this great democracy we have a public trust and a responsibility that falls more heavily on us, perhaps, than on any other group of our citizens—to cherish our independence of judgment, to champion just causes without fear or timidity, to remain vigilant against any inroads upon our basic freedom of person and security of property, and to defend with all our vigor the principles of justice under a government of laws and not of men.

As members of the Lawyers Association of St. Louis, I am confident there will be no shrinking from this obligation, but that, true to the high standards and noble traditions of this great organization, we will meet this continuing challenge with courage and with honor.

Lincoln Day Address by Hon. Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD the text of an address delivered by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN] on February 10, 1955. The occasion was a Lincoln Day dinner in Hagerstown, Md., given by the Washington County Republican State Central Committee.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR MARTIN OF PENNSYLVANIA

I am sincerely grateful for the privilege of addressing this splendid meeting of true Americans and loyal Republicans.

It is an honor and a real pleasure to come to the Free State of Maryland and to join you in tribute to one of the greatest of all Americans—the first Republican President of the United States—Abraham Lincoln.

First, let me tell you that in the Keystone State of Pennsylvania we have the highest admiration of our fine Maryland neighbors.

We know how much of the spirit of America has gone into the building of your great State.

We share your pride in its glorious history and its steadfast record of loyalty and patriotic sacrifice.

Like Pennsylvania, Maryland is the home of many faiths and creeds living in tolerance and good will. One of the great landmarks in religious liberty was the Maryland Toleration Act, passed by the Provincial Assembly more than 300 years ago.

It was the first law in the American Colonies granting freedom of worship to everyone who professed belief in the Christain faith.

In my own State we are proud that the same principle of religious liberty was established by William Penn in founding the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

I am happy to be here tonight to tell you of my high regard for my distinguished friends and colleagues—JOHN MARSHALL BUT-

LEE and GLENN BEALL. They are both great Americans and great Republicans.

Both served their country with honor and distinction as soldiers in time of war. Both serve their State and Nation with the highest degree of statesmanship in these days of troubled peace.

I am proud to tell you that the State of Maryland is represented in the Senate of the United States by two forceful, vigorous, fighting American patriots who battle with tireless energy to protect the American system of government and the American way of life.

I want to make special mention also of your distinguished Republican Congressman, DEWITT HYDE, and to offer my praise for his able, courageous, and patriotic service.

He came to the House of Representatives in the 83d Congress with a valuable background of legislative experience in the general assembly as a member of the house and of the State senate.

The people of the Sixth Congressional District gave proper recognition of his outstanding ability by sending him back to Congress for a second term.

The fame of your great Governor has spread far beyond the borders of Maryland and has made him an outstanding national figure.

Maryland is so fortunate to have the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin. His statesmanship is in the historic pattern of Maryland's greatness. His stanch Republicanism is in line with the highest standards of political integrity.

I congratulate the people of Maryland on retaining Governor McKeldin in office for a second term.

Your Republican Senators and Representatives and your Governor believe in freedom of the individual, freedom of enterprise, and freedom of opportunity.

These are American principles. They are the principles of the Republican Party. They were the principles of Abraham Lincoln.

In commemorating the birthday anniversary of the Great Emancipator we recall his steadfast courage, his inexhaustible patience, his lofty spirit of tolerance, his deep humility, his enduring devotion to the ideals of our Republic, and his faith in God.

It is therefore fitting on this anniversary to reaffirm our allegiance to the heritage passed on to us by the Founding Fathers, preserved for us by Abraham Lincoln, and strengthened by the high principles to which President Eisenhower and the Republican Party are dedicated.

We honor Lincoln as one of the founders of the Republican Party.

It was his suggestion that the delegates to the first national convention of the Republican Party unite on the principles of the Declaration of Independence and hostility to the extension of slavery.

Lincoln put it in these memorable words:

"Let us, in building our new party, plant ourselves on the rock of the Declaration of Independence, and the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against us."

The political wisdom of Abraham Lincoln grows more impressive with the passing of the years.

The Declaration of Independence stands as a firm, immovable rock, symbolizing the Republican Party's dedication to freedom of the individual, human dignity, and human integrity.

Throughout the 100 years of its existence the philosophy of the Republican Party has been based on the sacred principle that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Let me read to you the first resolution adopted by the first Republican National Convention in Philadelphia in 1856. It is as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution are essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must be preserved."

My fellow Americans, that ringing declaration has been the watchword of the Republican Party ever since. The words are timely and true. They apply to the issues which confront us today.

Lincoln called upon every American to accept a full share of responsibility for the preservation of our liberties.

On February 11, 1861, when he was on his way to Washington to assume the office of President he made a speech at Indianapolis in which he said:

"In all trying positions in which I shall be placed, and doubtless I shall be placed in many such, my reliance will be upon you and the people of the United States. * * *

"It is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty for yourselves—and not for me.

"I appeal to you to constantly bear in mind, that not with politicians, not with Presidents, not with officeseekers, but with you is the question:

"Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?"

Those words of Abraham Lincoln are a challenge to all of us in this present day.

They are a warning that the people alone can save America from the dangers that can bring us to national disaster.

Our system of government is based on the fundamental principle that people can manage their own affairs better than government can manage for them.

One hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln said:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all or cannot so well do for themselves—in their separate and individual capacities. In all that people can do as well for themselves government ought not to interfere."

Lincoln recognized that interference by government in the lives of its citizens is a dangerous encroachment upon individual liberty—contrary to the plan of the Founding Fathers.

Only the people can rise up in their might and enforce relief from the evils of big government—high taxes and excessive debt.

It is frightening to realize that the public and private debt of the American people has climbed to a point so high that it is a serious threat to the safety and security of the Nation.

Uncontrolled debt, rising higher and higher year after year, places a crushing burden on the economic structure of our country, and points the way to financial collapse.

It should be a matter of deep concern to every one of us that the American people now owe a total of more than $600 billion, three times as much as the debt of 15 years ago.

In the last 5 years alone the total public and private debt has increased by $50 billion.

Never before in the history of the world have any people owed so much as we owe today.

At the top of the list is the Federal debt of $278 billion—an increase of $20 billion since the end of World War II.

Twenty-three years ago, when we were fighting the worst depression we ever had, the Federal debt was less than $20 billion.

The debts of State and local governments have increased 16 percent in 1 year alone, reaching a total of $38 billion on June 30, 1954.

In terms of national income public debt stood at 34 percent in 1929, rose to 102 percent in 1933, declined to 69 percent in 1941, and rose again to 147 percent in 1945. It has since declined to 86 percent, largely because of the rise in income.

There is real cause for alarm in the tragic fact that while the debt burden is increasing by millions every day, the great majority of our people don't seem to be worried about it.

They take the position that we are a strong nation, we are prosperous, our people have a backlog of savings, times are good, the national income is high, why worry?

But the danger is all about us.

If for any reason we should be forced into a decline—even a slight decline in business activity, jobs and income, the staggering burden of debt could prove too much for our economy to sustain and could bring us to disaster.

I ask you to remember that the debts, which so many people hold so lightly, are not mere bookkeeping items. They will have to be paid by generations far in the future, out of the earnings of Americans who had no part in creating the debts.

The question that naturally arises is: Are we going to drift into bigger debt, or are we going to begin thinking about reducing it.

I bring this serious situation to your attention because I believe we Republicans should be concerned with the problem of government grown too big and too costly.

Yes, my fellow Americans, we have too much government, and government is involved in too many functions in which it does not properly belong.

The future of our Nation depends upon the course of action we take and the principles for which we fight.

Let us—like Lincoln—call for a new dedication to our country's cause and resolve that this Nation, founded to sustain the God-given freedom of the individual, shall not perish from the earth, but shall live forever, and grow stronger with each passing generation.

United States Assistance to Foreign Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, in the Shreveport Times of Saturday, February 5, 1955, there appeared an editorial regarding the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]. It is with much pleasure and pride that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELLENDER POINTS THE WAY TO ECONOMY

As a result of his inspection tour of overseas American agencies, taken under direction of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Senator ALLEN ELLENDER has submitted to the committee some 3,000 words of recommendations on cutting expenses and improving efficiency of operations by the State and Defense Departments, the United States Information Agency, the Foreign Operations Administration, and other lesser groups.

If the Louisiana Senator's recommendations are carried out, American taxpayers will be saved millions of dollars and many

United States operations overseas will gain in efficiency.

The Louisiana Senator specifically calls for an end to all economic aid to Western Europe, holding that such nations are quite capable now of handling their own economy. He also urges that there be no economic aid to any part of the world where the recipient nation does not meet the United States half way in financing the various aid programs. On this point, Senator ELLENDER states in his report:

"In Lebanon the United States is carrying the total burden because the Lebanese do not wish to operate their government in the red, hence, our planners have magnanimously saddled the debt-ridden United States Government with the full load.

"No attempt is made to obtain local aid.

"A similar situation obtains in Jordan.

"Examples such as these, few though they may be, should shock the conscience of the responsible Foreign Operations Administration leaders.

"Personnel responsible for the diversion of Indian program funds from their originally understood purposes should be severely chastized by FOA.

The Foreign Operations Administration—FOA—is headed by Harold Stassen.

As an example of the diversion of funds for India, Senator ELLENDER points out that Congress last year appropriated $89,100,000 to continue existing FOA programs in India, but that the Stassen organization, without even notice to the Appropriations Committee, diverted $20 million for rebuilding an Indian railroad for which no funds had been authorized or appropriated.

"Such action borders on gross misrepresentation," the Senator's report said.

The report also cited numerous instances of huge construction programs to house American agencies whose programs are temporary, and in some instances should be ended at once. There also is excessive construction of American libraries in countries where American data easily could be placed in local libraries, and also in areas where virtually none of the native people can read.

The Senator's report continued:

"I call the committee's attention to the fact that in many areas of the world no effort is being made to terminate special programs, even though their objectives have been accomplished.

"On the contrary, there is a definite tendency to perpetuate jobs, increase programs, and maintain spending, without any regard to the impact their continuance may have on our own economy. The Western European nations offer ample ground for committee attention in this respect.

"Despite the recommendations of the committee report on the 1955 defense appropriation bill to the effect that the Department of Defense should 'effectuate Senator ELLENDER's recommendations with a view to the accomplishment of substantial economies' in the conduct of its military attaché functions, there not only has apparently been no effort made to do so but, on the contrary, I found every indication that there is a continued emphasis on swelling attaché staffs and maintaining the emoluments that accompany those positions overseas.

"The waste involved in duplication of staffs, vehicles, office space, housing, etc., which the maintenance of separate, distinct offices for each branch requires, is inconceivable.

"I reaffirm my observation that in many instances the operation of the majority of United States military attaché offices abroad is shockingly extravagant and wasteful."

Senator ELLENDER also criticized administration of the Fulbright scholarship student-exchange program, saying that some countries sent students to this country who were not their natives, but natives of other nations.

The Louisiana Senator hit the United States Information Service hard with accusations of waste and inefficiency. He added:

"I recommend that USIA bear in mind the fact that one operation, well planned and well executed, is much more effective than several haphazard programs.

"As I warned last year, too many of our planners seem to believe that we are bound to operate a library, a press program, a film program, an exchange program, as well as others, in each and every nation which is host to the agency. This has resulted in much wasted effort.

"The programs maintained in each country should be tailored to local educational levels and needs and should be administered in accord with the fiscal capabilities of our own country."

Senator ELLENDER's recommendations are thoroughly sound throughout. Also, they testify to the value of his overseas inspection tours and illustrate the type of foreign touring by Members of Congress that really pays off for the American people, particularly taxpayers.

Tribute to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there recently appeared in Letters to the Editor department of the Washington Post and Times Herald an excellent and well-deserved appraisal of the work of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., at the United Nations. It was written by Dr. Charles W. Mayo, one of Minnesota's best known and most distinguished professional men, who himself recently made a significant contribution as an alternate delegate to the United Nations.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Mayo's letter paying tribute to our former colleague in the Senate, Ambassador Lodge, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 24, 1955]

AMBASSADOR LODGE'S ACHIEVEMENTS

In your newspaper on January 9, Mr. Herbert Elliston characterized Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., our chief representative to the United Nations, as "flatfooted." Again on January 11, Mr. Marquis Childs said that Mr. Lodge is not a happy choice for his job because, for instance, he has "rushed out with statements when, in a delicate situation, silence would be preferable."

Having served as an alternate delegate for the United States in the Eighth General Assembly under Ambassador Lodge and being at present president of the American Association for the United Nations, I have followed closely the events of the United Nations, including those of the Ninth General Assembly last fall. It is my opinion that Mr. Lodge, and those who serve with him, have dealt effectively, factually, and successfully with Communist propaganda and maneuvering and, at the same time, have developed a high degree of cooperation with free world delegations.

As a result, every major United States objective in the United Nations since he has been there has been achieved. In fact, I believe that United States influence in the United Nations has greatly increased in the past 2 years and that Soviet influence there is at an all-time low.

What seemed to Mr. Elliston "flatfooted" was the idea, which he attributes to Mr. Lodge, that Secretary General Hammarskjold be given the job of going to Peiping to seek release of the prisoners in Chinese Communist hands. It would surprise me to find that, as Mr. Elliston speculates, Mr. Lodge prodded Mr. Hammarskjold on the subject. It might be a good idea for Mr. Elliston to ask one or both of these gentlemen about it instead of contenting himself with speculation.

Sometimes in the United Nations it is necessary to be flatfooted, blunt, or whatever you wish to call it, and sometimes it is necessary to be delicate. Mr. Lodge has shown that he can be both, as the occasion requires. When it comes to educating world opinion on Communist atrocities and the behavior of the Chinese Communists, he has not hesitated to speak unpleasant truths. When it comes to diplomacy, he can be as delicate as the next man. The success of these tactics is reflected in many votes in the General Assembly on important matters that he has handled personally.

In December 1953: 42 to 5 in condemnation of Chinese Communist atrocities in Korea, the Soviet bloc alone voting against it.

In November 1954: 60 to 0 for the Eisenhower atoms-for-peace program, for which even Soviet Union felt compelled to vote;

In December 1954: 47 to 5 to condemn Red China's sentencing of the 11 United States airmen and to seek release of all United Nations prisoners still detained, the Soviet bloc alone voting against it;

Since January 1953: 24 separate votes against admitting Red China to various United Nations bodies, or against even considering the question.

You do not get results like these without diplomacy, and not without bluntness either, when that is called for.

Mr. Childs' observation about Mr. Lodge's "rushing out" with statements at the wrong time seems strange, coming shortly after Mr. Lodge's appearance on a national television program on December 19. He was asked repeatedly about the matter of the fliers imprisoned in China and he declined to make any comments that might complicate things. He said, "What we are all thinking about now is what is good for those fliers. We ought to try to avoid doing or saying anything which will act adversely on the negotiations to get those fliers out."

One of Mr. Lodge's assignments, he has told me, was to do what he could to bring back American confidence in the United Nations, which had been sagging dangerously. In May of 1951 43 percent answered "Yes" in response to the question: "Are you satisfied with the progress of the United Nations?" By January 1954 this percentage had risen to 63 percent, which was the highest point in 7 years of polling on this question. Last October 1954 the percentage of those who wanted to pull out of the United Nations altogether fell to 6 percent, which is the lowest ever recorded. I respectfully suggest that this is not an unhappy record.

All these accomplishments may explain what Harvard University had in mind when, in giving Mr. Lodge the honorary degree of doctor of laws last June, it called him "an eloquent defender in the United Nations of the truth that freemen cherish."

There certainly is nothing wrong with being politically ambitious, a state of mind which Mr. Childs attributes to Mr. Lodge. But my impression is that this is not an accurate characterization and that he is totally absorbed and satisfied by the work

he is doing at the United Nations. I have never seen a man give a greater impression of being happy in his work.

CHARLES W. MAYO, M. D.,
President, American Association for the United Nations.

NEW YORK.

Criticism by Walter Reuther of President Eisenhower's Economic Report to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MATTHEW M. NEELY
OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an impressive article, appearing on the first page of the Baltimore Sun of today, entitled "Reuther Raps Ike Economy—CIO President Assails Recent Report to Congress."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REUTHER RAPS IKE ECONOMY—CIO PRESIDENT ASSAILS RECENT REPORT TO CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, February 10.—In the most scathing attack yet made on President Eisenhower's recent economic report to Congress, Walter P. Reuther, CIO president, today charged that the administration is selling the American people short by failing to fulfill its obligations under the Employment Act of 1946.

Reuther charged that the President had shown complacency over unemployment, failed to mention both the decline in farm income and the relatively deteriorating position of small business and avoided a discussion of automation and its implications for economic expansion, production, consumption, and employment.

He told the Congressional Economic Committee that the administration had offered only petty, half-hearted economic programs based on a hypnotic preoccupation with statistical indexes of the long-run past.

CHALLENGES CONTENTION

Reuther also challenged the administration contention that the outlook for 1955 is bright. He said his observations lead him to believe that well may be a leveling off or decline of economic activity in the later part of 1955.

Reuther in a 6,000-word statement lashed the administration for avoiding any mention of the tremendous potential for rapid economic growth and improved living conditions which new technologies offer.

Nor has the President, said the CIO head, given Congress or the people any guidance or preparation for the new technology—including atomic power—which hold limitless possibilities for growth and improved living standards.

The Economic Committee also heard a plea by the National Farmers' Union for some solution for the rapidly deteriorating farm situation.

A statement prepared by James G. Patton, head of the Farmers Union, and read to the committee by John A. Baker, his assistant, said that the President's economic report concealed many of the true facts about the economic situation.

Patton charged that the President ignored the requirements of the Employment Act of 1946 to lay before Congress concrete recommendations for dealing with the economic steps needed to produce full employment.

The Farmers' Union spokesman also asserted that the administration is deliberately trying to minimize the true facts about unemployment by labeling a 538,000 rise of the jobless in January as "seasonal."

"If we were in a great upsurge of business," Patton declared, "it would overcome the seasonal factors and bring about a drop in the pathologically high unemployment."

Concerning the farm situation, Patton told the committee that between 1952 and 1954 the income of the average farm family had dropped from about $200 a month to $150 a month, and that in his estimation it will drop further to $100 a month "under the Eisenhower sliding scale farm program."

The Fund for the Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the incisive and thought-provoking address recently delivered before the National Press Club in Washington by Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic. This speech runs a little over two pages, and the Printing Office estimates the cost at $187.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, PRESIDENT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, BEFORE THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 26, 1955

I speak only for myself, not for the Fund for the Republic, the directors of which I have not consulted; not for the Ford Foundation, of which the Fund for the Republic is completely independent; not for other foundations. They have been doing a good deal of talking lately. In fact they have been uncommonly vocal.

They have been uncommonly unanimous. I have been dealing with the foundations in one way or another for more than 30 years. They have always been distinguished by their lack of fellow feeling. They have scorned a project if it required the cooperation of another foundation. One of the more absurd charges made by the Reece committee was that the foundations were an intellectual cartel. The Reece committee forced them to huddle together in self-defense. One more investigation and they might become a cartel.

The conduct of the majority, if it was the majority, of the Reece committee was so scandalous that it outraged almost all the press and apparently even one of its own members. At any rate, Angier L. Goodwin, of Massachusetts, wrote a new kind of concurring opinion, one that disagreed with all the conclusions of the opinion with which it purported to concur. In the conduct of the hearings Mr. REECE added some new wrinkles to the distortions that we have become accustomed to in congressional investigations.

The foundations were elaborately attacked by the staff and by some witnesses of dubious standing. Then, pleading that Mr. HAYS of Ohio would not let him conduct the hearings as they should be conducted, Mr. REECE adjourned them and informed the foundations that they could file written statements. Perhaps the most depressing fact about the report of the so-called majority of the Reece committee is that Mr. REECE takes credit for relieving the foundations of what he calls the embarrassment of cross-examination. You might as well execute an innocent man without the embarrassment of a hearing—but if you did, nobody would claim that you had conformed to the principles of Anglo-American jurisprudence.

The most entertaining of the new wrinkles was that the majority took a philosophical position. The Cambridge ladies, E. E. Cummings said, lived in furnished souls; so Mr. REECE and Mr. WOLCOTT came bustling out in secondhand suits of antiempiricism, supplied them by the sages of the staff. Mr. REECE and Mr. WOLCOTT were much against empiricism, which they associated with moral relativism, irreligion, the cultural lag, and ultimately with subversion.

The Congressmen could not be bothered with history. They overlooked the fact that some of the most empirical empiricists in history, like Hume and Montaigne, were thoroughgoing Tories. The Congressmen could not be bothered with consistency; for example, they went after the teachers' colleges for sponsoring empiricism and then after the Fund for the Advancement of Education for not sponsoring the teachers' colleges.

If a committee may charge a foundation with empiricism, why not charge a college with it; and if with empiricism, why not with Presbyterianism or Catholicism or any other philosophy, religion, or dogma that the committee does not care for? The grant of tax exemption may carry with it certain obligations and those who accept it may by implication agree that they must perform certain services. But it has never been supposed that by taking tax exemption a college, university, church, or foundation, otherwise within the law, was liable to condemnation because of the philosophy that it held. If there is such reliability, the way is open to the most flagrant violation of religious freedom and of freedom of speech and teaching.

The lesson the majority, if it is a majority, of the Reece committee wants to teach the foundations is stated in words of crystalline clarity: "They should be very chary of promoting ideas, concepts, and opinion-forming material which run counter to what the public currently wishes, approves, and likes."

Here the committee throws overboard the principle accepted by the Cox committee that the justification of the foundations is that they supply risk or venture capital in the field of philanthropy. That is what they are for—to take chances—the Cox committee said. The Reece committee would confine them to what a public-relations man, presumably by a series of careful polls, found that the public currently wished, approved, and liked. The way to be safe would be to attract no attention, arouse no discussion, and create no controversy.

Even this would not be enough. All the things of which the committee now complains were currently wished, approved, and liked at the time the foundations did them. To meet the test laid down by the committee, therefore, a foundation would have to be able to foresee what would become unpopular by the time of an investigation.

But even this is not enough. The issue is not what the public will wish, approve, and like. There is no evidence, for example, that the American public dislikes empiricism. Quite the contrary. The public does not dislike empiricism: The Reece committee does, or rather two members of it do, or perhaps just the staff of the Reece committee does. Running a foundation on these terms be-

comes an extrahazardous occupation fraught with dangers that test pilots and submarine explorers and others who are up against nothing worse than the laws of nature do not encounter.

The Reece committee achieves some of its gaudiest effects by the simple process of giving old words new definitions and then pinning the old words on the foundations. This is the way that empiricism becomes subversive. Subversion now means, the committee says, a promotion of tendencies that may lead to results that the committee will not like. Hence support of the New Deal could be subversion. Social engineering, planning, world government, the United Nations, William James, John Dewey, the American Friends Service Committee, Dr. Kinsey, and reform are all subversive in the bright new lexicon of the Reece committee. And of course all these things are socialistic, if not communistic, too.

At times one feels when reading the report that old scurrilous words will be redefined and applied to any expression of decent human feeling. So it was that a staff member found himself identifying the papal encyclicals as communistic.

But the Reece report is said to be a majority report, and it will be referred to in the future as a majority report. Its appendix will be quoted as an authoritative collection of dangerous names. The only reason for the appendix is to enable some committee in the future to say of somebody that he was listed by the Reece committee. This fact will then be greeted with hushed and incredulous awe by those to whom it is communicated.

All you have to do to qualify for the appendix is to favor world government or get mentioned by the Daily Worker. The principal charge against one distinguished professor is that he is quoted, apparently with approval, in a dissenting opinion in the circuit court of appeals. A low of some sort is reached with the mention in the appendix of the name of George F. Kennan. He is accused of the following—and this is the total record: A book of his was reviewed (we are not told whether favorably or unfavorably) in the Daily People's World and the New World Review; on May 9, 1950, the New York Times reported that he spoke on Communist China (what he said does not appear); and on May 28, 1950, the New York Times reported that he "attacked witch-hunting of Communists." On the basis of such information Mr. Kennan will in the future be refered to as "cited by the Reece committee."

The appendix of the Reece committee's so-called majority report is an endless carnival of good clean fun—it is almost 200 pages long; but I must pass on. I cannot regard the Reece committee as having more than symbolic or symptomatic importance. Its wild and squalid presentation affords a picture of the state of our culture that is most depressing. Its aims and methods are another example of the exploitation of public concern about communism and subversion to further political ambition and to work off political grudges.

We may as well state it plainly: the Reece investigation in its inception and execution was a fraud. Nobody in his right mind could suppose that the great accumulations of wealth left by our richest men were being intentionally used by their trustees to overthrow the institutions of this country. Hence the Reece committee had to take another tack: the trustees were said to be so busy that they had to leave the foundations to officers who were often quite disreputable. Though this relieved the men of wealth and staning of the charge of being knaves, it did so only at the expense of charging them with being fools. Only fools could be so careless as to allow enormous sums entrusted to them for charitable purpose to be stolen away and lavished on the subversion of their country.

Congress may properly investigate the foundations and seek to arrive at general legislative policy concerning them. But the most important question to ask about any given foundation is whether it is one. Is it actually using its money for religious, charitable, educational, or scientific purposes? The first amendment suggests that tax exemption should not be denied or revoked because the particular views of religion, education, or science held or promoted by the foundation are unpopular.

On the other hand, nothing in the Constitution requires that tax exemption must be accorded an organization, which though in outward form a foundation, is actually a tax dodge, or a public relations device, or a scheme to promote the personal interests of the donor. The test is public versus private purposes. The Government may properly inquire into this question, since the exemption is granted with a promise of performance. The appropriate forum for the determination of the question of performance would seem to be a court.

As Dr. Johnson used to say, we must clear our minds of cant. When we do, we see that, in general, the foundations have for many years been following the prescription laid down for them by the majority of the Reece committee. This prescription is to try to avoid doing what is or may become unpopular. The failure of the foundations to be universally popular at all times is seldom caused by a spirit of reckless abandon or eager pioneering on their part. It is caused rather by the difficulties of predicting what will be popular or unpopular.

Who could have imagined that helping prospective teachers in Arkansas to get an education would have ever been regarded by anybody as exhibiting dangerous tendencies of mind? But when a foundation did this, it was criticized by teachers, businessmen, and newspapers in that State and was, of course, complained of by the Reece committee. What would the foundation have done in Arkansas if it had been possible to foresee the reactions that, in fact, occurred? I do not say that the grant would not have been made, but I would not bet on it; for the foundations have in varying degrees suppressed their ambition to provide risk capital in favor of a desire to have what are called good public relations, that is, to avoid unpopularity.

We know that the Attorney General's list is an ex parte finding of guilt with no probative standing in law. But how many foundations would give money to an organization or even to an individual in an organization on the Attorney General's list, no matter how meritorious the project? Would we support organizations that allowed groups listed by the Attorney General to meet in halls owned by them? If not, for an irrelevant reason, one that has nothing to do with the quality of the proposal, but that has a great deal to do with our popularity, we have made our peace with REECE.

We know that the most dreadful aspect of the current situation is the atmosphere of suspicion and of guilt by association in which we live. We ought to say that until a man or an organization has been condemned by due process of law he, or it, must be presumed innocent, and therefore, individuals and organizations are not to be automatically denied support solely on the ground that they are associated with unpopular people. Yet, how many foundations would give money for a good purpose to be well carried out by an organization which, though not on the Attorney General's list, was supposed to have some Communist members or was vaguely reported to be dominated by Communists?

We have come a long way since Lord Macaulay, who said, "To punish a man because we infer from some doctrine he holds or from the conduct of others who hold the same doctrine with him that he will commit a crime is persecution and is in any case foolish and wicked."

Congressman REECE was scoffed at. It was agreed that his investigation was a farce. I think he had good reason to be satisfied with himself. I think he won. Without firing a single serious shot, without saying a single intelligent word, he accomplished his purpose, which was to harass the foundations and to subdue such stirrings of courage, or even of imagination, as could be found in them. As I have said, there were not many there when he came on the scene. Congressman Cox had been there before him. And even before Congressman Cox the foundations were coming to limit their venturesome risk capital supplying to the natural sciences, medicine, technology, and long-term research. These fields are of great public benefit. They are also not controversial. If there ever was a foundation that was willing to be controversial, that was willing to take risks and to venture capital in areas about which people have strong prejudices, it learned its lesson by the time Cox and REECE got through. Who will venture now?

The pressures of our time produce strange contradictions, as in the case of the man who said that there were two things he hated, intolerance and Jews. Even those who understand what they are talking about are sometimes afflicted with a disease that often attacks intelligent people, a disease that gives them such satisfaction in what they say that they are blinded to the fact that it makes no difference.

The Houston Post did a wonderful job on the situation in the schools of that city, but the deputy superintendent, who was fired, has not been reinstated. We all smiled at the decision of the commandants not to permit West Point and Annapolis to debate the entry of Communist China into the U. N. and applauded Mr. Eisenhower's sensible observations. We went away feeling very good, forgetting that West Point and Annapolis are not to be permitted to debate the entry of Communist China into the U. N. The Illinois Department of the American Legion has repented, I hear, of its brutality to the Girl Scouts; but the Girl Scouts revised their manual as the Legion demanded. We were pleased to notice that Bishop Oxnam was cleared by the House Un-American Activities Committee; but he is not allowed to speak at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles. We assert that the fifth amendment is one of the brightest stars in the crown of our liberties and proclaim the inalienable freedom of every man not to testify against himself, conveniently overlooking the fact that almost everybody who has declined to do so is now unemployed. We say that a security system that deprives us of the services of some of our ablest people is scarcely helping us to be secure; we regard this as a pungent remark. But Davies and Oppenheimer are not working for the Government; Ladejinsky is not working for the Department of Agriculture. And what about Edward U. Condon, retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, who has been repeatedly cleared, but who, at the prospect of his 10th or 11th investigation, pronounced himself investigated out of public service? And now, after Reece, how many foundations do you suppose would be prepared to assist such a man?

The temper of the times appears to be such that the real victories go to those who are nominally defeated. The rather messy anti-Communist legislation adopted at the close of the last session of Congress and the pious resolution passed by the Senate at the opening of this one must be regarded as real victories for a Senator who was formally condemned by his colleagues 2 months ago. So must the requirement imposed on every

public speaker these days that he must disavow any connection with communism and attack the vicious conspirators in the Kremlin.

The newer orthodoxy is an odd thing. For example, it requires us to be against McCARTHY, but not too soon or too much, not in such a way as to arouse too much animosity in too many of those who might have a different opinion. If, for example, we say that rumor and gossip are an inadequate basis on which to condemn a man or a group, we are told that of course we are right, but that in this case the rumor and gossip are so widely believed that people would think bad thoughts of us if we insisted on proof. So it comes to this: We must ourselves adopt an un-American attitude because if we don't we may be regarded as un-American by those who have an admittedly un-American attitude. We are all dedicated to the great American tradition, but the battlecry of the Republic is, what will people say?

The motto of the Fund for the Republic is, feel free. At least that is what the officers tell one another it ought to be. This is, I believe, the essence of Americanism. Our ancestors came to this country because they wanted to feel free. They developed laws and institutions under which they and we could feel free. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the amendments extending the suffrage—these are expressions of the American conviction that everybody should feel free. The limits of this feeling or this freedom are not to be found in a formless fear of public opinion. On the contrary, public opinion is to grow and change through the free discussion of all points of view.

These ideas seemed so important to a new and inexperienced foundation, the Ford Foundation, that something more than 2 years ago it established the Fund for the Republic. The foundation gave the fund $15 million and turned it loose as an independent corporation, a wholly disowned subsidiary, with a self-perpetuating board of directors of its own. Its mandate from the foundation was to try to strengthen the basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution and to support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect those rights in the face of persistent international tension. Those were the happy, carefree, pre-Reece days.

Somewhat later, after the organization of the fund, its chairman, Paul G. Hoffman, said: "We propose to help restore respectability to individual freedom. * * * Out of our discussions has come a preliminary conclusion that the attention of the fund should at this time be concentrated in the following five areas, not necessarily in order of priority: 1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom; 2. Due process and equal protection of the laws; 3. The protection of the rights of minorities; 4. Censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting activities by private groups; 5. Guilt by association."

By restoring respectability to individual freedom the board means that it hopes to help Americans feel comfortable about feeling free. A board letter calculated to bring about this result would be difficult to find; for the members are all comparatively respectable, comparatively free, and comparatively interested in helping other people to feel so. The mere existence of this board should take the fund some distance on the way toward the restoration of respectability to individual freedom. You cannot belong to this board without believing in conscientious nonconformity as necessary to the growth and progress of individuals and States. The mere existence of this board serves as a reminder that intelligent, even important, people can and do believe this even yet.

The fund has no other ax to grind than support of the traditional liberties of the American people. It does not seek to support them by trying to influence legislation. It attempts instead to disentangle the issues, and to promote rational discussion of them. It helped the American Bar Association to make up its mind on congressional investigations by financing the association's committee on national security and individual rights. It assisted the League of Women Voters to stir up discussion of civil liberties among its members and among the members of other organizations. It aided Columbia University in the presentation of the theme of its bicentennial and supported the efforts of the National Citizens' Commission on the Public Schools to promote debate about the condition of public education, with special reference to academic freedom and racial discrimination.

If you are going to disentangle the issues that affect the traditional liberties of Americans, one of the first big ones that you have to try to get clear is communism in the United States. Not a day passes without the most positive statements being made on this subject. Many of them disclose a total lack of authentic information, but they are nonetheless positive for all that. The Fund for the Republic has made the Communist record in this country available through the work done by Professor Sutherland of the Harvard Law School. Professor Stouffer, of Harvard, will shortly publish a book called Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, representing the results of a study financed by the fund of the attitudes of Americans on these subjects. Professor Rossiter, of Cornell, with a considerable staff, is now embarking on a comprehensive investigation of what the Communist Party has amounted to in the United States and what it amounts to now. These three jobs together should help the American people to decide on the relative importance of communism in this country and on the successes and failures of the methods that have been employed to deal with it.

One of the methods that has been employed to deal with it that has been severely criticized is the security-loyalty program of the Government. Many suggestions have been put forward calling for a study by distinguished and disinterested persons. The Association of the Bar of the City of New York has undertaken to organize such a study, which will be financed by the fund.

Since we do not want subversive influences to reach our children, we have instituted methods of assaying the patriotism of teachers. It is widely believed that they are ineffective and that they interfere with education by frightening the teachers off the discussion of some subjects. Professor Lazarsfeld, of Columbia, has undertaken to find out for the fund whether or not these conditions do actually exist in the high schools, colleges, and universities of the country.

It is charged that in the effort to eliminate subversive influences in motion pictures, radio, and television we have allowed irrelevant and unsupported attacks, or attacks of little value, to deprive men and women of their livelihood. Unauthorized private persons are alleged to determine by obscure means the fate of those on whom these attacks are made. John Cogley, a former editor of the Commonweal, is conducting an investigation of blacklisting in the entertainment industry for the fund for the Republic.

Through the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, the National Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council the fund has been trying to do something about the rights of minorities. The fund regards Negro housing as the next big issue in race relations and will shortly announce its plans with regard to it.

The Fund for the Republic is a kind of antiabsurdity fund, a fund for the law of contradiction, a fund to remind us that we can't have things both ways. We can't brag about the Bill of Rights and talk about fifth-amendment Communists. We can't say that every man has the right to face his accusers and go on using what the Denver Post has called faceless informers. We can't proclaim our devotion to due process of law and then deny it to people we don't like.

The Fund for the Republic is a sort of fund for the American dream. I do not think the fund can make the American dream come true; but perhaps it can help keep it alive and clear. Perhaps it can show where we are forgetting the dream as it once was dreamt and can point out those places, and they are numerous, where the progress toward the realization of the dream has surpassed our most expansive expectations. Who knows? Perhaps some day "what will people say?" will be replaced as the battle cry of the Republic by "feel free."

A Defense of Admiral Radford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "A Defense of Radford—Joint Chiefs' Chairman Is Main Target for Campaign of Smears, Half-Truths." The article was written by Constantine Brown, and was published in the Washington Evening Star of Thursday 3, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DEFENSE OF RADFORD—JOINT CHIEFS' CHAIRMAN IS MAIN TARGET FOR CAMPAIGN OF SMEARS, HALF-TRUTHS

(By Constantine Brown)

FBI Director John Edgar Hoover has a permanent list of the most wanted criminals at large in the United States.

Similarly the Communists, the phony liberals and neoprogressives in this country are also setting up a list of the most dangerous people to American liberties or American peace.

Their agents do not have the power of arrest, it is true. But they have a sometimes more deadly power; that of a smear campaign intended to discredit the "wanted" individual and get him out of public life. Half-truths, innuendoes, sometimes actual fabrications are the weapons of the pressure groups which, while claiming to be in favor of freedom and peace and democracy, are serving wittingly or unwittingly the cause of the enemies of our country.

JOE MCCARTHY and his methods, the "Senator from Formosa," WILLIAM KNOWLAND, the late Pat McCarran, and other such "reactionaries," have been and some still are on the "most wanted men" roster. So was Gen. Douglas MacArthur before he was dismissed from his command. A new name has been added recently, that of Adm. Arthur W. Radford, who has become fair game for them principally because the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is credited with

advocating a strong national policy toward the Communists' imperialistic policies in Asia.

Admiral Radford is regarded by all those who are in close contact with him, from President Eisenhower to officials of the State Department and Members of Congress, as one of the most lucid and competent men in our Armed Forces. He was discovered by Mr. Eisenhower when he went on his fact-finding trip to Korea, soon after his election. The victor over the Germans and Italians in the European theater recognized in this naval officer the highest qualities of military concept and chose him as his principal military adviser.

Admiral Radford does not have the knack of endearing himself to the members of the fourth estate or to politicians. He has a cold, retiring nature and is an extremely poor backslapper. Neither does he see any need to sell himself to the public through press agents, public-relations officials, radio and television appearances. Unlike his colleagues among the Joints Chiefs of Staff, he does not have to go to Congress to fight for appropriations for any particular branch of the service. His job is strictly one of correlating the strategic views of the top defense hierarchy and presenting them to the President, the National Security Council and, whenever requested by the civilian superiors, to the Members of Congress. His functions require him to express his own military convictions based on facts, which frequently cannot be revealed to the public lest they injure the national security. These are argued out behind closed doors with the civilian policymakers. But at no time does he have the power—or for that matter the intention—of imposing his judgment over that of the real policymakers in the Government.

Admiral Radford considers anoymity an essential portion of his job. Newspapermen who used to be in close and friendly contact with him while he held less responsible positions in the past have received hints not to press their former friendship in an effort to wrench from him statements or "leaks" which might be useful for a good story. He seldom sees them privately and, when he does, only in the presence of one of his subordinate officers. The conversation generally covers the vaguest generalities and results in a waste of time for the admiral and the newspaperman alike.

Yet he is an easy target for those who need a whipping boy to show Mr. Eisenhower as putty in the hands of the "pro-Chiang schemes." Admiral Radford is not in a position to contradict the stories, rumors, and innuendos spread in print or by word of mouth about his impressive influence over the President, the Secretary of State, and a number of congressional leaders. This much is true: His unquestionable honesty, his cold and brilliant analysis of situations whenever he makes a presentation, do have an impact on the thinking of the Nation's policymakers. But when decisions are made, they are based on the political consequences more than on the military merits of the case.

Because, in 1949, Admiral Radford had fought with the rest of the admirals for the construction of the Forrestal-type supercarrier—and subsequent events have proved their contention correct—he was then and still is described by his detractors as one of the top villains of the Navy. Admiral Radford was, however, soon forgotten as a villainous public figure. Domestic matters followed by the Communist aggression against Korea provided other targets. It has been particularly since last summer, when, in response to queries from the civilian policymakers, he urged action in southeast Asia, that the attention of the so-called liberal ideologists became focused once more on the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Armchair strategists in Congress, in the press and on the radio question the soundness of his military views and for good measure, lest their arguments be not sufficiently impressive with the general public, occasionally add a little smudge to his character and integrity.

President Eisenhower's School Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful column by the distinguished author and columnist, Miss Doris Fleeson, on the subject of President Eisenhower's school-aid program, which appeared recently in the New York Post.

This column, entitled, "The Worthy Poor" discusses the inadequacy of the President's program for school aid and stresses the need of very substantial Federal grants if we are to make any impact on the ever increasing growth in student population and the lack of sufficient classrooms. I believe this article will be very useful to Members of the Senate and the public generally in the consideration of what I consider one of the most important issues now before the American people—aid to education.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WORTHY POOR
(By Doris Fleeson)

WASHINGTON.—President Eisenhower's school-aid program does not represent a serious attempt to deal with the national emergency in education.

It is little more than a letter of condolence to the localities and school authorities which are struggling against an enormous and growing shortage of classrooms.

The President's Commissioner of Education, Samuel Brownell, has placed the current need at 370,000 classrooms. Federal cost estimates indicate that the job, well done, would cost more than $12 billion.

The President has suggested only $200 million in direct aid over 3 years, which is about $65 million a year. Even if all went well and exactly as planned, it would build only a few thousand of the missing classrooms.

School authorities are equally skeptical about the proposed plans to help school districts and States. Twenty States are said to have constitutional debt limits which will prevent any new borrowing. In both Maine and Wisconsin, the courts have declared school-construction authorities unconstitutional.

The school experts say also that it would be at least a year before any results would show from the Eisenhower plan. Meanwhile, school enrollment is going up at a rate of more than 1 million a year. This year is it 30,800,000—an increase of 22 percent since 1950.

The President's philosophical approach provokes as much gloom in school circles as his practical suggestions. As they see it he has dealt with what they regard as the gravest internal crisis in this democracy in the spirit of a lady bountiful who restricts her gifts to the worthy poor.

The reference is to the President's restriction of outright grants to communities too poor to build their own schools. There will be no States and few communities willing to take the pauper's oath on this or any other proposition. Actually many of the wealthiest States which spend proportionately the largest share of their revenues on education are among the most hard-pressed.

The idea that some portions of this country should publicly admit to their poverty and throw themselves on the mercy of richer States or the Federal Government seems to have appeal in many quarters. It emerges regularly at the annual Governors' conferences and just as regularly the overwhelming majority of the governors turn the cold shoulder.

This quarrel is basic. The original architects of the welfare state—much of which the President has accepted, at least in theory—believe in prompt and ample federal action to meet national emergencies like that confronting the schools. From their point of view the President's approach in the new message looks back—way back.

Perhaps one trouble with the present special school problem is that Washington draws to it for the most part the successful, the well-to-do, and the more mature citizens. Their children are not victims of the present cruel classroom shortage, and, as a French philosopher said, one bears with equanimity the misfortunes of others.

The Dixon-Yates Contract a Partisan Battle at Its Very Worst

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, there appears in this morning's New York Times a most interesting and informative article by Arthur Krock. The article is in connection with the Dixon-Yates matter, and is entitled "Partisan Battle at Its Very Worst." I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE NATION
(By Arthur Krock)
PARTISAN BATTLE AT ITS VERY WORST

WASHINGTON, February 10.—The most unattractive exhibition of partisan politics the Capital has witnessed for years is the row over the Dixon-Yates contract. The attack on this contract by some Democratic legislators and by the National Committee has been adopted as a party line. It extends even into the Federal Commissions directly concerned with the issue. Bets have been made and won that the appointees of President Truman would vote against the appointees of President Eisenhower on the technical as well as the general aspects of the contract.

The partisan spectacle descended today in the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy to a spat over the method employed by Chairman Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission to support his contention that the AEC was doing business as

usual. Senator ANDERSON, the committee chairman, whose previous conduct in political battle has been an example to his colleagues, objected to Strauss' way of trying to disprove a charge that the Commission was spending an inordinate amount of time over the contract at the expense of the weapons program. Strauss produced four large boxes of documents on other subjects, as contrasted with a small pile of envelopes touching the contract, to refute the charge. This effective, because graphic, demonstration seemed to irritate the usually bland ANDERSON.

(The point was later raised with an apparently agreeing ANDERSON that Strauss recklessly exposed top-secret papers. These, however, were moved under the rigid regulations invariably imposed.)

That incident and others support an opinion here, which may be increasingly shared in the country, that the Democrats are discomfited by the disclosure of weaknesses in their partisan line against Dixon-Yates. Certainly, from the time former Democratic National Chairman Mitchell suggested that the President may have ordered the contract made to favor the finances of a golfing friend to the committee scene of today, the partisan technique has been far from admirable.

AN ARGUMENT BACKWARDS

Those Democrats who have fought the contract principally because they think votes are to be gained by doing so are under an obvious handicap. They cannot admit their purely political animation. Hence they have been obliged to assert and defend this preposterous proposition:

The Dixon-Yates contract has provided a bitter controversy in a Federal agency on whose effectiveness the whole security of the West may well depend. Clearly a commission rent by such controversy, which has new produced personal ill feeling among its members, cannot perform its intensely vital function as well as it could in an atmosphere of harmony. Therefore the President should abandon the contract.

The weakness in this is that these Democrats themselves have made the controversy bitter. And they have augmented its heat and scope by forcing into the area of partisan politics what should be a sober, nonpolitical issue of engineering and administrative procedure. In pursuance of this course they have put Chairman Strauss' integrity to the question on the flimsiest of pretexts. And they have encouraged their fellow-Democrat, AEC Commissioner Murray, to engage in a vendetta with Strauss.

Many other Democrats sincerely dislike the Dixon-Yates contract for reasons that are only incidentally partisan. Some honestly and openly want the Tennessee Valley Authority to expand without limit. Some think the proposed site of the Dixon-Yates plant (behind the Mississippi's main levee at West Memphis, Ark.) is precarious. Some are for public power over private power in any competitive field. Some are constructive critics of the President's procedure in ordering the AEC to make the contract with Dixon-Yates to supply the TVA with power for the waiting market in the Memphis area.

In this view the President erred administratively (1) when he brought the AEC directly into the situation instead of making the TVA and Dixon-Yates the contracting principals. And they hold (2) that the President should have involved neither his high office nor the Budget Bureau in the matter. Though the TVA already buys power from private utilities by contract, the Dixon-Yates episode marks the first time use was made of these procedures.

But Democrats whose minds are concentrated on getting the partisan advantage they think they see have obscured these legitimate objections. The results are distasteful public spectacles, an unhappy atmosphere in the AEC, and its chairman daily badgered for carrying out the President's order—which under the law he was obligated to do. Among their more remarkable byproducts were Senator ANDERSON's outburst today of a temper that seemed evoked by partisan frustration; and MURRAY's explanation that he once voted for Dixon-Yates to get it out of the way, but, now that it is still in the way, he actively opposes it.

The President, who is one of the real political objectives in the battle (the other is unchecked expansion of public power with the tax favoritism enjoyed by the TVA), is standing firm. If he continues to do so the West Memphis steam plant will be built and its power distributed according to his order.

The Importance of Women in the Public Life of the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I think the presence of women in the public life of our country has contributed greatly toward the humanitarian legislation passed both by the Congress and by the State legislatures in recent years. My State is proud of the fact that recently it has sent to the Congress a most outstanding woman Member of the House of Representatives, Mrs. EDITH S. GREEN, a Member of the House from the Third District of Oregon.

Oregon also is proud of the fact that, in the house of representatives of our State legislature, are four notable women members—Mrs. Jean Lewis, Mrs. Kay Meriwether, Mrs. Katherine Musa, and Mrs. Maurine B. Neuberger.

I ask unanimous consent that a very informative and able article about these four women legislators written by Mrs. Ann Sullivan and published in the Oregonian of February 6, 1955, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOUR INTERESTING WOMEN GIVE COLOR TO OREGON'S LEGISLATURE

(By Ann Sullivan)

The four conscientious woman legislators in Oregon's 48th Assembly are quite lively individualists in their own bailiwicks.

All of them—Maurine Neuberger, Jean Lewis, Kay Meriwether, and Katherine Musa—are in their forties. All are married. The first three are from Portland, the fourth from The Dalles. All are Democrats.

One is a youthful grandmother.

One is an attorney and on occasion a fill-in on the circuit court domestic relations bench.

One flies an airplane.

COLOR GIVEN MARGARINE

One is famed in her own right as the legislator who got color into Oregon margarine, and also for her spouse, a United States Senator.

One is executive secretary of the National Hells Canyon Association.

One gets lots of letters about her cat.

One is always leaving her purse behind her.

One likes to ski and fish and can even stand on her head—if she's among friends and they laughingly tease her to prove it.

One only made two speeches before she was elected, and those on the radio.

ALL BUTTERMILK DRINKERS

All of them drink buttermilk and frequently order it in the house lounge. Better not call them the buttermilk babes though—they'll cringe. Besides, they drink other beverages, too, like coffee, and their like or dislike for buttermilk has absolutely nothing to do with their legislative leanings.

All four are emphatically serious about why they wanted to go to Salem. To a woman, they feel that thinking, conscientious people can do more for their State and country if they actively participate in the running of them than by just staying home and complaining.

They are intelligent, quick-witted gals and are working hard.

Jean Lagerquist Lewis, Mrs. H. W. (Hank) Lewis, 7700 S. W. 27th Avenue, is the attorney.

She has served as a pro tem judge in the court of domestic relations in Multnomah County. She is a member of the American Bar Association, the American Judicature Society, and the Oregon State Bar and was for 2 years secretary-treasurer to the Multnomah County bar.

She is a wiry, amusing, outspoken gal, with curly, shortcropped graying hair and blue eyes. She likes to ski with her daughter and veteran mountaineer-husband, who is a sales engineer for the Pioneer-Flinkote Roofing Co.

Daughter Judy, 6, dictates frequent fishing and beachcombing trips to the coast or the mountains, and mama enjoys obliging, even if it means ironing or housecleaning sometimes at 1 a. m. in the morning.

FISHING LACKS APPEAL

"If you can't do a good job with your own family," she says, "you'd better not be in public office or in business of your own."

Jean was born in Portland July 17, 1914, attending Couch and Chapman Schools and graduating from Lincoln High School in 1932.

She was graduated from Northwestern College of Law in 1938. Her father, in the shoe business, died when she was a child.

She has one sister, Mrs. Helen Maring.

She married Hank June 14, 1944, "after 10 years of arguing about it."

RED TECHNIQUE FEARED

She said she was disturbed by what she felt was tendency to deplete national resources for the benefit of a few and disturbed by a bill introduced in the senate to investigate communism for the House and Senate. She said.

"We cannot adopt the very techniques of communism. We would be destroying the thing that makes us great."

A conservative dresser, addicted to sports clothes, comfortable shoes, and jackets with pockets (purses are a nuisance), she lives in a small apartment in Salem, goes home weekends to her household. It includes, besides Judy and Hank, a gangly Labrador retriever puppy called Sparkplug; a cat named Mr. Tuxedo; 2 turtles, Chipper and Flipper; 3 goldfish, Winken, Blinken, and Nod; and a budgie, Pretty Boy.

Her mother, Mrs. Estelle Lagerquist, 2650 Southwest Custer Street, who lives a block away, takes care of Judy while Jean is in Salem.

GRANDMOTHER STILL YOUNG

Kay Meriwether, wife of Maurice Meriwether, is the youthful-looking grandmother.

Her 19-year-old daughter, Kathy, Mrs. Jack Metzger, has 2 children, Brandon 2, and

Deborah, 9 months. One son, Michael, 20, is a senior at Reed College, and the other, Bill, 17, is a freshman at the University of California.

Kay was born at Oregon City, April 12, 1912, attending Richmond School in Portland and graduating from Franklin High School in 1929.

Her father, W. E. Kimsey, was State labor commissioner 12 years, so she is not exactly a stranger to Oregon government.

She went to business college, then took a job with the State industrial accident commission in Salem, then went to San Francisco as secretary to an executive in a now-defunct furniture store. She married Maurice in Oakland February 23, 1932.

Son Michael was born in Portland in 1934, and the family lived variously in Portland, San Francisco, and Seattle. They live now in a pleasant Eastmoreland house at 3417 Southeast Carleton Street.

Most of the time she has been busy bringing up a family, but she has had time to be active in the parent-teacher association, the League of Women Voters, the Urban League, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She is also on the board of the Jane Jefferson Democratic Women's Club.

Since July 1, 1953, she has been executive secretary of the National Hells Canyon Association.

NAVY BLUE FAVORED

She's little (5 feet 3) and trim (120 pounds) with blue eyes, a rather pallid face and dark brown hair she wears in a bun.

Another conservative dresser, she prefers navy blue, likes dresses with plain lines, usually wears high-heeled pumps.

Mike and his father batch while Kay is at the legislature, but she manages to be home Friday night, Saturday, and Sunday.

She ran for the 1953 session of the legislature but was defeated, "so I came down to see what I missed and became secretary to Monroe Sweetland in the house."

POWER HOLDS INTEREST

Her legislative interests emphasized the power situation and labor, "and I attend that tax school every morning. I'm bound and determined to know what they're talking about."

She ran for office because she felt persons who care "can really accomplish more by being active in politics."

"I think our party in Oregon has had a particularly hard time in persuading qualified people to run. So you get to feeling you can be a help if you do."

Katherine (Kitty) Musa, of The Dalles, the only one of the four not from Portland, is the one who likes to fly.

MEMBER SHY, SERIOUS

She has graying short-curled brown hair which used to have an auburn cast and is an almost plump 5 feet 4½ inches.

In The Dalles she lives in an old frame house at 512 West Sixth Street, with some modern furniture, some of other vintage.

Kitty Musa is most proud of her family, which includes two sons: Byron, 23, student at the University of Oregon medical school, and Milton, 20, now in the Air Force, and her husband, Ben, a certified public accountant who moved his family to The Dalles because they liked the climate and people there. The household also includes a blond cocker spaniel, Robin.

IDAHO NATIVE STATE

One of ten children (four boys and two girls were older and one boy and two girls younger), Kitty, called Katy by her mother, Mrs. F. V. Moore, 223 S. E. 81st Avenue, Portland, was born in Middleton, Idaho, May 21, 1906.

In 1911 the family moved to Oklahoma, Kitty attended business college in Tulsa and then came to Portland in 1927. She worked for a short while in the office of the Rudie Wilhelm Warehouse Co., then married Ben May 9, 1930, at Grace Memorial Episcopal Church in Portland. They moved to The Dalles in 1942, spent 1 year in Bend.

She enjoys sports of all kinds, even played basketball. She walks a lot, prefers medium-heeled sandals as shoes. She took up flying so she could take her husband on business trips. He used to be deputy collector of internal revenue in Portland. It's still her main hobby. She's had her license since 1947.

She is no stranger to the legislature, because her husband served in the senate in the 1949 and 1951 sessions, and she was his secretary.

Because the press of his business is highest at this time of year (income tax stuff), he felt he couldn't neglect his business again this sesion. Only 5 minutes before the filing deadline Kitty was convinced she should run on the Democratic ticket, because no other person would do it. She made only two speeches during the campaign and these on radio.

TAX MEASURES INTEREST

Kitty has a particular legislative interest in tax measures and was the first representative to drop bills (Nos. 2, 5, and 4) into the house hopper. No. 1 is traditionally the appropriations for the business of the house. All three were tax bills. She is particularly interested also in programs of recreation for young people, especially in small towns.

She has sublet a small apartment in Salem, but drives the family car (it's blue, because that's what she likes best) home on weekends.

It is she who every once in a while leaves her purse behind her.

MAURINE VOTE GETTER

Best known of the four feminine legislators is Maurine Neuberger, whose husband, RICHARD L., became Oregon Senator after last November's whirlwind upset election.

She twice has obtained more votes than any other representative from Multnomah County, once ran second. This is her third term at Salem.

"I really miss DICK, because we used to share our experiences and thinking on legislation by talking things over. We were able to handle a lot of work by doing it."

The tall (5-7), dark-haired representative is thinner now than she used to be, and her blue eyes look a little tired, but she's still almost always the first one to appear at her desk in the mornings.

She maintains a busy, talkative pace, consulting, reading, studying, and listening to constituents. Her mail is very heavy, not only about Salem matters but from people who now think she must be a pipeline to the United States Senate. In first 4 weeks of the session, she hasn't even been downtown.

Maurine was born at Cloverdale in Tillamook County January 9, 1907. Her father, Dr. Walter Brown, was a doctor. Her mother now lives with her brother, Robert, on a dairy farm out of Vancouver.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION TAUGHT

She attended high school at Bethel, then went to teachers' college at Monmouth, graduating in physical education from the University of Oregon in 1929. She took graduate work at UCLA.

She used to do a lot of recreation work in the summer and is an accomplished swimmer. She taught physical education in Portland schools for 5 years at Milton-Freewater, then English at Lincoln High School in Portland for 10 years.

She was an exchange teacher in Rhode Island 1 year and has made trips to Europe and Japan. She met DICK NEUBERGER at a party about 1939, didn't marry him until December 20, 1945, when he came down from Army service in Alaska and asked her to meet him in Missoula, Mont.

Like the others she dresses conservatively, quite often appearing in a skirt and inexpensive but interesting blouse.

She expects she'll have to do quite a bit of entertaining in Washington, and hopes to take up again classes in modern dance and French.

Maurine, who drinks buttermilk every noon (the other gals like it, too), is back on the committees in which she has the biggest interest: education, State and Federal affairs, and food and dairy. She keeps an eye on milk legislation, is interested in progressive and retarded children, and has keen interest in the power squabble.

The League of Women Voters and their study groups aroused her first interest in lawmaking, and then when her husband went to Salem, she found that because she wasn't tied down with a family, it would be fairly easy for her to go and do her share for the State, too.

Oh yes, the cat, Muffet, which went to Washington, has caused the Neubergers to get no end of letters from cat lovers. One even came addressed to Muffet from some Midwestern cat.

Financing for Dixon-Yates Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by one of the best and most fearless and upright insurance commissioners in the United States, Mr. John J. Holmes, of the State of Montana. He has held that office, in combination with the office of State auditor, for a great many years. He was writing, apparently, to the various insurance commissioners all over the country calling their attention to the fact that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. and the New York Life Insurance Co. are to finance the Dixon-Yates project, if it is ever built. He wonders whether the insurance commissioners should not investigate the situation in order to find out how insurance companies can take about $75 million of so-called people's money and invest it in a project such as the Dixon-Yates project at West Memphis, Ark.

It would be profitable for every Senator to read the letter written by this distinguished commissioner of insurance.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF MONTANA,
Helena, Mont., February 2, 1955.

Re life-insurance companies, investment of funds, Dixon-Yates contract.

Hon. W. A. SULLIVAN,
Insurance Commissioner,
Chairman Zone 6, NAIC,
Olympia, Wash.

DEAR COMMISSIONER SULLIVAN: According to a recent article published in the February 1955 issue of Fortune magazine relating, in general, to the vast sums invested by life-insurance companies in corporate enterprises, it was noted that Metropolitan Life, and

the New York Life, are contemplating loaning $77 million in connection with the Dixon and Yates combination if, however, the contract is finally approved by Congress.

The Dixon-Yates combination, as you undoubtedly are aware, has been and, in my humble opinion, will continue to be a heated controversial issue. I am utterly opposed to any investment of funds by insurance companies where policyholders' money is placed at risk in such a venture as proposed.

May I suggest that the matter of the contemplated $77 million investment in the controversial Dixon-Yates combine, by the Metropolitan and New York Life, be included on the agenda of the March 9–10 meeting of zone (6) insurance commissioners.

Your kind and favorable consideration of this suggestion will be greatly appreciated.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

JOHN J. HOLMES,
State Auditor and Ex-Officio Commissioner of Insurance.

Ratification of Southeast Asia Defense Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Maybe It's Time We stop Pushing Our Weight Around in the World," published in the Fort Lauderdale (Fla.) Daily News of February 3, 1955. In my opinion, the editor, a man by the name of Mr. Jack W. Gore, whom I do not know personally, ought to receive the Pulitzer prize for writing the best editorial published this year.

This editor gives great hope to a Senator who sometimes votes alone, contrary to the way every other Senator votes, when he compliments the Senator who does so.

I may add that in this very fine editorial the editor mentions my name many times, which pleases me very much, in connection with the vote of 82 to 1, in which I voted against the Asiatic Treaty.

I recommend this editorial for reading by all Senators. Every line, every single paragraph of the editorial is outstanding. I do not know what the procedure is to bring editorials to the attention of the committee which awards the Pulitzer prize, but I hope an effort will be made to get in touch with whatever committee selects the editor who writes the best editorial of the year, and call this editorial to the attention of that committee. Mr. Gore certainly is to be congratulated for his splendid, fearless daring to go against the crowd.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAYBE IT'S TIME WE STOP PUSHING OUR WEIGHT AROUND IN THE WORLD

In the somewhat frantic efforts that are now being made on various fronts to extricate this Nation from the difficulties that have been created from past mistakes, it is refreshing now and then to note that there are still a few people around Washington who refuse to be stampeded into following the rest of the herd along a course they can't stomach and which they believe can only lead to disaster.

One of these rare individuals happens to be Senator "WILD BILL" LANGER, of North Dakota, who this week gained the dubious distinction of being the only 1 of 83 Senators to cast a vote against ratification of the 8-nation Southeast Asia Defense Treaty.

While all of the other Senators hurriedly voiced their approval of a document which now commits the United States to go rushing in to help block any external aggression or internal subversion over a wide stretch of territory in southeast Asia, Senator LANGER refused to cast his vote for the treaty.

He declared he thinks this country "ought to mind its own business and keep out of foreign entanglements all over Europe and Asia."

Senator LANGER unquestionably realized that it is probably far too late now for this country to pull back its extended horns without inviting the disaster we have been seeking to prevent, yet this didn't stop him from raising his voice against what he firmly believes is an extension of our policy of unwise meddling in the affairs of other nations.

When one considers how far this meddling process has already gone under the guise of protecting our own shores it is no great wonder that we have been caught up in one crisis after another. It is also no great wonder how, under these circumstances, a considerable segment of the populations of Europe and Asia has been led to believe we are just as aggressive-minded as the Communist nations we are arrayed against.

THE RIGHT TO PROTECT

In fact, there is one big inconsistency in our policy that certain foreign nations never will be able to comprehend. Ever since the Monroe Doctrine was first promulgated the United States has taken the position that it would violently resist any attempt by a foreign power to move in on what we term our own hemisphere. Yet while proclaiming the right to define and protect our own sphere of influence we have consistently refused to admit that other nations may hold the same right as far as their own spheres of influence are concerned. And so, while we tell the nations of Europe and Asia to stay in their own backyard, we still go out and continually play around in their backyards and then wonder why they are so suspicious of our intentions.

Let's look at the current Formosa crisis in that light. Formosa happens to be located only about 200 miles from the mainland of China. In that location and under the control of a power inimical to Red China's interests it is only natural that the leader of Red China consider the island as a threat to their own survival.

For argument's sake let's compare Red China's situation with our own situation should some enemy power seize control of an island in the Bahamas just 200 miles from our own shoreline. In that event there would be no doubt, whatsoever, what our reaction would be. We would immediately claim that control of the island by an enemy power was an immediate threat to our own security and we would lose no time in removing that threat with all the force at our command.

But in the Formosa case we say Red China isn't justified in holding firm to a similar policy and we are now committed to going to war to keep Red China from seizing Formosa. That island is thousands of miles removed from our own shores. It is only 200 miles from Red China's. Yet we say it is essential to our own security, while denying Red China's argument on the same line.

Why is Formosa so essential to our own security? Only because it happens to be a gateway and a stepping stone to other far-flung defensive outposts we are now maintaining. If Red China should seize Formosa, then Okinawa and the Philippines would be within easy reach of Red bombers. And since from a security angle our leaders say we can't very well stand still and permit Red bombers to get any closer than they now are to our defensive bases, we've adopted the policy of defending Formosa at all costs.

Inasmuch as we have now, in effect, stretched the principle of the Monroe Doctrine to cover not only our own hemisphere but other hemispheres as well, it should be no surprise to find other nations questioning our ultimate intentions. If eventually we are to become so thoroughly involved in foreign entanglements that to many nations we appear as a Frankenstein instead of a hero, then maybe Senator LANGER had the right idea in saying we ought to go back to minding our own business and keep out of any further foreign entanglements all over Europe and Asia.

It is true that Senator LANGER was only one lonesome voice crying out in a wilderness this week, but his views as to where we are heading by not sticking more closely to our own knitting have more public support in this Nation than some of our other Senators realize. If we would stop pushing our weight around in the world, we might be a whole lot better off, and some of our present enemies might even drop the idea that it's us and not them who are trying to start another war.

Proposed Increase in National Minimum Wage Rate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, some days ago I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a telegram which I received from the Greater Clothing Contractors Association, Inc., of New York, urging the enactment of a bill which I introduced providing for a $1.25 national minimum wage. A few days ago I received another telegram from the New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, Inc., also strongly endorsing my bill to raise the national minimum wage rate to $1.25.

I ask unanimous consent to have this telegram inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *January 26, 1955.*

Hon. HERBERT H. LEHMAN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

The New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, Inc., is a trade association organized in 1924. Its membership includes 336 manufacturers of men's and boys' clothing, who employ approximately 40,000 workers in the New York and metropolitan area. As president and executive secretary of the association representing the membership, we urge you to support the adoption of a $1.25 national minimum wage. This minimum would protect New York industries against the unfair competition of low-wage areas, would deter movement of industry out of the State, and would improve business by increasing consumer purchasing power.

ISIDORE GROSSMAN,
President.
ARTHUR J. WHITE,
Executive Secretary.

Freedom of Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRICE DANIEL
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, from time to time since becoming a Member of the Senate, I have urged that we do everything within our power to keep the people fully informed about their own business—the Government.

In this business of Government, we serve merely as the representatives of the people of our respective States. It is they who really make the decisions in a Government of, by, and for the people. In order to make intelligent decisions, the people must have full access to the facts about their Government. Except on matters strictly dealing with national security, secrecy and censorship have no place in a democracy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial on this subject, appearing on February 1, 1955, in the Big Spring Herald, of Big Spring, Tex., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT IN THE OPEN

Government in the open is a requisite of freedom and of sustained efficiency in the public interest.

In recent years the tempo of the fight against arbitrary censorship by bureaus and departments of the federal government has been increased. Those entrusted with the perpetuation of the free press had sensed, from having seen what this cancerous practice produced under totalitarian regimes, good cause to start fighting the practice of withholding or regulating news.

More progress might have been made except for the nebulous line which lies between news in the public interest and that which conceivably might jeopardize the national security. The overwhelming majority of reporters lean over backward not to infringe on security, and in many cases refuge has been taken unfairly by agents of government behind the line of security.

Yet not all the battles are confined to Washington or even to Austin, where there has been a disturbing inclination to hide the facts. The fundamental cry for vigilance is in the community. About us we have examples of officials and boards who have attempted to tell the press what it can and cannot print, what would be good for the public to know or what would not. We have seen too many times when members of officials boards sit placidly through regular meetings and then clandestinely conducted business over coffee cups. All of this disturbs us no little, and it ought to disturb every citizen to the point that he demand of his officials and representatives that the public's business be discussed and conducted in public. Most of those in public life would say amen to that.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

Television in Great Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, recently Martin Codel, publisher of Television Digest, an authoritative news service specializing in the broadcast and electronics field, visited Great Britain and had an opportunity to look over the television and electronics developments in that country.

On his return to the United States, Mr. Codel wrote a number of articles on this subject for his publication. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD several articles that appeared in the November 6, 1954, issue of Television Digest, which deal with television in England.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Television Digest of November 6, 1954]

BRITISH TO PROFIT BY UNITED STATES EXAMPLE

Booming Britain is currently enjoying a flourishing TV trade that's virtually certain to be stimulated even further by the introduction of commercial TV as an additional service, scheduled for September 1955.

First competition against British Broadcasting Co.'s one-channel service, more choices of programs, greater opportunities for talent and personnel, probably even an expanded program day from the present 3–10:30 p. m.—all this should, if the American experience means anything, bring about increased set sales and bigger audiences.

More license revenues, at £3 year ($8.40) for a TV plus radio, might even permit the noncommercial BBC to undertake its own cherished plans for a second service, eventually giving Britons a choice of 3 programs.

It's our conviction, after many talks with many people in all walks of British life dur- a 5-week, 1,600-mile tour of England, Scotland, and Wales, that the citizenry and the business community preponderantly welcome a fair try for the new ITA (Independent Television Authority) recently authorized to set up TV stations and lease time segments to program contractors who in turn will sell commercials to sponsors.

They want it despite strong opposition by the Labor Party and high churchmen to legislation passed by Winston Churchill's Conservative government. They want it because they dislike monopoly no less than do their American cousins—and, any way you spell it, Government-chartered BBC is a monopoly often accused, fairly or unfairly, of giving the people what it thinks is good for them rather than what they may want. Moreover, the British are an ad-minded people—so much so that—

1. They watch film and slide commercials in theaters, big and little, into which they have paid admission—and they seem to like them. These are hardly different from the kind they will soon see on TV; indeed, piled on top of one another, they're much more blatant in the theater than are most of our TV spots.

2. They're accustomed to commercial radio from Normandy and Luxembourg, with British advertising dominant. This audience is greater than seems apparent, for the European wavelength interference problem is so great, aggravated by Russia, that much of Britain gets poor AM signals—so much that 9 new FM transmitters have been projected by the BBC in the 88–95-megacycle band. The example of FM in Germany, with 94 stations, is said to apply much more realistically than that of the United States.

3. They've heard a lot about the achievements of competitive American TV; they like such American programs as they occasionally see on BBC; they enjoy American films and dote on our film personalities. Moreover, the Government is so determined upon a free-enterprise policy that it refuses to subsidize another BBC service, though BBC's 3 radio services aren't in any danger of going into private hands.

4. British industrialists and advertising folk, among the smartest in the world, know that commercial TV will be a powerful force for creating wants and moving goods. The director of one of England's biggest ad agencies told us:

"I shudder to think what this powerful advertising force is going to do to our distributive system. Some of our people don't realize it, but they're due for such a huge demand for their goods that neither the production nor distribution system at the outset will be geared for it. Our people have been starved for the good things of life so long, have known austerity so long, that demonstrations of modern products we will give them on TV are going to create vast changes in our economy."

His agency, incidentally, handles the British account of a popular American beverage which has long used TV and radio here with telling effect.

Even the newspapers aren't overtly fighting TV, in fact, seem to place more emphasis on it as a news subject, both as to progress of the industry itself and as to critiques of programs, than ours do. (Daily program listings, of course, take up only about a half-inch of agate type, and there's plenty of TV set advertising.)

And the intellectual aversionists and clergy, who testified in Parliament to their abhorrence of commercialism, seem to be looking forward tolerantly to the second service, now that the die is cast. One reason may be the high caliber of ITA and of the men chosen to run it.

The hope generally shared, though perhaps not by all within BBC, which has a payroll of some 12,000 and an inevitable quota of jealous bureaucrats, is that commercial TV in Britain will profit by the example of America while avoiding our excesses and borrowing from our best; moreover, that it will provide wider sway for the nation's own vast reservoir of entertainment talent and business ability.

It could be that TV can help cement the precious affinity with America that, thanks to common language and kindred heritage, has so long prevailed in literature, in all the arts, in government and in law.

While in Britain recently we talked with scores of people—from topkicks at BBC and ITA to industrialists, advertising folk, journalists, and man in the pub—and in the 10 days since our return we've compared notes with American confreres who also have had a look at British TV. Our conclusions are much the same:

The average Briton isn't much different from the average American and, once he tastes the sweet fruits of competition, not even the powerful BBC nor the politico-clerical opposition to commercial TV can stop it. That is, of course, unless the ITA, the sponsors and the ad men muff the ball in the early stages of the game. Our guess is that they're much too shrewd for that.

You read occasionally of British visitors coming over to study our TV structure, and there will be a lot more of them. The big American ad agencies, with London branches, have been quietly swapping visitors and personnel and ideas ever since ITA was authorized, preparing for the advent of commercial TV.

ITA hasn't yet decided much more than that it will have its first stations in London, Birmingham, and Manchester; that there will be more than one program contractor, though whether there will be more than one on each station or more than one splitting time on the whole group is as yet undetermined; that the "magazine concept" will prevail. i. e., the contractors and not the sponsors shall own the programs and determine their order; that there will be no censorship of program content or commercials, but that there must be none of the horrendous "Yankee excesses" (not merely of distasteful advertising but of crime and horror stuff) which they've heard so much about.

Headquarters not unlike the usual temporary quarters for new Washington Government agencies has been set up at 16 Wood's Mews, in London's Mayfair district, with Sir Kenneth Clark as chairman and Sir Robert Fraser as administrative chief.

Sir Kenneth, 51, was in this country for the last few weeks, looking into TV but primarily to receive an honorary degree from Columbia University. The citation will give you some idea of the man: "Cultural counselor of the people; chairman of Great Britain's Art Council; England's custodian of priceless works in years past as keeper of the Department of Fine Arts in Oxford's Ashmolean Museum, as director of the National Gallery, and as surveyor of the King's pictures; Slade professor of fine art at Oxford; adviser to the Victoria and Albert Museum and Covent Garden Opera Trust; gifted scholar of our timeless treasures."

A long hair? Not really, say those who know him; essentially he's a fine administrator, they say, and he struck us as a knowledgeable and open-minded executive still rather puzzled by the strange new task set before him. He's expected to maintain the tone and prestige of the new agency while Sir Robert Brown Fraser, 50, a graduate of Fleet Street newspapers, recently chief of the government's information services, provides the practical know-how. Sir Robert talks like a Madison Avenue agency executive, seems as high strung as a network vice president, acts like he's rarin' to go. His philosophy of advertising, as enunciated before an agency conference in Birmingham last week:

"I can think of no subject about which there is more nonsense talked than advertising. The idea that advertising is inherently degrading has always seemed to be ludicrous. As a point of view for a great nation that lives or dies by selling goods—

or failing to sell them—it crosses the imbecile and verges on the suicidal. [Advertising] will be an asset, worn as a bright feather in the cap of free TV, not as a soiled choker round the throat."

About his editorial concept of commercial TV, Sir Robert Fraser had this to say last month before the Institute of Practitioners of Advertising:

"Free television should now evolve on principles that will place it beside our free press, our free books, and our free arts as a normal part of the equipment of our free society. For this was, in essence, the great decision—to rest the future of TV, as far as initial physical shortages of transmitting stations permit, on the same foundations as those of a free press; to give freedom to individuals to offer TV programs to the public, as newspapers and entertainment are offered; to give freedom to the public to see the TV programs of their choice."

Backgrounds of the other members of the ITA board would seem also to assure a realistic and at the same time an adequate cultural approach: Sir Charles Colston, manager of Hoover, Ltd. (vacuum cleaners), vice chairman; Miss Margaret Popham, ex-principal of Cheltenham Ladies College; Miss Dilys Powell, movie critic of the Sunday Times; Lord Aberdare of Duffryn, president of Welsh National School of Medicine; Lt. Col. Arthur Chichester, chairman of big Moygashel textile concern; Sir Henry Hinchcliffe, director of Barclays Bank; Dr. T. J. Honeyman, director, Glasgow Art Gallery; G. B. Thorneycroft, director of the British Travel & Holidays Association; Lord Layton, publisher, News Chronicle and London Star.

ITA will run the stations and any day now should announce program contractors, but it will not have studios of its own or put on shows. Sir Kenneth Clark actually expects to run ITA with a staff of not more than 60, except for engineers who actually come under the postoffice department. His budget is £750,000 (about $2,100,000) and he is expected to put the agency on a self-supporting and even profitable basis with that sum as the pump primer.

Commercial TV could profit the Government more than it realizes right now, for the fact is that many advertisers are itching for a crack at TV. Often cited is one experience of BBC. Though it is ever careful to avoid trade plugs, the name of a toy was inadvertently mentioned in a program; within a few days, it couldn't be had, and the toyshops were clamoring for more stock. Also, recently, BBC carried a tear-jerker about a stray pup; within 48 hours, just about every day pound in the country was emptied.

Ad men told us—and Sir Robert Fraser verified—that there were plenty of seekers after the program contracts. Soneone said there were at least 25 applicants, all willing to take the risk in the face of the political dangers inherent in a system eyed askance by the Laborites and requiring that the contractor secure his own program originating equipment—all, that is, save transmitters. He must contract for studios, cameras, crews, programs, talent, etc., always unsure what a new government may decree. The applicants include theater men, newspapers, ad agencies, program builders, et al.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Since this article was written, ITA announced selection of the first 3 contractors: (1) Granada Theaters, operating a big chain of movie houses. (2) Broadcast Relay Services, operator of a widespread and vastly successful community antenna service, in association with Associated Newspapers, Ltd., publishing the Daily Mail and other papers. (3) Showman Maurice Winnick, in association with Kemsley Newspapers, Inc., publisher of the Sunday Times, Sunday Graphic, Sunday Chronicle and various other newspapers in England, Scotland, and Wales. They're all extremely well-heeled, but the fact that the newspaper owners are Tories has already provoked criticism that's expected to reverberate in Parliament. Two other major applicants, also strong in program fields, are Associated Broadcasting Development Co., headed by ex-BBC Chief, Norman Collins, and the newly formed Incorporated Television Program Co., which includes such stockholders as Alan Towers (Towers of London) and other big names in British entertainment. They await further decisions of ITA, and everybody still awaits details of plans for dividing the hours of the day or days of the week among the program contractors on its stations.)

So many eyes and ears will focus on their offerings, so outspokenly critical as a matter of habit are the British people and their influential press, so far committed is the Labor Party to doing away with commercial TV if and when it returns to power, that the burden is on industry as well as on ITA to do an acceptable job. If they do, we were told, no party in power would dare attempt to do away with commercialism. If they don't, a simple flat of Parliament could switch the whole structure overnight to BBC.

As a writer in the News of the World of London put it: "The politicians were much more interested than the public in the why and wherefores of commercial TV during the endless debates in both Houses, and the public breathed a sigh of relief when at long last it proved possible to hand the demoniacal babe over to the ITA. If the Cabinet now find the infant left on their doorstep overnight, I think we can expect a spot of bother."

Some 3,500,000 TV sets are in use in Britain today, most of them tunable only to 1 station. It's expected the total will be 4 million by end of this year, reach at least 5 million by end of 1955, then zoom to better than the current 1 million a year rate when the second service is under way. How much more, the set makers are reluctant to guesstimate. One told us, "We should have 10 million sets in use by 1960"—covering most of nation's nearly 15 million family units.

The American industry's postfreeze experience—that second stations in a community have invariably zoomed the rate of receiver sales and installations immediately—seemed to interest the British manufacturers greatly. But their native inclination is to move cautiously, to underestimate their market, not to pressure things. There are some who (familiar folk) don't like all this talk about color, mostly emanating from America and played up heavily in the British press, because it might rouse false hopes in the breasts of prospective buyers.

(The British color situation is a story in itself, about which more later. Suffice to state now that the post office department's TV advisory committee, under the chairmanship of Adm. Sir George Daniel, has been conducting closed hearings on the subject, figures a year or more of work ahead of it, can be counted on to take advantage of all of the American experience—without the pressure of politics, such as we had here, to bring color to Britain in a hurry.)

There is a problem, of course, of converting existing sets to receive 2 channels in lieu of one—but plans are afoot to do it at small cost, maybe as low as $10 or $15 and the fact that the second service's signals will come from the same towers as BBC's should help simplify the installation jobs. Most sets being sold today are equipped for the second channel, a hot selling point.

Some 30 receiver manufacturers share the 1 million annual output. They sell direct to retail outlets, for the most part. "Hire purchase," or installment selling, has only lately come back on a big scale, having been prohibitively restricted until recently.

Standard size is 14-inch, with trend lately to 17-inch. Only one 21-inch model was shown in the whole National Radio Show in London's Earl's Court in early September. There seems to be no push on to sell size, one manufacturer explaining that the extra cost isn't worth it for homes which mostly have small rooms.

We saw a scattering few TV shows while motor touring the country, but rarely did we find even the best-rated hotels TV-equipped, although in a space of 3 weeks we were in a different one nearly every night. They seldom had TV's or radios in their lounges, and they looked at you as though you were crazy if you asked if they might be rented. Very few pubs had TV's either, though radios were commonplace in them. Looks like the British TV industry is missing an extremely good marketing bet here.

Cost has been the major factor in set sales up to now—still is with most families, though the current high employment and prosperity wave, along with the vast publicity about TV in general and ITA and commercialism in particular, are making more and more people TV-minded. Receiver list prices have been brought down to an average of about $150 for a 14-inch, $200 for 17-inch, table models predominating. How can they priced that low in the face of a government exercise of 50 percent? The answer is much simpler for the British than for us, albeit we offer good 21-inch sets at $200 and under. The girls on the assembly lines earn £5 a week ($14) and the men at the parts-stamping machines very little more.

Workmanship is the finest. The 14-inch set we rented for our London hotel room gave us a picture (on British 405-line standard) that for clarity and contrast and all-around quality is vastly better than what we generally see in the United States (on 525 lines). Signals came from a multiplex antenna atop one of the tallest hotel structures (10 or 12 stories) in Mayfair. Receiver was a Kolster-Brandes; remember the brand names from our old radio days here?

The explanation for the good picture seems to lie also in superb transmission facilities and plenty of power. Great Britain has magnificent engineers, second to none, and some of the best are in the BBC.

The programs you see are something else again. By our lights, there's not only not enough choice but a lack of pace and a disregard for timing that seems queer to the American observer. The British people and press are quite outspoken in criticism, sometimes unfairly so—for the fact is that quality and craftsmanship stand out in everything the BBC–TV people do; their dramatics are finished products, their news films excellent, their "outside" (remote) pickups extremely well done, especially sports.

But the day's program more often than not seems unbalanced, aiming at the few rather than the many. Consider these program listings for two different days, presumably typical, exactly as clipped from the London Times:

"3 p.m., Knights for a Day, British comedy film. 5, children's television. 7:25, weather. 7:30, news. 7:45, public inquiry: The trade unions—too much power, too little responsibility. 8:30, Music for You. 9:30, amateur boxing: London ABA versus Paris. 10:30, news (sound only).

"3 p. m., About the Home. 4, Watch With Mother. 5, children's television. 7:30, news. 7:55, Sportsview. 8:15, Down You Go. 8:45, Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida. 11:5, news (sound only)."

The home and children's shows weren't particularly exciting, the latter going in for American cowboy films as part of a potpourri intended to interest different juvenile levels. The Shakespearean production, running well over 2 hours, was a repeat of the identical show also carried in prime night time the preceding week. The news films and sports pickups were excellent. The news via sound only at 10:30 (or thereabouts, depending on whether the preceding program ended at

that time or a little earlier or later) seemed peculiar, to say the least.

Twice we viewed classical soloists, one a pianist, one an operatic singer—and in each case the camera was focused on the artist without shift for the entire 30 minutes. It was very dull viewing despite the excellence of the talent. One Sunday night we watched the British version of What's My Line?—very popular and as much fun as the CBS–TV show; 2 of its 4 panelists were American, and it offered no prize money.

NOTE.—The 5-6 p. m. Childrens' Hour is followed by a long gap until the weather at 7:25 and news at 7:30. We asked a top BBC official why. His reply: "So that the mothers may prepare dinner and put the children to bed without any distraction from TV. The children have had it, and if they know the screen is dark they make no fuss about staying up for more."

British Broadcasting Corporation, which gets the largest part of post office department's collection of £1 license fees on radios and £3 on TV-plus-radio, reports it spent £9,337,166 on sound services and £3,991,439 on TV in fiscal 1953–54. (The pound is currently around $2.80.) It suggests that it will require more funds during the next 3-year period in annual report just released by Her Majesty's stationery office, London (cmd. 9269, price 4s, 6d, about 65 cents, 144 pp).

Gross income from sale of licenses was £16,474,081, which, after deductions, left net payable to the corporation at £12,963,451 for BBC. Total revenue expenditure of £14,563,283 was £9,545 in excess of total income and reserves fell by £691,907. Grant-in-aid receipts for external (overseas) services totaled £4,905,000; total income for these services, £4,947,812; total expenditures, £4,914,695.

Report shows number of combined TV-radio licenses was 3,248,892 last March 31—up more than 1 million in a year; figure is deemed closer to 4 million now, counting licenses sold since then and the nonlicense payers, of whom the manufacturing industry knows there are many. Report says BBC plans to provide coverage of 97 percent of the United Kingdom with TV service by 1956–57.

Another BBC report, more up to date, notes that the diminution of adult audiences for sound radio continued last summer. For July–September quarter it's estimated the adult radio audience averaged 26 million against 28 million in the same 1953 quarter. Drop is explained in report as due to fact some 1 million families bought TV sets during the year. Average TV audience for July–September was 10 million versus 8 million in 1953.

NOTE.—Phenomenal circulation of BBC's Radio Times, which lists all TV-radio programs in advance along with feature articles, is revealed in annual report showing average net sales of 7,903,969 in 1953—believed to be even larger now. The Listener, companion BBC weekly, featuring texts of broadcast material, had 133,105 average.

Our National Water Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Lousiana. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege granted me to extend my remarks, I present a most able address presented by Brig. Gen. E. C. Itschner, Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works, on February 7, 1955, before the Mississippi Valley Association in St. Louis, Mo. I believe everyone will be interested in this able address.

The address follows:

REMARKS BY BRIG. GEN. E. T. ITSCHNER, ASSISTANT CHIEF OF ENGINEERS FOR CIVIL WORKS, BEFORE THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY ASSOCIATION, IN ST. LOUIS, MO., FEBRUARY 7, 1955

It is a pleasure and an honor to appear before this association, which is devoted to development of the water resources of the great valley of the Mississippi River. Since the Mississippi Basin is the very heartland of our country and the great river drains some 40 percent of its expanse, it follows that your interests are national as well as regional in scope. I would like, therefore, to present to you something of the current national water resources picture, as well as discuss certain problems of more direct concern to you.

In thinking of the relationship of the Mississippi Basin to water-resource development in this country, I am reminded of a horse race at a county fair where an old farmer had approached a rather disreputable looking bookie and offered to bet several hundred dollars on "Old Sam" in the fourth race. Strangely enough the bookie objected, saying, "Listen old man, you are not rich and I just don't think you ought to bet so much money." After some argument back and forth in which the old farmer insisted on betting, the bookie said, "Now, I'll tell you why I don't want you to bet. I own Old Sam and he is not supposed to win today." The farmer replied, "Well, then, it's sure going to be a mighty slow race, because I own the other four horses in it." So you can see that the Mississippi Basin is much in the position of the old farmer who owned most of the horses. Water resources development can lag or race ahead depending upon the interest and initiative shown by its people, since much of our water resources are in the Mississippi Basin.

From a national viewpoint, the year 1954 was one characterized by a tremendous increase in interest in water resources problems—and for good reason.

Above all of its other characteristics, it was a year of low water. Severe droughts ravaged much of the country, resulting in loss of crops in the 5-State area in the vicinity of the Texas Panhandle, reduction in crops elsewhere and depletion of water supply and hydropower reservoirs. Pollution problems were aggravated by low flows. Fish and wildlife suffered. Expanding industry selected sites for new factories with the availability of water more than ever before one of the most important considerations. You and your neighbors saw many streams dry up.

At the other extreme, the year saw a series of devastating floods higher than ever recorded on a number of rivers. In the center of the country the Iowa River, whose waters originate in rich farmlands where land conservation measures have been intensively practiced for years, reached stages well above the previous flood of record; in the Pacific Northwest the Kootenai River, swollen by rapidly melting snowbanks many feet deep in the mountains of the United States and Canada burst levees in attaining its record crest; in Pennsylvania and West Virginia a number of rivers reached stages 4 to 6 feet above the highest previously recorded. But possibly the most astonishing flood of all was the Rio Grande flood, which reached a stage of 62.2 feet at Laredo, Tex., on a gage where the past record was 49.6 feet. At least 62 lives fell victim to the sudden deluge. Terrific damage was inflicted, which would have been much worse had the country through which it passed been more highly developed. Fortunately, waiting to receive this flood was Falcon Reservoir, with little water in it, and thus the flood was changed in this man-made reservoir from a potent and sinister force to a life-supporting commodity for use in the widespread, intensely cultivated irrigated area downstream.

In the field of navigable waterways, too, 1954 was a memorable year. Waterborne commerce reached new peaks on many of the waterways of the Nation, and the notable trend of increase in tonnage on our inland channels continued. The Congress authorized the important deep-sea channel on the Delaware River from Philadelphia to Trenton, which will permit the largest ore carriers to transport Venezuelan iron ore to huge steel mills already in operation. The move toward deeper-draft, larger, deep-sea supertankers and ore carriers and the outlook for increased importation of the commodities they carry has created a pressing demand for correspondingly deeper and improved channels in our major seaports. But probably the most important navigation event of the decade was the passage of the St. Lawrence Seaway Act, and before the year was out the initial large construction contract for this project had been awarded.

In the field of hydro-power generation, also, did 1954 focus attention on deficiencies in the supply of electrical energy from hydro plants now in operation, which were accentuated during the drought and emphasized by an unprecedented rise in the consumption of electrical energy. There was an increased awareness of the rapidly approaching period when further development of our hydro resources for power will be economically infeasible. Nevertheless, during the year 1954 the corps brought 803,000 kilowatts of new installed hydro capacity on the line as a bonus in projects designed primarily for navigation or flood control purposes.

All of these events caused an awakened public interest such as we have never experienced before in the problem of optimum development of our water resources. It was evidenced in many ways. The Bureau of the Budget remarked that it never had had so many delegations pressing for appropriations for particularly favored projects, or, in at least one important instance, for navigation and flood control projects in general. All over the country individuals and local organizations urged their Congressmen and the corps to construct or adequately maintain projects which meant very much to them in their business and personal activities. Also, for the first time in several years, an improving short range international situation permitted the start of a limited number of new projects. But above all there appeared to be a widespread crystalization of a conviction that our best preparation for extreme national emergency is the development of our resources so they will be immediately available in the critical days or even hours that might come.

While the increased interest in water resources development during the past year is encouraging, recent construction progress has not been sufficient to keep abreast of the country's evergrowing water resources requirements. I shall furnish some figures to illustrate this retrogression. Eight years ago, after the Nation had had time to recover from World War II, we had a backlog of $7,400 million of needed, economically sound, congressionally authorized rivers and harbors and flood control projects. During these 8 years $1,300 million of work was authorized, as compared to an appropriation of $3,400 million. In the meantime the value of the dollar shrank, so that today we have a backlog totalling $8,800 million, which is about 20 percent more than we had 8 years ago. Obviously the tempo of our program must be increased. We estimate that a well balanced annual program of $650 million for rivers and harbors and flood control projects is the minimum which will permit the

corps to perform its civil works mission to your satisfaction. We have a specific program formulated to utilize that entire amount, including $50 million annually for new starts. The $650 million proposed compares with $442 million actually appropriated for the current year—an increase of 47 percent.

All of us recognize, of course, the difficult problem involved in obtaining larger appropriations for our water resources development work. The cost of national security, added to the sum total of all the other costs of operating our Government, poses a most difficult budgetary problem for our lawmakers and the administration, who jointly bear the tremendous responsibility for safeguarding the interests of our Nation. We must face the fact that these budgetary problems have been, and will continue to be for the foreseeable future, a prime factor to be reckoned with in planning for the development of our water resources.

Of equally great importance is the need for the establishment by Federal legislation of a national water-resources policy. Recognizing this need, the President appointed a committee known as the Cabinet Committee on Water Resources Policy, composed of the Secretaries of the several Federal departments interested in this activity. This committee has the principal mission of recommending to the President a comprehensive and specific national water-resources policy. It is planned that the committee will dissolve when this work has been accomplished.

The President also appointed a companion committee called the Cabinet Committee on Transportation Policy, which has the Secretaries of Commerce, Defense, and the Treasury, and the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization as its principal members. The corps has not been privileged to participate in the activities of this committee, as we have in the Water Resources Policy Committee. The recommendations of this committee may have a major effect upon water transportation interests.

The President has also reorganized and revitalized the Committee of Federal Agencies interested in water resources now known as Icewater (ICWR) (Inter-Agency Committee on Water Resources). Generally the agencies are represented by assistant secretaries. This committee is a permanent one, having as its mission the coordination of water resources matters among the agencies.

And finally, the last Congress established the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, referred to as the Hoover Commission, for the purpose of recommending to Congress certain broad policies, and organization for effectuating these policies, among the principal subjects being water resources development. The report of this Commission is due in March. We have no information as to what this report will contain. However, it is indicated from the questions asked by the Commission Task Force on Water Resources and Power at several hearings, that reaching a decision as to policies to be recommended has occupied much more of the task force's attention than determining whether a change in organization involving the realinement of functions among the Federal agencies is necessary.

It would be presumptuous and conjectural to attempt at this time to predict the outcome of all these studies. However, the reports of similar committees submitted in the past few years and the questions that have been asked during recent committee hearings indicate some subjects that are being considered. The more important of these from your viewpoint are:

1. That a review board, composed of non-Federal consultants, be established for the purpose of reviewing all projects recommended by any Federal agency prior to submitting them for congressional authorization. The corps would not object to such a board, providing its functions were limited to review and not broadened to include the selection of projects and establishment of priorities for planning and construction. We firmly believe that the individuals on such a board must be qualified as engineers and economists, impartial, and without political obligations. And regardless of the functions that might be assigned to the review board, present review procedures within the corps must be retained.

2. That tolls be charged on existing waterways at least sufficient to pay for the cost of maintenance and operation, and on new or improved waterways to reimburse the Government over an appropriate period of years, for the original cost plus the expense of maintenance and operation. The proposal for imposition of tolls on waterways would reverse a long-standing statutory policy that our waterways shall be public highways, forever free. National policy on this subject stems from one of the first acts of the first Congress of the United States, and has been reaffirmed on numerous occasions. The Corps of Engineers, as the Federal agency entrusted with the Nation's navigable waterway-construction program has studied this question thoroughly in order to determine the possible effect of the imposition of user charges on navigation facilities. Our conclusions, based on months of intensive study by economists and engineers skilled in waterway development, is that if tolls are to be imposed, and the corps has been traditionally opposed to them—they should be imposed upon all of our water-transportation facilities alike; they should be charged by some method which would control the rate structure for all modes of transportation so that the advantages of each are preserved and unfair competitive practices are avoided, and they should be made uniform by regions for ports and by integrated systems for inland waterways in some arrangement that would result in a minimum of adverse competitive effect as a result of tolls. Finally, we are convinced that the possibility of achieving these requirements is doubtful, to say the least, and that in any event the results would not be worth the immense readjustments and costs that would be involved.

3. That legislation should be enacted by Congress which would, in many instances, decrease bridge clearance requirements and reduce the operating hours of movable bridges. It would also require substantial Federal contribution to the cost of bridges across waterways important to foreign commerce or used by defense vessels. Under present law the Corps of Engineers is charged with the responsibility for determining whether a proposed bridge would be an unreasonable obstruction to navigation, and in making this determination we consider the economic effect of the structure upon both navigation and land traffic. You are well aware of the conflicting opinions of bridge owners and navigation interests with respect to clearances for fixed bridges and operating regulations for movable bridges. The great expansion of both highway and waterway traffic in recent years has focused greater attention on this conflict of interests which necessarily arises wherever the rights-of-way of the two types of transportation intersect. In an effort to find a reasonable and practicable solution to the problem, the corps has adopted the policy that an economic analysis of comparative costs and benefits be made in bridge clearance cases. This analysis is utilized as one part of the study leading to the final decision as to what constitutes an unreasonable obstruction to navigation. Some of the data for the analysis originates with the navigational interests, who must analyze the characteristics of waterway commerce passing the intersection in question and determine the resultant damages or losses if certain restrictive clearances are provided.

Conversely, navigational interests must demonstrate the resulting benefits in terms of dollars to be realized by the provision of clearances proposed by them. The problem resolves itself into one where both land and water transportation interests must fully consider the economic effects of the final decision on the overall economy of the region. There is no reason why there cannot be achieved an equitable balance of interests under existing law between waterway and highway traffic through the coordinated study of the requirements of both modes of transportation and their relative impact upon the general economy. Compromises on both sides are inevitable, but I can assure you that the Corps of Engineers will not be a party to an appproval in any instance of an unreasonable obstruction to navigation.

But regardless of the recommendations of any committee or commission, there is in being only one organization best able to undertake the navigation and flood control and related phases of Federal activity in water resources development—the Corps of Engineers. With 12 divisions and 45 districts, the corps covers the entire United States and some important overseas areas. It has 25,000 employees, mostly civilian. The corps' civilian engineer force is the largest, most capable body of engineers in the world today, and to them goes much of the credit for the success that the corps has had throughout its many years. I need not remind you that civil works and military construction are accomplished by the same organizations, with resulting greater efficiency in each, and, of course, the existence of such an organization is of extreme importance at the outset of war in order to get the military construction program underway.

So much for the national picture and interest. I would next like to discuss briefly a few points which I believe are of more immediate concern to the people of the Mississippi Valley and to this association.

I am sure that you, who have been so alert to the problems relating to the economy of the Mississippi Valley and to the Nation generally, fully recognize the large part the Mississippi River system has played in the development of the Nation. Though the benefits thus far realized have been enormous, further accomplishment is necessary if the people of the valley are to maintain their high national position, and correspondingly, if the Nation is to meet its ever-expanding economic goals.

The alluvial valley project is now about two-thirds complete and is the farthest advanced of the Federal programs for the Mississippi River system. The major development programs upstreams are in a lesser stage of completion—the upper Mississippi being 46 percent complete, the Missouri 43 percent, and the Ohio 29 percent. Even in this incomplete state, several major floods have been passed to the Gulf without mishap, and there has been no general overflow of the alluvial valley since the project was initiated. We have, inded, been fortunate. Some areas of the valley are still vulernable to flooding and will continue to be so until the entire comprehensive plan is complete.

Control of floods in a major river basin must be approached on the basis of planning for flood control in combination with other water uses and problems, with the objective to make the best possible use of land and water resources from an overall public viewpoint. Disastrous floods can be prevented by the execution of carefully prepared plans which utilize all flood-control measures and structures in their proper place. These measures can be accomplished most economically when they provide for complete development and use of our water resources; for example, by providing for beneficial use of floodwaters as well as control of them.

In carrying out such comprehensive plans of improvement it is entirely logical to take first things first and provide protection against the disaster flood as the first step. It is, however, wasteful to emphasize one phase of river-basin development and ignore others.

I feel we have followed a prudent course in the selection and accomplishment of the water-resource-development program for the Mississippi River system. We have already reaped tremendous benefits far in excess of the investment made. Yet, certain people have attacked the basic principle of river-basin development, contending that watershed-treatment programs—soil conservation and small dams—are effective substitutes for major flood-control structures. While it is recognized that measures and practices which conserve the soil and improve the vegetative cover on watersheds will contribute to flood control and definitely reduce flood flows, it is dangerous to claim for such measures the ability to control or materially reduce large floods when all history and experience point to the contrary. The Corps of Engineers believes that watershed-treatment programs, small dams, large dams, channel improvements, levees, and all feasible and economical measures must be utilized in appropriate cases if the flood problem is to be solved. There is no single panacea for flood control.

Biased articles on the subject of watershed treatment attacking the principle of large dam construction are dangerous because they build up in the public's mind a belief that soil conservation and small dam programs will accomplish far more than can be expected of them, and because they tend to undermine public confidence in programs and structures which sound engineering and scientific experience have found to be necessary if floods are to be controlled.

You of the Mississippi Valley Association are well aware, I am sure, that the critics of large dam construction, either through lack of knowledge of the subject or for other reasons, choose to ignore the fact that the best watershed treatment practices that can be devised by man are ineffective in preventing disastrous floods resulting from heavy widespread downpours on land already saturated by prolonged rainfall—as occurred in the Kansas River Basin in 1951.

The more radical elements of the proponents of soil-conservation measures—I speak of the prolific writers of deliberately misleading books and articles rather than the more conservative responsible Federal officials—would have you believe that soil-conservation and land-treatment practices constitute a new science just recently come to light. How strange that some of the most backward nations in the world today have practiced watershed treatment for centuries to a much higher degree than we may ever hope to attain in the United States. Korea is an example. Except in rugged mountain areas, every acre of land in that country is completely terraced for the culture of rice. During the growing season the paddies are kept full of water so that a bucketful of water poured into the top terrace results in the same amount of water leaving the lowest terrace and entering the sea. It fell to my lot to be a worried spectator at a demonstration of what happens when a heavy rain falls with the stage thus set. Four to seven inches fell in a few hours, causing the Imjim River, 600 feet wide at a bridge site, to rise 32 feet in 21 hours, becoming a river 1,800 feet wide as it surged over its banks. I do not suggest that land-treatment measures be discontinued in Korea or in the United States, for that matter, but I do submit that they are by no means a complete answer to the flood-control problem. A similar ineffectiveness of land treatment in preventing floods occurs when rapid snowmelt, accompanied by rainfall, occurs in drainage areas where the ground is still frozen in the early spring—a situation that existed in the upper Missouri River Basin in 1952. Critics of comprehensive flood-control measures ignore historic evidence that great floods occurred in this country prior to its settlement by the white man. Such critics also fail to give proper credit to the collateral benefits that are realized from a balanced program which includes large reservoir units. Economical power is provided to serve existing needs and encourage the further development of industry in the region and floodwaters are conserved to serve such needs as navigation, irrigation, domestic and industrial water supply, and pollution abatement. The water-conservation benefits realized from the Fort Peck and other reservoirs in the Missouri River Basin last year in aiding navigation, alleviating salt-water intrusion at New Orleans, and similar functions are still fresh in our minds; neither have we forgotten that operation of Fort Peck during the flood of 1952 made the difference between success and failure in the tremendous efforts that saved the levees at such critical locations as Omaha and Council Bluffs.

I began this talk with a glance backward to the year just past—an eventful, important year in water-resource development. Let me conclude with a look into the year ahead. First, I would like to suggest that you and your association be optimistic about the outcome of the widespread interest now being shown to the matter of water-resources development, but that you be alert with a view to guarding against any move to discard the experience and gains of the past and substitute some new untried schemes—however plausible they may appear on the surface. I believe that the year to come will require great unanimity, courage, and a fighting spirit among all those interested in sane water resources development, in view of the tolls and bridge clearance problems, and the misleading propaganda by opponents of scientific and complete flood control. That your organization is experienced in bringing a fight to a victorious conclusion was demonstrated last year in connection with the Old River control problem. Your executive vice president, for whom we in the Corps have the highest regard and respect, appeared before the House Public Works Committee in behalf of this project and clearly set forth by convincing words and illustrations the widespread adverse effect the forecasted events would have upon the entire Mississippi Valley. It is significant that the budget and the President in his budget message recognized the necessity for this control and have recommended funds to initiate construction in fiscal year 1956. General Hardin, the president of the Mississippi River Commission, will perhaps discuss this project in his talk tomorrow, but since the Chief of Engineers had a deep personal interest in this subject and visited the area last fall with Assistant Secretary of the Army Roderick, I thought I should mention it.

It appears to me that the association, and other navigation and flood-control associations throughout the Nation, must gather forces for what might well go down in history as your greatest fight—and I am sure it will be a successful one. I believe it would be appropriate, in the difficult but rewarding times ahead, to remember the words of a great President, Theodore Roosevelt, who said:

"It is not the critic who counts—not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena—whose face is marred by dust, and sweat, and blood—who strives valiantly—who errs and comes short again and again—who knows the great enthusiasm, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause—who, at the best, knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who, at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat."

Pros and Cons of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call attention to an informative series of articles written by one of the Nation's outstanding journalists, Mr. Phil Goulding, of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Mr. Goulding has ably outlined in this series the pros and cons of the argument over foreign-trade agreements and how the latest Reciprocal Agreements Act proposals affect Ohio's stake in the huge annual import-export business.

This series merits the attention of every Member of Congress.

The first article of the series follows:

OHIO EYEING BIG STAKE IN TRADE GOALS—SOME SAY IKE'S PROGRAM WILL BRING BILLION DOLLARS, OTHERS RUIN

(By Phil G. Goulding)

WASHINGTON, January 29.—Government experts claim Ohio has a billion-dollar annual stake in the administration's foreign-trade program.

Perhaps so, answer some Ohioans, but it still means ruin to us.

Each day a dozen witnesses appear before a congressional committee to describe why it is vital to the free world that the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act be extended and foreign trade expanded—

Or to testify that the lowering of tariffs will wash their business down the drain.

The hassle has been going on since something called the tariff of abominations threw the South into one of its periodic fits in 1828. Up and down went duties on goods from overseas until they were pegged at an all-time peak by the Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930.

DEMOCRATS CUT RATES

President Hoover and the Republicans were retired. From Franklin D. Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and the Democratic Congress of 1934 came the original Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. It authorized cuts up to 50 percent in rates prescribed by the Smoot-Hawley bill.

It has regularly been extended for 3 years or less.

Extension time is up again on June 12. The administration wants lower tariffs. The current legislation permits the President to reduce rates up to 50 percent of those prevailing in 1945, but most of this authority has been used.

Foreign nations selling to the United States pay the Treasury Department in three ways on the goods they send in. Some items carry a duty figured on a certain percent of the value of the product. Some tariffs are a set rate—so much a pound. Some are a mixture.

Congress does not set specific rates, but gives the President power to establish them, within certain ranges. He is advised by a tariff commission, before which industries may plead their case.

Mr. Eisenhower has requested authority to reduce rates by as much as 5 percent

below levels of next July 1 in each of the next 3 years as reciprocal agreements are made with other countries. He wants power also to cut any rates now in excess of 50 percent of the product's value to that level. And he wants to halve 1945 rates on items being imported in negligible quantity.

Some rates, cut 50 percent by the 1934 authority and 50 percent of that figure by 1945, are now 75 percent lower than the level fixed by the Smoot-Hawley legislation.

Ohio legislators, both rookies and veterans, are once again asking questions, What do tariff rates mean to the people of Ohio? What industries are affected? Which manufacturers in the State favor the bill now before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and why? Who opposes lower tariffs? What is their case?

Proponents of the act give two chief reasons for their support. They say our friends in the free world must be kept economically strong. And they cite the advantages the United States secures from its export trade.

United States foreign trade in 1953 amounted to $37 trillion in imports and $21 billion in exports.

What is Ohio's share of this foreign business?

Commerce Department experts say if the sale of the State's products manufactured for export was suddenly cut off, Ohio's business loss would be an estimated $980 million a year.

Their latest figures show 100,000 Ohioans employed in making goods that are sent out of this country. More than 800,000 worked in industries turning out goods which are shipped out of the United States in greater quantity than brought in.

OHIO INDUSTRIES SPREAD OUT

Ohio industries with substantial foreign business transactions are spread throughout the State.

Blast-furnace and steel-mill operations exported some $90 million worth of products in 1953. Sixty-five plants were operating. Nearly 50,000 worked in the Youngstown area alone. Others were employed chiefly in Cleveland, Portsmouth, Cincinnati, Canton, Massillon, and Mansfield.

Trade-agreement concessions on these products have been made with Canada, the United Kingdom, Chile, the Union of South Africa, Cuba, and Sweden.

Another Ohio export lion was the machine industry. An estimated $309 million in equipment was shipped abroad, including some $73 million in construction and mining machinery, and $34 million in metal working equipment.

More than 500 plants turned out the metalworking gear, employing some 17,000 in the Cleveland area, 11,600 around Cincinnati, and others in Toledo, Springfield, Hamilton, and Kent. Among nations with which trade concessions have been negotiated are the United Kingdom, Canada, France, Switzerland, India, Pakistan, and Chile.

CLEVELAND HAS BIG SHARE

Service—industry and household machines were exported in quantity. Ohio's share was an estimated $35 million. Two-thirds of the workers were in refrigeration machinery, one-fifth in vacuum cleaners. More than 7,000 were employed in Cleveland, others in 87 plants there and in Canton, Dayton, Cincinnati, Mansfield, and Fremont.

Ohio exported $138 million of motor vehicles and equipment, made by 69,000 workers in 171 establishments in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, Greenville, Lima, and Loudonville.

Trade agreement concessions have been made on electrical machinery with Switzerland, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Italy, and other countries. The State's estimated contribution to the national export was $66 million. Eighty thousand were employed in 302 factories across the State—Cleveland, Dayton, Cincinnati, Elyria, Toledo, Alliance, Lima, and Troy among them.

Ohio employs more than one-third of the rubber workers in the United States. Goods worth $44 million were shipped out. More than 61 thousand persons drew wages in Akron alone; another 23,000 in Cleveland and other cities.

The department experts say all these industries have benefited from trade agreements. Foreign nations have reduced their tariffs and relaxed other trade barriers, they add.

OTHER OHIO LEADERS

Other leading Ohio industries and their estimated exports are these:

Fabricated metal products (from cutlery to bolts and nuts) $36 million, chemicals and allied products $27 million, ceramic and glass products $18,200,000, paper and allied products $9,900,000, miscellaneous (toys, plastics, and others) $6,100,000, furniture and fixtures $3,900,000.

These dreary statistics are quoted to support the fundamental position that industrial Ohio does have a tremendous stake in international trade. It does not follow that the industries mentioned are all in favor of the administration's program. Some of their views will be presented in other stories.

Pros and Cons of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the second in a series of articles written by Mr. Phil Goulding of the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

IMPORTS ESSENTIAL TO OHIO'S INDUSTRY

(By Phil G. Goulding)

WASHINGTON, January 30.—A major Akron tire company imports crude rubber from 10 countries.

It exports to all free nations. It needs trade. Its officials are in favor of an extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act now before Congress.

Commerce Department economists contend that Ohio imports are just as important to the State's economy as its exports. Almost all Ohio plants, they say, are dependent in some degree upon raw materials from abroad or the product of another United States industry which is dependent.

More than 36 percent of American rubber stocks must be imported. Ninety percent of the asbestos used in Ohio industry is imported, 85 percent of the tin, 91 percent of cobalt, 75 percent of tungsten ore, 75 percent of aluminum.

Ohio's machine tools need industrial diamonds, all of which are imported. Manganese and chrome put the starch in steel. The ferroalloy industry of the State draws on foreign sources for ferromanganese, ferrochrome, and other alloys.

Even such unlikely products as wattle bark and quebracho extract are needed for Ohio's leather industry, which employs some 18,000 workers.

The State Department concludes that Ohio industries employing nearly a million persons and paying nearly $3 billion in wages could not operate without imports.

Ohio's manufacturing payrolls are five times its income from agriculture, but Government proponents of lower tariffs say trade agreement concessions have aided the Ohio farmer as well as the average factory worker.

Dairy exports, mainly from the northeastern quarter of Ohio, were from Wayne, Ashtabula, Medina and Stark Counties, plus Darke, Portage, Lorain and Trumbull. Shipments were an estimated $3,670,000 in 1953.

The trade agreements on these and industrial products began in 1934. Between then and 1946, bilaterial agreements were concluded with 29 nations. The next year the program was greatly broadened by shifting negotiations from a bilateral to a multilateral basis.

Twenty-two countries met with the United States at Geneva to sign the general agreement on tariffs and trade—GATT. Concession on 45,000 items were made. Further concessions were made in 1949 and 1950–51; the group grew to include 34 nations.

No one comes up with the same answer on how much these agreements have lowered tariffs since 1934, on products coming into Ohio or into the rest of the United States.

A report by the Tariff Commission put out in mid-1953 attempted to compensate for price fluctuations and other factors in deciphering the complex tariff schedules. It concluded that the tariff level averaged a 25 percent drop until more authority to cut was voted in 1945, and an additional 25 percent reduction since, for a total slash of about one-half over the 20-year period.

But the American Tariff League, Inc., a high-tariff association, says flatly that the level has fallen 70 percent since 1934.

RECIPROCITY DISPUTED

There is also violent debate over how reciprocal the reciprocal agreements have been. An official of the committee for a national trade policy says that over 50,000 items of more than 40 countries have been reduced or prevented from increasing under the program.

A spokesman for the American Tariff League replies there are more restrictions against the United States abroad now than when the original act was passed in 1934.

A Cleveland industrialist, head of a large drill concern, points out that England has low duties—but 100 percent embargo on the importation of any goods manufactured in sufficient quantities within the commonwealth.

GROUPED IN NORTHWEST

The State's share of national farm exports was estimated at about $100 million at last reckoning. Twenty-three counties produce most of this, although many others contribute. Except for the dairy industry, the exporters are concentrated in the northwestern quarter of the State.

Wheat is grown on some 110,000 farms, nearly 50 percent of those in Ohio. Wood and Seneca Counties lead. Important production also comes from Wayne, Pickaway, Henry, Hancock, Darke, Huron, and Sandusky. The Department of Commerce estimates that $32 million worth was exported in 1953.

Chief producers of some $15 million in corn sent abroad were Darke and Wood Counties. Madison, Pickaway, Putnam, Preble, Green, and Henry exported nearly as much.

Canada, Finland, Cuba, and Denmark are among nations which have made trade-agreement concessions on corn; the United Kingdom, Denmark, Switzerland, Norway, Italy, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Nicaragua on wheat.

Wood County also heads soybean production in the State, followed by Van Wert, Putnam, and Paulding. One-quarter of Ohio farms grow soybeans. Their share of overseas business amounted to $10 million. Denmark, Finland, the United Kingdom,

Italy, and Cuba have made trade concessions.

The State's export of oats was an estimated $265,000, from Wood, Henry, Mercer, Seneca, and Wayne Counties. Hog products valued at $4,800,000 were exported from Fayette, Clinton, Preble, Pickaway, Darke, and Madison Counties.

Conscientious Ohio legislators, whose duty is to consider their own districts as well as the welfare of the Nation, are understandably perplexed by the conflicting testimony.

The files of some, including the two Senators, JOHN W. BRICKER, Republican, of Columbus, and GEORGE H. BENDER, Republican, of Cleveland, are filled with correspondence from constituents. Representative FRANCES P. BOLTON, Republican, of Cleveland, sent letters by the hundreds to persons within Ohio and in other States requesting their views and advice.

Pros and Cons of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the third in a series of articles written by Mr. Phil Goulding, of the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

OHIO INDUSTRY IS SPLIT ON BID FOR TARIFF CUT

(By Phil G. Goulding)

WASHINGTON, January 31.—Big Ohio industry differs on tariff protection.

Some major concerns go right down the line with the administration position. One is a Cleveland stove producer.

"We are for free trade," it says. "We want exports. High duties mean less income in foreign countries. That means fewer dollars and fewer exports."

A large Cleveland chemical company feels the same way. High tariffs were necessary before World War I, it believes, but not today. An official thinks 80 percent of chemical products are not affected by foreign competition.

This is an unusual position for the chemical manufacturers. Most industry spokesmen oppose the legislation now before Congress to extend the reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and broaden the President's authority to lower rates.

Take the American Cyanamid Co., with 33 plants and 15,000 workers. It has a plant in Hamilton, another in Marietta.

Despite a provision in the 1954 act that there would be no reductions which threatened domestic production necessary for national defense requirements, nearly all organic intermediates are on the proposed list in a Japanese trade agreement.

"The congressional mandate," says the company, "was ignored."

An American Cyanamid officer points out that the industry is about 7 billion pounds shy of required mobilization capacity. Displacement of American production by increased exports would discourage the installation to meet such requirements, he says:

CITES DWINDLING MARKET

Westinghouse Electric has plants in Mansfield, Cleveland, Bellefontaine, Columbus, Newark, and Lima. Its president says there has been no liberalization of trade by other nations in return for United States concessions.

He declares that it is harder to sell American-made electrical equipment in foreign nations today than it was in the 1930's or before the war. Yet with a few minor exceptions, all rates on this apparatus have been cut 50 percent or more by the United States since 1930.

Under the Smoot-Hawley Act, they ranged from 20 to 35 percent; now they scale from 8¾ to 17½ percent.

SAYS PROTECTION NEEDED

"Completely inadequate" to protect United States workers from foreign competition, the Westinghouse official says.

"Any foreign producer can undersell us in this country by up to 30 percent, even after paying shipping cost and duties."

He points out that Germany, England, and Switzerland all bar electrical power equipment imports—yet England and Switzerland are the largest exporters of this gear to the United States.

"The State Department has obtained very little reciprocity in return for the economic concessions it has made," he asserts.

CALLS IMPLICATIONS SERIOUS

Ohio opinion is also split on machine tools, of which it is the Nation's largest producer.

One giant Cleveland concern strongly favors low tariffs, on the theory that only then can overseas nations sell enough here to get dollars to buy American products.

But Frederick V. Geier, president of the Cincinnati Milling Machine Co., biggest in the world, said in an interview published in U. S. News & World Report last March that the tariff policy was the most important thing facing the industry today.

"The Randall Commission proposal to reduce tariffs across the board has serious implications for our technical industries," said Geier. "Foreign competition is increasingly serious."

CITES HUGE INCREASE

Chemical imports are up 500 percent since 1948, a Dow Chemical Co. executive adds.

Other industry spokesmen are not against extension of the act, but oppose certain sections—particularly President Eisenhower's request for authority to cut all rates over 50 percent ad valorem (of the value of the product) to that level.

Ohio has some 13,000 workers in organic and inorganic industrial chemicals.

There are more than 80,000 in electrical machinery.

EXECUTIVES DIFFER

Company presidents in this field differ, too. One Cleveland producer of electric motors says that imports of heavy power equipment, while still accounting for a small percentage of sales in the United States, are increasing more rapidly than total demand for the products.

At the same time, he adds, exports have gone down. They were 9.1 percent of sales in 1920, 5.2 during the 1930's, 4 percent today.

Another Clevelander, head of an electric company, says this:

"People who are hurt are not as efficient as they should be. Mr. Eisenhower's program would open a tremendous market."

So there you are.

FOREIGN WAGES LOW

Two more Clevelanders in the same business take conflicting positions. One thinks trade should be more free, the other tariffs should be increased.

The industry formerly depended on Europe for 22 percent of its sales, the latter adds. Now exporting has fallen below 10 percent. Foreign import restrictions are impossible to beat. Their wages are one-fourth of ours and their prices 50 to 100 percent cheaper.

One Cleveland industrialist, whose firm turns out huge equipment, notes that his hourly rate, with fringe benefits, is $2.83, the Japanese and German 50 cents. German plants, built with Marshall plan money, are producing equipment equal to American machinery and underselling us here, duty paid, by 25 percent, he says.

A German firm representative told him in New York that the German concern could beat his price on a piece of boat-unloading equipment by $250,000.

SIMPLIFICATION IS URGED

Akron rubber companies are generally for an extension of the act. One president said he was not in the least worried about elimination of all tariffs on rubber tires. These outfits appear more concerned with simplification of customs procedures.

On office-equipment producer in Cleveland favors extension for at least 3 years, longer if possible. He would also like to see customs simplification, tax relief on earnings abroad, and an easing of export-import bank restrictions.

The head of one of the large steel companies believes there should be tariffs recognizing the labor rate differentials, plus import quotas by general characteristics—pig iron, carbon and alloy bars, sheets, structural steel, rails, and wire products.

ARGUMENTS GIVEN

In general, the reasoning of Ohioans is similar to that of the rest of the Nation. A summary:

Pro: The legislation must be passed to keep the free world economically strong. Military and political ties must be backed up by economic substance. The bill is so moderate it would hurt no one. It is consistent with free enterprise and free competition. It is toward gradual and reciprocal elimination of world trade barriers.

Where the United States leaves a trade opening the Soviet moves in. The United States cannot sacrifice its export industry to protect a sheltered minority.

Con: There is no guaranty the act would promote exports, only that United States tariffs will be cut. The escape clause allowing contracting parties to withdraw or modify concessions that injure domestic producers, has been invoked only 5 times in 12 years.

The peril-point provision, which requires the Tariff Commission to fix limits below which rates cannot be cut without causing or threatening serious injury to domestic interests, has never been tested in multilateral negotiations, only bilateral.

SPLIT ON CUT BASIS

Congress should set tariffs on an item-by-item basis, not delegate authority to the executive branch.

The authority is too broad. The damage to essential industries—coal, hurt by residual oil imports—cannot be reckoned as injurious only to those industries but to millions depending on them. The United States must play its part in strengthening the free world—but our rates are already low, among the world's lowest.

Another story will deal with the specific Ohio industries which claim that continuation of present legislation, let alone additional tariff cuts, will mean ruination.

Pros and Cons of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include

the fourth in a series of articles written by Mr. Phil Goulding, of the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

OHIO POTTERY WORKER SEES HIMSELF AS "GOAT"

(By Phil G. Goulding)

WASHINGTON, February 1.—The East Liverpool pottery worker is not impressed with the theory that his job is less important than improved living conditions in Japan.

His average age is 50. "Adjustment" as a casualty of freer trade would be difficult. He does not see surrounding industries hiring men his age in vast quantities. As he looks south to Steubenville and north to Youngstown, he does not see surrounding industries hiring anyone in vast quantities.

He is one of some 6,000 chinaware workers in the immediate area. Within 100 miles of the city, there are 10,000. Some are across the State line. In Ohio, they are found in Sebring, Minerva, Crooksville, East Palestine, Coshocton, Salem, Steubenville, Wellsville, Cambridge, and Bedford.

PAID FOR PRODUCTION

If he is familiar with the arguments of the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters (A. F. of L.) or of his employer, he has accumulated quite a batch of statistics.

He has learned that his wages and those of his colleagues are about two-thirds the total cost of dinnerware production.

The average wage in his industry is $1.68 an hour—compared to 41 cents in England, 34 in West Germany and Paris, 30 in Italy, and 22 in Japan.

He is a pieceworker and is paid chiefly for what he produces. He has heard that United States production dropped 10.3 percent between 1949 and 1952, another estimated 10.1 percent to 1954.

While his company and others in the United States supplied 29.7 percent of the domestic market in 1948, they supplied only 15.9 percent of it in 1952.

Spokesmen for him say that imports of decorated household chinaware have increased 138 percent since 1948; from 2,070,000 dozen to 4,940,000. Dinnerware brought in from overseas competition 12 years ago totaled $7 million. Imports in 1953 were $29 million.

Vicious disaster will be the end result of the enactment of President Eisenhower's reciprocal trade agreements program, his union tells him. His boss says the same thing.

LOSSES IN 1954

Congress has been told that four large vitrified china plants had a profit of 13.7 percent before taxes in 1948 and a loss of 1.4 percent in 1954. During the same years, four other concerns were liquidated. Three of them had been in business a total of 184 years.

The pottery people do not ask a tariff sufficiently high to make up for the wage differential. The current rate is about 70 percent of the value of the import, plus 10 cents per dozen pieces. To equalize a duty of 248 percent plus 15 cents per dozen would be required. The industry recognizes this as quite impossible.

But they would like to see an import quota established, which, they say, would dissipate the fears that low-priced imports will take over the market completely. The argument is that these fears retard production and depress the market.

They recognize that the dollar shortage in foreign nations must be overcome.

SACRIFICE UNITED STATES INDUSTRIES?

"But we do not accept the concept that American industries should be sacrificed on the altar of economic appeasement," they say.

Frank Hull, president of the International Brotherhood of Potters, East Liverpool, would like to have dinnerware and chinaware eliminated from the list to be negotiated with Japan on a multilateral basis under GATT.

If pottery remains on the list, he feels import quotas should be applied and the treaty made bilateral with Japan only.

The chairman of the foreign trade committee of the Vitrified China Association, E. L. Tolbert, believes that Congress should return to itself the right to set tariff rates specifically.

He does not deny that logrolling might result, but better the logs should be rolled within Congress, he says, than by 30 or 40 foreign nations within GATT.

FIGURES TELL TALE

Twenty-three United States plants manufacture 85 percent of all earthenware tableware produced in this country. Their sales in 1953 amounted to $53 million. Some $45 million of the total was from the East Liverpool area.

The national sales figure in 1947 was $56,620,000. Earnings before taxes were $6,688,000 then, $1,026,227 in 1953. Earnings after taxes dropped from $4 million to $255,000, total dozens shipped from 27 million to 19 million, wages from $32,896,000 to $31,744,000, total manhours worked from 25,681,000 to 16,703,000.

During these same years, imports of earthenware increased nearly 300 percent, while American production dropped 30 percent; imports of chinaware went up 700 percent, while chinaware held even.

Practically all of the increased imports have come from Japan.

"Yet," says the United States Potters Association, "we are told by the State Department they are now ready to negotiate a treaty with Japan in which it is contemplated that duties will be reduced on both china and earthenware.

SUFFERING ACTUAL INJURY

"It is painfully evident we are far past the 'threatened with injury' stage and for at least 3 years have been suffering actual and serious injury. It is just as evident in comparing imports and domestic production figures that a major portion of that injury is due to imports under present tariff rates.

The potter industry, spokesmen point out, does not have the advantages of some American industries which thrive on international markets—including the patent advantage.

People making automobiles, typewriters, washing machines, business machines, and other goods do not need tariff protection, they say, because the Government gives them a monopoly through their patents that protects them from foreign competition.

When proponents of lower duties point out that relief is available through the escape clause of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, they reply that Americans have sought such relief 53 times and been granted it in 5 cases—women's felt hats, watches, clover seed, dried figs, and hatters' furs.

The next story will give the cases of some other Ohio industries protesting the current legislation and the executive trade agreements.

Pros and Cons of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the fifth in a series of articles written by Mr. Phil Goulding of the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

LOW-TARIFF FOES CITE OHIO LOSSES

(By Phil G. Goulding)

WASHINGTON, February 2.—Four out of five Cleveland industries favor the administration bill to lower tariffs.

That was the testimony before Congress of N. C. Rubin, president of the Cleveland World Trade Association.

The White Sewing Machine Corp., is one of the 20 percent opposed. It contends that any further reduction in duties would result in serious harm and it cites these figures to prove its case:

Net earnings after taxes were $4,126,000 in 1949, only $207,000 in 1953. The rate of return on invested capital was 28.4 5 years ago, 1.0 in 1953. It sold 342,500 units in 1949, 179,363 in 1953.

QUOTES FIGURES

Hourly workers on the production line numbered 1,650 in 1950. Last year there were but 500.

The white people say they retooled their works during the war and engaged 100 percent in war activity. Not until 1946 was the reconversion completed. During this 4-year suspension a great consumer demand built up. Importers found the market.

Before Pearl Harbor, foreign manufacturers sold only $186,000 in sewing machines to the United States and the white business was $11 million. By 1949, imports were nearly $9 million and white sales $31 million. Year before last, buyers paid $24,500,000 for machines made overseas and $19 million for white products.

Foreign manufacturers have taken over nearly half of the market, White spokesmen say, with the Japanese alone having carved out some 30 percent.

COMPARE WAGES

Wage differentials show why. The White rate is $1.85 an hour, plus fringe benefits worth 30 cents. Average European pay in sewing machine plants is 60 to 70 cents. The Japanese get 20 to 40 cents.

Exports of the Cleveland company have declined. Excluding Canada, in 1950 shipments to other nations were worth $232,000; in 1953 only $53,000.

Another Ohio industry which claims to be in trouble is glass. The latest census of manufacturers showed there were 12,610 Ohio workers in pressed and blown glassware, 7,000 in other glass products. That was a 1947 count.

No figures are available in Ohio glass employees today, but here is an illustration of what has taken place. A handmade glass factory in Morgantown, W. Va., was started before the turn of the century. Five years ago the plant had 300 employees shipping $1,125,000 of ware. Today it has 150, working 5 days a week. Shipments have fallen to approximately $750,000 a year.

MANY OHIO PLANTS

Among Ohio hand glass manufacturers are plants along the eastern edge of the State in Toronto, East Palestine, and Bellaire, others in central Ohio in Newark, Bremen, and Lancaster and one in Tiffin.

The handmade pressed and blown glassware industry produced $31,835,000 of ware in 1953. Ohio's share was an estimated 14 percent. About half was hand blown, half handpressed. The hand blown sales in 1953 were some $15 million, which is less than 1 percent of the entire glass industry. Yet it has felt the impact of 17 percent of all imports of the entire industry. Handmade blown imports went up $400,000 in 1953 over 1952—from $4,200,000 to $4,600,000.

Handware table service glassware consumption in the United States was 43.7 percent imported in 1953. Pressed-ware importation was 10.7. Both have increased substantially

since 1948, when the former was 22.3 percent and the latter 3.5 percent.

And from Tariff Commission reports for 1954, an increase of 20 percent in imports is indicated. In addition, the American Glassware Association predicts a 1954 sales decrease of 12.5 percent.

"If this rate of increase for imports and decrease of domestic production continues," says an association spokesman, "it is but a short time before American production of these wares must be abandoned and our workmen will have to seek less lucrative employment in other industries in which they are not trained."

The industry denies that foreign manufacturers have superior knowledge of manufacturing, designing, or merchandising. It blames wage rates. United States workmen average $1.72 an hour. Swedes average 69 cents, Britons 53, Parisians from 49 for skilled males to 35 for unskilled women, Belgian men 46 and women 25, Italians and West Germans 37 and Japanese 22.8.

OPPOSES BILL

The industry opposes the administration bill. It contends the President would be given the widest latitude he has ever had in lowering tariffs and determining trade regulations. It says the legislation means surrender of congressional approval for 3 years. It believes the bill urges reckless, uniform slashing of rates, without item by item scrutiny.

William A. Daugherty, of Newark, a glassworker and president of the Ohio Glass and Pottery Workers' Protective League, adds a footnote. His plant has three giant furnaces. Only one is in operation.

Makers of rubber sundries in the State do not take the same favorable position toward lower tariffs as the large Akron tire and rubber companies with big export markets.

Ninety percent of all toy inflated balls in the country are produced by two Ohio concerns, one in Ashland and another in Sandusky. In the last decade nine other makers have gone out of business or ceased production of the balls. Four were in Ohio—in Ashland, Akron, Barberton, and Mansfield.

These outfits are protesting proposed reductions by the United States Tariff Commission and the committee for reciprocity information. They are unhappy over forthcoming negotiations with Japan. They say the proposed cut hits 90 percent of their products.

European wages are one-third of those paid in Ohio and Japanese one-tenth. The present tariff rates—50 percent on rubber playballs, 70 percent on toy balloons and 50 percent on "other rubber toys"—do not eliminate imports. Further reduction would be ruinous, they contend.

The Ashland company employs 350 to 500, or about 7 percent of the local labor market, the Sandusky concern 300. The latter firm notes that Sandusky is already a surplus labor area.

Both companies turned out vital military goods during World War II—liferafts, lifebelts, Mae West jackets, and similar products. One produced $6,500,000 of items for the armed services.

One figures it indirectly employes 411 persons in southeast Asia, an area critical for the free world. The other uses crude rubber produced by 329 Asiatics.

Northern Ohio also turns out about half of the toy balloons made in the United States. Plants are operating in Willard, Akron, Ashland, Sandusky, and Ravenna. There are nine in all. A Ravenna concern employs 8 to 10 percent of the local labor force.

It points out that Japanese pay $7.60 for a 40-hour week, whereas 5 local employees, picked at random, drew from $262 to $275 for a 2-week wage. It notes further that the Japanese pay for latex with cheap manufactured products, while United States companies pay in needed American dollars.

QUESTIONS SANITATION

And it questions the sanitary conditions of the Japanese home labor.

The case of the bicycle industry has been one of the most publicized. Bicycle manufacturers in Ohio include the Cleveland Welding Co., the Murray Ohio Manufacturing Co., in Cleveland, the Colson Corp., in Elyria, the Shelby Cycle Co., in Shelby, and the Huffman Manufacturing Co. of Dayton.

Frank W. Hannon, head of the Murray Ohio concern, says foreign competition has increased from 1½ percent of total sales before 1948 to 22.8 percent in 1953. He estimates that 1954 foreign sales will be 50 percent when the figures are in.

His company was forced to lay off 220 employees in the last year. Production was down from 300,000 in 1953 to 215,000 in 1954. Payroll reduction the first 6 months of 1954 was $526,000.

American bicycles sell for $20 to $30 more than those made by foreign competitors.

Like many others, Murray wants an import quota, of 15 to 20 percent. He says the maximum allowance increase in tariffs up to 22.5 percent would not do him any good.

The examples in this story do not cover the field. The Ohio coal industry's plight has been aggravated by imports of residual oil from Venezuela. The western Ohio woolen industry, with mills in West Unity, Lima, New Bremen, Jackson Center, Piqua, Hamilton, and St. Mary's, says that 1953 imports of blankets were 250 percent higher than in 1946.

OTHERS PROTEST

Ceramic tile companies, plate glass outfits, a Coshocton rubber bathing cap concern, an Xenia cordage industry, a Lisbon maker of electrical procelain insulators are all protesting. Cutlery people, including several concerns in Fremont, are asking protection. One noted that the R. H. Macy Co., of New York, purchased $8,700 of merchandise from them and $100,000 from Europe in one period.

The European shears were selling for $1.88; the old Ohio firm's for $2.25 to $2.90. United States wages are four times those of Germany. The tariff on shears has twice been cut and now is at the maximum allowable minimum.

A final story will give a rebuttal to the bicycle case and describe proposals to alleviate distress for some of the minority damaged industries.

Pros and Cons of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the sixth and last in a series of articles written by Mr. Phil Goulding, of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, relative to the argument over foreign-trade agreements:

MORE JOBS THAN JOBLESS SEEN IN TARIFF ABOLITION

(By Phil G. Goulding)

WASHINGTON, February 3.—Abolition of all tariffs would jeopardize the jobs of 200,000 to 400,000 Americans.

But some 4,500,000 owe their employment directly or indirectly to imports and exports.

Those are the contentions of supporters of President Eisenhower's foreign-trade program and the believers in reduced duties. They build part of their case on the simple "greatest good for the greatest number" base. They point out further that the cuts which Mr. Eisenhower would be authorized to make under the legislation being considered would endanger only 100,000 to 200,000 jobs.

Clarence B. Randall, the President's special consultant on foreign economic policy, notes that the program is a gradual one, directed toward moderation. He submits that there is "hardly any industry in the United States that can't face a change of 5 percent in its competition."

REPLIES TO BIKE INDUSTRY

Another approach of the program's advocates is to tear down the position of the protectionists. Charles P. Taft, of Cincinnati, president of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, uses these tactics in replying to the bicycle industry.

Bicycle makers use one set of figures to plead for higher tariff rates. Taft uses another. He asks how serious the damage really is, asserting that American manufacturers turned out 1,250,000 bicycles in 1939, 1,470,000 in 1949, and up to 2,000,000 in 1953.

Taft concedes a recession in the industry in 1954, but says a recession affected substantially every United States industry and was not due to imports. Only one of the top 10 bicycle makers is in a labor distress area, he says.

ASSAILS BICYCLE MAKERS

The Ohioan argues that bicycle manufacturing is centered in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, where metal fabrication is general in many lines and opportunities for shifts to other products are obvious.

He assails the industry for paying no attention to expanding its market until it was forced into it. Then lightweight bikes went up from 37,000 in 1951 to 88,000 in 1952 and 127,000 in 1953, he says, adding:

"How could this happen if there were anything at all in talk about slave wages in England?"

Taft points out that there are bicycle paths everywhere abroad and he asks why the big 10 manufacturers have not worked to push such a program here. In times of recession, when transportation costs are important, bicycle sales should go up, not down, he asserts.

CUTS WOULD BE SELECTED

"There are 70 million families or more in this country," he points out. "Two million bicycles a year, compared with 5 or 6 million automobiles, is not much of a showing."

Randall, who fathered the administration program, denies the claims of some industries that reductions would be across the board. He says they would be made on selected commodities, with careful screening before any cut is put into effect.

The Presidential adviser, who is board chairman of the Inland Steel Co., also feels an incorrect inference has been drawn from the testimony of some cabinet officers on the Trade Extensions Act.

Some proponents have oversold their case by harping on the advantages to other nations of the free world. This has aroused the resentment of United States workers who might be injured. Randall agrees that it is important to have allies who are economically strong. But far underlying that is the future economic welfare of our own Nation, he says.

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

Support for lower tariffs comes from many directions. The labor unions, Americans for Democratic Action, the chamber of com-

merce, and the American Farm Bureau Federation are among the strange bedfellows.

James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, concedes there are some "short-run problems" to be handled. He thinks it is possible to lessen the hardship that may befall individual workers, industries, and communities by enacting additional legislation, based on the premise that the Government must assume some responsibilities in this direction.

David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, recommended a readjustment program when he served on the Randall Commission a year ago. Bills to carry it out have been introduced by Representatives HARRISON WILLIAMS, Democrat, New Jersey, HAROLD DONAHUE, Democrat, Massachusetts, and HERMAN P. EBERHARTER, Lemocrat, Pennsylvania, in the House, and Senators JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, Massachusetts, and HUBERT HUMPHREY, Democrat, Minnesota, in the Senate.

UNITED STATES AGENCIES WOULD HELP

Under present law, the President must accept or reject recommendations of the Tariff Commission for duty adjustments based on the escape clause or peril point provisions of the Trade Agreements Act.

The Kennedy bill would authorize him to make the facilities and resources of various Federal agencies available to individuals, communities, and industries suffering injury when he turns down tariff relief for them because of the overriding national interest.

Individuals might be given supplemental unemployment compensation benefits, a lower social security retirement age, vocational education, and retraining programs, and in certain cases financial assistance for relocation in a different labor market.

For injuried companies, technical information and advice, rapid tax amortization, and special small-business administration loans to aid modernization and diversification would be available.

Communities could also obtain technical information in establishing an adjustment program and loans to themselves or industrial development corporations for implementing the adjustment proposals.

KENNEDY points out that no real relief has been granted under the existing law. Consequently, he says, industries legitimately in need of relief from imports are reluctant to go through the time-consuming, expensive procedures of the tariff commission.

The Massachusetts Senator says it is clear that the trend is toward lower tariff barriers and increased international trade. Even without that trend, the existing situation calls for assistance to those who are injured by the current tariff structure, he adds.

PRODUCERS BOOSTED

Another bill introduced would enable any domestic producer found by the Tariff Commission to be in danger from foreign imports to receive a certificate entitling it to a percentage advantage up to 25 percent in its bids for Government contracts.

Meanwhile, the hearings on H. R. 1, to extend for 3 years a Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and to broaden the President's rate-cutting authority, continue. And Ohio legislators continue looking for the answer.

At a recent party at the home of Representative OLIVER P. BOLTON, Republican, Mentor, five Ohio Republicans spent several hours discussing the law. This reporter was an interested bystander.

Two were strongly in favor of the program, two were dead against it. One, a freshman, had no opinion and was trying to learn.

Textile Industry and Foreign Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very truthful and interesting article from the Washington Sunday Star, February 13, 1955, by Joseph A. Fox:

NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE INDUSTRY SEES DISASTER IN TRADE PACTS—MILL OWNERS AGREE ON LAST DITCH FIGHT TO BLOCK MORE FOREIGN COMPETITION

(By Joseph A. Fox)

BOSTON, February 12.—President Eisenhower's trade-agreement program, which last week got the warm support of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, is drawing frigid reception in New England, where the long-suffering textile industry regards it as the last straw.

As though things were not tough enough already, because of ruinous competition from the South, harassed mill owners see more disaster creeping up in the new assault on trade barriers.

To them, it's like waiting for the other shoe to drop. There is fear for the economic future of the six-State area from Connecticut to the Canadian border.

SEES INDUSTRY FUNERAL

Striding about his plainly furnished headquarters here, William F. Sullivan, president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and the Northern Textile Association, employs a macabre figure of speech as he talks about the troubles of the industry:

"You're in a funeral parlor," he tells a visitor.

"This is one fight we just can't lose," seconds Seabury Stanton, rugged chief of the famed old Hathaway Co., of New Bedford. He still sees hope for New England's biggest business unless Government policies knock out the shaky props remaining by giving foreign importers easier access to home markets.

In nearby Lawrence, once the wool and worsted capital, where employment had dropped from 28,000 to 4,000 because of plant liquidation and migration—Arthur Brown, CIO spokesman for the area, looks from his desk at rows of deserted factory buildings and asks rhetorically:

"Do the people in Washington who talk about encouraging trade to check communism abroad ever stop to figure what putting men and women out of their jobs could do toward spreading communism in this country?"

The story is the same everywhere—Fall River, Woonsocket, Lowell, Manchester—wherever bread and butter depend on the clatter of spindle and loom. And while booster organizations such as the New England Council put up a brave front and talk about a new prosperity, the fact remains that the fate of the region today is bound up in textiles. With things as they are, that's a shaky reed.

QUESTION OF COSTS

Labor knows it.

The textile industry is a sensitive one. It is a business where an eighth of a cent a yard in production cost may mean the difference between getting or losing a contract involving thousands of dollars. And workers have come to realize that no possible avenue of savings can be overlooked by prudent management.

Increasingly heavy workloads are assumed without the interminable discussion that used to accompany every effort to effect the operating changes made possible by modern machinery. There are other evidences, too, of a new spirit of cooperation in the production lines.

The average textile worker ordinarily pays little attention to economics, but he can understand the drains of southern competition and has a natural fear of weakened trade barriers.

At Hathaway, where cartoon posters keep the workers aware of what more foreign competition could mean, a union boss started a petition to let Congress know how his membership felt.

The textile industry of the South, it should be added, is making common cause with the North in bucking tariff cuts.

There's nothing new about the decline in New England textiles. The industry has been drying up since the twenties, when low wages, nonunionization and tax concessions began to lure cotton southward. Woolen and worsted followed, and as synthetics moved into the manufacturing picture and started to cut in on cotton goods production, the same thing happened.

Today, the same people turn out cotton and synthetics, and synthetic blends are appearing in woolen-worsted.

STATISTICS WILL STARTLE

But while the story is old, some of the statistics still are startling.

New England textiles once employed 400,000 men and women. Today they support less than half that number—approximately 171,000. About 20 percent are in the cotton-synthetic business and about half the woolen-worsted. The remainder, for the most part, has gone South to enjoy a wage differential of approximately 27 cents an hour.

The jobless in the textile centers are counted in the thousands.

In mid-January, according to Labor Department figures, there were more than 60,000 persons drawing unemployment compensation in the Lawrence, Providence, New Bedford, and Fall River areas. Nobody would guess how many other thousands had exhausted their compensation credits and no longer were part of the statistical array, and, of course, there are lesser textile communities in the region where idleness has hit.

PLANT ATTRITION BAD

Plant attrition has been correspondingly bad. The latest figures show 236 liquidations involving 92,000 employees since World War II boom days. This includes both closings and site transfers and is indicative of what was happening before war demands gave the industry a shot of oxygen.

There also have been some casualties in the South, for dry rot and competition play no favorites.

This is the cumulative picture that causes New England textile leaders to question the logic of encouraging more imports, particularly since at least part of the decline is due to foreign goods, with Japan getting a nice slice of the business.

Ironically, these foreign competitors are profiting by American ingenuity, for there already is a good market for American-made textile machinery reported in Japan, India, and Egypt.

TARIFF WORKS BOTH WAYS

Foreign countries which seek to build up their own textile industries are not backward either in applying tariff rates calculated to do just that. Where the United States has a rate of 10 to 25 percent on cotton-goods imports, depending on fineness, and an average rate of 22 percent, Pakistan imposes a 60-percent levy; India, 100; and South America, anywhere from 60 to 300.

Significantly, the New England textile decline has gone far toward exploding a pet theory of free traders—that men and women displaced in industrial shifts can be channeled into new lines of activity without too much trouble.

That just doesn't happen, according to a recently completed study by Dr. William H. Miernky, director of Northeastern University's Bureau of Business and Economic Research.

CASE HISTORY OF 1,700

Tracing the case history of 1,700 workers who lost out in 6 mill areas, Dr. Miernyk learned that one-half still were unemployed more than a year after their textile jobs folded.

More than 35 percent found other textile work through plant turnover.

The so-called growth industries—electronics and apparel—took on only a few of the idle, and 64 percent of those in new employment were getting wages lower than the textile rate of about $1.42 hourly.

AGE IS BIG BARRIER

The study demonstrated plainly that age is the great barrier to reemployment. Seventy percent of the jobless were over 45.

"Too old to work—too young for social security," says CIO's Brown, who lives daily with this problem.

"It is a saddening commentary when men and women literally wish away their lives, looking to the time when they are 65 and can qualify for old-age pensions. But that is what is happening."

That particular situation has gotten so bad that Rhode Island is attempting to correct it by legislation. Pending in the legislature there is a sort of fair employment practices bill to penalize employers who refuse to hire the overage workers.

Whether that move will get any place is questionable.

Max Abelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, I cannot let go unnoticed the fine tribute paid by my colleagues, the Honorable EUGENE J. KEOGH, Democrat, of Brooklyn, and the Honorable FRANCES BOLTON, Republican, of Ohio, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 11 and January 13, 1955, to Max Abelman on his retirement as secretary to the president and director of public relations of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital.

Inasmuch as Mr. Abelman is a particularly good friend of mine, I am placing in today's RECORD some letters from distinguished people with regard to these articles.

The letters follow:

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT,
Washington, February 5, 1955.

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MR. ABELMAN: This is just a note on the eve of our departure on our goodwill trip to Latin America to thank you for your letter of January 24.

It is a pleasure to send you under separate cover copies of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for January 11 and January 13 in which the tributes you received at the time of your retirement were inserted.

They certainly are well-deserved tributes, and I join with others in extending congratulations and continued good wishes.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON.

FARVUE FARM,
South Salem, N. Y., January 27, 1955.

DEAR MAX: I am so glad you had such a fine Republican Congresswoman as FRANCES BOLTON, make such fine remarks about you. I have never met her but from all I hear she is a truly unique woman—not merely wealthy but intensely anxious to make her wealth serve the highest ends.

We are both very well and trust that you and your wife are enjoying life.

I learned a lot about your career I never knew before. You have certainly come a long way and learned a lot and warmed many hearts.

Our heartiest regards to you my dear friend,

H. A. WALLACE.

MCGILL UNIVERSITY,
Montreal, January 25, 1955.

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MAX: Thank you very much for your letter of January 20 and for your kindness in sending me the relevant pages from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I think that this is the first occasion on which I have appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD since I left the United States in 1939, but I certainly enjoyed reading all the rest of the extension of the remarks of Hon. FRANCES P. BOLTON.

Best personal wishes to you, as always, from,

Yours cordially,

Cyril
F. CYRIL JAMES,
Principal and Vice Chancellor.

COMMANDANT, THIRD NAVAL DISTRICT,
New York, February 1, 1955.

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MAX: Thank you very much for sending me the clippings from the Brooklyn Eagle and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I read them with a great deal of pleasure, and you certainly are to be congratulated. Of course, the clippings, praiseworthy as they are, only tell the truth about your good work, but it is a great thing to have such good work recognized.

Please let me add my congratulations to those of your other friends.

With best wishes, believe me.

Very sincerely yours,

R. H. HILLENKOETTER,
Rear Admiral, United States Navy.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *October 1, 1954.*

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MAX: Cele joins me in wishing you and all your dear ones a very happy New Year.

Last night's tribute to you was a well merited one. It was indeed a memorable occasion and it will be long remembered by everyone who had the privilege of attending it. The cross section of those fine people who were there is indicative of the esteem with which many hold you. I am sure that the authorities of the Jewish hospital must have been impressed by this tribute paid to you. I am glad that the present leadership of the Jewish hospital medical board saw fit to give you that dinner. I know of no one connected with the Jewish Hospital who had a similar tribute paid to them.

With best wishes for continued good health and happiness, I am, as ever,

Cordially yours,

IRVING J. SANDS, M. D.

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
BUREAU OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY,
Washington, D. C., February 3, 1955.

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MR. ABELMAN: Thank you for sending me the pages from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which I have read with avid interest. Such a tribute, I know, is well deserved and the praise and admiration of such outstanding people is an attestation of the tremendous amount of work that you have done for the population of Brooklyn and particularly for the Jewish hospital in that city.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

J. Q. OWSLEY,
Rear Admiral (MC), United States Navy, Assistant Chief for Personnel and Professional Operations.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, must our livestock men be sacrificed on the free-trade block as they were under the low Tariff Act of 1913?

Under leave to extend, I am inserting in the RECORD the following statement of L. Blaine Liljenquist on behalf of the Western States Meat Packers Association, Inc., before the Committee on Ways and Means in opposition to H. R. 1, the trade-agreements extension bill:

Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, my name is L. Blaine Liljenquist. I have been the Washington representative of the Western States Meat Packers Association, Inc., since 1946. The association has several hundred member companies. Most of them are located in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast States. Our members are known as independent packers. They are engaged in slaughtering livestock. They process about 70 percent of the meat in the States in which they do business. Our president and general manager is Mr. E. F. Forbes, of San Francisco.

Meat packing is an essential service in the American economy. Our members are making use of the latest methods of doing business to increase their efficiency. Their constant goal is to provide better meat and meat products to the public at reduced cost. Livestock producers, consumers, and the Federal Government are the beneficiaries of the faithful efforts of the packers to do a better job.

Our members are progressive businessmen. They are also alert and responsible citizens. They are interested in world trade and want to see the maximum volume of export and import business that is consistent with the national welfare, and in the interest of world peace.

After several years of consideration to tariff problems, backed by their experience in world trade, the independent meat packers reach a much different conclusion than that expressed by the administration in H. R. 1. We believe the major provisions of this bill are unwarranted, improper, and against the best interests of the United States.

H. R. 1 as we view it, has three major purposes: First, it would extend the authority of the President to enter into new trade agreements with foreign countries for a 3-year period or, more precisely, from June 12, 1955, through June 30, 1958. Second, it would go far to deprive Congress of its authority and responsibility to regulate our foreign commerce by lodging this power in the hands of the executive branch. And third, it would give to the President the arbitrary power to slash back to 50 percent all tariffs that are over 50 percent of the value of the imported goods, and to cut all other tariffs by 15 percent over the next 3 years.

In the few minutes allotted to us today we will call to your attention our reasons for believing that each one of these objectives as defined in H. R. 1 are contrary to the best interests of the United States.

For several years the State Department, with the approval of the President, has sought to take control of the tariffmaking authority, which, under the Constitution of the United States, is the responsibility of the Congress. Industry and business depending on tariff protection does not, in general, have confidence in the State Department to administer tariffmaking responsibility for the following reasons: First, the State Department officials are not elected, but are appointed and are not responsive to the public. It is doubtful that few if any of these officials could even be fired due to the job protection they receive from the administration. Second, career employees in the Department of State tend to be overnationally minded. Indeed, it is our observation that some of these officials appear to feel that any amount of suffering by American producers from import competition should be cheerfully borne if it contributes to the advancement of the international policies of the Department of State. As a result, the businessman usually thinks that tariff levels under domination of the State Department are decided on the basis of international politics rather than on economic considerations. Third, not only does the State Department seek to take the control of the tariffs away from Congress, but it is trying to turn these powers over to an international trade organization in which the United States will have but one vote. This is exceedingly dangerous. It is an important first step in losing some freedoms and rights which we have heretofore regarded as adequately protected by our Constitution.

Our members are not unmindful of the need for world cooperation, but we cannot subscribe to an international agency such as GATT that could bind the United States from using quotas to control imports or could prevent our Government from raising tariffs when foreign goods produced with cheap labor enter American markets in quantities large enough to put American producers out of business.

We believe the freedom of the American people is a priceless possession. This freedom has made us a strong nation, fully capable of protecting ourselves from those who would destroy us. But how can we safeguard our own liberty or prevent friendly nations from being overrun if we willingly yield our freedom to international organizations such as GATT?

We feel it would be a mistake to further strengthen GATT. Indeed, we believe that for the benefit of this Nation and for the benefit of those people in other countries that love freedom, there should be a forthright abolishment of GATT as a tariffmaking organization. However, we would have no objection to GATT as an agency to study tariff matters as long as its authority is limited to gathering information and making recommendations.

The Constitution (art. 1, sec. 8) charges Congress with the sole authority to set tariffs. Congress delegates, but does not yield, some of that authority when it gives the United States Tariff Commission a share in tariff setting.

In the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, Congress delegated part of its authority to the President to change rates of duty within 50 percent of the current rate by entering into trade agreements with other countries. However, to show it did not delegate the power forever, Congress limited the President's right to enter into trade agreements to 3 years, but put no limitation on his power to proclaim duty modifications to carry out or to terminate agreements already entered into.

His authority to enter into new agreements has been extended for varying periods ever since, but never for more than 3 years at a time.

H. R. 1 is a broad authorization to the executive branch. If it is passed without modification, we may find that the State Department will center the tariffmaking authority in an international body. Many feel that H. R. 1 is a preratification of just such a move. By executive authority based on H. R. 1, we could wake up sometime to learn that we had granted our control over tariffs to an international organization.

It would be much safer and more practical to declare by law that the present tariffs shall be the prevailing tariffs of the United States. That they may be modified up or down by a showing of just cause for such action.

If this course were followed, other countries would know our tariff intentions. Uncertainty that now exists would be largely eliminated. American producers that must depend upon tariffs to remain in business should be assured that tariffs would not be lowered below the peril point. The escape clause, which has been little more than a mockery in recent years, should be used as intended by Congress.

In addition, we suggest that the recommendations of the United States Tariff Commission, as the fact-finding agency of the Congress, should be made mandatory upon the executive branch, and that the veto over the Tariff Commission should be exercised only by the Congress.

We think world conditions require a change in United States trade policy. Greater emphasis should be placed on preserving American wage levels and living standards against unfair competition from low-wage subsidized imports. This must be done not only to avoid the unemployment of many thousands of employees in this country, but also to maintain the productive capacity and worker skills essential to national defense.

The United States is already a low-tariff Nation. Approximately 58 percent of goods entering the United States are duty free. The United States American Tariff League, in a study of 1951 world trade, came up with the conclusion that 35 out of 43 leading trading countries had higher tariffs than the United States. This study reported that of the five leading trading countries (the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Germany, and the United States), the United States had the lowest average tariffs. The league found that average United States tariffs were only 5.1 percent of the value of the imported goods.

In 1930 Congress established a tariff of 6 cents a pound on meat and 3 cents a pound on livestock. On October 30, 1947, tariff concessions on fresh and frozen beef and veal were granted through United States participation in GATT at the Geneva Conference. This concession, which became effective January 1, 1948, reduced the import duty on beef and veal, fresh, chilled, or frozen, from 6 cents to 3 cents, a reduction of 50 percent. Let me give you an example of the extreme harmfulness of this ill-advised action.

Prior to 1948, beef and veal imports from Canada had averaged less than half a million pounds a year. Up to that time we had received the surplus livestock production in Canada in the form of live animals that were slaughtered in American plants. When the concession became effective in 1948, beef and veal imports from Canada that year jumped to 71,634,243 pounds or an increase of 14,000 percent. In 1949 imports from Canada increased to 74,534,016 pounds.

Canadian meatpackers were quick to recognize that the reduction in the tariff made it possible for them, with their lower labor costs, lower taxes, and other economic advantages, to ship beef and veal to the United States and sell it at prices below the cost of production of American packers.

The injury suffered by our members in areas close to Canada, such as Seattle, was outlined in our petition for relief under the escape clause in March 1950. But the administration, intent in its drive to establish free trade, saw to it that we were given no relief.

Let me call to your attention the increase in imports of canned hams and other pork from Europe in 1954. Pork imports from Europe, according to official figures of the United States Department of Agriculture, reached a record total of 99,163,000 pounds last year, against 77,707,000 pounds in 1953. This is an increase of 28 percent.

The canned hams received from these countries were equivalent to the hams from about 5,500,000 hogs. Included in the totals were 19,717,000 pounds from Communist Poland. Although Poland can send meat products into the United States without restriction, Poland is not a market for American pork or other products, such as lard, hides, or tallow. There is reason to believe that Poland is using the dollars she receives from pork sales in the United States to purchase in dollar-hungry third countries strategic materials, which under current regulations are not permitted to be exported from the United States to areas behind the Iron Curtain.

Tariffs protecting the meat and livestock industries are already dangerously low. It would be a tragic mistake to authorize the President to reduce them further as a tool to trade for concessions from other countries.

Consider for a moment the cost of producing beef in the United States. A good cowhand, for instance, will cost the rancher as much as $150 a month or more. In addition, the food consumed by the hired hand may cost the rancher as much as $90 a month. Compare this to the Argentina cowboy who receives the equivalent of about $8 to $10 a month in our money, and a bag of chili beans and some jerked beef to sustain his life.

Higher wages, higher taxes, and higher costs of doing business certainly justify the small tariffs which still exist on livestock and meat.

Again may I emphasize that we are looking for an expansion of world trade. It is quite possible that some tariffs now in effect could be reduced without serious jeopardy to the particular industry concerned, but such reductions should be made only after careful

examination of economic facts and not by the arbitrary action that could result through the authority of H. R. 1 in its present form.

All of us have a common objective in keeping America strong and in securing the peace. Just as surely we must be concerned with import competition that derives its advantages from lower wages than those our own producers pay. As we all know, competing goods are being produced in many parts of he world with labor receiving much less than half the rates being paid in the United States. Obviously tariffs or quotas are the only means of equalizing situations of this kind.

One of the reasons for establishing minimum wage laws in this country was to prevent low-wage employers from gaining a competitive advantage over those who pay higher wages. The same principle should apply internationally by means of the tariff. American producers of cotton, wheat, peanuts, and sugar are protected by import quotas. Domestic prices for these commodities would tumble drastically if this protection were removed. In fairness to all American producers and workers tariffs or quotas will continue to be needed until wages and living standards in other countries rise to levels more nearly in line with our own.

We are asking that the Congress accept the simple fact that it is not fair for our Government to place cost-raising burdens upon our producers on the one hand, no matter how desirable the objective, and on the other to allow them to be put out of business by foreign goods that derive their advantage through wages that are only a fraction of those in the United States.

In conclusion may I say that H. R. 1 in its present form would give the President of the United States more power than a good man should want, and more than a bad man should have. It would give him the power to destroy American industries.

The Unlimited Importation of Foreign Residual Oil Is Ruining the Jobs of American Coal Miners and Railroaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the adverse effect on the coal and railroad industries by the unlimited importation of foreign residual oil is effectively portrayed in the following statement delivered by J. M. Symes, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., before the House Ways and Means Committee, January 31, 1955, in connection with the so-called Cooper bill, H. R. 1, providing for the extension of reciprocal trade agreements:

STATEMENT OF J. M. SYMES, PRESIDENT, THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD CO., BEFORE THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IN CONNECTION WITH H. R. 1, JANUARY 31, 1955

My name is James M. Symes. I am president of the Pennsylvania Railroad; also a director of the company. I have had 39 years experience in the railway industry. Witnesses for the coal industry have explained to you the effect of the unrestricted importation of residual fuel oil upon that industry. It is my purpose to inform you of the effect of that importation upon the large coal-carrying railroads in this country.

Coal has been the most important item of traffic in the development of these enormous transportation systems. Their whole economy has been built around the coal business which has furnished the major economic justification for such roads as the Pennsylvania, New York Central, Baltimore & Ohio, Chesapeake & Ohio, Norfolk & Western, Louisville & Nashville, and many others.

As an example, in 1953—the last full year for which figures are available—bituminous coal traffic provided 59.9 percent of the carload freight revenue of the Norfolk & Western Railroad; 51.8 percent for the Chesapeake & Ohio; 26.5 percent for the Louisville & Nashville; 25.6 percent for the Baltimore & Ohio; 19.3 percent for the New York Central; and 18.5 percent for the Pennsylvania. In 1953 the railroad industry consumed 23 million tons of coal and transported an additional 347 million tons. For all class I railroads, coal provided 13.7 percent of their entire carload freight revenue—approximately $1,277,000,000. No other commodity approached this.

If the coal business were taken away from these carriers their survival as free enterprises would be seriously jeopardized if not impossible. The catastrophic economic effect upon this country of any governmental policy producing such a result, in whole or substantial part, is obvious.

The importation of large quantities of this fuel from foreign countries, which displaces our own coal production, is a very serious blow to the railroad industry—and more particularly to those carriers serving eastern seaboard territory. The direct effect of this importation of residual-fuel oil upon the railroad industry may be illustrated by the loss in freight revenue caused thereby, the resultant decline in railroad employment and the decreased need for rail facilities for handling coal, with consequent eventual abandonment and retirement of facilities and equipment.

According to the records of the United States Bureau of Census practically all residual oil that is imported into the United States moves through Atlantic coast ports.

In 1953, 136 million barrels were imported. On the basis of equivalent British thermal units, it takes 4.167 barrels of average residual fuel oil to equal 1 net ton of average bituminous coal. Thus, the 136 million barrels of residual oil which were imported in 1953 were the equivalent of 33 million tons of bituminous coal which the railroads carrying eastbound coal could have transported.

Sales of residual oil in the northeast coastal States alone have increased from 120 million barrels in 1939 to 245 million barrels in 1953 or an increase of 125 million barrels. During this same period, imports in this 1 area increased from 14 million barrels to 123 million—an increase of 109 million. Thus 87 percent of the total increase in sales of residual oil in this natural market area for coal was the result of this flood of foreign residual oil.

The average rail freight revenue on coal moving from production areas to the Atlantic seaboard where import residual fuel oil is consumed is about $4 per net ton. The importation of residual fuel oil during 1953 represents almost $131 million of revenue which could have accrued to our large coal carrying railroads if coal had been used.

This tremendous loss of revenue does not tell the whole story. Such loss of coal traffic greatly reduces railway wage payments. With about 50 percent of 1953 gross revenues going to labor, averaging $4,347 per employee, this coal traffic loss represents about $66 million in wages, the equivalent of approximately 15,000 full-time jobs for American railroad men throughout that year.

The effect on the Pennsylvania Railroad of this loss of business is substantial. About 30 percent of the eastbound domestic bituminous coal traffic is normally handled by the Pennsylvania. It would thus have carried about 10 million tons of the coal displaced by import residual fuel oil. With average revenue to the Pennsylvania for eastbound bituminous coal of $3.25 per net ton, its gross revenue was reduced $32½ million or almost double the entire net income earned by this one railroad last year. This loss of revenue represents an equivalent of 4100 full-time jobs. The loss of railroad employment is particularly serious in those communities which rely primarily upon railroad work to support the populace.

These figures represent only the year 1953. As the coal industry witnesses have stated, there has been a tremendous increase in the importation of residual fuel oil since 1946. In that year less than 46 million barrels were imported. This increased steadily to 136 million barrels in 1953. In the 8-year period, 731 million barrels were imported, equivalent to 175 million tons of coal. This represents a $700 million loss in gross rail revenue, and a decrease in wage payments to railroad employees of $350 million.

Certainly, the use of this country's resources should be preserved and promoted—particularly where there is an abundance, which is the situation with both coal and rail transportation. Both industries are operating substantially below capacity. That means higher unit costs which must be passed along to the coal consumer and, through him, to his customer. With over 50 percent of coal production going to the steel mills and utilities, these added costs reach practically every person in the country.

Neither industry can be expected to own and maintain surplus facilities to protect emergency conditions. The railroad industry simply cannot afford to hold and maintain coal carrying cars, locomotives, and other railroad facilities to meet the possible transportation requirements of some future emergency.

To illustrate this situation—during the winter of 1954, the railroads had stored, in serviceable condition, an average of 36,600 coal cars. These cars were lying on side tracks, not being used. At today's cost this represents an idle investment of some $220 million. Many locomotives were in the same category. The importation of residual oil was responsible for a large part of this equipment being idle. Excess equipment logically will be scrapped as it becomes due for repair, reducing total ownership to actual normal requirements.

It is estimated that the railroads as a whole have a net investment of $2,244,000,000 in facilities and equipment for the handling of coal traffic, or about $6.25 per ton of coal originated in 1953. The Pennsylvania Railroad alone has a net investment of $330 million in equipment and facilities for handling coal.

According to figures furnished by the National Coal Association, approximately two-thirds of all residual fuel oil consumed in this country competes with coal. In other words, about 90 million tons of annual coal production are displaced by oil. Of this tonnage, the equivalent (in residual oil) of about 33 million tons of coal came from overseas in 1953.

What would happen in the event of a national emergency?

Truly, the railroads are our first line of defense when it comes to carrying the burden of wartime transportation. Basically, this is because only the railroads have possessed the elasticity and reserve capacity necessary to take up the tremendous increase in transportation requirements generated by a world war. In addition, the railroads can handle traffic with less strategic materials and less manpower than other forms of

transportation. According to reports by the class 1 motor carriers to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average load handled by such carriers on the highway is just under 9 tons. It takes one man to handle that. On the other hand, the average freight train load, in 1953, was 1,301 tons. It takes only a 5-man crew to handle that—or 260 tons per man.

In producing a revenue ton-mile of transportation, the railroads use far less fuel than their competitors—with 1 gallon of diesel fuel the railroads produce 215 revenue ton-miles of transportation, while the trucks produce only 64. Most highway transport uses gasoline—a much more critical fuel in a national emergency than diesel fuel oil. Finally, in the heavy traffic eastern territory, the Pennsylvania Railroad depends on electricity, produced by waterpower or the burning of bituminous coal, for power.

While just as vulnerable to enemy action through air bombing, guided missiles, or sabotage, the railroads are peculiarly adaptable to repairing such damage. Experience during World War II, on both sides, proved this.

On the other hand, when the locks and dams which make inland waterways possible are blown up or severely damaged, it takes a very considerable time to restore them to service. Heavy highway transportation requires good hard surfaced roads. A damaged railroad can be restored to service much faster than either an inland waterway or a highway.

A national wartime emergency would certainly call for a tremendous increase in power output while oil imports would cease or be substantially reduced. Coal would have to replace immediately not only the foreign residual—equivalent to 33 million tons of coal—but also meet the major part of the energy demands now supplied by imported crude and its products. The demand for refined oils and gasoline would increase so greatly that it would necessitate cracking down nearly all the remaining domestic residual oil, and coal would have to fuel most of this 90-million-ton market. This is 1,520,000 carloads requiring 63,000 cars to move within 1 calendar year, based upon the average turnaround time of freight cars. Can we safely assume that a depressed coal industry and the railroads could immediately expand sufficiently to provide and handle this added tonnage plus the increased coal that a war economy would require?

Even though the coal companies could produce the coal the railroads would not be in a position to transport it, because of lack of equipment, facilities, and trained employees to do so.

As stated above, the railroad industry cannot afford to maintain its great investment in facilities for carrying and handling coal unless there is current use for them—in today's economy they cannot be maintained for standby emergency service.

Residual fuel oil, unless further refined, can properly be called a byproduct of the refining process. Its price has historically fluctuated widely based on available supplies and competitive fuel prices. As a result, even if it were economically possible, any downward revison in the delivered price of coal would no doubt be met by corresponding reduction in the fuel-oil prices when such oil is in surplus.

Statements have been made as to the inability to keep the cost of coal down so that it can meet competition from other fuels. The coal industry has repeatedly explained the various methods it has adopted to reduce costs. The railroads are also making a large contribution to this cause. Rail freight charges on coal have been held down, in an effort to help the coal industry solve its marketing problems against competing fuels. Average railroad revenue per ton on commodities other than bituminous coal has increased 85 percent since 1939, against only 49 percent on bituminous coal. Yet average prices for railroad materials and supplies have gone up 135 percent, and average hourly railroad wages 155 percent. Further comparisons emphasize this point—such as the increase since 1939 in wholesale commodity prices of 120 percent; average hourly earnings of coal miners—159 percent; and the average price of bituminous coal at the mines—up 167 percent.

The unlimited importation of residual fuel oil—a byproduct of foreign oil refining—depriving our own transport system of handling very sorely needed coal traffic, is diametrically opposed to the declared national transportation policy as announced by Congress in 1940, particularly insofar as it relates to national defense.

In this connection it is highly significant to note that certain European countries which are now producing substantial quantities of refined oil products are exporting the residual oil to this country. Newspaper articles have indicated that those countries have imposed a heavy tax on the use of that residual oil at home in order to protect their own coal industry. An article by J. H. Carmical, a recognized and impartial authority, in the New York Times of July 5, 1953, so stated.

To permit foreign countries to ship unlimited quantities of residual oil to this country and dispose of it at dump prices to the serious detriment of the American coal and railroad industries, at the same time that those foreign countries effectively prohibit the domestic consumption of that oil in order to protect their own industries, cannot possibly be justified on any free trade or other basis.

We submit that no matter what general foreign trade policy Congress may adopt, this situation is one which demands specific treatment in order that the coal and railroad industries may not be further weakened by a dumping of this foreign byproduct with which they cannot possibly compete and which will inevitably cause them to be less able to supply the energy and transportation needed in a national emergency.

What Was It Like?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to insert an excellent descriptive article written by Mr. Harlan Trott, of the Christian Science Monitor, concerning the flight from Los Angeles, Calif., northward over the polar regions to Europe.

Mr. Trott has captured the true feel of polar flight and recalls the pioneers in polar travel. His article expresses the new age of polar travel so that the reader imagines that he is actually along on the trip.

And, as one reads, he is struck with a thought as chilling as the polar regions Mr. Trott describes. These same airways over the polar ice traveled so swiftly and so safely by peaceable passenger stratoliners are open to the angry whine of military bombers intent on invading our boundaries across the icecaps and into the very heart of our Nation.

Because this article presents this fact so clearly as well as for its splendid descriptive nature, I commend it to my colleagues.

The article follows:

WHAT WAS IT LIKE?
(By Harlan Trott)

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.—From Copenhagen to Zurich, from Rome to Paris, the inaugural transpolar flight from Los Angeles to Europe has excited lively interest.

Nearly everyone I have met from the Oberburgomeister of Frankfort to the night porter here at the Regina, the little hotel where I am stopping close by the Pone de Mont Blanc on the magnificent lake front at Geneva, have asked: "What was it like to fly over the North Pole?"

Invariably, too, they seem a little disappointed when told that flying across the Arctic region is just like flying from Stockholm to London.

"Well, what did you see?" they persist, and then they are in for it. Here is one pioneer polar router who will be reliving this epic Arctic journey for some time.

To say that the inaugural flight over this great white trade route was uneventful is the best kind of praise for the Scandinavian Airlines System whose direct Arctic service opens a new era in air travel that makes the peoples of the Pacific west and the whole of Europe overnight neighbors.

The winged vikings who man SAS's big white Douglas airliners only confirm the theory of the Friendly Arctic propounded by explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who contended that "adventures" were a sign of inefficiency. His uneventful journeys of the sledge-dog era projected into Arctic travel the philosophy that there is nothing so spectacular as a safe and normal "arrival."

That is the star these SAS pilots steer by in these twice-weekly both-way flights between California and Europe.

Flying at 20,000 feet over the white wilderness that stretches from the Canadian coast of Hudson Bay to Denmark Strait on the east coast of Greenland, we did not feel a single dip, much less a jolt such as air travelers sometimes feel in the air turbulency of lower altitudes and lower latitudes. We literally flew above the weather. And we made our touchdowns at Winnepeg, Sondre Stromfjord, and Copenhagen right on time. Sondre Stromfjord is the landing field at Bluie West 8 about halfway up the Greenland side of Davis Strait.

I still cannot open my passport without a thrill from the very first entry stamped on my visas: "Transit Gronland 16 November 1954"—signifying the first time, I am told, that travelers have passed through customs north of the Arctic Circle on a regular polar trade route.

In the brief span of daylight beyond 67 north, we saw contrasting scenes of stark and silent grandeur in the white desolation around us. And once when the sun was near its low southerly zenith—what navigators call noon at the ship—our great winged shadow sped over a fluffy white ocean of clouds framed within an east-racing rainbow circle. The passengers all peered down speechless, but no one seemed to know what cast this rainbow diadem around our east-going shadow. One may only paraphrase the poet Masefield, perhaps at such a moment, for—

"I cannot tell its wonder nor make known
Magic that once thrilled me to the bone."

From time to time, the captain's voice was heard over the cabin loudspeaker pointing down to historic waymarks along our polar pathway. "We are approaching the southern end of Baffin Island. It was here that Roald Amundsen entered the pack ice in his search for the Northwest Passage." The stout Nordic accents had an authentic

ring. Naturally the Scandinavians are proud of their polar heritage and the part Nordic navigators have played in helping to unlock the Arctic's silent centuries.

It was midafternoon. Already the Arctic night was closing in around us as we gazed down upon the ice-strewn gray water. At this time 51 years before, the Gjo was snugged down in winter quarters, Amundsen's little company was away from the ship with their sled dogs and rifles laying in a store of walrus meat to last them through the 6 months' Arctic night.

What would that hawk-beaked old viking have said to see us blazing this new northwest air passage dressed in business clothes, sitting down to the captain's dinner of caviar and roast wood grouse, cruising at a comfortable 300 miles an hour across the vast and frozen stillness?

What was it like to fly the polar route? people are asking. I wish I were a poet with a poet's art of brevity.

How else can one impart the spell of the Arctic—when reluctant-going twilights turn the Greenland glaciers into a tumbled world of crimson-tinted crystal, of Arctic midnights when the Great Dipper wheels low on the polar snowline just an arm's length out of reach, and the luminous, lemon-hued fingers of the aurora borealis dart and flash across the northern night? Or say what it was really like to make this epic journey which by its uneventful ease only proves why these 20th-century vikings who fly the new polar trade route are the masters of the Arctic air?

Increase in Congressional Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to and intend to vote against H. R. 3828, which is scheduled to come before the House of Representatives this week. This bill in its present form would provide for a $10,000 increase in the annual salary of the Members of Congress. This is a 66⅔ percent increase. Even if it is amended to provide for an annual salary of $22,500 instead of the $25,000 figure, which it now provides, this would still be an increase of $7,500, or 50 percent over the present salary of $15,000. It seems to me highly inappropriate that a new Member of Congress such as myself, having been here less than 2 months, should vote for a pay increase of this magnitude.

There are so many Federal employees, postal workers, industrial employees, and farm workers in my district who would be delighted just to receive a 10-percent increase, or in some cases even a lesser increase, in their pay, that I think I would not properly be representing them if I voted for an increase of congressional salaries of so much greater proportion.

The Gallup poll shows that approximately two-thirds of the people of the United States are opposed to an increase of $10,000 per year in congressional salaries. For these reasons, I feel that I must oppose and vote against this measure.

The summary of the Gallup poll, as reported in the Washington Post and Times Herald on Sunday, February 6, 1955, is as follows:

THE GALLUP POLL—SIXTY-THREE PERCENT GRUDGE CONGRESS PAY RISE

(By George Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion)

As Congress plans to ease through a pay raise for its own Members and Federal judges, a survey by the institute finds that the people back home still tend to resist the idea of hiking congressional pay.

Sentiment today is more than 2-to-1 against it.

However, the Nation's taxpayers are slightly more receptive to a $10,000 pay boost than they were a year ago.

Typical voters across the country were asked:

At present, United States Congressmen receive $15,000 a year in salary and expenses. Would you approve or disapprove of raising this to $25,000?

The vote today and 1 year ago:

	Today	1954
	Percent	*Percent*
Approve	26	22
Disapprove	63	68
No opinion	11	10

Today's survey finds wide differences of opinion by degree of education and by occupation.

A considerably larger number of persons who have attended college are sympathetic to a pay hike than are those whose schooling was limited, as the following table shows:

	College	High school	Grade school
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Approve	42	25	14
Disapprove	52	62	75
No opinion	6	13	11

Voters in all parties hold about the same attitude toward the subject. Republicans and Democrats, as well as persons who regard themselves as independents politically voted more than 2 to 1 against the boost.

The main opposition comes from farmers and workers in the skilled, unskilled, and semiskilled groups, the survey finds. Considerably less opposition is found among white-collar workers and people in the business and professional classes.

The problem for congressional leaders is essentially one of public relations. Public support for salary jumps perhaps would follow if they were to explain the situation and give convincing reasons to those segments of the population where the present $15,000 seems like a bountiful sum.

Each voter was asked to give his reasons for voting in favor of the proposal or against it.

Major reasons cited by those who approve of the pay boost: More money will attract a better type of Congressmen; the raise is needed to cover expenses of living in Washington, and the responsibilities and duties of the job today are worth more.

Voters who expressed disapproval listed these principal reasons: Present salary is adequate, a pay boost means more taxes, and the proposed pay boost is too great.

In 1945, when President Truman proposed a plan for increasing congressional salaries from $10,000 a year to $15,000 after wartime wage ceilings were removed, the public vetoed the idea with 50 percent disapproving, 31 percent approving, and 19 percent expressing no opinion.

The British public likewise is cool to the idea of giving a raise to the hard-working civil servant.

Last year the affiliated British Gallup poll found 50 percent disapproving an increase of 500 pounds ($1,400) in the salary of members of Parliament, 25 percent approving, and 16 percent expressing no opinion.

Members of Congress now receive $12,500 base pay, plus a nontaxable $2,500 expense allowance. An income-tax deduction of $3,000 is permitted to cover the cost of living in Washington.

Our Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following excellent editorial that appeared prior to Veterans' Day, November 11, 1954, in the columns of the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass.:

THEY CARRY THE TORCH

Long years ago, in the era of World War I, a poet named John McCrae produced a masterpiece in verse which carried an inspiring message. John McCrae passed away in 1918. Year after year, the import and impact of his metered gospel of patriotism have grown more pronounced, and it strikes us with full force today as we look ahead to the observance of Veterans' Day on November 11.

Wrote he of the dead in Flanders Fields:

"We are the dead.
Short days ago we lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow.
To you from failing hands we throw the torch.
Be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with those who die, we shall not sleep."

Those who have fallen in battle to protect our Nation still fight on. They fight on in the inspiration they have given us by their sacrifice. From their failing hands they have passed us the torch. Too many of us have refused to accept it; or having taken it, have buried its light in the vacuum of carelessness, in the dark cowardice of refusal to accept responsibility, in the cavern of infidelity.

Those who did not die on the battlefield we know today as the veterans. It is they who have accepted the torch and have held it high so that all of us might be inspired by the light of their buddies whose lifeblood has been spilled over all of the world's continents.

It is the veterans who raise their voice loudest in their united insistence that we must preserve the heritages which have been bequeathed to us by those who never came back, or who, having come home, arrived in the dignity of death in a flag-draped casket.

It is the veterans who fight the cause of the widows of these heroes, who stand between distress and the children of these who did not come home.

It is the veterans who insist with unrelenting vigor that the hasty promises of wartime be kept, and that those who by the grace of God did not pay with their lives for their devotion to duty be considered first in the distribution of the bountiful good things of our society to which they are justly entitled.

It is the veterans who cry out against the disarming plaints of the pacifist and demand that our Nation be kept strong as the best guaranty of safety in a brutal world.

We owe our veterans more than we can estimate. About all, we owe them the sanctity and the sovereignty of our land. For us, they kept freedom intact. And freedom to us is everything.

The veterans are the reincarnated spirit of those heroes who people the graves which are marked by thousands upon thousands of crosses in lands across the wide seas.

The veterans are the voice of those people. They are carrying on the work which those who perished started to do and fell in the gallantry of their effort. Now they lie in the shadow of "the crosses, row on row, that mark our place."

First, it was the veterans of World War I who took up the torch. To their warnings that we must remain strong, a deaf ear was turned, and we found ourselves pitched into World War II almost unprepared. After the second global conflict, millions more of veterans lent their strength to the task of holding the light high and keeping faith with those who died in both wars. Then came Korea, bitter casualty lists, and millions more of veterans.

Although few of us stop to realize it, the ranks of the men who fought in 1917–18 are thinning rapidly. But they, with those who returned from World War II and Korea, will march again on November 11, to remind us that we still have a great mission to carry out—to protect our Nation by remaining strong, and to heed forever the warning that "if ye break faith with those who die, we shall not sleep."

If there are public exercises in your home community next Thursday in observance of Veterans' Day, show these men who once bore arms in your cause that you have not forgotten what they did and what they are doing. They do it for you the year around. Do something for them on this one day.

Lincoln and Kosciusko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, February 12, our Nation observed the anniversary of the birth of two great men—Abraham Lincoln, one of our greatest presidents, and Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko, hero of the Revolutionary War.

The names of these two men shall always remain engraved in the hearts of lovers of liberty and democracy. Both men have fought courageously, in their own ways and in their own times, for the liberty of man and for each nation's right to self-determination. Their nobility of character, devotion to principle, and love of justice shall continue to inspire men of all ages, creeds, and nationalities.

The world is reminded by patriots like Kosciusko—who fought for the independence of the United States and of his native Poland—that the struggle for liberty is endless and that ours is not the only generation that has fought for it and sacrificed in its name. It seems that each period in history has its challenges, its own dictators, and its own despots.

This should not discourage us or lead us to despair. Instead, we should draw courage and inspiration from the example of valiant men like Kosciusko, who defied overwhelming odds and spared no sacrifice where principles in which they believed were involved. Our task, as great as it is, is no more difficult than theirs.

Let us, therefore, rededicate ourselves to the unfinished task to which they devoted their lives.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting the following statement in the RECORD:

My name is John G. Lerch, of the firm of Lamb & Lerch, 25 Broadway, New York City. I an an attorney specializing in the practice of customs law.

I am appearing today in opposition to enactment of H. R. 1, just as I did in opposition to the initial Trade Agreements Act of 1934, and all recurring extensions of that law.

Today I am representing the following domestic interests:

American Manufacturers of Thermostatic Containers.

The Candle Manufacturers Association.

Collapsible Tube Manufacturers Association.

The Industrial Wire Cloth Institute.

The National Building Granite Quarries Association.

The rubber footwear division of the Rubber Manufacturers Association.

The Toy Manufacturers of the United States of America, Inc.

The Twisted Jute Packing and Oakum Institute.

United States Potters Association.

The American Manufacturers of Toy Balloons.

When, in 1934 the first Trade Agreements Act was introduced, I, along with the Honorable James M. Beck, former Solicitor General of the United States, but at that time a Member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, urged the Ways and Means Committee to give careful consideration to its constitutionality. On May 1, 1953, at a hearing on the extension of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, I was granted permission to incorporate as part of my remarks a speech the Honorable James M. Beck made on the floor of the House in opposition to the enactment of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934. This appears on page 482 in the record of hearings on the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1953. I have studied the reports of the Ways and Means Committee on the original bill of 1934, and each successive extension of that act, and I find no intimation that consideration has ever been given to the constitutional phase of the legislation. As evidence of the fact that the sponsors of the original bill had doubts about its constitutionality, however, it is a matter of record that they suspended the operation of secion 516 (b) and section 336 of the Tariff Act of 1930, on any article reduced under the 1934 Trade Agreements Act. Section 516 (b) of the Tariff Act of 1930 gave American producers of competitive merchandise the right to litigate in our customs courts the proper classification of imported merchandise, together with its constitutionality. It was not until 1951, when extension of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 was in doubt, that Congress grudgingly restored this privilege to American manufacturers (sec. 9 (a), act of 1951). Previous extensions of trade agreements acts have attempted to placate domestic producers for the loss of protection by providing for peril points, escape clauses, etc., but now H. R. 1 goes far beyond any previous act in delegating power that has been attempted in the past 2 decades.

It might interest you to know that a client of mine, Star-Kist Foods, Inc., Terminal Island, Calif., is litigating this question of the constitutionality of the Trade Agreements Act, and we are now in the process of unwinding the redtape surrounding such an action. It is hoped that we soon will be in the United States Customs Court with this case, where it will be litigated.

In *Hampton & Co.* v. *United States* (276 U. S. 394), the United States Supreme Court held that section 336 (the flexible-tariff provisions) of the Tariff Act of 1932 was constitutional because it erected a yardstick to govern the Tariff Commission and the President, and was based upon an investigation of comparative costs. Nothing like that has governed the negotiators of agreements with any foreign nation under the provisions of the Trade Agreements Act. Reductions have been granted on items which the treaty country had never produced, and never could produce the product, yet wholly regardless of what comparative costs in any foreign nation might have been, those reductions were made effective to foreign nations, in many of which the item in question was being produced at a very low labor cost. (See Japanese imports with respect to the Icelandic treaty reduction on tunafish).

Last year, when extension of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 was before Congress, we were told that the administration had only one more treaty to negotiate, a trade agreement with Japan, and that the administration would accept a 1-year extension of the act in order to perfect that one treaty. Now the administration comes up with a request for a 3-year extension, with arbitrary powers to further reduce tariff rates to foreign nations, regardless of comparative costs of production here and anywhere abroad.

This bill sets as the maximum protection to be afforded any industry a rate of 50 percent ad valorem. In the exercise of its jurisdiction, under section 336 of the Tariff Act of 1930, the United States Tariff Commission has made reports of comparative cost investigations. Some of these have shown that a rate far in excess of 50 percent was necessary to equalize the cost of production abroad and here.

Congress in the past has recognized the fact that in some instances no rate expressed in terms of percentage was adequate to protect a given industry, and in such instances has legislated quotas and even imposed embargoes. Wherein is the charm of the 50 percent rate proposed in H. R. 1? Is it to serve notice on American industries that if they cannot operate with a maximum duty of 50 percent, their domestic markets will be turned over to their foreign low-labor-cost competitors? The criteria in H. R. 1 for reducing a rate to 50 percent is the fact that there are no imports, or that the imports are negligible. Could it not be that imports are negligible because American industry is operating so close to cost that it makes importing unprofitable with the existing rate of duty? It could well be that

a cut to 50 percent would throw some American industries into the red, or drive them completely out of business.

With the enactment of the Trade Agreement Act of 1934, Congress suspended operation of sections 336 and 516 (b) of the Tariff Act of 1930 as to any rate negotiated under a trade agreement.

In 1951 in an act extending the operation of the Trade Agreement Act of 1934, Congress restored the provisions of 516 (b). The provisions of section 336 are still inoperative as to any rate adjusted under the Trade Agreement Act.

In the President's message on the state of the Union, he intimated that our expansion of foreign trade was to be accomplished without injury to our domestic industries. Certainly, if foreign made merchandise can be sold in this market at less than the cost of production of its American competitive product, industry has to be injured.

It was against this kind of competition that section 336 operated.

If the administration really intends to administer the Trade Agreement Act so that it will not endanger domestic industries, a very simple means of insuring this would be to reinstate the operation of the provisions of section 336 of the Tariff Act of 1930.

Many of the industries which I represent have spent millions of dollars on research and the equipment of their plants with the most modern and efficient machinery, yet the proponents of H. R. 1 would have us believe that American industry is operating in the horse and buggy era, and that if American industries cannot increase their productivity to a point where they can compete with cheap foreign labor, they should shift into other fields of endeavor. Does the administration propose that if an American industry cannot operate with a 50 percent tariff, it should junk its equipment and years of know-how and investment, and start over in some other field of activity? What fields? The chosen fields of some of those foremost American industries which are frequently spoken of as prospering in international markets? It is true that some of our foremost American industries do thrive in international markets, but that may not altogether be so because of efficiency in operation, as it is to the fact that some members of those foremost industries hold American-owned patents which afford them protection from any competition the world around. That, it would appear might apply to the automotive, typewriter, washing machine and business machine industries. Few of these industries need tariff protection; our Government gives them a monopoly through their patents, and by that means protects them from foreign competition.

Furthermore, the administration now proposes to subsidize the establishment of foreign low-labor-cost plants by United States capitalists through giving them a reduction of 14 percent in their taxes on profits derived from such plants. If that is done, how long will it be before many small United States producers will find themselves competing with their own countrymen who are producing abroad, at low labor costs, and an income-tax subsidy of 14 percent; products which they are able to ship back into the United States under the mere token rates of duty proposed in H. R. 1? Why, under such conditions, would any United States manufacturer, who has the capital with which to establish a plant abroad, continue to operate his plant, and employ high-cost labor in this country?

The Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1954, approved July 1, 1954, section 2, reads:

"SEC. 2. No action shall be taken pursuant to such section 350 to decrease the duty on any article if the President finds that such reduction would threaten domestic production needed for projected national defense requirements."

It will be seen that under this provision it leaves with the President the obligation to find that a reduction would threaten domestic production and national defense requirements. This has been construed to mean that only the President may make such a finding.

This would seem to be one of the facts inherent to a finding by the Tariff Commission under the escape clause provision of existing law, which would place the jurisdiction within the Tariff Commission, to make a factual finding in this respect and to receive evidence leading to such a finding.

As this provision is now administered, it permits of an arbitrary finding on the part of the defense administration, without a factual finding, or an opportunity on the part of domestic industries to offer testimony as to defense necessities.

Certainly, the Congress does not intend to abolish an industry necessary to national defense. To insure this, it should include in H. R. 1 a provision requiring the United States Tariff Commission to make a finding in its recommendation to the President upon this fact.

The administration has repeatedly urged privately sponsored research into the production and consumption of many of our domestically produced materials and articles of commerce. H. R. 1, I feel, would have the effect, intentionally or otherwise, of reversing that policy, as it bids fair to turn over to foreign producers a very material share of the United States market to the marked detriment of American industry and labor.

To digress for a moment from the foregoing line of thought, it is difficult to understand why the 84th Congress would be willing to go to the extremes of H. R. 1 to placate GATT, when prior sessions of Congress have repeatedly refused to ratify GATT in their trade-agreement extensions.

My closing observation is that our present United States economy is gaited to mass production and increasing consumption. If this bill is enacted into law, and the contemplated reductions are put into effect, what is to become of those domestic industries with factories in towns of 50,000 population or less, where that is the only source of steady employment in those towns? Are the displaced workers to be subsidized or pensioned by our Government? If that is contemplated, with a consequent shrinkage in tax receipts, from what source will the income with which we accomplish that objective be obtained? My clients and I feel that if this bill is enacted into law, and the contemplated reductions are made, it will have a grave effect upon our economy. For this, and the other reasons I have given here, we earnestly urge that H. R. 1 be not enacted into law.

Forward With Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, January 30, I turned on my radio and heard a sermon given by Rabbi Ariel L. Goldburg, of Richmond, Va., which he called Forward With Faith.

I was so stirred by this sermon that I wrote to Rabbi Goldburg and asked that he send me a copy of it. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including this sermon, and I commend it to the Members of this body:

FORWARD WITH FAITH

(Based on Exodus 14: 8–15)

My friends, I am delighted to be in Washington with my good friend and colleague, Dr. Norman Gerstenfeld, who has given me the opportunity to speak in his pulpit and to share in this radio program. I am going to speak to you this morning on a subject that expresses deep confidence and bright optimism. I call it Forward With Faith, and I base it upon two things: First, a verse in the book of Exodus, when the people of Israel were stopped in their journey to freedom by the Red Sea. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward;" secondly, the stirring conviction expressed by the poet Bernard Clausen in these never-to-be-forgetten words:

"Lord, I believe in man:
In his strength thru the terrible struggle
Out of the darkness which once engulfed him;
In his patience to try again and again to rise
When the forces of Nature seemed to overpower him;
In his yearning for the better
Which has led him toward kindness and peace.

"Lord, I believe in man:
In the tear-stained courage with which he now seeks
To maintain his honor and his dreams in these black days;
In the traces of selfless sacrifices with which he builds,
Out of the wreckage of his day, a better tomorrow;
In that consecration to the destiny of his children
Which will be content with nothing less
Than a new world for them.
Lord, I believe in man."

Understood correctly, the Biblical verse is an exhortation to move forward courageously into the unknown and the untried. The hour of deliverance had come to the children of Israel, just as it came a few years ago to England, to France, to the allied nations. Our ancestors were celebrating an original V Day. Their hearts were filled with gratitude. Where are the words that can describe the mood of these people—harried, hounded, oppressed—at just the thrilling moment when the chains that bind them are broken and the loving light of liberty is reflected in their faces?

But, hark. There is a distant rumble, a sound still feeble, but ominous. It is coming nearer. Suddenly, someone points to what appears to be a cloud of dust way back on the road. "Look," he cries, and every eye turns toward the new danger. No one has to be told what is happening. They know that their lives are again in jeopardy. The tramp, tramp, tramp, of marching feet draws nearer and nearer. It is their old master, the tyrant Pharoah, and his army in hot pursuit after them. What are they to do? Where can they turn? Before them are the cold waters of the Red Sea. Behind them are the trained charioteers, the husky, brutal soldiers of Egypt.

Here is the class example of the old adage, "between the devil and the deep blue sea." All seems lost, and the people in typical manner, acting like frustrated mobs have acted throughout the centuries, berate their leader. They heap scorn and invective upon Moses. They cry out against him. He urges them to keep quiet. He counsels silence. And then it occurs—the unpredictable, the unforeseen, the unreal, the miracle. The Red Sea opens, and the children of Israel are saved.

This is the story. It has been heard and read by millions. The vast majority of people accept it literally. They like the way it ends, just like they enjoy the "and they lived

happily ever after" ending in motion pictures, fairy tales, and in most best sellers in modern literature. Talk about escapism, wishful thinking, and daydreaming, we have been fed on a steady diet of it from ancient times until this year. In Europe, in the Pacific, and in Korea, our soldiers and sailors had to learn through their own agony and hardship that they could not depend upon the unreal, upon some last-minute intervention to save them from destruction. Amid dangers beyond description, they learned to place their faith in their own weapons and in the courage of their own hearts.

Take this Bible story literally, and you have a miracle—a handful of gossamer threads. But why must it be taken that way? The author was not interested in weaving a fanciful tale that would evoke the "oh's" and "ah's" of the people. He was not a romanticist at all. He was a stern and hard realist. He was a preacher bringing out a moral and a lesson for his day and for all the days to come. He pictured an event. He described a touching scene. He gave word to the fear that grips people at the most crucial moments of their lives—when they stand at the gate of freedom, even as that gate seems closed to them. In one sentence, he gives the crux of the problem and offers the only solution possible: "Wherefore criest thou unto Me? Speak unto the children of Israel and tell them to go forward." Do you see how clearly and forcefully he puts it, so that the people would not look for outside aid, for a miracle, but to themselves?

This is not the time to curse the leader. This is not the time for tears and sighs and lamentations. This is not even the time for prayer. Don't cry and entreat in this moment of anguish. The call is for action to do something. Go forward. "God helps those who help themselves" is another way of saying what this Bible author taught thousands of years ago. We must not give up hope. We must not despair. We must not curse our lot. We must not retreat. We must not compromise. We must achieve—advance—push on.

Who among us has not been doomed at times to the Red Sea of failure or discouragement? Who has not felt the turbulent waters rising up to his neck, and at the moment when all seemed lost, made one last desperate effort that brought him to a haven of safety? There are many people who do nothing but pray when trouble comes. Of course I believe in the efficacy of prayer. I would not be a minister if I did not so believe. Prayer is an important part of life. Everyone should offer prayers in one form or another. Let me not be misunderstood. There must be more than prayer. If prayer is naught but the repetition of words, it cannot be effective—it can gain no end—it can accomplish no beneficent purposes.

For example, we pray, and our Christian neighbors pray, that poverty and disease shall cease to exist in the world. But unless we dig deep into our pockets and help those who are in need—unless we support wholeheartedly and completely, for example, the March of Dimes campaign which is now in progress—we are not doing our duty. We pray that better working and housing conditions shall exist for the man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow; but unless we pass legislation to meet this need and replace crowded slums with respectable living quarters, we are not accomplishing what we pray for. We pray that man will give up his prejudices and his hatred for his fellow men, that he may become more considerate and more humane; but unless we ourselves practice loving kindness—unless we are just and tolerant and friendly—our yrayers are empty forms.

Remember how we prayed for victory when our sons and daughters were on the firing line? That was the thing to do. But if we hadn't made sacrifices, if we hadn't offered our blood for the healing of the wounded, if we hadn't put our shoulders to the wheels of industry, our prayers would have been valueless. Prayer with action is the lesson of our Scriptures.

The rabbis of old commented upon this scene when the people stood terrified between the lashing waters and the rapidly approaching Egyptian horde. They related that in the hour of panic there were four groups among the Hebrews, each group with its own plan of action. The first group counseled, "Let's jump into the sea." The second group advised, "Let's turn and fight Pharoah." The third group, the timid one, said, "Let's go back to Egypt." The fourth group naively suggested, "Let's just make a big noise perhaps we can frighten Pharoah." Suddenly, out of this welter of confusion, out of this conflicting mumbo-jumbo, of stupid counsel, there was heard the voice of God, "Why criest thou unto Me? Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward."

The commentary says that when God made this statement, he also added to Moses: "There are times when one must be brief and times when one can be lengthy. My children are in great danger. The Red Sea is closed. The enemy is coming, and you stand there praying a long prayer to me. Speak at once, 'Forward.'" The Bible text looms up large before our eyes in our present crisis. We fought a war, a terrific war, a world shattering war, and we won the victory. How we used to look forward to the time when the last bomb would fall. We would picture a world with new gadgets and new conveniences—a world of peace, plenty, and prosperity—a world of fellowship and brotherhood. We looked for the promised land, and we have found instead a self-made Red Sea. Less than 5 years after our victory, we had Korea. Now we have an uneasy armistice and a cold war—a war of nerves. How are we going to get out of this new predicament? What will happen? A miracle? Are we looking for that? No. Out of the very air we breathe comes the answer, which, thank God, men of principle have always heard and heeded: "Speak to the children of Israel, and tell them to go forward."

There is an inevitable rule about crossing the Red Sea that we must not lose sight of. It is like the law of progress. After crossing one sea, there is no rest. It is not long before you have to cross another. There is always some force to impede your way. There is always an obstacle placed in your path. Look at the Red Seas of the past few years—the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific. They had to be crossed—the Channel to Normandy, the Siegfried Line, the airlift over Berlin, the atom bomb route to Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the mud and filth and slime of Korea. Now that these are but unpleasant memories, we find that there is still the Red Sea to the new and peaceful world to be crossed—and what a time we are having to cross it.

There are those whom we call reactionaries, standpatters, and defenders of the status quo who seem fearfully agitated at the prospect of crossing this last Red sea. They fear and hate a new world even more than they feared and hated their enemies. They are afraid of change—afraid of the unknown and the untried. They want to go back to the past—back to their special prerogatives and privileges; back to empire grabbing and exploitation; back to the white man's supremacy; back to the secret contracts with cartels and giant combines; back to armament races, the big fist, and power politics; back to the very factors, causes, agreements, and combinations that gave birth to the last World War. They literally tremble at the thought of democracy being made real—to include not only the right to vote but the right to eat, the right to learn, and the right to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience. They are afraid of racial and religious equality; afraid of extending educational and democratic opportunies to all; afraid of expansion in production and consumption; afraid of abolishing tariff barriers; afraid of high ethical concepts; afraid of the United Nations Organization; afraid of international control; afraid of every sign and token of progress. They cry out in their rage and in their distress when the Red sea is before them; they squirm and curse and bellow; they refuse to plunge in; they refuse to cross. But the Red sea is there. You can't hide from it; you can't deny its presence. Denunciation will not solve the problem.

In this fast-moving age you cannot post a long delay; you cannot appease; you cannot stand still; you cannot retreat. That sea has to be crossed now—today. No miracle will solve our dilemma; no outside force will make possible our peace, our safety, and our well-being; no bolt will suddenly come forth out of the blue to guarantee happiness and security. With us and within us alone must be the initiative, the determination, and the courage to cross that sea. Will we go forward to understanding, to sympathy, to fellowship, to brotherhood, and to peace; or will we stand still with our prejudices, our lusts, and our hates—stand still until chaos engulfs us? The question is not merely communism or capitalism. It is our world or their world. Who will create it—the madmen of Malenkov or the wise advocates of freedom and liberty for all?

The poet said, "Lord, I believe in man." Phyllis Bottome, the novelist, said, "There is no mine that can permanently explode the heart of man; nor yet a poison gas that can stop the breath of God that has created the spirit of man." We have to hold on to that conviction. These are trying days for all of us. It is a terrible ordeal through which we and our brethren are passing. Will we survive the calamitous conditions that we face? We must survive.

We have become the active trustees of the classic tradition of civilization. We and all other men of good will are challenged by a force before which we dare not bow or bend. The insolence and the naked impudence of raging heathens must not deter us from our course. In this great hour of testing we must be found worthy. The text from the Bible speaks to us—speaks to us as a people and to each of us as individuals. It bids us to take heart in our march and our climb. It tells us that a thousand Pharaohs, a hundred Red Seas, and the most scorching wilderness cannot stop us if we are willing to take the risk and pay the price for progress. It is the way of the strong, the resolute, and the man who fights with heart and soul.

Let us not give in to our fears. Let us not bemoan our fate or curse our lot. There is work to be done. There are never-ending tasks for all of us. Let us not sit idly and dejectedly by the rivers of Babylon, moping and sighing, and remembering what once we were and what we might have been. Let us be in the vanguard to fulfill our Godlike mission—the mission Moses and the prophets commanded us—the mission the poet restated in such inspiring words:

"Build me a house, a home,
In the hearts of hungering men—
Hungering for the bread of hope,
Thirsting for faith, yearning for love,
In a world of grief and pain.
Build me a house.
Build me a world, said God,
Out of man's fairest dreams;
Heaven must be its dome,
Lighted by prophet-gleams;
Justice shall be the stones
On which my world shall rise;
Truth and love its arches,
Gripping my ageless skies.
Out of dreams, on the earthly sod,
Build me a world, said God."

Build Me a House,
—By Thomas Curtis Clark.

Such a world we must have, my friends, for happiness and security. Such a world we will have if the builders thereof have vision and ideals and faith—if they have courage and hope—if they are ready and willing to make the necessary sacrifices to achieve it—if they walk forward toward distant goals. May God in His wisdom grant us the strength of will, the tenacity of purpose, and the depth of character to keep on building the divine structure that will lead all mankind to justice, to righteousness, and to peace. Amen.

A Warrior Talks of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am including herewith as a part of my remarks an editorial that recently appeared in the Topeka (Kans.) Daily Capital. It is entitled "A Warrior Talks of Peace." It concerns General MacArthur's statement on his 75th birthday anniversary.

The editorial follows:

A WARRIOR TALKS OF PEACE

General MacArthur's call for an end to all wars was almost drowned out by the preparations for defense of Formosa, and the wrangling between the United States and Communist China. Almost simultaneously, Red Russia tried to muddy the European defense waters with a proposal that could not be accepted by any of the NATO nations. Congress was putting finishing touches to President Eisenhower's request for authority to defend Formosa, even to the possible extent of action on the China mainland.

There is no question but that the famous old warrior, hero of the war against Japan, and in Korea, is right in his assertion that abolition of war would be a blessing to mankind beyond the wildest imagination of mankind. He probably was correct in his analysis of the antiwar sentiment among the people on both sides of the Iron Curtain. No sensible people want war, and have not since the dawn of written history. But they have been led into the conflict by selfish leaders, who themselves rarely had to fight.

With the present nuclear weapons as a threat of total destruction, it is foreseeable that in time mankind must either forgo warfare or face extinction. The blundering politicians, diplomats, and greedy profiteers who grow fat on human misery must in time evolve peaceful means of settling international disputes. This may entail an almost complete change in human nature, for the rank and file of the people always have arisen to defense of their countries, or to attack other nations, when emotionally aroused by demagogs of the type that have started wars since time immemorial.

General MacArthur said that strong leaders are needed to bring about an end to war. He is right, of course, but the Communist conspiracy must be coped with before peace is established. If the Reds succeed in dominating the world, as they confidently expect to do, the ensuing slavery would be worse than the peace they would impose. But General MacArthur's words may be the clarion call to start leaders in the free nations to thinking more about peace than of war. He may be the "John the Baptist" who points the way to outlawing war for all time.

Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an address I delivered at the ceremonies commemorating the birthday of Thaddeus Kosciusko, held Sunday afternoon, February 13, before the statue of General Kosciusko in Lafayette Park, Washington, D. C.

The address follows:

I am proud to join in these ceremonies commemorating the birthday of Thaddeus Kosciusko. The name Kosciusko stands as one of the solid blocks forming the foundation of our great American democracy. It was General Kosciusko, a skilled military leader and great fighter for human freedom and individual liberty, who joined with the American patriots of 1776 in support of the great moral and political principles set forth in the American Declaration of Independence. Gen. George Washington, commander in chief of our Army, recognized in Kosciusko that great spark of unwavering devotion for the cause of human freedom and accordingly made a place for the use of his great military talents and inspiring leadership in our struggle for national independence.

You and I know the tremendous contribution made by Kosciusko to the American way of life with all its wonderful benefits which we today enjoy. We also know that the name Kosciusko is close to the hearts of the Polish people everywhere in the world because he has stood as one of the great symbols of Poland's historic struggles for freedom and national independence. Indeed, the name Kosciusko has earned a place in the hearts of all freedom-loving people.

We Americans have always revered the name of Kosciusko and have each year on the occasion of his birthday, held appropriate ceremonies in order to reemphasize the great principles for which he fought and died. It is sad to recall how the revered name of Kosciusko has been used for evil and treasonous purposes. During World War II the Russians established a propaganda organ called Kosciusko station. This radio station, using the Polish language, beamed programs into occupied Poland. As the Russian Army reached the gates of Warsaw and was encamped on the opposite side of the Vistula River, this so-called Kosciusko station beamed this appeal to the Polish people:

"People of Warsaw, to arms. The whole population should gather round the national council and the underground army. Attack the Germans * * * assist the Red army in crossing the Vistula. Give information and show the best fords. The more than a million inhabitants ought to become an army of a million men fighting for liberation and destroying the German invaders."

The Polish people, led by the home army, rose to a man and although poorly equipped and in short supply, openly attacked the Nazi occupier of Warsaw. The valiant Poles drove the Nazi occupier out of Warsaw and set up a Polish administration, but strangely, as soon as the Poles had this military victory, the Red army withdrew from the outskirts of the city, retreated to the opposite side of the Vistula River. The Russians invited the well-equipped Nazis to return and destroy the backbone of the Polish Army and its heroic resistance forces. The struggle for Warsaw lasted for 63 days, until on October 2 there was not a drop of water left to drink in Warsaw, nothing to eat and no ammunition for the patriotic fighters. Over 250,000 Poles died in this struggle. By this device the Russians used the well-equipped Nazis to destroy large numbers of the Polish intelligentsia, the leaders, and the patriots.

The people of the free world will never forget the manner in which the Russians have desecrated the name of Kosciusko. We, the American people, will surely never forget the manner in which the Russians used the name of a great American patriot, Kosciusko, in order to bring about the destruction of over 250,000 freedom-loving Poles.

There can be no peace until Poland is once again a free and independent nation.

Questionnaire on Issues Facing the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD my own remarks in the form of a letter-questionnaire, which I am sending to the folks in my district. These questionnaires are helpful in determining the views of my constituents on various problems facing Congress.

DEAR FRIENDS: This is the fifth time I have sent a questionnaire to every boxholder in the Fourth Congressional District of Nebraska. I am seeking your opinion on issues facing the Congress. While I must make my own independent decision as to how I will finally vote on national issues, I do want to say that your answers to the questions listed below will assist me in understanding your views on these national problems.

You will remember that in the off-election years it is my custom to hold government clinics in each of the 38 courthouses in the Fourth District. The first hour is devoted to Youth Wants To Know. I hope to continue that practice this late summer and fall. Here again, I will have an opportunity to meet you personally and to have you ask questions in an open forum. These question-and-answer sessions are interesting and informative.

I trust you will return the questionnaire. You will be taking part in your Government. Your answers will assist me, as a Member of Congress, to do a better job.

Yours truly,

A. L. MILLER,
Member of Congress, Fourth District of Nebraska.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What type of farm program do you favor? Flexible ☐, 90 percent ☐, 100 percent ☐.

2. Would you favor a bushel quota on wheat? Yes ☐, no ☐.

3. Would you favor a two-price system on marketing wheat? Yes ☐, no ☐.

4. Should 18-year-olds vote? Yes ☐, no ☐.

5. Do you favor present social security for farmers? Yes ☐, no ☐.

6. Your choice for President in 1956—Eisenhower ☐, Stevenson ☐, others ☐.

7. Should tariffs be lowered ☐, raised ☐, or kept as they are ☐?
8. Do you favor the present foreign policy? Yes ☐, no ☐.
9. Should we grant more foreign aid ☐ or less ☐?
10. Should there be Federal aid to education? Yes ☐, no ☐.
11. Should there be Federal aid for school construction? Yes ☐, no ☐.
12. Do you favor universal military training? Yes ☐, no ☐.
13. Do you prefer the present Selective Service System? Yes ☐, no ☐.
14. Do you favor raising postal rates to meet the cost of service? Yes ☐, no ☐.
15. Should Communist China be admitted to the United Nations? Yes ☐, no ☐.
16. Should Alaska be made a new State? Yes ☐, no ☐.
17. Should Hawaii be made a new State? Yes ☐, no ☐.
18. Do you favor a State sales tax? Yes ☐, no ☐.

Now and Then

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by John G. Bragaw from the Washington Daily News of Washington, N. C., of Friday, February 11, 1955:

NOW AND THEN
(By John G. Bragaw)

A man whose writings I like to follow was expressing himself the other day on the great American habit of blaming the other fellow for our own shortcomings—in business, in society, in government, and in the church. He quoted Will Rogers' assertion that there have been three periods of American history—the passing of the Indian, the passing of the buffalo, and the passing of the buck. Rogers added that we are living in the third period.

We can see evidences of the truth of the statement all around us. Probably 1 out of 5 people who discuss the country's affairs will say at some point in the conversation that there are too many crooks in Government positions and find other fault with everything done. Yet the likelihood is that 2, maybe 3, out of those 4 do not take the trouble to vote when there is an election.

All along the route we find the same thing. If a basketball or football team is winning, we will say, "We are playing great ball." But if they are losing "we" isn't the word used: "They just don't know how to play." It's "they," not "we."

This man I was reading says, "Certainly there is too much buck-passing among those in the church." And he doesn't mean any one church: he means all of them. "A considerable number of people try to shift their responsibility as Christians to other members of their own families. Parents who never attend church excuse themselves by explaining, "We send our children to Sunday school." They seem to think that this settles the whole matter. Husbands try to work their religion through their wives: "I never go, but my wife is generally there." A considerable number of young married people try to make their parents proxy for them: "We don't go, but I think you'll find mother and father always in their places."

"Other members of the church try to shift their responsibilities to their neighbors. If they stay away from church today, they reason that they will not be missed because there will be so many others present. They need not take part in the men's club, because there are plenty of other men to do that job. They need not make a definite pledge to the church because there will be plenty of other pledges to take care of the budget."

A great orchestra director once stopped a concert before a large audience because one of his musicians was not performing. "As the music swept through the hall, with scores of instruments playing in perfect harmony, amid the sound of the flute, cello, cornet, and drum, the man playing the piccolo, away over in the corner, said to himself, 'With all these instruments playing, my one little piccolo will not be missed,' and so he stopped. Immediately the conductor lifted his hand signalled for quiet. When all was silent he called out, 'Where is the piccolo?' The whole performance was marred by the absence of the piccolo. The great Director of the universe has commissioned His church, like a large orchestra, to produce music for the healing of the world. If the work is to be done effectively, every individual must be in his place, playing his part."

School Construction by the Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, the following editorials pertaining to President Eisenhower's message on the need for the Federal Government's granting aid to the States and local communities for school construction contain a great deal of sound commonsense, and they should receive careful attention on the part of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle:

[From the Stanton News-Leader]

LET UNCLE STAY OUT

What Mr. Eisenhower proposes is essentially another billion-plus spending program, in an era of deficit spending which threatens the fiscal soundness of the Nation. The place to meet school construction needs is at the local level, and with rare exceptions, the localities are capable of meeting such needs. Where they are not, or where they refuse to do so, the State and not the Federal Government should step in.

The best way for the Federal Government to help the schools is to ease the burden of taxation so as to encourage the localities to discharge their own responsibilities. This involves a curtailment of spending, which is possible both as to foreign aid and costly public works which could well be deferred. It would be unsafe to cut defense spending at this time, but the objective of economy in this field should always be kept in sight.

Experience has shown that every scheme of the Federal Government for dispensing aid to the States is extravagant, creates a new bureaucracy, and causes new demands on the taxpayers. The people pay in the end, so why look to Washington for aid which spells higher costs and more Federal taxation, and opens the door to Federal control of public education, with all the evils that could bring?

[From the Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch]

A DANGEROUS VENTURE

It is a delusion to believe that the Federal Government has some magical superiority over the States in producing money for these big undertakings. In those fields where State authority is supreme the States can raise the funds if they deem the need great enough and if the taxpayers are capable of assuming the new burden. Obtaining the money from the Federal Government is a roundabout, costly and possibly disastrous way of extracting money from the same taxpayers.

Although the President insists that the program would be carried forward without interference with the responsibility of State and local school systems, the tendency of Federal influence to follow Federal money is virtually indestructible. Despite the urgency of the classroom need and despite the appeal which this program may have for some hard-pressed communities, it would be a dangerous venture into a field which should remain the exclusive concern of the States.

Rob Peter To Pay Paul?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the President has called for a $7 billion Federal-State emergency school-construction program. Several bills to provide aid in one form or another are present before the Congress. In connection with these proposals for Federal aid to school construction, I call attention to the following editorial from the January 25, 1955, edition of the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier:

Tremendous pressure is building up in Congress to provide Federal aid for school construction. President Eisenhower has endorsed some kind of aid; and constituents whose children are going to school half days or attending classes in dark basements or firetraps are putting pressure on their Representatives.

Such Federal aid, however, presents a tremendous problem of fair distribution of funds. Communities like Waterloo have already bonded themselves heavily to meet their classroom needs and are paying heavy local taxes already. Why should Waterloo people pay Federal taxes to help a comparable community build its schools when that community has voted down school bond issues?

True, many school districts do not have the assessed valuation behind them to pay for new schools. In many, probably the majority of instances, however, this is because the school district involved is too small to be efficient. Many a school district with a high school of less than 100 students should receive no State or Federal aid because such help would be merely a subsidy for inefficiency.

We feel confident that the great majority of Iowans oppose Federal aid for school construction. Such aid means only that Iowans send their money to Washington, a portion is subtracted for administration expense and a lesser amount is then returned to us under conditions that limit our freedom of choice.

The one semivalid argument for Federal aid is the equalization plea, tax the wealthy areas to provide school facilities in the poor

areas. If this principle is adopted, however, the whole foundation of local government everywhere is undermined. Once Federal funds are provided for local government, local policies will inevitably be set in Washington rather than at home. Those who demand Federal aid today apparently have no conception of the vicious consequences of their acts.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting the following statement in opposition to H. R. 1 by Richard H. Anthony, executive secretary of the American Tariff League, Inc., before the House Ways and Means Committee on January 26, 1955:

Congress is being urged to pass H. R. 1 as an instrument of United States foreign policy. According to the Secretary of State, H. R. 1 "will promote the security and welfare of the United States," which "cannot be achieved without cooperative relations with other nations."

The passage of H. R. 1 is also being urged as a means of obtaining commercial advantage for certain segments of the United States economy. The Secretary of Commerce told your committee that "we should continue the trade-agreements legislation for the same reason as it was started, in the first place—as an important export-promotion measure."

Of course, there is no guaranty that the enactment of H. R. 1 would accomplish either of these cross purposes. It is not a direct, positive approach to the underlying economic problems of other countries, and it would not, of itself, promote our exports. It permits the further lowering of our tariffs on the theory that other countries will take advantage of our markets and will ease their manifold restrictions against our goods. The theory cannot be proved to have worked that way before. Our tariff level has fallen 70 percent since 1934, and there are now more restrictions raised against us abroad than when the trade-agreements program started.

The only certainty ahead if H. R. 1 is enacted is that United States tariffs will be cut. The American Tariff League represents industrial and agricultural producers some of whom are claiming injury due to past reductions, many of whom are extremely apprehensive over the effect on them of the contemplated trade agreement with and for the benefit of Japan, and all of whom see potential danger to them in the provisions of H. R. 1.

Their fears are justified by the earlier testimony on this bill. The Secretary of State said "the bill is drafted so as to cushion our economy against undue shock by reason of competitive imports." But, apparently, shock is due in some degree. Most witnesses who minimized the danger of injury from further tariff cutting pointed out that the peril-point and escape-clause provisions of the trade-agreements laws were not repealed by H. R. 1. They neglected to say that the peril-point provision has yet to be tested in multilateral tariff negotiations and that the escape clause has been invoked only five times since it was first included in the 1943 agreement with Mexico.

In view of the doubtful advantages to be gained abroad from the bill and the prospect of disadvantages to producers at home, the league opposes the enactment of H. R. 1.

In outlining our specific objections we must point out that H. R. 1 is so complicated that it is difficult to envision all its ramifications. We have yet to see an official analysis of its provisions and their relationship to present law.

The bill appears to extend and enlarge the President's authority to enter into executive agreements which would become law without being referred to Congress for ratification, and to permit the President to cut certain tariffs on his own, regardless of any trade agreement, an entirely new grant of power.

H. R. 1 also provides authority for a new type of trade agreement, that is, the one about to be negotiated with Japan and other countries not yet named. Heretofore our agreements, bilateral or multilateral, have been negotiated on the basis that other countries would make tariff concessions for the benefit of the United States in return for tariff concessions we made to them. That was the kind of quid pro quo intended under the trade-agreements program, although in practice we often gave more than we received.

Under the contemplated agreement with Japan and third countries the announced objective is to provide export markets for Japan. That is, it is proposed that we reduce our tariffs on items of interest to Japan and to third countries, in return for which those third countries would reduce their tariffs on items of interest to Japan.

H. R. 1 expressly provides authority for the President to enter into this wholly new type of agreement after June 12, 1955.

The league has always maintained that the executive trade agreement method of setting tariffs is potentially irresponsible and undesirable. The new form of agreement with Japan and third countries is even more irresponsible and undesirable than earlier agreements because by design we intend to trade away our tariffs, and hence our bargaining power, without getting any comparable advantages for our exports in return.

While we do not favor the executive agreement method, if Congress should determine to extend the President's basic authority to enter into trade agreements we urge that it do so within the terms of the current 1954 extension and not embark upon these wholly new concepts of delegated powers.

The Secretary of State said the bill "will enable the United States to make a new start in promoting freer trade policies on the part of other nations," but he did not say just what program was contemplated. It seems to us that Congress ought to know what the executive branch intends to do with these broader powers before enacting them.

The Secretary also said, in answer to questioning, that it was hoped the current revision of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade would be completed in February, and that it would be sent to Congress. It seems to us that Congress ought to have a look at that revision before considering those provisions of H. R. 1 which appear to give the President authority to commit the United States to a revised GATT to a degree not entirely clear.

We refer to the language appearing on page 2, lines 21 to 25 and page 3, lines 1 to 8, which H. R. 1 would add to the President's current basic authority "to enter into foreign trade agreements with foreign governments or instrumentalities thereof." The new language would cover agreements "containing provisions with respect to international trade, including provisions relating to tariffs, to most-favored-nation standards and other standards of nondiscriminatory treatment affecting such trade, to quantitative import and export restrictions, to customs formalities, and to other matters relating to such trade designed to promote the purpose of this section similar to any of the foregoing: *Provided*, That, except as authorized by subparagraph (B) of this paragraph, no such provision shall be given effect in the United States in a manner inconsistent with existing legislation of the United States."

The earlier part of the new language is descriptive of the commercial-policy section, that is, the substantive provisions, of GATT. The proviso is in the words of the protocol of provisional application of GATT which commits a signatory country to apply the commercial-policy provisions "to the fullest extent not inconsistent with existing legislation."

The President's authority, as broadened in H. R. 1, would thus apparently permit him to commit the United States either (1) to a new GATT protocol, or (2) to GATT definitively insofar as it does not conflict with existing United States law, in either case without having to refer the instrument to Congress for ratification.

The President has promised to refer to Congress the organizational provisions of the revised GATT, but not its substantive provisions, that is, not its commercial-policy section. In the revisions of GATT, how going on behind closed doors at Geneva, the two parts may be separated. Only the organizational part may be sent to Congress. The United States could be committed to the substantive part by executive agreement under the broad powers of H. R. 1.

The proviso that appears to safeguard existing United States law is illusory. If Congress subsequently passed laws at variance with GATT provisions the United States would be in the position of having breached the agreement. The attention of your committee has already been drawn to the possibility that H. R. 1 might permit an agreement ending United States quotas on agricultural products under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, or otherwise. These quotas constitute one of the bones of contention at Geneva, according to recent press reports.

Another way in which the intent of Congress could be circumvented under the powers of H. R. 1 is in connection with the escape clause. Existing law states, as a principle, that the United States may withdraw concessions if an American producer is injured, and it provides for the mechanics of processing escape-clause applications within the United States. Our law does not state how the escape clause may be invoked in GATT, nor whether the United States will submit to GATT rulings and accept as final retaliatory measures of other countries, or penalties, should we withdraw a concession.

The GATT escape-clause machinery is part of the substantive GATT provisions, now being revised. Suppose the revision provided or permitted, for example, when one country invokes the escape clause and withdraws a concession, that GATT could impose monetary damages on that country for the benefit of other countries interested, or simply as a penalty. Under H. R. 1 the United States seemingly could be commited to such a policy by executive agreement, since it does not conflict with our existing law. If Congress later refused to appropriate for such damages, the United States would be in the position of breaching the agreement.

This is illustrative of possible situations that ought to be explored by Congress before the broad powers of H. R. 1 are bestowed on the executive branch.

It may be thought that the peril-point provisions of United States law will prevent injury to American producers and workers, but we again remind your committee that the peril point has yet to be fully tested in multilateral negotiations. We believe Congress should see how the peril-point procedure works in the Japanese negotiations before considering H. R. 1, which permits addi-

tional rate reductions and so increases the risk of injury to American producers and workers.

Congress last year set the United States Tariff Commission the task of studying all the tariff schedules with a view to their modernization and simplification, without changing the rates, if possible. Being aware that the task might be formidable, Congress directed the Commission to file an interim report with your committee and the Senate Finance Committee by March 15, 1955, on the progress made, the difficulties encountered, and on suggested standards and methods for proceeding further. We believe your committee should have the benefit of that interim report before acting on H. R. 1 which would permit a further proliferation of rates and categories of commodities for customs purposes.

In short, there are compelling reasons for postponing consideration of H. R. 1.

It has been suggested that the passage of H. R. 1 would give a psychological boost to the morale of our friends abroad. We think that point debatable. However, we know that its passage will depress the morale of a considerable portion of American labor, American agriculture, and American industry.

Under its alternative approaches H. R. 1 permits the reduction of every single United States tariff rate, whether or not it has been reduced before, and whether or not it is adequate to safeguard domestic workers and producers.

The 15-percent reduction provision has its genesis in the so-called French plan presented to GATT a few years ago as an across-the-board tariff-cutting scheme. It could be used to reduce again rates already reduced partially or fully under previous extensions of the Trade Agreements Act.

The provision for reducing by 50 percent rates on items being imported in negligible quantities has no definitions or criteria so that the extent of its use cannot be foreseen. This is the provision the President may invoke on his own, without any relation to a trade agreement and without submission to Congress, a new concept of delegated tariffmaking power.

The provision for reducing rates above 50 percent to that figure permits lopping off any rate above an arbitrary level, based on a representative period not otherwise defined. This provision is obviously based on the erroneous assumption that all rates above a certain level can be characterized as undesirable. It is our view that each tariff rate must be judged on its own merits, considering the purpose for which it is set.

This three-pronged attack on tariff rates, after the single approach in all the extensions to date, suggests to league members that a mopping-up operation is intended on our tariff structure. They are understandingly apprehensive.

The bill is being offered to advance our national interest, and we recognize that our national interest has its international aspects. We agree with President Eisenhower's concise description of the underlying basis for a foreign trade policy, as set forth in his special message of January 10, as follows:

"For every country in the free world economic strength is dependent upon high levels of economic activity internally and high levels of international trade. No nation can be economically self-sufficient. Nations must buy from other nations, and in order to pay for what they buy they must sell."

Measured by that formula the United States has done its share and more. Our tariff level is low. We have a high level of foreign trade, even on commercial account. We have a dynamic economy and a growing population. For the long term our external trade will continue to increase no matter what we do with our tariffs, because—in the President's words—we must buy from other nations, and in order to pay for what we buy we must sell.

The program envisioned in H. R. 1 has been labeled a moderate one. It is certainly a feeble attack on such knotty problems of foreign countries as balance-of-payments difficulties, currency convertibility, and economic development.

It may seem a paradox that a law which is ineffective as an attack on basic foreign economic problems may have a damaging effect on American industry and labor, but it is true. Small quantities of imports of a commodity, particularly from such low-wage countries as Japan, can disrupt the price structure,, the merchandising channels, the production schedules, and hence the employment and prosperity in the American industry producing a competitive commodity.

When uncertainty over tariff action permeates American agriculture and industry, and when unemployment, loss of production, and curbing of capital expansion are spotted here and there throughout the country, there will be present the ingredients of general economic distress. Added to any setbacks due to purely domestic causes, injury from tariff cuts may set off a downward trend in the national level of prosperity.

Yet, while the wholesale tariff cutting which H. R. 1 invites might imperil our economy, it will not create the American supermarket for foreign goods which our friends abroad have been led to expect. The American market cannot be a substitute for the natural, traditional outlets for such exporting countries as Japan, unless we are willing to disband whole industries here, rearrange the population, and bid farewell to certain worker and management skills important to a diversified economy and national security.

By intimating that further cutting our already low tariffs is going to ease the problems of other countries, we give them false hopes and lay up ill will for ourselves.

Because H. R. 1 is an ineffective instrument of our foreign policy, because it bestows on the executive branch unprecedented authority and broader powers than Congress has heretofore seen fit to delegate, because it invites a wholesole reduction of our tariffs, with ever greater risk of injury to American workers, farmers, and producers, and because the hurry to push this bill through Congress prevents a careful study of its relationship to many pending proposals yet unrevealed, we urge that H. R. 1 not be enacted.

Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I stood with my four children at the foot of the monument in Lafayette Park which commemorates Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko, whose birthday was February 12 and whom the Nation's capital paid tribute to yesterday.

General Kosciusko was an early battler for American freedom. He came to our shores when this Nation was in infancy to take part in the American Revolutionary War.

Under Kosciusko's leadership in 1777 the fortifications at West Point were completed, and he served gallantly in the campaigns at Saratoga and the Carolinas.

After his return to Poland, General Kosciusko continued to fight for liberty in his homeland. He led the Polish people in their struggles against Prussian and Russian oppression.

In Milwaukee, as in many other American cities, there is a monument to the great General Kosciusko which I have often visited with my family. These Kosciusko monuments serve as an inspiration to the children of this generation.

Here was a Polish patriot with a restless hatred of tyranny. He threw himself into the cause of liberty here in the New World, earning the gratitude of countless citizens who have flourished in the freedom he helped to establish.

What practical things can we do to commemorate Kosciusko and the Polish people who have suffered so much for the cause of human freedom?

First, we should liberalize our immigration laws to permit more persons of Polish descent to enter this Nation.

Second, we must wage a vigorous program to keep alive the hopes for a democratic government among the Polish people by expanding our Voice of America.

And third, we should promptly ratify the world genocide convention making it a crime against humanity and international law for any dictator to exterminate whole nations, races, or religions.

These are but a few of the steps our Nation can take now to commemorate General Kosciusko.

Age Discrimination in Government Employment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, there are indications that provisions of law, approved by Congress in 1952, supposedly abolishing all age limits for Federal employment except those essential to performance of the word, are being ignored by the United States Civil Service Commission.

This disregard for employment policy established by Congress on the part of the Commission has come to my attention because of the experience of a constituent, Mr. Nick Mlinarich, of East St. Louis, Ill.

Mr. Mlinarich applied for a position as tax collector for the Bureau of Internal Revenue. His application was rejected by the United States Civil Service Commission with a notation that the age limit for this position has been set at 35 years.

There is no question about Mr. Mlinarich's physical capability to perform this particular type of work. It was to take care of just such cases that Congress itself abolished age limits on hiring of personnel for Government positions.

While it is true that the law does not totally eliminate maximum age limits, it states the principle that age limits should not be imposed generally, and implies that the Civil Service Commission should exercise sound judgment to apply age limits on a practical basis. In my opinion, rejecting applicants at the age of 35 for the position of a tax collector with the Bureau of Internal Revenue indicates that the Commission is not applying the principle of the law in a practical way.

It is ironical that the United States Civil Service Commission has approved age limits as low as 35 years on the hiring for Government positions at the same time the United States Department of Labor has been campaigning against age discrimination by private employers.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following article on this subject which appeared in the February 17 issue of the Machinist, the official weekly publication of the International Association of Machinists:

IAM INVESTIGATION REVEALS 35-YEAR HIRING AGE LIMIT FOR MANY FEDERAL POSTS

The United States Civil Service Commission has approved age limits, many as low as 35 years on hiring for thousands of Government jobs during the past 2 years, the Machinist learned this week. This age discrimination in Government employment policies has occurred despite a law adopted by Congress in 1952 supposedly abolishing all age limits except those essential to performance of the work. At the same time, the United States Department of Labor has been campaigning against age discrimination by private employers.

The inquiry into the age-limit policies of the United States Civil Service Commission was touched off by an IAM member, Nick Mlinarich of IAM Lodge, No. 121, East St. Louis, Ill.

Temporarily laid off his job, Mlinarich sought work elsewhere. One of the jobs he applied for was that of tax collector for the Treasury's Bureau of Internal Revenue. Mlinarich is 36 and a bowler and softball player. He was stunned when his application card was returned from the United States Civil Service Commission office at Chicago recently with a notation in red pencil that the top age limit for applicants is 35 years. The job pays $3,410 a year, about $65.50 a week.

Mlinarich has since been rehired at his old job, but is still interested in seeing that other over-35 jobhunters aren't discriminated against as he was. He wrote The Machinist:

"The Government has been preaching antidiscrimination in employing people and has requested that employers hire handicapped and older people and the like. Unless my conception of a tax collector's job is all wrong, I can't see what age would have to do with fulfilling the requirements. If 36 is too old for job hunting, maybe I should apply for my old-age pension." The inquiry touched off by this IAM member's complaint reveals that, despite the 1952 act of Congress, the Civil Service Commission has chosen to set top age limits on applicants who will be considered for scores of different categories of jobs. These limits are waived only in the case of veterans.

GENERAL RESTRICTIONS

These top limits range from 35 and 40 up to 62 years, which was the general Government age limit for all United States job applicants before Congress passed the 1952 act.

A Civil Service Commission official at Washington told the Machinist that the lower age restrictions were justified from two points of view:

Where the job is hazardous or requires special physical strength or condition, such as various types of Government police work, guard duty, aerial work, and the like.

Where the job is considered to be a trainee-type position in which the individual selected is expected to work up through the service as a career employee.

The tax-collector post which Mlinarich sought falls in the latter category, the Civil Service Commission claims. However, the training period for a career as tax collector is only 6 months.

THIRTY-FIVE OR UNDER

The records show that many other jobs are also restricted to applicants 35 or under, if they are not veterans. These include almost all the so-called GS–5 professional positions including such jobs as agronomist, soil conservationist, physicist, engineer, and historian.

There is also a lower paid category of aids, such as agricultural aid, engineering aid, range management and conservation aid, and similar posts which have the 35-year limit for applicants.

A field assistant trainee in the Social Security Survivors Insurance Division also must be 35 or under to qualify.

Many of the entering jobs in the category of guards, agents, inspectors, and other police-type work have 35-year limits.

OTHER CATEGORIES

Post Office substitute carriers, clerks, and garagemen-drivers are under a 50-year age limit.

At the top of the age scale, the former 62-year-old limit for applicants for a great number of Government clerical positions has been removed. These employees can be hired up to 70, with the possibility of 1-year temporary appointments from year to year thereafter.

However, civil-service records show that this is not true for many of the craft positions—including machinists, still under a 62-year hiring limit. Here are some other categories where jobs are still under the 62-year limit for nonveteran applicants:

Blacksmith, boilermaker, bulldozer operator, carpenter, electrician, laborer, mason, painter, plasterer, plumber, truck driver, welder, sheet metal worker, and many others.

Many jobs, including bookkeepers and typists, in the Panama Canal Zone have a 45-year limit for applicants who are not veterans.

Civil service records show that ever since the law went into effect in early 1953 there has been a steady increase in the number of jobs to which discriminatory age limits have been applied.

NOT CONSISTENT

As frequently happens, the left hand doesn't know what the right is doing. While the United States Civil Service Commission has been placing new age limits on job applicants, the United States Department of Labor is campaigning for the hiring of more older workers. United States Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell has said:

"By 1975, according to the Census Bureau, the number of persons 45 and over will total more than 63 million, an increase of 40 percent over 1953. This group will constitute one-half the population over 20 years of age.

"Unless something is done to give them job opportunities, an estimated half of our adult population will be condemned to a life of economic uselessness."

Joblessness in a Boom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the joblessness in many areas of the United States is rising to haunt the Nation, and no positive means are being taken to relieve it.

With permission to extend my remarks, I am including an article from Labor's Daily by Sylvia Porter. This article is very clear and understandable. It follows:

JOBLESSNESS IN A BOOM

(By Sylvia Porter)

Right now, there are probably more than 3,500,000 American men and women looking for jobs, but unable to find them in our land—and when the Government's official tally of unemployment in the February-March period is released, it may show the total above 4 million.

A 4-million total of jobless would admittedly be an economic "red flag" and be politically explosive.

Yet there unquestionably is a "rosy glow" throughout our economy in this second month of 1955.

There is no doubt that we have been in a rising business trend since the fall of 1954. It well may be that this year out output of goods and services will hit an all-time high.

This is it, the economic paradox of our times; a hard core of unemployment and at certain seasons a steeply rising total of jobless in a period of overall good times.

To date all official statements from the administration have soft-pedaled or ignored this.

In his economic report, for instance, President Eisenhower said "developments hold out promise that we shall achieve a high and satisfactory level of employment within the current year."

Yet, the puzzler remains: In today's good times, millions can't find jobs, and in some areas unemployment is critical.

Why this paradox? Let's rip apart the economists' technical jargon, put it into our language. Here are the two reasons why:

1. Every year more people are coming into our labor force than are leaving it, and at today's pace of advance, industry is not creating enough new jobs to absorb the extra workers.

The official estimate is that a full million additional workers will be seeking jobs in 1955. To absorb all of these our economy would have to be expanding at a much faster rate than it is.

2. Every year our workers and machines are becoming more efficient—meaning it is taking fewer workers to turn out the same total of goods.

In November 1954, industry turned out the same total of goods as in November 1953—but with 850,000 fewer workers. That tells the tale. To offset the increasing "productivity" of workers and machines, industry would have to be expanding at a much faster rate than it is.

The considered forecast of top experts is that our economy will expand by $10 to $12 billion this year. But to slash unemployment to 1953's good-times level, the judgment is that our growth in 1955 would have to reach $25 billion to $30 billion. Mighty few think this is in the cards.

So? So this is our choice:

We can settle for a steady but moderate expansion in our economy this year and in the years to come. And we can argue that in this sort of business climate prices will be stable, inflation will remain under control, the dollars' value will hold, and, in the end, America will be stronger and the majority will be better off.

But if we settle for this, we also accept the likelihood that millions of jobless families will find chatter of prosperity a bitter mockery and unemployment will be our key problem.

Or we can insist on a much bigger and faster expansion this year and in the years to come and we can demand Government actions—immediate tax cuts, speeded-up spending, etc., to impel the growth.

But if we insist on this, we also accept the risks of a rising price level, a renewed inflation, and the danger that the dollar's value will shrink year after year.

Application of H. R. 1 to Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following text of the statement filed by the Textile Workers Union of America with the House Committee on Ways and Means which has been furnished me by Mr. John W. Edelman, Washington representative, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO:

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA,
New York, N. Y., January 24, 1955.

The Honorable JERE COOPER,
The House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. COOPER: We herewith wish to express our position concerning H. R. 1, concerning which you are now conducting hearings. Basically, our position relates to the application of H. R. 1 to the textile industry. It is that such industries should be exempt and excluded from the application of the provisions of the proposed bill, so that further reductions in rates of the appropriate schedules be prohibited.

We are, therefore, proposing that a further provision be included, providing such exemption, which would read:

"No foreign trade agreement entered into by the President after January 1, 1955, under section 350 of the Tariff Act, as amended and extended (19 U. S. C., sec. 1351), shall operate to reduce, for any period on or after the effective date of this act, the rates of duty which were applicable on January 1, 1955, with respect to any of the articles listed in sections 901–918, 921–923 of schedule 9; sections 1002–1023 of schedule 10; sections 1105–1122 of schedule 11; sections 1202–1211 of schedule 12; sections 1301–1312 of schedule 13."

We hope that the committee further resolves that this exemption shall be equally binding upon the President of the United States in his further negotiations with the Government of Japan.

We wish to make evident one basic fact to you and the members of your committee. The industry likely to be primarily affected by reductions in tariff rates is the textile industry. Current estimates by Dr. Howard Piquet indicate that one-half of the estimated increase in imports likely to result from such reductions would consist of textiles. A movement for more extensive imports at the expense of domestic industry would, therefore, primarily affect the textile industry.

We are determined to stop this movement, designed to make the textile industry the sacrificial lamb for the aggressive large-scale American industries promoting foreign exports. The present bill is clearly an attempt to sacrifice some American industries for the purpose of promoting immediate exports by others.

The present bill is being promoted behind a barrage of claims which cannot stand up under careful and close scrutiny. The main accomplishment will be a gesture to the export interests of some foreign countries and of the United States. They have exaggerated the possible economic advantages which would result from the present bill or even from a sweeping removal of tariff restrictions. There will be individual beneficiaries among the foreign countries, but the absolute value of increased imports would be rather minimal. The primary result would be the injuries to established American industries, rather than assistance to the whole of the foreign economies. The impact on specific groups of American employees will be immense, but the benefits to the balance of payments of foreign countries will be of small order.

It is important to record the important fact that the ratio of imports to American production has been reduced over the last few decades, not because of import barriers but because of the ability of the American economy to produce more cheaply and economically, and to substitute synthetic products for former imports. We eliminated more opportunities for foreign earnings through the production of nylon, synthetic rubber, dacron, orlon, and similar products, than we have ever stopped through our tariff rates. To contend otherwise is to overlook the facts of history.

The major impact, therefore, is the destruction of or severe injury to some American industries.

One of the major defects of the current bill is that it permits the indiscriminate application of lower rates without providing the President of the United States any guidance as to the type of industries which should be protected and what guide posts might properly be used in determining the size and range of injury which may be permissible. It is a reckless delegation of power. It appears to us that it is incumbent upon the Congress of the United States to itemize such restrictions and concerns and to enumerate the areas where injury may not be done.

We believe, for reasons we have previously enumerated, that no such injury should be perpetrated upon the American textile industry. These may be summarized as follows:

1. A high level of unemployment prevails in many divisions of the textile industry. Alternative employments are limited in textile areas.

2. Current technological changes, interfiber, interprocess, and interproduct competition are threatening many more jobs.

3. In view of the prevalence of unemployment, this is an inopportune time for further concessions which would complicate the adjustment process.

4. Certain branches of the textile industry included in the current negotiations are the branches of the traditional industries which have the best chance for continued survival in interfiber competition and therefore should not be threatened by a new increase in the volume of imports.

5. The industry has lost many foreign markets and export volume has been sharply reduced and is further threatened.

6. Textile imports should not be conceived as primary sources of international trade for countries involved in the proposed negotiations.

7. The maintenance of an adequate American textile industry is essential to our national standard of living, position, and defense.

8. The American textile industry is one of the largest of all textile industries and its position must be maintained.

9. Protection of the American industry has had few unfavorable effects upon the American or world textile economy.

10. The tariff mechanism is a faulty determinant of the flow of textiles and is complicated by current raw-material price polices.

11. Concessions should not be negotiated for products which are primarily supplied by countries other than those with whom negotiations are contemplated.

12. Limited types of imports of textile products can contribute to new ideas, developments, fabrics, and designs, but they should not come in such volume as to destroy segments of the American industry.

13. We urge the promotion of international fair-labor standards in the world textile industry to avoid competition on the basis of exploited labor.

We have reiterated on several occasions our conviction that textile imports into this country can only have a destructive effect upon our domestic industry which is now suffering from widespread disorganization and in which hundreds of thousands of unemployed may be found. The benefits resulting to the foreign producers will be limited. They will disorganize the markets temporarily, accelerate the closing of mills, and aggravate the unemployment conditions, but in the long run they will be unable to match the efficiency, designing, and merchandising qualities of the American market. The rising efficiency in the American industry has enabled the American textile industry to meet foreign exports with considerable success. Current developments promise to increase this capacity to meet the foreign exporter in the American market. But during this transition the increased volume of imports can only be harmful to us, and ultimately, to the foreign producer, for it will be creating the false illusion that he will be able to get a permanent foothold in this country when as a matter of fact he will not.

The internal competitive forces in the textile industry are so virulent and destructive of existing interests within our country, that they are displacing tens of thousands of workers and rendering the adjustments difficult and staggering. We urge that these problems not be intensified through imports which, within a short period of time, will be unable to hurdle even our most modest tariff rates because of the rising productivity, merchandising and designing skill of our American industry.

Therefore, we request the enactment of an exemption of the textile industry from the above bill and the Tariff Act of 1930 as the most fitting declaration of public policy.

Among the most doctrinaire freetraders, there are many who are willing to concede that a special exemption should be granted to the textile industry. We herewith appeal to you and members of your committee that this prevailing sentiment among the freetraders should be reflected in the current legislation.

For a more extensive presentation of fact, I am enclosing our statement before the United States Tariff Commission and a further statement before the Committee on Reciprocity Information.

Please have this letter and the enclosures inserted in the record of your hearings. We have not appeared personally because of the short time you made available and your crowded schedule. We, nevertheless, believe that this written communication will receive the same attention as an oral presentation.

Very truly yours,

JOHN CHUPKA,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

The Helena Bridge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to insert an excellent editorial from the February 12 issue of the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal relative to the proposed bridge at Helena, Ark., across the Mississippi River.

This bridge has been a 30-year dream of progressive and civic-minded citizens not only of Helena and Clarksdale, Miss., but of good far-sighted citizens throughout the Midsouth.

This is another milestone in the work that has seen the creation of the Helena-Friars Point Bridge Commission with such fine men on the commission as W. K. Anderson, R. N. Baltser, Clarence Thomas, E. K. Brewer, Jr., and M. D. Brett, of Clarksdale, Miss.; R. L. Brooks, J. B. Lambert, John C. Sheffield, and J. B. Lasswell, of Helena, Ark.; Grady Cooke, of Pontotoc, Miss.; Ballard Deane, of St. Charles, Ark.; Jack Dunlap, of Batesville, Ark.; Sol Hersberg, of Friars Point, Miss.; Neil Hodge, of Oxford, Miss.; C. N. Houck, of Mariann, Ark.; DeWitt Poe, of McGhee, Ark.; and William Campbell, of Forrest City, Ark.

These commissioners were joined some 2½ years ago by a group of good Helena citizens who created a nonprofit citizens committee to secure this bridge. C. L. Harris, of Helena, Ark., was elected president, and W. G. Dinning, Jr., was made secretary-treasurer. J. D. Molitor, of Marvell, Ark., was named vice president. This group established a steering committee to handle the actual work of the committee. This committee consists of Judge John C. Sheffield, ex-Gov. Ben Laney, C. L. Harris, Sam Anderson, Walter Morris, J. B. Lambert, J. J. White, and Wayne Stone.

This is the background of hard work and civic enterprise that has resulted in this favorable action toward securing a much-needed bridge across the Mississippi River at this point.

Such a bridge will be of great value to the economy of the great Midsouth area and will result in even greater growth. It will provide an excellent artery of travel for all the citizens of our Nation. But—of equal importance—it will furnish a needed bridge to fit into the great program of defense in the linking of military installations throughout the Nation.

The editorial from the Commercial Appeal reads as follows:

THE HELENA BRIDGE

Reports that a bridge can be built across the Mississippi near Helena, Ark., on a businesslike plan, is good news for the entire Midsouth. It also demands warm congratulation and commendation for the civic-minded and farsighted citizens of Arkansas and Mississippi who have cherished and fought for the realization of a dream for nearly 3 decades.

The enthusiasm of the proponents of the bridge has been of the hard-headed, realistic sort, which is all to the good, and it is a fact typical of the spirit of sound progress that now animates the entire Midsouth area. It has resulted in the careful formulation of a program that will mean a cooperative enterprise thta will benefit all the people of this area and pay for itself through tolls no higher than charges now made for inadequate ferry service.

Present circumstances and the experience of comparable communities in the Midsouth indicate that the bridge at Helena can be financed on a sound basis, and that it will pay out in from 12 to 14 years. Such an estimate is, we think, conservative, as it should be. Unless all signs fail, however, revenues may easily be considerably larger than current planning envisions.

The fact that another bridge over the Mississippi is so needed is another proof of the consistent growth and prospering of the region. The structure will be so designed that it will be capable of meeting demands sure to be made by the future importance of this section. While the best interests of the communities closest to the bridge may seem to be most directly served, it will actually be an asset of comparable value to all of us in the Midsouth.

Nothing could better justify confidence in our future than such a demonstration of resolution in behalf of progress.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, why destroy the jobs of 2,250,000 workers in the American textile mills by enacting H. R. 1?

Under leave to extend, I am inserting in the RECORD the statement of the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, presented by Claudius T. Murchison, economic adviser, American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, Inc., before the Ways and Means Committee in opposition to H. R. 1, the so-called Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act extension, as follows:

The textile products industry is one of the great industries of America and about three-fourths of it is composed of the cotton-textile industry. To give it exact ranking is difficult because of the technical and sometimes arbitrary nature of industry definitions. But it is enough to know that by the usual measurements it is one of the top six of the manufacturing industries of the United States, the others being food, chemicals and allied products, motor vehicles, iron and steel, and machinery manufacture.

Stockholders equity and borrowed capital of the textile products industry are reported by the Federal Trade Commission as being $8.3 billion, which is about 5 percent of the total for all American industry. If we add the apparel and finished goods industry, which is merely an advanced stage of the textile products industry, the total of invested capital or assets, however we wish to term it, becomes $11 billion, or about 6.5 percent of overall total of American industries.

This giant activity employs roughly 2¼ million people who are about evenly divided between the 2 major divisions. In a number of States and in many localities and areas textile employment is the most important single source of income, and in several States such employment exceeds that of all other manufacturing activities combined.

In our appearance here today we propose to show that textile-mill-products industry and the closely related apparel-manufacturing industry are seriously threatened by the administration of tariff policy under existing legislation, and that the effect of H. R. 1 would be greatly to intensify the threat of damage or even destruction which already confronts us. We would like to emphasize this statement without impairing its meaning by stating that H. R. 1, if enacted, would complete the process of entrusting the jobs and the well-being of 2¼ million textile workers to the executive division of Government, more specifically the State Department, as an incident of our foreign economic policy.

We propose to show that no effective criteria are provided either to guide or to limit the State Department in the exercise of this great responsibility. Even more important is the absence of any effective recourse or defense against whatever course of action the executive division of Government might choose to follow.

We propose to show that, in fact, H. R. 1 would represent the final installment of power to destroy the textile industry of the United States. We do not say that this power will be fully exercised, but its incorporation in the hands of an agency whose function is normally and rightfully restricted to international affairs is a violation of our concept of constitutional government and a danger of the first magnitude.

While H. R. 1 is being debated in terms of its specific provisions, the Government has under way 4 other foreign trade operations whose completion will completely transform the significance of those provisions.

The effects of the bill, therefore, cannot be judged by relating its provisions to the current trade and tariff structure, or to the current tariff powers of Congress. Before its effective date, if enacted, important portions of the tariff structure, as we now have it, will be dismantled and the tariff-making responsibilities of the Congress may be seriously impaired, if not abrogated.

These impending events are the goals of the following scheduled operations:

1. The renegotiation of GATT as an international agency of trade and tariff control;
2. The announced intention of the Chief Executive to seek congressional ratification of GATT;
3. The scheduling of another round of multilateral tariff concessions among GATT members beginning in February;
4. Intention to negotiate a bilateral trade agreement with Japan, and to press for the admittance of Japan into GATT.

The first of these, the renegotiation of GATT, has been in process for some weeks. The outcome is uncertain, the conflicts of interest are bitter. Certain members may resign, others may withdraw concessions as permitted by article 28. Large-scale revisions of the over-all tariff structure may, in consequence, have to be made, involving previous concessions in addition to the long list of articles to be newly negotiated. Also up for renegotiation are the policy provisions of GATT relating to such vital matters as, quotas, subsidies, exchange restrictions, trade discriminations and internal economic programs.

How can Congress or the industry judge H. R. 1 as to its ultimate effects without first knowing the outcome of these negotiations?

The second tariff operation aims at the congressional ratification of GATT. It is possible that Congress may be requested to impart treaty status to this organization. Such action could transform GATT into a supranational instrumentality whose au-

thority would seriously limit the trade-controlling powers of the Congress.

In this event, present judgments of H. R. 1 as appropriate legislation would no doubt undergo radical change. In fact, the possibility of further tariff legislation of any kind might be ended, at least, for the duration of GATT.

The negotiation of new tariff concessions, beginning at Geneva in February, we refer to as operation No. 3 to maintain the distinction between the renegotiation of previous multilateral concessions and the negotiation of new concessions. In the case of many articles, as we shall show later, these new concessions could amount to as much as 50 percent.

In view of this situation, impending tariff changes promise to be vastly greater than those provided for in H. R. 1.

It would be well for Congress to know the extent of these changes before authorizing new reductions.

The fourth operation is the announced negotiation of a bilateral trade agreement with Japan and, if possible, the admittance of Japan into GATT. H. R. 1 breaks precedent with previous trade-agreements acts by singling out a particular country for a trade agreement. The action is all the more unique in that the Government already has the power under existing legislation to negotiate such an agreement. Moreover, the bill provides that in the agreement with Japan no duty shall be reduced by more than 50 percent of the 1945 level. The stipulation merely reaffirms the minimum limits authorized by existing legislation. Why this legislation redundance?

The reasons for this particularistic action are precautionary and self-revealing. By incorporating the terms of the Japanese agreement in H. R. 1: The Government is enabled to prolong the period of Japanese negotiation to July 1 instead of ending it on June 12 when present legislation expires. July 1 is made the target date because it is currently the terminating date of firm commitments under article 28 of GATT. This year, the termination date is especially important because of disaffection occasioned by renegotiation and impending Japanese trade agreements either within or without GATT.

The Government anticipates this contingency by tieing in the beginning date of the Japanese agreement with the final date of firm commitments, thus more nearly assuring that the agreement with Japan, if need be, can play in part the role of successor agreement, so preventing the lapse of many concessions previously granted to other countries. The strategy would seem to have additional precautionary value in that the United States will probably not wish to run the risk of undue strain on its GATT commitments. Hence, in the event GATT refuses admittance to Japan, or is denied congressional approval, or undergoes a substantial loss of its own membership, necessitating the renegotiation of previously granted GATT concessions, a concurrent trade negotiation with Japan might have to be a wholly separate and distinct proceeding. Accordingly, direct authorization of Congress is sought as the means of lessening both political and legal questionings.

The great care with which the way has been prepared for the Japanese agreement would indicate the expectation of very substantial results by way of tariff reductions. One would expect that Congress would wish to know the extent of these reductions before authorizing additional ones on the basis of July 1955 levels.

Taking the above operations as a whole, the status of the American tariff structure as of next June 12 or July 1 is unpredictable. We can only be sure that it will be far lower than at present.

Against this background of multiple activities, H. R. 1 is revealed as a dangerous and illogical document lacking every important criterion of sound tariff legislation. The authorized 15 percent reductions over the next 3 years through trade agreements would begin with the rates existing on July 1, 1955. These are completely unknown quantities. Hence the 15 percent reduction authorized in the bill may, in effect, turn out to be two or three times that figure as compared with present rates.

The special authorization of a bilateral trade agreement with Japan means that Japan can exhaust concession possibilities based on 1945 rates and then be in line for new concessions based on 1955 rates.

In summary, Japan would get her benefits in three baskets: (a) her own bilateral agreement, (b) the generalization of concessions to be made to other countries through GATT, (c) new concessions after July 1, either direct or by generalization. These are in addition to the concessions previously granted to Japan through generalization of all tariff reductions made by the United States since the beginning of the trade-agreement program.

The power to make unilateral tariff reductions on goods "not imported or imported in negligible quantities may be exercised either unilaterally or other wise. The reductions permitted are 50 percent of the 1945 rates, and on a wide range of articles this percentage can still be fully applied.

The value of the criterion negligible is wholly negligible.

In the determination of goods not imported, the President is not required to relate the condition of nonimport to any representative period or to any special circumstances, or any reason whatsoever. In view of the many items involved, this provision may be the most dangerous feature of the bill.

The power to reduce all rates above the 50-percent ad valorem equivalent down to 50 percent is the only tariff-making power, the meaning of which is clear and definite. It is to be exercised unilaterally and without reference to trade agreements. In conjunction with his tariff-making powers, the President is instructed to make his rate changes applicable insofar as possible to entire categories. In this way the tariff cuts would be accomplished in wide swaths.

The devious and multiple routes which the administration is simultaneously following in the promotion of its tariff policy, when viewed all together, are utterly confusing and to our industry completely terrifying.

Because over 90 percent of the cotton-textile industry's production is represented by the items subject to negotiation at Geneva, we are being forced to appraise the possible effects of H. R. 1 on our industry without having the information vital to such appraisal: namely, starting from what level of tariff do the new tariff-cutting powers apply?

The United States Tariff Commission in September 1953 published a study entitled "Effect of Trade Agreement Concessions on United States Tariff Levels Based on Imports for 1952." Table 3 of this study gives the average ad valorem equivalent of rates of duty in effect on various dates on United States dutiable imports for consumption in the year 1952. With respect to Tariff Schedule 9—Cotton Manufacturers—this official table indicates that the average ad valorem equivalent based on rates in effect before any trade agreements were made was 36.8 percent; that on January 1, 1945, it was 30 percent; and that on January 1, 1953, it was 21.8 percent. Thus it appears that the reduction in rates on cotton manufactures from the pretrade agreement period until January 1, 1953, was 41 percent and that the reduction from January 1, 1945, to January 1, 1953, has been 27 percent.

Under existing authority, the President has the power to cut tariff rates in effect on January 1, 1945, by 50 percent. However, the Tariff Commission figures quoted above do not mean that 27 of these 50 percentage points have already been used in previous tariff-cutting actions on cotton manufacturers. The Tariff Commission table is based on dutiable imports in 1952 and, of course, many cotton textile items were imported in 1952 only in negligible quantities or not at all. Thus the indicated 27 percent reduction in rates simply means that the particular bundle of cotton manufacture imports in 1952 was such that had that particular bundle of cotton goods been imported in 1944 the average ad valorem rate equivalent would have been higher; indeed, would have been at such a level that the actual ad valorem equivalent in 1952 represented a 27-percent reduction.

However, while very serious tariff reductions have been made since January 1, 1945—the base date for existing tariff-cutting authority—on various important cotton textile items, the great bulk of staple cotton goods have had no tariff reductions since that date.

But many cotton textile tariff rates have already been effectively cut by the process of inflation. Existing tariff schedules provide for lower percentage rates on higher priced cloth. In the case of unbleached cotton cloth the lower rates take effect on values of over 70 cents per pound; on bleached cotton cloth the lower rates take effect on values over 80 cents per pound; and on printed, dyed, or colored cotton cloth, these lower rates take effect at values over 90 cents per pound. Because the whole level of prices has moved upward sharply since these rate-determining price points were set in prewar days, far more of the potential imports would qualify under the lower rates for high-value items.

Furthermore, cotton textile tariff rates were sharply reduced in several prewar trade agreements, the most important being those with the United Kingdom and Switzerland. It is the rates then established which still obtained on January 1, 1945—the base date for existing tariff-cutting authority. Indeed, as compared with rates established by the Tariff Act of 1930, trade agreements previously negotiated have already imposed tariff reductions on about 91 percent of the cotton textile industry's production. These cuts have averaged about 37 percent. For many individual items they have amounted to as much as 50 percent, and on a limited number of items the rates have already been reduced by the permissible maximum of 75 percent of the 1930 level.

Cotton textile items representing about 90 percent of the total yardage output of the United States industry can conceivably suffer tariff reductions of 50 percent at Geneva and under the provisions of H. R. 1 the authority to cut those resulting tariffs by another 15 percent is proposed. Specifically, as an example, the current tariff rate on unbleached cotton cloth of yarn No. 34 and valued at not over 70 cents per pound is 21.90 percent ad valorem. This could be cut at Geneva to 10.95 percent and then under H. R. 1 could be further reduced in a 3-year period down to 9.31 percent.

The Tariff Commission table previously referred to, when analyzed in conjunction with the fact that on most countable cotton cloths the President still has his full 50 percent tariff-cutting powers under existing law, means that most countable cotton cloths are now being imported in what might be considered negligible quantities under section 5 (a) of H. R. 1. That section of the bill before you would authorize the President to cut existing rates on those cotton textile items by 50 percent by simple proclamation. Thus, even should the President

at Geneva not avail himself of his entire tariff-cutting authority relative to cotton textiles under existing law, H. R. 1 in section 5 (a) would, in effect, continue all of his tariff-cutting powers. This may well be the most dangerous provision of H. R. 1 from the standpoint of the United States cotton-texile industry.

Also scheduled for possible tariff reductions in the Geneva negotiations are the products of this industry's chief customers, including, for example, cotton clothing, chenille rugs, knitted gloves, etc. Practically all apparel items manufactured from either woven or knitted cotton fabrics are on the list. While cotton yarns are not directly included, the list does include a great majority of the products manufactured from cotton yarns.

It is particularly significant that the Japanese have found it profitable, at existing tariff rates, to expand cotton textile exports to the United States in a year like 1954 when American textile prices have been depressed. According to the United States Department of Agriculture, United States cotton mill margins in late 1954 were the lowest since July 1952 when the post-Korean price collapse was taking place.

The United States Census Bureau reports that since the crop year 1952–53, domestic cotton consumption has declined by about 1 million bales on an annual basis.

For every dollar the industry earned after taxes in the third quarter of 1953, it made but 40 cents profits in the comparable period of 1954.

In the last few weeks there has been a modest improvement in the cotton textile markets. The present revival will, however, surely be reversed should the threat of substantial additional Japanese imports materialize.

The United States Government has apparently made the decision that the textile industry is available for sacrifice on the high altar of foreign trade policy.

There are in fact three bits of evidence which, when fitted together, make possible no other conclusion:

1. The list of items scheduled for tariff concessions at Geneva includes more than 90 percent of the output of the United States cotton textile industry;

2. H. R. 1 proposes to compound the tariff concessions to Japan by taking as points of departure for further tariff cuts under its authority those new lower rates which will result from the Geneva negotiations;

3. The list of items scheduled for possible tariff concessions at Geneva and H. R. 1 have been drafted by persons who have access to readily available public information indicating that (a) the cotton-textile industry, almost alone among major United States industries, has been in a depressed condition despite the general economic boom of the last 2 years and that (b) the cotton-textile industry, on the record, suffered substantial injury from Japanese imports in the last previous peacetime period (the late 1930's) despite the fact that in those years United States textile tariff rates were higher than at present.

One aspect of the proposed tariff concessions on cotton textiles which the proponents of H. R. 1 have tried to sweep under the table is the intimate connection between the economic health of domestic textile manufacturing industry and the prosperity of cotton agriculture. This relationship can be put very simply: 2 out of every 3 bales of cotton grown by American farmers are sold to United States cotton textile mills. Thus a reduction in the output of those mills would be immediately reflected in a reduction of domestic mill consumption.

Moreover, those officials who drew up the list of items to be considered at Geneva for possible tariff concessions compounded the threat to United States cotton agriculture by including on that list synthetic fibers. Clearly enough, a reduction of the United States tariff on synthetic fibers would reduce the price of synthetic fibers to United States textile mills and would mean—because mills can process cotton or synthetics depending on relative prices—the loss of additional portions of cotton's current market to synthetic fibers.

Besides cotton agriculture, other important segments of the United States economy depend upon the continued health of the United States cotton-textile industry. The cotton-textile industry, being one of the largest American industries as measured by output, employment, etc., is a major customer of many other industries. Chief among these are the textile-machinery industry and the chemical industry, the latter supplying many hundreds of different products used by the cotton mills. Clearly, any reduction in productive activity of the United States cotton-textile industry would reduce the markets of the United States machinery, chemical, and other supplier industries.

We call to the particular attention of the committee the threat to small business implicit in H. R. 1 when read in conjunction with the list of items subject to tariff concessions at Geneva: the apparel industry is made up almost entirely of small firms; 75 percent of the cotton-manufacturing industry consists of small independent units, none of which has as much as 1 percent of the total business; and cotton agriculture is made up of hundreds of thousands of small farms.

What does the United States Government hope to accomplish through encouraging additional cotton-textile imports? We have given this problem much earnest study and have concluded that there are two basic reasons for the Government's attitude toward our industry. The first reason is, we believe, blind reliance upon the economic theory of free trade in the State Department.

The economic theory of free trade is part of a wider theory of free movements of prices and wages. We cannot practice the theory in one part of our economy alone. A moment's thought is sufficient to remind us that in the United States economy of 1955 we have put firm floors under wages through the Wages and Hours Act and under prices through the agricultural price support program.

The cotton-textile industry is proud of the fact that over the last 20 years it has succeeded in raising the average wage rate paid its employees by roughly 500 percent—a much more rapid rise than the increase in the cost of living during that period. We do not want our employees to have to compete with the low wage levels which reflect living standards of the Orient. In any event, employers and employees in the industry would be prevented from competing in such manner by the Federal minimum wage law. The only adjustment possible for the industry to make, if it is forced to compete with oriental wage scales, would be made through the unemployment of its workers and the bankruptcy of its firms.

A good deal of callous comment has been bandied about on the problem of unemployment as related to tariff policy. Advocates of further tariff cuts, when confronted with the fact that these cuts will mean additional imports and that these additional imports will mean reduced production of those items in United States domestic plants, frequently take refuge in that aspect of free trade theory which holds that such unemployment is but a short-run problem and that those people who lose their jobs as a result of import competition will find jobs in other industries.

One or two comments on this aspect of free trade theory seem appropriate. In the first place, the unemployed are not statistical ciphers. They are real live people who have to eat every day, whose children outgrow shoes every other week, and who are attached by habit if not by mortgage to a particular geographic locality. Furthermore, they possess special skills which, in many instances, required years of apprenticeship to acquire and they are frequently above the age at which, because of pension cost problems, new employers will hire them.

To say that if we import unemployment by cutting tariffs, it will all work out in the long run, sounds very noble indeed but the fact is that the people involved have to live in the short run and in the long run all of us are dead anyhow.

Nor can the impact of this unemployment problem be limited to those persons who are without work because their employer has lost his market to foreign competition. The economic structure of whole communities is involved. In the textile industry, for example, it is quite a typical situation that the cotton mill is located in a small town and its payroll is the economic lifeblood of the entire community. For every 100 civilian jobs in manufacturing in the United States there are 260 jobs not in manufacturing that are related thereto.

For a long period the American proponents of lower tariffs have declared as part of their propaganda that lower wages in foreign countries were offset here by correspondingly higher efficiencies of operation.

The fact is that Japan now has a cotton textile manufacturing industry whose efficiency is equal to or above that of the textile industries of Europe and which compares favorably with the average efficiency of the American industry. The Japanese industry is new. More than three-fourths of their existing capacity has been built since 1945. Their average wages are in the neighborhood of 13 cents an hour, which is one-tenth of the average cotton textile wage in the United States. Raw cotton costs, because of the low cost of ocean transport, are essentially the same in Japan and the United States. Of the remaining costs, about one-half consists of wages. With a wage cost one-tenth of that in the United States, Japan has a tremendous competitive advantage.

The other major reason that our Government is encouraging additional cotton textile imports into the United States is, in our opinion, excessive timidity in meeting the real problems of the world economy. One would hardly expect to cure the problems of the world coal industry through the device of taking more coals to Newcastle. It is equally foolish to expect to cure the world textile problem by shipping additional cloth into an American market which is already more than amply supplied by a domestic industry characterized by excess capacity. Half the people on the face of the globe are in rags today. The real solution lies in increasing textile consumption in the textile-short areas of the world where textile imports are restricted by all sorts of ingenious quantitative and currency control devices.

We propose that the problem of world trade be met directly. We suggest that our Government demand reciprocal performance by other nations on their previous trade and tariff commitments to this country, including a return to convertible currencies. Let us exert our influence in the world toward that end. Thank you.

We Pushed Chiang Into Tachens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks I include an interesting article written by Joseph Alsop

and appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 13, 1955:

MATTER OF FACT

(By Joseph Alsop)

WE PUSHED CHIANG INTO TACHENS

TACHEN ISLANDS.—If you want the real measure of what has happened to the Eisenhower administration and American foreign policy in the last 2 years, consider the story of those barren, controversial rocks, the Tachen Islands. If it were not so serious, it would be a cosmic joke.

The background of the drama of the evacuation of the Tachens was simple enough. It is no secret that for 10 days or so Chiang Kai-shek balked bitterly at making a present of the Tachens to the Communists. The Eisenhower administration had to press Chiang very hard indeed to take his troops off the Tachens before the Chinese Communists attacked them.

The joke lies in the fact that just 2 years ago the shoe was on exactly the other foot.

Those were the brave early days of Eisenhower policymaking. There was no talk then of cease-fires and peaceful coexistence and the like. Instead, the watchwords were liberation, dynamic new foreign policy, recaptured initiative, and the "unleashing of Chiang Kai-shek."

President Eisenhower's dramatic announcement that, after being wickedly held in check by the Truman administration, the generalissimo had now been boldly unleashed by the Republicans, caused a wave of reaction that reached all the way to the rocky Tachens.

At that time the islands were held by light guerrilla forces, hardly more important than those which fought for Yikiangshan through close to three bloody days. The Formosa government considered the Tachens too distant from the main island to be covered by air or supplied by sea. The generalissimo and his military advisers did not wish, therefore, to commit either their prestige or large components of their regular forces to the defense of the Tachens. In short, the islands were then being treated as expendable.

But President Eisenhower had given the watchword. Chiang Kai-shek was unleashed. The Tachens were doubly valuable, as a base for irregular guerrilla operations on the mainland and as a forward radar warning point for both Formosa and Okinawa. So the American military advisory group on Formosa began pressing Chiang very hard to put regulars on the Tachens. This was one of the measures devised in Washington to give a little reality to the famous unleashing.

The Americans did not win their point with ease. The generalissimo was extremely reluctant to put regulars on the Tachens. Certain key Chinese military leaders, particularly the chief of staff of that period, Gen. Chou Chi-jo, resisted the American project to the end. Nonetheless, as usually happens on Formosa, the American advisers triumphed in the end.

The 46th Division was specially chosen to be sent to the islands. Even after the 46th had been installed and the defense positions had been organized, however, the American advisers of the Chinese Government were still dissatisfied.

The commander on the Tachens, Gen. Hu Tsung-nan was one of the old boys of the Chinese Nationalist army, with a record that did not inspire confidence.

Once again heavy American pressure was put on the generalissimo to replace the Tachen commander. When this reporter was in Formosa last year, the Americans had just won their second victory for the defense of the Tachens. Gen. Hu Tsung-nan had been recalled and the able Gen. Liu Nien-li has just been given the Tachen command, which he still holds.

In those days, too, one of the real wonders of Formosa was the wold's most uncovered covert operation, the American-financed Western Enterprises. Western Enterprises combined the claim to invisibility with a private housing development, special PX's, social clubs and other rather conspicuous amenities. The whole town of Taipeh knew that the Spooks, as they were locally called, were helping the guerrilla operations based on the Tachens.

But now the Spooks are folding their bedsheets and packing to go home. Western Enterprises, as any pedicab driver will tell you, is soon to be no more, and its assets, whatever they may be, are to be transferred to the Navy. This is in fact a significant move in the direction of a cease-fire down the middle of the Formosa Strait and general acceptance of two Chinas, which are now the real aims of the Eisenhower administration's Asian policymakers.

All of which is important for two reasons. In the first place, what are the unfortunate Chineses Nationalists to think when they are first powerfully pressured to defend the essential Tachens at all costs, and then told that the Tachens are not essential after all, and please to evacuate at once? This reporter has never shared the Knowland-Robertson-Radford view of the unvarying rightness of Formosa. But in view of the record the generalissimo and his advisers certainly seem to deserve some sympathy at this time.

In the second place, might we not be better off in Asia today if there had not been so much loud, empty talk at the beginning, and if there were a bit more boldness, spirit and determination in our policymaking today? Maybe it is impolite to ask the question, but the facts demand that it should be asked.

Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland, on Occasion of Lincoln's Birthday

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday evening, February 12, 1955, Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland, addressed the largest dinner in the United States in honor of the memory of Abraham Lincoln. It was held in the largest ballroom in the Greater New York area at the Hotel St. George in Brooklyn. Over 2,000 people attended the affair which was sponsored by the Kings County (N. Y.) Republican County Committee of which Commissioner John R. Crews is chairman. Governor McKeldin's speech was most enthusiastically received by all, and I believe all my colleagues would be interested in what he had to say. The following is his speech:

In the heart of the capital city of each of the two super powers that bestride the world today stands a monumental structure dedicated to the memory of a great man. In Moscow's Red Square, and at the foot of the Mall in Washington they stand, two masses of stone, silent, yet each clamoring for the attention of a vast nation. These structures of stone are dumb, yet each voices the aspirations of a people dominating half the world.

They are symbolical, but it is precisely in its symbols that one may see most clearly displayed the heart and mind of a civilization. The Parthenon in Athens, the Forum in Rome, Westminster Abbey in London, and Napoleon's arch in Paris speak to us more eloquently of their epochs than do the rhetoric of orators and the tomes of historians. So may the two symbols of our own time, if we will pause long enough to study them and to understand.

In certain respects they are similar. Both are massive. Both stand foursquare, planted solidly on the solid earth, built not for the uses of the moment but for all time. Both are focal points of history and patriotic shrines. But beyond these superficialities they are as widely different as the men they memorialize and as the civilizations that erected them.

The memorial in Red Square is secret, shut in, and without doors, fortified at every point to resist vandals and containing two mummied corpses. Like the Egyptian pyramids, it is eloquent of the most futile, yet most persistent, of human delusions, the idea that men can be erected into gods, eternal and unchanging. Scornful of life, because the law of life is change, it is, indeed, a tomb in which are buried not only the remains of two mortals, but also freedom of the mind and spirit. It is a reminder that although Lenin and Stalin are dead, yet they claim rulership of the future, dominion over the souls of the Russian people, and it is blasphemy to dispute the claim. It is in reality a monument to what the law calls mortmain, the grip of the dead hand upon the living spirit.

The Lincoln Memorial in Washington is doorless, too, but because it is wide open, the light may enter, storm and sunshine may enter, the winds of heaven may sweep through it, and the people may enter. High or low, rich or poor, venerable patriarch or babe in arms, none is shut out for race or color or creed, and the only price of admission is humanity. Save for a marble statue, it is physically empty; but it seems to me that its emptiness might well be described in the phrase that the Arabian storytellers often applied to deserts and mountain heights—"filled with nothing but the presence of God."

For the walls are covered with certain great truths that I believe Abraham Lincoln was inspired of God to utter. His dead body lies elsewhere, but the living truth is in the memorial; and it is our faith that "man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." He who has put into unforgettable words the truth of the living God, lives in that truth and nothing that happens to his mortal frame can extinguish that life. It is to this principle as exemplified in the man that the American people have erected a memorial to the living Lincoln who, although he suffered the common fate, still lives in the truth that shall never die.

From the walls of the memorial I take some words spoken, shall I say on March 4, 1865, or this morning? For when words apply to a situation the precise moment in time when they were first uttered is not important; they are living words at the moment when their wisdom and utility become apparent. Consider the situation in which our country finds itself in 1955, 90 years later; and then imagine, if you can, that you read in today's newspapers this counsel: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work that we are in * * * to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Abraham Lincoln did not face the problem of coexistence with a world half of which is dominated by communism, but it is my belief that if he had done so he would have altered not one word of that carefully studied utterance. He was, in fact, facing an enemy whose armies had come closer to inflicting final defeat upon this Republic than any other armed force has come, before or since. British, Mexican, Spanish, German, Austrian, Italian, and Japanese foes we had, or we have since dealt with effectively, and without ruinous strain; but when Americans rose against us we almost went under. It was to a badly shaken and almost exhausted nation that Lincoln addressed his words; it is unthinkable that he would be less insistent upon justice and moderation were he addressing a nation superbly armed and possessing economic power that towers over the world.

When enemy tanks, the modern substitute for cavalry, have penetrated the suburbs of Baltimore and circled within sight of the Washington monument, then me may begin to feel what Lincoln's hearers were feeling when he urged upon them "malice toward none and charity for all," and dismissed victory in favor of "a just and lasting peace." If his counsel was wise and good then, it is wiser and better now; his body was consigned to the earth long ago, but "by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live," and words of wisdom and righteousness proceed from the Lord. The living Lincoln is still our counselor and guide.

His profound fear is implicit in every word of that passage. It was not fear of the Confederacy. "With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right" he was ready to face any armed foe steadily and calmly. But he knew that more dangerous enemies were advancing upon the Nation as he spoke. He knew that hatred in our own hearts is a wilier and more elusive foe than Stonewall Jackson and that prejudice and vengefulness can crush a nation that the military genius of Robert E. Lee could not overcome. If that was true in 1865, it is not a whit less true in 1955.

Let us, as St. Paul advised, "think on these things" in a day when it is bodly proclaimed that "there is no substitute for victory" not even a just and lasting peace. Let us remember them when a President's efforts to restrain the hasty and proceed in accordance with the law of nations are denounced as "shrinking weakness." Let us bear them in mind when the merchants of hate are asserting that any attitude toward an opponent save one of blind fury is a betrayal of the Nation. For if the day ever comes when Americans reading the second inaugural react with nothing but incredulous scorn, then indeed Lincoln will be dead—and the greatness of our country will be dead with him.

Our position is difficult and perilous, but this is not the Nation's darkest hour. That came when Abraham Lincoln was President of the United States and nothing since has approached it. We shall do well now to remember that in the most fearful crisis through which the country has passed the most steadfast man in America was none of the fire-eaters who had passionately demanded war to the death. It was the man who valued a just and lasting peace far more than victory. It was the man whom they accused of worse than shrinking weakness. It was the man whom they called trimmer, time-server and coward but who, when the war had grown red hot, and the braggarts and swashbucklers had fled in panic, stood undaunted "with firmness in the right."

Lincoln saved the Union, not with his muscular, but with his spiritual strength; and he was spiritually powerful precisely because he lived "with malice toward none, with charity for all." Lincoln will save the Union again, will save it whenever it is threatened if we allow his spirit to govern our thoughts and deeds.

For he understood as only our greatest men have understood how the destiny of America is oriented toward the rising, not the setting sun, toward the future struggling to be born, not toward the dead past. His mind was large enough to comprehend all the implications of Jefferson's dictum that the earth belongs to the living. One of those implications is that government is a living organism that must assume new shapes if it is to flourish under new conditions.

Lincoln would have been distressed and alarmed at the suggestion that his words were to be received as the law of the Medes and Persians, that altereth not. In this famous letter to Greeley he expressed his readiness to adopt any policy that would assure preservation of the Union, and because he was always ready to shape his policy according to the facts he was accused of wavering and inconstancy.

Of course we know today that Lincoln was the steadfast figure and it was those men who were willing to subvert the truth rather than surrender one of their pet theories who were inconstant. We know it of Lincoln, but it is hard for us to realize that those men of our own generation who adhere to the standards of reason and justice, even if it means a shift in policy every day, are more steadfast than those who quote, but misapply the words of Lincoln, or Washington, or Jefferson to justify measures that are neither reasonable nor right.

There are among us, of course, men so obsessed by the love of novelty that they will approve any change merely because it is a change. These are men who have never come fully alive, just as those who would subvert truth to tradition are already half dead. Neither immature minds, nor senile minds can comprehend the mind of the living Lincoln which is neither for nor against change, neither scornful of nor dedicated to tradition, but committed to the search for truth and to nothing else.

This is the essence of that much-abused word "liberalism." The liberal believes that the American form of government is not like the Statue of Liberty, finished and complete, but is like a tree, a living and growing thing. Normally, the liberal looks toward the future, but this does not mean that he never glances at the past. Truth is one and immortal; but it has more shapes than Proteus and he who would hold it firmly must turn now this way, now that. Yet if his grip upon it is never broken, he is the most consistent of men for he steers a true course, although the shortsighted will call him today a radical and tomorrow a reactionary.

No man is today striving with more might for the peace that justice brings, or with more realization of the overwhelming necessity for the achievement of this goal, than our President, Dwight D. Eisenhower. By his actions and by his words he is seeking to do in our day what Lincoln sought to do in his.

Only last month, in his state of the Union message, President Eisenhower named as first among the purposes of our Federal Government its obligation "to maintain justice and freedom among ourselves and, to champion them for others so that we may work effectively for enduring peace." He further placed particular stress on our national obligation, "to labor earnestly, patiently, prayerfully, for peace, for freedom, for justice, throughout the world." Many times has President Eisenhower reiterated, since his inauguration, that we cannot hope to achieve these goals unless our Government in all its dealings acts with "integrity and decency and dignity." Just as Lincoln recognized the importance of spiritual strength, so has President Eisenhower, who recently summarized his philosophy of government in the striking phrase: "To keep America strong, our Government must have a heart as well as a head."

Thus, President Eisenhower follows the path which the living Lincoln continues to illuminate.

The man whose only policy is to do what seems to be reasonable and right in any situation that may arise is a follower and spiritual heir of Abraham Lincoln, although he may never parrot Lincoln's words or imitate any of his deeds. The ways and means that any great man uses to attain his ends are, like his physical body, part of the time, adapted to the time, and passing with the time. It is the goal at which he aims that endures through generations, and all who aim at the same goal are his successors, although their ways and means may be different.

"To achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations" was Abraham Lincoln's goal. Note well the qualifications—it was not merely peace that he sought, it was the kind of peace that should be just and lasting. A man who is for peace at any price is a stranger to Lincoln, for justice is more important than peace, and stability and order cannot be maintained without justice. But whenever an American strives with all his might for the peace that justice brings, in that man Lincoln lives again, speaks again, labors again.

So we have left the Lincoln Memorial wide open, knowing that no tomb, however stately, could contain his living spirit. "The whole earth," said Pericles, "is the sepulcher of famous men, not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men."

It is true of this man. In all the world there is no country so remote that it has not heard some whisper of his fame and been illuminated by the radiance of his character. The work that we, his fellow countrymen are in, and that we should strive on to finish, is to make all men in all lands realize that he is not dead, but lives in the Nation that he saved; for its lordly ambition is today what it was yesterday and will be tomorrow and forever—not empire, not dominion, not the power of arms or of gold but "to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The Subversive Activities Control Board and Communist Fronts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the high-ranking status of the Georgetown University TV and Radio Forum as a medium of analysis and thoughtful interpretation of the numerous major issues confronting this Nation is well known to many of our Members. On January 16 a highly informative program was broadcast on the subject of the Subversive Activities Control Board and the Communist Fronts. The significance of the role of the Subversive Activities Control Board was developed against a full

background of Russian Communism by the participants, the Honorable Thomas J. Herbert, Chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board; Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University; and Dr. Edward M. O'Connor, staff director of the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression, and authority on communism. Under unanimous consent, I include this transcription in the RECORD:

Now, Mr. Herbert, first, would you describe the SACB for us?

Mr. HERBERT. Mr. Warren, it is difficult to describe it very comprehensively in a brief manner, but in short, this act, called the Internal Security Act of 1950, of which the Subversive Activities Control Act is a chapter, provides for orderly and proper procedure for the Attorney General of the United States to bring petitions before the Subversive Activities Control Board against what are classified in two categories, either alleged Communist action organizations or Communist front organizations. The only action brought against a so-called Communist-action organization is this suit which was commenced back in 1950, in November, shortly after the Board was organized, against the Communist Party of the United States. That the Board finally, after lengthy hearings, extending over about a year and a half, found the Communist Party of the United States of America to be a Communist-action organization as provided in this act. And then that was appealed by the Communist Party to the United States Court of Appeals, another one of the procedures provided in the act. Only last Friday the Court of Appeals denied an application for rehearing following their previously made ruling, to the effect of upholding in all major points the finding and report of the Board against the Communist Party. They now under the law have the right to appeal that to the United States Supreme Court, and they have 90 days in which to do that.

That shows you how the due process provisions of the Constitution are followed in giving all review rights directly from our Board findings to the court of appeals of this United States for the District of Columbia, and from there to the Supreme Court. It is a five-man board. The proceedings are initiated by a petition filed by the Attorney General, which is sworn to, and then after all the motions are ruled on, in exactly the same manner as they would be in a court proceeding, the thing is finally brought to issue by a petition and an answer by the respondent organization. Then long hearings are held and both parties are, that is, the Attorney General's department and the respondent organization, given a full chance to present all their evidence in open hearings, a record is made of that; they may introduce exhibits that are pertinent, and both sides are given full opportunity to cross-examine the other's witnesses. At the conclusion of that the recommendation is made for a finding. Then the full board considers it, and then eventually an order is written by the full board directed to the organization. If the Attorney General's case is sustained by the evidence, they find it to be a Communist front or Communist action organization, whichever the case may be, and then they take it on up from there.

There were 12 cases filed against so-called Communist-front organizations shortly before I became a member of the board in May 1953. We are in the process of hearing quite a number of these dozen cases now. I just recently concluded and rendered my recommended report and decision in the case of the Attorney General versus the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City. That, in brief, is the way our board operates.

Mr. WARREN. I am sure we will be hearing more about that Jefferson School problem a little bit later in the program. That gives us a very good idea of the operation of the SACB. Mr. O'Connor, as staff director of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression, what did your committee discover?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Warren, our committee devoted over 1 year of intensive inquiry into the subject of Communist aggression. We heard 335 witnesses, and took over 1,500 individual sworn depositions from actual eyewitnesses of Communist aggression and the victims of that tyranny. And the committee in a report rendered to the Congress as a whole during the month of December just past made this as their first conclusion, and now I quote: "That communism is a criminal conspiracy purposely designed for and deliberately directed at the enslavement of all mankind and the establishment of a world colonial empire."

I believe that statement on the part of a truly bipartisan committee, made up of very distinguished Americans, sets the record clear so far as just exactly what communism is and what communism intends to do to the world.

Mr. WARREN. Now, I think it is time we heard from Dr. Dobriansky. What are your observations, sir?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Concerning this particular question, I must say my observations are many. We have two matters here. Here is a governmental organization, the SACB, and just a moment ago Mr. O'Connor mentioned one of the main conclusions or recommendations of what has been called the Kersten Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression. In looking over some of the parts of the law and also the findings of the SACB I notice time and time again reference made to the world Communist movement, and in fact anyone scanning these findings and also parts of the Internal Security Act, can't but be impressed by the fact that some relationship must be established between any organization that calls itself American and this world Communist movement in order to predicate a charge against that organization or to compel it to register.

Now, when one looks at the political field one can see that this law and the activities of the SACB are in a sense a response to definite political necessities that have arisen in our time. For one thing one knows, looking through the political literature of the times, that many members of the Communist parties that one finds in countries outside of the Soviet Union are sent to Moscow for instruction; some for months, some for years. You have leaders of political parties, Communist parties, like Togliatti in Italy and others who frequently go to Moscow for consultations.

We have on the basis of the findings of the Kersten committee numerous Ukrainian Communists, Byelorussian Communists and Communists in the Baltic States and elsewhere who have played a conspicuously traitorous role. Not only that, I might say this, that the world Communist movement is not simply a political projection, if you will, of any ideology called Marxism but in fact has even deeper roots I would say in totalitarian Russian politics under the czar and even prior to that time.

I think the listening audience would be very much interested in knowing just how, let us say, that Moscow or St. Petersburg operated prior to the coming of the Communists, to give us an idea as to this matter of a world movement of one sort or another.

My contention here is that communism is an ideology which is used as an instrument to bedevil, dupe and subvert individuals in the free world in order to prepare for subsequent Communist aggression.

I have a few quotes here from none other than the masters of communism themselves. Take Engels, for example. Writing in about the eighties, Engels says this concerning totalitarian Russian politics:

"On the matter of pan-Slavism the idea is more than 100 years old and Russia uses it now every day. What is pan-Slavism but the application by Russia and Russian interests of the principle of nationality to the Serbians, Croats, Ruthenes, Slovaks, Czechs and other remnants of bygone Slavonian peoples in Turkey, Hungary and Germany. Even at this present moment the Russian Government has agents traveling among the Lapponians in northern Norway and Sweden trying to agitate among these nomadic savages the idea of a great Finnic which is to be restored in the extreme north of Europe under Russian protection, of course."

In a letter, for example, to Karl Kautsky, Engels said, "But in truth, pan-Slavism is a smoke sceen for world dominion appearing in the cloak of a nonexistent Slavic nationality and therefore our worst enemy."

We can also find this in Karl Marx, who is oftentimes referred to by our contemporary Communists on the matter of conspiracy—this is taken from an article in the New York Tribune of April 19, 1853: "Hundreds of Russian agents perambulated Turkey, pointing out to the Greek Christians the Orthodox Emperor as the head, the natural protector, and the ultimate liberator of the oppressed eastern church, and to the south Slavonians especially, pointing out that same Emperor as the almighty Czar who is sooner or later to unite all the branches of the great Slav race under one scepter, and to make them the ruling race of Europe."

Those are their particular expressions of the past, but I might say here that in Moscow or at the Jefferson School of Science up in New York, or even among the various cells of the Communist Party, these particular abstracts that I have just rendered are not used. These words of Engels and Marx are banned. But my point is this, that Moscow today is using communism Marxism as an ideological instrument to serve its own ends, in the same way that the Russian Government in the past used pan-Slavism, and even going further back, used orthodoxy as a weapon to render other people in a subjugated state and to hold them captives.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Dr. Dobriansky makes some excellent points, that the conspiracy of communism has many roots that go back 100 or more years, even before the days of Karl Marx.

Now, I think, Doctor, you would agree with me that the conspiracy of communism, because of the many forms of camouflage that it has been able to develop and, moreover, the use of scientific methods in its propaganda program, in its programs of the Trojan horse, and in its other means of infiltrating free societies, such as ours, that the operators of the past are not to be compared with the present. They weren't as clever. It is far more devious today than it was then; would you agree with that?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I agree wholly. I may say the differencee is one in degree rather than in substantial kind. The reason I brought this up, in looking over the position taken by the Communist Party in the case of a year or so ago, you will find that witnesses would, time and time again, bring up the fact that, "After all, this is simply a matter of difference in philosophy and ideology, and we have every right to espouse this ideology just as any other group would theirs."

My point here is that it isn't simply a matter of difference in social system, a difference in philosophy, but, on the contrary, that you have Marxism as a system of theoretic thought being subverted, exploited, if you please, into an ideological instrument to serve the expansionist aims of the Moscow government that has been for some time.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Governor, I wonder in terms of what Dr. Dobriansky has said and what I added to it, to wit, the devious methods that have been developed by the Communist Central Authority in Moscow, particularly, if you will, the scientific approach they use to confusing and dividing and misleading free peoples has caused special problems for your Board? For example, you cited to us the Communist action organization, the Communist front organizations, and is there a third category called "Communist infiltrated organizations"?

Mr. HERBERT. That is correct, Mr. O'Connor. That was the result of an enactment by the outgoing 83d Congress. It is called the Communist Control Act, and it was intended to bring within the scope of our Board's proceedings any actions which the Attorney General of the United States might want to commence against organizations which in his judgment are Communist infiltrated. That includes both labor organizations and employer organizations. It also extends a prima facie assumption of noninfiltration to any labor organization which is a part of a recognized established big union, such as the CIO. A. F. of L., or UMW.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is some indication of the devious methods that they use when we have to have the three categories here.

Mr. HERBERT. In my judgment, it is the American way to try to approach a new peril which never confronted the country before. I think, if I may go back to Dr. Dobriansky's brief summary, that the teachings of Marxism and Engels is really now being taught as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin. Those books, taken all together, constitute what even the Communists refer to as the "Communist classics." If anyone wants to read that mess of material, believe me, first, I think they will find themselves in terrible confusion trying to even correlate all of the teachings that one finds in there, but emerging from it I definitely got the impression that what they are trying to say is that they want to have the domination and control by the proletariat. Their interpretation of the proletariat means that they want all the workers to do what they tell them to do. They are the so-called vanguard and they are the ones that are going to say, and you can't question what they direct you to do. Their whole philosophy is based on two things; first, the teachings, and second, putting those teachings into execution by action. That is the phase of it that constitutes the real threat not only to the liberty of this country but to every democratic people on the whole globe.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Governor, if I might interrupt at this point. My main point in connection with this ideology I made in the light of a background of study of the various countries, the captive non-Russian countries behind the Iron Curtain, who likewise were exposed to this so-called new ideology. You recall during the thirties in many of these countries of central Europe, as indeed the United States and others, since that time, the general impression that this is a sort of great experiment, some new social undertaking that should be given the opportunity to work. In fact, they even applied the concept of peaceful coexistence, let us see this new system get into operation. All this time, and especially on the basis of evidence that has been presented to the Kersten committee, take the non-Russian areas in the Soviet Union who as far back as 1918 and 1920 saw that this was not simply a matter of economic difference, of philosophical difference, but rather a weaon in the hands of a group in Moscow that sought to even surpass the imperialist ambitions of the Czars. Then, of course, we saw the evidence of it in connection with the central European states. Now they continue. They continue with this matter of Marxism and the like, as an ideological instrument, a teaching, if you will, of a new society coming into being. My contention here again is simply that that is a matter of Babbitry, more so than one of scientific credibility. Actually, it is a deceptive tool. Take these organizations that you speak of. You take what you call Communist action groups. The Communist Party, I take it, is an example of a Communist actionist group. That group, therefore, is subservient to whom? Moscow. You take a Communist front group, that group may be, let us say, immediately dominated by a Communist action group, as perhaps the Jefferson School up in New York, to the Communist Party, but ultimately it is subservient to whom? Moscow. You take a Communist infiltrated union. Now, there it is not completely dominated as yet. It may in turn be, let us say, again immediately dominated by a Communist actionist group, but ultimately subservient to whom? Moscow. So it all points to Moscow, and as a result here——

Mr. O'CONNOR. Excuse me. In pointing to Moscow I think the Governor made a point about the proletariat. I think it is a matter of the interpretation of what they mean by the proletariat. The proletariat, as they have applied it, or at least all the evidence I have seen adds up to this, that a handful of men in the Kremlin are indeed the dictatorship of the proletariat. You can call them the Politburo, if you will. They were known as the Comintern. They are known as a lot of things, but the hard and bare cold fact remains that it is a handful of men who are indeed the dictatorship of the conspiracy. There is no more proletariat revolution in communism that there is democracy.

Mr. WARREN. In view of what we might consider a better understanding of communism and its effects, let's tie it a little more to the SACB. Mr. Herbert, as the presiding Board member in the case of the Jefferson School of Social Science of New York City, would you tell us what you found about that institution?

Mr. HERBERT. If I may make one preliminary statement. I omitted completely in my earlier discussion of the SACB act the penalties provided in the law. You see, Congress was confronted with this terrific problem of how to meet communism and still not impose limitations on our own liberties that we constantly recognize every American citizen is entitled to. So they went at it very carefully, to not forbid these activities but merely to put a label on them. That is the whole purpose of the Internal Security Act and the Subversive Activities Control Act. When the Board finds an organization to be a Communist action or Communist-front organization, as the case may be, then certain sanctions are imposed when that is concluded. For example, they are not run out of existence, but they must label their publications as issued by a Communist organization. They are denied free employment in government or in defense plants. They are denied passports. Certain of those sanctions go to these individuals, but they are never at any point denied their liberty. The Jefferson school, for instance, has pleaded and argued all through this proceeding that they cannot exist if they are forced to wear the label indicated by the provisions of the act.

Mr. WARREN. This institution was found to be a Communist front?

Mr. HERBERT. That was my recommendation. It will have to be acted upon by the whole board after exceptions have been filed by the parties after full hearing on the exceptions by the board. The the board will pass on my recommended report and ultimately the board will issue its board order, and that is what either side may appeal to the United States court of appeals.

Mr. WARREN. This is a school. As a school it would teach. This wouldn't be a violation of any academic freedom?

Mr. HERBERT. It is their contention they are perfectly free to teach anything they choose. Of course, they contend that the question of liberty to teach, freedom of education is involved. I tried to make it clear in my report that actually they do not have that liberty of education there now. They don't have true freedom of education. They teach the philosophies and doctrines of Marx as interpreted by Lenin and as finally interpreted by Stalin. Underlying all of that is this basic factor that with their teachings must go action to implement those teachings. That is the threat that they confront us with.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Governor, in this case are you suggesting that this Thomas Jefferson School of Social Science is in a sense comparable to the Marx-Lenin-Stalin Institute in Moscow, as a sort of school for revolutionary tactics, a training school?

Mr. HERBERT. That is the part they disclaim, Dr. Dobriansky. They contend that they are merely teaching Marxism and Leninism slanted to what they believe Marxism and Leninism to mean. But there is evidence in the testimony, in the record in our case, that they teach not only that but that they teach, and their students at the school appeared on the witness stand, who testified to what their teachings were. This program isn't long enough for me to go into it.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I think it would be significant to know in this case the composition of the student body at this school. Has the board any material or data as to who frequents the classes at this school?

Mr. HERBERT. Around 1050 they stopped their open registration. They issued to each student only a card indicating that he was entitled to take that particular course.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Governor, isn't it rather well established that the Communists use every facet of civilization to their ends? I would like to cite for you here something that the Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression found under the heading of how the Communists use education to further their purposes, "That the principal purpose of education under Communist rule is to propagate Communism and to eliminate the distinctive culture of the victim state. Teachers and students are placed in an intellectual straitjacket." That is precisely your point. There is no academic freedom in a school of this type.

Mr. HERBERT. It is not indicated in our record.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Certainly looking over the roster of the faculty at the Thomas Jefferson School you don't find any person who may be critical of Marxism as interpreted by them on that roster.

Mr. HERBERT. He wouldn't have a chance to teach there.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the following:

BRIEF IN OPPOSITION TO H. R. 1 SUBMITTED TO HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE BY W. RAY BELL, PRESIDENT, THE ASSOCIATION OF COTTON TEXTILE MERCHANTS OF NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 1, 1955

I am W. Ray Bell, representing the Association of Cotton Textile Merchants of New

York, which I serve as president. Our members are large, medium, and small firms engaged in the marketing and distribution of textiles and textile products made by the mills of this country which are located chiefly in southern and New England communities. Beside these areas of concentration, the cotton-manufacturing industry is of high importance in the Middle Atlantic States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and New York. Its marketing and merchandising activities are largely centered in New York.

In recent months we have appeared twice before the Government's Committee for Reciprocity Information, first to oppose binding the present United States concessions on textile tariffs for a fixed period beyond July 1, 1955, and in the second instance to advise against additional concessions to Japan on tariff rates for textile commodities. Upon each occasion the viewpoint was identical in its expressed fear of Japanese ravages on our domestic markets and, as a consequence, the potential disaster to the United States in terms of curtailed mill activity and enlarged textile unemployment.

We do not believe the threat was exaggerated nor that the potential peril to American institutions and our national welfare can be lightly regarded by the Congress. For the essence of the pending programs, now inherent in the proposed new legislation, is a frantic drive to bolster the advantages of import competition and force on the United States an unnatural dependence upon foreign resources whose interests are not concerned with creating American employment or maintaining our standard of living. Yet those objectives are the basic foundation of practically all the social and labor legislation written into our statutes during the past 22 years and cannot be ignored in your decision as to the propriety of further abandonment of our greatly reduced measure of protection to American industry and labor. So far as textiles are concerned, we believe that the proposed bill and the related Japanese negotiations pose a complete contradiction in national policy to the long-established principles and statutes that have guided the Nation on the domestic front. Our farm policy is unchanged in its adamant protection and price supports to domestic crops. Our labor policy still favors mounting wage scales and ever-higher standards of living for American workers. How can these realities of domestic competition be reconciled with a foreign policy which invites and promotes the overrunning of our markets by identical and similar textile products made under the low-wage standards of far eastern production?

The clamor for increased imports through additional reductions in our tariff rates is not founded on any realistic need for increased supplies of textiles in this country or any burden of inflated price levels for domestic goods. It is ironic that the issue should arise at a time when wholesale prices on cotton broad woven goods, according to Bureau of Labor statistics, are approximately 10 percent below the 1947–49 averages, whereas other commodities, excepting farm products and foods, are about 15 percent above the 1947 to 1949 levels. Synthetic fabrics are even more depressed and average but 73.7 percent of prices in the base period. This statistical evidence of depressed values emphasizes not only the relative bargains offered in American textiles to the consuming public, but reflects the overabundance of American production in a peacetime period of great national prosperity. We are now just beginning to emerge from the most serious textile depression of the postwar period. Although marked by temporary situations of curtailment and unemployment plus some plant liquidation, there are other scars in the form of meager earnings and heavy financial losses which can best be summarized by citing consolidated profit margins for the past year of less than 1 percent return on total sales.

Admittedly, this is an unhealthy situation and must be corrected in the near future if the textile industry is to continue its functions for the benefit of the Nation. We believe these are of vital and indispensable nature especially in three major directions. First in importance is the collective responsibility of a large employer of labor. In December of last year total United States employees in the manufacture of textile-mill products were listed at 1,089,400 and in the related group of apparel and other finished textile products, another 1,182,100 employees were included. Together these represent more than 1 out of every 8 employees in all manufacturing industry whose total in December was 16,102,000 employees.

Of greater significance even than numbers is the fact that textile mills are the lifeblood and often the sole economic reliance of hundreds of communities in many States, ranging from hamlets or villages to towns and cities. Upon the maintenance of textile activity in these many widespread communities depend the well-being of countless other citizens in trade and serves supplying the particular localities. These communities make up a large part of American life. They are vital to our economy, and it is pure nonsense to propose that they can be uprooted and dislocated or that their inhabitants can be put on the dole in wholesale fashion.

In cotton textiles alone, the State of Alabama has at least 52 separate textile communities and at the present time about 50,000 workers engaged in their textile plants. This is roughly 1 out of every 4 industrial workers in the State of Alabama, making it that State's largest industry. In Georgia the record shows 92 separate textile communities and in June of last year textile employment was 101,000 workers out of 294,000 in all its manufacturing. The ratio here is 34½ percent. South Carolina, in 1953, had 83 textile communities with textile workers numbering 154,000 out of 193,000 workers in all industries. Here the percentage is 80 percent. Figures for North Carolina, also for 1953, show 152 communities of textile location, and 234,000 textile workers or more than 50 percent of manufacturing employment totaling 464,000.

These are 4 States in which textiles are predominant, but similar situations different only in degree exist in New England, Middle Atlantic, Southern, and Southwestern textile-producing areas. Since apparel commodities are likewise involved in the contemplated expansion of imports, the list of affected communities could be enlarged through all this eastern and southern area and extended throughout the mid-West and to the Pacific coast. Hardly any region of the United States can escape the danger of accelerated foreign competition which is grounded in superior cost advantages and does not have to reckon with the restrictions imposed by statute and custom on operations in the United States. Workers in these American textile and apparel plants enjoy the highest wages an dhighest living standards of any textile producers in the world, but if they can't get work or must work on short time it is small consolation for them to know that their markets have been sacrificed by our State Department on the altar of international expediency and benefits to foreign nations.

Beside the inherent values to industrial activity and employment in the United States, there are impelling considerations of national security which can be assured by no other nation around the negotiating table at Geneva or elsewhere. In two world wars and in the Korean struggle, the textile industry was always among the first to be called into mobilization. To make the thousands of items in apparel and equipment required by our Armed Forces, from heavy duck and webbing to the finest of fabrics for parachutes, powder bags, bandages, and other imperative needs, the industry literally turned itself inside out and accomplished miracles of productive achievement, so much so that high officers of the Army and Navy publicly stated that textiles were second to steel in the winning of World War II. Later, in the Korean mobilization, private business was deliberately sacrificed without Government compulsion to give preference to orders for Government military requirements. With war clouds again on the horizon and an emergency always around the corner, it would be a grave risk to endorse measures which could have the effect of crippling both our capacity and will to produce the essential needs of our forces. The potential in cotton textiles, since the beginning of World War II, has been reduced by approximately 2 million spindles, or 8 percent of installed capacity in December 1941. Further contraction that could result from an overload of foreign competition might seriously handicap our basic strength when most needed.

The third major function of the cotton textile industry, as we see it, is to consume the bulk of the American cotton crop and by so doing, provide the main pillar for the price supports of our cotton farm policy. As this committee knows, quota restrictions and tariffs effectually prevent the domestic textile industry from using more than a negligible amount of foreign growth cotton. In the 9 post-war years, on a calendar basis, domestic cotton consumption has averaged 9,231,000 bales, with only 1949 and 1954 falling below 9 million. We exceeded 10 million bales in 1951. Without such faithful activity I venture to say that the whole structure of our farm support policy, as related to cotton, would fall flat on its face. If Secretary Benson really wants trouble, let him transfer this dependence to foreign textile mills, especially in those countries which seek the lowest priced fiber obtainable in the world's markets.

There are varying opinions on the adequacy of present farm supports and their future course, but few people today have the temerity to advocate their abandonment. In some form they are viewed by most as a necessary balance to the high wages and price levels of American industrial products. Is there any appreciable difference between this situation and that of the large bulk of cotton woven cloth production? This too is produced primarily as a raw material for hundreds of industries and thousands of common items. American growth cotton must be used if for no other reason than that the United States fixes quota limitations by countries on imports of foreign cotton, totalling to a mere 29,000 bales of the staple lengths commonly used by the vast majority of American cotton mills. In addition the quota permits about 91,000 bales of high grade cotton, chiefly Egyptian, and 140,000 bales of short, rough cotton, not grown here, and chiefly from India. This policy of stringent limitation of the supplies of raw materials used by cotton mills is in striking contrast to the liberal climate arranged for competitive imports of basic cotton cloth, where quotas do not exist and tariffs are the only safeguard against the devastating effect of identical goods made under the cheap labor standards of Japan and India.

We do not advocate changes in the measures through which the Congress has insured the stability of farm income. But the tenacious preservation of home markets for raw cotton, with most liberal aids provided for its export distribution, is justified in the national interest by the same Government officials who have been unconcerned by the loss of export markets for American textiles

and would cheerfully trade our home markets to the lowest bidder.

At the present time this lowest bidder is Japan, which has become the chief beneficiary of many tariff reductions in textile schedules already brought about through various trade-agreement negotiations. Although not yet a member of the international circle of GATT, Japan has been favored by our policy of generalizing these concessions. After a relatively minor role in 1951 and 1952 as a supplier of cotton piece goods to this country, Japan emerged in 1953 with nearly half of the total imports in the major category of countable cotton cloths, having 30,665,000 square yards out of total imports amounting to 64,251,000 square yards. Comparable figures are not yet available for 1954 but the evidence from cargo manifests and Japanese news sources indicate at least a doubling of these quantities last year.

According to Japanese mill statistics, shipments to this country in the third quarter advanced from 4,771,000 square yards in 1953 to 16,456,000 in the like period of 1954. News reports from Tokyo have claimed monthly quantities of 12 to 13 million yards each for October and November. This present experience of a four- or fivefold jump in volume follows the same pattern of progressive market invasion as we underwent in the depression years of 1934 to 1937 with respect to Japanese bleached goods. These grew from negligible quantities in 1932 and 1933 to 6 million yards in 1934, to 30 million in 1935, to 65 million in 1936, and to 89 million in 1937. Long before the latter figure was reached, the harmful effects on our economy became of national concern and by resolution of Congress an investigation was ordered. Upon finding by the Tariff Commission that on certain fabrics the original duties fixed by the Tariff Act of 1930 were not adequate to equalize the cost of production between Japan and the United States, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation on May 21, 1936, which established increases of between 42 and 43 percent over the 1930 rates applying to these particular goods. The fact that these increased amounts of duty had no appreciable effect in limiting the volume of imports from Japan up to the outbreak of war only lends weight to our strong conviction that the Japanese industry doesn't require tariff concessions in order to do business in our textile markets. On many textile commodities present rates are far below those of 1936 which proved no barrier in prewar experience. Since that time our wage rates have advanced from around 36 cents an hour to approximately $1.25, and while Japanese wages have risen in the postwar years, by comparison they remain infinitesimally low.

We fear greatly that the trend of administrative policies, as indicated in the proposed legislation of H. R. 1, leads directly to a repetition of the unfortunate developments which occurred in the late thirties and intensified our years of depression. The threat is even more serious now because it is not confined to bleached goods but extends to practically all areas of cotton goods production. Already the Japanese have gained a virtual monopoly in the low-end price ranges of such varied products as kitchen and dish towels, damask tablecloths, pillowcases, plain back velveteens, and many other types of fabricated products which are not included in the woven cloth statistics of yardage. Domestic producers of such articles have been forced out by reason of costs which are sometimes higher than the retail selling price of the imported goods. During the past 5 months a similar situation has originated in articles of wearing apparel—men's and boys' shirts, ladies' blouses and housecoats, cotton gloves, and brassieres. Fabrics used in these articles of apparel include ginghams, corduroy, printed cloth, flannel, and suede. Here the great advantages in labor costs are pyramided and our customers in the apparel industry must compete with fabricated merchandise sold below their costs of production.

More immediate concern has to do with the entry of large and increasing quantities of staple grey cloth, in standard American constructions and good quality at prices that take business away from our most efficient manufacturers. Grey cloth is not ordinarily wearable but a raw material for countless other industries. The same applies largely to its finished state, which serves as raw material for factories making all kinds of apparel. As such, most cotton textiles are bulk commodities, sold in volume quantities in one of the Nation's most highly competitive markets, where a difference of even ⅛ cent a yard may be the difference between profit and loss. Competing in this market, the low-cost Japanese goods are similarly raw material which loses its identity when converted into finished cloth or made into garments which move into domestic consumption or export as American products. In this primary market, a sale of even 500,000 yards at cut prices can have a demoralizing effect on the values of many millions of yards in American production. For that reason the ability of the Japanese to consistently undersell American values is probably more injurious than the actual amount of yards brought in to date.

We have no optimism about a favorable change in this competitive situation for Japan has overdeveloped its textile industry since the war and still has the superior advantage of an abundant supply of cheap juvenile labor, industrious and contented to live on a diet of fish and rice. Measured by spindleage, their productive facilities have been doubled in the past 5 years, with approximately 8 million now in place, most of which are of modern and automatic type. There is a high degree of technical efficiency and their traders are all over the world. Last year Japanese exports of cotton cloth reached approximately 1,277,000,000 square yards, or more than those of the United Kingdom and the United States combined.

This is a large share of the shrunken world market and points up the inability of other textile producing countries, outside of India, to compete on the cheap qualities of peace goods used by the native millions of people in Asia and Africa. Extension of the market conquests to the United States is entirely feasible if our Government pursues a policy of eliminating by degrees the already weakened measure of protection accorded to its own people. We have grown to have no faith in the processes of international bargaining. Around the negotiation table sit some 10 or 12 nations with a vested interest in exporting surplus textiles. All of them have an eye on the American market and complain about our tariffs, which are innocuous compared to their own quantitative or other restrictions. We feel that American representatives have consistently used textile tariff schedules as bait to hook some fancied political advantage.

The American textile industry is highly competitive and we believe it can compete with any form of fair competition. But it is an industry grounded in American standards of good wages and high standards of living. Its technologics and product naturally cannot offset the unfair competition of imports from countries of similar high technical standing whose wage levels are but a tenth or less than a tenth of our wage levels. It is a large, widespread, and vital industry who health is essential to the American economy in peace and whose wartime capacities are indispensable. For such industries, adequate tariffs must be maintained as the essential safeguards of our basic national welfare.

What Nonfarmers Should Know About the Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit herewith a copy of an article which I wrote for the magazine Successful Farming and which appeared in the February 1955 issue of that publication:

WHAT NONFARMERS SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE FARM PROGRAM

The title of this article assumes that nonfarmers are not well informed about the problems of farmers and the various Government programs which deal with those problems. I believe this is a valid assumption.

This is a situation of comparatively recent origin. As late as 1910, a third of our population was directly engaged in agriculture. Many more lived in small rural communities. Under these circumstances, most of our people had a pretty good idea of farming and its problems.

But now, less than 14 percent of our people are farmers. Furthermore, farming itself has changed so much that people who were born and grew up on farms even a few years ago know nothing of modern farming problems.

I am convinced that today perhaps 75 percent of our people have little or no understanding of agriculture as an industry. And worse than that, 50 percent or more have a poor opinion of farmers—to state it in the mildest terms.

Aside from the fact that we don't want people thinking badly of farmers without justification, there is a most important reason at this time why city people should understand farmers and their problems. That is because, like every other industry, agriculture is affected by Government policies more than ever before.

This applies not only to policies dealing with prices but to such questions as export markets, credit policies, conservation, rural electrification and telephones, and research and education programs. And with less than 14 percent of our people on farms, it is obvious that Government policies which fit the needs of agriculture must receive the support of other segments of our population.

I would like to suggest some things which I think you should tell your nonfarmer friends about farming.

What should we tell them? Frankly, the only thing we need to tell them is the truth—the plain, simple truth—about what farmers are up against in these times.

While it isn't the most important point, the first thing that ought to be told is that farmers as a class are not getting rich.

Then there are people who feel that farm prices and food prices are too high and criticize farmers for that reason. These people are obviously mistaken, because no one who has made a fair study of farm prices or food prices can complain that they are out of line with the prices of other commodities.

First, it ought to be pointed out that as far as food prices are concerned, the farmer now gets only 43 percent of the consumer's dollar. The other 57 percent goes for processing, transportation, and distribution costs.

Furthermore, in the case of many commodities, there is little connection between farm prices and prices which consumers pay. In a loaf of bread selling at from 17 to 20 cents, there is 2¾ cents worth of wheat. A

cotton shirt selling for $3.95 and up contains about 30 cents worth of cotton.

A study made by the House Committee on Agriculture last July showed that while farm prices had fallen 19 percent since 1951, retail food prices remained right at the postwar peak.

Then there are people who tell me they think farm programs have worked to the disadvantage of consumers. Figures don't bear this out either.

Our first price-support program began in 1929, and if these charges were true, it would mean that consumers were worse off now than they were at that time. Yet the figures prepared by the Department of Agriculture show just the opposite.

In 1929 the average factory worker could buy 6.4 pounds of bread with an hour's earnings. Today these earnings will buy 10.3 pounds. For an hour's wages he could buy 1 pound of butter in 1929 and 2.6 pounds today; 3.9 quarts of milk in 1929 and 7.9 quarts today; 17.4 pounds of potatoes in 1929 and around 30 pounds today; 1.2 pounds of round steak in 1929 and 2 pounds today, and so on.

In other words, consumers have gotten real reductions in food prices during the time price supports have been in effect.

Another complaint which keeps popping up is that agriculture is being subsidized in vast amounts by the Federal Government and to a greater extent than other industries. It is true that agriculture has received subsidies. But I think we should point out to our friends in the cities that subsidies began when our Government was first set up in 1789—and that only in fairly recent years have they been used to any appreciable extent to protect agriculture.

The first Congress set up a subsidy to encourage the development of an American merchant fleet. Since that time many billions in subsidies—both direct and indirect—have gone to business and industry, as well as to labor and consumers. Among other things, these subsidies covered portions of the postal deficit, aids to the shipping industry, various aids to air navigation, flood control, electric-power projects, housing construction, unemployment insurance, public-assistance grants, and many others, including indirect subsidies like tariffs.

The House Appropriations Committee in 1954 published figures indicating subsidies amounting to about $45 billion were paid to business and consumers since World War II. It is fair to say that a part of this was in business reconversion payments following the war, but nevertheless, it was a subsidy.

As compared with this $45 billion of subsidies to business and consumers, farm-price supports and surplus removal, operations for the 20 years up through 1953 cost only $3½ billion, or 1 percent of the value of crops and livestock marketed.

In order to fairly inform our urban friends of the problems of agriculture and the need for remedial measures, we must point out the tremendous changes that have taken place in farming in recent years.

There was a time when farmers were very largely self-sufficient; and under those circumstances, the prices received for commodities were not particularly important. Today this situation is entirely changed. In 1953 the total assets of agriculture in this country totaled almost exactly the same as the total assets of all manufacturing corporations.

Even more significant is the fact that in 1953 the average investment per agricultural worker was $16,480. That is almost twice as much as the average investment per industrial worker.

Today even the small farmer must make a heavy investment in land and equipment, and in addition requires a large amount of working capital to pay for fuel, fertilizer, labor, insurance, taxes, and other expenses which must be paid in cash. These expenses are constant, and there is little the farmer can do to reduce them. If he is to meet them, he must have a dependable cash income.

But consider the risks that the farmer must take in getting this income. Drought and floods take their toll somewhere each year. He is subject to the ravages of insect pests, and crop and livestock diseases. And when he finally produces a crop, he has nothing to say about the price he will receive for it. If he ships his cattle to Kansas City or Chicago, he takes what the buyers offer. His alternative is to ship them back home again.

Much of the farm legislation of recent years has been for the purpose of adding to the stability of farming. Crop insurance has been tried to partially eliminate the risks of weather and disease. Cooperative marketing has been developed to give farmers more to say about the price of their products. And price-support programs through Government loans have been set up to bring about more orderly marketing. This prevents farmers from having to dump their crops on the market in such quantities as to depress prices.

And that brings us to the question of surpluses and how they affect prices. "Surplus" is a comparatively new term. We did not hear much about surpluses until after the First World War. But we have always had them—that is, except when we had distress and famine.

In past years, surpluses were in the form of reserves which people kept in their storehouses and cellars. Individual surpluses and reserves now are a thing of the past—but for our own safety and protection we must have on hand more food than can currently be used. And yet these surpluses, so destructive to farmers' prices when we do not have farm programs are simply the reserve people used to have in their cellars.

It doesn't seem right that when this surplus is for the protection of all of our people, the farmer should have to bear the whole expense and loss of carrying it. And yet that is our situation when we do not have farm programs.

Nonfarmers also ought to be told that the fact that less than 14 percent of our people can furnish the food and fiber required for all the rest of us is the principal reason why we have what we refer to as our American way of life and high standards of living.

The energies of the other 86 percent of our people can be released to build our automobiles, radios and television sets, our great highway systems, to maintain our educational facilities and our progress in the arts and sciences, as well as our churches and cultural institutions. In some countries it takes 80 to 85 percent of the people to produce enough food for themselves and the remaining 15 or 20 percent.

Certainly one of the greatest problems confronting the country today is the conservation of our soil and water. That is a responsibility that is very largely in the farmer's hands—and yet there is no way on earth the farmer can carry it out unless he, as a businessman, has sufficient income to do like other businessmen and maintain his plant by conserving and rebuilding the soil.

There is one other point. I don't know that farmers can say very much about it because it would sound too much like bragging. That is that here in this country we have always regarded the family-type farm and the people who live on it as our greatest reservoir of social and moral values. There is no way that we can maintain the family-type farm unless farming is at least profitable enough that people who love the land and want to farm can afford to do so.

These are some of the things that nonfarmers ought to know about farming. You can think of others. But that will not do any good unless in some way we get the story told. I think it is up to the farmer to do it one way or another. Perhaps the big part of the work will have to be done through organized effort—that is through farm organizations, the agricultural press, or farm-minded commentators over radio and television.

But every farmer and farmer's wife has some opportunity to dispel the fog of misunderstanding and misinformation that exists in such a large measure among so many of our people. In your own interest and the Nation's interest, you ought to make use of that opportunity.

Leave Our Judges on Olympus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Richmond News Leader of Friday, February 11, 1955:

LEAVE OUR JUDGES ON OLYMPUS

File away as needless legislation a proposal that the Chief Justice of the United States be formally requested to report to Congress from time to time on "the state of the Federal Judiciary." Nothing would be achieved by such a report that cannot be gained already through regular channels, and much would be endangered. The practice would inject our Judges into politics and threaten the strict constitutional separation of the judiciary from the congressional and executive arms of the Government.

The measure was sponsored by the Deputy Attorney General, William P. Rogers, and presented by Tennessee's Senator Estes Kefauver and New York's Representative Kenneth B. Keating. Its advocates assert that it would dramatize the needs of the Federal courts, which are so jammed in some jurisdictions that it takes 3 or 4 years for final settlement of a case.

Our view is that the Chief Justice of the United States need not debase the office by going before Congress in the role of a huckster seeking more money, more judges, more secretaries, more facilities. The regular avenues of budget hearings are sufficient to acquaint President Eisenhower and the Congress with the Court's physical problems. Indeed, Brooklyn's Representative EMANUEL CELLER, head of the House Judiciary Committee, points out that Mr. Eisenhower himself could improve conditions without congressional action by filling some 20 vacancies that exist on the Federal bench.

One doubts exceedingly that the dignified office of Chief Justice would be given over to a mere statistical account of cases in district courts across the country, delivered before a sleepy, uncomfortable Congress. Any clerk—or adding machine—could accomplish that purpose.

Our suspicion is that as time went on a Chief Justice would not confine himself to a presentation of physical problems but would stray into comment on the Court's decisions, might even feel impelled to defend certain judgments. Whatever elaboration might be needed on the Court's decisions can be found—and ought to be found—solely in the written opinions of the justices.

That this fear of a discussion of decisions is not so far-fetched was shown clearly by

the recent address at William and Mary College of Judge Bolitha J. Laws, of the United States District Court for Washington, D. C. Judge Laws apparently approves the idea of such a report to make known the affairs of the judiciary of our Nation. He observed that we of the law have no established plan to make known that laws * * * must be well interpreted and well enforced in order to preserve our Nation. Further, he described judges as living detached lives, catapulting to favorable attention on occasion but usually having their virtues hidden as a candle beneath a bushel.

In our view an air of detachment is precisely what is to be prized in the men who run our courts. Let us leave our Chief Justice on the cool heights of Olympus or, if you prefer the figure, under the homely bushel basket.

Irrigation Offers Solution to Farmers' Big Worry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Irrigation Offers Solution to Farmers' Big Worry," which appeared in the February 10, 1955, issue of the Leitchfield Gazette, of Leitchfield, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

IRRIGATION OFFERS SOLUTION TO FARMERS' BIG WORRY

More stress is being placed every year upon irrigation as a means of insuring crops in Kentucky as well as other States in this area of relatively heavy rainfall. The past 3 dry seasons have given impetus to this trend among more progressive farmers who almost uniformly report that saving one crop pays for installation of irrigation systems.

Not many farms have terrain suitable for gravity flow irrigation, but pumping techniques have been improved to the point where crops could be given ample water during periods of greatest need when usually rainfall is lightest. Most farms have areas that could be dammed up and used as storage for the abundant rainfall which unfortunately does not come regularly when needed yet amounts to about 50 inches a year—more than enough for any of our crops.

Weather observers have said there is a possibility we are in for a long period of short rainfall that may grow worse. If this is true, irrigation may become necessary to exist because it is practically impossible to follow "dry farming" practices successfully on land that is as thin and rolling as that found in this area.

Since adequate water is the most important need of any crop, drying out of the soil retards growth and cuts the value of production. Even in years of abundant rain there may be several times when money is lost because the soil becomes too dry to support a vigorous and continuous normal growth. Besides insuring steady growth, irrigation would remove the uncertainty now accompanying farming operations where expressions of worry about rainfall are common topics during the growing season.

In the West, where water is much more inaccessible than it is here, fortunes have been made by irrigation which requires more work and planning as well as capital outlay but has paid off handsomely. The Government advanced money for establishment of many irrigation districts in the West, and this money was repaid by farmers through crops made possible by the water.

As water is available here for a fraction of its cost in the semiarid States of the West, it should not be necessary to depend upon Government funds to finance individual irrigation plans. Reliable farmers should have little trouble finding financial backing for installing systems that would insure crops regardless of the weather.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the RECORD the statement of O. R. Strackbein, chairman of the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, before the House Committee on Ways and Means in opposition to H. R. 1, the trade agreements extension bill of 1955, on January 26, 1955:

The Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, of which I am chairman, is composed of some 65 organizations and groups of industries, agriculture, and labor. A list of members and associates is attached.

These organizations have banded together because of their common concern over the effects of import competition. The competition that gives them concern is the kind that derives its advantages from lower wage payments than those our own producers pay.

This is a type of competition that we regard as unfair because to meet it all along the line, unless it is properly regulated, it would be necessary to reduce wages, to impose inferior working conditions upon workers, to reduce social security and to strip away price supports for agriculture or as an alternative permit the afflicted industries and branches of agriculture to be killed off.

Not only would such a trend be heavily opposed by labor and farm organizations but it would, if left alone, lead to a lower national income and would undermine the purchasing power of our workers and farmers.

Minimum wage laws have been established in this country with the specific objective of preventing low-wage employers from gaining a competitive advantage over those who pay higher wages and driving the latter to lower wage levels or putting them out of business.

Price supports for farm products under the parity principle have been adopted to give agriculture what is regarded as a fair price in relation to prices on manufactured goods.

The obligations imposed upon industry and agriculture by law as described above result in high fixed costs and these create a competitive handicap in the face of many imports that are not produced under the same high standards.

Parity prices for agricultural products and price supports no less than collective bargaining and social security thus make for high domestic market prices. All who favor this system must recognize the competitive disadvantage that in many instances results from its operation in the field of import competition.

In the case of farm products the handicap is readily apparent. In the case of industrial products it is no less real even if not so obvious. By these various laws we interfere with the free market. Restrictive immigration laws fall into the same class.

This is not a plea for abolition of price supports or for repeal of our minimum wage laws or for abandonment of collective bargaining or social security. It is a call for recognition of the simple fact that it is not fair to place cost-raising burdens upon our producers on the one hand, no matter how desirable the objective, and on the other, to expose them progressively to sharper import competition by stripping away the tariff or by banning the use of import quotas except for the benefit of a few agricultural products such as wheat, cotton, sugar, peanuts, etc.

It is not very logical to help the farm and labor groups in one way and then to go in the opposite direction in our tariff policy.

To maintain the high level of national income that is necessary to meet our extremely high national obligations as reflected in the Federal budget, we must uphold the conditions that make possible continued high production and high employment levels throughout the economy. In the seller's market that we enjoyed for nearly a decade after the war, it was possible to uphold these high levels; but great care will be required under increasing surplus conditions to avoid the onset of widespread deflationary forces.

It is highly questionable economic policy to proceed along the import front with further tariff cutting as if prosperity would continue at the same level regardless of increased import competition. The constant minimizing of the effects of imports on employment, repeated by Secretary of Labor Mitchell before this committee, is shortsighted and dangerous.

That competition, it should be kept in mind, is not spread evenly over all industry and agriculture. It strikes with great severity in some sectors while others are free of it. Even cotton and wheat producers, who are highly protected by import quotas, would feel a sharp impact if their protection were stripped away as these groups would strip it away from other products and as this bill would permit stripping it from cotton and wheat growers themselves.

If the agricultural quotas that limit imports of these products are unnecessary, they should be taken off. If they are necessary, it should be clear that for similar good reasons protection is also necessary for many manufactured and other agricultural products.

The present bill, H. R. 1, however, is much more than a tariff bill. It contains provisions that would go far to deprive Congress of its authority and responsibility to regulate our foreign commerce. It would lodge this power in the hands of the Executive. From there it would soon pass to an international organization and thus destroy the responsiveness of Congress to the electorate in this field.

That is the intent behind the bill and confirms the purpose long harbored in the Department of State. That was the purpose of the ill-fated charter for an international trade organization which died in 1950, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. The present bill would pave the way for its revival.

We would have no objection to membership in an international trade organization that confined itself to consultative and advisory functions. Great service might come from such an organization. We do object most strenuously against a shift of congressional powers over our foreign commerce to such an international organization. That would require a constitutional amendment.

We should not forget that the industry and agriculture of this country were built under the protective system. Some seg-

ments have presumably grown beyond the need of further protection. Just as surely others have not. Those that have not cannot, however, properly be described simply as marginal or inefficient and unworthy of protection. This is a common error subscribed to by academicians and enthusiasts who hold no direct stakes to be dissipated. It is repeated by those who seek gains from exports whether these gains would hurt someone else or not.

It is also repeated by those who are deeply concerned over the international struggle and the course of the Communist threat to the world. These good people must be accorded the highest consideration for their sincere concern. They may be excused for grasping at what has been pictured as a sure path to world pacification.

The Communist threat has been turned into an overriding consideration and liberalized trade has been tapped as the best way to fight communism.

If it were only that easy. Yet there is nothing in the history of commerce and trade that will sustain such a view.

It is true that under Communist theory commercial rivalry among the capitalistic nations leads to war. If the whole world were absorbed to communism war would end, that theory holds. There would be free trade, free access to raw materials, and no competition or rivalry for markets. War would vanish.

This is a superficial concept belied by religious wars, by conquests for personal glory, and much else in the past. Yet it is true that a great part of trade does make for international rivalry.

Competitive trade is of this kind. It does not make for friendship as does complementary or noncompetitive trade. It makes for ill will rather than good will. Unless it is regulated to assure fairness it can indeed lead to violence.

Our noncompetitive imports by and large are already conducted without tariff or other barriers. The hitch comes in the competitive field, where we make the imported goods very well ourselves. That is where the character of the competition becomes important. The question of fairness is of the highest concern. Fairness does much to draw the sting from the rivalry of competition. That is where regulation comes in. This regulatory function resides in Congress. It was placed there because policy must determine the shape of regulation; and in a republic the electorate is the policymaker. Elected representatives are held responsive to the electorate. The executive's function is that of carrying out the law.

If the Constitutionmakers were wrong in lodging the power to regulate commerce and to control the tariff in Congress, the Constitution itself prescribes a method of changing the lines of authority and responsibility.

This bill would place certain powers in the hand of the Executive by which Congress itself could be shorn of its trade regulatory function without first amending the Constitution. The Executive could further alienate this function, as already indicated, by passing certain powers to an international organization, providing only that Congress consented to our entrance into such an organization.

He could impair the power of Congress, for example, by entering into a trade agreement containing a provision to ban import quotas. We are already, indeed, a party to an agreement (the general agreement on tariffs and trade) that does so, with certain exceptions, most of which do not apply to the United States. Seeing how far the State Department has gone without authority, we may well wonder how far it would go with authority, as proposed in this bill.

Import quotas are a means of regulating foreign commerce. Can any Congress then properly empower the President to enter an international agreement that would tie the hands of Congress? If a given Congress were willing to be thus bound, would any future Congress be bound? Does not each new Congress have a right to legislate for itself? Does it not have a right to amend or repeal any previous law?

If so, what would a trade agreement be worth if it contained a ban on import quotas? What would it be worth in any case if extended beyond 2 years, i. e., beyond the tenure of the existing Congress?

Certainly it would not help our international standing to enter an agreement that any succeeding Congress, or the existing Congress for that matter, had not only a perfect right but good reason to upset.

In the course of time damage to the international reputation of this country as a responsible nation would be risked unnecessarily.

A foretaste of this was provided by the passage of section 104 of the Defense Production Act of several years ago. This was held by GATT to be a violation of our obligations under the general agreement. Why did the State Department agree to such an obligation in the first place?

Under the present bill the President, meaning the State Department, would have full power to remove or to enlarge existing import quotas on cotton, wheat flour, peanuts, etc., in the course of a trade agreement. This could be done without consulting Congress. An offer to abolish or liberalize quotas on farm products could be used, in negotiating with other countries, as a means of obtaining concessions from them that would expand the exports of our automobiles, office machines, apples, or anything else.

It is true that the bill provides that in applying section 3 (A) existing legislation is not to be violated; but section 3 (B) is excepted. What happens if there is no existing legislation? Cannot an agreement then be made that would forestall legislation? There is, for example, no law that there shall be no ban on import quotas or that the Executive may not use quotas as he sees fit in a trade agreement.

A trade agreement outlawing import quotas would therefore upset no existing legislation with the possible exception of the Sugar Act; nor would an agreement lifting existing quotas do so, with the exception noted.

The same goes for customs formalities. The bill would empower the President to make agreements relating to customs formalities. Aside from being extremely general in character and granting unlimited discretion, this power could be used to run ahead of Congress and close certain premises to future legislation.

Then comes the broadest proposed grant of all, i. e., entry into a trade agreement containing provisions on other matters relating to trade. This would simply give free play to the State Department to use our home market as a pawn in the moves of power politics.

To all this we object most strenuously. We have seen enough of the State Department maneuvers to forewarn us against any such grant of power.

Indeed we have seen enough of it to call for a complete reversal of the system under which the remedy spelled out under the escape clause by Congress in 1951 has been nullified. We are thoroughly convinced that the escape clause remedy will continue to be thwarted by the State Department if the veto power is not taken away and given to Congress where it belongs.

Our greatest quarrel with the trade-agreements system is precisely this denial of a remedy; and we will not easily be fooled by assurances. These were offered to us when the escape clause first made its appearance in 1943 in the form of an Executive order. We learned from repeated experience that the assurances were designed merely to lull opposition and were, as judged by the results, completely insincere.

Then in 1951 the escape clause was written into law. We counted this as a distinct gain; but since that time we have seen the law frustrated by executive disinclination and refusal to accept Tariff Commission recommendations.

This long experience has fully convinced us that administration of the clause must be removed from the Executive power. Otherwise the remedy will remain a nullity and worse yet, a cynical farce.

Objection to the escape clause comes from other countries on the grounds that its use creates uncertainty in the marketing of their products here. Overlooked is the fact that GATT itself contains an escape clause similar to our own; that the need for a remedy against import injury is recognized in the general agreement. Was it contemplated that this clause be mere window dressing? If not, what is the outcry about?

Actually a great degree of stability in our tariff could be assured if the present trade-agreement rates were adopted as the tariff of the United States by law. Provision should then be made for only such changes in rates as could be demonstrated to be necessary, one item at a time, either to avoid injury, by increasing given rates, or to increase imports, by reducing given rates that were shown to be higher than necessary.

Considerations of foreign relations should not be ignored, but neither should they be given top and overriding priority as is now the case. The Department of State should be given full opportunity to make known its views to Congress in each case of recommended duty restoration.

There are other objectionable provisions in this bill. One is the provision that would empower the Executive to cut all rates down to a level of 50 percent if they are above that level. This would be an arbitrary action and has no economic justification. It is surprising that such a suggestion should be made. Evidently the idea was adopted without reflection.

Another provision would limit any rate restoration to the level existing on January 1, 1945. This represents a direct attempt at legislative crippling of the escape clause, and we object to it. Nineteen hundred and forty-five was a war year and is not a satisfactory base for measuring the suitability of tariff rates.

It is to be observed also that the provision that would permit a 50-percent cut in the rates on items not now being imported, or imported only in negligible quantities, provides for no remedy, since such cuts would not be in the nature of concessions in a trade agreement.

The theory underlying this provision seems to be that if we do not now have an import problem the thing to do is to create one.

The nationwide committee last year supported a bill that we believe to be far superior to the present bill, both in the moderate protection it would offer to domestic industry, agriculture, and labor, and in creating the conditions that are essential to maximum trade.

It would adopt the present rates in trade agreements as the statutory tariff of the United States, thus offering a higher degree of stability than H. R. 1. These rates could only be changed by individual applications to the Tariff Commission in order to assure fairness of import competition. There would not and could not occur any general tariff increase under that system, but also no general tariff cut. Neither is justified under present economic conditions.

One highly important change would be made. The Tariff Commission would send its recommendations to Congress rather

than to the Executive. This change is necessary if Executive nullification is to be overcome as it should be in the interest of fair treatment and good government. The present situation of Executive debasement of the Tariff Commission, now in its fourth or fifth year of practice, is inexcusable and intolerable. As an exmaple of high-handed disregard of basic rights and division of powers, it merits the severest condemnation and should be stopped.

LIST OF MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES OF NATION-WIDE COMMITTEE OF INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, AND LABOR, ON IMPORT-EXPORT POLICY

American National Cattlemen's Association.
National Coal Association.
United Mine Workers of America (Ind.)
National Wool Growers Association.
American Tung Oil Association, AAL.
Seafarers International Union of North America (AFL).
Wine Institute.
American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America (AFL).
Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association.
Tuna Research Foundation.
The Hat Institute, Inc.
Book Manufacturers' Institute, Inc.
Bicycle Institute of America, Inc.
Cordage Institute.
The United States Potters Association.
Atlantic Fishermen's Union (AFL).
American Lace Manufacturers Association, Inc.
Soft Fibre Manufacturers' Institute.
International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America (AFL).
California Walnut Growers Association.
California Almond Growers Exchange.
Pin, Clip and Fastener Association.
Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America (Ind.).
Sunkist Growers.
National Association Greenhouse Vegetable Growers.
United Wall Paper Craftsmen & Workers of North America (AFL).
United States Wood Screw Service Bureau.
National Renderers Association.
Oregon Filbert Commission.
Basic Vegetable Products, Inc.
American Knit Handwear Association, Inc.
Pacific Coast Fish Producers Institute.
Cannery Workers Union of the Pacific (AFL).
Cannery Workers & Fishermen's Union (AFL).
Wyoming Wool Growers Association.
Carpet Institute, Inc.
Harley-Davidson Motor Co.
The Dow Chemical Co.
Forstmann Woolen Co.
John B. Stetson Co.
Shenango Pottery Co.
Onondaga Pottery Co.
Puccinelli Packing Co.
Dairy Industry Committee: National Cheese Institute, American Butter Institute, National Creameries Association, Milk Industry Foundation.
Tariff committee, Band Instrument Manufacturers Association.
National Shrimp Canners & Packers Association.
The Wall Paper Institute, Inc.
Reynolds Metals Co., Inc.
Hardwood Plywood Institute.
American Glassware Association.
Hardboard Association.
Wm. Ainsworth & Sons, Inc.
Scientific Apparatus Makers' Association.
The Associated Fishing Tackle Manufacturers.
The Wool Hat Manufacturers' Association.
Tile Council of America.
Insulation Board Institute.
Air Products, Inc., Emmaus, Pa.
Cooke Bausman, Jr., Pittsburgh.
Winchester Arms Co., New Haven.
Industrial Fasteners Institute.
American Tunaboat Association, San Diego, Calif.
International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union (AFL).
International Brotherhood of Operative Potters (AFL).
The Diamond Match Co.
Massachusetts Fisheries Association, Inc.
Seafood Producers Association of New Bedford.
California Fish Canners Association.
Mushroom Growers Cooperative Association of Pennsylvania.
Samuel Lenher.
D. C. Newman.
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders (AFL).
National Authority for the Ladies' Handbag Industry.
American Cyanamid Co.
American Cutlery Manufacturers Association.
Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association.
United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union (AFL).

Another Man's Poison?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Mr. George Sokolsky, well-known columnist and radio commentator, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of Thursday, February 10, entitled "Another Man's Poison."

The article is as follows:

ANOTHER MAN'S POISON?

(By George Sokolsky)

Most people know as little about fluoridation as I do. Most of those who favor it and oppose it and are littered with propaganda on both sides would find it difficult to explain why anyone should get all hot and bothered about this business of pouring another poison into our water. For our health, our water has already been chlorinated and the real effect is to give it so horrible a taste that alcoholism is on the increase. Whenever I taste water that has been manhandled by a chlorinator, I understand why the late Heywood Broun preferred gin.

So now they are to put fluorides into our water to save our teeth. My suspicions are naturally aroused because so many dentists are for it. They must have grown eleemosynary of late to favor something that they claim will put them out of business. As I have no teeth of my own, perfect teeth are of small moment to me personally, but I, too, can be eleemosynary and favor something that benefits someone else, if it does.

The question that arises in my mind is, Suppose 10 or 20 years from now, the professors change their minds about fluoridation. Suppose they say that instead of saving teeth, it harms something else. So I read an article in the Scientific American, entitled "A Study of the Anti-scientific Attitude," and discovered that the authors, Bernard and Judith Mausner, agree with Senator FULBRIGHT that there is a "swinish blight of anti-intellectualism," and that whoever says that if you want to use fluorides for the teeth, get it in a bottle at the drugstore instead of in the waterworks, is an aforesaid swinish anti-intellectual. This broad generalization reminds me of the anti-Fascists who denounced everyone who despised Stalin as pro-Fascist, and the anti-Communists who believe that everyone who reads the Daily Worker is a Communist.

In a word, here is supposed to be learned writing on a technical subject which I pick up to inform myself and find in the first paragraph a polemic on the distrust of intellectuals, which has nothing to do with the subject. I am sure that the Mausners, whoever they may be, regard themselves as intellectuals but I doubt whether they can write learnedly on the moral systems of Maimonides, Thomas Aquinas, Spinoza, and Kant and, if they cannot, I shall everlastingly deny them the title of "intellectuals." Also, unless they can write several thousand words on the romantic period in music and unless they can speak authoritatively on the influence of Wagner on Verdi's Otello, I shall mark them down as having no right to wear the sign of the egghead.

The trouble with a fellow who becomes fanatical about such a subject as fluoridation is that while he can explain why poison, if taken in small doses, might do no damage, or might even be beneficial, like opium, if one has a bellyache, he does not explain why it should not be sold in a drugstore so that the fellow who does not care for the stuff is not obliged to have it in his coffee. The answer, of course, is that it is a poison.

In a free society, no one ought to be forced to do what he chooses not to do, just as a Christian Scientist may eschew a physician, or a Jew, pork. These choices are made on religious grounds and therefore are protected by the Constitution, but fluoridation is advocated by dentists and social workers and therefore the Constitution may not be invoked to protect them.

The Customs Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an interesting and informative editorial entitled "The Customs Budget" that appeared in the January 28, 1955, issue of the Journal of Commerce of New York City:

THE CUSTOMS BUDGET

This piece is intended primarily for the House Appropriations Committee which shortly will take under consideration the Budget Bureau's recommendation that $41,200,000 be allocated for the 1956 fiscal year for the United States Customs Service.

This sum is about 3 percent higher than approved for fiscal 1955, but is still short of what is needed, since it will just about cover certain minor employee expenses now allowable, and the automatic pay increases.

The basic problem still remains unsolved. This is the steady decline that has taken place in the number of employees doing customs work, while the workload of this service has constantly moved higher. Expressed another way, employees retiring or leaving the service have not been replaced in recent years by collectors forced to trim costs to the bone, while the volume of our imports that are dutiable and the paper work in processing both imports and exports for reasons of security have steadily mounted.

Also, there are the airports which now handle as many incoming passengers as the steamship lines, and the liberalized provisions governing imports by mail, both of which require customs inspection.

Now economy in Government is something with which few people can quibble. Also it is difficult at a time when balanced budgets are prime objectives to make exceptions without opening the gates to others.

Nevertheless some good arguments can be advanced for considering the customs service as a hardship case, because we are inevitably approaching the time when, through lack of manpower alone, we are endangered with a breakdown of proper import inspection, narcotics control, and strategic materials supervision. When this happens the smugglers, dope peddlers, and subversives will have a field day.

In seeking to explain this extraordinary condition there appears to be only one answer—the customs service has not been articulate over the years in its applications for funds so that its modest requests have been drowned out by the multimillion demands of other agencies.

The time is here to correct this situation before it is too late. Responsible importers are concerned because they cannot compete with the smuggler, and the public must be concerned if made aware of the facts, since the best place to stop narcotics is at the shoreline.

Thus we have a collection and enforcement agency whose activities touch many people, but whose position as a responsible Government bureau is being steadily and dangerously weakened.

Let us look at the situation at the port of New York where we were able to gather some figures to implement the above statements.

In 1940 there were approximately 3,000 customs employees here who collected some $173 million in receipts.

Last year 2,600 workers collected $350 million in receipts. This represented an even greater increase in actual handlings, since tariffs have been substantially reduced during the postwar period on about half our imports.

Import mail entries at New York in 1941 came to 3 million packets; last year the volume was 9 million.

Pier guards, which numbered 800 at the war and postwar peak and normally numbered 500, are now down to 280.

Passenger entries by airline and steamship is at an all-time high and bid fair to set new records this year.

To handle this increased work with less people and still insure some supervision, it has been necessary to resort to spot inspection of baggage, accept invoice weights on many dutiable imports, and eliminate review of final acceptance of certain duties by the Comptroller.

All these moves were expedients resorted to by New York officials in a desperate effort to utilize available forces to the best possible advantage in collection and enforcement work.

New York, which normally collects about 40 percent of customs revenues, has been held to a budget of approximately $9 million a year, or about 23 percent of the total. It employs about 30 percent of the total customs force, so that on the basis of both personnel and collections it has been curtailed below what should normally be expected. In fact, further cuts in the ranks appear inevitable here unless Congress does something about budget funds for fiscal 1956.

This is the outlook, and it is not a pleasant picture. We urge careful review of the entire problem by the House Appropriations Committee before any attempt is made to accept the Budget Bureau recommendations.

The situation is serious enough to call for some facts. They can be obtained without too great effort and should be studied by Congress to find out if our customs service needs strengthening and to what extent to preserve one of our basic national interests.

Yes; We Can Abolish War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I believe Members of the House will be interested in reading a timely editorial by the well-known columnist, David Lawrence, in a recent issue of the U. S. News & World Report. It is entitled "Yes; We Can Abolish War":

General MacArthur says war must be abolished. Here is a great soldier speaking, a veteran of three wars, a hero who won the adulation of his people for military achievement but who, ironically enough, became the main target of the European press as a "warmonger" because Communist propaganda falsely portrayed him as wanting to send American troops to the Chinese mainland.

What paradox is this which brings from the lips of a military man of such wide experience the most stirring plea for the abolition of war that has been heard in our times?

What fantastic suggestion, what dream of impracticality is this, ask the skeptics, as they fling at him the facts of practicality in an age of aggression.

But the idea is not to be rejected so readily. It is neither fantastic nor impractical. It is real and it is practical. It is the livest issue of our day—if we will but examine it as carefully as we do the power of a new bomb of destruction.

For here is a concept that challenges the imagination of man. It is intangible now, yet it is something the human mind can make tangible whenever there is a determined effort to do so.

Let us examine the words of General MacArthur as he spoke at Los Angeles on January 26 last on the occasion of his 75th birthday:

"It is a sad truth that human character has never reached the theological development which would permit the application of pure idealism. In the last 2,000 years its rate of change has been deplorably slow compared to that of the arts and the sciences. But now the tremendous and present evolution of nuclear and other potentials of destruction has suddenly taken the problem away from its primary consideration as a moral and spiritual question and brought it abreast of scientific realism. It is no longer an ethical equation to be pondered solely by learned philosophers and ecclesiastics but a hard-core one for the decision of the masses whose survival is the issue."

That phrase, "the decision of the masses," epitomizes the whole problem and points to its solution.

But how? Where is the blueprint? Where is the mechanism that can accomplish this worthy object? Have not men always preached the doctrines of peace? And have not wars come anyhow?

True enough, we have asked but we have never answered the real question. For we have always sought the solution through governments—when it is the governments themselves which have assumed the power to impose slavery and by their discipline to create armies.

Governments, of course, can be the honest servants and spokesmen of free peoples, but too often they are the masters of enslaved peoples. The problem is to find a way to divest rulers of their despotic power.

We shall not make peace by attending conferences or writing treaties with cliques of evil men. We cannot win them by exhortation. We can unhorse them only by reaching to the sources of their power. Anything which enhances the prestige of bad rulers helps to deceive and discourage the peoples who have been enslaved.

Our moral power should be strong enough to refrain from all contacts with evil men. The maintenance of our armament is essential only to protect us against the caprice of these evil rulers. This we must make clear to other peoples—that it is their government which threatens the peace of mankind.

Does anybody doubt that if such a message could reach the people of Soviet Russia and the people of Red China that they would react against war any differently than we do? Of course not. All human beings are instinctively in favor of survival.

Then what are we waiting for? Only for the mechanism to implement the formula whereby peoples talk to peoples, and governments begin to do what peoples want them to do. The 200 million people in Soviet Russia and the 600 million in China can at any moment remove any clique or group which is usurping authority. Armies would crumble, because soldiers, too, wish to survive.

Inventive geniuses must bring forth an electronic device to make it possible for the words of a President or the words of our spiritual leaders everywhere on this side of the Iron Curtain actually to be heard by all the oppressed peoples.

We now can amplify the human voice so that it can be heard across huge public squares in our big cities. We must look forward to the day when science will transmit words spoken in the native tongue of enslaved peoples and, again and again, convey to them the biggest truth of today—that war can and must be abolished.

The voice of humanity, speaking the language of reason, inevitably will be heard in every home in every country. When that happens, tyrants will vanish, because the concerted will of millions of people will take from such rulers the power to make war. Therein lies the salvation of the world.

Congressmen Get Prayer Room

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Congressmen Get Prayer Room," which appeared in the February 8, 1955, issue of the Irvington Herald, of Irvington, Ky.

It is good to feel that the public as well as the Members of Congress realize how the prayer room has been needed and have some conception of what this place of quiet retreat and meditation will mean in the stress and strain of the present and the future.

The editorial is as follows:

CONGRESSMEN GET PRAYER ROOM

For the first time in more than 150 years, Members of Congress have been provided with a prayer room at this session of Congress. The prayer room, which was author-

ized last year, is open to Members of Congress only and is not to be used for any other persons or groups.

The idea is to provide the legislators with one room in the Capitol where they can find seclusion, peace, and quiet. The prayer room's special window was built by volunteer labor from California's 21st Congressional District.

Clergymen of all faiths were consulted about the furnishing of the prayer room, and a large plain oak altar was finally selected. The room is covered with green carpet and there are chairs along the walls, in front of which are wooden screens which furnish privacy. Adequate copies of prayer books, Bibles, and other literature are available in the room.

Anyone who ever worked in the Capitol, amid the tensions and pressures which are exerted on the legislative branch, knows there has long been a need for a prayer room such as this. We hope that on more than one occasion in the future this room of meditation and inspiration will be useful in helping to guide decisions made by the highest elected legislative officers of our country in these critical times.

Ten Years After Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Yalta Conference of February 1945 fashioned the Roosevelt peace, which now has tormented all of God's children for 10 long years. Some day, Yalta must be undone.

The principals in that tragic conference were Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill. Stalin and Churchill, though both older than Roosevelt, were in robust health. Roosevelt, as we now know from recent memories, was a dying man. Alger Hiss and Harry Hopkins were intimate, confidential advisers of Roosevelt at Yalta.

Official State Department publications has summarized the accomplishments at Yalta, so far as they are known; but these publications do not tell the story of Roosevelt's physical and mental disintegration during the 15 months immediately preceding the Conference.

Not until Rear Adm. Ross T. McIntire, United States Navy, retired, published White House Physician, in 1946, did the world learn that President Roosevelt's fatal illness first struck him in December 1943, almost a year before the historic fourth-term election of November 1944, and 15 months before the epochal Yalta Conference.

Churchill quickly recognized Roosevelt's tragic physical condition at Yalta and since has commented on that facet of the conference at some length. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt likewise wrote—in 1950—that everybody in the White House family knew that the President was far from well during the summer and fall of 1944. But nobody in the White House ever commented on the President's health because all understood clearly that Mr. Roosevelt felt it his duty to continue in office and those around him could try only to make things as easy for him as possible.

This fixed policy of the court circle was spearheaded by Admiral McIntire, who issued five public statements during 1944 indicating that Mr. Roosevelt was in sound health. These statements by Admiral McIntire were published in the New York Times on March 6, May 8, June 9, September 26, and October 13, 1944.

With the Nation thus reassured on Mr. Roosevelt's robust health, the President was reelected triumphantly for a fourth term on November 7. Immediately after the inauguration, January 20, 1945, he took off on the cruiser *Quincy* from Norfolk, Va., for the fateful Yalta Conference, which saddled Germany with the savage Morgenthau plan for a pastoral economy, betrayed Poland, and delivered China to Kremlin communism. Yalta designed and erected the Iron Curtain.

In The Roosevelt Myth, published in July 1948, John T. Flynn, a competent and respected anti-Communist journalist, meticulously documented Roosevelt's last illness from its inception in December 1943 to the President's death at Warm Springs, Ga., April 12, 1945. Using Mr. Flynn's basic chronology as the framework, I now have buttressed the story with additional details since published in the Churchill memoirs, the Ickes diaries, Frazier Hunt's biography of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and Mrs. Roosevelt's This I Remember, published in 1950.

President Roosevelt returned from the Tehran Conference in December 1943, and after a brief season in Washington, moved on to Hyde Park for the Christmas holidays. There, Dr. McIntire relates, the President suffered a brief attack of influenza, which was followed by a persistent bronchial infection. From this point until his death in April 1945, the President never regained sound health and normal physical energy.

Flynn records that Mr. Roosevelt was away from the White House 175 days during 1944. Some 30 days were required for his junket to the Pacific to confer with MacArthur and Nimitz; he gave 2 weeks to the presidential campaign; about 10 days to the Quebec Conference with Churchill; and spent something more than 100 days at Bernard Baruch's secluded retreat at Hobcaw Sound, S. C., at Hyde Park, and at the sheltered Shangri La hideout in western Maryland. The true significance of these extended periods of presidential rest and recuperation was obsured by Admiral McIntire's periodic reassurances to the public throughout the year concerning Mr. Roosevelt's health.

Merriam Smith, veteran White House reporter for the United Press, comments in Thank You, Mr. President—1946—that Admiral McIntire never lied about Mr. Roosevelt's physical condition but, on occasion, has told the truth in language that easily could be misleading to the public.

At Hyde Park several celebrated specialists were called in during January 1944 for a consultation on the President's influenza. Their findings, documented through Admiral McIntire several years later, disclosed a moderate degree of arteriosclerosis—the infirmity which finally produced the fatal stroke at Warm Springs, April 12, 1945. While this Hyde Park consultation occurred in January 1944, the findings were not documented publicly until June of 1946.

History thus records that President Roosevelt's last illness began, and was correctly diagnosed, in December to January, 1943 to 1944, but was concealed from the public, to accommodate the urgent political strategems of the fourth-term campaign in 1944, and further concealed during the critical days of the Yalta Conference with Stalin and Churchill—in February 1945—which gave us the Roosevelt peace, the United Nations, and the deliberate betrayal of China to communism after the carefully plotted Lattimore plan.

Under all the customs and usages of international law the question now arises whether, in the circumstances of President Roosevelt's then advanced infirmity in January 1945, his secret deliberations and vocal one-man commitments at Yalta impose in any degree the slightest moral obligation on the part of the United States Government or the American people?

After the January 1944 medical consultation at Hyde Park, McIntire notes, he placed the President on a regime which limited him to 4 hours work a day. With D-day in Europe only 6 months forward, and the fourth-term presidential campaign already well underway, this 4-hour-day regime—not documented for the public until 1946—marked Mr. Roosevelt as no longer physically fit to discharge the heavy duties of his high office. Nevertheless, 11 months later, he was reelected, in November 1944, for another term of 4 years.

Mrs. Roosevelt confirms Dr. McIntire's account of the limited presidential regime, noting that Mr. Roosevelt on June 6, 1944, had only one significant task on his calendar for the day—delivery of his D-day prayer over a worldwide radio network; after which for hours, all hearts in the White House were with the men on the beaches.

Precisely at this point, Mrs. Roosevelt continues, another election campaign lay immediately ahead. She knew, without asking, that since the war was not over, Mr. Roosevelt, if his health permitted, would run again. It was thereupon decided finally that if the President would agree to certain rules set down by the physicians, he could carry on as Chief Executive—Washington Post, February 1, 1950, page 13–B. Mrs. Roosevelt does not record, however, who made this momentous decision in the summer of 1944, nor why it was not disclosed to the American public until February of 1950, almost 5 years after Mr. Roosevelt's death.

About a month earlier, Dr. McIntire, in May 1944, had brought down from Boston a famous heart specialist, arranged his immediate induction into the United States Navy, and assigned him to President Roosevelt's side. Eleven months later, at the scene of the Presi-

dent's death, this heart specialist, Dr. Howard Bruenn, told newspapermen he had never let Mr. Roosevelt get out of his sight. These fundamental facts of 1944 White House history were not made known to the public until mid-1946.

En route to the Pacific in July 1944, Mr. Roosevelt stopped his special train long enough in the railyards at Chicago to issue his historic dictum, "Clear it with Sidney," to Senators Truman, Byrnes, and Barkley. This dictum related to the Democratic National Convention's then pending selection of a vice presidential nominee for the fourth-term ticket, the southern Democrats having earlier informed the President in Washington that Henry Agard Wallace would not be acceptable for another term. From this situation soon emerged the nomination of Harry Truman, the only other considerable candidate before the convention acceptable to the late Sidney Hillman.

From Chicago, Mr. Roosevelt moved on to San Diego, where he made his acceptance speech for the fourth-term nomination, thence by battleship to his war conference with MacArthur and Nimitz, which lasted only a few hours.

On this trip—

Flynn explains—

his appalling physical condition was revealed to the commanders in Honolulu. They were shocked at his appearance, despite the long, restful, sea trip. Here for the first time, we hear of his conversation falling into intervals of irrelevance.

As he was wheeled from his quarters, officers noted his head drooping forward, his jaw hanging loosely. Mr. Roosevelt did not return to Washington until August 18.

Campaigning in the rain in New York City late in October, he rode in a specially equipped heated limousine, with an electric heater under the seat, and another under the heavy fur blankets thrown over his lap. Three or four stuttering lapses in diction during his radio speech that night were attributed jovially by the newspapermen present to possibly a slight excess of before-dinner martinis.

One week later, on election night, Merriam Smith noted at Hyde Park that Mr. Roosevelt "looked older than I had ever seen him, and he made an irrelevant speech."

After the election, November 7, President Roosevelt dropped out of the news until November 26, then went to Warm Springs until December 23, then to Hyde Park for the Christmas holidays. Just 1 year had passed—as we now know—since his fatal illness had been discovered, diagnosed, and suppressed.

On January 19, 1945, the day before inauguration, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins tarried after the Cabinet meeting to present her resignation and bid farewell.

The physical appearance of the President shocked her. His deep pallor, apoplectic hands, and sagging facial muscles suggested a man gravely ill. Distraught, she hastened to her office, called in her personal secretary, closed the door, and whispered in a frightened voice that the President appeared near death.

Forty-eight hours later, the inauguration over, Mr. Roosevelt left Washington for the Yalta Conference—the most appalling disaster in modern history.

Someday, somehow, Yalta must be undone. God's mankind will not continue forever in the toils and chains there spun by barbaric communism about the broken body and shattered mind of a President recently elected for a fourth term by the most gigantic and egregious public fraud in the history of the world.

Fallout—Another Dimension in Atomic Killing Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in the New Republic for February 14, and was written originally for and appeared in the February Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists:

FALLOUT—ANOTHER DIMENSION IN ATOMIC KILLING POWER

(By Ralph E. Lapp)

The first A-bomb which shattered Hiroshima struck out at its victims over about 7 square miles. Compared with the TNT blockbuster this primitive nuclear weapon constituted a "quantum jump" in the instruments of war. On November 1, 1952, a much more powerful bomb spread its blast-heat punch over 300 square miles. This was quantum jump no. 2. The world did not have long to wait for no. 3. It came on March 1, 1954, with a fallout of radioactive particles over thousands of square miles of the Pacific Ocean.

The lethal radioactive fallout of quantum jump no. 3 is still too recent to appreciate fully. Indeed, most people have scarcely begun to comprehend the meaning of Hiroshima, let alone the more recent event which dwarfs it in significance. And dwarf it, it does. Fallout adds a new dimension to war. A single superbomb, exploded close to the ground, can now contaminate a State the size of Maryland with lethal radioactivity.

TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The November 1954 Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists stated that about 4,000 square miles could be contaminated with serious-to-lethal radioactivity by the March 1 explosion. It emphasized that this was a conservative estimate. Using more recent data, this calculation can be refined. When a bomb is dropped, the sequence of events is as follows:

1. The exploding superbomb produces a 3-to-4-mile diameter fireball, which, unless it is exploded as a very high air burst, will touch the earth's surface.

2. As the blast-heat of the explosion craters the surface below the bomb it dislodges millions of tons of surface earth and substratum.

3. The glowing fireball rises skyward and sucks up in its column debris from the crater. Massive chunks of debris fall back to earth promptly, but lighter particles are churned into the fireball and coated with prodigious quantities of radiactivity created by the fission process.

4. Split atoms of uranium or fission products adhere to the debris, the smaller particles carry less radioactivity than the more massive ones which have more surface area. The hot debris is swept upward to the stratosphere, where it is dispersed downwind by the high winds aloft.

5. As the bomb could sweeps downwind there is a continual fallout of the radioactive particles, the heavier ones falling first, while the lighter particles drift farther downwind.

6. The pattern of the fallout area is roughly elliptical.

Not all the radioactive particles come to earth in the fallout which concerns us. Some radioactive debris falls back into the crater area and much of it is carried on such tiny particles that they are wafted around the world without descending. Stratospheric winds of 50 knots are not uncommon over the United States, so that the hot cloud could travel 200 miles in several hours. Assuming an ellipse width of 50 miles and a length of 200 miles, this would correspond to an area of about 8,000 square miles.

Assume then that the bomb is of the general type as that detonated in the Castle series in March–April of last year. Assume further that the pertinent energy release is 8 megatons (8 million tons of TNT). The exposure one would receive if one stayed in the contaminated area for an infinite length of time is 2,500 roentgens, which corresponds to a 1-hour activity of 500 roentgens per hour. Roentgen, as used here, applies to the integrated exposure from 1 hour to eternity.

Naturally as time passes the intensity drops sharply. From 1 hour to 1 years there would be a 50,000-fold reduction in the level of contamination. Yet, even at the end of 1 year the rate would exceed that set as safe for laboratory workers today.

About one-half of the eternity dose of radioactivity is delivered in the first day—the time of maximum danger from fallout. Although the intensity then drops sharply, it does not drop to zero. At 50 years, 7½ percent of the eternity dose remains.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CIVIL DEFENSE

Let us consider the fate of one person, call him Mr. A, who panics and attempts to flee from the fallout area. Assume that Mr. A seeks no shelter and flees on foot (perhaps having been caught in a traffic jam). Assume that he walks or runs all day, spending 9 hours in the hot area before finally reaching a noncontaminated place or before someone forces him to take shelter. At an intensity of 55 roentgens per hour, at the end of 1 hour he would have had a dose of 930 roentgens—the lethal dose is 400 to 500 roentgens. His panic or his ignorance would have cost him his life.

Consider now the case of Mr. B who is alerted by the thunderclap of the explosion and fortunately being out of immediate blast damage range seeks shelter. A prudent man, he has prepared a simple basement shelter to which he takes his family and food and water to last for 2 days. After 2 days he emerges, receives an advisory on his battery-powered radio, and then either stays put or travels to a safe area. He will have received very slight radiation while sheltered. In traversing the contaminated area after 2 days he could go a full day without radiation injury.

These two cases illustrate that the maximum peril from fallout is concentrated in the first day, or in the most heavily contaminated area, in the first 2 days. This does not mean that the danger has vanished after 2 days, for one still has to contend with the remaining half of the radiation. But since this is delivered more slowly over a period of weeks and months, it is not an acute hazard, although it cannot be disregarded.

Mr. B in our example was fortunate because he had a prepared shelter with sufficient shielding to protect against the penetrating rays in the fall-out. Very few peo-

ple today can claim to be Mr. B. This raises the question as to what people can do if there are no good shelters available. The question can be answered in a word: improvise. Dr. Willard F. Libby, in one of this first speeches as an Atomic Energy Commissioner, wisely pointed out: "The radiological hazard of atomic weapons is something one can do something about."

Doing something about the fall-out involves (a) action during the acute phase of the hazard, i. e., the first few days, and (b) measures applicable to the nonacute radioactive hazard.

Obviously, if one knows where to flee one can escape from the fall-out region. But this is rather a risky undertaking once the bomb has been detonated and fall-out has begun. People within the shadow of the H-cloud should seek emergency shelter as quickly as possible.

The fundamental rule of survival then is: Get below the surface of the earth—a basement under a multi-story house, the fruit cellar of a farmhouse, or simply any hole in the ground. When one gets his head below the earth's surface he ducks out of the "illumination" of the radioactive rays from the surrounding area and reduces his dose very greatly. Even a hastily scooped out foxhole affords good protection. It is true that some fall-out will descend upon the occupant but a coat stretched across the top for a few hours and then discarded will minimize later exposure.

If no emergency shelter is available and time does not permit digging a foxhole (or where soil and weather conditions deter such excavation) one may seek second-class protection in a structure like a barn. Radioactive particles falling on the roof still irradiate the individual but they are farther away and the distance is a substitute for solid shielding. Furthermore, the refugees in the barn can improvise shelters inside. Having a roof over your head, even though your head is not below the earth's surface, has the decided advantage that it protects from direct contamination by the particles themselves. By keeping the radioactive debris from touching the body, one eliminates the hazard of the short-range beta particles which would otherwise cause beta burns on the skin.

An analogy may prove useful in illustrating the fallout radiation. When a plane surface like an open field is covered with an invisible mantle of radioactivity, one has an infinite plane (so dear to physicists) as the source of radiation; which means that if you stand in the middle of the field you receive radiation from all parts of the field, more from close by and, of course, less from the more remote parts. Substitute for the invisible mantle a huge array of incandescent bulbs. Standing in the midst of this blazing field of illumination you will receive light from every part of the field. Now duck below the earth's' surface into a foxhole and you will cut down your exposure enormously, although you will still receive some scattered light. In the case of gamma rays scattered in the air, the amount of penetrating radiation which looks in the foxhole should be small.

A simple calculation shows that a person standing in an open field, uniformly contaminated with the fallout, receives 50 percent of his radiation from the fallout which is over 25 feet away from him. Further calculation shows that a person in a normal basement (below the level of surrounding terrain) would be exposed to only less than one-third the above-the-ground hazard. The smaller the basement the better the protection will be for there will be less overhead illumination. On this basis a foxhole, with its small entrance for radiation is better protection than a basement. And a foxhole dug in the basement or a basement corner room extension would be even better protection.

Overhead protection with earth or concrete is desirable but it is surprising how much protection is afforded by the simple expedient of getting below the earth's surface.

Imagine that 1 hour after the fallout each electric lamp in our radiation field glows at a 100-watt level. At the end of 1 day the level will drop to 2.2 watts; in other words, the intensity will drop forty-five fold in the first day. With such a dropoff in intensity one can emerge from the shelter phase of civil defense and begin to do something more actively. If you were a farmer with a tractor and plow you could plow under the contamination. This would be equivalent to dimming the lights. One would not have to dim all the lights for those closest to you would be most important.

Take the case of a man who lives in a New England community. He is apt to be caught in a multiple fallout, that is, he may be in an area where fallout from more than one bomb occurs. To travel to a noncontaminated region—say Canada or the Adirondacks—might be unwise. Yet to stay put is most uncomfortable, especially in a foxhole. A homeowner could return to his house, if it survives, and begin decontamination. Sweeping down the roof would be the most urgent task. A good stiff sweep-down would remove much of the radioactivity. Then the surrounding hard surfaces like the street and driveway could be swept and the sweepings buried in the lawn or flushed into a sewer. The lawn should be thoroughly turned over with a spade. Even raking would help.

Care should be taken to minimize direct contamination of the body, especially when sweeping. Using a simple face mask and afterward discarding clothing will be effective measures. Inadequate unclassified information exists upon which to base a realistic evaluation of the inhalation hazard of fallout radioactivity. Entry of the particles into the lungs can undoubtedly be minimized with filters and masks.

The reason for decontaminating your immediate environment becomes clear if you think about the accumulated dose. Suppose you emerge after 2 days during which time you have received little, if any, radiation. The radiation level has dropped from its initial 1 hour rate of 500 radiation-hours to about 5 radiation-hours. Such a level is still respectable but one can work around the house for a few hours without serious injury. If one did not undertake decontamination measures to clean up the radioactive contamination, then a significant amount of radiation would be delivered to a person who lived in the house during the next week. One might receive as much as 250 roentgens during this time.

A community which is left untouched (i. e., no decontamination measures are undertaken) and which experienced a fall-out corresponding to our initial 1-hour rate of 500 radiation-hours would have a radiation level of about 1 radiation-hour at the end of 1 week and 0.2 radiation-hour at the end of a month. In the interval from the week to the first month the accumulated dosage would amount to 230 roentgens. From the first month to the end of the year would add 265 more roentgens. While such dosages would probably not cause death (since they are delivered over a long period of time and the body "forgets" some of the radiation it receives) they are very definitely unhealthy amounts of radiation.

Thus, unless a community is decontaminated, it might be unihabitable for a considerable period of time, ranging up to several months. One cannot escape the conclusion that many metropolitan areas will become a kind of no man's land should they become heavily cotnaminated. People might enter them for limited periods of time but they would not be habitable in the ordinary sense of the word.

A city, especially one smashed into rubble, would be almost impossible to decontaminate. It would seem that the wisest thing to do with the central city would be to level it with demolition charges and bulldozers and cover it with earth, converting it into a huge metropolitan park. Moroever, the doughnut nature of the restored city would serve as a grim reminder to city planners on how to design cities of the future. In some cases nature would solve the problem by creating lakes in the craters formed where the business centers once stood. One would expect such metropolitan lakes in low-lying areas like Detroit, Chicago, Baltimore, and in other seaboard cities with business districts close to sea level.

IF THE UNITED STATES IS ATTACKED

This then, is the nature of the radioactive fallout. Let us now examine the impact of a small-scale nuclear attack upon continental United States of America. Because Soviet military planners would probably be reluctant to abandon the traditional use of an explosive as a blast agent, the assumption is made that a bomb is dropped over the following target cities: On the eastern coast—Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston; inland—Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Columbus, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cleveland, Akron, Buffalo, and Syracuse. This would total 18 bombs. Then to maximize fallout and strike at a myriad of smaller targets, bombs would be dropped in the following areas: west of Chicago, over South Bend, over Grand Rapids, over Ft. Wayne, near Elmira, west of Washington, west of New York, over Springfield, near Albany, and over Allentown. These 10 additional bombs would be dropped in such a way as to have the prevailing winds blanket dense metropolitan areas in an unseen mist of radioactivity.

This small-scale attack with 28 bombs restricted to the industrial heart of America could produce an inverted L-shaped pattern over the Northeastern States and an irregular fallout bracketing much of Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania. The atomized area would normally be occupied by 50 million Americans. Over two-thirds of the United States industrial production centers in the same areas. This is the magnitude of the problem. This is what the third quantum jump in modern weaponry means.

Moreover, the time factor—the persistence of radioactivity—adds a new dimension to warfare. It adds a denial factor for many homes are denied the dispossessed. Many factories, even though intact and even though manpower might be summoned, utilities restarted, and feed material scrounged up, would be out of commission. That the United States industrial colossus could be so paralyzed is incredible but, unfortunately, true.

Confronted with the overwhelming magnitude of fall-out hazard, the Federal Civil Defense Administration must feel that it has been admitted to the anteroom of hell. Civil defense plans had no sooner been formulated to deal with Hiroshima situations than they were obsolete. Then as some FCDA planners struggled manfully to revise thinking to adjust to megaton-class weapons, along came fall-out. It is easy to understand why much of the civil defense in this country is of the world war 2½ type. Events have come too fast to adjust to quantum jumps.

Thus it is a good time for a thorough house-cleaning in the civil defense establishment. An inventory should be made to see what measures are in the hopeless or useless category. Since so much of the civil defense measures have focused upon disaster, relief these should be carefully assessed. Should we plan elaborate fire-fighting de-

fenses if no one can venture into the area for 2 days? A host of other questions need realistic assessment.

Probably the greatest single question revolves about the principle of preattack evacuation of target areas. Is this still a valid program or has fall-out killed its chances of success? One does not need an electronic brain to answer this question. As pointed out in the article in the November Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists too much of our urban population is concentrated in such a few targets. One simply cannot expose these populations to the unavoidable primary effects of superbombs—in other words, staying put is the worst possible policy. To minimize destruction by blast and heat the central urban populations have to be dispersed to sites where they can survive being crushed or burned. Naturally, an evacuated population which escapes blast and heat is by no means safe. It has yet to hurdle the invisible barrier of radioactivity. In many communities those who are evacuated upwind will be out of the fall-out region and there is even hope that preferential evacuation may be possible, i. e., deployment of the people in an upwind direction. This will be more precarious in regions such as Ohio and New England where you might evacuate upwind of one target into the downwind region of another.

I believe that it has become mandatory that the Government begin construction of an extensive system of survival shelters on the periphery of every large city. While evacuees might improvise shelter, it is far more desirable to have reinforced concrete shelters built in a cordon 8 miles or more from the city center. These need not be plush or elaborate shelters. Simple flush-to-the-surface concrete shelters with additional earth shielding will provide real protection. These shelters can be built on public land in school playgrounds, under suburban parking areas, in between divided highways, on park property, and on golf courses. Such a shelter program together with minimal numbers of radiation measurement devices need not exceed a total investment of $2 billion.

At the same time all new construction, whether for industry, for government, or for homes, should be scrutinized from the overall viewpoint of national vulnerability. New industrial plants must be dispersed—this has been obvious for 10 years—but, in addition, they must be equipped with adequate shelters for their workers. Each plant should be prepared to shelter all of its worker force for 1 week and should provide for this emergency.

It should be made mandatory that every new house outside the central city should be built with a special shelter room in the basement, just as was done in Germany before the Allied air blitz began. Sanity would dictate that any new construction within the central city should be undertaken only if it reduces population density in that region.

Both the policies of evacuation and of dispersion are still valid, although they have to be coupled to a realistic shelter program.

But most of all, the Government has to conduct the most carefully planned and thoroughly implemented program of nuclear education on the facts of survival. Radioactivity is a kind of mystic subject understood by less than 0.1 percent of our population. It must be translated into the language of the layman in films, demonstrations, and test drills. The scientist with his dispassionate comprehension of the atom can scarcely begin to understand what terror the "invisible killer" holds for the nonscientist. Education is the only antidote for this new terror.

Civil defense faces a task as fomidable and as important as that traditionally assigned to the Department of Defense. Fall-out makes it imperative that this Nation have an effective civil defense. Unless we are prepared to meet this awesome radioactive threat the military may well have little left to defend.

Dr. Willard Libby broke the ice in his informative speech of December 2, 1954, so far as official information about fall-out is concerned. There is reason to believe that the Atomic Energy Commission will release authentic data about radioactive effects as a basis for strengthening our national security. There is also reason to believe that these facts will confirm the conclusions presented here and that, in fact, they will, if candid, verify that the author's calculations have been conservative.

Keep Your Fingers Crossed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Keep Your Fingers Crossed," which appeared in the February 10, 1955, issue of the Franklin Favorite, of Franklin, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

KEEP YOUR FINGERS CROSSED

One cannot help but feel apprehension that the evacuation around Tachens Islands has brought the United States periously close to a shooting war. It is a touch-and-go operation where any triggerhappy Chinese Communist could set off the fireworks. Or Chou En-lai, the Chinese dictator, might get up feeling bad one morning and blow his hat to save his face.

A brief glance in recent history of United States policy on Formosa is very enlightening. In the first place, the idea of drawing a line around Formosa and the Pescadores is not new. Since the Korean War, the territory the United States has been pledged to defend includes Formosa and its immediate waters and islands.

The new thing about this crisis is ordering the 7th Fleet into waters only a few miles off the coast of China, yet 200 miles north of Formosa. This policy is definitely a change. It is much like sticking your toe in a mousetrap and seeing how much pressure you can apply without springing the trap.

It is a dangerous but bold policy. Actual fighting between Red Communists and Nationalists has been going on in the Tachens area. The United States in helping Nationalist forces off a trouble spot—which obviously they could not hold—is thrusting its forces right into the Chinese civil war.

Of course, the evacuation is a retreat for Chiang Kai-shek forces. But the bold action of the 7th Fleet is no backdown on the part of the United States. The very boldness of the move may convince the Red Chinese they have grabbed all they are going to get by bluff and loud talk.

While it is a dangerous operation, and there may be several exciting and provocative events and threats, there is a little likelihood a United States-Red China war will start. But let's all keep our fingers crossed.

Once this dangerous evacuation is over we believe that the United States should clearly define what is out-of-bounds territory for Red China.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

The State of Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, a very fine appraisal of Minnesota and its people in the light of nearly a century of development since the State was admitted to the Union has been made by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, dean of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota and one of our State's most distinguished historians and writers.

This appraisal is contained in an address on the subject This Minnesota which Dr. Blegen delivered at a meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society on January 27.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this fine address, because of its universal interest, be published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

In accordance with the rules of the Senate, I have requested the Public Printer to estimate the number of pages this manuscript would require, and I have been informed that it would occupy 2½ pages of the RECORD, at a cost of $200.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS MINNESOTA

(By Theodore C. Blegen)

A memorable passage in Richard II comes to its climax in these words: "This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England." Tonight I wish to apply this phrase to Minnesota, and, in particular, I should like to point to some sources of strength and hope and courage that have been built up by the history and traditions of our own plot, earth, and realm.

In an age of anxiety and fear, when problems are many and complex, it is fair to look at our past and to examine our traditions, not in a mood of pessimism or defeatism, but in a mood of courage and hopeful anticipation. We may be able to identify and locate some poles of confidence and stability by which we can steady ourselves for whatever the future may bring. Perhaps, by seeing our past and ourselves with perspective, we can gain in strength. To look through, to see through—that is perspective, and that, also, is the heart of history.

The first thing I note about "this Minnesota" is that our whole history is marked by a stubborn curiosity to know, to solve problems, to open new paths—paths to trade, paths to development, and paths to human advance along a thousand lines.

In that brave tradition we can view a long and glamorous line of explorers who faced nearly every hazard to reduce European and American ignorance of our geography and resources. Take Radisson, for example, a fur trader, fighter, woodsman, adventurer—but, among the first Europeans to see these lands, he was primarily curious and eager to know. This Caesar of the wilderness came to a tangle of lands and streams and lakes, with no map to guide him, and when he saw what he saw, he had a kind of dream of what this area, "so pleasant, so beautiful and fruitful," might mean to an old world that, as he said, started wars over some sterile rock in the sea. And so with scores of other explorers: they were determined to know and understand the physical world not yet mapped by man. What were these vast inland freshwater lakes of America? Where did the country's greatest river take its rise? Were there paths to the shining sea of the west and to the dominions of the Great Khan of Cathay? How chart this region with its meandering streams and myriad lakes? What could these fruitful lands mean to the world? So the good company of explorers did their job—Radisson and Groseilliers, Hennepin and Duluth, Le Sueur, Verendrye, Carver, Thompson, Pike, Cass, Schoolcraft, Nicollet, Beltrami, and many another. For them all, a motion picture would have lines running here and there and everywhere through this western country, each one representing the will and courage and curiosity of a man. The map took shape, the curtain of mystery lifted; the kind of ignorance that caused our diplomats in 1783 to try to run a boundary west from Lake of the Woods to intersect the Mississippi was replaced by tested knowledge. All this took time: we had the flags of France and England, of Spain and the United States, over this region in whole or in part, but through it all the stubborn search for truth and understanding went on. Cathay proved to be very far away, but men of will broke through the continent to the Pacific coast, and in doing so they found, and told the world about, an inland empire better than Cathay. Sometimes they let themselves soar into prophecies that time has made good, as when Jonathan Carver, after seeing Minnesota before the American Revolution, wrote, "There is no doubt that at some future period, mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching the sky, supplant the Indian huts, whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies."

I shall return to the tradition of curiosity and the will to solve problems, for these found outlets in many areas other than the physical world, but before I do so I want to look at a few other traditions that were woven into the fabric of Minnesota life.

In one of my books I have suggested that Minnesota has had three ages: ancient, medieval, and modern; that the ancient age is that of the pioneer and fur trader, the medieval that of settlement and the pioneer, and the modern that of our growing up—our advance from youth to maturity. In many aspects, as in transportation, they overlap, but by and large they stand out as identifiable. We can talk all we want to about ages, but when we ask their meaning and character, we come to people, for every age caught its character from the people who did its work, grappled with its problems, and held what faiths they had. A great deal has been said and written about the second of our ages, that of the pioneer, and I cannot try to analyze for you the scores of forces and actions and achievements that mark the age—the fur and lumber industries, the building of farms and towns and cities, the beginnings of industries and institutions, the dotting of the land with churches and schools, the creation of government in all its range, the development of transportation from steamboats and sleds and carts to roads and railroads, and the hard ordeals people met in transforming Carver's wilderness into a garden.

But certain things of enduring interest for the interpretation of the state claim the historian's attention and deserve to be said—not in the spirit of adulation for the pioneers, but in sober appraisal. Of course we know that some people knuckled under, some gave up and went back; we know also that the bad went along with the good, and there were dark and ignoble as well as bright and noble sides in the pioneer experience. But we are not drawing an idealized picture when we point to a few traits or characteristics or traditions that, alongside material achievements, are a part of our pioneering heritage.

One is simply the tradition of work. Minnesota, like Rome, was not built in a day—nor was it built by lazy people. This is perhaps too obvious, like the barn on the landscape that people fail to see, and so it needs to be emphasized. The European thinks of Americans as strenuous, and I think we are. The strenuous President who glorified the strenuous life voiced American doctrine and habit. American strenuousity is rooted in the pioneer experience. There was so incredibly much to do in telescoping into decades the building job that the Old World spent centuries in doing that we had to be strenuous. Historians have not given sufficient attention to our tradition of strenuosity or to the work contributions of thousands upon thousands of mostly unknown people. Elsewhere I have spoken of them as "the wilderness Marthas who sustained the men of the frontier, the farmers and workers who did the job of their day quietly and efficiently, the men of trades and professions and business and enterprise, the men and women of faith and of dreams, the builders of homes and of the web of our social life, the sustaining folk at the roots of our existence." One could perhaps argue that there was not enough leisure or that leisure was much too restricted to a Veblenian privileged class; and one could differentiate kinds of work done—unskilled, skilled, professional. But the major point I want to make is that the pioneer age, an unspecialized age, set a tradition of hard work, of determination, to get both big and little jobs done.

Closely allied to this is the tradition of hope and opportunity—the pioneer awareness of the potentiality of better days. Hard work had its satisfactions and solace, but it was a means, not an end. People knew they were building foundations for a great state and society to come, and thousands of them saw that state and society as widened and enriched opportunities, opened doorways for their children, economic advantage, education, a fuller and more rewarding kind of life. Here again we are dealing with a fundamental thing that could be spelled out with thousands of illustrations. Perhaps the tradition widens into the larger American trait of optimism which so often has interested European observers, an optimism that, looking beyond triumph to the future, would not and will not settle for defeat. I have seen its spirit reflected in hundreds of immigrant pioneer letters that I have read—a kind of patience and moral standard that could meet just about every kind of ordeal,

including loneliness and back-bending work, privation and suffering, setbacks, even Indian wars, because courage was buoyed up by hope for the future. Some writers have suggested that the American frontier, in terms of the fulfillment of hopes, was pretty much a myth, but this is a failure to grasp the realities of American life in the span of more than one generation. There were individual disappointments, frustrations, failures; there were exaggerated claims; there were blasted speculations; but no one can survey the broader immigrant story that includes native Americans and Europeans alike without understanding that substantially the pioneer hopes were realized. Myths blossomed in the verdant literature of the frontier, but the frontier was no more a myth than America was a myth.

Some years ago, while exploring the beginnings of the University of Minnesota, I came upon the report of a territorial legislative committee in 1851 calling for the establishment of a university. The Territory was only 2 years old, its population only a few thousand, and yet the legislature took action to found a university. The committee said that "the cause of education in the Territory demands the early establishment of an institution of learning, which shall afford to the youth of the Territory an opportunity of obtaining a liberal, scientific, and classical education. * * * Men do not 'gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles,' neither does society grow virtuous citizens from the haunts of vice, or exalted minds from the abodes of ignorance and stupidity." The committee offered the opinion that to govern and restrain the ignorant is far more difficult than to educate and fit men to govern themselves, and then it went on to say that the children of that pioneer day were the citizens and rulers of the future, upon whose education depended the character and destiny of the infant commonwealth. The great immigration of folk to Minnesota had not then taken place, but the leaders who wrote that document spoke the faith and standards of thousands to come. They illustrated the trait of frontier hope coupled with planning and work. They also blended into Minnesota traditions, other traditions that went back to 17th century New England. And however one may describe these traditions, they merge with that of the stubborn drive for enlightenment and the fight against ignorance.

The episode from the birth of the university could be accompanied by illustrations touching all the colleges and the schools of the State as well as the many churches of different, but usually related, faiths—and indeed all our institutions, including this society of history, which began with hopes of service through an expanding future. I have always thought that the founding of the historical society back in 1849 was less a bow to what Governor Ramsey called "history in a land of yesterday" than it was a confident and brave approach to the land of tomorrow. The pioneers created this society because they believed in the promise of Minnesota. They believed that Minnesota would have a great history, the records of which would deserve to be kept and cherished. This institution was an act of faith done in harmony with the faith of Minnesota in its own future.

Today we are hard bitten by the ordeal of war and the problems of an atomic age. Talk about faith may fall on cynical or frightened ears, but I think we should realize that there is such a thing as faith in good purposes and in the human integrity behind such purposes. Unless we have faith and back it by resolute action, we may have to resign ourselves to the fate of a static society—a society driven by fear and cowardice instead of confidence and courage.

This brings me to another aspect of our history. Mighty forces in agriculture, industry, and the transition from a general to a specialized society compelled the state to adapt its ways and methods as it moved into the machine age. Transfers of ideas from the East and from Europe had, indeed, gone hand in hand with experiment in the pioneering days, but as the need for modern transition came our people developed more and more the practice of experimentation, coupled with advancing research as specialization equipped itself to solve new problems. Here we must recall some of the big things that happened as we grew to maturity. Our population jumped from about 6,000 to 1,750,000 in 1900. The frontier was pushed westward toward the Pacific. The railroad age came, with giants like James J. Hill; and lumbering, with other giants like Frederick Weyerhauser, arrived at its golden age. Minneapolis emerged as the milling center of the world. Seven iron men disturbed the sleeping giant Mesabi, and Minnesota became a producing partner in the American steel age. Articulate labor lengthened its stride, while agriculture, after serving King Wheat, struggled with the change to new and diversified crops. At the same time its protests gave vigor to political reform movements in the agrarian crusade. Inevitably government expanded its interests and activities and moved toward its present complex and wide-spreading range.

But in all this great change, it is evident that things did not just happen. We did not just grow, like Topsy. There was leadership. There was planning. There was experiment. There was courage. There were people in league with the future. Business and industry had an alert eye to new needs and opportunities and adapted its techniques and operations, sometimes with ruthless efficiency. Education met new needs in an age of specialization and research, and it embarked upon the universal education of our people, with opportunities for the gifted to carry their training to a high point. And the State proved that it was not afraid of experimentation and widened responsibility, though often it was conservatively slow to turn sound ideas and proposals into practical action.

Many examples of the new pioneering could be presented—and in all this, people again occupy the stage—the whole people in one sense, but also leaders of intelligence, vision, and courage. Conservation, once a dim idea, became a movement, and its prophet and explorer bore the fitting name, Christopher Columbus Andrews. But we were slow to act. He preached his doctrines for 2 decades until they were reenforced by calamity, the tragic Hinckley Fire, and then we acted. Sometimes great results flowed, outside governmental action, from the ideas and will of men of "hope and forward looking minds," to use a phrase applied to the Doctors Mayo. Theirs is one of the memorable sagas of the State—that of imaginative surgeons who kept pace, and more than pace, with the age of transition, pioneering medical cooperation and a vast medical practice, employing research in every part of their enterprise, and blazing trails to high training in clinical medicine. In public health Dr. Charles N. Hewitt of Red Wing was a quarter century ahead of his time, but his ideas gradually took hold. A village minister, Hastings H. Hart, laid the foundations of our advances in social welfare and public institutions, while a social pioneer, LeGrand Powers, stirred the people, with his painstaking reports, to State intervention in behalf of better conditions for labor and industry. So we could find leaders in parks and playgrounds, the cooperative movement, State regulation of railroads and warehouses, education, and many other fields, rallying the people to achieve better conditions of life. We have a tradition of research and experiment, and today in scores of fields Minnesota knows well that research is no remote ivory tower, but a dedicated service to State and people, as is most recently illustrated in the story of a modern scientific explorer who, like Radisson, wanted to know, and whose researches have helped to open up the new taconite industry of the north country.

When our State saga is written as one day it should be, it will catch up and interpret such factors as our mobility, our age-long interrelations with nation and world, and the special flavor of a people who have interwoven many cultural and national strands and combined cultural transfers from Europe and the American East with the newer ways and ideas that are American and midwestern and Minnesotan.

Each one of these themes is an unwritten book of interpretation. Our historians are too afraid of interpretation, but I think we need interpretation as one of our roads to understanding. Look, for example, at this business of mobility. Here we share in and reflect the national character. An essayist in the Yale Review has described the American as "the moving American." We played leapfrog with our lands, as even a colonial American observed. We moved from frontier to frontier. We moved from country to town. We moved from crop to crop, from job to job, from level to level; we moved from cabin to house and house to house or apartment. Our story is migration. It is search for freedom and for advance; it is pursuit of happiness. Land frontiers disappeared, but we continued to move. We moved socially, economically, and politically; Henry Ford widened our front yard; and if we couldn't go away on wheels, we moved vicariously with the aid of radio and television and all the arts of communication. Perhaps the reflective life suffered, and it is true that we gained more stability as the frontier ended, but we have never stayed put. So a poet tells us that "America is west and the winds blowing," and another says that "Americans are always moving on." The tradition of migration finds a thousand illustrations in Minnesota. We move from somewhere or something to somewhere or something else. The tradition merges with those of space and freedom, of opportunity and democratic choice. Is it in our blood—this moving on?

The other two themes I have mentioned are very closely connected. We cannot understand Minnesota unless we understand that from the dim days when the flags of France and England and Spain flew figuratively over our lands, we have been part of the currents of world history. We have never been an isolated island, cut off from the world, as some commentators on isolationism have suggested. The wars and turbulence, ambitions and hopes, ideas and aims of Nation and world have, through all our history, left their marks upon this state and its people. Frenchmen sang their songs on our rivers; Scotsmen ran our fur-trading posts; our furs went out to London and Leipzig and Russia and even Canton, China; our northern boundary was set by international treaties; we have been caught up in national and international wars; and our people, only a generation after the state itself was founded, were two-thirds of European blood in the first and second generations. We have known a good deal about our organic connection with the world. Incidentally our once extensive immigrant press gave a better and more detailed picture of the affairs of the European world than did our English-language newspapers. We had a better schooling in international relations than some critics have known, though it is true enough that we shared the traditional American skepticism about foreign entanglements. We had a lot of work to do and we have not been too happy about being diverted from it. But it is no unexplainable phenomenon that a son of Minnesota in recent years was a leading American

voice in advocating world cooperation and control for justice and peace.

Meanwhile, we have been a merging cosmopolitan people, with bridges facing not only New England and the East but the many peoples and cultures of the Old World. Professor Krey once suggested that if Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam came alive and visited Minnesota today, he would find many things here that would be quite familiar to him. We have had and have pulsating links with the Old World from which we sprang. In the long run the Zangwill melting pot theory may come true, but the processes are slower than people once thought, and no one traveling about this State or studying its history can fail to realize that, to change the figure, our cultural streams, slowly merging, have identity enough to help stamp Minnesota with a certain individuality. Look about you and you see its signs everywhere—the leadership of New England and other native American forces in the launching of our professional life, our newspapers and banks and schools and commerce—the tough strain that Oscar Firkins caught when he praised a great teacher, Maria Sanford, "travel-soiled and dusty, vehement and gusty, kinked and knurled and crusty, leonine and hale and lusty, oaken-ribbed and trusty." But alongside this wiry heritage, we should remember that many other elements in the making of the State have left their impress on its leadership and its everyday life. Our history must take account of a host of institutions, traditions, and practices that might be suggested by recalling our schools and colleges, Catholic and Protestant; the thousands of churches that enfold age-old faiths; the St. Olaf Choir and the sacred songs of hundreds of congregations; the sokol of the Bohemians; the kantele and sauna of the Finns; the Scandinavian and German singing and other musical societies; skiing and other sports; the German Turners, the Danish cooperatives and folk schools; our symphony orchestra and various institutes of arts; our creative literature and arts in wide range; and newer streams of trained and imaginative leadership. As Esther Jerabek has written, "Each nationality, bearing with it its own special heritage, has woven strands in the web of Minnesota's cultural life, helping to make a rich fabric of unique design." So we have had a schooling in tolerance and in the amenities of intercultural living as well as in the democratic spirit of the frontier, in which a man's demonstration of worth, and not his pedigree or claims, give him status. This twin schooling may have helped Minnesota to weather with balance and fair sense some storms of intolerance, of hate, and the nasty fears and suspicions that feed on ignorance—though our record cannot be said to be without blemish.

As I near the end of this little excursion, I come back to the tradition of curiosity—to the will and courage to know and understand. It is characteristic both of our maturity and of the persistence of this tradition that we seem now to be in a period of self-appraisal. Lengthening perspective, the rich resources of the Minnesota Historical Society and of other institutions, and a sense of important decisions to come contribute to critical self-scrutiny. Much remains to be done, but historians are supplementing the earlier work of Dr. Folwell and others. Novelists, in their creative work, are going on from where Sinclair Lewis, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and O. E. Rölvaag left off. Historical appraisals are being made of schools and artistic institutions as well as of banks, mills, our iron industry, and other business organizations and forces. Imaginative leadership in our past is being recognized through biographies of the Drs. Mayo, Governors Johnson and Olson, and not a few others. Artists are joining in the task of interpreting Minnesota life and scenes. And the drive for appraisal is reaching into government. How far it will go in our social, cultural, intellectual, educational, and political affairs I am not wise enough to say, but the impulse to know ourselves springs from an old tradition and it fits in with the spirit of an adult State that soon will celebrate its 100th State birthday.

However deep our concern with problems as we face the future, we should also recall some imponderables that are not too easy to put into words. The people of Minnesota have an affection for and a pride in the State which, if not quite so vocal as the rhapsodies of a Texan or Californian, are real and have substance. Who can analyze the deeper sources of affection and pride? Perhaps they are related to the sum total of our State heritage. Perhaps they are rooted in an awareness of things accomplished—things that, taken all around, have made this portion of the good earth a good place in which to live, notwithstanding worries and anxieties. I think that in part the emotion of affection flows from the fact that, with all the work and problems and crises and troubles and battles of people, they have been human and resilient enough to find joy and happiness and fun and reward here. This is not unique to Minnesota, but it remains true that the harshness of struggle has been abated by the genialities of community living and by the sense of progress toward better days. And the setting has been and is a State not denied a beauty and charm of its own, alongside the resources developed from earth and water and human effort. If we are moving Americans, we can move out from the confines of town to areas that still have a touch of the wilderness Radisson once saw. There are lakes of beauty; there are bending rivers, including the one the Indians termed the "Great River"; and there are waterfalls that inspired legends among our aboriginal redmen. There are cherished valleys and hills, deep woods and wide prairies, and red earth and black earth, all encrusted with natural and historic lore. And there are the material monuments of man's dreaming and man's industry.

It is only to superficial eyes that the gopher prairies are alike. There is both natural and man-created diversity in the State. Both for local and for State scenes, as indeed for the national scene, we need to remember that we are not just land and people and buildings and institutions, but that these, plus a world of ideas and practices, are bound together and given meaning by a past that stretches through all our ages and comes up to the evershifting line of the present. And we who are on that line could increase in wisdom by remembering with Shakespeare that "what's past is prologue," and that the prologue always merges into the ongoing drama.

Fewer Jobs, the Same Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a comment about the sharp decline in employment in manufacturing industries revealed by figures from the Department of Labor and by Federal Reserve Board data. These figures show a loss of more than a million jobs among production workers in manufacturing employment alone in the past 14 months.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MCNAMARA

The Federal Reserve Board index of manufacturing production for January of this year was the same as in November 1953, 14 months before. The index number was 132.

The dramatic and challenging thing about this figure is not alone the evidence that manufacturing production is in the doldrums. When this index is placed beside the Department of Labor employment figures for the same 2 months, the data show that this level of production has been maintained with a loss of more than a million jobs among the production workers in these industries. In January 1955, about 12½ million workers were able to produce as much as 13½ million produced 14 months before.

Employment drops while production is maintained, manufacturing industries

Date	Index of production [1]	Production worker employment [2]	Index of man-hours [3]	Indicated output per man-hour
November 1953	132	13,534,000	110	120
January 1955	132	12,528,000	102	129
Change	0	1,006,000	(3)	(4)

[1] Federal Reserve Board of Governors; monthly releases.
[2] Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics; monthly report on employment and earnings.
[3] Minus 7 percent.
[4] Plus 8 percent.

Taking into account the number of hours worked, we find that the number of man-hours put into the job has declined by 7 percent. Those who prefer to talk in terms of man-hour output will find that there has been an increase of about 8 percent during this short time.

I think these figures show very dramatically how fast our technological revolution is moving.

I would like to see evidence that the administration is conscious of what this means, and has the plans to turn this technological progress into higher living standards for all people, instead of for only those lucky enough to keep their jobs. I hope there are plans for protecting the workers whose jobs are melting away, so that they and their children are not forced to pay a heavy price in unemployment and the destruction of their living standards. So far, I have seen no such plans.

The job is not an easy one. If the administration takes it on, it will have the sympathy and help of all of us. If the administration continues to fiddle with optimistic forecasts about increasing production while unemployment continues to grow in our major industries, the cost to all of us will be great.

Tariff Reductions Authorized by H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, much has been said about the so-called gradual tariff reductions authorized by H. R. 1.

I have had a list prepared concerning a few items, such as textiles, which shows the maximum rate reductions permissible under H. R. 1.

The list follows:

Extent to which existing rates of duty on specified products could be reduced under the authority that would be given to the President by H. R. 1

Commodity	Ad valorem equivalent [1] of present rate of duty	Ad valorem equivalent [1] of lowest rate of duty permissible under H. R. 1	Extent of reduction which is permissible under H. R. 1 in present rate of duty
	Percent ad valorem	*Percent ad valorem*	*Percent*
Soybean oil	45	23	50
Flavoring extracts, fruit flavors, esters, oils, and essences, containing alcohol	67	50	25
Certain lead pigments	20	10	50
Chrome brick	25	12½	50
Block mica	27	13½	50
Earthenware table and kitchen articles	63	50	20
Decorated china table and kitchen articles	88	44	50
Certain glass containers for toilet preparations	75	37½	50
Lenses with ground or beveled edges (for spectacles)	40	20	50
Certain scientific or laboratory instruments and parts	50	30	40
Thermostatic metal	50	25	50
Power-transmission chains and parts (low-value)	30	20	33
Steel trouser buttons	12	6½	46
Pocket knives (low value)	[2] 85	50	41
Hypodermic syringes (dental)	60	30	50
Slide fasteners (zippers), metal (low value)	66	33	50
Tennis-racket frames	45	22½	50
Scrap tobacco (other than Cuban product)	103	50	51
Cigars and cheroots (other than Cuban product)	116	50	57
Lard compounds and lard substitutes	32	16	50
Turkeys, dressed or undressed	23	11	50
Rosefish, fresh or frozen	49	25	49
Fish, in oil:			
Sardines	[2] 40	[2] 15	63
Tuna	45	38	15
Barley flour	23	11	50
Rice, cleaned or milled	25	12½	50
Cherries, dried or evaporated	39	19½	50
Candied citrons or citron peel	33	25	24
Fresh or dried dates in packages	60	30	50
Raisins	[2] 6	[2] 4	33
Prunes, etc.	14	7	50
Almonds, unshelled	18	9	50
Lemon juice, concentrated	85	50	41
Countable cotton cloth (low value) [3]	[2] 40	[2] 20	50
Cotton corduroys (high value)	30	15	50
Cotton blankets, Jacquard-figured	30	22½	25
Cotton sheets and pillow cases	20	10	50
Gloves and mittens of cotton knit fabric (low value)	60	30	50
Cotton handkerchiefs and woven mufflers	30	20	33⅓
Friction or insulating tape	40	20	50
Cotton rag rugs	75	50	33⅓
Fine clothing wools	30	20	33⅓
Worsteds and woolens (low value)	[2] 60	50	16⅔
Wool blankets, plain or embroidered (low value):			
Hand-woven	64	21	67
Other	63	50	21
Wool felt hats, blocked, trimmed, etc. (low value)	60	42	30
Certain wool tapestries and upholstery goods	48	37	23
Broad silks (wide), Jacquard-figured, bleached, printed, piece-dyed (low value)	65	32½	50
Silk handkerchiefs, hemmed or hemstitched (low value)	60	50	17
Rayon knit underwear (high value)	36	18	50
Copying paper (high value)	29	14½	50
Envelopes, filled or unfilled, lithographed, made from various kinds of paper	[2] 35	[2] 12	66
Wrapping paper, sulfite, machine-finished	20	12½	38
Imitation solid pearls (low value)	60	30	50
Tooth brushes (with handles or backs of materials other than cellulose, etc.) (high value)	31	15½	50
Hair and other toilet brushes (with cellulose handles or backs)	60	30	50
Pearl or shell buttons	[2] 83	50	40
Cork insulation pipe coverings, etc.	22½	11	50
Certain plastic dolls	[2] 90	50	45
Certain abrasives	60	30	50
Dressed furs	12½	7	44
Silver, black, or platinum fox wearing apparel	37½	25	33
Men's and boys' fur or fur-felt hats	[2] 50	[2] 30	40
Women's and girls' fur hats	[2] 45	[2] 30	33⅓
Metal articles, such as compacts, vanity cases, cigarette cases, etc. (low value)	65	50	23
Various kinds of articles (except wearing apparel) in part of machine-made lace	65	45	31
Lace window curtains (except cotton Nottingham lace curtains)	90	45	50
Hat braids (except of straw, paper, grass, ramie, etc.)	90	45	50
Leather footwear (various types)	[2] 20	[2] 10	50
Leather gloves (various kinds)	[2] 30	[2] 20	33⅓
Tobacco pouches (except of leather)	60	30	50
Tobacco pipes with bowls of briar wood or other root, partly finished (medium value)	55	40	27

[1] Based on imports in 1952.
[2] About.
[3] Value bracket established in 1939. Since then, values have increased about threefold, consequently cloth of this value does not exist in normal trade channels.

Why VEPCO Wants TVA Sold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I issued discussing the action of Virginia Electric & Power Co. in circulating Dean Clarence Manion's proposal that TVA be sold.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR KEFAUVER

A shareholder of the Virginia Electric & Power Co.—known as VEPCO—has sent me a piece of literature being circulated by the company among its shareholders.

It consists of a printed copy of an address delivered by Dean Clarence E. Manion on last November 28, in which he urges the immediate sale of TVA, recalls that he once before proposed this before he was fired as Chairman of the Intergovernmental Relations Commission, after which President Eisenhower said he was "shooting from the hip," and stated that if this "be treason to the TVA brand of socialism, then Senator KEFAUVER can once more make the most of it."

In their letters to the shareholders J. G. Holtzclaw, president, and D. C. Barner, chairman of the board of VEPCO, refer to Dr. Manion's address as a "forthright statement of facts," and a statement of "the fundamentals of the American way of life."

The statement is not a statement of facts by any means, but I believe the shareholders of VEPCO, and even more the ratepayers of VEPCO, would be interested in why this utility wants the TVA sold.

One can get an inkling of why by examining their rate structure. VEPCO users in Alexandria, for instance, pay $7.25 per 250 kilowatt-hours, while right across the Potomac River in Washington—an actual stone's throw for George Washington according to legend—ratepayers of another private utility pay $5.84 for the same amount.

At the other end of the VEPCO system, the TVA end, the same bill for TVA users is $5. Naturally, along with their allies on the western side of TVA—the Dixon-Yates combination—VEPCO is set on destroying this example of what is a fair bill for power.

Prior to merger of the two companies which formed VEPCO—and took over substantial domination of power in Virginia—the Federal Power Commission required them to write off more than $28 million of inflationary items—mostly water—on their books. "Inflationary items" is another way of saying items used for the purpose of building up a high-rate structure and milking the public.

That the day of inflationary items is not entirely over would be indicated by the fact, which also should be called to the ratepayers' attention, that they pay for the printing and mailing of the misleading and non-

factual propaganda which I am talking about when they pay their power bills. It all becomes a part of the expense of operation.

It might also be mentioned in passing that this propaganda being circulated by VEPCO, while so many of our friends are out making speeches eulogizing Abraham Lincoln, is the statement of a man who says he doesn't agree with Lincoln.

On the broadcast at which Dean Manion proposed sale of the TVA, he was asked by Mr. William Wise, one of the panel: "Dr. Manion, I wonder if you agree with my favorite Republican of all times that the Government should do for the people that which they cannot do for themselves or that which they cannot do so well for themselves; I refer, of course, to Abraham Lincoln."

And Dr. Manion's reply was: "No. I do not agree with Abraham Lincoln."

Apparently VEPCO doesn't either.

It is highly important that the Senate Antimonopoly Subcommittee, which did such fine work in this field under the chairmanship of Senator WILLIAM LANGER last year, move rapidly ahead with the investigation under Senator HARLEY KILGORE'S chairmanship this year, and I am confident it will.

A thoroughgoing inquiry should be made into possible savings of hundreds of millions of dollars annually to the ratepayers of the Nation.

Bill of Rights Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address delivered at Chicago, Ill., on December 5, 1954, by Irving Breakstone, State commander of the American Legion, Department of Illinois, on the occasion of the 163d anniversary of the establishment of the Bill of Rights.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY

(By Irving Breakstone, State commander, the American Legion, Department of Illinois)

On the 163d anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America, it is altogether fitting that we pause in tribute to the memory of the great men of our Nation who drafted the original document to which the Bill of Rights was made a constituent part. Under our Constitution, this Nation has enjoyed, and still continues to enjoy, the highest standard of living ever attained in history. We are an orderly society, with liberty and freedom for every citizen, in a measure seldom, if ever, equaled, and never eclipsed, on this earth.

Only 22 amendments have been attached to the Constitution. Of these, the first 10 constitute the Bill of Rights, which we celebrate today. These 10 were added because the conventions of several States refused to ratify the Constitution in its original form until they had been assured that the Bill of Rights would be made part of it.

The fourth and fifth amendments to the Constitution give us a clue to the genesis of the Bill of Rights. It is a reference to the ancient right expressed in the phrase, "Every man's house is his castle." Lord Coke expressed this principle nearly 400 years ago when he stated: "The house of every man is to him as his castle and fortress, as well as for his defense against injury and violence as for his repose." At that time this principle had been the law of the land for more than a thousand years.

The makers of our Constitution and the framers of the first 10 amendments were never tired of quoting these immortal words of the elder Pitt:

"The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the force of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storms may enter; the rain my enter—but the King of England cannot enter. All his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement."

When ratification of our Constitution was pending before the Virginia convention, the eloquent patriot, Patrick Henry, declared that he was "most awfully alarmed," that the document threatened the liberties of his country, among other reasons because it lacked a Bill of Rights. Henry challenged the view of James Madison, the so-called father of the Constitution. He challenged the views of the galaxy of scholars and statesmen who had drafted the Constitution and even that of the eminent George Washington, who had presided over the Constitutional Convention.

The Virginia convention, after prolonged debate, ratified the Constitution by a bare majority of 10 votes, but only after James Madison had pledged his word that, at the earliest opportunity, he would use his energy toward placing in the Constitution the requisite amendments guaranteeing each citizen's rights, privileges, and immunities.

As soon as the Virginia convention had finished the work of ratification, it adopted resolutions for the addition of a Bill of Rights as demanded by Patrick Henry, and these resolutions were forwarded to the governors of the various States.

The first measure considered by the First Congress of the United States of America under the new Constitution was a bill to raise revenue to pay the expenses of government. On July 21, 1789, James Madison, then a Member of the House of Representatives, introduced the second measure. This was a resolution to consider amendments to the Constitution in accordance with the pledges of faith and honor which had been made by public men everywhere in securing ratification of the Constitution.

The Bill of Rights amendments were ratified by the States within 2 years and 3 months. Thereafter, as far as Americans are concerned, and as far as the Constitution itself is concerned, they became as much a part of the original Constitution as if they had been signed on the 17th of September 1787, when the main instrument itself was signed.

The 10 amendments constituting the Bill of Rights are restrictions upon national power. All the rights and immunities enumerated were already in existence. They did not owe their origin to the Bill of Rights. As had been stated in the immortal Declaration of Independence, these rights were inalienable and had come from the Creator. The Constitution was established, among other purposes, to make these God-given rights secure against oppression, secure against oppression even from the Government which the Founding Fathers were setting up.

The Bill of Rights amendments deal with 13 points covered by the opening words, "Congress shall make no law." The first 4 points view the citizen as a soul, or mind. Religion, speech, the press, public assembly—all reflecting man as a spiritual being—shall be forever free from interference by Congress. The next 3 points protect the citizen's person, home, and effects from high-handed, star-chamber methods of government, such as are practiced in every totalitarian country today. The next 4 define the citizen's rights when involved with the criminal law.

These 11 points are double-clinched by the last 2—the 1, warning that failure to mention a particular right in the bill must not be construed as denying that right's existence; the other, warning that a power not granted to the Federal Government is not thereby left ownerless but is reserved in full to the States or to the people.

The Bill of Rights is the law the people lay on their Government, but—notice—not on themselves. They themselves violate it with impunity. They constantly deprive others of what they will not permit Congress to deprive them. Does religious persecution exist in this country? Certainly, both public and private. Is free speech ever restricted by force and violence and boycott? Why, peaceable public assembly has been at the mercy of the mob in any number of our communities. Have you ever heard of the forcible invasion and destruction of private property in this country? Many times. And other rights also have been violated or denied. The law is written in the Constitution, but not on our hearts—which alone makes a law effective. Otherwise, all of us would know what some of us do not know, that to keep our own rights, we must respect the rights of others.

This great charter of the American—the American as a soul, as a citizen, as a political sovereign—has come to its 163d anniversary in circumstances emphatic with warning that rights entail duties. Evade the duty and you lose the right. May this anniversary serve to engrave sharply the meanings of both in the deep places of our minds.

The faith of our forefathers gave them the strength to plan for the ages. May we, with equal faith, guard our birthright and hand it down to posterity so that this heritage of liberty and this Nation, under God's will, may long endure.

Fifty-seventh Anniversary of the Sinking of the Battleship "Maine"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief statement I have prepared on the 57th anniversary of the sinking of the United States battleship *Maine*, in Habana Harbor.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR PAYNE ON THE 57TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SINKING OF THE BATTLESHIP "MAINE"

Today is the 57th anniversary of the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in Habana Harbor. It was a peaceful Sunday evening when an explosion tore that great ship apart as it lay peacefully at anchor. Two hundred and sixty-six officers and men died in that tragic event.

The *Maine* was in Habana on a friendly visit to protect American interests while the people of Cuba struggled for independence against tyranny.

A great wave of patriotic fervor swept the country. The sinking of the *Maine* aroused and united the Nation to intervene and help the Cubans gain their freedom and independence. The cry "Remember the *Maine*" echoed across the land.

The Spanish-American War was our first overseas war in the cause of freedom. In the past 57 years Americans have fought and given their lives for the cause of freedom in the fields of Flanders and on far off Pacific isles in world wars and police actions.

Today, four veterans of the Spanish-American War still serve in the Congress of the United States. Three are Members of the Senate—the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY]. One is a Member of the House—Representative BARRATT O'HARA, of Illinois.

It is particularly fitting today that we pay tribute to those who lost their lives on the valiant *Maine* and to all those who served in our Volunteer Army in the Spanish-American War. They served the cause of freedom well. Oppressed people everywhere can take courage from the fact that the spirit of the *Maine* lives on in America today.

Florida Vacation Season Flourishes Without Vice and Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD one of the best answers to the contention that a resort area must have vice and crime. The Senate Crime Subcommittee, in its investigation in Florida a number of years ago, was met with that argument. The answer lies in the resort and vacation experience of Florida, and is contained in an article written by Frank Eidge, Jr., published in the Fort Worth Press of February 3.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FLORIDA'S "GOLD COAST" EXPECTS RECORD SEASON MINUS VICE, CRIME

(By Frank Eidge, Jr.)

MIAMI, February 3.—The Florida Gold Coast is on the threshold of a record season but with gangsters, gambling casinos, call girls, and big-time bookies in short supply.

This may be the biggest winter ever and the swarm of visitors make the conceivers of the Florida boom 30 years ago appear short-sighted pessimists.

Officials of the rich sun-strip, running between the ocean and the Everglades from Palm Beach south to the Florida Keys, now have the more difficult job of providing enough roads, bridges, parking places, jobs, and land to handle the tide of vacationers and permanent new citizens.

The tourist season won't reach its height until mid-February but already airlines have reported passenger flow up as much as 47 percent over last year. Railroads said their trains were 6 percent fuller and U. S. 1, the east coast highway artery into Miami, is carrying 50 percent more cars than last season.

Miami hotels are about 90 percent full, according to J. J. Shephard, president of the Greater Miami Hotel Association.

On Miami Beach, most top-flight ocean-front hostelries are nearly full and the occupancy over-all is about 70 percent despite a big increase in the number of lodgings available.

The miles of glittering hotels (more than 400) and fancy motels represent a $200-million-a-year business. And by the middle of February, they will be crowded.

One of the season's barometers is the horse parks. Tropical Park closed a near-record season recently and Hialeah's first week showed a 7-percent gain in betting and 4.6-percent rise in attendance. Dog tracks and jai alai games showed similar surges.

Some second-class night clubs are having rough sledding to meet the competition of the big-name spots and the growing list of hotels offering star performers for after-dinner entertainment.

Long lines form nightly at eating places and even at the movies. Miami Beach is about the only place that can televise a prizefight locally and still draw nearly 4,000 persons to its auditorium.

Prices are high—about the same as last year. But Miami Beach remains the place where you can hunt out a night's lodging for $3 or take over the wing of an ocean-front hotel, like the Shah of Iran, for nearly $1,000 a day.

Daniel P. Sullivan, director of the Greater Miami Crime Commission, says the gold coast isn't anything like the old days.

"There are a few small-time floating crap games, a lot of loose girls willing to be picked up for money, sneak bookies, and like, but none of the organized, wide-open vice like we had just after the war," Sullivan said.

The real-estate boom is in full surge, with developers building whole cities of 10,000 homes on reclaimed Everglades land and beach hotels going up at a unit cost of $26,000 a room. Luxury-hotel building won't last long, however, for south Florida is running out of beach space.

Even the old boom-time dodge of selling lots by mail has sprung up again and pennants of the land-office promoters dot the sandy scrub and pine woods of Florida's coastline.

The Foreign Operations Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLEN J. ELLENDER
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "World's Costliest Baloney," published in the New York Daily News of February 7.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD'S COSTLIEST BALONEY

Since 1948, United States taxpayers have handed over $40 billion to foreign countries. In that period, also, we have anted up half a billion dollars (that's just 500 millions) for overseas propaganda, to induce our charity beneficiaries to appreciate us and love us dearly.

Strangely, despite these unprecedented giveaways, we don't seem to have any more international friends and sincere allies than we had in 1948. Maybe not as many. And lots of people, at long last, are beginning to ask why.

As it happens, one highly qualified American has just come up with some interesting answers to this one. Eugene W. Castle has been a leading producer of documentary films. During World War II he distributed training films and other movies for the Army, Navy, and Red Cross. He is a real pro who knows his public relations onions.

UNPOPULAR PROPAGANDA

Mr. Castle recently completed a 3-year, 75,000-mile trip around the globe, at his own expense. He looked carefully into our multi-million charity and propaganda setups. He's fit to be tied. His angry and revealing findings have just been made available in book form: Billions, Blunders, and Baloney; Devin-Adair; 278 pages, $3.50.

How much good has our half-billion bucks' worth of movies and printed propaganda done us in Europe, Asia, and Latin America? Almost none, this expert snorts. Perhaps the 10,000 well-meaning press agents, psychological warriors, and drooling do-gooders on our United States Information Agency payroll have even netted us some real harm. Most overseas people resent and are bored by anybody's propaganda, including ours.

These same folks will gladly stand in line for a look at a nonpropaganda Hollywood movie, or to pick up a copy of a genuine United States magazine or newspaper. They're delighted to read the objective, unslanted news of our Associated Press (which operates its global day-and-night wire services with a mere 3,000 employees). But movies and writings produced by USIA's 10,000 tax-supported geniuses are seldom seen or read, and wouldn't be believed, anyway.

"NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD"

Mr. Castle works up an even higher head of steam, if possible, when he gets around to discussing Childe Harold Stassen's fantastic Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), which "picks the pockets of Americans in billions," instead of just millions.

Stassen's sprawling, almost unbelievable outfit, Castle reports first-hand, shovels out astronomical quantities of cash and goods to such unpredictable nations as Yugoslavia, Italy, Egypt, Indonesia, and India, but never is so rude as to ask what Uncle Sam's getting in return. Chief beneficiaries, says Mr. Castle unkindley, are the FOA bureaucrats who are determined to stay glued to the Washington payroll, with fine, envy-provoking overseas homes and at salaries "in excess of what most of them ever earned in private stations or can ever hope to earn again."

On the strength of what his horrified eyes have seen, Castle recommends that those costly FOA and USIA circuses either be dumped or carved to the bone. We'd say those sensible reforms can't start too soon.

The Merchant Marine and Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent address entitled "The Merchant Marine and Our Foreign Policy," which was delivered by Mr. Alexander Purdon, executive director of the Committee of

American Steamship Lines, before a joint meeting of the national security and foreign relations commissions of the American Legion on January 27, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MERCHANT MARINE AND OUR FOREIGN POLICY

(By Alexander Purdon, executive director, Committee of American Steamship Lines, before a joint meeting of the national security and foreign relations commissions of the American Legion, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., January 27, 1955

I have been asked to speak today on An Arm of Diplomacy, and I am grateful to the person who conjured up that title for giving me a fresh slant and a new reason for an American merchant marine.

But I would ask your indulgence if I expand the topic slightly and discuss our merchant marine as an instrument of national policy.

Although I sometimes think that the trouble with our diplomacy is that it is too diplomatic, this is not my sole reason for enlarging the topic.

Nor do I propose to attach more importance to our merchant marine than is its proper due in our total transportation system. Yet, since our merchant fleet is an international link, it has a particular significance.

I honestly believe that the United States has erred in not considering its merchant marine as an instrument of national policy.

To be sure, it is national policy that we must have an American merchant marine for our commerce and our defense, but this is quite different from considering it as an instrument of our total national policy and particularly of our foreign policy. On the contrary, it has sometimes appeared that the necessity for a merchant marine was an unwelcome consideration to our foreign policy planners.

While our foreign policy is always fluid and at times, perhaps, difficult to define, it surely divides most easily into trade policy and defense policy. There are many other facets to it, but these, you will agree, are the most important.

Mr. Dulles will probably not appreciate my help, but at the risk of incurring his displeasure, I would venture that our trade policy is basically directed at maintaining an expanding American economy and promoting increased world trade. But the reasons are not entirely selfish. It is not trade merely for trade's sake or for our own economic advantage. Our trade policy, I believe, has a broader, a firmer foundation in the realization that improved opportunity for the peoples of the world is a powerful antidote for communism.

Thus, our trade policy is inextricably mixed up with our defense policy, because the economic strength of our Nation and of all free nations is, in itself, a very important defense consideration, and our ability to outproduce a potential enemy may be our greatest advantage still if the race for atomic superiority results in a stalemate.

Foreign-trade policy is going to be a major topic for debate in this session of Congress. It will be a battle royal between the protectionists and those who favor liberalization. The chances are there will be no clear-cut victory. Nevertheless, when the tumult and the shouting die, we will probably have edged a little further in the direction of more liberal foreign-trade policies.

But whatever the outcome, it is crystal clear that a merchant marine is essential to any sound foreign-trade program. How can you sell if you cannot guarantee delivery?

Oddly enough, some have considered our merchant marine as expendable—something to be bartered away in return for a trading advantage elsewhere.

Those who hold that view fail to see that without our own merchant fleet our foreign-trade policy could be controlled by those nations with the foresight to use their merchant fleets as instruments of national policy.

It isn't just sentiment that suggests the desirability of having American goods transported under the American flag. It's good sense as well as sentiment. I think it is good diplomacy, too, and it makes no difference whether it is aid cargo or commercial cargo. We gain a great psychological advantage when peoples in other countries can identify, whether as gifts or purchases, the products of the American economy and of the democratic system which makes it possible.

Since the end of World War II, we have practiced a new kind of dollar diplomacy. In fact, we have poured some $50 billion into the restoration of the free nations. This is a kind of dollar diplomacy of which we need not be ashamed. While there has been criticism, and some with good reason, it has nevertheless produced rewarding results. One has only to look at the tremendous strides that have been made toward economic self-sufficiency in Europe to appraise the merits of our various aid programs. Economic aid has proved so effective that it is becoming a major offensive weapon in the world struggle against the force of communism. It is indicated that this may be one of the chief weapons we will use in southeast Asia. I venture to say that we will continue to improve the effectiveness of our economic aid. No, this is not dollar diplomacy of the old type. This is diplomacy with a high moral purpose yet based upon sound and practicable considerations. This type of program would be impossible without merchant shipping, and so our merchant marine must be considered an instrument of our foreign economic policy.

In addition to furnishing aid, we also want to increase our trade with other nations. As a matter of fact, we hope that trade will supplant aid and make it unnecessary, or at least reduce it. Here, again, a healthy merchant marine is essential to an expanding foreign trade. The United States is the world's biggest market and the world's biggest supplier, but increasingly other nations, as they restore their economies are entering world markets and giving us healthy and effective competition. We simply cannot depend upon our competitors to carry our products. That doesn't make sense.

Our expanding economy requires that we sell more and more of our products abroad, and the advocates of the more liberal trade policy tell us that to sell more we must buy more. Here again, in the expansion of two-way trade with other nations, the merchant marine is an indispensable instrument of trade policy. The American ship operator is the partner of the American producer in selling our goods abroad, and he is the partner of the American importer in obtaining raw materials from foreign sources. He is aggressive and alert to the opportunities that exist in foreign markets. He is a roving ambassador for American business.

However, despite its commercial utility, it is perhaps in the field of defense that we have the most dramatic evidence that our merchant marine is an instrument of national policy. In the headlines of this week, there is now proof that we have world responsibilities on which our own freedom ultimately depends. We cannot fulfill these commitments—we cannot draw defense perimeters—we cannot guarantee the security of friendly nations, far across the seas, unless we can reach them and supply them with the men and the materials necessary to our mutual defense.

There is, perhaps, no more eloquent testimony to the role of our merchant marine as an instrument of our national defense policy than the words of Admiral Carney. Let me quote them for you.

"With amazing speed Russia is emerging from her land-locked situation and today must be counted as a nation of great maritime potential.

"Perhaps the strangest aspect of this ever-widening air age in which we are living is that rather than the air lessening the strategic importance of the sea, actually the truth is that airpower has made the sea more important than ever. For airpower has increased the load on our maritime forces; increased the requirements of our Nation for overseas bases as well as raw materials, many of which must be brought in from overseas. Most of the world's commerce, as in the past, is still seaborne; nor is there any anticipated change in this situation for the foreseeable future. The vast bulk of the supplies transported in time of war must be moved by sea. The sea is still the main highway between allies when it comes to the transport of the millions of tons of commodities which must be moved and exchanged to keep alive the economies of the countries of the world. As long as this holds true, control of the sea for our own uses and its denial to any enemy will remain a vital factor in security and defense."

I know that aviation is making rapid strides, and we have heard of great new air cargo carriers being planned, but nothing we have now or nothing that would appear available in the foreseeable future can replace the merchant ship as a floating pipeline joining the vast industrial and military potential of this Nation to our farflung bases and allies overseas. Those who have thought of this as an age when air transport would completely supplant ocean transport would do well to remember the dramatic message from the *Nautilus* under way on nuclear power. Ocean transport will gear itself to the atomic age. Effective transportation is the very core of our defense, and that means transportation of all kinds, but it is when we speak of transportation overseas that we recognize the merchant marine as an indispensable instrument of our defense policy.

There is no escaping the fact that it costs money to maintain an American merchant marine just as it costs money to maintain our Defense Department. Actually, the cost of maintaining the merchant fleet is a little more than one-half of 1 percent of the defense budget.

For the next fiscal year, the Maritime Administration has requested $103 million for ship construction and $115 million for operating subsidies. A substantial portion of this latter amount is to pay for past-due Government obligations.

These operating subsidies are the Government's share of the cost of having a privately owned and operated American merchant fleet of over 280 modern vessels servicing 29 essential world-trade routes. This fleet completed almost 1,500 voyages last year to provide American business and agriculture with a global network of regularly scheduled American-flag transportation service.

This is by no means a haphazard operation. The essential trade routes served by this fleet are established by the Government after careful investigation and constant review to link our economy with world markets.

These operating subsidies based on parity are in a sense an investment in our foreign trade. They are insurance that we will have access to world markets and world sources of supply. They enable us to maintain a hard-core nucleus merchant fleet in being for emergency use.

The construction subsidy enables us to keep an active shipbuilding industry going

as part of our mobilization planning. This is a partnership arrangement between American business and the United States Government. Both make a contribution, both assume obligations and responsibilities, and the end result is a sound investment to the American taxpayer.

Each American pays a small proportionate share of support to the American merchant marine. He is entitled to know the personal benefits he gets from that expenditure. He ought to know, too, how much we paid in the past because we neglected to adopt a prudent and long-range maritime policy.

Thirty-four Presidents of the United States have acclaimed the merchant marine as essential to our national defense, which convinces me that it is also invaluable to my personal security.

The United States is now stockpiling 75 different materials, 50 of which are metals and minerals. We are self-sufficient in only 5 strategic metals and minerals.

American industry depends upon imports for current production requirements of such necessary metals as aluminum, antimony, bauxite, cobalt, copper, lead, zinc, tin, nickel, platinum, manganese, mercury, and tungsten. Copper, lead, and zinc are three of the most important metals in our industrial economy. This convinces me that our employment, our economy, our security and living standards as we know them, are closely tied to imports made possible by ocean shipping.

It has been estimated by the President's Materials Supply Commission that the output of goods and services in the United States by 1975 will be double that of 1950, resulting in an increase of about 90 percent in our requirements for minerals. This points toward increased dependence upon ocean trade lanes.

Studies conducted by the Committee of American Steamship Lines, to determine the importance of ocean shipping on inland States, indicate that no man can prudently disassociate himself from the importance of the world trade carried on by ocean ships.

If he is a farmer 1 acre in 10 on his farm is raising crops for export.

If he works in the industrial or commercial field, chances are very high that the product he helps manufacture or merchandise depends upon imports for raw materials or foreign markets for production volume. There is no person in this Nation whose daily life and whose personal security is not in some way affected by the presence of a merchant fleet under the United States flag.

But it is easy to forget that the American merchant marine directly benefits the American economy. While it is available to serve as an auxiliary to our Armed Forces in time of war, the American merchant marine is also a substantial customer of American business. The operation of a single ship, the *United States*, contributed more than $18 million in 1 year to the domestic economy, but despite the fact that we have to appropriate money to maintain the merchant marine, there are very tangible benefits in return. I venture to say that when all the benefits, including its availability for defense are balanced against all the expenditures, the merchant marine will prove to be a dividend producing investment.

We cannot maintain our economy without ships. We cannot trade without ships. We cannot obtain the many raw materials we need without ships. We cannot defend ourselves without ships. We cannot help defend our allies without ships. The solvency and security of the United States require a better understanding of the vital role which the American merchant marine plays as an instrument of our foreign policy—as an arm of our diplomacy.

A strong America is a safe America.

The Situation in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful and interesting article entitled "Ike Risks War," written by Chalmers M. Roberts and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of today.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IKE RISKS WAR

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

STILL SEEKS PEACE IN ASIA

President Eisenhower seeks peace in Asia and a live-and-let-live arrangement with Communist China. But the American position today entails the most serious risks of war.

These risks arise from the protective American military umbrella which the United States has thrown over the Nationalist-held Quemoy and Matsu Islands just off the Red China coast.

To be sure, the commitment is unilateral on our part. We have given Chiang Kai-shek no pledge and we are willing to withdraw the protective military umbrella if Peiping will undertake not to attack Formosa and the Pescadores.

But Red China has been intransigent. The United Nations cease-fire discussions have gotten nowhere. Efforts to arrange a peace conference outside the U. N. thus far are likewise unsuccessful.

Therefore, if Red China decides to assault the offshore islands, the United States may be committed to war which would be most difficult to limit to the immediate area.

The United States Government appears determined to stand and fight if challenged. In that case, these are some important considerations:

The United States can expect to have allies if Formosa is attacked but many nations would be reluctant to join in fighting confined at the start to the offshore islands.

It would be just about impossible for the United States to rate any Red assault on Quemoy or Matsu as a local action rather than as a move preparatory to an assault on Formosa itself. Hence the unilateral commitment must be honored.

Any assault on Quemoy or Matsu would certainly mean air clashes between Communist and American planes since control of the air over a battlefield is vital. If Chiang's manpower is to win the ground fighting we would have to control the air.

Chiang has about one-third of his 300,000 or more men committed to the offshore islands. Their loss would seriously affect his ability to defend Formosa itself from assault.

As of today, the Communists probably have sufficient air power not only to control the air over Quemoy and Matsu, but also to prevent the reinforcement of the islands by ship from Formosa. Reinforcements of men and supplies for Chiang would be necessary if Peiping were to throw a big part of its massive army at the offshore islands.

For the United States to gain air supremacy, both to protect the immediate battlefield and to permit reinforcements, immobilization of Communist bases would be necessary. That is, air strikes would be necessary at Red bases on the mainland. The United States is determined that there will be no "Yalu sanctuary" if fighting starts. Once strikes began on the mainland, pressure for striking deeper into China would mount with the intensity of battle.

If there should be serious American reverses or casualties, there would be both pressures and temptations to use nuclear weapons.

All of this illuminates the choice which would face the President, who has said he alone would give the orders for any American action beyond self-defense or against an immediate threat to Formosa and the Pescadores.

Why should Peiping assault the offshore islands? Success would seriously damage the political and military power of the Communists' hated enemy, Chiang. Success probably would end the threat of Nationalist manpower if there should be war later in Korea or southeast Asia. Success would seriously weaken the resolve of America's other allies in Free Asia—the Filipinos, the Japanese, the Siamese, the Vietnamese. And success would remove a military block to the "liberation" of Formosa itself.

For exactly these reasons the Government of the United States feels compelled to resist an attack on the offshore islands under the present set of circumstances.

Washington officials, both in the administration and at the Capitol, generally expect Communist "probing" actions to test America's determination.

What the President is trying to get is a peaceful solution in the Formosa Strait that could lead to diminution of tension throughout Asia. To get it, the United States is taking a gamble that, in the event of failure, could lead to war of unlimited scope and uncertain outcome.

Eisenhower's Crusade Compared to Lincoln's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful article written by Mr. Gould Lincoln and published in the Washington Evening Star of February 12, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EISENHOWER'S CRUSADE COMPARED TO LINCOLN'S—ABE HAD TO FIGHT FOR UNION; IKE MAY FIGHT FOR PEACE

(By Gould Lincoln)

The Republicans today pay tribute to Abraham Lincoln, the man who more than any other saved the Union. He had to fight for it.

Another Republican President, Dwight Eisenhower, is now engaged in a crusade to keep this Nation and the world at peace—even if he has to fight for it. Lincoln was the target of bitter partisan political attacks. In far less measure—to date—Mr. Eisenhower has become a target of the Democratic opposition. The President has had, however, strong support from the Democrats

on vital decisions regarding the Far East situation.

The Democratic-controlled Congress voted overwhelming support of a resolution giving the President authority to use the country's Armed Forces if the Chinese Communists attack Formosa.

The Democratic-controlled Senate, under the leadership of Senator GEORGE, of Georgia, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, put through the Formosa defense treaty between the United States and the Chinese Nationalist Government.

PRESIDENT TAKES LEAD

Mr. Eisenhower has taken a lead in the tribute to Abraham Lincoln. The President, however, has not at this time undertaken to beat the political tomtoms. His statement praised the first Republican President, but made no partisan attack on the Democrats. Further, the President is taking no part in the hundreds of Lincoln Day dinners which the Republicans are staging from coast to coast. A year ago Mr. Eisenhower attended the great box-supper celebration of the Republicans in the national capital. He made a Lincoln Day film, too, distributed throughout the country. It is noteworthy, also, that Vice President NIXON is not making political speeches in this period usually dedicated to politics by the Republicans. The Vice President is on a good-will tour of the Central American and Caribbean nations.

The Republicans, however, are staging the usual number of Lincoln Day dinners from Maryland to California and from Minnesota to Texas. Speakers have been provided for 225 of these celebrations through the Republican National Committee. Three members of the Cabinet, Attorney General Brownell, Secretary of the Interior McKay, and Secretary of Labor Mitchell; several Governors, and a large number of Republican Members of Congress were included in the speakers' list. These speakers have not pulled their punches in the past. Their aim has been to convince the people of America they have had better and cleaner government under the Eisenhower administration, that the Republicans have reduced by billions Government expenditures and taxes, and that the Republicans are doing their utmost to call a halt to big Government in Washington and return to the States their proper responsibilities.

EISENHOWER PRAISED

With a view to the Presidential campaign, which is to grip the country next year, the Republican speakers are extolling Mr. Eisenhower, although here and there dissidents raise their voices. Senator DUFF, of Pennsylvania, always a plain-speaking man, gave voice to the vast majority opinion when he told an audience in Oyster Bay, home of the late President Theodore Roosevelt, that this country "is fortunate beyond measure" in having such a man as Mr. Eisenhower as Chief Executive at this critical time. Senator DUFF declared that Mr. Eisenhower did not undertake his great responsibilities out of personal ambition, but solely from a devoted sense of duty. A like sense of devotion to duty, the Pennsylvania Senator predicted, will cause the President to stand for reelection when a call from the people reaches him.

This, indeed, is the growing belief and hope of Republicans and many other voters in many parts of the country. Like Lincoln, Senator DUFF pointed out, Mr. Eisenhower "came from the common people" and has kept himself in touch with their aspirations and problems. Senator DUFF concluded: "Today, as in the days of Lincoln, and in the words of Lincoln, 'Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.'" That, Senator DUFF said, "is our obligation under the magnificent leadership of the President."

When Oregon Wasn't Wanted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on the occasion of the 96th birthday of the State of Oregon, which was marked on February 14, 1955, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an illuminating editorial about Oregon history entitled "When Oregon Wasn't Wanted," published in the newspaper Greater Oregon, of Albany, in my State. The editorial was written by Francyl Howard, editor of the publication.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHEN OREGON WASN'T WANTED

Last week Dr. Nix-It received a letter from a rural subscriber asking how Oregon got its name. Now there are some questions that the good doctor can answer. He is an authority on preventing divorces, finding wives for lonely bachelors and husbands for lonesome widows and maidens and he always has a spare coat, dress, shoes or overalls for needy souls, but he rightly decided that this question did not belong in his department. He lost no time in giving the letter to the editor, breathing a sigh of relief as he turned away.

Now just how did Oregon get its name?

Following the Louisiana Purchase from France for $15 million the Rocky Mountains was deemed the western boundary line of these United States. There were just 24 States then and the Senators and Representatives said that the country on the other side of the Rocky Mountains would be apt to trade with the Orient instead of with the United States which was 1,500 miles away through an unexplored wilderness.

Early Indian tribes in that part of Mexico which is now California told of a great river in the north which they called the Auragon.

The name Oregon was first given to the territory west of the Rocky Mountains 133 years ago on Tuesday of this week by Dr. John Floyd. On January 18, 1822, Dr. Floyd introduced a bill in Congress authorizing the President of the United States to take over and occupy all the territory lying west of the United States from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. The bill by Dr. Floyd provided that when the population in the territory west of the Rockies and north of the 42d parallel of latitude totaled 2,000 persons it should be occupied along the Columbia River as a territory of the United States under the name of Oregon.

Since 1765 the great river in Oregon now called the Columbia after Gray's ship of that name had been called the Origon.

Dr. Floyd worked hard to get the bill passed but it was defeated by a 100 to 61 vote.

It was not until 26 years later in 1848 that Congress voted to give Oregon a territorial government. An effort was made by William Mallory, one of Vermont's representatives, to have the territory called Columbia but Dr. Floyd had enough votes promised to defeat this effort. This time his bill passed and the spelling of the territory name Origon was changed to Oregon.

Helping to get the bill passed were Senators Linn and Benton, and the boundary line of Linn County at first extended from the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River and south to California.

Later when Lincoln County was divided and Benton County was created it was for Senator Benton that it was named.

It is written in the diary of John Quincy Adams while he was Secretary of State that President Monroe told him Dr. Floyd's brother had been caught in using some of the State of Virginia's money as his own while he was State treasurer and that as he was anxious to get a job for his brother in a place as far away from Virginia as possible he thought the new territory of Oregon should be a good safe place for him. Dr. Floyd served two terms as governor of Virginia and no one seems to know what happened to his brother or whether he actually got some of the State of Virginia's money mixed up with his salary. It may have just been political scandal or character assassination as to Dr. Floyd's reasons, but whatever they were they furthered development of the territory.

Just 133 years ago, Oregon was not wanted as a State and no one had the remotest idea that 133 years later the election of a Senator in Oregon would change control from the Republicans to the Democrats in Congress.

Oregon has come a long way since 1822 and now it is fitting and proper that 133 years and 3 days later you should know how Oregon got its name.

The Foreign Operations Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLEN J. ELLENDER
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on the Foreign Operations Administration, written by John O'Donnell, and published under the headline "Capitol Stuff," in the New York Daily News of February 7, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAPITOL STUFF

(By John O'Donnell)

WASHINGTON, February 6.—This is all about money—your money, my fellow taxpayers—and how the deal is shaping up so that more billions of our economic lifeblood will continue to be syphoned off to foreign nations in the vain hope that we can buy their everlasting loyalty and firm affection.

Of course, the fantastic idea never worked regardless of what label we stuck on the one-world giveaway plan. It began with lend-lease and UNRRA, then was labeled the Marshall plan, and currently dishes out the billions as the Foreign Operations Administration run by the perpetual GOP presidential aspirant, Harold Stassen.

FOA winds up its legislative life come June 30, but the boys will be operating on the old stand—but under another title and, if present plans go through, will be buying international love with United States handouts.

The new firm name has not yet been selected—some setup in the State Department probably. Louisiana's Senator ELLENDER, of the Appropriations Committee, who has made a careful survey of the new giveaway program, figures that next year we'll be handing out in the nonmilitary assistance program alone $2 billion, a $700 million jump over the present economic aid and defense

support program which ELLENDER scornfully describes as "just a new and fancy name for the Marshall plan which should have terminated long ago."

The fall of the Mendes-France government last week gives further proof (if such could possibly be needed) that the French juicy slice of the $67 billion which we've handed out to foreign nations since World War II shooting stopped, never bought the trusting love of La Belle France.

And now come more headaches from sunny Italy. Over in Rome, Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce has done the best possible job as our Ambassador under the circumstances—far better than most critics thought could be done, under all the handicaps the charming and alert lady had to surmount. Last week Mrs. Luce returned to her Rome post after reporting to the State Department. What's important is that before the month is out, the charming lady will be back here in the capital and with her, for consultation with President Eisenhower and the State Department and Treasury and the Stassen organization, Italy's Prime Minister Mario Scelba.

A TOUCH IN THE GRAND MANNER

Now the mere arrival of Prime Minister Scelba in this capital isn't of itself so important. In fact, the Italian chief of state will be only a file closer in the big parade of foreign heads of state who have arrived here in the last 6 months and been welcomed and entertained by official Washington. And it has been a big parade. Time was when parades were estimated by the time they took to pass a given point. In this case the estimates would be wrong because they all passed the United States Treasury.

The importance of Prime Minister Scelba's visit rests in the so-called Vanoni plan which he will bring with him for presentation to the White House, State Department, the Treasury, and Harold Stassen. Yes; you guessed it, it's another touch—but this time in the grand manner.

The new Italian proposal is named after Scelba's budget minister, Ezio Vanoni. It is a 10-year economic blueprint for Italy, designed to create 4 million new jobs, put, as they express it, "Italy firmly on its financial feet" and—here's the important note for the United States taxpayer to watch—"calls for new public and private investments of $40 billion in the next decade."

Without being brought into the consultations, this reporter has a rough idea, based on past experiences, that Uncle Sam is going to be asked to pick up most of this sizable tab or go as comaker on the notes of the borrowers.

Of course, the plan does have an international touch. Nine top Italian experts worked with Vanoni on preparing the broad outline. They in turn consulted with British, Dutch, and American economists. A Cambridge University professor put the text in English. Vanoni, a soft-spoken financier, has already explained in Rome that his plan calls for the imposition in carefree Italy of "a policy of extreme austerity for 10 years."

ITALY'S FLAT WARNING TO WASHINGTON

In his private talks in Rome, Vanoni emphasized that this plan which Scelba brings to the White House this month, means the ultimate salvation of Italy. If it's not adopted, Italy must collapse. It was a flat warning to Washington and the Italian budget director frankly declared: "Only through substantial foreign aid and extensive foreign capital investment can the objective of this program be achieved without endangering monetary stability."

A reliable Italian source in Rome, in connection with Scelba's forthcoming Washington visit, bears down on argument that the present Prime Minister is merely "continuing the same policy and approach of the late Alcide de Gasperi.

He pointed out the similarity between the two men, saying: "Like de Gasperi, Minister Scelba is a Liberal-Catholic, anti-Fascist, and stanch enemy of Communists."

Referring to the latter, he said, Scelba wants it known that he is anti-Communist not in words but in fact.

One important thing the fiery Scelba is proud of since taking over the Government is the fact that he has brought relations between Italy and the United States to the highest point since the war.

This relationship remains the cornerstone of Italian foreign policy.

But, different from all former governments, is the breakaway from the day-to-day solution to Italian economic problems, by the presentation of the Vanoni plan.

"How can our friends help us? That's easy. We need international aid in commerce. Our industries are working at only a percentage of their capacities. Italy needs orders, lots of them, for her factories."

Drilling for Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRICE DANIEL
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, all too often we read about the few fortunate individuals who have good luck in drilling for oil. Many times we forget that 9 out of every 10 wells turn out to be dry holes, and it costs just as much to drill these as it does to drill producers.

A recent article in the Houston Post, Houston, Tex., entitled "Meet the Champ Dry-Hole Driller," relates the experiences of 1 Texan who is reported to have drilled 196 wells without finding production. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEET THE CHAMP DRY-HOLE DRILLER

(By Harold LeBourgeois)

This might be called Can You Top It? Week.

We recall that a man named James A. Clark once wrote about some people who made themselves distinctive by going out and drilling a bunch of dry holes.

There are Jack Frazier (of recent Mykawa fame), John Mayo, and Harold Boysen, all of Houston, of course.

Mr. Frazier has drilled something like 200 projects that didn't turn up anything except bills.

Mr. Boysen drilled 81 consecutive wells before he finally hit.

And Mr. Clark refers to Mr. Mayo as "maybe the champion consecutive dry-hole driller of all time." The latter sank 116 straight dusters.

Today we are introducing Morris K. Womack as the champ among champions.

In a conversation recently about the lumber business in east Texas, Mr. Womack wryly mentioned that So-and-so had worse luck than he did, that luck being 196 consecutive dry holes.

"I beg your pardon; you mean 96?" Mr. Womack was asked.

"No; 196, not 96," he countered; "196."

He mouthed the numerals as if there was some suculence in them.

"How can this be?" was the next question aimed at the attorney (he's listed as an attorney, not an oilman).

"Well," Mr. Womack said, "because there wasn't any oil in those 196 holes."

He started playing around with deals about 20 years ago and is still enthusiastic.

And the reason he doesn't quit is twofold:

1. Mr. Womack likes to put together deals and drill wells.

2. He figures one of these days he's going to hit.

It is understandable that the attorney scoffs at the statistics which show that 1 out of every 9 wildcats is successful.

A 196–0 score is pretty awesome.

Mr. Womack does recall hitting oil, actually.

But the producer turned out to be worse than a dry hole.

It yielded crude oil for only 30 days.

The return on 30 days' production didn't make a dent in the expense involved in setting casing and completing the thing.

For all practical purposes, we will consider a 30-day producer as a duster.

Mr. Womack, like the other top-notch dry-hole drillers, never has a lot of his own money tied up in wildcats these days.

He works with a handful of friends, farmouts and major companies.

It is almost a certainty at this time that there will be reason soon to print the details of a Womack well.

The story of a drilling deal can be an amazing one, even if it does turn up a dry hole.

Anyway, that's the record for Attorney Womack.

But he isn't a failure by any means.

In the first place, he has several businesses that yield returns.

In the second place, Mr. Womack enjoys hunting for oil.

What else do you want?

A Lincoln Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent poem entitled "A Lincoln Memorial," written by Robert Serrell Wood Walker.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LINCOLN MEMORIAL

(Tribute to a man)

Whose visage chiseled out of stone
To sit in temple white
The peopled millions call their own
In countless streets tonight!
And whose yon monumental head
That broods upon the land
O, Great Republic, once he lead
With his own magic hand!

Sprung from a breed of humble mold
Yet sired to walk with fame
He kept "the common touch" to hold
A nation's heart a-flame;
O, 'graven image 'bove the sod
A-top the hallowed earth
What noble man fashioned from God
Has left his priceless worth!

And tho' the years have found it stilled—
The heart that loved mankind—
Forever will the ages build
Their steeples to his mind;
O, blessed land! revere this day
By Roman temple fair
That they who travel by its way
May pause in tribute there!
—*Robert Serrell Wood Walker.*

The Challenge in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, from my experience on my trips to foreign countries, and especially to the Far East during the past few years, I have come to the conclusion that a new and somewhat different approach should be taken in preparing our foreign-aid program, aside from military assistance, as it affects what may be designated as the underdeveloped countries of the world, and particularly the Middle East and Far East.

In the New York Times magazine section for February 13, the well-known writer, Barbara Ward, a former editor of the Economist of London, has an article entitled "The Challenge We Neglect in Asia." Miss Ward points out that in the yearning of these peoples for freedom, independence, and self-determination there is beneath the whole revolutionary movement a psychological upheaval in the world's backward areas which we have failed adequately to comprehend and deal with.

Because of the importance of this subject, I ask unanimous consent that Miss Ward's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHALLENGE WE NEGLECT IN ASIA
(By Barbara Ward)

The attention of the free world these days is fixed upon the Strait of Formosa. Yet while this is the most sensational danger facing the West, it is well to recognize another type of aggression in Asia that may, in the long run, prove disastrous to the security of the free world.

As communism's propaganda is carried to the towns and villages, it finds its opportunity in the scale of the social revolution from which no nation is exempt—a revolution rooted in the desires and expectations of the people.

We in the West are reasonably familiar with that revolution. In simplest terms, it represents the desire of the peoples of Asia to escape from the static poverty of the past and share in the dynamic growth already achieved in the West—and, in part at least, in Russia. But perhaps the implications of this desire are less clearly understood.

The revolution in Asia has two aspects. One is economic; the other is psychological and social. So far the Western Powers have at least taken some note of the economic problem and have considered some marginal policies for dealing with it. But they have taken virtually no account at all of the psychological aspect. The Communists, on the other hand, have a program—crude, certainly, and evil—but, nevertheless, a program for dealing with both the economic and psychological upheaval in the world's backward areas. This fact gives them a head start over the West.

The starting point is the fact that there is only one road to the achievement of a dynamic economy—the road of capital accumulation and the building of industry. "Industrialization" is a magic word in the world's backward areas; a spell; a philosopher's stone of future prosperity. But the precondition of industrializing an economy is to transform rural life, to do away with subsistence farming in closed village units, and to introduce an economy based upon the commercial exchange of goods.

This exchange enables the villages to become purchasers of manufactured goods—of what use is a local consumer industry which commands no market? It gives inducements to the farmer to increase his productivity and supply an urban population. And this margin of productivity is—short of foreign aid and investment—the chief source of saving and the means whereby laborers, now underemployed or merely idle in the village subsistence economy, are released to the towns and factories of the growing industrial sector.

Whether the process is carried on in the free enterprise economies of 19th-century Britain and America or under total dictatorship in 20th-century Russia and China, the underlying shift is the same—the decay of the village, the rise of the town, the decline of static incomes derived from land, the growth of a vast wage and salary earning class. If Asia and Africa are ever to reach western standards of health and consumption, their road must be the same. There is no other.

But the village is far more than an economic unit. The village community is usually made up of families who, if not actually related, are all known to each other, and in more primitive tribal areas are actually part of the same kinship group. Collectively they farm their share of the village's communal land. They provide aid, security, backing, and any necessary subsistence to any member of the group.

Village families in turn are ruled by a headman whose authority is almost parental as well as social, and they are guided by the priest, whose performance of ceremonies and rites marks the rhythm of the agricultural year, insures rain and fertility, provides the social order in the community, and puts sanctions behind its social discipline.

Indeed, in more primitive communities headman and priest are one. In short, the village is a complete society and one in which there is a high degree of those social attributes upon which the modern world tends to lay great stress—solidarity, interdependence, mutual aid, stability in the family unit, emotional security.

Just because village life is so all-inclusive, the impact upon it of an evolving industrial system is cataclysmic. The young Asian villager who goes away to the seaport or city tends to lose in one move the economic and emotional security of the family system and the social disciplines of local religion. Like the dazed rural workers of Britain in the 1830's, he finds himself in the featureless, friendless city, among a majority who, like him, seek feverishly for material advancement and change and who are uprooted from the traditional faith and sanctions of village life. The big cities of Asia—or Africa—today are fringed around with lawless shanty towns where the uprooted first-generation worker turns hooligan or fanatic under the pressure of bewilderment and despair.

So great is the upheaval and so devastating its potential consequences that there are those who argue that it must be prevented and village life preserved in its original solidarity. But not only does this approach run counter to the economic aspirations of backward peoples; it also ignores the darker side of village life. Subsistence is never more than a bare living. In times of dearth, it is a living death.

Mutual aid and family security can be fetters which bind the enterprising and adventurous youth to a small but total collectivity. The "extended family" implies slavery and a degraded status for the many wives. The concentration of social and religious power makes for tyranny as complete when exercised over a group of huts as over a whole nation. With or without the West, the young people in Asia and Africa wish to escape to self-determination, to disciplines accepted voluntarily, to a wider choice of profession, to marriage which can be a partnership; in a word, to the personal freedom and responsibility of western man.

But here is the dilemma. In pressing forward to Western types of urban life and factory organization, in abandoning the security and interdependence, however tyrannous, of the old village, the new industrializing societies of Asia and Africa are entering an arena where, even in the most advanced Western nations, the conflicts between freedom and security are still unsolved. Take only four of the fundamental social dilemmas of emergent Asian and African communities—overcrowding and insecurity in industrial slums, restlessness at new factory discipline, the degradation of children in a marriage system that is breaking down, the collapse of moral standards under a weakening religion—and few will maintain that they bear no resemblance to the urban problems of the West.

It is at this point that the effectiveness of Communist propaganda in such areas as southeast Asia, India, or tribal Africa begins to become apparent.

That Communist propaganda exploits the poorer peoples' desire for modernization hardly needs to be repeated. That Communist governments ruthlessly modernize their own peoples is common knowledge. But what is perhaps insufficiently considered is the extent to which, in the short run, the Communist approach meets the underlying social and psychological dilemmas of modernization.

The Communists not only uproot the villages, build the towns, recruit factory labor and reinvest ruthlessly the "savings" extracted from the underconsumption of the masses. In their crude, rough way, they also recreate the security of the village life. The omnicompetent state organizes social security, the party imposes group action and solidarity. Marxist-Leninism, the infallible "word" of the bureaucrats, produces the old concentration of spiritual and social power.

Men and women only just emerging from the small collective tyranny of the primitive village fall—perhaps with relief—under the vast collective tyranny of the modern state. By canceling 3,000 years of striving after personal autonomy and self-discipline, communism makes easier the transition from a closed rural economy to modern industrialization, but it does so by creating a society which risks being primitive in everything but the machines and gadgets which it controls.

This formidable appeal of communism to backward peoples—or, indeed, to comparably bewildered and uprooted groups in the wilderness of Western urban society—will hardly be withstood unless some comparable effort of policy and insight is achieved on the Western side. So far, our contacts are curiously haphazard. Our own commercial interest, together with a little foreign aid and a fraction of private investment, make up our quite inadequate contribution to massive modernization.

On the side of social evolution, Britain, foremost among the colonial powers, has worked to graft Western institutions on to

primitive economies—but colonial authorities are necessarily suspect. The missionary churches make a great, though sometimes contradictory, contribution. Some private business firms have done pioneer work in the field of workers' housing and labor management. But of a major concerted Western effort to assist the backward areas over these perilous times of social readjustment, there is little trace.

There is, in fact, barely the realization that such an effort is necessary to counter the ceaseless confident pressure of Communist totalitarian faith. Materially and psychologically, the West is allowing the challenge of the backward areas to go largely by default.

Even with communism at the very door—as it is today in southeast Asia—there is little disposition in the West to make long-term strategy for world development the first priority, not the last afterthought, of Western diplomacy.

Yet the Communist inroad on Asia is already a fact, and the risks in many parts of Africa are increasing. And behind this advance lies the possibility that when at last the stirrings and ambitions in Asia and Africa result in a world which is united in standards and technology, as well as in aspiration, the stamp set upon it will be not the unforced unity of the free West, but the single collective straitjacket of communism.

Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, during the present month our Nation has been honoring the memory of a great President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. On February 11, 1955, there appeared in many newspapers throughout the country an article entitled "We Need a Lincoln." The article was written by George Sokolsky, and was published in his regular column which bears the heading "These Days." Mr. Sokolsky's article so well typifies the character of the great Abraham Lincoln, and so splendidly sets forth what, I am sure, Americans all over the Nation are most vitally interested in, that I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 11, 1955]

THESE DAYS

(By George Sokolsky)

WE NEED A LINCOLN

As the years roll in the saga of America Abraham Lincoln grows in stature not because he was assassinated, nor even because he was President during our Civil War, but because he was a philosopher, a moralist, a rare figure among those who rise in our political system.

The American President has usually been a politician, not a statesman; an operator of techniques of manipulating the people's choice, not a thinker who leads his followers into the lofty realms of moral philosophy. Too often his speech has been of the earth rather than inspired by revelation. How many of them could have thought, much less put into rhetoric, the grandeur of the second inaugural:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Abraham Lincoln thought lyrically and his poetry was sunshine in a dark moment of national history. He required no ghost writer. He was not briefed by researchers. He called no conferences to decide what he was to think and say. His artistry came from his consciousness, and to it, no man add or detract. A man who could compose the Gettysburg Address on the back of an envelope while traveling on a railroad train is unusual among our politicians, who generally submit their major thoughts to associates for criticism, the associates taking out of it everything that is of sufficient potency to produce controversy.

Lincoln was never afraid of controversy. In fact, he started his national career as a controversialist, debating the little giant, Stephen Douglas, no mean man. The Lincoln-Douglas debates stirred a generation by the deftness of logic, by the fullness of the knowledge of both debaters, and by the courageous stance of each man on a public question. There was no pussyfooting in anything that Lincoln did and said, as the more popular Seward discovered to his discomfiture.

What a wonderful thing it would be in this age of television if two candidates for the Presidency—say Eisenhower and Stevenson in 1952—could have debated the issues before the Nation, face to face, with questions and answers and interpolations. Perhaps the Nation might have discovered that the eggheads are really behind the scenes.

Lincoln lives for us not so much in deeds as in ideas. One can pick and choose nuggets of thought, wisely and literally spoken, courageously phrased with no idea of advantage. Such men do not often appear in any country; they have rarely appeared in ours since that magnificent group of philosophers sat in Independence Hall to adopt the Declaration of Independence and later to write the Constitution. Lincoln might have been of that galaxy had he been born earlier; he was of their succession.

Our people in these days pray for the inspiration of a national ideal. We live in a period of excitement, of action, of motion, but we are a sad people because we are not at peace with ourselves or with the world. We need the wisdom of a great mind and the leadership of one who walks with God. We again need the gentle hand of Abraham Lincoln, who could be firm in the right without permitting himself the wickedness of hate.

Accomplishments of Savings and Loan Associations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRICE DANIEL
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, the outstanding record of the First Federal Savings & Loan Association in Paris, Tex., shows what can be accomplished through such organizations without cost to the taxpayers.

For instance, 118 homes for veterans of World War II have been financed by this one organization. I ask unanimous consent that an article and an editorial from the Paris News, of Paris, Tex., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECORD SAVINGS AT FIRST FEDERAL

Savings placed in First Federal Savings & Loan Association of Paris during the year 1954 amounted to $2,212,355.12, according to President O. W. Boswell. The net gain amounted to $1,155,383.21. The dividends paid for the year 1954 amounted to $194,216.19 of which $100,352.57 was paid during the last half of the year.

A new high in homes financed during the year amounted to $1,975,885.03 for 389 borrowers. Sixty-six new homes in the Paris area were financed amounting to $415,725. One hundred eighteen homes were financed for World War II veterans amounting to $789,128.27. A total of $5,320,154.24 has been loaned to veterans since the enactment of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 to buy or build homes. The total number of veterans' homes financed to December 31, 1954, was 1,048. No veteran has been denied a home loan if he could qualify under the terms of the act.

Net assets increased from $6,662,468.18 on December 31, 1953, to $7,763,302.25 on December 31, 1954, reflecting a gain of $1,200,834.07. Savings increased from $6,104,873.61 on December 31, 1953, to $7,260,256.82 on December 31, 1954, reflecting a gain of $1,155,383.21.

Reserves increased from $421,497.31 to $452,000.

With the aid of the new liberalized home loans under the terms of the National Housing Act of 1953 and the 1954 amendments permitting longer terms and smaller down payments should create a greater demand for the buying and building of homes, Mr. Boswell said.

While more than 1 million starts in home building in the Nation were made during 1954, forecasts are being made by some authorities that as many as $1,200,000 starts probably will be made during 1955, Mr. Boswell concluded.

WHY FIRST FEDERAL'S STORY WAS PARIS NEWS FRONT PAGE MATERIAL

Some people may consider a story on the front page of the Paris News Monday an advertisement instead of a news story. It may be that so considering it is the right way, but it must not be classed with the ordinary paid advertisement, for it has a news value of an interesting nature.

The story was a condensed report of the operation of the First Federal Savings & Loan Association of Paris, made by its president, O. W. Boswell, the man who started the Paris Building & Loan Association thirty-odd years ago. Assisted by some citizens who believed Paris needed such an organization, Webb Boswell has seen his small financial institution grow year by year until today its transactions have grown into the millions of dollars.

The story said 118 homes for men who had been in the Second World War had been financed and since the enactment of the Servicemen's Act in 1944 loans to veterans for buying or building homes, total more than $5 million. Total number of homes for veterans at the end of last year, financed by this association, is 1,043. Few, if any, of these homes would have been bought or built without the aid of First Federal. Sixty-six new

homes in the Paris area were financed during the year.

Stories like this may well cause folks to wonder why the Government feels it necessary to build houses at a cost to the taxpayers of billions of dollars, while the houses the First Federal finances cost the taxpayers nothing and the owners pay taxes to support their State, county, and city governments.

Webb Boswell is an outstanding home builder of national reputation, and has had the highest honors the national associations could confer. So the Paris News believes that any story of him or his building accomplishments is front page material.

Opponents of H. R. 1 Outnumber Proponents by 3 to 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, during the public hearings on H. R. 1 held by the Committee on Ways and Means, the opponents of the legislation outnumbered the proponents by approximately 3 to 1.

In spite of this fact, the report of the committee on the bill makes specific reference only to the proponents.

Mr. Speaker, in order to keep the record clear and to avoid any possible distortion of the facts, representatives of the following industries, labor groups, and organizations testified in opposition to H. R. 1:

General Electric Co., qualified opposition.
California Fish Canners Association.
American Manufacturers of Thermostatic Containers.
The Candle Manufacturers Association.
Collapsible Tube Manufacturers Association.
The Industrial Wire Cloth Institute.
The National Building Granite Quarries Association.
The Rubber Footwear Division of the Rubber Manufacturers Association.
The Toy Manufacturers of the U. S. A., Inc.
The Twisted Jute Packing and Oakum Institute.
United States Potters Association.
The American Manufacturers of Toy Balloons.
American Tariff League.
National Federation of Independent Business.
Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor.
American Coalition.
Bausch & Lomb Optical Co.
Voland & Sons, Inc.
R. Thomas & Sons, Inc.
California Pottery Guild.
Homer Laughlin China Co.
Vitrified China Association.
International Brotherhood of Operative Potters.
Westinghouse Electric Corp.
Monsanto Chemical Co.
Manufacturing Chemists Association, Inc.
Dow Chemical Co.
Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association.
Otto B. May, Inc.
Allied Chemical & Dye Corp.
American Cyanamid Co.
American Glassware Association.
Kent Metal & Chemical Corp.
American Flint Glass Workers Union.
Ohio Glass and Pottery Workers Protective League.
Pennsylvania Glassworkers Protective League.
Indiana Glass Workers Protective League.
Seafarers International Union of North America.
American Tunaboat Association.
Seafood Producers Association.
Massachusetts Fisheries Association, Inc.
Northwest Horticultural Council.
Independent Petroleum Association of America.
National Stripper Well Association.
North Texas Oil & Gas Association.
Independent Petroleum Association of America.
Pennsylvania Grade Crude Oil Association.
New York State Producers Association.
Bradford District Pennsylvania Producers Association.
Southwestern Pennsylvania Producers Association.
Oil Producers Agency of California.
San Joaquin Valley Oil Producers Association.
Independent Oil Producers Agency of California.
Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association.
West Central Texas Oil & Gas Association.
Lawton Oil Corp.
Oklahoma Independent Petroleum Association.
Kentucky Oil & Gas Association.
Kansas Independent Oil & Gas Association.
Ohio Oil & Gas Association.
Independent Oil Producers & Land Owners Association.
East Texas Oil Association.
National Coal Association.
Pennsylvania Railroad.
United Mine Workers of America.
American Retail Coal Association.
Foreign Oil Policy Committee.
Anthracite Institute.
Norfolk & Western Railroad.
Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen.
Southern Coal Producers Association.
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
Women's Patriotic Conference.
American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, Inc.
National Association of Cotton Manufacturers.
Association of Cotton Textile Merchants of New York.
New England Textile Committee and six New England Governors.
National Association of Wool Manufacturers.
Carpet Institute, Inc.
National Wool Growers Association.
Boston Wool Trade Association.
Philadelphia Wool & Textile Association.
National Wool Trade Association.
National Federation of Textiles.
Textile Fabric Association.
Tufted Textile Manufacturers Association.
Forstmann Woolen Co.
CIO Textile Workers.
Linen Thread Co., Inc.
United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers International Union.
National Authority for the Ladies Handbag Industry.
S. Morgan Smith Co.
Pin, Clip, and Fastener Association.
Clothespin Manufacturers of America.
Western Condensing Co.
National Machine Tool Producers Association.
Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America.
American Lace Manufacturers Association.
American Fabric Glove Associates.
American Knit Handwear Association.
National Association of Leather Glove Manufacturers.
Underwear Institute.
Work Glove Institute.
United Wallpaper Craftsmen and Workers of North America International Union.
Lapp Insulator Co.
American Fluorspar.
Mica Fabricators Association.
New England Manufacturing Jewelers & Silversmiths Association.
Clock Manufacturers of America, Inc.
Cigarette Lighter Manufacturers Association, Inc.
Lead Pencil Manufacturers Association, Inc.
Tungsten Institute.
Rubber Manufacturers Association, Inc.
Okonite Co.
Industrial Fasteners Institute.
American Optical Co.
Shears, Scissors & Manicure Implement Manufacturers Association.
American Manganese Producers Association.
White Sewing Machine Co.
Woven Wood Fabric Industry.
Hardwood Plywood Institute.
Hardboard Institute.
California Almond Growers Exchange.
California Walnut Growers Association.
Northwest Nut Growers.
Oregon Filbert Commission.
Sunkist Growers, Inc.
Cherry Growers & Industries Foundation.
Wine Institute.
Mushroom Growers Cooperative Association of Pennsylvania.
American National Cattlemen's Association.
National Milk Producers.
Cultivated Mushroom Institute of America, Inc.
National Cheese Institute, Inc.
American Dry Milk Institute.
National Creameries Association.
Texas Sheep & Goat Raisers Association.

Western States Meat Packers Association.
California Fig Institute.
National Independent Union Council.
Argus Cameras.
International Allied Printing Trades Association.
Fur Dressers' Guild, Inc.
National Knitted Outerwear Association.
Eastern Metal Products Co.

The School Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, as far as the State of California is concerned, the administration proposal on education is completely inadequate. It will not give any material aid in the area where the schools desperately need emergency assistance.

I fear the plan lacks the imagination and boldness necessary to solve the problems of overcrowded and understaffed schools. The program has been publicized as one to aid schools; as far as California is concerned, the plan presented by the administration could only delay until too far in the future any important assistance for education.

I fear local school districts, under the impression they will get some adequate Federal aid, will delay approval of their own necessary bond issues. The program presented by the administration will call for a great deal of local financial participation—too much, I fear, to make the Federal program workable.

Congress should take the lead in proposing right now an aid-to-education program to provide real aid to local school districts—aid that will end the second-class education too many children are receiving.

At my request, Frank M. Wright, the head of the division of public school administration of California, analyzed the administration's proposal on education. His comments, which follow, point up the fact that the program is little more than a thin veneer on a ramshackle structure:

Members of my staff and I have reviewed the recommendations made by President Eisenhower in his proposal to aid in financing the construction of needed school buildings throughout the United States. His proposal is divided into three parts.

"Part 1, Bond Purchases by the Federal Government," seems to us to be absolutely unworkable in California due to the fact that we have no difficulty in selling bonds that districts authorize. The current district rate runs between 2½ and 3 percent, and I have never known of a single area in California that has had difficulty in disposing of its bonds.

"Part 2, State School Building Agencies," seems to contemplate a type of operation similar to the Pennsylvania plan which sets up a State school building authority. Under this proposal the districts would have the buildings built for them by some sort of combination between the Federal and State governments and then would rent the buildings and be required to pay an amount equal to principal and interest out of their annual operating funds. In California the law would have to be materially changed to provide for special taxes for this purpose in lieu of bond taxes, or the bond authorization would have to be changed in order to permit bonds to be issued for that particular purpose. We do not believe that this is a workable plan at all. The State program which I have attempted to describe briefly in the enclosed statement covers that operation. We do not believe that there is anything in part 2 that would be of any benefit to California.

"Part 3, Grants for School Districts With Proved Need and Lack of Local Income," does not offer any help to our State. In the first place, we do not have a situation where a district has not reached its legal bonding capacity because it could not sell its bonds. If a California district has bonding capacity it naturally would sell its bonds and would be able to use that money. The second part of the proposal concerns a situation where a district has reached its legal bonding limit and is unable to pay rent and would need to obtain additional aid. That is about the only part of the proposal where it appears that California would receive any assistance. Then the degree of assistance would depend almost entirely upon the language of the act, as to whether or not a State building authority was provided which would provide for leasing and paying rent.

Coexistence and Commonsense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Mr. Lawrence Hunt, a prominent New York City attorney, who delivered it before the Canadian Club of London, Ontario, on December 8, 1954. The subject of the address was Coexistence and Commonsense.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COEXISTENCE AND COMMONSENSE

(Address by Lawrence Hunt, of New York, before the Canadian Club of London, Ontario, December 8, 1854)

Mr. President, members of the Canadian Club of London, friends and neighbors of Canada, as an old and affectionate friend of Canada, I am glad as well as honored to be your guest today. An invitation to speak in Canada is always alluring to me, and when your invitation was extended, on your behalf, by the Honorable Ray Lawson, Canada's greatly esteemed and warmly liked Consul General in New York, it seemed irresistible.

My subject today is Coexistence and Commonsense.

There is nothing inherently wrong with the idea or the policy of coexistence or peaceful coexistence in the Anglo-American sense. It means, for us English-speaking people, neither surrender nor softness toward Communist imperialism. In the course of vigorous and free public debate, this policy, advocated by that wise and consistent foe of communism, Sir Winston Churchill, has been doubted and distorted, misunderstood and maligned, by some sincere citizens on this side of the Atlantic, and especially in my own country. But many Americans are beginning to realize that peaceful coexistence, as we mean it, can be a positive, constructive policy for maintaining freedom and progress, peace and prosperity for ourselves and our children.

Coexistence is not a startling, new idea. Any foreigner, who did not understand our American ways, perhaps wondered during our election campaign 6 weeks ago, how Republicans like myself could possibly coexist with the Democrats. We cheerfully do, between elections. Canada is an inspiring example of how it is possible and sensible, though at times difficult, for two vigorous civilizations, British and French, with different backgrounds, customs, and language, to coexist as a strong, united, ever-growing people whose moral and material contributions to world stability are today greater than ever before. The long and successful coexistence, despite outspoken differences, between Canada and the United States is unsurpassed in modern history. And the cordial coexistence—more correctly, the unwritten partnership—between the British Commonwealth and America is our best reason to hope for our common future.

We English-speaking peoples should learn how to coexist more successfully with our allies, and, in this connection, I cannot refrain from expressing my belief that today we ought to understand more clearly the moral and political problems of France and to appreciate more warmly her best qualities. Three times invaded, with increasing savagery, by the same enemy in less than 90 years, victorious but frightfully weakened in the First World War with a million and a half dead in battle, conquered, occupied, and tormented, bodily and mentally, in the Second World War, and worst of all, with the French genius for lucid self-analysis, knowing that, with noble individual exceptions, she had failed, badly failed, when the going got rough, France has been very sick, and spiritually and politically ineffective since the end of the last war. But France is getting well. She is surely coming to herself. And soon again she will be not only the beautiful nation, both irritating and inspiring, of our memories but also a stanch and helpful ally.

We Americans hope that our allies will coexist cordially with us, and that they will try harder, despite healthy differences, to understand our deep feelings and great problems. You Canadians and most of our British friends know that the caricature of America as a well meaning by ignorant adolescent is out of date even as caricature. Of course, my country, like other countries, has made some bad mistakes and she has missed some splendid opportunities to do an even better job as the most powerful of all nations. There is room for improvement in our foreign economic policy. There are moments in my land when the strident voice of the demagogue is heard above the quiet prayers of the multitude. There is probably no other nation so enthusiastically addicted to washing its linen in public.

America seems to have been born to greatness. By her own efforts she achieved greatness. And in our time greatness has been trust upon her by friends and foes. But it's not all fun. As an international pastime, tweaking the eagle's feathers has largely, though of course not entirely, supplanted twisting the lion's tail.

You will agree, I think, that in recent years America has done her share to preserve Western civilization from the tyranny of Russian communism. And we Americans want peace, the only peace worth having, the peace of free men and women. Less than 2 months ago, as an American, my heart

was warmed as the hearts of Americans yet unborn will be warmed, by the genuine and graceful tribute to my country from the most magnificent statesmant of the 20th century. Sir Winston said: "There is no other case of a nation arriving at the summit of world power, seeking no territorial gain, but earnestly resolved to use her strength and wealth in the cause of progress and freedom."

But what about Russia? The masters of the Kremlin don't mean what we mean by peaceful coexistence. They mean time enough to undermine and finally destroy us. Does that mean the end of man's life on this planet—an atomic war? We don't, we can't know for certain. We can try to make an intelligent guess. I prefer to guess on the side of the angels. There will be no such war.

There seems to have arisen recently a tacit understanding among all the peoples of the world, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, that to become radioactive corpses in a radioactive ruin is not a consummation devoutly to be wished. Although many of the masters of Communist Russia during the past 37 years have not been notably successful, under the Soviet system, in the art of personal survival, we can reasonably assume that even Russian Communists like to survive. Now that we have about reached the point where our and the Russian cataclysmic weapons apparently cancel themselves out, we and the Russians will not cancel each other out. World wars are out of date. There is no longer any possibility that they can settle anything.

Moreover, America and the British Commonwealth will never start a preventive war, not only because it would bring death and irreparable ruin to all peoples but also because our spiritual and religious heritage makes it morally impossible for us to do so. The Russian Communists cannot be expected to understand that spiritual fact. But we know it in our hearts and feel it in our bones.

Short of atomic war, however, the rulers of Soviet communism will use any means to gain their ends—espionage, infiltration, subversion, propaganda and, above all, day in and day out schemes to divide Britain and America. They will try and try and try.

So what? Let them try. Where they have failed by force, they may attempt to subjugate us by seduction. They may soften their offensive tactics, whisper sweet nothings to us and our allies, and meanwhile wait, patiently wait, watchfully wait until we let ourselves grow weak or until we destroy our free political and economic system through greed and fear. By all means, let us keep them waiting.

This is where commonsense comes in. There can be no coexistence without commonsense. Unfortunately, there are times when commonsense seems as rare as uranium; it is often hidden under great bogs of emotion or under the hard layers of domestic politics. But find it and use it, we must.

Commonsense in our policy toward Communist Russia means many things. It means that the free nations of the world shall remain united and progress in power and prosperity. It means that the unique, unwritten partnership between the United States and the British Commonwealth shall always grow in strength and in trust and in understanding. It means that our political and intellectual leaders shall never again, as some of them did near the end and shortly after the last world war, fail to recognize or delude themselves about the sinister nature and the imperialistic objectives of Russian communism. It means no more illusions, no day dreams which can turn so quickly into nightmares, no weakness, no lethargy, and no despair. It means vigilance within ourselves and toward our common foe. Vigilance without fear. It means that we pay heed by day and by night to the stirring wisdom of Oliver Cromwell: "Put your trust in God but keep your powder dry."

And within the alliance of free nations, particularly within the Anglo-American partnership, commonsense means and requires faith in each other's purpose and charity toward each other's shortcomings.

Canada has been destined to be not only a strong, rich, and progressive nation on her own account but also to be the interpreter's house between Great Britain and the United States. When Britain and America get too far out on a limb, Canada can help them to climb back to safety, with a minimum of embarrassment. She understands the understatements of the one and the overstatements of the other. She can translate to each the different accents with which they speak a common language. She knows their sometimes different approach and different timing toward the same goals. She appreciates the best in both nations.

The policy of coexistence and commonsense will not be easy. At times it will be terribly difficult and exact all our patience and self-control. It's a challenge more tremendous to the spiritual and mental stamina than even to the physical endurance of free men and women. We shall meet that challenge. In one form or another, that challenge is as old as the human race. Five hundred years ago, the Augustinian monk, Thomas á Kempis wrote words which can help us today: "It is no great matter to associate with the good, and gentle. * * * But to be able to live peaceably with hard and perverse, or undisciplined persons, is a great grace, and an exceedingly commendable and manly deed."

Let's admit that an unpleasantly plausible case can be made for pessimism. Russia is mighty and ruthless. Russian communism is clever and insidious and persistent. In English-speaking nations, a few men in important positions have been seduced by its evil appeal and have betrayed their country. Soviet imperialism has several satellites, and, at present, Communist China is an ally. The leaders of Communist China, intoxicated with recent power and insolent in their ignorance of the vastly greater power of Western civilization, may attack Formosa or its neighboring islands, or some other spark will hasten the fiery doom of our world. For whom does the bell toll? It tolls for the whole human race.

So the pessimists tell us, with morbid embellishments. The horrors of the human imagination can multiply like locusts. Moreover, many intelligent Americans have yielded, at least in part and temporarily, to pessimism. But whatever our characteristic sins may be, pessimism is not one of them. Americans simply don't know how to act and think like polished pessimists in a profoundly thoughtful or gracefully melancholic manner. We just howl. But after a while we usually escape from the doubting castle of giant despair and we are again on our way in the pursuit of happiness. We know, deep down in our hearts, as do our friends and neighbors in the other English-speaking nations, that pessimism is a sullen denial of the grace of God.

We need more than armament, more than a policy of coexistence and commonsense, more than the unity of free nations; we need even more than faith and charity between Britain an America; we need hope.

Hope is the forgotten virtue of our age, and yet we have reasons to hope—good and sensible, true and triumphant reasons. Let's think about them and be of good cheer.

For all its power, Russian communism has no spiritual basis, no religious heritage, no moral tradition. Without them no civilization—no system of society—can long endure. The Soviet regime has existed less than 40 years—a long time for its victims, but a relatively brief period even in the recorded history of mankind. Not suddenly, but rather slowly, I believe, bit by bit, not from force without but from forces within, Russian communism will change, breakdown, wither, and be cast away.

Let us devoutly believe and humbly pray that the spiritual, as well as the material, odds will always be on our side.

In the years ahead, we shall know disappointments, suffer checks and setbacks, make mistakes, wrestle with the honest differences among ourselves, and somehow live through crises, but the future belongs to the free.

The diplomatic events of the last few months give us reasons for hope. The lessening of tensions in the Middle East, the settlement of the Trieste dispute, and the promising results of the London and Paris conferences, under the inspired leadership of Sir Anthony Eden, have strengthened the free nations and have given a tremendous lift to everyone except the Communists and the pessimists. Greater triumphs beckon us forward.

What does all this add up to? What do these spiritual and material facts, these triumphs of patient and resourceful diplomacy mean for us and our children? They mean a better chance, a surer hope than we have know in nearly a half century for a relatively peaceful and prosperous era, for a certainly hard but possibly a golden age. They may mean the increase of trade between the Iron Curtain and the free countries. For us, the primary motive of trade has been profit, and I suppose that, once in a while, even the Communists like to make a little profit. But trade, in modern times, has also fostered and stimulated civilization, and more frequently than not, has provided the opportunity to preach the gospel of those ideas which are the birthright of our English-speaking family, the ideas of each man's dignity and every man's freedom.

We English speaking peoples have been slow to realize and at times reluctant to admit that the unwritten partnership between the United States and the British Commonwealth is the surest reason for hope. Two world wars, the events of the past decade, the obvious facts of the world we live in, and the uncompromising forces of destiny have created that unique partnership. No other partnership has had such vast power and such an inherent sense of responsibility in using it. No other partnership has had so many burdens and so many blessings. But what of the future?

The future is ours. We are united by more than common fears and a common foe. We are united by commonsense. We are united by a common heritage which we proudly cherish irrespective of the race or nation of our individual ancestors. We are united by common ideas of what is right and decent, of what is just and kind. We are united by our common vision of the future we want for ourselves and our children. Together, America and the British Commonwealth can dare to hope. Together, we can dare to make, and, with God's grace, we will surely make a fairer world.

Competence and Integrity of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, for the information of Senators who are concerned both about the competence and

integrity of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and about the justice and nonpolitical conduct of civil-service procedures, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the searching editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of February 8, 1955, entitled "The Firing of Major Estes." Those who are also concerned about justice to the person involved must share the editorial writer's hope that the Civil Service Commission and the new Director of the Mediation and Conciliation Service will give this case a most careful review.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FIRING OF MAJOR ESTES

"Let me welcome you aboard. It is good to have you."

With these warm words President Eisenhower, on Monday, greeted Joseph F. Finnegan in a swearing-in ceremony at the White House. Mr. Finnegin, 50-year-old industrial relations lawyer from New York, is the second Eisenhower appointee to hold the office of director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

The President expects much from the Mediation Service and he is fully right in doing so. Speaking before the AFL, in the 1952 campaign, Mr. Eisenhower, in criticism of the Truman administration, said:

"It is time we got some responsible leadership in the Government. Consider how woefully inefficient is our Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Federal mediation has fallen into such disrepute that our people have forgotten what it can do."

In view of the high hopes that Mr. Eisenhower has for personnel of the Federal Mediation Service, just about the first thing Mr. Finnegan, as its new Director, ought to do is to look searchingly into the case of Maj. Charles T. Estes. Major Estes is the highly regarded mediation officer who was dismissed last July 9, while stationed in St. Louis, by Director Finnegan's political predecessor, Whitley P. McCoy, of Alabama.

Major Estes is precisely the kind of man needed in the Government service. Born in Gainesville, Ga., he was graduated from the University of Georgia and then went into business in his home city. When World War I broke out he entered the Army and served with credit. After the armistice he decided to continue in uniform and served in China, Japan, and the Philippines, under General MacArthur.

After nearly 10 years in his country's service, by which time he had become a major, he returned to business from which he entered the NRA in 1935. His talents for conciliation and adjustment led him to the Conciliation Service 3 years later. From 1940 on he was liaison officer and special assistant to the director.

The value of Major Estes' work is attested by no less a person than Republican businessman Cyrus S. Ching, who was for nearly 30 years supervisor of industrial relations of the United States Rubber Co. Mr. Ching, director of the Mediation Service, 1947–52, swore to the following, November 17:

"One of Charlie Estes' outstanding characteristics was his complete, enthusiastic devotion to the Mediation Service. I frequently thought he took too much out of himself in endeavoring to carry out his assignments. I never had from Major Estes at any time anything but loyal and enthusiastic support."

This testimonial of a prominent Republican to Major Estes' loyalty is important because the basis for the Estes discharge is that he was "disloyal" to the service.

How was he disloyal? Well, he once referred to the fiscal office of the Mediation Service as "money bags." Once he spoke of his duty station as his "new salt mine."

Could charges possibly be more trivial? In any case, President Eisenhower on August 25, 1954—so the press reported—on facing "the prospect of reading and signing a mountain of bills on arrival at the summer White House in Denver quipped: 'Back to the salt mines.'"

So far as we can discover, no one who knows anything about this dismissal thinks that it was for any reason other than to create a job for one of GOP Chairman Hall's cohorts. For first the partisan director, Whitley McCoy, sent Major Estes to St. Louis. Presumably McCoy thought Major Estes would resign rather than leave Washington. Instead Major Estes came to St. Louis, did excellent work here and won the admiration of many businessmen and labor leaders. But somebody wanted Major Estes' job and wanted it enough to fire him—to fire a man who served under seven Directors and ranked 8th in seniority among more than 200 mediation personnel.

Fortunately Major Estes has the right of appeal to the Civil Service Commission. Fortunately he is exercising his appeal. But he has this right only because he has worn his country's uniform. Without application of the veterans' preference clause, he would be out and that would end it.

Were the Civil Service Commission not currently so political, Major Estes could expect justice there. Surely a career official with his record ought to get justice anywhere. Thanks to the change in control of Congress, the Senate Civil Service Committee, under Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, has asked the Commission to grant a public hearing with Senate representatives sitting in.

Yes, it is good to have Director Finnegan aboard. If Mr. Finnegan has anything more important to do than go fully and fairly into the Estes case, we would like to know what it is. If the Estes ouster stands, on its present flimsy basis, the career personnel in the Mediation and Conciliation Service might as well disband now.

The President's School-Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 15, 1955

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, in the Hartford Courant of February 12 appeared a leading editorial under the title "Posing a Challenge to Community Effort." This excellent editorial deals with the President's message on school construction aid and with Senate bill 968, of which I am one of the cosponsors, along with my distinguished colleague from Connecticut [Mr. PURTELL]. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POSING A CHALLENGE TO COMMUNITY EFFORT

The past week's Eisenhower message on school aid proposes a program to arouse the American people to a community effort for schools and a community concern for education unparalleled in our history. At the same time it breaks precedent by having the Federal Government, for the first time, give direct aid to public-school construction throughout the country. But it does not pretend to be the final answer. The President has encouraged local and State authorities and citizens to come together in meetings throughout the country to find, if possible, some long-range solution that can later be set into law.

There is one thing upon which everyone agrees. We are not doing well enough now in educating our children. With waves of young bearing down upon an inadequate plant in the future, to be met by insufficient numbers of trained teachers, the prospect calls for immediate action. But the program proposed by Mr. Eisenhower is already under fire. It is seen by Senator LISTER HILL as presenting an interminable delay on the one hand, or a meager dole on the other. Its financial provisions are sharply criticized by those who would have Washington spend large sums on education. In this it might be well to quote from the President's press conference:

"[The Senators] criticized your program rather strongly yesterday as being inadequate and said it merely loaded more debts on the States and communities, which could not afford to pay the debt. * * *"

The PRESIDENT. "Did they mention the debt of the United States?"

It is easy to look to Washington to solve problems, just as it is easy to look to Hartford when the burden becomes heavy in smaller communities. But the political facts of life are that when the smaller governmental unit accepts financial aid from the larger, it leads to intervention and an inevitable measure of control. He who pays the piper calls the tune. If the Nation is to keep its independence, its variety in the face of pressure to conform, it must govern its affairs at the local level.

The Eisenhower program for Federal aid to education recognizes where the duties and responsibilities lie. It allows the purchase of bonds of districts where they are not readily marketable at a reasonable price; it assists the States in forming agencies outside the State government itself so that the difficulty of debt and other types of laws can be overcome; and finally, where clear need is shown, arranges for matching grants-in-aid.

The serious concern of the American people is that we provide continuing opportunities for the finest education possible to as many of our youngsters as possible. We want to encourage the talent and genius of our youth to flourish. We must if we are to survive and prosper. But fine education can't be measured in glossy schoolrooms. It can develop only from the effort and attention of the people of America who are directly concerned, the parents and citizens of the local communities. That is the challenge of the Eisenhower program.

Legislative Program of Veterans of Foreign Wars as It Pertains to Veterans' Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on February 15, 1955, the national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Mr. Merton B. Tice, appeared before the

Committee on Veterans' Affairs to present the legislative program of that organization for the consideration of the committee. In order that all Members of Congress may have an opportunity to examine this statement, it is included for the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF MERTON B. TICE, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, WITH RESPECT TO VFW LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to appear here this morning to discuss our Nation's responsibility to those who have served in the Armed Forces in time of war or national emergency and to the dependents of those who gave their lives in that service. I am especially grateful that you have scheduled this hearing so that it can be witnessed by this fine group here assembled. The group includes most of our national officers, major national committees and department officers from nearly every State and Territory. They constitute, in large measure, the leadership of our great organization and have an abiding interest in the work of this committee.

May I also express our appreciation to the 11 members who have elected to remain with this committee in the 84th Congress. Your background and experience in veterans' affairs will be invaluable to the new members, who in turn will contribute a fresh viewpoint and varied experience to the full committee.

THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

For the benefit of the new members may I point out that the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States was founded in 1899 by returning overseas veterans of the Spanish-American War. It is now composed of a million and a quarter members in 10,000 posts in every State and Territory and some foreign countries. Membership in our organization is restricted to men who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States on foreign soil or in hostile waters during a war, military campaign or expedition and are native or naturalized American citizens. Many national figures have held high office in our organization and I am pleased to acknowledge one of our ablest past commanders in chief, Gen. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY, as a distinguished member of this committee. A former member of this committee and distinguished colleague of yours in the House, JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania, is also a past commander in chief of our organization. Our common purpose "to honor the dead by helping the living" is given expression through our home for orphans in Eaton Rapids, Mich., and our National Rehabilitation Service, which offers free representation and counsel in the presentation of claims to all veterans and their dependents irrespective of membership in the VFW. One of our contributions toward making America a better place to live is an extensive community service program which had the active participation last year of more than 8,000 posts and 4,000 auxiliaries embracing some 275,000 projects. This is only a part of the program of service which is continually conducted on a nationwide basis by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and I mention it to establish understanding of the nature and purposes of our organization and because I take pride in these achievements.

I should like to proceed by discussing the questions raised by your letter of last December, Mr. Chairman; then I should like to comment on some major VFW legislative proposals and make some frank observations on general aspects of the veterans benefit program.

AMENDED FORM 10–P–10

The first question posed by your recent letter, Mr. Chairman, relates to the effect of the amended form 10–P–10, which requires applicants for hospital and/or medical care to list their assets and liabilities. Our 55th national encampment approved a resolution protesting the amended form and urging its discontinuance. Our opposition was not based on the fact that we favor free hospital and medical care for the nonservice disabled who can afford to pay for such treatment from private sources. In fact, for many years our service officers have been directed not to encourage hospital and medical care in non-service-connected cases for those who are able to pay. They have universally informed us that they have strictly adhered to this directive. Our opposition to the use of this form is based on the premise, first, that the applicant is already required to sign an affidavit that he cannot afford to pay, and second, that we consider abuses to be negligible. While we recognize that in such an extension program it is inevitable, regardless of the rules and regulations adopted, that there will be some isolated instances of hospitalization of persons who have the ability to pay. It is our belief, however, that the incidence of such violations will not be reduced by the amended form and, if our assumption in this respect is correct, the amended form serves no useful purpose. If it is not effective to reduce the abuses it seeks to correct, its continued use is not justified and we feel that in some cases it requires an unwarranted disclosure of personal information.

TERMINATION OF WARTIME BENEFITS

The second question submitted by your letter is in regard to the desirability of terminating wartime benefits for service during the Korean conflict. This has to some extent become a moot question by reason of the subsequent proclamation of the President terminating the emergency and benefits for service after that date. We supported your bill, Mr. Chairman, H. R. 587, to continue educational benefits for those in service prior to February 1, 1955, for the reason that simple justice required such action. It was not because of a conviction that compulsory peacetime service requires the continuation of wartime benefits. This broad question of the obligation of the Government to those who are required to perform service in peacetime is one that is under study in our organization. It is a very complex question and in the consideration of it we are not unmindful of the fact that in peacetime, military service is in some respects similar to Government service in positions which we generally characterize as civilian. The essential functions of Government engage the services of more than 2 million persons in positions which we commonly classify as civilian. It is significant that these positions in Government are filled by voluntary recruitment. In fact, the pay scales and working conditions are sufficiently attractive that people compete with each other through civil-service examinations for the privilege of obtaining them. National defense is at least an equally essential function of Government and employs even more citizens than is required to carry on governmental functions in so-called civilian capacities. Yet these defense positions in Government can only be entirely filled by using the police power of the state to compel performance of the duties required. In a limited mobilization many are excused from the compulsory service that some are required to perform. If this condition is to continue on a selective basis for an indefinite period, surely we will be required to give further consideration to this perplexing problem so that we may determine what, if any, obligation is owed to the few upon whom we impose the duty of national defense. We believe that the obligation, if any, is affected by the universality of service. If peacetime service is made universal, then it seems that there is less discrepancy in the obligation imposed upon our citizens and, consequently, less obligation on our part to offset the inequity through any benefit system. Important as this question may be, we feel it is not presently urgent since those who have been deprived of benefits by the Executive order will not be affected, except in a few instances, until their release from service, in February 1957. In the meantime, world tension may erupt into a violent war and remove the necessity for determination of this question but bring in its wake others far more difficult and agonizing.

RENOVATION OR REPAIR OF VA HOSPITALS

Question 3 deals with the need for major renovation or repair of existing Veterans' Administration hospitals and domiciliary homes. We recognize, of course, that there is no economy in postponing necessary repairs and in neglecting adequate maintenance. It is equally apparent that with the passage of time buildings acquire a certain degree of obsolescence, which raises the question of the desirability of remodeling older structures to conform to more modern requirements. Difficult problems arise in cases where temporary hospitals, while still in use, are to be replaced by new, modern structures. Some of the buildings that comprise the Winter General Hospital at Topeka, Kans., are not usable in their present condition, yet funds expended for extensive repairs will be of no benefit when the new hospital is completed and ready for use. The long time that elapses between the authorization for a new hospital in such cases and the date when such hospital is ready for use merely compounds the difficulty that arises in these instances. We believe that the expenditure of funds for the repair of temporary structures in such instances and the difficulties that attend the use of improperly maintained facilities can be greatly reduced by prompt action in the construction of replacement hospitals.

LOAN-GUARANTY DIFFERENCES

Question 4 relates to the operation of the VA loan-guaranty program, with particular reference to the difference in guaranty and entitlement under the guaranteed-loan program and the direct-loan program by the veterans purchasing residential property and certain classes of farm real estate to be used by the veteran for a home. We see no reason why the entitlement in the case of a home located on a farm should be $4,000, while the entitlement in case of homes located in a city is $7,500. I am pleased to say that we support legislation to extend the $7,500 entitlement to farm homes.

SCHOLARSHIP ASSISTANCE

Question 5 refers to the desirability of a modest scholarship-assistance program for dependent children of servicemen who lost their lives in the service of their country during a period of war. The 55th national encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars unanimously adopted a resolution approving the principle of such legislation and authorizing our national legislative committee to make appropriate recommendations to the Congress. If educational opportunities are to be denied children in such cases, the effect is to perpetuate and compound the hardships inflicted upon individuals by reason of their sacrifice to the Nation in time of war. We believe it is only fair to assume that one who has given his life in defense of the Nation could have provided educational opportunities for his children had he

lived. The cost of such a program is not prohibitive and we hope for early enactment of such legislation by this Congress.

FIVE-POINT PROGRAM

The 55th National Encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, meeting in Philadelphia, August 2–7, 1954, adopted numerous resolutions which established the official position of our organization. Our national legislative committee, working with our security committee and the chairmen of four other committees, has evaluated the resolutions adopted in Philadelphia and formulated a five-point program of top priority objectives, a copy of which is hereto attached for the information of the committee. The five-point program contains the following statement which succinctly sets forth our view as to the relationship of our objectives:

"Without adequate security all other American values, including representative government, individual freedom, social benefits, and economic resources would be jeopardized. Members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, as citizens and taxpayers, insist on intelligent economy in the operation of Government but oppose pinchpenny economy at the expense of security for the United States and care for those who have borne the brunt of battle, and their widows and orphans."

I wish to emphasize that we consider the security of the United States of paramount importance, and recognize our entire future and way of life depends upon it.

COMPENSATION AND PENSIONS

As to matters which come within the jurisdiction of this committee, I wish to express our disappointment that compensation increases, as established by the 83d Congress, did not conform to the recommendations of the Subcommittee on Compensation and Pensions when it originally reported H. R. 9020 to the full committee. As reported by the subcommittee, H. R. 9020 would have restored the traditional balance in the disability compensation schedule so that compensation payments would be commensurate with evaluated disability. The 10-percent increase as recommended by the subcommittee would have established the rate for permanent total disability at $190 per month, nearly equal to the increase in living costs since 1940. This was in accord with the recommendations of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of maintaining the same ratio between compensation and living costs as existed in 1940 when the Consumers Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics was at 100, and the compensation rate for permanent total disability was $100 per month. We hope that this Congress will see fit to revise the rates upward so as to remove the loss that has actually occurred in compensation rates by reason of the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar.

In addition to a general revision of compensation rates, we urge the committee to give consideration to H. R. 3808, recently introduced by the chairman at our request. This bill would grant a premium of 25 percent for disabilities incurred in combat with the enemy. It is a long-standing objective of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and is in accord with our view that a sound benefit system should consider the type of service rendered as in the case of active duty pay, bonuses, and mustering-out pay. While we recognize that a disability incurred in a stateside training camp is just as disabling as a similar disability incurred on the battlefield, we believe that the service rendered in the latter case is far more hazardous and merits an increased compensation rate.

We appreciate the conscientious and determined efforts of this committee which resulted in the 5-percent pension increase granted by Public Law 698, of the 83d Congress. However, in our view pension rates are still tragically inadequate. This is especially true in the case of the aging veterans of World War I, many of whom find it nearly impossible to exist with present high living costs. We must remember that World War I veterans did not receive educational aid and training benefits except for vocational handicaps. Thousands of veterans endured long and rigorous overseas service without proven service-incurred disability only to have disability catch up with them after discharge and, consequently, are now forced to exist upon the meager pension rate.

I would not be realistic if I did not recognize the increasing opposition to benefits for the nonservice disabled. Generally speaking, the public accepts benefits for service-connected disabilities and, of course, one could not reasonably take any other position in view of the widespread workmen's compensation laws which provide benefits for civilian workers who are injured in the course and scope of their employment. Compensation benefits have become so widespread that it is hardly exaggeration to say that the compensation program for veterans merely conforms to the program that has been established for the civilian population. If veterans are to be considered a special class deserving of benefits for wartime service—a view we support—the pension program for those whose disabilities occurred after discharge must be strengthened and continued. We are alarmed by the attacks on this program, which are exemplified by the following statement of the President, contained in his recent budget message:

"Our veterans' pension and compensation laws, in particular, are in need of constructive reconsideration. The non-service-connected pension system dates back to the Revolutionary War, and its principles require reexamination in the light of recent developments, including the nearly universal coverage of the old-age and survivors insurance system."

We will resist the increasing clamor to place the nonservice disabled under the old-age and survivors insurance system on the same basis as those who have not rendered wartime service to their country. If considerations of economy are to prevent the establishment of an adequate pension rate under existing rules of eligibility, then we must suggest that consideration be given to basing pension eligibility on length or type of service—or both—so that the thousands of overseas veterans with nonservice disabilities may receive adequate care.

The false alarm that has been expressed about the cost of the benefit program for the nonservice disabled has also resulted in a tightening of eligibility requirements within the Veterans' Administration. Our national rehabilitation service reports many cases where pensions have been terminated or denied by the Veterans' Administration on the strange theory that earnings within the income limitations represent the pursuit of a substantially gainful occupation. It seems illogical to us that the Congress, under its power to regulate interstate commerce, should require private employers to pay wages of not less than 75 cents per hour, while another agency of the Government holds that wages at a lesser rate constitute a substantially gainful occupation and thereby prohibit payment of part III benefits. At our request the chairman of the committee has introduced House Resolution 3807, which is designated to correct this situation by providing that in no event shall a substantially gainful occupation be deemed to exist if the income therefrom does not exceed the minimum wage in interstate commerce.

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON VETERANS PENSIONS

The Veterans of Foreign Wars is not unduly alarmed by the President's announcement of the appointment of a Commission on Veterans Pensions "to study the entire structure, scope, and philosophy of our veterans' pension and compensation laws in relation to each other and to other Government programs." We welcome any fair and impartial study since any sound program depends upon a true knowledge of the actual facts uncolored by exaggeration, distortion, or misrepresentation. Our chief concern comes from the possibility that such a Commission might approach its task with a preconceived idea that its principal purpose was to save money and, consequently, render a report which disregards many traditional American principles to which we subscribe. I do not wish to be understood as charging that the Presidential Commission will approach its task with that view. I merely recognize it as a possibility.

One other point of concern prompted by the President's action is the growing tendency of some public officials to express alarm over the cost of the veteran benefit program while remaining strangely silent on the costs of other Federal programs, such as foreign aid. Our 55th National Encampment in Philadelphia, concerned over administration opposition to compensation and pension increases, unanimously adopted a resolution on the opening day deploring the contrast in attitudes over veteran costs and foreign-aid costs. The resolution went on to point out that in less than 15 years United States taxpayers had shelled out some $83 billion in foreign aid while the total cost of compensation and pensions to veterans and their dependents during the past 160 years has amounted to less than $35 billion.

VETERANS' COMMITTEE INVESTIGATION

We are especially pleased by the approval of House Resolution 63, which authorizes and directs this committee to conduct an investigation and study of specified benefit programs with the view to determining if they are being conducted economically, efficiently, and in the best interests of all concerned. I pledge to the President's Commission and your committee the full and complete cooperation of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in the performance of these studies. We especially welcome an investigation into programs such as the home loan program, which necessarily depends upon the cooperation of persons outside of the Veterans' Administration, such as builders, lenders, and the real-estate industry. This is also true of the contract hosptial and medical program, and we believe that your inquiry into these matters will be of real assistance in insuring compliance with the intent of Congress.

HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL PROGRAM

Hospital and medical care for the sick and disabled is one of the most essential veteran benefits. For the information of the committee, I should like to read from a resolution of our 1954 national encampment, which states the position of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in regard to hospital and medical care:

(a) Unlimited hospitalization of veterans who have service-connected disabilities;

(b) Adequate hospitalization of veterans who have non-service-connected psychosis, tuberculosis, and other chronic diseases;

(c) Continued hospitalization of veterans who have other non-service-connected disabilities where beds are available and the veteran is unable to pay for private hospitalization; and the veteran's statement under oath that he is unable to pay shall be accepted as sufficient evidence of inability to pay;

(d) Continued construction of new hospitals and domiciliary facilities; and

(e) Vigorous opposition to programs of the American Medical Association and all other groups seeking to curtail the medical, hospital, and domiciliary program of the Veterans' administration.

It is a well-known fact that the high cost of hospital and medical care denies adequate treatment for all but the well-to-do. It is regrettable that notwithstanding this fact the spokesmen for the American Medical

Association continue their attacks on the Veterans' Administration hospital program. Sound statistical refutation of their charges by VA Medical Director Adm. Joel T. Boone and veterans' organizations have been ignored by AMA spokesmen and their irresponsible charges continue. We regret that a large segment of the press and public have been misled by their statements and in order to keep the record straight, I wish to reiterate that a bed census conducted from time to time by the Veterans' Administration reveals that less than 10 percent of the patients in VA hospitals on any given day come within the category of non-service-connected requiring hospitalization for 90 days or less. The exact number of these patients who could afford to pay is not known. We continue in our belief that the percentage is negligible and applaud the efforts of this committee to develop further information through your recent hospital questionnaire. I assure you that if the information thus developed indicates any significant abuse of the hospital and medical program that we will cooperate with you to the fullest extent in correcting those conditions.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I wish to again thank you for the privilege of appearing here today and remind you of our dinner tonight at the Statler Hotel honoring Members of Congress who have served in the Armed Forces. I will yield to our national legislative director, Mr. Omar B. Ketchum, who, I am sure, is well and favorably known to the members of this committee. Mr. Ketchum is prepared at this time to offer for the record a more complete statement of our legislative objectives.

FIVE-POINT PROGRAM OF TOP PRIORITY OBJECTIVES OF THE 1954–55 VFW NATIONAL PROGRAM

The following VFW five-point program is themed to security for the United States. Without adequate security all other American values, including representative government, individual freedom, social benefits, and economic resources would be jeopardized. Members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, as citizens and taxpayers, insist on intelligent economy in the operation of Government but oppose pinchpenny economy at the expense of security for the United States and care for those who have borne the brunt of battle, and their widows and orphans. All points and all items under the VFW five-point program have equal force and effect notwithstanding the order and sequence of presentation.

1. Security for the United States—A free economy, social benefits, and economic resources are dependent upon security:

(a) To adopt a system of universal military training or, in lieu thereof, a workable reserve program by amendments to existing law.

(b) To maintain the most powerful offensive and defensive Air Force in the world, together with an adequate Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.

(c) To promote stockpiling of strategic and critical materials.

(d) To support the National Guard plan of defense against sneak enemy air attacks.

(e) To enforce the Monroe Doctrine if and when any foreign nation intervenes in the internal affairs of any nation of the Western Hemisphere.

(f) To develop a strong mechant marine.

(g) Encourage participation in civil-defense programs.

2. Veterans' rights—recognition for service to security:

(a) To maintain and expand the VA hospital and medical program so as to insure to veterans of all wars adequate hospital care and medical treatment.

(b) To develop plans for educational and vocational training for dependent children of deceased veterans.

(c) To increase rates of compensation and pension; liberalize pension eligibility requirements, including VA regulations on unemployability; and reaffirm traditional VFW demand for liberalized World War I pension.

(d) To protect and strengthen veteran preference in Federal employment, together with a demand for sufficient funds, properly allocated, to be made available for public employment agencies.

(e) To establish a standing Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the United States Senate.

(f) Liberalize and protect housing loan programs.

3. Armed Forces personnel—adequate and competent personnel, with good morale, promotes security:

(a) To renegotiate any treaty with a foreign nation under which members of the United States Armed Forces serving therein are subject to criminal laws and trial in foreign courts with respect to offenses committed against foreign citizens or foreign property.

(b) To restore fringe benefits previously granted members of the Armed Forces and to expand hospital and medical care for their dependents.

(c) To seek the release of all Americans held as prisoners of war by the Communists.

(d) To study benefits provided under Federal law for the surviving dependents of deceased members and former members of the Armed Forces.

(e) To effectuate a program to fortify servicemen against enemy brainwashing.

4. Americanism—Promotes internal security:

(a) To maintain the sovereignty of the United States of America through opposition to all efforts to convert the United Nations into some form of World Government or Atlantic Union.

(b) To use vigilance in combating Communist infiltration and subversion in all phases of American life.

(c) To tighten Government regulations on security risks.

(d) To oppose admission of Red China to United Nations.

(e) To prevent international treaties and executive agreements from superseding the United States Constitution and domestic law unless implemented by legislation approved by both the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

(f) To designate, by Federal legislation, May 1 as Loyalty Day.

5. Domestic economy—A strong domestic economy depends upon and promotes security:

(a) To provide full productivity and employment through the construction of highways, schools, hospitals, and other projects in the public interest.

(b) To conserve and develop the natural resources of the United States.

(c) To provide for the creation of a self-liquidating Veterans' Employment and National Development Corporation, for the purpose of creating jobs and economic opportunities through broad lending powers and technical service to self-liquidating projects and businesses that will agree to employ veterans and to qualified veterans themselves.

(d) To provide adequate loan funds and personnel to enable a greater number of worthy and qualified veterans to become established on farms.

Reclassification of Postal Jobs and Increase in Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Tuesday, February 15, 1955:

I appear here today in support of H. R. 1592, a bill offered by Representative JAMES H. MORRISON. This bill provides for a reclassification of all postal jobs and sets up a 10-percent salary increase—or $400 per annum, whichever is the greater—for all postal workers. It provides also that after salaries are increased they shall then be adjusted to the nearest multiple of $100.

Let us take the case of letter carriers, for example: A letter carrier in 1939, claiming 3 exemptions, had a take-home pay of $2,007.47. This same letter carrier in 1952 took home $3,378.78. If we were to provide the equivalent purchasing power of 1939, the take-home pay should be $3,927.60, or a gross average for letter carriers of $4,800. The gross average, however, would be considerably less because the preponderating majority of letter carriers are not in the top longevity grade. This picture holds true not only for letter carriers but for postal clerks and others proportionately.

The administration takes the position that the Post Office Department should be self-supporting. I am in emphatic disaccord. Farmers receive from $750 million to $1 billion annually, depending upon the level of price supports. There are no questions asked with reference to farm parity supports and balancing anything. Business receives benefits totaling approximately $900 million. These are subsidies for airline companies and shipowners and others. We don't ask the companies thus aided to balance the Federal budget or any other budget of any department. In the same manner, the Post Office deficit should be charged to business and the public generally, because the loss sustained arises primarily in the handling of second-, third-, and fourth-class business mail.

We have many departments in the Federal Government where no question of income exists. We do not set a policeman's salary on the basis of the income of the police department. We don't set the salary of men who work for the FBI on the basis of the income received through the FBI. The Post Office Department renders a general public service for which the public generally must pay. The Postmaster General seems obsessed with the idea that the Post Office Department must be self-sustaining. If it is to be self-sustaining, then I suggest that Mr. Summerfield speak to the owners of publications like Life, Time, the Saturday Evening Post, Look, and others. They are the ones who do a great deal to create the deficit. But neither they nor the Federal employees should be charged with making up the deficit.

In these last years, there has been a greatly increased productivity on the part of postal employees. Frequently, wages are kept down because of inadequate productivity. Concomitantly, they should be raised where

increased productivity occurs. Postal employees have, in recent years, almost doubled their value and services in their workload and benefit to the public generally. It is estimated that a single employee handled 20 percent more mail per year in 1952 than in 1938.

One cannot exaggerate the importance of the work of our postal employees. They benefit immeasurably our industry, commerce, education, religions, politics, and our cultural development. We dare not be pinch-penny nor niggardly in our approach to an evaluation of the monetary value of their services.

Azusa, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, after years of ribbing by radio comedians and others, Azusa, Calif., has been recognized by the august New York Times.

I am proud to say that Azusa is in my congressional district and is one of the fastest growing cities in southern California.

Rich in historical lore, Azusa has passed through a transition from a Spanish rancho to an orange-growing area which is rapidly giving way to subdivisions of well-kept homes owned by the people who live in them. Azusa is also contributing to national defense with its mushrooming industrial plants.

The following is an article by Mr. Gladwin Hill, Los Angeles correspondent of the New York Times, which appeared in that newspaper on Sunday, February 13, 1955:

THE REAL AZUSA—TOWN EVEN OLDER THAN RADIO COMICS' JOKE

(By Gladwin Hill)

AZUSA, CALIF.—Tourists approaching Los Angeles on transcontinental U. S. 66 may be surprised to find themselves going through this town, which many people have thought must be a figment of radio comedians' imaginations. Actually, it is a flourishing community 25 miles east of Los Angeles.

Azusa boosters say their town has "everything from A to Z in the U. S. A." And in fact its activities range from that ancient pursuit of agriculture (it is a citrus center) to the plant of the Aerojet Engineering Corporation.

It is not true, however, that the town's name was concocted from this slogan by a fireball real estate promoter. The name far antedates real estate promoters.

There is one school of thought that the name came from an Indian dialect word variously spelled "Asuksumvit," "Asuksagna" and "Azuncsabit," but all meaning "place of skunks." It has no conspicuous concentration of skunks today. But the name Azusa Valley has been traced back as far as chronicles of the 1769 explorations of Gaspar de Portola.

LAND LITIGATION

Azusa is the gateway to beautiful San Gabriel Canyon, where gold was discovered in 1854. But the strike petered out within a decade, and the prospectors hurried on to the Mother Lode country of northern California.

A community entitled Mound City was laid out on the site in 1857, but never got off the ground. The area languished pastorally until the 1880's, when an English immigrant, Henry Dalton, bought a 12,000-acre tract that was part of an old Spanish land grant.

Protracted litigation with the United States Government, however, concluded with the ruling that title to the land, as a result of the transition from Mexican to United States sovereignty, was not clear. The area was opened up to homesteading. Dalton, to pay his litigation expenses, had to give up all his holdings except one 55-acre tract. It looked picayune then, but is nothing to sneeze at today. (Dalton's grandson is one of Azusa's leading citizens.)

Meanwhile Jonathan S. Slauson, the Los Angeles banker who had backed Dalton and acquired the property, laid out the present town of Azusa. People stood in line all night to buy lots, and paid as much as $15,000 for them—and express no regrets at having done so.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either Houre may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 63 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

The United States Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the American people are proudly congratulating a great conservation agency—the United States Forest Service—in celebrating, this month, its golden anniversary.

The accomplishments of this fine organization as it pioneered in improving, maintaining, and protecting our forests and streams have benefited our people from coast to coast. We are proud of this quiet, hard-working, competent group.

It is my pleasure here to throw a little light on one of the many outstanding groups in the Forest Service organization. The headquarters of the Forest Service's Southern Forest Experiment Station is located at my home, New Orleans. The southern station was established in 1921 when only a few visionary people looked upon timber as a replaceable resource. The station has been, and continues to be, a sturdy guidepost for good forestry in the loblolly- and shortleaf-pine forests of the mid-South, the hardwoods of the Arkansas and Tennessee uplands, the delta hardwoods, and the longleaf- and slash-pine lands of the lower South.

Research at the southern station has helped make possible the tremendous pine-planting program underway in the South. The contribution of the forest survey in determining the extent, volume, and condition of southern forest lands and in appraising probable future timber requirements has been of inestimable value to wood-using industries and in stabilizing communities. Research in the growth and economic possibilities of farm woodlands is showing the way toward an improved standard of living for thousands of small farm-forest landowners.

Yes; the foresters of the southern station are doing a great job—but they have an even greater job yet to do.

The census people say that as a nation we are now using more industrial wood and wood products than ever before. We sometimes forget that in addition to lumber, plywood, poles, crossties, and piling, many of our everyday commodities come from wood—paper, boxes, rayon, cellophane and plastics, to name just a few. And each year new products are added to the list. The census people further tell us there are 164 million people in the United States, and that in less than 20 years the figure will be raised to 210 million. Forty-six million more Americans will be demanding more and more wood.

Where are we to get this wood? There is no doubt about it, our forests from Oregon down to Louisiana and up to Maine must be managed at their best to meet the demand. Within our Southland, the region with one of the greatest forest potentials is the Longleaf Slash Pine Belt. This region blessed with high rainfall and long growing season lies across the lower South from east Texas and Louisiana to Georgia and Florida—50 million acres of some of the best timberland in America, but 50 million acres growing trees at less than one-fourth capacity. These capable lands are growing 20 good trees where they should be growing 100.

America can no longer afford the luxury of idle, or even half-idle, land. America needs the wood and the people of the forest commmunities need the steady jobs—steady jobs that productive forests can offer.

The lower South supports a growing population of 10 million people—people who have lived on the land in the past—people who are inseparable from the land in the future. Yet, in this era of general prosperity there are still many unstable communities in the Longleaf Slash Pine Belt—communities with submarginal incomes.

Good forestry and forest research are making great strides. Much has been accomplished, but many tough problems remain. The extensive planting of southern pines has been a real help, but the problems go much deeper. For example, we need better ways of using or removing low-quality and worthless weed trees now encumbering southern forests. Important forest management research in the longleaf-slash pine forests of Louisiana, Mississipppi, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida must be continued and strengthened to keep pace with the requirements of southern industrial development.

More and more people are becoming familiar with the many pine seedling nurseries throughout the South, with the tremendous job they are doing and have left to complete. Last year 60 million pine seedlings were grown in Louisiana alone, yet at the present rate of planting it will take more than 50 years to do the job. Research and industry together must find ways to speed the task of reforestation—perhaps by planting seeds directly on areas needing restocking instead of seedlings grown in nurseries and by finding ways of making our best trees produce more seed.

Another problem is the growth of longleaf pine—one of the finest timber trees in the world. Longleaf seedlings often grow less than a foot in height during their first 10 years. This delay costs the South colossal volumes of wood annually—wood that could provide steady jobs for the people in the forests and in the mills. If research can solve the problem, the solution will be a spectacular achievement with Southwide application.

Most of the beef cattle in the lower South graze part or all of the year on forest ranges. Although these forest ranges produce tons of grass and good grazing, meat production per animal is too low. We need more efficient ways to convert this grass to beef, and we must also learn how to profitably raise timber and cattle simultaneously.

Forestry is not the mere growing of trees. If America is to remain strong, our forests must produce high-quality materials—both timber and forage, and in large volumes, in the shortest possible time. Pulp and paper mills are playing a greater and greater part in the southern forest economy. Less than 20 years ago, only 31 paper mills were operating in the South. Today there are 67 and more are under construction. What is the impact of these mills? We must learn how to grow and how to use our forests to supply the demands of both pulp mills and sawmills.

These are just a few of the problems that we are counting on the Forest Service to help solve. Forests mean jobs and payrolls. The history of the world has shown that depleted forests and depleted nations go hand in hand. But thanks to men of vision, America's forests are a renewable resource managed for permanency. We congratulate the Forest Service at its golden anniversary—and we expect even greater accomplishments during the next 50 years.

Residual Oil Versus Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, when Mr. Charles P. Taft, president of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, testified before the Committee on Ways and Means and the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, he took it upon himself to act as the champion for the entire foreign trade program, and in doing so belittled the effects which the importation of oil and glass in competition with domestic industry and labor was having upon our national economy.

Mr. Taft, in his appearance before these committees as president of the Committee for a National Trade Policy,

although he did not mention it, was not entirely unselfish in his presentation. Mr. Taft, if he is not now, has been in the past, registered as the agent for a foreign government representing the government of Venezuela and the Venezuelan Chamber of Commerce. Therefore, when, in Mr. Taft's statement, he devotes some very specific, pointed remarks to the efforts of the coal industry to obtain relief from the damaging imports of foreign oil which have greatly reduced coal's market on the east coast, he joins in a very well organized and highly financed campaign being conducted by some of the richest and most powerful oil companies, to destroy vital segments of our industry.

Mr. Taft, as well as other spokesmen for the major oil companies, seven of whom control the entire world petroleum market, attempt to belittle, discredit, and destroy an industry that supplies the Nation's biggest source of energy that keeps the electric power and steel industries operating, and which is the keystone of the prosperity of the railroad, chemical, and other related industries.

The coal industry, in an appearance before the House Ways and Means Committee which is now considering a proposed extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, testified that the coal industry must have a quota limitation on residual fuel oil imports if it is to remain competitive in the large east coast energy market. The coal industry has not asked for absolute elimination of the imports of foreign oil. The request has been modest and only asks that the House committee write into the Trade Agreements Bill, and that Congress vote it, an amendment limiting foreign oil imports, including residual oil imports, to 10 percent of the domestic demand for petroleum products in the corresponding quarter of the previous year. Such a formula would mean only that the level of imports that would be permitted would be the same as the level of imports which prevailed during the postwar period from 1946 to 1951.

I support that request as reasonable—so do a growing number of my colleagues.

The reaction of the oil industry spokesmen, including Mr. Taft, has been one of hysterical denunciation of the coal industry. In addition, the oil industry spokesmen and Mr. Taft have made statements and quoted figures, in attempts to disparage the coal industry's contention, which are deliberately misleading.

In his statement before this committee, Mr. Taft asked for all the facts, "not the selected ones which coal spokesmen and their auxiliaries bring to this committee." Then Mr. Taft cited facts of his own which add up to half-truths and untruths. Mr. Taft asks for facts. Well, let us have the facts about the amount of coal displaced by oil imports. Coal producers and coal shippers, shipping to industries and public utilities on the east coast, know the reason for the discontinuance of these shipments to their East customers. As an example, a coal producer or shipper has an order with an industry for a certain tonnage of coal. He is notified that shipments must be discontinued. He is given the reason; if not, he requests it. Now, by simple addition, the total number of tons of coal displaced, added up, totals approximately 32 million tons per year. It is just as simple as that, and it is accurate.

The coal industry does not need the juggling of figures as to railroads and natural gas and light fuels, and the tonnage lost to other industries. I do not know what "other industries" mean, nor do I know what he means by "light fuels." But the facts are as I have stated above about the loss of tonnage.

Does Mr. Taft think for one moment the amount of residual oil being shipped to the United States is not displacing coal at all? What is being done with it? What is the purpose of shipping it then?

He said that heavy residual fuel oil consumption increased by only 11 million tons coal equivalent in the United States between 1947 and 1953. Actually, the increase of foreign residual fuel oil—including that refined from foreign crudes—increased from 17 million tons coal equivalent in 1946 to 47 million tons coal equivalent in 1954, or an increase of 30 million tons.

The fact is that foreign fuel oil represents a type of competition without end or limit, with the capacity—through dump pricing and shifting the cost to other oil products—to drive coal completely off the east coast. Foreign oil has taken over approximately 50 percent of the coal competitive energy market on the east coast.

Mr. Taft said shutting out residual oil would definitely hurt American manufacturers in 30 States employing 30,000 people in manufacturing for export to Venezuela. But the damage already done to the coal industry has contributed to a decline of employment in American coal mining from 400,000 men in 1950 to 214,000 in 1954, has cost the coal miners $81 million in wages or the equivalent of 25,000 jobs for 1 year, and cost railroad labor $44 million in wages. Approximately 75,000 miners went off the payrolls in 1954 alone.

Mr. Taft said that the real employment problem in coal mining is the turn to strip mining which he said accounts for fully 25 percent of total bituminous production. Actually, strip mining production in 1953—the latest year for which statistics are available—represent only 23.1 percent of the total national production of bituminous coal. In 1947, strip-mine production represented 22.1 percent of the total national production—an increase of only 1 percent in 6 years. These facts are certainly far different from those presented by Mr. Taft in support of his misinformation that "the real employment problem in coal mining is the turn to strip mining."

The number of strip mines has declined from 1,750 in 1947 to 1,554 in 1953; production has declined from 139,395,000 tons in 1947 to 105,448,000 tons in 1953 and the number of men employed in strip mines has fallen from 43,338 in 1947 to 31,088 in 1953.

Mr. Taft says, "This is a technological change opposed as vigorously by the United Mine Workers as is the importation of residual oil, but with less publicity."

The United Mine Workers do not oppose, never have, technological changes. Their vigorous opposition of strip mining has been against the nonunion strip miners. Historically the United Mine Workers have encouraged technological improvements in coal mining. It is exemplified by the fact in the United States the average production of coal per day is 8 tons. In England and on the Continent where these changes were opposed by the union, the average is 1½ tons per man per day.

At the mine the cost is lower than it is abroad.

Mr. Taft in his statement, implied that with a bituminous coal production of 400 million tons in 1954, the addition of only 70 million tons would be ample for this country's war needs. The actual facts do not support Mr. Taft's statement. In the first year of World War II, the requirements for coal rose 130 million tons and coal supplied 82 percent of the grand total added energy needs in the first year of the war. Likewise, Mr. Taft failed to mention that in World War II the supplies of foreign oil on the east coast received by tanker, dropped 93 percent as a result of submarine sinkings.

Seemingly, Mr. Taft attempts to present himself as a technical expert in coal production when he says "existing mines by going to a full week without overtime, could add 150 to 200 million tons a year." Mr. Taft assumes that the current production capacity of the bituminous coal industry is 670 million tons annually. That figure is for 1953 and it ignores completely the current availability of manpower and the condition of the necessary machinery and equipment to produce coal. Between October 1953 and October 1954, according to the Bureau of Mines, there was a reduction of 74,000 miners. The Bureau of Mines figure of capacity is directly related to days worked and number of employees. With the indicated reduction of employees by 27 percent, the potential capacity is cut proportionately. On that basis mine capacity as of October 1954 would have been more nearly at less than 500 million tons.

As a matter of fact, as of now the anticipated coal mine production for 1955 is much less than 500 million tons—more nearly 400 million tons.

Mr. Taft makes the categorical statement "that there is no evidence that shutting out residual oil helps coal," and then he continues with a personal observation that he personally found "that the mines in southern Kentucky and Tennessee on the Southern Railroad at least, had no competition from residual oil since the last reduction in freight rates down there." These statements are wholly untrue. In the first place, foreign oil today potentially displaces 32 million tons of coal equivalent, principally in the east coast energy markets. In fact, through operation of various price understandings and market agreements within the oil cartel, bituminous coal is now virtually wiped out of the

east coast energy market, and if the flood of imported oil continues, it will be wholly eliminated. The present coal displacement by foreign oil represents approximately 25 percent of the total production of coal in the principal coal mining States of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, and such a tonnage reduction sponsors a chain reaction which affects the entire coal producing areas.

Mr. Taft's statement regarding the mines in southern Kentucky and Tennessee is contradicted by the President of the Southern Appalachian Coal Operators Association, which is made up of the coal mine owners in southern Kentucky and Tennessee, who in a telegram to the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, says:

Regarding Mr. Taft's testimony that coal mines Southern Appalachian area particularly those located on Southern Railway have been materially helped in competition with residual oil by reduction in freight rates. Reduced freight rates have helped a few cases in competition with natural gas but cannot find in any instance of help in competition with residual oil sufficient to regain or hold coal in these seaboard markets.

The record shows that residual fuel oil imports are being dumped primarily in one geographic area, namely the east coast, the heart of our industrial arsenal. This foreign residual oil originates in the main from Venezuela, which today is living on a level of prosperity unequalled by any section of the United States, principally because the majority of the income in Venezuela is derived from taxes amounting to 50 percent of the value of the petroleum products which it exports—90 percent to the United States.

It is time for the Congress to end the folly of destroying a major portion of our domestic industry, namely coal mining and domestic oil production, with unreasonable and excessive importations of foreign oils. Further, it is time for the oil industry spokesmen, including Mr. Taft, to temper presentations, such as that made before these committees, with some factual research and reasonableness so that the consideration of their own selfish interests might be leavened somewhat by a respect for American businessmen and workers, who today are being seriously and vitally affected economically by trade advantages granted to foreign nations.

The Brilliant and Beneficial 40-Year Record of Service of International Kiwanis, 1915 to 1955—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, as an honorary member of the Southwest Los Angeles Kiwanis Club, I take pleasure in including in my remarks the 40-year record of service to mankind of the International Kiwanis Club.

It has been an unselfish service of the greatest good to the greatest number which has made life better for everyone it has touched.

I am proud to be associated with such a fine group of loyal Americans.

Part I of the record follows:

Nineteen hundred and fifteen was the sunrise period for Kiwanis, the year an exciting new idea entered the lives of a few business and professional men in Detroit and in Cleveland, Ohio. Allen S. Browne, a professional organizer, set about forming a mutual-interest club for Detroit businessmen. The first one he signed up was a merchant tailor named Joe Prance. Then, in swift succession, came Harry Cowden, Charles Young, Don Johnston, and George Haas. With over 100 other pioneers they set up the first club. Like ripples spreading outward in a still pond, Kiwanis expanded beyond the limits of the community where it was born. Later in that same eventful year, Cleveland businessmen found the Kiwanis idea had a magic appeal. They too set up a club and thus established the universality of what was soon to become an international movement. The mists of four decades obscure those formative months, and today we view our beginnings with a sense of awe. We must marvel at the thin thread of probability which held the whole proposition together in spite of certain personal difficulties that threatened more than once to capsize Kiwanis. Perhaps faith is a better word than probability. For it was faith in a broad ideal, as yet largely undefined, that guided those early Kiwanians.

Nineteen hundred and sixteen saw Kiwanis grow from 2 to 32 clubs. One of those was in Hamilton, Ontario, and its founding made Kiwanis international. Dimly aware of the implications of their birth, these new clubs were touched with human curiosity about the Kiwanis clubs and Kiwanians—some said "Keewanisers"—in other cities. Out of this vague desire to know each other came the first convention, held in Cleveland. A constitution was drawn up and international officers were chosen.

Nineteen hundred and seventeen: The speed with which Kiwanis spread from community to community confounded even those who had given birth to the original idea. A second convention was held in Detroit. The delegates decided that their emblem would be the words "Kiwanis Club" enclosed in a double circle. The international president was reelected—the only such occurrence in Kiwanis history. A conflict was shaping up between those who believed Kiwanis should be materialistic and others who felt the urge to serve.

Nineteen hundred and eighteen: The official magazine described Kiwanis thus: "Its purpose is personal advantage. Its advantage is social advantage." The armistice came, and Kiwanis counted 353 casualties out of a total membership of 10,000. O. Sam Cummings was elected as the first full-time international secretary and a two-room headquarters was established in Chicago. The magazine was overhauled and Roe Fulkerson became editor. From this vantage point, he was to exert a powerful influence on Kiwanis thinking.

Nineteen hundred and nineteen: At the historic Birmingham convention, Kiwanis "bought itself" from Allen S. Browne who had, until that time, exercised much control. The price raised by pledges on the convention floor: $17,500. Alert to the threat of communism, some Kiwanians conducted an "America for Americans" campaign which, according to one observer, "drove the Red agitators mad." A nonmember observed: "Kiwanians are boosters of the most eloquent type. A pessimist cannot live long in their atmosphere."

Nineteen hundred and twenty: A decade of phenomenal expansion was beginning. There were 267 clubs and 28,500 members, and across the continent the new organization with an Indian name was capturing the fancy of business and professional men. A club-building tempo was begun which was to set an all-time record. At the Portland convention, Kiwanis adopted as its motto the meaningful phrase "We Build." The first Canadian international president held office during part of this year.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-one: The exciting concept of community service was sweeping the young organization. This found expression in certain broad policies which were beginning to emerge. Great emphasis was being placed on the development of rural-urban cooperation, public affairs and work with underprivileged children. A second international secretary, Fred C. W. Parker, began what was to be a 20-year period of service. Two hundred and sixty-nine new clubs, a record number, were built during 1921–22.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-two: The first observance of United States-Canada Day was held in April and this highlighted a growing Kiwanis emphasis on the need for international understanding. Toward this end the international convention was held in Toronto and a Canadian was elected international president. The present system of district organization was shaping up. Kiwanis adopted officially a set of administrative policies to guide clubs in their activities. In later years these became known as objectives and were to be used widely.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-three: Realizing the need for a revised set of rules and standards, Kiwanis issued the official call for a constitutional convention to be held the following year in Denver, Colo. Months ahead of the meeting ideas were simmering throughout Kiwanis. Clubs on both sides of the border were enthused about a memorial to Kiwanian Warren G. Harding, a charter member of the Marion, Ohio, club. Kiwanians in many clubs gave money to finance the project, which cost $44,559.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-four: During this important year much of the growing organization's thought and energies were devoted to drafting a workable legal framework. Out of the 1924 constitutional convention came these lasting results: (1) The six unchanging objects; (2) the organization machinery through which Kiwanis International now operates. This included creation of the International Council and defining the functions of major committees. (3) Kiwanis International became the official name.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-five: The first Key Club was founded in Sacramento, Calif. Few realized the significance of this event, which was to burgeon into the largest single continuing Kiwanis activity after World War II. The International Council convened in Chicago, and for the first time governors-elect assembled to plan in advance for their administrations. Similar meetings subsequently developed on the club and district levels. The Harding international goodwill memorial was dedicated in Vancouver.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-six: The rapid growth of Kiwanis was emphasized by 2 things that happened during 1926: (1) Membership climbed to almost 100,000, which caused Kiwanians to realize the importance of their role in the service club movement. (2) The largest Kiwanis convention to date was held at Montreal. A total of 5,248 men and women registered, representing 1,546 clubs. For the first time the term "Objectives" was used to define those broad service categories to which clubs were directing their energies.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-seven: The end of prosperity seemed nowhere in sight, and the spirit of happy optimism prevailed.

Kiwanis clubs in the United States were helping the Dominion of Canada celebrate her diamond jubilee. Youth work, public affairs and rural-urban cooperation were assuming ever greater importance. The International Board authorized a system of field service contracts to determine the problems of existing clubs. This was to prove of great value during the depression.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-eight: The leaders of Kiwanis International saw increasing evidence of the need to help club and district officers bring the broad Kiwanis service program to focus in every Kiwanis community. For this reason the present comprehensive leadership training setup was established. As a result, Kiwanis has since paced the whole service club movement in leadership training. This ascendency has been reflected, through the years, in the steadily increasing Kiwanis community services.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-nine: The degree of Kiwanis interest in underprivileged child work was revealed in a survey made public in 1929. It showed that 95 percent of all clubs were carrying on UPC projects. The stock market crash cast an ominous shadow over Kiwanis. For the first time the young organization faced the gloomy prospect of a membership loss as business conditions worsened. To survive, Kiwanis began trimming its sails—by strengthening leadership and service programs on club and district levels.

Nineteen hundred and thirty: Hard times halted the steady membership growth which had been registered every year since 1915. The actual loss of less than 1,000 men cut the Kiwanis roster to 102,811. As an antidote to the hard times, emphasis was placed upon the organization's widening service program. Administratively, it was a period of belt tightening. Officers were more conscious than ever of the need to reduce costs and at the same time increase service to clubs. This set a pattern which still prevails.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-one: Old man depression killed only one Kiwanis club this year, but he claimed as casualties some 5,000 Kiwanians. The general office moved to its present location in what was then the undeveloped outskirts of Chicago's main business district. In an effort to broaden their already widespread youth program, Kiwanians adopted a new objective dealing with both boys and girls work. This paved the way for Kiwanis activity in fields outside of the underprivileged category.

Nineteen hundred and thirty two: "Back to the Birthplace—Forward in Kiwanis," was the convention theme as Kiwanians gathered in Detroit for the second time since the founding 17 years before. A serious but enthusiastic group of conventioneers swung behind their leaders to launch a new and vigorous attack on the depression. This included programs of morale building, support to schools, stabilizing employment, economy in government, and furtherance of good citizenship.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-three: The President and Congress of the United States formally recognized "I Am an American Day," which Kiwanis had originated. Everyone was enthusiastic about the book titled "Outline for Citizenship," written by the international president. The appalling severity of the great depression was reflected in the membership figures, which reached a low point of 79,589 before resuming their traditional upward course. Kiwanis not only survived; the lean years prepared the way for a great expansion.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-four: "The dark clouds of doubt are scurrying away," declared the international president, viewing the national scene. "There is a stimulating freshness in the air. Membership is increasing by leaps and bounds." Indeed, the tide had turned. Membership jumped 4,000 and only 1 club was lost during this year. And at the 1934 Toronto convention, club delegates heard these inspiring words: "Kiwanis has been tested by these difficult times, and we are grateful that it has not been found wanting."

The Brilliant and Beneficial 40-Year Record of Service of International Kiwanis, 1915 to 1955—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the record of International Kiwanis during the past 40 years previously referred to:

Nineteen hundred and thirty-five: The increasing interest in churches began to take recognizable form. Kiwanians were talking about some sort of regular program for support of churches in their spiritual aims. Kiwanis observed its 20th anniversary with 1,858 clubs and some 86,000 members. Twelve Canadian clubs joined with New England Kiwanians in laying the first Kiwanis peace tablet on the United States-Canadian boundary. Since then 25 others have been dedicated, attesting to the friendship between our nations.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-six: The President of the United States made an appearance at the international convention in Washington, D. C., where he saluted 4,037 visitors for the active role Kiwanis was playing in the fight against the retreating depression. A prominent part of this vigorous program was the open forums Kiwanis was sponsoring to promote thought and action on public questions such as the use of leisure time, business stabilization, and administration of relief and other Government services brought about by the hard times.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-seven: Clubs reported more than 30,000 separate service projects, giving dramatic meaning to the annual theme: "Kiwanis builds better communities." The system for reporting club projects developed in this period was the foundation for the present method of tabulating activities by Kiwanis International. These carefully recorded totals serve as an index of current trends in club thought and action. Kiwanis began plans for a foundation to administer bequests made to international.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-eight: Kiwanis services continued expanding year after year. Nineteen hundred and thirty-eight saw an increase of 17 percent in club activities. The 2,000th club was formed. The international convention was held in San Francisco and delegates were voicing the theme "The Golden Gate in thirty-eight." The first key club district was established in Florida. Sixty-five affiliated key clubs were included in what was actually the beginning of the Kiwanis-type administrative pattern for key clubs.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-nine: Once again the world went to war. Canada stood with Britain in opposing Nazi aggression and thus cast aside the pursuits of peace to defend the principle of freedom. Under these conditions, Kiwanis appropriately began observing United States-Canada Good-Will Week every year instead of biennially, as in the past. On the verge of its silver anniversary, Kiwanis was also on the eve of a wartime renaissance which was to heighten its vitality, broaden its horizons and win the organization public acclaim.

Nineteen hundred and forty: To celebrate its 25th anniversary, Kiwanis International laid a wreath on the grave of Joe Prance, the first Kiwanian, and put up a plaque at Detroit's Griswold Hotel, where the first club met. Twenty-five silver dollars adorned the huge birthday cake at the silver anniversary banquet in Detroit. Meanwhile, Canadian clubs were providing entertainment, food and other services for fighting men. There were 2,099 clubs and 109,856 Kiwanians.

Nineteen hundred and forty-one: Pearl Harbor brought the United States into the war to which she had been morally committed by her common bond with the freedom-loving peoples. The International president mobilized the vast resources of Kiwanis over a nationwide radio hookup, then arranged a meeting between heads of the major service clubs to see how all could make the utmost contribution. International Secretary Parker retired after 20 years of service. Kiwanis moved swiftly into a broad emergency program.

Nineteen hundred and forty-two: At its last full convention till the end of hostilities, Kiwanis pledged itself to "morale building for the war effort." More than morale was built by energetic Kiwanians on the home front, however. They started collecting scrap rubber and metal, sponsoring victory gardens, marshalling blood donations, entertaining troops and watching over the dependents of men who were fighting overseas. The new International secretary helped coordinate the swiftly growing Kiwanis victory effort.

Nineteen hundred and forty-three: Because of wartime travel restrictions, a limited convention was held in Chicago. Although the attendance was a fraction of normal, the spirit of Kiwanis burned at white heat. "Victory! By United Effort—By Individual Service" was a theme admirably suited to the present activities of Kiwanis. (By war's end. clubs had sold an average of more than $70,000 war bonds each.) Kiwanis was sending a newsy, monthly bulletin called "Contact" to all of the 15,000 Kiwanians in service.

Nineteen hundred and forty-four: Membership climbed to an alltime high of 132,005 as Kiwanians labored for a common goal: "All Out for Victory." Kiwanis meetings became important community forums where wartime problems were discussed. With victory in sight, Kiwanians redoubled their efforts on the home front, performing an astounding number of vital services. Kiwanis was represented by official observers at the United Nations conference, which millions hoped would lead to never-ending world peace.

Nineteen hundred and forty-five: Kiwanis was keyed to victory with the theme: "Win the War—Build for Peace." The final totals for wartime service showed that Kiwanis clubs had sold over $2 billion worth of war bonds and stamps, collected more than 3 million tons of valuable scrap and contacted over 6 million members of the Armed Forces by letter and other means. The Legion of Honor was established to recognize the contribution made by men who had served Kiwanis for 25 or more years.

Nineteen hundred and forty-six: Kiwanis clubs were formed in Alaska and the Yukon Territory, and membership increased by almost 15,000 during the first full year of peace. A record crowd of 9,346 came to Atlantic City for the gala victory convention. Kiwanis was protesting against the continuation of wartime controls which were widely considered as a barrier to recovery. Key club became a full-fledged part of the Kiwanis program, with its own international structure paralleling that of Kiwanis.

Nineteen hundred and forty-seven: Kiwanis built more than 200 new clubs, 3 of

them in Hawaii. Sentiment was growing in favor of outlawing lotteries in connection with Kiwanis projects. International President Jay N. Emerson died on the eve of the great Chicago convention. He was the first president to pass away while in office. Some Kiwanians were considering the need for a Kiwanis-sponsored organization for college men. Called Circle K, the new idea was beginning to gather force and direction.

Nineteen hundred and forty-eight: The longstanding Kiwanis interest in preservation of freedom found expression in the It's Fun To Live in America and It's Great To Be a Canadian pamphlet series produced by Kiwanis International. Clubs circulated more than 16,200,000 of these folders. Our awareness of the realities of world leadership was reflected in the growing number of public affairs activities. Much interest was shown in the United Nations, housing, universal military training, and other vital matters.

Nineteen hundred and forty-nine: Kiwanis sponsored its first congressional dinner in Washington, D. C., honoring Kiwanians in the highest branches of Federal Government. Since then Kiwanis has sponsored similar meetings every 2 years. (Testimonials for Canadian legislators are held on alternate years.) The first Kids' Day was held, with 1,239 clubs participating. The 3,000th Kiwanis club was formed in the city of Lancaster, New Brunswick. The Freedoms Foundation cited our It's Fun To Live in America series.

Nineteen hundred and fifty: The International board adopted a long-range goal of 250,000 members and 4,000 clubs by the 40th anniversary in Cleveland. Floods inundated Canada's Red River Valley. In a spontaneous gesture of international good will, some 457 clubs on both sides of the border contributed money for flood relief. Newfoundland had recently joined the Dominion of Canada, and in 1950 the first Kiwanis club was built on this northern island.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-one: Another war—this one in Korea—inspired a new degree of national and community service. For the third time in Kiwanis history, clubs were busy selling war bonds, conducting blood and conservation drives. The growing awareness of communism's menace was emphasized by the international president and reflected in the number of club services aimed at preserving and strengthening the established way of life. In this category, the It's Fun To Live in America series was adapted for radio.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-two: The international convention in Seattle was highlighted by a vigorous assault on certain internal forces which "threatened the integrity of the Constitution of the United States." Kiwais clubs joined together in a massive effort to get out the vote for a nationwide United States election. Under the banner of the ballot battalion, hundreds of clubs worked alone and with other local organizations to stimulate public awareness of the basic issues and then to bring voters to the polls.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-three: The international convention in New York City set the alltime attendance record with 11,532 Kiwanis people registering. Sessions were held in Madison Square Garden. Delegates decided once more against extending Kiwanis into foreign countries. Circle K, the Kiwanis-sponsored organization for college men, was expanding steadily. Hundreds of clubs joined in supporting Radio Free Europe, a private anti-Communist network which broadcasts the truth to people behind the Iron Curtain.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-four: A historic development was the decision by an overwhelming majority of clubs to construct a permanent home office for Kiwanis International. Extension boomed, and more new clubs were built than in any 1-year period since 1922. Membership moved steadily forward toward the quarter-million mark. A second series of pamphlets called the Minuteman enjoyed a circulation exceeding 6 million copies as part of the continuing Kiwanis program of strengthening the national heritage. Some 1,400 radio stations were using Kiwanis religious radio recordings. Hundreds of clubs were taking part in the nationwide crusade for traffic safety. Kiwanians were making an organized effort to understand the complex farm problems which affect farm and city. Kids' day was held under Kiwanis sponsorship with 2,000 clubs participating. Vocational guidance reasserted its importance as a Kiwanis program with many clubs emphasizing this type of service. As 1954 drew to a close, there was a growing awareness that the year ahead, while marking 40 years of growth, would also mark 40 years of preparation for tomorrow.

OBJECTIVES FOR 1955

1. Enhance the spiritual life of our people, giving active support to churches.

2. Champion human dignity, individual initiative, and free enterprise.

3. Help to make our schools the finest possible training grounds for responsible citizenship.

4. Sponsor community activities and strengthen homes to combat delinquency and guide our boys and girls to sound maturity.

5. Work for effective highway safety.

6. Elect, support, and recognize worthy public officials.

7. Provide leadership in the conservation and development of our natural resources.

8. Maintain and foster friendship, understanding, and cooperation between Canada and the United States.

9. Strive with all our power to promote world peace and strengthen the United Nations.

10. Make our 40th anniversary of service a challenge for greater achievement.

FORWARD IN KIWANIS

We have all been traveling down a road together. Arm in arm, we have moved from 1 milestone to the next until today we find ourselves at No. 40. Here the road forks. One branch is straight and level. It goes on and on until the road is lost in the mist.

The other fork winds upward over narrow ridges and chasms. The grade is steep. The way is sometimes clogged with boulders. But it leads to the summit of the towering mountain—this we can see.

Which road shall we take as we venture on beyond 40? The smooth pathway that leads to nowhere? Or the rough one which will, with God's grace, carry us to a commanding height of land?

This, my friends, is the choice before Kiwanis on our 40th birthday.

One path—the easy one—is tempting. But if we choose to tread its course, old age will have set in upon us. For the sake of our own ease and comfort, will we be content to jog along, enjoying a pleasant, placid journey to oblivion?

The other course then? Looking up this pathway, we know the climb will be rugged. But even from where we stand we can see that the goal—the snow-capped summit—will be worth attaining. The choice before us was also the choice of the pioneers who built our two nations. A century ago they were crossing the plains in lumbering Conestoga wagons laden with children, furniture, and courage. After weeks of endless prairie they saw the mountains shimmering in the distance. The land through which they passed was fertile. Game was plentiful. And the pioneers' bones ached from months of jarring travel.

The temptation was to take the easy course—to stop and avoid the trails that lay ahead. Some did unload their wagons, build their homes and break the virgin prairie sod. But others—most of the others—kept on going. They took the rugged road that led through howling mountain passes, Indian ambushes, deep snows, and treacherous cliffs. Some faltered. Many died. But a thin stream of civilization trickled over the mountains and two new nations reached the outward limits of their destiny.

The lesson seems clear: The easy road, the way of least resistance, is not worth taking. By following the rugged path of challenge we continue to be worthy of those many men whose pioneering efforts have built our nations and our beloved Kiwanis.

The rugged road means ever-expanding service: More children saved from poor health and delinquency. More towns salvaged, by civic alertness, from strangulation. More religious faith established in the hearts of millions. More courageous citizenship that defies corruption. And more dynamic leadership for the free world.

This is the difficult road, but it leads straight to freedom, the shimmering goal of all men since time began.

This is the path for Kiwanis!

After 40 years of climbing up the rugged trail we shall not turn away down the sluggard's road. They say that life begins at 40. My Kiwanis friends, our life is truly beginning if we, at 40, have the courage to choose the path of continued challenge.

DAN E. ENGDAHL,
President, Kiwanis International.

Peace Campaign and a War Pledge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks I include an article written by Marquis Childs appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 16, 1953.

While I do not challenge or disagree with this observation the concluding sentence of Mr. Childs' article could well and correctly have been "That is, indeed, an extraordinary example of patriotism—particularly by the Democrats."

I feel confident Mr. Childs would not oppose this amendment.

The article follows:

PEACE CAMPAIGN AND A WAR PLEDGE
(By Marquis Childs)

The remarkable demonstration of American unity on foreign policy which preceded the successful evacuation of the Tachen Islands is, as American officials are well aware, in marked contrast to the internal troubles of America's allies. With only five votes in the entire Congress in opposition to President Eisenhower's Formosa resolution, the world was put on notice that defense of the Pacific island chain considered essential to America's security is above politics.

The contrast with Western Europe is striking. France is going through another prolonged governmental crisis as one politician after another undertakes to form what will be, at best, a dubious coalition cabinet.

The Socialist and neutralist opposition to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in West Germany is conducting an intensive campaign with demagogic overtones aimed at preventing ratification of the armament accords. Adenauer still has a great popular hold in Germany but the effort to undermine his

policy is not discounted, particularly in view of the new tough-talking policy in Moscow.

In Great Britain the Labor Party is united in opposition to America's Formosa policy. Clement Attlee, the Labor Party's former Prime Minister, has repeatedly called for turning the island over to the Communists. The Conservative Foreign Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, put his whole political future, including his chances of succeeding Prime Minister Churchill, in jeopardy by agreeing to go along with the American stand. Britain must hold elections in 1956.

Here in this Capital even those Members of Congress most apprehensive over the possible consequences of the Formosa resolution and the mutual defense pact with Chiang Kai-shek felt compelled, with few exceptions, to demonstrate national unity and vote with the President. What makes this all the more remarkable is that Republican strategists injected foreign policy into the congressional campaign last fall with emotional appeals that stirred the anger of Democratic candidates.

In the closing days of the campaign in advertisements, in newspapers, and on radio and television the Democrats were called the war party and the Republicans the peace party. In Illinois small-town dailies and weeklies were flooded with advertisements that began, "Vote Republican—the life you save may be your son's."

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, running for reelection, believed this last-minute peace campaign, which coincided with President Eisenhower's intensive airplane tour in key States, reduced his majority by 200,000. It is believed to have been influential in Ohio, Iowa, and Colorado where Democrats were defeated by narrow majorities.

While the advertisements were paid for by local Republican organizations their similarity indicates they were part of a carefully planned national campaign. Some of this propaganda had a peace-at-any-price ring to it, which is in strange contrast to the stern language of the President's message on Formosa. One advertisement listing the achievements of the administration concluded: "And all this done without war in Indochina and the useless war in Korea ended."

"The life of your son sacrificed on some foreign battlefield is too high a price to pay for inflated prosperity," was another advertisement widely used.

Others quoted from the President's 1952 and 1954 campaign statements with respect to the futile sacrifices of the Korean war. One advertisement appearing in many papers was a box score listing the casualties of World War I, 360,000; World War II, 571,000; and Korea, 142,000, with the Democrats in power. This ad concluded: "1954—peace—the Republican Party in power."

Another advertisement showed a scene of disaster with ambulances and wounded and dying strewn about. The caption was "Remember Nagasaki—it may be Elgin or Aurora (two neighboring Illinois towns) next time and you."

Injected at the last minute, this was difficult to answer. Many Democrats feel that it was much more effective than the personal smear of being soft on communism. The irony, of course, was that at the same time Republican strategists were using the soft-on-communism accusation they were also accusing the Democrats of being warmongers because they went to war, as in Korea, to stop communism. Yet, despite this campaign of only 4 months ago not a word of it came into the debate on a critical foreign policy issue. That is, indeed, an extraordinary example of unity.

Remarks of Robert H. Shields, President and General Counsel, United States Beet Sugar Association, Washington, D. C., at Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., on Sugar Beet Day Program, February 8, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. HILL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following remarks of Robert H. Shields, president and general counsel, United States Beet Sugar Association, Washington, D. C., at Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., on February 8, 1955:

Three years ago I had the pleasure of appearing on your Sugar Beet Day program and I am honored indeed to be invited to come again.

In this centennial year of your great Michigan State College—the first State agricultural college established in America—we are especially aware of the heritage left to us by the pioneers of long ago, pioneers who dared to dream of the future and, more importantly, gave substance to their dreams.

As people long interested in the agricultural economy of Michigan, we today salute this institution not only for what it has done for the sugar-beet industry in the last 100 years but also for what it has done for all agriculture in this State and throughout the land.

And special tribute should also be paid on this occasion to the sugar-beet industry of Michigan which, in fact, is nearly 20 years older than Michigan State College. In 1837—the year Michigan became a State—pioneers in St. Joseph County organized one of the very first beet sugar companies in the United States.

History records the hardships and disappointments these and other pioneers suffered in trying to establish our industry in this country. And the great progress of our industry in the last 50 years would not have been possible without the persistence and determination of the pioneers of 50 and more years ago, whose repeated disappointments and failures merely doubled their resolve to plan and build for the future.

When I was here 3 years ago, the question in everybody's mind was the same as it is today: "Where do we go from here?" All the discussions on your program today—such topics as chemical weed control, spring mechanization, better beet varieties, and, above all, Director Turk's stimulating talk on Our Next Hundred Years—demonstrate that you are still addressing yourselves to the challenging future of this industry. You are continuously seeking ways to make it even more efficient and to help it contribute still more effectively to the food needs of this Nation.

In Washington we are concerned with the administrative and legislative facets of these and all other industry problems. But certainly the industry problem that is uppermost in everybody's mind on the Washington scene today is the problem of prospective sugar legislation.

As you know, the present law—the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended in 1951—expires December 31, 1956. Obviously, it must be amended and extended either in 1955 or 1956. Domestic sugar producers, foreign sugar suppliers, and the American sugar consumers can all plan more intelligently and with more confidence for the future if the Sugar Act is amended and extended in 1955.

Legislation is necessary this year to enable the sugar industry to go ahead with its current operations and future plans with a minimum of uncertainty. If the act is not extended in 1955, sugar-beet and cane farmers will not know at planting time this fall or next spring what the provisons of the Sugar Act will be when the time comes to market their sugar. The need for farm-management planning and continued investments in plant-modernization programs and long-range scientific investigations—which in the past half century enabled our industry to more than double its beet yield per acre and triple its sugar yield per acre—make action now all the more imperative.

The Sugar Act must also be amended this year to give the domestic beet and mainland cane areas some immediate relief—in 1955—from the economically impossible positions with which they are faced. They have been placed in those positions by a combination of the increasing yields per acre which technological advances have brought about and a temporary waiver, for Cuba's benefit, of the domestic areas, just and historic share of the American market.

Although annual sugar consumption in the United States has increased about a million tons since the Sugar Act of 1948 was passed, not one ounce of this increase has been added to the rigid marketing quotas of the domestic beet or mainland cane-sugar areas. And yet under the act these areas have always been subject to acreage restrictions and marketing controls. During the last 2 years these restrictive measures have been sharply applied.

In the mainland cane area, for example, acreage cuts of 10 and 8 percent, respectively, have been imposed in the last 2 years. Unless legislative relief is forthcoming in 1955, a further acreage cut of 30 percent would be required in order to bring stocks in line with normal carryover. This, of course, is unthinkable and as a practical matter is not possible.

The domestic beet-sugar area is also faced with a most difficult situation, in view of its fixed marketing quota of 1,800,000 tons. Production in 1953 was almost 1,900,000 tons. In 1954, with planted acreage held to a level below that of 20 years ago and with adverse weather conditions prevailing in important producing areas, domestic beet-sugar production was almost 2 million tons. In Michigan historical acreage factors have temporarily minimized the amount of sacrifice, but for the rest of the country acreage cuts of 10 to 15 percent have been ordered for this year for established beet growers. Other farmers, including many veterans on reclamation lands, will not be allowed to grow sugar beets at all. In spite of this reduction in planted acres, present beet-sugar stocks are at such levels that less than 10 percent of the total 1955 production can be marketed in 1955, instead of a normal 20 to 25 percent. In fact, for some processors virtually none of their share of 1955 production can be marketed in 1955.

Farmers this year are faced with substantial curtailment of acreage of several export crops we produce in surplus. I find it hard to justify as being in the national interest for farmers to be required to make sharp curtailments also in acreages of a crop of

which we import nearly half our annual needs.

I have mentioned that improved farming methods, technological advances, and the application of scientific research have more than doubled the beet tonnage per acre and tripled the yield of sugar per acre in the last 50 years. Tremendous strides have been made even since 1948, when the present Sugar Act became effective. The average beet yield per acre has increased almost 20 percent in that period—from 13.5 tons to 16 tons per acre. In some of the heaviest producing areas, like California, Oregon, and Washington, yields of 30 and more tons of beets to the acre are common.

Along with increasing yields, American sugar beet production has become highly mechanized. American beet farmers now can supply the raw material for 100 pounds of sugar with less time in the field than the farmers of any other sugar-producing nation in the world.

This kind of progress cannot be stopped in America. And it should not be stopped. It is obvious that the domestic beet and mainland cane people need immediate quota increases to relieve the pressure resulting from the attempt to hold the clock still too long. And unless a recurrence of a similar situation in a few years is to be invited, the domestic industry needs also a restoration of its historic right continuously to share in the growth of the United States sugar market. It had this right in the past but voluntarily relinquished it on a temporary basis in 1948 to help our friends in Cuba with their serious postwar adjustment problems.

We all know that the various Sugar Acts, beginning in 1934, have been good for our Nation and have provided a stabilization in which the domestic industry and the American consumer have benefited. But I think any unbiased observer will also concede that American sugar legislation has greatly benefited foreign suppliers of sugar to the United States, especially Cuba. In looking at the record now, it is tempting to assert that Cuba has been the primary beneficiary of American sugar legislation.

Before the Sugar Act was first passed, the Cuban sugar industry was prostrate. For several years before, Cuban sugar was selling for less than a cent a pound. Cuba, without quota restrictions, sold only about a million and a half tons to the United States in 1933. The duty on Cuban sugar at that time was $2 a hundred pounds.

Look at the changed situation today. Cubans sell their sugar in the United States market for more than 5 cents a pound. Today their basic quota, under which Cuba now benefits from most of the increase in the United States sugar market, is 2,668,000 tons—about 85 percent greater than their sales here in 1933. The duty on Cuban sugar entering the United States today is only one-fourth of what it was before 1934. Cuban dollar income from sugar sold in the United States in 1954 was approximately 10 times that of 1933. All these have been direct benefits to Cuba flowing from our sugar legislation.

But these facts tell only part of the story. American sugar quota legislation not only put Cuba back on her feet and maintained her welfare at an increasingly high level in the 1930's and early 1940's, but Cuba has enjoyed particular attention and additional benefits under the provisions of the 1948 Sugar Act.

When the Sugar Act of 1948 was being considered in 1947, sugar was still under rationing and price control. Because of the worldwide shortage of food, some sugar acreages in the United States were necessarily diverted by Government programs to other crops which could not be grown in other climates. The Philippine sugar industry had been practically put out of business by the ravages of war. And this was clear: That situation would change. Production in those areas would some day be restored. And Cuba, whose industry had reached an all-time high level of production, would soon be faced with the need of bringing her production down to realistic postwar levels.

So that Cuba's adjustment downward could be gradual, the domestic industry agreed that the United States Congress make some concessions to Cuba, giving up temporarily some of the domestic industry's historic rights.

It was agreed that Cuba would be authorized to market 95 percent of the amount by which the Philippine Islands could not meet their quota. Domestic producers also agreed that Cuba should have the right to continue to share with other domestic areas any deficits that might occur in domestic production. And domestic producers further agreed to waive their rights temporarily to share in future increases in demand in this country.

These special provisions—these concessions—embodied in the Sugar Act of 1948 have been extremely beneficial to Cuba. The Philippine deficits were large in the early years of the 1948 act and have given Cuba more than 2 million extra tons of sugar marketings in the United States. The sharing of United States deficits during the early part of the act, when farmers were adjusting beet acreages back to normal, gave Cuba marketing privileges for an additional million and a quarter tons of sugar. And the temporary waiver by domestic producers of their right to share in the growth of the American sugar market has enabled Cuba to sell another 2 million tons of extra sugar in the United States. All in all, Cuba has marketed some 5¼ million additional tons of sugar in the United States as a result of the special temporary concessions made to her in 1948 with the express purpose of helping make her adjustment downward a gradual process.

It was certainly plain by 1951 that additional sugar marketings arising out of Philippine and domestic deficits were coming to an end, and with sugar production in other parts of the world stimulated by abnormally high world prices, Cuba's world sugar sales would be dropping off.

However, the record shows that these and other similar warnings went unheeded. Instead, 1952 production was allowed to skyrocket to 8 million tons—about 1½ million tons more than she had produced in 1947, when the 1948 act was passed, and 2 million tons more than anyone could see any possible market for anywhere in the world. Cuba still has a 2-million-ton surplus on hand, and it is this 2-million-ton surplus which has plagued us, our Cuban friends, and the world sugar market ever since.

The attitude of some Cuban interests in vigorously opposing any change in the Sugar Act which would correct the present emergency situations in domestic-beet and mainland-cane-sugar areas and restore to all domestic producers their right to share continuously in the growth of the sugar market in the United States is very surprising. It certainly is not compatible with the spirit which domestic producers displayed toward Cuba when the 1948 act was passed, when the law was extended in 1951, and more recently when the International Sugar Agreement was negotiated.

Actually, of course, Cuba wants and needs a strong and effective Sugar Act. Her leaders know what it has done for Cuba in the past, and what it can contribute to her continued economic stability in the future. In the face of this obvious fact, it is hard to understand the reasons behind some extravagant statements which have recently been made about the act and possible revisions.

Many interests have to be considered when sugar legislation is being worked out. The way to get the job done is to work for equity and fairness, with full consideration for all interests.

As a long-time friend of Cuba, I cannot bring myself to believe that the real leaders of the great Cuban sugar industry subscribe to certain ill-advised positions which some interests are taking in the name of Cuba. I fully understand Cuba's basic needs and real interests, and I will always consider them sympathetically.

We all know, for instance, that Cuba is one of the best customers for United States products, and we want to continue to be Cuba's best customer. We need good neighbors—strong neighbors—and we will continue to do our part to help our sugar friends—Cuba, the Republic of the Philippines, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and other Latin American countries.

The Sugar Act is the only foreign-trade legislation I know of which not only encourages imports but actually guarantees them by reserving a definite and large part of our market for them.

At the same time, however, a road must run both ways. The domestic sugar industry also has its interests and its needs. We must have recognition of the basic factors in the overall situation and fair play all around. Intemperate charges and obviously unsound proposals serve no constructive purpose.

The changes which the domestic industry seeks in the act would continue all the features of the present law which have prompted many people to call the Sugar Act the most successful of all farm legislation. It has brought reasonable returns to domestic producers. It has assured a large, profitable market for Cuba and other foreign countries. It has cost the United States Treasury nothing; in fact, it has brought a profit to our Government. And above all, it has assured an ample supply of sugar to the American housewife and industrial sugar users at a most reasonable price. Throughout the life of the Sugar Act, sugar has been the housewife's best food buy. No other food gives so much energy for so few cents.

Thanks to the operations of the Sugar Act, sugar has resisted more than most other foods the tremendous upward pressure of food prices which has occurred in the last 20 years. In that period sugar prices have risen 30 percent less than the prices of all foods and only 40 percent as much as consumer purchasing power. In terms of wages, sugar is a 25-percent better buy now than it was before World War II. The average production worker now has to work only 3½ minutes to earn enough money to buy a pound of sugar. I challenge anyone to show a lower price for sugar—in terms of working time required to buy it—anywhere else in the world.

The Sugar Act has also conferred additional benefits on industrial users of sugar. Sometimes some of them are temporarily attracted by prices in today's world market—only temporarily attracted, of course, because they remember that the Sugar Act kept domestic prices well below world prices as recently as 1951. They also realize that the stability of prices and supplies which sugar-quota legislation has brought about in the United States market has freed them from the financial hazards and capital costs involved in carrying large sugar inventories. Finally, the Sugar Act has made sugar the cheapest of all ingredients industrial users require.

Immediate revision and extension of the Sugar Act will do more than anything else to assure a continuation of these many benefits to American housewives and industrial users of sugar.

In reviewing briefly with you today the sugar legislative situation as viewed from the Washington scene, I have merely been

going over in some detail the general problems and issues which are involved in this matter and which you already know about. After all, it is the Congress of the United States that makes the laws for this country and it is the Congress that must decide when the Sugar Act should be extended and what changes should be made in it.

However, as you know, at the request of responsible congressional leaders, the domestic sugar industry has been discussing for some time desirable changes that should be made in the act. In these discussions you Michigan people are always ably represented by your fine Farmers & Manufacturers Beet Sugar Association, through its representation on the American Sugar Beet Industry Policy Committee. This committee is the instrument through which farmers and processors from all areas work together on industry legislative matters.

As you also know, President Eisenhower only recently, at the request of a bipartisan delegation of Members of Congress vitally interested in our problems, agreed that the Department of Agriculture, which is in charge of our Government sugar program, should take the leadership in securing an industrywide accord with Government, as was done in 1948 and 1951, with respect to the basic changes which should be made in the Sugar Act this year.

As we look ahead to the development of a sugar program which will merit the support of the Congress, we would do well to renew within ourselves the courageous spirit of the pioneers who over a hundred years ago launched this great college and planted the first seeds of the beet-sugar industry in this State. Those pioneers have given us a rich heritage. Let us be worthy of it. Let us have the pioneer's supreme faith to plan and work together toward a great and dynamic future, for a great and dynamic industry.

The Walls Have (Federal) Ears

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the Indianapolis Star dated February 7.

I have introduced H. R. 3084 to correct this unnecessary Federal control of States and local communities. It is hoped that the House Administration Committee and the Congress will take favorable action to correct the Federal legislation that plagues all of the 48 States:

The editorial follows:

THE WALLS HAVE (FEDERAL) EARS

Did you know that a State employee who writes a letter of a political nature to a newspaper is likely to provoke a Federal Government order that he be fired for so doing? That, at any rate, is the way the United States Civil Service Commission interprets its powers and responsibilities.

The State of Vermont is in the process of fighting a Hatch Act charge similar to the one which has been brought against Indiana on the basis of the activities of four Indiana State employees. The Vermont case involves only one employee, a department head. There are two Federal charges against him. One is that he presided at a session of the Republican State convention in 1950. The other is that he wrote a letter of a political nature to the editor of a Boston newspaper. The latter count is a striking revelation of the extent to which laws controlling the lives of citizens have been carried by Federal bureaucracy.

Vermont's reaction to this attempt of the Federal bureaucrats to interfere in the affairs of the State on the basis of the Hatch Act has been what we hope Indiana's will be. The Federal Commission ordered Vermont to dismiss the accused official, and Vermont flatly refused to do so. Thereupon the Federal Government informed the State that it would be penalized by withholding of an amount equal to the official's salary for 2 years from Federal aid funds for welfare purposes. Vermont has appealed to the Federal district court, challenging the validity of the Federal action.

It is reported that Indiana will join Vermont in making this court test. New Hampshire has already done so. This court suit gets to the heart of the matter—the constitutionality of the Hatch Act.

In their initial reaction Vermont officials took the wrong course, as did Indiana officials. In both cases the first official State reaction was an attempt to defend the actions of the officials involved. But this is not the essential issue. The thing the States must do is to challenge the power of the Federal Government to concern itself with the political activities of employees of a State.

This Vermont has now done in its court suit. And it goes farther, challenging the whole principle of the Hatch Act. The State's brief in the test case says:

"We are menaced by philosophies of Government hostile to the republican form of government and the democratic way of life. There should be, there can be, no abridgement of free speech guaranteed under the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States so long as one does not advocate the overthrow of the Government."

The Vermont case shows that the Hatch Act can be interpreted—is being interpreted by the Eisenhower administration—to limit the simple freedom of a public servant to express his views on political matters. The newspaper letter bore merely the man's personal signature, not his signature as a State official. The letter merely expressed his personal opinion that the late Senator Robert A. Taft was not an isolationist. This, the Federal bureaucracy says, is cause to discharge him.

The right of the Federal Government to exercise such control over the personal expressions of its own employees is questionable enough. Its assertion of the right to extend such control to the employees of a State passes all bounds of reason. It is time for the States to stand and fight.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, this is the 37th year since the people of Lithuania declared their independence of Russia. Unhappily, once again they are in the grip of the savage Russian bear. But his grip is not mortal. Throughout her history Lithuania has known foreign tyranny, and she has survived. The tenacity of her people, their devotion to their culture and way of life, has been truly remarkable.

In 1919, by their own efforts, the Lithuanians drove Russian invaders from their soil. The Soviet Government then recognized Lithuanian sovereignty and independence, and renounced all rights there. But in a pattern that was to become all too familiar they unscrupulously broke their word, invaded the country, and incorporated it into the Soviet Union as the 14th Soviet Republic. A short period of German rule then ensued, and then the Russians returned in 1944. Since that time the Soviets have confiscated private property, they have persecuted religion, they have deported thousands of Lithuanians to Siberia, and killed thousands more. But they have not broken the spirit of the Lithuanian people, nor their desire for freedom and independence. The people of Lithuania look with hope, and we join them in that hope, that the day will come when Lithuania will once again be free, and resume her rightful place among the nations of the world.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the following statement in opposition to the extension of the so-called reciprocal trade agreements:

TWELVE KEY FACTS ABOUT H. R. 1

H. R. 1, introduced by Representative JERE COOPER, Democrat, Tennessee, proposes to extend the Trade Agreements Act. In the process it would grant the State Department, vi . the President, broad new powers for lowering United States tariffs and firmly committing the United States to GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).

This bill has unleashed an intense debate. For this debate to produce results in the national interest all the pertinent facts must be squarely considered. Herewith are summarized 12 facts which are compellingly pertinent.

NOTE.—The content of H. R. 1 may change or become entangled with other bills during the legislative process. The references here are current as of February 12, 1955.

I. RIGHT NOW UNITED STATES TARIFFS ARE AMONG THE LOWEST IN THE WORLD

United States tariffs, now at their lowest in history, average only 5.1 percent of the value of imports. This represents sharper reductions than have been made by most other industrial nations; a 68-percent reduction of the 1937 average.

By comparison, Switzerland's tariffs average 8.1 percent of imports, and have been reduced only 47 percent since 1937; France averages 10.6 percent, 43 percent of 1937; and Great Britain averages 25.6 percent, which is 20 percent above 1937.

Among the industrialized nations of the West only Denmark, Sweden, and Western Germany have reduced their average tariff level since 1937 by as large a percentage as the United States. However, even in 1937 the

United States had a lower average than Sweden and Germany. Denmark is the only one which was lower then and remains lower now.

NOTE.—Tariff comparisons tell only half the story. Import quotas, currency restrictions, monopolies, government trading, cartels, and other devices are far tighter barriers to free trade than tariffs. Because, except with respect to quotas on agricultural products subject to price supports, the United States does not engage in these practices; it actually permits freer trade than any other industrialized country in the world.

II. THE FULL IMPACT OF THE RECENT UNITED STATES TARIFF DECLINE HAS NOT YET BEEN FELT

The first cuts, following the original Trade Agreements Act of 1934, came while the world was still struggling with the effects of a worldwide depression. Since then World War II, the fighting in Korea and Indochina, the continuing cold war and repeated injections of economic aid by the United States have distorted the historical patterns of trade. Only now are other nations approaching full production.

But even during this disturbed period United States imports reached a sustained level of nearly $11 billion—four times prewar value, twice prewar volume.

III. TARIFFS AFFECT LESS THAN ONE-THIRD OUR TOTAL IMPORTS

Foreign countries earn dollars, and the United States buys its needed imports, for the most part, without any tariff interference at all. In considering the effect of tariffs on imports it must always be remembered that tariffs affect less than a third—$3 billion out of a total imports of $10.8 billion. A pertinent section of the United States tariff policy statement by the Committee for Economic Development—November 1954—it follows:

"Only a part of our imports are subject to tariffs or other import restrictions. Of our total annual imports of approximately $10.8 billion in 1951, some $6 billion consisted of products which enter free of duty or quota restrictions. The rest—some $4.8 billion annually—were subject to tariff duty or import quotas. This $4.8 billion included some $2.5 billion of finished and semifinished manufactures, $1.8 billion of agricultural products and $500 million of metals and minerals. Of this $4.8 billion of imports, however, only about $3 billion were subject to import quotas or to tariffs sufficiently high to have an appreciable effect on the volume of import. This $3 billion consisted for the most part of agricultural products and finished manufactures."

IV. OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE NOT RECIPROCATED

Though foreign countries have made some nominal concessions American exporters still face such barriers as—

Automobiles, charged 63 percent duty in India, 30 percent to 40 percent in Japan, 15 percent to 33⅓ percent in the United Kingdom, and 15 percent to 30 percent in France.

Machinery, charged 10 percent to 25 percent duty in Britain, 6 percent to 30 percent in France, 15 percent to 30 percent in Japan, 5 percent to 40 percent in Italy.

Synthetic textiles (including rayon), charged 20 percent to 35 percent in France, 25 percent to 27 percent in Italy, 22 percent in Norway, 17 percent to 24 percent in Belgium, and 50 percent in India.

Cotton manufactures, charged 15 percent to 30 percent in the United Kingdom, 7 percent to 30 percent in Germany, 15 percent to 25 percent in Italy, 18 percent to 30 percent in Indonesia, and 15 percent to 27½ percent in Canada.

Grains, charged 15 percent to 30 percent in France, 15 percent to 20 percent in Germany, 25 percent to 30 percent in Italy, 10 percent to 15 percent in Sweden.

In addition, many countries employ side devices which effectively limit, or even ban, the import of United States goods into their markets.

These devices, perfected by the Nazi economist, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, include: Import quotas, currency restrictions, state trading, monopolies, barter deals, and cartels. The use of such devices has increased markedly during the so-called reciprocal trade period.

There has been much talk about relaxing such restrictions but little "do."

For example, Great Britain has at last agreed to admit a few United States cars on trial—650 to be exact—but subject to duties and taxes which bring the price of an American-made Chevrolet in the British market to about $6,000.

France recently announced liberalization for certain selected items—e. g., cotton yarns (but not fabrics), threshing machines (but not tractors), and so on. But at the same moment France turned around and imposed a special import tax of 10 to 15 percent on the items thus liberalized. And even these concessions did not apply to imports from the United States, only to imports from other European countries.

NOTE.—Although Great Britain employs such devices freely, and in addition maintains tariffs at a level 20 percent above 1937, the New York Herald Tribune for January 3, 1955, quoted R. A. Butler, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, as saying:

"We expect some improvement in their (United States) trade practices before there is any question of lowering our barriers any further or indulging in any further nondiscrimination."

V. OUR FREE WORLD ALLIES DO NOT NEED LOWER UNITED STATES TARIFFS TO PROSPER

Congress was told a year ago that further cuts in United States tariffs were needed then to foster world trade and bolster the economy of our allies.

Congress refused. Instead it obtained an agreement by the State Department to make no further cuts for a year.

Here are examples of what actually happened in 1954, without the benefit of additional tariff cuts by us:

1. Italy's national income rose 4 percent, and its exports 10 percent.

2. Austria's income rose 10 percent as a result of increased trade and production.

3. The Netherlands' prosperity lured capital from all over the world; securities on the Amsterdam Exchange are now at their highest point since World War II.

4. West Germany anticipates an 8 percent rise in the gross national product in 1955, and a continuing expansion of exports. Between 1949 and 1953 exports more than quadrupled, while imports doubled; credit not tariffs has been the exporters' main problem.

5. "Britain Is Tasting New Prosperity As Exports Spurt"—headline from New York Times, January 3, 1955.

6. "Persisting Boom Is Seen by Swiss"—"Prosperity Based on Demand for Manufactures, Credit and Domestic Building"—headline from New York Times, January 9, 1955.

7. "Rise in Finn's Timber, Paper Exports Helps Puncture Pessimistic Forecasts"—headline from New York Times, January 9, 1955.

8. A flourishing export trade gave Portugal an exceptionally prosperous year; as expressed in a New York Times headline—January 4, 1955,"—Nation Goes on Buying Spree."

In contrast, the United States experienced a temporary falling off in 1954.

VI. LABOR RATES IN OTHER COUNTRIES REMAIN AT ONE-THIRD TO ONE-TENTH UNITED STATES SCALE

Here are comparative average hourly earnings for industrial workers in the United States and other countries (1952–53 figures):

United States	$1.79
Switzerland	.57
United Kingdom	.47
France	.46
West Germany	.44
Italy	.35
Japan	.19

Notes.—At one time better machines and more skilled workers enabled the United States to compete with low labor costs imports. Now—largely due to United States aid and assistance programs—other industrial nations have machines as modern and efficient as any we own, and for the most part their workers are as skilled as ours. A recent study by the National Industrial Conference Board indicates that at the same time the real wage gap is spreading, not narrowing.

VII. IMPORTS FROM CHEAP LABOR AREAS DO HURT

Industries already affected include coal, textiles, footwear, glass pottery, and china, electrical equipment, lead and zinc, ship building, fishing, and dozens of others. In the textile industry alone, which has been severely affected by competition from Japan and other low wage countries, the number employed declined by 260,000 in 3 years. New England mills took the brunt of this loss; but even in the South, where the most modern mills are located, there was a loss of 40,000 jobs.

State Department negotiators not long ago cut the rate on watches. Last fall the President had to restore the old rate. Too many workers in the United States watch industry, whose precision skills are needed for defense, were losing their jobs—and skills—because of imports.

Workers in the following industries are also threatened: chemicals, radio, and electronic equipment, machine tools, synthetic fibers, plastic materials, and—looking at the list proposed for the next round of negotiations by the State Department—literally hundreds of others.

N. B.: H. R. 1, in fact, excepts nothing. It invites a reduction of from 15 to 50 percent in every single rate now in effect, no matter how often or how deeply cut in the past.

VIII. THE "PERIL POINT" AND THE "ESCAPE CLAUSE" ARE VIRTUALLY MEANINGLESS

Under the "peril point" the United States Tariff Commission is required to determine whether or not a proposed cut will injure domestic industry. But such a finding does not bind State Department negotiators. In the past the Commission's findings have been ignored in favor of a hoped for and often meaningless concession from foreign governments. H. R. 1 would make possible the continuation of this practice.

Similarly, the much talked of "escape clause" is no sure remedy for injury to American producers and workers. The Tariff Commission's recommendations of relief can be, and usually are, rejected on advice of the State Department which fears the resentment of other countries.

IX. GOVERNMENT HANDOUTS ARE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR JOBS

Some H. R. 1 supporters have introduced bills to provide Government aid, at the expense of the general taxpayer, for workers thrown out of their jobs by import competition—after the injury has been done. Even the Randall Commission, which originated the H. R. 1 plan, could not go along with this idea. It substitutes a Government dole for

a man's wage, or requires workers to move from their homes to strange areas—much as is done in totalitarian countries. There is no way to estimate the cost in advance—it could and probably would run into billions.

X. H. R. 1 WOULD ESTABLISH AN ENTIRELY NEW NATIONAL POLICY ON TRADE AGREEMENTS—THE UNITED STATES MAKES CONCESSIONS BUT GETS NONE IN RETURN

Heretofore our trade agreements have required foreign countries to make concessions to us, no matter how nominal, in return for any concessions we make. H. R. 1 abandons this principle.

Right now the State Department is rushing plans for round-robin negotiations with 33 other countries beginning in Geneva next month. It has openly announced its intention to offer wholesale concessions in United States tariffs as a means of inducing these other countries to open their markets to Japan. H. R. 1 expressly permits this one-sided deal.

XI. H. R. 1 CAN INVOLVE THE UNITED STATES IN GATT (GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE(WHICH SUBJECTS THE TRADE OF MEMBER NATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONTROL, DESPITE OPPOSITION BY CONGRESS

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade provides for a new international organization empowered to sponsor and police a comprehensive code of trade practices among member nations. These rules would cover the whole range of trade, including farm products and minerals as well as manufactured goods.

The Constitution assigns responsibility for the regulation of foreign commerce to Congress. By previous Trade Agreements Acts Congress has delegated a large part of this responsibility, via the President, to the State Department. It has always refused, however, to allow the State Department to redelegate such power to an international body, in which we would have only one vote.

H. R. 1, although amended by committee to appear neutral on GATT, still contains language which permits the State Department to commit the United States to GATT without congressional knowledge of that agreement's changing provisions.

XII. UNITED STATES TARIFFS DO NOT CONTROL UNITED STATLS IMPORTS

The policies of foreign producers, much more than present United States tariff rates, determine when, what, and how much they export to the United States. Since the war, for example, British manufacturers have sent most of their exports to countries in the sterling area, where they are protected from outside competition by tariffs, import licensing systems, and currency restrictions.

In 1952, however, when some of the sterling area markets closed up following collapse of the Korean war boom, the British quickly shifted. England's exports to the dollar area jumped 50 percent almost overnight—without any United States tariff changes.

United States tariffs, in fact, are now the least obstacle to world trade. Changeable policies of other countries, reflected in changeable import quotas, changeable currency restrictions and the like, are the real difficulty.

NOTE.—More than a year ago Bernard Baruch said the agitation for lower tariffs in the United States is serving only to provide other nations "with an excuse for blaming their troubles on the United States and, by feeling sorry for themselves, to overlook what they must do on their own."

In his column on January 13, 1955, Walter Lippmann pointed out:

"I wonder whether this (the campaign for lower tariffs) puts the real problem in its proper focus. Perhaps we can reach a clearer definition of that problem by saying that the main trouble today is not the level of the tariff rates. In the United States they are by and large not exorbitantly high any longer.

"The real problem is economic warfare. All the governments have armed themselves with legal powers which they use to interfere with the international markets for goods. They use them offensively and they use them defensively to cut down, to cut off, to divert, to penalize, to subsidize buying and selling so that the pattern of transactions is different from what it would be under the free operation of supply and demand. * * *

"The characteristics of these weapons of economic warfare is that that they are not fixed rules and laws of trade but are operated by administrative decisions made, often under political pressure, by bureaucracies. * * *

"The essential condition of economic peace is that trade among friendly nations should not be subject to the arbitrary acts of administrative and political officials, that trade should be subject to laws enacted deliberately and openly and after debate and not changeable except by equally careful deliberation."

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, today while Americans of Lithuanian origin are enjoying the pleasures and rights of a free society, their relatives and friends still living in the nation of their native rootage suffer under the leash of tyrannical communism. Approximately 5,000 miles, or 10 hours by modern jet time, separate those who exist in the little Baltic nation from those with similar national backgrounds living in the climate of free America.

Yet this separation of so few hours as judged by modern speeds is minute compared to the wide crevasse in their freedom and rights to live as men should. These people bearing the same nationality backgrounds, the same pride, ambitions and abilities which enable one to carve out the best life for himself and those close to him are yet so far distant in opportunity and human liberty.

I think Lithuania, so small geographically yet so big in spiritual determination, symbolizes the struggle against oppressive bullies. This isn't the first time or the first nation so tenaciously picked on by one so drunk with power and ambitious with designs as Communist Russia. I hope and pray it will be the last.

Only the people of Lithuania know the burdens, the heartbreak and suffering which have been endured since Soviet Russia lowered the yoke of oppression on their shoulders. Their story is too long to forget and too solemn to lack inspiration. Let us hope that soon the great Lithuanian nation can again be restored to their rightful heritage of liberty and independence which was theirs 37 years ago.

I am happy to join those who today are sending their warmest regards and sincerest sympathy to those persons who through no fault of their own are not able to enjoy the fruits of individualism and independence.

Pay Raise Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on Tuesday morning, February 15:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JAMES M. QUIGLEY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 19TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 15, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate this opportunity to appear before you and express my views on legislation affecting the welfare of Federal employees.

I submit these propositions:

Postal employees deserve an increase in pay.

All other classified employees deserve an increase in pay.

Neither pay bill should be dependent upon the other; neither should be dependent upon an increase in postal rates; and neither should be dependent upon action relating to reclassification.

Employees of the Federal Government, who must give up their right to bargain collectively when they enter the service, are dependent upon special wage legislation. As a result Congress has frequently looked upon Federal salaries as largess, rather than upon experience and the laws of labor supply and demand.

As a result, the wages of Federal workers have lagged behind the wages paid in private industry. For instance, in the case of postal employees, their spendable income is more than $600 a year behind the 1939 level.

I could cite similar examples regarding the classified employees.

Therefore, I believe that an adequate salary increase is in order for all postal employees. On the basis of my study of the matter and in the light of the increase in the cost of living since the last general wage increase was given in 1951, $800 per annum in base pay would be proper. I recognize, however, certain immediate factors which might tend to delay any early readjustment of postal salaries, so I therefore support, as a bare minimum, provisions of H. R. 1826 by Mr. MOSS, and companion bills by Mr. RHODES, my colleague from Pennsylvania, Mr. MORRISON and Mrs. GRIFFITHS.

I believe that bills now before the committee granting similar minimum 10 percent pay increases for classified employees should also be acted upon favorably.

In connection with the postal pay increases, I should like to state emphatically that it is my firm conviction that the right of postal employees and their families to a decent standard of living should not be contingent on what it costs me to mail a letter or upon any other political consideration. Much as we might desire to see the postal system operated on a business-like basis, we should not overlook the fact that this means of mass communication is a service of the Govern-

ment to the people, necessary to human welfare and to the national economy.

While I recognize the need for periodic review of and, if studies justify, reorganization of the functions of the various governmental agencies, I would oppose any scheme whereby, in the name of efficiency, the fate of every civil-service employee is placed in the hands of Mr. Summerfield or any other politician.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, and this does not directly bear upon the issue immediately before the committee, I would like to see a law enacted under which the properly designated representatives of the Federal employees will be given recognition at the bargaining table under a workable arbitration system for settling grievances concerning wages, hours, and working conditions. My Pennsylvania colleague, Mr. RHODES, has introduced such legislation, and I was pleased on yesterday to join his effort by introducing a companion bill.

The Late Robert Peter Tristam Coffin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT HALE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to pay an all-too-brief tribute to Robert Peter Tristam Coffin, of Brunswick, Maine, who died suddenly on January 20.

Bob Coffin, as he was known to his friends, was born in Brunswick on March 18, 1892, and in Brunswick he was destined to spend in happiness the greater part of his life. He passed his youth on a salt-water farm on Sebascodegan Island in the town of Harpswell, which adjoins Brunswick. He commemorated his youth in Lost Paradise, published in 1934. He was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1915 was summa cum laude honors. After leaving Bowdoin he took a master of arts at Princeton; thence he went to Trinity College, Oxford, as a Rhodes scholar from Maine, where he spent the years 1916 to 1917 and 1919 to 1921. The intervening period he served in the American Army.

Life at the English university made a deep impression on him and his first books, Christchurch and Crowns and Cottages, reflect the influences of his English experience.

He taught in Wells College, Aurora, N. Y., from 1922 to 1934. Here he founded and carried on the Oxford idea of honor work in English literature. In 1934 he returned to Bowdoin College as professor of English literature. There he spent the remaining years of his life, though he lectured and taught from time to time in Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and several other American universities. The academic year 1952–53 he spent as Fulbright special lecturer at the University of Athens, Greece.

In the interstices of his teaching career, Bob Coffin wrote and published more than 30 volumes of fiction, biography, autobiography, and verse. His Strange Holiness won the Pulitzer prize for poetry in 1935. It is as a poet that he would doubtless choose to be remembered, and as such he will probably be best known. Like most poets, his work was uneven in merit. Had he been primarily concerned with his standing before posterity, he might have been more self-critical and published more sparingly. But he wrote incessantly whatever feeling prompted him to write and no one can fail to be moved by the sincerity of his feeling. His best poetry is not likely to be forgotten.

As with many other Maine writers, his creative faculties were shaped by the heritage of the country in which he was born. He was a son of Maine as Longfellow, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Edna Millay, and Sara Orne Jewett—to mention only a few—were the children of Maine. Like Caledonia, Maine has been a "meet nurse" for poetic children.

The odors of rockweed at half tide, bayberry, spruce, and fir spoke to Coffin in a various language, but a language constantly in praise of their Creator.

Some may compare Coffin to Carl Sandburg and the two men have a bardic quality in common, but Coffin couldn't have written the Chicago Poems, any more than Sandburg could have written Kennebec and Saltwater Farm. They were as different as New England is different from Illinois.

Bob Coffin was beloved by all who knew him and his death which follows closely on that of his close friend and fellow townsman, Kenneth Sills, is widely mourned in and out of Maine. He was a friend to me and I shall ever cherish his memory.

[From the Brunswick (Maine) Record]

BOWDOIN COLLEGE SUFFERS GREAT LOSS

Bowdoin College in particular, the State and all of New England in general, suffered a great loss this past week when Robert Peter Tristam Coffin, Pierce Professor of English at the college since 1934, died suddenly in Portland where he had gone to give a lecture at Westbrook Junior College, last Thursday evening. Born in Brunswick March 18, 1892, he had travelled extensively both here and abroad but his New England roots were deep—he was always a New Englander.

Professor Coffin was graduated from Bowdoin with the highest possible honors; he spent 3 years at Trinity College, Oxford University, England, receiving there the degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of letters (literature). His first book of poems was published in 1924.

This publication was followed by more than 35 others. In explaining his literary credo—whether it be poetry or prose—Professor Coffin once said, "The things that matter most, love, faith, babies, roses, pride, friendship, death, have not been submerged by science or the industrial revolution; they keep the old splendor like the stars. And we can still have the happiness of walking and being alone to think."

It was because of these beliefs, and his adherence to same in his writings, that he became so greatly beloved—his works having wide appeal. No one who had ever heard him read some of his poems could ever forget him. Professor Coffin was instructor of English at Wells College, N. Y., before his alma mater, Bowdoin, called him back in 1934; while there he was the recipient of numerous honors; in 1936 he won the Pulitzer prize for poetry; he was Phi Kappa Beta poet at many colleges including Harvard, the College of William and Mary, and Tufts.

Funeral services were held on Sunday in the First Parish Church in Brunswick.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Arvydas Kudirka, president, Waterbury chapter, of the Lithuanian Student Association:

LITHUANIAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION,
Waterbury, Conn., February 13, 1955.

Hon. JAMES T. PATTERSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As you may know February 16, 1955, is the 37th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Lithuania.

The people of Lithuania have been fighting communism since 1917, when they had to defeat its new forces to establish a free country.

Again this fight in blood against communism was renewed when Russia occupied Lithuania in 1940. For 15 years now Lithuanians have been fighting the Red demon with blood and word and will continue to do so until the Red aggressor is destroyed. We all know that Communist goals are to destroy the free world and establish despotism throughout it.

We, therefore, join forces with the free world so that together we can defeat the evils of communism and again restore peace and freedom of our native country, Lithuania, and the world.

The Lithuanian students of Waterbury, Conn., would like to take this opportunity to thank you for all your past considerations you have given us and our native country Lithuania.

We would be very grateful if you would continue to remember us and our cause in the future.

Respectfully yours,

ARVYDAS KUDIRKA.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this occasion to say that any nation that has withstood for more than a century and a quarter continued foreign domination and oppression from a ruthless and tyrannical neighbor and still survive, certainly deserves the praise of mankind. Such praise Lithuania deserves; for in spite of the fact that Lithuania has been occupied and ruthlessly dominated by Imperial Russia and Soviet Russia for periods totaling over 125 years this nation still lives.

In many respects the Lithuanian people today are ruled by a far more ruthless master than in the days prior to the foundation of the Lithuanian nationality when it was relegated to an inferior status in the days of czarist Russia; but the suppression exercised by the czar might well be termed moderate when compared to the suppression imposed by the Soviets.

In this 20th century our language has taken on a new word "genocide," which means the willful destruction of a nation and people. Genocide is the long-range objective of the Soviet rulers; it is to destroy the Lithuanian nation. Deportations of thousands of Lithuanian people and the resettlement of Russians and other Soviet peoples in Lithuania have thus far done much to change the ethnic

character not only of that country but also of the other Baltic States, Latvia and Estonia. As part of its scheme of communization Soviet Russia had laid down a plan calculated to eradicate the Lithuanian national consciousness. Along with their plan to destroy the idea of Lithuanian nationality, the Communists are seeking to remold this once free and happy country in the image of the Soviet State.

That Lithuania is going through an epoch of great trial goes without saying. But the Lithuanian nation is a virile nation. It is a nation with a glorious historical past and a sense of national destiny for the future. It is a nation which has survived other oppressions and shall survive this one.

On this occasion commemorating the 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence the message of America is a message of hope that one day the Lithuanian people shall fulfill their national destiny and that they shall again enjoy the natural right of every nation to be free, as they once were, so that they can once more resume their tasks of development and progress, and pursue the happiness they once enjoyed as a free and independent people.

When I contemplate the friends I have of Lithuanian origin and their loyalty to the causes of freedom and justice in the United States, I know that by personal example they keep burning the flame of freedom in their native land.

Federal School Aid Limited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Doris Fleeson in the Washington Evening Star entitled "Federal School Aid Limited." I feel that this article warrants the attention of the Members of Congress regarding the national emergency in education.

The statement follows:

FEDERAL SCHOOL AID LIMITED—PROGRAM ASKS MILLIONS, BUT BILLIONS ARE NEEDED; CAN PRESIDENT SEE ITS EMERGENCY PROPORTIONS?

(By Doris Fleeson)

President Eisenhower's school-aid program does not represent a serious attempt to deal with the national emergency in education.

It is little more than a letter of condolence to the localities and school authorities which are struggling against an enormous and growing shortage of classrooms.

The President's own Commissioner of Education, Samuel Brownell, has placed the current need at 370,000 classrooms. Federal cost estimates indicate that the job well done would cost more than $12 billion.

The President has suggested only $200 million in direct aid for 3 years, which is about $65 million a year. Even if all went well and exactly as planned, it would build only a few thousand of the missing classrooms.

School authorities are equally skeptical about the proposed plans to help school districts and States. Twenty States are said to have constitutional debt limits which will prevent any new borrowing. In both Maine and Wisconsin, the courts have declared school construction authorities unconstitutional.

The school experts say also that it would be at least a year before any results would show from the Eisenhower plan. Meanwhile, school enrollment is going up at a rate of more than a million a year. This year it is 30.8 million—up 22 percent over 1950.

The President's philosophical approach provokes as much gloom in school circles as his practical suggestions. As they see it, he has dealt with what they regard as the gravest internal crisis in this democracy in the spirit of a Lady Bountiful who restricts her gifts to the worthy poor.

The reference is to the President's ban on outright grants except to communities too poor to build their own schools. There will be no States and few communities willing to take the pauper's oath on this or any other proposition. Actually, many of the wealthiest States which spend proportionately the largest share of their revenues on education are among the most hard-pressed.

The idea that some parts of this country should publicly admit to their poverty and throw themselves on the mercy of richer States or the Federal Government seems to have appeal in many quarters. It emerges regularly at the annual conference of the State governors and as regularly the overwhelming majority of the governors turn the cold shoulder.

This quarrel is basic. The original architects of the welfare state—most of which the President has accepted, at least in theory—believe in prompt and ample Federal action to meet national social emergencies like that confronting the schools. From their point of view the President's approach in the new message looks back—way back.

Perhaps one trouble with the present special school problem is that Washington draws to it for the most part the successful, the well-to-do, and the more mature citizens. Their children are not victims of the present cruel classroom shortage and, as a French philosopher said, one bears with equanimity the misfortunes of others.

A Liberal Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, if you have been thinking of a tax reduction, a balancing of the budget, a reduction in the national debt, the end of the broadcasting of your dollars abroad, forget it.

While my efforts to accomplish all of the above will not only be continued, but increase, the facts of life might just as well be recognized. Nothing will be gained by fooling ourselves as to what is happening here in Washington.

Postal employees have renewed their demand for an increase in compensation. Unless their union officers overreach themselves, they will get it. The only question is how much.

Other Federal employees have joined in the demand for an increase in wages or salaries. They will get it. Again, the only question is, how much. United States district attorneys, Federal judges, Senators, and Congressmen are insisting upon a pay raise. It will be given. How much, no one knows. The raise will be substantial.

Increases in industrial wages—and they are certain to be given—will be paid by consumers; and wage earners and salaried people—dirty overalls, white shirt, nylon waist, or silk-tie wearers—all will pay a part of all of the above.

The administration is asking for an increase in pay and special benefits for those in the armed services. That will go through. Again the only question is as to the number of dollars authorized.

Additional appropriations for the armed services will increase the total by billions.

The national debt will increase, as will the interest charge, which is now over 6 billion.

Russia has told us to get out of Formosa. Chou En-lai declares he intends to take it. President Eisenhower has said we will not get out, that Chou En-lai cannot have it. The situation makes easy another world war, which certainly no intelligent individual wants.

Will we all live better at less cost? Has everybody been taken care of?

No. Some have been forgotten. They are among the most worthy.

What is to happen to those past 45 who cannot get jobs in industry, who are barred from employment by the minimum wage, which is to be increased from 75 to 90 or additional cents per hour? What about those who have had no opportunity or are unable to provide for their own old age, who through no fault of their own are either unable or incapable of earning a living wage?

They have no politically powerful, well-financed lobby. Apparently they will find themselves taking what, if anything, is left.

The remedy? At home just a little more thrift on the part of the Federal and other governments. Just a little willingness on the part of each of us to, for a short time, do without nonessentials, no matter how enjoyable or desirable.

Abroad? The adoption of a foreign policy which will keep us out of wars in which we have no vital interest.

A little more willingness to give people in other countries the opportunity to "paddle their own canoes."

This, I think, is the greatest country on earth. We have more of everything, including leisure—spare time—than people throughout the world have ever desired, sought, or enjoyed.

Why thoughtlessly continue inflation—get a ruinous depression? There must be—there is—a way out of the trouble abroad other than through war.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the following statement in opposition to the extension of the so-called reciprocal trade agreements:

STATEMENT REGARDING H. R. 1 BY OTIE M. REED, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CREAMERIES ASSOCIATION AND THE AMERICAN BUTTER INSTITUTE, BEFORE THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 4, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, this statement is submitted on behalf of the joint committee of the National Creameries Association and the American Butter Institute and the Dairy Industry Committee, and is in opposition to certain provisions of H. R. 1.

The joint committee is composed of the National Creameries Association and the American Butter Institute, with Washington offices at 1107 19th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The National Creameries Association, with headquarters in St. Paul, Minn., is composed of some 950 dairy processing plants located in the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. About 85 percent of the membership of the National Creameries Association are locally owned and operated cooperative associations. These plants serve about 300,000 dairy farmers.

The American Butter Institute, with headquarters in Chicago, Ill., is composed of processors, both cooperative and private, with membership in 43 States. Taken together, these two organizations process and distribute most of the creamery butter produced in the United States.

This statement is made also on behalf of the Dairy Industry Committee, composed of the Milk Industry Foundation, American Butter Institute, National Creameries Association, International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers, National Cheese Institute, American Dry Milk Institute, and the Evaporated Milk Association. Some of the members of the Dairy Industry Committee will also appear before your committee and deal more specifically with the products in which they have a direct interest.

This statement has been prepared in summary form for the convenience of the committee, as follows:

1. Prices of milk and butterfat to producers in the United States are supported pursuant to the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended. In supporting these prices, butter, cheese, and nonfat dry milk solids are purchased on the open market by the Commodity Credit Corporation at prices announced by the Secretary of Agriculture.

2. During this last year, prices paid by the Commodity Credit Corporation for dairy products were calculated to return to producers 75 percent of parity for butterfat and for whole milk used for manufactured dairy products. Details as to the support prices that have been established since the end of the war are set forth in table 1 of the appendix.

3. On January 13, 1955, the Secretary of Agriculture announced the price support program for milk and butterfat for the coming marketing year, April 1, 1955, to March 31, 1956. The support prices announced by the Secretary are the same as those prevailing for the marketing year ending March 31, 1955. Due to changes in methods of computing parity for manufacturing milk, however, the prices announced by the Secretary on January 13, 1955, probably will return to producers about 80 percent of parity for milk used in manufactured dairy products and about 77 percent for butterfat.

4. Prices under the support program are considerably above world prices even after making allowance for the tariff applicable on butter and the payment of transportation costs. Butter and other dairy products could be laid down in the United States at prices considerably below United States price support levels.

For a number of years and until quite recently, the price of most of the butter moving in international commerce has been governed by the government-to-government contracts entered into between the United Kingdom and Australia, New Zealand, and Denmark. Details of the prices specified in such contracts since 1948 are set forth in table 2. Such contracts have now been terminated. However, recent price quotations for butter at wholesale in New Zealand have averaged about 42 cents per pound. The wholesale price for comparable grade United States butter at seaboard cities in the United States has been averaging approximately 60 cents per pound.

The cost of importing butter into the United States from such areas as New Zealand is about 11 cents per pound, of which 7 cents represents the tariff applicable on the first 60 million pounds imported and 4 cents represents transportation and other shipping and handling costs. Thus, it is seen that butter could be laid down, all costs and duties paid, for 7 cents per pound less than the United States wholesale price based on our support price. Therefore, it would be very profitable for exporting countries to ship us the butter they would normally ship to their regular markets. Under our support program, the Commodity Credit Corporation would have to buy such butter, or an equivalent volume of domestic butter, in order to effectuate our support prices.

The volumes that would be imported under such circumstances could reach huge figures. On the average, about 900 million pounds of butter moves in interstate commerce each year, as well as huge volumes of cheese and nonfat dry milk solids, which also show a markedly lower price level in major exporting countries than under the price support program. For details as to the world trade in major dairy products, see table 3.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that any relaxation of our current system of import regulation under section 22, or any weakening of the basic law under which such import regulations are imposed, would result in the conversion of the price-support program for the American dairy farmer into a price-support program for the dairy farmer throughout the world.

The price-support program is costing vast sums of money, and may run as high as three fourths of a billion dollars ($750,000,000) before the current heavy stocks in the hands of the CCC are liquidated. The purchase of additional large volumes of imported butter would increase the price-support program costs materially.

5. Since the war, imports of dairy products have been controlled first, under the Second War Powers Act; second, under section 104 of the Defense Production Act; and, since July 1, 1953, by Presidential proclamation issued June 8, 1953, pursuant to section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended. For details regarding the controls that have been in effect in recent years and are currently in effect under section 22. See table 4.

6. Imports have been controlled and are now subject to control for the simple reason that it is necessary to control these imports in order to effectuate the dairy price-support program for American dairy farmers. If imports were not subject to quantitative restrictions, exporting countries would divert large volumes from their normal foreign markets to this country which would have to be purchased by the Commodity Credit Corporation in order to support prices to American producers at the announced levels. Thus, if unrestricted imports were permitted, the cost of the price-support program to the United States would be very greatly increased or its effectiveness nullified.

Reference is made again to the fact that large volumes of dairy products move in international trade. (See table 3.) No precise calculation can be given as to the volumes of butter, cheese, and nonfat dry milk solids that would be imported under our price-support program if quantitative import controls were removed. However, they would undoubtedly be quite large.

7. Nothing should be done in extending the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act to weaken section 22. As a matter of fact, it is our view that section 22 should be strengthened by providing for mandatory application of import controls whenever price-support programs are undertaken in this country. Further, the Congress should develop some rule in the control of imports which would be designed to correlate the goals of our domestic farm-price-support programs and our foreign trade program. We believe that this can be accomplished by developing the rule that imports should be limited to the average during some preceding base period until prices to American farmers reach parity levels after which import controls would be discontinued as long as prices to American producers remain at or above parity levels.

8. A rule such as is suggested in the preceding paragraph would have the tendency to maintain the average pattern of foreign trade until the goals of American domestic farm policy, namely, the development of conditions under which farmers will secure parity prices, are achieved. Once this domestic farm price goal is achieved imports would be permitted to come into this country in whatever volumes exporting countries desired to ship us as long as our domestic farm prices remained at parity or above.

As a suggestion for the committee's consideration, we have prepared a proposed amendment to section 22 and are including it in this statement as appendix A.

9. The United States has never been a very important factor in international trade except during wars and the unsettled conditions immediately following wars. Table 5 shows United States exports and imports of butter, cheese, condensed milk, evaporated milk, dried whole milk, and non-fat dry milk solids for the period 1939 through 1953. The very heavy exports during the war largely represented lend-lease shipments to our Allies, and in postwar years shipments of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and some shipments under the Marshall plan. Most of the war and post-war exports were financed by the United States Government, and in no sense represent normal commercial exports.

10. Although there have been some indications that a better balance between supply of and demand for dairy products may be developing, the outlook is for continued heavy production and surpluses in the American market.

Table 6 shows certain production trend factors such as milk cow numbers, total milk production on United States farms, production per capita of the population, and production per cow. Milk cow numbers are on an upward trend, and 1954 total production was the highest of record at 123.8 billion pounds. Production per capita of the population, however, is only slightly above the low 1952 rate of 733 pounds per capita.

11. Since the production per capita of the population is lower than many of the years since 1939, it might appear that there should be little, if any, surplus problem in the dairy field. This apparent inconsistency, however, is explained by the fact that there have been some serious declines in the per-capita consumption of some of the major dairy products. (See table 7.) Fluid milk and cream consumption per capita reached a high point of 399 pounds in 1945 but has slumped badly in recent years, being 352 pounds per capita in 1954.

Butter per capita consumption has decreased drastically from 16.8 pounds on the average during 1935–39 to 8.6 pounds in 1952 and 1953, with a slight increase to 9.0 pounds per capita indicated for 1954. Most of this loss is due to the rapid encroachment of oleomargarine on the table spread market due to wartime restrictions on butter, diversion of milk to other commodities used under the war food program, and legislation permitting oleo to imitate butter color and flavor.

Per capita consumption of cheese and nonfat dry milk solids is running considerably above prewar, but the surplus situation in these commodities remains serious due to the great expansion in production of these commodities that was brought about under Government auspices during the war.

12. The scope of price-support programs and disposition of commodities purchased thereunder is set forth in table 8 in summary form. Details as to purchase and disposition in 1953 and 1954 are shown in table 9.

In spite of markedly increased movement of dairy products from CCC stocks as compared to previous years, the CCC estimates that it had on hand as of December 31, 1954, 265.7 million pounds of butter, 334.8 million pounds of cheese, and 91.8 million pounds of nonfat dry milk solids.

By far the greater portion of the disposition of CCC stocks of butter during 1954 were accounted for by donations through domestic and foreign relief channels and section 32 outlets. These outlets also were most important for cheese, although during the year 116.4 million pounds of cheese were disposed of through commercial domestic sales. The largest outlet for nonfat dry milk inventories was 578.3 million pounds disposed of for animal feed at from 3 to 4 cents per pound.

From the foregoing, it is clear that (1) CCC still holds very large inventories of dairy products purchased under the price-support program, and (2) the supply-and-demand outlook suggests the strong probability of additional purchases under the price-support program during the year ending March 31, 1956.

13. In section 3 of H. R. 1 it is proposed that subsection (a) of section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, be amended in such a fashion that the safeguards now provided in section 22 would be materially weakened if not in actual fact rescinded. Thus, as it is proposed to be amended, section (a) (1) (A) of the act of 1930 would authorize the President to enter into foreign trade agreements with foreign governments or instrumentalities thereof, except that it is provided "that, except as authorized by subparagraph (B) of the section, '* * * no such provision shall be given effect in the United States in a manner inconsistent with existing legislation of the United States.'"

Subparagraph (B), however, authorizes the President "to proclaim such modification of existing duties and other import restrictions, or such additional import restrictions, or such continuance, and for such minimum periods, of existing customs or excise treatment of any article covered by foreign trade agreements, as are required or appropriate to carry out any foreign trade agreement that the President has entered into hereunder."

We submit that this language rather effectively vitiates subparagraph (g) of section 22, which states that "no trade agreement or other international agreement heretofore or hereafter entered into by the United States shall be applied in a manner inconsistent with the requirements of this section."

Subparagraph (g) definitely prohibits entering into trade agreements inconsistent with section 22, which is designed to permit regulation of imports if necessary to effectuate farm programs of the United States Government.

The proposed language of subparagraph (B), quoted above, would permit modifications in duties and other import controls in order to effectuate a trade agreement. Thus, under the proposed language, it would appear that, if the President enters any trade agreement under this proposed bill that would involve reductions in import restrictions on dairy products, he could then proceed, under subparagraph (B), to reduce or eliminate the restrictions he has promulgated under section 22. This broad language would also make many other provisions of law, such as the escape clause, countervailing duty, antidumping and pure food drug laws, vulnerable to modification or nullification by presidential proclamation under a trade agreement.

It will be recalled by the committee that the Secretary of Agriculture in his testimony before you January 18, 1955, took the position that subparagraph (B) was too broad. He stated that "We have noted the broad language of subsection B on page 3 of H. R. 1 could be applied in such a way as to render less effective many of the provisions of section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 as amended. So long as the United States has a domestic farm price support program which maintains domestic prices above the world level, it is essential that authority be retained to restrict imports into the United States under the domestic price support program."

It is also significant that no other administration witness appearing before the committee has indicated a desire that the President be given authority to override or modify the safeguarding provisions of existing law such as section 22. I understand that even the drafters of the bill have professed no intention to impair the full and effective operation of section 22.

However, the language in subparagraph (A) of section 3 (a) (1) beginning at line 20 of page 2 leaves doubt on this point as the Secretary of Agriculture has pointed out. If, as contended by the proponents, there is no intent to impair the effective operation of section 22 and other safeguarding provisions of existing law there should be no objection to a clarifying amendment so there can be no misinterpretation of the language later on.

We would suggest that all of the new language in subparagraph (A) following the word "thereof" in line 21 on page 2 of the bill be deleted and insert in lieu thereof a semicolon and the word "and". This would leave the language through subparagraph (B) ending on line 16 of page 3 the same as contained in the existing law and H. R. 1 would still give the President all of the authority that has been publicly requested or explained by administration witnesses supporting the bill. No administration witness has explained the intent behind the new language or expressed a desire for any new power that might be contained or later interpreted therein. Therefore it seems to us that there can be no objection to deleting such new language. So amended, the bill would still give the President all the authority he has asked for.

Also, in order to avoid any subsequent interpretation that Congress has approved or ratified the general regulatory provisions of GATT or other trade agreements, many of which are contrary to existing safeguarding laws such as section 22, we strongly urge that any extension of the Trade Agreements Act again contain a saving clause to the effect that:

"The enactment of this act shall not be construed to determine or indicate the approval or disapproval by the Congress of the Executive agreement known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade."

This language is contained in section 3 of the Extension Act of 1954 (Public Law 464) and a similar section has been included in every extension for the past several years. We urge this Congress to follow the same procedure. Such an amendment to H. R. 1 would not impair any authority requested by the President and there should be no objection thereto.

TABLE 1.—*Prices paid by the Commodity Credit Corporation under price-support program, Mar. 1, 1949, to date*

[Cents per pound]

Period and commodity	Price	
Creamery butter:	*Grade A*	*Grade B*
Mar. 1 to July 27, 1949	59	57
July 28 to Dec. 31, 1949	62	60
Jan. 1, 1950, to Mar. 31, 1951	60	58
Apr. 1, 1951, to Mar. 31, 1952	66	64
Apr. 1, 1952, to Mar. 31, 1953	67.75	65.75
Apr. 1, 1953, to Mar. 31, 1954	[1] 65.75	[1] 63.75
Apr. 1, 1954, to Mar. 31, 1955	[1] 57.5	[1] 55.5
Apr. 1, 1955, to Mar. 31, 1956	[1] 57.5	[1] 55.5
Cheddar cheese (U. S. Grade A):		
July 28 to Dec. 31, 1949	31.75	.....
Jan. 1, 1950, to Mar. 31, 1951	31.00	.....
Apr. 1, 1951, to Mar. 31, 1952	36.00	.....
Apr. 1, 1952, to Mar. 31, 1953	38.25	.....
Apr. 1, 1953, to Mar. 31, 1954	37.00	.....
Apr. 1, 1954, to Mar. 31, 1955	32.25	.....
Apr. 1, 1955, to Mar. 31, 1956	32.25	.....
	Spray process	*Roller process*
Nonfat dry milk solids:		
Apr. 1 to Aug. 31, 1949	12.25	11.00
Sept. 1 to Dec. 31, 1949	12.75	11.50
Jan. 1, 1950, to Mar. 31, 1951	12.50	10.50
Apr. 1, 1951, to Mar. 31, 1952	15.00	13.00
Apr. 1, 1952, to Mar. 31, 1953	17.00	15.00
Apr. 1, 1953, to Mar. 31, 1954	16.00	14.00
Apr. 1, 1954, to Mar. 31, 1955	16.00	14.25
Apr. 1, 1955, to Mar. 31, 1956	16.00	14.25

[1] Basis Chicago terminal market.

Source: Announcements of the Commodity Credit Corporation, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

TABLE 2.—*Butter—Contract prices for butter per pound under United Kingdom purchase contracts with Australia, New Zealand, and Denmark, 1948–49 to date*

[In terms of United States money]

Year	Australia [1] choice grade	New Zealand [2] finest grade	Denmark [3]
	Cents	*Cents*	*Cents*
1948 to 1949	42.1	42.3	.....
1949 to 1950	31.4	31.5	33.0
1950 to 1951	33.9	33.9	36.5
1951 to 1952	36.5	36.5	39.2
1952 to 1953	39.2	39.2	42.2
1953 to 1954	40.8	40.8	43.1

[1] July 1–June 30 contract year.
[2] Aug. 1–July 31 contract year.
[3] Oct. 1–Sept. 30 contract year.

NOTE.—These contracts have now been terminated. Wholesale prices in New Zealand now are about 42.0 cents per pound of butter.

Source: Foreign Agricultural Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

TABLE 3.—*World trade in specified dairy products, by major geographical areas, average 1946–50 and 1953*

[In thousands of pounds]

Area	Average 1946–50		1953	
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
North America:				
Butter	7,221	11,818	553	3,049
Cheese	163,400	36,737	22,349	66,741
Dry milk	304,400	23,095	181,589	26,709
Canned milk	554,870	42,189	169,818	42,087
South America:				
Butter	21,569	6,655	33,583	4,295
Cheese	25,260	8,866	10,218	9,648
Dry milk	2,452	49,787	None	51,700
Canned milk	1,179	14,954	None	9,400
Europe:				
Butter	328,201	776,592	460,396	769,776
Cheese	204,339	597,531	490,917	601,721
Dry milk	82,815	153,263	139,908	189,443
Canned milk	307,654	333,570	611,861	146,135
Asia:				
Butter	None	8,153	None	15,326
Cheese	34	16,376	1,156	8,594
Dry milk	None	119,019	None	91,353
Canned milk	None	303,654	None	259,503
Africa:				
Butter	501	14,759	433	18,021
Cheese	361	27,804	468	30,992
Dry milk	149	5,453	204	5,751
Canned milk	513	22,386	1,226	20,159
Oceania:				
Butter	455,518	None	443,108	None
Cheese	243,338	175	278,657	None
Dry milk	64,256	141	174,669	None
Canned milk	91,096	2	98,726	None

Source: Compiled from reports of the Foreign Agricultural Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

TABLE 4.—*Status of imports of dairy products under sec. 22*

Commodity	Import status prior to July 1, 1953, under sec. 104	Quota status under sec. 22	Import authorization July 1, 1954 through Oct. 31, 1954
		Pounds	*Pounds*
Butter	Embargoed	707,000	707,000
Malted milk	High fat contents embargoed	6,000	6,000
Nonfat dry milk	Embargoed Aug. 9, 1951	1,807,000	1,807,000
Italian cow's milk cheese	Annual quota 9,200,000 pounds	9,200,100	6,047,000
Cheddar	Annual quota, 9,775,000 pounds	2,780,100	1,842,000
Edam and Gouda	Annual quota, 4,600,000 pounds	4,600,200	3,027,000
Blue mold	Annual quota 3,450,000 pounds	4,167,000	2,716,000
Dry whole milk	Embargoed Apr. 1, 1953	7,000	7,000
Dry buttermilk	do	496,000	496,000
Dried cream	do	500	500

Source: From reports of the Livestock Division, Foreign Agricultural Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

TABLE 5.—*Exports and imports of specified dairy products, United States, 1939–53*

[In millions of pounds]

	Butter		Cheese		Condensed milk		Evaporated milk		Dried whole milk		Nonfat dry milk solids	
	Exports [1]	Imports [2]	Exports [1]	Imports [2]	Exports [1]	Imports [2]	Exports [1]	Imports [2]	Exports	Imports [3]	Exports	Imports [3]
1939	2.3	1.1	1.5	59.1	2.3	0.2	27.5	(4)	6.3	(4)	2.1	0.9
1940	2.9	1.4	2.3	32.6	27.4	(4)	118.7	(4)	7.5	(4)	8.7	(4)
1941	3.3	3.7	95.0	20.0	82.0	(4)	602.0	(4)	15.0	(4)	36.0	(4)
1942	15.2	20.1	308.0	24.2	15.0	(4)	381.0	(4)	14.0	(4)	134.0	(4)
1943	85.6	3.3	165.0	25.2	44.0	(4)	568.0	(4)	39.0	(4)	232.0	(4)
1944	87.6	1.7	295.0	9.0	52.0	(4)	591.0	0.1	47.0	(4)	237.0	(4)
1945	45.5	3.7	202.0	8.3	118.0	(4)	759.0	4.6	65.0	(4)	302.0	.1
1946	11.4	7.0	208.0	20.8	85.0	(4)	955.0	.6	152.0	(4)	230.0	(4)
1947	11.2	3.8	177.4	8.7	108.2	(4)	469.8	(4)	101.7	(4)	283.1	(4)
1948	5.8	.2	95.6	23.6	111.4	(4)	315.3	(4)	100.5	(4)	159.2	3.1
1949	4.2	.3	98.0	32.0	78.5	.1	249.5	(4)	81.4	(4)	213.7	5.3
1950	26.3	(4)	54.6	56.2	27.9	(4)	150.1	.4	62.6	(4)	331.1	2.5
1951	21.9	.1	81.0	52.3	28.9	(4)	203.4	(4)	59.5	9.0	224.1	1.0
1952	.9	.5	3.8	49.2	29.6	(4)	97.1	(4)	42.5	37.0	58.7	.6
1953	24.6	.1	[5] 20.1	56.2	18.0	(5)	[5] 134.3	(4)	46.1	5.9	[5] 182.5	.4

[1] Reexports included 1915–33.
[2] General imports, 1915–33, beginning 1934, imports for consumption.
[3] Imports for consumption.
[4] Less than 50,000 pounds.
[5] Preliminary.

Source: The Dairy Situation, Agricultural Marketing Service, 1955 outlook issue, and reports of the Foreign Agricultural Service.

TABLE 6.—*Milk cows and milk production on farms, United States, 1940–54*

Year	Number of milk cows on farms	Production per milk cow		Total milk production on farms [1]	
		Milk	Butterfat	Quantity	Amount per capita
	Thousands	*Pounds*	*Pounds*	*Million pounds*	*Pounds*
1940	24,940	4,622	184	109,412	828
1941	25,453	4,738	188	115,088	863
1942	26,313	4,736	188	118,533	879
1943	27,138	4,598	183	117,017	856
1944	27,704	4,572	182	117,023	846
1945	27,770	4,787	190	119,828	856
1946	26,521	4,886	194	117,007	832
1947	25,842	5,007	199	116,814	810
1948	24,615	5,044	200	112,671	768
1949	23,862	5,272	209	116,103	778
1950	23,853	5,314	210	116,602	769
1951	23,722	5,313	210	114,841	744
1952	23,309	5,328	211	115,197	733
1953	24,094	5,447	213	121,219	759
1954 [2]	24,735	5,500	217	123,796	762

[1] Excludes milk sucked by calves and milk produced by cows not on farms.
[2] Preliminary.

Source: Reports of the Agricultural Marketing Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

TABLE 7.—*Per capita consumption of major dairy products and oleomargarine, average—1935–39, and annual, 1943–54*

[In pounds]

Year	Fluid milk and cream	Butter	Oleo	Cheese	Evaporated	Nonfat solids
Average, 1935–39	330	16.8	2.8	5.5	14.9	1.9
1943	371	11.7	3.8	4.9	16.9	2.1
1944	381	11.8	3.8	4.8	13.6	1.5
1945	399	10.8	4.0	6.6	16.1	1.9
1946	389	10.4	3.8	6.6	16.8	3.2
1947	369	11.1	4.9	6.8	17.9	2.9
1948	355	9.9	6.0	6.8	18.1	3.3
1949	352	10.4	5.7	7.2	17.6	3.2
1950	349	10.6	6.0	7.6	17.9	3.6
1951	352	9.5	6.5	7.1	16.0	4.2
1952	352	8.6	7.8	7.5	15.5	4.6
1953	350	8.6	7.9	7.4	15.2	4.1
1954	352	9.0	8.0	7.6	14.5	4.0

Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service, The Dairy Situation, October 1954.

TABLE 8.—*Status of dairy price-support purchases and utilizations, Apr. 1, 1952, through Dec. 31, 1954*

[In pounds]

	Butter	Cheddar cheese	Nonfat dry milk solids
PURCHASES			
1952–53 (Apr. 1, 1952, to Mar. 31, 1953)	143,348,182	75,236,131	210,410,097
1953–54 (Apr. 1, 1953, to Mar. 31, 1954)	380,184,566	452,485,208	665,871,918
1954–55 (Apr. 1, to Dec. 31, 1954)	176,416,568	124,246,722	408,840,179
	699,949,316	651,968,061	1,285,122,194
USES			
Commercial sales	23,386,895	122,745,838	4,429,851
Animal and mixed feed sales			579,149,831
Sec. 32 outlets	107,008,703	37,236,449	21,146,130

TABLE 8.—Continued

[In pounds]

	Butter	Cheddar cheese	Nonfat dry milk solids
USES—continued			
Sec. 416 donations:			
Domestic	76,990,100	57,981,304	56,500,335
Foreign	158,547,330	93,185,957	266,176,678
Commercial export sales	1,414,350	288,020	2,205,640
Noncommercial export sales [1]	11,362,500		245,149,760
U. S. Army transfers	43,336,871	1,174,288	6,893,765
FOA transfers	9,113,000	4,527,125	11,581,708
Other [2]	3,116,213		80,000
Total	434,275,962	317,138,987	1,193,313,698
ESTIMATED SUPPLIES			
As of Dec. 31, 1954	265,673,354	334,829,074	91,808,496

[1] Butter converted to butter oil for foreign welfare use.
[2] Other uses include butter salvage sale, cocoa butter extender sales, butter sales and donations to the Veterans' Administration, donations of dry milk for research, and butter sold for liquid milk recombining.

Source: Reports of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Report on loan program for whey products and dry buttermilk through Dec. 31, 1954

Products	Quantity placed under loan [1] [2]	Total loan in dollars
Dry whey	35,431,071	$2,125,864.24
Dry whey product	866,732	58,504.41
Condensed whey in packages	2,824,071	169,444.17
Condensed whey in tanks	26,901,531	1,076,060.86
Dry buttermilk		
Total	66,023,405	3,429,873.68

[1] Includes 40,600,632 pounds of dry whey taken over by CCC of which 14,862,300 pounds have been sold for commercial export, leaving 25,738,332 pounds in inventory.
[2] Pounds of milk solids.

Source: Reports of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

TABLE 9.—*Purchases and utilization of dairy products by CCC during 1953 and 1954*

[In millions of pounds]

Purchases	Butter		Cheese		Nonfat dry milk	
	1953	1954	1953	1954	1953	1954
PURCHASES						
January	36.2	28.4	9.0	22.7	29.6	52.8
February	38.6	34.0	17.9	33.2	42.7	55.3
March	52.5	86.2	45.6	178.0	86.6	129.2
April	25.2	14.8	27.1	9.8	46.2	41.5
May	42.3	44.1	35.1	21.9	74.3	75.6
June	66.8	65.6	40.8	33.4	84.4	97.6
July	50.2	35.2	42.5	22.8	67.4	63.9
August	27.1	13.1	30.2	16.8	47.3	45.4
September	4.9	3.1	24.1	12.7	34.8	51.4
October	.9	.1	7.3	4.0	20.4	14.0
November	3.2	.4	4.5	1.7	17.1	8.2
December	11.0	-----	6.9	1.3	36.6	11.2
Total	358.9	325.0	291.0	358.3	587.4	646.2
UTILIZATION						
Commercial domestic sales	3.7	19.7	5.3	116.4	.1	4.3
Animal and mixed feed sales	-----	-----	-----	-----	2.5	578.3
Sec. 32 outlets	71.0	36.0	17.4	19.8	7.5	4.2
Sec. 416 donations:						
Domestic	-----	77.0	-----	58.0	-----	56.5
Foreign	28.1	130.5	14.3	78.9	79.9	186.3
Commercial export sales	-----	1.4	-----	.3	-----	2.2
Noncommercial export sales	-----	11.4	-----	-----	99.3	142.9
FOA transfers	-----	9.1	.5	4.1	-----	11.6
U. S. Army transfers	15.1	28.3	-----	1.2	6.8	.1
Other [1]	.3	3.0	-----	-----	.1	-----
Total	118.2	316.4	37.5	278.7	196.2	986.4
Estimated supplies as of Dec. 31	256.9	265.7	255.2	334.8	432.3	91.8

[1] Other includes butter sold for salvage, for extending cocoa butter, for liquid milk recombining, transferred to the Veterans' Administration, and donation of nonfat dry milk for research use.

Source: Reports of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

APPENDIX A

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF SECTION 22 OF THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, AS DEVELOPED BY THE DIC SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMPORT CONTROL

SEC. 22. (a) It is the policy and the intent of the Congress that, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law and operations thereunder, imports of agricultural commodities or products thereof shall be controlled through import fees or quantitative limitations, to the extent necessary (i) to achieve the purposes of Titles I, II, and III of the Agricultural Act of 1949, or the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, or Section 32, Public Law 320—74th Congress, approved August 24, 1935, as amended, or the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, or any loan, purchase, or other program or operation undertaken by the Department of Agriculture or any Agency operating under its direction, and authorized by the laws enumerated in this paragraph (a), or (ii) prevent any substantial reduction in the amount of any product processed in the United States from any agricultural commodity or product thereof with respect to which any such program or operation is being undertaken. In no event shall imports of any agricultural commodity or product thereof be permitted to exceed, during the marketing year for which a program to support prices to producers directly, or indirectly is in effect under any of the laws enumerated herein, average annual imports of such commodity or product thereof during the 5 year period immediately preceding the current program year, unless and until the United States farm price of such commodity or product, except for milk and butterfat and the products thereof, in which case the United States farm price of butterfat shall govern, reaches (a) parity prices as seasonally adjusted for such commodity or product and remains at such level for 3 consecutive calendar months, or (b) such higher levels as the Secretary may determine pursuant to Section 402 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, Provided, however, That the volume restriction set forth herein shall apply during any period when farm prices are below parity; Provided, further, That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to impose such additional quantitative limitations of imports as the Secretary may find necessary, during the operation of any price support program for any agricultural commodity, to minimize the cost of such purchases, or losses that would be incurred in the disposition of any commodity in Government inventory; and, Provided further, That the procedure set forth in paragraphs (b), (c), and (d) hereof shall be applicable to the establishment of import fees, but shall not be applicable to quantitative limitations except in case the Secretary deems it necessary to limit imports to levels below the level established pursuant to this paragraph (a).

(b) Whenever the Secretary of Agriculture deems it necessary to apply import fees, or quantitative limitations designed to limit imports to lower levels than those authorized in paragraph (a) of this section, he shall so advise the President, and, if the President agrees that there is reason for such belief, the President shall cause an immediate investigation to be made by the United States Tariff Commission, which shall give precedence to investigations under this section to determine such facts. Such investigation shall be made after due notice and opportunity for hearing to interested parties, and shall be conducted subject to such regulataions as the President shall specify.

(c) If, on the basis of such investigation and report to him of findings and recommendations made in connection therewith, the President finds the existence of such facts, he shall by proclamation impose such fees not in excess of 50 percent ad valorem or such quantitative limitations on any article or articles which may be entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption as he finds and declares shown by such investigation to be necessary in order that the entry of such article or articles will not render or tend to render ineffective, or materially interfere with, any program or operation referred to in subsection (a) of this section, or reduce substantially the amount of any product processed in the United States from any such agricultural commodity or product thereof with respect to which any such program or operation is being undertaken: *Provided,* That no proclamation under this section shall impose any limitation on the total quantity of any article or articles which may be entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption which reduces such permissible total quantity to proportionaltely less than 50 percent of the total quantity of such article or articles which was entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption during a representative period as determined by the President: *And provided further,* That in designating any article or articles, the President may describe them by physical qualities, value, use, or upon such other bases as he shall determine.

(d) The fees and limitations imposed by the President by proclamation under this section and any revocation, suspension, or modification thereof, shall become effective on such date as shall be therein specified, and such fees shall be treated for administrative purposes and for the purposes of section 32 of Public Law 320, 74th Congress approved August 24, 1935, as amended, as duties imposed by the Tariff Act of 1930, but such fees shall not be considered as duties for the purpose of granting any preferential concession under any international obligation of the United States.

(e) After investigation, report, finding, and declaration in the manner provided in the case of a proclamation issued pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, any proclamation or provision of such proclamation may be suspended or terminated by the President whenever he finds and proclaims that the circumstances requiring the proclamation or provision thereof no longer exist or may be modified by the President whenever he finds and proclaims that changed circumstances require such modification to carry out the purposes of this section.

(f) Any decision of the President as to facts under this section shall be final.

(g) No trade agreement or other international agreement heretofore or hereafter entered into by the United States shall be applied in a manner inconsistent with the requirements of this section.

United States Should Pay All Channel Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

UNITED STATES SHOULD PAY ALL CHANNEL COSTS

To residents of Delaware Valley, United States of America, the most important single aspect of President Eisenhower's budget message is the shattering blow it deals to hopes dredging a 40-foot channel in the Delaware River.

In general, the budget contains few surprises. Most Americans will applaud the continuing emphasis on economy, reflected in a reduction of the spending total to $62,400,000,000. They will welcome a further cut in the anticipated deficit and recognize the need to carry on present taxes for another year.

But the administration's approach to the pressing problem of dredging the Delaware up as far as Trenton is both surprising and difficult to understand. It involves provisions which are not only of questionable wisdom, but also have been rejected by Congress.

The Delaware is one of those navigable waters over which the Federal Government has traditionaly exercised control. Thanks to the location of the Fairless works of the United States Steel Corp., near Morrisville, it has become more important than ever before as an artery of commerce. To accommodate heavier ore boats and other traffic, it should have a 40-foot channel from Trenton to the sea.

Since navigable waters are historically the responsibility of the Federal Government, it was perfectly proper for local interests to ask that money be given the United States Army engineers to pay for the dredging. The total cost—about $91 million—amounts to only about 2 years' customs receipts in Philadelphia, paid into the Federal Treasury.

Against this background, spelled out time and again by delegations from this area visiting Congressmen and members of the White House staff, the treatment of the channel project in the new budget is downright shameful.

An appropriation of only $6 million is suggested for the first year's work on the channel. And this has a big "if" attached. For the administration will not request even this plainly inadequate amount unless local interests put up $18 million for the first year.

Presumably the chief local interest is United States Steel, which already has poured $500 million into the construction of its new plant, to the benefit of the area—and of the Federal Treasury. Additional local interests expected to share in the cost might be other industries located in Delaware Valley—or even those which might come here later.

But, as a practical matter, the Government wouldn't save the $18 million. More than half of that amount would come out of corporation taxes now paid by United States Steel or other concerns to the Government. There would be a further revenue loss in the reduction of amounts available for dividends, in many cases taxed at the top rates. The Government would lose still more in higher prices it paid for steel or other products.

If the practical objections to this scheme are strong, those based on traditional principles are even stronger. What sort of rights in the Delaware River would United States Steel be establishing by paying for the dredging? How would the public's right to use the river be affected by the Government's insistence that dredging is a private responsibility?

The Federal Government already is benefiting handsomely and directly from the development of this entire area, given such a tremendous boost by the location of the new steel works. It will continue to benefit, in tax receipts and in the prosperity of the people, if the Delaware River is utilized to its fullest potentials.

Last year Congress turned down a proposal to require private interests to pay for the dredging. In spite of that, the Budget Bureau has stubbornly returned with exactly the same proposal.

Let us hope that Congress continues to write the laws of the land and, if necessary, forces the Budget Bureau to stop blocking this project and provide enough Federal funds to assure a 40-foot channel.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, it is most appropriate to have in conjunction with the time set aside in the House today for tribute to Lithuania, an expression by two fine Americans of Lithuanian extraction who have made known their views to the Editor of the Hartford (Conn.) Times. The letter by Albina and Joseph Belazaras is as follows:

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

To the EDITOR OF THE TIMES:

As the tide of communism continues its, thus far, successful progress toward world engulfment, let us pause in remembrance of Lithuania, one of the first victims of that scourge.

It is appropriate that on February 16, the 37th anniversary of the rebirth of the Lithuanian nation, we ask how long a nation must suffer for the wrongs of its oppressors?

On June 15, 1940, almost 15 years ago, Lithuania slipped beneath the sea of misery and death that is Soviet communism.

After the invasion of Soviet troops fake elections were held on July 14 and 15. E. J. Harrison, former British vice consul in Kaunas and Vilnius, in his book, "Lithuania's Fight for Freedom," describes what took place:

"It was announced that 95.51 percent of the electorate voted in favor of the Working People's Union candidates. It appears, however, that the votes were not actually counted and were destroyed immediately thereafter. This is supported by the fact that the results of the voting were announced in one of the London papers 24 hours before the polls were closed. Nor does the claim of 95.51 percent of the electorate voting appear to be true. As became known later, only some 16 to 18 percent of the electorate actually voted."

At the same time the United States State Department issued a statement in regard to the situation which remains in effect to this day:

"During the past few days devious processes, whereunder the political independence and territorial interests of the three small Baltic Republics—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbors, have been rapidly drawing to their conclusion. The people of the United States have watched the admirable progress of these Baltic republics with sympathy and interest and are opposed to predatory acts, no matter whether they are carried out by the use or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other, however weak.

On the 37th anniversary of the independence of this valiant nation, we extend our message of hope to the people of Lithuania. But we, the free, must do more than that.

It is our duty to keep before all nations of the world the tragic truth of Lithuania. It is not enough to offer them hope; we must show that we are resolute, as they are, in our fight against the scourge of communism.

The enslaved people of Lithuania can take heart in the policy of the American Government in continued recognition of the original legal government of Lithuania.

They can also find expression of our purpose in the work of the Baltic Committee of Congress which is seeking to find the truth behind the Soviet seizure of Lithuania.

As long as we keep alive the truth about Lithuania, we keep alive the hopes of the Lithuanian people for eventual freedom and independence.

A regime which is founded on lies and terror cannot last, for it bears the seeds of its own destruction.

In the same way, a democratic nation—whether as an idea or as a political expression—has inherent in it those qualities which insure its preservation.

As long as the Lithuanian people feel and think as a freedom-loving independent nation, Lithuania cannot and never will be destroyed.

ALBINA and JOSEPH BELAZARAS.
EAST HARTFORD.

Excerpts From Address by Frank A. Kemp, President, the Great Western Sugar Co., Denver, Colo., at Annual Meeting of California Beet Growers Association, Ltd., St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco, February 4, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following address by Mr. Frank A. Kemp, president of the Great Western Sugar Co., Denver, Colo., at the annual meeting of the California Beet Growers Association, Ltd., in San Francisco, Calif., on February 4, 1955:

With the possible exception of the capacity to raise hell, which appears not to be confined to any latitude, people or climate, the ability to raise sugar seems almost the world's most universal attribute. The fact is that the two plants involved, sugarcane in the tropics and the sugar beet in the temperate zones, are among nature's most efficient mechanisms. The student of sugar, if he is to understand its problems, must start with this fact. He must understand that over wide reaches of the tropics, an acre devoted to cane generally will bring in money enough to buy the staple foods that the same acre would produce if planted to them, and at the same time support a type of society, master and peon, which seems to be permanently imbedded in many Latin-American cane areas. The sugar beet, on its part, makes a significant contribution to solvent agriculture for which there is no substitute or replacement over wide areas, in bringing to the husbandman the benefits of an intensively cultivated crop, turning out a finished product on the one hand, with the byproducts making possible a farm-feeding, soil-fertilization cycle that produces an astonishing amount of meat and milk and restores to the soil most of the plant food used by the beet crop.

Except for the war period, there has not been a time in my sugar experience when it did not seem that the ability of the world to produce the commodity was greater than the demand. Therein lies both the seed and the fruit of a problem, that today in this year 1955, has been brought home to con-

front and perplex the operator of every present and potential sugar beet farm in this country, large and small.

If I talk about that problem this afternoon, you must understand that I do so with the knowledge that what I say is known to most of you, that many among you are equally or better acquainted with the facts. Nevertheless, every opportunity at which a group such as this can take time from other interests to talk and think about the sugar problem, should not be overlooked, and I shall not pass up the opportunity afforded me to speak about it.

What I shall say are largely my personal views. I submit them to you to stimulate thought and comment, to bring about a better understanding of some phases of the subject that often are hurried over, and to urge the industry in this great State to the continued earnest exercise of its good judgment and its potent influences. Beyond all that, someone in the domestic industry had better start talking or we will be judged by default.

The war ended with many of the participants in a state of near or total exhaustion. Nevertheless, experience after the First World War demonstrated that the recuperative power of the sugar industry, once set in motion, was very strong. Back in 1946 it seemed to many people that the situations, the experiences, and the needs of those most concerned in this market should be studied and an attempt made quickly to develop a pattern and a program that would make sense, that would be a reasonably fair and equitable compromise, that would call for what might be termed a real community of sacrifice, that would fairly protect the interests of consumers, and which would be in the national interest of the country.

You will note that I mentioned prominently in this list the need of compromise, of sacrifice by all. That need, of course, arose out of the readily recognizable fact that if the Philippine industry were to be rehabilitated, as seemed likely over a period of time, potential sugar production within the orbit of the American market was definitely greater than any total demand of that market up to that time.

Even then there arose in some quarters a hue and cry for foreign purchases. Cuba, it was said, had magnanimously increased during the war its sugar production at our request (there seemed then and now no willingness to credit Cuba's altruism to the great profits which she made out of the business), and it would be a shame, the same interests urged, not to allow Cuba time and opportunity gradually to recede from the peak of production that she had climbed.

The domestic sugar-producing areas took a look at the records of their own recent past, and without exception read from them too bearish a view of the future; with not enough weight given to the fact that in this country there had been a deliberate drive by the Government during the war by price support and other means to switch land from sugar into crops like cereals and beans; that land had been taken in Hawaii for military use; that our tractor men went off to ride Patton's tanks; that the rebound of demand from sugar rationing would be a very significant one.

At any rate, the domestic industry believed then, exactly as it should believe today, that part of the sugar demand of this country should be filled by imported sugar and part by sugar domestically produced. And to the everlasting credit of the domestic industry of that time, it participated and cooperated in a most generous and forthright fashion with other sugar interests and our Government in the measurement of the compromise and sacrifice that the facts and beliefs of the time suggested.

Unfortunately, the domestic people were not accorded in 1947 any share whatever in the growth or progress of the country. We were given a fixed quantity. We accepted it, although we made it clear that if circumstances altered we would present the changed facts when the change took place. None realized the extent by which the country would grow, the percentage by which the population annually would increase. In the light of what has since transpired, it is incredible that no provision was made that we should grow as the country grew. After all, it is in part out of our own overall contribution as citizens that the country has grown as it has, yet we are denied any part of that which we ourselves have made possible. Foreign suppliers receive as an unexpected and unjustified windfall, every ounce of increased sugar demand.

From 1947, when the present quotas were enacted, to 1954, the annual sugar market in this country increased about 1,050,000 tons. Except for 176,000 tons, ceded to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands in 1951, every ounce of that increase has gone to Cuba and other foreign suppliers, and unless the law be changed, every ounce of all future increase in demand will further swell the foreign share. At the same time, the domestic cane and beet areas, cut back in acreage, denied the right to improve yields except by further acreage restriction, plagued by above-normal stocks in warehouse, look timidly over the fence and wonder, if growth is good for Cuba, should it not also be recognized to be good for California, and Idaho, and Colorado, and Louisiana?

But make no mistake about it, we owe, and the country owes, sincere and determined allegiance to the broad principles of the existing sugar program. It has been, as President Eisenhower declared last year, one of the most successful agricultural statutes. With the successive reductions in the sugar tariff that have been decreed since the first sugar law was enacted, the modest tax still imposed upon its manufacture has been offset several times by tariff reduction. The payment to each producer is largely financed out of the tax paid by the sugar he himself produced, and is in fact what was once described as "a redivision of return in the industry." The Treasury makes a net profit from the sugar program—a consideration not to be lightly regarded in these days of unbalanced national budgets.

The President said more than once that he puts first on his list the need to keep the United States strong. I am very confident that he does not intend to lose sight of this for any reason. If the United States is to be kept strong, its important industries must be kept strong. Its agriculture must be kept strong. Our people must be permitted to make the most of their opportunities. Men making homes on American land must have the right to grow the crop best adapted to the soil and climate. These facts must be recognized. And if they are, there must be some expansion of the presently restricted right to produce sugar in this country.

Let me make it clear again, I believe that our sugar need should be filled in part by foreign and in part by domestic suppliers. As domestic producers, vitally interested in what is best for the country along with what we would like in our own behalf, we should support a fair and proper allocation to foreign sugar. In the first meeting representatives of the beet industry had with Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, our spokesmen said that we had accepted a solemn duty to view our beliefs as to sugar in the light of the whole national interest as well as our own interest. I am proud to say that we have fulfilled that self-imposed obligation to the hilt and to this minute.

It is strikingly evident that there are many important influences at work behind the sugar scene and on the sugar stage. Unfortunately, close collaboration during the war between our Government and all sugar groups, including the Cuban sugar industry, has prompted some of the Cubans to act as if they had acquired vested and preferential rights of citizens of the United States. The so-called Wall Street Cubans have a large publicity and propaganda staff actively at work. It is a new twist to the trade perspective that investment in a foreign country and the desire to enlarge profits on that investment would bring the investor into direct and open conflict with domestic interests.

A recent circular from Cuba addressed to every Rotary Club in this country requested consideration of a scurrilous propaganda piece containing this choice message from a foreigner:

"It does not appear sensible to hurt the countless concerns who have been able to make Cuba an excellent market for their wares and a solid source of money income, just in order to give additional advantages to a handful of already overprivileged sugar producers, artificially supported by a protective tariff plus subsidy payments."

That is an unprovoked aggression. The prejudice and falsity which it discloses would make any responsible propagandist hang his head. Naturally, it raised the gorge of a lot of people in the domestic sugar industry who more than once took Cuba's part—back in 1947, again in 1951, and again in the development and effectuation of the International Sugar Agreement.

Unfortunately, a recent circular addressed by the same Cuban interests to all county agents in this country in the same vein is an example, other publicity suggests that the quotation may be but a sample of the lengths some of the Cuban industry is prepared to go to refuse any sharing of the fortunate privilege that so accidentally fell into their laps.

The angry lament that rises in some quarters in Cuba on any suggestion of reconsideration of the situation in which the American domestic interests have been placed is intentionally misleading and unfair, among other reasons, because it gives the inference that Cuba has already suffered a grave loss of market because of increases in domestic production. That is not the fact. Let's look at the record: The production of the United States beet industry was 1,802,000 tons in 1938 and 1,872,000 tons in 1953—an increase of only 4 percent. But let's see what Cuba had done: Cuba produced 3,089,578 short tons in 1938 and 5,390,786 tons in 1953—an actual increase of over 74 percent.

And what happened elsewhere? Great Britain increased her beet-sugar production from 1938 to 1953, 148 percent; Holland, 111 percent; France, 90 percent; Mexico, between the same years, increased her cane-sugar production, 149 percent; the Dominican Republic, 45 percent; Brazil, 109 percent; Australia, 52 percent. The simple fact is that the rest of the world supported its domestic sugar industries, although as a consequence Cuba was deprived of some part of her so-called world market. Nothing is said by Cuba about these competitive increases by other countries, but cries arise to the high heavens at the slightest suggestion that some hope is to be held out to the American industry.

There is no clear view of what lies ahead of us. The mainland cane industry says it has been cut back 10 and then 8 percent in acreage; that in the light of the size of its inventory on January 1 last, it can market less than 20 percent of its 1955 production in 1955; that its last 3-year average yield of cane is nearly 13 percent higher than the 3-year average ending 4 years ago. It points to the reasonable conclusion from these facts that it faces a still further cut in acreage.

Our industry has increased its sugar yield per acre by around 20 percent since the prewar period. We have been cut back in acreage from 1954 plantings 10 percent for the area as a whole, some States taking a cut of

over 13 percent. Our January 1 inventory will permit sale of less than 10 percent of the 1955 quota out of 1955 production. In many areas men on new lands, making new homes, cannot get the right to plant beets; in older areas acreage cutbacks endanger rotation plans and threaten uneconomical ownership of expensive beet machinery.

You men and the other members of the California association set new production records last year. To my knowledge no acreage of equal size in the world ever attained so great a yield of beets or of sugar per acre. It was an extraordinary record. It evidenced the benefits of fertile soil and a favorable season. But it also reflected improvement in farming methods, application of new skills, the adoption of scientific and research findings, for which you men and the industry alone are entitled to the credit.

One of the most unfortunate implications in the situation in which the beet industry finds itself, because of the present quota provisions of the law, is that everything else being equal, such a record of progress would have to be offset by a reduction in acres in order that the fixed quota would not be exceeded. That would deny you and the industry the benefit of improvement, the fruits of scientific progress. Is there any American who would contend that this is right, that America can be made strong by such restrictions?

Yet in spite of these appalling facts, there is a determined intent in some high places to refuse relief, to deny even consideration of relief for 2 years. I understand that on Thursday last a group of 26 Senators and Congressmen took personally to the President a rather simple and direct proposal; namely, that this year, not 1956, was the year to consider and act on sugar law extension and revision; that Secretary Benson would be a good man to designate as the right person to set in motion consideration of what should be done. I understand that no attempt was made to present or urge substantive proposals. I understand the President's attitude was interpreted as reasonably favorable to these simple suggestions. Yet within a few hours the eastern papers carried big headlines screaming of a threat to Cuba's existence.

I have great hope that Secretary Benson, who has demonstrated his complete dedication to highest principle, will not only interest himself in, but with the consent and authorization of the President, will move forward to find a sound, equitable, and forthright solution to all sugar claims. It has been done before; it was done in 1947 under Secretary of Agriculture Anderson. If the will exists it can be done again. For our industry, I hope most earnestly that we will contribute a sensible, moderate definition of our needs. I urge this in the interest of the industry and of the Nation.

The basic position of the industry has had some real and very welcome support; the National Reclamation Association, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the legislatures of a number of Western States have passed strong resolutions and memorials in our behalf, and there will be many more.

But to go back for a moment to the American sugar system, the Cubans themselves think very, very well of it. Within recent weeks the well-known brokerage firm of Luis Mendoze & Co., of Habana, had this to say:

"We are extremely lucky that such a quota system exists, as otherwise domestic beet and cane producers and Puerto Rico would be dumping half a million tons more in the American market, and Peru, Formosa, Indonesia, and all other sugar exporting countries would compete with us in the United States market causing Cuba's financial ruin."

The fact is that there is no single interest that has not been benefited by the law, including that most important person without whom there would be no market, the American consumer. Let us never forget to make it our duty to see that his reasonable interests are fully looked out for.

There is one other war cry I make every time I have the opportunity and that is to sound my conviction that this country must see to it that we maintain a solvent and prosperous agriculture, with conditions on the farm that will prompt men and women to make their homes on the land, conditions that will provide them with more leisure, more opportunity, and more time for the education of their children, more satisfaction for the whole farm family. All that must be achieved for the proper livelihood of our cities, our enterprises, all industry. No one should make any mistake about it; unless agriculture is solvent and prosperous, this country will go to pot.

If we can get the needed adjustments, we can look to the future with real confidence. We can breed still better seed; still further improve yields; cut farming costs; increase feeding grains and lower feeding costs; continue mechanization so that both the pay and the dignity of the field worker are increased. We can continue to produce honest products and to provide users of them with the variety and the service they require and want. The industry should continue to pay fair returns to the people who grow the beets and to those whose money is invested in the properties; continue to bear its fair share of American taxes; build its part of the roads; provide steady and desirable employment.

Golden Anniversary of Jewish Memorial Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, it is a great satisfaction to record a communal achievement in the congressional district that I have the honor to represent, which deserves to be known widely and which can serve as an example for similar institutions throughout the country.

I refer to Jewish Memorial Hospital, a voluntary supported, nonsectarian institution, with a staff and with patients from all races and creeds, located at Broadway and 196th Street, which has rendered invaluable communal services to one of the fastest growing areas in the city of New York. This year it is celebrating its golden anniversary, the 50th year of its founding, marking a milestone in its history. The hospital is noted not only for its unusually high standards in medical and nursing services, but also for significant researches in medicine, for its program of community health education, and as a pioneer in programs for children.

The hospital has developed from a small institution to one that now has over 200 beds and bassinets, with a program approved by the Hospital Council of greater New York to increase its capacity by 140 beds, based on increased requirements of the area served by the institution.

As I have indicated, the hospital is currently celebrating the 50th year of its founding. In the course of its history it has secured approval of all of the important hospital and medical associations and has attained a distinctive reputation for its high standards, its unsurpassed administration, its fine medical staff, and its dedicated board of trustees, a group of philanthropically minded citizens, headed by one of our city's outstanding businessmen, Mr. David Schwartz, of Jonathan Logan, Inc.

Research at the hospital has included important work, including: Work on the Rh blood factor—a dramatic achievement some years ago was a complete blood transfer to save a new-born baby; on leukemia—you may recall the Louis boy story, a Sing-Sing prisoner who offered himself for experimentation to save the life of 6-year-old Marcia Slater and who was later pardoned by Governor Dewey; with radioisotopes—Jewish Memorial Hospital is one of the few in New York City authorized to work on radioisotopes by the Atomic Energy Commission; and on trypsin—again, you may remember the dramatic last-minute call to the Jewish Memorial Hospital from Australia in an attempt to save the life of Sister Kenny.

I particularly emphasize the extraordinary research done at this hospital, because it paves the way for what can be done in other parts of the country.

Research at Jewish Memorial Hospital expanded to such a point in recent years that it was necessary to add a new wing to the present hospital building. Last fall the new research laboratory was dedicated and provided an occasion for community celebration and for tributes from outstanding Americans.

It may be of interest to recall some of the statements made on that occasion.

One of the main speakers was Dr. Ralph Bunche, the distinguished Nobel peace prize winner, who said:

This dedication signals a new advance in the development of a distinguished institution which for nearly half a century has rendered invaluable service to the community. Its portals welcome the needy. Its staff and facilities are open to all races and creeds. Its standards are among the highest.

The new research laboratory building will augment the facilities and expand the horizon of service of this hospital. Within these new walls, over the years, will be carried on the work of dedicated men and women which inevitably will bring new and greater benefits to humanity in its constant struggle against disease and suffering and untimely death.

Mayor Robert F. Wagner, of New York, felicitated the institution in these words:

My congratulations to you, the board and all those who have made possible this auspicious occasion, the dedication of the hospital's new research laboratory building. The addition of this important new facility for the expansion of the many noteworthy services provided by the Jewish Memorial Hospital is in keeping with the magnificent tradition of progress and contribution to our community's welfare that has been continuous since the hospital's founding almost a half century ago. As I advised, I greatly regret I cannot be with you to express personally my warm admiration for your objectives, and how grateful we all are for your cooperation in providing the means to carry on important research so vital to the health and welfare of us all.

The president of the board of trustees, Mr. David Schwartz, explained the origin of the new Research Laboratory Building when he said:

From the first day of my association with Jewish Memorial Hospital I urged and fought for the extension of our research work. We, of this hospital, believe that our services to the community should consist not only of curing the sick but of doing what is possible to study and to prevent illness and disease. We achieved some success toward our goal within the limited facilities at our disposal up to this time. This is evidenced by a number of major contributions in the field of medicine and research by the members of our staff, as for example with radioactive isotopes, in the study of cancer, leukemia, and the Rh factor in the newborn. With the magnificent expanded facilities which we are dedicating today, we have every reason to hope for even greater advances and achievements in the field of research. This is not something abstract. It is of direct benefit to patients, patients in our hospital and in other institutions. This is our pride: That we are being of direct help to those who suffer from illness and disease. And we are also proud of the fact that no one seeking treatment in this hospital is asked about his race, religion, or origin. A disease germ does not recognize those distinctions. Neither do we. A glance at our staff and at our patients will show the nonsectarian, universal character of our hospital services.

Last, the building itself was dedicated by one of our city's most distinguished spiritual leaders, Dr. Israel Goldstein, rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, who said:

It is a source of special pleasure to me that my participation in these ceremonies today is an encore to my participation in the ceremonies at the dedication of your main building some years ago. The participation of clergy of several denominations then as now is no doubt a triple-clad guaranty of your success. Actually, it is a tribute to the broad character of your ministry of healing which does not ask whether a person is Christian or Jew; black or white; but only whether he is in need of the service you have to offer.

It is a sign of strength and progress that, between the dedication of the former building and the dedication of this building, new forces have come into your work, and into the carrying of the responsibilities. This is a tribute to the older men who have recognized the need for new reinforcements and have made room for new people. It is also a tribute to the younger men who so ably and generously have stepped into the noble tradition of their forebears.

This building can be dedicated because men have been dedicated, giving their time, their energy, and their resources to this institution. Yet, in every group, there is always one who stands out among his colleagues—primus inter pares—the one to whom recognition gravitates because his colleagues recognize in him unsual endowments of heart and spirit, in sight and foresight, sound judgment seasoned with courage and a dash of daring, and extraordinary business success which has not spoiled the humanity of the man. The Jewish Memorial Hospital is fortunate in having such a leader in David Schwartz, its president.

Efficiency must not necessarily be accompanied by austerity. A stern manner is not necessarily a sign of great skill. Though I am only a layman in this field, I venture the opinion that the doctor's affability and the nurse's smile do not retard convalescence. A pleasant manner does not hurt even in international relations, witness the success of Dr. Ralph Bunche who honors us with his presence today. To doctors and nurses, of course, the illness and suffering of patients are part of their daily routine, but not so to the patients themselves. Fortunate, therefore, is the patient who receives the ministry of skill seasoned with kindness. I trust that this community will always think of Jewish Memorial Hospital as the hospital with a smile, where skill is sweetened with kindness.

This building which we are dedicating today has untold possibilities for the well-being of men, women, and children everywhere. In the age of the atom, when we are hoping that the secrets of atomic energy may serve the purposes of peace and not of war, it may be that this building will have much to do with applying some of the results of these researches to the healing or the prevention of disease.

Thus we dedicate the research laboratory wing of the Jewish Memorial Hospital. Recalling the phrase of the prophet, Malachai, I pray that, like the son of righteousness, the Jewish Memorial Hospital may bring healing in its wings.

Mr. Speaker, this is a singular occasion for all of us to join in our tribute to this invaluable institution that for 50 years has striven earnestly and effectively to save lives, to restore health, to cure, and in other ways to serve the people in the community.

The hospital is marking its golden anniversary with a dinner, to be held on April 16 in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel under the chairmanship of another distinguished New York philanthropist, Sol Rosenblatt.

I know that the community and my distinguished colleagues join with me in felicitations, in grateful appreciation for services already rendered and in hopes that the next half century will see a continued flowering of the precious values that Jewish Memorial Hospital is bringing to its community, to the city of New York, to America, and to all the world.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, again this year, at the commemoration of the 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence, the members and guests of the Council of Lithuanian Societies of Baltimore had the privilege of hearing from the counselor of the Lithuanian Legation, the Honorable J. Kajeckas; and, under leave to extend my remarks, it is a pleasure to insert his speech in the RECORD.

It follows:

TRANSLATION OF SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. J. KAJECKAS, COUNSELOR OF THE LITHUANIAN LEGATION, ON THE OCCASION OF THE 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE, AT LITHUANIAN HALL, BALTIMORE, MD., ON FEBRUARY 12, 1955

Today is the day of triumph for the Lithuanian Nation. The proclamation of Lithuania's independence, under the circumstances, was an heroic act. It marked the fulfillment of the hopes of the Lithuanian Nation through long years of oppression. It led her from oppression to freedom and its blessings.

There was eagerness to get things done and to progress. The people hastened to compensate for the time lost under oppression. The Lithuanian took his "plough, book, and lyre," and opened a new path to Lithuanian glory. A comparatively high standard of living was reached. Marvelous progress was achieved in all spheres of activity. Lithuania achieved that which can only be achieved under freedom. This is recognized by Lithuanians and foreigners alike. It is not without reason that even today Lithuania is referred to by its oppressors as Little America, and they hasten to it eagerly to garner the fruits thereof for their eternally empty beggars' pouches. It is not without reason that even today in the Caucasus and elsewhere in the Soviet Union an American is mistaken for a person from the Baltic States.

This anniversary is also our Thanksgiving Day. It is proper and right that we should remember, though briefly and only in part, those to whom we owe gratitude for Lithuania's independence.

In the first place to God. To Him who gave the command to love one's fatherland as one's mother. To Him who for centuries did not forsake the suffering Lithuanian Nation but extended solace and hope to the weary and terrorized serf. To Him who inspired the hearts of those who risked deportation to Siberia for a printed word, for a prayer book, and for clinging to the language those in a school of despair. To Him who brought to their knees neighboring giant states that sought Lithuania's enslavement and endowed freedom on the humbled Lithuanian Nation. If God had not blessed the efforts of the Lithuanian Nation to be free, they would have been in vain, as in vain they were in the case of much larger and stronger nations.

We are grateful to the signatories of the act of independence. Some of them paid for it with their lives to the present aggressor.

We are grateful to friendly countries, but most of all to these United States of America. America never has forgotten the enslaved peoples of the world, wherever they may be. Lincoln, who's birthday we also commemorate today, stressed that the American Declaration of Independence promised the hope of freedom to the whole world for the whole future. President Wilson raised the right of self-determination of nations and created proper conditions that freedom might also be Lithuania's rightful lot.

We are grateful to the simply-clad but determined Lithuanian volunteers, to the Lithuanian Army.

The role of Lithuanian-Americans in the achievement of Lithuanian independence and the strengthening of its foundations is great. Their efforts are both varied and imposing. I do not attempt to enumerate them. Honor and gratitude are due to the numerous known and less known supporters and friends of Lithuania.

This anniversary is also the day of mourning, solace, hope, and determination.

The storm raised by tyrants crushed Lithuania. She fell a victim in an unequal struggle. We mourn because of her present fate. Nevertheless, her spirit is still gloriously alive.

In the summer of 1941 everyone rose up against Lithuania's enslavers. When the Red Dragon returned a second time, it was confronted with a most remarkable and formidable underground resistance organization. The congressional committee presided over by the Honorable Charles J. Kersten registered numerous heroic episodes of that underground struggle. After the death of Stalin even the enslaved Lithuanians in the Vorkuta slave-labor camps in Siberia arose. Over there even Heaven is being stormed by secret and collective prayers under far more terrible circumstances than those of the darkest times of the catacombs of Rome.

We are deeply grateful to the American Government and the American people for the condemnation of Soviet aggression in the Baltic States and the nonrecognition of their occupation. Soon after General Eisenhower became President, he stated that he will never give into bondage any nation. In spite of the Soviet offensive of so-called peaceful coexistence, he stressed that: "the peace we seek is * * * not bought at the expense of others, of principle" (New York Times, October 21, 1954). In his Christmas address he again reiterated: "Let no one think that we want peace at any price, that we shall forsake principle * * *, or that we may pawn our honor for transitory concession" (Department of State Bulletin, December 27, 1954).

We rejoice at the great work accomplished last year by the Baltic Committee, later known as the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, with the Honorable Charles J. Kersten at the head, and to Honorable Senator DOUGLAS for his sympathetic resolution.

We rejoice at the repeated sympathetic statements in regard to Lithuania expressed by the Honorable Governor of Maryland, by its senators, congressmen, the house of delegates and the Honorable Mayor of the city of Baltimore. Lithuania is also deeply honored by the presence of the distinguished guests gathered here tonight.

To all of them the Lithuanian nation owes a deep and lasting gratitude.

Thus, we are not forgotten and we are not alone. Our enemy is the enemy of both the free and the enslaved world. The Red Dragon seeks to "liberate" all: in other words, to enslave, annihilate, dehumanize, and steep in misery. Nevertheless, justice will prevail. Let us do our part. If a Lithuanian in his fatherland and an exile in Siberia do not break down, a free Lithuanian should never waver in his determination and hope to see Lithuania free again. Let us remain united and determined. Tyrants are not eternal. According to Vaižgantas:

"As soon as the hands of the strangler open, the nation will immediately revive with the first breath of its own precious air, and cry out: 'I am still alive.'"

Mr. Speaker, in the belief that the Members of Congress will also find very interesting the brief outline of Lithuanian history which emphasizes that nation's constant struggle to maintain its independence and freedom, sometimes successful, sometimes unsuccessful, I include it at this point:

THE OUTLINE OF LITHUANIAN HISTORY

THE KINGDOM-GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA, 1200–1795

Two hundred years of struggle against the German knights and the crusaders from all of Europe. Expansion of Lithuanian borders to vast regions of eastern Europe.

1251: Coronation of Mindaugas as King of Lithuania.

1236 and 1260: Two decisive battles in which invading Teutonic Order and crusaders were defeated and Germans' blitz conquest of Lithuania and whole eastern Europe was averted.

1362: The battle in Ukraine where Lithuania defeated Tartars, won Ukraine and checked the expansion of the Tartars to the west.

1387: Baptism of Lithuania.

1392: Vytautas the Great became the ruler of Lithuania. Lithuania became the largest empire in eastern Europe.

1410: Tannenberg. The combined armies of Lithuania and Poland under the direct command of Vytautas the Great crushed the Germans and stopped "Drang nach Osten" for several centuries.

1462–1795: Lithuania resisted the Russians "Drang nach Westen."

1400–1500: The pinnacle of Lithuanian power.

1528: Land census in Lithuania, the first comprehensive census undertaken in Europe.

1529: The first Lithuanian statutes, the first real code of laws in Europe since Justinian.

1550–1569: Agrarian reform.

1569: Treaty of Lublin created a confederation of Lithuania and Poland. Decline of Lithuania began.

1579: The Academy of Vilnius established. Later transformed into University of Lithuania.

1605: Lithuanian forces defeated Sweden at Salaspilis.

1620: Polish-Lithuanian Armies under the command of Lithuanian Marshal Katkus defeated huge Turkish Army in Moldavia.

Sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth centuries: Continuous wars with Russia and Sweden.

1795–96: End of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; Lithuania occupied by Russians.

1812: Temporary reestablishment of Lithuania during Napoleonic War with Russia.

1831: First insurrection against Russia.

1863: Second insurrection.

1905: Third insurrection.

1918–40—REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

1918: February 16—Proclamation of reestablishment of Lithuania as an independent republic.

1919–20: War for independence against Russians, Germans, and Poles.

1923: Return of Klaipeda Memil region from Germany to Lithuania.

1922: Agrarian reform.

1920–39: Rapid growth of Lithuanian economy and cultural life.

1939: Lithuania regained the capital Vilnius.

1940: Occupation of Lithuania by huge Russian Army.

1941: The first deportation to Siberia.

1941: Revolt of Lithuania against Russia at the beginning of German-Russian War. The Government of Lithuania reestablished. In short time the independence was suppressed by Nazis.

1944: Russians reoccupied Lithuania.

1944: Underground resistance against Communist Russia and continuous heroic fight of Lithuanian partisans for freedom of Lithuania and also of all freedom-loving people in the world.

Also for the information of the Members, I am including the text of the resolution adopted by those present at the banquet, relating to the fate of Lithuania and recommending certain action to be taken by our Government:

At the 37th commemoration of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Lithuania, sponsored by the Council of Lithuanian Societies of Baltimore, Md., held at Lithuanian Hall, 851 Hollins Street, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas nearly 10 years have passed since the liberation of Europe from the Nazi yoke; and

"Whereas in excess of 100 million people of the Central and East European countries, among which is Lithuania, are still enslaved by ruthless Communist Russia; and

"Whereas the Lithuanian people are faced with the extermination of their race by mass deportations and slaughter; and

"Whereas under the Potsdam agreement, part of East Prussia was taken from Germany and turned over to Soviet Russia for temporary administration and taking advantage of this opportunity Soviet Russia for its own imperialistic purposes has colonized this region with people from Soviet Russia to the end that the Lithuanian nation will be encircled by a hostile Russian-Asiatic population; and

"Whereas this part of East Prussia from time immemorial was inhabited by Lithuanians and in later years by planned colonization it was partially Germanized and settled by Prussian Junkers; and

"Whereas since World War II this aforementioned area is no longer inhabited by Germans; and

"Whereas in the future formation of the political destiny of this territory it would be totally unwise to reestablish a settlement of militant Prussian Junkers and to again set up a Polish Corridor problem and so create the risk of another future war between Germany and Poland: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we, Americans of Lithuanian descent, professing grave anxiety over the fate of our fatherland, Lithuania, appeal to the Government of the United States—

"1. To continue its policy of nonrecognition of the incorporation of Lithuania into the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics.

"2. To exert its strong influence in the United Nations in order to prevent the annihilation of the Lithuanian people.

"3. To incorporate the liberation of Lithuania and other Soviet-enslaved countries as an integral part of United States foreign policy.

"4. To urge that the area of East Prussia, which is now under the administration of Soviet Russia, shall be ceded to Lithuania at such time as the East Prussian question shall be proposed for determination."

THOMAS G. GRAY,
President.
MARTIN RAILA,
Secretary.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the following statement in opposition to the extension of the so-called reciprocal trade agreements:

STATEMENT OF E. L. TORBERT, VICE PRESIDENT, ONONDAGA POTTERY CO.; CHAIRMAN, FOREIGN TRADE COMMITTEE, VITRIFIED CHINA ASSOCIATION, INC., BEFORE THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, JANUARY 27, 1955

I am E. L. Torbert, vice president of Onondaga Pottery Co., Syracuse, N. Y., and chairman of the foreign trade committee of the Vitrified China Association, Inc. In addition to the members of the Vitrified China Association, Inc., I am authorized to represent other manufacturers of vitrified china tableware, in all fully 80 percent of the vitrified china production of the United States.

We in the American china tableware industry have been struggling with ever-increasing burdens placed upon us by our Government. Aside from the imposition of domestic taxes and other burdens common to most American industries, we find ourselves in an industry that apparently is considered by some people as expendable in the interest of furthering certain foreign relations.

As each new load has been placed upon us we have listened to soft words and offers of relief if our industry was harmed. In an interview with Mr. Paul Hoffman, then Administrator of ECA, he stated that "some industries will be hurt, perhaps it will be your industry. If so, we must arrange for a subsidy."

When we turn from such assurances to look at the record we will, I am sure, be considered justified in suggesting that the time has come for our Government to show some interest in our increasing problem.

It is now well known that the china tableware industry is by nature dependent largely on handcraft artisans. Notwithstanding mechanization within our industry in this country, which is the most streamlined, the most proficient in the world, labor still accounts for nearly two-thirds of total production costs.

The American standard of wages in the pottery industry in 1952 was about 4 times that of England, 4½ that of Germany, and 9 times that of Japan—United States Tariff Commission.

Just as American agricultural industry needs to be protected (mostly by quotas on imports) against destruction by competition from low foreign prices, so American wages in industries whose product has a high-labor content, need protection from destruction by competition based on low foreign wages.

The foreign china tableware wages and selling prices being so low, the American Tariff Act of 1930 carried on decorated china an ad valorem rate of 70 percent plus 10 cents per dozen pieces.

Beginning in January 1939 and the trade agreement with the United Kingdom and continuing through the Geneva negotiations of 1948 and the negotiations at Torquay in 1951—nine separate reductions have been made in the 1930 rates of duties on chinaware in some classifications to the full limit allowed by the law.

Further inroads on this reduced protection were accomplished by increased exemption granted returning tourists, in 1948 and again in 1949.

During the period in which this whittling away at our industry has taken place imports of decorated household china tableware from all foreign countries have increased from 2,070,000 dozens in 1948 to 4,940,000 dozens in 1953, an increase of 138 percent—United States Tariff Commission, November 1954.

In contrast to the growth in imports of china tableware sales in the United States market, study of Tariff Commission reports show that domestic manufacturers in 1948 supplied 29.7 percent of the United States market, in 1952, 15.8 percent.

Injury to domestic manufacturers of vitrified china household tableware is confirmed by the Tariff Commission's reports which show the total United States production decreased 10.3 percent from 1949 to 1952, inclusive (U. S. Tariff Commission, November 1954). Since 1952 was the last year reported by the Tariff Commission it has been ascertained by recent independent survey that there was a further reduction of 10.1 percent in domestic production from 1952 to 1954.

Injury to the domestic china household tableware industry is further shown by a study of the profits of four of the larger producers of vitrified household china tableware. This statement of the combined operations of the four companies shows a drastic decline and trend from a profit before taxes in 1948 of 13.79 percent to a loss of 1.47 percent in 1954.

During this same period 4 vitrified china plants in this country, 3 of which had been in business a total of 184 years, have been forced to liquidate. In terms of those 4 companies only, the livelihood of over 1,000 persons and their dependents was wiped out in a little over 4 years.

It is a matter of the greatest concern to us that in three additional units of our industry, employment, which stood at over 3,800 in 1948, has dropped to less than 2,100 today.

There has been no compensating growth among the remaining units of our industry. To the contrary, the balance of 14 potteries have also, in total, experienced this attrition, if to a lesser degree.

This evidence and other facts cited earlier in this testimony show clearly that the china tableware industry in the United States is in precarious straits. Under these conditions, the further reduction of already inadequate tariff protection could have but one outcome.

We can see no practical alternative to the setting up of import quotas as a means of creating equity and stability where neither now exists.

During the time this serious situation was developing we sought relief through the escape clause and the cost-equalizing provisions of section 336 of the Tariff Act of 1930.

As to the escape clause:

Our situation fulfilled each of the basic injury criteria as set forth in section 7B of the Trade Agreements Act of 1951—

"A decline in sales, an increase in imports, either actual or relative to domestic production, a higher or growing inventory, or a decline in the proportion of the domestic market supplied by domestic producers." The Commission was against us unanimously.

Since the escape-clause procedures have been available to American producers 53 appeals have been considered by the United States Tariff Commission. In only five of those cases has relief been granted. Is it probable that in the other 48 cases no injury or threat of injury was present?

In discussing H. R. 1 with Members of the present Congress, we have pointed out the ineffectiveness of the escape clause and have been told that such ineffectiveness was the result of "improper administration"; that it was the intent of the Congress that the escape clause should provide relief to industries that have been harmed.

Our circumstances require fair legislation with respect to escape clause, so drawn as to insure proper administration.

We favor the withdrawal of the discretion granted the President by the Congress in putting the findings and recommendations of the Tariff Commission into effect. The Commission is not a Cabinet department but a bipartisan, semijudicial body. After a matter has been considered and decided under the law, it should not be subject to review or change by any other department.

It is futile and without real value to have a Commission, and for industry to take part in the arduous and expensive proceedings, if those proceedings are then to be set aside.

Let me emphasize that this is not an infringement of Presidential powers, inherent or otherwise, but a simple withdrawal of congressional powers abdicated to the President to be exercised without public hearings and without recourse.

When we suggest return to Congress of its constitutional rights as to tariffmaking we are told that logrolling will result. We suggest that it would be far wiser to do our own logrolling if any is required than permit such logrolling to be done for us by 30 to 40 foreign nations constituting GATT.

I now wish to raise questions having to do with preserving the livelihood and jobs of hundreds of thousands of honorably employed citizens of this country. One question examines the intent of this bill, H. R. 1; another is directed to the intent of this committee with respect to that matter.

In a day when nearly every lawmaker and court of this land is on guard against special interest legislation, it is almost incredible that we should read the following excerpts from H. R. 1:

"For the purpose of expanding foreign markets, so that foreign markets will be made available to those branches of American production which require and are capable of developing such outlets by affording corresponding market opportunities for foreign products in the United States, etc."

Have we so drifted from our basic concept of equal rights for all people of this Nation that it is proper to propose that the interests of selected industries of this country should be promoted even to the extinction of other industries and the employment which they now afford?

This proposition is implicit in the preamble of H. R. 1 and, if I were a Congressman of the United States, I would consider it an affront to democratic justice.

Is it better to attempt to hold and enlarge foreign markets which were never ours traditionally than to retain for ourselves our own markets and thereby safeguard employment in domestic industries which helped to create those markets?

During this past week and for some time precedent to it, you have been told and the public has been told that this bill provides for a gradual reduction in tariffs. It has not been advertised that this bill also provides for a drastic reduction in tariffs and I am confident that many who have spoken in favor of it were not aware of this feature.

The radical tariff-reducing provisions of H. R. 1 are vital to the pottery industry. This bill has been carefully examined by expert counsel and I am advised that, under it, existing tariffs on critical categories of china tableware and items other than pottery could be reduced by 50 percent by June 30 of this year and by a total of 58½ percent within 25 months of its passage.

I should also like to refer to those provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, which relate to "unemployment of or injury to American workers, miners, farmers, or producers, producing like or competitive articles" and "unemployment, injury, or impairment, or threat thereof."

Was it the intent of Congress to safeguard established employment and wages in this country against the insurmountable competition offered by products of low-cost labor from foreign countries?

I think it was—clearly.

Has the will of the majority of the Members of Congress, who voted in approval of those safeguards, been observed in the administrating of this legislation?

Why have so many applications for relief been denied? A partial answer may be present in the findings of the United States Tariff Commission handed down to our industry in July of last year in compliance with Senate Resolution 253, adopted May 12, 1952.

Under the provisions of section 336 of the Tariff Act of 1930, the Tariff Commission is empowered to determine the differences in costs of production of items (certain household chinaware in the case in point) imported into the United States and like or similar domestic items, and to make recommendations for suitable relief.

The study indicated that the cost of like and similar articles, laid down at the same point in this country, was $1.30 for Japanese ware and $3.69 for American. (U. S. Tariff Commission Investigation No. 118, June 24, 1954.) The rate of duty found necessary to equalize the United States and Japanese costs of production was 284 percent ad valorem based on foreign values plus 15 cents per dozen separate pieces. The rate in effect was and is 70 percent ad valorem plus 10 cents per dozen pieces.

Imports of this ware from Japan alone had captured 30 percent of the United States market by 1948 and 65 percent by 1952. In the same period the share and volume falling to American producers declined and profits plunged drastically to approach the vanishing point. Yet no relief was granted.

Why?

Four members of the Tariff Commission[1] reasoned that, because prices of Japanese

[1] Chairman Brossard and Vice Chairman Talbot dissented.

ware were so much lower than those of nearly identical American ware, these items were not commercially interchangeable. Since they were not commercially interchangeable, this logic ran, they were, therefore, not like and similar. Not being like and similar, section 336 could not apply. Case dismissed.

Is it the intention of this group that the problems of an American industry that is older than this Nation—that is doing everything in its power to insure employment to honorable and respected citizens—should be treated in this manner?

I consider H. R. 1 to be a request for authority by an administration that has abused similar authority in the past and which administration declines to commit itself on its considerations in using such authority in the future.

In the words of Secretary Dulles, "it is the administration's intention to exercise powers contemplated by the bill in such a manner that the legitimate concerns of United States business will be fully taken into account."

What is meant by the phrase "legitimate concerns"? Would his definition of that term be your definition?

When Mr. Dulles refers to United States business is he speaking of all United States business, or is he setting apart producers for export and United States companies with plants and investments abroad who would export to this country the products of cheap labor at the expense of American employment?

What sort of assurance is Mr. Dulles giving when he says these matters "will be fully taken into account"? The act of "taking into account" is no guaranty that judgment and decisions based thereon will conform with the intent of Congress and its concept of the true interests of this Nation.

In its way this administration has "taken into account" the escape clause procedures of this act. And in its way it has chosen to do as it well pleases, ignoring the will of Congress by refusing to invoke those provisions when, in all justice, the relief provided by them should have been granted.

We, who have suffered from the inroads of imports, who have had to throw on relief rolls hundreds and thousands of loyal employees, who are now operating at a loss because of this vicious foreign competition and who can see in prospect only dwindling markets for our industry, hear with amazement the trade proposals of this administration.

While the Secretary of Labor takes the pulse of national unemployment, carefully ignoring conditions in the growing list of industries vulnerable to imports, and reports all is well—reciprocal trade is a success—the Secretary of State pleads for consideration of foreign manufacurers who must be assured that American markets will be theirs to exploit at will.

All concern in H. R. 1 is for our export industries, for capitalists who have investments abroad. Not one word of comfort is there in H. R. 1 for workers in our industries that, if they are to live, must have protection from the imported production of cheap labor of other countries. Not one word. Only a promise of slow death while our economy adjusts itself to the assumption of our markets by industrialists of foreign nations.

The issue is quite clear. Are we to live or are we to die?

If we are to live, if our industry is to be restored to its rightful place—a position of equality of competition—then adequate safeguards must be written into H. R. 1 and we must be sure those provisions will be applied promptly and with the full force and effect intended.

The 57th Anniversary of the Sinking of the "Maine"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, each year on February 15, we observe the sinking of the battleship *Maine* which cost the lives of 2 officers and 258 men and resulted in the war with Spain in 1898.

This is an occasion when we pay annual tribute to the gallant Spanish-American War veterans who defended the Stars and Stripes, fighting in the cruel heat of San Juan and battling pestilence and disease in the steaming jungles.

When President McKinley issued the call for volunteers, the United States had an Army and Navy of only 2,143 officers and 26,040 enlisted men; while Spain had one of the largest navies in the world and an army of 500,000 with over 192,000 in Cuba alone.

There were some 483,000 American youths who served in the Spanish-American war and of this number nearly 20,000 lost their lives either in battle or by yellow fever contracted in the disease-infested jungles.

The feat of Admiral Dewey on May 1, 1898, when the Spanish Fleet was destroyed is one of the glorious pages in American naval history.

Yet while we salute the United States Navy for its stellar role, let us not forget that the valiant foot soldiers and daring cavalrymen fought against great odds in heavy clothing in hot weather that sapped the vitality of the sturdiest men.

Let no man underrate the soldier of the Spanish-American War. Facing the perils of yellow fever and with poor rations and contaminated water, his life was made more difficult by disease-carrying insects that 57 years ago were uncontrolled and a plague to mankind.

Medical progress has made stupendous strides in the past 57 years yet the boys of '98 had no miracle or wonder drugs with the result they were virtually guinea pigs in the desperate attempts made to halt epidemics of every known variety.

These were the young men who carried the American flag in America's first crusade for the liberation of mankind.

Many of them again served their country on foreign soil together with their sons in World War I; while in World War II and the Korean war their sons and grandsons carried on in the noble cause of defending humanity by thwarting the ambitions of power-crazed dictators.

Truly, the American Nation owes an undying debt to those who fought in the Spanish-American War for they were pioneers in the battles waged on foreign soil in defense of liberty and freedom.

Today, on the 57th anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine*, I should like to describe briefly the battleship *Maine* and the scene of that eventful evening February 15, 1898, when two terrific explosions sank the ship in Havana harbor resulting in a terrible disaster.

To begin with, in the winter of 1897–98 mobs of Spanish loyalists, namely, those inimical to the United States and fiercely resentful of the well-known sympthy of the American people for the oppressed Cubans, became so formidable that the American consul general at Habana, Fitzhugh Lee, appealed to this Government for moral support in the shape of a naval force in Cuban waters. This request, made often before, was at last heeded. In January 1898, orders were issued to the North Atlantic squadron to assemble at the Dry Tortugas, within 6 hours' steaming distance of Habana. On the 25th of the month the *Maine* was ordered to Habana itself. A second-class battleship, she had, nevertheless, for that day, certain formidable aspects. She had an extreme length of 324 feet; beam, 57 feet; displacement, 6,650 tons; indicated horsepower, 9,290; and trial speed, 17.45 knots. In addition, she had an armored belt extending 180 feet at the waterline on each side, over which was a flat, armored deck. Joining the two forward ends of the belt was a heavy steel bulkhead, at the bottom of which was an armored deck which continued to the stem. The flat steel deck above armor dipped down abaft the belt, and was continued to the stern, one deck below, with a slightly diminished thickness. The barbettes and turrets were of heavy steel.

As for armament, the Maine had two "winged" turrets, each containing two 10-inch breech-loading rifles. She carried six 6-inch breech-loading rifles, besides seven 6-pounder and eight 1-pounder rapid-firing rifles. Finally, she had four above-water torpedo tubes on her berth deck, all in broadside.

On the morning of January 25, 1898, the Spanish authorities having been previously notified of her advent, the *Maine*, Capt. Charles D. Sigsbee, steamed into Havana Harbor and was duly assigned a berth 500 yards off the arsenal.

No United States vessel had visited Havana during the previous 3 years and meanwhile tension had been steadily mounting between the Spanish and American Governments.

There was much doubt as to the nature of our reception—

Wrote Captain Sigsbee—

for I was not aware of the character of the diplomatic exchanges. I was sincerely desirous of a friendly reception, but it was my affair to be ready for all emergencies. The *Maine* was in such a state of preparation that she could not have been taken at much disadvantage; nevertheless, she presented no offensive appearance, and meant no offense. On board United States men-of-war—

The Captain added thoughtfully—

it is commonly only a short step from peaceful appearance to complete readiness.

The Spanish port officials behaved with punctilious courtesy and the social amenities between American and Spanish authorities proceeded according to naval protocol. Then at 9:40 p. m., on the

night of February 15, the blow fell. At that fateful moment two terrific explosions threw parts of the *Maine* 200 feet in the air and illuminated the whole harbor.

The first dull explosion had been followed by a second, much more powerful, probably that of the forward magazine. The forward half of the ship was reduced to a mass of twisted steel; the after part slowly sank. The *Maine* carried 26 officers and 328 men, all of whom were on board when the explosion took place, except an assistant engineer, 2 naval cadets, and a gunner. Two officers and 250 men were killed at once and 8 men died afterward.

Captain Sigsbee's own immediate impressions, set down in his book, the *Maine*, are of interest. I quote:

At taps ("turn in and keep quiet"), 10 minutes after 9 o'clock, I laid down my pen to listen to the notes of the bugle, which were singularly beautiful in the oppressive stillness of the night. The marine bugler, Newton, who was rather given to fanciful effects, was evidently doing his best. During his pauses the echoes floated back to the ship with singular distinctness, repeating the strains of the bugle fully and exactly. A half hour later Newton was dead.

I was enclosing my letter in its envelope when the explosion came. The impression made on different people on board the *Maine* varied somewhat. To me, in my position, well aft, and within the superstructure, it was a bursting, rending, and crashing sound or roar of immense volume, largely metallic in character. It was followed by a succession of heavy, ominous, metallic sounds, probably caused by the overturning of the central superstructure and by falling debris. There was a trembling and lurching motion of the vessel, a list to port, and a movement of subsidence. The electric lights, of which there were eight in the cabin where I was sitting, went out. Then there was intense blackness and smoke.

The situation could not be mistaken—the *Maine* was blown up and sinking.

Within half an hour, having ascertained that the ship was doomed, Captain Sigsbee sent his famous dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy from the steamer *City of Washington*. After reporting the terrible disaster he added sober words of caution that public judgment should be suspended until further report. The rest, as the saying goes, is history.

As to the final chapter of the story of the *Maine* herself, I take the liberty of quoting William B. Norris' brief but admirable summary in his article, The Destruction of the *Maine*, which appears in the Dictionary of American History:

Investigations were soon made by the American and Spanish authorities separately. Their decisions differed. The Spaniards reported that an internal explosion, perhaps spontaneous combustion in the coal bunkers, had been the cause; the Americans that the original cause had been an external explosion, which in turn had set off the forward magazines.

News of the disaster produced great excitement in the United States, and accusations against the Spaniards were freely expressed by certain newspapers. Without doubt the catastrophe stirred up national feeling over the difficulties in Cuba, crystallized in the slogan "Remember the *Maine*." The wreck remained in Havana harbor until 1911, when United States Army engineers built a coffer dam about the wreck, sealed the after hull of the ship, the only part still intact, and floated it out to sea. There, on March 16, 1912, appropriate minute guns boomed as it sank with its flag flying. The remains of 66 of the crew which were found during the raising were buried in the National Cemetery, Arlington.

During the removal of the wreck a board of officers of the Navy made a further investigation. Their report, published in 1912, stated that a low form of explosive exterior to the ship caused the first explosion. "This resulted in igniting and exploding the contens of the 6-inch reserve magazine, A–14–M, said contents including a large quantity of black powder. The more or less complete explosion of the contents of the remaining forward magazine followed." The chief evidence for this was that the bottom of the ship had been bent upward and folded over toward the stern. European experts, perhaps influenced by several internal explosions in warships in the intervening years, still, however, maintained the theory of an internal explosion. No further evidence has ever been found to solve the mystery.

One visible token of the *Maine* still remains. Before her shattered hull sank forever in 1912, her remaining mast was removed, and now it stands in Arlington Cemetery, its conning tower and shrouds still in place, watching over the gallant old ship's honored dead who lie all around its base until the next and last reveille.

Impressions of Our Nation's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Miss Jeannie Hughes, high school senior, of the Shawnee High School, route 1, Lima, Ohio, from the Chief—school publication—of January 28, 1955. This article resulted from her impression of our Nation's Capital. Miss Hughes, in company with the members of her Girl Scout troop, visited Washington the week of January 3.

The article is as follows:

(By Miss Jeannie Hughes)

During a recent visit in our Nation's Capital, which several of us were fortunate enough to be able to make, I was impressed with how little an average United States citizen knows about his Government. How little we appreciate its functions and the privileges it offers.

When you stand gazing at the Capitol at night with its beautiful dome lighting up the sky, you feel the greatness of our Nation. The building seems a symbol of unity and of all our country is and will be.

Watching men and women of every State working together for every individual in our country, regardless of race, color, or creed, makes one feel a little special, as if you do count very much.

We barely recognize the thousands of people from our President, Congressmen, and Cabinet down to secretaries, judges, and page boys who keep our Federal Government ticking, making it the greatest on earth. Instead we sit at home complaining about income taxes and other taxes, or when elections come around we don't take time to go to the polls.

That isn't our kind of country, we aren't that kind of people, but we—each one of us—make it what it is. What will you make it?

The 37th Anniversary of the Independence of Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, February 16, 1955, marks the 37th anniversary of the national independence of Lithuania, and I join with 1 million Americans of Lithuanian descent in saluating and encouraging the 3 million Lithuanians in that distressed country as they suffer under the iron heel of their Russian masters.

Lithuanians down through the centuries have dearly loved liberty and freedom, but it has been their unhappy lot to be deprived of such God-given rights under the mailed fist of one conqueror after the other as they were ruthlessly subjected to partition, devourment, and bitter persecution during the centuries of the existence of their beloved Lithuania.

History is replete with bloodcurdling accounts of the cruel persecution of the Lithuanian people who through their long and admirable history as industrious and peace-loving people have exhibited at all times a burning desire to live their lives in liberty and freedom.

In the great State of Pennsylvania, we have thousands of Americans of Lithuanian descent. Many of them, especially in my congressional district, have parents living here who have become naturalized citizens and with their American-born offspring constitute a virile and vibrant segment of the America we all love. Therefore, it is only natural that all Americans sympathize with the plight of the Lithuanian people in the homeland because our hearts are attuned to the spirit of liberty and independence purchased for us by the blood of our forefathers.

Mindful of the turbulent conditions of world affairs we join our prayers with those of the patient, brave, and persevering Lithuanian people in commemorating the 37th anniversary of their independence—an independence that was short-lived and wrested from them by cruel tyrants.

We realize that the future of all liberty-loving nations is threatened by the ruthless forces of world communism. Nevertheless, we know that all of us must cling firmly to our unshakable belief in almighty God and His mercy, confident that He will not desert us but will grant our supplications that the scourge of communism be erased from the earth so that human dignity among men and nations may be restored and that all God's children may live in

the peace and harmony embodied in His teachings and reflected in His daily salutations while He dwelt on this earth—"Peace be to you."

Expose Truth About Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio, of February 5, which has come to my attention. The editorial refers to the work and reports of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression during the 83d Congress.

This editorial points up the timeliness of the reports of the committee, particularly the findings, conclusions, and recommendations set forth in the committee's summary report. It makes an analysis of these findings in terms of the present crisis in the Far East, and emphasizes the great vulnerability which besets the leaders of the Soviet Union as they plan for further world conquest.

This editorial pays tribute to a distinguished member of the Committee, Congressman MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN of the 20th District of Ohio. Congressman FEIGHAN was one of the hardest working members of our committee, and his untiring efforts and keen understanding of the nations enslaved by communism is well reflected in the reports made public by the committee.

I feel editorials of this type which bring home to the American people the true facts concerning communism, make an immeasurable contribution to our national security and well-being. Truth is the greatest weapon we have against the Communist conspiracy. I hope there will be more editorials and newspaper articles in the immediate days ahead, like the one which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer entitled "A Timely, Significant Report":

The House select committee, of which Representative CHARLES J. KERSTEN, of Wisconsin was chairman, has issued its report on Communist aggression and the forced incorporation of Baltic States into the Soviet Union. It is of especial interest to our readers, as Representative MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, of Cleveland, was a member.

It is of especial interest also in the light of the major events of recent days, the passage by Congress of the Formosa resolution and the ratification by the Senate of the Southeast Asia Defense Treaty. The report bears out the wisdom of this course of action.

The select committee took testimony from more than 300 persons who were eye witnesses to Communist aggression in Central and Eastern Europe and amassed 1,500 depositions, documents, and other authoritative evidence in the course of 50 public hearings at home and abroad.

The committee, in conclusion, asserts "that communism is a criminal conspiracy purposely designed for and deliberately directed at the enslavement of all mankind and the establishment of a world colonial empire."

It shows that "no nation, including the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic, has ever voluntarily adopted communism," that all have succumbed to force or the threat of force. And in 37 years it has enslaved 800 million people and extended its sway over one-third of the earth's surface.

It becomes very clear, therefore, that the task of America and her free-world allies is twofold: To draw a military line beyond which the Communists shall not pass, and to propagandize the peoples on the fringes of the Iron Curtain and within.

The ruthless oppression of the people by the state behind the Iron Curtain makes them our most effective potential allies, as the fomenting of revolution within the Communist nations would most quickly break their military strength and expose the hypocrisy of their propaganda.

Great strides forward were made in a military sense by the Formosa resolution and the Southeast Asia Defense Pact, as all doubts were removed at home and abroad as to our willingness and ability to utilize our Navy and Air Force to stop aggression.

We have not been as effective in propaganda as we might have been. The select committee recommends that the President launch a positive bipartisan program and take the initiative in calling an international conference of free nations for propaganda purposes.

The members of the committee are to be commended for the tremendous amount of work they performed and for producing significant factual evidence.

Pay Adjustments and Reclassification for Employees in the Postal Field Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation to provide an immediate 10 percent salary increase, with a minimum of $400 for all officers and employees in the postal field service. The amount of each employee's salary will be rounded out to the next highest $100 figure, so that as a practical matter in most instances the minimum increase will be $430.

My bill also will provide for a reclassification of positions in the postal field service, thus establishing a modern classification and pay structure suitable for present and future needs of the service. The reclassification provisions of my bill incorporate the essential principles recommended by Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield, modified to the extent which hearings before our committee have indicated is necessary to insure adequate protection for all officers and employees while at the same time allowing management full latitude to operate the postal service with maximum efficiency.

The reclassification provisions in my bill eliminate the so-called nullifying clause which appeared in the administration's proposal in some 21 places. This clause would have allowed workers to be assigned, without limitation, to perform work at a lower level than the level of their jobs, thus leaving the way open for downgrading and loss of pay. The clause also would have permitted assignment to higher level work without increase in pay.

In my judgment, a 10 percent immediate increase, to be followed by reclassification, is the absolute minimum increase which our postal employees have earned. Representatives of employee organizations have conclusively proved that postal salaries lag far behind increased living costs and pay rates in private industry, and that no recognition whatever has been given to tremendously increased productivity and efficiency by these employees. As a matter of fact, if proper recognition were given to these factors, a greater increase would be provided.

I have introduced this bill in a spirit of friendly compromise and cooperation. It is my belief and hope that it will provide a common ground for a meeting of the minds between the employees and the Postmaster General. It will be a very fair and effective pay and reclassification statute, under which the Department can operate with maximum effectiveness and all employees will be assured of fair treatment and of real incentives for ever greater productivity.

H. R. 3828

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIVER P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I will not be present on the floor of the House today during this debate because of my incarceration in the hospital. Nevertheless, because I feel so strongly on this subject, I do want my thoughts included in the RECORD of the debate. It will be impossible for me to vote on the various amendments which are made on the floor, but I know that when the bill comes to a vote the basic question will be whether or not Congress and judicial salaries shall be increased, for if this bill is defeated, the question will die for at least another session of Congress.

I must say at the outset that I hope that an amendment will be offered and adopted which will make this pay raise not applicable to the present Members of Congress, but rather to become applicable to the members who will be elected to the 85th Congress and those who follow.

I will grant there is much logic in the position that if the Members of the next Congress are worth an increase, so are we. Nevertheless, it goes against my grain to some extent to vote an increase in my own salary when I went before the people of my district willing to take office, if elected, at the present salary rate.

Nonetheless, Mr. Speaker, even though this provision may remain in the bill and the raise become effective immediately, I have requested my whip pair me, if possible, in favor of this legislation for several reasons.

It has been my privilege to be closely associated throughout my adult life with Members of Congress. I knew before I was privileged to join this body of the sacrifice required. I do not feel that to all the other sacrifices and pressures which the job entails should be added an impossible financial burden.

Certainly the people of my district and of my State do not want independent means to be a prerequisite of service in the Congress. Regardless of race, creed, color, or station in life, the only criterion of service here should be ability. Members of Congress should not be forced to rely on outside sources of income, whatever they may be, to make ends meet.

I know $15,000 a year sounds like a tremendous amount of money and yet, I wonder how many of our constituents realize that our trips home to report to them come out of our salary; that the cost of living here in Washington is higher than in almost any other area of the country; that there are a myriad of little expenses that build up to a large tab which we must pay, and above all that we must not only move our families back and forth but also maintain 2 homes at the same time, 1 here and 1 back home.

Unless this legislation is passed, I sincerely believe that in all too few years we may well see the time when the Members of this body are either bachelors, men or women of independent wealth, or men or women who are forced to obtain additional income from some other source.

The job of a Congressman today is far different than it was 20 years ago. No longer is it a part-time avocation. Rather it is a full-time, complete year-around job for most of us. If we are to continue in the years ahead to attract men of ability from all walks of life in all types of background and experience, it is imperative that we pay a salary which will permit each Member to give service to his district and to do his job as well as that of a man with independent means.

The Torch of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, under further leave to extend my remarks in connection with today's observance of Lithuania's Independence Day, I include an excellent editorial appearing in today's New York Times, entitled "The Torch of Liberty," which follows:

At a moment when, with President Eisenhower's endorsement, a nationwide Crusade for Freedom is underway to keep the torch of liberty burning behind the Iron Curtain, the American people will gladly join in spirit and in sympathy the Lithuanian Nation, which though under the Soviet heel, still observes today the 37th anniversary of its independence. The Lithuanians, 3 million strong at home, with 1 million descendants in the United States, are part of the 70,000,000 people whom Soviet Russia has subjugated in Eastern Europe during and after the war in defiance of the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter, and all other wartime agreements, from Teheran to Potsdam. But, though subjected, they have not succumbed.

Like all other subjugated peoples, the Lithuanians, and their leaders in exile in particular, realize that liberation will not come overnight, and that until it does come resistance will exact a fearsome price in death and mass deportations. They also realize that the time for small nations as self-contained entities is over, and that they must seek salvation in a wider all-European organization. But for the present the fight for liberation must invoke all the values that go with nationhood and independence, and the observance of a national independence day is part of that struggle.

In this struggle the subjugated peoples need and deserve the moral support of the free world, which, by extending such support, also serves itself. For, as President Eisenhower said, the masses imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain will remain potential deterrents to Soviet aggression as long as they know that the outside world has not forgotten them.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, on this day, February 16, 1955, which is the 37th anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Lithuania, it is fitting that we pause to pay tribute to the freedom-loving spirit which has always motivated that small nation, and give voice to our belief that such a spirit has not and will never be crushed by foreign tyranny.

Lithuania's independence came as a blessing for its people won after centuries of subjugation under a staggering succession of alien despotisms. For 22 years thereafter, the people of Lithuania knew the, to us, commonplace pleasures of self-government and experienced the pride which citizens of a state entitled to an honored place among other free nations may justly feel.

In 1940, however, as a result of a secret conspiracy with Nazi Germany, and taking advantage of the collapse of political and military order in Europe, the government of the U. S. S. R. forcibly invaded the Republic of Lithuania. Following the Soviet imperialistic plan, the legal government was supplanted by Communist-controlled puppets, and in due course Lithuania was incorporated into the Soviet Union. Thereby began a new and more infamous era of foreign tyranny and oppression for this heroic people.

The Government of the United States has steadfastly refused to recognize the cowardly usurpation of the sovereignty of Lithuania by the Soviet Union, and in so doing we continue to reaffirm our belief that the many years of struggling and suffering which the people of Lithuania have endured without abandoning their hope for the eventual restoration of their nation's independence have not been in vain.

Equality for Scientists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Industrial and Engineering Chemistry News, August 9, 1954, deals with an inequality that affects many scientists now rendering excellent service to our Government:

EQUALITY FOR SCIENTISTS

Our tale today deals with those Government chemists and other doctor of philosophy scientists whose salaries are lower than several other groups of professionally trained men in allied fields but whose work and experience are identical. In some instances the situation is so absurd that a chemist project officer receives less money than professional men working under his supervision.

The story behind this Alice in Wonderland situation has its inception in the period following World War II. At that time (1947) the armed services were encountering great difficulty in obtaining and retaining personnel for the Medical Corps and Dental Corps of the armed services and the Public Health Service. The reason given was that physicians and dentists felt that they were better off financially in civilian life.

To overcome this problem, the Secretary of Defense requested legislation authorizing additional pay of $100 a month for all medical and dental officers on active duty. A law including this provision was passed in September 1947 and was to be effective for 5 years. A similar provision was enacted in the Career Compensation Act of 1949.

In the summer of 1953 the Universal Military Training and Service Act was amended (Public Law 84). This amendment not only extended the extra-pay provisions for physicians and dentists to July 1, 1955, but also blanketed in veterinarians.

There are good arguments, pro and con, with respect to the question of whether preferential treatment should be given to one or more groups of professionally trained people. We do not wish to argue this point. We do feel, however, that our laws should be fair.

In this case we feel that all arguments advanced to support extra pay for physicians and dentists and, particularly, veterinarians apply equally well to chemists and other scientists. These include higher costs of education. To obtain a Ph. D. in science takes as long as to attain the education required of physicians, dentists, and veterinarians by the present law. The argument concerning personnel shortages is still acute with respect to scientists. A few months ago, the Secretary of Defense said that there was a surplus of medical personnel in the armed services.

Another supporting argument advanced is the contribution to national defense. We feel that scientists contribute as much as those covered by the law.

One reason that veterinarians were included was because of inequalities in pay structure and professional standing. This

argument certainly applies to doctor of philosophy scientists.

The law does not specify that recipients must be doing work in their own field but only that they hold degrees in that field. In Government facilities such as the public health service's, National Institutes of Health, physicians and dentists are often engaged in research projects exactly the same as those carried out by chemists, biochemists, and other scientists. In some such cases project directors are scientists and some of the subordinates are physicians and dentists. Yet the latter get $1,200 a year more than their project supervisors.

It is to be noted that this bonus pay provision applies only to those men who are on active uniformed duty and not to physicians and dentists who may be employed as civilians.

We believe that in all fairness Congress should give equal treatment to Government employees with comparable education training and experience. This could be done by extending the provisions of Public Law 84 to cover scientists who hold earned doctor's degrees and who hold active commissions in the armed services or the Public Health Service.

School Aid: Method Counts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of February 14, 1955, entitled "School Aid: Method Counts":

METHOD COUNTS

Few are questioning that there is an acute need which must be met in the Nation's school system. Criticism of the President's message on Federal aid to education comes chiefly from those who agree with him that something must be done, but disagree that his plan will meet the situation sufficiently and in time.

Senator LISTER HILL, Democrat, to whom we listen respectfully, is introducing a bill on this premise authorizing the Federal Government to grant outright $1 billion in 2 years. On the other hand, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, has told newsmen that the administration plan offers the quickest way, and would make possible $7 billion of construction by Federal-State cooperation.

If one believes that the school need is so great and so urgent that little else counts, then direct Federal grants on the scale Senator HILL proposes must seem justified. But there are other values to be preserved.

The first of these lies in preserving the maximum of initiative, responsibility, and control to the States and local communities. This means that the role of the Federal Government must be that of supplementing, not preempting, the effort.

Preserving the second value complements the first: That Federal aid be not dealt out on considerations of geography, political weight, or even of a share for everyone, but that it be apportioned according to volume of local need and lack of volume of local resources.

Many school districts, to be sure, will have to work with State school construction agencies in order to finance their part. And a number of States will have to authorize setting up such borrowing and renting authorities. All of this can be done. And the President proposes a grant fund of $200 million to bring relief to exceptional cases. The administration's aid-to-borrowing program simply requires that each locality and each State make use of the resources and devices available to it.

It may be that this plan will have to be tailored here and there to fit the contour of the actualities. But we believe that both the need can be met and basic values preserved, and that the President's plan is headed in the right direction.

Security Is Everybody's Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, never before in our time have we had such a need for an adequate air arm as we have in this atomic air age of today.

The Vice Chief of Staff of the Air Force, Gen. Thomas D. White, recently made a very worthwhile report on this subject to an outstanding patriotic organization assisting the Air Force in its current recruiting efforts, the junior chamber of commerce. I am proud of General White, who happens to be a constituent of mine, as he is recognized as one of the greatest authorities on air power in our country. General White called his address Airpower: Everybody's Business. But his theme was not merely airpower, it was security. There is nothing that should be of greater concern to all Americans today than security. It is the business and the responsibility not only of the Congress, but of the entire body of American citizens. But only superior airpower can give such security to us.

The Jaycees—the members of the junior chamber of commerce—are assisting the Air Force to recruit the men needed to man the 137 wing, 975,000-man Air Force which we are told is the minimum Air Force necessary to guarantee the security of the United States, and which we hope to have by the end of fiscal year 1957. General White stressed public understanding of the Air Force and its needs as fundamental to any effort to enlist the men, and to create such a framework for their activity as will persuade them to make a career out of service with the Air Force.

In times of war the American people are wonderfully patriotic and willing to make any sacrifice to insure victory. Today, with the threat to our cities and people and our civilization many times greater than it ever was even during World War II, the American people are not showing the same kind of fervent patriotism. They do not see the dangers in the current perilous peace, which are just as real, though not as apparent as the dangers in war.

During this period of so-called peace, the Soviets have made amazing progress in the building of nuclear weapons and long-range bombers. We were surprised to learn during the Korean war that the Russian built MIG–15 was almost as good as our F–86 Sabrejet; we must realize, before another war emphasizes the fact, that Russian technology is excellent, and quite capable of engineering our destruction. As General White says:

The Soviets are building a stockpile of tremendously destructive nuclear weapons. They have built the world's largest air force, including a sizable fleet of long-range bombers. They have built several hundred light jet bombers, and are producing a new jet bomber similar to our B–47. Aimed directly at our sources of strength at home is a new, heavy jet bomber similar to our B–52. They designed and built this bomber for one primary purpose—to be able to strike this continent. • • •

It would be thoughtless of anyone to needlessly scare our people. Nevertheless, we would be remiss in our duty if we did not call attention to the urgency and terrible reality of the situation. Only if our people are intelligently aware of the threat, can they share our security burden. Ignorance leads to ultimate panic and confusion.

We find it easy to accept the new concepts of war brought on by the nuclear-air combination. But one of our main problems is that nuclear weapons mean not only a new kind of war, they mean a new kind of peace. This is a peace that can be kept only through strength.

Acceptance of this fact and an understanding of Air Force needs will help the Air Force to get the men it needs, and the legislation it needs in order to retain those men after they have been trained, and become experienced, and developed their greatest usefulness to the Air Force.

The ultimate goal of the Air Force is not 137 wings, or 975,000 men; it is public understanding of the true nature of airpower, and appreciation of the inexorable need for air superiority over any possible enemy. Unless we hold the lead we now have, numbers of wings or men will have no meaning. If we are to hold the lead, who can say now how many wings or men we may require tomorrow? But understanding is the fundamental thing. We must have it because security is everybody's business, security for ourselves and our institutions, and our beloved United States.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include General White's stirring call for understanding in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The text of his address follows:

AIRPOWER: EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

(Address by Gen. Thomas D. White, Vice Chief of Staff, USAF, before the junior chamber of commerce, Air Force recruiting assistance kick-off dinner, Dayton, Ohio, January 26, 1955)

Thank you for those kind words, Milton Caniff. I also want to thank you for something else. On behalf of the United States Air Force, I want to thank you for getting Lieutenants Pipper and Murphy off the ice. Along with your millions of other readers, I was getting worried about those boys. Your rescue plan showed imagination.

Seriously, I want to thank Milton Caniff for the job he is doing. Through Steve Canyon, he is telling the Air Force story and paves the way for greater public interest and understanding of the Air Force.

Tonight the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce is launching a nationwide campaign to bring the Air Force and our citizens more closely together. This campaign will strengthen the link between the

man in uniform and his civilian supporters. The stronger this link, the stronger our national security.

I am certainly happy to be here with you tonight and to have the opportunity to participate in this kick-off ceremony. I can think of no better group than the Jaycees to conduct this program. You have a reputation for dynamic action and for getting results. Your goals are cast in terms of general good, and not in terms of individual gain. As a result, you have gained wide public acceptance and nationwide support.

Your organization is composed of young men and is devoted to the development of young men. For this reason you share with the Air Force an intense interest in training and equipping our young Americans to keep our country safe and strong.

Just last Saturday the junior chamber of commerce paid a unique tribute to one of our better known, young Air Force officers and in doing so you honored the Air Force. I refer to your including Maj. Chuck Yeager in your list of the 10 outstanding young men of 1954. We in the Air Force are very proud of Major Yeager—not only because he has flown faster than any other man in the world, but also because he typifies so many others like him in the Air Force. They do their jobs as a matter of duty. They do these jobs whether they be dangerous or routine, dramatic or dull, exciting or safe. We are particularly proud of the fact that there are thousands of young pilots in the Air Force who literally envy the opportunity Yeager has had. They would give their eyeteeth to have the job he had as a test pilot.

I have reviewed your program and I am glad to see that you have recognized the need to make it much broader than a mere recruiting drive. Your objective is to develop a better understanding of our Air Force and to acquaint the public with the men and women who are playing such a vital role in keeping our Nation free.

This is exactly what needs to be done. Success will not only result in helping to solve our reenlistment problem, but will also result in better guided, understanding support of Air Force objectives.

Why is understanding so important? We are an airminded Nation. Very few people in the Nation would disagree that our Air Force must be supported as a matter of high priority. What more do we need?

The Air Force needs a lot more than mere acceptance. It needs the kind of active support that, in a democracy, comes only after real understanding. In fact, in the United States, getting understanding is the key step to getting support.

The fact that our military forces must have the support of the people is one of America's most important democratic characteristics. It is one we are very proud of.

There is a related characteristic of which we are equally proud. It is that during a war the security of our Nation is everybody's business, and not the exclusive province of people in uniform.

The American people are doing a magnificent job of maintaining strong armed forces during these days of tension. However, World War II and Korea are fresh in our minds. Our people, like all others in the free world, are sick of strife. Recognizing the need for security, they are willing to pay the cost of preparedness by taxes; but they are reluctant to contribute to preparedness by personal interest and participation.

This attitude certainly has been normal in the past. For centuries each nation of the world has had its citizenry and its armies. The citizenry plad the cost of the armies, but stayed aloof. The army was paid to worry about wars as well as to fight them. Wars were strictly the army's business.

Our revolution and evolution as a democracy tended to change those old concepts. We could not afford an army of mercenaries, nor did we want one. The citizen soldier had won his freedom and the citizen soldier would safeguard it. But as time went on he developed this inevitable and understandable attitude:

"All right; I will be a soldier when there is a war on. But in peacetime I am strictly a civilian."

The citizen soldier, with this attitude, became the basis for the American tradition of nonaggression, small forces in peacetime, and so on. When we became involved in war, no nation's people ever responded more magnificently. However, when peace was won again, no nation's people ever were quicker to lose interest in their armed forces.

For this reason the history of our armed services in America has been one of high peaks of strength followed by almost bottomless valleys of weakness. The last valley we passed through was right after World War II.

These peaks and valleys of strength and weakness were tremendously expensive and wasteful, not only in money but in lives. Had we been ready for World War I and World War II, we might have prevented them entirely. It is certain that we could have ended them much sooner with far fewer casualties. However, we seemed willing to pay a high price for the privilege of ignoring danger until it was upon us.

The last valley we passed through could have been disastrous, because World War II ushered in a new weapon, the atomic bomb. This new weapon, combined with the capabilities of long-range airpower, has revolutionized warfare.

We felt fairly secure as long as we held a practical monopoly in long-range bombers and an absolute monopoly in nuclear weapons. However, there can be no monopoly in science and this has been demonstrated by the remarkable progress the Soviet Union has made in the building of nuclear weapons and modern long-range bombers. Communist possession of this combination has put us in what our President has termed "an age of peril."

The Soviets are building a stockpile of tremendously destructive nuclear weapons. They have built the world's largest air force, including a sizable fleet of long-range bombers. They have built several hundred light jet bombers, and are producing a new jet bomber similar to our B–47. Aimed directly at our sources of strength at home is a new, heavy jet bomber similar to our B–52. They designed and built this bomber for one primary purpose—to be able to strike this continent.

The masters of the Kremlin have not deviated one whit from their goal of communism worldwide. The United States is the principal obstacle which confronts them in their path to this goal. The Reds are well known for their utter ruthlessness in removing obstacles.

It would be thoughtless of anyone to needlessly scare our people. Nevertheless, we would be remiss in our duty if we did not call attention to the urgency and terrible reality of the situation. Only if our people are intelligently aware of the threat, can they share our security burden. Ignorance leads to ultimate panic and confusion.

Our traditional attitudes must change. As long as this threat exists, security can never again be considered as solely military business. This threat is not in the future, it is here today and it is real. Today security is everybody's business, not just during an actual war, but all the time.

We find it easy to accept the new concepts of war brought on by the nuclear-air combination. But one of our main problems is that nuclear weapons mean not only a new kind of war, they mean a new kind of peace. This is a peace that can be kept only through strength.

This means that we cannot continue any old habits of huge build-ups followed by drastic cuts in the Armed Forces. We can no longer wait until we are sucked into a whirlpool of war to begin building our strength. Our new weapons can give us the strength to prevent a war if we will but develop them, but to be effective they must be maintained. We can no longer derive any strength from a program characterized by fits of stops and starts resulting from shifting political and diplomatic sands.

I mentioned America's magnificent responses in times of war. It seems paradoxical to me that our people are willing to sacrifice less now than they were during a period when our land was in little danger. During World War II, no enemy had any great capability of damaging the United States. Our children, our schools, our hospitals, and our cities were not attacked. Yet even when it was clear that we were winning, all our men, women, and even children were still pitching in cheerfully. Even after V–E Day they continued to give up their butter, their meat, their tires, and their gasoline. Our women stayed on their jobs as war workers. Our sons and fathers stayed on duty as servicemen. There were inconveniences, shortages, and tragedies, but no reluctance.

There was also no serious threat to our homeland.

Today the threat to our cities and people is many times greater than it ever was during World War II. Yet among our people there is little evidence of the same kind of fervent patriotism that there was 10 years ago.

The reason for this, as I indicated before, is that the dangers in this new kind of peace are not as apparent as the dangers in war, but they are just as real. As I see it, this job you have set for yourselves is to explain how the Air Force fits into this kind of new peace and how it can guard that peace.

We have a head start. Most of our people realize modern technology has made the Air Force truly the first line of defense and our hardest-hitting, longest-reaching arm of protection. The defense program now before Congress clearly shows the Nation's emphasis and reliance on airpower. This program shows that our planners have recognized the real nature of the threat and the most effective counter to it.

This is one kind of support which is certainly essential. Legislation and appropriations can solve our weapons and equipment needs. Congressional action can go a long way toward helping us to get the other vital element—men. But to get and keep good men, we must have more than laws and money. An additional essential is public understanding and public support.

Last week we held our yearly conference of all the top Air Force commanders. We discussed many problems, but one was common to all. Each commander asked this question:

"Where am I going to get the men to keep my organization going?"

Our number one problem within the Air Force is the current and future shortage of trained, experienced men. At the present time our reenlistment rate is down below 30 percent. This figure does not reflect the worst part of the situation. Among the men we need the most—the trained, skilled, experienced technician—the rate has sunk below 15 percent. We cannot hire ready-made radar technicians. We have to train them ourselves and it takes a lot of time and costs a lot of money. This problem is not confined to technicians. We are also losing veteran pilots and experienced staff officers.

We need the kind of support that will help our young men to realize that an Air Force career is a valued opportunity. We have high hopes that Congress will approve a substantial pay raise this year, as well as other legislation designed to improve service attractiveness. Considering what it costs this

nation to train a man, his pay could be increased by many, many dollars before it would equal the cost of losing him.

In addition to pay raises and improved conditions, we need the same kind of support for the airman that he enjoyed during World War II. He must be encouraged to serve. His community must be proud of him for serving. The Air Force job is so big and our equipment is so complex that we need numbers of career men to man our units. Only in this way can we get the best out of the weapons and resources provided us.

To achieve the kind of support that will solve our personnel problem, the public must understand much more than the mere details of this one problem. They must understand air power and the Air Force. I will mention a few of these goals of understanding.

First, our people must realize the part that nuclear weapons play in our defense. There is still some resistance to their use and this is understandable. Nevertheless, they are the results of progress and are the weapons of today.

We can solve no problem of national security by ignoring them. Instead, we should be thankful that we have them in ever-increasing numbers. These weapons are the sole means we have to counter the overwhelming Communist superiority in manpower. So far they have deterred the Communist from all-out war but for only one reason. The Communists have felt that if necessary we would use our most effective weapons against them. Our power will be no deterrent at all if the Communists ever get the idea that we will hold back.

However, despite all our efforts to prevent war, the Reds may strike. We must prepare against that possibility. The two main elements in our preparations here at home for a possible attack are civil defense and air defense. Public support of civil defense is lagging. I emphasize that this is through no fault of our Civil Defense Administration. They have found it almost impossible to jar the general public out of its complacency.

Again I draw a parallel to World War II. Then, when no enemy had long-range bombers, we cheerfully cooperated in blackouts and civil-defense drills. Today when the enemy is capable of launching large-scale attacks on this country, the majority of our people pay lip service, but no effort, to civil-defense preparations. However remote we may believe the possibility of an attack to be, we must be ready. In case of attack, how could we hope for military success if our home front collapsed?

Our air-defense picture is brighter. Our warning systems are progressing. Our airplanes are getting better, and our network of air-defense bases is spreading. There has been one bothersome byproduct of our air defense. This byproduct is noise. To defend an area, the interceptors must be based centrally in the area they are to protect. This is one of the reasons that some of our jet bases are near cities.

Although our scientists are searching for ways to eliminate or reduce disturbances of high-performance airplanes, it looks as if we must face the fact that jets are loud. Our people must also realize that this is one of the minor, but troublesome prices of security.

We are doing all we can to avoid bothering the people whose lives we must protect. We have changed flight patterns, and approach altitudes, and in some areas, we have relocated airbases. Nevertheless, our people must learn to be grateful for the whine of our jets, it means protection.

This is, of course, only one of many small irritations that the Air Force unavoidably inflicts upon our public.

We crowd the public schools, we glut the roads around the bases. Seldom do we have the opportunity to live in one community long enough to be accepted as solid citizens.

All of these things are elements of what we call public relations. The Air Force realizes how important these relations are, and so do you. Your project "top flight" is evidence of that. All the things I have talked about are goals of understanding that we must shoot for. We must achieve these goals if we are to remain strong enough to keep our freedom and honor.

The kind of help your project brings to the Nation means a great deal to us all. This is exactly what we need.

I hope that this kickoff dinner tonight is typical of what will be happening in cities and towns across the Nation throughout the next year. It is a great thing you are doing. I wish you all the success in the world.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the following statement in opposition to the extension of the so-called reciprocal trade agreements:

STATEMENT OF CALIFORNIA FISH CANNERS ASSOCIATION, INC., BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS IN CONNECTION WITH H. R. 1, JANUARY 26, 1955

My name is Donald P. Loker. I am president of the California Fish Canners Association, Inc., the members of which account for 87 percent of the total United States production of canned tuna. They also process sardines and mackerel.

Our industry is opposed to H. R. 1 for two reasons:

First, we believe your committee is interested in knowing how the canned tuna industry, which we believe is a typical American industry, has been affected by the operation of the trade agreements program over the years since the program has been in effect. We can illustrate best the difficulties caused us by contrasting what has happened to us under the program with the situation prevailing in prior years.

The tuna industry first began to feel the impact of import competition in the year 1933. In that year Japan exported to this country canned tuna in an amount equal to 34 percent of domestic production. Because of the effect of these imports on our domestic industry, an application was made to the Tariff Commission for an investigation under section 336 of the Tariff Act which resulted in a finding that an increase in the tariff was necessary because of differences in the cost of production between this country and Japan. President Franklin D. Roosevelt accepted the Tariff Commission recommendation and increased the tariff to the extent found by the Commission to be necessary to equalize cost of production; that is, from 30 percent to 45 percent. Thereafter imports remained at this level enabling our industry and the Japanese industry to progress together in the development of the United States market for canned tuna.

That was the old system, Mr. Chairman, before the reciprocal trade agreements program went to work on our industry. When we had trouble we went to one agency of the Government. That agency made an impartial investigation and the President acted as he was permitted to under the law. Thereafter our industry and our foreign competitors knew exactly where everyone stood.

It was just as simple as that.

But what do we find when once the operation of the so-called reciprocal trade agreements program cast its eye upon us?

We find, Mr. Chairman, an entirely different picture. Here is what happened:

In November 1941 the Secretary of State issued a notice of intention to negotiate a trade agreement with Iceland. There was nothing in that announcement or in the trade agreement subsequently negotiated which seemed to have any bearing on the tuna industry. If anything, tuna was clearly eliminated by the announcement as we read it. Nor, in fact, did the agreement have any importance to the tuna industry at that time. In May 1942, while the negotiaions with Iceland were still proceeding, the Department of State issued a new announcement of intention to negotiate a trade agreement with Mexico in which tuna was mentioned. That, however, was during wartime when all of our people were contending with far more serious problems than nonexistent imports so that we took no steps to protest. At any rate, our people probably reasoned, since we were fighting a war against Japan, our principal competitor, it was inconceivable that our Government would permit Japan ever to drive us out of the tuna business. That, Mr. Chairman, is where we made our biggest mistake.

While tuna, of course, has been our biggest concern, our industry also packs sardines, mackerel, the tuna-like fish "bonito," and other species.

Since the end of the war we have been plagued by a series of trade agreement negotiations, commencing with the Geneva negotiations in early 1947, and continuing up to this very minute.

We have not been able to escape participation in a single trade-agreement negotiation from 1947 to the present. In every one tuna, bonito, or sardines have figured and we have been required to appear, file statements, and go through all of the redtape usual to such proceedings before a governmental agency.

I need not remind you that such activities are expensive, both as to time and money.

The aforementioned trade agreement with Mexico became effective in 1943 and, among other things, provided for the reduction of duty on tuna canned in oil from 45 percent ad valorem to 22½ percent ad valorem, the maximum reduction permitted under law at that time. We have no knowledge of why canned tuna was considered in a trade agreement with Mexico, inasmuch as Mexico was no factor in the export of canned tuna to the United States. Accepted practice for the granting of trade-agreements tariff concessions is to negotiate with the principal exporting country.

However, let's take a look at how imports of canned tuna from Mexico related to that practice. For the 3-year average prior to the negotiations of the trade agreement, imports of canned tuna from Mexico averaged slightly over $15,000 a year in value, or 2½ percent of total United States imports of canned tuna.

Now, let's look at what happened to imports of canned tuna from Mexico after the trade agreement became operative. In the 3-year period immediately after the trade agreement became effective, imports of tuna from Mexico averaged less than $51,000 a year in value, or 1½ percent of the value of total imports from all sources, and since that time imports of canned tuna from Mexico have been so inconsequential that they have not been sufficiently important to set out separately in official United States statistics.

As of June 30, 1950, Mexico abrogated the trade agreement for reasons totally unrelated to tuna. Six months' notice of this abrogation was required before the duty reverted to its former 45 percent ad valorem. During

this 6-month period, imports of canned tuna from Japan reached unprecedented proportions in order to get in before the increase in duty, and the year's imports constituted 34 percent of the United States market as opposed to a normal share of 10 percent that imports previously took of the United States market. It took the domestic industry 2 years to recover from the shock of this volume of imports.

The Icelandic trade agreement also became effective in 1943. It is contended, wrongfully we believe, by administrative governmental agencies that this trade agreement reduced the duty on tuna canned in substances other than oil from 25 percent ad valorem to 12½ percent ad valorem.

In that particular agreement, a catch-all or basket category was established, which is interpreted by some to include the product "tuna packed in substances other than oil." But we vigorously contend that it was not pointed at tuna. We further contend that the wording of that agreement represented a sin of omission on the part of the persons from the United States Government responsible, and that such an omission was perhaps responsible for what we further contend is the misinterpretation of this agreement by the administrative governmental agencies. It is important for you to know that Iceland has never processed tuna, her fishermen have never caught any tuna and consequently her exports of tuna are nonexistent.

That is where Iceland fits with relation to the accepted practice of negotiating with the principal producer in reducing tariffs through the instrument of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

In addition, the loophole created by the Icelandic trade agreement and its erroneous interpretation have resulted in the very opportunity the Japanese tuna industry sought and found. They immediately switched their production of tuna canned in oil subject to a 45 percent duty to tuna canned in brine at 12½ percent ad valorem. By this device Japanese exports of tuna to the United States have increased from their prewar 5-year average volume of 337,000 cases per year to more than 1,500,000 cases currently. It is underselling American-produced tuna on the grocer's shelves by as much as 10 to 12 cents a can. The domestic industry has been seriously harmed and the threat of further injury is most substantial.

The domestic tuna industry has sought every means available to it, through administrative channels, to rectify the damage done to it through the great disparity in tariff rates applicable to tuna canned in oil and tuna canned in brine. These efforts to date have been to no avail.

Let's look at the reciprocal features of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. In the "Summary of Foreign Control Regulations Applying to Imports From the United States" which appeared in the June 7, 1954, issue of Foreign Commerce Weekly, published by the United States Department of Commerce, there is a tabulation of imports and exchange permits required in foreign countries as of May 1, 1954.

This tabulation shows that out of some 88 countries or customs areas in the world, 66 require prior import permits, while 41 require exchange permits for goods imported from the United States or other dollar countries.

It will be noted that in many cases the import permits automatically assure foreign exchange, while in other cases it is necessary for the importer to have both documents authorized by the respective governments.

These import restrictions can be used very handily to nullify or impair concessions that have been granted the United States in trade agreements under which we also made concessions but do not nullify.

To illustrate how foreign countries are continually changing import regulations and erecting further restrictions against imports from this country, we would like to give you as examples some typical changes which have been published during the past 3 months in Foreign Commerce Weekly:

On July 16, 1954, Ecuador revised 30 import tariff items (Oct. 18, 1954, p. 9).

Mexico during September and October 1954, raised import duties on a long list of items (Oct. 25, 1954, p. 10).

Guatemala imposed a new import duty of 10 cents per gallon on gasoline which was formerly free of duty (Nov. 29, 1954, p. 14).

Iceland placed a special import tax on passenger automobiles in addition to the 35-percent permit fee. The new tax amounts to 100 percent of the f. o. b. price when the country of origin is the United States or Western Europe (Nov. 22, 1954, p. 13).

Import duties for the greater part of the Mexican import tariff have been modified by a decree published on November 18 apparently for the purpose of incorporating directly into the tariff the 25 percent general duty increase of February 15, 1954 (Dec. 6, 1954, p. 13).

The Irish Government set quotas for various imports (Dec. 27, 1954, p. 11).

Syria changed a number of import tariffs (Jan. 3, 1955, p. 11).

So much for that. I now would like to make an interesting observation concerning cause and effect. On page B–6 of the Long Beach Press-Telegram of Monday, January 17, 1955, two articles of news interest appeared. One was an account of the appearance before this Committee of the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, advocating H. R. 1. On the same page a news story appeared under a San Diego, Calif., dateline, which announced the closing of the San Diego cannery of the Van Camp Sea Food Co., packers of Chicken of the Sea brand, and 1 of the 2 largest producers of canned tuna in the United States. The eight-hundred-odd employees of this cannery and many employees of suppliers are direct casualties of our trade agreements program.

If there remains any further question as to why the United States canned tuna industry opposes a further extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, I will revert to the vernacular and say, gentlemen, we've had it.

While the whole matter of extension of the Trade Agreements Act is disturbing, we find that section which deals with Japan particularly distasteful.

The language in this paragraph goes far beyond a simple extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act requested in the President's message to Congress on January 10. It would seem that instead of the primary purpose of the act, that is, the encouragement of reciprocal world trade with all its virtues, we are now substituting especial consideration to Japan, dictated by the expediency of her economic plight, in the form of tariff reductions, instead of direct aid or other forms of subsidy. Apparently, in the minds of those who wish it, the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 can be stretched to cover a multitude of situations not contemplated by the architects of the program—adherence to the general agreement on tariffs and trade, for instance, and now this.

We are quite aware of the position of the administration in aiding the expansion of trade with Japan in order to retain the country within the orbit of free nations and we endorse that position wholeheartedly. However, if this is in the national interest—for the good of all our people—we wonder why a handful of American industries should be required to foot the bill.

Now, as to the second of our reasons for opposing H. R. 1:

We are advised by counsel that this legislation and all previous reciprocal trade agreements legislation is probably unconstitutional.

The Trade Agreements Act of 1934 is unconstitutional—hence all trade agreements negotiated under it are unconstitutional—the Tariff Act of 1930 is the law of the land and its rates should apply.

Regardless of what the administration has elected to call them, every agreement negotiated under this act is in fact a treaty between the United States and a foreign nation.

Our Constitution requires that treaties with foreign nations be negotiated by the President and ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate:

"The President * * * shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; * * *" (art. II, sec. 2).

To date, all so-called trade agreements have been negotiated by our State Department behind closed doors and as far as we know the contents have never been submitted to the Senate or to the Congress, nor have they ever been disclosed to the public until after the agreement was consummated.

Each and every one of these actual treaties has reduced tariff rates on articles and commodities when imported into the United States. Under our Constitution the right to impose import and export restrictions is expressly reserved to the Congress as is the right to regulate interstate and foreign commerce:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; * * *

"To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes" (art. I, sec. 8).

Our Constitution also expressly says that all legislation which provides revenue must originate in the House of Representatives:

"All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills" (art. I, sec. 7).

Up until 1934, the raising and lowering of tariffs, since the very first Congress, has been recognized as revenue legislation. Yet the House of Representatives has not seen nor had an opportunity to pass upon a single one of the revenue-lowering agreements which have been negotiated and put in force. Call them what anyone will, agreements, treaties or negotiations, the incontrovertible fact remains that they are revenue measures—United States revenue measures.

Now as to a constructive suggestion on how to remove the basic reason for our dissatisfaction and discontent:

We recommend a return to the constitutional method of adjusting tariffs by negotiating treaties with the advice and consent of the Congress. We see no reason why Congress should now be considered unqualified to protect the international trade interests of the United States. It may be desirable to provide more adequate machinery to study the effect of tariff adjustments on the United States economy by strengthening the Tariff Commission, but we feel certain that such action can very easily be accomplished by the Congress. If it is considered that this would place too great an obstacle to successful prosecution of our foreign relations program, we strongly recommend that these treaties arrived at under the Trade Agreements Act be submitted to the Congress or at least to the Senate for ratification before they become operative. In such a way the various domestic industries which have a history of hardship under the trade agreements program would have an opportunity to place their problems before the Congress whose Members come from the country as a whole and who are both responsible and responsive to the people.

I thank you.

The Need for Increasing the Salaries of Postal Workers and Other Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting a copy of my statement which was submitted yesterday to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. I believe it to be imperative that we immediately pass legislation which will provide an increase in the salaries of postal workers and classified Federal employees. The facts and figures contained in my statement will support my contention that such action should be taken now. The statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, I am very grateful for this opportunity to appear before your distinguished committee today. I am making this appearance in behalf of increased salaries for postal and classified Federal employees. These deserving people cannot be here to speak for themselves and we, as their Representatives, bear the responsibility of presenting and studying their problems and arriving at solutions thereto.

Almost 4 years have passed since postal and classified civil-service employees have received their most recent pay increase. During this period the faithful and loyal Government employees have seen their take-home pay eroded by increasing costs of living and rising tax burdens. While the earnings of postal and Federal employees have been deteriorating, the living standards of practically all other groups of the economy have been rising. Construction workers have increased their hourly rates since July 1951, when Federal employees received their last increase, by 20 percent, and employees in trade and manufacturing have enjoyed average hourly increases amounting to 14 percent. Workers in agriculture have also received wage increases which compensate for the rising cost of living.

It may be well, in considering a salary increase for postal and Federal employees, to study the average hourly earnings in certain selective industries.

AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS, SELECTED INDUSTRIES

Hourly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries averaged $1.83 in December, the same as in November, and 3 cents more than in December last year.

For production workers or nonsupervisory employees

[Current prices]

Period	All manufacturing	Durable goods manufacturing	Nondurable goods manufacturing	Building construction	Retail trade
1939	$0.633	$0.698	$0.582	$0.932	$0.542
1944	1.019	1.117	.861	1.319	.731
1946	1.086	1.156	1.015	1.478	.893
1948	1.350	1.410	1.278	[1] 1.848	1.088
1949	1.401	1.469	1.325	1.935	1.137
1950	1.465	1.537	1.378	2.031	1.176
1951	1.59	1.67	1.48	2.19	1.26
1952	1.67	1.77	1.54	2.31	1.32
1953	1.77	1.87	1.61	2.48	1.40
1954:					
January	1.80	1.91	1.65	2.58	1.43
February	1.80	1.90	1.65	2.59	1.43
March	1.79	1.90	1.65	2.59	1.43
April	1.80	1.90	1.65	2.58	1.43
May	1.81	1.91	1.66	2.58	1.45
June	1.81	1.91	1.66	2.58	1.46
July	1.80	1.91	1.66	2.58	1.47
August	1.79	1.91	1.65	2.60	1.47
September	1.81	1.93	1.66	2.62	1.47
October	1.81	1.93	1.66	2.63	1.47
November [2]	1.83	1.94	1.67	2.62	1.46
December [2]	1.83	1.95	1.67	[3]	[3]

[1] Data beginning with January 1948 are not strictly comparable with those for earlier periods.
[2] Preliminary estimates; only manufacturing for November charted.
[3] Not available.

Source: Department of Labor.

Postal and classified civil-service employees depend upon us for an increase. They cannot bargain collectively on salaries and other working conditions as do workers in private industry.

Last year I supported the legislation providing a salary increase for these faithful workers, even though I felt that the increase Congress recommended was inadequate. I voted for the increase as a stopgap measure with the hope that the present Congress will deal with the problem justly and fairly.

The Presidential pocket veto of our pay-increase measure was a shocking disappointment to me as it was to most of you who voted for the bills.

We must correct the pay inequity to which the loyal postal and classified Federal employees have been subjected as expeditiously as possible. The efficiency, hard work, and sincerity of purpose which the distinguished members of this committee have shown toward solving the problem since the opening of the 84th Congress is most gratifying, and I am sure that this committee will recommend a fair and equitable bill. Obviously, a just bill will require more than mere compensation for increases in cost of living since July 1951. Sound public policy would require that the faithful servants of the people should share in the rising standards of living and increased productivity of our economy.

No study of this problem would be complete without taking a look at Consumer Price Indexes over the 1939–54 period. These figures are given in the accompanying table.

Consumer price indexes, 1939–54, for city wage-earner and clerical-worker families

[1947–49=100]

Monthly average:	All items
1939	59.4
1940	59.9
1941	62.9
1942	69.7
1943	74.0
1944	75.2
1945	76.9

Consumer price indexes, 1939–54, for city wage-earner and clerical-worker families

Monthly average:	All items
1946	83.4
1947	95.5
1948	102.8
1949	101.8
1950	102.8
1951	111.0
1952	113.5
1953	114.4
1954	114.8

Productivity measurements of white-collar and professional workers are difficult to obtain. But where measurements are available, there is incontrovertible evidence that the productivity of postal employees has increased over the years and is constantly moving upward. During the past 15 years, employment in the postal service has increased by about two-thirds but the volume of pieces of mail handled has almost doubled. This means that the average post-office employee handles about 20 percent more mail today than he did before World War II. The 1956 budget indicates that the trend in rising productivity is expected to continue. In 1954 the average mail clerk handled 142 units per man-hour. The Bureau of the Budget estimates that during the current year the average will increase to 146 units, and in fiscal 1956 to 150 units per man-hour. Similar increases are expected in the productivity of collecting and delivery of mail.

Sound public policy as well as fair play would dictate increases for postal and classified Federal employees. Turnover in Federal employment is exceedingly high, and training of new employees is costly. Passage of a fair wage increase to these employees is, therefore, in the public interest, because it is becoming increasingly difficult for the Federal Government to retain the most qualified employees and to attract the promising young men for a career in Federal employment.

A fair and justified increase for the devoted and faithful postal and classified civil-service employees would have to consider the increases in cost of living since July 1951, the prolonged period during which no increase was granted, the increased productivity and the general rising standard of living in our great country. Furthermore, owing to the fact that the salary increase has been long overdue, it should be made retroactive to the date when the wage increase, voted overwhelmingly by the 83d Congress, was unjustly vetoed in August 1954.

Faithful men devoted to duty and their country have been considered rare. In the Bible the wise man asked: "A faithful man who can find?" Our country is fortunate to find them in abundance in the postal and Federal employment. We should recognize their faithfulness and loyalty by granting them the pay increase which is long overdue.

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully urge your committee to report legislation which will provide for at least a 10-percent salary increase for these workers. I believe that Congress would look with favor upon such a measure.

The Federal Retirement System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in years gone by the civil-service retirement system was considered a model and as such

was used as an inducement to attract the better qualified citizen to choose the civil service as a career.

Recent official research proves that on the average the Federal employee contributes more to his pension fund than is exacted by private industry; that the retirement benefits enjoyed by people belonging to private pension funds are superior to those enjoyed by civil-service employees; and that an increase in benefits is practical.

So as not to befuddle any issue and allow for free discussion of individual inconsistencies, each inequality is being corrected by an individual bill. If adopted, the bills will not make the Federal retirement system a new model for private industry but will increase benefits commensurate with employee contributions and put the governmental retirement system more in line with that of private industry.

Opposition To H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the following statement in opposition to the extension of the so-called reciprocal trade agreements:

STATEMENT OF SAMUEL LENHER, PRESIDENT, SYNTHETIC ORGANIC CHEMICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON H. R. 1

I am Samuel Lenher, president of the Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association. We represent 92 chemical companies who produce organic chemicals in 248 plants located in 35 States.

Our industry is the sector of the chemical manufacturing enterprise in this country which is most vulnerable to import competition. Little more than 30 years ago, America had no organic chemical industry. The shortage of key organic chemicals for explosives, dyes, medicinals, and industrial uses in World War I led to a determination by the Government to see that a strong and flourishing industry was built. President Wilson sounded the keynote and the Congress drew up a tariff policy for synthetic organic chemicals to meet that need.

Our association was formed in those troubled days, and it has patiently worked for the fulfillment of the objects of that tariff policy: to build a vigorous, expanding organic chemical industry whose growth through the years would protect the national security, strengthen our national health resources, provide for new industries through organic chemical research, and attract students to chemistry so that the Nation would have an adequate reservoir of skilled scientific personnel in time of war. These efforts have often brought our association before your committee, where we have unfailingly been received with courtesy and consideration.

Strong national movements have strong proponents. Not all proponents are disposed to yield that respect for differing views which our American tradition would recommend. I am sure, however, that this will not be the case of your committee as we very candidly state our views on H. R. 1 in as constructive a spirit as we can.

Our industry is a classic example of the constructive results which can be achieved by a wise tariff policy. Brought into being through such a policy, we believe we have measured up to its clear responsibilities. We were ready for the totally absorbing role which the Nation's war production effort required of our industry in World War II. We have been well above average in rate of growth, wages paid to workers, and earnings put back into the business to finance expansion. Our research budget, 5 percent of sales, is outstanding. No other industry using its own funds devotes so much to research.

Because ours is not a mass-production industry for the most part, the tariff is an important economic factor in the stability of our operations. The industry produces a great many chemicals (more than 7,000 commercially) for the most of which the total demand is relatively small. Hundreds of chemicals will make up the product line of an organic chemical plant. There is little of the dedication of an entire plant to the continuous or automatic production of a high volume chemical in our industry. We make our various chemicals in batches using techniques very much like those used abroad. The high labor content of our chemicals is measurably no different from that in foreign chemicals. The skills and techniques were born in Germany and the other foreign nations who were dominant in organic chemicals long before we became proficient in their use. Differences in foreign wage costs ranging from one-fourth to one-seventh our wages spell the difference in cost of production here and abroad which requires the tariff to equalize landed costs with ours.

We are proud of the vigor of our industry, its trailblazing research activities, and the steady expansion which has invested nearly half a billion dollars a year postwar in plant and equipment. Much of this has been carried out with the Government's encouragement to strengthen the mobilization base for organic chemicals. Much of it is now, and has been for more than a year, idle in at least substantial part. This is not in itself a mark of weakness in economic conditions in our industry. It is to be expected that capacity for defense will generally exceed capacity needed for peacetime production. It is, nevertheless, a significant economic problem for our companies. Production of organic chemicals in 1953 was about 7 billion pounds below the capacity required for defense mobilization.

It is our belief that tariffs can and should fulfill two distinct functions, so far as a basic industry is concerned. They should prevent the impairment of defense mobilization capacity by import competition. They should also, where necessary, preserve the economic conditions which contribute to the vigor and dynamic rate of growth of the industry. The first function serves our national interest by strengthening the industrial sector of the mobilization base. The second serves the national interest by strengthening the domestic economy.

It would be unwise to assume that continued expansion of international trade and the realization of these two tariff functions are incompatible. We owe it to ourselves as a nation, and to our workers who earn their livelihood in the non-mass-production industries to strive for a foreign economic policy that will avoid the impairing of defense capacity or sapping the strength of those industries. We should until we have given such an approach a fair trial forego the temptation to enter into a program of tariff cutting which selects arbitrary percentage levels as an objective.

A foreign economic policy which avoids vicarious injury to our Nation's defense capacity while preserving the vigor of our own industries would be consistent with our current national objectives. Further extension of the trade agreement authority is being sought as a means of strengthening the economies of our allies, and thus their defense potential. In itself this is a laudable objective. But our Government has other laudable objectives with which it must be reconciled. As part of our policy of opposing aggression and promoting peace in the world, the Congress has declared the Nation's determination to develop and maintain our own military and economic strength. The national objective is a defense mobilization program of such magnitude to deter an aggressor, or if we are attacked, to enable us to fight to win. We must have the capacity to shift on a moment's notice to all-out mobilization. As the Joint Congressional Committee on Defense Production very recently stated, "time has been eliminated from the arsenal of democracy." Should enemy attack precipitate a full emergency, we will not have the time for large expansion of plant capacity, as we did after Pearl Harbor and Korea.

A deep realization of the soundness of our mobilization policy has led the Nation in partnership with private industry to make an enormous investment in additional capacity and to maintain it in readiness. The difficulty imposed on private industry with capacity in excess of normal peacetime needs is very great. In the view of the joint committee, maintenance of the mobilization base and avoidance of the loss of existing capacity is a major problem. The Director of Defense Mobilization in his 1954 report also emphasized that the development of an adequate, secure mobilization base depends on the understanding and conviction of the Government and the people as a whole that these things are necessary and offer the best assurance of surviving in an age of peril.

If industries such as ours which are vulnerable to import competition are to receive such understanding and help in keeping surplus capacity in readiness for mobilization, the implications for our foreign trade policy are clear. Enthusiasm for strengthening our allies must not lead us into the error of overestimating what reduction of our tariffs can contribute to that objective or of underestimating the impact which increased imports can have on our industrial capacity required for national defense. We must not add strength abroad if it means subtracting strength at home.

How are we to secure this balance in our trade program? Present trade agreement procedures are not keyed to the selective revision of tariffs from the viewpoint of our national security interests. To be sure, the peril point and escape clause are important procedures for balancing economic strength at home with expansion abroad. But they are limited in concept to the avoidance of serious injury to the domestic industry. Without the domestic industry concerned being seriously injured under traditional peril point or escape clause criteria, the mobilization capacity projected through expansion can be hurt if increased imports thwart the needed expansion.

There is needed a positive policy and procedure under which tariffs could not be reduced below a point which the Tariff Commission finds would threaten impairment of the domestic productive capacity declared by the Office of Defense Mobilization to be part of the mobilization base. An essential corollary to that policy and procedure would provide for the withdrawal of concessions which in whole or part have resulted in a volume of imports which

threaten impairment of the domestic productive capacity programed by the Office of Defense Mobilization as part of the Nation's mobilization base.

This type of policy and procedure could be established by amending the peril point and escape clauses to add the concept of "impairment of the national security" to the existing situation which those remedies are designed to prevent. Under such an amendment, the President could establish a procedure by Executive order to provide for mobilization status determinations on particular products by the Office of Defense Mobilization. Those determinations would be the reference points used by the Tariff Commission in finding whether past or proposed tariff action would impair mobilization capacity.

We respectfully urge the committee's consideration of these amendments to the peril point and escape clauses regardless of the final conclusion it may come to on the merits of H. R. 1.

We see seven basic issues in H. R. 1 itself.

First, we do not oppose a 3-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act.

Second, we do oppose the bill's threefold approach to tariff reduction. We cannot avoid the feeling that tariff-cutting objectives have been chosen which have little independent reason for existence. If the 15-percent authority were intended as an outside limit rather than an objective, we should feel more enthusiasm for it.

Assuming that the 15-percent authority will be granted, we can see no justification for the additional tariff-cutting authority on so-called negligible import items or on the over-50-percent group. There is no particular validity to an arbitrary demarcation point such as 50 percent. It would be rather contemptuous to assume that the 1930 rates had no relationship to the differential in foreign and domestic costs. With 20 years of rather zealously applied trade-agreement authority intervening, it assumes far too much to say that any rate now over 50 percent ad valorem ought, irrespective of the product to which applied, to be reduced to that level.

So, too, the concept that items being imported at a particular moment of time in negligible quantities ought to be reduced by 50 percent of the 1945 rate is objectionable. By what prescience can it be said that an increase in imports from negligible to substantial quantities on any item requires a great reduction or a slight reduction? Would it not be more consistent with the promised modernation and gradualness to approach the reduction on any item with a single standard, 5 percent a year?

Third, we are opposed to the new substantive authority which the bill would give the President to include provisions pertaining to nondiscriminatory standards, quantitative restrictions, customs formalities and similar international trade matters in trade agreements. We are concerned that such sweeping authority could be offered amid such deep silence as to its intended purpose. From our own analysis it would appear that under this grant of power the President could sign a revised General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with its extensive substantive provisions and proclaim it effective. Many substantive provisions, such as those pertaining to quotas, countervailing duties, antidumping duties, and even perhaps valuation procedures contained in GATT could become law without Congress ever having an opportunity to look into the matter. There is considerable doubt that such a broad grant of power without any intelligible principle to limite the Executive to congressional purposes could be constitutional. Were such authority to be granted, the divestment by the Congress of its constitutional responsibility to regulate foreign commerce would have run its full course. With this silent acquisition of great power, the temptation would be strong to bring the substantive provisions of a revised GATT into full force without submission to Congress. Significantly, there are no announced intentions to lay other than the organizational provisions of the agreement before the Congress.

There are some who speak in self-appointed roles as friends of the Congress to decry the prospect of Congress ever again going through a complete tariff revision such as it is said occurred in 1929 and 1930. This ordeal, imagined or real, is said to require that Congress never again undertake to legislate in tariff matters. Conveniently, as it serves their purposes, these proponents would leave such tedious detail to the Executive. This, we are told, forbids Congress looking legislatively into tariff rates. This it is which now in a new boldness should prevent Congress from attending through the exercise of its own judgment to changes in the substantive provisions of the tariff act quite apart from the rates.

Surely the Congress will not thus at a stroke immunize the laws pertaining to foreign commerce from its care and attention. It is preposterous to compare the attention required in reviewing substantive provisions such as GATT contains to the much different task of creating an entirely new tariff act with its hundreds of individual classifications and rates. Many who are opposed to the latter are also opposed to tariff ratemaking by the Tariff Commission, which was formed to relieve Congress of much of that tedium. Their objective is not so much easing the cares of Congress as insuring that Congress and its agent for tariff matters are taken as far out of the picture as possible in the regulation of foreign commerce. In brief, they see tariff policy solely as a gambit in foreign diplomacy.

Section 3 (a) (1) (A) of the bill is an unwise proposal, foreign to our traditions. It should be omitted from the bill.

Fourth, we oppose the changes which have been made in the procedural authority conferred upon the President by the bill in comparison with its predecessor, H. R. 8860 of the 83d Congress. The earlier bill required the President to make his determination of negligible imports on the basis of Tariff Commission information. H. R. 1 removes this basis, and leaves the President discretion at large to make the determination. It is the Tariff Commission which has the greater expertise and independence of judgment in tariff matters. It can hardly be sound policy for Congress to delegate power to the Executive to act in accordance with a particular standard, and at the same time be unwilling to confine the exercise of that power to those instances in which its own expert agency finds the prescribed standard is met. Moreover, the bill brings the finding of negligible imports down to the point of time coincident with entering into the trade agreement. Such a limitation would seem unsound, for it would ignore the historical situation on imports, and turn solely to a moment of time which foreign nations intent on securing a favorable concession could influence by shutting off exports for a limited period.

Fifth, we oppose the authority which the bill would give the President under the over 50-percent provision to use any value basis he finds practicable in computing ad valorem equivalents of specific or combination duties. The heart of our industry's production is of coal-tar chemicals which are protected by duties based on the American selling price value basis. The earlier Kean bill required that value to be used as the basis for computing ad valorem equivalents on items dutiable under the American selling price. Through the use of different language, H. R. 1 would seem unintentionally to eliminate that requirement. The concept of the bill is that all dutiable commodities should be subjected within certain safeguards to further rate reductions within established percentage limitations. These limitations are based either upon the rates of duty presently in existence or those in existence in 1945. In the case of items subject to the American selling price, the rates of duty now in existence or in existence in 1945 were premised upon the use of that value basis. If the items dutiable on the American selling price basis were to be subjected to treatment in which the ad valorem equivalents are computed on the basis of some lower value than American selling price, such as foreign value, the effect would be a reduction in the amount of protection available for those items quite apart from any reduction in duty. Then if the rates of duty itself were reduced within the percentage limits of the bill, a further reduction would be imposed on those items. The bill in this manner would permit American selling price items to be subjected to treatment which would result in a greater loss of protection than any other class of commodities could be subjected to under the bill. There is no justification for this type of discrimination. We feel sure you would not wish to subject our products to a greater reduction than other commodities could receive under the bill.

As indicated, we oppose the negligible quantities and over 50-percent reduction provisions in the bill. We sincerely hope that they will be eliminated. If they are not, the changes made in the procedural provisions referred to above should be abandoned, and the comparable provisions of the earlier Kean bill, H. R. 8860, adopted in their stead.

Sixth, we oppose the provisions of the bill which would ratify the multilateral grant of concessions which the administration intends to make in the Japanese trade agreement negotiations. Throughout the history of the Trade Agreements Act the authority of the President has been confined to bilateral negotiations in which concession is traded for concession on a reciprocal basis. Though negotiations with a number of nations have been carried on under the auspices of GATT, they have heretofore consisted of a series of bilateral negotiations conducted simultaneously. Never before has the United States considered offering a concession to one country on condition that the country make a concession to a third country. We think the planned course of action in the Japanese trade agreement negotiations is illegal under the present trade agreement law, and oppose its ratification in H. R. 1. It should be evident that the historic function of the law of regulating the admission of foreign goods into this country in accordance with the needs of our producers in exchange for corresponding market outlets for United States goods in foreign countries can never be achieved if we give our concessions in order to afford market opportunities for third countries in the country to whom we grant the concession.

The other provision of H. R. 1 pertaining to the Japanese trade agreement would permit the reduced rates negotiated with Japan and third countries to be proclaimed after July 1, 1955, and still serve as the basis from which a further reduction of 15 percent could be made under the bill. There is no justification for exposing the products covered by the Japanese agreement to double reductions. The Executive is getting a last minute cut on the duty for hundreds of items in the Japanese agreement. This is scarcely a logical basis for changing the rules on those items from that applying to all other articles under the bill so as to make them vulnerable to greater reductions than other tariff items. Section 3 (c) (2) (C) should be eliminated from the bill.

Seventh, we oppose the proposal in the bill that the President have the power unilaterally to reduce duties on the negligible imports items. This provision is understandable only if it be assumed that America has high-tariff walls which are barriers to trade. This,

as in the case of other premises upon which the argument for tariff reduction is built, is simply not true. There is no reason why our own Government cannot be realistic about this matter and acknowledge that the United States is, by comparison with its commercial rivals, a low-tariff country. You are familiar with the fact that the ad valorem equivalent of our dutiable imports has been cut sharply from 46.7 percent in 1934 to 12.4 percent in 1953, while the ad valorem equivalent of both dutiable and free imports has dropped from 18.4 percent to 5.6 percent in the same period.

While we have been busily engaged in cutting our tariffs, our foreign friends as often as not have been moving in the opposite direction. Their concessions have frequently been withdrawn or nullified by quantitative restrictions. Too, we have often accepted the binding of existing rates in exchange for our duty reductions. These experiences should teach us that it is difficult enough to secure realistic concessions from foreign countries without proposing unilateral reductions. If I may borrow President Washington's words, the Nation is in the position "of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more."

The mere existence of unilateral authority would expose our executive department to unrelenting pressure from our foreign friends under varying pretexts to get us to cut our duties without their giving up anything. After the lengths to which the United States has already gone through tariff reduction, grants, aid, offshore procurement, and dilution of the Buy American Act by Executive order, it is surely the coup de grace to load on the backs of American industry a program of one-track tariff cutting.

We conclude with this summary: We do not oppose a 3-year extension of trade agreement authority so long as its exercise is limited to reduction of tariffs on a genuinely selective basis up to 5 percent a year during that period under procedures which will prevent impairment of defense mobilization capacity, present or projected, and which will preserve the vigor and strength of our domestic industries.

Thank you for your attention.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to extend my greetings in honor of the 37th anniversary of the independence of Lithuania this February 16.

The plight, the privation, and the hardships endured by those nations swallowed up in the shadows of the Iron Curtain remind all of us in the free world that we must continue to recognize the Soviet plague for the cruel design it cuts in the face of humanity and decency. No one knows better of these tyrannies than those enslaved in such countries as Lithuania.

The reports we receive from these countries tell us of forced labor, murdering of anti-Soviet resistant forces, the collectivization of prosperous farmland, and in short, man's inhumanity to man. Truth again becomes stranger than fiction in this tragic russification of the brave once free Republic of Lithuania.

As a Member of this great Congress, I joint with others paying tribute to the cause of freedom and independence and in the prayer that Lithuania, through the continued spirit of her citizenry and the unwavering voice of America and the free world, will once more cast off the shackles of this bondage.

Aliens: Americans in Heart, Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, a very timely and worthwhile article appeared in the Connecticut Sunday Herald on January 30, 1955, which is commended to my colleagues. Under leave to extend my remarks, the article follows:

ALIENS: AMERICANS IN HEART, SPIRIT

There is man who has a business and has raised a family in New Haven. He is active in many community groups. He loves the United States.

He likes to talk politics, but he has never voted.

He is an alien.

There is in Hartford a woman who has raised a son who as an American GI died in World War II. Her husband is a good Republican. Her son-in-law is a good Democrat.

She listens to their arguments, but she has never voted.

She is an alien.

These are 2 of about 70,000 persons who have come from every corner of the world to live in and work in Connecticut and who the law requires must go to the post office and register as aliens.

Some of these people have been here for only a few months; others have been here for more than 50 years.

Almost all of them want to become American citizens.

Some of them have been trying for years, but are still unable to achieve United States citizenship.

The alien population can be split up into two main groups—the oldtimers and the newcomers.

The oldtimers make up nearly one-half of the alien population. Many of them have been here since before World War I.

They have children who are citizens and they have lived here so long that they think of themselves as Americans.

Most of this group are women who have had to work hard all their lives and have had little opportunity to learn the language and study the formal requirements for citizenship.

Lack of time and timidity have been the chief obstacles to their becoming citizens.

Recent legislation has made their goal easier to reach.

Aliens who are over 50 years of age and have been here for more than 20 years can obtain citizenship by merely answering a few simple questions once they can prove their date of entry into the United States.

The entry problem is the toughest nut to crack.

Many of these aliens came here when they were children and don't remember the name of the boat they came on, or the exact date of their arrival.

Even when they do remember, the steamship company records which they would need as evidence are no longer in existence.

The alternative to proving date of entry is to prove legal residence in the United States for a period of 20 years.

This means poring through battered city directories, or trying to find old bills and receipts. Or getting specific affidavits from former neighbors.

It takes time and energy and enormous patience, and usually yields as much satisfaction as pounding one's head against a stone wall.

It's surprising, not that some of these people give up in discouragement, but that so many persist in their search.

For the second group of aliens, who have arrived since the close of World War II, the prospects for citizenship are brighter.

Most of these people have had their lives disrupted by war. They shifted from one country to another, and spent time in concentration camps and displaced person camps.

Because they have had to learn how to take care of themselves in order to survive, they can better cope with the problem of achieving citizenship.

The alien goes almost shamefully to sign up at the post office, but most are loyal Americans in everything but formal citizenship. He contributes and acts as a good citizen.

Whether barred from citizenship by technicalities or by simple negligence on his own part, the chances are that your alien neighbor is a real American in heart and spirit.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence is being observed on February 16. The little Baltic state was established as an independent nation in 1918, only to have its freedom and existence snuffed out in 1940 by the Soviet Union which has since enslaved its people and destroyed every vestige of their independence.

In the years since 1940, the people of Lithuania have paid a tremendous toll in human suffering and destruction at the hands of a ruthless oppressor. The culture of this little Baltic country is gradually being wiped out, its churches destroyed, and its people are subject to mass purges and deportations. Yet, despite all this suffering and subjugation, the spiritual and moral resources of the Lithuanian people have not been exterminated, nor has its indomitable desire for national freedom been extinguished.

The fake annexation of Lithuania and the other Baltic states has never been recognized by the United States. The American people have followed with great sympathy the plight which has befallen the Lithuanian people and we have on numerous occasions raised our voice in their behalf.

On this occasion, the 37th anniversary of their independence, we extend our greetings and encouragement for their righteous cause. The American people hope and pray for their early liberation from Communist tyranny. We renew our solidarity with this heroic people in their struggle against the forces of evil.

Resolution Adopted at the Memorial Service and Rally Sponsored by the American Zionist Council of Los Angeles at Hollywood Temple Beth El, February 13, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, unanimously having heretofore been given consent so to do, I present to the distinguished Members of this great legislative body the following resolution which I this day received from Dr. Max Nussbaum, chairman of the American Zionist Council of Los Angeles, Calif., whose address in that city is 590 North Vermont Avenue:

We, the 1,000 citizens of Los Angeles assembled at Hollywood Temple Beth El on Sunday afternoon, February 13, for a memorial service, voice our shock and indignation at the brutal murder of 2 Jews by the Egyptian military dictatorship and the torture of 2 more, resulting in their death.

This action was taken in wanton disregard of the forceful representations for clemency made on the grounds of moderation and humanity by many governments, including our own.

Together with the entire civilized world, we express our sense of outrage at the inhuman trials and executions which are a mockery of justice. The Egyptian Government stands condemned in the eyes of all mankind for its brutal disregard for human decency. Events in that country in the past year have shown a striking resemblance to the bloody path by which other dictators have maintained power through a totalitarian regime.

Moreover, we are deeply disturbed by this evidence, pointing to an intensification of the bitter tensions existing between Egypt and the State of Israel. It must be feared that unless the conscience of the civilized world can be aroused to deter the criminal intent of the Arab rulers, they will be emboldened to intensify their attacks upon their own Jewish community and possibly to undertake a full-scale attack against Israel.

This sacrifice of Jewish martyrs will not long appease a government which is intent upon diverting the peoples' attention from economic misery and social despotism at home. We shall hold the Egyptian Government eternally responsible for the blood bath which can ensue if scapegoats are to be the technique for appealing to mob passions and for maintaining in power a military dictatorship.

We do urge the continued vigilance of our Government in cooperation with the other governments which view with moral indignation and horror this tragic hanging, in order that the adherence to the principles of justice and respect for civil rights and international law be strengthened in Egypt and throughout the Arab world.

Soviet Faithlessness at Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, basic to the ultimate success of any agreement or contract is the existence of the will to fulfill in good faith what has been stipulated. The will to act honestly and faithfully is the heart and core of any agreement in international relations.

At Yalta in February 1945 an agreement was reached between the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States; Winston Churchill, the present Prime Minister of Great Britain; and the deceased Soviet dictator, Marshal Stalin. This agreement concluded in the Crimea contained many elements that were intended to insure lasting world peace. Among these elements were: The projection of the basic concept of the United Nations Organization; a declaration on liberated Europe, based upon the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the declaration by the United Nations; the occupation and control of defeated Germany; war reparations; treatment of major war criminals; an agreement relating to prisoners of war and liberated civilian nationals; agreement on policy toward Japan; settlement problems in Eastern and Southeastern Europe bearing upon Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Italy, Greece, and Rumania; consideration of the question of Iran; the establishment of permanent machinery for periodic conferences between the foreign secretaries of the three powers; and, finally, consideration of the question of the Turkish Straits.

In the conclusion of the Crimean Agreement President Roosevelt exercised the constitutional power invested in the office of the presidency. And in like manner Prime Minister Churchill exercised the equivalent constitutional power invested in his office. As a supreme dictator Stalin was not governed by any such constitutional principles. Both President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill entered into this agreement in good faith, and with the will to carry out the stipulations laid down. But, unfortunately, Stalin, the third party to this agreement, had no intention of fulfilling his obligations.

As a consequence of Soviet bad faith we have seen time and again willful violations of the Crimean Pact. No violation, however, could be more distressing to witness than the one that bore upon Poland.

At Yalta, the Polish eastern frontier was delineated roughly along the old Curzon line. Thus, Poland lost a large amount of her eastern territories. But further stipulations provided that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west. Another stipulation was made in the agreement calling for the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot.

At the Potsdam Conference, the western frontier of Poland was moved to the Oder-Neisse line in Eastern Germany pending final delimitation at the peace conference which, incidentally, was never held. However, free and unfettered elections were never held in Poland, and here in this display of bad faith on the part of the Soviet Union, the hopes of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill for a free, independent, and democratic Poland vanished.

Seldom before has the world seen such a display of bad faith as in the farcical elections that brought Poland under Communist domination. Every device of terror, imprisonment, and intimidation was used to destroy the effectiveness of the Polish democratic forces. Such were the free and unfettered elections that Yalta promised for Poland. We have long since discovered, much to our woe, how little good faith and good will we can ever expect from the Soviet Union.

On this 10th anniversary of the Yalta Agreement let us, therefore, recall to mind the diabolical dishonesty of the Soviet Union; let us remember the terrible consequences that this breach of faith has brought to the world; let us remember also the unhappy fate of Poland as a result of this breach of faith.

In the Polish people, who stand today before the world swathed in chains but with souls unconquered, there is exemplified the spirit of heroism in resistance, resolution in adversity, and faithfulness to the cause of freedom.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. BURNSIDE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include the following quotation from a letter I have received from Mr. James D. Francis, president of the Powellton Coal Co., Huntington, W. Va.:

H. R. 1 affects the oil only. Most people thing this affects a few coal miners and a few coal operators. It is not generally recognized—and Congressmen and members of the Ways and Means Committee probably do not know—that for each man employed in 1 of our coal-producing counties there is 1 additional man employed servicing the needs of each man and his family in the community and that when there are 100,000 coal miners idle, or partially idle due to heavy imports of residual oil, there are also another 100,000 unemployed or largely unemployed and living partially on relief in the same immediate sections.

In addition to these men, for each 100,000 men in the mines there are approximately 25,000 railroad, transportation, and dock and vessel employees engaged in giving railroad and transportation service to the coal mined by these miners and in maintaining the cars and locomotives used to haul this coal; and for each of these men out of income in their

communities, approximately an equal amount of men and women are out of employment in servicing transportation, dock workers, and steamship men handling this volume of coal.

It should also be realized by the committee that for each 100 million tons of coal lost due to this form of competition, the manufacturers and suppliers of mine supplies and mine equipment lose sales on mine supplies and equipment of aproximately $1 a ton and causes a very substantial unemloyment in the industries furnishing these supplies.

The wholesalers, retailers, and jobbers in our community suffer in their loss of business and their income; and schools, churches, and all public welfare organizations are likewise greatly injured.

Yours very sincerely,

JAMES D. FRANCIS,
President.

Education Is Our Job, Not Washington's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News on Sunday, February 13, 1955. I am in thorough agreement with the views expressed in this editorial:

EDUCATION IS OUR JOB, NOT WASHINGTON'S

Although we are keenly troubled about the plight of the schools in the Nation and the South today, we do not like President Eisenhower's proposal to help solve it with a $7 billion Federal-aid program.

In the first place, we look on education as primarily a State or local duty and responsibility. If the Federal Government subsidizes schools, we fear that in the long run it will try to tell teachers what they can or cannot teach. Already there are ominous threats of Federal interference with the operation of our schools. The initiative and responsibility for the schools should always remain in the States or localities. Their control should never be vested in Washington. That way lie all sorts of dangers of thought control or worse. No free country should undergo that risk.

In the second place, the President's proposal is not for outright grants of money but for loans, except in the case of some States which might get direct grants on a matching basis but would practically have to take a pauper's oath to obtain them.

North Carolina is not a pauper State. Its credit is excellent. If it has to borrow money to educate its children it can get it from other sources than the Federal Government at reasonable rates, without the risk of thought control or interference with the operations of the schools implicit in Federal subsidization. No State is too poor to educate its young people—it is absurd to think so in a period of prosperity when we universally spend more for joy riding, cosmetics, and drinks than we do for education—and no State is rich enough to neglect their education.

North Carolina, half a century ago when it really was poor, undertook the high task of educating all its children; we knew it would entail sacrifices and we undertook them gladly because we knew the end would justify the cost. The results speak for themselves. We have done a reasonably good job and we know we can do better. It is our job and we will stick with it.

The Real Quemoy Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension of remarks an article written by Joseph Alsop, appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 16, 1955, which, if true, is an amazing disclosure:

THE REAL QUEMOY STORY

(By Joseph Alsop)

TAIPEH, FORMOSA.—The controversy now raging in Washington about the real status of Quemoy and the Matsu Islands is easily understandable.

The confusion grows directly from the curious, tortuous, and even somewhat shabby dealings of the American Government with the Chinese Nationalist Government on this vital issue. The real history of those dealings (which leaves the true status of Quemoy and the Matsus as dubious as ever) can be summarized as follows on high and undoubted authority.

Originally, as the whole world knows, President Eisenhower's policy, adopted against the recommendation of 3 of the 4 Joint Chiefs of Staff, was to defend none of the offshore islands that constitute the Formosa approaches. This decision was taken last September, at the famous Security Council meeting in Denver, after the first major Communist shelling of Quemoy had brought the problem of the offshore islands to the forefront.

How or why this original decision was changed in January is not known here. It is suspected, however, that the lever of change was a growing conviction that the Chinese Communists seriously intended to attack the Pescadores and Formosa proper, which in turn made the defense of the more advanced positions seem more logical and important. At any rate the original decision was changed, and the new policy was adopted of abandoning the Tachen Islands but assisting, if need be, in the defense of Quemoy and the Matsus.

This led directly to the President's request to Congress to pass the so-called Formosa resolution, and to the key scene in the discussions of the problem of the offshore islands between the Chinese and American Governments. This key scene was a meeting between Chinese Foreign Minister George Yeh and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles while the Formosa resolution was pending and shortly before Secretary Dulles' departure for his Caribbean holiday.

At this meeting, Secretary Dulles informed Foreign Minister Yeh, without qualification or equivocation, that President Eisenhower would issue a statement in effect guaranteeing Quemoy and the Matsus as soon as the Formosa resolution had passed the Congress. The statement, Secretary Dulles asserted would specify Quemoy and the Matsus as being related areas essential to the defense of Formosa. It would thus put the Chinese Communists squarely on notice that an attack on these islands would bring the United States into the fighting.

There was no possibility of misunderstanding about this promise made by Secretary Dulles to Foreign Minister Yeh. Official State Department minutes were taken of the meeting between the two men, and a copy of these minutes was given to Foreign Minister Yeh. The minutes clearly recorded that Secretary Dulles said the President would issue a statement effectively guaranteeing Quemoy and the Matsus in the manner described above.

On the basis of this apparently solid commitment, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek then agreed to the evacuation of the Tachen Islands, as Secretary Dulles had requested. The plan here was to coordinate the Generalissimo's order for evacuation of the Tachens with President Eisenhower's expected statement on Quemoy and the Matsus. As late as a week ago Friday, United States Ambassador Carl Rankin had no idea that Secretary Dulles' promise to Foreign Minister Yeh was about to be broken. He even held a press conference cheerfully stating that Quemoy and the Matsus were now covered by an American guarantee.

At this very late date, however, Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson informed Foreign Minister Yeh, one assumes with some embarrassment, that there had been a little misunderstanding between the State Department and the White House. The President was not prepared to keep the promise that his Secretary of State had made.

Foreign Minister Yeh produced the minutes of his meeting with Secretary Dulles. Assistant Secretary Robertson showed the minutes at the White House. But all to no avail. Apparently the President had hedged his position, in order to undercut the Senate opposition to the Formosa resolution, in a way that made it impossible for him to do what Secretary Dulles had said he would do.

On receiving this news, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek refused to keep his part of the bargain either, with the result the world knows—the long delay in the Tachen evacuation. These days of delay were occupied by the Chinese in pressing the President to keep the Dulles promise, and by the Americans in fending off the Chinese with one hand and pressing them to evacuate the Tachens with the others.

This curious impasse ended, partly because Chiang Kai-shek had no easy alternative except to bow to the will of the American Government, and partly because President Eisenhower finally consented to toss President Chiang a diplomatic biscuit. This took the form of a communication relayed by Ambassador Rankin assuring the Chinese President that the American President was still undyingly determined to defend Formosa and all related areas "he deems necessary" for the defense of Formosa, "including Quemoy and the Matsu Islands."

If these were not the precise weasel words, they are said by high authority to reproduce the sense with complete exactness. They can, of course, be read any way you choose to read them. For President Eisenhower did not deem Quemoy and the Matsu Islands essential to the defense of Formosa in September. Then he deemed them very necessary in January. And who can tell what he will deem them next month?

The Chinese hopefully believe that there has not been a second change in American policy, and that Quemoy and the Matsus will in fact be defended with American help if attacked. But there was a commitment, which turned into a noncommitment, and it is hard to forecast what transformations this noncommitment may be subject to. And that is where this strange matter now stands.

Lithuania's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to

call attention of the House to the fact that today is the 37th anniversary of Lithuania's independence.

The small but fiercely proud Baltic country won her independence after World War I, to the plaudits of the whole world. For 22 years her people enjoyed the fruits of freedom, and under freedom Lithuania became an outstanding member of the family of free nations. A successful land reform program, coupled with the intelligence and industry of her farmers, converted the country from a merely self-sustaining nation to an exporting nation; universal education swiftly reduced illiteracy from 64 percent to 15 percent, as the number of children in grammar schools rose from 45,000 to 300,000. Her state opera, the theater, and the ballet added cultural luster to her economic and commercial development.

In 1940, the Soviet Government drew the Iron Curtain down on Lithuania, thinking to snuff out the people's will to freedom.

It has not succeeded. The Lithuanians, like their Baltic neighbors, the Latvians and Estonians, have never ceased to resist subjugation. It was a proud day for our own country when we determined not to recognize the conquest of these three republics by the voracious Soviet bear, but to sustain the spirit of freedom within them by continuing recognition of the republics. All of us share with them the hope that the spirit of freedom will not die, and that the day of liberation is not too far distant.

The National Right To Work Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago public announcement was made of the formation of the National Right To Work Committee. Mr. E. S. Dillard, an outstanding citizen of Charlotte, N. C., was elected chairman of this committee and issued a public statement outlining the aims and principles of the committee. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the statement issued by Mr. Dillard on this subject, as follows:

The National Right To Work Committee declares its keynote belief to be that unionism by compulsion is utterly wrong and is a rising menace to the future of the United States.

This organization will strive diligently to accomplish a single major objective, which is to establish in the United States the principle that Americans must have the right, but not be compelled, to join labor unions.

Labor unions hold in their membership hundreds of thousands of American citizens against their will. Furthermore, thousands of persons have lost their jobs because they would not bend the knee to such compulsion.

Emphasizing these and the many related facts and the injustices inherent in them is the determination of this committee. Further, the committee intends to defend the right to work principle against all who would invade it, whether unions or employers.

A basic fundamental of American democracy is for every individual to have the right to earn one's own livelihood without being compelled to join, and pay money to, any organization. The National Right To Work Committee expects to carefully avoid injecting itself into the many complicated problems of labor-management relations. The committee will not oppose the expansion of voluntary unionism.

The committee's conviction is that, in keeping with American guarantees of personal liberties, unionism must be voluntary, devoid of compulsion.

Intentions of this committee are to sponsor a program sufficiently broad and adequate to accurately present this whole problem in its many details not only to the American people but also to those men and women who exercise the authorities of government.

When analyzed, this right to work problem presents political and economic issues which are of deep and far-reaching importance.

Ranking first among these issues is whether or not justice is violated when a one-sided state of law protects the individual's right to join a union while providing no protection whatever for the right not to join a union.

Another of these issues is this: Shall the Federal Government be allowed to strike down all State laws which seek to give the individual free choice as regards labor-union membership?

American policy is positively set against the evils of monopoly in business and yet the question arises whether labor unions shall be permitted to achieve monopoly over the working forces of the Nation.

A basic principle of our Republic is to protect civil liberties and minority rights against majorities. Shall this principle have no effectiveness in the basic realm of working and earning a living?

The National Right To Work Committee hopes to convince the American national and State governments and the whole populace that failure to eliminate unionism by compulsion will represent a triumph for collectivism. Already widespread unionism by compulsion has drastically encroached upon, and has severely damaged, various American individual rights.

The foregoing paragraphs present broadly the fundamental policy and objective of the National Right To Work Committee.

Overnight Experts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the Washington woods are suddenly full of armchair experts in military matters, who know, better than the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Council, and the President of the United States, what our military manpower needs are.

The new emphases in military manpower are, of course, the result of extended consideration by the best military minds of our times. Moreover, the President has explicitly taken full responsibility for the judgments that have been made. In his state of the Union message last month, President Eisenhower discussed the new directions which our defense planning is taking, and said: "These emphases in our defense planning have been made at my personal direction, after long and thoughtful study. In my judgment, they will give our Nation a defense accurately adjusted to the national need." Nevertheless, the armchair experts continue to wage a war of nerves against the public by seeking to undermine confidence in these judgments, including that of President Eisenhower. For my part, Mr. Speaker, I shall support the judgment of the man in the White House in this matter.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD the following editorial from the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle of February 14, 1955, with reference to this matter:

OVERNIGHT EXPERTS

Some of the Democratic critics of President Eisenhower's projected cutbacks in military manpower have become, overnight, military experts.

Their hullabaloo stems from Defense Secretary Wilson's announcement of December 20 that the Armed Forces would be reduced from 3 million men now to 2,850,000 by mid-1956. On January 5 the reductions were somewhat modified.

To do less than the minimum in the way of defense, said the President, would "expose the Nation to the predatory purposes of potential enemies." "But," he added, "to build excessively under the impulse of fear could, in the long run, defeat our purposes by damaging the growth of our economy and eventually forcing it into regimented controls."

The Army will bear the brunt of the projected manpower slashes; the Navy will be cut slightly; the Air Force, in line with more apparent needs, will be enlarged slightly. Draft calls, starting this month, have been cut from 23,000 to run indefinitely from 10,000 to 11,000 per month.

The heart of the administration's plan is the Reserve system. Under it 100,000 young men each year would get 6 months' training followed by 9½ years in the Reserves. General Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, now believes National Guard and other Reserve units could be prepared for combat in 5, rather than 10 months. Thus, three main sources will feed manpower into the services—the Reserves, the draft, and volunteer enlistments.

The cutback decision was not a snap judgment. The President was advised by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Security Council, although, in a press conference, he said he takes full responsibility Democratic sniping has contributed little except the conviction the snipers are scared civilians attacking plans drawn by unscared military experts.

The President's steadiness in this as in other high-level decisions speaks for itself. He has access to more facts than any of his critics. Until some more convincing adverse evidence comes along, we'll stick with his judgment.

Lithuania's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, today, February 16, 1955, marks

the 37th anniversary of the independence of Lithuania. Although the freedom that once belonged to Lithuania has been taken from her by Soviet Russia, the Lithuanian people are united in their determination to again establish their complete independence.

There are 3 million Lithuanians living in their rugged and admirable homeland. Here in America we have over 1 million Lithuanian citizens who have greatly proved their quality, their fineness, and their strength as citizens of our American Republic. All Lithuanians are united today, including those in the homeland and those here in America, in the celebration of this 37th anniversary of their independence.

During her independence, 1918 to 1940, Lithuania was an exemplary nation and an honored member of the family of free nations, honorably fulfilling all her obligations. Her land reform act of 1922, the first in all Europe, was one of the most important events in her history as 73 percent of her population was engaged in agricultural pursuits. This land reform act lessened greatly the influence of Communist propaganda. Universal compulsory education—1930—reduced the illiteracy from 64 to 15 percent. From 1919 to 1939 the number of pupils in grammar schools alone rose from some 45,000 to nearly 300,000. Economically, her great progress in dairying and hog production transformed Lithuania from a self-subsisting nation to a commercial type one. Her rapidly developing cooperatives raised the standards of commerce, agriculture, and industry. Lithuania's state opera, the theater, and ballet attracted internationally famous conductors and artists and added luster to the culture of this ancient nation.

Then came the Soviets on their drive to world domination. Today a rigid censorship conceals from the world the continuing deportations under the guise of volunteer work elsewhere, collectivization, the slave labor camps, the russification and colonization by Russian elements, the systematic efforts of the Soviet occupational regime to merge Lithuania organically into the Soviet system, the extermination of the hostile native anti-Soviet element by killings of the resistant groups.

In this great struggle for independence, Lithuania has not given up. She still fights on. Little does Communist Russia realize the strength of heart and determination of the spirit of the Lithuanian people. These stalwart people know they have a friend in America. They know the Government and the people of the United States are with them all the way. Never has the Government of the United States recognized the annexation of Lithuania by Communist Russia, just as the United States Government has never recognized the annexation of Latvia or Estonia under their rule and domination. It is my view that the United States Government will stand firm in this position, and that the people of Lithuania and her Baltic neighbors may rest assured the United States will never recognize the incorporation of these wonderfully fine small Baltic countries into the Soviet Communist Union.

On this anniversary day I extend my congratulations to the people of Lithuania. In doing this I say to them, "Hold fast to your faith, and hold fast to your hope and courage, for with these necessary qualities I am positive the sun will again shine on an independent Lithuania and a happy nation of Lithuanian people living in freedom."

Help for Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is refreshing to read an editorial which is sympathetic to our coal industry, one that recognizes one of the difficulties lies in the dumping of residual oil from Venezuela to our eastern-shore States.

It is also, at the same time, difficult for those interested in the coal industry to impress sufficient Members with the necessity for nurturing this basic industry.

It might be pointed out that in case of war we would be in difficulty. We would be in a coal economy overnight.

With permission to extend my remarks, I am including this editorial which appeared in the Pittsburgh Press on Monday, February 14:

HELP FOR COAL

There has been so much head shaking of late about the troubled condition of the coal industry that it comes as something of a shock to realize that the Federal Government still is taxing the transportation of coal at the rate of 4 cents a ton.

This is a tax that was laid on in World War II to help pay the huge expenses of that war, and at a time when it couldn't possibly have hurt the coal industry.

But that time is past. The coal industry is in trouble now and the transportation tax is unwise and unjust. It helps to nibble away more of the vanishing market for coal and adversely affects the transportation industry.

Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, Wilkes-Barre, Democrat, points out that other industries afflicted with wartime taxes that handicapped them in peacetime have obtained relief. He wants the coal tax repealed, too, and he points out that coal is more essential to our national economy and our national security than other industries which have been given relief from taxes.

Most of the unemployment in this part of Pennsylvania stems from the coal slump, plus the advance of mechanized mining, and its effects on the railroads. Any move that would help coal to compete in price with other fuels should help employment.

The loss of tax revenues to the Federal Government in repealing the coal tax would not be serious, and if greater employment in the mining industry resulted, Uncle Sam could make up his losses in collections from other taxes, such as the income tax on corporations and individuals.

The coal industry, in fact, appears to have a sort of stepchild status with the Federal Government. One of its standard complaints is that the importation of residual fuel oil (a heavy oil remaining from refinery operations) has robbed it of much of its eastern seaboard industrial market.

Nothing much comes of these complaints, even though the dumping of this oil in eastern markets means loss of jobs for coal miners and railroadmen.

Another blow was reported over the weekend by Press Washington Correspondent Chester Potter. The State Department and the Foreign Operations Administration plan to buy one million tons of coal from Formosa for the use of United States military forces in Japan and Korea. Such a purchase would provide a full year's work for 800 United States miners.

Perhaps there are good reasons for this plan—although they haven't been made public. But we can't help remembering that during last year's election campaign, Foreign Operations Administrator Harold E. Stassen announced a plan to buy 10 million tons of United States coal for economic aid to foreign countries.

Someday, we hope, Washington will wake up to the fact that it makes sense—both economically and from a defense standpoint—to help keep the coal and railroad industries in shape to meet any emergency demands that may be made on them.

The Marble Industry of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. BURNSIDE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following letter from Mr. Roger W. Howdyshell, vice president of Marble King, Inc., of St. Marys, W. Va.:

DEAR MR. BURNSIDE: The writer would like to bring to your attention the seriousness of the situation which is facing the marble industry in the United States. The industry is facing complete ruin unless something can be done about the importation of Japanese marbles. The Japanese can deliver into San Francisco, Calif. marbles which compare to size and count of our own including handling, freight and ad valorem at a price which we cannot meet.

The difference in prices of the Japanese is from $1.30 per gross to $4.04 per gross delivered in San Francisco under our delivered price to the same point. For approximately $0.30 more in freight they can deliver to New York. In addition to the two mentioned above, they are using the following ports of entry: Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, Jacksonville, New Orleans, Galveston, Los Angeles, Portland and Seattle.

We have been advised that hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of business which we previously enjoyed, has been placed with the Japanese concerns. Unless we receive help immediately, it will be disastrous to the industry. This does not only mean the companies in the industry but also for the employees; involuntarily forcing us to close our factory July 1, 1955.

In our plant alone we employ 10 percent of the families living in our community. Most of them are of the age and qualifications that they could not find employment elsewhere.

I would also like to mention the fact that we are one of the most highly mechanized industries in the United States.

Yours very truly,

MARBLE KING, INC.,
ROGER W. HOWDYSHELL,
Vice President.

Why President's Opponents Are Not So Sure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the New York Sunday News on February 13, 1955, which is very much to the point:

DEMS NOT SO SURE NOW

Just a couple of months back it was a truly cautious Democrat who didn't feel the election was in the bag. We mean, of course, the November 1956 national balloting—the big apple of American politics.

There were some solid-looking reasons for that optimistic attitude. First, of course, Vox Pop had just spoken, and had popped more than a few half-surprised Dems into gubernatorial and congressional seats.

Also, Ike hadn't balanced the budget as promised; and the McCarthy feud, in some precincts, had chased an estimated sixth of the normal GOP vote away from the polls.

So what's erasing those donkey party smiles now?

Ironically, the Dems own scouts and pollsters are spreading that gloom. Off the record, realistic Democrats are admitting that probable 1956 candidate Dwight Eisenhower is far from licked. In fact, his personal popularity may be nearing its peak.

Why? First, we'd say, the people like the firm way in which Ike handled the Formosa menace. No jitters; no hysterical midnight declarations of police actions. Just a nonbluffing statement of our position versus the rampaging Chinese Reds—and no shooting war came tumbling down.

On the domestic front, political professionals are admiring the way in which Ike has handled the touchy issue of racial discrimination in jobs covered by Government contracts.

When Congress failed to cooperate on this one, Ike quietly set up his own shop. His President's Committee on Government Contracts, at last count, had checked into and taken fast, realistic action on 104 discrimination complaints.

As of January 15, some 37 of the offending employers had been persuaded to comply voluntarily with those nondiscrimination clauses. Direct violations were found by Ike's men in 13 cases; contractors hastened to correct the situation. Some 42 bias cases are in the works now. The committee found it had no jurisdiction in the other 25.

Not much publicity has been given this. But our so-called minority and labor groups know what's been going on, and are telling pollsters they appreciate it. As far as can be foreseen, they'll still have that gratitude come 1956.

Meantime, Ike's most likely rival for next year's race is reputed to be the no-longer-reluctant political dragon and jokester from Illinois. So—

HOW ABOUT ADLAI?

Nothing's truly certain in politics. But Mr. Stevenson probably lost considerable prestige during the hottest Formosa crisis days. The Nation then was rooting fervently for Ike and our boys with the 7th Fleet. At about that time, Adlai opined wishy-washily that the United States, really, ought to "exercise restraint," at least until the ownership of Formosa could be "adjudicated peacefully." Very high-sounding words, those, but plenty of Democratic professionals wished that their fine-feathered orator had chosen that particular moment to keep his trap shut.

It's possible, though, that Adlai's political kiss of death may be the one bestowed on him by some fervent admirers in London, England. We quote from The Listener, a weekly publication of the British Broadcasting Corp.

"Mr. Adlai Stevenson gave three erudite and thoughtful lectures on foreign affairs at Harvard University in March this year (1954). He is the least American of American politicians; if he lived on this side of the Atlantic his temperament and outlook would carry him far in English public life. He sees America with a detached as well as a patriotic view and he is clearly not happy at the impression she creates among her allies. These lectures, now printed, are an explanation to Americans of the complexities of international affairs and a warning against exaggerated black and white judgments and pronouncements. Be patient, is the message that Mr. Stevenson gives to his fellow countrymen and in doing so he draws illuminatingly upon the experiences of his recent world tour. It is a comforting thought that approximately half of America looks to this calm and wise counsellor for leadership."

Well, as we were saying to you common American Americans, it's looking more and more like Ike.

Resolution on Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include the following resolution adopted by the American Veterans Committee at the eighth national convention held in Boston, Mass., on December 4, 1954:

RESOLUTION ON CIVIL DEFENSE

Whereas in the age of atomic warfare and the hydrogen bomb, it is manifest that an adequate civil-defense program is essential to the country's safety; and

Whereas the Federal Government has failed to assume its proper responsibility to set up an effective program of civil defense; and

Whereas the State and municipal governments are incapable of financing or planning the necessary national program of civil defense.

Now, therefore, the delegates of the eighth national convention of the American Veterans Committee call upon the Federal Government to assume its responsibility for the financing, planning, and supervision of a proper and integrated civilian-defense program.

Congress Should Lead Crusade Against Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the International News Service, one of the leading news-gathering agencies in this country and abroad, I have written an article dealing with the problem of crime and the need for Congress to lead a crusade against this evil. The article was published in various newspapers serviced by this agency. The New York Sunday Mirror printed the article in its issue of February 13, 1955. It reads as follows:

A CRUSADE AGAINST TEEN-CRIME URGED

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO, Democrat, of New York, has been a widely acknowledged expert in the study of juvenile delinquency. As a New York City magistrate he dealt with young offenders. He is also the founder of a New York City Crime Prevention Institute. Representative ANFUSO introduced two bills in Congress designed to help ease a crime problem he says has assumed alarming proportions. How Representative ANFUSO would deal with the problem, and what his two bills would achieve, are described by him in the following article.

(By Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO)

WASHINGTON, February 12.—The growth of crime in the Nation must be checked and it's up to Congress to lead the crusade.

Our newspapers daily report all sorts of serious crimes, juvenile delinquency cases, youths equipped with deadly weapons, youthful narcotic addicts, and other gory tales. Since the end of World War II this situation has assumed alarming proportions throughout the country.

Evidently, we have failed somewhere along the line. But where? How?

I am the parent of five growing children and, like every other parent, anxiety often grips me concerning their future, their associations, their interests.

For many years I have studied the problem of juvenile delinquency and crime prevention. Back in 1936 I founded a Crime Prevention Institution in New York City which is still in existence and is doing a magnificent job in its locality.

As a city magistrate in New York, I dealt with youthful offenders, not interested merely in meting out stern punishment but in rehabilitating character and young lives.

From my experiences, I have reached the conclusion that crime is not confined to any particular race, nationality, or religious group. I regard crime as a social disease which stems from many causes, such as extreme poverty, slums, poor environment, neglect by parents, lack of family discipline, breakup of family units, and emotional disturbances.

Teen-age criminals and juvenile delinquents are the outward manifestations of this social disease. Because of the large number of these offenders and the serious crimes committed by them, it has become a problem of grave national concern.

Our Government has been derelict in dealing with this problem from a preventive standpoint.

I often ask myself, as undoubtedly millions of our citizens do:

What is wrong with our educational system that it is helpless in eradicating this evil when our children are still in an impressionable age? What is wrong with the communities in which we live that our young people are attracted by evil forces? What is wrong with the churches that their influence upon our youth is so negligible? Where have we fallen down on the job of raising the young generation to be law-abiding, respectable and responsible citizens?

Many also ask this question: We are spending hundreds of millions of dollars to fight crime by means of large prosecuting staffs, huge police forces, criminal courts, and penal institutions, but what are we doing to prevent crime and to curb juvenile delinquency?

Arrests and court warnings, evidently, are not enough. Police protection is not enough. Even jail sentences do not curb this evil.

The American public must be thoroughly aroused to this menace which is affecting us all.

It is my view that Congress should give leadership and guidance to our people in dealing with this problem.

For this very reason, I introduced two measures in the 84th Congress. One is a resolution to create a fact-finding committee of five Congressmen to conduct, without regard to politics, an investigation of the causes of crimes committed in violation of the laws of the United States, as well as the methods for the prevention of such crimes.

A study of this nature should include an examination of criminal records as well as the relationship of neighborhoods and schools with the causes of juvenile delinquency. The committee would later submit a program of legislation to Congress.

The other is a bill which calls for the creation of a Bureau of Crime Prevention in the Department of Justice as a permanent agency to conduct a continuous study of methods to prevent crime and curb juvenile delinquency.

The bureau would be required to have offices in each State and to cooperate with Federal and State agencies in initiating crime-prevention programs.

I am not so naive to think that this is the whole solution. I prefer to regard it as a beginning that may perhaps snowball as we go along, until we succeed in getting control of the situation.

It is of utmost importance to imbue our youth with a better understanding and appreciation of our way of life and everything that is fundamental and constructive in the makeup of America.

Our young people must realize that crimes committed against society will affect their own future lives and undermine their opportunities to become useful members of society. It must be made crystal-clear to them that they themselves will be the greatest victims of their criminal acts, that they themselves stand to lose most by their folly.

The dollars we spend today to prevent crime may be repaid a hundredfold, not only in saving the taxpayers' money for fighting crime, but in helping our youth become better citizens tomorrow.

Employment Age Barrier That Must Be Tackled, and Tackled Soon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, having been accorded unanimous consent of this great legislative body so to do, I am pleased to here place to the attention of all the Members of this 84th Congress an editorial dated February 1, 1955, in the Los Angeles Evening Herald-Express.

It is another of the pertinent and timely treatments of this subject which has come to my attention for I have many years been interested in the problem of the elder citizens and am frankly worried about the conditions and facts which this editorial calls to our attention.

I agree with the last paragraph of the editorial wherein it says, "It is a problem that must be tackled, and tackled soon."

EMPLOYMENT AGE BARRIER

What are we going to do about our older workers who are seeking employment?

By older workers we do not mean necessarily the aged. In most cases, the latter are taken care of, at least partially, by old-age pensions.

But millions of would-be workers from the ages of 35 for women and 45 for men are finding great difficulty in obtaining employment in Los Angeles and throughout the Nation.

It is because in a larger percentage of cases employers insist on hiring the younger men and women and turning away those older.

In many instances, this is due to pension and insurance systems which make it too costly to employ older persons as beginners. Where they already have been working in firms for many years, of course, this would not apply.

But also in many cases it is due to the desire of companies and corporations to employ "young blood", forgetting the importance of having more mature workers with years of responsibility and experience behind them.

Many letters have been received by the Herald-Express from unfortunate older workers who cannot get jobs in Los Angeles because of this age bar.

Our eminent columnist, George Sokolsky, whose columns appear daily on the editorial page, has written about the problem frequently.

James P. Mitchell, United States Secretary of Labor, has pointed the problem up as extremely serious in an article in Collier's magazine.

In fact, he cites figures of the Census Bureau stating that by 1975, there will be 63 million persons over 45 in the United States, half of our adult population.

Unless industry itself will go to work on the problem to solve it, the labor secretary says, these people eventually will force some kind of public program for their survival, which probably will mean pensions or "middle-age" insurance and an almost unbearable load on the taxpayers.

And yet the President of the United States, his cabinet members, and members of Congress are almost all of them past this young-age barrier.

It is a problem that must be tackled, and tackled soon.

The Textile Industry

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I have asked and received unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a full-page advertisement which appeared in the Lowell Sun. I should like to quote just briefly from this advertisement:

I like living in the United States. I like living in Massachusetts. I like my home and job here in Lowell because these are matters of my own choice. But here is a point which bothers me and my wife. It's this rumbling in Washington about a new bill coming up Thursday of this week in the House of Representatives which will lower the tariff. It seems to me this is going to make a big difference in my job, my home, and my future.

If you vote to pass this bill to lower the tariff, it means that people in England who work for 45 cents per hour; also people in France who work for 43 cents per hour, Italy at 30 cents, and Japan at 14 cents, they will all be working steady but I won't.

It's just as simple as that.

I'm just one of many workers all over the country, whose homes and jobs will be affected by the passage of this bill. If you are interested in me, my family, my home, and Lowell, please do not approve this bill.

Respectfully yours,

A WORRIED WORKER.

Then it is signed by many of the biggest manufacturers of the cotton-woolen textile industry in Massachusetts.

It says:

If you work for wages, own a store, run a business, or are a housewife, you have a deep interest in affairs in Washington during the coming few days. Along about Thursday your Congressmen will be asked to vote on a bill to lower the tariff. Congressmen are sent to Washington to represent the people back home. But you've got to let them know how you feel.

Once again our jobs and homes are in danger because of the tariff. They are in danger because some people—the free traders—are trying to pass a bill in Congress to cut United States tariffs 15 percent in the next 3 years. The free traders don't worry about your job.

Tariffs actually are supposed to even up the big wage gap between your pay and that in foreign mills. Our tariffs now are too low as it is. That is why imports coming to the United States can undersell the goods we make here.

You are competing with England, where mill pay is about 45 cents an hour. You are competing with France, where it is about 43 cents; with Italy, where it is 30 cents; and with Japan, where it is only 14 cents an hour. Our low tariffs now are no bar to imported goods, yet the United States Government is willing to cut tariffs again on many kinds of textiles to aid Japan.

The people who want to cut tariffs say you can learn a new kind of work if imports kill your job. They say you can move some place else and try to find work.

Bear in mind, and tell your Congressman, that if H. R. 1 becomes a law, it means Congress once more, and to a greater degree than ever, will have given up its constitutional obligation to control our foreign trade. The State Department will continue in the saddle. If H. R. 1 passes, there is nothing your Congressman and Senators can do to help you combat imports. They might protest to the State Department, but it would be too late, because the Department again would have the power Congress surrendered.

All of the people in the city of Lowell and the surrounding towns are asked to write to their Congressmen. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. PHILBIN] and I have had several letters on this subject. I am glad to have the additional letters coming in. I saw some workers today from Pennsylvania, and they made some very fine statements.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. PHILBIN. I want to compliment the gentlewoman on the excellent speech she made and particularly upon those splendid, pertinent remarks she read from the paper that she is evidently going to include as part of her remarks.

Mrs. ROGERS of Masachusetts. Yes.

Mr. PHILBIN. It was stated very succinctly and vividly sets forth the true situation that is presented to the country. There is no way to meet the situation that confronts the people as the result of these tariff cuts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I thank the gentleman.

And, they talk of a number of other related industries in our district and all over the country that will be affected and closed down when our textile mills close down. Many do not seem to realize what it is going to do to the farmers who will not have their local markets to sell their agricultural products, their butter, their eggs, their cheese, and other commodities. It is going to ruin a lot of those farmers. Also, there are a good many farmers who have mortgages at the banks, and if the money is not forthcoming on the sale of their products, they will not be able to pay off their mortgages. I do not think some of the farmers realize that.

Thoughts From the Grassroots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an editorial appearing in the Rowan County News, of Morehead, Ky., on Thursday, February 10, 1955.

Titled, quote properly and appropriately, "You Can Develop a Fever Buying Stocks," it treats on a subject matter that has been of deep concern to each of us, the depth of which is so definitely evidenced by the creation of the so-called Fulbright committee for the purpose of studying and exploring the recent trends and developments in the stock market and ascertaining the cause.

Well and intelligently presented, the article suggests the need for the exercise of extreme caution and care in playing the stock market. It should serve as a timely flashed yellow light, especially to the small investor—the group whose continued financial stability is so important to the preservation of a healthful overall economy.

It emphasizes the urgency with which the Fulbright committee should get under way with its work.

Because of its general pertinency and poignancy, I sincerely urge each of you to read seriously and digest this splendid editorial:

YOU CAN DEVELOP A FEVER BUYING STOCKS

One of the ironies in the great game of buying stocks, and playing the stock market, is the fact that the people sometimes develop a fever to buy stocks as a result of an extended bull market. The best authorities on the market cannot explain this phenomenon precisely but they admit it exists.

It certainly developed in the twenties and led to reckless speculation on the part of millions of citizens. The result of this buying mood is usually seen in a continuation of the bull market. In other words, if a normal bull market comes along, and stocks rise for a reasonably long period, and then the number of citizens investing in the market begins to increase noticeably, the bull market can be extended.

Quite often a bull market does not attract the interest of the attention of the people as a whole, but sometimes it does. The bull market which has now been on since 1953 apparently is beginning to catch the eye of the average citizen. Although stocks are not paying dividends to make them better buys than they have been on many other occasions, in other bull markets, today there is certainly more speculation and general talk about the market among the average citizen.

The Government, somewhat realizing this, recently increased the cash margin for buying stocks and, as a result, the market suffered for several days. But the losses caused were wiped out in a short time and the market again seemed firm and inclined toward a steady rise.

In times such as this, when the market has been rising for over a year, stockbrokers have a very fine advertising theme to utilize. Many brokers are now sending representatives around to various groups and clubs, and these brokers explain to citizens how they can invest in the stock market.

While the great majority of these brokers are honest and do not attempt to encourage the people to speculate recklessly, they do create new enthusiasm and attract new investors, and thereby increase citizen participation in the stock market.

It should be kept in mind that the country is now experiencing a surge of interest in the stock market and that stocks are not any better buys today than they have been on many occasions in the past, and, in many cases, they are not the buys they have been in recent years.

While we do not attempt to advise any citizen what to do in his own particular circumstances, we believe that the country is now experiencing one of those cycles when the citizenry shows unusual interest in the stock market and we believe this is connected to the fact that a bull market has extended over the last year and a half.

The Eisenhower School Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, the President in his message to the Congress outlining a school-construction program took note of the fact that our system of public schools has always been—and we hope it always will be—a school system based upon State and local control. Then the President proceeded to assume that certain States and local communities were unable to raise the money necessary to provide adequate schoolrooms to properly take care of the children; and, therefore, such States and local communities required Federal aid in the shape of Federal funds, aid to help pay the building costs of the new buildings or to underwrite local school building bonds.

Of course we all know that there are certain impacted areas, where defense plants have been built, that have more children than schoolroom space. Since these impacted areas were created as a result of Federal action and Federal needs, then of course such impacted areas should be given Federal aid—and that has already been provided for in previous legislation.

For the President to propose Federal aid for school buildings on a national scale is something else. In the first place, is it necessary? Why is such a step needed today more than it was 20 to 30 years ago, before Uncle Sam became such an all-wise, beneficent person to whom States and local communities might turn for fiscal aid for any and all purposes?

Mr. Speaker, in the first place Uncle Sam has no money to give out that he does not first get by levying taxes upon the State and local communities. Twenty years ago the Federal Government was satisfied by taking 25 cents out of every tax dollar paid in the United States, leaving 75 cents for the support of the States and local communities. Today, the Federal Government takes 75 cents out of every tax dollar paid in the United States, leaving only 25 cents for the States and local governments to exist upon. If the Federal Government did not rob the States and local governments of their tax dollars they could and would provide proper school facilities for their children without calling upon Uncle Sam for help.

Another point, Mr. Speaker, that should be given serious consideration before the Congress approves the President's request for school construction funds is the fact that our schoolrooms today are not as crowded as they were 20 or 30 years ago. They got along then without Federal aid; why can they not get along now without Federal aid?

In 1920–21 the average teacher load—number of pupils per teacher—for the Nation was 31.7. In 1950–51, according to United States Department of Education figures, the average teacher load was 24.1—7.6 fewer pupils per teacher than 30 years ago. The situation, therefore, so far as crowded classrooms are concerned, has actually improved. It has definitely not become worse. Why, then, all the furor? Why must the Federal Government rush to the aid of the States and local communities?

Mr. Speaker, a careful analysis of the school situation is contained in the following editorial taken from the Chicago Tribune of February 11, 1955. I include it as a part of my remarks and recommend it to my colleagues for careful consideration:

THE EISENHOWER SCHOOL PROGRAM

President Eisenhower's message on Federal aid for building schools sets forth sound principles and then proposes action that

flies directly in the face of the precepts he has just uttered.

"Diffusion of authority among tens of thousands of school districts is a safeguard against centralized control and abuse of the educational system that must be maintained," he told Congress. "We believe that to take away the responsibility of communities and States in educating our children is to undermine not only a basic element of our freedom but a basic right of our citizens."

Having voiced these traditional arguments against Federal aid, the President asked Congress to vote for more than a billion dollars' worth of undermining. His proposals for Federal participation in financing of local school construction took three forms, under each of which States whose districts were helped would have to match Federal funds, dollar for dollar.

The first category of districts to be aided would be those that cannot sell their building bonds at a "reasonable" rate of interest. A White House aid put the limit on "reasonableness" at 3⅛ percent. To buy these bonds the Federal Government would put up $750 million and the States the same sum, to be used within 3 years.

The Dow-Jones index of school-bond yields stands at 2.42 percent. Probably then, only a small proportion of school districts have been unable to sell bonds yielding 3⅛ percent or less. But Mr. Eisenhower would provide funds to buy a half billion dollars of these bonds annually, one-fourth of the cost of all school construction in the Nation during this school year.

The second form of aid would go to districts that cannot borrow because of constitutional or statutory debt limitations. Federal and participating State governments would put up a total of $300 million. This would be used, Mr. Eisenhower proposed, as a revolving fund to advance the first year's rent until the districts could levy and collect taxes for the purpose. So used, the fund would permit the construction of $6 billion worth of schools within 3 years.

The Nation is building $2 billion worth of schools in the present school year. This rate of expenditure is the highest in history. In the last 5 years the country has built $7 billion worth of schools to accommodate 6,750,000 pupils. The increase in pupil population has been only 5,500,000; so the country has, until now, kept well ahead of the growth in school population. But by the President's calculations, school districts unable to borrow another cent need as much money annually to build new schools as all the districts in the country have ever spent in a year.

In the final category of districts that supposedly need Federal aid most desperately are those that can neither sell bonds nor raise taxes to rent a Federal-State school building. For these, Federal and State governments together would provide $400 million in outright gifts, spread over 3 years.

Illinois has distressed school districts. The legislature seems likely to adopt a scheme for a school building authority almost identical with that in the second Eisenhower proposal, except that no Federal aid is contemplated. The suggested capitalization for this authority is $15 million. This sum, it is expected, would provide building funds for all the districts unable to sell their own bonds. By comparison, this State's share of the $6 billion Eisenhower build-rent scheme would be $114 million, half contributed in Federal income taxes and half raised by the State.

The poverty of school districts portrayed by Mr. Eisenhower doesn't exist anywhere in the Nation in the proportions he alleges. It will no doubt manifest itself if the Federal purse is opened. Why should States that have been stingy with their schools tax themselves to make amends when they can pass half the bill on to taxpayers in States that have made more nearly adequate provision for educating their children?

Mr. Eisenhower relied, for proof that a serious shortage of classrooms exists throughout the Nation, on a survey prepared by the Federal Office of Education. Its figures have already been exposed as unreliable.

The Eisenhower message also expressed concern over the low compensation of school teachers. The local taxpayer is charged for paying off school bonds and for paying teachers in the same tax bill. Encouragement of extravagance in construction would be the unkindest act possible to underpaid teachers. It would leave that much less for salaries.

Testing United Nations and Shrine to American Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I have here an address by Mr. Thomas Dixon, national commander, United American Veterans, which I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The subject of Commander Dixon's address is a most worthy one, and I hope it will meet with a gratifying response.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY THOMAS DIXON, NATIONAL COMMANDER, UNITED AMERICAN VETERANS, OVER FACILITIES OF WPIK, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 12, 1955

Patriotic Americans, this month we celebrate the birthday of two outstanding Americans, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

It is important indeed that we pay respectful tribute to those Americans who laid the solid foundation for our great country, the United States of America.

There are many dark clouds of war today hovering over the security of our democratic form of government. I feel hopeful that our present-day leaders will have the wisdom to meet these vital issues in the same manner in which George Washington and Abraham Lincoln met the issues of their times.

It's a pleasure indeed to note that Congress gave the green light to President Eisenhower so that he may use every facility at his military command to stop the spread of that damnable philosophy of communism.

It is certainly to be hoped that we can avoid another shooting war. But should a shooting war be forced upon us, this will give the United States a chance to put the members of the United Nations to test. Those members, especially of the free countries, should be called upon to take up arms as they did during the Korean war.

If other members of the United Nations refuse to go to war to protect world freedom, than Congress should enact H. R. 3296, which was introduced by Congressman USHER L. BURDICK, of North Dakota. This resolution calls for the withdrawal of our membership from the United Nations. Then we should expel the United Nations from this country, because it would have proven itself absolutely worthless as an effective instrument to bring about world peace.

Just look at the trouble and unrest which we are having in our educational institutions. This unrest can be laid right at the doors of the United Nations. American children deserve to be taught the outstanding advantages of American ideals and to be proud of their American patriotism.

Well, here is some good, really American news. A group of World War I veterans has started a movement to build a shrine honoring the American Indians. This shrine will be located here in our National Capital, and will be known as the Temple of the Great Spirit.

Good people all over the world have awakened to the fact that the need of today is moral rearmament. Consequently, the building of this temple fits into the movement of moral rearmament.

First and most important, the paleface fathers must remember that we owe a debt to the American Indians for the many injustices which the white man has inflicted upon them, and this debt cannot be paid in cash.

Therefore, the financing of this temple by the paleface fathers would at least show genuine acknowledgment of the sacrifice, injustices, and moral destruction which the American Indians have been, and are still subjected to.

We should always remember that the American Indians were the original owners of every inch of land in these United States of America. And we should also remember that this Indian land has produced more paleface millionaires than any other country.

The record of services rendered, in deeds and action, by the American Indians to the white man and to the Government of the United States of America is so numerous and outstanding that it is impossible to cite all of them on this broadcast. However, if you will listen in on this station next Saturday, same time, I will refresh your memory on many other contributions made by the American Indians for the welfare of this country.

The building of this shrine, financed by public subscription from the paleface fathers, will have a twofold effect. First, and most important, it will show the Indians that their paleface fathers have finally recognized a debt of gratitude which justly should have been paid many, many years ago. Second, the building of this shrine will also put a stop to the propaganda used by the Communists to poison the minds of the Indians, so as to win them over to communism.

It is public knowledge that communism has made great progress on Indian reservations. What is the principal argument which the Communists use? This is their main argument: "What has the white man done for the Indians?" "Nothing, absolutely nothing!" "The white man has stolen all of your land, and also deprived you of your original forms of worshipping."

During this great surge of moral rearmament, what could be better than to extend an invitation of the Great Spirit to come back to the land of his origin—America.

And what better invitation could there be than to erect a temple to The Great Spirit here in our National Capital? Why, many small foreign countries have constructed beautiful temples in Washington!

The temple which the founders have planned will have small chapels to accommodate as many as five tribes simultaneously, and they will be able to worship in their own dialects, and in accordance with their original methods of worshipping, while visiting Washington. There will be, of course, a principal chapel where regular services will be held, and these services will be open to anyone who may wish to attend. A regular ordained minister of Indian parentage will be in charge of this temple. This main chapel upon proper application also will be open to any visiting ordained minister who desires to preach the word of God.

However, the general public will not be permitted to attend the tribual rituals without a written permit from the tribal leaders.

Another restricting and proper feature of this temple and its pulpit is that it will be used for sacred rituals only, and will not be used for secular or political propaganda.

It will add to the historical background and ecclesiastical beauty of Washington, and will be a center for visiting students and sightseers.

All of the God-loving people who appreciate this great movement and would like to learn more about it are requested to send their names and address to post office box 2518, Washington, D. C. Your personal ideas on this long overdue recognition of our first citizens—the American Indian—will be appreciated.

I thank you.

Producers Have Big Stake in Exports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article published by the Bureau of Foreign Commerce of the United States Department of Commerce:

PRODUCERS HAVE BIG STAKE IN EXPORTS

United States exports of merchandise in 1953, totaling approximately $16 billion, amounted to about 4½ percent of the gross national product, or over 8½ percent of the value of movable goods—at early stages of distribution—produced in this country.

These ratios were similar to those for the preceding year and only slightly lower than the average for the entire period since World War II.

In recent years, some 3 million workers have been employed in the production of United States exports and in service activities associated with them. Nearly all United States producers have some stake in export markets, many selling abroad much larger percentages of their goods than the national averages indicate.

Exports of leading agricultural products traditionally have represented exceptionally high percentages of production, but exports of machinery and a wide range of other products also comprise very substantial proportions of production.

Agricultural exports declined appreciably in the 1952–53 marketing year as compared with those of the preceding year, stemming primarily from declines of about one-third in exports of wheat and over two-fifths in cotton. Despite this shrinkage, however, the proportions of wheat and cotton exported from the 1952 crops remained quite sizable—about 25 and 20 percent, respectively.

Tobacco and soybean exports decreased only moderately, and rice exports remained close to the level of the preceding year, so that the ratios of exports to production of these commodities were little changed. About 56 percent of the rice, about 22 percent of the tobacco, and 14 percent of the soybeans were exported in the 1952–53 marketing year.

Exports of cotton, tobacco, and soybeans have increased in the current marketing year, and thus the proportions of the 1953 crops exported will be somewhat larger than those of the 1952 crops.

Exports of machinery and vehicles, which represented over one-third of total exports in 1953, include many products for which foreign markets are of great importance.

In 1952, for example, exports of tracklaying tractors comprised 37 percent of their production; exports of construction machinery and textile machinery represented over 20 percent of production; and exports of wheel tractors, agricultural machinery, motortrucks, machine tools, office appliances, and refrigerators made up between 10 and 15 percent of production.

Exports of all these products, with the exception of tracklaying tractors, declined in 1953, and the ratio of exports to production also appears—as far as production data are available—to have fallen slightly. Tracklaying tractor exports, however, increased more than two-fifths, and the percentage of output exported rose to 45.

In addition to the agricultural and machinery products already mentioned, export sales of a variety of other products amount to 20 percent or more of output. This group includes lubricating oils, sulfur, resin, and such chemicals as DDT, copper sulfate, carbon black, and penicillin.

Even where the ratios are much lower, the significance of exports as a vital marginal element of sales and profits is considerable. This is true, for instance, of passenger automobiles, steel, and many textile manufactures, for which the proportions of output exported fall in the 3–7 percent range.

In table 3 production and export data are shown for an extensive list of commodities, representing half of United States exports in 1953. The report covers many of the leading products and some of the principal product groups in United States exports, and also shows data for numerous items included in other important broad classes of export goods which are not covered comprehensively because of a lack of directly comparable data on both exports and production.

The relative importance of the various classes of goods in total United States exports in 1953 and the extent to which each class is represented by data in table 3 are shown in table 4.

TABLE 1.—*United States production of movable goods and the proportion exported, 1929, 1933, 1937, 1939, and 1947–53*

[Value in millions of dollars]

Year	Agricultural products [1]	Manufactures [2]	Mining [3]	Freight receipts [4]	Total [5]	Exports United States merchandise [6]	Exports as percent of total
1929	13,003	30,591	4,908	5,100	53,602	5,157	9.6
1933	6,332	14,008	2,050	3,100	25,490	1,647	6.5
1937	10,213	25,174	4,265	4,300	43,952	3,299	7.5
1939	9,043	24,487	3,808	4,200	41,538	3,123	7.5
1947	32,372	74,426	9,610	9,200	125,608	15,169	12.1
1948	32,842	82,000	12,273	10,800	137,915	12,532	9.1
1949	30,133	75,367	10,580	10,000	126,080	11,936	9.5
1950	30,335	89,750	11,855	11,600	143,540	10,142	7.1
1951	35,042	102,086	13,524	12,900	163,552	14,879	9.1
1952	34,517	108,477	13,430	13,300	169,724	15,039	8.9
1953	33,056	117,500	14,346	14,200	179,102	15,626	8.7

[1] Cash receipts from crops and livestock and products, and value of home consumption as reported by Department of Agriculture.

[2] Value added by manufacture; data as reported in the Census of Manufactures through 1947; estimates for later years.

[3] Value of crude or prepared minerals at the mine, well, or plant: Bureau of Mines data.

[4] Estimate of cost of moving goods from place of production to points of distribution or exportation based on freight revenue of steam railroads, of intercity motor carriers of property, and of pipelines as reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

[5] Total of items shown representing a rough estimate of the value of production of movable goods at point of distribution or expert. Figures are not adjusted for price changes.

[6] Shipments to foreign countries as recorded by the Bureau of the Census. In recent years the data include, besides commercial goods, foodstuffs and other supplies sent to civilian populations through the U. S. Armed Forces stationed abroad, shipments under the ECA (Economic Cooperation Administration), and mutual security program and other aid and relief shipments whether financed by Government or by private agencies. Shipments to U. S. Armed Forces abroad for their own use are excluded from export statistics.

TABLE 2.—*United States merchandise exports and imports and export surplus in relation to gross national product, 1929, 1933, 1937, 1939, and 1947–53*

[Value in millions of dollars]

Year	Gross national product [1]	Exports [2]	Exports as percent of GNP	Imports [2]	Imports as percent of GNP	Excess of exports over imports	Export surplus as percent of GNP
1929	103,828	5,347	5.1	4,463	4.3	884	0.9
1933	55,760	1,736	3.1	1,510	2.7	226	.4
1937	90,213	3,451	3.8	3,181	3.5	270	.3
1939	91,339	3,347	3.7	2,409	2.6	938	1.0
1947	233,264	15,977	6.8	6,129	2.6	9,848	4.2
1948	259,045	13,346	5.2	7,822	3.0	5,524	2.1
1949	258,229	12,337	4.8	7,066	2.7	5,271	2.0
1950	286,826	10,658	3.7	9,315	3.2	1,343	.5
1951	329,822	15,485	4.7	11,668	3.5	3,817	1.2
1952	347,956	15,806	4.5	11,503	3.3	4,303	1.2
1953	367,247	16,437	4.5	11,904	3.2	4,533	1.2

[1] Department of Commerce estimates.

[2] Merchandise trade as recorded in balance-of-payments statistics, representing all transfers of ownership of movable goods between the United States and foreign countries.

TABLE 3.—*United States exports of leading commodities in relation to production, 1939 and 1949–53*

Export figures include foreign-aid shipments. (See footnote 6 to table 1.) Figures for most agricultural commodities are for crop-years as explained in footnotes 7 and 19. All other figures are for calendar years except as noted. For certain agricultural commodities (as noted) export figures include estimates of the more important processed forms, but for other crude and semimanufactured goods, such as raw cotton and steel, no attempt has been made to include their equivalents sent out as finished products. Values of production are f. o. b. factory, while values of exports are f. a. s. port of export, and, therefore, percentages based on values may somewhat overstate the part of production exported.

[Letters in parentheses refer to sources of data; explanation of sources follows footnotes]

Commodity and source of data (a–t)	Production			Exports								
	Quantity or value			Quantity or value			As percentage of production [1]					
	1951	1952	1953	1951	1952	1953	1939	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES												
Meat products (a) ..... millions of pounds [2]	21,909	23,035	24,857	100	129	132	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.5
Animal fats:												
Lard, including rendered pork fat (b) ..... do	2,864	2,886	2,413	689	634	423	13.6	24.1	17.7	24.1	22.0	17.5
Tallow, inedible [3] ..... do	1,301	1,448	1,676	460	653	1,016	.3	28.9	36.3	35.3	45.1	60.6
Dairy products: (b)												
Milk, condensed, evaporated, and dried [4] ..... do [5]	1,577	1,692	(6)	203	111	139	1.4	18.2	17.0	12.9	6.5	(6)
Condensed, sweetened ..... do [7]	309	271	(6)	29	30	18	.9	21.6	9.0	9.3	10.9	(6)
Condensed and evaporated, unsweetened ..... do	3,614	3,564	(6)	203	97	133	1.1	7.1	4.1	5.6	2.7	(6)
Dry whole milk ..... do	131	102	105	59	42	47	25.6	64.8	50.0	45.4	41.6	44.5
Dry nonfat milk ..... do	702	863	1,200	123	59	81	.8	22.9	23.7	17.4	6.8	6.7
Cheese, excluding cottage and full skim ..... do	1,161	1,170	1,298	80	4	6	.2	8.2	4.0	6.9	.3	.5
Grain and products (a): [8]												
Barley [9] ..... millions of bushels	304	254	226	40	31	37	4.4	8.8	9.1	13.2	12.2	16.4
Corn [10] ..... do	3,058	2,899	3,279	111	78	141	1.4	3.1	3.3	3.6	2.7	4.3
Grain sorghums ..... do	233	160	83	75	62	10	(6)	30.5	21.3	32.3	38.7	12.5
Rice [11] ..... millions of pounds [12]	2,515	2,977	3,127	909	1,724	1,741	21.3	40.0	42.4	36.1	57.9	55.7
Wheat [13] ..... millions of bushels	1,019	981	1,291	366	475	317	11.6	38.8	27.2	35.9	48.4	24.5
Vegetables (a): [8]												
Beans, dried ripe [14] ..... thousands of 100-pound bags [15]	14,456	14,956	14,319	2,559	3,519	3,284	2.1	10.3	4.8	17.7	23.5	22.9
Peas, dried ripe [16] ..... do	2,951	3,521	2,377	1,014	637	485	8.0	38.3	21.7	34.4	18.1	20.4
Fruits: (a)												
Canned fruits, total [8] [17] ..... thousand cases [18]	58,300	64,000	55,700	1,633	1,610	1,844	24.4	2.7	2.4	2.8	2.5	3.3
Dried and evaporated fruits, total [8] [19] ..... thousands of short tons	370	481	481	76	134	151	37.4	38.0	35.0	20.5	27.9	31.4
Raisins ..... do	156	242	295	18	94	110	29.0	24.1	45.3	11.7	38.7	37.4
Prunes ..... do	150	180	137	31	47	38	46.8	54.4	47.7	20.6	26.3	27.5
Citrus fruits by kind, in terms of fresh: [20]												
Grapefruit [21] ..... thousands of boxes	46,580	40,500	38,360	3,134	3,332	3,172	7.1	7.7	5.5	6.7	8.2	8.3
Oranges [22] ..... do	121,710	122,590	124,580	9,578	10,184	12,955	8.4	7.5	6.5	7.9	8.3	10.4
Other fruits by kind, in terms of fresh: [8] [23]												
Apples [24] ..... thousands of bushels	124,488	110,660	92,489	3,321	4,625	1,743	16.8	1.8	2.6	2.7	4.2	1.9
Apricots ..... thousands of short tons	215	183	177	17	13	10	51.6	9.0	8.4	7.8	7.1	5.6
Grapes ..... do	2,688	3,390	3,164	118	428	500	14.1	8.6	19.6	4.4	12.6	15.8
Peaches ..... thousands of bushels	50,627	63,627	62,500	1,668	1,209	1,533	7.8	2.1	1.2	3.3	1.9	2.5
Pears ..... do	29,312	30,028	30,947	1,435	1,208	1,448	21.8	2.8	3.0	4.9	4.0	4.7
Prunes and plums ..... thousands of short tons	503	640	484	80	121	97	30.5	38.5	29.7	15.9	18.9	20.1
Oilseeds (a): [8] [25]												
Peanuts ..... millions of pounds [26]	2,037	1,676	1,372	231	123	8	(6)	38.0	24.0	11.4	7.3	.6
Soybeans ..... thousands of bushels	299,279	282,477	298,052	79,242	45,029	41,187	6.9	24.1	18.5	26.5	15.9	13.8
Flaxseed ..... do	40,236	34,606	30,174	4,177	5,575	354	.5	9.9	5.2	10.4	16.1	1.2
Cottonseed ..... thousands of short tons	4,105	6,286	6,190	210	382	211	(6)	4.3	7.5	5.1	6.1	3.4
Vegetable oils (a): [8]												
Peanut oil [27] ..... million of pounds, crude basis	189	125	83	49	32	2	(6)	30.7	33.4	26.0	25.7	2.9
Soybean oil [28] ..... do	2,454	2,444	2,536	503	274	94	1.7	17.2	15.3	20.5	11.2	3.7
Cattle hides (c) ..... thousand	17,863	19,797	26,508	372	1,138	2,381	3.2	5.6	2.0	2.1	5.7	9.0
Calf and kip skins (c) ..... do	8,253	8,765	11,612	274	794	1,481	1.7	8.9	4.2	3.3	9.1	12.8
Leaf tobacco (a) [8] ..... millions of pounds [29]	2,030	2,332	2,255	524	584	498	37.2	25.5	27.0	25.8	25.1	22.1
Raw cotton [8] ..... thousands of running bales	9,908	15,072	14,952	4,117	5,519	3,048	28.6	32.6	36.3	41.6	36.6	20.4
Hops (a) [8] ..... millions of pounds	58	63	61	14	12	14	11.9	24.5	27.0	24.7	19.3	23.3
NONAGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES												
Fish canned (d):												
Salmon [30] ..... thousands of pounds	206,871	222,987	214,289	2,060	1,428	2,277	11.7	5.5	.6	1.0	.6	1.1
Sardines, including pilchards and herring [30] ..... do	306,223	162,962	76,481	129,982	40,145	10,305	49.2	59.3	44.3	42.4	24.6	13.5
Leather and manufactures: Boots and shoes [31] ..... thousands of pairs	470,619	509,011	497,689	4,233	4,825	5,159	.7	1.1	.7	.9	.9	1.0
Rubber products:												
Synthetic rubber (e) ..... millions of pounds	1,893	1,789	2,013	21	50	51	(6)	1.7	1.7	1.1	2.8	2.6
Passenger car, truck, and bus tires (casings) (f) ..... thousand	83,405	90,411	96,150	1,491	1,566	1,530	2.0	2.2	1.3	1.8	1.7	1.6
Passenger car, truck, and bus inner tubes (f) ..... do	67,249	65,073	74,514	934	1,039	817	1.6	1.8	.8	1.4	1.6	1.1
Cigarettes (g) ..... million	418,802	435,549	423,097	16,808	16,352	16,249	3.7	5.1	3.7	4.0	3.8	3.8
Textile manufactures:												
Tire cord and fabric, cotton and rayon ..... thousands of pounds	603,913	530,980	520,185	39,151	17,289	14,886	2.7	9.2	6.4	6.5	3.3	2.9
Cotton cloth and duck, total [32] ..... millions of square yards	10,312	9,503	10,232	774	749	610	4.4	10.1	5.3	7.5	7.8	6.0
Duck ..... do	414	417	314	14	13	11	5.3	6.1	3.4	3.4	3.1	3.4
Sheetings ..... do	2,306	2,139	2,171	68	77	62	3.9	6.7	2.4	3.0	3.6	2.8
Printcloth ..... do	4,006	3,929	4,265	346	362	274	4.3	11.8	6.4	8.6	9.2	6.4
Denims ..... do	341	371	391	25	22	31	6.9	6.7	5.2	7.5	6.0	7.9
Cotton tapestry, upholstery, and drapery fabrics ..... thousands of square yards	187,328	207,077	231,527	6,980	8,967	8,986	.9	3.9	3.2	3.7	4.3	3.9
Woolen fabrics [33] ..... thousands of pounds	298,860	284,119	264,967	2,565	1,032	680	.1	.9	.7	.9	.4	.3
Broad-woven fabrics of synthetic textiles [34] ..... millions of square yards	2,787	2,675	2,800	176	193	198	1.6	8.6	4.9	6.3	7.2	7.1
Hosiery (h) [35] ..... thousands of dozen pairs	153,400	165,291	159,614	7,523	6,560	5,845	.9	3.8	4.1	4.9	4.0	3.7
Forest products:												
Turpentine (a) [36] ..... thousands of barrels	709	684	565	209	111	82	29.6	17.7	23.1	29.4	16.2	14.6
Rosin (a) [36] ..... thousands of drums	2,137	2,049	1,721	941	572	357	31.6	24.2	27.8	44.0	27.9	20.7
Lumber, total (i) [37] ..... millions of board feet	37,914	37,810	39,091	986	727	643	4.3	2.0	1.3	2.6	1.9	1.6
Softwood ..... do	30,203	30,047	30,906	865	566	513	3.7	1.9	1.3	2.9	1.9	1.7
Hardwood ..... do	7,711	7,763	8,185	121	162	130	6.7	2.3	1.5	1.6	2.1	1.6
Paper:												
Book paper, uncoated ..... millions of pounds	3,221	2,965	3,260	36	34	23	(6)	2.0	.9	1.1	1.2	.7
Paperboard [38] ..... do	23,537	21,822	24,924	452	298	345	1.2	1.0	.9	1.9	1.4	1.3
Writing paper [39] ..... do	2,187	1,991	2,027	71	64	48	3.2	4.1	3.1	3.3	3.2	2.4
Coarse paper ..... do	7,254	6,476	6,844	147	177	107	1.4	1.1	1.2	2.0	2.7	1.6
Sanitary and other tissue paper ..... do	2,946	2,715	2,976	42	34	43	2.3	1.8	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.4

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 3.—*United States exports of leading commodities in relation to production, 1939 and 1949–53*—Continued

[Letters in parentheses refer to sources of data; explanation of sources follows footnotes]

Commodity and source of data (a-t)	Production			Exports								
	Quantity or value			Quantity or value			As percentage of production [1]					
	1951	1952	1953	1951	1952	1953	1939	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
NONAGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES—continued												
Nonmetallic mineral products:												
Coal: (j)												
Anthracite ..... thousands of short tons	42,670	40,583	30,023	5,956	4,592	2,724	5.0	11.6	8.8	14.0	11.3	9.1
Bituminous ..... do	533,665	466,841	453,000	56,722	47,643	33,760	2.9	6.4	4.9	10.6	10.2	7.5
Petroleum and products: (j)												
Crude petroleum ..... millions of barrels	2,248	2,290	2,360	29	27	20	5.7	1.8	1.8	1.3	1.2	.8
Motor fuel and other light products [49] ..... do	1,141	1,193	1,202	33	29	30	7.0	3.5	1.8	2.9	2.4	2.3
Kerosene ..... do	136	132	130	6	7	6	11.7	1.8	1.1	4.4	5.3	5.0
Fuel oil, total ..... do	945	976	984	44	53	50	9.7	2.4	2.7	4.7	5.4	5.0
Gas oil and distillate fuel oil ..... do	476	520	532	20	31	30	18.9	2.9	2.6	4.2	5.9	5.6
Residual fuel oil ..... do	469	454	452	24	22	20	4.9	2.0	2.8	5.1	4.9	4.4
Lubricating oil ..... do	61	56	53	17	15	12	33.6	27.1	26.3	27.0	27.5	23.3
Paraffin wax ..... millions of pounds	1,348	1,213	1,394	348	273	288	50.1	30.8	24.9	25.8	22.5	20.7
Petroleum asphalt [41] ..... thousands of long tons	10,763	11,414	11,755	164	346	248	4.0	2.6	1.4	1.5	3.0	2.1
Petroleum coke ..... do	3,389	3,236	3,858	775	744	645	17.2	14.4	14.2	22.9	23.0	16.7
Other nonmetallic mineral products:												
Portland cement (j) [42] ..... thousands of barrels	246,065	249,091	264,023	2,933	3,174	2,539	0.9	2.2	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.0
Sulfur (j) [43] ..... thousands of long tons	4,988	5,141	5,224	1,288	1,304	1,242	28.1	29.9	26.2	25.8	25.4	23.8
Glass containers (k) [44] ..... thousands gross	114,738	114,100	121,468	3,062	2,676	2,774	(x)	2.6	2.4	2.7	2.3	2.3
Refractories [45] ..... thousands of dollars	313,863	289,490	310,819	29,719	30,649	25,529	7.2	10.8	7.7	9.5	10.6	8.2
Carbon and graphite products [46] ..... do	150,778	156,664	(s)	8,688	10,972	8,686	15.6	(x)	6.5	5.8	7.0	(s)
Metals and manufactures:												
Iron ore (j) [47] ..... thousands of long tons	116,230	97,973	118,600	4,329	5,121	4,252	1.9	2.9	2.6	3.7	5.2	3.6
Iron and steel-mill products, total (l) [48] thousands of short tons	78,929	68,004	80,152	3,379	4,278	3,202	7.2	8.3	4.1	4.3	6.3	4.0
Iron and steel bars ..... do	12,938	11,968	13,483	198	260	177	4.0	4.8	1.0	1.5	2.2	1.3
Plates and sheets ..... do	34,496	29,101	35,690	1,389	1,483	1,310	7.6	6.6	4.1	4.0	5.1	3.7
Tinplate and terneplate [48] ..... do	4,516	4,183	4,662	621	599	497	14.0	16.4	11.7	13.8	14.3	10.7
Structural shapes, heavy ..... do	4,922	4,138	5,022	327	275	296	6.7	12.4	6.3	6.3	6.7	5.9
Rails, including splice bars and tieplate bars ..... do	2,398	1,941	2,501	137	215	240	4.3	10.8	6.8	5.7	11.1	9.6
Wrought iron and steel tubular products [47] ..... do	9,312	8,280	9,859	650	596	599	5.7	11.8	7.1	7.0	8.4	6.1
Castings and forgings:												
Cast-iron pressure pipe and fittings [48] ..... do	1,950	1,303	1,277	39	42	27	(s)	4.7	1.8	2.0	3.2	2.1
Steel forgings [49] ..... do	1,827	1,886	2,042	34	33	24	(s)	2.1	1.3	1.8	1.7	1.2
Advanced manufactures of metal:												
Metal cans [50] ..... do	3,805	3,842	4,082	37	47	33	(s)	1.1	.8	1.0	1.2	.8
Hand tools including machine knives [51] ..... millions of dollars	504	467	(s)	44	48	43	12.5	(s)	7.8	8.7	10.2	(s)
Nonferrous metals: (j) [52]												
Aluminum, total [53] ..... thousands of short tons	913	1,009	1,322	15	12	23	19.0	6.0	2.9	1.6	1.2	1.7
Primary [54] ..... do	837	937	1,252				23.1	6.5	3.2	1.8	1.3	1.8
Copper, total [55] [56] ..... do	1,665	1,592	1,716	152	195	156	32.4	13.0	10.1	9.1	12.3	9.1
Primary [55] ..... do	1,207	1,178	1,293				41.6	18.4	14.0	12.6	16.6	12.1
Lead, total [57] ..... do	587	613	(s)	2	3	1	13.2	.3	.5	.4	.5	(s)
Primary [55] ..... do	418	473	474				15.6	.4	.6	.6	.6	.3
Zinc, primary [55] ..... do	882	904	920	44	63	24	2.8	8.2	2.2	5.0	6.9	2.6
Machinery:												
Electrical machinery and apparatus:												
Storage batteries [44] ..... millions of dollars	381	372	(s)	10	9	9	3.1	(s)	2.3	2.7	2.5	(s)
Primary batteries [44] ..... do	111	130	(s)	17	14	13	13.5	(s)	10.1	15.1	10.4	(s)
Power and distribution transformers [44] ..... do	358	408	(s)	15	15	11	2.7	4.6	4.6	4.2	3.8	(s)
Household appliances:												
Refrigerators (m) ..... thousand	4,075	3,570	3,775	552	469	466	6.3	4.6	4.3	10.8	13.1	12.3
Home-type freezers (m) ..... do	1,050	1,140	1,200		22	40					1.9	3.3
Washing machines (m) [58] ..... do	3,373	3,168	3,516	62	61	80	4.0	1.9	1.2	1.8	1.9	2.3
Vacuum cleaners (o) [59] ..... do	2,729	2,842	2,778	18	26	56	1.9	1.0	.6	.7	.9	2.0
Ranges (m) ..... do	1,400	1,060	1,300	14	15	22	2.1	.6	.3	1.0	1.4	1.7
Radio receiving sets (p) ..... do	12,627	10,935	13,369	505	408	361	5.3	3.4	2.1	2.8	3.7	2.7
Television receiving sets (p) ..... do	5,385	6,096	7,215		107	152					1.8	2.1
Radio receiving tubes [44] ..... millions of dollars	242	273	(s)	15	11	13	9.1	(s)	3.0	6.0	4.1	(s)
Electric lamps ..... million	2,341	1,748	2,248	87	72	76	(s)	4.0	3.6	3.7	4.1	3.4
Telephone and telegraph equipment [44] ..... millions of dollars	619	764	(s)	24	30	39	3.9	4.1	5.4	3.8	3.9	(s)
Insulated wire and cable [44] ..... do	1,097	1,266	(s)	15	22	21	1.5	(s)	1.7	1.4	1.7	(s)
Industrial machinery: [44]												
Internal combustion engines, except automotive and aircraft ..... millions of dollars	932	1,173	(s)	116	115	103	9.6	(s)	13.1	12.4	9.8	(s)
Industrial trucks and tractors ..... do	285	322	(s)	24	25	25	(s)	10.5	9.0	8.6	7.8	(s)
Machine tools (q) [60] ..... do	629	1,065	1,156	67	123	118	47.9	30.1	21.1	10.7	11.5	10.2
Rolling mill machinery and parts ..... do	158	185	(s)	55	50	59	28.9	(s)	53.5	34.9	27.1	(s)
Construction and mining equipment ..... do	1,413	1,592	(s)	264	348	334	19.1	(s)	19.2	18.7	21.8	(s)
Graders ..... do	84	80	63	25	29	20	50.0	30.9	26.6	29.8	32.8	31.6
Oilfield machinery, tools, and equipment ..... do	462	492	(s)	80	86	70	37.0	26.6	16.2	17.3	17.6	(s)
Textile machinery ..... do	499	368	(s)	108	79	70	10.9	30.1	23.2	21.6	21.4	(s)
Sewing machines and parts ..... do	148	136	(s)	33	26	23	32.6	(s)	16.5	22.3	18.9	(s)
Food products machinery [61] ..... do	384	349	(s)	57	55	46	10.5	(s)	14.1	15.0	15.8	(s)
Ball and roller bearings and components ..... do	626	606	(s)	25	32	26	2.9	6.8	3.5	4.0	5.3	(s)
Office appliances [44] ..... do	746	770	(s)	121	90	89	19.2	(s)	14.9	16.2	11.7	(s)
Typewriters and parts [62] ..... do	158	152	(s)	30	21	19	29.0	(s)	16.9	19.0	14.0	(s)
Calculating and accounting machines and cash registers [63] ..... do	424	456	(s)	77	60	60	22.4	(s)	16.6	18.2	13.1	(s)
Printing machinery and equipment [44] [64] ..... do	206	177	(s)	36	29	30	18.7	(s)	19.7	17.5	16.1	(s)
Agricultural machinery and implements, total [44] ..... do	1,188	1,071	(s)	140	139	136	11.3	13.1	11.0	11.7	13.0	(s)
Implements of cultivation [44] ..... do	270	232	(s)	34	29	21	14.4	16.1	13.6	12.6	12.4	(s)
Harvesting machinery [44] ..... do	460	420	(s)	45	54	62	16.9	10.2	8.4	9.8	12.6	(s)
Combines ..... number	109,019	81,511	(s)	14,695	16,452	17,117	12.7	11.3	9.6	13.5	20.2	(s)
Tractors: [44]												
Tracklaying type ..... millions of dollars	260	281	329	95	104	148	39.4	46.1	38.9	36.6	37.2	45.1
Contractors wheel type ..... do	55	60	44	6	12	16	18.0	24.7	22.7	10.7	19.5	37.2
Other wheel type, except garden ..... do	703	556	547	131	95	91			18.7	18.6	17.1	16.7
Transportation equipment:												
Passenger cars [65] (r) ..... thousand	5,315	4,316	6,118	247	167	186	6.0	3.1	2.3	4.6	3.9	3.0
Motortrucks and coaches [52] (r) ..... do	1,280	1,037	1,075	224	163	139	22.3	11.8	11.6	17.5	15.7	12.9
Complete civilian aircraft [44] [66] ..... millions of dollars	89	197	244	18	25	90	(s)	21.6	43.6	20.0	12.8	36.6
Locomotives [44] [67] ..... do	599	539	(s)	29	37	48	4.8	(s)	8.8	4.8	6.9	(s)
Passenger railway cars, except self-propelled [44] [68] ..... do	34	23	(s)	13	2	(x)	(s)	(s)	3.6	30.2	8.3	(s)

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 3.—*United States exports of leading commodities in relation to production, 1939 and 1949–53*—Continued

[Letters in parentheses refer to sources of data; explanation of sources follows footnotes]

Commodity and source of data (a–t)	Production			Exports								
	Quantity or value			Quantity or value			As percentage of production [1]					
	1951	1952	1953	1951	1952	1953	1939	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
NONAGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES—continued												
Chemicals and related products:												
Phenol (s) ..... thousands of pounds..	388,429	387,761	378,478	21,097	22,290	15,161	3.0	10.2	4.5	5.4	6.6	4.0
Colors, dyes, stains and color lakes [2] (s) ..... do....	200,101	184,269	([6])	22,521	12,180	13,394	10.5	19.7	11.3	11.3	6.6	([6])
Color lakes and toners ..... do....	40,109	35,666	([6])	3,077	2,367	3,178	([6])	10.5	6.3	7.7	6.6	([6])
Sulfur black ..... do....	11,419	9,205	([6])	3,026	1,033	762	([6])	26.9	25.7	26.5	11.4	([6])
Synthetic indigo ..... thousands of dollars..	4,919	4,383	([6])	599	214	58	([6])	23.6	19.8	12.2	4.9	([6])
All other dyes and stains ..... thousands of pounds..	130,304	122,833	([6])	15,816	8,502	9,384	([6])	23.2	12.6	12.1	6.9	([6])
Biological products [44] ..... millions of dollars..	87	80	([6])	} 281	221	217	([6])	([6])	[70] 12.8	[70] 14.5	[70] 11.8	([6])
Medicinal chemicals [44] ..... do....	423	376	([6])									
Pharmaceutical preparations [44] ..... do....	1,425	1,417	([6])									
Penicillin (s) ..... billion oxford units..	318,622	342,326	378,337	83,972	75,531	102,815	([6])	24.6	31.2	26.4	22.1	27.2
Acetylsalicylic acid (aspirin) bulk (s) ..... thousands of pounds..	13,481	13,312	13,649	2,169	1,576	1,253	([6])	13.7	10.6	16.1	11.8	9.2
Insecticides and fungicides for agricultural use [44] [71] (t) millions of dollars..	271	219	([6])	50	42	32	8.9	([6])	12.2	18.5	19.1	([6])
DDT (a) ..... do....	30	33	([6])	15	16	11	([6])	39.5	24.7	37.6	47.6	([6])
Copper sulfate (j) ..... short tons..	106,944	94,508	72,602	43,129	43,421	32,659	33.8	40.1	34.5	40.3	45.9	44.9
Plastics and resin materials [44] ..... millions of dollars..	1,129	1,137	([6])	88	72	80	13.2	([6])	6.9	7.8	6.3	([6])
Calcium carbide ..... short tons..	775,284	703,241	793,335	6,934	4,416	5,616	2.5	1.7	.9	.9	.6	.7
Sodium carbonate, calcined (soda ash) [72] ..... millions of pounds..	10,916	9,527	10,606	310	212	331	2.7	1.8	1.5	2.8	2.2	3.1
Sodium hydroxide (caustic soda) ..... thousands of short tons..	3,106	3,031	3,262	274	208	132	12.5	8.6	5.3	8.8	6.9	4.0
Synthetic anhydrous ammonia ..... millions of pounds..	3,554	4,104	4,573	12	31	30	2.1	.3	.7	.8	.8	.7
Chlorine ..... do....	5,036	5,217	5,592	29	86	47	1.2	.7	.4	.6	.7	.8
Carbon black (j) ..... do....	1,677	1,604	1,611	433	293	359	38.8	24.8	28.9	25.7	18.3	22.3
Paint, varnish, lacquer, and filler [44] ..... millions of dollars..	1,400	1,377	1,402	34	29	30	2.2	([6])	2.0	2.4	2.1	2.1
Phosphate rock [73] (j) ..... thousands of long tons..	11,095	11,324	([6])	1,727	1,429	2,101	25.3	14.0	17.9	15.6	12.6	([6])
Asphalt roofing materials [74] ..... thousands of squares..	77,050	75,642	74,199	1,693	1,342	979	1.4	1.8	1.3	2.2	1.8	1.3
Photographic equipment [44] [75] ..... millions of dollars..	549	619	([6])	47	44	51	11.5	([6])	8.8	8.6	7.1	([6])
Pens, mechanical pencils, and penpoints [44] ..... do....	119	118	([6])	14	11	16	10.3	([6])	10.5	11.9	9.8	([6])

[1] Data on which percentages are based for 1939, 1949, and 1950, are available in the June 30, 1952, and July 27, 1953, issues of Foreign Commerce Weekly.
[2] Carcass weight equivalent.
[3] Production data include only factory production and exclude tallow produced on farms or by local butcheries or small renderers.
[4] Excludes dry cream, buttermilk products, and milk products for animal feed.
[5] Solid nonfat content, converted from gross product weight.
[6] Not available.
[7] Gross weight.
[8] Production data are for crop harvested in the preceding calendar year. Exports cover the approximate period in which the crop was marketed, that is, a fiscal year ending in the year shown, as follows: Year ending June 30: Barley, wheat, dried ripe peas, apples, apricots, fresh grapes, peaches, pears, prunes, plums, canned fruit, dried fruit, peanuts, flaxseed, and cottonseed. Year ending July 31: Rice and cotton. Year ending Aug. 31: Dried ripe beans, raisins, peanut oil and hops. Year ending Sept. 30: Corn, grain sorghums, and soybeans including soybean oil. Year ending June 30, Sept. 30, and Dec. 31: Leaf tobacco, depending on marketing periods for the several types.
[9] Export data include grain equivalent of malt.
[10] Export data include grain equivalent of meal and grits.
[11] Export data include brown, broken, and brewer's rice, rice screenings, and rough rice in terms of milled rice.
[12] Milled rice equivalent.
[13] Export data include grain equivalent of flour made wholly from United States wheat.
[14] Excludes soybeans, mung beans, garbanzos, and California blackeyes.
[15] Cleaned equivalent.
[16] Excludes cowpeas and chickpeas.
[17] Includes apples, applesauce, apricots, berries, cherries, grapefruit segments, peaches, pears, plums, prunes, fruit salad, and fruit cocktail.
[18] Cases of 24 No. 2½ cans.
[19] Excludes dates.
[20] Production data are for crop from bloom of preceding year, harvest completed in the year shown. Export data cover fiscal year ending August 31 for fresh grapefruit, and fiscal year ending October 31 for fresh oranges and canned citrus fruits and juices.
[21] Export data include juice, juice concentrates and grapefruit segments in terms of fresh fruit.
[22] Includes tangerines. Export data include juice and juice concentrates in terms of fresh fruit.
[23] Export data include canned and dried fruit in terms of fresh fruit.
[24] Production data cover only commercial apple areas.
[25] Export data include oil in terms of oilseed equivalent; data for 1952 and 1953, however, exclude some secondary oils not reported by kind.
[26] In the shell equivalent.
[27] Export data for 1952 and 1953 exclude secondary oil.
[28] Export data for 1952 and 1953 exclude secondary oil, except deodorized and hydrogenated.
[29] Farm sales weight.
[30] Production data are for pack of preceding calendar year.
[31] Includes footwear and house slippers of leather and other materials except rubber. Manufacturers' shipments data represent production.
[32] Data are for cotton broad woven goods, excluding specialty items, such as tire fabrics, tapestry, upholstery, and drapery fabrics, pile fabrics, table damask; blankets towels and toweling; bedspread fabrics; and knit goods.
[33] Export data include knit fabrics in 1951.
[34] Data are for rayon broadwoven goods, excluding specialty items, such as tire fabrics, pile fabrics, and drapery and upholstery materials.
[35] Data include hosiery of silk, synthetic fibers cotton, and wool, except exports exclude the small item of wool hosiery. Manufacturers' shipments represent production.
[36] Data are for crop year ending Mar. 31.
[37] Export data include sawed ties and beginning 1952 also include hewn ties.
[38] Data exclude bristols, bristol board, and building board.
[39] Production and export data for 1952, and exports for 1953 exclude papeteries.
[40] Data include motor fuel, natural gasoline, blending agents, naphtha, solvents, and other light finished products.
[41] Export data include heavy road oil not included in production.
[42] Export data include some finishing cements not included in production.
[43] Mine shipments represent production.
[44] Manufacturers' shipments represent production.
[45] Net shipments excluding intraindustry transfer, represent production. Castings are excluded. Large shipments to United Kingdom, mainly in the form of ingots, account for most of the increase in exports in 1952
[46] Exports include long ternes and waste-waste tinplate.
[47] Excludes fittings.
[48] Total shipments (shipments for use by the same company, or an affiliate, subsidiary, or parent company, and for sale to other companies) represent production.
[49] Shipments for sale of commercial steel forgings represent production.
[50] Shipments (in terms of steel consumed in the manufacture of cans) represent production. Exports are packers for cannery type cans.
[51] Export data include hand-operated dies which are not included in production.
[52] Exports exclude the small item of ores and also manufactured products.
[53] Total production includes primary production from domestic and foreign ores and secondary production from old scrap including imported scrap.
[54] Primary production from domestic and foreign ores.
[55] Exports consist largely of imported copper which has been refined in the United States; data exclude insulated copper wire and other manufactured products.
[56] Refined primary production from domestic and foreign ores.
[57] Total production includes primary production and pig lead recovered from scrap, largely from old scrap; antimonial lead is excluded.
[58] Primary slab zinc production from domestic and foreign ores; secondary production from old scrap zinc is relatively small.
[59] Manufacturers' sales of standard-size appliances represent production.
[60] Production data exclude rebuilt machines and machines designed primarily for home workshops, laboratories, etc. Exports exclude "special category" items.
[61] Export data exclude food wrapping and packaging machinery.
[62] Export data include used and rebuilt typewriters.
[63] Production data include fare boxes and registers; these are excluded from exports.
[64] Production data include a small quantity of engraver's materials and equipment; these items are not included in exports.
[65] Production and export data represent factory sales other than to Federal Government agencies. Export data include complete vehicles whether shipped as such or as parts for assembly abroad and do not take account of the considerable item of "parts for assembly abroad" which are used in combination with parts made outside the country, especially in Canada.
[66] Export data exclude commercial cargo transports.
[67] Production and export data include railway, switching, mine and industrial types, new and rebuilt; exports include used locomotives also.
[68] Production data exclude rebuilt cars; exports include used and rebuilt in 1951.
[69] Sales represent production.
[70] This figure somewhat understates the percentage exported. The total obtained by adding the value of shipments of the biological, medicinal chemical, and pharmaceutical industries, on which this percentage is based, overstates the actual production to the extent that the biologic and medicinal chemical industries furnish materials for the pharmaceutical industry.
[71] Export data include weed killers in 1951; including this item the percentage exported in 1952 would be 20.9.
[72] Production data exclude relatively small amounts produced by the electrolytic process.
[73] Phosphate rock sold or used by the producers represents production.
[74] Includes asphalt prepared roofing and saturated felts, excludes tar saturated felts.
[75] Export data exclude "special category" items.

SOURCES OF DATA

Export figures except those covered by notes (a), (k), and (r) are from foreign-trade reports of the Bureau of the Census.

Production figures except those covered by notes (a) to (j) and (l) to (t) are from Bureau of the Census. Monthly figures for many of the commodities appear in the Survey of Current Business.

(a) Agricultural Marketing Service. Export figures are based on data reported by the Bureau of the Census.
(b) Agricultural Marketing Service.
(c) Estimated.
(d) Fish and Wildlife Service.
(e) Business and Defense Services Administration.
(f) Rubber Manufactures' Association, Inc.
(g) Commissioner of Internal Revenue.
(h) National Association of Hosiery Manufacturers.
(i) National Lumber Manufacturers' Association.
(j) Bureau of Mines.
(k) Total shipments and direct exports reported by the Glass Container Industry to the Bureau of the Census.
(l) Net shipments, American Iron and Steel Institute.
(m) Manufacturers' sales, "Electrical Merchandising."
(n) Manufacturers' sales, American Home Laundry Manufacturers' Association.
(o) Manufacturers' sales, Vacuum Cleaner Manufacturers' Association.
(p) Estimated by Radio-Television Manufacturers Association.
(q) 1953 estimate based on National Machine Tool Builders' Association's index of shipments.
(r) Manufacturers' sales and exports, Automobile Manufacturers' Association.
(s) Tariff Commission.
(t) Shipments of Insecticide and Fungicide Industry, Bureau of the Census plus sales of benezene hexachloride, Tariff Commission.

TABLE 4.—*Coverage of United States exports in export production ratios (shown in table 3), by commodity groups, calendar year 1953*

Commodity group	Exports in millions of dollars		Percent of total exports	
	Commodity totals	Commodities covered in table 3	Commodity totals	Commodities covered in table 3
Total	15,626	7,704	100.0	49.3
Agricultural commodities	2,843	2,427	18.2	15.5
Meat products	60	42	.4	.3
Animal fats	129	112	.8	.7
Dairy products	80	63	.5	.4
Grain and products	1,059	1,023	6.8	6.5
Vegetables	99	27	.6	.2
Fruits	143	109	.9	.7
Oilseeds and vegetable oils	176	153	1.1	1.0
Hides and skins	37	32	.2	.2
Tobacco, unmanufactured	339	339	2.2	2.2
Cotton, unmanufactured	521	517	3.3	3.3
Other agricultural	200	10	1.3	.1
Nonagricultural commodities	12,783	5,277	81.8	33.8
Special category, type I	1,720	----------	11.0	----------
Nonagricultural, excluding type I	11,063	5,277	70.8	33.8
Fish and products	17	8	.1	(1)
Leather and manufactures	47	16	.3	.1
Rubber products	144	70	.9	.4
Cigarettes and other tobacco manufactures	64	58	.4	.4
Textile manufactures	640	311	4.1	2.0
Cotton manufactures	329	182	2.1	1.2
Synthetic textile manufactures	220	127	1.4	.8
Forest products	280	137	1.8	.9
Lumber	65	65	.4	.4
Nonagricultural commodities—Continued				
Forest products—Continued				
Paper and products	125	54	0.8	0.3
Nonmetallic mineral products	1,273	1,076	8.1	6.9
Coal and related products	346	335	2.2	2.1
Petroleum and products	691	641	4.4	4.1
Other nonmetalic mineral products	236	100	1.5	.6
Metals and manufactures	1,050	775	6.7	5.0
Iron ore	32	32	.2	.2
Iron and steel-mill products	557	557	3.6	3.6
Casting and forgings	24	12	.2	.1
Advanced manufactures of metals	253	65	1.6	.4
Nonferrous metals including ferroalloys	176	118	1.1	.8
Copper	95	95	.6	.6
Machinery	2,934	1,628	18.8	10.4
Electrical machinery and apparatus	801	243	5.1	1.6
Industrial machinery	1,537	874	9.8	5.6
Office and printing machines and parts	119	119	.8	.8
Agricultural machinery	136	136	.9	.9
Tractors, parts, and accessories	341	256	2.2	1.6
Transportation equipment	2,457	678	15.7	4.3
Automobiles, parts, and accessories	1,416	540	9.1	3.5
Aircraft	881	90	5.6	.6
Railway transportation equipment	109	48	.7	.3
Chemicals and related products	819	456	5.2	2.9
Other nonagricultural products	1,341	69	8.6	.4

[1] Less than 0.05 percent.

Washington: Cultural Center of the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in his program Person to Person, Edward R. Murrow interviewed, last November, the distinguished American, Lillian Gish. She devoted practically all of her time to advocacy of the establishment of a Ministry of the Fine Arts as a department of the Federal Government with a Secretary of Cabinet rank. She argued that we are now coming of age in cultural matters, and such an agency is a part of the government of practically all British and European countries.

In his message on the state of the Union the President declared that—

In the advancement of the various activities which will make our civilization endure and flourish, the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities. I shall recommend the establishment of a Federal advisory commission on the arts within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to advise the Federal Government on ways to encourage artistic and cultural endeavor and appreciation. I shall also propose that awards of merit be established whereby we can honor our fellow citizens who make great contributions to the advancement of our civilization and of this country.

A number of bills have been introduced in the 84th Congress to advance the proposals outlined above, some of which have already reached the hearing stage. The gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from Montana, LEE METCALF; the gentleman from New York, ADAM C. POWELL, Jr.; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, GEORGE M. RHODES; and myself have offered the American National Arts Act, which was referred to the House Education and Labor Committee for its consideration.

A second bill, creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, theater and fine arts, and mass communications center, was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives. Hearings have already begun on this bill before a special subcommittee whose chairman is the able gentleman from Louisiana, JAMES H. MORRISON.

The broadest kind of support has developed for this bill which would give the Nation's Capital the cultural facilities it has lacked for 155 years, facilities possessed by large and small European cities and by many cities in our own country.

Legislation to make Washington the cultural center of the world has been introduced by the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, GEORGE M. RHODES; the gentleman from Minnesota, ROY W. WIER; the gentleman from Connecticut, ALBERT P. MORANO; the gentleman from New York, ADAM C. POWELL, Jr.; the gentleman from Minnesota, JOHN A. BLATNIK; the gentleman from Arkansas, OREN HARRIS; the gentleman from New Hampshire, CHESTER E. MERROW; the gentleman from New Jersey, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, Jr.; and myself.

Among the many distinguished witnesses who have testified in support of the proposed legislation are Mrs. A. Paul Hartz, legislative chairman, General Federation of Women's Clubs, and Robert W. Dowling, chairman, board of directors of the congressionally chartered American National Theater and Academy. I include excerpts from their testimony here for its great informational value:

EXCERPT FROM THE STATEMENT OF MRS. A. PAUL HARTZ, LEGISLATIVE CHAIRMAN, GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, WAVERLY, VA.

If the cultural endeavors of a people are a measure of their stature, the passage of H. R. 1825 brooks no delay. This bill which would create a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the Nation's Capital of a civic auditorium with connected facilities making it a center for music and the fine arts is a first step toward overcoming a serious cultural lag.

Appreciation of fine arts knows no national boundaries. It is in this realm that we can hope for the greatest understanding among the peoples of the world. A building dedicated to the purpose and living expression of fine arts in the District of Columbia might well symbolize the cultural bonds which give the greatest promise of lasting peace.

In this day of uncertainty there is a continuing battle for the minds of men and we must properly gage not only our military and economic strength but our cultural strength as well. If the final victory is to go to the forces of freedom, we must not ignore this significant endeavor. Our failure to project to other countries our appreciation of our cultural heritage is a serious handicap as we compete with the Soviet Union in the cold war.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs urges the passage of H. R. 1825.

STATEMENT OF MR. ROBERT W. DOWLING, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AMERICAN NATIONAL THEATER AND ACADEMY

Mr. Dowling. It is a privilege to speak with you about this. It has been very dear to my heart and to the interests of ANTA for many, many years.

I would like to call attention to something pertinent to the question of whether we cannot have a place where foreign visitors, painters, sculptors, and others can exhibit their works here in America.

This year the State Department gave me the privilege of organizing an exhibit of American art in Paris during April, May, and June.

The French Government put at our disposal 5 national theatres, their opera house, Comedie Francais and others, where we display American painters' works and sculpture and where our Philadelphia orchestra will perform in the opera house, the ballet of New York and 2 plays and the musical comedy "Oklahoma."

There is no proper place for such a performance in Washington. If we were to have reciprocal visits—and I am frequently asked when I have visited national theater groups from Salzburg, Austria, and all the way to Scandinavia and through the rest of Europe, "Where would we play if we came?" or "Where would our works be shown—our paintings and sculptures?"

We have the privilege of owning some theatres in New York and I am familiar with the problems of booking and I think we plan to bring the Shakespeare Theatre from Stratford next fall.

It is very difficult to know whether we can play them. They cannot play in Washington because the National Theater has an open system of booking which takes place for 2 weeks at a time but when they come to us they will have performed in New York where theaters are customarily booked from October or November to June and July and sometimes longer.

It is very difficult to hold out the 2 or 3 weeks that a national company visiting from Europe can perform. We brought the Greek National Theater to New York and we would like to get a theater—the right kind of a theater—and every single seat was taken for every performance.

I call your attention to the fact that although we may have 30 theaters in New York and 2 in Washington and other cities have 1 or 2 or 3 theaters, there is no comparable place where foreign artists and companies and national theaters can visit and perform. And as our State Department has now placed in the hands of "ANTA" the International Exchange Program in which we are sending performers to Asia, South America, Central America, and Iceland, and European countries, we have no place to invite them in returning our visits. It is very vital to our cultural exchange program that we have such places.

Therefore, we urge you gentlemen to guide this bill through to a point where it can have the benefit of the Commission's more thorough study of the problem.

I have no other point to raise unless you have some questions.

Mr. MORRISON. I understood you to say there was a private program the United States was putting on in Paris and that they wanted to reciprocate and wanted to come to Washington but that the facilities were not here to receive them.

Mr. DOWLING. That is true. Not only for Paris but for European countries, countries even that are semibehind the Iron Curtain—Yugoslavia, where we are now sending our ambassadors and culture. If they were to come here we would have no place for them to use.

Mr. MORRISON. I was quite impressed with the point you raised that we were sending entertainment to different parts of the world. It is just as important in one sense to have them go there and to have theirs come to the United States. You made that point and they cannot come here because we do not have the facilities to house them here?

Mr. DOWLING. That is right. They always ask me when I visit those countries. While we would like to play in your National Theater and I have to say, There is not any except one we lease in Washington which is not a national theater but just a commercial venture.

Mr. MORRISON. It is national in name only.

Mr. BROYHILL. No questions.

Mr. MORRISON. Thank you very much for your contribution to the committee.

Progress Has Its Problems in Ozarks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, I have been raising a rumpus from the beginning about the closing of so many of our fourth-class post offices. I thought I had used some good language in my protest and still think I have. However, it cannot compare with that of my friend, Otto Ernest Rayburn, of Eureka Springs, Ark., in the district which I am honored to represent, who has this to say in the Arkansas Gazette of February 13, 1955:

PROGRESS HAS ITS PROBLEMS IN OZARKS

(By Otto Ernest Rayburn)

ONLY TRADITION SUPPORTS THE COUNTRY POST OFFICE

The little country post office of the Ozarks is passing out of the picture and it is with deep regret that we see it go. The Government at Washington contends that the fourth-class offices in isolated areas do not pay off. That is true. But it is also a fact that no post office—first, second, third, or fourth class—pays its way. All must be subsidized for the convenience of the people. The tendency at present is to replace the little fourth-class offices with motorized rural routes. This may be a progressive step from the standpoint of economy, but it is a blow at tradition, and the folks back in the hills don't like it.

Several years ago a poetic tribute to the country post office, by J. A. Dunlap, was printed in Ozark Life magazine. It has nostalgic appeal to all who know this rural institution as a social center. Here is the poem:

"The post office stood in the back of the store
Behind the old stove and the crude cuspidore,
The old stove was burnt to a dull, dingy brown,
And the cuspidore welcomed the men of the town.
When mail time arrived, the whole town was there,
The matron, the merchant, the maiden, so fair,
Then back in the office distinctly we'd hear,
Them sorting the mail full of trouble and cheer.
And when the old window went up with a wham,
We crowded around in a sociable jam,
All eager to hear from the folks that we knew
Or hoping perhaps for a check overdue;
A place for a smile, but no place for a frown
The post office stood in the dear old home town."

The little post office in the Ozarks serves the people in many ways. It is frequently located in the back of a general store where folks come to trade and loaf, to swap news and tell tales. It is convenient to stop at the store for a twist of tobacco or a poke of salt and pick up the mail. If one wishes to send a money order to the mail-order house is isn't necessary to stand out in the weather and wait for the carrier. The post office does not have a big turnover, but it helps the merchant in his struggle to make a living and serve the people. The rural route may save the Government a little money, but it is "robbing Peter to pay Paul." The convenience of the people should be Uncle Sam's concern.

In many sections of the Ozarks, motorized rural routes are impracticable because of the condition of the roads. Many of the smaller streams are not bridged. During the rainy season and in winter sleet and snow, the carrier is slowed down and the patron may have to stand by his mailbox for hours to get a money order or to sign for a registered letter. Parcel-post delivery is impractical because the mailboxes are not large enough to accommodate large packages.

The social setup of our rural communities has been greatly disturbed in recent years by modern innovations. First came the consolidation of schools and the community center was destroyed. Many rural churches are now struggling to survive as a lot of people prefer to drive to town to attend services. Now the post office must go in the name of economy. Progress has its price and the oldtimers who hate to see tradition disturbed wonder if it is worth it.

The 37th Anniversary of Lithuania's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, today, February 16, marks the 37th anniversary

of Lithuania's independence, and I am happy to have the opportunity of paying tribute to the people of that gallant little nation. During her brief period of independence, from 1918 until 1940, she made great progress in economics and education, and outstanding achievements in commerce, agriculture and industry. It was with a deep sense of satisfaction that we watched this young republican government honorably fulfill her obligations as a member of the family of free nations.

Unfortunately, this period of freedom came to an abrupt end when, on June 15, 1940, the Soviet Army marched in and took over. Since that day, her people have endured untold hardships at the hands of the aggressor. The American people have never recognized the incorporation of the free Republic of Lithuania into the Soviet Union. We have the highest respect for this noble people who are deprived of so many freedoms as a country behind the Iron Curtain and a genuine interest in her welfare. Her spirit has not been crushed, and her present bondage will be an inspiration for future generations to carry on with that indomitable spirit that has brought her through so many trying situations in the past. It is the hope of all of us that one day soon Lithuania will again throw off the yoke of the oppressor and take her rightful place among the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

Juvenile Delinquency and the American Clergy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, Judge Julius H. Miner is a distinguished member of the circuit court of Cook County, Ill., who has made an excellent study of the problem that has been troubling the Congress and the Nation for many years. His address recently given entitled "Juvenile Delinquency and the American Clergy" will be of much value to the Members and accordingly, I am pleased to include it in my remarks. The address follows:

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND THE AMERICAN CLERGY

(Address delivered by Judge Julius H. Miner, circuit court, Cook County, Ill., before the Chicago Methodist Ministers Association, at the Chicago Temple, October 4, 1954)

I am grateful for the privilege of addressing you on the subject of juvenile crime. It is our major national problem. It is so menacing our general welfare that the American clergy of all denominations should help to mobilize every resource to alleviate this critical condition.

Crime in the United States is perilously on the upswing. Year after year the appalling tide of criminality continues to rise. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover reported that 1,788,612 serious crimes were committed in 1950; 1,882,160 in 1951; 2,036,510 in 1952, and 2,159,080 in 1953. He also reported recently an 8.5 percent rise in the national crime rate in the first 6 months of 1954 as compared with the same period in 1953. He estimated that during the first 6 months of this year the crime of murder, manslaughter, rape, and assault to kill was committed every 4.3 seconds. These figures indicate that 1954 will be a record crime year. Criminologists predict 4 million major crimes annually by 1960.

Mr. Bertram B. Beck, director of the Special Juvenile Project in the United States, said: "The problem of juvenile delinquency has been underestimated, not overestimated. The juvenile crime rate is one of the most alarming threats in our Nation today." He likened it to "cancerous cells on the social organism which, unless combated, can spell destruction for the entire being." There has never been a parallel to this depravity in the history of our Nation.

It was reported at the Mid-Atlantic Conference on Correction, held in New York, that this country leads the world in crime. The population of State and Federal prisons has increased 7 times as fast as the national population in the last 25 years. This calamitous condition approaches national disgrace and disaster.

According to FBI reports, law enforcement and all phases of crime costs our Nation $20 billion annually, an average of $495 yearly per family. Mr. Robert H. MacRae, director of the Welfare Council, figures that Cook County, Ill., spends $2,958,000 a year to maintain juvenile delinquents in corrective institutions. Mr. Hoover declared that for every dollar we pay for education we spend $1.82 to combat lawlessness, and for every dollar contributed to churches $10 goes to fight crime.

United States Senator ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON, chairman of a subcommittee to investigate juvenile delinquency, reported on November 11, 1953, that "1 million children between the ages of 10 and 17 will get into trouble with the police this year, and by 1960 that figure may well reach 1,500,000 each year." He said that in Washington, D. C., juvenile delinquency has risen 60 percent in 1 year, and in the Nation 30 percent since 1948. The rate of offenses by juvenile criminals in Manhattan is more than three times that of the average for all cities in the Nation, according to reports by the National Federation of Settlement and Neighborhood Centers.

We read daily of teen-age sluggings, auto thefts, mob riots, sex orgies, narcotic addictions, and other grave offenses. Juvenile crime appears no longer confined to any social class or type of neighborhood. It has spread everywhere. Last year an estimated 500,000 boys and girls were brought to the attention of American juvenile courts. At least twice as many were handled by police without being referred to the courts, and no one can estimate the number of thousands who escaped the attention of legal authorities. According to the Illinois State Bureau of Identification, out of a total of 80,772 crimes, juveniles committed 36 percent of the murders, 67 percent of the robberies, and 69.5 percent of the burglaries.

Mr. John Meegan, superintendent of the Chicago Parental School, reported recently that local juvenile delinquents today are comparatively younger and are committing acts of greater violence than ever. According to FBI records, this is true everywhere. Younger patients are going into clinics for treatment of venereal diseases, and sex problems now are found in the 7th and 8th grades. The number of young unwed mothers has increased 88 percent since 1945. A youngster recently arrested in Manhattan was asked how many of his young friends were using drugs. He replied, "Forty or fifty, about half girls."

Four Chicago youngsters admitted stealing 14 cars in 2 weeks. One pleaded guilty before Judge McSweeney for snatching a purse to settle his gambling debts. More than 500 teen-age hoodlums broke loose in 1 of New Yorks' worst riots, terrorizing passengers and ransacking subway stations. A Chicago juvenile was shot and others were injured as 50 youths wrangled in a brawl between 2 neighborhood gangs. Two young girls, 14 and 16, admitted to the West North Avenue police 47 burglaries, robberies, and sluggings. One of them pulled a pistol on her stepfather. Seven New York young boys were jailed for whipping and burning a 14-year-old girl. Four Brooklyn youths, 15 to 18, committed two vicious murders for the thrill of it. I sentenced two juvenile rioters to the penitentiary for murder. These few cases are cited merely to illustrate the general run of juvenile delinquencies.

Senator HENDRICKSON said that in reply to a questionnaire circulated by the sociology department of a prominent college, many of the students said they believed that stealing and robbing may be anti-social, but did not constitute grave crimes; that there is nothing particularly wrong in violating sex codes, and they brushed aside lying and cheating as not delinquent.

It is generally conceded that our educational system needs a complete revision in the light of criminal tendencies among youngsters, particularly in its disciplinary policies. There has been much too much pampering of children by teachers as well as by parents. Many a hot seat applied in time over a parent's knee might have forestalled a hot seat in the electric chair. In a recent article Mr. Hoover urged increased parental responsibility and augmented disciplinary power of schoolteachers.

A variety of causes and reasons are assignable to this deplorable situation—too few and underpaid police and teachers—illegal sale of liquor and dope—war tension and hysteria—overindulgence of children—racial differences—salacious literature—inadequate housing—immorality and intemperance at home. Mr. Hoover also emphasized, "There can be no real doubt, it seems to me, that the movies, television and comic books are purveying violence and lust to a vicious and intolerable degree."

Juvenile delinquency and adult crime cannot be solved independently of each other. Corruption in high office and general lack of respect for law and order are top contributors. Joseph D. Nunan, Jr., formerly our Nation's head tax collector, was sentenced to prison for 5 years for income-tax evasion. Scores of congressmen, mayors and other prominent public officials have been convicted for flagrant violations of their respective trusts. Many exclusive clubs and organizations operate with immunity slot machines and other gambling devices. Gambling is illegal wherever it is practiced.

Whatever the reasons, our social forces have failed. While there is an overpowering realization nationally of the juvenile crime trend, authorities do not know how to meet the challenge. Justice Robert H. Jackson, of the United States Supreme Court, charged that "our Nation is plagued with unprecedented juvenile delinquency, gangsterism, and shocking crimes followed by long-delayed punishment, or by none." It is generally conceded that increased crime has overwhelmed and overcrowded our corrective and law-enforcing agencies. The apathy and indifference of our citizens toward the ever-mounting crime rate has been most disheartening. A United States Senate subcommittee investigating juvenile crime admitted publicly, "The Nation is losing its fight against juvenile delinquency."

What a tragedy. Is the American clergy also willing to admit defeat?

Our Nation is being crushed by crime. With all the well-intentioned committee investigations, with all the genuine efforts by schools and civic and social agencies, lawlessness continues to skyrocket. We are all faced with the challenge of finding a solu-

tion. Laws alone will not check teen-age crime. We cannot investigate, legislate, or adjudicate crime out of existence. What constructive preventive measures are there then to check the moral decadence of our youth? It troubles every parent, every judge, every educator, every criminologist, and every member of the clergy. The solution, if there is one, lies in the home and with the churches. Its prevention looms up as a religious enterprise.

One thing is certain. These millions of criminals, adults, and juveniles alike, are victims of spiritual starvation. All their evils, cruelties, and injustices are violations of the fundamental principles of God whom they have either abandoned or failed to know and worship. The laws of God and men are inextricably entwined. Consequently, they flaunt His commandments and violate our codes. They scorn tradition and defy society. Irreligion has obviously become the major contributing factor to our national juvenile crisis.

Having sat in judgment on thousands of offenders in the criminal court, murderers, robbers, rapists, burglars, etc., I have observed that over 85 percent of the criminals were nonchurchgoers. Six of them made peace with God as they mumbled prayers on their way to the electric chair. I have also presided over the divorce court for 5 consecutive years and have commiserated with more than 120,000 litigants over their domestic difficulties and those of their children. Here, too, I have found the same high percentage of nonchurchgoers. Mr. Hoover reports even a higher rate. Out of 8,000 delinquent children called to his attention only 42 attended Sunday school regularly. This is not a coincidence. Other judges as well as the files of reformatories corroborate these ghastly statistics. Jails are crowded when many of our churches are not.

Criminals are not born. They are reared in an era which has discarded morality. We worship the golden calf and ignore the Golden Rule. We place too much emphasis on material and too little on spirtual values. While our economy is busily attuned to the art of mass production, we are permitting mass youth destruction. As our scientists and engineers are making amazing progress in their fields, we are lagging in ethical understanding.

The Reverend Luther B. Osborne, of San Antonio, Tex., whose son was charged with murder, told his congregation last May, "I think more in terms of parental delinquency than of juvenile delinquency. Everyone of us, including myself, was too busy, too preoccupied with material things and selfish motives, to give youngsters the attention, care, and love they needed." He omitted even then religious inspiration.

Although public opinion is inclined to indict youth alone, the real fault lies elsewhere. Before a youngster has committed a crime, some adult has been guilty of a worse offense in neglecting to guide him properly. The flood of crime is the inescapable result of someone's failure to teach God's word to these potential juvenile delinquents, and to the current young violators doomed to be our next bumper crop of hardened prisoners. A study of 1,336 records of juvenile delinquents in Cook County revealed that 979, or 73.3 percent had subsequent criminal records. Mr. James V. Bennett, Director of Bureau of Prisons, told a senatorial subcommittee that 70 percent of the population of Federal prisons have a history of past offenses, and more than 50 percent of the prisoners have been juvenile offenders. He said, "Beyond every adult prisoner there is a shadowy image of a juvenile delinquent."

The American clergy is deserving of high tribute for many glorious achievements. It is difficult to pinpoint the responsibility for the neglect in teaching religious precepts, but the church cannot deny a share in the failure. If it has not failed, it has not taken advantage of opportunities to fulfill its mission. Certainly, the duty initially rests upon the parents, but someone had previously overlooked training the parents in their own youth, and here again the finger points in some degree at the church. Our public and private schools are constitutionally relieved of any responsibility for religious training.

Naturally, it is essential to build up a spiritual structure at home. The parents are culpable when they fail to provide the right moral and religious atmosphere in their home. A home built on religious concepts is a fortress against crime. It has been frequently emphasized that families who pray together stay together. In religious homes children learn the necessary virtues of honor, decency, respect, and love of God and country. A child who is not disciplined at home, and does not learn obedience and authority from his parents, is ready prey for most evil influences.

What is needed uppermost is more enlightened parents to create better homes and take proper care of their children. The deplorable conduct of many parents is directly responsible for the breakdown of their children's morals and character. An 11-year-old boy who confessed starting a fire in a tenement which killed 7 persons and injured 9, admitted to me in my chambers that his father gave him cigarettes and whiskey. In New York, two lovestruck teenagers were turned over to forgiving parents after a wild spree on which they squandered almost $10,000 in one week. In Milwaukee, a 14-year-old girl, masked and armed with a pistol, calmly helped her brother rob the Laona Wisconsin State Bank of $11,000, and then escaped in an auto driven by her mother.

In Evanston, the young son of the president and dean of a theological seminary, confessed burglarizing a gasoline service station and stealing $125. When informed, the reverend dean said his son had previously moved to the YMCA because "he thought he would be better off if he did not live at home."

What is more sorrowful, American home life is breaking down. About 3 out of 10 marriages wind up in divorce courts, and the rate is climbing shockingly. The March 1948 Report of the National Conference on Family Life at the White House said, "Our divorce laws are a mess. They are rotten. They aggravate a condition that is already cancerous. No language can be too strong. The judges are bitter about their impotence under existing procedures. Social workers view the legalisms and fictions of divorce with an unconcealed scorn; the press and periodicals treat the divorce laws, including the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States with outspoken contempt."

The major causes of juvenile delinquency are emotionally demolished homes. According to Mr. John Meegan of the Chicago Parental School, 85 percent of his wards come from broken homes. Other juvenile institutions report from 62 percent to 87 percent. More divorces are granted in America per capita than in any other nation on earth, an average of 500,000 annually, not including at least as many separate maintenance decrees, and even more casual separations. In 1953, 31,980 marriage licenses were issued in Los Angeles County, while 15,668 divorces became final. We must stem this rising tide of divorces. Broken homes are the cesspool of juvenile crime. More than 380,000 youngsters are orphaned annually by our obsolete and brutal divorce laws which have not been changed materially in a century.

There are too many homes where religion is regarded as outmoded. There are too many parents who lack the educational and moral qualifications for bringing up families; too many fathers and mothers who have drifted away from religious services and into taverns; or they seek other personal pleasures, without serious regard for their children's interests. There are 19 million working mothers in the United States today, and naturally, many of their children are exposed to temptations toward delinquency and crime.

The challenging need for aggressive inspirational leadership by the church in these absentee and unqualified homes is both incalculable and imperative. It is not enough to stand aghast and to say the fault lies solely with the parents. The clergy must help equip and inspire parents for their crucial role. Many parents need help with each other and with their children. Home training can never offer an adequate substitute in the religious education of a child for the planned instruction of the Sunday school, and every parent will acknowledge it.

Although the home is the most effective bulwark against delinquency, it must be reinforced by the church. Children of these millions of spiritually collapsed homes need help, and the churches can serve them well by instilling integrity and religion into their spiritually starved souls. Religiously trained children do not readily succumb to criminal temptation. Religion inspires love, not hate; integrity, not dishonesty; truth, not falsehood; law obedience, not crime.

The strengthening effect of religious training is indispensable, we know, if our children are to be law abiding. An ounce of religious direction is worth a pound of penal correction. Religion promotes that sense of moral obligation, the lack of which causes our high rate of delinquency. Warden Joseph Ragen of the Illinois State Penintentiary at Stateville, admonished, "We must return the youth to a knowledge of his proper relationship with God, and we must teach him how this relationship can be established in his daily life." Mr. Hoover, our greatest authority on crime and delinquency, makes similar recommendations, and even more emphatically, he said, "When we live close to God and believe He guides us, we get a deep and genuine conviction."

Irreligion is definitely undermining the American family. Religion is a vital factor in happy homes. The parents need spiritual guidance. Love of God holds the family steadfast. Religion demands stability in marriage. It inculcates tolerance and understanding so vital to successful home life. It embraces atonement for sin and respect for our fellow men. In the church the members of families generate love, character, sacrificial service, and self-discipline. There we find an inward reinforcement, a clearer vision of duty, a fresh faith, and renewed courage. We go into church wavering and walk out strengthened and inspired.

Church attendance is the last glimmering hope of America in its battle to curtail crime and juvenile delinquency. According to the Yearbook of American Churches for 1954, although 99 percent of the American people believe in God, only 59 percent of all Americans are church members. Conversely and tragically, 41 percent have no church affiliations. Benson Y. Landis, editor of the Yearbook, notes that statistically there is one church for around every 325 members, but only 1 clergyman for some 500 members. "This points up a continuing shortage of pastors and a lag in effort to fill thousands of vacant pulpits." Many clergymen confide that the church attendance is much smaller than the 59 percent membership indicated Records disclose that 27 million American youths receive little or no religious training. Is it any wonder that 85 percent of our law breakers and 85 percent of our home breakers are strangers at the house of worship?

There is a woeful lack of constructive direction in family and youth problems. What an opportunity for all faiths to launch a crusade on a nation-wide scale to lead all our people to God and prayer! On this fundamental

principle we all can and should cooperate. It would bring about a greater sense of harmony among all religious forces, and impress upon them that they must stand together in this common cause to assure the survival of religion itself.

It will require more than an engraved invitation to bring the absent parents and children to the churches. We all resist insurance salesmen, but we buy insurance by the billions to protect our families. Devout parishioners and clergymen will have to sell their most attractive policy to insure the preservation of homes and the saving of youngsters from lives of crime. Religion should be easy to sell because the premium is purse cheap and the benefits are boundless, yet requires modern scientific salesmanship with an organized and intelligent appeal. Having ideals is not enough. They must be put into practice to build better citizens. Our present plight will not resolve itself automatically. We must take the offensive. This battle will be won if we have the determination to win.

Of course, we cannot expect a comprehensive change in our moral concepts within a year or two, but the trend must be established if the change is ever to be brought about. The task may not be as difficult as it first sounds. Faith is a contagious thing. Nothing can beget faith as effectively as seeing it all around us. The reward is priceless—the ultimate reconversion of America into a God-fearing and law-abiding homeland.

The clergy must impress indelibly that there is more to life than expensive cars, fancy clothes, horseracing, and nightclubs. There is conscience, brotherly love, integrity, and devotion. We must once more gage success in terms of services to our fellow men. Prevention of delinquency involves community concern for the needs of all children, on both sides of the tracks; the poor, the crippled, the white, the black, and those on relief. They are all God's children. The fundamental way to check delinquency is to help children to be healthy, happy, secure, and occupied. Youth is our greatest national asset. It must be guarded and developed for carrying on the ideals and the faith of our fathers.

Religious leaders must take advantage of the opportunity to fulfill His divine purpose. They must constantly inspire, direct, and guide our creative instincts into desirable channels. Far too many churches are used only 1 day a week, instead of being converted into carefully planned and well organized music, education, and community centers. They should provide, on a year-around schedule, constructive and attractive programs, and extend their facilities to parent-teacher and other group meetings. They should organize youngsters' summer camps, athletic leagues, wholesome competitive indoor and outdoor sports, debates and cultural events. They must serve wavering families through premarital and postmarital counseling, friendship clubs, conferences, and so forth. Yes, some few churches do, but too many consider the efforts too involved, futile, or beneath their dignities. It is one thing to talk of ecclesiastical principles, another to put them into daily dynamic action.

The clergy has the responsibility for seeing that religion takes a determined stand in the work of all organizations dealing with juveniles and families. There is a craving hunger for moral leadership, and it is both logical and essential for the churches to assume it. They should initiate, develop, inspire and cooperate with all groups for the betterment of community efforts to attract and protect youth, and counsel parents. They should not only inspire but demand appropriate and beneficial legislation and administration toward that end. They must urge their parishioners to elect honest and competent public officials to help restore respect and confidence in Government. Who has a greater right than the clergy? Who is better qualified? Who has a more vital interest in youth and the family? Who can better organize public opinion against destructive influences, be they comic books, movies, etc. Who will dare challenge your leadership? You hold a mandate. Use it.

Democracy and religion go hand in hand. Ours is a Nation founded in the glorification of God. The Bible has been the creative force from which has sprung the freedom of our people. If we neglect that, we lose the source of our liberty. We must initiate a revival and an expansion of faith and spiritual values.

Communism has definitely sought a total demoralization of our youth. Its evil aim is to destroy the moral and spiritual fiber of our younger generation. It incites them to gross immorality, to practice sabotage and to establish a revolutionary system. It encourages them to repudiate their superiors and directs them to renounce their patriotism. It is inconceivable that 21 American prisoners of war turned their coats to show a red lining and thereby abandoned their native land. All religiously trained youths must have rebelled against them.

The difference between the two systems is not only a faith in individual enterprise, but also faith in God. Mr. Harrison Salisbury reported recently in New York Times that Russia is still telling its people that it is a waste of time to go to church, and that man can acknowledge no God but the State. Does not that make it your fight for the survival of all religions? May we never wonder, through complacency, how we lost our religious freedom. William Penn said, "Those people who are not governed by God will be ruled by tyrants."

Only cooperation among religious groups, standing together against faithlessness, can meet the threat of atheistic communism. Communism can be offset by the intensified awakening by religious leaders to reach out to every American. Religion has heretofore permeated our way of life and has guided the actions of our greatest leaders. In a plea to the entire world to pray for peace, President Eisenhower said 2 weeks ago, "We are firm in the belief that faith is the mightiest force that man has at his command." History has proved that over a long period of time, a people's vitality and strength are in direct proportion to their morality and religious practices. Many nations have recovered from economic depressions, but none have survived moral disintegration. As long as the teachings of the Bible are practiced by our people, we can be confident of our future.

There is an urgent need for the mobilization of the American clergy of all faiths. A spiritual resurgence is our greatest hope. I plead with you to summon an American Council of Churches of all faiths in this perilous hour when our concepts of freedom and of God are being savagely challenged. It is momentous for you to organize a religious crusade here at home. No church can shirk this God-given duty. It will make a profound impact upon all of us. It will inspire people in all walks of life. The American clergy must influence thinking in a world saturated with a distortion of truth, demagogy, and rampant crime. On this national conference may well depend our future. In the words of the Great Emancipator, "We hold the power and bear the responsibility. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope on earth."

I fully believe that we can and will meet the difficult tests which lie ahead. Ours is still the greatest and noblest land with a glorious destiny, if we retain our faith in God.

Two New Ladies in the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith the following article by William E. Bohn, from the New Leader, New York City, of February 14, 1955:

TWO NEW LADIES IN THE HOUSE
(By William E. Bohn)

We have long been accustomed to a small and decorous delegation of women in Congress. In the Senate, MARGARET CHASE SMITH has established a reputation as our most energetic and independent female legislator. In the House, Mrs. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS, of Massachusetts, and Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON, of Ohio, have long since won reputations for quiet effectiveness. But, as an old advocate of woman suffrage, I must confess that I have been disappointed with the modest part which women have played in our national parliament.

When I was told that there are 16 Congresswomen in the present House, I naturally sat up and got interested. This is the most numerous delegation ever sent to Washington. Nine out of the group are Democrats and seven are Republicans. I have become acquainted with only two of them—and it has proved an interesting experience. The boys who drew the cartoons of the suffragettes in the old days would feel ashamed of their performance if they could see these two legislators. Both of them are good looking, charming, well dressed, and gay.

I asked both whether the women Members have a tendency to flock together. They smiled and denied any special preference for female society. But they reported that they had often been entertained as a group since coming to the Capital, and they had found the other women agreeable and interesting. They naturally do not try to avoid them.

Mrs. EDITH GREEN, who represents the Third District of Oregon (Portland), graduated from the State university, did graduate work at Stanford, and taught school for 11 years. But when she comes around the desk in her sunny office to welcome you, you would not believe it. Since she left the classroom in 1941, she has been head over heels in educational promotion activity. Most of the time, she has been legislative representative for either the Parent-Teachers Association or the Oregon Teachers Association, the State section of the National Education Association.

Getting into politics from the schoolteacher angle proved a useful experience. Mrs. GREEN learned all the quirks of politics and politicians, but, at the same time, she got acquainted with leading citizens all over the State. She found out, too, the economic interests of various groups and sections. Though she developed the broadest sort of interest in all phases of the State's welfare, I suppose it is only fair to say that the drive for more and better education is still basic in her mind. There will be a White House conference on education next fall, and this lady from the Northwest is setting her sails for it right now.

She said: "We have talked and talked and talked. We have had conferences and conferences and conferences. It's about time to get some action." I mentioned the fact that Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health,

Education, and Welfare, is preparing a bill to appropriate $25 million of Federal money to aid the educational systems in the 48 States. The lady's lips curled a bit derisively. "That would be just about enough," she said, "for Multnomah County." There is one thing which we can be sure of. On this issue of Federal aid to education, the new legislators—and not only the women—will be heard from. "More than a hundred billion for roads," said the lady from Oregon, "and 25 million for schools, I think we will have to do that problem over again. Maybe some people will have to be kept after school till they learn what it is all about."

Like her fellow Oregonian, Senator NEUBERGER, Mrs. GREEN is determined to do what she can for the development and public control of waterpower. As she puts it, "The very life of our people depends on the development and industrial use of power. The lumbering industry is seasonal. We have no coal. It has been impossible for manufacturing to develop. We have all sorts of unused natural resources. People in other parts of the country hear about Oregon and move out there—only to find that there is not enough for them to do. Waterpower is the very basis of our life. We must know under just what conditions it will be produced and how much it will cost."

Mrs. GREEN's PTA experience proved to be first-class training for her political campaign. The main feature of it was a distinctly feminine stunt. She delivered addresses, of course, to all the regular organizations in her district—trade unions, service clubs, chambers of commerce, churches, etc. But a good deal of her time and effort was spent on coffee hours. Women all over the district would invite 25 or 30 of their friends in for coffee and cake. The candidate would attend a half dozen or more of these meetings each day, mornings as well as afternoons.

The great advantage of this type of campaigning, Mrs. GREEN reports, was that it gave the voters a chance to talk back. They would get acquainted with their candidate, object to her ideas, tell her about their own, and question her about her plans. It is a really honest and democratic way to do things. It is small wonder that Mrs. GREEN is taking her place in Washington with a feeling of confidence. She knows the folks back home.

It was on the advice of the lady from Oregon that I visited the lady from Michigan. They form a mutual-admiration society—and they are both right. Mrs. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS, who comes from Detroit, is taller than Mrs. GREEN, dark, striking, and distinctly persuasive. She is a successful lawyer, and in every move and word distinctly represents the businesswoman type. She was born in Missouri, graduated from the State University, and then took her law degree at the University of Michigan Law School. As was natural in the Detroit area, her first job was with an automobile-insurance company. And it was natural, too, that with the outbreak of World War II she should shift from this occupation to a place as contract negotiator for the Army.

She held this job until 1946. Then she opened her own law office and was soon joined by her husband, Hicks G. Griffiths, and by G. Mennen Williams, now Governor of Michigan. But she remained head of the firm. In 1953, she served for a time as judge in one of Detroit's criminal courts. The police and court attendants were troubled lest the lady be bowled over by the kind of people and language with which she would have to deal. But she came through with flying colors.

The new Congresswoman has served two terms as a member of Michigan's lower house. In 1952, she was defeated in a race for Congress, but the experience gained in that campaign led to her later success. It was in 1952 that she gained a national reputation for her house-trailer campaign. With a staff of young ladies who were changed every day, she drove a large trailer from block to block, inviting the neighbors in to partake of soft drinks and talks things over. The itinerant meeting place seated about 25 people—and it was nearly always filled.

Mrs. Griffiths was astonished at the number of men whom she found at home during the morning and afternoon hours. And they all seemed pleased to take part in curbside talkfests. Often they would ask: "Who drives this big, awkward thing through this city traffic?" When Mrs. Griffiths modestly replied that she did, almost all of them would answer: "Well, you can have my vote."

These meetings were very much like the coffee hours which played such a part in Mrs. GREEN's campaign in Oregon. They gave the candidate and the citizens the chance for intimate give and take. During the campaign this energetic woman met and talked with 40,000 residents of her district. This sort of campaigning makes for honesty. Mrs. GRIFFITHS refrained from promising great things. Conscientiously, she emphasized that there are 435 Representatives in the House, each one anxious to do something for his home folks, so that each one cannot expect too much.

But Mrs. GRIFFITHS' constituents know that she is energetic and will work hard. They are well acquainted with what she did in the legislature and they take it for granted that she will go on pulling for the same sort of things. She worked, for example, for a law to insure better flour for the people of her State. She has fought for the conservation of natural resources, for the improvement of the courts, and for better control of public utilities. Though people do not expect any miracles, they feel sure that she will work effectively for every sort of progressive measure.

After talking with only two women Members of the House, I have no right to make sweeping statements about what our lady legislators will do. But I may be pardoned if I indulge in a little speculation. After hearing Mrs. GREEN talk about her coffee hours and Mrs. GRIFFITHS describe her neighborhood adventures with the trailer, I wonder whether these ladies are heralding a new political technique—a way of getting elected that is more honest and decent than the old ways—and I feel tolerably sure that these 16 women in the present House will cut more of a figure than their predecessors ever have in times gone by.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, today is a memorable day for all people of Lithuanian descent. It is Lithuanian Independence Day.

It is a day of mixed emotions for these gallant and freedom-loving people.

They are happy at the thought that on February 16, 1918, after 123 years under Russian rule, the people of Lithuania cast off the Russian yoke and proclaimed Lithuania an independent kingdom, and proceeded to organize their own government.

Nine months later, in November 1918, Lithuania became an independent republic and continued to enjoy happiness and freedom for more than a decade.

All this was accomplished as the result of a great nationalist political and cultural revival which took place in spite of all Russian efforts to obliterate Lithuanian national sentiment.

The people of Lithuanian descent are sad today because Lithuania's hard-won freedom was again taken from her in 1940 when Soviet troops marched in and, again by force, placed Lithuania under the Russian yoke and have held her people in practical slavery ever since.

We in America, and I am sure all other freedom-loving people, have not forgotten the unfortunate plight of the Lithuanian people.

We want them to know that we support them in their fight for freedom. We are not unmindful of the fact that under present circumstances they can do little for themselves; that the present government of their country is not one of the will of the people but rather one that has been imposed upon them by force.

We have not forgotten their valiant fights of the past against tyranny and dictatorship and we entertain a fervent hope that the day will soon come, as it did in 1918, when the great people of Lithuania will rise in their wrath and again break the Soviet yoke that has been placed around their necks.

It is up to us, who enjoy freedom and liberty, to do all we can to help Lithuania regain her independence; to ratify the Genocide Convention without further delay; to help her displaced people find asylum in the United States and other free countries; to bring them hope through the Voice of America and other available means; and to continue investigation by congressional committees of Soviet seizure of Baltic States and Soviet crimes against the Baltic peoples.

This we should do as all of these means lead ultimately to the restoration of Lithuanian independence.

Trade Barriers Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal about United States tariff restrictions. The truth of the matter is that the other countries of the world impose far more onerous restrictions, particularly on United States goods.

The following tabulation of import and exchange permits required in foreign countries, prepared by the Bureau of Foreign Commerce as an aid to exporters, has been revised as of January 1, 1955.

These regulations apply primarily to good of United States origin and to other goods payable in United States dollars.

In many countries foreign goods may not be imported unless they are covered by import licenses, which must be obtained by the importer. In some cases the import license must be granted before the order for goods is placed. In various countries the importer also is required to obtain an exchange permit before payment for the import may be made.

Country	Is import license necessary?	Is exchange permit required?
Afghanistan	No; but a declaration or customs permit must be obtained from border officials.	No; but permission to remit foreign exchange to exporters abroad must be obtained from the Government bank.
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	Yes	Yes.
Arabian Peninsula areas:		
Saudi Arabia	No; except for International Wheat Agreement (IWA) shipments.	No; except for IWA shipments.
Aden, Bahrein, Qatar, Trucial Oman	Yes	Yes.
Kuwait, Muscat and Oman, Yemen	No	No.
Argentina	No; except for certain products subject to import quota	Yes; permit granted only for "listed" products. Application should be filed prior to confirmation of purchase order.
Australia	Yes	No; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
Austria	Yes; for most commodities	Yes.
Belgium-Luxembourg	Yes; either a regular import license or a declaration license	No separate permit required.
Belgian Congo	Yes; combination import license and exchange authorization is required for all imports except shipments valued at $100 or less, provided goods are not intended for resale.	Yes.
Bolivia	Yes; copy of permit or its number must be given to consul to obtain legalization of documents.	No; import license authorizes purchase of exchange but is not a guaranty that exchange will be granted.
Brazil	Yes	No; exchange for imports is sold at auction.
British colonies, not specified elsewhere [1]	Yes	Yes; import license generally assures release of foreign exchange.
Bulgaria	Yes	Import license automatically assures foreign exchange.
Burma	Yes; except for Government imports	Yes.
Cambodia	Yes	Yes; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
Canada	No; except for a few commodities	No.
Ceylon	Yes; either a general license for commodities under open general license, or an individual license for other commodities.	Yes.
Chile	Yes; must be obtained prior to shipment of goods and copy must be sent to exporter.	Yes; in form of notation on import license.
Colombia	Import license takes the form of registry certificate issued without quota or other form of restrictions. In addition, certain food products and raw materials are subject to a prior import license from the Ministries of Agriculture and Development.	No; registry certificate carries the right to foreign exchange.
Costa Rica	No	Yes; for imports with official exchange. No permit required for imports with free-market exchange.
Cuba	No; except for wheat and wheat flour, rice, tires and tubes, red and pink beans, potatoes, condensed milk, and butter.	No.
Czechoslovakia	Yes	Import license automatically provides for allocation of necessary foreign exchange.
Denmark	Yes; with few exceptions	Yes; for goods subject to license, copy of license with customs certification of importation takes place of exchange license.
Dominican Republic	No; except for wheat and wheat flour, rice, fertilizers, radio transmission apparatus.	No; but all applications for foreign exchange require Government approval, which is granted automatically for bona fide commercial transactions.
Ecuador	Yes; one copy must be presented in order to obtain consular legalization of prescribed documents.	No; import license carries the right to foreign exchange (Central Bank of Ecuador).
Egypt	Yes; unlicensed imports are subject to confiscation	Yes.
El Salvador	No	No.
Ethiopia	No; except on products subject to export license in country of origin.	Yes.
Finland	Yes	No separate permit required; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
France	Yes; obtainable for "essentials" only	No separate permit required; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
French oversea territories, not elsewhere specified, except French Somaliland.	Yes	Yes; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
French Somaliland	No	No.
Germany, Federal Republic (including Western Berlin.	Yes; also procurement authorization except for items on dollar import free list.	Yes; import and payments license combined on one document.
Germany, Soviet-Occupied Zone	Yes; the Government monopolies for foreign trade are the only importers.	Yes.
Greece	No; except for a few luxury items	No; but applications for foreign exchange must be approved by the authorities who determine whether imports will be financed by procurement authorizations of the Foreign Operations Administration or by the dollar resources of the Bank of Greece.
Guatemala	No; except for wheat and wheat flour, strong boxes, and certain safety vault doors.	No.
Haiti	No; except for wheat quota imports and tobacco products	No.
Hashemite Jordan Kingdom	Yes	Yes.
Honduras	No; except for alcohol	No.
Hong Kong	Yes; for dutiable, strategic, or short supply goods	No.
Hungary	Yes	Yes.
Iceland	Yes; except for items on "special conditional free list" and a limited number of staples.	Yes; except for "special conditional free list" imports.
India	Yes; either a general license for commodities under open general license, or an individual license for other commodities.	Yes; however, foreign exchange is automatically released upon presentation of validated import license to exchange bank.
Indonesia	Yes	No separate permit required; combined import license-foreign exchange permit necessary.
Iran	Yes; but only to release goods from Customs; prospective imports must come within annual or supplemental quotas.	Yes.
Iraq	Yes; goods exported before license is obtained are confiscated.	Yes; permits are obtained through licensed dealers.
Ireland	For a few products only	Yes.
Israel	Yes	Yes; import license usually carries right to foreign exchange
Italy	Yes; from Italian Exchange Office except for list A goods (mostly industrial raw materials which require only bank "benestare").	No separate permit required.
Japan	Yes	Some commodities as announced by Japanese Government from time to time, require allocation certificate; in other cases import license carries right to foreign exchange.
Korea, Republic of	Yes	Application for import license must be accompanied by certificate from Bank of Korea stating that applicant has sufficient foreign exchange cover on deposit.
Laos	Yes	Yes; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
Lebanon	Yes	No.
Liberia	No; except for arms, ammunition, used clothing, pharmaceuticals, and rice.	No.
Malaya, Federation of	Yes; only certain items may be imported directly from hard-currency sources. Licenses to import nonsterling area goods via Hong Kong are issued provided certain exchange regulations are observed.	Yes; for direct imports. For imports from hard-currency areas via Hong Kong, no permit is necessary, but payment must be made in a sterling-area currency and shipment effected on a bill of lading issued in Hong Kong.

[1] Includes Bermuda, British West Indies, British East Africa, British West Africa, British Guiana, British Honduras, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and minor colonies, protectorates, and trusteeship territories.

Country	Is import license necessary?	Is exchange permit required?
Mexico	Yes; for an extensive list of articles	No.
Morocco:		
French Zone	Yes; with exception of goods imported "sans devise," i. e., shipments financed by importer with his own funds held abroad.	Yes; except for goods imported "sans devise."
Spanish Zone	Yes	Yes; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
Tangier (International Zone)	No	No.
Netherlands	Yes	No separate permit required.
Netherlands West Indies	No; except for certain luxury items	Yes.
New Zealand	Yes	No; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
Nicaragua	Yes	No; import permit authorizes purchase of exchange.
Norway	Yes	No; foreign exchange is automatically made available in currency specified in import license.
Pakistan	Yes	Yes; however, foreign exchange is automatically released upon presentation of validated import license to exchange bank.
Panama	No; except for tomato paste, tanned cattle hides, wheat flour, baby chicks, hatching eggs; a few items are, however, subject to quota restrictions.	No.
Paraguay	No	Yes.
Peru	No	No.
Philippines, Republic of the	No	No permit as such; exchange allocated to importers semi-annually for each of 5 classes of imports. Letters of credit opened against allocation considered as exchange licenses.
Poland	Yes	Yes.
Portugal, including the Azores and Madeira	Yes	Yes.
Portuguese Colonies	Yes	Yes.
Rumania	Yes	Yes.
Singapore	Yes; only certain items may be imported directly from hard-currency sources. Licenses to import nonsterling area goods via Hong Kong are issued provided certain exchange regulations are observed.	Yes; for direct imports. For imports from hard-currency areas via Hong Kong no permit is necessary, but payment must be made in a sterling area currency and shipment effected on a bill of lading issued in Hong Kong.
Spain, including the Canary Islands	Yes; limited largely to essential raw materials	Yes; special exchange rates are fixed for many import products.
Spanish Colonies	Yes	Yes; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
Surinam	Yes	No; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
Sweden	No; on majority of goods imported from United States; import license still required on such commodities as automobiles, coal, and certain agricultural products.	No separate permit required. Foreign exchange, including dollar exchange, is automatically made available if the import license specifies payment in such currency, and if the license is registered with a foreign-exchange bank within 2 months after issuance.
Switzerland	Import licenses are required for certain agricultural products, various industrial raw materials, and some types of vehicles and machinery. Also, special import authorizations must be obtained for most animals and fowl, shellfish, and bees, beeswax, and honeycombs.	No.
Syria	Yes; for hard-currency imports	No.
Taiwan (Formosa)	Yes	No.
Thailand	Yes; except none for mining supplies	No; but a "certificate of payment" issued by Bank of Thailand or authorized bank or company is required.
Turkey	Yes	1 application suffices for both import permit and exchange control purposes.
Union of South Africa, including Southwest Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland.	Yes; with exception of few specified goods, all imports are subject to license. Imports from all countries of a long list of "unessential" items are subject to special licensing restrictions.	No; import license carries right to foreign exchange up to amount expressed in local currency in relevant import license.
United Kingdom	Yes; except some foodstuffs, raw materials, fertilizers, etc.	Yes; granted automatically following issuance of import license.
Uruguay	Yes	No; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
USSR	Yes; importing Government agencies are responsible for securing own permit.	Yes; all exchange is allocated by U. S. S. R. State Bank upon receipt of import license.
Venezuela	No; except for approximately 25 tariff items	No.
Vietnam	Yes	Yes; import license carries right to foreign exchange.
Yugoslavia	No; individual import license abolished July 1, 1952; since that time only licensed import firms are allowed to carry on import operations.	No; but Government maintains strict control over foreign exchange allocations.

Address by G. Joseph Minetti, Member, Maritime Board, Before the 36th Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Association in St. Louis, Mo., February 7, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by G. Joseph Minetti, member of the Federal Maritime Board:

Flying from the eastern seaboard of the United States into the rich Mississippi Valley is a thrill never to be forgotten.

From the clouds one can view the great drainage system of the Mississippi River, one of our Nation's basic resources, an asset of fabulous worth, whose great value defies estimate. This majestic river links this great grassroots heartland of America with the rest of the world.

In the history of our country, the territory of the Mississippi was once considered a distant area of little concern to people elsewhere. It was a pioneer place, many days away from the early eastern coast colonies, along pathways beset with peril. Not so today, for the problems of the Mississippi Valley, its trade, its commerce, its production, its people, are of national concern to every citizen.

As a member of the Federal Maritime Board, I come to you charged under the law to be diligent in the development and maintenance of an American merchant marine adequate for commerce and national defense. I shall discuss today the broad aspects of the American merchant marine and what it means to the trade and the security of America with particular emphasis on international trade and its effect on the areas within the valley where this mighty river flows. I shall explore with you the possibilities that atomic propulsion holds for our ships of the future, and will report in brief on the program of the Federal Maritime Board for the year 1956.

I am much impressed with a recent study made by the Committee of American Steamship Lines which shows that workers, farmers and industrialists in Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, in the entire Mississippi Valley, depend upon foreign trade and the American merchant marine that makes this trade possible. This maritime study, as do all economic studies of recent years, points up one fact about this world in which we live, that "no man lives alone." Isolation from the influences of international trade is not possible in this modern world.

The job of the worker, whether he be skilled or unskilled, depends upon imports and exports that must be handled by ocean-going ships. The prices a farmer receives for his crops are sensitive to international trade volumes. The sales revenues of the industrialist are directly reflected in overseas business. Our raw material supplies and prices are affected by imports aboard ocean-going vessels.

This study has uncovered some very interesting and startling facts about the dependence of the Midwest on the ships of our merchant marine. Let me cite a few:

There are about half a million autoworkers in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, many others in Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri. In 1952, exports of automobiles, trucks, unassembled cars, parts and accessories totaled nearly $1 billion, a great portion of which ended up in the form of wages and salaries for the autoworkers. Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana, as you know, account for about two-thirds of all motor vehicles manufactured, and their share alone of the total auto exports ran to something like $650,000,000.

One passenger car and truck out of every 20 that came off the assembly line in America

went to a foreign country. Certainly it is important to the American auto workers on the assembly line that ships stand ready to distribute our finished products abroad.

Also, we must depend on ships on the other end of the assembly line to bring an astonishing number of different raw materials from foreign lands that go into the construction of the modern automobile. The list runs into the scores and includes everything from the rubber in the tires on which your automobile rests to the chrome and fixings which make the modern auto the beauty it is. Altogether, between 250 and 300 materials from 60 foreign countries go into the gleaming vehicle you drive today across the Nation's highways.

This Mississippi Valley area is one of the world's great dairy centers. Do ships mean anything to dairy farmers? Let us look at the record.

More than $11 million in processed milk left Wisconsin, Illinois, and Missouri farms and traveled across ocean trade routes. Cuba and the Philippines imported the bulk of this amount, buying almost all of the evaporated and condensed milk shipped abroad by United States farmers. Venezuela purchased 75 percent of American farmers' dried milk exports. It is expected that this trade will increase. The biggest markets for processed milk are to be found in the tropical areas of the world. The vital link to these areas for American farmers and dairymen is the American-flag merchant fleet.

Let me point out other vital areas of agricultural export. Over one-half of our rice crop, two-fifths of our wheat crop, and one-quarter of all the cotton and the tobacco that is grown in this country are exported annually. Exports are also important for soybeans, barley, lard, tallow, raisins, prunes, grain, and many other farm commodities. Statistics show that the value of American agricultural exports, since the year 1945, has been equal each year, to about one-eighth of our annual cash farm income. These exports account for the disposition of the commodities produced on over 40 million American farm acres each year, this means that one-tenth of our croplands, 1 acre in every 10, is producing for foreign consumption. The services of the American merchant marine are certainly required to deliver these goods.

Here I should like to discuss with you a matter of vital importance, a matter of survival to the American merchant marine, the matter of subsidy to put the American merchant marine on a parity with foreign operators. It is of immediate concern to everyone in the Mississippi Valley, its plants, its farms, and its factories. It is of vital concern to everyone in the United States and to our allies and friends aboard for without a subsidy our American merchant marine would be driven off the trade routes of the world.

The American merchant marine is an American business that sails the seven seas of the world. As it plies the routes of the globe, it comes into competition with the ships of other nations. It must find a way to meet that competition or it must cease to exist, and we cannot, at our peril, permit the American merchant marine to be driven off the high seas.

Our ships are American products, built to the exacting standards of American engineering. They must meet rigid Coast Guard regulations. The conditions under which the crews live and operate the ship are American standards, the highest in the world. We want our American seamen to earn decent American wages and to take a proud part in the affairs of our American communities that call for the highest standard of living on the face of the globe.

No enemy of our country has ever been able to drive the American merchant marine off the ocean. However, we know from sad experience that the competition of ships sailing under standards which are not equivalent to ours, manned by underpaid and underprivileged crews, operated at un-American standards of feeding and living, can bring about an economic situation in which it would be impossible for the American merchant marine to profitably operate.

On a trans-Atlantic run, a C–2 vessel flying the American flag will pay out in wages some $25,913 per month while a Norwegian ship on the same run will have a payroll of only $5,741 for the same period.

Likewise in the matter of crew feeding. The daily cost of meals on an American vessel is $1.75 per man. On the competing Norwegian freighter it amounts to only $1.44.

In the matter of repairs, for each dollar that an American operator must pay out to keep his ship safe and in proper running order, his Norweigan competitor is called upon for only 61 cents in expenditure.

The matter of shipping subsidy is much akin to the problem of parity that is so well known in your Mississippi Valley farming communities. I am sure that there are many here present who recall the days when the American farmer was forced, by economic necessity, to sell the product of his sweat and toil at a price below the cost of production. When we indulged in such economic suicide, it was not the farmer alone who suffered—our Nation went on the economic skids and depression blackened the face of our fair land. Our Nation cannot live without the product of its fields and farms. We must assure that output, as we assure water, fuel and transportation. In the field of our farm economy we have adopted the principle of parity and it has been a sustaining influence upon the entire American business community.

Under the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, there are two types of subsidy, the operating-differential subsidy and the construction-differential subsidy.

The adoption of the principle of subsidy assures that American ships, built in American shipyards, manned by loyal American crews and operated by American citizens, will continue to serve American trade and industry. The Congress of the United States has weighed this grave problem and in its wisdom passed the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 and established therein the principle of subsidy to meet the situation forthrightly and realistically. Let me discuss with you first the phase of this subsidy problem that falls into the category of operating-differential subsidy.

Let me make one thing crystal clear. There is nothing in the subsidy laws that assures a profit to any ship operator. This is a common misconception that is too widespread. Under the laws of subsidy, the Government enters into a contract with an American ship operator and says to him, if you will serve an essential foreign-trade route of the United States, sail on it with regularity, and foster the commerce and trade that the American business community finds necessary, then we will take certain steps to see that you will not be driven off that route by the competition of foreign ships, paying lower wages, feeding cheaper food, and providing living quarters that do not come up to American standards.

The Government says to the American shipping operator: If you will fulfill your part of the contract, we will figure the difference that it costs you to operate your ship at the American standard and the lower price that it costs to operate a ship that competes with you and does not meet that standard, and we will pay the difference on the subsidized items of wages, subsistence, insurance, maintenance and repairs, and stores and supplies.

That makes it possible for the American merchant marine to operate over routes that are essential to our trade and commerce and bring in the raw materials that are needed in our industries and in the maintenance of our defenses. It means that American ships will be ready to deliver the finished products that we must sell abroad.

But the subsidy contract is not a one-way street. Since the shipping company that is operating under subsidy will receive tax dollars, it must guarantee certain things and meet certain conditions that are of benefit to all the citizens of the United States. First, the shipping line must agree to offer a regular service over the route it serves that meets the needs of American businessmen engaged in international trade. Next, the line must operate over the route with vessels that are a credit to the American merchant marine and meet the specific needs of the trade area. For example, if there is need for tanks to bring back liquid latex, then a vessel must be provided that has such tanks. If the need of the trade calls for refrigerated space for the shipment of meat or other perishables, then the vessel must have the necessary reefer capacity.

And that is not all of the obligations to the general welfare that the subsidized operator must undertake. He must make provision for the replacement of his vessels so that the American merchant marine will continue to serve our Nation on the high seas in the years to come. Therefore, the subsidized operator is required to set up special funds for the purpose of replacing the vessels he is operating when they become obsolete, usually within 20 years.

There are at present 282 vessels of all types sailing under the American flag that are the recipients of subsidy benefits. Conservatively, it has been estimated that their replacement cost would be about $2.8 billion.

The Maritime Administration looks to the operators to see that the replacement pro is carried out.

That is still not all of the story. When the subsidized operator earns in excess of 10 percent on the capital necessarily invested in his business, he is "in a recapture position." That means, in simple English, that when the subsidized operator prospers to the extent of 10 percent of the earnings on his capital, the operator returns to your Government the money that was paid out in subsidy. It is a too little known fact that in the first period of 10 years in which subsidy was paid, 5 shipping firms were in a 100-percent recapture position and repaid into the Government till all of the subsidy funds that they had earned in serving America's essential trade routes.

Another phase of subsidy is in the field of construction-differential subsidy. Here we face another complex problem directly related to shipping and the coastal States but with implications that stretch into the Mississippi Valley and into every hamlet and town of our great Nation.

The specialized tools and skills of brain and brawn that must be assembled for the purpose of producing a modern ship represent a great national asset in much the same way that the fertile fields of this lush valley represent national wealth which we must not allow to errode. The skilled shipwrights, architects, builders, welders, cutters, and outfitters who have the know-how to turn metal into a living ship are men of specialized skill who draw good American wages and live at the high American standard that is today the envy of the world. It costs more to build a ship in an American yard, much more than the same tonnage would cost if produced in Japan, in England, or in Germany. Since the oceans of the world are a broad highway, a ship could be built anywhere and floated to delivery. If we permitted the dollar sign to be the sole criteria of where ships were to be built, unfortunately the American shipbuilding industry would be forced to shut down. Our concern for the defense of our country would not permit us to allow such a turn of events to

take place. We must maintain in America the skills and tools that are necessary for the production of ships, and the device to accomplish that is the application of the principle of construction-differential subsidy.

Under this principle, the Government says to people who wish to build merchant ships, "If you will have your ships built in an American yard, rather than a foreign shipbuilding center, the difference in cost will be met by the Government." In this way we keep our shipyards open and active against the eventuality that we may once more be forced to call upon them to expand their production for the purpose of protecting all that America holds dear and cherishes.

To maintain in peacetime a nucleus of shipyard workers capable of expanding to meet planned mobilization demands in the event of a national emergency, we must provide continuous employment for a labor force of approximately 36,000 shipyard workers. To assure that its skills will not be dissipated, our shipyards should construct at least 60 seagoing merchant-type ships or their equivalent each year. The new ships resulting from such a program will replace the existing merchant fleet in about 20 years and remove the threat of block obsolescence.

For the fiscal year 1956 we have asked Congress to authorize a shipbuilding budget of $102,800,000, most of which is aimed squarely at overcoming this threat of block obsolescence. This would be the first phase of a 10-year move to overcome that very real "bogey man" which haunts our maritime future.

We hope to sign contracts for the construction of five such replacement ships over the coming fiscal year. We have already made a successful start in working out agreements with steamship operators who hold subsidy contracts to spread out their ship replacement schedules so as to help overcome block obsolescence and to insure far more regular shipbuilding activity. We are prepared to encourage replacement by adopting for dry cargo operators similar inducements now being offered tanker operators, whereby it would be possible to trade-in to the Government some of the usable present freight vessels to improve the quality of our Reserve fleet. We hope to build 5 such replacement freighters this year, and take into the Reserve fleet 5 older but valuable ships in return.

Our current plans also call for four more passenger ships, all scheduled for service in the Pacific.

Another portion of our proposed shipbuilding budget for 1956 will be earmarked for a very significant new move in the defense plans of our Nation. We have designed three "mobilization type" ships—to be producible in large numbers in the event of mobilization needs.

As I stand here in this Mississippi Valley and think of its great wealth, I recall the historic days when this was a pioneer area. It took courage, fortitude, and faith in the future of America to come out here through the wilderness to build and farm, to plan and dream. Although we respect tradition at the Federal Maritime Board, we refuse to be bound entirely to the past, and we persist in demanding advance and progress for the American merchant marine.

I expect that many of the ships of our merchant marine, to be constructed between 1960 and 1965, will be propelled by atomic power. It has been authoritatively reported to the Congress that the day of the atomic-powered surface vessel will come very fast, and that the potential of the maritime application of atomic power is far beyond anything we've ever dreamed. Tests of the world's first atomic-powered submarine *Nautilus* have been outstanding.

Here in a nutshell the panorama of American maritime progress is spread out for us. Last year, the finest submarine we could produce had limited range and cumbersome refueling problems. Today, the *Nautilus* is able to girdle the globe without refueling. Who knows what the morrow may bring?

In our lifetime we saw the T–2 tanker, with its 10,000-ton capacity and its 14-knot speed, hailed as an advance. Today we talk in terms of 35,000-ton supertankers, with a minimum speed of 20 knots. Our tankers of the future can be expected to be large and capable, through atomic application, of steaming extremely long distances without refueling.

In the coastwise trade we will see a tremendous growth of special purpose ships. Plans are being pushed for the completion of first roll-on roll-off ship for the military. This will permit vehicles to come aboard and stow themselves under their own motive power. The ship will take on and discharge rolling vehicles through a ramp in the bow of the ship and through special ramp-ports in the side of the vessel.

The application of this principle will find wide commercial use. Plans are being made now for vessels that will carry upward of 220 truck trailers along our coasts. This means of transportation is expected to reduce the mounting operating costs of truckers over the coastal highways.

The Federal Maritime Board feels that one of the great contributions it can make to the future of the American merchant marine lies in the field of experimentation with advanced forms of propulsion and with new devices for handling cargo to speed turnaround and increase the earning ability of ships. In keeping with the American spirit of pioneering, we will leave no stone unturned in giving full consideration to what the atom can mean to the American merchant marine.

In the cargo handling phase of marine transportation, there will be considerable improvement in ship to shore cargo handling facilities with special emphasis on speeding special types of cargo. Correlation among all phases of transportation and modernization of port facilities can be anticipated which will lower cargo handling costs and decrease port time.

The future will find ships becoming much more specialized to suit trade requirements. I foresee an increase in the construction of large bulk carriers to take care of the increasing needs of our industries for the import of large quantities of ore.

As we stand here in this Mississippi Valley, we, as Americans, must turn our eyes abroad for the sources of supply that permit us to live in the complex civilization we have built. The United States is the world's largest consumer of raw materials, so large that we can no longer supply our own needs. Grim as it may seem to a people long accustomed to abundance of natural resources, we are now dependent upon foreign imports not only for luxuries but also for vital necessities.

The United States is the world's largest user of basic resources. With only 7 percent of the world's population and the same proportion of the land area of the free world, we consume about two-thirds of all the petroleum, almost 60 percent of the rubber, more than half of the magnesium, iron ore and zinc, and almost half of the copper and lead. More than 2½ billion tons of materials are used every year to support our high standard of living, an average of almost 18 tons of material a year for each person in the United States.

Our country's import balance of raw materials exceeded its export balance for the first time in the 1940's—a milestone in our development as a Nation. In 1945 we began to import petroleum. In 1935 we began to import zinc, and in 1936 copper.

Indeed, upon close examination, the idea of American self-sufficiency has always been, to a considerable extent, a myth. The magnitude of this myth is clearly shown in the case of metals—the base of any industrial civilization. We are, in part at least, dependent upon foreign sources for every metal which we use, except magnesium and molybdenum, and, gentlemen, only the American merchant marine can assuredly keep this vital beltline of supply open across the oceans of the world.

Growing dependence upon imports has brought with it concern over the prospect of an emergency in which we might be cut off from resource countries. It is this concern that gave rise to our stockpiling of critical materials.

America has been a land of ever-expanding frontiers. As a young and vigorous Nation, our industrial and economic futures still lie ahead of us. We who guide the destinies of the American merchant marine must keep in mind that we are planning and providing for an America of tomorrow which will be a greater America than the Nation we know today. The United States at this point has 161 million people. There are more than 200 million Americans in sight for 1975. The America of the future is to be an America with rising needs of all kinds; and that means rising opportunities for the farms and the factories of the Mississippi Valley and for the American merchant marine.

Your Government stands ready to encourage businessmen and consumers, to help create the favorable atmosphere of confidence in the country's economic growth and future to which the American merchant marine wishes to make its contribution in prosperity and security.

Once more we stand on the banks of the Mississippi as pioneers, not in the same sense as the early settlers who came here to conquer territory, but as adventurers and explorers of a dawning era we are pioneering in the application of atomic energy to fulfill the dreams and the needs of mankind.

It is an era of still undreamed hazards, vast adjustments and momentous decisions but we are sure that within the lifetime of those of us within this room we shall see, in this field of the atom, the application of American genius equal to that of the Wright brothers in the air. New Edisons and new Morses, Whitneys, and Fultons shall find the ways and means to successfully and economically apply to the best interests of mankind this new basic power of the universe that now lies slumbering within our hands.

I am sure that the faith of America will find a way to make our new era one of peace and plenty and the American merchant marine will be in the vanguard of that era.

Featherbedding and Railway Loss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the February 8, 1955, issue of Christian Economics:

FEATHERBEDDING AND RAILWAY LOSS

During the 2 years ending May 1953 the railroads obtained permission to stop operating 314 passenger trains ending annual operating losses of approximately $17,500,000. During the 15-month period ending August 1954 an additional 183 losing trains were discontinued at an annual saving of $5,200,000.

It is often difficult for a railroad to obtain permission to discontinue a train. Labor and

the local communities served usually oppose it, and losing trains and small branch lines are often compelled to continue operation year after year at heavy loss to the railway company.

According to a report of a special committee on cooperation, formed in 1949 and representing the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners of the 48 States, some seven or eight hundred additional railway trains are operating at heavy loss and should be discontinued.

Little can be done about solving the railway problem unless and until Government intervention is eliminated and the cooperation of labor is secured. Among other things the "Special Committee on Cooperation with the I. C. C. in the Study of the Railroad Passenger Deficit Problem" above referred to, has the following to say about labor's attitude in connection with lower cost operation of this essential service:

"Although the current average speed of passenger trains—including all stops at intermediate points—is almost 40 miles per hour, the daily rates of pay continue to be based on an assumed average speed of only 20 miles an hour—thus materially increasing the cost to the railroad of the actual work performed. This type of wage agreement has loaded wage costs so heavily on the passenger trains that these costs alone have often been the decisive factor necessitating the discontinuance of operation of trains which could have continued to run with a crew cost more reasonably related to the service rendered. Many passenger trains on which the railroads were required to maintain 3 crews under the provisions of these agreements (or pay as though 3 crews were used) could have easily been operated with only 2 crews without any of such crews being on duty longer than 6 hours. Yet, because of the flat refusal of the railway operating brotherhoods to consider any modification of these obsolete contract terms, the trains were forced into discontinuance with the resultant loss of the jobs of all 3 crews where 2 of such crews could have remained in service. * * *

"Even worse has been the attitude of railway labor in connection with the proposed operation of individual self-propelled cars in substitution for regular trains. In certain instances where our state commissions have been forced to permit the total discontinuance of standard trains, it would have been possible for this type equipment to take over and adequately provide the service needed by the public. However, the extraordinary demand of railway labor for a full crew on this one car so inflated the indicated direct operating expenses that the proposed substitute service was rendered economically impossible."

Such practices reduce railroad service, greatly increase its cost, stimulate other forms of transportation and in the end reduce the number of people gainfully employed in the industry and raise the cost of living for us all.

Efficient railway transportation at prices the people are willing to pay is essential not only for prosperity but for national defense. Years ago many of our railroads were injured by abuses in connection with their capital structure. This has long since ceased. Today, featherbedding such as that quoted above and of many other varieties, is greatly increasing the cost of railway transportation and injuring these common carriers which are so essential to the life of the Nation.

An alert public opinion and the willingness of men to live and work in accordance with higher moral standards seem to be the only way of solving this vexing problem. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye ever so to them" (Matthew 7: 12) is the only way that men can achieve economic well-being and retain and improve their freedom and self-government.

A Decent Break for Postal Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement presented by me to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Tuesday, February 15, 1955:

I appreciate this opportunity to present my views to this committee in support of a substantial pay raise for postal employees.

I have introduced a bill, H. R. 2158, which would provide for an increase of 10 percent or $400, whichever is greater, for all employees in the field service of the Post Office Department retroactive to August 23, 1954. This bill, as you know, is similar to H. R. 1592, introduced by Congressman MORRISON, and a number of other bills introduced by Members of Congress both on and off this committee.

I do not believe anyone seriously can question the need for adequate pay increases for employees in the postal field service at this time. The simple fact is that they are underpaid. They are underpaid in contrast with employees in private industry discharging similar duties. They are underpaid in contrast with the rates of pay prevalent in the postal field service prior to the Second World War. The pay scales of the loyal, hard-working men and women carrying out the vital but unsung tasks of the Post Office Department have not kept pace with the rapidly rising cost of living. In fact, postal workers have fallen further and further behind in the struggle to have and enjoy decent food, decent housing, and all of the many things that go into the standard of living of the average American of which the Nation justly is proud.

I have read persuasive statistics describing the plight of the mail clerk, the letter carrier, and all of the many other postal workers endeavoring to make ends meet, and the figures are impressive. But, more than that, I have talked to many of them personally, and I have received their letters by the hundreds, each telling a personal story of the ever-pressing grip of financial need. In my own State of Washington the fact is that almost two-thirds of rank-and-file postal workers are so hard put to make ends meet that they either hold outside part-time jobs or have found it necessary to put their wives to work.

Postal workers, like other Government employees, cannot strike to back up their claims for adequate pay scales, as can employees in private industry. They cannot go to work for a competing firm which offers higher salaries, because no such firm exists. They must come to us, the Members of Congress, lay their case on the table, and ask for fair treatment. This they have done. This committee held extensive hearings last year, in which every phase of the postal-pay problem was explored thoroughly. Additional hearings are now in process this year, and again the story is being told. I think it incumbent on us to act, and act promptly; each day's delay merely prolongs the need. We know the facts; we have only to make up our minds as to what rates of compensation are fair in the light of the facts and act accordingly.

I support the formula of a 10-percent increase or $400, whichever is greater. And I think the increase should be made retroactive to the end of the last session of Congress, which is when a pay-raise bill should have taken effect.

A higher increase than this formula provides could easily be justified by any standard normally used in determining a reasonable wage rate—by comparison with workers in other industries, by contrast to the relative purchasing power during some earlier period, by studying the change in productivity and average workload. Application of the formula would not restore, for example, the purchasing power of the average postal employee to the level of 1939. A higher increase could be justified in good conscience; to grant less, in my opinion, would be unjust.

The principal alternative proposal before this committee is contained in H. R. 2987, introduced by the distinguished chairman, and similar bills. I think the increase in salary scales which would be provided by this bill are not enough, particularly in the lower grades, where the need is greatest. While I recognize the need for increasing the level of remuneration for those assuming the greater responsibilities for the operation of the postal service, I think that our first and basic obligation is toward those in the lower grades who are struggling to keep up the pace. I think the formula I support will help to accomplish both objectives.

My principal concern today is with the problem of providing adequate pay scales for postal workers, but I should like to add the additional comment on H. R. 2987 that I feel it hands over to the Postmaster General too sweeping an authority in the matter of postal reclassification, job assignment and the employment of substitute and replacement personnel. Congress has, in my opinion, certain obligations in these areas which cannot be abdicated in favor of the judgment of the politically-appointed head of the Post Office Department, whoever he may be.

We often are inclined to take the postal worker for granted. The letter we drop in the mail chute or deposit in the convenient corner box always reaches its destination. The letter carrier always delivers our mail and our periodical reading matter. The clerk always is at the window to sell us stamps or to provide any one of a hundred other services. Their very competence puts them out of mind. They come to us now asking for a decent break. I think they have earned it; I think they deserve it; and I think in good conscience we have no choice but to give it to them as rapidly as possible.

Is Our Constitution Subordinate?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the February 8, 1955, issue of Christian Economics:

IS OUR CONSTITUTION SUBORDINATE?

Is our American law on contracts superseded and invalidated by the Charter of the United Nations? Four judges of the United States Supreme Court say yes, and 4 say no. The vote of one judge is all that saved this body of American law from becoming subordinate to the U. N. Charter.

We are not here concerned with the merits of the case. We are greatly concerned over the imminent possibility that American law and the Constitution of the United States may be, indeed perhaps already have been, set aside, nullified and superseded by the

U. N. Charter, and such agreements as hereinafter may be made under it.

A cemetery had refused an Indian woman the right to bury her late husband in one of its lots. These lots had been sold under a contract, including a clause restricting their use to people of the Caucasian race. The widow contended that this clause had been voided by article 55C of the U. N. Charter. This article provides that member nations shall "promote universal respect for, and observance of, fundamental human freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

One may sympathize with the position of the widow without jumping to the conclusion that all American law and the American Constitution should be made subordinate to the U. N. Charter. In some instances court decisions have already sustained the superiority of the U. N. Charter over American law. Only the opinion of one justice prevented the confirmation of this precedent by the Supreme Court.

Not many Americans seem to realize that unless we adopt the Bricker amendment or its equivalent we have ceased to be a sovereign nation, have lost our Constitution and our system of jurisprudence.

Veterans of Foreign Wars and Daughters of the American Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting the speech of Mr. Jack F. Dusenbury, commander of the North Carolina Department, Veterans of Foreign Wars, made on January 7, 1955, before the Joseph McDowell Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Hendersonville, N. C. Mr. Dusenbury points out the similarity of the history and ambition of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Daughters of the American Revolution. I feel it will be of interest to the Members of the House as well as to the respective memberships of the two organizations:

It is my pleasure and privilege to address this regional conference of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

I speak in behalf of more than 23,000 men and women who are members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and their Ladies' Auxiliaries in North Carolina. As department commander of the VFW, I extend to you heartiest greetings from all our members.

And joining me in those greetings is Mrs. Dovie L. Penney, of Wallace, N. C., president of the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Your organization and ours have many parallel interests. Our histories are quite similar.

The DAR is 9 years older than the VFW. Your first chapter was organized at Washington, D. C., on October 11, 1890, with 18 members. Your first president-general was Mrs. Caroline Scott Harrison, wife of United States President Benjamin Harrison.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars was founded 9 years later—in 1899—when 12 men who had come out of the Spanish-American War, organized their first unit in Columbus, Ohio, followed closely by others in Denver, Colo., and other States.

The DAR purposes and those of the VFW, are expressed in the constitutions of our two organizations. They are very much alike.

The objects of the DAR are to perpetuate the memory of the spirit of men and women who achieved American independence. Also you are dedicated to the preservation of American patriotic traditions, also to extend the institutions of American freedom and to foster patriotism and aid in securing for mankind the blessings of liberty.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars and its ladies auxiliary likewise are pledged by their constitution to function as patriotic, historical and educational organizations—to foster true patriotism and to maintain and extend the freedom institutions of our country.

Furthermore, we obligate ourselves to champion equal rights and justice for all men and women, and to preserve and defend the United States from all her enemies in time of peace or war.

Membership in your organization and mine is limited. The DAR requires that its members be the direct descendants of the men who saw active service in the American Revolutionary War.

Membership in the VFW is limited by congressional charter to the men who have served with the United States Armed Forces in combat zones outside the continental limits of our country. Each of the 1,200,000 Veterans of Foreign Wars members has been decorated by the Federal Government for his foreign service.

In our ladies auxiliaries there are more than 400,000 wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters of those men. Together these VFW and auxiliary members total more than a million and a half persons living in every State of the Union, also in Alaska, Hawaii, the Panama Canal Zone, and elsewhere.

You who belong to the Daughters of the American Revolution and we of the Veterans of Foreign Wars see eye to eye in many respects. We are aiming at the same goal. That goal is preservation of American history and ideals—the strengthening of American liberties—and the defense of our way of life in every way possible through the patriotic leadership of our respective organizations.

Fulfilling those purposes requires all of us to keep mighty busy. Since the founding of our organizations we have had many things to do. We have had to keep vigilant, flexible and constantly working. Action has been the keynote because there have been many, many challenging changes since the 1890's.

The tempo of our lives has speeded up immeasurably. The requirements of everyday living have multiplied and quickened. The relationship of our Nation to other nations has grown more complex. International tensions are far greater today than in the 1890's. Our national security is in more critical balance today and—perhaps most important of all—our freedoms are threatened now as never before.

What does all that mean to us? Well, one thing is certain—it means we cannot afford to settle back into any rocking chair complacency. We dare not relax into any degree of smug satisfaction of being venerable patriotic leaders by virtue of our long service.

I mean that the Daughters of the American Revolution—although 64 years old last October—can afford to be that old only in experience and wisdom.

The same rule applies to the Veterans of Foreign Wars. We cannot maintain leadership among veterans organizations solely on the strength of our 56 years experience.

No; this is not an era in which age and experience alone counts for very much. Everything is developing too rapidly and the pace set by the younger generations press too closely to allow much consideration for mellowed age.

If we should settle back to reminisce we would quickly find ourselves alone. The world would leave us behind. Today's young people are marching steadily forward. Also events are developing and moving on. If we dared to rest the DAR and the VFW would very quickly fade and be forgotten.

Therefore, we must keep up with contemporary events and peoples. We have to. There is an awful lot of very urgent work for us to do today. The ideals we represent—although rooted far in the past—must be kept alive. They must be nurtured. They must be kept as new, as vigorous, and as attractive today as they were in 1776 and 1899. Yes, there is much work for us today, tomorrow, throughout 1955, and on into the years to come.

Now, I'm not inferring that either the Daughters of the American Revolution nor the Veterans of Foreign Wars is actually falling behind the procession. In fact there is little danger of that if your organization and ours continue keeping their memberships ever green. That means we must enlist every eligible in each succeeding generation. Then we must impress upon those new members the great need of their help toward interpreting our proclaimed ideals and our objectives into practical application.

There are strong evidences that you are well aware of your patriotic obligations. Latest records show that the Daughters of the American Revolution sponsors outstanding Junior American Citizenship Clubs in the schools of 25 States. Also you list many other equally important patriotic projects in the DAR pamphlet entitled "Highlights of Program Activities."

You are driving vigorously to impress upon the minds of all Americans—young and old—the full significance of our Nation's initial struggle to gain and maintain its freedom way of life.

That is also true of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its ladies' auxiliary. Our members are likewise driving hard—here in North Carolina and across the country—to create stronger appreciation and a more widespread, positive practice of the basic American freedom principles.

We can sum up those principles very briefly as freedom of opportunity for all, right of individual enterprise, and the united defense of all we have inherited by virtue of the heroic men and actions which your organization and mine commemorate.

We honor the patriots who have defended America. The Daughters of the American Revolution keep alive the stubborn fires of independence. You declare that the men—and women, too—of the American Revolution are worthy of perpetual honor—and you give that thought action by reflecting honor upon those who are the descendants of the first American war veterans.

My organization makes the same declaration—and for the same purpose—with respect to all those who have fought for American independence in many wars during the past 179 years.

The VFW is truly an ever-green organization because its membership includes the young veterans of each succeeding generation. It may not be an enviable position to proclaim, but it is true nevertheless, that as long as men must take up arms in defense of American freedoms there will always be more young members in the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

You are all aware how drastically times have changed. The pace and pressure have increased greatly. Three big wars within the past 38 years have imposed a costly price for freedom. The price has been paid in lives, anguish, and money.

More than 2 million men have been battle casualties in all wars since the American

Revolution. The First and Second World Wars and the Korean conflict took the heaviest toll.

Today more than 20 million war veterans are living in the United States. They represent a goodly proportion of our entire population. They are the frontline reserves of American manpower. They are trained and ready to again answer the call to arms—if that becomes necessary.

Meantime those living war veterans are busily working for the peacetime strengthening of America. Here in North Carolina and throughout the Nation VFW men and members of their ladies' auxiliaries are cooperating to make effective a multitude of community-building projects.

They are working on the theory that democracy begins at home and that home means the cities, towns, and neighborhoods wherein we rear our families, conduct our business, enjoy our social contacts and develop our characters.

Proceeding on that premise the Veterans of Foreign Wars men and women have created 1,000 types of community service. Last year their posts and ladies auxiliaries sponsored more than 504,000 programs in 9,000 cities. During 1955 the VFW workers expect to sponsor close to 1 million community-service projects.

Those community-service activities are designed to broaden the education of our children, help schools, colleges, and churches, initiate patriotic activities and to assist needy persons. Those are some of the ways the Veterans of Foreign Wars work for a stronger nation during peacetime.

Peacetime? Yes; technically we are at peace now. No major battles are being fought. However, with communism just beyond the horizons around us we cannot afford to relax in any comforting belief that there is no danger. The threat to American security is definitely present and pressing.

There is imperative need today for clearer thinking—more level-headed analyses—more careful planning and much positive action by every loyal citizen—especially by such patriotic leaders as the DAR and the VFW.

Today's challenge is greater than it has been at any time in our national history.

Your organization and mine are directly challenged because we have proclaimed our purposes. We're squarely on record as obligated to provide the all-important leadership in the very necessary campaign for stronger allegiance to our Government, our Constitution, our laws, and to our flag.

That is your job and ours today and tomorrow.

I pledge to you who are members of the Daughters of the American Revolution the full and earnest cooperation of all VFW men and women here in North Carolina. Whenever we can help for our Nation's sake, we who are the Veterans of Foreign Wars offer ourselves and our patriotic services.

The Failure of the So-called Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act has been in operation now for 20 years, and the devices to obstruct the flow of American exports into 40 nations has increased and not reduced these barriers. There are more barriers today than ever before.

I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article by Henry Gemmill, which appears in the February 16, 1955, issue of the Wall Street Journal:

TRADE WAR: FRIENDLY NATIONS FIGHT EACH OTHER WITH EXPORT SUBSIDIES AND STIMULANTS—ILL WILL OVER YANKEE SALES OF BUTTER, ORANGES—FRENCH SUBSIDIES HIT $285 MILLION—IS IT A SENSELESS RACE?

(By Henry Gemmill)

PARIS.—America is locked in a war with its own allies—a war of export subsidies and stimulants.

The Netherlands and Denmark dispatched sharp notes to the State Department a few days ago, declaring that United States efforts to dispose of 10 million pounds of surplus butter by cutrate auctioning to foreign bidders is nothing less than dumping—likely to cause "grave" damage to other butter-exporting countries.

But both the Dutch and the Danes are themselves shoving out exports with a variety of government aids. The Netherlands Government, for instance, more than a year ago decided to give its exporters this guaranty: If they would tackle the United States and Canadian markets with sales campaigns, the government in return for a small premium would pay as much as half of advertising and market analysis expenses not covered by profits on ensuing exports.

And the Danish Government has promised its exporters who participate in an insurance scheme that it will bear up to half of any loss in the global export of goods on consignment. Last year the Government increased the total liability it is willing to incur under this and other export guaranties to 350 million kroner, or about $52 million.

A RECENT RUSH

Governments have rushed into subsidization—or schemes very similar to it—during the last 2 years as world markets have become satiated with manufactured goods and farm commodities, on the theory that any little extra kick might help to close an export sale. These programs wear a hundred disguises, appearing as tax rebates, governmental money lending, guaranties against trading risks, currency-retention devices, barter deals, double-price systems, provision of cheap raw materials to manufacturing exporters—and, in the case of the United States, "foreign aid."

Each government usually insists that most of its own particular contrivances are not subsidies at all—so the diplomats who haggle over them customarily avoid use of that ugly word; the presently accepted jargon is "artificial aids to exports."

These experts, and there are a number of them professionally occupied in Paris, say it is impossible to calculate the global cost of this warfare, for too much of it is concealed. But France alone in 1955 is budgeting about 100 billion francs (better than $285 million) for some of the more obvious aids; this sum represents about one-quarter of the anticipated deficit in the ordinary French budget this year.

Every auto shipped out of France carries with it a subsidy. The French steel industry, though now one of the most modern in the world, collects its export subsidies on a monthly basis. When the French farmer exports a bushel of wheat and gets, say, $1.70 for it, he collects in addition a subsidy of something like $1.25.

But before sneering at the fiscal ineptitude of the French, Americans are warned by the experts, it should be recalled that the United States Government is also running a deficit—influenced a bit by the fact that every bushel of wheat shipped out of the States carries with it a subsidy paid by the taxpayer. At the moment this runs around 60 cents a bushel.

WE MUST

Each government is inclined to believe that its own artificial aids are required by special circumstances. When challenged, as they have been by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation headquartered here in Paris, the French officials contend they have given their workers so many social-security benefits that their producers' costs and prices are entirely out of line with the rest of the world, and they must subsidize to export at all.

When challenged, as they have been at the current Geneva session of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), the United States contends its farm program has lifted its agricultural prices entirely out of line with the rest of the world, so it too must subsidize to export at all. And so it goes—even the Greeks and the Turks insist they must subsidize, explaining to questioning governments that otherwise they could not possibly sell their dried fruit in competition with the subsidized exports of America.

But many of the private producers whose wares are getting all this governmental help have grown weary of it, even fearful. The International Chamber of Commerce has told GATT a "general condemnation" should be adopted. On this far side of the Atlantic the most outspoken critic of artificial export aids is the Council of European Industrial Federations, which represents national business groups similar to America's National Association of Manufacturers.

A SENSELESS RACE

"We are unanimously agreed upon the undesirability of a senseless race between countries for ever bigger incentives which are concealed subsidies," the Council formally resolved as long ago as 1953, when the surge was already quite apparent. The Council argued that competitive subsidization cancels out the advantages expected by each of the warring nations, and the result is only "increasing prices or taxation in the producing countries."

Last year the Council, under British impetus, adopted a resolution expressing even greater alarm, warning of great dangers to the improvement in the economies of European countries. It declared ominously that it may not be possible in certain countries to delay pressure for the introduction of new countermeasures for more than a very limited time.

Global use of subsidies is still increasing. Just this month, for instance, Brazil announced a boost in payments to its coffee exporters, so that for every dollar earned they now get not only the official exchange rate of 18.36 cruzeiros but also a larger sum, 18.70 cruzeiros, as bonus. The reason: Colombian coffee was underselling Brazilian.

The Geneva GATT conversations on export subsidies seem to be getting next to nowhere, and the American position as stated by Assistant Secretary of State Samuel Waugh appears in opposition to banning them. The United States Government, he says, is merely prepared to discuss the desirability of appropriate limitations. As for America's own subsidies of agricultural shipments, he says they should not unduly interfere with normal marketings.

EUROPE MAKES A TRY

But within Europe, at least, the first really strenuous effort is now being made to hold the synthetic export-boosting to present levels and, in time, to reduce it.

Through the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, most West European lands have agreed this year that until September 1956 they will "refrain from further extending or introducing any other measures of artificial aid to exporters," or at least those deemed to "have the effect of distort-

ing normal conditions of competition"; and by the end of this year they promise to discontinue certain specified practices such as direct subsidies, currency retention schemes which involve a bonus on exports, and kickbacks on the social-security taxes of exporting industries. Many stimulants, such as the British remission of its purchase tax for off-island shipments, are not outlawed under this pact. But some countries—notably Germany—will be making a real retreat.

A major holdout, however, is France. Other continental nations are watching her competitive trade policies and those of the United States, so it is considered quite possible that most all the Europeans may reenter the subsidy sprint when their agreement expires in September of next year.

Meanwhile, the United States is doing some watching of its own. Its customs officers are empowered to take punitive action against dumping of goods in the United States by foreign countries; a Treasury representative has just returned to Washington after taking a hard look at the French subsidies, but his recommendations are not yet known here.

America's own subsidies are so carefully handled that they do not constitute dumping, the Government insists. But other countries are not always convinced. For instance, American subsidies on just one commodity—oranges—have been denounced during the current GATT session in Switzerland by representatives of Italy, South Africa, Greece, Australia, Cyprus, and the British West Indies. Efforts of the United States Foreign Operations Administration to relieve miner unemployment at home by heavy foreign-aid shipments of coal have drawn frowns from some of Europe's coal producers.

THE WEAPONS OF WAR

What are the weapons in this war of artificial export aids? Here are some of the principal ones, with a few recent and current illustrations:

Simple subsidies: These are less used than one might expect, especially by the subtle Europeans. The Germans have been paying an "ausfuhrvergutung" on exported brandy. The Canadians have been doling out $1 per ton on shipments of Alberta and British Columbia coal to all lands except the United States. Belgium has been advancing funds for traveling expenses, offices, the sending of samples, and other costs that Belgian exporters and manufacturers incur in prospecting distant foreign markets in North and South America, Asia, and the Congo. The Turks have been using a two-price system for raisins, with those sent abroad being cheaper.

The United States has been paying subsidies off and on for many years; the International Wheat Agreement, which bestows a certain blessing upon them, goes back well before World War II. But most of the United States wheat shipments now subsidized are outside that pact, and a variety of new subsidies have recently been put in motion—some of them not so simple after all.

For example, the last session of Congress ordered the Commodity Credit Corporation to start selling its surpluses abroad—not for dollars but for whatever foreign currencies might be offered. In the process, the legislators decreed, losses to the American taxpayer can be run up to $700 million. A month later they decided to authorize another $350 million worth of such transactions, as part of a military measure, the Mutual Security Act of 1954.

Such subsidies are now getting rolling. Last month, for instance, 15.6 million bushels of wheat and 50,000 bales of cotton were peddled to the Yugoslavs for dinars; it was a $41 million deal—with the Commodity Credit Corporation agreeing to pay, among other things, a $3 million shipping bill. A few days later the Turks were told they could have $12.4 million worth of oats, barley, and wheat, and pay for it in lira. The British have been dickering to get some tobacco and pay for it in sterling.

What does the Government do with these foreign currencies? It can spend them, under the law, for everything from munitions to the financing of international educational exchange.

Tax rebates: Huge incentives are granted in this fashion. The Germans have been offering a whole series. There is the "ausfuhrhandlervergutung," returning to the producer the turnover tax he has paid on export goods; there is the "umsatzausgleichsteuer," which refunds a compensatory tax; and there are other kickbacks from income and corporate taxes.

Italy has been granting rebates of its general tax on earnings to exporters of a long list of items, including typewriters, sewing machines, motorcycles, autos, accordions, machine tools, ironwork, and hats. Belgian export producers have been exempted from cumulative sales and production taxes running as high as 12 percent. Stiff purchase taxes are remitted on export goods by Britain and Holland.

France is probably the leading tax rebater, giving back to many of its export producers the production taxes, sales taxes, and staggering social welfare taxes which they otherwise must pay.

Some American exporters manage to cut their corporate income taxes by 14 percentage points after qualifying as "Western Hempishere Trade Corporations," as defined by the United States Revenue Code, and this undoubtedly helps them to battle European competitors in markets south of the border. The American Government, like most European ones, refunds the tariff paid on raw materials which go into exported wares. Even these customs kickbacks can become intricate; Belgium gives free admission to dies imported on loan for the manufacture of export goods.

Loans and guarantees: The most familiar example is the United States Export-Import Bank, established two decades ago but increasingly active in lending money for export deals which private lenders steer clear of. During the last couple of years it has also begun guaranteeing loans made by private financial institutions, and issuing insurance against such dangers to exports as revolutions and expropriation. It boasts of operating at a profit.

Most European lands have adopted similar schemes and institutions to push exports with governmental credit. The Swedes, for instance, have their Exportkreditnamnden. The Dutch have a private but Government-backed Nederlandsche Credietverzekering Maatschappij N. V., and the Belgians have both a Cofinex and an Institut de Reescompte et de Garantie.

Some systems give guaranties which go far beyond orthodox credit risks. The French Government guarantees its exporters against internal price changes. The Irish Government has established a special company called Coras Trachtala Teoranta to make promotional guarantees on exports to the dollar area. Promotion guarantees, covering the risks of developing markets through costly advertising and market research, are issued also by such nations as Norway and the United Kingdom.

Barter deals: The Germans employ these when trading with underdeveloped countries and in opening up new markets. The United States Secretary of Agriculture last year was empowered to barter surplus crops abroad for strategic and other materials.

Raw material supply: The French have a scheme known as IMEX which funnels imported raw materials to firms which will make them up into goods for export. British domestic steel prices are fixed by the Iron and Steel Board at levels lower than export steel prices; some foreign critics complain this helps British makers of autos and other wares produce and export cheaply.

Currency retention: This form of export stimulant is one which has diminished in importance here in Europe, partly because the International Monetary Fund has worked against it and partly because the free market value of currencies has come closer to official exchange rates. When the idea was at its height, the dollar was worth far more than it was rated under official exchange rules, and any exporter granted currency retention rights could keep the dollars he earned from his sales and use them to great advantage. Some of these schemes have lingered on longer than most.

The Italians have been letting their exporters retain use of half the dollars and free Swiss francs they bring in. The French have been using two different systems permitting, rather indirectly, the retention of some hard-currency earnings.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address given by the Honorable Petras Dauzvardis, consul of Lithuania at Chicago, on February 13, 1955:

STATEMENT BY PETRAS DAUZVARDIS, CONSUL OF LITHUANIA, ON THE OCCASION OF THE 37TH OBSERVANCE OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF LITHUANIA, FEBRUARY 13, 1955, CHICAGO, ILL.

The 37th anniversary of the Republic of Lithuania (February 16), and the 12th year of the occupation and domination of Lithuania by Soviet Russia affords an opportune time to present the case of Lithuania to the people of the United States, and to ask a pertinent question of the Soviets: Did you (Soviets), make false representations at the time of signing the treaties of peace and nonaggression with Lithuania and the other Baltic states, or are you making false representations now in proposing "peaceful coexistence" with America and other countries? Or are you renouncing Czar Ivan's and dictator Stalin's aggressive imperialism and returning to the domain of law and justice?

The Soviet rationality and respect for law and decency was manifested in the treaties of the early 1920's: the Peace Treaty (July 12, 1920) with Lithuania states in article I:

"Russia, without any reservation whatsoever, recognizes Lithuania as a self-governing and independent state with all juridical consequences that follow from such a recognition and in a spirit of free and good will renounces all sovereignty rights of Russia concerning the Lithuanian nation and Lithuanian territory which previously belonged to her."

The nonaggression pact of September 28, 1926, articles 2 and 3, provides:

"ARTICLE 2. The Republic of Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics mutually undertake to respect in all circumstances the sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability of each other.

"ART. 3. Each of the two contracting parties undertakes to refrain from any aggressive action whatsoever against the other party."

The Mutual Assistance Treaty of October 10, 1939, reaffirms the principles of the above two treaties and ostensibly speaks for co-

existence between Lithuania and the Soviet Union; the preamble states:

"For the purpose of developing the friendly relations established by the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, and based on the recognition of an independent state existence and nonintervention in the internal affairs of the other party;

"Recognizing that the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, and the pact of nonaggression and peaceful settlement of conflicts of September 28, 1926, continue to form a firm basis of their mutual relations and undertakings."

The seventh article of the treaty provides "realization of this treaty should not affect in any way the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their state organization, economic and social system, military measures, and generally the principle of nonintervention in internal affairs."

In addition to the above, shortly after the signing of this treaty, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs Molotov, in presenting the treaty to the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Russia for ratification, said:

"This treaty of mutual assistance in no way implies any interference of the Soviet Union in the affairs * * * of Lithuania, as some foreign newspapers are trying to infer. On the contrary, this treaty strictly stipulates the inviolability of the sovereignty of the signatory states and the principle of noninterference in each other's affairs."

The term of the treaty was 15 years. And yet, before 8 months had elapsed, it was flagrantly violated—Lithuania was seized by the Soviet Union in June 1940. Law and decency were superseded by aggression, destruction, and genocide.

After seizing Lithuania, Russia deposed Lithuania's legal government, replaced it with an illegal puppet regime. That puppet regime was and is illegal and without authority from the people or the Constitution of Lithuania. It reigns by terror and through the Soviet armed forces. The people are deprived of human and property rights—they have been degraded to the level of horses or oxen.

Despite all this, the Lithuanian nation did not and will not approve the anti-Lithuanian and illegal acts of Russia and her puppets. Citizens of Lithuania and the entire Lithuanian nation have demanded and are demanding total independence for Lithuania—factual as well as juridical. The legal representatives of Lithuania, the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, the underground, various Lithuanian immigrant organizations, about three million people in Lithuania and more than one million abroad—in fact all patriotic Lithuaniandom—denounced the Soviet occupation and spoliation of Lithuania, and are working for the freedom of Lithuania.

The United States Government and the American people have defended and are defending Lithuania in every way. The State Department made its forceful and honest declaration the second day (July 23, 1940) after the treasonous and illegal vote of the so-called People's Diet to incorporate Lithuania in the Soviet Union. This declaration states:

"The devious processes whereunder the political independence and territorial integrity of the three small republics—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbors, have been rapidly drawing to their conclusion."

Note that it clearly states that Lithuania's independence and territorial integrity are being annihilated by a neighbor—not by the Lithuanian nation, as the Soviets and their agents claim. The declaration states further:

"The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other sovereign state, however weak."

America adheres to this policy and demands freedom for Lithuania and the other Soviet-enslaved nations. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, is destroying Lithuania and the other two Baltic States, is deporting and liquidating their peoples because they are not Communists, do not want to be communized and enslaved, because they want to be free and independent, as states and as peoples: with their own governments, homes, farms, businesses, national institutions, and the right to the pursuit of happiness, without the intervention of foreign police or regimentation; because they want to exist and coexist as free and independent nations.

Lithuanians and the other Soviet-oppressed peoples regard America as their eventual liberator, and the Soviet Union as their present enslaver. They are ever grateful to America. They despise their enslaver, Soviet Russia.

The Soviet Communist boss Nikita Khrushchev recently said: "We believe, as Lenin said, the solution of disagreement of two systems lies in coexistence." A few days later, Foreign Minister Molotov spoke in Hitlerlike fashion, assailed the United States of America and its allies as "blood-saturated imperialists," threatened them with atom bombs, and demanded that "the United Nations condemn the United States as an aggressor and call for the withdrawal of its troops from the Formosa strait area." The speech was virulent, militaristic, and slanderous. We trust that, in due course of time, it will be answered. A Lithuanian proverb is very apt: "Kuo pats kvep, tuo kita tep." (He who smells bad blames it on another.) The words of Molotov: "Blood-saturated imperialist and aggressor" fit Soviet Russia like a glove. One of the victims of Soviet imperialism and aggression is Lithuania. She was violently seized by Russia and is being mercilessly bled by it. Over 500,000 Lithuanians were murdered or deported to Siberia by the Soviets. The Lithuanians remaining in Lithuania are in a virtual prison and slave-labor camp. They and all Lithuanians demand and urge that the United Nations and others demand that Soviet Russia stop annihilating Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians; that Soviet Russia withdraw its troops, terroristic police, and political agents from the Baltic States, and thereby erase the stigma of imperialistic aggression, restoring the sovereign rights and self-government to the people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and enabling them to coexist as free and independent nations.

Selective Service Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted to all Members for extension of remarks on H. R. 3005, I would like to state for the record that illness prevented my being present on February 3 to vote for the passage of this bill. The large vote by which it was passed speaks for the importance in which it is held and the unanimity of feeling of the Members of the House for its merits.

The world situation is one that calls for sacrifice, courage, and determination. We are faced with the inevitable requirement of maintaining an Army, a Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps for the indefinite future, of not less than 2,850,000. Our military experts have estimated and testified to the fact that voluntary enlistments cannot provide this number, essential to our national defense.

I believe that continuation of the draft for 4 years allows long-range planning for our Military Establishment, which is essential. I believe it also allows long-range planning for our youth, though it in nowise changes their period of service.

In the light of world conditions, this is necessary legislation—essential for the preservation of our Nation and of the free world.

National Negro History Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, February 13 marked the beginning of National Negro History Week, an observation fostered to recognize the contributions made by one of the principal cultural groups in America.

Inaugurated in 1926 by the late Dr. Carter G. Woodson, noted historian and president and founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, because of the complete lack of information in our educational institutions on this subject, the underlying purpose is to promote understanding and unity between peoples through presentation in strict historical fashion of the cultural accomplishment of Negroes in civilization and history.

The observation of National Negro History Week at this time has a more pronounced significance than ever before. We know that paramount in our world today is the issue of unity between the peoples of the world. Through the daily continuation of its program of disseminating information, based on thorough historical research, to educational and social welfare institutions, the association makes its contribution to world history by aiding America in the task that is before it to promote true racial integration and, thereby, demonstrate its declared concepts of human freedom and equality.

The association's program, as stated by its founder, Dr. Woodson, is not merely to emphasize Negro history, "but rather the history of the world void of national bias, race hate, and religious prejudice." He adds:

The case of the Negro is well taken care of when it is shown how he has influenced the development of civilization.

An excellent, although by no means all-inclusive, summary of that influence was given to us by an unknown poet, who said:

"I am somebody.
I am a poet in Langston Hughes.
I am a creator of rhyme in Paul Lawrence Dunbar.
I am a Christian statesman in J. H. Jackson.
I am a diplomat in Ralph A. Bunche.
I am a celebrated entertainer in Nat Cole, Eartha Kitt, and Harry Bellafonte.

"I am somebody.
I am somebody. I am a soldier in Gen. B. O. Davis, Jr.
I am courage in Crispus Attucks.
I am a humorist in Timmie Rogers and Eddie Anderson.
I am a leading soprano in Dorothy Maynor and Leontyne Price.
I am a world-famous tenor in Roland Hayes.
I am a renowned baritone in William Warfield and Robert McFerrin.
I am a contralto in Marion Anderson and am a member of the Metropolitan Opera Co.
I am a beautiful and talented woman in Lena Horn and Dorothy Dandridge.

"I am somebody.
I am somebody. I am an athlete in Lennie Ford and Goose Tatum.
I am a sprinter in Eddie Tolan.
I am an intelligent pen in the hand of Frank Yerby.
I am a college president in Rufus Clements, Charles S. Johnson, and Mordecai Johnson.
I am a fighter in Thurgood Marshall.
I am a breaker of world records in Jesse Owens and Mal Whitfield.

"I am somebody.
I am somebody. I am an orator in Howard Thurman.
I am a preacher in C. T. Walker and L. K. Williams.
I am a composer in Nathaniel Dett.
I am an actor in James Edward.
I am a boxer in Jimmie Carter and Archie Moore.
I am a knockout punch in Joe Louis.
I am a baseball player in Jackie Robinson and Roy Campanella.
I am a home-run hitter in Larry Doby and Willie Mays.
I am a world-famous pitcher in Don Newcombe and Ruben Gomez.

"I am somebody.
I am somebody. I am a scientist in George Washington Carver.
I am an industrial educator in Booker T. Washington.
I am a Congressman in William L. Dawson, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., and Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
I am an advisor to the President in J. Ernest Wilkins.
I am a champion for world peace in Charles H. Mahoney.
I am a publisher in Louis E. Martin, Carl Murphy, and John H. Johnson.
I am the originator of the blood bank in Charles Drew.
I am a pathologist in Julian Lewis, and I am a chemist in Percy Julian.
I am the first successful operator on the human heart in Daniel Hale Williams.

"I am somebody.
I am somebody. I am a marksman in Dorie Miller.
I am a registrar of the Treasury in L. B. Toomer.
I am loyalty in the Armed Services.
I am insight in Sojourner Truth.
I am an advocator of justice in Walter White.
I am a leader in A. Phillip Randolph.
I am a builder in Walter A. Aiken, and I am an architect in Paul Williams.

"I am somebody.
I am somebody. I am a moulder of character in Nannie Burroughs.
I am a banker in R. R. Wright and L. D. Milton.
I am a certified public accountant in Jesse Blayton and Richard Austin.
I am a sculptor in Henry O. Tanner and I am a cartoonist in E. Simms Campbell.
I am a businessman in Charles C. Diggs, Sr., and Sidney Barthwell.
I am a grand specimen of womanhood in Mary McLeod Bethune and Mary Church Terrell.

"I am somebody.
I am somebody. I am an insurance executive in C. C. Spaulding.
I am a biologist in Justis Howard.
I am a historian in Carter Woodson and J. A. Rogers.
I am a leader in education in Charlotte Hawkins Brown.
I am a beautician in Mesdames Walker, Washington, and Malone.
I am a trustee in slavery. I protected my master's wives and daughters while he fought to keep the chains of slavery about my body.
I am a bishop in W. A. Fountain and George Baber.
I am a ball of fire in Richard Allen.
I am a laborer in John Henry.
I am a true Christian, for indeed, I practiced the religion of Jesus at points better than my master from whom I learned it.
I am somebody!"

Appraisal of the Tariff Problem With Relation to Textiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement by Mr. Henry R. Heimann, executive vice president, the National Association of Credit Men, which gives a dispassionate and conservative appraisal of the tariff problem with relation to textiles:

FEBRUARY 15, 1955.

DEAR MEMBER: Tinkering with tariffs could be a dangerous economic and political pastime. Like the boy who takes apart a watch to see what makes it tick, only to find when he tries to reassemble it that he has more parts than will go into the case, so, too, tariff makers can mess up the works.

In the history of our own Nation we have had some tariff laws that were indefensible. They constituted monopolistic protection and could never be justified under any evaluation of fairness and equity to the rest of the world. In recent years the pendulum may have swung too far in the opposite direction, and today unfortunately it seems to be swinging even farther. Several suggested tariff changes could do irreparable damage to some of our most important industries. Some suggested tariff increases might be fully justified in the light of new conditions. It would be well, therefore, that the greatest of care be exercised and that all parties of interest be heard before changes up or down are made effective. We do not wish to build a fence around America, and we do not need to do so, but we do not intend to extend an open invitation to manufacturers abroad, in nations of very low wages, to come in and destroy our standard of living or to cripple some of our major industries.

There is a new element in the tariff picture that apparently is not too well in mind. Heretofore we were able to offset the great disparity in wages paid here and in some of the competing countries seeking a free-trade entry, because of our more modern plants and equipment, methods of distribution, and our greater per capita production. It would appear at times that too many people discussing tariffs have failed to take note of the fact that some of the other countries now competing with us have considerably modernized their equipment, and indeed have plants and facilities as well as distributive systems that are equal to ours. Under these conditions it is no longer possible for American business with its high wage schedule to compete with efficient foreign competitors operating under low-wage rates without some measure of protection which is necessary to maintain the standard of living our workmen now enjoy.

Let us take a look at the cotton textile situation. One of the larger sources of competition is the Japanese textile and cotton industry. How many people realize that the Japanese textile industry today is practically new; that its plants and equipment are modern in every respect; that it can produce almost as efficiently as we do in the United States in our textile industry. The average wage paid in Japan to its textile workers is less than 15 cents per hour. The average wage in the United States in the textile industry is $1.30 an hour. Under these conditions you see what the textile industry of America is up against, unless it has some tariff protection.

There is little wonder, therefore, that in the last few years the Japanese exportation of textile goods to this country has increased tremendously. In fact, their production capacity is so high at the present time that they are not injudiciously crowding their exporting program. They may feel they are getting a lion's share of the business over here and they do not particularly care to stir up a tariff controversy. Give them credit for being astute and realizing that to do so could jeopardize the advantage they now hold in the textile markets.

NEVER GOOD BUSINESS TO SET ASIDE EARNINGS TO BUILD COMPETITORS

You can readily sympathize with the American textile manufacturer who has been taxed to build up this Japanese industry. He has had to pay a very heavy earnings tax, and a part of the money the Government exacted from him has been used for foreign aid. The foreign aid bill has been paid for in part by the very companies that now must compete with the beneficiaries of their tax payments to this Government.

Stated simply, in the competitive program of business it is never considered good business judgment to set aside a part of your earnings for the purpose of building up a competitor. Such an altruistic position would disrupt all business, including the competitor's. The inflow of Japanese cotton goods in the last 3 months of the year has been enormous. That inflow has been largely due to our help in rehabilitating or reconstructing the Japanese textile industry.

Textiles affect many segments of our economy. The agricultural interests are very much interested because we grow cotton. Here we have a surplus which constitutes a tax burden upon our people. The possibility of reducing the surplus of cotton is not very favorable so long as we continue this high importation. The cotton farmer like the textile manufacturer has a heavy stake in the textile business.

MILLION AND QUARTER WORKERS IN HIGHLY COMPETITIVE INDUSTRY

We have approximately 1,250,000 of our people working in the textile industry. They

constitute a large segment of our manufacturing working force. They are not overpaid as to wages when the American standard is considered, but, as stated previously, the wage payments made to American workers are approximately 8 to 10 times higher than those paid in Japan to textile employees. Are we to move into a period of unemployment in this industry with its attendant cost? Are we getting ready to take a third bite out of the textile companies' dwindling earnings for the purpose of maintaining unemployment payments to idle employees?

Another point that could be made in the interest of a very careful stop-look-and-listen policy as to textile tariffs is the fact that the textile industry in America is highly competitive. Tariffs, therefore, in textiles cannot be said to maintain a monopoly because there is no such thing as monopoly in the textile industry. Nor do we have a monopoly in textile skills. Nor does our Government permit cartels. Nor do our reciprocal trade agreements apply to Japan.

Everybody recognizes that a reasonably free flow of trade and exchange of goods and services should be the objective of the world at large. There must, however, be certain limitations to free trade—particularly when you have various standards of living in various countries. Unless you have such limitations in effect the tendency will be to pull down the entire framework of standards of living of the world at large. The objective of a free and full exchange of goods and services is to build up the standard of living. Until such time as wage payments or standards of living abroad are improved, it seems a certainty that adequate protection must be given in the textile industry by way of tariffs.

MANY OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCE PROBLEMS OF EXPORTING COUNTRIES

There is another misconception about tariffs, namely, that they are the sole cause of the financial, economic and social problems arising in certain exporting countries. This is not true. There are many other factors that are equally, if not more, important to a sound national economy. One is a sound budget. Another is the absence of exchange restrictions. Another is the cost and efficiency of business and the government. Another is a decent wage standard. Unfortunately, the eyes are focused on the tariff and there are many who believe mistakenly that you can cure the economic ills of any nation, such as Japan, by simply removing tariffs on its exports.

From an economic point of view, it is well to go easy on any tariff readjustments. We must carefully weigh all the facts in a given situation. We must always keep in mind that our objective is to maintain our high standard of living. We want to help the rest of the world, but the rest of the world must likewise learn to help itself. Unless it does so, our intended help will boomerang and tear down the living standard we have established. This would not help but, quite the contrary, would have a very serious effect on other nations.

NEED CALM JUDGMENT IN TARIFF ADJUSTMENTS OF OTHER NATIONS TOO

I have used the textile industry merely as an example, because the problem is so immediate in that industry. The textile industry has had a difficult time for several years. Its problems, however, will be increased if it is not given a measure of protection against foreign cheap labor competition. It is an industry too vital to our own economy, to our defense program, to our agriculture, to our wage earner, and to the people who have invested capital in this industry to put it up against the type of competition that results from the cheap labor in certain eastern countries. Most textile stocks are selling in this boom market far below their book value.

I mentioned Japan's wage rate, but note that in India the textile wage is even less than Japan's 15 cents per hour. Even in great Britain the textile wage averages but 40 cents an hour. In Switzerland it is 43 cents; in France 38 cents; and in Germany 32 cents. Let us hope, therefore, that calm and mature judgment will be used in any tariff readjustments, not only in the textile field but in other industries that face a comparable problem.

BIG VOLUME OF STATE AND LOCAL TAX-EXEMPT BONDS MAY RAISE INTEREST RATE

For a number of years we have had sharp competition in the sale of bonds and promises to pay between the Federal Government and private industry. For the years ahead a third very active competitor is entering the field. The volume of State and local tax-exempt issues that are to be marketed in the next few years is tremendous. State and local governments are on the eve of a very heavy spending program. Their tax-exempt bond issues to cover much of their increased expenditures will compete not only with the Federal issues but also with private financing needs of business. The effect may well be to increase interest rates slightly. It depends upon what the managed money authorities do in the situation. If more credit is pumped into the tremendous reservoir of synthetic credit then there will not be too much of a change. If the natural law of supply and demand is ever allowed to operate occasionally, then interest rates will look up.

After all there does come a time when available funds for investment become scarcer and that time may not be too far off. It is not because the accumulation of investment funds is not going on at a heavy rate, but it is because of the tremendous demand for funds. The inflationary factor wherein the dollar-purchasing power has been so reduced makes it necessary for business to do much outside financing.

In the year ahead it is estimated that business may charge off as much as $15 billion in depreciation charges. These charges, of course, strengthen the cash position of business. In addition, business ought to have $7 billion in retained earnings with which to pursue its expansion and normal business program. Despite these vast sums business finds itself in the position of needing additional money to meet the ever-growing demands and to expand in keeping with its industry. Even the very largest of companies, as will be observed from the financial pages, find it necessary to go into the money market to keep abreast of our expanding economy. Much of the money is procured outside the banking fields. That is why the banking loans to business do not wholly reflect the business demands for credit. Many believe it would be better if more of business credit needs could be handled through regular banking sources. That would be better for the banks and consequently for the Nation as a whole. However, some of the loans are not satisfactory banking loans because of their length of maturity. In recent years this has given rise to considerable banking competition beyond the industry.

ELIMINATING TAX EXEMPTION WOULD BOOST LOCAL RATE ON BUSINESS, INDIVIDUAL

With the growing tax load the attractiveness of tax-exempt bonds is going to become more evident day by day. No doubt this may cause some agitation that this type of security be made taxable. Here again, however, too few people realize that a tax-exempt bond reflects the tax exemption. If the tax-exempt feature of a State or local bond were eliminated and the funds of States and local political subdivisions were made subject to a tax, and if this could be constitutionally done (which is questionable), it would simply mean a higher tax rate against business, agriculture and the individual in the States, cities, or counties issuing the bonds. What it would mean is an increased local tax on the various groups of businesses and on the individual because the local government would have to pay a higher interest charge. It would also mean a greater return of taxable funds to the Federal Government because in such event the interest collected would be taxable.

History does not indicate that an increase in the flow of tax money to the Federal Government is quickly reflected in a lower Federal tax bill. Usually there are new needs discovered for the increased flow of money, and the tax rate (as will be well demonstrated during the current congressional session) remains constant despite Government receipts. In the end, therefore, if you tax State and local bond interest, John Q. Public would just have a larger tax bill or a bigger debt he eventually would have to pay with taxes.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY H. HEIMANN,
Executive Vice President.

The Federal Service: Its Problems and Its Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me, I am submitting herewith copy of an address entitled "The Federal Service: Its Problems and Its Future," delivered by the Honorable James C. Worthy, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, before the American Society for Personnel Administration, Society for the Advancement of Management, and the National Capital Chapter of the Civil Service Assembly, on January 28, 1955:

THE FEDERAL SERVICE: ITS PROBLEMS AND ITS FUTURE

(Address by Hon. James C. Worthy, Assistant Secretary of Commerce,)

I. INTRODUCTION

I am very proud of the opportunity to address this joint meeting of three distinguished organizations. Whatever differences there may be in the membership, professional specializations, and systems of concepts and techniques as between your three groups, all of them have one characteristic in common—a focus on and a concern for the human problems of running the Federal Government. Each of your organizations has made significant contributions to the efficiency of Government operations and to the integrity of the career service. Your membership rosters constitute a "Who's Who" of leaders in the field of management and administration. I salute you for what you have done, and wish you Godspeed in your continuing efforts.

I appreciate your inviting me here today to discuss some of the problems of the Federal service as they appear to a relative newcomer to Government who is now on his way back to private business. My status in this respect gives me a perspective which may have a certain value. For whatever they may be worth, I would like to share with you some of the observations I have made during the past 2 years.

Personal point of view

I want to be perfectly clear that what I shall have to say represents solely my own thinking and that none of the proposals I shall make are to be considered as in any way official. They represent merely the ideas of one individual on the verge of reentering private life. I trust you will view them in that light and accept them as sincerely directed toward improving the Federal service.

First of all, let me say it has been a great privilege to be a member of the Eisenhower administration and an officer of the Department of Commerce. I accepted the invitation to come down to Washington because I believed so implicitly in the principles represented by the President and by Secretary Weeks. I have never had occasion to regret that decision. Friends at home have commented on what they sometimes refer to as my willingness to accept the sacrifices of public service. I have always assured them that no sacrifice was involved. Quite the contrary: these 2 years have been the most stimulating and rewarding of my entire life, and I shall always be thankful that this opportunity was given to me.

I shall always be thankful for the friends I have made here, in high positions and low; friends who have made my task easier and my life richer. I have come to have a tremendous respect, not only for the appointive officials of this administration but for the members of the career service. I hope that as I go back to private life I will be able to help correct some of the mistaken impressions which prevail in certain quarters about the kind of people who work for the Government. I can say in all sincerity that for hard work and patient devotion it would be hard to find their equal in any line of endeavor.

II. SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF GOVERNMENT WORKERS

The question is often asked of me as to how people in Government differ from those in private business. By and large, of course, they do not differ: Government people are a representative cross section of the American people as a whole, with all their diversity and all their strengths and weaknesses. But in the professional and higher administrative levels of Government service I think there are certain characteristics which at least in respect to emphasis tend to distinguish the typical Government employee from his counterpart in private industry.

Generalizations about people are always hazardous, but I think it can be said that the typical upper level career employee tends to look somewhat more to the satisfactions of the job itself and somewhat less to the monetary rewards of that job than the typical employee in private industry carrying comparable burdens of responsibility. Whereas the business executive defines his status and measures his progress to a considerable extent in terms of his income, his opposite number in government is inclined to give greater relative weight to his job as such and to his professional achievement on that job.

I do not mean to imply that the government worker is not interested in the size of his paycheck. In many cases, in fact, his somewhat sharper focus on job satisfactions may represent an adaptation to a situation in which financial rewards are more difficult to achieve than in private industry. Whatever the origin of the attitude, the fact remains, I think, that there is a difference, at least in degree, in the respective orientations of the man in government and the man in industry.

Implications for administrators

This generalization has important implications for the government administrator, particularly to the administrator who comes into government from private industry where he has been accustomed to rely heavily on monetary rewards for energizing and directing the efforts of his organization. For one thing, the government pay system is too cumbersome and inflexible to permit it to serve as a useful tool for this purpose, and the businessman cum administrator must learn to rely on other means.

Of greater significance is the fact that failure to appreciate the extent of the government worker's ego-involvement in his job may lead the new administrator inadvertently to destroy or seriously impair the primary incentives available to him to promote high-level performance and efficient operation. The government worker will exert himself to the utmost, if necessary under severe difficulties, if he feels that those in authority recognize the importance of what he is doing and are giving him the support he needs. But if the value of his work is questioned—or, worse, if he is attacked directly or by implication as an unnecessary burden on the public payroll—he is deprived of the chief incentive he has for diligent, conscientious effort.

This does not imply by any means that a new administrator should accept without question all the activities he may inherit; neither does it imply that functions once established need be continued indefinitely. Indiscriminate approval loses its value here as in all human affairs. What is needed is a selective, judicial approach; an attitude of evaluating functions on their merits, of seeking to eliminate the less essential in order to strengthen the more essential, of concentrating on the most important things to be done and providing the circumstances, the atmosphere, the support which will enable them to be done better. This is the kind of approach the Government employee will understand and respond to, and the administrator who uses it can count on a loyal, enthusiastic, and productive organization.

Efficiency in Government

Because of the many impediments to efficient operation in Government, it is important that this characteristic of the Government employee be recognized and utilized. Most of these impediments to efficiency are inherent in the nature of Government service.

There is, for one thing, the high rate of turnover at the top. I was looking the other day at a picture taken about 2 years ago of the secretarial officers of the Department of Commerce. Of the 7 men in the picture, 4, including myself, are no longer there and have been replaced by newcomers. The situation in other departments, I imagine, is fairly comparable and is not by any means unique to this administration. I could not help wondering as I looked at that picture what would happen to a private business concern if it experienced a like degree of turnover in its top staff.

This kind of turnover places a severe strain on any organization. Government, as an on-going institution, has adapted itself over the years to absorb this strain. It has built-in resiliencies that enable it to weather the comings and goings of those at the top. Experienced civil servants develop techniques of self-protection that help them adapt to change in policies and personnel; those who fail to develop such techniques are not likely to survive for long.

These are natural adaptations to the realities of Government life; they are essential to a reasonable degree of continuity of function. But they take their toll in efficiency. When so much of the organization structure has to be designed to provide resiliency to change, when so large a part of the efforts of key personnel must be devoted to self-protection—or equally important, when so much initiative is stifled for fear of unnecessary exposure—it is little wonder that Government operations are often inefficient as compared to private industry.

Challenge to Administrators

The Government administrator, however, has it within his power to offset these impediments in substantial degree. He has available, for the tapping, a tremendous source of energy and enthusiasm in the job-oriented attitudes of the typical career employee. Give the career employee leadership as to the direction you want him to go, recognize the importance of what he is doing, see that he has the support and facilities he needs, do what you can to remove roadblocks and encumbrances in his way—and you will be amazed at the effort and productivity you will call forth. Under these circumstances Government operations can more nearly approach the efficiency of private industry. But the task requires high orders of understanding and administrative skill.

III. COMMONSENSE IN ADMINISTRATION

In this general connection, I would like to say a few words about the organization of administrative functions in the Federal Government. There has been a vast proliferation of administrative activities in recent years. Budget and management staffs, personnel staffs, organization and methods staffs, general service staffs, and so on have often grown more rapidly than the agencies of which they are a part. Typically, too, when cut-backs have been necessary the administrative staffs have been cut back less severely in proportion to the professional and program staffs. Both the growth of the administrative staffs and the tenderness with which they are treated when appropriations are reduced are justified in terms of the presumed contributions of such staffs to efficiency of operations.

Expansion of administrative staffs

It is easy to argue that an extra budget analyst can save many times his salary, or an extra personnel man can help improve employee morale, or the centralization of common services can save payroll. All these things may be true—in balance and moderation. But I have the feeling that in some cases we may have gone too far. The pendulum has swung widely since the reports of the first Hoover Commission called attention to the need for improved administrative management in the Federal service. The organizations represented here today have greatly aided in that swing. And because of the strategic position the administrative staffs have come to occupy in most major agencies, they have been able to expand and strengthen their functions, often at the expense of the program areas.

I think a time has come for stock-taking. Above all, I think the time has come for a reevaluation of the role of the administrative functions.

One reason administrative staffs have grown as they have has been the tendency to elaborate and extend administrative controls. A parallel factor has been the tendency to centralize functions. If the approach is in the direction of control and centralization, there is no limit to the extent to which the administrative staff can grow; but the cost in terms of the effectiveness of the organization as a whole can be very great indeed.

A service approach

In the Department of Commerce we have tried to develop a different point of view. We have tried to minimize the control aspects of administrative functions and to promote maximum decentralization. In particular, we have tried to emphasize the service aspects of the administrative jobs. We have tried to get across the idea that none of the administrative functions—whether personnel, budget and management, organization and methods, or whatever—has any value in its own right, that it is useful only to the extent that it contributes to the achievement of program objectives.

In our view, the purpose of the administrative staff is not to devise and police controls, except as positively required by law or regulation, but rather to assist program staffs in finding their way around difficulties and to provide them with the professional advice and services they need to do their jobs more effectively. Under this concept, administrative staffs can be kept small but their value to the organization can be greatly enhanced. And the job satisfaction of the administrative people themselves can be enriched and deepened accordingly. I submit there is far more basis for pride in helping a bureau or a division solve a knotty problem than in issuing a reprimand for deviation from some procedural detail.

As professionals in the several functional branches of administration, I urge you to consider carefully the role and orientation of your administrative organizations. I feel very definitely the need for strengthening administrative management in the Federal service, but I think we ought to consider carefully the means we employ for that purpose.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF PATRONAGE

I should like to turn now to another subject which also, in my view, requires considerable reevaluation. I refer to the subject of patronage and its relation to the career service. No other topic—except possibly that of security—has generated so much heat and so little light during these past 2 years.

Whatever other fruits it may have enjoyed from its victory in 1952, the Republican Party has been bitterly disappointed in the matter of jobs. The party had been out of power for 20 years. There had not only been little or no Federal patronage during all that time, but party leaders and workers recalled vividly what happened in 1933 when the Democrats succeeded the Republicans in office.

Recollections of 1933

They recalled the arbitrary dismissals of career employes suspected of the taint of Republicanism—such as the removal from the civil service of 376 "higher paid technical and professional positions" in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and the en bloc replacement of encumbents by loyal Democrats. They recalled the thousands of Democrats who found their way into Federal employment in the years following 1933 and the difficulty of getting a job without Democratic endorsement.

They recalled the vigor with which Jim Farley handled his job as patronage boss and his frankness about what he was doing and why. They recalled that as late as 1948 Jim Farley had written: "While many critize the spoils system, I have always felt that it is just as easy to find a good Democrat as a good Republican or vice versa and that the party in power should reward its own."

Disappointments of 1953

Remembering these things, the leaders and workers of the Republican Party looked forward to the turnover in office 2 years ago with relish and anticipation. But they were sorely disappointed; and if they have grown bitter, they can be understood. It does little to assuage their bitterness to point out that there are a number of very important differences between 1933 and 1953. But if we are to deal intelligently with the problem, we had better understand what those differences are.

I had the fortune—or misfortune—of serving in the first years of two new political administrations: with the NRA and its successor agencies from 1933 to 1936 and with the Department of Commerce from 1953 to 1955. I am therefore in a position to see quite vividly some of the sharp contrasts between the two periods.

Greatly extended civil service coverage

For one thing, the coverage of civil service is much more extensive in the latter period than it was in the former. When the Democrats took office in 1933, 80 percent of all Federal jobs were under civil service. But by 1936 civil service coverage had been reduced to about 60 percent, partly through removing certain jobs from civil service but more importantly through specifically exempting the newly created emergency agencies. As against about 40 percent of all Federal jobs available for patronage purposes before the end of President Roosevelt's first term, only 15 percent are so available now. Whatever this may represent in the way of a desirable strengthening of the merit system, it also represents a formidable restriction on freedom of appointment.

Growth of Government under Roosevelt

Of much greater importance, however, was the fact that 1933 saw the beginning of the rapid buildup in the size of the Federal establishment, whereas 1953 saw the initiation of a sharp trend in reverse. During President Roosevelt's first term, new agencies were created in quick succession and the need for Federal workers grew by leaps and bounds.

I can remember the hectic buildup period of NRA during the summer of 1933. We had few administrative regulations in those days, but I can remember one of them: No hiring on Fridays. This rule was necessary simply because the recordkeeping machinery could not keep pace with the rate of hiring. So each Friday people from the chief clerk's office went through the organization taking a census of all those hired during the preceding days of the week. Other agencies faced with similar problems of rapid growth no doubt employed a variety of expedients, but I have always thought of this one as illustrating vividly the great wealth of jobs available at that time. And I can assure you from having lived through it that the Party then in power made full use of the political opportunities thus afforded.

Contraction of Government under Eisenhower

The situation faced by the new Republican administration when it took office in 1953 was sharply different. Instead of entering on a period of great expansion, President Eisenhower set in motion the economy program which had been one of the important Republican pledges in the preceding campaign. Instead of more jobs there were fewer. Instead of rapid, large-scale recruitment, widespread reductions in force were the order of the day. During the first 2 years of the Roosevelt administration, Federal employment increased by 141,000. During the first 2 years of the Eisenhower administration, Federal employment decreased by 200,000. In the Department of Commerce alone, regular, full-time employment was cut back 23.3 percent during our first year in office. Thus, even in the relatively few job categories which remained outside civil service the opportunities for patronage were meager indeed.

Buildup of pressure

But memories of what had happened in 1933 persisted, and discontent within the Republican organization rose to fever pitch. Pressure on the administration became extreme. I think it is to the everlasting credit of the President and the men around him that, in the face of this pressure, they have kept and maintained their strong position of safeguarding the merit system. I shudder to think of what might have happened had less courageous and less forthright men been at the helm.

But the pressure remains and the problem persists, and the entire subject is becoming increasingly confused. I think the time has come for a fresh and objective reappraisal.

A large part of our present confusion comes from failure to distinguish between two quite different things: the need of a new administration to gain control of the machinery of Government and the need of the party in power for jobs to reward the party faithful. These two needs have only in common the fact that both involve jobs and both involve people. Otherwise, they are entirely different in nature and must be satisfied by entirely different means. Let us consider each of them in turn.

Controlling machinery of government

In order to gain control of the machinery of Government, it is necessary for a new administration to control only a relatively few jobs. These are the key positions in the organization, the positions which are truly policy determining or policy influencing and the incumbents of which are close enough to the working processes to insure the faithful adherence of the staff to the program directions laid down.

In this connection, it is important to remember that by far the greater part of all governmental activities are devoid of partisan content. What has the work of the Bureau of Standards or the Patent Office or the Bureau of the Census or the Office of Business Economics to do with which party is in office? The level of their appropriations may rise or fall in accordance with the dictates of administration policy, the scope of their activities may expand or contract accordingly, and there may be certain changes in program emphasis. But the work itself is nonpolitical.

So long as the top staff in such agencies is professionally competent and properly cooperative with the new administrative group their personal politics is beside the point—assuming, of course, that they comply fully with the restrictions of the Hatch Act. In considering the number of jobs a new administration needs to have at its disposal to insure control of the governmental machinery, this largely nonpartisan nature of by far the greater part of the federal establishment needs to be kept in mind.

Support for administration policies

Even in activities where there is an appreciable degree of partisan content, the number of jobs that must be controlled still is relatively small. It has been my observation that the great majority of Federal workers—I can say this confidently at least with respect to the employees of the Department of Commerce—are conscientiously supporting the policies and programs of this administration—as I am sure they conscientiously supported the policies and programs of our predecessors in office.

Unfortunately, there has been a certain amount of confusion on this point, and it has sometimes been overlooked that, if people are to support a particular program or policy, they have to know what that program or policy is. One of the difficulties faced by the new administration when it came into office 2 years ago—and I am sure it is a difficulty experienced by any incoming administration—was that many of the new officials had to learn their way around in their new jobs. They had, of course, a general idea of the kinds of work performed in the bureaus and offices for which they were responsible and they had fairly clear-cut notions of the directions they wanted to go. But they often were not familiar with detailed issues and it took time for them to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the pros and cons of various alternative lines of action.

Under these circumstances, in the early months of this administration people down the line were sometimes lacking in clear-cut policy direction. But the work had to go on, and in the absence of specific instructions

to the contrary they were likely to continue along much the same lines as under the prior administration. Thus it happened that the new administrators were sometimes confronted with actions or proposals for action with which they were in disagreement, and it is easy to understand that in some cases they developed the feeling that their career staffs were undercutting and second-guessing them. But this was only a passing phase. As the new administrators gradually worked out their own policy positions, as they made clear to those under them the directions they wanted to go, the career staffs swung in solidly behind them and are giving them their loyal, wholehearted support.

Few jobs required for control

Thus, even in activities with substantial partisan content, it is necessary to control only a relatively few jobs to control the machinery of government. Effective control is not secured by reaching far down into the organization, but by making sure that the few really key jobs are filled, not merely by people loyal to the administration but by people with a sure grasp of the problems of the organization and the ability to provide clearcut goals and positive leadership. Given this, there need be no fear of lack of control.

By and large, I think the schedule C system has proved reasonably adequate to assure effective control of the governmental machinery. In the Department of Commerce we have not been granted all the schedule C authority we asked for, but, for the most part, we are fairly content. It might interest you to know that of our approximately 41,000 permanent full-time jobs only 86 are in schedule C. I think this gives some indication of the quite small number that are needed for purposes of control.

V. SUSTENANCE OF THE PARTY SYSTEM

But there is another and quite different need that must also be met. This is the need for jobs to nourish the American party system. For this purpose greater numbers and quite different categories of jobs are required than those embraced under the schedule C concept.

Nature of party system

The genius of this country is political. That genius is expressed in our unique party system no less than in our unique Constitution. The distinguishing characteristic of American political parties is that they are nonideological—there are far greater differences of ideological position within each of the two great parties than there are between them. This characteristic has important implications for our political system. It means, among other things, that many conflicts are resolved within the framework of the parties themselves rather than in struggles between the parties.

In countries when parties are largely ideological, as in England, the conflicting ideological principles of the parties makes the resolution of issues difficult. Under our system where the differences are chiefly within and not between the parties, issues can be debated much more clearly in terms of their individual merits; precisely because the ideological factors are fuzzy they interpose fewer difficulties to the reaching of agreement. The American process is seldom neat and orderly and few interest groups are ever entirely satisfied with its results. But neither is any interest group ever wholly alienated. The American party system is probably the most effective means ever devised by man for handling the political problems of organized society.

Necessity for patronage

Under ideological party systems, the common interest of ideological position helps hold the party machinery together and keeps it functioning. Under the American system, some other unifying and sustaining factor is necessary. Historically, this factor has been patronage.

I think we have failed in this country to appreciate this peculiar characteristic of the American political system. I think that in our enthusiasm for extending the scope of the merit system we have come dangerously close to denying our political parties the sustenance they need to retain their health and vitality.

We have been misled, I think, by false analogies between our and the English civil service systems. We have gone on the implicit assumption that if the merit system is good it should be continually expanded until, ideally, it covers all Federal employment. But we have failed to realize that the English can afford a universal merit system because their parties are ideological and consequently have little need for patronage whereas there is serious doubt that our parties could survive for long in their present form without adequate patronage. Many of the difficulties of the Republican Party today are directly traceable to what may be best described as 20 years of malnutrition.

In our indiscriminate pursuit of the ideal of a universal civil service we may have gone too far. I think we need to take another look at what we have done in terms of its implications for the party system.

Characteristics for political recruitment

Let me make this very clear: I am not suggesting we turn the clock back; I am not suggesting we expose either Government employees or the public to the evils of a revived spoils system. What I am proposing (and remember, I am speaking only for myself) is that we make a careful analysis of Federal employment for the purpose of identifying certain jobs whose nature is such that they can be filled without material loss of efficiency, and perhaps even with gains in efficiency, by the selection of applicants referred by the party in office.

I am not suggesting that such jobs be filled by Republicans simply because they are Republicans (or by Democrats simply because they are Democrats) but that they be filled by properly qualified persons referred by the political party in office. The emphasis, in other words, is not simply on party label but equally on fitness and capacity.

One requirement would be that jobs designated for this purpose be such that their effective performance would not be seriously impaired by fairly frequent turnover. Most of them should be in the field, close to the grassroots for these have by far the greatest political value. They should be the kind of jobs which lend themselves to efficient recruitment through the channels of party organization. For certain kinds of jobs, in fact, it should be possible to secure just as well qualified people through political referral sources as through competitive civil service examinations, often with a definite improvement in efficiency of recruitment and quality of selection.

Quite definitely, jobs designated for this purpose should not be those requiring specialized technical or professional skills; not only are such jobs of little value politically, but it is essential for orderly and efficient government that they be filled entirely without reference to political considerations. For the same reason, jobs involving special public trust, such as those in the Internal Revenue Service, should be excluded for it is essential that the public have confidence that the decisions of such officials are not susceptible to pressures of any kind, political or otherwise.

Other specifications, both of inclusion and exclusion, could be spelled out but these, I think, suggest the general approach.

Need for study

I shall not be so unwise at this time as to try to identify any specific jobs which might be set aside in this kind of special reserve. It is the essence of my thought that the problem be studied very carefully with the needs of the party system in mind as well as the requirements of efficient management. I venture to suggest that in the interests of contributing to the strength and vitality of the party system we could afford to risk a slightly lower level of efficiency on certain kinds of work than we might otherwise try to achieve. On the other hand, I am convinced that if we have capable management, and if the jobs are properly selected for the specific purpose here in mind, filling them with applicants referred from political sources may well result in increased efficiency and better performance. The competitive civil service is not necessarily synonymous with maximum efficiency.

Also, let me be clear that I am not necessarily talking about a large number of jobs. Actually, the number which might remain outside the merit system might very well be no more than the total outside the merit system today. But they would be better distributed. They would be excluded from the merit system because they have characteristics which peculiarly fit them for this special purpose. Their status would be well-defined and the conditional tenure of their incumbents well understood.

Benefits to merit system

Such a program would not only greatly strengthen our very special party system, it would also be a boon to the merit system itself because it would channelize along safer lines the tremendous political pressures which otherwise build up whenever there is a change in the party in power.

We have seen something of such pressures during the past 2 years. You can be sure that they will recur with equal or greater force the next time there is a change in party. If these pressures are not relieved by wise and well-considered measures there is always the danger that they may reach a point where "something has to give," and the resulting explosion may do irreparable harm to the merit system.

There is no necessary conflict between the merit system and the selection of politically referred applicants. Both serve highly essential purposes, and their roles can be reconciled. The two are in conflict now because we have failed to take into proper account the very real—and, let me emphasize, legitimate—needs of the American party system. But this can be corrected by identifying certain carefully selected jobs and making it quite clear that there is nothing wrong in filling them with applicants referred by the party in office.

It should be made equally clear that appointments to all other jobs, except those in the schedule C category, would be made absolutely without reference to political considerations of any kind. By carefully distinguishing between the characteristics and methods of administering the two system, they could work side by side in much greater harmony than now prevails and could serve their respective purposes much more usefully.

VI. REORGANIZATION OF PERSONNEL FUNCTIONS

I should like to turn now to another subject which likewise, I think, needs reappraisal. I refer to the need for more effective organization of the executive branch for efficient management of personnel, especially in the higher levels. I recognize that I am venturing onto controversial ground and repeat that the opinions expressed, whatever they may be worth, are entirely my own, and I accept sole responsibility for them.

Administrative difficulties

Many of the administrative difficulties of the Federal service have their origin in three main points:

1. The Civil Service Commission, over a period of years, has been called upon to per-

form two quite different and in many ways basically conflicting functions. On the one hand, the Commission is called upon to protect the interests of career employees; on the other, it is called upon to serve as the staff arm of the Chief Executive in personnel management matters. The first is an employee interest. The second is a management interest.

2. The President, as Chief Executive, is responsible for providing central leadership in the executive branch in personnel management. To date, however, no President has ever had an adequate staff for positive and progressive personnel management, nor one with full jurisdiction over all executive personnel matters.

3. Personnel management in the departments and agencies needs to be strengthened through strong central executive leadership within the framework of regulations established for the career service and through almost complete decentralization of authority and responsibility for actual personnel operations to the departments and agencies themselves.

Let me elaborate these points a little further.

Conflicting functions

First of all, the combining of two basically conflicting functions in the Civil Service Commission is an open invitation to schizophrenia. In this respect, the experience of private industry is illuminating. Some companies have established personnel departments for the stated purpose of representing the interests of workers to management and the interests of management to workers. Where serious efforts have been made to apply this concept, the results have been highly unsatisfactory to both workers and management, and the personnel director has usually wound up with a bad case of ulcers and thoroughly discredited on both sides.

It should be axiomatic that no single individual and no single agency can properly represent both management and workers. At some point the wholly legitimate requirements of management come into conflict with the wholly legitimate interests of workers, and regardless of whether the personnel director takes a stand on one side or the other or seeks to temporize, his effectiveness is loss and his influence dissipated.

Second, it seems to me essential that all functions involving central executive leadership in personnel management in the departments and agencies be vested in the Executive Office of the President and that the President be given a staff adequate to discharge his responsibilities in the important field of personnel management.

Realinement of responsibilities

This requires, in my opinion, a far-reaching realinement of responsibility for personnel functions. As I see it, the Civil Service Commission can best achieve its historic mission of establishing and maintaining a strong career service if it is relieved of responsibility for administrative operations and concentrates on providing the framework for the career service principally through (1) establishing appropriate regulations and standards for such a service, (2) inspecting personnel management activities in the agencies, and (3) adjudicating employee appeals. These functions are the very heart of establishing, maintaining, and protecting the career civil service.

A proper realinement of functions also requires, in my opinion, a strong executive personnel agency in the Executive Office of the President. The functions of such an office should be: (1) to develop and formulate general personnel policies within the framework of laws and regulations established by Congress and the Civil Service Commission, (2) to stimulate, assist, and review personnel management in the departments and agencies, and (3) to carry on certain types of personnel activities, especially those involving high-level executive positions, which can only be conducted effectively from the Office of the President.

Bureau of Personnel

Such an agency might be called appropriately the "Bureau of Personnel." It should be a part of the Executive Office of the President, should report directly to the President, and should have a status coordinate with the Bureau of the Budget.

Some of the functions which should be performed by the new Bureau of Personnel are now performed by the Civil Service Commission. Others are now performed by the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission in his capacity as the President's Adviser on Personnel Management. Still others are now performed by a variety of individuals and offices scattered about in various places. Finally, some of the functions which should be performed in the interest of effective personnel management are not now being performed at all or are being performed only on a rudimentary level. Grouping all of these phases of personnel management into a single strategically located agency in the Executive Office of the President would unify and strengthen personnel management in the executive branch and provide the President the facility he needs for exercising leadership in this crucial area of governmental operations.

Progress in other areas of management

Such a realinement would be in keeping with the best developments in organization in the recent history of other phases of management. The Bureau of the Budget has been able to do a far more effective staff job for the President since its reorganization in 1939 and transfer from the Treasury Department to the Executive Office of the President. Great improvements in administration have been achieved in a number of agencies through adoption of corporate forms of organization, business-type budgets, and comptrollership systems of controls. Accounting systems have been greatly improved under the joint accounting program of the Bureau of the Budget, the Treasury Department, and the General Accounting Office, and commercial-type audits represent a big step forward over the traditional Government-type audits.

In a number of subject-matter areas, moreover, rulemaking, inspectional, and appellate activities have been separated from operating functions with a substantial improvement in organization and operations. I need only refer, for an example, to the very desirable clarification of functions and organization in the field of civil aeronautics, where we have a Civil Aeronautics Board (the CAB) to establish the framework of regulations for civil aviation activities and a Civil Aeronautics Administration (the CAA) to carry on necessary operations such as aviation safety, Federal airways operations, airport engineering, and the like.

Personnel arm of President

As I see it, the Bureau of Personnel in the Executive Office of the President would serve as the personnel arm of the President, with no confusion as to its orientation toward more efficient management practices. It would develop and formulate general policies within the framework of civil-service laws, regulations, and standards; and provide central leadership, assistance, and review for the personnel organizations and programs of the various departments and agencies in terms of the needs of efficient management.

The Bureau would engage only such activities as cannot be efficiently decentralized to operating departments and agencies. Personnel operations should be streamlined and decentralized to departments and agencies far more than they have up to the present time, particularly in the field of recruitment, examination, and related matters. With more effective guidance from a Bureau of Personnel in the Office of the President, it could be expected that better personnel management would develop in the departments and agencies. The improvements thus achieved should in turn make possible a far greater delegation of authority and responsibility than perhaps would be wise at the present time.

In addition to providing strong leadership and guidance to operating departments and agencies in the executive branch, the Bureau of Personnel would perform various functions of a staff nature for the President. I need not catalog all the useful functions the Bureau might perform, but I would like to mention 1 or 2 which may be of special interest.

High-level executive placements

One of the most important of such functions is that of executive placement in high-level jobs of a policy-determining or policy-influencing nature. In general, these jobs are about equivalent in type and level to schedule C jobs and above. Jobs of this nature obviously have important implications not only from the standpoint of executive management but also from the standpoint of political relationships.

The first requirement for effective organization of any kind is that key positions be filled with people properly qualified to perform their tasks. A related requirement is that adequate means be provided to assure orderly replacement with equally competent people in face of the turnover that always takes place.

I have been struck, these past 2 years, not only with the great difficulty of securing properly qualified people for higher level Government positions but also with the problem of assuring effective utilization of the personnel available. An agency head, faced with the loss of one of his top officials, is in a very difficult position. He is an extremely busy man. The demands on his time and attention are such that he can give little thought to locating a good replacement, and the probabilities are strongly against the right man just happening to come along at just the right time. In consequence, many important positions are in danger of being filled on a basis of accident or expediency, and many good men are passed over merely because no one happens to think of them in a particular connection at a critical moment.

One of the primary functions of the Bureau of Personnel as I see it would be to provide an executive placement service to the President and to high officials of the Government. Suitable rosters should be developed and kept up to date of persons within the Government and of persons outside the Government who are well qualified for various types of key positions and who should be considered for them and if necessary persuaded to accept them. Very often, the person needed for a particular job is a most reluctant candidate indeed.

Optimum use of talent

Executive talent is always a scarce commodity, and one phase of the executive placement function should be to assure optimum use of the talent actually on hand. I am very sure that many of the people already serving in this administration are qualified for higher responsibilities than those they now hold. Means should be provided for identifying such people and for indicating the kinds of higher responsibilities for which they should be considered. The bureau of personnel should periodically appraise the work of all policymaking officials, not only to bring to light any hidden talents already on hand but to discover weaknesses and inadequacies which should be

corrected by replacement or other suitable administrative action.

With rosters thus developed, the Bureau of Personnel would be able to render a highly useful service to the President and to the heads of the various executive agencies. As vacancies occur, the director of the bureau could do the staff work of reviewing the qualifications of all potential candidates, both from within government and without. He could then present a small but highly select list to the agency head, who would make the final selection. Without in any way restricting the range of choice of the agency head or encroaching on his responsibility, a service of this kind would save him an appreciable amount of time and worry. And it would tend to greatly improve the quality of selections. The basis of selection would be considerably broadened and there would be greater assurance that the best qualified person available is actually appointed. The resulting improvement in management and direction of the key affairs of government could be very great indeed.

Orientation of new officials

One of the serious needs of Government is some more effectively organized means for instructing new high-level appointees on the problems they will face in taking over their new responsibilities. Any retail store on F Street does a better job of making sure that a new salesgirl gets a good start than does the Government with respect to a new assistant secretary. Every secretarial officer of this administration with whom I have talked has expressed the wish that some way, some how, he could have been warned about some of the pitfalls he had to discover the hard way or could have been given certain basic information about how government works and about how he could most effectively take hold of his new responsibilities.

The Bureau of Personnel, as I see it, would not only play a key role in the selection and appointment of new high-level officials, but would also be responsible for seeing that they get off to a good start.

Closely related to executive placement and orientation is executive training and development. The Bureau of Personnel should undertake to plan out and operate a governmentwide, interagency program of training and developing promising young executives for key positions in the future. Unless we do this, we are failing to make maximum use of the potential talent we already have available in the Federal service. Drawing on the experience of industry, I think it can be safely said that the only successful way to run such a program would be from the Office of the President.

College recruiting

Another function of the Bureau of Personnel should be the direction of college recruiting, on which the quality of future management depends in large degree. From my experience in private business, I know that we must keep a continuing influx of promising young college graduates each year, in order to maintain competent management. In the company to which I am about to return, it takes about 8 years to train a good store manager through various intermediate assignments and positions. The company relies heavily on recruiting able young college graduates each year. It knows from experience that if it fails to recruit sufficient trainees in any given year, it is in for trouble 8 years or 10 years later, when it will be looking for good store managers and can't find them to the extent it needs them.

Shocking deficiencies

On a conservative estimate—to my mind unrealistically conservative—about 8,000 new college graduates a year are needed in Government service. Currently, I understand, we are actually recruiting only about 2,000 a year. I can imagine what such a deficiency would do to a private industry; its implications for the future competence of Government operations are shocking.

The Government's whole college recruiting program must be completely overhauled, with a view to competing more effectively with private business firms and professional organizations in attracting a better share of the cream of each year's crop of college graduates. This means, among other things, that we must be able to offer them not only a decent salary, but recruitment without burdensome procedural requirements. We must also provide a carefully managed program of opportunities to show what they can do, promotion as rapidly as they show their ability and as rapidly as they would be advanced in private industry, and reasonable protection from the vicissitudes of reductions in force and similar disturbances of tenure for a stated period of years (perhaps as long as 10), provided, of course, their performance and progress are satisfactory.

Strengthened functions

There are many other ways in which the Bureau of Personnel could strengthen personnel management in the executive departments and agencies. The main point is simply this: As a management agency, it should—and could—focus attention more sharply on the several problems with which government is faced in achieving efficient and economical personnel management. It should—and could—help us to distinguish mere tradition and form from real and current operating needs, and thereby help us to devise more realistic and effective solutions to our personnel problems.

I have tried to give some indication of the broad lines along which, in my view, the personnel activities of the Federal Government should be reorganized. I think our present arrangements are inadequate because conflicting roles and responsibilities have been allowed to grow up over the years within the Civil Service Commission which compromise it in its function as a regulatory agency and severely handicap it as a management arm of the President and the executive branch. I have tried to suggest a means for eliminating this conflict and for strengthening both functions. I do not expect ready acceptance of these proposals, but I hope they may provide a basis for further thought and discussion, out of which may come an effective solution for one of the really serious problems of government administration.

VII. CONCLUSION

I fear I have talked much too long. But I had some things I wanted to say, and I am grateful to you for providing me the occasion to say them.

I want to say only one thing further.

It has been a great privilege to serve under the leadership of President Eisenhower and Secretary Weeks. It has been a great experience to be here in Washington these last 2 years. One of the fine things about that experience was getting to know the people in the Department of Commerce and people such as yourselves in this room with a common interest in the problems and the future of the Federal service. I shall think of you often. Good luck to you all.

Security of the Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the January 31, 1955, edition of the New Republic magazine.

This address, printed with some deletions for reasons of space, was made by former United States Senator Harry P. Cain, of Washington, and presently a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board:

SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC

On January 15, 1955, Harry P. Cain, Senator from Washington from 1946 to 1952 and since then a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, addressed a meeting of Republicans in the Fifth Congressional District in Spokane. 'I am here as a proud Republican," said Mr. Cain, "but I am speaking as one who feels that his basic allegiance is to the Nation."

Mr. Cain first praised the work of the Subversive Activities Control Board in terms we believe to be just. He then spoke of his six enjoyable but hectic years in the United States Senate. "Its only conceivable drawback," he noted, "was an exaggerated emphasis on work of every possible kind rather than an output of thought. I readily confess," he stated, "that I attempted to accomplish too much for too many people in too many directions all at once. In attempting all this I lost sight of some fundamentals which I have returned to focus during the past 2 years."

In presenting the reflection of 2 years Mr. Cain declared his willingness to live indefinitely under the conditions and demands imposed by the conflict against communism. He expressed his view that given intelligent world leadership the United States would eventually win this conflict. He cited as his major concern, whether at the conclusion of the conflict freedom and justice would govern the United States.

Promising that his address would not contain a single unreasonable, insupportable, or destructive political reference, Mr. Cain analyzed the fundamental problems raised by the Federal security program. With some deletions made for reasons of space this speech is printed below:

"No one among us denies that the present is an age of peril. Were we in disagreement about this, we could reach agreement about nothing.

"Most of those in authority in each political party refer to the present and the years of our immediate future to be an intended period of peaceful coexistence with our enemies. It makes me much more alert and less gullible to think of these years as being coexistence with conflict. Call these years what you will, they will be demanding of a national preparedness and readiness in the armed services, which will long continue the draft or some counterpart, on the farm and throughout industry, sufficient to call for hard sacrifices and participation by all of us.

"This knowledge doesn't bother or perplex me. I accept it willingly. Like you, I am not living in the past or in the future. We must contribute in some real measure to the age in which we live.

"As between our material strength and that of the Soviet Union, I see no particular hazards or defeat in store for the United States. I can only believe as I do that our present leaders and those to come will pursue every intelligent avenue for reconciling our differences with the leaders of international communism short of war. I must remain convinced, as I am, that we shall prevail and survive through any war which may be forced on civilization. In this sense and as a citizen, I have no fear of the Soviet Union whatsoever.

"My only major concern is with what we are to be when international communism's ambition for world domination has been defeated in one way or another. Will we or those who follow us be able to say after the conflict has run its course that through its years, even though they be a hundred, we

Americans and our Government have maintained and left untarnished our self-respect?

"Will we then be able to reassure the rest of the world that America remains a place in which the individual is free because his Government and those in authority in every walk of life have been just?

"As for myself, justice or equity and freedom or liberty are the two evidences of human progress and hope which distinguish representative governments and their peoples from those directed by tyrants, dictators, and despots. Other differences are only skin deep and hardly worth mentioning.

"I want no victory over the godless forces of oppression which does not include the preservation of these assets without which a free people die and wither away.

"Here we are confronted with the greatest challenge of our time. Now is when we must inquire about and make certain that in working to become victorious across the seas, we are permitting no domestic enemies or any acts of cowardice, shortsightedness, arrogance, or stupidity to assault or cripple our bastions of freedom here at home.

"How often do you hear it said that, because of our overwhelming fear of communism, we are blindly or blithely destroying the Constitution and the Bill of Rights? How often do you hear it said that muddleheaded if well-intentioned dreamers are so enamored of liberty in the abstract that we are doing too little or nothing meaningful in opposing the conspiracy which seeks to drive freedom from the earth?

"I listen each day to those who frantically espouse each of these premises. In my judgment, neither contention is even remotely correct, but there are far too many citizens who believe one or the other of these contradictory courses to be true.

"In our struggle to survive as free men and women, we must keep three elements in balance. They are justice, security, and freedom. It seems apparent to me that none of these elements can stand alone and that no two can operate successfully without the other.

"In the years of our past, we have lived by the dictates of freedom and justice. We have known what they were and we have long taken their blessings for granted. We can't say as much about internal security. In terms of time it is reasonable to say that our Nation didn't recognize the pressing need for an internal-security system prior to 1947, a mere 8 years ago.

"In March of 1947, our Nation departed from the more tranquil life and times of the past. A Government program was established to examine into the loyalty of those many individuals who serve the Federal Establishment as employees.

"This was followed by the Internal Security Act of 1950, which created the Subversive Activities Control Board and other domestic security activities. Then came the adoption of the Federal employees security program in April of 1953. As its predecessor loyalty program did, this program requires that every civilian employee or applicant for employment in the executive branch of the Government submit to an investigation for loyalty, but it goes much further than loyalty and considers a number of other factors like excess drinking, sex perversion, and bad company which affect the Nation's security. In addition to these far-reaching measures, the last, or 83d Congress, stiffened up most of the statutes dealing with espionage, counterespionage, and sabotage. You may now, for example, be executed as a spy in peacetime.

"When you add all of this to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the Smith Act, various rulings by various Attorneys General, the continuing and vigilant activities of congressional investigative committees, and the investigative processes of the Civil Service Commission, you have in absolute fact today an internal security system of practically all-inclusive dimensions. With the exception of wiretapping authority, would you establish much more were you an autocratic ruler in our land?

"More than a year ago, when our present security system was but several months of age, the President said:

" 'In this country if someone accuses you, he must confront you; he cannot assassinate you or your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will impose.'

"In his state of the Union message, Dwight Eisenhower said what I believe he means literally:

" 'We shall [he said] ferret out Communist subversion while carefully preserving our traditions and the basic rights of our citizens.'

"These assurances that justice will determine security decisions represent the only foundation strong enough to support a domestic security system for the United States. In no other fashion can we build a system we can trust or live with and any other system will shortly become identical with what we so rebel against in the Soviet Union and fought so hard against and vanquished so completely in Hitler's Germany.

"Let us never forget that in an effort to keep our Nation secure at home, we have constructed an apparatus which can destroy us if we don't watch out.

"Since April of 1953, the Nation has been living with Executive Order 10450, which looks into the loyalty and security reliability of millions of our citizens who are employed by or seek now and in the future to be employed by the Federal Establishment. The cornerstone or guide within this order is that no individual shall be employed by or work for the Government unless his or her retention is clearly consistent with the national interest.

"What have we learned out of this unique and new experience?

"The most encouraging lesson is an admission by many responsible persons in executive and legislative authority that we suffer most from a lack of experience with the security program we have created. I know but few who think the administration of the system has been adequate to the reasonable requirements of freedom. I know but few who believe the system is an adequate answer to the reasonable demands of internal security.

"I was impressed on Wednesday of this week when the District of Columbia Bar Association publicly announced that a special and continuing committee of its leading members has been established to provide legal representation for Government employees who become involved in security cases. This service will be provided without any cost whatsoever to those employees who are unable to obtain counsel of their own choosing or who are without funds to retain an attorney.

"But to be impressed by this development is not sufficient. Never before in our history has it been thought necessary to provide protection from the outside free of charge, for the individual against possible and unwarranted abuse and condemnation by his Government. If any steps will cause us to stop and think, this is it.

"My own considered view is that our security system has worked well and fairly on the average but that conspicuous and inexcusable examples to the contrary have occurred much too often. It isn't persuasive that we should be complimented because we seldom err. Our Nation can't long tolerate a system which doesn't soon eliminate the possibility for errors which are disastrous to anyone like you or me when they arise. I want you to think about three instances in which our internal security apparatus has failed completely in one respect or another in its mission of balancing the requirements of freedom with the demands of security.

"The first: The case of Wolf Ladejinsky has the more recently been in the public's eye. In reflecting on this sad matter, I speak as a part of that 'outraged citizenry' to which Dwight Eisenhower made proper and pointed reference.

"The Ladejinsky case points up practically every weakness which we can find or trace in our prevailing security system. It includes evidences of the shortsightedness, ruthlessness, smugness, and brutality of bureaucracy at their worst.

"Wolf Ladejinsky was naturalized a citizen in 1928. He became a public servant for the Government in 1935 and has been on the Federal payroll ever since. During these 20 years, his written record of service has been noted for its reliability and competence and for his intelligent contributions to our Nation's fight against international communism. Ladejinsky was a powerful fighter in the forces against oppression and slavery long before many among us were conscious of the problem. In his years of service, no supportable question against Ladejinsky's loyalty was ever raised.

"So far as I know, Wolf Ladejinsky has never been faced by any accuser, nor has he been confronted with any charges. He became unwillingly a cause célèbre because some eager beavers and Johnny-come-latelys in our necessary effort to keep America strong couldn't take the time to talk with him or to relate the points in question to 20 years of a man's private and public life.

"Ladejinsky was saved because he had friends in high places who have known him intimately through the years and because nameless outraged citizens cried aloud in their indignation.

"It isn't everyone who can call on a Douglas MacArthur, a WALTER JUDD, and members of both parties in both Houses of the Congress. Men and women of smaller reputations might only consider themselves caught in a trap without knowing where to turn for help or an opportunity to state their case.

"I shed bitter tears for a political reason as well. The case of Wolf Ladejinsky hasn't been solved with finality. There has been no retraction or apology over his being labeled a security risk. Great agencies of our great Government proclaim the man's loyalty and need for his splendid services. Another equally great department is silent and seemingly content to let a cloud on a citizen's priceless reputation hang on.

"You will hear more about Wolf Ladejinsky. Your political opponents will demand, with justification, I can't deny, that a full explanation of the circumstances and details be spread on the public record. This was our job to undertake. We were the ones who blundered. It was for us to explain the manner in which the injustice and contradiction occurred in order that you citizens would be reassured that no similar injustice would happen again. The measure of our collective and individual character is always determined by the way in which we admit our weaknesses and by the steps we take to correct them.

"The second, Victor Havris, of Detroit, was a master sergeant stationed in Europe in 1953. At the age of 32 he had 14 years of loyal service behind. It was thought by someone that the young man's father had been a Communist. It was developed through a hearing conducted by an Air Force security board that Victor Havris, at the age of 12, had been taken by his father, now dead, to some Communist Party meetings. There was no evidence or charge that young Havris was a Communist or a fellow traveler or that he had ever attended any Communist gathering since he was 12 years old.

"Because of the disclosure that young Havris had been led by the hand of his

father to a Communist meeting, he was declared to be a security risk and faced dismissal from the Air Force.

"This recommendation was overruled by a special board which was appointed to reexamine the case. A Democratic Congressman from Michigan was the one who prevailed upon the Air Force to delay and reexamine its dismissal decision.

"The third: Milo J. Radulovich was a first lieutenant in the Air Force who was not on active duty when questions about his being a security risk were raised in 1953. No doubt about his loyalty was intimated publicly. The case against Radulovich, who was a physics student at the University of Michigan under the GI bill of rights, was based on accusations that his father, John Radulovich, had read pro-Communist publications and that his sister, Mrs. Margaret Fishman, had marched as a picket in pro-Communist demonstrations.

"For these reasons, ouster proceedings were initiated against Milo Radulovich. This intended action was concurred in by the board of three colonels who first heard the case and by every staff level until the question was laid before the Air Force Secretary.

"When Milo Radulovich, age 26, heard that his reputation had been restored by the Air Force Secretary, he said: 'It's just like having your future handed back to you. Just to say thanks isn't enough. I never expected it; I'm kind of bowled over.'

"It's time that we begin to worry when a young American, age 26, expresses surprise that he was dealt with justly by his Government.

"I now offer to you some recommendations and suggestions which perhaps are durable and lasting in their value.

"(a) There is a pressing need for the adoption of some method which will guarantee that important or unreconcilable differences between heads of departments in the loyalty and/or internal security fields will be referred for decision to a higher authority.

"No internal security system can become effective, understandable, or reasonable unless its standards and the procedures for implementing them are national standards.

"In the Ladejinsky affair, one standard was advanced by the State Department and the Foreign Operations Administration while a fundamentally contradictory standard was supported by the Agriculture Department. This incredible result bewildered employees throughout the Government and confused people within our country and all around the world.

"If there isn't one national policy which is advocated and supported from the very top, there can't be any system or understanding or order at all.

"The higher authority in question could be the Chief Executive or some high-ranking official to whom such a task is assigned or to a commission which certainly would include within it private citizens for whom the Nation has the fullest measure of respect and confidence in their characters and judgment.

"(b) We must employ a more meticulous care in the selection of security officers. Because of the scope and newness of the problem, some are assigned to judge others who are simply not qualified for these most difficult of all assignments.

"Above all else, the Nation's need is for security personnel who can tell the difference between disloyalty and nonconformity; between treason and heresy.

"Every Government worker must be loyal and reliable but there is no reason why they must be rigidly orthodox in their thinking. There is every reason to encourage the iconoclast as well as the conformist to serve the Republic on the public payroll you taxpayers support.

"Whether in or out of Government, the orthodox mind, because of its strength and singleness of purpose, maintains and preserves progress, but the dreamer and the nonconformist make progress. The opportunity to be different, while being strictly loyal, is a climate we ought to take pains to develop.

"I consider the security officer to be the cornerstone in our fight to remain strong and free. Any misfits or second-raters among them are more dangerous to our future than the subversives they endeavor to catch. These are the people who indict the innocent without reason and overlook the guilty for lack of knowledge, training, and experience.

"Were I appointing a security officer, I would select no one whose background didn't include a sound and wide knowledge of the theoretical advance and practice of communism since the times of Karl Marx and this same individual would be required to have an equal knowledge and understanding of our Constitution, its Bill of Rights, the movements which produced the Declaration of Independence, and the history of the United States.

"(c) Under Executive Order 10450, the function of a security hearing board is to conduct hearings on security cases and offer their decisions to the head of a given agency for him to accept or reject as he thinks best.

"The members of these hearing boards are generally chosen from the top level of the administrative working force. The rather large number whom I know personally are conscientious, competent and desirous of being fair.

"Their liabilities are few, but important. They have no tenure of office and they lack a feeling of independence because they are subordinates and subject to the directions of superiors. Another sizable fault is that a majority of them have had no previous experience with hearings and the kind of testimony with which these hearings deal.

"These security hearing board members lay no claim to being professionals. They started as rank amateurs and it will take time for some to learn their new business and longer for others. I can only recognize their inexperience to be a perplexing problem. I constantly wonder whether professional hearing examiners could better keep the balance we seek between security and justice.

"(d) It might be advantageous to separate the personnel function from the function of internal security. It often happens that the job-suitability interviewer or the processor of personnel forms is called upon to make at least a preliminary judgment on questions of loyalty and security.

"Why shouldn't the interviewer or processor pigeonhole an application which indicates that the applicant has ben a member of organizations alleged to be subversive? These organizations may not be subversive or perhaps they weren't before they went out of business years ago. No one is likely to encounter any future trouble by shelving a troublesome-looking application. Many a personnel officer will react to security questions as he would to poison. He wants none of either.

"Too much has been said about Government employment being a privilege and not a right. Of course, it's a privilege. Why labor the obvious? All an applicant is entitled to is a fair and impartial break. He or she does have that right to be judged competitively and fairly on their job qualifications. Their security status could be judged subsequently by an authority in that field.

"We must be alert always to avoid procedures, forms and attitudes which stimulate the advancement of mediocrity in any way within the Federal structure.

"(e) We must increasingly learn to tailor security to the job. An individual may be unsuited for the strictness of security demanded by a particularly sensitive assignment. This does not necessarily imply that the individual couldn't fill many other important assignments with credit to himself and the Government. Our operations and the living in the past never called for such an exercise of good judgment as does the present. If this were Russia, we wouldn't bother much about this exercise. Because we live in America, we must be bothered constantly.

"(f) The basic criterion in Executive Order 10450 ought, I think, to be reexamined in the light of every development in the last 20 months.

"This criterion, that an accused applicant or employee must meet the test that his employment is 'clearly consistent with the interest of the United States' would and does, where literally applied, constitute a burden which can hardly be borne by anyone. It almost makes the employee affirmatively prove that the national interest requires the retention or continuation of his services. Who among us could do that?

"I believe that the phrase 'clearly consistent' has been the source of much of our trouble and that the cases previously referred to, and others like them, were instigated by it.

"'Clearly consistent' can easily be construed to mean without doubts, real or fancied, of any kind. It can be read to mean that pure hearsay or malicious gossip or unsupported allegations constitute doubts to be resolved in favor of the Government. To my knowledge it has been so read.

"Such an interpretation implies that a domestic system of absolute security is both desirable and possible. In point of logic and commonsense, it cannot be either possible or desirable.

"Any system through which men and women are judged must provide the judges with room for judgment and discretion.

"Instead of the rigidity of 'clearly consistent' we might better work toward the latitudes included in language like this:

"'No person should be dismissed or denied employment from the Federal service as a security risk unless it is affirmatively found that his retention or employment is reasonably inconsistent with the national interest.'

"I am not suggesting that an established doubt should not be resolved in favor of the Government. It should be so resolved. What I am suggesting, and what our Nation ought to demand, is that the doubt about an individual be first established before it is resolved against him.

"Let the Government judges assume their rightful responsibility for establishing their doubts about any individual to be valid and most of the fear and skepticism concerning our security system would disappear overnight.

"In expressing this conviction, I am thinking about you and what you are entitled to should you endeavor to join or remain within the Federal establishment.

"(g) The general public has a tendency to consider loyalty and security as being one and the same thing. That doesn't follow. A loyal person can be a security risk and a security risk can be truly loyal. Obviously, a disloyal person is a risk.

"We should, I believe, be more specific in our use of the term 'security risk.' Drunkards, perverts, drug users, gossipers, and those who insist on keeping bad company may well be security risks while being loyal. We ought to make this distinction clear. When a person is fired as a risk, the reason for their being so considered ought to be stated.

"A person who drinks too much can often recover from that indiscretion and build a new life—if given a chance. The risk dismissed for being disloyal will remain disgraced for life.

"Here again we should be trying to strengthen our Federal structure without

unnecessarily destroying individuals in the process.

"Espionage agents will be found among the disloyal. These are the ones we ought to try the hardest to discover. When we do, we ought to execute them. Risks who are otherwise loyal will not often be found in this category. We ought to treat them accordingly—without needless embarrassment or harassment.

"A while clique of spies could hardly do as much damage to us as could our failure as a government to have confidence in our people. Any goverrnment, to deserve to survive, must deserve the respect of its citizenry. A government is under no compulsion to be less severe in punishing crimes against the state, but that government is under every compulsion to extend consideration and just treatment to every citizen. He or she must be treated as what they actually are—the fiber and substance from which a free nation derives its strength and purpose.

"Some wise man in the early days of our beginning, perhaps it was Franklin, said: 'I give you a Republic if you can keep it.'

"That's what I've tried to talk about, as a citizen—how to keep it."

Moral Treason in East-West Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, early in the hearings of the Ways and Means Committee on H. R. 1, both Mr. Charles E. Wilson and Mr. Harold E. Stassen declared themselves in support of American trade with the areas of the Russian Communist empire. Their reasoning and motives on behalf of Red trade are still very vague and cloudy, and should be the object of challenge on the part of every Member who appreciates the resultant political perils that would beset us in the event that the current campaign for American participation in East-West trade should succeed.

The testimony of Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown University, and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, before the Ways and Means Committee on this crucial issue, sets forth the major reasons for our rejection of the Wilson-Stassen proposal. It challenges the Red trade advocates to justify the often used distinction between strategic and nonstrategic goods in relation to the totalitarian economy of the Russian Communist empire, and clearly demonstrates the moral and political qualities of the Red trade proposal. Moreover, it points out the foolhardiness of the so-called Benson plan now being considered for virtually dumping American surplus foodstuffs behind the Iron Curtain of the Communist empire.

Every Member should carefully read the contents of this testimony and seriously consider its recommendations concerning this issue. To serve this objective, I insert this statement in the Appendix of the RECORD:

MORAL TREASON IN EAST-WEST TRADE

(Testimony of Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky)

In these concluding moments of the hearings I deem it a privilege to be given this opportunity to testify on certain vitally important aspects of H. R. 1—the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955—which, by way of contrary opinion, have been alluded to in the testimonies of two members of the administration who appeared before this committee in the initial stages of its proceedings. Proper and sound consideration of these elements is so crucial to the strategic interests of our country that the rationally ordered points of a program of action as submitted below cannot be too strongly emphasized.

Because of the patent need of concentrating our studied attention on these fundamental aspects, it is not my purpose here to elaborate any personal observations or opinions on the overall advisability of the legislation now being considered. However, I would like to point out that extreme care and caution should be taken in pursuing a legislative course that suggests at this time the adoption of a national policy directed at a general reduction and eventual elimination of tariffs. The criteria for the judicious exercise of this care are surely not to be found in the counting of proponents and opponent noses nor in the relative amounts of high-sounding clichés, which often shield much fallacious argumentative content, nor even in comparative sets of particularist statistics presented as "proofs" of given points. Instead, ultimately they can only reside in certain rationally formed guides of thought attuned to a synthetic approach to the problem of expanded free world trade in the historical circumstances that surround us today.

At this point I should like to submit for the record and the careful examination of the members of this committee a compact readable summary—the free trade ideal—of studies which I had undertaken in the intelligible light of this flexible approach. Furnishing an economic rationale of the tariff as an effective instrument of countervailing power to conserve the multiple sources of our expansive domestic (regional) activity, it treats of all the essential arguments that have doubtlessly been presented here in support of this bill, and also explains fully the grounds underlying the opinion stated above.

THE IMPLICATION OF EAST-WEST TRADE

From the viewpoint of a total politico-economic understanding of this measure, what is by far more serious and perilous than the somewhat uncertain general effects of steadily reduced tariffs is its couched implication of East-West trade. This implication in what is loosely characterized as trade liberalization has already been underscored for public notice by two testifying members of the administration, and its ominous ramifications in the entire area of American foreign relations, jeopardizing the very posture of American world leadership, are exceedingly grave matters that should be of the utmost concern to this committee in the final formulation of this bill. For not only are the arguments offered in support of such trade specious in character, not only is the general understanding upon which they rest adequate cause for heavy doubt toward other kindred opinions of these advocates, but also, perhaps most outstanding of all, their self-contradictory position partakes by its own nature of moral treason itself.

The naive tendencies reflected in the reasoning of these East-West trade advocates are reminiscent of the politico-economic mentality that prevailed during the UNRRA period. In sharp contrast, however, at no time can they be found in the maneuvers of Moscow which consistently regards trade, along with almost everything else, as a weapon designed to serve its higher goals of Communist aggression. To our long-run detriment it would most advantageously employ this weapon in order (a) to secure basic consumer goods for the relief of its troubled areas in the empire now undergoing genocidal consolidation, (b) to exploit commercial media for the further expansion of its conspiratorial activity, (c) to intensify the economic dependence of free nations on Communist sources of supply, and (d) to facilitate the further allocation of resources for war preparations. At this very moment, for example, the passive resistance of courageous peasants in Hungary, Ukraine, Poland, and elsewhere are reaping some measure of harvest in economic and political concessions as a result of the widespread food problem in the Russian Communist Empire. Are we intent upon relieving Moscow of these growing pressures from within by supplying it with foodstuffs through trade and, in effect, cooperating with it to stifle the sources of patriotic resistance in the empire?

THE FALLACY OF STRATEGIC AND NONSTRATEGIC GOODS

The main notion by which the Red trade advocates seek to justify their patently vague statements and position is the distinction drawn between strategic and nonstrategic goods.[1] The evidence shows that in almost every instance they appear to be hard put as to where the clear line of demarcation exists. The fundamental truth of the matter is that with reference to a totalitarian economic environment, such as the Russian Communist empire, which enjoys an unusual degree of shiftability of human and material resources, this distinction is a crass fallacy. As every competent observer of this empire knows, its environment has been and will doubtlessly continue to be a species of war economy. Consequently, regardless of the type of good, any degree of importation bears strategic importance to the overall planning of this chronic war economy, and where consumer goods are involved, be they foodstuffs or manufactured items, the general economic plan for sustained political Communist aggression, both within and outside the empire, is easily implemented through the reallocation of resources.

By ignoring this simple principle of elementary economics are we preparing to plunge foolhardily into a scheme that might well eventually seal our own doom? This fallacious distinction has served as a smokescreen for the trading activities of some of our major allies whose long record in international relations is punctuated by the absence of moral principle, not to speak of pragmatic foresight, where transient economic gain is easily realizable. Judging by the prepared trend of thought on the part of some of our own officials, one can venture to say that in the event of so-called liberalized trade in the free world, this smokescreen will be rationalized on grounds other than ostensibly limited markets in the free areas. Aside from the paramount fact that both the free and unfree peoples of the world hold us in esteem for the moral and political principles that have shaped our great tradition, pragmatic prudence alone should recall to us the historical lesson that twice in this century the morally indefensible policies of our two major allies have led them to the brink of national disaster, only to be saved by our intervention. These policies have not changed; indeed, they are gradually contaminating ours, but who in the end can save us?

Footnotes at end of speech.

MORAL TREASON IN EAST-WEST TRADE

The very premise of the distinction between strategic and nonstrategic goods exposes the advocates of Red trade to the charge of moral treason. If one soberly reflects for a moment on this, the only premisal reason for the distinction, fallacious as it is in itself, is that we do not regard Moscow and its empire as a friendly political unit. Many declarations of our President and Secretary of State clearly define it as a potential military enemy and an active moral and political enemy. The facts bearing this out are overwhelming, and in the language of any rational person, trading with an enemy is treason.

Flimsy comments from officials or private lips as to what are strategic or non-strategic goods will remain only as arbitrary utterances until adequate logical and moral grounds of justification for the distinction itself are provided. I venture to say there are none. Moreover, when it is argued, in the words of one Cabinet Member appearing before this committee, that Red trade "will help the peoples of those countries to elminate their antagonism or their fear of our country, and establish some friendly relations with them * * *," [2] then we can really begin to wonder as to the state of knowledge and understanding on the part of some of our officials regarding the Russian Communist empire. Apparently they have not yet read the monumental, authoritative reports of the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression to begin to appreciate the factually founded distinction between the puppet governments of Moscow and the captive peoples of the various enslaved nations who embrace nothing but hope, trust, and friendship for our country. Trade will aid their tyrannical masters in deepening the roots of their captivity, not them in their hope of eventual liberation.

BUTTER FOR GREASING THE IRON CURTAIN, NOT FOR MANGANESE

It is significant that in the course of the committee's questioning on what constitutes a nonstrategic good, the item of butter was first and exclusively raised in reply. Indeed, the additional remarks of the two testifying administration members give credence to the speculation that the administration is favorably considering what has come to be known as the Benson plan on food surpluses, which, in the initial case of butter, calls for virtual dumping in the Russian Communist empire. There is also growing evidence of an organized effort to push the immoral cause of Red trade along these lines and to inveigle the support of farm groups in an appeasement scheme accommodating the fixed dependence of our agricultural surplus problem on continuous Communist purchasing. The subsidization of Communist guns with United States butter would only be the start before the plan takes on cumulative impetus.

What convolutions of thought mixed with questionable motives have produced this weird concoction of politico-economic enterprise, it is not easy to say, except, perhaps, that the opiate of peaceful coexistence is already having effect. A rational person would point to the many friendly peoples in impoverished areas of the free world where our surplus food would be most gratefully received, but it appears that aid to the Kremlin in solving its serious farm production problem and contributing to its empire consolidation efforts takes precedence.

We have been wasting our many moral, political and diplomatic weapons in this struggle with an enemy who is admittedly bent upon our destruction, and now our economic weapons are to be brought into disuse with the initial bonanza of manganese for butter. The fact that numerous Communist goods are mined and processed by slave labor seems to be of no consequence in the accounting of the Red trade advocates. How one could reconcile these trade proposals with professions of faith in the eventual liberation of the captive peoples in the slave half of the world is, to put it mildly, incomprehensible. Indeed, a true adherence to such faith should impel us to utilize our surplus butter in greasing the hinges of the Iron Curtain in order to open it wide for carefully selected American distribution teams, accompanied by a corps of newsmen, with complete freedom of disposition among the peoples. By this humanitarian program, restricted to this item, we would be confirming their real faith and loyalty in us rather than supposedly eliminating through misdirected trade some mythical antagonism or fear of our country.

RECOMMENDED STEPS ON H. R. 1

In the light of this statement and its major treatment we earnestly urge (a) that a clear and unmistakable separation of trade issues between the slave Communist world and the free world be made and (b) that a prohibition be specified against any trade whatsoever with the Russian Communist empire, which would prevent the execution of such ventures as the so-called Benson plan. In acting upon these recommendations this august committee would be translating into positive action some of the remarkable findings of the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression which the Congress in its preceeding session saw fit to establish for purposes like these. In short, you would be translating into the body of this legislation the spirit of morality and unblemished political principles that still animate the soul of every American patriot and captivate the imagination of the peoples of the world.

[1] e. g., Hon. Charles E. Wilson, statement before House Ways and Means, Jan. 18, 1955, p. 5; answers of Hon. Harold E. Stassen in exchange with Representative H. Boggs, Jan. 19, 1955, committee record.

[2] Hon. C. E. Wilson in exchange with Representative KARSTEN, committee hearings.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Extension of the Sugar Act of 1948

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the following memorial from the Montana Legislature calls attention to the need for prompt consideration of the extension of the Sugar Act of 1948 which expires next year.

Legislation is necessary during the current session of Congress so that the sugar industry can go ahead with its current operations and future plans with a minimum of uncertainty. If the act is not extended in 1955, sugar beet farmers will not know at planting time what the provisions of the Sugar Act will be at the time they market their crops. In the past 50 years the sugar beet growers have more than doubled their beet yield per acre and tripled their sugar yield. This has been accomplished by farm management and modernization programs making the best use of long range scientific investigations. Continuation of these worthy programs make the need for action this year necessary.

But, as the memorial points out, extension of the act in not enough. The new quotas must recognize the increased consumption and increased demand and give American sugar producers, both beet and cane, an additional share of this new market.

Demand has increased by a million tons since the last passage of the Sugar Act. This demand is continuing to increase at the rate of 100,000 tons per year. Yet the quota for domestic producers is the same as it was in 1948. In revising the quotas the American producers must be given an additional share in this new demand.

The various sugar acts since 1934 have been good for our Nation, the market has been stabilized and production has been kept plentiful enough so that the industry and the consumer alike have benefited.

We import more than half of the sugar we consume. We are sharply curtailing the production of crops of which we have a domestic surplus and which we need to support. I find it hard to justify curtailment of acreages of a crop where our domestic production only meets half of our national needs. The Montana Legislature declares that it is in the national interest for us to immediately renew the Sugar Act and to provide the American sugar beet growers with their just and equitable share of the market which the increased consumption and growth of the Nation has provided. I am sure that Congress will also find it in the national interest.

The memorial follows:

Joint memorial of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Montana to the Congress of the United States, to the Honorable JAMES E. MURRAY and MIKE MANSFIELD, United States Senators of Montana, and to the Honorable LEE METCALF and ORVIN B. FJARE, Representatives in Congress from Montana, and to the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States requesting Sugar Act of 1948 be continued in force and the quota of domestic beet sugar be increased.

Whereas under the Sugar Act of 1948 sugar marketings from domestic areas of the United States and its territories are limited to 4,444,000 tons of a total present national consumption of 8,200,000 tons; and

Whereas these fixed quotas established for our own domestic production have no regard for increases in the population, and

Whereas foreign areas, principally Cuba, have been allotted all of the increase in sugar consumption resulting from population increase, or other factors, which consumption requirement as determined by the United States Department of Agriculture increased from 7,200,000 tons for the calendar year 1948 to 8,2000,000 tons for the calendar year 1955, and may be expected to continue to increase at a rate of more than 100,000 tons per year, and

Whereas the domestic producers in Montana and in other States are as a result restricted in their privilege to grow sugar beets and sugar cane as indicated particularly in the determination of proportionate shares allotted to Montana sugar beet growers for 1955 crops to a total of only 50,980 acres, which has reduced such acreage permitted to be planted by 8.7 percent from the acreage actually planted during the preceding year of 1954 and has created hardship on the farmers of Montana: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Montana (the House of Representatives concurring) That the Sugar Act of 1948 be continued in force but that the quota of do-

mestic beet sugar be increased to the extent it will have a fair and equitable share of the increased consumption and in the additional sugar required to meet the growth of the Nation and the needs of its people; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be transmitted by the secretary of the State of Montana to the Congress of the United States of America, Senator JAMES E. MURRAY, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Congressman LEE METCALF, Congressman ORVIN B. FJARE, and to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

GEO. M. GOSMON,
President of the Senate.
LEO C. GRAYBILL,
Speaker of the House.

Approved February 5, 1955.

J. HUGO ARONSON,
Governor.

The Admission of Scientists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill relating to the admission into the United States of scientists and others, in an attempt to eliminate restrictions placed upon them which have caused serious loss to the body of our scientific information and to the enrichment of our cultural life.

Defects in the present procedures for the issuance of nonimmigrant visas have prevented the participation of aliens in meetings, conferences, temporary employment, and other transactions in the United States—such as scientific, scholarly, trade, and industrial conferences, employment in temporary research positions and the conduct of commercial, industrial, or professional transactions. The contribution of such aliens to the advancement of scientific and scholarly knowledge by their participation in such meetings, conferences, temporary employment, and other transactions in the United States is essential to the national defense and the furtherance of the industrial, technological, and cultural leadership of the United States. Such aliens are invited to such meetings, conferences, temporary employment, and other transactions in the United States by learned institutions and societies of national renown who, by their invitation, vouch for the character and learning of such aliens. Such meetings, conferences, temporary employment, and other transactions in the United States do not involve access to information the dissemination of which would prejudice national security.

The importance of the contribution of such aliens has, heretofore, not been sufficiently recognized in the procedure for the issuance of nonimmigrant visas to such aliens.

The text of the bill which I have introduced is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 101 (a) 15 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 169; 8 U. S. C. 1101) is amended by addition of the following paragraph:

"(J) An alien having a residence in a foreign country which he has no intention of abandoning, who is invited by an institution, organization, or governmental agency, to take part in a scientific, technological, artistic, sport, or other cultural conference or meeting in the United States, or to occupy temporarily a teaching or research position at an institution of learning or research, or to take part in an industrial, technological, scientific, or cultural transaction which is temporary in nature: *Provided*, That the Attorney General shall establish and maintain in consultation with the Office of Education of the United States and make public from time to time a list of such institutions, organizations, or governmental agencies, which may, under regulations issued by the Attorney General, invite such alien, and which shall have agreed to the Attorney General the termination of attendance or visit of such alien."

SEC. 2. Section 212 (d) (2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act as amended to read as follows:

"(2) The provisions of paragraph (28) of subsection (a) of this section shall not be applicable to any alien who is seeking to enter the United States temporarily as a nonimmigrant under paragraph (15) (A) (iii) or (15) (G) (v) or (15) (J) of section 101 (a)."

Another Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, over the past weekend, there has been nationwide comment in the American press on the remarks of our able Democratic leader, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Boston, with reference to his opposition to proposed cuts in our Army manpower.

As one who has long been an advocate of a strong national defense, I am more than happy to have the privilege of inserting in the RECORD the editorial which appeared in the Boston Traveller on Friday, February 11, 1955, which clearly states the views of Mr. MCCORMACK:

ANOTHER LOOK

When House Democratic Leader JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachussetts, says he thinks the administration should take another look at the proposed Army manpower cuts, he is voicing an opinion shared by large segments of both major parties.

"It could be a terrible thing for our country," says MCCORMACK, "if the President is wrong."

It would be terrible indeed. It would be tragic, and it could be fatal.

At the present time there are about 3 million men in the Armed Forces. The administration plan is to cut this figure down to about 2,850,000 by next year, with most of the cut in the Army.

There has been quite a lot of argument about this proposed cut, with most of the opposition coming from Army Chief Gen. Matthew Ridgway.

But this week President Eisenhower had assumed full responsibility for the decision and it appeared that the cut was going through.

In all fairness to President Eisenhower, we think he is the man most capable of making the decision, and we're glad he had the courage to do so.

But it is also true that the President worked out this policy on the basis of world conditions as they were several months ago.

Since that time a very critical situation has developed at Formosa and there has been a world-shaking change of command in the Kremlin.

The logical question that Representative MCCORMACK and his colleagues are asking now is: "Do these events make a difference in our manpower needs?"

The President and his advisers say "No." MCCORMACK and his group say they don't really know, but that they thing a reappraisal is justified.

This request for a reappraisal seems reasonable, and the administration has nothing to lose by granting it.

The one thing that most observers agree on about the Kremlin shakeup is that it forecasts a tougher and more militant Russia. It's a new ingredient that should be added to our manpower policy before a final decision is made.

Twenty-three Years of Experience With Our First Socialist Experiment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, we have had 23 years of experience with our first socialist experiment—that much-touted TVA. I have been criticized for characterizing TVA as socialistic. However, my opinion conforms with that of the authorities. The Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times of February 15, 1934, quotes Norman Thomas as saying:

The TVA is the only genuinely socialistic act (in the New Deal)—a flower in the midst of weeds.

TVA is owned and operated by the United States Government; that is to say, TVA is a communal of public-owned property acquired by taking private property amounting to $2 billion mostly from the people of 41 States, for the alleged communal benefit of the people in parts of 7 other States. Such immoral taking of private property never fails in the end to blight a people who take it. The proof is already apparent in Tennessee. She has suffered a reduction in production and commerce and, therefore, in the well-being of her people since the advent of TVA.

The United States Chamber of Commerce has compared Tennessee with 10 Southeastern States which use private power. In 1930, before the advent of TVA, the population of Tennessee ranked fourth among the 10 States. In 1950 she still ranked fourth.

In 1933, just a year prior to operation of TVA, the receipts from farm marketing ranked Tennessee fifth, while in 1950 she dropped to eighth place.

The retail sales payroll in 1935 put Tennessee in third place; in 1948 she had dropped to fifth place.

Retail sales in 1929 had Tennessee in second place; in 1948 she had dropped to fifth.

In value added by manufacture Tennessee ranked third in 1933; fourth in 1947. In gross postal receipts she ranked third in 1933; down to fourth in 1951.

In all the categories examined Tennessee has fallen behind in productivity. In only one area has Tennessee improved her rank among her neighboring States and that was in per capita income and per capita taxes paid. But that increase was caused by subsidies and doles paid by the United States Government; not from improved production. One hundred and eight million dollars have gone down there annually mostly from other States to pay 22,796 TVA employees an average of nearly $5,000 apiece plus millions in doles granted by the Federal Government. Without the Federal payroll and subsidies and doles Tennessee would not have enjoyed an increasce in per capita income but would have suffered a serious decline. She is now a taxeater and not a growing tax producer as compared to the other States.

The most startling failure of TVA is that it does not produce sufficient power for the people it serves. So TVA never will be able, selling electricity at half price, to earn enough to expand to meet the need of a growing community. That's why Tennessee growth is slowed up. There is a shortage. What value is low-priced electricity when it cannot be had at any price? This is the universal characteristic of socialism everywhere.

Besides all this, TVA is completely exempt from all taxes. It does not contribute a dime to national defense, not even toward the salaries of the President and the Congress that does all these nice things for it. Finally, TVA was made ashamed by the complaints of the local people in the adjoining municipalities that educated the TVA children, provided police and streets and hauled away their garbage free of taxes to them. So TVA condescended to volunteer to make a contribution of about a tenth of what it should toward the expenses it had thrust on its neighbors. But it way decide to quit at any time.

Had TVA paid taxes at the same rate paid by private power companies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, such taxes would have amounted to about $80 million; resulting in a loss in operations of about $57 million. If TVA were required to pay interest on the appropriations granted it by Congress that loss would have been increased by another $24 million, which figure does not include the $10 million more for amortization. Thus if TVA were run as an honest business enterprise, its books on June 30, 1953, would not show a credit balance of $19 million but a deficit balance of $91 million. Yet, even with that deficit representing a subsidy paid by the Nation's taxpayers, the TVA system cannot produce enough cheap power to satisfy the demands of the consumers it was designed to serve.

There is no similar shortage of power in other parts of the country where private companies are the suppliers. The reason for this is that the private power companies, being run on sound and honest business principles, have anticipated the increased demand for electrical energy. At this time the private power companies are undertaking a $2.5 billion expansion program of their facilities.

The original excuse for the law creating TVA, viz, to control floods and to aid navigation on the Tennessee River, has turned out to be a joke and a fraud of extensive proportions. Instead of stopping floods it has actually permanently flood 660,000 acres—an area as big as Rhode Island—out of a million acres it owns and controls. This great Tennessee River bottom, according to Army engineers, would not seriously flood more than once in 500 years. The bottom lands did sustain some overflow in the spring, as most river-bottom lands do. It benefited the land by leaving a fertile sediment. Crops thrived. Annual production was about $27 million. That is now all destroyed, and there is water, water everywhere.

Let us not dwell in detail on alleged improved navigation by deepening the Tennessee River, except to say that this was also a device to hide vast sums that should have been charged to cost of power. As a navigation scheme it has failed because it is cheaper to ship by rail.

There is another loss that is even more important than the $2 billion that have been poured into this monumental blight of Tennessee and drain on the other States. The people of Tennessee lost their political freedom when they became dependent on TVA. Their Governor is compelled to come to Washington, hat in hand, predicting dire consequences for his people if the dole is shut off. The people of Tennessee must live under whatever rules Congress promulgates and those rules affect not only the rates charged for power, but touch every aspect of the State's economy as has been pointed out. They have lost their productivity. They may not buy power elsewhere as private companies are excluded from the TVA reservation. They have lost their economic freedom, their know-how to provide power for themselves—competition is dead. In the words of Herbert Hoover:

> They have surrendered the control of their resources and energy to a Federal bureaucracy.

TVA cuts the price of power to a loss figure so as to buy the votes and support of its consumers in the rankest kind of political corruption. It exempts itself from taxation and by more political corruption forces its competitors to pay approximately 23 cents out of every dollar to help pay taxes TVA customers should pay but do not.

Even the little schoolboys now define TVA as "a river that flows through 7 States and drains 41." They were drained again in 1954 for the 22d year. TVA will be coming up to the public trough again in 1955. But Tennessee knows that no scheme to buy votes as crazy and incredible as TVA can last. This administration has already given fair warning. So Mr. Robert M. Metcalf, Jr., vice president of Guaranty Mortgage & Trust Co., of Memphis, Tenn., comes up with this remedy.

He suggests that the power-generating facilities of TVA be sold to the people in the area which it serves. This would result in relief for the taxpayers of the remainder of the Nation and at the same time give to the people of the TVA reservation exclusive control over the agency upon which they are completely dependent for their power. Perhaps even more important than these immediate tangible gains, is the fact that such a sale would represent a reversal of the largest, most clear-cut Socialist step the United States has ever taken.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, February 13, 1955, the Worcester, Mass., Lithuanian organizations celebrated Lithuanian independence day with an appropriate program held in the Lithuanian Naturalization Club, at 12 Vernon Street.

Guest speakers included Petras Viscinis, of Brockton, Mayor O'Brien, and Withold A. Bernot, president of the Lithuanian Naturalization Club.

Rev. Justin Steponaitis, curate at Our Lady of Vilna Church, gave the invocation.

Represented on the committee in charge of the celebration were the following organizations: Lithuanian Aid Association, Branch 1; Lithuanian Citizens' Club; American Lithuanian "Sandara," Branch 16; Lithuanian "Bendruomone," Worcester Branch; "Ateitininkia" Alumni; St. Casimir's Society; Lithuanian Women's Club; Lithuanian American Alliance, Branch 57; St. George's Society; Old Folks Aid Society, and St. Ludwig's Society.

The members of the celebration committee were: Mykolas Zemaitaitis, president; Pranas Paulinkonis, Vincas Mitrikas and Lionginas Leknickas, vice presidents; Jonas Palubeckas, secretary; Povilas Babickas, financial secretary; Jonas Dvareckas, treasurer, and Juozas Pupka and Alexsas Zilinskas, assistant treasurers.

In connection with the celebration, I have been asked to include the addresses delivered by myself and a most prominent Lithuanian American, Anthony J. Miller, Esq., over radio station WNEB in Worcester, Mass.

The addresses follow:

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY RADIO ADDRESS DELIVERED BY ANTHONY J. MILLER, ESQ.

As a Lithuanian American, I am very glad to have a part in this commemoration of the 37th anniversary of the declaration of Lithuanian independence.

This annual program is dear to the hearts of all Lithuanians and their friends, because it is held to recollect that day of February 16, 1918, which marked the end of well over a century of suffering under a hostile, foreign rule.

Thirty-seven years ago, Lithuania stood forth as an independent, democratic republic with a happy, prosperous people who faced the future with confidence in their destiny.

In this year of 1955, our observance is unfortunately, shaded with sorrow. The bright star of Lithuania's freedom has been clouded over by the violent storms of tyranny. We gaze with sadness upon the advancing tragedy of sacrifice to ruthless imperalism that has enveloped Lithuania; she has ceased to be an independent nation.

The world does not know all the terrible details of what has happened and is happening to Lithuanians behind the dark impenetrable Iron Curtain. However, we do know that behind that dreadful Iron Curtain hundreds of thousands of God-fearing Lithuanians have been liquidated, martyred for their patriotism, their religious faith, their steadfast resistance to tyranny.

Hundreds of thousands of good Lithuanians have been torn from their families and their homes for service as slaves in Siberia. It is slave labor the Kremlin is using to equip Russia for further expansion, for further despotism, for further persecution, and, perhaps, even for war, and a substantial part of the slave force has been kidnaped from Lithuania. We grieve for the terrible catastrophe that has befallen our native Lithuania.

Under ordinary circumstances, this anniversary commemoration ought to be a day of rejoicing for all Lithuanians and Americans of Lithuanian descent. But how can we rejoice when our people are suffering under the oppression of Communist tyrants? How can there be gayety when Lithuania is burdened with the miseries of Kremlin tyranny? How can there be gladness when pagan totalitarianism darkens every Lithuanian street and byway? We cannot be happy on this occasion, but we can hope and we can pray.

Lithuanians have had times of trial frequently in our history. In days gone by, many foreign tyrants have dominated the freedom-loving Lithuanians. Although these tyrants may have been temporarily able to destroy the liberties of the Lithuanian people, they were never quite able to destroy the dreams of independence in the minds of Lithuanian patriots, nor could they wipe out the aspirations for freedom everlasting in their hearts. Those dreams and aspirations were, in time, fulfilled. After the First World War, the Lithuanian people realized the hopes which they had long cherished, and on February 16, 1918, they proclaimed their national independence.

In the 2 decades that followed, Lithuania flourished. While Lithuanians happily enjoyed their freedom, they made good use of it, too. They improved their economy, and with the passing years grew ever stronger and wiser in the ways of self-government and democratic living. Their future appeared bright, when suddenly came the war of the giants.

First invaded by Soviet forces in 1939 and later crushed between massive military machines of powerful Nazi Germany and gigantic Soviet Russia, Lithuania suffered successive occupations by these two totalitarians. In the end it was the Red armies of Stalin which won, and planted the emblem of the hammer and sickle where the yellow, green, and red tricolor once had flown. By force and fraud Lithuania was incorporated into the Soviet Union.

The painful years that have ensued are recorded in infamy. The deportations, the enslavements, the destruction of political freedom and economic initiative are facts which have trickled through to the free world despite the curtain of silence behind which the Communists try to hide the countries they have overrun.

But we Lithuanian Americans know that the people of Lithuania are of stout heart. We know that faith and hope cannot be muffled in Lithuanian breasts. Inevitably the time will come when the tyrant's grip will weaken, when freedom will win over enslavement, and sorrow will be turned to joy.

The American people and Government have refused to recognize the Soviet Union's annexation of Lithuania. In many ways America is informing the world of Soviet misdeeds in Lithuania, and is mobilizing the moral force of world opinion against the oppressors, in the hope that Lithuania's day of freedom will be hastened and that the Kremlin's rule of misery and hatred will be forever overturned. With the utmost sincerity I express to all Lithuanians and Lithuanian-Americans my hope and prayer that that happy day will be soon.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY ADDRESS DELIVERED BY UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE HAROLD D. DONOHUE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

It is an honor for me to once again join with the patriotic Americans of Lithuanian descent here in my district, as well as those throughout the country, in commemorating the founding of the Republic of Lithuania.

On this occasion I feel it is most fitting to recall how deep are the roots of Lithuania independence and national courage for, indeed, it is the vigor of those roots which keep your native democratic tradition alive and indestructible.

The first independent Lithuanian state was organized more than six hundred years ago. It grew into a flourishing kingdom, one of the most prominent in Eastern Europe. The Lithuanians then, as now, were a God-fearing people devoted to the peaceful development and prosperity of their country.

However, because of the geographic position which Lithuania ocupied, at the crossroads of two cultures, those of the East and the West, Lithuania was the victim of frequent raids and invasion by more powerful and ruthless neighbors. Eventually she was forcibly annexed by Russia in the 18th century and cruelly deprived of her independence as a nation.

Despite this disaster, however, the spirit of Lithuanian freedom and courage remained as strong as in the glorious days of the early kingdom. The most inhuman attempts of the Czars to wipe out every last vestige of Lithuanian culture were doggedly resisted. The brave people of Lithuania were biding their time to seize the opportune moment to again declare their liberty. That moment arrived 37 years ago following the collapse of Czarist Russia during the First World War.

The years following World War I were years of great hope for the independent Lithuanian nation. The little Baltic nation made astounding progress; she became a model republic. However, before her efforts could achieve full fruit, the catastrophe that swept all of Europe, starting in 1939, brought a tragic end to the Lithuanian republic.

Once again Lithuania, with other Baltic States, was illegally seized by the Soviet Union. In the confusion and immensity of the great world conflict, the misfortune of Lithuania and her neighbors was heedlessly overlooked. However, in more recent times, I am happy to say, it appears the free powerful nations are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of this gallant country.

In the 13th and 16th centuries, Lithuania was a stronghold of Western European civilization, on the dividing line betwen the East and the West.

Today the Baltic States still form a wellspring of western civilization. The ideas and ideals of the West continue to live in Lithuania, but they are under constant assault by the Kremlin dictators. Indeed, as we know, the whole Christian free world is now engaged in a death struggle with Communist atheism. To keep ourselves adequately armed and prepared for any open warfare is, of course, necessary. However, the only way in which the civilized world can finally survive and conquer pagan barbarism is to recognize and preserve the Christian principles of peaceful living that the Lithuanian nation has been practicing for over six centuries. Our world cannot expect to remain Christian if we permit the godly glory of Lithuania to be strangled by tyrannical hands. The tradition and heritage of your native country serves as an inspiration to a confused and hesitating world.

When she was an independent sovereign nation, Lithuania gained the highest respect and admiration of all peoples as a wonderful example of self-government by those to whom the cause of freedom was sacred and precious.

Today we find Lithuania in the 15th year of her enslavement under the yoke of tyranny and oppression. Her proud people have been robbed of their independence by the armed might of Communist aggression. Terrible crimes have been perpetrated against the Lithuanians. Yet courageously adhering to the ideals and principles of the Christian freedoms they once possessed Lithuanians at home and abroad have refused to give in to despair. Through many centuries of repeated invasions and persecutions by despots and tyrants the Lithuanian God-given determination to be free and independent has never been extinguished, and you and I know that it never will.

Because of the present subjection of the people of Lithuania to Communist tyranny, this cannot be a day of rejoicing. Yet, because of the indomitable courage of the Lithuanians, it can be and is a day of tremendous hope.

Awaiting their day of liberation we can by these meetings remind your brave people that they are not forgotten; we can here resolve never to be reconciled to their fate, and pledge that we will never bargain with their temporary Communist masters to confirm their captivity.

At the same time we join in prayer that God in His infinite wisdom may speed the day of the deliveration from Communist tyranny and that the beloved Lithuanian people may soon be restored to their rightful place of honor in the family of free Christian nations.

Cradle of Glory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. James G. McNett, of Williamstown, Mass., and one of my constituents, has long been an admirer of President Abraham Lincoln. She has studied his writings and background extensively and has written a play, Cradle of Glory, based on Lincoln's early life in Indiana, which has been produced by our Armed Forces for presentation to our servicemen overseas.

As the epilogue of her play, she used a speech of Lincoln's made by him at a reception in Indianapolis on February 11, 1861, when he was en route to Washington to assume office.

It is timely and appropriate and is an inspiration to each of us in our daily living.

At Mrs. McNett's request, I intended inserting it in the RECORD on February 12, Lincoln's birthday. However, since the House was not in session on that day, I would like to quote it at this time:

In all trying positions in which I shall be placed, and doubtless I shall be placed in many such, my reliance will be upon you and the people of the United States; and I wish you to remember, now and forever, that it is your business, and not mine; that if the union of these States and the liberties of this people shall be lost, it is but little to any one man of 52 years of age, but a great deal to the 30 millions of people who inhabit these United States, and to their posterity in all coming time. It is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty for yourselves, and not for me. I appeal to you again to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians, not with Presidents, not with officeseekers, but with you, is the question: Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?

One Bank Merger Begets Another—Bankers Trust and Public National Now Merge—Public Hearing Should be Held Before Any Bank Merger Approval—Chase-Manhattan Merger Will Control Over One-Fifth of All New York City's Deposits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 6, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith the text of a letter I sent to the superintendent of banks of New York State, the Honorable George A. Mooney:

Hon. GEORGE A. MOONEY,
Superintendent of Banks,
State of New York,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. MOONEY: Before the ink is dry on the agreement to merge the Chase National Bank, the Bank of Manhattan Co. and the Bronx County Trust Co., we hear an announcement of still another gigantic merger between the Bankers Trust Co. and the Public National Bank, which would result in combined deposits of over $2,500,000,000 and resources of $2,800,000,000.

The Chase, Manhattan, Bronx County Trust merger would become the second largest bank in the United States. It would mean that this combination would control 20.9 percent of all New York City's commercial deposits. This percentage figure is inordinately large and has disturbing aspects when it is remembered that there are sixty other financial insitutions vying for the banking business in this area. The merger will accentuate the comparative weakness of the smaller banks remaining in the area, and will make it difficult if not impossible for them to compete.

In making a decision on this merger, one cannot disregard the fear for the future which this merger creates among the smaller institutions in New York City. Certainly they should be consulted and their views be made known regarding the advisability or inadvisability of bringing this new banking goliath into their midst.

May I suggest that before such a merger is consummated a public hearing be held at which the views of all those parties interested, as well as members of the legislatures, National and State, and important members of the public may be heard. A vital public issue is involved.

Doubtless you are aware of the subtle implications made in recent press releases to the effect that official sanction for this merger will be a mere procedural form. It was stated in the New York Times of February 9, for example, that "As a matter of efficiency and prudent planning, attorneys for the two banks" would not set a date for stockholders meetings without having ascertained in advance "the attitude of the banking department" and that the "Setting of the dates of the meetings would indicate that the superintendent had found nothing illegal in the proposal to merge and has no objection." Does this mean that the merger is a fait accompli and that your consent is a mere matter of form and thus quite assured? I am certain you will not treat so lightly a merger of such economic consequence and that you will deny such news reports.

In the interim why should not public hearings be held to aid in making a decision?

This is a matter of momentous public concern. The interests of the banks in question are not the only interests involved. I would be pleased to appear at such a public conference. The hearing, as indicated, would help you materially in rendering a decision.

Now on the heels of the Chase, Manhattan, County merger, the announcement of another huge merger between the Bankers Trust and Public National is made. One gigantic merger seems to beget another gigantic merger. This merger will give us the eighth largest banking institution in the country. The public must be alerted to the dangers inherent in these combinations. The merger trend now developing points up the need for a complete and judicious appraisal of all the facts that are pertinent to this problem, so that no hasty or unwise decision will be made which is detrimental to the banking system of our country and to the people generally.

Sincerely yours,

EMANUEL CELLER.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on this 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following letter which I have sent to the Lithuanian American Information Center:

MARY M. KIZIS,
Director, Lithuanian American Information Center, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MISS KIZIS: Let me take this opportunity to salute Lithuanians all over the world on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of their nation's independence.

I salute the Lithuanian American Information Center for its continuing efforts to remind the world of the sad plight of your former homeland. I salute the almost 1 million Americans of Lithuanian descent, who can never forget the principles that fostered the Lithuanian Declaration of Independence, and, more especially, the people of Lithuania, who will never be satisfied with their present undemocratic, externally enforced government.

I take this opportunity to remind the people of Lithuania that freemen everywhere support their desire to regain the right of self-determination. We must continue to support the American policy of nonrecognition of the Russian annexation of Lithuania.

I will wholeheartedly support further efforts on the part of the Voice of America to attempt to spread the truth throughout the Communist-dominated world. In line with these ideas we should all join forces to liberalize our immigration laws and offer refuge in the United States to displaced persons from all countries.

Again, congratulations on this memorable day in the history of a free people.

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM J. MULTER.

Second Look at the News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, shortly before the last congressional campaign, Hermann B. Deutsch, one of the more articulate radio commentators in the New Orleans area and associate editor of the New Orleans Item, had something to say which made plenty sense to me.

At the time I heard the broadcast I asked Mr. Deutsch for a copy of his remarks with the intention of bringing it to the attention of the House at the earliest possible date.

The delay has been my fault, but after reading these observations and keeping in mind the time when they were made, I am sure you will agree with me that the thinking and the conclusions of Mr. Deutsch are indeed timeless.

Here is the broadcast as given over radio station WWL in New Orleans, Loyola of the South:

SECOND LOOK AT THE NEWS

A very good evening to all of you out yonder in a blessed free land where you and I and the neighbors will be Mr. and Mrs. The-Most, come Tuesday. Why? Because we'll be jam-packed in a curtained polling booth with a throng that really is The Most.

Of course, you may not be with us. Perhaps you're like the mule who ran full tilt into the side of a barn not because he was blind but because he didn't give what on the air we call a hoot. Perhaps you're content to remain a faceless nobody, so it's your privilege not to join the splendid host who invite you to share what they won and held for you. If that's how you feel about it, you certainly have the right to shrug aside something millions of less fortunate people would give the very blood out of their veins to possess.

Let's take a look at those who invite you to join them in a curtained booth where there's a voting machine or maybe just a shelf with a pencil or rubber stamp where you can mark a paper ballot. You wouldn't think your hosts could all find room in that tiny cubicle where the world's mightiest sovereign—Their majesties, the citizens of

the United States of America—have their uncontradictable say on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of each even-numbered year. But they can and do make room not only for themselves, but for you.

Some of them are right sizable, too, like that son of a Yorkshire-born planter, a young Church-of-England communicant named Washington. He tops 6 feet by a goodish bit, and can vault right over his big white horse by placing just one hand on the saddle. The two beside him are a 19-year-old French Catholic, Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert Du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, and a Liverpool born Jew named Robert Morris.

Just behind them stands a chap named "Fletcher, or Kraus, or Gonzales, or Koshiuskovich, or Napolitano," or whatever; the name doesn't matter, really, because you pay more attention to the sackcloth rags swaddling the feet which left bloody footprints in the snows of a place called Valley Forge than you do to his features.

Another of the shining company awaiting you in your polling booth is John Peter Zenger. He's a German-born colonist who is accompanied by his lawyer, a man named Andrew Hamilton. Between them, they established the principle of press freedom for you in connection with the newly founded New York Weekly Journal in 1733. That laid the basis for a famous remark by an Albemarle County aristocrat named Thomas Jefferson who said that, given the choice between a land with a free press and no laws, and one with laws but no free press, he would unhesitatingly choose the former.

If you choose to join him and the others in that wonderful group of Americans, you'll also find among them a truculent Tennessean named Andrew Jackson. That he whomped the living daylights out of a conquest-avid foe at Chalmette below New Orleans in 1815 is important, to be sure. But it is no more important than the fact that he did it with a motley array of fighting men which included such superbluebloods as Omer Villerre, and a supercutpurse whose real name may actually have been Jean Lafitte, though he was born of God alone knows what parentage, and died and was coffined God alone knows where. Incidentally, Andy Jackson also had the help of a son of the Dutch rabbi who had established in Rhode Island the first Jewish congregation in this country. The son's name was Judah Touro. He had come quite penniless to New Orleans and lost most of one thigh when he was wounded at Chalmette while serving as ammunition carrier. But he survived to become one of the South's wealthiest and most generous philanthropists. Among other donations, he made the final contribution to complete the fund for a monument at Bunker's Hill in time for old Dan'l Webster himself to deliver the dedicatory oration.

In the polling booth, you'll likewise rub elbows with men named Lee and Grant who fought on opposite sides for the selfsame thing—your freedom to vote as you please on every first Tuesday after the first Monday of each even-numbered year's November. Men named Lazear and Hill will be there, too. After the shooting war in Cuba had ended, they volunteered to become human guinea pigs in Walter Reed's great experiment, proving the principle that conquered yellow fever for all time to come. Some of those who, without the stirring thunder of the battlefield to spur them on to heroism, thus gave their lives, assured you another sort of freedom and safety.

Along with the soldiers, you'll also meet in the polling place men named Eli Whitney and Robert Fulton and Henry Ford and Eluthere Irene du Pont de Nemours and Franklin and Altgeld and Morse and Edison and Rockefeller and Firestone and Wright. Each of them contributed to the concept that is given its finest expression when you join that jampacked assembly in your polling booth, and is smirched when you willfully fail to do so.

You will find men who built harvesting machines and precision lathes and transistor hearing aids; homegrown geniuses like a lanky Missourian calling himself Mark Twain, and foreign ones like Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, who designed and fashioned a statue to be called Progress for the Suez Canal. However, the canal's snooty directorate turned it down—and did they ever goof in doing so. Because that same statue was then presented to this country where we know it by its formal title of "Liberty Enlightening the World" or, more simply, as the Statue of Liberty.

Your polling booth companions aren't all oldtimers. Among them is a sergeant of Italian ancestry named John Basilone who received the Congressional Medal of Honor just in time to go to his death in another furious battle; a general of Dutch Colonial stock, Roosevelt by name, who lies buried on a cliff overlooking Omaha Beach near the village of Coleville-sur-Mer on the French channel coast; two lieutenants named Colin Kelly and Meyer Levin who died in the same Flying Fortress of which the former was pilot and the latter bombardier; but they did not die until after they dropped the bomb that blew to the bottom of the Philippine Sea the first of the capital ships Japan was to lose to a foe she had thought to overwhelm by a single surprise assault.

You'll also rub elbows with four chaplains who stood on the deck of a torpedoed troopship as the vessel was sucked slowly down into the insatiable North Atlantic. These 4, intoning Catholic and Protestant and Jewish supplications to the same all-compassionate throne of grace, laid down their lives in the faith of their fathers, that 4 more young soldiers might find room in boats and on rafts than might otherwise have been rescued.

The polling booth you'll enter on election day is not only crowded. It is also noisy. You will hear a mighty chord as you exercise the right its individual notes assured for you. True, the chord does sound like a great "amen" even though—and God be thanked for it—the chord has not been lost. It has only been neglected by some folks who are so mentally and morally small and warped that they remain deaf to one of the finest harmonies ever produced on earth. They close their eârs to it by staying at home on election day.

What are the diverse strains of which that harmony is blended? The roar of traffic along a city street, the thunder of airplane motors, the chirp of crickets at nightfall along a hedgerow, the hum of a powerplant's dynamo, the cacophony of a jazz band, the slow creak of a wagon wheel in a train that is plodding ever westward to settle a wilderness, the songs a soldier sings as he marches to battle: Continental infantrymen mockingly turning against the Redcoats a jeer by adopting it as their very own march—an impudent composition we know as Yankee Doodle; the Green Grow the Rushes, O, which the soldiers of Scott and Taylor sang on the road to Chapultepec, so that to this day, Americans are known there as greengrows, or gringos; Tenting Tonight, Lorena, and Just Before the Battle, Mother; There'll Be a Hot Time and Goodby Dolly Gray and Just as the Sun Went Down and Where Do We Go From Here, Boys, and Mademoiselle From Armentieres and Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree.

There is also the ring of a hundred thousand hammers as rails reach out across the wilderness in spite of every obstacle; hammers that beat muskets not only into plowshares, but into cotton gins and bulldozers and combines, into the framework of an Empire State Building and a United Nations Secretariat, into the Oakland Bay Bridge, and the Hudson River tubes; into motorcars and sewing machines and radios and electric iceboxes—the ring of hammer upon anvil in every forge of freedom.

If you concentrate a bit, you will also distinguish the voice of a Fourth of July orator as he repeats the words of an immortal Declaration; of a group of schoolchildren repeating in unison the pledge of allegiance to a banner that symbolizes government of the people, by the people, and for the people; of the voice that put into words man's aspiration toward freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of thought, and freedom of worship—yes; and right along with those deathless phrases the crackle of just two sharp words: "Play ball."

Clearly distinguishable, as well, are ritual and litany and prayer: Hail Mary, Our Father which art in heaven, and Hear, O Israel, as well as the myriad variants which express the aspirations of innumerable other sects amid the pomp of vaulted cathedrals, synagogues, and abbeys, as well as from little wooden chapels among the pine forests of the midwestern basin, the fir-clad ranges of the Pacific slope, the mesas of the Southwest, the bearded live oaks of the Deep South.

Let me tell you something, something I would like to call to your attention not boastfully or in unbecoming pride, but simply as a fact. In my home parish of Jefferson, here in Louisiana—and by parish I mean exactly what you outside of Louisiana mean when you say "county"—there is actually no real contest in the forthcoming election. Our congressional Democratic candidates are unopposed. There is little or no difference of opinion among us about the constitutional amendments coming up for a referendum.

Yet we'll be there on Tuesday. We'll cast a big vote. We'll do it, the neighbors, and I, simply because that's our day to be not merely Mr. and Mrs. Whoozis, but Their Majesties, Mr. and Mrs. American Citizen. It'll be crowded as all get out in that polling booth, but think of the singing splendid company we'll be a part of when we add to the swelling chord to which each of them has contributed an element of the world's mightiest harmony our little meed of resolution, of gratitude—yes, and of prayer, each after the fashion of his own choosing and the faith of his fathers, and perhaps something about those dead not having died in vain.

And so, to all of you out yonder in a blessed free land where we can be Mr. and Mrs. The-Most on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of each even-numbered year's November, this is Hermann B. Deutsch bidding every one of you a very good, good night.

United States, Not States, To Get Most From Tidelands Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, in the last political campaign there was a deliberate attempt on the part of certain individuals running for elected offices to falsify and mislead the American voters concerning the Submerged Land Act which was passed in the 83d Congress and supported by a majority of the Democrats and Republicans in the House of Representatives.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a copy of an article which appeared in a December issue of the highly regarded news magazine, U. S. News & World Report:

UNITED STATES, NOT STATES, TO GET MOST FROM TIDELANDS OIL

Tidelands oil is going to turn out to be a bonanza for the Treasury in Washington, far less so for the States that fought so hard for the title to these lands under the Gulf of Mexico.

It appears now as though the Federal Treasury will end up at least $6 billion richer because of tidelands development. The States of Louisiana and Texas will be lucky if they get $1 billion.

This twist of fortune results from the wording of the law that turned over part of the tidelands to the States and the oil development that now is going on. In writing the law, Congress gave Texas title to lands extending 3 leagues, or 10.5 miles, offshore, while Louisiana was given title to lands 3 miles out. The rest of the Continental Shelf, stretching out as far as 100 miles, was reserved to the National Government. Louisiana, however, is claiming title to lands going out to 27 miles.

It is these lands reserved to the Federal Government that now are turning out to be most attractive to the companies that are searching for oil. These lands also are believed to contain almost eight times as much oil as the lands now held by the two States.

Federal officials, in fact are surprised at the prices they are getting for drilling rights in the submerged lands. They recently asked for bids on 199 tracts of about 5,000 acres each off the Louisiana coast. They expected to get about $50 million for the lot. Instead they got $121 million for only 97 tracts. The other 102 tracts were withdrawn because of the conflicting claims to title from Louisiana.

So far, the Treasury is getting $144 million for leasing only 462,000 acres—less than 3 percent of the submerged lands mapped as potentially oil bearing. So, just for drilling rights alone, the Federal Treasury now is likely to get at least $1 billion when the whole area is leased.

Royalties too: In addition, the Government will collect 16⅔ percent of the value of all oil produced. The Geological Survey estimates that oil in these lands amounts to 11.5 billion barrels. At today's prices, that means a return of at least $5 billion in royalties.

All of this money is now destined to go into the general fund of the Treasury. Once, however, Congress came close to setting aside offshore-oil revenues for the benefit of the Nation's public schools. That proposal passed in the Senate but was blocked in the House. Later the "oil for education" plan was shelved in the conflict over giving tidelands to the States. This plan now is expected to be revived.

Whatever is done with the money, it now is clear that one of the most extensive oil hunts in history is about to get under way, and the Federal Government will get the lion's share of the public benefits. The $144 million that the Federal Treasury already is offered for a fraction of the tidelands, contrasted with the $65 million realized from leases by Louisiana and Texas, is an indication of what lies ahead.

More than 30 oil companies now are active in the hunt for oil. Before they are through, they expect to locate at least as much oil under water as that already proved in the coastal plain of the Gulf States. This dry-land area is known to contain 11 billion barrels of oil and 67 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. New discoveries are still being made.

Drills go deeper: The advantage to the Federal Government results from the growing ability of oil companies to drill farther out from shore and in ever-deepening waters. Not so long ago, a 60-foot depth of water was considered the limit. This seemed to give the Gulf States all the breaks in tidelands development. But now Continental Oil Co., with associates, is preparing to drill in 97 feet of water off Grant Isle, La. Gulf Refining Co. has leased a Federal tract that lies under 164 feet of water. And oil engineers and shipbuilders have designs for seagoing platforms that will operate at 200-foot depths.

These developments have changed the basic conception of oil possibilities. The offshore area once was thought to embrace no more than 25,000 square miles. Now the estimates are double that figure, with most of the area under Federal control.

Underwater explorations are being stepped up by recent finds. Magnolia Petroleum Co. and associated firms brought in a new well on a submerged salt dome 30 miles off the Louisiana coast. The same companies made another strike 18 miles offshore. Another group also opened a new field 30 miles out, and Phillips Petroleum Co. located a natural-gas well in still another area. Shell Oil Co. has made a strike close to the 3-mile limit off Louisiana, and Standard Oil of Texas has brought in a discovery well near Corpus Christi, Tex., in State-owned waters.

At the moment at least 22 wells are being drilled in Federal waters alone. This drilling is expected to double in the next year as more and better platforms, tenders, and barges are built.

However, it is not cheap to explore for undersea oil. A typical company usually invests $3 million in seismographic surveys alone, just to find indications of oil. Then anywhere from $2 million to $10 million goes for drilling equipment. Another $1 million may be needed to drill a well to a depth of 10,000 feet, where most of the oil is found.

These costs can be justified only if large amounts of oil are discovered. As one company executive says: "It looks like we'll have to learn to walk away from small discoveries."

Billions of barrels: Actually, the companies expect to find a lot of oil. One estimate is that, within 5 or 6 years, explorations will turn up 6 billion barrels of new oil reserves, plus 15 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Official estimates indicate that the whole submerged area, State and Federal, will add 13 billion barrels to the Nation's present proved reserves of 34 billion barrels. Underwater oil off California may add another 2 billion barrels. That adds up to enough oil for about 20 years, at last year's rates of United States production.

Most of the oil hunting is being conducted at present off the Louisiana coast. In the waters off Texas, drilling difficulties are reported to be much greater because of high winds and rough waters. Two recent drilling ventures in this area were failures. Nevertheless, oil-company executives rate their prospects off Texas as good and are planning on more extensive drilling. They expect to solve their problems as they gain more experience.

Eye to the future: The emphasis at present is on locating reserves. What most companies want primarily are reserves for future production, not oil that is to be marketed now. Reserves are a guaranty that oil producers will stay in business for many years ahead. Also, before undersea oil can be marketed, pipelines must be laid to link offshore wells with refineries on land. To date, 1 pipeline has been laid stretching out 17 miles from the Louisiana coast. This is to be lengthened soon to 48 miles.

Signs are, therefore, that the actual marketing of tidelands oil will not be undertaken on a large scale for some years. That means large royalties to the States and Federal Government will not be realized either, until some time in the future. However, there seems to be little doubt that eventually a very large public revenue will be realized from offshore oil and that more than 85 percent of it will flow into the coffers of the Federal Government.

Address of Secretary of Labor Before the New England Governors' Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address of the Secretary of Labor, the Honorable James P. Mitchell, before the New England Governors' Conference, Boston, Mass., on November 18, 1954:

I appreciate this opportunity to speak before this distinguished group. Your conference is in the best tradition of our American heritage. It is an effort through cooperative endeavor to promote the well-being of the people in your area. This approach commands the respect and admiration of all of us.

The great natural resources of New England, the ingenuity and industry of its management, and the skill and resourcefulness of its workers would seem to make it a most attractive and profitable place for industrial enterprise. In addition, the high degree of labor-management harmony and the maturity of the relationships between workers and employers would seem to be conducive to high production and successful operations. Consequently, when some companies closed their New England plants or let them become obsolete and built or expanded in other areas, you tried to find out why and to correct your difficulties and attract new industries.

I have reviewed many of the studies of the New England economy. From this I have concluded that you are trying to solve problems with the intelligence, initiative and resourcefulness for which you have always been noted. As a result of the work of conferences such as this, the efforts of the New England council, the studies which you are promoting, and the local efforts to attract and expand industry, I see a bright future for this region.

The whole history of our country has been one of change, growth, and progress. That is the process now going on in New England. I note that you are diversifying your industries and shifting into production of the new products of this electronic age. No longer is the future of your area tied as closely to its traditional industries, some of which are experiencing a long-term decline.

You lost the village blacksmith to Detroit, and some of the textile mills to the South, but in their place you are expanding your transportation equipment industries, your electrical machinery manufacturing, your jewelry and silverware industries, your aircraft plants, your fabricated metal products factories, and your recreation and resort facilities. Each new age has found you meeting its challenge. You may be justly proud of your past and fully confident of your future.

The industrial transition which you are undergoing will undoubtedly be faced by other sections of the country from time to time. The problems you are meeting as employment in some industries declines and the lessons you are learning to increase employ-

ment in other industries can be studied with profit by every region of the country.

The entire country has recently been going through a period of changeover from high-level defense production to a more normal economy. This changeover has been superimposed in New England on a regional transition which had been building up for a long time and which has been accelerated since the end of World War II. In 1939 two-thirds of the region's manufacturing employment was in the soft-goods industries, but in 1954 just over 50 percent of the workers are producing nondurable goods. There has been a great increase in the production of electronics and other electrical equipment, fabricated metals, and transportation equipment, and considerable decline in the textile industry which employed 281,000 workers in September 1939 and only 173,000 in September 1954.

Since the end of the war there has, as you know, been a nationwide decline of employment in the textile industry, although not as great a drop for the country as a whole as for the New England region. The overall decrease has been due in part to the shift to the synthetics and in part to improvement in techniques of producing the conventional cottons, woolens, and silks which began in the 1920's. Output per man-hour in the decade 1929–39 increased by 41 percent in woolens and worsteds, by 46 percent in cotton goods, and by 131 percent in silk and rayon. Increases in productivity slackened during World War II, but the recent installation of new types of textile machinery has greatly increased output per worker since 1947.

The essence of the New England economy is its ability to utilize its outstandingly able labor force and its mature labor-management relations. New England's record in labor-management relations, as measured by the number of man-days lost through strikes, continues to be excellent. For example, in 1953, only 4.9 percent of the Nation's man-days of idleness from work stoppages were in New England, whereas New England has 7.1 percent of the Nation's nonagricultural employment. This same favorable record has existed in nearly every postwar year.

New England, in common with the rest of the country, has an interest in taking steps to eliminate unemployment. This is a problem which can best be solved at a local level. The Federal Government can make some contribution but cannot do the job alone.

Like other areas, New England has benefited from the procurement activities of the Federal Government. For example, from July 1 through November 13, 1954, at least 70 contracts, each of one-half million dollars or more, were awarded to firms located in New England. These large contracts had a value of over $208 million. They covered such diverse items as cartridges, propeller assemblies, helicopters, aircraft engines, barracks, woolen cloth, sonar sets, electronic equipment, mine sweepers, parachutes, shoes, wire, chemicals, amplifiers, antennas, rifles, coal, plastic dinnerware, automatic screw machines, a hospital, a radar gunnery trainer, a warehouse, a submarine, and spare parts for aircraft.

In the first 10 months of 1954, the value of Federal contracts awarded for highway construction was over $5¾ million in Connecticut, over $4¾ million in Maine, over $16½ million in Massachusetts, almost $6 million in New Hampshire, over $2¼ million in Rhode Island, and over $4½ million in Vermont.

I cite these figures only to indicate that I believe New England is getting its share of Federal expenditures and to express the hope that this has been helpful to your economy.

While there has been a recent decline in unemployment, we in Washington are not complacent about the unemployment situation. We are determined to take all possible steps to promote job opportunities. We are trying to make sure that all of our policies—legislative and administrative, financial and operating—promote the economic welfare of the American people. I am sure that you in your own areas have the same objectives and are working toward the same end.

There are many areas in which we can work together for the benefit of the people of your region and the Nation as a whole. These include the Federal and State programs to promote the social and economic welfare of the American people.

Many Americans are concerned about the growth of Federal bureaus and programs in recent years and the pressures to add still more functions that will make the Government bigger.

No one seriously suggests that the role of Government in today's dynamic economy should fail to keep pace with the changing times and the altered needs of the American people. But we must continually ask ourselves whether the governmental action that will do the job best may not actually be, in many instances, that of the State or community which is most familiar with the particular problems of the citizens who live there.

In a letter to the Congress, on March 30, 1953, President Eisenhower pointed out that "the Federal Government has entered fields which, under our Constitution, are the primary responsibilities of State and local government. It has led to duplication and waste. * * * The maintenance of strong, well-ordered State and local governments is essential to our Federal system of government."

However, until our State and local governments take positive and well-considered steps to meet the demands of their own citizens for the performance by government of necessary functions, the pressures on the Federal Government to do what the local governments could do but have not done will continue. As in the past, such pressures will encourage the further expansion of Federal regulation and control in these areas.

Consequently, it will be to our mutual advantage to explore today those areas in which further State action is desirable.

The New England States pioneered in State minimum-wage legislation. Massachusetts passed the first law in 1912. Currently, all of your States but one have minimum-wage laws, although one is limited to its coverage to a single industry. New England not only set the trend in minimum-wage legislation, but also in covering men under such laws. Connecticut was the first State in the Nation to take this action. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island soon extended their laws likewise to cover men. The pattern set by the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act in giving wage protection to both men and women has been more commonly accepted in this New England area than anywhere else in the United States. Of the 5 laws now covering man, 4 are in this area. Likewise, this area has followed the pattern of the Federal act in establishing a statutory minimum. Three of your State laws establish a statutory minimum rate; and Connecticut was the first State to meet the 75-cent minimum rate set by the Federal act.

Despite the great progress that has been made, there is still work to be done in this area. I hope that this region will work toward having in every State minimum-wage legislation that sets a realistic statutory minimum rate and covers men as well as women workers.

Workmen's compensation is one of the areas in which this Department is intensely interested. Under the leadership of Under Secretary Larson, who is an expert in this field, we hope, with the cooperation of the States, to make real progress and to strengthen this most important program for working men and women.

When workmen's compensation laws were first passed, they contemplated benefits approximating two-thirds of the worker's wages when he was incapacitated from an occupational injury. Now due to rising wages and increased cost of living, weekly benefits fall far below this standard. Likewise, many employees are not covered at all because of the exemption of small employers. In the 6 New England States, for example, all laws exempt employers with less than a specified number of workers, ranging from less than 3 to less than 8. The average weekly earnings of factory workers in the United States are over $72. Only 2 of the 6 New England States—Connecticut and Massachusetts—provide a maximum weekly benefit of $40 or more for temporary total disability. For the other 4 States, the maximum ranges from $25 to $33.

In many other areas, we need to strengthen our workmen's compensation laws. The need for coverage of occupational diseases as well as injuries resulting from accidents is obvious. Three of your States (Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine) limit such coverage to a specific list or schedule of diseases. With new industrial processes constantly being developed and exposing workers to new hazards, it is essential for workmen's compensation laws to provide for full coverage of occupational diseases, as is now done in more than half of the States.

This is another area in which there is still room for progress in New England.

By and large, the unemployment insurance laws of the New England States compare favorably with those in other jurisdictions. The basic maximum weekly benefit amounts range from $25 to $30. In Connecticut and Massachusetts, where recognition has been given to family responsibilities, the maximum weekly benefit is greater for the individual with dependent children—up to $45 in Connecticut, and limited to the individual's average weekly wage in Massachusetts.

Of the New England States, New Hampshire is the only one which nearly approaches the President's recommendations for an improved unemployment insurance program so far as duration of benefits is concerned. All eligible individuals may receive benefits for 26 weeks if they continue to be unemployed through no fault of their own. In Maine and Vermont, all eligible claimants are entitled to uniform duration of 20 weeks. The remaining 3 States provide for a maximum of 26 weeks but many workers are entitled to fewer weeks of benefits, depending on their earnings in the prior year.

In the New England States other than New Hampshire, the percentage of maximum weekly benefits to average weekly wages ranges from 38.1 to 45.2; in Connecticut and Massachusetts, individuals with dependent children receive a higher percentage of their average weekly wage. The majority of claimants in New Hampshire would receive benefits up to one-half of their average weekly wage only if its benefit formula were changed from one in which the weekly benefit is based on a fraction of a full year's wages. This is due to the fact that use of a fraction of a full year's earnings tends to depress the weekly benefit because of the inclusion of weeks of less than full-time earnings as well as weeks of no earnings. Maine, with a maximum weekly benefit of $27 and uniform duration of 20 weeks, is hampered by its type of benefit formula so that only 21.6 percent of insured claimants in 1953 were eligible for the maximum weekly benefit amount.

As you can see, this is another area deserving of your careful consideration. This is particularly true because of the increasing attention being given to stabilization of income. This type of income security is sometimes called the guaranteed annual wage. Actually, in many cases unions demanding

a guaranteed annual wage are really looking for supplementary unemployment compensation. Improved unemployment-insurance systems would help alleviate this problem.

One of the major problems in the field of economic security is maintaining the income of individuals and families when the wage earner is ill and unable to work. The need of workers for income maintenance during periods of unemployment caused by illness is possibly even greater than their need for income when the unemployment is due to lack of work.

Yet while all States have statutory provisions for unemployment insurance, only four provide their workers with statutory protection against loss of wages due to nonwork-connected disabilities. Of the 4 States, the 1 in New England—Rhode Island—is the pioneer. In other New England States the legislatures have considered disability insurance. Connecticut and Massachusetts have given it active consideration over quite a period. Vermont is 1 of the 6 States which has modified its unemployment insurance law to permit an unemployment claimant to continue to receive benefits even though he becomes unable to work during an uninterrupted period of unemployment, provided that he does not refuse work which would have been suitable if he had not become sick.

The importance of disability benefits to the workers in a State is indicated by the fact that in 1953 Rhode Island paid $12.6 million in unemployment insurance benefits and $6.2 million in disability benefits.

The field of temporary disability insurance is worthy of further attention. It is an area in which protection is needed and State action is warranted.

I should like to stress the importance of a strong, coordinated State labor department to the States' efforts to meet their responsibilities to the wage earners within their borders. A State labor department should administer labor laws, but it should do much more. It must provide the planning and leadership that are vital to achieving the objectives of a growing economy, good labor standards, safe work places, and the minimizing of industrial disputes. Only through such a strong labor department can these objectives be carried out with the flexibility required by our changing social and industrial developments.

A labor department is the agency of State government to which workers and employers should be able to turn for advice and help in meeting everyday problems of employment and in planning for the future. The New England area is fortunate that it has had functioning labor departments over a very long period. I can think of nothing that I would consider more important in terms of the welfare of the wage earners of your States than to strengthen that agency of your State government that gives leadership in the conservation of the State's human resources.

There is a great need for State facilities to provide effective mediation and conciliation services in labor-management disputes. Generally speaking, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service limits itself to labor-management disputes which threaten a substantial interruption of interstate commerce. Unless the States step in, there is a no-man's land in other labor disputes where no mediation services are offered.

State agencies are particularly well qualified to help settle labor disputes. They are in the best position to understand the local problems and the local interests involved. The local community suffers the toll of labor disputes more than any other area and, therefore, settlement is primarily the interest of the State.

Unfortunately, many States do not provide active mediation services, making it impossible for them to bear the responsibility which is properly theirs. The active services include certain New England States, but there is room for improvement here as in other areas. Three of the States in your region have what could be called fully effective State mediation and conciliation services. In the other three States, you obviously have room for some progress.

All of the New England States have basic safety laws and an agency charged with administering those laws. Four (Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont) have delegated full authority to the administrative agency to draft rules and regulations to carry out the intent of your basic safety law and to provide the flexibility required to keep pace with rapidly changing industrial processes. One State (Connecticut) has no such general authority, and in the other one (Maine) the authority appears to be somewhat limited.

Experience shows adequate industrial safety for employees can never be achieved unless regulatory authority is given to promulgate safety codes, and that authority is actually used to build a solid foundation on which a safety structure can be erected. Now, I do not mean that safety code enforcement is all that is involved in a good safety program. If that were so, your inspectors would only need to be good policemen. They must be much more than that. They must be highly trained technicians, skilled in the best accident-prevention methods and able to put their knowledge to use.

Every worthwhile safety program is based on the premise that a safe and healthy place to work is provided the employee. Everything else—training, supervision, and employee cooperation—that enter into the program must follow. And a trained staff, working with an adequate safety code structure, can do a great deal to show the employer how to provide a safe work place.

I believe you will wish to look into this problem. Where you lack basic legal authority to carry on good safety programs, you will want to remedy that as soon as possible and strengthen your State resources for the promotion of occupational safety on every front. Every dollar spent in accident prevention will yield high dividends in reduction of costs resulting from occupational accidents and in the conservation of the Nation's greatest resource—its workers.

The Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship is charged with promoting apprenticeship and industrial training. I have instructed this Bureau to encourage management and labor to expand their efforts in improving the skills of the Nation's work force. All of us know that this is extremely important to our economy at all times. I have also directed the Bureau of Apprenticeship to encourage State agencies to assume more leadership and more responsibility in the promotion of sound apprenticeship programs.

As you know, each of the New England States has an active apprenticeship agency. However, improvements can be made. Two-thirds of the New England States do not have active State staffs and therefore are not in a position to give the necessary promotional and technical assistance to the people in their industries.

I strongly urge you to evaluate what is currently being done in your States and to improve and intensify training efforts to expand the skills of the entire New England work force.

I particularly urge you to consider the importance of adequate training programs for the young people of your States who are for the first time entering employment. Attention should be given to the special supervisory problems involved in their training and emphasis should be placed on application of safety rules.

All levels of Government should be concerned not only with apprenticeship training but also with the many other very important types of training. We in the Labor Department are in the process of launching a new program to encourage effective training for all workers. The responsibility for developing the skills of employed workers lies with management and labor. The role of the Federal, State and local governments is only to assist and help. This role is important, however, and deserves our fullest support.

We have gone a long way in the United States in correcting child-labor evils since the early days when so many workers in mines and factories, including the growing textile mills of New England, were young children. New England was the pioneer in seeing the evil of child labor and in enacting legislative remedies. It was in Connecticut in 1813 and Massachusetts in 1836 that the first child-labor laws were passed. But as child-labor protection has become a nationwide movement, New England as a region has lost its lead. The nationally accepted standard of a 16-year minimum age for employment during school hours has been met by only 4 of the 6 New England States (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island). Rhode Island is the only State in this area to set a maximum 40-hour workweek for boys and girls under 16 and Connecticut the only one with a maximum 8-hour day and 48-hour week standard for those 16 and 17 years of age.

In the early days of our Nation farmwork was a family activity, but now the widespread practice of depending upon seasonal hired laborers has made the protection of children working in agriculture one of our greatest needs. We have made too little progress anywhere on this front. For example, among the New England States not one applies to agricultural employment a 16-year minimum age for employment during school hours, and only Connecticut has a 14-year minimum age for limited agricultural work outside school hours.

Much remains to be done by the New England States to provide the basic child-labor protections that are generally accepted today as necessary to safeguard the educational opportunity of our youth and advance constructive employment opportunities for young people when they are ready to join the Nation's work force.

We all know that despite our professed beliefs in the equality of man, certain groups among us are discriminated against because of their race, color, religion, or national origin. When this discrimination affects a person's opportunities for employment, it is particularly pernicious. The freedom to earn a living without being discriminated against is as important to the individual as the better-known civil rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. Freedom of speech, assembly, and religious worship may seem to be empty phrases to a person who is deprived of his chance to make a living because of the color of his skin, or the way he worships God or because his ancestors were members of a particular national group.

As you know, there has been a long struggle for the enactment of Federal legislation to meet this problem. One of the arguments against Federal legislation in this field is that this matter should be dealt with by the States. To lend validity to this argument, however, the States must take some action to eliminate this injustice to large numbers of their people.

Here in New England three of the States, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island have acted. These States have statutes against discrimination in employment which have demonstrated that State action along this line can be effective. The annual reports of the State agencies administering

these laws indicate that they have succeeded in reducing discrimination in employment. They have opened up employment opportunities where members of some groups have previously been barred.

I commend to the attention of other States the experience of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island in meeting the problem of discrimination in employment.

There are two significant population trends which I believe I should discuss with you before closing. First is the bumper crop of World War II babies now going through the school systems of the Nation and soon to be candidates for their share of employment opportunities. Second, and of real concern to the New England area, is the increasing representation of older workers both in the general population and in the labor force. People 45 and older have increased from 17.8 percent of our population in 1900 to 28.4 percent in 1950. They will comprise nearly 50 percent by 1975.

Studies conducted in selected areas through State employment security agencies have established clearly that, in spite of the present high levels of production and employment, older workers are at a distinct disadvantage in obtaining new employment. Unless the economy achieves considerable further expansion, the large number of young people born in the 1940's who will reach working age in the 1960's will create much heavier competition for jobs.

It follows, then, that unless hiring and retention practices of employers detrimental to the interests of older workers change before the 1960's, an excessive number of older people will suffer unemployment and dependency. In this respect, New England faces a particularly acute situation. Great concentrations of older people tend to be found in the older industries. This is true in the case of textiles, which have in the past represented such a large part of New England's industrial endeavor, and it is true also in the metal trades, which account for much employment in this region.

In recognition of the impact of these problems in your States, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut have established committees on the aging which are given earnest attention to constructive actions that may be taken. I share their concern. We at the Federal level are also working on this problem. It will take the best cooperative efforts of all of us to find the solution.

Thank you for permitting me to discuss with you some matters of mutual interest. These are some of the many areas in which we can work together for the benefit of the people of New England and the country as a whole. I hope that you will call upon me whenever the Department of Labor can be of assistance. You may be assured of our earnest desire to cooperate with you on behalf of the general welfare.

Proprietors of the House—Democrat Rayburn and Republican Martin, Alternating as Mr. Speaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following interesting article from the current issue of Life regarding our beloved present and past Speakers of the House:

PROPRIETORS OF THE HOUSE—DEMOCRAT RAYBURN AND REPUBLICAN MARTIN, ALTERNATING AS MR. SPEAKER, OPERATE WITH SKILL, WARMTH, AND FIRMNESS TO GET WORK OF CONGRESS DONE

(By Robert Coughlan)

In the grandiloquent corridors of the House wing of the National Capitol, obscure among the intaglioed marbles and gilded ceilings and spacious vistas and heroic canvases of battle scenes and founding fathers, there is a small alcove containing a pair of private suites. In one of these, by tradition, sits the Speaker of the House with his staff; in the other, which adjoins it, sits the Minority Leader with his staff. Between them lies a formal rancor and an obligation to plot each other's ruin.

One day last December the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, chieftain of the House Republicans and hence Speaker of the preceding session, emerged from the Speaker's office into the corridor. At nearly the same moment the Honorable SAMUEL T. RAYBURN, leader of the Democrats, whose victory in November's election made him Speaker-to-be, emerged from the Minority Leader's office.

Here was a historic confrontation: the two great rivals, their positions soon to be reversed as the fruit of a bitter campaign, that reversal signified when RAYBURN (with what sweet malice one can imagine) would depose MARTIN from the Speaker's office and relegate him and his party's hopes to the humiliation of the minority leader's office in which RAYBURN had chafed these past 2 years. Surely there would be hot looks between them, perhaps hot words, or worse.

This is what happened.

"JOE," said Speaker-designate RAYBURN, looking at Speaker MARTIN with querulous affection, "Ah'm tired of all this shiftin' around. What do you say, we each keep the same room we got now?"

"You're the Speaker, SAM," MARTIN replied with a warm smile. "Whatever you say."

And so, as the new Congress opened this January 5, people wanting the Speaker of the House had to look for him in the minority leader's office, and the other way around. It wasn't protocol and it wasn't parliamentary, but for SAM RAYBURN and JOE MARTIN it was practical and that's what counted.

Elsewhere in the world, at about this same time, France's National Assembly was preparing to strangle itself in new extremes of factionalism, English laborites were serenading Sir Winston Churchill with catcalls, Ollenhauer, leader of West Germany's Social Democrats, was refusing any understanding with Chancellor Adenauer; while in the United States, the Senate, often referred to as "the responsible body," was gingerly feeling its collective head and wondering what was in the stuff it had been drinking for the past 2 years: what with the Bricker amendment, the McCarthy mess, and the Republican leader sniping at the President who was also head of the Republican Party, it had made an inglorious record.

MARRIAGE OF OPPOSITES

The Members of the House, the body designed constitutionally as the "popular branch," could look back on a decorous and productive session and forward to one that promised to be equally so. The House seemed to have become in fact "the responsible body." And the reason, when one stopped to think about this anomaly, lay to a large extent in the nature of the House leadership—not a little in that eclectic and congenial spirit which sacrificed form and avoided the dusty nuisance of moving day. With RAYBURN and MARTIN, or MARTIN and RAYBURN, whichever way the die fell, the House could settle down to the things to be done with the homespun comfort of a fat man slipping into a pair of old shoes.

RAYBURN and MARTIN—SAM and JOE, for each has got rid of the second syllable of his first name—have been compared with the proverbial old married couple who have lived together so long that, in spite of spats and opposing opinions firmly held, they have almost blended their identities. Some maintain that they even have grown to look alike, but this idea is spoiled somewhat by their complexions and hair. RAYBURN is almost totally bald; MARTIN has kept a heavy shock of unruly hair which even now, at a little distance, gives the illusion of being black. However, they are of a size, about 5 feet 7 inches, and share the gentle rotundity of their years. MARTIN is 70 years old; RAYBURN is 73; MARTIN has served in the House for 30 years, and as leader of the Republicans there for 16 of them; RAYBURN has served for 42 years, and as leader of the Democrats for 18 of them; MARTIN slurs his "r's" in a northeastern accent and RAYBURN in a southwestern one; both speak in rather clipped sentences and sound a good deal alike; both are unmarried and each has a sister who keeps house for him back home.

In fact, except that RAYBURN likes fishing and MARTIN likes baseball, and that—as MARTIN says, "SAM's a born and bred Democrat from Texas and I'm a born and bred Republican from Massachusetts, and we'll always have that between us," and "We've got different economic ideas, but we're not too far apart on that, either," RAYBURN and MARTIN are almost an overlapping image of that very important personage, "Mr. Speaker."

"Mr. Speaker" is the second most important elective official in the United States. Since 1947, when he was put ahead of the Secretary of State, he follows the Vice President in the line of succession to the Presidency. But he far exceeds the Vice President in his power and his influence over legislation. As for Senators, SAM RAYBURN disdainfully says, "I'd rather be Speaker of the House than any 10 Senators."

POWER OF THE PURSE

Mr. Speaker's powers are so great as to defy exact calculation and yet so amorphous as to defy exact definition. Since the House holds the Nation's purse through its constitutional control over appropriations, and the Speaker is the House symbolized, he is a man for whom all executive departments must feel that tenderest of emotions—financial. Since he strongly influences committee appointments, all House Members must look to him for a chance to get ahead. Through his control of the intricate parliamentary machinery of the House, he can expedite or delay bills, encourage or cut off debate. By the simple device of not seeing a Member who is trying to be recognized, Mr. Speaker can leave him forever mute. Yet the Speaker cannot be a tyrant. His rulings can be overturned and his power, like that of the Government itself, must derive from the consent of the governed.

There was a time when this was not so. Back in 1890 Speaker Thomas Reed, driven to it by the fractious habits of the Members, rigged the Rules Committee to consist simply of himself, his two deputies and two members of the opposition. The latter being always outvoted 3 to 2, and the Rules Committee having the say-so as to which bills could reach the House for a vote, the opposition found itself completely throttled. The Reed autocracy continued for 20 years, on through the regime of the famous "Uncle Joe" Cannon of Illinois, who was such a despot that the Members finally revolted and in 1910 stripped the speakership of most of its powers, taking special care to liberate and enlarge the Rules Committee. Later speakers rebuilt much of the power Cannon had lost, but it was a gradual process and the power was of a different quality, based

on changes in the times, the country and the House of Representatives itself.

JOE MARTIN remembers that even in 1925, when he first took his seat, "not 1 man in 50 paid much attention to what was happening in Congress. We didn't have any really big issues to worry about or for the country to worry about. We'd only be in session about 9 or 10 months altogether out of the 2-year term." Then, in 1930, began the time of troubles—25 years of them, so far—and "what Congress did affected everybody in the country." As a result Congress itself changed: The average Member who might have run "just for the experience and the prestige it would give him in his law practice or newspaper job back home" now ran probably because he had convictions. This naturally made a difference in the techniques of leadership.

When they consider it politically necessary, both RAYBURN and MARTIN know how to issue pointblank orders. But this is usually a last resort. "Times have changed," MARTIN says. "You can't browbeat a Member of Congress any more. They've got to have confidence in you to follow you." And RAYBURN says, "You've got to lead with kindness and with good reasons," adding, "I never criticized Cannon, or Reed for that matter. They worked with the rules they had, and if you're a strong man you don't back off from the power that's given you. But things are a lot different now. They've got to want to follow you, and you've got to fix it so they'll be thinkin' of reasons why they should instead of why they shouldn't."

Thus Mr. Speaker in modern times has become a representative's representative, a politician's politician, manifesting—since people generally get the kind of Government they deserve—both the virtues and shortcomings of his constituency, the House. Who and what are these 435 people?

SAM RAYBURN was musing aloud not long ago about what makes a Congressman. He has seen about 3,000 of them come and go, an average turnover of 150 seats a term. He said, "They're as good a cross-section of the American people—the best of the American people—as you can find. You can tell a whole lot about the people of a district by the kind of fellow they keep sending here. For instance, one man came to me. He was from a pretty rough district, a lot of uneducated people. He said to me, 'I don't belong here. I don't know what's going on here and I never will. But you'll never get rid of me because I'm just like my folks.' And he was, too.

"But these representatives have been selected. They've been honored—it's an honor to be elected to anything by the people. Now, they're no smarter than a lot of other people where they come from. I don't doubt at all there's people smarter than they are. But let me tell you one thing about smartness—when you've got commonsense, you've got about all the sense there is. And I shouldn't say this, because this House has been so good to me, but they're the best jury I ever saw a man tried before. When a new man comes here, the others want him to make good. They're pulling for him. If he makes a good job on his first speech or in his committee, they're glad. But if he falls down or makes a fool of himself, he's got a strike against him, and if he keeps on doing it they'll just have nothing more to do with him—and why should they?

"Of course," he went on, "it takes a while for a man to learn and get established and gain his full influence. He don't reach his full usefulness his first term or two. And the worst thing a district can do for itself, if it's got someone here doing his job, is to keep changing its Congressman.

"A man makes a record here about the way he does in business, or the law, or anything else: it's hard work that makes the difference."

JOE MARTIN, talking on the same theme, summed it up this way: "It's a pretty shaa'p test they put you through. A man has to demonstrate commonsense, courage, honor and ability, and he can't mind hard work. There's another thing you can't overlook. If a feller is going to keep comin' back, he's got to service his district. That's what they send him for. A man can be a statesman, but if he's going to be one he'd better have a pret-ty good sec-re-tary to see about all the little humdrum things back home."

THOSE ROLLING WAVES OF SENTIMENT

Honor, devotion to work, commonsense—if these are Mr. Speaker's prescription for success in Congress, they are also the qualities that Congressmen mention most often about RAYBURN and MARTIN. In the slippery defiles of politics it is honor that counts most: and again and again one hears the phrase, "SAM and JOE are men of their word." Or, as Lew Deschler, Parliamentarian of the House, put it recently, "They keep their commitments. No matter how rough it gets, they don't run out. They don't run." In that regard, RAYBURN says simply, "There's no degrees in honorableness. You are or you aren't."

Mr. Speaker, the representatives' representative, must also have fairness, tact, and tolerance, RAYBURN says, "A Speaker has to be fair. Otherwise they'll tear him to pieces. That's because so much House business is done by 'unanimous consent of the Members,' and all it takes is one fellow who thinks he's been done wrong to stand up and say 'I object.' "

Of tact, MARTIN says, "You've got to try to build up good will. You can't operate unless the Members like you."

Of tolerance, RAYBURN says, "There's bound to be differences of opinion in the House. That's what it's for—for the Representatives of all these different districts and sections to come here and argue it out, with fairness to everybody. But you've always got to figure, when you differ with somebody, your opponent has just as much sense as you have, just as much patriotism, and just as much right to his ideas—so he may be right."

Yet all these qualities together are not enough for successful leadership. The decisive element, which when added to the others can lift a man to the Speakership, is an understanding of the human relationships, fears and ambitions which permeate politics and make it an art—a feeling for the situation. RAYBURN says, "You can't really say how you lead. You feel your way, receptive to those rolling waves of sentiment. And if a man can't see and hear and feel, why then, of course, he's lost."

This quality may be initially a gift of nature, but it also requires nurture. MARTIN and RAYBURN have spent their lives in politics, and it will be useful to look back to some of the times when they were learning to see and hear and feel.

JOE MARTIN was born on November 3, 1884, in an unassuming, knocked-together two-family frame house two blocks off the main street of North Attleboro, Mass., a small (population now 12,000) New England town of ordered social life and careful thinking. To this day, almost the worst thing MARTIN can say about a man is "He doesn't take time to walk around the block before he makes up his mind."

His father was a blacksmith whose earnings may have averaged about $15 a week. Joseph Jr., as the eldest son of 8 children, learned very soon how to work, not simply for his own spending money but to help support the family. He had all sorts of part-time, schoolboy jobs, including selling one of the North Attleboro newspapers, and later reporting for it. He was an all-round boy in school, a good student, such a good shortstop that he later played semipro ball, and the next most popular member of his class. As he recalled recently, "The girls put me up and the boys put up another can-dee-date. I voted for him and lost by one vote. I never made that same mistake since."

Naturally he wanted to go on to college, but although he was offered a scholarship at Dartmouth he felt it his duty to work and give the younger children their chance. With his help the youngest boys, Ed and Al, went through Dartmouth. In the Yankee tradition of North Attleboro, especially in those times, hardship was not any cause for discontent with society but simply for sober ambition. Joe saved what little he could, and by 24 it amounted to $1,000. With that and with money borrowed from his friends among the local businessmen, he bought the North Attleboro Evening Chronicle. He is still its publisher, although he has been on holiday from it almost ever since.

Joe ran for the State legislature in 1912 simply because, "I was a newspaper man and I thought the training and inside knowledge would help me in my job." But the State leaders liked him, there was a 3-way factional quarrel going on in the party and Joe found himself in a position he was to occupy many times from then on: he was the only one to have the confidence and liking of all factions, and so he was given the job in question, which was to run the reelection campaign of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. This was a success. Local Republicans put him up for Congress. He lost the primary—the first and last time he was defeated in a contest for public office—but then the winner died, and the district committee selected him as their candidate. He won and came to Congress on March 4, 1925.

With his twinkling deep-blue eyes and methodical habits the freshman Congressman gave an impression both friendly and reassuring and he got along well from the start. "Fortune makes a difference in the way you get ahead," he says and cites the facts that he was lucky enough to be assigned to the important committees on Foreign Affairs and on Rules and that he knew Calvin Coolidge. This was a real distinction because not many people in Washington knew Coolidge or much about him. But Martin had served under him in Massachusetts when Coolidge was president of the State senate and could answer people's questions about this Yankee sphinx who suddenly had become President. So, he says, "Prestige attached to me automatically."

As a footnote to history, it should be mentioned that Martin found Coolidge "really a warmhaa'ted man when he liked you" and also that Silent Cal could be "downright garrulous when he was among friends and got on some topic that struck his interest."

Well sponsored, friendly, and utterly conscientious, MARTIN impressed his party's leaders and at the same time achieved the essential in a system based on seniority: He kept getting himself reelected. Although his district takes in some industrial areas and normally has only a moderate Republican majority, and although his outlook and voting record remained so conservative that he has often been called reactionary, his service to the district in all the little humdrum things and his tireless grass-roots campaigning made him unbeatable. In 1939 he became minority leader by unanimous vote.

The House had long since become his life and his blood. He took quarters in a little suite at the Hay-Adams House, a comfortable and sedate hotel across from the White House, but this was less a home than a place to sleep. Work was everything, from 8:30 a. m. when he sat down at his table in the House dining room for his abstemious breakfast of melon, whole-wheat toast, and coffee, to be joined by his whip and other senior Republican Members, or perhaps by lesser Members with favors or bills of privilege to ask him about; or, from time to time, perhaps by SAM RAYBURN on a matter of intra-

party interest. MARTIN says, "Breakfast helps me keep track of my committeemen. And you can drop a word about this or that thing * * * people like to know what's going on, you know."

The day's business well laid out over the coffee cups, MARTIN would go to his private office at about 9:30, from there (when he was Speaker) to the Speaker's ornate formal office at 11:45 to brief the press, to the House Chamber at 12, and through the session for however long it might last. And then, almost always, to one or more of the parties where his official presence was desirable, there to chat a while, tell a few stories, and hold a cocktail which he put to his lips occasionally without drinking. (He has been called "the greatest marathon nondrinker in Washington.")

His power grew steadily in all sorts of ways. Through many small and not-so-small favors: posing with a can of somebody's local brand of applesauce or somebody's local Queen of the May; relaxing party discipline to let somebody vote against a party bill that would do him harm in his special situation at home (and, according to his critics, letting his deputies take the brunt of enforcing discipline when the party's solidarity had to be held). Through the responsibilities he took and the successes he made: he ran the Republican congressional campaign in 1938, the Republican National Committee in 1940 (although the candidate was Willkie, and MARTIN's heart was not in it), and chairmanned national conventions.

He traveled to every State except Mississippi and into most of the congressional districts until, he says, "I know some of the districts better than the people who represent them and I know their problems in their local situations. So that gives them confidence. I have all this experience behind me; in that way leadership builds on itself." His name was seldom on a piece of legislation and he was never to be noted as a profound political thinker. But behind the modest, homespun manner and often rumpled and harried appearance, there developed a consummate political technician. Even Roosevelt admired him, although he attacked him strongly in the famous Martin, Barton, and Fish campaign speeches.

"You know," MARTIN reiminisced recently, "Franklin Roosevelt, not withstandin' bein' a Democrat, liked me very much. One day Steve Early came to me and said, 'JOE, the Boss likes you very much. He says that of all the Republicans he knows, he'd rather have you on his team.' This was at the time he was drawing in Republicans into his Cabinet. All I said was, 'Too bad he never can.' Much later Charles Edison asked me if it was true, as he had heard, that Roosevelt had offered me the job of Secretary of the Navy before he got him. I said it was news to me. But then I suddenly realized that's just the way Roosevelt would work, sendin' Steve Early to sound me out that way and I suppose that's a job he had in mind to offer me."

Throughout the years, too, a warm friendship grew with SAM RAYBURN. The two men, so alike in so many ways, were perhaps most alike in their visceral feeling of pride and responsibility for the House and what it symbolized. MARTIN and RAYBURN, firmly and loyally committed to their parties' programs as they were, still knew that practical politics at all levels demands compromise. During the course of a day they saw each other often, visiting back and forth at their adjoining offices, consulting informally "back of the rail" at the rear of the House Chamber, carrying on an endless political warfare always tempered with mutual respect. When at last the long Democratic reign was broken in the congressional election of 1946 and JOE MARTIN took over the gavel from his old friend on January 3, 1947, RAYBURN addressed the new House as follows:

"Today I have the high privilege and great personal pleasure, if it had to come, of presenting to you your Speaker, my friend, your friend, the friend of mankind, a man of unquestioned character, of demonstrated ability, with a great, fine heart and with fairness; and I predict for him a career such that history will record him as one of the great presiding officers who have occupied this position."

As events turned out, this was the first move in a game of musical chairs that has been going on ever since and which JOE MARTIN, at the opening of the Democratic 84th Congress, said "makes me think of an old ditty that went something like this: 'Off again, on again, gone again, Finnigan.'" Last month, when the gavel most recently changed hands, MARTIN said: "* * * I am off again and in a few seconds I will be gone again. * * * Mr. Speaker, do not become too attached to this chair. Nineteen hundred and fifty-seven is just around the corner. Seriously, it is a very pleasant duty that has been assigned to me today to present to you * * * a man of fairness * * * your Speaker and my Speaker, Speaker RAYBURN."

A BOYHOOD AMBITION

This is RAYBURN's sixth full term as Speaker. He has already served 2 years longer than Henry Clay, whose record he surpassed on January 30, 1951, during the 82d Congress. As he took over the House this time from MARTIN, it was with the easy custom of a muleskinner picking up the reins of a 10-span team; and he cracked the whip at once, with a little lecture to the new Members about getting to work on time. With justice, RAYBURN feels proprietorship over the House. And no doubt his return to the speakership gave him a very deep personal satisfaction. It is a role not only which he has filled with historic distinction, but one which he picked out for himself before most of the present Members of the House were born.

SAMUEL TALIAFERO (a family name on his mother's side) RAYBURN was born 73 years ago in Roane County, Tenn., the eighth of 11 children of a Confederate cavalry veteran who had served under Lee until Appomattox and who never stopped hating Yankees. He was a farmer, and poor. When small SAM was 5, the family moved to Fannin County, Texas, where there was good cotton land to be had. Usually there was enough to eat, but only through the endless, exhausting effort of every member who was big enough to handle a hoe. SAM had already learned how, back in Tennessee, at age 5.

The family and neighborhood conversation was of crops and weather and politics, in about that order, and SAM very early knew that the Democrats were God's people and that the greatest Democrat of all, very probably, was the Honorable Joseph Weldon Bailey, Congressman from the Texas Fourth District which included Fannin County. When SAM was 10, he read in the papers that Bailey was going to speak in Bonham the next week. He borrowed the family horse and rode the 12 miles to Bonham and there—literally a barefoot boy with cheeks of tan, overalls and all—listening in trembling admiration to the great Bailey, his ambition was formed. He knew that someday he would be a politician. By the time he was 13, he had his life planned: he would become Speaker of the United States House of Representatives.

When he was 17, SAM left the farm to go to the East Texas Normal College at Commerce, 15 miles away. Twenty-five dollars, nearly all the money the family had, was pressed into his hand in the final handshake by his father. For the rest of his living he swept floors, rang the college bell and milked a cow. He earned his teaching certificate that year, taught in a country school the next year, returned to normal school for more education, went back to teaching school and then, having reached the age of 24, decided it was time to get on with the next stage. He ran for the State legislature and was elected. This not only put him into politics but gave him access to the University of Texas law school, which is at Austin.

He served in the legislature and studied law in his spare time, living on his $5 a day legislative pay. He was reelected twice, and in his third term was made speaker of the Texas House, the youngest man (29) ever to hold the office. In the last year of that term, Joseph Weldon Bailey, who meantime had gone on to the United States Senate, retired, and his successor as Fourth District Representative filed to succeed him. SAM in turn filed for the Fourth District vacancy and won. Thus he came to Congress on March 4, 1913, to occupy the former seat of his old hero and to start the last and hardest part of fulfilling his boyhood dream.

A PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATIVE

It took him 27 more years to do it, years stretching from the beginning of Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom to the last period of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. Small, not very handsome, not a frequent speechmaker, he remained unknown to the country at large for a good many of those years. But among his peers and superiors he very soon attracted attention. Wilson noticed him and saw to it that he was put on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. There he stayed for 24 years, becoming the ranking minority member during the Republican era and then, from 1933 to 1937, the chairman.

Those 4 years saw the New Deal created; and RAYBURN, who had become enormously well informed on matters in his committee's purview, fathered a large proportion of the New Deal's enduring works, including the Railroad Holding Company Act, the Rural Electrification Act, the Securities Act, and the Federal Communications Act. He had to fight through much legislative shot and shell in the process. In 1937, a wise and weathered veteran, he emerged to become Democratic majority leader and then, when Speaker William Bankhead died in 1940, to succeed at last by acclamation to the speakership.

Behind these barest bones of a fabulous career in a historic era there lay, naturally, a whole library of events, episodes and anecdotes. A few items can be selected that shed some special light on his character, as well as on the nature and situation of "Mr. Speaker." For instance, how much of a New Dealer was he?

Frank McNaughton, an old friend, wrote this about him from the perspective of 1943: "He has never gone overboard on economic or social nostrums [or] for anything but the collective wisdom of the peoples and the virtues of Congress as their representatives * * * To his intimate friends he has described himself as a 'progressive conservative or a conservative progressive.' * * * It would be accurate to describe RAYBURN as a 60 or 65 percent New Dealer."

A few weeks ago, reminiscing about those years, RAYBURN said, "There never was any 'rubber-stamp Congress.' I'd go up to the White House, and other leaders from the Congress, and we'd talk it out with Roosevelt with frankness and openness. Sometimes I might not agree with the decision. But if I find myself with 4 other men and they're 4 and I'm 1, I'm going to go along with the 4." And he added, using words almost identical with MARTIN's on the same theme, "You can't be a leader, and ask other people to follow you, unless you know how to follow too."

To lead "with kindness and with good reasons" has never implied, so far as RAYBURN is concerned, the use of any of the small, standard deceits of political hucksterism. He has never tried to be "popular." There is a

compact dignity about him and a certain air of withdrawal that makes excessive familiarity unthinkable. His temperament is rather saturnine, his tongue can be sharp and his face was set long ago in morose lines. He has been known to be vindictive. He can lash out with mulish temper, as more than one correspondent has learned, and—like MARTIN—he has grown a bit cantankerous with age. But he is a genuinely kind and warmhearted man.

A former Washington correspondent tells how, some years ago, the depths of this kindness were revealed to him: "One of our daughters died. The next morning SAM was at our front door. He said he had just come to help out in any way he could. Understand, I was fairly new in the bureau and I wasn't very important to my paper, and I certainly wasn't important to SAM in any political way. But there he was. He helped me make coffee and told our other two little girls stories about Texas. I knew he was supposed to go to have breakfast with the President at the White House that morning and at one point I asked him about it. He said, 'Yes, but I called the President and told him I had a friend in trouble.' This story has never been printed."

A CROSSROADS OF HISTORY

In the long, long gallery of RAYBURN's life, some other vignettes should be noted. August 12, 1941, the day the bill to extend selective service came up in the House, RAYBURN, believing that the country was close to war, had put all the power of the Speakership behind the bill, had begged and pleaded with wavering Members for their support. But the isolationists were very strong. "The House," a reporter wrote, "was tense as an overtuned violin string; for days the rafters had echoed with harsh, emotional, sometimes almost subversive speeches." In the late afternoon, RAYBURN started the rollcall, standing close behind the tally clerk to watch the little meter click the ayes and noes. The vote seesawed. At the last click, RAYBURN immediately announced the result, 203 ayes to 202 noes, and thereby, under the House rules, prevented any irresolute Member from jumping up and changing his vote. After allowing a recapitulation, RAYBURN announced that the bill was passed and "without objection a motion to reconsider is laid on the table." There was a tremendous uproar. But RAYBURN made his decision stand and thereby prevented the discharge of 1 million trained men from the Army, which had a total strength of only 1.4 million. Four months later came Pearl Harbor.

January 6, 1943, the day that the 78th Congress convened and that RAYBURN began his second full term as Speaker, Roosevelt called him to the White House, where he learned that he was to see the President alone on a matter of urgent importance. "The problem, SAM," Roosevelt said after a long portentous preamble, "is your age."—at which JOE MARTIN and other congressional leaders crowded into the office singing "Happy Birthday, dear Speaker."

The day, only a little more than two years later, when Vice President Harry Truman was visting at RAYBURN's little hideaway office. It lies on the first floor of the House wing, almost directly beneath the regular Speaker's office, and is headquarters for little, informal, late-afternoon gatherings of his friends in the Government and the newspaper corps, the sociability helped on with a drink or two, the conversation ranging over every topic and all of it off the record. Truman, an old friend, dropped in often. Amid the hum of amiable conversation, there was a sudden, paralyzing shock: a message that the President was dead. Truman left at once.

William S. White, a New York Times correspondent who was present, later wrote of RAYBURN: "His heavy and very nearly immobile face was still in the shadows and the only movements upon it were the small and barely visible traces of tears. He swept them away roughly. For a long time no one said anything at all. Then Mr. RAYBURN hunched his shoulders and, looking out unseeingly into the dusk, he spoke slowly in short, hard phrases as though talking to himself * * * an oath * * * that SAM RAYBURN—southern Democrat and all—had followed Franklin Roosevelt in life, and that SAM RAYBURN would follow Franklin Roosevelt in death."

And some less dramatic but also symptomatic scenes: RAYBURN in his small bachelor apartment on Q Street, cooking his special chili supper for a few good friends; RAYBURN shoving aside every attempted testimonial to dine privately and quietly on his birthday with an old colleague and his wife from Texas; RAYBURN, standing red faced, proud and embarrassed on the Speaker's dais this January 6, while President Eisenhower interrupted his State of the Union speech at the joint session to say: "The district where I was born has been represented in this Congress for more years than he cares to remember, I suppose, by our distinguished Speaker. Today is his birthday and I want to join with the rest of you in felicitating him and in wishing him many happy returns of the day." The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD's account notes at this point: (Applause, the Members rising.)

On issues, JOE MARTIN and SAM RAYBURN have fought each other every foot of the way. And they have fought with conviction. In an almost classic degree, the two men—the Yankee townsman and the Southern farmer—have symbolized in their own time a whole matrix of sectional and economic antagonisms as old as the Republic. That they are more alike than different, that their rivalry has bred friendship rather than enmity, that antithetical aims should so often have been synthesized in the national interest is a tribute to them and to the democratic process they supervise. To both Mr. Speakers, the country as a whole, along with the House that represents it, could well accord applause, the Members rising.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Golden Anniversary of the Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report on the United States Forest Service:

GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOREST SERVICE

The year 1955 will mark the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Forest Service in the United States Department of Agriculture.

On February 1, 1905, the Forest Service was created in its present form in the Department of Agriculture through the merging of the earlier Bureau of Forestry and the Forestry Division of the General Land Office. Although forestry received the attention of the Federal Government as early as 1876, it was not until the present Forest Service came into being that a rounded national policy for forestry was developed and work began to go forward with long-rang objectives to maintain and increase the productivity of forest lands everywhere in the country.

Progress in forestry in the United States during the half century has been great. Working together, private and public agencies have effectively demonstrated the values of organized protection against fire, insects, and disease, and of good management and wise use of the Nation's forest resources. Especially significant have been the advances in research, the development of the national forests, the expansion in activities of the State forestry departments, the development of forestry education, and the big advances in the practice of forestry by the forest industries.

FOR THE PERMANENT GOOD OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE

In the 50 years of its existence, the Forest Service has had a colorful history. Many of its alumni, still living, can recall the early struggles of the infant bureau to promote the then somewhat novel idea of managing forest lands for continuous production, and, in the face of much misunderstanding and antagonism, to develop the public forests for the use and benefit of the public.

The Forest Service came into being when Theodore Roosevelt, ardent advocate of conservation, was President of the United States. Its first chief, Gifford Pinchot, the first native American to obtain professional training in forestry, had previously headed the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture.

The Federal forest reserves, establishment of which began in 1891, had been under jurisdiction of the General Land Office, Department of the Interior. An act of Congress in 1905 brought these reserves into the Department of Agriculture, and paved the way for the establishment of the Forest Service. It followed a recommendation of President Roosevelt that the "forest work of the Government should be concentrated in the Department of Agriculture, where * * * problems relating to growth from the soil are already gathered, and where all the sciences auxiliary to forestry are at hand for prompt and effective cooperation."

The forest reserves (later to be known as national forests) were established by reservation of certain areas of public domain, mostly in the Western States. At first they were opposed by many who thought that the reserves were to be locked up, thus thwarting the development of local industry and sacrificing the present to the future. But President "Teddy" Roosevelt insisted that "forestry is the preservation of forests by wise use"; that forestry means "making the forests useful not only to the settler, the rancher, the miner, the men who live in the neighborhood, but indirectly, to the men who may live hundreds of miles off down the course of some great river which has had its rise among the forest bearing mountains."

In similar vein, Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson declared that all land in national forests was "to be devoted to its most productive use, for the permanent good of the whole people."

PROGRESS ON A BROAD FRONT

Private forestry

Half a century ago, the owner of a tract of forest land usually aimed at getting an immediate return from cutting and selling the timber, and from selling the cleared land to settlers. Until a small band of pioneer conservationists began to preach forestry, few ever thought of holding and managing woodlands for permanent production.

Today large numbers of owners are managing their forests for continuous crops of timber. These include many of the big lumber and pulp and paper companies with large timberland holdings, as well as many farmers and other owners of small woodland properties.

Several national and regional associations of lumbermen and pulp and paper manufacturers are now conducting programs to promote good forestry practices. A "tree farm" program, under sponsorship of American Forest Products Industries, Inc., now operates in 36 States. In 1954, some 5,000 landowners were reported to be participating, with holdings totaling over 30 million acres of forest land—about 9 percent of all the private commercial forest land in the United States.

State forestry

The first State forestry department was established in California in 1885. Later in that same year Colorado, New York, and Ohio also organized State agencies for forestry work. But 8 years later all of these States but New York had discontinued their forestry departments. It was not until after 1905 that State forestry work really got going. Today nearly all of the 48 States, as well as Hawaii and Puerto Rico, have agencies engaged in forestry activities.

The Weeks Act of 1911, which laid the groundwork for Federal-State cooperation in forestry, was a great stimulus to the development of effective State forestry agencies. The Clarke-McNary Act, passed by Congress in 1924, greatly broadened the basis for this cooperative work.

The State foresters' organizations are now providing systematic protection against fire for more than 374 million acres of State and private forest and watershed land under the cooperative program. Forty-three States, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico are producing and distributing trees to help landowners reforest idle lands or establish shelterbelts; last year some 435 million trees were distributed. Thirty-nine States, with Federal Forest Service cooperation, under the Cooperative Forest Management Act of 1950, are providing on-the-ground technical assistance to owners of private forests in the management of their woodlands; and assistance on processing problems to small sawmill operators and other processors of primary forest products. States, counties, and municipalities maintain about 26½ million acres of State and community forests and parks. In 45 States and Puerto Rico extension programs in forestry are being conducted through the extension departments of the State agriculture colleges. In these programs farmers are provided with information on the various phases of woodland management and the utilization of farm timber. Thousands of farm youths are carrying on forestry projects in 4–H Club work.

Forestry schools

Professional training in forestry was still a very new idea here in the United States in 1905. The first 4-year professional course in forestry, in fact, had been started at Cornell University only 7 years earlier, in 1898. In that same year, the Biltmore School of Forestry, a private school, was started in North Carolina; it continued until 1912. The Yale Forest School was established in 1900, offering graduate courses in forestry leading to a master's degree.

A few more schools of forestry came into being during the next 3 years. Between 1902 and 1905 regular forestry courses were started at the University of Michigan, the State Forest Academy at Mont Alto, Pa., the University of Maine, University of Nebraska, University of Minnesota, and Colorado College. Harvard University also set up an undergraduate course in 1903, but later moved its forestry work to the graduate school. Before 1905 Michigan and Iowa State Colleges were offering nonprofessional courses that were later expanded into full professional curriculums.

These were the schools that were pioneering in forestry education half a century ago. Most of these institutions then had only 1 or 2 forestry teachers and a handful of students. Today more than 30 universities and colleges in the United States are offering full professional instructions in forestry; more than 21,000 students have completed regular 4-year courses in forestry in the past 50 years; more than 4,000 have earned master's or doctor's degrees in this field.

Federal forestry activities

The work of the Forest Service in the past half century has gone forward along three principal lines: Administration of the national forests, cooperation in forestry programs with the States and private forest owners, and research.

The national forests in 1905 were largely undeveloped, remote back-country areas. There were few roads or other facilities for protection and management. For the most part the forest boundaries were not marked nor even surveyed. Today the national forests are playing a substantial part in the Nation's economy. They are supplying a yearly cut of more than 5 billion board-feet of timber, and the present sustained-yield capacity is estimated to be at least 6.9 billion

board-feet. This allowable yearly cut under sustained yield will become even greater as the basic growing stocks are further built up and as utilization practices further improve. The national forests are furnishing seasonal grazing for some 8 million cattle and sheep. Last year, the national forests reported 35 million visits by persons seeking outdoor recreation. These forests are the home for great numbers of wildlife, including nearly a third of the Nation's big-game animals. They have 81,000 miles of fishing streams and over 2¼ million acres of lakes. National forests help protect the water supplies of some 1,800 cities and towns, of more than 13 million acres of irrigated farmland, of more than 600 hydroelectric power developments, and of thousands of industrial plants. As public properties containing basic natural resources, the national forests are managed for continuous production. A policy of multiple use is followed which seeks to maintain a balanced production and use of all the forest resources, and to bring the largest total of returns and benefits in the public interest. Protection and scientific management of these resources are helping to stabilize industries and communities dependent on them.

Even before the Forest Service was established, its predecessor, the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture, was publishing bulletins to encourage good forestry practice, and offering to help private forest owners plan their timber harvest so as to obtain successive crops. Federal cooperation with the States for the protection of State and private forest lands from fire began following enactment of the Weeks Act of 1911. The Clarke-McNary Act of 1924 materially expanded the scope of cooperation in fire control. This act also provided for Federal cooperation with the States in the production and distribution of forest planting stock, and in forestry extension work. Federal cooperation with the States in providing technical assistance to owners of private forest lands and to processors of primary forest products is carried on under authorization of the Cooperative Forest Management Act of 1950, which superseded the Norris-Doxey Cooperative Farm Forestry Act of 1937.

Research has been a major activity almost since the Forest Service came into being. New methods and practices developed through research in forest and range management and wood utilization have contributed much to the advance of forestry. Research results over the years have been worth millions of dollars to agriculture and industry and to the public as a whole. The Forest Service now maintains nine regional forest and range experiment stations; also forest research units in Puerto Rico and Alaska. The Forest Products Laboratory at Madison, Wis., established in 1910, is one of the world's largest institutions for research in the utilization of wood.

Several other Federal agencies are also concerned to some extent with forestry matters. The Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and National Park Service of the Department of the Interior have forestry units. Military reservations of the Army, Navy, and Air Force contain several million acres of forest land. The Tennessee Valley Authority administers some forested lands above its reservoirs and carries on activities to encourage good forestry practices by private landowners. In the Department of Agriculture there are forestry phases in the work of the Soil Conservation Service, Extension Service, and Agricultural Conservation Program Service.

THEN AND NOW

In 1898 Gifford Pinchot and Henry S. Graves, who were to become the first and second Chiefs of the Forest Service, were the only two native-born, professionally trained foresters in the United States (and they had obtained their training in Europe). By 1912, there were still only about 500 men in the United States with some degree of technical training in forestry. (There were also many early-day forest rangers, lumbermen, and others who began without a technical background, but through their own experience acquired a considerable knowledge of the subject.) Figures from the forestry schools indicate that about 1,000 degrees in forestry are now being granted annually.

In the first decade of this century, the Forest Service was the principal employer of American foresters. In 1912 it was estimated that 60 percent of the professional foresters in the country were in Federal Government work, and that fully 95 percent had been so engaged at one time or another. The Forest Service is still the largest single employer of trained foresters, but it now employs only a small part of the total. The States, municipalities, educational institutions, trade associations, and private corporations have absorbed large numbers of graduating foresters. Many others are in business as consulting foresters. Twenty-five years ago, all private industry in the United States employed less than 200 graduate foresters. Today the forest industries employ some 5,000.

In the fiscal year 1905 the receipts from uses of the national forests were less than $75,000. National forests receipts in fiscal year 1954 were more than $67 million.

When the Forest Service came into being, the first Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, speedily fused a new organization, youthful in spirit, enthusiastic, inspired by a high purpose and determined to get things done. The work appealed to young men with venturous spirit, love of the outdoors, and zeal for public service. A new public enterprise was in the making.

But in the western national forests, many a forest officer in those days had to face a hostile local sentiment. He was pictured in newspaper cartoons as an insolent dragoon pitilessly riding down women and children; or he was described as wearing a feather in his hat after the supposed fashion of European foresters, ridiculed as an eastern dude or a bespectacled college professor out of place. It took some time for people in those areas to find out that a forest ranger was not a hireling sent from Washington to interfere in their local affairs, but a person interested in bringing about the orderly use of public resources to aid in the sound, healthy development of the community to which he himself belonged.

In time, the forest ranger came to be a respected figure, sometimes even a romantic hero of movies and novels. Now each year the Foerst Service receives several thousand letters from boys who want to know how to become a forest ranger.

In 1905, when a fire occurred in a national forest, the ranger would round up whatever help he could enlist among local settlers, and they would go on horesback or afoot to fight the blaze. Often the ranger would tackle a large fire singlehanded and do what he could with ax and shovel to check the spread of the blaze. Many a fire in the back country burned for weeks or months, until rain or snow finally extinguished it. Today, both Federal and State forest-fire control is highly organized. Radio communication, mechanized fire-fighting equipment, fast automotive and aerial transportation speed and facilitate the control work. In some of the western mountain country, smoke jumpers now parachute to fires in inaccessible forest areas.

Fifty years ago, very little land outside the national forests was receiving any regular or systematic protection against fire. Today, the State forestry agencies, with private and Federal cooperation, maintain organized protection for more than 374 million acres of State and private forest land. In 1953, area burned was held to 0.7 percent of the area protected. Of the 53 million acres of forest land that still lack organized protection, fires burned 13.5 percent.

MANY HAVE HELPED

The advances made in forestry over the past half century have been the result of efforts by many organizations and individuals along with those of the State and Federal forestry agencies.

It was in response to demands from the American people, expressed through many citizens' groups, that the Forest Service was established half a century ago. The American Forestry Association was one of the earliest of many national and local conservation organizations that have long been active in the promotion of forestry measures. Numerous service clubs, civic organizations, sportsmen's organizations, farm organizations, labor unions, veterans' groups, chambers of commerce, garden clubs, women's organizations, young folks' organizations, and church groups have been actively interested in forest conservation. State forestry associations, composed of woodland owners, foresters, and public-spirited citizens often spearheaded forestry activities within their particular States.

Industrial groups and associations also have been concerned with forestry. National and regional associations of lumbermen and pulp and paper manufacturers have been making fine progress in getting good forestry practices in effect on member companies' lands, and in many cases also are encouraging and facilitating better practice on the part of other woodland owners. Many forest industry concerns are cooperating with the Forest Service and State agencies in forestry research projects. American Forest Products Industries, Inc., sponsors the "Tree Farm" program and the "Keep Green" forest-fire prevention programs now conducted in many States.

The nationwide cooperative forest-fire prevention campaign ("Smokey Bear") is conducted by the State foresters and the Federal Forest Service under sponsorship of the Advertising Council, Inc., with the support of American business, including the advertising industry, and the cooperation of many other organizations.

More than 20 American railroads now employ foresters to help promote better forest practice in the areas they serve. The American Bankers' Association has had a forestry committee. Many county governments have become interested in seeing a better brand of forest management practiced, realizing that the tax base is improved and business and income in the community stabilized when the forests are kept permanently productive.

The schools of forestry in American universities and colleges deserve much credit. Perhaps even more important than the technical training given have been the ideals, the vision, and the enthusiasm for forestry work that these schools have instilled in their students.

Professional standards for forestry have been set by the Society of American Foresters, a professional organization to which most foresters belong.

The foresight and vision of many Congresses over the years is reflected in laws which led the way in formulating American forest policy. From the beginning, forestry has had bipartisan support in Congress. Major advances in the national forestry program have taken place during both Republican and Democratic administrations.

THE NEXT 50 YEARS

Starting almost from scratch at the beginning of this century, American forestry has made remarkable advances in the past 50 years. What men of vision half a century ago saw in the years ahead fell far short of what actually came to pass. They failed to fully foresee the astounding developments that have taken place in science, agriculture, and industry. They could not know that the half century would bring two world wars. All of these things made their impacts on the forests and on the course of forestry.

No more than our predecessors can we today foresee what lies ahead. Perhaps we are on the threshold of new developments in chemistry that will bring many new uses for wood—uses that we can't even visualize today. Perhaps advances in tree genetics will give us new and better kinds of trees, and cause innovations, therefore, in our methods of forest management. The course of the national economy or changes in the international situation may greatly affect supply and demand for forest products.

It is reasonable to assume, at least, that the people of the United States will continue to need the forests and the products and services of forest lands. A growing population and an expanding economy, indeed, should mean increasing demands on the forests.

There is every prospect that the pressure for water will increase. Our per capita consumption of water has multiplied during recent decades. In many part of the country further agricultural, industrial, recreational, and municipal developments depend primarily on increasing the supply of usable water. The forest's function as a protector of watersheds is its most important service in many areas. It is likely to become even more critically important.

There is every prospect, too, that requirements for timber will continue to grow. As the supply of some of the nonrenewable resources dwindles, the substitution of wood products may call for an increased output of timber from renewable forests. The expected large increase in the country's population, the development of new uses for wood, and a rising standard of living may indeed bring a tremendous increase in pressure on the forests for timber products. The food needs of a growing population also may increase the pressure on forest ranges for livestock forage.

The number of recreational visits to the national forests has nearly doubled since 1941, the year of highest prewar use. Continued growth in the demand for forest recreation, including fishing and hunting, seems inevitable. As the complexities of modern living increase, and as the workaday activities of most people become further removed from the field, forest, and stream, the need for healthful and relaxing outdoor recreation will be greater. The spiritual, esthetic, and recreational values of the forests will become ever more precious.

With such ever-increasing demands in prospect for water, timber, recreation, and other products and services of the forests, it may be expected that private forestry will continue to advance, and that the development of the National Forests and other public forests will continue in response to growing needs. It may be expected, too, that a growing realization of the importance of the forest resources will bring a greater appreciation by the people of the need for management and wise use of the forests.

Forestry, then, should go steadily forward. Its potentialities for contributing to national prosperity, security, and progress are very great. Fifty years from now, as today, the strength of the Nation will lie in its people and its resources.

York Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article from the February 1955 issue of the magazine Changing Times. The title of this article, "What a Good High School Should Do," makes me particularly proud, for it discusses the vocational education program in operation at the William Penn Senior High School in York, Pa.

I am certain my colleagues join in my congratulations to the York school officials for the recognition they have received in this national magazine.

The article follows:

WHAT A GOOD HIGH SCHOOL SHOULD DO—HERE ARE THE STANDARDS THAT THE BEST SCHOOLS ARE SETTING—SEE HOW YOUR OWN SCHOOL STACKS UP

Ever wonder whether the high schools in your town, county, or city are doing the job they should be doing?

There's a way to find out. Just get the answer to this question: Are they serving every type of youngster in your community?

The high school of half a century ago was basically a college preparatory school. Preparing students for college is still a major function of the high schools, of course. But they have long since recognized the fact that they must educate many kinds of children besides those bound for institutions of higher learning. They must offer courses for boys and girls who plan to enter offices, stores, and other business establishments after graduation, as well as courses for the student who will go immediately from high school into industry or agriculture. They must even serve large numbers of students who are not sure what they want to do but who must spend their days in school profitably.

The schools must also teach all their students something of good citizenship, homemaking, banking, consumer credit. They must give courses in such varied things as music, art, driving, and plain getting along with people.

They must do all this for bright students who need continued challenging to be kept interested, and they must do it for poor students who need constant encouragement to be kept from dropping out of school. They must do all this, too, for ever-increasing swarms of students. To complicate the problem further, the increase is particularly heavy in the lower registers of academic ability—among kids who once would have gone to work after grammar school but who now go on to high school as a matter of course.

Obviously, to evaluate how effective a high school is in meeting these varied needs of its students, you must take into account the size and type of community and the size of the school itself.

If you live in a small or medium-sized city, yours may be a comprehensive high school that teaches college preparatory, business, vocational and general students all under one roof.

If you live in a large city, it may be that several high schools offer college, business and general courses, while separate technical or vocational schools specialize in trade and industrial education.

If you live in a rural area, your school may be a small consolidated high school, which, in addition to academic subjects, teaches a number of agricultural courses.

No matter where you live, however, a knowledge of the various kinds of high school curricula—and a look at some of the newer methods of teaching them—can provide a good standard against which to measure the performance of your own school.

Take the different types of courses one by one and see what is being done with them by the better high schools today.

COLLEGE PREPARATORY

It used to be that the college preparatory student took a standard classical course, talked with the principal or a favorite teacher about which college to attend and sent away for a catalog or two. If he took the right subjects and had reasonably good marks, he didn't have much trouble getting into the school that he wanted to attend.

Now things are different. As early as junior high school, many students are set to exploring trades, businesses, and professions to see what may interest them. In high school, those youngsters who plan to go on to college are urged to begin shaping their work toward entrance requirements of colleges and universities as early as the sophomore year.

During their junior and senior years, they are given the opportunity of attending college-day programs, when representatives of various colleges and universities are on hand to answer questions of both students and parents. The youngsters also are urged to investigate scholarship possibilities in case they will need financial assistance of this kind to get through college. Those who plan to apply for scholarship aid are encouraged to begin working toward it at an early date. In a well-run high school today, everything possible is done to eliminate haphazard choice of a college by students in the preparatory classes.

BUSINESS COURSES

The business course, frequently called the commercial course, still is offered for those who plan to enter office work when their high-school days are over. Two or three years of English and 2 years of social studies, including a year of American history, usually are the minimum required cultural courses. In addition, business-bound youngsters have a wide choice of languages, sciences, and other liberal arts electives. Required business subjects include banking principles, commercial law, clerical practice, and business arithmetic.

But there are some important differences between high-school business education today and that of, say, a generation ago. Once upon a time the high-school commercial course was based almost exclusively on typing and shorthand. Business students took these two subjects willy-nilly, and those who couldn't master the work, particularly shorthand, fell by the wayside.

Now, however, high schools recognize that not all business pupils are alike, either in ability or inclination, and that not everybody who wants to work in an office has to be able to take shorthand.

So up-to-date schools usually divide their business curriculum into 2 or 3 programs, or "sequences," designed to offer different subjects to students of differing aptitudes and interests. A typical division of a commercial course might be three programs like this: Stenographic, with emphasis on typing and shorthand, for pupils aiming for stenographic or secretarial work; clerical, with emphasis on filing, business practices, and office procedure, for pupils interested in office work but not in stenographic careers;

bookkeeping, for pupils interested in that phase of business.

Today, also, the alert high school is aware that its commercial course graduates will be going into offices that have all types of mechanical equipment, much of it unknown when mother was a girl. So somewhere in its business curriculum the secondary school tries now to include instruction in the use of as many different business machines as possible—dictation, mailing, duplicating, and others.

There is at least one more major development. In many communities classwork for business students is supplemented by actual office experience. What is being done in York, Pa., a small, prosperous industrial city with numerous business offices, is a good example. Senior commercial students in William Penn Senior High School may, with consent of their parents, elect to devote half their time to classwork and half to on-the-job training. They alternate 1 week of school with 1 week of work. They get paid for their work, and their employers, cooperating closely with school officials, try to see that they get as diversified experience as possible. Many are hired full time by the offices after graduation.

York, incidentally, has gone a step further in its business-education department, adding a course in retail and wholesale selling to the commercial curriculum. The course is offered to junior and senior students, and subjects include salesmanship, store organization, economics of distribution, merchandising, and job problems. In their senior year these students also may take paid jobs for experience, attending class in the mornings and working in local drug, department, and other stores in the afternoons. In other cities similar courses are sometimes offered in vocational rather than business-education departments.

VOCATIONAL COURSES

Vocational courses have for some time included instruction in machine-shop work, electrical work, carpentry, cabinetmaking, auto repair, and other trades. In urban areas where demand is great enough, rather specialized courses, such as cosmetology, now frequently are offered in one of the high schools.

The big advance in vocational education, however, has been the development of specific training for specific jobs, particularly for jobs available in local industries. Sometimes this training is given within the schools themselves. Sometimes it is given outside the schools—in shops and factories under so-called work-experience plans similar to the business-education and retail-wholesale work programs just described.

In York, in what reputedly is the oldest program of its type in the country, William Penn vocational students aged 16 and over may alternate 2 weeks of industrial plant work, with pay, and 2 weeks of class study. They work under apprenticeship agreements, but school authorities keep sharp watch over their duties, working conditions, and progress. Some 40 to 50 York industries cooperate to make the program possible. Graduates of the cooperative industrial courses have risen to become foremen, executives, and even owners of plants.

Schools don't have to be in York or in any other city to develop a program like this, either. Take the case of Rockland County, N. Y., a busy industrial and agricultural area just north of New York City.

Rockland County has 8 small high schools of only 200 to 600 students each. Obviously no single school could do much in the way of industrial or agricultural education on its own.

But with the cooperation of county industrial and business leaders, Rockland County high schools prepare their students for 14 or more vocations, from power sewing to horticulture and landscaping.

An organization called the County Board of Vocational Education and Extension helps in establishing the courses in the five schools that have the necessary space. Any course is available to any high-school student in the county. If a course is not offered in the student's local school, he gets free bus transportation to and from whatever school is teaching the subject. He remains attached to his own local high school, however, for required academic subjects, related industrial theory, and extracurricular activities.

As in the case of college days for college preparatory students, career days are held by many high schools today to acquaint pupils with job opportunities in the area. Representatives from business and industry are invited to visit the schools and to address and to confer with the students. Sometimes the reverse is true, and students visit companies and plants. It's all part of an effort to see that as many round pegs as possible get fitted into round holes.

GENERAL COURSES

What's a general course? Just what its name implies—a kind of educational cafeteria where students are offered an overall sampling of knowledge. Required courses are at a bare minimum—English, history, a little math—and the choice of elective subjects is virtually unlimited. The student can try anything from Latin to industrial arts.

Time was when the general course student was looked down upon as the pupil who wasn't able to do the work in any other course.

It is more widely understood today, however that the general course serves a very useful purpose. Not all high school children know where their real interests lie, and a program of general studies allows such youngsters time to make up their minds. Instruction is so planned that students may switch to any other course once they uncover a real interest. In York, for instance, general students have successfully changed almost at the last moment into commercial, retail and industrial work, and some have even gone on to college.

OTHER THINGS COUNT, TOO

Does your school have guidance counselors for boys and girls? If it doesn't, it should have. What are guidance counselors? They are specialists in handling the educational and even the domestic problems of adolescents. They check on youngsters whose marks are lower than they should be, listen to students' complaints, solve behavior, social and other personal problems, give job and career guidance, and in general act as confidant and friend to the youngsters. All of them can tell heart-warming stories of kids kept or put on the right track because the door of the guidance counselor's office was open to them.

If your school isn't big enough to afford full-time counselors, maybe it can hire part-time counselors who will also teach. Or perhaps it can join with several other nearby schools and hire guidance people jointly, splitting the cost of their salaries.

Next, what about extracurricular activities? Don't underestimate their value. They are not a frivolous waste of time. Properly handled, athletics tend to create esprit de corps, a sense of loyalty and a sense of belonging, which some educators think is almost as important to children of high school age as the subjects they study. Dramatics, debating, departmental clubs, student government programs, publications and similar activities stimulate student interest in school and develop cooperation, leadership and initiative. So do student bands, choruses and orchestras. All of these things spell breadth of opportunity and development for individual boys and girls and sometimes lead directly to successful careers.

Last, what about your school faculty itself? Kindly, dedicated teachers who know their subjects, know how to get them across and have a genuine interest in their pupils are priceless assets to any school. More than one principal has discovered that a sympathetic teacher who can win his or her students, and get something into their heads at the same time, is the best insurance for keeping them in school.

But good teachers, like anything else of quality, cost money. If you can't get or keep first-rate faculty members in your high school, check the salary scale. If the trouble lies there, ask yourself whether giving your youngsters inferior teachers and instruction is really sound economy.

So there you have it. If your high school is to do a good job, it must first concern itself with the educational needs of all the different kinds of pupils who come to it. It must develop the widest possible variety of courses. It must supplement business and vocational instruction with practical work experience in office, store, factory or farm. It should hold college and career days and have guidance personnel to work with your youngsters. It should have a well-rounded extracurricular program, a pleasant, cooperative atmosphere and the best teachers you can get.

Try measuring your school against these standards. Maybe you will be pleasantly surprised at how thorough a job your high school is doing after all. That will be all to the good. Or maybe you will be able to put your finger on what, if anything, is missing. And once you know, maybe you can do something about it.

Utilization of Surplus Government Property for Educational and Public Health Purposes

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement of Robert F. Nolan, supervisor, Massachusetts State Agency for Surplus Property, before the House Subcommittee on Government Operations with respect to H. R. 3322:

I am appearing before you as a representative of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to record the interest and support of our educational and public health institutions in the successful enactment of H. R. 3322.

I have been employed by the State department of education, vocational division, as a State supervisor for over 18 years and have had direct supervision of the surplus property utilization program for the past 9 years as only one of other administrative duties and responsibilities in the department.

The surplus property utilization program in Massachusetts has been of inestimable value to our educational and health institutions. A total of $40 million (acquisition value) worth of real and personal property has been donated or acquired by public benefit discount since 1946 for over 500 schools and colleges and over 100 hospitals in the State.

Surplus mechanical and technical equipment no longer needed by the Federal Government has been used successfully by our public and private, nonprofit tax-exempt schools and colleges to stimulate an interest

in science and engineering. Great ingenuity has been exercised by our teachers and their students in using surplus materials in our classrooms. The training value derived from using surplus materials in the educational program is worth many times its value as property sold at auction or as scrap and our trainees very often leave our schools and colleges to enter the armed services or are employed by agencies or contractors involved directly in defense research and production.

During the past several years, substantial aid has been provided our State hospitals and other tax-supported and nonprofit tax-exempt hospitals in the State. Our hospitals have been able to acquire at little or no cost from the surplus property program needed items of replacement and additions to professional equipment and furniture which they would have been financially unable to obtain otherwise. This contribution from the use of surplus has materially affected the accomplishments in the area of patient care and directly facilitates their contribution to the national defense in the training of doctors and nurses.

For the past year the surplus property donation program has been losing huge quantities of very valuable surplus property due to the activities of Federal agencies and departments selling their surplus to salvage dealers rather than making it available to us for distribution to our eligible schools and hospitals. These salvage dealers who were able to acquire such surplus at a small fraction of its original value, realizing the need for this property by our schools and hospitals, have many times offered to sell this same property to us at rates which clearly demonstrate the huge profits involved to the salvage dealer.

We firmly believe that Federal property once procured by the taxpayers should be utilized when needed by education and health institutions for the benefit of the taxpayers and we respectfully request your active support in arranging for the immediate and successful enactment of H. R. 3322.

We further believe that the changes in the basic act as outlined in H. R. 3322 will alleviate some of the present weaknesses and inconsistencies and allow for a closer coordination of agencies which will result in more public benefit accruing to the United States by allowing for further utilization of Federal surplus property.

It should be emphasized that the total needs of all the qualified schools and hospitals in the country would be but a very small percentage of the total quantity available for disposal and any loss in terms of recapitalization will be small when compared to the public gain by the further utilization of the property in our educational and health programs.

We heartily endorse that section of H. R. 3322 which will remove title restrictions on personal property transferred to schools and hospitals. In the past due to a Federal administrative determination, restrictions were placed on personal property which were not only impossible and impractical to administer but also decreased the public benefits that accrue from using the property. To illustrate: At present the Federal regulations require that a school must use a surplus typewriter for 4 years in their educational program before title passes. Obviously some machines used constantly in a school program reach the point where it is not practical or worthwhile repairing them before the expiration of the 4 years and the school is still accountable. After passing through a series of such experiences, school administrators become discouraged at these restrictions and lose interest in the program. In other words, too much redtape.

Our program in Massachusetts has always been closely associated with every major development in the surplus property utilization program for the past 9 years and we are convinced that efficiency and economy in such a program results from experience based upon a practical approach.

Successful administration and operation of this program requires a close cooperation and team play between the States and the Federal agencies and departments involved. Practically every State in the country now has a substantial investment in personnel and facilities devoted to the problems of: (a) determining the eligibility of educational and health units; (b) as a service agency to these groups we are in a most advantageous position to determine what types and quantities of surplus property are needed and useful in their educational and health programs; (c) establishing good working relationships with all of the Federal storage and disposal officers in order to screen available surplus property; and, (d) arranging for the allocation of surplus property to the States for distribution to the eligible institutions within the States.

Since the States have made such a substantial contribution, it follows that the Federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the General Services Administration should be allowed sufficient funds to properly staff and strengthen their program so they can function efficiently and provide the services and leadership to match the States' efforts and thereby make the program more effective.

In conclusion, may I point out that in my 9 years' experience with this program I can report that all of our schools and hospitals have a tremendous interest in this program, and they are constantly requesting us to obtain for them more and more property which they find invaluable in helping them to meet the demands of an ever-expanding program of health and education. We have nowhere near met the needs of our schools and hospitals to date, and I personally believe that even if the program was expanded to 10 times its present size it still would not be sufficient to provide relief for their present requirements, let alone the anticipated expansion to meet their ever-increasing demand for services from the public.

May I express the appreciation of my State and that of the schools and hospitals in the State to your chairman, Mr. McCORMACK, and to this committee for this opportunity to discuss our program. Our schools and hospitals have expressed the sincere hope that you will report favorably on this bill to Congress so as to allow for the improvement of the administration of the program for a better and more effective utilization of surplus Government property for educational and public-health purposes now and for the years to come.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include correspondence which I have had with Hon. Joseph E. Talbot, Vice Chairman, United States Tariff Commission.

I am sure the information contained in this exchange of correspondence will be of particular interest and significance to the many industrial workers in the area which I have the honor to represent:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 26, 1955.

Hon. JOSEPH E. TALBOT,
Vice Chairman,
United States Tariff Commission,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TALBOT: Many people in my Congressional District have written to me and have come to see me personally in order to express their very real and sincere concern over and opposition to legislation which would have the effect of lowering tariffs. Most of the individuals who have contacted me regarding this matter have set forth in considerable detail their opposition to H. R. 1, to extend the authority of the President to enter into trade agreements under section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, since they have the definite opinion that its passage would have an adverse effect upon their employment opportunities.

You are well aware, I am sure, of the fact that since becoming a Member of Congress I have publicly and privately expressed the view that I consider one of my prime responsibilities to be that of protecting not only the lives but the livelihood of the people I represent. I am determined to continue and intensify the efforts I have made in the past in order to fulfill this responsibility.

I would be very grateful indeed if you could properly advice me as to how the passage of H. R. 1 would affect those individuals who are presently employed in the basic industries in my district. A list of 25 representative industries of eastern Connecticut is attached and I should like to have your comment with regard to each.

I can readily appreciate that my request will necessitate much research and analysis in order to furnish me the requested information; however, I know you have a realization of its importance to me and I would, therefore, be grateful for as prompt a response as is possible.

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,
HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.,
Member of Congress,
Second Connecticut District.

LIST OF 25 REPRESENTATIVE INDUSTRIES OF EASTERN CONNECTICUT

Textiles: Including manufacture and processing of wool, cotton, silk, and synthetic fibers; also velvet, lace, linen, fish nets, fishlines; and cotton, nylon, and silk twine.

Thread: Manufacture of cotton, rayon, silk, nylon, and rubber thread.

Buttons: Manufacture of metal, bone, plastic, and pearl buttons.

Electric goods and electrical parts: Including parts and components for appliances and radio and television receiving and transmitting sets; also electric switches and tuners.

Paperboard: Including manufacture, printing, and processing of paperboard and fiberboard and containers.

Chemicals: Including industrial chemicals, such as resin and plastics, biological chemicals.

Bone and ivory goods: Including piano keys and boards, furniture handles, etc.

Rubber: Including rubber footwear, rubber sheets, molded rubber products, and brake linings.

Tin: Including metal and plastic.

Vacuum bottles.

Screws and screw machine products.

Toilet goods: Including soap, soap powders, cosmetics.

Mechanics' hand tools.

Machine tools and dies.

Cutlery: Including surgical instruments.

Surgical dressings.

Jewelry: Including jewelry and costume jewelry (metal and plastic).

Gun sights.

Printing presses.

Fisheries.

Farm products: Including poultry, poultry products, dairy and dairy products, and potatoes.
Shoes.
Chocolate candy.
Optical goods.
Bricks.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

The Honorable HORACE SEELY-BROWN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SEELY-BROWN: I have your letter of January 26, 1955, with which you enclosed a list of commodities that are produced in eastern Connecticut. You ask that I comment on how the enactment of H. R. 1 would affect the individuals who are presently employed in the production of those commodities.

Under H. R. 1 the President would be authorized to make reductions in duties—

(i) By not more than 15 percent of the rates existing on July 1, 1955;

(ii) By not more than 50 percent of the rates existing on January 1, 1945, in the case of articles not being imported or being imported in negligible quantities; and

(iii) To 50 percent ad valorem or the equivalent thereof in the case of articles subject to higher ad valorem rates or equivalents.

The President would be authorized to reduce duties to the lowest rates permissible under any of the three duty-reducing authorities.

You will note that H. R. 1 would merely authorize the President to reduce duties; it would not make reductions mandatory. It is impossible to say, therefore, what if any changes will be made in the duties on the commodities in the list you enclosed with your letter. However, as the result of a study we made for the Randall Commission, I am able to indicate in general those commodities in your list for which a reduction of 15 percent would provide the lowest rate of duty (these are shown in table 1 enclosed); those commodities, which are not imported or imported in negligible quantities, for which a 50-percent reduction in the rates existing on January 1, 1945, would provide the lowest rate of duty (shown in table 2); and those commodities for which a reduction to 50 percent ad valorem would provide the lowest rate of duty (shown in table 3). The classification of the commodities in your list into these three categories is based upon imports in 1952.

The tables also indicate the ad valorem equivalents (based on imports in 1952) of the present rates of duty on the various commodities or groups of commodities in your list. For some groups of commodities only a range of the ad valorem equivalents of the duties are shown, as it would be impracticable to give the ad valorem equivalent for each commodity in the group.

It should be noted that many of the commodities on your list are also in the list of articles published on November 16 by the Interdepartmental Trade Agreements Committee, which will be considered for possible tariff concessions in the pending trade-agreement negotiations with Japan and certain other countries. The commodities falling within each of the three aforementioned classifications will no doubt be quite different after the rates of duty have been changed in these trade agreements.

I trust the information given herein will be helpful to you. I am sorry I could not have supplied the information sooner, but a great deal of time and effort was required in the preparation of it.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH E. TALBOT,
Vice Chairman.

TABLE 1.—*Commodities produced in eastern Connecticut for which a reduction of 15 percent of the present rate of duty would provide the lowest permissible rate under H. R. 1*

Commodity	Approximate ad valorem equivalents (based on imports in 1952) of the present rates of duty (percent)
Toilet goods: Soap (except castile), soap powders, and cosmetics	Various 5 to 40.
Resins and plastics	Various 10 to 45.
Biological chemicals: [1] Hormones	12½.
Brick [2]	Various 6 to 12.
Optical goods [2]	Various 15 to 50.
Electric goods and electrical parts, including parts and components for appliances and radio and television receiving and transmitting sets, and electric switches and tuners	Various 10 to 40.
Printing presses	12½.
Machine tools and dies	Various 15 to 30.
Cutlery [2]	Various 16 to 30.
Surgical instruments [2]	45.
Mechanics' hand tools	22½.
Screws and screw machine products	12½, 22½.
Gun sights	Various 22½ to 45.
Chocolate candy	Various 3 to 20.
Farm products: [2]	
Poultry (except turkeys, dressed or undressed)	Various 2 to 23.
Poultry products	Various 8 to 35.
Dairy and dairy products	Various 2 to 25.
Potatoes	10.
Fish and fish products, including shellfish [2]	Various 1 to 45.
Textiles: Manufactures of cotton, flax, wool, silk, or synthetic fibers:	
Yarns [2]	Various 13 to 40.
Threads, of cotton, rayon, silk, or nylon	Various 10 to 30.
Fish nets and fishlines of cotton, flax, etc	Various 25 to 40.
Linen fire hose	11.
Small wares [2]	Various 12½ to 35.
Table damask:	
Cotton	19, 30.
Linen	15.
Other woven fabrics, except pile	Various 10 to 55.
Cotton velvets and velveteens	Various 23 to 35.
Other pile fabrics and manufactures of	Various 20 to 35.
Knit goods [2]	Various 15 to 58.
Wearing apparel, not knit or crocheted [2]	Various 5 to 38.
Household articles [2]	Various 10 to 55.
Nottingham lace-curtain machine products	40.
Levers-lace machine products	35, 45.
Machine-made lace (other than Levers, Nottingham, and bobbinet-Jacquard)	50.
Textiles, etc.—Continued	
Nets and nettings made on bobbinet or Mechlin machine	Various 30 to 45.
Veils and veilings	Various 32½ to 45.
Embroidered hosiery	30, 40.
Ornamented gloves and mittens	45, 50.
Ornamented corsets and allied garments	37½.
Ornamented wearing apparel	50.
Miscellaneous ornamented fabrics and articles (including lace handkerchiefs)	Various 40 to 53.
Hat braids of synthetic materials	23, 45.
Hats, bonnets, and hoods made of braids principally of synthetic textiles	45.
Corsets, n. e. s	27½.
Elastic fabric	20.
Floor coverings [2]	Various 10 to 40.
Cotton rags, except for paper making	25.
Textile waste	4.
Surgical dressings	30.
Other	Various 12½ to 45.
Shoes (leather)	Various 5 to 20.
Slippers (for housewear)	10.
Rubber footwear	17, 35.
Rubber sheets	25.
Rubber thread	25.
Molded rubber products	Various 12½ to 25.
Buttons of metal, bone, and plastic [2]	Various 6 to 45.
Bone and ivory goods (except buttons):	
Bone and horn manufactures	25.
Ivory manufactures, including piano keys and boards, furniture handles, etc. [2]	17½.
Jewelry, including plastic, and metal articles and parts to be worn on apparel or carried on or about the person [2]	Various 30 to 55.
Thermostatic containers (vacuum bottles, etc.), capacity over 1, not over 2 pints	50.
Brake and clutch lining, molded, pressed, or formed (asbestos)	10.
Paperboard, manufacture, printing, and processing of paperboard and fiberboard and containers:	
Asbestos wallboard	12½.
Paperboard, pulpboard, leatherboard, and wallboard and manufactures of	Various 5 to 17½.

[1] Most of the biological chemicals, such as "antitoxins, serums, vaccines, and bacterins," are duty-free under tariff par. 1610 of the Tariff Act of 1930. Hormones are the principal dutiable items.

[2] Other than described in tables 2 or 3.

TABLE 2.—*Commodities of the kinds produced in eastern Connecticut which are imported in negligible [1] quantities for which a reduction to 50 percent of the rate in effect on Jan. 1, 1945, would provide the lowest permissible rate under H. R. 1*

Commodity	Approximate ad valorem equivalents (based on imports in 1952) of the present rates of duty (percent)	50 percent of the ad valorem equivalent (based on imports in 1952) of the Jan. 1, 1945 rate (percent)
Castile soap	10	7½.
Chrome brick and shapes	25	12½.
Glazed brick	5½	3.
Lenses for spectacles with edges ground or beveled.	40	20.
Surgical instruments, knives and saws	45	27½.
Turkeys, dressed or undressed	24	12.
Rosefish, fresh or frozen	50	25.
Fish, prepared or preserved, or in oil: [2]		
Sardines	30, 44	15, 22.
Anchovies	22	11.
Smoked pollock	15, 44	7½, 22.
Other than antipasto, tuna, bonito, and yellowtail	44	22.
Miscellaneous pickled or salted fish	25	12½.
Textiles: Manufactures of cotton, wool, silk, or synthetic fibers:		
Cotton yarn (fine count)	20	12.
Wool yarns [2]	Various 45 to 75	Various 27½ to 45.
Woven fabrics, n. e. s.:		
Countable cotton cloth [2 3]	Various 31 to 47½	Various 15 to 24.
Cotton corduroys	30, 50	15, 25.
Woolens and worsteds weighing over 4 ounces per square yard, valued not over $1.25 per pound.	58	42.
Silk, Jacquard-figured [2]	45, 65	22½, 32½.
Household articles:		
Cotton sheets and pillow cases	20	10.
Cotton napped cloth, Jacquard-figured.	45	22½.
Wool blankets and similar articles. [2 4]	Various 64 to 70	Various 21 to 38.
Textiles, etc.—Continued		
Small wares, cotton tubings, lacings, spindle banding, etc.	Various 15 to 30	Various 10 to 17½.
Handkerchiefs and woven mufflers:		
Cotton [4]	30, 40	20, 25.
Silk, not hemmed [2]	55	27½.
Wool outerwear, knit or crocheted [4]	Various 30 to 67	Various 16 to 38.
Hosiery, embroidered:		
Cotton	60	30.
Wool	50	32½.
Underwear, gloves, and mittens, knit or crocheted: [2]		
Cotton	60	30.
Wool	40	28.
Rayon or other synthetic textile	35, 80	18, 47.
Wool felt hats [2]	60	42.
Wool tapestries and upholstery goods [4]	Various 30 to 60	Various 23 to 47.
Ingrain carpets and rugs	25	12½.
Other manufactures:		
Belts and belting of vegetable fiber, for machinery. [2]	30	15.
Cotton friction tape	40	20.
Cotton ladder tapes	30	15.
Miscellaneous fur felt hats and hat bodies.	Various 40 to 55	Various 25 to 35.
Wool felts [2]	37½	27.
Cotton nets and netting made on a bobbinet machine.	30, 70	22½, 45.
Plastic buttons, Galalith and other casein compound buttons.	45	22½.
Manufactures of vegetable ivory	35	17½.
Thermostatic containers (vacuum bottles, etc.). [4]	Various 50 to 65	Various 25 to 32½.

[1] For the purpose of this tabulation, a commodity was considered to be imported in negligible quantities if the imports of the commodity in 1952 were less than $5,000.
[2] Low value.
[3] Value bracket established in 1939. Since then, values have increased about three-fold, consequently cloth of this value does not exist in normal trade channels.
[4] Other than described in tables 1 or 3.

TABLE 3.—*Commodities produced in eastern Connecticut for which a reduction to 50 percent ad valorem would provide the lowest permissible rate under H. R. 1*

Commodity	Approximate ad valorem equivalents (based on imports in 1952) of the present rates of duty (percent)
Cellulose acetate waste	165.
Spectacles, eyeglasses, etc. [1]	335.
Cutlery:	
Penknives and pocket knives, valued over 40 cents, not over $3 per dozen, and blades for.	Various 80 to 110.
Scissors and shears (except pruning and sheep shears) and blades thereof.	90.
Clippers [1]	115.
Razors and parts (except safety razors) [1]	157½.
Surgical instruments, hypodermic syringes	70.
Textiles, manufactures of cotton, flax, wool, silk, or synthetic fibers:	
Woolens and worsteds [1 2]	Various 61 to 65.
Woolen blankets, hand-woven	63.
Silk handkerchiefs and woven mufflers, hemmed or hemstitched, and certain broad silks. [1]	60.
Textiles, etc.—Continued	
Wool felt hat bodies	77.
Fur felt hats, caps, and bonnets, valued from $9 to $24 per dozen, for women and girls.	Various 66 to 74.
Hats, bonnets, and hoods made of synthetic textile braids	90.
Laces and lace articles, and miscellaneous ornamented fabrics and articles. [2]	Various 60 to 90.
Cotton floor coverings, hit-and-miss rag rugs	75.
Pearl buttons	85.
Cigarette cases, compacts, vanity cases, and miscellaneous metal articles, valued over 20 cents, not over $5 per dozen, and parts (not gold or platinum), to be worn or carried on or about the person.	Various 65 to 70.
Thermostatic containers (vacuum bottles, etc.), capacity over 3, not over 4 pints.	67.

[1] Low value.
[2] Other than described in table 1 or 2.

Trade Agreements Extension Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, we have normally in the United States an agricultural machine geared to abundant production. The American farmer produces enough for himself and 18 others; crop production per acre has increased 30 percent since 1920 due to better tools and techniques, more and better fertilizer, insecticides, and fungicides, hybrid corn, improved seed varieties, rural electrification, and the conservation of soil and water resources. Production per animal has increased 50 percent since 1920. The farmer has become one of the most important consumers of the automotive industry.

But American agriculture cannot prosper if it can only produce the food and fiber needed for the people of the United States. Agriculture must export or die. In 1951 we exported around $4 billion worth of agricultural products. In 1954 we exported a little less than $3 billion worth. It is necessary that we regain our export markets. Our markets must be world markets. Our customers must be mankind. If the American agricultural industry is to produce only for the domestic market, it is faced with bankruptcy; industry is faced with shutdowns, the industrial worker with unemployment. It is certainly a fundamental fact in our economy that when the farmer cannot buy, the industrial worker cannot work.

Trade is a two-way proposition. It is fundamentally an exchange of commodities. There is only one way that a person can buy anything and that is through the sale of commodities or personal services. Foreign nations need to sell

to us in order that they may have dollars to pay the American farmer for his surplus production of cotton, wheat, lard, rice, and tobacco.

The extension of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955, without crippling amendments, is of vast importance to the American farmer and to the industrial worker whose well-being is dependent upon the health of the agricultural economy.

The Institute of Fiscal and Political Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to commend the objectives of the joint resolution introduced recently in this House by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD], seeking to promote the teaching in American schools of the differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic communism.

This joint resolution proposes to establish a commission to study the testimony relating to the theories and practices of communism taken under oath by the committees of the Senate and House of Representatives and by any agency of the executive branch of the United States Government, and, on the basis of this study, to prepare material for a book to give the fullest possible information on Communist theories and practices. The commisison would also be authorized to prepare suggested curricula of studies suitable for use in the teaching of courses in schools, colleges, and universities in order to show the basic differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic communism.

I agree with the gentleman from Pennsylvania that there is need for instruction in our public schools as well as colleges and universities regarding the encroachment upon democratic institutions by the Communist world conspiracy. Communist techniques have long been employed to capture the mind of our youth. The principal defense of our democratic institutions remains to counteract this menace with the teaching of the truth. Indeed, one of the best means for inspiring confidence in our American Republic is to compare it with such police states as Soviet Russia or Communist China.

The Pennsylvania Bar Association has led the way in urging the teaching of the differences between democracy and communism in our schools by a commendable resolution adopted in the year 1954. The American Bar Association also has taken this problem under advisement. In its 77th annual meeting in Chicago, in August 1954, Judge Walter M. Bastian, of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, then chairman of the standing committee on citizenship, proposed the following resolution:

> Whereas the American Bar Association believes that enlightened citizenship requires intelligent understanding of world problems, free discussion, and courageous thinking: Be it
>
> *Resolved*, That the facts of the theory and practice of communism be taught in appropriate forms at all levels in all educational institutions of the United States in conjunction with the teaching of the theory and practice of the Government of the United States of America under the Federal Constitution; and be it further
>
> *Resolved*, That this association stand ready to implement the purposes of this resolution by aiding in the preparation of suitable material and otherwise through its standing committee on American citizenship.

Action on Judge Bastian's resolution is still pending before the American Bar Association.

Not only the legal profession, but also the teaching profession has recognized the need for instruction which will compare democracy and communism. In 1953 Dr. Erling M. Hunt, professor of history in Teachers College, Columbia University, declared:

> Since the demobilization that followed World War II there has been widespread conviction, somewhat uncertainly implemented, that young Americans should understand the contrasts between democracy and communism.

In supporting instruction to this effect in the public schools, Professor Hunt further said:

> So far as communism is concerned, the schools are, I believe, basically responsible for inoculating young citizens against it.

As the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] has well said, there are no generally acceptable textbooks on communism available for use in the public schools. It is difficult to teach a course in the public schools without a textbook on the subject. Lack of adequate textbooks is one of the reasons why the task of alerting students to communism has moved slowly in our elementary schools and high schools. Another reason for this lack of progress has been the hesitancy of teachers to engage in what some critics call indoctrination. Furthermore, the already overcrowded curricula of our public schools seems to defy the introduction of any new subject. In spite of these obstacles, however, the time has come when educators should find space in the curricula of our schools for a serious comparison of American democracy with communism.

In view of the reluctance of commercial publishers to contract for publishing a high-school textbook on communism, the board of trustees of the Institute of Fiscal and Political Education, in November 1954, voted to arrange for the preparation of such a textbook. This project was undertaken as a public service.

The Institute of Fiscal and Political Education holds an absolute charter granted by the board of regents of the University of the State of New York, which was obtained through the good offices of John W. Davis, former Democratic candidate for President of the United States.

The purpose of the institute, as outlined in its charter, is to promote, solely in the interests of higher and secondary education, the broadest possible public understanding of technical and practical problems in fiscal and political fields by preparing, publishing, and distributing bulletins, pamphlets, studies, charts, and other sources of information and also by disseminating such information through public discussion, through collaboration with institutions of higher learning, by radio and otherwise.

The President of the institute is John Marshall, former First Assistant Attorney General of the United States under President Coolidge and President Hoover. Serving on the board are such educators as Dr. Wilson M. Compton, former president of Washington State College; Dr. Felix Morley, former president of Haverford College; Dr. Forrest H. Kirkpatrick, dean of students, Bethany College; Dr. O. Glenn Saxon, professor of economics, Yale University; and, Dr. John Lee Coulter, former president of North Dakota A. & M. College. Former Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane is on the board as well as such eminent counselors at law as Donald R. Richberg, Lowell Wadmond, and Henry A. Wise; together with R. A. Hummel, chairman of the board of the Lone Star Cement Corp.; John Payson, vice president of the International Bank of Washington; former Congressman Charles S. Dewey, eminent banker and known, no doubt, to most of you; W. Royce Powell, prominent public relations director; and, the managing director, Harry G. Marquis.

The institute has engaged in several educational projects such as a program known as Washington Service—a series of pictorial booklets on political economy. Among the authors were the late Senators Robert A. Taft, Pat McCarran, and Burnet R. Maybank. Other Senators who expressed their views in this service were HARRY BYRD, STYLES BRIDGES, HOMER CAPEHART, PAUL DOUGLAS, EVERETT DIRKSEN, KARL MUNDT, ESTES KEFAUVER, and ALEXANDER WILEY. I, too, prepared a booklet for this series.

Another interesting and valuable educational program which the institute has undertaken is known as Operation Freedom: This is a series of full color, pictorial booklets dramatizing each section of the Bill of Rights. These pamphlets are used as collateral text material in the study of American history and the American way of life, and are recommended for use in the seventh and eighth grades of elementary schools. They have been approved by municipal school systems in many parts of the country.

I heartily agree with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] that a great service can be performed by the Commission To Make Available Information as to the Basic Differences Between the Theories and Practices of the American Way of Life and the Theories and Practices of Atheistic Communism. There are, however, two considerations which require attention. First, the study of the Commission is to be limited

to the evidence taken under oath before the Congressional committees and the agencies of the executive branch of the United States Government. But there is a vast reservoir of information regarding the theory and practice of communism aside from evidence taken under oath. Such information includes the writings of Communists and ex-Communists, the reports of many reliable scholars, newsmen, and other observers, and documents of foreign governments. A textbook for the public schools should draw on all these sources.

Second, American education has been, since the founding of the Republic, in the hands of local authorities. Textbooks prepared by a central government are alien to American tradition. Under our American system, each school board in each school district should be free to determine the textbooks which are to be used in the public schools. In other words, competitive scholarship and competitive professional skill should guide the selection of textbooks for the American youth.

The Institute of Fiscal and Political Education proceeded with considerable care in arranging for the preparation of its experimental textbook. In view of the fact that many teachers are unprepared to teach a comparison of democracy and communism, the institute decided to issue both a textbook and a teacher's guide or handbook. Again, in view of the fact that high-school curricula are already overloaded, the institute decided to publish four textbooks; one designed for schools that can give an 18-week course, and 3 other textbooks for courses respectively of 9 weeks, 6 weeks, and 3 weeks. In other words, the institute has attempted to meet the needs of every high-school curricula in the country.

The institute gave careful consideration to the selection of the scholar to whom the task of preparing the textbooks and teacher's guides should be entrusted. It eventually selected Dr. Kenneth Colegrove, professor emeritus of political science of Northwestern University. Several considerations guided this choice. Dr. Colegrove is a distinguished scholar. His professional degree of doctor of philosophy was taken at Harvard University. In recognition of his book on the American Senate and World Peace, Columbia University in 1944, conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of letters. His books and articles in learned journals on comparative government and international relations are universally esteemed. His record as a teacher of young men and women has been noteworthy. His service to the discipline of political science as secretary of the American Political Science Association has endeared him to the teaching and scholarly profession. In addition, he has had practical experience in the affairs of the Republic, having served as consultant in the Office of Strategic Services during the Second World War, as consultant to Gen. Douglas MacArthur in Tokyo immediately after the war, and later as consultant to the State Department.

In another respect, Dr. Colegrove is unusually competent to prepare textbooks comparing democracy and communism. For the past 15 years, he has written the articles on Asia, Communism, Civil Liberty, Democracy, Dictatorships, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the World Book Encyclopedia and its annual supplements, volumes which are widely used in the high schools of the United States. In fact, his comparison of democracy and dictatorships has long been one of the features of this popular encyclopedia for young students. In the yearbook of Collier's Encyclopedia for 1954, another publication extensively used in high-school libraries, he has a leading article on Techniques of Communism.

Dr. Colegrove has brought to the preparation of the textbooks and teacher's handbook a keen appreciation of the needs of high-school students, partly acquired when, before completing his university training, he began his professional career by teaching in an Iowa high school.

At the outset of his project, Dr. Colegrove made a survey of the literature which should be drawn upon in preparation of a textbook and teacher's handbook. Seeking to conform the textbook to the best pedagogical methods, Dr. Colegrove was fortunate in securing the continuing advice of one of America's outstanding educators, Dr. Erling M. Hunt. Dr. Hunt is professor of history and head of the department of the teaching of social studies in Teachers College, Columbia University. He is past president of the National Council of the Social Studies, and former editor of Social Education. He is also coauthor of the World's History, published in 1947, with a revision in 1954, by Harcourt, Brace & Co. This is one of the most successful history textbooks for high schools.

I would like to quote a recent statement by Dr. Colegrove. It reads:

> Anyone who undertakes to write a textbook on democracy and communism should approach his task with humility and a deep sense of responsibility. He should always bear in mind that no one person has a monopoly on wisdom. He should seek advice and consultation at every stage of the project.
>
> American young men and women must be taught the truth. Accuracy is paramount. At the same time, indoctrination must be avoided. Our American democratic process should extend into public-school education. The essential characteristic of a representative republic is the fact that the citizens actively participate in government. By the same token, in our educational system, our boys and girls should participate in the learning process. In other words, they should be led to draw their own independent conclusions from data presented in a textbook or by the teacher in the classroom. Instead of confronting pupils with iron-bound maxims they should be induced to weigh the evidence and to form their own judgments.
>
> At the same time, teachers and textbooks should not neglect the spiritual values. This precept is more easily uttered than carried out, particularly in case young students are to be induced to form their own value judgments. Perhaps the most approved method is to emphasize American history and traditions as a basis for comparison with other systems. In any event, the character and personality of the teacher is far more important than the content of the textbook.
>
> In comparing national systems, every effort must be made by both teacher and textbook writer to avoid engendering hatred of other peoples. Textbooks that inculcate hate of potential enemies have been one of the causes of war. While maintaining loyalty to truth and freedom, textbooks should inspire sympathy for and understanding of all peoples.
>
> It is sometimes said that teachers in the public schools refrain from making comparisons between democracy and communism because of fear of entering into a controversial subject. The existence of any such fear is probably exaggerated. Many able teachers are already giving instruction in a comparison of democracies and totalitarian regimes. America has a million loyal, courageous, and devoted teachers. Any hesitancy on their part to teach a comparison of democracy and communism has been largely due to the fact that school boards and school administrators have not been in general agreement as to the necessity for including this subject in the curricula.

The issue is clear. Shall such an important educational project be carried out by a privately supported, tax-exempt organization which is known for its historical and objective approach or shall it be done by the Federal Government, which then will be making further inroads into the field of education instead of leaving it to the State, county, and municipality where it rightfully belongs.

I do not believe, and I am sure you will agree, that the Federal Government should go into the textbook business.

The outline of the complete textbook which is serving as the basis for discussion of the proper content of the textbook is as follows:

DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM—A HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOK

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

1. Why study democracy and communism:
(1) Citizens of a republic should be well informed.
(2) Dangers of ignorance.
(3) World conflict between communism and democracy.
(4) Suppression of liberty.
(5) Dictatorships and war.
Chart: Map of the democratic and Communist worlds.

2. What is democracy?
(1) Our form of government.
(2) Participation by the people.
(3) Respect for human beings.
(4) Respect for law.
Chart: Four aspects of democracy.

3. What is communism?
(1) The promise of the good life: Theory and practice.
(2) The deception of citizens.
(3) The people in a dictatorship.
(4) Destruction of constitutional government.
Chart: Four aspects of communism.

4. What is liberty?
(1) Protection of human rights.
(2) Promotion of justice.
(3) Justice through law.
(4) Freedom of opportunity.
Chart: Four fundamentals of liberty.

5. Is American liberty worth fighting for?
(1) Experience of the Pilgrims and Puritans.
(2) Views of Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Lincoln.
(3) Declaration of Independence.

(4) Constitution of the United States.
(5) Price of liberty: Eternal vigilance.
Chart: History of liberty in the United States.
6. Communism and liberty.
(1) The police state in Soviet Russia.
(2) Loss of liberty in Poland.
(3) Destruction of freedom in Czechoslovakia.
(4) Slavery of the Baltic Republics.
(5) The Red Terror in China.
Chart: Loss of liberty in Communist countries.
7. How America encourages independent thought.
(1) How Americans won freedom of speech.
(2) Guaranties of free speech and press.
(3) Education for all.
(4) The American people control the public schools.
(5) What the public schools teach.
Chart: The American public schools teach freedom.
8. How communism controls thought.
(1) Obedience to the "party line."
(2) Teaching hate in Communist schools.
(3) Discipline of young Communists.
(4) Censorship of newspapers, books, and art.
(5) Education of the "Soviet man."
Chart: Communist control of thought: Behavior of the "Soviet man."
9. Why some men and women become Communists.
(1) Communist promises to slum dwellers.
(2) Promises to unemployed.
(3) Appeals to minority races.
(4) False idealism.
(5) The urge for power.
Chart: Communist inducements for recruits.
10. How a Communist cell works.
(1) Daily life of a Communist member.
(2) Study of Communist doctrine.
(3) Teaching the party line to novices.
(4) Obedience to the party leader.
(5) Sabotage and espionage.
(6) What is the compensation for this hard work?
Chart: Workday of a Communist.
11. Democracy in action.
(1) Practice conforms to theory.
(2) Representative government.
(3) Free elections.
(4) The right to oppose.
(5) The two-party system.
(6) The making of law.
Chart: The democratic process.
12. How Soviet Russia deceives the Russian people.
(1) The U. S. S. R. constitution is a delusion.
(2) Faked elections.
(3) The people have no voice in government.
(4) False propaganda.
Chart: Methods of deception in the U. S. S. R.
13. How Red China deceives the Chinese people.
(1) Imitation of Russian communism.
(2) No free elections.
(3) False propaganda.
(4) Brainwashing in Red China.
(5) Deception of the peasants.
Chart: Methods of deception in Red China.
14. The Communist Party in Soviet Russia.
(1) Limited membership in the Communist Party.
(2) The grades of leadership.
(3) The Politburo or Presidium.
(4) Party discipline.
(5) The purges.
Chart: Organization chart of Communist Party.
15. How the Communist Party runs the Russian Government.
(1) The Council of Ministers.
(2) The Supreme Soviet.
(3) Dictatorial control by the Politburo or Presidium.
(4) A false federal system.
(5) Secret government.
Chart: Organization chart of the U. S. S. R. Government showing the party controls.
16. The Communist Party in all countries.
(1) The World Revolution.
(2) Local Communist Parties.
(3) Direction by the Politburo or Presidium in Moscow.
(4) The former Communist International.
(5) The Cominform.
(6) Enforcement of the "party line."
Chart: World control of the Communist conspiracy.
17. The Bolshevik Revolution.
(1) The Communist manifesto of Marx and Engels (1848).
(2) Lenin as world strategist.
(3) Seizure of military power in Russia.
(4) The dictatorship of the proletariat.
(5) The Red terror.
Chart: The life of Lenin.
18. How the Red terror operates.
(1) Purpose of terrorism.
(2) Destruction of classes.
(3) The police state.
(4) Use of famine to conquer independent peoples.
Chart: Types of terrorism.
19. Preparation for revolution in other countries.
(1) Infiltration and propaganda.
(2) Communist training schools.
(3) Preparation for seizure of power.
(4) Strategy in Western Europe and America.
(5) Strategy in Asia.
Chart: The Communist prepares for revolution.
20. Moscow-directed revolutions.
(1) Communist-inspired revolution in Poland.
(2) Capture of the Government of Czechoslovakia.
(3) The Balkan States.
(4) The Red conquest of China.
(5) Guerrilla war in Indochina.
(6) Latin America.
Chart: Maps of revolution.
21. How the Communists treat political opponents.
(1) The one-party system.
(2) Membership in Communist Party is strictly limited.
(3) Death or slavery for political opponents.
(4) Purges of members for "deviation."
(5) New forms of assassination.
Chart: Political executions.
22. What America has accomplished for the workingman.
(1) What is the collective bargain?
(2) Freedom of occupation.
(3) Social security.
(4) Old-age benefits.
(5) High standard of living.
(6) Investment of savings.
Chart: Negotiating wage contracts; high standard of living.
23. How communism treats labor unions.
(1) Abolition of free labor unions.
(2) Regimentation of labor.
(3) Labor discipline.
(4) Slave labor.
(5) Delusions of the Soviet workingman.
Chart: Slave-labor camps.
24. How communism treats the peasants.
(1) Deception of land-hungry peasants.
(2) Destruction of independent peasants.
(3) Creation of collective farms.
(4) Plight of collectivized farmers.
Chart: Methods of Sovietizing peasants.
25. Why millions submit to communism.
(1) Hard life of the workingman in overpopulated countries.
(2) Case study of the railway worker in East Germany.
(3) Case study of the peasant in Red China.
(4) The kind of security afforded by communism.
Chart: Dilemma of the workingman in Communist countries.
26. The democratic and the Communist treatment of racial minorities.
(1) Civil liberties in the United States.
(2) Removal of racial restrictions.
(3) Communist propaganda to attract racial minorities.
(4) Soviet enslavement of Baltic peoples.
(5) Soviet extermination of Jews.
(6) Soviet suppression of Moslems.
(7) Racial murder.
Chart: Deportation and enslavement of minorities.
27. The democratic and the Communist treatment of religion.
(1) Freedom of Religion in democracies.
(2) Emphasis on spiritual values.
(3) Materialism versus religion.
(4) Communism condemns religion as a capitalist trick.
(5) Soviet persecution of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.
(6) Soviet control of the Orthodox Church.
(7) Religious persecution in Red China.
Chart: Soviet antireligious strategy.
28. How the U. S. S. R. rules satellite countries.
(1) Political control by the Moscow Politburo or Presidium.
(2) Economic profit from subject countries.
(3) Soviet imperialism.
(4) Revolt of Yugoslavia.
(5) Abuse of East Germany.
Chart: Map of Soviet imperialism.
29. How communism promotes war.
(1) The Communist doctrine of violence.
(2) The Red Army.
(3) The false peace crusade.
(4) Wrecking peace conferences.
(5) Use of Asiatic peoples to fight free states.
(6) The effects of Soviet imperialism.
Chart: Soviet promotion of war.
30. The Korean war.
(1) Soviet Russia blocks unity of the Korean people.
(2) Inciting Korean Communists to attack South Korea.
(3) American leadership in resisting Red aggression.
(4) Soviet support of Red China for invasion of Korea.
(5) Obstructing peace efforts.
Chart: Korea, the battlefield of Soviet aggression.
31. Achievements of the capitalist system.
(1) The American competitive enterprise system.
(2) Value of independent initiative.
(3) American invention.
(4) American mass production.
(5) The small-business man in the United States.
(6) The rising standard of life.
Chart: American industry.
32. Economic planning in the U. S. S. R.
(1) State ownership of all means of production.
(2) The gosplan.
(3) Drafting the 5-year plans.
(4) Results of the 5-year plans.
(5) Producer's goods at the expense of consumer's goods.
(6) Depression of standard of living.
(7) Real wages in Communist Russia.
Chart: The 5-year plans; comparison of worker's real wages in Soviet Russia and in the United States.
33. How economic planning destroys liberty.
(1) Control of all economic life.
(2) Police control of officials and workers.
(3) No choice of occupation.
(4) No freedom for workers in the factories.
(5) No freedom for peasants on collective farms.

(6) Use of false propaganda.
Chart: Economic planning and the Soviet workingman.
34. The Soviet claim of a classless society.
(1) Communist doctrine of a worker's dictatorship.
(2) Trotsky's charge that Stalin betrayed the revolution.
(3) New classes in the Soviet state.
(4) Inequality of income among workers, factory managers, bureaucrats and army officers.
Chart: Bureaucrats and Red Army officers constitute the new economic class in Soviet Russia.
35. Communist fallacies.
(1) That communism has a monopoly of the scientific method.
(2) That Marxian dialectics is infallible.
(3) That communism is inevitable.
(4) That collapse of democratic governments is inevitable.
(5) That the workingman is becoming poorer.
Chart: A graph of fallacies.
36. Relation of socialism to communism.
(1) Definitions.
(2) Split between the Social Democrats and the Marxian Socialists.
(3) Views on private property.
(4) Trend of socialism toward communism.
(5) Where is the dividing line?
Chart: Trends toward communism.
37. Communist attack on constitutional government.
(1) The general strike.
(2) Obstruction in European parliaments.
(3) Infiltration of American organs of public opinion.
(4) Infiltration of American Government.
(5) Subversive activities.
Chart: Illustrations of infiltration.
38. The Communist Party in the United States.
(1) History of the Communist Party.
(2) Communist-front organizations.
(3) Function of the Daily Worker.
(4) The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1952.
(5) The party goes underground.
Chart: Organization and operation of the Communist Party of the United States.
39. The American Republic as a bulwark against communism.
(1) Ideals of the American Republic.
(2) Love of liberty.
(3) Sound traditions.
(4) American contributions to human progress.
(5) American leadership by example.
Chart: American institutions.

APPENDIX

1. Definitions of terms.
2. Problems of democracy and communism.
Reading lists.

Politicking at Its Worst

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HINSHAW
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the February 16, 1955, issue of the Washington Evening Star:

POLITICKING AT ITS WORST

The Democratic members of the Joint Congressional Atomic Committee are playing the shabbiest kind of politics with the so-called Dixon-Yates contract. Although they have attacked the project with all sorts of holier-than-thou arguments, they have not produced the slightest bit of convincing evidence to support their lurid talk about it—particularly their ridiculous charge that it is an economically wasteful and morally wicked undertaking cooked up in a sinister plot to enrich the private-power interests at the expense of the American people and the sacrosanct Tennessee Valley Authority.

This charge, of course, is about as unjustified and as fantastic as any charge could be. Actually, although the Dixon-Yates contract has certain administrative features that are open to legitimate criticism, it seems in many ways to be sounder—from a dollars-and-cents viewpoint—than similar agreements involving private power and the Atomic Energy Commission. And certainly, considering how the contract's terms have been subjected to exhaustive public debate and congressional scrutiny, few things could be more absurd than the effort to depict the project as an evil brewed in the dark by men conspiring against the public interest. Yet, despite this, and even though the venture has been resoundingly approved by both the AEC and the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Democrats on the joint committee continue to kick the issue around with unabated intensity.

Thus, having a vested interest in their own muddling of the facts, and apparently convinced that they can gain some partisan advantage from attacking without letup, these Democrats demand that the AEC and the SEC reverse themselves with a vote to kill the contract. Further, with crocodile tears in their eyes, they warn (1) that unless this is done the Dixon-Yates controversy—which they alone are keeping alive—will continue "for years to come," with injury to the AEC's military work; and (2) that the administration, not they, will be responsible for that fact. Here, surely, is an example of politicking at its worst, and the President, needless to say, has every reason to feel more determined than ever not to yield to it.

Pay As You Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, a good deal of vision and commonsense is presented in an editorial from Newsday, a large daily paper on Long Island. While this editorial was written last month, I have refrained from inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD until this time. However, within the next few weeks the House will have the opportunity to make some important decision in regard to the Post Office Department.

Two philosophies will be present. They are diametrically opposed to each other. The first is that the Post Office Department is a service organization similar to the State Department or the Department of Commerce and is therefore entitled to create a financial deficit.

The other philosophy is that the Post Office Department should be run on a paying, business-like basis for the service it performs for individuals, corporations, publishing houses—in fact, for everybody.

The following editorial summarizes and ably presents the latter contention:

PAY AS YOU MAIL

The postal rate increase proposed by Postmaster General Summerfield are no more than necessary and logical to meet the needs of the Department. The rate increases, which apply to first-, second-, and third-class mail, are expected to bring in an additional $332 million a year.

This is still not enough to get the Post Office on a pay-as-you-go basis. For the current fiscal year, the deficit is running between $300 and $400 million. But with the increased efficiency Summerfield has also promised, the deficit can be cut down to manageable size.

Part of the extra money will go for pay raises for postal workers. These are badly overdue. The workers have not had a raise in more than 4 years, while the cost of living has gone up considerably.

The rate increases are designed to make each division in the Department come closer to paying its own way, and at 4 cents, letters will continue to be one of the biggest bargains available. They have stayed at 3 cents for more than 20 years, while postal costs have nearly doubled.

Newspapers and magazines, too, will bear a greater share of their mailing costs. Summerfield has asked that second-class rates go up 15 percent for two successive years to yield an additional $8 million plus annually This is as it should be.

When roughly the same proposals were made to Congress last session, they were turned down. Congress passed a pay raise measure but failed to approve the rate increase. The reason was that 1954 was an election year.

We hope, for the good of the postal department, its workers, and the Federal budget, that Congress can screw up its courage in a nonelection year and approve both measures.

Postal Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced legislation to provide for a 10-percent pay increase for postal workers, and I have spoken to individual members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to urge that they act promptly on this or similar legislation. On Tuesday, February 15, 1955, I submitted a statement to the committee in support of my bill, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, during the last Congress legislation was passed providing for an increase in the salaries of postal employees. There is no doubt but that this legislation merited more consideration than it received. The increase it provided was totally inadequate, but because the bill was vetoed by the President, the postal workers did not receive even this small measure of relief. I believe we owe it to these employees to take prompt action at this Congress to increase their salaries and make the effective date retroactive. If the bill is vetoed then we should vote to override.

I have introduced a bill which would provide a 10 percent increase in the pay sched-

ules of postal employees. I am very much aware of the need for such increases since in my district and in the New York area generally there are a number of postal workers and other Federal employees, and I know from conversations with them that they have all they can do to make ends meet. Many have suffered income losses from the various reorganization and reclassification programs and from reductions in grade brought about by post-audit actions of the Civil Service Commission. There is reason to believe that very often employees are forced to take reductions in grade because of reduced appropriations.

The Government worker today is called upon to carry an extra workload due to the policy of the administration to reduce Federal payrolls through attrition, which means that vacancies occurring through retirement, death, and resignation, are not filled. These are conditions over which employees have no control. If after 2 or 3 years a man in private industry had his pay reduced because some supervisor had made a mistake in allocating his job to the proper pay scale, the unions would call a strike of all employees. Yet this can happen to a Government employee and there is little or nothing he can do about it. If the Budget Bureau imposes a ceiling on an appropriation for a Government agency and employees have to be laid off through reductions in force or transferred to another post or reduced in grade as a result of it, there is nothing the Federal worker can do but accept it. He may have to readjust his standard of living, he may have to run his old car for another year or two, and cut out some of the little things in life he and his family have learned to enjoy, but there isn't anything he can do except appeal to Congress for an increase in pay.

The postal worker is underpaid. This is truth, not fiction. I marvel at the fact that postmasters are able to recruit qualified men at the extremely low rate of pay at which new employees must start.

I urge you gentlemen to approve an increase in pay which will be equitable and proper. Let me also urge you to proceed with haste since this matter has been pending for a long time and we must keep faith with those who have been waiting so patiently for us to act. I hope this committee will report a bill and send it to the floor before the end of this month. It is the only way in which we can demonstrate that we mean what we have said, that we do intend to keep our promises, that we will make this one of the first legislative enactments of the 84th Congress.

Scientist's Stand Opposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, in the New York Times of February 16, 1955, there was printed a letter written and signed by that distinguished American journalist and editor, Herbert Bayard Swope.

I urge my colleagues in the House to read Mr. Swope's letter in which he discusses the outrageous speech delivered in Chicago by Prof. Harold C. Urey.

It was in this speech that Professor Urey presumed to tell the American people that a grave injustice had been done in the conviction of the Rosenberg atomic spies.

Mr. Swope has written the best answer to Professor Urey that I have seen.

The letter follows:

SCIENTIST'S STAND OPPOSED—DISSERVICE TO OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM IS SEEN IN DR. UREY'S STATEMENT

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Once more the question of government by law or government by scientists has come to the fore. Prof. Harold C. Urey, at a dinner in Chicago, February 12, reported by the Times on February 13, is quoted as being convinced that a grave injustice has been done the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, who were convicted in connection with treason to the United States in revealing secrets of the atomic bomb to Russia.

It is every man's right to adjourn to the nearest tavern and revile the court which may have rendered an adverse decision, but when it comes to a question of standardizing justice how can one better the process of assuming that truth has been served by the hands of the United States district court (in which Judge Irving R. Kaufman did a palpably honest job), the circuit court of appeals, and the United States Supreme Court, which had the Rosenberg case before it three times?

How is our thinking to be formulated? Is it to be based upon the convictions of an individual or the concerted efforts of the courts, acting on a verdict of our fellow citizens sitting as a jury—a method that represents the highest form of public opinion?

DEFENSE METHODS

Professor Urey is undoubtedly a scientist of high order, but does that fact equip him to hold an opinion better than the rest of us who may not know how to make heavy water, but who know and feel the claims of justice? The explanation does not lie in the superiority of his opinion nor that of his fellows. It lies in the curious belief that certain types of scientists are laws unto themselves. They have not yet become certain that, for better or for worse, nationalism is still prevalent. Accordingly, self-protection of a country requires an immediate and an adequate defense against any form of security violations.

Perhaps in the future we will have outgrown nationalism. Personally, I doubt it. But until that time comes I do not see that the attitude of men like Urey or J. Robert Oppenheimer, for whom I hold in other matters a good opinion, should be permitted to destroy the methods of defense through our courts that have been so laboriously built up since Magna Carta.

I think that Dr. Urey's utterance was incendiary. He has a right to an opinion, but I submit that, airing it in the manner in which he did, supported by a galaxy of names, it is not inclined to strengthen our judicial system.

Mind this: I am not one of those who demand conformity; Hitler made "Gleichformigkeit" and abhorrence. To me, democracy is defined best as dissent. But dissent can be expressed in a less arrogant and provocative manner than Professor Urey employed. I would not stop him from a free expression of opinion, but I ask that the forces of those who do not agree with his views become articulate so that their silence will not be taken to mean their assent.

SCIENCE OF LAW

Let them believe that the science of law, even though it be occasionally in error, is as important to us—even more important—than the nuclear sciences. We live under the first every day, but the second, praise be, is one that touches us only occasionally and up to now it has done us no good except in the increase of knowledge.

And knowledge, too, is restricted. Not long ago a distinguished scholar, Dr. Grayson Kirk, who is doing so well at Columbia University, used a slogan for the university's bicentennial celebration, "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." The first part of the statement, "Man's Right to Knowledge," is sound; but the second part—"and the Free Use Thereof"—is not true. There is much knowledge that we dare not employ freely; for example, the use of knowledge that has to do with our defense.

Much that I have said about Professor Urey applies to other scientists; and I would not exclude Professor Einstein from that group.

The Times, always seeking to be scrupulously fair, printed Urey's statement at length. It owes at least one dissent to the opposition. This, then, is an effort to express that right.

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE.

NEW YORK, *February 14, 1955.*

Address by Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., at Dallas, Tex., February 14, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to call the attention of my colleagues to an occasion of great importance to my district of Dallas County. Our most admired and respected colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. JOSEPH MARTIN, addressed a large gathering in Dallas February 14 as a part of our Lincoln weekend celebrations.

The response of those present left no doubt as to the affection and high esteem of the people for Mr. MARTIN. We Texans were most appreciative and proud to have him with us to benefit from his vast experience in the Federal Government and to hear his underlying concepts of the function of government.

So that others may also enjoy his remarks of that evening, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following speech which he delivered at that time:

Texas friends and neighbors, this is a visit I have anticipated for many weeks. We hear a great deal about Texas in Washington—some of it even from Texans themselves—and almost everyone winds up by saying that you have to be in Texas to see what is going on in order to believe it.

Any doubts about your growth and progress have vanished as a result of this visit. In fact, I am somewhat surprised that your fine committee could persuade this many Texans to sit still long enough to hear a speech—because only people who are very busy could have brought about what you have accomplished in recent years.

No man, I am sure, could in one evening talk about all of the wonderful things I have seen in this great State since my journey to Dallas. I have managed to absorb some of the highlights of your progress, however. In taking note of some of them, I cannot refrain from thinking that if all of our people could come to Texas for a visit, there would be no fear for the future of the Nation.

The Dallas story is one of which all of you can be justly proud.

I note that your annual payroll is over $1 billion for the third year in a row.

That the income for all of your people in 1954 set a new record of $12½ billion.

The census people tell us that the population of Dallas is expected to increase by 80,000 people in 1955; that the State population is growing at a rate that exceeds the national average.

Your employment is increasing steadily; your wage earners are sharing an ever-increasing amount of your prosperity; your markets and farms are prospering; and your construction records for homes and factories reach new peaks with the dawning of each new day.

Texas banks are bulging with the savings and investments of her people; Texas farm marketings are at a new high; Texas agriculture is now the most diversified in the history of the State.

Yes, even the baby business in Texas is booming. In fact, 1 out of every 16 babies born in the United States is now born a native Texan—a notable contribution on the part of Texas mothers, among their many other amazing accomplishments in the building of a bigger and better Texas.

Yes; I am now convinced; Texas is an amazing place; her people top go-getters; her future bright with the promise that peace, progress, and prosperity are here to stay.

I want to congratulate you on electing BRUCE ALGER as the Representative in Congress from Dallas.

He is a credit to your judgment and a welcome addition to the National Legislature. Already he has established many warm friendships for the benefit of his home State and district, and we respect the intelligence and integrity he has displayed since joining us.

He has demonstrated an energy and alertness that, combined with experience, will make him an outstanding Member of the House. He will be a credit to his State and to his district.

I hope that Mr. ALGER is the first of many Republicans that Texas will send to Congress. I hope that Texas—first in so many things—will also be the first in this part of our great country to really and truly develop into a two-party State.

Had I been borne a Texan, I would be one of your best salesmen.

The fact that I was not, however, does not prevent me from sharing in the pride that is rightfully yours because of your accomplishments.

Texas and the rest of the Nation, I am firmly convinced, have prospered and grown in part because of many things that have been done in Washington during the past 2 years under the leadership of President Dwight D. Eisenhower—a native Texan.

The Eisenhower administration and the 83d Congress have set many records of progress.

First, we wiped out the economic controls which had kept our people in a state of constant irritation for more than a decade. These controls handicapped the growth of our country. Business has gone ahead faster because these controls were eliminated.

We settled for good the question of whether Texas and other States were to enjoy the constitutional privileges of managing and exploring their own lands or whether the Federal Government would be allowed limitless encroachment of the rights of our people, and, incidentally, the Federal Government prospered through the legislation.

We ended the Korean war—not completely on our terms, but in a manner at least befitting the dignity of a government determined to build a defense and a security for the long haul to peace.

We abolished certain agencies competing with private business and we sold or are selling the competitive Federal operations which thrived on tax dollars to the detriment of free enterprise.

The administration also created a new department of Government—Health, Education and Welfare. And the President selected the best-looking Cabinet officer in history to run the Department—Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, a Texan—and she is doing a splendid job.

Many useless Government jobs were abolished, but there was no wholesale patronage firing of employees. On the contrary, the complaint was because some were not removed.

We cut taxes a total of $7,400,000,000—the biggest reduction in history; and we reduced appropriations in 1954 and 1955 a total of $64 billion below the 1952–53 level.

This reduction helped us in our efforts to bring about a prosperity based on peace rather than war.

Recognizing the need for a rapid expansion of the Nation's road system, the 83d Congress provided funds of almost $2 billion for highway and farm-to-market road improvements for 1956 and 1957. In addition, the President has presented to Congress a long-range, multibillion, pay-as-you-go highway program. This is the first modern appraisal and plan for our highway needs in many years, and one that is long overdue.

The St. Lawrence seaway was voted a go-ahead in the past year, so that our eastern and midwestern waterways can expand to meet the needs of a growing population and an expanding economy in that area.

We extended social-security coverage to 10 million additional people and unemployment compensation to 4 million more Americans, recognizing as we did the need for a long-range approach to the problems and needs of a vastly increased number of older citizens.

The men and women who built up our country must not be neglected in their old age.

At the same time, we moved speedily into the field of health and hospitalization for our older people. We redesigned the construction program from a theory of building hospitals for the sake of building hospitals to a program of construction tailored to the need for rest homes and clinics. In this way, so long as the Federal Government can serve a purpose in the area of health and hospitals, we are meeting the needs of those least able to pay for proper care.

This, I might emphasize, is not a New Deal program, a Fair Deal program or a socialist program. It is a human program, as the President so consistently reiterates. It is designed to lift the burden from deserving citizens who face the misfortunes of age or illness without adequate funds. It is but a small measure of the debt we owe those who have worked as good Americans toward the better life we enjoy today.

On the defense front, we made ourselves much stronger militarily, with the full utilization of atomic weapons.

We are living in critical days. We must not minimize the threat to our way of life. Both inside and outside the country there are people who seek to undermine and destroy the freedoms we hold precious. These people must not be allowed to succeed. They cannot succeed if we are alert and vigilant.

Asia is the scene of an unfolding explosive drama. Soviet Russia and its pawn, the Chinese Reds, seek to dominate all Asia. If this could come to pass, it would eventually mean the Red domination of Africa, Asia, Europe, and perhaps eventually the United States.

This threat makes it essential for us to build our defenses so strong that we are invincible. Over $30 billion is planned to be expended this year on defense alone, and each succeeding year will require equally large sums until the danger is over.

Wisely we are specializing in atomic weapons and atomic defense, for these instruments of warfare present the only way our shores can be attacked. Supremacy in the air and in atomic weapons as planned by President Eisenhower means security. This we must have.

President Eisenhower knows thoroughly our defense needs. When he says we can save $2 billion for the taxpayers without impairing our defense, I say to you I am for his proposal. This cold war we are in could go on for many years, and we must have economy in our spending for armaments. We must not forget a demoralized financial condition and wild inflation could destroy our country.

The Soviet leaders are no longer a mysterious group. Their aims are as clear as the noonday sun. They seek world domination, and they steadily push to accomplish their objective.

The Red plotters will resort to arms only if they are sure they can win. They know they cannot win now, and therefore they are stalling until they think the time is ripe.

We must keep our defenses strong so that this day will never come.

Let us think about the forces that threaten us. Red China is the immediate foe, but back of her is Red Russia supplying the hardware of war.

When we hear the threatening talk of the Soviet and the Red Chinese let us not be led astray.

We all want peace. We will go a long way to secure peace. But let it be understood we are not going to be bluffed into permitting the Soviets to dominate the world. We will not be coerced into abandoning the free world to servitude and poverty.

We also have the problem of communism and subversion at home. Much has been accomplished by the Eisenhower administration to arrest subversion and bring the Red rats to light. We silenced with harsh facts those who denied the menace existed. We did this by the swift enactment of legislation designed to plug the loopholes in our security.

We stripped the Communist Party of all legal rights.

We denied Government comfort to Red-infiltrated labor unions.

We sent 50 Communist leaders to jail.

We deported more than 100 lingering subversives, who plied the Communist intrigue for years without bothering to apply for citizenship while they planned the destruction of this Nation.

Why the alien subversives were accorded the freedom of this Nation—some for more than a decade—we have yet to learn. We still seek the answer to the question of who built the barrier of illegal protection around them.

When you hear the rattling disputes over the administration's security program, keep these questions in mind. Many have not been answered as yet, many may never be. But so long as I remain in the House of Representatives, an answer to all the questions will be sought.

As a nation, we cherish individual rights. Each of us is entitled to a complete and fair appraisal of our lives at the bar of public opinion as well as in our courts.

Let us retain that freedom without the tarnish of personal restrictions—but let us retain also the commonsense that recognizes the ability of some to use it as a shield while subverting the very heart-beat of personal liberty.

Never forget that once we relax our vigilance, the Communists will seize again upon the same pattern of manipulation, infiltration and spying that worked against us before.

We do not seek revenge against those who blundered in the past. Nor are we seeking silence from those who deny the blunders

or are blind to the dangers we face. Let them speak. But let us weigh their words against the facts as we know them. And I believe when we do, responsible Americans will support with vigor continued efforts to stamp out the Red evil in our time.

Now, what of the future on other fronts?

As I said, last year we gave the largest tax reduction in the history of the country. It is on that solid foundation we will make 1955 a year of prosperity. You may recall how some political partisans were saying last year that we were in a depression. Well, they were just as wrong as men can be. That depression was averted by wise leadership—1953 and 1954 were the 2 most prosperous years in our history, and 1955 will also be a great year for America.

Official Government statistics show that for automobiles, furniture, appliances, food, clothing, personal services, and traveling, our people will spend more—by many, many millions—than they did in 1953 and 1954. In addition, industry alone will spend a record-breaking $27 billion for construction this year.

The President envisions, and I heartily concur, that a long period of great expansion, stretching to new horizons of peace and plenty, is ahead for us all.

The President's concept of the future is based on the conviction that private citizens must have the widest latitude to contribute to the development of the economy—an opportunity consistent with the needs of all our people, one in concept with the enterprise and ingenuity that built the great Nation we serve today.

This means for the future more good homes, more good schools, better health facilities, and lessening of the impact of disaster upon our citizens in all walks of life.

Our people are self-reliant. They always have been. Thus we build to strengthen that self-reliance instead of weakening it with paternalistic governmental interference in our daily lives.

With this in mind, the President has presented to Congress a program of progress. Designed to supplement the accomplishments of the 83d Congress, this program consists of:

An adjustment of trade regulations to promote the flow of trade and capital between friendly nations and to protect American industry.

A continuation of policies to ferret out and neutralize subversion.

A further cut of $4½ billion below Government spending in the fiscal year which ended last June 30.

Improvements in the partnership development between Government and private enterprise in the utilization, conservation, and development of our natural resources.

Extended development of a modern highway system in keeping with the growth of our population and the expansion of our towns and cities.

More than $12 billion for the development of flood control, navigation, harbor improvements, construction of roads, schools, and other utilities.

Improvements in programs to provide better care for our mentally ill, our crippled children, and voluntary health insurance coverage by private concerns.

And, finally, but not the least in importance, the continuation of policies which meet the broad requirements of a growing nation, dedicated to the needs of our steadily increasing standard of living.

Our chances of success on the legislative front are great if our legislators meet the challenge before us. Politically we have a divided house, but the problems this presents should not blind us to the human needs of our people in the days ahead.

I cannot help but be enthusiastic about the future. Just recently—if you will grant me a personal remark—I completed 40 years of public service. At no time in those 40 years has America ever looked more strong, more abundant, or in better shape to grasp the opportunity for progress that lies ahead.

We have a way of life that is the envy of the world. We have never faltered in sharing our bounty, nor will we now blight our future by selfish motives.

Two global wars have thundered across the vistas of our dreams for peace and plenty. These wars have claimed too many of our courageous young.

More than ever today the world is aware that wars settle nothing, that man's search for peace must be fruitful or we perish.

Let us resolve that in the days ahead we will be strong and steadfast, yet patient and prayerful, and as dedicated Americans work toward the goals we all seek.

Abundance is bulging on the horizone of our lives. The sum of man's knowledge in science, art, and religion mounts steadily toward the rising star of permanent peace and freedom.

The decades of desolation of spirit and wealth lie behind us if we move with confidence and inspiration in the days ahead.

We must work together as Americans; we must unite to help those who lead us.

Our great President, Dwight Eisenhower, has dedicated much of his life to public service.

If we falter in our support of his hopes and ideals, we add to the burden he carries for us all.

Let us as free men take up our share of the task ahead. Let us walk together with buoyant confidence that in God's will the pathways of peace and plenty will climb to the pinnacle of man's faith and spirit that rests in the hearts of men of good will everywhere. By striving thus we will reach the goals of peace, progress, and prosperity for all mankind.

Compensation of Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the attached assembly joint resolution of the California Legislature relative to the compensation of postal employees:

Assembly Joint Resolution 4

Joint resolution relative to the compensation of postal employees

Whereas employees of the United States Post Office Department have received but one wage increase since 1949, which increase failed to compensate them for the great increase in the cost of living that has occurred since 1949; and

Whereas most other public and private employees have received wage increases which more nearly enables them to meet the increased living costs; and

Whereas any increase in the cost of living particularly affects postal employees because of their relatively low wages; and

Whereas postal empiqyees should receive an increase in wages not only because such an increase would be equitable but also because the efficiency of the postal system would be enhanced thereby: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Congress of the United States is respectfully memorialized to enact legislation for an increase in the compensation of postal employees commensurate with existing costs of living; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly be directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Postmaster General, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from the State of California in the Congress of the United States.

A Little Wider Publicity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article by William Chapman White which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on February 16, 1955. This well illustrates how a persistent and intelligent editor of a weekly paper on the Pacific coast can make his influence felt in the metropolitan paper of New York.

The article follows:

A LITTLE WIDER PUBLICITY

(By William Chapman White)

It is doubtful if many people in these parts read a weekly newspaper published in San Mateo County, in California. It has the somewhat impressive title of "The Half Moon Bay Review and Pescadero Pebble." It usually devotes its news columns to the doings of local organizations, including the Sons of Italy, the PTA, and the 4–H Clubs, to water-supply problems, and to the troubles of the local artichoke growers.

The paper carries on its front page a column written by George E. Dunn, a small-town newspaperman. For some years Mr. Dunn has hammered away at one thing in his column: the need for stiffer sentences, even up to death, for anyone caught selling narcotics to children. Time and again he has written: "There must be more severe penalties placed on those who deal in selling narcotics."

That would seem to be almost obvious, yet too often newspapers all over the land carry stories on the inside pages about dope sellers sentenced to 3 months, 6 months, perhaps even a year. A man can get more than that for stealing a broken, second-hand car or even a scrawny rooster. One after the other, various magazines and papers have published exposés of the use and sale of drugs in small groups in big-city schools. The readers are appropriately shocked. The police bestir themselves for a while. Eventually the problem of the dope traffic to children comes to the courts and the courts can only do what the law allows.

It allows death or life imprisonment for murder, but murder is usually a one-time act. Narcotics selling is chain murder, passing something worse than death on to children yet unborn. The death penalty or life imprisonment may not break up the narcotics trade any more than hanging stopped all horse stealing in the West; but as was said at one horse thief's execution: "The chances are this'll stop him from further horse thieving."

A few weeks ago Congressman J. ARTHUR YOUNGER introduced a bill into this session of Congress. In part it reads: "Any person

who sells or in any manner facilitates the sale to a minor of any narcotic drug * * * shall (in addition to any other applicable penalties prescribed by law) suffer death or imprisonment for life." In addition to this bill now before Congress, two similar bills have been introduced into this session of the California Legislature. One calls for 20 years imprisonment for the first conviction for selling dope to children and death for a second conviction on the same charge. The other bill asks a mandatory 15-year sentence for first conviction and life, without parole, for a second.

It is no accident that Congressman YOUNGER not only comes from California but right from San Mateo County, where Mr. Dunn's columns have their widest circulation. It must be deeply stasifying to Mr. Dunn not only to know that his columns are read but that something he has whammed away at in his column year in and out finally emerges as a bill in Congress.

In his most recent column Mr. Dunn wrote: "To get wider publicity on this subject I would appreciate it if other newspapers give some notice of what endeavors are being made by our legislators in behalf of our youth." That modest request is worth answering. The whole story is typical of the force and the influence that small-town newspapers often possess even though not all that they strive for winds up as a bill in Congress.

It is also heartening to find that Mr. Dunn has never once said, "Look what I did."

The Federal Reclamation Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, Representative WAYNE ASPINALL, chairman of the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation, has gotten that subcommittee off to a good start by presenting at its organizational meeting a concise yet comprehensive history of irrigation and reclamation in the West and development of present reclamation policy. I commend this document, prepared by Mr. ASPINALL with the able assistance of the engineering consultant of our committee, Mr. Sid McFarland, to all my colleagues. Copies may be obtained by calling the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD following these remarks, a recent news story and an editorial from the Daily Sentinel, Grand Junction, Colo.:

ASPINALL BRIEFS SUBCOMMITTEE ON RECLAMATION, IRRIGATION

(By George S. Holmes)

WASHINGTON.—Something new happened in Congress today. The chairman of a subcommittee prepared the members of the group for their labors by presenting a brief but comprehensive history of the subject with which they will deal.

The chairman was WAYNE N. ASPINALL, the subcommittee, the irrigation and reclamation group of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and the history, the origin and development of irrigation and reclamation in the West.

Representative ASPINALL included in the review of the Government's activities in reclamation from their inception until the present, for the benefit of the new Members not only of the full House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee but of his own Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

Many of the new Democratic Members are freshmen, while others have previously served on other committees. ASPINALL's treatise tells them what it is all about and will moreover contribute a basic understanding of the objectives and problems of reclamation which should be extremely helpful to oldtimers on the committee as well as newcomers.

Tracing the origin of irrigation in the United States from the use of the waters of City Creek, in Salt Lake City, by Brigham Young and his followers, in 1847, to the colossal hydroelectric multiple-purpose Federal projects of today, ASPINALL produced figures of astronomical proportions to illustrate the economic wealth irrigation and reclamation have brought to the Nation in general and the West in particular. Here are some of the developments and statistics he cited:

Since 1902, when President Theodore Roosevelt signed the first reclamation act, 79 Federal reclamation projects or major divisions of projects have been constructed by the Government, from many of which private irrigation groups also receive water.

In the 52 years elapsing since creation of reclamation operations, 116 dams have been built, including Hoover, Grand Coulee, Shasta, Hungry Horse, and others, as well as over 5,000 miles of canals, some big enough to carry the waters of rivers of major size. Included in these structures is the world's longest irrigation tunnel, on the Colorado-Big Thompson project in Colorado.

As the result of the availability of water, irrigable lands have increased from 39,300 in 1906 to 7,147,528 acres by June 30, 1953. On these redeemed lands are located 125,000 family-sized farms and 417 towns with a combined population of 1,653,000.

In 1953 the value of crops from federally irrigated land was $785,940,000. The cumulative value of such crops since 1906 through June 30, 1953, was $9.7 billion.

During 1954 more than 24.5 billion kilowatt-hours of hydroelectric energy were provided for the power system of the Western States, bringing a return of $33,900,000 to the United States Treasury.

The total of all net power revenues returned to the Federal Treasury through June 30, 1953, was $225.9 million.

Net power revenues during the next 50 years from 1953, at the level of fiscal year 1954, should return an additional $1,692.5 million to the Treasury.

Irrigation and municipal water repayment contracts should return $691 million, of which $108.9 million had been paid to June 30, 1953.

Representative ASPINALL described the stimulating effects of this crop and power production on the natural economy as "almost incalculable," as shown by the steady flow of commerce between Eastern and Western States in carload shipments.

The total cost of project plant property for the Federal reclamation program, as of June 30, 1953, he told his listeners, amounted to approximately $2.4 billion. This, he emphasized, is only one-fourth the cumulative value of the crops produced on Federal projects, and is also less than the Federal tax revenues received from reclamation areas which may be attributed to Federal reclamation development.

In a brief section on the development of reclamation policy, ASPINALL stressed the fact that repayment of construction costs by the beneficiaries has remained a basic cornerstone through the entire 52 years. Thus, the revenues from water users, and from power developments, help to pay for the projects, whereas costs allocated to flood control and navigation are nonreimbursable, in accordance with policies established by Congress. Local communities and States, he pointed out, are always consulted in the planning of projects, and operations are turned over to local irrigation districts as soon as practicable.

ASPINALL spells out nine specific major policies on reclamation, since its origin and devotes attention also to special problems, including economic justification and financial feasibility, the 160-acre limitation on water deliveries, the repayment features of the program, the application of power revenues in the reduction of irrigation costs, and the lack of Federal water policy, which has permitted flood control and other Federal activity to go forward on a nonreimbursable basis, while at the same time requiring reimbursement for irrigation construction.

"There is need to re-assess all water conservation programs," he states, "in terms of their contribution to the Nation's economy and the direct recognition of the place water conservation has in the development of the total resource whether it be for flood control, power, or irrigation or other purposes."

In the opinion of this writer, "ASPINALL's Primer on Federal Reclamation" should be required reading by all Members of the Congress.

ASPINALL PRIMER—AID TO CONGRESS AND WEST

Typifying the thoroughness and energy with which the Congressman from the Fourth District of Colorado goes about his job is the compilation and distribution of the ASPINALL Primer on Reclamation, described in Wednesday's paper by the Sentinel's Washington correspondent, George S. Holmes.

As chairman of the subcommittee of the irrigation and reclamation group of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Congressman ASPINALL has compiled a concise yet comprehensive history of irrigation and reclamation in the West, and has made it available to every member of his committee and to other new Members of Congress. In making such information available in concise form to these legislators, WAYNE ASPINALL has served both his fellow Congressmen and the West. For there is no doubt that ignorance of the reclamation system, how it operates, and how it is financed, and of what it has contributed and can contribute to the general welfare of the Nation, is one of the chief reasons that western reclamation projects have been traditionally opposed by many, many Members of Congress.

ASPINALL's primer, we trust, will come to the attention of every Representative and Senator and receive their consideration. It comes at a time when reclamation legislation that is of vital importance to the advancement and prosperity of the whole intermountain area—and therefore to the whole Nation—is soon to be up for consideration.

Defense Against Fallout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following edi-

torial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 17, 1955:

DEFENSE AGAINST FALLOUT

The Atomic Energy Commission and the Administration have acted wisely in making public a summary of the radioactive after-effects of nuclear explosions. Hard facts are the basis for intelligent planning; and Chairman Strauss' measured statement about the fallout seeks to give the facts in perspective. We suspect that the apprehensions about public panic as a result of this sort of disclosure will prove wholly unjustified. Most of the present information about the fallout, although never before released officially, has been known for some time through various printed stories. Such stories may have caused some alarm, but they also have been greeted with a considerable degree of apathy—perhaps because people simply do not want to think about a cataclysm they feel they can do nothing about. This feeling of futility is, if anything, more deadly than fear.

Full understanding of the great dangers about which Mr. Strauss spoke remains essential. Radioactive fallout from a hydrogen explosion could contaminate an area the size of New Jersey and make it uninhabitable for weeks if not months, even if the bulk of the population managed to survive the blast effects and the immediate lethal dosage of radioactivity. The use of the H-bomb to deny territory could be as significant strategically as the destructive effect itself. Nevertheless, there are many relatively simple precautions that can be taken by way of shelter and discipline, as the Atomic Energy Commission points out, that would greatly reduce the loss of life from radioactivity.

Why is there apathy to even the most gruesomely realistic accounts of the H-bomb danger? Because, in this newspaper's opinion, the people have not been presented with a convincing alternative to the paralyzing prospect of being roasted or gammarayed to ashes if hydrogen war should start. Surely it is time for a radical New Look at the status of civil defense.

The sad fact is that in its net impact civil defense still is in an appalling state of disorganization—not for lack of effort on the part of persons working in it, but because of insufficient attention at the top levels of Government. Congress has treated civil defense more or less as a joke, in part, no doubt, as the result of a can't happen here complex, but also in part because legislators have not been satisfied that the planning is practical. Despite the hard work of many persons, the program is rife with contradictory assumptions and outmoded instructions. For example, in the District of Columbia, which presumably would be one of the major targets, the air-raid warning system so far is of little value; it is impossible to distinguish between the feeble siren tests and an ordinary two-alarm fire. There is little point in recruiting air-raid wardens and ground observers unless they can be instructed realistically in what will be expected of them.

Apathy and futility are luxuries the country cannot afford. Even in the event of an all-out hydrogen attack, estimates are that 65 percent of the population would survive; with adequate civil defense as much as 95 percent would survive. But an adequate program will not come about accidentally. It can only be obtained if men of stature will attach serious importance to the program and if the makeshift expedients are replaced with consistent, hard-headed planning at the top level. Such planning ought to envisage specific instructions to cities as to the kind of blast and fallout they could expect and the practicable evacuation and shelter measures they ought to prepare. It ought to be related to the amount of early warning that may be provided—the present stage, when the margin of warning would be small and immediate shelter ought to be sought; the period in which 1 to 4 hours of warning would be possible and large-scale evacuation would be feasible; and, finally, the era of the awesome intercontinental ballistic missile if it should be developed.

None of this is in any way a substitute for enforcible disarmament. The only sure defense against the H-bomb is to control it (and this newspaper reiterates its proposal of last Friday for an internationally monitored moratorium on H-bomb tests as a starter). But even in the absence of international control Americans can do a great deal to protect themselves, given some more vigorous planning and leadership. It is absurd for the country to be spending hundreds of millions of dollars on continental defense and an early warning system and then to permit the necessary followthrough at the civil defense level to be dissipated in lethargy and confusion. Americans have a history of responding sensibly if they are told frankly and realistically what is necessary. The administration and Congress bear a joint responsibility to provide this leadership and the money that will be required to make it effective.

Postal Salary Increase Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following statement submitted by me to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in support of an adequate and realistic salary increase for postal workers:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I wish to thank you for this opportunity to state my views in support of legislation providing an adequate and realistic wage increase for postal workers. Such an increase is long overdue and I respectfully request your favorable consideration of H. R. 1592 and H. R. 2183 introduced by Congressman JAMES H. MORRISON and GEORGE M. RHODES, respectively.

There is general agreement that there should be an increase in the salaries of postal employees. H. R. 1592 and H. R. 2183, providing an increase of 10 percent, represent, I submit, an absolute minimum for those workers who have been underpaid for so long despite a constant rise in our standard of living. The last salary increase was in 1951 and the rise in the cost of living since then makes it imperative that the pending adjustment not only be adequate but that it be made as soon as possible.

As I stated to this committee during the postal pay legislation hearings last year it is a grave reflection on our Government that many employees of our Post Office Department, one of the largest businesses in the world, are forced to supplement their inadequate salaries with outside work in order to meet the increasing cost of living today.

I know what it is to be a housewife. I can understand the frustration of the wives of postal workers in attempting to make ends meet on salaries which are far removed from the real needs of the family.

The postal system is a vital part of our Government and the Government has an obligation to see that it is operated as efficiently as possible. One sure way of undermining this efficiency is by continuing to pay salaries which are grossly inadequate. Postal employees are entitled to a decent wage that will enable them to care for their families.

The bill proposed by the Postmaster General embodying his reclassification plan is completely unrealistic and delegates power to the Postmaster General that is both unwarranted and unnecessary, and does not provide a fair and reasonable salary increase to postal workers.

I sincerely urge this committee to report out H. R. 1592 or H. R. 2183 and give the Congress an opportunity to pass this long needed legislation as early as possible.

Arizona and the TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, our national policy concerning reclamation and power programs is being hotly debated these days. It is likely that many Members of Congress are rethinking their position on these questions. I think some light is thrown on this area of dispute by a penetrating editorial entitled "Arizona and the TVA," which appeared in the Arizona Daily Star, Tucson, Ariz., last Sunday. This piece deserves a wide audience, for its author is no political partisan, but the vigorously independent and widely respected William R. Mathews.

The editorial follows:

ARIZONA AND THE TVA

When Senator BARRY GOLDWATER recently glorified the controversial Dixon-Yates contract, and at the same time denounced the TVA as "socialistic," he must have forgotten the environment of his own city of Phoenix, and the activities of some of his stanch friends.

Phoenix, for instance, is the center of the Salt River Valley reclamation project. This project is run by the Salt River Valley Water Users Association. As the first major irrigation project it was originated by a Republican Congress back in the days of President Taft. It was financed federally by Congress with the assumption that all or part of the cost would be repaid.

The Roosevelt Dam, built in 1912, stands as evidence of how the waters of a river can be stored and as they are released for irrigation, generate electricity. Since the initiation of this project, what had been a semidesert has been transformed into one of the greatest wealth-producing valleys in the world.

Although it was made possible by the Federal Government and the use of Federal funds, the final repayments are just being made over a period of 40 years. It has at all times been tax exempt. As it developed, its management has not hesitated to use commonsense, and as the water flowed through the powerhouse of the Roosevelt Dam to generate electricity, other dams and other generating stations were built at lower levels. The result is that the same water generates electricity several times.

The managers of the project have sold the electricity to reduce the cost per acre-foot of water to the farmers. As dry years came on and the water dried up behind the dams, the managers correctly saw that until they could deliver firm electrical power, they would operate at a disadvantage.

Again they did the common sense thing. They built a steam plant, and have added to it. They borrowed the money to do it, and to this day it is tax exempt.

The magic that this enterprise of electricity and water can work opened up new vistas of what our land here in Arizona can produce once it receives water and electricity. The development of irrigation has spread to such an extent that now the use of the water from the Colorado River becomes a reasonable matter. The organization of the central Arizona project to promote diversion of Colorado River waters to central Arizona has come as a natural reaction.

Behind this newest project are some of the best brains and ability in the State. There is not a Socialist among these men. Some of them, most of them, are beneficiaries of the Salt River project. They know what can be done, and they do not call their project socialistic. What is more, they expect Senator GOLDWATER to get an appropriation from Congress to build it.

Between this achievement here in Arizona and the TVA there is a direct connection. If the waters of the rivers of Tennessee can be used to generate electricity, and by that means attract industries and by manufacturing fertilizer restore wornout lands, why should that be called socialistic? If so, the Salt River project and the proposed central Arizona project are socialistic.

Why is one sponsored by a Democratic administration called socialistic, while the other sponsored by a Republican administration—the first administration incidentally to have the vision of the wonders of rivers, electricity, and irrigation—accepted as private enterprise?

The Dixon-Yates contract fits in, too. If it was good business for the Salt River project to build its own tax exempt steam plant rather than buy electricity from a local utility company, why should it not be good business for TVA to do the same thing?

The issue of free enterprise is not at stake, because the Dixon-Yates contract is a cinch. There is no risk in it. Its profits are guaranteed by the United States Government. Free enterprise implies taking risks with one's own resources. It is a system of profit and loss. It did not take creative ability to put over the Dixon-Yates contract. All it took was the right kind of political influence.

The value of all this discussion, and the thing that Senator GOLDWATER has overlooked, is that here in Arizona we have proved how the harnessing of rivers, and putting their waters to productive use, can create other Valleys of the Sun, and that just as it took Federal financing and authority to do it here, so will it with other projects of which the TVA is another good example.

Air Force's Military Air Transport Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing an editorial which appeared in my hometown paper the Coshocton Tribune. To say I am in complete accord with this editorial would be putting it in mild terms.

It has been my privilege to be the recipient of MATS efficiency and courtesy. This department and their personnel go way beyond the line of duty as it is often referred to. They have accepted many challenges and hazards and have always responded with honor and distinction. They are entitled to the thanks of us all.

CONGRATULATIONS

When a war is on, we hear a good deal about the Air Force's Military Air Transport Service. We are extremely conscious then of the huge bulk of men and materials which it lifts swiftly and safely to distant battlefield areas. But we seem to forget that this effort goes on with or without a war.

In 1954, its planes averaged a flight over the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean once every 54 minutes. Every hour of the year, MATS airlifted an average of 56 military passengers, 5 medical patients, and more than 20,000 pounds of high-priority cargo and mail.

Congratulations to MATS are clearly merited for a distinguished showing under every sort of hazard and challenge.

Rapid Growth of the San Fernando Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call attention to the rapid growth of the San Fernando Valley. The growth is phenomenal and merits the attention of my colleagues in the Congress of the United States:

VALLEY LEADS LOS ANGELES GROWTH WITH 613,188—COUNTY COMMISSION REPORTS INCREASE TO FIRST OF YEAR

The San Fernando Valley now has 613,188 residents.

This figure, which includes the cities of Burbank and San Fernando, was released today by the county regional planning commission and reports the valley's growth to January 1, 1955.

Meanwhile, the county's total population jumped to a record figure of 4,982,529, according to the report. This represents an increase of 175,896 for the calendar year 1954.

Los Angeles city's population including Torrance, was estimated to 2,228,050, according to the same report.

VALLEY LEADS

The figures for the valley indicate that this is the fastest growing area in the entire county, said Dr. Jackson Mayers, of Valley Junior College sociology department who completed three surveys of the valley.

While central Los Angeles City areas were losing population, the valley section of the city, excluding the cities of Burbank and San Fernando, increased population from 310,964 as of the 1950 census to the present 505,338, Dr. Mayers states.

This represents a 62.5 percent increase in less than 5 years.

HIGHER PERCENTAGE

The totals reveal that the valley is growing at the rate of 3,420 persons a month or 41,000 a year.

The valley growth, Dr. Mayers reported, is the main reason for the 200,586 increase of population in Los Angeles City since 1950. It is responsible for 98 percent of the growth.

Further estimates show that, where the valley was 15.7 percent of the city in 1950, today it has 23 percent of city population.

Burbank, which had 78,577 residents in 1950, now has 92,501. San Fernando City jumped from 12,992 to 15,349 in the same period.

VALLEY POPULATION GAINS 212,077 IN 5 YEARS

(By Dr. Jackson Mayers, sociologist at Valley Junior College)

The all-Valley population gain of 212,077 in less than 5 years since the 1950 census exceeds the population increases of any other major city area in the entire United States, a national comparison revealed today.

With a combined population of 618,343 for Los Angeles city parts of the valley, Burbank, San Fernando, and Calabasas, the San Fernando Valley is accredited with being the fastest growing area of its size in the country. Its population is moving up faster than that of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, the nonvalley parts of Los Angeles city, Detroit, and Baltimore. The valley is also exceeding the growth pace of Cleveland, St. Louis, Washington, D. C., Boston, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and Houston.

Only these cities have larger populations than the San Fernando Valley.

The valley has within it the county's sixth largest town, Van Nuys, which with 94,200 population is exceeded only by Los Angeles city, Long Beach, Hollywood, Pasadena, and Glendale. For the first time Van Nuys has become larger than Burbank which has a population of 92,501.

In 1950 Van Nuys had 57,053 people. The gain in less than 5 years is 65 percent. At its present rate of growth, Van Nuys will become the first city in the San Fernando Valley to pass the 100,000 mark. This record total can be reached some time this year.

Burbank, the second largest valley community, has risen 18 percent over the 78,577 total reported in the 1950 census.

Third place in population goes to North Hollywood with 85,000 people reported as of 1955. This compares to a 1950 total of 69,398, for a rise of 22.5 percent.

The fastest growing town of the whole valley is Reseda with a reported population of 55,000. This represents a 234 percent rise over the 16,456 figure of 1950.

Right behind is Pacoima which registered a 1955 population of 48,000. The total is almost exactly double the 24,301 reported in 1950.

SUN VALLEY UP 39 PERCENT

Sun Valley is up 39 percent to 32,500 people. In 1950 it had 23,359 people.

Studio City with 29,000 is up 37 percent over the 1950 total of 21,046.

With 20,500 people Sherman Oaks showed a rise of 33 percent over the 1950 figure of 15,425.

These increases give the valley 8 cities with populations of 20,000 or more.

Calabasas, which is outside Los Angeles city, has a reported 4,155 people. The city of San Fernando reached 15,349.

Significance of the figures is that city areas of this size are well beyond any known suburb size. These areas are now in the city class. They are meeting most of the basic needs of their populations in essential respects. The Los Angeles area is now changed from a major city and many suburbs to a series of cities, one beside the other. A series of multiple nuclei have come into existence.

In 1959, Los Angeles was the only major city to have less population than the surrounding towns in the county. Los Angeles was outnumbered by 51 percent against 49 percent. It is not dominant in a population sense as is, say, the city of Chicago, where the main city represents 75 percent of Cook County population.

VALLEY HIGH IN NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION

San Fernando Valley (exclusive of Burbank and San Fernando cities) finished

fourth in the Nation in new construction valuation for 1954, according to figures of 40 leading cities, compiled by Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.

Building total here exceeded that of St. Louis, Washington, D. C., Miami, and Minneapolis combined. Following is the table of construction valuations for 1954:

New York	$546,570,149
Los Angeles	408,671,889
Chicago	229,881,300
San Fernando Valley	208,912,098
Houston	165,338,198
Dallas	142,690,046
Philadelphia	137,508,800
Detroit	126,511,219
Milwaukee	102,241,364
Denver	100,569,348
Baltimore	89,122,612
Atlanta	87,541,690
Seattle	77,188,350
San Diego	72,379,291
Cleveland	62,255,000
St. Louis	60,683,304
Kansas City, Mo.	58,674,000
San Antonio	58,307,589
San Francisco	57,745,732
Washington, D. C.	55,687,881
New Orleans	54,948,128
Cincinnati	53,772,510
Portland, Oreg.	50,525,755
Memphis	49,178,068
Miami, Fla.	49,019,186
Oklahoma City	48,515,918
Fort Worth	47,081,476
Austin, Tex.	45,538,709
Long Beach, Calif.	45,258,150
Columbus, Ohio	44,813,590
Wichita	41,416,975
Jacksonville	41,208,690
Tampa	40,944,437
Spokane	40,713,804

Mr. Sam Makes History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH A. GAMBLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. GAMBLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared January 4, 1955, in the issue of the Daily Times published at Mamaroneck, N. Y., titled: "Mr. Sam Makes History."

It pleased me and I think it will please you, Mr. Speaker.

MR. SAM MAKES HISTORY

When SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, is elected Speaker of the House of Representatives tomorrow, he will be establishing historic records.

For one thing, he will be only the second man in all our history—and the first since the Civil War—to be elected Speaker after he had lost the post twice before. Mr. RAYBURN held that office in 1940–1947 and again in 1949–1953. Now he makes it for the third time.

For another point, this is the first time that a Speaker has been chosen for a seventh term.

And, too, Mr. RAYBURN has already served as Speaker for 10 years, 3½ months, which is the all-time record for that job. His new tenure will add years to that record and establish it as even harder for successors to surpass.

Lastly, Mr. RAYBURN heads the list of all our Congressmen in seniority. He now begins his 22d consecutive term since he first took his seat in the House on March 4, 1913.

This has been the record, mind you, of a man who on Thursday celebrates his 73d birthday. Like "Veep" BARKLEY, of Kentucky, who at 77 returns to the Senate over which he once presided, "Mr. SAM" of the Fourth Texas Congressional District, doesn't allow age to slow him down.

And it is comforting that we have in the important post of Speaker, one with his experience and wisdom. For he is second in line of Presidential succession.

Great Lakes Connecting Channels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced legislation which will bring ocean-going vessels to the docks of Milwaukee and other Great Lakes harbors beyond Lake Erie.

The Common Council of the City of Milwaukee has recently adopted a resolution which supports the attempts to deepen the connecting channels of the Great Lakes.

We have heard many eloquent speeches recently on the necessity for expanded foreign trade, in which I strongly concur. The people of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Michigan are inclined to support the reciprocal trade bill, because they see the day approaching when all the Great Lakes will become an artery for foreign trade.

It is inconsistent, Mr. Speaker, for the House of Representatives to support expanded foreign trade, if we do not at the same time support legislation which will enable deep draft ocean navigation to enter the great commercial heart of America, the Middle West.

I therefore commend the following resolution adopted by the Common Council of the city of Milwaukee, February 8, 1955:

Resolution regarding Federal legislation and appropriations to deepen connecting channels of the Great Lakes

Whereas the Governments of the United States and Canada are now engaged in the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway project, which, when completed in 1959, will open the port of Milwaukee and other cities of the Great Lakes to deep draft ocean navigation, with great benefits to the economy of the entire midcontinent area and to national defense; and

Whereas the St. Lawrence seaway project will provide 27-foot navigation only to Lake Erie, and the connecting channels of the Great Lakes in the Detroit River, St. Clair River, Straits of Mackinac, and St. Marys River will require deepening in order to bring the full benefits of the St. Lawrence seaway project and deep-draft navigation to the ports of Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior; and

Whereas, entirely aside from the requirements of the St. Lawrence seaway project, the deepening of Great Lakes shipping channels is timely and necessary to utilize to full capacity the many large vessels which have entered service on the Great Lakes recently, representing an investment of hundreds of millions of dollars, and which are now unable to operate at full capacity due to channel depth limitations; and

Whereas the deepening of Great Lakes connecting channels will add to the efficiency of lake and ocean shipping and will confer great economic benefits on the commerce of the Great Lakes and of the entire Middle West, and is consistent with the trend toward deep-draft shipping and the substantial deepening of seaboard harbors at many localities; and

Whereas congressional legislation for this purpose should be given high priority so that the deepening of Great Lakes connecting channels may be completed in time to coincide with the completion of the St. Lawrence seaway project: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee, Wis., That this body hereby declares its vigorous support for legislation to authorize the deepening of Great Lakes connecting channels and the appropriation of funds for that purpose by the Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives from Wisconsin be requested to exert their best efforts to secure the passage of such authorizing and appropriating legislation by the 84th Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That the Board of Harbor Commissioners and other interested city officials and departments be authorized by this Common Council to take all steps necessary to further the progress of connecting channels deepening legislation, and to collaborate with all other ports, associations, and interests working toward this end; and be it further

Resolved, That certified copies of this resolution be transmitted by the city clerk to the President of the United States; to the Senators and Members in Congress from the State of Wisconsin; to the Public Works Committee, House of Representatives; to the Commerce Committee, United States Senate; and to the Chief of Engineers, United States Army.

Security Risks and the Risks To Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following address by Harlan Cleveland, executive editor of the Reporter, given at the Rockdale Avenue Temple, in Cincinnati, Ohio, on January 23, 1955, is most appropriate. I direct it to the attention of our colleagues:

SECURITY RISKS AND THE RISKS TO FREEDOM
(By Harlan Cleveland)

Your celebration tonight, 300 years after the first Jewish settlement in America, is bound to remind us of what the Jews have done to build our country. In the spirit of the occasion, perhaps I should take a text from one Jew who laid a calming hand on the Nation's brow in a moment of stress and unreason.

He was Jacob Henry, one of our first security risks. You'll remember that he represented Carteret County in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1808, and was reelected in 1809. Two weeks after the session of 1809 opened, a colleague from Rockingham County moved that Jacob Henry's seat be vacated because, contrary to the constitutional requirement, he "denies the divine authority of the New Testa-

ment, and refused to take the oath prescribed by law for his qualification."

Debate started the next day, and Jacob Henry made a speech justly famous for its rhetoric—and famous also because he was right and his opponents were wrong. "The day, I trust, is long past," said Jacob Henry, "when principles merely speculative were propagated by force. * * * The proud monuments of liberty knew that * * * governments were only concerned about the actions and conduct of man, and not his speculative notions. * * * Will you bind the conscience in chains, and fasten conviction upon the mind, in spite of the conclusions of reason, and of those ties and habitudes which are blended with every pulsation of the heart?"

Jacob Henry won his fight, but he couldn't win ours. We have to do that ourselves. A few years ago, the phrase "security risk" was just another piece of Washington jargon. Now the phrase and all it connotes, sits like a heavy rock on the Nation's conscience, and we have to ask once more, "Will you bind the conscience in chains, and fasten conviction upon the mind?"

A few weeks ago, Albert Einstein wrote our magazine a letter commenting on a series of articles about American science. "Instead of trying to analyze the problem," he said, "I may express my feeling in a short remark: If I would be a young man again and had to decide how to make my living, I would not try to become a scientist or scholar or teacher. I would rather choose to be a plumber or a peddler in the hope to find that degree of independence still available under present circumstances."

At about the same time, these other things were happening:

The chief of a special mission to Brazil was trying to explain to his Brazilian host why the American Government had assigned a detective to accompany him. How could he explain it? The security officer was along to check up, not on the Brazilians but on the members of the American mission.

A friend of mine, back from Germany, showed me a dossier 3 inches thick. "I collected all these papers," he said proudly, "to prove beyond question that I resigned from the Government. Otherwise, everybody will think I was fired."

A Foreign Service officer named John Paton Davies was released from the State Department. Secretary of State Dulles had found that his reporting on China showed a definite lack of judgment, discretion, and reliability. During the next few days, Mr. Dulles showed how much these security questions tug at a man's conscience. The very next day, the Secretary of State called Davies' lawyer to say he would be glad for Davies to use his name as a reference with any future employer. A few days later, the Secretary was quoted by a visitor as still worried. The interview had nothing to do with Davies; but referring to the subject of discussion, the Secretary reportedly said, in effect: "This is very much like the Davies case. We know what is the right thing to do, but we can't of course afford to do it."

Over at the Department of Agriculture, a veteran farm attaché was thrown out. The State Department's security office had cleared him, but Secretary Benson had read part of the file to the President, and the President had said the file scared him. Harold Stassen rehired the man for a sensitive job in a sensitive country, but the President declined to tell his press conference he thought Secretary Benson had been wrong.

At about the same time these more or less tragic events were transpiring, the security program also had its lighthearted side. In one Government agency, a man was called on the carpet by the security office. He had been observed the previous evening with a blonde in a downtown cocktail lounge. How come? The employee, who liked his work, swallowed the obvious retort that it was none of the Government's business, and produced evidence that the blonde was his cousin, in town for a short visit.

In a municipal court, somewhere in the United States, a drunk refused to answer a question, and said he would "stand on the fifth commandment." The magistrate was equal to the occasion. "You mean you honor your father and your mother?" he retorted. "O. K. Now answer the question."

I understand a Hebrew proverb has it that if God were living on earth, people would break his windows. The tropic growth of the Government's security program tempts me to bring this saying up to date. Nowadays, if God were living on earth, he would be a security risk.

What's got into us, anyway?

It's hard to remember now how recent it all is. In 1939, 15 years ago, when the Russians had been in power already for 22 years, we had no general security program, not even in the Federal Government. That was the year I entered the public service. I was hired under a civil-service code that started out with rule 1, published by the Civil Service Commission in 1884. Listen a moment to rule 1:

"No question in any form or application in any examination shall be so framed as to elicit information concerning the political or religious opinions or affiliations of any applicant, nor shall any inquiry be made concerning such opinions or affiliations, and all disclosures thereof shall be discountenanced."

I didn't realize it at the time, but in the same year I joined the Government, rule 1 was consiged to the ashcan by the first Hatch Act. For that law, signed in 1939, made it illegal for any Federal employee "to have membership in any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States."

Who's to say what organizations are advocating the overthrow of the United States Government? As the Communist techniques became better known, during and after the war, it was clear that they didn't operate as a direct party of revolution, but as a kind of central gland for secreting into the national bloodstream a constant flow of loyal Communists. They worked through what they called front organizations—which were any organizations they could infiltrate and control—unions, peace societies, research groups, fraternal, and even religious organizations.

The best way to infiltrate any American organization is no mystery. Try it yourself: Just speak up often, take on more than your share of the disagreeable routine work any club has to get done, and arrange for someone to nominate you for the executive committee. The Communists, often concealing their party ties, tried this tested formula in thousands of organizations. Sometimes they succeeded; much, much more often, they failed. But they always tried.

That is why the Department of Justice, which had to decide what organizations the Hatch Act was talking about, developed a list of organizations the Communists tried to infiltrate. From that point on, each step was like dry martinis to a souse: easy to take, hard to retract.

We're used to blaming Congress for our latter-day intoxication with security, but it's the executive branch that mixed the headiest drinks. It was a Cabinet member, Tom Clark, who published the Attorney General's list of organizations classed as subversive. It was the overloaded security officers in the executive departments who started dispensing with real detective work and relying on a mechanical cross-referencing of names on letterheads and mailing lists of the proscribed organizations. President Truman, not Congress, issued the first loyalty order—and tightened it later by shifting to the accused the burden of proving there was no reasonable doubt of his loyalty. President Eisenhower, not Congress, replaced the loyalty criterion with the broader concepts of security risks, lumping into a single category Communists, drunks, perverts, overtalkative folk and Americans with relatives stuck behind the Iron Curtain.

Last year, the administration carried the whole process one step further. To prove its patriotism and win elections, it started publishing statistics about how many Federal workers had been fired or resigned with derogatory material in their files.

I have seen some of these security files, while I was working in Washington, and the term "derogatory material" can mean anything or nothing. Everybody these days has known at least one man who, like a friend of mine, has to spend months or years overcoming some casual informant's memory that he was considered a "pink" in the middle thirties. My own favorite case is the one made public by Anthony Lewis, a reporter for the Washington Daily News. In this case, "the employee was accused of associating with a writer who will go here by the name of John Brigby Jones. The charge continued: 'Information indicates that John Brigby Jones was author of a book which was advertised in a Louis Adamic publication. Louis Adamic had been listed as an official of the Progressive Party in Philadelphia in 1948, which has been cited as a Communist-front organization by the California Tenney Legislative Committee.' This might best be called wandering guilt—from the Progressive Party to the late Mr. Adamic, to his publication, to a book advertised in it, to the author (who may not have placed the ad), and finally to his acquaintance, the accused Government worker."

To support this kind of reasoning, a whole system of scholarship is now established and expanding with extraordinary speed. It is said the FBI alone has dossiers of disloyalty on 5 to 10 million Americans—no inconsiderable fact by itself, when you consider that at least 1 man, cleared after a long security hearing, was reportedly fired because the agency head was uncomfortable about having in his employ "a man with such a thick security file." These 5 or 10 million names, and many more who could be added to the list on the same criteria, are people who belonged or were on mailing lists of organizations which the Communists tried—and in many cases failed—to capture. The dossiers include lots of "Unevaluated Intelligence," raw data, casual, spiteful, or inaccurately transcribed remarks by informants whose names are not given and who often have not been investigated for reliability themselves.

This system of scholarship is duplicated in some measure by several congressional and State committees, and a growing number of businesses, schools, foundations, and private detective agencies. For the sickness we call security is contagious. It spreads like an ink stain on a blotter—in all directions.

It spreads, first, in extent. Quite apart from the Government's 2½ million servants, and the employees of all the States, and all the members of the Army, the Navy, Air Force, and the Marines, the fear of security risks now pervades every organization that deals with the Government, gets money from the Government, gets tax exemption from the Government, is regulated by the Government, or hopes for future business from the Government. The budding scholarship of security is called on to judge whether literally millions of people will be employed at all—scientists in private firms; workers and executives in defense plants—and their subcontractors; students and researchers on grants from the Government or tax-exempt foundations; actors and writers working in

movies or TV; faculty members in any college or university that may want to get Government contracts to fatten its budget; all merchant seamen; anyone who wants a United States passport; and many, many other categories. The unworried American who today has no occasion to search his memory and put his files and scrapbooks in order is a member of a rapidly dwindling minority.

The search for the riskless society spreads in other ways, too. Once every Government agency has a police department, it's natural for the police to be given added functions, like checking up on the morals and ensuring decorous use by every employee of his leisure time. I'm not joking; a recent Budget Bureau order tells every Washington agency to do just that. Hence the questions about the blond cousin in the cocktail lounge.

The search for risks is also pursued with modernized techniques. A man's private life is now subject to invasion by a widening variety of electronic devices, used by Government and private gumshoes alike: we are already in the era of wrist-watch radios, observation by concealed television, and unbelievably efficient microphones for use in recording your lightest and most private word.

The security system spreads finally through vaguer and vaguer criteria for judgment. A whole tradition of dangling definitions and open-ended categories is in the making. The famous State Department order in 1953, ordering its information outlets not to use "material by any Communists, fellow travelers, etc.," was not so far ahead of its time, after all. The main grist of the security system today is not the Communists, but the "et ceteras."

We have nearly reached the point where the burden of proof is on every American to demonstrate beyond a reasonable doubt that he is not an "et cetera."

Let us not fail to remember that this didn't all start with the late McCarthy or any of his political ancestors like Gerald L. K. Smith.

It started with the Communists. The security system began as a natural and healthy reaction to their stealthy duplicity, their secret double lives, their use of the lie as an instrument of power. The Communists tried to take over the centers of power and thought in this country—and failed. But they also tried to break up that sense of community in which our high morale as a nation has always been rooted.

Let's constantly remember this: that to dissolve this sense of community, this "stickum" of mutual trust, is the main concern of our enemies. Even more important than sending spies into our midst is to plant the idea that there are spies in our midst, that no man can be trusted, that even good friends may be secretly vile. As Learned Hand said, "A community is already in the process of dissolution where every man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy."

Twelve years ago, the Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung explained how men could be persuaded to an appreciation of communism:

"If the reasoning is good, if it is to the point, it can be effective. The first method in reasoning," Mao went on to say, "is to give the patients a powerful stimulus, yell at them, 'you're sick,' so the patients will have a fright and break out in an overall sweat; then they can be carefully treated."

We refused to listen to the Communists, but we didn't have an equal resistance when American patriots also yelled at us, "you're sick." In opposing Communist infiltration, we somehow fell into the other trap the Communists had laid for us. Faced by men who found a career in anticommunism, we started helping them to dissolve the "stickum" of mutual trust that holds our society together.

We hear a lot these days about a broad religious revival in this country. Certainly there are more members of most churches than there have ever been before—a higher proportion of the people professing religion than was present in the Thirteen Original Colonies, which were supposedly peopled with men and women who left Europe so they could practice their religion in peace. If there is such a revival, it is probably not due to a greater acceptance of the antique rituals of your church or mine. More likely, it is because all of us are seeking to rediscover a sense of community we feel we have lost, a sense of community on which our free political institutions themselves are based. We Americans hold shares in a great tradition, a long and noble experience in which a revulsion against torture racks and star chambers produced the great political guaranties that are built into our Constitution.

We all feel, a little desperately, that if the "glue" of community is loosened, the tradition of political freedom can also disappear. That is why so many people feel as Albert Schweitzer wrote in one of his gloomier moments, that "we are not far from shipwreck on the rock of wanting to have even truth organized." Schweitzer overcame his gloom with action. To the question, "Whether I am a pessimist or an optimist," he said, "I answer that my knowledge is pessimistic, but my willing and hoping are optimistic." We can, will, and hope to change our course. But how?

There is much talk these days of a national commission to study the whole security system. Let's see if we can foresee, in outline, the kind of reasoning that a suitable commission might apply to its problem.

First, the commission will have to pin down just why it is that the security system so offends the national sense of what's right, why it cuts so abrasively across the American feeling of community. Surely the answer here is that it introduces an absolute into a political system that has always thrived on moderation, tolerance, the Aristotelian mean. It tries to eliminate risk utterly. It assumes there are absolute secrets which can be absolutely guarded from disclosure to our enemies. It tries to cover everybody.

It flies in the face of the American tradition that men can know something besides the official truth and say something besides the accepted norm. What Milton called the right to say "No" to the authorities is still our most precious social asset.

Our commission will, therefore, have to start by declaring the validity, for our time and Nation, of those same ancient truths and great principles which Jacob Henry used to defend himself in 1809.

It probably won't be able to improve, in this department, on what great American jurists have already said. Listen to Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, in the unanimous DeJonge decision: "The greater the importance of safeguarding the community from incitements to the overthrow of our Constitution by force and violence, the more imperative is the need to preserve inviolate the constitutional rights of free speech, free press, and free assembly in order to maintain the opportunity for free political discussion, to the end that Government may be responsible to the will of the people and that changes, if desired, may be obtained by peaceful means. Therein lies the security of the Republic, the very foundation of constitutional government."

The commission can borrow, too, from the recent statement by the board of directors of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which made clear that there is no such thing as a permanent scientific secret, and introduced the arresting thought that every person is to some extent, however small, a security risk.

With this perspective on its problem, the commission should be able to decide against trying to create a riskless society. But what kind of a security system should it set up in place of the Gargantua that now, as Mao Tse-tung would wish, causes us to break out in an overall sweat?

The key elements of a rebuilt system, I think, would be these:

1. The new system would cover only a limited number of people, in positions that are really of first importance to the national security.

2. It would encourage Government administrators to weigh the balance of risks, in using or not using a man in the Government's employ. It would thus place the stress on looking at the whole man, not at some isolated incidents or writings or impressions he has made on others.

3. It would abandon the lumping of disloyalty with other reasons for denying to a man the opportunity for public service. It may be impossible to avoid a procedure whereby a disloyal employee is fired with public knowledge of the reason for firing him. But no conceivable case can be made for a system which implies that everybody leaving the Government was a potential traitor.

4. Finally, and most important, there must be some regular judicial review of the whole process—complete with the presumption of innocence, the elimination of hearsay evidence, confrontation of witnesses, and the rest of the safeguards that have been developed in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence over the centuries. Nothing short of a central review by men qualified to make considered judgments after listening to the whole story, will satisfy that underrated critic of every public policy, the American sense of fair play. John Lord O'Brien put it this way in a 1952 lecture: "The right to a hearing—the right to a fair hearing—involves a moral principle and one recognized as an element of public morality long before the adoption of the Constitution. It has become a legal right because it was a moral right, and the age-old test remains unchanged—the test of what is fair between man and man. This phase of the American tradition is the most precious heritage that has come down to us. It must not be sacrificed now."

The sickness which afflicts us, being partly psychosomatic, will not be cured just by taking pills marked "fair procedures." But in revising the procedures and restating our principles, we can perhaps begin to glue back together the sense of community, the lack of which has been so important a part of our national nervous breakdown. And if we recover our balance in the Government's security system, the privately sponsored erosion of our sense of community can more readily be checked.

Community, not conformity. On this point, Jacob Henry gave us a way to remember the difference: "When Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, tired of the cares of government, resigned his crown to this son, he retired to a monastery, where he amused the evening of his life, in regulating the movements of watches, endeavoring to make a number keep the same time, but not being able to make any two exactly alike, it led him to reflect upon the folly and crimes he had committed, in attempting the impossibility of making men think alike."

Lithuanian Independence

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to have this privilege to pay tribute to the Lithuanians on

the 37th anniversary of their Independence Day.

There are certain things we value so highly that we carefully preserve them from the erosion and forgetfulness of time. There are certain events which we consider of such great significance that we take care always to preserve their memory. Time and time again we advert to these events for inspiration. Time and again we find ourselves drawn to them with a solemn sense of awe and reverence, because we realize that they are milestones of vital significance in man's struggle toward a higher and better life.

Such an event is the proclamation of Lithuanian independence. And such are our feelings when we celebrate Lithuanian Independence Day, the national holiday of all Lithuanians.

After February 16 of 1918, the day on which Lithuania was proclaimed an independent Republic, the history of that land was first a happy one, but then, when the Nazis and Soviet Communists decided to destroy its freedom it entered into a time of serious troubles. Thus, since the proclamation of independence in 1918 Lithuania has experienced both happiness and misery, prosperity and poverty, progressive democracy and totalitarian dictatorship.

The first two decades of Lithuania's independence were a blessing to its peace-loving, hard-working, and patriotic inhabitants. In the course of that short time, from 1919 to 1939, the country was definitely on the road to prosperity and progress, and the people were happy in rebuilding the economic and political life of their reconstituted country. They were not only learning the hard but useful lessons of democracy, but they were also practicing it in their daily communal and national life.

In those relatively calm days when the cold war was unheard of and World War II was not even thought of, Lithuania seemed to be safe and secure. However, as it turned out, the Lithuanians were not masters of their country's fate, nor could they assure its peaceful destiny. There came a turn of international events that has proved disastrous and quite tragic to Lithuania since 1939.

Lithuania's independence was one of the first casualties of World War II, and now, for almost 16 years, the unfortunate Lithuanians have been suffering under the worst of tyrannies. In 1940 their country was annexed to the Soviet Union; in 1941 it was overrun by Nazi forces; in 1944 the Nazis were evicted by the Red army, which came and took over Lithuania in the name of the Soviet Union.

Since those dark days Moscow's agents have turned the country into a prison. Just what the exact situation is in Lithuania we in the West have no way of knowing in detail, because for more than a decade the country has been sealed off from the West. We often get reports or rumors to the effect that there is considerable underground resistance to the Communist regime. Unfortunately, however, a totalitarian dictatorship, once imposed, is difficult to dislodge.

We who understand the plight of the Lithuanians and sympathize with them think of that historic day when they proclaimed their independence and ardently hope that soon they will be able to celebrate in freedom this national holiday in their homeland.

Statement by Ben A. Droski, President of Michigan Federation of Post Office Clerks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, in compliance with a request, I wish to include the following statement by Mr. Ben A. Droski, president of the Michigan Federation of Post Office Clerks:

MICHIGAN FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS FAVOR BILLS H. R. 2117, H. R. 2118, H. R. 1572, AND REJECT H. R. 2987 IN POSTAL EMPLOYEES PAY INCREASE STRUGGLE

(Statement by Ben A. Droski, president, Michigan Federation of Post Office Clerks)

At present, before the House Post Office Committee, numerous pay bills for postal employees are being considered. The employee organizations of the rank-and-file postal employees, which by far exceed all other organizations, are chiefly interested in supporting H. R. 2117, H. R. 2118, and H. R. 1572. These bills include a 10-percent increase with a retroactive clause, an across-the-board raise in all grades. At this point however, this organization would like to stipulate that, only due to the decision of the Government Employees Council, which our national office is affiliated, does it support the 10 percent, the original sum of $800 is the right figure and amount needed to substantially attain an American standard of living.

REJECTION OF H. R. 298 RECLASSIFICATION BILL AND 5-PERCENT INCREASE

This organization definitely opposes H. R. 2987, the bill submitted by Congressman TOM MURRAY in behalf of the Post Office Department. This latter bill contains a 5-percent raise plus a reclassification of the entire postal-pay structure. Here are the reasons of the Michigan Federation of Post Office Clerks for this action:

First, the waste of time to consider a proposal of reclassification that would be of no value to the rank and file, should not be borne by the Congress.

Second, the 5 percent offered is not a raise. In full agreement with the Judiciary Committee and the many testimonials given in behalf of a raise for Congressmen and Federal judges, that a raise has been long overdue, the postal employees are seeking a substantial raise of more than 5 percent, and those who believe they can only afford 5 percent, are not sincere in wanting to give the postal people a raise at all.

CONGRESSMEN FORTUNATE IN QUEST FOR PAY INCREASE HAVE NO PERCENTAGE OF RECLASSIFICATION TO CONTEND WITH

The Congressmen are fortunate in their pay quest. They have no percentage to worry about, neither do they have a proposal to be reclassified. However, let us suppose they did have the latter issue to guard against, and suppose it featured the proposals such as the Post Office Department wishes to impose on their employees, here is how it could happen: Congressmen's pay could be judged in accordance with the number of constituents in his or her district. Such as the number of positions that some of the first-class post offices provide, some large offices and some small, which reclassification would be unfair to. The Congressmen's district could be judged on its importance, classification being rural, residential, or industrial, this in the post office would be, first-, second-, and third-class offices.

A Congressman beginning his first term would probably have to start at a smaller entrance salary. His first term being new to him, he would have to attain his experience before he can become qualified, such as a substitute in the post office. However, if called upon, he could fill in a responsible position, if he were reclassified.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

If a Congressman were appointed to a committee of lesser importance, under reclassification his duties would be enumerated as such, thus his pay would be governed accordingly. Under the Post Office Department reclassification principle—equal pay for equal work.

Unassigned Congressmen, or unfixed key positions as the Reclassification Act calls for in the Post Office, would have the Speaker of the House provide their category, and would determine the applicable salary level. This is what could happen to a Congressman under a mythical reclassification act, and what would happen to a postal employee if he were restricted to such a proposal.

RESPONSIBILITY WITH SAME PAY

It is an established fact that a Congressman can do whatever job he is assigned to. He receives the same pay as his colleague. They will receive a straight across-the-board increase, not in accordance with their importance or responsibility. They are all important in all phases of duties the same as a postal employee.

In reference to the postal employees, the whole situation would be different if they themselves were griping about the responsibilities they all share, but they are not. Why then start a revolution such as reclassification; it wouldn't affect any rank and file employee to receive any benefits; in fact it would cause so much friction that Congress would have to include another addition to the legislation; this would be the provision for another key position known as POP's (post-office patrolmen) in the post offices to keep law and order.

SUBSTANTIAL RAISE FOR ALL

The postal employees are only asking for a substantial raise, straight across the line, noe of this 5-percent stuff; this wouldn't pay the income tax on our part-time jobs we have at present; let's decide on a real, sincere raise, justifiable to the difference of a Congressman's cost of living today and in 1939.

To make a more rapid motion, let's make this an emergency issue; it has been since 1951; that's long enough; hurry it out for a vote on the floor of the Congress. We trust in your judgment; you have our facts, and very small wage figures to consult, how can you go astray? Thank you for this opportunity to enlarge upon the feelings of the employees who are members of this great organization.

Navy Supercarriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the

following editorial from the February 9 issue of the Bremerton Sun. Recently I pointed out what seemed to me a weakness in our legislative procedure whereby, unless Congress is alert, our military policy could be dictated by appropriations rather than after the careful study and consideration of the Committee on Armed Services. The analysis of the Bremerton Sun covers this point:

Kitsap's Congressman, TOM PELLY, made a solid case when, in bucking Congressman CANNON on the Missourian's opposition to construction of another Navy supercarrier, he pointed up a dangerous situation which exists in the Congress.

PELLY said he is fearful the time may come when the Appropriations Committee, such as the one headed by CANNON, actually could dictate this Nation's defense and military policy merely through the device of controlling appropriations.

Our Congressman concedes the likelihood of this at the moment is remote and emphasizes the strong support being given the second supercarrier idea by Chairman VINSON of the Armed Services Committee. PELLY believes any quarrel now between the armed services and Appropriations Committees would be decided by the House in favor of a strong military policy. But he points to historic congressional respect for committee decision and warns: "In other words, unwittingly, we might scuttle our aircraft-carrier program and our national-defense policy. I'm sure we won't, but we might."

From what we understand of the battle swirling around CANNON's head, we feel sure PELLY is right. At the moment CANNON—once a highly respected champion of the taxpayer through his advocacy of economy and a balanced budget—is embroiled in a purely political battle apparently of his own doing. Reinstated as chairman in the Democrat control of the House, he is acting like a minor tyrant in attempting to give out subcommittee leadership posts on a basis of personal favor. He thus is earning the disfavor of many who once supported him.

As a matter of fact, CLARENCE CANNON very well may be spiking his own guns. This should make it all the easier for PELLY and VINSON and other advocates of the supercarrier to push that project along.

Nevertheless, PELLY's initial point still remains a dangerous warning. The overlapping jurisdiction of House committees does present an ever-present situation which, theoretically, could result in a dollar-conscious Appropriations Committee actually writing the Nation's defense policy.

Exchange of Letters With General MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I have recently had an exchange of correspondence with Gen. Douglas MacArthur which, I am certain, will be of utmost interest to all Members of Congress and to the Nation as a whole.

On January 26, General MacArthur delivered an address in Los Angeles which aroused deep national interest. In it he urged the United States to proclaim its readiness to abolish war, in concert with the other powers of the world. After reading his address in the newspapers, I wrote to him on February 3 and offered to introduce a resolution in Congress declaring that "it is the will of the American people to abolish war as a means of settling international disputes."

On February 7, General MacArthur replied to my letter saying it would require more than congressional expression "to trigger a worldwide movement for the abolition of war." Instead of a resolution, he suggested that I present the matter on the floor of the House and from here "build up gradually to more aggressive action to implement the basic concept."

Mr. Speaker, I shall be glad to take up General MacArthur's suggestion and I hope to bring this matter to the attention of the House in the near future at which time I will be ready to discuss it in greater detail and to present my views on the subject.

I am extremely interested in the idea of developing a people-to-people approach to the problem of international peace, and I shall utilize all efforts in that direction. I welcome the views and suggestions of anyone who can contribute constructively toward the furtherance of this idea.

In the meantime, I desire to place into the RECORD the exchange of correspondence between General MacArthur and myself:

FEBRUARY 3, 1955.

Gen. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR GENERAL MACARTHUR: I was very much interested in your statement which I read in the New York Times, urging the abolition of war. This is very commendable on your part and certainly you, as the greatest living soldier, are qualified to speak on this subject.

What do you think of my introducing a resolution in Congress declaring that it is the will of the American people to abolish war as a means of settling international disputes? The approved resolution of the Congress, signed by the President of the United States, should also call upon all other nations to adopt similar resolutions.

I am not sufficiently convinced that the United Nations is doing the job intended for it. I favor more of a people-to-people approach to the problem.

Before doing this I would be most appreciative of your views and any further suggestions.

In high esteem, I remain
Sincerely yours,
VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
Member of Congress.

FEBRUARY 7, 1955.

The Honorable VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ANFUSO: I am grateful indeed for the support of my views on the futility of war as reflected in your thoughtful note of February 3.

It has always been my opinion that war's abolition can only come about through the emergence of a leadership in world affairs with the strength and vision and moral courage to proclaim a readiness in concert with other major powers, to enforce it as a matter of constitutional doctrine by specific constitutional proscription. There is no doubt in my mind but that the great masses of every nation in the world, whether on this side of the Iron Curtain or on the other, would, as a matter of self-interest and protection, fully support such a constitutional limitation upon political power and zealously guard it against any despot's violation or abuse. For even in totalitarian regimes the leaders show at least token respect for the constitutional rights of the citizenry. This because all people, even those partially enslaved under oligarchic rule, have grown to look to their constitutions as the final repository and safeguard of their remaining liberties. Thus today, even the Soviet leaders do not so defy the will of the masses as to openly nullify their constitution. They may fool them. They may ignore rights to individual protection. They may sugar-coat many of the constitutional provisions to make them appear to give to the people rights and liberties which they do not in fact give, but they do give them a body of constitutional laws as something they have grown to expect and to demand, just as they constantly prate about peace being the ultimate objective of all public policy because they fear the masses will revolt against any course openly leading to war.

So in my opinion, it would take more than the congressional expression which you suggest to trigger a worldwide movement for the abolition of war. It would take a ringing affirmation of a dedicated leader commanding universal respect, capable of arousing the conscience of mankind into a crusade against lagging leaders who in the mad lust for ever increased political power willfully ignore the realism that war as an instrument of political power has been outmoded by the advance of science. I do not know when this Nation will be blessed by such a leadership but I pray that it will be before it has been drawn through the tragedy of another and infinitely worse cataclysmic conflict.

I would therefore suggest that instead of submitting a resolution, that you limit yourself initially to presenting your basic views on the floor of the House. From such a beginning you could build up gradually to more aggressive action to implement the basic concept.

With every good wish,
Most cordially,
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR.

History's Little Joke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article, written by Joseph Alsop, which appeared in the February 13, 1955, issue of the New York Herald Tribune:

HISTORY'S LITTLE JOKE
(By Joseph Alsop)

TACHEN ISLANDS.—If you want the real measure of what has happened to the Eisenhower administration and American foreign policy in the last 2 years, consider the story of those barren, controversial rocks, the Tachen Islands. If it were not so serious, it would be a cosmic joke. The background of the drama of the evacuation of the Tachens has been simple enough. It is no secret that for 10 days or so Chiang Kai-shek balked bitterly at making a present of the Tachens to the Communists. The Eisenhower administration had to press Chiang very hard, indeed, to take his troops off the Tachens before the Chinese Communists attacked them.

The joke lies in the fact that just 2 years ago the shoe was on exactly the other foot.

Those were the brave early days of Eisenhower policymaking. There was no talk then of cease-fires and peaceful coexistence, and the like. Instead the watchwords were liberation, dynamic new foreign policy, recaptured initiative, and the "unleashing of Chiang Kai-shek."

President Eisenhower's dramatic announcement that after being wickedly held in check by the Truman administration, the Generalissimo had now been boldly unleashed by the Republicans, caused a wave of reaction that reached all the way to the rocky Tachens.

At that time the islands were held by light guerrilla forces, hardly more important than those which fought for Yikiang-shan through close to 3 bloody days. The Formosa Government considered the Tachens too distant from the main island to be covered by air or supplied by sea. The Generalissimo and his military advisers did not wish, therefore, to commit either their prestige or large components of their regular forces to the defense of the Tachens. In short, the islands were then being treated as expendable.

But President Eisenhower had given the watchword. Chiang Kai-shek was unleashed. The Tachens were doubly valuable, as a base for irregular guerrilla operations on the mainland and as a forward radar warning point for both Formosa and Okinawa. So the American military advisory group on Formosa began pressing Chiang Kai-shek very hard to put regulars on the Tachens. This was one of the measures devised in Washington to give a little reality to the famous unleashing. The Americans did not win their point with ease. The Generalissimo was extremely reluctant to put regulars on the Tachens. Certain key Chinese military leaders, particularly the chief of staff of that period, Gen. Chou Chi-jo, resisted the American project to the end. None the less, as usually happens on Formosa, the American advisers triumphed in the end.

The 46th Division was specially chosen to be sent to the islands. Even after the 46th had been installed and the defense positions had been organized, however, the American advisers of the Chinese Government were still dissatisfied.

The commander on the Tachens, Gen. Hu Tsung-nan, was one of the old boys of the Chinese Nationalist Army, with a record that did not inspire confidence.

Once again heavy American pressure was put on the Generalissimo to replace the Tachen commander. When this reporter was in Formosa last year, the Americans had just won their second victory for the defense of the Tachens. Gen. Hu Tsung-nan had been recalled and the able Gen. Liu Nien-li had just been given the Tachen command, which he still holds.

In those days, too, one of the real wonders of Formosa was the world's most uncovered covert operation, the American financed Western Enterprises. Western Enterprises combined the claim to invisibility with a private housing development, special PX's, social clubs, and God knows what other rather conspicuous amenities. The whole town of Taipeh knew that the spooks, as they were locally called, were helping the guerrilla operations based on the Tachens.

But now the spooks are folding their bedsheets and packing to go home. Western Enterprises, as any pedicab driver will tell you, is soon to be no more, and its assets, whatever they may be, are to be transferred to the Navy. This is in fact a significant move in the direction of the cease-fire down the middle of the Formosa Strait and the general acceptance of "two Chinas," which are now the real aims of the Eisenhower administration Asian policymakers.

All of which is important for two reasons. In the first place, what are the unfortunate Chinese Nationalists to think, when they are first powerfully pressured to defend the "essential" Tachens at all costs, and then told that the Tachens are not essential after all, and please to evacuate at once? This reporter has never shared the Knowland-Robertson-Radford view of the unvarying rightness of Formosa, but in view of the past record, the Generalissimo and his advisers certainly seem to deserve some sympathy at this time.

In the second place, might we not be better off in Asia today if there had not been so much loud, empty talk at the beginning, and if there were a bit more boldness, spirit, and determination in our policymaking today? Maybe it is impolite to ask the question, but the facts demand that it should be asked.

Lincoln and Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD T. MILLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, last evening one of my fine Maryland colleagues in the other body, Senator J. GLENN BEALL, spoke before the Republican Club of Prince Georges County, Inc., at the Prince Georges Golf and Country Club. Senator BEALL's remarks were characteristically to the point and of particular interest at this time. Under leave granted, I here include his address:

What would Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President, say today of this land of 162 million Americans. Perhaps he would not today express himself any differently than he did in 1856 when he said:

"We are a great empire. We stand at once the wonder and the admiration of the whole world, and we must inquire what it is that has given us so much prosperity, and we shall understand that to give up that one thing—free government—would be to give up all future prosperity.

"This cause is that every man can make himself. It has been said that such a race of prosperity has been run nowhere else."

Lincoln started life as a laborer and never ceased to love those who worked by hand to better themselves and their nation. His implicit faith in the ability of those who were willing to work for their own good and for the good of their neighbor has been an abiding principle of the Republican Party ever since.

On the other hand, he did not fear property and wealth as some have feared and even tried to destroy it in the recent past. He recognized the need for capital so that the means for building a better nation would be available to the bold planners who shared his faith.

Lincoln warned that the heavy hand of government could stifle economic growth as well as the growth of equality and personal liberty. He wanted more than anything else for the individual man to have his fair chance to improve his lot—to build a home, a business, to be free to fulfill his individual destiny.

As a party, we Republicans have held to those beliefs. We have fought to retain the meaning they have for the Nation.

Although our world is vastly different from what it was in Lincoln's day, the essence of our problems is little changed. We face the same issues of freedom, of the relation between levels of government and individuals, of subversion and loyalty, and of the future course of our Nation.

Storm clouds were gathering when Lincoln entered the White House nearly 100 years ago. But he did not flinch. Through the terrible years that followed his leadership held the Nation together.

When President Eisenhower took office, the sky once more was overcast. And he has not flinched.

He has acted as Lincoln did before him. He has cut beneath the party battle to eternal truths. He has stated principles, defined differences, and clarified issues.

And, as was demonstrated by the overwhelming vote of confidence of both Houses on his Formosa resolution, the country is united behind him.

Now, let us see what the administration has done—and what it proposes to do.

The record for 1953 and 1954 shows that—

1. The Korean fighting and bloodshed was ended.
2. Honesty, integrity, and efficiency were restored to the Government.
3. Peacetime prosperity was achieved with 1953 the best and 1954 the next best in history.
4. Truman's spending plans were cut by $10 billion and taxes reduced nearly 7½ billion dollars a year.
5. Inflation was halted—the dollar stabilized.
6. The 20-year trend toward centralization of power in Washington was reversed.
7. Highest security standards for Government jobs were set and 2,400 risks removed.
8. Social-security and railroad-retirement benefits were extended and improved.
9. Equality of treatment was promoted and racial segregation ended in many areas.
10. United States and free world defenses against Communist aggression were strengthened.
11. Wage and rent controls ended.
12. A start made on the peacetime use of atomic energy.
13. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was established and hospital building and vocational rehabilitation expanded.
14. Record Federal aid for highways was voted.
15. Housing aids to help more families own better homes were enlarged.
16. Tidelands restored to the States.
17. Flexible farm-price-support and surplus-disposal programs provided.
18. Postal service was improved.
19. Veterans and civil-service employees benefits have been increased.

An impressive record indeed. But what is past is prologue. Now let us look at our party's program for 1955 as proposed by President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message on January 6.

Highlights of the program include:

Tireless labor to make the peace more just and durable, sufficient military strength to discourage resort to war, encouragement of United Nations efforts to limit armaments, mutual and gradual reductions of foreign trade tariff barriers, extension of the Selective Service Act.

Strengthened Reserves and increased benefits for career servicemen, continuation of present tax rates, looking to a reduction in 1956, a nationwide water-resources policy firmly based in law, a new program to meet pressing national highway needs, establishment of a Federal coordinator of public works.

Alleviation of problems of low-income farm families, strengthened Federal disaster-insurance programs, extension of the Small Business Act of 1953, continuance of the 83d Congress' housing program, challenging private industry to meet housing problems fully after 1956.

A program to improve existing health services, including Government reinsurance.

Federal Government coordination in school expansion, assistance to States to cope with juvenile delinquency, a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts in Health, Education, and Welfare, establishment of a 90-cents-an-hour minimum wage, extension of coverage, and Taft-Hartley Act amendments.

The modification of immigration laws, Hawaiian statehood, reduction of the voting age in Federal elections, District of Columbia self-government and suffrage, protection of voting rights of overseas servicemen, and extension of the Reorganization Act and Intergovernmental Relations Commission.

I think the first President of our party would agree that this is indeed a comprehensive, forward-looking program in the best Republican tradition.

Now, although our history has spanned nearly a century between Lincoln and Eisenhower, we still have today the same standards of republicanism held aloft by the party and the American people—the same standards of fair play.

These standards of fair play, I'm afraid, do not always apply to the Democratic Party. I have here a column by Mr. Gould Lincoln of the Washington Evening Star with which I am heartily in accord. I quote:

"The concentrated Democratic attack on Vice President NIXON which began immediately after the 1954 campaign and is now continuing with almost daily sniping, apparently has two basic and impelling reasons," the reporter says. "The first is to rid the Democratic Party of the Communist issue—the Red issue—which has plagued the Democrats for years and has hurt them in a number of States. Not having the courage to attack the President himself, their second aim is to strike at the man closest to him—the Vice President of the United States.

"So beginning with former Democratic National Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell and continued by Adlai Stevenson, Speaker Sam Rayburn, Senator Richard L. Neuberger, and by other freshmen Democrats in Congress, the drive is on to picture the Vice President as merely a smear artist and as such, entirely unworthy, a man who hits below the belt. Their theme song is that he made the Democrats out to be a parcel of traitors over the last score of years, and disloyal at the very least.

"The facts in the case, as revealed by a perusal of the Vice President's campaign speeches, are that the Vice President did no such thing. What he did was to accuse the Democrats of stupidity because they did not recognize the Communist menace; that they did not take the steps necessary to check infiltration of the Reds, and that when cases were called to their attention they did nothing about them. For example, the cases of Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White.

"The Vice President said repeatedly that communism should not be a political issue, and that there was no difference between the loyalty of Democrats and Republicans. But, he added, some misguided officials of the Truman administration were blind or indifferent to the danger from the Communists.

"That is the kind of criticism which hurt—and which was effective against the Democrats in the 1950, 1952 and 1954 campaigns.

"The Democrats don't want any more of it.

"They have, they think, disposed of Senator JOE MCCARTHY of Wisconsin in such a way that he will not be effective in his attacks on them. He took no real part in the last campaign. Now they have turned on Mr. NIXON, who made effective use of the Red issue and is capable of doing so again.

"Senator NEUBERGER, without mentioning the Vice President by name, but plainly indicating Mr. NIXON was his target, recently criticized the latter's campaign against him, Senator NEUBERGER.

"As a matter of fact, Senator NEUBERGER was 1 of the 5 leftwing Democratic candidates singled out by Mr. NIXON in his Pocatello address on October 25, 1954, when the Vice President asserted that the gains that the Democrats would make, if they took over the 84th Congress, inevitably would come from the ADA wing of the party.

"The other four were Glen Taylor, of Idaho, who ran for Vice President on the Henry Wallace ticket in 1948; former Representative John Carroll, of Colorado; Senator O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, and former Representative Yorty, of California.

"Whether it was Mr. NIXON'S campaigning or not, 3 out of these 5 Democrats were defeated in their races for the Senate.

"Mr. NIXON is for the present, at least, holding his own fire. His defense is being made by other Republicans, among them Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall. Mr. Hall said it should be clear to every one who reads the papers and hears the TV and radio that there is now underway a 'highly-organized campaign to besmirch the Vice President. The technique is to smear him by falsely accusing him of smearing others. This is one of the lowest tricks in politics and in this instance destructive only to its perpetrators. DICK NIXON is one of the most effective campaigners in history. It is because he tells the truth and is effective that he is under attack.'

"But should Mr. NIXON find it necessary to reply, he is quite capable. Further, he knows a lot more about the Communist activities in this country than do his detractors. He was mainly responsible for the conviction of Alger Hiss. No one is going to say to him, 'You never got a Communist.'

"Nor can the Democrats get away from the fact that they were blind to what was going on when Hiss and White were active in the Government."

Now without exception, Mr. NIXON approached his discussion of the security question by establishing the loyalty of the vast majority of Democrats. In my opinion he never questioned the loyalty of any Democrat. He did repeatedly question ignorance, blindness, or carelessness on the part of some of the leaders of the previous administration.

Then he demonstrated that it was these people who were most interested in the election and an anti-Eisenhower Congress. Here are a few more of his actual quotes:

In Houston on October 4, 1954, "I have found that the great majority of Republicans and Democrats approve of the way the Eisenhower program is restoring standards of loyalty, honesty, and integrity in government."

"The issue in 1952 was not the issue of the relative loyalty of Democrats and Republicans. That was never the issue then—it is not the issue now," he stated in Philadelphia.

In Norwalk, Conn., the Vice President said, "The great majority of all of our people regardless of the party to which they belong are loyal Americans. And I have found that Democrats are just as interested as Republicans in developing an effective program for dealing with disloyal elements."

Then, in a Fresno speech, he said, "The ADA leftwing which is calling for the election of an anti-Eisenhower Congress is not truly representative of the principles of the Democratic Party. Its spokesmen and its policies are unworthy of the traditions of that great political party. There is no question but that millions of Democrats completely disagree with this group in its attacks on the President's loyalty program."

Those do not sound like the words of a smear artist.

They do not sound like the words of a man who would make out the opposition party to be a parcel of traitors.

No, they have more the tone and strength of a man who was a great force in cementing to our future the constitutional freedoms and personal liberties which emerged from the dreams of our Founding Fathers.

They sound more like the words of Abraham Lincoln, a man who worked with the commonsense of Christian humility and the political wisdom to perpetuate the principles of the Republican Party—even as we are working here tonight in Prince Georges County.

Postal Pay Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my statement before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service urging postal pay increases:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, believing as I do that our postal employees are entitled to at least a 10-percent wage increase across the board, I have introduced such legislation and am again appearing before your committee to urge favorable consideration of such an increase in the hope the committee in its wisdom will concur.

I also believe that consideration of a postal salary increase should be completely disassociated from the postage-rate increase. In my opinion, there is no basis for controversy on the wage increase whereas there will be serious controversy on the postage-rate proposal.

During the greater part of the last 2 decades, postal and other Federal employees have been unable to compete with increased prices. Wages of a worker, including Federal employees, must be considered in the light of cost of living. In a period during which our nation as a whole enjoyed unprecedented national prosperity, Federal workers have been stepchildren of our American economy.

Inadequate wages for Government workers can lead only to an inferior caliber of personnel, expensive recruiting and training experience, decreased efficiency, and, in the final analysis, poor Government operation. The combination of these undesirable conditions inevitably results in more costly Government to every taxpayer.

The cost of Government is properly the concern of each of us. No one advocates useless spending or the waste of our Public Treasury. However, in the matter of wages for Federal employees, there is involved a very human question as well as a moral obligation on the part of those responsible for determining salaries. The human question can be satisfied only if the worker is given a wage that will enable him to provide proper and adequate care for his family. A moral responsibility exists as long as Federal employees do not have collective-bargaining rights and in the absence of economic privileges accorded workers in private industry in a given wage dispute.

These two responsibilities should weigh heavily on those charged with establishing Federal salary schedules. They were completely ignored last year in the veto of the wage legislation approved by the 83d Congress. The current attitude of some persons in the executive branch of Government seems to be a take-it-or-leave-it offer, without reference to the needs of the employees or the justice of their case for better wages. This amounts to a callous disregard of more than 2 million Federal workers and their families and a complete evasion of the moral

responsibility on the part of our Federal Government to pay fair and adequate wages.

In my judgment, a pay raise is long overdue for our deserving postal employees and I trust the committee will promptly and favorably report a substantial increase in their compensation.

The Brooklyn Law School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I believe that everyone attaches a certain amount of sentiment to the educational institutions which they have attended. Both sentiment and pride cause me to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following address given by Dean Jerome Prince at the 1954 alumni luncheon of my alma mater, the Brooklyn Law School:

DEAN ADDRESSES ALUMNI ON HISTORY OF LAW SCHOOL

The executive committee of the alumni association has assigned to me the very pleasant task of sketching briefly to you this afternoon the history of Brooklyn Law School. The story of the origin and growth of the law school is a story well worth telling, for its recital, I am confident, will fill you with a sense of justifiable pride in your own institution.

The story begins shortly before the turn of the century, when, at a convention of teachers of commercial law, the late Dean William Payson Richardson met the late Norman P. Heffley, who at that time directed a business school in Brooklyn bearing his name. Mr. Heffley was of the opinion that the community of Brooklyn was in need of a law school, and you may recall that there was then none in existence in Brooklyn. Early in 1901, after many discussions between them, Dean Richardson and Mr. Heffley cooperated to organize Brooklyn Law School and its first class was held on September 30, 1901, in the Heffley School Building, at 243 Ryerson Street, Brooklyn. There were only 5 students in that first class, one of whom was the late Francis X. Carmody. A year later the law school moved from Ryerson Street to a brownstone building at 187 Montague Street, Brooklyn. It seems that the possessions of the law school were then so meager that they were all piled on one cart, and as the cart moved through the streets from the Heffley School Building to Montague Street, one spectator was moved to say: "There goes Brooklyn Law School." This, as many of you know, was Dean Richardson's favorite anecdote.

Mr. Heffley withdrew from the school soon thereafter and the task of supporting the infant institution fell upon Dean Richardson. In 1903, Brooklyn Law School became associated with St. Lawrence University and later became the department of law of that University.

From 1903 until the outbreak of World War II, the law school story is one of almost constant growth and development, in prestige as well as in physical resources. In 1904, to accommodate larger classes, the school moved to the Eagle Building, where it remained until the fall of 1928, when the school entered its own specially constructed building at 375 Pearl Street, Brooklyn.

When World War II broke out in December of 1941, the effect upon the law school was almost calamitous. Within a short time, the law school attendance so dwindled that we had less students in the entire law school than we were accustomed to have in a single class. Some statistics may be enlightening. In one of the war years, we had only 30 students in the entire day division. This included all 3 years of law study.

I remember having one of the large classes during that period, a class of 15 students. We also had some small classes. Bob Sugarman had a class of two students in partnership. I recall this quite well because 1 of the 2 students was unprepared at the first session and the remaining member of the class was required to do all of the class work that day. I may add that this student resigned a week later, and we decided to cancel the course, thinking a class of one student to be too much of a luxury. During most of this period, there were only three full-time men on the law-school faculty. I was one of them. Professor Sealy and Professor Weyrauch were the other two. In one of the war years, Professor Weyrauch went to Albany to assist Hiram Todd on one of his investigations; that left Don Sealy and me as the entire full-time staff. I must confess that we taught a great many subjects, and if the war had continued a few years longer, each of us would probably have taught the entire curriculum. I recall one afternoon during the war when Don Sealy and I were walking to Joe's Restaurant for lunch, Don said to me: "You remember the story told by Dean Richardson about the spectator who said: 'There goes Brooklyn Law School' when he saw the cart moving the law-school equipment from Ryerson Street to Montague Street? Well, some spectator may now, looking at us, say: 'There goes the Brooklyn Law School faculty.'"

St. Lawrence University, of which we were the law department, had considerable financial difficulties of its own. Each of its departments was operating at a substantial loss. So, St. Lawrence University, to reduce its obligations, decided to liquidate the law school. I have no doubt that the law school would have disappeared at that time were it not for the efforts of Justice William B. Carswell, the only graduate of the law school who was then a member of the board of trustees. Largely as a result of his efforts, an agreement was entered into in December of 1943 by the terms of which Brooklyn Law School separated from St. Lawrence University and became a separate and independent nonprofit institution. A new board of trustees was selected and Justice Carswell became its president.

You might be interested to know that Dick Maloney, our new alumni president, was our attorney at the closing of title in 1943. We did not pay him for his services then and, although he continues to serve as the law school counsel, we have consistently adhered to the precedent thus established.

To effect the separation from St. Lawrence University, it was necessary to place a mortgage upon the building, and some of you may recall that we had an alumni campaign at that time to raise funds.

We held on, at times somewhat grimly, until the close of World War II, when Brooklyn Law School once more became one of the major law schools in the United States.

We suffered a loss in August of 1945, when Dean William Payson Richardson, who had been dean for 44 years, died after a brief illness. He was succeeded by Justice William B. Carswell. I was named vice dean, and later associate dean. We suffered another loss in September of 1953, when Dean Carswell unexpectedly died in Canada. Three months later, I was appointed dean of the law school.

Now what progress have we made in the 54 years of our existence?

Our graduates have achieved prominence in almost every field of endeavor; in the practice of the law, on the bench, in Government service, in public life, in the Armed Forces, in commerce, and industry. It may surprise you to know that we have several very distinguished clergymen who are graduates of the law school. I do not intend to burden you with statistics, but it may be of interest to you to know that in the city of New York alone there are well over 50 judges, from magistrate to appellate division justices, who are graduates of Brooklyn Law School.

Whenever our students or graduates have come in open competition with the students or graduates of other schools, we have much more than held our own. Our bar examination results are good, as I think you know. In 1948, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York sponsored for the first time an interlaw school moot court competition. In that first competition, the Brooklyn Law School Moot Court Team won the national title by defeating the Yale University Moot Court Team in the final round. In the 6 annual competitions held thus far, the Brooklyn Law School Moot Court team has won 3 metropolitan championship and this in competition with all the other approved law schools in the city of New York. A prize is given by the association to the student who is adjudged the outstanding student speaker in the city of New York. The selection is made from among the members of the moot court teams representing all of the law schools in the city. This is an annual prize. In the last 6 years, on 3 occasions, a Brooklyn Law School student was selected as the outstanding speaker.

Turning to the law school itself, I might say that not too many of you know that Brooklyn Law School is today, and since 1937 has been, a school approved by the American Bar Association. This means that we are one of the one-hundred-and-twenty odd approved law schools in the United States. Our requirements have been strengthened and increased. An applicant today is required to have completed a minimum of 3 years of acceptable college work with a satisfactory scholastic average, and it might interest you to know that well over 90 percent of our entering class is composed of college graduates.

The normal law school course today is 3 years in the day, or full-time session, and 4 years in the evening, or part-time session. We do, however, permit a student to shorten his course to the extent of one semester by attending summer sessions. We have increased the number of credits required for the degree from 60, which was required about 20 years ago, to 76, the requirement at present. We have attempted to grapple with the vexing but important problem of the extent to which we may profitably help the student to bridge the gap between theory and practice. This we have done by introducing into the curriculum required courses in legal research, in brief writing, in the preparation of pleadings, and in laboratory sessions in trial practice. We also offer elective courses in criminal procedure, in the preparation of corporate forms, and in the preparation of the commonly employed commercial instruments. The most recent addition to our elective courses is a course in military justice.

Brooklyn Law School is today in every sense a nonprofit educational institution. It is governed by a board of trustees, headed by former Supreme Court Justice Charles C. Lockwood, no member of which receives any compensation. The two vice presidents of the board are graduates of the law school and may be known to many of you presently. One of them is Supreme Court Jusice Charles N. Cohen, the other is former Corporation Counsel Paul Windels.

I think I have said enough although considerations of time have required me to sketch developments in broad outlines, to justify my conclusion that we have a thor-

oughly sound and progressive institution, with standards and with a record of achievement that will bear comparison with any law school in the United States. What we lack is a well-informed and active alumni body. I regard it as self-evident that the reputation which a school enjoys among the members of the public is but a reflux of the reputation it enjoys among his own graduates. And no school can enjoy among its own graduates the prestige to which it may justly be entitled unless its graduates know and are interested in the progress which the school has made. For these frankly selfish reasons, I hope that this luncheon today will mark the rebirth of a strong, healthy, and active Brooklyn Law School alumni association.

The Eternal Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the opportunity of a private preview of the motion picture, The Eternal Sea, at the invitation of a friend and acquaintance of mine for many years, the producer and director, Mr. John H. Auer.

The Eternal Sea is a present-day historical episode of the actual experiences of a living Navy admiral, and it is not only an inspiring patriotic story but also an impelling story which would increase the admiration of any American for the United States Navy and the courageous spirit that overcomes all obstacles including physical handicaps to obtain its objectives.

The Eternal Sea will also assure the American people of the security and protection for which the great and powerful United States Navy has been built and organized to provide.

Mr. John Auer, the director and producer, is a devoted and patriotic naturalized American citizen. He came to the United States in 1929 and in that same year took his first oath of allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, as he says in very broken English. He resolved to serve his new country to the best of his ability, and in 1951 he produced and directed the picture Thunderbirds, which was dedicated to the National Guard. This picture was highly received by all, and Mr. Auer received a citation from the Department of Defense and the National Guard for his patriotic contribution.

The Eternal Sea, which Mr. Auer directed and produced for Republic Pictures, pays homage to the United States Navy, naval aviation, and above all to a courageous American who, despite the great handicap of losing his leg in battle, carried on to express undying devotion to his family, the service, and all mankind. This great American is Rear Adm. John Madison Hoskins, who is still on active duty with the United States Navy.

Private showings of the Eternal Sea have been given to many high officials in the Department of Defense, and a few of the comments received as a result of these showings follow:

Mr. HERBERT J. YATES,
President, Republic Pictures Corp:
Congratulations on a truly great American epic of courage. The Eternal Sea is excellent theater and gripping entertainment. It will make all who see it prouder than ever before of their American heritage. In behalf of all those who have borne wounds for their country and for those other Americans who have triumphed over disability, our heartfelt thanks for this fine film.

Maj. Gen. MELVIN J. MAAS,
USMCR, Retired; Chairman, the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

Mr. HERBERT J. YATES,
Republic Productions, Inc.:
The Eternal Sea was reviewed by the Department of Navy and the Office of the Secretary of Defense and hereby is approved for public release. We believe it is a picture you should be proud of. It captures a fine spirit and will be of great value to the service. Its inspirational qualities should be of great value to every American. We consider it an excellent motion picture which justifies our cooperation. Sincere thanks for a job well done.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. HERBERT J. YATES,
President, Republic Studios:
Congratulations to you, Mr. John Auer and Republic studios on the Eternal Sea. It is a great picture which will reflect much credit to Republic and Navy. Feel that it will have strong dramatic and human-interest appeal to general public.

Adm. W. G. BEECHER,
Chief of Information, Navy Department.

I urge all patriotic Americans to see this picture not only because of its dramatic apeal, but especially because of its patriotic and inspirational qualities.

Acreage Allotments in Drought-Stricken Counties of Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROSS BASS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the 79th General Assembly of the State of Tennessee (the Senate concurring), That the Department of Agriculture of the United States of America is hereby memorialized and requested to cut the allotment of no individual engaged in farming in counties classified as drought-stricken counties in this State by the Department during the year 1954 below the allotment which was made to such individual for the year 1954 upon any crop, allotment of acreage of which is made by said Department; be it further

Resolved, That upon the passage of this resolution and its signature by the chief executive, a copy thereof by duly certified and forwarded to the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, and to each Member of Congress from Tennessee, and that this resolution be spread on the journal of the house of representatives and senate.

Adopted January 25, 1955.

JAMES L. BOMAR,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
JARED I. MADDUX,
Speaker of the Senate.
FRANK G. CLEMENT,
Governor.

Ike's Team Is Showing Lack of Skull Practice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on January 23, 1955, there appeared in the Detroit Free Press a signed editorial by John S. Knight, its president and publisher. In itself the editorial is significant on the score that this lack of teamwork of the Eisenhower administration is being finally recognized, but it is more especially so because a stanch friend of the President points up sharply the weaknesses and by their exposure seeks the means of correction. Mr. Knight bears out the contentions of so many people who have already recognized the confusion of the minds and the tongues of administration spokesmen. These antics might be likened to those of a well-coached clown band with each instrumentalist playing a tune of his own choosing, and drowning out the discord by blowing the harder his own horn. It is high time someone pointed the way for the President and his discordant Cabinet.

Under unanimous consent, heretofore granted, I include in the RECORD the editorial to which I refer:

IKE'S TEAM IS SHOWING LACK OF SKULL PRACTICE

NEW YORK.—The Scripps-Howard newspapers, which have frequently spanked President Eisenhower for not exerting more leadership, have now come to the following conclusion as Ike begins his third year in the White House:

"On the whole, the President has shown a steady growth in confidence, in understanding, in patience and in effectiveness."

In general, that seems to us to be a fair statement of Eisenhower's position today. A year ago, Ike had difficulty in reconciling his role as President of all the people with that of being the actual leader of his party as well.

Now, however, he understands that the two can be compatible so long as he insists that party policy at all times keeps the public interest in mind.

At Wednesday's press conference, the President was confident and relaxed. He now takes loaded questions in stride with the aplomb of a professional.

Ike is getting the "feel" of public life.

Having said this, might I suggest that the administration is wide open to criticism on another count.

I refer to the lack of skull practice between Ike and his Cabinet members on matters of vitally important public policy.

The President likes to think of his official family as a team, presumably with every member playing an important and vital role.

The goal is a successful administration, not headlines for individuals.

Of late, the signals are getting crossed.

Agriculture Secretary Benson fires Wolf Ladejinsky, who headed General MacArthur's land-reform program in Japan, as a security risk. Mr. Ladejinsky is promptly rehired by Harold Stassen, boss of the Foreign Operations Administration, with the comment that Ladejinsky has 19 years of Government service without a blemish on his record.

Who is right, Benson or Stassen?

Then we have Defense Secretary Wilson advocating more trade with the Iron Curtain countries in nonstrategic materials. Two years ago Mr. Wilson took an opposite view and wrote Senator McCARTHY that "contributions to the economic potential alone often directly, and almost always indirectly, contribute to any country's military potential."

With reference to Wilson's latest statement, the President says it does not represent the administration's position.

Why, then, did Wilson say it?

Some weeks ago Labor Secretary Mitchell made a speech before the CIO in Los Angeles in which he criticized the right-to-work laws adopted by 17 States.

When asked to comment on this phase of Mitchell's address, the President said Mr. Mitchell was not speaking for the administration.

Why, then, didn't Mitchell clear his speech with the President?

Other notable contradictions within the administration have occurred with respect to Indochina, the "Marshall plan" for Asia, and what we intend to do about Formosa.

There is also a wide-open split between Eisenhower and Senator KNOWLAND, the minority leader, on how to gain freedom for the American airmen held by the Chinese Communists.

The President cannot muzzle Senator KNOWLAND but he does have a right to expect that members of his Cabinet refrain from popping off in opposition to his own views.

He has finally taken steps to avoid future public controversies such as the Ladejinsky case by asking a special unit of the Justice Department to act as a mediator between Government agencies that differ on an individual case.

The President said further that if agreement were not possible, future cases of this kind would be brought to him.

He should now take the further step of requiring public officials speaking on sensitive questions of policy to obtain prior clearance from the White House.

This procedure would clarify administration policy in the public mind and strengthen it immeasurably.

You can't have a winning team with everybody calling signals.

JOHN S. KNIGHT.

Washington and Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH A. GAMBLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. GAMBLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article by C. Wilson Harder titled "Washington and Small Business":

WASHINGTON AND SMALL BUSINESS
(By C. Wilson Harder)

While he went along with the gag when the Federal Trade Commission found over a thousand paper wholesalers guilty of conspiracy, Commissioner Lowell Mason, master of brilliant brittle prose, wrote a separate concurring opinion which may well be used as evidence by those wishing to eliminate FTC as a useless appendage on government, and substitute for it a more efficient and aggressive defender of the Nation's antitrust laws.

This decision was against what is called the fine- and wrapping-paper wholesalers. Fine paper is defined as printing papers. Since 1948 FTC has been as busy as bees on this case.

The FTC cited some 22 regional trade-paper associations, and blanketed in as unnamed defendants about 900 paper wholesalers who were called class respondents.

As Mason points out in his opinion, these "class respondents" are mostly small-business men scattered all over the Nation serving small-order customers with specialty-paper products. But FTC held that if they belonged to a trade association, they were guilty per se of conspiracy. Entire evidence entered against many individual wholesalers was that at the time of complaint they were members of some regional trade association.

And yet, while Mason's long opinion pithily emphasizes many points, it does skirt around big issue of FTC operation.

Big issue is this. The production of all kinds of paper is dominated by a few companies who sell direct to larger users, leaving small pickings to wholesalers. These large mills also offer bigger customers fantastic discounts on quantity purchases.

Thus a very small printer usually must buy from a wholesaler. If he becomes larger, he may be able to buy direct from a mill, but if he is a large user of paper, he can buy carload lots from the mill at price reductions which make it impossible for small and medium sized printers to compete for printing work of major jobs. And of course no wholesaler can meet the price competition of his own suppliers.

In paper case, as in so many other cases, FTC decided something was rotten in Denmark but went to Greenland to investigate. In fact, their actions are often akin to that which would prevail if police jailed victims of robbers while not touching bandits.

A few months ago, in tire discount decision, FTC laid down a rule which would have solved not only many problems of tire industry, but also paper industry and many others. But so far FTC has not invoked their own rulings but held compliance in abeyance while ruling goes through slow, laborious trial of court tests. In meantime, small business suffers from continuation of practices which FTC found damaging and illegal.

That is why there is substantial misgivings in Washington about FTC which has shown itself so high and mighty in cracking down on the little man, so blind to the transgressions of the great. And that is why a group of Senators, including Senator ESTES KEFAUVER of crime investigation fame, are talking loudly about an appropriation of a million dollars to finance full-scale investigation of why Nation's antitrust laws are not being enforced, and what measures are needed to insure their enforcement.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either Houre may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Lincoln's Philosophy Lives On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered at the Lincoln Day luncheon in Los Angeles, Calif., on February 10, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LINCOLN'S PHILOSOPHY LIVES ON

(Speech by Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, at Lincoln Day luncheon in Los Angeles, February 10, 1955)

Across our country this week, people are meeting to commemorate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, martyred American president who saved our Nation and emancipated a race. His era in history was one of trouble and tribulation. But it was also one which beckoned to him to provide an unselfish and devoted leadership to a high cause, and he provided it to the benefit of his country in full measure. His was a martyrdom of sacrifice to the cause of freedom.

Abraham Lincoln's words come hurtling down the years: "With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in * * * to do all which may achieve and cherish a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Mr. Chairman, our work remains unfinished, and our goal remains the same: peace among ourselves and peace with all nations. The burden of those labors is being borne today by a patient, devoted Christian leader, dedicated, as Mr. Lincoln was, to peace at home and throughout the world. With deep religious conviction, with humility, and with native commonsense, President Dwight Eisenhower is presently engaged in arming America morally, strengthening her economically and militarily, conducting her foreign policy skillfully and firmly, all in the forward march toward the attainment of the selfsame goal which our Civil War President set for our Nation.

Many significant changes have been wrought in the past 2 years by our Government in the conduct and direction of our national affairs.

I believe, and I have often said, that the people of our country want clean, strong, honest, American Government. Republicans want it. Democrats want it. So do our independent citizens. I can give you the assurance, though I know you do not need it, that that is exactly what President Eisenhower and his administration are giving to all of us.

The record of these last 2 years is studded with examples of bipartisan approval of presidential recommendations. This is true both in the domestic field and in foreign policy. It is a record which, I believe, will continue in the future.

On some legislation of singular interest to California, I am always proud to remember that when the roll of Senators was called on passage, Democrats joined Republicans in approving our State's request, and we triumphed over scattering but vigorous partisan opposition.

As a Senator from California, as well as a Senator of the United States, I am grateful for this chance to summarize and highlight a variety of actions that will further our progress and brighten our promising future.

In the past year alone, Congress enacted laws that protected the interests of our cotton farmers, whose crop now is California's leading agricultural commodity; it cushioned the impact on seriously congested schools in scores of our communities where thousands of additional families were drawn by reason of Federal activities and programs. It has contributed toward the solution of our continually pressing water problem, undeniably a matter of greatest concern to our expanding economy and development; and it has facilitated our commerce through improvement of ports along the whole stretch of our coastline.

As a sample of what has been done to safeguard our lands and help us utilize our resources, let me cite part of the record of the 83d Congress:

Increased funds were appropriated to speed the pace of flood prevention projects in Los Angeles, the northern section of the bay region, and in the lower Sacramento Valley.

Dams were authorized to bring about greater use of waters in several widespread areas of our State, for the benefit of farmers and city dwellers alike.

Construction of additional distribution systems was made possible, to carry benefits of the central valley project to more farm areas in the central valleys of our State.

The outlook for the future is encouraging.

Recognition of the continuing problem of our schools will be made in the present Congress and hearings on the matter are now in progress in Washington. Progress will be made in our water and power problems. With the recommendation of our Governor, I have again introduced the multiple-purpose Trinity-San Luis project in northern California, together with the so-called Tri-Dam project in San Joaquin, and new legislation to assist the people of Ventura County in their own acute water question.

As a member of the Public Works Committee I look forward to playing an active part in shaping legislation to carry out a comprehensive long-range highway program. This measure will enable the Federal, State, and local governments to tackle the neglected problem of expanding and modernizing roads of all types so our highway network may better meet demands of our highly mobile population.

The Federal Government, at long last, has become an ally in the fight against a menace which endangers an increasing number of communities, air pollution. Just this month President Eisenhower again acknowledged that the complex problem of checking and, we hope, ultimately eliminating smog, requires positive participation by national agencies. They will make a tremendous contribution chiefly in the field of scientific research and should speed the efforts already under way in various metropolitan areas. I shall endeavor to broaden the program of Federal assistance in this field, and I feel hopeful that aid will be forthcoming to clean up the atmosphere in the cities and towns of California and across the Nation.

Production and employment are increasing on a broad front. President Eisenhower has prophesied that, within a decade, our current annual production level of three hundred and sixty billion dollars will increase to five hundred billion or more, expressed in dollars of the same purchasing power.

In the first 2 years of the present administration, Federal appropriations have been reduced, Federal, personal income taxes and excise taxes were cut, the excess-profits tax was repealed, governmental controls on business were abolished, and 1954 was one of the best years, economically, in our history.

We've made magnificent strides in the field of human rights and equal dignity among our people in a fashion that would make Abe Lincoln proud of us. In this free republic of ours, the brotherhood of man becomes an increasingly accepted standard of decency, and the leadership of our Chief Executive has supplied the idealism and the intelligence to bring to more of our people a rising standard of living in this country of free men and free government.

With the most painful and heartfelt regret, the American people are aware that there are those in the world who oppose freedom and who have been measurably successful in stamping it out in great areas. Human slavery, in its most cruel form, is practiced today as a Government policy by those countries chained down by Red communism. Their current activities, placed in the background of their self-proclaimed desires, are cause for sober concern by free America and by the free world. And it is to this question that I desire now to direct your attention.

Basically, the American people today and their Government concern themselves with the security of our Nation and an honorable peace in our world. Perhaps never before have they turned as soberly to the contemplation of our Nation's needs to preserve freedom, as they have today.

We live our lives in a whole new era. Solving the problems of freedom in that era depends upon our acceptance and understanding of the new energies which men of science have brought forth in our time. The needs of the American people in securing their freedom must be, and have been, set in this background.

Several months ago I listened to Admiral Carney in Vallejo, suggest that the American Navy is on its way to complete atomic power for its propulsion. Thus, since 1789, we have passed successively through periods of sailing ships, and steam ships, and diesel ships, to atomically-propelled vessels. Our gallant air force is expanding almost daily, and piston planes give way to jet-powered aircraft. Whereas at the outbreak of the Korean war the United States Air Force had but 42 effective wings out of a projected 70, it has today 121 effective wings out of a projected 137, a goal which will be attained before too many months have passed, with the approval by the Congress to recommendations of the administration. Our airmen have long since penetrated the sonic barrier, and one of their experimental planes has flown 1650 miles per hour, and how much faster is the Defense Department's secret. An American airman has flown to an altitude in excess of 85,000 feet, and again it is a secret how much further up he may have gone. The United States Army and the Marine Corps likewise have entered upon

a modern atomic posture of readiness and mobility, testifying, without equivocation, of our determination to safeguard American security.

Every citizen of this country and his family may give eternal thanks that the Commander in Chief of our defense forces is an unselfish and enlightened leader devotedly dedicated to peace in the world, partly by reason of his own experiences over an almost entire lifetime as a skilled professional soldier.

In his state of the Union message to the Congress early in January, the President of the United States again stated that our national goals continue to be a just and enduring peace, and a realistic worldwide limitation of the implements of war. "We maintain powerful military forces," he said, "Because there is no present alternative—they are forces designed for deterrent and defensive purposes, able to strike back with destructive power in response to any attack." The defense plans of the United States have been under the personal direction of the President after his own long and contemplative study. His recommendations for our country's defense will, I prophesy, be given the same bipartisan congressional approval in 1956 as they were these last 2 years. There are a few professional disagreements on emphasis, but here again we can be thankful for the experienced counsel which the Chief Executive can give as a military man. His recommendations include, among others, an emphasis on modern airpower and new weapons, the elimination of duplication and overstaffing, the acceleration of a program for our own continental defense, and the build-up of a military reserve. Incidentally, they include increases in compensation for service personnel. When I tell you that only 15 percent of the Regular Air Force personnel are expected to reenlist when their present terms expire, I underline the importance of increasing the attractiveness of peacetime military service.

Meanwhile, in existence or on the drawing boards are weapons so appallingly destructive as to chill one's imagination. International ballistic missiles—euphemistically termed IBM—will, we are told, travel across oceans at unthinkable speed, addressed to targets thousands of miles away, with considerable precision and accuracy. And while the science of destruction continues its deadly progress among the free countries of the world, there is no question that international communism, with the brains it has from varying sources at its disposal, likewise makes progress in this same field.

Recently, the former Chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee said:

"Today, atomic and hydrogen bombs exist in growing numbers on both sides of the iron curtain. Today—not next year, or the year after, but today—the Soviets have both the bombs and the planes needed to launch a devastating nuclear attack against the cities of North America."

Listen to Winston Churchill as he comments on current history:

"Mankind has never been in this position before. Without having improved appreciably in virtue or enjoying wiser guidance, it has got into its hands for the first time the tools by which it can unfailingly accomplish its own extermination. That is the point in human destinies to which all the glories and toils of men have at last led them. They would do well to pause and ponder upon their new responsibilities. Death stands at attention, obedient, expectant, ready to serve, ready to shear away the people en masse; ready, if called on, to pulverize, without hope of repair, what is left of civilization. He awaits only the word of command. He awaits it from a frail, bewildered being, long his victim, now—for one occasion only—his master."

There you have a glimpse of the background in which nations of the world may decide upon the course to follow in dealing with one another. And it is against that background that the American people must determine the course of their own policy as respects our neighbors. Our Government is seriously concerned with such a question, and the Senate, and the House of Representatives as well, have sat in judgment upon phases of it these past several weeks.

On January 24, President Eisenhower sent to the Senate and the House a message in which he reiterated that this country's basic goal is safeguarding the security of the United States by establishing and preserving a just and honorable peace. He then described, in considerable detail, the serious and darkening situation in the Strait of Formosa. Suffice to say here, since 1945 the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores have been occupied by the Republic of China, a loyal ally of the American people. Communist China, which incidentally still incarcerates innocent American citizens, anaounced its determination to invade and conquer these islands and bring them under the aegis of Red Chinese communism. The President emphasized the importance to the American people that these islands remain in friendly hands. He requested the Congress to adopt a resolution authorizing him to employ our Armed Forces as he might deem necessary to secure and protect these islands against armed attack.

What, my fellow citizens, is the importance to the American people of Formosa and the Pescadores? In the words of the President of the United States, those islands, in unfriendly hands "would seriously dislocate the existing, even if unstable, balance, of moral, economic, and military forces upon upon which the peace of the Pacific depends. It would create a breach in the island chain of the western Pacific that constitutes, for the United States and other free nations, the geographic backbone of their security structure in that ocean. With that, the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States agree."

I want to recall the words of another great American citizen who was a guest of the people of Los Angeles a very few days ago. Speaking to the 82d Congress on his triumphant return to our country, Gen. Douglas MacArthur described the Pacific Ocean as a vast moat to protect the United States as long as we held it. He spoke of a chain of islands in the Pacific which constituted for Americans a protective shield. It was his powerfully-stated conviction that a breach in that littoral defense line by an unfriendly power would make vulnerable each remaining segment of it. And then he said, "Under no circumstances must Formosa fall under Communist control. Such an eventuality would at once threaten the freedom of the Philippines and the loss of Japan and might well force our western frontier back to the coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington."

In the considered judgment of such American patriots who are qualified to speak, Communist occupation of Formosa and the Pescadores would seriously endanger the security of the people of the United States and would undermine the cause of peace.

The resolution was debated in the House of Representatives and it passed almost unanimously with only three Members opposing it. It was debated at considerable length in the Senate. All manner of amendments were offered to delimit or restrict the President's responsibility. I listened to those Senators who advocated restrictive amendments or who advocated, indeed, no resolution at all. I listened also to the distinguished Democratic Senator WALTER F. GEORGE, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who urged the adoption of the resolution exactly as the President had recommended it. On the basis of all the background and of the Senate debate, I say to the people of my State of California, there was only one course in my judgment to pursue in the cause of American security and peace in the world. That was to uphold the recommendation of the President of the United States. And the Senate did uphold the President's recommendation, and did so overwhelmingly.

Thus, for all the world to see, the President of the United States and the Congress, representing the American people, have taken an unequivocal position. It is a position in line with our basic foreign policy and completely in consonance with our American goal.

That action was followed a few days later by overwhelming ratification in the Senate of the Southeast Asia collective defense treaty. By that commitment the United States, together with Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, France, the Philippines, Pakistan, and Thailand, combined to create a protective network of mutual defense, to promote security and to strengthen the fabric of peace in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific. This treaty is designed to deter aggression, which means Communist aggression, in that area of the world by warning potential aggressors that an open armed attack upon the territory of any of the parties will be regarded by each signatory nation as dangerous to its own peace and safety. In such contingency the parties agree to meet the common danger in accordance with their constitutional processes. They also agree to consult on measures for their common defense whenever the territory of integrity or political independence of any of them is threatened other than by armed attack, which might endanger the peace of the area. Thus it is indicated to communism that its techniques of internal subversion would be dealt with effectively. If communism fails to understand anything but force and might, then communism is forewarned that retribution lies in store for it for breaching the peace in the future.

This is the foreign policy of the Government of the United States. We have now added a mutual defense treaty with Nationalist China. The SEATO treaty in Southeast Asia balances our NATO treaty of mutual security in Europe. It is a policy based upon coming into firm agreement of those who, like ourselves, love freedom. It is designed to deter Communist aggression and the onslaught of Communist slavery. It is an enlightened policy of our own self-interest consistent with our goal of freedom and of peace. There are some in California and some in the Nation who, for varying purposes, oppose this policy. They are a vociferous minority and they are wrong. for my part, my friends, I shall continue to support that policy as it is carried out by the President of the United States.

When Abraham Lincoln was about to become President of the United States in 1861, and as he was traveling en route to Washington, he made a statement to the American people which I repeat as I conclude:

"If the people shall be lost, it it little to any one man * * * but a great deal to the * * * millions of people who inhabit these United States, and their posterity in all coming time. It is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty for yourselves, and not for me. I appeal to you again to constantly bear in mind, that not with politicians, not with presidents, not with officeseekers, but with you is the question: Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?"

Mr. Lincoln answered history in the affirmative. So will we.

The Challenge to Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on February 16, 1955, it was my privilege to address the annual meeting of one of the most useful groups in our Nation—the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. This is the organization which has done so much to bring the blessings of electricity, with an attendant higher standard of living, to hundreds of thousands of farm families in rural America.

Other Members of Congress, of both great political parties, who spoke to this highly successful meeting were the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], and Representative H. R. GROSS, of Iowa.

I addressed the convention, assembled in Convention Hall at Atlantic City, N. J., on the subject of The Challenge to Public Power, reviewing the efforts undertaken during the past 2 years by the present administration to eliminate or destroy the public power program in the United States. I had the honor of being introduced by my old friend, Lee Wooden, of Jewell, in Clatsop County, Oreg., the president of the Rural Electric Cooperative Association in our own State.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my address to the delegates attending the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHALLENGE TO PUBLIC POWER

(Address by Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon)

One of the great moments of my career was to stand with George William Norris, the father of public power in America, when he saw Bonneville Dam for the first time. He watched the Columbia River surging inexorably through the Cascade Mountain Range, before it thundered over the spillway of the long, low dam.

"I don't think you people in the Northwest realize what a marvelous resource you have in this wonderful river," said Uncle George. "Is there any other bounty which produces so much good for mankind and yet never diminishes in quantity?"

George Norris is gone now, and the public power program which he helped to build confronts a major crisis. Yet many times I have thought of what he said. What other resource can light farms, turn factory wheels and operate businesses and, at the same time, continue in as great an abundance as ever before?

The lighting up of rural America was born of the same forces that started major multipurpose projects. The first real electric co-op came into being under TVA. Today about 300 of the 1,000 REA's receive all or part of their power supply from Federal power projects. Truly, rural families have a tremendous stake in future resource policies, not only because of potential power supply but because of the great impact of TVA and Bonneville on the rates of private power companies.

When Bonneville and TVA were started, it was like dropping a pebble into a pond of high-power-company rates. The effect of an abundant, low-cost power supply was immediate and far-reaching. The public-power yardstick was felt in ever-widening circles, forcing down the padded rates in adjacent areas.

For 20 years, the United States Government promoted a program to make the rivers of America the servants of the people. I use the term advisedly. I live in a State where only 27 percent of our farms had electricity in 1933. By 1952, this figure had soared to 98 percent. It is practically impossible to measure this gain other than in terms of increased creature comforts, greater purchasing power, a higher standard of living. These are the only proper measurements.

Mrs. Neuberger's mother, Ethel Kelty Brown, is one of the farm women who had no electricity until the programs were begun which symbolize the work of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. Mother Brown has told me what it was like to live on a farm without power. It meant no refrigeration for the food which was cooked. It meant doing that cooking on a wood stove, with the women splitting kindling while the men were at their chores. It meant hand-washing farm clothes—which get excruciatingly dirty—on a corrugated washboard. It meant carrying a Coleman lantern from room to room at night when children were sick.

POWER CHANGES FARM LIFE

Electricity on the farm has changed all this. The vast majority of the farms of our country have power today because of the Federal power program, because of the Rural Electric Administration, because of the watchful vigilance and persistent crusading of groups like the National Electric Cooperative Association. And all this benefit has occurred without diminishing the natural resources of America. The late J. D. Ross, first administrator of Bonneville, used to call that dam "an oil well which will never run dry, a coal mine that will never thin out. * * *"

Although I am only (sic) 42 years old, I come before you today as a man who has seen the public power program revolve in a full cycle in my region, the Pacific Northwest.

I witnessed the program begin a little more than 20 years ago. It was a bipartisan program—a program advanced by far-sighted men in both major political parties. By every possible standard, it was a success. As you know, electricity was brought to the farms, and at rates which the farmer could afford. Industrial payrolls came next, and this meant a steady market in town for the farmer's crops. Although the Pacific Northwest has historically lagged behind the rest of the Nation in manufacturing, its expansion led the land during the first decade that Bonneville power was available. Between 1939 and 1948, the national increase in manufacturing employment was 284 percent but in the States of Oregon and Washington it was 329 percent. Furthermore, this program has been generously paying for itself. Indeed, the annual reports of the Interior Department actually admit that the Columbia River power program is far ahead of the amortization schedule in repayments to the Government.

And auxiliary benefits of incalculable value were occurring simultaneously. In 1933, the year Bonneville Dam was started, a mere 85,000 tons of cargo moved upstream into the reaches of the upper Columbia River. In 1953, the tonnage was 1,375,000. This was merely a bonus from the power program. And what are we to say of the thousands of irrigated homesteads now being wrested from the arid upland desert near Grand Coulee, homesteads where ex-GI's and their families are making a new start in life?

I stress these benefits that have taken place in my own part of the country because I can be a little more poignant, a little more dramatic, a little more specific about it. These things I have seen with my own eyes. I was at Grand Coulee when the world's biggest dam was started. I saw the first water gurgling through canals amidst the sagebrush and tumbleweed. I saw the first transmission lines stretching out across the wasteland like a steel-legged centipede.

CALCULATED SCHEME STOPS PROGRAM

This was a program dedicated to the welfare of the United States, yet you of the NRECA know what has happened to that program. In 1953, the present national administration stopped it—deliberately, calculatingly, grimly.

The onslaught has occurred on many fronts:

1. Appropriations have been reduced for agencies devoted to the wider use of low-cost power.

2. Key waterpower sites, like Hells Canyon, have been pledged by the administration to private power companies for piecemeal, high-cost development.

3. New Federal starts have been choked off.

4. So-called wheeling agreements with utility corporations have given them control of the power supply in many areas.

5. Attacks upon the public-power preference clause have imperiled the electric supply of rural electric co-ops and other nonprofit systems.

6. A nationwide barrage of propaganda, some of it stemming from the White House and executive departments, has sought to indict such undertakings as the Tennessee Valley Authority and Bonneville as "creeping socialism."

7. A so-called partnership with private utilities has been proposed, whereby these companies would monopolize the revenue and energy at Federal power projects.

I emphasize the partnership because it represents today the spearhead of the current attack upon public power. The word "partnership" peppers the President's budget message. It is an appealing word. Yet what kind of a partnership is it? It is a partnership in which the Government relinquishes to private monopolies the powerhouses at Federal dams, while the Government continues to finance the nonreimbursable features, such as fish ladders, floodgates, and navigation locks.

THE MONOPOLY PARTNERSHIP

We had a partnership in operation. It wasn't this kind of partnership. It was a legitimate partnership between the Government and its citizens. Clyde T. Ellis, your executive manager, described this partnership in a masterful address which he delivered a year ago last month at your 1954 convention in Miami. Mr. Ellis referred numerous times to the Federal-local partnership, under which kilowatts were being sold at low cost to whatever distributing agency the residents of a particular area preferred.

It might be a municipal system as in Seattle. It might be a private power company as in Portland. It might be a public utility district as in Clark County, Wash. It might be a rural electric co-op as in Benton and Lincoln Counties, Oreg. These various methods of distribution represented the democratically chosen preference of the men and women living in that part of our Nation. They made the choice without interference by politicians in either the State capital or the National Capital, and then the Federal power system made available energy from the dams constructed on key river networks.

This was a bona fide partnership, as Clyde Ellis made clear. But what is proposed today as partnership is no partnership at all. It is monopoly and special privilege. For at least 50 years, a private stranglehold will be

given legal sanctity at a great power site, and there will be nothing that the men and women in that area can do about it, through half a century of time.

We are told the abandonment of public power is necessary in the name of Americanism. Yet the preference clause, which safeguards the power supply of our rural electric co-ops, goes all the way back to the administration of Theodore Roosevelt and the Reclamation Act of 1906. I refuse to believe that the man who led the Rough Riders up San Juan Hill was a creeping Socialist. The inclusion of the preference clause in the Bonneville Act was principally the work of Senator Charles L. McNary, of Oregon. Does the present administration want to accuse of socialism the man who was Republican minority floor leader in the United States Senate for well over a decade?

In the barrage of propaganda being fired at the people over the Hells Canyon question, these overtones of patriotism again appear. Is it patriotic to abandon the greatest hydroelectric site left on our continent to the absentee-dominated corporation, which will tap only a segment of the available kilowatts?

PLAYBACK OF HISTORY

Historians tell us that no issues are really new. They all have arisen before—perhaps in different guise and other settings. Yet almost half a century ago, Theodore Roosevelt and his illustrious Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, confronted a Hells Canyon problem of their own.

Utility companies were grabbing off power sites on the mountain rivers of the West. Although the Nation had recently set aside the forest reserves, no legislation existed for the specific protection of these hydroelectric power sites. Let Pinchot describe what happened, in his autobiography Breaking New Ground:

"A certain number of forest-ranger stations were applied for which were needed less for rangers than to give the Government a temporary hold on some power site and prevent the power octopus from sucking it in. * * * Some of these ranger stations we deliberately located on water power sites, in order to insure some form of government control. * * *"

Contrast this action by Teddy Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot with the shameful relinquishment of Hells Canyon by the present masters of the American Government. Roosevelt and Pinchot contrived extra-legal machinery to save these power resources for future generations. They relied upon a subterfuge. This national administration refuses to use the machinery long ago created for the purpose—it seeks to hasten the abandonment of Hells Canyon, John Day, Green Peter, and other sites.

Nor can this be called in any sense of the word a partisan issue. Theodore Roosevelt and Pinchot were lifelong Republicans. The program which this administration has jettisoned was, in many of its concepts, a program originated by Republicans of the past—Roosevelt, Pinchot, Hiram Johnson, Norris, Borah, McNary, and many others. In my own State, I am a Democrat, but thousands of Republicans, on farms and in the cities, assured me that they were loyal to a publicly motivated program of resource development that had its roots within their own party.

Under this administration, engineering and scientific knowledge have been bent to political whims. The 308 report of the United States Army Corps of Engineers is the master plan for development of the Columbia River Basin. Surely if the Army ever errs, it is on the conservative and cautious side. But the 308 report recommends without reservation the erection of a high multipurpose Federal dam in Hells Canyon.

Yet this national administration assures us that the 308 report is wrong at Hells Canyon. Of course, the 308 report, according to the administration, is right at Libby Dam up along the Canadian border, where the prospects for construction are so clouded by international disputes that no private power company covets the site. So, here, the administration is willing to promote a Federal dam. How can the same engineers, with the same transits and the same diamond drills, be wrong on the Snake River and right on the Kootenai River? It is as if a patient told his doctor that the doctor was right about one lung, but wrong about the other.

INTERIOR POLICIES THREATEN REA'S

One of the serious blows suffered by REA's under the new policies was abrogation of 40-year contracts between the Interior Department and cooperatives in the southwest. As a result, the REA's were threatened with the bankruptcy or high rates, or loss of their independence. As you know, the original destruction of the continuing fund vital to these contracts was put through by a former Senator from Oregon. I assure you the new Senator from Oregon will do everything in his power to undo the damage.

Other corrective measures are also necessary, especially against the conspiracy to rewrite the formula for allocating power costs to make the price of Federal power as high as private power.

I cite these things to indicate how politics and greed are intruding into programs which, until the last year or so, were decided by the needs of the American people and not by the selfish desires of 1 or 2 utility corporations.

ATTACK BY STEALTH

As you are well aware, REA funds have been cut but not abolished by Congress. You have been successful in maintaining reasonably adequate loan funds and services during the past 2 years. But this was to be expected. It was forecast at your first annual convention by the late George W. Norris. He said: "The attack upon REA will not be an open assault. The attack will be by stealth and treachery because REA is too popular to be attacked openly."

I don't own a crystal ball, but occult powers are not needed to predict that the Hoover Commission will probably recommend that REA—as you now know it—be abolished. Out of respect for your political potency, they will try to put forth some plausible substitute like a Federal REA corporation forced to borrow money from bankers at high-interest rates, and run by a board of directors and not by the Congress, which is now REA's board of directors.

THAT FEDERAL POWER MONOPOLY

For nearly 2 years, the administration has defended its abandonment of the Federal power program by contending that the Nation was in dire peril of being suffocated by a Federal power monopoly.

Secretary McKay has uttered this warning on many occasions. At McNary Dam on September 23, 1954, the President himself warned against Federal operation of "a gigantic, overwhelming nationwide power monopoly."

On November 4, 1954, Budget Director Rowland R. Hughes warned against committing the country to "a policy of establishing a nationwide power monopoly."

Yet this entire argument was refuted by the President in his State of the Union message of January 6, 1955, when he flatly declared to the Congress that "Federal hydroelectric developments supply but a small fraction of the Nation's power needs."

On this occasion, the President definitely asserted the true facts. Only about 13 percent of the energy used in the Nation is generated by the Federal Government. Approximately 6 percent spins off the turbines of municipal systems, and the remaining 81 percent from private utility corporations.

What is monopoly—13 percent, or 81 percent?

Yet for months the American people were told solemnly by their highest government officials that they couldn't have any more dams like Grand Coulee, Shasta, and Bonneville because of the imminent dangers of a Federal power monopoly.

Wasn't it Bernard M. Baruch who said that every man had a right to be wrong as to his opinions but that no man had a right to be wrong as to his facts?

SUBSIDIZED POWER: ANOTHER MYTH

Ever since the present national administration went into office, a conscious and deliberate effort has taken place to convince the people of America that the energy generated at Federal hydroelectric projects does not pay for itself. These projects are portrayed as vast drains on our national Treasury.

For example, Secretary of the Interior McKay appeared on the CBS Capitol Cloak Room TV program October 23, 1953. This colloquy took place between him and Mr. Bill Costello, one of the CBS panel:

Mr. COSTELLO. "Well, it's your philosophy, then, that the citizen generally should not pay the cost of keeping power rates low but that the individual consumer should pay the actual cost of producing that power."

Secretary MCKAY. "That's right. I don't think it's right to subsidize power out in my country—for instance in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and that country. We shouldn't ask for power to be subsidized by the people in New England."

Now if anyone should realize that this is a plain and outright misrepresentation, it should be Secretary McKay. In the first place, his own annual report for 1953 declares (at p. 326) that "the repayment (on Bonneville) is substantially in excess of scheduled requirements." As a former Governor of Oregon and as a resident of the Northwest, the Secretary ought to know that the great Government power projects on the Columbia River are returning to the Treasury not only the original investment in hydroelectric facilities, but also interest and operating costs.

Consider the repayment record on the Bonneville Dam project alone. The Government has invested $128,549,822 in construction costs and operating expenses for Bonneville Dam. Although its full span of generators have been in operation only 11 years, the project has put $48,825,959 into Federal coffers from sale of power. In fact, the whole Bonneville system—marketing the output of all Federal dams on the Columbia—has collected gross income of $340,565,589 through the sale of kilowatts.

Yet these fiscal facts are not known today throughout the Nation. The other day I engaged in a brief and friendly debate on the floor of the Senate with Senator NORRIS COTTON, a fine Republican Senator from New Hampshire. He was of the opinion that our dams in the Northwest are a drain on the taxpayers of his State. In other words, the propaganda put out by Mr. McKay and others has taken root. Senator COTTON does not realize that the Columbia River projects actually, in the long run, will be an ultimate source of financial profit to the Federal Government. And I know he is not aware of the innumerable products manufactured in New England—products like alarm clocks, ice boxes, stoves, washing machines, and shoes—which have been purchased because thousands of rural folks in the Northwest have a higher standard of living and increased purchasing power through the abundant and

low-cost electricity made available to them on their farms.

THE BETRAYAL AT HELLS CANYON

The adage that history repeats itself was never more dramatically brought home to me than when I was asked a year ago to review a book detailing the fight to build Grand Coulee Dam, called Hail Columbia. This book, written by George Sundborg, a former Northwest newspaperman, impressed me with the deadly parallel between the fight for Grand Coulee and our present day struggle for Hells Canyon Dam.

Mr. Sundborg could not have had the Hells Canyon case in mind when he wrote the book because he started the work before the Hells Canyon struggle commenced.

But the situations are such close parallels they might have been poured from the same mold—like the Gold Dust twins that used to adorn the soap flake boxes.

Kettle Falls was a place on the Columbia River about 117 miles upstream from the proposed Grand Coulee damsite. In March of 1921—just after the appropriation had been secured to core-drill the Coulee site—the Washington Water Power Company began to show interest in Kettle Falls as a site for development. On June 20, 1921, a contract for exploratory drilling on the Grand Coulee site was awarded. Ten days later, Washington Water Power filed an application with the Federal Power Commission to construct a dam at Kettle Falls. The Kettle Falls dam, located in the proposed Coulee reservoir pool, would have lopped off a hundred feet from the height of Grand Coulee—horsepower in the big dam's power output, with consequent reduction of a million

A long public debate ensued in which spokesmen for a number of Federal and State agencies were enlisted to support the power company. The pattern included such official statements as that of the then secretary of the Federal Power Commission. This gentleman said a dam at Grand Coulee—and I quote—"would involve an excessive initial investment", which, he said, it was "extremely doubtful could be secured for the purpose from any resource." This official went on to say of Grand Coulee that the PPC license to the power company would be granted only for a period of 50 years. "If at the end of that time or even before, it should become evident that the high dam would be a desirable step, the net investment of the Kettle Falls development could readily be absorbed by the Grand Coulee development." And, he added, "further investigation of this plan does not seem to be necessary."

It was not until June 23, 1936, that the FPC issued an order formally denying the Kettle Falls dam permit—nearly 14 years after Washington Water Power made its first move to block Grand Coulee construction.

I detail this background only for purposes of comparing some of the developments in the Grand Coulee and Hells Canyon fights. On June 9, 1947, the Army Corps of Engineers announced a public hearing would be held on plans for development of the Middle Snake River. These plans included Hells Canyon Dam, which was a key part of its famous 308 Report on Columbia River development. Thirteen days later, the Idaho Power Co. applied to the Federal Power Commission for a preliminary permit for a new run-of-the-river dam at Oxbow site, some 35 miles upstream from the Hells Canyon site. Granting of the Oxbow license would forever bar construction of Hells Canyon Dam, but would preserve the barony which the Idaho Power Co. holds in Idaho.

Since the Oxbow application was filed, the battle has raged on. We have seen spokesmen for Government agencies and company-front groups pressured to back the company scheme, just as in the days of Grand Coulee. Hells Canyon Dam and the whole plan for full development of the Columbia Basin was hit hardest by action of Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay in withdrawing his Department's opposition to the Oxbow license.

As recently as last spring we, in Oregon, heard the Secretary repeat that the Federal budget was too precarious to start new dams. He was especially insistent about expenditures for Hells Canyon Dam, although when campaigning in the Colorado River Basin he never mentioned this fiscal situation. In Oregon, it was like listening to a hollow echo from the corridors of history—shades of that former FPC secretary who said Grand Coulee involved "excessive initial investment."

McKay never mentioned that, although Grand Coulee has had its full quota of generators in operation only since 1951, it has paid into the Federal Treasury over $51 million toward retiring an eventual power debt of $221 million.

POWER-COMPANY SLOGANS REVIVED

The parallel between Hells Canyon and Grand Coulee is significant. It shows that the situations and the arguments are not new. The ideas espoused by the Interior Secretary on Hells Canyon were merely revived from the Grand Coulee fight. It would appear that the public-opinion formers thumbed back through their book of tricks and slogans to pick out the present-day arguments.

But what if the arguments used by McKay and other administration spokesmen had prevailed in the embryo days of Grand Coulee? What would have happened to the energy which activated the Hanford works and made plutonium available for our knockout punch in World War II? Where would the power have come from for the aluminum to make 50,000 planes a year for our Nation's defense? How would we have started to wrest from the desert 15,000 farmsteads for ex-GI's and others in the Coulee region?

Fortunately, the views of those who ridiculed Grand Coulee as a "white elephant" did not prevail. As a result, America has been a better and more secure place in which to live. There were men of vision, integrity, and courage—men like George Norris, of Nebraska, and Tim O'Sullivan, from the plateau of eastern Washington—who were willing to carry on in the face of ridicule, deception, and pressure. To prevent the warmed-over arguments of the 1920's from being used against the public-power program today, we must keep alive their traditions of battle. They knew not the meaning of surrender, nor did they compromise when faced with discouragement.

Many of you may feel that the picture of the moment is bleak. But you should feel optimistic and proud. You have been in the front lines, blunting the attack. You have been hurt in some areas but not beyond recovery.

It is a far road from a damsite on a tributary to the Columbia where Norris stood that day long ago, with the fine spray drifting into his face. The prophecy and admonition which Norris gave applies today, as it did then. He said: "We will come some day, perhaps within our lifetime, to the great electric age. * * * Since Adam and Eve were driven from the Garden of Eden, there has never been discovered an element in nature with so many possibilities of usefulness and pleasure as electricity. We ought to guard with jealous care the concentration of water-power in the hands of any combination of men."

This is Norris' challenge to us. He is gone. We are here. Can we fail this man—and the hosts like him—who fought for public power when it was considered a lost cause, when the movement was in infancy? The illustrious Jefferson said, "Each generation must make its own fight for liberty." Because Norris and his contemporaries won their battle, we cannot rest content. Our own Armageddon lies ahead.

The outcome is in our own hands.

Lincoln, Eisenhower, and a Republican Philosophy for Our Times

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a Lincoln Day address which I delivered last Saturday night at Glastonbury, Conn.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LINCOLN, EISENHOWER, AND A REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY FOR OUR TIMES

(By United States Senator PRESCOTT BUSH)

In every public speaker's life there come two reactions after he receives an invitation to address a meeting such as this. First, there is the warm, happy glow when the invitation arrives, and he feels that after all this time someone is still interested in what he has to say. Later, unhappily, comes the descent to the depths, as the time by which he must prepare his remarks inexorably approaches, and he wonders what new message he can bring his audience.

In this latter mood, back in Washington a few days ago, and thinking of Abraham Lincoln, whom we honor tonight, 90 years after his death, my eyes fell on a newspaper clipping I keep below the glass on my desk. It's a prayer which James Reston of the New York Times reprinted in his column some months ago. Let me read it to you:

"God give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great heart, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking.
God, give us men. Amen."

As I read those lines again one night last week, they gave me one part of the message I want to bring to you tonight:

The Republican Party can be eternally proud that in two times of crisis in the history of our Nation it gave America two Presidents of the stature of Abraham Lincoln and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Both men, in truth, of "strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands." Both above the fog in public duty and in private thinking.

There have been other great Republican Presidents. The name of Teddy Roosevelt, to mention only one, comes automatically to mind. But between Lincoln and none of our other great Presidents, including the Oyster Bay Roosevelt, have there been such similarities as exist between the Great Emancipator and Dwight Eisenhower.

Many parallels between Lincoln and Eisenhower could be pointed out. I will mention but a few.

First, most obviously, are the times of national crises in which each bore the burdens of office. Lincoln, in his day, was confronted with a nation half slave and half free; Eisenhower, today, struggles with the many grave problems created by a world half slave and half free.

Outstanding, next, are their similar great qualities as spiritual leaders of the American people, leaders with a reverent faith in God

and in the Divine inspiration which gives life to the great documents of our history, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Both men came at times in our history when there was need for the flame of that faith to burn brighter.

And then there is their leadership in stating the philosophy of the Republican Party to which we give our allegiance.

Political conditions in our times, as in Lincoln's day, envelop the political battle in a thick smog. Differences between our major parties are blurred. Factions mark splits within each party. Slogans and labels today are used much as they were in Lincoln's time to create differences where none exist, or to cover up the real differences which honest reason and discussion would expose.

Facing similar conditions in his time, Lincoln did something about them which we are only now beginning to understand. He cut beneath the party battle to eternal truths. He stated principles, defined differences, and clarified issues. No one can read the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates or the Lincoln campaign speeches without being impressed with his patient determination to draw the line between the emerging Republican Party and his Democratic opponents.

The same thing is being done today by President Eisenhower. A careful reader of his state papers and public utterances will find within them a growing body of political philosophy, a philosophy suited for our times and the Nation's manifold problems of the day.

As modern Republicans, we believe with Lincoln that "the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. And, as our case is new, so must we think and act anew."

And President Eisenhower, while holding fast to the fundamentals of our American system of government which our opponents sometimes forgot and still forget, is thinking and acting anew as we come to grips with the sometimes bewilderingly complex problems we face.

It is significant that our President has so often quoted Lincoln's famous statement on the nature of government:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

And Dwight Eisenhower has added to that statement his own—one which I venture to suggest will one day become as famous:

"In all those things which deal with people, be liberal, be human. In all those things which deal with the people's money or their economy or their form of government, be conservative—and don't be afraid to use the word."

Together, those statements form the central core of the philosophy of our modern Republican Party—a party which is alive and sympathetic to the human needs of the people, and a party which, unlike our opponents at times, is aware of the dangers to the people's freedom which lie in overly paternalistic, centralized government.

It is a philosophy of progressive moderation, as the President has called it, or of moderate progressiveness as others name it. Whatever it be named, it is a philosophy which strikes a responsive chord in the minds and aspirations of the American people, who find a steady advance along the middle of the road to our future more sensible and more attractive than frenetic zigzaggings from left to right and vice versa.

The Republican Party has come a long way in improving its political philosophy since I first voted for Charles Evans Hughes in New Haven in 1916. It has profited by its own mistakes. It has profited by the mistakes of its political opponents. And, under the leadership of President Eisenhower, it reflects the best understanding of the real obligations and duties of government that we have yet seen in the history of the United States.

Our philosophy recognizes that in this complex industrial civilization of modern times, the problems of government are more complicated and more comprehensive than they have ever been before.

We recognize that there has grown to be a greater degree of interdependence among our people than ever before.

We recognize that the security and happiness of the American home is the most important basic asset in American economic, political, and social life.

We recognize that the happiness and security of those homes depends upon jobs. It depends upon opportunities and incentives to work.

We recognize that there can be no prosperity in the truest sense unless there are jobs available for all who are willing and able to work.

So, with these basic facts in mind, the Eisenhower administration has undertaken, in the past 2 years, to unleash the forces which will create this indispensable situation. It has adopted a policy of incentives, rather than a punitive attitude, toward labor, capital, and management. It has passed legislation designed to loosen up the savings of the people and put them into constructive job-creating enterprises. It has been unashamed to state the doctrine that just as labor is worthy of its hire, so are the savings of the people.

In matters of taxation, it has adopted an incentive rather than a punitive attitude. And in dealing with private business, it has adopted a helpful and understanding attitude rather than one of punitive vindictiveness. And taken all in all, these attitudes and policies have resulted in more jobs—more jobs than we have ever had before in any peacetime period in American history.

But that is not all. Our policies have created a situation and an environment which gives tremendous confidence for the future. No one could read the President's Economic Report of January 19, 1955, without being inspired with confidence for the future. We recognize our Government's obligation to serve the basic human needs of our people, to encourage and promote personal and family security, and we point the way to accomplishment of those ends by encouragement and stimulation of jobmaking private enterprise.

I have referred to factional splits within the 2 major parties today. I sometimes think that we Republicans worry so much about our own differences of opinion that we blind ourselves to the very serious cleavages which drive apart the Democrats. From observation in the Senate, I can assure you that those cleavages exist, although I must reluctantly confess that the Democrats, perhaps smarter politicians than we, gloss them over as much as possible. And when the chips are down, their party discipline takes command.

Nevertheless, we can't blink the fact that there are divisions in our Republican Party, differences which are particularly apparent in the Senate. There has been encouraging progress in the early days of the 84th Congress towards increasing the unity among Republican Senators. I hope that progress will continue.

And to my Republican friends in Connecticut, I say that we are in need of greater unity—greater unity and a spirit of confidence. The shock and disappointment of losing the Governorship in the most recent election has caused some to doubt and despair. There are some, I regret to say, who fail to realize that in Dwight D. Eisenhower and the record we are making under his leadership the Republican Party has its greatest asset since the days of Lincoln.

Let us look to the future instead of the past. And our future as a party is bright. I see an overwhelming victory ahead for us in 1956. I see that victory because the record we are making will be unbeatable—the record both in national affairs and in the zealous attention to the interests of Connecticut which is being given by your entire Republican delegation in the Congress.

The President has the trust of the American people. I confidently expect that he will run again. In his messages to the 84th Congress, he has outlined a program and expressed a philosophy which we, as modern Republicans, embrace and in which we can take pride. It is a program and a philosophy for our times, reflecting the hopes and aspirations of a great majority of the American people.

The enactment of the program for the 84th Congress—and I believe most of it will be adopted, although not without heel-dragging and querulous quibbling by our opponents—will add luster to the record made by the 83d.

So look ahead.

Cast off the chains of fear and doubt. Be proud of our party and its great leader who will surely restore it to the hearts and affections of the American people.

Results of McGregor Poll on National Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I would like to place in the RECORD the results of a questionnaire I sent to the citizens in the 17th Ohio District. I am proud to represent this district in the Congress of the United States. The questions were concerned with major national and international problems facing Congress today.

I regret I could not send a questionnaire to each of my constituents in the district, but I believe the replies I have received are the opinions of a cross section of those I represent.

Question sheets were sent to almost every occupational group: Republican and Democratic committeemen and women, laborers, attorneys, housewives, public office holders and government employees, salesmen, retired men and women, ministers, college and high-school students, and their instructors. Also included are those working in business and industry, newspaper, radio and professional positions.

Blanks were mailed to individuals and reproductions of the questionnaire were published in nearly all of the 20 daily and weekly newspapers in my district.

A large percent of the completed forms contained comments on the questions which proves to me that the average citizen is interested in the vital issues now before this legislative body and is anxious to express his views on them. I am very pleased so many took the time to write and attach letters and notes to

the questionnaire enlarging upon their answers.

The population in my district is composed of about half rural and half urban residents. Nearly all of the labor and farm organizations are represented as well as large and small business. There are also 2 colleges and 2 universities.

It is not often that a Congressman can obtain a true picture of such an evenly divided district, but through the questionnaire method, I feel I have gained the majority opinion of those I represent.

The questionnaire and the results are as follows:

QUESTIONNAIRE IN AN ENDEAVOR TO LEARN THE VIEWS OF THE FOLKS BACK HOME

	Yes	No
	Percent	*Percent*
1. Which is your choice on the farm program relative to price support and crop control?		
(a) 100-percent price support and rigid crop control	8	92
(b) Flexible price support and medium crop control	64	36
(c) No price support and no crop control	30	70
2. Should women qualified for social security be eligible for benefits at age 60?	68	32
3. Realizing the need for a strong national defense, which do you prefer?		
(a) Extension of the present draft law	57	43
(ff) Universal military training	42	58
4. Do you believe that our present foreign policy program is proving effective and promoting world peace?	55	45
(If your answer is negative write your own suggestions on the back of this questionnaire.)		
5. Do you favor continuation of:		
(a) Technical assistance to Europe?	75	25
(b) Economic assistance to Europe?	38	62
(c) Military assistance to Europe?	53	47
6. Do you favor continuation of:		
(a) Technical assistance to Asia?	76	24
(b) Economic assistance to Asia?	46	54
(c) Military assistance to Asia?	49	51

Signature _____

Street _____

City and State _____

Occupation _____

Please fill out and return this questionnaire to J. HARRY MCGREGOR, Member of Congress, 1434 New House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Percentage distribution of replies to questionnaire

	Yes	No
Question 1. Which is your choice on the farm program relative to price support and crop control?		
(a) 100 percent price support and rigid crop control:		
Total replies	8	92
Attorneys	18	82
Business, industry, and salesmen	7	93
Farmers	11	89
Housewives	2	98
Labor	5	95
Ministers	0	100
Newspaper and radio	0	100
Occupation not given and organizations	15	85
Professionals	5	95
Public office holders and Federal employees	7	93
Retired	15	85
Teachers	6	94
Students	9	91

Percentage distribution of replies to questionnaire—Continued

	Yes	No
Quesetion 1.—Continued		
(b) Flexible price support and medium crop control:		
Total replies	64	3
Attorneys	58	42
Business, industry and salesmen	52	48
Farmers	41	59
Housewives	60	40
Labor	56	44
Ministers	75	25
Newspaper and radio	57	43
Occupation not given and organizations	60	40
Professionals	73	27
Public office holders and Federal employees	56	44
Retired	33	67
Teachers	72	28
Students	83	17
(c) No price support and no crop control?		
Total replies	30	70
Attorneys	38	62
Business, industry and salesmen	47	53
Farmers	50	50
Housewives	35	65
Labor	40	60
Ministers	25	75
Newspaper and radio	38	62
Occupation not given and organizations	29	71
Professionals	23	77
Public office holders and Federal employees	44	56
Retired	37	63
Teachers	25	75
Students	12	88
Question 2. Should women qualified for social security be eligible for benefits at age 60?		
Total replies	68	32
Attorneys	49	51
Business, industry, and salesmen	60	40
Farmers	52	48
Housewives	63	37
Labor	78	22
Ministers	50	50
Newspaper and radio	100	0
Occupation not given and organizations	67	33
Professionals	53	47
Public officeholders and Federal employees	66	34
Retired	62	38
Teachers	75	25
Students	79	21
Question 3. Realizing the need for a strong national defense, which do you prefer?		
(a) Extension of the present draft law:		
Total replies	57	43
Attorneys	46	54
Business, industry, and salesmen	49	51
Farmers	50	50
Housewives	56	44
Labor	57	43
Ministers	85	15
Newspaper and radio	50	50
Occupation not given and organizations	45	55
Professionals	56	44
Public office holders and Federal employees	50	50
Retired	54	46
Teachers	60	40
Students	55	45
(b) Universal military training:		
Total replies	42	58
Attorneys	42	58
Business, industry, and salesmen	47	53
Farmers	32	68
Housewives	38	62
Labor	50	50
Ministers	11	89
Newspaper and radio	50	50
Occupation not given and organizations	44	56
Professionals	43	57
Public office holders and Federal employees	47	53
Retired	54	46
Teachers	41	59
Students	45	55
Question 4. Do you believe that our present foreign policy program is proving effective and promoting world peace?		
Total replies	55	45
Attorneys	52	48
Business, industry, and salesmen	55	45
Farmers	39	61
Housewives	51	49
Labor	51	49

Percentage distribution of replies to questionnaire—Continued

	Yes	No
Question 4.—Continued		
Ministers	72	28
Newspaper and radio	50	50
Occupation not given and organizations	51	49
Professionals	56	44
Public office holders and Federal employees	50	50
Retired	40	60
Teachers	68	32
Students	60	40
Question 5. Do you favor continuation of—		
(a) Technical assistance to Europe?		
Total replies	75	25
Attorneys	74	26
Business, industry, and salesmen	72	28
Farmers	70	30
Housewives	68	32
Labor	65	35
Ministers	83	17
Newspaper and radio	57	43
Occupation not given and organizations	67	33
Professionals	85	15
Public office holders and Federal employees	69	31
Retired	59	41
Teachers	86	14
Students	81	19
(b) Economic assistance to Europe?		
Total replies	38	62
Attorneys	38	62
Business, industry, and salesmen	31	69
Farmers	33	67
Housewives	44	56
Labor	35	65
Ministers	54	46
Newspapers and radio	43	57
Occupation not given and organizations	39	61
Professionals	35	65
Public office holders and Federal employees	41	59
Retired	32	68
Teachers	52	48
Students	38	62
(c) Military assistance to Europe?		
Total replies	53	47
Attorneys	54	46
Business, industry and salesmen	48	52
Farmers	42	58
Housewives	30	70
Labor	42	58
Ministers	61	39
Newspaper and radio	43	57
Occupation not given and organizations	41	59
Professionals	57	43
Public office holders and Federal employees	48	52
Retired	43	57
Teachers	60	40
Students	65	35
Question 6. Do you favor continuation of—		
(a) Technical assistance to Asia?		
Total replies	76	24
Attorneys	76	24
Business, industry, and salesmen	75	25
Farmers	69	31
Housewives	70	30
Labor	65	35
Ministers	85	15
Newspaper and radio	75	25
Occupation not given and Organizations	63	37
Professionals	80	20
Public office holders and Federal employees	69	31
Retired	54	46
Teachers	85	15
Students	82	18
(b) Economic assistance to Asia?		
Total replies	46	54
Attorneys	40	60
Business, industry, and salesmen	42	58
Farmers	41	59
Housewives	44	56
Labor	44	56
Ministers	64	36
Newspaper and radio	43	57
Occupation not given and organizations	44	56
Professionals	44	56
Public office holders and Federal employees	59	41
Retired	40	60
Teachers	66	34
Students	40	60

Percentage distribution of replies to questionnaire—Continued

	Yes	No
Question 6.—Continued		
(c) Military assistance to Asia?		
Total replies	49	51
Attorneys	54	46
Business, industry, and salesmen	45	55
Farmers	38	62
Housewives	36	64
Labor	35	65
Ministers	60	40
Newspaper and radio	43	57
Occupation not given and organizations	32	68
Professionals	57	43
Public office holders and Federal employees	53	47
Retired	47	53
Teachers	54	46
Students	58	42

Rinaldo Burrus Page, a Man Devoted to North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL J. ERVIN, JR.
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I have prepared a brief statement regarding the late Mr. Rinaldo Burrus Page, of Wilmington, N. C., and his valuable contribution to his adopted State. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RINALDO BURRUS PAGE, A MAN DEVOTED TO NORTH CAROLINA

On February 2, 1955, death marched into the ranks of North Carolina's most useful citizenry and claimed a distinguished business and civic leader, Mr. Rinaldo Burrus Page, publisher of the Star-News newspapers of Wilmington.

He was the first chairman of the North Carolina State Ports Authority and a Wilmington civic leader for 25 years.

A native of Columbus, Ga., Mr. Page began his newspaper experience on his father's paper, the Columbus Ledger. He attended Emory University and the University of Georgia. After service in France in World War I, he returned to the newspaper business, coming to Wilmington in 1927 as president and publisher of the Wilmington Morning Star, later acquiring the Wilmington News.

Following years of undivided interest in the development of his city and the Cape Fear region, Gov. R. Gregg Cherry named Mr. Page to the chairmanship of the newly created ports commission in 1945. Mr. Page had long been a leading spokesman for the development of better ports in North Carolina, and with the passing of time, my State will realize even more the wisdom and courage that he possessed.

His contribution to his fellowman was not limited to the newspaper and ports fields. He devoted himself to progressive civic duty in many areas.

Once convinced that a cause was just, Mr. Page was never satisfied with anything less than complete success—a clear-cut challenge and priceless heritage for his lineage and associates.

He wrought well and left a lasting impress upon the annals of our generation.

Danger From Mass Asphyxiations From Smog in Los Angeles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, we are now told that there is a continuing and expanding hazard to the people of the city of Los Angeles from mass asphyxiation from smog. "Smog" is a California word which describes air pollution. We are told of the hazard by one qualified to know, Mr. A. F. Merewether, of New York City, president of the American Meteorological Society, and a citizen of the State and city of New York.

Because of the increasing hazard to the health of those who reside not alone in the cities of America, but also in rural towns across the country, the two distinguished Senators from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN and Mr. DUFF], my senior colleague from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], and I were prompted to introduce proposed legislation which would create a Federal Air Pollution Control Act, and which would enlist the scientific resources of the Federal Government in what must be a united effort against the menace of air pollution.

The statement to which I have referred was made in a letter which was written by Mr. Merewether, and which is commented upon in the Los Angeles Times of Wednesday, February 2, 1955. I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SMOG DANGER REAL, SAYS NEW YORKER—METEOROLOGIST CALLS ATTENTION TO PAST MASS ASPHYXIATIONS

The president of the American Meteorological Society in a letter turned over yesterday to the board of supervisors remarked that mass asphyxiations from smog in Los Angeles would not surprise him.

The writer was A. F. Merewether, of New York City, who in addition to heading the society is meteorology director for American Airlines at LaGuardia Field.

He wrote the letter to Dr. M. Neiberger, senior meteorologist for the Air Pollution Foundation. The letter was given to the supervisors by Dr. Lauren B. Hitchcock, managing director of the foundation.

DISAGREES WITH THEORY

Merewether disagreed with the Blewett theory that smog is created freakishly by nature. He said smog is man-made and that Los Angeles is more conducive to its concentration than most places.

"The Americans have been pouring sewage and refuse into our streams for years and we are not surprised that neither we nor fish can swim safely in such waters any longer," he wrote.

"Why then try to make it such a mystery when we do the same thing to our atmosphere?"

SMOG NOT NEW

Merewether reminded that smog is not new and mentioned the smog disasters in London, Donora, and the Meuse Valley in France.

"I, for one, will not be at all surprised to pick up the paper some morning and read of the same sort of mass asphyxiations (in Los Angeles) that have struck before in other parts of the world.

"It has been said," he continued, "that 'those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.' From the viewpoint of an outsider, looking on from a safe and comfortable distance, that seems to be the choice of you folks out in 'sunny California.'"

Ground-Breaking Ceremonies for the Hendersonville, N. C., Plant of the General Electric Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL J. ERVIN, JR.
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, the General Electric Co. is locating several of its new plants in North Carolina. My coworker, Representative GEORGE A. SHUFORD, and I were privileged to attend the ground-breaking ceremonies of one of these new plants near Hendersonville, N. C., on February 4, 1955, and to hear a magnificent address made by Mr. Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board of directors of General Electric Co., who is one of the industrial statesmen of our day. His address abounds in prophetic insights in respect to the future uses of power, and for this reason merits dissemination and preservation. I ask unanimous consent to have the address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It has been aptly said that if your impressions of the Southeast are more than 5 years old, you had better make a recheck.

About 5 years ago the General Electric board of directors made an official visit to Georgia. I remember particularly how we admired the climate, the dogwood, the violets, and spring, which at that moment was bustin' out all over.

But there was another kind of "spring" in the air too. New plans, new plants, new industries were springing up wherever we went. Strongest of all the impressions I received was the continuing expansion of electric power requirements, and this was not just because the Georgia Power Co. was our more than adequate host.

It is because I know of no better index of a nation's or a region's progress and potential economic growth than a rapidly rising curve of electric power generation. Electricity touches so many other things, and like an economist's fairy tale, whatever it touches becomes transformed.

A Southern writer, James Street, has expressed this in another way: "My Southern emblem," he said, "is the washing machine on the front porch of the little house where the cabin in the cotton used to be. Drive along back roads and you'll see scads of them. Why on the front porch? I don't know. But I know this: a washing machine means electricity, and unless you have lived by lamplight or fired a washpot in the backyards you'll never know what electricity really means."

It has been too long since I visited North Carolina and I am very glad to be back for a recheck. I have received a great many impressions today—of your broad streets lined with oaks and maples and your fine

homes. And if it is a little early for even a southern spring, it is obvious that you are still bustin' out in an epidemic of industrial activity.

The South has changed more in the last 15 years than in the previous 50, and more in the last 5 than the previous 15. Miles and miles of brandnew factories, as modern as day-after-tomorrow, line your countryside. Where all of this may eventually lead I don't think any of us can adequately assess at this moment, but when I remind you that we now have planned or in operation four plants in North Carolina it is obvious that we at General Electric believe that "nothing could be finer than to be in Carolina" for the rest of our corporate life which, because corporations need never die, could be forever.

This belief is based upon a double prognostication: (1) The future of this area, and (2) the future of the electrical industry. That these futures are inextricably interwoven does not diminish either but augments them.

The future of North Carolina is based upon figures that I do not need to cite to this audience: the growth in population at faster than the national average; markets that are growing faster than population; leadership in tobacco, textile, and furniture manufacture, and new diversification in electronics, chemicals, specialties; increased value of farm property and value added by manufacture; rising industrial payroll and farm income; multiplying demand for electric energy.

The future of the electrical industry is based upon the fact that we expect to produce and sell as much electrical equipment in the next 10 years as we have in the entire 75 years of our existence.

I am glad to see a number of friends and colleagues in the business of producing electricity, or of making equipment to generate or use it, here in the audience. It would be interesting to know how each of you happened to get into this business, because, whatever the reasons or motivations, we find ourselves today in the most exciting, challenging and, in my judgment, the most essential undertaking in the length and breadth of America. Energy, electric energy, is literally the cornerstone of our phenomenal national growth and economic preeminence. It is also one of the key requirements for America's continued progress and leadership.

It is even more interesting to note how some of the pioneers of this great industry got into the business. James Buchanan Duke got into it, I have been told, because of a sore toe and a physician who practiced electrical development of his native State along with his medicine. But long before the hydroelectric plants of Duke, there was power in the Piedmont. Hard-working, hard-headed men, with no foreknowledge of the inevitable change in relationship from money and land to money and machinery, mechanically harnessed the water falling in the streams for a variety of tasks and thus attached themselves and their region to change. Doing so long ago, they took the Carolinas into the main stream of modern industrial America.

Then, in 1894, there occurred an event of great historic significance to the South and to the electrical industry: the first application, at Columbia, S. C., of alternating current motors to turn the spindles in a textile mill. This was followed, just 10 years later, by the first hydroelectric plant of what is now the Duke power system.

But I doubt that even Duke envisioned the power of the South of today. During the last 5 years the electric utilities of this State have increased their generating facilities by a million kilowatts. That's growth with a capital G. Carolina Power & Light Co. is now in the midst of a $200 million construction program. Duke power is now creating near Belmont a single station with a continuous capability of 1 million kilowatts.

These are some of the fantastic figures of the fantastic growth of electric energy in this country. We can be truly thankful that our job in the years ahead will not be one of protecting the status quo or battling for just a little more business. Rather it will be the difficult but much more satisfying task of keeping abreast, or more accurately, of keeping ahead of the broad sweep of expanding demand for electric energy everywhere in this country.

Seventy-five years ago or less, the only significant use of electricity besides heating a lamp filament to incandescence or consuming the carbon rod in an arc lamp was to operate traction motors in a street railway car. Today, it is hard indeed to think of any human activity that is not associated with the use of electricity.

In 1954, for example, just to do such things as beat up eggs and wash dishes, to mow lawns and freeze foods and heat homes, we manufactured our 100 millionth fractional horsepower motor. Today lamps are used not merely to give light, but to soothe our aches and sprains, decorate our holidays, sterilize and deodorize the atmosphere, take pictures, and give us the epidermic equivalent of a winter vacation. And the fastest growing part of the electrical industry, electronics, is not so much concerned with increasing the amount of energy at man's disposal, as the amount of knowledge.

You, here in Hendersonville, are very close to the center of the new industrial South. I feel we are very fortunate, in the electrical industry, producing electricity or manufacturing the devices to make it or use it, in being so close to the absolute center of things, industrially speaking, and as measured by the potential and leverage for good.

Sir Anthony Eden, when he was here a couple of years ago, was talking one evening about the difference between the totalitarian state, in which one party has absolute political authority and no opposition is brooked; the two-party system, as here and in Britain; and the multiparty system, as in France—with any number of splinter parties and the great difficulty of getting a majority in any party. It seems that a Frenchman and a few associates had decided to get together and form a new party. The difficulty was what to call it. They were sitting around a cafe trying to solve this problem. At last one of the group had an inspiration. "I know what," he said, "we will call it the party of the extreme center."

Perhaps I am prejudiced, but as I have traveled the world and noted the needs and hopes and accomplishments of people everywhere I could not escape the conclusion that the extreme center of the civilization in which we live—social, economic, and political—is power—electric power. Radiating in all directions from that center, its proven worth to mankind is prodigious, and its potential for further good is literally infinite.

I like to think of the electrical industry as constituting a kind of benign circle. We make, as you know, products which generate electric power; other products which transmit and distribute it to the points where it is needed; and still other products, millions of them, which use and are operated by electric power. Now whatever we do well and effectively in one of these three great segments—generation, distribution, of utilization—is reflected favorably in the other two. A new product like television, for example, has added substantially to the electric power load of the country. With growing loads the utility companies use ever larger, ever more efficient generating equipment which accounts, in large part, for electric energy being available today at a lower price than it was 15 years ago, whereas other prices, on the average, have risen 90 percent in the same period.

The benign circle is completed by very virtue of the fact that the extremely low cost of electric power in turn makes possible the sale, not only of new things like television, but more and more of a numberless variety of power driven products for the homes, factories, schools, hospitals—indeed for every use known to mankind. And as more and more of these products are installed the power load continues to climb and we start again around that benign circle which lightens our burdens and brightens our lives with every turn.

This new plant for which we have broken ground today will make Hendersonville an even more important part of that benign circle. It will mean new citizens for your community, for many of our top managers and specialists will come to make their homes here, and visitors will be drawn from all parts of the world. It will mean new business during construction and new employment and new payrolls when the plant is completed.

But that is not all. The product of this factory will mean more time for many outdoor activities all over the country. It will mean the saving of thousands of lives and millions of dollars from after-dark traffic accidents; it will mean reduced crime. These are some of the contributions that Hendersonville, as the "outdoor lighting center of the world," will make to America.

Just about a hundred miles from here is one of the most modern street-lighting installations in America today. Fluorescent street lights are comparatively new. Yet Statesville has 104 of them—one of the largest single installations in the United States. The outlook down the years is bright and challenging.

I have emphasized the growth of the Southeast in the last 5 or 10 years and with good reason. It is encouraging also to know that each sector of the country has grown during the same period—some a little and some a lot.

With natural and justifiable pride in yourself and in your State, it may be observed that you have done better than the average. You are to be congratulated. At the same time I know you are conscious of the importance of national balance in the midst of dynamic growth and change.

Each sector of our country depends upon the other; the contribution of each is essential to our overall economic well-being. Although there have been substantial changes in the relative contributions of some of the sectors to our national income, the record shows that each grows with the assistance of the other and creates still further opportunities for the growth of the others.

It is just good business to put some of our payrolls into areas where our major markets are, as our competitors are doing. To do so does not give preference to one area over another; it ultimately helps every community in which General Electric has a plant. We cannot continue to grow except with and as a part of the economic development of the Nation as a whole.

I mentioned a moment ago that we now have, or are planning, 4 plants in North Carolina. In addition to plants to Asheboro, Goldsboro, Hendersonville, and Hickory planned or in being, since the war plants have been added at Rome, Ga.; Anniston, Ala.; Memphis, Tenn.; Lexington, Owensboro, and Louisville, Ky; Jackson, Miss.; and Jonesboro, Ark. These plants, producing a wide variety of products including electronic tubes, transformers, automatic blankets, automatic washers and dryers, dishwashers, ranges, lamps, outdoor lighting equipment, and small motors, are contributing importantly to the diversified economy of the

South. Our investment in new factories, laboratories, and equipment has exceeded $1,100,000,000 since the war. Of this, $155 million was for new and improved research and advanced development facilities for improved products and services.

All of this has taken place under a planned program of decentralization. Neither the "new South" nor New England has cause to fear this program. On the contrary. If we plan well, the new plants, like the old ones, will be competitive and continue to grow with new and expanding markets. Some of these new plants, like the one to be erected here, are headquarters for the business in which they are engaged.

We are not leaving one locality in favor of another; rather we are expanding with the Nation's expanding and changing population—into new markets and new areas of development. Before there was a plan for Hendersonville, there was a Lynn plan, which contemplates full and effective use of improved and modernized facilities in that fine city. Our expansion at new locations is expected to be only a small part of our total business.

The Hendersonville plant will manufacture street and flood-lighting equipment, traffic control systems, and military and airport lighting products. Like so many other fields of this various and diverse electrical industry, we expect the demand for these products to double in the next 10 years. To help insure that it does, we have included a research laboratory for continuous research and development of new lighting techniques.

In other words, we are satisfied that tremendous business opportunities lie ahead for all parts and sectors of this country, and most certainly for those engaged in the generation, transmission and distribution of electric energy, and in the manufacture of devices to produce or utilize it.

Ours is still a young, vigorous, and growing country. Its rate of growth will be, in part, a function of the efficiency of our operations, reflected in wide availability and low cost of electric power, and also in part on the ingenuity of ourselves and of others in finding ever new and ever more uses for that power. And if, as I believe, new uses for electric energy will continue to emerge in direct proportion to the manpower and dollars devoted to research, there can be no question that demand for power will broaden and deepen with each passing decade.

I believe that statement to be true in the absolute sense, barring only world war III. That is to say, I am satisfied that the years 1960, 1970, 1980, and so on will witness, each for its own decade, a broader, more extensive use of electricity on the one hand and a deeper, more intensive consumption of it on the other. If anything besides death and taxes is certain in this ever-changing world, that prognostication in my judgment heads the list.

The uncertainty, ladies and gentlemen—and there is uncertainty—lies in the magnitude of the growth of demand during the balance of this century. It is the rate of growth, the slope of the curve, that can vary between wide limits. Assuming, as one must in this gathering, that our industries will have vigorous, intelligent and far-sighted management, the actual course of the curve will depend, for one thing, on developments in the great struggle between the free and Communist countries of the world. It will depend also on the wisdom, or lack of it, of America's foreign policy, economic as well as political. And finally, it will depend heavily on the economic climate or environment which America selects—or, more accurately, elects—for itself in the years ahead.

It is not my purpose to discuss the international scene this evening, except to repeat a prediction I have made before and continue to endorse. Paradoxical as it may seem, I am prepared to venture the prediction that the pressures, tensions, fears, and sufferings imposed on the world by the Russian and, more recently, Chinese imperialist drive for domination will turn out in the end to have been a blessing in disguise. I say this because I believe, first, that the drive will fail, and second, that in taking the necessary steps to defeat it the free world will have organized itself economically and politically in ways enormously beneficial to the cause of world peace. I visualize that Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia will all be benefited by economic and political arrangements made, or to be made, as countermoves to the Soviet drive for power; arrangements which, in the absence of the deadly Communist threat, would have been quite impossible of accomplishment.

These things will not happen in a hurry, nor will the ultimate victory of the free world derive from any single coup or conference. Rather they will result at long last from the cumulative effect of a very great many separate acts and undertakings embracing the military, economic, and propaganda fields.

The next 10 years will certainly not be dull ones. If we can, in the course of them, cultivate and strengthen this truly wonderful economic system of ours; if we can be wise, patient, and firm, but not inflexible, in our international relations; and if, with God's guidance, we can thus discharge with distinction our recently acquired role of leadership in world affairs, we shall have earned the right to enjoy the full fruits of an age boundless in opportunity both for material and spiritual satisfaction. I am in favor of that—and I suspect you are also.

United Nations Commission on International Commodity Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, on February 11 I had the honor of addressing the Executives Club of Chicago. This is an exceptionally fine group, and I was more than pleased to have the opportunity to speak to them. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the remarks I made plus the full documentation of the speech.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Last month a new United Nations Commission, known as the Commission on International Commodity Trade convened in New York. Our Government took a momentous step in December of 1954 when the Honorable Nat King, Acting United States Representative in the United Nations Economic and Social Council released the following statement:

"At the last session of the Council I stated that my delegation hoped to be able to announce at this session whether my Government would participate in the Commission on International Commodity Trade. In this connection I am now authorized to make the following statement:

" 'The United States Government is not now prepared to participate in the work of the Commission on International Commodity Trade. It wishes for the present to keep in close contact with the Commission's work as it develops in the hope that it might be able to be of possible assistance. The United States Government will be prepared to reexamine the question of its eventual participation after the Commission's terms of reference and its scope of activities have been defined'."

I wish to commend the Secretary of State and his associates for this action. I regard it as the first step in reversing some of the unfortunate economic trends within the United Nations which were originally promoted by our own Government.

Our present able delegation to the Economic and Social Council, headed by the Honorable Preston Hotchkis, has had to devote a great deal of its efforts to combat proposals which originated in our own State Department many years ago. This is unfortunate as the Iron Curtain countries are presented with an opportunity to sow dissension among the free nations when it becomes necessary for us to cast votes in opposition to proposals sponsored by friendly countries in the United Nations. Yet, if we are to remain true to our own economic philosophy, we can take no other course. Our sins of the past have now returned to haunt us.

This Commission on International Commodity Trade is 1 of 2 groups established by the Economic and Social Council whose activities can have a very profound effect upon our economy. The other is the Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices. I now intend to trace the establishment of these groups to concepts originally formulated by our own Government.

Our State Department published a document entitled "Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment" in November of 1945. The forword to this publication read as follows:

"Developed by a technical staff within the Government of the United States in preparation for an International Conference on Trade and Employment and presented for consideration by the peoples of the world."

The thesis of this document was that international trade was kept small by four factors:

(1) Restrictions imposed by Governments, i. e., tariffs and quotas.

(2) Excessive price fluctuations in the markets for primary commodities.

(3) Restrictions imposed by private combines and cartels.

(4) Irregularity and the fear of irregularity in production and employment.

This State Department document proposed the formation of an International Trade Organization to make recommendations for the removal of the impediments to expanding world trade enumerated previously and to implement such recommendations.

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, at its first session early in 1946, adopted a resolution to call an International Conference on Trade and Employment as suggested in the United States proposals. The council also established a preparatory committee to prepare an agenda and a draft charter for consideration by the conference. This preparatory committee held its first meeting in London in the fall of 1946. Subsequent meetings were held in New York and Geneva.

The international conference, to consider the charter, convened at Habana, Cuba, on November 21, 1947, and remained in session until March 24, 1948. The document which emerged from these deliberations is now familiarly known as the Habana Charter. It was submitted to the Congress in April 1949, and was strongly supported by President Truman and the then Secretary of State, Dean Acheson.

The House Committee on Foreign Affairs conducted extensive hearings on this agree-

ment in April and May 1950. No report was ever made by the committee. The State Department announced in December of 1950 that it would not ask the 82d Congress, which convened in 1951, to again consider agreeing to United States membership in the proposed International Trade Organization.

Although the basic concepts for the charter had originated in our own Government, it is quite clear that the Congress never accepted the document which emerged from this series of meetings under United Nations auspices. In fact, the State Department, by its announcement in December of 1950, clearly showed that it realized the futility of asking the Congress to consider this subject again.

I shall now show how the four restrictive factors enumerated in the United States proposals were incorporated into the charter.

The first obstacle to the expansion of world trade outlined in the State Department's proposals was the restriction on trade imposed by governments including tariffs, quotas, and exchange controls. Chapter IV of the Habana Charter entitled "Commercial Policy" dealt with procedures to reduce tariffs and to extend the most-favored-nation treatment in trade agreements. It also covered quantitative restrictions and currency controls.

Chapter VI of the Habana Charter was entitled "Intergovernmental Commodity Agreements." This chapter recommended the use of such agreements to eliminate excessive price fluctuations in the markets for primary commodities and implemented the State Department proposal dealing with this subject. The preamble to this chapter stated, and I quote:

"The members recognize that the conditions under which some primary commodities are produced, exchanged and consumed are such that international trade in these commodities may be affected by special difficulties such as the tendency toward persistent disequilibrium between production and consumption, the accumulation of burdensome stocks and pronounced fluctuations in prices. These special difficulties may have serious adverse effects on the interests of producers and consumers, as well as widespread repercussions jeopardizing the general policy of economic expansion. The members recognize that such difficulties may, at times, necessitate special treatment of the international trade in such commodities through intergovernmental agreement."

Chapter V of the Habana Charter was entitled "Restrictive Business Practices." It provided for procedures to eliminate the restrictions imposed by private combines and cartels in the original United States proposals. In effect it proposed an international antitrust law.

Chapter II of the Habana Charter was entitled "Employment and Economic Activities." This chapter dealt with the irregularity and the fear of irregularity in production and employment and, again implemented the State Department's proposals dealing with this subject.

The proponents of these proposals did not wait for the nations of the world to ratify the charter for the International Trade Organization. Steps were taken during the third session of the Preparatory Committee for the Habana Conference which met in Geneva in the spring of 1947 to implement some of these proposals.

This Preparatory Committee sponsored negotiations for the reduction of tariffs and conducted discussions which led to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade familiarly known as GATT. Although these tariff negotiations were sponsored by the Preparatory Committee for the Habana Conference to implement one chapter of the proposed charter and were finally incorporated in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the countries concerned established a separate organization, which is not an operating unit of the United Nations, to carry on this work. Other succeeding sessions were conducted at Annecy, France, and Torquay, England.

The GATT organization differs from the other groups which trace their origin to the original State Department proposals. In the first place, of the Iron Curtain countries, only Czechoslovakia which became a signatory to the GATT before she went behind the Iron Curtain is a member. The activities of GATT, by its very nature, are directed at the removal of trade barriers and not to the imposition of new controls and restrictions.

There was much criticism in the Congress of the GATT because many of us felt that no authority had been granted by the Congress through the Trade Agreements Act to enter into any such negotiations. The Eisenhower administration has scrupulously followed the practice of submitting agreements to the Congress so that the Congress and the executive can work together as independent and coordinate branches of our Government.

The provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade currently are being renegotiated at Geneva. The President has assured us that they will be submitted to the Congress for our consideration. For the first time an opportunity will be afforded for this agreement to receive consideration on its merits by the Senate of the United States.

I am confident that the Congress and the President working together in this way can come up with a workable solution to expanding our foreign trade which is the objective that we are all seeking.

The Economic and Social Council proceeded to implement another of the United States proposals without even waiting for the convening of the Habana Conference. This was the proposal which dealt with excessive price fluctuations in the markets for primary commodities.

This United Nations group, at its fourth session, recommended, and I quote from the resolution:

"That, pending the establishment of the International Trade Organization, members of the United Nations adopt as a general guide in intergovernmental consultation or action with respect to commodity problems the principles laid down in chapter VI as a whole, i. e., the chapter on intergovernmental commodity arrangements * * *; and

"Requests the Secretary-General to appoint an Interim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements to keep informed of and to facilitate by appropriate means such intergovernmental consultation or action with respect to commodity problems."

The Interim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Agreements was not sanctioned by the Congress. The interim referred to in the title for this organization was presumably the time interval between the formation of this group and the ratification of the charter for the International Trade Organization. The interim has continued through 1954, although the United States decision not to join the ITO was made known in 1950. This organization which was established at Geneva, has now been supplanted by this permanent new Commission on International Commodity Trade, which met in New York last month. While some may feel that this action is unimportant, as we were not bound by any decisions made by this interim committee, in the opinion of the President's Materials Policy Commission, popularly known as the Paley Commission, this is not the case. Page 87, volume I, of its report, which was issued in 1952, contained the following statement:

"The United States has not ratified the treaty, but under a resolution the United Nations Economic and Social Council is bound with other nations to recognize chapter VI as a general guide."

This clearly indicates that, even though Congress refused to give its assent to United States participation in the International Trade Organization, the Paley Commission believed we were bound to accept these concepts. I shall now read from page 90 of the Paley report:

"By resolution of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, a review of chapter VI of the Habana Charter is called for some time in 1952. This code serves as a general guide for efforts of the free nations to stabilize materials markets."

Now let us review together the developments which took place starting in the General Assembly late in 1952 which culminated in our decision not to participate in this new Commission on International Commodity Trade.

In November of 1952 the Argentine Government presented a resolution of far-reaching significance to the seventh session of the General Assembly, which was then meeting in New York. This resolution was a new implementation of the original proposals of our State Department which had been embodied in chapter VI of the rejected Habana Charter. I shall now read the operative part of this draft resolution. It provided that the General Assembly should recommend to member states—and I quote—that—

"(a) Whenever governments adopt measures affecting the prices of primary commodities entering international trade, they should duly consider the effect of such measures on the terms of trade of countries in the process of development, in order to ensure that the prices of primary commodities remain in an adequate, just and equitable relation to the prices of capital goods and other manufactured articles so as to permit the more satisfactory formation of domestic savings in the countries in the process of development and to facilitate the establishment of just wage levels for the working population of these countries with a view to reducing the existing disparity between their standards of living and those in the highly industrialized countries;

"(b) Their governments should refrain, unless unavoidably required by national security in times of war and without prejudice to technological research and progress, from encouraging the production of any synthetic or substitute materials that unnecessarily affect the international demand for natural primary commodities;

"(c) Their governments should intensify their efforts to reduce restrictions on imports of primary commodities."

It is quite obvious, from what I have just read that the purpose of this resolution was to establish fixed, rigid international parity prices for all of the world's materials which could only be supported by heavy outlays on the part of the United States. It is also apparent that this resolution was aimed at discouraging the development of synthetic products, particularly synthetic rubber and synthetic fibers within the United States. This provision directly affects our national security. I know that none of us wish to again struggle with the problem of providing rubber from distant sources which confronted us in World War II.

Representatives from Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, France, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom opposed this resolution as too general in scope and open to dangerous interpretations. The 1952 yearbook of the United Nations summarized the objections voiced by these countries. Among them were:

"(1) That a system of international parity prices such as that implied in the draft could not be instituted unless foreign trade

were controlled by the state; (2) that such a system would make the economic structure more rigid and would not be conducive to increased productivity; (3) that there were no objective criteria for determining an adequate, just, and equitable relationship between prices of primary commodities and those of capital and other manufactured goods; and (4) that it would be better to deal with the problem through individual commodity agreements as the need arose.

"They also objected to the recommendation that governments should not encourage the manufacture of synthetic or substitute materials. Such action, they held, would harm the interests of both underdeveloped and industrialized countries; it would also stand in the way of progress, from which all, in the long run, would benefit. The latter point was also made by the representatives of Cuba, Ecuador, and Peru."

After considerable debate within the General Assembly and the adoption of several amendments, the Argentine resolution was put to a vote. It was approved on November 29, 1952, with 29 countries voting in favor of it, 16 opposing it, and 9 abstaining. I am happy to say that our Government was among the 16 countries opposed to the adoption of this resolution. The amended resolution contained the following provision which was not a part of the original Argentine draft resolution:

"Recommends that governments should cooperate in establishing multilateral international arrangements relating to primary commodities for the purpose of—

"(a) Insuring the stability of the prices of the said commodities in keeping with a reasonable, fair, and equitable relationship between these prices and those of capital goods and other manufactured articles; and

"(b) Safeguarding the continuity of the economic and social progress of all countries, those producing as well as those consuming such raw materials."

You will note that this provision again urges the member governments to establish multilateral commodity agreements.

The amended resolution further provided that the Secretary General was to appoint a group of experts to study the entire problem and make recommendations for further action to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. Pursuant to this resolution, the Secretary General appointed five economists whose recommendations were transmitted to the Economic and Social Council in a report released in November of 1953. This report is entitled "Commodity Trade and Economic Development."

The report suggested the establishment of world buffer stocks and a new international currency which would be based upon the monetization of these stocks. It also proposed the negotiation of multilateral commodity agreements to cover a group of commodities rather than a single commodity. There were many other strange proposals which were totally incompatible with American free-enterprise economic concepts. The most important recommendation of the committee of experts was that a new trade Stabilization Commission be established. Now I shall read exactly what the experts proposed in this connection. They said:

"It seems to us that there is at present no effective international procedure for discussing and proposing action on the general problem of stabilization—a matter which transcends the problems of particular commodities. The present organization is directed toward piecemeal action, commodity by commodity. We do not think that this is sufficient; a general and simultaneous approach to the problem of stability in its many aspects is required. It is possible that a gap in international organization has here arisen unintentionally, through the absence of an international trade organization as envisaged in the Habana charter."

This so-called gap in international organization to which the experts refer, had not arisen unintentionally insofar as the Congress of the United States was concerned. I shall continue reading from the recommendations of the experts:

"We therefore propose that the Economic and Social Council should establish an intergovernmental commission, which we will refer to as the Trade Stabilization Commission. In order to provide permanent representation for the most important trading countries and an adequate rotation of representation for others, it would probably be necessary to have eight or nine member governments."

"The work of the Commission would involve exchanges of views between governments on possible types of action to which they may not wish to appear publicly committed; and there is a very real risk that premature knowledge of the Commission's deliberations would produce harmful effects in the commodity markets. We therefore recommend that, contrary to usual United Nations practice, the Commission should meet in closed session except when it decides otherwise. We would expect that, in addition to the formal meetings, occasions would be required for informal exchanges of view among the representatives of the member governments, meeting in private."

Our Government should not establish an international organization in which governments would make proposals to which they may not wish to appear publicly committed. I subscribe to President Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of open covenants openly arrived at. I am opposed to private meetings to "rig" commodity markets. This is essentially what the experts propose. We must all realize, in discussing these proposals that representatives of the Iron Curtain countries would be eligible to participate in this Commission.

The report of the experts and its recommendation for this new commission was placed on the agenda of the meeting of the Economic and Social Council which convened in New York in April 1954, and a resolution was introduced by the Argentine Government to establish this new commission. The comments of our representative to the Economic and Social Council, Mr. Preston Hotchkis, are most illuminating. I shall now read his statement regarding these proposals:

"The problem of marked price instability in primary commodity markets is, therefore, one with which my Government and all governments of the free world must be greatly converned. As to the desirability of reducing this instability, there can be no disagreement. The problem to be faced is how this can be safely accomplished. Devices that serve temporarily to reduce price fluctuations must be judged by their potentialities for contributing to healthy economic growth. They may retard rather than promote such growth if they interfere with long-term price trends and introduce rigidities and restraints that impair the elasticity of economic adjustment which is fundamental to economic progress.

"This is a danger which must be faced in the consideration of proposals for governmental commodity arrangements. This danger and the great practical difficulties involved in reaching accord on the details of any contemplated arrangement largely explain why so few international agreements involving consuming as well as producing countries have hitherto been reached. The experts recognize this situation and see little prospect of any substantial increase in the number of agreements. My delegation shares this view.

"The experts also believe, however, that commodity agreements, if properly drawn and operated, may be an effective means for preventing excessive price fluctuation. This they hope might be obtained if the attempt were made to cover several commodities in a single agreement instead of relying on the inevitably slow and uncertain increase in single-commodity agreements.

"I must confess, Mr. President, that I find no ground to justify this hope. The difficulties experienced in negotiations relating to a single commodity would in my judgment be greatly multiplied if we attempted to deal with many commodities at the same time. Moreover, any agreement covering many commodities would involve widespread interference with the workings of a free-world economy. It would magnify the danger of diverting production, consumption and trade patterns from the channels they would be likely to assume under a more healthy, competitive and free-enterprise system. The net result of such arrangements, even if it were practicable to conclude them, would, I firmly believe, be detrimental and not beneficial to economic development.

"The experts extend their proposals for comprehensive commodity stabilization arrangements by recommending for further study a 'commodity reserve currency scheme.' If this were an academic seminar we might, Mr. President, find some interest in discussing the complexities of this by no means novel proposal. This, however, is not an exercise in which I would care to engage in this forum. I see no likelihood whatever that my Government would be disposed to give this scheme any serious consideration in the foreseeable future. I feel sure that other delegations will share my view that the scheme is impractical. I hope therefore that the Council will not devote time and energy which might well be spent in more useful activities to detailed examination of a proposal that would seem to have no chance whatever of acceptance by governments.

"The experts recommend—and this is their most specific proposal—the establishment by the Council of a Trade Stabilization Commission. This commission would be concerned with proposals for dealing with the problem of stabilization generally. It would leave undisturbed the existing international machinery, such as the Interim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements and its associated study groups, which provide mainly for action, on commodity by commodity.

"My delegation is unable to support this recommendation. The proposed commission would inevitably exercise the same general responsibilities as the old Economic and Employment Commission of the Council and might be expected to suffer from the same defects. The establishment of a commission charged with responsibility for considering broad questions of economic policy would simply invite duplication of discussion, since these are questions which the Council itself must necessarily debate."

The resolution introduced by the Argentine Government established the terms of reference for this proposed new Commission. I shall now quote from the resolution:

"The main task of the Commission shall be to examine measures designed to avoid excessive fluctuations in the prices of and the volume of trade in primary commodities, including measures aiming at the maintenance of a just and equitable relationship between the prices of primary commodities and the prices of manufactured goods in international trade. * * *"

This resolution is designed to establish a system of international parity prices which is totally incompatible with our approach to foreign economic relations.

This resolution was adopted on April 30, on a rollcall vote of the 18 nations comprising the Economic and Social Council. The United States was joined in opposing the

establishment of this new Commission by Belgium, Norway, France, and the United Kingdom. The Australian delegation abstained from voting. The resolution was supported by 12 countries, the Argentine, Free China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Pakistan, Turkey, U. S. S. R., Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

The formation of the Commissison had the support of Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia whose concepts of stabilizing commodity markets would certainly be quite different from our own. The resolution as adopted deferred the actual organization of the Commission until the 18th session of the Economic and Social Council which convened at Geneva in June of 1954. Our delegation at Geneva continued its opposition to the formation of this Commission and indicated that even if we were elected, we might not be willing to participate. In spite of United States opposition, the Council voted to proceed with the organization of the Commission with the first session scheduled for January 1955.

The United Kingdom and France voted with the United States to delay the organization of the Commission. However, following the vote in the Economic and Social Council both these countries announced that they would participate in spite of their opposition. The resolution adopted at Geneva transferred most of the functions of the Interim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements to the new Commission on International Commodity Trade. The Interim Committee, which was only to be in existence until the Habana Charter was ratified, thus has now become a permanent United Nations organ under a new name.

The announcement of our Government in which we declined to participate at the first session of this new Commission included this statement: "The United States Government will be prepared to reexamine the question of its eventual participation after the Commission's terms of reference and its scope of activities have been defined." I am glad that this is the case as we have no desire to minimize the seriousness of the problems of price instability. Our Government is opposed to the present terms of reference which imply Government action to stabilize prices through international agreements and international parity prices. I can see many possibilities for useful work by this Commission in compiling statistics and studying market problems, thus making it possible for the free markets of the world to operate more effectively. My interpretation of the statement by our representative is that we will always be prepared to assist in such activities that do not compromise free enterprise economic principles.

The history I have related follows the progress of this concept from 1945 to 1955, a 10-year period. Our State Department deserves great credit for having successfully extricated the United States from a creature of its own creation which has untold potentialities of causing economic chaos. The New York Times of January 11, in reporting the forthcoming meeting of this new Commission made the following significant comment:

"The United States will pass up a delegate's seat, but will send an observer to the first session of the newly established Commission on International Commodity Trade. The Commission will open its meetings here next Monday.

"Although United States opposition to the Commission is nothing new, this is the first time that Washington has given a diplomatic cold shoulder to a United Nations organ."

It has always seemed to be a paradox that those who advocate free trade and the removal of Government restrictions on our economy should, at the same time, have been fostering commodity agreements. There is probably no more restrictive device than such an agreement as it interjects Government controls throughout the production and marketing process.

During previous administrations, our State Department was apparently most sympathetic to the commodity agreement concept. I am happy to see that this is no longer so.

The Randall Commission, in both its majority and minority reports condemned such agreements as restrictive devices. Following the release of the report by the Randall Commission, our Government declined to participate in the International Tin Agreement. We have also resisted efforts to establish commodity stabilization groups within the Western Hemisphere at the Rio Conference. Let me again compliment the Secretary of State and his colleagues who have credibly performed a very difficult task in reversing this trend toward Government controls over the world's economy.

Unfortunately, all our problems are not behind us. The original State Department proposals of 1945, included measures to deal with restrictions imposed by private combines and cartels. As I have already indicated, chapter V of the Habana Charter was drafted to implement these particular proposals.

This chapter, dealing with restrictive practices by private business, was in sharp conflict with the philosophy of chapter VI which fostered Government price-fixing and cartel operations. Many apparently believe that actions taken by governments in concert with other governments or in cooperation with certain industries should escape the condemnation imposed by chapter V of the charter. In a sense chapter VI was really a modification or loophole in chapter V.

Professors Stocking and Watkins in their book Cartels or Competition define a cartel as "* * * an arrangement among, or on behalf of, producers engaged in the same line of business, with the design or effect of limiting or eliminating competition among them. * * *"

They also say "rival business enterprises may set up cartels by direct negotiation and mutual commitments, or governments may establish them by treaty."

The commodity agreements provided in chapter VI are, of course, cartels established through government negotiation and commitment. The evils of cartels were dramatically shown during the Hitler and Mussolini regimes in Germany and Italy where private cartels were taken over by these governments to strengthen their economies for war. The entire Habana Charter concept, as embodied in chapter V, was to curb private international cartels but to tolerate the government cartels provided in chapter VI. In retrospect, let me remind you of the extraordinary economic power developed by the Nazi Government through intergovernmental commodity agreements after it came to power in Germany.

Prof. Edward S. Mason, of Harvard University, was deputy to the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Economic Affairs in 1945. Presumably, he was quite familiar with the proposals issued by our State Department at that time.

He published a book under the sponsorship of the Committee for Economic Development entitled "Controlling World Trade" in June of 1946. I shall now read two paragraphs from the introduction of this book:

"This divergence between American and other experience with cartels and commodity agreements must be borne in mind in the ensuing discussion. There is a school of thought in the United States that abhors cartels as private treaties restrictive of trade but embraces commodity agreements as intergovernmental arrangements inevitably serving the public interest. Cartels may, and usually do, restrict trade but so do commodity agreements—and much more effectively. Nor is the range of interests served necessarily very different.

"The general line of policy defended in this report is that, when international controls relating to a commodity or industry are demonstrably necessary, they should be intergovernmental in character. It does not follow that intergovernmental commodity agreements should be numerous or easily justifiable on grounds of public interest. If the agreement, moreover, lies outside the field of agriculture, it is likely to involve a type of governmental relation to industry with which the United States has as yet had little experience."

Mr. Mason concluded his 265-page treatise with this statement:

"To enable the machinery to function, it will be necessary to reshape not only commercial policy but policies hitherto considered as belonging to the field of domestic regulation, and such action as is proposed can only be taken with the cooperation of other governments and with due regard for their interests."

We are now confronted with exactly the situation portrayed by Professor Mason if the report of the so-called Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices is adopted by the Economic and Social Council.

The United States delegation at Havana was opposed to restrictive business practices per se. This is consistent with all of our economic concepts. In reviewing the Havana Conference I find that there were three points of view which were compromised in the final draft of chapter V. As I have already indicated, our point of view was that cartels were bad per se. Some believed that cartels were useful devices and that action was required only to cope with flagrant abuses. The Luxembourg delegation took this position. Others took a middle ground. The United Kingdom delegation took such a point of view. There was actually very little support for the stringent action recommended by the United States.

Chapter V of the Habana Charter dealt only with restrictive business practices when, and I quote: "Such practices have harmful effects." The definition of harmful effects was to be left to the new international agency to determine. No sanctions for failure to comply with the Charter were imposed. This philosophy is also incorporated in the new United Nations proposals.

I shall now trace the steps since the rejection of the Habana Charter by the Congress of the United States which have resulted in this report of the United Nations ad hoc committee on Restrictive Business Practices presently on the agenda of the Economic and Social Council.

Our antitrust laws are of the utmost importance in promoting a free-enterprise economy. The Sherman Act was adopted in 1890 during the administration of President Harrison, a Republican President. The Clayton Act and the Federal Trade Commission Acts were adopted during the administration of President Wilson, a Democratic President. The spirit of our antitrust laws is truly bipartisan and they have a vital role in maintaining a competitive economy in this country. I believe in them and I am in favor of strengthening these laws if such action is shown to be necessary and in a vigorous enforcement of the laws now on the statute books. I am opposed to all cartels. There are no good cartels as far as I am concerned.

Unfortunately, our antitrust laws have sometimes been used to harass legitimate business by those whose paramount interest has not been the preservation of free enterprise. I am afraid they may have been deliberately used to bring it into disrepute and to lay the groundwork for a socialist economy within the United States. Those who con-

ceived such improper uses of the antitrust laws are, I am sure, no longer on our Government payroll.

It seems strange that almost immediately after the rejection of the Havana Charter by the 81st Congress, and the decision by the State Department not to resubmit it to the 82d Congress, the United States Government took the lead in attempting to implement chapter V through the United Nations.

In 1951, the United States delegation submitted a resolution to the Economic and Social Council asking that the question of restrictive business practices should be placed on the agenda of the 13th session of the Council. The United States draft resolution recommended the establishment of an ad hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices charged with formulating and submitting to the Council, proposals on appropriate methods to be adopted by international agreement to deal with harmful restrictive business practices.

Perhaps, the purpose of establishing this international machinery was to be able to proceed against American companies doing business abroad because of our inability to apply United States statutes in the jurisdiction of other sovereign nations. We must remember that these same companies were bound to conduct their activities so as to comply with the laws of the country in which they were operating. Since our antitrust laws are free-enterprise laws, I see no way that an international body, including Communist and Socialist states, could establish appropriate methods to deal with antitrust violations on a universal basis. It would seem to me that treaties by the United States and other countries with the same type of economy and with similar judicial procedures might be more fruitful. The United Nations approach can only lead to chaos.

The United States proposal was debated at length during the 13th session of the Economic and Social Council held in the summer of 1951 at Geneva. The Yearbook of the United Nations for 1951, reports this debate and I am particularly interested in the comments which appear in this official document on the attitude of other countries who have no concept of our antitrust laws. I shall now quote from the United Nations Yearbook:

"The representatives of Belgium, France, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay, while agreeing as to the harmful effects of many restrictive business practices and believing that far-reaching private agreements constituted a political danger, felt nevertheless that international producers' agreements were not always to be condemned and that in certain cases they met urgent needs connected with economic progress.

"The representative of Peru stated that, in South America, public commercial enterprises were operated in the interests of the State and of the community, many of them being accompanied by measures to protect the individual's social rights. These enterprises, he said, should not be confused with private monopolies.

"The representatives of Chile, Mexico, and Uruguay also emphasized the important part played by public commercial enterprises in their national development. The Chilean and Mexican representatives stated that they would abstain from voting on the joint draft resolution. Representatives supporting the resolution believed, however, that studies and investigations were necessary to distinguish between good and bad restrictive practices.

"The representative of the International Cooperative Alliance referred to a recent survey by his organization which had revealed the widespread use and the harmful effect of restrictive business practices. He described the manner in which his organization had been fighting such practices and urged the Council to undertake an authoritative investigation in this field.

"In the view of the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the U. S. S. R., the United States proposal was designed to camouflage the real objective of United States monopolies. Figures were cited in order to show that these monopolies controlled the United States foreign trade and investments. These monopolies, those representatives said, in their struggle to gain domination of world markets, engaged in extensive restrictive business practices to remove any competition; they earned immense profits in underdeveloped countries, and were powerful enough to obtain a stranglehold on European trusts, secure markets for their excess production in Europe, and influence the political life of other countries through economic control. United States exports were being used as instruments of discriminatory policies applied against the peoples' democracies. American big business, those representatives maintained, fostered the creation of monopolies which it could dominate, but opposed the creation of those over which it had no control."

After extensive debate and the adoption of amendments the United States resolution was approved and the Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices was appointed. It consisted of Belgium, Canada, France, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Sweden, the United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay.

The terms of reference of the ad hoc committee provided that, and I quote: "The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations recommend that the measures adopted in the cases and the purposes stated in the preceding paragraphs shall be based on the principles set forth in chapter V of the Habana Charter concerning restrictive business practices."

Thus, entirely at the initiative of the United States Government this ad hoc committee was established under the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to implement chapter V of the rejected Habana Charter.

The United States representative on this committee was Corwin Edwards, the former chief economist of the Federal Trade Commission. The secretary of the ad hoc committee itself was Sigmund Timberg, formerly with the Antitrust Division in the United States Department of Justice. The committee assembled in January of 1952 and presented its report in March of 1953. During this period, the committee held 77 meetings, a great majority of which were closed to the public. The report of the committee was filed with the United Nations Secretary-General in March of 1953.

It was considered briefly at two sessions of the Economic and Social Council who requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to refer this report and the analysis by the Secretariat to the member states and to specialized agencies for examination and comment. The Council also decided that consideration of the report would be resumed not later than at its 19th session which will convene at United Nations headquarters in New York at the end of March of this year.

It is important that the people of the United States be familiar with this report and the pitfalls into which we can be led should it be adopted. An article by Samuel K. C. Kopper which appeared in the Virginia Law Review of December 1954 gives a complete analysis of this report. This article is a revision and expansion of a paper originally presented by Mr. Kopper to the Fourth International Congress of Comparative Law at the Faculte de Droit, University of Paris, on August 6, 1954.

Mr. Kopper has an unusual background which uniquely qualifies him to review the report of this Committee. After graduating from Princeton University in 1937, he obtained his law degree at the University of Virginia in 1940. Subsequently, he studied at the Academie de Droit, Internationel de la Haye. From 1946 to 1949 he was an adviser to the United States delegations to the United Nations Security Council and to its General Assembly. He was a special consultant to the Assistant Secretary of State during 1952–53. He has also been the officer in charge of North African Affairs, the Deputy and Acting Director of the Office of Near East Affairs, and is presently counsel for the Arabian-American Oil Co. in New York City. He is also the chairman of the Near East Committee, Section of International and Comparative Law of the American Bar Association.

I shall now read the relevant sections of Mr. Kopper's article.

"EXCERPTS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF CARTELS—CURRENT PROPOSALS

"(By Samuel K. C. Kopper)

"A. The draft articles

"The report of the ad hoc committee contained draft articles of agreement,[1] which were based largely on chapter V of the Habana Charter. The draft articles of agreement call for the establishment of a United Nations organization composed of all United Nations members, the basic objective of which is to coordinate national and international action to prevent and eliminate restrictive business practices whenever such practices have harmful effects on the expansion of production or trade.[2] It is provided that there will be a 'representative body' composed of all members of the United Nations, and an 'executive board' which is to carry out the functions and duties of the representative body and exercise its powers. Membership on the executive board will be determined by the extent to which a nation participates in international trade, and by a geographical balance.

"The draft articles of agreement contain a preamble, 20 articles, and an appendix which describes the share in world trade of individual countries. The preamble states that national and international action is required to attain: (1) A reduction of governmental and private trade barriers and the promotion on equitable terms of access to markets, products, and productive facilities; (2) encouragement of industrial and agricultural development, particularly in underdeveloped areas; (3) balance and expansion of the world economy through greater and more efficient production, increased income and greater consumption, and the elimination of discriminatory treatment in international trade; and (4) the promotion of mutual understanding and cooperation to solve problems arising in all aspects of international trade. The preamble concludes with a recognition that national and international action in the field of restrictive business practices can contribute substantially to the attainment of such overall objectives.

"Article 1 sets forth the general policy toward restrictive business practices. Each member of the Organization shall take measures and cooperate with other members to prevent restrictive business practices that have harmful effects on the expansion of production or trade. The Organization is empowered to determine whether a particular practice is restrictive and has harmful effects whenever: (1) It receives a complaint; (2) the practice is engaged in or made effective by one or more private or public commercial enterprises; and (3) such enterprises possess effective trade control among a number of countries in one or more products.

"Restrictive business practices are defined as (1) Fixing of prices, or of terms or condi-

Footnotes at end of speech.

tions to be observed in the purchase, sale, or lease of any product; (2) exclusion of enterprises from, or allocation or division of, any territorial market or field of business activity, or allocation of customers, or fixing of sale or purchase quotas; (3) discrimination against particular enterprises; (4) production limitations or quotas; (5) prevention of development or application of technology or invention, whether patented or not, or withholding of same with the result of monopolizing an industrial or commercial field; (6) illegal extension of rights under patents, trade-marks, or copyrights; and (7) 'any similar practices which the Organization may declare, by a majority of two-thirds of the members present and voting, to be restrictive business practices.

"The breadth of this article can be fully appreciated only by a careful study of its precise language. It clearly appears at a glance, however, that the article is not only broad but vague. Furthermore, it is questionable whether the criteria set forth are adequate for an international organization to determine whether specific practices are restrictive or not. Perhaps the most fundamental question raised by this article is whether its basic philosophy is generally accepted in the family of nations. It presumably represents the philosophy of the United States, but in the United States there is no clear agreement as to just what this philosophy really is.

"The confusion about the application of American antitrust laws in foreign commerce could hardly be greater.[3] Not only is there confusion about the application of these laws but there is also little agreement about the meaning of some of the terms used in article 1. The Attorney General of the United States has established a committee to reexamine our antitrust laws.[4] Particular attention is to be paid to their extraterritorial application. Pending the completion of this study, it is doubtful whether other nations will be eager to accept the terminology and philosophy of this article. Certainly an international organization composed of nations having widely differing concepts of law would have an exceedingly difficult time implementing or interpreting it.

"Article 2 provides that any member may consult directly, or ask the Organization to arrange a consultation, with other members in any instance in which the member thinks it has been affected within the meaning of article 1. If the Organization considers action justified, it will arrange for and assist in such consultation. This article gives the Organization very broad authority without any checks. It could open the door to frivolous cases which might very well be considered by the Organization for political reasons.

"Article 3 concerns investigative procedure. It provides for the presentation of written complaints to the Organization which must contain minimal information (prescribed by the Organization) as to the nature of the practice complained of. The Organization determines whether the complaint is justified. If, however, the Organization is satisfied that the practice in question was specifically required by governmental measures in existence prior to the complaint, no further investigation shall be undertaken, provided that any practice found to exist in more than one country may be further investigated in the Organization's discretion, if such practice is not specifically required in all countries in which it is found to exist.

"Reasonable opportunities for being heard shall be afforded the complainant and the commercial enterprise alleged to have engaged in the practice complained of. All members are to be informed of the complaint. Any member can be asked for information on the complaint. The Organization shall decide whether there has been a violation, and shall inform all members of its decision and reasons therefor. If there is a violation, the Organization has the power to request the members concerned to take remedial action in accordance 'with their respective laws and procedures.' The remainder of the article deals with reports which the Organization shall make on the matter.

"This article clearly indicates that there is discrimination in favor of public enterprises and against private enterprises. The ad hoc committee frankly admitted that 'special difficulties arose, however, in connection with restrictive business practices which were sanctioned by governmental statutes or regulations.'[5]

"This is a fundamental defect in the whole plan. A further defect which appears in this article is the provision that members will be requested[6] to take remedial measures in accordance with their respective laws and procedures. Nations like the United States, which has rigid and enforced laws, will be placed at an obvious disadvantage vis-a-vis countries with less rigid and frequently unenforced laws. If this disadvantage were temporary it might be tolerated. It is perfectly clear, however, that it might last for years, or decades, and hence would be unacceptable. It is obvious that laws and procedures vary widely in the various countries of the United Nations.[7] When, if ever, they will come to resemble those of the United States is uncertain.

"A final observation about article 3 should be made. The investigation, trial, and adjudication of cases involving restrictive business practices are extremely intricate and complicated tasks. The patient and painstaking efforts of trained people are always required to bring about a fair and just settlement of such cases. The proposed United Nations plan does not spell out how these difficult tasks will be performed. Will there be an investigatory staff, or is the advisory staff provided for in articles 13 and 15 to conduct investigations? What information will be used? Can judicial proceedings and committee investigations in this country be used? What power and authority will an investigatory staff have? Or if the investigations are left entirely to the individual member nations, what assurance can there be that investigative procedures will be reasonably similar? The answer to the last question clearly semes to be that there can be no assurance because of the wide differences in approach to this whole subject among the member nations of the United Nations. It should be noted in conclusion that it would be possible under article 3 for the Organization to publish reports on charges even though the latter had been proved false.

"Article 4 authorizes the Organization to make studies of all aspects of restrictive business practices. It may request members to supply information in connection with these studies. Thus, the burden may fall on nations with a great deal of commerce to receive recommendations from countries whose basic motives are political.

"Article 5 provides that each member shall take all possible measures to insure that within its jurisdiction private and public commercial enterprises do not engage in restrictive practices as previously defined. Members are to comply promptly with requests from the Organization for information regarding complaints. They are to take action in accordance with their constitutions or systems of law and economic organization. Nothing in the agreement shall be construed, however, as requiring a member to give information contrary to its essential security interests.

"The obligations imposed on the members contain no safeguards against frivolous complaints. The criteria upon which the Organization will base its decision as to whether a complaint is justified are unclear. The burden may frequently be on the defending country to prove that it is innocent under its own laws. Furthermore, the paragraph requiring members to take action under the constitution or system of law and economic organization is meaningless in view of the wide diversity of such systems. There is no equitable basis for international conduct or action.

"In article 8 it is recognized that certain services, e. g., transportation and telecommunications, are substantial elements of international trade, and that any restrictive business practices by them may have harmful effects. If any member thinks that such harmful restrictive business practices exist, it may submit a written statement on the situation to those whose private or public enterprises are involved, and sympathetic consideration shall be given to effecting a satisfactory adjustment. If no adjustment is made and the matter is referred to the Organization, it shall be transferred to the intergovernmental body concerned if one exists. If there is no such body, the Organization may make recommendations.

"Article 9 contains four paragraphs which empower the Organization to bring to the attention of members measures taken by other members or intergovernmental bodies or agencies regarding business practices; to make arrangements with other intergovernmental bodies or agencies which will provide for effective cooperation with respect to restrictive business practices; and to make suitable arrangements for consultation and cooperation with nongovernmental organizations.

"If it is anticipated that the Organization will do these things, as well as all of the other things provided for in preceding articles, on a worldwide basis, it will have to maintain an astonishingly large staff of highly trained personnel.

"Article 10 provides that the representative body is to consist of all members of the agency. Each is to have one vote. Decisions are to be made by the majority of the members unless otherwise provided in the agreement. The representative body is to meet regularly and can be convoked by the executive board or by one-third of the members of the representative body. It is to establish its own rules of procedure, and final authority to determine the polices of the agency shall be vested in it.

"This article underscores what has been pointed out in comments on previous articles—the policies with regard to restrictive business practices might very well be determined by a group of nations having only a small percentage of world commerce, and whose motivations might stem from political, ideological, or other reasons to the detriment of more highly commercial nations. The proposed program is, to say the least, a novel one. The procedure for adjudication is nonjudicial, and might easily become political or partisan. Yet various articles of the proposal refer to what the Organization may decide, or to decisions of the Organization.[8] Are these decisions to take on the aura of judicial decisions? With no applicable law and no agreement about basic principles, confusion unbounded might easily reign.

"Article 11 concerns the executive board. The executive board is to carry on the functions of the representative body. Its size and composition are to be determined by the body. The selection of members is to be made with due regard to 'the objectives of including members from the differ-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

ent types of economies and degrees of economic development to be found among members of the agency, from the broad geographical areas to which the members belong, and from countries of chief economic importance, for which last criterion particular regard shall be paid to members' shares in international trade.'

"On the basis of previous experience in the United Nations, one could anticipate a Board composed roughly of 25 percent from Latin America, 25 percent from Europe, 25 percent from Asia, and the remainder from the United States, the Iron Curtain countries (if they should join the Organization), and the British Commonwealth. In the absence of a clearer definition of the powers and limitations of the Organization, the countries having rigid laws on restrictive business practices would be placed in a disadvantageous position in dealing with nations having looser or unenforced laws.

"Article 13 provides that the chief advisory officer of the agency, who is appointed by the representative body, shall be the director of the advisory staff. He is to select the staff. The advisory staff shall exercise its functions with complete independence in the general interest of all members, and shall neither solicit nor accept instructions from any government. Article 15 assigns to the advisory staff almost entire responsibility for evaluating the substance of each complaint. The staff is to arrange for the analysis of the information, and to prepare the report. It can call for additional information, and do whatever is necessary to obtain information to prepare the report of the representative body.

"Articles 13 and 15 make it obvious that the position of the director of the advisory staff is important. Likewise, the staff will have considerable latitude in light of its "complete independence." The director has a substantial amount of power. His position should not be underestimated. He is in effect both prosecutor and judge. This, coupled with the fact that there are no rules of law to guide him or within which he should operate, produces a unsatisfactory and unacceptable system.

"Article 16 provides that the representative body 'shall take full account of reports of the advisory staff.' This emphasizes the importance of the work of the advisory staff.

"Articles 17, 18, 19, and 20 make provisions for the content of reports; entry into force of the agreement; and amendment, withdrawal, termination, interpretation, and definition of the agreement. The agreement is to come into force on the 60th day after—

"'(a) The number of governments which have deposited instruments of acceptance shall reach 20 or more and shall cover 65 percent or more of the total value of world imports and exports, as set forth in appendix A; [or]

"'(b) The number of governments which have deposited instruments of acceptance shall have reached 20 or more and shall cover 65 percent or more of the total value of world imports and exports as set forth in appendix A, and shall include six countries which individually have 3 percent or more of such total value.'

"Amendment of the agreement can be effected by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Organization. Any member may withdraw at any time. Withdrawal is to become effective 6 months after receipt of the written notice by the executive secretary. The agreement can be terminated by a three-fourths vote of the members.

"The provisions for the coming into force of the agreement are sound. They do prevent it from becoming effective without the concurrence of most of the important commercial countries.

"The appendix of the agreement points up the fact that only seven countries in the world have trade over 3 percent of the world total. These are:

	Percent
"(1) United Kingdom and dependencies	17.57
"(2) United States and dependencies	17.22
"(3) France and dependencies	8.04
"(4) Canada	5.15
"(5) Germany (Federal Republic)	4.47
"(6) Netherlands and dependencies	3.91
"(7) Belgium-Luxembourg and dependencies	3.77

"The total of these 7 countries is 60.13 percent. There are 57 countries each with trade under 3 percent of the world total.

"B. International Reaction to the Draft Articles

"In light of the foregoing objections to the ad hoc committee's report, it seems remarkable that none of the delegations or the nongovernmental organizations pointed out the defects of the plan.[9] Furthermore there has been no indication yet that these difficulties will be taken into account. One is forced to conclude that the fear of being branded a 'procartelist' has muted the voices of organizations and individuals. This is a regrettable situation, since we are not concerned with the merits or demerits of cartels and restrictive business practices, but only with the wisdom and validity of plans to handle them.

"The Belgian representative to ECOSOC did observe that cartels were not necessarily evils in themselves. Their evil springs from the general economic situation that calls them into being. Turkey questioned whether there was any point in the Council's discussing only one part of the ITO Charter. The French representative felt that the proposals might well be expanded so that there would be a comprehensive coverage of all restrictive practices. The United States and the United Kingdom were noncommittal.[10]

"The other members of ECOSOC and the nongovernmental representatives seemed for the most part to be favorably disposed toward the committee's report. The Soviet Union, which is the largest and most ominous cartel in history, abstained after making some snide remarks about the same American industry which had contributed so much to Russian success against nazism. The Russian representative and Mr. Boson, the representative of the International Cooperative Alliance, referred to the antitrust suit of 1952 against a number of American oil companies. Boson hardly paid a tribute to the American system of law when he stated:

"'In the United States of America, the grand jury investigating the international petroleum cartel had failed to establish a prima facie case. There was no doubt that an investigation by an international body would have been more successful.'[11]

"This conclusion is as unjustified as it is revealing of exactly what the International Cooperative Alliance really wants.

"C. General Considerations

"Aside from the specific objections to the Ad Hoc Committee plan outlined in earlier paragraphs, there are a number of general observations which ought to be taken into account:

"(1) Chapter V of the Habana Chapter, upon which the ad hoc committee plan is based, was only one part of an overall proposal to deal with barriers to the free flow of trade. To attempt to implement only a part of the plan would be a mistake;

"(2) The committee's plan does not rest on a sound basis of agreement as to what is or is not an objectionable business practice;

"(3) The language employed in the plan is not sufficiently precise, but is vague and ambiguous;

Footnotes at end of speech.

"(4) The plan purports to deal with matters normally handled by the courts in the various countries covered by it, yet there are no provisions which would insure the use of judicial processes by the Organization. On the contrary, it would appear that there is no guaranty of due process of law, and that enforcement would be obtained by indictment;

"(5) Members of the Organization would be such on different bases inasmuch as the laws of the participating nations all differ in some respects;

"(6) There is no reference to the important question of the right of each sovereign nation to handle restrictive business practices in its own territory in accordance with its own laws and ideologies.[12] The committee recognized the difficulty, but stated that 'the issue [of overlapping jurisdictions and conflicts of laws] has, however, far-reaching implications which raise serious difficulties of substance; moreover, the question arose whether the matter came properly within the committee's competence. For these reasons, and having regard to the limited time available to the committee, most members felt it would not be profitable to pursue the matter.[13]

"III. Domestic laws and conditions in the nations concerned

"Any consideration of proposals for the international regulation of cartels must take into account national legislation on the subject. With world trade and business activity expanding, the private-law aspects of international industrial combinations become of increasing interest to the student of conflict of laws. The ad hoc committee made an analysis of the constitutional provisions and laws of a number of countries on the subject of restrictive business practices. The conclusions of the committee are of interest.

"'The documents have confirmed in the minds of the committee three broad propositions which underlie Resolution 375. These are:

"'1. That opinions differ from country to country about restrictive business practices and about governmental policies towards them;

"'2. That restrictive business practices affecting international trade may in some circumstances have harmful effects on the fulfilment of widely acceptable objectives of international economic policy;

"'3. That it may be difficult in such cases for appropriate action to be undertaken solely by governments acting individually.'[14]

"Paragraph 1 of the preceding quotation is, if anything, an understatement of the present situation. In a number of European countries cartels have been quite acceptable to governments.[15] In the United States, Congress passed the Webb-Pomerene Act,[16] authorizing exporters to combine to form export corporations so they could match their foreign competitors. The question has been raised whether the European Coal and Steel Community might end in a superinternational cartel. Whether it does or not, the plan proposed to the United Nations simply does not cover arrangements like these.

"The ad hoc committee plan takes no appreciable account of the problems which confront private enterprise seeking to do business abroad under laws which are all too frequently different from those at home. The risks involved in such ventures are often enormous. At the present time, the petroleum industry is in the forefront of American investors abroad. The industry is concerned about the implications of the extension of American antitrust laws to operations being conducted within the sovereign territory of another State.[17] There must be a clarification of the national laws before any international action based on national law can be undertaken.

Footnotes at end of speech.

"In the United States there is a confusing lack of clarity as to where the Attorney General's jurisdiction should logically end, and where that of the Secretary of State should begin. While it is very true that the Sherman and Clayton Acts have been strong links in the chain of the free enterprise system,[16] efforts to extend their application extraterritorially to foreign operations of American concerns may in certain instances work a positive disservice to national security interests of the United States. In nations unaccustomed to American antitrust law, reactions to antitrust proceedings against American companies frequently range from surprise and incredulity to suspicion and hostility—particularly where criminal proceedings are instituted.

"Space does not permit a detailed analysis of all governmental measures which have been taken relating to restrictive business practices. The recent reports of the United Nations ad hoc committee and of the United States Department of State to a Senate Subcommittee on Monopoly [17] contain a review of constitutional provisions and legislation in a number of countries. There are certain significant deductions which can be drawn from these reports when a comparison of the various laws is made.

"We have noted that the ad hoc committee found that opinions differ from country to country about restrictive business practices.[20] The Department of State report comes to the same conclusion:

" 'As might be expected, the type of statutes as well as the degree of effectiveness of their provisions and of their administration has varied greatly from country to country. These factors are a function of a number of complex considerations, such as the type of government in the particular country at the period in which legislation was adopted; its economic, social, and political aims; and the fundamental philosophy of the government and the people of a country toward the part the business community should play in the economic and political structure of the country. It is accordingly difficult to reach any generalizations as to the trend of development in the group of countries as a whole.' [21]

"Comments from the State Department report on selected countries are also of interest:

" 'The Austrian economy is characterized by an absence of free competition, caused in large part by the concentration of economic power. This concentration results from such factors as (a) the dominant influence of a few firms in the principal areas of private industry; (b) the dominant position of the larger banks; (c) a complex network of interlocking directorates by means of which a few leading groups control a large part of the private industrial economy; and (d) the nationalization of a major sector of industry.[22]

" 'Industrial federations form the principal basis of the strong ties that exist among individual Belgian firms. * * *

" 'Existing Belgian legislation is favorable to the formation of cartels and imposes but few limits on their operation.[23]

" 'There are in France few large industrial firms in a monopoly or nonmonopoly position. There has, however, been a trend to the uniting of business firms in cooperative agreements or associations. The comptoir system of doing business often involves restrictions on the right of the individual firm to take independent action as to prices, quantity and type of production, and areas of sale.

" 'At the present time, there is no legislation in existence in France directly relating to restrictive business practices which can be effectively employed to control or eliminate such practices.[24]

" 'Germany's industrial development has been characterized by a high degree of economic concentration during the entire period of the existence of the country as a modern industrial state.

" 'In general, the economic structure of Germany has been characterized by industrial combinations based on financial and legal inter-relationships such as trusts and combines, and by cartels.[25]

" 'The political and business climate in Western Germany is generally unfavorable to a program for the elimination of restrictive business practices.[26]

" 'Swiss industry is highly organized into trade associations which regulate the terms of sale and prices in practically all sectors of the economy.[27]

" 'There are no laws in Denmark which actually prohibit business enterprises from organizing cartels or engaging in other arrangements designed to restrain competition.' [28]

"The selected comments quoted above clearly indicate the wide variety of ideas and concepts on how to deal with restrictive business practices. It should be noted that both the Department of State Report and the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee's Report discuss only a relatively small number of countries. Important though these countries may be, there is still a large group of countries which have virtually no interest in the whole subject.[29]

"Conclusion

"It is true that there has been much interest manifested in some countries, particularly in Western Europe, about the problem of restrictive business practices. However, it would seem abundantly clear that even the proponents of United Nations action in the field recognize the great variations in national approaches to the problem.[30] Furthermore, while constitutional and statutory provisions may exist in many countries, whether they are really enforced is quite another matter.[31]

"This brings us to the conclusion that no matter how strongly one may feel about restrictive business agreements, action in the international sphere which is predicated on national law is questionable policy. There can be little doubt that the Ad Hoc Committee was confronted with a most difficult task.[32] Valiant though its efforts were, the great differences of opinion were an exceedingly difficult problem to overcome.

"It can only be concluded, therefore, that the answer to the question raised by Prof. Corwin Edwards as to whether the United Nations proposals 'afford a useful basis for a beginning of multilateral action'[33] is that they regrettably do not appear to be satisfactory in their present form. Whether any plan can be developed in the absence of uniformity in national laws is extremely doubtful. In the meantime, based on his experience attending United Nations sessions in official and semiofficial capacities, the writer believes that it would be a positive disservice to the United Nations organization to attempt to give it a somewhat nebulous responsibility based on an ambiguous plan to attain a hazy objective in the field of restrictive business practices. On the other hand, a heavy responsibility rests on governments and business to see that business practices are not harmful or disruptive of the free flow of international trade, and to make any constructive suggestions toward this end which the United Nations and its members might consider."

The principal conclusion I derive from what I have just read is that it is impossible for an administrative body established within the United Nations to act as a court and determine violations of restrictive business practices. The laws of the sovereign nations differ so widely concerning this subject that it is impossible to frame an agreement predicated on national law which would be meaningful. Without a uniformity in national laws which, in turn, presuppose some common agreement on the type of economy under which the different countries shall operate, it is impossible to conceive of any useful purpose resulting from the implementation of chapter V through a new United Nations organ.

The resolution establishing this ad hoc committee, which was adopted in September of 1951, also provided—and I am quoting from the resolution:

"Determines further that the committee shall:

"(a) Obtain information from governments, specialized agencies and other sources, on restrictive business practices, whether based on cartel agreements or not, that affect international trade and international economic cooperation generally, and on legislation adopted and measures taken by individual member States in connection with restrictive business practices and with the object of restoring the freedom of competition; and

"(b) Present to the council analyses of this information together with the proposals mentioned in paragraph 4. * * *"

Pursuant to this resolution, two United Nations documents were issued, known as supplements 11A and 11B to the official records of the 16th session of the Economic and Social Council. These documents analyze governmental measures relating to restrictive business practices. While these documents clearly show that there is no uniformity in the approach to restrictive business practices by the nations of the world, they also raise another problem which has disturbed me. They review our antitrust laws and refer to criminal proceedings which are meaningful to those familiar with American jurisprudence, but place American free enterprise in an unfavorable light in a forum such as the United Nations with its Iron Curtain members who do not adhere to our judicial concepts.

Our Government has just recently furnished another report to the United Nations pursuant to this resolution. This report assumes a complete understanding of the philosophy underlying our antitrust laws by the reader of a United Nations document. Unfortunately, few foreign readers possess such understanding. It proceeds to describe various antitrust cases which have been initiated in the United States and cites the complaints in detail. Many of these cases have not been brought to trial, and I am sure that those who wish to impugn the motives and philosophy of American business enterprise will have a field day with this document. I wish to read just one page from this report, which clearly shows the unfavorable light in which American enterprise is placed. I shall now read from page 3 of the document:

"3. ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS

"During the course of the period since January 1, 1953, the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice had brought through July 1954, a total of 55 new cases, of which 29 have been criminal proceedings, and the remaining 26, civil cases. These cases cover a broad variety of industries as well as of types of restraints. A majority of them have been directed at traditional violations of the antitrust statutes such as price-fixing, allocation of customers or territories, and boycotts. As an example, a criminal case and a separate civil action were filed against four pencil manufacturers charging a price-fixing conspiracy, including collusive bidding on Government contracts.[34] In another instance, four distributors of toilet

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

goods, perfumes, and cosmetics were charged, in a separate action filed against each company, with attempting to restrain trade, through misuse of the United States trademark laws, by preventing goods produced by their foreign affiliates from being imported and sold in this country through competitors.[28]

"Several important cases having international as well as domestic significance have been brought against monopoly or monpolistic practices of dominant companies in their respective fields. One of these, filed on October 9, 1953, charges the American Smelting & Refining Co. and St. Joseph Lead Co., with a conspiracy to monopolize and restrain trade in primary lead.[29] The case charges the companies with collaborating to preempt supply sources of raw material, to limit the marketing opportunities of competitors and to restrict overall domestic production of lead ore. On April 21, 1953, a complaint was filed against five leading United States oil companies charging unlawful agreement to secure and exercise control over foreign production and supplies of petroleum and its products, to regulate imports into the United States in order to maintain an agreed level of domestic world prices, and to divide foreign producing and marketing territories.[30] The complaint charged further that some thirty jointly owned companies were created to give effect to these arrangements."

You will note the reference to a price-fixing conspiracy, collusion, and the statement that a criminal case was instituted. I am sure that the representatives from the Soviet Union will be happy to have this official report of our Government to use for propaganda purposes.

This report also recites actions recently instituted under the 1950 amendments of section 7 of the Clayton Act. This statement is meaningful to those of us who are familiar with this legislation, but in the form in which the report is presented, it has no meaning whatsoever to other countries who will receive it through the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Our present able delegation to the Council has sufficient difficulty in presenting the merits of the American free-enterprise system without having to be confronted with a report placing American business enterprise in a most unfavorable light in such a forum.

On October 21, 1953, I testified before the Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels Economics of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, of which the distinguished senior Senator from Nevada was the chairman, and reviewed the steps which led to the convening of the conference at Habana. After outlining the State Department's 1945 proposals, I said that they represented a bold move in the direction of world government and threatened the measures of security in which I have been particularly interested throughout my entire adult lifetime.

The report of this ad hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices, which will be before the Economic and Social Council this spring, included this statement which confirms the fears I expressed at that time:

"Governments have long since come realistically to accept the concept that different types of trade barriers must be dealt with at a different pace and through different organizational arrangements. For example, the International Monetary Fund, which is charged with the problem of dealing with exchange restrictions, was established several years before any organization had been set up to deal with the problem of import restrictions, the close companion of exchange restrictions; and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs was established without any parallel organization with respect to restrictive business practices. Both the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement, in turn, were created at a time when no formal arrangements had been developed for continuous consideration of commodity agreements and commodity allocations, problems which are intimately related to trade-barrier problems. In each of these fields, notwithstanding their interrelationships, machinery for international action was developed at its own pace and in its own form. The problems of liaison and consistency of pace have proved far less difficult in actuality than in the abstract. A common core of membership in these groups, supplemented by the enterprise of the secretariats, by arrangements similar to those provided in article 9 of the draft agreement, and by a few formal ties, have created a reasonably workable system."

I am confident that the steps which have already been taken by the Eisenhower administration to repudiate chapter VI of the Habana Charter through our nonparticipation in the Trade Stabilization Commission will be repeated at the forthcoming session of the Economic and Social Council when, I sincerely hope, we will withdraw from any further participation in this group designed to implement chapter V of the rejected Habana Charter.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices E/2380, E/AC.37/3 (U. N. Economic and Social Council Official Records, 16th sess., Supp. 11) 12 et seq. (March 30, 1953).

[2] The ad hoc committee was not specifically instructed to prepare the draft articles. It appears clear, however, that the Committee considered this the most satisfactory way to implement ECOSOC's recommendation. The Secretary-General of the United Nations had been instructed to obtain information on the type of organization which could implement the Committee proposals. See note 26, supra.

However, he explained in a note to ECOSOC that this could not be done by July 1953, because one of the most important of the intergovernmental bodies, the Contracting Parties to GATT, had had no regular meeting. Note by the Secretary-General concerning the report requested under Council resolution 375 (XIII) E/2443 (1953).

[3] See Searls, Trade or Commerce Among the Several States or With Foreign Nations, proceedings at annual meetings section of antitrust law, American Bar Association 58 (Aug. 26, 27, 1953). See also Hale and Hale, Monopoly Abroad: The Antitrust Laws and Commerce in Foreign Areas, 31 Texas L. Rev. 493 (1953); see note, Foreign Subsidiaries in Antitrust Law, 4 Stan. L. Rev. 559 (1952).

[4] See 21 U. S. L. Week 2651 (June 30, 1953).

[5] Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices E/2380, E/AC.37/3 (N. U. Economic Social Council Official Records, 16th sess., Supp. 11) 4, par. 22 (March 30, 1953).

[6] The Organization's power is limited to "requesting" members to take remedial action and "recommending" possible remedial measures.

[7] This conclusion is based on the findings in Analysis of Government Measures Relating to Restrictive Business Practices E/2379 and E/2379/Add.1, E/AC.37/2 and E/AC.37/2/-Add. 1 (U. N. Economic and Social Council Official Records, 16th sess., Supp. 11A), (April 29, 1953), and Foreign Legislation Concerning Monopoly and Cartel Practices (report of Department of State to Subcommittee on Monopoly, Senate Select Committee on Small Business, subcommittee print No. 5, 82d Cong., 2 sess.) (1952).

[8] E. g., art 2, pars. 3, 5, 8; art. 5, par. 4.

[9] The International Chamber of Commerce has subsequently indicated its opposition to the plan. Resolution adopted by council of International Chamber of Commerce, Doc. 225/23, Rome, Italy, April 13, 1954. Likewise, the National Association of Manufacturers has indicated its lack of agreement. See Restrictive Business Practices. Comments * * * E/2612 (U. N. Economic and Social Council Document) (May 28, 1954). But there has not been any analytical survey of the implications of the plan.

[10] The summary of attitudes is taken from Official Records (U. N. Econ. & Social Council, 16th Sess.) 742d meeting E/SR.742, p. 239 et seq. (July 30, 1953), 744th meeting E/SR.744, p. 257 et seq. (July 31, 1953).

[11] Id. at 244. The views of other nongovernmental organizations like the ICFTU seemed to spring from a genuine apprehension of restrictive business arrangements. Unfortunately, they do not seem to have recognized the dangers of an unworkable plan. Possibly time will permit a more thorough examination of the proposals.

[12] See Haight, International Law and Extra-territorial Application of the Antitrust Laws, 63 Yale L. J. 639 (1954); Whitney, Sources of Conflict Between International Law and the Antitrust Laws, 63 Yale L. J. 655 (1954). The conflict of laws could not be more clearly illustrated than in the recent cases of *United States* v. *Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd.* (105 F. Supp. 215 (S. D. N. Y. 1952)), and *British Nylon Spinners, Ltd.* v. *Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd.* ((1953) 1 Ch. 19).

[13] Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices E/2380, E/AC.37/3 (U. N. Econ. & Social Council Official Records, 16th Sess., Supp. 11) 6, ¶ 36 (March 30, 1953).

[14] Analysis of Governmental Measures Relating to Restrictive Business Practices E/2379 and E/2379/Add.1, E/AC.37/2 and E/AC.37/2/Add.1 (U. N. Econ. & Social Council Official Records, 16th Sess., Supp. 11A) 1 (April 29, 1953).

[15] Examples: Cement Entente of 1935 in Belgium; Zinc Rollers Entente of 1933; syndicate of Belgian Manufacturers of Machine Tools. In Austria virtually all industry is organized through trade associations. See note 49 infra.

[16] 40 Stat. 516 (1918), 15 U. S. C. §§ 61–65 (1952). 49 Stat. 1526 (1936), 15 U. S. C. § 13 et seq. (1952) (Robinson-Patman Discrimination Act) further complicates American antitrust law.

[17] Joint Oil Producing Ventures in the Middle East—Their Status under United States Antitrust Laws (Submittal by Standard Oil Co. of N. J. to Att'y. Gen.'s Nat'l. Comm. To Study the Antitrust Laws) (Dec. 13, 1953). See also the defendants' answers in *United States* v. *Standard Oil Co. of N. J.* (Civil No. 86–27, S. D. N. Y.); defendants' answers filed Sept. 1, 1953; amended answer filed by Texas Co., Sept. 21, 1953.

[18] The importance of the antitrust laws to United States foreign trade was clearly stated by the Honorable Stanley N. Barnes, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, in an address before the Washington Board of Trade, entitled "World Trade and the Antitrust Laws" (Sept. 27, 1954).

[19] See notes 10, 25 supra.

[20] See note 40 supra.

[21] Foreign Legislation Concerning Monopoly and Cartel Practices (report of Department of State to Subcommittee on Monopoly, Senate Select Committee on Small Business, Subcommittee Print No. 5, 82d Cong., 2d sess.), 1 (1952).

[22] Id. at 6.

[23] Id. at 15.

[24] Id. at 20. A bill for the surveillance of economic agreements to ensure freedom of production and trade was submitted to the Assemblee Nationale at the second term, 1953, No. 5704. See texts of National Legislation and Other Governmental Measures Relating to Restrictive Business Practices EE/2379/Add. 2. E/AC.37/2/Add. 2 (U. N. Eco-

nomic and Social Council Official Records, 16th sess., supp. 11B) 76 n.9 (March 13, 1953).

[21] Id. at 31.

[22] Id. at 43. Despite the stringent allied decartelization program, there are numerous signs that German industry much prefers to do business by the old methods.

[23] Id. at 58.

[24] Id. at 62.

[25] Recent comments from member nations, specialized agencies, intergovernmental organizations, and nongovernmental organizations regrettably reflect little additional analysis of the problem, particularly as it involves the efficacy of the ad hoc committee's proposals. Restrictive Business Practices. Comments • • • E/2612 (U. N. Economic and Social Council document) (May 28, 1954).

[26] This is the writer's conclusion with respect to such informative articles as Timberg, Restrictive Business Practices, 2 Am. J. Comp. L. 445 (1953). Mr. Timberg was secretary of the ad hoc committee on restrictive business practices.

[27] Id. at 465:

While the constitutional texts and statutory provisions of many other countries show on their face a similar hostility against monopolies, these have no history of practical enforcement.

[28] Having participated in a number of international conferences, the writer is deeply aware of the painstaking effort and negotiation necessary to achieve workable agreements.

[29] Edwards, Regulation of Monopolistic Cartelization, 14 Ohio St. L. J. 252, 278 (1953).

[30] *U. S.* v. *American Lead Pencil Co., et al.* (Civ. 73–54), civil complaint and final judgment, 2 copies enclosed; criminal action, copy enclosed.

[31] *U. S.* v. *Parfums Corday, Inc.* (civ. 93–268), complaint, copy enclosed. *Lanvin Parfums, Inc.* (civ. 93–269), complaint, copy enclosed. *Guerlain, Inc.* (civ. 93–267), complaint, copy enclosed. *Empro Corp.* (civ. 93–270), complaint, final judgment, copy enclosed.

[32] *U. S.* v. *American Smelting and Refining Co. and St. Joseph Lead Co.* (civ. 88–249), complaint, 2 copies enclosed.

[33] *U. S.* v. *Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) et al.* (civ. 88–27) complaint, copy enclosed.

A Model for United States Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the battle for men's minds is often as crucial as the struggle for geographic territory. Very few ideas ever have been crushed by bombs, swords, wild beasts, or even atomic bombs. We could win or lose the cold war against communism in the hearts and souls of the men and women of Asia.

One avenue by which the United States can win the allegiance of these people is through our magazines, our books, our newspapers, and our other literary and journalistic products.

I ask to have included in the Appendix of the RECORD an informative and illuminating article, entitled "A Model for United States Propaganda," written by Peggy Durdin and published in the New York Times magazine of February 6, 1955, describing the strikingly effective job done in Burma by the Library of the United States Information Service in the city of Rangoon.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MODEL FOR UNITED STATES PROPAGANDA

(By Peggy Durdin)

RANGOON.—Aside from her gold-domed pagodas and Buddhist temples, the most popular place in all Burma is a simple American library which might have been whisked overnight on a magic carpet to Asia from any town or city between Maine and California. A huge, light-filled, book-lined room on the ground floor of a British bank in Rangoon, it radiates friendliness, informality and cheerful service in the best American tradition. Without fuss or fanfare, it has made thousands of friends for the United States in a part of the world where people automatically suspect and distrust the motives of the West and where the Communists' chief propaganda line is anti-Americanism.

Regarded by Washington as the most successful library the United States Information Agency has established anywhere abroad, it exemplifies the kind of aid which Asian countries really welcome. It benefits the community and is a part of it—and so is not an obvious device to sell a bill of goods.

Every American who pays taxes for foreign aid can be proud of the way this United States institution has helped the young Government of Burma—independent only since 1948—cope with Communist insurrection and build a stable country, probably the most hopeful one in Southeast Asia today. Since Burma's own Communists are in armed rebellion, since it shares a long border with a resurgent China which has historically been aggresive westward and since a Peiping-directed embassy in Rangoon actively conspires among the local Chinese community, Burmese leaders have not needed forced feeding of propaganda from Americans to understand and fight communism. What they have desperately needed—and what the American library has consistently supplied—is information and help in setting up an administration and service so effective that the people would not become discontented and readily swallow the lies and promises of the Communists.

The library reaches not only officials but private citizens of all ages in every part of Burma. More than 1,300 Burmese come every day to this busy establishment. Men and women in gay sarongs pore over the racks of magazines, take notes from technical volumes, browse through the biography and fiction or, if they cannot read English, look at the brightly illustrated books in the children's annex. Pretty Burmese attendants decked with bits of glittering jewelry break with Asian custom by giving rich and poor, ragged and elegant, the same courteous attention. The patrons range from dirty little barefoot urchins, who sleep on the sidewalk at night, to dignified Buddhist monks and the highest officials of the Burmese Government.

The library's books travel by river boat, by plane, and on the backs of human porters through and into Communist-held territory, across thousands of miles of jungle and mountains. Burmese read them eagerly in an umbrella cooperative in Bassein, a school in Mandalay, a prisoner's reading room in Myitkyina, an army officers' club in Akyab and a youth league in Moulmein. A doctor who has to perform a complicated new operation, a merchant who wants to make "sparklers" and a landowner who plans to set up a model village on his property turn for help to the American library.

The father of a Communist university student borrowed a standard economics textbook, studied it and passed it on to his son. They discussed it together. When he returned the book the man said, "This book gave my son the true facts. He is no longer a Communist."

A teacher in a remote Burmese village wrote the librarian, "We owe you thousands of thanks. Long live America and democracy." Another reader offered to teach Burmese to the library's American staff members free of charge in token of his gratitude.

The Burmese, official and civilian, appreciate the library because they so desperately needed it. Before the war, when Burma was a British colony, libraries were regarded as special preserves for scholars—small, gloomy places where books were hidden in a back closet or, at best, locked behind glass panes where no one could finger them.

During the 4-year period of Japanese occupation and the Pacific war, fighting and Allied bombing destroyed most of the libraries and very few books were printed or imported. At the war's end, bookstores were virtually empty and many schools had not a single textbook. Cut off from contact with the rest of the world for so long, lacking the magazines, newspapers, radio, television, and newsreels that Americans take for granted, Burmese of every age in thousands of little villages were book-hungry.

Then, before the country was rehabilitated, Burma got her independence. Almost immediately the country's future was jeopardized by large-scale armed rebellion, both Communist and non-Communist (and not yet wiped out completely though no longer strong enough to wreck the state). At the same time, the Burmese were faced with the tremendous tasks of rebuilding their badly damaged cities, roads and railways and setting up the entire machinery of government: central and local administrations, tax and education systems, public health, public works, police and defense forces. In the capital city of Rangoon and all over the rest of Burma, patriotic young people, full of enthusiasm and hope, started new jobs without much technical know-how or administrative experience to guide them.

It was at this critical stage of Burma's development, when many of its friends wondered whether it would disintegrate into chaos, that the United States Information Agency appointed Zelma Graham to transform the little American reading room in Rangoon into a real library. A friendly, level-headed Pennsylvanian in her early forties, unmistakably and even typically American, the widow of a Baptist missionary in Burma, she had joined Dr. Seagrave's famous medical unit after Pearl Harbor and was evacuated to India just ahead of the Japanese.

Then she worked for the American Army and Government in India, North Burma, West China, and Thailand. When she got the Rangoon job, she took a quick librarian's course at Columbia University and arrived in Burma when the country, like all newly independent, ex-colonial Asian nations, was full of suspicions and resentments of the West.

Mrs. Graham immediately inaugurated a lending service and began to harass Washington for books. She got them; she always gets them. She set up a few simple lines of policy as American as pumpkin pie. First of all, she produced the first physically attractive library in all Burmese history; it has gay curtain, spacious tables, comfortable chairs, and lots of space and light. The next great innovation was that books were placed on open shelves and everyone was encouraged to enjoy the hitherto unheard-of luxury of browsing through them.

Then she trained her staff of Americans Burmese, Indians, Chinese, and Pakistanis to disregard the demands of "face" and treat a shy, threadbare little clerk and the Chief Justice of Burma with exactly the same

smiling courtesy. She made a rule, quickly recognized all over Burma, that the library would never refuse a single reasonable request for help. Her own little office is open to everyone; if the book or information wanted is not available, she gets it from Washington, by cable if the need is urgent.

Perhaps most important of all, the library was and is designed, in solid American tradition, to be of service to the community and country, not as a propaganda device. When the sensitive and suspicious Burmese realized that propaganda was not going to be rammed down their throats, they began to throng to the American library.

Over and over again Burmese officials, faced with new and knotty problems, have come to the library for guidance. Frequently they ask for "everything the United States is doing in this field."

They want help on public water supply, low-cost housing, the architectural design of schools and gymnasiums for hot climates, census-taking, improved farming techniques, character education for children, 4–H clubs, traffic control in civil aviation, tax systems and the training of naval cadets. The police use American books on prison reform, the FBI juvenile delinquency, police training and methods. (One officer asked for "the American way to catch a spy.")

When a young government official from Burma's far northeast wrote in: "I am a public relations officer for this state but I don't know what it is. Can you tell me?" Mrs. Graham sent him the appropriate book.

The importance of adequate transportation and communications in good administration—and in fighting rebellion—is obvious. Officials of the Government-owned Burma railways say they could not have operated without the library. Their own technical collection destroyed during the war, rebuilt and destroyed a second time by insurgents, they draft their training material from American texts. The chief engineer circulates a history of American railroads among his staff "to give my men a vision of what we can accomplish."

Material from the American library helped the Burmese Parliament decide to support the U. N. action on Korea in 1950. The Government constantly asks for information on the United Nations, American foreign policy, and democracy. The commission entrusted with the vital task of writing school texts for Burma has been using American schoolbooks for reference.

Thousands of individuals write or come in for specific information unavailable anywhere else in the country. "What is the Pentagon?" "Where can I locate world freight rates?" "Where can one get artificial limbs for children?"

Special loan collections of books go all over Burma to schools, to reading rooms of the Armed Forces and Government, to youth hostels and all kinds of student organizations, to a Buddhist training school for monks and to the influential Buddhist monasteries.

The books are read in little family clubs of 20 or 30 members and in community reading centers. Sometimes all the members of one of these village reading rooms pile into buses to visit the Rangoon library; several hundred Burmese—including babies slung across their mothers' hips and white-haired old grandfathers—will then spend a fascinated hour touring the library much as Americans tour the Louvre in Paris.

A member of parliament from the far Chin Hills in western Burma always takes books back with him by air when he returns to his constituency. Porters meet his plane and carry the boxes of reading material on their backs for 5 days to the various little schools in his area.

One day four stately, safron-robed Buddhist monks walked into the library to "look at this place we have been hearing about." They explained that some of the pupils in their monastery school had told the unlikely story that everyone, even children, could come in and sit and read or take out books, and they wanted to know whether this could actually be true. After looking around the main library and the children's annex, one of the monks said to a Burmese attendant, "America must feel really friendly to the Burmese, to give them such a good library anyone can use without paying anything."

Zelma Graham opened the children's section—the first public library for young people in Burma's history—in early 1949, when the only equipment in many Rangoon schools was broken slate and chalk, and the few children's books available in Burma were printed on cheap, flimsy paper without any illustrations or pictures.

After the first few days, not one of the several hundred volumes ever touched the library shelves; at least six children waited for every book returned by a borrower. In those first few months, some books were recovered half a dozen times. Today there are thousands of books for the 14,000 members of the children's annex.

An important virtue of the library is that it helps to break down the barriers of nationality, religion, and economic standing that separate Burmese children in their school and play. Rich or poor, Hindu, Christian, or Buddhist, they all come together in the American library. Gathered around the librarian will be a 12-year-old boy in a faded, threadbare sarong, carrying a fat Burma cheroot; a dainty little Indian belle with black painted eyes and diamonds in her nose; a 10-year-old child with a baby slung over one slender hip; a rich little Burmese with gold earrings and buttons and flowers in her hair and escorted by an "ayah"; a little Chinese Boy Scout in khaki; a Sikh youngster with a magnificent turban.

At the low tables, together with the youngsters, are a scattering of young men in their late 'teens or early 20's who are just learning English. Frequently 1 or 2 big Buddhist monks who can't read English at all sit among the children, their shaven heads bent intently over colored illustrations of great cities, strange animals, foreign countries, farms, trains, and airplanes.

There is always an orderly queue of children waiting to take out books. Burmese boys and girls are not used to standing in line for things, particularly if they have money and social standing. The librarians explained to them that this was the custom in the United States. Now the children themselves tell new members, "You must stand in line. This is the way we do it in the American library."

"My son tells me he has to wait in line to get books in your library," a Government official said with a frown one day to Mrs. Graham.

"Yes," he does. "Everyone does," she said.

"He tells me he has to stand in the same line with the servants' children."

"Yes," she answered. "It's the same line for everyone."

"Well," she said finally, with a grin, "my son seems to like it. So I guess it must be all right."

The children greatly enjoy other activities of the library which are seldom included in their school curriculum: a weekly newspaper (the only one for young people in all Burma); exhibits of things they make themselves, like model boats and houses; singing, story-telling, and play with blocks, clay, and crayons.

When Mrs. Graham tried to cut the music period from twice to once a week, a committee of Burmese about 2 feet high presented themselves before her desk and said, politely but firmly, in their best English: "We demand music, please. We demand not stop music class."

Though most of them are Buddhists, the children love to sing carols and start asking for them months before Christmas. Only once did a slight hitch arise in the music hour; the singing of Scotland's Burning—Fire! Fire! Fire! Fire!—had to be discontinued because of the old Burmese superstition that the prophecies of children and fools come true.

One important way in which the whole library contributes to Burmese-American friendship and indirectly counters Communist propaganda is that it gives the ordinary Burmese a chance to get acquainted, on his own initiative, with the real United States. Burmese ideas of America come chiefly from Communist literature and the poorer Hollywood movies.

As a result, they tend to think of the United States as a nation of selfish, wealthy, moneygrubbers who cannot possibly understand or sympathize with the simple people and the problems of an underdeveloped Asian country. From the library's special exhibits, books, and weekly educational films the Burmese build for themselves a much more accurate picture, one they accept because it has not been forced on them.

After watching movies on American life, people ask such questions as, "Why don't Americans 'lose face' when they do their own housework, carry their own packages, and drive their own cars?" "How do communities finance all these things that Americans seem to get free?" and "What causes the high standard of living in your country?"

In addition to helping interpret America, the library itself has become a model for similar Burmese institutions; it gives short training courses to Burmese librarians and has aided the University of Rangoon and other key organizations in building up and organizing their own book collections.

No one will ever be able to measure finally the help this library has given Government and individuals in Burma, the understanding of America it has spread, or the good will it has created by giving good and friendly service in a simple, unassuming fashion. Selling democracy over the world is perhaps, after all, not so different from selling a car to an American. Doubtless the salesman's patter is important. But what matters in the long run—and what this American library gives—is performance.

Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRVING M. IVES

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland, before the Rotary Club of New York, on February 17, 1955. This address is most interesting and thought-provoking, and I commend it to the attention of the Congress.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I can understand it if some of you felt inclined to raise your eyebrows when you learned that a speaker was to address you on such a subject as An American Looks Abroad. You may feel inclined to believe that too many Americans have already done too much

looking abroad, and especially too much talking about it, to the grave embarrassment of the officials charged with the conduct of our foreign relations.

It is unfortunately true, but I assure you that you will not hear from me any suggestion of any specific action that should or should not be taken by any official of the United States. Under our constitutional system the President through the agency of the Secretary of State conducts foreign relations except in cases involving treaties, when he acts by and with the consent and advice of the Senate. That is the supereme law of the land, binding upon every one of us; but if it were not so, still I have enough confidence in the integrity and intelligence of the Secretary, the Senate, and the President to be content to leave the application of our foreign policy in their hands and to offer them nothing but my loyal and unwavering support in their most difficult task.

But the foreign policy itself is not identical with the ways and means of carrying it into effect. The foreign policy is not the creation of the President, the Secretary and the Senate; it is the will of the American people in their relations with other nations, and the success of the 3 agencies is to be measured by their success in understanding that will, and making it effective. Foreign policy, as distinguished from the conduct of foreign relations, is very much the business of every citizen and the man who has not formed some kind of opinion on the subject has not fulfilled his civic duty.

The vast majority of Americans, I feel sure, have formed an opinion, but I am equally sure that they have not made that opinion clear to the rest of the world and I cherish some doubt that they have made it altogether clear to themselves. This is no cause for wonder since the attitude we hold is the outgrowth of our experience, not something we have sat down and studied out as a chess player studies out a problem before making his next move. American foreign policy, as I conceive it, is not the attitude we have chosen to assume, but the attitude that we are bound to assume toward the rest of the world, given our political philosophy plus our historical experience.

Both our philosophy and our experience are unique in important respects, so it inevitably follows that our attitude is, if not unique, at least exceptional; which means that there is a high probability that others will misunderstand and misinterpret it. It is my belief that the greater part of our present strains and stresses are attributable to this misunderstanding and misinterpretation; but I am not prepared to maintain that this is altogether the fault of other nations. The American attitude, which seems simple and inevitable to us, may very well be perplexing, indeed downright incredible to people of different traditions and experience.

For one thing, as among the haves and the have-nots, the United States is very definitely a have Nation; but among the haves, it is the only one that acquired its wealth by a struggle that was directed almost exclusively against the forces of nature, rather than against rival nations. We have fought many wars, but only one, that against Mexico in 1846, was highly profitable; and it is precisely the Mexican war that we have always regarded with least national pride. From the economic standpoint, California was well worth the struggle, but we have never been satisfied that any economic profit justifies a war.

This doubt is now shared by all highly developed nations, but only because economic profit cannot result from full-scale war. There is no region on earth so fabulously rich that its possession would repay the costs of a struggle with Russia; and on the other side, invasion and conquest of the United States would not repay Russia the costs of a struggle with us, simply because the economic value of this country would be largely obliterated by the process of invasion and conquest.

But this is true only because of the fabulous cost of modern war. For centuries it was possible for the Czar to extend his realm very profitably by conquest. So it was with all the other great empires of history; it is only recently that war has become so costly that it is almost as ruinous to the victor as to the vanquished. For that reason this country alone among the great powers has no tradition of war as a profit-making enterprise. Our Indian wars do not furnish an exception, for at the time they were fought they were regarded as police actions to establish law and order rather than as aggressions against another nation.

But because our experience has been so different from that of the rest of the world, it is hard for the rest of the world to understand our attitude; and we, for our part, find it difficult to understand why others cannot understand us. There has been no meeting of minds, and this, I believe, accounts for more of our difficulties than all the schemes of wicked men.

I do not claim for a moment that the United States is a nation of philosophers. Like other countries we have our quota of greedy men, unscrupulous men, short-sighted men, and a great variety of fanatics; but these constitute what Theodore Roosevelt called the lunatic fringe and may be disregarded. I think the great mass of the American people are committed heart and soul to these four propositions:

First, that we do not covet either the territory or the authority of any other nation;

Second, that we do not regard war as a legitimate means of extending either our power or our prosperity;

Third, that neither Divine Providence nor manifest destiny calls upon us to impose our form of government on any people against their will.

Fourth, that we do have an obligation to lend our support to any movement with a reasonable promise of extending equal justice under law to all nations.

Obviously, if 3 out of 4 Americans believe that these 4 principles should constitute the basis of our foreign policy, we do not, as a Nation, constitute a threat to any other country. On the contrary, our military and economic power, controlled by these principles, should be a reassurance to all men of good will.

Nevertheless, he is an optimist indeed who can persuade himself that the rest of the world does so regard it. There is only too much evidence that we are widely feared and fear, of course, generates hatred. This is open to one explanation only, which is that a large part of the world does not believe that we really adhere to the principles we profess.

It follows that the application of American foreign policy is essentially a process of convincing the world of American good faith. Opposing it are certain powerful outside forces with an interest, a real or fancied, in preventing this outcome. Dealing with these outside forces is the business of the President and the Secretary of State, and intervention in that business by private citizens is both unlawful and highly inexpedient.

But it does not follow that the private citizen has no responsibility at all in the situation. On the contrary, his is the final responsibility in a democracy in which public opinion determines foreign policy. He can discharge it, however, not by positive but only by negative action. His part is not to oppose the forces of evil directly, but to refrain from giving them aid and comfort by any injudicious act or word.

After all, 3 of the 4 principles stated a few minutes ago are negative—we do not covet the possessions of others, we do not regard war as a lawful instrument of national policy, we do not look upon ourselves as a master race. Our primary duty, then is not to give the lie to our own pretensions by conduct which our enemies can turn to the uses of their manufacturers of propaganda.

Yet the private citizen's duty does include one positive phase. It is his duty to make every reasonable effort to understand the attitude of others, including that of our bitterest opponents. I grant that in theory it is no less their duty to understand us; but we can do nothing about that, and I am speaking from the standpoint of an American.

At this moment our heritage of freedom of speech and freedom of inquiry takes on multiplied value; in fact, under existing circumstances the right becomes a duty. I cannot understand the thinking of those Americans who would blindfold our eyes and stop up our ears lest we become contaminated by learning exactly what it is with which we must contend. The ideology—I refuse to call it a philosophy—of communism seems to be as viciously false as any error that has cursed the human mind in history; but I consider it the duty of an American to learn all that he can about it, just as it is the duty of a surgeon to learn all that he can about cancer. Communism, like cancer, has demonstrated a hideous ability to spread, and until we understand its ways of spreading we shall never know how to control it.

There are Americans, some of them undoubtedly as sincere as I am, who are horrified by the idea of a calm, careful study of communism, or of fascism, or of any other idea repugnant to our American system. But while they are sincere, they are also defeatists. You cannot handle infection, they argue, without becoming infected. But you can. It is precisely because you can that science has made such progress in the battle against infection. It is a matter of antisepsis, and in the realm of ideas the most powerful antiseptic in the world is freedom—freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of inquiry.

It is for this reason that I regard those men who would curb and restrict the freedom of the American mind as no less dangerously misled than men who would remove its disinfectants from a hospital. It is a curious and discouraging fact that our enemies sometimes seem to have a keener appreciation of the real nature of freedom than we have. The masters of Soviet Russia are, from their standpoint, quite right in going to any extreme to stamp out freedom of the mind. They are far more concerned to abolish freedom of speech and thought than they are to abolish freedom of the body, and with good reason. Their system is entirely consistent with considerable freedom of movement among their subjects, but it cannot exist in the presence of even a relatively slight degree of freedom of the mind.

Our system, on the other hand, cannot exist without it; yet some earnest souls among us look with complacence on removal of our one defense against infection by error of the most virulent type. This tendency I regard as the most dangerous threat to our foreign policy; for while the success of that policy depends in the first instance on the skill and energy of our diplomats, in the final analysis it depends upon the preservation, the extension, and the strengthening of American freedom.

This is a task that cannot be performed by any official, elective or appointive. It can be performed only by a great body of private citizens who are freemen and propose to remain free; and it is the most important duty that lies upon any man up to and including the President of the United States.

So when an American looks abroad in the year 1955 he will see, if he looks intelligently, a stern warning against indolence and drowsiness in defending his own liberty at

home. The foreign policy of any free, self-governing people is not a threat to any other free people; but the world must have no doubt whatever that we are in fact free and self-governing before it can feel confident that our prodigious strength exists for the defense and not the destruction of liberty.

A single instance of oppression or flagrant injustice in America shocks the world more than appalling repressions in Russia. We sometimes grow querulous over that. It seems to us unjust that there should be a greater outcry when a single American is sent to jail on perjured testimony, or harried and harassed for expressing unpopular opinions, than there is when thousands are consigned to Siberian labor camps.

Perhaps it is unjust, but it is also a tremendous compliment. It is evidence that the world is half convinced that we really are what we profess to be and is correspondingly disturbed by the smallest evidence that it is not so. Looking abroad we can see the importance of preventing the appearance of such evidence. To some extent we are realizing it; we have managed to get through more than 3 years without a lynching in all the continental expanse of the United States. One reason that we have developed a tender conscience as regards that crime, is, I am persuaded, realization that a mob murder in this country has repercussions in the ends of the earth and is hailed with glee by all the powers of darkness.

So has any other denial of the rights of man. Slaves are not much criticized for acting slavishly, but he who professes to be a freeman must be free, or become the scandal of the world. The American who looks abroad may see his own image reflected in the minds of foreign peoples; and if that image shocks him a bit, so much the better for him if it impels him to straighten up and become something closer to the ideal that his professions have created in the minds of others.

I am enough of an idealist—a romantic, if you choose to call it so—to believe that a great destiny is within the grasp of my country. But when I look abroad I realize that it will never be achieved by military might, or economic power. It will be achieved only by being, rather than by doing, by character rather than by deeds, by a constantly closer approach to the ideal that the founders of the Republic had in mind when they set up a nation that by cherishing and extending human liberty within its own borders would, they believed, become a beacon to mankind.

Report of Foreign Shipyards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, there was appointed last year a subcommittee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for the purpose of making an inspection in many countries of Europe concerning shipping, shipyards, and others matters of concern to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER] and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PURTELL] were appointed on the subcommittee, and accompanying them was the subcommittee counsel, Mr. Webster.

They made a report to me as chairman of the committee at that time, which I think contains very valuable information for the Members of the Senate. I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE OF INTERSTATE AND
FOREIGN COMMERCE,
December 30, 1954.

Hon. JOHN W. BRICKER,
Chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BRICKER: You will recall that by letter dated July 29, 1954, you authorized Senator WILLIAM A. PURTELL, our subcommittee counsel, Mr. Webster, and me to visit various European countries for the purpose of inspecting certain foreign shipyards and investigating other matters of concern to this committee. Accordingly, I am writing you in behalf of our group to report on our European trip.

On August 20, 1954, we sailed from New York aboard the S. S. *United States*.

We arrived in LeHavre on August 25 and proceeded directly to Paris. As you know, Senator PURTELL had a previous commitment to meet various United States Senators and Congressmen in Vienna on August 27 for the purpose of representing our country at the interparliamentary conference held in that city until September 2. As a result, we parted that evening after a final conference in Paris, Senator PURTELL taking the train to Vienna and Mr. Webster and I taking another train to Bremen.

However, before we parted we mapped out our itinerary. Since I had to be back in the States by no later than September 8, 1954, we decided I should spend my entire time in Germany: at Bremen, Hamburg, and Bonn. We also agreed that when I left Germany on or about September 1, 1954, Mr. Webster would go on to Rome in order to meet Senator PURTELL when he arrived from Vienna on or about September 3, 1954. On leaving Rome they planned to visit Genoa, Italy; Rotterdam, Holland; London, England; Clyde, Scotland; and Dublin, Ireland. If all went well—as in fact it did—they intended to return aboard the *United States* when it sailed from Southampton on September 23, 1954.

Of course, I am very sorry that previous commitments would not permit me to revisit the splendid shipyards in Holland and Italy, or to see for the first time the world-famous yards on the Clyde or in Belfast. However, in view of the scope and importance of German shipbuilding, I am not sorry that I refrained from trying to visit yards in other countries. To the contrary, my only regret is that I did not have more time to spend in Germany.

It seems to me that it would be burdensome to weigh down the body of this letter with a multitude of statistical information. Therefore, while now and then I will allude to a statistic or two worth noting, I will include most of that type of material in various accompanying enclosures.

This is not to say that I consider the enclosures routine or meaningless. Indeed, I have reason to believe that some of them, especially those dealing with current costs of building ships in various European yards, may prove to be of value to the Maritime Administration, the General Accounting Office, and the Appropriations Committees. While I am not so naive as to believe that Senator PURTELL and I, in the limited time at our disposal, were able to turn up complete answers to any or all of the intensely complex questions involved in the determination of construction differential subsidies, I am sure that some of the material we gathered has not been made available to our Government before.

After you have finished examining the enclosures, with your permission I will invite the Maritime Administrator, the Comptroller General, and the House and Senate Appropriations Committees to review and make appropriate use of them. In view of the fact that much of this information was supplied to us with the understanding that it would not be used in any way which might embarrass the supplier, I will request those who are permitted to use it to do so discreetly.

On August 26, Mr. Webster and I arrived in Bremen, where we were met by Consul General Edward D. McLaughlin. That afternoon we conferred at his home with him and the following people: Mr. Hermann Helms, Jr., director of Hansa Line; Mr. Manfred von Oheimb Hauenschild, director of Norddeutsche Bank A. G.; Dr. Gustav Adolf Theel, head of Bremen Institute for Shipping Research; Mr. Fred Riddle, Lykes Lines representative; Mr. William Amoss, Jr., Lykes Lines representative.

Among the subjects we discussed in addition to Germany's shipping and shipbuilding industries were various experiences which American companies such as Lykes have had in serving Bremen. We also had an opportunity to invite the views of these leading Bremen shipping authorities on the so-called 50–50 or cargo-preference bill (Public Law 604). Dr. Theel, in particular, is a noted authority in such matters and authored the Bremen World Shipping Yearbook 1952–53.

Because Public Law 664 was so new—in fact it was not signed by the President until August 26, 1954—it was to be expected that there would be a certain amount of misunderstanding concerning its provisions. However, I was gratified to note that these gentlemen recognized that the United States as a sovereign Nation cannot afford to rely on foreign shipping to meet its ocean transportation needs; and further, that our country must maintain a healthy, privately owned, and operated merchant marine. It was also gratifying to discover that they recognize that in order for us to maintain an adequate privately owned merchant marine we must to some extent subsidize it directly, or indirectly, in order for us to be somewhere near par with our low-labor-cost foreign competitiors. Nor did they take exception to the premise that it is only reasonable for a nation which must subsidize its merchant marine to a substantial extent to require that at least 50 percent of the ocean cargoes owned or financed by the government of that country be carried in merchant vessels flying its flag.

Here, as in certain other places visited by Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster, we found that the main concern which our foreign competitiors have about the cargo-preference bill is based on a misunderstanding, i. e., that the bill requires that at least 50 percent of all United States exports and imports be carried on United States-flag ships. Of course it does not, applying as it does only to cargoes in which our Government has an interest as owner, financier, or guarantor. It affects in no way those transactions which are commercial rather than governmental in nature.

As in other countries, we here observed a certain amount of anxiety that we would extend the cargo preference principle to cover commercial, as well as Government-owned or financed cargoes. We did our best to dispel these fears and I feel that in large measure we succeeded.

We also observed a certain amount of concern lest other countries use our cargo-preference bill to justify them in discriminating against the ships of other nations by giving their own vessels a monopoly of all exports and imports. We pointed out that the fact that other nations might selfishly misinterpret our bill was not sufficient reason for

us to repeal it; and on this score we heard no persuasive rebuttal.

That afternoon (August 26) we visited the A. G. Weser yard (Aktiengesellschaft Weser). There we were cordially received by Mr. H. W. Schliephake, vice president, who escorted us on a tour of the yard. Before mentioning a few of our observations I believe it might be helpful if I set forth some general information concerning the A. G. Weser Co. and its yards in Bremen and Bremerhaven:

Prior to 1945, the A. G. Weser Co., with shipyards in Bremen and Bremerhaven, was one of Germany's largest shipbuilding companies. However, it suffered a severe setback as a result of the war. The Bremen yard was almost completely dismantled and delivered to the Soviet Union as reparations. However, buildings and foundations of shipways, which had not been destroyed by bombing, were left intact so that an astoundingly quick reconstruction was possible after the company obtained permission to resume shipbuilding in the Bremen plant in April 1951. The Bremerhaven shipyards were not dismantled and could resume shipbuilding in 1947.

Today the company again is 1 of the 4 largest shipyards in Western Germany. In shipbuilding capacity it probably ranks third or fourth (after Deutsche Werft, Hamburg; Howaldtswerke, Hamburg; and probably also behind Howaldtswerke, Kiel); in number of employees it may rank second or even first. Employment as of June 30, 1954: Bremen yards, total, 6,000, 2,600 thereof in shipbuilding; Bremerhaven yard, total, 3,230, 2,970 thereof in shipbuilding.

The relatively high number of employees as compared with shipbuilding capacity is explained by the fact that a considerable percentage of labor force is engaged in machine construction work (turbines, diesel engines, oil tanks and containers, coupling gear, etc.).

Germany's largest and fastest prewar passenger liner, the SS *Bremen*, was built in A. G. Weser's Bremen shipyards.

The Bremerhaven shipyards, known as A. G. Weser, Werk Seebeck, specialize in fishing and whaling vessels, but they also construct passenger and freight vessels up to 16,000 deadweight tons. There are 2 shipways in Bremerhaven.

Due to the fact that shipyards and machine construction plants in Bremen had to be rebuilt completely after dismantling, the Bremen shipyards today are reportedly equipped with the most up-to-date installations. A large new shipway with travelling cranes has recently been completed. It has a length of 175 meters, width of 35 meters, and a height of 52 meters. The other four shipways in Bremen are equipped with large luffing and slewing cranes. A large hall has been erected for welding sections.

The shipbuilding capacity of the company is reported to be back to the prewar level, although only two-thirds of the former space is occupied due to more efficient production methods and layout. The company owns several floating drydocks for repair work. The largest has a lifting capacity of 16,000 tons; two smaller ones located in the Bremen free-trade zone have lifting capacities of 1,500 to 2,000 tons. The construction of the fourth floating drydock of 12,000 tons lifting capacity is nearing completion. The present equipment enables the company to construct vessels of the largest known size, including tankers, up to 60,000 (d. w. t.). The only limitation will be set by the depth of water at the shipway which is 38 feet in Bremen. The output of the Bremen yard in 1954 was 6 vessels totaling 39,200 (gr. t.), the Bremerhaven yard produced 16 units with a total of 24,800 (gr. t.).

During our visit to the A. G. Weser Bremen yard we found it very busy. In relation to the state of physical condition it must have been in at the end of the war, the yard seems now to be in excellent shape. Many new buildings already exist and others are under construction. These new structures facilitate the building or prefabrication of many ship components which would otherwise have to be constructed in the open, perhaps on board ship and subject to the impediments of weather.

Large tanker construction, for the account of various American owners and others, seemed to be the cause of much construction activity.

I was pleased to see that in spite of all the war damage, and in spite of the intensity of effort to rebuild and improve their yard, the German workers have not lost their sense of humor. For example, all that remains of one building in the yard is a large smokestack. On it is painted the German equivalent of "no smoking."

We also visited the offices of Captain Daehne, Director of the Bremen Port Authority. He showed us a magnificent mechanized model of the port. From our discussions with him and our personal observations of the port itself it was plainly apparent that Bremen has not only reconstructed many of its facilities which were damaged or destroyed during the war, but it is well on its way to making it a better and busier port than ever before. In fact their facilities for loading and unloading grain are as fine as any I have ever seen.

Of course in speaking or thinking of the port of Bremen, it would be improper to leave the impression that Bremen stands separate and apart from Bremerhaven. Indeed the ports of Bremen are a series of 5 ports, running from Bremerhaven (where the Weser River joins the North Sea) up the Weser, past Bremen-Farge, Bremen-Blumenthal, Bremen-Vegesack to Bremen. The sister towns of Bremen and Bremerhaven make up what some refer to as the "Free Hanseatic Town of Bremen."

On August 27, 1954, Mr. Webster and I left Bremen and traveled to Hamburg where we were met by representatives of the United States consulate in that city. Shortly after arrival we conferred with Dr. Roerhrike, local representative of the Germany Shipowners Association. Thus we had an opportunity to discuss with him and members of the consulate staff the cargo-preference bill. Our impressions were very much the same as those we had received from similar discussions in Bremen.

During our altogether too short weekend stay in Hamburg we made an extensive tour of the harbor in the company of Mr. Widenmann, chief of the Harbor Construction Office. We went into the areas of the port covered by the following shipyards:

1. Deutsche Werft Aktiengesellschaft: This yard has an annual output capacity of about 65,000 (gr. t.). It specializes in the construction of motor and turbine tanker vessels, motor cargo vessels, and refrigerated ships.

2. Howaltdswerke Aktiengesellschaft: This yard has an annual output capacity of approximately 50,000 (gr. t.) and builds all types of vessels. As in Bremen, we noticed a great deal of ocean-going tonnage, mainly of the tanker variety, under construction. Especially memorable was the 47,000 (dw. t.) tanker, *Ibn Saud*, being built by Howaltdswerke Aktiengesellschaft for the Greek shipping magnate, Onassis.

In Hamburg, too, we were shown an excellent model of the port. Dr. Scholvin, of the Federal Ministry of Transportation, shipping section, discussed with us the task of rebuilding the port after the war and how it has progressed.

Here, too, as in Bremen, it seems to me that this port is rapidly becoming better and busier than ever before. In particular, I was impressed with the extensive number of new dockside cargo cranes. Whereas in Bremen the semiportal type of crane has been used for many years, Hamburg, in reconstructing its port, decided to employ the full-portal type. I was informed that because of the traffic handled through Hamburg, the port organization was compelled to extend the rail-track system on the water side of the sheds which line the wharves; and that this modification entailed an alteration to the crane system. If semiportal cranes had been installed they would have had to have much larger spans than the full-portal variety. I concluded that Hamburg seems to be proceeding on the premise that it can expedite turn-around time of ships by installing more lower-priced cranes rather than fewer of the more expensive type.

Of course the strict competitive rivalry between Bremen and Hamburg is as intense as ever. Indeed it is understandable that the German officials, with whom we discussed maritime matters in both ports, radiated pride in their respective cities.

On Monday morning, August 30, 1954, Mr. Webster and I left Hamburg and arrived in Bonn that afternoon. We were met by Mr. Emerson M. Brown (Chief of the Transportation Section of the Office of Economic Affairs, HICOG) and spent the remainder of that day and evening consulting with Mr. Brown, Mr. John W. Tuthill (Acting Director, OEA, HICOG), Mr. Wier Brown (Chief of the Finance and Program Division, OEA, HICOG, and U. S. Treasury representative), and Mrs. Charles H. Breecher (Acting Chief, Industrial Services Division, OEA, HICOG). That evening we also had the honor of dining and conversing with not only these gentlemen but also with Dr. Westrick, State Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Econmics; and Dr. Bergmann, State Secretary of the Federal Ministry for Transportation. I was extremely pleased to have this opportunity to talk with Drs. Westrick and Bergmann for, as you probably know, the positions which they hold are similar to positions held by members of our President's Cabinet. I understand that Dr. Westrick plans to be in the United States in the near future and I am looking forward to the honor of a visit from him.

On August 31, Mr. Webster and I conferred with Drs. Hubner and Schmid of the Shipbuilding Office of the Federal Ministry of Econmics. Although we had discussed elsewhere in our trip throughout Germany the cost of vessel construction, I was especially gratified by our conference with these eminent German officials.

That afternoon we had the honor of lunching with Ambassador and Mrs. Conant at their home. Indeed, among the most pleasant and profitable experiences I had abroad was the time I spent that afternoon with the Conants. In view of the fact that EDC had just been defeated in the French Assembly, it is understandable, I believe, that our discussion was not limited to maritime matters. Naturally, I was pessimistic and skeptical about the EDC developments. However, after talking with Ambassador Conant, I felt I had a much better understanding of certain key issues and alternatives. I came away from this meeting with immense confidence in the Ambassador's judgment.

That evening Mr. Webster departed for Genoa, Italy, for the purpose of making arrangements for various conferences and meetings to be held in that city by Senator PURTELL and him when they returned from Rome. The next morning I boarded the Ruhr-Paris express for Paris, and after less than a day in that beautiful city, I left for Cherbourg which I boarded the SS. *Queen Mary*. As you know, there were no American-flag vessels whose schedules would have permitted me to stay in Germany as long as I did and still be back in the United States by September 8, 1954.

In reflecting upon our altogether too short visit to Germany, I believe that certain maritime matters are worthy of additional mention. I have not tried to set them forth in any particular order, but just as they come to mind. They are as follows:

1. In 1953 the German shipyards constructed 66 vessels for foreign account. I was informed that this was 41 percent of their total construction and amounted to 299,500 (gr. t.).

2. The German merchant fleet, as of December 31, 1953, was made up of 2,111 vessels with a total tonnage of 1,930,215 (gr. t.), an increase of 95 vessels of 411,815 (gr. t.) over the level at the close of 1952.

3. The German fleet at the close of 1953 was a little less than one-half of its prewar size of 4 million (gr. t.).

4. The *Gripsholm's* sailing on February 2, 1954, from Bremen to New York under the colors of Norddeutscher Lloyd, and the inclusion of that line in the reorganized Continental North Atlantic Westbound Freight Conference are matters of international interest and significance.

5. The total volume of cargo carried by the German fleet (including cargo carried between foreign ports) in 1953 amounted to 34,200,000 tons as compared to 28,100,000 tons in 1952, an increase of about 22 percent.

6. Passenger traffic carried by the German merchant fleet in 1953 was negligible. German freighter-passenger accommodations were limited to between 6 and 12 passengers. However, German shipowners have started to construct a new type of combined passenger/cargo vessel capable of carrying approximately 86 passengers.

7. German shipbuilding costs increased in 1953, due primarily to higher prices for steel plates and higher wages for German shipyard workers.

8. The main form of national subsidy or aid extended by Germany to encourage merchant vessel construction in that country is found in section 7D of the German income-tax law. This section has enabled German shipowners to accelerate the depreciation of their vessels. More than that, it has authorized German taxpayers receiving excess income to deduct from their taxable income, as operational expenses or business promotion costs, sums of money which they have granted or loaned without interest for the promotion of shipbuilding.

Although this income-tax provision has apparently done much to revive and promote German shipbuilding, I was informed that such tax privileges probably would be abolished effective January 1, 1955. A speech to that effect was delivered to the Bundestag on March 11, 1954, by Dr. Fritz Schaeffer, Federal Finance Minister.

After conferring with Counsel General Cloyce K. Huston, and his assistant, Mr. Alfred Dennis in Genoa, and after making arrangements for Senatotr PURTELL to confer with local shipping authorities, Mr. Webster joined the Senator as the latter came through Florence bound for Rome. Upon arrival in Rome, Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster were met by representatives from the American Embassy. They were disappointed to learn that Ambassador Luce would not be in Rome during their visit. However, they had the benefit of conferring with her immediate assistant, Minister Counselor Elbridge Durbrow.

In Rome they conferred with Mr. John M. Kennedy (the Embassy's commercial attaché), Mr. Thomas A. Lane (the Embassy's labor attaché and chief of the MSA Labor Division), Captain Ralph S. McDowell (Bureau of Ship's representative in charge of offshore procurement) and Mr. Harry H. Phelan (the Embassy's minerals attaché). Their discussions covered matters such as offshore procurement, the labor situation, unemployment, costs, etc., relative to shipbuilding and ship repair.

On September 9, 1954, Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster arrived in Genoa. That morning they visited the Ansaldo Shipyards in Genoa, where they conferred with Mr. Fredrico Lombardi, general manager of the entire Ansaldo Co., and Mr. Giuseppe Carnivale, general manager of Ansaldo's Genoa yard. They learned that this yard has 8 shipways, 2 of which are masonry and 6 of which are movable. The yard's construction capacity was reported to be between 8 and 10 merchant ships of 9,000–10,000 d. w. t. While this yard has employed approximately 6,000 workers, it was employing approximately 4,300 on September 1, 1954. Ansaldo is rightfully proud of the fact that it constructed Italy's newest luxury liner, the *Cristoforo Colombo*, in its Genoa yard.

That afternoon Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster attended a luncheon given by the Genoa Propeller Club. In addition to having an opportunity thus to meet most of the Genoa shipping fraternity—particularly the representatives of American shipping concerns—Senator PURTELL took this occasion to express our committee's most sincere and intense interest in merchant marine matters of all sorts and kinds, wherever they arise or exist. As we had in other places throughout Europe, he invited questions concerning the part our Government plays in merchant marine affairs; and generally held himself open to answer any questions concerning our maritime policies. He emphasized the fact that we as a nation are not interested in having the largest merchant marine in the world. He stressed, however, that we intended to maintain a healthy privately owned merchant fleet of adequate size and strength to prevent a recurrence of the disastrous state of unpreparedness in which we found ourselves at the beginning of World Wars I and II.

After lunch a prearranged meeting was held where he and Mr. Webster conferred at length in the American Consulate with the following people present: Mr. Basil A. McLean, local representative of American Bureau of Shipping; Mr. Harold Vinick, local representative of Stevenson Lines; Mr. Max J. Wolfson, local representative of Lykes Lines; Mr. Alphonse Sasseville, local representative of American Export Lines; Mr. William Sharron, local representative of American President Lines; Vice Consul John H. Barber; Consul General Cloyce K. Huston.

This was a lengthy, rather comprehensive conference during which the representatives of American shipping aired freely many problems which they knew would be of interest to Senator PURTELL. This meeting was revealing and most worthwhile.

The next morning, Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster went to the main office of the Ansaldo Co. where they conferred with Dr. Giuseppe Rosini, managing director of the entire Ansaldo Co., and Mr. Federico Lombardi, whom they had met at the shipyard the day before. After their conference, they visited the office of the Industrialists Association of the Province of Genoa. There they conferred with Mr. Alessandro Dufour, prominent Italian industrialist and Mr. Antonio Cerruti, head of OARN, one of Genoa's finest ship repair yards. During these meetings shipbuilding and ship repair problems were discussed.

On Friday, Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster went to the home of Prof. Antonio Giordano for the purpose of discussing with him his views on our recent cargo-preference bill. He was recuperating from a recent illness. Members of the United States Consulate staff had brought to their attention the fact that Professor Giordano was in charge of the Genoa office of a well-known and influential economic and financial newspaper published in Milan known as "24 Ore." He had recently written for that paper an article critical of our cargo-preference bill. Since "24 Ore" is highly regarded and carefully read by many thousands of Italians, it was Senator PURTELL's desire to obtain a better understanding of the professor's point of view and so afford him an opportunity to better appreciaet our point of view.

Because Professor Giordano had not received a copy of the Commerce Department's Maritime Subsidy Report, they left with him 1 of the 2 copies which they then had in their possession. In addition, they assured him that should he at any time desire additional information about our maritime program, we would give him what we had available. They observed, as we had in Germany, that the main concern our foreign competitors have about the cargo-preference bill stems from some misunderstanding of its provisions and a lack of information as to the size merchant fleet which our Government believes we must necessarily maintain. Here, too, they found a certain amount of concern that other nations would use the cargo-preference bill as an excuse to enact discriminatory maritime legislation.

To summarize certain of the more important conclusions reached by Senator PURTELL as a result of his various meetings and discussions in Italy, the following:

1. As of September 1, 1954, generally speaking, the Italian shipyards were facing a serious crisis due to lack of work. They were working at approximately 30 percent of full capacity. The major shipbuilder, Ansaldo, is government-owned and controlled.

It is apparently true that material cost in Italy is higher than in any other European country. Some sources estimate that a Liberty ship could be built in Great Britain for approximately 30 to 35 percent less than in Italy. However, other sources estimate that this difference is less, between 10 to 27 percent, leaving aside subsidies in effect and the new Italian law hereinafter discussed. Some sources estimate that at least one-half of this difference is due to Italy's higher material cost, with the remainder attributable to higher labor cost.

2. One of the most disturbing things brought to the attention of Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster was the large number of Communist labor leaders employed in Italian shipyards. The Communists apparently had received little discouragement from management. Evidently it was the thought of some segments of Italian management that this hands-off policy would insure labor peace.

Without elaborating in this report, suffice to say that the domination of labor unions by Communists in shipyards where offshore procurement orders have been placed did not pass unnoticed.

3. On July 17, 1954, an Italian subsidy law, known as the Tambroni law became effective. It is designed to encourage the building of oceangoing tonnage in Italian yards. Its benefits are extended to people of other countries, as well as to Italian nationals. Because of its recent enactment, there is considerable doubt as to the details of how it will operate. Nonetheless, it is expected that the Tambroni law will encourage many people who would have built ships in other countries to place their orders in Italy.

The Italian Government seems to believe that in the next 10 years Italy can modernize her merchant fleet, while at the same time raising her gross tonnage from the present figure of 3.7 million tons to 5 million tons. This would be an increase of 1.5 million tons over that which she possessed before World War II. This would require constructing 2.3 million tons of shipbuilding for Italian account in the next 10 years, or approximately 230,000 tons per year. At present the capacity of all Italian shipyards is rated at 300,000 tons per year.

Mr. Tambroni, the present Minister of Merchant Marine, apparently hopes to attract a substantial amount of foreign contracts in order to keep the Italian yards at the necessary level of business activity. In

considering his approach to the problem, it should be noted that the Italian Government controls 80 percent of Italy's shipbuilding industry and is saddled with 12 billion lire per annum carrying and other charges. With this background, one can better understand why Italy enacted the Tambroni subsidy law (No. 522 of July 17, 1954). The Government seems to have calculated that at 66 percent of capacity Italian yards can revise their cost factors toward a set of lower unit return figures which will not only make the yards competitive with their foreign counterparts but will also absorb the Government's burden.

The Tambroni law is designed to stimulate orders for ship construction and ship-repair work within a specific period of time. Shipowners will be granted exemptions from custom's duties on imported raw materials and finished and semifinished products used in building and repairing ships. Exemption from the Italian general sales tax on internal business transaction will be granted. As a spur to speedy utilization of this program, the subsidy will be decreased 10 percent each year.

Under the Tambroni law the subsidies will be given directly to the shipyards, not to the shipowners. The law states that there is no limit to the amount of repair or building contracts which will be aided by its provisions. Any unused subsidy funds set aside by the Government in any particular year may be carried forward to succeeding years.

4. The effect of the McCarran Act upon seamen and therefore upon the Italian merchant marine was the subject of frequent discussions held by Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster while they were in Italy. Generally speaking, there appears to be a great deal of resentment by the Italians concerning this law. I am attaching as enclosure H copies of 2 articles which appeared in Italian publications in July and August 1954 dealing with the McCarran Act's seamen visa provisions.

Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster left Genoa Friday evening, September 10, for Paris. Sunday morning they boarded the North Star Express and arrived at The Hague late that afternoon. They were met by Mr. Andrea G. Ronhovde (the Embassy's Deputy Chief of Mission), Mr. Howard R. Cottam (the Embassy's Counsel for Economic Affairs), Mr. Thomas McCraine (maritime attaché for the American Embassy in London), and Mr. Peter Abeille (maritime attaché for the American Embassy in London).

That evening during and after dinner at the Cottam residence, they received a general briefing on the Dutch shipbuilding picture from Mr. Elvin Sibert (United States consul general, Amsterdam), and Mr. Paul J. Reveley (United States consul general, Rotterdam).

On September 13, Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster, accompanied by Consul General Reveley, Mr. McCraine, and Mr. Abeille, visited the Rotterdam Drydock Co. (the Rotterdamsche Droogdock Mij). In 1953, 593 vessels of 2,315,000 gross tons underwent repairs in this yard. The flagship of the Holland-Amerika Lijn, the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, was constructed in this yard, which is hoping to construct a new passenger vessel for the Holland-Amerika Lijn at a cost roughly estimated to be approximately 100 million guilders. This yard is presently operating at close to full employment, 5,000 workers being on the job.

In their tour of the Rotterdam Drydock Co.'s magnificent yard they were accompanied by its director, Mr. Knape. Senator PURTELL's broad background in American heavy industry and in the allied fields of metallurgy and machine tooling was remarked on several times by Dutch officials. More than once they volunteered their appreciation of his understanding of their production processes and problems.

That afternon, Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster visited the C. Van der Giessen & Sons yard near Rotterdam. This yard has 5 building berths capable of handling up to 32,000 deadweight tons. Its activities are limited to new construction, although occasionally it has done some reconditioning work. Since World War II some 30 vessels have been delivered and another 15 are in the course of construction or on order. The bulk of the yard's output consists of medium-sized cargo and passenger vessels. As with many of the other Dutch yards, it has constructed vessels for owners in other countries, including Argentina, Finland, France, Norway, Switzerland, and the United States.

That evening at the home of Ambassador H. Freeman Matthews, Senator Purtell and Mr. Webster met the following people, many of whom hold positions of great influence in Dutch maritime affairs:

Dr. D. G. W. Spitzen (Secretary-General, Ministry of Transport and Waterways).

Dr. J. Q. Bas Backer (Director, Western Hemisphere Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Mr. W. L. de Vries (Director-General of Shipping, Directorate General of Shipping).

Mr. E. A. Plate (Chief, Directorate Industry and Wholesale Ministry of Economic Affairs).

Mr. Th. van der Graaf (Secretary of Directorate for Shipbuilding and Repairs).

Mr. J. W. Hupkes (director of the Kon. Mij "De Scheide" N. V.).

Comdr. J. W. A. Langenberg (Kon. Mij "De Scheide" N. V.).

Dr. P. van der Toorn (director, Holland-America Line).

Mr. S. van West (managing director, Dock & Shipyard Co., "Wilton-Fijenoord").

Mr. E. A. Vreede (secretary to Netherlands Shipowners' Association).

Mr. F. E. Straatemeier (United States Lines).

Mr. Peter van der Giessen (director N. V. C. v. d. Giessen & Zonen's Shipyards).

Mr. A. Knape (director of the Rotterdam Drydock Co.).

Dr. D. A. Delprat (director Shipping Co. "Nederland").

Mr. J. van Tilburg (deputy to Rotterdam burgomaster).

Mr. Frank C. Grismer (Director FOA Mission).

Mr. Andreas G. Ronhovde (Deputy Chief of Mission).

Mr. Howard R. Cottam (Counselor for Economic Affairs).

Mr. Elvin Sibert (consul general, Amsterdam).

Mr. Paul J. Reveley (consul general, Rotterdam).

Mr. Harold H. Rhodes (first secretary).

Mr. Thomas McCraine (maritime attaché, American Embassy, London).

Mr. Peter Abeille (maritime attaché, American Embassy, London).

Mr. Robert A. Brand (second secretary).

Mr. Robert Donhauser (Public Affairs Office).

Commander M. B. Davis (assistant naval attaché).

Mr. Oliver M. Marcy (second secretary).

This reception provided Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster an excellent opportunity to discuss with these leaders in Dutch shipping our cargo preference bill, their ship construction costs, their maritime labor situation, and other shipping problems. We understand that this was the first Embassy gathering at which so many major Dutch shipping interests were in attendance.

As a result of their visit to Holland, brief as it was, Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster concluded:

1. From a competitive point of view, the shipyards of Holland appear to be ready, willing, and able to compete on at least an equal basis with the yards in any other European country. However, it should be noted that Holland has lost some business to Germany and appears to consider that country its strongest European shipbuilding rival. In view of the fact that the Tambroni law is so new, it is conceivable that Italy might well establish itself as a strong competitor for the position of shipbuilding supremacy presently held by Holland.

2. The labor situation in Holland, in relation to that in other European countries, is very good. Labor strife is relatively rare; the labor force apparently is receptive to improved productive processes; and Holland's quantity of skilled and experienced shipbuilding labor is large. In this connection, it should be noted that Dutch shipbuilders are somewhat concerned about the difficulty of obtaining apprentices or trainees. Their labor problem appears to be one of shortage rather than surplus.

The stability of the Dutch labor situation is evidenced by the fact that apparently some yards are willing to enter into fixed-price contracts if they can be completed within 18 months.

3. In addition to vessel construction and repair, most of Holland's shipyards are extensively engaged in performing work for other industries. Thus, these yards which are reported to be the best equipped in Europe, are apparently using their ingenuity and initiative in order to obtain maximum utilization of plant and facilities.

On Tuesday, September 14, Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster sailed from Holland for England. They arrived in London that evening. The next day they conferred with Rear Adm. A. L. P. Mark-Wardlaw, R. N. (retired), (president of the executive committee, International Cargo Handling Coordination Association), Mr. Rex. B. Shepheard, C. B. E. (director, the Shipbuilding Conference), Mr. Winthrop G. Brown (deputy to the Minister for Economic Affairs, American Embassy) and Mr. Thomas McCraine. Among the matters they discussed were the International Cargo Handling Coordination Association Conference recently held in Naples, Italy; the McCarran Act's seamen visa provisions; the cargo preference bill; and the state of shipbuilding in the United Kingdom. Rear Admiral Mark-Wardlaw gave Senator PURTELL various publications relating to the Naples Conference. * * * I call your attention in particular to the following articles which appear in the attached copy of the Journal of Commerce, International Cargo Handling Conference number, published June 25, 1954:

1. Some Impressions of the Naples Conference, by Charles Birchall.

2. A Stevedore's Point of View, by G. Sirtaine.

3. Some Problems of Administration (of the Ideal Port), by B. Nagorski.

4. New Cargo Cranes at Hamburg, by Dr. Hans Neumann.

That evening, Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster left London and arrived in Glasgow the next morning. There they visited two of the United Kingdom's finest and best-known shipyards, the Fairfield Shipbuilding & Engineering Co., Ltd., and John Brown & Co., Ltd.

At the Fairfield yard they conferred at some length with the managing director, Vice Adm. A. W. Longley-Cook, C. B., C. B. E., D. S. O., managing director, Fairfield Shipbuilding & Engineering Co., Ltd. At the John Brown yard that afternoon they met and conferred with the following gentlemen: Mr. J. W. Begg, financial director; Mr. John Rannie, shipyard director; Mr. J. H. Johnston, general manager, engine works; Mr. A. N. Benson, secretary; Mr. J. B. Bucher, head of gas turbine department.

Unfortunately, Sir James M. McNeill, K. C. V. O., managing director of the John Brown yard whom they had hoped to meet, was absent.

The Fairfield Shipbuilding & Engineering Co., Ltd., has six berths. It is capable of constructing vessels up to 1,000 feet in length. Over the years, it has excelled in the production of warships, passenger and cargo vessels, tankers and ore carriers. John Brown & Co., Ltd.'s yard has seven berths and is capable of constructing vessels exceeding 1,000 feet in length. Its annual output capacity is approximately 90,000 tons. Some of Britain's finest passenger vessels have been constructed in this yard, as well as high-grade refrigerated cargo vessels, tankers, cross-channel steamers, and train ferries.

On Friday, September 17, Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster left Glasgow for Dublin. They arrived in the latter city Saturday morning. That afternoon during lunch with Ambassador and Mrs. William Taft they not only discussed various maritime matters, but also many others in which the two countries have mutual interests. The seamen visa provisions of the McCarran Act and our cargo-preference bill were, of course, the subject of extensive discussions between Senator PURTELL, Ambassador Taft, and members of the Ambassador's staff.

While Senator PURTELL was in Dublin he met and conferred with various high-ranking members of the Irish Government, some of whom he had worked with at the Interparliamentary Conference in Vienna.

I am attaching as enclosure K certain material gathered by Senator PURTELL concerning shipping and shipbuilding in Ireland. It is, indeed, worthy of note that the Harland & Wolf yard in Belfast, the largest shipyard in Ireland, has recently constructed the *Southern Cross*, a beautiful 20,000-ton liner. You might recall that this fine vessel was built for the Shaw Savill Line and was launched by the Queen last August. This vessel is somewhat unique among passenger vessels in that her boilers and engines are installed aft. She is designed to carry 1,200 passengers in tourist-class accommodations. She will carry no cargo on her four voyages around the world each year. It is planned that she will link Britain with South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster returned to London on September 21. While there they conferred with Ambassador Aldrich. They also held a brief conference with Mr. J. Hancock, London representative for the South Pacific Steamship Lines.

Later that afternoon, accompanied by Mr. Thomas McCraine, they visited the offices of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom. There they conferred at length with its president, Mr. J. C. Denholm, C. B. E. president; its vice president, Mr. A. I. Anderson (chairman, Orient Steam Navigation Co.); its general manager, Mr. H. E. Gorick, C. B. E.; and its assistant manager, Mr. R. G. Malloch Brown. These gentlemen were deeply concerned about our cargo-preference bill. Senator PURTELL and Mr. Webster tried to answer all of the questions raised by these gentlemen. However, they were unable to answer to their own satisfaction one or two of the matters raised by the representatives of the Chamber of Shipping and gave assurances that the Department of Commerce would be asked to supply the information desired. Steps have been taken to secure this information and upon its receipt it will be forwarded to Mr. Denholm.

As Senator PURTELL discovered when he was in Genoa discussing the matter with Professor Giordano, the representatives of the Chamber of Shipping had not been furnished copies of the Commerce Department's Maritime Subsidy Policy Report. Copies of this important document have been forwarded to Mr. Denholm.

Senator PURTELL reports that after visiting the British Isles he reached the following conclusions, among others:

1. Shipbuilding costs are now about 4 times as high in 1939 and approximately twice as high as in 1945–46. There are no signs of a reduction or even of stabilization; and increases in shipyard wages and steel prices further aggravate this problem. Britain's budget in 1954 made some concessions to shipowners as to other industrialists by the introduction of the 20-percent investment allowance.

However, as in this country, the accrued tax-free depreciation goes but a little way toward meeting replacement costs, and the balance must come from borrowing or from profits, if any. British shipowners seem agreed that the solution to their problem is to revise the existing system of taxation, and particularly the system of assessing depreciation allowances on the basis of original cost without referring to higher replacement cost.

2. Britain's merchant fleet, while not as obsolete as this country's, is nonetheless composed of many vessels of 20 years of age.

3. In an article appearing in the September 13 issue of the Times, the following statements seem pertinent and authoritative:

"Although British shipowners are having to meet increasing competition from foreign flags, including those of countries with 'artificial fleets' either State-subsidized or financed by foreign nationals, and although British shipbuilders now face severe competition from foreign shipyards—particularly in Germany—some significant comparisons may be made from the figures set forth in Lloyd's Register shipbuilding returns. In respect of the amounts of work under construction in the United Kingdom and abroad at the end of June (the most recent date for which figures are available) it can be seen that the British figure of 2,195,000 tons gross represented 38 per cent of the world total—an increase of 3 per cent over June last year. Germany was still the leading foreign competitor, with 12 percent of the total, followed by the Netherlands, Sweden, France, the United States, Japan, and Italy, in that order.

"Tonnage under construction overseas showed a substantial fall of 260,000 tons from the previous midsummer, compared with a rise of 72,000 in the United Kingdom during the same period. This divergence may be attributed to the fact that the world-wide decline in the placing of now orders has had a more immediate effect on foreign yards, particularly those in Western Europe, since they have a higher productive tempo—largely due to three-shift working—and a smaller backlog of orders than most British yards * * *

"While foreign shipyards are now bidding more keenly for new orders than at any time since the end of the war, some of them are helped substantially by various economic devices. In France and Italy there are direct State subsidies, while in Western Germany there are taxation reliefs and low rates of interest on loans. In some of the Scandinavian countries and in the Netherlands there are long-term credit provisions backed by the State or by municipalities. British shipbuilders enjoy no such artificial aids and their existence elsewhere makes competitive pressure all the stronger. The shipbuilding conference has stated on behalf of the industry as a whole that while it has never sought direct State assistance it looks to the Government of the day to create conditions in which private enterprise can flourish.

"Since the war British shipbuilders have spent heavily on the modernization and re-equipment of their yards. Some of them are now as well-armed for the competitive struggle as their foreign rivals. But on the labor side of the industry the situation is somewhat different. On the continent longer hours, lower real wages and piecework rates, shift working round the clock, and an absence of strict demarcation between various jobs are the general rule; and foreign shipbuilding employers can therefore make the fullest possible use of their physical equipment."

In closing, let me express for Senator PURTELL, Mr. Webster, and myself our appreciation of the opportunity afforded us to visit the various countries we did and participate in the many interesting events which I have discussed in this letter. We feel that as a result of our trip we have a much better understanding of the views of our friends in the various European countries we visited. In addition, we believe that those with whom we discussed America's maritime policies have a better and more sympathetic appreciation of the many serious problems we face in this field.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER,
Chairman, Senate Water Transportation Subcommittee.

Big Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting article by Solomon Barkin, director of research, Textile Workers Union of America, which appeared in the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, Thursday, December 30, 1954:

A CRITIQUE OF BIG BUSINESS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Trade union economists, claiming we in this country are relaxing vigilance against "economic giants," cautions against toleration of big business. Says trade unions recognize big business as a threat against well-being of the mass of Americans, but denies that "big unions," themselves are monopolies or a hindrance to public welfare. Holds executives of big business not only control our economic life, but exercise extraordinary powers over our political institutions.)

The Government's success in promoting high employment and stimulating national and personal advances should not become a justification for glorifying big business or relaxing our determination to dissolve these aggregations of economic power. Individual well-being and confidence, realized through a 20-year battle against monolithic business bureaucrats, are in danger as a result of their success in regaining public prestige, prominence and political power. Apologetics may temporarily divert men as they appraise the soundness of the defenses. But on analysis, these arguments melt away, as inadequate. Citizens' organizations for united action such as labor unions are no justification for vast concentrations of economic power. The countervailing forces are limited in scope and not equal to the challenge of balancing corporate power.

We are relaxing our vigilance against the economic giants at a time when other countries, such as Great Britain and Canada, are adopting the philosophy and techniques of our antitrust movement. Others, like Japan and Germany, are restraining their monopolies or cartels at our Government's insistence. This Nation was profoundly convinced that big business organizations aided and abetted the totalitarian aggressors. In other countries they had established a tight grip

upon the economy which inhibited expansion. This country has a long history of public suspicion of big business. But we are now urged to tolerate the institution and relax our inadequate restrictions because our national economy has, for a short time, operated at full or high employment levels.

The American trade unionist cannot accept this position. He recognizes in big business a formidable threat to the well-being of the mass of Americans. Despite the temptation for the trade-union movement to retire from this battle, to collect the special fruits of negotiations with big concerns, or to discourage the diversionary, baseless political counteroffensive against big unionism, its national leadership, almost alone among the organized interest groups, has continued steadfastly to support curbs on big business. No real trade unionist can give credence to professions that unions are capable of matching the corporation's power, even in the area of industrial relations.

The recent efforts to popularize big business have set at rest one issue. Its existence is now acknowledged. We are in agreement that it is a major force in our economy. Instead of denying its power and protesting the prevalence of a competitive society, we now hear broad claims of the indispensability of big corporations. They are the cornerstone of America's wealth and progress. The former evils, it is claimed, have either disappeared or been submerged by the constructive results of their operations.

One technical issue still persists. The apologists argue that industrial concentration is not as great as it was at the beginning of the century. It has grown absolutely, but has not kept pace with the growth of our economy. However, statistical measures, better attuned to measure economic domination in our age, can readily establish that its relative position has not dwindled and has possibly grown.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF BIG BUSINESS MUST BE QUESTIONED

The principal new defense of big business is its alleged capacity for developing, financing and installing industrial change. The big corporations are better able to maintain research facilities, finance the experimental and pilot operations, and market the nwe products. America's industrial progressiveness is equated with big business. Without the experience coming from the operations of the giant corporation, we would not have been able to operate our war economy.

This defense sounds quite contrived, coming at a time when Dr. Lawrence R. Hafstad, formerly director of reactor development of the Atomic Energy Commission, bluntly informs management that it has neglected the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful uses. Postwar industrial research was largely financed by the Government, although much of the work itself was done by corporations on contract with the Government. The development of consulting research institutions as well as the facilities in universities ready to accept contracts from private industry and Government should help explode the myth of any special research competence on the part of the big corporation. The real complaint is that industry's concentration on practical problems has retarded our progress in the pure sciences.

Big corporations have, in the past, been associated with restrictive practices and cartels. The investigations of the Temporary National Economic Committee had much to reveal of the repressive effect of large aggregates of power on new innovations.

In other countries, where the competitive tradition is less strongly established and the Government is less vigilant, we can ascribe part of the prevailing economic stagnancy to the lack of venturesomeness of the large, established corporations.

Must we not, therefore, look to factors other than large-scale business for the peculiar stimulants to the progressiveness of our economy? May it not be that the very contributions by big corporations were encouraged by special privileges and the competitive advantages granted them by the Government? They were primarily responsible for obtaining for business at the beginning of World War II, the privilege of accelerated depreciation, as the price for conversion to military production. They obtained a disproportionate share of the procurement contracts, certificates of necessity for new construction, Government plants and equipment, and management contracts to operate Government properties and research. These financial privileges permitted them to grow, to become enriched and to master the art of large-scale management of production.

The failure of small business, the special small business agencies within the Government and the congressional committees to get a reasonable share of government work for small business speaks eloquently of the vast economic power of the large corporations and their successful liaison with the procurement and military authorities. Frequently, the latter were recruited from these very large businesses on a dollar-a-year basis.

Our past experience supports the conclusion that the rate of industrial change would be stimulated by the existence of a greater multiplicity of enterprises. The new industrial era makes research indispensable to the life of a business, quite independent of its size. The fact that large corporations contrived, with Government assistance, to get an early start, is no basis for believing that they alone are equipped for this job. The existence of numbers of small concerns marketing new products attests to this conclusion. But they are no competitive match for the corporate giants.

The increasing availability of competent research men permits of their use by a broader range of concerns. The multiplication of research agencies for special fields reaffirms our conviction that business, the Government, and the universities can develop new research organizations to serve an industry or process users, without being dependent upon a specific large corporation. Fundamental research may have to continue even more broadly than at present to be a public function.

The spokesmen for big business are not on strong ground when they contend that big business tends necessarily to be more efficient. The current recession has provided an abundent array of names of large companies in financial and competitive difficulties because managerial ineptness had left them unprepared for current problems. Many mergers and purchases of corporations are inspired for reasons of tax advantage, financial manipulation and personal self-interest, rather than the attainment of the optimum size of enterprise. Evidence is abundant that the desirable size of production units is much smaller than those of the very large corporations. The economies of centralized management can be attained in smaller than current large units, as witnessed by the drive for decentralization of corporate activities.

Top management is unable to direct operations in big business enterprises on the basis of intimate knowledge. No one can argue that the wide diversity of products of the giant corporations are essential for their efficiency. They serve primarily to perpetuate current property owners through use of moneys which would otherwise have to be paid as taxes. A study of the history of these large firms shows that their position was gained through earlier mergers rather than any special record of efficiency.

ABUSES AND DANGERS OF BIG BUSINESS

If support for big business cannot be convincingly developed on the basis of its particular capacity for innovation and efficiency, the abundant evidence of dangers and abuses and the problems big business presents to our democratic society are truly alarming. Big business has eliminated the traditional types of competition. Prices are now set by deliberate choice; production schedules are designed for specific business objectives, including maximum profits; innovations are introduced when older products or processes become a business drawback or when industrial prestige dictates. Whatever the decision, it is deliberately reached on review of benefits, rather than forced through competitive pressures. National efficiency is no necessary byproduct. The major decision-making authorities are highly centralized in corporations, and the costs of ineptness and bad judgment are huge. Many of us would argue, with considerable documentary support, that big business policies on prices, wages, and investments were the critical factors in precipitating our great disaster of 1929.

Their economic influence extends far beyond the reaches of their own corporate confines. The large corporations are governed by men with wide interests and influences in other enterprises. Cases have been paraded of interlocking officers and directors helping decide the course of business relations and the prices and volumes of related enterprises. Understandings and concurrence of policy and action are further promoted by the use of common service agencies, such as banks, tax experts, lawyers, engineers, labor relations men, and other consultants. But beyond these direct influences, we must recognize the vast empires of suppliers, dealers and purchasers dependent upon these business giants and subservient to their interests.

The large corporation is usually administered by a small group, whose voice dictates and dominates policy and action. Their financial interest is usually small, but their rewards are generous through their own controls. Members of boards of directors often find their greatest rewards in guiding business to their own financial affiliates. Stockholders appear to be more like people invited by management to supply money rather than men who hire the management. They are kept satisfied with regular and occasional extra dividends. The voting machine is controlled by the "inside" management. Even in battles between conflicting financial groups, arising at a time of crisis, the stockholder is given the choice of surrendering his judgment to one or the other group, as the appeals are never buttressed by platforms or programs. The charters give the stockholders few powers to initiate or review. Even in this era of advanced stockholder relations, he is treated as an outsider to whom select decisions are referred as they are released to the public.

The large corporation is truly an institution endowed with public interest, usually privately controlled by a small clique, affiliated with others in the "management class." Most of the limits on the managers' powers are vague and not truly restrictive. They have little to answer for as long as the enterprise is profitable and dividends are regularly paid.

The executives not only control our economic life through these corporations, but exercise extraordinary powers on political institutions. True, under the New Deal, they lost out in significant areas of our National Government, and the reaction to the depression swept them out of dominant positions in many State and local governments. But persistent effort and generous financial assistance and gratuities have reestablished their influence at the local and State levels sufficiently to endear the principle of State's rights. After an arduous campaign to recapture the Federal Administration, starting in 1936 with the Liberty League, big business rode in with the Eisenhower administration. Its objectives are to reduce governmental activities and supervision, free big business of restraints, and transfer decisions from Government to its provinces.

Public relations programs, lobbying expenditures, and special efforts to influence legislators and administrators reflect the tremendous resources at their command to secure favors. The results have justified the effort. Government contracts, grants for research, certificates of necessity, financing facilities, plant structures, windfall profits, and accelerated depreciation privileges have more than balanced the costs. Direct appeals to the legislatures have brought special tax gains for the large corporations, with resulting more liberal depreciation allowances and other tax benefits.

Vexed by the prevailing, historic disapproval of bigness in the United States these men have embarked on a campaign to restore their prestige and influence in our cultural and communal life. The law has given them ample resources, since tax exemptions enable the corporate officials to spend public funds for educational or civic purposes so as to buildup recognition and power. Their own payrolls carry many skilled persons prepared to sell the public on the big corporation. The multiplicity of recent books, including those providing no personal advantage to the writers, speak of the scope of current efforts at promoting public approval. The crest of this campaign was reached when President Eisenhower pronounced in his annual message that "size alone does not preclude effective competition." Others have served big business with rationalization for their high prices stressing the need for self-financing of expansion, or with polemics for LIFO methods of valuing inventory and price adjustments on assets.

Their efforts to win public approval would not warrant criticism if business enterprises were public relations institutions. They are, however, chartered for production and sales for specific business ventures and not as educational, political, or propaganda agencies, organized to direct our political and social thought. The Corrupt Practices Act prohibits contributions to political campaigns. Are not these other uses of tax-exempt funds and corporation income, most often without stockholder approval, equally unjustified or irrelevant to the functions of the business enterprise?

ARE COMPETITION AND COUNTERVAILING FORCES ENOUGH TO BALANCE BIG BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES?

The above developments have raised serious doubts as to the wisdom of the decisions and the use made of the concentrated economic power held by the managers of big business. In our political life, we have the means with which to counterbalance their influence and ambitions for domination. True, the struggle for real political democracy is not an equal one because of their financial resources, influence over the press and channels of communication. In fact, we know only too well the devious techniques used to infiltrate both parties, though predominantly the Republican.

Individual freedom and our traditions of free speech and thought have served to protect us in our cultural and communal affairs. But even in that area, the extensive employment or endowment of professional groups by big business has distorted the perspective of many members of such groups. The battle to preserve individual independence is a continuous one.

What have we to rely upon in our economic society? Competition among producers or sellers has been severely restricted as a restraining and controlling influence. A vast number of our markets, defined according to one's own tests, are dominated by a few producers or sellers. Moreover, the Government has had to restrict the operation of competitive forces in some areas, because they were so destructive of labor standards or terms of trade. Of course, some businessmen, including some most vocal on the need for competition, have obtained governmental protection for price fixing, as in the case of the resale price maintenance laws.

With competition widely recognized by the consumer as no longer dominant, the economist came along to document the conclusion with fact and theory. This onslaught on big business prestige brought few immediate defenses, since the 1929 depression had already reduced its stature. But, at the beginning of the forties, new responses became available, heralded by J. M. Clark's essay on Workable Competition. Since then we have heard a number of defenses of bigness.

The superior rate of innovation resulting from large business organization, it is claimed, provides an adequate substitution for older types of competition. The loss in economic efficiency and the temporary high price created by administered price levels are offset by the subsequent lower price level of the successor items. Competition has been broadened from bargaining among producers trying to sell the same item to producers selling competitive and alternative products or services. The battle for the consumer's dollar has become a real economic force with the increase in the volume and importance of discretionary buying, driving down prices and stimulating efficiency. While advertising and other nonprice appeals are the principal leverages, the long-run effects on price are favorable.

The results of economic activity, rather than the form of business organization, must be the test by which to judge business performance. "Workable competition" must substitute for "pure competition." But the theorists have not supplied us with adequate tests of "workable competition" or means of measuring the degree of decentralization of power. Too often in the past, formalistic criteria, such as uniform prices obtained in a competitive market, are employed to justify monopolistic behavior, without looking behind the economic effects of the corporation's and industry's entire behavior.

John Kenneth Galbraith focuses on another force in the economy to assure us that we can live with bigness. Countervailing powers counteract and balance the primary concentration of power. They are nurtured in the same environment, among the actual or potential victims, to curb the abuses and the misuse of power employed against them. In a most optimistic mood, he conceives it as being a self-generating force which can keep our private economy in balance and make government intervention unnecessary.

Neither approach to the vital challenge of big business in a democratic society is reassuring. The first suggestion, that we test our economy not in terms of size of units or structure, but by results, continually fails us. The data for testing the conclusion are inadequate and the apologists have not even enrolled big business into their camp to provide them with the sinews of defense. Pragmatic tests are few. They tend to be satisfied with proof of absence of collusion or complete monopolistic domination. Otherwise, the case rests upon assigning credit to big business for the postwar prosperity and obligingly forgetting the collapse of 1929 and the failures of the '30's.

Big corporations are not pressed to reduce prices to real cost levels. The influences affecting decisions are many, including the desire for maximum or reasonable profits—whichever phrase is most pleasing—both over long and short periods, and other factors of policy, such as substitutes, public reaction, and prevailing industrial codes. These are limiting factors on, and not determinants of, prices. The decision is management's. The selected lever of returns depends completely on the reconciliation it chooses. As for the consumer's freedom to react, it is limited by the allegiances he has developed, as a result of advertising and social pressures, to particular goods and specific brands.

The overall decisions are not conducive to the best economic efficiency. At times, the efficient will forego business, such as Government contracts for tanks, or will maintain high prices to prevent his small competitors from going out of business, lest he incur the public's wrath and to assuage public resentment against monopoly. Results are not sufficient to test an institution; motives are equally important.

Just as prices are determined by a combination of motives involving profit and industrial position, so are other decisions on innovation, volume of production, and competitive behavior. Many are the abuses of economic power when the latitude is so wide and the limits of discretion so broad.

Limitations on investment are common when the market is producing profits; discouragement of new entrants is strong when the public eye is not focused on an industry. Yet the same corporations are quite ready to encourage favorable opinion when criticism is gathering on the horizon, by leasing their know-how to other firms, as Du Pont has done in the case of both nylon and cellophane production. If suspicions of avarice are becoming too widespread, they are quite prepared to mitigate them with generous contributions to public purposes of tax exempt funds.

The theory that each oligopolist begets his own counterpoise is a reassuring thesis. But the author himself has many misgivings about its reliability. There are vast areas where such countervailing forces do not exist. Unfortunately, in the field from which he gets his clearest inspiration—labor—there are many zones of concentrated power, including chemicals and textiles, in which there are no pervasive union organizations. The big corporations employing white collar persons have not been counterbalanced by corresponding labor organization to assure equality of bargaining in this area.

The new countervailing institutions require a "minimum of opportunity and a capacity for organization." They are often lacking or weak, particularly when the Government is controlled by the oligopolists themselves, intent upon preventing new countervailing groups from arising and destroying those which exist. The present employer-oriented National Labor Relations Board provides little encouragement for the appearance of independent labor organization.

If government is necessary to bring into being and to nurture the countervailing forces, as Galbraith observes, might we not first concern ourselves with the problem of maintaining an administration favorable to such operations?

Furthermore, there are industries where such countervailing organizations are unlikely to appear because of the predominance of the giants. To the automobile industries, thus safe from countervailing forces in the manufacture and selling, we would add tobacco, film producers, liquor, household appliances, and other durable goods manufacturers. Even the retailers, engaged in the new forms of large-scale retailing, who have reduced marketing costs through greater efficiencies, have not really reduced the manufacturer's prices except by intruding in his field.

The faith in this alternative becomes even less firm when we are told that countervailing forces are effective only in periods of recession, deflation, or depression. But our tolerance of big business developed in the postwar years, when inflationary tendencies, if not outright inflation, prevailed. Our suspicions of big business grew strongest and criticisms harshest when countervailing forces are allegedly most operative. It was

in the thirties that the big corporations most ardently pursued restrictive production, investment, and high price policies. This combination of views is hardly tenable.

Galbraith declares that his countervailing forces, where they exist, will not give "an ideal distribution and employment of resources." They will only operate in the "right direction," which is, presumably, countervailing pressure against abuse of private power. We cannot be even assured that where they exist they will offset the primary power in every area of its decision making. The trade union will, at best, only balance in the area of relations with workers, the farmer on his purchases, etc. What is to be done to insure complete coverage where the self-generating forces nurtured by government do not produce the adequate countervailing force for some areas? Can this position relieve us of our anxiety about the power of big business even in the economic area, where we must constantly search out or create new institutions and find substitutes for countervailing forces where they do not arise?

BIG UNIONISM

A major diversionary move, designed to sidetrack attacks on big business and to curb organized labor, takes the form of a demand to bring unions within the jurisdiction of the antitrust laws. Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks is the most recent protagonist of this position, carrying it from the point where the National Association of Manufacturers left it during the debates on the Taft-Hartley Act.

The fundamental fact is that trade unions bargain with management on terms of employment and not on the price of goods and services. The law has long recognized that human labor is not a commodity.

The results are not determined by workers, but are agreements of two really opposing parties. If management's decisions are influenced by its monopolistic or dominant position in the market and its confidence in its ability, as price leader, to pass on the cost of improvements to labor, then the issue is no different than any other management decision in our era of big business. We should curb its power and not the workers' organization, a major countervailing force in our society. If any correction is to be made, it should be to increase the protection provided workers organizing in areas where big business is now able to suppress such organization with the aid of the Taft-Hartley Act and the present National Labor Relations Board.

The existence of a national labor organization does not in itself establish national bargaining. Many national unions in localized industries depend completely on autonomous local negotiations. As a matter of fact, little industrywide bargaining exists in the United States. Pattern bargaining predominates. The industry usually waits for the conclusion of labor agreements with its leader or pattern-setter for guidance on its settlements with other companies. This practice of following the leader on labor standards antedates collective bargaining and originates in many industries with the determination to resist labor organization. Union agreements with satellite companies are often on less favorable terms to the workers than those with the leader.

The cry of "big unionism" is a smokescreen to hide the determination to destroy effective unionism.

The major problem of big, as well as small unions and other membership institutions, is that of assuring a proper voice and safeguard for the individual's freedom therein, without atomizing the organization itself and reducing its bargaining power. Many promising developments have been instituted in this area.

CONCLUSION

Big business is a challenge to the American people. Its power and dominance must be kept under constant surveillance. The new prestige cultivated in the postwar years has served it well in gathering new privileges and incentives and in extending its authority. Its influence in our political, social, and cultural life has deepened greatly. Under the stimulus of national emergencies and an expanding economy, together with special benefits and incentives, big business grew and subordinated many restrictive practices and inclinations. But this does not mean that they have been eliminated. It requires a strong trade union movement, a high level of taxes, and a Federal administration responsive to many equalitarian and diverse interests, to maintain some economic balance.

Many of these essentials for countervailing pressures have waned, particularly with the new national administration's alliance with big business. We have no systematic procedures nor do we possess adequate countervailing forces to pressure big business to act constantly in the public interest, promote national efficiency, assure adequate utilization of resources, provide the lowest possible prices for services and goods, and help maintain and expand a full employment economy. These forces in our democratic machinery are lacking.

Many doubts have been voiced concerning the adequacy of our enforcement of the antitrust laws. The courts have not been too helpful and the Department of Justice has not always been sufficiently vigilant. Nevertheless, these laws and court decisions have inhibited big business in cartelizing its powers. A simpler procedure for enforcement would be helpful. But above all else, we need more specific legislative definitions of undesirable practice, restrictions on bigness, and more powers for regulation.

Big corporations must be incorporated by the Federal Government and subject to an identical system of limitations. The Federal agency should be furnished with regular reports on policy, performance, and results and should be entitled, on its own motions or on public complaint, to survey individual corporations for behavior in conflict with the public interest. Criteria should be developed to define the types of big corporations and businesses which should be dissolved, as were the public utility holding corporations in the thirties.

The beneficiaries of public privileges and financial incentives should be particularly responsible for meeting tests of constructive business practice, progressive management, reasonable price levels, and constructive collective bargaining. Where the market itself cannot effectively operate to pressure prices and production to efficiency levels, we must substitute public review. The present Corrupt Practices Act prohibits corporations from intruding into our political life. A code is necessary for limiting the use of tax exempt funds and corporate payrolls to influence our social, cultural, and communal institutions.

Big corporations are public institutions dominated and governed by private interests. Those who abuse their power should be dissolved. The others should be subject to constant public scrutiny.

Aircraft Carrier Potential

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY J. LATHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of my colleagues, I wish to set forth in the RECORD a most significant and enlightening article by James H. Smith, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Air), which appeared in the February 1955 issue of United States Naval Institute Proceedings:

MOBILE SEA BASE SYSTEMS IN NUCLEAR WARFARE

It is increasingly evident that nuclear warfare is refocusing attention upon the need for a military force based on the high seas. Rather than diminishing the future value and need of a Navy, the advent of the atom, like that of the airplane, has reemphasized the importance of seapower.

In modern warfare the offense has taken a commanding lead over the defense. This lead is a product of the nuclear weapon and its sharply increased lethal radius. Even so, a reasonable defense against nuclear explosives might be devised, were it not for the tremendous increase in the speed of the vehicle delivering the explosive. The speed of these vehicles—whether they are today's supersonic jet bombers or tomorrow's long-range missiles—reduces the warning period before an attack and, consequently, the time in which we can bring our defense to bear. The destruction of the attacker is therefore up to defenses that are already in place.

A handful of men operating offensive, nuclear weapons today can do more damage than an entire army in the past, and they can do it at a distance of thousands of miles from their home base and within hours (ultimately, minutes) of the decision to attack. Even against a 90 percent effective defense—an almost incredible effectiveness level—they could probably achieve a rate of destruction critical to the defender.

It would be hard to estimate what percent of effectiveness could be achieved by the defense against an enemy jet bomber attack. It is known that against future missiles of the improved V-2 type there is no practicable defense. Against those prospective missiles the only solution—and against today's weapons a more effective solution—is to destroy the bases from which they might be launched.

These facts lead to several conclusions which appear valid for the medium-term future:

First: The offensive can inflict devastating results despite any foreseeable defensive effort.

Second: The best defense is an overwhelming counteroffense, directed primarily at the bases and sources of the enemy striking forces.

Third: National security, unless one can be sure of striking first, lies in convincing an enemy that even if he strikes the first blow, he cannot prevent an overwhelming and possibly fatal counterattack against his airpower and other nuclear weapons potentials.

Since it is the consistent policy of the United States not to initiate preventive war, it is plain that our determent of war before it starts (and our survival if it does) depends on our ability to counterattack promptly and with great force and precision no matter how severe the enemy's initial attack. Such a defense requires two things: First, the United States long-range weapons and their delivery systems must remain adequate in numbers and second to none in quality. Second, the bases from which these weapons are launched must neither be nor appear to be vulnerable to an enemy's initial attack. This last requirement cannot be overemphasized. The present contest is not a game in which the aces are hidden. The enemy must know and know well that his best calculations and best efforts cannot earn him immunity from a blow of magnitude equal to, or greater than, that which he has attempted.

Therefore the securuity of the base system from which our retaliatory attack is launched is a major concern of our military

planners. To compensate for the limited range of our present bombers and missiles, we now have bases well advanced toward the enemy targets. Yet fixed bases on foreign soil in close proximity to the enemy cannot always be used—because of problems of sovereignty. Nor can they be defended adequately. In these advanced locations they offer the most obvious, immovable, exposed targets for surprise attack by relatively short-range enemy nuclear weapons.

The concentration of all the services on increasing the range of our weapons steadily reduces our dependence on bases near the target. However, a corresponding increase in range of enemy weapons would also make even our immovable home bases vulnerable to sudden overwhelming attacks which could prevent our counterattack.

In a recent magazine article Gen. Charles A. Lindbergh pointed to the vulnerability of airbases as a weak spot in our atomic deterrent potential. He emphasized the importance of decentralizing and scattering our bases to prevent their simultaneous destruction. He assumed quite logically that we cannot conceal the location of our land bases from enemy intelligence agents.

On the other hand, sea bases can be readily decentralized and scattered and their location cannot be predicted by the enemy. This is of great importance because long-range pilotless missiles such as those developed from German V–1 and V–2 types (which will be among the major threats to our fixed land bases in the future) cannot be used effectively against moving targets. This is a fundamental weakness inherent in the guidance problem for very long-range missiles. This weakness confers a very great advantage on the nation that invests a goodly share of its deterrent and retaliatory potential in forces operating from mobile bases.

It is therefore submitted that:

1. Our defense in nuclear warfare must be based primarily on a well-advertised ability and intention to counterattack with overwhelming force.

2. For maximum assurance against a surprise attack, at least a part of the United States counterattack potential must be decentralized and dispersed far and wide on moving bases. This might be called an ultimate or an additional deterrent, supplementing our fixed-base striking forces. In any event it is so important that if we did not have mobile sea bases we should be forced to invent them. Fortunately we have them.

The most practical moving base for an offensive weapon today is that which moves on water. There are several such bases. It can be a surface ship such as the carrier or it can be a submarine from which aircraft or missiles are launched, or simply the sea itself from which seaplanes supplied by mobile tenders operate against the target. Moving bases may eventually shift to the air, but such a development requires endurance in aircraft beyond anything presently in sight. For today's use, inventing an American mobile deterrent force for the atomic age is not necessary. Because the Navy has not lost sight of the strategic and tactical value of mobility which the sea provides, naval power stands squarely in the road to meet future national strategic requirements.

On this faith in the enduring virtues of mobility the American carrier striking force was founded. That force is mobile deterrent power today. Furthermore, carrier forces have the additional virtue, uncommon these days, of diverting enemy intentions and weapons away from our populated areas and out to sea. This is extremely important when considering such things as radioactive "fallout."

The mobile deterrent forces the United States will need must have three characteristics. First, they must have the ability to deal devasting blows precisely—a high rate of destruction against the enemy's striking power. Second, they must be self-sustaining for periods sufficient to render overwhelming injury to the enemy, so that even if our shore bases are destroyed they can still continue from the far seas to hurl destruction at the enemy's military vitals. Third, although invulnerable to long-range pilotless missiles, they must still be defensible against the modern humanly guided weapons.

Those are the three characteristics which must mark the carrier striking forces of today and tomorrow.

Future carrier striking forces can be visualized as a handful of large ships able to maintain high speeds in all sea conditions—say, 3 carriers, 7 guided missile cruisers, and 2 high-speed resupply ships per task force. This small task force may be contrasted with the 100-ship Task Force 58 of World War II and its many dozens of logistic support ships. This handful of a dozen ships will be far more economical, yet more powerful and more mobile. The ratio of punch to overhead will be tremendously improved.

This mobile force will be spread out over an ocean area the size of the State of Maine. It will be so widely dispersed that no single weapon, of any size now visualized, can seriously damage more than 1 ship.

Such a force would pack a very great offensive punch. It would include aircraft able to deliver large yield weapons under all weather conditions against enemy bases 1,500 or more miles distant. It would have other smaller, supersonic aircraft, each able to deliver in the medium ranges a weapon large enough to knock out an opposing air base or missile site. Coordinating with such carrier forces will be advanced forces of nuclear-powered submarines, launching atomic missiles against targets at relatively short ranges.

These forces would be self-sustaining for some 30 days of war operations, a long time in terms of atomic war. Most of the ships would have nuclear propulsion. Aviation fuel and weapons resupply would come from the 2 fast supply ships traveling with each task force.

Because of the dispersion of the force's ships and the range of its weapons, such a carrier force could exert a tight and exclusive control over an area of 60,000 square miles—the 6 New England States rearranged into a circle 275 miles in diameter. An enemy vessel or aircraft would approach that area at its peril and few would live to penetrate even part way to its center.

In the past, fast carrier task forces have been satisfied to have 1 or 2 cracks at the enemy attackers. Antiaircraft and antisubmarine defenses have been tightly concentrated around the carriers for mutual reinforcement. Combat air patrols were dispatched to break up enemy attacks 50 miles out. Against the Japanese this was enough. In 1 day alone—the Marianas turkey shoot—the Japanese threw 545 aircraft against such a formation and had 366 shot down. Against nuclear attacks even this high performance is unacceptable, even though it is not expected that the mobile deterrent force would face such numbers.

Against air attack, the future carrier force would have a defense system unrecognizable when compared to that of our World War II task force. Short range antiaircraft weapons would be absent because they have been made obsolete by the distance from target to release point in modern high-speed bombing. Instead, defense against air attack would in great part depend on medium range guided missiles carried aboard the cruiser missile ships. Nuclear warheads would be available for missiles fired against large bomber formations, should the enemy be unwise enough to concentrate his aircraft.

Against enemy submarines there would be concentric rings of warning and defense, provided primarily by helicopters based on the guided-missile cruisers. The outer ring would be effective many miles from the carriers. Nuclear antisubmarine weapons would also be available. The use of destroyers will be entirely different from the procedure of World War II and probably none would be employed in a carrier task force.

This exploration of the potential capabilities of future carrier defense has been mentioned in some detail because of the prevailing feeling that carriers are easy to sink. Those who share that feeling fail to distinguish between putting a carrier out of action and stopping the carrier force as a whole. In the defense of the modern carrier task force, the objective will be to stop all attackers before they reach release position. A failure will not sink the entire force, although it may knock out any one ship.

But the unpleasant fact of nuclear war is that today practically everything is vulnerable, particularly airfields. Nuclear tests tell us exactly what size atomic bomb is required to lower the center of any man-made runway in the world to a depth of 100 feet. Any runway so attacked will stay sunk. But it is obvious that of the two bases—fixed and mobile—the latter has a far greater chance of survival.

The sea base, moreover, has other important advantages:

First, it enjoys unobstructed radar vision.

Second, the location of that sea base cannot be predicted. The location of the carrier force will not be a secret, but within its vast dispersed control area the carrier location will be obscure. Moreover, the carrier task force's defense system will be especially designed to limit enemy reconnaissance.

Third, the sea base's offensive punch would be used to stop attacks at their source—the enemy's bases—using the full advantage of our mobile basis against their fixed bases. The ace we do not mind showing is that we will know course and distance to their fixed bases in advance, while they will not know the exact whereabouts of our mobile bases.

Such a carrier task force is the application of atomic capabilities in an exacting blend of air and sea power, of carrier-based fighters relying on warning and control furnished by cruisers, of warning and antisubmarine helicopters operating from cruiser decks, of carriers poised behind cruiser-launched missile umbrellas, and of all ships in turn depending on the effective destruction of enemy forces and bases by carrier-based bombers and submarine-launched missiles. It is the logical development of sea-air power in the atomic age. This would be our primary mobile deterrent force for the age of long-range missiles. It is a force which the Navy must perfect before that age comes, and which, though it would not escape unscathed, would have a most favorable exchange rate in a battle as well as the power of diverting the enemy forces from our homeland.

This future carrier force has been projected to demonstrate that the carrier has not yet reached its ultimate development as a major weapons system. Further, the principle of the mobile air base, which it exemplifies, is, of necessity, experiencing a resurrection among exponents of airpower.

In addition to the carrier, there will be other mobile deterrent forces to strengthen United States strategy in the age of missiles. Very long-range missiles launched from submarines and surface ships constitute one fruitful line of advance. Also promising is the long-range attack seaplane. This has an additional advantage which the carrier force lacks—seaplane forces can be widely dispersed overseas in many small, relatively inexpensive units, in areas where maintenance of other forces would be too costly. The appearance of modern United States seaplanes in an area thousands of miles from American soil could establish a threat to an enemy's flank and require a diversion of his defenses from other fronts.

The seaplane can soon be given the speed and altitude and load-carrying capabilities of land-based jet bombers. It can be given the ability to operate from any sheltered bay, gulf, lagoon, and estuary having water depth of a few feet. It can be given the capability to land in semisheltered sea areas adjacent to the enemy's shore, refuel, rearm, and replenish from a waiting submarine and proceed on its mission. It need not return to the area whence it departed. With these capabilities it could deliver powerful weapons to vital targets, yet operate from a mobile base well removed from threat of heavy attack. The operating base, a seaplane tender far to the rear, can be given missile and helicopter defenses against light air and submarine attack. It can be moved frequently to foil enemy attack; no advance preparation is needed and no expensive facilities are left behind as improvements to someone else's property. Nor are the sabotage and espionage problems as great for a floating base.

With perhaps half a dozen seaplanes, a single tender, and a pair of logistic submarines, an integrated force could be provided that an enemy could not ignore. Once nuclear propulsion can be fitted to the seaplanes—and for this they appear ideally adapted—the submarines could be dispensed with and the tender base moved still farther back out of attack range.

Use of a proper seaplane force is good deployment—an essential to nuclear warfare. It permits tomorrow's Navy to attack from unpredictable directions and to dilute, divert, and divide an enemy's attacking forces.

It is therefore submitted that, first, survival of the United States requires a supplementary reserve of nuclear striking power which can be launched from mobile bases and, second, the Navy's development of weapons systems employing sea and air provides such power in natural course. It is important to note also that such naval forces can be equally effective in both nuclear war and nonnuclear war. This permits us to apply the type and degree of power appropriate to the situation and avoids the predicament of being unable to use force when necessary because the only force available is too great for the circumstances.

Whether or not we become engaged in limited wars in the future, there will be jobs to do which may not involve all-out nuclear assault on the enemy's sources of military strength. Allies must be supported, supplied, and in some cases fed, and our own raw material needs must be met. And so transports, both surface and air, must flow safely across the oceans. Perhaps tactical air support for hard-pressed allies must also be provided, without atomizing a friendly population. It is likewise conceivable that in the later phases of a nuclear war the patterns of a nonnuclear, conventional war may return.

In any event these naval striking forces have the dual capability for both types of war. Most of the existing fleet was designed for the nonnuclear, and successfully so, as the Pacific wars have shown. New construction, modernization, and modifications will continue to be adapted to the atomic. But they will retain their flexibility however the issue may be joined. Mobility makes them irreplaceable as a safety factor today; the same mobility and flexibility spell economy in a world where the exact place and nature of the next threat cannot always be anticipated. They will be replaced only by weapons of greater mobility, speed, and range.

The United States must face up realistically to the problems and requirements of nuclear war. As a first priority, varied types of striking forces must be adequately maintained which alone can deter nuclear warfare, and which alone can be decisive in the first phase of such a war if it comes. A reasonable effort must also be devoted to home defense and to the support of our overseas commitments; even though the defensive is not decisive, the enemy cannot be left an open invitation to move unopposed.

If adequate strength is to be maintained in this critical area while supporting a reasonable civil economy, there must be a constant re-examination of both the kind and the qualities of forces. Those types of weapons which give relatively less security per man or dollar—however useful they may be for specific purposes—must be questioned and reappraised. While the possible requirements of limited war must not be neglected, the maintenance in peacetime of forces which in unlimited war could be useful only in the later stages, and might even be serious burdens in the early stages, must likewise be questioned. It must be appreciated that in nuclear war it takes far fewer men to destroy at unheard of rates, and that it will take more and more men for reconstruction of industry, transport, and essential shelter.

As the nature of war changes many of our present weapons and forces will inevitably become relics of history, including elements of the Navy and of naval aviation as well. All weapons systems must stand the tests of mobility, multi-purpose flexibility, speed and range, lethality, and the other attributes. Our obligation is to discard those which do not measure up and to accelerate the development of those which show promise.

With this approach, the Navy has a future more vital and more demanding than ever before.

Tuna: This Industry's Illness Can Be Fatal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Point Newsweekly, February 3, 1955, published in San Diego, Calif.:

TUNA: THIS INDUSTRY'S ILLNESS CAN BE FATAL

(By Robert K. Lawson)

The closing last week of the Van Camp Sea Food Co., Inc., plant in San Diego only dramatizes an already existing condition—the near fatal illness of the tuna industry.

The Van Camp shutdown was much publicized. Few know, however, that the High Seas plant here, subsidiary of Star Kist, has packed no tuna since the fall of 1954. Thus San Diego, "tuna capital of the world," is left with a single operating cannery—Westgate California Tuna Packing Co.

Essentially the Van Camp closing, while generated by the sad state of the industry, is timed to accomplish specific things. Negotiations with the independent cannery workers union were set to start in a month or two. The closing will pretty well knock the wind from union demands for a wage increase.

The canneries are bucking boat owners' demands for $330 per ton as a price for tuna. The official price is now $300 and it is said that only boat owners who will accept $270 are making sales to the canneries.

Van Camp operates two older and less efficient canneries in the San Pedro-Terminal Island area. The San Diego plant is more modern, better equipped and more efficient. Thus the decision to close the plant here, instead of one of the older plants, would seem to have been dictated by a desire to influence negotiations with the cannery workers on the one hand and the boat owners on the other.

Robert L. Beamon, Van Camp's general manager, says the cannery should be open again by albacore season—around June 1. Maybe sooner. And maybe not.

He blames high inventories which in turn have been created in part by the influx of tuna from Japan. Meantime San Diego has 800 more unemployed, and this week was feeling the loss of the $50,000 weekly payroll.

San Diego possesses one of the most unique economies in the United States, with a virtual guarantee of at least $174,697,054 Navy payroll annually, plus $83,962,736 from agricultural production, and $39 million tourist-trade income.

Despite this apparent cushion, her financial security is intrinsically geared to the manufacturing facilities that form her largest source of income, where fluctuations in the production of manufactured goods frequently cause devastating effects.

Ranking first, second, and third in this category are aircraft, with $321 million; tuna, with $65,822,000; and its allied industry, shipbuilding and repair, with $14,106,000. Combined the "big three" employ most of the 52,150 people who produce industrial products valued in excess of $540 million annually.

With the end of World War II the United States instituted a reconstruction and rehabilitation program in Japan.

Very soon the production of fish outstripped the food requirements of the Japanese, who do not eat processed fish in any form. They consume only fresh fish, and something had to be done with the surplus. It turned out to be an admirable export item.

Meanwhile the United States producers (San Diego, San Pedro, Terminal Island) had indoctrinated the palates of the American people for tuna canned in oil to the tune of around 8 million cases annually by 1948. The American tuna fishing fleet (San Diego) was producing most of the market requirements, with a few thousand cases from Peru and other countries making up the balance of imports.

Japanese imports began to arrive in this country, and by 1949 they held about 2½ percent of the American market, which by that time had climbed another half million cases. The rise in imports cost the American fleet proportionately, but the matter was not considered seriously at that time.

It was shortly after this that the Japanese importers got busy (aided by a reduction in tariffs) and they slugged over 3 million cases into this country in 1950. The effect was, to put it mildly, devastating. It tied up one-third of the American tuna fishing fleet hard and fast in San Diego harbor. It cost the owners and operators thousands of dollars that fall.

The Japanese recognized their mistake (and duly noted quota proposals in the U. S. Congress and they voluntarily imposed a quota on tuna exports until the glutted market situation here could recover. They reduced exports about 1 million cases per year for the next 2 years. The American fleet staggered through, although it never fully recovered.

By 1953, however, the importers were back in the saddle. They shipped in another 3 million cases that year, and the American fleet took another staggering blow. It was not as critical this time, though since the American market had now reached a capacity of about 11 million cases.

Another factor aided United States boat owners. Building steadily since the end of the war, the fleet strength had reached 214 vessels when the crisis struck in 1950. By 1953, however, the fleet had shrunk to 183.

Following the 1950 market glut, the tuna industry repeatedly appealed to the Government for a tariff or quota, or some form of control over imports. These pleas ran afoul free trade policies and the need to keep the

Japanese economy going to save that nation from the clutches of Communist domination.

Many vessel owners got out of the business, reinvested their money in other enterprises, or transferred their vessels elsewhere. They are continuing to do so, and the end of 1954 saw the American fleet strength reduced to 163 vessels; exactly where it stood at the end of the war.

Meanwhile the Japanese fleet continued to build and imports of tuna continued to soar. The fall of 1954 saw another 50 vessels of the American fleet tied up in San Diego harbor. Many waited as long as 30 days, and more, after arriving in port following 60 or more days at sea before unloading their catch.

When the Japanese tuna import glut struck last year, the American Tunaboat Association, a boat owners' cooperative corporation in San Diego, representing a membership of about 70 percent of the American tuna fleet, held a contract with the canners guaranteeing a price of $330 per ton. The glut reopened negotiations and resulted in a reduction of $30 per ton in the price.

This contract expired on December 31, 1954. However, vessels which had sailed for the fishing banks were considered to be eligible for the contract price, even though they did not return until after January 1, 1955. There is current a strong rumor that the vessels being unloaded today are those whose owners agree to accept as little as $270 per ton.

Fishing is like no other business in the world; yet it is also curiously like any small business. Each vessel is a small business. The owner may have an investment ranging from $250,000 to $600,000.

Economics of a hypothetical fishing trip could run something like this: Most vessels in the $500,000 class are equipped to carry 300 tons of frozen tuna. The owner, and there can be as many as 10 or more with equal investments of $5,000, undertakes to go out to the fishing banks.

He acquires a crew of 15 men on what is called a share basis. This means that all members share out equally on the amount of fish caught. If he returns with a full load, he should receive $90,000 for his catch if the prevailing price per ton is $300.

Fifty percent, approximately, of the price received for the load goes to cover operating expenses—insurance, bait licenses, depreciation, owner's share. The balance of $45,000 to be split among the crew of 15, or about $3,000 each before taxes. If there were 10 owners they would receive a proportionate share after other deductions.

On the face of it, this appears to be fairly high wages for the fisherman. Considering other aspects of the situation, however, it just about equals the wages paid for comparable jobs ashore. The boats don't always come in with a full load.

And here is where the Japanese import situation cuts more deeply into the fleet's financial welfare. United States boats may be tied up in port for long periods waiting to unload their catch at canneries where the imports take precedence.

The impact of a tie up of 50 tuna clippers in San Diego harbor can be presented graphically in dollars. Fifty tuna clippers could hold 10,000 tons of tuna, with a value of about $3 million to the fishermen.

Coupled with this fact, the valuation of the tuna clippers would be about $15 million. The $15 million, which is not earning dividends, and is actually costing money tied up, plus the $3 million, not in the fishermen's pockets where it could be spent, takes about $18 million out of circulation in San Diego.

When the 1950 glut shattered the fleet, owners who couldn't get out of the business found it expedient to place their vessels under foreign registry.

It was relatively simple to operate in other countries, and it presented some very distinct advantages. The boats were required to hire nationals of those countries for a crew and to pay United States type wages only to their own captain, engineer, and navigator. On the crew they saved money.

True, they got $30 less per ton, but they more than made this up in the cheaper labor, and they were assured of full fishing time. Freezer vessels took their catches promptly. Minor repairs were accomplished in foreign shipyards.

There has been much talk of lack of cooperation within the industry. Both the canners and the fishermen-producers obviously desired the same thing in the form of excessive Japanese imports. They have never gotten together, however, because each takes a markedly dim view of the problems confronting the other.

The canners maintain they have spent about $9 million building a 12-million case tuna market. The money has been shelled out in publicity, public relations, advertising.

The canner is naturally sensitive to his responsibility to maintain this market. He is pretty sure the market will continue to expand.

His stand is that he cannot afford to gamble on the possibility of running short of the raw materials necessary to supply the market. The fishing business, being relatively unpredictable causes him to seek a method of locking his door against the hazard of poor catches by the domestic fleet.

With a view to accomplishing this security the canners are increasing their interests in South American countries, Puerto Rico, and the Central Americas. The grand play, from where we sit, is that if the United States fishermen get legislation to slow the imports, the canners will have insured their supplies of raw materials by these overseas investments.

The constant shrinkage of the American fishing fleets cuts into the shipyards and repair business here. Repair of the tuna clippers provides a large share of the shipyard income, and it is entirely illogical to presume the owner of a vessel based abroad would elect to travel several thousand miles for a repair job here.

San Diego, relieved of a good portion of the shipyard repair business, and relieved of many of the fishermen, presents some significant economic aspects to this community. The loss of revenue from personal property taxes on the vessels, together with other taxes, and the sale of several thousand dollars in provisions and fuel and oil each trip is not a small item. In addition there are the taxes and wages of the fishermen.

It is not inconceivable that foreign canneries could can the fish and ship the product into the United States utilizing foreign labor and facilities. This function, because of present tariffs, would leave the American canners with the job of sealing the can—a mighty thin industry.

There are strong rumors that a huge fish freezing and storage plant is under construction in southern California. Fishermen wonder whether the plant may be utilized to hold their catches, or to freeze and hold the surplus Japanese imports they have every reason to believe will continue to climb.

The answers to these questions may be just around the corner. But if past performance curves are any criterion for these observations the situation could explode momentarily. Right now, based on statistics for the first 9 months of 1954, the American fishing fleet holds about 56 percent of the American market, Japan 38 percent.

Ceremonies Honoring Rev. A. A. Skoniecki, Rt. Rev. Bronislaus Michalski, and Hon. Philip J. Philbin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a news account of impressive ceremonies recently conducted at Saint Stanislaus Hall, Three Rivers, Mass., in honor of my friend, a great and able leader of the Polish cause in this country, the Reverend A. A. Skoniecki, and the Right Reverend Bronislaus Michalski, Prothonotary Apostolic of London, England, an outstanding spiritual leader and chaplain for the Polish Army in exile, and myself.

At the exercises I was invested with the Order of Polonia Restituta and it would be impossible for me to express my appreciation to my very dear friend, Father Skoniecki, for so thoughtfully arranging the occasion and the Polish Government in exile for so generously bestowing upon me its highest civilian award. In a very humble spirit indeed, I express my gratitude.

Father Skoniecki has been a powerful voice and a tower of strength in fostering true Americanism, patriotism and devotion to the principles of liberty. His unflagging efforts for the cause of Polish freedom have endeared him not only to his own people, but to all lovers of freedom. That his work and the work of so many other devoted leaders, who are striving to secure liberation of Poland, may soon have a triumphant result, is the hope and the prayer of all Americans.

It is because of the unselfish, untiring efforts of Father Skoniecki and men like him, who are inspired with noble American principles and dedicated to the achievement of freedom for the oppressed and persecuted, that the people behind the Iron Curtain are able to keep their courage high and their faith for ultimate deliverance unshaken. Father Skoniecki and his associates, who are working for liberation of subject nations, compel the admiration of all other Americans because in the best sense they represent unyielding devotion to the principles of democracy and freedom.

The news excerpts which I insert are part of my remarks.

At Palmer last night speaking at a dinner honoring his appointment to the order of Polonia Restituta, high decoration of the Polish Government in Exile, conferred upon him for "outstanding service and contributions to the cause of freedom," Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN blasted organized world communism and urged peace based on justice for all nations.

PHILBIN declared that despite solemn pledges before, during and after World War II, "the Communist conspiracy is forcing the United States and the free world to live virtually in a huge armed camp."

"There can be no lasting peace based on tyranny exploitation, and in justice," he said. "The liberation of oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain is not only necessary on moral grounds. Until it is accomplished, there can be no true peace in the world and a peace movement based on oppression, the continuance of insidious Communist infiltration and appeasement of those working for the destruction of freedom can only end in disaster."

"This Nation must stand for its principles, protect its rights, its interests, and its liberties. It must defend the cause of freedom. It can never waver or retreat before the forces of Red aggression. Our Nation must stand fearlessly for security and peace predicated upon principles of justice, confident of our great strength, military, economic, and spiritual, united in our determination, come what may, to protect the cherished way of life."

Honored also by the gathering were the Reverend A. A. Skoniecki and Msgr. Bronislaus Michalski, both of whom were decorated by the Polish Government for distinguished service.

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, INC.,
Washington, D. C., January 25, 1955.

Hon. PHILIP J. PHILBIN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN PHILBIN: We are taking the liberty of bringing to your attention that February 7, 1955, will be the 10th anniversary of the famous wartime meeting of the Big Three which marked the beginning of a series of retreats of the free world before the forward march of Soviet aggression. We refer, of course, to the meeting of Joseph V. Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Winston S. Churchill at Yalta in 1945.

Under an agreement reached there—or, rather, extracted by Stalin under the threat not to join in the war with Japan—the Soviet sphere of influence has been carved out in Eastern Europe. The enslavement of several European nations—Poland included—has been sanctioned by the two western leaders, caving in under Stalin's blackmail.

At Yalta, too, the way was paved for the sovietization of China. The Yalta compact remains an executive agreement, never ratified by the United States Senate and therefore not binding. Repeated Soviet violations of the Yalta agreement deprive that document, secretly drafted, of its last vestige of questionable validity.

Millions of Americans believe that the Yalta agreement should be denounced and declared not valid. All unilateral actions undertaken by Stalin under the cloak of that most unfortunate result of personal diplomacy, should be declared illegal. Only a compete and unhesitating renunciation of the Yalta agreement by the Congress and the executive branch of our Government could restore American prestige in Europe and Asia.

Referring to your splendid record in the fight for American security and our moral leadership of the free world, we beg to submit to your attention the necessity of raising your voice on the Floor of the House on Monday, February 7, in defense of the Polish Nation—the prime victim of the Yalta deal—and the other nations, victimized by Soviet imperialism.

You may rest assured that the expression of your views on that occasion will find most appreciative response in the minds and hearts of those who deeply believe that as long as Yalta remains unrepudiated and undenounced, the enslaved nations of the world—our most faithful allies—will be unable to trust our word.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES BURKE,
Washington Representative,
Polish American Congress, Inc.

PALMER, MASS.—Three Rivers and portions of its neighboring villages, where the spark of righteousness, loyalty, and faithfulness to its Polish ancestry still burns brightly in the hearts of the older generation, despite many persecutions now and in past years, where the flower of budding young Polish womanhood and manhood blossoms for one common cause to take sides with brethren in every city and town in the United States and Europe to return of ravaged Poland to the rank it once held and should now hold among the peace and God-fearing peoples on the earth, listened to an inspiring and forceful speech in St. Stanislaus Hall last night delivered by Poland's friend in Congress, Hon. PHILIP J. PHILBIN, of Clinton, representing the Third Congressional District.

His rousing talk was timely, for it came upon the occasion of 3 persons being honored during a testimonial banquet, 1 of them being Mr. PHILBIN himself. A capacity crowd attentively listened in hushed silence, applauding and cheering as the occasion merited, as Representative PHILBIN held his audience spell-bound with a dynamic and well-chosen speech.

There were 700 persons of Polish ancestry, both young and old, who came to heap tribute upon their beloved pastor, Rev. A. A. Skoniecki of SS. Peter and Paul Parish, who now holds the title of honorary commander in Polonia Restituta, and was recently appointed honorary colonel-chaplain in the Polish Armed Forces—to revere and admire the Right Reverend Monsignor Bronislaus Michalski, protonotary apostolic of London, England, who has jurisdiction over displaced soldiers of the Polish Army and displaced civilians now living in England—and to receive into their hearts a dear friend and crusader in the Polish cause, Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN, who was honored by Monsignor Michalski by having a medal and ribbon pinned about his neck, giving him a similar title as Father Skoniecki's, that of honorary commander in Polonia Restituta. The medal is the highest award bestowed upon an individual by the Polish Government in exile and is comparable only to the Congressional Medal of Honor given someone in the United States.

And, there were many of the older folks present, who inspired and spurred on by Representative PHILBIN's blast upon the tyrannical governments of the world, principally communism, who are trying to stamp out the last flickering hope of a new Poland, were noted to nod their heads in agreement on certain statements and to equally show signs of negation on others as Mr. PHILBIN drilled home his aims to continue the fight to obtain protection for the peoples of oppressed Poland and other similar nations who have felt the scourge and pestilence of an invader and the hand of death and destruction in their lands. Many were the elderly listeners of Polish heritage who brushed aside a tear now and then, no doubt taking back thoughts to dear ones in the fatherland who have either felt the heavy hand of tyranny fall on their heads and to those who have been scattered to the four corners of the earth by war.

Representative PHILBIN branded the Kremlin and its supporters who have infiltrated with their diabolical schemes and policies into every nation of the world as cruel, vicious, unscrupulous conspirators who would crush all peace-loving nations on the face of the earth under the foot of tyranny and urged all to take up the fight against the terroristic Communists with their plague of hatred and death.

Representative PHILBIN was one of three who was honored last night at a testimonial dinner given those who have taken up the torch in the fight to liberate suppressed Poland and other similar nations. He cited the Katyn massacre of the Polish officers one of the most atrocious crimes in the history of mankind and said no peace will ever be entertained until the last of those who would crush and enslave be exterminated. He said nations with the horror of death and bondage hanging over them, should be protected. He lashed out: "We shall never stop—never remain silent—never cease to fight—to free nations from this communistic scourge and the principles it stands for."

A member of the Armed Forces Committee in Washington, he told of the death-dealing weapons now being held by aggressors and the United States, touching briefly on the hydrogen and atomic bombs. He urged the continued making of these destructive missiles and stocking them so that the United States can be prepared for any nation who should dare to challenge our rights for peace, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.

Representative PHILBIN said he took up the fight on Poland's behalf, because he was an American and all real Americans refuse to stand by and see a smaller nation maltreated and annihilated by a tyrannical force. He said he is one of a large group of crusading men who started the march to see Poland and other hard-pressed countries returned to rightful places in the world and would continue with zealousness and determination to fight on until this goal is achieved.

Before Representative PHILBIN took over the rostrum, another inspirational speech was delivered by Chaplan Col. Andrew T. F. Nowak, United States Army, Retired, Chicopee Falls. Father Nowak thanked committees who were instrumental in bringing the Polish people together on this momentous occasion. He heaped tribute on the 3 honored guests and touched upon Generals Kosciuszko, Pulaski, and Krzyzanowski and other Polish soldiers and immigrants who came here during the early years of our country and helped to mold the Government and policies now in the United States. Also extolling the work advanced on Poland's behalf by Father Skoniecki, Monsignor Michalski, and Representative PHILBIN, were speakers, Rev. Marian Stanczyk, of Ludlow, and Rev. Bronislaus S. Rosnik, of Providence, R. I. The latter, always fighting for liberties of oppressed Poles, was instrumental in having a statue of General Pulaski erected in Roger Williams Park, Providence, R. I. Father Skeniecki closed the speaking program by thanking all for their efforts in making a going away affair for Monsignor Michalski such a success. Monsignor Michalski, a seminary associate of Father Skeniecki, has been a guest at the local rectory for many weeks and soon returns to his work in England.

Other guests at the head table were Rev. Joseph Piszczalka, M. S. Westfield, Rev. John P. Kochanowski, Gilbertville, Rev. Walter Rozpad, Woonsocket, R. I., Rev. Josephat Piasta, Chicopee, Rev. Oswald Loretan, of Bondsville, Rev. Michael Bielak, Ware, Rev. Leonard Pakulski, O. F. M. of Holyoke, Rev. Joseph Niedzwiecki of Southbridge, Rev. John Klekotka of Greenfield, and Rev. John E. Abertin, SS. Peter & Paul Parish.

Interspersed with the speechmaking was a program of Polish dances, songs, and duets. Participating were the SS. Peter and Paul mixed choir, Misses Irene and Lillian Frydryk, Benigna Smola, Edwin Olearczyk, Mary Wielkiewicz, Richard Nowak, and Barbara Salamon. Fr. Loretan of St. Adalbert's, Bondsville, gave the invocation and Rev. Leonard Pakulski of Holyoke, conducted the closing prayer. Rev. John Aubertin served as master of ceremonies. As the inspired crowd wended its way through the doors of the hall after singing of the Polish national anthem, many were the happy faces to know that so much has been done for their cause in the fight for freedom and happiness.

Eisenhower Record at Midterm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the following article from the March 1955 number of Democratic Digest:

THE EISENHOWER RECORD AT MIDTERM—BACKDOWN GOVERNMENT

Most of the newsmen who attended the President's press conference of January 12 emerged shaking their heads in bewilderment. This was the conference at which the President discussed the now famous Ladejinsky case.

Previously, the White House had stood squarely behind Agriculture Secretary Benson in his firing of the land reform expert as a security risk. It had then made known the President's full approval of the rehiring of Ladejinsky for what Foreign Aid Director Stassen termed a "sensitive" job in Vietnam. Despite this White House position, Benson was sticking to his view of Ladejinsky as a security risk. Obviously, the President's position needed clarification.

What the reporters got instead was uncertainty and confusion. Mr. Eisenhower gave his full backing to the right of Benson and Stassen to hold contrary views about Ladejinsky and, while, of course, he had to support Mr. Stassen's rehiring of Ladejinsky, any mistake of judgment in the matter would rest on Stassen's shoulders.

The President having reversed his field 3 times in the course of 1 press conference, a reporter remarked as he left the conference, "If this keeps up, Ike is going to be known as 'the man who wouldn't stay put.'"

The Ladejinsky case was just one of many instances in the first 2 years of the Eisenhower administration in which the White House had shifted its ground or completely yielded its position. This wavering White House leadership, which left all of the Cabinet officers without any certainty of topside support of their positions, has resulted in what some call government by backdown.

The most recent and, in the view of many, the most significant example of government by backdown concerns the much-heralded Marshall plan for Asia program.

This program was formulated by Secretary of State Dulles and Foreign Aid Director Stassen to combat communism in Asia through extensive economic aid which, it was hoped, would bring the same remarkable recovery and the same receding of communism that the Marshall plan brought in Europe.

But when Messrs. Dulles and Stassen launched their program within the administration, they did not reckon on the power or persuasiveness of Treasury Secretary Humphrey, whose main concern is balancing the budget at all costs. Humphrey was attending a South American conference when the Dulles-Stassen plan was first broached. Upon his return, he is reported to have berated Stassen for inaugurating such an expensive plan.

The President, who had been thought to support Dulles and Stassen, quietly shifted his position toward Humphrey's, and neither the state of the Union message nor the President's budget contained any direct reference to the Marshall plan for Asia program.

Apparently, remarked the magazine Commonweal, this trial balloon has been shot down not by sources outside the Eisenhower team, but by the administration itself.

Another recent important instance of government by backdown was in the so-called New Look defense policy. In 1953, pressed by what it felt to be the political necessity of making a drastic cut in the Truman budget, the administration slashed the Air Force funds by $5 billion. The following year, with the Indochina crisis dominating the headlines, the administration reversed its field, and restored the Air Force cuts. This year, defense cuts are again the order of the day—with the Army bearing the brunt.

To those who have watched the President closely and critically over the past 2 years, these major reversals are not surprising. They are part of a consistent pattern of Presidential backdowns. For example, during the public storm over the removal of books from the shelves of United States overseas libraries, which many compared with book burning in Germany, Mr. Eisenhower exhorted a college commencement, "Don't join the book burners." But a few days later, the Washington Post was to comment, sadly, "If the President's words at Dartmouth are to have practical meaning, they must be applied first within his own administration."

In the face of this Presidential wavering, it is no wonder that the State Department issued no less than 11 separate directives on the types of books to be removed from overseas library shelves.

In a similar vein, the President in November 1953, enunciated what he called the Abilene code—the right of every man to face his accuser. Despite the acclamation with which this pronouncement was received, the President did nothing to alter his own Government security system so as to afford that right to Federal employees, many of whom have been fired because of anonymous charges.

Having twice declared that communism would and should not be a 1954 campaign issue, the President later twice commended Vice President NIXON on his campaign role, although Mr. NIXON had himself, in his nationwide stump speeches, spark-plugged the GOP exploitation of that issue. Moreover, having declared his firm intention not "to make of the Presidency an agency to use in partisan elections," Mr. Eisenhower later yielded to the pressures of Republican leaders and established an alltime presidential record for participation in an off year election campaign, even to the extent of endorsing some Republican candidates who had openly opposed his program across the board. It was during the course of his partisan campaign, that the President made his prediction of a "cold war of partisan politics" if a Democratic Congress were elected, a statement from which he felt obliged to back down in his first postelection press conference.

There was another series of presidential backdowns, made in the face of—and often to avoid—a showdown fight with Old Guard Republicans in Congress. Best known of these is his 1954 surrender on his 3-year trade program and his acceptance of a 1-year extension of the trade agreements act. Sometimes forgotten as part of the backdown on trade are the President's appointment of an arch-protectionist to the Tariff Commission, his endorsement of a plan to "pack" the Tariff Commission with a 4–3 GOP protectionist majority, and his raising of the tariff on Swiss watches.

Another celebrated Presidential backdown was on the question of amendments to the Taft-Hartley labor law. On July 31, 1953, a set of Taft-Hartley liberalizing amendments apparently agreed upon by the President and Labor Secretary Martin Durkin were about to be sent to Congress, when the death of Senator Robert H. Taft caused a delay. Meanwhile, the content of the Eisenhower-Durkin amendment "leaked" to the press, bringing a storm of protest from old guard forces in Congress. The President withdrew his support from the Durkin proposals and Durkin resigned in protest.

In 1953, Mr. Eisenhower came out for 35,000 public housing units, but when 83 percent of the House GOP succeeded in killing his proposal outright, the President backed away from a fight. Later, he called public housing a "moral obligation," yet reversed himself once again and defended congressional cuts in public housing against criticism by New York City construction coordinator, Robert Moses.

But perhaps the most serious Eisenhower backdown in the face of a fight with Congress was over the Bricker amendment, the attempt by old guard isolationists to tie the hands of the President in the making of treaties. Originally represented as "unalterably opposed" to the Bricker amendment, the White House was totally silent when Senate GOP Leader Knowland, who supposedly represents the White House on the Senate floor, pulled a last-minute switch and suported a modified version of the Bricker amendment.

Some of the Eisenhower backdowns have involved the abandonment of GOP campaign myths (some of which candidate Eisenhower had helped to perpetuate), in the light of what Adlai Stevenson has called the stark reality of responsibility.

One was the myth that the famous Yalta agreement had been a "sellout" of Eastern Europe to the Russians, and had to be repudiated. This, Mr. Eisenhower promised to do, not only during the 1952 campaign, but also in his first state of the Union message. Yet when the Yalta agreement was examined, it was found to pledge free elections for the peoples of Eastern Europe, and therefore the President was obliged to reverse his field and ask Congress to reaffirm rather than repudiate the agreement.

In that same state of the union message, the Presidentannounced he was unleashing Chiang Kai-shek's forces for attacks on the Chinese mainland from Formosa, implying that President Truman's placement of the 7th Fleet in the Straits of Formosa had been primarily for the protection of the Chinese Reds. Six months later, Marguerite Higgins of the New York Herald Tribune revealed that the administration, through a secret gentleman's agreement with Chiang, had effectively "re-leashed" him. This arrangement has recently been confirmed in public.

Also abandoned has been the GOP campaign line on liberation of the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain and the inadequacy of the containment policy of the Truman administration. Today, the President talks of "no alternative to coexistence," which to most is a far cry from the liberation line, and akin to containment.

Eisenhower campaign talk about the moral bankruptcy of the Brannan plan has given way to the adoption of a wool-support program which the Omaha World-Herald has called the Brannan plan, lock, stock, and barrel.

The backdowns from other campaign pledges are a story in themselves. Abandoned, among other things, have been the golden promise of 90 percent parity price supports for farmers, a balanced budget, the fostering of REA, the operation of TVA at maximum efficiency, the speeding up of soil conservation, and the fostering of a merit system in Federal civil service, which was torpedoed when the President lent his own name and office to a scheme for Federal recruitment through the Republican National Committee.

One aspect of "government by backdown" that distresses those who have wanted to see this new administration succeed—and especially those who have hoped the administration would stand up to Senator MCCARTHY

and his forces—has been the way in which the President has shifted his ground in such a way as to undercut his own Cabinet officers.

The placing of the Ladejinsky decision on the shoulders of Mr. Stassen is reminiscent of another incident, early in the administration, when Mr. Stassen asserted the rights of the executive branch in opposition to Senator McCARTHY'S private negotiations with Greek shippers, only to have the President slap him down publicly, and, in effect, side with McCARTHY.

Soon thereafter, in a background meeting with reporters, Secretary of State Dulles discussed a tentative plan for the settlement of the Korean war. First to knock the props from under the Secretary the next morning was the White House.

More recently, when Labor Secretary Mitchell came out against the State "right to work laws," bitterly opposed by labor, the White House was quick to assert that the Secretary spoke only for himself, and not for the administration.

Instances such as these have given administration officials reason to believe that they can never be certain of topside support from their boss should they be caught in the midst of a hot controversy.

Some believe this to be the basis for the many administration compromises with the McCarthy forces; the retention of Scott McLeod as State Department Security Officer; the failure to clear former WAVE commander Mildred McAfee Horton as a delegate to the U. N. Commission; the firing of a Cohn-Schine target, Theodore Kaghan, from his key United States information post in Germany; the firing of Foreign Service Officer John Paton Davis, cleared on loyalty grounds by Dulles, but dismissed as a security risk merely for poor judgment (surrender to Asia Firsters?); and, of course, the abject surrender of Army Secretary Stevens to McCARTHY at the famous chicken lunch—a humiliation which many believe might have been avoided had the Pentagon been able to count on firm White House support.

What is the explanation for "Government by backdown" and for the title, "The Man Who Wouldn't Stay Put"? One observer, in a recent discussion of this question, recalled the greatest Eisenhower backdown of all: Eisenhower's embracing, during the 1952 campaign, of Senators McCARTHY and JENNER, the two men who had labeled his greatest friend and benefactor, George Marshall, a traitor and a living lie.

"When General Eisenhower agreed to cut out that praise of General Marshall from his Milwaukee campaign speech, in order to appease McCARTHY," said this observer, "the pattern was set. Since then, one backdown has followed another. And more are likely to come."

A Paradox

SPEECH
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it was very interesting a few moments ago to hear the gentlemen who represent districts where there is unemployment, state their opposition to the bill H. R. 1, on which we will be called to vote tomorrow.

They want protection for local industries and the employees of those industries.

Yet some of these same gentlemen have been consistent and ardent advocates of aid to other countries, the purpose of which was to train employees, finance industries, whose products are now in direct competition with those of our own industries, and whose protection they now seek.

To me it does not seem logical to tax our people, to send our dollars, our machinery, our technicians abroad to establish an industry and then, when that industry is born and has become efficient, deny it the right to sell its products in this country without restriction.

I shall be paired against the bill, because I believe that we should first consider the interests of our own people.

A Memorable Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in this morning's issue of the New York Times.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MEMORABLE ANNIVERSARY

In the closing days of the presidential campaign of 1952 General Eisenhower opened a broadside against the Truman administration for its refusal to come to grips with the problem of inflation and rising living costs. Speaking at Troy, N. Y., in late October, the Republican candidate not only charged the administration with failing to halt inflation; he charged that while identifying itself with the meaningless symbol of price controls the administration was actually pursuing inflationary policies on other fronts. In short, he declared, inflation was "no accident." It was deliberate administration policy.

Once installed in the White House Mr. Eisenhower lost little time in showing that what he had said at Troy was not mere campaign oratory. In his first state of the Union message the new President said, in effect, though not in these exact words:

"The American free-price system has already been kept in bed too long. Under the law as it now stands, it has until April 30 to get out of bed and out of the hospital. There is no reason whatsoever why that time limit should be extended. In fact, I plan to see that the patient begins to try out his legs right away, and that he gets a little more exercise each day. He should be back on the job well before April 30."

The President's blunt statement drew criticism not only from political critics but from price-control addicts in both parties. The holdover Price Administrator, Joseph H. Freehill, expressed the opinion that decontrol "would cost the economy of this country $3 billion annually in higher prices." If these frightening prophecies disturbed Mr. Eisenhower in any way that fact was not visible in the events that ensued. On February 6, 4 days after he had briefed the Nation on his basic strategy with respect to prices, he had launched his offensive against price-wage controls. In an Executive order he terminated wage and salary controls as of that date and struck the ceilings from a long list of consumer items. In the ensuing weeks six more package actions of the same kind followed. With the last of these, which came on March 17, the Nation found itself back on a free price economy for the first time since January 26, 1951.

This action demonstrated to the country that in professing his confidence in the free price system, Mr. Eisenhower was not indulging in empty rhetoric. But it would be a misinterpretation of this episode to assume that in thus staking his leadership on a program which (such was the state of mind into which the Nation had drifted by then) was thought by many to be fraught with serious danger Mr. Eisenhower was indulging in a blind gamble. If it could be said that a calculated risk was involved, then it would have to be added that before making his move against price controls the President had taken every precaution to see that that risk was reduced to a minimum. Mr. Eisenhower was fully aware, as he showed in his Troy speech that rising living costs had nothing to do with price-control legislation, but that they stemmed from inflationary fiscal and monetary policies. Therefore, one of his very first acts after he was elected was to pick for the key post in the Treasury and the Bureau of the Budget men who shared his own philosophy on this issue and would could be counted upon to work in harmony with the Federal Reserve Board in getting the Nation's monetary and fiscal policies back on a sound basis. The story of how these appointees have worked together as a team and the success they have achieved needs no retelling at this time. However, since it is now almost exactly 2 years since the President's program for dismantling the apparatus of price-wage controls it might be appropriate to conclude with a short statistical footnote.

In January 1953 the last month before the dismantling process began, the wholesale price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics stood at 109.9. The corresponding figure for January 1955, which has just been reported, is 110.2. Thus the net change in the wholesale price level has been an increase of 0.3 point, of less than three-tenths of 1 percent. In January 1953 the Consumer Price Index (sometimes referred to as the Cost of Living Index) stood at 113.9. We do not yet have the corresponding figure for January 1955, but in December this index stood at 114.3. Which is to say consumer prices have risen over this 2-year period by exactly 0.4 point, or between three-tenths and four-tenths of 1 percent.

A Two-Party System in North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, on February 5 it was my pleasure and honor to address the meeting of the North Carolina Young Republican Convention in Charlotte, N. C. During the course of the program, the winner of their annual declamation contest, Mr. David M. Foley, who is a National Director of the Democratic Youth of America, and who is a senior in the O'Donoghue High School, read the paper that won him this prize. Because Mr. Foley's remarks so thoroughly get at the root of the Republican

problem in all States where a true two-party system does not exist, and because these remarks should be read and understood by Republicans everywhere, I ask unanimous consent that this fine paper be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT CAN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DO TO ESTABLISH A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN NORTH CAROLINA?

(By David M. Foley)

That is a good question. It has been asked by a great many people, mostly Republicans, for a long time. Since it is still being asked, I take it for granted that you are still looking for the answer. Now the people who have been answering this question are, for the most part, Republicans. Therefore, I have come to the conclusion that perhaps it is difficult for Republicans to look objectively at their problem. My views are those of one outside the Republican Party looking in somewhat critically. It is, I believe, a new slant, a new perspective. I hope you find something of value.

Walt Whitman once said, "Political democracy as it exists and practically works in America, with all its threatening evils, supplies a training school for making first-class men. It is life's gymnasium, not of good only, but of all."

Our political system is based on the two-party system. Politics cannot be the training school for first-class men without the two-party system, for the single party has become the symbol of dictatorship and anarchy.

At this time, North Carolina is a single-party State. This is not good for North Carolina or her people because competition leads to improvement of the product.

Before you can change this situation, you must look into its causes. Why is North Carolina a one-party State? Whose fault is it? There is only one conclusion we may draw. The Republican Party itself has made North Carolina a one-party State. Therefore it is up to the Republicans alone to rectify this situation. How did the GOP place North Carolina in the one-party class? The Republican State organization did not invite the participation of young people. Once young and enthusiastic party leaders became old, and yet they continued to rule the party. They became discouraged and did not offer Republican candidates on the ballot. What party machinery there was in North Carolina fell into decay. The Republican Party became stagnant.

Within the past 3 or 4 years, it has been evidenced that, at last the Republican Party is again becoming seriously interested in winning elections in North Carolina. The Republican Party is again testing the treacherous water of politics.

We all realize that it is impossible for the Republican Party to become active until North Carolina is a two-party State. Thus your question, How can that be done?

The answer is relatively simple because a standard formula may be followed. If the Republicans really desire a 2-party system in North Carolina they can have it. However, it is up to the Republicans alone. North Carolina will not become a 2-party State from mere wishful thinking. It will take action, direct action, to bring this about.

Of what does this action consist? What is this magic formula that can, and will, convert North Carolina into a 2-party State?

It is the building of an initial nucleus of common interest. Let me quote from a book by Dr. Clarance King. He writes, "If we can mentally recapture a skill which most of us possessed at the age of 12 it will help us to master the initial steps. Imagine that it is a winter morning after a fresh fall of snow. You step out of your door determined to roll the largest snowball that ever was built. What do you do first? Do you take a shovel and mound the snow together and round it off? Of course, you don't. You begin by rolling a small snowball. All depends on that central, cohesive core. If the snow will not 'pack' you may have to go back in the house and await a better day. But once that small snowball begins to attract other particles and a steep enough slope, you could give it a push and it would go on without you, enlarging itself indefinitely. We can push the analogy of the snowball one step further. Have you ever seen a snowball in March, standing unmelted with green grass about it, when all the surrounding snow is gone? It lasts because of that hard cohesive center which was built so well. Many an aggregation of human beings melts away at the first discouragement because it was built hastily of a large number of members, all having an equally tepid enthusiasm without any firm central cohesive core?"

Logically it follows that without a hard core of loyal and enthusiastic Republicans, the GOP will never get out in the snow, let alone roll that snowball down the slope.

Where is this nucleus to be found? If it is to be found at all, it will be found among the young Republicans of the State. It is this group alone that connot introduce the new, fresh, ideas that are necessary to rejuvenate an organization.

From this hard core, this inner circle, will come the second circle, members to serve on committees, friends to do the leg work. As members of your team, they will reach out and influence other citizens.

You must learn practical politics. You must leave your easy chairs and get out of your warm houses. In order to have a two-party system in North Carolina, you must toil, you must sweat, you must work. You must build a new organization. Once established, you must hold it.

Canvass your district systematically. Appoint precinct captains. Locate the vote. Get those votes to the polls. Get to know your community. Reach the public. All these are important steps in the establishment of an active Republican Party in North Carolina.

However, they will mean nothing unless and until they are put into practical use. You must decide. Do you desire a two-party system strongly enough to work for it? Make your decision and either go into action or lapse back into ineffectiveness and stagnation

Whether your program is accepted or rejected by the people will depend on your effectiveness in selling your candidates and your platform. However, always remember that it is harder to fool the people than you think. At times your suave politicians with their booming greetings and hearty handshakes will win a battle. But it is the party of the people that will win the war.

Take your program to the people. Build a hard core of active young Republicans. Launch your snowball down the slope of North Carolina. Perhaps it will expand and grow until North Carolina will be a two-party State, and politics will, once again, be a training school for first class men, a gymnasium of life for all.

On Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, on February 16, Lithuanians throughout the world observed the 37th anniversary of their homeland's independence.

Though burdened with grief over the oppression which has overtaken their country, Lithuanian people nevertheless demonstrate each year their undying will to be free.

It is such sustained spirit which 1 day will result in freedom for all peoples whose hearts cry for liberty.

The Lithuanian spirit may well be the beacon light to rally all of the temporarily oppressed, to lead the broken peoples on waves of hope to the self-government they so dearly cherish.

It is a courageous thing they do—celebrating an independence which exists only in their minds and hearts. But it is only by such zealous devotion to freedom that independence is achieved.

In this quest the Lithuanian people have our wholehearted support and admiration.

An Invitation To Participate in Lenten Services at Lutheran Church of the Reformation on Capitol Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of the following letter from Rev. Lawrence D. Folkemer, pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, located on Capitol Hill at 212 East Capitol Street.

Dr. Folkemer, in his letter addressed to me, extends a cordial invitation to the Members of Congress to attend the service on Ash Wednesday, February 23, from 12:10 to 12:30 p. m., and as many of the other noonday Lenten services as will be convenient.

The letter of invitation from Dr. Folkemer reads as follows:

LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REFORMATION,
Washington, D. C., February 15, 1955.

The Honorable CHARLES L. WOLVERTON,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WOLVERTON: In a time when world events produce so much anxiety and uncertainty in the human heart, and when the human spirit must endure hardships too heavy to bear alone, it is a great source of strength and consolation to be able to turn aside for a few moments to worship God and replenish the spirit.

For many years on Capitol Hill, noonday Community Lenten Services have been conducted at the Church of the Reformation. These services have been a source of inspiration for thousands of men and women who have desired, during Lent, a short period each day for meditation, prayer, and rest. The season of Lent through the long centuries has given to Christians an opportunity to deepen their spiritual life and to face their daily tasks with renewed faith and devotion.

The services are interdenominational in nature. Guest clergymen of all denominations are invited to speak. Lent affords an opportunity for people of all churches to worship their common Lord.

It is our hope that Members of the Congress will be able to attend the first service on Ash Wednesday, February 23 from 12:10 to

12:30. It is the first day of the sacred Lenten season. Special prayers will be offered in behalf of our President and Members of Congress at this service.

Services will be held each day, Monday through Friday at the same hour.

May we respectfully and sincerely invite all the Members of the Congress together with their staff to the Lenten services.

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE D. FOLKEMER,
Pastor, Church of the Reformation.

The following is a list of the speakers who will address the Lenten Services and the days on which they will do so:

NOON-DAY LENTEN SPEAKERS

Ash Wednesday, February 23: Dr. Lawrence D. Folkemer, Church of the Reformation.

February 24: Rev. Donald W. Prigge, Church of the Reformation.

February 25: Rev. Otto Reimherr, Hope Lutheran Church.

February 28: Dr. Carl R. Simon, Keller Memorial Lutheran Church.

March 1, 2, 3, 4: Dr. Charles D. Kean, Church of the Epiphany (Episcopal).

March 7: Rev. Paul E. Horn, Memorial Evangelical United Brethren Church.

March 8, 9, 10, 11: Dr. Clarence W. Cranford, Calvary Baptist Church.

March 14: Rev. Robert E. Lee, St. Luke's Lutheran Church.

March 15, 16: Dr. Paul R. Schearrer, Takoma Park Presbyterian Church.

March 17, 18: Rev. P. Gordon Scott, Westmoreland Congregational Church.

March 21: Dr. Clarence E. Nelson, Augustana Lutheran Church.

March 22, 23—Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, National Presbyterian Church.

March 24: Dr. Robert E. Van Deusen, National Lutheran Council.

March 25: Dr. Edward B. Willingham, National Baptist Church.

March 28: Canon Theodore O. Wedel, Washington Cathedral.

March 29, 30: Dr. Albert P. Shirkey, Mount Vernon Methodist Church.

March 31, April 1: Dr. Carl Heath Kopf, First Congregational Church.

April 4: Dr. Walter B. Freed, Luther Place Memorial Church.

April 5: Dr. George M. Docherty, New York Avenue Presbyterian Church.

April 6: Dr. Hirl A. Kester, Waugh Methodist Church.

April 7: Dr. Lawrence D. Folkemer, Church of the Reformation.

April 8: 3-hour Good Friday service, 12 to 3 o'clock.

One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Michigan State College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON HAYWORTH
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by John A. Hannah, president, Michigan State College, at Centennial Founders' Day awards dinner, February 12, 1955:

This event has an importantce far transcending that normally attached to the celebration of a university's centennial. Despite our pride in our institution, and much significance as we attach to this date, we recognize that many of you were impelled to come to East Lansing and take part in today's events by emotions besides your respect for Michigan State College. We are trying to make this whole centennial year more than a prolonged celebration of an institutional centenary; we recognize that we are observing, not the 100th birthday of Michigan State alone, but the centennial of putting into practice of a great, a new, a revolutionary idea in higher education. We honor the pioneers of Michigan who conceived the idea of a new kind of education and founded this college in the woods, near the State Capitol, but at that time 27 miles from the nearest railroad as the working embodiment of their hopes and ambitions for a better tomorrow and a better world. We recognize that they were but the intellectual and spiritual heirs of hundreds and thousands of men and women who had been thinking and working over many decades to devise an effective educational instrument with which to accomplish widespread and increasing good for mankind.

We revere men like John C. Holmes, and Bela Hubbard, and Joseph Williams, and Kinsley S. Bingham, and the other stalwarts of early Michigan. An eternal debt of gratitude is owed to them for their courage and foresight in establishing the Michigan Agricultural College as the first of the people's colleges. But on this Founders' Day we honor a much larger company, including both men with names distinguished in English and American history, and men whose names are now forgotten.

Fortune chanced to favor Michigan as the place in which the seeds scattered so widely in the years before 1855 were to germinate and to take root first. Conditions were favorable in many other places as witness the number of basically similar colleges established elsewhere within a few short years. The best evidence is in the fact that only 7 years after the Michigan experiment has been undertaken the Morrill Act creating the national system of land-grant colleges was passed by a Congress preoccupied with the problems of a terrible Civil War, and signed by a President weighed down by burdens such as no other President has ever been called upon to bear.

On this occasion it seems appropriate to cite a few of those from whom our Michigan pioneers must certainly have acquired inspiration and encouragement—men like John Milton, who, writing about education more than three centuries ago, gave a definition of education which remains one of the best ever proposed. His definition, you will recall, was this:

"I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."

Modern educators—or some of them—might criticize education as Milton conceived of it because it would not be pupil-centered, but I think we must give credit to Milton as one of the founders because he was interested in preparing men for full participation in the society of which they lived, which certainly is a traditional obective of education at the land-grant colleges and universities.

There are many others deserving of mention: The leaders of the dissident religious sects in colonial days which looked upon widespread literacy as a barrier against retreat into narrow dogmatism; the founders of Harvard and other early universities, with their concern that the colonies have an educated clergy; Jefferson, with his broad liberal ideas of education and his labor of love in establishing the University of Virginia as an institution far advanced for its day; the unrecorded thinkers and doers who brought William E. Channing, an outstanding pulpit orator of his day, to declare in a sermon:

"The grand doctrine, that every human being should have the means of self-culture, of progress in knowledge and virtue, of health, of comfort and happiness, of exercising the powers and affections of a man, this is slowly taking place as the highest social truth."

Men such as these deserve to be honored as founders of the new kind of education which became practically available just a century ago. There are many others, including Justin Morrill, the son of a Vermont blacksmith, who was determined to make available to the children of other poor men the education he had been denied; Abraham Lincoln, the son of a restless backwoods farmer, who knew from his own bitter experience the shortcomings of our educational system from the viewpoint of the common people; these, and many more, deserve their place on the list of founders to whom we pay tribute tonight.

I am sure you agree that it is by the happiest of coincidences that the day of this celebration should fall upon the birthday of Abraham Linicoln, the man of the people, who must have taken deep personal satisfaction in setting his pen to the Morrill Act, knowing full well that he was performing a great act of emancipation for the common people from which he had come.

It is one of the strengths, and one of the glories, of the land-grant-college tradition that this new kind of education was developed and made available in response to a persistent public demand. We have in history no comparable example of an educational agency deliberately designed, created, and put into use specifically to do the will of the American people, to serve them as they wanted to be served. We in the land-grant colleges and universities would do well to remember that our institutions are the creatures of the people in the most specific sense, and I believe that history records that they have prospered and retained the affection of the people in direct proportion to their success in interpreting the changing needs of the common people of America and in serving those needs as the people themselves want them to be served.

The temptation on an occasion such as this is to recount the achievements of the century now passed into history, and to revel in the staisfaction which comes from association with a successful enterprise. But a prolonged review would be out of place to this audience which knows as well as, or better than I, the many magnificent accomplishments of higher education in America. But perhaps it would not be out of place to mention briefly some of the accomplishments of our society toward which higher education in general, and the land-grant colleges in particular, have contributed heavily in the century since 1855. We would not all agree in every particular in preparing such a list but I think we could single out at least three achievements upon which we would agree.

I am sure no one would quarrel with the first, which is the achievement of spectacular material gains, a higher standard of living than man has ever known. We would all agree that these spectacular gains came within our grasp as a people only when we decided to make the advantages of education available on the broadest possible scale. Thereby, we multiplied the native skills of the American people and made possible the miracles of invention and mass production with which we constantly astound the rest of the world. We could not have achieved these every-day miracles had we not opened the doors of educational opportunity wide, thereby creating not alone the trained working force required, but also the desire for the goods and services produced. This we have done by broadening perspectives and stimulating the ambitions of millions of people.

The application of science to the art of agriculture has been an underlying factor in

our industrial growth. As long as the great majority of our people had to be employed in the production of food and fiber we could spare few hands for the mills and shops. A century ago, something like 85 out of every 100 workers were necessarily engaged in agriculture, leaving only 15 to do the rest of the Nation's work. Today, thanks to the application of science, only 12 workers out of each 100 are needed on the farms to grow the food and fiber for the rest of our people. The other 88 are free to man the machine and sell the goods and provide the services which spell prosperity, comfort, and even luxury by standards elsewhere, for the people of the United States.

How great has been the contribution of the land-grant colleges, I leave to your own estimation. Certainly they deserve the bulk of the credit in the field of agriculture, and a good share in the field of engineering and the associated industrial arts.

A second achievement to be claimed for the century just ended is the achievement of a high degrees of social mobility. In appraising this contribution of education, we must remember that, as President Conant pointed out this afternoon, an outstanding feature of the American system has been its insistence upon equality of opportunity. It was to achieve that equality that the founders established here the revolutionary college which was to grow into this university. They and others of like mind were determined that the sons and daughters of the well-to-do were not to have the advantages of higher education to themselves alone; they established as a major goal the affording of equal opportunities to the children of the industrial worker and the farmer as well.

As a result, for decade after decade, the children of the poor and the well-to-do have attended primary schools, secondary schools, and colleges and universities together; they have studied together, recited together, played together. Day after day, they have participated in repeated demonstrations that good marks and diplomas do not depend on wealth or social position, but depend upon the ability and the ambition of the individual. Generation after generation of young Americans have grown up with the certain knowledge that they need not remain in the economic or social classes to which they were born; they could climb upward as far as their intelligence and initiative could carry them, and by the same token could fall as far as their sloth and irresponsibility allowed. There has been no artificial traditional limit upon opportunity; the transition from rags to riches has long been commonplace in America.

In this healthy climate we Americans have nurtured and developed a unique way of life. Almost unnoticed either here or abroad, we have come closer to achieving the classless society of broad equality among people than have those nations which have sought to build such a society by law and dictatorial decree. For this magnificent achievement, the American system of education deserves much credit.

A companion achievement, closely associated with that of social mobility but deserving of mention as the third to be singled out this evening, is that of political stability. We have demonstrated, by millions of examples, that our political and social system does make it possible for a man or women to achieve a full and happy life. We have examples by the millions that caste and class and sect are meaningless terms for those with intelligence and ambition, and in the fullness of time, we will be able to say with equal pride that color, too, has ceased to be an unfair handicap for the able man. This has kept us remarkably loyal to our basic political and economic system.

Here in these facts we have our strongest defense against the subversives of either extreme who would pervert our system of living together to suit their twisted minds and unholy desires.

We dare not claim that more and more education is the only cure for the ills of the world. We can, however, say with pride that by our consistent efforts to insure equality through education, we have woven unequaled strength and stability into the fabric of American society.

But enough of looking to the past. It is all too easy to take too seriously the flattering things we say about ourselves, and about the accomplishments of education in general, and the land-grant philosophy in particular. The coins of yesterday will not pay the bills of tomorrow; indeed, we need to find out whether they will still be legal tender. It is in the future that we must do the unfinished work to which our centennial theme dedicates our efforts.

Peering as best we can into the cloudy future, what are likely to be the needs of the society which education is pledged to serve? Does the fundamental philosophy of the past as it has been molded and reshaped by events of a century still qualify as the rule by which to guide our actions?

In assaying the ability of our fundamental philosophy to meet the needs of the future, let us apply the tests suggested by the three major achievements we have claimed for higher education in America.

First, will we continue to need trained people, and an ever-increasing proportion of trained people in our population? The answer is most assuredly "yes." We are in a bitter struggle for survival with a political-economic system which has placed high stakes on education as a major device with which to gain its nefarious ends. We have been warned repeatedly that Communist Russia is training more scientists than we in the hope of eventually reversing our relative positions in the scientific fields, and thus gaining mastery over us through utilization of horrible engines of war. Our very will to survive dictates that we keep the lead in this nightmarish race until such time as mankind's good sense works out a scheme to outlaw aggression, war, and this constant flirting with mass destruction.

Moreover, our society grows steadily more complex and complicated. There have never been too many educated people; now we face the challenge to train enough merely to keep this ponderous and complicated machine moving efficiently. Certain our expanding economy, judging from past experience, will impose a demand for increasing numbers of young people trained in the traditional professions and vocations, and in many of which we do not even dream today.

Yes, we certainly can expect that the future will find use for the young people trained by our colleges and universities to serve in a wide variety of fields; here we are on sure ground.

Next, will we need to continue to strengthen our social structure to give it still more mobility and adaptability to meet changing conditions? Here there is much to be done; not yet have we achieved all that we should achieve, not so long as we have a single person in need of medical care beyond his resources, a single mistreated child, a single family deprived of the heritage of hope. As yet, equality of opportunity is still no more than the goal toward which we have taken tremendous strides. As yet, too many qualified young men and women find educations and the choice of life work beyond the possibility of realization; too many barriers of race and creed remain; intolerance and bigotry have not been banished from the land. Here, there is much for education to do; it is for us to hope that the record of the past will persuade the future to entrust to our institutions the responsibility of completing the work thus far advanced.

It is essential that the movement go forward, for now not our eyes alone are focused on our work; throughout the world, eyes are turned upon America to see if she is qualified for the role of leadership to which she has fallen heir. Alien eyes watch closely to see whether we make steady progress in solving our own social problems. What other nations see will go far in determining whether they finally accept our leadership, or reject the philosophy of freedom and opportunity we offer to them, and turn elsewhere for leadership. Only people with an educated understanding of our strengths and weaknesses, and with a will to make the improvements we need, can guide America through this critical period. I am sure you agree that such people can best be produced in large numbers in our colleges and universities; the question for us is whether we can produce them in the numbers required.

In the area of political stability, we are not as sure of our position. We must honestly face up to the fact that there has been some loss of confidence in colleges and universities in recent years. I feel that this results in part from our colleges and universities losing confidence in themselves, in their fundamental aims and purposes. If this were not true, we would not hear so much talk about the climate of fear in which some faculty members profess to find themselves. From my observation, this condition about which they complain has been grossly exaggerated. True, there have been attempts at political intimidation. But on the other hand, there have been some embarrassing examples of bad judgment and headstrong insistence on academic rights without much thought about academic responsibility, and the two have just about balanced each other, the only net result being that there has been planted in the public mind some suspicion about the essential integrity of colleges and universities.

Actually, this suspicion, if it does exist, might be attributed in part to a misguided attempt to blame someone for the feeling of insecurity which seems to be widely prevalent. The psychologists may not agree, but it appears to me that American people have been caught up in a net of frustration out of which they cannot find their way easily. Perhaps hurt bewilderment would be a more accurate description of their emotional condition. At any rate, they look at the tremendous expenditures in blood and treasure in two world wars and a localized but bitter war in Korea, at the billions they have sent overseas to help friendly and erstwhile enemy countries alike restore their economies, at the experts they have commissioned to help other countries move a little faster along the road to the good society, and what do they have to show for their efforts?

After making all of these expenditures, what do they see in return? The avowed enmity of a large portion of the world, the reluctant friendship of a much smaller portion, the close alliance of a still smaller portion, and the true understanding friendship of only a very few of the world's people. Knowing their own motives to be primarily altruistic, no wonder the American people are frustrated or bewildered. To be hated, pitied, tolerated—this, for Americans, is poor return on a colossal investment.

They have found, in short, that our wonderful shiny machines have not won for us the respect and affection of the world. They have learned that all of our wealth cannot buy us the peace and security we crave. Having devoted so much of our time and energy to the development of our great industrial system and the improvement of our standard of living, it is no wonder that we feel insecure when we find that we cannot depend on material possessions alone to give us our hearts fondest desires.

Who is to blame if Americans have been led to place too much importance on material possessions, to depend too much upon science to solve all the problems of the world? This is not the time or place to assess blame, except to say that colleges and universities, as the source of many of our scientific miracles, and as pretenders to intellectual leadership, must accept their share. It is axiomatic that he who claims the credit for a particular plan or process is liable for blame if the plan fails or the process goes awry. It should not surprise us when those who sang the praises of the scientists for making all of our industrial and agricultural wonders possible are quick to say that those same scientists are to blame when they find that with all our worldly goods, we are still discontented and insecure.

The national malady of insecurity should be a matter of concern for our colleges and universities. We have as our responsibility the training of the leaders of this country; it is we who have encouraged them to take the materialistic view of life. As an example, it is we who have countenanced the stripping of the cultural subjects from the scientific curricula and graduated engineers who knew engineering and little else, biologists who knew biology and little else, chemists who knew chemistry and little else, and narrow specialists in many fields. The land-grant colleges, with their strong technological traditions, have been as guilty as any in this distortion of education.

If our national feeling of insecurity can be attributed to a slackening of national reliance upon material things, then there is great hope for America, because our churches and our educational system can do something to remedy the situation. In these times when we find that material advantages do not automatically bring peace and security in their wake, perhaps we can bring the American people to agree with Emerson that "a rush of thoughts is the only conceivable prosperity that can come to us."

In view of the conditions of the day and the prospects for the future we are forced to the conclusion that a considerable revamping of our educational machinery and a revision of our attitudes are desirable if we are to meet successfully the challenges that press upon us. We must come back to the realization that colleges and universities, public and private alike, are operated and supported, not alone for the benefit of the students, as individuals, but for the good society will reap from having those students trained for lives of greater usefulness.

To accomplish this end, it is essential that the devotees of the liberal arts tradition and the protagonists of the practical compose their differences once and for all, each conceding that the other has something good to offer, and that education cannot be complete without both.

My plea is for a definition of education to fit the times. Let me suggest that an educated man in today's world is one who is trained and conditioned to be an effective citizen. He need not necessarily be a man who has attained wealth, or outstanding professional distinction, or high public office. Indeed, he may not be known beyond the borders of his own community.

But he will have been educated to contribute to the economic well-being to the limit of his creative and productive skills; he will have been educated to contribute to social stability by his understanding of the world around him, and by his tolerance for the rights and opinions of others; he will have been educated to contribute to the moral stability of his Nation by his acceptance and practice of such fundamental principles as personal honor and integrity, belief in a good God, and government by law instead of by men; and he will have been educated to contribute to the political stability by his reasoned, thinking approach to public issues, his rejection of demagogic appeals, and his ability to lead or to follow with equal intelligence.

If we keep some such definition in mind, we as educators will not think so much in terms of graduating engineers, or accountants, or doctors, or agriculturists, or lawyers, or teachers, as of graduating educated men and women, trained to be effective citizens of our democracy and of the world, men and women ready and willing to assume leadership in a Nation crying for more intelligent direction and guidance in a world full of confusion, insecurity, and doubt.

It is both disconcerting and humbling to realize that the Founders we honor on this occasion saw clearly the need for education of this kind, and spoke plainly to those who would heed. From the numberless pages of reference, I draw but three abbreviated examples of their wisdom in charting the course of American education.

The first is the familiar injunction from the Ordinance of 1787 establishing the Northwest Territory of which Michigan was once a part:

"Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged" as a means of preserving the lasting values on which successful popular government are built.

The second is the equally-familiar statement from the Morrill Act providing for the liberal and practical education of the common people in the several pursuits and professions of life.

The third is from a source less familiar to most of you. It comes from the writings of Bela Hubbard, one of the Michigan farmers who worked successfully to establish the first agricultural college here just 100 years ago. After describing the technical courses which should be offered in this new kind of college, that backwoods farmer added this significant word of caution: "Nor should the claims of literature and the fine arts be wholly neglected, as tending to polish the mind and manner, and add greater luster and dignity to life."

How wisely they thought. How plainly they spoke. How well advised we of this sophisticated modern age would be to take their counsel as we move into the second century of service to the American people. We could pay these Founding Fathers no greater honor than to acknowledge the wisdom of their words, the clarity of their vision. Armed with such wisdom, warmed by such understanding, we can march unafraid to meet the challenges of the unknown future, sustained by the faith that as we serve God's children, we perform the will of God.

Proposed Increase in Salaries of Members of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Pay Hike for Congress," published in the Washington Daily News of February 17, 1955, pointing out the unsoundness of salary increases financed by borrowing by our Government, which is already living off the taxable income of future generations.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAY HIKE FOR CONGRESS

By the overwhelming vote of 283 to 118, the House of Representatives has voted to raise the salaries of its own Members, and those of the Senate and Federal judges.

There are many ways to justify higher salaries for Congressmen. Statistics, such as figures on the rise in the cost of living since the last pay raise, can be found which may even support the 66⅔ percent raise the House favors.

We have no idea that the House honestly expects such a big raise. The $10,000 increase was voted for bargaining purposes with the more conservative Senate.

But whatever may be the proper salary boost for Members of Congress, we think the public has a right to expect that they will show the same enthusiasm in finding the money to pay for the raise—either by taxation or spending economies. And definitely not thru more borrowing by a Government already living off the taxable incomes of future generations.

Urey Denounces Atom Spy's Trial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Urey Denounces Atom Spy's Trial," which was published in the New York Times on Sunday, February 13, 1955. In that connection I also ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter in answer to the article, the letter having been written by Herbert Bayard Swope, under date of February 14, 1955, addressed to the New York Times, and published in its issue of February 16; and also an editorial entitled "Where To Employ an Expert," the editorial being in regard to the same matter.

There being no objection, the article, letter, and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of February 13, 1955]

UREY DENOUNCES ATOM SPY'S TRIAL—CHARGES SOBELL WAS NOT JUSTIFIED—HE ALSO DEFENDS ROSENBERGS

CHICAGO, February 12.—Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize winner and professor of chemistry and nuclear studies at the University of Chicago, charged here tonight that:

Morton Sobell, who was convicted with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the atom spies, "was not properly tried," and that "the verdict and sentence were not justified."

The Rosenbergs were not proved guilty of the crime for which they were executed.

Warning that the integrity of justice as administered in the United States was at stake, Dr. Urey said:

"If proper trials cannot be secured for unpopular people—and it is evident from the publicity of this trial that all those charged with crimes were unpopular—then it will become impossible to secure justice for other somewhat less unpopular people and so on until no justice is possible at all."

Dr. Urey spoke at a testimonial dinner given him by the Chicago Sobell committee. The Chicago group is a unit of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

A spokesman said the group was attempting to secure a new trial for Sobell. It also is seeking to have Sobell removed from Alcatraz, where he is serving a 30-year prison term, to another penitentiary.

Dr. Urey was among prominent Americans who joined in a "friends of the court" brief submitted January 28 to the Chief Clerk of the Supreme Court. The brief asked for a new trial for Sobell. The appeal is based on the ground of new evidence that major prosecution witnesses had committed perjury.

At the dinner, Dr. Urey made his charges after he had been presented with a bound volume of scrolls. They were signed by 5,000 persons throughout the world in tribute to him as a scientist and for his achievements as a citizen.

The volume of scrolls, which was presented by Mrs. Sobell, read in part:

"In your protests in the Rosenberg and Sobell case, even to those who may disagree with your evaluation of the case itself, you have exemplified the vital principle of seeking out firmly and courageously when one deeply feels an injustice has taken place."

Dr. Urey criticized the use of the professional informer by the Department of Justice and congressional committees. He cited recent statements of Harvey Matusow that he had given false testimony in trials of Communists. He also said that Roy M. Cohn, former counsel for the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, then headed by Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, Republican, of Wisconsin, had been involved by Matusow.

Dr. Urey said that Mr. Cohn was assistant prosecutor against Sobell and the Rosenbergs. The scientist stressed that Sobell had been convicted on the word of an admitted perjurer.

He also asserted that a well-justified concern for our security on a modern, dangerous world has led us to do things which will undermine our life, our form of Government, and our freedoms.

Defending his right to voice his views, Dr. Urey said, "I am exercising certain rights that were mine at birth and I wish to keep them until death."

Following is a list of some who signed the scrolls:

Dr. James Franck and Linus Pauling, Nobel prize-winning scientists; Dr. Henry Steele Commanger, Columbia University; Van Wyck Brooks, author; Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, president emeritus of Bethune-Cookman College; Roger Baldwin, national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union; Dr. Percy Julian, of Oak Park, Ill., president of Suburban Chemical Co., Franklin Park, Ill.; Prof. Fowler Harper, Yale Law School; A. Philip Randolph, president of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. F. of L.; Dr. Robert Strozier, dean of students, University of Chicago; Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, of Cincinnati.

Also Alexander Meikeljohn, former president of Amherst College; Prof. Kirtley Mather, Harvard; Prof. Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago; Prof. Philip Morrison, scientist, Ithaca, N. Y.; Prof. Mark De Wolfe Howe, Harvard Law School; Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University; Judge George Quillci, Chicago; Dr. George Sarton, Harvard; Justice James A. Wolfe, of Utah, retired.

Also Charles A. Coulson, professor of mathematics, Oxford, England; Lord Chorley, Middlesex, England; Waldo Frank, author; Prof. Dorothy Brewster, retired, Columbia University; John K. Holm, scientist, Pittsburgh; Serge Hovy, composer, New York City; Prof. Anton J. Carlson, University of Chicago; Dr. Alexander S. Langsdorf, dean emeritus, Washington University; Robert Morss Lovett, former Governor of the Virgin Islands; Dr. Isaac Kolthoff, scientist, University of Minnesota; the Reverend John Howland Lathrop, the Reverend John Paul Jones, and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, educator, all of New York.

Also the Reverend John Howard Melish, the Reverend William Howard Melish, and Rabbi Max Felshin, all of New York; Prof. H. H. Wilson, Princeton University, and Royal Wilbur France, attorney, New York.

Also Robert M. Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago, now head of Fund for the Republic, Inc., an offshoot of the Ford Foundation, and Arnold Toynbee, British historian.

[From the New York Times of February 16, 1955]

SCIENTIST'S STAND OPPOSED—DISSERVICE TO OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM IS SEEN IN DR. UREY'S STATEMENT

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Once more the question of government by law or government by scientists has come to the fore. Prof. Harold C. Urey, at a dinner in Chicago February 12 reported by the Times on February 13, is quoted as being convinced that a grave injustice has been done the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, who were convicted in connection with treason to the United States in revealing secrets of the atomic bomb to Russia.

It is every man's right to adjourn to the nearest tavern and revile the court which may have rendered an adverse decision, but when it comes to a question of standardizing justice, how can one better the process of assuming that truth has been served by the hands of the United States district court (in which Judge Irving R. Kaufman did a palpably honest job), the circuit court of appeals, and the United States Supreme Court, which had the Rosenberg case before it three times.

How is our thinking to be formulated? Is it to be based upon the convictions of an individual or the concerted efforts of the courts, acting on a verdict of our fellow citizens sitting as a jury—a method that represents the highest form of public opinion?

DEFENSE METHODS

Professor Urey is undoubtedly a scientist of high order, but does that fact equip him to hold an opinion better than the rest of us who may not know how to make heavy water, but who know and feel the claims of justice? The explanation does not lie in the superiority of his opinion nor that of his fellows. It lies in the curious belief that certain types of scientists are laws unto themselves. They have not yet become certain that, for better or for worse, nationalism is still prevalent. Accordingly, self-protection of a country requires an immediate and an adequate defense against any form of security violations.

Perhaps in the future we will have outgrown nationalism. Personally, I doubt it. But until that time comes I do not see that the attitude of men like Urey or J. Robert Oppenheimer, for whom I hold in other matters a good opinion, should be permitted to destroy the methods of defense through our courts that have been so laboriously built up since Magna Carta.

I think that Dr. Urey's utterance was incendiary. He has a right to an opinion, but I submit that, airing it in the manner in which he did, supported by a galaxy of names, it is not inclined to strengthen our judicial system.

Mind this: I am not one of those who demand conformity; Hitler made "Gleichformigkeit" an abhorrence. To me, democracy is defined best as dissent. But dissent can be expressed in a less arrogant and provocative manner than Professor Urey employed. I would not stop him from a free expression of opinion, but I ask that the forces of those who do not agree with his views become articulate so that their silence will not be taken to mean their assent.

SCIENCE OF LAW

Let them believe that the science of law, even though it be occasionally in error, is as important to us—even more important—than the nuclear sciences. We live under the first every day, but the second, praise be, is one that touches us only occasionally and up to now it has done us no good except in the increase of knowledge.

And knowledge, too, is restricted. Not long ago a distinguished scholar, Dr. Grayson Kirk, who is doing so well at Columbia University, used a slogan for the university's bicentennial celebration, "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." The first part of the statement, "Man's Right to Knowledge," is sound; but the second part—"and the Free Use Thereof"—is not true. There is much knowledge that we dare not employ freely; for example, the use of knowledge that has to do with our defense.

Much that I have said about Professor Urey applies to other scientists; and I would not exclude Professor Einstein from that group.

The Times, always seeking to be scrupulously fair, printed Urey's statement at length. It owes at least one dissent to the opposition. This, then, is an effort to express that right.

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE.

NEW YORK, *February 14, 1955.*

[From the Newark Star-Ledger of February 7, 1955]

WHERE TO EMPLOY AN EXPERT

The very heart of the most dangerous problem of this democratic age was reached in a speech before the Edison Pioneers by Senator BRICKER, of Ohio, when he questioned the competence of great scientists in specialized fields to lead society in political and moral fields.

This is a most dangerous problem because the scientist today is a great hero who has accomplished breathtaking wonders and overshadows all the heroes of bygone ages.

The scientists have given us wonder drugs, radio, television, a greatly lengthened life span, a myriad of labor-saving devices—and now the awesome atomic bomb. The scientist has, indeed, a great deal of prestige weight to throw around, and he seems, in some instances, determined to do the throwing.

This democratic age is innately dangerous because it gives everyone an equal voice in public affairs, but fails to give everyone an equal sense of responsibility. There is no way, of course, of conferring equal understanding upon all the people.

This equality of power against a background of unequal knowledge and competence creates the greatest danger of self-destruction that any society has ever faced.

Self-discipline is the only hope of a democratic society, the self-discipline that compels the average man to restrain the exercise of his power in fields in which he lacks knowledge and competence, while impelling him to seek knowledge and competence.

The average man, however, is elss dangerous to society in this respect than the great expert who, still human despite his specialized brilliance, partakes of the sin of assuming his own infallibility.

The adulation of the world is a heady thing, and it is entirely understandable that a man who has wrought great miracles in science should come to value his opinions even in fields unrelated to his specialty.

To make matters worse, the glamorous scientist finds his modesty, even when he

strives to retain it, attacked and besieged by his idolatrous admirers. He is constantly importuned to identify his name with seemingly noble causes and to strike a lance for advanced ideas in politics and morality.

Only an uncommonly wise man could resist the idolatrous pressures of the mob. Senator BRICKER in his speech the other night said that the late Thomas A. Edison was such an uncommonly wise man, having refused to throw his great weight around in the area of public affairs.

There may be other such men in science today who posses an equal share of the wisdom of modesty, but they are far less known and numerous than the many experts in specialized fields who allow their fame and prestige to be exploited for propaganda.

Some liberal intellectuals have expressed great alarm over what they believe to be a wave of anti-intellectualism that threatens to destroy all knowledge.

They should worry more about the danger of deification and self-deification of the experts, and be thankful that there is some resistance in our society to this madness.

An expert, no matter how brilliant in his field, does not necessarily have a more valuable opinion on matters of public affairs than a nonexpert. The nonexpert is less likely to throw his weight around and, in any event, has little potential for misleading others. But the famed expert becomes a danger when he so forgets himself to address his vast audience on matters of which he is ignorant.

Democracy is in far greater danger from the trespassing expert than from its avowed enemies.

Benefits for Dependent Parents of Old Age Insurance Beneficiaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, it is my desire to call attention to a bill, H. R. 4072, which will provide monthly benefits, under the Social Security Act, for the dependent parents of individuals receiving old-age insurance benefits.

The problem which this bill is designed to meet was called to my attention by a constituent who is over 65 and is supporting his 91-year-old mother. At first blush, I thought it was a very unusual problem. But when I began to check into it, I was astonished to discover that there are many similar cases.

What this gentleman pointed out to me, in effect, was that under the present social security laws, if he were supporting a wife or dependent children, he would be entitled to additional benefits. Supporting his own parents, however, he receives no such benefit. That seemed obviously unfair and improper to him, and it does to me. The income-tax laws, by way of contrast, permit the same deduction for any person, young or old, who is living in the taxpayer's household and receiving more than half his support from the taxpayer.

My bill would only add dependent parents on an equal footing with other dependents of the recipient of old-age insurance benefits. It does not put them in any special class.

The entire social-security program might well be subjected to a study and reexamination with respect to its benefits for elderly people. I think it is quite likely that other provisions in the law may be similarly discriminatory with respect to people of advanced years.

The life expectancy of our people is increasing so rapidly that we have not kept pace with it. Today thousands live comfortably and happily into their nineties. On the basis of 1950 figures, our average life expectancy is now 68 years, a gain of something like 21 years since 1900. Among people who have now reached the age of 65, the men have an average expectancy of 13 more years, while the women have 15 years. And the span is increasing further all the time.

This longer life that has been given us is a wonderful thing, and I am sure that Congress will not lose sight of the legislative problems it creates. I hope I shall be around to introduce a measure for dependent grandparents when that becomes necessary.

Address of Welcome by Merton B. Tice, Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, at Dinner Honoring Members of Congress Who Have Served in the Armed Forces, Statler Hotel, February 15, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address given by Merton B. Tice, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, before the annual VFW dinner held in Washington, D. C., at the Statler Hotel, on February 15, 1955. This dinner is an annual occasion by the Veterans of Foreign Wars honoring Members of Congress who have served in the Armed Forces.

The address follows:

Honored Members of the Congress of the United States, distinguished civil and military officials, and my comrades of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, welcome.

I know that I speak for our 1,250,000 members when I say that we are exceptionally proud of our guests who have honored us by their presence tonight.

We profoundly appreciate that at a time of great international crisis, you to whom the guidance of public affairs is entrusted, have taken time from your important duties to break bread with us.

May I say, at the very outset, that although I am keenly aware that we are in a city that is, both by custom and necessity, uncommonly vocal—a city where speeches, good, bad, and indifferent, may be heard daily—I promise there will absolutely be no long speeches tonight.

I am glad that so many of our VFW officers and members have come from our various States to meet their legislators; some have come from long distances. Many have called upon you, and a number have requested that I thank you publicly for the very cordial reception you accorded to them.

Primarily this traditional annual dinner of tonight is a sincere gesture on our part to honor the Members of Congress who have served in the Armed Forces. However, for those here who did not have the opportunity to serve, we also extend a very hearty welcome.

As an organization of overseas veterans, we shall ever think that the dangers and sacrifices of active duty creates a definite bond between all who defended our country. And now that you have, in a time of uneasy peace, the high duty of preserving the basic objectives of the American system—which includes legislating for the veterans of past wars, and determining the size of the forces that may have to fight another—God forbid—all of these responsibilities taken together makes all of us deeply conscious of your importance as representatives of the people—our people.

We of the Veterans of Foreign Wars have an unshakable confidence in representative government, and although we may not always agree with you on some phases of legislation—for what we deem valid considerations—we shall ever stand beside and behind you in resisting any and all who try to subvert or dynamite our way of life.

For example, in the matter of national security, we may want to go a little farther than some of you in determining the size of our Armed Forces. We would prefer to be wrong on the side of safety. When there are international stresses that make the world tremble—as of the present—we are reminded of some sad days in our history when it was too little and too late. We all can recall tortured periods when time had to be bought by the sacrifice of precious lives. That, we do not want to happen again. The stakes are too great to hazard long-shot gambles for the purpose of economy. There is no second money in modern war and little first. Nevertheless, the stakes are all or nothing.

We are confident that you will give a most realistic and objective consideration to the military budget, not only with a view to its overall defensive aspects but particularly to its offensive aspects. I am sure that you will all agree that wars are won by speedy, adequate, hard-hitting offense.

Every intelligent American knows that the threat of force is all that counts in the sinister policies of those men in the Kremlin who now pull the strings of 800 million subjugated people. May we show no weakness at this crucial period of civilization, no whittling away at the size of that splendid body of men that as a force in being protects us all tonight. We of the VFW salute them—the men and women of the Armed Forces.

A number of our most distinguished civil and military leaders are our welcome guests tonight. We thank their spokesman for briefing us while here. As an organization, we commend their patriotism and devotion to duty as they make plans and train officers and men for only one purpose—the security of our country. To those dedicated to that task, goes our heartfelt gratitude.

Again we thank our distinguished guests of the Congress for coming. May you preserve the peace, but about the only way we know how you can do it is to be ready for any eventuality.

And as we—Americans all—do our part to counter the Godless philosophy of communism, I know of no finer advice for all of us than:

"Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit ye like men, be strong."

Chinese Can Be Led To Win Own Freedom From Red Communist Masters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, in an article published in many newspapers in the United States, Mr. Vicente Villamin, distinguished Filipino economist and writer, presents a new approach to the Communist problem in China which is worth the attention of our Government.

He starts with the premise that the Chinese Communist regime has an economic program similar to, and an improvement on, the program that built Soviet Russia into a formidable industrial nation and military power.

Then he proceeds to say that in less number of years than it took Soviet Russia to develop, Communist China would become a much stronger nation than she is today, and that as a result the two nations combined would be a tremendously threatening menace to the free world.

Mr. Villamin proposes an economic program for the Chinese people that is better in every respect than the Communist program. Such program should be offered as an incentive for them to cooperate actively with Nationalist China to overthrow the Communist regime. By its very nature and purpose, it is conditional on the Chinese people putting down that regime first.

The 13 million Chinese who live abroad will be the sponsors of such a program. The free world, especially the United States, could help. These Chinese, particularly the 12 million who live in southeast Asia, know, or must know, that if the countries in which they reside should go Communist their businesses and holdings will be confiscated by the Communist government. It is, therefore, to their best interest to invest a part of their vast holdings to stop the Communists in China, for in stopping them there they are stopped in other parts of Asia.

I wish to make a part of my remarks the following article of Mr. Villamin as it appeared in the Pasadena (Calif.) Star-News:

MEETING THE COMMUNISTS IN CHINA WITH AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR THE PEOPLE

(By Vicente Villamin)

The Communists everywhere are on the offensive. They have their militant mission to perform. The best the Europeans can do is to organize an effective defense. The chief function of the Americans is to deter the Communists from aggression and to help those who are resisting and fighting the Communists. Averse to initiating aggression, the free world is indeed on the defensive.

The Communists are gaining in number, prestige, and territory. How and where to stop them is the free world's most serious and urgent concern. It is in China where they can be stopped and communism overcome. And that can be done if the Chinese people should give their complete cooperation in overthrowing the Communist regime.

The formula of victory is this: To convert China from an enemy under the Communists to a friend and ally under the Nationalists. If that is accomplished, China will become an enemy instead of an ally of Soviet Russia as she is now. And that the basic transposition would be a lethal blow to Russia and might well start the weakening and disintegration of communism in the world.

The danger of the free world from the combination of Soviet Russia and Communist China is clear and formidable. All free men should know it by heart.

Associated with Soviet Russia, China increases tremendously and aggressively the communist menace to the free world and makes it irresistible even now to many free countries or a combination of them. That will be more so as China becomes stronger every year, industrially and militarily.

Pitted against Russia, China, collaborating with the free world would greatly debilitate that country, upset her plans of world conquest and thereby initiate the beginning of the end of communism in the world.

On the one hand, with China's enormous manpower and natural resources utilized with her own, Russia could overwhelm Western Europe. When Europe realizes that possibility, it would perforce quit considering Asia as but an inconsequential, subordinate element to Europe in the global struggle against the Communists.

On the other hand, with the aid of Russia's industrial and military potentials, China could dominate east and south Asia and the island countries of Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States fortified islands in the western Pacific.

Then their next target would be the Western Hemisphere, North and South America, with China approaching on the Pacific side and Russia on the Atlantic.

On April 19, 1951, Gen. Douglas MacArthur stirred the United States Congress with these words: "I have strongly recommended in the past as a matter of military urgency that under no circumstances must Formosa (the seat of the Nationalist government) fall under Communist control [applause]. Such eventuality would at once threaten the freedom of the Philippines and the loss of Japan, and might well force our western frontier back to the coast of California, Oregon and Washington."

Contemporary events—Hainan, Korea, Indochina, Quemoy—show that the Russo-Chinese combination is moving forward according to a blueprint and is succeeding. This must be stopped before its momentum acquires irresistibility, which, unfortunately to the free world, it is acquiring every day.

It cannot be stopped simply by the United States recognizing Communist China and approving her admission to membership in the United Nations. Like Soviet Russia, which has that recognition and membership in the world organization, Communist China will continue to be an enemy and tormentor of the United States.

It certainly cannot be stopped by continuing to be on the defensive, or by being indecisive, or by believing that the Communists are people whose practice of right and wrong is the same as that of the rest of the world. Peaceful coexistence (love and help each other) is the mandate of God, but the Communists do not believe in God and His mandates.

The Russo-Chinese combination can be stopped and destroyed in China and nowhere else because of the special conditions prevailing in that country of more than 500 million people. The cooperation of the Chinese people in this work is the categorical and imperative essential. That cooperation could be expected for at least three reasons: Firstly, they have found communism wicked and unbearable. Secondly, they are not yet so shackled by the Communist iron discipline as the Russian people already are, as to prevent them from planning and acting together and rising in revolt against the Communist regime. And, thirdly, they have seen Nationalist China improve and strengthen herself for the reoccupation of the mainland and earning the respect and support of the United States and the rest of the free world.

But the Chinese people must have a spearhead and a rallying point. And they must be inspired and induced by something at once vital and concrete to fight for besides the beatitudes of freedom and democracy. For, after all, they are of blood and flesh and need the things that sustain mortal life and make it worth living.

The libertarian army of Nationalist China under President Chiang Kai-shek provides the spearhead and rallying point when it lands on the mainland. It should have on hand for distribution, as surely it would, an adequate supply of arms and ammunition. President Chiang has already many extra trained officers to command the people's fighting contingents. And he has the model government on Formosa, honest, free, economical and effective, that will be established on the mainland over the ruins of the Communist dictatorial and conspiratorial government.

What is that vital and concrete inducement that would make the Chinese people more ready to risk their lives and join the libertarian army? The answer is an economic aid program to improve the living condition of the Chinese people, promote social justice, ensure freedom, and create a good government according to the native genius and noble aspirations of those ancient people.

Here is a specific suggestion advanced for what it is worth. Let the United States and other free countries, which are able and willing, endorsed by the 13 million Chinese who live outside of China, announce that if and after the Chinese people have overthrown the Communist regime they will finance a 5-year economic aid program costing, say, $2 billion a year for the benefit of the Chinese people.

That program should be conceived by Chinese and be a Chinese program and not any other people's program. They would have the assistance of their friends all over the world if they ask for it, as surely they would, in the program's preparation, implementation and execution. They would want especially the close collaboration of the United States, which would furnish in the beginning the greater portion of its financial support.

From the Chinese living overseas could be expected contributions of brains, experience, work, and money. The loyalty of the overwhelming majority of them is to Nationalist, not Communist, China. Among them are many successful businessmen, bankers, industrialists, engineers, chemists, farmers, shippers, educators, scientists, and other professions and occupations. They must know, or be made to know, that if the countries where they live go Communist their property would be confiscated and their freedom restricted. Patriotism and self-interest would lead them to give the economic aid program their full approval and support.

It is absolutely necessary to have this program, not only to encourage the people but also to take the place of the Communist program which is now in operation. To be attractive and powerful, it will have to be much better than the one it will displace. From what is known of the Communist program, the new one could be made easily more advantageous and acceptable to the Chinese people.

In advancing this program, the free world is not taking a military offensive but one to liberate the people from the Communist economic machine that makes them robots and slaves. It would be exerting its eco-

nomic power for good. As to the United States, she would be simply continuing her work of assistance and cooperation for the welfare of the Chinese people that had been going on for 100 years until rudely stopped by the Communists. It is the Chinese people themselves led by the Nationalist government that will have to exert whatever effort is required to eliminate the Communist regime, so the economic aid program could be put into operation.

The cost of the program is little, considered in the light of relevant comparative statistics, as follows:

The amount of $2 billion, the annual investment on the program, is roughly one-half of 1 percent of the annual income of the American people. It is about 3 percent of the annual budget of the Federal Government.

The 3-year inconclusive war in Korea had cost the United States alone $15 billion and 142,000 human casualties. And hundreds of millions of dollars more are being spent for Korea's rehabilitation and aid to the government.

The United States Government spends approximately $50 billion a year for defense and security. This is largely the result of Russian pressure, direct and indirect. When, say, 10 years from now Communist China becomes stronger, industrially and militarily, as she is bound to be, the defense and security expenditures of the United States would surely be much greater.

If the economic program succeeds, as it should, apart from the abolishment of the menace of communism, it would bring tremendous economies to the United States Government and peace of mind to the American people and the rest of mankind. It would bring progress and prosperity to China as well as to other countries in Asia. Defeatism, neutralism and fear will disappear. It would truly lead to universal tranquility. Thus the investment in the economic aid program would prove to be the best investment conceivable from every standpoint of the world's well-being.

The author was in Formosa early this year when the last batch of the 14,000 war prisoners from the Chinese Communist army arrived from Korea. Asking hundreds of them with the aid of an interpreter what was the first reason why they, their relatives and neighbors in China did not like communism, he received the significant answer that under communism the Chinese family was being broken up to make the individual's loyalty and allegiance to the state total and overpowering in his life. They all said they would fight to the death to prevent such unspeakable outrage.

That voluntary act of those men to choose Nationalist over Communist China leads to two fundamental conclusions: (1) that the Chinese people are definitely against the Communist regime for good and sufficient reasons, and (2) that substantial segments of the Communist army could be expected to defect to the Nationalist army to which most of them formerly belonged. A welcome message from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek would be a potent call to them to return to their old fatherland cleansed of godless communism and brutalatarian Russianism.

Of course, there are other reasons that make the Chinese people thoroughly disgusted with the Communist regime. For instance, on mere suspicion of disloyalty or lack of enthusiasm for the regime, after a mock trial and defying all human sensibilities, millions of people have been worked to death, maltreated, humiliated, hounded, imprisoned, or liquidated outright. No people on earth would stand that for long. The Chinese people have already had enough of that merciless terrorism.

What if Russia should go to the aid of China in the event of the Chinese people siding with the Nationalists to liquidate the Communist regime? If Russia did that, it would unite the Chinese people and reinforce their determination to do away with that regime and its Russian malodorous influence. If the Chinese people detest the Chinese Communists, they intensely hate the Russian Communists who are trying to run and ruin their country. They will assert themselves as Chinese, and they will prove invincible.

Resolutely facing the urgent and challenging realities of the present, let the free world now recognize the dynamic and decisive role that China could play today in annihilating communism in Asia first and then starting its discrediting and disintegration in the whole world.

If communism is not defeated in China soon, then woe to the free world. Marching together for power and loot, China and Russia will stalk arrogantly upon the entire face of the earth and cover it with the bones of the free peoples who resisted them and lost.

Congress' Pay and Integrity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN DIES
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence:

CONGRESS PAY AND INTEGRITY—$25,000 IS NOT TOO MUCH SALARY FOR A LAWMAKER IF HE IS TO SERVE HIS CONSTITUENCY HONORABLY

(By David Lawrence)

If the conscience of any Member of Congress hurts him about voting for that pay raise of $10,000 a year, there is an easy way out—to give back to the Treasury as much as he likes.

There's precedent for such a gift. Herbert Hoover gave back most of the presidential salary he received while in the White House. He himself never revealed that fact but his friends have told about it. Maybe there are other public servants who have done the same thing and kept it secret.

What a proper salary for Members of Congress should be is a very serious matter and goes to the heart of the question of integrity in government.

Many of those in the House of Representatives who voted against the proposed increase—which has yet to pass the Senate—did so because of a conscientious belief that the voters wouldn't approve of it. But it is important that the voters should know all the facts. For many Members who voted against the increase really deserve to have the higher salary to cover those expenses they have been trying to meet out of their own pockets. Likewise, some who voted for the increase did so out of consideration for the plight of their colleagues, though they themselves didn't need the extra money.

It all comes down to a simple proposition—the American people certainly don't want only rich men in Congress, nor do they want to see Members accepting gratuities from constituents or big campaign contributions in appreciation of service they may have rendered.

Members of the House come up for election every 2 years, so they are constantly in need of campaign money. Many of them supply it out of their own pockets rather than solicit gifts from constituents who seek special privileges. But the worst phase of the matter is the drain on the funds of a Member of Congress by residents of his district or State who feel their Congressman or Senator is something of an errand boy or personal representative in Washington.

Lots of the things done by Members of Congress for people back home are worth thousands of dollars to those who are benefited, yet there is no such thing as a "service charge" or "fee" to be paid. Indeed, it would be highly improper for any such payment to be made.

If, for example, a new post office building or a defense installation or some other Federal project involving huge sums of money is brought to an area as a result of the efforts of a Member of either House, there are citizens who profit by the rise in real estate values and in other ways. They cannot and should not pay for that service. Yet, in the doing of that chore for the people, various expenses are often incurred and in many instances it is the Member of Congress who foots the bill rather than become involved in some transaction which a political opponent could some day uncover and use as a smear.

It is odd, but members of national legislatures the world over have trouble about the size of their salaries. In Britain the Churchill government almost was overthrown last spring because the Labor Party insisted on a pay raise and the Conservatives opposed it. Many of them are wealthy and carry on extensive business interests. Only after some Conservatives deserted their leadership was the issue compromised. Today the pay of a member of the House of Commons is the equivalent of about $2,800 a year, with an extra allowance they may request for each day the House sits. This amounts approximately to about an extra $740 a year. Curiously enough, the House members in London have no private offices or staffs provided by the government.

In France, the pay is equivalent to about $5,000 a year and the 100 Communist deputies contribute about $3,000 apiece directly to the party fund, or approximately $300,000 a year, which is quite a sizable help in carrying on Communist propaganda.

In the State legislatures in this country members are poorly paid and it is a scandal that corporations with business before these bodies often retain as counsel for other services members who are lawyers. The labor unions do the same thing.

Many Members of Congress have outside incomes. Some earn it by getting large fees for speaking before labor unions and trade bodies of various kinds. Others still practice law before State courts. Some have large business interest, or derive big income from investments.

The raise in pay is needed in order to permit the election to Congress of citizens irrespective of their income status. A total of $25,000 a year, out of which comes $4,500 for taxes, or a net of $20,500, is not too much for a Member of either the House or the Senate to receive if he is honorably to serve his constituency.

Thirty-fourth Anniversary of the Temporary Establishment of Freedom in the Armenian Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I understand that today, Friday the 18th,

marks the 34th anniversary of the temporary establishment of freedom in the Armenian Republic, a freedom which only lasted a few months and was then overthrown by the dictatorship of the Soviet Union.

I am pleased to call the attention of the House to this anniversary in view of the often-expressed hope of the administration and the Congress that the day will soon come when all subjugated peoples now behind the Iron Curtain will again enjoy the right of self-determination and a government of their own choice. I, therefore, trust that the Armenian people will continue to keep alive the spirit of hope for the time when they, too, will once again breathe the air of freedom which they enjoyed so briefly 34 years ago.

A Memorial to the Late E. B. Aldrich, of Pendleton, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM COON
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. COON. Mr. Speaker, on April 30, 1953, I introduced a joint resolution entitled, "To Designate the Lake To Be Formed by the McNary Lock and Dam in the Columbia River, Oreg., and Wash., as Lake Umatilla"; however this bill was not acted upon. Today I am introducing a bill asking that this body of water be named Lake Aldrich as a memorial to the late E. B. Aldrich, of Pendleton, Oreg. This action is taken after a great deal of thought on my part. The Umatilla Indians have been immortalized in our State, as well they should be, and it is unnecessary to name anything more for them in order to accomplish this. The Umatilla Indians can never be forgotten in eastern Oregon.

The West is loaded with Indian names, practically every State has counties, lakes, and rivers named after the Indians but very few counties, lakes, or rivers are named after our pioneers. Those men and women who had the fortitude to make this wilderness and sagebrush country into one of the most productive areas in the world. I think it is high time that we publicly recognize these fine men and women who made the West what it is today.

The lake which I am asking be named for Mr. Aldrich came into existence largely because of his efforts. Ed Aldrich was untiring in his work for the civic welfare. He has left in the Northwest, monuments as great as the pyramids. It was he who was head of the organization that made the first survey of the Columbia River for its potential powers. It was Ed Aldrich who went to Washington and lobbied a few hundred thousand dollars for the first Army engineers' survey. As a result of that survey numerous locations were found along the river for damsites. The final result of that survey is Grand Coulee and Bonneville, and now McNary Dam. Ed was the man who turned the first spade in these gigantic enterprises.

Mr. Aldrich was a stanch, energetic, and active Democrat all of his life. I was born, have lived, and will always be a Republican. Therefore it my appear strange to some people that I would sponsor legislation to immortalize this man's name. Politics has nothing to do with it. Mr. Aldrich loved eastern Oregon just as I do, and no one man has done more for his community than he did during his lifetime. He and I may have differed often as to what we thought was good for our people, but I never doubted his sincerity, his loyalty to country, or his integrity, and I am certain that he never doubted mine. I believe that the vast majority of the people who benefit from this lake, and the project which formed it, will subscribe wholeheartedly to the sentiments which I have expressed today, and will be with me in asking Congress to make into law the bill which I am now introducing.

Government Competition With Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, Government competition with business enterprises has in the past two decades reached alarming proportions both in its volume and the variety of activities which Federal agencies have entered. This has had increasingly adverse affects on many of our industrial producers who have found themselves confronted with competition from high-cost Government plants supported with their tax dollars. I commend to the House the following editorial which appeared in the Daily Times of Marietta, Ohio, on February 16, which addresses itself to this problem:

DON'T STOP WITH COFFEE

Former GI's who believed the black brew served at Army mess halls was something distinctive, not to be found anywhere in the civilian world, were absolutely right. The United States military services have long been in the business of roasting and grinding their own coffee to supply their farflung posts and ships. Now they are going to get out of that business, as soon as they have liquidated—or liquefied—the beans on hand.

The Army has announced decision for closing coffee processing centers in Atlanta, Ga., and Seattle, Wash. The Navy is closing down similar centers in Brooklyn, N. Y., and Oakland, Calif. Officials say the decision is in line with Defense Department policy to get the military services out of competition with private enterprise and to save money.

Coffee processing, of course, is just one of many lines of business in which the military services are engaged. And such businesses under the Defense Department are just a portion of the overall Federal competition with private industry. Taxpayers are supplying funds for such Government enterprises as manufacture of rum, fertilizer, spectacles, sleeping bags. They have supplied the capital to make Uncle Sam the Nation's largest electric-power producer; largest lender; largest insurer, landlord, and tenant; largest warehouse operator, shipowner, and truck fleet operator. In short, government is big business operating in unbusinesslike manner.

Efforts are being renewed in various quarters to get Uncle Sam out of some of his diversified fields of business. Democratic Senator MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, has introduced a bill with provisions for aiding industries suffering from bureaucratic competition. Practically the same legislation has been introduced in the House by two Republicans, FRANK C. OSMERS, JR., of New Jersey, and CLARE E. HOFFMAN, of Michigan.

Senator MCCLELLAN says it is all right for the Federal Government to engage in such businesses as running the post office, operating navy yards, and producing electricity through TVA. But when Government agencies make helium, false teeth, paint, and furniture; sell insurance, operate hotels and laundries, retread tires, or hunt fur-bearing seals, it's a "matter of serious congressional concern," he says.

It is about time legislators on both sides of the aisle in both Houses of Congress showed such concern. The House passed something similar to the McClellan bill last year but it died on the Senate Calendar.

A Tribute to Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IVOR D. FENTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial entitled "A Tribute to Lithuania," published in the February 16 edition of the Evening Herald, Shenandoah, Pa.:

A TRIBUTE TO LITHUANIA

Although its status as a free republic was relatively brief, spanning the period between February 1918, and May 1940, Communist-enslaved Lithuania today nevertheless is mindful of the 37th anniversary of its independence.

There are no public demonstrations in that unfortunate country on what would otherwise be a joyous national holiday. Any such exercises would be immediately halted with force and result in additional harsh punitive measures on the suffering populace by the Red tyrants. No matter how gallant the spirit of a people may be, it is suicidal to take issue with firing squads.

Consequently, this 37th commemoration of Lithuania's Independence Day by its sons and daughters at home is necessarily highly secretive; only behind locked doors, and then in whispers, is there recognition of a sacred date.

Americans, however, along with those exiles who have found haven in countries making up the free world, and other admiring friends, are happily in a position to salute the fortitude of the millions of Lithuanians held in bondage by the Communist dictators.

It comes as solace to these unfortunates to know that their great national holiday is perpetuated elsewhere in the world. Our messages of encouragement cannot fail to buoy the spirits of the enslaved. Their hopes for future deliverance are nourished

by the knowledge that they have not been forsaken outside the grim and brutal Iron Curtain. Our prayers for an eventual restoration of their precious liberties surely provide heartening consolation.

In a historical sense, it would be difficult to match Lithuania's tribulations with any other country on earth. Despite foreign domination and oppression for a full 125 years, exclusive of that brief period of respite from 1918 to 1940, the Lithuanian spirit remains unbroken.

Over the long years of Czarist Russian rule, when relegated to an inferior status and deprived of true freedom, gallant little Lithuania managed to survive. Then, when its national status was ruthlessly wiped out by Communist Russia, Lithuania has endured horrors almost to exceed the imagination. These fearful conditions have not diminished; the deportations to Siberia go on daily and the wanton slaughter of those who resist has not lessened.

Yet in the face of this devilish Red plan to eradicate Lithuanian nationality, how remarkable it is to comprehend that the brave people have managed to secretly keep aflame that precious light of liberty.

Plainly the Lithuanian nation is indestructible; its people remember with pride a great historical past. The Reds have never eliminated the inner sense of national destiny, handed down from father to son over succeeding generations.

If Lithuania's modern ordeal teaches anything it is that the liberty of a people cannot be stamped out by the tyrant.

Hence, on his 37th anniversary of Lithuania's independence, Voice of America broadcasts penetrate the Iron Curtain, to bring messages of hope and future salvation.

Sooner or later, the Lithuanian people shall again enjoy the God-given and natural right of every country to be free, to resume the happiness once enjoyed, and to once more proudly take their rightful position among the sovereign powers of the world.

Impact of Foreign Trade on the Rochester (N. Y.) Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, in order to determine the impact of foreign trade on the Rochester, New York, area, much of which lies within my district, I have requested the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to conduct a survey which will highlight the exten of exports and imports in the area. The survey is being directed by Dr. Howard S. Piquet, senior economic analyst of the Library.

In addition to questions covering the type and volume of business in the area, the questionnaire sent out in connection with the survey was designed to determine the extent to which Rochester industries rely upon raw materials from abroad; the extent of their imports and/or exports; the degree to which their business is affected by imports; the amount of export business which results from United States foreign economic and military aid programs; the effect of a 15-percent reduction in tariffs over the next 3 years; and, finally, the anticipated effect on business in the Rochester area of the St. Lawrence seaway.

The survey has not yet been completed, but it has gone far enough to indicate certain significant factors and trends.

As of February 16, 130 firms, with a total of 74,306 workers had responded to the survey. Of that total, about one-third of the firms, employing about one-fourth of the workers, have an interest and a stake in exports. One-fifth of the firms are dependent upon imported raw materials. Seven firms, with 2,830 workers have no interest in imports, insofar as dependence on raw materials goes, or in exports, insofar as selling their products abroad is concerned, but foreign imports are making substantial inroads on their markets.

A dozen large firms in the area have mixed interests in the foreign trade program: That is, they have foreign markets, but they are also confronted by competition from imports, and thus, in some measure, there is a dichotomy in their interests.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the preponderant number of firms—although they cover only a minority of the workers—expressed no interest in either imports or exports, their businesses being wholly concerned with the domestic market.

Tenth Anniversary of the Yalta Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, inasmuch as February 11 marked the 10th anniversary of the completion of the Yalta agreements, it is rather interesting to journey back into the past and note how accurately this situation was assessed at the time by those who had intimate information of what was happening.

I have particular reference to two columns which were written by Constantine Brown, of the Washington Star, one of which appeared on January 30, 1945, under the title "This Changing World," and the other of which appeared on February 11, 1945, under the title "Japanese May Seek Peace To Avoid War With Russia."

Here then was an accurate indication of what was in the wind and what might happen, and history vindicates the opinions and conclusions expressed by Mr. Brown 10 years ago.

How strange that the whole story has not been officially verified since those who participated in the conference in some degree are still available and in a position to do so. Former Senator Byrnes, of South Carolina, could provide some interesting footnotes to history. Averill Harriman, who drew up the China agreement with Malenkov, is the Governor of New York. Mr. Charles E. Bohlen is our Ambassador to Moscow. Even Alger Hiss is alive and free from prison and would be able to talk.

The history of that period will not have been completed and properly documented until those who were a part of the Yalta undertaking oblige the American people with the whole story.

I ask unanimous consent that the articles by Mr. Brown be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 30, 1945]

THIS CHANGING WORLD

(By Constantine Brown)

A definite agreement for Russia to join the United States and Britain in the war against Japan is expected to be one of the results of the next conference of the big three. Usually well-informed military quarters here believe the Russians will move against the Japs as soon as they can open a second front without fear of weakening their position and jeopardizing the victory against Germany, and after the necessary political arrangements have been made between President Roosevelt and Premier Stalin.

According to various hints received from Japanese sources, it appears there has been suspicious activity at Vladivostok and on the Siberian-Manchurian border. The Red Army is reported strengthened in the last few months.

Earlier in the war, when the Germans were driving toward the Volga River, a large part of the forces in Siberia had been sent to fight the Germans. Since surrender at Stalingrad and the resumption of the offensive of the Red Armies, the Siberian forces were sent back to their old stations. Today, according to some reports, about 500,000 men comprise the forces.

Much lease-lend and Siberian manufactured war material has been gathered in the area. The Siberian railroads have been improved and extended. New factories have been created to serve, at the time of their erection, as an additional feeder to the supplies received from the United States and Great Britain. Many of the war plants which had been evacuated from the areas invaded by the Germans were set up in various parts of Siberia.

The population of Siberia was substantially increased by the addition of millions evacuated by force or otherwise from Poland, the Baltic States, occupied Russia, and more recently from Rumania and Bulgaria. While no statistics are available, it is generally believed that this gigantic migration has added at least 6,000,000 to the former population figures.

Siberia, once described as a wasteland, is teeming with activity. Thus, while the Russians were anxious not to provoke the Japanese at a time when they were fighting desperate defensive battles in European Russia and their huge Asiatic territory had to rely principally on supplies from Europe, they are no longer under the same handicap and can decide at will whether and when they wish to attack the Japs.

According to some observers, the whole matter will depend on the conversations of the big three. While there is no definite information, it is generally assumed that the Soviet leader will require a certain price for intervention against the Japanese. Russia is likely to require the restoration of her power in the East to the position it held before the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and possibly a little more. In diplomatic quarters which have followed Moscow's policies closely

it is believed that Premier Stalin will require that Manchuria, a border state of Siberia, be taken from Japanese tutelage and made into an independent republic with a government friendly to the U. S. S. R.

The same request is expected to be made in regard to Korea, with Port Arthur, which until 1905 was the foremost Russian military naval base in the Far East, restored to the Russian control. Representatives of the United States Government, including Ambassador Patrick Hurley, already are attempting to bring about a better understanding between the Chungking government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist government in Sinkiang Province, which is on the borders of Moscow-controlled Outer Mongolia.

Should such an attempt prove successful, a reshuffled Chungking government would become more Moscow-minded than the present government.

Under these circumstances Premier Stalin will be able to breathe easier, since he will have only "friendly governments" along the entire border of his huge empire. Manchurian and Korean problems might thus be solved to the satisfaction of the U. S. S. R. without giving offense either to the Chinese Government or to the Korean people. Manchuria and Korea would become independent entities under the unofficial protectorate of the strong neighbor in the north.

[From the Washington Star of February 11, 1945]

JAPANESE MAY SEEK PEACE TO AVOID WAR WITH RUSSIA—ONE GROUP REPORTED ASKING NEGOTIATED UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER FEARING DEFEAT OF NAZIS MAY ADD TO PACIFIC BELLIGERENTS

(By Constantine Brown)

The war is rapidly coming to an end. In Europe, the organized resistance of the German forces is likely to be terminated within the next 2 months.

A major sea battle may soon take place in the Pacific. American high officials do not question its outcome, and it may be the Japs' last major naval effort of the war.

The Tokyo Government may be forced into surrender sooner than most optimistic observers believed possible. Within a short time Japan's home islands are expected to be the daily targets of American land-based aviation.

The establishment of American naval bases in the Philippines and other places will sever the lines of communication between the Japanese homeland and the rich islands in the South Pacific which since the end of 1942 have been providing the Japanese factories with vital raw materials.

The probable intervention of Russia in the war against Japan will further tax the defensive ability of the Japanese land forces in Asia. But even without that intervention, most military observers who have returned from the Pacific and have leaned toward optimistic estimates in the past, feel that the Japanese resistance is rapidly dwindling.

HOPE TO SAVE SOMETHING

This unexpected turn is not due so much to the exhaustion of Japan's ability to continue to fight as to the desire of a large and heretofore unheard group of Japanese who want to save something out of the wreck. This group believes the American Government is understanding and that the overthrow of the clique which has developed the idea of Greater East Asia under the domination of Japan might be accepted as unconditional surrender in the United States.

According to reports which appear reliable, the Japanese believe the American people would not be opposed to the maintenance of the dynasty. The Emperor of Japan would form a government, choosing as his advisers those remaining liberals who have not been purged but have gone underground since the outbreak of the war. Such a government would agree to a withdrawal from all the ill-gained possessions in China and the South Pacific, agree to whatever military terms might be exacted by the United States, and throw Japan at the mercy of this country.

Little has been revealed about the devious approaches of some of the Japanese liberals who have suggested that America's own future defenses in the Far East will have to depend on a friendly Japan in the same way Russia's security and power in Europe depends on friendly border governments in Poland, the Balkans, and, in all likelihood, Germany. In plain English, some of the Japanese liberals who did their utmost to avoid war with America suggest that Japan become a puppet of the United States. And they argue that in self-defense America should accept this suggestion, particularly if it is clothed in humility.

ADMIT JAPAN VULNERABLE

This will be still easier if Russia, after the collapse of Japan, is successful in forming "friendly" governments in Korea, Manchuria, and northwestern Chinese provinces.

Does America want to see totalitarian government in Asia as well as Europe? Ask those who are making approaches with a view to America's accepting surrender from Hirohito on "equitable terms." They admit that Japan can be crushed forever. But they ask, How will the American people who must think in long-range political terms benefit by the total destruction of the Japanese Empire?

The Japanese, we are being told, no longer have any illusions that they can ingratiate themselves with the 480 million Chinese. Their policies in occupied China have been so stupid and ruthless, it is admitted, that the Chinese will never agree to cooperate with the present oppressors.

The Chinese will certainly accept the outstretched hand of the United States. But will America have a free hand to help China in the manner she desires if Chiang Kai-shek is compelled to knuckle down to his communistic opponents and they have a free reign throughout that vast country?

FEAR RUSSIA MOST

America does not intend to settle on the Chinese mainland with important forces. Russia will be the strongest power in Asia and will be in a position to help not only "friendly" governments but also will see that its pupils trained in Moscow remain in the saddle throughout the vast Chinese areas. Under these circumstances, there is little that America can expect in the future from China either politically or economically.

In order to offset these future problems, the spokesmen of Japan advance the suggestion that the American Government should not cast aside the proposal for a "negotiated unconditional surrender."

These suggestions are reaching Washington in a roundabout way and are interpreted to mean not only that the Japanese leaders have come to realize that the war is being lost but also that they are more afraid of the consequences of Russia's entering the war against them than to surrender to their present enemies.

WANT TERMS LIKE ITALY'S

The form of this humility would be the acceptance of all the unconditional surrender demands with the tacit understanding that they will be no harsher than those imposed on Italy. The Japs indirect efforts are concentrated particularly on the United States since already there is a fairly strong group which is advocating an early peace with Japan. The possibility that Russia soon may enter the far eastern arena with a strong force from Siberia has hastened the efforts of "negotiators." These men are not necessarily Japanese but they claim to speak for Emperor Hirohito and the few remaining political leaders who opposed the war against America because they realized it would end in a disaster for Japan.

The reported approaches started about 3 months ago when the Japanese gained the definite impression that as soon as the Germans were defeated the Russians would turn their forces to the Far East. Recent dispatches from Moscow which described the Japanese as aggressors were only the outward signs of what Premier Stalin had in mind. The Japanese became fearful of Russia's intervention when their agents in Siberia began to report a significant concentration of Russian troops, planes, and war material at strategic points north of Manchukuo. They were equally suspicious of Russia's intentions when a little publicized Free Korean government was organized in Siberia.

In a nutshell, the individuals who say they are speaking with the consent of Emperor Hirohito assert that Russia's intervention in the far eastern war will result in the establishment of a free Korea and Manchuria and the setting up of a "friendly" government dominated by the Communists in northwestern China. They point out that the free Korean and Manchurian governments will be equally dominated by individuals who have been coached recently in Moscow and will direct their activities toward a full political cooperation with the U. S. S. R. They admit that under such circumstances Japan will perish or—under the best circumstances—will become a 10th-rate power such as Thai.

STALIN DOESN'T FORGET

The old antagonism between Czarist Russia and Japan which was climaxed by the defeat of imperial Russia in 1905 has never been healed in spite of the apparent improved relations between Russia and Japan in the last few years. In spite of his apparent friendliness toward Tokyo immediately after the outbreak of the war, Stalin has never forgotten that Japan joined the anti-Communist Axis on the side of Germany and Italy of its own volition. He also remembers that after the world war Japan did her utmost to oust Russia from Asia.

In fact, the Japanese-Russian conflict which started in 1904 has never really ended. This the emissaries of Hirohito frankly admit and say that the fear of Russia becoming the dominating power in Asia, is prompting the Emperor to seek an understanding with the English-speaking nations.

But these intermediaries, whose names and nationality are only known to a very few, are willing to interpret our own position in the world today and draw the conclusion that it would be to the advantage of the United States to accept a negotiated unconditional surrender from Japan, possibly before Russia became a cobelligerent.

Most of the hatred of the American people for Japan is directed at the military leaders who staged the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor and have been guilty of unbelievable cruelties against prisoners of war. We are being told that Japan is quite prepared to hand over all these war criminals, regardless of rank or position. Japan, we are told, would not quibble on this question in any way. Japan, we are also told is willing to accept the strictest American control over her armaments and industries. She proceeds on the theory that world politics is elastic and that the time may come in the distant future when the United States might be glad to have a potentially strong Japan in the Far East.

RUSSIAN STAR RISING

The unofficial spokesmen for the Japanese liberals make the following analysis of the world situation:

Russia they say, unquestionably will be the dominating power in Europe. In the

Middle East the British prestige and power are on the wane. The Moslem world, from Afghanistan to Arabia and Egypt and possibly even as far as Morocco on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, now believe that the long pan-Islamic dream may come true, thanks to the support they expect to obtain from Russia.

In the Far East, the influence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek hangs on a thin thread. The representatives of some 60 million Chinese Communists schooled in Moscow are now attempting to impose themselves on the Chungking government, and the American officials themselves are urging Chiang to reach a compromise. The generalissimo knows as well as any one else that a compromise with the Communists, even if they have no direct ties with Russia, will mean his eventual disappearance from China's political life. Any compromise with the Moscow-trained Communists must end in their dominating the political scene. Hence the United States, which is now gently pressing the generalissimo to cooperate with the Chinese Communists, must know that sooner or later it is this group which will take over the government of China.

Postal Salary Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL CHUDOFF
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. CHUDOFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following statement submitted by me to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in support of an adequate and realistic salary increase for postal workers:

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of the committee, I greatly appreciate this opportunity of presenting my views on pending legislation to provide much-needed and well-merited increases for employees in the field service of the Post Office Department.

I had the pleasure last year of supporting increases which, while admitted small, would have given at least some measure of relief to these employees and I regret that this legislation was given a pocket veto by the President.

I hope that this committee, after consideration of the bills before you, will find it possible to report the bill H. R. 1592, by Congressman MORRISON, of Louisiana, and I hope that action will be taken promptly so that, in the event a further veto results, the Congress may have the opportunity to override such veto.

I am sure I don't have to remind the members of this committee that it has been almost 4 long years since postal employees have received a salary increase. As I recall it, the last increase granted was effective July 1, 1951, and we now lack only 4 months of the complete 4 years during which time postal employees have received no increases whatsoever, while the salaries of those in private industry have been increased twice and in some cases three times during the same period.

I am sure I don't have to remind this committee that postal employees generally have earned an increase at this time. All of us that have had the opportunity to look at the budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, must have been impressed, as I was, with the story of efficiency which is carried on page 885 of that weighty document. I note that mail volume is expected to increase another 3 percent in 1956 over the current year and this increased volume, like the increases which have preceded it, will be largely absorbed by the employees of the postal service. I don't think it is at all unreasonable that these employees expect to be paid for their increased efficiency. That is a standard operating procedure in private employment and might well be adopted by our Federal Government.

Last year in announcing the withholding of his approval of the postal and Federal employees' salary increase, the President stated in effect that his action was predicated upon the fact that no postal-rate increase was provided to pay for the salary increase and that the bill failed to contain provisions for a reclassification of postal positions. Insofar as a rate increase is concerned, I believe that the question of proper salaries for the employees of the postal service is a matter entirely independent of postal rates and that there is no justification whatever for tying these two questions together.

With respect to the need or desirability of a reclassification of postal positions, postal employees with whom I am familiar and who have an adequate knowledge of the problem have convinced me that the proposal of the Postmaster General as contained in the bill H. R. 2987 is at least as unsatisfactory as the proposal of last year and I cannot help but believe that the only way a solid reclassification of postal positions can be arrived at is to refer this matter to a joint committee composed of Members of both the House and the Senate, with representatives of the Post Office Department and the employee organizations. I am confident that such a committee would arrive at a solution which would do justice to the public, the Post Office Department, and the employees.

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I hope the committee will report the bill H. R. 1592 at an early date so that justice for postal employees may no longer be delayed.

United States Trade Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, at its convention in Boston in December 1954 the American Veterans Committee adopted a resolution favoring extension of the reciprocal-trade program and endorsing the trade-adjustment bill which I originally introduced last year and which carries the number H. R. 229 in the 84th Congress. This bill has also been introduced in this House by Congressman EBERHARTER and others. I believe the Congress should be aware of the position of the American Veterans Committee on this question; and, therefore, under unanimous consent, I include their resolution in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION ON UNITED STATES TRADE POLICY

Whereas the reciprocal-trade program of the United States is a crucial part of United States efforts of free-world leadership; and

Whereas the Congress has failed to adopt a trade policy for 2 years while the Soviet Union and Communist China have negotiated 36 trade agreements with the free world; and

Whereas the liberal trade policy as outlined in the Randall Commission report would not only permit the United States to assume trade-policy leadership but also benefit our domestic economy; and

Whereas the implementation of a liberal trade policy such as recommended in the Randall Commission report inevitably requires the United States Government to consider possible damage to a small number of affected United States industries: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the AVC supports the adoption of a reciprocal-trade policy based on the recommendation of the Randall Commission report and be it further resolved that the AVC endorses and supports positive governmental action to assist affected industries as proposed by the Kennedy-Williams bill; and be it further

Resolved, That the national AVC representative to the Committee for a National Trade Policy urge said committee to also endorse this bill as a method of accomplishing a positive trade policy.

Formosa: Risks and Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

Speaking at the 25th anniversary of the Hoboken Club, Milford, yesterday, Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN, of Clinton, hailed the Formosa policy as a long-overdue favorable change in United States foreign policy.

"There are risks involved in the course we have selected," said PHILBIN. "In fact there are risks whatever course we may follow because we are living in a very dangerous world. But the alternative of appeasement and vacillation would constitute, in my opinion, a far greater risk. If we stand by, while world communism directed from Moscow conquers one nation after another by force and insidious conspiracy, the time would ultimately come when we would be outflanked militarily, economically, and in every other way. That would be a prospect of real peril.

The present situation is grave, but we are acting from a position of strength. Our own Armed Forces are in a high state of efficiency and the military and economic resources of the free world plus our power to strike, if attacked, with overwhelming nuclear force will continue to be the great deterrent to Soviet aggression. We must continue to build this great strength for the long haul. It will best guarantee the national security and the peace.

The Congressman also touched briefly on present immigration laws which he said were working great inequities upon many American families and veterans who, despite their fine citizenship and loyal service, are prevented by law from having their relatives join them in this country. "There should be a rule of reason in these matters. These laws should be liberalized," he said.

PHILBIN congratulated the members of the Hoboken Club who, he said, had conducted themselves in the best traditions of the Nation. "Your contributions to Milford and

to the Nation in war and in peace represent the highest type of citizenship. And your devotion to the cause of your own people has heightened your allegiance to this country. I wish you many more years of useful service and happiness," he concluded.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of February 17, 1955:

H. R. 1

The House of Representatives begins 2 days of debate today on a bill that the chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee describes in these terms: "In my opinion, there is no one piece of legislation coming before the Congress this session which will contribute more to our own prosperity and at the same time to the solidarity and security of the free world." This bill is H. R. 1, which would extend for 3 years the reciprocal trade-agreements program and give the President moderate additional powers under it to make further tariff reductions.

Though it is confidently expected that the bill will pass in its present form, the opposition to it is considerable; and it is not confined to the Republicans. Contrary to tradition, there is such a thing as protectionism among Democrats, too. Where it exists it is frequently based on strictly local interests.

There is nothing disgraceful in this, but it ought to be recognized for what it is. The potters, the lacemakers, the candlemakers and many others may have a point when they say that they have been or will be injured by a liberal national trade policy. As a matter of fact, we would agree that the Government ought to give temporary help in cases where an industry that can no longer compete with foreign products is trying to switch to more profitable lines of manufacture.

But surely such situations must not interfere with the broad principles of competitive international trade which are necessary to our continued prosperity and our position of political leadership of the free world. We are a tremendous exporting as well as an importing nation, and we cannot continue to be one without being the other—unless, of course, we go on subsidizing the rest of the world forever, which we clearly don't intend to do. Furthermore, American trade policy needs a guaranteed stability that it has not had for some years and that the present bill would give it. Finally, if we do not insure a relatively liberal approach to trade, we are inviting—in fact we are practically forcing—our present friends of the free world to turn to the countries behind the Iron Curtain in search of commercial possibilities.

The pending bill is anything but an extreme or radical method of dealing with these matters. It is less courageous and far-reaching than a truly sound trade policy requires; but it does set this country's face firmly again in the direction charted by Cordell Hull 21 years ago. We hope it is passed by a strong bipartisan majority.

Let Us Protect American Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, it is imperative that this Congress take action to protect our domestic industries. I recently appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee and urged that H. R. 1 be properly amended to provide this needed protection. On Tuesday of this week, I appeared before the House Rules Committee and opposed the granting of a closed rule on this legislation, because a closed rule would not permit those of us who are Representatives from industrial areas to amend the bill so as to afford relief to the mining industry, the chemical industry, the glass industry, and others. Yesterday on the floor of this House, I again spoke in opposition to a closed rule. Our forces were out-numbered by a very narrow margin, and we lost the battle. I, therefore, hope that this House will take action today to retrieve that which we lost yesterday, and I urge the membership to support a motion to recommit the bill with instructions to the committee to bring the bill back out under amendments which will provide the kind of protection our industries need and deserve.

My district is the largest coal-producing district in America. The largest chemical plants in the Western Hemisphere are located in my district, as is one of the largest window-glass plants in the world. These industries are basic to the defense of this Nation, and they have suffered under the present law, largely because the escape clause is treated as a joke and trade agreements are used as pawns in the field of international diplomacy.

A case in point is the plight of the chemical industry, one of tremendous importance in both peace and war. It faces serious problems from foreign competition and many of its leaders have protested any reckless across-the-boards cut in tariff rates on chemical products. Because it is a very large industry which provides substantial payrolls and an important outlet for investment, its spokesmen deserve a hearing. I do not ask you to reject H. R. 1 in its entirety, but I do suggest that the chemical industry is typical of those groups in the country that are worried about foreign competition. An examination of their problems in specific form may well suggest that very specific answers to tariff problems are required, too. Generalizations are not enough basis to form a national policy. By this I mean that across-the-board cuts in tariffs represent a superficial approach. It would be more scientific and show better deliberation to study the needs of individual products and industries, adjusting each rate to specific requirements. This is not too much to ask in so important a matter.

The spokesmen of the chemical industry have come before the hearings of the Randall Commission and have released statements to the press which suggest in unmistakable form the problems they face as a result of foreign competition. They suggest that if the present uncertainty over possible reductions in tariffs continues, then the expansion of the industry at home will be threatened, and new investment important to the growth of the industry will be lost. Because the chemical industry has been growing at something like four times the national average of all industries, its continued progress is of concern. If its high growth rate is continued without interruption, some hundred thousand new jobs in this industry will be created during the next 10 years. If this kind of progress is threatened by foreign competition made possible by tariff cuts, it is important that these facts be given the same careful consideration as the proposals to create export trade and economic solvency abroad through our tariff reductions. Any one-sided review of all the aspects of trade policy is a guarantee that all of these problems will have to be reconsidered by every succeeding Congress. For fatal weaknesses written into our laws make themselves felt inexorably. Let the decision of this Congress be so carefully laid as to avoid at least the obvious flaws of past acts in foreign trade policy.

Can we afford to be without a strong chemical industry? That question answers itself in the negative, for a great country such as ours with its variety of needs for an advanced technological society and its grave responsibility for the defense of the free world must have an assured supply of a wide range of chemical products. Many of these are products whose very names seem strange to the layman, yet any engineer, chemist, or specialized consumer could explain to us how these seemingly obscure substances, processed and combined, give us dyes, drugs, plastics, fuels, and the advanced materials of military armaments, without which our high standard of living and military survival would be impossible.

It may seem a long way back in history to some of us, and yet it was not many years ago that the First World War ravaged Europe. One of its early effects, long before we became involved in the fighting, was to cut us off from a variety of essential supplies previously turned out by German industry. It was at great effort that we painfully constructed a chemical industry of our own and learned enough secrets of research to make it possible to fulfill our needs. It is indicative of the progressive nature of the chemical industry of America today that it spends $200 million a year on research. This is obviously not the hallmark of a moribund segment of the economy. If it can continue to enrich American life with the marvels of the laboratories as it has in the past, its contribution will be one to recognize with pride.

Let us pause to consider the plight of the glass industry, and I would like to

direct your attention to the adverse effect upon one of the glass plants in West Virginia. The rapid increase in imports of European window glass made under low-wage conditions resulted in shutting down of a production furnace and an experimental furnace last year at the Charleston plant of Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co., and 240 employees lost their jobs as a consequence. This condition followed the closing down of 2 tanks at the end of 1953, and brought the total layoff to 500 seniority employees directly due to the increased glutting of the window-glass market by foreign glass.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-three imports of window glass totaled 100 million square feet of glass, as contrasted with imports of less than 1 million square feet in 1948. In other words, 1953 imports of window glass were equal to 1,020,000 man-hours of work in modern window-glass factories.

The average wages of the American window-glass industry run about $2.40 an hour. European manufacturers pay from 37 cents to 45 cents an hour for the same type of work, and I am told that almost identical machines are used in European and American plants. Low-cost water transportation enables cheap European window glass to reach American cities on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts with lower freight rates than those prevailing from Charleston, W. Va., to markets in this country. I am told that the freight weight from Charleston, W. Va., to Miami, Fla., is three times that from Antwerp, Belgium, to Miami. These figures should be enough to convince anyone that a further lowering of tariffs will be disastrous to our own industries, and that they cannot meet such competition without some reasonable protection.

Let me, in conclusion, make my position clear. We are engaged in an important review of our international trade policy. As previously on the floor of this House, I have made a strong plea for adequate protection of the coal and textile industries, I here state that the chemical industry is yet another of critical importance to the livelihood of the American worker and to the prosperity of the Nation. These important industries must not be destroyed nor can we afford to see them seriously injured. It is up to the Congress to prevent such a catastrophe.

I urge the Members of this House to support the motion to recommit. If we are successful in our efforts to recommit H. R. 1, it will be brought back with safeguards included, after which we can all conscientiously support the bill.

This, Kiwanians Believe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me heretofore so to do, I have the privilege of presenting herewith the text of the wording of a beautifully colored and framed plaque containing said text which was presented to me as a former member of the Kiwanis Club and to each and every other Member of Congress who either is now an active Kiwanian, or is a "has been" Kiwanian. It was on the occasion of the biannual international Kiwanis banquet honoring Kiwanians at the Statler Hotel here in the Nation's Capital on February 17. On each such occasion there is always, in addition, the international president of this international service organization of almost 250,000 members and 4,000 units. Also in attendance is always the international board of trustees thereof.

We were last night informed that 1 out of every 5 Members of this great legislative body are in this Kiwanis family.

THIS, KIWANIANS BELIEVE

Kiwanis believes in the free man.

The free man is a free citizen. He is free to think, to learn, to speak, to worship, to meet with other free men, to elect his representatives, and to limit their power. He may be accused and tried only by the due and historic process of the law.

The free man is responsible. As he prizes his own freedoms, he jealously guards them for his fellow citizens. He studies the issues of his day and his community. He decides them on merit. He utters and votes these decisions. He is loyal to his country. He is loyal to the ideal of freedom for men in all countries.

The free man is a gentleman. He knows that democratic government operates by resolving controversies within the limits of law and mutual respect. He debates issues and not personalities. He respects the rights, customs, beliefs, and institutions of other men—requiring only the same of them.

The free man is a spiritual man. He ascribes all wisdom to the Creator and not to men. He believes he can earn his spiritual way only by service to others. He seeks blessings for all, and not credits for himself.

He is the man we Kiwanians pledge ourselves to try to be.

He is the man, who, one day, with God's help, will set our world firmly upon its spiritual axis.

He is the free man.

Address by Arthur B. Homer, President of Bethlehem Steel, Before Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of President Arthur B. Homer, of Bethlehem Steel, before the annual meeting of the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce.

The text of his address follows:

Mr. Ecker, distinguished guests and members of the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce, I am very happy to have the honor of speaking to you tonight. My pleasure comes not only because I am participating in a meeting of the members of such a worthwhile and successful organization as the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce, but also because I feel right at home when I see so many of my good friends and neighbors.

The good friends and neighbors are not only those here who live in Bethlehem. This occasion is designed to record and salute the achievements of the whole Lehigh Valley and I am fortunate in that I can claim acquaintanceship with a number of those who make the Valley what it is in the industrial life of our Nation. It is certainly not just steel. What the area has to offer covers textiles, electronics, cement, good farming, metals fabrication, superior retail distribution and a host of other activities. In short, ours is an area which more than pulls its own weight and I am proud to participate in its contribution and growth.

"BESSIE STEEL"

As I stand here, I am also not unmindful of the fact that the city of Bethlehem has played an important role in my life. Important because, among other things, my family history will record that on or about the year 1920 I made two discoveries here in Bethlehem which had a great influence on my life and career.

First, I discovered a Bethlehem girl who became my wife. Secondly, I discovered the great Bethlehem Steel Co. Ever since, I have been trying to solve the intricacies of both, but I can assure you that 35 years of devotion have brought no regrets, even though my wife may sometimes wonder whether I married her or the other girl—"Bessie Steel."

The demands of the latter have moved me about the country to a considerable extent, but now I am back again as a member of your community and I like it.

ABSENT 20 YEARS

As I did not live in Bethlehem for a period of about 20 years, the changes that have taken place in the city during my absence and since my return in 1945 are particularly impressive to me. The great strides that have been taken in matters such as slum clearance, water supply, and street improvement; developments such as the expansion of hospital facilities, the construction of a modern airport, and the new vocational high school speak very well indeed for the forward-looking spirit of the community as a whole and of its civic and political leaders.

I am aware of the outstanding work your organization has done in connection with such projects as the vocational school, rezoning, the development of a modern building code, and redevelopment in general. You are to be congratulated and so is the city administration.

Many of the steps which have been taken to make this a better area in which to live and work and raise children have been assisted by our company through direct contributions of money, time and services of personnel. This is as it should be. It is not only fitting but also imperative that our company with its general offices located in this community should play its part in local affairs and in maintaining the welfare and happiness of its citizens, so many of whom are employed in the steel plant and offices.

HOME OFFICE

We are fully aware of the effects on the community of both our size as an enterprise and of fluctuations in our business. Therefore it is my desire tonight to tell you a few things about how we function from general headquarters in this city and also to give you a brief story of what our company has accomplished in the last decade and hopes to accomplish in the near future.

I feel strongly that an understanding of some of these matters on the part of the community will bring us closer together in our mutual efforts to improve and grow.

We have all heard of communities which have been at bitter sword points with a great industrial concern in their midst, and there are communities which have been completely

dominated and controlled by their largest industry for its selfish interest. Either of these situations represents extremes which are not good for the success of the community or the industry involved.

We believe in the friendly and cooperative recognition of the problems, responsibilities and objectives of both the civic and the industrial organizations in a community. We believe in the maintenance of mutual respect between the company, its employees and the labor organizations representing any of them.

In brief, we believe that good relationship all around will accomplish more for the good of the whole than can be achieved by any other method. I assure you it is our policy to cooperate on a constructive basis with the communities in which we operate. That is simply good business and good citizenship combined.

While I do not wish to overemphasize the contributions of our company to the community, I would like to point out that when we make available upward of $3 million to hospitals in the Bethlehem-Allentown-Easton area over the past 10 years; or share to the extent of $800,000 toward a vocational school; or contribute $150,000 to Bethlehem's recreational program we do so to the mutual advantage of company and community.

AMONG BIG 10

Furthermore, our employees are encouraged to participate as fully as they can in the life of the community as citizens, irrespective of their status with the company.

Now, as all of you know, Bethlehem Steel is ranked among the 10 largest industrial corporations in the United States, whether you figure in terms of total assets, dollar value of annual sales, or total employment. We are a national organization. Most other large industrial corporations have their general offices in major metropolitan centers. We have chosen to do things differently, and I think this has important implications for both the company and this community.

Today you will find that the responsible executives in charge of every aspect of this company's business live and work here in Bethlehem. The only exception to this is our shipbuilding division which heads up in New York.

CENTRAL CONTROL

I would point out that centralized control of a vast enterprise, such as we have here in Bethlehem, has its very distinct advantages. Our top officials have no other conflicting business interests. Every problem that arises for top-policy determination can be considered immediately by men who are friends and neighbors as well as fellow managers, and actually the noonday luncheon at the office becomes, in effect, a board meeting. Here in the city of Bethlehem we do not have that impersonality that is inescapable in a metropolis. Here the team lives, works, and plays together.

I mention this to emphasize the fact that here in Bethlehem we have more than just a large steel-making and related product operation. Bethelehem is also the brain and nerve center of our whole national and international enterprise. This is what makes necessary our elaborate physical setup in the home office building, which, incidentally, houses over 4,200 employees in working space which is larger than the United Nations building in New York.

A few statistics showing the magnitude of some of the various services at this office might interest you. For instance, our telephone system handles about 5,000 outside calls and the internal system completes about 24,000 dial calls daily. An average of 10,000 messages a day go over our telegraph lines, and our central mail division handles each working day an average of 98,000 pieces of mail.

COORDINATION

Thanks to the facilities which enable us to maintain communications of this scale, we can tie together and efficiently coordinate from one central location.

Today, I believe that people generally have a wider appreciation of the function of large, integrated corporations in our society. There appears to be a better understanding of the fact that big business increases the opportunities for new enterprises and greater employment. Also, it is increasingly recognized that large companies may provide diversified opportunities for individual employees to develop their capabilities.

We are all aware that big business and little business are mutually dependent. You cannot strengthen small business by weakening big business, or vice versa. Artificial restrictions on growth—as contrasted with necessary safeguards against monopoly—carry with them the threat of a stagnating economy rather than the dynamic, expanding economy which all of us want to see maintained in this country.

POLICY FORESIGHT

Companies grow because they successfully perform the job of producing and distributing products which the public wants. Public demand makes them successful when efficient operators can turn out reliable products of superior quality at lower prices. When this is being done, growth is inevitable, given courage and foresight at the policy level.

Because people in general today have a keener appreciation of the important part that large industrial enterprises play in our economy, it has become increasingly important that management live up to its responsibility for keeping the public informed on its policies and accomplishments.

Accordingly, I feel that all of you here and the people of Bethlehem would be interested in my telling you the extent and significance of some of the programs which the Bethlehem Steel Co. has planned and carried out since the end of the war. In addition, I'd like to give you some thoughts which we have for the future which may influence our planning in the years ahead.

LIGHT PRODUCTS GAIN

When I first came to Bethlehem we were primarily producers of structural steel, heavy forgings and castings, armor plate, and miscellaneous ordnance items. As we expanded in the twenties, through the acquisition of our Lackawanna and Johnstown plants and through the expansion of our Sparrows Point plant, our production began to become more and more diversified. This process of growth and change has been greatly accelerated following World War II.

During the 25-year period from 1930 to 1954, we have made many additions to our facilities, especially those for the production of the so-called light steel products such as sheets and strip, tin-mill products, bars, pipe, wire rods, and wire products. In 1930, of the steel products shipped by Bethlehem Steel, only one-third were light products, while two-thirds were in heavy products. Today, our situation in this respect has been practically reversed in that our light products represent two-thirds of our shipments, and our heavy products represent one-third. We have accomplished a change which greatly diversified our outlet for steel. This is especially important because light products constitute a large proportion of the steel requirements of such industries as automotive, container, and other consumable goods manufacturers.

LONG RANGE

While this change represents a significant accomplishment which occurred gradually over a considerable period of time, we faced certain specific problems at the close of World War II. We had then a highly integrated operation—the second largest steel company and the largest shipbuilding company in the world. But after working under forced draft during the war years, we were faced with problems of depletion and obsolescence. Turning out steel and ships was our big job during World War II and we did this with all we had, day and night, 7 days a week. Time and material were at a premium or controlled by the Government and even ordinary replacements of wornout facilities were difficult, while new facilities were out of the question.

You will recall the atmosphere of official and expert pessimism which prevailed in the immediate postwar period. Government economists, and others as well, regarded as inevitable the postwar slump. Our problem was—do we sit on our hands, hoarding our cash and fearing a crash? Or do we forge ahead, confident in the country's economic future and determined not to lag behind? These were the conditions and problems we faced in 1945, when I joined my associates in Bethlehem Steel as president under the guidance of our great chairman and chief executive officer, Mr. E. G. Grace.

Our decision, as you know, was to launch a two-phase campaign aimed at looking forward, not backward over our shoulders at past achievements. During the war especially, many advances were made in the technology of steelmaking which rendered obsolete some of our facilities and practices. Accordingly, we set out first to modernize our steel plants, our iron and coal mines, and our transportation services, so that we would be in a strong position for a return to highly competitive conditions in the industry. Secondly, we began to expand on a fully integrated basis—from raw materials to end products—our basic steelmaking and finishing capacities in line with our projections of the part Bethlehem should take in supplying the future national requirements for steel.

As to expansion, our view of the matter was that with the population growing, with the sum total of goods and services known as gross national product following its historical pattern of increase and with per capita consumption of steel rising every year, the long-term demand for steel simply had to go up. We couldn't afford to think in terms of the short-range possibilities of a postwar slump. And we couldn't afford to think in other than very large terms if we were to make up for time unavoidably lost during World War II.

BILLION PROGRAM

Accordingly, since December 1945 we have spent or authorized for expenditure more than $1 billion in a carefully conceived program of expansion and modernization of which approximately 75 percent is for additions and improvements to steelmaking, fabricating, and other miscellaneous facilities, and the balance for mining, transportation, and shipbuilding facilities or properties. We have increased our annual ingot capacity almost 50 percent to a total of 19,100,000 tons as of the first of this year with a corresponding percentage increase taking place in our capacity to turn out rolled steel and other finished products. All of this has been financed out of earnings to date and it is not contemplated that outside financing will be required to complete the program.

Our answer to the expansion problem has been to add new and improved steelmaking and finishing facilities at our existing plants, where it can be done far more economically than by the creation of new plants. And we have good reason to believe that this approach is paying off handsomely, as evidenced by improved efficiency and earning power.

I should imagine that a fair number of you are Bethlehem stockholders. As such, you may have been framing some questions in your minds. You might be saying to yourselves, "To be sure, $1 billion is a lot of money, and 19,100,000 net tons of ingot capacity is a lot of steel. But what does this mean in terms of the value of my investment?"

STOCK INVESTMENT

The question is pertinent and some of the answers I can give you should be quite reassuring. For instance, if you had bought one share of Bethlehem common stock at the end of 1945 for the then existing price of $96, you would have received 3 shares for that 1 share in 1947, and today would be enjoying a market value of about $115 per share on each of those 3 shares. In other words, your investment of $96 would have grown to a market value of about $345, and during that period of 9 years the dividends paid would have totalled $91.95. You can draw your own conclusions as to whether or not the stockholders have benefited.

To be sure, these figures are expressed in terms of dollars and we have to make allowance for inflation. But discounting this factor there is a healthy gain in terms of increased efficiency and earning capacity. And for further proof of the pudding, there is the record of the year just past which has considerable significance because of reduced operations.

When demand for steel was high, we never were quite sure what the results would be when operations fell off. The period of reduced operations in 1954, from which we are now emerging, offered us an opportunity to get a good look at what Bethlehem Steel got for the money expended for modernization and expansion. The increased operating efficiency resulting from our outlays went a long way toward maintaining good costs in spite of reduced operating rates and helped materially toward showing a return in net income which was very nearly as good as that of the full operation year of 1953. This simply would not have been the case if we had not gone ahead with our postwar expenditures.

BUILD FOR FUTURE

Our stockholders, our customers, our employees, and the communities where we operate are the ultimate beneficiaries of this postwar program, which, though largely completed, is by no means at an end.

With specific reference to the Bethlehem plant, we are completing an extensive modernization program. We have rebuilt the blast furnace department and enlarged steel-ingot capacity. The 50-percent increase in structural mill capacity now being built will add 70,000 tons monthly to what was already by far the largest structural mill in the East, giving us a monthly total of 210,000 tons capacity.

Although we have had some layoffs locally because of the character of our operations here, our payroll for this area is running at the anual rate of some $110 million. The development of the new Grace mine near Reading offers assurance, if any be needed, that, with this nearby ore supply, steelmaking on the banks of the Lehigh has a secure future.

CONFIDENCE KEYNOTE

Now, I have been talking almost exclusively about Bethlehem Steel. Before concluding, however, I would like to generalize briefly about the State of the economy as I see it. I have stressed the fact that our company's postwar expansion was predicated on our confidence in national growth in a dynamic economy. The results would indicate that the reasons for expansion were sound. I believe that fundamental factors can, within reason, be projected into the future for as far as it is practicable to go.

Let me say that we at Bethlehem Steel place little emphasis on short-term business forecasts. We prefer to be set to roll with the punch, or to land a good, hard one of our own. That is, we believe in staying financially strong as a protection against hard times and we believe in maintaining sufficient production capacity to take care of any reasonable commercial demand, plus a margin of safety for national security purposes.

Our planning is long range and our basic premises are three, namely, that—

1. This Nation of ours will continue to grow.

2. The steel industry must continue to keep pace with the growth of the Nation, because steel is a basic commodity with a growing per capita use.

3. Bethlehem Steel must be progressive in planning and courageous in decision, not only to maintain but to improve its position in the industry.

FACTS AND TRENDS

Now let us look at a few facts and trends which may guide us. For instance, how much growth in the economy and in the steel industry can we expect? Regarding the economy as a whole, our economists believe that we might expect a gross national product—that is, the sum of all the goods and services produced in the Nation—at perhaps $425 billion annually for the 5-year period of 1958 to 1962 and an annual average gross national product at $575 billion for the period 1968–72, say, 15 years from now.

Last year, as you know, the gross national product approximated $356 billion, and most observers look for something in the neighborhood of $365 billion this year. This would indicate a growth in gross national product of 60 percent in the next 15 years. The growth in the demand for steel in the past years has closely paralleled the growth in GNP.

If the projections for the economy as a whole are realized, then steel production should average around 118 million tons for the 1958–62 period and approximately 145 million tons in 15 years from now, as against an average figure of 92.4 million tons in the period 1948–52.

These projections have just recently been underscored by the President's Council of Economic Advisers. I am glad to find our economists in accord with those who have the job of peering into the crystal ball for President Eisenhower. What impressed me most about the President's message, however, was the underlying philosophy expressed, not just the predictions as to the Nation's economic potential.

I believe the President and his advisers hit upon something basic in compiling the economic message. They set forth an outline of the Government's proper role in our economic affairs which strikes me as being eminently sensible. In fact, the points made in that message are so fundamental that I would like to reiterate them before this audience. I am sure you are in accord with the philosophy they reflect.

The first of the basic propositions is that competitive markets, rather than governmental directives, are, as a rule, the most efficient instruments for organizing production and consumption. This is one of those obvious truths which unfortunately needs to be reemphasized time and time again. There just is no substitute for the free play of market factors in organizing production and distribution of goods—if we want to remain free as individuals.

EISENHOWER'S IDEAS

Secondly, the President noted that a free economy has great capacity to generate jobs and incomes if a feeling of confidence in the economic future is widely shared by investors, workers, businessmen, farmers, and consumers. This may seem like a truism also, but we need to remind ourselves that our system is built upon faith in what free men can do. Ours is a confident Nation, which believes in rewarding achievement, and that is one of the secrets of its greatness.

Thirdly, as the message points out, the Federal Government creates an atmosphere favorable to economic activity when it encourages private initiative, curbs monopolistic tendencies, whether of business or labor, avoids competing with business and carries out as much of its own work as is practicable through private enterprise. I doubt if anyone in this room would disagree with these expressions.

President Eisenhower goes on to state that the Federal Government generates confidence when it restrains tendencies toward recession or inflation and does this by relying largely on indirect means of influencing private behavior rather than by direct controls over people, industries, and markets. This implies wise and courageous management of the national debt and monetary and credit policy in general. On the record to date we have reason to be thankful that Federal Reserve and Treasury officials give every evidence of being on top of the problem.

Taken together, as an expression of a philosophy of Government's proper role in the Nation's economic life, these principles can, as the President says, "continue the framework of an economic system that provides both greater material abundance and a better quality of living."

As I see it, the elements for steady economic growth are all at hand. We have a people enjoying the highest standard of living ever achieved in history. We have a system of business enterprise which offers the maximum rewards for successfully competing for the market place's favor. We have the skills and the wills.

Barring catastrophe of some sort, or major errors in national policy, the United States economy should continue to grow at an accelerating pace. We have the people, the tools, the desires and the raw materials. If we continue to keep the climate free so that the dynamic possibilities of our system can be realized, there is no limit to possible achievement. Let us hope that all of us will have the perception and judgment to use our blessings wisely.

With these remarks on the national picture, I would like to conclude by leaving with you a word of appreciation.

I have noticed that in its literature the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce frequently refers to this general area as the Great Lehigh Valley. All of you will agree with me, I am sure, that it is a great place in which we live. We at Bethlehem Steel are proud of the part we have had in making it an outstanding industrial area, outranked in Pennsylvania only by Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

LEHIGH VALLEY GREAT

Here in the Lehigh Valley are operations of many nationally prominent industries. Here is the center of the cement industry for the United States. Here, too, is the greatest concentration of the textile and garment trades outside of New York City. Here are manufactured transportation vehicles and component parts that are internationally known. Here is turned out fine woodwork. Food products from this area are famous for their quality. Keeping pace with the great technological advances of this age are vigorous and ever-growing chemical, electronics, and electrical industries. These are but a few of the hundreds of industrial establishments that stamp the Lehigh Valley as a most diversified manufacturing area, offering job opportunities in thousands of different occupations. In addition we en-

joy the advantages of the institutions which make the valley a great educational center.

Because Bethlehem Steel is the biggest single industry in the valley, people are sometimes not aware of how dependent we are upon you, our neighbors and friends. The great majority of you business people, whether large or small, are our customers or suppliers, either directly or indirectly. To you we owe much and if we work together and do business together, we both may look forward to even greater prosperity and economic growth.

That is why we at Bethlehem Steel are proud to join in this salute to our industrial neighbors, not only in Bethlehem, but throughout the entire Lehigh Valley which, to borrow from the slogan of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, "Truly has everything."

Unanimity on Delaware

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the unanimity of view of the Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New York delegations with regard to the proposed legislation by Congressman FRANK THOMPSON to make the Delaware River an avenue of seaborne commerce is most rewarding. Commendation is certainly due Congressman THOMPSON in his spearheading of this far-sighted legislative effort, and I would like to call the attention of the Congress to the following editorial which appeared in the Trentonian, February 9, 1955:

UNANIMITY ON DELAWARE

Last week in Washington, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware launched an all-out legislative battle to obtain the money to deepen the Delaware. Reporting on the moves made, Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, Jr., said in his column in the Trentonian Monday morning that the "unanimity among the Representatives of three States is almost unprecedented."

This is cheering news indeed for those who are interested in the Delaware as an avenue of seaborne commerce, as well as for those who believe that the city of Trenton can become the port of Trenton.

THOMPSON is spearheading the legislative machinery. He has introduced a bill calling for an immediate appropriation of $25 million to get the project started. With Representative CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, he forms a bipartisan committee to represent the New Jersey congressional delegation in coordinating action with Pennsylvania's delegation.

The unanimity of which THOMPSON speaks should put tremendous weight behind the tristate drive for a deeper Delaware. And it should be noted that both Governor Meyner, of New Jersey, and Governor Leader, of Pennsylvania, are playing leading roles. They were in Washington last Thursday and helped no little in forming the coalition. Although Governor Boggs, of Delaware, was not present, he sent assurance of his support and that of Delaware's congressional delegation.

Certainly we cannot say that our elected representatives are not doing their utmost to obtain an appropriation of sufficient funds to get the project underway. But they have to overcome a rather formidable hurdle, President Eisenhower's recommendation that a portion of the overall cost be borne by "private interests."

Lurking in the background is some administrative thinking along the lines of making the Delaware a "toll" waterway. Neither device seems to possess merit.

The fact of the matter is that the Delaware, as a channel to the sea, would pay for itself many times over in years to come.

But more important is that it would open up the great Delaware Valley as a new industrial empire.

What that could mean to Trenton can be gleaned from the story of what has happened and what is still happening in Houston, Tex., as told in the Trentonian yesterday by Edmund Goodrich, editor and publisher. Houston, 50 miles from the sea, became a great port because a bayou was converted into a ship channel. And the Federal Government paid the entire bill.

As we stated above, our elected officials are carrying the ball. But they can't get it over the goal line unless they are assured of the united support of their constituents. Those of us who have the future welfare of Trenton and the Delaware Valley at heart, should lose no time in advising our members of Congress that we are backing their play.

The overall expenditure of 91 million dollars seems like a staggering sum. It really isn't. It's a good, sound investment in the future of this great segment of our country. The preliminary appropriation of 25 million should be voted by Congress without delay.

Need for Postal Service Pay Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the opportunity to testify on behalf of the proposed increase in postal service pay. Such an increase is overdue not only in justice to the postal employees but also for the sake of long-range economy in the handling of mail.

Postal employees need a salary increase to give them as much real income as they received prior to World War II. Since 1939 such factors as the increased cost of living, higher income taxes, and larger deductions for retirement have combined to reduce the purchasing power of many classes of postal workers. In spite of a series of pay increases, the most recent of which took effect in July 1951, the average postal worker's take-home pay today buys less than it did 15 years ago. This is especially true for supervisors and other employees in the higher-income brackets.

In the past decade and a half the pay of the largest groups of postal workers has tended to increase less rapidly than the pay of production workers in private industry. A year ago the Postmaster General submitted to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service information indicating that between 1939 and 1953 the average weekly earnings of all full- and part-time unskilled and skilled workers in manufacturing industries—up to and including lead foremen—rose at a considerably faster rate than the earnings of regular clerks and letter carriers. In addition, it is generally agreed that the salaries of executive-level employees in the postal service have lagged behind the salaries of top-management staffs in private enterprise.

To the extent that differences between postal salaries and pay in private industry result from the fact that Federal Government employees cannot apply certain economic pressures—for example, strikes—available to workers in private industry, Congress has a special obligation to view generously the postal workers' needs.

Adequate postal service pay contributes to long-range economy in the handling of mail through attracting better employees, reducing turnover, and improving the efficiency of people on the job. Little question exists as to the value of increased pay in the recruitment and retention of qualified staff. Although salary constitute only one of several factors affecting whether or not a person takes a job, the Nation cannot reasonably expect good workers to accept or remain in positions in the Post Office if they can earn more money or have more opportunity for advancement in similar employment outside the Government. When postal salaries fall too low, the Post Office must employ less efficient workers and devote excessive time and energy to the training of replacements.

While we have yet to develop methods for measuring with precision the effects of pay levels on the efficiency of workers who remain on the job, commonsense suggests that services to the public will suffer when postal workers must secure additional part-time employment, put their wives to work, or borrow excessively to meet their normal living expenses. It is worth noting that of 800,000 postal and civil service employees surveyed by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor last year, about half had outside jobs; and about 40 percent of those who were married had wives who worked.

Last year Congress approved an adjustment in the salaries of postal employees, but the form of the adjustment failed to satisfy the President of the United States. This year no barrier must stand in the way of the needed increase in pay.

Value of Irrigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I am calling to your attention the value of irrigation to the future growth of our country.

Last a year a drought much worse than that which caused the Dust Bowl in the thirties parched the lands of Colorado and surrounding areas. Soil moisture content had shrunk to approximately 15 percent of normal; precipitation aver-

aged about 50 percent of normal; natural runoff from the usually abundant snowpack in the mountains dwindled to 40 percent of normal, and the streams fed thereby became trickles. Crop failures and financial ruin seemed inevitable, and prayers for rainfall went unanswered.

Northern Colorado is normally a rich, fertile, and productive agriculture basin. Its economy and well-being depend almost entirely upon agricultural crops, which, in turn, depend upon the water supply from natural precipitation and from irrigation. To those farmers in this area who were not equipped to irrigate their croplands, this drought meant the loss of an entire year's work, the hardship and privation of at least a year with no income, the necessity of depleting their investment and retirement savings, and in some cases, complete failure. To those farmers in the 615,000 acre area served by the Colorado-Big Thompson project, the drought of 1954 was a challenge that could be met and beaten. Because this project water was available, nearly normal farm production was attained by these users. Had the project water not been available, less than one-half a crop would have been harvested; and translated into dollars and cents, the value of this project water was $22 million.

Weather Bureau officials predict the record-breaking drought will continue throughout 1955, but the people within the area served by the Colorado-Big Thompson project know they will have over 300,000 acre-feet of water, brought from the other side of the Rocky Mountains, available to meet their needs.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE

The rich agricultural lands served by the Colorado-Big Thompson project, an area half as large as the State of Delaware, slope eastward from the foothills of the Rockies in the northeastern part of Colorado. Intensive irrigation development in this area during the half-century between 1860 and 1910 brought the inevitable over-appropriation of the available natural stream-flow, and growth of these facilities reached a stalemate. The Colorado-Big Thompson project was initiated in 1938 to overcome the problem.

This project is one of the most complex and spectacular the Bureau of Reclamation has ever undertaken. For many years, the 14,000-foot granite barrier of the Continental Divide presented an insurmountable obstacle to the dream of tapping the water-wealthy headwaters region of the Colorado River, which lay only a few miles to the westward. American ingenuity and energy went to work. The Divide was pierced by a tunnel 13.1 miles long, more than 9 feet in diameter, and sloping gradually from west to east in order to carry the diverted water by gravity flow from West Slope to East Slope.

After emerging from the east portal of the tunnel, the diverted waters drop nearly 3,000 feet down the mountain slopes, spinning the turbines of hydroelectric plants on their way into 2 major storage reservoirs to be held until needed on the farmlands below, and sending out 179,000 kilowatts of critically needed electric power to large areas in Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Kansas.

Although the project was not yet completed in 1954, the major portion of construction had been finished when the irrigation season began. The system was ready to serve some 400,000 of the 615,000 acres which ultimately will be served when construction is completed in 1956. Total cost of the finished project will be $159.8 million.

Unlike flood-control projects of the Corps of Engineers and public works projects of other departments of the Government, irrigation and reclamation projects pay back the major share of their costs with revenues realized from the sale of water and hydroelectric power. In 1954 alone, sale of power from the Colorado-Big Thompson project brought in a gross revenue of $2.8 million, and it is quite safe to assume that this annual income will increase yearly as the project is completed and the functions expand.

FAILURE AVERTED

This storage water meant the difference between success and failure to these Colorado farmers. What might have been in 1954 without project water at hand can best be appraised by comparing what did happen with the effects of the worst previous drought year in the same area, 1934. In most respects, 1954 presented greater handicaps to successful crop production than did the 1934 season, and estimates based on 1934 losses provide a conservative view of what might have happened in 1954.

In 1934 crop yields totaled approximately $19 million.

In 1954 crop yields from lands irrigated under the project totaled $41 million.

Translating this $22 million differential into terms of buying power, multiplied by the number of similar irrigation projects sprinkled throughout the 17 reclamation States, and the impact upon our national economy is terrific. Practically all manufacturing, trade, and transportation involves agricultural commodities; an irrigation water shortage affects the entire economy.

BENEFITS UNLIMITED

Irrigation has contributed directly to the building of cities, to the development of fertile acres, to the homes of more than 35 million Americans who supply nearly half of the entire Nation's demand for choice vegetables and truck crops; to the development of a $40 billion annual retail market, averaging $1,139 per capita—retail sales for the Nation during the same year averaged $1,023 per person—and to the development of a new outlet for the products manufactured in our bustling industrial areas of the East.

What has this new market, this new development, this growth of our dynamic country cost the American taxpayer?

Money spent by the Department of Defense during the month of January would pay for all reclamation since it was started in 1902.

Money spent to finance our foreign aid program for 6 months would pay for all reclamation since it was started in 1902.

On the other hand, money spent on reclamation during fiscal year 1953 would have financed the Department of Defense less than 3 days, or the foreign assistance program or the Veterans' Administration less than a month.

Actually, the cost to the Federal Government is negligible. Money appropriated for power aspects of the projects is paid back to the Treasury with interest. Money appropriated for irrigation aspects is paid back without interest. The only outlay from the Treasury is for nonreimbursable features, that is, flood control, stream-pollution abatement, recreation, and fish and wildlife propagation.

The cost of these nonreimbursables is more than compensated by the additional Federal tax revenue created by reclamation. Based on a sample study of 15 selected reclamation projects, individual income taxes paid directly by irrigation farmers and by persons directly affected by the project were estimated at $800 million. Corporation and excise-tax revenues collected from the same area total nearly $500 million. Cost of these projects totaled $269 million. In other words, Federal taxes collected have exceeded the Federal investment in irrigation features in these projects by about five times.

Now let us take a look at irrigation and reclamation expenditures from the standpoint of their justification in our budget. Many billions of dollars have been spent for flood control, harbors and docks, and agriculture conservation payments. This money is not returned to the Federal Government. I have no arguments against these projects, for I feel they are an essential part in building a greater America for ourselves and our posterity.

However, the comparison should be drawn so that all will know that the biggest share of money appropriated for irrigation and reclamation projects is returned to the Federal Treasury.

The Corps of Engineers has spent, since its inception, more than $7.245 billion on water-conservation and flood-control projects—nearly 4 times the total spent on irrigation and reclamation. Money spent by the Corps of Engineers is nonreimbursable.

Total Federal investment in irrigation and reclamation projects is about $2.2 billion. It should not be forgotten, however, that local citizens have been active partners—paying partners—in each of the projects, and repayment contracts are negotiated before work on the project is started.

Reclamation is paying its own way.

The crops produced on these projects add very little to our present surpluses. We never seem to have enough vegetables and fresh fruit to meet our diet requirements. These products, together with alfalfa and sugarbeets, essential to the livestock industries, are the principal irrigated farm crops. They are not on the surplus list.

Our investment in irrigation and reclamation has paid special dividends. We should continue to invest in this field as long as there are feasible projects to be developed.

Pennsylvania State University, at State College, Pa., Will Observe Its 100th Birthday on February 22, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday, February 22, will be an important day in the history of the Pennsylvania State University when the centennial of the Nation's 11th largest university will be observed.

Established under an act of the General Assembly in 1855, the Pennsylvania State University this year celebrates its centennial with a program emphasizing its services to the Commonwealth during 100 years of educational advancement.

The movement for establishing the institution, first called the Farmers High School of Pennsylvania, was started by farm leaders who realized that progress in agriculture involved the application of scientific methods as well as labor and fertilizer.

Thus they planned a school that would give instruction in the sciences bearing on agriculture and that would operate an experimental farm on which the students would do all the labor.

At the time the project for combining practical and theoretical education was a startlingly new concept. Dr. Evan Pugh, the school's first president, described it in his inaugural address:

> We are here for the avowed purpose of trying an experiment which has never been successfully performed in any country in the world.

Four years after the Governor signed the charter, the school opened its doors to 69 students in an incompleted building rising from the fields of Centre County.

Those 4 years had been marked by discouraging setbacks. The trustees had contracted for a 5-story building costing $55,000 to accommodate 400 students.

In addition to a State appropriation of $25,000, they had in cash $10,000 received from the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society, $10,000 raised by Centre County residents, and $5,000 willed by a Philadelphia benefactor. The school was located on 200 acres donated by James Irvin of Bellefonte.

The legislature promised an additional $25,000 if the trustees could raise a matching sum by subscription throughout the State.

The building was costing more than expected and crop failures and a money panic prevented the raising of the money needed to get the second $25,000 installment from the State.

The first students who arrived on February 16, 1859, found only one wing of the school building completed. Living conditions at first were crude: lighting was by lard-oil lamps and construction shacks converted into dining halls were cold and drafty.

There were few books in the library and apparatus for instruction in science was negligible. Students worked 3 hours daily on the school farm and at such tasks as clearing stones from the campus and making the main building livable.

Pugh arrived to assume the duties of president 9 months after the school term opened. A native Pennsylvanian, he had conducted a boys' academy before deciding to go to Germany to study. At the time he was chosen to head the school, he was in England where he had spent 2 years in agricultural research.

Wholly dedicated to the idea of education of the founders of the school, Pugh worked without stint to put theory into practice, to win support from over the State, and to get money from the General Assembly.

In spite of the disruptions of the Civil War, Pugh graduated his first class of 11 students in 1861, won an appropriation from the General Assembly and completed the main building in 1863, and secured for the school recognition as the land-grant college of Pennsylvania under provisions of the Morrill Act signed by President Lincoln in 1862.

Pugh and the school's trustees were backers of Representative JUSTIN S. MORRILL in his efforts to get Congress to pass his bill, and in anticipation of success changed the name of the Farmers High School to the Agricultural College of Pennsylvania early in 1862.

Weakened by overwork, worries and an injury suffered in an accident, Pugh died in 1864. The next 20 years were to be a period of drift and disillusionment during which the college had five presidents who put into effect different programs in futile attempts to stabilize the institution so precariously started in 1855.

The problem was developing a program that combined practical and theoretical training. Since this goal of education was almost entirely new, there were no models to go by. Pugh's early description of the school as an experiment was too true. A lot of experimenting had to be done before a successful formula could be evolved.

Pugh was followed as president by William H. Allen, head of Girard College. Allen fought off before the legislature efforts of other State schools to be named land-grant beneficiaries and obtained permission for an $80,000 loan for the college to pay its debts.

Allen left to his faculty the job of working out an instructional program that, to comply with the Morrill Act, should include training in the "mechanic arts." But discouraged by the school's prospects, he resigned in 1866 and returned to Girard College.

His successor was John Fraser, who had headed the faculty committee working on the reorganization of the curriculum. The enrollment decline that had set in after the Civil War continued, dropping to 30 in 1868. Fraser, differing with the trustees on policy, resigned.

Fraser's innovations in starting courses in technical subjects as well as in agricultural science and in abandoning the requirement of student labor on the farm were dropped by his successor, Thomas Henry Burrowes.

Burrowes, making fun of the "parade of the long list of 'ologies,' 'onomies,' and 'ographies' which grace some catalogs," restored the emphasis on agriculture and turned his students out to work the farm as provided for in the college's charter.

A popular State figure and for years a leader in the establishment of the common-school system, Burrowes succeeded in checking the enrollment decline and in winning friends for the college. He talked up the college in speeches over the State and instituted a Harvest Home which in its second year in 1870 attracted more than 2,000 persons to the campus.

After Burrowes' death in 1871, the trustees brought in James Calder, of Hillsdale College in Michigan, as the new president. He remained 9 years.

In his first year Calder secured the permission of the trustees to open the doors of the college to both sexes without distinction as to qualifications or privileges, and six women attended classes in 1872.

Calder's administration also saw a change in name from the Agricultural College of Pennsylvania to the Pennsylvania State College, enlargement of the board of trustees to include representatives of the alumni and of the State's manufacturing industries, and amendment of the charter to drop the student-labor rule.

A growing emphasis on classical studies and neglect of the scientific, agricultural, and mechanical arts studied led to growing criticism that the college had lost sight of the goals of the founders and was not living up to the Morrill Act.

Calder resigned to be succeeded by Joseph Shortlidge, head of a boys' school at Concordville. Shortlidge did not get along with the trustees, his faculty, or students and resigned after 9 months.

Not since the school's beginnings had the fortunes of the school been at such a low ebb, Gov. Robert E. Pattison himself remarking that—

> The past history of the State agricultural college is not such as to induce the belief that any practical good has or ever will come from it.

But though no one realized it at the time the college was at a turning point. The trustees chose as the new president George W. Atherton, head of the political science department at Rutgers University. He was to head the institution for 24 years of steady growth.

Against a proposal of the governor that the college's faculty be cut in half and that the course of study be made exclusively agricultural, Atherton was able to persuade the trustees that the school's future depended upon developing a program in the mechanic arts.

Within a few years the wisdom of his program was seen. The college's enrollment picked up, reaching 244 in 1892. In 1887 Atherton won a $100,000 appropriation from the legislature for new buildings and by 1892 the State had spent $305,500 for new buildings and $102,000 for equipment.

A few years later, in 1896, fulfillment of the goals of the founders and of the Land-Grant Act was seen in the reorgan-

ization of the college into 7 schools—School of Agriculture, School of Natural Science, School of Mathematics and Physics, School of Engineering, School of Mines, School of Language and Literature, and School of History, Political Science and Philosophy.

A college spirit was also developing. School colors were chosen in 1887 and a school song in 1901, the first intercollegiate football game was played in 1887, a yearbook was begun in 1889, a student handbook appeared in 1895 and a weekly student newspaper was started in 1904.

Toward the close of Atherton's administration trustee Charles W. Schwab donated money for an auditorium and trustee Andrew Carnegie money for a library building. Other new buildings at this time included a men's dormitory, a dairy building and a main agricultural building.

When Atherton died in 1906, the president of the board of trustees, former Gov. James Addams Beaver was chosen acting president. Beaver saw the enrollment grow within 16 months from 800 to 1,151. Beaver turned over the administration of the college in 1906 to Dr. Edwin Erle Sparks, University of Chicago historian.

No advocate of the ivory-tower theory of education, Sparks embarked on a program of enlarging the college's services to make them statewide. His oft-repeated slogan was: "Let us carry the college to the people."

He fought for funds for setting up an extension division, getting his first appropriation for this purpose in 1913. Though a strong supporter of the college's practical education program in agriculture, engineering, and technology, Sparks urged more courses in the liberal arts. As a result of his efforts, the present School of Liberal Arts was formed in 1909.

The steady progress of the college educationally was disrupted by the entrance of the United States in World War I. It made major contributions to the war effort, training 1,500 Army and Navy trainees in the Students' Army Training Corps, in addition to regular students enrolled in military science and tactics; turning over laboratories and scientific equipment to wartime research; and dedicating other resources of the college to boosting civilian morale.

His health broken by his own war efforts Sparks resigned in 1920. His successor, Dr. John Martin Thomas, of Middlebury College in Vermont, launched an immediate program for more buildings desperately needed because of the cessation of construction during the war.

In a 2-year drive for building funds, the college secured $1,727,272 in pledges by 17,000 alumni and friends of the college.

Besides the building program, the Thomas administration saw the establishment of a graduate school and a school of education, a reorganization of the school of agriculture and the formation of a school of chemistry and physics from the former school of natural science. When Thomas resigned in 1925, the college's enrollment had reached 3,854 students.

The new president, Dr. Ralph Dorn Hetzel of the University of New Hampshire, headed the institution during the boom days of the late 1920's, the depression of the 1930's and the war and postwar readjustments of the 1940's.

Two large-scale building programs took place during the Hetzel administration and a third was planned when he died in 1947. The first received its impetus from President Thomas' drive for funds. When it ended in 1932, the college had spent about $5,500,000 for buildings. The second, from 1937 to 1939, involved the expenditure of about $5 million by the general State authority.

The depression was a difficult period because of cuts in appropriations for maintenance and teaching, and World War II meant a greater tax on Hetzel's administrative and leadership powers.

Adopting a year-round schedule, the college trained thousands of soldiers, sailors, marines and aviators in special programs requested by the military services; put in special courses for training women for work in industry; gave instruction to more than 140,000 civilian workers in extension classes held over the State; and carried on extensive research to meet the needs of the war effort.

At the war's end the college was faced with a stack of 22,853 applications for admission to classes, most of them coming from veterans.

The need was met by utilizing every useful nook and cranny for class and laboratory space, by using war-surplus materials for emergency dormitories and classrooms, and by overloading professors with classes and students.

These devices were those adopted by all colleges and universities to handle swollen enrollments, but Penn State developed another that received nationwide attention.

This device was that of enrolling first- and second-year students at Penn State centers, at the State teachers colleges, and at private schools in order to make space available on the campus for upperclassmen studying professional and technical subjects. Twenty-two schools cooperated with Penn State in this program.

After Hetzel's death in 1947, James Milholland, president of the board of trustees, served as acting head of the college until the election of Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower as president in 1950.

Milholland started the long-range building program that was designed to meet the college's needs for the enrollment increases predicted for the postwar period. This was a $10 million program to be carried on under the General State Authority.

Reporting on the campus plant in 1954, Eisenhower said that the buildings were valued at $66 million, and that 58 percent, or $38 million, was new construction since 1946. Seventy percent of the new construction was accomplished without the use of tax money.

For many years there had been a growing sentiment that since the Pennsylvania State College was a university in size and in the broad scope of its work the word "college" in the name should be replaced by the word "university." This was accomplished in the fall of 1953.

Under Dr. Eisenhower, the onetime Farmers' High School of Pennsylvania enters its second century as the Pennsylvania State University—the 11th largest institution of higher learning in the Nation.

In its 100-year span the institution has awarded 53,000 degrees, beginning with 11 granted in 1861. The institution now grants about 3,000 annually. It has seen its student body increase from 119 to 14,000 and its faculty from 4 to 1,400. Its research program has grown from a few dollars spent on nursery stock to one costing about $6 million annually. Through its extension program, its instruction is now given on a campus that may be considered statewide.

The untried experiment of the founders of the institution in 1855 is now acclaimed a resounding success, as evidenced by the following accomplishments of which Penn State is proud:

Penn State is proud of—

The first use of the practicum method of instruction on a wide scale, 1866.

The first soil fertility experimental plots in the United States, 1881. The only prior fertility plots were in Rothampstead, England.

The first correspondence instruction in agriculture. Chautauqua home reading courses begun in 1892. Formal correspondence courses begun 1898.

The first organized extension instruction in mining in the United States 1893–94. First mining bulletin published January 1, 1894.

World's first respiration calorimeter for domestic animals, 1902. Prior ones were adapted for use with human beings only.

The first college forestry building in the United States—Fergie's woodshed, 1906.

The first formal training program in industrial engineering, 1908.

The first establishment of student gardens as regular practicum training 1909.

The first mineral industries experiment station, 1919.

The first organized curriculum in fuel technology, 1931.

The first institute of local government in the United States, 1935.

The first organized curriculums in meteorology, mineral economics, mineral preparation engineering, 1946.

The first climatometer for studies in dehumidification, 1948.

The first department of biochemistry accredited by American Chemical Society's committee on professional training, April 26, 1950.

The first establishment of a foreign training center by an American institution for industrial education, Formosa, June 1, 1953.

The first conference of insurance buyers held on a university campus, 1953.

Pioneer work in chemical engineering. A course in industrial chemistry was taught in 1890.

Pioneer work in safe-driving instruction. The first driver-training course for high-school students was taught in the State College High School in 1933. The first training course for teachers of safe driving was offered during the summer session of 1936.

Pioneer conference of dentists and oral surgeons, March 15–17, 1943, which led to the founding of the American Academy of Cleft-Palate Prothesis, April 4, 1943, which in turn became the American Association for Cleft-Palate Rehabilitation.

Only mineral industries art gallery in the world, established 1930.

Only mineral industries museum in Pennsylvania, established 1930.

Only university in the world offering courses in Pennsylvania German language, culture and folklore, 1946.

Only institution in Pennsylvania giving work in home economics leading to the Ph.D. degree.

Only institution in Pennsylvania giving work in hotel administration.

Only home economics research center in Pennsylvania.

Largest enrollment in home economics in the State, at both undergraduate and graduate levels.

Largest enrollment of nonhome economics majors in any land-grant institution in the United States.

World's largest water tunnel—Garfield Thomas Memorial Water Tunnel, test chamber 14 feet long, 4 feet in diameter; dedicated October 7, 1949.

Largest engineering, science, and management defense and war training programs, 1940–45—155,000 enrolled.

One of the largest university film libraries in the East, established 1941.

Largest flower test gardens in the United States; first approved by All-America Selections Committee for testing of new flower varieties before they go on the market, spring 1941.

A low-temperature laboratory second only to that of the United States Bureau of Standards.

First Witness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include an editorial which was contained in the New York Times of January 18, 1955.

While the article, because of the dateline, might appear to be somewhat outdated, the subject is certainly of vital importance to us in the current consideration of the Trade Agreement Extension Act of 1955.

A liberal trade policy is the cornerstone of our foreign policy, and I believe that an extension of our trade-agreements program, as set forth in H. R. 1, will aid our economic growth in the future as it has in the past since its inception some 20 years ago.

The editorial follows:

FIRST WITNESS

The vigorous position taken by Secretary Dulles as the first witness has got the hearings on the 3-year reciprocal-trade bill off to a good start. It seems that the administration is determined to fight for this measure in a way that it was fought for only by the Democrats last year.

There will be serious opposition, especially on the part of representatives of specific interests that honestly feel they are endangered by extension or even continuation of the reciprocal trade system. Overconfidence on the part of proponents of the bill could be disastrous. Yet the broad welfare of the United States as an economic unit and the position of this country as leader of the free world combine to make the arguments in behalf of the reciprocal trade program so overwhelming that it is difficult to believe it can be defeated if the administration really puts its weight behind it.

Mr. Dulles based his argument for the bill squarely on its effect on the foreign relations of the United States. One of the major complaints of our friends abroad, to whom we ceaselessly lecture on the virtues of a liberal trade policy, is that they never know just what our own policy is going to be from one year to the next. The habit of extending our reciprocal trade bills for 1 year only, plus the occasional changes in policy that take place—as in the instance of Swiss watch imports or the earlier cheese amendment—leave foreign traders in an almost perpetual state of uncertainty and tend to discourage them from attempting to build up new long-range trading relationships with this country. The more basic fear that we might shift our general trade policy away from liberalism and toward protectionism must, as Secretary Dulles said, be stamped out unless we want the Soviet prediction of economic warfare among the free nations to come true.

This is no idle fear. There are very strong advocates of protectionism in all the leading manufacturing countries of the world. If the United States fails at this juncture to adopt even so moderate a bill as the pending one we have to face the possibility of a general free-for-all among all of our friends, with the most direct and serious consequences to our own economy as well as to theirs.

Our American Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, last week the Union of American Hebrew Congregations convened in Los Angeles, and in that connection I am pleased to direct to the attention of our colleagues the following words of Rabbi Samuel D. Soskin which appeared in the February 11, 1955, issue of the Truth, weekly publication of Temple Beth Emeth of Flatbush:

OUR AMERICAN TRADITION
(By Rabbi Samuel D. Soskin)

It is of deep significance that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations convenes in the month of February. For during this month we are profoundly aware of the tradition symbolized in the birthday celebrations of two great Presidents. This tradition has endured hardship and struggle. Its destiny was hammered out on the burning anvils of war and bloodshed. Upon its survival depends the survival of mankind. At this very hour this tradition is endangered by the ominous threat of Atomic warfare. We cannot deny, therefore, that this is no ordinary moment in the dramatic story of American Jewry.

The very convening of this assembly, however, constitutes a promise and a challenge. By its very nature Reform Judaism commands its adherents to join the forces of liberalism and brotherhood. The inspiration for this duty stems from the doctrines expounded so nobly by the prophets of Israel. This prophetic idealism runs like a golden thread through our Bible and through the sacred documents of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

As citizens of a free land we are pledged to uphold these documents and to fulfill the promise found therein, of a time when all men shall deem themselves equal in the sight of God. As Jews we are to drink deeply from the wells of Jewish learning that we may more faithfully serve our Nation and mankind. Emboldened by the example of great Americans and by the flaming fervor of our faith, let us work for the day when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation nor learn war any more." This is the purpose of the U. A. H. C. Convention. May its deliberations eventuate in success.

Billions, Blunders, and Baloney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the Congress will shortly be required to vote on the extension of foreign aid, I would like to call to the attention of the Members a column by James Ratliff in the Cincinnati Inquirer, Sunday, February 13, 1955.

This splendid writer reviews Mr. Eugene Castle's new book, Billions, Blunders, and Baloney, which deals with our foreign aid and information programs.

The column follows:

HARD-HITTING FACTS
(By James Ratliff)

Like a rain shower to the dust bowl of America's international propaganda are the hard-hitting facts in the new book, Billions, Blunders, and Baloney. Its author, Eugene W. Castle, is no literary dilettante blindly convinced that any international giveaway is good just because our motives are decent. As a one-time reporter, Castle wanted the facts, and he got them—traveling 75,000 miles around the world at his own expense.

Mr. Castle found that, despite our giving away $40 billion since 1948, along with a half billion more for propaganda, we have fewer international friends and sincere allies than in 1948 "and lots of people are beginning to ask why?"

Among those asking is Walter Lippmann, whom Castle quotes as saying recently "* * * what we call psychological warfare is, I am persuaded, doing more harm to the United States than it is to the Soviet Union. In the

near future we shall have to give it an agonizing reappraisal."

Mr. Castle begged a Senate committee last spring to give that "agonizing reappraisal" then and not vote (as they did) another $77 million to the United States Information Agency to do "more harm to the United States."

What our allies think of our propagandists struck Mr. Castle bluntly in Turkey. He cooled his heels for 15 minutes beside the busy editor of Istanbul's largest newspaper. Asked his opinion about the USIA, the Turkish editor was brisk:

"There are no 'Yanks Go Home" signs in Turkey. Turks like Yanks. Yanks like Turks. The only Yanks Turks don't like are your propagandists all over our country. If they would go home it would be still better for Turkish-American relations." And the Turk shook hands abruptly, bowed, and that was that.

Who could ever have expected anything else after reading Castle's descriptions of USIA palaces like Baron de Rothschild's in Paris where a large number of non-French-speaking news amateurs spread bungling propaganda in the heart of a sophisticated foreign city?

Mr. Castle finds that the USIA has more than 10,000 employees to spread blatant, resented American propaganda in the faces of those who understand it and on the desert air of the countless millions who don't. And the crack Associated Press news service covers the entire world with factual, up-to-the-minute news with a few more than 3,000 persons.

When a Brooklyn Democrat, Congressman JOHN J. ROONEY, heard Director Theodore E. Streibert of the USIA ask in Washington for $204,000 to propagandize the American people about how important the USIA's propaganda was, he exclaimed:

"Never in the balmy days of the New Deal did they attempt such a thing as this."

"The flow of American money abroad since 1945 has been a reckless and unregulated river * * * in astronomical sums that stagger the imagination," says Mr. Castle. And it isn't the money that appalls him as much as the realization of how much of it is actually working to our disadvantage, what with countries that are cynically "neutral" when we need help and treacherously playing the Soviet game diplomatically or by handing on our bounty in trade.

America appears hypnotized with the philosophy that somehow pouring endless billions will buy a solution to our troubles, for Mr. Castle notes the resolute and futile stands against it. Senator WALTER F. GEORGE told the Senate on July 1, 1953: "As far as I'm concerned Mutual Security is going into its last fiscal year beginning this morning."

Yet the desperately fighting, entrenched bureaucrats simply changed the name of foreign aid for the third time (it's now Foreign Operations Administration) and came up with more than $3 billion more appropriations despite the fact that they had unspent billions still to play with from previous years. The recipients of aid have long since passed the goals we were to help them attain. It occurs to no one—not even the President—that the men pressing hardest for continued aid are those who would lose their jobs doling it out.

Mr. Castle's book is full of indignation, but also that rare, forgotten American virtue—commonsense. Witness the following truism:

"If we are to wage heated and continuous propaganda wars against the Soviet we must expect that Russia will wage retaliatory cold wars against us."

He notes that President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles sounded off in major speeches about the Soviet menace 39 times in a period of 1 year and a half. Maybe Churchill and Eden did it only three times in that same period, because they are aware that most people know Russia is a menace. Or maybe they realize wryly that Russia is where she is today because of the billions America gave to her, even to sending her postwar factories. More billions of the present aid will probably follow the same path, because wasn't that Tito tottering toward Moscow and neutral Nehru?

Mr. Castle, an expert on reaching people through his own one-time worldwide film service, implores us to turn our propaganda back into straight news releases directed by the State Department. How embarrassed our ambassadors must be with an independent propaganda agency speaking down the street from our own embassies.

Any remaining need for foreign aid should also be given to the State Department and handled properly through the Defense Department as military subsidies, Mr. Castle declares. And he closes with food for thought.

"Something has happened to the magic which once invested the name 'American' throughout the globe. We are dangerously alone in a world of envy and hostility. Our dollars have not been enough.

"The decline of American prestige overseas has gone hand in hand with the decline of American patriotism at home."

Federal Control of the Gathering and Sale of Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD the attached resolution of the annual membership meeting of the Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association, Kansas-Oklahoma division. Because this Congress will deal with the problem set forth in the resolution, I respectfully call it to every Member's attention:

The Kansas-Oklahoma division, Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association, invites public attention to the following:

The Supreme Court of the United States, in a recent decision, held that sales of natural gas by producers and gatherers to purchasers who transport the gas in interstate commerce for resale are subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission under the terms of the Natural Gas Act.

The Federal Power Commission, as a result of such decision, has asserted control over the price at which natural gas subject to its jurisdiction may be sold by producers and gatherers, and over the production and gathering of natural gas in the field.

It was not the intent of Congress in enacting the Natural Gas Act in 1938 that the production and gathering of natural gas or the sale thereof by producers and gatherers should be regulated by the Federal Power Commission.

The production and gathering of natural gas, in contrast, with the interstate transportation and local distribution of natural gas, is not in fact a monopoly or a public utility operation, but, on the contrary, is a risk-taking, highly speculative and competitive business conducted by many thousand producers who compete with each other in acquiring and marketing natural gas which, in turn, competes as a commodity with other fuels not regulated.

It is in the public interest and essential to the national security that the production and gathering of natural gas and the sale thereof should be left to the forces of supply and demand consistent with our Nation's fundamental philosophy of competitive free enterprise.

The Federal regulation of production and gathering of natural gas and the sale thereof will inevitably result in Federal regulation of the production of oil, in retarding exploration for and production of natural gas, in conflicts with State regulatory measures for the production and conservation of oil and natural gas and in a shortage of available supplies of natural gas for the consuming public, all contrary to the national interest: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Kansas-Oklahoma Division of the Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association in annual meeting in Tulsa, Okla., December 15, 1954, That this association does hereby recommend and urge that the Congress of the United States enact at its next session appropriate legislation to clearly exempt production and gathering of natural gas and the sale thereof by producers and gatherers from regulation by the Federal Power Commission: Be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the United States Senators from the States of Kansas and Oklahoma and all other States and the Members of the House of Representatives from the States of Kansas and Oklahoma and all other States."

Attest:

CLAREL B. MAPES,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks with respect to the activities which I have planned for the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee during the present session of Congress, I wish to inform the House that I feel that the time is long overdue for some forceful action to bring together labor, management, and the Federal Government in a cooperative effort to work out the problems facing the American merchant marine today.

An excellent summary of our plans is contained in the following editorial in the New York Journal of Commerce of Friday, January 7, 1955:

SHIPPING OUTLOOK

(By Edward P. Tastrom)

The expressed intention of Representative HERBERT C. BONNER, new chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, to call top labor leaders in the maritime industry to Washington this session to get their views on the problems of American flag shipping opens a field of inquiry that holds substantial possibilities.

While union leaders have testified at past hearings by congressional committees, the burden of their statements has been to flay management for alleged shortcomings, without making any serious effort to indicate

how labor could assist in promoting a strong merchant marine.

If Representative BONNER's hearings are going to be used as a sounding board to publicize once more much that already is "old hat," then little in the way of constructive suggestions can be expected.

However, if the entire question of management-labor relations is brought under inquiry and the major labor contracts reviewed, as Representative BONNER stated he planned to do, we might get some surprising revelations respecting the built-in "make-work" clauses, special overtime requirements and premium allowances that have been placed into these pacts by seagoing unions over recent years. They all cost money, some of them big money. How and under what circumstances they have attained official status would make interesting reading.

• • • • •

It is, of course, no secret that high labor costs are the main handicap under which American flag shipping operates.

Numerous studies have been made on this subject, all of which show that on a comparative basis the labor cost of operating American shipping is fantastic as compared with most other maritime nations.

Now no one wants to see American seamen working for depressed wages. They are entitled to a good day's pay for a day of good work done. But many of the tasks they do now call for special premiums or allowances and these all add up to bring the average seaman's monthly check considerably above that of workers performing similar tasks ashore.

If the unions really want to aid American shipping they should be willing to sit down and seriously review some of these working conditions. And if Mr. BONNER wants to open an interesting field of inquiry, here is one phase of the national maritime problem that deserves review.

As he says, the taxpayer has spent considerable sums in aiding the merchant marine and deserves to know where it is going.

• • • • •

Why the percentage of our cargoes carried aboard American ships continues to steadily decline certainly merits serious study at this time. This is a broad subject but an important one, for unless we are able to reverse this trend and restore the ratio to a more equitable level our shipping is going to deteriorate regardless of the extent of Government operating and building aids.

The time, therefore, certainly has come to find out precisely why private cargo does not move in greater volume on American vessels, as Mr. BONNER purposes to do.

Lines of inquiry which the House committee might pursue include the following: How our share of trade breaks down as to exports, imports, specific commodities, big trade routes; what foreign regulations or trade practices exist that may result in diverting cargoes to certain national's vessels; to what extent terms of sale of imports and exports influence the manner of shipment; to what extent terms of sale of imports and exports influence the manner of shipment; to what extent currency restrictions serve to discourage use of American vessels. Also, are American-flag lines giving the type of service and frequency of sailings that make them highly competitive with foreign operators; amount of cargo that could be handled.

This, admittedly, is an involved problem, embracing world economics, national policies, and service considerations. It is a market research job that has been tackled piecemeal in the past, whereas an overall, penetrating analysis is needed.

• • • • •

When longshoremen last month turned down their new labor contract at the polls, we observed in this column on December 17, that failure to spell out in detail just what the working conditions, clauses and the machinery for arbitration would mean aroused suspicion in the minds of many dockworkers that was fanned by opposition labor leaders.

It was suggested here that these two issues be clarified and explained to the men and the contract resubmitted to a vote. This is the procedure that was followed, it so happens, and the strong acceptance vote by the longshoremen yesterday confirms the wisdom of this move.

For the first time in many years, the port of New York now has reasonably good assurance of peaceful labor relations. We are confident that it will work out that way and that, once this is generally realized, much of the business that has abandoned this port will return here.

Tyranny or Law?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article which appeared in the February 1, 1955, issue of the National Voter, the publication of the League of Women Voters of the United States, is deserving of our attention:

TYRANNY OR LAW?

Few of us today who are in contact with reality, as the psychologists would say, fear an encounter with an Alice in Wonderland queen who shouts, "Off with his head." Nevertheless, this character symbolizes the tyranny of those days in history when dozens of real kings and queens ordered heads and ears and noses off on mere whim, without any kind of trial or any chance for the victim to prove his innocence.

Fortunately for us, our English forefathers gradually evolved a safeguard against arbitrary power—the idea of "due process of law." As Daniel Webster defined it in the famous Dartmouth College case: "Due process of law is that law which hears before it condemns, which proceeds upon inquiry, and renders judgment only after trial. Its meaning is that every citizen shall hold his life, liberty, property, and immunities under the protection of the general rules which govern society."

MORE THAN 7 CENTURIES AGO

Due process had its origins in the action of the English barons who in 1215 secured the Magna Carta, which guaranteed in writing that all the king's actions affecting private rights would be according to the law of the land. The idea of rule of law, as it came to be known in England, flourished in 18th century America and had great influence on the colonial pamphleteers. For example, the argument that taxation without representation is tyranny was simply an application of the basic idea of due process.

Due process was written into our Constitution in the 5th and later in the 14th amendments. It supplements a long list of specific guaranties of fair court procedures which appear in 4 of the 10 amendments in the Bill of Rights. Its application in this country, as in England, was originally against the arbitrary administrator or judge. However, since the latter part of the 19th century the courts have evolved substantive (in contrast to procedural) due process as a curb on legislators. Due process now requires not only that proper procedure be followed but that the law itself be reasonable.

Today due process in this country operates as a safeguard of individual rights against governmental authority at all levels (Federal, State, and local) and thus has an important role in support of individual liberties. Despite its great significance, it has never been fully and conclusively defined. Rather, it has gradually evolved as our courts have determined, in many different cases, what is, and what is not due process. This elasticity has given rise to a tremendous amount of litigation and judicial decisions, especially with regard to the police (public health, safety, morals, and general welfare) power of the States.

The guaranties of due process probably seem more remote than any other guaranties in the Bill of Rights. It is easy to imagine how distasteful it would be not to have free speech, but imagine for a moment that you did not have recourse to the usual protections of due process.

Out of the clear blue, you receive a notice from a State across the country that in 2 days you will stand trial for a crime (no further explanation). Fearful of not having a chance to be heard, you hop a plane and arrive just before the trial. Having spent all your money for the plane ticket, you can't afford a lawyer. Nor is there any time to prepare a defense (which seems rather fruitless since you don't really know what offense you're being charged with).

Under these unhappy circumstances the trial begins. Outwardly everything conforms to a fair trial. You soon find out that you've been accused of "possession of liquor" (this is a State where prohibition exists). Counsel is suddenly produced for you. Even a jury is provided. Your counsel soon whispers to you that you really haven't a chance because the judge gets an additional fee for each conviction, and the natives of this community who comprise the jury are very suspicious of outsiders. Also you are not given the opportunity to confront your accuser, nor are you even told who he is.

The trial lasts three-quarters of an hour, the jury deliberates your fate in less than 5 minutes. So, it's no surprise when the judge pronounces the sentence and you are severely fined and given a prison term.

This make-believe situation is a composite of actual cases which were appealed to higher courts to determine whether the accused had been denied due process. It illustrates some of the protections which the courts have determined fall under due process, as (1) the Government must have jurisdiction over the accused person; (2) the accused must be notified of time and place of trial and nature of charges; and (3) the accused must have an opportunity to be heard and to be tried before an impartial court (for example, the judge should have no financial interests in the case). Another important qualification of due process is that there be more than mere outward compliance to fair-trial guaranties. Actually, the specific forms of a fair trial are not as important as that the procedure suit the nature of the case and be sanctioned by established custom.

We chose for our example a criminal proceeding, although due process also applies to administrative proceedings. Federal procedures were very loosely defined until the Administrative Procedure Act was passed in 1946. This act requires ample notice and hearings, especially by the Government's regulative agencies.

You might ask, Isn't due process safely imbedded in the Bill of Rights? Is it not the job of the courts in each instance to see that an individual's right to due process is protected? Why should I be concerned about such matters?

First of all, due process of law is much more than a mere legal-sounding term. In its broadest meaning, it implies an essential and fundamental fairness which should guide our daily relations with our fellow men.

Secondly, today's national security calls for further development of due process. For example, due process can serve as a yardstick for considering two current problems—congressional investigations and the Federal loyalty-security program.

Thirdly, through widespread thinking about applications of due process which will help safeguard individual liberties, citizens can influence its development, just as they did when the common law was evolving.

As Judge Curtis Bok said, "Custom should be the evolution of the law. * * * Custom is more efficient than law because it patrols itself."

Twelve Key Facts About H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday next a bill (H. R. 1) to extend the Trade Agreements Act, and give the President power to lower United States tariffs, will be brought before the House for consideration.

This bill is of tremendous importance to the welfare of our Nation and its people. It should have the most careful consideration before enactment. There are rumors that the bill will be considered in the House under a closed rule that will not permit amendments, other than those offered by the Committee on Ways and Means of the House. The adoption of such a rule by the House would prevent Members of the House from offering any amendments that they may deem necessary to protect workers in many industries against competition with goods produced in foreign countries by cheap underpaid labor. Our workers should be protected against such unfair competition. If they are to be protected then Members of Congress should have the right to introduce the necessary amendments that would give protection to workers in their respective congressional districts. There is no justification for the adoption of a closed rule that would preclude the offering of amendments to the proposed bill by Members of the House.

In order that the seriousness of the situation can be fully understood, and, without accepting in every particular all that it contains, I am including as part of my remarks a strong and carefully considered statement that has been made by the American Tariff League, Inc., entitled "Twelve Key Facts About H. R. 1."

It reads as follows:

TWELVE KEY FACTS ABOUT H. R. 1.

H. R. 1, introduced by Representative JERE COOPER, Democrat, of Tennessee, proposes to extend the Trade Agreements Act. In the process it would grant the State Department, via the President, broad new powers for lowering United States tariffs and firmly committing the United States to GATT—the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

This bill has unleashed an intense debate. For this debate to produce results in the national interest all the pertinent facts must be squarely considered. Herewith are summarized 12 facts which are compellingly pertinent.

(NOTE.—The content of H. R. 1 may change or become entangled with other bills during the legislative process. The references here are current as of February 12, 1955.)

I. RIGHT NOW UNITED STATES TARIFFS ARE AMONG THE LOWEST IN THE WORLD

United States tariffs, now at their lowest in history, average only 5.1 percent of the value of imports. This represents sharper reductions than have been made by most other industrial nations; a 68-percent reduction of the 1937 average.

By comparison, Switzerland's tariffs average 8.1 percent of imports, and have been reduced only 47 percent since 1937; France averages 10.6 percent, 43 percent of 1937; and Great Britain averages 25.6 percent, which is 20 percent above 1937.

Among the industrialized nations of the West only Denmark, Sweden, and Western Germany have reduced their average tariff level since 1937 by as large a percentage as the United States. However, even in 1937 the United States had a lower average than Sweden and Germany. Denmark is the only one which was lower then and remains lower now.

N. B.: Tariff comparisons tell only half the story. Import quotas, currency restrictions, monopolies, Government trading, cartels, and other devices are far tighter barriers to free trade than tariffs. Because, except with respect to quotas on agricultural products subject to price supports, the United States does not engage in these practices it actually permits freer trade than any other industrialized country in the world.

II. THE FULL IMPACT OF THE RECENT UNITED STATES TARIFF DECLINE HAS NOT YET BEEN FELT

The first cuts, following the original Trade Agreements Act of 1934, came while the world was still struggling with the effects of a worldwide depression. Since then World War II, the fighting in Korea and Indochina, the continuing cold war and repeated injections of economic aid by the United States have distorted the historical patterns of trade. Only now are other nations approaching full production.

But even during this disturbed period United States imports reached a sustained level of nearly $11 billion—four times prewar value, twice prewar volume.

III. TARIFFS AFFECT LESS THAN ONE-THIRD OUR TOTAL IMPORTS

Foreign countries earn dollars, and the United States buys its needed imports, for the most part, without any tariff interference at all. In considering the effect of tariffs on imports it must always be remembered that tariffs affect less than a third—$3 billions out of the total import of $10.8 billion. A pertinent section of the United States tariff policy statement by the Committee for Economic Development—November 1954—it follows:

"Only a part of our imports are subject to tariffs or other import restrictions. Of our total annual imports of approximately $10.8 billion in 1951, some $6 billion consisted of products which enter free of duty or quota restrictions. The rest—some $4.8 billion annually—were subject to tariff duty or import quotas. This $4.8 billion included some $2.5 billion of finished and semifinished manufactures, $1.8 billion of agricultural products, and $500 million of metals and minerals. Of this $4.8 billion of imports, however, only about $3 billion were subject to import quotas or to tariffs sufficiently high to have an appreciable effect on the volume of import. This $3 billion consisted for the most part of agricultural products and finished manufactures."

IV. OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE NOT RECIPROCATED

Though foreign countries have made some nominal concessions American exporters still face such barriers as:

Automobiles, charged 63 percent duty in India, 30 to 40 percent in Japan, 15 percent to 33⅓ percent in the United Kingdom, and 15 to 30 percent in France.

Machinery, charged 10 to 25 percent duty in Britain, 6 to 30 percent in France, 15 to 30 percent in Japan, 5 to 40 percent in Italy.

Synthetic textiles (including rayon), charged 20 to 35 percent in France, 25 to 27 percent in Italy, 22 percent in Norway, 17 to 24 percent in Belgium, and 50 percent in India.

Cotton manufacturers, charged 15 to 30 percent in the United Kingdom, 7 to 30 percent in Germany, 15 to 25 percent in Italy, 18 to 30 percent in Indonesia, and 15 to 27½ percent in Canada.

Grains, charged 15 to 30 percent in France, 15 to 20 percent in Germany, 25 to 30 percent in Italy, 10 to 15 percent in Sweden.

In addition, many countries employ side devices which effectively limit, or even ban, the import of United States goods into their markets.

These devices, perfected by the Nazi economist, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, include: import quotas, currency restrictions, state trading, monopolies, barter deals, and cartels. The use of such devices has increased markedly during the so-called reciprocal trade period.

There has been much talk about relaxing such restrictions but little "do." For example, Great Britain has at last agreed to admit a few United States cars "on trial"—650 to be exact—but subject to duties and taxes which bring the price of an American made Chevrolet in the British market to about $6,000.

France recently announced "liberalization" for certain selected items—e. g., cotton yarns (but not fabrics), threshing machines (but not tractors), and so on. But at the same moment France turned around and imposed a special import tax of 10 to 15 percent on the items thus "liberalized." And even these "concessions" did not apply to imports from the United States, only to imports from other European countries.

Although Great Britain employs such devices freely, and in addition maintains tariffs at a level 20 percent above 1937, the New York Herald Tribune for January 3, 1955, quoted R. A. Butler, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, as saying:

"We expect some improvement in their [United States] trade practices before there is any question of lowering our barriers any further or indulging in any further nondiscrimination."

V. OUR FREE WORLD ALLIES DO NOT NEED LOWER UNITED STATES TARIFFS TO PROSPER

Congress was told a year ago that further cuts in United States tariffs were needed then to foster world trade and bolster the economy of our allies.

Congress refused. Instead it obtained an agreement by the State Department to make no further cuts for a year.

Here are examples of what actually happened in 1954, without the benefit of additional tariff cuts by us:

1. Italy's national income rose 4 percent, and its exports 10 percent.

2. Austria's income rose 10 percent as a result of increased trade and production.

3. The Netherland's prosperity lured capital from all over the world; securities on the Amsterdam Exchange are now at their highest point since World War II.

4. West Germany anticipates an 8 percent rise in the gross national product in 1955, and a continuing expansion of exports. Between 1949 and 1953 exports more than quadrupled, while imports doubled; credit

not tariffs has been the exporters' main problem.

5. "Britain Is Tasting New Prosperity as Exports Spurt," headline from New York Times, January 3, 1955.

6. "Persisting Boom Is Seen by Swiss—Prosperity Based on Demand for Manufactures, Credit and Domestic Building," headline from New York Times, January 9, 1955.

7. "Rise in Finn's Timber, Paper Exports Helps Puncture Pessimistic Forecast," headline from New York Times, January 9, 1955.

8. A flourishing export trade gave Portugal an exceptionally prosperous year; as expressed in a New York Times headline, January 4, 1955, "Nation Goes on Buying Spree."

In contrast, the United States experienced a temporary falling off in 1954.

VI. LABOR RATES IN OTHER COUNTRIES REMAIN AT ONE-THIRD TO ONE-TENTH UNITED STATES SCALE

Here are comparative average hourly earnings for industrial workers in the United States and other countries (1952–53 figures):

United States	$1.79
Switzerland	.57
United Kingdom	.47
France	.43
West Germany	.44
Italy	.35
Japan	.19

N. B.: At one time better machines and more skilled workers enabled the United States to compete with low labor cost imports. Now—largely due to United States aid and assistance programs—other industrial nations have machines as modern and efficient as any we own, and for the most part their workers are as skilled as ours. A recent study by the National Industrial Conference Board indicates that at the same time the real wage gap is spreading, not narrowing.

VII. IMPORTS FROM CHEAP LABOR AREAS DO HURT

Industries already affected include coal, textiles, footwear, glass pottery and china, electrical equipment, lead and zinc, ship building, fishing, and dozens of others. In the textile industry alone, which has been severely affected by competition from Japan and other low wage countries, the number employed declined by 260,000 in 3 years. New England mills took the brunt of this loss; but even in the South, where the most modern mills are located, there was a loss of 40,000 jobs.

State Department negotiators not long ago cut the rate on watches. Last fall the President had to restore the old rate. Too many workers in the United States watch industry, whose precision skills are needed for defense, were losing their jobs—and skills—because of imports.

Workers in the following industries are also threatened: chemicals, radio and electronic equipment, machine tools, synthetic fibers, plastic materials, and—looking at the list proposed for the next round of negotiations by the State Department—literally hundreds of others.

N. B.: H. R. 1, in fact, excepts nothing. It invites a reduction of from 15 to 50 percent in every single rate now in effect, no matter how often or how deeply cut in the past.

VIII. THE PERIL POINT AND THE ESCAPE CLAUSE ARE VIRTUALLY MEANINGLESS

Under the peril point the United States Tariff Commission is required to determine whether or not a proposed cut will injure domestic industry. But such a finding does not bind State Department negotiators. In the past the Commission's findings have been ignored in favor of a hoped for and often meaningless concession from foreign governments. H. R. 1 would make possible the continuation of this practice.

Similarly, the much talked of "escape clause" is no sure remedy for injury to American producers and workers. The Tariff Commission's recommendations of relief can be, and usually are, rejected on advice of the State Department which fears the resentment of other countries.

IX. GOVERNMENT HANDOUTS ARE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR JOBS

Some H. R. 1 supporters have introduced bills to provide Government aid, at the expense of the general taxpayer, for workers thrown out of their jobs by import competition—after the injury has been done. Even the Randall Commission, which originated the H. R. 1 plan, could not go along with this idea. It substitutes a Government dole for a man's wage, or requires workers to move from their homes to strange areas—much as is done in totalitarian countries. There is no way to estimate the cost in advance—it could, and probably would, run into billions.

X. H. R. 1 WOULD ESTABLISH AN ENTIRELY NEW NATIONAL POLICY ON TRADE AGREEMENTS—THE UNITED STATES MAKES CONCESSIONS BUT GETS NONE IN RETURN

Heretofore our trade agreements have required foreign countries to make concessions to us, no matter how nominal, in return for any concessions we make. H. R. 1 abandons this principle.

Right now the State Department is rushing plans for round-robin negotiations with 33 other countries beginning in Geneva next month. It has openly announced its intention to offer wholesale concessions in United States tariffs as a means of inducing these other countries to open their markets to Japan. H. R. 1 expressly permits this one-sided deal.

XI. H. R. 1 CAN INVOLVE THE UNITED STATES IN GATT (GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE) WHICH SUBJECTS THE TRADE OF MEMBER NATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONTROL, DESPITE OPPOSITION BY CONGRESS

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade provides for a new international organization empowered to sponsor and police a comprehensive code of trade practices among member nations. These rules would cover the whole range of trade, including farm products and minerals as well as manufactured goods.

The Constitution assigns responsibility for the regulation of foreign commerce to Congress. By previous Trade Agreements Acts Congress has delegated a large part of this responsibility, via the President, to the State Department. It has always refused, however, to allow the State Department to redelegate such power to an international body, in which we would have only one vote.

H. R. 1, although amended by committee to appear neutral on GATT, still contains language which permits the State Department to commit the United States to GATT without congressional knowledge of that agreement's changing provisions.

XII. UNITED STATES TARIFFS DO NOT CONTROL UNITED STATES IMPORTS

The policies of foreign producers, much more than present United States tariff rates, determine when, what, and how much they export to the United States. Since the war, for example, British manufacturers have sent most of their exports to countries in the sterling area, where they are protected from outside competition by tariffs, import licensing systems, and currency restrictions.

In 1952, however, when some of the sterling area markets closed up following collapse of the Korean war boom, the British quickly shifted. England's exports to the dollar area jumped 50 percent almost overnight—without any United States tariff changes.

United States tariffs, in fact, are now the least obstacle to world trade. Changeable policies of other countries, reflected in changeable import quotas, changeable currency restrictions and the like, are the real difficulty.

N. B.: More than a year ago Bernard Baruch said the agitation for lower tariffs in the United States is serving only to provide other nations "with an excuse for blaming their troubles on the United States and, by feeling sorry for themselves, to overlook what they must do on their own."

In his column on January 13, 1955, Walter Lippmann pointed out:

"I wonder whether this (the campaign for lower tariffs) puts the real problem in its proper focus. Perhaps we can reach a clearer definition of that problem by saying that the main trouble today is not the level of the tariff rates. In the United States they are by and large not exorbitantly high any longer.

"The real problem is economic warfare. All the governments have armed themselves with legal powers which they use to interfere with the international markets for goods. They use them offensively and they use them defensively to cut down, to cut off, to divert, to penalize, to subsidize buying and selling so that the pattern of transactions is different from what it would be under the free operation of supply and demand. • • •

"The characteristic of these weapons of economic warfare is that they are not fixed rules and laws of trade but are operated by administrative decisions made, often under political pressure, by bureaucracies. • • •

"The essential condition of economic peace is that trade among friendly nations should not be subject to the arbitrary acts of administrative and political officials, that trade should be subject to laws enacted deliberately and openly and after debate and not changeable except by equally careful deliberation."

American Federation of the Physically Handicapped Plaque of Honor Presented to Hon. John W. McCormack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter addressed to Speaker RAYBURN:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED, INC.,
Washington, D. C., February 15, 1955.

Hon. SAM RAYBURN,
Speaker, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: In recognition of the great humanitarian services of Majority Leader JOHN W. MCCORMACK, members of the National Council of the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped will present to him today the AFPH plaque of honor, inscription of which is as follows:

"The Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, during his entire public career has consistently fought to preserve the rights and advance the welfare of working people and the handicapped.

"Since being in Congress he has authored and fought for many worthy laws to benefit all citizens and particularly those who, because of physical disability, have been and are discriminated against in our economic and social life.

"The National Council of the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped,

Inc., in session in the city of Washington, D. C., on September 30 and October 1, 1954, does hereby heartily commend and thank the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK for his brilliant and effective efforts in behalf of our millions of handicapped and, in recognition of this great service, proclaim him a life member of the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, Inc., be it

"*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the public press, and to all interested organizations."

PAUL A. STRACHAN,
President.

Foreign Operations Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the Congress to a matter which I believe has extremely important ramifications.

Being a firm believer in a bipartisan foreign policy, I regret that the situation I describe below has arisen. The fact that issues in this field can be alleged to have acquired partisan overtones does not contribute to the building of unity in our Nation at this critical time. I have engaged in lengthy correspondence regarding the question of partisanship in FOA without bringing the matter to the attention of the Congress. Only because of the complete failure of the FOA to provide a satisfactory reply, do I now feel compelled to make the situation known.

As a member of the International Operations Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee last year, numerous allegations of systematic patronage clearances in the Foreign Operations Administration were brought to my attention. As a result, I introduced an amendment to the Mutual Security Act prohibiting the application of political tests or criteria in the filling of nonpolicy positions in FOA. While my amendment barely failed in the House, a similarly worded amendment introduced by Senator HUMPHREY carried in the Senate and through conference and is now a part of Public Law 665, 83d Congress, 2d session.

At about the same time as I introduced my amendment, I wrote to the Director of FOA about a fellow New Jerseyite who had come to me and had called to my attention an example of what he felt was unwise and unjust personnel practice in FOA. I quote my letter to the Director. Incidentally, I have deleted the gentleman's name for obvious reasons:

I am writing you with respect to a fellow New Jerseyite, Mr. W., who was formerly in the employ of the Foreign Operations Administration. Mr. W. has business connections in my district and was in to see me with respect to a private matter. During the course of our conversation he relayed a story to me which sounds fantastic. It is as follows:

On December 12, 1952, Mr. W., left for The Hague, Netherlands, as a $50-a-day consultant for the Foreign Operations Administration. The original arrangement was for 3 weeks' work as marketing consultant to the Dutch Government. At the conclusion of the 3 weeks, Mr. W.'s appointment was extended for a 3-month period, ending April 1, 1953. At the end of this period the appointment was renewed for 2 more months, to June 1, 1953; and then there was a third extension to July 1, 1953. At the conclusion of this time, Mr. W. returned to the United States. I understand that during his stay in the Netherlands Mr. W. worked 6 days a week and many more than 8 hours a day in his efforts to help the Dutch in improving their marketing techniques. I am enclosing mimeographed copies of the letters of commendation received from a few Dutch organizations which would indicate that Mr. W.'s stay in the Netherlands was highly successful.

Mr. W reports that sometime during July he was approached by an official of the Foreign Operations Administration and asked to take a job as marketing consultant to the Italian Government. He was personally interviewed by a staff member of the Rome mission who requested that the appointment be made immediately. During the course of waiting for this appointment, which to Mr. W appeared to be assured, he took the highly responsible step of attending a language school at his own expense to learn Italian. The contract between him and the Italian Government was prepared, salary was agreed upon, and the Italian Government and the American mission accepted his appointment—in fact, eagerly approved it. Mr. W further reports that his loyalty and security check came through. At the final moment when Mr. W was all prepared to leave, had obtained a passport and doctor's certificate, he was not appointed. He was informed that all the clearances necessary could not be obtained but was given no indication of which clearance was withheld.

I have suggested to him that perhaps another candidate with equal or higher qualifications may have been selected for the position and that this might have accounted for the last-minute decision by the Foreign Operations Administration. However, Mr. W insists that he was the only candidate for the job at the time, which was proven by the fact that no one was appointed to fill the position for several months after he was turned down.

Mr. W has submitted to me a statement of all his allegations regarding the facts of this case, and they go much further than I have done in this letter. However, the principal assertion he makes is that the sole reason he was not appointed to the technical assistance project was the fact that he is a member of the Democratic Party.

I am a very firm supporter of the technical cooperation and foreign-aid programs and believe they constitute one of our really positive answers to Communist propaganda. I lieve that the technical assistance program is an outstanding example of America's free world leadership. It therefore disturbs me greatly that members of my party are apparently discriminated against in appointments to nonpolitical technical assistance projects. It is my recollection that under the previous Democratic administration, the first two Administrators of ECA were members of the Republican Party. It is my understanding that every Administrator from Mr. Hoffman to Mr. Harriman has conducted the technical assistance program free of partisan considerations in the appointment of personnel. I am absolutely convinced that this is the correct policy, not only because technical assistance should not be a partisan program but also because it seems to me to be the most efficient way to obtain top qualified personnel. If Mr. W's statement that systematic political tests are now conducted as part of personnel practice in the Foreign Operations Administration, I believe we in the Congress should know about this fact. Such a practice would, of course, cut the recruiting potential for technical assistance projects in half and would, therefore, make for less efficient operation of the Administration.

I do not believe Mr. W desires the position mentioned above any longer. This letter, therefore, is not about his personal situation but rather about the general practices of your agency.

You will note that this letter stated that in this case all necessary clearances had been obtained for Mr. W's appointment, but that for unspecified reasons he was not appointed to a technical assistance job which had no political aspects. In response to the letter quoted above I received a letter from the Foreign Operations Administration which indirectly implied that Mr. W. was not appointed because the position for which he had applied had been abolished. I have strong reason to believe that was not the fact and that while the position was not filled, recruitment for it continued for many months after Mr. W. had been turned down. The question I raise is this: If Mr. W's allegation that he was not appointed because he is a Democrat is not true, why did the Administration find it necessary to deviate from fact in replying to me and to assert a position which has not been and probably cannot be substantiated?

I answered the letter I received from FOA and I quote my reply of August 5 below:

Thank you for your letter of August 3. I must say I was somewhat disturbed by the fact that my letter of July 6 remained unanswered and unacknowledged for almost a month.

Apparently there is some misinterpretation as to the questions I raised in my letter. I specifically said that Mr. W. was no longer interested in the position and, therefore, my question was whether or not his allegations were true. As you recall, he alleged that in technical assistance projects a systematic political patronage arrangement prevailed in FOA. My question was, am I supporting a program which systematically discriminates against people who are identified as Democrats in obtaining positions of nonpolicy levels as well as on purely technical jobs under the technical assistance program?

I did not receive a reply to the above letter. On December 28, 1954, I again wrote to the Foreign Operations Administration on this problem, as follows:

As you undoubtedly recall, Senator HUMPHREY and I sponsored an amendment to the Mutual Security Act of last year which made the provisions of section 1005 of the Foreign Service Act applicable to the overseas personnel practices of the Foreign Operations Administration. This amendment carried and is now part of Public Law 665, section 527, subsection C (1).

Would you please advise me of the administrative action you have taken to assure the implementation of this legal requirement of your personnel practices. I would appreciate copies of any amendments or additions to manual orders which may have ensued or administrative memoranda to operating personnel which assure t he implementation of this amendment.

I have discussed this matter with Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, and he is also vitally interested in the question and would ap-

preciate a copy of your response to me on this matter.

I received the following response from the FOA, under date of January 12, 1955:

In response to your inquiry as to what administrative action this agency has taken as a result of the application of section 1005 of the Foreign Service Act to our overseas personnel practices, we are pleased to inform you that we have not found it necessary to take any specific action by way of amendment or addition to existing manual orders.

Section 1005 of the Foreign Service Act provides in part that in the hiring of personnel for overseas assignments "no political test shall be required and none shall be taken into consideration." Since it is the practice of this agency to select applicants for overseas employment purely on the basis of professional qualifications, subject, of course, to necessary security clearances, it has been felt that specific administrative implementation of the prohibition in section 1005 against political discrimination was not required. Our key employment personnel, on the other hand, are fully conversant with the provisions of this section.

The implications of this exchange of correspondence are that if there were applications of political tests prior to the passage of the amendment I sponsored with Senator HUMPHREY last year, this practice still continues, since no steps have been taken to implement the no-political-tests amendment. I submit that political tests were applied to appointments before the passage of the amendment and that they have continued to be applied. Evidence of this, in addition to the above-cited case of Mr. Wilson—which, from the material I have at hand, appears to be clear-cut—is the report by the Republican National Committee quoted in the Congressional Quarterly of February 11 on page 132:

The largest number of placements (by the Republican National Committee) have been made in the FOA (79).

In a 6-month period, 79 people have been placed in the FOA by the Republican National Committee. The fact that a program exists to apply political tests to nonpolicy jobs is a violation of the amendment I sponsored. The additional fact that the FOA has been the most lucrative source of patronage positions is further evidence that laws are being violated in spirit, if not in letter.

I intend to present this material to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and have merely submitted the record here, since I feel that the answers I have received from the FOA have, through their deviousness, been insulting not only to me but to the Congress.

During my recent trip abroad I gathered a great deal of information which shows that the continuation of this patronage practice in FOA is having a serious impact not only on the morale of overseas personnel but on the ability to recruit technical experts for service overseas—a job which is very difficult even under the best of circumstances.

In the near future the Congress will be considering the continuation and, according to recent statements, the expansion of vital economic and technical assistance programs. I feel strongly that such programs are imperative to the United States position in the free world and to the preservation of freedom and democracy in the face of the widespread and unabating Soviet imperialist menace.

But to be successful our economic aid and technical assistance programs must be administered with wisdom, courage, imagination, and complete integrity. Congressional action can make success possible but only the best type of administration will make it probable. And yet, as of this very moment there is within the FOA an office whose function it is to place Republican political nominees and to apply political tests and criteria to all proposed appointments and nominations. Such a breach of faith with the Congress certainly fails to ensure the kind of administration which is absolutely essential to the continuing success of our foreign aid programs and should no longer be tolerated.

Congressional Salary Adjustment Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, since I was not privileged to be on the floor of the House during the debate on the bill to adjust the salaries of Congressmen, I avail myself of your leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD in favor of the $10,000 increase.

Much has been written and said in these times about the advisability of Congressmen increasing their own salaries. It is unfortunate that we must be faced with the decision to enact legislation which on the surface seems to benefit only this body of legislators. Since it is our decision, I feel that we should face it as we do all other issues before us and judge it on the basis of the greatest good for the greatest number.

This precept has long been the foundation of our democracy. I am certain that it applies here as it does in other issues. Adequate pay for Congressmen is as much a part of good government as any of the other tenets to which we hold. It is a sound business principle, and the progress of this Nation is marked with the application of these principles.

Do my constituents benefit because I receive more money? Is the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number being served because I have a few more dollars added to my monthly paycheck? I am sure that it does.

True, I knew what the salary was when I ran for the office. I accepted that salary when I accepted the mandate of the people to serve them in the office. My will to serve is not affected by the amount of money I receive. It would not be less if the salary were less. I have an obligation to the people of my district, just as does every Representative here, and we put service above all else.

Why, then, do I favor an increase in congressional salaries in order to perpetuate the greatest good for the greatest number? Because all of us believe in being fair. The American people are noted for their fairminded approach to problems that confront them. Our reputation for fairmindness stands out in the day-to-day activity of the family of nations.

The people of my district are fairminded Americans, too. They want their Congressman to receive adequate pay for what he does. It is part of their pride as Americans that in this country a man is worthy of his hire. They know that they will get better men as Congressmen. They know that they will be better served and that, in the long run, their country will be better served. When their lawmakers are paid on a basis commensurate with what their contemporaries receive in business and industry, the entire business of Government is on sound footing. The people of America know this and they will support that which is fair and just. For these reasons, my vote is in favor of the $10,000 increase in congressional salaries.

The Regaining of Armenian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, in 1918 when the Armenians had succeeded in regaining their national political independence after some 600 years of subjection to alien oppressors it was thought that they were destined to enjoy a measure of peace and freedom in their historic homeland. With great feelings of joy lovers of freedom throughout the world were glad to see long-oppressed Armenians win their independence. As it turned out, however, Armenians were not for long to have their national independence. During the short period of just a little over 2 years that Armenia possessed its freedom, its existence as an independent state was in constant jeopardy. The small and weak country had to fight for its life on many fronts. Finally in December of 1920 Armenia was overrun by its enemies and most of it fell to the Communist Russians. They had come as saviors and liberators, but immediately they established a despotic regime.

The people of Armenia were unwilling to accept this without a fight. In mid-February of 1921 an uprising was underway, and by the 18th it proved so successful that in a few days nearly all the unwanted invaders were expelled. For a brief period of only 6 weeks Armenians again enjoyed freedom.

This uprising is historically significant because it is an instance in which communism was successfully repelled and defeated, and the Armenians regained, even if only temporarily, their political liberty. That is the reason we celebrate this memorable dav.

Oil Production in Kansas Expanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, oil producers in Kansas, as well as in other States, are understandably concerned about oil imports. Many independent oil producers from Kansas have urged that I either oppose the bill, H. R. 1, to extend the Reciprocal Trade Act, or support the provisions which would put limitations upon oil imports.

While Kansas is not the largest oil-producing State by any means, oil production is an important industry in Kansas and particularly in my own congressional district. It is important not only to producers themselves, but to landowners, farmers, businessmen, and workingmen. I certainly feel that the views of those engaged in the industry should be most carefully considered, but for the present, at least, as well as the foreseeable future, it seems to me that these gentlemen are overconcerned. I do not pretend to be an oil expert, but I wish that every industry in my district were in as good condition as the oil industry. It is growing and expanding, and I am sure it will continue to do so.

Attached hereto is an article taken from the Hutchinson News-Herald for Wednesday, February 16, 1955, showing the oil- and gas-well completions for the previous week in Kansas. Some weeks, more new wells are brought in, and some weeks, less, but I am submitting this article because it covers the latest week available.

I believe that the oil industry in this country will prosper as the country prospers. I believe that a great producing nation like this one must expand its foreign trade if it is going to continue to make progress. I believe that the State of Kansas can only make progress if we expand our foreign trade because Kansas' most important product, wheat, is one which increasingly depends upon an export market for outlets. We cannot sell wheat unless other nations have dollars with which to buy it. Other nations can get dollars only through our purchases of imports in one form or another. Thus the amount of wheat we can export is directly tied in with the expansion of foreign trade.

The expansion of foreign trade offers our greatest hope of reducing and eventually terminating our expenditures for foreign aid.

The expansion of foreign trade will do more than any other one thing to bring about a better understanding between nations and eventually world peace.

For these reasons I am supporting H. R. 1 in the form in which it was reported by the committee and shall vote against the motion to recommit. In doing so, I feel that I am voting in the best interests of the people of my State and congressional district, including those engaged in oil-and-gas production.

The article from the Hutchinson News-Herald follows. It shows the completion of 72 wells last week. Practically all of them were oil wells. A few of them were dry holes. Some were large, and some were small wells, but the fact that 72 new wells were brought in last week in Kansas shows that our producers have faith in the oil business—that they are willing to invest their money in it, and that the oil industry is in a healthy state.

WICHITA.—Four new oil finds and three new gas discoveries for Kansas were reported by the nomenclature committee of the Kansas Geological Society Tuesday. They bring oil discoveries to 25 and gas finds to 7 to date, officially listed for 1955.

The committee, acting jointly for the Kansas-Oklahoma division, Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association, listed as new oil finds:

Barton County: Claflin Northeast (Lansing) field: opened by Francis Raymon No. 1 Preager northeast corner section 3, township 18, range 11 west; in process of completion. Topped Lansing at 3,029 feet; pumped 85 barrels of oil daily through perforations at 3,040–3,051 and 3,058–3,061 feet, after acid.

Rice County: Windom (Pennsylvania conglomerate) pool; new pay horizon in field already producing from Mississippian; Petroleum Management No. 1 Swanson, northeast corner southeast quarter section 24, township 19, range 6 west; being completed; top 3,400; pumped 58 barrels oil plus 2 barrels water daily through perforations at 3,412–3,418 feet.

Stafford County: Kachelman (Arbuckle) pool, new horizon in field already producing from Lansing-Kansas City; Cooperative Refinery Association No. 1 O'Dell A, southwest quarter southeast quarter southeast quarter section 7, township 25, range 13 west; being completed; top 4,284 feet; swabbed 3 barrels oil hourly at 4,284–4,289 feet.

Sumner County: Padgett West (Mississippian) pool, second pay level in field already producing from Lansing-Kansas City; Ayesh No. 2 Tinsley-Nichols, southwest quarter northeast quarter northwest quarter section 28, township 34, range 2 east; being completed; top 3,491 feet; pumped 25 barrels oil daily plus trace water at 3,519–3,525½ feet.

The gas discoveries included:

Kingman County: Trenton (Mississippian) field; Cities Service No. 1 Voran, southeast quarter southwest quarter northeast quarter section 27, township 29, range 7 west; gauged 1,047,000 cubic feet daily from perforations at 4,117–4,123 feet; shut-in gas well.

Pratt County: Coats West (Lansing) field; Lario No. 1 Chastain, northwest quarter southwest quarter northwest quarter section 24, township 29, range 14 west; made 2,485,000 cubic feet daily through perforations at 4,141–4,148 feet; top 3,944; shut-in gas well.

Rush County: Rothe (Lansing) field; Morrison Drilling No. 1 Rother, southeast quarter northeast quarter, northwest quarter section 31, township 17, range 16 west; top 3,270; estimated at 4 to 5 million cubic feet daily through perforations at 3,446–3,452 feet; shut-in gas well.

Last week's completions:

Barber County: Continental Oil No. 14, W. A. Newkirk, southeast quarter northwest quarter northwest quarter section 20, township 33, range 11 west; 540 barrels in chat, 4,516 feet (Rhodes).

Continental No. 5, Rossell, south half south half northeast quarter section 29, township 33, range 11 west; 438 barrels in chat, 4,538 feet (Rhodes).

Gramehart-Miller No. 1, Lenkner "A" corner, southeast quarter section 24, township 33, range 14 west; 100 barrels oil in Marmaton, 4,666–4,674 feet (new pay in Medicine Lodge gas field).

Aurora Gasoline et al. No. 1, Washburn, northwest quarter northwest quarter southwest quarter section 10, township 35, range 11 west; dry wildcast in Arbuckle 5,495–5,535 feet.

Barton County: Imperial Drilling Co. No. 1, Hamliton, northwest quarter northeast quarter northwest quarter section 10, township 18, range 11 west; 15 barrels in Lansing, 3,089–3,092 feet (Ames-Northwest).

Petroleum Inc. No. 3, Hertach, southeast quarter northeast quarter northeast quarter section 24, township 18, range 11 west; 46 barrels in Arbuckle, 3,285 feet (Meadowside).

Sitrin & Sohio No. 4 Yeakley northwest quarter northeast quarter northwest quarter section 17, township 18, range 13 west; 443 barrels in Arbuckle 3–316 feet (Boyd).

Duke & Wood No. 1 McMullen southwest quarter southwest quarter northeast quarter section 3, township 20, range 13 west; dry wildcat, Arbuckle 3,437–3,510 feet. Tested show. Mostly water.

Clark County: United Producing No. 13 Harper corner southwest quarter southwest quarter, section 34, township 33, range 21 west; 186 barrels in Morrow sand 5,420–5,428 feet (Harper ranch).

United Producing No. 4 M. C. Harper corner northeast quarter northeast quarter, section 4, township 34, range 21 west; 227 barrels in Morrow sand 5,420–5,425 feet (Harper ranch).

Ellis County: GMR Oil Co. No. 1 Walter A northwest quarter southwest quarter southeast quarter, section 4, township 13, range 17 west; 35 barrels in Lansing 3,409–3,413 feet (Catherine-Northwest).

Glenn Nye No. 4 Bissing west half northwest quarter northeast quarter, section 28, township 13, range 17 west; dry in Conglomerate 3,592 feet (Sugarloaf-Southeast).

Pam-Kar & NCRA No. 1 Zimmerman northwest quarter northwest quarter southeast quarter, section 12, township 14, range 20 west; dry in Arbuckle 3,862 feet.

Graham County: Francis Oil & Gas No. 6 Bragg east half northwest quarter northeast quarter section 33, township 9, range 21 west; 240 barrels in Arbuckle 3,879 feet (Cooper-North).

Petroleum Inc. No. 2 McCall B southeast southeast quarter northwest quarter section 25, township 10, range 23 west; 242 barrels in Lansing 3,559–3,605 feet (Prairie Glen).

Hull-Wickizer No. 2 Wickizer B northwest quarter northeast quarter northeast quarter section 28, township 10, range 23 west; dry at 4,088 feet below Kansas City lime (Happy).

Harper County: Texas Co. No. 1 Knowles northeast quarter southwest quarter northeast quarter section 23, township 31, range 6 west; oiler-gasser 5 million cubic feet and 30 barrels oil Simpson sand, 4,670–4,679 feet (Runnymede extension).

Harry Bass No. 6 Ryan southwest quarter northeast quarter southwest quarter, section 13, township 31, range 9 west; 79 barrels in chat 4,416–4,445 feet (Grabs-West).

Stanolind No. 2 Ison northwest quarter southwest quarter northwest quarter section 24, township 31, range 9 west; 258 barrels in chat 4,415–4,425 feet (Grabs).

Haskell County: William Graham No. 1 Huxman B south half section 1, township 30, range 32 west; gasser, 3½ million cubic feet. Hugoton zone (Hougoton).

Kingman County: Anschutz Drilling Co. No. 1 Goering northwest quarter northwest quarter northwest quarter section 18, township 27, range 5 west; dry wildcat in Arbuckle 4,295–4,336 feet.

Aurora Gasoline No. 1 Conrardy southwest quarter southeast quarter southeast quarter section 11, township 29, range 9 west; 406 barrels in Viola 4,488–4,490 feet (Willowdale).

Cities Service No. 4 Hagerman southwest quarter northeast quarter northeast quarter section 15, township 29, range 9 west; 282 barrels in Viola 4,495–98 feet (Willowdale).

Amerada Petroleum No. 1 Earl Johnson southwest quarter southeast quarter southwest quarter section 18, township 30, range 7 west; gasser 3 million cubic feet in chat 4,270–90 feet (Spivey).

El Dorado Refining Co. No. 1 Wells northeast quarter northeast quarter northeast quarter section 20, township 30, range 7 west; dry wildcat in chat 4,230–4,350 feet.

Marion County: Anderson Prichard No. 3 Youk center half southwest quarter section 20, township 18, range 2 east; 25 barrels in Viola 3,020 feet (Youk).

Beaumont Petroleum No. 4 Hawk northwest quarter southwest quarter northeast quarter section 31, township 22, range 4 east; 25 barrels in chat 2,441 feet (Edmonds).

McPherson County: George Hess No. 3 Akerson northwest quarter southwest quarter northeast quarter section 27, township 19, range 2 west; 32 barrels daily in chat, 2,957 feet (Lively).

George Hess No. 4 Akerson southwest quarter northwest quarter northeast quarter section 27, township 19, range 2 west; 33 barrels in chat, 2,963 feet (Lively).

Morton County: Colorado Oil & Gas No. 1–33 Dreyer corner southwest quarter, section 33, township 31, range 43 west, 5,870,000 cubic feet gas, Topeka lime (Dreyer).

Colorado Oil & Gas No. 1–3 Dreyer corner southwest quarter, section 3, township 32, range 43 west, 2,820,000 cubic feet gas, Topeka line 3,144–3,153 feet (Greenwood).

J. M. Huber No. 3 USA "D" corner northwest quarter southeast quarter section 29, township 34, range 43 west, 669 barrels oil in Morrow sand 4,166–4,171 and 4,178–4,192 feet (Interstate).

Pawnee County: Cities Service No. 1 Franz southeast quarter southeast quarter southeast quarter section 2, township 20, range 19 west, dry wildcat in Arbuckle 4,194–4,260 feet.

GMR Oil No. 1 Sweeney "C" east-half southwest quarter southwest quarter section 5, township 21, range 15 west, 25 barrels in Arbuckle 3,839 feet (Sweeney).

GMR No. 1, Sweeney "B" west quarter southwest quarter southeast quarter section 8, township 21, range 15 west; 35 barrels oil and 1½ million cubic feet gas in Arbuckle, 3,841 feet (Sweeney).

Honaker Drilling Co. No. 1, Hutchinson "H", northwest quarter northwest quarter northeast quarter section 3, township 23, range 17 west; 139 barrels in Conglomerate, 4,150–4,156 feet (Jab).

Honaker & NCRA No. 2, Hutchinson "F" northwest quarter northwest quarter southwest quarter section 3, township 23, range 17 west; 484 barrels in Conglomerate, 4,178–4,190 feet (Garfield-Northeast).

R. H. Siegfried No. 1, Schartz, southwest quarter northwest quarter southwest quarter section 4, township 23, range 17 west; 471 barrels in Kinderhook 4,192–4,200 feet (Garfield-North).

Hilton Drilling No. 3, Schartz, southwest quarter southwest quarter southwest quarter section 8, township 23, range 17 west; 348 barrels in chat, 4,244 feet (Garfield).

Honaker Drilling No. 2, Hutchinson "E", southeast quarter southeast quarter northwest quarter section 9, township 23, range 17 west; 2,023 barrels in Conglomerate, 4,200–4,216 feet (Garfield).

Hilton Drilling No. 2, Fertig "A", southwest quarter southwest quarter northwest quarter section 16, township 23, range 17 west; 44 barrels in chat, 4,290 feet (Garfield).

Hilton Drilling No. 2, Hutchinson "C", southwest quarter southwest quarter southwest quarter section 17, township 23, range 17 west; 489 barrels in Conglomerate, 4,245–4,254 feet (Garfield).

Pratt County: Petroleum Inc. No. 1, Webster, northwest quarter northwest quarter southwest quarter section 1, township 26, range 14 west; dry in Arbuckle, 4,445 feet (Iuka-Carmi).

Amerada Petroleum No. 1 Taylor-Mowbray northwest quarter northwest quarter northeast quarter section 28, township 26, range 15 west; dry in Simpson 4,540 feet (Tatlock).

Rice County: Plains Exploration & Sterling Drilling No. 3 Duvall "B" southwest quarter southeast quarter southeast quarter section 27, township 20, range 6 west; 20 barrels in chat 3,390–3,424 feet (Welch-Bornholdt).

Rooks County: Francis Oil & Gas, et al., No. 3 Gerrow west half east half northwest quarter section 23, township 9, range 19 west; 710 barrels in Arbuckle 3,522 feet (Jelinek).

Francis Oil & Gas, et al., No. 4 Gerrow southwest quarter southwest quarter northwest quarter, section 23, township 9, range 19 west; dry in Conglomerate 3,603 feet (Jelinek).

Midstates No. 2 Ordway southeast quarter northwest quarter southwest quarter section 9, township 10, range 18 west; 47 barrels in Toronto limestone 3,386–3,392 feet (new pay for Williams field).

Sterling Drilling No. 1 Trible northeast quarter southwest quarter southwest quarter section 28, township 10, range 20 west; 55 barrels in Arbuckle 3,759 feet (Allphin).

I. O. Miller No. 1 McKinna northwest quarter northwest quarter southeast quarter section 32, township 10, range 20 west; dry in Conglomerate 3,790 feet (Allphin).

Cities Service No. 1 southwest quarter southwest quarter northeast quarter section 33, township 10, range 20 west; 3,000 barrels in Arbuckle 3,697–3,708 feet (Allphin).

Rush County: Martin Oil No. 1 Buthrus northeast quarter northeast quarter northwest quarter section 1, township 18, range 16 west; dry wildcat in Reagan sand 3,504–3,531 feet.

Russell County: E. F. Wakefield No. 1 Strecker northwest quarter northwest quarter northwest quarter section 25, township 13, range 15 west; 25 barrels in Arbuckle 3,333 feet (Atherton).

Shelley-Miller No. 3 Teppe "B" northeast quarter southeast quarter northwest quarter section 22, township 14, range 12 west; 25 barrels in Conglomerate 3,226–3,230 feet (Heim).

Jones, Shelburne & Farmer No. 3 Gray northeast quarter southwest quarter southwest quarter section 33, township 14, range 12 west; 25 barrels in Lansing 2,980–2,992 feet (Hall-Gurney).

H. Shumaker No. 1 Morgenstern southeast quarter southwest quarter southeast quarter section 11, township 14, range 14 west; dry in Arbuckle 3,273 (Hall-Gurney).

Simon Lebow No. 3 Gulf-Rusch northeast quarter southwest quarter southwest quarter section 29, township 14, range 14 west; 15 barrels in Arbuckle 3,246 feet (Gorham).

Sedgwick County: E. H. Adair No. 1 Jeffries southwest quarter southwest quarter northwest quarter section 29, township 28, range 1 east; 441 barrels in Mississippi dolomite 3,141 feet (Gladys).

Diane McCarthy No. 1 Simmon unit southwest quarter southwest quarter southwest quarter section 29, township 28, range 1 east; 1,192 barrels in Mississippi dolomite 3,145 feet (Gladys).

E. H. Adair No. 3 southwest quarter northeast quarter southeast quarter section 30, township 28, range 1 east; 1,032 barrels in Mississippi dolomite 3,140 feet (Gladys).

Beardmore Drilling No. 3 Richmond northwest quarter southeast quarter northwest quarter section 30, township 28, range 1 east; 797 barrels in Mississippi dolomite 3,160 feet (Gladys).

Sutton & Beardmore No. 5 Tyson northwest quarter northwest quarter southeast quarter section 30, township 28, range 1 east; 145 barrels in Mississippi dolomite 3,812 (Gladys).

Beardmore Drilling No. 10 Tyson northwest quarter northeast quarter southeast quarter section 30, township 28, range 1 east; dry in Mississippi dolomite 3,225 feet (Gladys).

Laura Jane No. 1 Slade southwest quarter northeast quarter northwest quarter section 30, township 28, range 1 east; 107 barrels in dolomite 3,135 feet (Gladys).

Laura Jane No. 1 Wemple southeast quarter southeast quarter northeast quarter section 25, township 28, range 1 west; 245 barrels in dolomite 3,199 feet (Gladys).

E. H. Adair No. 2 Wright southeast quarter northeast quarter northeast quarter section 36, township 28, range 1 west; 178 barrels in Mississippi dolomite 3,209 feet (Gladys).

Texas Co. No. 1 Parsons southeast quarter northeast quarter northeast quarter section 30, township 29, range 2 west; dry wildcat in Simpson sand 4,078—4,090 feet.

Sheridan County: Empire Drilling Co. No. 1 Pratt: northeast quarter northwest quarter northeast quarter section 32, township 8, range 26 west; dry wildcat below Kansas City lime 3,850 feet.

Stafford County: Dulse & Wood No. 1 Castleman southwest quarter southwest quarter southwest quarter section 5, township 21, range 11 west; 20 barrels in Lansing 3,218–4,232 feet (Sandago).

Sumner County: Aurora & Jones, Shelburne & Farmer No. 1 Heasty northeast quarter northeast quarter northeast quarter section 30, township 32, range 2 west; dry wildcat in Arbuckle 4,394–3,335 feet.

McNeish & Gralapp No. 12 Airport southwest quarter southwest quarter southeast quarter section 36, township 34, range 2 east; 25 barrels in Bartlesville sand 3,504–3,154 feet (Hilltop).

Tergo County: C–G Drilling No. 1 Nixon southwest quarter southwest quarter southwest quarter section 11, township 12, range 22 west; dry wildcat in Arbuckle 4,036–4,063 feet.

Small-Business Needs Cited by Burger in Congress Plea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RALPH A. GAMBLE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. GAMBLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted by the House, I present for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an item from the Standard Star published at New Rochelle, N. Y., outlining the legislative program urged by the National Federation of Independent Business, of which Mr. George J. Burger, a resident of New Rochelle, is vice president:

SMALL-BUSINESS NEEDS CITED BY BURGER IN CONGRESS PLEA

WASHINGTON.—The National Federation of Independent Business will urge the current Congress to enact legislation making it mandatory to give small business producers a fair share in Government purchases, according to a statement by George J. Burger, 125 Clove Avenue, New Rochelle, vice president of the federation.

Mr. Burger, who says his organization numbers about 100,000 members throughout the country, also declared that a poll showed the majority of the membership expect tax relief legislation during the present Congress. This, he said, would enable small business and professional men to build up

reserves to meet "any and all economic trends."

Also being urged by the federation is continuation of the Small Business Administration which would be subject only to the control of Congress. * * * Small business committees of the Congress should be placed on a parity with all other standing committees and vested with "full legislative authority," the federation urges.

Commending Stanley Barnes, head of the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department, for his "vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws," Burger asks for continuation of this practice.

"Needed appropriations for the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department must be supplied by the 84th Congress," Mr. Burger said.

Lithuanian Freedom

SPEECH

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, on February 16, 1955, Lithuanians in all parts of the world observed the 37th anniversary of Lithuania's independence.

For Lithuania independence was short-lived. Lithuania gained freedom in 1918, and as a nation great strides were made to advance the standards of commerce, agriculture, and industry, and to improve the economic status and the physical welfare of Lithuanian citizens. As an honored member of the family of free nations, Lithuania fulfilled all of her obligations.

In 1940 tragedy struck the young nation, and the Red tide of communism swept across Lithuania wiping out the freedom and liberty so dear to the hearts of Lithuanians at home and abroad.

The people of Lithuania have not despaired, but look hopefully to the West trusting that the miracle of liberation will once more bring independence to their land.

All the people of the United States who cherish individual freedom and national liberty as their most priceles possession join with Lithuanian-Americans and Lithuanians in the homeland on the 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence in the prayer that liberation may not be far off.

The Lithuanians have displayed courage and fortitude in their valiant and ceaseless fight against the enslavement of communism, and they have earned the admiration of the free world which joins them in the struggle to defeat the Communist aggressor everywhere.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

Address by the Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., at Dinner of Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. DUFF
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. DUFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which was delivered by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States representative to the United Nations, at a dinner in Philadelphia, on Monday, February 14.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The size and importance of the State of Pennsylvania and of the city of Philadelphia are in themselves reason enough to make any man proud to be the speaker here tonight, particularly one who, like myself, has seen at firsthand what the influence of Pennsylvania can mean in national politics.

To this pleasure is added the gratification of speaking in a State which is represented in the United States Senate by two men with whom I have served.

The first is Senator EDWARD MARTIN, whose courtesy and patriotism and sincerity are well known to you. I have the finest recollections of my service with him.

And then, of course, it is a unique pleasure to take part in any affair in which JIM DUFF is interested, and JIM has told me of his interest in this dinner tonight. Knowing JIM as we all do, you will believe me when I say that he told me of this interest in no uncertain terms. JIM and I have not only been friends in the Senate, but the closest of fellow workers in the campaign to secure the Republican nomination for General Eisenhower. Without his brilliance and boldness, without his sure political instinct, and his vision, our campaign would not have gotten off the ground.

These then are some of my reasons for being glad to be in Pennsylvania. There is another one, and one which I think entitles all Pennsylvanians to congratulations, which is that our President is making a home for himself in this State in the historic town of Gettysburg.

Gettysburg not only suggests Pennsylvania; it not only suggests President Eisenhower; it also suggests Abraham Lincoln, the anniversary of whose birth we celebrate tonight. One of the things about Lincoln is that he is always up to date. He never grows old or stale. What he says is always modern and to the point.

He guided us through the worst tragedy in our history—for a civil war is the worst of all wars. He can help us today when the big fight in the world is not among ourselves but against the world menace of communism.

To appreciate Lincoln to the full we should realize some fine and unique things about our country—things which we should not take for granted—which were recently summarized by Professor Commager as follows: That we are now the oldest republic, the oldest federal system with the oldest written constitution in the world; that we have avoided a violent revolution from the right or from the left; that we have developed majority rule without impairing the rights of minorities; that we have remained moral without a state church; that we have established a system of universal education without the vulgarization of culture; that we have become a world power without imposing our will on other people; and that we have remained a single nation under one flag instead of fragmenting into a multiplicity of separate—and quarreling—nationalisms.

None of these achievements would have been possible without the leadership of Abraham Lincoln. It is due to him that we are one country today under one flag. It is thus due to him—and to those who laid down their lives at his call—that our country is today the great hope of lovers of freedom all over the world. It is therefore our duty to remember that by our actions, in Lincoln's own words, "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth."

While Lincoln's wisdom and nobility of spirit are timeless and as fresh today as the day he expressed them, the march of science has not stood still. It was Lincoln who said that "all the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years."

That eventuality today is fortunately still highly unlikely. But we must recognize what modern science means—that for the first time since the Civil War was fought, a future war would be brought to our own soil. Ever since the Civil War our wars were all fought outside of the United States. If the tragedy of another war should occur, we in the United States would be the prime target.

National defense and foreign policy have always been the prime responsibility of the President, and this has never been truer than it is today. In 2 years as a member of the President's Cabinet and as the United States representative to the United Nations, I have been able to see at first hand how the President has discharged this duty, and I would like tonight to review briefly with you just 20 of the most important things that have happened in that time.

1. Last spring, world communism, having moved in on Guatemala, was getting ready for aggression into other parts of Central America. We discovered a 2,000-ton shipload of Communist arms being sneaked into Guatemala from Communist Poland. Then anti-Communist Guatemalans, exiled in Honduras, started a revolt to free their country from Soviet Communist domination.

Immediately, Moscow went into action. They asked for a session of the United Nations Security Council. You could see the close teamwork between the Soviets and their Communist Guatemalan stooges. They tried to get the Security Council to send so-called peace observers to Guatemala—with Communists among them, of course—the idea being to stop the revolt and save the pro-Communist regime. This was a bold Soviet bid to torpedo the Monroe Doctrine, and gain a decisive foothold for communism in our hemisphere. They wanted to make the United Nations Security Council an accessory to their crime.

But we met that challenge head-on in the Security Council in New York—and we defeated it. Communism in Guatemala, as a result, went down the drain. Today Guatemala is once again securely in the free world, once again a loyal member of the Inter-American system, and the Monroe Doctrine remains intact to shield our hemisphere against any outside aggressor.

2. At Caracas, Venezuela, last March, the American Republics agreed to act together against international Communist subversion in our hemisphere, just as they would against military aggression. Thus the Monroe Doctrine has not only been preserved—it has been applied to cope with the realities of our time.

3. In Costa Rica last month a living reality was made of the provisions of the Rio Pact, the purpose of which is to maintain peace in our hemisphere by common action.

4. Moving across the Atlantic to Europe, we see today a new hope for freedom in the London agreement, which has now been ratified by the French National Assembly, on the delicate and vital problem of rearming West Germany. When the old plan for a European Defense Community was defeated we didn't sulk or despair. We moved at once with the other nations most concerned to find a new way to put German military power on the side of freedom—and to end the Franco-German division which has been called the world's worst fire hazard.

The result is the London and Paris agreements, which will give back sovereignty to West Germany, give her an army to help defend Europe, and make her a member of the North Atlantic team. What an historic achievement it will be to get France and Germany solidly together as effective partners in defending Europe against communism. Now it looks more and more certain that a major start toward that goal has been made, in spite of increasingly frantic Communist maneuvers to stop it. The tact and initiative of Secretary Dulles deserve a large share of the credit for this.

5. Another happy development in Europe is the settlement at last of the quarrel between Italy and Yugoslavia over the port of Trieste—a quarrel in which at one time the troops of both sides were almost ready to march. Italy gets the port city and the two countries divide up the outlying districts. The end of that dispute means a much more solid front against Soviet pressure in the Mediterranean. It's a new element of strength for the free world, and American diplomacy had a big hand in bringing it to pass.

Let us move to the Middle East—a vital area in the struggle with communism. For one thing, it contains the world's biggest reserves of oil—which is vital in our strategy. For another thing, it consists mainly of young nations, most of them colonies of Europe not long ago, whose people are often suspicious of the Western World. Communism would dearly love to get a foothold there. In this area we have had a whole series of successes for the cause of freedom.

6. There is a new defense pact between Pakistan on the east and Turkey on the west. Other nations may join that soon, implementing what Secretary Dulles calls the

"northern tier" concept to shield the Middle East from Soviet aggression.

7. We have new agreements with Pakistan and Iraq to strengthen their defense.

8. The knotty problem of how Iran is to sell her oil in the world has at last been solved and thus a chance for Soviet pressure and manipulation has been removed.

9. Then in Egypt, with constant American encouragement, an agreement was reached with Britain last year on defense of the Suez Canal—which means an end to still another trouble spot where, only a short time ago, both sides were getting ready to fight it out if necessary.

10. And meanwhile, in the United Nations Security Council and elswhere, we have worked successfully with both Israel and the Arab countries to see that the peace there is not broken, although all the problems have certainly not been solved. So in the Middle East, which was a dangerously weak link in our defense against communism 2 years ago, we have now a very promising sight—the growth of a strong international structure in which freedom can develop and defend itself.

In the Far East we must cope with an aggressive communism which is still pushing outward from the Soviet Union and Communist China and with the attitude of countries like India which insist that their foreign policy can be impartial between communism and freedom.

11. The first gain in the Orient came when we ended the Korean fighting and stopped communism dead in its tracks. We have as a result been able to take four American divisions out of Korea and put them in our strategic reserve for use wherever they may be needed.

12. We gave effect to the priceless principle that no Chinese or Korean prisoner of war would have to go back to communism against his will, as a result of which the overwhelming proportion of these prisoners, nearly 50,000 of them, are free men today.

13. There has been no final peace settlement in Korea, because the Communists don't want one, as they proved at Geneva this spring, where they frustrated all Korean proposals and vilified the United Nations at the same time. But we have kept the record straight, and in the United Nations we made sure that in any peace negotiations on Korea the Soviet Union would appear where it belongs—on the Communist side of the table and not as a neutral.

14. In Indochina settlement has been reached to end the bloodshed. It was a sad settlement in many ways, but it was certainly better than continuing a war which couldn't be won without American divisions doing the fighting—and we did not want to send our young manhood to fight in those mountains and rice paddies. The situation in that area is still perilous, and is one which cannot be successfully dealt with exclusively by military methods. We are not just standing by wringing our hands; we are over there helping free Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to get on their own feet and stay free.

15. For the first time we have the beginning of a strong free Asia organization in the Manila Pact, which was signed by eight nations last September. The area it defends stretches from Pakistan to the Philippines. This pact is directed against both armed attack and Communist subversion, and it contains an historic declaration for freedom for the peoples of the Asian and Pacific area.

United States leadership played a tremendous part in that historic Manila Pact. In this treaty plus the new defense treaties with free Korea and free China, we have an emerging pattern of real defense for freedom in Asia. But we have more than that. We have a new start toward a community of Asian nations which stand on their own feet. These nations are seeing more and more clearly that the old colonialism to which they are accustomed is giving way to a new age of freedom, and that the great threat to that new age is not from Europe and the West but from the new Communist colonial system that seeks to enslave people under false banners of so-called liberation.

16. Communist China has been put on notice by the President, with the backing of the Congress, that we will not tolerate aggression against Formosa and the Pescadores. This courageous and timely move is our best insurance against a full-scale war in that area.

17. The United Nations General Assembly, by a vote of 47 to 5 last December, condemned Red China's imprisonment of 11 American fliers on false charges, and took the responsibility to seek release of all United Nations Command prisoners still held by the Communists in violation of the Korean armistice agreement. Thus the United Nations has shown that it believes in the elemental decencies and seeks to look after its own. I believe we will get our men back, and I believe that the General Assembly's action will have been a big step in that direction.

18. Communist China's attempts to get into various United Nations bodies have been voted down every time; a total of 25 times since I have been there.

19. Americans employed by the United Nations have been screened in accordance with FBI procedures for the good and sufficient reason that where there are so many good Americans to choose from, there is no excuse whatever for employing one single American Communist.

20. The high point at the United Nations was President Eisenhower's dramatic plan to set up a world pool of fissionable materials so that humanity may receive the great benefits of the peacetime uses of atomic energy. This plan had seized the imagination of the world so strongly that even the Soviet Union didn't dare vote "no"—and the resolution endorsing it passed the General Assembly by 60 to 0.

To sum up—in 2 years, faced with the unrelenting pressure of communism, we have had bold forward steps and great diplomatic successes for the cause of freedom in every quarter of the globe. We have seen success in Guatemala and Costa Rica, in getting a real start on bringing West Germany into the North Atlantic Organization, in settling the Trieste problem, in the defense pacts involving Pakistan, Turkey, and Iraq, in the Iranian oil settlement, in Egypt, in Korea, in the Southeast Asia pact, and at the United Nations—particularly in the world acclaim given to the President's proposal for the peacetime uses of atomic energy.

I often think that the ending of that dreadful war in Korea in itself is enough to cause us to be thankful—even if all these other good things had not been accomplished. Just the thought that our boys are not being killed any more makes me grateful.

It all adds up to this—that for the first time since World War II there is no large-scale fighting going on anywhere in the world. Of course the situation is precarious and peace is not established on a durable basis. But for the first time we and other nations, instead of rushing from one emergency to another, have begun to settle down confidently to the long haul to defend and strengthen peace and freedom.

It is curious in the face of this record to hear voices raised which complain that the United States world position has somehow weakened in the past 2 years. Hearing these voices calls to mind the fact that we have in the State Department and in the White House two Americans who, leaving out of account all their other qualifications, have been thinking about and dealing with America's relationship to the outside world all of their lives.

John Foster Dulles has been working actively in the foreign affairs field since he was a very young man. From the time he was in college his ambition was to become Secretary of State and he has trained himself deliberately for this work. As one of his close associates, I appreciate this opportunity to pay tribute to his wisdom, his cleverness, his patience, and the deep-seated goodness of his nature.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, as a young Army officer in the Philippines, was dealing at the very highest level with the Philippine leaders of those days and with others on matters which directly affected the United States world position. Later, in World War II and again in the NATO command, as Cardinal Spellman said recently, the American people entrusted him with our two most precious possessions—our liberties and our youth. His success in those great tasks depended directly on his understanding of foreign relations and his insight into the minds of foreign peoples.

Similar thoughts come to mind in connection with national defense. At the present time we have more air groups ready for action than we have ever had before in time of peace—real air groups, not paper ones. We have better than 121 combat-ready air groups today. In 1952 there were 103 groups, but many of them were not equipped with modern aircraft and would not have been effective in combat.

Thanks to the fact that the American people had the good judgment to put our foremost military expert in the White House, we have eliminated much waste from the armed services, yet we are actually getting more defense.

The newspaperman, Holmes Alexander, wrote some paragraphs recently about our President which I would like to quote:

"On a short-term, day-to-day basis, America's best natural resource for 1955 is Dwight David Eisenhower, the good gray rock to which, as it sometimes seems, the Nation's sanity is anchored.

"Only a moderate, as he calls himself politically, could have tapered us off the Fair Deal jag; only a public hero with a puritanical conscience would have accepted the popular power now in one man's hands without abusing it; only a five-star military officer would have the nerve and the knowledge to reduce the Armed Forces—as Ike intends to keep on doing—in the face of real danger and of phony danger—the latter raised like a goblin's head by certain Congress people, the military columnists, the munitions makers, and the Pentagon chiefs, who year after year lobby for more men and more armaments.

"But the vein of gold in this Eisenhower lode is not his politics, experience, or expert knowledge; it's his personal character."

Mr. Chairman, I conclude.

We believe in our wonderful two-party system because competition in politics makes for better politics just as competition in business makes for better business. We in particular are proud of the Republican record of service. But modern Americans do not believe that the party system should be carried to the point where it destroys the national unity.

The big fight today is not between Republicans and Democrats.

In this dangerous world the big fight is between us Americans with our allies who love freedom on the one side and, on the other side, the Communist rulers who would destroy us. This was true when Stalin ruled in Moscow; it was true when Malendov succeeded him; it is true today; and prudence demands that we expect it to be true in the future.

This means unity at home.

But it does not mean monolithic uniformity. It does not mean the suppression of honest disagreement. It means that our disagreements must be sincere and not in-

spired by political motives. It means that our opinions, whether we agree or not, must be inspired by what Lincoln in his first inaugural address called "the better angels of our nature."

When we see the kind of administration which the President is giving this country—its enlightenment, its generosity, its fundamental decency, and its effectiveness in behalf of our people in our domestic affairs; when we consider its skill, its prudence, and its vision in leading us in the dreadful struggle brought on by world communism, it is natural for us to exclaim that we would like to see Dwight D. Eisenhower as our President without any limit as to time. I predict that the people will not allow him to retire and will surely insist on his serving for another 4 years. In bringing about peace and at the same time preserving prosperity, he has already done what many thought was impossible. The American people know when they have something good, and they have that something good in Dwight Eisenhower.

Just as Lincoln, whose name we revere tonight, was the right man for the tragic crisis of the Civil War, so is President Eisenhower the man to lead us in this perilous struggle with world communism.

The Role of the Military in American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech which I delivered at the commissioning exercises of the 12th officer candidate class, United States Marine Corps, Quantico, Va., on February 19, 1955. The address is entitled "The Role of the Military in American Foreign Policy."

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

(Address of Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana)

An elected official can hardly expect universal approval of his position on every issue. Almost invariably some people will agree with him and others will disagree, sometimes very vehemently. And I must say that a Member of Congress pricked by public criticism bleeds at least as profusely as any other human being.

In a decade and a half of service in Congress, I have been on sick call for this reason on a number of occasions. I have learned to accept occasional wounds as a part of my job, as an occupational hazard.

There is one issue, however, which I have repeatedly tackled in Congress and have repeatedly come out, not licking my wounds but miraculously unscathed. That issue is the preservation of the integrity of the Marine Corps.

While Members of Congress must out of conviction sometimes run counter to the immediate flow of public opinion, it is not a very pleasant experience. It is always preferable, if you can do so honestly, to find yourself flowing downstream with public sentiment rather than struggling upstream, half-drowned, against it.

Beyond the natural gratification which comes to an elected official when he finds his own heart and the public pulse beating in perfect unison—beyond that, I have a special pleasure in fighting for the integrity of the corps. As a marine, I take personal pride in the marines. Of course, I also take personal pride in the Army and the Navy, as an ex-member of each of those services. But I think I may be pardoned if I tend to be a little prouder of my marine background. I was only a private in the Army. I was only a seaman, second class, in the Navy. But with that same perceptiveness which prompted the Marine Corps to recognize your qualities of leadership the corps also recognized mine. I emerged from my hitch in the Marines as a Pfc.

That distinction, I realize, does not, in itself, qualify me to speak to you on the Role of the Military in American Foreign Policy. Nevertheless, I feel that the subject is of such great importance that it should be considered not only by privates—buck or first class—and Senators, but by thoughtful Americans throughout the Nation. I think it is an especially pertinent one for you men who are graduating today into command positions in the corps. The Marines have traditionally operated with high effectiveness as a principal military instrument of this Nation's foreign policy during peacetime just as they have more than once proved their tremendous capabilities when the peace has been violated.

One explanation for this outstanding service may well be that the corps has always maintained a strict professional regard for the American principle of civilian control of military power. That principle, as I am sure you have been taught, is absolutely essential for the proper functioning of our system of government. It is not enough that Congress determines appropriations and organizational arrangements, and that the President and his civilian assistants direct the administrative management of the military. The American concept goes further. It requires that the military shall only be used whenever, wherever, and in whatever manner the politically responsible civilian leadership shall determine, because only that leadership, through elections, can be held accountable to the people of the Nation.

In the present state of world affairs, a system of civilian control is not easily maintained. It is subject to all the stresses and strains that arise from the tense international situation. In a crisis, with the threat of world conflict ever present, it is not unnatural to turn to distinguished military leaders for guidance, to rely heavily on their judgment, and sometimes it is profitable to the nation to do so. Nevertheless, the principle of civilian control remains essential to democratic government as we know it.

Primary responsibility for the preservation of this principle rests with our civilian leadership; that leadership must be willing to assume the heavy responsibilities of decision in this dangerous world. But I think you will agree that considerable responsibility also rests with the military. They must understand and accept the limits as well as the challenges of their profession in the conduct of the Nation's affairs, particularly its foreign affairs.

Perhaps I can illustrate this point with an anecdote. During the Civil War, the story goes, certain Members of Congress left their desks in Washington and went to the battlefields in Virginia. There they insisted upon assuming the tactical command of the Union forces. After having thrown the campaign into confusion they beat a hasty retreat to Washington where they arrived mud-spattered, trembling, and presumably chastised.

If the story is amusing, it is because it is easy to recognize the absurdity of this escapade. These Congressmen apparently assumed that their training in politics equipped them to run the Army. They also distorted and distended the functions of their office out of all true proportion.

The moral of the story is simple enough: Congressmen ought not to assume that political training provides an automatic background for military leadership and, in military affairs, their role ought not to exceed the constitutional powers of their office.

Let us put the shoe on the other foot. The moral is now this: Military leaders ought not to assume that military training provides an automatic background for politics, whether national or international, and they ought not in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy exceed the powers of their appointive office.

Just as the distorted behavior of the Congressmen in the Civil War could have produced tragic results as easily as humorous, so too can the distorted behavior of military leaders.

It has never been easy to draw a clear line as to the area of competence and authority of the armed services in foreign policy. Events of the past 15 years have made it even more difficult. First of all, during this period, some among us, civilian and military alike, have developed a distorted sense of the nature of what this country is trying to do in its relations with other nations and how it can most effectively go about doing it. Foreign policy is simply the course by which we attempt to provide for the safety of the Nation and the advancement of its interests in a complex and dangerous world. That is its only reason for being. To carry out our policy we require military strength but we must also bring into play nonmilitary instruments and measures to influence conditions throughout the world. Possibly it is because these nonmilitary measures are less dramatic, less newsworthy, and tend to affect us and our families less directly, that we sometimes lose our perspective and regard them as less important than military actions. Sometimes there is a tendency to view nonmilitary measures merely as supplements of our military policy, when in fact the reverse is closer to the truth.

You men need hardly to be reminded of this fact. If you know the history of the corps, you know that the marines have been sent to foreign territories and to overseas bases only from time to time and only after the failure of other methods to protect American citizens and interests. In countless day-to-day situations arising in our foreign relations throughout the world the military instruments is in no way involved.

As for any large scale use of force, it is only when nonmilitary measures fail to produce situations favorable to the vital security interests of the United States, that such use may become necessary. Even then we have invoked military force only in response to aggression. That we have waited for our enemy to show beyond all shadow of doubt that he intends to strike us, rather than strike the first blow ourselves, does not mean that we are slow-witted or even patient. It means simply that we are following a fundamental American principle: that force is the final, not the first arbiter in the affairs of men and nations. Nothing has done more to toughen the moral fiber of this country than that principle. No other single factor has served to sustain our morale during the long and gruelling wars which we have had to fight. Nothing has done more to turn the hearts and hopes of mankind to this Nation. And I hope the day never comes when this Nation shall use its might in any way other than for protection against the arrogant, the aggressive, and the ruthless.

The role of the military in foreign policy, then, is to provide a reserve of power to support negotiations concerning our just interests in the world and to defend those interests if they are attacked. I want to under-

line the words "reserve and support." Responsibility for determining what our interests are and when and how they are to be defended is vested in the President and his Secretary of State. The Department of Defense and other agencies of the Government, in the performance of their duties have an influence in this determination, but final responsibility cannot rest in any body other than the Department of State or the President himself.

Since the beginning of World War II, however, the role of the military in American foreign policy has assumed proportions of great magnitude. During the war the armed services inevitably became the foremost element in carrying our American policy. Since the close of those hostilities the services have continued to serve prominently in this connection, due to the nature of postwar diplomacy and developments.

The occcupation of Germany and Japan, and the control of trust territories, among other things, has brought the armed services directly into foreign policy to a degree unprecedented in peacetime. To some extent, the same was true of the so-called Truman doctrine of 1947. Under the Truman Doctrine, the Armed Forces not only ran military training missions to strengthen the security of Greece and Turkey against Communist aggression, but of necessity played a significant role in the formulation of policy with respect to those countries. Subsequently, they have had an enormous influence in foreign policy in connection with NATO, mutual aid and military assistance missions in numerous countries, the Korean war, overseas bases, and treaties with nations in the western Pacific.

I think that one of the chief problems emanating from this chain of developments is that in many instances there has been a tendency to treat individual military programs and policies as separate and distinct military affairs, whereas they actually are parts of the totality of American foreign policy. Responsibility for decision making has at times been vested in military officials rather than in foreign-policy officials. In other instances there has been a failure to define and clarify lines of responsibility for policy formulation. I say this, not so much in criticism as in recognition of the fact. It is unlikely that anyone planned it that way; it has simply happened—perhaps largely because it was not planned.

The obscuring of the lines of responsibility and authority is perhaps best illustrated in the issuance of public statements by leaders of the armed services. Such statements are usually expressed in military terminology. Often, however, much of their substance is of a foreign-policy nature. Perhaps this is unavoidable in view of the complexity of the matters with which they frequently deal. One cannot always draw a clear-cut line between military and political and other factors in a given situation.

The question of rearming Germany will serve to illustrate this point, and this example finds a counterpart in practically every other major foreign policy issue with which we are confronted. There are strong military reasons for urging the rearmament of Germany and it is natural for military personnel to see the need in terms of added divisions of manpower, bases, etc. But Germany cannot be rearmed in a vacuum. Rearmament cannot be divorced from a whole range of problems concerning European unity, the fears of France, the role of Britain on the Continent, the reunification of Germany, and the maintenance of the western alliance. It seems to me, therefore, that official statements on this subject under our system of government emanate best from our foreign policy officials. They are presumably kept well informed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff with respect to the military considerations involved and they in turn are best equipped to view such considerations and to express them publicly in terms of the totality of American interests.

I cite this example merely to illustrate the problem of defining the role of the military in American foreign policy. It is not difficult to see the principal reason for the expansion of military participation in foreign policymaking. As I mentioned earlier, the nature of wartime and postwar developments and diplomacy has required a vastly increased use of the military as an instrument of policy.

There is, however, still another factor. The military emerged from the war with great prestige, both at home and abroad, and this prestige has carried over into the postwar period. On the international scene this has led to widespread use of prominent military leaders in diplomatic capacities. At various periods since the close of World War II three of our foremost military leaders during the war have served in positions which were more political than military and which roughly corresponded to their wartime military roles—General Eisenhower as NATO commander, General MacArthur in charge of the occupation of Japan, and General Marshall as Secretary of State. Each of these distinguished military leaders had earned the respect of foreign nations, as well as the American people, through their outstanding military service. Each made an exceptional contribution in their postwar assignments.

Other military leaders have also been called upon for diplomatic or political services—Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, who served as Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Under Secretary of State, and Adm. Alan Kirk, who served as Ambassador to Belgium and Ambassador to the Soviet Union, are two leading examples. I could name two dozen other former generals and admirals now holding civilian positions in the Federal Government. Countless others of field grade are scattered through the civilian bureaucracies of the Federal Government concerned with foreign affairs and international organizations.

This increased use of military leaders in position of a diplomatic or political nature, of course, has often been due not only to carryover of the military prestige of these men but also to their demonstrated ability as well as their availability for such service.

Without in any way reflecting on the capacity of any individual, I do think that the vast expansion in the employment of military personnel in both the making and carrying out of foreign policy is something to which we should give some serious thought. It raises questions not only with respect to our basic values but also with respect to our basic foreign-policy objectives, including our military security.

First, let me say something about the question which I think this trend poses concerning our basic values.

Military officers are not different from anyone else in this country. They come from representative families all over the Nation; they go to the same grade schools and high schools; they hold the same social and religious values. But the military profession exacts from those who pursue it a higher measure of self-sacrifice in the public interest than most other professions. The military as a group must accept a higher degree of training, conditioning, and discipiining toward one objective—to provide military protection for the Nation. That is as it should be and those who enter the profession, like you men today, understand these conditions.

Like any other professional group the military in their dedication to their primary objective may tend to lose sight of other national objectives. It appears to me, consequently, that when the military in fact make policy decisions or when military techniques are excessively applied to carry out policies which can be more appropriately handled by civilian techniques, we are in danger of having military objectives and values emphasized at the expense of other, broader national objectives and values.

With respect to our basic foreign policy objectives, including military security itself, the expansion of the military role in foreign policy poses some more immediate dangers. Responsibility for our entire foreign policy, which is concerned with international economc, cultural, and political relations, as well as with military affairs, is vested in our Secretary of State. Our military objectives have no meaning in themselves except as they tend to further our nonmilitary objectives. If they are given an independent meaning, if they become ends in themselves, we could easily be led into costly adventures which would only add to the financial and human burdens of the American people and which might ultimately result in widespread public reaction against the military. The best way to avoid a distorted emphasis on military objectives, the way that is provided under our constitutional system, is to require that final authority in foreign policy decision making remain unequivocally with the Secretary of State under the President of the United States.

In terms of our military security specifically, as distinguished from the wider range of foreign policy, it appears to me that a further danger exists. Our military experts may weaken their professional stature through overanxious acceptance of an increased role in policy matters.

In recent years military leaders have been brought into the limelight of public discussions of foreign policy largely as a result of their well-earned public prestige. Civilian political leaders have tended to rely heavily on this prestige gained through military accomplishments in order to support policies affecting our foreign policy. Generals and admirals have been called upon or sent to testify regularly before congressional committees, not only in connection with military appropriations and matters affecting the individual services, but also in connection with broad issues of policy, such as economic assistance programs and international alliances. Military officials, moreover, frequently discuss political issues—not necessarily partisan political issues, but issues of a political nature—at public appearances and press conferences. I may say at this point that the Marine Corps has been singularly free of this type of affliction. To the best of my knowledge, the leadership of the corps has successfully resisted the temptation to assert its expertness verbally and publicly not only in military matters but over the whole range of human affairs. Only an elected official, constantly beckoned by the siren call of the press, radio, and television, can appreciate the extraordinary degree of self-control that this represents. It is one more reason for me to be proud of my personal connection with the corps.

Now what is the danger to our security inherent in the exposure of military leaders—whether sought or unsought—to the political conflicts of the day? It is this: Military leaders who are so exposed will find themselves in agreement with one side of a political issue and at odds with the other. They will be applauded by political leaders whose position they uphold and looked upon with suspicion by their opponents. When military officers become subjects of partisan politics they are no longer viewed as unbiased, objective career servants, nor will their military judgments be accepted as those of politically disinterested professional experts. From that, it is only one step to the loss of confidence in the military judgment of our military leaders.

This central problem was clearly illustrated prior to the last presidential election

when a Senator publicly called for a change in the membership of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He had, he said lost confidence in their judgment. The new administration, moreover, subsequently did appoint new Joint Chiefs of Staff to take a new look at the military program. Surely we cannot have Republican generals and admirals for one administration and Democratic generals and admirals for the next without danger to the national security.

Now, possibly as never before, we cannot afford to play politics with our security. No political party, and no faction of a party, stands in the long run to benefit from military insecurity in this country. Certainly, the armed services as a whole do not.

In mentioning this tendency of some military officers to slip into or to be drawn into the political orbit of our system of government, I do not wish to imply that the military experts should have no contact with Congress. Certainly Congress has a right to know what our military experts think about military matters under consideration in Congress. The danger lies, not in this, but in military officers being employed as experts outside the area of their special competence in support of or in opposition to policy matters concerning which political and not military decision must be made.

There is no easy solution to this problem. Part of the answer lies in the restraint which civilian leaders must exercise to avoid placing military officials on the spot in political issues. Part of the answer must also lie in the fortitude with which military leaders resist the temptation to project themselves into nonmilitary questions.

This problem may seem remote to you men now, but within a short span of years as your careers unfold it may well become for some of you a most pressing and difficult one.

As I mentioned earlier, responsibility for maintaining the proper civilian-military balance in our system of government must be shared by both our military leaders and our civilian political leadership. The military must exercise the utmost restraint in policy matters, and our civilian leadership must be willing to take full responsibility for political decisions.

In foreign relations we need constantly to keep in mind the essential relationship of military force to total foreign policy. Military leaders as well as civilian foreign-policy officials must understand the supporting role of military force. Military resources, like other tools of foreign policy, must be available to our politically accountable civilian policymakers when, where, and under conditions prescribed by those policymakers. It is incumbent upon our policymakers that they should take full advantage of military advice; but when the time for decision-making comes, the civilian policymaker must make the choice and take full responsibility for that choice.

How can we preserve this principle and at the same time provide for our own military security? There are no hard and fast rules. There is only commonsense and a few guideposts appropriate to the present state of world affairs.

First, it is essential that we maintain the necessary military strength to meet the threat of Communist aggression.

At the same time, however, every effort should be made to use nonmilitary measures to conduct foreign policy wherever possible. They are less costly and often they can produce beneficial results that are more lasting in their effects. If we are to pursue them successfully, however, we must learn that every nonmilitary action in foreign policy is not an act of appeasement.

I would also suggest that if it becomes clear that we are tending away, rather than toward, a general war, we profit from long years of experience and place greater reliance on the Marine Corps as the military force to support our diplomacy in foreign policy. In saying this I am fully aware of the basic need for a multiservice fighting force in modern warfare. We share, I know, a great pride in the Marines and believe them capable of extraordinary feats. But we must admit that the corps has not yet rendered the Army, Navy, and Air Force obsolete.

Nevertheless, I still believe that the proper way to fight "brush fires" in various parts of the world is not with the forces trained for general warfare, but with the specially trained self-sustaining, combat-ready forces of the Marine Corps. No other military group is so well suited to immediate service in any part of the world. No other group is more competent to keep the expenditure of force close to the requirements for achieving limited objectives.

Finally, I want to say that the most important element in the preservation of the principle of civilian control of American foreign policy is to require that our civilian foreign-policy officials take full responsibility for decisions affecting foreign policy.

Your share in maintaining the proper role of the military in foreign policy is, it seems to me, to keep in mind that every action you take in your official capacities has a bearing on the foreign relations of the Nation. You will either contribute to the safety and well-being of the United States or you will detract from it; you cannot be neutral. And if you would contribute to it, as I know you wish to do, then you will maintain always a high sense of patriotic and professional responsibility in the fulfillment of your duties. You will find your personal satisfactions in your profession by understanding your part in the perspective of the corps, in the larger perspective of the armed services, and in the perspective of the total interests of our country.

The Decade Since Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered before the Western States Meat Packers Association in San Francisco on Friday last, February 18, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND BEFORE THE WESTERN STATES MEAT PACKERS ASSOCIATION, SAN FRANCISCO, FEBRUARY 18, 1955

THE DECADE SINCE YALTA

Mr. Chairman, fellow Americans, 10 years ago 2 conferences of far-reaching significance took place. The first was Yalta held from February 4 to 11, 1945. Its locale was the Crimean Peninsula within the Soviet Union.

Three great powers were represented. These were the United States of America, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

The second one was the United Nations Conference held in San Francisco from April 25 to June 26, 1945. At that time 50 nations signed the charter and since then 10 additional nations have done so bringing the total membership to 60.

In that same 10-year period of time to which I have referred, international communism has increased its power, its area and its population. Ten years ago at this time there were less than 200 million people behind the Communist Iron Curtain. Today over 800 million people live under the most ruthless, godless tyranny the world has ever known.

The world balance of power has been so upset that no prudent person can ignore the realities of the situation. Not only the future of this Republic but the hope for a free world of free men largely depends upon the policies that we follow and the firmness with which we and the free nations deal with future Communist aggression or threat of aggression.

Recognizing the inherent danger in further Communist conquest, the Government of the United States has undertaken a series of commitments under the North Atlantic Alliance, the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States) mutual-defense pact and mutual-defense pacts with the Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Japan, southeast Asia, and the Republic of China.

The last two treaties were overwhelmingly ratified by the Senate this month.

The Manila pact covering southeast Asia was ratified on Tuesday, February 1, by a vote of 82 to 1, and the one with the Republic of China on Wednesday, February 9, by a vote of 64 to 6. These two ratifications were preceded by congressional action in support of the joint resolution recommended by the President authorizing him to use the Armed Forces of the United States in defense of Formosa, the Pescadores, and additional areas now in friendly hands that might be deemed important for the proper defense of the main bastion of Formosa.

In a display of national unity that should have encouraged our friends abroad, given courage to the neutrals and opened the eyes of the would-be aggressor, the House of Representatives passed the resolution by a vote of 409 to 3 and the Senate by a vote of 85 to 3.

This action had no sooner been taken and the two treaties ratified than diplomatic moves started on the part of certain Asian and European powers to bend the line of defense in the Pacific and lay the groundwork for a conference which would have all the unfortunate results of a Munich, a Yalta or a Geneva wherein the aggressor gains his objectives at the conference table.

Unfortunately, the history of these conferences has been that it is always the free world that gives up territory and surrenders human beings to the control of the Communists. It is never the other way around wherein the enslaved people gain their freedom.

It becomes pertinent, therefore, to examine the various proposals that have been made and what there implications are.

In order to deal with these matters, however, let us first examine the Yalta conference and the significance it had in the events which followed.

At Yalta without the knowledge or consent of the American people or the American Congress, an agreement was entered into which on its face violated the Atlantic Charter declaration and was fatally damaging to our friend and ally, the Republic of China.

Years later, in testimony, Alger Hiss, who had been one of the members of the American delegation stated:

"It is an accurate and not immodest statement to say that I helped formulate the Yalta agreement to some extent."

1. The agreement undercut the free Polish Government in exile and resulted in solidifying the power of the Lublin Communist Polish Government.

2. It carved out of Poland a slice of territory and gave the blessing of Great Britain

and the United States this territorial addition to the Soviet Union.

3. It provided for the use of German labor in the Soviet Union and under Kremlin practices this is closely akin to slave labor.

4. It laid the foundation for the turning over of large numbers of non-Communist Russians to the Soviet Union. Vast numbers of these were executed or sent to slave labor camps in Siberia.

5. It provided that certain areas within the Republic of China should be turned over to the Soviet Union as part of a deal to bring them into the Japanese war though they had twice before promised to come in prior to the Crimean Conference. These included the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur; gave the Soviet Union its former economic rights in the China Eastern Railroad and South Manchuria Railroad; guaranteed the status quo in outer Monogolia (the Mongolian People's Republic) and pledged that President Roosevelt "will take measures to obtain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin." It did this without the knowledge or consent of the Government of the Republic of China or its President Chiang Kai-shek. It further pledged "the heads of the three great powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan had been defeated."

With sort of a grim humor the Yalta agreement protocol regarding the Far East concluded by stating:

"For its part the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the Nationalist Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance. * * *"

It was not until many months later that either the Government of China or the Congress of the United States found out the terms of this agreement. The foundation laid by this agreement has contributed greatly to the loss of freedom in Eastern Europe and in China.

Under the terms of the Yalta agreement the Soviet Union did come into the war against Japan. They came in 5 days before the Japanese surrendered and occupied Manchuria and North Korea. In North Korea they promptly laid the groundwork for a divided country and the ultimate events leading to the outbreak of the Korean war which was precipitated by their satellite North Korean Communist government.

In China, despite the Soviet pledges regarding its dealings with the Republic of China, the Soviet Union proceeded to arm and equip the Chinese Communists under the leadership of Chou En-lai and Mao Tse Tung by allowing them to take over the stocks of captured Japanese equipment estimated to have been sufficient to arm and equip 1 million men for 5 years.

While much more could be said, the sorry story of Yalta gives a clear understanding of why the Communist world wants to get us involved in another conference through which they can gain their objectives.

Now let us turn to the San Francisco United Nations conference of 10 years ago.

World War II had not yet terminated. The people of the world did not know that we were on the threshold of the atomic age though those high in government had reason to believe a vast new power that ultimately could be used for destructive or constructive purposes was soon to be unveiled.

Hopes were high everywhere that the Soviet Union, though a dictatorship, had learned the folly of aggression and of war and because of the vast help given by the free world to them they would be willing to help establish a system of international law and order to preserve the peace of the world for ourselves and our children.

Unfortunately, both during the San Francisco Conference and in the 10 years that have followed, a vast propaganda effort has taken place to build the United Nations into something which its charter provisions could not or did not permit it to become. In the United Nations different people envisioned different things.

Some envisioned it as a mighty force of collective security that would rally most of the nations of the world to resist aggression and preserve the peace. In moments of oratorical fancy some even suggested that the fact the United Nations was in being would warrant free nations to scrap most, if not all, of their armed forces and place their reliance upon the police power of the United Nations and the collective moral persuasion of that organization. On June 25, 1950, this concept was shattered shortly after it appeared to be confirmed.

When the Communist forces crossed the 38th parallel, the United Nations Security Council promptly acted and first called upon the Communist aggressor to cease the aggression. The Communists, of course, forthwith showed they were not impressed by a United Nations resolution or the adverse moral reaction of that organization. The Security Council next called on the 60 members of that organization to give aid and support to the victim of the aggression, the Republic of Korea.

What is the record on this? After 3 years of the Korean war, of the 60 members of the United Nations, only 17 contributed a single soldier, sailor, or airman to the resistance of aggression. Outside of the United States of America, the other 16 contributed armed forces in the amount of 45,000. The United States of America alone contributed more than 450,000 and we rotated more than 1 million men through the Korean threater of war. The little Republic of Korea, which was the victim of the aggression, supplied over 600,000.

This means that of the United Nations members the United States of America supplied more than 90 percent of the manpower and better than 90 percent of the resources.

When the forces of the Republic of Korea, not being a member of the United Nations (having been kept out by a Soviet veto), are added to those of the United States, it means that our two nations alone supplied better than 95 percent of the manpower.

Does this indicate that the United Nations is an effective instrument of collective security? The answer must come back in the negative.

With that example are you prepared to risk the future of our Nation and the safety of our people upon the collective ability of the United Nations to function in the event of aggression? The answer likewise must be in the negative.

Has the time not come for a realistic appraisal of just what part the United Nations is qualified to play and to stop kidding ourselves into believing it is something it is not, and in my judgment, cannot be?

There are some who have envisioned the United Nations as a world state to which openly or clandestinely, individual nations would surrender their sovereignty. Some of the more enthusiastic proponents of this type of superstate compared the San Francisco meeting with that of our own Constitutional convention at Philadelphia. Of course, the two gatherings are not comparable for the building of a government upon which man might depend for the protection of his life, his liberty, his economic, and his intellectual freedom.

In the first place, those who met at Philadelphia spoke a common language and had a common heritage. True, they had come from different areas of the world, but they or their predecessors had come seeking a new way of life, freedom from old-world tyranny or a desire to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

They had fought a common battle against the mightiest empire of that time. They had carried over from the old country the background of the Magna Carta and of representative government. They had had experience, some of it not too satisfactory, under the Articles of Confederation, and with that background, under what I believe was divine inspiration, drafted the greatest document produced by the mind and hand of man for his self-government and protection of his rights. A little more realistic understanding of the history of the nations gathered in San Francisco should have made it clear that the organization could not be and should not be considered a basis for world government.

There is no common language or common heritage. Nations which have had no experience with representative constitutional government sit on equal terms with those that have had long experience. Nations of less than 1 million have equal representation with those of over 300 million. The Soviet Union, which is perhaps the most tyrannical government since western civilization entered the modern era, sits as an equal partner with nations with long-established constitutions of law, order, and a respect of the rights of man. Now, there are those who urge the admission of Communist China which was the aggressor in the Korean war. This, together with the other Communist states, would give that system of tyranny over 800 million people that they claim to speak for.

As for me, as long as I have a voice or a vote in the Senate of the United States, I shall never consent to permitting the guaranties of freedom under our Constitution being diluted or modified directly or indirectly by any organization having in powerful policy positions nations which have no appreciation of or respect for free institutions.

Lest we be gradually edged into such a world state before we learn too late wherein we have been taken, I believe that every candidate for public office—executive, legislative, or judicial—should be asked to give a forthright view upon this great public issue.

The United Nations, if it does not destroy its moral position by actions which I shall mention, does have a function it could perform. It could be a forum wherein the views of the free world and the Communist world might be aired to the benefit of the peoples of the world, provided that there was assurance the debates in the General Assembly or the Security Council were receiving as widespread coverage behind the Iron Curtain as they do in the free nations of the world. Otherwise it becomes a vast propaganda forum for the Communist world wherein the point of view of the West does not have the equal opportunity to get to the people in the Soviet Union and its satellites because of the strict censorship those governments exercise.

Even in regard to its position of moral leadership, the United Nations has allowed itself to become seriously compromised.

Following the intervention of Communist China into the Korean war, the United Nations, after great hesitation, declared Communist China the aggressor. There had been no such hesitation when the small aggressor Communist Korea crossed the 38th parallel in June of 1950.

To close observers this seemed to indicate that there would be alacrity to pass a resolution and to act against a small aggressor, but there would be procrastination and delay in acting against a large aggressor. This seemed to be an abandonment of principle for expediency.

Later, when the evidence was conclusive that the Soviet Union was not only giving moral support to Communist aggression in Korea but was supplying MIG planes, tanks,

artillery, ammunition, and other weapons in clear violation of the United Nations resolution and the charter of the organization no steps were taken to expel the Soviet Union from the United Nations.

Later on, the official representative of the Soviet Union baldly and boldly admitted the fact that such support had been given and in effect defied the United Nations to do anything about it. They did nothing.

Every member of the United Nations knows that the terms of the Korean armistice have been violated on numerous occasions. The Neutral Nations Commission is not allowed to function in Communist North Korea as it was intended though they have complete freedom in the area of the free Republic of Korea. In violation of the terms of the armistice the Communists have brought in equipment and built military air fields.

The most flagrant violation has been the admitted holding of 15 members of the American Air Force, 11 of whom have been sentenced to prison terms of from 4 to 10 years. Under the terms of the armistice it was required that all prisoners of war who wanted to be returned should be allowed to do so.

There is strong reason to believe that there are at least several hundred additional United Nations and United States prisoners of war being held in violation of the terms of the armistice.

United Nations passed a resolution expressing its concern in this matter. The Secretary General, Mr. Hammarskjold, made a special trip to Peking. He returned without the release of the prisoners and without any date upon which they might be expected to be returned in the future. It is apparent that they are being held for the purposes of international blackmail on the part of the Chinese Communists.

Impotent and paralyzed, the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly has taken no effective steps to enforce compliance in accordance with terms of the Korean armistice.

In the matter of the Chinese Communist aggression against the Republic of China which is a charter member of the United Nations, that Organization invited the Chinese Communists to come to New York to discuss a cease-fire.

Arrogantly, the Chinese Communists laid down terms that a victor would be expected to lay down to the vanquished—namely, that the Republic of China should be removed from the Security Council and that the Soviet Union resolution condemning the United States should be made the order of business rather than the New Zealand resolution relative to a cease-fire.

When this message was received, the United Nations again demonstrated its ineffectiveness by postponing the whole situation while some of the neutralist friends of the Soviet Union and Red China are trying through diplomatic channels to provide for a far-eastern Munich whereby the Chinese Communists will be given the key coastal islands of Quemoy and Matsu. This, of course, would be another defeat for the free world and throughout all of Asia looked upon as another victory for the Communists, comparable to that growing out of the Geneva conference wherein the Communists gained control of northern Vietnam and 15 million more human beings.

These are not pleasant facts, and there are many in this country and elsewhere who, because of the vast amount of publicity and propaganda, have gotten a distorted view of the capabilities of the United Nations Organization.

Certainly in this day and age of the airplane and the atomic weapon, a nation can no more return to isolationism than an adult can return to childhood.

It is important that we have a system of effective collective security and to demonstrate to the Communist world that there will be no further retreats or the abandonment of free people into Communist hands.

This Nation will live up to all of its treaty obligations, and we have the right to expect that our allies will do likewise.

I have a deep conviction that the American people and those throughout the free world who understand the dangers facing us, will never again pay the price of another Yalta or another Geneva in order to buy a temporary respite from the insatiable appetite of international Communists to destroy human freedom.

The Tariff on Watches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article in the form of an open letter, written by General of the Army Omar N. Bradley, and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 15, 1955.

I believe this outstanding citizen-soldier performed an excellent piece of work in bringing to the attention of the public the raising of the tariff on watches by the President a few months ago.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAY I SPEAK UP?

I. In a democracy, every citizen has the right to speak up and be counted. I should like to exercise this right. I have a simple reason: the belief that many people in the United States and in Switzerland largely misunderstand the defense characteristics of the crucially important watch manufacturing industry in the United States.

President Eisenhower last July announced an upward adjustment of tariffs on certain imported watch movements. Many people on both sides of the Atlantic have wondered what the United States really had in mind when this action was taken. What the Government had in mind, I suggest, was national defense and the defense of the free world—nothing more.

You should know that the President made the adjustment after two things happened: the Tariff Commission itself twice recommended the step; a special committee set up by the Office of Defense Mobilization said that the watch industry was vital and had to be preserved for defense purposes.

II. If I were speaking only as a watch company stockholder, I would encourage my company to import an even greater percentage of its watch movements from Switzerland. It can make more profit on these than it can on domestically produced watches.

But I have spent most of my life as a soldier. It is because of my lifetime interest in national defense that I am making this statement. During the two world wars we fought to preserve freedom in the Western World, I saw at first hand how vital were precision devices and precision weapons. Later, as head of the Venterans' Administration, I became more intimately aware of the precision skills required of watchmakers, through training programs which were being conducted at that time. I cannot forget that the instrumentation in a single heavy bomber require over 3,000 jeweled bearings, and that these can only be made by companies possessing watchmaking skills.

No other industry has these skills organized for production. No other industry is prepared to work to tolerances as low as millionths of an inch. No other industry can mass-produce devices sensitive to temperature variations of millionths of a degree.

Some other industry might, of course, "tool up" and train personnel for such precision work. That would take years. And that might be too long.

Only 4,000 precision watchmakers are left in America. There were 10,000 in 1948.

III. Concerned by such facts, the Office of Defense Mobilization (through its Director, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming), told its Interdepartmental Committee to make another special study. The committee was not concerned with questions of commercial competition, but with matters of defense. Among its findings were:

1. The number of workers in watchmaking plants in the United States had fallen below the level required for defense purposes.

2. Watchmaking skills cannot be stockpiled or put on a standby basis.

3. The only way to preserve such skills is to keep the watchmakers busy manufacturing watch movements.

Other committees had reached the same conclusions.

IV. Just recently, confusion has also arisen because the Treasury Department, through the Bureau of Customs, has proposed a ruling to stop the practice of "upjeweling." United States tariff on a watch movement is based on number of jewels or substitute jewels it contains; as jewel count increases, tariff rate increases. "Upjeweling" is a system by which imported watch movements, once through customs on a low-jewel low-tariff basis, can be easily and cheaply "upgraded" by the addition of more jewels—put into conveniently provided places.

Plainly this practice has the effect of evading the intent of United States Government regulations, and the President's decision. The Government simply closed this loophole. Its ruling applied to all imported watch movements—regardless of the country of origin.

This new action on upjeweling does nothing more than give effect to the President's previous conclusion that it was essential, solely for reasons of defense, to preserve a hard core of watchmaking skills in this country.

V. The Swiss are excellent watchmakers. This is demonstrated by the fact that they already have 85 percent of the United States market and 90 percent of the world market. It is relevant that last year, 1954, American production of jeweled watches shrank to 1,700,000 units (down from over 3 million in 1948), although United States citizens last year bought approximately 10,200,000 jeweled watches.

As one who believes in the principles of world trade, I applaud this. Nations which can make good products at low prices ought to have access to the world market. The world will prosper as a result. This is the basic principle behind the Government's reciprocal trade program, in which I deeply believe.

But let us also keep in mind that when Cordell Hull enunciated the principles of the reciprocal trade program more than 20 years ago, neither he nor President Roosevelt was seeking the instant abolition of all tariffs. On the contrary, the idea was that trading nations could negotiate tariffs one with another, to the mutual advantage of the nations involved. It was Cordell Hull's concept that free trade is as strong as its exceptions, and defense industries are the exception which give sense and flexibility to any reciprocal trade program.

Thus it is wholly consistent that President Eisenhower should currently be advocating extension of the reciprocal trade agreements program and, at the same time, should be mindful that watchmaking skills in this

country are vital and must be preserved for the protection of this country and our allies. In case of war, Swiss production facilities might not be available to us.

VI. In a democratic society every principle has its limitations which strengthen it. We believe in free speech, yet we limit it by our libel laws. We believe in freedom of assembly, yet we limit it by laws against riot. We believe in freedom of information, yet we guard our atomic secrets. We believe in free trade, yet we preserve our defense industries.

All Americans who value the friendship of the Swiss, and who understand also the vital nature of the United States watch industry, have reason to hope that our Government's action in this matter will be clearly understood for what it is—an action designed to preserve a crucially important defense industry and thus contribute to the defense of the free world.

OMAR N. BRADLEY.

Importance of Avoiding Waste of Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. DUFF
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. DUFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two articles to do with the waste of manpower in the case of those over 40 years of age who are unable to obtain jobs, after losing their current employment. The articles appeared in the Penn Progress of January 20 and 27, 1955.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Penn Progress of January 20, 1955]

NATIONAL EQUAL EMPLOYMENT PLAN (NEEP)—WASTE OF MANPOWER SEEN IN PRESENT EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The news herewith presents the first of two articles dealing with a problem which should be generally recognized as having a tremendous effect on the national economy. Though its scope extends far beyond our own limited sphere, it, nevertheless, is important to us, since it affects every individual in the so-called middle age and retirement age brackets. A Penn Township resident, who prefers to remain anonymous at this time, has thought through the problem and has come up with what we believe to be a logical, workable, solution. His plan is worth the attention and thought of every adult person in the valley, and, further, is worthy of being publicized nationally and being considered at top levels. We present first the Problem; next week, the Solution. We urge you to read both, then invite your comments.)

THE PROBLEM

For the past several decades except for the period of World War II, the economic trend in the national labor employment field has been the gradual reduction of maximum employable age limits until the situation has developed to the point where many companies will not employ any person over the age of 35, and the great majority of companies will not employ anyone over the age of 45.

This is primarily due to several factors, chief among them being the cost of company insurance and pension plans and other benefits. It has come to the point where even fiscal officers and other officials of high position are likewise forced to retire from active business life at the age of 65 regardless of their personal wishes and desires, or company need of their services. The fact that some men are old and physically infirm at 50 while others are alert, vigorous and mentally fit at 75 is completely ignored.

The average worker living in a metropolitan industrial area earning the average of $400 to $500 per month must, upon reaching the age of 65, retire on a pension income of approximately $165 per month or less, depending on his marital status. In order to remain living in his home and his neighborhood among friends and relatives and retain the social and fraternal relationships of a lifetime, he is forced to seek any type of menial job to augment his income to the point where he can meet his daily living expense. If unsuccessful in obtaining such employment, he must uproot his family and move to some remote rural area where he can manage to eke out the remaining years of his life which may be many if he is vigorous and healthy.

If a worker over 40 years of age becomes unemployed, he cannot normally find employment in the field in which he is both able and experienced but must take any type of employment obtainable at a greatly reduced wage in order to exist. If unable to find such employment, he will be eventually forced to apply for relief after his life savings, insurance, and home are gone. In a relatively short period of time the one-time upright hardworking citizen and taxpayer has become an embittered object of charity subject to ill health and mental collapse. If he can find some means of keeping alive until the age of 65 he will then become eligible for a social-security pension generally inadequate to meet his living expenses.

Government recognizes need

Government has recognized the need for social reform only to the extent of providing for those over 65. It has failed to recognize the serious weakness existing in our economic structure due to the failure to provide legislative measures which would encourage industry to ignore age in providing employment for those workers from 40 to 65. Industry cannot be forced legislatively to provide gainful employment to workers in this age bracket, but Government can by legislative means create a system of tax-credit incentives for industry whereby workers from 40 to 65 can be employed by industry solely on the basis of ability, training, experience, and physical fitness without increased cost to industry for high insurance or pension rates over that involved in hiring a younger worker for the same job. For every worker so employed, the Government stands to receive taxes from that worker, tax revenues which are not created under the present system.

When a worker becomes unemployed, the Government loses income-tax revenue based on the worker's earnings. In addition, the worker goes on unemployment compensation for a period of 26 weeks. If unemployment continues, the worker goes on relief indefinitely. If reemployed in some menial capacity, the earnings are too small to be subject to income tax and the job is generally of a temporary nature which means the worker will time and time again be on unemployment compensation and relief rolls. Every worker over 40 who becomes unemployed becomes, at the same time a costly liability to the Government and his community. He becomes a burden to the younger employed workers in his immediate family who must contribute to his support. He also becomes a total loss to industry which is not only deprived of his skill, knowledge, and experience, but of his purchasing power as well which has been abruptly terminated by loss of earnings.

Destroys morale

The existing order is responsible for the damage to morale on a nationwide scale through fear—the fear of unemployment after 40 in the mind of every worker. The fear that weds every worker to his job no matter how distasteful and disliked, that creates nervous strain and tension and gradually changes a satisfied worker into an antisocial character who becomes unbearable to those around him both at work and at home and whose work suffers to the extent that it invariably leads to the disaster so greatly feared—unemployment.

The citing of an individual case means little, but multiplied by the hundreds of thousands and more constantly unemployed within the 40-to-65-year bracket, with those added who are employed on temporary or permanent low-paid jobs due to being within this age bracket spells the difference between a constantly maintained high level of employment and one subject to the greatly fluctuating peaks and valleys created through unnatural and abnormal periods of depression, recovery, inflation, and boom aggravated by war and threats of war. Through national indifference and Government failure to act, we suffer the latter.

It is evident the entire approach to national economic studies in the past has been made with too great attention given to factors other than cause and effect. In order for this Nation to achieve the goal of full employment, all employables within all age groups must be equally gainfully employed either in production or rendering necessary services. This goal cannot be attained until the 40-to-65-year groups of employables are proportionately integrated into the national economy as employed workers. This step can be taken by Government through legislative means without disruption of the orderly processes of the economic life of the Nation.

[From the Penn Progress of January 27, 1955]

MAXIMUM PROSPERITY SEEN IF MANPOWER IS STOPPED

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Following is the second and concluding article dealing with the problem of present manpower wastes caused by current employment practices. Last week's article dealt with the problem, namely, that of the person in the 40–65 age group, and this week the author discusses a solution to the problem. Written by a township resident who prefers to remain anonymous at present, the national equal employment plan (NEEP) studies an American problem that is becoming more acute with each passing year, and the suggested solution is, we believe, both logical and workable. The plan is worthy of the attention of every township adult and readers' comments are invited.)

THE SOLUTION

This plan is based on the economic theory that to create and maintain a constant maximum high degree of national prosperity the following basic conditions must be met:

1. Every worker must be equally considered for employment principally on the basis of ability, training, experience, and physical fitness to perform required duties.

2. Every worker must be permitted to continue working until the age of 75 if he is physically able and mentally competent and desires to do so, instead of being compelled to retire at the age of 65.

3. Every worker must be able to obtain reemployment in his chosen trade or profession regardless of age.

4. Every worker must be engaged in the production of goods or the performance of necessary services, subject only to control of the natural law of supply and demand.

5. No artificial controls shall be applied to the national economy which tend to limit, unnaturally inflate, or otherwise disturb public purchasing-power volume.

These basic conditions are the only firm foundation upon which a rich and full na-

tional economy can be developed. The elimination of older workers by making reemployment difficult if not impossible for them has been tried, and it has not worked. Compulsory retirement for workers at the age of 65 has been tried—and it has not worked. We have tried reducing purchasing power volume by forcing workers from an income of $400 to $165 per month—and it has not worked. We forced out older workers to make room for younger workers and incidentally reducing purchasing power at the same time, and then wondered why jobs dropped off. We have tried reducing each worker's output while raising costs of his production, and it still does not work. We hear mention of lower retirement age, next 60, then 55, eventually 50, or less. Mention has also been made of a 35-hour week, and of a 30-hour week. The course of this line of reasoning has been run. It is time to reexamine our economic position, then do something about it. The purpose of this plan is to do something about it.

Legislative changes are necessary which would be relatively simple to put into effect. Their purpose would be to provide tax credit incentives to industry which would be determined on the basis of a percentage of the annual wages of all workers hired in the age bracket from 40 to 65, such percentages to be on a graduated scale sufficient to meet all expense incurred by employers over and above that which would have been incurred in employment of workers under 40.

By this means equalization of employment between age groups will have been accomplished without undue advantage to any particular group, full employment of all age groups will eventully be accomplished, Government will benefit by the income-tax revenue received over and above the tax credits allowed while at the same time saving large sums which otherwise would have been expended for relief, welfare, and other forms of public aid. All industry will benefit from a greatly increased and constant purchase power volume and the elimination of difficulties in the employment of skilled and experienced workers needing little if any job training.

The necessary changes are as follows:

1. Voluntary retirement at 65 with compulsory retirement at the age of 75.

2. Federal and State income-tax statutes to be amended to provide a graduated percentage table based on the employable worker's age when hired within the 40 to 65 age bracket which when used in multiplying the worker's total annual wages will provide a tax credit equal to the excess costs incurred by the employer as a result of hiring a worker in that age bracket over the cost incurred in hiring a younger worker.

3. Adequate safeguards to be provided whereby the number of employees hired within the 40-to-65-year-age bracket could not exceed a proportionate percentage of the total employees of any employer with furloughs and layoffs governed by present seniority rules and long-established practices.

4. All Government contracts to be let to contractors on the basis of adherence to this plan.

Based on an annual average wage of $4,000, the following graduated percentage table is shown to illustrate the increasing percentages for each year of employment of a worker hired after the age of 40.

This table is shown for illustrative purposes only. The proper percentage table to be devised should provide tax credits to the employer that would offset all excess costs over the cost of employing workers under 40, with all tax credit cost to the Government absorbed by the income-tax revenues created from the wages of workers employed under this plan. As the average worker with 2 dependents earning an annual wage of $4,000 will pay about 10 percent or $400 in income tax, the Government would receive income tax in excess of tax credits allowed for those workers from 41 to 55 years of age, which excess would apply against the excess of tax credits over income tax received for those workers 58 to 75 years of age.

According to the Census Bureau, the number of persons 45 or over in 1953 was approximately 45 million, or approximately 29 percent of the total population of the country. It is estimated this total will increase to 63 million in 1975 and will then constitute one-half of the total population over 20 years of age. Estimated on the most conservative basis, of the more than 45 million persons now 45 or over, more than 45 percent are workers and of the workers at least 10 percent or approximately 2 million are either constantly unemployed, retired but willing and able to work, or employed on low-paying jobs of menial nature. If by means of this plan, the latter could be returned to productive employment in a freely competitive labor market uninhibited by an age complex, they would earn in excess of 8 billion based on an average annual wage of $4,000. These wages would create over $800 million in income-tax revenues and over $7 billion would flow into purchasing power. The savings to the Government in unemployment, welfare, and public-relief costs would be huge, as well as the large reduction in old-age and survivors insurance payments under the social security system due to workers continuing to work after reaching the age of 65. Large savings would accrue to the employers pension funds due to workers continuing to work after reaching 65.

The effect of this plan would not limit job oportunities for workers under the age of 40 but would tend to create more jobs, both for trained and semi-trained workers seeking reemployment or advancement as well as young untrained workers entering industry, thorugh the constantly increasing volume of purchasing power created by full employment of all workers.

The goal of this proposal is to arouse public interest, discussion and debate, and concerted action in the effort to better an economic condition dangerous to our national welfare and detrimental to the mental happiness and physical and financial well-being of a large and important section of our entire population.

It is realized that giving voice to these thoughts is like the small weak voice of one crying out in the wilderness, but in the knowledge that all things spring from humble beginnings, the belief that if brought to public notice remedial action will inevitably result, and the hope others will join in this service in the public interest—these words are written.

Worker's age	Percent	Tax credit
41	2	$80
42	2½	100
43	3	120
44	3½	140
45	4	160
46	4½	180
47	5	200
48	5½	220
49	6	240
50	6½	260
51	7	280
52	7½	300
53	8	320
54	8½	340
55	9	360
56	9½	380
57	10	400
58	10½	420
59	11	440
60	11½	460
61	12	480
62	12½	500
63	13	520
64	13½	540
65	14	560
66	14½	580
67 to 75	15	600

Training a Modern Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, we want to keep America strong. We must be able to defend against its enemies, both foreign and domestic.

An adequate Navy, Air Force, and Army, are necessary for our defense. We must maintain our Armed Forces economically, but consistent with adequate protection.

The training of a soldier, by reason of mechanization, has become very complex, and requires much training of the individual. It is expensive to train men, and, therefore, they should remain in the service as long as possible.

Men should be encouraged to stay in the Army by adequate pay and other perquisites. We must have a competent Organized Reserve. To be effective, the reserve must have personnel. In order that we may have a proper defense, universal military training should be immediately put into effect.

Gen. L. V. Hightower, on February 5, at the Shoreham Hotel, delivered a most comprehensive address to the Pennsylvania College Alumni Association on the training of a modern army. It should be read by every American. I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRAINING A MODERN ARMY

(Address by Brig. Gen. L. V. Hightower before the All-Pennsylvania College Alumni Association of Washington, D. C., February 5, 1955)

Training the modern Army is a complex job. It is growing more complex as the machines of war become more technical because machines must be man's servants, not his masters. There will never be a machine that has courage, or that understands why it is fighting. The machine with torn innards cannot, like wounded men, give forth that last ton of energy, that determination to fight and to carry on against all odds. The machine cannot provide inspiring leadership. The Army trains men as warriors, warrior-technicians, and leaders. Modern warfare requires that fighting men be better trained in many more skills than has obtained in the past. Beyond the physical, technical, and manual aspects of training there lies the urgent and continuing need to train and steel men's minds for the potential impact of enemy atomic weapons and enemy psychological methods so that fighting men, and not mere survivors, will emerge. The Army now trains for two types of warfare—the atomic and the nonatomic. This training effort is multisided and it must be geared to constantly changing military needs. It must also be maintained in proper balance. The system must train men to meet all possible conditions and environments of man—and man's greatest test—war itself.

FACTORS

But there are obstacles and limitations. The Army acknowledges them as factors to be reckoned with and overcome.

First there is time. This is a factor that money cannot purchase. For example, the Army's task is magnified under present conditions where our citizen soldiers are inducted for a 2-year period. Approximately 25 percent of the enlisted strength of the Army on 30 June 1955 will terminate their service in the fiscal year to follow. Replacements for total enlisted losses through the year will be about 367,400 of which 240,000 will be untrained input, representing approximately 26 percent of the end enlisted strength authorized the Army for the end of fiscal year 1956. Inasmuch as the technical requirements of the Army are greater than ever before, and the time factor is a pressing one—the Army must select its men for the various career fields in terms of educational qualifications for certain tasks that require rapid absorption and application of knowledge and skills. The Army must utilize the men available, to the best possible advantage. Measured in broad terms in 1954, slightly less than one quarter of all enlisted men were eighth grade level or below. Another quarter had some high school training. Thus 50 percent were below high school graduate level in educational background. Some 35 percent were high school graduates, but only 5 percent were college graduates, the remaining 10 percent having had some college training.

FIGHTER AND WARRIOR-TECHNICIAN

The task is first to train all of these men as fighting soldiers. This is done in 8 weeks of concentrated, rugged training. Following this, every soldier is given another 8 weeks of training designed to fit him for a specific role such as infantryman, tank crew member, radio operator, artillery gunner, clerk, or cook.

Here many men are selected for training in the more specialized skills and techniques. The bulk of the men join various type units after 16 weeks of individual training. However, this 16 weeks of training only qualifies the soldier to join a unit as a team member, but the team or unit has then to be trained. Thus the solider enters the unit to join in unit training which has two categories: basic unit and advanced unit. Only upon completion of the latter phase, and subsequent field tests and maneuvers under simulated combat conditions, is the unit deemed ready for combat. It is in the category of unit training, or on-the-job training, that the Army finally qualifies the bulk of its men. This requires positive leadership day in and day out. The specialists may be troop trained or school trained only after they have qualified as basic soldiers.

There is a multiplicity of jobs for which men must be trained. This is no longer the army of riflemen, cannoneers, cooks, and clerks alone. The artillery gunner of World War II, while he might have served any one of several caliber weapons, must now specialize to serve the 280-millimeter atomic cannon, the Honest John rocket, the Nike guided missile, the Skysweeper antiaircraft gun, the Corporal guided missile, or any one of several types of self-propelled artillery weapons. Even the mortar battalion now embraces its own radar.

The turret of an M48 tank is almost as laden with dials, instruments, devices, and switches as the fighter plane.

The front driver of the 280-millimeter atomic cannon communicates with the rear driver over an intercom set for the simple purposes of transport and directional coordination alone.

MULTIPLICITY OF OCCUPATIONAL TASKS

Within the Army there are, for enlisted men alone, 60 occupational groups within which there are 350 occupational tasks and specialties. This has numbered as high as 570 military occupational specialties under a less simplified occupational designation (MOS) system. These occupational groups cover such functions as ammunition, armaments maintenance, tanks, artillery, automotive maintenance, chemical, communications, electronics, engineering finance, infantry mapping, medical, military intelligence, personnel and administration, quartermaster scientific services, supply, motor transport, etc. The occupational specialties begin with such combat tasks as tank gunner, infantry leader, and they range through cartographer, mess steward, helicopter mechanic, rocket artillery chief, parachute packer, radar chief, cryptographic supervisor, guided-missile specialists, and atomic-weapons specialists.

It is in the latter fields of endeavor that school training reaches its greatest length. For a guided-missile fire-control maintenance specialist for NIKE it requires 38 weeks of school training alone. To enter this training a soldier must be at least a high-school graduate. A guided-missile electronics maintenance specialist for the same weapon requires better than one-half year of school training. In the field of guided missiles a soldier can spend up to 1 year in training before he joins his unit. The Army constantly seeks to shorten these training periods, but as weapons advance so does their complexity and machinery. The Army must gain return in on-the-job performance from its training investment in each soldier.

However, the soldier is enlisted for a definite period, be he Regular or non-Regular, and at the expiration of his service he can exercise his option to remain in or leave the Army.

EXTREME LENGTHS OF TRAINING

This introduces another factor that must be seriously considered. Many soldiers trained as specialists become highly qualified in a skill or task that often has a counterpart in civil life. This is particularly true in many of those fields which require lengthy periods of training, such as electronics. Accordingly, the Army comes in competition with industry and, as a matter of fact, solves to a degree some of its personnel problems. Inasmuch as civilian jobs pay better than the military, many men in whom the Army has invested great time, money, and training do leave the Army, and replacements must be retrained to fill the vacancies. This requires detailed advanced planning based on experienced attrition rates to insure that the projected specialist requirements of the Army are met.

THE ARMY METHOD OF TRAINING

What then are the Army's training methods to meet its requirements? Our training is based essentially on the explanation, demonstration, application, test and critique methods—given in that sequence. We place a great deal of reliance on the demonstration—followed immediately by student application. The soldier is obliged to work and to concentrate physically and mentally on the radio, machine, weapon, or materiel at hand. He does receive adequate instruction in theory, complemented by application of the theory to practice. In view of the importance which the Army attaches to the demonstration and application phases of instruction, we require training aids in great abundance—both the device and graphics type.

Tank turrets, motors, missiles, and other materiel must be cut apart to permit the maximum number to gain intimate knowledge of the complex parts to facilitate the accomplishment of training in the minimum practicable period of time.

The ratio of men per piece of equipment is carefully measured to insure adequate active student participation.

THE ARMY SCHOOL SYSTEM

To train its leaders and its specialists the Army has four categories of schools: (1) The specialist schools; (2) the Army general school; (3) the branch schools; (4) the service colleges.

An officer who attends all career schools spends a total of 3.2 years of a 30-year career in school. However, the average officer education is limited to graduation from the basic and the advanced classes of his branch school and the General Staff College—a total of from 1 to 2 years. During fiscal year 1955 a total of 199,316 officers and enlisted men will receive resident training under this system (including training at civilian facilities). They will average 13 weeks instruction per individual. An additional 100,000 will participate in the Army extension course program. As of August 1954 the Army's school system utilized 64,669 supporting personnel including 15,304 school troops. A total of over 500 school courses are taught under this school system which embraces 34 schools.

As the confusion of World War II cleared, those who had been most closely involved in its conduct, again found time for reflective inventory of the actual accomplishments. The United States Army's astounding contribution to the Allied cause probably was summarized best by Winston Churchill who in 1946 paid the following tribute to the preparedness and the flexibility of the United States system of training:

"There have been many occasions when a powerful state has wished to raise great armies, and with money and time, and discipline and loyalty that can be accomplished. Nevertheless, the rate at which the small American Army of only a few hundred thousand men, not long before the war, created the mighty force of millions of soldiers, is a wonder of military history.

"To create great armies is one thing; to lead them and to handle them is another. It remains to me a mystery as yet unexplained how the very small staffs which the United States kept during the years of peace were able not only to build up the Army and the Air Force units, but also to find the leaders and vast staffs capable of handling enormous masses and of moving them faster and farther than masses have ever been moved in war before."

As if in direct reply to Mr. Churchill's mystery, two Chiefs of Staff gave due credit to the Army school system for its role in the achievement.

The Army school system represents the educational progress of over 150 years of constructive evolution. Today the system provides an educational device sufficiently flexible to meet the changing technologies of warfare and world power relationships while at the same time maintaining emphasis on timeless principles of individual competence, leadership, and related soldierly qualities which must always form the ultimate resource in our national defense. As now organized, the system constitutes a vital element of the United States Army mobilization base.

TRAINING OF FOREIGN MILITARY

As a sidelight, it should be noted that since the inception of mutual defense assistance program in fiscal year 1950 over 12,000 foreign nationals have been trained in United States Army service schools and installations. During this year 40 countries will participate. In addition to the MDAP training program, the Army is training about 700 personnel of other friendly foreign countries. The Army also maintains an exchange system with the armies of several foreign nations.

EDUCATIONAL TRAINING OFFERED BY THE ARMY

Outside of military training, the Army's educational services provide mandatory grade-school education for all enlisted men who lack fourth grade level training. Last year an Army course of 8 weeks of English language training was instituted for Puerto Ricans upon induction. Off-duty educa-

tional training is provided from fifth grade to college graduation. In addition, the United States Armed Forces Institute provides civil education extension courses and self study facilities for all enlisted men and officers.

The Army enjoys a close relationship with civil educational institutions and derives much assistance from them in many fields of mutual endeavor and interest.

SUMMARY

The Army seeks to do more than just train a fighter, it endeavors to train Americans as better citizens to acquaint the soldier with the democracy which he represents. This is the purpose of the troop information and education program which is regularly conducted and is successful. Over the years the Army found that a great many Americans still need elementary education concerning their own country—the principles for which it stands and the position it occupies in world affairs. We would like to see this objective better accomplished before an individual enters the Army.

The potential enemies we face have shown that war can be waged not only by fighting and destroying men's bodies, but by destroying the liberty of men's minds.

The Army recognizes with serious thought and effort the growing battle for the minds of men. It is reckoning with the brutal fact that its soldiers can be subjected to inhumane and unorthodox treatment if captured. The United States armed services have studied this matter and they continue to take steps in training to strengthen the individual American in uniform and the military body to which he belongs. It must be recognized, however, that the military has but a short space of time to prepare and train these men for the ordeals of war and its aftermath. By the time an American youth puts on a uniform he is in large part formed by his environment, background, church, and education. Therefore it is first incumbent upon the family, the community, the church, the teachers, and the educators to provide the Nation's youth with mental, moral, and religious strength and foundation to fit him for the age he faces.

The decisive element of victory in war is still the trained fighting man who defeats the enemy's ground fighters, seizes land and holds it. These are the climactic actions that cause the enemy as a national entity to decide resistance cannot continue.

Is Ike Popular Enough To Save the GOP?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Is Ike Popular Enough To Save the GOP?" published in the March 1955 issue of the Democratic Digest.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IS IKE POPULAR ENOUGH TO SAVE THE GOP?

Is President Eisenhower as popular as ever?

This question is asked frequently these days. It can be answered in any number of ways, depending upon one's outlook, prejudice, wish, or hope. But in Washington many are impressed by the observation of one veteran political writer who says:

"In 1952 most everybody liked Ike. The American people had a great regard for him as a general. In addition, a majority of the people not only liked him but were ready to take a chance on him as Chief Executive, despite their well-founded misgivings about military Presidents.

"Today most people still like Eisenhower and still admire him for his military contributions, but it is more and more apparent that a large number of fair-minded people—Republicans as well as Democrats—have come to the reluctant realization that a great general has not turned into a great President."

Generally speaking, this observation is concurred in by Democratic leaders, but it is not shared by Republican spokesmen. The difference comes down to this:

The Democrats believe that popular esteem for Eisenhower the hero and war leader will not blind the public to his failures as a civil and political leader. The Democrats believe the public is mature enough to make the vital distinction.

On the other hand, the Republicans are betting that Ike can win on personal popularity alone, without regard to his record in the White House. In short, they do not think the average citizen is well informed enough to make the distinction.

There is at least some factual support for the Democratic belief, judging from recent public opinion polls. Certainly in Ike's case, popularity has not equaled voting pull. The proportion of people who tell the pollsters that the President is doing a good job consistently stands well above the percentage who say they would vote for him.

In 1952, for example, he pulled 55 percent of the vote. There was little reason to expect any material change in sentiment by February 1953, when he had been in office 1 month, yet by then some 68 percent of the people thought he was doing a good job.

In September 1954, only 53 percent of the persons polled said they would then vote for Ike, but in the same month his popularity rating stood at 65 percent.

This difference is accounted for by people who think Eisenhower is doing well enough, but who, at the same time, apparently think someone else could do better.

The polls show that public approval of Eisenhower between his first month in office and the time of the 1954 elections declined by over 15 percent. If a decline of similar proportions were to take place in the actual vote for General Eisenhower in 1952, he would now receive only 46 percent of the vote in an election, which would amount to a severe defeat.

The same conclusion is shown by a December poll of Minnesota voters published by the Minneapolis Tribune. It also shows only a 46 percent vote for Ike (in this case as of December). Minnesota, incidentally, also cast about 55 percent of its vote for Ike in 1952. An even larger proportion of Minnesotans, some 66 percent, thought in December that an election at that time would turn the White House over to the Democrats.

Independent Senator MORSE, once an Ike man himself, seems to agree. He told a TV audience in December that Democrats could take the White House in 1956.

If the Democratic view is right, and Eisenhower is defeated in 1956, it will not be the first time that the public, either here or abroad, has retired a very popular public figure when it felt he was no longer the man for the job.

After the last war, for instance, the world was surprised when England voted Prime Minister Churchill out of office. But this was not a case of a hero suddenly losing his popularity. Not at all. The English voters simply decided their war ledaer was not the best man to lead them through the postwar transition period, and they so voted. Even after the election, however, Churchill continued to enjoy the affections of his people, and he still does today. Indeed, when conditions changed, he was returned to office.

Another example is offered by genial President William Howard Taft. He was a popular man in and out of office. But he was not a strong executive. He was unable to unite his party either while he was in office or at election time. The voters never stopped liking him, but they did not vote for him for reelection in 1912. He got less than 25 percent of the popular vote, a poor showing for the regular Republican candidate even when the vote was split with both the Democratic and the Bull Moose Parties.

Pollsters' figures are not to be taken too seriously, but most political writers do agree that the drop in Eisenhower's public approval seems to stem from a growing feeling that Ike does not have the gift for political leadership, even to leading his own party resolutely.

That is painfully evident to Republican politicians who sense the void in which they are operating, a kind of freewheeling atmosphere which gives them the leeway to feud more with each other between elections than they do with Democrats.

The depth of dissident Republican feeling against Eisenhower is made plain almost daily by the Old Guard columnists. George Sokolsky, for one, has written at length about the "many dissatisfied Republicans" seeking a conservative party. They are "that large element of the American people which has never become accustomed to the New Deal now pervading both parties."

Sokolsky is convinced that Democrats won the Congress in November only because large numbers of these people refused to vote for Republican New Deal candidates and thereby cut into Republican strength.

"How large that conservative element is numerically, no one can say," Sokolsky complained recently, "because it has never had the opportunity to register its strength in a presidential election since 1932."

David Lawrence's fault finding with the administration is equally outspoken. During last fall's campaign he criticized the Eisenhower managers who thought they could win while alienating many of the members of the Republican Party. There seems to be little thought about how to unite the party and considerable thought on how to keep it disunited.

The group for whom these men are speaking are at odds with the so-called moderate progressive Republicans on almost every issue facing the country, and the rift, instead of healing, is getting deeper all the time.

The McCarthy censure vote split the party down the middle, 24 for MCCARTHY, 22 against. In other words, had only Republicans voted, MCCARTHY would not have been censured.

Later MCCARTHY took exception to the President's call for a progressive moderate policy. "Just what did the President mean?" he asked. "I think he has in mind the remaking of the Republican Party. I am not going to discuss at this time the form of the mold he is proposing for the Republican Party, but I do not believe it is shaped in accord with the policies and objectives which have long guided followers of Republican Party principles."

What will all this mean in 1956, when it is time to choose a President?

According to Republican Congressman PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, extreme right-wing forces in the Republican Party will actually try to defeat Eisenhower in 1956. A New Jerseyite himself, FRELINGHUYSEN was led to this conclusion by right-wing efforts to sabotage Republican Senator CASE's election in New Jersey last November. FRELINGHUYSEN called the anti-Case movement a disguised attack on President Eisenhower and the tipoff to probable old-guard tactics in 1956.

The New York Times seconded this when it reported that there were those who believed that Senator McCARTHY and some of his followers would prefer defeat in 1956 to a victory with Eisenhower, for the reason that the most likely survivors of the defeat would be the rightwing, which would then control the party.

The New Republic summed up the party's problem this way:

"The Republican Party," it said, "is composed of a group on the right which appears to have no interest in giving it majority appeal, and of a man in the White House who wants to give it majority appeal but has few helpers, few techniques, and few opportunities. He survived handsomely, in 1952, the allegation that he could not rise above his party. Next time around, the question will be when are they going to get together, and, politically, where."

A practical politician posed the dilemma in less elegant terms. "It's all very well," he said, "for the Republicans to talk of Ike's popularity rubbing off on the rest of the party in 1956, but maybe it will work out just the other way; in short, maybe the party's unpopularity will rub off on Eisenhower."

For a Second Term: Dwight Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "For a Second Term: Dwight Eisenhower," which was published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of February 20, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR A SECOND TERM: DWIGHT EISENHOWER

Dwight D. Eisenhower for a second term as President of the United States.

That, we are sure, is the fervent desire not only of the great majority of the members of Mr. Eisenhower's own party, but of the great majority of the American people, regardless of party affiliations.

The President has as yet made no announcement of his political plans. Many considerations, for and against seeking renomination and reelection next year, have doubtless weighed upon his mind.

The rigorous demands of the President's Office take a toll of the sturdiest physique. Mr. Eisenhower is not one to love power for its own sake or to crave the perpetuation of power gained in high office. It would unquestionably be a vast relief to him to lay aside the huge burdens of his position and take up with his wife the private life of a farmer in the quiet of the Gettysburg countryside.

He has served his Nation continuously and in posts of steadily increasing responsibility ever since he graduated from the Military Academy in 1915. As supreme commander of the Allied forces that swept to victory in Europe in the Second World War, as head of United States occupation forces in Germany, as the postwar Army Chief of Staff, as Supreme Commander of the European Defense Force, as President of the United States, his is a record of distinguished service to this country that has few parallels since the days of the founders.

That he is entitled at least to the award of his remaining years to spend in peace and privacy may surely be granted. But the public servant has a demanding master. The American public is not yet prepared to retire Dwight Eisenhower from duty. And as a soldier, and a good one, Mr. Eisenhower is not the type to run away when duty calls.

He has fulfilled, as President, the expectations of those millions who called him to that post with their votes in 1952. He has placed their Government on a firm course of honesty, integrity and sound efficiency. His objectives as the head of state have been in the best traditions of American constitutional Government.

He has been unwaveringly a man dedicated to the cause of peace, while staunchly upholding the cause of freemen.

But his work is unfinished. It would be a grievous blow to America, and to the realistic policy of seeking an enduring world peace which he has pressed, should Mr. Eisenhower step aside and refuse to run for a second term.

That the Republican Party would proudly renominate him by acclamation at next year's national convention has been indicated on all sides. Lacking definite word from the President on the matter, movements to draft him for the nomination have been set in motion in many parts of the country.

At its recent meeting in Washington, where it selected San Francisco as site for the 1956 convention, the Republican National Committee adopted without a dissenting vote a resolution declaring faith in the President's continuing leadership of the party and the Nation.

There is no figure in the Republican Party today remotely approaching the stature of Mr. Eisenhower as a candidate for the presidency. The small group of grumblers and gripers, centering in the Midwest isolationist sector, who have been critical of the President, have no candidate worth the name to rally around. Their opposition movement would shrivel at the first announcement by the President that he will run again.

Outside the Republican Party, Mr. Eisenhower's personal popularity and voting strength seem undiminished. He is the one figure universally dreaded by the Democratic leaders as a candidate next year.

This newspaper was glad to support Dwight Eisenhower for President in 1952. We hope wholeheartedly that he will consent to run again next year to round out his service in the White House with a second term.

Relations With Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an advertisement inserted in a newspaper by the Laguna Beach Lumber Co. The advertisement was written by Hemlow Harris.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE INVITE THE PIGS TO OUR TABLE

We are not particularly interested in England's wishes to maintain trade with Red China when it involves Red Chinese trespassing on clean American ground.

We have little respect for a crew of diplomats who can apparently overlook American prisoners doomed by fiends to jail for a crime they did not commit but who invite their jailers to sit with them.

To us it seems an all too flimsy excuse to once more temporize with common decency. Freemen cannot do this.

Why the Security Council of the United Nations should suddenly become alerted to the sputtering fuse in the Far East and presume to meddle in an affair that is not theirs is a bit beyond comprehension. The Council was not invited to be an arbiter by either Red China or Nationalist China, and it has no business so doing.

The United States for the first time in years has recently shown signs of again becoming the kind of a nation that once made it respected around the world. It has drawn the line at last. It has shown unlimited patience, a patience bordering on timidity. It has pointed to Red China a way in which an uneasy peace can be kept. This should be sufficient.

If not, it is time that Red China be wiped from the map and if Red Russia cannot see the danger signal then it too should have the same treatment.

Decent God-fearing mankind cannot go on compromising its standards, retreating in the face of threats, backing away from bluster. It must stop somewhere and if the line from Japan to the Philippines is it, then even if the whole world turns against the United States—let us maintain it.

Who carries the banner of a Christian civilization these days? Sometimes we wonder when we see alleged men of honor breaking bread with murderers.

Let the pigs be invited by the Security Council to discuss their pigsty tactics—but let it be in Geneva where the rape of French Indochina occurred.

Diplomacy and world politics is beyond the ken of simple decent people and the further such corrupting influences are kept from our shores, the safer America will be.

As it looks to us we have more to fear from United Nations meddling than from what we may or may not do on our own in the South China Sea.

It is indecent and humiliating that Red China should be implored to please come and be seated. It is an insult to every American that the place of their visit be on our shores, even though it be under the guise of peace as guests of the Security Council.

Most Americans are ashamed of such gutless acts. God Almighty must be be a bit ashamed of us also.

LAGUNA BEACH LUMBER CO.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Independence of Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared in commemoration of the 37th anniversary of the independence of Lithuania, which was observed on Wednesday, February 16.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, OF MARYLAND, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

Today, February 16, is the 37th anniversary of the independence of Lithuania, and the free people of the world pause to do honor to these indomitable people who, despite the engulfment of their land by the atheistic forces of world communism, nevertheless, retain their great spirit of freedom and independence.

As one of the earliest independent states in Europe, Lithuania flourished and prospered as a nation of peaceful and freedom-loving people for several hundred years. Yet, in the 18th century the greed of large and powerful neighbors, in a struggle for the control of Europe, eventually resulted in the enslavement of this small country by Czarist Russia. Though these powerful forces erased the nation of Lithuania from the map of Europe, they could not extinguish the spirit of the people of Lithuania and their strong love of freedom. During the years to follow, the desire for liberty and the constant quest to regain the independence of their nation continued unabated, to be fulfilled after World War I by the establishment of the Lithuanian Republic.

For almost a quarter of a century Lithuania thrived as a nation of free and independent people, only to be overcome by the forces of communism at the outbreak of World War II. As in the past, the Lithuanian people are determined to withstand the forces of slavery and subjugation, and to assume again their rightful place among the people of the free world.

They continue to disregard the atheistic teachings of the Communist dictators. They strive to instill in their youth the great love of liberty, the way of life which recognizes the inalienable rights of man as an individual, and the teachings of God that nourish the spirit of all freedom loving people. Irrespective of what further adversity the future may hold, the Lithuanian people will continue to meet their responsibilities. The flame of liberty will continue to burn in their hearts. The soul of this brave nation will be true to the cause of the free world and, eventually, as in 1918, the independence of the Lithuanian nation will again become a reality.

Until that eventful day, these brave people can be assured of the continued steadfastness of their millions of friends in America. We will never forget the importance of this gallant nation to the economy of Europe, or of its many contributions to the culture of the Western World. Furthermore, the courage and the fortitude of these gallant people will continue to inspire us in our struggle to set men free; to make the world a better place in which to live and where future generations of all nations can live in harmony, peace, and freedom in accordance with God's principles.

Pay Increases for Members of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Worthy of His Hire," together with an article written by David Lawrence, columnist, in reference to increased pay for Senators and Representatives.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORTHY OF HIS HIRE

Congress is supposed to be embarrassed by one of its current activities. We don't think it should be. For the Constitution says that Congressmen "shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law." They are the lawmakers. And most Congressmen should be able honestly to say that they are worth more than they are now getting.

Compared with the billions they can save or waste, their $15,000 salaries are small. They are small in comparison with the earnings of a multitude of business and professional men. They are small also in relation to increased living costs and taxes.

Nowadays, too, Congressmen are busy in Washington a far larger part of the year than formerly. They have less time to earn other income. It would be better if they were even more closely restricted as to outside earnings. If Uncle Sam pays more, he might reasonably require their full services. And if the servant is worthy of his hire, the public servant may well be more worthy if his hire is made more worthy. Perhaps an increase of $5,000 would be enough, but an increase there should be.

The Congressmen's task is made less embarrassing by the fact that their pay bill is combined with one to boost Federal judges' salaries. These raises are at least as well merited. Municipal judges in New York City now receive more than Justices of the United States Supreme Court. Any lawyer of judicial caliber is almost bound to make a financial sacrifice in accepting a Federal judgeship. The sacrifice should be reduced.

SAYS MEMBERS OF CONGRESS CAN RETURN PART OF PAY IF THEY DO NOT NEED IT

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, February 17.—If the conscience of any Member of Congress hurts him about voting for that pay raise of $10,000 a year, there is an easy way out—to give back to the Treasury as much as he likes.

There's precedent for such a gift. Herbert Hoover gave back most of the Presidential salary he received while in the White House. He, himself, never revealed that fact but his friends have told about it. Maybe there are other public servants who have done the same thing and kept it secret.

What a proper salary for Members of Congress should be is a very serious matter and goes to the heart of the question of integrity in government.

Many of those in the House of Representatives who voted against the proposed increase—which has yet to pass the Senate—did so because of a conscientious belief that the voters wouldn't approve of it. But it is important that the voters should know all the facts. For many Members who voted against the increase really deserve to have the higher salary to cover those expenses they have been trying to meet out of their own pockets. Likewise, some who voted for the increase did so out of consideration for the plight of their colleagues, though they themselves didn't need the extra money.

It all comes down to a simple proposition—the American people certainly don't want only rich men in Congress, nor do they want to see Members accepting gratuities from constituents or big campaign contributions in appreciation of service they may have rendered.

Members of the House come up for election every 2 years, so they are constantly in need of compaign funds. Many of them supply it out of their own pockets rather than solicit gifts from constituents who seek special privileges. But the worst phase of the matter is the drain on the funds of a Member of Congress by residents of his district or State who feel their Congressman or Senator is something of an errand boy or personal representative in Washington.

Lots of the things done by Members of Congress for people back home are worth thousands of dollars to those who are benefited, yet there is no such thing as a "service charge" or "fee" to be paid. Indeed, it would be highly improper for any such payment to be made.

If, for example, a new post office building or a defense installation or some other Federal project involving huge sums of money is brought to an area as a result of the efforts of a Member of either House, there are citizens who profit by the rise in real-estate values and in other ways. They cannot and should not pay for that service. Yet, in the doing of that chore for the people, various expenses are often incurred and in many instances it is the Member of Congress who foots the bill rather than become involved in some transaction which a political opponent could some day uncover and use as a smear.

It is odd, but members of national legislatures the world over have trouble about the size of their salaries. In Britain the Churchill government almost was overthrown last spring because the Labor Party insisted on a pay raise and the Conservatives opposed it. Many of them are wealthy and carry on extensive business interests. Only after some Conservatives deserted their leadership was the issue compromised. Today the pay of a member of the House of Commons is the equivalent of about $2,800 a year, with an extra allowance they may request for each day the House sits. This amounts approximately to about an extra $740 a year. Curiously enough, the House members in London have no private offices or staffs provided by the Government.

In France, the pay is equivalent to about $5,000 a year, and the 100 Communist deputies contribute about $3,000 apiece directly to the party fund or approximately $300,000 a year, which is quite a sizable help in carrying on Communist propaganda.

In the State legislatures in this country members are poorly paid and it is a scandal that corporations with business before these bodies often retain as counsel for other services members who are lawyers. The labor unions do the same thing.

Many Members of Congress have outside income. Some earn it by getting large fees for speaking before labor unions and trade bodies of various kinds. Others still practice law before State courts. Some have large business interests or derive a big income from investments.

The raise in pay is needed in order to permit the election to Congress of citizens irrespective of their income status. A total of $25,000 a year, out of which comes $4,500 for taxes, or a net of $20,500, is not too much for a Member of either the House or the Senate to receive if he is honorably to serve his constituency.

Democracy Out Loud

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Democracy Out Loud," which was written by Rev. George W. Casey, and was published in the Febru-

ary 5, 1955, issue of the Pilot. Copies of the editorial have been sent to me by a number of Massachusetts citizens.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEMOCRACY OUT LOUD

(By Rev. George W. Casey)

Al Smith, who, in his day, possessed the minds of American Catholics more completely than Father Coughlin or Senator MCCARTHY in their respective days, used to say that the cure for the ills of democracy was more democracy. It sounded grand away back there in the confident twenties, like everything else Al said, I know that I regarded it as little shore of divine revelation.

Now I wonder. One day years ago, when I was, alas, less experienced with Sippi powders than I now am, I felt poorly. Since I felt that my health depended on those powders, and that if one was good, two were better, I took an extra one. I felt worse, so I took another. This went on until the situation got desperate and I called the doctor. When I told him the measures I had taken, he could not keep from laughing. I had almost killed myself with the cure. I am beginning to feel that way now about Al Smith's cure, wondering if we have not taken a little too much democracy, here in America, and in other of the world's republics.

Take that Roman holiday at the State prison 2 weeks ago, the people really barged in there didn't they? Everybody, his mother and his brother, got in on the act. The frustrated convicts appointed their own committee, which appeared duly greateful for the honor. The press hung from buckets and helicopters, peered through every crack, explored every mind, pictured every expression. A bath of bathos.

The politicians rushed in with a whoop. Wherever people appear in the raw, that's for them. The Boston City Council came in with a unanimous recommendation for a pay raise for all prison guards in county employ. More power to the guards. Theirs is a dreary job with few compensations but the pay checks. But why now? Have the guards around here done anything lately that is heroic and over and above the call of duty, anything that calls for the gratitude of the community? Anything that should make us all sleep better in our beds at nights? Did we miss something?

The fact of the matter is that the people, as people, as a mass, are not equipped or disciplined for such difficult business as prison control, police work, and public safety. Nor for most of the tasks of Government and administration in our complex civilization. They cannot just pour in off the streets and do the jobs of specialists and professionals. Jobs that require training, experience, and the sense of responsibility. Jobs that require sound knowledge of psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, economics, geopolitics, military science, logistics, pedagogy, education, and so on ad infinitum. Jobs that require poise, detachment, and broad concern for people who are not around, people who are not represented, for people who may not yet be born.

The people as such, the people in the mass, even the people gathered in town meetings, that classic symbol of democracy at work, cannot, or at least do not, rise above local and personal self-interest. When the east-west toll road through Massachusetts was being laid out every town and city in its way rushed into popular assembly, and availing themselves of the great American democratic right of free speech, furiously demanded that the road go through the next town instead. If there was not some authority to beat the people down you would have to hang the road on the moon.

France is just about as sick as any of the great republics are at this point in history, and I think that it is fair to say that its trouble is rather too much than too little democracy. Its Chamber of Deputies is so responsive to the popular opinion and will that it is almost incapable of decision. Its splinter parties represent every shade of opinion and political theory, every clique and special interest. Unless the political genius and energies of Mendes-France can lift it above the sectional, class, business, industrial, and agricultural absorption in selfish privilege and advantage there is little hope for it to regain its former greatness. France has proven that the voice of the people, at least as it is voiced there, is not the voice of God, nor even of reason.

Maybe if the people, all the people of France, the dispossessed as well as the propertied, the soldier as well as the parliamentarian, the people of the past, and of the future, as well as of the present, the non-voters as well as the voters, could be apprised of the issues and polled as to the answers, true and glorious direction might emerge. What has happened in France, and elsewhere in the great democracies, is that fragments of the people, the most voluble, the most self-interested, the most susceptible to prejudice and demagogs, have called themselves the people and have sought to govern all.

People in the plural are not much of an improvement over people in the singular. They can be just as selfish, cruel, opinionated, fickle, and tyrannical as kings and emperors at times. It is hard to tell from this far away just how representative those People's Courts are of the common people of China, but they do not seem to show a lot of enthusiasm for the unjust and savage punishments they inflict upon non-Communist, both native and foreign.

Should we say then, that the democratic dream is over, that the dreadful wars of our century and the current retreat of the democracies have dispelled it? That what is left is to go back to the most benevolent form of authoritarianism we can set up?

By no means. Our democracies have given us the most just and equitable government humanity has known. Or at least knows about now. They have secured for the common man the widest diffusion of prosperity, opportunity, and dignity he has yet had. But democracy must be chastened; must recognize the ills and errors that this century has revealed, and it must move to mitigate them. It must admit that the majority of the voters at a given time are not always right, that they can indeed be very wrong. They must restrain their nationalism. Especially here in America we must not proceed on the fallacy that what is good for America is necessarily good for the world, and all who do not follow American policy are ingrates and weaklings, or worse.

Probably most of all we must restore respect for government, as something above and apart from contemporary voters, responsible ultimately to the people, but as an institution ordained by the nature and needs of man and the will of God. St. Paul speaks of the powers of authority deriving from above. We must desist from pressurizing legislatures and congresses by organized campaigns and from intimidating presidents, governors, and mayors and forcing them to our way of thinking and acting. We must resist the sweep of passion and the sway of demagogs, and serve our laws and traditions, or change them.

Just as we choose doctors, lawyers, and plumbers, and then let them do the job, unless it is clear beyond peradventure of doubt that they are failing, so we should let government and administration do its job, while it has it. For we, the people, are not all equipped to administer jails, dispense justice, carry on foreign affairs or wage wars any more than we are severally equipped to take out tonsils or repair the kitchen sink.

Movement of Relief Shipments in American-Flag Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, one of the vital accomplishments of the 83d Congress was the passage of the 50–50 cargo-preference law under which at least one-half of all cargo financed by the United States Government for relief and rehabilitation shipments must move in American-flag ships.

Under date of February 16 the New York Journal of Commerce, which specializes in marine news, published a searching editorial on this important subject which I believe my congressional colleagues will find very interesting. In brief space, the editor summarizes the practical benefits to United States shipping which devolve from Public Law 664, known as the Butler-Tollefson Act.

At the same time the friendly nations of the world are benefiting from the sales of these surplus commodities received from us. They are not only getting these goods for relief and rehabilitation, but the proceeds are reverting back to them for additional internal development. Thus, these surplus commodities they receive from us are not only helping our own agricultural economy but benefiting the friendly recipients not only by making these goods available to them but they can also utilize the proceeds turned back to them as well.

The introduction and passage of this legislation was a real tribute to our distinguished colleague the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER], whose able efforts on behalf of a strong American merchant marine have attracted national attention.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT DOESN'T COME FREE

There have been indications from Washington recently that some Congressmen—primarily those from the farm States—want to take another look at the so-called cargo-preference law, under which at least one-half of all cargoes financed by the United States Government—whether inbound or outbound—must move in American-flag ships

This policy, applied to all relief and rehabilitation shipments since the war, on a temporary basis, became the law of the land last year with the enactment of the Butler Tollefson Act. More recently lingering doubts as to its applicability this side of the Federal courts were cleared up when Attorney General Brownell gave it as his considered opinion that the act applies to surplus farm commodities exported by the Government under Public Law 480.

The reason for renewed congressional interest in the issue is obvious. Some foreign countries are reluctant to negotiate purchases of United States surplus farm stocks if one-half the shipment must be carried in American vessels, and at least one of these

nations is understood to have turned down such an agreement entirely. In the eyes of some farm State legislators, therefore, the Cargo Preference Act is beginning to look like an obstacle to the administration's farm-surplus-disposal program.

This newspaper has supported the 50–50 principle from the outset, although with misgivings.

We supported it originally because, while realizing it was an extraordinary measure for a great creditor nation to undertake, the circumstances were also extraordinary. UNRRA, the Marshall plan, NATO, and point 4 were all unprecedented programs.

The United States had just emerged from a war which showed clearly that a strong merchant fleet was essential to its mere survival in a clash of great powers. If this merchant fleet were itself to survive, it would have to find work; and if it were not given a half share in these great programs, where, indeed, would it have found it in view of its high operating costs and the worldwide scarcity of dollars to buy its services? Subsidies, paid to a relatively few shipowners, provided only part of the answer.

The cargo-preference policy could not be judged by normal commercial standards because there was nothing either normal or commercial about the programs under which it was adopted. If it prevented foreign owners from earning some dollars they would otherwise have earned, their loss was nothing compared with the gain these programs brought to their national economies, and the policy literally kept American shipping afloat.

So far as Government aid programs are concerned, stockpiling and the like, we see no reason for modifying this policy.

The misgivings we held at the outset we still retain, however. We retain them because we know that nothing comes free. The 50–50 rule has established a precedent which is not in all respects pleasant. What one nation can do to protect its shipping, another nation can also do. And if one such act detonates others, the outlook for a reasonably free market in shipping—shaped by the old laws of supply and demand—is poor indeed, and so are the prospects of nations which depend heavily on shipping earnings.

The Onassis agreement with Saudi Arabia was one of these portents, but not by any means the only one. There is a danger inherent in going too far—and we believe the United States went as far as it ever should go when it arranged the recent sale of coal to England for sterling on condition that half the cargoes move in American ships.

The deal was advantageous to the British, for it saved them dollars, but the transaction came close to being of a straight commercial type, and the attachment of the 50–50 cargo preference principle left a burning question in the air as to whether there would be more of the same. Thus far there has not been.

The farm surplus export program is not of this variety, however.

It is a Government operation, and, while we have had as many misgivings about it as about the 50–50 rule, we accept the assurances of President Eisenhower and Secretary Benson that sales will be handled in such a way that they do not disturb ordinary commercial marketings, either of United States citizens or those of friendly foreign countries.

If one accepts those assurances, this program cannot be considered a commercial venture and there should be no question as to the applicability of the Cargo Preference Act to shipments made under it. The Attorney General is on firm ground in taking this position.

It would be a little ironic, however, if farm interests should take the stand that the Cargo Preference Act should go because it seems to interfere with sales of Government-owned agricultural surpluses. They would be skating on thin ice indeed.

Let there be no mistake about it: Both the crop-support program, and the cargo-preference policy are, in one way or another, forms of subsidy, and there is no occasion whatever for the recipients of either to take a holier-than-thou attitude toward the other.

Both bear the seeds of possible future trouble. It is safe to use them only so long as their potential dangers are kept in mind, and those who administer them do so with restraint.

The National Reserve Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Burgess Calls Reserve Plan Boon to Service, Individual," written by Steve Tillman and published in the Army Times of February 12, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUGRESS CALLS RESERVE PLAN BOON TO SERVICES, INDIVIDUAL

(By Steve Tillman)

WASHINGTON.—Assistant Secretary of Defense Carter L. Burgess said last week that failure to recognize equitable features of the National Reserve plan "will work to the detriment of all it seeks to help." The manpower and personnel chief told this writer in a special interview that such a failure could result in "imposition of far less desirable solutions than are provided within the plan's framework."

Burgess repeated his earlier declaration, made at the plan's unveiling last December, that NRP provides the maximum equity feasible for both the services and affected individuals.

Pointing out that the plan was arrived at after more than a year's intensive study, he said it was formulated after achieving agreement on various active service viewpoints and after exhaustive efforts toward reaching fair and workable solutions to the complex manpower problems.

The plan recognizes the primary fact, Burgess said, that it takes time to train men in the techniques of modern warfare, and that without a large number of men at least partially trained and organized at the outbreak of a war the military establishment would have great difficulty assembling them.

The assistant secretary said NRP "offers what a nation occupying our position in world affairs really needs—a mandatory program under which the defense requirements essential to our security are maintained at safe and ready levels."

By use of trained reservists, Burgess said, we can more than double our active military, naval and air forces in the event of a sudden emergency without the necessity or expense of maintaining large active forces in the meantime.

"Broadly speaking," he said, "the National Reserve plan is a continuation of the existing Reserve program, but incorporating a number of additional features."

He went on to name expansion of the Ready Reserve, emphasis on an effective screening process in building the Standby Reserve, the service "choice" features for obligated men, improved training and other features previously disclosed.

Burgess, a man who will exert considerable influence over the Nation's young men, has come up fast in Government.

A native of Roanoke, Va., he has been adopted as a "native son" by South Carolina. He was assistant to the president of the University of South Carolina before coming to Washington to take the defense job formerly held by Michigan's Dr. Joseph A. Hannah.

Burgess's military career began in 1941, when he became a lieutenant in the Military Police Corps. At the end of the war he was secretary of the SHAEF general staff as a "bird" colonel, and thereafter held several Government jobs in Washington before going to South Carolina.

The Budget Can Be Balanced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a bulletin entitled "The Budget Can Be Balanced," which I received from the Southern States Industrial Council. I ask that only the front page of the bulletin be printed.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BUDGET CAN BE BALANCED

Some of us have difficulty in understanding the failure of the Federal Government to balance the budget when there is really no secret about the cause for this failure. The budget can be balanced if there is an honest effort to determine the money that will be available for spending and to keep expenses within this amount. But we don't do it that way. Spending is attractive, so we have adopted the custom of estimating our wants and then trying to raise money enough to cover the cost. In short, it has become a habit for us to spend more than we have, and in the past 22 out of 25 years annual deficits have increased the national debt from $16 billion to $280 billion.

A long step toward balancing the budget depends on whether the Congress will stand by the position taken when it appropriated funds for foreign aid in 1955. The Mutual Security Authorization Act for 1954, Public Law 665, set up 1955 funds and provided that economic aid to foreign nations should end June 30, 1955, and FOA was terminated as of the same date. This feature was not mentioned in the appropriations act.

The President's recent budget message completely ignored the termination provision in Public Law 665 and asked for $4.7 billion to be spent in 1956, compared with the $4.3 billion asked for 1955. Of this new asking $1 billion is earmarked for economic aid and $3.7 billion is marked for military aid. The Budget Bureau estimates that $7.9 billion of funds already authorized for foreign aid will be unspent and carried over into 1956—even if the Congress votes no new money. Senator BYRD, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, says this carry-over is about $10 billion, and even if $7 billion of this amount has been obligated, but unspent, as claimed by agencies handling the

funds, there would still remain about $3 billion unobligated and unspent.

The estimated deficit for fiscal 1955 is $4.7 billion, and the predicted deficit for 1956 is $2.4 billion.

If the foreign economic relief program is to end on June 30, 1955, then the $1 billion earmarked for that purpose in the recent budget message would not be needed. A credit of this amount would reduce the predicted 1956 deficit to $1.4 billion. Just what amount is marked for economic aid in the unspent funds constituting the foreign aid carryover is unknown, but even if all of this should be marked for military aid it is obvious that whether the carryover be $10 billion or $7.9 billion, a serious question arises about the advisability of appropriating the full $3.7 billion asked in the budget message for military aid.

Will the Congress take advantage of this opportunity to relieve the Nation of at least a small part of the burden it is now bearing? The attitude of our citizens toward this foreign relief program is evidenced by the termination provision of the 1954 Authorization Act. If the Congress will give the people an opportunity to vote for a constitutional amendment limiting congressional appropriations to a sum no greater than estimated Federal revenues, except in time of war or national emergency, the response for the amendment will be overwhelming.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL A. REDMOND,
President.

Christ, the Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I am including a impressive sermon delivered at the National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., on August 1, 1954, by Louis Evans, D. D., LL. D., former pastor of the Hollywood Presbyterian Church and presently representing the Presbyterian Church on a nationwide basis. I believe Members of Congress and others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be deeply impressed by this splendid message:

These are arresting words for any man to say. In fact, no man can speak them truthfully. These are glorious words even for a God to speak. It would be quite interesting to know which of these three pictures of Christ you hold most closedly to your heart—as the Way, as the Truth, or as the Light.

All three are necessary; He is Truth and you must learn of Him; He is Life and you must live Him; and when we take this Truth and live it, then you are "on the way"—this is the Way. Someone has said that what we need today is men and women of "conviction"—men and women who are "convicts of this great ideal"—powerless but to follow Him at any cost, at any time, and in any place.

Of course, we start with Christ as Truth. We begin with our Christology—our science of Christ. Here we must first draw a mental picture of what He is, who He is, and what He desires us to be. Frithe, the great artist, said that he never splashed any paint on canvas until first he had completed the picture in his mind's eye. Before we can begin to splash Christ with the brushes of life we must first picture Him in truth; as we grow in knowledge, He becomes more and more our intelligent way of action.

The Greeks helped us here. They worshipped an intellectual god. Aristotle in his "Metaphysics" pictures the Grecian god as the "Eternal Thinker." The Greek god spent his time ruminating, contemplating, thinking—almost to the exclusion of action. The Greeks were wiser here but they also failed here. Truth lacked the realism of life. They spoke words but they did not put the words to work. They had an ideal, to be sure. I-infinite, D-duty; E-each; AL-to all. "Infinite duty of each to all." But they wanted to keep their slaves and here the truth broke down and Greece died.

There have been periods in the history of the church when the church has given itself to mysticism altogether; when there has been truth unmarried to life. Monks ran into monasteries and divorced themselves from living. Men in the pulpit attempted to become mystics and they mere became misty. Theology was confined to the brain and had nothing to do with brotherhood or the problems of the day. Love became a sentimental something that was altogether divorced from wages, living conditions, the diseases, the comforts, the sorrows of men. The parable of the Good Samaritan was perfectly characteristic of some of the church eras—when the priest and the Levite, religious leaders, felt no compunction of conscience as they passed by on the other side and allowed the man to perish from his wounds without giving oil.

Then there came two forces that shocked us awake.

First of all, there was youth who insisted that we marry our words to works, and our faith to action. One day, the statue called the Thinker, the form of a man in meditation with his chin cupped in his hand, suddenly disappeared from the home mantel. At the dinner table, the father asked the question, "What became of the Thinker?" The college junior of the family very frankly pleaded guilty in these words, "I put the Thinker up in the attic. I'm sick and tired of this family doing nothing but thinking—it's time we gave ourselves to action." These young people realize we live in a pragmatic and experiential age when contemporary psychology is always studying the effect of belief on behavior. They insist that we marry truth to life—that this is the only way.

Then came communism. Mr. J. Middleton Murry in his work on communism said, "communism is the one living religion in the Western World today." I contest that and yet it seems at times that they are striving to live their diabolical creed more than other people. Karl Marx took God as a person and destroyed Him and made a god out of a program. The mental denial of God was displaced by a program. They adopted a way without the truth.

They scoffed at our "other-worldliness" and boasted of their "this-worldliness." They said that they desired to salvage this present day and to make it without hunger, without war, without class, and without sorrow. They scoffed at us, saying "You Christians say that you will have pie in the sky, by and by." But there is Bob Ingersoll, the agnostic, laying in his casket as immaculately dressed in death as he had always been in life. One acquaintance stopping at the casket and gazing at him for a moment passed on with the words, "Poor Bob, all dressed up and no place to go." That is tragic. What do men do without a "by and by"—with "no place to go"—with no future?

But our answer is that Christianity also has it today. We not only desire someday to pass from earth to heaven, we desire to bring heaven down to earth now and pray "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Communism has now become a diabolical challenge to the Christian to make his religion work now.

Of course our answer to communism is that the Kingdom of God is realism.

We Christians do not wish to escape the obligation of the belief in the "law of embodiment." God was embodied in Christ and when Philip said "Show us the Father and it sufficeth us," Jesus replied, "He that has seen Me has seen the Father." God was in Christ; Christ was God in the flesh—this was the incarnation. When He gave us a sacrament, He gave us a realistic sacrament. The bread and the cup representing the body and the blood; there was reality. When He taught us to pray, He said, "Give us this day our daily bread"—there is something edible and practical.

We are told that "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature"—that is the new birth and that is spiritual regeneration. The verse goes on to say that then "Old things are passed away and all things become new"—the new man changes things. When they saw the Christians entering the city of Thessalonica, those watching from the ramparts cried, "These that have turned the world upside down have come hither unto us also." You can expect that of the Christians—when things are wrong side up they will turn things upside down. It's said that Christ went into Galilee preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing all manner of diseases. Christ was interested in the human being as a dichotomy—both body and soul. There was realism in His ministry. When the church is described for us it is described as a building with Christ as the chief cornerstone. And you and I, Peter reminds us, are all lively stones built up into an eternal temple. There it is—the church is solid as cement, functioning in an outward organization as well as a spiritual organism.

The answer of Christianity to communism is this: Christ has taken the truth and married it to life and this is our way.

Now if we have found this way it will evidence itself first of all in Christian character; it will add conduct to creed.

Sitting in the church does not make you a Christian any more than sitting in a henhouse makes you a hen, or sitting in a classroom makes you a scholar. "The redeemed of the Lord must walk redeemedly," wrote a sage.

* * * * *

The Church of Jesus Christ must never lose its power of differentism. Nothing worse could be said of the church in this day of a demand for a realism in life than that it had lost its sense of having a way about it.

It was not easy to walk in the Christian way in that early Roman society, any more than it is easy today. That, too, was a society that built on the mudsills of the sensate. The Christian life was no more honored then than it is now. The problem does not change. Society will always try to grind the Christian down to its size on the lathe of its brutal compromise.

Nor do our characters change. The story is told of a young woman who was going out for an evening of pleasure with a young man, and her mother called after them from the porch, "Goodnight, dear, be good and have a good time." To this her daughter called back, "Oh, Mother, why don't you make up your mind?" Yes, there are some that feel that being good and having a good time are the enemies of each other. There is nothing better that you can do, mother, than to live such a life that your daughter will think "it's fun to be faithful," and you, father, living such a life that your son will think it is "great to be good."

* * * * *

Of course, in this sense we all "preach." Preaching is truth through a personality. If you should write "mene, mene, tekel, upharsin," on the wall, that would not be

preaching; it would be the truth, but it is not delivered through a personality. If you could teach a parrot to say the Twenty-third Psalm, he would not be preaching, because he would be powerless to live it. Francis of Assisi invited a young monk to go with him into the city and preach. They walked up and down the crowded streets for an hour; folks curtsied to to them, listened to their conversation, and watched them. They returned to the monastery in an hour. The young monk remonstrated, saying, "I thought we were going to preach a sermon today." To this Assissi replied, "We did preach our sermon today. Everybody was watching us as we walked, everybody was listening to us as we talked; that was our sermon for today." So you laymen are also the priesthood of the laity. You, too, preach for Christianity, after all, is something demonstrated more than it is debated; it is something practiced even more than it is preached. The word "Christian" is made by taking the word "Christ" and adding the letters "i-a-n" to it; this suffix meaning "a little model of the big thing." This carries with it a tremendous sense of obligation. To belong to Christ is to be like Christ.

Alexander the Great once espied one of his soldiers in the uniform of his army in a drunken stupor. He said, "Stop there, what is your name?" To this the soldier replied, "My name is Alexander, sir." The emperor said, "Do not jest with me. I say, what is your name?" Again the soldier replied, "My name is Alexander, sir." Alexander the Great took him by the nape of the neck and hurled him sprawling on the sand with the words, "Either change your conduct or change your name." We who bear the name of Jesus Christ upon our foreheads are either His labels or His libels.

In the second place this Christian way is an unusual way. They said of the early Christians they were drunk with a new wine.

If there is anything of which we are afraid today, it is of being considered abnormal. But many folks have been abnormal who have been leaders in history. Susan B. Anthony, when she took her courageous stand, was considered so; when Martin Luther stood alone against kings, prelates, and cardinals, he said "I can do naught else, so help me God." They thought him mad. When Sally Butler, of Seneca, stood up a hundred years ago and began to challenge our modern philosophy of war they said the same of her. When Florence Nightingale was able to stand the licking fires of gossip and go on with her nursing in the Crimean War, it was because Christ had commanded her to do so. When Carey Nation took her axe and demolished a score of bars, people thought her a little pixilated, but if we had a few more like her, America would perhaps not sorrowfully be infected with about 5 million alcoholics a year. When Mary McLeod Bethune began to contest that colored people should have their place in this world, and that no one plays a rich piano forte leaving out the black keys, they thought she lacked balance. When Abraham Lincoln said, "If there's a place for me to be offered, I am ready now, for I know equality is right, for Christ teaches it and Christ is God" they thought him beside himself.

But you noticed this, that only those people have stood out in history who have stood up for something. The trouble with us Americans is that more and more are we standing for less and less, and if we do not stand for something we shall fall for everything. A subnormal world will always think a person of normal temperature abnormal and a subnormal world in ethics will always think a normal ethic of the Christian is a high fever.

The Christ way is also the way of patience and courage. Oliver Cromwell's mother once warned him by asking him if he were counting the cost of standing up to the tyrannical Charles. To this he replied, "Mother, there are times when we may not count the cost."

Christ said, "If they persecuted me, they will persecute you." It has always been true. The Christian way has been one or more or less protracted pain. "The moment you take the church down from one cross, they are setting up another for her." Three things were said of the early Christians. First of all they always paid their taxes; second, they were ecstatically happy; and third, they were always getting into trouble. Christians always will. There are three classes of citizens. There are the "sublegal." If you are below the law, they will put you in jail. There are the "superlegal"—if you are above the common herd they wil burn you at the stake of ridicule or fasten you to the block of torture. The only people that seem to get along easily in this world are the "legal" folk who do what the law requires, no more, no less. They are the people of the "cheap average"—these are the "escapists" of society.

It is much easier to accept Christianity as a way of death than as a way of life, for it takes more courage to live for Christ than even to die for Christ. Now these few lines of a poem:

"So he died for his faith, that is fine.
More than most of us do,
But say, can you add to that line
That he lived for it too?

"It is easy to die—men have died
For a wish or a whim
From bravado or passion or pride,
Was it harder for him?"

The Christ way is also the way of love. If God is love, then to act with God is to act like God—lovingly. As one writer said, "Karl Marx scoffed at love as mere sentimentalism. He threw out love and put in force." * * * Men first became animals and then the animals became cogs of the great machine. Then came their loveless parade of pretended love. To hear them talk you would have supposed that they had great wounded feeling and pity for those who had been the victims of industrial injustice, but as a writer said, "In one century communism gave birth to the worst slavery man has known." They offered the finely woven shawl of liberty for chilling shoulders but when men began to wear that shawl it proved to be a net of chains. I think it was Dr. Lowry in his splendid book on communism, Communism and Christ, who said, "Communism is become the inhumanity against which it protested." All communism did in China was to change hatreds. Czarism hated the poor and loved the rich; communism came in and loved the poor and hated the rich. This was just simply a change of hatreds and this is not progress at all.

But Christianity came along and demonstrated a way of love.

In the early church men with their masculine traints suddenly added pity to their power, purpose to their purse, and mercy to their might, and they formed the first board of deacons in the great triumph of masculine tenderness.

The women looked about and their needles were married to needs, seen for the first time. I do not know what the I. Q. of these early churchwomen might have been, but Helen Jackson once said of a woman, "She was not a brilliant woman but there is such a thing as genius for affection and she has it." These early Christians had it. They had a genius for affection and even old age knew how to handle the problem of service.

* * * * *

Then there grew up this Christian program of benevolence and philanthropy. * * * There came nursing, invented by the women of patrician Rome; then came hospitals, as inseparable from the churches as an apple from the tree; then came homes for the aged, as men became mindful of others; and slavery had to go because love was becoming realistically belligerent; child labor was abolished and missions began to sweep the world. These Christians had a way with them—it was the way of love.

It was also a family way. God made of "one blood all the nations of the earth" and the early Christians could not forget it.

When the Holy Spirit came at Pentecost every man "heard the Gospel in his own tongue." This Gospel was for every man. On the cross the words "Jesus of Nazareth, King" were written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, for all men must read it—He died for all.

* * * * *

You remember Paul and Barnabas took the problem of their missionary journey to a court of authority. In Acts 13 you are told of the nature of that group—"Now there were in Antioch, in that church that was there, prophets and teachers; Barnabas and Symeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, the foster brother of Herod, and Saul." Notice in that church court the various racial backgrounds: Barnabas, either a Jew or a Greek. Symeon that was called Niger and that word "Niger" means Negro; and Lucius of Cyrene—probably another of dusky countenance; and Manean, the foster brother of Herod—with royal blood in his veins; and then Saul—Roman and freeborn, and Hebrew in his blood. There you had the great races of the world represented in this common Christian family.

To this sense of oneness the Holy Spirit must lead us and in this sense we must solve our problems of today. Mary had her arms around her father's neck telling him how much she loved him, but at the same time, over his shoulder unseen of him, she was sticking out her tongue at her brother Tom. Her mother saw this and came over and said, "Mary, take your arms down from around your father's neck. Your father loves Tom, too. And you cannot love your father and stick out your tongue at Tom." And if we are sticking out our tongues at any of the Toms of other races, let us take down our arms from around our Father's neck. The Christian way is a family way.

Finally, this Christ way was a way of confidence. An uncanny sense of pessimism has been getting hold of the press, the platform, the pulpit, and our personal attitudes of late and we must stop it. We Christians, too, have our dream—"Jesus shall reign where'er the sun doth its successive journeys run." Whatever school of prophecy it might be to which you belong, Christ ends up at the end, King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Someone has said, "The operational code of the Communist Politburo will never be a match for the operational code of the Kingdom of Christ."

The statue of Christ is not carved out of the soap of the sentimental. * * * We have carved Him out of the rock marble of an eternal Divinity. Christ has conquered every dictator that ever ruled against Him. God's Kingdom has outlived Pharoahism, Babylonianism, Caesarism, Napoleonism, fascism, nazism, and it will outlive communism.

There may be times when you Christian women feel that apart from the pageantry permitted to men there is little that you can do to change this world, but you have tremendous power and courage when properly expressed.

* * * * *

And yours is the "only way." You have the dream and you must teach it and live it by the crib, in the house, in the kitchen, in the club, society, factory, office, and everywhere—Jesus is the way.

You men, too, must march on with a masculine confidence.

It has looked bad for the church before. There was a time in the history of Rome

when Julian, the Apostate Emperor, thought he had completely distroyed Christianity as he closed the churches, but one day he was riding along on his steed and he heard an aged Christian singing a Christian hymn. He called, "Stop there." Then he said, scoffingly, "Well, what is your Jesus Christ doing now?" The aged Christian drew himself up to his full height and said proudly, "Just now, sir, Jesus of Nazareth is busy making a coffin for the Roman Empire." And you remember it was not long before Rome used it, when Julian the Apostate Emperor in an act of suicide drew the sword from his side and, cupping his lifeblood in his hand, threw it to the winds and shouted, "Galileo, Galileo, vicisti, vicisti—Galilean, Galilean, thou hast conquered" And Christ will, again, and again, and again.

Remember what John Foster Dulles said—that "faith is as contagious as fear." God give us faith in this eternal way.

Let us pray:

"It is hard to work for Thee, O God,
To rise and take Thy part,
Upon this battlefield of life
And not sometimes lose heart.

"Thou hid'st Thyself so wondrously
As though there were no god;
Thou art least seen when all the powers
Of ill are most abroad.

"Thou doest desert us at the hour
The fight is all but lost;
And seem'st to leave us to ourselves
Just when we need Thee most.

"But mighty God! We'll not lose heart;
But learn that Thou art like
And in the darkest battefield
We shall know where to strike.

"Thrice blest are we to whom is given
The instinct that can tell
That Thou art on the battlefield
When most invisible.

"For right is right, since Thou art God
And right today will win;
To doubt would be disloyalty
To falter would be sin."

Monopoly in the Power Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated February 19, 1955, which I received from the Osage Valley Electric Cooperative Association, dealing with REA.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OSAGE VALLEY ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Butler, Mo., February 19, 1955.

The Honorable WILLIAM LANGER,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is to extend to you our thanks for the interim report on monopoly in the power industry furnished with yours of January 31, 1955, and to request that you furnish us with 10 additional copies. You may feel free to render us statement for any costs involved therefor.

We take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation of the fine work you and your committee have been doing and we trust that you will continue in this endeavor. It is very gratifying to know that we do have in our Congress, men who have such a sincere interest in public welfare and who are willing to put forth an effort on behalf of the individual citizen and his inherent rights by virtue of living in a democracy.

If we can be of any assistance, please feel free to call on us.

Very truly yours,
OSAGE VALLEY ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
By J. F. LAUDERBACK, *Manager.*

Do Not Discount Grandpa—This Country Must Stop Wasting the Brains and Skills of Mature People, Says the Forty Plus Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present a letter recently received by me from Paul Bussard, Catholic Digest, 44 East 53d Street, New York, N. Y. With said letter was enclosed the article by J. L. Rawlinson which Mr. Bussard's letter called my attention to.

Also, I just wish to briefly remind you and all my colleagues of this great legislative body that on frequent occasions during these 8 years I have already been a Member of this House I have called attention to the problem of the elder citizens. Therefore, I am pleased to present the letter from Mr. Bussard and the article to which he calls my attention:

DEAR SIR: One of the greatest problems facing our economy today is that of the average worker. Forty has become the arbitrary gateway beyond which a man shall not pass if he is unemployed and seeks a new connection. Even women of 30, especially in business offices, are daily confronted with the same age barrier.

The story of the Forty Plus Club and its fight against this age discrimination is told by J. B. Rawlinson in the March Catholic Digest, a copy of which is enclosed.

Age discrimination, Rawlinson warns, has resulted in dumping on the labor scrap heap of thousands of healthy, active men at the height of their skills. This discrimination will be disastrous to our economy if nothing is done.

I believe this article will be of interest to you. If there is any additional information you would like to have, I shall be happy to send it to you.

Very truly yours,
PAUL BUSSARD.

DON'T DISCOUNT GRANDPA—THIS COUNTRY MUST STOP WASTING THE BRAINS AND SKILLS OF MATURE PEOPLE, SAYS THE FORTY PLUS CLUB

(By J. L. Rawlinson)

The Forty Plus Club is a cooperative, nonprofit organization of mature men who work without compensation for one another. Their greatest reward, next to getting jobs for themselves, lies in helping to get a job for the other fellow. They share the expense of maintaining and promoting club activities. Every working day in the year they are in the field, at their own expense, calling on employers to show that there is no substitute for the experience and know-how of older workers.

Other club members are in the office, where they serve on committees preparing and placing advertisements, writing radio or television scripts, and securing, whenever possible, free time on the air. Others make up and mail pamphlets, brochures, and news articles. Still others address business and civic group meetings. The average number of men in the Forty Plus Club is 80, the average age 55. As some find jobs, others who are trained for the work immediately take their places.

But why, in these prosperous times, is all this work necessary? There are two big reasons. First, prejudice against the aged in business and industry is still widespread. In this, the greatest country on earth, opportunities which are pressed upon young people are denied to their elders. Forty has become the arbitrary gateway beyond which a man shall not pass if he is unemployed and seeks a new connection. Many women of 30, especially in business offices, are daily confronted with the same cruel age barrier.

Pension plans, too, are formidable obstacles for older workers, especially executives. The premium paid by the employer to an insurance company to enable an employee of 50 to receive a pension at 65 is much higher than for a man of 30. When a job seeker offers to waive all pension payments and other rights, the answer, all too often, is that this would involve too much bookkeeping. And so the upgrading of youth and the downgrading of age continues, year after year, a shameful waste of brains and manual skill.

A number of retired Army and Navy officers, including a rear admiral, have joined the civilians who have passed through the Forty Plus Club at 220 Broadway, New York City. Many of them take an active and continuing interest in its activities by turning in job leads.

The club solicits no donations and has no endowments; it is entirely supported by active and associate members. These men are justly proud of its continuing success. Now in its 16th year, the club has found jobs for 3,500 men. In the files of the club are many heartening stories of members who nearly broke under the shock of finding themselves out of jobs they had ably filled for years. Laid off because of a merger, a reorganization, the closing of a branch, or any one of a dozen reasons, they came broken in spirit. In the cheerful, optimistic atmosphere of the club, their confidence was restored, their self-esteem was rebuilt.

A distinguished-looking gentleman of 72, once retired but now sadly in need of employment because of unfortunate investments, was accepted as a member. He had been seeking work for 2 years and had begun to feel that opportunity had passed him by for the last time.

Association with club members, observing their ways, listening to their talks, gave him new courage. He was assured that somewhere a good place awaited him. Today he is vice president of a bank, earning a high salary.

An unemployed engineer of 45 had tried everything he could think of to make a new connection. He had paid $300 for employment counsel and $100 for a résumé, and had answered scores of help-wanted ads. Fighting alone, he got nowhere. At the suggestion of a friend, he applied for membership in the Forty Plus Club, and was accepted.

Immediately he went to work, not on a payroll but as a volunteer. No salesman, he went through an intensive 3-day indoctrination course, during which he was trained to go out and sell the club to top-management executives. Amazingly soon, this engineer found that the work which he thought would

be distasteful and beyond his capabilities was just the work he could do well. Today he is a highly successful sales engineer.

Forty Plus-ers have proved so dependable that some employers, regrettably few, it is true, rely almost exclusively upon the club to fill their vacancies. At times, concerns that have tried all other sources without success turn to the club for help.

An amusing instance of this occurred some time ago. At 3 p. m. in the afternoon one of the phones of the placement committee rang, and a troubled voice said, "I wonder if you fellows could help us out of a jam. We're in the business of supplying special props for television shows, and we've had a call for a milking cow for a show tonight. The animal must be at the studio not later than 6:30. If you have a man there who can get a milking cow to the studio on time tonight, he can have a job, sight unseen, at seventy-five hundred a year."

Immediately, an unemployed salesman reached for his hat. "I'll get that cow," he declared with conviction.

Rushing to the subway, he took the first train to Long Island City, then a taxi to a large dairy concern. Using all his persuasive powers and supersalesmanship tactics, he talked the general manager into furnishing, free of charge, not only the cow but the truck to take it to the studio and back. The man from the Forty Plus Club, unemployed because of old age, got the cow to the television studio and the job. He still has the job.

All the known facts offer no justification whatever for age prejudice. Studies have been made by various organizations, including the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of Aging. The facts demonstrate that mature men and women are usually the most conscientious and dependable. At desk, shop, or store, such workers have learned not only what to do but what not to do, and can save their employers costly mistakes. They take pride and pleasure in doing an honest day's work for a day's pay; they rate higher in efficiency and productiveness, and have lower absentee records. They do not jump from job to job.

Physical age—biological age—is what truly counts, not calendar age. Some men are young at 70, others old at 30. Then, too, life expectancy has grown by leaps and bounds, and it is still growing. At the turn of the century, it was about 45 years. There was then no old-age problem to speak of because so many people died before they became old. Today, life expectancy is over 65. Unprecedented advances in medical science, together with new discoveries in the art of living, have made older people of today as young in spirit, resourcefulness, and all-round good health as younger people of a few years back. In addition, they have the wisdom and experience that come only with age.

The heads of most large corporations are often well along in years, a vigorous 65 or 70. Not a few have even reached 80. Yet, often those very concerns follow a policy of not hiring people over 40. That is why the Forty Plus Club idea has spread and why there are now similar organizations in Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

The need is great, for thousands of healthy, active, middle-aged men at the very height of their professional or industrial skills are being thrown upon the scrap heap. Those men have been good citizens. They have educated their children, paid their taxes, contributed to the Red Cross, the church, and other worthy causes. Now they are cut off from the busy workaday world in which they spent so many years. Not infrequently an employer, unable to find the right younger man, will keep a place vacant for months rather than take one overaged.

The present do-nothing policy of the Government in the matter of older workers must not continue. We have outlawed racial and religious bias, but unjust age discrimination remains, an appalling waste of manpower and a reproach to our national leaders. A full-blown congressional probe is needed to uncover the extent to which older workers are discriminated against by reason of age and also by pension plans. Such an investigation would demonstrate that fair-employment-practices legislation is sorely needed. Such legislation is bound to come if the American way of life is to recognize the dignity of the individual and his right to earn a living as long as he is able and willing to work.

And It Could Be You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, the United States, and indeed the entire civilized world, will be eternally grateful for the life of Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose birthday was recently celebrated. The district that I represent in Congress has particular reason for depth of feeling about the unparalleled services of this great President of the United States and world leader. One of the ablest journalists from my district has written a tribute to him that was published recently in the East Side News that deserves to be widely known. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the editorial entitled "And It Could Be You," by Harry H. Schlacht:

AND IT COULD BE YOU

The 75th anniversary of the birth of Franklin D. Roosevelt will be observed throughout the country on Sunday, January 30. It was he who founded the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. It was he who mobilized the people for war on this dreaded disease. It was he who became the symbol of this crusade.

Polio has ravished mankind throughout the ages. It is written that Ruma in 1400 B. C. was the earliest victim of infantile paralysis. It is said in the Old Testament that Mephibosheth was "lame of feet." It is recorded in the Gospel, according to St. Mark, that Jesus cured an atrophied arm.

History abounds with famous men who were victims of polio. The great composers, Mozart and Chopin; Charles Darwin, the father of the theory of evolution; and Sir Walter Scott, the novelist, were among them.

Polio is as great a problem today as when the malady was first described. It must be our problem until science can proclaim its conquest of this crippling foe. It is no respecter of persons. It is the dreaded disease of childhood. It strikes swiftly and silently. It strikes without warning. It is the great crippler. Whose child will be next?

The national foundation does not recognize race, color, or creed. It seeks to help those who cannot help themselves. It seeks to strike back when the crippler strikes. It is a unique institution. It is the property of the American people. It must have the suport of the American people.

Today, when a person is stricken with polio, a report is made out immediately to the nearest health center within 24 hours after the physician has diagnosed the case as polio. The nearest chapter of the national foundation communicates with the parents of the patient and all arrangements are made for the victim. The foundation assumes all financial obligations, thus giving all an equal chance to fight this scourge.

There is no greater call to which we can rally than to free little children from a life sentence in a wheelchair. No writer, however talented, can adequately portray the joy of a little stricken girl when she shouts to her parents: "Look, I can walk again." Yes; that little sentence, that happy exclamation tells more strikingly and dynamically than any article could tell what the National Foundation has accomplished.

Why not give gladly and generously to the March of Dimes? You give so that the lame may walk again. You give so the healthy may be protected. Why not give until it heals?

Did you know, perhaps you may have forgotten, that a man is never so tall as when he stoops to help a child. May God hasten the day when "Look, I can walk again" becomes a welling cry of triumph in all afflicted homes—a triumph over the most crippling disease known to mankind.

Give to the March of Dimes. Give to stop the march of polio. For the child you help may be your very own.

New York Court in Historic Ruling on Communism—The Lightfoot Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent franted me heretofore so to do, I present to you and my other distinguished colleagues the test of an article by Mr. Godfrey Sperling, Jr., appearing in the Christian Science Monitor on Thursday, February 17, 1955. In view of its pertinency and timeliness and in view of the present status of the subject discussed by Mr. Sperling in this Lightfoot case, I felt sure that the text thereof would be of special value and interest to all the Members of this great legislative body:

LIGHTFOOT CASE: COURT IN HISTORIC RULING ON COMMUNISM

(By Godfrey Sperling, Jr.)

CHICAGO.—A judge who said he was guided in his pronouncement of sentence by the punishment meted out to the 11 top Communists in New York has sentenced Communist Claude M. Lightfoot to 5 years' imprisonment and a $5,000 fine.

Thus the defendant becomes not only the first Communist to be convicted under the membership provision of the Smith Act, but also the first Communist since the Medina trial to be judged, in terms of punishment, a revolutionary threat to the Nation.

As the historic landmark case heads toward the Supreme Court, it seems probable that the high court may again invoke the doctrine of "clear and present danger" as it did in the appeal of the top Communists case.

This time, however, the court will have to decide whether Lightfoot's admitted affiliation with the Communist Party is in itself sufficient to constitute a "clear and present danger" to the United States.

In the New York case, evidence was presented of overt conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force and violence. Then the defendant's acts were weighed against the clear and present danger doctrine.

Both the New York court and the Supreme Court decided that the American Government did not have to stand by quietly until a Communist revolution was launched before it could take measures to save itself.

PRESENT DANGER

"When does the conspiracy become a present danger?" the New York court asked. "The jury has found that the conspirators will strike as soon as success seems possible, and obviously no one in his senses would strike sooner."

The court decided that the Communist conspiracy is a clear and present danger.

Observed the Supreme Court, in agreeing with the lower court on the application of this danger doctrine:

"Obviously, the words cannot mean that before the Government may act, it must wait until the putsch is about to be executed, the plans have been laid, and the signal is awaited.

"If the Government is aware that a group aiming at its overthrow is attempting to indoctrinate its members, and to commit them to a course whereby they will strike when the leaders feel the circumstances permit, action by the Government is required."

Before handing down the sentence, District Judge Philip Sullivan commented that, from the documentary evidence and testimony, "the jury could hardly have found that the defendant did not have knowledge that the Communist Party advocates overthrow of the Government by force and violence."

POLICY OF OVERTHROW

Further, he said, the jury could reasonably infer "that the defendant intended to bring about the overthrow of the Government as speedily as circumstances would permit."

Under the heretofore untested provision of the Smith Act, membership in a group seeking to overthrow the Government is not quite enough to bring about a conviction. Also, the provision states, the defendant must have knowledge of the group's criminal objective.

During the trial, voluminous citations from Marx and Lenin were admitted in evidence, to show that Communist Party doctrine dictated overthrow of the government.

The Government also put witnesses on the stand to testify to the defendant's active role as executive chairman of the party in Illinois to show that, from his leadership and from his talking and teaching of communism, only one inference could be drawn: That Claude M. Lightfoot knew what the Communists were doing.

No evidence, however, pictured the defendant in the over act of trying to overthrow the Government. His objective was preconceived by the jury through inference, an inference which the judge has pronounced reasonable, in light of the entire evidence.

In deciding on the heavy sentence, the judge also said that he was considering the Smith Act revision which is now pending in Congress. This revision calls for a doubling of the maximum penalty for convicted Communists, to $20,000 and 20 years.

The Lightfoot case has recalled to many observers here the closing hours of the last session of Congress, when a group of Senators almost stampeded the Congress into adopting new laws that would have punished membership in the Communist Party.

This effort to outlaw membership failed. "But how is this case to be distinguished from outlawing the party," some observers join the defense in inquiring. The prosecution answers, in effect: "There has been proof of knowledge of the purpose here."

River Basin Development in Turkey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Philip P. Dickinson, chief, United States reclamation advisory team in Turkey, is well known to all who are interested in western reclamation.

He is doing an excellent job in the Republic of Turkey in building up cordial relations with this country through the assistance program.

He recently addressed the Rotary Club of Ankara on the subject of river basin development in Turkey.

Here is the story that appeared in the Turkish-American News:

RIVER BASIN DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY

(By Philip P. Dickinson, Chief, United States Reclamation Advisory Team)

I am a civil engineer, not a public speaker, but I do appreciate the honor to have been invited to address this distinguished group. I have found it a real pleasure to meet with you. I have a team of 10 American engineers and economists here in Ankara, working with the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Agriculture on a long-range program of water and power development for Turkey. We believe our work is of mutual assistance. Our objective is not only to help Turkey, but equally, by doing that to help America.

Water is fundamental to life everywhere on earth, but in some places it is taken for granted. In the humid areas, like most of Europe and the eastern half of the United States, water comes free; the supply is virtually unlimited; abundant rainfall nourishes the land and the crops and provides drinking supplies for humans and animals. But in arid zones like Turkey, in most of the Middle East, as well as the Western States of America, no one takes water for granted. It is too precious for that. Here, water is treated like land, as a strictly limited natural resource, of equal or perhaps even greater value.

This eastern Mediterranean area is known as the cradle of western civilization. It also is the birthplace of irrigation. It was in the valleys of the Tigres, the Euphrates, and the Nile Rivers that man changed from a hunter to a herdsman, from a food gatherer to a food grower, and thereby started the processes from which our western civilization evolved. Man did this by learning to domesticate animals and by learning to use the floodwaters of the rivers to grow crops.

So, Turkey has been engaged in irrigation and flood control for a long time. But most of its projects, even in the present day, have been single, individual projects for small areas, not particularly connected one with the other. In my present work in Turkey we are giving special emphasis to a particular aspect of water and power development which we call river basin planning. This concept has been applied in the United States for some years now. You may have heard of it under names like the TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority), or the Columbia Basin development, or the Central Valley project. The basin concept is based on the simple fact that water, wherever it falls, flows downhill; in other words rivers follow natural rather than political laws, they flow unimpeded across State and provincial boundaries. For that reason, a geographical river basin, including every tributary from the mountains to the sea, is the natural unit for planning and developing water and power projects.

We have selected one major river basin in northern Turkey as a model or training ground in which to work up a complete comprehensive multiple-purpose river basin plan. That is the basin of the Yesilirmak which flows into the Black Sea near Samsun. A river basin planning staff of Turkish engineers, economists, and technical aids has been established in Devlet Su Isleri (directorate of state hydraulic works) to do this job. We Americans from the United States Bureau of Reclamation are stationed with this staff in the same offices at Bakanliklar, all working intimately together.

I used the term multiple-purpose. By that I mean the planning and construction of water projects to serve more than one purpose—not just irrigation, not just flood control, not just electric power, but all of these together—plus, very often, other related purposes, such as furnishing water supplies for cities and villages, and for industries; improving river channels for navigation; draining swamps; controlling the salt or alkali content of water; improving conditions for fish life, and providing recreation opportunities on rivers and reservoirs. Almost all of our big water projects these days in both the United States and Turkey are multiple-purpose projects.

All of us are security conscious today. In the current struggle for world power much of our thinking and a large part of our energies are devoted to making our countries strong. We learned in World War II that to do that, to remain strong, and to preserve our democratic way of life we have to think of more than military strength; we also must press forward with continued development of our basic natural resources—our minerals, our forests, our lands, and our water. Most important of these, in my opinion, is water, especially in Turkey and the western part of the United States. Because without water none of the other resources would be any good to us.

This work is proceeding in Turkey. Before the Yesihrmak plan is completed, engineers of Devlet Su Isleri will be started on preparing a plan for the Kizilirmak Basin. The basins of the Tigres and Euphrates will follow in order. Attention also will be given to perfecting river basin plans where individual projects already are under construction such as on the Sakarya, the Seyhan, and the Gediz Rivers.

These projects have profound influence on Turkey's security. River basin development can and does contribute substantially to the productive strength of the nation.

School-Lunch Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a telegram I received from Mrs. A. A. Guastead, chairman of the hot-lunch program, North Dakota Congress of Parents and Teachers.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JAMESTOWN, N. DAK., *February 21, 1955.*
Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

As State chairman of school-lunch program for North Dakota Congress of Parents and Teachers with 40,000 members and our association sponsoring 128 hot-lunch programs, I earnestly urge no reduction in funds and beg that section 6 covering canned fruits, canned vegetables, citrus products, and peanut butter be not eliminated. Letter following.

Mrs. A. A. GUASTEAD,
Chairman, Hot-Lunch Program, North Dakota Congress of Parents and Teachers.

To Live in Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following report from Israel, written by the Honorable Denis Healey, member of the British Parliament, is worthy of our attention. It appeared in the January 3, 1955, issue of the New Republic magazine.

REPORT FROM ISRAEL—TO LIVE IN PEACE
(By Denis Healey, Member of Parliament)

I do not think there is any historical precedent for Israel's extraordinary success in taking almost a million immigrants from all parts of the world and within a few years turning them into a nation. Where America was a melting pot, Israel is a pressure cooker.

Defying every law of economics, her trade gap is still more than $200 million a year—a colossal sum for a country of only a million and a half inhabitants. For another 12 years or so, German reparations, American aid, and the contributions of Jews abroad will help to cover this. But then Israel will have to pay her own way, and it is an open question whether she will be able to do this while maintaining a West European standard of life.

Today the country is like a beleaguered garrison. On all sides press hostile Arab states, which refuse to recognize Israel's existence and whose leaders are always talking of the second round, in which they will avenge the humiliating defeat they suffered in 1948. The border settlers are living under almost intolerable moral and physical strain. More important still is the impact on the economy of the infant state. Defense takes an enormous toll of money and manpower. The Arab blockade cuts off all the most promising markets for Israel's export trade, in east Africa, southern Asia, and the Middle East itself.

In the long run Israel's very life will depend on achieving friendly cooperation with the Arabs for economic and political development throughout the Middle East. With nationalism raging like a fire throughout Africa and Asia it is inconceivable that Israel could hope to survive as a "white colony" in the Middle East, however strong her army or broad her frontiers. But Israel has very little scope for compromise. So long as the Arabs flaunt their intention of wiping her off the map Israel cannot be expected to throw away the few concessions she might ultimately afford for the sake of minor agreements which leave the central issue untouched.

Everyone knows that Israel is tied to the West by both political principle and material interest. But the Arab leaders can flirt dangerously with Moscow in the knowledge that even if the worst happens they can fly to Monte Carlo or Buenos Aires and live the rest of their lives in luxury. So the Western powers concentrate on winning friends among the Arabs. Some of their advisers regard Israel simply as an obstacle to stability in the Middle East whose disappearance would have advantage. And Russia pursues a 100 percent pro-Arab policy.

In spite of some bitter memories, many Israelis are beginning to look on Britain as their best friend among the great powers—she is already their main market. But Britain is handing over her responsibilities in the Middle East to the United States. And, America, having played the central role in getting the state of Israel established, has moved to the other extreme. Her generals hope to train and equip strong Arab armies in the Middle East on the South Korean model—they have not yet learned from their more recent experience with Syngman Rhee. In any case, the Arab states have plenty of money to spend on arms so even if American policy changes, Arab armed strength will increase considerably in the next few years.

On the other hand the unity of the Arab world is under growing strain. Egypt may turn increasingly from the Middle East and seek her future in Africa. Iraq may desert the Arab League for the Turkey-Pakistan pact in the north. Jordan and the Lebanon for various reasons both distrust the remaining Arab powers. Before long the stage may be set for a real improvement in Israel's relations with her immediate neighbors.

The real question is whether she can get through the next year or two without a new flareup. At present Israel is feeling desperate. If the western powers do not show a more urgent and effective interest in Israel's survival, pressure inside Israel for a preventive war may mount dangerously. At the moment Israel's army is probably stronger than all the Arab armies put together. So there are already some Israelis who feel it would be better to have the second round now than wait until American aid and training tilts the balance of power toward the Arabs.

Israel's present leaders see clearly that such action would be ultimately suicidal. But unless she can be shown some peaceful way out of the present deadlock, desperation may produce a change in both opinion and leadership.

By now there is little chance of stopping the Arabs arming if they want to. So the immediate task is to see that Israel is able to keep pace with them. In the second place the west must make it much clearer to the Arabs that it would intervene to crush any Arab attack on Israel—and vice versa. Now that Israel has offered the Arabs a nonaggression pact, there is a strong case for some Locarno type arrangement in the Middle East to which the Western powers would also be a party. Words alone will not convince either Israel or the Arabs that the West means business unless Israel too can be associated in some way with the framework of Western defense. Direct military links with Britain or the United States are unlikely in the immediate future. But there may be some way of associating Israel with the new Balkan pact—incidentally Yugoslavia is now her closest friend after Burma.

Unless Israel's influence in the Western World can be increased in some such way, she will not feel any confidence in third-party mediation, and the Arabs will feel no incentive to make a settlement with her. I believe that a final settlement is unlikely to come about except through Western mediation—the scope for improving relations through direct talk is very limited. But in the right conditions outside intervention might help produce and guarantee a settlement. The recent agreement over Trieste is an example of what this kind of secret diplomacy can achieve. From such a start, positive cooperation could follow. And we might then see Israel lead the whole of the Middle East along the road to democracy and prosperity.

The Man Who Replaces McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 21, 1955

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, in the New York Times Magazine of Sunday, February 20, 1955, there was published a fine article entitled "The Man Who Replaces McCARTHY," written by Allen Drury. It is an interesting article about the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], and I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MAN WHO REPLACES MCCARTHY
(By Allen Drury)

WASHINGTON.—Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN is a man on a spot who thinks he knows how to get off. If past performance is any guide, he will manage. The Arkansas Democrat, successor to Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin, as chairman of the Government Operations Committee and of its noisy stepchild, the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, is under no illusions about the problems his job poses.

"I'm under the gun on this," he says, "but I'm not worried. The duty of the subcommittee is clear. We've shaken up the staff and we're going to go ahead and clean up the cases that are hanging fire. Then we'll go after the things that need going after, not just the Communists, who of course will remain a major concern, but corruption and inefficiency and waste and the general field of Government operations that is our chief responsibility. We'll try to do it without smearing anybody, and with a decent regard for the rights of American citizens and the dignity of the Senate."

Whether anyone, however well-meaning of purpose and firm of intention, can restore decorum and integrity to the conduct of the Senate's most notorious forum, after some of the things which happened under its former management, remains to be seen. But his colleagues are agreed that the senior Senator from Arkansas, on balance, probably has a better chance than most.

The authority of his committee is as broad as any on Capitol Hill. It covers budget and accounting measures, other than appropriations; reorganizations in the executive branch of the Government; and the study of intergovernmental relationships between the United States and the various States and municipalities, and between the United States and the international organizations to which it belongs.

In addition, it has the duty of "studying the operation of Government activities at all levels with a view to determining its economy and efficiency." It is from this au-

thority that most of the committee's activity and publicity have sprung.

In the Republican 83d Congress the phrase was seized upon by the then chairman to justify creation of a Permanent Investigations Subcommittee. Since the phrase was vague enough to include almost anything, the chairman turned it to his own purposes and declared that it covered the investigation of Communists in the Government.

There followed the series of sensational hearings with which the country became all too familiar. McCARTHY never lacked for targets; he could always find a suspect or suspects suitable for a well-publicized hearing, and he possessed the personal characteristic of being either hated or idolized with no inbetweens. The committee was entirely overshadowed by his flamboyant personality.

Such is the background of controversy that JOHN MCCLELLAN inherited with his chairmanship. But most of his Senate colleagues look confidently to him to repair the subcommittee's reputation, while carrying on needed constructive work.

This confidence, which is general, save for the little band still clustering defensively around his predecessor, is based almost entirely on personal character and record of performance. MCCLELLAN is not one whose adherents find their judgment of his ability affected by excessive personal attachment. A dark-visaged, seldom smiling, highly complex man who goes about the Capitol with an air of knowing exactly what he wants to do, he is much respected but little known by his colleagues. In a body where the easy joke and the casual manner are more often than not the surest passports to popularity, he slaps no backs, indulges in no marathon handshakes, keeps his own counsel, and goes his own way.

He does not discourage friendship, but he is not cordial to familiarity; and in the Senate, where the one frequently is used as the standard substitute for the other, he has many partisans but almost no real intimates.

It is through the highly publicized sessions of the subcommittee that MCCLELLAN is best known to Americans and there are two characteristic glimpses of him there. The first appears after he has spent many long and patient minutes listening to some willfully recalcitrant witness duck and dodge and evade the subcommittee's questions. There comes a time when the Senator from Arkansas suddenly decides that he has had enough.

His face black and scowling, his eyes staring angrily, his voice rising to its full, impressive volume, he pounds at the witness with all the sledgehammer force and persistent skill he learned as a trial lawyer years ago in the back-country areas of his native State. While he does not always attain his objective, not even the most glib and hostile witness emerges unabashed from this ordeal.

The Senator from Arkansas speaks with a Puritan wrath on such occasions, and only the black, peaked hat is lacking to make the picture complete.

The second characteristic scene occurs at the end of a hearing, when Senators are emerging from the room to meet the waiting press. Somebody is always standing squarely in the glare of the television lights, giving forth with words of wisdom for the world to hear. Silent and almost unnoticed, JOHN MCCLELLAN comes out, glances at what is going on, gives a dry and ironic little smile, shakes his head at the waiting reporters and glides quietly away down the hall. Although he is by no means inaccessible to the press, and has a reputation for dealing with its members fairly and frankly, he does not believe in the grandstand play.

The Senate's new chief investigator brings to the difficult task the personal experience of 4 years in the House, 12 in the Senate, and a youth and early legal career filled with the practical lessons of life among the "woolhats."

Born on a farm near Sheridan in Grant County, Ark., on February 25, 1896, MCCLELLAN attended Sheridan public schools and then went directly into his father's law office, prompted by the dazzling example of a youthful barrister who helped his father collect a debt of $200 owed him in a town some distance away. To obtain this sum, the lawyer took a train in the morning and returned in the same conveyance in the evening, receiving for his labors a fee of $25 from the Senator's father. "When I saw that a lawyer could make $25 and get to ride on a train, too, that was enough for me," the Senator says with a grin. "I made up my mind to be a lawyer right then and there."

He says that he became a candidate for Congress at the age of 8. That happened when the future Senator and a playmate got into a fight at school and wound up with a whipping from the teacher, who happened to be a Republican.

"There weren't many Republicans in Arkansas in those days," the Senator remarks thoughtfully, as though there were now, "and my father was so incensed at the thought of a Republican whipping his son that he had me memorize a Democratic speech to give at our class-day exercises. I remember it concluded, 'Vote for William Randolph Hearst, a great and noble man.'

"Unfortunately, 3 days before I was scheduled to make it the Democratic convention decided it was going to nominate Judge Alton B. Parker instead of Mr. Hearst, so I had to revise it. But it was a great success. That fall our Congressman, John S. Little, wrote me a letter predicting that someday I would be a Congressman. I still have the letter."

As with so many people, the urge to be a lawyer and the urge to be a Congressman ultimately dovetailed into two phases of the same ambition. The Senator helped his father, studied and absorbed the law, and at the age of 17, 4 years under the legal minimum, was permitted to enter practice by special act of the State legislature. Shortly thereafter he moved out from under his father's wing and into the world of the Army, where he was on his own.

He says this of his experience in World War I: "The Army taught me self-reliance and it taught me that when the chips were down there wasn't anybody to depend on but myself. I've never forgotten that lesson. It taught me to make up my own mind. I don't think a fellow suffers as much from a wrong decision, if it's sincerely made on the facts as he believes them to be, as he does from not making a decision at all. There comes a time when decisions have to be made. I learned that in the Army."

Back from the war, where he served as a lieutenant in the Infantry and the aviation section of the Signal Corps, he spent a while trying cases in the county courthouse and then in 1926 ran for the job of prosecuting attorney for the seventh judicial district of Arkansas.

He held this post until 1930, when he returned again to private practice. In 1934 he ran for Congress from the Sixth Arkansas District, was elected, and in 1936 was reelected. From 1939 to 1942 he was in practice. Then in November 1942 he was elected to the Senate. He has been reelected twice, having started his third 6-year term in January.

Although he made a speech condemning communism on March 4, 1936, in the House, it was not until 16 years later, as ranking Democrat on the Senate Investigations Subcommittee, that he was drawn directly into the vortex of that explosive issue. In the interim his concerns were those characteristic of his party in the Midsouth.

"I've always been called a conservative and I've never resented it," he once remarked. Another time he said: "I did not become a Senator to transfer the United States into a socialistic, paternalistic state."

Yet, like many southerners, while he was to be found always on the expected side of civil rights questions, he was also to be found supporting such progressive extensions of Federal authority as the soil conservation program, the national forestry program, the school lunch program, the vocational education program, social security, Federal aid to hospitals, agricultural research, and extension services, emergency drought relief, rural electrification, Federal aid to highways, and wildlife conservation. As with others from below the Mason-Dixon line, the harsh facts of an impoverished economy inspired a type of liberal conservatism.

Ultimately there came the reorganization of the legislative branch of the Government, and with it the creation of the Government Operations Committee of the Senate. The Senator from Arkansas was assigned to it, and in time, moving steadily up the ladder of seniority, he became the ranking Democrat. Approaching the same high status across the party aisle was the junior Senator from Wisconsin. In the 83d Congress the two men took over the committee and began a partnership which, at first harmonious, soon became uneasy and then explosive as MCCARTHY created the Investigations Subcommittee and launched forth upon his hectic crusade.

For a time, the senior Senator from Arkansas regarded this spectacle with misgivings but without open protest. Fully as anxious to rid the Government of subversives as the chairman professed to be, he rode along, taking the snubs and the discourtesies and the deliberate exclusions from subcommittee business which were the lot of most members of the subcommittee. Behind the mask, however, one of the most powerful tempers in the Senate was slowly gathering steam; and when the activities of the chairman's two youthful assistants began to move out of the realm of cloakroom gossip into front-page notoriety, the Senator from Arkansas decided to act.

His first move was to approach the chairman privately, which led, characteristically, to many little jokes, many amiable half-commitments, many half-promises and tantalizing intimations that possibly changes might be made, so don't worry. When changes were not made—when, in fact, the situation was allowed to deteriorate even further—the MCCLELLAN temper boiled over.

The occasion for giving it expression arose when the chairman abruptly hired J. B. Matthews as executive director of the subcommittee and then, under public pressure aroused by an article he had written on alleged Communist infiltration of the protestant clergy, as abruptly fired him. Accompanied by his two Democratic colleagues, STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri, and HENRY JACKSON, of Washington, JOHN MCCLELLAN left the subcommittee with an angry blast against one-man rule. The event occurred in July 1953 and it was not until January 1954 that the three returned.

When they did, it was with an understanding with the chairman that things would be different in the future. But they did not become much different, and the central situation involving the chairman's young friends was still going on and getting worse. Before long John McClellan, Joe McCarthy, Roy Cohn, G. David Schine and the whole subcommittee were sitting in the glare of the spotlights, and one of the most fantastic proceedings in the history of the American Congress was under way.

After the Army-McCarthy hearings ended, and after the McCarthy censure hearings and the McCarthy censure debate were also concluded, the Democrats came to power on Capitol Hill and the Senator from Arkansas

assumed the chairmanship. He has proceeded so far with a calm determination to get the subcommittee back on the track and move ahead constructively with its business.

Already the Senator has indicated his intention to clean up once and for all the case of former Army dentist Irving Peress, called a Communist by the former chairman. He has indicated the same treatment for any other legitimate inquiries left over from the old regime. And he has restated a philosophy of investigative procedure which he deems worthy of the Senate and the task which needs to be done.

"When those who come before the committee resort to the fifth amendment," he says, "they command no respect from me, as individuals. I respect their right to resort to it if they feel they must, but it carries with it an implication I am compelled to consider, and not favorably. A man who cannot face competent authority and say he has no affiliations with any subversive organizations, has no right to employment with the Federal Government in a sensitive or any other position.

"At the same time, I don't believe in permitting smears and slanders which can't be answered before the same tribunal. Anyone named as subversive by another witness should have the right to present his side of it to us, and as long as I am chairman he will have the right, and he will be given the opportunity, to do so."

The senior Senator from Arkansas is embarking upon at least 2 years as the wielder of the Senate's best known weapon in the fight against Communist infiltration of the Government. The job is not easy, but for a man who understands that there comes a time when decisions have to be made, its difficulties do not promise to be insurmountable.

Lithuanian Declaration of Independence Day, February 16, 1918

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, all of us, I am sure, appreciate the fine contribution which a million or more Americans of Lithuanian descent are making to America.

All of us, I know, deeply sympathize with the 3 million or more Lithuanians in the homeland in the situation which confronts them as a country which has been forced behind the Iron Curtain.

We admire greatly the progress which Lithuania made during the period of her independence from 1918 to 1940.

We deplore the forceful termination of that independence.

We join in the hope that Lithuania may one day again play her part in the world as a member of the family of free nations.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks a copy of a resolution unanimously adopted by the Lithuanians of the town of Norwood, Mass., at their observance of the 37th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by the people of Lithuania:

Unanimously adopted, by the Lithuanian Americans of the town of Norwood, at the observance of the 37th anniversary of the declaration of independence by the people of Lithuania held at St. George Hall on the 13th day of February 1955.

"Whereas Lithuania for almost 15 years has suffered under the yoke of slavery forced upon her through the brutal and unprovoked aggression by the Soviet Union;

"Whereas the plan of physical extermination of the Lithuanian Nation has been carried out by the Kremlin on a scale unheard of heretofore;

"Whereas the Kremlin by nature is totalitarian and global in its politics, lasting peace and security in the world are impossible;

"Whereas the line of peaceful coexistence proffered by the Kremlin masters is merely a subterfuge to gain time for the purposes of destroying the alliances existing among the nations of the free world and thus leaving the way open to subsequent world conquest: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That this gathering of loyal Americans of Lithuanian descent of the town of Norwood fully aware of the graveness of the present international situation and deeply concerned over the fate of the Lithuanian Nation, pledge their wholehearted support of this great country's genuine quest for lasting peace and justice in the world, and urge the Federal Government of the United States to continue to respond with a dynamic and positive program against the threatening Communist conspiracy; be it further

"Resolved, That in the opinion of the Lithuanian-Americans of this town, in any program with respect to enslaved nations, the following steps should be undertaken:

"That special stress be given to the necessity of hastening the liberation of the captive people and all acts or omissions confirming their enslavement be rejected.

"That Congress encourage and support through authorized funds the resistance movements of the enslaved nations.

"That Congress continue to investigate the facts and techniques of Communist aggression through proper committees.

"That the United States Government sponsor a resolution in the United Nations supported by the findings and conclusions of said investigation, denouncing the Soviet Union as an aggressor against all the Communist-enslaved nations.

"That the Genocide Convention be immediately ratified by the United States Senate so that the Soviet Union may be held criminally responsible for the genocide perpetrated in the Baltic States and other countries behind the Iron Curtain; be it finally

"Resolved, That this gathering express its deepest gratitude and appreciation to the Federal Government and Congress of the United States for their sympathetic and unwavering stand and attitude toward the eventual restoration of independence of Lithuania."

LITHUANIAN ROMAN CATHOLIC FEDERATION OF AMERICA, No. 10.
WILLIAM KUDICKA, *President.*
ANDREW T. VENSKUS, *Secretary.*

Resolution on Communist Control Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following resolution adopted by the eighth annual convention of the American Veterans Committee at Boston, Mass., on December 4, 1954:

RESOLUTION ON COMMUNIST CONTROL ACT OF 1954

Whereas AVC believes that the Communist Party is in fact an instrumentality of a foreign-controlled conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States in enacting the Communist Control Act of 1954 has made certain findings of fact as to the organization, purposes, and membership of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and has purported to outlaw the Communist Party of the United States of America and has imposed certain sanctions on membership or participation therein or in any other proscribed organization and on labor unions found to be Communist Party action, or Communist Party front, or Communist Party infiltrated organizations; and

Whereas the said act is loosely and badly drawn and was hastily adopted without hearings, adequate debate or deliberation, and sets up arbitrary and ill-considered standards for determining membership or participation in the Communist Party of the United States of America or other proscribed organizations and for determining whether a labor union is a Communist Party action, or Communist Party front, or Communist Party infiltrated organization, thus violating traditional American freedoms embodied in the Bill of Rights:

Now, therefore, the delegates to the 1954 national convention of the American Veterans Committee urge prompt reconsideration of the Communist Control Act of 1954 in the light of and together with preexisting laws so that well-conceived legislation may be adopted consistent with traditional American freedoms and due regard for the national security and welfare.

They Who Have Sown the Wind—An Editorial Naming Harvey Matusow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me heretofore so to do, I present the text of an editorial printed in the Christian Science Monitor on Thursday, February 17, 1955.

In view of the fact that this editorial deals with Harvey Matusow, and with former Communist and self-styled witnesses, it would appear appropriate that I incorporate in these remarks part of a question and answer period on July 2, 1954, when Harvey Matusow, he being the same person as is identified in the editorial, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the 83d Congress.

Mr. DOYLE. You have enumerated some 7 or 8 boards or committees before which you have testified since February 1952. Before any of those boards or committees were you paid a professional fee for so testifying?

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, yes; let me say 1, 2, 3, maybe 4, maybe 5 occasions, and that was the Subversive Activities Control Board, they gave me a fee of $25 a day and once before an Immigration Service had me in New York and I don't remember the individual, but

they paid me a fee of $25. On a number of occasions when I received that fee I turned it over to a charity of some sort.

Mr. WALTER. That is the usual fee provided for by law.

Mr. MATUSOW. As the per diem?

Mr. WALTER. That is provided by law.

At the time Mr. Matusow said "I turned it over to a charity of some sort," I regretted I did not have time to have him name the charity of some sort.

Also, his recent swearing that he lied and testified falsely before some Government committees, including the House Un-American Activities Committee, of which I am a member, further substantiates the position taken by me as a member of that committee; to wit, that said committee and all congressional committees must be increasingly on the alert to search and discover, so far as it is possible, the creditability of all witnesses before congressional committees. Certainly, Mr. Speaker, the earning of $25 a day, as earned by Mr. Matusow before various Government boards and congressional committees, together with the fact that he, and also other similar witnesses, had recently testified that they had falsified in testimony before these boards and committees should make us all wary and most cautious about being placed in the position where we are expected to fully believe and give full face to their testimony.

The above-mentioned editorial follows:

THEY WHO HAVE SOWN THE WIND

Implications of the Harvey Matusow recantations continue to spread out like the ripples from a stone dropped into a pond.

The admitted former Communist and self-styled professional witness now declares under cross-examination that he was hired to prepare black lists by at least two big advertising agencies and as a consultant on subversion by New York City's superintendent of schools, and that he made false accusations. His testimony as a witness for the Department of Justice in several trials involving alleged Red activities he had previously sworn was false.

We cannot be sure that what he declares to be the truth now can be relied on any more than what he declares was false. That remains to be proved. Nor does the recantation of one ex-Communist prove that all the Red apostates have given false testimony. But dependence upon paid informers is a risky business under any circumstances; retention by congressional committees and the Department of Justice of a string of them for use on call in a semipolitical field has made many people, no friends of the Reds, uncomfortable.

Now to learn that at least one of them has been instrumental, presumably, in hazarding, if not damaging, careers of actors, artists, and teachers confirms something we said over 3 years ago when the question was being asked, "Who's harmed except the Communists?":

"The fact is that we are all harmed. The virus of indiscriminate suspicion has made everyone pause before the costs of free discussion as Americans have known it. It has driven teachers to avoid classroom discussion of controversial subjects. * * * It has frightened legislators and other public officials. * * * It has so blurred crucial distinctions in the thinking of many people that real subversion is often confused with all sorts of useful leavening minority movements."

Those who have sown the wind may now be feeling but the first faint gusts of a whirlwind yet to be reaped.

Why Russia Should Be Expelled From the U. N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to a thought-provoking editorial by David Lawrence, appearing in the U. S. News & World Report of February 25, entitled "Why Russia Should Be Expelled From the U. N." This editorial raises the following fundamental questions: What force prevents us from saving the U. N.? Is it appeasement? Is it Kennanism that stops our acting in accordance with moral principles? Our soldiers fight and die for moral principles. Should we expect less of our leaders, even though they are sitting behind desks in the U. N. and the Department of State. Under leave granted, I insert the editorial in the RECORD:

Much of the trouble in which the free governments of the world find themselves today is due to a failure to steer by the compass of moral principle.

Governments that appease the aggressor go from the frying pan into the fire as they build up complications for themselves by their successive retreats.

The indictment was summed up succinctly last week by Secretary of State Dulles when he said:

"The United Nations Charter of 1945 binds 60 nations to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. But there has been armed aggression in Korea which was promoted by Soviet Russia, and later Communist China was found guilty of armed aggression there."

The world for some time has known about the repeated violations of the U. N. Charter by the Soviet Union. The principal evidence was furnished by its own representative, who publicly boasted to the U. N. in March 1953 that the Soviet Union had supplied armaments to the Red China government throughout the Korean war. In that war more than 33,500 American boys were killed and 103,000 wounded.

The Soviet Union, moreover, gave military assistance to Red China notwithstanding the fact that in February 1951 the Peiping government was formally declared by resolution of the U. N. to be an aggressor. The Moscow government ignored the U. N. warning that all members should refrain from rendering assistance to the aggressor.

The act of aggression is even more flagrant because it has been directed against the Armed Forces of the United Nations itself.

The United Nations is still in a state of war with both the Communist Chinese and the Communist government of North Korea. An armistice has been signed, but no treaty of peace has been consummated. Nevertheless military aid to the aggressors from Soviet Russia continues. Russian-built MIG's are commonplace in the skies of Korea.

This is in the face of the plain language of article 2 of the charter, which provides:

"All members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action."

The United Nations Charter specifies exactly how offenses of a traitorous member shall be dealt with by the other members. Article 6 reads as follows:

"A member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present charter may be expelled from the organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."

It will be argued, of course, that the Security Council would not so recommend because the Soviet Union could block such a step by exercising her veto in the Council. The fact is, however, that the Soviet Union, being a party to the dispute, would have no right to vote at all. Article 27 of the charter covers that point by declaring that decisions of the Security Council shall be made by an affirmative vote of 7 members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members, provided, however, that a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

It has been contended that the Soviet Union had obligations under a treaty with China to come to the assistance of that country on the basis of an offensive and defensive alliance. But article 103 says:

"In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the present charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present charter shall prevail."

The charter declares that membership in the United Nations shall be open to peace-loving states willing to accept the obligations of membership. The Soviet Union, however, has disregarded its obligations to the U. N.

By aiding Red China and North Korea, which are at war with the United Nations, the Soviet Government has forfeited its seat in the U. N. That seat should be declared vacant by a formal resolution. It would constitute notification to the people of Soviet Russia that their government had demonstrated its incapacity to fulfill international obligations, and had become a menace to peace-loving nations. The kind of government a nation chooses is its own affair, but only up to the point where such a government does not become a threat to world peace.

Some day, when a free government arises in Russia, the seat in the U. N. declared vacant could be awarded to such a new government. But today the Moscow regime must be expelled if the United Nations is to retain the respect of the world as an organization obedient to law; the words of its own charter.

Fritz Kreisler at 80

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial appearing in the Washington Star of February 6, 1955, entitled, "Fritz Kreisler at 80":

President Eisenhower spoke for thousands of his countrymen when he wrote to Fritz Kreisler: "Your musical artistry has become an unforgettable part of the experience of people the world over." The compliment has been justified by 80 years of living and working for the most popular of all the arts—the art of melody, the art of harmony. Nobody who ever has listened to the greatest of violinists can have failed to be grateful for his magic. He served not only the heart of music but also the heart of humanity. Fate cast his days in a time of trouble, and

he often must have been discouraged. Yet, like a good physician, he rose to minister to those in need of such healing as he could give. He carried his fiddle wherever suffering was. His philanthropies were numberless. One of them is the donation of his precious Guarnerius, the manuscripts of Brahms' violin concerto, Chausson's Poeme and more than 50 of his own works, plus his decorations, medals, and citations to the world's greatest library—the Library of Congress.

It seems too much to hope just now that Fritz Kreisler will live to see peace on earth again. The immediate outlook is, to say the least, bewildering. But how good it is that this good man should care so much and still strive so earnestly for brotherhood among men. As it was claimed long ago for the painter Raphael that he made humanity proud to be human, so it may be affirmed for the greatest of modern virtuosi that he helps us all to be our best, our noblest selves.

Two Lies Do Not Make a Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I commend the reading of the editorial entitled "Two Lies Don't Make a Truth," taken from the February 5, 1955 edition of the Morning News, of San Leandro, Calif., to my colleagues in the House of Representatives.

It is a hard hitting, timely editorial, and is as follows:

Harvey Matusow may be many things, but chief among them now is the fact that he is a liar.

Matusow says he was a Communist. Matusow says he stopped being a Communist. Matusow testified before many congressional subcommittees. Matusow testified against Owen Lattimore. Matusow testified against 13 men tried and convicted for being Communists. Matusow campaigned on behalf of Senator MCCARTHY and against such men as Senator MANSFIELD.

Matusow made his charges under oath.

Now under oath, he says he lied under oath. There's no question that he is a liar—but which times did he lie? And what did he lie about?

It is rather important, that last question, What did he lie about?

Did he lie about overt actions, about specific criminal deeds, about tangible things?

Or did he lie about ideas, thoughts, impressions, attitudes, beliefs?

The charge against Owen Lattimore was that some of his writings follow the Communist line. In other words, the charge is that Lattimore has advocated some of the same things which Communists advocate. Liar-witness Matusow testified against Lattimore. Even before Matusow recanted, a Federal judge threw the charges out as meaningless, because there is no way to interpret either Lattimore's mind or the Communist line.

Lattimore, and all others, should be judged by their acts, not by beliefs or advocacies.

William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, says this:

"We have staked our security, our ability to survive on freedom of the mind and conscience. That conception of freedom is the most novel principle that the world has known. It leaves political and religious discourse unlimited and unrestrained. It leaves the mind free to pursue every problem to the horizon, even though the pursuit may rile a neighbor or stir his ugly prejudices.

"History has recorded example after example of rulers who decreed what men must think, what cause they could espouse, what views they might embrace.

"Man's experience with those laws and practices was a bitter one. The persecutions and oppressions of those early days make up some of the blackest chapters of intolerance.

"History shows that the main architects of repressive laws were often men of good intentions. Their reasons sometimes had the ring of patriotism to them: protection of the safety of the state against subversive ideas. Their reasons often had overtones of religious fervor; the conviction that the soul of man needed but one faith and creed. * * *

"The Founding Fathers believed that the antidote to advocacy was counteradvocacy. They believed that if a subversive idea was presented from a platform or soap box, the remedy was not to jail the speaker, but to expose the fallacy or evil in his cause, to submit his ideas to pitiless analysis, to explode his thesis in rebuttal.

"The concept of our Bill of Rights is the concept of a politically mature people. It is the concept which makes the American way of life the ideal for every people. For its essence is tolerance for all shades of opinion, persecution for none. Under our way of life, a man should never go to jail for what he thinks or espouses. He can be punished only for his acts, never for his thoughts or beliefs or creed."

So says a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. So say many of us.

Yet the fact is that our laws now make certain beliefs a crime. And that is not all.

The prosecutors of Lattimore also attempt to make it a crime to believe any one thing which is also advocated by a person whose thoughts are labeled criminal.

And some of our Government (pretending lately to speak with sublime conceit as also the voice of God) go further. They say that to hold Government office is a "privilege"—that innocence is not enough—that one must not be accused, even by liars. A neighboring district attorney says the Constitution does not protect atheists.

To be accused, to be "controversial," has become a governmental sin. We are afraid of any clash of ideas, we are fearful of comparison, analysis, debate.

We are confounded when some informers confess to having lied to please us. We then tangle ourselves in mental confusion, some insisting that Matusow now says he is a lair, so he must be lying when he says he was a lair—therefore "two lies must make a truth."

What essential difference did it ever make what liar Matusow thinks of Lattimore's beliefs, or Mansfield's, or McCarthy's?

Let all ideas contend in the public forum. Let the false be exposed, so that the truth may be known. Let the courts judge only the acts, so that the mind can be free.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

Simple, Direct, Federal Aid for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ERRETT P. SCRIVNER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, if you are looking for a simple, direct program for aid to education, free from Government controls, without costly administration, and devoid of any "share-the-wealth" attributes, the joint resolution I am introducing today deserves your consideration and support.

Although most State treasuries are in better shape financially than is the Federal Treasury, there is no doubt but that in many States the demands, especially for education, call for more finances than the States are able to raise to provide needed buildings, maintenance, improved equipment, increases in teachers' salaries, and other items. The combined debt of the 48 States is about $20 billion. Uncle Sam owes over $275 billion.

With the enormous increase in Federal expenditures over the past 25 years the Federal Government has tapped every practical possible source of tax revenue, with little consideration for the tax needs of State and municipal governments. The States are now dependent almost entirely upon direct taxes on real estate and personal property, duplicated income tax and sales taxes which fall heavily on persons of low income. In seeking new revenue the States find available sources already drained by Federal taxation—income taxes, admission taxes, beverage taxes, luxury taxes, transportation taxes, tobacco taxes, excise taxes, to name but a few. Enormous sums, billions of dollars annually, are siphoned out of the States in individual and corporate income taxes. The remaining revenue available to the States is inadequate to meet rising local costs of government and provide adequately for growing educational needs.

It is neither economical nor efficient to withdraw huge sums from the States and then have a portion of these funds trickle back under any of the proposed bureaucratic-administered programs of aid to education. If any of the presently proposed and pending programs are adopted, a large overhead for administration is unavoidable, and in some instances the only thing offered the State is an opportunity, lured on by Federal dollars in matching funds, to go into debt, and even this is prohibited by law in some States.

Under the best-intentioned Federal administration, there remains the well-founded objection that the compulsory requirement that each State meet conditions imposed by law and regulations of the administering bureau must be complied with to qualify for benefits. Furthermore, there is a deep-seated fear—also well founded—that with Government intervention in education programs, opportunity might well be found for channeling propaganda into our schools, along with Federal controls which naturally follow Federal dollars flowing from Washington.

With a modest beginning, these programs, with almost no exception, follow a pattern of growing and growing, until it is possible that the training of our youth throughout the Nation could some day be directed from one central Federal bureau, and that bureau would be headed by someone appointed, not elected, and thus not directly responsible to the taxpayers whose funds he was spending.

The prime responsibility for education programs is in the local community and the State. Conditions now existing are not emergency short-time situations, and can be expected to continue for the long indefinite future, as more children are born.

To easily, simply, cheaply, and efficiently provide the States with some financial aid for meeting their needs for the improvement of their respective educational programs, without increasing their debt, without building up a huge Federal bureaucracy, without fear of Federal controls, dictation, or propaganda, without the slightest element of distribution of wealth, I am proposing, by a joint resolution which I am today introducing, a simple, direct, unrestricted plan for aid to the States and the Territories to help them meet the educational demands within their respective borders.

House Joint Resolution —

Whereas the Government of the United States, through taxes, is siphoning a great part of the wealth of our Nation out of the several States and Territories into the Federal Treasury; and

Whereas the Government of the United States is collecting taxes from nearly all sources of revenue, including taxes on individual and corporate incomes, admissions, beverages, communications, gifts, luxuries, transportation, and from excises and other taxes, leaving to the States little but real and personal property and consumer sales as sources of tax revenue; and

Whereas at rates approaching confiscation of property, States are still not able to raise revenue sufficient to carry the rising costs of State and local governments, and especially not to meet the demands for needed improvements and higher salaries for the training of our youth; and

Whereas it has been proposed that the Federal Government grant aid to the States for educational purpose; and

Whereas it is neither economical nor efficient to withdraw huge sums out of the States and Territories and redistribute funds under bureaucratic regulation from the Federal Treasury, and

Whereas it is desirable that such aid be accomplished by a simple, easy, direct, and efficient method, not hampered with bureaucratic restrictions, directions, or distation: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That 1 percent of all income taxes collected on individual and corporate incomes under Federal statutes shall be deemed to be revenue for the State or Territory within which it is collected, for use, for educational purposes only, without any Federal direction, control, or interference.

SEC. 2. District directors of internal revenue are hereby authorized and directed to transfer to the treasurer, or corresponding official, of the State or Territory within which their respective internal revenue districts are situated, at the end of each quarter, an amount equal to 1 percent of the taxes from individual and corporate incomes collected within such State or Territory during said quarter.

SEC. 3. For purposes of information only, district directors of internal revenue shall report the amounts transferred to State treasurers, or corresponding officials, as authorized in section 2, to the Department of the Treasury, accompanying such report with receipts from the proper State officials verifying the amounts received by said State official.

Under this plan the handling of funds through Washington and back will be eliminated; the amounts available to each State will be determined annually by individual and corporate incomes within that State. The money will remain in the several States where it was collected. The total amount to be thus collected through Federal facilities for the States each year will be automatically geared to the national income for that year. There will be no danger or possibility of Federal control or dictation, and no opportunity for channelized propaganda. It will provide many States with a larger amount than would be available under many other plans which have been proposed. There would be no need for a growing bureaucratic horde with an insatiable hunger for power ready to consume ever-increasing amounts of taxes.

For example, in fiscal 1954 the district director for internal revenue for Kansas collected in individual and corporate income taxes approximately $407,343,360. On this basis there would have gone to the State of Kansas under this plan, for the fiscal year 1954, $4,073,433 every cent of which would be available for use within the State.

This is not a new proposal. I first presented it in 1949—H. R. 1582—at

which time several various proposals were pending.

In the 80th Congress—1946—the Senate passed S. 472. Under that measure, the only direct aid to education bill to pass in either House of the Congress, the estimated initial contribution Kansas would have been required to make to the Federal Treasury would have been $2,552,000. From the benefits authorized by S. 472, Kansas could have received back as aid to education a total of $1,960,000—a net loss of $600,000. The other proposals so far advanced would operate to take out of most States more to support the proposed program than would be returned in benefits, and on the whole would provide less in effective aid than is offered by my proposal.

Certainly under the plan I propose, the States, generally, by having this 1 percent of the individual and corporate Federal income taxes paid by its citizens withheld for use within each of the respective States for educational purposes, would be much better able to cope directly, as they deemed best, with their educational problems than they would under any program directed from a Washington bureau.

This proposal will be a step toward retaining our constitutional Republic and a move away from centralized government.

Such legislation will be in keeping with suggestions made by the then Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, by keeping the control and responsibility local. He said:

> When financing of schools is turned over to the Federal Government you get bureaucracy, and this is the approach to statism.

Every advocate of aid to education to whom I have talked insists he wants no Federal control, no bureaucracy. This resolution will meet that desire, for it need not add a single person to the Federal payroll and will certainly eliminate all possibility of Federal controls—even those found in most other proposals before the Congress.

From the table below based on tax collections for the fiscal year 1954—approximately—you can see the benefits for your own State. The logical appeal and the elimination of the danger of Federal bureaucratic controls under this plan would enable your State to provide more adequately and more efficiently for the needed enlargement of educational facilities and the necessary increase in salaries of teachers.

This direct use of income taxes is possible. It can be done. Precedent is established by Public Law 630 of the 81st Congress, where it is provided that all of the taxes of incomes earned by American citizens in Guam, while resident there, including stateside Americans, both civilians and military, should be turned over to the Government of Guam. Not just 1 percent, but all of the income tax collected from Americans there—and Guam is merely an unincorporated Territory.

TABLE I

	Income tax collections, fiscal year 1954 (including tax for old-age insurance)	1 percent of tax collected
Alabama	$355,904,000	$3,559,040
Arizona	153,119,000	1,531,190
Arkansas	148,110,000	1,481,100
California	4,671,633,000	46,716,330
Colorado	553,265,000	5,532,650
Connecticut	1,168,589,000	11,685,890
Delaware	869,525,000	8,695,250
Florida	599,990,000	5,999,900
Georgia	581,573,000	5,815,730
Hawaii	126,170,000	1,261,700
Idaho	100,902,000	1,009,020
Illinois	4,926,633,000	49,266,330
Indiana	1,205,079,000	12,050,790
Iowa	494,575,000	4,945,750
Kansas	437,870,000	4,378,700
Kentucky	441,333,000	4,413,330
Louisiana	459,357,000	4,593,570
Maine	159,030,000	1,590,300
Maryland	851,777,000	8,517,770
Massachusetts	1,708,884,000	17,088,840
Michigan	4,857,146,000	48,571,460
Minnesota	917,256,000	9,172,560
Mississippi	129,336,000	1,293,360
Missouri	1,472,722,000	14,727,220
Montana	109,285,000	1,092,850
Nebraska	320,620,000	3,206,200
Nevada	70,308,000	703,080
New Hampshire	118,150,000	1,181,500
New Jersey	1,745,232,000	17,452,320
New Mexico	99,351,000	993,510
New York	11,626,091,000	116,260,910
North Carolina	673,436,000	6,734,360
North Dakota	60,929,000	609,290
Ohio	4,147,301,000	41,473,010
Oklahoma	504,416,000	5,044,160
Oregon	403,821,000	4,038,210
Pennsylvania	4,531,795,000	45,317,950
Rhode Island	271,663,000	2,716,630
South Carolina	239,806,000	2,398,060
South Dakota	67,056,000	670,560
Tennessee	463,856,000	4,638,560
Texas	1,969,318,000	19,693,180
Utah	135,924,000	1,359,240
Vermont	70,790,000	707,900
Virginia	641,430,000	6,414,300
Washington	711,456,000	7,114,560
West Virginia	270,198,000	2,701,980
Wisconsin	1,121,973,000	11,219,730
Wyoming	51,764,000	517,640
Alaska	45,843,000	458,430
District of Columbia	707,455,000	7,074,550
Puerto Rico	(9,571,000)	(95,710)
Total	58,578,533,000	585,785,330

NOTE.—Because collections for old-age insurance are not shown separately in internal revenue reports, actual benefits would be somewhat less than shown here when adjustment made for that factor—an average of about 7.2 percent.

Time for Realistic Appraisal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Time for Realistic Appraisal—KNOWLAND Asks: Just What Part Is U. N. Qualified To Play in the Future of United States and the Safety of Its People?" The article was written by David Lawrence, and was published in the Washington Evening Star of February 21, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TIME FOR REALISTIC APPRAISAL—KNOWLAND ASKS: JUST WHAT PART IS U. N. QUALIFIED TO PLAY IN THE FUTURE OF UNITED STATES AND THE SAFETY OF ITS PEOPLE?

(By David Lawrence)

For some unexplained reason a rather sensational speech delivered in San Francisco last Friday afternoon by Senator KNOWLAND was not widely reported in the press.

When the Republican leader of the United States Senate issues to all candidates in the 1956 election—both for the Presidency and for Congress—a challenge to make their position clear with respect to any future reliance on the United Nations by the American people, it would seem to be news of major importance.

After reviewing the facts about the Korean war wherein the United States "supplied 90 percent of the manpower and better than 90 percent of the resources," Senator KNOWLAND asks:

"Does this indicate that the United Nations is an effective instrument of collective security? The answer must come back in the negative.

"With that example, are you prepared to risk the future of our Nation and the safety of our people upon the collective ability of the United Nations to function in the event of aggression? The answer likewise must be in the negative. Has the time not come for a realistic appraisal of just what part the United Nations is qualified to play, and to stop kidding ourselves into believing it is something it is not, and in my judgment cannot be?"

Mr. KNOWLAND asserts that the United Nations "could not be and should not be considered a basis for world government" because its members have no common heritage, and because nations "which have had no experience with representative constitutional government sit on equal terms with those that have had long experience." He then says that there are those who now urge the "admission of Communist China which was the aggressor in the Korean War," and that "this, together with the other Communist states, would give that system of tyranny 800 million people that they claim to speak for." The California Senator thereupon proclaims his challenge as follows:

"As for me, as long as I have a voice or a vote in the Senate of the United States, I shall never consent to permitting the guarantees of freedom under our Constitution to be diluted or modified directly or indirectly by any organization having nations in powerful policy positions which have no appreciation of or respect for free institutions.

"Lest we be gradually edged into such a world order before we learn too late wherein we have been taken, I believe that every candidate for public office, executive, legislative or judicial, should be asked to give a forthright view upon this great public issue."

Mr. KNOWLAND thinks the United Nations could perform useful service as "a forum wherein the views of the free world and the Communist world might be aired to the benefit of the people of the world, provided that there was assurance the debates in the General Assembly or the Security Council were receiving as widespread coverage behind the Iron Curtain as they do in the free nations of the world." The Senator adds:

"Otherwise it (the United Nations) becomes a vast propaganda forum for the Communist world wherein the point of view of the West does not have the equal opportunity to get to the people of the Soviet Union and its satellites because of the strict censorship those governments exercise."

Mr. KNOWLAND reminded his audience, moreover, that "the evidence was conclusive

that the Soviet Union was not only giving moral support to Communist aggression in Korea, but was supplying MIG planes, tanks, artillery, ammunition, and other weapons in equal violation of the U. N. resolution and the charter of the organization." Despite this, as he points out, "no steps were taken to expel the Soviet Union from the United Nations."

In the same speech the Republican leader draws attention to the arrogant boast by the Soviet Union that it had helped Red China, and he recalls that the Soviet representative in the U. N. "in effect defied the U. N. to do anything about it—and they did nothing."

The California Senator stressed that "every member of the United Nations knows that the terms of the Korean armistice have been violated on numerous occasions," and he cites examples, including the imprisonment of 11 members of the American Air Force. Then comes this startling declaration:

"There is strong reason to believe that there are at least several hundred additional U. N. and United States prisoners of war being held in violation of the terms of the armistice."

The foregoing would seem to be news of interest to the American people. Newspapers, which must depend daily on the selection of news made by the press associations at the point of origin, may well be curious as to why they didn't get a comprehensive report on it for either Saturday morning or afternoon editions, even though the speech was available in Washington in advance of delivery in San Francisco.

Official Briefings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very significant article entitled "Official Briefings," which was written by Mr. James Reston, of the staff of the New York Times, and was published in that great newspaper on February 16, 1955.

As one who has been a journalist all of his adult life, I share Mr. Reston's concern over the failure to provide the American people with adequate information on the most important matters affecting their lives and welfare.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICIAL BRIEFINGS—BACKGROUND ON THE "BACKGROUND" CONFERENCE—ITS MERITS AND PITFALLS

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, February 15.—The Formosa controversy has produced a rash of dope stories, that purport to disclose the elusive official lowdown without disclosing the source of the information.

Thus, the readers of this morning's newspapers were told that the United States had not promised Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that it would defend Quemoy and Matsu, but that Washington might go to war if these islands were invaded.

Who says so? The reader is not told, but at least he is entitled to an explanation of how and why these mystifying clarifications suddenly appear on the front pages.

The truth of the matter is that the Government is faced with a dilemma. It wants to warn the Chinese Communists that an invasion of Quemoy and Matsu may mean war with the United States, but it does not want to commit itself in advance to go to war.

If Washington says officially it will defend Quemoy and Matsu, it pledges its honor and destroys its freedom of decision at the moment of attack. But if it says it will not defend Quemoy and Matsu, it encourages the Communists to attack, and at the same time lowers the morale of the Nationalists who must bear the brunt of the attack.

BACKGROUND DEVICE

The "background press conference" is the device used to avoid this dilemma. Some "unimpeachable source" or even some "well-informed circle" will give a luncheon or accept one, and explain the Government's position. But the reporters will not be permitted to quote him or even to attribute his remarks to Government sources.

This is the explanation of dispatches that undertake to inform the reader of policies that may involve war and peace, yet do not tell him the source of the information.

There is a great deal to be said for the conferences. They enable officials to inform the public of their policies, to warn the enemy, and—especially in the Formosa case—to put some of the claims of the Nationalists in better perspective. Yet there are some dangers in the system.

First, there is always the danger that the "unimpeachable source" may go "peachable" on you half way through and give you, not official policy, but his own interpretation of what it is or ought to be. After all, the reporter has to pass along the information on his own without authority and can always be repudiated.

AVOIDING RESPONSIBILITY

Second, there is a danger that officials may use the background-conference device as a safe way of avoiding responsibility for public information that could be and ought to be put out officially and publicly through the open press conference or the committees of Congress.

Third, there is a danger that the reporters may be used, not as a vehicle for passing accurate information to the American people, but as an instrument of the Government's diplomacy or propaganda in the "cold war."

For example, the Government's policy on whether or not it will defend Quemoy or Matsu is left on a maybe-we-will-and-maybe-we-won't basis. This is not an accident. The Government wants it this way and for good reasons.

Nobody can foresee the conditions in which the Communists might attack. They might come at Matsu and Quemoy and simultaneously launch a million men at our thinly defended lines in Korea. In this situation, is it reasonable to suppose the 7th Fleet would be permitted to defend Quemoy and Matsu when South Korea—and therefore Japan, the main Communist objective in the Far East—was in danger?

CREATE IMPRESSION

Nevertheless, just because the Government's policy is purposely left vague, those officials and politicians who want us to defend these islands at almost any cost can give the impression that this what we are "almost certainly" going to do.

There is a tendency on Capitol Hill now being scrutinized by the Rules and Administration Committee of the Senate, to have more and more of the testimony by top officials of the Government in secret.

All the testimony on the Formosa question in congressional committees, for example, except Secretary of State Dulles' formal statement, was undisclosed. In this case it may have been justified, but in many other cases, secrecy is involved merely for personal convenience.

The most striking case is that of Under Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr. He was nominated for that post last August 17. The Foreign Relations Committee questioned him very briefly and secretly the following day and he was confirmed that night. He refused to see reporters before he was confirmed, and after he was confirmed, he still refused on the ground that his predecessor, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, had not yet left office.

REFUSES TO SEE PRESS

When General Smith finally left, Mr. Hoover still refused to see reporters. Although he has been Under Secretary and even Acting Secretary since then, Mr. Hoover has seen the press only once, when he agreed to join Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey in a conference limited to the recent economic conference at Rio de Janeiro.

This is convenient for Mr. Hoover. He is a sensitive man. He is afraid he will be asked to compare his views on foreign policy with his father's, a point on which nobody has much interest anyway. But the fact is that, for the first time in many years, we have an Under Secretary of State who insists on exercising authority without explaining publicly what he is doing.

Nor is he alone. Nelson Rockefeller, the new foreign affairs adviser to the President, is doing the same thing. Joseph M. Dodge, the new foreign economic policy adviser to the President, flatly refuses to discuss his job with anybody.

In short, important areas of policy are being pulled under the cloak of secrecy at the White House and even at the State Department. Ambassadorial appointees are now seldom questioned by congressional committees in the open, and the "background conference," which undoubtedly has important uses, is tending to replace open testimony.

Political Tax Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Political Tax Cut" which was published in the Washington Daily News of yesterday, Monday, February 21, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICAL TAX CUT

Democratic leaders in Congress are doing neither the taxpayers nor themselves any favor by proposing a new cut in income taxes at the beginning of 1956.

So long as the Government must borrow money to make up for the loss of revenue from tax cuts, the Democratic proposal is merely passing the debt buck on to taxpayers of the future.

Any tax cut which merely increases Government borrowing is a phony. In the end, the taxpayers will pay back more than they gain for the $20 pittance the Democrats are proposing. For every $20 the taxpayer doesn't pay next year, the Government will have to borrow another $20, and pay interest on the borrowing.

All this taxpayers by now know well. So the proposal, concocted to lure votes to Democratic candidates, fools no one. And since it won't fool anybody, it has no political value, in the long run, to the Democrats. They simply are kidding themselves—

and at a serious risk to the financial stability of the Government and, indirectly, to the economic stability of the country.

The proposal doesn't gain in virtue, either, by the tricky way the Democrats plan to put it over.

They propose to tie it to the administration's bill for extending the present corporate income tax and a half dozen sales taxes at present rates. These taxes are due to be reduced April 1. President Eisenhower wants them extended another year, and Congress recognizes that need.

By tying the $20 personal income tax reduction to this extension, the Democrats figure they can force the President to withhold his veto—since the extension means some $3 billion in revenues for the debt-ridden Government.

The scheme is strictly political—and not very clever politics at that.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the following statement:

STATEMENT OF D. G. ROGERS, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ANILINE DIVISION, ALLIED CHEMICAL & DYE CORP., BEFORE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE ON H. R. 1, THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1955

My name is D. G. Rogers. I am president of National Aniline Division, Allied Chemical & Dye Corp. Allied was formed in 1920 because our experience in the First World War proved the folly of relying upon foreign sources of supply for many vital chemicals. It was nurtured and grew because a wise tariff policy adopted in 1922 equalized the great disparity between costs of production at home and abroad and enabled domestic chemical manufacturers to expand along with the rest of domestic industry.

Allied is both a pioneer and one of the largest domestic producers of intermediates. It has the know-how and enjoys whatever advantages accrue from large-scale production and integrated operations. Its predecessors, now its operating divisions, developed and operated the first coal-tar still in the United States in 1854, constructed the first byproduct coke ovens in the United States in 1892, and produced the first coal-tar intermediate ever made in the United States (aniline) in 1914. Allied has long been recognized as one of the leaders in the fractional distillation of coal-tar products, in the recovery of the valuable constituents of coal for use in making intermediates, and in the production of intermediates and thousands of organic end products.

During World War II, the company was able to fulfill the goal of its founders by responding to all the demands made upon it by the war production program. In addition to its all-out production of industrial war materials, intermediates, and dyestuffs for military uses, the company developed and produced highly essential military products and successfully completed a number of important research projects for various agencies of the Government, including the Ordnance Department, the Army Medical Corps, Chemical Warfare Service, Rubber Reserve Corporation, Army Surgeon General's Office, War Production Board, Office of Scientific Research and Development, and Maritime Commission. These things the company was ready, willing, and able to do because it had an ample reservoir of skilled labor, technologists, and management actively working at their specialties.

Today, Allied makes over 3,000 different chemical products in 26 States. But I am going to direct my testimony primarily to the organic chemical field, with which I have been associated for over 39 years. National Aniline Division is a producer of over 2,000 distinct chemical compounds. It has plants in Buffalo, N. Y., Hopewell, Va., and Moundsville, W. Va., and employs over 2,500 employees.

We support the views expressed here by the Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, both for ourselves and for our fellow members in that association. We hope to help you understand the nature of the organic chemical industry's problem in relation to foreign competition and the reasons for its position on H. R. 1.

Our industry produces over 7,000 finished organic chemicals in commercial quantities. Amazingly, these all stem from a handful of crude organic chemicals which are the starting point of our manufacturing process. These crude materials, chiefly benzene, toluene and naphthalene, each duty-free, are used for their carbon content, the one common ingredient of all organic chemicals. By complicated processing steps, these crudes are combined with still other elements, such as oxygen, nitrogen, chlorine, or sulfur to make new and more complex compounds. Such compounds, known as intermediates, become in turn the starting materials or stepping stones to hundreds of other intermediates and ultimately to thousands of finished products, such as dyes, medicinals, pharmaceuticals, explosives, synthetic rubbers, plastics, resin materials, agricultural chemicals, detergents, flavor and perfume materials, and miscellaneous chemicals.

As you might imagine from the great variety of chemicals referred to, our operations quickly cease to bear any resemblance to mass-production methods. Most of our chemicals are made in relatively small quantities. Each finished chemical may require the prior and successive production of as many as 20 intermediates in its production. All but the few primary intermediates are made by batch processing. Each is produced in a series of processing steps in which the physical influences of heat, pressure and mixing are combined with the chemical reaction of oxidation, reduction, chlorination, hydrolysis, halogenation, caustic fusion, alkylation, carboxylation, nitration, sulfonation, condensation, liming, diazotizing and coupling. Close attention and expert manipulation by highly trained chemists, engineers, and skilled workmen are required. The processing involved in producing a particular finished chemical may take weeks or even months, and a final product may weigh as little as one-eightieth as much as the materials used in making it.

The synthesis of organic compounds inevitably yields isomers, coproducts and byproducts, in addition to the specific intermediate or finished chemical under production. It is therefore necessary for the organic chemical producer to give very careful consideration to the chemical he wishes to include in his product line. Unless the producer has a market or a use for each, his entire operation may prove uneconomical. For the most part, the 1,200 odd intermediates made commercially in this country are produced by dyestuff manufacturers in the course of making more than 2,000 dyes, colors and pigments which are needed by the textile, food, printing, and paint industries and the medical profession. For example, our own company makes more than 700 different dyes, each a distinct compound. We produce over 300 intermediates required in their production—and, from them and their byproducts, co-products and isomers, make several hundred other products. Our dye manufacturing operations would be uneconomical if we were unable to sell or use all of them.

Because of the interdependence of the entire product line, foreign competition in respect of one of our products impinges not only on that product but on all related products as well. Of equal importance, if tariff reduction on finished products makes it uneconomical for a domestic producer using our intermediates to continue in their production, the effect would be felt in our entire product line.

The branching structure of the organic chemical industry, and the reciprocal relationship which nourishes it, is like that of a tree. The coal-tar crudes represent the roots, the simpler intermediates the trunk; the more complex intermediates, the main branches; the finished chemicals, the smaller branches and twigs; and the textiles, medicines, plastic products, etc., which consume our finished products, the leaves. Such an organic entity with all its parts interrelated is essentially inseparable; no part can be disturbed without affecting in some degree all other parts. Injury to the roots, trunk, or branches, or defoliation damage will damage the whole.

The manifold operations involved in civilian manufacture are, with slight variations, indispensable to national defense and the public welfare. The quick convertibility, abroad as well as at home, of the industry's plants, equipment, and technologies from the production of peacetime dyes and intermediates to those required in wartime, for drugs, explosives, synthetic rubber, etc., has been the major reason for the tariff protection (or other protective measures) provided for the industry by every major industrial nation in the world. Each has recognized the vital importance of fostering such an industry in the interest of its own national defense.

As a result of expansion to meet defense mobilization goals and other factors, overall capacity of the industry is today far in excess of present needs. As a result of this excess capacity and increased import competition, domestic producers have reported many plants have been operating as low as 50 to 70 percent of capacity and prices have been depressed. From August of 1953 to August of 1954, our industry experienced a decline in employment from 229,000 to 201,000 production workers. This loss of 28,000 workers represented a 12-percent reduction, exceeding the decline in the same period of all manufacturing (11.5 percent), the nondurable goods industries (6.2 percent), and the larger chemicals and allied products group (6.4 percent).

Today, substantial areas of our business are essentially at the crossroads. Many of our production facilities are old and will need substantial replacements in the next few years. Yet by any normal standard substantial segments of this business cannot be considered profitable, even under present tariff rates. The present outlook offers little inducement for management to invest additional large sums of money in plants and equipment, or for prospective employees to spend years in educational or training programs for work in this field.

Without adequate tariff protection our industry cannot successfully compete with the foreign producers. The batch processing methods required in our industry give our products a high labor content. These are the same methods which are used in the great chemical producing nations abroad. Average wages paid to chemical production workers abroad range from 26 to 52 cents an hour depending on the country, compared with an average of $1.90 for employees in our industry.

The foreign chemical industry has more than recovered its prewar strength—in some instances production has doubled. The chemical industry in the United Kingdom, for example, is the strongest and most vigorous of British industries, having increased its production over 50 percent between 1948 and 1953.[1] West Germany has done even better. During 1953 it boosted its production of chemicals to 182 percent of its prewar output, and in 1954 it reached 215 percent. In 1953 West Germany increased her chemical exports by 31 percent, despite intense competition with the British. According to the OEEC's December 1954 report on economic conditions in Germany, expansion of production in the chemical industry is still proceeding rapidly (through the first 8 months of 1954).

The OEEC's November 1954 study of economic conditions in Italy reports that the greatest proportionate increase in chemical production of any of its member countries since 1950 occurred in Italy, with a 57 percent increase. This increase also exceeded the rate of increase in total industrial production in Italy.[2]

In France there has been a steady rise in production in the chemical industry since the war (except for 1952). Based on 1950 as 100 the index of production of the French chemical industry rose to 128 by January 1954, compared with 121 for all industrial production. The French have also developed a new organic chemical industry based on petrochemicals, and new plants have commenced operations in plastics production. The French dyestuffs industry is carrying out a large-scale mobilization program.

Between 1951 and 1953, the OEEC countries turned a deficit of 14 percent in chemical trade, with the so-called dollar area, into a surplus of 28 percent.

The ability of the foreign organic chemical industry to compete in the United States at existing tariff levels is shown by the steady increase of the value of United States imports postwar, from $9 million in 1947 to nearly $51 million in 1953 (table I).

The competitive advantage of foreign intermediates and dyes is illustrated by actual prices pertaining to recent transactions between foreign countries which have come to our attention. Of 52 intermediates and dyes for which actual prices were obtained, selling prices on 21 products was so low that their landed-cost duty paid in the United States would be below the domestic prices on comparable United States products. (See table II.)

The competitive impact of imported dyes at the present duty level is further illustrated by four military vat dyes, Golden Orange RRT, Brown AR, Brown AG, and Khaki 2G. The accompanying chart (following the tables) shows the scheme of chemical synthesis involved in and the many products entering into the batch production of these colors. Imports of these four military dyes increased from 263,000 pounds in 1952 to 531,000 pounds in 1953, over 100 percent. Domestic sales of these four dyes declined nearly 100 percent in the same period. (See table III.) Imports of vat dyes as a class increased from 500,000 in 1952 to 1.2 million pounds in 1953—a 120 percent increase. This large line of vat dye imports is impairing the industry's capacity required for the production of defense colors in the event of mobilization.

The important position of anthraquinone (an intermediate) in the synthesis of the military dyes is also shown in the accompanying chart. The anthraquinone vat dye capacity prior to January 1951 was 37 million pounds per year. Under the mobilization program, this was expanded to 48 million pounds. Sales of domestic anthraquinone vat dyes in 1953 amounted to only 32.5 million pounds, leaving an indicated idle capacity of 15.5 million pounds. The sales trend for vat dyes was off somewhat in 1954, so that we estimate 1954 sales of anthraquinone vat dyes to be about 23 million pounds. On this basis, indicated idle capacity in 1954 was about 25 million pounds or 52 percent of the industrial capacity projected in new defense requirements.

It is, of course, obvious that imports are not responsible entirely, or even in major part, for this measure of idle capacity. Under existing policies of the Government, however, it is desired to keep mobilization capacity in readiness for instant use in the event of a full emergency. As the Joint Committee on Defense Production recently said:

"Adding new capacity (for mobilization) can be futile * * * unless the mobilization base, built at great cost, is maintained in the maximum possible state of readiness."

Idle chemical plant capacity does not remain in existence for long. It must be kept in use, or it rusts or will be diverted to other uses. National defense interests strongly suggest that imports should slacken off until domestic production at least reaches total mobilization needs.

As the committee knows, there is no existing procedure under which action can be taken to protect our mobilization base from idleness resulting in whole or in part from import injury. With any further extension of the trade agreement authority, there should be a suitable provision such as has been recommended by SOCMA to require that tariff policy be measured by proper Government agencies against our overriding national defense policy of maintaining total capacity in a state of readiness to meet a full mobilization emergency.

As I explained to you, import displacement of finished chemicals feeds back to displace intermediates used in making them. In the example of the four-vat defense chemicals, anthraquinone would be affected, and so it has been. One domestic producer has stated that mobilization capacity added by it during the Korean emergency in the amount of 792,000 pounds is now standing idle. In addition, imports of anthraquinone, under the existing duty, reached 730,000 pounds in 1953. This represented a 40-percent increase over 1952's imports of 511,949 pounds.

It took special tariff treatment to bring our industry into existence and foster its expansion. The Nation has been repaid many times over by the great contribution which the industry makes to the strength of the domestic economy, to better living through the products of our unparalleled research activities, and to the fiber and sinew it puts into our Nation's industrial might for defense. In nearly every State of the Union organic chemical plants and laboratories offer inspiration and opportunity for students who are attracted to the professions of chemistry and engineering. The race for technical manpower is in many ways as vital as that for industrial might itself, and our industry through its steady growth in professional and scientific opportunities makes a rich contribution to our national resources in scientific personnel.

Whatever course foreign economic policy is to take, it should be deeply concerned with maintaining a vital, dynamic, basic industry such as ours. America will lose far more than the payrolls of our plants, the taxes of our establishments, and the steady impetus we have been giving to our gross national product, if we allow the enthusiasm in certain quarters for leadership in lowering tariffs to sap the vitality of the synthetic organic chemical industry. We urge you to reexamine existing procedures; the protection they provide is too little and too late. The dynamic quality of our industry should be recognized and preserved for its present and potential contributions to our general welfare.

TABLE 1.—*United States imports of synthetic organic chemicals*

[Value in dollars]

1947	9,340,467
1948	18,289,890
1949	18,012,534
1950	32,414,471
1951	38,982,327
1952	44,518,387
1953	50,600,696

Source: Data for 1947–52, Trade, Strength, and Security, SOCMA, N. Y., 1953, p. 157; data for 1953, Bureau of Census, Foreign Trade Rept. No. 9011, August 1954.

TABLE 2

	Product	Foreign port	C.i.f., New York	United States price	Price differential	Duty
		Intermediates				
1		Bombay/Rotterdam	$0.60	$0.90	$0.207	$0.26
2		do	.677	.82	.143	.24
3		do	.719	.94	.221	.27
4		do	.323	.39	.067	.133
5		do	.679	1.43	.751	.393
6		do	.934	1.50	.566	.410
7		do	.734	1.00	.266	.285
8		do	.481	.730	.249	.218
9		do	.918	1.20	.282	.335
10		do	1.738	3.21	1.472	.838
11		do	.192	.20	.008	.075
12		do	.232	.345	.113	.121
13		do	.183	.220	.037	.090
		Dyes				
14		Mexico	$0.69	$0.93	$0.24	$0.372
15		do	.85	1.78	.93	.712
16		do	1.62	2.296	.676	.918
17		do	1.305	2.296	.991	.918
18		do	.75	.89	.14	.356
19		do	.83	1.45	.62	.58
20		do	1.29	1.58	.29	.632
21		do	2.12	3.85	1.73	1.54
22		do	.607	1.03	.423	.412
23		do	.74	1.09	.35	.436
24		do	1.09	1.22	.18	.488
25		do	.786	1.415	.629	.566
26		do	7.33	8.78	1.45	3.512
27		do	9.02	9.61	.59	3.844
28		do	6.09	7.62	1.53	3.048
29		do	6.81	8.93	2.12	3.572
30		do	10.31	16.62	6.31	6.648
31		India	2.34	3.60	1.26	1.44
32		do	.69	2.15	1.46	.86
33		do	1.64	4.68	3.04	1.872
34		do	.50	1.14	.64	.456
35		do	.99	1.89	.90	.756
36		do	1.23	2.10	.87	.84
37		do	1.33	1.71	.38	.684
38		do	.48	.85	.37	.34
39		do	2.01	3.91	1.90	1.564
40		do	2.90	3.91	1.01	1.564
41		do	.93	1.18	.25	.472
42		do	1.61	3.09	1.48	1.236
43		do	.14	2.04	.90	.816
44		do	1.40	3.12	1.72	1.248
45		do	.67	.94	.27	.376
46		do	.52	.80	.28	.32
47		do	1.72	2.05	.33	.82
48		do	.56	.89	.33	.356
49		do	1.58	3.16	1.58	1.264
50		do	.38	.50	.12	.20
51		do	1.92	2.28	.36	.912
52		do	1.56	1.81	.25	.724

NOTE.—To protect the source of these data, product names have been omitted. If the committee desires this information we shall be happy to submit it in confidence.

[1] With 1948 as 100, the British chemical industry increased its production by 1953 to an index of 151, with the next closest industry, motor vehicles, at 138. The average for all British industry was 121. The British chemical industry was little harmed in the war, and the 1950 production was at least six times that of 1935. Nearly $2,500,000,000 has been budgeted by the British industry for expansion since 1948.

[2] The report refers to Italy's "striking advances in the chemical industry due to petroleum refining and petrochemicals, fertilizers, explosives and synthetic fibres."

TABLE 3

Defense color	Imports (computed weight)		Sales		Percent imports to domestic sales 1953
	1952	1953	1952	1953	
	Pounds	*Pounds*	*Pounds*	*Pounds*	*Percent*
Khaki 2G	204,478	272,090	3,427,000	2,626,000	10
Brown AG	250	155,102	591,000	789,000	19
Brown AR	44,726	83,390	1,162,000	686,000	12
Golden orange RRT	13,660	20,809	3,427,000	405,000	5
Total	263,114	531,391	8,607,000	4,506,000	

Source: Import data, U. S. Tariff Commission, Imports of Coal-Tar Products 1952, 1953; domestic sales data, U. S. Tariff Commission, Rept. No. 174 (2d series) and No. 190 (2d series).

The Democrats Rescue Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension of remarks an interesting and objectively written article by Roscoe Drummond entitled "The Democrats Rescue Eisenhower," appearing in the New York Herald Tribune of February 21, 1955.

The article follows:

THE DEMOCRATS RESCUE EISENHOWER
(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—On the most important piece of domestic legislation this year, the Democrats in the 84th Congress are today redeeming, to the brim and overflowing, their unorthodox campaign argument of last fall. The Democratic campaign appeal was: "Elect us and the President's program will be better off."

The Republican campaign appeal was: "If you want to support President Eisenhower, elect a Republican Congress."

As the result of the breathlessly close votes in the House of Representatives last week on the trade bill and Democratic Speaker SAM RAYBURN's powerful intervention in its behalf, the record now shows:

That the Democrats are making good on their pledge.

That the Republicans are making bad on theirs.

These contrasting facts are, I think, essential to appreciate the full scale of Democratic support of the White House on a measure which the President considers the very heart and core of his domestic program:

Four out of five votes against the trade bill in committee were Republican.

The Democrats voted 14 to 1 in committee in favor of the trade bill.

The initiative, the leadership, and the steam, which at times in the House came within one vote of defeating the President's measure, came from Republicans led by Representative DANIEL A. REED, of New York.

The initiative, the leadership, and most of the strategy essential to the President's success came from the Democrats, led by Speaker RAYBURN. Mr. RAYBURN, whose rare intervention in House debate is influential, took the floor personally to rally the Democrats more strongly behind the President. Singlehandedly he rescued the bill from a Republican motion which at one time would have opened the way to a series of crippling amendments. The ultimate outcome was still uncertain, so the next morning Mr. RAYBURN entertained at breakfast some 20 freshman Democratic Congressmen and let them know that if they went along with the Democratic leadership, which was backing the President, they would likely get along better themselves.

This wasn't pro forma Democratic support of the White House. This was active, decisive Democratic support of the White House.

Mr. Eisenhower's willing ally was Republican leader, JOSEPH MARTIN. Mr. Eisenhower's effective ally was Democratic leader, SAM RAYBURN.

The House Republicans voted preponderantly against the President's position. The House Democrats voted preponderantly for the President's position.

On the 2 really critical test votes—1 on whether the measure could be riddled with amendments from the floor and the other on a DAN REED proposal which could bring about increased, not decreased, tariffs—the Republicans voted 106 to 62 against the President and 119 to 66 against the President.

If you add up the 4 principal votes taken on the bill during the 2 days of House action, you find that the Democrats provided 570 votes for the President, while the Republicans provided only 302 votes for the President.

On the trade bill it seems clear that if more Republicans had been elected to Congress last fall there would have been more votes cast against the President; that on this issue a higher percentage of Republican membership in the House would mean greater opposition to the President.

Can this Republican revolt against the President be written off as a passing political development or is it an ominous, deep division which the voters will weigh when it comes to deciding whom to elect in 1956? Mr. Eisenhower can hardly fail to feel or to admit that he has been grievously let down by his party. This trade bill wasn't just another piece of legislation. The President deemed it a cornerstone of administration policy and declared that "if we fail in our trade policy we may fail in all."

Thus far this cornerstone of administration policy has been kept in place only because of the Democratic leadership and the Democratic Members of the Congress.

Golden Anniversary of the United States Forestry Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, on February 4, 1955, the American Forestry Association sponsored a dinner in honor of the golden anniversary of the United States Forest Service created February 1, 1905, when the Bureau of Forestry and the Forest Division of the General Land Office were merged under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture.

It was fitting that Mr. True D. Morse, Under Secretary of Agriculture, should be one of the principal speakers of the evening. His speech follows:

FOREST SERVICE FOR 50 YEARS
(By True D. Morse, Under Secretary of Agriculture and President, Commodity Credit Corporation)

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson has asked that I express his regret that he is not able to join in this golden anniversary dinner—commemorating the completion of 50 years by the United States Forest Service. He has constantly stressed the importance of forestry and conservation and recognizes the great works of the Forest Service. On various occasions he has made such statements as:

"Let us not forget that forestry is inseparable from agriculture. * * *

"The soil, water, range, and forest resources of the United States are the natural foundation of our national economy. * * *

"Adequate natural resources are indispensable to our security and welfare. * * *

"Forests are composed of plants, and trees are a renewable crop. * * *

"As basic policy, we want to continue the sound development of the national forests; * * * and we want to aid and encourage and cooperate in the development of State and private forestry. * * *

"I am proud of the national forests and the many services they provide the American people.

"Under our administration the national forests will be carefully managed."

The entire United States Department of Agriculture joins with me in saluting the Forest Service as it rounds out 50 years of splendid service. We are proud of our Forest Service and its great accomplishments over half a century.

It has a reputation for integrity and square-dealing—through 50 years.

It has a reputation of getting work done—no matter how tough the job.

Its people have a strong devotion to public service.

The word "Service" is in the name—Forest Service. As we look back over the 50-year record at this golden anniversary—we can say it has been golden service.

The annual cut of timber under sustained yield management from the national forests has increased from about 2 million board feet in 1905—to more than 5 billion. Now it is not 2 million, but 5,000 million board-feet.

National forest receipts have increased from about $73,000 in 1905 to as many million dollars today.

Watersheds are being protected. This will become increasingly important as man becomes more and more dependent on full use of water resources.

The forests have provided grazing and forage for a sizable part of the Nation's meat supply. The wise use for this purpose is a major asset.

This golden service can be measured in human values, too. Until 1912 Forest Service reports didn't even mention recreational use. In that year there were less than 1.5 million recreational visits to the national forests. Now there are 40 million visits a year.

There is more than an acre apiece of the national forests for every man, woman, and child in the United States. One of the national forests, and oftentimes several, can be reached from practically any locality in the Nation within a few hours, or, at most, a day's driving time. "The groves were God's first temples." There are human values in

our forests and timber lands as they invite more and more people for picnicking, camping, fishing, hunting, hiking, and motoring.

Through 50 years the Forest Service has helped inspire great advances in the work of the State forestry departments, in industrial and other private forestry enterprises, and in forestry research and education.

Through 50 years our Forest Service has built a foundation for even greater achievements for the future.

The national forests must be protected and much further developed.

Timber harvestig is not yet up to allowable sustained-yield standards.

Facilities and services must be provided for the ever-increasing millions of recreational visitors.

Discovery and development of needed minerals must be encouraged. But there is concern over a situation where only 2 percent of an estimated 84,000 mining claims in the national forests are actually being commercially mined.

Multiple use of the national forests is essential to realize their full value.

President Eisenhower has said the Nation must adhere to the fundamental policy: "To develop, wisely use, and to conserve basic resources from generation to generation."

Further, he says, a main purpose of our Federal Government is "to keep our economy vigorous and expanding, thus sustaining our international strength and assuring better jobs, better living, better opportunities for every citizen. * * *

"The wise course for Government in 1955 is to direct its program principally toward fostering long-term economic activity."

Forestry must be a sustained long-term development.

Our vast forests and timberlands have helped make the United States a great Nation. They will continue to help shape our destiny.

Such is the challenge to the Forest Service on its golden anniversary—as we together build through the years a stronger America.

Economic Isolationism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I place in the RECORD the lead editorial of the Washington Post and Times Herald which appeared on Saturday, February 19, 1955.

It was most hartening to me that it did not escape the notice of the editorial press of the significance of the struggle that took place on this floor last week during the consideration of the reciprocal trade bill. I think it will that my able colleagues in the future consider seriously that the American public will no longer tolerate from their representatives delimited views that in the long run work to harm the best interests of our Nation.

The important thing is that this most needed legislation is passed, but the manner of its passage, I am sure, did not escape the attention of those people whose welfare depended greatly upon the liberalization of our trade laws. In our crucial struggle with world communism I am convinced that provincialism will reward us with disaster.

It is my sincere hope that the future finds us exerting our role of world leadership with a greater stature than was demonstrated here last week.

The article follows:

ECONOMIC ISOLATIONISM

The almost successful revolt of the House against the President's reciprocal trade program is deeply ironical. Mr. Eisenhower had pointedly asked Congress to give him authority to lower tariff rates moderately in agreements with other countries as a means of strengthening the free world and thus enhancing our security against Communist aggression. Yesterday he reiterated that plea in a letter to Minority Leader MARTIN. The underlying issue before the House was, therefore, the economic health of the free world. Yet 192 members (only two short of a majority) of that body on Thursday voted against a rule that was necessary to passage of the bill without destroying amendments. Again yesterday the bill escaped mutilation by a margin of only seven votes before it was passed. This near upset is a shock that the country ought to contemplate with the utmost seriousness.

To place this action in perspective one has to remember that only 3 weeks ago Congress was debating the President's resolution on the defense of Formosa. In effect, the President had asked that Congress rest the issue of war or peace in Formosa Strait with him. The House approved by a vote of 409 to 3 and the Senate by 85 to 3. Yet when the President asked continuation of a trade program to underwrite free-world solidarity in the interests of peace, more than half the House went against him on the first vote, including a large majority of the Members representing his own party. Only after Democratic Speaker RAYBURN pleaded with the House did it give the Ways and Means Committee rule for consideration of the trade bill a one-vote margin.

This is a deplorable state of affairs because it indicates that a large number of Congressmen are letting their judgments be warped by little facts. Many members were concerned about unemployment in their districts. Others seemed to be chiefly interested in preserving special privileges for some industry. Still others revolted against what they described as a "gag" rule. What they lost to sight was the larger vision of the national welfare in an age when international commerce is a vital part of our defense system.

Speaker RAYBURN had the proper answer to the legislators who were thinking about local interests in their home districts. Said he:

"Everybody want labor employed at good hours, at reasonagle wages; but suppose we do not trade with the rest of the world. * * * We are no longer a debtor Nation; we are the great creditor Nation of the world. We are no longer a small producing Nation; we are the greatest surplus-producing Nation upon the face of the earth, and we have got to have it so that we can trade freely with the rest of the world, or our factories will close and more thousands upon thousands of laboring men will be turned out of their jobs just because we refused to trade goods for goods with them."

In our diplomatic relations with other countries we have thrown off the shackles of isolationism because a vast majority of the people are convinced that our national interests can be protected in no other way. Having made that decision, we cannot rationally undercut it by slipping back into economic isolationism. This is the basic consideration underlying the reciprocal trade bill, and it should have been in the mind of every legislator as he cast his vote. As matters stand, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that about half the Members of the House are willing to trust the President with the lives of their constituents but not with power to make minor adjusments in trade barriers.

Bankers' Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent previously obtained to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "Bankers' Bill," published in the Washington Post and Times Herald on Tuesday, February 22, 1955:

BANKERS' BILL

The President's proposal for emergency school construction seems to have found pretty nearly universal disfavor among education experts and State school officials. Such unpopularity can hardly be altogether undeserved. The overwhelming view appears to be that the plan would provide too little help, would provide it much too late, and would hedge it about with crippling restrictions and controls.

President Eisenhower's preference for an emergency-aid measure which would lend Federal money to State public school systems instead of giving it to them directly is based on two expressed considerations: (1) That education is a local responsibility which should not be lifted from local shoulders; (2) that control of the public schools ought to be retained resolutely in local hands. These are, of course, valid considerations, and no program which ignored them would be consonant with the American system.

But so far as the first consideration is concerned, local school districts have already strained their capacities and would be required to strain them still further to meet the requirements of a direct Federal grant-in-aid program such as the bipartisan bill sponsored by Senators HUMPHREY and IVES and by Representatives BAILEY and KEARNS. Many of them have already reached the limits of their local revenue-raising ability as well as the limits of their capacity to borrow under restrictions imposed by State constitutions. The bipartisan proposal, which would require matching contributions by the States, would entail no sloughing off of local responsibility; it would make local efforts more effective by providing Federal aid to meet an emergency which has the gravest national implications and which the school districts cannot meet solely out of their own resources. As for the second consideration, it seems to us self-evident that there would be less danger of Federal control in an outright grant than in a loan which would keep the school districts long in debt to the Federal Government.

Behind the President's plan there appears to be a third unspoken consideration—to avoid a major addition to the Federal budget. This is thinly disguised by the argument that it is somehow nobler for the States "to help themselves," as Senator SMITH, sponsor of the President's plan, put it, than to "wait for a Federal handout." Senator MCNAMARA punctured this argument. "There is no great stigma," he said, "in the taxpayers receiving their own money from the Government to build schools." One way or another, the cost of school construction must come out of tax

revenue and ultimately out of the same taxpayer pockets. The Smith bill aims to do it cumbersomely and by indirection. Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, was quite right in calling it "a bankers' bill." The bipartisan bill's more direct, candid, and generous approach will meet the school emergency far more effectively and speedily.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the following statement:

STATEMENT OF ERNEST M. MAY, PRESIDENT, OTTO B. MAY, INC., BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON H. R. 1

I am Ernest M. May, president of Otto B. May, Inc., dyestuff manufacturers of 52 Amsterdam Street, Newark, N. J. My family has been operating a dyestuff business at this location since 1919 when my father first started to manufacture coal-tar colors in response to the great demand after World War I. When he started he had a small factory of 5,000 square feet and employed approximately five persons. We now have approximately 100,000 square feet of space and employ 100 people. At the present time we are manufacturing dyestuffs for the textile industry.

I am completely in accord with the views expressed here today by the Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association of which we are a member. More than half the members of SOCMA are small companies such as ours whose total annual payroll is less than half a million dollars.

Because of the nature of the production of organic chemicals, our industry is one in which there are unusual opportunities for small companies to exist and to prosper side by side with the giants of the industry. The larger companies produce many chemical byproducts which they must find commercial outlets for in this country. A smaller company such as mine is well situated to secure a dependable supply of the chemicals which it needs in its production operations. Our existence and profitable operations are essential to the health of the industry as a whole. We are as important to the large companies as consumers of their byproducts as they are to us as dependable sources of raw materials in the competitive economy.

My company's specialty is a rather small line of dyes and color bases. We buy the basic intermediates from other companies in the industry and from them we make the more advanced intermediates which are required in the production of the dyes and color bases which make up our finished product line.

Since the smaller companies such as ours tend to concentrate on the production of those specialized or fine organic chemicals which are in relatively small demand on a nationwide basis, it doesn't take a very large volume of imports to interfere seriously with our operations. For example, we make 13 intermediates. Ten of these were imported in significant quantities in 1953. With only two exceptions, the volume of imports in 1953 was considerably greater than in 1952. This indicates to us that at present tariff levels we can expect an increasing trend in imports of the intermedites which we produce. While these imports have not created any critical situation for us thus far, you can understand that with a small operation such as ours we feel some concern about a program of further tariff reduction under these circumstances.

There were significant imports in 19 of the 22 dyes in our product line in 1953. On 12 of these the volume of imports in 1953 exceeded those in 1952. Again the conclusion which I draw from these data is that at present duty levels there is ample opportunity for an expansion in imports of dyes competitive with those which we manufacture. Table 1 sets forth the identity of our intermediate and dye products which are affected by these imports together with the data on the volume of imports in 1952 and 1953.

Without laboring the point, I wish to call your attention to the fact that our plant is operated with equipment and technology basically similar to that used in the manufacture of a great variety of synthetic organic chemicals. Our firm during World War II produced dyes for uniforms, and again in the Korean emergency we converted our facilities to making entirely different dyes which were required at this time. This we did without coming to Washington for certificates of necessity since this would have delayed our program by months and we wished to be in production as soon as possible. These efforts of ours and other companies were responsible for the production of a rather great variety of urgently needed chemicals, including sulfa drugs and nerve gas components. The significance of the figures in table 1 is that they reflect imports of products which have come into the United States at landed, duty paid, delivered prices below the prices we must maintain to insure our staying in business.

I would like to cite the instance of another firm of approximately our own size which manufactures intermediates for the pigment and dye industry. This firm is a resourceful one like ours and when the emergency in World War II came, quickly converted from making these intermediates to the manufacture of napalm. As a matter of fact, it was 1 of the 3 firms in this country chosen to manufacture napalm and it manufactured 10 percent of the entire United States output. When the Korean emergency came, it again was pressed into servcie at the time when the Chinese crossed the Yalu River and we had to destroy our supplies. Large-scale production facilities in the United States were behind schedule and again this firm came through to produce much-needed napalm which was so urgently needed that it was flown to Korea. In 1951, the duties on the principal product which this firm manufactures were cut in half, from 40 percent to 20 percent, plus 3½ cents per pound. As a result of this cut, this firm is now manufacturing this intermediate with no profit. The price has dropped from $1.46 per pound to $1.18 per pound, and material of Italian origin is offered delivered, duty paid, in New York at $1.05 per pound, which is below his cost of manufacture.

Because of our size we are vulnerable to shifts in Government policy which affects business operations. As the president of our company, I took particular comfort in the statement contained in President Eisenhower's economic report to the Congress just a week ago. In it he stated:

"The need of our times is for economic policies that, in the first place, recognize the proven sources of sustained economic growth and betterment, and in the second place, respect the need of people for a sense of security as well as opportunity in our complex, industrialized society."

There should be no doubt in your minds that the chemical industry is a proven source of sustained economic growth. You would also agree, I am sure, that our industry plays a rather big role in providing opportunities to our young people for professional careers as chemists and engineers in our complex industrial society.

I would also like to point out respectfully to the committee that only in the United States is the climate such that small chemical firms can find a place in the sun. In every other principal manufacturing nation in the world the great bulk of chemical manufacturing is done by 1 or 2—at the most, 3—firms. Now the position of our firm today, competitively speaking, versus foreign imports is that the tariff protection which we enjoy at this moment enables us to compete. Should the envisaged tariff reduction program go through, we feel that we would be injured and, indeed, would finally be driven out of business because, gentlemen, there is no way in the world that we can compete with 50 cents an hour labor and $2,500 a year doctors of philosophy, which is what the current scale in Europe is. We cannot do as some of our giant brothers do—set research programs in Belgium and other countries and actually set up manufacturing subsidiaries abroad as a hedge so that in case Congress and the President slash our tariffs to the bone, they will have foreign facilities and will be able to import chemicals into this country. We will simply have to shut our doors because we will be unable to compete. We do not have the power to set up our manufacturing facilities abroad, particularly since we do not believe the large cartelized firms which dominate the chemical manufacturing scene in Europe would ever allow us to have the chemicals which would be necessary to allow us to engage in competition with them.

We hear much about the need for further tariff reduction as a means of making our foreign friends feel more secure about their opportunities in the United States market. I have been unable to understand why the same concern is not felt for the need for American businessmen to receive some sense of security in anticipation of stable policies which affect their operations. We have the right, it seems to me, to expect the kind of security from stable policies which many are so anxious to extend to our foreign competitors. In this industry we are not advocating rolling back the tariff to pretrade agreement levels. We are calling attention to steadily increasing imports at present tariff levels and we are asking that you not authorize the Executive to embark on a new program of tariff cutting without insisting upon the adherence to dependable procedures which preserve the splendid vigor of our industry with its great importance to both our national security and the national welfare.

In this connection, a problem of particular importance to small producers such as our company is that the present escape-clause and peril-point procedure are keyed solely to the concept of serious injury to a domestic industry. A lot of producers such as my company could be seriously hurt before an industry as large as ours could be said to be seriously injured itself. Yet we have the right, it seems to me, to expect the Government's trade program to be carried out in such a way that our operations are not seriously injured. For this reason I believe that these trade-agreement procedures should be amended to make them apply whenever there is serious injury suffered or threatened by domestic producers or segments of an industry. We should not wait until the industry itself is seriously injured before making adjustments in our trade concessions.

Obviously I am not an expert on foreign-trade economics. Not many people are. As a businessman I have some definite views on what the foreign-trade policy of our country should be if we are going to adhere at all to the concept that our Government is obliged to work for the general welfare and not

merely the welfare of a particular group, such as export industries.

It seems to me that an important factor has been overlooked in most discussions of our tariff policy. Experience shows that with a 1-percent increase in our gross national product, the physical volume of finished manufactured imports increases by 1 percent. Many groups predict a doubling of our gross national product by 1975 compared with 1950. If this occurs as past trends seem to indicate, our imports of finished manufactures will double without any adjustment of the tariff while imports of raw materials increase in only a slightly smaller degree.

One needs only to glance at the text and tables in the President's economic report of a week ago to note that most of the countries of the free world continued to improve their financial position in 1954 for the third year in a row. Most of the countries of Western Europe experienced a decided improvement in the balance of payments situation last year, and the gold and dollar reserves of the free world continued their upward climb. Rather significantly, the industrial nations of Western Europe did not experience a recession during 1953–54 as we did here in the United States.

I think it a strange policy which fails to take account of the de facto strength and vigor of the economics of Western Europe, for example, in the consideration of any real need for further tariff reduction. If you are convinced that further gestures are needed to encourage our strong and prosperous allies, you should at least give equal deference to our home producers as you feel impelled to give the producers of other nations. If you would offer them encouragement, you should at a minimum offer equal encouragement to the producers in this country. Reduce tariffs further if you must, but require that the items subject to reduction be carefully selected so as to avoid injury to companies like mine who are doing their part in supporting the expanding economy of the locality and State and Nation.

Thank you for letting a small-business man present his views on the important topic which you have before you.

TABLE 1.—*Imports of organic chemicals competitive with those produced by Otto B. May, Inc.*

	Imports—	
	1953	1952
INTERMEDIATES	*Pounds*	*Pounds*
1-aminoanthraquinone	18,725	45,063
1-anthraquinonesulfonic acid	43,236	0
7-Benz(de)anthracen-7-one (Benzanthrone)	35,801	41,041
1-4-bis (1-anthraquinonylamino) anthraquinone	1,557	0
1-chloroanthraquinone	1,577	0
5-chloro-o-toluidine hydrochloride	18,126	0
16, 17-dihydroxyviolanthrone	3,669	528
2-nitro-p-anisidine (NH_2-1)	1,102	0
4-nitro-o-anisidine (NH_2-1)	16,629	125
5-nitro-o-anisidine (NH_2-1)	14,429	14,768
Total	154,851	101,525
DYES		
Fast red GL salt	3,000	33,190
Fast red B base	260	1,970
Fast blue B salt	6,156	613
Anthraquinone vat jade green	5,681	8,955
Anthraquinone vat olive R	18,019	[1] 437
Fast scarlet 2G salt	3,000	6,500
Indanthrene brown BR	56,545	73,000
Fast Bordeaux GP base	750	0
Fast Bordeaux GP salt	2,500	4,409
Fast orange GC base	10	0
Fast orange GC salt	1,550	0
Fast orange GR salt	2,100	0
Fast red 3GL salt	10,000	40,000
Fast red KB base	1,100	250
Fast red RC base	10	0
Fast red TR salt	1,219	186
Fast red TR base	10	0
Fast yellow GC base	2,010	1,235

Footnote at end of table.

TABLE 1.—*Imports of organic chemicals competitive with those produced by Otto B. May, Inc.*—Continued

	Imports—	
	1953	1952
DYES	*Pounds*	*Pounds*
Fast yellow GC salt	350	0
Indanthrene olive green B	[1] 66,932	0
Naphthol AS-TR	1,704	0
Variamine blue BD salt	4,500	0
Variamine blue "B" salt		0
Total	187,406	170,745

[1] Computed weight.

Source: Import data, U. S. Tariff Commission, Imports of Coal-Tar Products, 1952, 1953.

Men and Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an editorial entitled "Men and Ships," appearing in the Boston Traveler of January 24, 1955, and a letter on the same subject written by John A. Gaffney, of Plymouth, Mass., appearing in the Boston Traveler of January 28, 1955.

It would be a mistake and false economy if through failure of appropriations the existing State maritime academies were compelled to close.

The failure of President Eisenhower to recommend the appropriation, about $660,000 in his budget message is difficult to understand. The Congress should rectify his failure.

The article and letter follow:

[From the Boston Traveler of January 24, 1955]

MEN AND SHIPS

A nation's merchant marine, no matter how small or large, is no stronger than the men who run the ships.

You can have the biggest merchant fleet in the world, but it's no good unless you also have well-trained officers and men.

In view of this fact, then, it was not surprising that the part of President Eisenhower's budget message that dealt with the merchant marine caused some consternation.

This budget calls for $103 million to help build up the merchant marine, and at the same time eliminate all Federal aid to State maritime academies.

The result, as we see it, will be some fine new ships and an eventual shortage of properly trained men to run them.

The argument that is used to justify the withdrawal of $660,000 in aid for the maritime schools is economy. It looks very much like false economy.

The Massachusetts Maritime Academy, for instance, has been getting about 40 percent of its necessary operating revenue from the Federal Government and the rest from the State. This year's State appropriation is $292,000.

The probable result of this slash, then, would be to cut the number of officers turned out by the school by at least 40 percent. It should be turning out more marine officers, not fewer.

Fortunately, the objections in Congress to this cut were immediate. Senators LEHMAN and IVES, of New York, where the King's Point United States Merchant Marine Academy is located, registered strong protests and promised vigorous action to get the cut restored.

We can certainly expect the Members of our own congressional delegation to join in the protest.

But though the strongest protests will come from the States affected, this is really a national problem, and we hope Congress will see it that way.

The merchant marine has been dwindling for years. Now that the Federal Government is taking steps to build it up, it's no time to propose that we run more ships with less men.

[From the Boston Traveler of January 28, 1955]

TAX TRICKS

We should have an all-out investigation (with no whitewash) of American-owned merchant marine ships that are being registered under foreign flags to avoid heavy payments to the United States Government. An honest investigation would show that the loss to this country through this tax dodge is several times the amount of the President's budget item of $103 million for an expanded merchant fleet. We could have one of the greatest merchant fleets afloat simply by checking the evaders of taxes and registration fees.

JOHN A. GAFFNEY.

PLYMOUTH.

A Warning Against Rigging Coffee Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following telegram I have received from Joe G. Wick, president of the Old Judge Coffee Co., St. Louis, Mo., urging action by the Federal Government to keep coffee prices from advancing again:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *February 17, 1955.*

Representative MELVIN R. PRICE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Believe something should be done immediately to keep coffee from advancing again. Roasters have just declined and looks as if they are rigging it again making it necessary to advance roasted coffee. Worlds supply of coffee is greatest in a decade. Far more coffee available than before the phony freeze of a year ago. Vice President NIXON's good will tour? Producing countries minority few are rigging it again, making it necessary to advance coffee to the American public. Present prices of green coffee still over four times the 1945 ceiling and poor American public gets it again. Are we going to loan them more millions and have the American public pay for it by ridiculous prices?

JOE G. WICK,
President, Old Judge Coffee Co.

Trade Act Balloting Is Analyzed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, Friday's House vote on H. R. 1, extension of the reciprocal trade agreements, has been variously diagnosed, interpreted, and analyzed for purposes of trends, cooperation, or opposition to President Eisenhower and his administration on legislation to come to the House for consideration and action in the 84th Congress.

Different from others that I have read and differing, too, with conclusions heard on Capitol Hill since Friday is the detailed survey of Robert D. Byrnes, veteran correspondent now in Washington for the Hartford (Conn.) Courant.

This compilation will interest our affable Speaker as much as it will, I feel, arouse the speculation of all Members.

This article as it appeared in yesterday's issue of the Hartford Courant follows:

TRADE ACT BALLOTING IS ANALYZED
(By Robert D. Byrnes)

WASHINGTON, February 20.—The Reed amendment to the Reciprocal Trade Act, strengthening the position of the Tariff Commission in proposing increased quotas to protect domestic production, would be adopted by the Senate if the Senators vote the same way on it as did the majority of their States delegations in the House Friday when the Reed proposal was defeated by seven votes.

A breakdown of the House vote shows the majorities in the delegations from 22 States favored the Reed amendment, the majorities in 19 States opposed it, and in six other States the division for and against was even. One State, Nevada, is not included, as the one Nevada House Member was absent and was not paired.

LOCAL INTERESTS

Analysis of the vote by regions and States shows the dominant influence of local economic interests as contrasted with partisan alinements. New England, with 28 House Members, 18 Republicans and 10 Democrats, voted 22 to 6 for the Reed amendment, thus giving the present law only 21-percent support. The 3 Pacific Coast States, with 41 House Members, 28 Republicans and 13 Democrats, voted 17 to 24 against the Reed amendment, thus giving the present law 57-percent support. This same percentage of support for the present law, 57, also showed for the East Central States, where the 77 House Members comprise 50 Republicans and 27 Democrats and voted 30 to 44 against the Reed amendment. The South, with 106 House Members, 96 Democrats and 6 Republicans, voted 46 to 54 against the present law.

The present law, on the basis of the votes to change it by the Reed amendment, has the least support in the Mountain States, where only 1 of the 16 House Members voted against the Reed proposal. These States are represented by 9 Republicans and 7 Democrats in the House.

The textile industry was probably the basis for most of the New England votes for the Reed amendment. The 3 Republicans from Maine, for example, and the 2 Democrats from Rhode Island were all against it. The 6 New England votes against the amendment came from 4 Republicans, MORANO, of Connecticut; BASS, of New Hampshire, HESELTON and MARTIN, of Massachusetts; and 2 Democrats, MCCORMACK and O'NEILL, both of Massachusetts.

The textile industry also was credited with being influential with Members from the South who, now that they have textile mills in their own districts, are no longer exclusively concerned with free trade in order to export cotton. South Carolina, for example, lined up 5 to 1 for the Reed amendment, North Carolina 7 to 5 for it, and Georgia 8 to 2 for it. There is 1 Republican among the 28 Members from these States.

Texas, despite the great influence of Speaker SAM RAYBURN with his colleagues in that delegation, voted 11 to 10 for the Reed amendment. Oklahoma, another State where foreign oil imports are viewed with alarm, voted 5 to 1 for the Reed amendment.

The coal States also reacted on oil, but they are against imports of residual fuel oil as a competitor to the products of their mines. West Virginia, which also claims to have suffered in its pottery and clothespin industries, as well as coal voted solidly for the Reed amendment. Representatives of the Pennsylvania coal regions had been expected to go for the Reed amendment, but they were joined by the 5 Democrats from Philadelphia, so the State lined up 22 for and only 7 against the Reed proposal.

Philadelphia, where only the one Republican House Member voted against the Reed proposal, was the exception among the big seaports to whom foreign trade is a factor, and whose Representatives appeared to react to that. The New York City delegation, including 3 of the 4 Republicans was virtually solid against the Reed amendment. Similar attitudes were reflected in the votes of Members from New Orleans and San Francisco.

Only 2 States, Arkansas with 6 Democrats, and Nebraska, with 4 Republicans, voted solidly against the Reed amendment. Three States with solid Democratic delegations, Delaware, West Virginia, and New Mexico, and four with solid Republican delegations, Maine, Vermont, Wyoming, and Utah, voted solidly for the Reed amendment. In the cases of Vermont, Wyoming, and Delaware, however, the solid delegations comprise only one Member each.

The States which, in the House vote, gave majority support to the Reed amendment were Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, Wyoming, and Wisconsin.

Those which cast the majorities of their votes against the Reed amendment were Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Tennessee, and Washington.

States whose House votes were evenly divided on the Reed amendment were Arizona, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, and Virginia.

Disposal Program at Linda Vista, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the problems faced by Eisenhower administration agency heads who are forced to accept unsympathetic holdovers in top policymaking jobs was never more apparent than in the Public Housing Administration today. PHA Commissioner Charles E. Slusser has a distinguished record as an administrator. He served with outstanding ability as mayor of Akron, Ohio, for many years prior to his acceptance of his current position as head of PHA.

One of Slusser's chief responsibilities at PHA, in addition to developing slum clearance projects, is an orderly and quick disposal of war-built housing projects where they are no longer essential to national defense. Congress has given him almost unlimited authority to complete the disposal program.

Yet today Mr. Slusser finds much of his program in the hands of holdovers from the previous administration. One of these men in a top policy job is Mr. John G. Melville, chief of the western region of PHA, who evidently has little sympathy with the mandate of Congress to dispose of these houses at the earliest possible moment.

The disposal program at Linda Vista, Calif., is a good case in point. Because of a dispute over payment of a $30,000 charge for relocation of utility poles, the Linda Vista disposal program has been again delayed approximately 60 days, at a loss to the Government of considerably more than that amount, due to loss of rental revenue from over 700 forced vacancies in the homes scheduled for sale.

This is just one of the irritating and costly delays that has resulted from decisions emanating from Melville's office. The people of Linda Vista have waited for years while the promised sale of homes has had every conceivable delay. They have reached the end of their patience. So have I. If these delays continue I shall insist on a full-scale investigation of the San Francisco PHA regional office to find the reasons for such tactics.

An interesting and informative commentary on the situation appeared recently in the San Diego Union. Under unanimous consent, I include it as a portion of my remarks:

LINDA VISTA STALL BECOMING HABITUAL
(By Gene Fuson)

From some angles Public Housing Administration's San Francisco stall order on Linda Vista housing sales to private buyers looks like a bureaucratic mountain made of a technical molehill.

The most recent postponement is not the first one.

After Congress first ordered Linda Vista liquidated in April 1951, sales had to be postponed until the end of the Korean fighting.

Mrs. Faye Hartman, PHA special field representative, got the wheels rolling again in January 1954, only to hit several more snags from higher office.

The spring stall was budget trouble. The United States Public Housing Commissioner, Charles E. Slusser, ordered the subdivision budget cut from $2½ million to $1¾ million.

The summer stall came when John G. Melville, PHA regional director at San Francisco, ordered the sale stopped when the city refused to rescind a housing ordinance preventing reerection of 3,500 temporary housing units in the city.

Slusser overruled Melville and ordered the machinery back in motion.

In the fall, Melville stopped everything again in a hassle over what kind of appraisals should be made on the houses.

Again Slusser overruled him and ordered sale plans underway.

The latest indefinite postponement boils down to Melville's crew stalling a $15 million sale over dispute whether San Diego Gas & Electric Co., or PHA should pay $30,000 to move some power poles in line with subdivision requirements.

Proportionately it's the same as stalling a $1,500 sale over a $3 dispute.

The gas company and PHA say they disagree over meaning of the word "removal" in the utility permit, which prohibits the Government from paying for removal of utilities.

Gas company argues that moving a pole 6 inches or a few feet constitutes relocation and not removal under which case PHA should pay. The permit was issued to bypass delay in the World War II rush to build Linda Vista. It was never corrected.

Relocation and removal also involve those of PHA executives who will have to seek jobs in other agencies when Congress' liquidation order is carried out. Some of them are in policymaking positions getting $7,000 to $12,000 a year.

They have jobs as long as PHA has public housing not sold.

If the $1½ million subdivision is not allocated by June 30, the money returns to the general fund to wait for Congress to reallocate it—possibly 6 months to a year.

Linda Vista was carved out of raw material and cactus land and occupied in little over 2 years.

It has been 3 years since Congress ordered it sold, and less than a third of the job is finished.

Slusser's orders from Washington indicate he is trying to get the job done.

Mrs. Hartman has a unanimous vote of confidence on the job she has done.

That leaves Melville in San Francisco.

A turn of Slusser's pen could make Linda Vista a separate field office responsible to Washington only, as it did when the business area was sold.

Comptroller General Campbell could order the $30,000 paid, as Representative BOB WILSON, Republican, of San Diego, has requested.

Mrs. Hartman could be relieved of personal responsibility; the PHA could pay the $30,000 and let the case be settled by court action after the sale.

This reporter, attempting for the fifth time to contact and question Melville by telephone, was told, "If Mr. Melville has anything to tell the press, he'll call you."

Maybe it has been forgotten that Joe Public pays the freight on that operation.

Attack on Dollar Is Seen in $20-Tax-Cut Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KEAN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. KEAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence in the New York Herald Tribune:

ATTACK ON DOLLAR IS SEEN IN $20-TAX-CUT PROPOSAL

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, February 21.—The Democratic majority in Congress has apparently decided to constitute itself a "wrecking crew" with the obvious purpose of wrecking the Eisenhower administration, even if it means wrecking the Nation's economy at the same time.

The party that promised the electorate in the congressional campaign last autumn that it would uphold the hands of the President and support his measures now has turned on him and on the country, too, and has embarked upon a course of irresponsibility which cannot be justified even on the ground of partisan benefit. For the new proposal to buy the American voters by giving everybody $20 off his tax bill and also freeing nearly 5 million voters from paying any taxes at all is the cheapest form of demagoguery.

The worst phase of it is the way it is being attempted—that is, by a trick of legislative procedure which seeks to tie the President's hands so that, if he wishes to veto the proposal, he will also have to veto the continuance of the corportaion taxes at the present rate of 52 percent. The Treasury needs the $1,750,000,000 in revenue which would be lost if the corporation taxes are automatically reduced to the 47-percent rate.

LOSS TO TREASURY

Also imbedded in the tax law expiring on April 1 next—unless extension is voted now—are certain excise taxes which, if not continued, would cost the Treasury another billion dollars. This is all wrapped up in the same package, which the Democrats assume the President would not dare to veto.

But the proposal to cut off $20 from everybody's taxes would mean a loss to the Treasury of about $2 billion. So, if the President vetoes the bill with the $20 tax cut in it, the Treasury stands to lose about a billion dollars in excise-tax receipts because the Congress wouldn't care to let the corporation taxes go down to 47 percent. A bill to extend corporate taxes could be passed any time between April 1 and December 31, 1955, and still be made retroactive for the full calendar year.

Mr. Eisenhower, therefore, has no choice. He has to veto the $20 vote bribe, which, because the taxpayers would not get it, the Democrats assume would create widespread resentment at the polls. As between a $2 billion loss on that scheme, however, and a $1 billion loss in excise taxes, it is preferable for the President to accept the excise-tax reduction.

There is no certainty, on the other hand, that Congress would refuse to pass a separate bill, after the veto, which would continue the excise taxes. Hence, the loss to the Treasury might not materialize at all. Then if business conditions are booming and tax receipts increase, it may be that in 1956 a general tax-reduction bill could be enacted in which all taxpayers are treated equitably.

The idea of letting any one who gets an income of $3,000 a year become exempt from the payment of any Federal taxes at all, including the cost of national defense, is not one that will appeal to the sense of fair play of the electorate as a whole. Yet, if the wrecking crew have their way, it will mean that many persons in that very income group will be exempt from the payment of Federal taxes.

What may prove to be the most serious damage done by the "wreckocrats" on Capitol Hill, as someone now has dubbed them, may be in the effect on the purchasing power of the dollar. If inflation is to be the accepted policy of America for the years ahead—and that's what a continuance of the unbalanced budgets could mean—then the dollar will be driven steadily downward in terms of other currencies in the world.

GOOD NEWS TO KREMLIN

The Eisenhower administration since taking office has made a heroic effort to work toward a balanced budget. The promise has been made that such a balance can be attained in the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1956, or that it will be so close to a balance as to assure the dollar a sound position. But if the spenders are to take hold, then confidence will disintegrate. For if a $20 for everybody doctrine is to be the political device to win elections, then there is nothing to stop the politicians from making it $50 next time, and so on. It would be joyful news to the Kremlin, which hopes in one way or another to see the collapse of the private-enterprise system in America.

There are some Democrats in the Senate, like Senator HARRY BYRD, of Virginia, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, who are opposed to the idea of any tax reductions until the budget is balanced. But the Virginia Senator will have a hard time blocking the $20 bribe plan unless other Democratic Senators line up with him to conserve the dollar from the most violent attack that has ever been made upon it. The political conspiracy would have no chance of success if it were not assumed by the wrecking crew that the people can be and will be deceived.

No Time To Cut Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to the editorial in today's Washington Evening Star with respect to the action of the Democrat members of the Ways and Means Committee in voting a tax reduction of over $2 billion at this time.

The editorial is as follows:

NO TIME TO CUT TAXES

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey has made a properly forceful protest against the Democratic move in the House to cut individual income taxes at this time. By his estimate, the proposal to give a $20 tax credit to each taxpayer and dependent would cost the Government $2.3 billion revenue for a full calendar year. Ways and Means Committee officials estimate the potential loss at $2.1 billion and point out further that the proposed credit would result in removing about 7 million taxpayers from the income-tax rolls. Whichever estimate of loss is correct, approximately half of the drop in revenue would occur in fiscal 1956, in which the administration already foresees a budget deficit of about $2.4 billion. Adding a substantial sum to this deficit would increase the inflationary pressures which the administration has succeeded over the past 2 years in bringing under reasonable control, a result which could be greatly damaging to the public interest.

Approximately $7 billion in tax relief has been given during the past 2 years. In the same period, Government spending has been curtailed to bring closer the prospect of a balanced budget. The administration is recommending now that scheduled reductions in the corporation income-tax rates and in certain excises—involving an estimated $3 billion in annual revenue—should be extended for 1 year at their present levels in the hope that another general, though moderate, tax-reduction program might be enacted in 1956.

It is unfortunate that political considerations are playing a large part in the maneuvering on tax legislation. For example, the Democratic proposal to reduce individual

taxes is attached to the administration plan to maintain current corporation and excise-tax rates, a maneuver obviously intended to minimize the danger of a Presidential veto if the combination bill should be passed. Clearly enough, the Government needs the revenue involved in this combination of proposals and it is an act of political irresponsibility to jeopardize it. The Democrats, especially those who are accusing the administration of spending too little on national defense, should not stoop to this kind of shabby politicking with tax revenues.

The Forgotten Program: Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Tuesday, February 22, 1955:

OUR DEFENSELESS CITIES

Val Peterson made a classic understatement in his television interview on Sunday when he remarked: "I do not believe the Congress or anyone else in this country has realized the need for a strong civil defense." There is an ironic inconsistency in the appropriation of hundreds of millions of dollars for early warning lines and Nike rings without any sort of determined followthrough to insure that citizens know how to protect themselves in nuclear attack. Perhaps members of the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee, which will begin hearings today on the problem of radioactive fallout, can dramatize for their colleagues and the country the sad plight of civil defense.

Despite Mr. Peterson's hard work as Civil Defense Administrator, it is plain to be seen that the administration has placed no very high priority on this kind of preparedness. The move of the Civil Defense Administration to Battle Creek, Mich., last year—a move apparently designed more as a political sop than as an effort to improve the effectiveness of the agency—has not helped to promote understanding of the problem. Congress, for its part, has shown little interest. It has repeatedly cut appropriations without insisting on a meaningful civil defense program that would justify the expenditures requested; legislators have been content in an attitude expressed by one House Member several years ago respecting a warning system for the District: "Let them ring church bells." The public apathy is merely a reflection of the apathy in the administration and Congress.

Yet there is every reason for confidence that Americans would respond to a civil-defense program that had the proper high-level attention and leadership. And the first thing to do to make the civil-defense program important is for the administration itself to show that it regards the program as important. The need is for concrete advance planning, for definite instructions to cities on what to expect for workable evacuation and shelter directions, for suggestions to private citizens on what they ought to be doing. The newly disclosed dangers from radioactive fallout—which now also has strategic implications—increase the urgency of realistic planning. Incidentally, the administration has had the facts on fallout for many months, and it is pertinent to ask why so little has been done.

If the Senate subcommittee can help focus some attention on the deficiencies of civil defense it will do a real service. Civil defense will not prevent a war; but adequate advance preparation will help prevent millions of needless casualties if war should come. Even in the hydrogen age civil defense is in no sense futile. What is futile is to kid ourselves that the present confusion constitutes adequate civil defense.

With Further Reference to the So-Called Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I hereby insert communications received from the Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association of the United States with regard to H. R. 1.

SYNTHETIC ORGANIC CHEMICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
New York, N. Y., February 17, 1955.

Hon. DANIEL A. REED,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN REED: In behalf of our association, I wish to express sincere appreciation for the sound and courageous expression of views of the minority in connection with the recent reporting of H. R. 1 by the Ways and Means Committee.

The views of you and your colleagues well state the importance of the synthetic organic chemical industry to national defense and the imperative need for an amendment of the law which will insure that our defense mobilization capacity will be protected from import injury. In this regard, we note in appendix B to the committee report an excerpt from the testimony of Charles P. Taft which we believe characterizes the position of our industry in a misleading manner. Your attention is invited to the enclosed letter which we addressed to the chairman of the committee following Mr. Taft's testimony on February 7. The purpose of the letter was to set the record straight with respect to the position of our industry on the national defense aspects of our foreign economic policy.

Sincerely yours,
SAMUEL LENHER,
President.

SYNTHETIC ORGANIC CHEMICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
New York, N. Y., February 11, 1955.

The Honorable JERE COOPER,
Chairman, Ways and Means Committee,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On February 7, 1955, Mr. Charles P. Taft, president, Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., appeared before the Ways and Means Committee and in a statement apparently intended as a rebuttal to the opposition which had been expressed by various industries to H. R. 1, he made a number of statements regarding the organic chemical industry which are misleading. We, therefore, request that this letter be incorporated in the record following Mr. Taft's speech of February 7 in order to set the record straight.

Mr. Taft stated that, "One fragment of the chemical industry * * * told you that more tariff reductions will hurt our defense production facilities. But Secretary Dulles and Secretary Wilson, who worry about our defenses on a full-time basis, have said that we need H. R. 1 to keep our defenses strong." The synthetic organic chemical industry is the "fragment" of the chemical industry to which Mr. Taft apparently alludes. The industry's position on H. R. 1 was presented by this association. The position of our industry is not as described by Mr. Taft; rather as very plainly stated in my testimony before your committee, we called attention to the importance of establishing in the national interest "a positive policy and procedure under which tariffs could be reduced below a point which the Tariff Commission finds would threaten impairment of the domestic productive capacity declared by the Office of Defense Mobilization to be part of the mobilization base. An essential corollary of that policy and procedure would provide for the withdrawal of concessions which in whole or part have resulted in volumes of imports which threaten impairment of the domestic productive capacity programed by the Office of Defense Mobilization as part of the Nation's mobilization base."

In other words, looking to the future and calling attention to the Government's own policy of maintaining the mobilization base in a state of full readiness, we requested that a procedure be established which would insure that our mobilization base would not be hurt by increased imports under an extension of the trade-agreements program. We find it difficult to imagine that any thoughtful citizen, however enthusiastic for freer trade, would wish for the trade-agreements program to be used in such a manner that vicarious injury would be caused to our defense productive capacity.

Mr. Taft refers to the thinking of Secretary Dulles and Secretary Wilson on this subject. Significantly, Secretary Dulles, answering a question asked by Congressman SIMPSON, stated that the escape clause is needed not only to protect individual producers but also to protect the interests of the United States through the maintenance of the mobilization base, which he described as the minimum productive capacity and skills required to protect the Nation against the possibility of war.

As for Secretary Wilson, the importance he attaches to maintaining the mobilization base in a state of readiness is revealed in his statement before the House Armed Services Committee of January 26, 1955, in which he stated:

"We must also have ready reserve forces, an adequate mobilization base, appropriate reserves of ammunition and other equipment, and stockpiles of critical materials to meet the needs of an all-out war if such a situation should be forced upon us. This is the kind of defense structure that we must build and maintain to deal with the situation we face in the world today. At the same time we must carefully consider the force levels, composition, and the organization of our armed services. The services must be so organized as to permit the maximum utilization of our scientific, technological, and production abilities. In addition to the maximum utilization of modern technology we must plan and organize our forces so as to get maximum combat strength and at the same time minimize the number of men required on full time active duty."

Secretary Wilson quoted in his statement a letter which he had received from President Eisenhower setting forth the President's views. Excerpts from the President's letter pertinent to our national policy of maintaining our mobilization base in a state of maximum effectiveness are as follows:

"Second, true security for our country must be founded on a strong and expanding economy, readily convertible to the tasks of war.

"Our first objective must therefore be to maintain the capability to deter an enemy from attack and to blunt that attack if it comes—by a combination of effective retaliatory power and a continental defense system of steadily increasing effectiveness. These two tasks logically demand priority in all planning. Thus we will assure that our industry capacity can continue throughout a war to produce the gigantic amounts of equipment and supplies required.

"We can never we defeated so long as our relative superiority in productive capacity is sustained.

"In view of the practical considerations limiting the rapid deployment of large military forces from the continental United States immediately on outbreak of war, the numbers of active troops maintained for this purpose can be correspondingly tailored. For the remainder we may look primarily to our Reserves and our mobilization base, including our stockpile of critical materials.

"All these capabilities have a double value—they serve our aim in peacetime of preventing war through their deterrent effect; they form the foundation of effective defense if aggressors should strike."

Mr. Taft confesses his ignorance as to whether it is better policy to rely in time of war on plants located in the industrial areas of the United States or in plants scattered throughout the free world. Fortunately, the Government agencies responsible for our preparedness are not as confused as Mr. Taft on this subject. First, the Congress in the Defense Production Act of 1950, as amended and extended, has declared the Nation's determination to develop and maintain the military and economic strength required to oppose aggression and promote peace in the world. The Director of Defense Mobilization, who is charged with developing the policies to carry out the purposes of the act, has advised the President that to protect the security of the United States and the free world from Soviet aggression, our Nation must have a defense mobilization program of such magnitude that it is capable of deterring an aggressor or if we are attacked, to enable us to fight to win. He stated that the required program must include the industrial capacity to shift in the shortest possible period of time from partial to all-out mobilization. The Joint Committee on Defense Production in its fourth annual report very recently stated that "The all-important job facing both industry and Government is that of keeping our huge industrial empire in the state of maximum readiness for any emergency." The committee wisely observed that "The huge industrial expansions during the last 4 years have been aimed at overcoming shortages so vital to our defense economy. Adding new capacity can be futile, however, unless the mobilization base, built at great cost, is maintained in the maximum possible state of readiness."

The joint committee realizes, as Mr. Taft does not, that some of the production facilities which have been created to meet mobilization requirements are partially idle because the volume of production required for defense exceeds that normally needed for peacetime purposes. The committee's report refers to the fact that the maintenance of the mobilization base where such plants are involved is a substantial problem which requires the Government's assistance. As the Director of Defense Mobilization has stated in his annual report to the joint committee,

"The development of an adequate, secure mobilization base depends upon an understanding and conviction on the part of all levels and branches of the Government, and of the people as a whole, that these things are necessary and that they offer the best assurance of surviving in what President Eisenhower has called 'an age of peril.' "

In this context, our association called the committee's attention to what we regard as the necessity of establishing procedures through amendment of the peril point and escape clause which will prevent our defense mobilization capacity as determined by the Office of Defense Mobilization from being injured by increased imports under the trade agreements program. We believe this recommendation is quite consistent with the emphasis which the Government itself has placed on maintaining the mobilization base in a state of maximum readiness. Far from opposing an extension of the trade agreements authority with the power to make the type of gradual, moderate, selective, and reciprocal concessions which the President described in his January 10 foreign trade message, our industry stated to your committee that it would not oppose a 3-year extension with authority in that period to reduce tariffs up to 5 percent a year so long as its exercise was subject to such procedures.

It is difficult for us to understand how there can be any disagreement with the principle of shaping Government action in the field of foreign trade policy in such a manner that the domestic productive capacity, which the Government itself finds to be essential to our national defense, will be safeguarded from import injury. On the basis of any fair examination of our statement as presented to your committee, it is ridiculous to say that we are taking the position that any further tariff reduction would destroy our industry. We have felt the urgent lash of war requirements in two world wars and have the right, we believe, to ask the Government to set up procedures for the future which as a minimum will insure that the capacity which the Government itself believes to be necessary for defense mobilization will be protected from impairment by increased imports stimulated by tariff reductions.

The type of reasoning which seems to be inherent in Mr. Taft's mischaracterization of our industry's position is that anyone who undertakes to present a different point of view from his own on the tariff issue must necessarily be someone who is speaking from an assumed state of shock or injury from import competition. He seemingly would deny to anyone holding a view adverse to his own foreign trade policy the right to make recommendations which would secure selectivity in our foreign trade program with respect to recognizable and legitimate national objectives. He says in effect that unless we are suffering a drastic loss of business from import competition at the present time, we have no right to make recommendations with respect to tariff policy for the future. Healthy industries, in his view, could not conceivably be healthy because of the existence of the tariff and must stand mute until progressive tariff reduction places them in a state of severe shock and injury. We think the Congress in the logical order has the right and duty to be concerned about sound tariff policies which will balance expansion of foreign trade with other national objectives such as the strength of our domestic economy and the unimpairment of our mobilization base. To these objectives we addressed ourselves.

Finally, we would like to set the record straight on a favorite error of Mr. Taft's which he persists in perpetuating. He refers to a colloquy which took place between Congressman MILLS and me. The Congressman, referring to imports of coal-tar chemicals (which actually had a foreign invoice value of $12,300,000 in 1953 according to United States Tariff Commission Report No. 194, 2d series, p. 168) and citing the total figure as $10 million, asked me if these were not the imports which were competitive with the domestic industry's products. I did not undertake to verify of my own knowledge the accuracy of the figure cited by Mr. MILLS but realizing that the Congressman's question was addressed to imports of coal-tar chemicals, I undertook to explain that these chemicals are dutiable under the American selling price and that the industry is prepared to live with the manner in which that provision is administered by the Bureau of Customs.

As this committee knows, organic chemicals consist not only of coal-tar products but also a host of non-coal-tar chemicals as well. Imports of coal-tar chemicals are dutiable under tariff paragraphs 27 and 28. The ad valorem or compound duties provided for under these paragraphs of the Tariff Act are based upon a value known as the American selling price. This value basis is applied where the imported item is found by the Bureau of Customs to be "competitive" with any similar domestic article. Organic chemical imports other than coal-tar products, on the other hand, are dutiable either under specific rates of duty or under ad valorem or compound rates which do not involve the American selling price feature Consequently, the "competitive" determination made in assessing duty on coal-tar chemicals imports has nothing at all to do with the non-coal-tar organic chemical imports. It is a gross oversimplification and distortion, therefore, to imply, as Mr. Taft did before your committee and as he has repeatedly done in the past, that the imports of coal-tar chemicals assessed for duty under the American selling price are the only imports which as a matter of economic fact are "competitive" with the products of the American industry. Mr. Taft learns very slowly. We have called his apparent misunderstanding of the significance of the "competitive" determination with respect to coal-tar chemicals under paragraphs 27 and 28 to his attention on several occasions but he persists in the error. He once referred to the imports of coal-tar chemicals as the only really "sensitive" items among the organic chemical imports and claimed that the Tariff Commission was his authority for such a statement. The general counsel for the Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association inquired of the Chairman of the Tariff Commission if there was any basis in the Commission's reports for such a statement. The exchange of letters with the Chairman of the Commission is set forth in full and shows that there is no justification for Mr. Taft's use of the term:

STEPTOE & JOHNSON,
Washington, D. C., May 12, 1954.

The Honorable EDGAR B. BROSSARD,
Chairman, United States Tariff Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR DR. BROSSARD: Your attention is invited to the marked paragraph in the enclosed press release from the Committee for a National Trade Policy. You will note that the Tariff Commission is there quoted as the source for a statement to the effect that only $9 million by value of organic chemical imports in 1952 were really sensitive items.

The Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, whom we represent as general counsel, intends to reply publicly to Mr. Taft's comments in order to correct a number of errors which it contains. We do not believe that the Tariff Commission has ever made any written statement upon which the marked paragraph could be based, and we cannot believe that any authorized representative of the Commission would have supplied any oral information upon which it could be based. Naturally before making any comment to this effect in the public statement we are preparing in response to Mr. Taft, we would wish to have

verification of this fact from the Tariff Commission.

May we, therefore, request you kindly to advise whether or not the Tariff Commission has ever published information upon which the marked paragraph could be based or whether any of your authorized representatives have supplied any oral information to that effect.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD O. LINCOLN.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., May 14, 1954.

Mr. DONALD O. LINCOLN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LINCOLN: I have your letter of May 12 concerning a press release issued by the Committee for a National Trade Policy in which it states that Mr. Charles P. Taft in an address to the League of Women Voters, May 6, 1954, made the following comment: "According to the Tariff Commission, the only really sensitive items out of this $15 million amount to $9 million per year, or only a little over one-fifth of 1 percent of the organic chemical business."

You ask to be advised "whether or not the Tariff Commission has ever published information upon which the marked paragraph could be based or whether any of your authorized representatives have supplied any oral information to that effect."

The $9 million mentioned in the paragraph of the release to which you make reference is a rounded figure representing the total foreign invoice value of imports in 1952 of coal-tar products imported under paragraphs 27 and 28 of the Tariff Act of 1930. The value of these imports, $8,683,000, was given in the publication of the Commission, entitled Imports of Coal-Tar Products, 1952, issued by the Commission in July 1953, and in table 28, page 165, of the Commission's publication Synthetic Organic Chemicals, United States Production and Sales, 1952.

In further answer to your inquiry, the Commission has never indicated either in its publications or orally by any members of its staff that the imports of coal-tar products in 1952, to which the $9 million relate, are the only really sensitive items among imports of all synthetic organic chemicals.

I trust this will answer your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

EDGAR B. BROSSARD,
Chairman.

In the above correspondence, imports of coal-tar chemicals for 1952 are stated to be $9 million based on foreign invoice value. (The dutiable value reported by the Bureau of Census is $11,242,216.) In 1953, the year Congressman MILLS had in mind in asking his question, the foreign value of coal-tar chemicals imports was, as mentioned above, $12,300,000. The dutiable value of these imports, according to Bureau of Census figures, in 1951 was $18,569,698.

When we have had occasion to call attention to import and export figures for organic chemicals, we have done so in the interest of pointing to the differing trends involved. Imports of organic chemicals have increased steadily, from $18 million in 1948 to nearly $51 million in 1953, the latest year for which we have been able to secure information. Exports show a declining trend—from $461 million in 1951 to about $302 million in 1953. 1953's total was lower than any year since 1948 when exports were nearly $310 million.

The significance of these trends is that the industry is using less of its capacity each year for the production of organic chemicals for export while the increasing imports reflected by the trend are steadily displacing capacity for the production of organic chemicals for domestic sale. We have not said, and do not now say, that the industry has been seriously injured as yet by these imports. What we have tried to call attention to is that at present tariff levels imports are steadily increasing while we are progressively losing our export markets. In addition, we are producing for domestic consumption annually well below the capacity which would be required for us in the event of defense mobilization.

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL LENHER,
President.

USDA Uses Unique Methods in Soybean Hearing at Memphis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend a hearing at Memphis, Tenn., on February 14 when a crowd estimated at more than 300 people were present to listen to testimony in opposition to proposals of the United States Grain Standards Branch of the United States Department of Agriculture to make certain changes both in grades and classifications.

This was a rather unique hearing, Mr. Speaker, due to the fact that the only persons in attendance at the meeting who appeared to favor the changes were Mr. Barr, chief inspector of the Grain Division, and the other representatives of the Department of Agriculture. Anyone attending the meeting had an opportunity to be heard, and several of us stated that we would like to know who was sponsoring the changes and that we would like to hear from anyone present who approved or endorsed the changes.

Mr. Barr was the only person who defended the position of the Department of Agriculture in proposing to make changes in standards and classifications which have been in effect and which apparently have been working very well since 1949. However, Mr. Barr was not only willing to indicate his support of these proposed changes in which he would naturally have a pride of authorship, but went so far at one time as to state that his division was convinced, and then immediately retracted this strong language to state that the Division was of the opinion that the changes might properly be considered.

This meeting or hearing was unique in another way, Mr. Speaker. I am referring to the lack of notice which the farmer—the actual producer of soybeans—had. Actually, it was rather by accident and certainly indirectly that I learned about the hearing to be held in Memphis—one of a series of five.

When I inquired of the Department of Agriculture about the notice that had been given, I was told that the notice of the meeting had been sent to the Federal Register. Now, of course, some of my farmers do not read the Federal Register. I was told the notice was sent to most of the trade journals. Naturally, those subscription lists do not include any considerable number of farmers—the man who actually produces the soybeans and who would be vitally affected by any changes and who certainly should have the opportunity to express himself before any changes are made.

I was particularly interested in whether or not the Commercial Appeal, the paper that most of the people in the Midsouth area read, was notified of this meeting. If they received a notice, it was not a notice that gained the attention of any editor, for there was absolutely no prior notice of this meeting in the Sunday or Monday morning issues prior to the meeting on Monday.

The crowd that did gather was recruited by some of the smaller elevator operators and through the Midsouth Soybean & Grain Shippers Association. Naturally, the American Soybean Association had notice of the meeting and this notice was carried in its monthly magazine, but, again, this was not the notice that gets to the actual producer. As as indication of the lack of notice given throughout the section of the Midsouth where the soybean is a major crop, and where any reclassification will result in millions of dollars loss to the farmers of that area, I am, in another extension of the RECORD, having reproduced an article from the Republican, a newspaper of Caruthersville, Mo., as reported by Mr. Albert Cravens, a secretary-treasurer of the Midsouth Soybean & Grain Shippers Association.

Mr. Speaker, I have asked to have included with these remarks of mine a copy of a letter, written by the president of the above-named association, directed to the Director of the Grain Division in the USDA, setting forth the views of the Midsouth Soybean & Grain Shippers Association on the proposed revisions of the soybean standards, which is as follows:

MIDSOUTH SOYBEAN AND
GRAIN SHIPPERS ASSOCIATION,
February 17, 1955.

DIRECTOR, GRAIN DIVISION, AMA,
United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

VIEWS OF THE MIDSOUTH SOYBEAN AND GRAIN SHIPPERS ASSOCIATION ON THE PROPOSED REVISIONS OF THE SOYBEAN STANDARDS

1. On the proposed revision that would reduce the maximum limits of foreign material 1 percent in each numerical grade. As country shippers we are in the middle on this question as we only buy on the grade that we have to sell but as the growers as presented by the American Soybean Association and the processors thought their present buying practices want 2 percent foreign material in No. 2 soybeans, we see no reason why the change cannot be made. We do, however, urge that a study be made to see if some simple method can be found to separate true foreign material from the small broken pieces of soybeans that fall through an $\frac{8}{64}$-round-hole screen. Maybe the use of a smaller hole size such as a $\frac{7}{64}$ would let enough of the small-weed seed through and leave enough broken pieces on the screen to reduce the buildup of foreign material we now have in soybeans through handling. If such a method can be found we urge its use.

2. On the reduction of moisture we see no reason why the moisture in No. 1 soybeans cannot be reduced to 12 percent. However, we feel that no change need be made in the moisture of No. 2 soybeans as we have found that even in our humid climate 14-percent-moisture soybeans can be stored.

3. We can see no reason why the change in splits should not go through if you in the department feel that it would improve the soybean-grading system.

4. On the proposed special limits on heat damage in each numerical grade. We are against such limits as they would work a hardship on all shippers. Today inspectors are having enough trouble determining total damage or just how much total damage a sample contains. However, if the Department feels that such limits should be put into effect, then heat damage should be more clearly defined. We suggest that it means soybeans that have turned entirely black or brown from heat. The present methods of saying that a small brown spot in the middle of an otherwise sound soybean is heat damage leaves too much room for human error and judgment for such narrow limits of heat damage as have been proposed by the Department.

5. On the proposed reclassification of soybeans with green seed coats that are in cross section yellow from the yellow class to the green class. We cannot say too strongly that we are opposed to this change. We have many reasons for being against the change. Here are just a few of them: 80 percent or more of the Midsouth soybean production would be affected by this change. No evidence was present at Memphis to disprove our conclusion that if the proposed change went through that 90 percent of our Ogden type soybeans would grade as mixed. This was the case before the change in 1949. If they were classed as mixed in 1948 and before what new method has been developed to tell class by the variety predominate color and how could variety purity be proven? In other words how could an inspector tell the difference between a bleached Ogden and a pale S–100 to say that the sample was a mixture of green and yellow varieties or just a sample of Ogden type soybean and therefore are classed green and just happen to have 10 percent or more that just happen to be faded yellow?

We recognize the department's desire and the need to make a grade and class such that it will tell the buyer if he wants that certain quality or not. We agree that under the present standards for soybeans it is not always possible for the buyer to get just what he wants by buying a certain grade and class but as one of the speakers at Memphis pointed out No. 2 Hard wheat does not always describe just what type of No. 2 Hard wheat that a buyer wants. Therefore, a buyer will say that he wants Kansas or Texas No. 2 Hard wheat and not Illinois No. 2 Hard wheat. Today most buyers that need a yellow coated soybean for their special products have found that they can get what they want by saying that they want a No. 2 yellow soybean from Illinois points or maybe Ohio. We feel that since the buyers can get yellow coated soybeans by saying what he wants that it is not right to penalize the Midsouth that has no high yielding soybean that isn't mixed with green and yellow coats. We realize that you cannot sell a person for long something that he does not want so if it was not possible for a buyer to get yellow coated soybeans without changing the standards we would not be opposed but as he can get yellow coated soybeans leave the standards alone.

Respectfully submitted,

PAUL C. HUGHES,
President.

Rural Library Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the New York Times:

RURAL LIBRARY SERVICE

"Over 26 million Americans, some 90 percent of whom live on farms or in small communities, are still without access to modern library services." That is the first sentence used by Senator HILL, of Alabama, in reintroducing the library services bill which barely failed of passage last year. It points up the fact that a good portion of the citizens of this country are still in a second-class status where access to useful information is concerned.

The library services bill as now constituted will enable State agencies to set up libraries in rural areas of 10,000 population or less, so that these people may have the same advantages that their fellow citizens enjoy in more densely populated and urban areas. The bill calls for the appropriation of $7,500,000 a year for 5 years to this purpose, with guaranties that there will be no interference on the part of the Federal Government with or control over State or library agencies.

It is hoped that this session of Congress will finally get down to the serious business of making this type of service available to rural areas. The State agencies have programs lined up, but are temporarily strapped by lack of funds to get the initial program under way. The new bill will provide the necessary funds and make it possible to eliminate one more of the obstacles in the way of lifting the educational level of the American people.

Determination of the Filipinos To Stand Up and Be Counted for Democracy and Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House to a statement made by the President of the Philippines, Hon. Ramon Magsaysay. The American people, with such a forthright statement, will once more realize that they have in the Filipino people a stanch friend and ally. During these days when there are those in Asia who are playing a game of appeasement it should fill our hearts as Americans to note that we have friends with the courage of their convictions such as the Filipinos.

President Magsaysay is a leader who deserves the gratitude, admiration, and respect of the American people and I insert his statement in the RECORD as an expression of American gratitude for another token of the Filipinos' determination to stand up and be counted for democracy and freedom.

President Magsaysay, February 3, 1955, issued the following official statement welcoming the United States position with respect to Formosa:

WELCOME UNITED STATES-FORMOSA STAND

Responsibility for the defense of Formosa has been undertaken primarily by Armed Forces of the United States which, under our mutual defense treaty with America, also constitutes our main bulwark against external attack. Formosa and the Philippines figure importantly in the defense pattern against aggression in this part of the world. The two countries, by virtue of their geographic proximity and respective defense commitments, have a vital stake in the resolute maintenance of this defense pattern.

We cannot therefore be indifferent to the events that are transpiring in that area nor be unconcerned with the ultimate fate of that island. Our interest extends to the measures that have been taken to defend it against aggression. Formosa is vital to our national security. It must remain free and in friendly hands.

For these reasons, I welcome the decision of the United States Government clarifying its stand on the Formosa question. I trust that this policy of firmness will achieve its avowed purpose of deterring further acts of Communist aggression in this area. We stand squarely behind the United States in its determination to achieve this purpose.

Wheat Acreage Allotments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, now that Congress has enacted legislation allowing additional acreage for durum wheat, consideration should be given to permit growers of high-protein wheat, which is in equally scarce supply, to get an additional acreage allotment. A good deal of this high-quality wheat is grown in the State of Montana and the House of Representatives of the Montana Legislature has passed the following memorial:

House Memorial 4

Memorial to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, Montana's congressional delegation, and members of the United States House and Senate Committees on Agriculture, seeking an adjustment in the Federal farm program as it relates to the grower of quality wheat

Whereas all wheat acreage allotments and marketing quotas are meant to control surpluses, but there is no surplus of the kind of wheat raised in Montana; and

Whereas millers are pleading for more high milling quality wheat of which Montana is the principal producer; and

Whereas Montana growers are now subject to the same restrictions as are growers of soft low-quality wheats, which are in huge surplus; and

Whereas some adjusted acreage allotments for our small operators will tend to redress a balance which is badly needed and the present pressure on all operators is curtailing too much production of high-protein wheat: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Montana House of Representatives in its 1955 session assembled, That all responsible officialdom noted above be asked to see that revisions are made in the Federal-farm program to permit increased production in areas which grow wheat of high milling quality determined to be in short supply.

LEO C. GRAYHILL,
Speaker of the House.

The reason for increased acreage allotments of high protein wheat are summarized in a recent editorial from the Montana Farmer-Stockman. The editorial follows:

NO SURPLUS OF MONTANA WHEAT

The national wheat acreage allotment and marketing quota program are designed to control surpluses, of course. But there is no surplus of the kind of wheat raised in Montana. Millers are crying for more high milling quality wheat and Montana is the principal producer of that type.

Why then should Montana growers be subject to the same restrictions as are the growers of the softer, lower quality wheats which are in vast surplus? Surely some plan can be worked out to permit the Montana grower to meet the need for his quality wheat.

It is the working out of such a plan that the Montana Advisory Committee to the USDA is assuming as its major responsibility. When the committee was first formed in response to the invitation extended by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson at the time of his visit to Montana, it had as its purpose the working out of specific proposals for five Montana farm problems: 1. Protection of markets for Montana mustard. 2. Protection of acreage for Montana sugar beets. 3. Modification of wheat acreage allotments with regard to smaller operators. 4. Establishment of a bushel rather than acre allotment control program. 5. Recognition of Montana's quality wheat.

So far the committee has had two meetings. At its first, in Helena, it quickly agreed on recommendations for Montana mustard and beets but found that it required more study to make proposals for the other problems.

At its second meeting, in Great Falls, it encountered divergent opinions on the subjects of bushel vs. acre allotments and consideration of the small farmer. A bushel method of control for wheat seemed to meet the needs of dryland farmers who might have a large crop one year and a small one the next. But what about the irrigation farmer who has more control of his production and can, conceivably, make one acre produce what two produced before? He'd rather have the limitation on acres.

And as for the small farmer—who is a small farmer? Can his basic problem be solved by giving him a few more acres of allotment? If so, where will those acres come from? Must they not, inevitably, come from the large operator, and what share can the large operator reasonably be expected to give?

Exchange Student From New Zealand Speaks for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the Junior Chamber of Commerce of the United States makes a notable contribution to the democratic way of life each year by sponsoring a contest for high school students who write on the subject, I Speak for Democracy. Freedom in America has been so secure that most of us take it for granted to the extent that we seldom think about it or question its origin or fundamental idea. These annual contests dramatize for thousands of young people the basic idea of democracy and freedom and in setting forth their own thoughts they become better citizens, more deeply dedicated to the ideal of freedom.

I am proud that 1 of the 4 cowinners of the national contest is presently a resident of my district in Minnesota. She is an exchange student from New Zealand, spending time in America to become better acquainted with our way of life so that she may become a more enlightened and better citizen of her own country. Miss Catherine Styles develops a most important point for all of us to ponder in this day when the freedom of man throughout the world is being seriously challenged—namely, that freedom and democracy are ideas that inspire all men and in the longing for freedom and self-government by other peoples we find kinship and herein lies our greatest strength in combatting the Communist philosophy which would destroy all freedom. Miss Styles' essay follows:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(By Catherine Styles)

I am not an American. My people are not American. And yet, I, too, speak for democracy.

Not much over a hundred years ago, the race that founded America began to found another nation. Surrounded by the vastness of the Pacific Ocean, a new land had been discovered. The brown-skinned people who already lived there called it Aotearoa, the land of the long white cloud. Today, we call it New Zealand. It is a young country, a virile and growing country. It is a country of sea and sunshine, of snow on the mountains, of trout lakes, and primitive fern forest; of weird pools where the boiling mud leaps and bubbles, cracks in the rocks where the steam comes white from the insides of the earth. * * *

The people who live there are a people who love freedom.

The people who live there are my people, and when I speak for democracy, I speak for them.

I have seen something of America.

I have watched the crowds on the streets at night, seeing the advertisement signs flashing on the saw-edge of the horizon, saying: Buy my products; no, buy mine; mine is finer yet. I have seen, back home in the early morning, the man with his horse and his dogs, driving sheep. I remember the jostle and pattering rush of the delicate forefeet, and the clean smell of the bracken, and the sharp barking of the dogs. I remember this, and I know that those crowds with their faces colored by the glow of the advertisements, and that man out early with his flock, although they are 7,000 miles apart, are people with the same ideals and beliefs, the same love of individual freedom. And I am glad that I can say this, and I speak with all the sincerity in my power. I know that people, these people, all people, are the most terribly important thing in the world. I know that to make as many people as possible as happy as possible is the greatest ideal in the world. And I know that this is the ideal of democracy.

You people of America do not stand alone. Democracy extends further than America. Two thousand years ago the Christian doctrine proclaimed the equality of man. Belief in the equality of man means acceptance of all races, all creeds. Belief in democracy means belief in the equality of man. It means respecting the individuality of every human being.

At home, in the summer evenings, near the time of Christmas, I would sit on the low veranda steps, and hear the baby owls calling in the darkness, and the cows coughing and stamping in the paddock, and see the white bobs of the rabbits scuttle in the half light. And by the gate I would hear the voices of a couple murmuring together, the young man and woman. And I would think: This is good; this is good, this life, this land, this people. All this is good, the best that ever was.

I still believe it is good, but I know now it was no single nation I was believing in, but the truth of free people everywhere. And I know that the most wonderful thing in the world is the freedom of the individual; in my country, in your country, and in every country.

Not as an American, not as a New Zealander, but as a free citizen of the world in which I have faith, I am speaking to you now. I am not remembering that you are American and I am British. I am not remembering that our voices are different, and our manners, and the cut of our clothes. I only remember that, together, we believe in the individual freedom and right.

I only remember that, together, we speak for democracy.

The United States Information Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the advertising profession I have been actively interested in the program and accomplishments of the United States Information Agency, under the able direction of Theodore C. Streibert, an experienced radio executive.

I am convinced that the USIA must greatly enlarge its scope and activity in order to effectively meet the challenge of anti-United States and anticapitalist propaganda being pumped into the neutral and satellite countries of the world by the Kremlin today.

We must be willing to enlarge USIA appropriations and give this agency the support and encouragement it will need in order to meet and stem the flood of Communist propaganda throughout the world.

Encouraging support of the USIA and its objectives has come recently from the advertising profession, members of which are best able, in my opinion, to evaluate the effectiveness of propaganda effort of every kind.

The Advertising Association of the West, a pioneer organization representing the leaders of advertising in the 11 Western States, recently adopted a resolution on the subject of selling America to the rest of the world. The resolution was adopted at the AAW midwinter conference in Los Angeles, Calif., on January 30, 1955.

Under unanimous consent, I include the resolution as a portion of my remarks:

This association is mindful of the immensity of the stakes in the continuing cold-war competition with the ungodly and militant forces of world communism which threatens the very survival of the free world.

We are painfully aware of the viciously distorted version of our country being spread throughout the world by the ruthless and tellingly effective propaganda of the Communists.

We are conscious of the transcendent need for combating this force by portraying to the world more extensively, aggressively, and

effectively the true story of America and our Nation's peaceful and constructive desires.

This association therefore faces our responsibilities as good citizens and as the organized voice of advertising in the West by declaring our policy as follows:

1. We endorse the necessity and objectives of the United States Information Agency and related programs, and deplore the relative inadequacy of appropriations for this vital activity.

2. We pledge the active interest of this association, and urge organized advertising to lend its knowledge, counsel, techniques, and proven skills toward helping sell America as effectively as advertising has proved its ability to sell goods and services.

3. We call on our Government to expand this activity and to utilize more fully the abilities and usefulness of the advertising profession and industry toward this objective, and also to rely on those possessing the proven skills in these techniques and crafts.

4. We recommend appointment of a committee of this association to establish such liaison with the appropriate agencies and organizations, both public and private, as appears practicable. The committee further will explore the problem and make recommendations to this association regarding the value, desirability, and means of doing our part in helping tell America's story abroad honestly and effectively for the welfare of our country and cause.

Narcotics Addicts Have Been Hospitalized by the District Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, as you may remember legislation was enacted during the 83d Congress which provides compulsory hospitalization, by court order, of drug addicts in the District of Columbia. During the hearings on my bill, it was pointed out that there were approximately 2,500 known drug users in our Nation's Capital.

During the past month the first 2 addicts have been compulsatorily hospitalized under the new law. The first was a young man of 20 years who was committed last Friday. Monday, a 30-year-old woman, who admitted using up to 8 caps of heroin a day, became the second to be sent to the United States Public Health Service Hospital at Lexington, Ky.

In the latter case, the new law proves its effectiveness in helping to eliminate crime in the District. An assistant United States attorney testified that the woman told police she had supported her expensive habit by prostitution.

On the other hand, 22 men and women drug users have voluntarily begun hospitalization under a special provision of the act since it went into effect last year. Of these, 1 man has been cured and has returned to the District. He was hospitalized approximately 5 months.

The law directs the court to commit drug addicts to the Public Health Service hospital until they are cured. After they are released, the patient must make periodic reports to authorities to insure that the person has not returned to the habit.

I believe it is only proper to point out that these persons are not considered as criminals under the provisions of the act but rather as patients. Still, the law provides no haven for those who have committed a crime under some other existing law.

A Political Program To Prevent World War III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I insert in the RECORD my address entitled "A Political Program To Prevent World War III," delivered before the annual Conference on Freedom and Peace Through Liberation, at its luncheon meeting held at the Washington Hotel, Washington, D. C., February 22.

The address follows:

Mr. chairman and members of the conference, I am very happy to be able to join with you on this Washington's Birthday anniversary to discuss how we may attain the goals of peace and freedom through liberation. I want first of all to congratulate you on choosing such an excellent name for the conference because it connotes a positive goal. Equally important, it leaves no doubt that it is not a "me too" organ of Kennanism, containment, and surrender.

On this occasion when we commemorate the anniversary of the birth of the father of our country, soldier, statesman, and patriot, it is appropriate that we ask ourselves the question:—What should we be doing to advance the cause of human freedom at home and throughout the world?

George Washington and the men who joined hands with him in preparing and signing the Declaration of Independence never stopped thinking about individual liberty and the basic human freedoms. We must never forget that the American patriots, though but a handful of men, gave birth to political concepts soundly based in morality and alive to the basic dignity of man which fired the imagination of all mankind. So appealing was the cause they represented that other fearless souls from the four corners of the earth came to the shores of America to offer their personal fortunes and their very lives in support of that cause.

After the independence of the United States of America was won, the cause of national independence, as represented by that victory, was not seriously challenged in the world political arena until 1918. It might be said that the concept of nation and the cause of national independence held an unchallenged hold on the loyalties of mankind for a period of 140 years.

Today we see the cause which the American patriots gave to the world challenged by a new type of imperialism which seeks to turn back the pages of history by thousands of years and to make of mankind some sort of robot, completely devoid of all human feelings. That challenge is a vigorous and dangerous one as attested to by the fact that in the short course of 37 years, Russian Communist imperialism has enslaved over 30 nations, in excess of 800 million human beings, and now occupies almost one-third of the earth's surface.

The so-called Russian experts have offered us a number of catch phrases to symbolize the courses of action open to us in our struggle to survive as a national entity. One of these slogans is peaceful coexistence, which, by the way, is a slogan coined by Lenin, and which has but recently been resurrected by Khruschev the latest czar of the Russian Communist empire. The promoters of this slogan claim loudly that unless we are willing to engage in peaceful coexistence with the empire of communism, all mankind will be doomed because war will surely result. These same advocates maintain that if war breaks out, most of mankind will be wiped from the face of the earth because of the tremendous destructive power of the hydrogen weapons possessed by the free world and by the mad men of the Kremlin. These messengers of doom and despair are telling us that we must accept the realities of communism, that we must learn to accommodate ourselves to it, else we shall surely perish from the earth.

There is only one reward for those who make the fatal error of attempting to make any accommodation with the conspiracy of communism, and that reward is death or slavery. This is the irrefutable, unquestioned record established by communism during the course of its 37 years of tyrannical existence. There is not the slightest evidence at hand which indicates there has been a change in Communist doctrine or objectives. The events of the past 37 years remain as the only reliable index of what happens to nations and people who seek to work out a modus vivendi with Moscow.

Another slogan has been coined to describe what these experts claim as the only other course of action open to us, and that slogan is "preventive war." The creators of this slogan maintain that if the United States takes positive and overt action against the Communist conspiracy, a new world war will surely result. The creators of this slogan also maintain that anyone who advocates positive and overt action against the Russian Communists is per se advocating war of a preventive type. The promoters of this slogan, like those promoters of the slogan of peaceful coexistence, really maintain there is no other course open to us but to submit to the strangling embrace of the Russian bear. When you cut away all their fancy language and tortured reasons you arrive at no other conclusions.

It is my considered judgment the American people are being subjected to a series of brain washing through the constant repetition of these slogans—"Peaceful coexistence and preventive war." These series of treatments which automatically exclude consideration of any other course of action, are calculated to break the American spirit, to destroy our creative initiative as freemen, and to paralyze action of any type that would challenge the right of way of world communism.

Recent events which have taken place in Moscow leave no doubt in my mind that the empire of communism is threatened by powerful internal forces generated by the enslaved non-Russian nations and people. These forces, in my judgment, are so powerful that their impact upon the Russian central authority located in the Kremlin, is such as to make it impossible for the Red imperialists to conduct a successful war against the free world. In the event of open war, these captive nations and people would rise up against their alien oppressor. While this is true today, I am not certain this will be the case for all time to come. I am certain it is true today, and that is a fact we must act upon while we still have time.

The long-winded oration given by Molotov on the occasion of Khrushchev being

crowned the Czar should have been entitled "Fear of Freedom." The windy, almost childish, boasting, and bullying of the supposedly suave international diplomat, Molotov, must be regarded as a reliable index of the turbulent storms which now best the masters of the Red colonial empire. All of us recall the story of the little boy who, while walking by the graveyard in the dark of night, whistled loudly in the hope that he could drive away the evil spirit. To say that Mr. Molotov was whistling in the dark would be an understatement. More accurately stated he was shrieking in a hurricane.

Recently this practical appraisal of the situation was made by a committee of Congress:

"That the time was never more opportune or the world situation more demanding for a bold positive political offensive by the United States and the entire free world; this is the only course which gives reasonable hope for avoiding all-out war."

This is a quotation from the published Summary Report of the Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression of the House of Representatives, dated December 31, 1954. This estimate, as you will note, was made before the recent turn of events in Moscow. I believe that this conclusion has even stronger foundation in fact today than it had then, back in December, and I, as a member of that committee, was absolutely convinced, based on irrefutable evidence in possession of the committee, that this conclusion was conservative. Now the question before us is, What should make up that bold, positive, political offensive? Of one thing we may be certain, slogans, catchwords, and speeches do not mean action. What is needed is the launching of concrete steps calculated to return the initiative in the struggle for the minds and loyalties of all mankind to the cause of human freedom, as represented by the United States of America. I would like to offer you some concrete steps which I believe we must take as soon as possible and which are, without doubt, well within our capabilities. I take pleasure in recalling to your attention the 13 recommendations made by the House Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression as the concrete, starting steps in such a bold, positive, political offensive. Those recommendations are:

1. The committee again recommends that the President of the United States take the initiative in convening an international conference of all free non-Communist nations for the following purposes:

A. To express formal recognition of the fact that the Communist governments, which now control over 800 million human beings, are not representative of the will of the people.

B. To seek agreement whereby the free non-Communist nations acting in concert will withdraw diplomatic recognition from all Moscow-controlled Communist governments.

C. To reaffirm the friendship and solidarity of the people of the free world with the people and nations enslaved by communism.

D. To develop a program for the rapid and complete termination of all commercial treaties and trade with Communist governments and the initiation of a program of trade among all non-Communist nations which will strengthen the security of the free world.

E. To develop an overall, dynamic program for the defeat of the international Communist conspiracy.

2. That Congress establish a joint committee on all United States overseas information programs in order that maximum results may be assured in bringing the full force of truth to all the people of the free world and increased hope to the millions of people enslaved by communism.

3. That Congress by appropriate action reiterate and make clear that the eventual liberation of all the nations enslaved within the Communist empire, together with unqualified support for the principle of national self-determination through free elections and the secret ballot, are firm and unchanging parts of our national policy.

4. That in the advancement of the American program for world peace and freedom all efforts therein be measured against the criteria of whether they assist the captive peoples to hasten the day when they may achieve their liberation, and that all acts or omissions which tend to confirm their enslavement be rejected.

5. That the spirit of resistance to Communist tyranny behind the Iron Curtain be encouraged and supported through the judicious use of funds already authorized by Congress for such purpose.

6. That the appropriate agencies of the Government concerned with the threat of world communism give maximum opportunity to those private American organizations, groups, and individuals that have a natural bond with the enslaved nations and people, to play a major role in the restoration of freedom in the lands of their ancestry.

7. That, as a demonstration of our genuine sympathy for the enslaved nations and peoples, and to weaken the will of the armies under Communist rule to fight and support the Kremlin's plan for world conquest, the President immediately direct the establishment of the national military units formed from escapees from the enslaved nations as authorized by section 101 (a) (1) of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended, thus providing a concrete symbol of a genuine coexistence and unity between the nations and peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

8. That Congress at the next session enact H. R. 8000, known as the Political Asylum Act of 1954, to provide for the rapid and effective restablishment of selected escapees from communism and to encourage the defection and escape of others.

9. That the Congress give the United States Information Agency full support not only by way of an increase in funds but also by strengthening its role in our Government's political offensive. Similarly, foundations, private organizations, and individual citizens are urged to continue and increase their support to the Committee for Free Europe (Radio Free Europe).

10. That an International Juridical Commission be established within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization so that Communist crimes perpetrated against humanity may be fully recorded and officially noted for prosecution.

11. That the Department of State transmit copies of this report, together with all other reports of the committee to each member nation of the United Nations.

12. That the Department of State formulate a resolution based upon the findings, conclusions and recommendations of this report, branding the U. S. S. R. as an aggressor against all the nations enslaved by communism and that the United States delegation to the United Nations be instructed to take immediate steps to place this resolution on the agenda of the General Assembly for early action.

13. That the work of this committee be continued in order to complete the investigation of all phases and techniques of Communist aggression in areas of the world not already covered by the committee, together with further inquiry into conditions of life within the Communist empire; a program that lack of time has thus far prevented.

I leave to your judgment whether or not this 13-point program will advance the cause of freedom and peace throughout the world. I believe that we, as a Nation, must initiate such a program because unless we do so, we must face up to the inevitability of all-out war or the alternative of abject surrender to a life of slavery now threatened by the Communist conspirators. We, the inheritors of this sacred heritage of individual liberty, government under law, and dependence upon divine providence, must not fail in the historic mission the enslaved nations and suffering peoples of the world have called upon us to fulfill. Remaining true and firm in the support of our great American ideals, we cannot fail in this historic mission.

Twentieth Triennial Congress of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, during the month of September last, at Plymouth, Mass., the 20th triennial congress of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants was held. The attendance of officers and delegates from the forty-odd State societies of the Mayflower descendants, making up the Congress, was the largest in the history of the general society, founded in 1927. There were many interesting features involved in the 3 days of the congress, one of which was the customary Pilgrims' progress, a procession made up of men and women dressed in the costumes of Plymouth Colony days. This picturesque group, headed by a drummer boy, and followed by impersonated Pilgrims: Elder William Brewster, the role assumed by Rev. Cecil Plumb, of Salem, N. Y., elder general of the general society; Governor Carver, John Howland, John Alden, Priscilla Mullins, Captain Miles Standish, Governor Bradford, and others, marched up to Burial Hill, where some of the earliest Pilgrims repose. The procession stopped at the site of the Old Fort of Pilgrim days, and there Elder General Plumb delivered a very fine and appropriate address to the assemblage present, made up of Mayflower descendants, and others.

At the congress, the following officers were elected for the next ensuing 3 years: Governor General Col. Waldo M. Allen, Lake Forrest, Ill.; treasurer general, Merriam Davis, Hartford, Conn.; counsellor general, Maurice H. Thatcher, Washington, D. C.; historian general, Mrs. John Kermott Allen, Boston, Mass.; elder general, Rev. Cecil Plumb, Salem, N. Y.; captain general, Gen. Carl R. Gray, Jr., Hudson, Wis.; and surgeon general, Dr. Jay S. Ruldophy, Wayne, Pa.

The new counselor general, Maurice H. Thatcher, was formerly Representative in Congress from the Louisville, Ky., district. He was also chairman of the committee on resolutions at the recent Plymouth Congress, and had served in the like capacity at the 19th triennial congress of the general society in 1951. In addition, he was the author of a proposed amendment to the constitution of the general society on the questions of eligibility and subversives; which proposal was adopted at the recent Congress.

Hon. Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States and deputy governor general for Nebraska for the general society, delivered before the 20th triennial congress a fine, informative address on the subject of communism, and narrated the steps being taken by the Congress of the United States and the Federal executive departments in dealing with this grave menace.

Also, the recent congress at Plymouth adopted as the theme song of the general society the composition, Our Mayflower, of Mrs. Marie Rich Rockwood, well-known composer, of Massachusetts, herself a descendant of Gov. William Bradford, of Plymouth Colony fame.

A unique and interesting feature of the program of the congress was the rendition by Harry B. Sherman, of Rhode Island—impersonating Elder Brewster—of the famous fancied speech ascribed by Daniel Webster, at the Pilgrim Festival in New York in 1950, to the spiritual leader of the Plymouth Colony.

The 20th triennial congress, agreeably to long-established custom, was held in the First Parish Church, at Plymouth—an edifice which may be said to be a lineal descendant—the fifth—of the 1st church of the Pilgrims in the Plymouth Colony, which is considered to have been the first Congregational church in the new world.

Under leave accorded, I am very glad to include as a part of these remarks the indicated address of the elder general.

The address of Elder General Cecil Plumb follows:

This representation of Pilgrims who survived the dreadful winter of 1620 is an attempt to honor the memory of the entire company of those immortals whom we hail today. Their endeavors to serve God had large influence in shaping the frame and substance of the America we love. History should make sharper distinction between the fairly tolerant Pilgrim and his more self-righteous Puritan brother.

The object of their pilgrimage was to build a better material living in order to glorify God, preserve ideals, and propagate the redemptive Gospel of Jesus Christ. It was their share of performance in what they regarded as the whole duty of humanity to glorify God and enjoy Him forever. They who earlier had covenanted in a spiritual society to seek God's will and to obey it so far as they saw it, arriving at these ungoverned shores compacted to also form a political society. Through it they planned to choose officers with responsibility to promote the common good. This compact was the earliest written document of constitutional government known to the world. It was an important factor in the establishment of the United States of America, the world's earliest national example of government by and for the people.

Pilgrims departing from Plymouth, England, received a letter from their beloved pastor, John Robinson, in Holland. His advice was most practical. Because of their plan for a civil community, he said, they would find certain things necessary which he urged they never neglect. These were, first, brotherly forbearance; second, placement of the general good above personal advantage; and, third, choosing officers who love and promote the general good, yielding them honor and obedience.

The loftiness of their ideal, the completeness of their investment, the persevering devotion to their calling, the penalty of their sacrifice, the success of their enterprise, the present challenge of its dream is unmatched in the traditional or written annals of mankind.

Our world today is in a sorry state. But we face no greater evil, we have no lesser God, than they knew. Each generation must redeem its liberty, make its own pilgrimage. No discouragement is ours that was not theirs. No resource was theirs that is not ours. Need we be reminded that many times the fortunes of this Plymouth were as like to ebb away as the waves of yonder tide? Here is Bradford's estimate of the considered judgment of his fellows: "The dangers were many, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible—all of them through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne or overcome."

What a place is this for enlistment of modern Pilgrims. What a time is this for the practice of a Pilgrim's progress in godly faith. Shall we not this day join ourselves to these people of the past whose faith, labors, and memory have enshrined this Plymouth in the hearts of America and the hopes of the world? Shall we not this day join ourselves in spirit with all people who love truth, seek virtue, treasure liberty, and in lowliness of spirit are willing to be led and taught by God their Maker?

This is not a world of chance. This should not be a day of darkness or despair. Men and women who receive God are not vicitims of circumstances, but children of providence. The righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith, from generation to generation. The just shall live by faith.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article published by the American Tariff League, Inc.:

UNITED STATES PRODUCERS PROTEST WIDE POWERS OF H. R. 1

The administration's all-out attempt to obtain early congressional enactment of its United States tariff-cutting program has run into strong opposition from major segments of United States industry, agriculture, mining, and labor, whose representatives have been voicing their apprehensions at congressional hearings on H. R. 1, the bill to renew and broaden the President's powers under the trade agreements program.

H. R. 1, an administration-sponsored bill that carries some of the proposals of the Randall Commission, was introduced January 5 by Representative JERE COOPER (D., Tenn.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee which started hearings on the bill January 17. It incorporates the tariff proposals submitted to Congress in the President's special message on foreign trade of January 10. Other nontariff recommendations in the presidential message, including the request for further customs simplification, are reportedly being drafted for early submission to Congress.

Efforts to demonstrate administration solidarity behind its freer trade policies highlighted the start of the House hearings as a parade of Cabinet witnesses testified in support of H. R. 1. Members of the President's official family included Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson, Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, and Foreign Operations Administration Director Harold E. Stassen.

Witnesses testifying in opposition to H. R. 1 far outnumbered the proponents of the trade-extension bill and represented a comprehensive cross-section of the United States domestic economy, including some of the largest, as well as the smallest industries, and agricultural producers.

League Executive Secretary Richard H. Anthony, in presenting ATL's views on H. R. 1, declared that the broad and unprecedented powers given the executive branch under the bill presaged "a mopping-up operation • • • on our tariff structure." He warned that they appeared to permit the President to enter into executive agreements, such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), "which would become law without being referred to Congress for ratification, and to permit the President to cut tariffs on his own regardless of any trade agreement—an entirely new grant of power."

Representatives of the American chemical industry told the committee that further reductions in United States tariffs on chemical imports would weaken our national-security program. Industry spokesmen referred to the rapid recovery of the foreign chemical industries since the last war and the inability of United States chemical producers to compete with efficient foreign producers paying labor one-tenth to one-fourth of our wage rates. They further urged adequate tariff safeguards to help meet the great disparity between United States producers' costs and those of foreign comcompetitors.

Representing the United States chemical industry at the House hearings and testifying their opposition to the tariff-cutting features of H. R. 1 were Edgar M. Queeny, chairman of the board, Monsanto Chemical Co.; Samuel Lenher, president, Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association; Sidney C. Moody, vice president, American Cyanamid Co.; Calvin Campbell, vice president and general counsel, Dow Chemical Co.; Fred G. Singer, for the Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc.; and D. G. Rogers, president, national aniline division, Allied Chemical & Dye Corp.

Appearing on behalf of the United States electrical equipment manufacturing industry: Gwilym A. Price, president, Westinghouse Electric Corp., testified that United States producers were unable to bridge the price gap existing between them and foreign makers of such heavy-duty items as motors, transformers, control apparatus, turbines and generators. Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board, General Electric Co., expressed concern over increasing Government procurement of foreign-produced electric power equipment and urged that proposed tariff changes should be preceded by a consideration of the probable impact of the proposed change upon our national security and defense program.

The maintenance of an adequate manpower reserve of trained personnel and skills as vital to the Nation's strategic defense industries marked the testimony of L. B. McKinley, vice president, Bausch & Lomb Optical Co., representing the domestic scientific equipment industry.

Wool, cotton, rayon and synthetic fiber processors and manufacturers united to oppose H. R. 1. Commenting upon the heavy textile representation appearing before the House hearings on H. R. 1, the New York Daily News Record on January 31 reported that opposition to the administration's tariff-cutting program "has for the first time in history drawn the entire textile industry into unified action, with 25 trade associations joining forces." Industry representatives,

the New York Herald Tribune reported on the same date, critized the adoption of a foreign economic program without adequate deliberation as jeopardizing the livelihood of employees and the savings of investors in textile and allied enterprises.

A heavy contingent of witnesses representing a crossection of the United States domestic independent oil producing industry voiced a strong protest against the impact of increased oil imports and urged Congress to provide adequate safeguards to maintain vital United States natural resources. Industry spokesmen noted that 25 percent of domestic producing oil capacity was now shut-in for lack of market demand.

H. R. 1 PROVISIONS ANALYZED

Although the President, in his Congressional message on January 10, stated that the additional authority requested to negotiate new tariff reductions would be carried out on a gradual, selective and reciprocal basis, an analysis of the provisions of H. R. 1 indicate that substantial, across-the-board tariff cuts are possible on every single United States tariff rate, whether or not it has been reduced in prior United States tariff negotiations under GATT or in separate bilateral pre-GATT tariff pacts.

H. R. 1 extends the President's authority to enter into new trade agreement negotiations to June 30, 1958, and provides for major revisions in the basic trade agreements act. The bill would empower the President to (1) incorporate into newly negotiated trade pacts general provisions related to international trade provided they were not inconsistent with existing legislation of the United States; (2) further reduce United States tariffs in annual stages over the next 3 years by 3 alternative methods, 1 of which would permit the President to lower tariffs on his own authority without relation to a trade agreement, a new concept of delegated tariffmaking power; and (3) follow a new trade agreement negotiating principle in the contemplated United States-Japanese pact, by granting United States concessions on items of interest to third countries in return for which those third countries would reduce their tariffs on items of interest to Japan.

H. R. 1 would authorize the President to include in trade agreements provisions with respect to international trade, including provisions relating to tariffs, to most-favored-nation standards and other standards of nondiscriminatory treatment affecting such trade, to quantitative import and export restrictions, to customs formalities,, and to other matters relating to such trade designed to promote the purpose of this (act) * * * *Provided*, That * * * no such provision shall be given effect * * * in a manner inconsistent with existing legislation of the United States.

This section of H. R. 1 would appear to permit the President to enter into such an overall agreement as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) without the necessity of referring it to Congress for ratification.

The language of this section of H. R. 1 is descriptive of the commercial policy sections or substantive provisions, of GATT which are being revised at the current GATT review session in Geneva. In his March 30, 1954, message to Congress, the President had urged a revision of the substantive sections in GATT, but failed to mention that they would be submitted to Congress, adding that the "organizational provisions" thereof would be sent to the Congress for its approval. In his January 10 message of this year, the President again stated that when the "revision of the organizational provisions * * * are satisfactorily completed, the results will be submitted to the Congress for its approval."

GATT, originally negotiated in 1947 and signed provisionally for the United States under the alleged authority of the Trade Agreements Act, has never been submitted to Congress. Congress, moreover, in recent trade extension laws has incorporated therein a GATT caveat stating that Congress by their enactment, did not express approval or disapproval of GATT.

H. R. 1 does not change the peril point and escape clause provisions of the present trade agreements law. The President would continue to have discretionary authority to negotiate duty cuts below the peril points set by the United States Tariff Commission, provided they kept within the maximums set by the law, and to proclaim or reject Commission recommendations for escape clause remedy to domestic producers injured by increased low-wage imports.

NEW TARIFF—CUTTING AUTHORITY PROVIDED

H. R. 1 stipulates that on or after June 12, 1955, the President may proclaim United States tariff reductions according to the following three alternative methods:

Method 1 provides for decreases, in three annual stages of 5 percent, of duties to a maximum of 15 percent below those existing on July 1, 1955.

Method 2 provides for decreases to a rate 50 percent below the one existing on January 1, 1945 in the case of "any article which the President determines, at the time the foreign trade agreement is entered into, is not being imported into the United States or is being imported into the United States in negligible quantities."

While method 2 may be applied to implement a trade agreement entered into after June 12, 1955, H. R. 1 specifically allows the President to proclaim duty reductions thereunder on his own determination if he finds that the general purposes of the Trade Agreements Act as amended by H. R. 1 are promoted thereby. This latter authorization constitutes a new type of tariff-reducing power not previously granted under the trade agreements program. The bill, however, stipulates that unilateral duty cuts made under method 2 by the President can be proclaimed only after the statutory safeguards, including the peril point investigations, are followed.

Method 3 provides for decreases to 50 percent of any rate above that level, "during a period determined by the President to be a representative period." President proclamations thereunder are to be based on the current valuation provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930. Last year, the United States Tariff Commission was instructed by the Senate Finance Committee to undertake a special investigation on all United States imports subject to duties equal to 50 percent ad valorem or higher and to report its findings to the Congress by December 1, 1954. Portions of this study covering items subject to peril point investigation by the Commission in preparation for the contemplated negotiations with and for the benefit of Japan have been withheld by agreement with the Finance Committee. The committee has received the rest of the study, but is keeping it confidential for the time being.

H. R. 1 AND UNITED STATES-JAPANESE NEGOTIATIONS

H. R. 1 expressly provides that Presidential proclamations of duty cuts negotiated in the projected United States agreement with Japan and certain GATT countries, if concluded on or after June 12, 1955, shall be subject to present limits of a 50 percent reduction of rates existing on January 1, 1945, if the President determines "that such decreases is necessary in order to provide expanding export markets for Japan (including such markets in third countries)."

In the tariff-cut negotiations with Japan and third countries, the United States has made known its intentions to grant United States concessions to third countries in return for their concessions to Japan, rather than to the United States. H. R. 1 thus appears to expressly authorize the President to employ a new principle of reciprocity. In agreements to date United States concessions to other countries have been made for the avowed purpose of obtaining concessions for the direct benefit of the United States.

GATT REVIEW CONTINUES

Basic agreement on two of the controversial agenda items which have beset the ninth GATT session since the start of its deliberation on a revised GATT is reported in press articles from Geneva. On January 29, the New York Times reported that the GATT meeting had informally agreed to extend for a 3-year period beyond the present expiration date of July 1, 1955, an amended version of the GATT article XXVIII provision which prevents wholesale withdrawal of tariff concessions made by GATT member nations, including the United States. Geneva press reports also stated that agreement had been reached on the type of permanent organization which would be set up to supervise GATT. Tentative titles for the new body were the Organization for Trade Cooperation or the International Organization for Trade Cooperation.

GATT studies of persistent capital movements from foreign countries with the United States were reported in a recent Geneva dispatch to the New York Times. The startling policy implications of these GATT studies were termed highly controversial by the Times Geneva correspondent, who then added: "Indeed, they contain so much dynamite that it is highly unlikely the study will ever be published as an official paper."

The GATT reports emphasize that the "very countries that assert the duty of the United States to help them with capital investments have been pouring hundreds of millions of dollars a year of their own investment funds into the politically secure United States capital market." The Times report continued: "The studies also throw considerable doubt on the thesis that lowering the American tariff is essential to the establishment of better balance in world trade."

Pointing out that if the flow of foreign capital into the United States was the major cause for dollar shortages, the Times report went on to say that it "could easily be made out as the villain responsible for the economic disorder by those interested in maintaining or increasing barriers to competitive imports."

Soybean Producers Face Gigantic Loss if United States Department of Agriculture Carries Out Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the proposal, if not the announced intention, of the Grain Standards Division of the Department of Agriculture to make certain changes in the soybean standards, I have gone on record as opposing these changes for a number of reasons.

Naturally, one of the most compelling reasons for opposing these changes is the fact that any such change would immediately and without question result in

a financial loss of many millions of dollars, shared by practically every producer of soybeans throughout a large area of the South and the Midwest.

Furthermore, any change at this time, and without giving the farmers of my area, as well as those of many other States, an opportunity to make a change in their plans for planting, would be doing them the greatest disservice. If such a plan as a representative of the Department of Agriculture said they were convinced was in order, and which he indicated would be put into effect this year, is permitted to go into effect, it would cause confusion and penalize thousands of southern farmers at a time when they have already suffered an irreparable damage due to droughts of the past 3 years.

If such a change is to be made, it should not be made until after our farmers have had adequate notice and an opportunity to adjust their planting plans. It should, in my opinion, not be considered until sufficient notice has been given of the contemplated intentions of the Department to permit the development of a type of soybeans which will meet the requirements of the Department's so-called experts.

I would respectfully call to the attention of the Secretary of Agriculture, as well as to those who have the responsibility of carrying out the regulations of his Department, that to make this arbitrary change, without due notice to all parties concerned, would be to take a most unfair advantage of the very persons whose interests they are supposed to be guarding.

Furthermore, I would respectfully point out that, at the recent hearing held at Memphis, Tenn., with approximately 300 persons in attendance, not one single person with the exception of the representatives of the Department of Agriculture, expressed themselves as favoring the proposed changes, and in fact all of those present, including farmer producers, elevator operators, and warehousemen, processors, operators of terminal facilities, exporters, and others, all went on record as strongly opposing the proposed change in classification of soybeans, and at this hearing there was no satisfactory answer to the question of Who wants this change?

In connection with these remarks, I am including herewith copy of an article which appeared in one of the newspapers of my district, The Republican, of Caruthersville, Mo., which sets forth a rather complete résumé of the hearing at Memphis, which calls attention to the damage which would be done by the adoption of the proposed change in classification, and furthermore sets forth rather clearly a substantiation of the charges which I have made that there was inadequate notice of this hearing and that the farmers of that area generally had no notice of the great importance of the contemplated change and therefore have not had sufficient opportunity to voice their great opposition to this change.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that my colleagues, particularly those from the States of Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky, and Louisiana, will join with me in protesting this proposed change in the classifications as they would affect not less than 80 percent and possibly as much as 85 to 90 percent of the soybeans produced in their respective districts.

Herewith is a report of the Memphis hearing as reported by Mr. Albert Cravens, secretary-treasurer of the Midsouth Soybean & Grain Shippers Association, in the Thursday, February 17, 1955, issue of the Caruthersville (Mo.) Republican:

USDA Reclassification of Ogden Bean Would Cost Pemiscot Farmers

Albert Cravens of the Missouri Soybean Co., of Caruthersville, which also has elevators at Hayti, and who is also secretary-treasurer of the Midsouth Soybean and Grain Shippers Association, was among some 300 Midsouth growers, buyers, and shippers who were in attendance at a United States Department of Agriculture meeting held Monday afternoon at the Hotel Peabody, Memphis, Tenn. A. O. "Cap" Acom of Wardell was also present.

The meeting was in charge of J. E. Barr, chief inspector, Grain Branch, USDA, who heard members of the group in testimony relative to a proposed change in classification of the Ogden soybean from a yellow to a green or mixed bean classification.

An interested witness at this meeting was Congressman Paul C. Jones, of Kennett, the only Congressman from any of the six States present at this important meeting.

Since the soybean, along with cotton, forms the backbone of this area's agricultural economy, the proposed change in classification is of prime importance to farmers in Pemiscot County and throughout this six State area.

The Ogden soybean sometimes has a green seed coating over its yellow meat, making it appear to be a green instead of a yellow bean. The USDA proposes to change classification of the Ogden bean from yellow to green where it appears green. This actually would put the Ogden bean in the mixed classification, since some of the beans bleach out yellow while others retain their green coat at harvest time.

Mixed beans carry a 25-cent penalty when put in the loan and, it is feared here, this change in classification could lead to some discrimination against the bean in the American market.

At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Barr gave the group little hope and said the USDA grading change, if made, may not be formulated before May 1, which would be well into the planting time in this county and area and would be too late for most farmers to make any adjustment in their planting schedules.

Mr. Barr told the group that "a lot of foreign buyers have complained on some green beans being certified yellow. We think it was a serious mistake when, in 1949, the Ogden was placed in the yellow classification."

In answer to the question of how many complaints had been made to the USDA by foreign buyers, Mr. Barr replied, "We think one is too many."

A representative of the port of New Orleans, who is also an exporter, told the meeting that this proposal is dangerous and will increase our problems tenfold. We think you will be faced with the never-ending problem of determining whether the bean is yellow or green or what.

A surprise visitor at the hearing was Congressman Paul C. Jones, of Kennett, Representative from the 10th District of Missouri, of which Pemiscot County is part. Congressman Jones is a member of the Agricultural Committee, serving in the fats and oils division. He testified briefly and chided Mr. Barr for not giving more publicity to the hearing.

That no publicity was given this important hearing was indicated by the fact that no press representatives were spotted in the large crowd and no Associated Press or United Press wire story was sent out from Memphis, nor was any mention of the meeting heard here over Memphis radio or television stations. No story was carried in Monday or Tuesday editions of The Commercial Appeal which were distributed here.

According to Cravens, Mr. Barr expressed surprise over the size of the crowd on hand and the outspoken manner which those who presented testimony participated in the meeting. "Reminds me of Texas," Barr said.

W. H. (Bill) Wyatt, who spoke for the Arkansas Bureau, pointed out that the mixed bean, in which classification the Ogden would fall, would draw a 25-cent per bushel penalty under the loan program.

"We believe," Mr. Wyatt told the meeting, "any foreign buyer can get strictly yellow beans from northern areas without hurting them and without totally wrecking our economy.

"A four- or five-million bushel crop in Mississippi County (Arkansas) alone in 1955, if the price dropped 20 cents, would mean a $1 million loss.

"If the USDA can show us just cause why the bean should be changed, then time must be allowed to develop a comparable yielding yellow bean," he stated.

Most farm bureau groups planned to hold meeting when they returned home to state the situation and make plans to press for some action through their Congressmen.

Welcome to the Catholic Lawyer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, there has recently come off the press the first issue of a new professional publication entitled "The Catholic Lawyer." It is published quarterly by the St. Thomas More Institute for Legal Research of St. John's University School of Law, in Brooklyn, N. Y., under the editorship of Rev. Joseph T. Tinnelly, C. M., dean of the law school.

The statement of policy in the first issue contains the following:

The average attorney is a leader in his community. His opinion is respected, his advice valued, not only in purely professional problems but in a wide variety of subjects having some relation, however tenuous, to law. In consequence, no matter how sound his general and professional education may have been he still feels the need to widen and deepen his knowledge and experience. The success of the Practicing Law Institute, of graduate and post-admission courses in various law schools, and of institutes in taxation, insurance, labor law and other subjects under the auspices of bar associations, gives evidence of this widefelt need.

The Catholic attorney has all the professional obligations of his non-Catholic colleagues. Indeed his conscience may be sharpened by the fact that his confessor will require him to make restitution for any harm which his culpable ignorance or lack of diligence may have caused a client.

The publication is intended to supply answers and information on problems of concern to lawyers by the promotion and publication of legal research in such subjects. It is dedicated to the principles of St. Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England under Henry VIII.

I know that the Members of the House, particularly the lawyer Members, will join me in welcoming this important contribution to the literature of the law, and wishing for it many years of success.

It is particularly appropriate that I should call this to your attention today, Washington's birthday, since this morning, St. John's University of Brooklyn was hailed at Valley Forge, Pa., by the Freedoms Foundation for its outstanding contribution to the American way of life during the year 1954.

A Plan To Torpedo REA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the RECORD a portion of the National Farmers Union Washington Newsletter which points up a proposal by a "task force" of the Hoover Commission to abolish REA. I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues who are vitally interested in REA.

As one who has probably the greatest percentage of REA members in any congressional district, I view this proposal by the Hoover Commission "task force" with considerable alarm. While the full Hoover Commission has not considered the "task force's" recommendation, I feel that friends of the REA should be alerted to prospects of legislation being introduced to torpedo REA.

The REA has done more than electrify rural America—thus improving the efficiency and productivity of our farms. REA has also raised the standard of living for farm people and brought to them some of the comforts of living heretofore enjoyed only by people living in urban, suburban and a few rural areas.

The National Farmers Union Washington Newsletter reads in part as follows:

HOOVER GROUP ASKS ABOLITION OF REA

A task force of the Hoover Commission on Governmental Reorganization is recommending that the Rural Electrification Administration be abolished and that REA co-ops be required to depend upon private financing for their future expansion.

Although not yet made public, the Hoover group's recommendations have been learned by the Farmers Union. They are also known to the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, and were discussed by NRECA leaders at their annual convention in Atlantic City, N. J., this week.

If approved by the full Hoover Commission and the President, legislation to accomplish the abolition of REA will be presented along with the Commission's report.

The Hoover plan calls for an immediate stop to Government loans to co-ops. In place of REA, a Rural Electrification Corporation would be established through which the co-ops would borrow money needed for their future growth from private financial institutions.

The REC would sell debenture bonds in private money markets at rates of interest sufficient to attract private investors.

Interest rates to be paid by the co-ops would have to be increased sufficiently to cover the interest on REC's bonds, plus all administrative costs of the Corporation.

The Hoover plan would accomplish substantially what the Clardy bill proposed during the last Congress—to double the interest charge on REA co-op loans. It might well go much further.

Rural electric leaders at the convention estimated that interest rates would range between 4½ and 6 percent under the Hoover plan—from twice to three times as high as at present.

Higher rates for electric and telephone service are specifically recommended by the Hoover plan.

The task force recommendation would require co-ops to charge rates high enough "to enable them to pay (a) their own maintenance; (b) provide reserves for expansion; (c) make proportionate purchases of the Government stock in the Corporation (REC); and (d) pay interest and amortization on their loans."

This would place the co-ops at a serious competitive disadvantage. Profit utilities' rates cover only interest and profit on their capital and operating and maintenance costs. They never pay off their debt, nor do they finance their own expansion out of current rates.

Instead, the private utilities borrow the capital they need by selling bonds or common stock. Their debt is perpetual. Their very purpose for existing is to enable investors to obtain interest on their bonds and profits on their stocks. In contrast, the co-ops exist to furnish their owner-patrons with service at the lowest possible cost.

The Hoover plan would immediately "stretch out" the "yardstick" which co-ops have been setting in rural rates and service for the entire utility industry. By weakening the co-ops' competitive position, it would result in rising rates for all rural users of electricity and phone service.

A severe restriction on future expansion of the co-ops would also be put into effect by the Hoover plan, which would prohibit loans "for the construction of telephone or electricla facilities which private utilities stand willing to build."

This provision would make "cream skimming" by the private utilities the law of the land, giving to the private utilities all the profitable territories.

It would also completely curtail the co-op generating and transmission projects, forcing the co-ops to depend upon private utilities for their wholesale power supplies.

Control by Congress over the rural electrification and telephone programs would be ended by the Hoover recommendations also.

The Rural Electrification Corporation proposed to replace the REA would be run by a board appointed by the President. Its policies and operations would not be subject to the close review by Congress which is now the case in respect to REA.

In the present situation, this change would immediately put the REA co-ops at the mercy of proutility administration forces which tried, during the past 2 years, to kill the REA program by starving it for loan funds. Farmers were able to go to Congress and get REA loan funds increased greatly above the amounts proposed by the President.

With an REC Board made up of people with points of view like other power officials whom President Eisenhower has appointed, the co-ops would be put directly at the mercy of the private power lobby.

A "give-away" of the Government's equity in its present investments in REA co-ops is also involved in the Hoover recommendation.

Outstanding REA loans, which are secured by "first mortgage" obligations of the cooperatives, would be down-graded to "second mortgage" status in favor of the new loans from private investors.

This would mean that the Government would take practically any loss that might occur on any REA investment. The private investors would be paid off first in case of any loss, leaving the Government only what equity would be left over as security on its own original investment.

This feature, which would require a voluntary devaluation of the Government's $2½ billion first mortgage security on its existing loan authorizations, is a tipoff on the lack of genuine concern on the part of the Hoover group for the Government's rights and financial interests.

The Hoover group's real motive is not to protect the taxpayers. It is instead to strangle the cooperative-electrification program as an effective source of competition with the private utilities, and to put the co-ops at the mercy of private financial institutions.

The REA co-ops in their convention declared the Hoover recommendation "would be utterly disastrous to the rural electric systems."

In a strongly worded resolution, the co-ops pointed out that the report's authors refused to hold public hearings. The report was prepared by Price, \ aterhouse, the national power lobby's auditors, for the deliberate "purpose of scuttling the rural-electrification program and destroying competition in the electric industry," they stated.

NRECA demanded that Congress not only reject the Hoover recommendation, but also conduct a full investigation into the source of the plan to "expose the authors for what they are—tools of the money lenders and the power monopoly."

President's Plan To Aid School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the editorial entitled "President's Plan To Aid School Construction," which appeared in the February 17, 1955, issue of the Durham (N. C.) Morning Herald. I am in agreement with the views expressed in this editorial.

The editorial follows:

PRESIDENT'S PLAN TO AID SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

It is necessary to examine rather closely, in the light of school needs, the President's message on Federal aid to school construction to determine whether his plan will really help the schools meet the building shortage.

In his message, President Eisenhower pointed out that over 300,000 classrooms are needed, largely as a result of curtailed construction during the war, and that an additional 50,000 classrooms must be provided annually to take care of the increasing enrollment. Classrooms which have become

unsafe or otherwise unsuable must be replaced. During the school year 1954–55, about 60,000 new classrooms are being built. He points out that while rate of construction is keeping pace with increasing enrollment, "it has only slightly reduced the total classroom deficit."

The President proposed Federal aid to meet construction needs as follows: Appropriation of $750 million over a 3-year period to be used for purchase of school bonds by the Federal Government, the local school districts to pay a reasonable interest rate, which Press Secretary James C. Hagerty interpreted as a maximum of 3⅛ percent; the creation of special school-building agencies by the States, the States and the Federal Government to put up an initial reserve fund equal to 1 year's payment of interest and principal, the plan to provide $6 billion during the next 3 years; an appropriation of $200 million over a 3-year period to provide grants to school districts which can prove need and lack of local income; and $5 million for State conferences (one-half the administrative cost) to plan sound long-term financing of the public schools free of obsolete restrictions.

If Mr. Hagerty's interpretation of the interest rate the Government will expect of the bonds it buys is correct, that proposal will hurt rather than help school districts. Durham County, for example, is paying 1.7368-percent interest on the 1948 issue of $2 million for city schools and 2.3538 percent on the 1953 issue in the same amount. Both figures are substantially less than 3.125 percent. It would cost Durham more to sell bonds to the Government than it costs to sell them to investment bankers.

The requirements attached to the special agency proposal are such that the States could probably accomplish as much without Federal aid as with it under this proposal.

The appropriation for school districts which can prove need and lack of local income will help in hardship cases, but there are relatively few school districts which can benefit under that proposal.

The appropriation for State conferences to plan school financing sounds like throwing away that much money. State boards of education have no doubt explored such planning exhaustively.

Republican-Eisenhower Economic Philosophy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a revealing summary of the economic philosophy of the Republican-Eisenhower administration by William H. Stringer, Washington bureau chief of the Christian Science Monitor, appeared in that paper on February 19.

Mr. Stringer avers that things are going well on the Nation's economic front and lists the administration's steps of approach producing it. He raises a query as to whether the economy will tick along at its present fast pace if the prop of defense orders is discontinued.

I believe the answer is that it will, indeed. Not only will any decrease in defense spending allow us to divert spending toward long-delayed internal improvements in the country, but more basically, our present-day economic philosophy is that which originally brought greatness and wealth to our country. It is a tried, tested, and successful philosophy that leads to ever higher standards of living for the average American whenever the dead hand of Government harassment is keep off his individual initiative and enterprise.

The article follows:

WASHINGTON.—The happy word along the Nation's economic front these days is that the United States business recovery is gaining momentum. The ancient recession has long since been skirted and auto production, construction, and steel output are booming.

This directs attention to the Eisenhower administration's basic business-economic philosophy, the philosophy which to some degree determines the economic climate of the Nation. At the moment business seems rather pleased with this economic climate. Has the Eisenhower administration happened upon a genuine "success formula"? Or is the "massive intervention" of continued heavy defense spending chiefly responsible for today's outlook?

Let us see how the administration authoritatively spells out its economic philosophy. What are the ingredients of this moderate conservatism which the President and his economic advisers have evolved? Fundamentally, a number of basic ideas enter the picture:

1. There is the doctrine not of equal shares for all but of equal opportunity for all; a doctrine not always practiced, but a primary objective.

2. There is the strong faith that incentives and rewards are vital to maintain an expanding economy; that if you tamper too much with the incentive verve it goes dead on you.

3. There is a rejection of the view that the economy must be stimulated by the pressure of steady inflation. The integrity of the dollar is to be preserved.

4. There is a strong belief in the essential role of private investment, the kind which moves ahead of immediate demand to anticipate and prepare for the needs of tomorrow.

(In the 1930's there was great pessimism, even in the schools of business, that the Nation's employment rate could never be adequately restored and kept expanding without massive governmental intervention. Now there is a real confidence in Washington that massive intervention won't be necessary; that business, given encouraged investment and upgraded living standards, can keep employment in a flourishing state.)

5. There is a strong, almost emotional, belief in the tradition of local effort—giving preference to undertakings by State and municipal governments instead of to the Federal Government (school aid, for instance). There is a feeling that private enterprise can do many of the things which the Federal Government was asked to do in the New Deal days (power generation, for instance). President Eisenhower gave his own argument for this view in a recent press conference when he said:

"I believe that the greatest amount of authority, which means comparable responsibility, must be retained in the localities in our country, or we are working steadily away from the system of government that has made this country great."

Local government, the administration contends, is closer to the people, and more responsive. It is admitted that at times a Federal program can be more decisive and efficient, but even so, the President contends, and he has felt this emotionally all through his career, local initiative must be encouraged.

6. Finally, there is a strong confidence in the value of international trade and a belief that markets should extend beyond national boundaries. Hence, the administration's ambitious foreign-trade program, which it feels will produce greater prosperity all around.

Thus reads the administration's economic credo. But it should also be said that there are things which the administration, being avowedly liberal where individuals are concerned and realistic in world affairs, does not believe in—points where, in effect, it tempers the orthodox business philosophy. For instance:

1. It doesn't believe the budget should be balanced at all costs. Budget policy must provide for adequate national defense at whatever price. Budget balancing would have to give way to higher spending if a depression should come along.

2. It holds that the capitalist system has its vicissitudes, which Government must ameliorate. Such as temporary unemployment, and the cares of old age. Thus the Eisenhower administration embraces most of the 1930 social-security reforms without question, including unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, and farm price-support legislation.

3. The administration visualizes a distinct role of Government in developing the Nation's resources. In the main this would mean encouraging development within certain safeguards. Again, it prefers local to Federal initiative. Here the administration runs into its greatest clash with the Democrats and many conservationists.

4. It believes Government must foster a dynamic economic life. This means enforcement of the antitrust laws. It demands Federal funds for research and development. It means resisting attempts to rigidify the economy, such as the use of the tariff to force industry to use coal. Channels for the entry of new businesses into the market must be kept open.

These are among the basic ideals of the Eisenhower regime. Many of them are fairly obvious. Not always do they work out in practice. But their partial implementation has produced one of the most favorable economic pictures in years. That is provided the prop of defense orders continues. Whether this economic philosophy would keep the economy ticking along satisfactorily if war tensions melted and the Nation embarked on a genuine peacetime economy is another question.

What the administration especially feels is that the Nation is moving encouragingly away from the idea, prevalent in the 1930's that we have used up our capacity to grow. There are plenty of new horizons business-wise. When popular wants are being constantly upgraded, no saturation point is likely. And when one's own standard of living is going up, one is not worrying about whether the other guy is getting more than his equal share. At least, this is how the Eisenhower administration expounds its philosophy of plenty in this rosy year of 1955.

Address by the Honorable Charles S. Thomas, Secretary of the Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of this body an address by the Honorable Charles S.

Thomas, Secretary of the Navy, on the 160th anniversary of the United States Naval Supply Corps, which was delivered in New York on February 17, 1955.

Secretary Thomas in his speech has presented an excellent review of the Navy's defense program and the role of the Supply Corps in providing logistic support. Our Nation is indeed fortunate to have a man of the background and experience of Mr. Thomas serving in this vital position.

The address follows:

Mr. Jack, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, thank you, Mr. Murrow. That introduction, I trust, shows that I am a Supply Corps man at heart. I hope you will accept me here tonight as one of you.

Six days hence, as most of us know, the Navy's Supply Corps will be 160 years old. An organization doesn't attain that venerable age unless it has survived the old-age tests of service, farsightedness, and progressiveness. This birthday has been achieved by a steady performance which has always been outstanding in the area of military supply. The Nation and the Navy are better and stronger because of its contributions.

For those who may not be acquainted with the Navy's Supply Corps and its far-reaching activities, let me say that it is the Navy's business organization. Its officers are the business experts of the Navy. They manage a huge and complex organization which is responsible for getting the Navy what it needs, where it needs it, and when it needs it. Though complex and vast, the Supply Corps' mission is simply summarized in a single phrase: "Service to the fleet."

As you all know, the Navy has just completed a very delicate and potentially dangerous task in the Formosan Straits. That task has been performed expeditiously and in a most outstanding manner of which every American can be proud. I will hazard the opinion that there will be no immediate war in the Formosan Straits, and my reason for saying so is quite simple. Whenever the Communists are confronted by strength, resolve, and courage but without provocation, they halt. For the first time in this cold-war siege, they came face to face with the harsh realities of seapower at the coastline of the Formosan Straits' 100 miles of open sea. To be an aggressor here required more than an order to violate a frontier—they had to have the ability to control and cross that 100-mile strip of water. And that they cannot do.

Parenthetically, I might point out that our Seventh Fleet couldn't have accomplished this task had there not been an effective supply organization behind it. The food, the oil, the gasoline, the spare parts, the thousands of items which keep that fleet operating 7,000 miles from home—and in this case kept it on the line for many days—is an excellent example of the unseen and often unsung work of the Supply Corps.

Right now, Formosa is current business for us all, and I am afraid we haven't seen the last of it because in relation to the global scene, Formosa appears to be but a part of a pattern for conquest. A year ago, the pressure area was Indochina. Before that it was Korea. Before that it was Iran. Before that it was Berlin. The locale of the tensions are constantly shifting, but the pattern for conquest appears to remain the same.

We all know that the country and our President want a real and lasting peace and are working diligently for that objective. However, until the Communists show some tangible evidence of a like desire, we have no alternative but to keep ourselves in a constant state of readiness.

Therefore, I thought it would be both appropriate and timely tonight to speak about our Navy's defense program for the future and the vital part which the Supply Corps plays in it.

Let us begin by reducing the problem to its basic essentials.

What is the threat which confronts the free world today? It appears to be a very patient and long-range program for world domination. And what is the nature of this threat? There are many answers to this question—the threat is spiritual, it is economic, it is psychological, and it is military. It is a spiritual contest between those who believe in the worth and dignity of the individual and who have faith in God and those who consider man only as an advanced but soulless type of animal. It is a contest of systems—free enterprise versus regimentation. It is a contest of philosophies between those who cherish freedom and those who practice tyranny. And lastly, it is a contest of military strengths. The military threat can be varied and complicated—a cold war or a hot war; a little war or a big war; a nuclear or a nonnuclear war.

Now in analyzing this threat and its danger, we must answer the question:

Is the threat immediate or is it one of extended tension? If the answer is that we anticipate an attack in the immediate future, we obviously should go all out on our expenditures for military defense and get ready to protect ourselves in every possible way.

To do so would cost us over $100 billion every year. But if we miscalculate, spend $100 billion and more 3 or 4 times, and we are not attacked, we would find ourselves in serious economic trouble. We might discover we have exhausted ourselves and allowed Communists to win by default.

On the other hand, if we decide that the danger is one of extended tension—one to test our patience, destroy our economy, and yet one which gives us time and opportunity to work for a real and lasting peace—I submit that the following elements are essential for a period of extended tension:

First. We must have a retaliation capability not only to deter war but to overwhelm an enemy if he strikes.

Second. We must have a hard core of land, sea, and air forces which can be used in a variety of situations and in a variety of places. These forces must be able to handle localized emergencies yet strong enough to withstand the initial onslaught of a major conflict.

Third. We must have sea supremacy.

Fourth. We must have a continental defense program.

Fifth. We must have a potent Reserve system organized for rapid expansion.

Sixth. We must have an industrial mobilization base also designed for rapid expansion.

And lastly. We must continue a strong research and development program to maintain our scientific lead.

In years past our defense program was either feast or famine. The past 20 years are typical of this accordion process. In 1935 our entire military defense budget was slightly more than a half-billion dollars. Then, during World War II, we spent approximately $300 billion. By 1949 our defense budget had fallen back to only $13 billion annually. Then, during the Korean war, we mushroomed again and spent almost $200 billion.

The economy of the United States—or for that matter any nation's economy—cannot stand such violent changes very long. It is elementary that the process of rapidly building up and closing up is wasteful and unsound. It hurts labor because it is a series of hirings and layoffs; it hurts industry because there can be no advanced planning; it hurts the military because the Armed Forces are sharply expanded 1 year, seriously reduced the next.

If this process of sharp peaks and valleys in our military expenditures had been permitted to continue, it alone could have defeated us.

To reach his decision President Eisenhower considered all the factors. After the most careful analysis with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and, as he said, after "prayerful study," he concluded that our military defense program must cover an indefinite period of extended tension, be adequate and strong, and yet one which the American taxpayer's pocketbook can support indefinitely. I know of no American better qualified to make that decision than President Eisenhower.

I would now like to examine with you this program of the President's in relation to the Navy. It is concisely summarized in his state of the Union message and can be divided into four major areas.

STRATEGY, AIRPOWER, PROGRESS; AND ADMINISTRATION

Let us take these areas one by one.

The President had this to say about strategy:

"Undue reliance on one weapon or preparation for only one kind of warfare simply invites an enemy to resort to another • • • we must therefore keep in our Armed Forces balance and flexibility adequate to our needs."

This statement is in sharp contrast to pre-Korean days when our military strategy was drifting toward a one-weapon strategy and to preparation for a single type of warfare. Korea proved this strategy vulnerable and fallacious.

Since our national policy rejects preventive war, a potential enemy can choose the time, the type, the size, the scope, and the location of war. Our defenses, therefore, must be sufficiently balanced and flexible to meet a variety of threats, any one of which could defeat us.

Our offenses too, must be balanced and flexible. By having several systems or methods of retaliation instead of one, we force an aggressor to anticipate retaliation by every one of those methods or systems. By so doing, we accomplish three things:

We force him to increase his defense-offense ratio. In other words, he must translate more of his capacity to strike to self-defense.

We make him dilute his defenses. Instead of defending only one corridor, area, or avenue, he must anticipate reprisal from every direction and every frontier. And we add a heavier burden to his relatively poorer industrial machine.

Having several balanced and flexible offensive systems is a corollary aid in that it increases our chances of being able to deter a war.

The Navy is tailored to provide sea forces embodying these fundamental principles of balance and flexibility. It makes the soundest, safest military sense.

Next airpower.

"The forthcoming military budget," said the President, "emphasizes modern airpower in the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps."

How does the Navy feel about this? Well, the Navy agrees solidly. Within the Navy itself, because it is a big contributor to national airpower, the importance of airpower is thoroughly recognized and appreciated. Airpower over the seas, and emphasis upon it, is growing constantly.

For example, the fleet now has airplanes of very great striking potential of many types and sizes which are fully capable of carrying weapons of rapid and destructive striking power. They can deliver atomic weapons to targets 1,000 miles away.

And we have just recently launched the first of a new class of carriers on which these planes are based. We are also developing a new family of jet seaplanes which can use the 70 percent of the surface of the world as 10,000 mile long runways.

These examples certainly highlight the growth of airpower in the Navy.

Third, progress.

"Our military planners," said the President, "must be flexible enough to use new weapons and new techniques."

The numbers of new weapons in the Navy is quite surprising, even since the end of the Korean war. In the subsurface field, we have launched the atomic-powered submarine, *Nautilus*, which has exceeded our expectations. Three more atomic submarines are to be built. We have developed killer submarines to search for and destroy enemy submarines in their own element. We have troop-carrying submarines, tanker submarines, and guided-missile submarines.

On the surface of the sea, the Navy is changing mightily. In addition to the mobile seabases of the *Forrestal* class, two guided-missile cruisers are joining the fleet this year. Three types of guided missiles are now operational in the fleet—an air-to-air missile called Sparrow; a surface-to-air missile called Terrier; and a surface-to-surface missile called Regulus. We anticipate that the guided-missile field will change the Navy quite as much as did the change from wooden ships to metal ships.

In the air, the Navy is developing the helicopter to perform two offensive tasks—to hunt submarines and to transport Marines in an amphibious assault—as well as to perform a host of auxiliary roles. The Navy is also developing vertical-takeoff aircraft, jet seaplanes, bombers, and fighters, all of which we are now testing.

So in the matter of new weapons, the Navy is right in the forefront of progress.

In the matter of new techniques, we feel we are equally progressive. I will mention two new techniques briefly.

To complement our fixed land bases, the Navy is emphasizing a new concept of mobile seabases—carriers, jet seaplanes, and guided-missile ships. These moving bases will be able to prowl an aggressor's coastline. Their use will raise no problem of sovereignty. They will be able to change location at speeds up to 40 miles an hour to any area of the world's oceans and seas where their presence is required. Their locations will be unknown and unpredictable. They will be less vulnerable than fixed bases. These moving seabases will give our reprisal system the flexibility and dispersal it must have in these times when a sudden attack might overwhelm our fixed-land bases.

Secondly, atomic propulsion. Naval ships are ideally adapted for atomic propulsion, and we are moving in this field as fast as is practicable. The naval aviation field also offers a great potential for the atomic propulsion of aircraft. Atomic propulsion promises to change the Navy as much as did the shift from sail to steam.

Finally, the President has repeatedly emphasized efficient administration. At a press conference a few weeks ago he said that it is no crime to strive for efficiency and economy in the national-defense program. In the state of the Union message, he said:

"In administration of these costly programs we demand the utmost efficiency."

With 3 million people in the uniformed services, more than a million personnel in a supporting role, and spending approximately $35 billion every year for an indefinite period, the armed services obviously must have the most modern, up-to-date supply systems for efficiently supervising volumes of this size.

As you gentlemen who represent American business know, good administration depends upon modern and efficient organization. It also requires experienced and efficient managers. It means good business methods and systems.

What sort of a business organization does the Navy have to handle its $10 billion annual budget? In my opinion, the Navy's Supply Corps has developed the best and most efficient supply system in the history of any military organization.

First of all, it is composed of a group of officers and men who are specialists and experts in their field. That they are experts is no circumstance. Seventy percent of the corps' officers have undergraduate degrees. Twenty percent have graduate degrees in business administration. This educational process continues throughout their careers, supplemented by periodic 3-month assignments to civilian business.

In regard to organization, the Navy Supply Corps was the first service to adopt financial accounting. It was the first to use industrial stock funds. It developed a cataloging system to handle its 1,350,000 stock items which came to be a model for other organizations. It has adopted whenever practicable the best management systems of business and industry. It was the first to specialize and decentralize its procurement functions to 14 offices around the country. For example, all aviation materials are controlled through Philadelphia; all food is controlled through Washington; all clothing is controlled through Brooklyn; all ships' parts are controlled through Mechanicsburg, and so on. At each of these locations, three key experts sit side by side.

An inventory expert determines how much to buy and where to buy it; a technical expert determines what to buy from an engineering standpoint; and a procurement expert who does the actual buying. This marriage of administrative, logistic, and engineering know-how has given the Navy a sound and economical supply structure and, more important than that, it has made the Navy a more effective fighting force.

In this regard I might mention the Supply Corps' development of the modern supply ship and replenishment-at-sea techniques whereby fighting ships are rearmed, replenished, and refueled at sea. Admiral Nimitz referred to this development as the Navy's secret weapon in World War II. The best example of this is our 6th Fleet which has been in the Mediterranean now for the past 8 years without a supply base nearer than Norfolk—3,000 miles away.

Such things as these bespeak a sound and aggressive organization.

Few people today realize the importance of a modern and efficient supply system. Regardless of how able and well trained the military men, regardless of how fine their equipment, they are completely ineffective unless they can be rearmed and resupplied with all the vital things they need and at the time they need them.

The fine leadership and organization of the Supply Corps can insure, I am confident, that the President's demand for utmost efficiency will be carried out by the Navy.

Tonight I pay tribute to the Supply Corps and the wonderful group of men and women who make it successful. I know that its continued efficiency and performance will give increased strength to the Navy's and the country's defense program in the years to come.

Atoms for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial entitled "Atoms for Peace," which appeared in the Nippon Times, Ltd., of Tokyo, Japan, on February 13, 1955. The editorial follows:

ATOMS FOR PEACE

A proposal of utmost importance to Japan is now before the United States House of Representatives. This is the resolution presented by Representative SIDNEY R. YATES, of Illinois, calling for the construction by the United States, with Japanese cooperation, of a nuclear power reactor in the city of Hiroshima.

That an atomic reactor "dedicated to the advancement of peace and progress through the production of power for industrial purposes" should be set up in Hhiroshima would be highly significant. It would mark the return of the atom to that war-shattered city in a constructive role and would indicate the first concrete step toward the implementation of President Eisenhower's famed atoms-for-peace proposal made on December 8, last year.

It is gratifying to note that not only Mr. YATES but also Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, of the United States Atomic Energy Commission is strongly advocating that the Japanese people, who first felt the fury of the nuclear power as a weapon of war, should also be among the first to benefit from the use of atomic energy for peaceful, industrial purposes.

If any nation needs a constant source of abundant and cheap power to run its machines of industry, it is Japan. The promise which the harnessing of atomic power for constructive, not destructive, uses holds for all mankind would be a boon of immeasurable worth to this nation.

We are grateful to Mr. YATES and his colleagues who are exploring the possibilities of this humanitarian project. But we must admit at the same time that there are strong voices of opposition being raised here against the proposal.

Foremost among these are those who are still unable to distinguish between the atomic bomb and an atomic reactor. While this is understandable among a people with a first-hand experience with the horror of a nuclear explosion, we would do well to realize that atomic energy can and has been harnessed. The launching of the world's first atom propelled submarine, the *Nautilus*, is visible proof of the wonders nuclear power will be able to perform for mankind.

The Economic Counsel Board recently pointed out several technical difficulties, such as the signing of a Japan-United States bilateral agreement on security measures and the ability of Japanese atomic experts to handle the generation of electric power. It referred also to the national sentiment against the A-bomb. But these are not impossible obstacles.

As to be expected, Communists and other leftist elements are professing to look with horror at the proposal to build a nuclear power reactor in Japan. We take this to be one of the highest recommendations why this project should be carried through by all means. An abundant supply of atom power to fill our shortage of energy resources would mean a prosperous Japan—one which the Communists could not subjugate.

The need here is for a wider perspective. We must not forever be looking back at the destructive power unleashed on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There are other uses for nuclear power than as a weapon of war. Scientists today have proved that the energy held within the atom can be used for peaceful and constructive purposes.

We are reminded of the fears and suspicions entertained when steam power and electric power were first introduced to a world unprepared for such magic.

We need not hesitate to usher in the atomic age of peace and progress in Japan. There is not reason why we should turn our backs to this great and humanitarian gesture of friendship and good will being extended to the Japanese people.

Anniversary of the Founding of Rotary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, last evening it was my pleasure and honor to address the Rotary Club of Muncie, Ind., on the occasion of the observance of the 50th anniversary of Rotary. I ask unanimous consent to have my remarks printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. BARRY GOLDWATER, OF ARIZONA, BEFORE ROTARY CLUB, MUNCIE, IND., FEBRUARY 22, 1955

When you asked me to be with you tonight to help commemorate the 50th anniversary of the founding of Rotary, I was both honored and surprised. Honored because my friends in Muncie would want me for this important occasion—surprised because you would risk the perfection of the program by exposing it to the usually dull and overextended verbage associated with the office which I hold.

The feeling of honor, though, far outweighed that which bespoke of surprise and, being constantly aware of my debt to Muncie, I accepted. The source of that debt sits by my side tonight, as she has done constantly for the 21 years since she brightened the dull garden of my life by marrying me. The memories of her loving patience and high inspiration, her devotion to our children and her tolerance of the vicissitudes of being a politician's wife, make me look to the future with anticipation and with a knowledge that my debt to Muncie will forever remain an IOU, for it is not within either the material or the spiritual capacities of a man to repay to the full measure a debt of devotion such as the one I hold.

We are gathered here tonight to pay tribute to Rotary—not a tribute that would laud its many fine deeds, but a tribute to the lofty objectives of Rotary which have caused it to be what it is. We can pay homage, also, not so much to the men whose foresight patterned those objectives, but to that foresight itself; for today we, as never before, must draw upon the basic purposes or creeds of our lives for renewed strength and inspiration to meet the trials and challenges of the future.

Objectives or creeds are as much a part of our lives as is the sunshine, but, unfortunately for the ultimate good, too many of us treat them as casually as we do the warm rays of the sun, forgetting that only by storing the warmth of the sun do we stay warm during the cold of night. So must we store within us, by a proper adherence to them, the protection and strength of our credos, so that, come the cold nighttime of trial, we will not be found wanting in the elemental power which their words bespeak.

You and I, as Americans, are not the only people who work and live under the writings of creeds. A constant reminder to a leader of communism in New York City is a placard across his desk that says "A world to win." This glaring creed tells that Communist that his aims are not bound by the corner drugstore or the next street, but that the world must be won. No job is too trivial, no time too long, no risk too great for him and his comrades as they pursue the dedicated task of the Communist, which is to win the world.

Why this devotion? They have been wise enough to their mad hatred of Christ to steal for their own foul purposes His command "Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature." They have taken this basic instruction and they are using it against the very ideal that gave it to us: "Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

When we do this, as Americans, then I suggest that peace will come. Yet, you might ask, "Where do I start? The world is a big place and I am but one." If that is your question, then it is only proper that we start with ourselves by making sure that we know the tune as well as the words of our objectives of life.

Words alone are not the fullness of the objectives; there is a tune of meaning behind them, so the tune alone will not suffice. The 2 must be 1 and, as we recite our objectives, our mottoes, our beliefs, or our creeds there must be in our hearts the full music of understanding and love and devotion to them, or else we say empty words and we lead neither ourselves nor our friends into belief and following.

The end result of a wordless belief is illustrated by the story of the Pied Piper of Hamlin, who, by playing a tune on his flute, lured all the rats of that city into the death that came with their plunge into the sea. They followed blindly, neither knowing nor caring why. It was a pretty tune, friends they knew were in the vanguard, so they joined in also, to their sad regret. The Pied Piper had no words or reason to offer, only his lilting flute, but he was successful, for they followed who only cared for the tune.

Let me burden you with another illustration. Mark Twain carried the doubtful reputation of being quite profane. His wife was greatly disturbed by this disagreeable leaning and tried in vain for years to cure her husband of it. She tried the pleasant approach and the harsh approach, both of which wives are masters of, but to no avail. Then one morning she put into operation the attack at which she had long worked—Mark had cut himself while shaving, and had gone into a long and garish dissertation, fully embellished by foul oaths, on the distatefulness of shaving. His wife entered the bathroom during the tirade, and when it had finished she looked him calmly in the eye and repeated in exact order every foul oath he had used. Mark smiled at her, at the completion of this approach, and said beningly, "Honey, you have all the words but you haven't got the tune."

To further answer the question "What can I do?," I will put a question to you first concerning this great organization to which you and I pay tribute tonight. Do you want to be a Rotarian? Not just a dues payer or one who attends meetings, but do you really want to be a Rotarian enough to live the meaning of Rotary? Are you willing to live your daily lives so that the people of the world will hear and understand the words and music of Rotary's great objective of service. Stated as the first of the six objectives of Rotary is "the ideal of service as the basis of all the worthy enterprises," and the word "service" appears in four of the remaining objectives of this club.

In fact, we call Rotary a service club, and not without reason. We look to you for service as a unit of our local and international society, but service as a unit or a club does not carry out your individual responsibilities to your accepted creed. To be only a part of it is not enough. It must also be a part of you, for service to man, service to Christianity, and service to your country are the words and music which you and I must preach to the world if free men, Christianity and our country are to survive and, in the survival, stamp out the evil alternative to these, which is communism.

True service is not for one's self. It becomes an unconscious acceptance of our responsibilities to one another and an automatic doing of those things which will be of service to our brothers. Service goes out to all, wherever we see it needed. Unlike the signal station attendant who saw a trainload of commuters stalled in deep snow and did nothing about it because, as he said, "It was not in my territory," it goes out without question or hesitation.

It is easy to lose sight of the true meaning of service and to live exclusively for ourselves and to be interested in service only when it serves us. This habit of forgetting that we are our brothers' keepers is one of the major wrongs of the world today. Shakespeare said something about it when he wrote: "That, sir, which serves and seeks for gain, and follows out for form, will act when it begins to rain, and leave thee in the storm."

We see in service, then, a fundamental creed that not only Rotarians, but all of us must accept if we are to approach our full obligations as Christian citizens of a free Republic. As one who is not a Rotarian, I salute your organization for making the words and the music of service available to so many thousands of men all over the world. Now, if they all really want to be Rotarians, and if those of us who are not want earnestly to emulate you in your decision, then all of us will, together, reap the blessings of this objective.

Having assumed a readiness for service and an understanding of its true unselfishness, we must now go two steps further for its full meaning. In addition to serving men by being our brother's keeper, there is also the responsibility of service to God. This does not mean just service to your church by attendance, or service to your church by donation of your time or money, but it means service to the teachings of God.

Here, again, I will counter your question, "What can I do?" with another question: Do you really want to be a Christian? It isn't hard to be a good one. It merely requires a desire to live by the teachings of the Lord and to practice what we preach.

It's as simple as that, and when you and I have the words and the music of His teachings in our hearts, so that they are reflected in our daily lives, then we will be serving God in the truest sense. "Love thy neighbor as thyself," "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" is the creed or objective of Christian living, and it is a creed subscribed to by everyone. Unfortunately, however, it is one that it not practiced devoutly by each person as an individual. Do you want to be a Christian? The answer rests within you and your willingness to be of service to the Christian cause.

As I indicated earlier in my discussion with you, there are three questions that come to mind when we think of the word "service" in connection with our lives. These have not been developed tonight in their natural or normal order because, if they had, I would first have asked you, "Do you want to be a Christian?" Then I would have asked you the question that will come next, "Do you want to be an American?" and lastly I would have asked you, "Do you want to be a Rotarian?" Inasmuch, though, as the creed of Rotary brought the word "service" into tonight's discussion, I purposely started with the question concerning your willingness to assume all of its responsibilities.

I followed that with questions directed at your acceptance of the responsibilities involved in being of service to God, and my third, and final, question is directed at your willingness to assume the full responsibilities to being an American. If you live up fully to the responsibilities of being a Christian and being a Rotarian, then I suggest to you tonight that you will find it easy to live up to the full qualifications called for in an answer to the question "Do you want to be an American?"

Here, again, we must search for a basic objective or creed—we must find it out and understand it, so that we may know fully that which we pledge ourselves to serve. When one thinks of being an American one immediately thinks of the word freedom. One is constantly reminded of the blessings of this freedom: our ability to meet as we meet tonight and to discuss any issue that we care to discuss; our ability to print on the pages of our newspapers and in the chapters of our books words that we know might be disagreed with, but words that we know we will not be punished for printing. We associate freedom with our ability to go to the church of our choice. We associate freedom with our method of business, which we call the free enterprise system. We associate freedom with our ability to travel any place that we can or care to in this broad land of ours, and we associate freedom with our friends—our unrestricted ability to make them or to lose them according to our actions, and not the actions or choice of some dictator.

We associate freedom with all of those things, but do we stop often enough to ponder the source of that freedom, because in the recognition of the source of that freedom is the basic difference between our Republic and all of the governments of history that have come and gone before us. When people came to our shores from Europe, over 200 years ago, they did not come seeking wealth because they left wealth at home. They did not come seeking education because they came to a land devoid of schools from lands that were rich in educational institutions. Rather, they came seeking relief from the oppression of tyranny, and not long after they came they began to realize that the freedom which they sought was not to be obtained from the strength of material things, from the strength of armies and money, but instead, from the strength of something that had never been recognized.

We slowly began to feel the great strength of freedom, but here we differed from other people in history who struggled to their various victories, to their brief moments of freedom. We, through the strength our people had in their great belief in God and their willingness to serve God, realized that we would not become free because of arms or physical might, but that we would become free only when we knew and believed that our freedoms came from God and that we were the free children of God. When that realization came, our wise forefathers worked out on paper those ideals of government which they pledged themselves to serve and which they served so well. For the first time in the history of man's free search for government the answer was found by people who recognized the source of their freedom. Those men wrote in the Declaration of Independence "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

This, then, expresses the basic ideal or credo of our Government. On these wonderful words has been constructed this great Nation of free people. On the adherence to these ideals depends our future as free people. I might suggest, also, that on our adherence to these ideals and to the daily living of these ideals, depends the freedom of the world. Without them we become but another government waiting for the sands to run their sure course through the glass of time. With them we remain forever the only government in history to have found the real source of freedom. By living them we become the beacon light that will guide the oppressed of the Communist world to the freedoms of our life. We must show them by our willingness to serve our ideal, by our belief in our ideals, and by our constant practice of them that we have a vision which they can share.

That, then, becomes your challenge as you answer the question "Do you want to be an American?" To put it simply, it means that you must be as convincingly and as constantly willing to serve our ideals of government as you are to serve the ideals wrapped up in your religion and in Rotary. We must, by our actions, show the darkened world that light and freedom still live. It is a rich challenge, one that man has never before been presented with, because never before has the concept of government been based on the idea that freedom springs from God. It is a thrilling challenge because, by accepting it, we can help change the world from a place of distrust and oppression to a place of trust and freedom. It is a dutiful challenge, for we owe it to our children to live by these ideals so that this which we have might be passed on to them in the clearness with which we received it.

When we talk of service in connection with our country we are too prone to associate that word only with serving the Nation in time of trouble, such as many of you men and women have done during the wars of this Nation. Yet, the kind of service that will maintain this free Republic, and cause it to grow to even greater heights in the years to come, is not confined just to the wearing of the uniform. It applies to our everyday responsibilities, to their perpetuation of our basic ideals of government.

Remember the Communist credo: "A world to win." Remember that communism does not recognize God, so that communism cannot recognize a government whose source of strength stems from the freedom of God. Remember that communism works 24 hours a day to destroy that which is yours and mine. So when we speak of service in connection with our Republic, we speak of service 24 hours a day—the dedicated task of being an American.

Still you say "What can I do? I am only one." Let me start to answer that question by reminding you of what has been said, "The greatest strength of those dedicated to evil lies in the indifference of those dedicated to good." While the good people have been taking care of themselves, the wrongdoers have been taking care of everyone else. We can just as truthfully say that bad politics are caused by good citizens who don't vote.

So, what can you do? Start now to see that in your next municipal or State or national election the dismal record of voter apathy is changed. Start with yourself by registering. Your party affiliation is not important because the majority of America has usually been right, but register yourself and encourage your friends and employees to do so as well.

During a hearing I recently sat through, a witness made what I think to be a very pertinent and timely remark. He said, in the course of the discussion, that he thought we had "been Americans too long." What he inferred by that, of course, was that we, as American citizens, accept all the pleasures and wondrous things that our freedom gives us, but we pay little attention to what can take that freedom from us. It is an amazing and frightening criticism of our bland acceptance of this freedom when we realize that we, as citizens, will fight and die for our Republic, we will pay taxes to keep it going, we will give our blood for our soldiers, but, when it comes down to the question of voting, the question of working at this business of being free, it actually takes a major catastrophe, a revolution, to arouse the American people to the point that they will exercise their franchise. Freedom has never been something that was designed for lazy or indifferent people. It requires a constant dedication, a constant willingness to serve its basic principles if this freedom is to survive.

That, though, is only the first part of this challenge to you in seeking your willingness to serve your America. Voting is not enough. There are other things in the political fields that you can do to serve your country well, and American businessmen must recognize this and be willing to expand their fields of service to include them. There is the active arena of political life, where you engage, either at the precinct level, the district level, or the State level, as an active, working member of your party, or even go a step further and become a candidate for public office.

Remember, though, that in this area the enemies of our Republic not only want but seek the opportunity to serve their army of rottenness in any capacity for which that army calls them. Theirs is an army of vigilance—ours must also be an army of vigilance. Our Army, however, will be vigilant in its dedication to the basic concepts of our freedom, while theirs cannot be dedicated to this same cause because their philosophy does not recognize the existence of God.

It is obvious that there is a relationship between these three fields of service which we have discussed tonight. The relationship is carried through by one concurrent recognition in all fields, and that is that to serve each well one must carry a faith in his God and a willingness to perform His work. In service in these three fields we find a great strength in a common song that has at the same time meaningful words and a purposeful tune.

It is good that this exists, because today as we sail this great ship of freedom through the dark and uncharted seas, we can be reminded of the cruise of Greek mythology that sailed the oceans of that day. You will recall that, as the ships came upon a certain part of the sea, they could hear strange and wonderful voices coming from the shoreline—voices of enticement, voices that spoke of great promise—and the ships would turn from their course and head toward these dark shores. They they would be wrecked upon the uncharted shoals and reefs from whence these voices of the sirens came, and it seemed that no ship's crew could forego the temptation to seek the source of these songs. One skipper plugged the ears of his sailors and then tied his hands to the mast, but he could hear the songs and he directed the ship to its sure course of destruction.

It remained, though, for one Greek skipper to solve this, Orpheus. He was a man possessed of a marvelous voice and he sang a strong and meaningful tune, and as he approached the dangerous part of these seas he began to sing, and he sang in such a loud and wondrous way that the voices of the sirens were drowned out and his ship passed that place safely and sailed on out into the broad seas.

We can liken that story of Greek mythology to our present day, when our ship, sailing as it is through the sea of life, is tempted to deviate from its true course of freedom to investigate the tunes of socialism and communism coming from the black shores that line this sea. If you and I know this great song of freedom, and if we are willing to serve man and to serve God and to serve our country by singing this song daily as we go through our lives, then I suggest to you that we can be as that one successful Greek ship, safe and secure in our passage through these trying times, and that we will emerge onto the great bright sea of freedom and move ahead in our journey through our free way of life.

South Carolina Day Address by Hon. Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, on February 20, the distinguished senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON] delivered a very interesting address at Valley Forge, in my State. I think his address should be generally read, and therefore I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ON SOUTH CAROLINA DAY AT THE GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL CHAPEL, VALLEY FORGE, PA., SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1955

Reverend Hart, ladies and gentlemen of the Washington Memorial Chapel, and friends, the invitation to participate with you in the South Carolina Day observance at this historic shrine so beloved by all Americans is both a pleasure and an honor. It is my lot to have been born near the site where the great Battle of Ninety-six was fought. The greater portion of my adult life has been lived almost within the shadow of Kings Mountain. Cowpens is only 10 miles away. Often from my window have I seen the monument to Gen. Daniel Morgan as the rays of the morning sun clothed it in spendor. These connections attach me by inheritance and sentiment to this place which we are privileged to honor today—Valley Forge.

The encampment here at Valley Forge 178 years ago has been, through the succeeding decades, of great and abiding significance to America. The example of personal sacrifice, privation, devotion, and fortitude of the men who weathered the storms here during the winter of 1777–78 is unparalleled in any other nation's struggle for freedom. The quality of men who were quartered in this valley tempered the mettle of the American Patriot. The zeal of the Patriot was here solidified into an unrelenting determination to proceed with the work at hand and persevere until victory should crown his efforts.

These Sunday commemorative services, assigned to each of our sovereign States, have a larger purpose than merely to recount the suffering and sacrifices of Washington and his Continental Army as they wintered in these surroundings: A review of Valley Forge also quickens within us a deeper sense of our personal obligations to God and country. By recalling the trials which were here met, and resolved by our forebears, we are inspired to a renewing of their high purposes. Except we approach these services in such a purposeful and dedicated attitude, we shall miss the sublime lessons of Valley Forge.

In his centennial address here, Dr. Henry Armit Brown reminded us that "a country is benefited by great actions only so long as her children are able to repeat them."

Not many years ago, the late Dr. Henry Nelson Snyder, president of my alma mater, Wofford College, in making reference to the Memorial Day services each year held at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery, repeated the same injunction in other words:

"Whenever a people forgets its worthy past, the day will come when it will not have a past worth remembering."

It is well, therefore, that we commune with the past, for we then may better appraise our heritage. As we revisit the springs which nourished our roots, we gird our loins for the present and fortify ourselves for the future.

It has been rather truthfully said that the American Revolution was won at Valley Forge. To this wooded and desolate winter retreat Washington gathered his half-defeated, half-naked, half-starved forces. It was fire-cake and water for breakfast, water and fire-cake for dinner. No battle was fought here. These valleys and hills were not the scene of any military triumph. What then are our special remembrances of this place? Not a military engagement involving technical skill, nor the valor and glory of men sacrificing their lives to cannon and bayonet. That was to come later. Valley Forge is etched indelibly in our memories because here it was that the spirit of the war for independence was rekindled and kept alive. Here the military skill of the army was developed to achieve the glorious victories ahead. Those who survived the encampment emerged as confident, well-drilled, and inspired soldiers—an army of intent, stouthearted, tenacious men with a will to win. And thus the clarion call to arms reverberated and reechoed throughout every colony. With clarity and unity of purpose, the American patriots redoubled their efforts. Moreover, it was here at Valley Forge that the adversity of want from within and evil conspiracies from without met their challenge. Here was born the steadfastness of purpose and will, during the darkest hours of the Revolution, in which the greatness of our Nation as a symbol of freedom was crystallized. At Valley Forge our brave men suffered, sacrificed, and endured that a newly born nation might live.

It is therefore appropriate that we set aside these days—these Sabbath days—for Representatives from our States to reflect in sober contemplation upon the participation of our fathers in the War for Independence. Ours is a great legacy, if we but pause to realize and revere it. Let us not be distracted by the glib tangents in some current writings whose authors lack a deeper appreciation of the significance of these surroundings and the history here made. No sacrifice is recorded in history comparable in magnitude to the trials and experiences at Valley Forge.

The soldiers were not given to much whining, but often glossed over their hardships, as did Richard Wheeler, who reassured his mother:

"We are very comfortable and are living on the fat of the land."

George Ewing modestly entered in his journal:

"Were I to describe the hardships and the difficulties we underwent, no person but those who were with us would credit my relation. Therefore, I choose to pass it over in silence."

Notwithstanding their heroic silence, the record is replete with accounts of the cruel suffering borne so valiantly by the American troops here. In a letter to Clinton of New York, General Washington said:

"Naked and starving as they are, we cannot admire enough the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery."

Lafayette in writing to a friend, said:

"The unfortunate soldiers were in want of everything: They had enther coats, hats, shirts, nor shoes. Their feet and legs froze till they had become almost black, and it was often necessary to amputate them. * * * The patient endurance of both soldiers and officers was a miracle which each moment served to renew."

Bitter indeed was the cup of which they drank at Valley Forge, but oh! how glorious the ideal which sustained and inspired them to ultimate victory! Dr. Brown stated the ideal thus:

"And here, in this place of sacrifice, in this vale of humiliation, in this valley of the shadow of death out of which the life of America rose regenerate and free, let us believe with an abiding faith that to them union will seem as dear and liberty as sweet and progress as glorious as they were to our fathers and are to you and me, and that the institutions which have made us happy, preserved by the virtue of our children, shall bless the remotest generation of time to come."

Let us, for a moment, get our historical setting in mind. Politically the Continental Congress began its meetings in Philadelphia in September of 1774. I shall refer to the Congress in more detail later. The tea-party episodes in Boston, Mass., and Charleston, S. C., had occurred in 1773. Militarily, the encampment followed Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill, and the forced evacuation from Boston of General Howe. The attack on Charleston, S. C., on June 28, 1776, had been repulsed by Colonel Moultrie. John Adams referred to this event as the first real victory of our land and naval forces in the Revolution. South Carolinians glory in the fact that 5,000 pounds of ammunition seized by their militia aided Washington in his siege of Boston. Washington made his successful retreat from New England and New York with his victory at Trenton and Princeton during the Christmas season of 1776. Then, with singular magnitude, followed the occupation of Philadelphia by the British under General Howe during the fall of 1777. Congress moved to Lancaster, settling later at Yorktown (now York), Pennsylvania. The news of the capture of Philadelphia had a depressing effect on our fortunes abroad. Our enemies were rallied. Our friends were stunned. But the sage admonition of Franklin softened the blow:

"Howe," he said, "had not captured Philadelphia;" rather, "Philadelphia has captured Howe."

Later events proved the truth of that sober reflection.

Having these events in proper focus, South Carolina is proud of her contribution to the dividends accruing from Valley Forge:

South Carolina was the first colony to organize and by formal act declare its freedom from Great Britain; in history little noted, representatives duly chosen from every district in South Carolina met in Charleston on January 11, 1775, and organized a provincial congress. On February 1, 1776, its delegates formalized a document declaring that South Carolina was no longer a province subject to the King of England, but "that she was now, by her own act, a free and independent State." At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of March 26, 1776, the members of the provincial congress declared themselves members of the General Assembly or Legislature of the State of South Carolina, with John Rutledge as president and Henry Laurens as vice president. The term "governor" came into official useage 3 years later.

Henry Laurens was born in Charleston, S. C., of Huguenot parents who theretofore proceeded from New York. He became a great leveling influence in the Continental Congress during the American Army's suffering at Valley Forge. Succeeding John Hancock as President of the Congress on December 1, 1777, he was a man of great Christian virtue and charity. He served without salary, working from 18 to 20 hours a day, though physically handicapped by a prolonged attack of gout and fever. He never complained, but rather compared his own physical discomforts as greatly less than those of the estimable leader and his men at Valley Forge. He once remarked that at least his sufferings were beside a fire, whereas the men and General Washington were on the cold ground with little straw and clothing to keep them warm. His son, John Laurens, as a colonel, became a valued and trusted aide to General Washington.

Through President Laurens' voluminous letters to his son, we find that Congress maintained the closest liaison with General Washington. When the conspiracy and intrigues of the day were bearing heavily on the cause of the Colonists, President Laurens, in writing to his son, said:

"In (Washington's ruin) would be involved the ruin of our cause. On the other hand, his magnanimity, his patience, will save his country and confound his enemies."

The estimate of President Laurens by John Adams is worthy of note. Adams makes reference also to the first great victory of the Revolution in Colonel Moultrie's preservation of Charleston. Having only a month's acquaintance with President Laurens, John Adams wrote his wife on August 19, 1777:

"I feel a strong affection for South Carolina for several reasons: (1) I think them as stanch patriots as any in America; (2) I think them as brave; (3) they are the only people in America who have maintained a post and defended a fort; (4) they have sent us a new Delegate whom I greatly admire, Mr. Laurens, their Lieutenant Governor, a gentleman of great fortune, great abilities, modesty, integrity, and great experience, too. If all the States would send us such men, it would be a pleasure to be here."

Daniel Roberdeau, of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, is credited with saying that President Laurens was a "worthy, sensible, and indefatigable gentleman."

Three great measures affecting the fortunes of the Colonies marked the contribution of South Carolina through the civil service of Henry Laurens as President of the Congress:

(1) The Treaty of Alliance with France;

(2) The conclusion of the proposals for the Articles of Confederation; and

(3) The rejection of the Proffer of Peace with Great Britain in 1778. (Peace without freedom and independence was unacceptable to Laurens.)

The Continental Congress is worthy of a moment of favorable historical recollection. Congress through the years—Continental, under the Articles of Confederation, and under the Constitution—became the whipping boy for all our ills except, possibly, the sudden changes in the weather. Some of the writers of that day failed to realize its origin, its loose association, and the utter lack of constitutional power. That error has been perpetuated by subsequent historians and commentators because of their failure to recognize that the Continental Congress should be immediately differentiated from the constitutional Congresses that have succeeded them.

The colonial governments in 1774, 1775, and 1776 were houses divided against themselves, a condition naturally to be found in colonial governments aspiring to self-determination. The call for a convention of the Continental Congress lacked constitutional or sovereign authority. The British authorities had dissolved the colonial legislatures, and our States had not yet been organized. The selected representatives were not invested by their constituencies with sufficient power to execute either the will of their constituencies or even their own. The Congress ruled more by persuasion and patriotic fervor for a common cause than by any set rules of delegated authority. Therefore, to assess such an association with blame is to overlook its lack of delegated powers. The high resolves passed by the Congress on October 14, 1774, were instrumental in unifying and consolidating the thoughts and actions of the Colonies.

A great historian (Dr. David Duncan Wallace) under whom I had the privilege of studying put it this way in his life of Henry Laurens:

"Moreover, the situation of the Congress at the best was precarious and difficult. Suddenly placed under the necessity of conducting a war, it was unsupplied with every power, authority, and resource for its task and could rely only on a steady sense of public duty in its constituents—a devotion which it was useless to expect. The war was conducted without any formal constitution, adequate authority, or orderly Government, and in the face of an apathetic or hostile party embracing probably a majority of the population. Yet, under difficulties almost beyond belief of a generation accustomed to well ordered institutions enjoying authority beyond derogation and supported by an ardent patriotism practically universal, the old Congress in one way or another kept the Government going and, with the aid of their great general and a handful of devoted patriots up and down the country, brought it to a successful termination and meanwhile performed a service for which they have received scant recognition in laying the permanent foundations of national administration which endure to this day. A Congressman had a difficult and thankless task, and those who performed it with ability and disinterested patriotism deserve a credit which they have not usually received. The earlier runners in a relay race have been forgotten in the shouts of acclamation for those of the later course who arrived bearing the torch of a completed constitutional system. The final runner could not take even his first step until the previous bearer of progress had arrived, and doubtless the first mile was as dusty and toilsome as the last."

In December of 1777, during the sojourn here at Valley Forge, the Congress consisted of only 14 Representatives. Eight Colonies had 1 representative each, 3 had 2, and 2 Colonies had none. Many of the able men of the day returned to their respective homes to strengthen their local governments. The First Congress met without an agenda. Their sessions were of necessity bound to secrecy. In the absence of constituted authority, a chief executive and departmental heads, it is a remarkable tribute to their common sense, ardent patriotism, and unity of purpose that the Continental Congress was able to carry on foreign affairs, raise an army, conduct a war, and bring it to a successful conclusion. Hence, I deprecate the rather general and unfounded criticism, often gratuitously and never rightfully heaped upon the achievements of the Continental Congress. Let us ever remember that the Congress then was and now is the only spokesman and the last resort in expressing the will of our people. Without such an elected, representative body, we drift aimlessly but certainly into the despotism of a one-man government or an oligarchy of tyrants. The meaning of Valley Forge becomes depreciated if we minimize the real worth of the representatives of the people of that day.

Slowly but in orderly succession the fruits of the sacrifices at Valley Forge appeared upon the American scene. Out of the darkness and despair of the suffering here, victory in time emerged.

From this crucible of hardship General Green was enabled to prepare the artillery and gather necessary supplies. General Von Steuben brought a knowledge of military science and tactics to our determined but untrained Continentals. The lesson of warfare learned and practiced here are reflected in the great result that followed. The first effects of such training appeared at Monmouth. After Savannah and Charleston had been taken by the enemy, important events followed closely in my native State. The strongholds of the enemy had been reduced to New York, Camden, and Charleston. Generals Green and Morgan were deployed to the South because it was there that the British hoped to divide our colonies and later conquer Washington's forces. The battles of Camden, Kings Mountain, Cowpens, and Guilford Court House forced Cornwallis to retire to Wilmington. This led Cornwallis to Yorktown, Va., and the surrender there on October 19, 1781, followed by the signing of the peace on November 30, 1782.

Incidents and events—small and large—form significant links in our chain of recollections of Valley Forge and contemporary happenings:

Henry Laurens fathered for a time the wounded Lafayette. He made him a personal loan of $6,000. Many years thereafter (1825) Lafayette laid the cornerstone of the monument to De Kalb at Camden, S. C.

Col. John Laurens in defense of the honor of his chief, challenged and wounded Gen. Charles Lee because of the latter's disregard of General Washington.

We recollect the capture of Henry Laurens by the British while he was en route to Holland as our ambassador. Laurens' value to our cause was illustrated in his exchange by the British for Lord Cornwallis, and confirmed by his appointment as one of our peace commissioners along with Franklin, Jay, Adams, and Jefferson. Edmund Burke commented in Parliament on the coincidence that Lord Cornwallis upon his surrender at Yorktown was held as prisoner in America by Colonel Laurens while the latter's father was imprisoned in the Tower of London, over which Lord Cornwallis held authority as constable.

History likens Col. John Laurens, the able son of Henry Laurens, to Alexander Hamilton. Being detached from Washington's headquarters and because of his fluent use of the French language he was made Special Minister to France to secure and expedite loans, ships, men and supplies. The several ships filled with supplies, money, men, and sinews of war were testimonials to his ability, zeal, and accomplishments. It will be of particular interest to you to recall that from the funds he brought back, $250,000 was used by Robert Morris, who with his associates added $150,000, to establish and capitalize the Bank of America at Philadelphia. The early and untimely death of Colonel Laurens, on August 27, 1782, on a completely unnecessary battlefield in South Carolina, was the occasion of much grief and a fine expression of regard from General Washington. The English poet, Day, in an epitaph for young Laurens, wrote:

"Beyond the rage of time or fortune's power, remain, cold stones, remain and mark the hour when youthful Laurens yielded up his breath and sealed his country's liberties in death. For injured rights he fell and equal laws the noble victim of a noble cause. Oh! May that country which he fought to save shed sacred tears upon his early grave."

Valley Forge had a great bearing on subsequent events in South Carolina. After Lord Cornwallis and Admiral Parker captured Charleston, they began to overrun the State. They met great resistance at the hands of our militia. General Gates lost Camden to Cornwallis. The riflemen of the State under Moultrie, Sumter, Pickens, Harden, Thompson, Marion, Hampton, and others together with some forces from North Carolina and Virginia under Generals Green and Morgan began a wearing-down process of Cornwallis' forces. He was defeated at Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780; Tarleton's forces were defeated at Cowpens in January 1781. These battles and those in North Carolina forced Cornwallis to Wilmington, whence he left to Yorktown, Virginia, where, as I have said, he surrendered to Washington.

History records 137 battles—large and small—fought in South Carolina; 103 of these were fought by her own troops, and in 20 major engagements other South Carolinians participated.

Turning the pages of history it is easy to recall that great events and noble achievements often are born in moments of seeming

despair and periods of depression and hardship. Traditional history relates that the great Homer was blind when he gave the world his Iliad and Odyssey, as was Milton when he wrote Paradise Lost. Dante, while suffering, produced his greatest works, and the music of Beethoven, much of which was written after he became completely deaf, will inspire the world as long as time lasts. Tennyson in the depth of his grief gave us the immortal In Memoriam. Historians credit Gen. Robert E. Lee with even greater stature achieved in his civil accomplishments following the War Between the States than for his brilliant exploits in battle. The French rose to their greatest heights at Verdun. Helen Keller has persevered despite deafness, blindness, and muteness to become a great crusader for others similarly afflicted. Dunkirk is too fresh in our minds for proper evaluation, but in all of these events we find that in periods of doubt and circumstances of greatest stress, men have arisen to their greatest stature. So it was with Washington, his brave generals, and the invincible soldiers at Valley Forge.

The feat of Sergeant Jasper at Charleston, S. C., had its sequel in the flag-raising at Iwo Jima. Such has been the history of the bravery, fortitude, and steadfastness of purpose of America and her fighting soldiers from the very beginning.

From the date of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765 in New York, of which John Rutledge, of South Carolina, was President, when the members were stirred by the plea of Christopher Gadsden, another South Carolinian, that "there ought to be no New Englanders, no New Yorkers known on the continent, but all of us Americans," and running through the services of those I have so briefly sketched, are found the indissoluble links that have bound our fate and fortune to Valley Forge. These events of such historic importance which you have given me the honor to relate today, happenings before and after the winter of 1777–78 and the events forged here, made possible the chain of successes that followed. We are the beneficiaries of the dividends from the despair of that fateful period in American history. May we never fail to recall them. Let us ever cherish them, teach our children to revere them. In a spirit of gratitude to a divine providence which has guided and multiplied our Nation's fortunes, let us all be thankful.

Shall the Tail Wag the Elephant?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, recently President Eisenhower summed up his program as being one of dynamic conservatism. Previously, he had characterized his thinking as progressively moderate. These two terms are typical of the Republican Party and its place in history. Historically, we have shunned extremes.

Mr. Kyle Palmer, political editor of the Los Angeles Times, writing in that newspaper on Sunday, February 20, 1955, has some interesting observations to make concerning the Republican Party. His comments should be required reading for all Republicans. His analysis of the leadership of the late Senator Taft as a statesman of moderate ideas rather than an extremist is something we should keep in mind today.

Senator Taft was a man who possessed the unerring ability to keep his eyes on the major goals and refused to be diverted by the day-to-day actions of the extreme right or left. Such is our job today to move ahead with President Eisenhower and moderation and pay no heed to extremists who would divide us. After all, there is only 1 America and 1 Republican Party.

The article follows:

SHALL THE TAIL WAG THE ELEPHANT?

(By Kyle Palmer)

If we are to judge from some recent unpleasantries between Republican leaders of differing views and intents, a fight is brewing for control of the Grand Old Party.

It is somewhat ironical that the party's family quarrel should be brought into the open in connection with various celebrations of the natal day of the GOP's generally acknowledged saint, Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln's birthday has become a traditional occasion for Republicans to point with pride at their own virtues while viewing the iniquities of the opposition with suitable alarm, just as the Democrats utilize the birth date of Andrew Jackson for a reverse process.

This year many dissident Republicans took occasion to depart from usage and turned the thunders of their wrath upon elements in their own party which they condemn for this or that departing from party regularity.

As one who generally finds himself disinclined to follow any leadership that swings to extremes—whatever the direction—I am disposed to feel that all this talk of recapturing the Republican Party is not a healthy thing.

The theory that absolute conformity to fixed political doctrine must be acknowledged if one is to remain respectably orthodox is an unsound surmise. First, because orthodoxy isn't necessarily consistently commendable, and, second, while we may recognize fixed truths and eternal verities, we can never be sure who holds or exemplifies them.

Not entirely.

Politics itself is not a fixed science, and it is in essence an application of influences that seek the greatest good for the greatest number. Which entails compromise between extremes and even, at times, between issues that may have virtually equal worth.

Thus, who is going to recapture the Republican Party from whom?

Political parties offer opportunities for the widest differences of opinion and conviction, but in the main have a central core of philosophy that binds the minds of men and women to a common purpose—not absolute, not inelastic, not always in complete harmony, but yet sufficiently cohesive to become propulsive and effective.

There are many interpretations of what is meant by Republican or Democrat, and an even broader category of those who make the interpretations.

Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah and Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY of Wisconsin were two of the Lincoln Day speakers who voiced a desire to "recapture" the Republican Party, each disclaiming any intention of leading or joining in a third-party movement.

But could anyone acquainted with the respective careers of Lee and MCCARTHY have confidence that they could agree for any length of time on what to recapture? Their first recapturing adventure would scarcely end before they'd become engaged in recapturing from each other.

Governor Lee is, without question, an excellent governor. He has firm ideas on government, most of them sound, but he is in no better position than JOE MCCARTHY to set himself up as one competent to set a fixed Republican pattern.

There is no such pattern. And a good thing there isn't.

For once a political party become hidebound, once its ideals and inspirations are static, the people will discard it.

Evolution rather than revolution is most likely to keep a political party robust, responsive to public ideals, and capable of carrying out the popular will.

Dwight Eisenhower, who is not a professional politician, and who has learned much of the game of politics—especially as it represents party politics—on a day-to-day basis, has not always struck just the right political note nor has he escaped making some of the blunders of a man who deals with those more adept in the profession than himself.

He has backed sometimes when he should have filied and filed when he might have been wise to back, but he has profited from his experiences, and his better understanding is and will be reflected in a stronger Republican Party if—and a very large "if"—he is not frustrated and thwarted by extreme GOP elements.

It is of course true that Mr. Eisenhower's power in politics is not menaced solely from the political right; he faces a like jeopardy from another extreme which, at all cost, would kick the so-called rightists out of the party and, in its turn, "recapture" what it regards as the true Republican spirit.

Neither side to that argument has any exclusive claim upon the Republican Party or Republicanism, and either, were it suddenly to become the arbiter of all that is Republican, would carry the party into the political ditch.

Torn between two such elements, the best attitude for Mr. Eisenhower to assume is that of Mercutio, who learned the folly of extreme partisanship the very hard way with a sword thrust in his gizzard and who, as he expired, invoked "a plague on both your houses."

It is revealing of the ineffectual position of both Republican extremes that the one continues to present its case as a prolongation of the leadership of Robert A. Taft while the other essays to condemn its opposite from the standpoint of a purely imagined and fictitious portrait of the late Ohio Senator. Neither is correct in its assumption.

Taft was never an extremist, had his convictions firmly rooted but never rootbound. He was capable of compromise without surrender, could see merit in an opponent's contention, never considered himself immune to miscalculation or mistakes.

By common consent he was known as "Mr. Republican." And this was not because of his assertion of infallibility but because of his readiness to reach sound and equitable adjustments.

He was much more moderate than many who gathered under the banner of his leadership. In the supreme test of his patriotism and statesmanship—which came after his convention defeat by Eisenhower and the later need by Eisenhower for his counsel and support—Taft set out neither to capture nor be captured. His purpose was to serve as best he could, and both in the interests of his country and his party he channeled his services through the mediums that offered or could be developed.

Taft's brand of Republicanism is now what the party most needs. No political leader in contemporary history tried harder than Taft to promote his ideas and his personal political fortunes, and none either in victory or defeat has demonstrated a greater readiness to place public welfare ahead of personal advantage.

Hence if there is to be any effort at recapture of the Republican spirit by those now displeased with what they perceive, some effort directed to the possibility of emulating the example of the great Ohioan could prove most salutary.

George Washington and the $20 Income Tax Reduction Scheme

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, today this House heard an excellent reading of the Farewell Address of our first President, George Washington, by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. KRAMER]. I congratulate him.

This is a traditional honor we pay to the founder of our country on the anniversary of his birth.

But it amounts to more than that. What George Washington said in that address amounts to a lot of good common sense on how to run a country. We rear a lot of foolishness in this chamber from time to time and I presume whoever thought up this custom of reading the Farewell Address each year had in mind that such an annual air conditioning would do us some good.

Certainly, this year it could not have come at a better time considering the fact that we are shortly to commence debate on the politically frank and obvious $20 income tax scheme measure.

Now I ask you, my colleagues, isn't it pretty clear what George Washington would say about the thing if he were here today?

Listening to his beautifully worded Farewell Address leaves little doubt he'd go out after it like a mongoose after a cobra.

My only question is what kind of language would he use. It's my guess it would be a lot less formal than the style he used for the Address.

But he isn't here so we have to look to the Farewell Address.

This is what Washington says about the politics involved in this scheme by the Democratic Party to woo millions of votes by putting an extra $20 bill in each of their pockets:

> The common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration.

As I read the foregoing in light of the $20 scheme, Washington would regard the partisan political purpose behind it as a mischief which sidetracks the Congress from its duty of providing good government for the people of the United States. It would, in fact, weaken the Government of the United States. Further, according to Washington, the people of this country in their wisdom ought to discourage such goings on.

Next, let us take a look at what the Father of our Country has to say about the finances involved:

> As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing on posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear.
>
> The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant.

As I read the foregoing in light of the $20 scheme, Washington would abhor it. He says to have a regard for the amount of our public debt. Sure, spend money to meet emergencies, but when the emergency is over, get rid of the debt; do not saddle it on your children and your children's children. And do not forget, unpleasant as they are, taxes are the only way of paying for the expenditures of government.

There, my colleagues, you have the wisdom on this subject of a man much more versed in the intricacies of government than most of us.

But even George Washington was somewhat dubious as to whether or not you would heed it. In the closing portions of his Farewell Address he had this to say:

> In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our Nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit * * * this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

As I read the foregoing in light of the $20 scheme, even though Washington mentions the expectation that his advice "may be productive of some partial benefit," I think in this instance he would expect us to do more than cut it down to $10. I think he would expect us, in this situation where there is a choice between doing what is right for a political party and doing what is right for our country, to have the wherewithal to choose to do what is right for our country.

Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, our colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. UTT] has reported to his constituents on the so-called Dixon-Yates contract. I wish to include in the RECORD at this point the gentleman's statement which is short, lucid, and points up the real facts surrounding this issue which has become the subject of unnecessary controversy.

The report follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JAMES B. UTT)

I am impelled to make a few simple remarks about the Dixon-Yates contract because it is being used by some as a symbol of evil. It is the bone of contention in the fight of the Socialists to destroy private enterprise. They use it as the offsetting answer to everything that is good. You make the casual remark that inflation has been stopped, and the cost of living is down. The reply is, "Yes, but how about Dixon-Yates?" You continue, "The national income is going up and taxes are coming down." Again the reply is, "Yes, but how about Dixon-Yates?" That reply has become so universal that if you were talking to Chou En-Lai and said, "It is a violation of the Korean Armistice for you to hold our prisoners," he would say, "Yes, but how about Dixon-Yates?"

POWER REQUIREMENTS

Some background is necessary in order to understand how the contract came into existence. The Atomic Energy Commission is the largest single user of electric energy in the United States, and by far the largest customer of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The TVA came to Congress a few years ago and said that by 1957 they would be short of power by some five or six hundred thousand kilowatt-hours. The AEC has first call on energy, and private users would have to be rationed. They asked for $100 million of Federal money to build a steam plant at Fulton, 25 miles north of Memphis, which is nearly 100 miles outside of the Tennessee Valley watershed. Three times Congress refused to appropriate this money as the locale was not within the jurisdiction of TVA.

The Director of the Budget suggested that it might be feasible to find some private industry to supply this anticipated shortage. TVA has long been unable to supply the AEC with needed energy at the Paducah atomic-energy plant, as witness the fact that the Commission under the Truman administration negotiated two contracts for private supplies, three times in excess of the current subject contract. These contracts were negotiated without any of the sound and fury which accompanies the Dixon-Yates negotiations, even though the energy charge was slightly higher than the one now contemplated.

NO GIVEAWAY

The Government can cancel these contracts on 3 years' notice, and the private companies would then have to find a market for the surplus energy so canceled out. This in itself would be no small task. Due to the possibility of cancellation, it was felt that it would not be feasible to concentrate additional power around Paducah, which could not be absorbed by other customers, but that any additional energy should be generated at a point which, if cancellation should come, the supplier could find a reasonable ready market for the energy.

It was felt that a plant located near Memphis could be built, and the energy exchanged with TVA to cover its growing shortage. The AEC would exchange kilowatt for kilowatt with TVA. The contract provides that the Government can buy the Dixon-Yates plant at any time, or can cancel at any time. Here I should say that Dixon and Yates are just names. Each is the head of a large going public utility in the area, and the two companies formed the Mississippi Generating Co. to finance the project which has an estimated cost of $107 million. One hundred

million would come from bonds and notes, and the balance would be the risk capital supplied by the two parent companies.

The contract provides a ceiling on what they can earn, but no floor. There is no guaranteed income. The ceiling is less than the national average for public utilities. The energy charge will be less than TVA now charges the AEC at its Oak Ridge plant, if you eliminate the tax factor. And speaking of taxes, it should be noted that the taxes paid by private electric utilities for local, State, and Federal taxes in the United States average 44 percent of the gross income from sale of energy, and while TVA claims to pay taxes, they amount to only 4 percent of their gross income from energy sales.

SOCIALISM OR FREE ENTERPRISE

The question arises: Are the people of this country going to support the Government, or is the Government going to support the people? The attack on the Dixon-Yates contract is not based upon facts, it is a diversionary action, while the real attack is against private enterprise. The Socialist plan is for government ownership of all capital. Public power is the spearhead of this drive, and because it is the easiest segment of industry to nationalize, the Socialists cannot afford to let the Dixon-Yates contract go unchallenged, even though it would supply the shortage of energq, encourage private industry, and save the Government from borrowing another $100 million.

I am glad that the President is standing firm on the issue in spite of the attacks. The opponents have done a potent job of obscuring the provisions and purposes of the contract and we who support private enterprise should be just as effective in presenting the facts in their true light.

The United States Army and Army Installations in Alabama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on the 21st of January of this year Hon. Frank H. Higgins, Assistant Secretary of the Army, delivered a most interesting and informative address before the State Press Association of Alabama, which was meeting in its annual convention at Huntsville, Ala. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE FRANK H. HIGGINS BEFORE THE STATE PRESS ASSOCIATION OF ALABAMA, HUNTSVILLE, ALA., JANUARY 21, 1955

Ladies and gentlemen, I am indeed happy to be here tonight and am very grateful for the opportunity to speak to you as a group—a group that is such an important segment of one of our great democratic institutions—the American press.

I want to talk to you tonight about your Army and your Army in Alabama. However, before I do, I would like to make an observation which I feel is particularly appropriate.

In the British Parliament, you often hear the expression, "Her Majesty's loyal opposition." The last two words of this expression can be applied to the description of the relationship of the press and the Army. Those of us, all down the line, that are charged with the management of your Army are human and, therefore, are not infallible. Yes; we've made some mistakes, and we'll probably make others.

It is not expected that you will be in agreement with us on every detail of every subject—nor would we want it that way. When the press praises us, we feel good about it. We are concerned when we are criticized; but this is good, and that's the way it should be, for the probing finger of the press sometimes points to an error or a wrong which, of course, we all are anxious to set right. Let me add that there may have been times when the Army has been unjustly criticized, and naturally we don't like that.

But—and this is the point I want to make—if you begin with the assumption that your Army and its management are sound, although not infallible, we can reach a point in our dealings—and I believe we have reached this point—where we can refer to the American press as our loyal opposition. This, to me, expresses the real value and strength of our relationship, from which stems the great power of the press.

Since I went to Washington, I have been particularly impressed by those many things that the Army does, in peacetime, which result in many benefits to all of us and to our Nation. Many of us look upon the Army as a highly specialized fighting machine, costly to maintain, and useful only to fight wars. We overlook, or perhaps have not been given an opportunity to look on the other side, so to speak, of the Army; those things that the Army is doing and has done for our Nation besides defend it.

American history is replete with examples of such activities which have contributed to the continuing growth and expansion of our great Nation. But, before I talk of those contributions made by the Army from which all of us as a Nation have benefited, let's take a very specific look at the Army in Alabama today.

Located in Alabama, from Theodore in the south to Huntsville in the north, the Army has 7 installations, comprising more than 170 thousand acres, at a real property cost of over $291 million.

These seven installations are Fort McClellan, Camp Rucker, Anniston Ordnance Depot, Theodore Ammunition Loading Terminal, Alabama Ordnance Works, Phosphate Development Works and, here in Huntsville, Redstone Arsenal.

In Army installations and activities in Alabama there are over 13,000 civilian personnel employed, and over 9,100 military personnel, with a payroll of $85 million a year. So the importance of Alabama in the Army's plan is pretty obvious.

Now that I have given you a brief rundown of what the Army has in Alabama today, let us examine a few of these installations more closely, and see just what they are.

Let us take Camp Rucker first. Camp Rucker was a World War II training camp. It was the home of the 66th Infantry Division, and trained thousands of infantry replacements during World War II. It also trained many nondivisional, battalion-sized units of engineers, tank destroyers, 4.2 chemical mortars, and heavy artillery. After the war, it became the home of the 47th Infantry Division.

Last year the time had come to find a new home for the Army Aviation School then located at Fort Sill, Okla. Because of economy measures, our choice was limited to already existing Army installations. We had to meet all of the many basic requirements for operating an aviation school, and at the same time find a place where we would have to make minimum changes and additions in construction; and where manpower and operating fund requirements would be at a minimum. We considered every feasible installation, and we chose Camp Rucker because it met, to the greatest degree, all of the varied requirements.

The move of the Army Aviation School to Camp Rucker has not been completed, but we plan to finish it by June 30. You see, it is very difficult to move the school in toto and still meet our training requirements; but as rapidly as present classes are graduated, and requirements on equipment and personnel decrease at Fort Sill, the move to Camp Rucker will be completed. We expect that all elements of the school now at Sill will be at Rucker to start the new training year beginning in July of this year.

At Camp Rucker we anticipate that the number of military and civilian personnel, including the aviation school faculty and students, will total approximately 5,000 people during fiscal year 1956. In addition to the Army Aviation School, plans are now being made to station other types of units at Camp Rucker, so as to use the installation and its facilities to the maximum. There is little doubt as to the importance of the economic benefits that will accrue to the surrounding community as a result of the activities at Camp Rucker.

Another historic military installation in Alabama in Fort McClellan, just outside of Anniston. Alabama's sons in World War I and World War II were trained there. It stands today as the home of two major Army activities: the Chemical Corps School and the Women's Army Corps Center.

Since June 30, 1949, the Army has completed construction of almost $9 million worth of facilities at Fort McClellan; and, in addition, there are more than $10 million worth of facilities now under construction. There are over 5,400 military personnel, both men and women, stationed at Fort McClellan, with over 900 civilian personnel working on the post.

At Childersburg we have the Alabama Ordnance Works, which produces smokeless powder, TNT, tetryl, and other explosives for the Army. A portion of this plant is being rehabilitated, and the investment will be approximately $46 million. Construction, we hope, will begin sometime in April.

Somewhere in the neighborhood of 2,000 people will be employed there. This will mean considerable benefit to the economy of the local area.

Now let me tell you a little bit about the Redstone Arsenal. Redstone was a Chemical Corps manufacturing arsenal during World War II. Now it is the heart of the Army's guided missile and rocket research and development program. This arsenal is responsible for research, development, and procurement for manufacturing in the field of guided missiles and rockets for the Army—a highly important installation.

Although its principal business is the research and development of rockets and guided missiles, Redstone has other activities. It is the home of the Ordnance Corps Guided Missile School, which is charged with the troop training for all guided missile organizations. The production lines of Redstone's ammunition division are now in operation for the loading and assembling of components into a finished round of conventional ammunition.

The Army has spent $7½ million on expansion and rehabilitation projects at Redstone. Expenditures for projects currently underway total $27 million. And within the bounds of its 10 by 12 mile area, more than 7,100 people, civilians and military, are employed.

I have discussed briefly with you, in a statistical sort of way, some of the Army's activities in Alabama. Before I leave the subject, I feel I should quote two more very important figures, and these are in addition to all the things which we have been discussing so far: From July 1952 through September 1954, the Army placed 934 pro-

curement actions in the State of Alabama, for a dollar value of $172.6 million.

So far tonight, I have been talking primarily in terms of the economic benefits that stem directly from your Army's activities now, during peacetime. These are the "extra dividends," in the sense that we have the defensive strength that our Army provides—and of course we cannot have that without paying for it. But some of that investment comes back to us in the economic benefits I have just mentioned. This is a part of the "other side" of the Army.

Now I would like to go back in history a little, and cite a few other examples of these "extra dividends" we get from our Army in peacetime that benefits our whole Nation. The benefit to you or me may be felt only indirectly in the raising of our standard of living and making our way of life so much better, but they are still important examples of the tremendous contribution your Army makes to the everlasting greatness of this country.

One of the earliest of these examples occurred in 1803, when an expedition of Army volunteers, under Captains Lewis and Clarke, conducted explorations which were later to bring American civilization to the great Northwest. For the next half century, the Army assisted our forefathers in their westward expansion. It conducted nearly all of the preliminary explorations. The Army constructed roads and trails to the West. It built bridges and canals. It conducted surveys and prepared maps.

The need of our new Nation for engineers became acute. There were no schools to train them. The first technical school established in America was the Military Academy at West Point; which, at that time, was created to train engineers. Early West Point graduates were called upon to do many jobs for our expanding Nation—mineral exploration, railroad construction, surveying, and the development of our waterways.

The civil works program of the Army engineers is a tremendous, never-ending mission: In Washington, the engineers had charge of building the Capitol, the Library of Congress, the Post Office Building, the Government Printing Office, the Washington Monument, the Department of Agriculture Building, and the Pentagon—the largest office building in the world.

So far, Army engineers have opened up, or improved, 27 thousand miles of inland and intracoastal waterways. Dams constructed under the supervision of the Army engineers now protect over 4½ million people, and 26 million acres of farmland, from devastating floods. And 2½ million kilowatts of power are now being generated by these dams.

The building of the Erie Canal; the cutting of the Panama Canal; the development of Ohio River navigation stand high among the accomplishments of the Army engineers. And as many of you know, the engineers have now been called upon to assist in the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway.

Another quite different service to which our daily lives and fortunes are geared, had its beginning in the Army. In 1870, Congress directed the Army to organize the first weather bureau. The Army was required to take meteorological observations throughout the country, and warn the Great Lakes and coast sections of the approach of storms. This first organization of a weather service on a national scale was handled by the Army's Signal Corps.

Upper-air sounding devices, recently developed by the Army, have contributed in a major way to improved weather forecasting. But perhaps the greatest military assistance to civilian weather knowledge is in the area of severe storm and hurricane warnings. Military weather reconnaissance missions assist the civilian forecasting services in following and forecasting these storms and hurricanes.

Now a joint group, with military and Weather Bureau participation, has been established to study the characteristics of severe storms and hurricanes; and to find out how to pool our knowledge more effectively, so that the forecasting of hurricanes can be improved.

In the field of medicine, the Army has made many outstanding contributions. The accomplishments of Maj. Walter Reed and Maj. William Gorgas, of the Army Medical Corps, top an impressive list of these notable contributions. The first typhoid vaccine in the United States was made by the Army Medical School. Smallpox vaccination was introduced in this country by an Army medical officer. The first apparatus using chlorine gas in the purification of water was developed by another Army medical officer. And now, to defeat one of man's oldest enemies, the Army Medical Corps has developed primaquine—to cure malaria.

The Army's vital need for lightweight metals of great tensile strength—for equipment used in airborne operations, for example, provided stimulus to the development of metals which are strong, lightweight, corrosion-resistant, such as magnesium, aluminum, and titanium alloys now used in commercial products.

Many other benefits, difficult to visualize, accrue to all of us in the metal products we use daily—they are made better, with better materials, and they last longer, because of the contributions made in the field of metallurgical techniques by the Army Ordnance Corps.

Our transportation industry is watching very closely a development project of the Army's Transportation Corps. This project is called containerization. Army materiel is placed in steel cargo containers, which move intact through the transportation system from originating depot in the United States to using depot overseas. These standard steel containers measure roughly 7 feet on a side, and can be used over and over again. The adoption of this containerization program on a broadening scale by the military will effect economies by simplifying documentation; the reduction of loss, damage, and pilferage; and, in the case of overseas shipping, the elimination of expensive export packing.

The Army Quartermaster Corps has always been high among the organizations contributing extra bonuses to our country. Gen. Nathanael Greene, the Quartermaster General during the Revolutionary War, started this trend. He set up a system of Army warehouses which was the forerunner of modern warehousing methods. Our entire complex economy depends upon the efficient system of distribution that started then.

In the Seminole Indian War, the Army needed a waterproofed outer garment. The Quartermaster Corps impregnated a light cotton coat with gutta percha—and that was the first raincoat.

Until the war between the States, practically all clothing was either tailored-to-order ,or made in the home. But during that war the Army Quartermaster Corps set up the first system of mass-producing ready-made clothing. We all know the importance of the multi-million-dollar industry—which was created then.

I hope you have noticed a very significant factor in the things I have been telling you about our Army. In the early days of our history, the Army performed a variety of civilian-type functions for our Government and for our people. But as our dynamic American way of life evolved and developed, all of those civilian-type functions were shifted elsewhere—out of the military. Our Army has concentrated on the tasks that relate specifically to the accomplishment of its military mission.

All of the civilian-type "dividends" we are now receiving from the Army are by-products of work that is being carried on for purely military purposes, with one exception: that exception, of course, is the civil-works program handled by the Army Engineers. Here, direct work for primarily civilian purposes goes on. But in this case, the Nation draws significant military strength from the arrangement, and this makes the exception worthwhile.

In peacetime, our military construction program is very minor. Yet when mobilization comes, one of the very first things we need is a large and effective organization for carrying on urgent military construction. By having the Army engineers handle our civil-works program in peacetime, when war comes we already have an extensive construction organization in being, which is fully integrated with the Army, and which can be instantly switched from the execution and supervision of public works programs to the execution and supervision of military construction programs. This was a life-saver in World War II, and if a third world war should come, it is impossible to calculate its importance.

Now, most of the "extra dividends" I have been talking about tonight are fairly tangible and material. But before I sign off here, I want to mention one more dividend we civilian Americans get from the military Americans in this Army of ours.

Often, in our home communities, we have spoken about some young man to the effect that—"He should join the Army. It would be good for him. It would make a man of him." Like most of our folk sayings, this is based on something sound.

Naturally our sons, and brothers, and our daughters' husbands, will gripe while they are in the service—and try to impress us with how tough things are. That's only human. But when you sit down and talk seriously with them, they will tell you that their stint in the Army broadened their horizons, and matured them, and made much more responsible citizens of them than they would have been without it.

The Army chaplains and our character guidance programs, and our information and education activities help, of course. But when the chips are down, what the young man is made of—will show through.

Some of the young people who have been through the toughest circumstances in their military service will tell you that—if a person is made of the right stuff—he will benefit from living with other people, and shouldering new problems, and adjusting himself to the different phases of Army life.

So this is the final "extra dividend" I wanted to mention tonight. This is the one that we can never measure in dollars and cents. But it is a "dividend" which contributes importantly to the strength and maturity of our Nation.

I hope that you have found this look at the Army's "other side" interesting. And I hope that the next time you pay your taxes, you will find comfort—not only in the knowledge that some of your money is being invested in the building of a strong Army to defend your home, your family, and your freedom—but also in the knowledge of these other ways in which the Army serves you in time of peace, with the same dedication that it serves you in time of war.

And I want you to remember too, that the things I have been talking about tonight are extra dividends. We receive regular dividends from the Army—not only when it is actively engaged in winning wars, so that we may retain our freedom and our way of life—but every day of our lives, simply through the sense of security which we enjoy because we have the Army.

Try to imagine, just for a moment, what it would be like if we had no Army. Try to imagine that the professional soldiers who have dedicated their lives to the defense of the Nation have vanished; and that we have lost, along with them, all their military skills and knowledge. Our military equipment is

gone, and our supplies and facilities have vanished. There isn't an American soldier anywhere in the world. Then remember the news as you printed it in your papers today, as you saw it on television, as you heard it over the radio.

Now, if you will give that imaginary picture just a moment to sink in, I think you will be inclined to agree with me—that we have never made, and never will make, a better dividend-paying investment than when we pay our share toward the maintenance of our Army.

Thank you.

Lincoln Day Address by Governor of Idaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY C. DWORSHAK

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a Lincoln Day address delivered by the Governor of Idaho at Pocatello, Idaho, on February 9, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GOV. ROBERT E. SMYLIE, OF IDAHO, AT THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE SOUTHEASTERN IDAHO LINCOLN DAY ASSOCIATION, POCATELLO, IDAHO, FEBRUARY 9, 1955

Seven years in the history of a great State is a comparatively short period of time. To me on this night it seems even shorter than usual. For tonight marks an anniversary of sorts. Seven years ago, almost to the very hour, I had the honor of addressing this association on the occasion of your 1948 commemoration of the birthday of the great Lincoln. Then I had served you as attorney general for the brief period of 2½ months. Your invitation then was my first opportunity to make a public speech to a large audience. For that reason it was fitting that I should return this year as your Chief Executive and I hasten to say to you that I am honored that you invited me.

There is an obscure quotation from Mr. Lincoln's papers that somehow seems appropriate to this time and place and to this minor anniversary of my own. In 1864, just as they departed to join the Army of Northern Virginia, then commencing its campaign through the wilderness, Lincoln said to the 184th Ohio Infantry on the lawn of the President's house in Washington:

"I happen temporarily to occupy this big White House. I am a living witness that anyone of your children may look to come here, as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have, through this free Government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance * * * that the struggle upon which we are engaged should be maintained."

That simple statement is to me a challenge and an inspiration. Drawn from the deep springs of Lincoln's humility and his communion with the spirit of our Nation's greatness, it is a beacon that anyone of us can follow. It speaks the ancient command that we must so honor our freedom that no act of ours shall ever leave that heritage less secure than it was when we received it from our fathers.

Some of you may remember that night 7 years ago when first you honored me with your invitation to come here. I had occasion then to say that it was fitting that we honor Lincoln here "in the heart of this burgeoning new industrial empire in southeast Idaho." Just because that 7 years have been so brilliant, and our accomplishments so many, let me take you back in memory along the path that we have traveled.

Seven years ago the Westvaco plant was not yet built on the western approaches to this city. Monsanto had not been heard of in Soda Springs. The Atomic Energy Commission's development in the Arco desert and at Idaho Falls was the secret of some classified drawing board. The Jefferson Lake plant in Bear Lake County was not even a dream. Jack Simplot's plant was only about half its present capacity, and the Garrett terminal on Poleline Road did not exist.

But our development has not all been industrial. We have faced the challenge of the growing years in other fields as well. Count the number of new schoolhouses that dot this southeast Idaho landscape. Add up the support that those schools now have that wasn't there in 1948. Measure the miles of new and improved highways that move our pleasure and commercial traffic to and through our State. Remember that Idaho State College was then in the first year of its life as a 4-year degree-granting college, and that 20 years of sterile conflict on that score were behind us. And ponder the fact that only this week, with the signing of House bill No. 30 your college really reached maturity with the privilege of offering graduate work and granting graduate degrees. With that act, when it is properly implemented, southeastern Idaho will have come of age in the field of higher education.

And then as good Republicans, remember that these 7 years were Republican years, and let that be an answer to the prophets of gloom and doom who would have you believe that there is no future and that we must always be someone's colony.

They have been a brilliant 7 years, studded with the accomplishments of a free people, born to persevere and prosper. They have been the accomplishments of men and women true to the heritage of liberty and enterprise bequeathed to us by the great Lincoln. And the future that lies ahead can be just as bright, and brighter. We face great challenges, but the history of this mountain country is the story of difficulties met and mastered. We have the vision, the courage, the ideals and the spirit with which to face these bright tomorrows and to make them our years of historic growth and development.

I am happy that I can report to you tonight that your 33d legislature is writing a brilliant record of accomplishment. With devotion to the welfare of our State, without regard for partisan advantage, they have worked untiringly toward the solution of some of the most difficult legislative problems to confront a legislature in many years. As your chief executive I have insisted that we must put our financial house in order, and that that task must be the first order of business. The members of both parties in the house and senate have bent to that task unsparingly and we are solving our financial problems without recourse to partisan bitterness with all its wasting effects on our future. The spirit and commonsense with which this legislature is facing its work is historic. It makes it possible to view the great future of our State with calm confidence that we can master this challenge that history has given us to build, and then sustain, an economic landmark in the Mountain West.

But I trespass overlong in a discussion of those things that lie closest to my heart these days—those problems of our young and vigorous and growing Idaho.

We are met tonight to honor the memory of the first President which our Republican Party installed in the White House. It is true that Abraham Lincoln belongs to the ages—to the brilliant history of a free world whose concept of liberty is encrusted with Lincolnesque devotion to the Christian dignity of the individual human being. But history will understand in this hour of commemoration on the anniversary of our party's birth, if we remember with glad hearts that peculiarly and historically, the great Lincoln belongs to us—to the Republican Party whose first principles he enunciated and whose feet he first set firmly on the path that led to power. And in this hour of dedication and commemoration, it is fitting that we look to the greatness of his spirit for guidance and for inspiration.

In the Book of Ecclesiastes there is a somber passage about the "time of little hope," which is described as the day when the clouds return after the rain. In some ways it fits this time of international stress all too well. The immediate, deadly danger from the storm is long over. Yet the clouds return and instead of the sunshine of enduring peace in which we hoped to bask after 1945 we have lived under gray overcast.

It was in just such a period that Abraham Lincoln came to the White House almost 100 years ago. The storm had not burst, but the clouds hung low and were growing thicker and blacker. The hearts of brave men failed when they tried to look into the future; and cowards were already whimpering and whining on street corner and rostrum and editorial tripod. The analogy with our own time needs no stressing.

Yet, had the Nation but known it, on March 4, 1861, the Nation was already saved, for the man had arrived. It took a long time for people to realize it, long years of blood and fire and anguish; and longer years for the dust of battle and the clouds of passion to drift away. But when we could see clearly again, the truth was plain—from the moment that Lincoln took the oath of office as President, the Union was saved.

I draw the parallel no further. I dare not. Men of Lincoln's stature are God's gifts to a nation, bestowed when and as His wisdom, not our wishes, may determine. He may not grant us another in the present crisis; or, perchance, He may have already sent us one whom we have not yet recognized any more than in 1861 men recognized the gaunt rail-splitter as the Nation's savior.

But this we do know—in times when the road ahead is shrouded in mist, it is the spirit of Lincoln that this Nation needs above all else, and it is the gift of that spirit for which it should pray. I am no theologian, but I understand well enough the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican in the temple. Prayer is not enough. The man, or the nation, that goes down from the temple justified is the one that prayed for the right thing. I doubt that it is right to pray for another Lincoln; but I am no more firmly convinced of my own existence than I am that it is right to pray for the light that glowed from the mind and heart of Lincoln.

Carl Sandburg has published as a little book the preface that he wrote for his great life of Lincoln but later for some reason discarded. In it he has a description of Lincoln that may strike you at first as merely curious, but which, when you study it, I think you will admit is great. Sandburg said, "He was not only a genius in the science of neighborly human relationships and an artist in the personal handling of life from day to day, but a strange friend and a friendly stranger to all forms of life that he met."

Translate that into national terms and see what a lordly thing you get. Imagine, not a man, but a Nation infused with the spirit of that man—a genius in the science of neighborly human relationships. How soon the worst of its diplomatic problems would dissolve and vanish. Imagine the United States an artist in the personal handling of

life from day to day—how magically our public life would be transformed, how quickly the screaming and vituperation would die away, how rapidly we would suppress the merchants of hate, how we would scorn the sowers of suspicion and prejudice. Imagine us as strange friends and friendly strangers to all forms of life—the Samaritan among the nations, never identified with any, never inseparably bound to any, always a stranger but always a friend.

Somewhere in that picture I believe you will find every good thing that the United States has done in this blasted and twisted century, the bloodiest in human annals, in which good deeds, God help us, are few and far between. A great deal more is in the picture—it includes every good deed we might have done, but didn't. Take such splendid moments as we have had, such fragments of nobility as we have managed to achieve and fit them together, discarding the weaknesses and villainies, and you will have a portrayal of the grandeur of Lincoln's spirit.

Then add the lost opportunities—the times when we didn't quite understand, or didn't quite dare, or weren't quite generous enough to do the great thing we really wished to do—and you will have the sorrow that brooded over his spirit.

In 1861 it was Lincoln's wish to purchase the slaves and set them free at the expense of the whole country, not at the expense of the Southern States alone. But he was not permitted to do it. Passion was running too high, misunderstanding was too thick on both sides for calm reason to obtain a hearing; so, while the evil was eliminated, it was at the cost of fearful agony and loss on both sides.

In 1955 we are facing the same old evil. It has a new name, but that doesn't matter. They call it totalitarian dictatorship now, but in essence it is slavery. It must be and it will be eliminated; but I believe, as Lincoln believed, that there are better ways of eliminating it than by fire and sword. Where Lincoln said "this Nation," we must say "this world," but the rest we may quote verbatim—this world "under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." The best and wisest among us know that there are better ways of eradicating the evil that must go.

So while I dare not claim that there is a Lincoln among us, I have faith to believe that some men among our leaders are imbued with the spirit of Lincoln to the extent that they will not accept war as the solution of our problem until the last alternative has been exhausted.

You will find such men in both parties, but conspicuous among them is the President of the United States. Under intense provocation at home and abroad, he has yet to utter one inflammatory speech, on the one hand, or, on the other, to yield 1 inch to the communist doctrinaires. With firmness in the right as God gives him to see the right, he is yet convinced that hatred and suspicion, to say nothing of the wild passions of war, are poor instrumentalities to advance the right. He knows that there is a better way and, like Lincoln, he is seeking desperately to find it and then persuade his countrymen to follow it.

It is no partisan appeal to call upon all men of all parties to sustain him in this endeavor. Disagree with him on everything else, if you please, but follow him in his effort to make reason the rule and charity toward all, the spirit of our foreign relations; for this is the spirit in which Lincoln acted, and, so acting, rose above all parties, all sections, all economic interests. In that spirit there is neither Democrat nor Republican, no North, no South, no East, no West, only Americanism.

It was in so acting that Lincoln acquired the piercing vision before which the mists of passion, the dust and smoke of battle that blinded other men, became the thinnest of transparent veils through which he could see that Nation that was to be—that vision without which the people perish.

These days in Idaho we can be prayerful that a little of this vision of Lincoln's—the divine inspiration that marked out his path—will be given to us at this crossroad. There is now marked out the pathway that will put behind us all of our old and sterile controversies, all our regional jealousy and distrust, if we have the courage and foresight to follow it. And once those areas of mistrust are liquidated, and we all approach our problems without the rancor of partisanship and beyond the dictates of regional pride, then we will truly have turned the pages into the bright history that will be tomorrow.

In the century since the Lord took Lincoln from among us we have learned to know that his real genius was his oneness with his people. Sprung from the most humble among us, born to suffering and privation, touched with an inspiration that had its source in divinity and took its strength from our whole concept of individual freedom and dignity, Lincoln lives in history as the one really great example of the brilliance of the American way. He had the enduring patience to live with a problem until it could, would be solved, and he knew that no issue, no question, would long be mistakenly decided if it was submitted to the patient wisdom and the ultimate justice of the people themselves.

It is fitting then that we should come here to do honor to this greatest of all great Americans and that the brooding and somber spirit of the Emancipator can look down upon us to see if we remember his sacrifice and if the love of liberty and human freedom still burns in our hearts. Look down, Lincoln, look down up us. This is more than an anniversary—it is a rendezvous with your spirit—an occasion for reporting that for another year we have kept the faith.

May God preserve the memory of this great and gallant American. May God preserve the land and the principles for which he lived and died. May God bless our Nation, and give to each of us the strength to answer whenever duty calls, and to say by deeds, as well as words, "Lincoln, we are here, and we remember."

President's Highway Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower's highway program repeats his now familiar process of coolly surveying a national problem and advancing a sound means by which the problem can be attacked and steps taken toward eventual solution.

No responsible person can deny that our Nation is facing eventual strangulation on the highways. For half a century it has been a nip and tuck battle to keep highway construction ahead of automotive progress. We must move ahead with this bold plan in order to expedite the flow of goods and people from place to place. Whether in war or in peace, our highways are vital to the national economy and welfare. If we can reduce the annual carnage caused by traffic accidents, this alone will make our efforts worthwhile.

I am particularly pleased with the fiscal aspects of the President's scheme. Here again, the planning is based on our anticipated revenues over a specific period of time. The improved highway system will be paid for out of the funds received from increased gas tax revenues as America grows and is not a mortgage on the earning capacity of future generations as has been the case with other half-baked schemes of past years.

This is a blueprint for action which we as legislators should get behind and support.

Contributions by American Indians for the Welfare of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Mr. Thomas Dixon, national commander of the United American Veterans, delivered over the facilities of WPIK, at Washington, D. C., on February 19, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Patriotic Americans, in my broadcast last Saturday I brought to you the good news about the building of an Indian temple here in Washington. I want to refresh your memory on the many contributions made by American Indians for the welfare of the United States of America.

Now I will bring your memory back to the year 1492 when Columbus discovered America. To his surprise, Columbus found Indians here on this continent; they were friendly people and brought many gifts to express welcome to Columbus and his crew.

When the Pilgrims landed here, broke and hungry, it was again the American Indians who came to the assistance of these poor and destitute people.

The first Thanksgiving Day was based on the native Indian custom of celebrating their harvest season. The pale-faced Pilgrims carried on this thanksgiving custom with many kinds of food which the Indians brought them.

During the long, bitterly cold winters there was terrible suffering among the early pioneers. They were at the point of starvation for many years—until they could plant and harvest their simple food needs. During these very trying times, it was the American Indians who gave the Pilgrims wild fowl, drinking water, fish, corn, and other provisions. You may be sure that the Pilgrims were grateful for this blessed understanding and help on the part of the American Indians.

The Pilgrims realized in those early days that the Indians were deeply moved by a spiritual influence. The Indians called it the Great Spirit. We call it God.

The American Indians taught the Pilgrims how to take certain roots and make it into a bread, and how to use the wild herbs as food,

and how to make a kind of tea out of small roots.

The Pilgrims were moved to see how devoted the Indians were to their spiritual rituals. Even in those early days the Indians had many skills which made their survival possible; just to cite a few: The Indians showed the Pilgrims how to make fire from two rocks, and how to make cutting implements from rocks.

Next in line was the great Pocahontas, the daughter of Chief Powhatan of the Powhatan Tribes of Delaware. Although Capt. John Smith committed a breach of trust with the Indians and was condemned to die by the Powhatan Indians, it was then that the famous Pocahontas saw a religious duty to be performed, and she went against the wishes of her own father and did her duty by saving the life of Capt. John Smith, because she did not want the hands of her tribe stained with the blood of a human being. I have been told that there are some direct descendants of the great Pocahontas living today, and that they are very proud of their Indian lineage.

Every American has heard of the great Chief Sequoia, whose American name was George Guess. He was the first Indian to make an alphabet of the Indian dialect.

Every American of today knows of former Vice President Charles Curtis, who rose from a lawyer in Kansas to the United States Senate, and then to the Vice Presidency of the United States. Mr. Curtis was exceedingly proud of his Indian heritage, and his sister, Mrs. Dolly Gann, was the leading woman in the society life of Washington for many years.

And everyone knows about Will Rogers, who boasted rightfully, that he never had an enemy. His statue stands in the Hall of Fame in the Capitol Building. He was also of Indian descent.

There was also Senator Robert L. Owens, from Oklahoma, himself an Indian. It was he who brought about the enactment of law which recognized the five civilized tribes as American citizens. Senator Owens was very proud of his Indian lineage.

And every sports writer remembers old Jim Thorpe, who was classed as the greatest all around athlete in the world.

And the aviation world remembers Wiley Post, another Indian, who was the first to fly a solo flight around the world.

Also in the sports world, they all know of Soxolexis, also of Indian parentage. He was a great ball player, and for many years headlined the Cleveland ball team; his name has made baseball history, and today the Cleveland ball team is called the Indians.

And every American knows of the heroes who raised the American flag over Iwo Jima. Well, one of those heroes was an Indian soldier from Arizona.

The American Indians have given outstandingly good accounting of themselves in every war in which this country has been involved, either as individual soldiers, or in regiments of Indian infantrymen and artillerymen. They are unexcelled in military scouting.

The Indians are a proud and patriotic part of our citizenship. They deserve to have their early history and their present treasured heritages recognized in a substantial way as a spiritual force in the establishing of a sacred shrine to be known as The Temple dedicated to the Great Spirit.

This temple will be located in Washington, the seat of our Government, where divine services can be held in the native languages and dialects of the many tribal groups all over the country.

One of my listeners wanted to know why an Indian shrine should be built in Washington. Is it possible that an American can be so shortsighted as not to realize the moral and historical value of such a shrine? We think nothing of tossing billions of dollars into foreign countries. We have spent millions of dollars building monuments to Washington, Lincoln, and Jefferson. But when it comes to a just debt of gratitude to the original owners of this country, the American Indians, why, that has been completely overlooked.

Right at this very minute, our political and religious leaders are rightfully doing everything possible to arouse the people all over the world to the necessity of moral rearmament. I ask you, what better moral rearmament could we have here in America than the building of a shrine to the American Indians?

I would be very ungrateful if I did not say a word in appreciation of the sponsor of this broadcast, Mr. Collis Ormsby Redd, founder of the Crusaders for the Forgotten Man. Mr. Redd has dedicated his life to the task of awakening the political leaders all over the world to the necessity of getting back to God. Mr. Redd spends his own money in financing these broadcasts, he realizes the moral value of this great cause on behalf of the American Indians.

I thank you.

Washington's Birthday Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered last night at the Washington's Birthday banquet of the Sons of the Revolution at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and members of the Sons of the Revolution of the State of New York, I am greatly honored to be called upon to respond to the toast to General George Washington.

As the leader of the Army of the Revolution he was first in war and his courage and ability played a major part in the winning of our independence.

After this great service to the new Nation, he felt he was entitled to retire, but we consider him first in peace because he presided over the Constitutional Convention which gave us the basic framework of our Government and then later became the first President under the Constitution.

In the period of our national life since then, he has been truly first in the hearts of his countrymen.

While we are here to pay tribute to George Washington and the service he rendered to our Nation, it is also fitting and proper that we review some of the current problems and the effect they may have upon the institutions he did so much to help create and to preserve.

The world balance of power has been so upset that no prudent person can ignore the realities of the situation. Not only the future of this Republic but the hope for a free world of free men largely depends upon the policies that we follow and the firmness with which we and the free nations deal with future communist aggression or threat of aggression.

In the past 10-year period international communism has increased its power, its area, and its population. Ten years ago at this time there were less than 200 million people behind the Communist Iron Curtain. Today over 800 million people live under the most ruthless, godless tyranny the world has ever known.

Recognizing the inherent danger in further Communist conquest, the Government of the United States has undertaken a series of commitments under the North Atlantic Alliance, the ANZUS (Australia-New Zealand-United States) Mutual Defense Pact and mutual defense pacts with the Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Japan, southeast Asia, and the Republic of China.

The last two treaties were overwhelmingly ratified by the Senate this month.

In a display of national unity that should have encouraged our friends abroad, given courage to the neutrals and opened the eyes of the would-be aggressor, the House of Representatives passed the resolution by a vote of 409 to 3 and the Senate by a vote of 85 to 3.

This action had no sooner been taken and the two treaties ratified than diplomatic moves started on the part of certain Asian and European powers to bend the line of defense in the Pacific and lay the groundwork for a conference which would have all the unfortunate results of a Munich, a Yalta or a Geneva wherein the aggressor gains his objectives at the conference table.

Unfortunately, the history of these conferences has been that it is always the free world that gives up territory and surrenders human beings to the control of the Communists. It is never the other way around, wherein the enslaved people gain their freedom. We must not permit Gulliver to be tied down by the Lilliputians. There are those, at home and abroad, who seek to advance the cause of world government. Until now it has not been a major threat to our Constitution or our sovereignty. The development of the atomic and hydrogen weapon has caused some persons at home and abroad to believe that world peace and security depend upon some form of world state. This is a fallacy that could cost us our freedom.

This country cannot join its political system with the other nations of the world, including Communist or other dictatorships, without diluting our constitutional guaranties. How can a Communist dictatorship, or any other kind, have an equal voice with this free Nation without compromising our constitutional structure of government and the rights of free men? How can a Socialist or Communist economic system be tied to ours without first compromising and then destroying the free economic system, the rights of private capital, and the unregimented life of our people? How can we join our productive capacity and resources to the unproductive who lack resources without destroying the living standards of our people whose enterprise and thrift helped them accumulate property and capital for new industry? This has been the great incentive that has advanced us from a small colony of 3 million to a great Nation of 165 million people, the most productive the world has ever known.

It is one thing for the American people by deliberate choice, after thorough debate, to amend our Constitution to meet changing conditions. To allow it to happen by default would be a betrayal of our responsibilities.

We must not permit court decisions of Executive agreements to raise such to the status of treaties. Nor will we long preserve our Constitution, drafted at Philadelphia under the chairmanship of George Washington, if we fail to challenge any effort to amend our Constitution by use of a loophole which may provide a treaty or Executive agreement short-cut to what was intended to be a difficult process.

Let us examine the record of the United Nations as an agency for effective collective security as envisioned by some or as a basis

for a world government as contemplated by others.

World War II had not yet terminated in 1945 when the United Nations Conference was held in San Francisco. The people of the world did not know that we were on the threshold of the atomic age though those high in Government had reason to believe a vast new power that ultimately could be used for destructive or constructive purposes was soon to be unveiled.

Hopes were high everywhere that the Soviet Union, though a dictatorship, had learned the folly of aggression and of war and because of the vast help given by the free world to them they would be willing to help establish a system of international law and order to preserve the peace of the world for ourselves and our children.

Unfortunately both during the San Francisco conference and in the 10 years that have followed a vast propaganda effort has taken place to build the United Nations into something which its charter provisions could not or did not permit it to become. In the United Nations different people envisioned different things.

Some envisioned it as a mighty force of collective security that would rally most of the nations of the world to resist aggression and preserve the peace. In moments of oratorical fancy some even suggested that the fact the United Nations was in being would warrant free nations to scrap most, if not all, of their armed forces and place their reliance upon the "police power" of the United Nations and the collective moral persuasion of that organization. On June 25, 1950, this concept was shattered shortly after it appeared to be confirmed.

When the Communist forces crossed the 38th parallel, the United Nations Security Council promptly acted and first called upon the Communist aggressor to cease the aggression. The Communists, of course, forthwith showed they were not impressed by a United Nations resolution or the adverse moral reaction of that organization. The Security Council next called on the 60 members of that organization to give aid and support to the victim of the aggression, the Republic of Korea.

What is the record on this? After 3 years of the Korean war, of the 60 members of the United Nations only 17 contributed a single soldier, sailor, or airman to the resistance of aggression. Outside of the United States of America, the other 16 contributed armed forces in the amount of 45,000. The United States of America alone contributed more than 450,000, and we rotated more than 1 million men through the Korean theater of war. The little Republic of Korea, which was the victim of the aggression, supplied over 600,000.

This means that of the United Nations members the United States of America supplied more than 90 percent of the manpower and better than 90 percent of the resources.

When the forces of the Republic of Korea, not being a member of the United Nations (having been kept out by a Soviet veto), are added to those of the United States, it means that our two nations alone supplied better than 95 percent of the manpower.

Does this indicate that the United Nations is an effective instrument of collective security? The answer must come back in the negative.

Our associates in the United Nations so tied us down that a stalemate was all that could be gained after 3 years of struggle in Korea.

We were denied the right of hot pursuit and the enemy was protected in his sanctuary across the Yalu.

With that example are you prepared to risk the future of our Nation and the safety of our people upon the collective ability of the United Nations to function in the event of aggression? The answer likewise must be in the negative.

Has the time not come for a realistic appraisal of just what part the United Nations is qualified to play and to stop kidding ourselves into believing it is something it is not and, in my judgment, cannot be.

There are some who have envisioned the United Nations as a world state to which openly or clandestinely, individual nations would surrender their sovereignty. Some of the more enthusiastic proponents of this type of super state compared the San Francisco meeting with that of our own Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. Of course, the two gatherings are not comparable when one considers the building of a government upon which man might depend for the protection of his life and his religious, economic, and intellectual freedom.

In the first place, those who met at Philadelphia spoke a common language and had a common heritage. True, they had come from different areas of the world, but they or their predecessors had come seeking a new way of life, freedom from Old World tyranny or a desire to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

They had fought a common battle against the mightiest empire of that time. They had carried over from the old country the background of the Magna Carta and of representative government. They had had experience as an independent nation, much of it unsatisfactory, under the Articles of Confederation.

With that background, under what I believe was divine inspiration, drafted the greatest document produced by the mind and hand of man for his self-Government and protection of his natural rights.

A little more realistic understanding of the history of the nations gathered in San Francisco should have made it clear that such an organization could not be and should not be considered a basis for world government.

There is no common language or common heritage. Nations which have had no experience with representative constitutional government sit on equal terms with those that have had long experience. Nations of less than 1 million have equal representation with those of over 300 million. The Soviet Union, which is perhaps the most tyrannical government since western civilization entered the modern era, sits as an equal partner with nations with long-established constitutions of law, order, and a respect of the rights of man.

Now, there are those who urge the admission of Communist China which was the aggressor in the Korean war. This, together with the other Communist states, would give that system of tyranny over 800 million people that they claim to speak for.

As for me, as long as I have a voice or a vote in the Senate of the United States, I shall never consent to permitting the guaranties of freedom under our Constitution being diluted or modified directly or indirectly by any organization having in powerful policy positions nations which have no appreciation of or respect for free institutions.

Lest we be gradually edged into such a world state before we learn too late wherein we have been taken, I believe that every candidate for public office—executive, legislative or judicial—should be asked to give a forthright view upon this great public issue. It is later than you think.

The United Nations, if it does not destroy its moral position by actions which I shall mention, does have a function it could perform. It could be a forum wherein the views of the free world and the Communist world might be aired provided that there was assurace the debates in the General Assembly or the Security Council were receiving as widespread coverage behind the Iron Curtain as they do in the free nations.

Otherwise, it becomes a vast propaganda forum for the Communists wherein the point of view of the West does not have the equal opportunity to get to the people in the Soviet Union and its satellites because of the strict censorship those governments exercise.

Even in regard to its position of moral leadership the United Nations has allowed itself to become seriously compromised.

Following the intervention of Communist China into the Korean war the United Nations, after great hesitation, declared Communist China the aggressor. There had been no such hesitation when the small aggressor Communist Korea, crossed the 38th parallel in June of 1950.

To close observers this seemed to indicate that there would be alacrity to pass a resolution and to act against a small aggressor but there would be procrastination and delay in acting against a large aggressor. This seemed to be an abandonment of principle for expediency.

Later, when the evidence was conclusive that the Soviet Union was not only giving moral support to Communist aggression in Korea but was supplying MIG planes, tanks, artillery, ammunition, and other weapons in clear violation of the United Nations resolution and the charter of the organization, no steps were taken to expel the Soviet Union from the United Nations.

Later on, the official representative of the Soviet Union baldly and boldly admitted the fact that such support had been given and in effect defied the United Nations to do anything about it. They did nothing and by inaction underscored their futility when dealing with Soviet charter violations.

Every member of the United Nations knows that the terms of the Korean armistice have been violated on numerous occasions. The neutral nations commission is not allowed to function in Communist North Korea as it was intended though they have complete freedom in the area of the free Republic of Korea. In violation of the terms of the armistice, the Communists have brought in equipment and built military airfields. No effective steps have been taken to require respect for the terms of the armistice.

The most flagrant violation has been the admitted holding of 15 members of the American Air Force, 11 of whom have been sentenced to prison terms of from 4 to 10 years. Under the terms of the armistice it was required that all prisoners of war who wanted to be returned should be allowed to do so.

There is strong reason to believe that there are at least several hundred additional United Nations and United States prisoners of war being held in violation of the terms of the armistice.

The United Nations passed a resolution expressing its concern in this matter, The Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjold, made a special trip to Peking. He returned without the release of the prisoners and without any date upon which they might be expected to be returned in the future. It is apparent that they are being held for the purposes of international blackmail on the part of the Chinese Communists.

Impotent and paralyzed, the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly have taken no effective steps to enforce the release of our airmen in accordance with terms of the Korean armistice. Again I ask: "What effective steps, if any, does the United Nations intend to take?"

In the matter of the Chinese Communist aggression against the Republic of China which is a charter member of the United Nations, that organization invited the Chinese Communists to come to New York to discuss a cease-fire.

Arrogantly, the Chinese Communists laid down terms that a victor would be expected to lay down to the vanquished—namely that the Republic of China should be removed from the Security Council and that the Soviet Union resolution condemning the United

States should be made the order of business rather than the New Zealand resolution relative to a cease-fire.

When this message was received the United Nations again demonstrated its ineffectiveness by postponing the whole situation, while some of the neutralist friends of the Soviet Union and Red China are trying, through diplomatic channels, to provide for a Far Eastern Munich whereby the Chinese Communists will be given the key coastal islands of Quemoy and Matsu and membership in the United Nations. This, of course, would be another defeat for the free world and throughout all of Asia looked upon as another victory for the Communists, comparable to that growing out of the Geneva Conference, wherein the Communists gained control of Northern Vietnam and 15 million more human beings.

I am strongly opposed to the admission of Communist China into the United Nations.

If, as part of a Far Eastern Munich, the appeasers force Red China in I shall devote the balance of my life to taking the United States out.

These are not pleasant facts, and there are many in this country and elsewhere who, because of the vast amount of publicity and propaganda, have gotten a distorted view of the capabilities of the United Nations Organization.

Certainly, in this day and age of the airplane and the atomic weapon, a nation can no more return to isolationism than an adult can return to childhood.

It is important that we have a system of effective collective security and to demonstrate to the Communist world that there will be no further retreats or the abandonment of free people into Communist hands.

This Nation will live up to all of its treaty obligations, and we have the right to expect that our allies will do likewise.

I have a deep conviction that the American people and those throughout the free world who understand the dangers facing us will never again pay the price of another Yalta or another Geneva in order to buy a temporary respite from the insatiable appetite of international Communists to destroy human freedom.

If we as a free people will show the same courage and common sense that motivated Washington and the others who under divine inspiration gave us our Constitution there are none of our great domestic problems we cannot solve and there is no foreign foe we need fear.

Twenty-Dollar Tax Cut: Will It Do Something for the Average Person, or to Him?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I am including below an article from yesterday's Christian Science Monitor documenting the political nature of the proposal for a $20 reduction in personal income taxes for each taxpayer and each of his dependents. The article also sets forth the purposes and plans of the Democratic Party for further and additional maneuvers with political "sex appeal."

In it the distinguished majority leader is quoted as saying that whenever "anything is done for the average person, the Republicans oppose it and cry politics." With such statement I heartily disagree.

I believe a more accurate summation would be this: "Whenever anything is proposed that will do something good for the average American, the Republicans support it wholeheartedly; but whenever anything is proposed because it is politically attractive, but in the end will do bad for the average person, the Republicans have the courage to oppose it."

The $20-reduction scheme is a case in point. By dint of real political courage, vision and foresight during 1953 and 1954, the Republican-Eisenhower administration came to grips with the problem of spiraling inflation in this country.

In 1939 the cost of living index was at 59.4 By 1954 it had skyrocketed to 114.4. In these 15 years under previous administrations the average person had more than half of his savings wiped out by the indirect taxation of inflation, the security in social security was taken away because benefits of the program no longer were enough even to buy necessities at inflated prices, and there was no end in sight for similar hardships on the average person.

Were these previous administrations doing something for the average person? More accurately, they were doing something to him, because they failed to get the public debt in hand and thus stop the spiral of inflation.

Then along comes the Republican-Eisenhower administration and after 2 years the cost of living index at the end of 1954 is at 114.6, with two-tenths of 1 percent of what it was when that administration took over.

Now comes 1955 and a Democratic-controlled House and Senate. Within 7 weeks there is proposed the $20 tax reduction political scheme to upset the economic applecart. It would result in cutting the Government's revenue, increasing the debt, and thus start the vicious inflation spiral all over again. It will cost the average person in increased prices far more than the $20 it saves him in taxes.

So, Mr. Speaker, I propose this honest question: Are those behind this scheme going to do something for the average person, or something to him?

The Monitor article above referred to follows:

DEMOCRATS TRY TO OUTDO GOP?

WASHINGTON.—That proposal for a $20 reduction in personal income taxes—which the Democrats are seeking to rush through Congress this week—is the opening gun in a frankly political drive to win voter support for 1956.

The Democrats are preparing to outbid the Eisenhower administration—on taxes, on schools, on highways, on whatever else looks feasible.

In a reversal of the usual conservative-liberal sequence, the Democrats are preparing to say: "We can do what the Republicans propose, but we can do it better."

The Eisenhower administration has held out the hope of an income-tax reduction in 1956. The Democrats propose to vote it through now—a $20-a-year cut in personal income taxes, with an additional $20 cut for each dependent, effective next January.

DEMOCRATIC TACTICS

The Eisenhower administration is sending its $101 billion highways program to Congress February 22. A Democratic-controlled Senate Public Works Subcommittee has started hearings 1 day earlier on a bill introduced by Senator ALBERT GORE, Democrat, of Tennessee, authorizing annual Federal appropriations of $1,600,000,000 a year for the next 5 years for highway construction.

President Eisenhower has proposed a $7 billion school-construction program, designed to build schools through local option, private lending and construction and very small increments of direct Federal aid. The Democratic National Committee has circulated a confidential memorandum to all Democrats in Congress saying this program would produce no new schools for 2 or 3 years.

Democratic Members of the Senate Labor Committee, conducting hearings on the schoolroom shortage, look with favor on a bill by Senator LISTER HILL, Democrat, of Alabama, proposing big direct Federal appropriations for school aid.

This is the new Democratic strategy—to outdo and outbid the Republicans. Democrats have been complaining that President Eisenhower has moved so far in adopting humanitarian, liberal legislation that he has seized the Democrats' best issues before the voting public.

POLITICAL MANEUVER

Democrats have been wondering how on earth they could defeat President Eisenhower if he stands for reelection in 1956. They find it dangerous and unwise to attack him directly. But perhaps he and his party can be outmaneuvered; the income-tax cut suddenly exploded in the House by able veteran Speaker SAM RAYBURN, Democrat, of Texas, is the first tactical move in this direction.

House leaders, formally introducing the income-tax cut in the House Ways and Means Committee, February 21, want to achieve House passage by this weekend. The measure then would go to the Senate where most Democratic leaders have thus far remained noncommital, although influential Senator WALTER F. GEORGE, Democrat, of Georgia, who is a member of the Senate Finance Committee, said the House leadership, led by Speaker RAYBURN, had drafted the measure without consulting Senators.

Quite naturally, Republican leaders in Congress have denounced the surprise Democratic plan as an irresponsible move intended to embarrass Mr. Eisenhower. They have protested that it is improper and disgraceful for the Democrats to try to ram through the proposal in a week without regular hearings. The income-tax cut is proposed as a rider to the administration bill to extend present corporation and excise taxes, due to end April 1, for another year.

M'CORMACK RETORTS

Because of the administration's desire to extend these taxes, to prevent the budget from falling further out of balance, President Eisenhower hardy will want to veto the main bill to kill off the rider. Here is where an item veto would be helpful to the Chief Executive.

The House majority leader, Representative JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Democrat, of Massachusetts, has retorted to the Republican outcries that whenever "anything is done for the average person, the Republicans oppose it and cry politics."

Mr. Eisenhower has said the Government cannot afford the revenue loss of an income-tax cut so soon because of the estimated $2,400,000,000 deficit in the fiscal year starting July 1. The President is likely to have one powerful Democratic supporter in the Senate, Senator HARRY BYRD, of Virginia, but he would hardly be able to stop the proposal in committee.

Tax reduction always has heavy political overtones. Political scientists and economists make the point that in these days when tax policy has such far-reaching impact on the national economy, partisan con-

siderations should be subdued, and tax policy should, in effect, become as bipartisan as foreign policy.

The vital immediate tax issue before the Nation is whether the 52-percent corporation excise taxes (which under present law fall to 47 percent in April) and the special excise taxes on autos, tobacco, liquor, and gasoline shall continue for another year.

It is really too early now, in the opinion of economists, to know whether it would be wise to cut individual income taxes next year. But to the strategists of the Democratic National Committee and the Democratic House, it is politically wise to resuscitate some vote-getting issues well before 1956.

Investigation of November 1952 Election in New Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the report of the United States grand jury for the Federal district of New Mexico on the contest growing out of the general election held in New Mexico on November 4, 1952, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE DISTRICT OF NEW MEXICO—IN THE MATTER OF THE GRAND JURY REGULARLY CONVENED AND EMPANELED AT ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., ON SEPTEMBER 13, 1954—No. 3685, MISCELLANEOUS

REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY

To the Honorable CARL A. HATCH,
United States District Judge:

We, the grand jury, having been duly empaneled, sworn, and instructed by the court, having performed our duties in accordance with the instructions of the court, and having completed all business now before us, beg leave to submit the following report of our actions:

We were empaneled and began our deliberations at Albuquerque at 9:30 a. m. on September 13, 1954, and have been in session until the time of this report at 4:30 p. m. on September 24, 1954.

We have investigated 82 matters presented to us by the United States attorney, said investigations involving 99 defendants.

We have examined 110 witnesses, and herewith return into open court 65 true bills and 16 no bills. In certain cases investigated by the grand jury, the persons investigated were not bound over to await the action of this court and the grand jury found no basis for indictments. In accordance with the instructions of the court, no bills are not being formally returned into court in such cases. This accounts for the discrepancy between the number of cases considered and the number of true bills and no bills returned.

The grand jury expresses its sincere thanks to the court for permitting it to use Judge Hatch's library to hold its session. The grand jury further takes notice that during the time the grand jury was in session Judge Rogers was conducting jury trials in the only courtroom in the Federal Building in Albuquerque, and that his jury was forced to use the room that was normally used by the grand jury which, by the way, is too small for the use of the grand jury. The grand jury further notes that during its session at the same time that Judge Rogers was using the courtroom Judge Hatch had to conduct trials in his private office, both Federal judges having business at the same time.

The grand jury wishes to take this opportunity to stress that in its opinion the courtroom facilities and grand jury room facilities in the Federal Building in Albuquerque, N. Mex., are completely inadequate now that there are 2 Federal judges, so much so, to the point that 1 of the judges has had to use his personal office to conduct trials coming before him officially. The grand jury considers it against the public interest in the conduct of the business before the Federal courts in New Mexico that one of the judges, namely, Judge Hatch in this instance, had to release the room where he has the court's library, it being the only library in the United States District Court for the use of the grand jury, to the detriment of the court and the attorneys who were participating in the trials before Judge Rogers inasmuch as they had no access to the library during the time that the grand jury was in session.

Certain evidence was heard by this grand jury at its last meeting which ended on the 31st day of March 1954, indicating that there were possible violations of Federal laws in connection with the general election held in this State on the 4th day of November 1952. As a result thereof and in the interest of the people of the State of New Mexico, this grand jury requested that a full and complete investigation of said election be had in order to determine whether there was any fraud or whether there was a violation of the civil rights of any individuals. We expressed the desire that this investigation be conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

We wish to report that pursuant to that request by this grand jury, the court ordered all the ballots concerned impounded. The Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted a wide, thorough and complete investigation of all of the allegations made. We have spent more than 3 days during the last 2 weeks in which this grand jury has been sitting, listening to a very complete, detailed and thorough report concerning every aspect of the investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on 39 separate allegations made by several persons concerning the 1952 general election, each 1 of said 39 allegations branching out into numerous suballegations.

We wish to report to the court that the gfreat majority of the allegations which were made concerning violations of Federal laws were completely irresponsible and without basis in fact. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, upon instructions from this grand jury, spent a tremendous number of manhours investigating each phase of those allegations so that this grand jury could once and for all determine what the alleged violations were and, if there were any violations, who was responsible therefor. From the very thorough investigation that has been made and the evidence that has been presented to us, we feel that the great majority of those allegations should never have been made in the first place as they had absolutely no basis in fact. Most of those allegations seem to have been motivated for purely political purposes without any investigation having been made concerning the facts, by the people who made the allegations.

We wish to highly commend the Federal Bureau of Investigation and especially the agents who worked on this case, as well as the staff of the United States attorney for the district of New Mexico, on the thoroughness and diligence of their work in this matter. They carried out the wishes of this grand jury in a most excellent manner.

The evidence produced before this grand jury showed that out of 105,000 ballots, which were involved in the several allegations of this case, only an infinitesimal number were found to contain any evidence of irregularities at all, including cases where there was strong doubt as to whether there were irregularities. In our opinion it is doubtful that in any election of this type held anywhere, fewer voting irregularities would be found.

We wish to report to the court that no evidence of a conspiracy to violate the civil rights of any individuals was found during this investigation. There was some evidence of technical violations through ignorance of the law on the part of some individual election officials and voters. The grand jury is of the opinion that in those cases there is not sufficient evidence of willfulness to warrant the return of an indictment as the persons involved were acting in good faith. In matters which disclosed technical violations or other violations of State laws, we find that such evidence was turned over to the State authorities. We find that many of the allegations which were eventually investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation turned out to be based purely on hearsay stories which came out in the newspapers after the general election of 1952, and had no basis in fact.

We wish to state that this grand jury is composed of representative people of the State of New Mexico and that it is our opinion that the laws concerning elections in the State should be enforced, but that in doing so the people involved in making accusations of violations of such laws should be more careful in investigating for themselves the facts before such allegations are made public and turned over to the investigative agencies of the Government. It is perhaps appropriate to point out that in our opinion any laxness in the conduct of the elections is due in a large measure to the lack of interest of the general public in the State in lending themselves to help at the polls. It is our opinion, after listening to all of the evidence in this case, that the great majority of the election officials, who sacrificed their time and efforts in the 1952 general election in carrying out their duties, did a most meritorious job. Nothing more could be asked of them. There were a few instances where some election officials were perhaps negligent. In this respect we feel the blame lies not only with those election officials but with the attitude of the general public in not taking a more active part in the election processes which are such vital functions in our republican form of government.

Paper Is Not Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Paper Is Not Money," written by Philip M. McKenna, and published in the American Mercury magazine of March 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

What is money? "Congress shall have the power—to coin money and regulate the value

thereof—" says the Constitution. By regulate was meant to establish the weight of the coin and the grains of precious metal in it.

The framers of the Constitution did not have any idea that they should presume to say how many bushels of potatoes, or bales of cotton, or pounds of iron, or yards of cloth should be exchanged for a dollar. Nor were they pursuing that will-o'-the-wisp of some of our modern economists who propose that the standard of value of our dollar be a list of commodities that would have the same value indefinitely.

They were to provide the people with coins in dollar denominations, of monetary metal. Nor did they intend, by coining money, to mean printing paper. They were providing a convenient unit of value by which free men might exchange goods and use money as a store of value.

In fact, they were so opposed to paper money experiments that the Constitution further forbids any State of the Union to make anything other than gold or silver a legal tender for payment of debt. That's the law today. Only a devious course of legalistic rationalization has permitted denial of that plain intent.

What's wrong with paper currency and checkbooks? They are fine and dandy when we have an ultimate standard into which paper currency and checkbook dollars can be converted on demand.

But, wittingly or unwittingly, in 1933, the people were taken down the communistic path, Lenin having been reported as saying that the best way to take over a country for communism was first to debauch the currency. We proceeded to lay the groundwork for debauching the currency of the American people just after we had elected Franklin D. Roosevelt on his campaign statement that a sound currency is to be maintained at all hazards.

Roosevelt, in his campaign speeches in 1932, had given no inkling of his later course. In fact, he had referred to the magnificent speech of Carter Glass at that time, who had denounced the immorality of any government which would break its covenant with the people by issuing promises, in the sale of bonds which they did not intend to pay back in the same standard of value in which the borrowing was made. Foreign economists advocated the abandonment of specie payments to American citizens to further the interests of their own countries.

There was no valid reason for the action on March 6, 1933, taking us off the gold standard. There was more gold in the United States Treasury January 1, 1933, than there had been in September 1929 when a very great amount of credit existed, in fact, too much. It was described by the then Secretary of the Treasury Woodin as "a suspension of specie payments, for the time being, to meet an emergency." Since then, apparently we've had nothing but emergencies.

We continue, under the laws hastily enacted by a rubber-stamp Congress April 6, 1933, to deny to the American citizen the right to redeem currency in our standard of value, gold at $35 per ounce, while making good, any business day in the week, to foreign central banks, shipping gold from our Treasury at $35 per ounce in exchange for dollar credits they may present for redemption. During the week of November 15, 1954, foreign interests drew out $50 million in gold. During 1953, and down to June 1954, $1,247,000,000 of gold was transferred to foreign interests from our Treasury. Foreigners own it now. That amount is about 5 percent of our total stock of gold.

To remedy that discrimination against the United States citizen by his own Treasury in favor of foreign central bankers, the Senate this spring in its Committee on Banking and Currency heard the witnesses who testified regarding the Gold Redemption Act of 1954 and other bills which would take off the deadly hand of government from the people's money by requiring that currency be redeemed in gold coin on demand when wanted by any holder of it.

Testimony showed that there is in the United States Treasury sufficient coverage to meet any expected demand from United States citizens, provided the Government's actions meet with general approval as to their fiscal soundness. Foreign interests can take out gold now, so that the Treasury would be exposed to no more hazard from them than it is today. Students of the facts about redemptions know that gold tends to flow to countries where there is no doubt about the currency being redeemable.

When already swimming, the danger of a shower making you wet is not worth considering. We now have in our Treasury about 10 percent of gold reserves to all currency outstanding, plus all demand bank deposits (your checking accounts and everybody else's) in the United States of America. That's more than was found necessary in 1926, for example, when it was 8.4 percent and nobody thought it dangerous. It averaged 8.6 percent from 1915 to 1932.

Why, then, all this fuss about a redeemable currency? Because of the threat that an irredeemable currency implies to every holder of life insurance, savings accounts, bonds, and pensions payable in dollars, and because government has the power to deteriorate still further the value of the dollar by issuance of bonds and notes which it doesn't promise to pay back in anything better than irredeemable currency.

Such mere threats cause people to do queer things, wasteful to the country as a whole. Testimony showed that since 1940 the dollar has lost on the average 5 percent of its remaining value every year. As people become aware of that fact, they seek what they call hedges against inflation. Lacking a sound currency, people resort to barter instead of money. That is the beginning of the road which, once taken, leads to financial disorder by rapid deterioration of the dollar.

The burden falls on the trustful holder of dollar obligations; the thrifty citizen; the endowment fund of the college; the trust fund of the widow and the children; the savings of the rank and file citizens whether in bonds, savings account or pension fund. Slowly and unobtrusively the value of his savings is taken away by the sly process of monetary inflation.

He thus becomes an easy prey to the claims of any leader who says that he will correct all by rent fixing, by controls, and by a managed economy in which the government will take over his affairs. That's the essence of communism.

One government official said that now is not the time for resumption of specie payments—the dollar would not stand the test. Another testified that, in his opinion, the dollar was very strong, that not until confidence in the dollar got a great deal worse would it be necessary to restore faith in it by making it redeemable to the United States citizen. Like the Arkansas settler who couldn't fix the leak in the roof now because it was raining, and when it wasn't raining the roof didn't need fixing, there is a tendency to procrastinate on the matter of the immediate restoration of the gold standard for the United States citizen. It can and should be done—without devaluation, and without delay.

Remember that Lenin, founder of communism, told J. M. Keynes that the best way to soften a country for communism was first to debauch the currency.

A Fighting Secretary of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "A Fighting Secretary of Labor," which appeared in the January 1955 issue of the Carpenter, the official publication of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. This article includes the text of the address which Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell delivered before the 27th general convention of the brotherhood, and I wish to commend it to the attention of the Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EVENTS ARE PROVING JIM MITCHELL TO BE A FIGHTING SECRETARY OF LABOR

As the months roll by, it is becoming increasingly evident that the Department of Labor is in militant hands. There is evidence that under the leadership of Secretary James P. Mitchell the Department is going to do the things it was set up to do—namely look after the interests of working people.

In a hard-hitting address to the 27th general convention in Cincinnati last November, Mr. Mitchell outlined the things which the Department already is doing, and the new measures it plans to adopt, to protect the rights and interests of men working on projects financed in whole or in part by Federal funds.

By decentralizing responsibility for policing wages and working conditions, chiseling has been made a good deal more dangerous for unscrupulous employers. By coordinating enforcement efforts of all Government agencies, buck-passing has been reduced to a minimum.

Shortly the Department will issue a poster outlining legal wages and working conditions for each job financed by Government funds. These posters are to be displayed in a prominent place on the job site so each worker can tell exactly what he is entitled to. The poster will also tell the worker where to file a complaint in case of a violation.

Since addressing our convention Secretary Mitchell made another major policy speech in which he placed himself on record as being categorically opposed to right-to-work laws. Naturally, he has incurred the displeasure of those who want to see unions placed in a legal straitjacket.

Because it contains a good deal of pertinent information, a major part of Secretary Mitchell's address to our convention is herewith reprinted:

"I know you share my conviction that Federal money spent in connection with construction projects should not be used to depress the prevailing local wage rates. Neither you nor I want unfair contractors to be able to underbid fair contractors by chiseling on established wage rates.

"I am in favor of vigorous law enforcement. I believe that Federal construction work should go only to fair contractors. These contractors, who, I am glad to say, are greatly in the majority, do business according to the rules laid down by Congress in the Davis-Bacon Act and in the other statutes containing prevailing-wage provisions.

"For many years, as you know, enforcement of these laws by the contracting agencies of the Government was not uniform, and sometimes it was lax. To correct this situation, in 1950, the Secretary of Labor was given responsibility of coordinating enforcement of these prevailing-wage requirements by the responsible Federal agencies. The Secretary of Labor was given authority to issue standards and regulations to be observed by these agencies in their environment. The Secretary can make investigations to obtain compliance.

"Real progress has been made in the past year. Liaison with the other agencies involved and enforcement have definitely improved. Serious violations continue to be found, however, and there is still lack of knowledge or lack of interest by some local project officers of the procurement agencies. Some agencies continue to conclude that violations do not merit blacklisting where the facts appear to us to warrant it.

"While these trouble areas exist, the Labor Department's enforcement activities are steadily increasing. There is clear evidence that due to efforts of the Labor Department and the contracting agencies a new climate of responsibility is building up among both contractors and the Government agencies involved.

"We like to think that our efforts in the Department of Labor have played some part in these achievements. Still, we have not had this enforcement function too long, and time is needed for working out procedures with the Federal agencies having contract responsibilities. And, more importantly, with your help, money is needed from Congress to help us work out these enforcement functions of the Department of Labor, and I hope that in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor legislative group we can persuade Congress to give us more money to enforce the laws that Congress has passed.

"Let me give you a few examples of how our improved-enforcement program is working. The Department of Labor received what appeared to be a rather minor complaint regarding violations at an armed services base in Georgia. This matter was referred to the contracting agency, one of the armed services. When no immediate action was taken, we sent an investigator. As a result of what he found, Department of Labor investigators have been in there since the spring of 1953. Instead of just 1 firm being investigated, about 30 firms working on the same base are now under investigation and it is estimated that restitution of over $200,000 is due employees.

"In another case a painting contractor in the Pacific Northwest was under investigation. He moved several times and each time used a different gimmick to get around paying the required prevailing wages. He came up with a new one I never heard of before. He listed his employees as subcontractors, and he kept no payroll records. We finally caught up with him, and he is now on the ineligible list.

"In Texas—and you see these examples are in the South and Southwest—a very large contractor was found using a great number of workers to perform journeymen's work and improperly paying them as helpers, such as carpenters' helpers—and, mind you, he came up with a new gimmick. He called some of them 'junior helpers.' At the Labor Department's request, the contracting agency stopped any further payments under the contract and ordered the practice to be discontinued. We have started a full-scale investigation on this job to determine the amount of back wages due to the workers.

"In another case we found a contractor in New Mexico violating the Fair Labor Standards Act in work at an airbase. The men were working seven 8-hour days, 56 hours a week, without overtime compensation. Within a week after we discovered these violations we asked the Federal court to order these practices stopped. In addition, an investigation for Davis-Bacon Act violations was started.

"At another base in New Mexico we found a case of fraudulent payrolls. The contractor was very accommodating in this case. He gave each employee a slip of paper with his paycheck showing just how the juggling was done.

"We were very fortunate and it was very easy to catch it.

"We are now developing the case for criminal prosecution and blacklisting.

"As a result of our vigorous enforcement of these laws, a larger number of contractors are ineligible to receive Government contracts for 3 years, because of violations of the law. This is a stiff punishment because it prevents a firm from participating in a substantial portion of all the construction in this country. During the last fiscal year—from June of 1953 to July of 1954—20 firms were blacklisted as against only 4 during the 17 years from 1935 to 1952. I am sure any objective person would agree with me that this shows vigorous enforcement.

"Now I don't want to leave the wrong impression. Most of the contractors who do business with the Government carefully observed the law. But there are those who would break down hard-earned labor standards, cheat their own workers, and place fair bidders at a competitive disadvantage. While the blacklisting penalty is not one that should be used lightly, the law has been and will be enforced, and where willful violations of the law are found, the blacklist penalty will be used and used and used by the Department of Labor.

To do an even better job of enforcing the law, we have given more responsibility to our regional offices. Our attorneys and investigators are now closer to the job sites from which these complaints come. There are now 10 offices instead of 1 responsible for the coordination of the enforcement function. This decentralization should improve enforcement and the handling of complaints of violations.

"In order that workers on the job will be aware of their rights under the prevailing wage laws, and so that they may recognize violations of the law, and how and where to file complaints, we have issued and distributed a poster prepared by the Department, to be placed by contracting agencies or project sponsors on job sites.

"This poster says, in effect, you are entitled to be paid not less than the hourly rate for the particular classification of work which you perform, as set forth in the attached schedule. Apprentice rates apply only to apprentices properly registered under approved Federal or State apprenticeship programs, and it shows where they may file their complaints at the local offices. This will be the poster, and below it will be the wage rates which should determine under the Davis-Bacon Act, and we hope that with the widespread use of these posters more employees and more workers on the job will become better aware of their rights.

"There will also be published soon a pocket-size pamphlet explaining the various laws and regulations for the benefit and protection of construction and other workers. This pamphlet will be available to workers, unions, and contractors throughout the country. And I hope that with this pamphlet your membership and the members and employees of contractors who are not your members will be better able to understand their rights and their benefits under the Federal law.

"Finally, I want to refer to the 8-hour laws which require the payment on Government construction contracts of overtime compensation of time and one-half for hours worked each day in excess of 8. During the past months I became aware of a serious gap in these laws. Apparently, under their provisions, there is nothing to prevent a contractor from working his employees seven 8-hour days, or a total of 56 hours in a week, without the payment of overtime compensation. Of course, some construction activities are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act which requires the payment of overtime compensation for hours worked in excess of 40 per week, but this is not true of most construction. This is a problem that needs attention and should have legislative remedies in the next session of Congress.

"If we are to enforce strictly the laws for which the Department of Labor is responsible, we need your help in at least two ways. First, we need you to tell us when you see violations of these laws so that we may take action. Violations should be reported to the contracting agencies, or to the regional offices of the Department of Labor, or directly to me. Secondly, it is important that the complaints we receive be sound ones. When we receive complaints of violations of prevailing wage laws, we call them to the attention of the appropriate contracting agency—the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, or some other agency. If the agencies investigate and find them justified, they have confidence in us and will act quickly and cooperatively when we call violations to their attention. If, however, the allegations do not stand up when they are investigated (or are too trivial and picayune to be worth noting), this hampers our effectiveness with the contracting agencies. It is then natural for them to tend to act more slowly and with less interest when we call alleged violations to their attention. It is the old story of crying 'wolf' too often.

"For example, we received a complaint from a business agent that laborers were operating certain pieces of equipment on a construction project. We referred the complaint to the contracting agency, which made the investigation and informed us that no such equipment had been used on the job. We then wrote to the union and so informed them, and they still made the same charge and gave us the name of the person responsible. The agency again investigated, and then the Department of Labor had a qualified person to check the matter, not a person in the agency, but from the Department of Labor, who found that the whole complaint was wrong and that the union had the wrong job. You can see what kind of a spot that puts us in in enforcing our will with the contracting agency. What I am saying here, of course, does not apply to the Carpenters Union. I just felt it was worth mentioning to give you the full story about our work in this field.

"With your cooperation and with that of the contracting agencies and contractors, these laws can be enforced vigorously and fairly. That is our objective, and I think you will agree we are well on our way to realizing it. If you can suggest any way we can be of better service to you, I hope you will let us know.

"This enforcement of the Davis-Bacon Act which I dwelled on at great length because of your special interest in it is just one example of President Eisenhower's dedication to good government and to the enforcement of law. I know that throughout the country in many States union organization is becoming more and more difficult. I know that in many States of the Union you have a deliberate and direct attempt to undermine the standards which your union and other unions have built up. But I want to assure you that the Department of Labor, within the legal means given to us by Congress, will see to it that the laws that are on the statute books that apply to labor standards are going to be strictly, vigorously, and continually enforced."

Personal Income-Tax Exemption of $800

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, about this time of year some 60 million taxpayers are struggling over the preparation of their income-tax returns. This mental struggle, coupled with the painful duty of paying the taxes, is not restricted to persons of large or even moderate incomes. It extends to persons of very low income as well. It is my conviction that the law is exacting tribute from millions of persons living far below what we like to think of as a fair standard. I believe that equity and economics both demand that the level of personal exemptions be raised to at least $800.

The tax on income has long been recognized as potentially the fairest tax in the whole lexicon of public finance. It is the one tax which lends itself to manageable progressivity, and measures out its burdens according to the financial capacity of those upon whom its burdens fall. But the Congress has pushed the application of the tax too far. The law now lays a heavy hand on the poor and economically depressed. Reason protests this anomaly. Here we have in the income tax the most perfect tool for distributing burdens according to ability to pay, yet, as it were, we take billions of dollars out of the hides of millions who lack any real taxpaying ability. When personal exemptions under an income tax are so low that the burden of the tax falls on persons whose incomes are below a level capable of supporting a minimum standard of living, then the tax ceases to be levied in accordance with ability to pay.

Economists and sociologists have figured out what is the minimum that any individual or family can receive and still maintain a reasonable living standard compatible with American concepts. These minimums give recognition to the requirements of health, education, decent housing, clean living, an opportunity to share in a minimum of the good things of life. Certainly the Congress, even if it does not guarantee such a minimum, should not deliberately lower the standard of those who already are sub-par. Yet that is exactly what the Congress does when it exacts a toll from the person whose income barely exceeds $600.

The Congress has not always been so niggardly. Except for a single year, Federal personal-income-tax exemptions, measured in terms of buying power, are lower today than they have ever been in the past. When the income tax was first enacted in 1913, a family of 4 was entitled to an exemption of $4,000. In terms of the buying power of depreciated 1955 dollars, that was the equivalent of about $11,000. But actually today, a family of 4 enjoys an exemption of only $2,400. In 1931, the legal exemption was $4,300. This had a purchasing power of around $7,600. Even in 1944, when World War II was at its height, the exemption had a purchasing power in excess of 3,000 of our 1955 dollars. But today, as I said, the exemption is only $2,400. This is at least 50 percent and more below what is held out as being necessary to provide a minimum American standard of living. And every dollar exacted in income tax from persons below that minimum drives them one rung farther down on the economic ladder. My point is: If we cannot help to raise up these poor, the least we can do is to refrain from pushing them farther down.

If we raise the exemption to $300, we will reduce the tax of everybody, and at the same time—and this is the most important thing—abolish the tax on 13.2 million taxpayers with very low incomes. This will give relief not only to these taxpayers, but also it will reduce the tax compliance burdens of thousands of employers who now have to withhold for these low-income taxpayers. Removing some 13 million taxpayers from the rolls will also greatly reduce the administrative burdens and costs of the Internal Revenue Service and permit that agency to apply its personnel in much more constructive and revenue-producing work.

There are those who support tax relief for the wealthy but oppose tax relief for those at lower levels. They protest against removing anyone from the tax rolls. Everybody should pay their fair share, they say. Nobody should be exempt. Happily there are those who read statistics differently, and have a different concept of what is fair. I cannot understand how ordinarily intelligent well-thinking men can argue the justice of all levels of government in the United States taking in taxes more than one-fourth of the income of families with incomes below $1,000, $2,000, $3,000, or even $4,000. Yet that is what the statistics show. To repeat so there will not be any misunderstanding, the combined Federal, State, and local tax burdens on families with incomes of $1,000, $2,000, $3,000, or $4,000 exceed 25 percent of their income. To be sure, much of this burden comes from excise and property taxes, but the Federal Government in taxing their incomes also adds to the burden. It is at least this added burden that I insist should be removed.

I consider all that I have just said to be of great importance, but I have not yet reached what to me is one of the most important economic consequences of increasing personal exemptions. Increasing the personal exemption by $200 will reduce the tax burden of persons in the lowest bracket by a maximum of $160 for a family of four. With taxes reduced, take-home pay will be increased. But much more important is the fact that the tax savings of all these taxpayers will add about $4.5 billion in purchasing power, principally of persons in the low-income brackets. They will spend this money for clothing, better housing, more adequate food, refrigerators, automobiles, and the thousand and one items and services that consumers buy. But the net effect on the Nation's economy will be much greater than simply an increase in retail sales by $4.5 billion. This increased spending will result in higher business profits, higher tax revenues for the Federal Treasury, and greater employment for all. Recognized economists in the country estimate that increased purchasing power of $4.5 billion could raise aggregate income by perhaps double that amount when secondary or induced effects are taken into account.

We should remember that many workers are being displaced each year through technological improvements. We cannot and should not try to fight this. Hundreds of thousands of new workers are also moving into the labor market each year. We certainly cannot fight this. But we must ever be on guard to prevent developing unemployment. I caution that 3 million unemployed—the approximate figure today—is not to be viewed with complete disinterest and unconcern. I point out, too, that the average period of unemployment toward the end of last year was nearly 13 weeks. We can only view this with the greatest seriousness.

There are those in the United States who seem to think that the way to promote prosperity is to maintain an economic system and policy which favors business, the great corporation, the wealthy stockholder. Their thought is that some of the benefits accruing to these groups will trickle down to the mass of workers and consumers. It is thinking such as this which dominated the enactment of the 1954 tax law. It seems to me to be far more logical to assure a continued prosperity by increasing consumer purchasing power. With increased purchasing power will come increased demand. Investment, production, and sales will rise, and these in turn will promote more investment, more jobs, continued prosperity. Congress should be ever alert to do all that is necessary to prevent economic depression. But the Congress must also realize that one consequence of concentrating incomes in a relatively few hands is a reduction of consumer buying power. Depressions have been born and will continue to be born so long as the mass of the population have a purchasing power inadequate to buy our potential tremendous industrial output. The Congress must realize that failure to give some relief to consumers from heavy tax burdens is depression creating. The 84th Congress has an opportunity to enact an economically sound, and equitably just, tax measure. An increase in personal exemptions to $800 is just such a measure, and I call upon the Congress to act favorably and speedily thereon.

Utilization of Congressional Record by Educators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Mr. Glenn A. McLain, director of eastern Kentucky center of international relations of the Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond, Ky., which was published in Social Studies, a periodical devoted to subjects of interest to teachers and administrators. As is indicated by the title of this article, "The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as Source Material for Social Studies Classes," Mr. McLain has pointed out some illuminating and useful ways in which the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD has been utilized by teachers and other educators of our schools across the country, which I think will be of interest to the Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD AS SOURCE MATERIAL FOR SOCIAL STUDIES CLASSES

(By Glenn A. McLain, Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond, Ky.)

Social studies instructors in both the conventional and general educational course often find difficulty in selecting current materials for lecture or discussion purposes. The difficulty often arises because of the mass of material available, not because of the lack of material. It is usual to find many different types of newspapers, magazines, and special pamphlets at hand for either illustrative purposes in the survey course or as a prime basis for panels in the general educational course. Through the use of the Readers Guide to Periodicals and other reference books in the library there is seldom any lack of material, but selectivity is another problem entirely. Although social studies instructors point out the merits or the weaknesses of such periodicals as Harpers, Atlantic Monthly, Reporter, Freeman, and the many others, one source of material is frequently overlooked. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an often criticized, but seldom read publication, can provide necessary historical background and authoritative source material. It is especially necessary in the social studies problems course to help the student find out the issues of our age. These issues are spelled out for the student daily in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is the publication of the House and Senate. It is published at the close of each daily session before the next day. In Washington, the RECORD is used as a current bible of legislative happenings. Senators, Congressmen, and the President of the United States read the daily RECORD, as the play-by-play report of the most complex governmental operation in the world.

Most Americans are familiar with the general purpose of the RECORD, to provide a verbatim account of the speeches and debates of our elected representatives. Few Americans are familiar with the other but not less important functions of the RECORD. Each Senator and Member of the House is privileged to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD any material which will benefit the work of the Congress. Our legislators are the sole judges of what type of material will benefit the work of the Congress. Such material may include a recipe for chocolate cake from the legislator's hometown newspaper. It may be the official program of the administration or the opposition party for a new social-security system. Frequently our Representatives have articles printed from the leading publications of the world. During the first session of the 83d Congress over 2,000 articles from newspapers, magazines, and periodicals were placed in the RECORD. There are few libraries in the world which could boast of such a collection of material on world problems, past and present. Important speeches aside from congressional efforts are included. Resolutions, treaties, and international documents of interest are also printed in great numbers.

It is customary to consider the instructor's teaching aids from a strictly pedagogical point of view. If the instructor makes it his practice to use the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, he will benefit as much as his students. Instructors today are confronted with the task of keeping abreast of current material pouring from the presses of America. Few instructors faced with heavy teaching schedules can do more than read the specialized journals available in 2 or 3 fields. A daily reading of the RECORD will provide a good cross section of the type of reading material which directly influences our lawmakers. The solving of current problems can be shown to be a matter of sectional opinion induced by historical influences of the past. The instructor can use past issues of the RECORD to build this historical perspective so needed in the problems course concerned mainly with current issues. A careful check by the instructor of the daily flow of publications in special fields being authorized for reprinting by the Congress will provide the most authoritative material available. Such issues as foreign military aid, the United Nations, farm prices, the national debt, or the search for subversives in government can be quickly reviewed and studied by the class.

The instructor will find he can receive the RECORD at no cost to himself. This should be a welcome thought in these days of skyrocketing prices for all publications. An annual subscription to the RECORD will be, in most cases, gladly supplied by the instructor's Congressman or Senator. A privately paid subscription costs $18 a year. Each Congressman is supplied with 68 copies and each Senator with 100 for distribution to their constituents. Educators are always considered first in the makeup of the legislative mailing lists for the RECORD.

The direct advantages of using the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a source for discussion and problem-centered courses are several. A daily reading of the RECORD will show the student exactly how our Government operates from a legislative point of view. Too many times the problems discussed in the social studies class are analyzed in the abstract, without taking into consideration the background of their origin. Both current and past historical background will be highlighted by the use of the RECORD. The class will have the benefit of using authoritative reports as soon as they are printed for the use of the Congress. Otherwise, much valuable material is often sidetracked after congressional studies have been completed until the United States Superintendent of Documents catalogs it for distribution through Government channels. Frequently, the class and the instructor will get the benefit of articles published in newspapers, magazines, or journals which are not accessible in their own libraries. The Appendix of the RECORD is a veritable gold mine in this respect.

By regular usage of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, both the instructor and the student will appreciate more readily the vitality and complexity of our governmental and social institutions. New insights can be gained which will improve the content and method of teaching in the social studies course.

Congressional Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Underpaid Public Servants: They're Not All in Congress," which was published in the Detroit Free Press of February 18, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNDERPAID PUBLIC SERVANTS: THEY'RE NOT ALL IN CONGRESS

In voting to hike their present $15,000 salaries to $25,000—a 66-percent increase—Members of the House of Representatives took an action for which reasonable-minded citizens will not criticize them.

The pay increase, which applies to Senators also, but which still waits Senate action, is realistic in the light of what has happened to living costs in the past few years. The last time Congress got a pay raise was in 1946, and any housewife or any wage earner knows what has happened since then.

It should not be the policy of the United States, the strongest and richest nation in the world, to expect its public servants to be paid a wage which is not in keeping with the demands and dignity of office.

If we insist upon paying Members of Congress, Federal judges, and other officials (the latter also are provided for in the House bill) salaries below the standards of business, industry, and the professions, we can expect a caliber of men and women who are themselves below those standards.

About one-third of the House Members voted against the pay increase, but we suspect that most of those who did so actually voted against their convictions. We doubt there are many Members of Congress who don't really think they are entitled to more than they are getting now and would be glad to receive more. The votes against the increase, we imagine, were mostly political, and were cast with attention to what some of the less favored folks back home might say.

And what about those folks back home?

We know of one man in Detroit with reason to feel rather bitter about his Congressman voting himself a $10,000-a-year raise.

That citizen happens to be a veteran Detroit postal clerk with 29 years' service behind him.

He appeared in Federal court Wednesday to plead guilty to stealing $231.

Stealing postal funds cannot be condoned. But this employee, on the job for 29 years, with 5 children, all under 12 years, to support, has a wage of $84 a week.

Can the richest and strongest nation in the world be any more complacent about overlooking the dignity of a humble Federal worker than in taking care of the financial needs of our Congressmen, Senators, and judges?

We can't plead surprise. Postal employees have made their plight known to Congress and the people.

Congressmen are undoubtedly entitled to more money. But before they adjust their own pay levels they might first take a good look at some of the inequities in other categories of the Federal service.

Or does the old principle of noblesse oblige exist only in the pages of the romantic novels of the days of chivalry?

Opposition of Electric Cooperatives to the Missouri Basin Interstate Compact Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the February 1955 issue of the South Dakota Rural Electric Cooperative paper, the High Liner. This article reports the opposition of the electric cooperatives to the passage of the so-called Missouri Basin interstate compact bill.

The electric cooperatives foresee only interminable delay if attempt is made to deal with the Missouri Basin development through compact procedures.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EAST RIVER DIRECTORS OPPOSE COMPACT PLAN TO MANAGE BASIN

East River Electric Power Cooperative directors here February 1 opposed passage of a compact between the 10 Missouri Basin States as an organization for directing the development of the water resources of the basin, such as is proposed by the bill recently introduced in the Senate by Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Senator FRANCIS CASE, and 10 other colleagues.

The directors said that the South Dakota Rural Electric Association had previously gone on record against such a plan and questioned that the compact plan is really what the people of this State and basin want.

"Certainly, if the people understand these plans," a spokesman said, "they would choose a commission type, such as is proposed by the Hennings bill, which was proposed in the last session of Congress."

A resolution against the compact form was passed by the directors. Motion to pass this resolution was made by Sam K. Ulrikson, Canton. It was seconded by Ralph Dennis, Canova. The resolution:

"Whereas the orderly development of the resources of the Missouri Basin demand that control of these resources be placed in the hands of a commission with fixed authority and fixed responsibility;

"And whereas the need for such a commission is immediate because of the threat of a water shortage during 1955;

"And whereas the attempt to negotiate a compact between the 10 basin States of the Missouri Basin will take unlimited time and will inevitably end in failure: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we record our opposition to the compact approach to basin management and urge Congress to create a responsible agency on the Federal level."

A compact plan, the directors said, would just add confusion to the situation. It could have no authority and control, would just become another buck-passing organization to further confuse development of the resources of the basin.

Report of Dr. Daniel A. Poling on His Visit to Korea, Japan, and Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting and informative report on the situation in respect to Formosa, made by Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the Christian Herald magazine. Dr. Poling has recently concluded a personal visitation there.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Dr. Poling's report was based upon his visit to orphanages and military installations in Korea, Japan and Formosa. Christian Herald operates 8 children's homes or orphanages in these areas and 1 in Hong Kong. Dr. Poling returned to New York today, after 1 month's absence.)

Dr. Poling said: "It is the glory of the Army of the United States that it has been and is an army of compassion. From his pay, the young American in uniform in all the services has contributed not less than $4 million to feed, cloths and house the orphans of Korea, Japan, Germany, and the islands. Today more than 50,000 of these children and babies are in Korea alone."

Dr. Poling stated the following as his conclusions from his visit:

"1. Today Moscow and Peiping are joined in a gigantic conspiracy to blackmail the world into surrendering freedom. A 'cease fire' could become a worse disaster than Munich.

"2. The loss of small islands off the mainland may be, from the military standpoint, inconsequential, but with them would go a loss of face that could become a major setback to the United States and the United Nations.

"3. As to American prestige in Asia, the repudiation and recall of Douglas MacArthur was a catastrophe. Followed by the failure of the United Nations to win the Korean War, there had resulted a weakening of the will to resist communism that has become a creeping paralysis throughout the East.

"4. The strong message of President Eisenhower and the practically unanimous support of Congress, have revived hope and gone a long way to restore faith throughout Asia. A week ago nationalist flags flew everywhere over the refugee areas of Hong Kong, where more than 2 million Chinese suffer and wait for the liberation of their homeland. In Japan the growing propaganda for closer ties with Moscow and Peiping was definitely halted by the action in Washington.

"5. I have talked with the representative leaders in every area and level of life in Japan, Korea, Formosa, and Hong Kong—generals, ambassadors, missionaries, prisoners-of-war who refused to return to their homes and chose Formosa, businessmen, refugees, social workers, and recent escapees. Among these men and women there is almost complete agreement as follows:

"(a) More than 90 percent of mainland Chinese hate their Communist masters. Millions have died hopelessly. As to the total number liquidated, such men as Bishop Quentin K. Y. Huang and correspondent John C. Caldwell vary, but the high figure is 43 million. The living wait only for outside help and a leader to rise in revolution from Canton to the Yellow River. Those with whom I sat in conference are convinced that, given an air umbrella of strength and Gen. Claire Chennault's formula for invasion, Chiang Kai-shek could establish a bridgehead, hold it, and then steadily advance. These same competent observers, many of whom have spent from 20 to 40 years in China insist that American ground troops would not be required.

"(b) We lost the Korean war because we listened to the wrong men, who steadily hindered or reversed our military leaders. For the first time in our history we fought a war, with all its sacrifices and losses, in which we committed ourselves, deliberately and unnecessarily, to less than victory. For this, pressure from abroad was largely responsible.

"(c) Today time runs out—fast. But there is still time enough if, following President Eisenhower's message and leadership and the action of Congress, we listen to such men as JUDD and KNOWLAND and give to Admiral Radford and Generals Hull, Taylor, and Chase full responsibility for military action as required."

Move to Town?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead of February 5, 1955:

MOVE TO TOWN?—YOUNG FARM WIFE WONDERS ABOUT QUITTING THE FARM

Here is a letter from a young Iowa farm woman. Her husband is a renter. Read it and see if you think she has the right bear by the tail:

"To the EDITOR:

"This is the first letter I have ever written to any magazine or newspaper, but I just have to let off steam some place.

"I get so tired of all these writeups worrying about how the young folks are leaving the farm. Look at us. We're staying—so far.

"We are a young couple with four children. We've lived on the farm 6 years, since our marriage. My husband has always lived on the farm. I came from a nearby town.

"We have never given a thought to any life but the farm, but now we are wondering.

"We live moderately and have managed to obtain the necessary machinery, but we cannot seem to get ahead of expense enough to save for that farm of our own we hope to have some day.

"How does the little farmer ever get ahead?

"Right now, the easy way to have a place of our own is to sell out and buy a place in town. Anyone can get a job in town, but my husband is a born farmer and a good one.

"I used to think a man farmed when he couldn't do anything else. I know now that it takes more knowledge and ability than any job a city fellow holds.

"Why, then, can't it be made easier for us to be independent?

"Yes, I know the Government has a plan where you can buy through FHA. But the land has to be cheap and falling apart before loans of this type will be granted.

"Yet there must be a way. I look around me and see so many who are still renting

after 30 years or more. Yes, they were good farmers too, but could never make the step to ownership. I shudder to think that is what will happen to us.

"Perhaps the easy way—moving to town—is the best way? I'm wondering.

"YOUNG IOWA FARM WIFE."

How would our readers answer this? Say that town jobs aren't so easy to get now and that some renters get a better living than some owners? Or what?

Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead agrees that young people who started in the high time have a special problem. We'll run a series of articles soon about the difficulties of the young farmer. But in the meantime, we'll appreciate comment from our readers. If you want to write to Young Iowa Farm Wife, we'll forward the letters.

Postal Clerk Steals: Judge Is Sympathetic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a matter which will soon come up for their consideration: The question of postal pay raises. At the conclusion of my remarks I insert a news item from the Detroit Free Press, dated Thursday, February 17, 1955, and a copy of my letter to Federal Judge Theodore Levin. The news story tells of a veteran post office clerk with five children making $84 per week and pleading guilty in Federal court of stealing $231 of postal funds. Further, I am inserting in the RECORD a copy of my letter to Federal Judge Theodore Levin assuring him that my remarks are in no way intended to influence his duties as a jurist.

In his remarks from the bench Judge Levin states that "Something should be done about it." The implications contained in his statement, I feel, are directed to this body. When a jurist decries the inequities of a socio-economic situation which places beyond his scope of authority a means of applying a remedy I am of the opinion that those in a position to take action should not falter or hesitate. The remedy must be shaped here in the form of adequate postal pay legislation capable of answering not merely the needs of bare existence, but sufficient in scope to make the public servants of our postal system shareholders of a standard of living for which we can be justly proud.

I feel that the President's message on postal pay increases falls short of the mark in supplying the needed solution for this problem. The administration's salary plan, now before committee, calls for a 5 percent increase in basic salary rates. What would this mean to the postal clerk that is responsible for nourishing five children along with himself and his wife? Not enough to pay one-half the milk bill if he is supplying these tots with the recommended minimum of 1 quart per child per day. Since when has this great legislative body considered the basic welfare of its citizens secondary to a dream of making the postal service a self-supporting, going business concern? I do not say this to slur any efforts to make more efficient the operations of our Government agencies, but when human values are being equated with the cold statistics of fiscal policy, I, for one, shall never abide by any resultant that sacrifices humaneness for business expediency. Our responsibility is to the many—as well as the few.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I earnestly request my colleagues to join me in support of a 10-percent increase in the basic salary rates; retroactive to the date of the President's disapproval of H. R. 7774 of the 83d Congress.

POSTAL CLERK STEALS: JUDGE IS SYMPATHETIC
(By Charles Manos)

A veteran postoffice clerk who makes $84 a week pleaded guilty Wednesday in Federal court to stealing $231.

Charged with misapplication of postal funds collected by him on cash-on-delivery packages was Clem Hall, 49, of 1866 Kenmore, Grosse Pointe Woods. He has five children—all under 12 years of age.

Hall's plea immediately drew from Judge Theodore Levin a sympathetic comment apparently aimed at pay scales for postal workers.

"It's a shame a good man like you should be a victim of circumstances," Judge Levin said. "Something should be done about it."

Hall, a clerk in the Grosse Pointe branch, has worked for the postoffice for 29 years.

Judge Levin released Hall, who will forfeit his job and possibly his pension rights, on personal bond pending sentencing.

FEBRUARY 23, 1955.

Hon. THEODORE LEVIN,
Judge, Federal District Court,
Eastern District of Michigan,
Detroit, Mich.

DEAR JUDGE LEVIN: I am enclosing with this letter a copy of some remarks I made this week on the floor of the House of Representatives. I sincerely hope that I have not taken any privileges in my interpretation of your comment in regards to this matter.

Since this individual is a member of my constituency I felt duty-bound to make public mention of the matter with the hope that adequate legislation would evolve therefrom. In no way do I intend my comments to influence you in your duties of administering the justice that our laws require.

I would be most interested to hear whatever further views you might have about the general problem.

Cordially,

LOUIS C. RABAUT,
Member of Congress.

Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) to extend the authority of the President to enter into trade agreements under section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, since I have been a Member of the House I voted on the matter of extending the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act in some form or other on six separate occasions. In looking through the record of those occasions I find that on four of them I voted in favor of the legislation. On two occasions I voted against.

When this matter was before us in the 79th Congress, it contained no provision to safeguard the American producer and workman against unwise reductions of duties. There was no provision for escape clauses and no provision providing for a finding by the Tariff Commission as to the limit to which a modification or binding of duties and other import restrictions may be made without causing or threatening serious injury to domestic producers. I voted against this legislation.

In the 80th Congress, with a Republican majority, we were successful in writing into the law a provision requiring escape clauses in trade agreements and also the provision providing for a finding by the Tariff Commission of the points below which it would be perilous to our domestic economy to go in reducing tariffs. With these provisions in the bill, I voted for the extension of the Trade Agreements Act.

Then came the 81st Congress. The control of the Congress had shifted to the Democrats and one of their first acts was to repeal the provisions adopted by the 80th Congress. The escape-clause and the peril-point provisions were completely eliminated. I voted against this bill.

In providing for the extension of the Trade Agreements Act in the 82d Congress, the Congress reinserted the escape-clause and peril-point provisions over the vehement objections of the then Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, and President Truman. With these protective provisions in the bill, I voted for the legislation.

The matter of extending the Trade Agreements Act was before us on two occasions during the 83d Congress. It must be said to the credit of the present administration that they did not then, as they do not now, request the elimination of the escape-clause and peril-point provisions. I voted for both extensions.

Mr. Chairman, this brief history of the recent actions of Congress in connection with the Trade Agreements Act shows that the question at issue has not been so much the matter of authorizing the President to enter into agreements with foreign countries, but rather the extent to which the position of our domestic producers would be recognized and the extent to which they would be protected against unfair competition in international trade.

We all agree, I believe, that our prosperity is tied up with the exchange of goods and services. The greater the velocity and volume of this exchange, the greater is our prosperity. That is true whether applied to domestic trade or to international trade. The more goods you can move back and forth between people, the more prosperous everybody is going

to be. We must, therefore, have some machinery, some mechanism, some authority, to make possible the elimination of unnecessary restrictions and burdens on that exchange of goods. The President must have the authority to enter into agreements with other countries which will eliminate unnecessary restrictions. The basic purpose of the Trade Agreements Act is to provide this authority. I support this basic purpose.

Please note that I used the word "unnecessary" in referring to the restrictions and burdens which we should attempt to eliminate. I use the word "unnecessary" because I think we must recognize that circumstances can and do exist which require a nation to place certain restrictions on the goods or services entering into that country. I think we are most unrealistic and make a serious mistake when we criticize either our Government or a foreign government for imposing a restriction on the flow of goods into that country in order to meet some conditions then existing in that country.

The proponents of free trade speak loud and eloquently about the virtues of open unfettered competition. We have heard some of their speeches today. Given their way, we would completely repeal the Tariff Act of 1930, and any of our other laws which regulate the flow of goods into this country.

I, too, believe in competition. I would remind my colleagues, however, that what we in this country have always strived for is fair competition. We have many laws written on our statute books to assure that our domestic commerce will be based on fair competition. With respect to our domestic economy, we recognize that Government has an obligation to assure an environment which encourages fair competition. In 1914 we established the Federal Trade Commission. Look at its basic objectives. Let me quote briefly from the United States Government Manual of 1954–55 concerning the duties and purpose of this Commission:

> Although the duties of the Commission are many and varied under the statutes, the foundation of public policy underlying all these duties is essentially the same: to prevent the free-enterprise system from being stifled or fettered by monopoly or corrupted by unfair or deceptive trade practices. In brief, the Commission is charged with keeping competition both free and fair.

Yes, that is our governmental policy in the field of domestic commerce—to keep competition both free and fair. The question I would ask my friends who advocate free trade is, "Should we have any less concern about assuring fair competition in the area of foreign commerce and foreign trade, particularly when that competition arises from foreign producers who are outside of the scope and application or our other domestic laws?" In my judgment, Mr. Chairman, we should be more alert to assure fair competition when the threat is from foreign producers outside of the jurisdiction of our basic laws.

Let it always be remembered that we, as a Government, impose burdens on our domestic producers which we do not and cannot make applicable to foreign producers. Let me call your attention to just a few of them. I have already mentioned the Federal Trade Commission Act. In addition, there is the Clayton Act, the Sherman Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, the Labor-Management Relations Act, and, of course, the various States' fair-trade laws. In addition, there are the various Federal and State taxes imposed on domestic producers. There is also the social-security law, the Unemployment Compensation Act, and the various States' workmen's compensation acts. Those are just some of the burdens which we have placed on our domestic producers by law which do not apply to foreign producers of similar commodities.

I am certainly not suggesting that these laws should be repealed. I do say that we must, however, be fair to our domestic producers and recognize that these laws can place them at a distinct disadvantage in competing with foreign producers.

There is no question but what we would all be horrified if anyone were to suggest that the minimum-wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act should apply to only a small section of the country, such as New England, and that the rest of the country would not be subject to this law. There is no one who would not recognize that this would place the New England producers at a decided disadvantage in any effort to compete with producers in other sections of the country. We would hurl all of the derogatory adjectives in the book at such a proposal. Yet, if it would be unfair and unreasonable to discriminate between domestic producers, is it not just as unfair and unreasonable when we require a domestic producer to comply with such laws and at the same time require him to compete in our domestic market with foreign producers whom our laws do not reach. Certainly the answer must be "Yes," unless we provide some other compensating device to protect against the unfairness. Our tariff laws and import regulations must perform that function.

I have emphasized the need to protect our domestic producers from unfair competition because I am very fearful that there have been times when this fact has not been recognized in negotiations and agreements entered into under the authority of the Trade Agreements Act. I share the concern of many in this House that those who administer the act under Presidential directive are sometimes overly anxious and overly enthusiastic about befriending some foreign country and, in their enthusiasm, lose sight of their fundamental obligation to be fair and honest with our own people. That is why I have long been an advocate of the escape-clause and peril-point provisions of the act. That is why I also feel that there is a need for strengthening the present escape-clause provisions.

Mr. Chairman, I am supporting this extension. I voted to report this bill out of the Committee on Ways and Means and I will vote for its passage today. If I could vote to give the authority referred by this bill to a Democrat administration, as I did in 1948 and in 1951, I certainly can vote to give it to the present administration.

Because I believe we must take every precaution to assure protection for our domestic producers against unfair competition from foreign producers, I intend to vote for the motion to recommit, which has as its objective the strengthening of the escape-clause procedure.

Toynbee Answers 10 Basic Questions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, in the magazine section of the New York Times of February 20, 1955, there appears an article entitled "Toynbee Answers 10 Basic Questions." The subtitle of the article is "The Noted Historian-Philosopher Expresses Optimism on Some of the Great Issues of War and Peace That May Determine the Future of Western Civilization."

These questions and Professor Toynbee's answers are so illuminating that I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Let me call the attention of my colleagues to the 10th question, which is: "Do you think that communism is the wave of the future?" An outstanding statement in his answer is the following, which can be characterized as the key to the entire article:

> The wave of the future is, not communism, but religion of the kind that does give the individual human being effective spiritual help in leading his personal life.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOYNBEE ANSWERS 10 BASIC QUESTIONS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The writings and speeches of Arnold J. Toynbee, author of the monumental A Study of History, have produced a good deal of controversy. What follows are 10 basic questions put to Professor Toynbee and his answers to them.)

1. Are you an optimist or a pessimist about the future of Western civilization? Why?

I am an optimist in two senses: (a) I do not believe that Western civilization is fated to decline and fall. (I do not believe, either, that it is bound automatically to survive and prosper.) (b) I believe we Westerners have it in our power to save our civilization by our own exertions. No doubt, we may fail to do the things necessary for our salvation, but this is not what I expect. My expectation is that the challenges presented to Western civilization in our time are going to arouse us to repent, to reform, and to lead a new life.

2. Do you believe that history repeats itself?

Repeats itself is ambiguous. It may mean "is bound to repeat itself" through the working of some inexorable law of nature which cannot be broken by the action of human minds and wills; or it may mean "has sometimes repeated itself in the past," and therefore can repeat itself, without there being any evidence that it is bound to repeat itself.

I believe that history repeats itself in the second of these two alternative senses, but not in the first. I am not a determinist.

3. Isn't our present period distinguished by new factors which make it unique—the atom bomb, the rise of Communist states, etc.? Can it, therefore, be said to be repeating any other period?

The atom bomb is not the first new weapon, of greater destructiveness than any weapon known before, that mankind has added to its armory; the atom bomb is in the same series as the airplane, gunpowder, the crossbow. The present Communist states, again, are not the first states that have been dedicated by their rulers to the militant propagation of some particular ideology or religion. There have been militant Protestant Christian, Catholic Christian, Islamic, and Jewish states in the past. So there is a sense in which neither of the new factors mentioned in this question makes our present period unique.

At the same time, a difference in degree, when it is very great, can become a difference in kind; and I do think that the difference, produced by the invention of atomic weapons, in the degree of the destructiveness of war is a difference that has produced a change in the nature of the institution of war as known and practiced hitherto.

In the past, war has seemed to "make sense" because it has seemed reasonable to make two assumptions: (a) That the soldier, by risking and, if need be, sacrificing, his life at the front has at least a chance of being able, at this price, to defend something behind the front effectively; (b) that it is better to win a war than to lose it. But the invention of atomic weapons looks as if it may have obliterated the formerly valid distinctions between soldier and civilian, front and rear, victor and vanquished. If so, then our present period would be unique in seeing the historic institution of war turn into something new and different: mass suicide. We have already coined a new word, "genocide," to describe this new possibility.

A second difference in degree that has perhaps become a difference in kind is the improvement of means of communication to a degree at which we have come near to "annihilating distance." With atomic weapons in our hands, we are now within pointblank range of one another. We can use this "annihilating of distance" to destroy ourselves. Alternatively, we can use it to make the world a common home for mankind to live in as one family. Both these alternatives have become possibilities in our present period for the first time in history.

A third difference in degree that has perhaps become a difference in kind in our present period is the acceleration of the pace of social change. The revolution through which we are living is not the greatest in human history up to date. It cannot be as great as the revolution through which our pre-human ancestors passed when they were becoming human. But that earliest revolution must have been spread over so many successive lifetimes that no single individual will ever have been aware of the mutation that he was undergoing.

By contrast, in our time the pace of change has become so fast that the individual is now conscious of being kept on the run in trying to keep up with it. This, too, is something new, but it is also not quite without precedent; for something like this breakneck acceleration of the spread of change has sometimes overtaken human beings in the past when people with widely different ways of life have suddenly run into one another.

Conclusion: Our present period is in some sense unique, and this in important ways. But it is not unique in being unique. Other periods, too, have been unique in ways of their own.

4. If history repeats itself, does that mean world war III is inevitable?

Yes, if "repeat" means "must repeat" (which I do not believe); no, if "repeat" means "has sometimes repeated" (which I do believe).

5. You stress the importance of reviving religion. How would you define true religion?

I would define true religion as being right belief and right feeling taking effect in right action. Without right action, right feeling, and right belief have no virtue in them. By right belief I mean recognizing that (a) we human beings understand and control only a tiny fraction of the universe, and (b) that there is a presence in the universe which is spiritually greater than we are and which is absolute reality. By right feeling I mean awe in face of the mystery of the universe and humility in the presence of absolute reality. By right action I mean trying to bring one's self-centered self into conformity with this spiritual presence behind the phenomena.

I have tried to put my definition in terms that hold good for the religions of the Indian family (Buddhism and Hinduism), as well as for those of the Palestinian family (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), with which we in the West are better acquainted so far.

6. If there is no religious revival, how will that affect the West?

If there were to be no religious revival, the outlook for the West, as I see it, would be unpromising. I believe our modern western way of life is the expression of a belief in the sacredness of the personality of the individual. This high valuation of the individual personality in the West is being challenged today by communism and other totalitarian ideologies which deify the human community and maintain that the individual human being exists for the sake of the community, as the ant exists for the sake of the ant heap and the bee for the sake of the beehive.

If this totalitarian exaltation of the community were to prevail over our liberal western belief in the sacredness of the personality, that would, I should say, be the death of the distinctive ideal for which the West stands. If our western ideal is to hold its own against the challenging totalitarian ideal, it must stand on sure foundations. Its original foundations were religious. The historical origin of our western belief in the sacredness of the human personality is the Jewish and Christian belief that human souls have an absolute value in the sight of God; and, though, in the modern age, this religious basis of our western belief has been forgotten or even repudiated, I cannot see any other foundation on which our belief can stand.

For this reason, I think the outlook for the West would be unpromising if there were to be no religious revival. In looking forward to a religious revival, I do not expect to see us return to our ancestral religions in the traditional forms into which they had set in the age before the beginning of the modern western scientific movement.

7. One of your critics writes: He comes to the strange conclusion that the Russian reaction to the technical power of the West is analogous to Christianity's reaction to Roman imperialism." Is his a fair statement of your point of view?

No; it turns my point of view upside down and the conclusion attributed to me would be strange indeed, if it had ever really been reached by me or by anybody else. My critic has mixed up two quite separate points of mine, and he has misstated each of them. I have never compared the Russian reaction to the technical power of the West with Christianity's reaction to Roman imperialism. I have made the quite different point that the Russians, since Peter the Great, have reacted to the technical power of the West by mastering western technology and using it as a means of holding their own. Christianity does not come into the picture here.

On the other hand, in another context, I have compared Russian communism, not with Christianity, but with Roman imperialism, on the ground that communism and Caesar worship are like one another in being glorifications of collective human power at the expense of the sacredness of the individual human personality. In this connection I pointed out that, in the Roman Empire, Caesar worship, which had seemed to have overwhelming material force at its command, was defeated by oriental religions which were not forms of man worship, as Caesar worship was, and which had neither the will nor the power to use material force; and I suggested that, in our world, communism might be defeated by oriental religions, as Caesar worship once was.

I was thinking here of four living oriental religions: Judaism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. In contrast to Christianity, which started in Palestine and reached the West from there, communism is not oriental in origin. It is a western product a western export. It was manufactured by a Rhinelander in the reading room of the British Museum, London, England, Western Christendom, and it was exported to Russia from here.

8. Is coexistence possible?

Yes, on the evidence of past experience. For instance, in the world in which we are living at this moment, Protestants are coexisting with Catholics, and Moslems with Christians. In the 17th century there were Protestants and Catholics who believed that existence would be impossible for them if the other party were not eliminated, while in the age of the Crusades and the jihads, there were Moslems and Christians who believed that the liquidation of the enemy religion was a necessity if they themselves were to survive. Yet centuries have passed; the parties are still coexisting; and they have not, after all, found it impossible to go on living side by side. These precedents are encouraging. I think of them when I hear western contemporaries of mine saying that coexistence with communism is impossible. In the light of history, I do not take this state of mind tragically.

Coexistence will, though, be uncomfortable and unsafe so long as both sides are simply putting up with it as a state of affairs which they dislike and to which they are submitting only sulkily, out of sheer necessity. If we manage, as I believe we shall, to stave off a third world war, we must make positive use of the time that we buy. We must use it for trying to understand one another and to acquire some confidence in one another. Our long-distance aim ought to be to prepare the way for worldwide cooperation in dealing with the major problems that face the world today on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

The alternative to coexistence is not the continuation of our own existence, with the other party conveniently eliminated, while we live happily ever after by ourselves. The alternative to coexistence is more likely to be nonexistence for both parties, because the alternative is a third world war, and a third world war means mass-suicide in the atomic age.

9. What are the major problems facing the world today, as you see them?

First, the problem of staving off a third world war as a first step toward reaching a relation with one another of sufficient mutual confidence to reduce the fear of war to the vanishing point.

If we manage to solve the problem of keeping, and then insuring, the peace, the next major problem may be that of limiting the world's population. If atomic weapons do not destroy all life, preventive medicine applied by public health authorities will allow the numbers of the human race to

multiply up to starvation point and beyond it, unless we can bring ourselves quickly to change our habits, and our traditional attitudes, in regard to the procreation of children.

In this inner sanctum of family life, habits cannot be changed easily. It will be hard, indeed, for wives and husbands to reconcile themselves to the necessary new idea that the number of children they are to have is not exclusively their own private affair but is something in which the world, too, has a say, since it is the world that will have to provide the food ration for the children if these are born into a world on the brink of starvation.

If the world manages to keep the peace and also to keep its population within limits by other means than the inhuman traditional means (war, famine, and pestilence), I think the greatest problem of all will be the revival of religion. I believe man cannot live without freedom; his spiritual life is the sphere in which he needs freedom most of all; and religion may be the only field left for freedom of any kind in the world into which we are now moving.

I see at least three forces at work which are all militating against freedom and telling in favor of totalitarianism. These three forces are the pressure of population, the dangerousness of the high-powered tools with which we have now equipped ourselves and the demand for social justice. All three forces are driving us toward the regulation and regimentation of life. In the fields of economics and politics, the opportunities for freedom, therefore, seem likely to diminish. If freedom is not preserved in religion, which is its spiritual citadel, it may be altogether lost; and, without freedom, man would no longer be human. This is the nightmare of "1984."

10. Do you think that communism is "the wave of the future"?

No, I do not. In the long run, I believe that communism will fail to captivate mankind, because, as I see it, communism has very little spiritual help or guidance to offer to men and women in the personal trials and troubles of their individual lives. I know of no religion or ideology that has captivated people in the past without having proved itself to be a very present help in trouble of the personal kind. I therefore believe that "the wave of the future" is, not communism, but religion of the kind that does give the individual human being effective spiritual help in leading his personal life.

Religion of this kind is represented in the world today by half a dozen living religious faiths: Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, the Hinayana Buddhism of southeast Asia, and the Mahayana Buddhism of eastern Asia. "The wave of the future," as I foresee it, is the resurgence of these living religions. I should expect to see them revive in new forms that might be startling, and even shocking, to people who have remained faithful to them in their traditional forms. I should also expect, in a world in which distance has been annihilated, to see them come into a much more intimate contact with one another than ever before, and to learn a great deal from one another.

At the same time, I should not expect to see them coalesce into a single world religion. I should expect to see each maintain its own historic identity; and, for most people, for a long time to come, their ancestral religion will probably be the one in which they will find themselves most at home—though, as the world grows into a single family, more and more people are likely to choose their religion for themselves when they are grown up, instead of automatically remaining members of the local church in which they happen to have been brought up.

Though I do not think that communism is the wave of the future, I do think that it is a formidable movement, and that we cannot afford to sit back and wait passively until mankind becomes disillusioned with it.

It is formidable because it makes a powerful appeal to at least three different publics. It appeals (a) to weaklings who long for clear-cut and authoritative answers to all questions, both on matters of fact and on issues of conduct; (b) to idealists who long to devote themselves to some great suprapersonal public cause which will take them out of themselves; (c) to natives who long to find a shortcut to catching up with the West in material efficiency and power. Of these three publics, (b) is influential out of all proportion to its numbers; (a) and (c), which overlap, include, between them, the great majority of the human race.

If the mission field for communism is as favorable as this, the propagation of our own faith will call for the utmost spiritual exertions from us. We are free to make these exertions if we choose; neither communism nor anything else can prevent us. And we can be confident that, if we do exert ourselves, our faith will win in the struggle for the conversion of souls. We believe that our faith is the true one, and that the truth is mighty and will prevail.

Problems of Aged Persons in the United States Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Care Inadequate for the Sick Aged," published in the New York Times of Tuesday, February 22, 1955. The article dramatizes the critical health problems confronting aged persons in the United States today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CARE INADEQUATE FOR THE SICK AGED—MOST INITITUTIONS ACCEPTING THEM WERE NOT DESIGNED FOR THAT PURPOSE—PROBLEM IS INTENSIFYING—INCREASED LONGEVITY ADDS TO BURDENS CAUSED BY SENILITY AND CHRONIC ILLNESS

(By Edith Evans Asbury)

Thousands of New York's aged already are mentally or physically ill and live in institutions. More than half of these ailing aged are supported at public expense.

Two city infirmaries, a city nursing home, 11 State mental hospitals and 100 commercially run nursing homes house and care for the aging ill from this area. Additional hundreds are being cared for in 91 homes for the aged operated by religious and philanthropic organizations. Nobody, including the city's commissioner of hospitals, knows how many chronically ill aged men and women languish in general and voluntary hospital beds, not because they need expensive care but because there is no place to send them.

Most of the havens in which these men and women have found refuge for their declining years were not designed to handle their problems.

Bird S. Coler Infirmary, a 1,920 bed institution on Welfare Island, is an exception. One of the most modern and best-equipped facilities in the Nation, it was planned to meet today's needs of the infirm aged. It was completed 2½ years ago, and already is filled nearly to capacity.

Creedmoor Hospital for the mentally ill, on the other hand, was designed to accommodate a higher proportion of younger and ambulatory patients than it now has. When it opened as a separate institution in 1935, only 28 percent of the patients in New York State mental hospitals were senile. Today this group constitutes 36 percent of the inmates of state hospitals.

Because most of Creedmoor's aging patients are bedfast or have limited mobility, they cannot, for instance, go to centrally located dining rooms in other buildings.

Replanning of food service for patients who cannot climb stairs, or even leave their beds—and some of the very old have to be spoon-fed like babies—is just one example of the adaption required at Creedmoor.

HOMES FOR AGED EVOLVING

Similar changes, usually at great expense, have become necessary in homes for the aged. Originally planned as rest and retirement places for ambulatory, and sometimes healthy, oldsters, many of these homes are gradually evolving into infirmaries or hospitals.

There are two major reasons for the evolution. First, their original inhabitants lived for many years after entering, became chronically ill, and continued to survive for many more years. Secondly, men and women enter homes for the aged now at the aged of 75 or 80, usually for health reasons.

A generation ago, the average age at admission to a home for the aged was 60 or 65, and the reason was usually a need for shelter and food.

Nowadays, men and women in their sixties have the wherewithal to buy food and shelter in their own communities, thanks to social security, old-age assistance, pensions and the like. And they show an overwhelming preference for remaining independent, and outside an institution, as long as possible.

The old idea that retired men and women romp joyously into homes for aged, or sunny colonies in Florida to rest and relax after years of happy anticipation, has been disproved by recent surveys. They want to stay in their own homes in their own neighborhoods, near friends and relatives, regardless of the rigors of climate or penury.

Eventually, because of the increased life span, illness and enfeeblement overtake many of the aging, and they have to enter some kind of institution when they can no longer take care of themselves.

When aging men and women begin to deteriorate they are prey to a variety of diseases, and sometimes suffer from more than one at the same time.

THE DISEASE OF SENILITY

One of the most distressing illnesses to befall the aged and their families is senility. Medical science has not found its cause or cure. It can last for many years, during which the patient gradually grows increasingly feeble physically and mentally, requiring more and more care. The cost, over a period of years, of providing for a severely senile relative is utterly beyond the means of the average family.

Mildly senile persons can remain with relatives if there is someone to keep an eye on them. They cannot be left alone for long. They are forgetful, may wander away, may turn on the gas to make coffee and forget to put a match to the gas. At this stage their medical needs are likely to be few.

New York's small families, usually living in small apartments, often with husband and

wife both working, face a problem not to be underestimated even with mild senility. The situation is the more critical if teenagers in the family feel shamed by grandmother's behavior, or a daughter-in-law resents the burden of caring for her.

As the disease progresses, the senile person grows more forgetful, more vague, more childish. Physical and sanitation needs, as well as personality disturbances, become extremely difficult for the average family to cope with. At this point, some kind of custodial care elsewhere is usually necessary to keep the rest of the family from being blown apart.

Senility, while it affects the mind, has physical, not mental causes. In nontechnical language, it is the result of hardening of the arteries. The aging, thickening arteries permit less and less blood to flow to the brain, which becomes undernourished, starves and fails.

The disease can occur in any person, regardless of how satisfying his occupation, physical health, mental and emotional stability were during his active mature years.

ALL GROUPS AFFECTED

All income groups are struck. Wealthy families can hire companions or nurses, and keep the patient at home when the disease becomes severe, or they can obtain suitable institutionalization—at great expense.

If the family is supported by welfare funds, or demonstrably unable to pay for the care of the senile relative outside the home, public agencies will assume all or part of the burden.

The average, self-supporting, middle-income family, however, finds it virtually impossible in New York City to solve the problem of long-term custodial care for a senile relative in a way commensurate with its pride and self-respect.

In a nursing home—if one can be found that is willing to take a senile patient—fees will be at least $150 a month, for bed, board, and nursing care alone. Medical treatment, when needed, will be billed separately.

Homes for the aged are extremely reluctant to accept senile patients, because of the more intensive, therefore more expensive, attention they require. Their financial resources are already strained to the breaking point by the unanticipated greater number of years their present population has survived, and by the resultant increase in chronic illness among them.

Another reason for the reluctance to accept a senile is that his childish behavior sometimes disturbs other patients.

By reducing their own standard of living some middle-income families, at great financial hardship, manage to maintain a senile parent or grandparent. But the senile can survive for years. Usually, as things are now, the senile from the middle and lower income family eventually goes to a tax-supported institution, despite his family's financial sacrifices and pride.

Usually that institution is a mental hospital, to the further demoralization of the family and drain on the taxpayer.

STATE HOSPITALS OPPOSED

Many students of the problems of the aged believe that the majority of the senile do not belong in State hospitals for the mentally ill. They believe the care there is more expensive than need be for this type of patient.

According to State law, senile psychotics must be committed to a hospital for the mentally ill. Many welfare workers believe the law is sometimes loosely interpreted in order to commit nonpsychotic senile men and women because there is no place else to put them.

In the opinion of this group, the law should be rephrased to distinguish between psychotic and nonpsychotic senility. They advocate separate institutions, more like nursing homes than hospitals, for the senile.

If this were done, they argue, the senile's care would be less of a burden on the taxpayer, his last years could be spent more comfortably, and his descendants would be spared the stigma of mental illness.

Administrators of the State Department of Mental Hygiene are outraged by the latter argument. They declare that no more stigma is attached to illness of the brain than to bodily illness.

Dr. James A. Brussel, assistant commissioner, insists that no patient is in a State hospital for the mentally ill who is not mentally ill.

"Our mental hospitals are so overcrowded now that we are hard pressed for space," Dr. Brussel declares.

"Don't you think we would be delighted to empty our beds of older people if they were not mentally ill?" Dr. Brussel demands. "Then we could reduce overcrowding and concentrate our efforts and facilities on the younger person who would receive more benefit from treatment and perhaps be cured."

A spotlight was thrown on the situation last December, when Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Brenner declared that he was sick and tired of sending old people to mental institutions simply because there is no place else to put them.

Referring to four elderly persons appearing before him for commitment, Justice Brenner said: "Since denial of custodial care and hospitalization to these people would probably result in their death, I find myself compelled to certify them as mentally ill."

Miss Ollie Randall, national president of the Gerontology Society, applauded the jurist's outburst as a welcome shock. It underscored a problem that deserves a high, if not the highest priority in the community—planning for old age, Miss Randall said.

Commissioner Brussel's retort is that after a thorough clinical study—"and you can be sure it was thorough"—all four of the persons to whom the jurist referred were found to be "definitely very psychotic."

Miss Randall and scores of others, including physicians and psychiatrists as well as welfare workers, believe there is merit in drawing a sharper distinction between psychotic and nonpsychotic senility, and in providing separate facilities for them.

Even a distinct wing of a mental hospital, with a different name, which would appear on the death record handed down to his descendants, would be a humane step in the right direction, declares Justice Brenner. He also proposes that a new term "helpless aged," be used in commitment proceedings.

No layman is qualified to diagnose psychosis. Qualified psychiatrists themselves may vary in their judgment as to when the borderline has been crossed from emotional disturbance and neurosis into psychosis.

To the untrained observer, mere erratic behavior may be deemed psychotic, or outward calm of a true psychotic may be mistaken as proof of normality.

PSYCHOSIS IS DEFINED

Dr. S. Bernard Wortis, professor of psychiatry and neurology at New York University College of Medicine, and director of psychiatric and neurological services at University Hospital, New York University-Bellevue Medical Center, says there is no dispute about the exact definition of psychosis.

A psychotic, Dr. Wortis says, is an individual of normal intelligence in such a state of mind as to be unable to care for his own needs, unable to deal with the ordinary requirements of his normal environment, and devoid of insight into the consequences of his actions.

The city's psychiatrists base their decision on committal recommendations on whether the senile person has reached this state, Dr. Wortis says. He denies that they take into consideration any lack of other facilities for the patients' care outside a mental hospital.

The same definition, incidentally, almost applies to a baby. And, indeed, senile men and women revert to childishness as their disease progresses. As their memory fails, they forget acquired habits of self control. This means diapering, constant change of clothing and bed linen, and sometimes resistance to being bathed and fed.

One of the most tragic sights imaginable is the wasted, feeble 90-year-old, a great-grandmother, crying piteously in her bed for, Mama, I want my Mama.

Not all the aged become senile. The percentage is small. However, the numbers are large, and are bound to increase as our aged population increases. Unless some answer is found to the problems posed by their need for specialized care, its expense will continue to engulf an ever-growing number of families, and the taxpayer.

Some answers have been found to the question of how to care humanely and economically for the aged who develop other kinds of chronic illness. They will be discussed in tomorrow's article.

Fair Treatment for Mexico Under the Sugar Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, there are in my district, many splendid United States citizens of Mexican descent. Through them and through my experience as a Member of Congress, I have come to admire and respect the Mexican people and our great good neighbor to the south, the Republic of Mexico.

That is why, Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the House to an urgent problem facing the Mexican people—the present plight of the Mexican sugar industry. That industry, the fourth largest in Mexico, is in danger of being frozen out of its fair place in the world sugar market. Regrettably, that result is being brought about in large part, through the operation of the United States Sugar Act.

In recent weeks there have been discussions, at the White House and the Department of Agriculture, with a view to recommending legislation to amend the Sugar Act so as to insure an equitable share of the United States sugar market for domestic sugar producers. I am heartily in accord with that objective. At the same time, however, if we are to amend the existing legislation at this time, we should certainly use the opportunity to adjust the grossly inequitable division of the remainder of the United States market among foreign producers, which exists under the present law.

Mr. Speaker, the requirements of the Mexican sugar industry are in no sense inconsistent with the promotion of a healthy, competitive sugar industry in the United States. Mexico has no quarrel with the objectives of the United States sugar producers or with their pro-

posals as set forth in recent official discussions. Mexico is merely seeking an equitable distribution among foreign countries, of the market which remains after domestic production is accounted for—a distribution which takes into account the economic facts of life in terms of trade balance with the United States, total sugar production and the impact of the United States sugar program upon the economy of the exporting countries.

In the recent discussions of the reciprocal trade bill we heard many fine sounding words about trade, not aid, and about the necessity for enabling our friends and allies to purchase our goods and services by purchasing from them what they can best produce. It is time to practice what we preach. I firmly believe in helping those who help the United States.

Mexico is the third largest purchaser of United States goods in the entire world, surpassed only by Canada and Japan. In the past 22 months, Mexican purchases from the United States totalled $1,165,000,000. In the eight classifications of leading United States exports to Latin America published by the United States Department of Commerce for 1953, Mexico is the largest importer and occupies first place in 5, second place in 1 and third place in 2 of the classifications. In that year, Mexico imported from the United States $156.2 million in industrial and electrical machinery, $83.4 million in autos and trucks, $70.5 million in chemicals, $39.4 million in iron and steel mill products and $294.9 million in other products. No other sugar exporting country came anywhere close to these figures.

At the same time, over the past 22 months, Mexico's balance of trade with the United States has been unfavorable to Mexico by $532 million. For every dollar the United States spent in Mexico, Mexico spent $1.84 in the United States—almost 2 for 1.

Even within the sugar industry itself, the balance of trade between the United States and Mexico is overwhelmingly unfavorable to Mexico. Every bit of sugar-processing machinery and spare parts used in Mexico has been purchased in the United States. During the past 5-year period the Mexican sugar industry imported $38 million worth of United States manufactured equipment. During the same period, Mexico was permitted to sell to the United States only $4½ million worth of Mexican sugar.

It is obvious, of course, that in the present dollar situation no nation can indefinitely sustain so great a trade imbalance without a serious deterioration of its imports from the United States. Mr. Speaker, one of the stated objectives of the Sugar Act is to promote the export trade of the United States. In view of this express language of the statute, one would certainly expect that the export quota allotted to Mexico by the administrators of the act would bear some reasonable relationship to the trade picture and take into account the crucial dollar gap problem of the Mexican people. That has not been done, however. In fact, the quota allotted to Mexico is so small as to be ridiculous.

In the face of the tremendous support afforded the United States economy by Mexican imports, Mexico has been allotted a quota of only 11,445 tons of sugar out of a total United States consumption of 8,200,000 tons. This represents only 1 percent of Mexican production and only fourteen one-hundredths of 1 percent of the total United States market. Moreover, it represents only thirty-one one-hundredths of 1 percent of the total export quotas allotted all foreign countries.

Contrast the position of other sugar exporting countries. Cuba, which imports from the United States only about two-thirds as much as Mexico, and whose trade balance with the United States is substantially favorable to Cuba, has a quota of 2,667,840 tons. This represents 47 percent of her production, 32.5 percent of the total United States market and 96 percent of foreign quotas, excluding the Philippines.

Peru, which purchases from the United States only about ⅙ as much as Mexico, has a quota of 51,922 tons—almost 5 times that of Mexico. The Peruvian quota represents approximately 8 percent of her production, 0.63 percent of the United States market and 1.4 percent of the total foreign quotas.

The Dominican Republic, which purchases from the United States only about one-fourteenth as much as Mexico, has a quota of 27,634 tons, more than twice that of Mexico. This represents 4 percent of Dominican Republic production, 0.34 percent of the total United States market and 0.74 percent of total foreign quotas.

How did this grossly inequitable situation come about? It came about because of the failure to formulate in the Sugar Act a realistic basis for the continuing establishment of foreign sugar quotas. As a result, the system has broken down and produces outlandish results. There is a crying need for a commonsense approach to the foreign sugar problem, related to the facts of present day life, and divorced from ancient patterns and prejudices. We must recognize the equities and exigencies of today, and we must be mindful of the impact of what we do upon the lives and well-being of our friends and neighbors.

Aside from the simple equities of the situation and the economic self interest of the United States, there are other reasons why a healthy Mexican sugar industry is in the best interests of the United States. Mexico is the only sugar producing country with a border contiguous to our own and the only one in a position to provide uninterrupted, overland supply in the event of an emergency. In time of war, this assured supply for United States industry is a matter of utmost importance to United States industry and the consuming public.

We all want our allies in the free world to be strong as a bulwark against Communist aggression. The economic well-being of our friends and allies is as much a part of our own national security as are arms and armies.

We must not underestimate the tragic effect which failure to correct the inequitable foreign sugar quotas will have upon the Mexican economy. The Mexican sugar industry is the fourth largest in that country. It supports well over half a million people. By dint of diligent and persistent effort, over the years, that industry has raised the standard of living of Mexican farm workers to a reasonable level. The operation of the quota system, as presently constituted, however, spells ruin for that great Mexican industry. With present export restrictions in the world sugar market, if the United States does not allow Mexico a more equitable share of its sugar imports, it can only mean ruinous surpluses in Mexico or crippling acreage restrictions, either of which would deprive thousands of Mexican workers of a livlihood. The social and economic impact of such an eventuality upon Mexico should be obvious. Mexico has already undergone a devaluation of its currency because of the unfavorable balance of its trade with the United States. Surely we should take reasonable measures to prevent additional economic dislocation and possible collapse of United States markets in that country.

Mr. Speaker, it is not as though these people were asking for an increase of millions of tons in their sugar quota. Cuba, which has a favorable balance of United States trade now has a quota equivalent to 32.5 percent of the United States market. A sugar quota for Mexico of only 2 percent of United States consumption would absorb that country's exportable surplus and give the industry the stability it so urgently requires. Such an adjustment would have a minimal effect upon the overall sugar picture. This is a case where so little on the part of the United States will mean so much to our Mexican friends.

Mr. Speaker, this is a situation which cries out for correction and I intend to make every effort to see that justice is done.

A Letter From a Constituent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, I have received a communication from a constituent of mine, which I take the privilege of inserting in the RECORD under leave to extend my remarks, and which I believe shows quite adequately and fully some of the frustrations involved by some of our young men, who by their courageous actions attempt to enter a military career, but become faced with problems which perhaps many of us are not fully aware of.

I believe Joseph Zito's letter to me shows that frustration and disappointment which may be shared by so many other boys. The letter follows:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., *February 20, 1955*

Hon. ALBERT W. CRETELLA,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CRETELLA: Up to now you have known me as the fellow who is looking for European employment, but now I would like to pass on a bit of information that may prove both interesting and amusing.

Last December, somewhat discouraged at the lack of results from employment seeking, I was attracted by one of those "The Army Needs You" posters. I had served in the Army twice, once as enlisted man and once as officer, and had been in the infantry, constabularly, and artillery. During that time I had had the finest training that the taxpayers' money could give, and an unblemished record. As an officer, though by no means brilliant, I was always dependable. With all this in consideration, after 7 months of civilian life I decided I could easily be the "you" part of the poster for an Army career. Next stop: the recruiting station.

I finished the comprehensive test 10 minutes ahead of the allotted time, missing only one question. My physical test produced a 1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1 profile. Next, I presented my engineering degree from Yale, my diploma from the battery officer course at the Fort Sill Artillery School, the diploma from the Artillery Survey School, and the Land Mine Warfare School. I threw in my fluent knowledge of Italian and German for good measure. In view of these qualifications, the local recruiting office forwarded my request for regular enlistment, recommending an E-7 master sergeant's rating. From there the papers went to First Army Headquarters, where they timidly stuck their neck out to recommend a lower E-6, sergeant first class rating, and forwarded them to Washington. Then came the coup de grace when some exalted shoe clerk sent them back authorizing an E-4 corporal's rating. Needless to say, all I got out of this is a good laugh. Just what the hell does one have to be to rate as a master sergeant? Especially at the present time when a great many of the officers and noncoms have only one good qualification—that of being there "fustest" and knowing when they are well off.

When you again hear that the Army wants good men, would you be so kind as to ask and inform me what "good" means? In closing, I would turn a skeptical ear to anyone who claims that it takes a higher pay scale to build a good army. Take it from one who got along on $50 per month as well as $320 per month, that not one of the men who turned down reenlistment in my battery gave finances as a reason, but we all resented the "sill-vilians" running the Army in such a wretched way.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

JOE ZITO.

Should the United Nations Review Conference Be Called This Year?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an address entitled "Should the United Nations Review Conference Be Called This Year?" which was written by Mr. Harry Ganderson and delivered to the Guilford Battle Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Starmount Forestry Country Club, Greensboro, N. C., February 10, 1955:

It is a real pleasure and honor to be your guest today, to discuss the United Nations Charter and the 1955 Review Conference. Because of the apparent growing belief that the proposed review conference is a must under article 109 of the charter, I have chosen to speak on the subject of Should the United Nations Review Conference Be Called This Year?

I understand that I was invited to address you on this subject as a result of my testimony given before the Subcommittee on United Nations Revision Conference, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which hearings were held in Greensboro under the chairmanship of Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin.

As you know, Senator WILEY, prior to Democratic control this session, was chairman of this important and powerful committee, and he is at this time the ranking Republican member of that committee. Recently, I had the occasion to write Senator WILEY about the proposed review conference, and in his reply, he remarked that as yet the subcommittee had not completed its hearings and study. I would gather from these remarks that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has not yet decided if our country will support a call for a review conference, come September. Since that question is of foremost consideration, I would like to limit my remarks to this one issue. I know that you are already quite familiar with the basic theory of the United Nations, its structure, its weaknesses, its accomplishments, its failures, as well as the wide variety of amendments which have been proposed.

Your last two Continental Congresses adopted resolutions opposing any 1955 revision of the charter which might have the effect of superseding our Federal Constitution, or limiting our National and State liberties or freedoms, or which might attempt to bring about through the United Nations a world government or partial world government. Confronted as we are with the imminent threat to our American way of life, by the growing menace of world Communist dictatorship, the question of calling a review conference at this time should be a matter of great concern to the American people.

Your revolutionary forebears laid the foundation for our Government and made possible our great American way of life. Like the patriots of the American Revolution, who sacrificed their lives and fortunes for freedom and independence, we must be ever vigilant and zealous to preserve and protect our great heritage of life and liberty. Our country's unparalleled growth and development was made possible because, under our form of Government, we have a free and independent Nation, of free and independent citizens. In my humble opinion, we can ill afford in this critical period to lower our gunsights by diverting our energies, to urging and preparing for a review conference. There is no obligation under the charter to call a review conference, and I very much question the wisdom of calling it this year, or at any time in the near future.

Let's look briefly and quickly at the charter itself. Paragraph 1 of article 109 provides that a general conference to consider amendments to the charter may be held at any time upon a vote of two-thirds of the General Assembly and any seven members of the Security Council. Now, as for the much-discussed review conference, paragraph 3 of article 109 simply declares that if 10 years has elapsed and a general conference has not been called under paragraph 1, then the proposal to call a review conference must be placed on the assembly agenda, and only a majority vote is required for passage to call the review conference.

There appears to be too much emphasis on the proposed 1955 conference—in fact, to such an extent that many have forgotten, or have become unaware, that full opportunity is afforded for needed amendments to the charter at any time under article 108. Admittedly, such amendments would require the recommendation of two-thirds of the U. N. membership and the constitutional ratification of two-thirds of the member nations, just as would any amendments proposed at a full-dress review conference.

Already the charter has been subject to changes in a variety of ways, changes which one might call informal amendments. I would like to briefly cite a few illustrations.

1. The nonimplementation or nonapplication of fundamental provisions of the charter—like the failure to implement the disarmament provisions or to create an international police force under the Security Council, as specifically called for by the charter, to carry out the chief purpose of the U. N.—that is, the maintenance of permanent peace and security and the prevention of war.

2. Through the creation of specialized organizations and agencies—very worthy indeed, but which nevertheless have tended to minimize or rather subordinate the chief aims of the charter, at least in our time.

3. Through the interpretation of the charter by various organizations and members of the U. N.—like the perverted exercise of the veto, and the absences and abstentions by the Communist bloc.

4. Through the conclusion of supplementary treaties and agreements, such as the Headquarters Agreements of 1947, and the North Atlantic and other regional defense pacts. Actually, aren't we presently engaged in a civil war within the U.N.? On the outcome of this struggle may depend the very fate of the United Nations and civilization itself.

These illustrations clearly show that the U. N. has made changes in the charter, whether we choose to call these amendments or not. There are, nevertheless, adequate provisions in the charter for formal amendments to be made at any time.

To call a review conference simply to consider minor or technical matters would hardly be worth the effort which it would require. Furthermore, any effort to make fundamental changes in the structure of the U. N. might very well precipitate a struggle which would result in the very destruction of that organization. Of course, for those who are opposed to the existence of the U. N., a conference would furnish them an excellent opportunity to make lethal attacks upon it. That, however, is already taking place without a review conference. From some quarters the attack against the U. N. goes like this—the U. N. is obstructed by Russia and is not performing its chief aims, but rather, is devoting all of its time and our money to improving the impoverished nations. And then they make the point—that history shows it has been the advanced nations for the most part, and not the so-called backward countries, that have been the arch disturbers of world peace. They may have a point there—only time can tell.

Formulas for radical changes in machinery, elaborations of new procedures, plans for supergovernments, and the like, unfortunately rest on an unconscious assumption, that the more explicit the obligation, the more it is honored, and that the more parts the machinery has, the more smoothly it will run. Any of these proposals for collective security can be carried out under the present charter, when those obligated under that document perform their responsibilities.

The United Nations Charter described the foundation for permanent peace and security and the prevention of war, and it likewise describes the machinery to implement

those provisions. It is obvious, therefore, that the charter has not stood in the way of maintenance of peace. On the contrary, it is the failure of certain nations to do their part in implementing those provisions and living up to those obligations which they assumed when they became bound by the charter in 1945.

Twenty years ago we were trying to stop the piecemeal efforts of aggression by the Fascist rulers, who finally brought the holocaust of war misery upon mankind in their efforts to subjugate the democratic and Communist worlds. Today, we are faced with this same problem from the Communists, only on a broader scale, but dressed up in a different coat of armor. Without a shot, they have, since the creation of the U. N., enslaved close to one-fourth of the human race. They, too, led by the Communist despots, defy the charter. Another quarter of the human race is in the balance, while being snared into the iron jaw of the Kremlin. Mere reformulation of the obligations under the charter will not change the nature of either the revolt in the U. N. or the threat to the human race.

Although I would consider the veto question the principal issue which would come under consideration at a review conference, I do not consider that issue in itself as being decisive in effecting our position for or against calling the review conference. We should not forget that the United States no less than the other great powers, insisted upon the veto as a condition for the acceptance of the charter. The veto has not worked out like the U. N. founders had hoped, when the charter was forged under the crucible of wartime cooperation and allied victory, aaginst the common enemy.

Modification of the veto power does not necessarily involve charter revision. During the past 8 years, the United States has participated unsuccessfully in efforts to reduce the use of the veto by agreement among the permanent members or by other methods which would not involve charter revision. Furthermore, several of the smaller nations have made attempts since 1945 to bring up proposals in the General Assembly to amend the veto. It was the dissatisfaction of the smaller nations with the charter's veto power at San Francisco which furnished much of the impetus for making provision for possible revision of the charter by a review conference.

The arguments are stronger today than during the San Francisco Conference for American protection of the veto power. Certainly, before Americans can take a position with regard to abolition of the veto, they must first decide if the best interests of the United States would be served by relinquishing the veto over U. N. use of American Armed Forces without our consent. They must also decide whether we should give up the veto with respect to U. N. membership, or as to who should represent China in the U. N. Would you dare relinquish the right of veto over international atomic control, even before a U. N. plan is devised acceptable to Russia? It would be utterly unthinkable to believe that Russia and its satellites would change their leopard skins at a review conference, except to perpetrate more frauds on the democratic world.

Admittedly, the Communist bloc has perverted the veto power and obstructed implementation of the primary functions of the charter. Nevertheless, conditions being as they are, the United States can ill afford to give up the veto. We are the principal defenders against the Communist aggressors and we must, therefore, protect our position and power to make our own decisions. We should not add to existing problems or increase the dangers to our own democratic institutions by calling a review conference a this time. Nor should we minimize the splendid opportunity such a conference would offer subversive elements to strengthen their nefarious Communist network, both in our own country as well as the U. N.

Do you know that some of the formulas, like world federation, world government, and so on, which are suggested for charter revision, would necessitate amendments to our own Constitution also? It would, therefore, seem highly desirable to settle the American attitude regarding these proposals before talking about placing issues of such gravity into international debate. For example, it would be quite awkward for the American delegation to a charter review conference to be confronted with the support which the Communist delegations might give to such charter amendments which would alter our own sovereignty. It would be far better before deciding to call the review conference, for the twenty-odd Senators who want to explore an Atlantic Union and those who favor a world federation to publicly state their opposition to the proposed Bricker amendment which is clearly designed to make their proposals impossible.

These are just a few of the hard questions which should be answered before the American people decide whether or not to call for a charter review conference.

History teaches an important lesson—that in the development of new forms of government, certainly under democratic principles, society is adhoc-minded and bitminded. Let the charter evolve little by little, case by case. We must not be hasty or impetuous, or expect so much in so short a period of time.

The U. N. is a mere infant, disillusioned with false hopes, as compared with our Constitution, 167 years strong, blossoming in full manhood, and fulfilling the hopes of its founders. Experience, custom, usage, informal adoption and change, amendment, and judicial interpretation over the centuries have made our Constitution the greatest living document in governmental history. We have not had a review conference or convention to amend the Constitution since it was framed in 1787. No review conference was required for the Bill of Rights, or other amendments including the right of women to vote. I see nothing in the history of the world or in the development of the federal form of government of the United States which indicates that there will be any departure from that course of history as it relates to the United Nations. I do not think, therefore, that a charter review conference this year, or at any time in the near future, would serve the best interests of the United States, the United Nations, or the cause of world peace and security.

The world's population now is about 2½ billion, living in more than 120 large and small countries. Practically one-half of the human race are still underprivileged and impoverished. Most of the countries are inhabited by natives deeply rooted in a wide variety of mores and civilizations, and possessed of some radical concepts about human rights, quite foreign to ours. Under the charter, these conditions are branded as the causes of war.

Indeed the humanitarian aims of the charter are laudable objectives, but is the achievement of those aims the real cure for war? If so, will they be achieved in time to stem or stop the imminent drift toward world war III?

We know from experience in our own great land with only a handful of people compared to the world's population, that the concepts of people about their mores and human rights, the world over, cannot be changed overnight—not even by legislative or judicial fiat. While we may support and pray for the realization of the idealistic hopes of each generation, and now the United Nations, to bring peace to the world, we must, nevertheless, be realistic in our practices.

In the meanwhile, therefore, we must keep our arsenal full, and our powder dry, and pray God this will deter and keep the horrors of war from our doorsteps.

Polish National Alliance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, from the floor of the House on various occasions, many fine things have been said about the brave and courageous people of Poland, who are now suppressed behind the Iron Curtain. Many other statements have been contained in the Appendix to the RECORD at different times.

I can say with justifiable pride that I subscribe to all these statements and have associated myself with them in the past.

I incorporate herewith, under leave granted by you to extend my remarks, a resolution which was passed by the delegates of the lodges, belonging to Council 25 of the Polish National Alliance, in assembly gathered in Bridgeport, Conn., on January 23, 1955:

We, delegates of the lodges belonging to the Council 25, of the Polish National Alliance, whose president is Charles Rozmarek, gathered at the yearly meeting, on January 23, 1955, in Bridgeport, Conn., have resolved as follows:

We, Americans of Polish descent express our loyalty to the United States of America and to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, as well as our solidarity with his struggle against communism which menaces our American freedoms. We urge the United States Government to strengthen the military power of our country. We do not believe in the policy of coexistence. The struggle between the communistic world and free world has been carried for years. This struggle will be ended with the victory of one side. We strongly hope that our beloved democratic country will be the victorious one. All free countries should get united in this struggle, and we should also look for our prospective allies among the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, who can bring us a great help in case of war. This was proved during the last war against Germany. This was proven by the Polish Underground Army which sabotaged German military effort, by cutting their communication lines and destroying war materials ready to be sent to the battlelines. If we want the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and other countries to be on our side, they should be informed as to what they can expect after victory of the free world. They should know, in advance, that their territories will be not infringed.

We urge that the United States Government declare that the Oder and Neisse Line be a permanent frontier between Poland and Germany. No decision relating to the fate of Poland must be undertaken without the consent of Poles themselves. We state that the only legal representative of independent Polish policy in the world is the legal Polish Government in Exile, residing

in Great Britain. This Government has our unanimous endorsement and support.

We confirm, once again, our unflinching determination to undertake everything possible to carry on our fight for the final liberation of Poland and to persist in our fight until justice is done to Poland and independence is restored.

We extend our deep sympathy to the Polish nation, which, we believe, will endure, until the hour of final victory, the Soviet slavery into which it was sold by the secret agreements concluded at Yalta. We express our belief in the ideas of American democracy, which have put our country at the head of all free nations, and we believe that our free and democratic country will lead other countries to freedom and democracy. We are also of the opinion that everything should be done to free all Americans held by any communistic country.

Long live the United States of America.

Long live free and independent Poland.

HENRY BORONY,
CHESTER E. SZYMLARE,
JOSEPH WISINSKI,
FRANCOSSER LACHOWICZ,
Resolution Committee.

Thanks From the Outposts of Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include herein an editorial entitled "Thanks From the Outposts of Korea," which appeared in the Nutley Sun of February 17, 1955. I join in the salute to these fine women who have for so long unselfishly dedicated themselves to humanitarian pursuits—and who helped to make lighter the burdens of our boys who served in Korea:

THANKS FROM THE OUTPOSTS OF KOREA

The Nutley Committee for Servicemen in Korea disbanded this week, after having, for 4 years, sent packages and letters to Nutley soldiers, airmen, sailors and Marines in Korea. There will be no official recognition of the activities of the 10 women who, from their hearts and from their purses, paid a neighborly tribute to as many as 50 Nutley servicemen at a time, but the women will be amply repaid by the warm letters of appreciation which came to them from the Nutley boys in the field who received the writing paper and envelopes, the soap and shaving materials, the candy and other little extras which they could not find in the severe service rations in the Korean mountains.

Those boys were holding the outposts of civilization against communism. They were in the rugged highlands, often living in the open, in all sorts of weather, far from the niceties and comparative ease of the base ports where army exchanges would have catered to their wants.

Those 10 women saw to it that none of the Nutley boys lacked what they needed. Each package, each letter carried with it a breath of Nutley air, a word from home, an assurance that even though they were half way around the world those boys were not forgotten by their friends and neighbors in Nutley. Those women made our sons happy, they made them glad that they were from Nutley. Many wrote back to say that of all the towns in America, Nutley was the only one to keep such friendly contact with its sons.

For the 10 women who conceived the idea, who took from their own purses to pay for the costs, who gave the many hours needed to gather, to wrap and to mail packages, Nutley can only say: Thanks for your generous gesture; thanks for those who no longer live to speak their gratitude. Thanks for all those boys whose service in the most deplorable conditions was made a little more bearable. Thanks for expressing, so beautifully, the true spirit of Nutley.

R. E. H.

1955 Lincoln Day Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege during the period set aside for the observance of Lincoln's Birthday to deliver the following address to Lincoln Day dinners at Keene, N. H.; Indiana, Pa.; New Brighton, Pa.; and Huntington, Clarksburg, and Charleston, W. Va.:

LINCOLN DAY 1955

You have honored me by your invitation to join in this annual tribute to the memory of the immortal Lincoln, our first Republican President.

Lincoln, in all his greatness, was a common man with common attributes, yet by character and self-education he elevated himself to such a degree that world historians acclaim him as one of the six greatest personalities in the history of the human race.

Thus, as the Great Emancipator's soul took flight from his weary body, Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War, proved himself a prophet when he announced his death in these historic words: "Now he belongs to the ages."

Many times the question is asked, Why do we look to the philosophy of Abraham Lincoln for inspiration and guidance in the conduct of public affairs even though 90 years have elapsed since his passing?

The answer is that Lincoln was a common man whose words and deeds enshrined him forever in the hearts of mankind.

But this great Republican President did not reach the heights of world acclaim without experiencing heartaches and bitter disappointments.

A close study of his many reverses in life reveals that few men could have weathered such a series of trials and tribulations.

When you read of Lincoln's life, you are reminded of his statement in speaking of his lack of formal education when he said, "I do not know much—my schooling was limited to reading, writing, and ciphering to the rule of three."

This statement reveals the humility and sincerity of Lincoln, who was not ashamed of his early life and humble surroundings.

This humility of Abraham Lincoln was reflected in his first campaign for a political office when he was a candidate for the State Legislature in Illinois in 1832.

At that time, Lincoln said, "I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I am in favor of the internal-improvement system, and high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. * * *"

On clearly defined political principles Abraham Lincoln was content to place his future in the hands of the American people.

It took courage on his part to stand on his principles and to bypass the political magic of promising everybody everything in the hope of garnering a vote, a practice that became so popular with the New Dealers and Fair Dealers.

Lincoln, because of his courage and convictions, went down to defeat in 1832 as a candidate for the legislature.

He was defeated again in business in 1833 and lost everything of a material value.

In 1832, as candidate for speaker, he was again defeated.

In 1840, he lost as a candidate for elector.

In 1843, he was defeated as a candidate for Commissioner of the General Land Office and also as a candidate for nomination to Congress.

In 1848, he lost in his campaign for reelection to Congress.

In 1855, he was the losing candidate for United State Senator.

In 1856, he was defeated as candidate for Vice President.

In 1858, he was defeated as a candidate for United States Senator.

But in 1860, he was elected as the first Republican President of the United States.

What a glowing tribute Lincoln's crowning victory was to his perseverance and to the truth of the old saying, "You can't defeat a man who will not quit!"

Abraham Lincoln refused to quit because he knew in his heart that the principles he espoused must be adhered to if this young Republic expected to become strong materially, morally, and spiritually.

He declined to surrender or compromise his principles with the result that his patience and perseverance have become a national symbol.

By comparison, the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln can take a lesson from his determined and persistent attitude.

The Republican Party is still smarting over the reverses suffered in the November elections of 1954 when we lost control of Congress and met a similar fate in some State elections.

As members of the Party of Abraham Lincoln, we should honor his memory by abandoning our negative thinking and present a united and militant front behind the forward-looking program of our Republican President, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

It has been a little more than 2 years since the American people repudiated 20 years of the New Deal-Fair Deal brand of political philosophy by entrusting the affairs of Government to a Republican President.

There is none who can deny that under President Eisenhower remarkable progress has been made in the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy.

At the same time, a more realistic and firm foreign policy has been formulated with the result that Uncle Sam is no longer being pushed around in the field of foreign affairs.

It is gratifying to realize that this new, firm foreign policy under President Eisenhower is responsible for the following accomplishments, namely:

(a) Brought an end to the Korean war.

(b) The Iranean oil situation has been ironed out.

(c) The explosive problem of the Suez Canal which concerns the British and the Egyptians is being settled in a peaceable manner.

(d) The troublesome problem of Trieste which has been a threat of war for years has been settled.

(e) The Communist-inspired activities have been halted involving countries in Central America.

(f) International relations are improving with respect to the arming of West Germany

as part of the defense against Communistic aggression, and finally

(g) In the Middle East, the real desire of the United States for peace and friendly relations is truly understood.

It should be remembered that President Eisenhower inherited the hopeless situation in French Indochina which had deteriorated to the point where it was beyond diplomatic solution.

Yet today in French Indochina, there is hope of saving at least a part of that area from the Iron Curtain.

In true Lincoln style, President Eisenhower redeemed his election pledge to the American people that he would consult Congress before sending United States Armed Forces into conflict.

Unlike his predecessor, Mr. Truman, who sent American troops to Korea on his own initiative, President Eisenhower asked and received from Congress the authority to employ United States Armed Forces in defense of Formosa, the Pescadores and related positions and territories in that area.

By consulting Congress regarding the Formosa situation, President Eisenhower clearly demonstrates his bipartisan foreign policy which is a vital factor in uniting the American people.

At the same time, President Eisenhower served unequivocal notice on the Chinese Reds that they will be at war with the United States if they attack the Formosan area.

This bold decision which results from the firm foreign policy on the Eisenhower administration is at the same time a blunt warning to Soviet Russia that its policy of wars by proxy or through its satellites will no longer be tolerated.

This courageous attitude on the part of President Eisenhower will restore not only our dignity as a nation but it also serves notice on Russia that we are sick and tired of her role as an enemy of world peace.

In backing up this bold and courageous decision of President Eisenhower, we have his assurance that every single order concerning the Formosan situation will have to clear his desk before it receives approval.

What a contrast this is to the conduct of the Korean war when the State Department headed by Dean Acheson tied the hands of General MacArthur by preventing American forces from pursuing and destroying the Chinese Reds north of the Yalu River in Korea.

It was this spineless and vacillating foreign policy that prolonged the Korean war, took the lives of 143,000 of the cream of American youth and left us with the irritating and troublesome problems we have now concerning the Chinese Reds.

The result of the futility of the Dean Acheson policy in Korea is demonstrated by the fact that it was America's first military defeat, not because our forces were wanting in valor, courage, or sacrifice, but only because it was a war rigged against victory from the very outset.

This statement is supported by every American field general who served in Korea.

For example, testimony given before a committee of the United States Senate reveals that General Stratemeyer, commander of the United States Air Force in the Far East, complained: "The enemy can hit me where I am based. I cannot hit them."

Gen. Edward M. Almond in answer to a question by a Member of the United States Senate as to how many opportunities did our side have to win the war, answered by saying: "Two * * * First, in November 1950, following the historic Ichon envelopment of the North Korean forces; and second, in June 1951, when some 50 Chinese divisions were trapped and routed clear across the Korean peninsula."

General Almond continued his testimony by saying: "At that point, 2 months after President Truman had fired General MacArthur, the whole American offensive was halted and abandoned on direct orders from Washington."

Gen. Mark Clark, in his testimony, said that Chiang Kai-shek on more than one occasion, had offered General Clark three of his best divisions with supporting air.

General Clark said, "I recommended it shortly after I got over to the Far East, but my recommendations were never answered."

Questioned as to whether he agreed with General MacArthur that the enemy should not have been allowed a sanctuary beyond the Yalu River, General Clark replied, "Yes, sir. I agreed at the time when the Chinese came in."

Continuing, General Clark said: "They came across the Yalu and killed our men.

"I think at that time we should have indicated that we were at war with Red China and should have retaliated with everything we had at our disposal."

General Clark was then asked, "Did you ever fight a war like this before and would you ever want to fight another one like it?"

General Clark replied with an emphatic, "No, sir."

These quotations from the testimony of three of America's great generals prove the oft-repeated assertion that officials in our State Department by their bungling tactics and with the consent of President Truman denied our American forces the opportunity to win the Korean war.

By contrast, President Eisenhower, as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces and fortified by his outstanding military experience on the field of battle, assures us that the folly in Korea will not be repeated.

We have the added assurance that America with an adequate national defense in this atomic-hydrogen age stands ready to give the American people the maximum of national security even if it requires using atomic and hydrogen weapons.

In support of this firm and realistic foreign policy on the homefront, the Eisenhower administration as the result of action by the Republican-controlled 83d Congress is meeting the problem of Communist infiltration.

This is made possible through a subversive-control program that is proving a mighty weapon to the Department of Justice and its FBI in the all-out effort to combat the Communist threat within our country and the worldwide menace of international communism.

This two-fisted militant anti-Communist program is designed to stop playing patty-cake with the Communists here and abroad.

It permits the granting of immunity to witnesses who are willing to testify concerning subversive activities but who heretofore have invoked the fifth amendment against self-incrimination.

It provides the death penalty for peacetime spies.

It makes bail-jumping a serious crime.

It closes many loopholes in existing laws through which Judy Coplon and others of her kind escaped prosecution.

It provides for the loss of citizenship to persons who knowingly engage in Communist conspiracy.

It requires the registration of Communist-action and Communist-front printing equipment.

It increases the penalty for harboring or concealing a fugitive who is wanted on a felony charge or who has been convicted of any offense irrespective of whether it is a felony or a misdemeanor.

It denies Government pensions to convicted felons like Alger Hiss.

In addition, the Republican-controlled 83d Congress enacted a law which outlaws the Communist Party of the United States.

It likewise applies to any successor organization whose purpose is the overthrow of the Government of the United States or any political subdivision therein by force or violence.

This subversive control law makes it a felony for any person to be a member of such an organization when he has knowledge of the revolutionary activities of such an organization.

In addition to this subversive-control program and our vigilant attitude in tracking down, exposing, and prosecuting Communists one of our mightiest weapons strong and solvent America.

For that reason, our domestic economy is of paramount significance because if we allow it to decay morally, spiritually, and financially, we become an easy and certain prey to world communism.

The Eisenhower administration's program designed to transfer the economy of our country from a wartime to a peacetime basis has been acclaimed by friend and foe as being in the best interests of the United States.

Unfortunately, the dove of peace brought with it serious economic dislocations in certain areas of the country where unemployment occurred when the manufacture of war materials was terminated.

In general, however, business is good and the savings and spending of the American people as a whole have increased.

The President's dynamic and progressive legislative program resulted in a revision of the tax structure that brought about one of the greatest tax reductions in the history of the Nation.

In addition, the Federal Government is now being operated at greater economy, with the result that it has been possible to lessen the tax burden on the people by many billions of dollars.

President Eisenhower's program in the field of health, social security, highways, housing, agriculture, and commerce has attracted bipartisan support which is indicative of its real merit.

Ladies and gentlemen, this dynamic Eisenhower program that is building a stronger America is a tribute to the genius and sincerity of our Republican President.

With less than 2 years remaining of his present term in the White House and confronted by a Democratic-controlled Congress, make no mistake that President Eisenhower's dynamic and progressive program is facing the acid test.

With the 1956 Presidential election in the offing, we Republicans cannot afford dissension in our ranks or sulking in our tents.

Therefore, it is incumbent upon us as disciples of Abraham Lincoln to close our ranks and present a united front in meeting Democratic attacks on our President and on the Republican Party.

May I warn you as a battle-scarred veteran of the political arena, that the Democratic Party will leave no stone unturned to lure us into political booby-traps in its effort to recapture the White House.

Frankly, we can expect a knock-down drag-out political fight with no holds barred in the 1956 campaign.

While we listen to loud protests about political smears, I predict that the campaign of 1956 will outsmear the despicable New Deal attack on President Hoover in 1932.

The campaigns of 1952 and 1954 will prove to have been "cream-puff" affairs in comparison to the 1956 campaign already underway and spearheaded by Chairman Butler of the National Democratic Committee.

Chairman Butler's attacks on Vice President NIXON reveal the pattern to be followed in next year's campaign.

These smear attacks make a mockery of the so-called Democratic pledge of bipartisan support of the Eisenhower program.

Fellow Republicans, time is running out on us.

This is February 1955 and already the Democratic campaign to recapture the White House and continue Democratic control of Congress is well underway.

Therefore, I say to you in all sincerity, it is time that we Republicans spring into action.

As I have said before, let us bury our party differences, close ranks and join hands on the firing line.

First. We should recruit more followers, especially among the younger generation.

Second. We should tell the American people of the forward-looking program of the Eisenhower administration and the success of its efforts to restore honesty and integrity to Government.

Third. We should refresh the memories of the American people of the 20 years of Roosevelt-Truman rule whose only means of providing employment was based on two wars with jobs and overtime at the expense of the flesh and blood of American fathers and mothers.

Fourth. We should convince the American people that as a Nation we are at peace and that the transition from a wartime economy cannot be accomplished overnight and without some economic dislocations.

Ladies and gentlemen, as Republicans we have nothing to hide in giving an account of the stewardship of the Eisenhower administration during its 2 years in office.

The Republican Party is leading this Nation out of the valley of destruction by providing real leadership in President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

I repeat, we must bury all selfish desires and settle petty differences that if not compromised will divide our ranks and render us completely helpless.

Fellow Republicans, the task before us is to restore to Republican control our city halls our courthouses, our State houses, and the Congress of the United States as well as to retain control of the White House in 1956.

As I have warned, the hour is getting late.

This is no time for party bickering or weak-kneed Republicans who are timid about reshouldering the pack and moving into battle.

Let us never forget that in 1952 after 20 long years of political exile, the American people gave the Republican Party control of Congress and the White House.

At this moment with the Democrats again in control of Congress, further defeats in 1956 could lose us the Presidency and the opportunity to recapture control of Congress.

Therefore, fellow Republicans, I beseech you to guard against any defeatist attitude by meditating on the long 20 year battle we had to regain the White House and Congress in 1952.

In addition, let us not lose sight of the fact that Abraham Lincoln after 10 crushing defeats from 1832 to 1858 finally achieved a glorious triumph in 1860 when he was elected as the first Republican President of the United States.

In commemoration of the 146th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, let us rededicate ourselves to the task before us—the preservation of our form of Government, keeping in mind as the great Emancipator did that, "You can't defeat a man who will not quit."

In 1952 with President Eisenhower as our standard bearer, we promised the American people who were weary of the New Deal-Fair Deal philosophies a new birth of freedom.

We are well on the road to redeeming that pledge under the brilliant and dynamic leadership of our beloved President, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Therefore, in the knowledge that our cause is just, let us reconsecrate ourselves to the task before us by presenting a united front.

At the same time, let us recall with pride and confidence that down through the years the Republican Party has faithfully followed the sage advice of Abraham Lincoln.

As we gird ourselves for the 1956 campaign, let us adopt as our battle cry the ringing words of Abraham Lincoln uttered nearly 100 years ago when in 1856, during the formative years of the Republican Party, he said:

"Let us, in building our new party, plant ourselves on the rock of the Declaration of Independence and the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against us."

Roslyn News Celebrates 75th Birthday—Second Oldest Weekly on Long Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to join in congratulating the Roslyn News on its 75th birthday today. The American weekly newspaper, as I have stated previously, is as American as the Constitution of the United States and has contributed much to our progress since the birth of this great Nation. I am proud to claim the Roslyn News as one of my constituent newspapers and I am pleased to present its history.

February 23 marks the diamond jubilee for the Roslyn News of Roslyn, N. Y.

Three-quarters of a century of publication is a long time and in the space of those 75 years many changes have come to both the paper and the area it serves.

The first issue of the paper was published late in the nineteenth century by Pier Keeler and his brother in a small print shop on a winding country lane, now Main Street. They called their paper the Tablet, and since the town had but a handful of residents that, too, was the size of the paper's circulation.

One of the town's early visitors was George Washington, one of its best remembered sons, the poet, William Cullen Bryant. Through the years the sleepy village has changed to a smart and beautiful residential area on Long Island's famous North Shore, but it still houses famous artists, writers—Christopher Morley—television and theatrical celebrities.

A year after the Keelers started their paper, they sold it to William R. Burling who changed its name to the one it now bears. After him there were several other owners who struggled to make a small village weekly pay for itself. One of these was Maj. George M. Robertson, Roosevelt Raceway official and winner of the famous Vanderbilt Cup in 1908.

Today, instead of measuring its readers on the fingers of both hands, the Roslyn News can point with pride to a wide readership in an area that covers Roslyn, Roslyn Heights, Roslyn Harbor, Roslyn Estates, Greenvale, East Hills, Glen Head, Albertson, Williston, and Williston Park.

The Roslyn News is a part of the Griscom Publications, Inc., which consists of seven important Long Island weeklies.

In 1933, the Roslyn News, together with the Great Neck Record and the Oyster Bay Enterprise and Pilot were acquired by Bronson W. Griscom, of Syosset, and Barklie Henry, of Wheatley Hills, to form the Township Press. Two years later, in April 1936, the Township Press had grown to be a chain of nine papers and it then merged with the Woodyard Publications of New York—publishers of seven weekly papers—to form the Griscom-Woodyard Publications, Inc.

Later, Bronson W. Griscom formed the Griscom Publications, Inc., which has been responsible for the publication and growth as a community force of the Roslyn News.

In October 1954 the Roslyn News, under the editorial leadership of James J. Tuite, went into the tabloid format, a move which was hailed by local residents as giving the paper easier readability and a new freshness. Under Mr. Tuite's guidance, the Roslyn News has increased its circulation almost 50 percent.

In celebration of its anniversary, the Roslyn News is planning to move next month into modern and larger offices located at 45 Lincoln Avenue, Roslyn Heights.

The staff of the Roslyn News includes, in addition to editor, James J. Tuite; Harry V. Forgeron as advertising manager; Mrs. Esther T. Jacobs, associate editor; and Mrs. Anne Schlansky, circulation manager.

A Report of My Efforts To Relieve the Unemployment Situation in the Altoona, Pa., Area

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the acute unemployment situation in the Altoona, Pa., area has had my undivided attention for the past many months. Despite the fact that Altoona has been classified since 1949 as a labor-surplus area, the degree of unemployment has mounted during the past 16 months so that it is now classified by the United States Department of Labor as being in an area having a very substantial labor surplus.

It is encouraging to state that the unemployment situation in Altoona and vicinity has been attacked on all fronts with business and labor groups working collectively while the citizens of Altoona voluntarily contributed better than three-quarters of a million dollars in a "Jobs for Joes" campaign to finance the efforts being made to attract new industries to the Altoona area. This "Jobs for Joes" campaign supplements the program of the Altoona Enterprises, Inc., a subsidiary of the Altoona Chamber of Commerce, which raised in excess of

$600,000 for the purpose of assuring continued employment. Already several new industries have been secured because of the splendid response to the appeal of Altoona Enterprises, Inc.

The unemployment situation in Altoona is the result of a sick coal industry which is reflected in a marked decrease in employment in the railroad and other related industries. Nearly 18 percent of the employables in the Altoona area are unemployed, or a total of 10,000 jobless persons, 6,000 of which are furloughed railroad employees. This unemployment situation is attributable to three factors: First, loss of coal markets because of the use of substitute fuels, chiefly foreign residual oil; second, dieselization of the Nation's railroads, which replaced steam locomotives; third, the general effect of unemployment in the coal and railroad industries, which is reflected in allied industries.

Recently I had occasion to write to Mr. Murray M. Gassman, national CIO representative in Altoona, Pa., on the subject of unemployment in the Altoona area outlining the efforts that have been and are being made to relieve the unemployment situation.

My letter to Mr. Gassman follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 19, 1955.*

Mr. MURRAY M. GASSMAN,
United Railroad Workers of America, CIO, Local Union 2017, Altoona, Pa.

DEAR MR. GASSMAN: Further reference is made to your letter of February 14, our telephone conversation of February 16 and my telegram to you of February 19 regarding my attendance at a mass membership meeting of your organization in Altoona, February 23, 1955.

As mentioned in my telegram of February 19, according to the legislative program announced by the House leadership early Friday evening, February 18, a busy legislative program is scheduled for Wednesday and Thursday, February 23 and February 24, 1955. In addition, committee meetings are scheduled for both morning and afternoon on these dates when matters affecting my congressional district will be discussed which require my presence.

Since there is no legislative business scheduled for Washington's birthday, February 22, as mentioned in our telephone conversation on February 16, I am committed to spend the entire day at the Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pa., which is in my congressional district. To keep this engagement at State College which concerns the 100th anniversary of the establishment of Penn State, I will travel by train in both directions because of weather conditions. Therefore, you will understand regardless of the legislative program on Wednesday and Thursday that it is a physical impossibility for me to be in Altoona on Wednesday evening, February 23, as I will not get back to Washington until Wednesday morning.

You stated in your letter of February 14 that the meeting on February 23 was called for the purpose of accelerating efforts in helping alleviate the unemployment crisis and to receive a report from the United States Representative from the 20th (not 23d) Congressional District regarding a program he may have to help the unemployed. Since it will be physically impossible for me to attend the meeting, the following report is presented which contains information which was furnished several weeks ago to the Altoona Community Welfare Council, copies being furnished to your associates of the Blair County United Labor Council as well as to the Altoona newspapers. There is herewith enclosed copies of the information furnished which has been designated exhibits A, B, and C. Copies of the bills mentioned in these exhibits are also attached.

As you will note in my letter of January 7, 1955, to Charles A. Mentzer, executive director, Altoona Community Welfare Council marked as exhibit A, after exhausting all efforts to find legal authority on the part of the Federal Government to cope with the Altoona unemployment situation, the following program was developed as represented by the following bills I introduced on the first day of the 84th Congress, January 5, 1955, all of which are pending before appropriate committees having jurisdiction over the subject matter contained in each bill.

H. R. 860 provides a program of public facilities construction which will stimulate employment in areas having a substantial surplus of labor and for other purposes.

H. R. 861 provides temporary unemployment benefits to unemployed railroaders whose benefits terminated after January 1, 1955, by extending the period of eligibility for railroad-unemployment insurance to July 1, 1955.

H. R. 862 amends the Social Security Act by prohibiting the several States from taking a lien against the real estate of the recipient of public assistance benefits as is being done under existing law in Pennsylvania.

H. R. 863 provides for the distribution of certain surplus food commodities by use of a food stamp plan.

Since introducing H. R. 863 and as a result of further consultations with the Department of Agriculture and representatives of labor organizations, H. R. 3144 and H. R. 3145 were introduced by me, copies of which are enclosed. Both of these bills place the cost of distribution of surplus food commodities in labor surplus and disaster areas on the Federal Government as well as authorizing the Commodity Credit Corporation to process these food commodities into a form suitable for home consumption such as wheat into flour, corn into meal, etc. I am informed that H. R. 3144 and H. R. 3145 provide a better approach than H. R. 863 providing for a food stamp plan.

As mentioned, all of these bills that I have introduced are pending before the House committee having jurisdiction over the subject matter contained in them. Each committee chairman concerned has received a letter from me a few days after the bills were introduced requesting that he immediately secure a report from the Government agencies concerned on the bill or bills pending before his committee and upon receipt of such report that hearings be scheduled on the bill at the earliest possible date. In addition to writing each committee chairman, I have had a personal conference with each of them furnishing them full information about the Altoona unemployment problem and urging the earliest possible action on the legislation. In addition to my contacts with the committee chairmen, the White House, the Office of Defense Mobilization, and the leadership of both parties in the House of Representatives, all agencies of Government concerned have been fully informed of the unemployment situation and of my program designed to alleviate it.

As you will observe from exhibit B which concerns H. R. 861, a bill designed to provide temporary extension of railroad unemployment insurance benefits, after many hours of research on my part, all available information concerning not only the Altoona unemployment situation but also the national picture was placed in the hands of the Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on January 22, 1955. Since that date I have had several conferences with Chairman Percy A. Priest whose home town, by the way, is Nashville, Tenn., where there are 2,500 railroaders unemployed. I have also written a personal letter to every member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and furnished the same information I gave Chairman Priest.

In order to develop nonpartisan support of my legislative program, I wrote a personal letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania on January 22, 1955 and a similar letter to the legislative representatives of the CIO, the A. F. of L., the International Association of Machinists, the Railway Labor Executives Association and the Operating Railroad Brotherhoods. I have received replies from the legislative representatives of the organizations mentioned and in addition, I have been in personal contact with each of them. In each instance they have given me helpful suggestions and have agreed to work collectively with me in an effort to enact my legislative program.

With reference to H. R. 861 providing for the extension of railroad unemployment insurance benefits to July 1, 1955, it is only fair to tell you that there is a division of opinion as to the practicability of its provisions. First, because the bill may lead to Federal control over railroad unemployment insurance benefits; second, because of its effect on collective bargaining in the field of wage increases and third, the bill will establish a precedent for other unemployed groups covered by unemployment insurance as administered by the several States.

As you probably know, a new Congress such as the 84th Congress spends the first two months of the year organizing and being brought up-to-date by various agencies of the government with respect to their legislative requests to Congress which include appropriations. The result is that unavoidable delay is encountered in perfecting legislation since it has to run the gauntlet of the various congressional committees before reaching the floor. In the meantime, you can be certain that I am not leaving any opportunity pass to expedite early consideration of my legislative proposals.

In addition to the legislative program I have described, your attention is called to Exhibit C which concerns the government's efforts to provide employment opportunities to the unemployed in the Altoona area. This program results from my request which brought a governmental committee to Altoona for the purpose of inventorying the skills of those unemployed and seeking to obtain employment for them. As you know, this program is in full effect at this moment.

With respect to railroad unemployment insurance problems such as delays in certifying claims or the tardy receipt of checks, a complete review of the office procedure in handling these claims was made at my request with the result that through my Altoona office I have given 24-hour service and complaints have been reduced to an absolute minimum. In addition to the personnel of the Cleveland regional office of the Railroad Retirement Board being increased and authority given for overtime pay in processing unemployment insurance applications, at this moment the United States Treasury Department is setting up the machinery whereby authority is being delegated to the regional offices of the Railroad Retirement Board to write their own checks instead of the Treasury Department thus saving a whole day in issuing them. I have spent hours in contact with officials of the Railroad Retirement Board reviewing every procedure for the purpose of eliminating delays and I feel that we have gone the limit in cutting corners.

In an effort to alleviate the unemployment problem by bringing about a diversification of industry in the Altoona area, I have been active the past several years in cooperating with individuals and groups in Altoona and my entire congressional district

in furnishing information, running down leads, and otherwise aiding in trying to attract new industries. A useful information kit compiled by the United States Department of Commerce and containing material designed to assist local groups in organizing for the purpose of securing new industries has been sent to interested persons in this congressional district.

From your knowledge of Altoona, I think you will agree that the organized effort of Altoona Enterprises, Inc., is unequalled anywhere in the United States. This fact is confirmed by the United States Department of Commerce who has commended Altoona Enterprises, Inc., for its initiative and success in raising funds for the purpose of attracting new industries to the Altoona area. At frequent intervals, I have sent a list of industrial firms that the United States Department of Commerce reported as being interested in expanding their facilities mostly as a result of the Government's dispersal order under the civil defense program. This information has been furnished to all community groups in my congressional district where there is a committee organized for the purpose of seeking new industries. As you know, at my request representatives of several Government agencies visited Altoona about a month ago and conferred with officials of the Altoona group to make certain that everything possible was being done to utilize the aid of the Federal Government in diversifying industries in the Altoona area.

Over a period of weeks I have had lunch on numerous occasions with key officials of Government and labor organizations in an effort to coordinate my activities and to develop new approaches to solving the Altoona unemployment problem. In all fairness to those with whom I have talked, they have been unable to suggest any new approach. In fact, some of these Government and labor organization officials have commended me for the determined and energetic effort I have made the past many months in trying to alleviate the unemployment situation in my congressional district.

There is attached as exhibit D several pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 17 and February 18 which reveals an additional effort on my part to relieve the unemployment situation not only in Altoona but also in the central Pennsylvania area by my opposition to the unregulated flood of foreign residual oil from Venezuela that has captured the eastern seaboard coal market thus destroying the jobs of coal miners, railroaders, and those in related industries.

In regard to the series of resolutions adopted by the county and city commissioners, there is no doubt that the unemployment problem is being attacked on all fronts; namely, at the local, county, State, and national levels. With such fine spirit of cooperation, I feel that our collective efforts cannot help but produce results. In view of the activities of so many persons and groups in helping to solve the unemployment situation in Altoona, I am sending a copy of this letter to interested persons.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

JAMES E. VAN ZANDT.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 7, 1955.

CHARLES A. MENTZER,
Executive Director, Altoona Community Welfare Council, Altoona, Pa.

DEAR CHARLIE: For your information, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, furnished me the following information on January 4 relative to the designation of Altoona as a disaster area:

"This has further reference to your inquiry relative to the designation of Altoona as a disaster area. The Surplus Manpower Committee of the Office of Defense Mobilization has given very careful consideration to your proposal, and after consultation with the General Counsel of ODM, the Committee has found that the present Disaster Relief Act does not permit Federal assistance for the alleviation of unemployment.

"As you know, the Disaster Relief Act (42 U. S. C. 1855–1855g) authorizing Federal assistance to States and local governments in major disasters reflects the intent of Congress to alleviate suffering and damage resulting from major disasters, and to foster the development of such State and local organizations and plans to cope with major disasters as may be necessary. As defined in the act, the term 'major disaster' means any 'flood, drought, fire, hurricane, earthquake, storm, or other catastrophe' in any part of the United States."

With the ODM decision that the provisions of the Disaster Relief Act are not applicable to Altoona, I arranged a meeting with representatives of the Departments of Commerce, Labor, the Small Business Administration, and the Railroad Retirement Board, which was held in Washington this week. At this meeting Mr. Dewey Coates, former resident of Altoona, and community employment consultant, Bureau of Employment Security, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., was named as the coordinator of the efforts the Federal Government will make to aid unemployed railroad workers in the Altoona area.

Already the Chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board, as part of the Committee's program, has designated Mr. Merritt Robson, a Railroad Retirement Board representative from Chicago, to proceed to Altoona immediately for the purpose of determining the skills of those unemployed so that the United States Department of Labor and the Railroad Retirement Board may unite their efforts in securing employment for such persons.

Another step in the program will bring to Altoona representatives of the United States Department of Commerce and the Small Business Administration, who will make an inventory of the production potential of all industries other than the railroad to aid the Altoona Chamber of Commerce and Altoona Enterprises, Inc., in their efforts to secure new industries. This Committee will function in accordance with the Eisenhower administration's directive that areas like Altoona with a very substantial labor surplus shall be given every possible assistance in rehabilitating their economy.

In addition to the committee mentioned in the above paragraph, I introduced on January 5, 1955, H. R. 861, a copy of which is attached. This bill provides an extension of the payment of railroad unemployment insurance benefits to July 1, 1955 for the unemployed railroaders whose benefits terminated after January 1, 1955. The bill provides that the sum of $10 million shall be appropriated from the general funds of the Treasury of the United States to cover the cost of all the benefits provided in the bill. Through the extension of railroad employment insurance benefits for the first 6 months of 1955, assistance will be rendered the unemployed while they await either recall to service or obtain employment elsewhere through the united efforts of the Railroad Retirement Board and the United States Department of Labor.

In addition to H. R. 861, I introduced H. R. 860 to provide for a program of public facilities construction which will stimulate employment in areas having a substantial surplus of labor. This bill which I had pending in the 83d Congress when it adjourned, also provides for an appropriation of $3 billion to cover the cost of my proposed public works program.

To further assist the unemployed and their families, I introduced on January 5, 1955, H. R. 863, to provide for the distribution of certain surplus food commodities by use of a food stamp plan, and requested that the necessary expenses of administering the food stamp plan be borne by the Federal Government.

To protect the property of all those who may be called upon to depend on public assistance from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, I introduced H. R. 862, which prohibits the several States from taking a lien against the real estate of the recipient as is being done under existing law.

The legislative program for the relief of the unemployed railroaders in my congressional district outlined in this letter has been called to the attention of the leadership of the Democratic-controlled 84th Congress and the chairman of the congressional committees concerned urging immediate consideration of the legislation. In addition, I am personally contacting every Member of Congress and officials of organized labor including railroad brotherhoods, asking their assistance in securing early congressional action.

As you know, the 84th Congress convened this week and it will be the early part of February before the legislative machinery will begin to function. Meanwhile, you can be certain that I shall continue my determined efforts to provide relief for the unemployed by obtaining early action on my legislative proposals.

I am sending copies of this letter to interested persons in the Altoona area for their information.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

JAMES E. VAN ZANDT.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 22, 1955.

Hon. J. PERCY PRIEST,
Chairman, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEAR PERCY: You will remember our recent conversation concerning my bill, H. R. 861, a copy of which is attached and which provides temporary extension to June 30, 1955, of railroad unemployment insurance benefits to those who have or will have exhausted their rights under existing laws.

There are 24 areas in the United States where a substantial number of railroad workers are unemployed because of a permanent or indefinite shutdown of railroad facilities. Starting early this month, many of these unemployed railroad workers exhausted their rights to railroad unemployment insurance with the result that there exists a most acute economic problem in these areas.

For an illustration, according to information furnished me by the Railroad Retirement Board, in Nashville, Tenn., 2,500 railroaders are unemployed and the survey reveals that the local industry other than the railroads will be able to absorb only a few of them. The result is that in your hometown of Nashville there are some 2,500 unemployed railroaders and their families who have lost or are about to lose their unemployment-insurance benefits which is their only source of income.

In my hometown of Altoona, Pa., there are 6,000 unemployed railroad workers whose unemployment-insurance benefits began to expire January 10, and in the matter of a few weeks some 4,500 will have exhausted their rights to unemployment-insurance benefits. Since Altoona's basic economy is the railroad industry, the only source of income left for these furloughed railroaders and their families is public assistance because local industries cannot provide employment for them. Therefore, my hometown has a similar acute economic problem to that of your hometown of Nashville.

At my request, the United States Department of Labor and the Railroad Retirement Board have made a survey of the Altoona

situation with the result that the skills of unemployed railroaders have been classified and every effort will be made to secure employment for them elsewhere. While this effort is being made to obtain employment for this group, my bill, H. R. 861, will extend their railroad unemployment insurance benefits to the end of the present fiscal year as if they had retained their eligibility. You will observe that I have requested an appropriation of $10 million from the general funds of the Treasury of the United States so as to finance the cost of the extension and not disturb the solvency of the railroad unemployment insurance fund.

As I said in the beginning, there are 24 areas in the United States which include your hometown and my hometown that are faced with this acute economic problem resulting from unemployment in the railroad industry. I have delayed writing this letter to you so as to permit adequate time for perfecting the organization of your committee. Now that your committee is organized, it is my hope that you can give the subject of railroad unemployment top priority and arrange to discuss it at either a full committee meeting or assign it to a subcommittee so hearings can be held.

On behalf of the citizens of Altoona, I wish to inform you that everything possible is being done from a community standpoint to relieve the unemployment situation, and it is hoped that the extension of unemployment-insurance benefits will receive early consideration by your committee.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

JAMES E. VAN ZANDT.

Twenty-four areas where a substantial number of railroad workers are unemployed because of a permanent or indefinite shutdown of railroad facilities

Area	Number currently unemployed	Number estimated to obtain other employment in the community	Number estimated to remain unemployed
Albany, N. Y.[1]	1,864	38	1,826
Altoona, Pa.[2]	6,000	0	6,000
Baltimore, Md.	1,336	(*)	0
Birmingham, Ala.	1,300	260	1,040
Buffalo, N. Y.[1]	485	100	385
Columbus, Ohio	1,107	400	707
Cumberland, Md.	600	100	500
DeSoto, Mo.	500	50	450
Duluth, Minn.	1,450	0	1,450
El Paso, Tex.	550	100	450
Harrisburg, Pa.	1,723	100	1,623
Indianapolis, Ind.	1,400	1,000	400
Huntingdon, W. Va.-Ashland, Ky.[1]	1,465	225	1,240
Johnstown, Pa.[2]	400	200	200
Knoxville, Tenn.[1]	700	175	525
Las Vegas, Nev.	470	15	455
Nashville, Tenn.	2,500	very few	2,500
Philadelphia-Reading, Pa.-Wilmington, Del.[1]	2,000	1,000	1,000
Pittsburgh, Pa. (entire district)[1]	11,642	1,100	10,542
Scranton, Pa.[2]	711	10	701
St. Louis, Mo.[1]	1,100	80	1,020
Terre Haute, Ind.[1]	800	200	600
Wilkes-Barre-Hazelton, Pa.[2]	508	10	498
Williamsport-Northumberland, Pa.	742	50	692

[1] Included in group IV-A areas of substantial labor surplus.
[2] Included in group IV-B areas of very substantial labor surplus.
[3] Practically all.

CHICAGO, ILL., *January 25, 1955.*

To: Regional Directors, regions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

From: Director of unemployment and sickness insurance.

Subject: Railroad unemployment, Altoona, Pa.

Please refer to our memorandum of January 18, 1955, on the above subject. In that memorandum we mentioned that unemployment of railroad workers in Altoona, Pa., is attracting national attention and informed you that you would be requested to ask your field offices to develop orders for recruitment in Altoona as soon as information was available from the inventory of unemployed railroad workers then in progress.

Attached is a tabulation showing by age groups the number of unemployed railroad workers in Altoona (Blair County) in each occupation or occupational group listed. A majority of these claimants have already been paid the maximum amount of UI benefits to which they are entitled this benefit year. A high proportion do not have enough 1954 earnings to be qualified next year.

You are requested to forward this tabulation to each field office in your region and ask them to contact all railroad hiring officials who might possibly have need for the services of employees in any of the occupations listed. Any orders developed are to be written up on form ES–113a and forwarded direct to the district manager at Altoona, Pa. All sections of form ES–113a should be carefully completed. Depending on the conditions of the order, particularly arrangements for transportation and physical examination requirements, the district manager at Altoona will either (1) refer applicants in person direct to the hiring official shown on the order, or (2) will forward to the hiring official an application form similar to exhibit A of FOM–III–4.

Please request your field offices to give top priority to this attempt to develop orders for recruitment in Altoona. It is requested that all hiring officials be contacted and all possible clearance orders obtained and forwarded to Altoona no later than February 4, 1955.

H. L. CARTER.

Active claimants, Jan. 1, 1955, Altoona, Pa. (Blair County)

Occupational groups	Age groups						Total
	Under 25	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 and over	
Group 1: Executives, professional men, telegraphers, and clerks	12	34	9	7	1	0	63
Group 2:							
Trainmen and enginemen:							
Brakemen	13	57	20	2	1	0	93
Firemen	0	20	46	41	8	0	115
Switchmen	1	3	1	1	1	0	7
Group 3:							
Skilled trades journeymen:							
Blacksmith	0	3	12	2	2	0	19
Boilermaker	0	2	7	5	2	1	17
Carman	0	45	73	22	6	0	146
Electrician	1	18	49	14	1	0	83
Machinist	0	56	147	56	9	4	272
Molder	0	2	1	1	0	0	4
Mason	0	0	3	1	0	0	4
Painter and Painter B. & B.	8	29	9	0	0	0	46
Pipefitter	0	15	41	11	0	0	67
Sheetmetal worker	1	3	22	9	4	0	39
Welder	3	11	31	8	1	0	54
Upholsterer	4	2	0	0	0	0	6
Group 4:							
Skilled trade helpers and apprentices:							
Blacksmith helper	1	23	19	11	5	3	62
Carman helper	3	157	172	67	9	0	408
Electrician helper and apprentice	13	55	52	13	0	1	136
Machinist helper and apprentice	15	43	134	50	10	0	252
Miscellaneous helpers and apprentices	9	45	54	30	8	5	151
Pipefitter helper and apprentices	0	14	33	10	3	0	60
Group 5: Laborers, baggage express and freight handlers	45	684	794	416	115	10	2,064
Group 6: Attendants, cooks, porters and waiters	2	4	6	13	6	0	31
Total	131	1,327	1,735	790	192	24	4,199

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 17, 1955]

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the rule because it will not permit amendments to H. R. 1 when it is read under the 5-minute rule.

This closed rule is a gag rule and denies me as a representative of some 300,000 people to offer amendments to the bill that will protect their interests as American wage earners.

We who live in the 20th Congressional District of Pennsylvania, have made every effort possible to obtain relief from the adverse effects of the unlimited and unrestricted importation of foreign residual oil which is one of the main factors in wrecking our economy. Unless those of us from coal-producing States are permitted to offer amendments to H. R. 1 curbing the flood of foreign residual oil, we have no other means of stopping it.

The unemployment in my congressional district is mounting daily and as of January 1, 1955, there were 18 percent of our employables unemployed. It is in the name of the unemployed in my district who are today living on public assistance and surplus food commodities, that I ask that this closed rule be defeated.

I am sure that the membership of this House if given an opportunity to vote on an amendment providing for a 10 percent quota limitation on the importation of foreign residual oil that such an amendment will be approved overwhelmingly, since it will restore employment and also protect the jobs of those presently employed.

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 18, 1955]

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, the opposition expressed by a great many Members of this House to the gag rule now in effect on H. R. 1 reveals the feeling on the part of a great percentage of the American people that this legislation should be open for amendments.

I opposed the gag rule yesterday, and shall vote to recommit the bill. If the motion to recommit the bill fails, I shall vote against H. R. 1 on final passage because the interests of American wage earners are not protected.

After all, it is only through appropriate amendments that the jobs of American wage earners can be protected.

As the printed hearings on H. R. 1 will show, a long list of Members of Congress as well as spokesmen for numerous industries appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee pleading that H. R. 1 be amended in order that relief might be provided to many of our basic industries which have suffered because of the unfair competition resulting from a flood of cheaply manufactured foreign goods.

Many Members of Congress who appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee in protest against the damaging effects on the jobs of American wage earners resulting from reciprocal trade agreements have supported the principle of reciprocal trade in previous Congresses but to use their own words—they could not continue to do so any longer unless appropriate amendments were adopted.

When I first came to Congress in 1939 I opposed reciprocal trade agreements on the grounds that they were destroying the jobs of coal miners in my congressional district in Pennsylvania. At that time, imported Russian coal had captured some of the eastern seaboard coal markets from coal producers in my congressional district.

During the early part of World War II and before resigning my seat in Congress to return to military service, I supported the extension of reciprocal trade agreements in the 78th Congress because we were at war and the demand for coal revived our coal industry.

When I was elected to the 80th Congress I voted in favor of extending reciprocal trade agreements with the understanding that American industries would be protected from unfair competition resulting from a flood of cheaply manufactured foreign goods.

For example, in Pennsylvania residual oil from Venezuela was beginning to flood the eastern seaboard, thus destroying the market for Pennsylvania-mined coal.

During the 82d Congress I voted to extend reciprocal trade agreements because there was contained therein the so-called peril-point amendment which was designed to provide a checkrein on imports that could destroy the jobs of American wage earners.

During the 83d Congress I joined many of my colleagues in an effort to stop the uncontrolled flow of foreign goods. Many of you will recall that we were supporting the Simpson bill. My special interest was in regulating the flood of foreign residual oil by placing a quota limitation on the importation of such oil. As many of you will recall, the Simpson bill was returned to the committee.

During the early part of 1954 the so-called Randall committee was created and took testimony from spokesmen for industries adversely affected by the importation of cheaply manufactured foreign goods. I regret to state that the coal industry was denied the opportunity to present its side of the case. Consequently the Randall report ignored the increasingly serious situation existing in the coal-producing States of our Nation.

Mr. Chairman, by my votes as a Member of Congress there is ample proof that I believe in the principles of reciprocal trade agreements and that I supported them until I found a wholesale disregard for protecting the jobs of American workmen.

It became evident that the so-called peril-point amendment was meaningless and that the Randall committee merely performed a window-dressing job and actually by their recommendations threw American wage earners to the wolves.

Mr. Chairman, I voted against the extension of reciprocal trade agreements last year and I intend to continue to do so until the interest of the American working man is protected.

As a means of attaining the objective of protecting the jobs of American workmen, I have 3 bills pending before the House Ways and Means Committee, namely: H. R. 345, H. R. 864, and H. R. 3019.

H. R. 345 is designed to provide a 5-percent quota limitation on imports of foreign residual oil; while H. R. 3019 would increase the limitation to 10 percent.

H. R. 864 provides a permanent procedure for the adjustment of tariff rates on a selective basis and regulates the flow of imported articles on a basis of fair competition with domestic articles. H. R. 864 also contains a 5-percent quota limitation on imports of foreign residual oil.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to H. R. 1 because it will continue the disastrous effects on our economy by the reckless importation of foreign goods manufactured at a fraction of the wages paid American workmen.

For several weeks the House Ways and Means Committee has heard expert testimony from spokesmen for various industries regarding the adverse effects reciprocal trade agreements are having on our industrial economy. These experts produced facts showing that the employees of the industry affected not only lost their jobs but many of the manufacturing plants have been driven to financial distress, and in some instances were forced to close their doors.

Spokesmen for the coal industry told how the flood of foreign residual oil from Venezuela has destroyed the domestic coal markets of the miners in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and West Virginia.

Back in 1939 when I first voiced my opposition to the importation of slave-mined Russian coal and other cheaply manufactured foreign products, I predicted that such a reckless policy would create ghost towns out of many communities in my congressional district and throughout the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, my prediction of 1939 has become a reality. Practically all of our deep mines in central Pennsylvania are closed and thousands of miners have been out of work for several years. In fact, many mining towns have been abandoned and their empty and dilapidated rows of houses stand as a monument to the destructive effects of the importation of foreign residual oil. Because they have nowhere to go, there are only a few of the unemployed in the coalfields of central Pennsylvania that have left the area. The result is that today, according to the United States Department of Labor, my congressional district is classified as a critical area because of the fact that nearly 18 percent of the civilian labor force is unemployed.

This unemployment is not confined to coal miners, but includes those employed in affected related industries such as the railroads.

Mr. Chairman, in my home city of Altoona, Pa., nearly 10,000 people are unemployed, 6,000 of whom are railroad employees with 4,100 of this number having exhausted their rights on January 10, 1955 to railroad unemployment insurance benefits. A similar condition exists among coal miners and others who have lost their right to unemployment compensation benefits from the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Chairman, every community in my congressional district has an active committee engaged in trying to attract new industries and millions of dollars have been raised by voluntary subscription to finance this long-range program of rehabilitating the industrial economy of the area.

While this united community effort goes on, thousands of my constituents—all good Americans and victims of this reckless foreign-trade policy—are today dependent for their existence upon public assistance and surplus food commodities.

I regret that every member of this Committee is unable to talk to these unemployed Americans as they stand in line to pick up their food coupons. If it were possible for you to talk to them, you would hear the pitiful story of their plight as citizens of a nation that boasts of its high standard of living.

As I mentioned a moment ago, communities affected by unemployment in cooperation with the State and Federal Government are endeavoring to rehabilitate their economy by attracting new industries. The unemployment situation, however, is getting worse as mines continue to close and more miners and railroaders are losing their jobs.

While this unfortunate situation prevails in the United States, residents of Venezuela, which is the chief exporter of residual oil, are enjoying unbridled prosperity.

Let me read you excerpts from Hal Boyle's syndicated column of January 24, 1955, titled "Venezuela Seen As the Texas of South America":

"So much money is being made here (Venezuela) that visiting Texans actually get an inferiority complex and the United States dollar feels like 50 cents. * * * The visitor has a dazed sensation he is caught in a mid-century Klondike gold rush. The atmosphere of quick money is overwhelming, and tales of riches made overnight are a bolivar a dozen. * * * Venezuela is bigger than Texas and Oklahoma combined and larger than any European country except Germany. * * * Its chief income is from oil—no land except the United States produces more. * * *

"Although the nation has a population of only 5½ million, the Government spent half a billion dollars in 1954 on vast public-works projects and still ended up with $80 million left in the till. * * * Foreign investors from the United States and Europe are pouring untold millions into the industrialization of the country. It has taken in more than 100,000 immigrants from Europe the last 10 years. * * *

"Caracas, the 388-year-old capital, is now one of the world's greatest boom cities. Fifty years ago milkmen herded cows through its ancient streets. Today they are jammed by thousands of new high-priced motorcars. * * * Nearly a million people live in the metropolitan area, and so many new buildings are going up construction workers have no time to even take Sundays off to go to the bullfights.

"But the city has abysmal poverty as well as tremendous wealth. The shanties of the poor still crowd many of the raw red hills that stud Caracas. The Government has torn down thousands of these eyesores and replaced them with forty 15-story apartment buildings at a cost of $24 million. Workmen can rent the apartments for $6 to $30 a month, own them after a period of 20 years.

"In 1955 the Government plans to tear down 6,500 more shacks and spend $25 million more on apartment projects for low-income workers."

Mr. Chairman, what a contrast it is to compare living conditions in Venezuela with the coal fields of Pennsylvania.

May I add that the prosperity enjoyed in Venezuela is to a great extent at the expense of the misery and suffering of residents of the coal-producing States of our Nation and especially of my congressional district.

At this very minute a quarter of a million ton tanker ship is tied up at an east coast dock carrying disaster to the coal, railroad and related industries of this Nation, in much the same manner as rat-infested vessels brought disease into our port cities in years gone by.

This foreign tanker with its bunker space filled with residual oil is dumping it in violation of every American concept of fair competition. As a matter of fact, even if the miners of our Nation would work for nothing and the railroads transported the coal for practically nothing, the coal industry could not compete with this unfair com-

petition from foreign residual oil because its price is continually manipulated downward to capture the eastern seaboard coal market.

Mr. Chairman, it is being said in defense of residual oil that the oil companies have been requested to restrict voluntarily the amount of residual oil imported quarterly.

It has also been said that if any restrictions are placed on the importation of foreign residual oil that we will offend Venezuela.

Let me state, Mr. Chairman, that every time a coal miner loses his job because of the unfair competition from foreign residual oil a railroader has also been added to the list of the unemployed.

Mr. Chairman, those of us who represent coal-producing States recognize foreign residual oil as the archenemy of our industrial economy.

Therefore, I plead with you that H. R. 1 be returned to committee so that appropriate amendments can be adopted.

As far as I am concerned, it is about time we start adopting some of the policies foreign nations apply against us in protecting the jobs of their industrial workers.

Mr. Chairman, H. R. 1 without appropriate amendments will not correct the unemployment situation and afford the necessary relief to distressed industries and therefore I cannot conscientiously vote for it.

Meet Brooklyn, U. S. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it was with great interest and I assure you with deep pride that I read in the Christian Science Monitor for February 18, 1955, the article entitled "Meet Brooklyn, U. S. A." By that title, proper tribute is rendered the community of Brooklyn which has contributed so very much to the greatest city, the greatest State, and the greatest Nation in the world. I include it here so that others will find pleasure and enlightenment in reading it:

MEET BROOKLYN, U. S. A.

(By H. A. Morris)

Most Americans know nothing of Brooklyn, N. Y., except what they read in the papers. Often these reports aren't flattering.

In reality, Brooklyn is one of the world's premier cities. In size it ranks third among the communities of the United States. As a voter's community it is second only to Cook County, Ill. The city also ranks third in the number of its industrial concerns, and fifth in the total value of its manufactured products.

Brooklyn, although only 1 of the 5 boroughs that comprise Greater New York, is separated from Manhattan by the East River and connected by 3 large bridges and a tunnel. It is made up of numerous sections, the best known of which are Flatbush, Williamsburg, Ridgewood, and Bay Ridge. Although governed by the Mayor of New York and the city council, Brooklyn has its own borough president and municipal officers and its own postmaster.

The history of Brooklyn began in 1660 when 134 hardy Dutch settlers occupied a strip of its shore. They were later joined by groups of English, Walloons, and French Huguenots, and when the first United States census was taken in 1790 their numbers had grown to 5,000. The area was a small agricultural community for over 200 years, but a rapid development took place after the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge in 1883. In 1898 the separate city charter was given up and, through consolidation, Brooklyn became a part of New York City, as we now know it.

One of the first free schools was built in Brooklyn in the 1600's. The city was the first to free slaves under the Manumission Act of 1798. James Gordon Bennett and Horace Greeley, two of the greatest of newspaper editors, are buried there. Brooklyn manufactures 732 different articles, more than any other American community.

Brooklyn had the first heated horsecars in America. The borough ranks second as the coffee roasting center of the world. It is one of the Nation's leading centers for the manufacture of knit goods and food products, for fur dressing and for ship and boat building.

The *Monitor*, the ship that had the famous encounter with the *Merrimac*, and many of our great warships today were built at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

The Bush Terminal, which covers an area of 200 acres, is the largest single coordination of manufacture, storage and shipping in the world. Brooklyn high schools are among the finest and best equipped in existence. The St. George Hotel has over 2,000 rooms and a beautiful salt water swimming pool.

Brooklyn has 81 parks. The largest, Prospect Park, covers 526 acres. It lies on the ground where the historic battle of Long Island was fought and is said to be worth $150 million.

Brooklyn has a wonderful children's museum, a beautiful botanic garden, an institute of arts and sciences, an academy of music, almost 60 hospitals, 4 major colleges and 201.5 miles of waterfront.

The borough is often called the "City of Churches" and it deserves the title. Starting with 3 churches in 1864, Brooklyn now has almost 800 places of worship. Church properties in the city have an estimated value of $200 million.

Brooklyn boasts three of the world's largest playgrounds. Coney Island has 5 miles of bathing beach, and is internationally known. Manhattan and Brighton beaches are also large enough to attract thousands of bathers.

Novelist Betty Smith, Singer Phil Regan, Radio Comedian Bud Abbott, Playwright Irwin Shaw; Shep Fields and Vincent Lopez, the orchestra leaders; Phil Rizzuto, Tommy Holmes, and Billy Loes, the ballplayers, all came from Brooklyn. So did the one and only Mickey Rooney and the biggest share of the boys of the 1st Infantry Division, the first American outfit to land in north Africa, Sicily, and Europe during World War II.

Brooklyn is truly a big city, with 50,000 retail stores and a population approaching three and a half million.

Despite its critics, Brooklyn is really in the U. S. A.

Freedom Message to People Behind the Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, one of the principal aims of our post-World War II foreign policy is to gain and hold the confidence of all freedom-loving peoples in our unrelenting struggle against totalitarianism. In this global battle in defense of our beliefs and ideals we need to have all believers in democracy closely united spiritually and morally to our cause. We and our friends and allies are convinced that the cause for which we are prepared to fight with all our might is the cause of humanity; it is the sacred cause of all free men. On that issue there is and should be no question in our mind. There can be no doubts or uncertainties. For when one is girding himself for a bloody battle, he must have no misgivings about the righteousness of his cause.

Today in our struggle against totalitarian communism, that fearsome and godless doctrine whose fanatical adherents have already enslaved almost one-third of the world's population, not only should we help all free peoples, but we should also seek ways of encouraging and inspiring those unfortunate millions in Communist-dominated countries who are being held in servitude against their will.

In this connection our principal task should be to keep alive the spirit of freedom in those peoples. Next to actual liberation, the best thing we can do, and I am sure we can do it effectivley is, to inspire them with confidence and instill in them some hope, to show them some gleam of light, something indicating that they have friends and sympathizers in the free world who are seriously concerned with their fate. That is the purpose for which the Voice of America has been working, an endeavor which our taxpaying citizens are gladly supporting. The broadcasts sponsored by the free Europe group have similar ends in view. These broadcasts have done a good job in enlisting more friends for the cause of democracy. However, radio broadcasts have certain limitations. Many people in the Communist-dominated countries do not have radios, and furthermore radio broadcasts can be jammed. Consequently, alternative methods of reaching the people of Eastern Europe are required. One very effective method of dealing with the situation is by distributing leaflets with freedom messages to Iron Curtain countries by balloons. Of course, there is nothing novel in this suggestion. It has been tried on various occasions in the course of the past several years and has proved to be quite effective. In the resolution—House Joint Resolution 76—which I recently introduced, it is proposed to regularize this system, and thus make it more effective. This resolution also suggests an additional measure. It proposes that not only freedom messages but also food packages be dropped over Iron Curtain countries by balloons. This should prove far more effective than the leaflets alone. Our experience with distributing food parcels in Berlin has demonstrated that this type of psychological weapon has a powerful impact. If we should now use it in conjunction with freedom messages, it would not only give added force to those messages and help to convince the recipients of our

sincerity, but the food might also help save many victims of Communist tyranny from starvation.

In view of our past experience, this idea of sending our freedom messages and food packages to Iron Curtain countries by balloons is certainly worth trying. As has been stated in the proposed resolution, the food for this purpose is to come out of our surplus agricultural commodities. The administration of the whole scheme under the Secretary of State, would cost no more than $2 million. It would be one of the cheapest and most effective methods of winning deserving and worthy friends behind the Iron Curtain for the cause of humanity and for free democracy. I sincerely suggest that we try it.

The Golden Anniversary of the United States Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following excellent editorial by Don Saults, editor of the Missouri Conservationist, on the golden anniversary of the United States Forest Service which was established 50 years ago this month:

THE GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

It was just 50 years ago this month that the United States Forest Service was born. Its sire was Gifford Pinchot and its dam was intelligent planning; its godfather was Theodore Roosevelt and its godmother was Congress.

The Service has had a distinguished life since then, and it would appear to be in a state of vigorous maturity today. It was reared, nurtured and educated according to a basic precept enunciated by Godfather Teddy: "Forestry is the preservation of forests by wise use. And wisdom has been a pretty good guide to behavior even though men change the legends by which they live.

Gifford Pinchot became the first chief of the Forest Service; he was also the first native American to have professional training in forestry. And the Service has been run by professionals ever since. This seems a reasonably sound idea, too, in fields as widely separated as medicine and baseball.

Forest Service has a lot of children, now. Nearly all States have their agencies working in the field, just as Missouri has its forestry division in the conservation commission Thirty universities and colleges, among them the University of Missouri, offer full instruction in forestry. (Pinchot had to go to Europe to learn.) Forty-five States—including Missouri—have extension programs in forestry conducted by the State agricultural colleges. And today, some 5,000 professional foresters are employed by private industry in the United States.

Back in the days of its callow youth, Forest Service wasn't quite socially acceptable and frequently got snubbed by local people. But at 50 years of age, Service has become not only respectable but even a romantic hero subject of movies, novels, and radio programs.

How times do change in 50 years. Too bad the men who dreamed the great dreams, who birthed the idea, aren't around to see people accept their scion as a distinguished citizen.

Just consider the matter of public forests, pretty much taken for granted today, although attacks are still being made on them by interests who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the turn of the century. Ever think what would have happened to our national forests if a protecting hand hadn't been laid on them a half century ago?

Those public forests—nearly 1,500,000 acres of them in Missouri—are big lumbering operations on the controlled-use principle, though our acreage here is only now developing into the harvest stage. Apart from sustained yield, they were visited by 35 million people last year, not just visited but used by those people for hunting, fishing, and outdoor recreation.

The Service is helping educate a lot of people, too. The most dramatic example of that is the development of Smokey Bear as symbol of cooperative forest-fire prevention, a program jointly conducted by the State foresters and the Service.

It has been a good 50 years, despite two world wars and an amazing growth in population and industry, which meant tremendous pressure against the Forest Service. But what will the future bring?

The Service doesn't know, any more than in 1905 it could foresee 1955. But it guesses there will be steady growth for forest recreation and for timber needs; that the forests' protective role on the watersheds will become even more important. Perhaps forestry research will develop new and better kinds of trees and other concepts of timber management.

Fifty years can be a long time to men, but it isn't much to a redwood or even to a Missouri white oak.

So the 18-year-old conservation commission of Missouri wishes the 50-year-old Forest Service of the United States a cheery golden anniversary and many, many happy returns of the day.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ORVIN B. FJARE
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FJARE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks by way of explanation of my vote against H. R. 1, I am concerned with the protection of America's industrial and agricultural production. During the past 20 years we have seen a tremendous reduction in our tariff barriers, and abnormal world conditions have been such as to make it difficult to assess the full effect of these changes in our tariff structure on our national economy. It is safe to say that the United States is no longer one of the high tariff nations. Our tariffs are now at their lowest point in history, and average only about 5.1 percent of the value of imports. In addition, it is to be considered that actually our tariffs affect less than one-third of our total imports.

There are many factors that affect free trade between the nations of the world. Import quotas, currency restrictions, monopolies, government trading, cartels, and other devices are far tighter barriers to free trade than tariffs. The United States actually permits freer trade than any other industrialized country in the world, because, except with respect to quotas on agricultural products subject to price supports, it does not engage in these practices. The use of such devices by other nations has increased markedly during the past 20 years.

It is my feeling that a sound, stable, and prosperous economy in the United States is the world's greatest hope at this time. The theory that the United States should import those things that can be produced more cheaply abroad and emphasize production of those things which we ourselves can produce more cheaply is not true under present world conditions. We need a broad base of all industries for our Nation's economic strength, and some segments of our economy have to be protected to insure that condition.

Our Government is great because it is composed of a system of checks and balances and I believe that the escape-clause provisions should be strengthened and implemented toward that end. In addition, I feel that H. R. 1 was too great a departure from the time-proven basic American concept that we should have a Government of law and not a Government of men.

If Giveaways Are Sound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Omaha World Herald entitled "If Giveaways Are Sound."

Mr. Speaker, the United States of America has given away more than $40 billion of American money since 1948 trying to save other nations and to buy some good will. This money was borrowed from the American taxpayer. It is a part of our debt structure. If you or I or any individual would proceed on the same theory that we should borrow money from the bank and go in debt so we could give it away, then surely someone, sooner or later, would suggest that we be examined by a psychiatrist.

It would seem that the money we have given away has bought more ill will than good will. It is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that the Congress will this year examine with great care the money already available for the many foreign aid programs and the amount of money requested for additional programs. It is my humble opinion that we could well cut out all economic aid which would assist to balance our budget and perhaps even permit a small reduction in our taxes. I would suggest that military aid be made

available only to those countries who prove to be our friends and will fight when the chips are down.

The editorial follows:

IF GIVEAWAYS ARE SOUND

Last fall America's master of global giveaway, Harold Stassen, announced that his Foreign Aid Administration would buy 10 million tons of coal for distribution abroad.

Nothing was done about the coal until the other day when Kentucky Senator CLEMENTS asked Mr. Stassen if he could move Kentucky's share, 2 million tons, some time between now and October.

"Yes, if Kentucky wants it," said Mr. Stassen.

"Do they want it," said Senator CLEMENTS. "They want it as of yesterday."

"They," of course, are Kentucky coal interests. The idea is to relieve a depressed industry through Government purchases.

Now that foreign aid is in disrepute the country over, and almost everybody realizes the program won't buy allies or insure peace, the FOA is badly trying to buy allies here at home—allies who have a financial interest in continuing foreign aid.

If there's not enough demand for the high-priced coal that John L. Lewis' miners are digging, so goes this reasoning, then give it away, let the taxpayers foot the bill, but by all means keep the miners at work.

By the same token, if there's no market in America for the flood of price-supported farm crops, then dump the stuff on the world markets at cut-rate prices, or give it away as was done in the case of India.

There is a certain logic in this, once one accepts the premise that giveaways are a fine and sensible means of achieving desirable ends. For if it is a good idea to rescue foreigners in distress, it obviously is an even better idea to rescue depressed industries in America. Charity, after all, should begin at home.

But if this philosophy is accepted, why limit rescue operations to depressed industries only? Why not insure full employment, overtime, and everlasting prosperity simply by having the Government buy everything that can't be sold at home and give it away abroad?

Automobiles, for instance. They're streaming out of the factories at the rate of 8 million a year and the experts are shaking their heads, saying the boom can't last through the year. Why not keep the auto factories humming at full speed, why not give Reuther his guaranteed annual wage (because the industry would have guaranteed annual production and profits), and spread the shining product of Detroit as a free-for-nothing gift the world around?

Henry Wallace was a piker with his proposal of a quart of milk a day for the Hottentots. Why not throw in a new V-8, a 24-inch television set, and chicken every Sunday?

If a still, small voice should ask who's paying for all this, silence him quickly, for he is either a willful reactionary or an ignorant character who has not caught the vision. No true believer in the giveaway principle would ask such a foolish and unenlightened question.

The Late Pete Jarman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the life and services of the late Pete Jarman.

The untimely death of Hon. Pete Jarman, of Alabama, a former distinguished and very useful Member of this House, brought very great sadness to me, and my heart aches for his charming wife. Mr. Jarman was a Member of Congress and was serving with distinction on the Foreign Affairs Committee when I came in January of 1939. He continued to serve his constituents and the country as a whole for a number of years, gaining in statute each year. After his retirement from the House he was appointed Ambassador to the Commonwealth of Australia where he represented our Government at Canberra in this far-away, but relatively new country. In that capacity he gave his best efforts at all times, and he continued in this capacity until 1953.

In 1951 I was a member of a delegation sent by Congress to Australia to help in the observance of 50 years of free government in Australia, and it was my opportunity to learn at first hand about the outstanding service performed by Mr. Jarman. He was respected by the government officials of Australia and by the representatives of other nations at the Australian capital. Our country gained in prestige as a resultof his constructive work.

Mr. Jarman died years too soon, but he left an indelible impression on our foreign service, and in all this his charming wife was an active and splendid participant.

Postal Decentralization Benefits Being Felt Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of Sunday, February 6, 1955, entitled, "Postal Decentralization Benefits Being Felt Here."

POSTAL DECENTRALIZATION BENEFITS BEING FELT HERE

Postmaster General Summerfield's program to decentralize the Nation's postal system has been felt all the way down to the rural postmaster.

St. Louis District Manager James E. Newton reported getting this comment from a fourth-class postmaster who had been invited to attend a meeting of postmasters from this area:

"There's something funny going on down there at St. Louis. I got a letter from some big shot who wanted me to attend a meeting clean down to St. Charles. I haven't been that far away for more than 10 years. It's almost 40 miles; besides the meeting was at 8 o'clock and I'm always in bed by 9 o'clock."

SIX-DAY REPLY

The "something funny going on" at St. Louis and nine similar regional offices throughout the United States, is an attempt to streamline a Government department which until Summerfield took over in 1953 was still operating with horse-and-buggy methods.

Improvements in service are typified in this letter to the St. Louis district manager from a post office inspector relative to the extension of rural delivery service from Jackson, Mo.

"In the past it would take from 4 to 6 weeks to have a reply from the Department. In this case it took just 6 days."

The postmaster's request for an extension of service had been given prompt personal attention and several families received improved service without delay.

CLOSE TO HOME

Summerfield's decentralization plan also brings promotion and personnel decisions down to a level where they can be settled by supervisors who know the capabilities of their employees.

The Summerfield theory is that simple decisions that would have taken Washington offices weeks to handle can now be made close to home in a matter of days. Postmasters formerly petitioned Washington for such trivia as typewriter repairs.

Decisions on Missouri postal routes once made in Washington can now be made in district offices at St. Louis, Kansas City, or Springfield.

The St. Louis regional office, 111 North Fourth Street, directs postal service in Missouri, Iowa, and Arkansas. Regional manager James B. Tunny is a 45-year veteran of the postal service. His assistant is George J. Gross, a lawyer and former FBI agent.

OPENED IN SEPTEMBER

Tunny set up the Japan postal service after World War II and was in charge of the Cincinnati pilot office, the first of the regional offices to be activated.

Opened September 9, 1954, the St. Louis regional office supervises 3,434 post offices serving more than 8 million persons. Other regional offices are at Cincinnati, Chicago, Dallas, Minneapolis, Portland, Washington, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New York City.

Regional offices are staffed by a public relations officer, an industrial engineer, and a management-employee relations officer. The engineer is charged with the elimination of duplication and the establishment of more efficient procedures.

The employee relations officer attempts to adjust grievances at the local level. Included in the Postmaster General's goal is a desire to place greater responsibility in the hand of the postmaster.

Summerfield's aim is to pare bureaucracy and operating costs and increase efficiency. At the same time the Postmaster General hopes to give the sprawling $2 billion postal business some semblance of home rule.

Under the reorganization program, which began in November, 1953, the country will eventually have 15 regional postal offices.

The Post Office Department reports that between 1953 (when Summerfield took office) and 1954 the Department's operating cost deficit was cut from $635 million to $399 million.

Summerfield has not batted a thousand in attempting to pull the Department out of the red. His "junk mail" experiment was a notable failure. However, no one can accuse him of standing at the plate with the bat on his shoulder.

Another proposal for which he is pressing is an increase in postal rates.

Despite recent economies, the Post Office Department operates at a loss of between $300 million and $400 million a year. Proposed wage increases and fringe benefits will cost an estimated $170 million annually for the Department's 540,000 employees.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Petras Dauzvardis, consul of Lithuania at Chicago, on the occasion of the 37th observance of the independence of Lithuania, Sunday, February 20, 1955, Lithuanian Auditorium, Rockford, Ill.:

The 37th anniversary of the Republic of Lithuania (February 16) and the 12th year of the occupation and domination of Lithuania by Soviet Russia, affords an opportune time to review the case of Lithuania; to bring out the falsehoods of its Soviet occupant; to ask the Soviets whether they made false representations at the time of signing the treaties of peace and nonaggression with Lithuania and the other Baltic states, or are they making false representations now in proposing "peaceful coexistence" with America and other countries; to assess the American policy of peace and liberation, and to rededicate ourselves to the cause of freedom and liberation of Lithuania.

Soviet coexistence with other nations and respect for law and decency were manifested in the early treaties. The peace treaty with Lithuania (July 12, 1920), article I, declares:

"Russia, without any reservation whatsoever, recognizes Lithuania as a self-governing and independent State with all juridical consequences that follow from such a recognition and in a spirit of free and good will renounces all sovereignty rights of Russia concerning the Lithuanian nation and Lithuanian territory which previously belonged to her."

The nonaggression pact of September 28, 1926, provides:

"ART. 2. The Republic of Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics mutually undertake to respect in all circumstances the sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability of each other.

"ART. 3. Each of the two contracting parties undertakes to refrain from any aggressive action whatsoever against the other party."

The Mutual Assistance Treaty of October 10, 1939 reaffirms the principles of the above two treaties and ostensibly speaks for coexistence between Lithuania and the Soviet Union. The preamble states:

"For the purpose of developing the friendly relations established by the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, and based on the recognition of an independent state existence and nonintervention in the internal affairs of the other party.

"Recognizing that the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, and the pact of nonaggression and peaceful settlement of conflicts of September 28, 1926, continue to form a firm basis of their mutual relations and undertakings."

The seventh article of the treaty provides:

"Realization of this treaty should not affect in any way the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their State organization, economic and social system, military measures and generally the principle of nonintervention in internal affairs."

In addition to the above, shortly after the signing of this treaty Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs Molotov, in presenting the treaty to the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Russia for ratification, said:

"This treaty of mutual assistance in no way implies any interference of the Soviet Union in the affairs * * * of Lithuania, as some foreign newspapers are trying to infer. On the contrary, this treaty strictly stipulates the inviolability of the sovereignty of the signatory states and the principle of noninterference in each other's affairs."

SUBJUGATION INSTEAD OF COEXISTENCE

The term of the treaty was 15 years. And yet, before 8 months had elapsed, it was flagrantly violated—Lithuania was seized by the Soviet Union in June 1940. Coexistence, law, and decency were superseded by aggression, destruction, and genocide.

After seizing Lithuania, Russia deposed Lithuania's legal government, replaced it with an illegal puppet regime. That puppet regime was and is illegal and without authority from the people or the constitution of Lithuania. It reigns by terror and through the Soviet armed forces. The people are deprived of human and property rights—they have been degraded to the level of horses or oxen.

NATIONAL DETERMINATION

Despite all this, the Lithuanian nation did not and will not approve the anti-Lithuanian and illegal acts of Russia and her puppets. Citizens of Lithuania and the entire Lithuanian nation have demanded and are demanding total independence for Lithuania—factual as well as juridical. The legal representatives of Lithuania, the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, the underground, various Lithuanian immigrant organizations, about 3 million people in Lithuania and more than 1 million abroad—in fact all patriotic Lithuaniandom—denounced the Soviet occupation and spoliation of Lithuania, and are working for the freedom of Lithuania.

NONRECOGNITION AND LIBERATION

The United States Government and the American people have defended and are defending Lithuania in every way. The State Department made its forceful and noble declaration (of nonrecognition) the second day (July 23, 1940) after the treasonous and illegal vote of the so-called People's Diet to incorporate Lithuania in the Soviet Union. This declaration states:

"The devious processes whereunder the political independence and territorial integrity of the three small republics—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbors, have been rapidly drawing to their conclusion."

Note that it clearly states that Lithuania's independence and territorial integrity are being annihilated by a neighbor—not by the Lithuanian nation, as the Soviets and their agents claim. The declaration states further:

"The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other sovereign state, however weak."

In pursuance of this declaration, Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower, and their State Secretaries, have repeatedly reaffirmed the United States policy set forth therein. Both political parties, the Democratic and Republican, placed Lithuania and other Soviet occupied and dominated countries in their platforms of 1952, thereby making their independence part of the United States national policy. As a consequence thereof, the incumbent administration adopted and proclaimed the policy of liberation of the captive nations. The House of Representatives has unanimously adopted a resolution to appoint a select committee to investigate the seizure and incorporation of the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by and in the U. S. S. R. The committee made a thorough investigation and found that those states were forcibly seized by the Soviet Army and illegally incorporated by the Kremlin regime into the Soviet Union.

The committee concluded that the continued occupation of these nations by Soviet Communist power is the basic cause of the growing menace of war and stands as a threat to the security of the United States. This threat is increased in direct proportion to the time and opportunity afforded the Communists to digest and consolidate their gains and to use these gains as bases for further and greater aggressions. This threat is diminished in direct proportion as the Communist hold on the captive nations is weakened by a positive policy that promotes the forces of national independence behind the Iron Curtain.

The committee recommended that the United States Congress by appropriate action reiterate and make clear that the eventual liberation of all the nations enslaved by and within the Soviet empire, together with unqualified support for the principle of national self-determination through free elections and the secret ballot, are firm and unchanging parts of our national policy, and that the Department of State formulate a resolution based upon the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the committee's report, branding the U. S. S. R. as an aggressor against all the nations enslaved by the Soviets and that the United States delegation to the United Nations be instructed to take immediate steps to place this resolution on the agenda of the General Assembly for early action.

The Senate's Resolution 214 proclaims that the Soviet government has forcibly and aggressively incorporated the territory of the nations of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia into the Soviet Union.

"The Senate endorses the refusal of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower to recognize the seizures of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, and requests the President to use all available and appropriate means, through the United Nations, United States Information Agency, and otherwise, to keep the facts of the Soviet government's inhuman actions in these matters and its violations of solemn agreements before the attention of the world and to let the subject peoples know that they have not been forgotten."

In line with the foregoing thoughts, many Senators and Congressmen addressed the Congress on the occasion of the Independence Day of Lithuania; State Secretary John Foster Dulles made a statement in which he said: "* * * Through our contributions to the material and spiritual strength of the Free World, we seek to create conditions under which the right of the Baltic peoples to resume their place in the community of free nations will be universally respected. We are convinced that a world community in which the Baltic peoples are free to choose their own form of government and their political and economic institutions is likely to be one which will assure peace, with justice, for all nations, large and small."

The Lithuanians are ever grateful to the American Government for nonrecognition of the Kremlin's incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union and for using its good offices in supporting the efforts of the Lithuanian people to liberate Lithuania and to restore the sovereign rights and self-government to the Lithuanian people. They are also grateful to the American people for their sympathetic attitude and to the press and radio for their just and favorable treatment of the plight of Lithuania and its people. Lithuanians appeal to the United Nations and the people of the free world to suport their cause in demanding that the Soviet Union implement

its catch-phrase of "coexistence" and abide by its treaties by withdrawing from Lithuania its troops, police, political agents and colonists, thereby restoring their sovereign rights and self-government to the people of Lithuania, and thus enable Lithuania to exist and coexist as a free and independent nation.

A Tribute to Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a tribute to three fine young people from my district who have been honored by the Westinghouse Co. for outstanding achievement in the field of science.

All the people of Fairfield County, Conn., which comprises my district, are proud of the fact that one of 40 winners of the nationwide Science Talent Search, conducted by the Westinghouse Electric Corp., three of these gifted students are from the Fourth District.

This is the 12th year that Westinghouse has carried on this search for scientific ability, a program which has done and will do a large part in helping the United States to maintain its leadership in the field of research. Such a program is indeed both patriotic and beneficial not only for those immediately concerned but also for the security of the United States.

It is a distinct privilege therefore for me to pay tribute on behalf of the people of my district to Edward J. Foster, of Bethel, and Robert A. Buccino, of Stratford, both students of Fairfield Preparatory School and to Miss Alice K. Hartley, of Easton, a senior in Bassick High School, Bridgeport .

These three young people are coming here to Washington to compete for Westinghouse scholarships that may carry them on to even greater achievements in the scientific world.

Young Foster, who hopes to enter MIT, has constructed an oscilloscope, an instrument for showing visually on the face of a cathode ray tube the changes in varying electric current, an instrument he uses in his self-operated radio-TV repair business. Miss Hartley, who aims for Radcliffe College, has carried on unique experiments with vegetables to determine changes in color as the result of immersion in solutions of varying acidity. Young Buccino, who plans to begin his medical studies at Holy Cross College, has built and used a spectrophotometer, used to identify the different elements in a metallic compound by the light given off by their vapors when heated to incandescence.

Their selection among the 40 winners nationally is a tribute to the educational system in my State, especially the teaching of science as carried on by the good Jesuit fathers in Fairfield and by the Bridgeport high school system.

These three young people should be an inspiration to all of us because of their desire for greater knowledge and because of their ingenuity and demonstrated abilities. In the vision and determination of our young people, in their faithfulness to hard work, in their sense of responsibility, in these qualities lies the best hope of the free world. I shall be happy to greet these three young students and to wish them well at a crucial time in their lives. I express the fervent hope that they will continue to succeed in the fields for which they are so well qualified.

Independent Electricity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial taken from a recent edition of the Commercial Appeal, a newspaper published in Memphis, Tenn., as follows:

INDEPENDENT ELECTRICITY

Hope of selling power from the proposed Dixon-Yates plant to the Memphis market is dead. It has been dead since early December, when Mayor Frank Tobey announced that the city of Memphis would build its own plant rather than buy from Dixon-Yates.

When the Dixon-Yates promoters went on through the motions of preparing to build by filing papers in Washington and Little Rock, Mayor Tobey considered it necessary to reaffirm his stand, which he did this week.

This time the Memphis plans were taken more seriously, perhaps because of the added significance of Memphis independence after weeks of working with other TVA customers who still hope to force Congress to return the policy of Federal money for more TVA generating plants.

Knowing how strongly the Memphis public has supported public ownership of the utility business at every opportunity, it should have been evident that the mayor was speaking in earnest the first time.

With Memphis ready to build a generating plant to supplement TVA power, the whole purpose of Dixon-Yates is gone. TVA will have enough power for the Atomic Energy Commission plant at Paducah without buying from Dixon-Yates.

Through many months of efforts by the AEC to get TVA to accept Dixon-Yates power, TVA officials have withstood efforts to get them to accept extra costs. Their hands are strengthened because Dixon-Yates power would be useless to TVA, with Memphis planning its own generating plant.

For Congress to approved $6.6 million of Federal tax funds to build transmission lines from the middle of the Mississippi River into Memphis without a customer for the electricity is most unlikely.

There is a certain usefulness in Dixon-Yates to politicians. It is politically profitable for some to attack it and for others to support it. Perhaps it is too useful to both sides to be buried promptly.

There is usefulness for the West Memphis site to the Arkansas Power & Light Co. As Arkansas industries and population expand, more power will be needed, with water power scarce and natural gas prices rising. Barged coal will be the logical fuel and a generating plant at West Memphis is likely to be built.

But sale of Dixon-Yates power to the AEC, which would sell it to TVA, which would sell it to Memphis, is something else. For lack of this market, it might even be necessary for the Dixon-Yates plant to be truly private enterprise.

Resolution Adopted at the Memorial Service and Rally Sponsored by the American Zionist Council of Los Angeles at Hollywood Temple Beth El, February 13, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted at the memorial service and rally sponsored by the American Zionist Council of Los Angeles, at Hollywood Temple Beth El, Sunday, February 13, 1955:

We, the 1,000 citizens of Los Angeles assembled at Hollywood Temple Beth El on Sunday afternoon, February 13, for a memorial service, voice our shock and indignation at the brutal murder of 2 Jews by the Egyptian military dictatorship and the torture of 2 more, resulting in their death.

This action was taken in wanton disregard of the forceful representations for clemency made on the grounds of moderation and humanity by many governments, including our own.

Together with the entire civilized world, we express our sense of outrage at the inhuman trials and executions which are a mockery of justice. The Egyptian Government stands condemned in the eyes of all mankind for its brutal disregard for human decency. Events in that country in the past year have shown a striking resemblance to the bloody path by which other dictators have maintained power through a totalitarian regime.

Moreover, we are deeply disturbed by this evidence, pointing to an intensification of the bitter tensions existing betwen Egypt and the State of Israel. It must be feared that unless the conscience of the civilized world can be aroused to deter the criminal intent of the Arab rulers, they will be emboldened to intensify their attacks upon their own Jewish community and possibly to undertake a full scale attack against Israel.

This sacrifice of Jewish martyrs will not long appease a government which is intent upon diverting the peoples' attention from economic misery and social despotism at home. We shall hold the Egyptian Government eternally responsible for the blood bath which can ensue if scapegoats are to be the technique for appealing to mob passions and for maintaining in power a military dictatorship.

We do urge the continued vigilance of our Government in cooperation with the other governments which view with moral indignation and horror this tragic hanging, in order that the adherence to the principles of justice and respect for civil rights and international law be strengthened in Egypt and throughout the Arab world.

The John Day Project on the Columbia River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM COON
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. COON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the House a joint memorial I have received from the Senate and House of Representatives of my home State of Oregon. This resolution, House Joint Memorial 2, memorializes Congress to provide the necessary funds for preliminary investigations and planning for the John Day project on the Columbia River, and then indicate its intention to build the John Day project promptly and solely with Federal funds by making the necessary appropriation to start construction immediately upon completing the preliminary planning or, in the alternative, enact without delay such enabling legislation as is required to permit local agencies to advance funds, under appropriate arrangements with the United States, so that construction of such project by the Federal Government can be initiated immediately.

This resolution is of great importance, Mr. Speaker, first because it sets forth the vital interest which the Oregon Legislature has in expediting construction of the great John Day Dam. And may I point out at this time that the Oregon State Legislature is representative of the thinking and wishes of the electorate of the State of Oregon. Therefore this memorial presents the wishes of that electorate. I make this point purposely in answer to certain public statements which were made concerning a "mandate" having been given by the voters of Oregon to their United States Representatives to prevent legislation in support of the administration's "partnership plan" from being passed.

The Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Oregon are necessarily more closely representative of the people, and more sensitive to the views and feelings of the people of Oregon than any one Member of the United States Congress could possibly be. And now they urge that we go ahead with the John Day Dam—in this memorial they say:

Whereas the growth of the region requires over 500,000 kilowatts of new power capacity annually and such multipurpose projects as John Day must be started immediately in order to be completed and to avoid a serious power shortage by the early 1960's; and

Whereas various local public-utility agencies have offered to advance funds toward the preliminary engineering and planning costs of John Day, and have indicated a willingness to advance over one-half the estimated cost of the project to expedite its construction by the United States as a Federal project.

Opposition to new ideas in power development is quick to claim that the people share its prejudices. Those who oppose President Eisenhower's partnership plan are more willing to try to confuse and propagandize the people than they are to lay the facts before the people and let them make up their own minds. They make the fatal mistake of underestimating the intelligence of the voter. The administration's program for construction of power projects shows both imagination and courage in proposing boldly new approaches, and this memorial which I proudly present to this body shows clearly that the people of Oregon, through their elected State representatives, support it.

The memorial follows:

House Joint Memorial 2

To the honorable Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

We, your memorialists, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent and petition, as follows:

Whereas the Federal Government, through its construction of multiple-purpose projects, has become a major supplier of electric power to the Pacific Northwest; and

Whereas the present and continuing growth of the region, including Oregon, requires the further and immediate development of its low-cost power potential in order to provide the energy base for industries, job opportunities, and the needs of its people; and

Whereas the John Day project on the Columbia River between Oregon and Washington is one of the major integral units in the overall plan of comprehensive development of the Columbia River and has already been authorized and approved as such by the Congress of the United States (81st Cong., 2d sess., H. Doc. No. 531); and

Whereas its construction will complete slack water navigation from the mouth of the Columbia River to Pasco, Wash., a distance of some 328 miles; and

Whereas it will provide approximately 500,000 acre-feet of storage for flood-control purposes and will also provide irrigation and recreational benefits; and

Whereas such project will produce in excess of 1,100,000 kilowatts of low-cost power, fully integrated with the Federal grid and the Northwest Power Pool and close to Oregon load centers; and

Whereas the growth of the region requires over 500,000 kilowatts of new power capacity annually and such multipurpose projects as John Day must be started immediately in order to be completed and to avoid a serious power shortage by the early 1960's; and

Whereas various local public utility agencies have offered to advance funds toward the preliminary engineering and planning costs of John Day and have indicated a willingness to advance over one-half the estimated cost of the project to expedite its construction by the United States as a Federal project: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon (the Senate jointly concuring therein), That the Congress of the United States be and it hereby is memorialized to (a) appropriate immediately the funds necessary to enable the Corps of Engineers to complete the preliminary investigations and planning for the John Day project; and (b) indicate its intention to build the John Day project promptly and solely with Federal funds by making the necessary appropriation to start construction immediately upon completing the preliminary planning or, in the alternative, enact without delay such enabling legislation as is required to permit local agencies to advance funds, under appropriate arrangements with the United States, so that construction of such project by the Federal Government can be initiated immediately; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Oregon be and hereby is directed to send a copy of this memorial to the President of the United States, to the Honorable Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior of the United States, to the President and Chief Clerk of the United States Senate, to the Speaker and the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member of the Congress.

Adopted by house January 28, 1955.
E. A. GEARY,
Speaker of House.
Adopted by senate February 8, 1955.
ELMO E. SMITH,
President of Senate.
Filed: February 9, 1955.
EARL T. NEWBRY,
Secretary of State.

STATE OF OREGON,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I, Earl T. Newbry, Secretary of State of the State of Oregon, and custodian of the Seal of said State, do hereby certify:

That I have carefully compared the foregoing copy of House Joint Memorial No. 2 with the original thereof adopted by the House of Representatives and the Senate of the 48th Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon and filed in the office of the Secretary of State February 9, 1955, and that the same is a full, true and complete transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof, together with all endorsements thereon.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed hereto the Seal of the State of Oregon.

Done at the capitol at Salem, Oreg., this 10th day of February 1955.

[SEAL] EARL T. NEWBRY,
Secretary of State.

Air Force Justice?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I quote herewith an editorial which appeared in the February 17, 1955, issue of the Roanoke World-News, a newspaper published daily in the city of Roanoke, Va.:

TWO BRANDS OF AIR FORCE JUSTICE

Noting two items from Texas bases which appeared in the same newspaper Thursday, we are constrained to wonder once again where the Air Force gets its standards for justice.

At Carswell near Fort Worth, two enlisted men were sentenced to 5 years at hard labor by a court-martial. The charge: failure to salute an officer. They also got dishonorable discharges and forfeiture of pay.

The men claimed they were members of Jehovah's Witnesses and their religious beliefs prevented their saluting any person or object. The same sect objects to saluting the flag and to reciting the oath of allegiance.

We have no defense for anyone who cannot or will not assume the ordinary obligations of American citizens, but—

Over at Laredo on the same day another court martial was dealing with a colonel. He had sent an Air Force plane to Harrisburg, Pa., with men and tools to work on ma-

chinery he had purchased for his farm from war surplus.

En route he also had the plane stop at his home at Kokomo, Ind., and at Marion, Ind. This allegedly happened more than once. He admitted it.

So what punishment did he get? Forfeiture of $150 pay per month for 1 year and a reprimand. No reduction in rank, no time in prison, no discharge—honorable or otherwise—just a fine.

That's what we call putrid justice. The enlisted men get skunked for something that cost nobody anything except damage to vanity and "prejudice to good discipline." The colonel gets slapped on the wrist for mulcting the taxpayers out of gosh knows how much money.

The Department of Defense and its various military boards ought to look this contrasting business over. If it doesn't, some interested Congressman ought to get up on the floor and say a few words on something worth while.

If we were the Air Force we'd go soak our head in a bucket.

National Fine Arts Advisory Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I have here an excerpt from a radio interview with Mr. Daniel Millsaps, who is interested in promoting an Art Department in the Federal Government. The excerpt is from the Patty Cavin Show of January 28, 1955, broadcast over station WRC—NBC:

EXCERPTS FROM A RADIO INTERVIEW WITH DANIEL MILLSAPS, THE PATTY CAVIN SHOW, JANUARY 28, 1955, NBC (WRC)

Miss CAVIN. Well, Dan, I know the President recently called for the establishment of an advisory commission for the arts, and I wonder if you would like to bring us up to date on this project since this is one of your special pet points.

Mr. MILLSAPS. Yes, we have worked for a long time to get at least a beginning of an art department in the Federal Government. We feel that eventually, there should be a secretary of the arts. The President has asked for an advisory commission in the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. We do hope that eventually we can disassociate the arts from education or any of the other such aspects. Art can stand on its own and can itself contribute to the economy of the country.

Miss CAVIN. I see, you feel that they should have a very decided department all their own. Well, now, aren't there several bills now in the offing?

Mr. MILLSAPS. Congressman THOMPSON of New Jersey tells me that he has introduced 4 bills; 1 for the Civic Auditorium in Washington, 1 for grants-in-aid to the several States to help their art programs get started, and 2 others. We feel that some of these should get by this year; we came pretty close during the last session.

Miss CAVIN. Do you think if an advisory commission was actually set up that it would lead eventually to subsidized art training?

Mr. MILLSAPS. We do not want subsidization in the arts. We simply want recognition and a point of reference in the Federal Government, to give substance to all of the arts, not just painting, sculpture and prints, but music, dancing and the whole gamut.

Miss CAVIN. From now on its up to Congress, right?

Mr. MILLSAPS. From now on it is up to Congress, and the people to voice their desires.

Miss CAVIN. Well we hope we've planted a seed of thought in our listeners' minds, and since watercolors are your specialty, here's a Capital By-Line salute to the opening of your one man showing tonight at the circulating gallery in Georgetown. It's the Malequanc version of Waltz in Watercolors.

President's School Proposal Falls Short

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, the people in Alabama are concerned with the lack of classrooms for our school children. They are anxious for something to be done. On February 15 the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News carried an editorial entitled "President's School Proposal Falls Short," which I commend to the House. The editorial follows:

PRESIDENT'S SCHOOL PROPOSAL FALLS SHORT

President Eisenhower probably is wondering what it takes to satisfy the public after proposing a $7 billion school construction program to Congress that is now literally being ripped to pieces by both Members of Congress and school administrators.

The President had been criticized for failing to come forth with some Federal program designed to relieve the critical shortage of school classrooms over the Nation. The deficit in classroom space has grown to alarming proportions in the United States and all statistics on population show that the situation will get worse in the next 10 years unless something is done on a larger scale than has been taking place in the last few years.

Generally, criticism of the President's $7 billion proposal is that it is inadequate to meet the pressing needs for school construction. The method proposed by the President to assist in school construction also has come in for criticism. For instance, Alabama Superintendent of Education Austin R. Meadows points out that bonds can be sold for school construction in Alabama at a lower rate of interest than that offered in the President's proposal.

The amount proposed for outright grants to States for new school buildings also is considered inadequate by those who administer school programs.

The President did not go into specific details on his proposed school-aid program in the message to Congress, and there are a number of questions that have developed as to how this program will work. Alabama's Senator HILL, who has been trying to get a school-aid bill through Congress similar to that which he sponsored for hospital construction, has posed these pertinent questions about the President's proposal.

1. How much concern is there for private lenders rather than for the needs of our children?

2. How can the programs possibly meet the needs for the immediate reduction in the present deficit of more than 300,000 classrooms?

3. How will it be possible for impoverished school districts to pay interest and amortize Federal loans or pay rent without reducing the already inadequate funds for paying adequate salaries to teachers?

4. How long will it take to translate the revolving fund into schoolrooms?

5. How much delay, control, and interference is inherent with the setting up of State building authorities, with the necessary requirement that State constitutions and laws be changed to meet this Federal mandate?

6. How can the $65 million annual direct aid build enough classrooms to meet pressing current needs?

The President has acted in response to numerous pleas to do something about the educational crisis. He and his advisers, however, do not seem to have a clear insight into the magnitude of the problem nor the method for a workable, fast-moving solution. The result is likely to be another year of debate and wrangle in Congress without definite action and appropriations forthcoming.

Security: Our Common Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it is my firm conviction that what we are seeing in the spectacle of recanting witnesses, and in the sudden frenzy of certain professional liars to rush forward to confess their duplicity, is the manifestation of the insidious menace of communism as it tries by devious methods to save its minions as they are brought to trial.

The Republican Party certainly cannot be charged with creating a Communist bogeyman in the face of the FBI investigations and confidential reports antedating the disclosures which led to the conviction of Alger Hiss and the suicide of Harry Dexter White. And there is no one in his right mind who would even insinuate that the overwhelming majority of loyal Democrats had anything whatsoever to do with such traitorous conduct or liked the situation any more than the rest of us.

What we should realize is that national security is the responsibility of every patriotic citizen and, as the following editorial which appeared in the January 29 issue of the Saturday Evening Post so forcibly emphasizes, it must not become a partisan issue:

OUR SECURITY MUST NOT BECOME A PARTISAN ISSUE

The people of the United States and their political leaders are about to be subjected to tests of their courage, tenacity, and powers of discernment as severe as any they have undergone for many generations. It is difficult to remain "at the ready" when the Nation is being challenged, bullyragged, and kicked in the teeth by a contemptuous enemy. To keep up the guard under the more persuasive attack described as peaceful coexistence may prove almost impossible. We are offered the outward and visible sign of something all of us want, peace. Few dare even to appear to reject so desirable a boon. And, as time passes, fewer and fewer critics arise to mention the probability that the Kremlin's idea of peaceful coexistence is that we should exist peacefully in the Red orbit. The Communist dove of

peace is a decoy, wired to blow up in our faces.

Simultaneously with the peaceful-coexistence symphony from abroad, the left wingers in our midst plan another campaign equally insidious. Relying on the general distaste for McCarthyism, they hope not only to discredit the results of past congressional investigations but to amend the rules governing such committees drastically enough to make it impossible to probe deeply into the operation of the Red conspiracy. If we can be led to believe that there never was an Alger Hiss, that Harry Dexter White was a victim of a climate of fear, and that thought control has been established in America, then the movement to render Congress impotent to expose Communist penetration may well succeed.

On another sector of the battle, leftwingers attack the security system governing the hiring and firing of Federal jobholders. The gimmick here is that a man accused of being a "security risk" or a "loyalty risk" should have the right to confront his accusers. In 1 case that found its way to the Supreme Court, 4 Justices voted that a suspected employee should have this right, although it has been often pointed out that, when the FBI is the informant, the identification of the agent supplying the information would end the usefulness of the FBI in this field. This, of course, is a blow which the Communists and their fellow-traveling allies could endure without great pain. The proper response to the "right-to-confront-accuser" argument is that a Federal job is not a right. Nor do admitted past injustices in security matters constitute a valid argument for making it impossible to remove a dubious employee without going through proceedings as loud, protracted, and frustrating as the trial of New York's 11 Communists 5 years ago.

The answer to the question: "How far will this softening-up process get in Congress?" lies with the Democratic leaders. It will be tempting to some to treat the subject as a party matter. Many Democrats feel that their whole party membership stands accused of virtual treason by certain GOP campaign orators, and it is natural that this should rankle. However, no responsible Republican leader has made any such charge, although many have rightly pointed out that, during the 20 years of Roosevelt and Truman, it was frequently difficult to move against the Red conspirators.

Either Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Truman could have prevented communism from becoming a party matter by the simple device of saying to the congressional investigators: "Nobody wants to throw out these scum, if there are any in the Government, any more earnestly than we do. Come in and get 'em." Instead, Roosevelt sent word to Whittaker Chambers that he could "jump in the lake" (inexact quotation), and Mr. Truman mumbled sourly that the whole thing was a red herring. Adlai Stevenson seemed unable to untrack himself from this generally unhelpful attitude, and that is one reason why Mr. Eisenhower is now President.

Anyway, all recrimination to one side, the Democrats in Congress have an opportunity to take the Red issue away from the Republicans and hand it to all patriotic Americans. They can do this simply by refusing to weaken the investigating apparatus of Congress and by continuing it with improvements, especially now that the public is in serious danger of being lulled to sleep by the peaceful coexistence myth. Senator McCLELLAN, who succeeds Senator McCARTHY as chairman of the Permanent Investigations Committee, has already given assurance that the probes into communism will continue. There is no reason why the security and existence of the United States should ever have been a party issue at all.

District of Columbia Fine Arts Auditorium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me before the House District Committee, Wednesday, February 23, 1955, on H. R. 630, District of Columbia Fine Arts Auditorium:

Progress in a democracy has many and varied faces. Sometimes it has a swift look about it which carries action forward by leaps and bounds. Sometimes it has a stubborn look and great effort is required to relax its hold. At other times it has an indifferent look, and endless patience and resolution must be applied before interest can be sparked in it. It is one of our great strengths as a democracy that will and determination are demanded, required and permitted, so that the strides we make are our own and belong inevitably to us all.

These thoughts have been turning around in my mind as I look at the bill we have before us, H. R. 630, to create a Federal Commission to formulate plans for the construction of a civic auditorium in the District of Columbia. This bill is part of a larger program to encourage the growth and development of the fine arts throughout the Nation, which has been the concern of many Members of Congress for the past 20 years. It is only a small part, but a most vital one. And as I consider its provisions, I think of the many times in the past that I have been called upon to speak on the importance of such a program, and the many times I have asked permission to do so. But the patience I spoke about earlier that is demanded of us in a democracy, and the grace that that patience is permitted us, gives me great courage that we are indeed on our way.

We are often spoken of by our many friends from abroad as the country of experts. Give us a material thing and we will plumb the depths of its capacity, and when we have reached those depths we will search even further and our resourcefulness will find greater depths than man could have envisioned. Our friends from abroad respect our known capacity for such imagination and creativity, but in their hearts, and yes, even on their tongues, they belittle our culture and refer to us as crass materialists. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Of course, we have unlimited vision in our industry. Of course, we believe in a high standard of living for all, and of course, we will continue to use our inventiveness to the full in that direction. But we as a Nation love culture. We have respected it since our Founding Fathers wrote the Declaration of Independence in words which ring out forever not only in faith but in beauty as well.

Apparently, we have not had the time as a country to solidify this love of culture into a thing for all to see. But as a people we have demonstrated time and time again that it is deep within our hearts. Our songs are sung all over the world. Our books are read all over the world. But our art, our theater, our opera, our music have not yet found their full rein. They have not as yet become the integral part of our lives which our industrial prowess has already defined. As a Nation so far developed, so great a power on this earth, so responsible to the hope of peace on earth, we cannot afford to dally any longer on our cultural front. It is not only because we need it for our own happiness and fulfillment, but also because we need it to combat forces in our world today which abuse every lack and feed on it like vultures, deadening hope and spirit wherever they can.

It has been said that democracy is difficult to define to peoples who have not lived under it. The arts, however, have an international language of their own. They speak a universal language which all who live on this earth can understand. They speak to the spirit of man—to his hope and his faith and his longing. They can reach out and spark the hearts, where things cannot even touch them.

Let us begin in the Capital of our great Nation, and build a center for all to see. I have traveled all over the world and have found beautiful cities in beautiful climes. When I return to Washington, I feel great pleasure in the physical beauty which meets my eye, and I am proud that it is often called the capital of the world. But if we wish to be a nation which can speak to the hearts of mankind, we must bring together and plant the fruits of our genius, talent and ability in the fine arts, and let them flourish in our Capital.

H. R. 630, and all the other similar bills which are being discussed at this hearing, is a modest one indeed. It asks for an appropriation not to exceed $25,000, for a purpose which can do much toward making this city one of the cultural centers of the world. We can afford this sum. Those of us who have spoken repeatedly of building a national theater, of creating a Fine Arts Commission, and other projects to encourage and develop the fine arts in our land, look to this measure as a significant beginning of a great hope.

Electoral Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by a well-known reporter and commentator, John O'Donnell, in the New York Daily News of yesterday, February 22, 1955, concerning proposed reform in the method of selecting Presidents:

(By John O'Donnell)

WASHINGTON, February 21.—A hundred years have passed since we Americans changed the method by which we elect our Presidents and Vice Presidents. Vigorous efforts—particularly in the last decade—have been made to get rid of the out-of-date electoral-college system by which all the Presidential electoral votes of each State go to the winning candidate, regardless of the smallness of his plurality.

But all have failed. Now, in this session, there is a better than even chance that Congress will pass a constitutional amendment for submission to the sovereign States. The amendment is designed to credit a candidate with the proportion of votes he receives in each State even if he doesn't win a majority.

In the recent past, these efforts have been killed off on the Hill for a variety of reasons: Uncertainty among the party leaders about who would benefit by the change; personal jealousy among the sponsors; and, of course,

the deep-seated unwillingness of the Nation to tamper with the Constitution.

Back in 1950, the Senate gave a rousing 64–27 vote in favor of the amendment introduced by then Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Representative ED GOSSETT, of TEXAS, which would prorate a State's electoral vote in proportion to the popular vote cast for the various presidential candidates. An interesting angle of this vote is the fact that the late Senator Taft, of Ohio, led the opposition. Taft was opposed to changing the Constitution for one thing and, as Mr. Republican, also wanted the electoral votes of such important normally Republican States as Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, etc., to continue to go in a block to the presidential candidate who carried the State.

Despite the surprising Senate victory, the amendment met the same fate in the House that its many predecessors had suffered before. Speaker SAM RAYBURN, like Taft, was opposed to any changes in the Constitution. On the Republican side, many Republicans figured that the Democrats under the proposed pro rata system would pick up more electoral votes in the big Republican States of the North than the Republicans would south of the Mason-Dixon line. That, of course, was back in 1950, before Eisenhower had cracked the solid South in the 1952 elections. Now the thinking has changed.

COUDERT BILL ANSWERS CRITICISM

Meanwhile, New York's Representative FREDERICK COUDERT introduced a substitute bill which answered criticisms that proportional representation does not work and encourages the formation of splinter parties. The COUDERT amendment provides that in a presidential election each State be divided into electoral districts with the same boundaries as congressional districts.

Here is how the COUDERT system would work out: the voters in each of these electoral districts would elect a single presidential and vice presidential elector and the entire voting population of the State would select two others at large. In a presidential election in New York, for example, instead of the winning candidate scooping up all of the State's 45 electoral votes it could be figured on the basis of the present House delegation that the GOP candidate would get 26 electoral votes, the Democrat 17. The two electors at large (corresponding to the two United States Senators) would of course go to the vote of the majority.

Now new life has been breathed into the effort to reform the presidential election system. Senator PRICE DANIEL, the famous 1952 Eisenhower Democrat, is pushing a new bill based on the old Lodge-Gossett proportional formula. (Of course, some of the Coudert ideas may be taken over in committee hearings.)

The Texan already has lined up more than 20 senatorial cosponsors which include not only a group of fellow southerners but such Democratic liberals as HUMPHREY, of Minnesota; HILL, of Alabama; and KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, along with such strangely assorted Republicans as the nationalist JENNER, of Indiana, and DIRKSEN, of Illinois, plus IVES, of New York, WILEY, of Wisconsin, and WILLIAMS, of Delaware.

WHY SOUTHERNERS ARE INTERESTED

Each group among the backers has its particular and different reason for backing the amendment. The southern rebels frankly state that they think the amendment would let the South play a more direct part in the outcome of the presidential election and—importantly—in the nominating convention. They are sick and tired of minority pressure groups throwing their weight around under the threat of tipping the election scales in such absolutely pivotal States as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, etc. They figure that should the power of the minority groups to determine the course of entire blocks of State electorial votes be destroyed it would be possible to nominate a more conservative Democrat than at present—possible even to nominate a candidate from south of the Mason-Dixon line, such as General RUSSELL, of Georgia, for example.

On the other hand, such liberals as Democrat HUMPHREY and Republican IVES, of New York, are backing the amendment on the basis of a more representative election.

Senator LANGER, of North Dakota, has introduced his bill calling for the election of the President on a straight popular vote without the States figuring in the picture at all. This has no chance. But there is a good chance for the old Lodge-Gossett proposal after the committees have worked it over with the Mundt-Dirksen-Coudert offerings of the last Congress.

Important to note is that Senator KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee which will handle the bill. He was an ardent supporter of the Lodge-Gossett amendment in 1950 and has promised to hold hearings on the new Price Daniel resolution.

But again, as in 1950, regardless of how the resolution fares in the Senate, it may again meet heavy going in the House.

A Long Way To Go

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, it is seldom that a public works project evokes support from Members of Congress as nonpartisan as that which has prevailed in the case of the Calumet-Sag Waterways development. Last year a memorial was presented at the White House testifying to this support, which was signed by all of the 25 Congressmen who represented the State of Illinois at that time.

It is encouraging and gratifying to have the favorable reaction of the Chicago Daily News, one of the newspapers which serves the territory traversed by the Calumet-Sag Channel. A recent editorial of the Chicago Daily News follows:

A LONG WAY TO GO

A pardonable outburst of rosy statements followed the President's recommendation in his budget message of a $4 million appropriation for a start on the long-deferred Calumet-Sag Channel improvement project.

Typical was the reaction of Hjalmar W. Johnson, Inland Steel executive and chairman of the Inland Waterway Coordinating Committee, who hailed it as the first step toward an industrial boom for the Chicago-Calumet area, all the Great Lakes, and the broad Mississippi Valley.

There is sound reason to believe that such an era of expansion is on the way.

The Cal-Sag victory comes on the heels of two other highly important projects with which it is intimately linked—the building of the St. Lawrence seaway, expected to be finished by 1958, and the plans of the Chicago Regional Port District to float a $25 million revenue bond issue as a first step toward building port terminal facilities on Lake Calumet:

As the Cal-Sag Waterways Development Committee has often pointed out, either the seaway or a Chicago world port is only half a project unless the 16.2-mile bottleneck section of the Cal-Sag Channel is made deep and wider.

The President's recommendation of funds is only a first step toward getting construction underway. It is not a total victory until the Congress has approved and the $4 million is actually available.

There will be a long way to go on Cal-Sag, which eventually will cost an estimated $182 million. The initial fund will thus provide only a bare start on the neglected waterway.

The Cal-Sag development committee can rightfully take a major share of credit for te progress so far in Washington. It sponsored the Cal-Sag memorial presented at the White House last year and signed by all Illinois Congressmen.

It is working now with these leaders to forestall the inevitable attempts of Cal-Sag foes—chiefly the railroads—to head off the recommended funds. The effort must not be relaxed.

Remarks of Carroll Reece, National Press Club Luncheon, February 23, 1955, Made in Reply to Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks made by me at the National Press Club luncheon, February 23, 1955, in reply to Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins:

I

Four weeks ago, many of us gathered here today were honored by the presence of Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, one of the Nation's most publicized educators—now the president of a large tax-exempt foundation.

As this man of wisdom spoke, I was somehow reminded of Elbert Hubbard's definition of egotism. He defined egotism as "the anesthetic that nature gives to deaden the pain of being a damn fool."

As he moved into his address, his evaluation of me became quite evident, but, after my 34 years in public life, I do not feel that either my patriotism or intellectual integrity are diluted by Dr. Hutchins disassociating himself from me.

We seem to have only one thing in common: Once, he was heralded as the "Boy Wonder." Once, after obtaining leave of absence from New York University to run for Congress, I was heralded as "The Boy Congressman." Now I am no longer a boy, neither is he any longer a boy or a wonder.

As this great and dedicated man rose to address us, an aura of academic distinction radiated from his person, an aura reinforced by the soft effulgence which radiates from the wealth and power which support him.

Indeed, it seemed to me that there stood before us a knight in golden armor whose high purpose well might be to save a spotless maiden from a foul and fire breathing monster.

II

Alas, our knight in golden armor chose not to draw the 2 edged sword of truth and facts, but rather, in anger and acrimony, brought forward the mace of demogogery, studded with spikes of vituperation.

We were treated to the horrors of a political abatoir in which personality, character, and integrity are destroyed. It seemed a strange cacophony.

Why should he regale us with obiter dicta—if not in an effort to use you to bolster his case in the press of the Nation? Why stoop to public obfuscation when facts and reason are available.

Testimony and facts developed under oath by a duly constituted committee of Congress cannot be set aside by ridiculing their source or content.

Such factual testimony deserves full consideration and objective analysis.

This point of view was emphasized by Mr. Justice Frankfurter when he said in an opinion in the Rumley case:

"Our Republic will have lost its vitality when the people are no longer permitted to hear the information developed by their legislators. And our scholars, our intellectuals, our great educators hardly justify the confidence reposed in their integrity when they resort to ad homineum arguments and obiter dicta to suppress and discredit information of which they personally disapprove."

Again Woodrow Wilson said, "The informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function."

What a great shock, a distinguished academician turning politician, before our very eyes. His utterances appear as endless rewrites of a central theme of the professional intellectuals found in the foundations. The artful propagandists, dressed in the attire of an intellectualist, rides again.

III

As a rather reluctant dragon, I come before you today through the courtesy and and spirit of fair play of the National Press Club—so characteristic of the members of the press and radio of our Nation.

It appeared to me that you, the purveyors of facts, might prefer me to answer in a more moderate and objective tone. Perhaps if an eminent scholar can turn politician for a day, you will permit me, a politician with some experience, to turn educator again for a day within the limits of my ability.

"Let me say that in advocating a return to reason I do not advocate abandonment of our interest in facts. I proclaim the value of observation and experiment. I would proclaim also the value of rational thought and would suggest that without it, facts may prove worthless, trivial and irrelevant—rational thought is the only basis for education," so said a great scholar.

In this spirit let us examine the speech of this knight in golden armor who came to slay, and to save the virtue of tax-exempt foundations.

Most psychologists, teachers, and advertising men know that repetition fixes an idea or symbol in the mind.

IV

Despite Dr. Hutchins' fervent disclaimer, in the title and first paragraph of his speech, Fund for the Republic is repeated four times, once more than the number of times the sponsor's product needs to be mentioned in a radio commercial.

This disclaimer hardly balances the impression, and, by the way, if he was speaking without even consulting his trustees, he reduces them to the level of impotent window dressing.

He avers, however, that the foundations have been doing a good deal of talking lately. Does he mean through their presidents and without consulting their trustees? Does this concerted activity indicate the overt evidence of a hitherto covert condition?

In view of his disclaimer, I wonder who paid for mimeographing his speech, who paid his expenses to Washington—and, you will recall, when a member of the club asked in one of the questions the amount of his salary he said he could not hear him. By the power of subpena, it would have been easy for us to have obtained his salary and that of all other foundation officials.

Since tax-exempt foundations are by nature public trusts, the public does have a right to know the salaries and expenses of officials but our committee was interested in getting more significant information. However, if Dr. Hutchins, due to the complexity of figures involved, should forget what his salary is, I shall be glad to inform him.

V

Parenthetically, I might say I received no extra compensation for my laborious assignment, nor did I charge any of my considerable expenses to the committee, except a very few telephone calls.

My efforts were purely a labor of love—if any. Although, I realize the difficulty Dr. Hutchins may have in agreeing that any Member of Congress with whom he may disagree is interested only in doing a good job.

After 34 years of public service, what other purpose would he expect a man of my age to have.

Much of Dr. Hutchins' attack was directed at me personally, as though the whole investigation had been my personal plot against Foundations.

The fact is, as painful as it may be to him, the resolution directing the investigation was passed by the House of Representatives by a strong majority vote, both Republicans and Democrats voting for it.

There are some 7,000 foundations at the present time. Their aggregate funds amount to about $7½ billion and they have annual income in excess of $600 million.

The foundations of $10 million capital, or over, comprise 7 percent of the foundations, but comprise 56 percent of the total endowment and 32 percent of the annual income.

The origin and nature of foundations, as well as their effect on our tax structure, gives the Congress ample basis for an investigation of them.

Due to the nature of our tax laws, the birthrate of foundations is increasing at an alarming rate. The possibility exists that a large part of American industry may eventually find its way into foundations.

VI

Because of the tax exemption granted them, foundations are public trusts and must be dedicated to public purposes. Through these tax exemptions an additional tax burden is put on the American taxpayer.

The rest of the people must pay heavier taxes, for example, because the Ford family was relieved of estate taxes upon the creation of the Ford Foundation, and because the foundation itself pays no income tax on 90 percent of the profits of the Ford Motor Co. it receives in dividends.

The duty follows, in Congress, to make certain funds thus provided are not diverted to either unlawful enterprises or any enterprise outside of tax exemption privileges.

Citizens with their own money may promote any cause, good or bad, not forbidden by law, but tax-exempt funds should not be used to propagandize for the theories of either Karl Marx or Mark Hannah.

For instance, the Fund for the Republic is now distributing a one-hour edition of Mr. Edward R. Murrow's teleshow with Dr. Robert Oppenheimer. This would be a perfectly legitimate thing for an individual to do with his own money, but it is not understandable how the tax-exempt foundation gets into it since it is obvious that Mr. Murrow's program was not designed to be an objective study, but an opportunity for Dr. Oppenheimer to make a defense of his conduct.

The directive of the enabling resolution setting up the committee was to "determine if any foundations or organizations are using their resources for purposes other than purposes for which they were created."

This language gives full faith and credit to the high purposes for which the foundations were organized.

The investigation was not directed against foundations as an institution in American life.

I feel honored to have been selected for the presidency of a foundation—now a small one, but which gives every promise of becoming an important one. This foundation, so long as I am connected with it, will always be open to inquiry.

VII

Dr. Hutchins' remarks were intended to convey the impression that the committee had concluded that foundations had contributed nothing of consequence to the public.

Either he had not read the report or he purposely suppressed the statement to be found on page 3 of the report and italicized for emphasis, reading as follows: "The committee was and is well aware of the many magnificent services which foundations have rendered to the people of the United States in many fields and areas, particularly in medicine, public health, and science. Nothing has occurred to change its initial conviction that the foundation as an institution is desirable and should be encouraged. If little time is spent in this report reciting the good which the foundations have done, it is not because this committee is unaware of it or in any way reluctant to acknowledge it. Rather, this committee considers that it is necessarily concerned with the evaluation of criticisms. A fair judgment of the work and the position of foundations in our society must obviously take into account the great measure of benefit for which they have been responsible. At the same time, the power of these foundations is so great that a proper evaluation must give great weight to the dangers which have appeared in their operations in certain areas of activity."

The report makes utterly clear it is not an attack upon foundations as such, and that it is, in general, in one broad area of activity that foundations have been widely criticized, that of the so-called social sciences.

In this area criticism comes from highly creditable and qualified persons.

On the nature of these criticisms, Dr. Hutchins spent no time, satisfying himself to toss off the report with nasty personal insinuations and attack by epithet.

VIII

No reasonable man can accept Dr. Hutchins' unctuous suggestion that our inquiry at once brands the esteemed and highly placed directors of all the foundations as either fools or knaves. We all know as a matter of routine these operations are carried on by the paid administrative staffs.

The directors never presume to be in intimate daily touch with administrative decisions. I might say, primarily for Dr. Hutchins' benefit that the Ford Foundation trustees by resolution specifically relieved themselves of this responsibility by organizing in such a manner as to expressly exclude themselves from the detail of selection and then said: "The founders of at least two larger American foundations intended their trustees to devote a major part of their time to the actions and conduct of foundation affairs. Usually this arrangement has not proved practicable * * * for the program of a foundation may be determined more certainly by selection of its top officers than by any statement of policy or by any set of directions."

We cannot escape the conclusion that the trustees of this foundation abdicated their trust responsibility in assenting to this plan of operation under which everything except possibly the establishment of glittering generalities could be left to the employees.

Dr. Hutchins accused the committee of being guilty of fraud, absurd charges, scan-

dalous conduct, wild and squalid presentation, and in a climatic obiter dictum he said the Reece investigation in its inception and execution was a fraud.

These are phrases one hardly expects to hear uttered before such a discriminating audience. Such arrogance does not reflect credit upon academicians.

These blanket charges impugn the integrity of, not only a duly constituted committee and its members, but the integrity of the House of Representatives itself, and I am glad to address myself to these charges and give you an account of the work of the committee so far as time may permit.

IX

In a spirit of fairness, our committee began with what turned out to be a mistake in this instance: We decided to follow one of America's fundamental concepts of justice and procedure, namely, to make known the nature of the inquiry before the hearings began.

The evidence that had been gathered by the staff pointed to one simple underlying situation, namely, that the major foundations by subsidizing collectivistic-minded educators, had financed a socialist trend in American Government.

We informed the foundations in advance that our findings suggested that the foundations had for a long time been exercising powerful, although sometimes indirect political influence in both domestic and foreign policy, predominantly toward the left—to say nothing of the support by the foundations of the Institute of Pacific Relations which lead the movement to turn China over to the Communists and which was admittedly Communist dominated.

The doubts and reservations concerning the validity of the complaints against the large foundations were largely dispelled by the almost hysterical reaction of the foundations to the summary presented to the committee by the committee staff on the opening day of the hearings.

The excitement bordered on panic; as was observed by the demonstrations through the public relations channels of the large foundations and this convinced me, and others of the American public, judging from the letters received and which are still being received in my office, that the general picture which had taken shape, was not very far from the truth.

The foundations, being well aware of the nature of the duties and responsibilities of the committee, set up what might be termed a defensive barrage. This barrage was successful to a degree in smearing the committee and preventing the full facts from getting into the public press.

Concerning the difficulty of our task, John O'Donnell wrote in the New York Daily News:

"From the very start the special House committee created to investigate our Nation's multibillion tax-exempt foundations faced an almost impossible task. This was to tell the taxpayers that the incredible was, in fact, the truth.

"The incredible fact was that the huge fortunes piled up by such industrial giants as John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford, etc., were today being used to discredit the free-enterprise system which gave them birth."

X

There is no doubt but that the large foundations and their satellites knew far better than did the committee where the bodies of their collectivism were buried, and as a result, their champion on the committee, the ranking minority member, could be thoroughly briefed on how to frustrate and discredit the various witnesses called before the committee.

The number of interruptions and the intensity of the vituperations heaped upon these witnesses by the ranking minority member was without precedent in the history of congressional investigations.

And is it not astonishing that Dr. Hutchins, who poses as the great champion of civil liberties and whose fund for the republic was set up as a defender of witnesses before congressional committees, if not to investigate the investigatorial processes of Congress, has not offered one word of criticism of the conduct of Mr. HAYS?

Contrast this silence with his slanderous personal attacks upon the committee majority.

On the contrary, Dr. Hutchins joined with Congressman HAYS in slandering the critical witnesses, referring to them as "witnesses of dubious standing."

By dubious did he mean Professor Emeritus Briggs, of Columbia; Professor Hobbs, of Pennsylvania; Professor Rowe, of Yale; and Professor Colgrove, formerly of Northwestern?

Did he mean to include also Professors Sorokin and Zimmerman, of Harvard, and Boasard, of Pennsylvania, who gave highly critical testimony by letter?

I suppose the answer is that anyone who resists the foundations' intellectual straightjacket is of dubious standing and should be publicly discredited.

When the pattern of the opposition tactics became obvious, I, as chairman, made up my mind that the only thing to do was to try to conquer discourtesy with courtesy, and throughout the hectic hearings I tried unsuccessfully to persuade Congressman HAYS to a reasonable pattern of behavior.

Mr. HAYS repeatedly villified other members of the committee and questioned their good faith. He publicly, from the rostrum, accused the chairman of lying and being a coward, and accused the genteel Mr. Goodwin of duplicity and cowardice.

XI

The following excerpt which I, as chairman, had deleted from the printed record in an effort to maintain the dignity of the committee, is illustrative of the violent and abusive remarks, exceeding in impropriety, remarks for which a Senator was recently brought up on charges:

"The CHAIRMAN. Now, the gentleman from Ohio, I am sure, is not going to get anybody worked up or irritated here. If he has that in mind he might just as well subside, because the chairman for one has made up his mind that he is not going to let any byplay get him out of temper. That would impair the usefulness of this committee. * * *

"Mr. HAYS. I will say this to the gentleman, that out where I come from we have a saying that if a man doublecrosses you once, that is his fault; if he doublecrosses you twice, that is your fault. I just want you to know you won't get the second opportunity.

"The CHAIRMAN. Even that statement is not going to provoke the chairman, but there is no living man can justifiably say that this chairman—that this man who happens to be chairman at this time—has ever doublecrossed anybody or he had failed to keep his word.

"Mr. HAYS. I am saying both.

"The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

"Mr. HAYS. Is that clear enough? There is no inference there is there?

"The CHAIRMAN. That does not disturb me a particle.

"Mr. HAYS. I know, you are pretty hard to disturb. I thought they had more guts in Tennessee.

"The CHAIRMAN. You are not going to provoke me. You need not worry; I have already made up my mind on that."

I am told that I demonstrated considerable forbearance, and I believe I did, although that was a difficult moment when Mr. HAYS impugned not only my personal integrity but my physical courage.

I was tempted to compare military records with him, but that would not have been a very adult impulse to follow.

XII

By this time most of you gentlemen are probably familiar with the world's record which Mr. HAYS has set for marathon interruptions of a witness.

In the case of one highly respected witness who was endeavoring to give the committee some information, Mr. HAYS interrupted 246 times in 185 minutes.

And even though the committee passed a rule that a witness should be permitted to finish his presentation before being questioned and cross-questioned, Mr. HAYS angrily declared in public session that he would interrupt whenever and wherever he pleased, and to say that he made good his word is an understatement.

Eminent professors among the witnesses were referred to publicly by Mr. HAYS during the hearings as "crackpots" and as having been "dredged up by the committee staff," statements now echoed by Dr. Hutchins here.

An eminent Catholic scholar, Sister Margaret McCarran, was characterized by Mr. HAYS as incompetent and as having secured her doctorate degree through political influence, presumably that of her father, the then senior Senator from Nevada.

The best answer to this remark which was manifestly made in an effort to discredit damaging testimony is a letter I received from Bishop Bryon J. McEntegart, rector of Catholic University, and which might be said was written with Cardinal Spellman's knowledge.

It is a long letter so I will quote only three sentences:

"It has come to my notice that at a hearing of your committee in early June, the assertion was made that a doctoral degree was granted at Catholic University of America as a result of pressure.

"On behalf of the University I wish to deny that allegation as completely false. * * * If the unwarranted assertion referred to above is included in the record of your hearings, may I ask that this letter be given equal prominence in your record."

XIII

Mr. HAYS' technique of frustrating the testimony even included heckling the majority members of the committee during their questions and cross-examination.

It became apparent, therefore, that the appearances and testimony of the foundation representatives would be a farce because Mr. HAYS would never permit cross-examination, and there was nothing I could do about it because as you gentlemen know, there is no force which governs the behavior of members of congressional committees, except that of self-control and common courtesy.

The majority members of the committee therefore, decided that further hearings would be fruitless.

To those of you who may have been given the erroneous impression by Dr. Hutchins and others, that this cancellation was not a unanimous majority action and that Congressman GOODWIN did not concur, I refer you to page 945 of the committee hearings, which contains the following statement sent to me in writing, and I quote:

"I cannot be at the meeting on foundations tomorrow, and in the meantime I want you to know I think there should be an immediate cancellation of all public hearings. Signed, Angier L. Goodwin."

Obviously, the cancellation of the formal testimony of the large foundations and their satellites was all to their advantage from a public opinion standpoint because virtually none of the evidence against them had appeared in public print and the self-cleansing statements which took the place of their

testimony were printed verbatim plus favorable editorial comments in most of the important newspapers that came to my attention.

Dr. Hutchins' speech supports the false statement in Dean Griswold's fifth amendment to the effect that "After developing the case against the foundations, this committee closed its hearings without giving the foundations a chance to present their defense."

Now, here are copies of parts I and II of the hearings. In part I, pages 794 to 865 consist of foundation testimony and practically all of part II is foundations testimony.

In a single issue of the New York Times, July 25, the self-cleansing brief of the Ford Foundation was given 2 feature stories totaling about 4,000 words.

One story praised the Ford Foundation; the other smeared the committee.

I think you gentlemen will agree that that is thorough press coverage.

XIV

I now want to say a few words about America's large tax-exempt foundations—the ones who are at the center of this storm.

Dr. Hutchins, when he was here, ridiculed the committee opinion that these foundations were involved in an intellectual cartel and stated that the committee had indulged in "new wrinkles to the distortions that we have become accustomed to in congressional investigations."

This language of Dr. Hutchins is typical of the vituperation which has been poured on us by the professional operators of foundations.

Realizing the impossibility of controverting the massive evidence which we produced, they have resorted to smear and slander.

They cannot disprove the existence of the intellectual cartel which we so clearly disclosed—a cartel which, using public money, has so effectively influenced academic and public opinion both in the domestic and international fields.

Among many warnings concerning this cartel comes one from Prof. Carl O. Sauer, of the University of California:

"In American social science it has indeed become a dominant folkway to associate progress with putting the job inquiry into large-scale organizations, under formally prescribed methods, and with limited objectives. Having adopted the name 'science' we are impressed by the 'method of science' as inductive, quantitative, and experimental. We are even told that such is the only proper method."

Professor Sauer refers to the top social-science planners as "an elite, fashioning increasingly the direction and limits of our work" and says "a serious and delicate problem is posed by the growing role of the national research council and foundation, the last years having seen a continually increasing concentration of influence."

You know, these planners, of whom Dr. Hutchins is an outstanding example, have cleverly adopted a Communist tactic.

Communists charge that the rest of the world is aggressive.

Similarly, these planners accuse the Committee on Foundations of wishing to suppress freedom of thought.

The fact is that the intellectual cartel which they have created itself suppresses freedom of thought by expending vast millions of foundation money under their control to determine opinion, academic and public, in the leftish directions they favor. There is extensive testimony to this effect by most competent witnesses.

XV

The foundations have placed great stress upon the fact that the amount of money actually spent in the social sciences is not enough to finance an intellectual revolution.

But the fact remains that, working at the fountainhead, it does not take much money to exercise virtual control over the relatively small number of people and institutions who in turn can control huge areas of policy and public opinion.

This power to impose brainwashing at the key points is against everything America stands for.

Evidence of this power comes from Prof. Charles E. Merriam, of the University of Chicago, one of the Nation's most notable educators.

Professor Merriam, himself inclined toward collectivism, was, at one time, an important dispenser of foundation funds.

In discussing his experience in this capacity, Professor Merriam said to one of his colleagues: "Money is power and for the last few years I have been dealing with more power than a professor should ever have in his hands."

As proof of the atmosphere of fear in which the conservative educator lives and works today, I would like to mention that the most pertinent information the committee received concerning the close-shop that apparently is being imposed on educators came from men who refuse to risk retaliatory action but were willing to give me off-the-record information.

One of them, who is a celebrated classical educator and known to all of you, said: "It is sad but true that it would be a waste of time for any graduate student of mine, however brilliant, to apply for a scholarship from the powers that be. They simply do not conform to the new collectivistic order of modern social science in America today."

Another internationally known professor and economist told us that in the large university where he teaches, no assistant professor would dream of not being a follower of the Keynes theory of deficit spending and the monetization of a public debt because only a supporter of Keynes could hope for promotion to a full professorship.

One of the most brilliant and most courageous social scientists in the country today, Dr. A. H. Hobbs of the University of Pennsylvania, is still merely an assistant professor.

He has been passed over for promotion, and the University authorities have made it utterly clear, ever since he began to point out the limitations of social science as a guide to social reform and began warning against the effect of such efforts upon the American way of life.

XVI

Regarding the question whether the foundations are supporting actual or potentially subversive projects, Dr. Hutchins virtually defeated his own case when he was attempting to point out how absurd these suspicions were.

He said in his speech before you that according to the Reece committee's definition, support of social planning by the foundations could be subversion.

This was said in derision because in Dr. Hutchins' opinion no rational man can take this statement seriously.

This shows the vast gulf between the rationality of Dr. Hutchins and that of the millions of Americans, Democrats as well as Republicans, who have come to realize that the planning of the social scientist reformers for their brave new world is actually or potentially subversive.

It is "subversive" because it seeks to introduce Fabian socialism into the United States.

The word "subversion" connotes a process of undermining; and these planners, these "social engineers" as they call themselves, who deem themselves entitled to lead us common people into better pastures, seek to undermine some of our most precious institutions, one being our unique system of enterprise of free management and free labor.

There is no need to doubt this.

They have been candid among themselves. To some degree, they even have been candid with us common people.

They have set down their objectives as clearly as did Hitler in his Mein Kampf.

One of the documents which frankly discloses their plans is the Conclusions and Recommendations of the American Historical Association's Commission on Social Studies, a call to American educators to teach collectivism to our youth.

This project was financed by the Carnegie Foundation.

In his statement on behalf of the Carnegie Foundation filed with the committee, its president, Charles Dollard, sought to deny the socialist nature of this report which became an important influence in education.

He stated: "The worst that can be said is that the authors (of this report) not only reported this trend but appeared to accept it cheerfully. What they were accepting was not socialism—it was the New Deal.

But gentlemen, this was not the New Deal.

My authority is none other than Prof. Howard J. Laski, the top philosopher of the British Socialist Party, who said of these conclusions and recommendations: "At bottom and stripped of its carefully neutral phrases, the report is an educational program for a socialist America."

Yet, after the Conclusions and Recommendations was published, the president of the Carnegie Corp. stated that the public owed its authors a vote of thanks.

XVII

Those of you who were here when Dr. Hutchins spoke will remember his eloquent closing words: "The Fund for the Republic is a sort of fund for the American dream. I do not think the fund can make the American dream come true, but perhaps it can help keep it alive and clear."

I would like to give you my impressions of the American dream that is now occupying the attention of the foundation-financed intellectual cartel.

Ever since the world began, well-meaning people, lacking faith in the common man to conduct his own affairs, have promoted the idea of government by an elite.

Plato wanted his perfect society run by all powerful, allwise and, of course, incorruptible philosophers.

Francis Bacon wanted his world run by a group of top scientists answering to the same specifications.

Robert Hutchins and the other members of this self-annointed professional intellectual aristocracy dream of an America governed by social scientists, guided by their benign infallibility under a system which frees the people from the responsibilities of freedom.

Mr. Pendleton Herring, of the Social Science Research Council, wrote in 1947 concerning this matter: "One of the greatest needs in the social sciences is for the development of skilled practitioners who can use social data for the cure of social ills as doctors use scientific data to cure bodily ills."

The degree to which this elite penetrated the Federal Government is indicated by the 1947 report of the President's Commission on Higher Education.

I would like to give you a few extracts from that report.

"It will take social science and social engineering to solve the problems of human relations. Our people must learn to respect the need for special knowledge and technical training in this field as they have come to defer to the expert in physics, chemistry, medicine and the other sciences."

I would like to mention that by no valid definition can sociology and economics identify themselves as true science.

Seven years before this report was issued, one of the members of the President's Commission on Higher Education, Horace M. Kallen, wrote a magazine article entitled, "Can We Be Served By Indoctrination?"

I would like to quote two short paragraphs from that article:

"I find within the babble of plans and plots against the evils of our time one only which does not merely repeat the past; this is the proposal that the country's pedagogues shall undertake to establish themselves as the country's saviors."

After some elaboration, Dr. Kallen concludes, "Having taken power, the teachers must use it to attain the central purpose of realizing the American dream. They must operate education as the instrument of social regeneration. This consists of inculcating right doctrine."

Change the word "American" to "Fabian" and you are pretty close to the truth.

Another phase of this American dream might be found in another document for professional pedagogues entitled, "Molders of the American Mind," by Prof. Normal Woelfel.

Here is one of his admonitions: "The younger generation is on its own, and the last thing that would interest modern youth is the salvaging of the Christian tradition. The environmental controls which technologists have achieved and the operations by means of which workers earn their livelihood need no aid or sanction from God nor any blessing from the church."

And he adds this final touch: "In the minds of the men who think experimentally, America is conceived as having a destiny which bursts the all too obvious limitations of Christian religious sanctions and of capitalistic profit economy.

XVIII

I am sure that this particular audience is peculiarly aware of the difficulty of putting into a small number of words any discussion of a subject of the magnitude of this one, particularly because only portions of the ground have been properly explored.

I also realize that many in the audience know more about some aspects of this subject than I do, because it is their business to follow political and sociological trends.

Among these journalists are a number of very fine people who honestly disagree with me concerning the danger of Fabian socialism, and they are entitled to their opinion.

But I do not think that any informed observer of public affairs would disagree with me as to the evidence of its encroachment upon the American economy.

For this reason, it is my opinion that the great majority of the working newspapermen of the United States, were they in possession of all of the evidence concerning the operation of the large foundations, would agree with me that foundation grants have knowingly given very substantial aid and comfort to Fabian socialism in the United States and unknowingly, or otherwise, given aid and comfort to causes which are subversive in a more literal sense.

Whether this is good or bad is, of course, a matter of personal conviction, but in either case, it is not a proper activity for philanthropic foundations.

What are these foundation funds which this intellectual elite presumes to use for their own political purposes?

They are public funds, dedicated to the public and necessarily so because they are the product of tax exemption.

I submit that those who expend these public trust funds should be subjected to the highest fiduciary duty.

For my part, I am not willing to see foundations given tax exemption to enable them to promote ideologies detrimental to the public welfare.

Even with its several faults, the report of the committee is a competent one, and in many ways an historic document.

Long after the pious protestations of its adversaries have been forgotten, this record will stand as the first determined effort to alert the Nation to the presence of a force which, if allowed to persist and grow, could become stronger than the Government itself.

The Man To See

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial regarding a good friend, and a most distinguished constituent of mine, Bernard M. Shanley. I am sure many of my colleagues will join with me in extending to Mr. Shanley our very best wishes as he assumes his new and most important task as appointments secretary to President Eisenhower.

This editorial, which appeared in the Newark (N. J.) Sunday News of February 20, 1955, follows:

THE MAN TO SEE

Bernard M. Shanley of Newark and Bernardsville has become one of the most potent officials in the Federal Government. As appointments secretary, succeeding Thomas E. Stephens, he will decide who, including Cabinet members, obtain private audience with the President.

It is 35 years since a Jerseyman stood in such close relationship to the President. Then it was Joseph P. Tumulty, the astute and engaging Jersey City lawyer who, as a young assemblyman, had attracted Woodrow Wilson's attention during the gubernatorial campaign of 1910. For the next 10 years, as governor and President, Mr. Wilson kept Mr. Tumulty at his side.

The presidential secretaryship assumed by Mr. Tumulty had changed little in the half-century since John G. Nicolay and John Hay, with a few clerks in a couple of offices over the East Room, comprised Abraham Lincoln's White House staff. Mr. Tumulty arranged appointments, gave out White House news, managed the clerical force and was the President's personal, political, and legal adviser.

These many responsibilities are now distributed among a dozen members of the President's staff, which was not reorganized to meet modern pressure on the President until Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration. Then six administrative assistants with a "passion for anonymity" were authorized by Congress after a survey of the executive establishment.

Of all the burdens of the President none is more insistent or wearing than demands upon his time. A split-second schedule is needed if he is to do all that he is required to do and still have time left for the recreational interludes without which his office would destroy him.

It is the appointments secretary's job to keep this schedule in line and on time. This is a task requiring political experience and sound judgment, plus the ability to say yes with discretion and to say no with grace.

Interoceanic Canals Commission Recommended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in a statement published in the February 2, 1955, edition of the American Daily—Diario Las Americas—a Spanish-English newspaper of Miami, Fla., with a large circulation in Latin-American nations, Hon. Maurice H. Thatcher, former civil Governor of the Canal Zone during the construction era and sole surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, expressed his views concerning the Isthmian question.

The proposal for the creation of an Interoceanic Canals Commission to evolve and recommend a program for increased facilities of the Panama Canal and for future Isthmian waterway projects, as embodied in S. 766 and H. R. 3335 of the present Congress, was commended by him as being altogether wise and appropriate.

Because of Governor Thatcher's long association with the Panama Canal and constructive contributions—first in the Canal Zone Government and the Isthmian Canal Commission, and, later, as a Representative in the Congress from Kentucky, with continuing contacts with and studies of the Panama Canal and Isthmian problems—his opinions command due weight and consideration.

The subject news story follows:

NEW WATERWAY ACROSS THE ISTHMUS SEEN NECESSARY—CANAL EXPERT FAVORS IMPROVEMENT OF PANAMA CANAL

WASHINGTON.—Maurice H. Thatcher, renowned specialist in interoceanic canals, said that it would be "wise and opportune" for the United States to study without delay the problems of how to improve the Panama Canal or construct a second waterway between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Thatcher, ex-Civil Governor of the Canal Zone, was a member of the Panama Canal Commission during the time of its construction. As representative from Kentucky he sponsored many laws relative to the Panama Canal.

In an interview with the United Press, Thatcher praised the bill presented last week in the Senate by Senator THOMAS E. MARTIN, from Iowa, to create an interoceanic canal Commission which would be made up of 11 members to be appointed by the President.

The commission would study the possibilities relative to a canal at sea level across Panama, to improve the lock system of the canal or to build a completely new canal, in addition to the political questions relative to that work.

"The question of bettering the Panama Canal is of such importance and things change so rapidly in this atomic age, that I think the creation of a special commission would be wise and opportune," he said.

"In that way the whole matter could be studied, until reaching the recommendations which Congress and the President should consider before making decisions," he continued. "The moment will come, although I

don't know when, when another canal will be needed across the Isthmus, and we can well consider that the Isthmus extends from Mexico to Colombia.

"When the moment arrives, I think that a second route, in Panama or Nicaragua, will have to be considered, though, this is a matter that needs a great deal of study."

Thatcher said that a canal at sea level in Panama would necessitate tidal locks on the Pacific side, in addition to deep and costly excavations. He predicted a counterproject for the betterment of the present route of the canal, with 3 sets of locks in Miraflores and in Gatun, with a maximum level of 85 feet between the 2 sets. The locks would be widened to allow the passage of the largest ships.

When questioned as to why he mentioned Nicaragua as one of the possibilities, Thatcher answered:

"The route through Nicaragua has a long history. It has been considered for years. Previously it was almost chosen for the construction of the canal. There are some favorable geographic characteristics in Nicaragua. An elevation of 33 meters will be needed, but the lake makes a large stretch of water available."

Thatcher said that he doubted whether Mexico would be favorable toward construction by the United States of a canal across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. He added that he thought a country as large as Mexico would insist on having complete control of any waterway within its territory.

He also said that the new canal across the Atrato route in Colombia is "feasible but very costly."

Thatcher insisted that the construction of a new canal, through whatever route, would be extremely costly and that, as a result, he thinks that the most economical solution would be to better the existing canal in Panama.

He made it clear that he was not expressing a conclusion about any route, apart from the fact that he thinks that a detailed study of the situation is an urgent matter.

Twenty Dollars a Head

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of February 23, 1955:

TWENTY DOLLARS A HEAD

Whenever anyone comes along and suggests cutting people's taxes he is going to get a pretty wistful reception. Taxes in this country have been so high for so long that many people can hardly remember when they were anything else, but everybody can dream.

So we suspect that Speaker RAYBURN struck a responsive chord in the voting public—and well thought he would—when he promised that the Democrats were going to get taxes down. On Monday the House Ways and Means Committee voted to carry out the promise, and the House itself is expected to consider it tomorrow.

But in view of how the taxes got up so high and what the Democrats propose to do about them, it seems to us that it was a pretty shabby promise.

The Democrats haven't said a thing about getting the Government's expenses down; the present administration has taken a bigger bite out of the Government's costs than any Democratic administration of the previous 20 years. And the Democrats aren't promising to distribute this tax largess on the basis of need, equity, or justice. They are simply going to hand every taxpayer a $20 bill.

Well, there's going to be an election next year, and the Democrats are going to want a lot of votes from the taxpayers.

And as Mr. RAYBURN knows, the $20 bill is the only piece of folding money the voter sees that carries the picture of a Democrat.

Vocational Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest programs ever authorized by this Congress is that of vocational education. I could take a lot of time extolling the virtues of this great program, with particular reference to what it does for our great State. I am deeply interested in the appropriation for that work by this Congress. I hope the full amount which the agency needs can be appropriated.

I have just received the following letter from J. Marion Adams, assistant commissioner for vocational education for Arkansas, who is doing a grand job in Arkansas. This letter explains in some detail just what our problem is:

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
DIVISION OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION,
Little Rock, Ark., February 21, 1955.

Hon. J. W. TRIMBLE,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TRIMBLE: Since I wrote you last concerning the need for additional Federal funds for vocational education, we have made a careful study of our needs, keeping in mind practical limitations as to buildings, trained teachers, etc., and have made an estimate of the expansion we could make in the very near future if increased Federal funds can be made available.

We estimate that Arkansas local school districts could add right away 191 vocational teachers and an additional 200 lay teachers to offer courses to adult farmers (not regularly employed teachers, but teachers for short-unit classes only, paid about $200 per class). Such expansion would cost approximately $361,400. The additional teachers would be distributed in the various vocational fields as follows: agriculture, 21 plus 200 lay teachers; distributive, 20; home economics, 50; trade and industrial education, 70; and guidance, 30 counselors.

During the past year a committee of 25 citizens of Arkansas have worked vigorously studying the "needs, deficiencies and extent" of vocational education programs in Arkansas public schools. They established as Arkansas' ideal program of vocational education: appropriate courses in vocational education available to every person in Arkansas, whether in school or out of school.

Of the 425 school districts in the State of Arkansas 319 have at least one type of vocational course offered to high school students. A total of 107 local districts offer no courses in vocational education. We feel that an outstanding program of vocational education for students in these schools (whether offered locally or on an area basis) would be a major asset to the social improvement, industrial development, and total economy of this State.

This year Arkansas is putting approximately $1 million from State funds into its programs of vocational education and receiving $601,431 in Federal funds. Local districts bear all costs of physical equipment, buildings, operational costs, and 50 percent of the salary of the local vocational teacher. You know, of course, that the need for additional funds for schools here at home is terrific. We do hope that Congress can provide increased funds for the vocational phase of our educational program.

Very truly yours,
J. MARION ADAMS,
Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education.

Then and Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD O. LOVRE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. LOVRE. Mr. Speaker, many times during each session we are given many opportunities to hear our colleagues speak outside the Halls of Congress. We all receive many invitations, and, time permitting, we usually attend. I had the pleasure yesterday of hearing one of the finest such talks I have heard since coming to Congress. It was delivered by our very esteemed colleague from Ohio, Representative CLARENCE J. BROWN, I call this talk to your attention because it serves as a caution to all of us:

ADDRESS BY HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN, OF OHIO, BEFORE THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SOCIETY, SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, FEBRUARY 22, 1955, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, when my good friend, Colonel Baxter, extended the invitation to me to be with you here today I broke a rule established some time ago not to make public appearances such as this while Congress is in session and promptly accepted. I did so, not only because of my high regard for the colonel, and my recognition of the Sons of the American Revolution as one of our greatest patriotic organizations, but also because I have reached the place where it has become virtually impossible for me to sit quietly on the floor of the United States House of Representatives while some Member goes through the mockery of reading George Washington's Farewell Address to a legislative body which, in recent years, has consistently failed or refused to heed, or to pay attention, to the advice and warnings given by the Father of our Country in that address.

So, on this 223d anniversary of the birth of the immortal Washington, I shall not devote my time to, or bore you with, repeating the usual tributes to the Father of our Country. Instead I have chosen the subject Then and Now, and shall attempt to give a rather condensed comparison of our beloved country and its Government, as it existed at the end of Washington's first term as President, and as it exists today.

Washington, as you will recall, took office as President, under our newly created sys-

tem of representative Government as defined by the Constitution, in April of 1789.

At the end of his first term, in 1793, the United States was made up of 15 States, 2 of which had been added to the original 13. They were—Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, and Virginia. Of these only Kentucky lay west of the Alleghanies. Today, as you all well know, the Union consists of 48 States, embracing all of the land and territory between the Atlantic on the east, the Pacific on the west, Canada on the north, and Mexico on the south. But even now legislation is pending in the Congress to admit into the Union, two additional Territories as States—Hawaii and Alaska—neither of which is contiguous to any of the 48 States. And in addition, of course, Texas has the right, under the Annexation Agreement, to divide into five States any time that great empire may wish to do so.

The first United States census was taken in 1790, and fixed the population of the United States at 3,929,000. By the time the 1800 census was taken the fledgling Republic, had grown in population by 1,400,000—or by more than 34 percent—to a total of 5,308,000 people.

According to the first census and during Washington's Presidency, Virginia was the most populous State, having a population of 748,000, almost twice that of any other. Pennsylvania was next in population, having 434,000 persons within its borders. North Carolina was third, with 394,000, and New York—believe it or not—ranked only fourth, with a population of 340,000.

Back in Washington's time the Federal Government had its national headquarters in Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love, although the Father of our Country was even then planning the establishment of a new Federal City which was later to bear his name, in the District of Columbia—a 10-mile square area to be carved out of the States of Maryland and Virginia—along his beloved Potomac and near his home at Mount Vernon.

Under the Constitution, upon which the new system of government headed by Washington was established, and which, of course, is still in effect, each State has two Senators representing it in the United States Senate.

So, during Washington's administration the membership of the Senate totaled only 30, as compared to the present-day membership of 96. The House of Representatives consisted of 105 Members, based upon the census of 1790. Today, and for more than three decades past, the United States House of Representatives has had 435 Members, also apportioned on a population basis.

During Washington's first term the individual Member of Congress represented an average district population of about 40,000 people. Today each Member of Congress represents an average of nearly 400,000 persons—somewhere around 380,000 to be more accurate.

Back in the days when the new Republic was just getting underway, a Member of Congress did not have as many duties and responsibilities, or as much correspondence to handle, or messenger work to do for his constituents, as during the present time, but he certainly had a great deal more difficulty getting to his job at the Nation's Capital. It may be of interest to know that in journeying to Philadelphia for the meeting of the first Congress in 1790, 1 Member of Congress was shipwrecked, 2—and I quote, "were forced to land with considerable difficulty on Cape May and travel the remaining way to Philadelphia in a wagon"—end of quote; 2 Members suffered grave injuries when a stagecoach upset; and 1 reported he was—and again I quote, "forced to travel by ship for 16 days through perpetual storms with serious and painful effect upon my digestive apparatus."

Those who served in the early Congresses of Washington's time did not need as much clerical help as we do today, for the only means of communication between Philadelphia and the various congressional districts of the United States, as well as the rest of the world, were: (1) The new and negligible postal service, (2) by special messenger, (3) quote, "any trustworthy person who happened to be traveling in the right direction," unquote, and, (4) masters of sailing vessels.

In fact, the postal service was, not only new, but most irregular, in those days. At the very best, according to the records, it took from 4 to 7 days to get a letter from Boston to New York, around 13 days for a letter mailed in Philadelphia to reach Georgia, and at least 20 days for a Kentucky Congressman to get a letter from Philadelphia back to his home district in the blue grass State. Such time schedules were kept, of course, only if everything went right, and quite often there were long and serious delays. For instance, a letter written by Governor Telfair of Georgia to Thomas Jefferson, posted January 2, 1791, did not reach its destination until March 4—61 days later.

Of course, foreign communication was even more difficult, for to complete an exchange of correspondence between America and Europe, back in those days, required an average of about 6 months. And difficulties often arose through capture, pirating or shipwreck, which resulted in the loss of much overseas mail.

While George Washington was President, Members of the House and Senate of the United States received the munificent salary or pay of $6 a day for their services, as compared to the $15,000 annual salary now paid Members of Congress, and to the $25,000 salary provided in the new Federal pay legislation which cleared the House last week.

So, perhaps many of us who now serve on Capitol Hill should be grateful, not only for the difference in pay, but also for the difference in travel conditions, which now permit a Representative or Senator from California to leave his western home in the early morning and arrive in Washington in time for the opening of the Congressional session at 12, noon, of the same day.

But many present-day Members of Congress may be none too appreciative of the great improvement which has taken place in the Nation's postal service since the time of Washington. For instance, our modern postal service brings an average of 400 communications of different types to my office each day, all requiring the attention of myself and my secretarial staff. And believe it or not, there are times when my congressional mail reaches a grand total of 1,500 to 2,000 pieces in a single day.

During his first term as President, Washington had a cabinet consisting of 4 members, as compared to the 10 in the Eisenhower Cabinet. They were the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson; Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton; Secretary of War, Henry Knox; and Attorney General, Edmund Randolph. In addition, President Washington had a Postmaster General, Timothy Pickering, who was not a member of the Cabinet. Vice President John Adams had little work to do, and did not encounter too much difficulty in presiding over the Senate, with a membership of 30, for the short time it was in session.

The executive branch of the Government, under Washington, was made up of three departments—State, Treasury, and War. Today, as I mentioned a moment ago, President Eisenhower has ten members in his Cabinet, representing as many departments, and in addition the Director of Mobilization, the Director of the Budget, and the Director of Foreign Operations Administration, sit with the Cabinet regularly, while the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force frequently join the group.

So actually today, on this Washington's birth anniversary of 1955, our Government is made up of 13 departments and 48 independent agencies, boards, and commissions, which, in turn, include another 2,133 different operating components to which personnel assignments are made.

You may be interested to know that, when Washington was President, the Treasury Department maintained the most extensive establishment, with agencies and officials in every large town, and in every section of the country. There were tax collectors then, even as now, though not in nearly as great a number. Our original Treasury Department, of course, had the responsibility, not only for the routine conduct of the young Nation's fiscal affairs, but also for such diverse functions as the collection of customs and tonnage dues; establishment of lighthouses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, registration and clearance of vessels; carrying of mail; surveying of public lands in the western territory; supervision of the banks of the United States; the granting of bounties on fish; and the collection of excise and other taxes.

Washington's War Department, besides operating and managing the Army, handled payment of pensions to disabled war veterans; regulated trade with the Indians; made grants of land to veterans, and regulated the militia of the several States.

The Department of State, then had as its primary duty, the conduct of our foreign affairs, as it does now. But it also granted patents and copyrights, supervised Federal marshals and attorneys, helped govern the Western territories, managed the Mint, took the census, and performed other miscellaneous functions.

The United States Attorney General, although he attended Cabinet meetings, had almost no administrative and few legal duties. It was not until the end of Washington's service as President that the Congress became magnanimous and furnished an office for the Attorney General, and generously appropriated funds to hire a clerk for him.

By the end of Washington's first term the Federal Government had established some nine different field services, outside of the Military Establishments and territorial governments. These services included Customs, Lighthouses, Attorneys of the United States, Federal Marshals, Post Offices, Revenue Cutter service, Indian Superintendents, Commissioners of Loans, and—believe it or not—the Internal Revenue Service.

Even back in those days, the United States had a so-called civil service covering civilian employment totaling 780 persons, not including the Deputy Postmasters of whom about 660 worked for the Department of Treasury. It may be interesting to note that as of last December the total number of civilian employees of the Federal Government, according to our mutual friend Senator BYRD, and his Joint Committee on Federal Expenditures, stood at 2,368,073.

But back in Washington's time the central Government's office staffs, located in Philadelphia remained small, and most Federal employees worked out in the field. For example, the largest Department of Government at that time—the Treasury Department—had only 70 persons employed at its departmental headquarters in Philadelphia. State Department personnel consisted of 5 clerks, 1 interpreter, 1 doorkeeper, and 1 messenger, in addition to the Secretary of State himself.

At the end of Washington's service as President, the War Department had grown to where it had a central staff of 17 people—believe it or not—while Postmaster General

Pickering performed all of the duties of his governmental position in 2 rooms of his own home, with the aid of 1 assistant and 1 clerk.

President Washington and the United States had diplomatic representatives in just five major foreign capitals—London, Paris, The Hague, Madrid, and Lisbon.

Most Federal officers of that time received their official income from two main sources, salaries and fees. Today the fee system, as far as the Federal Government is concerned, as well as in most States, has been entirely eliminated. President Washington drew the highest salary of all the Federal officials of his day—$25,000 annually, plus some expenses, which amounted to much less than his salary. The Secretaries of State and Treasury each received a salary of $3,500 annually; while the Secretary of War drew but $1,500. Perhaps the Secretary of War's low pay was accounted for by the fact that the United States was not then trying to feed, finance, and police the entire world, and uniformed Americans were not serving in more than 75 different lands outside continental United States. Under Washington, who appears to have been a frugal man, the Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States and the Governor of the Northwest Territory, each drew salaries of $2,000, while the Clerk of the House and Senate received the magnificent yearly amount of $500 each.

Most Federal officials of that period—outside of the ones just mentioned—were compensated for their services through fees. Some did quite well. For instance, a number of the collectors of customs had higher annual incomes from fees than the Secretary of the Treasury received in salary. At the other end of the line, however, many postmasters in small towns were paid as little as $25 per year.

As Commander in Chief, Washington had under him an Army of about 5,000 men, but no Navy or armed ships of any kind, until 1794. And I have been unable to find, from sources I believe to be reliable, where George Washington had any kind of an Air Force at all. Today our Army, Navy, and air services consist of well over 3 million men. But when George Washington, in his first term, moved to put down the so-called Whisky Rebellion in western Pennsylvania, he was compelled to enlist the aid of State militiamen, at a time when the States maintained complete control over the activities of their military units.

The Father of our Country, during his two administrations as President, did not have too much money with which to "play around," and certainly not the $60 to $100 billion yearly budgets which have been available to recent Presidents. During the 8 years of Washington's Presidency, Federal revenues averaged $5,717,000 annually, while—believe it or not—annual Federal expenditures during the same period averaged $5,776,000, which indicates that even the Father of our Country had to worry about "red ink," and Treasury deficits.

Most of the revenues of that day came from customs duties, and, later, from the first excise taxes which were imposed by Congress in 1791 on spirits distilled in the United States. It was this excise tax, by the way, which touched off the Whisky Rebellion. The Federal Government received only meager funds from postage, sale of public lands, fines, penalties, and forfeitures. And at the end of Washington's first term, the public debt of the United States totaled $70 million, or perhaps a few dollars more. Today our public debt stands at approximately $280 billion—or, to put it another way—280 thousand million dollars.

But to turn to our Government of today. You may recall it was my original idea and legislative bills which created both the First and Second Commissions on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, better known as the First and Second Hoover Commissions. You may also be aware that I served as a member on both Commissions, and have devoted more than 4 years of my life to the study of the organization and functions of the Federal Government, especially the executive branch.

You may be interested in knowing that, in comparison with the 3 postal workers of Washington's time, the Post Office Department now has 8,688 employees here in metropolitan Washington alone, and a total employment of 508,519 throughout the country; that the State Department now has 5,106 employees in Washington, and a total overall personnel of 21,061; that the United States, through its State Department, maintains 68 embassies and 9 legations in 77 foreign countries, in addition to the 106 consulates, which are administered in 105 foreign colonies, territories, and directorates. The Defense Department alone, including the Army, Navy, and Air Force, employs 1,144,994 civilians, of which some 340,000 are nationals of other nations, working overseas. In addition, of course, we have 3,300,000 Americans serving in our Armed Forces.

The Treasury Department has grown from its original 70 to where it now has 13,115 employees in Washington, and an overall employment of 79,459.

Of course, in addition to all of these departmental employment figures I have given you, the legislative branch of our Government has 4,113 employees, and the Federal judiciary 22,125.

You may also be interested in hearing some other facts which have been developed by our Hoover Commission and its task forces. Earlier I talked of travel in Washington's day. Well, today our Federal officials travel much farther and faster, and in more safety and comfort. According to the best information I can gather, not a single Government employee has been injured recently in a stagecoach upset—at least not during the present administration. But the latest reports do show that we have a little more than 261,000 motor vehicles being used by officials of the Federal Government, with an annual consumption of 29,418,577 gallons of gasoline. These vehicles, according to the General Services Administration, traveled the equivalent of 70,000 trips around the world during the past year—or about 1,800 million miles.

The Federal Government is doing something about the health of our citizens. At the present time we have 26 Federal departments and agencies engaged in one or more health programs, at an aggregate cost of approximately $4,200 million during the present fiscal year. Under them some 27 million Americans are receiving free medical service from the Government. Approximately 10 percent of all American doctors and dentists now work for the Federal Government.

And, of course, we have 104 different Government agencies loaning your money and mine, under one arrangement or another, not only to our own citizens, but to almost every foreign Government or activity in the world, wherever we can find anyone to take our cash. All of this, despite George Washington's warning against foreign entanglements. Yet we are now giving away free to other nations and peoples each year 1,000 times as much money as the entire Government cost to operate in Washington's time.

But before I close my remarks, I think you may be interested in knowing that our public debt, which I mentioned to you a moment ago as standing at $280 billion, equals the value of all taxable property of every kind and description west of the Mississippi River—and then some. Yet, at the same time our Federal Government owns considerable more property than it did when Washington was President. On June 30, 1954, the issuable personal property held and owned by the Federal Government amounted to $66,250,000,000, and this amount, of course, did not include such items as naval vessels, military weapons, vehicles, furniture, and other equipment in use; nor did it include our Government industrial installations—all of which are estimated to be worth an addition $48,500,000,000.

The overall inventory of the Federal Government's personal property actually totals, at cost price, more than the total inventory of our entire free-enterprise system, all combined.

And on top of all this, outside the public domain itself, our Federal Government today owns real property, purchased at the taxpayers' expense at one time or another, having a total estimated value of $30,500,000,000. So, all together our Government owns and possesses some $145 billion worth of property—which is a fairly good offset against our public debt—were it not for the fact that our Government has also incurred secondary obligations, or made promises to pay if someone else does not, an additional grand amount of $255 billion.

So, I cannot help but wonder, as I suspect you may be doing, just what the Father of our Country—the man whose anniversary and memory we honor here today—would think and say if he were to come back to earth this day, and look about him in this city bearing his name—look at the Government and the country he did so much to create and to establish. Would he think we had made real progress and, if so, in what direction? Would he find our present-day life better, more enjoyable, and less troublesome than in his day?

George Washington had his problems, as did the new Republic he headed. Modern-time Americans have their troubles and problems, too. What do you think? Are we, as Americans, doing as good a job of making free and representative Government work, all things considered, as did George Washington and his compatriots of 160 years ago?

Regardless of your views on the questions I have just propounded, I am sure all of you will agree there is a great difference between then and now.

Housing for Aging Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks I include an interesting and challenging statement Housing for Aging Families written by John Carroll, vice chairman of the Boston Housing Authority, of Boston, Mass., relating to the housing needs of elderly persons in the United States.

Mr. Carroll has devoted years of unselfish service in trying to improve conditions of low-income groups and underprivileged persons, particularly in trying to improve their condition in the field of improved housing. Mr. Carroll has done this without compensation. He is one of the finest persons I have ever met—progressively unselfish.

His views on the subject of Housing for Aging Families are worthy of serious consideration:

HOUSING FOR AGING FAMILIES

(By John Carroll, vice chairman, Boston Housing Authority)

The problems of the aging are of continually growing importance throughout the whole country. Medical science has made it that more and more persons are living to an advanced age while pension plans, both public and private, are, and will increasingly give greater independence to the elderly. Of great importance is the question of housing of the aging. Housing specifically designed for them is minute compared with their overall needs. Throughout all the cities of the Nation elderly persons are jammed into substandard housing for which they are paying sums large enough to pay the rent for decent federally aided housing of a nature similar to that under presently operated developments.

Old-age assistance recipients in Boston receive as much as $43.75 a month for gross rent for apartments, which amount is sufficient to pay the required gross rent for federally aided developments in the city. Because so many of them are in one-person families they are ruled out from residence in Federal developments and instead of having decent housing they are forced to live in hovels in slum sections of the city. This rent money is coming out of the public treasury and thus public funds are being used to subsidize dumps instead of making possible residence in safe, sanitary housing.

Thus we find that while pension plans are of ever greater importance, housing plans are not keeping pace with the program in other directions. Not only do we now have social security on the public level, but we also find that private pension plans have grown tremendously in the past 20 years, particularly with the growth of labor unions. But all this progress comes to naught if the pension recipient still has no decent house in which to spend his declining years. The house is of great importance to all, but is of greatest importance to the elderly because they must spend so much time in it.

Housing for the aged is of marked importance in New England because of the large percentage of elderly persons living in the area and the antiquated housing in which so many of them reside. Whereas in 1950, 8.1 percent of the country's population was over 65 years of age, in 4 of the New England States the percentage was 10 or more, and in each of the two other States the national average was exceeded. Specific percentages of population over 65 years were as follows in 1950:

	Percent
Nation	8.1
New Hampshire	10.8
Maine	10.5
Vermont	10.5
Massachusetts	10.0
Rhode Island	8.9
Connecticut	8.8

The national average increased from 4 percent in 1940 and studies in population trends indicate that it will ultimately be stabilized at 13 to 14 percent.

In Boston in 1950 the percentage of persons over 65 years was 9.7 in 1950 and is constantly growing. Moreover, the number of aged persons living by themselves is greatest in the area where urban redevelopment is to be undertaken. There aged single persons, together with other single persons, are not eligible for federally aided public housing irrespective of the fact that their present homes are to be destroyed.

There were 82,800 persons over 65 years of age resident in Boston in 1950. About 20 percent of these were old-age assistance recipients. The Boston Housing Authority conducted a survey of these recipients and received over 1,800 returns signifying interest in public housing. These returns were heavily weighted in favor of single persons presently not eligible for Federal housing. All of these persons would be eligible incomewise for such housing.

The problems of these and other elderly persons may be approached from the point of view of what has been done and what is being done for them in Boston. Lack of adequate income of a great percentage of elderly persons has made the group unattractive to private enterprise and thus almost nothing has been done by private groups toward producing housing architecturally designed and economically planned for the elderly. Thus far statutory limitations defining a family for admission to a Federal development have effectively barred any aid to single persons in federally aided housing, yet almost 3 out of every 4 households headed by a person over 65 years are single-person households.

In the Federal program little provision has been made toward designing units for 1- to 2-person families comprised of elderly persons. Admittedly Federal public housing, under the 1949 act, was set up chiefly for low-income families with children, relegating the childless couples to a position of minor importance. At present, limits are based upon room costs rather than on household unit costs, so that the small units become more expensive and are discouraged.

Nevertheless, in Boston we have built a considerable number of 1-bedroom units, 25 percent of the low-income units in the city are 1-bedroom—and we have built 84 units specifically designed for elderly people. Those units have electric rather than gas ranges; they have stall showers with hand grips to minimize accidents.

Recently the State of Massachusetts has given recognition to the needs for elderly people in the form of legislation designed particularly to make available to single persons units not needed for veteran family use and to allow for the construction of new units for use of veterans of 60 years of age and nonveterans over 65 years of age. It is proposed that these units be built for single persons and couples in a 3-to-1 ratio, favoring smaller units for single persons. Under this legislation it is expected that 1,800 units may be built in Massachusetts, which number is, of course, small considering the overall needs.

Utilizing the allowed admission of 1-person families, 92 such families have been admitted to 1 of the Boston Housing Authority's State-aided projects. It must be borne in mind, however, that such single person families can only be admitted where there are no available veteran families of larger size. In all other developments other than the one to which these single persons were admitted, the list of applications is such as to rule out admission of any single persons.

It is proposed by the State legislation to build new units in 25- to 50-unit developments accommodating a maximum of 75 persons. This size is thought to be the optimum since older persons dislike being segregated in large numbers. Experience elsewhere indicates that projects for the elderly can be too big as well as too small. A goal for such housing should be to provide a social unit which is large enough to provide a variety of friends and a large amount of self-help. At either extreme of project size these benefits are denied. Above all, it is important that the aged be housed in circumstances most closely approximating their natural pattern of life. The housing must have safety factors necessary because of infirmities of advancing years but at the same time be based upon a realization that most of the needs of people in the 65 to 75 year range are not too different than those of other people. It is recognized that there are three groups of aging persons to be considered: (1) Those who are members of family groups including younger persons; (2) those who live by themselves or with another old person in good enough health to take care of their own needs; and (3) those so handicapped as to require special care. The first group will be housed in housing of common use to all, the third group will be institutionalized. It is the second group with which we are concerned.

Structurally for this middle group the dwelling, according to American Public Health Association standards, must be "oriented for maximum light and sunshine, have no dark corners, stairs or passage and would be equipped with accessible light switches for sufficient artificial light. It would have no slippery surfaces nor changes in floor levels; and the kitchen, bathroom, passageways, closets, cupboards and shelves would be located and arranged to simplify housekeeping and prevent accidents. It would be large enough to accommodate an ill person without disrupting the household." In other words, it would be the exact opposite from so many of the dwellings in which the aged persons are now living in crowded parts of Boston.

Not only are we concerned with what is to happen to aged persons who do not qualify family wise for federally aided housing but we are also bothered by site costs of developments which we plan to build for elderly persons. For best emotional and mental health it is likely that the elderly person should be housed in good units within the environment with which he is familiar. No matter how good the physical structure, if housing in it forces the elderly person to tear up roots and move to a new neighborhood, it may not be good.

This means that in Boston new housing designed for aged in many cases can only be built on sites obtained through demolition of substandard dwellings. This is generally a costly procedure, but most advisable.

Specifically, what do we propose that the Federal Government do?

First, we strongly recommend that the definition of a family unit for admission to presently built developments be changed to provide for the admission of 1-person families age 65 years or more. If full relief is not to be given, then at least those aged single persons displaced by urban redevelopment projects should be eligible for admission if qualified incomewise.

Second, money received for old-age assistance should not be counted when computing income for eligibility for admission to federally aided projects. Thus it would be possible for a son or daughter to have a parent on old-age assistance live with them without thereby eliminating his or her needy family from possible residence in a low-rent development.

Third, a liberal policy relating to unit costs should be followed permitting the construction of more small units for housing single persons in developments designed for overall population needs.

Fourth, a housing program specifically for elderly should be adopted supplementing inadequate State programs and designed particularly to aid single-person households. In this program special concern should be given to site costs and a large amount of housing constructed should be on slum sites requiring costly demolition.

Cooperative housing has been proposed as a solution to the ills of housing of the elderly. For some income levels a strong cooperative program would be beneficial but for a great mass of old-age persons nothing other than well-subsidized housing such as the federally aided public housing would be any solution. In this mass are the old-age assistance recipients, holders of small public and private pensions, and those reduced to employment on low-wage jobs. It is likely that the top gross rent (including heat and utilities) which these latter people can afford in Boston is about $40 a month, which approxi-

mates the top amount allowed under old-age assistance.

No new cooperative housing has been coming on the Boston market and the small amount of private rental housing which was built in the past few years has been at rents in excess of $100 a month. Actually new rental housing in the Boston area in the past 2 years has been almost nonexistent.

All offerings of new sales housing—generally physically and geographically not adaptable to the needs of the elderly—have been at prices far out of the reach of the families with which we are here concerned.

There would seem to be ample evidence that, in common with all other low income families, no new private rental housing is being made available to elderly persons of low income and there is no evidence of any interest by private enterprise in such housing. There is, however, ample evidence as disclosed by a survey made for the Housing Association of Metropolitan Boston that there are a large number of older people living in decrepit rooming houses in Boston and that tremendous sums in Federal, State and local taxes, paid to old-age assistance recipients for their housing, are actually subsidizing slums, substandard dwellings and decrepit boarding houses in the Boston area.

Welcome to Premier Mario Scelba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, we are anticipating in March a visit to our city by the Premier of Italy, Mario Scelba. Premier Scelba comes to Washington at a time when the friendly spirit and cooperation between our two countries has reached an unprecedented level. We welcome this visit as an opportunity to pay honor to Premier Scelba—for in a short period as head of his country's Government, he has, indeed, won the respect and esteem of us all.

Scelba has been Premier a little more than a year—and in that short time he has guided his Government to notable achievements both at home and in its relations toward Italy's neighbors and allies. Scelba was De Gasperi's Minister of the Interior for 6 years; his experience in that office may be said to have prepared Scelba uniquely for the premiership. As Minister of the Interior for 6 years, Scelba became the scourge of Italy's strong Communist following. On becoming Premier, Scelba ejected the Communist organizations from many of the office buildings they had seized from former Fascist owners after World War II. He has forced their press to conform to libel and slander laws and has transferred many Communists out of sensitive positions in the civil service. He has also reduced Communist Party revenue from such sources as businesses run by Communists for profit. In numerous ways he has met the challenge of Communist subversion and infiltration by practical countermeasures.

Some of the other tasks being tackled by Scelba's government are—a public works program which it is hoped will alleviate Italy's unemployment; an impressive housing program; and new income tax enforcement laws. It is very difficult for the Premier to get such legislation passed in the Parliament, for Communists and fellow-travelers, who hold more than a third of the seats in Parliament, continuously sabotage and delay measures put forward by the center coalition which he heads.

In his government's foreign policy, Premier Scelba has inaugurated a new phase of trans-Adriatic cooperation. For 9 years the Trieste issue set Italians and Yugoslavs against each other and stirred bloody riots and demonstrations. In October of last year, the Italian-Yugoslav agreement returning the port city of Trieste to Italy and giving part of the Trieste territory to Yugoslavia, was signed. Since then Scelba has forthrightly held out the hand of friendship to the Yugoslavs and called for an end to the suspicions and recriminations that long poisoned relations between the two neighboring countries. This was a bold act on the part of Premier Scelba because it brought violent attacks from the extreme right and left in his own country. He has assumed the political risks, however, in order to show clearly his eagerness for peaceful cooperation with Italy's neighbors. The benefits of Rome-Belgrade cooperation extend far beyond the boundaries of the two countries. There have recently been reports that Italy may join the Balkan Entente which already unites Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia. Italy's adherence to this group would give the entente additional strength and would add Italy's 10 divisions to the approximately 60 of the 3 Balkan states.

Italy has recently signed the Paris Agreements which bring Italy and West Germany into the Brussels Pact. The Italian Chamber of Deputies has approved ratification of these agreements. This is but one more indication of the marked progress Italy has made in the last year, under the statesmanlike leadership of its Premier, Mario Scelba.

Next month as Premier Scelba visits our city—he may be assured of our high regard and of a very warm welcome.

Immediate Direct Public School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a telegram from Carl J. Megel, president of the American Federation of Teachers, which I believe accurately states the feeling of many prominent educators throughout the country. It is for that reason that I bring it to the attention of my colleagues in this House.

The telegram follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 17, 1955.*

Eisenhower administration has been exceedingly reluctant to provide leadership toward enactment of legislation to provide Federal relief for America's schools.

The President's proposal might better be termed Federal aid for bankers since they set up machinery for "lending" not "granting" funds to distressed school districts. School districts throughout the country are already overburdened with debt and most of them are either close to or over the legal limit on their bonded department.

The President's proposal remedies the situation by offering to increase the bonded debt of school districts. Most school districts financially able to issue bonds can find these bonds saleable. If we want to adequately educate our children we must have immediate direct public school aid of a practical nature. Senator LISTER HILL'S bill proposing $500 million a year for 2 years in outright grants is a practical approach even though much more than that amount is needed.

CARL J. MEGEL,
President, American Federation of Teachers.

Address by Gen. B. W. Chidlaw, Commander in Chief, Continental Air Defense Command, at Air Force Association Banquet, Colorado Springs, Colo., February 11, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Gen. B. W. Chidlaw:

Mr. Alison, distinguished Members of Congress, National Guard and Reserve, members of the Air Force Association, and honored guests, having been in Madison, Wis., last night for a talk at the Wisconsin annual airpower banquet, winding up with a midnight surprise inspection of our alert aircraft and crews at Truax, with the temperature standing at a balmy seven degrees below zero, should my voice come forth this evening as something of a cross between that of radio's Rochester and Andy Devine's gravel growl, I ask that you good folks bear with me.

We, of the Continental Air Defense Command, are genuinely delighted that you gentleman have been able to avail yourselves of this most gracious action on the part of the Air Force Association in arranging this timely meeting—to let us talk together on air-defense matters here in the hometown of CONAD Headquarters—and additionally to have you here in this beautiful setting in which soon will be built the Air Force Academy—the seat of learning and the cradle of tradition for the future of air power in this country.

Air power has, of course, been a living, breathing thing in the imagination of many people—old and young—for years, but it is today striding ever more and more into world consciousness as the tremendous factor in all military schooling and planning—in the economic future of the world—and more and more into the daily lives of each of us.

I think it can be said that air power is no longer considered so much just an equal participant in the family of military serv-

ices, but has become an overall field of the military potential affecting all services. A military potential possessing such a devastating capability that the threat of its use alone might prevent a world commitment to open warfare.

The world's past wars have shown generally that nations' so-called military roads to glory have often taken them along some pretty gloomy trails, milestoned by the skulls and skeletons of man's failures to bail himself out of his dilemma by all other means.

Through airpower, growing evidence indicates that its very existence affects the atmosphere and attitudes at the world's conference tables. Through airpower any imbalance in favor of a possible aggressor—even though local or temporary—frequently shows in the arrogance, the ruthlessness, the baldness of his demands.

Airpower—taken in the larger sense of the complete gamut of missles and aircraft using the avenue of the air—can now be sent on a terrifying mission of destruction by our enemies—and it could come just as unannounced as it would be uninvited with such a mission.

For no longer do we have the leisure of the chess player to study—then unhurriedly counter action with reaction.

In airpower circles, action calls for action.

The attackers—and the nuclear bomb loads or warheads set in motion by them—must be challenged by our own weapons systems as close to their bases of origin and sustenance as is possible, and our challenge must be decisive.

To reckon unleased airpower in the hands of the enemy as any less than a disastrous capacity, or to leave it unopposed, instantaneously and without quarter, is to die miserably, to die individually, even possibly to die nationally.

Not long ago a story came to me of an old clock which had been placed in a national museum as a relic of one of the early wars on this continent. It was of that rich, deep, brown color, common to aging walnut wood. It showed signs of having been hacked by either a tomahawk or knife, and imbedded in the wood was part of an old flint arrowhead.

This old clock really belonged in this collection of times past.

It still had grace. It had beauty. It was decorative. It was definitely tied to the infancy of our country, and bespoke some of the turmoil in which our Nation grew to its present maturity.

For this reason, it had a place of honor in the museum.

The important lesson this old clock had for me, however—and for my people—who must live alert to each day's problems and be preparing always to meet that greater emergency which might come on any tomorrow was that it rested absolutely on the past.

It had one great defect. It could no longer perform the function for which it was originally built, because the hands of this clock were stilled forever, the mechanism inside clogged with rust and dust. And although it was still referred to in the museum guidebook as a timepiece—it was no longer that. It couldn't tell time.

All our military services are constantly making adjustments, orienting themselves toward today's blunt military facts of life and away from museum thinking. Nationally, we are, I believe, gradually weaning ourselves from the thinking that the next war will be fought—if ever we must fight one—as the last one was fought.

In my many trips about the country I sense that the man in the street—Mr. Average American Citizen—is becoming more and more aware of the fact that America will have to abandon her time-honored role of the protected and secure arsenal of men and weapons and take on the much more alarming role of being the first and principal target.

No military force can ever afford to become a museum piece, and if there is one thing in the world which will disclose it as one—it is its failure to keep in step with the threat and be truly up to date—better well ahead of it.

Certainly, in this air-defense business the Continental Air Defense Command cannot afford a failure to be completely realistic.

For us, no crystal ball, no ivory towers.

We know that for the Continental Air Defense Command, there is no place of, nor time for sanctuary.

Defense of the United States from air attack is today a No. 1 preoccupation of the American people, and that defense is the mission of the Continental Air Defense System.

Our command is perhaps the first major organization of the few in our whole military structure which must meet its acid test on D-day—in fact, on H-hour on that D-day—and D-day could come tomorrow.

Therefore, the shadow of reality is always as close to us as our own shadow.

And the Continental Air Defense Command must work, tirelessly and ceaselessly. It must undergo constant test—and revision based on the showing of those tests. It must be re-equipped to be ever new—and ever newer. It can never be truly effective if any portion of our system is approaching museum status nor is it ever safe to view or inspect it from the attitude of veneration for past achievement. Rather, it must be continually assessed for vigilance—for virility.

In this vein, I am frequently asked the question, "Since our scientists, our research, and development people, anticipate many major improvements at somewhat later time periods, why should it be necessary to spend large sums of money modifying and improving the present system since ultimately much larger gains in effectiveness can be anticipated at that later date?" Well, gentlemen, viewing the world situation as it is today, I think the answer to that question is pretty obvious. Remembering always in this business that our D-day may be tomorrow, we cannot—we dare not—risk less than achieving the maximum kill effectiveness possible, employing the tools we have presently at hand.

Knowing all these things as realistic and to keep in a realistic vein, I wish to say, here and now, that true air defense is not, in my opinion, confined solely to the erection of a so-called fortress-type weapons system around a particular critical area. Such an approach would resemble that of a boxer who confines himself merely to slipping or warding off his opponent's punches. The boxer, to win, must be prepared to throw a few healthy knockout punches himself, so I include the counterpunch, the left cross, and the good old roundhouse haymaker right all in my definition of defense.

Air defense is then, in the truest sense, the whole tricky, razzle-dazzle, and flexibility of the air weapon used in its full multiplied force and as far out from our homeland as time and circumstances permit.

True air defense takes in the complete array of the offensive and defensive capacities of all services to make up this effective air defense—everything to keep the enemy guessing, everything to keep him off balance—to make him puzzle and pause, attempting to figure our air power out and make him doubtful of his own ability to cope with it.

Thus, I believe our continental air defense system starts with a formidable couplet of the Strategic Air Command with its long-range, atomic packhorses; the Navy's carrier task forces, wherever it is possible for them to contribute; and also those air forces, tactical in nature, which are based far out from this country and on the fringes of the Iron Curtain, represented in our own commitments to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and those of our partners in this alliance.

We have this partnership with the free world in recognition of the immediacy of the times; that should the free world be struck, our responses would be total, from close in and far away, and be now.

Concerned as we all are that we keep this far-out extension of our defenses and improve them daily, and concerned as we all are to preserve and ever strengthen the mighty fists of our strategic striking air arms, we of the Continental Air Defense Command are also concerned that our assigned mission—that of defending the skies over and the aerial approaches to our homeland—be likewise fully understood and fully appreciated. Appreciated as the Nation's blunting force which may have to endure its greatest battles while the enemy is at full strength and while the enemy effort is freshest.

Facing squarely up to the problem, I feel sincerely, as do all military commanders, that little has altered that old military truism that "the best defense is a strong offense." I am certain that a purely defensive system alone would never be the one single force which would deter—forestall—forever a Russian decision to strike us.

We must, at all costs, maintain our own long-range striking forces, our Strategic Air Command and those other forces which are capable of striking at the vitals, the heartland, of any aggressor. And they must be kept at the highest levels of efficiency and size to do their job, once their mission is ordered.

But, I'm equally just as certain that a major deterring factor lies in being able to guarantee that our striking forces will not be caught in their lairs—be caught in their bases with their planes down. If that aggressor, specifically, if Communist Russia, knows that while she is fighting her way toward her targets over here, that the golden opportunity of easy destruction on the ground has passed and the visitation of death and destruction to their homeland is but a few, very few, short hours away, then a decision by them to launch their first aggressive blow must be born only of sheer desperation.

The objective of our present and any future air defense system is thus, to ward off or reduce to the maximum possible extent the impact of enemy air attack, should our national aim of prevention of war itself fail. I feel—as do my people—that the market value for air defense will undoubtedly be at its highest—at its very peak on D-day. We hope, we pray, that our offensive and defensive efforts will jointly cause it to taper off markedly from that point on.

We know that nuclear armament has revolutionized not only air-defense thinking, but military strategy in its entirety.

We know that A-bombs and H-bombs, plus the means of carting them accurately to and over a target complex for release, compel considerations of national survival itself as the number one mission of our country's military action.

Enemy capabilities—weighed against the cost and effectiveness of a blunting defensive force to put in the way of those capabilities—outline the general dimensions of our air-defense problem.

Dozens of factors; i. e., possible enemy approach routes, his likely target selections, his delivery equipment, prevailing winds and weather, and the like, dictate our defensive deployments.

And always the question of national economics is before us. For example, must we or should we try to add a couple of fighter interceptors, or a new guided missile position to our defenses as the Russian adds new types

or numbers to his long-range air army inventory?

And in these considerations, there is always the thought that there may be, somewhere along the line, a "point of diminishing return" in this air-defense business as we currently know it or visualize it and that—in light of the constantly increasing threat—it is and will be extremely difficult to determine just exactly where this point lies.

One thing we can be sure of, however, is that to willfully stop short of this admittedly somewhat indeterminate point could be disastrous.

Stopping short is like the old story of throwing a 20-foot rope to a man who has fallen down a well 30 feet deep. It wouldn't bail him out. It wouldn't save him. And only a gesture has been made in the right direction. And whatever was spent for the rope represents a loss since it did not accomplish the mission.

Obviously, though, if we assumed complete desperation and tried to completely blanket the Nation with radar in overlays and layers—at the same time providing the well over 3 million square miles of our country with maximum intensity fighter-interceptor and guided-missile coverage, we would run into economic and manpower impossibility.

It is up to us, therefore, to go about the job of doing the most we can—and the best we can—with those present and programed forces of men and weapons which can be made available to us.

Our national sense of morality—our tradition of never having struck the first aggressive blow—would, I imagine, cause the enemy to assume—and we must assume—that he will have on his side the initial advantage because of his ability to select the time (and place) of attack and start unmolested the takeoff for delivery of what he hopes will be the first great blow.

He patently will have many avenues of approach which gives him great flexibility in choosing and charting his hydrogen highways—as it correspondingly confronts us with multiple problems in blocking any aerial power play he initiates.

He undoubtedly assumes—and we must assume—that he will have to go for a package deal in target arrangements—a veritable bag of varieties. In a civilization and defense system as complex as ours, he must know that there is no one solar plexus—no single touchpoint—which when struck could leave us totally paralyzed—broken—completely subdued and subjugated.

Therefore, his offensive efforts would logically have to be as big as the target bag, and be designed to put us in an atomic vise.

In such a packet, we must figure that he would undoubtedly attempt to neutralize or wipe out our counteroffensive capability such as our retaliatory forces and their bases and the origin of our atomic stocks—certain of our major population, communication, Government centers—and our industrial capacity for military production.

In the language of the poker player or crap shooter, if he were ever to set off on this package-deal expedition, he would truly be, as the expression has it, going for broke.

He would be shooting the works and trying to break the bank.

It would perhaps be comforting to say that very few who shoot the works and go for broke actually ever break the bank, or that few real gamblers would go up against such odds. We should never be foolish though and not consider that there is more than an outside chance that such a course could or might be taken.

There is grave reason for us to respect the outside chance with Russia.

Over there they originated the game called Russian roulette. In this game a man puts one cartridge in the cylinder of a revolver, gives the cylinder a spin to obscure the exact location of the bullet, points it at his head, and pulls the trigger. If it doesn't fire, his partner in this interesting parlor game then takes the gun and duplicates the feat. You will admit that this is a pretty fair test of nerve and somewhat indicative of the way they look at things. The fact that these playful antics usually take place at the height of a vodka bout doesn't necessarily dim the light it throws on its practitioners.

Who would have thought that a train ride from Switzerland to St. Petersburg, sponsored by the enemies of his own homeland, would pay off for an expatriate conspirator by causing the overturning and taking over of a government and deifying the man who took that long-chance ride?

Yet, it happened to a man named Lenin and he was a Russian.

Who would have had the nerve, the political ruthlessness, to gamble away the lives of his own people, give up rich land space, order a scorched earth, and draw in—mousetrap—the forces of his enemies until he had them in the position where his counteraction would be decisive and on this would build a character and debit in blood which made him well-nigh all-powerful at councils of nations?

Yet, it happened to a man named Stalin and he was a Russian.

Who would have had the audacity to face up to the greatest and most intrenched secret police system the world has ever known, its leadership and position seemingly invulnerable, and pull off a successful denunciation of that leadership, topped by a firing squad party for the opposition.

Yet, it happened to a man named Malenkov and he is a Russian. Anyhow, we have new names to ponder over; Khrushchev, Bulganin, Kalganin, Mikoyan, and the ever-articulate Molotov. Names which, to some observers conjure up a reversion to the policies of Stalin—a get-tougher attitude toward the West, a new all-out drive for heavy industry and arms production. More guns, less butter? Again, who knows?

I believe we can safely and wisely assume, though, that any nation which produces leaders like this, who rise to its leadership on taking the long chance, have not laid aside the tendency toward Russian roulette when it has proven successful on occasion or when there may seem to be no other course.

For these reasons, we must seek constantly for outward extensions of our warning and tracking capability to take maximum advantage of area defense weapons in the Continental Air Defense Command. Our action must start with his action, so our forces must be so disposed in depth as to make him run a gauntlet of continual harrassing and destructive attack as soon as we make contact with him.

To be certain that our response is instantaneous and rapid toward any hostile threat, our controls must be decentralized.

Our full national potential in air defense must be available and have its well-defined place in the Continental Air Defense Command system, the organization which will probably fight its major battle on the day and hour the fight starts.

All usable fighters of other Air Force commands—those based in this country—must be slotted into usable places in the system. All Navy and Marine Corps fighter aircraft based coastally or inland—even those on carriers in or near port—figure in the system. The shore-based radar equipment of the Navy and various proving ground and guided missile test centers can make their contribution. The antiaircraft guns of naval vessels in port must have their place alongside the guns and missile batteries which our strong right hand, the Army, contributes to the regular defenses. The National Guard and certain parts of the reserve forces strength must come into the bag with us.

The contribution of these forces—taking their control and operational direction from the Continental Air Defense Command—can be an enormous help in CONAD. We are now going forward rapidly with the planning which will make thorough use of all these augmentation elements and to make sure that the control machinery is fully ready.

Our first and most pressing need is that we obtain the greatest possible advance warning of any attack. To achieve this, we are shoving our radar detection nets further and further to the north—further and further out to sea—extending our detection, identification, tracking, and control capabilities as rapidly as circumstances permit. Our second, and nearly as pressing need, is for streamlining the processes by which we put into motion all the vast resources of those strengths I have mentioned, and putting them into motion toward the places in the system where they will contribute the most, the quickest, and to maximum effect.

As I said before, all military services today are engaged in a fight to stay out of the museum and to be in step with what must be done to make certain our national survival.

Developments in science and engineering are so fast and furious—the struggle to stay out of the museum—that to avoid being categorized as the clock which would no longer tell time is demanding on all of us.

We must be sure at the first flicker that the enemy is taking to the high aerial road, that we set up a series of toll gates—barriers—in his way as soon as he gets on that road. These toll gates, these barriers, should be all the missiles and jet-propelled carriers of destruction we can put out along that road to regulate or halt that travel as he comes on his atomic outing.

He must pay heavily at those toll gates. He must be fought to a standstill there—shot down out there—and God willing, his whole effort die out there. Because every uninterrupted second that we let him come on and every mile we let him penetrate our borders to get in reach of his strike position makes the cost ratio in blood, in life, and treasure of this country mount.

If we have the means to erect these toll gates when it has to be done, the Nation lives.

If we do not, the Nation could die.

To those of us who wrestle with this enormous problem—who live with it every minute of every hour of the day and night, it is just as simple, just as cold turkey, as stark as that.

There are mighty few gray areas left to consider in this business. It is possible now in this atomic age to see mostly only in black and white.

I know that this problem is on the minds of you gentlemen of Congress and other of our highest Government leaders and our top military commanders.

My feeling on Air Defense is that it amounts to the sum total of all the things which can be brought to bear on any enemy who would see in an all-out air attack the most lucrative, the quickest, and the most decisive way to get at our vitals and to knock us to our knees. The Continental Air Defense Command is a complete rationalization of that Air Defense potential in terms of making every mile—every yard—every foot of an attacker's thrust count for us and against him.

In a measure, we are blessed with God-given geographic depth for our defenses, removed some distance from the bases of any aggressor's birds of prey.

We would indeed be profligate with our responsibilities—and going against all military lessons and training—if we did not figure on making every mile of that intervening distance paydirt for us and a place for our enemy to bite the dust.

Looking back, we can all remember the time when those of us in the military were somewhat removed from the so-called plain American citizen. We didn't know too much about each other—we didn't give each other too much thought. They went about their business—we went about ours. They sent for us when they needed us, and we sent for them to give us the increased strength we needed in time of a national emergency.

This is not true today.

Today we are in each other's business right up to our necks, because no matter what any man or woman thinks his or her business is today, it is really the business of insuring individual and national survival.

Because of this feeling, we have been able to get with us in the Continental Air Defense Command some 400,000 civilian volunteers in the role of ground observers. They have become interested in what they can do to help and are willing to give us that help because they wanted to know a role into which they can fit smoothly should D-day ever come. Because of this growing awareness and desire in American people to know a place to do volunteer duty, I feel we are stronger than we have been for a long while. Because in addition to what these ground observers do in plane spotting, they have provided the first ripple in the great wave to come as Americans become more and more conscious of what each man and woman must do if we are to be safe and remain safe.

By coming into our family of air-defense weapons freely and as volunteers, they have put their apathy and complacency into the museum alongside that old clock. Complacency today is just as useless as that old clock—the clock which could not tell time.

Let us all make certain—civilian and military man alike—that we discard now and forever any semblance of complacency.

Let us not believe that because we have never lost a war that we couldn't lose one.

Let's make certain we don't lose it.

Let us never rest on today's weapons system or be content that what we are doing today is just good enough. We all must dig deep to pull out that little something extra in us.

Gentlemen, as I look out over this audience tonight I see many friends with whom I have worked over the years. Hal Stuart, Joe McNarney, Bill Kepner, Pop Powers—my old bosses in the Air Force. I see the leaders of our aircraft industry, men with whom I grew up, worked with, played with, frequently argued with, more often had to agree with during the many service years I spent on the materiel side of the fence. I see here tonight many distinguished Members of Congress, men who daily grapple with the major domestic and foreign problems of our country.

Thus, I realize, gentlemen, that I possibly have been presumptuous in discussing at such length our Nation's air defense problem here tonight, because I know that, in some respects, you are just as close to many of the facets of that problem as are we in the Continental Air Defense Command.

However, in these few closing sentences I am going to presume still further and ask that you consider and take back a message to your people. This message:

That, working together, we must see to it that our military clock is ever kept cleaned, oiled, conditioned, and adjusted to that split-second accuracy demanded by today's troubled old world.

Because in these perilous times, should a mainspring snap—a jeweled bearing give way—and our military clock slow down and grind to a stop, chances are that it might never start again.

And, if our military clock stopped, it quite probably would never even find its way into a museum.

There could be no museum left to put it in.

Thank you.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

The Office of the Legislative Branch in the Formulation of National Security Policy

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KILDAY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, on February 24, 1955, it was my honor and privilege to deliver an address at the National War College, Washington, D. C., on the subject: The Office of the Legislative Branch in the Formulation of National Security Policy. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a copy of that address, as follows:

THE OFFICE OF THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH IN THE FORMULATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

(By PAUL J. KILDAY, Member of Congress)

In discussing the office of the legislative branch of our Government in the formulation of national security policy, I believe it would be of value to review some of the basic principles of political science. The key word in all forms of government is "sovereignty." That is, in whom does it lie? In whom is vested the supreme power of the state? For centuries, because of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, sovereignty reposed in the monarch. In 1776 the colonists, as British subjects, lived under a system of government which recognized this philosophy, except insofar as the power of the king had been circumscribed by historical rights wrung from him in such great accomplishments as the Magna Carta of 1215.

So, in 1776 Thomas Jefferson proclaimed, and the Continental Congress confirmed by adopting the Declaration of Independence, that:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The divine right no longer exists in kings, it now reposes in the people. The sovereign people. This has remained and still is the theory of the American form of government.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

On our subject for today, among the facts submitted to a candid world by that declaration were:

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures."

"He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power."

And the Continental Congress also complained of pretended legislation: "For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For protecting them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:".

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

After an unsatisfactory experience, during and subsequent to the Revolution, the Congress approved the suggestion for a convention at Philadelphia "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union."

In accordance therewith the convention met and, on May 30, 1787, went into secret session, as a committee of the whole, for the consideration of propositions for a plan of government.

This convention was composed of delegates from the several colonies fully aware of the causes of the Revolution and fully informed of the facts submitted "to a candid world" by the Declaration of Independence. After approximately 3½ months the convention produced, not a revision, but a new plan of government.

THE CONSTITUTION

The preamble of this new plan of government declared as one of its objects to "provide for the common defence." By its express delegation of powers in article 1, section 8, this Constitution delegated to Congress the power "to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States;". And thereafter, in that article, committed to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Congress, in clauses 11 to 16, both inclusive, the following powers in this language:

"To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

"To raise and support armies, but no appropriations of money to that use shall be for a longer term than 2 years.

"To provide and maintain a Navy.

"To make rules for the Government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

"To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.

"To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress."

Notwithstanding the clear knowledge possessed by the members of the Convention, and generally understood by the people through the publication of the Federalist, that this new Government was one of limited powers delegated to it by the sovereign people, fear of an all-powerful Federal Government persisted. Therefore, as a condition precedent to the ratification of it, those same foreign people demanded the submission of the first 10 amendments which constitute our cherished Bill of Rights. Pertinent to our subject, they provide:

Amendment II: "A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed."

Amendment III: "No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law."

Amendment V: "No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

I have included all of the fifth amendment simply to keep before us the fact that even in these confused times it contains provisions of great value to all of us.

By article 2, section 2, it is provided that "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States;". And by the same article and section; "He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, * * *, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; * * *." And by section 3 of article 2 (the President, "Shall commission all the officers of the United States."

It is clear, therefore, that our Federal Government is a government of powers delegated to the Congress and to the President. With each power goes its limitation. It is essential to the orderly process of our Government that each branch of government know the powers it possesses and the wise limitations placed upon those powers. That each operate within the area provided by this basic charter. That neither attempt to exceed the powers actually granted and possessed by it. In my opinion, it is equally important that each jealously guard the exercise of its powers that there be no usurpation by the other branch. Though I am a member of the legislative branch, I beg that you believe me to be sincere when I state that it is essential to our well being and our continuance as a Nation that there be no trespass upon the powers of the executive by the legislative branch. In comparatively recent times we have heard many protests of usurpation of legislative power by the executive. We have heard little of the intrusion of the legislative upon the executive. Such there has been, as I expect to show. Both are equally to be avoided.

It is now my purpose to consider these various functions, the exercise of which constitutes the office of the legislative branch of our Government in the formulation of national security policy.

TO PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE

The common defense is stated by the preamble to be one of the reasons for the establishment of the Constitution; the power to provide for it is committed to the Congress. Only Congress can levy and collect taxes, only Congress can pay the debts. Therefore, only Congress can provide those things necessary for the common defense. As with individuals, so with States, self-preservation is the first law of nature. Only

the State which can preserve itself can be a State. In this Federation of States, the defense of all of them, the defense common to all of them, the common defense is committed to the Federation of the people. As Joseph Story has said (1 Story, Commentaries on the Constitution, sec. 462), "For example, the preamble declares one object to be, 'to provide for the common defense.' No one can doubt that this does not enlarge the powers of Congress to pass any measures which they deem useful for the common defense.'" The preamble is, rather, the declaration of basic rights. It does not establish those rights. They already exist. This document then is to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, the only thing ordained, the only thing established is "this Constitution for the United States of America." Thereupon the Constitution commits the provision of that defense to the only branch of Government which can provide it, the Congress which lays and collects taxes and pays the debts.

ONLY CONGRESS CAN DECLARE WAR

The President is Commander in Chief in time of peace, as well as in time of war. Therefore, the power of Congress to declare war and the power of the President as Commander in Chief, become very closely entwined.

As the people must fight wars, and despots increase their power over their own people and other peoples by war, it is only natural that the sovereign people would express their new-found sovereignty by vesting in the direct representatives of the people the sole power to declare war. Even today the people are quite vocal in their desire that only Congress declare war. On the other hand, a review of the 166½ years since the adoption of the Constitution will show rare indeed have been the occasions upon which Congress alone has declared war. As a matter of fact, Congress has never in its history declared war except as a consequence of the President's acts or recommendations. It has never refused a request from the President that war be declared.

On five occasions this Nation has participated in formally declared wars. However, in four of those instances the declarations of war recognized the prior existence of war. The fifth, being the War of 1812, stated—"War be and the same is hereby declared to exist" (2 Stat. 755).

On May 13, 1846, Congress declared: "Whereas, by act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists" (9 Stat. 9). As to the Spanish-American War, Congress on April 25, 1898, provided: "* * * that war be, and the same is hereby declared to exist, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April * * * between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain * * *" (30 Stat. 364). The First World War was declared to exist by the declaration of war of April 6, 1917, which provided "hat the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has ben thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared" (40 Stat. 1). The day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Congress, on December 8, 1941, declared: "Whereas the Imperial Government of Japan has committed unprovoked acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it resolved * * *that the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared * * *" (55 Stat. 795). The action of the German Government caused the language of the declaration of war against her on December 11, 1941, to read: "Whereas the Government of Germany has formally declared war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it resolved * * * that the state of war between the United States and Germany which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared" (55 Stat. 796). On the same day Congress declared war against Italy in the same language (55 Stat. 797).

The courts have recognized the fact that war actually existed from the moment the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and that legally it was not necessary to wait for the formal declaration, the language being: "We can discern no demonstrable difference in the supposition and the actual facts, and we, therefore, conclude that the formal declaration by the Congress on December 8 was not an essential prerequisite to a political determination of the existence of a state of war commencing with the atack on Pearl Harbor." (*New York Life Insurance Company* v. *Bennion* (1946), 158 F. 2d 260.)

PRESIDENT IS COMMANDER IN CHIEF

Turning now, to the occasions upon which the United States has engaged in serious and extended campaigns or uses of force against other nations without a declaration of war, we find that very early in our national life such campaigns became necessary. While we had previously engaged in the undeclared naval war with France during 1798 to 1800, the best known early action of this character was Thomas Jefferson's move against the Barbary Pirates. Even though the Bey of Tripoli declared war on the United States in 1801, and a bitter debate ensued as to the necessity for Congress to declare war, no declaration was made. Jefferson dispatched a squadron of frigates to the Mediterranean, but its mission was limited strictly to defense and the protection of commerce. Even though this debate had such great authorities as Jefferson and Hamilton on opposing sides, Congress took the position that a declaration of war was not necessary. It did actually pass a statute authorizing the President to instruct the commanders of our armed vessels to "seize and make prize of all vessels, goods and effects, belonging to the Bey of Tripoli, * * *; and also to cause to be done all such other acts of precaution or hostility as the state of war will justify, * * *" (2 Stat. 129).

In the intervening period there have been many instances of the use of the Armed Forces by the Commander in Chief. You, above all others, are familiar with them. I mention such instances as the second Barbary War, 1815; the American-Mexican incidents between 1914 and 1917; the Boxer Uprising in 1900 and 1901; the almost innumerable instances of intervention in Latin America; Haiti; the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua. We should not ignore the almost providential presence of our Army in the area which became the Panama Canal Zone, "to protect the American-owned Panama Railroad," when Panama was engaged in the revolution which established her independence, to be followed so quickly by President Theodore Roosevelt's recognition of the new republic and equally quickly by the treaty for the construction of the Panama Canal.

Within my own memory, and area of some responsibility, are those instances immediately prior to World War II, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt dispatched elements of our Armed Forces to many parts of the world. You recall those instances as well, or better than I, because no doubt some of you participated personally in those expeditions. Naturally, as a Member of Congress throughout that period, my interest in the right and power of the President to do those things was more than casual. That interest caused me to give some thought and study to the subject, and lead me to the same conclusion as that reached by the Judge Advocate General of the Army when he stated:

"He (the President) may not raise armies. This the Congress is responsible for doing * * *. Once raised, an Army of the United States is under the sole and exclusive direction of the President. Their movement and implementation is at the President's discretion, limited only by whether or not an intended use would constitute an initiation or declaration of war by the President, if carried through." (Memorandum to the Adjutant General, June 17, 1940).

At an earlier time one able to speak with more experience than even the Judge Advocate General had expressed the same conclusion. Moreover, he spoke at a time when the country was not torn by conflicting views and sharp debate, nor the threat of war. Former President William Howard Taft, after he was President and before he became Chief Justice of the United States (in 1925) stated:

"The President is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and the militia when called into the service of the United States. Under this, he can order the Army and Navy anywhere he will, if the appropriations furnish the means of transportation. Of course, the instrumentality which this power furnishes gives the President an opportunity to do things which involve consequences that it would be quite beyond his power under the Constitution directly to effect." (Our Chief Magistrate and His Powers, p. 94).

There can be no doubt of the power of Congress to limit appropriations, as former President Taft recognized. While some commentaries would indicate that Congress has some power to restrict the use of forces in the active service under its power to raise armies, the existence of such congressional power is certainly not clear. The Supreme Court has discussed such varying powers, but has not, to my knowledge, in any instant case enforced any such distinction. (Selective Draft Cases, 1918 (245 U. S. 366); *Cox* v. *Wood* (1918, 247 U. S. 3)).

I would not presume to discuss with this group the nature of the activities in Korea. Too many of you were there. Whether it was a police action, a deployment of the Armed Forces, or war, you will know. In any event we know that Congress did not declare war, that there was much fighting, and there were many battles. We also know that Congress responded with appropriations of billions in money and millions of men.

As I stated earlier, there have been some attempted intrusions by the Congress. In the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, Congress included a provision that none of the persons inducted into the land forces should be used outside the Western Hemisphere, except in the Terirtories and possessions of the United States and in the Philippines. This provision was subsequently suspended for the period of the war and finally repealed. (Public Law 783, 76th Cong.; Public Law 338, 77th Cong.; Public Law 473, 79th Cong.) However, in the extension of the act in 1945, Congress included a restriction of the use of persons under 19 years of age in combat until they had received 6 months of training. (Public Law 54, 79th Cong. Also intruding upon the executive branch and of doubtful validity are provisions for coming into agreement with the Committee on Armed Services of the two Houses on Defense Department acquisitions and disposals of real estate, the submission of certain contracts to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and others.

I know of no instance in which any of these restrictions was violated. Still the power of Congress to raise an army, which must of necessity pass to the control of the Commander in Chief, and at the same time restrict his use thereof, remains most doubtful. The danger of legislation of this character lies in the fact that in some quarters the inclusion of this restriction is

being used as precedent for the right of Congress to control the deployment of the Armed Forces by the Commander in Chief. The President's power in this regard has always been essential to our national welfare. Its necessity in these days of undeclared wars and the concept of instant retaliation cannot be overemphasized.

Precedents are all-important to the lawyer, customs and traditions of the service to military men, and our historic and traditional form of government to all of us. The fact tat certain things have always been done in a certain way lends sanctity to the form of procedure. It comes down to the fact that because a certain thing was done in a certain way on one occasion, it should be done that way on all occasions. It is difficult for foreign nations, even democratic nations, to fully comprehend freedom of speech and of the press as recognized in the United States. Unlimited subjects for debate in both Houses of the Congress and the freedom with which that debate extends into areas which are not within the legitimate field of activity of the Congress, is bound to be confusing to other nations, friendly or otherwise. Therefore, the value of the display of unity in the prompt adoption of the Formosan resolution after it was requested, was, no doubt, of great value with our friends and potential enemies. It is to be hoped that that display of unity was not bought at a price which might handicap us in providing for our own welfare and safety because of any precedent which it could be construed as forming. My views on this matter are more fully expressed in the debate upon that resolution in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 25, 1955, at page 552.

The request having been made by the President, it was essential for Congress to act and act immediately; and it did so. We must hope that President Eisenhower, or any subsequent President, in future instances of necessity will not feel that he is required to submit the question to Congress, and that the free and untrammeled authority of the Commander in Chief will be maintained inviolate. The stationing of our troops in Iceland presented a not dissimilar situation. The occupation of Greenland was of similar character. In the latter case, the Secretary of State announced the conclusion of an agreement signed by himself and the Danish Minister that Greenland would be occupied. As to Iceland, the President concluded an agreement with the Prime Minister of Iceland and transmitted the documents to Congress for information. He asked for no action by Congress. In his message the President said:

"As Commander in Chief I have consequently issued orders to the Navy that all necessary steps be taken to insure the safety of communications in the approaches between Iceland and the United States, as well as on the seas between the United States and all other strategic outposts." (H. Doc. 307, 77th Cong., 1st sess.)

The debate on the Formosan resolution seems to make it clear that had President Eisenhower done as President Roosevelt did in the case of Iceland, and reported to Congress, for its information, the action he had taken would have met with comparable unanimity.

Finally, it resolves itself into the situation that no matter how theorists may discuss the question, what debate there may be or what fine distinctions might be drawn, the Commander in Chief is still the Commander in Chief. Where or how he deploys the Armed Forces, in either peace or war, is limited only by so practical a thing as the availability of money. It also seems quite clear that there has never been a President so lacking in perspicacity that he could not find that filthy commodity in some desk drawer or some appropriation bill if the accomplishment of his purpose depended upon it.

TO RAISE AND SUPPORT ARMIES—TO PROVIDE AND MAINTAIN A NAVY

The Declaration of Independence made complaint against "standing armies" and "armed troops." There was no complaint against "a navy" nor against "sailors." Obviously, the commingling of ground forces with the population produced the irritation. As in the Declaration, so in the Constitution, there is a difference in language as to the two services. For instance, there is the power "To raise and support armies, but no appropriations of money to that use shall be for a longer term than 2 years." There is the power "To provide and maintain a navy," but no limitation of appropriations is included. "No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law." If the language be taken at its face value, apparently a sailor can be quartered in any house, in either peace or war, and the manner thereof need not be prescribed by law.

These provisions serve to emphasize that the Constitution reflects the spirit of the times in which it was written. It provides against the abuses with which the people were familiar. It reflects their knowledge of the history of Britain, of which they had been loyal subjects, until it became "necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them." These provisions were not lightly included. They were not simply to give the new plan of government the power to "raise and support armies and to provide and maintain a navy." There could reasonably have been an inherent power in a sovereign nation, sovereign in that the sovereign people had delegated a portion of their sovereignty to the federation, to have both armies and navies. The overriding reason for these provisions is to make it clear that this power existed in the Congress and not in the President. Blackstone had said that under the British Constitution the king had "sole power of raising and regulating fleets and armies." (I. Blackstone, Commentaries 263, Wendel's ed. 1857.)

Story in his Commentaries on the Constitution, puts the matter in proper perspective when he says:

"Our notions, indeed, or the dangers of standing armies, in time of peace, are derived in a great measure from the principles and examples of our English ancestors. In England, the king possessed the power of raising armies in the time of peace according to his own good pleasure. And this prerogative was justly esteemed dangerous to the public liberties. Upon the revolution of 1688, Parliament wisely insisted upon a bill of rights, which should furnish an adequate security for the future. But how was this done? Not by prohibiting standing armies altogether in time of peace; but * * * by prohibiting them without the consent of Parliament. This is the very proposition contained in the Constitution; for Congress can alone raise armies; and may put them down, whenever they choose." (II Story, Commentaries, sec. 1187, 4th ed., 1873.)

There can be no doubt but that Congress can establish the military policy of the Nation by authorized strengths for the Armed Forces and by appropriated strengths. However, these can only be maximums. It is quite impossible for Congress to establish a minimum. Actual military strengths are completely beyond the control of Congress. Should Congress establish an unrealistic maximum which could not be supplied by the manpower pool available for induction, in time of draft, or willing to enlist when there is no draft, of course that maximum could not be reached. Equally, if the executive branch of the Government should be unwilling to maintain that maximum by failure to enlist, draft, or retain on active duty, Congress has no machinery by which it can impose its will upon the Executive, and it should not have. In only one instance, so far as I am informed, and surely only once in recent times, has Congress attempted to provide a minimum. That is the law of the 82d Congress (Public Law 416), providing that the Marine Corps shall consist of not less than 3 combat divisions and 3 air wings. Though I have great admiration for the Marine Corps, I am afraid I lost some friends therein when I opposed that law. My opposition was based entirely upon my theory of our Government, and that it is a fallacy to attempt to fix minimums. It is an attempt to delude ourselves and, I am afraid, an attempt to delude the Marine Corps.

We all remember quite well the fight during the administration of President Truman as to whether the Air Force should consist of 70 groups, notwithstanding the position of the President that it should have a lesser number. We won that fight in Congress by appropriating more than $800 million more than the President requested. The President signed the appropriation bill, but the same day he froze the extra funds.

Currently we have the question of whether the Army should be reduced by 70,000 men during the present fiscal year; and whether it should be reduced an additional 70,000 men by the end of the next fiscal year. As to the remainder of this fiscal year, the funds are already appropriated, and the numbers they provide are within the authorized strength. If, however, the President should insist upon failing to provide replacements for those whose terms expire, or if he should grant early releases to come within his contemplated reduction, that is his power, and with it goes the responsibility. The Congress and the President in this instance should assume their own full powers and responsibilities. The Congress by making the means available for what it regards as the proper number to accomplish the military policy of the Nation; and the President assuming his full responsibility for the safety of the Nation. Only time will then justify the one or the other.

The fear of standing armies is reflected in the limitation of appropriations to a period of 2 years. There is no other provision in the Constitution limiting the time during which appropriations may remain available. It is true that the vast majority of appropriations expire with the fiscal year for which made. It is not uncommon, however, for appropriation bills to provide that sums appropriated shall remain available for an additional period of time, or until expended. In 1904 the Solicitor General ruled that the appropriations limited by the Constitution "are those only which are to raise and support armies in the strict sense of the word 'support,' and that the inhibition of that clause does not extend to appropriations for the various means which an army may use in military operations, or which are deemed necessary for the common defense, * * *" (25 Opinions Atty. Gen. 105). Thus quarters, ordnance equipment, or anything which could be construed as other than strict "support" are not subject to the limitation. The Navy has never been subject to any limitation in this regard. Under the National Security Act of 1947 (61 Stat. 495) the Air Force was established as an executive department within the National Military Establishment. In 1948 the Attorney General ruled that there was "no legal objection to a request to the Congress to appropriate funds to the Air Force for the procurement of aircraft and aeronautical equipment to remain available until expended." (40 Opinions Atty. Gen. 555.) Some were apprehensive, at one time at least, that all legislation for compulsory training or service being based upon the power to raise and sup-

port armies and to provide and maintain a navy, a question might arise as to the induction of men into the Air Force, should it be construed to be neither an army or navy. No difficulty in this regard has been experienced, but there has been no authoritative disposition of the question. During the 80th Congress (1948) a joint resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives, proposing a constitutional amendment to provide and maintain an air force, to make rules for its government and regulation, and to designate the President as Commander in Chief. (H. J. Res. 298, 80th Cong.) Congress took no action on that resolution, and some feel such nonaction might be construed as a belief by Congress that the Constitution already conferred ample power for that purpose.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The military power of the Nation has always had a most intimate relationship to, and connection with, foreign affairs and foreign relations. The power of the President as Commander in Chief and his most sweeping authority in foreign relations complement each other. We have seen that his power to deploy the Armed Forces is limited only by the availability of appropriations for their transportation. We now see that the President makes treaties and appoints ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls. The only mention of either House of the Congress is the requirement that two-thirds of the Senators present advise and concur in the making of treaties; and that the Senate advise and consent to the appointment of ambassadors and other foreign representatives. Indeed, past history has shown little participation by the House of Representatives in any matter having to do with foreign affairs. Until the foreign-aid programs were instituted with the lend-lease program of World War II, the House was concerned with the pay of ambassadors and consuls, provision of embassies, entertainment funds for the embassies, and such matters of management only. The use of public funds in international relations has greatly enhanced the role of the House of Representatives in such matters.

In 1936, the Supreme Court, in an opinion by Justice Sutherland, gave expression to the proper view of the powers in foreign affairs and also the war powers, saying:

"As a result of the separation from Great Britain by the Colonies acting as a unit, the powers of external sovereignty passed from the Crown, not to the Colonies severally, but to the Colonies in their collective and corporate capacity as the United States of America. Even before the Declaration, the Colonies were a unit in foreign affairs, acting through a common agency—namely, the Continental Congress—composed of delegates from the Thirteen Colonies. That agency exercised the powers of war and peace, raised an army, created a navy, and finally adopted the Declaration of Independence. * * * It results that the investment of the Federal Government with the powers of external sovereignty did not depend upon the affirmative grants of the Constitution. The power to declare and wage war, to conclude peace, to make treaties, to maintain diplomatic relations with other sovereignties, if they had never been mentioned in the Constitution, would have vested in the Federal Government as necessary concomitants of nationality." (*United States* v. *Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.* (299 U. S. 304.)

TO MAKE RULES GOVERNING LAND AND NAVAL FORCES

This is the practically all-inclusive power of the Congress. It controls the entrance into the service, promotion, pay, and retirement. These are the provisions which reach the individual as such. They are the ones which require the larger portion of the time, attention, and concern of the Congress. There is practically no limitation upon them. Their proper enactment is committed to the sense of justice, fairplay, and a proper concern on the part of Congress for the well-being of our national defense system.

Included in this power, also, is the great body of military law. The Congress has passed and placed into operation a uniform code of military justice. I am fully aware of the view of some officers of our Armed Forces that this code has constituted a severe handicap in performing their duties and functions of command. The code has been in effect long enough now that Congress should take another look at it. We should evaluate how effective it has been, how restrictive it has been, and what amendments may be necessary or desirable. On the other hand, I know of many criticisms leveled at the code which should be pointed elsewhere. I fear there is a tendency to charge to the code restrictive departmental regulations which were not promulgated because of the code. Likewise, it may be that the code is an easy scapegoat for some deficiencies of command. I make you a fair proposition: While Congress is reappraising the code and its work in formulating the same, you reevaluate the criticisms you have made of it, and determine how many thereof should be directed elsewhere.

OTHER POWERS

Questions having to do with the militia, its calling, organization, arming, disciplining, the power of the States wth reference to it, need little further elaboration. Its favored position under the Constitution might be pointed out and the fact mentioned that the governors of the several States possess unlimited power with reference thereto, should they, or any of them, decide to do without Federal recognition. Provisions with reference to appointing and commissioning officers need no elaboration, except to point out that notwithstanding our many provisions for the appointment of officers, the power of the President to nominate is unabridged, if he can secure the advice and consent of the Senate in any individual case.

APPROPRIATIONS

We now come to the one all-powerful question of appropriations. Other than the limitation of appropriations for the support of the Army to a period of 2 years, there is no restraint on the power of Congress. It can be niggardly or generous, capricious, vindicative, or forthright. Jefferson spoke of the checks and balances of our Government, and here is the all-powerful check of the Congress. Armies may move on their stomachs, but without appropriations they move on empty stomachs and they walk on bare feet, without arms or ammunition, and that captivating word of the military, "logistics," loses its meaning. The great handicap of our military policy has always been our periods of feast or famine and peaks and valleys. The American people are the easiest in the world to frighten; and when frightened the military cannot be expanded rapidly enough, nothing is too good for them. No demand for numbers is ever too large. There should be no limitation of divisions of ground forces, wings for the air or naval tonnage afloat. Unfortunately, our people are reassured as quickly as they are frightened. They seize upon the first moment of relaxation to indulge in wishful thinking that all is right with the world. They demand cutbacks and demobilization. The money we have lost through rash programs of preparation and demobilization, which was actually disintegration, would have maintained an adequate military force for a long, long period of time. But this is a democracy. We can have in government only what the people will provide. With the present unstable condition of the world no one is in a position to say for what period of time the present tension will continue. No one is so sanguine as to believe that stability in world affairs will return in so short a period as 10 years, many feel that prudence requires that we plan for a period as long as 50 years. We cannot tell and, perhaps, we must take calculated risks, but we must remain strong. Militarily, yes, but economically also.

The national budget for fiscal year 1956 amounts to $58.6 billion. It forecasts expenditures of $2.4 billion in excess of anticipated receipts. Of that budget $32.9 billion is for the military services. That is 56.1 percent of the total. There is demand, yes, insistence, that the budget be brought into balance without delay and that it then be reduced. Experience shows that the people always get what they want in this country; it may take a long time for them to get what they want, but they finally do get it. The people want the budget brought into balance, and they want it reduced. You can be sure they will finally get what they want.

You can neither balance nor reduce a budget of which 56.1 percent is devoted to the military without reducing the amount apportioned to the military. The military budget must be reduced. It should be reduced by the friends of the military and those who know the necessity of the military for our national survival. Therefore, it should be done by the military themselves. But this much I know, because I know the American people. I am in contact with them. I go to them every 2 years for election to the office I hold. I can assure you if the military does not reduce its own budget, the enemies of the military will surely do so. The pacifists, and worse, will seize upon the desire of the people for a reduction. When the enemies of the military and the others go to work on the military budget, they will do a job of it, and they will do it with a meat ax. I don't pretend to know how to reduce the military budget, and do the least harm; I am a civilian. You are not only military men, but the best of our military; we all expect the most of you. You either know or can find out how that can be done. Perhaps it can be accomplished by a number of things, including reduction of the division slice, elimination of numbers from the pipeline, interservice inventories, consolidation of procurement of standard items, standardization of weapons, transport, and other things which are better known to you than to any civilian. What I say here is not in criticism, but in fear of the type of retrenchment I have seen in my own time. This deserves and should have the full attention of the very best minds in all of the services.

CONCLUSION

In discussing the office of the legislative branch in the formulation of national security policy, I have deemed it best to go to the fundamental documents of our Government, rather than speaking in general terms of my own. These grants of power must be construed in connection with the limitations upon them and the actions taken in accordance with them. Precedent and tradition are all-powerful in any government, in fact they constitute the only constitution of our great sister democracy, Great Britain, from whom we acquired our basic ideas of government and its form. By taking advantage of the lessons of history and impingements upon liberty by unworthy governments of the past, our forefathers were able to create here the best form of government yet known. So good in fact that a great Englishman was inspired to say that our Constitution is the most nearly perfect instrument of government ever stricken off in a given time by the mind and purpose of man. It is our sincere desire to keep it that way. You have devoted your lives and your talents to its preserva-

tion. Your capacity and your patriotism have been tried in many lands, on many fields of battle, in many forums, and in many pursuits other than the military; you have never been found wanting. You constitute the group in which the American people have the greatest confidence. If at times it seems there is lack of appreciation, or criticism is just a little too barbed; remember that there is no one too high in the democratic system to escape therefrom.

If at times it seems that some of us who constitute the legislative branch fail to understand your problems, remember the opposite is also true; some of the military fail to appreciate our problems. As a matter of fact, the powerful Secretary of War of times past, Elihu Root, said of the great work "Military Policy of the United States," by Gen. Emory Upton: "The work was written from a purely military point of view, and in some parts shows a failure to appreciate difficulties arising from our form of government and the habits and opinions of our people with which civil government has necessarily to deal in its direction of the military arm."

At the termination of World War II, Sir Winston Churchill paid a visit to the Pentagon, and to the officers assembled there he recited some lines he attributed to a veteran of the campaigns of his illustrious ancestor, the Duke of Marlboro; they will bear repeating here:

"God and the soldier we adore,
In time of danger, not before.
But danger past and all things righted,
God is ignored, the soldier slighted."

Shall We Allow Our Schools To Become Overcrowded, Broken-Down Firetraps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, February 19, 1955:

We say that nothing is too good for our children.

We work hard to give them opportunities that we never enjoyed.

In fact, most of our lives are dedicated to this purpose. So that they will become happy and constructive citizens for their own fulfillment and that of the Nation.

As they leave home for school each day, we take it for granted that the classrooms in which they spend so many of their formative years will be fit for this great responsibility.

Like our churches, however, we sometimes expect our schools to get by on spirit alone.

Forgetting that our teachers are entitled to a living wage, and that they and the children have a right to schoolhouse accommodations that will produce the best results.

How long is it since you visited the school where your children are being trained to meet the eventual responsibilities of life?

In some areas you would be shocked to find that our schools are fast degenerating into slums because of public neglect.

Consider these facts.

The school population is increasing at the rate of 1 million each year.

Present elementary and high-school enrollment is well over 30 million students.

There is both a building shortage and a teacher shortage.

States and communities are finding it impossible, for a number of reasons, to meet the problem.

The present building rate is 60,000 classrooms a year, requiring an investment of $2 billion annually, but even at this rate we are falling behind in the job of providing adequate school facilities for our growing population.

How much does it cost us for educational outlays, figured on cost per pupil per year? This varies from State to State, ranging from $83 in Mississippi to $328 in New York.

The average person thinks nothing of spending $800 or $900 a year for the ownership and operation of a motorcar. It would seem that the education of his children would be worth at least half this cost per child.

Our failure to meet the educational obligations we owe to our children is a disservice to them.

Seven hundred thousand are now in schools operating on a 2- or 3-shift schedule; 800,000 are in buildings that are so ancient that they have become firetraps; 300,000 are in flimsy, temporary shacks that look more like hastily assembled military barracks than schools; 400,000 are assigned to garages, halls, and churches that have been rented for school purposes in the emergency that hard-pressed authorities are striving to overcome.

The problem has become so acute that the President of the United States delivered a special message to Congress last week on this subject.

His school-aid plan can be condensed briefly as follows:

1. The Government would purchase school bonds if the communities could not sell them at a reasonable rate of interest, set at 3½ percent. The United States Government would appropriate $750 million over a 3-year period for the purchase of these bonds.

2. The States would be encouraged to build $6 billion worth of schools within the next 3 years. Districts that had gone beyond their borrowing powers, would be able to get additional funds. The State agencies would build the schools and rent them to the local communities, eventually repaying the original Federal and State grants through rents.

3. Hardship communities would be able to draw on a Federal fund of $200 million over a 3-year span. This help would come on a matching basis. The States would contribute the same amount as the Federal Government. Only genuine hardship communities could qualify.

4. The United States would also provide $20 million to pay half the administrative costs of studies by the States to plan long-term financing programs along modern lines.

The President stressed that his program of Federal aid would not result in Federal control or interference.

Educators, Congressmen, and the general public, are grateful for the President's recognition of the problem.

Many of us, however, do not believe that it goes far enough.

We question whether it will bring enough help and in time to meet the school crisis on the local level where the battle for adequate school facilities is being fought.

The situation in many States and communities is not far from desperate. The President's program is little more than a loan fund when direct and substantial aid is imperative.

Apart from overcrowding which handicaps teachers and pupils, a survey of all school plants in the Nation reveals a shocking situation that would never be tolerated by American industry in its buildings. On the basis of structural adequacy, sanitation facilities, and safety, schoolhouses get very poor marks. The ratings show that one-third of all school plants are unsatisfactory, 27 percent are barely satisfactory, and the remainder are only fair.

In Massachusetts, we have always taken pride in our locally administered schools. It comes as a shock to learn that overcrowded elementary schools are forced to use corridors, halls, libraries, and even basements as classrooms for the younger children. Yes, even in Massachusetts.

Eighty percent of the support of our public schools comes from local taxes, which is 20 percent more than the national average. Clearly, the local tax rates cannot be increased to meet the deficit. Aid must come from the Federal Government and from the vast revenues it collects from all citizens. When we think of the tens of billions of dollars that have been given away to other nations, we rightly ask why a small percentage of this cannot be channeled to meet the pressing needs of our schools upon which the future of our democracy depends.

Although this is not the place to go off on a tangent, I sometimes wonder if there is not some possible connection, among other factors, between the increase in juvenile delinquency and the rundown condition of our schools.

A survey by the United States Office of Education reveals that public-school enrollment will be one-third greater by 1965. Due to the bumper crop of babies born since World War II, high-school enrollment will be even greater, up 58 percent.

Recalling that school construction almost reached a dead stop during the years of World War II, we have the double problem of replacement and increase.

Both Government and private studies have come to the following conclusion: "Many communties are finding it impossible to build their share of these classrooms on a current-account basis; and, even though they might be willing to borrow to finance such schools as they need, this would be impossible because of existing debt limits and the difficulties of changing them. Classroom construction is, therefore, being delayed."

Federal aid for education is not without precedent.

In fact, before the Federal Constitution was adopted, the Continental Congress, in 1785, set aside the 16th section of every township in the Northwest Territory for the support of public schools. Over 175 million acres were finally set aside for this purpose in addition to money grants ever since.

Testimony given before Senate and House Committees from all sections of the country agree that a serious situation exists, and the solution for it cannot be postponed.

I want to bring you part of the statement given by Mrs. Clifford N. Jenkins, chairman of legislation, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, before the House committee, on the subject of Federal aid for education.

Mrs. Jenkins, speaking for 9 million members of 39,000 PTA's in every State of the Union, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii, said, and I quote:

"All across this Nation communities are faced with makeshift classroom, building shortages, and unsafe structures. This has become a national emergency, and emergencies require special consideration.

"I would call your attention to a headline in last night's paper in my neighborhood entitled 'Children Attend Classes in the Strangest Places.' One was listed as a reconverted garage being used for five classrooms; another is an 1890 frame house which is now being used to house kindergarten classes. There are all kinds of buildings being used today in many areas.

"In this all-important crisis we cannot overlook the health menace nor the safety hazards that are involved in makeshift housing. Many classes are being held in cellars, cellars for children, unspeakable I think. In Buffalo last winter a number of

children were burned to death because they could not be reached, nor could they get out of the cellar.

"There are many examples of Federal-aid programs that have been, and still are, going forward admirably, without control by the Federal Government. To name but a few: The land-grant colleges, the school-lunch program, the GI bill of rights, the vocational programs, hospital construction, and many others.

"The shortage of classrooms is an immediate need. Together, you, the lawmakers, the representatives of the people, and we, the parents and teachers of the land, ought to be able to make our efforts count. An emergency is upon us. Let us be alert to the challenge."

The Office of Education reports that the school-facilities survey reveals a current need for public elementary and secondary school facilities equivalent to a single-story structure 50 feet wide extending from the Statue of Liberty to the Golden Gate Bridge.

The Democratic Party believes that the States and the communities are doing their best, but are just unable to do the whole job alone.

We believe that the Federal Government, which collects most of the tax revenues, should make actual grants to finance a big school-building program with a minimum of Federal control.

The needs of our school, all our children, will permit no delay.

I Speak for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an address by Miss Barbara Faris, of Fond du Lac, Wis. Miss Faris was one of a number of students competing in a program initiated by the Fond du Lac Junior Chamber of Commerce to have students express themselves on their understanding of our Republic and what it means to be a citizen.

The many speeches that were delivered were outstanding, and it was extremely difficult for the judges to make a first choice. However the address of Miss Faris was chosen as No. 1.

Participation in a program of this nature indicates to me that the youth of this country do have a full understanding of the responsibilities they must shoulder within a few years.

The address follows:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

"Nothing is big enough to scare me."

Pretty bold words aren't they? Yet not too bold to be heard from the lips of Woodrow Wilson. Are they too rash—for me?

After all, who am I to be boasting like that? That's it. Who am I? I repeat, "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." I sing, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrims' pride, from every mountainside let freedom ring." Why just I or me; why not we or they?

Once Wilson said: "Gentlemen, we are not working for our own interests, we are not working for today, we are all going to pass away. But think of what is involved. Here are the tradition, and the fame, and the prosperity, and the purity, and the peace of a great nation involved." That's where I fit in.

I am that generation nurtured in the heart of George Washington; nurtured by the vigilance of Paul Revere and by the courage of Nathan Hale in 1775. I am that generation suffered for in 1812 with Washington in flames. I am that generation ransomed in American blood on American soil at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Savannah. I am that generation fought for in 1898 at Santiago Harbor and San Juan Hill. I am that generation that was given life through the death of 126,000 Americans in World War I, where in the Meuse-Argonne Forest one dead body was left for every foot of ground conquered. I was given life through the death of America's fathers, and husbands, and sons who forged their bloody way to victory at Chateau Thierry and Belleau Wood. I am that generation born in the blood of 326,000 dead in World War II; and sadly glorified in the cross-studded cemetery overlooking Omaha Beach and the unnumbered fields in France, in Italy, in Germany, and in England. The names of the millions dead to give me life and liberty are known only to God.

Nothing was big enough to scare them; scare them enough to forsake liberty and justice for all—for me.

Was I worth it? They trusted me, these men of death-courage, with the destiny of their nation. They trusted me to speak for democracy; not only today—when we, the youth of America, stand in competition to resound in robust prose or in delicate poetry the glories that make America; that make American democracy the ideal form of government for man, a creature of intelligence and free will, a creature with an eternal destiny, a creature with a mission among men—but every day.

I can speak for democracy every hour of every day when I think. I can think as an American; not as a Jew, or Italian, or Swede, or German, or whatever nationality I may be, but as an American. We are all one. I can be patriotic to democracy through my love of God, love of county and love of fellowman. Is it too much to ask that we who speak for democracy join with care-worn Lincoln to pledge again on every battlefield "* * * that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Nothing is big enough to scare me because I am the living foundation of democracy under God. I am the nucleus of freedom and the core of justice. My ideas and my ideals add to the formation of a great nation.

I am the life or I am the death of a democracy under God. May I be all that I should be.

The Springfield (Mass.) Daily News, a Great Newspaper, Celebrates Today Its 75th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a tribute to one of the great Democratic newspapers remaining in the United States, the Springfield (Mass.) Daily News, which today is celebrating its 75th anniversary.

The first issue of this paper was published on February 24, 1880, by two great brothers, whose names have been marked for their achievements in the fields of journalism, literature, and their contribution to the spread of democratic ideals. They were Charles J. and Edward Bellamy, whose newspaper was one of the earliest selling for a penny. Both were lawyers, but they were much more interested in writing novels and essays than in drawing writs and addressing juries.

Soon after the founding of the Daily News, Edward retired to his home where he wrote Looking Backward, one of the most influential books of all time. Charles remained to build the Daily News into the city's largest newspaper, and one of the most influential Democratic papers published. Edward's son, Paul Bellamy, left newspaper work in Springfield in 1907 to join the staff of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. He recently retired from the editorship of that paper. Charles' son, Charles, Jr., is still a member of the staff of the newspaper his father founded.

In 1915 the Daily News was sold to the Republican Publishing Co. Sherman H. Bowles, a member of the famous Springfield publishing family, became head of the Springfield newspapers, but permitted such complete latitude to the editors that the Daily News never changed its character, nor abandoned the course set by Charles J. Bellamy.

Three great editors have directed the editorial operation of the Daily News since the founder and first editor, Charles J. Bellamy, Sr., died in 1910. They are the late John B. Callaghan and George M. Doyle, and the present editor, Frank H. Kelly.

Mr. Callaghan, who died last July 15, retired in 1939 after an active editorship of 30 years. He was succeeded by Mr. Doyle as editor. Mr. Kelly was named executive editor in 1941, and upon the death of Mr. Doyle on June 21, 1946, Mr. Kelly became managing editor.

The present editor joined the Daily News staff upon graduation from high school at the age of 17. While rising to the top editorial position on the Daily News, Mr. Kelly was also attaining prominence as a Catholic layman. He is trustee of the Republican-Daily News employees beneficial fund, a member of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, and an incorporator and director of several leading civic organizations in the Springfield area.

Under the editorship of Mr. Kelly, the Daily News has not veered from the ideals set down by the Bellamy brothers 75 years ago this week. It is still the people's newspaper, and it has grown rich in esteem with each succeeding year.

Today I sent the following telegram to Mr. Kelly:

Hearty congratulations to the Daily News on the occasion of its 75th anniversary. On this February 24 I salute a great newspaper, one that has lived up to the glorious traditions of the American press. In its span of 75 years the Daily News has given distinguished news service and contributed im-

measurably to the public good of our community. My best wishes to your entire organization.

Mr. Speaker, I also call to your attention the following greetings to the Springfield Daily News from LeRoy Keller, vice president of the United Press Associations, New York City, as follows:

DEAR MR. KELLY: It affords me real pleasure on behalf of the United Press to salute the Springfield Daily News on the glorious occasion of its 75th anniversary February 24th.

Noting this, I was prompted to dig back into the files. I discovered with pride that we had begun service to the News on September 8, 1897, nearly 58 years ago, so that together we have recorded all of the history of the 20th century thus far. It goes without saying that there is even greater news ahead for both of us.

Hearty congratulations. Long may you wave in Springfield.

Sincerely yours,

LEROY KELLER.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Estonian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is perhaps difficult for Americans, who enjoy the fruits of religious freedom, to appreciate what life is like under the rule of a regime that denies the existence of God and seeks all ways to destroy religious belief. The 37th anniversary of Estonian national independence provides an excellent occasion to illustrate not only the severe conditions under which the Estonian people live but to demonstrate particularly their energetic efforts to keep alive the faith of their fathers.

In all areas of the world where they rule the Communists have as their long-range objective the complete destruction of religious life. The campaign to destroy religion in Estonia began immediately after the first Soviet occupation and was resumed after the second Soviet occupation in the autumn of 1944. The Soviet attack on Estonian religious life came from all sides. Churches no longer enjoyed protection under law. The economic base upon which all religious institutions were built was undermined by the imposition of such policies as expropriation of land and property, inordinate taxation of the clergy and church institutions, and prohibition of voluntary contributions. Religious institutions were, moreover, stripped of their educational function and all means for propagating religious ideas were curtailed or destroyed. Deportations of many Estonians during the first Soviet occupation and the escape to the West of many clergymen from almost certain persecution or even death as the second Soviet occupation was about to envelop the nation further weakened Estonian religious life.

However, if past experience is any guide, Estonians can look to the future with confidence that, however severe the antireligious onslaught of the Soviets may be, Estonian religious life will survive. So strong is the attachment of the Estonian people to religion that any success the Russian Communists might have can be no more than transitory.

On this 37th anniversary of Estonian independence, let us, therefore, join in spirit with those Estonians now imprisoned within the Soviet Empire and in prayerful solicitation to the Father of us all ask that the strength of this unfortunate people neither be diminished nor their will to resist be unabated. We must never lose faith in them, for if we do, where else will they turn?

Foothill Electric Corp., of Oakland, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a letter from the Atomic Energy Commission commending the Foothill Electric Corp., Oakland, Calif., located in my district for the excellent job it has done as electrical subcontractor to Kaiser Engineers Division of the Henry J. Kaiser Co. at the AEC's Hanford, Wash., project.

The AEC through the chief of its Engineering and Construction Division praises Foothill for its "high quality of workmanship while performing on schedule and within estimated costs." Performance of this type should generate a high sense of satisfaction on the part of the American people in view of the vital role of the atom in the defense plans of this country.

The letter follows:

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Richland, Wash., December 1, 1954.

FOOTHILL ELECTRIC CORP.,
Oakland, Calif.

Attention: L. H. Misner, Corporation manager.

Subject: Electrical construction performance on 100-K reactor area, contract No. AT(45-1)-638.

Gentlemen: We want you to know that Foothill Electric Corp. has done an excellent job as electrical subcontractor to Kaiser Engineers on our 100-K reactor area. Foothill has maintained high quality of workmanship while performing on schedule and within cost estimates.

Mr. Walter W. Tohlen, project manager at Hanford for Foothill Electric Corp., has maintained complete control of labor relations throughout the job. Jurisdictional disputes and other complaints have been settled within the organization. In 2 years of construction there has been only one brief labor stoppage for Foothill when all other trades were out simultaneously, and the issues were completely in the hands of AEC.

The electrical engineering accomplishments of Foothill Electric have included extremely complex reactor controls, large power generation plants, and a highly critical electric power system for water pumping purposes.

Industrial relations have been maintained smoothly and effectively with the AEC area engineer's forces, General Electric Co. and Chas. T. Main, Inc., 7 AEC prime contractors operating within 100-K area and 55 Kaiser Engineers subcontractors.

We express our appreciation for the commendable job accomplished by Foothill Electric Corp.

Very truly yours,

J. I. THOMAS,
Chief, Engineering and Construction Division.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, when I heard of the sudden death of DWIGHT L. ROGERS I was shocked. I had just left him several weeks before this occurred. In fact, I believe that he and I played the last game of golf in which he participated at the Burning Tree Club. When we left the clubhouse he told me he was going home to Fort Lauderdale to help his sons in their law practice and also to play some golf at Fort Lauderdale, Fla. Little did I think that this would be the last time that I would see my friend. He looked like a person in perfect health, both mentally and physically.

During our service in Congress, DWIGHT ROGERS and myself became very good friends. He was an able pleader for the things that he thought were right. I never saw him exhibit any acrimony in debate, but he zealously and effectively pleaded for legislation which he supported.

He was a member of the great Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and I have personal knowledge that he was very highly regarded by his colleagues on the committee. A man's legislative life in the House of Representatives revolves around his committee assignment.

Mr. ROGERS also was a Christian gentleman in every sense of the word. He was a man who had a keen sense of humor. He had a fine family life, and in every way was an excellent citizen. His sudden death reminded me of the expression "Nothing is so certain as death and nothing so uncertain as the time of death."

He died the way I hope I may die. He was in perfect health and had his full mental vigor up to the last minute of his life.

DWIGHT L. ROGERS was a true representative of his people. He listened to his constituents, he studied the proposals on which he was called upon to vote, and he made his decision as to what course of action he should take by his vote. Knowing him as I did, I know that whatever his vote was it was for what he believed to be for the best public interest.

It is very pleasing to us who admired DWIGHT L. ROGERS to have one of his sons

with us in the House. We are sure that he will carry into his work the high standard of service that his distinguished father practiced.

Soil-Conservation District Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, soil conservation is one of the great challenges of our generation. The work of saving the soil, rebuilding eroded and depleted land, and the conserving of water on the ground is a task that is worthy of the greatest honor—and those men and women who are active in their local soil-conservation districts and who serve as supervisors and officers have earned the gratitude of both the rural and the city dweller. For, without their efforts, the basic resources of America would be lost or wasted and the future of our Nation would be doomed.

For this reason, it is pleasing for me to receive and study each year the annual reports of the local soil-conservation districts from the area I am privileged to serve. Eastern Arkansas, and the first district in particular, is fortunate to have strong, aggressive soil-conservation districts with active and able supervisors.

Although the first district did not participate in the district program prior to 1937, today there are 2,650 soil-conservation districts in the United States, covering four-fifths of the Nation's farmlands and almost 90 percent of our farms. Each county in the First Arkansas District is fortunate in that each has an active soil-conservation district.

As an example of the kind of work that they do, let it be pointed out that the Central Crowley Ridge Soil-Conservation District, with offices at Jonesboro, reported:

> Nine group jobs were completed this year. This is a record for us, and we believe for this part of the country. Twenty-seven thousand three hundred and seventy-seven acres were planned for soil and water conservation, and more people learned more about their soil-conservation district than in any other one year that we know of.

This fine report is signed by the board of supervisors, consisting of Chairman Frank Barton, Joe C. Willett, Dr. Ralph Sloan, L. C. Stark, and J. W. Crafton.

The splendid work of the St. Francis Soil Conservation District, headed by Supervisors Homer Towns, W. W. Campbell, V. O. Turner, Burt Sulcer, and Thomas McDaniel, has resulted in great savings on the 407,040 acres inside the district. The 1954 annual report states:

> In 1954 there were 83 new agreements covering 18,461 acres. This makes a total of 913 agreements covering 271,417 acres. Conservation surveys (soil maps) have been completed on 346,726 acres.

The Lee County Soil Conservation District, which covers an area of 396,800 acres under the direction of Supervisors Harvey Wilson, Lon Mann, Tom Gist, R. H. Lindsey, Jr., and Carl Nash, states in the 1954 report:

> During 1954, 80 farms were planned with a total of 13,241 acres, making a total of 887 farms and 199,618 acres under agreement.

The Greene County Soil Conservation District has issued a fine report for 1954 stating their accomplishments and also containing an excellent philosophy of soil conservation. It is a credit to the good men who are supervisors for this district, Chairman George Wadley, King O'Neal, Earl Gramling, Curtis Cruse, and Judge J. Ed Thompson.

The Clay County Soil Conservation District, under the direction of supervisors W. H. Irby, Charles Smart, Fred Ahrent, Ed Bellmeyer, and Roy Barnett, has issued a fine 1954 report which shows that the district now has 1,129 cooperators covering some 159,379 acres. This is an increase during 1954 of 100 new cooperators and 16,137 acres.

The Phillips County Soil Conservation District, under the leadership of supervisors George Brandon, Earl Wells, F. F. "Happy" Kitchens, F. A. Clements, and Weldon Jackson, states in their 1954 report:

> We now have 312 cooperators working with us, and they have 139,642 acres in their farms. Twenty-four farmers signed cooperative agreements in 1954, bringing in 34,032 acres. Sixty cooperative agreements were changed to basic conservation plans during the year. Three farms had 7,946 acres in them.

Space is not available to list all of the districts in eastern Arkansas, but each of them could show, through their reports, the fine work that is being carried on. It must be remembered, that these supervisors work without compensation, each district operates under its own financing, and is a legal subdivision of the State of Arkansas.

I am very proud of the fine men of Arkansas who give their time and effort to the work of soil and water conservation. It is a pleasure to salute them—supervisors, cooperators, and those public-spirited individuals who, by their efforts, support the work of the districts. This list would include the newspapers of the district, the radio stations, the banks, the merchants, and public officials. The crusade for conservation moves ahead.

Postal and Federal Pay Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement I made before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, endorsing legislation providing for an adequate and justifiable increase in pay for our postal and Federal employees:

POSTAL AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEES DESERVE A RAISE AND A SUBSTANTIAL ONE

Why the heavy turnover in Federal employment?

Because there is not enough appreciation of the work done by our civil servants and not enough recompense.

There was a time when men and women would devote their lives to a civil-service career, because they saw opportunities for promotion and for gradual increases that would keep them ahead of the rising cost of living.

Consider, for instance, the responsible work done by the staffs working for Members of Congress, and consider what Congressmen would do without the knowledge and dependability of these employees?

The Congress, which is in the favorable position of voting a pay increase for itself, has just done so, and in a very impressive way, while a proposed pay increase for all Federal workers was given exhaustive hearings in the last session of Congress, without overcoming the final hurdle, and is going the rounds again in this session.

All the facts are in, and they make a convincing case, but they are being prejudiced by political maneuvering.

Our only recourse, then, is to hammer away with the facts until reason and conscience break through the artificial logjam that impedes the progress of these bills, and with the aid of public opinion, put into effect pay increases that will boost the income of Federal workers and also boost their morale.

General Motors Corp., peace setter of our private industries, pays an average wage of $96 a week, under a formula that provides for increased productivity and for a cost-of-living allowance.

The Federal Government, which dwarfs General Motors, in number of employees, in its progressive effect upon our economy, and in its worldwide responsibilities, still considers its faithful workers as poor relatives who should be content to work overtime in some cases without extra compensation, and without any bargaining rights.

The average weekly wage paid to Federal employees is far from $96 a week, even though the Federal Government tries to enlist the best brains in the Nation for its service.

Here is a shocking fact.

More than half of our post office clerks cannot get by on their present salaries. Some of them are even giving up their so-called job security in favor of the more rewarding work they find in private industry.

A 10-percent increase is the very minimum that will raise them from a deficit income to a break-even level.

One of the arguments advanced to justify a whopping increase for Members of Congress, is relevant here.

In fact, an $800 yearly increase would be necessary for postal employees in order to regain for them the 1939 standard of living.

Even on a 10-percent increase they are only asking for a part of what is due them.

Because taxes have soared.

Because the living standards of all other workers have improved.

And because the increased productivity of Federal workers has not been given its economic recognition.

Statistics reveal that the post office clerk, since 1939, has received increases ranging from 18 to 135 percent less than the rest of American workers. And this is representative of the economic loss suffered by all Federal employees.

At this life-or-death crisis in our history, a struggle that may go on for decades, we cannot afford to skimp on the wages paid to career personnel of the Federal Government upon whom we depend in the overall picture to service the Nation and to maintain our strength and security.

The leaders of the United States Government, in positions of burdensome power and responsibility, are only as good as the sum of all the talents, and energy, and devotion of our public servants.

To strengthen that essential core of Federal employees with pay incentives that will make them the equal of their fellow Americans who are working for private enterprise, we should authorize a 10 percent across-the-board increase in wages.

The Congress saw fit to make its own major salary increase retroactive to the beginning of 1955.

I believe that this is an additional and compelling reason why a pay increase for all Federal workers should be passed, retroactive to January 1, 1955, and without delay.

We cannot afford the resentment and the loss of faith which failure to take this action will precipitate.

I hope, and I am confident, that the Congress will appreciate and recognize the valuable services of our post office and Federal employees by granting them a generous increase in wages and salaries.

Tomorrow's Leaders Look at 300 Years of Jewish Life in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, from September 3 to 9, 1954, the seventh annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference met at Cejwin Camps, Port Jervis, to discuss Tomorrow's Leaders Look at 300 Years of Jewish Life in America. The sessions were interesting and thought-provoking, and I am pleased to direct to the attention of the Congress the following resolutions on national issues adopted by the delegates from more than 300 Jewish centers and councils:

NATIONAL JEWISH YOUTH CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS, 1954 ANNUAL ASSEMBLY

FREEDOM

Whereas we are now celebrating the 300th anniversary of Jewish settlement in the United States under the theme of "Man's Opportunities and Responsibilities Under Freedom"; and

Whereas we believe that today the dangers to freedom of thought and speech have multiplied and the protections which guard these freedoms weakened; and

Whereas the liberty to examine, to discuss, and to evaluate in all fields of learning is basic to the further development and preservation of our democratic institutions and way of life; and

Whereas these threats to our liberties and freedoms result in equating conformity with patriotism: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we reassert our traditional opposition to all threats to freedom, including communism, fascism, McCarthyism, and others; be it

Resolved, That the 1954 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference condemns any effort to curtail civil liberties and opposes any threats to basic democratic principles of our free society; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the American Jewish community to reexamine and reevaluate its role in American life so as to determine how we as Jews, and Americans can best preserve democratic liberties within the framework of man's opportunities and responsibilities under freedom.

UNITED NATIONS

Whereas unreasoned attacks are continually being made upon the United Nations and its specialized agencies by a small group who seek to destroy public confidence in these fortresses of freedom, peace, international good will, and humanity; and

Whereas there is no other international organization available to mankind to prevent the scourge of war: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 1954 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference reaffirms its faith in and support for the efforts of the United Nations to achieve peace for our time; and be it further

Resolved, That we commend the United Nations and its specialized agencies for its efforts to secure for all people their fundamental human rights * * * to establish the kinds of conditions under which justice, progress, and a better standard of living can be achieved for all men regardless of race, creed, or color.

SUPREME COURT DECISION ON SEGREGATION

Whereas the National Jewish Youth Conference recognizes the common brotherhood of man: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the seventh annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference actively support the recent Supreme Court decision to eliminate segregation and calls upon all Jewish centers and council groups to cooperate in the implementation of this decision.

OPPOSITION TO THE M'CARRAN IMMIGRATION LAW

Whereas the United States from its birth has been the haven of the persecuted and the oppressed; and

Whereas an immigration policy which is consistent with traditional American ideals should be founded upon a basis of need, rather than national origins; and

Whereas the McCarran-Walters Immigration Law is firmly imbedded in an inflexible, unrealistic and un-American concept of quotas based on national origins rather than on present needs; and

Whereas the McCarran-Walters immigration law has proven to be ineffective and oppressive in its execution and, in addition, has served to lower the prestige of the United States in the free world: Be it

Resolved, That the seventh annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference urges that the American immigration policies be revised and rewritten in accordance with the highest concepts of equity and justice, which are part of our tradition as Americans and as Jews.

NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

Whereas the National Jewish Welfare Board during the past 7 years has rendered a service to the American Jewish community and to all American Jewish youth by its continued support of the National Jewish Youth Conference; and

Whereas the National Jewish Welfare Board has unselfishly provided during this time the framework in which to work together; and

Whereas it has continued its unqualified support of the goals of the conference in times of financial burden: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 1954 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference express not only its appreciation and gratitude to the National Jewish Welfare Board for its steadfast support during the past years but congratulates and commends our sponsoring body for its assistance, sponsorship, and sincere cooperation.

I know the Members will also be interested in the following excerpts of addresses and messages delivered to the assembly:

TOMORROW'S LEADERS LOOK AT 300 YEARS OF JEWISH LIFE IN AMERICA

(By Dr. Oscar I. Janowsky, professor of history at the City College of New York; editor of the American Jew; chairman, Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the United States)

* * * * *

The vitality and adaptability which enabled Jews to master destructive forces in the past are still strikingly in evidence. Frustration there is aplenty, but despair is unwarranted. There is a future for American Jewry, but the positive and constructive elements must devote themselves to the fashioning of that future.

The morale of American Jewry is high. The fears and insecurities engendered by nazism in the 1930's have faded. The feeling of impotence in the face of the gross injustice to the refugees and to Jewish Palestine has been mastered. This psychological security has been enhanced by the rise of Israel and by the certainty that the existence of the Jewish state involves no conflict of loyalties for American Jews.

There is a keen awareness of the deficiencies and shortcomings in the functioning of Jewish institutions. The anarchy in Jewish organization life has been and will continue to be challenged. But the most urgent need of the American Jewish community is an overall body, broadly representative of the various strands in American Jewry and responsive to public opinion. Our needs may soon outrun our means, if they haven't already done so. Priorities will have to be determined and every cause will be called upon to establish its prior claim to public support. Such determination must not restore competing pressures. The whole Jewish community should have the opportunity to discuss in full democratic review its needs and its services, and that can be done only through an overall representative body of American Jews.

WORLD JEWRY

(By Dr. Judah J. Shapiro, director of cultural and educational reconstruction of the Conference on War Claims Against Germany)

The lesson of the history of the Jews in America is the parallel development of the American Jewish community and its service to Jewry in other lands. The leaders of tomorrow will be required to supply resources for Jewish survival at home and abroad. Dr. Shapiro urged "strong identification by the National Jewish Youth Conference with programs of service to Jews overseas." He pointed out that not only fund raising was necessary, but active participation in the efforts at Jewish cultural reconstruction in Europe, north Africa, and Israel.

* * * * *

Continued requirements are for the reestablishment of Jewish communities in Western Europe; for emergency aid to Jews in north Africa and their political protection; and for the building of Israel and the establishment of its security. A program of material assistance is, however, meaningless without a concurrent effort at cultural reconstruction.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

(By S. D. Gershovitz, executive vice president, National Jewish Welfare Board)

Live with the fact of an atomic world with all of its potential horror but work for the peaceful and constructive use of its great powers for the benefit of all mankind. Don't be obsessed with the need for excessive security. Live adventurously, carry on the historic and natural role of youth in society of looking and attempting new horizons.

Think for yourself. Listen, observe, and learn all there is to learn, but don't become

a member of a group or team because it is the thing to do. Do so only because you have seen through your own thought processes that what the group is doing is sound and wholesome and constructive and what you personally believe in. Bring to that group personal clarity of belief and conviction. Don't join because you expect, by some magic, to have someone give you the answers you vaguely feel a need for. Take a vigorous role as a young adult in the community.

YOUNG ADULTS SERVE THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

(By Sanford Solender, director, Jewish center division, National Jewish Welfare Board)

American youth today are indicted in many quarters for a loss of their traditional idealism, a cynicism, and a preoccupation with having a good time and making money. They are condemned for a lack of community interest and for failure to assume their share of responsibility for community affairs.

These charges, while often exaggerated, contain too much truth for comfort by any of us. Many factors in the present scene explain this condition. Youth's natural concern for personal adjustment and the uncertainties of the times in which we live play their part. In many ways, youth mirrors the apathy of the adults and reacts to the failure of adults to recognize the capacity of youth for responsibility.

An American way of life has a great stake in the bestirring of youth today. Our society relies upon intelligent participation by all its citizens, the capacity for which must be built into their personalities as they mature. We need the idealism, courage, creativity, and optimism of youth in meeting the perplexities confronting our Nation today. Our Jewish tradition of social responsibility provides a vital inspiration for such activity by Jewish youth.

We must strive to give youth a feeling of being an integral part of the community. We must help them to link their deep personal concerns, for personal self-realization, marriage, and economic adjustment, to the possibilities for intelligent and dignified participation in their community.

This is a major task, a vital challenge for youth leaders and adults alike.

EXCERPTS FROM MESSAGES TO THE SEVENTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY, NATIONAL JEWISH YOUTH CONFERENCE

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles:

"I am pleased to note that the program for the seventh annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference stresses leadership and participation of young people in community and world affairs. These are significant factors in a free society at any time, and in the age of crisis in which we seem fated to live, it is particularly appropriate that maximum emphasis be placed upon both."

Senator HERBERT H. LEHMAN, of New York:

"I am extremely pleased to note the growing importance of the role which the National Jewish Youth Conference is playing in improving the community leadership among the youth and young adult groups of our Nation. The participants in the seventh annual assembly have an opportunity to discuss and to plan for the many challenges facing the young people of America."

Hon. Abba Eban, Ambassador of Israel:

"It gives me great pleasure on behalf of myself and the Israeli Government to convey to the seventh annual assembly, National Jewish Youth Conference, best wishes. The work in which the conference is engaged is of greatest importance to Jewish youth. I sincerely hope that your organization continues as a strong factor in existing cooperation between great American Jewish community and the people of Israel."

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York:

"The activities of the National Jewish Youth Conference represent a notable contribution to American life by helping Jewish youth to become an even more vital force in the community. The young people of American Jewry, by their conduct, their fidelity to the precepts and noble traditions which they have inherited from their fathers, as well as to the principles and aspirations inherent in the free institutions of our country have well entitled them to the respect and friendship of their neighbors, regardless of creed."

Dr. Martha M. Eliot, Chief, Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:

"Best wishes on the occasion of your seventh annual assembly. Your program is an important one as are the young people who in carrying it out will make such a rich contribution to their country and to their own communities."

Who Has Guarded Freedom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. L. PILCHER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. PILCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following editorial entitled "Who Has Guarded Freedom," which appeared in the Moultrie Observer, Moultrie, Ga., February 19, 1955:

WHO HAS GUARDED FREEDOM?

President Eisenhower's trips to Georgia may be responsible for such a statement, but the Chief Executive has told the Republican National Committee that Democrats should not be put in the same class with Communists when they line up to fight their enemies.

Mr. Eisenhower has, since becoming President, visited in the Augusta and southwest Georgia area several times. He has come to know and like the people. Many of them have been lifelong Democrats—the kind of Democrats that would die for their country and will remain loyal to democratic principles and the Democratic Party as long as they eat and breathe.

So when Mr. Eisenhower goes before his own party's policymakers and gives voice to a warning against referring to Democrats as Reds, he is displaying a courage born of knowledge and respect for those who do not subscribe to Republican ideals, but have strong and worthy ideals which would maintain American freedom and produce progress for the masses.

"Let's not build up a picture that the worst enemy anyone can have is a Democrat," the President has told the GOP national committee. "Far from it. We just don't think they can do as good as we do. As a matter of fact, we know it."

Democrats won't go for these latter statements. The Republicans haven't convinced any Democrats yet that they have better policies or can do a better job of administration. That is a mere matter of opinion, to be shared or rejected.

The fact that Democrats are not to be classed as Communists, however, is indisputable. It is still shocking that certain of the Republican leaders, in their intense desire to win election and control of Government, have resorted to such low and loose phrases which are entirely false.

We need only to point to the South as a positive illustration. Nowhere can be found a people more patriotic or more loyal—or more ready to fight to preserve the basic freedoms. There would be no problem of Communist infiltration if all Americans were as solid as those of the South.

Tribunes of the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call my colleagues' attention to the condensation of an article, Tribunes of the People, by James Burnham, appearing in the February issue of Reader's Digest.

Discussion of congressional investigations has stirred many comments. It has been suggested by some that because of alleged abuses there should be a curtailment of power, or, at least, more rigid rules.

Because investigations are one of the more important arms of Congress, the review, analysis, and conclusions contained in James Burnham's article are interesting and necessary in helping to achieve a proper perspective on the subject.

I unhesitatingly and earnestly recommend it for your consideration.

The article follows:

TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE

(By James Burnham)

When the Founding Fathers established our government structure of liberty under law, they borrowed from the ancient Romans a remarkable device—the tribunes of the people. The job of the tribunes, officials elected from the ranks of the Assembly of the People, was to see that the laws were enforced, that justice was done to the ordinary citizen. The fathers of our country, realizing that this function of the tribunes was indispensable to liberty, assigned it to the investigating committees of Congress.

Like the Roman tribunes, congressional investigators are immune from arrest or prosecution. They are, therefore, able to challenge without fear of reprisal the immense power of the police, the Army, and the executive. Congress—our own Assembly of the People—charges its investigators with the task of finding out whether our laws are being enforced and whether new laws are needed. On the basis of facts unearthed by its investigators, Congress is also empowered to impeach and expel from office any member of the executive and judicial branches of Government—even the President or a Justice of the Supreme Court. Short of impeachment, the investigating committees can check executive action by appeal, through public hearings, to the final court of a democracy: the citizen voters.

Congressional investigators can reflect the ignorance and the passions of the people as well as the people's traditional wisdom, loyalty, and strength. But they are irreplaceable champions of our liberty. In 1936 Hugo Black, now a member of the Supreme Court, then a Senator, wrote: "The probe is one of the most powerful weapons to restrain the activities of groups who can defy every other power. Public investigating committees exist always in countries where the people

rule. They have always been opposed by groups that seek or have special privileges."

The first congressional investigation took place in 1792, just 3 years after adoption of our Constitution. The Indians of the Northwest Territory had all but annihilated a Government force led against them by Gen. Arthur St. Clair, and popular opinion demanded an explanation.

When the House of Representatives selected an investigating committee, one Congressman argued that an inquiry would be insulting to President Washington, who had appointed St. Clair, and that Congress should merely request the President to look into the matter himself. The majority insisted, however, that Congress make its own investigation in its own way.

The inquiry, as it turned out, absolved General St. Clair of personal blame, but made constructive criticisms that led to improved organization of the War Department.

All but 3 of our 84 Congresses have authorized investigations. The areas investigated have included every department of the executive branch of Government; every war except the Spanish-American; all sorts of election scandals; railroads, shipping, oil, banking, housing, insurance, utilities—in fact, nearly every major industry. Investigations of conspiracy and espionage are by no means a 20th-century novelty. Even before 1800, espionage—in behalf of France and Spain—was investigated. Subversive conspiracy was the issue in inquiries of 1808 concerning Aaron Burr's associates.

Violent controversy has always swirled around congressional investigations. In the 1920's a variety of individuals and organizations denounced Senators Borah, La Follette, Wheeler, and Walsh for the inquiries that brought to light the shocking scandals of the naval reserve oil leases. Owen J. Roberts, later an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, speaking before the American Bankers Association, condemned the oil investigation as propaganda for nationalization. The Wall Street Journal dismissed it as only a political smokescreen. Discussing this and the parallel investigation of Attorney General Daugherty, the New York Times declared in February 1924 that Congress was investigation mad, and was trying to introduce government by clamor. The Times upheld Daugherty as one who was defending decency and honor.

Within 6 months Daugherty had resigned in disgrace—after the investigators had shown that during his 2½ years in Washington on a $15,000 salary, his personal financial position had shifted from $19,000 in the red to $100,000 in the black.

At the time of this Teapot Dome probe, the Senate investigators were termed "scandalmongers," "mud gunners," "assassins of character." Their inquiries were described as a lynching bee, poison-tongued partisanship, twittering hysteria. But as a result of their disclosures, one corrupt Cabinet member (Harry Daugherty) and one who winked at corruption (Edwin Denby) were forced to resign. Albert Fall, along with oil magnate Harry F. Sinclair and a variety of lesser figures, went to jail. Four oil millionaires skipped the country.

The scandalous leases of naval reserve oil at Teapot Dome, Elk Hills, and Buena Vista were canceled, with a saving to the taxpayers of hundreds of millions of dollars. Reorganization of the Justice Department, another consequence of these investigations, brought major benefits to the Nation through stricter, more equitable law enforcement.

Only congressional investigation could have produced such results. Individual citizens were helpless. The courts were powerless to initiate action. The executive agencies were either unaware of what was happening or conniving at it. Tribunes of the people, armed with sufficient power, were required to expose the wrongdoing, arouse public opinion, and force remedial action.

The first bread-and-butter function of investigating committees is to assist Congress in its constitutional task of making and changing our laws. In order to make laws wisely, Congress must have before it the relevant facts. But Congress cannot simply take the alleged facts of a situation from some other agency, or from the executive branch. It must take the full, independent responsibility itself for the information upon which its lawmaking decisions will rest. Congress gains this information by conducting its own investigations in its own way.

A related function of congressional investigations is to check up on what happens to laws after they are passed. Committees like the watchdog committee of World War II, in which Harry Truman made his mark, have saved billions of dollars by keeping a critical eye on the Government's military contracts and administrative methods.

Nearly every important reorganization of governmental structure has come as a result of congressional inquiries. Repeated 19th-century investigations of frauds in private mail contracts, for example, led to the formation of the General Post Office.

Time and again investigations have been used to clean Congress' own house, from as early as 1797 when William Blount was expelled from the Senate for stirring up the Indians to rebellion. Only a congressional probe was able to penetrate the vast Crédit mobilier scandal which by 1872 has engulfed both Europe and this country, and involved even the United States Vice President and former Speaker of the House, as well as many of the Nation's leading financiers.

In our own day congressional investigations were the first agency to inform the public concerning totalitarian threats to liberty. Beginning in 1938, the House Committee on Un-American Activities exposed first the Fascist and Nazi groups that were then actively conspiring against our security, and next the Communist appartus that continues to conspire. It was this committee that dug out the case of Alger Hiss, along with the operations of the Silvermaster, Perlo, and Ware espionage cells. In recent years its work has been supplemented by the Senate's Internal Security and Permanent Investigations Subcommittees.

These committees, granted their excesses, deserve chief credit for the fact that today, both by more adequate laws and through sterner administrative action, we have at last begun to deal effectively with the subversive conspiracy against our survival as a free Nation. Despite the attacks to which they have often been subjected—and which they have sometimes deserved—congressional investigations have thus proved themselves an essential part of our system of government.

The new Congress now has before it a number of proposals for the "reform" of investigating committees by the establishment of strict rules of procedure. Undoubtedly there have been abuses in the conduct of investigations—great power is always liable to abuse and corruption. But can they be corrected by detailed rules laid down in advance? The reputation of an author may be damaged by an unfair review, but we do not demand a law that would prescribe in detail the methods of book reviewing. A committee hearing is not a trial. It cannot take away a man's life or liberty. Many of the meticulous rules of the courtroom are inapplicable.

Recent discussion has invariably arisen in connection with the committees investigating Communist subversion. Although honest liberals are now advocating reforms out of a concern for civil rights, we should remember that the aim of the Communists is to put an end to all investigations of subversion, treason, and espionage.

The procedures of the committees are governed by congressional tradition, by special rules adopted by each committee, and by the personal influence of leading members, particularly the chairmen. As a matter of tradition and privilege they accord to witnesses nearly all the rights that would be made a matter of inflexible law if the bills now before Congress are passed: for example, the right to have counsel, to submit a written statement, to answer accusations by other witnesses, and so on.

The effect of transforming these privileges into law would be to obstruct or even paralyze the work of committees. If the law required the presence of counsel for a witness, a Communist lawyer could stop a hearing merely by becoming so obstreperous that it could not continue. If the committee threw him out, it would then have to adjourn until the witness produced another lawyer—who could start the whole ruckus over again.

There has been objection to one-man hearings. It does seem fair that at least 2 committee members, 1 from each party, should be present when a witness is questioned. But under a rule requiring the presence of two members, many Senate investigations could never be finished. With all they have to do, there are just not enough Senators to go around, particularly when many committee hearings must be held in distant parts of the country. Furthermore, if an investigation were hurting one of the political parties, the committee members belonging to that party could bring it to a halt merely by staying away from the hearings.

In reality, the only requirement on this point that is both fair and practicable is that all members of a committee should have advance notice of every meeting, so that they may attend if they wish. The basic problem of one-man hearings is the man, not the rules.

Some critics have said that we should copy the responsible and objective investigating techniques of the English Royal Commissions. However, those Royal Commissions are composed of laymen chosen for their interest in the subject, and they question only volunteers who desire to give information.

It does seem desirable that Congress should eliminate the overlapping of its committee jurisdictions, so that there will no longer be the wasteful spectacle of 3 or 4 different committees competing, and interfering, with each other in the investigation of some problem. These investigations should doubtless be confined to one committee in each House. Some Congressmen go further, and have introduced bills to set up a single Joint (Senate-House) Committee on Internal Security, modeled after the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

In general, however, abuses by investigating committees are not going to be corrected by enactment of a code of rules. When a congressional committee attempts to cite an individual for contempt, the individual has the right to bring forth all facts and circumstances in support of his assertion that his constitutional rights had been violated.

And if a congressional investigator blatantly disregards truth, dignity, and justice, Congress may at any time bring about his removal from committee assignment, his censure or his expulsion. Moreover, the people in their turn will have the opportunity to vote him out of public life.

Thirty years ago a clamor for changes in procedure arose in connection with the Teapot Dome investigations, just as today they arise in connection with the investigations of Communist subversion. At that earlier time perhaps the most eloquent defense ever made of congressional investigation came from the pen of the young Felix Frankfurter, who was destined for later membership on the Supreme Court:

"Critics seek to shackle the future by suggesting restrictions in the procedure of congressional investigations. No limitations

should be imposed. The methods and forms of each investigation should be left for determination of Congress and its committees, as each situation arises. The safeguards against abuse and folly are to be looked for in the forces of responsibility which are operating within Congress and are generated from without."

Textile Industry and New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Pilot, Boston, Mass., February 19, 1955, which clearly shows why it is so necessary for New England to fight and retain its textile industry:

REVIEW OF OUR TEXTILE INDUSTRIES: WHAT'S HAPPENING TO NEW ENGLAND?

(By Dr. J. Laurence Phalan)

The number one employment problem in New England is in the textile industry. The big question is should the industry be written-off as far as New England is concerned and should we take steps to speed substitution of newer growth industries, or, should we make strenuous efforts to hold the industry within the area?

Despite the decline in New England of total textile-mill employment since World War I, the industry remains the most important source of industrial employment in the area. Textile employment accounted for slightly more than 5 percent of the total nonagricultural employment in New England in September 1954. About 1 out of every 8 workers in manufacturing was at work in a textile mill, 172,800 workers were thus employed in September 1954.

FIGURES

As large as these figures are they are small compared with those of 30 or more years ago. Following are figures showing what has happened to textile employment over the past years.

New England employment in textiles

Year:	
1919	439,600
1929	355,600
1939	281,300
1947	282,100
1954	172,800

The New England textile industry defined in computing these figures includes many different types of manufacturing plants which are generally classified as woolen and worsted, cotton, rayon and silk, dyeing and finishing, and miscellaneous groups. These plants process natural fibers such as cotton and wool or man-made fibers such as rayon or nylon. The industry turns out products which consumers may use directly or which go to the garment, shoe, automobile, millinery, or other industries. The industry is most complex because of its thousands of products and the possibility of having integrated manufacturing processes in one mill or having the individual stages in production performed by a number of plants, each specializing in a particular process.

REASONS FOR LOSS

The loss of industry to other sections of the country has been chiefly due to labor costs differentials, disadvantages in power rates and taxes and antiquated plants. Moreover, the net effect of much Federal legislation has been unfavorable to the New England mills.

While it is dangerous to generalize on such a heterogeneous industry as the textile industry, it seems that there will be some further decline in total overall textile activity in New England or at least continuing strong pressures toward such a decline.

In view of these circumstances there has grown among some a negative attitude toward the industry. Such feeling is based upon thinking that the loss of the industry in New England has been beneficial and a blessing in disguise and that industry in the area has been upgraded as a result of the textile losses. That is, that the lost textile industries have been replaced by industries which in the long run may be more rewarding than those which have lost.

This position places emphasis on adjustment of the community and workers to a new type of enterprise. The assumption being that workers can transfer readily from one type of occupation to another. Information on the subject indicates that only under the most favorable circumstances is that optimistic assumption justified.

The adjustment of a community to industry loss is often difficult and slow. It often entails hardship and heartbreak for the workers involved. Many of the older textiles workers are reluctant to enter other industries, even if they have the opportunity. They would have to abandon their years of experience and start over in a new type of work, usually at lower wages.

While loss in the textile industry has forced communities into aggressive action toward recruiting replacement industries, that is not the same as to say that the loss of textile jobs has created an economic vacuum which has automatically drawn other jobs into New England. More often than not, lost textile jobs have left empty spaces which still need to be filled.

NECESSARY STEPS

It would seem essential that new growth industries be attracted to New England and that strenuous efforts be made toward retaining those textile companies which we now have, thus minimizing the drift of the industry toward the South. Attempt at retention of the textile industry requires numerous steps.

1. All efforts must be made toward elimination of labor cost differentials between the North and South. Reduction of the differentials may be accomplished to some extent through further wage cuts to northern workers. However, this method is not very satisfactory and will meet with tremendous resistance. Better ways are through increased productivity in New England and more equitable wages in the South. A definite step in the right direction is contained in the proposal by President Eisenhower to raise the minimum wage to 90 cents an hour from the present 75 cents.

2. Increased productivity will be greatly aided through an accelerated modernization of plant facilities. Yankee ingenuity has accomplished much but is rather helpless in competing with modern plants, and mills which have failed to modernize have passed and will continue to pass out of existence.

3. Modernization of plants and methods, of necessity, leads to changes in job operations, and it is required that such changes be appreciated by union leaders. The industry is highly unionized in New England and union leadership must cooperate in the acceptance of the challenge of such changes.

4. The use of manmade materials, contrasted with pure cotton and wool, must be encouraged. This calls for increased emphasis on research. This research should be directed toward providing new methods of processing and using old materials as well as discovery of new materials.

5. Methods must be found to offset tax and power rate differentials drawing mills to the South. While these differentials are perhaps of markedly less importance than are labor cost differentials, they nevertheless are important. Particularly so, when in some instances southern communities have furnished migrant companies with completely new tax-free plants.

6. All of the above requirements must not be used as a screen behind which poor management may hide. There is ample proof that an aggressive, well-managed mill can operate successfully in New England.

The importance of the textile industries makes it imperative that much thought be given to the above-outlined requirements and to the importance of further decline in textile employment in the Boston archdiocese. Within the archdiocese, Lowell is classified by the United States Bureau of Employment Security as an area of substantial unemployment while Lawrence is classified as one of very substantial unemployment. These classifications are contrasted with the employment situation for the entire metropolitan Boston area. In the latter overall area, unemployment is not overly large and fairly approximates the national average.

These classifications for Lowell and Lawrence give firm evidence to the fact that displaced textile workers are not being absorbed by growth industries. It is thus amply shown that the expansion of nontextile industries in New England has not been of direct advantage to some displaced textile workers. Most of the expanded employment in the electronics industry, for example, has apparently come from new entrants into the labor force. Employers often prefer young people who are accepting employment for the first time.

Although there is evidence that displaced textile workers can adapt themselves to a wide variety of occupations, often the location of New England's expanding and contracting industries do not coincide, as shown in Lowell and Lawrence. When a major textile mill closes in a principal textile center, such as those two cities, the opportunity for easy transition to alternate employment is often slim. The same is also true in the small town, particularly so, if it is rather isolated from a large metropolitan area.

Thus, we feel safe in concluding that New England must fight with all fair means to retain its textile industry, whose migration does not create a vacuum into which new industry automatically flows. Our unemployment ills will be best cured by adding growth industries to a strong textile industry. Thereby, we have growth by addition and not by subtraction.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

Resolution unanimously adopted, after due deliberation, by the executive board of district seven of the Lithuanian Alliance of America, of Luzerne and Lackawanna Counties, Pa., in conjunction with the 37th anniversary of the declaration of independence of

the Republic of Lithuania commemorated on February 16, 1955:

"Whereas exactly 37 years have passed since February 16 when the Council of Lithuania, meeting in Vilnius, the historical capitol of Lithuania, proclaimed to the world the determination of the Lithuanian people to embark on an independent life; and

"Whereas for us Lithuanian Americans it was a source of special satisfaction to observe that our brothers and sisters in Lithuania were ably managing the affairs of their country, successfully raising their welfare, and elevating their cultural and educational standards; and

"Whereas as American citizens we were proud of the quick and decisive action on the part of the Government to condemn publicly the flagrant Soviet acts of violence against Lithuania and the other Baltic States of Latvia and Estonia; and

"Whereas the people of the world are putting their hopes and the destinies of their future in the steadfast and unconditional adherence by the free democracies to the principles of justice and humanity: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That Americans of Lithuanian descent of the counties of Luzerne and Lackawanna, Pa., affiliated with the Lithuanian Alliance of America, district seven, being aware of the graveness of the international situation and concerned over the fate of the Lithuanian nation, urge the Government of the United States to combat the forces of aggression until peace is achieved."

MICHAEL KUPRIS,
President.
JOSEPH MACEINA,
Secretary.

The Commercial Appeal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, in last Sunday's edition of the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal there appeared a very fine article concerning the production of rice in the Midsouth. The article was written by the newspaper's Washington representative, Mr. Morris Cunningham.

Because of the excellence of the article, and because it gives one of the best pictures of the Midsouth rice production, as well as an indication of the difficulties encountered by these growers under the 1955 rice-acreage allotment program, the article should be read by every Member of the Congress.

Mr. Cunningham gives figures on production and shows graphically the rising importance of rice on the Nation's economy. The article reads as follows:

MIDSOUTH LANDS NOW GROW 54 PERCENT OF ALL THE RICE PRODUCED IN UNITED STATES—ARKANSAS' OUTPUT APPROACHES 1.5 BILLION POUNDS LOUISIANA RAISES ANNUALLY—MISSISSIPPI'S CROP TOTALED 221 MILLION POUNDS LAST YEAR

(By Morris Cunningham)

WASHINGTON, February 19.—This may come as a surprise, but the Midsouth is now producing more than 50 percent of the Nation's rice crop.

Agriculture Department figures show that Midsouth farmers raised 3.2 billion pounds of the 5.9 billion pounds of rice produced in the United States last year. That's 54.2 percent of the national output.

Last year's rice crop put an extra $150 million into the pockets of Midsouth farmers. And though that's still far short of cotton income, it's still a sizable amount of cash.

Memphis, for years the Nation's cotton capital, may soon be an important rice market if the trend continues.

Southern Louisiana and a few counties in Arkansas, particularly Arkansas County, have long been rice producers.

But in recent years—stimulated in part by forced cutbacks in cotton acreages—the production of rice has spread into new areas of the Midsouth.

All of eastern Arkansas, from Randolph and Clay Counties in the north to Ashley and Chicot Counties in the south, and westward to Perry, Faulkner, and Pulaski Counties, is now listed by the Agriculture Department as a rice-producing area. The Department also lists Hot Springs and Clark Counties in the south central section, and Little River, Miller, and Lafayette Counties in the extreme southwest corner.

And in Louisiana, immediately south of Ashley and Chicot Counties in Arkansas, the Department lists production in the Louisiana parishes of Morehouse, Richland, and East Carroll. This is in addition to the traditional producing areas in southern Louisiana.

Meanwhile, production has been rising across the river in Mississippi. The Agriculture Department now lists these Mississippi counties as rice producers: De Soto, Tunica, Tate, Panola, Quitman, Coahama, Tallahatchie, Bolivar, Sunflower, Leflore, Washington, Humphreys, Sharkey, Issaquena, and Hancock.

Arkansas, where production has grown most rapidly, last year produced more than 1.4 billion pounds. This was only slightly behind Louisiana, which had a crop of 1.5 billion pounds.

Mississippi, no match for these States, had a crop of 221 million pounds.

Missouri produced 18 million pounds and Tennessee 1 million.

Increasing Midsouth production has contributed greatly to a general upward swing in American rice output. Prior to World War II, American production averaged about 2 billion pounds a year. During the war it advanced to about 3 billion pounds. Since the war it has moved forward rapidly, setting one record after another, to last year's 5.9 billion pounds.

Mississippi produced only 13 million pounds in 1947, compared to last year's 221 million pounds.

Arkansas production was 765 million pounds in 1947; jumped to 1.4 billion pounds last year.

Louisiana produced slightly less than 1 billion pounds in 1947; last year had 1.5 billion pounds.

With the increased production has come many of the same problems that are besetting cotton—acreage allotments, marketing controls, and surpluses.

The term "inequities and hardships," previously restricted to small cotton farmers, is now being applied to rice producers as well.

Many Midsouth Congressmen whose interest in farm commodities formerly was restricted almost solely to cotton now are having to spend an increasing amount of time on rice problems and legislation.

Representative E. C. GATHINGS, Democrat, of Arkansas, is one of these; and Representative JAMIE L. WHITTEN, Democrat, of Mississippi, whose position as chairman of the House Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee gives him a broad view of the farm economy, obtained and supplied some of the statistics in this article.

Though American production of rice has been increasing, the United States still is not one of the large rice-producing nations.

Free-world production last year is estimated at 262 billion pounds. This excludes production in Communist China, North Korea, and Russia.

Of the free-world total, America produced 5.9 billion pounds.

However, American production has increased faster than the rest of the world, and this country now commands a bigger slice of the market than before World War II.

Mr. Speaker, from this it may be seen that Arkansas, as one rice-producing State, contributes more than 1.4 billion pounds of rice each year, although only a few years ago the State produced just about three-quarters of a billion pounds.

H. R. 4304

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I believe that all of the Members of this House who voted for the passage of H. R. 1 did so with the conviction that the advantages which it will bring to labor and industry within the United States, as well as the assistance it will give to those conducting our foreign policy, outweigh the disadvantages in unemployment and the harmful effect it will have upon certain areas and industries.

However, I believe that Members of the Congress who support the principle of reciprocal trade agreements are not blind to the human problems and the economic difficulties which this act creates. I am equally sure that the vast majority of my colleagues do not want to leave any impression that we are callous or unwilling to try to do something to solve these difficult situations.

It is in this spirit that I introduced yesterday a bill, H. R. 4304, which will, if the matter is not taken care of on the Senate side or in conference, require the President to report to the Congress—by including in his report, provided for by section 350 (e) of the Tariff Act of 1930—such data and statistics as will be useful to the Congress in ascertaining the amount of unemployment and economic disability which has resulted from actions taken under the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955. It would also require him to include such recommendations for legislative action as he may deem wise in order to (a) preserve the vitality of industries needed in the national defense and (b) make the necessary economic adjustments to alleviate unemployment and to assist those industries whose operations have been substantially curtailed as the result of executive action authorized by the Congress.

In other words, if the Government, through its action, creates undue hard-

ships on certain groups within labor and industry, I believe that the Congress will also feel that it has a responsibility to lessen these hardships and to assist in the necessary relocations that have been thus required.

I hope that my colleagues will give their support to this legislation, believing, as I do, that it will make the people of our country far more understanding and sympathetic to the principle of reciprocal trade agreements.

The Flow of Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following column by George Sokolsky entitled "The Flow of Goods" from the Washington Post and Times Herald under date of February 8, 1955:

THE FLOW OF GOODS

(By George Sokolsky)

I walked into a hardware store a few days ago and picked up a chopping board. It was made in Yugoslavia. The same day, I read an item that a Hollywood motion-picture company is planning to produce Tolstoy's War and Peace, and that the production would be made in Yugoslavia. Maybe the chopping board could be made more efficiently in Tito's realm, but has Hollywood sunk so low that thousands of American workers have to be kept out of jobs because there are superior technicians in Yugoslavia? The picture will be shown in this country; its profits, if any, will be earned here. Why, then, do this job in Yugoslavia?

Now along comes a release from the American Knit Handwear Association which reports that in 1953 there were 30 American firms in this industry; today, there are only 22. In 1952, more than 4,000 Americans were employed in it; today, there are less than 1,500, which means a decrease of 63 percent.

From the standpoint of the free market, these American firms, if they cannot compete with British and Japanese manufacturers, ought to go out of business. In terms of strict capitalistic theory, no one should be protected against the consequences of competition. But from the standpoint of social conditions in the United States, the peril is that we shall have unemployment and we shall have ghost towns and we shall have disturbed conditions. The economic doctrine of the free market here comes into conflict with the social doctrine of full employment and must be resolved politically. John L. Lewis is already making the telling point that the enormous unemployment in the coal industry, partly due to the import of residual oil, be met by distributing food surpluses to American miners instead of foreign governments.

Wool handwear imports have increased from 32,000 dozen pairs in 1946–48 to an estimated 1,200,000 dozen pairs in 1954. In the United States wages in this industry average $1.13 an hour; in Japan, the same industry pays just under 12 cents an hour. A protective tariff could be devised to keep Japanese knit gloves out of this country, but then we have political problems with Japan such as the necessity of providing a market for Japanese goods in the United States to keep the Japanese from moving into Red China's corner.

Unless we open our markets to Japan, they will have to cultivate trade with Red China and even with Soviet Russia, if they can get it. The danger to the American manufacture of products with which Japanese products can compete in American markets is that politics rather than economics will prevail. There is no free market as long as the determining consideration is not competition but politics.

This, then, is the peril that the small American manufacturers face and they go before the Ways and Means Committee to present their case knowing full well that their arguments are going to fall on deaf ears because so many of our legislators have become statesmen who forget the needs of their constituents in the face of the deterioration of our relations with foreign countries.

TVA Yardstick Helps Competitors Reap Sound Profits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Louisville (Ky.) Times which has been reprinted in the current March issue of the Democratic Digest.

This editorial, while brief, tells a dramatic, factual story of how the electric utilities have benefited most profitably from the very agency they would destroy, the TVA.

The question arises in my mind, Mr. Speaker, as to the reason behind this ruthless enmity in the face of proven benefits. Could it be that greediness knows no bonds and now, having been enhanced with fat profits through the means of the low TVA yardstick, the utilities would move in to set a higher yardstick and gorge its coffers further at the expense of the consumers of the Nation? It is something on which we should think clearly and give attention to where our first loyalties lie—with the public interest.

The editorial, which speaks so eloquently, follows:

TVA YARDSTICK HELPS COMPETITORS REAP SOUND PROFITS

Citizens for TVA, Inc., has released some statistics to refute the oft-repeated contention that the Tennessee Valley Authority is in unfair competition with private power.

These show that between 1937 and 1952, the first 16 years of large-scale TVA power production, the common-stock earnings of the Nation's larger electric companies more than doubled. Rates came down—an average of nearly 60 percent—but more electricity was sold.

This fact alone might signify nothing more than that the power business has shared in the vast industrial expansion that began with World War II. Everybody has earned more, sold more since 1937. This, however, is significant; while earnings in the power industry generally were doubling, those of the 9 private utilities surrounding the TVA area, according to "Citizens," multiplied 5 times. The statement goes on to say:

"Why? Because the utilities surrounding TVA are most exposed to the TVA example of low cost and high use of electricity. Under pressure from the TVA example, these companies were induced to cut their rates the deepest, increase their service the greatest, and take in money at a faster rate than all the other utilities in the country."

What better evidence that TVA has fulfilled its original purpose as a power yardstick?

Not a Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to submit for the consideration of the Members an ably written and pertinent editorial which appeared in the Albany (N. Y.) Times-Union on February 17, 1955. It raises a significant point in connection with the question of whether the Post Office Department is or should be operated as a commercial enterprise or as a public service.

The editorial follows:

NOT A BUSINESS

Postmaster General Summerfield's proposal to put the Post Office Department on a self-supporting basis has raised the question: Can the Department really be operated as a business activity?

Many businessmen believe not, for the simple reason that the Department does not exist as a commercial enterprise. An excellent presentation of this point of view has been made by Mr. Cranston Williams, general manager of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, in a published letter to the Washington Post and Times Herald. Mr. Williams wrote:

"Much is being said about putting the Post Office Department on a break-even basis, which means it should take in as much money as it pays out.

"I am wondering how it would be possible to put the Post Office on a break-even basis when the cost ascertainment report for the fiscal year 1953 (last available) shows that rural free delivery mail service for salaries and transportation alone cost $192,430,334. Creation and maintenance of rural-free-delivery service was voted by the Congress as public policy in the general welfare. I see no possible way for the rural-free-delivery service ever to carry enough mail to pay even a small portion of the cost of maintaining that service.

"Furthermore, the Post Office Department operates more than 40,000 different post offices, and no business expecting to break even would try to operate that many outlets. You can imagine what would happen to the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., with a volume of nearly $4 billion for its fiscal year ending March 1, 1954, compared with Post Office Department volume for fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, of a little over $2 billion, if A. & P. tried to operate through 40,000 retail stores. A. & P. operates about 4,300 stores."

The breakdown is convincing. And another fact is worth keeping in mind. The Post Office Department was established by the Federal Government out of necessity. For much of its work it collects and should collect revenue; but much of its work cannot be put on a fee basis.

The Post Office Department is considerably like the Coast Guard and the Public Health Service. Nobody expects either of them to be conducted on a break-even basis.

Detroit Payrolls at All-Time High

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article taken from the February 21 issue of the Detroiter, the weekly publication of the Detroit Board of Commerce, entitled "Detroit Payrolls at All-Time High." This article, which predicts a very prosperous 1955 for the city of Detroit, should be an emphatic rebuttal to those who claim this city is still in the throes of recession.

The article follows:

DETROIT PAYROLLS AT ALL-TIME HIGH

(By John R. Stewart)

Detroit is headed for a long and impressive list of "firsts" in 1955. Average earnings of wage and salary employees in this area appear certain to reach a new peak. With employment second only to that of 1953, total payroll should top that of any previous year. Spendable income likewise should be at all-time high.

Retail sales at an expected record level of over $5 billion, peak activity in service industries and an all-time high in construction, will mean higher employment in nonmanufacturing occupations than ever before. Wage and salary rates of these workers should top like figures for all previous years.

Peak population should insure higher counts of utility customers and greater consumption of electricity, gas, and water, than in any preceding year. Bank activity should be at record high.

Part of Detroit's high level of business and industrial activity this year may be credited to the automotive industry's strong showing. Thus far in 1955, phenomenal popularity of 1955 passenger cars and high truck sales have boosted retail deliveries to record high for this season of the year. To meet this unprecedented demand and also build up sufficient dealer stocks for spring selling needs, production has been pushed to a level which seems certain to give the industry its biggest first quarter in history. Car and truck production for the 12 months ending December 31, 1955, is estimated at 7 million units, or about one-third more than in any year prior to 1949. Only 1950 and 1953 topped this year's expected figure.

Other types of manufacturing in the Detroit area in 1955 should be at or near peak levels. The machinery industry, Detroit's second largest, should have its biggest year. Manufacture of nondurable goods was at peak in 1954—a new record should be set in 1955.

Employment in the Detroit area in 1955 is expected to average about 1,300,000 wage and salary workers, or 60,000 more than in 1954. Only 1953 enjoyed higher employment. Of the 1955 total, 630,000 will be in nonmanufacturing, a new peak; 320,000 will be employed in automotive factories; and 350,000 will be working in other types of manufacturing. Gains over 1954 are expected to be 15,000 for nonmanufacturing, 30,000 for nonautomotive manufacturing, and 15,000 for Detroit's automobile industry.

A nearly constant level of nonautomotive manufacturing employment and a rising trend in nonmanufacturing employment throughout the year should offset a possible dip in automotive payrolls in the second quarter and cushion the usual decline in automotive employment at model changeover time. All major employment groups should end the year on a rising trend.

If wages follow the upward trend of recent years, and if average earnings of other employees in the area equal or exceed those of hourly rated factory workers, both reasonable assumptions, workers in the Detroit area should receive over $6 billion in wages and salaries this year, an historic high.

With taxes lower than in the previous peak year of 1953 and with living cost virtually unchanged, this tremendous payroll should insure a prosperous 1955 for Detroiters.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following letter from the president of the Mohawk Carpet Mills in Amsterdam, N. Y., under date of January 20, 1955:

MOHAWK CARPET MILLS, INC.,
Amsterdam, N. Y., January 20, 1955.

Hon. BERNARD W. KEARNEY,
House of Representatives, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR PAT: The renewal by President Eisenhower of his request for a 3-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act, with power to reduce tariffs another 15 percent, and the introduction of H. R. 1 designed to implement the program, again casts uncertainty on the future of the American carpet industry. I would be remiss in my responsibilities to the owners and employees of the Mohawk Carpet Mills, to the carpet industry in the United States, and to those charged with the responsibility of making and administering equitable and progressive laws, if I did not question the desirability of authorizing (with or without receiving reciprocal concessions) further reductions in the tariff on imported carpet.

My reasons for questioning the fairness and desirability of further tariff reductions on machine-made carpet were outlined in some detail in my May 4, 1954, letter to you. These reasons are equally valid today and for your convenience in reviewing our position I am repeating substantially my earlier letter. Minor changes have been made in it in recognition of more recent information.

Under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the tariff on foreign-made carpets has already been progressively reduced from 60 percent ad valorem to 25 percent—a reduction of 58 percent. As a result of the reductions, imports of machine-made carpets have been increasing—since 1946 the rate of increase has been 26 percent per year. Last year, about 2,800,000 square yards of machine-made carpet were brought into the United States. Every yard of this carpet represents the loss of 1 hour's work to an American workman—the 2,800,000 yards mean a loss of more than 2 weeks' work for each of the 30,000 workers in the United States carpet industry.

The desirability and the propriety of further opening our market at this time to foreign competition through additional tariff reductions such as are possible under H. R. 1 must, it seems to me, be seriously questioned. I should like, in the following paragraphs, to outline some of the issues and the responsibilities which those who advocate further reductions must face.

1. FULL EFFECT OF PAST REDUCTIONS STILL UNKNOWN

The tariff reductions which have been made under the Trade Agreements Act cannot as yet be appraised, for the United States has had no experience for any extended period of time under normal conditions. The act was passed when we were in the midst of a depression. Later trade was distorted by World War II, by the Korean war, and by the vast rebuilding programs in which we engaged. All this while tariff reductions were being made. Only very recently has our humane gesture of rebuilding war-torn European economies—a program to which the carpet industry has contributed millions of dollars in taxes—been reflected in increased competition from abroad.

Carpet imports may continue to expand even under present tariffs, particularly if wage rate increases or wool price increases force adjustments in our retail prices. Under these circumstances, it would seem desirable to withhold opening our market still further through additional tariff reductions until the effects of the extreme reductions already made can be appraised.

2. EFFECT OF FURTHER TARIFF REDUCTIONS ON CARPET INDUSTRY

Further reductions in tariffs will inevitably encourage additional imports of machine-made carpets. Such a further division of the market will reduce the opportunity for employing American workers and for operating profitably in the carpet industry.

These inevitable consequences would be inflicted upon an industry which is already extremely competitive and which, because of these conditions, is offering quality merchandise to American consumers at prices too low to provide a reasonable return on invested capital. Currently, too, most of the carpet mills are operating far below capacity—increased imports at this time could only accentuate these layoffs and work reductions that have already taken place.

Work reductions would not present the serious human and economic problems they do if the freedom of movement so glibly assumed by many free-trade theorists in fact existed. But today alternative opportunities are not abundant, particularly in a number of areas where carpet mills are located, and where these mills represent the major industrial activity in the town. There is entirely too much at stake in human and economic considerations to pass over the problem lightly.

The seriousness of this problem is well illustrated by Amsterdam, whose livelihood is almost entirely dependent upon the Mohawk and Bigelow-Sanford mills. At one time last year, unemployment rose to over 20 percent. Currently, it is probably about 12 to 15 percent. Local citizens, in an effort to reduce this hardship, have contributed over $370,000 to encourage a nontextile manufacturer to locate here and offer employment opportunities. Further tariff reductions on carpet could only contribute added unemployment to Amsterdam, and to other carpet producing localities as well.

3. THE FAIRNESS OF FOREIGN COMPETITION

The inroads which imports of machine-made carpet have and can make into the

United States market are not the result of inefficiency in the United States carpet industry. Mills in Belgium and England, our major foreign competitors, have no technological or natural resource advantages—they must also import raw carpet wools and jute, their workers are no more efficient, and their looms and other machines are substantially the same as ours. (In fact, these countries have reached their present productive capacity through the plants, machines and technical assistance given to them since the war.) Their competitive strength emanates almost entirely from wage—not physical productivity—differences.

Wages of industrial workers in Belgium and Britain, the major foreign sources of carpets, are the highest of the carpet industries' foreign competitors, yet they average only about 48 cents per hour. This is less than one-third the average hourly wage of United States carpet workers, yet it is against such and lower wage levels that the carpet industry in the United States is being asked to compete. In addition, foreign competitors copy the styles and patterns developed and tested by American manufacturers, and capitalize without cost to them on a market developed, through advertising, by American concerns.

Competition of this type would not be condoned within the United States. Compensatory use taxes protect merchants in one area from the competition of merchants in bordering areas that do not have sales taxes. Minimum-wage laws (and other laws of similar purpose) prevent a concern from gaining a share of the United States market through the exploitation of its workers. It seems only consistent with the American conception that, to be desirable, competition must be fair, and to ask that a fair tariff be maintained on foreign carpets—a tariff high enough to compensate for payments the United States carpet industry is making to American workers and to our Government which are over and above those made by the carpet manufacturers in foreign countries.

At present, this is the only way to enable unionized firms in the carpet industry to compete with low-wage foreign firms, and thus preserve the jobs and living standards of the American workmen in the industry. Failure of our Government to provide this support would seem to make a mockery of our Government's dedication to fairness in competitive relationships.

4. TARIFF REDUCTIONS ALSO REDUCE IMPORTS

The aim to increase our total trade with foreign countries is desirable—the emphasis that has been placed upon tariff reductions to achieve this end has probably been exaggerated.

In the carpet industry, increased imports of foreign-made carpets will result in decreased imports of raw wool (the major raw material in carpet production) and jute. All wool and jute now used in carpet manufacture is imported from foreign lands—in 1953, these imports amounted to over $100 million. To the extent that the American carpet industry is supplanted by foreign producers, the raw material supplying nations will lose their markets in the United States—in effect, through tariff reductions on carpets, we are opening our market for carpets and closing our market for raw materials. The increased volume of carpet imports (and larger foreign credits) that would result from lowered tariffs on carpets would, therefore, at least in part be offset by reduced imports (and smaller foreign credits) of carpet wool and jute. In effect, the only increase in our imports is the labor and profit lost to workers and firms in the United States carpet industry.

Aside from the fact that the increase in imports made possible through reduced tariffs on carpets will be offset by the reduction in raw material imports, the desirability of the changes produced in our trade seems open to question. The countries supplying carpet wool and jute are primarily South America, New Zealand, India, and Iraq—none highly industrialized. Trade with them should be most productive of the mutual advantages that are ascribed to free trade. If, through tariff reductions on carpets, we reduce our domestic production of carpets and consequently our purchases of their raw materials, we will deny to these countries a market they have enjoyed, and we will also reduce their ability to purchase the products of our industry. In effect, we will be transferring to the industrialized nations of Western Europe which manufacture carpet, the purchasing power which formerly went to South America, New Zealand, India, and Iraq—all predominantly rural areas which should be good markets for products of American industry.

In presenting these specific consequences of further reductions in the tariff on foreign-made carpets, and the issues of principle they raise, I want to make it clear that I am not in disagreement with the objectives of the President's recommendations on foreign policy. There can be no question that increased trade such as will promote the security and the economic prosperity of the United States is desirable.

There are, however, two serious questions in my mind as to whether a tariff-reduction program will in fact contribute to these nationwide objectives. Under the present conditions of world trade and finance and international monetary instability, it seems utterly unrealistic to expect that further tariff reductions by (or unilateral trade for) the United States can be a material factor in correcting the current instabilities and imbalances in the western world. Other impediments should first be corrected. Secondly, under our system of private property and our standards of fair competition, it seems unfair to continue a program which mean sacrificing one group of industries in order to maintain or expand the market for another. Tariff reductions are now being urged primarily by our mass-production industries and by industries without foreign competition, as a means of increasing foreign purchasing power, to compensate for expected reductions in American aid. To achieve this objective, they belittle the serious effects on the import-vulnerable segment of our economy—a segment which undoubtedly employs many more workers than are dependent upon exports for employment. Possibly some of the sacrifices needed to balance international payments without aid, and to make our allies strong, should be borne by these, and by our growing industries, and not shifted entirely to those who have invested their skills and equipment in industries which, by chance, now exist in foreign countries.

I make no apology for supporting the carpet industry in its request for fair tariff protection. I sincerely believe that the inclusion of carpets among the commodities selected for negotiation of further reductions in tariff rates would be harmful both to our economic prosperity and to our national security.

Thank you very much for giving consideration to this letter.

Very truly yours,

HERBERT L. SHUTTLEWORTH II,
President.

Electoral Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article appearing in the New York Times today, February 24, 1955, written by a distinguished commentator and reporter, Arthur Krock, concerning proposed reforms in the method of electing Presidents. It will be noted that Mr. Krock characterizes House Resolution 4 and Senate Joint Resolution 3, proposing the district system, as follows:

This would be the true electoral reform, and it reflects early American thinking.

The article follows:

BLOCS IN THE PATH TOWARD ELECTORAL REFORM

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, February 23.—The merger of the two great sections of organized labor which their leaders say is impending—despite John L. Lewis and Michael J. Quill—has alarmed disorganized masses of the people by evoking a vision of the largest and most effective pressure group in our history. Since (runs this reasoning) the AFL and the CIO demonstrated under recent Democratic Presidents that separately they could exchange political support for the highest favors of Government, in unity they raise the threat of absolute control of the economy.

Those who for this reason view the merger project with alarm realize that labor leaders cannot ever be sure of delivering their rank and file to specified candidates for office so long as the ballot remains secret. On the record of past performance they suspect that the vaulting ambitions of Walter Reuther may at any time disrupt the ranks of the trades unions after they have formally merged. Therefore, if organized labor were as amenable to the laws as industrial groups are, the fears of the projected merger would be minimized.

But organized labor has legal privileges and immunities denied to all other groups in national production. These are the potentials of an industrial monopoly and a political pressure mass that could dominate the American system.

Through protective statutes, friendly judicial decisions and the favoritism of political administrators organized labor has been granted special rights in the United States. And the Taft-Hartley Act has left uncurbed the two principal ones. The first is general immunity from the antitrust laws for actions which would be illegal if performed by employers. The second, specifically, is freedom to bargain on a nationwide basis and to strike, if desired, a nationwide industry vital to the general welfare.

ORIGINS OF PRIVILEGE

The origins of these immunities are threefold. One was the social need to redress the long-sustained condition in which the rights of workers were spurned by selfish capital interests. Another was the rise in the Democratic Party of doctrinaires who favored union labor domination of our capitalist

economy. The third was the political strategy of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations—to attract by official favoritism organized labor groups which, voting solidly, could tip the electoral balance in great States closely divided in popular allegiance to the 2 major parties. Until President Eisenhower's personal appeal broke this latter combination it operated powerfully to keep the Democrats in national control.

It was able so to operate because of the laws which give the entire electoral bloc of a State to the party candidates who acquire a plurality of the voters, however small. Two examples are enough to illustrate this. In 1884 Grover Cleveland was elected President by getting all New York's electors because of a plurality of 1,149. In 1948 Ohio helped to assure President Truman's election by giving him its electors on a plurality of 7,107 of almost 3 million votes cast. In each instance the victor polled a minority of the total vote.

This system provides all sizable pressure blocs with their opportunity to tilt the scales for the candidates of the party which they think or know will respond to their pressures for special consideration. Organized labor leaders, when their followings were divided, made the most of this opportunity. It is hardly to be expected that, united, they won't hope to do even better; consequently, they look coldly on the revived effort in Congress to reform the electoral system.

TWO PROPOSED REFORMS

For this there are currently two principal proposals. The first, advanced by Senator DANIEL, of Texas, and a group of senatorial cosponsors, would change the law to provide a pro rata division of a State's electors. If, for instance, the Democrats got three-fourths of a State's votes and the Republicans a fourth, the electors would be proportionately allotted. And so on. The other reform proposal, originally advocated by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., of Princeton, N. J., is again being pressed by Representative COUDERT, of New York City. Electors of the President and the Vice President would be chosen in the same manner as Senators and Representatives are. Each congressional district would choose 1 elector by a majority or plurality of its resident voters; each State would likewise elect 2. Thus each State would have the same weight in the choice of the President and the Vice President that it now has in Congress, making the executive and the legislative political base the same. Also, the great State delegations would lose their immense bloc power in the national conventions.

This would be the true electoral reform, and it reflects early American thinking. But the Senators will probably stand by their partial remedy; the House remains indifferent to change, and for obvious reasons the pressure blocs cordially approve that indifference.

Our Debate Tournament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Herald:

OUR DEBATE TOURNAMENT

Thanks to the willingness of King's College to play host, an intercollegiate debate tournament of impressive scope will be held on the campus on February 19. The fact that 30 colleges and universities from the North, the South, and the East will be represented is enough to command keen interest. Fully as arresting is the fact that the topic will be one of nationwide, even worldwide concern: *Resolved*, That the United States should extend diplomatic recognition to the Communist government of China.

Heated controversy has been boiling around the question wrapped up in the topic chosen for this year's debate at King's.

So heated has been this controversy many colleges and universities are not debating the issue. Such institutions as the United States Naval and Military Academies are among them.

We are reminded by our friend, Robert E. Connelly, director of forensics at King's, that newspapers such as the New York Times have commented upon it editorially, such periodicals as Time and Newsweek have covered it, and TV programs like Edward R. Murrow have televised actual debates.

We join in the sentiment that it is encouraging to note once more that free discussion and debate are allowed in our great Nation and can be pursued in good temper, however vital the issue—something that Russia and her sisters in suppression would never tolerate.

Congress Gets a Prayer Room

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. KEITH THOMSON
OF WYOMING
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. THOMSON of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, we see daily increasing indications that our Nation and its leaders are turning to a divine source for guidance and counsel in troubled times, but all too often this wholesome fact goes unnoticed.

It is gratifying, therefore, to see that a Wyoming newspaper has taken editorial note of the prayer room in the House, and I commend it to your attention. The editorial is taken from the Wyoming State Journal at Lander, Wyo.:

CONGRESS GETS A PRAYER ROOM

For the first time in more than 150 years Members of Congress have been provided with a prayer room at this session. The prayer room, which was authorized last year, is open to Members of Congress only, and is not to be used for any other persons or groups.

The idea is to provide the legislators with one room in the Capitol where they can find seclusion, peace, and quiet. The prayer room's special window was built by volunteer labor from California's 21st Congressional District.

Clergymen of all faiths were consulted about furnishing the prayer room, and a large oak altar was finally selected. The room is covered with green carpet, there are chairs along the walls, in front of which are wooden screens to furnish privacy. Adequate copies of prayer books, Bibles, and other laterature are available in the room.

Anyone who ever worked in the Capitol, amid the tensions and pressures which are exerted on the legislative branch, knows there has long been a need for a prayer room such as this. We hope that on more than one occasion, in the future, this room of meditation and inspiration will be useful in helping to guide decisions made by the highest elected legislative officers of our country in these critical times.

Does Distribution Cost Too Much?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. BROWNSON
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. BROWNSON. Mr. Speaker, at noon on Tuesday, February 8, and again that evening I was privileged to attend the meetings of the National Wholesale Distribution Clinic sponsored by the National Association of Wholesalers and held at the Shoreham Hotel.

I am a small wholesaler myself, president of a very modest size wholesale wallpaper and paint corporation, but as I listened to the greeting from NAW President George Wedemeyer, of Ann Arbor, Mich., and the luncheon address by Warner S. Shelly, president of N. W. Ayer & Son, of Philadelphia, on the subject Advertising and Wholesaling Are Handmaidens, I began to realize how very infrequently we who are in Congress recognize the importance of the wholesaler, or, in fact of our highly specilized distribution system.

The voices of the representatives of producers, farmers, and manufacturers alike, are often heard in these Chambers. The spokesmen for labor are properly articulate. With the possible exception of the consumer, those engaged in the distributive trades receive the least attention directed to the solution of their problems. As a means of distribution wholesaling involves bringing goods from places too distant or too numerous for the retailer to deal with and in quantities too big for him to handle, in order to bridge the gap between the producers and the consumer. It seems obvious that our economy, based as it is on mass production and mass consumption, could be seriously crippled if a gap existed anywhere along the line between producer and consumer. As Mr. Warner S. Shelly said in his opening address:

> The reason for talking about advertising and wholesaling in the same breath is that they have certain things in common. The most obvious of these is the fact that both are less understood by the public, and more frequently criticized, than almost any other operating parts of our economic system. They are often neglected, frequently criticized, and nearly always given hard chores to do. The wholesaler is often called a grasping middleman, and the shout goes up "Let's eliminate the middleman." Advertising gets the huckster label in some quarters, and the slogan here is: "Let's cut out advertising." The producer blames advertising and wholesaling if sales are poor. The consumer blames them if prices seem high.

It is interesting to explore the reasons why there has been such a limited appreciation of the problem of distribution, especially wholesale. I suppose one reason is that wholesaling with only about 250,000 firms, employs a relatively small number of people. As a minority group wholesalers have not been either consistent or vigorous in keeping their congressional representatives informed of the problems which they face individually. As Mr. Shelly noted, public ignorance of the nature of wholesaling and

the confusing terms by which the wholesaler tries to explain his business to the public adds to the difficulty.

He stated:

Public ignorance is intensified by the fact that people have been encouraged to think in terms of stock phrases and pat labels. Thus we have the poor but honest farmer, and the oppressed consumer, both under the thumb of the grasping middleman. As any thinking person knows, these labels do not fit. There are good and bad people in all lines of work and all classes of society. There are farmers and consumers who will steal your eyeteeth and then complain because there aren't any good fillings in them, just as there are advertising men and wholesalers who will do the same. But mostly people of any type are a pretty good sort.

During the evening meeting, after the pointed observation of Herb Shriner, the clinic heard an address, the American Economy Is Cushioned by 250,000 Wholesalers, by Herb R. Askins, immediate past president, National Standard Parts Association, and former Under Secretary of the Navy. I was particularly impressed by this discussion but the remarks of Joseph Kolodny, managing director of the National Association of Tobacco Distributors, seemed to me to be those which would be of the greatest interest to Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following address of Mr. Kolodny, a dynamic influence in distribution, whom I have known personally for several years:

DOES DISTRIBUTION COST TOO MUCH?

(By Joseph Kolodny, managing director, NATD)

Let us, at the very outset, endeavor to clear the atmosphere by dissipating the fog arising from the endless and contentious arguments relative to the cost of distribution.

The air has been acridly contaminated ever since the 20th Century Fund stirred up the emotions of both protagonists and antagonists by propounding the question, "Does distribution cost too much?" and thus casting a cloud on the efficiency and proficiency of the distribution instrumentalities.

It seems foolhardy, in a dynamic society, to indulge in vainglorious pronouncements accentuating the ultra efficiencies of any operations, be they manufacturing, distributing, or servicing. Propelled by the impact of scientific and technological creations we are constantly either on the alert or forced to entertain and attune our operations to new ideas, new devices, and new developments. The distribution system, though somewhat tardily, has made notable progress in that direction.

To the "know-it-all" segment of our populace, who may never have taken the time to study the contents and conclusions incorporated in this exhaustive 20th Century Fund document, the question seemingly implied that "distribution did cost too much." It occurs to me, however, that we can consider the subject matter with infinitely more realism if we change the question to, "What does the consumer want or require?" In the final analysis, the consumer—and only the consumer—is the arbiter of our economic destiny. He and he alone dictates and determines the direction of our pursuits. No form of distribution can be superimposed upon him. He accepts that which he approves and rejects—that which does not meet his fancies. In exploiting "consumer appeal" and catering to "consumer demand," the advertising fraternity shows itself to be especially conscious of this phenomenon.

The influence of consumer attitudes has acquired potent significance in recent years. The emergenc of 2- and 3-color automobiles, as epitomized by the 1955 models, vividly underscores the lively attention paid by the manufacturer to the wishes of the consumer.

Since the word "distribution" has, rather, little meaning for us when applied in the strictest "dictionary" sense, and only acquires animation and vitality when wedded to the product and related services, that the whole issue can be more accurately examined by linking the product with the user and determining what sort of service he expects or desires at the time he is ready to acquire it.

At this point, it is essential to dwell, if only briefly, on the circumstances which have contributed markedly toward bringing about a sharp change in our thinking and actions in recent years in relation to the far-flung sphere of distribution. The amazing technological achievement of this Nation in mass production and its corollary—mass advertising—together with its concomitant, "preselling"—have vastly altered the relationship between the entrepreneur and the product. Prior to the fantastic mass production achievements, the product came principally from the hands of the local craftsman. It was a personal activity and the product was closely identified with the man who made it. Today, such local craftsmen are almost nonexistent and the mass-produced article has lost that touch of personal identity.

It is not an exaggeration to assert that the public, except in rare instances, doesn't know and, moreover, doesn't care who heads the firm or who is the directing genius of the manufacturing entity which produces the article. The product itself has become supreme and the consumer is guided in his purchase by what he learns of its quality and dependability. Before embarking upon a shopping trip, Mrs. Consumer has predetermined, to a large extent, what products she intends to buy. When by virtue of modern packaging and display she is exposed to and enticed by the known branded product, she responds almost impulsively. As an inescapable result; the product and the method employed in gratifying the consumer's needs and wishes becomes wholly subordinate to the consumer's thinking and action.

Let's not be unmindful that the consumer, informed or uninformed, influences, controls, and even dictates the cost of distribution. She—and I say "she" advisedly because it is axiomatic that women control the Nation's pursestrings—can make or break any system or method of distribution ever devised or contrived. And, by the amount and extent of service she demands, she controls the factor which, more than any other, determines the ultimate cost of distribution.

Nowhere in the world is the consumer placed on such a high pedestal as in our own country. Not only is she catered to as if she were a queen, but she is shielded on all sides from exploitation. She is served by many agencies of the Federal Government and a multitude of laws protect her from dishonest or monopolistic operations and manipulations, including the Pure Food and Drug Act, the Clayton Act, the Federal Deposit Insurance Act, the Robinson-Patman Act, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Trade Commission and many others. The States also exercise their police powers in the consumer's behalf, especially in the area of fair business practices, and the local governments control the activities of the predatory schemers through the operation of their license bureaus and racket and bunco squads. Add to these the watchdog alertness of the better business bureaus and other organizatitons set up by private business to root out dishonesty and foster ethical conduct.

Our being a free economy, the consumer has an unrestricted choice as to what she shall buy and where she shall buy it. The price she pays will be influenced by whether she demands full service, minimum service, or no service at all.

Mrs. Consumer may choose to drive to the market. Although she disregards it, the cost of operating her car is inseparably linked with the cost of distribution. Arriving at the market, she grabs a pushcart and manipulates it interminably up and down the length of the aisles, fetching from the neatly arranged shelves her food and sundry household requirements.

Mrs. Consumer then elects to cart or carry the heavy bags of groceries to her car—as a tacit manifestation of domestic economy. Upon arriving home, and staggering under the burden of her packages, she carries them into the kitchen or pantry—again mindful that she has saved a few pennies.

In sharp contrast, another housewife merely lifts her phone and leisurely speaks to the grocer or other merchants, placing her order for an assortment of products and admonishing the merchant that it must be delivered by a specific time. Upon receiving the call, the grocer or his clerk sets about to assemble the order, which involves a cost of time and effort. They then load it into a delivery conveyance to transport it punctually to the customer's home and, upon arrival, carry the packages into the house or apartment and place them on the kitchen or pantry table. This store-to-door operation involves the cost of the clerk's time, the use of the vehicle, and the services of the delivery man.

How are we to properly differentiate between basic distribution costs and optional service costs? Obviously, certain elements of cost are stationary, such as—

(a) The warehousing of the merchandise, which is prerequisite in both cases.

(b) The transportation of the goods to the retail outlets—again an inescapable cost in both instances.

(c) Placing the merchandise on the shelves for easy accessibility and handling—likewise required in both cases.

At this point, there is a parting of the ways. The cost of conveying the goods to the home must be assumed either by the consumer, who elects to drive her own car or carry her own parcels, or by the retailer who provides delivery service.

Also, in selecting the type of service she desires, the consumer has to choose between—

(a) Allotting time and effort in shopping on a cash basis in nonservice stores, or

(b) Taking advantage of the conveniences of the service stores—including delivery and credit.

Instead of phoning the dry cleaner, she can take the garments to him and earn a discount of 15 to 20 percent. She can have a bottle of fresh milk or fresh bread delivered to her doorstep by the milkman or baker's man, or she can get them cheaper at the store. If she needs a new appliance, and is willing to forego the servicing advantages afforded by her local or neighborhood dealer, she may effect a saving by searching for a discount house. Mail-order houses also offer numerous savings if she is willing to wait an indeterminate period for delivery. If she has the patience, she can also wait for seasonal clearance sales by the department stores.

In the matter of cost, differences are relatively slight. The product costs exactly the same to produce and advertise, whether it is destined for the shelf of the service store or nonservice store. In the item of carrier transportation costs, there is a slight differential in carload versus less-than-carload lots, but this is a very minor factor in the aggregate cost of distribution. For all practical purposes, the cost of goods to merchants is almost identical.

The impact of the consumer is virtually nonexistent until the merchandise com-

mences its movement into the wholesale and retail outlets. It is at that stage that the consumer first begins to exert the terrific force of her power of selection.

There are types of stores and types of services to meet the wants of every consumer. The merchandise may come to rest in a fashionable shop catering to the carriage trade, which relies on this type of merchant to satisfy its whims at a moment's notice. It may involve a rare food delicacy from a distant corner of the earth. It might be a costly item of jewelry or any other product for which the demand is uncertain and inconstant. When the merchant stocks such a product, he does so with the knowledge that he may have to retain it in stock for weeks or months before it is sold. If a large portion of this shop's capital is tied up in slow-moving inventory, there obviously must be an unusually high markup, which translates itself into high distribution cost.

On the other hand, certain merchandise comes to only a momentary halt in the retail store, such as cigarettes, where the frequency of turnover is almost daily and the cost of handling far less. It is almost axiomatic that the ultimate price of any product is governed very largely by the rapidity of its turnover.

The consumer of limited or less-than-average income, who is obliged to seek out sources of supply which will enable him to stretch his dollar farthest, has many avenues open to him. For the most part there are retail establishments which provide a minimum of service and where overhead cost is also kept at a minimum. A typical example may be found in the type of men's clothing store which operates in a low-rent district and on virtually a self-service basis. The customer selects his own suit or coat from the racks with little or no assistance from a clerk. He gets a makeshift fitting or he may find it necessary to take the suit to his own tailor to have it fitted properly. The whole process is a test of patience and fortitude. But he finally gets a suit for what he believes he can afford to pay.

The consumer who is less economy-minded goes to a conveniently located establishment where he knows he can obtain clothing of excellent material and workmanship, where attention is showered upon him by the floorwalker, the manager, the clerk, and the fitter. He can look over dozens of suits at his leisure without being shoved or pushed around. All this comes under the heading of service, the cost of which is incorporated into the price of the suit.

I have mentioned only some of the distribution devices available to the consumer which offer money-saving opportunities. The fact that these channels are able to compete successfully for a share of the consumer's dollar attests to the elasticity of our free economy.

The conventional patterns of distribution, fortunately for us, continue to find by far the greatest favor among the Nation's consumers. America today enjoys the highest standard of living in all the world's history and that high standard is based, in substantial part, on the enjoyment of the conveniences and even the luxuries of service.

The rapid development of the self-service grocery store, notably the supermarket, is perhaps the outstanding merchandising phenomenon of the postwar era. There is nothing basically new in the idea because self-service has been with us ever since the advent of the cafeteria. Do these supermarkets offer customers noteworthy savings? The most detailed study relating to supermarket sales was made recently in 5 Cleveland, Ohio, supermarkets over a period of 13 weeks. Records were kept on every item accounting for five one-thousandths or more of the total store sales.

The 5 stores averaged $45,520 sales per week. Customer purchases averaged $6.83. In round figures, grocery items accounted for 44 percent of total sales, meats 28 percent, produce 13 percent, frozen foods 4 percent, and baked goods 3 percent. The average gross margin of profit was 17.9 percent, but the survey revealed striking variations in the profit rates, ranging from about 5 percent to more than 40 percent. The lowest markups applied to fast-moving staples such as cigarettes, sugar, coffee, butter, flour, soap, baby foods, shortening, gelatines, etc., on which the gross profit ranged from 5.4 percent to 9.8 percent, an average of 7 percent.

While the growth of chains and supermarkets has been huge, it must not be assumed that American consumers are exerting their power to make or break any type of distribution to the detriment of the conventional type of grocer who provides more service. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The so-called independent grocer in 1953 accounted for slightly more than half of total food sales, with chains doing about 30 percent and the remainder represented by sales of food products by stores other than grocers.

Quite frequently, in evaluating distribution processes, the claim is made that the multiplicity of distributive outlets, both wholesale and retail, result in a duplication of effort which pyramids distribution costs. Such an assertion belongs to that category of superficial arguments that lack authentic support. In the first place, this Nation is the strongest bastion of free enterprise, preserving the right of any aspiring individual to embark on a business career of his own—with all its attendant risks—and either succeeding or "losing his shirt." Secondly, there is not one iota of evidence that because there are a number of grocers, druggists, or haberdashers in one neighborhood, the consumer is saddled with greater costs. On the contrary, it is the very existence and presence of these coteries of competing merchants that is the best safeguard against unwarranted hiking of prices.

Since I am associated with the tobacco industry, it is, I feel, not inappropriate to use the experience of my industry as a point of illustration. Here are some of the basic facts about the principal tobacco product—cigarettes.

In the 1940–53 period, the combined net sales of the five largest cigarette manufacturers increased from $1,014,000,000 to $3,100,000,000 or 206 percent. At the same time the sale of cigarettes by units expanded from 157 to 391 billion, or 150 percent. But the cost of leaf tobacco soared 337 percent in crop value and Federal excise taxes jumped from $640 million to $1,614,000,000 or 152 percent. Federal and State income taxes spiraled from $33 million to $181 million—an astonishing 444 percent. The result was that net income increased only 39 percent and common dividends only 15 percent, in each case less than the depreciation in the value of the dollar. In short, the industry in 1953 handled a cigarette business which had tripled in dollar volume and increased 2½ times in physical volume, at a profit which was less in actual value than in 1940.

Actually, considering the depreciation in the value of the dollar, cigarettes are relatively cheaper today than 15 years ago. Since 1940, the retail price of standard cigarettes, exclusive of State or local stamp taxes, has increased on the average of only 4½ cents a package and of this 2 cents was made mandatory by increases in the Federal excise tax from 6 cents to 8 cents per package. The other 2½ cents has been entirely absorbed by increased costs of tobacco, labor, packaging, shipping, etc.

In 1940, the prevailing average price of the popular standard brands was 18 cents a package, including all excise taxes. The Government estimates that on the basis of what the dollar would buy in the 1947–49 base period, it would have bought $1.669 in 1940 but only $0.87 in 1954. On a comparative basis, therefore, the same cigarettes should retail for 34 cents, instead of the prevailing average of 23–24 cents. The fact that the operating costs of tobacco wholesalers are approximately 5 percent, coupled with a very modest retail profit, is another item on the credit side of the consumer's ledger. This, therefore, is a sound explanation why the consumer today is spending less, proportionately, for cigarettes than in 1940.

What about the availability of these cigarettes to the consuming public? Notwithstanding the shrinkage of profit to the manufacturer, the modest and barely-break-even margins to wholesalers and retailers, cigarettes are more easily available and more readily accessible than at any other time. They are handled and dispensed by 1,300,000 retail outlets, which accounts for more than two-thirds of such outlets.

The portrayal of the cigarette picture does not even remotely imply that the experience depicts any outstanding exception. To a larger or lesser extent, a similar example can be applied to drug toiletries, blades, many confectionery products, and chewing gum, numerous food products, including cereals, and many other commodities.

It candidly does not entail the erudite propensities of auditing or accounting experts to realize that the combined costs of wholesale and retail distribution on these products, exclusive of transportation, ranges around 20 percent and that certainly is an exceedingly modest figure.

Present-day exigencies dictate a careful reexamination of all elements of cost. The keenness of competition forces us to draw on every resource at our command in striving for the goal of irreducible costs. Let us not be unmindful, however, that in appraising the cost of distribution it is the consumer who governs the character and type of services he or she demands, and that with the advent in recent years of all sorts of distributive media, the consumer does not have to be too much perturbed about anyone's ability to mulct him or her with exorbitant costs of distribution.

Pennies for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I wholeheartedly subscribe to the sentiments expressed in the following editorial which appeared in the Newark (N. J.) Star Ledger, of February 23, 1955:

PENNIES FOR FREEDOM

If you've got spare nickels and dimes in your pocket, we can't think of a better place to send them than to the Crusade for Freedom.

The crusade's on a $10 million fund-raising campaign now. It uses the money to let the people behind the Iron Curtain know what their masters don't want them to know. The crusade's main instrument is Radio Free Europe, which beams the truth to Eastern Europe, but it also uses other devices.

It was the Crusade for Freedom which drew an official protest from Hungary last December. It dropped millions of leaflets, via balloons, telling the Hungarians to fight for freedom. Hungary complained to Washington. Washington replied sweetly that it couldn't do much about this, because the

Crusade for Freedom is a private organization and it's free to do what it pleases.

The protest proved that the leaflets are being read, and that the crusade's work is fruitful. Every penny it gets is needed, and well-spent.

Democratic Leaders Attempt To Buy Voters for $20 Head Seen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the following article which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of February 23, 1955:

DEMOCRATIC ATTEMPT TO BUY VOTERS FOR $20 HEAD SEEN

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, February 22.—There's an even more penetrating way to "share the wealth," as the late Huey Long phrased it, than the Democratic Party leaders have thought of with their $20 cut in taxes, for everybody. It's equally logical and it could mean an even bigger potential in vote getting.

Thus there are about 55 million citizens with incomes under $5,000 a year. This is a sizable number of voters and enough to win an election if they vote solely on selfish grounds.

A scheme could be devised to free this entire group from the payment of any Federal taxes whatsoever. It would cost the Treasury of the United States $8.5 billions. But if demagoguery is to be the rule, then there's a simple way to make it up—just increase the taxes on the persons with incomes of $25,000 a year or more. They're paying $8.7 billions a year already. The addition of $8.5 billion in tax payments would, of course, virtually confiscate the incomes of the most thrifty and the most successful citizens. Confiscation, however, is the eventual goal of the Socialists, and the Democratic Party is rapidly becoming the socialistic party in America anyway.

It so happens that there are about 800,000 taxpayers in this country whose incomes are $25,000 a year or over. They pay more in total taxes than do the 55 million who have incomes under $5,000 a year. They are carrying the heaviest tax burden already.

LABOR STANDS TO LOSE

If the share-the-wealth doctrine is to become dominant, it would mean the eventual destruction of incentive and a consequent drop in the incomes of all persons now earning incomes over $5,000 a year. The goal of communism—as well as of its twin brother, socialism—is to do away with the managerial class or so to weaken its spirit as to cause the whole private enterprise system to collapse.

Union labor, which has thrived under the system of risk capital, would not be able to get the increases in wages or pension benefits now enjoyed if the management class in America were wiped out as it has been in Soviet Russia or in countries where state capitalism is in vogue.

It is a paradox that the labor-union leaders in America have lined themselves up politically with the Democratic Party, whose latest program confirms a suspicion that the party is bent on impairing the very economic system that has benefited labor so widely. But the rank and file of the workers do not have much to say about the political maneuvers of the labor bosses. Their dues, which are supposed to be used for union benefits, are applied to pay big salaries to executives of the unions who spend a large part of their time in political activities.

WHAT DEMOCRATS PROMISED

Also, by the use of the compulsory unionization law, the union bosses hold the power of economic life or death over the worker and, unless he goes along with the political campaign programs, even though they lead to socialistic ends, the ordinary union member can lose his job as a punishment for failing to conform.

The Democratic Party in the last election said through its leaders that it would support the President and promised also to favor policies of fiscal soundness. But the Democratic-controlled Congress has been here less than 2 months and it is becoming crystal clear that such campaign pledges have already been abandoned.

A pattern of strategy is emerging. The Democratic leaders favor more and more spending—more billions for all kinds of socialistic adventures, including a program of Government-owned electric-light-and-power projects. They also favor more and more exemptions from taxation for the maximum number of voters. Both approaches, while contradictory from any standpoint of fiscal soundness, mean a budget unbalanced by a wide margin. Then the Democratic Party spokesmen will claim that the Eisenhower administration has failed to balance the budget as promised in 1952.

It is beginning to look as if the 1954 election was very costly to the American people because it was influenced by the most deceptive piece of campaigning that the country has ever witnessed. The Democratic argument was that a depression was coming and that the number of unemployed would increase. It turns out now that the mild recession was short-lived and that business is booming because, in making 1955 plans, businessmen have had confidence in the fiscal policies of the Eisenhower administration. They expanded facilities after making a remarkable adjustment to the post-Korean war shrinkages in Government spending.

If, however, the budget is to be heavily unbalanced and the Democratic Party in Congress—which never balanced a budget in 20 years—is to continue in power after the next election, the country will experience a real inflation. That would come from a rapid increase in the cost of living and a severe drop in the purchasing power of the dollar. That threat apparently has no terrors for the Democrats, who are out to win in 1956 by what Representative DANIEL REED, of New York, a veteran member of Congress, describes as a scheme for buying the electorate. It remains to be seen whether the electorate can be bought by a $20 tax cut per voter, and whether socialism, as offered by the Democratic Party leadership, is going to be accepted in preference to a sound dollar and a system of private enterprise.

Votes at $20 Each?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the membership to an editorial from the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle which I believe succinctly expresses the attitude of the majority of our people with reference to the proposal to reduce taxes by $20.

I expect to support the President's plan to give further tax relief at the proper time, but the proposal which is now before us is ill-timed and unsound. We have not yet passed a single appropriation bill this year, and we do not yet know how much money we are going to have to spend to run the Government. It would certainly be no service to the people to hand each of them $20 if we must borrow this money from the same individuals in order to make the gift.

Under leave granted, I include the following editorial:

VOTES AT $20 EACH?

Twenty dollars is not much for an American citizen to contribute to his country. It is a trifling amount these days. It means 3 or 4 gasoline fillings for the car. A night at the races. A weekend party. Twenty dollars just doesn't go far. That is, it doesn't go far for the individual. Multiplied by many millions, it means more than a billion dollars, which still remains quite a sum even for our expensive Government.

The proposal to reduce everyone's taxes by $20 is a cheap bribe, the child of cheap politics. It is an insult to the average man, who must put a higher price than that on his vote. It is an insult to any citizen who is not only expected to contribute to his Government, but is eager to do so.

Higher Pay for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the Daily Tribune, of Royal Oak, Mich., dated February 21.

This paper is one of the outstanding publications in the State of Michigan. It is my hometown paper. It serves a great portion of the people of my congressional district, the 18th Michigan.

The Tribune has published some comment on the present proposal for increased pay to Members of Congress. The view that it takes in pointing out that more than one-third of an increase in the salaries of Members of Congress would have to be paid back to the Federal Government in taxes is sound and correct. We all know that the salaries of Members of Congress are all taxable.

The editorial reads as follows:

HIGHER PAY FOR CONGRESS

The House bill would make the pay of Senators and Representatives $25,000 a year, of which $2,500 would be an expense allowance. A bill reported favorably in the Senate calls for $22,500 as the total.

The present $15,000 stipend with the $2,500 expense allowance was set in 1946. In the following 9 years average consumer prices rose by more than one-third, and $15,000 in 1946 dollars would be around $20,000 in 1955 dollars.

But most Members of Congress insist that, because of their special expenses, they need more today than in 1946. Representative VICTOR WICKERSHAM, Democrat, Oklahoma, 49-year-old father of 4 children (2 under 20), reported on February 9 that he is now going into the red by $4,900 a year and that in his dozen years in Congress his outlay has exceeded his salary by $39,000.

But don't overlook the Federal income-tax bite. It would absorb about $3,400 of a $10,000 raise for Representative WICKERSHAM even if he had no outside income of any kind (he used to be a real-estate operator), and the Oklahoma State income tax would take $600 or so more.

And most Members of Congress have outside income, so that the Federal income tax alone would take more—in many cases, much more—than $3,600 out of a $10,000 pay increase for them. So we shouldn't expect a raise of $7,500 (as in the Senate bill) or even $10,000 by itself to tempt hordes of better men to run for Congress or by itself to keep all the best Members there.

George F. Kennan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, the 19th Congressional District is the home of a number of distinguished men. These include the President of the United States, Gov. George M. Leader, of Pennsylvania, and a man whose distinguished diplomatic service has been recognized by all save the present administration. I refer to the Honorable George F. Kennan, widely recognized as one of the most authoritative experts on Russia.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include the following article about Mr. Kennan from the Washington Daily News of February 23:

CONSULTANT GOES UNCONSULTED—KENNAN'S LINE SEEMS TO HAVE A SHORT

The State Department has not consulted George F. Kennan, former Ambassador to Moscow, on American-Soviet relations for almost 2 years, it was disclosed today.

One of the Nation's top Soviet experts, Mr. Kennan's retirement from the State Department was announced April 6, 1953, after he and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had feuded openly over American policies toward the Soviet Union.

AGREEMENT

When Mr. Kennan left the State Department, it was announced that plans had been worked out for him to serve as a regular consultant to the Government. This agreement, it was said, was satisfactory to both Mr. Kennan and Mr. Dulles.

However, administration officials said today that Mr. Kennan had not been asked, since his retirement, to give the State Department his views on Soviet affairs. This was confirmed by Mr. Kennan at Princeton, N. J., where he has been working in the Institute for Advanced Studies.

"I have talked over these matters from time to time with friends in the Government, but I have had no consultations with the Department of State," Mr. Kennan said.

Diplomats said Mr. Kennan had stopped by from time to time on an informal basis to chat with old friends. There was no indication, however, that he had even seen Mr. Dulles since April 1953. It is possible, however, that Mr. Kennan has had some contact with the super-secret Central Intelligence Agency headed by Allen W. Dulles, younger brother of the Secretary of State.

AUTHOR REJECTED

During the 1952 presidential campaign, Dwight D. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles strongly criticized the Truman Administration's "containment of Russia" policy. Mr. Kennan was the author of the policy. Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles urged a more "dynamic" positive but peaceful policy of "liberation" of millions enslaved under communism.

Mr. Kennan made no bones about his fears. He warned against what he called the danger of misunderstanding and bitterness which could flow from such policies. He predicted that the competitive power of freedom would prove itself and that "totalitarian despotism will prove in the end to be self-destructive."

The question of Mr. Kennan's postretirement service with the State Department came up in connection with the latest Moscow power fighting. Ousted Premier Georgi M. Malenkov openly admitted his "guilt and responsibility for the unsatisfactory state of affairs which has arisen in agriculture." Diplomats recalled that Mr. Kennan had written 3 years ago that forced collectivization of Soviet agriculture was probably "the greatest single cause of discontent in the Soviet Union. "Agriculture," he said, "is the Achilles heel of the Soviet system."

Rotary's 50th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, Rotary clubs around the world are looking forward to continued "service above self" as they observe Rotary's 50th anniversary this month.

The world-encircling nature of this organization, which started modestly a half century ago, emphasizes the growing importance of the advancement of international understanding, good will, and peace through world fellowship of business and professional men united in the ideal of service.

It is with profound pride and a deep sense of obligation that I regard my membership in the Rotary Club of Paterson, N. J. It is good to know that the same warm, friendly atmosphere, the same high idealism that exists in the Paterson Rotary Club exists in more than 8,400 Rotary clubs with some 400,000 members in 89 countries.

Although Rotary has become worldwide, it has managed to keep its warmth, its helpful community spirit, its ideals of service to others, and a goal of peace.

Recently the board of directors declared that Rotary International "has declared unequivocally for the liberty of the individual, for freedom of thought, speech, and assembly, freedom of worship, and freedom from persecution."

It is obvious—

Said the board—

that everything for which Rotary International stands is the very antithesis of communism. * * * Where freedom, justice, truth, sanctity of the pledged word, and respect for human rights do not exist, Rotary and the ideal for which it stands cannot survive.

Rotarians will not rest on the yeoman service they have performed since 1905, but look forward to another half-century of community aid and promotion of international understanding.

Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have again received a monthly review of employment developments and prospects for the York, Pa., labor market, covering the situation in January 1955 and issued by Leroy W. Gohn, manager of the York office of the Pennsylvania State Employment Service.

The January data shows that unemployment rose 37 percent to a new high of 7,400, more than double the number of unemployed a year ago. The report states that this high level is expected to be only temporary and will level off to about 5,600 by mid-March.

This would appear to be a scant ray of hope since it represents more than 6 percent of the civilian labor force available.

January unemployment is 2,000 greater than the figure for November of 1954 and the expected leveling off in March will be 200 greater than actual unemployment in November.

Despite the glowing reports about the prosperous condition of the national economy which the Congress continues to receive from the administration, and which the American public continues to receive from administration public statements we have a difficult time convincing the 7,400 idle workers in the York labor market.

It is imperative that the Congress act upon conditions it knows exist rather than upon ephemeral visions of prosperity conjured by the administration hucksters. A step in the right direction, Mr. Speaker, is the proposal to grant income reductions to individual taxpayers. This should add approximately $1 billion to the Nations purchasing power and it should be considered as merely one phase of a program designed to provide a full employment economy.

As I understand the mandates of the Full Employment Act of 1946 the Congress has no choice but to adopt a program for full employment. I believe the administration is also mandated to establish and maintain such an economy. It is up to the Congress then to step into the breach created by administration failure.

The report follows:

TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT REDUCTION

A sudden drop in employment beginning in December caused total employment to fall from 93,150 in November to an estimated 90,700 in mid-January, a decrease of 2,450, or 2.6 percent. However, most of the personnel reductions were seasonal, with mid-March employment levels expected to return within 400 of the November figure.

The following table presents a quick glance at current and anticipated trends:

Item	2 months ago, November 1954	Current, January 1955	Net change 2 months ago	Estimated 2 months hence
Civilian labor force available	99,050	98,100	−950	+250
Unemployed, total	5,400	7,400	+2,000	−1,800
Workers in industrial dispute	500	0	−500	0
Employed, total	93,150	90,700	−2,450	+2,050
Wage and salary workers	78,450	76,350	−2,100	+1,800
Other workers (including agricultural)	14,700	14,350	−350	+250

The decrease in nonagricultural workers was evenly divided between manufacturing and nonmanufacturing industries, with a drop of 1,050 recorded in each. Layoffs of a seasonal nature, totalling 2,200, were included with the following industries affected: Food products, fabricated metal (tire chains), tobacco products, roofing materials, construction, and retail trade. A reduction of 400 in furniture was attributable chiefly to insufficient orders. The only substantial gain in any industry was 600 in nonelectrical machinery, of which nearly 500 constituted return of workers who had been out on strike for 3 months.

SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE FORECAST

Based upon reports from 267 establishments, it is estimated that some 92,750 workers will be employed by March 15. This would be a gain of 2,050 over current levels, bringing total employment within 400 of the November 1954 level. Factors influencing this development will be recall of laid-off workers by the tobacco and construction industries, plus moderate expansion in several other industries. Highlighting the latter will be forecast expansion of 600 in the nonelectrical machinery industry, with the resumption of production of domestic air-conditioning equipment.

UNEMPLOYMENT SURGES UPWARD

Unemployment rose by 2,000, or 37 percent, to a new high of 7,400 (2,900 female). This was more than double the 3,600 unemployed a year ago. There are indications that this high level will be only temporary and will drop to about 5,600 by mid-March. In fact, the number of continued claims for unemployment benefits during the week ending February 10 were already 480 below the mid-January level.

Estimated employment, earnings and working time in manufacturing industries,[1] York labor market area,[2] January 1955

	Employment			Average weekly earnings			Average hourly earnings			Average weekly hours worked		
	January 1955	Month ago	Year ago	January 1955	Month ago	Year ago	January 1955	Month ago	Year ago	January 1955	Month ago	Year ago
All manufacturing	42,600	43,850	47,150	$62.15	$62.85	$62.53	$1.55	$1.55	$1.57	40.2	40.6	39.8
Food	3,100	3,250	3,150	58.00	60.17	56.56	1.40	1.40	1.36	41.4	43.1	41.5
Tobacco	2,000	2,600	2,400	41.88	38.77	40.38	1.13	1.09	1.07	37.0	35.7	37.6
Textiles	3,250	3,200	3,150	55.95	55.40	52.23	1.39	1.37	1.35	40.4	40.5	38.6
Apparel	4,700	4,750	4,700	41.55	43.44	40.88	1.13	1.19	1.19	36.8	36.6	34.5
Lumber	550	600	600	47.24	56.94	42.85	1.19	1.16	1.15	49.0	49.0	37.2
Furniture	3,850	4,100	4,150	65.23	70.24	64.74	1.59	1.63	1.58	41.1	43.2	41.0
Paper	2,550	2,500	2,500	89.50	93.41	85.85	1.81	1.83	1.75	49.5	51.1	49.0
Printing and publishing	1,900	1,900	1,850	90.29	86.36	83.23	2.21	2.19	2.11	40.8	39.4	39.5
Chemicals and petroleum	650	650	600	68.26	64.61	65.49	1.64	1.64	1.61	41.9	39.3	40.7
Leather	2,250	2,250	2,150	41.52	41.20	39.67	1.08	1.07	1.08	38.3	38.5	36.6
Stone, clay, and glass	1,100	1,050	1,100	70.89	73.23	67.85	1.67	1.67	1.64	42.5	43.8	41.4
Primary metal industries	550	550	550	60.65	56.84	58.62	1.75	1.71	1.70	34.6	33.2	34.5
Fabricated metal products	4,200	4,350	4,900	68.24	69.50	62.96	1.71	1.72	1.63	40.0	40.5	38.6
Nonelectrical machinery	8,100	8,100	10,300	74.55	76.63	80.87	1.87	1.89	1.92	39.8	40.5	42.1
Electrical machinery	1,000	1,000	850	65.20	62.96	61.07	1.61	1.58	1.55	40.6	39.8	39.3
Transportation equipment, including ordnance	1,100	1,200	2,150	67.97	69.28		1.77	1.78		38.4	38.9	
Other manufacturing industries	1,850	1,800	2,050	59.67	59.72	57.25	1.49	1.48	1.47	40.1	40.3	39.0

[1] Estimates of employment include production and nonproduction workers in non-Government establishments. Average earnings and hours cover only production workers.

[2] County included: York.

NOTE.—Figures for current month are preliminary.

Infiltration Into Reputable Labor Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the two appended articles are by two distinguished columnists, Roscoe Drummond and George Sokolsky, who certainly never consulted each other before tackling this most important and dangerous subject.

Both men sound a sharp warning that we in Government should give great attention to, namely, the possible, nay very likely, infiltration into reputable labor unions of the A. F. of L. and CIO by Communist unions who are looking for a cloak of respectability behind which they can pursue their labors and capture unions and influence policy from within.

This is a serious matter and one which the Attorney General's Office should go to work on before it is too late. Time is of the essence, and time is growing short:

The articles follow:

OUSTED UNIONS FACE REGISTRATION

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The labor unions which were expelled from the CIO because they were Communist-dominated now are trying to barter and badger their way into the American Federation of Labor in an effort to acquire a new cover of respectability.

From recent editorials in the Daily Worker it is clear that directions have gone out from the Communist Party that now is the time for the expelled unions to renew their efforts to get under the umbrella of one or another of the big labor organizations, and as soon as possible.

There's a reason for this urgency on the part of the Communists.

The reason is that time is rapidly running out on Communist-front and Communist-infiltrated organizations in the United States. This means that if the expelled unions do not find shelter soon the law will catch up with them; the law requiring such organizations to register and thus to function openly for what they are.

The circumstance is that the Attorney General now is authorized under the Communist Control Act of last year, to institute proceedings before the Subversive Activities Control Board against Communist-infiltrated organizations as well as against Communist fronts and Communist action groups.

Obviously the unions—such as the United Electrical Workers, the United Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, the American Communications Association, Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the International Fur and Leather Workers—which were voted out of the CIO for the very reason, that is, Communist infiltration, that the new law requires such unions to register, are going to feel the force of this new law as soon as the Attorney General can assemble all the needed evidence.

But the expelled unions have a potential lifeline which they hope to grab, if they can possibly make it. That potential lifeline is the provision in the 1954 act which gives any union affiliated with the A. F. of L., the CIO, the United Mine Workers, the Railway Brotherhoods something near to immunity. It is written into the law that such affilia-

tion gives a presumption of non-Communist infiltration, whatever the past record.

This is why the Communist Daily Worker is exhorting labor-union progressives, which is the Communist term for Communists, to try to grab hold of the developing merger between the A. F. of L. and the CIO and get the expelled unions into it.

An important test of the merger, says the Daily Worker, "is whether it will be expanded to embrace * * * the workers of the progressive-led independents"—that is, the expelled unions.

That is the visible Communist Party line. The Communists want the unions, expelled for Communist infiltration, in the new merger in order to get the maximum immunity from the Subversive Activities Control Act. They know that a Communist-dominated union can make no appeal to American labor unless its Communist domination is substantially concealed. If it has to operate in the open for what it is, namely, a Communist Party tool and agent of Moscow, its effectiveness is undercut.

No wonder the Communist Party wants to get the expelled unions under this protective shield before the Attorney General can begin prosecution.

There is every reason to believe that George Meany, president of the A. F. of L. and designated head of the superunion, will be an alert and earnest opponent of the Communist-infiltrated unions. But because of the independence of the separate units of the A. F. of L., it cannot be taken for granted that its national leadership can prevent the Communists from getting in.

Already negotiations are well advanced by which the A. F. of L. Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen would take in the CIO-expelled International Fur and Leather Workers. While Meany is warning against it, the project is nearing completion. Nothing could be more harmful to the American labor movement nor to the A. F. of L.-CIO merger than to allow the Communists to use either as a seeding ground for subversion—and that's what the Communists now are trying to do.

LABOR'S BIG MERGER

(By George Sokolsky)

There was a time in the middle 1930's when it was possible to argue over the future of trade unionism in the United States. In the middle 1950's, that is no longer a moot question. The strong, well-financed, politically powerful trade union has become a norm of American life. About one-quarter of the American labor force, 15 million workers, belong either to A. F. of L. or CIO unions. To argue that these members are coerced into paying dues and striking against their will is to raise an unsolvable issue. There has been no demand on the part of any large group of workers that unions be abolished.

The new A. F. of L.-CIO will not only represent an enormous concentration of manpower but several billion dollars of reserves, much of which is being invested in common stock, often in the particular industry which the union serves.

The new national labor organization will be more powerful than either international union was during the period of competition between them. But with power must come responsibility. The agreement was correct in excluding racketeers and subversives, but that is not good enough. The racketeers need to be excluded actually and physically. All labor leaders know who they are and what unions they have invaded and which they control.

Similarly, the trade union leaders know who the Communists are and they do not strengthen public confidence by permitting unions expelled for having been led by subversives to return to American trade unionism by the back door of amalgamation with decent unions. That can only mean an open door for infiltration.

That many unions are accepting their responsibilities seriously is apparent in the publication of annual reports. But the democratic method of choosing union leadership is still to be hoped for and will undoubtedly come as the unions become more stabilized and businesslike.

The criticism of the labor union therefore shifts from theorizing as to whether they should exist at all to objections to racketeering, subversion and unstable practices. The course fixed in the middle 1930's of a recognized American type of trade unionism regulated by act of Congress and supervised by the National Labor Relations Board is now fixed in the American industrial system. The remaining independent unions are not very different from A. F. of L-CIO unions and often are as great a trial to management. No large industry in the United States is without some type of union organization.

The fear of the merger then is unrelated to the industrial aspects of trade unionism but does arise from the uncertainty of the use of manpower and cash for political manipulation. While tight limitations are placed on political contributions of corporations and individuals, practically none are placed on the trade union or their related organizations. They could corrupt the entire electoral process with their abundant tax-free dollars if they so chose. Furthermore, they could develop a class-conscious political system which might be modeled after the British Labor Party or become affiliated with international communism.

This fear could not have existed in the era of Samuel Gompers; it merits thought and study these days when a doctrinaire socialist, such as Walter Reuther, may be the effective leader of 15 million men. It is not altogether impossible that by 1960, this may be the prevailing issue in a presidential campaign.

Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Kearny (N. J.) Observer under date of February 17, 1955:

BROTHERHOOD WEEK

Brotherhood Week is the vehicle designed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews for the advancement of justice, democratic principles, understanding, and good will among all peoples.

All men are created equal, they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. As Americans we believe that—however imperfectly we may carry it into practice.

It is wise that a week be set aside for the eradication of prejudice in our thinking, for the betterment of social justice, and for the promotion of harmony.

It should not be a week of mere superficial attention to nice gestures toward brotherhood. It should be a week of renewed devotion to the great underlying principles which make brotherhood attainable.

Patience with one another, love of neighbor as of self can cement the people of America into a spiritual force with an effort beyond our power to appraise. In the very nature of things such a force cannot be confined to the borders of America.

Brotherhood Week carries the wholehearted endorsement of leaders of every faith, of business figures, labor chiefs, educators, Government officials, men and women in every line of endeavor.

Brotherhood Week gives the impetus for intensive interest in human values that should carry through all the weeks of the year. Emphasizing its theme helps to bring to reality the highest type of idealism. Let us be thankful for the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Brotherhood is the common bond among children as they play together, unaware of any chasm between them. It is the link that makes buddes of soldiers who fight together. Brotherhood impelled the chaplains of three different faiths to give up their lives at sea for the men they served.

Let us therefore practice this brotherhood in our everyday contacts, as we transact our business and as we kneel in our sanctuaries. Let us export it in such quantities as people beyond our borders will accept.

Matusow Lies Raise Question About Ex-Reds' Testimony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the following editorial from the Reading (Pa.) Times:

MATUSOW LIES RAISE QUESTION ABOUT EX-REDS' TESTIMONY

In confessing that he had perjured himself when he was a witness at Communist trials, Harvey Matusow, former member of the Communist Party and former aid to Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, spoke about the strange kind of glamour the ex-Communist has in this country. Matusow may be a very mixed-up man and may one day find himself in durance vile, but in this remark he spoke truly. But he spoke only part of the truth.

The other part of the truth about ex-Communists is that some of them are execrated as greatly as some are glamourized. Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz, Whittaker Chambers—these are all former Communists and these are the names the professional anti-Communists conjure with. As Matusow says, their synonym is glamour in many a bright lexicography. Whatever they say about communism and its practitioners is taken as gospel.

Matusow forgets former Communists like James Wechsler, editor of the New York Post. He's a member of the ex-Communist lodge in just as good standing as Miss Bentley, Budenz, and Chambers. Yet when he got before the McCarthy committee, his recantation was tossed aside by the junior Senator from Wisconsin, who sought to picture him as one who was still playing the Communist game, though under the cloak of anti-communism.

The answer to Matusow's half-truth would seem to be that being a former Communist really doesn't matter. What's important would seem to be the kind of ex-Communist you are and whom you play ball with after you are converted from the mass psychosis that is communism.

In the meantime, it will be interesting to see what the grand jury that has summoned

Matusow, the confessed perjurer, will do with this unsavory specimen and how such men as Owen Lattimore, who was accused by him, will fare now that Matusow is dealing from another deck.

Ambassador to Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. DONOVAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. DONOVAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following editorial from the Manila Chronicle of January 25, 1955, entitled "Ambassador to Washington":

AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON

For almost 2 years now our government has had no representative in Washington, D. C., the most important diplomatic center in the world today. As a matter of fact, Washington may well be called the diplomatic capital of the free world.

Major decisions are formulated and proclaimed from this nerve center of world diplomacy that, because of their impact on international affairs, cannot but influence our own national interests.

We render ourselves proud in saying at appropriate times that we have special relations with the American people by reason of our tutelage in the democratic way of life under the United States and, consequently, that we have special interests to foster and serve. Yet it is strange that we have not come around to naming our own Ambassador up to this time to fill the post vacated by Gen. Carlos P. Romulo early in 1953.

Our Government has lately named ambassadors and ministers with the personal rank of ambassadors to less important diplomatic posts, the maintenance of which would entail great expense without expectation of any immediate or tangible benefits to our Government and people.

In most of the countries where we have sent diplomatic representatives, there are at present only a handful of Filipinos whose business and other interests, if they have any, could effectively and at relatively small cost be handled by consuls or commercial agents.

And yet we have opened embassies and legations, with large staffs, in the capitals of these countries when what our Government should have done was name our Washington Ambassador first. Were these posts created to accommodate lame ducks and political proteges?

Even Soviet Russia and the Iron Curtain satellites maintain full-fledged ambassadors in Washington to take care of their respective national affairs and interests. Yet the Philippines, it seems, would allow this awkward situation to continue notwithstanding our irrevocable ties with the democracies by relying solely on the services of Presidential Envoy Romulo.

What we need in Washington today is a full-time ambassador, not a special envoy which, to all appearance, is but a special accommodation.

The need for the immediate appointment of a regular ambassador is understood by the fact that the United States Congress is now ready to consider the Laurel-Langley agreement on the revision of the Bell Trade Act. His presence there at this crucial moment would also stifle persistent calls for President Magsaysay to visit Washington so that his popularity could be availed of in the performance of a purely ambassadorial job.

Moreover, the Government's continued failure to name an ambassador to Washington could be misinterpreted to mean that for all practical purposes we have severed our diplomatic relations with Washington ahead of the Soviet Union.

Bureaucrats at Your Kitchen Range

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by the very brilliant publicist, Alice Widener, appeared recently in the magazine U. S. A. I commend it to the thoughtful consideration of the Congress and citizens of our great country.

The Supreme Court's decision of June 7, 1954, may well wreck the natural gas industry and end by pricing it out of the market. This economical fuel on which our people have come to depend should be encouraged and not hampered with bureaucratic regulation under the Supreme Court decision of last June. This may soon happen.

BUREAUCRATS AT YOUR KITCHEN RANGE

(By Alice Widener)

If you want to cook the family dinner and heat your home with plenty of cheap natural gas, you had better learn the bad news that you might be in for trouble due to unwarranted Government interference in your domestic affairs.

On June 7, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that the Federal Power Commission has the right to regulate the price of natural gas at the wellhead in the fields. This bureaucratic control is ostensibly designed to keep down the price of gas. But—as any American woman who bought meat at a butcher shop during the nineteen forties can tell you—Government price control results in eventual scarcity of supply and high prices.

If housewives in the United States don't want to queue up in the future for scarce, expensive cooking and heating gas (as housewives are forced to queue up for expensive necessities in many Socialist-dominated foreign lands) they must see to it that this new fangled right of regulation granted to the FPC is quickly taken away.

How can this be done?

In the good old American way. As an alert citizen you can get the facts about natural gas supply and price, then ask Congress to enact legislation nullifying the bad situation created by the Supreme Court decision.

What are the facts? Following is a record of the main ones:

In 1938, Congress passed the Natural Gas Act which recognized that the industry falls into three parts:

1. Production and gathering of the gas.
2. Transmission in interstate pipelines.
3. Local distribution and sale.

The act didn't materially affect part 3 because distribution and sale were previously regulated by State public utilities commissions or local authorities.

Concerning part two, most oil and gas companies readily acceded to the need for regulation because pipeline transmission is a kind of necessary monopoly exercised through right of a single franchise. Nobody in his right mind would be be prodigal enough to build parallel pipelines to a single destination, or locally to residential and industrial areas.

But in dealing with part one of the industry, which involves many complicated intrastate and interstate transactions, the Natural Gas Act specifically stated that its provisions "shall not apply * * * to the production or gathering of natural gas."

HEADS, I WIN—TAILS, YOU LOSE

A basic reason for this wise exemption is that in the United States of America most exploring for gas, and most of its production, is done by intrepid wildcatters and by other independent men and companies with courage enough to take big risks of total financial loss, and with ingenuity and gumption enough to cope with the strongest kind of competition. There are 5,000 large and small producers looking for gas. They find it in only one out of every nine exploratory wells drilled.

In regard to exploration for new supplies vitally needed as fuel for increasing home and industrial consumption, and also for the national defense effort, the Federal Power Commission regulation of prices actually amounts to a ukase to producers and gatherers: "You can take all the risk of losing your only shirt when you go out exploring. But if you strike it rich, you can't make money enough to buy more shirts than we say you can have."

Offered such a deal, even the wildest of wildcatters is likely to declare: "No exploring for me. I'd better stay home and hang on to the shirt I've got."

If the gas explorers do stay home, then millions of American families waiting to install new home cooking and heating equipment adapted to the cheapest and best fuel are going to wait and wait and wait. The lucky families already using natural gas will pay more and more for scarcer and scarcer supply.

FUEL OF THE FUTURE

How badly does our country need new sources of gas?

Last year the Empire Trust Co. of New York City stated: "In 10 short years natural gas achieved something of a miracle of progress. It now supplies about one-fourth of the Nation's energy needs." Nevertheless, in 1946 we had only an estimated 32 years future supply of gas. In 1953, despite new discoveries and increased productivity, the known reserves in the ground had dropped to a 23-year supply. Yet today 25 million families cook with natural gas, 18 million families rely on gas to heat water, 4 million families own gas refrigerators, 14 million families heat their houses with gas.

What part of our country does this fuel come from?

Mostly from fields in Texas, Kansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas, New Mexico, and Mississippi.

How do consumers residing in other States get gas?

Through pipelines. And it is the cost of pipeline construction and maintenance, plus the cost of distribution to the customer, that accounts for at least 90 percent of your household gas bill if you live in one of the nonproducing States.

As a matter of fact, a 10-percent cut in the price of gas at a Southwestern wellhead wouldn't reduce an easterner's or a midwesterner's gas bill by as much as 1 percent.

THE FEDERAL INTRUDER

Then how and why did the Federal Power Commission get this harmful new right of regulation at the gas wellhead?

A major part of the real explanation lies in the story of "creeping socialism" in our country. It is a story about the long and

slow growth of a huge regimenting Federal bureaucracy which has been foisted on the Nation by a group of determined men with plenty of Marxist ideas and very little plain commonsense.

Extremely conceited, these men believe themselves to be the wisest possible planners for a planned society controlled from Washington, D. C., and are convinced they know better than anybody else what is wrong and right for America. Most of them don't dare use the word "socialism" today because they know it is obnoxious to Americans. Therefore these planners double-talk about "a new social order" and "a better democracy" and "a welfare state."

One of their number is a longtime New Deal favorite, Mr. Leland Olds. In 1939, only a short while after Congress passed the Natural Gas Act, he was appointed Chairman of the Federal Power Commission. During his 10 years occupancy of this important post, Mr. Olds waged war on the oil and gas companies in a struggle which he invariably characterized as "the conflict between the public and the private interest."

COURSE OF A LONG CAREER

But what is Leland Olds' view of the American public and private interest? Clearly, is is based on the Marxist slogan "Production for use and not for profit."

As a youthful member of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, for example, he wrote an article for the April-May 1919 issue of its official magazine in support of a proposal "that the Government turn over to the railway employees the entire management of the railroads of the United States." He defined the issue as "between national capitalism and industrial democracy," and advocated a form of guild socialism which was gaining momentum in England.

Pleased that this "ism" was "in line with even deeper social movements," Olds explained that "it is to all extents and purposes the Anglo-Saxon expression of the Russian Soviet principle."[1]

Using his own particular brand of expressions, Olds then indiscriminately smeared "financial interests which have milked the [rail] roads for so many years."

Olds always remained extremely close to the Intercollegiate Socialist Society which in 1923 altered its title to "The League for Industrial Democracy." The membership evidently believed that under a new and deceptive name, a bunch of red roses might smell sweeter to the American public.

In 1952, still using his own brand of Anglo-Saxon expression of the Soviet principle, Leland Olds wrote an article for the League for Industrial Democracy on "the need for a moral awakening in America."[2] In a stale, rabble-rousing diatribe, he vilified all American business and accused "the great corporations" of having bred in our country "a great impersonal, amoral system of irresponsible ownership."

Parroting Stalin, Vishinsky, Molotov and company, Mr. Olds branded the entire ethics of American business corporations as based on "maximizing profits after taxes" and declared that he himself often witnessed the corporations' "enthronement of selfishness above patriotism or religion." Then he talked about "the many phases of western life which are repulsively materialistic. * * * The spirit of business gain * * * the utter selfishness of uncoordinated activity."

THE SENATE REBELS

Precisely what kind of western life does Leland Olds want? The bureaucrat-controlled type that leads inevitably to the selfless, coordinated activity existing in the eastern life of the Soviet slave empire?

Evidently, the United States Senate found the answer to the foregoing question. Tired of Olds' fulminations against American business in general, and the oil and gas companies in particular, the Senate in 1949 refused his reappointment as Chairman of the Federal Power Commission.

Immediately, certain leftwing newspapers and columnists tried to make a national martyr out of Olds. The general public, however, remainder coolly skeptical of the New York Post series of articles, "My Fight With the Power Lobby, by Leland Olds."

But the hard core of Marxists in the League for Industrial Democracy and their leftwing spokesmen and fellow travelers never say die. And so, October 8, 1951, Columnist Joseph Alsop tried to absolve Olds from senatorial charges of Socialist bias, and also took up the prejudiced leftwing hue and cry against the oil and gas companies.

Under the title, "The Big Potatoes," Alsop told a tale of how Senator ROBERT S. KERR, of Oklahoma, "a millionaire, the owner of vast oil and gas properties of his own" had started a fight in 1945 to relieve the natural-gas industry of Federal Power Commission ratemaking. Alsop charged that the Senator had tried to pack the FPC with members of his own choosing, but was frustrated by the incorruptible and determined Commission Chairman, Leland Olds who organized protest deputations to the White House.

Continuing the tale, Alsop wrote:

'The temporary setback did not discourage Senator KERR. Olds' term as Power Commission Chairman expired, and his renomination had to be approved. KERR, now transferred to the Senate's larger sphere, organized an intense attack on Olds as a sinister Socialist, offering in evidence the more foolish utterances indulged in by Olds as a very young, excessively idealistic Congregational minister. Outraged by the threat to free enterprise, the Senate rejected Olds. Meanwhile, the Oklahoma Senator also offered the Kerr bill, giving the natural-gas producers legal protection against Power Commission ratemaking."

POWER BEHIND THE THRONE

Goaded by Olds, President Truman vetoed the Kerr bill, after Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois (another Olds-ter member of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and/or the League for Industrial Democracy) had stirred up what Alsop described as a big row on behalf of the gas consumers, whose gas prices were about to be inflated.

Joseph Alsop and his cronies were not, however, able to veto justifiable criticism of the hardened Socialist Olds-ters.

It is true that some misguided, idealistic Americans who embraced socialism during college days should not now be harshly rebuked. Their subsequent careers show plainly that they grew wiser as they grew older, and they abandoned sophomoric naivete.

But a discerning public should not be fooled by Alsop's whitewashing the pink past of a person who verbally denies present attachment to marxism but acts according to its tenets.

Naturally, the leftwingers were displeased by the appointment of former Gov. Mon C. Wallgren, of Washington, to succeed Olds as chairman of the FPC. According to Joseph Alsop's slanted version of this replacement:

"Wallgren gave KERR what he wanted, control of the Power Commission. In a case started by KERR's old friends, the Phillips Petroleum Co., the Wallgrenized commission immediately reversed itself, briskly enacting the vetoed Kerr bill by simple administrative ruling."

What Alsop failed to tell is that the FPC itself had many times disavowed any power to regulate the producers and gatherers of natural gas, in rightful defiance of Chairman Olds' opinion.

LEFTWING WINNER TAKE ALL

At the end of Alsop's left-leaning column, he declared that the stakes in the Power Commission struggle are really almost incalculable.

They certainly are. And every American has a stake in finding out what are the facts. For if the right of regulation by the FPC over natural-gas producers and gatherers should remain unchallenged or unaltered (as it was acquired through the Supreme Court's 5 to 3 decision in the Phillips Petroleum case June 7, 1954), then the legal precedent is set for establishing a price-controlled economy in the United States.

On November 9, 1954, the New York Times carried a headline, "U. S. Control of Natural Gas Held Forerunner of Widened Socialism," and reported that Mr. A. M. Rippel, manager of the Phillips Petroleum Co.'s natural-gas department, said at a Chicago meeting of the American Petroleum Institute: "It is no more logical to regulate the producers of gas than to regulate the producers of coal, the growers of wheat and cotton, or the miners of iron ore."

In Tulsa, Okla., last fall, Mr. L. F. McCollum, president of the Continental Oil Co., explained in a human, simple way:

"The American housewife has become accustomed to using gas for heating, cooking, and even for drying her washing. Is she goinng to be happy to have to give up the clean fuel that provides her with convenience and comfort?

"Our job is to let Mrs. America know what Federal regulation of field gas prices will mean to her—not in technical, legal terms, but in terms of her own everyday experiences of cooking, cleaning, washing, and keeping warm."

Mr. McCollum wasn't crying wolf about the danger of severe shortage for housewives' use. If interstate sale of gas becomes unprofitable, the producer will abandon it and sell his product in his home State to increasing numbers of industrial consumers.

NEEDED: CLOSER CONGRESSIONAL LOOK

What all Americans need to know in nontechnical terms is that the Supreme Court decision on natural gas was reached in opposition to Congress, and in spite of 11 adverse rulings by the Federal Power Commission itself.

Unfortunately, many patriotic and high-minded municipal officials and legislators now support the Court's decision in the mistaken belief that they are protecting the best interests of consumers in nonproducing, gas-serviced areas. But when Congress takes a closer look at the real situation of the natural-gas industry, and at the activities of a Marxist-minded minority pressure group, the legislators will surely act according to the best interests of our country as a whole.

Surely, Congress will examine carefully the views of those oldsters inside and outside Government who advocate excessive bureaucratic control.

A SUPREME EXAMPLE

For example, there is Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter who wrote a special assenting opinion in the Court's decision in the Phillips case last June.

At a League for Industrial Democracy birthday banquet for materialist philosopher John Dewey in 1949, Justice Frankfurter paid tribute to the guest of honor by quoting the words of a dead poet: "For man is omnipotent."[3] And though Harvard University's professor of English recently described Dewey's thinking as the "philosophy

[1] The Intercollegiate Socialist, April-May 1919, New York City, pp. 22–23.

[2] Needed: A Moral Wakening in America, League for Industrial Democracy, New York City, 1952, pp. 17–18.

[3] John Dewey, At Ninety, League for Industrial Democracy, New York City, 1949, p. 11.

of barbarism," Justice Frankfurter admires it so much that he wrote:

"Not the least of his (John Dewey's) insights is his realization that civil liberties draw only limited strength from legal guaranties. Constant preoccupation by our people with the constitutionality of legislation or executive action rather than its wisdom tends to preoccupation with a false value. * * * The ultimate reliance for the deepest needs of civilization must be found outside their vindication in courts of law." [4]

Surely these are most unusual views for a Supreme Court Justice to hold. Did Justice Frankfurter find justification outside of law for his decision in the Phillips case?

One thing is clear: If his seeming belief that man is omnipotent is correct, then God pity humankind. For Sir James Fraser pointed out in his classic masterpiece, The Golden Bough, that there is a solid layer of savagery beneath the surface of society which is a standing menace to civilization.

"The deepening sense of religion," wrote Fraser, "affects only those higher intelligences who have breadth of view enough to comprehend the vastness of the universe and the littleness of man. Small minds cannot grasp great ideas; to their narrow comprehension * * * nothing seems really great and important but themselves."

THE FINAL ANSWER

Thus Fraser furnished a final answer to the oldsters who believe in "Government ownership and control" as a remedy for all the ills of society. They never are willing to face the fact that "the state" is merely an ever-changing assembly of fallible human beings to whom the least possible degree of power should be entrusted.

Chances are that the chairman of a Federal Power Commission is a human being very much like the chairman of the board of an investor-owned power company. People being what they are, society needs restraints. The most just and effective ones are based on natural and divine laws.

Leftwing economists and bureaucrats are rash indeed to tamper with the laws of supply and demand, of diminishing returns, and of a heavenly bounty so miraculous that man can find a share of it in the form of a fuel under the ground.

Happily, the average American housewife recognizes the littleness of herself and of her own family, and she cherishes the greatness of traditional American principles. If one of them is weakened, all are endangered.

Free, competitive enterprise is a basic American principle. If it was damaged last year for reasons "outside of law" by the Supreme Court in the Phillips case, then Americans will this year exert their constitutional right of congressional redress.

[4] Ibid., p. 12.

No Help, Thanks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the Geneva (Ohio) Free Press of January 19, 1955, which presents a novel and refreshing point of view, entitled "No Help, Thanks":

NO HELP, THANKS

The following story, which happens to be true, would be better on St. Patrick's Day. But, at a time when Washington is debating how many millions to give away in Asia, it really won't keep.

Two weeks ago, a series of torrential gales swept over Eire. Now gales are anything but a novelty in Ireland, but these were something special. The River Liffey at Dublin rose far above its banks, flooded thousands of homes, and paralyzed all nearby businesses. Naturally, there was great distress.

Before the official guardians of the United States purse could get to work, the Washington branch of the Ancient Order of Hibernians sent a cable to President O'Kelly at Dublin, offering to send material assistance to flood victims. Immediately he got a reply: "Thanks, but the Irish Government can cope with the damage without outside assistance and will do so."

The demands on Uncle Sam's purse are infinite. The amount of American money thrown away in the past dozen years would pay off the national debt of most countries on earth. But every once in a while a nation comes along—usually a small one, like Finland or Eire—which not only can stand on its own feet but insists upon doing so. More power to them.

Urge Congress To Intensify Fight Against the Pink Bollworm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to call to the attention of the House of Representatives and particularly to the members of the Appropriations Committee a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the Missouri General Assembly and urge that every favorable consideration be given to the problem posed by the pink bollworm.

The resolution follows:

House Resolution 59

Whereas a committee created by the house of representatives of the Missouri General Assembly known as the special pink bollworm committee was designated and authorized to ascertain the danger of the pink bollworm invasion into the cotton-producing areas of Missouri; and

Whereas said committee was composed of members of the house of representatives, Missouri General Assembly; entomologists representing the State department of agriculture; the University of Missouri; and the Missouri Cotton Producers Association; and

Whereas said committee has made a personal investigation of the pink bollworm menace in the infested areas of several States and has consulted with persons in charge of control and research measures of the States of Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, and the Republic of Mexico; and has carefully considered the evidence obtained; and

Whereas, in the light of the information gathered by this committee, the house of representatives concludes that the pink bollworm constitutes a serious threat to the continuance of the South's basic industry which is raw-cotton production; and

Whereas the pink bollworm, following in the footsteps of the boll weevil, has been steadily invading the Cotton Belt and in recent years there has shown an ominous acceleration in its rate of spread in the face of quarantine and application of all known control measures; and

Whereas that the pink bollworm, if allowed to get out of hand, will rival or surpass the boll weevil in destructiveness; and that it constitutes a real and immediate threat to the cotton industry of the State and of the Nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri recommend and urge the Congress of the United States to authorize and direct the intensification of research and control practices now current throughout the South, and that particular emphasis be placed on the work now being done at the United States Department of Agriculture Pink Bollworm Research Center at Brownsville, Tex.; and be it further

Resolved, That the Congress be requested to authorize and implement a comprehensive research and control program with which the Department of Agriculture and the control agencies of the various States may cooperate and coordinate in the fight against the pink bollworm to the end that with adequate research, a successful weapon against the pink bollworm may be found; and be it further

Resolved, That the advancement of said research be fostered by adequate appropriation and by any other possible means; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture, and to each Senator and Representative from Missouri in the Congress, and to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress.

Lithuanian Declaration of Independence Day, February 16, 1918

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter embodying resolution adopted by the Lithuanian Americans of Brockton, Mass., during their program in observance of the 37th anniversary of Lithuania's Declaration of Independence, sponsored by the Catholic Federation of St. Casimir's Parish:

BROCKTON, MASS., *February 20, 1955.*
Hon. RICHARD WIGGLESWORTH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

The Lithuanian Americans of the city of Brockton, during their program in observance of the 37th anniversary of Lithuania's Declaration of Independence, sponsored by the Catholic Federation at St. Casimir's Parish Hall, unanimously resolve:

1. Their wholehearted support to achieve lasting peace and justice throughout the world.

2. Respectfully urge the United States Government to develop an overall dynamic program against the international Communist conspiracy.

3. To incorporate into this program as an integral and inseparable part, the restoration of full sovereignty to Lithuania and other Soviet-enslaved nations.

Respectfully submitted.

LEONARD KUMPA,
President.
SUSAN K. BOROSKAS,
Secretary.

Return of Servicemen Now in China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I request permission to extend my remarks and include in the RECORD a statement and letter addressed to me by the national commander of the National Association of Korean War Veterans of the United States. This letter pertains to and expresses the opinion of this Korean veterans' leader in opposition to the diplomatic recognition of Communist China and seeks support of all the citizens of this great Nation to return our servicemen from captivity in Red China. These, too, are matters of great concern to me; and I would call them to the attention of this House of Representatives for I feel these opinions of men who have offered their lives in far-eastern conflict to protect the shores of our own Nation and the opinion of the great majority of Americans are one and the same.

The matter follows:

HOLLY HILL, FLA., *February 17, 1955.*
The Honorable WILLIAM C. CRAMER,
United States House of Representatives,
First Congressional District of Florida,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE CRAMER: In reviewing world history between 1933 and 1950, it can be found that international communism under the leadership of the Soviet Union was enabled to take over 14 independent nations, including the Republic of China.

In 1933 we find that international communism was, in fact, a very minor threat to the United States or to the world in general, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt granted the Soviet Union diplomatic recognition. It is noted that the Soviet Union was granted $12 billion in lend-lease during World War II and another $3 billion through UNRRA. For our friendship and help throughout the past 22 years we now find that the Soviet Union supports and directs the activities of Communist China, which is showing every sign of being an enemy to the United States.

Evidence of what is going on in the minds of the leaders of Communist China and the Soviet Union can be easily seen when we observe that our servicemen are being held in Communist Chinese prisons and denounced publicly as spies, when they were actually captured in the uniform of the military forces of the United States. It can be seen that our patriotic servicemen are being held by Communist China as a pawn to help in their campaign for diplomatic recognition by the United States and to obtain a membership in the United Nations.

Let us ever oppose diplomatic recognition of Communist China, as we can now see that by recognizing Soviet Russia in 1933 we made a great mistake, and by recognizing Communist China we shall be favoring an enemy who would stop at nothing to overcome the nations of Asia and place them in the orbit of international communism.

We can now easily see what caused the downfall of Nationalist China. The Honorable Patrick J. Hurley, who was sometime President Franklin D. Roosevelt's special ambassador to the Republic of China during World War II, has eloquently said:

"Our diplomats surrendered the territorial integrity and the political independence of China in a secret agreement at Yalta. The Yalta secret agreement is a blueprint for the Communist conquest of China. Every step in the Communist conquest of China has been engineered by our own diplomats, in cooperation with the Chinese Communists and Russia. Yalta is the most disgraceful chapter in the history of American diplomacy."

Let us sincerely hope that the blunders of our leaders during the period 1933–50, which resulted in World War II, the Korean conflict and the fall of many nations, including the Republic of China, will ever be criticized and that the United States will again assist those enslaved nations to regain their individual sovereignty.

It is believed that the Korean conflict was the result of an international Communist plan to undermine the prestige of the United States and the free world in the eyes of all the world. It is sincerely believed that if Gen. Douglas MacArthur had received the support of his Commander in Chief in his hour of need that the Korean conflict would have been ended much sooner and with less loss of life. We are indeed thankful to President Dwight D. Eisenhower and his assistants for being instrumental in bringing the Korean war to an end.

It is our hope that all citizens of our great Nation will earnestly pray for the return of our servicemen now in the Communist Chinese prisons and that the day will come when our great prestige will no longer be undermined by such activities as the Korean conflict unveiled.

Thanking you for your continued cooperation, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
VIRGIL VASCOE HARTON, Jr.,
National Commander, National Association of Korean War Veterans of the United States, Inc.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the annual observance of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence, a noteworthy event in the history of human freedom, I desire to extend my best wishes and encouragement to the people of that afflicted land and reaffirm my active faith in the eventual liberation of that nation and all the nations now embraced in the tyrannical Red Communist orbit.

The Ukrainian Nation has struggled for centuries against great odds for its freedom and independence. Of impressive historical interest is the old Ukrainian Kivan State which existed from the 9th to the 14th century, the Ukrainian Kozak which extended from the 17th to the 18th century, and of more recent memory, the Ukrainian National Republic established in 1917 and smashed by Bolshevik tyranny in 1920.

The area embraced by this Nation is large and vital to the Soviet Union since it is the so-called breadbasket of Russian economy. Since Soviet domination the people of the area have undergone intensive suffering and trials embracing the destruction of its nation's churches, famines by governmental edict, mass murders of its innocent and helpless citizens, and cruel purges and deportations engineered by Red leaders. This territory embraces Kiev, noted in history and tradition for its rich culture and high state of civilization.

Although the Ukrainian people were visited during the Second World War by the scourge of nazism, their will is indomitable and unshakable, and their courage in the face of oppression and tyranny undeniably tenacious. The mailed fist of communism has descended upon their heads, but the people have never ceased their resistance in spite of the ruthless brutality of tyrants which steadily rains down upon them.

Ukrainia is the largest non-Russian nation behind the Iron Curtain and because of its spirit, independence, and devotion to liberty, it is a natural ally of all nations opposed to dictatorship, totalitarian government, and marxism.

This nation and its suffering, gallant people, is entitled not only to our sympathy and encouragement, but to our affirmative assistance in sharing their aspirations and making every contribution we can to promote and advance them toward the goal of liberation.

Let us hope and pray that the day is not too far distant when all enslaved nations will enjoy the liberation they seek and struggle for, and Ukrainia will again be acknowledged as a sovereign and independent nation associated with that great partnership of free nations which is struggling to forge a free world, unfettered by the shackles of oppression, and untouched by the abominable curse of tyranny.

Twenty Dollars for Everybody

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following editorial from the Newark Evening News of February 23, 1955, entitled "Twenty Dollars for Everybody":

TWENTY DOLLARS FOR EVERYBODY

Apart from its political origin, the mischievous thing about the $20 tax-reduction scheme concocted by House Democrats is the form in which they propose to send it to President Eisenhower.

Speaker RAYBURN and the Ways and Means Committee refuse to let the $20-for-everybody proposition stand on its own. Instead

Democrats plan to write the provision into a bill providing for necessary extension of excise and corporation taxes. Unless these levies are specifically continued by Congress, some will expire and others will be automatically reduced by 5 percent on April 1 at a total cost of nearly $3 billion.

Thus President Eisenhower would have to kill the whole bill in order to veto the $20 reduction for every taxpayer and dependent. Congress could, of course, reenact an extender for expiring excise taxes and continue corporate imposts at prevailing rates. But the resultant confusion and possible loss of additional revenue further validate the effective indictment of Secretary Humphrey who said the House plan represents Democratic abandonment of responsible financial management of the Federal Government.

Poor management it is, but House Democrats obviously think it is good 1956 politics to cut income taxes by $2 billion and to strike nearly 5 million taxpayers from the rolls. No doubt they have the votes to pass the bill. In the Senate, however, there are indications of more responsible leadership by such Democrats as BYRD, of Virginia, and GEORGE, of Georgia. Mr. GEORGE, describing the House scheme as unwise and unfortunate, confirms Secretary Humphrey's estimate.

Everybody likes the idea of paying less money to the Government, and it is certainly new and novel to find Democrats after all these years so suddenly solicitous about the taxpayer. Mr. Eisenhower has promised relief when it can be given without harm to defense, the budget, and other commitments. But orderly reduction has no appeal for House leaders. With them politics gets priority over prudence.

The Upper Colorado River Basin Storage Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, it is of some concern to me that the upper Colorado River basin storage project is being viewed by many as benefiting only the upper basin States. I am pleased to have the privilege of placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter from Mr. Alan E. Brockbank, of Brockbank, Inc., Salt Lake City, Utah, which pictures the project in its true light; namely, as an economic asset of inestimable value to the entire Nation as well as an unmitigated blessing not only to the Upper Basin States but to every State.

The letter follows:

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *February 12, 1955.*
Hon. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have been watching the articles very closely that have appeared recently in the newspapers and in periodicals concerning the Echo Dam project. It seems to me that we are still not quite telling the entire story. We are not appealing to the whole United States to show the necessity of this great project.

Recently I had an opportunity to spend a little time with Byron H. Mock, who is retiring, I believe, the 15th of February, as a western head of the Bureau of Land Management.

Mr. Mock drew a little diagram on a piece of paper, of the area of western Colorado, southern Wyoming, and eastern Utah. He then drew a sketch of the area where the oil shale was located and told me there was more oil in that area in the shale than there is in any oil field in the world and likely more than there is in all of the oil fields of the world. Now this may be a little exaggerated, but it tends to indicate the terrific possibilities of that piece of ground.

He then drew another sketch of the Colorado Plateau and told me in that area was the greatest amount of uranium presently known to exist in the free world under private enterprise ownership and control.

Then he drew a third sketch on the map of the coal of Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming, and told me that in the Utah-Colorado area were the greatest deposits of coal, in his opinion, that existed in the hands of a free nation, and he felt water was the main ingredient to the development of these three great national resources, all of which are the very lifeblood of this or any other nation, and an asset that could mean the difference between loss or winning of a great national conflict.

This puts the area into an entirely different category from that of an area stewing as to whether it is more important for people to have drinking water than it is to have a great scenic project. I think all of the people of the United States are interested in the natural resources of this country and in the preservation of the greatest sources of energy there are in this country.

Mr. Mock even went so far as to say it could easily happen that within the next 50 years, there would be a city in southeastern Utah of half a million people, if they could get water.

Now it seems to me it is important for us to try to interest all of the people in this great project, if this is the greatest source of energy that exists in the free world. Therefore I want to call it to your attention and suggest that, if possible, our plan of attack be adjusted so we indicate the importance of this project to all of the people—not just a few—in which case I would say, we have a very good chance of success.

I would appreciate your thinking in this matter.

Yours very truly,
ALAN E. BROCKBANK, INC.,
ALAN E. BROCKBANK, *President.*

Tampering With Soil Conservation Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, this Nation's soil-conservation program has saved precious topsoil from being washed into the sea. Many generations will profit from the foresight of those who planned and administered this program.

The little money spent by the Federal Government to maintain an adequate soil-conservation program is repaid many times by the preservation of adequate soil and water resources for all the people of America.

Those who would tamper with the soil-conservation program and play politics with the workings of the Soil Conservation Service, are doing a disfavor to this Nation.

A resolution adopted by the supervisors of 67 countywide soil-conservation districts in Wisconsin, the Wisconsin Association of Soil Conservation District Supervisors, at its annual meeting in Madison, Wis., on February 3, 1955, follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY WISCONSIN ASSOCIATION OF SOIL CONSERVATION DISTRICT SUPERVISORS, FEBRUARY 3, 1955

In looking back over accomplishments of the Soil Conservation Service in soil conservation districts in Wisconsin, real progress has been made. Cooperation between this agency and others working in the field of soil and water conservation in the State is most excellent.

Wisconsin has long recognized the wise use and vital importance of our natural resources and has helped develop soil and water conservation and good land use for the agriculture within the State.

We recognize the sound farmland and water policies adopted by Congress in the past and would very much like to see it continued.

Whereas the Soil Conservation Service has demonstrated its ability to serve with outstanding efficiency and skill in soil conservation districts of America; and

Whereas any transfer of responsibilities or change of organization of this agency would delay and decrease progress in our soil and water conservation efforts: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Wisconsin State Association of Soil Conservation Districts, in annual session, That it favors:

1. Continuation of the Soil Conservation Services under the present financial and administrative form with responsibility for carrying out programs developed by the locally administered soil conservation districts and for furnishing technical assistance in the development of small watershed conservation projects.

2. Appropriation of Federal funds for the Soil Conservation Service in sufficient amount to permit accelerated progress in the important work of protecting and saving our vital soil and water resources and for additional responsibilities under the small watershed act; further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each Senator and Representative in Congress.

Thriving Europe and American Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a very pertinent and interesting release recently issued by the United Nations concerning the increased and increasing production rate and general prosperity of Western European nations.

This is a very significant document and should be read by every Member of Congress. It clearly demonstrates that the charts all indicate that a European economic health continues on its postwar upgrade; in fact, the pace of the

steady upward climb is faster than the world rate. In the 6 years just past Europe has pushed its industrial production index to 157, well above the world figure of 133.

According to this source, Western Germany has taken the greatest strides since 1948 with its production index climbing from 100 in 1948 to 275 for the first three quarters of 1954. Statisticians at the U. N. state that the figures they are working on now show that the upward trend in Europe is continuing into this year.

There is little doubt that heavy United States financial and economic aid under the various relief and rehabilitation programs authorized by the Congress is reflected in this climb. Our outlays and grants have been most generous and without any precedent in history. The staggering amounts out of the pockets of American taxpayers poured by the billions into Europe since the end of World War II invaluably contributed to her economic recovery. Our Nation is happy to note that our associate nations in the free world have successfully emerged from war and postwar maladjustment and depression and are now stronger economically than ever before. In some respects these statistics show that many of these nations are in better economic condition than the United States in that they do not have the huge debt hanging over their taxpayers and peoples.

They are industrially strong, economically vigorous, competitively alert, strengthened by reconstruction and new construction of their industries by American grants and accommodated by the reciprocal trade treaties by broad access to American markets.

As I have pointed out before these nations are therefore in a position where they can compete successfully with American industry and business for foreign trade and domestic trade alike. To what extent this situation will further depress some of the sick industries of America and cause further unemployment throughout our country is highly speculative. That the enlarged European potential of production and trading coupled with low tariffs in the United States will cause deep repercussions in our economic life hardly any well trained economist or informed realistic student of government could possibly deny.

We rejoice in the prosperity of our European friends but we hope that it will not be used under the reciprocal trade treaty to promote less favorable economic conditions in this country.

The matter follows:

EUROPE ECONOMY ON UPGRADE—HEAVY UNITED STATES AID REFLECTED IN PRODUCTION RATE

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.—Europe came whistling around the corner into 1955 after its most prosperous holiday season in years. And the charts here indicate European economic health continues on a postwar upgrade.

In a dozen different countries in a dozen different categories providing sign-posts of recovery, the figures show a steady upward climb. Their pace is faster than the world rate.

WELL ABOVE WORLD FIGURE

Europe began in 1946 at a lower point in industrial production than the world average.

As the bar graphs on the accompanying map show, Europe's industrial production index—with 1948 equalling 100—stood at 76 in 1946. The index for the world (not including the Soviet bloc) was 7 points above at 83.

In the 6 years since then, however, Europe has pushed its score to 157—well above the world figure of 133.

Figures available here at the U. N. are up to date in 1954 and they pinpoint the elements in European recovery.

As indicated by the figures of the map, West Germany has taken the greatest strides since 1948 in industrial production. That country's production index has climbed from 100 in 1948 to a whopping 275 for the first 3 quarters of 1954.

Unofficially, statisticians at the U. N. say the figures they're working on now show the uptrend in Europe is continuing into this year.

UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTED $55 BILLION

Heavy United States aid is reflected in this climb.

From July of 1947 through June of 1954, United States aid to Europe in recovery programs, point 4 technical assistance, and contributions to U. N., infant aid, refugee, and other programs totaled a little over $35 billion. Approximately $3 billion had been distributed in 1946 and early 1947.

The programs kept people alive, provided scarce materials for industry, and provided the necessary priming for Europe's industrial pump.

President Eisenhower has made new predictions of continued American prosperity, lower United States tariffs, and continued foreign aid. The tariff and aid programs still must hurdle Congress. These, if approved, plus American tourist trade growth promise to keep the European economy expanding in 1955.

Here are a few of the happy figures in West Europe's statistical tables: In 1946, European freight railway traffic was counted at a little above 100 billion ton-miles. In 1953, it climbed without one setback to 174 billion.

In 1946, Europe loaded 67 million tons of goods for shipping; in 1953, 189 million. In 1946, it unloaded 179 million tons of goods; in 1953, 330 million.

The pattern of European economic progress can be plainly seen in the steady rise of its industrial-production index. The first quarter of 1954 was 8 index points up over the first quarter of 1953.

The third quarter was up 9 index points over the same quarter of 1953, which in turn was 8 points above the third quarter of 1952.

In several individual countries it shaped up this way, in each case the advance being over the corresponding quarter of 1953:

Austria: First quarter up 9 points, second quarter 16 points, third quarter 15 points.

France: First quarter up 3 points, second quarter up 8 points, third quarter up 14 points.

West Germany: First quarter up 10 points, second quarter up 16 points, third quarter up 11 points.

Italy: First quarter up 10 points, second quarter up 16 points, third quarter up 11 points.

Britain: First quarter up 7 points, second quarter up 8 points, third quarter up 5 points.

Who Pulled the Wool Over the President's Eyes?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the people of every State from Wisconsin to Washington along the northern tier of the Nation have been wondering who it was that pulled the wool over the President's eyes, on February 1, when he issued his order cutting Northwest Airlines out of the Seattle-Hawaii run, giving a monopoly to Pan American Airways.

The staff officer in question who gave his Commander in Chief such dubious advice is indicated by the following news articles:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 19, 1955]

IKE HAVING AERONAUTICAL HEADACHES

(By Drew Pearson)

President Eisenhower is having aeronautical headaches. He's just had a terrific headache over an air route between Seattle and Hawaii, and he's about to have more over a route to Alaska. Part of the trouble is the present White House system of staff work whereby the President, following the general staff system in the Army, takes the recommendation of his staff without knowing too much about the facts behind their recommendation.

Here's the inside story of what's been happening.

After long study, the Civil Aeronautics Board recommended that Northwest Airlines continue its present operation between Seattle and Hawaii in competition with Pan American Airways, and that Northwest be given a permanent license to fly the great circle route over the Arctic to Tokyo.

This decision against Pan American, the pet airline of both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, automatically went to the White House for confirmation. And this is where Ike's headache began. For his Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks immediately moved in, together with Under Secretary of Commerce Robert Murray, even though Murray had just submitted his resignation.

They recommended that the President reverse the findings of his CAB and rule for Pan American. Trusting his two Commerce Department executives, that was exactly what the President did. He ruled that Northwest Airlines could no longer fly the route between Seattle and Hawaii, leaving Pan Am to fly that route without competition; also refused to give Northwest a permanent route over the Arctic to Tokyo, thus opening a possibility for Pan Am to get that route later.

EXTRA SATURDAY SESSION

When this news broke, things really began to pop around the White House.

First, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota phoned Governor Orville Freeman, new Democratic Governor of Minnesota, requested that the Minnesota Legislature pass a resolution demanding that Ike follow the advice of the CAB. The legislature promptly did so.

Simultaneously, also, Senator HUMPHREY phoned Assistant President Sherman Adams.

"The President's ruling will jeopardize one of the most important enterprises in the Northwest," he said. "He should be better informed before he reverses experts who have been studying this question for months."

HUMPHREY, a Democrat, asked for an appointment to see the President but was told Ike couldn't possibly see him for about a week. This was on Thursday, February 3.

However, as protests began to roll in, Adams hastily called Republicans to a conference for a Saturday morning, February 5. Ordinarily Ike goes away on Saturdays. But Adams knew that on the following Monday mayors of Minneapolis and St. Paul, plus the Governor of Minnesota, would be descending on the White House.

To head this off and to take the play away from Democrat HUMPHREY, Ike held an emergency meeting with two Minnesota Republicans—Senator ED THYE and Congressman WALTER JUDD. Secretary Weeks and Under Secretary Murray, who originally caused the trouble, also attended.

At the meeting Ike complained that he hadn't been given all the facts. He had been told that Northwest Airlines had received a greater subsidy than Pan Am, a piece of information based on an outdated report and definitely not the case. Pan Am's total subsidies are greater than any other airline's.

Result: The President completely reversed himself, came out for Northwest as originally recommended by the CAB.

[From Time magazine of February 21, 1955]

PRESIDENTIAL ERROR

President Eisenhower got caught in the propwash of an airline battle last week. As a result, he came within an ace of knocking Northwest Airlines off one of its most prized routes. The dogfight was between Northwest and Pan American World Airways over which should fly the Pacific between Seattle-Portland and Hawaii, a profitable run that both have been operating on a temporary basis since 1948. The Civil Aeronautics Board finally reached a unanimous decision: Northwest should have the route alone. But when the CAB recommendation went to the White House a fortnight ago, it ran into opposition.

Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks, under whose department CAB operates, advised the President to reverse the CAB decision, drop Northwest, and give the route exclusively to Pan American. Pan American has lower Government subsidies than Northwest and in the past 2 years carried more passengers to Hawaii—18,192 to 11,671 for Northwest. The President, who is interested in saving money on airline subsidies, decided to reverse CAB and signed a letter giving the route to Pan American alone.

In the uproar that followed, the President soon learned that there was a lot more to the case. Northwest's scrappy, 42-year-old President Don Nyrop flew to Washington. A onetime CAB chairman who knows his way around the Capital, Nyrop got Minnesota's Republican Senator EDWARD THYE to call on the President with a new sheaf of facts and figures supplied by Nyrop and CAB's Acting Chairman Chan Gurney. Pan American had indeed led in passengers for the last 2 years, but most of its bulge came in 1953, when plane-short Northwest had to shift its Boeing Stratocruisers from the Pacific to domestic and Orient runs and fly DC-4's to Hawaii. In 1954 Northwest made up most of the loss, ran almost neck and neck with Pan American. Over the entire 6-year test period, Northwest was the real leader, having flown 31,038 passengers to Pan American's 30,700. As for subsidies, Northwest had previously said that it would fly the route without Government subsidy, expected to be self-supporting by 1956. From other sources Ike also got a quick inkling that his decision against Northwest was highly unpopular in Minnesota and the Northwest, with Democrats ready to capitalize on it.

Last week Ike fired off a new letter to CAB, reversing himself and giving back Northwest its Honolulu run for 3 more years, in competition with Pan American. At his press conference, Ike said bluntly that he had made an error. Said Minnesota's THYE: "As soon as he got the facts, he changed his decision."

The President, the CAB, and States-Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, it has been reported that the CAB has recommended or will recommend to the President that certain air service from the States be denied to some of the major communities of Alaska. This is a matter of vital concern to my constituents and to the economy of the Pacific Northwest. I have registered with the President vigorous protest to the possible discontinuance of this air service, and wish to register it again. I include the following House Joint Memorial 6, approved by the Washington State Legislature on February 3, 1955, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

House Joint Memorial 6

To the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, and to the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, and to the Honorable Chan Gurney, Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board:

We, your memorialists, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent and petition, as follows:

Whereas it has been reliably reported that the Civil Aeronautics Board has voted to issue a decision in the States-Alaska Case, Docket No. 5756, et al., which would reduce the number of air carriers now operating between the Pacific Northwest and the Territory of Alaska from 4 to 2 carriers; and

Whereas the continuance of adequate air transportation services to Alaska is of vital importance to the further economic development of the Territory, the State of Washington, and to the national defense interests of the entire Nation; and

Whereas the Board's decision would deprive every major city in Alaska of competitive air services, except the city of Anchorage; and would further deprive such important communities as Nome, Cordova, Kenai, Homer, Kodiak, and Bristol Bay of through services by any air carrier operating from the State of Washington and would thus require time-consuming and costly transshipment of all passenger, cargo, and mail traffic destined to these communities; and

Whereas Alaska is almost wholly dependent upon air transportation facilities because of the recent discontinuance of passenger steamship services and because there is no railroad linking the Territory with the State of Washington, nor any satisfactory highway network; and

Whereas Alaska is almost entirely dependent upon the State of Washington and other areas of the continental United States for its labor force and for virtually all of its foodstuffs, supplies, and materials, and is therefore peculiarly in need of adequate air transportation facilities especially tailored to its own needs; and

Whereas the Territory is now on the threshold of significant business and industrial development which would be seriously impaired by any curtailment of air services as now contemplated by the Civil Aeronautics Board; and

Whereas the board's decision has resulted in an unprecedented storm of public protest throughout the entire Territory and the Pacific Northwest, resulting spontaneously in the sending of thousands of letters and telegrams to the board and to the White House; and

Whereas this public protest has been vigorously supported by the entire congressional delegation from the State of Washington, by virtually all of the other public and civic leaders in the Pacific Northwest, by newspapers, radio and television commentators, and by most of the business concerns and labor unions in the State of Washington having trade interests with Alaska; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in legislative session assembled, That we respectfully memorialize and petition the President of the United States and the Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board to reconsider the pending decision in the States-Alaska case to insure that existing air transportation services to the Territory of Alaska are not curtailed, that competitive air services be maintained from the State of Washington to all of the principal gateway cities in Alaska, that through services by air from the State of Washington be preserved and expanded to as many Alaskan communities as possible, that the selection of the individual air carriers to perform such services be determined solely upon the basis of merit, and that paramount consideration be given to the vital need of Alaska for a system of air transportation services especially tailored to the peculiar requirements of the Territory and which will fully utilize the integrated operation of air carriers indigenous to Alaska, whose primary and exclusive interests are in serving the Pacific Northwest and the Territory; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be immediately transmitted to the President of the United States and to the Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this memorial be sent to all Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States.

Passed the house February 2, 1955.
JOHN L. O'BRIEN,
Speaker of the House.
Passed the senate February 3, 1955.
EMMETT T. ANDERSON,
President of the Senate.

Rayburn Saves the Trade Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. KARSTEN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. KARSTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I enclose the following editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch for February 21, 1955:

RAYBURN SAVES THE TRADE ACT

To be fully effective, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act should be relieved of the crippling clauses which protectionists have succeeded in adding over the years. Yet the House on Friday barely defeated a move to add yet another crippling clause to the law.

The new crippler, which would have narrowed the President's freedom to overrule proposals of the Tariff Commission, lost by just seven votes. Republicans voted overwhelmingly for it, 119 to 66. Democrats, responding to a personal appeal by Speaker RAYBURN, voted strongly against it, 140 to 80.

So President Eisenhower saw illustrated within 24 hours his earlier statement to the GOP National Committee that the Republicans can't have better allies than the Democrats. On this occasion, had there been no alliance undoubtedly there would have been no House passage of tariff legislation in substantially the form requested by the President.

The measure now goes to the Senate, where we hope a concerted effort will be made to remove the crippling clauses already in the law.

The House in its present mood may not consent. But the Senate should write the kind of law it regards as best, and then settle any differences in conference. If nothing else, a heavy vote for liberalization of the present law would put the Senate in a strong tactical position to resist further House efforts to add new cripplers.

Congressional Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, this debate regarding pay raises for ourselves gives me an opportunity to say something that I could not say at any other time.

During the past few days, as I thought about this raise, I was able to build up a good case for it. But our constituents are not aware of all the things we do. The folks back home just do not know how tough the modern legislator's job is. Of course, they know about our campaigns and all the work and sacrifice that entails. They know too of all the letterwriting, speechmaking, handshaking, and backslapping a Congressman must engage in. Some of them realize, I am sure, that banquets, cocktail parties, political dinners, and the like can become an awful bore. However, the folks that send us here figure that is all part of the job, and if we are not satisfied with the pay we can stay home the next time and let the other fellow come and take our place.

But as I say, there is a whole lot of things we legislators do that the home folks never hear about. For instance, how could they ever know how many hours we discuss, debate, and labor over just how much money we will give each year to the folks in Tennessee so that they can get electric power at half price? Or what do our constituents know about the time and effort we devote arriving at wonderfuly complex formulas which spell out for us what price we can guarantee to the corn and wheat farmer for their produce? The public is not conscious of the great amount of testimony we must hear or the literature we must read before we can determine what wages an employer must pay his employees. Unless they sat in the galleries each day, the home folks cannot begin to realize how difficult it is to provide homes for the folks in the city, electricity for those in the country, and social security for everybody.

And then there are taxes. The folks that elect us always complain about the taxes. But all they have to do is to pay them. We must figure out whether taking nine-tenths of a man's income or over three-fourths of his estate leaves him too much money.

Another thing the folks at home do not know much about is the added duties we have taken on in the last few years. We not only provide money for dams in Tennessee but also in France; we authorize school construction in California and Ethiopia; we appropriate money for our own Army and one in West Germany; we build airfields in Texas and in French Morocco; we pay our own salaries and those of the United Nations. In short, we Congressmen legislate not only for ourselves but for all of Adam's children.

When you stop to think about it, Congress is in much the same position as a father. He arranges for his children's shelter, food, electricity, education, and the other necessities of life. But they never comprehend how much he is doing for them and they always demand more. One of his toughest jobs is to see that all get their share, for if any are not included in the distribution of his bounty, he is not a good father.

And as I have pointed out the family of Congress has grown awful big and the job of taking care of them all is tremendous.

One difficulty is,whom are we going to soak to provide the money for this raise? It doesn't seem democratic to charge the general taxpayer since at least one quarter of his estate has already been conveyed to the Federal Government. We can't hit the Government because it is heavily in debt and broke. I don't see how we can assess the folks at the subsidy trough because how could we decide whom to pick on? Perhaps the thing to do is to ask all the foreign folks whom we have helped when they were in need, to return the favor by digging into their pockets now to help us out. They are our constituents too and it is to their own interest that the legislators of the world's greatest democracy are sufficiently paid for their labors and good works.

Some Congressmen have qualms about this raise. There might be some people in the Nation who would look at it as an attempt by Congress to elbow its way into the public trough to get its share. But on reflection, their earlier fears are unfounded because the people for whom Congress provides food, shelter, power, education, loans, gifts, pensions, and so forth, make up the majority of the voters in the country. In case any one is not sure about that I refer him to the January 25, 1955, issue of Look magazine where it is shown that 76,276,110 people receive $60,688,037,000 annually from the Government. Now, these people are not going to begrudge Congressmen a few thousand dollars more a year. In fact, they will be glad for Congressmen to get theirs as long as they get theirs. Besides our checks will not be noticed in the 300 billion that are written annually by the Government and rushed out at the rate of 400 a minute.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, on the showing made above that all the folks the Congress supports are getting theirs, how can there be objection to Congress getting theirs?

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, I voted against the reciprocal trade bill for two reasons. First, because I believe that America's trade policies abroad should be determined in relation to the cost of manufacture in the United States and, secondly, the decisions must be made by the Congress as required by the specific provisions of the Constitution. Its responsibilities cannot be shifted to a single person, not even to the President. I want as most Congressmen want, reciprocal trade instead of aid with the other nations. But nearly half of Congress voted against the present bill and voted to send it back to committee for correction.

We want free trade among the nations somewhat as we have it between the various States of the Union. Free trade has undoubtedly made a great contribution to the tremendous prosperity and high living standard enjoyed by the American people. The constitutional prohibition of trade barriers between the States has benefited both business and the public.

Our success as free traders amongst ourselves is proof that free trade is the best trade in the conduct of commerce. We all believe that. But before it can be applied to international trade, certain political conditions must be present. These are: First, there must be peace among the trading parties so that none is denied vital raw materials and manufactured products. The United States could well have used a tariff-protected synthetic-rubber industry during the Second World War after the Japanese had gained complete control over most of the world's supply of natural rubber; second, there must be a common currency, unrestricted in flow and not subject to political manipulation that stops much of our world trade today; and third, there must be a reasonably uniform wage and hour scale, which determines the cost level of all goods produced entering into trade. These conditions are met, of course, within the United States. But they are not met as between the nations of the world. Because of the grave dan-

ger of war nearly all countries are building up their own defense industries and they are protecting those industries with tariffs and other trade barriers against goods from the United States. Many nations restrict international movement of their currencies so that if we sell goods to them we cannot get paid. The fixed rates of exchange are frequently punitive in effect against us. Trade with them is on a one-way street. There is no uniformity of wage and hour standards throughout the world and that results in a great variety of cost and price levels. As long as the foregoing conditions exist, free trade among the nations like that enjoyed among our States is impossible.

The most objectionable feature of the 1955 tariff legislation is the delegation of arbitrary, unreviewable and absolute authority to the President to fix tariffs. We do not mean President Eisenhower. We mean any President before or after him. This was the original objection in 1934 to the first Reciprocal Trade Act. Prior to that time Congress had always fixed tariffs. Tariffs have been considered more as matters of local concern than of national policy. As a practical matter, the Congress better reflects the attitude of the people than the Presidency does because the Congress is closer to the people. Accordingly, it makes sense that Congress should retain its powers to control the tariff level. Besides all this, the Constitution itself provides that Congress must do so.

Reciprocal trade legislation has been on the books for 20 years. It has not accomplished much as an incentive to lowering trade barriers of foreign countries as pointed out above. On the other hand, considerable injury has been sustained by American industry. Some firms have gone out of business such as the Alexander Smith Carpet Co. has done in Yonkers. Others are operating on a marginal basis, and in some cases, whole industries are threatened with extinction. There were 10,000 skilled watchmakers employed in the United States in 1948. Today there are only 4,000. Whole States, such as West Virginia, where coal mining is the chief industry, are prostrate because of the importation of cheap residual oil. In New York State, the glove industry, the hat industry, and others are practically out of business. The chemical industry has testified that it has been hurt by previous tariff cuts and that any more may finish them off. The necessity for a strong domestic chemical industry was demonstrated in World War I. At that time the United States was completely dependent on Germany for chemical products, and when the war broke out, our only source of supply was gone. The pottery industry in the United States and in New York State is virtually extinct. Since 1948, imports of China tableware has increased 138 percent so that 86 percent of all China tableware purchased in the United States is foreign made. Since 1950 imports of foreign bicycles has increased 1,300 percent and now absorbs more than one-third of the American market.

In theory, the reciprocal trade legislation provides an opportunity for relief to these stricken industries. Under the law a lowered tariff may be raised if it is found the domestic industry is being severely hurt. Upon an application from the aggrieved industry, the Tariff Commission holds public hearings and then may report to the President with recommendations for relief if it finds relief is necessary. The President may or may not act as he sees fit and there is no appeal from his decision. This provision for relief is called the escape-clause procedure. However, relief by this procedure has seldom been realized.

Since 1948 there have been 59 applications by American firms for relief. The Tariff Commission, the agency set up by Congress to act as a court in tariff disputes, took action on 15 of these applications and made recommendations to the President for relief. In only five of these cases did the President take action to protect the domestic industry against injury from foreign competition. In the remaining cases, the President, acting on the advice of some State Department bureaucrat, ignored and overruled the recommendations of the Tariff Commission. This is permitted under the past and present proposed law. The President can make his decision on facts that were never before the Tariff Commission and which the industry involved has had no chance to refute. And, as I have already pointed out, there is no appeal from the Presidential ruling.

Now consider what that means. The jury, which in this case would be the Tariff Commission, hears the pleadings and the evidence and then renders a verdict. The judge, viz the President, can then, on the basis of facts not presented to the jury, reverse the verdict and no appeal is permitted. This is bad law, bad procedure and outrageous politics in dealing with American industry. It is in utter violation of all the basic tenets of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence and of the concept of constitutional representative government. The American tradition prefers the wisdom and experience of jury verdicts instead of verdicts by a single judge.

There is another danger inherent in this unprecedented procedure. Those who may have access to the President's ear through some State Department bureaucrat, may ignore the proceedings before the Tariff Commission and present their case directly to the President. This amounts to government by personal rule rather than by law. This is not intended to be derogatory of the present Presidential incumbent. My use of the word "President" is entirely impersonal.

When tariffs are subject to congressional control; when tariff disputes are resolved by court procedures; and when American businessmen whose business lives are threatened, may have their day in court, then I shall vote for reciprocal trade legislation. I believe in the principle of it.

Five Proposals To Amend the Refugee Relief Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, there is unquestionably widespread dissatisfaction and no small degree of disappointment concerning the operation of the refugee relief program. Enacted just about 18 months ago—August 7, 1953, to be exact—this law authorized the admission of 214,000 aliens to become permanent residents of the United States by the end of 1956, with preference being given to refugees, expellees, escapees from Iron Curtain countries, and certain close relatives of American citizens.

After 18 months, what are the results?

Mr. Speaker, I regret to say that the results to date of this refugee relief program are very meager, indeed. Here are the latest available official figures:

Number of visas issued, 18,936—as of January 26, 1955.

Number of refugees admitted, 15,034—as of January 28, 1955.

Such is the dismal result of this program after about half of its effective period has elapsed. It is clear by now that the goal of 214,000 refugees to be admitted will never be reached in the time specified. While I dislike to speculate on the number finally to gain entry under this program, it does not seem to me that we will even fulfill half the program by the time it expires.

Such was not the intention of Congress when it enacted the refugee relief program in 1953. When Congress set a figure of 214,000 to be admitted over a 3-year period, it was done so in the belief that this goal could be reached. Unfortunately, certain sections of the act and administrative interpretations have made the law unworkable and the whole program has become a travesty.

Mr. Speaker, I do not see eye to eye with Judge Francis Walter, the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, on matters of immigration. Yet even Judge Walter, who is opposed to liberalized immigration, recently stated in a public address:

> I consider the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 a fraud and a phony.

He also referred to it as an example of sloppy legislation, an ill-conceived and half-baked proposal, and an unworkable law. And he is so right about it.

There is also tremendous dissatisfaction among church groups and voluntary agencies which are active in obtaining housing and employment assurances for the aliens and helping them to meet other requirements of the law. In fact, some of them are considering giving up their programs because of the great difficulties involved. On January 30, 1955,

the Washington Post and Times Herald published an Associated Press report from New York which stated that church agencies were on the verge of junking huge programs for bringing refugees to this country because they could not get them through the redtape. The report then added:

So far, church officials said, the requirements for admission of refugees have been so complicated that only a mere trickle have gotten through the maze of checks and doublechecks.

By way of example, the report cited the meager accomplishments of these church groups due to the complications of the act:

Up to the end of 1954, Church World Service had 115 refugee arrivals. The Roman Catholic War Relief Service reported 147, the Jewish United Hias Service about 50, and the Lutheran Service 9.

This would be less than 500 refugees brought here in the act's first 18 months. In comparison, under the old Displaced Persons Act whose terms were less restrictive, 114,494 DP's were resettled in the first 18 months.

Mr. Speaker, the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 needs to be amended drastically, and it needs to be done as soon as possible while there is still sufficient time to complete the program sucessfully. Each month, each weeks that we wait will mean the loss of thousands of visas going to waste when the program ends in 1956.

Consequently, I am now introducing a bill containing five important amendments to the act which, I feel certain, will speed up the flow of refugees in the short time that is left and will make possible the successful completion of this program.

The five changes recommended in my bill are the following:

First. Age limit for admittance of orphans: Under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 a total of 4,000 orphans are permitted to enter the country as nonquota immigrants, but they must be under 10 years of age. Because of the age limitation and other difficulties, less than 500 orphans have gained admittance to date. I, therefore, propose to raise the age limitation to 14 years. This should make possible the successful completion of this part of the program.

Second. Elimination of employment and housing assurances: It is generally admitted by all concerned, including State Department and immigration officials, that the greatest factor in delaying the flow of immigrants under the refugee relief program is the requirement that certain assurances must be submitted in behalf of an alien before he is granted a visa. Section 7 (a) of the Refugee Relief Act provides that three assurances must be given by an American citizen on behalf of the alien seeking a visa:

(a) That the alien will have suitable employment without displacing some other person from employment;

(b) That the alien will have housing without displacing some other person from such housing; and

(c) That the alien will not become a public charge.

I propose to eliminate the employment and housing assurances and to leave only the requirement that the alien is not to become a public charge. The housing shortage has eased up considerably in the country and is no longer as acute as a few years ago. Employment, too, is holding up in recent months and the general economic situation does not appear to be threatening. There is no need to retain these requirements in the law. By eliminating them it will be possible to increase greatly the entry of immigrants under the refugee program.

Third. Elimination of readmission guaranties: Another factor contributing to the slowness of the refugee-relief program is the requirement that an alien must present an unexpired passport or other suitable travel document and a certificate of readmission from the country where he obtained the visa guaranteeing he will be readmitted to that country in the event he is later found to be deportable from the United States. This has been a real bone of contention and aroused much dissatisfaction and protests from a number of European countries. I propose that this section be eliminated from the act.

Fourth. Refugee relief commission: Under the present act, the refugee-relief program is administered by the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs of the Department of State. There has been considerable criticism of the Administrator of this Bureau, Mr. Scott McLeod, for the manner in which he is administering the whole program, his rigid interpretations of the act, and his general approach to the problem.

I propose to take this program out of the Department of State and set it up as a separate and independent Government agency to be known as the Refugee Relief Commission. The commission is to consist of three members, appointed by the President, each of whom shall receive a salary of $17,500 annually. The commission shall formulate regulations in compliance with the Refugee Relief Act, and it shall report annually to the President and to Congress on the operations of the program. This commission and its operations would be similar to that of the Displaced Persons Commission which administered the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 with such success.

Fifth. Termination of the act: The termination date of the refugee-relief program has been set for December 31, 1956, after which no visas are to be issued under this program. In view of the small number of visas issued under the act to date and the fact that nearly half of the time has already expired, it is generally conceded that the program's goal of 214,000 immigrants, as envisioned by Congress originally, will not be reached by the end of 1956.

Therefore, I propose that all visas authorized under the Refugee Relief Act which remain unissued after December 31, 1956, shall be redistributed proportionately among the countries and categories established in the act, and that these visas be issued only to relatives of American citizens. I further propose that the time be extended for the issuance of the unused visas for a period of 1 year until December 31, 1957.

My purpose for extending the termination date is twofold: First, so that more time is allotted for the unification of families; second, so that as many of the unused visas be utilized in the extra time allotted. The unification of families has always been a traditional and humane principle with the American people. The extra time allotted is to make up for the slow start of the program in setting up its administrative machinery, which is another factor in the delay of entries until now.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, I feel reasonably certain that if these amendments are enacted the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 will be administered in the spirit in which Congress intended it to be administered. I also feel certain that these amendments will enable the program to be successfully completed and the full goal of 214,000 immigrants to be reached.

We must correct the early errors committed under this program, particularly the lapse of valuable time and the unnecessary requirements for housing and employment assurances. Let us consider the people who stand to benefit from these changes, the very people for whom the whole program was initiated. I mean the relatives who desire to join their families in this country and cannot do so because the regular immigration quotas in their countries are oversubscribed, the refugees and the escapees who are the victims of religious and political persecution.

I call upon all my colleagues to support these changes. The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 was overwhelmingly supported by both parties. Let us amend it so that the Congress and the people of America will be proud of this act and its accomplishments, instead of regarding it as a fraud and a phony. Let us make it a workable act.

Where Is the Promised Policy of Liberation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, many of our citizens possessed with retentive memories of the campaign promises of 1952 are raising the significant question, "Where is the promised policy of liberation?" Sooner or later, some sort of answer must be given to it.

In an address delivered before the New York affiliates of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, who is the president of this dynamic national organization, and also a professor of economics at Georgetown University, raises this fundamental question and proceeds to demonstrate that our foreign policy of the past

2 years is patently not the one promised. He points out, too, the fallacy of the simplistic notion deliberately circulated these past few months that the only alternative to what is euphemistically called peaceful coexistence is preventive war.

Most important perhaps is the impregnable logic of his address, showing the certain long-run trend of the basic variables in the Russian Communist calculus for world conquest. If his analysis is correct, then the outcome of our present policy action of containment by threat of massive retaliation will be global war itself—paradoxically, the very thing we seek to avoid.

I am convinced that the most effective way of clearing the atmosphere of the many confusions of thought regarding our foreign policy is to initiate a great debate in Congress on this issue. Reasoned analyses, such as outlined in this address, would dissipate such confusion and lack of distinction in thought with the net advantage of showing the real gravity of our present position. With regard to these points, I wish to insert into the RECORD, under leave obtained, the pertinent excerpts of Dr. Dobriansky's address, as follows:

WHERE IS THE PROMISED POLICY OF LIBERATION?

In the presidential campaign of 1952 the American people were promised a realistic, sound, and courageous policy of liberation. Since then, there hasn't even been a whisper of this new policy originally advocated by the present administration. Instead, we have been treated to slogans of "massive retaliation," "peaceful coexistence," and others which belong to the same old containment species. For millions of Americans who are not deluded by the illusions of short-run peace and peaceful coexistence, the time has come to raise the appropriate question, Where is the promised policy of liberation? Our policy today is merely containment by threat; it is not the policy of liberation which alone is capable of preventing a third world war and maximizing the real possibilities of freedom everywhere, including those of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union.

It is a grave error to maintain, as our President has, that the only alternative to peaceful coexistence is preventive war. A moral policy of liberation is the realistic alternative to both the Moscow-created illusion of peaceful coexistence and preventive war. Many who uttered the liberation policy in 1952, and those who opposed it, failed to understand its meaning and content. They failed to see that it is in essence a continuous process of political warfare waged on the terrain of the Russian Communist Empire to obstruct, above all, the genocidal consolidation that is now going on from East Germany to Northern Korea. Our present policy permits this vast consolidation, and enables Moscow to form its chief springboard for world conquest and domination.

The three essential and irreducible factors in the Russian calculus of world conquest are consolidation, adequacy in arms, and fear of retaliation. Once Moscow succeeds in consolidating its empire it will not even need a superiority in arms, which it now enjoys in several military areas, to attain to a reasonable expectation of success in its drive for world conquest. This consolidation through genocide destroys nations both within and outside the Soviet Union, prepares a robotic and servile mass of 800 million people as fodder in a gigantic war machine, and thus lays the basic groundwork of estimated success for Moscow's fixed and unalterable world design. With the achievement of this consolidation, and with the additional advantages of a world conspiracy and the guaranteed opportunity of the initial attack, Moscow will need only a strategic adequacy of arms to create regional Pearl Harbors in the free world that might well neutralize the massive retaliatory power about which we now boast. Its fear of retaliation from us decreases in inverse proprotion to its ability to consolidate its empire and produce arms in adequate amounts, not even with overall superiority.

This massive consolidation for the next and, perhaps, decisive step toward world dominion is rapidly advancing behind the whole facade of Moscow-sponsored coexistence which is being built upon intentions for liberalized East-West trade, planned student visits to the Soviet Union, extensive Soviet participation in international bodies, the entertainment of members of the British Parliament, the 6 months' celebration of the Pereyaslav Treaty between Ukraine and Russia, and now even the contemplated transfer of the Soviet Government from the blood-soaked Kremlin. The Pereyaslav celebration has been staged on the hoax of Ukraine's union with Russia in 1654 in the same manner as these other events are staged on the hoax of peaceful coexistence. While Moscow celebrated this fabricated union with much fanfare about Ukrainian independence and brotherhood, it continued to perpetrate genocide in Ukraine by shifting masses of youth to Kazakhstan and other areas of central Asia. While it stages its current show of peaceful coexistence, neatly calculated to lull the free world into a false sense of security, it is feverishly engaged in its program of genocidal consolidation without which its own security cannot be founded and its ultimate objective cannot possibly be realized.

The tremendous work of the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression, under the chairmanship of Congressman CHARLES J. KERSTEN of Wisconsin, has revealed the scope and depth of this diabolical program. Our present policy of containment by threat stands in virtual acquiescence to the realization of this program and thus to the eventual loss of the captive nations as our natural allies. Only an imaginative policy of liberation can forestall this systematic excision of the patriotic sinews of these nations and impede the formation of this primary basis for world conquest.

An American policy of liberation is both sound and practicable. Much of practicable worth can and must be done to launch this political offensive by peaceful means in order that global peace itself will be maintained. Practical aid to the still existing national undergrounds in Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia, Hungary, and East Germany should be given for their expansion and the conservation of the national interests of their countries. Impeded in its efforts at consolidation, Moscow would hardly embark upon the next step of aggression with a feeling of growing insecurity within the empire that only a political offensive can produce. Also, the President has the power to implement the Kersten amendment to the Mutual Security Act, and should take the necessary steps to form free national military units of Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia, Lithuania, and others in the free world as an electrifying symbol of freedom to their enslaved brethren in the satellite and Red armies. In quality and significance, these units would bear greater value than even a score of French divisions.

The dynamics in a policy of liberation necessitate a complete reappraisal of our diplomatic relations with Communist-dominated governments. There are two measures in Congress that pose this reappraisal which the State Department cannot, as it has done in the recent session, avoid. If there is intelligence and symbolic freedom value in maintaining American Ambassadors in Communist capitals, then let us be rationally consistent by extending our representation to the two most restive areas in the Russian Communist Empire—Ukraine and Byelorussia—as called for by House Concurrent Resolution 58. If the State Department cannot demonstrate these values, then let us withdraw all of our representatives from behind the Iron Curtain, as urged by the Jenner-McCarran resolution in the Senate. The State Department exerted pressure to do nothing about these measures in a wait-and-see vein while Moscow is at work planning for our destruction.

These are only a few of the many things that can be done to wage the necessary political offensive to prevent the Russian empire consolidation for war. The overwhelming forces of enlightened nationalism in the Red Empire, especially in Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia, and elsewhere, are yet to be harnessed to the incalculable detriment of Moscow's plans for world domination. Our present policy exposes these nations, our natural allies, to doom; it exposes our Nation to a grave disadvantage in the event of an armed showdown. Words about their eventual liberation become hollow where no practical deeds are performed to fortify their hopes and efforts toward the goal of national freedom and independence. In preparation for their bleak future, they, too, have every right to ask, "Where is the promised policy of liberation?"

The Office of the President of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith the following speech I delivered before the Consular Law Society on February 23, 1955:

It is a singular honor to be appearing before the Consular Law Society. I say "singular" advisedly, since here I am facing the soul-chilling scrutiny of the expert. The Congressman envies the expert, and I often believe that the Congressman is called upon to have opinions on everything, conviction on nothing, and the little learning the poet Pope has dubbed dangerous.

Nonetheless, I secretly confess to holding a dozen or so convictions, and it is on one of these to which I would like to address myself tonight. That is, the Office of the President of the United States.

During my 32 years in Congress, I have watched 6 Presidents, each in his own way, define the Office of President: Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower. It is in this definition of the line that both weaves together and at the same time separates the executive and legislative branches of the Government, the line that is most generally and, I might add, most loosely, called checks and balances, that each has differed; and it is in this difference of personal definition that has set, and continues to set, the course of the ship of state.

Where the President is fully aware that his office is the governing office of the country, he accepts both the tones and the overtones of power and the awful responsibility that goes with the possession of such power. Particularly is this true in the conduct of foreign affairs. He in the office of the Presi-

dent is charged with that responsibility. The ultimate decisions must be his. You can no more separate the loneness and the loneliness of the man in this office than you could separate the tides of the ocean from the pull of the moon. The President who seeks to divest himself, in all good faith, from the loneness and loneliness of the office, deserts the charges of responsibility that office has placed upon him.

Undoubtedly today we have in our Chief Executive a man with the will to peace. If sincerity were the only quality the office of the Presidency demands, we could then say, without reservation, that the office had found its man. But I have come to believe that the office of the Presidency, as it is being defined by Mr. Eisenhower, has been invested with a much narrower meaning than was ever intended by the Founding Fathers. The office of the President is not that of adjudicator, conciliator, or merely administrator in the sense of delegating authorities and duties. It is not the echo of short-term public opinion. Nor is it merely the coordinate branch of the Government.

In the relationship, for example, with the Congress, the Executive must realize that the Congress has many more explicit ways of curbing the Executive than the Executive has of curbing the Congress. The Congress, through its control of the purse strings, can check the Executive. Another check lies in the investigatory powers of Congress. The Senate can halt the Executive by withholding consent and approval of treaties. The same is true of Presidential confirmable appointments. While it is true that the Executive can veto a bill, the ultimate power still lies in the Congress while it is in session by the overriding veto. But there is a vast area of power consciously not made explicit by the framers of our Constitution who were aware of the curbs placed on the Executive without corresponding explicit curbs which the Executive could use in its relationship with the Congress, and it is in the use of this area that a President fails or succeeds in the government of his country.

It is because the fathers of this country had an image of what the President must be to match the responsibility of the office—decisive, subtle, informed, and imaginative—that this area of power exists. When the office of the President is filled with a man limited in the exercise of these qualities, the country must suffer. So it is today.

We have had, unfortunately, too many commissions and not enough decisions. We have had a reliance on the resonant phrase: "dynamic massive retaliation"; "liberation"; "agonizing reappraisal", to catch the public mind. We have had to swing around from "liberation" to "containment." We have had an unleashing and a re-leashing of the Chinese Nationalist troops on Formosa. We have had decisions made, remade, and un-made again, from the first decision that the Tachen Islands are vital to our defense to the un-made decision to evacuate the Tachens. We have had the decision of defending Quemoy and the Matsu Islands through the promise of Secretary Dulles to Chiang Kai-shek and again through "implications" in Mr. Dulles' foreign policy statement of last week. Now we are not quite sure what the decision will be since the President's statement to the Senate on the Formosa resolution. We have had the decision to defend Dien Bien Phu and then the decision not to defend Dien Bien Phu. What was at first the relentless decision not to consider the Chinese Communist government as either de factor or de jure, we now seek, through the language of the Formosa treaty and through the efforts of cease-fire, to bring ourselves to the point of acknowledging the existence of two Chinese governments, one for the mainland and one for Formosa.

I do not quarrel with some of the decisions that have ultimately been made; I make only the point of the circuitous, contradictory routes that have been passed through to reach them.

Perhaps the severest test placed upon the office of the presidency is that of silence. In the delicate operations of negotiation upon which, perforce, the conduct of foreign affairs must hinge, there are changes from day to day which alter or amend earlier decisions. The volume and the complexity of such exchange among governments can be known to the President alone. The public cannot know what they are, nor should they. I am talking, mind you, of the day-to-day exchange among governments. Hence a dramatic announcement of policy must be watched lest it be tainted with the poison of prematurity.

We have seen just such a public scramble relative to the now ex-Premier of France, Mendes-France. It was first the violence directed against him in the repudiation of EDC by France, and then the reassessment upon the completion of the Paris agreements. Our policy in the Far East has been paralyzed by public statements emanating from the White House. Good intentions are not a substitute for firmness, nor overeagerness for public approval a substitute for delicacy and imagination.

This, of course, is not a brief for the withholding of information from the public. It is, rather, a reminder that the hasty jumping into public print carries with it a danger that public opinion, unaware of new and subtle developments, may compel a rigidity in the operation of foreign affairs which new developments no longer warrant. This eagerness for public announcement has already resulted in unnecessary confusion at home and abroad and has left the unwarranted impression that the United States leaps before it looks.

Hamilton has said it well in discussing the powers of the President:

"In the article which gives the legislative powers of the Government, the expressions are, 'All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States.' In that which grants the executive power, the expressions are, 'The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States.' The enumeration ought therefore to be considered, as intended merely to specify the principal articles implied in the definition of executive power; leaving the rest to flow from the general grant of that power, interpreted in conformity with other parts of the Constitution, and with the principles of free government."

It is well that those of us who are concerned with the conduct of government become increasingly aware of the relationship between the office of the President and the Congress of the United States. The indispensable factor must be Presidential initiative. There has been—unfortunately, I say, despite the fact I am a Member of Congress—a growing dependency upon congressional support, in the conduct of our foreign affairs particularly. If this tendency develops to too great a degree, we shall find a radical disturbance in the distribution of powers, an imbalance which bodes ill for the country.

This growing imbalance can only be redressed by the man who, by the strength of his visions, understands the responsibilities, duties, and the powers of the office of the President.

Tax Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the New York Times of February 22, 1955, entitled "Political Taxmaking" and an editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 23, 1955, entitled "Tax Cuts a la Mode."

The editorials follow:

[From the New York Times of February 22, 1955]

POLITICAL TAXMAKING

The Democratic majority of the Ways and Means Committee approved yesterday a proposal to give a rebate of $20 to every income-tax payer in 1955 and raise the allowance for each dependent by the same amount. This represents the application of politics to taxmaking in as pure form, we think, as even the oldest inhabitant will recall.

It is usually possible to clothe a move such as this with at least some semblance of financial or economic plausibility, however superficial. For example, a year ago the Democrats attempted to substitute an across-the-board reduction in personal exemptions for the administration's own carefully conceived program for tax reduction. At that time business activity was scraping the bottom of the 1953–54 readjustment. It was possible, in the circumstances, to make something, at least, of the argument that what the country needed was a shot of purchasing power such as that measure might be expected to produce. Today there isn't even the plausible pretext that existed a year ago. Yet Speaker RAYBURN, in discussing the proposal, is quoted as saying that such relief would "reach the people who would put the money back in circulation."

It is clear that Mr. RAYBURN hasn't followed very closely the figures on national income and its distribution. Because if he had he would know that people who put money back into circulation actually presented us with a record performance in the year just ended.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 23, 1955]

TAX CUTS A LA MODE

Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee engaged in a piece of capricious irresponsibility in approving an income-tax cut of $20 a person. It is dismaying to see Speaker RAYBURN and Floor Leader MCCORMACK lending their prestige to the disruptive kind of politicking. The chagrin of the Democrats over the administration's gambit in holding out hope of a tax cut in 1956 is, of course, understandable. The administration, too, has its eye on the 1956 campaign, and it attempted to steal the Democrats' thunder. The difference is that a cut at the end of this year would play hob with a budget already submitted. It comes with ill grace for the Democrats to be talking about greater defense expenditures and chiding the administration about an unbalanced budget, and then voting to unbalance the budget further.

Moreover, the cut is unnecessary as an economic stimulant. The economy has recovered from the recession, and the pious concern for the plight of low-income taxpayers has far more political than economic justification at this time. All groups benefited from the tax cuts last year. If a further reduction were warranted now, a broad interest in keeping the economy expanding would call for permitting the scheduled reduction in corporation taxes and the elimination of certain excises to take effect. The administration has opposed even these reductions in the current year, and possibly the Democratic strategy is to put the administration over a barrel by giving it a choice of accepting a $20-per-person cut or a lapse in the higher corporation rate that could be exploited demagogically. The hope of curbing this jag of irresponsibility seems to lie in the Senate and in the statesmanship of such men as Senators GEORGE and BYRD.

Higher Pay for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 24, 1955:

HIGHER PAY FOR CONGRESS

The Senate showed courage and good judgment in voting to increase the pay of its Members and of Federal judges by $7,500 a year. It would have done even better to have accepted the House bill raising congressional salaries by $10,000. Several groups of experts who have studied the subject have advised increases substantially higher than those voted by either house. The controlling fact is that both the judges and the legislators have been carrying responsibilities wholly out of keeping with their remuneration.

A few Members have sought to make political capital out of opposition to the increase. In this newspaper's opinion, they have been very ill advised. The country is not well served by keeping its judges and legislators worrying about how to make ends meet. In recent years many able men have given up or turned away from careers in Congress and on the bench because of the economic sacrifices entailed, and a conviction has been growing that wealth is necessary to avoid constant embarrassment in public office. No system of representative government should be subjected to such strains.

Congress has delayed this pay raise for many years because of fear that it would be misunderstood. We have no doubt that it will now be misunderstood by a vast number of persons who know nothing about the expenses that a Congressman must bear. But the proper course was not to yield to uninformed sentiment on the subject, in the way Senator MORSE seemed to do on the Senate floor the other day. What is needed is a campaign to acquaint the people with the circumstances that make a pay increase for Members of Congress a national necessity. If the people have the facts, we do not think they will expect their Congressman to mortgage his home, to divert his energy into lecturing, or to accept expense money from potential lobbyists in order to pay the expenses incidental to his public service.

Members of Congress who voted against the pay increase will be strongly tempted to make a political issue of it in the next election as will the opponents of Members who voted for the raise. In each case it will be well to ask, however, whether the complainant is independently wealthy and whether he has accepted the increase in his own pay or will accept it if elected. If any Member honestly feels that he does not need the higher salary, nothing will prevent him from refusing to accept it. That would be an honorable course. But politicians ought to beware of making a political football out of this salary increase if they themselves are taking advantage of it or intend to do so if elected.

Saps or Self-Styled Saviors?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Milwaukee Journal:

SAPS OR SELF-STYLED SAVIORS?

A shocking thing increasingly stands out in any consideration of when and about whom Harvey Matusow lied:

Lying has been made easy by the Government, the gullible, and the self-appointed saviors of the country.

There has been in this Nation, until the fever recently diminished, a willingness and even an eagerness to suspect anyone and everyone, particularly persons in public positions or in intellectual activities. That fervor for witch hunting has invited irresponsible, pathological or sinister individuals like Matusow to smear, falsify and fictionalize.

Our Government and those who made it their anointed task to capture a quota of suspects even if they had to be invented gave the professional witnesses money and notoriety for their lies and encouraged them to lie.

The manner in which Matusow was used and encouraged by men like Senator MCCARTHY and Roy Cohn is a matter of record. How could they have helped knowing that some of the things he said were lies? The best that can be said about them in things Matusow lied about is that they were gullible or so irresponsible as not to have put his statements to the slightest test.

The same can be said for the Justice Department. Individuals like Matusow, Paul Crouch, Marie Natvig and others lied in testimony given before Government agencies or courts. The ordinary checks on veracity that police give stool pigeons were not applied to these witnesses. This created a situation which encouraged them to lie.

But not only Government and those in official positions were guilty of these irresponsibilities. Advertising agencies handling radio and television shows and others in private life eagerly listened to informers like Matusow. Performers and others lost their jobs because of false accusations. Matusow even sold lists of suspects, lists he now says were false.

Not all informers have been liars, of course. But enough have to cause widespread uneasiness over the possibility of injustices that still have not been brought to light. And enough have been liars to make Americans ashamed of the irresponsibility of some of their officials who were more eager to believe ill of individuals than they were in verifying charges.

It's bad enough to know that some of our self-appointed saviors have been played for saps. It is shameful to see evidence that some have actually connived to play the American people for saps. The least that can be done now is for the Government to institute safeguards against liars, to punish those who have lied and those who may have connived, and to try to set the record straight on those who have been lied about.

Partisanship on Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Washington (D. C.) Post of February 21, 1955, entitled "Partisanship on Taxes":

PARTISANSHIP ON TAXES

Speaker RAYBURN and his Democratic colleagues in the House are treading on dangerous ground in their obviously partisan maneuver on taxes. This is not the time to talk about personal income tax cuts. The real tax issue before the country is what to do about the corporation and excise taxes that are due to expire April 1. President Eisenhower has urged a continuation of the special excise taxes on autos, tobacco, liquor, and gasoline for another year. He also wants to retain for another year the 52 percent corporation income tax which, under the present law, will fall to 47 percent. The special excises are onerous taxes that should not be allowed to become a fixed part of the tax structure. They should have some sort of priority, therefore, when there is talk about tax cuts. The same is true of the excessively high corporate tax.

The individual income tax has such a far-reaching effect on the operation of the national economy that partisan considerations should play no part in the making of policy regarding it. The fixing of the tax rates is no longer just a matter of equity but also is a matter of the highest economic importance. Today it is too early to know whether, from an economic viewpoint, it would be wise to cut individual income taxes later this year. What we do know is that the unbalanced state of the budget and the operation of our economy on a very high level are powerful arguments against tax cuts now. Before lower taxes are ordered, moreover, we need to know much more than we do now about this year's appropriations—appropriations for school and highway assistance, for example, and about the Asian aid program.

In his budget message last month, President Eisenhower sought to beat the Democrats to the punch by expressing the hope a general tax cut would be justified in 1956—a presidential election year. He even adopted the Democratic theory of cutting at the bottom of the personal income tax scale when he said a cut should be designed to spread relief among all taxpayers. Now the Democrats have retaliated in kind with a proposal that is purely partisan in origin and character. In doing so, they have

weakened their claim that they will not play politics with the national interest.

The administration will doubtless oppose this move with all its strength; it has no reasonable alternative. And this in itself is unfortunate because it tends to freeze the position of the two parties on the vital question of tax policy instead of leaving them free to adapt themselves to changing economic requirements.

The Dirty Business of Wiretapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial broadcast over station WMCA in New York City by Nathan Straus on Friday, February 18, 1955.

As I pointed out during the debate on the bill to permit wiretapping by the Federal Government in treason and espionage cases, the practice of wiretapping is continuing, and in fact, growing day by day. The recent disclosures in New York City of illegal wiretapping has once again brought this question to the fore. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the tapping of wires is prohibited by section 605 of the Communications Act; yet the law is being increasingly disregarded by the Federal Government and many States, as well as private individuals and organizations.

As I have pointed out before, the law should and must be enforced. Wiretapping is a police-state method, and should be stopped. I fully agree with the statement made by the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes when he said:

It is a less evil that some criminals should escape than that the Government should play an ignoble part.

The editorial follows:

THE DIRTY BUSINESS OF WIRETAPPING

(Editorial broadcast over station WMCA by Nathan Straus, Friday, February 18, 1955)

There is one precious freedom that we are in danger of losing in this country. It is freedom of communication over the telephone, the right to speak without fear of eavesdropping. Does this sound like an exaggeration? Does it strike you as though WMCA were making a mountain out of a molehill?

If you know the facts, you may feel differently.

The FBI is authorized by Federal law to tap private telephones and listen in on private telephone conversations. This specific authorization was given by the President, in 1941, shortly before our entry into World War II. The FBI has continued the practice in cases involving internal security. Attorney General Brownell so testified last year before a Senate committee.

While the FBI is authorized to tap private telephone wires, the information so obtained, according to Supreme Court decisions, is not admissible in court as legal evidence.

This confusion should be cleared up. If it is legal for the FBI to listen in on private telephone conversations, as and when it pleases so long as the claim is made that our internal security is involved—then evidence so obtained should be admissible in court. If evidence obtained by secret wire tapping carried on by the FBI is not admissible in court, then the practice becomes not only morally dubious but legally useless—and it should be banned by law.

In most States—and New York is one of them—the use of State courts of evidence obtained by wire tapping is sanctioned. While the New York State constitution forbids wire tapping in general, the State law authorizes a judge of the New York Supreme Court or a county court to issue an order permitting secret wire tapping when a police officer above the rank of sergeant swears there is reasonable ground to believe that evidence of crime may thus be obtained.

As a New York Supreme Court justice recently pointed out, when such authorization to tap a private telephone is granted, the most intimate conversations, personal, social, professional, business, or even confidential, of an unlimited number of persons may be laid bare.

The fact is that the average judge in New York City readily signs mimeographed wire tapping orders presented by any police officer—an order that authorizes the tapping of someone's private telephone for up to 6 months. Of course, the public is not told how many wire tap orders the police obtain every year. But we do know from Supreme Court Justice Douglas' latest book, An Almanac of Liberty, that in 1952 in New York City a total of 58,000 wiretap orders were issued by judges. This is an average of more than 150 a day.

And even this is not the whole story.

There is reason to believe that New York City is honeycombed with wiretaps. Taps are put on wires not only by law enforcement officers, but by private individuals—illegally. Perpetrators are private detectives, divorce lawyers hunting for clues, unscrupulous business men manipulating large deals, labor racketeers, and occasional politicians.

The illegal wire tap is easily executed. A ten dollar bill slipped to a building superintendent may gain admittance, or it is not too difficult to pose as an employee of the telephone company who wants to check the equipment.

While our State law makes this kind of illegal wire tapping a crime, we have never heard of anyone being punished for it.

As the late Justice Brandeis pointed out, a wiretap is a dragnet. It enmeshes many innocent persons along with an occasional criminal. A certain switchboard, for instance, in an apartment house or a business office, may be tapped; as a result all the conversations held on lines leading into that switchboard are recorded—confidential talk between husbands and wives, between business associates, between close friends—words spoken with no thought of their being intercepted.

The same invasion of privacy occurs when a party line is tapped; every subscriber to that line, as well as every person who makes a call to anyone on the party line has his words recorded, unknown to him.

When you make a call from a public phone booth you feel sure you have absolute privacy. But it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that even the pay station may be tapped. Small wonder, is it, that the late Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Oliver Wendell Holmes, called wiretapping a dirty business?

These secret taps, so foreign to the practices of a free country, have grown and grown because the general public doesn't know how many or whose wires are tapped.

Wiretapping, both legal and illegal, has become so widespread that we think our lawmakers should get back to first principles and reread the fourth amendment of the Bill of Rights which says: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause • • • and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."

Certainly wiretapping is an unreasonable search, and a seizure without a proper warrant, since no court order authorizing secret wiretapping can name all the persons whose privacy will be invaded.

WMCA believes that the right to tap private telephone wires should be permitted to the FBI only in cases involving internal security or kidnaping, and only when the FBI shows that there is reasonable ground to believe an actual crime has been committed. An order to permit tapping of wires by the FBI should require the approval of a Federal judge, one in each district, especially empowered by the United States Supreme Court to grant applications for tapping. The order, when granted, should be valid for only 90 days, to be renewed if necessary.

The law should require that all wire tap recordings be sealed by the FBI and, if intended to be used in court, the law should require further that they be supplied to the council for the defense. Finally, the Department of Justice should be required to publish monthly and annual reports on the number of wiretaps it had made, together with the number of prosecutions and convictions resulting from wire tapping. The law should provide strict punishment for all unauthorized wiretapping.

As for the New York State law, WMCA believes that denying the police the right to tap wires would represent a far greater social gain than loss. We agree with the Wall Street Journal that the medicine of wiretapping, the invasion of many people's privacy, is worse than the illness, a possible unapprehended bookmaker or other criminal. Justice Holmes has well said, "It is a less evil that some criminals should escape than that the Government should play an ignoble part."

Our New York State law, it is true, would not be so dangerous to civil liberty if it were strictly interpreted by the judges. But, however, strictly safeguarded against abuse, wiretapping is a practice that is rather a fit tool for a police state than a proper technique for criminal apprehension in a democracy.

WMCA believes it is high time that the "dirty business" of wiretapping, as Justice Holmes characterized it, be curbed lest it spread and spread until we have lost beyond recall one of our basic freedoms, the right to be let alone, which the same Justice described as "the right most valued by civilized man."

Wheat for the People Behind the Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I sent a letter to President Eisenhower urging him to give his approval to a proposal to send some of our surplus wheat to feed starving people behind the Iron Curtain. I suggested in my letter that it be undertaken as a "people to people project" and listed four major reasons why such a project should be adopted.

I was gratified to see a few days later that a newspaper like the New York Daily News, which is certainly known for its anti-Communist views, devoted an

editorial to my proposal and spoke of it as an interesting and provocative suggestion.

For the information of my colleagues in Congress and the country at large, I am placing into the RECORD the text of my letter to the President, as well as the brief editorial from the New York Daily News of February 23, 1955:

FEBRUARY 19, 1955.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The New York Herald Tribune of February 18, 1955, carries a story on the front page that there is before you a proposal to offer to Premier Bulganin of the Soviet Union some of the surplus wheat in our country "to relieve human suffering due to the officially announced breakdown of Malenkov's collectivized farm program." According to the same story, you and the members of your Cabinet will consider this proposal within the next few days.

I am writing this letter to urge you to consider this proposal at the earliest possible moment and to give it your approval. I am informed that our surplus of wheat reaches a total of 675 million bushels, which is enough for a 2-year supply for our own country—not counting the 1955 wheat crop. In other words, as far as the people of the United States are concerned, we are confronted with a problem of surplus rather than with the threat of a shortage. We could safely spare fifty or one hundred million bushels without seriously depleting our reserves.

Aside from the surplus factor, however, there are three other very good reasons why this proposal has merit:

First, it would be a worthwhile humanitarian act in the best American traditions to use part of our food surpluses to relieve famine-afflicted areas. We have done this on numerous occasions in the past, and surely we can afford to show our mercy in this instance, too.

Second, it would be an act of good will on our part toward the people of Russia, for it would prove to them that we seek peace and friendly relations. A gesture of this kind may perhaps be the beginning of improved relationship between the two countries and a lessening of international tensions which the whole world would cherish.

Third, it would be a desirable act from the standpoint of propaganda for the United States and its way of life since it would show up the glaring weaknesses in the Soviet economic structure which cannot feed its people properly. Nations throughout the world, whether allied with us, neutral or opposed to us, would surely take notice of this need of mercy on our part even to those who are supposed to be our enemies. The fact has always been emphasized by us that we have no complaint against the Russian people, but rather against their leaders who lust for power and world conquest.

Let this come then as an offer from the people of the United States to the people of Russia with whom we have no quarrel and with whom we desire to live in peace. In other words, let us try to make it a people to people project. We stand to gain nothing by denying this food to the hungry Russian people, except their hatred. We can have high hopes of gaining their friendship by extending to them a helping hand in an hour of need.

Given to them under these circumstances, it would be most difficult for the Russian leaders to reject our offer. Such callous disregard of human lives for selfish political motives would surely earn them the everlasting enmity of their own people.

Cordially yours,

VICTOR L. ANFUSO,
Member of Congress.

[From the New York Daily News of February 23, 1955]

SOME WHEAT FOR RUSSIANS

Representative VICTOR L. ANFUSO, Democrat of New York, has gone on record as urging President Eisenhower to offer some of this Nation's surplus wheat to the semistarved Russian people. He feels, without much chance of contradiction, that we could spare 50 or 100 million bushels of the stuff.

This looks like an interesting and provocative suggestion to us. Certainly, from the standpoint of propaganda, it would put the Kremlin slavemasters on a two-way spot. If they accept the bread-makings, they're admitting in public that the despised capitalist system can feed its citizens and even grow excess food, which Commies can't. If they turn the offer down, they're notifying the world that Russian hunger couldn't bother them less.

HOW ABOUT OUR FRIENDS?

But, on the other hand, how about our friends who might be able to use some of that grub? Shouldn't they get first whack at our excess? Japan, for instance, is banking more and more heavily on wheat as a solution to her diet problem. Japanese schoolkids are learning to enjoy bread instead of rice in their school lunches.

There no doubt are other angles to this one. But in no other nation on earth has a responsible official proposed such a people's friendship gesture. With proper safeguards, this proposed wheat deal might go far toward convincing the miseried Russian people that the outside world is aware of their plight, and is willing to do something about it.

Address by Hon. James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, before the brotherhood dinner, sponsored by the Washington region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., Tuesday, February 22, 1955:

There is a synagogue in Washington which bears these words: "To the glory of God and the brotherhood of man." All of us—regardless of our religion—would do well to dedicate our lives in this fashion.

The very discovery of America contains lessons in brotherly cooperation for all of us. In fact, the brotherhood of the New World was quite literally the result of unbrotherly acts in the Old World.

We are all familiar with the fact that many of those who first settled in America were motivated by a yearning for religious freedom. And the great diversity of groups settling in our country was apparent from the very beginning. We had the English settlement at Jamestown, Va., in 1607, the Dutch at New Amsterdam in 1614, the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock in 1620, and the Jews who landed in New York in 1655.

These were among the forerunners of the mass migrations to our shores for 3 centuries. Here millions of people have found the fulfillment of their dreams of freedom, brotherhood and opportunity.

Here we have built a country in which the highest and best aspirations of individual human beings can be realized and rewarded. Here we have everything necessary for people to lead their lives in freedom, with dignity and with charity and brotherhood toward their fellow man.

We can be proud of what we have accomplished, but we cannot be satisfied, even today, with the conditions within our own land. Just this month, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America advised its 35 million members that racial prejudice is sinful and un-Christian.

It would be nice if we could say that from the St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande, and from Sandy Hook to the Golden Gate, all Americans were brothers and prejudice, discrimination and intolerance were nonexistent.

Unfortunately, however, despite all the progress of 350 years, we still have far to go. Less than 2 months ago, a leading public opinion analyst estimated that "discrimination in employment wastes $10 out of every $75 paycheck on the phony luxury of indulgence in our prejudices." He estimated that the annual cost of discrimination to American business and industry is $30 billion annually.

We all know of persons who preach brotherhood but do not practice it. Covert quotas still exist in some colleges and prep schools. Some businesses drastically restrict the level to which persons from minority groups may rise. One manufacturer will not have a Negro in a secretarial position; a law firm will not permit a Catholic to become a partner; an industrial enterprise will not promote Jews to executive positions; a financial institution will hire only native-born Americans. Some private employment services accept job orders that say "gentiles only," "white only," or "no non-Caucasians."

These forms of discrimination are still prevalent today. Unfortunately they sometimes occur even in firms whose officers or owners claim to practice brotherhood. They protest with indignant self-righteousness that some of their best friends are Jews, or that they have nothing against Negroes, but—

We may properly ask: How come all this at this late date? What is stopping us as a people, individually and collectively, from living up to the principles we profess? Why aren't we translating into daily living those basic tenets which are the foundation of every religion?

In a country in which persons of various races and creeds have served in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Federal, State, and local Governments, how can we afford to reject any man, upon the basis of his race or religion or national origin? Have we not seen persons of every type make invaluable contributions to the national well-being, both in public and private life? Have not business, the arts, the sciences, the professions, labor, and public service benefited from the contributions of all the highly diversified population of our country? Who can stand before God and say that he is better than his neighbor because of the color of his skin, the way he worships God, or the country from which his ancestors came?

In a world that is one-third yellow, one-third brown, and one-third white, how can America maintain its position of leadership if we consider inferior the non-white, two-thirds of the world's people?

To ask these questions is to answer them. It is obvious that there is neither excuse nor justification for prejudice and discrimination. It is clear that as a Nation, both domestically and internationally, we are injured by prejudice and intolerance.

More than 2,500 years ago, the brotherhood of man became the Jewish fundamental law. As long ago as 500 B. C., Confucius said, "All

within the 4 seas are brethren." About 2,000 years ago, Christ taught us that we must love thy neighbor as thyself.

And we here in the United States have the words and actions of our own leaders to teach us the need for brotherhood and love of our fellowman.

When George Washington visited the Hebrew congregation at Newport, R. I., Moses Seixas, the warden of the synagogue, referred with a great sense of gratitude to the privilege of living under a Government which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance; but generously affording to all liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship, deeming every one, of whatever nation, tongue, or language, equal parts of the great Government machine.

President Washington set the theme and direction of our national aims when he replied, "It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoy the exercise of their inherent natural right, for, happily, the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that those who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."

Thomas Jefferson expressed the epitome of brotherhood when he said, "All men are created equal."

It was for Abraham Lincoln to emancipate the slaves and officially remove this stain upon our democracy. In his life and literature, Lincoln left us a heritage of brotherly love, "with malice toward none; with charity for all."

Our progress toward full democracy for all our people has been slow. Minority groups have had a long and tedious climb to obtain fair treatment. Those who pioneered in breaking down racial and religious barriers showed courage and foresight. Down through the years, one after the other of our Presidents has by word and deed contributed to the forward march of democracy and the greater acceptance of brotherhood.

From President Jackson to President Eisenhower, our Chief Executives have shown that people can be appointed to high office regardless of religion or race.

Since Lincoln's day the Negro has made steady progress. One occupies today a sub-Cabinet position, and another has for several years sat on the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. Segregation has been eliminated in the Armed Forces.

It was in 1948 that the Supreme Court struck down the restrictive covenant on real estate; and it was in 1950 that the Court opened the doors of white universities and colleges to Negroes who could not get equal facilities elsewhere.

In 1954 the Supreme Court found that segregation in the public-school system is repugnant to our Constitution.

The clause in Government procurement contracts which prohibits racial and religious discrimination in employment is being enforced vigorously through the work of the President's Government Contract Committee.

You can see that there is no one person, no one party, and no one era that can claim credit for all that has been done. Sometimes our progress has been greater, sometimes less. The fact that we have moved constantly forward, however, speaks well for the American people. It denotes their determination to take those steps necessary to make our democracy grow and to strengthen our institutions and our people.

If the progress of the past is any key to the future, it is safe to predict that in the lifetimes of many of those now sitting in this room, the last traces of discrimination based on race, color, creed, or national origin will be swept away.

The America free of prejudice which I foresee will not come by itself. It will require the continued efforts and determination of groups such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It will require the continued observance of Brotherhood Week on an ever larger scale. It will require patience, understanding, cooperation, and good will. It will require the translation into our daily living—at work, in our schools, and at our places of worship—of all the principles of brotherhood.

In Brotherhood Week we have a great opportunity for the Christian to prove his practical Christianity and the Jew to prove his devotion to the teachings of his fathers. This is not asking too much for people of good will. It is not beyond the reach of those who wish to practice the principles to which we as a Nation are devoted.

We are all aware of the fact that children of every race, color, and creed can play together without difficulties. They even overcome barriers imposed by language differences, and by disparity in age. It is only from their elders that they learn the prejudice which corrodes and warps their spirits and hardens their hearts.

We have shown in many of our houses of worship, in hundreds of thousands of businesses across the land and in the Armed Forces that there is no more reason for adults to discriminate against their fellow human beings than there is for children to do so. We have shown that persons of all races, creeds, and national origins can work and live together in the military forces, in peace and war. Numerous employers and workers attest to the ease with which all types of persons can work together smoothly, efficiently, and profitably. And in thousands of communities across the land, persons of different races can pray together.

These examples of brotherhood in action have demonstrated conclusively that it can be done and that it should be done. I am convinced that reason and principle will prevail and that we shall continue to make progress until we have achieved our goal.

So far I have discussed only the discrimination based upon race, religion, or national origin. Other types of prejudice are equally costly and equally unjustified.

We are faced with a growing problem of discrimination against those of mature and advanced age. The extreme accent on youth which seems to be a part of our current national philosophy is not justified by the facts. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that the older workers, properly placed, are more steady, more reliable, and at least as productive as their younger fellows. In safety and attendance the records they compile set examples for younger workers to follow to advantage. Management's investment in training them is amply justified by the lower turnover rate among mature and older workers.

As a nation, we are growing older, both with respect to the population as a whole and our labor force. There are 42 percent more workers over 45 today than there were in 1940. There are 40 percent more workers over 65 than there were 15 years ago. This trend seems certain to be accelerated in the years ahead. It is estimated that by 1970 almost half of our people of voting age will be 45 or over.

In addition to the moral wrong involved, we cannot afford the waste that is caused by discrimination against older workers. It is far more profitable to have them productive than on public assistance.

This is another area in which we must work to break down prejudice and promote understanding.

There is still one other form of prejudice which is worth studying, and that is on the basis of sex. While women are accepted as the boss in the home, they are not always accorded the status of equals in the labor market. The affection which we feel for mothers, wives, and daughters is not always translated into an equal break for women workers at the employment office. In addition, we too often pay women less money for the same work than we would pay to a man who did that job.

The brotherhood tradition is to use each and every one of our human resources. The increasing acceptance of women in all phases of this country's activities is evidence of the progress being made in the achievement of the goals for which we are working. Both President Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Eisenhower named a woman as a member of their Cabinet. Women have served our Nation as Ambassadors—our present Ambassador to Italy is a woman. Women are Members of the Congress and of State legislatures, and a number of them are serving as judges. Large numbers of women hold important posts in State, county, and local governments. And business and industry depend in large measure upon women workers. The total number of women workers, as of the latest estimate, approached 19 million. This was close to a third of the total working population of the Nation.

We in America have far less manpower than do the Communists. In numbers we stand no chance of matching them. Our effectiveness must be based upon the training and skill of our workers and the utilization we make of the talents they acquire. Those prejudices we still have based on race, color, religion, national origin, age, or sex hamper us in the effective utilization of our manpower. To that extent they weaken our country and impair our chances of survival. As individuals and as a Nation, we cannot afford the cost of this prejudice.

I am glad to see that there seems to be a growing awareness of this fact. There seems to be a real determination on the part of millions of Americans to throw off the blinders of discrimination and prejudice. There seems to be a growing realization that each man and woman is entitled to be judged upon the basis of his or her merits. There could be no better philosophy to guide us in our daily living than that which He enunciated in the Golden Rule 2,000 years ago.

If we are to achieve our goals in the field of brotherhood, all of us must (1) practice brotherhood in our daily lives; (2) teach and train and hire and promote upon the basis of ability alone, without regard to race, religion, color, or national origin; (3) urge others with whom we work, study, pray, or socialize to practice and promote brotherhood; (4) be positive and courageous in our attitude toward brotherhood.

If we will all follow these general rules every day of the year, we shall succeed in making a real contribution toward the strengthening and improvement of our great democracy.

Intellectual Freedom, Oppenheimer, and National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD H. VELDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Speaker, last summer, soon after the release of the findings by the Personnel Security Board in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, Mr.

Glenn A. McLain, director of the Eastern Kentucky State College's Center of International Relations, wrote an article entitled "Intellectual Freedom, Oppenheimer, and National Security."

I had fully expected to have the article inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD before the close of the session. Even though the Oppenheimer case has slipped in news value, I believe the thoughts embodied in the article written by this university professor are very deserving of our thoughtful consideration today.

The article is written in two parts, the first of which follows, and it is my intention to insert the second part in tomorrow's RECORD:

INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM, OPPENHEIMER, AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The beginnings of a great debate are becoming apparent concerning the Oppenheimer case. Since the release of the findings by the Personnel Security Board in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and the Atomic Commission hearings, much heat and not much light have been thrown upon this very vital matter. American scientific groups have rushed into print criticizing the decision. Many of these groups failed to wait until the complete report was published before offering their comments. This type of hasty action before the facts were all in has been followed by a great deal of rash editorial comment. The usual special articles by columnists who are automatically against any investigations have been delivered with much alacrity. These dispensers of public information would do well to carefully analyze the findings before trying to mold public opinion in this matter. The climate of opinion in America is of such a negative type in this age of suspicion that many supporters of American liberties seem to be guilty of using the same kind of smear tactics they so often deplore. Let us examine these issues carefully before drawing conclusions which strike at the heart of two fundamental problems present in America today—intellectual freedom for the individual and national security.

The American people cannot be expected to read the 32 pages of closely printed report material inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on June 2, 1954, pages 7095–7105. Those who enjoy their reading on the slick paper format can find the report in full in the June 11, 1954, issue of U. S. News & World Report. While few people can be expected to have, or to take the time to read these documents, the general public has the right to expect the gentlemen of the press, TV, and radio to give us the facts from the original sources. Perhaps this will eventually be the case, but it seems apparent that the American temper is not to weigh the original facts before formulating opinion. Is this too much to expect in 1954? Have we traveled so far down the road to intellectual serfdom that clichés such as the suppression of scientific thought, banishment of the unorthodox, and many others pass unchallenged by the American people? Does the American public actually trust the executive branch of our Government or must we actually relinquish power to legislative servants and informational savants who write before they read? These are some of the side issues which append themselves to this case. Let us go to the report itself for a true understanding of these problems.

The Gray board members stated the dilemma facing them in making their decision. They deplored the fact that free citizens cannot exercise uninhibited judgment because of the requirements of national security. The security system of the United States was thus considered to be on trial both in matters of procedure and as to substance. The three board members, Mr. Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina; Mr. Thomas Morgan, former head of the Sperry Gyroscope Co.; and Maurice V. Evans, chemistry professor of Loyola University, concurred in the view that public opinion in America has polarized itself in two directions. The first was that our security program was compounded of fear, prejudice, and arbitrary judgments. The second point was that in recent years our Government had been less than careful of loose or pliable attitudes toward security. Cognizant of these facts, the board approached its task in a spirit of inquiry. Even the most bitter critic of investigations would have to admit the hearings were carried on with an air of impartiality, objectivity, and scrupulous fairness. Dr. Oppenheimer was allowed familiarity with the contents of every relevant document in the case. He was given the opportunity to cross-examine all witnesses and was represented by counsel, four in number, at all times. In his own words "he received patient and courteous consideration at the hands of the board." The entire proceeding was based upon the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, and subsequent acts or decisions made by the Commission and executive branch since that time.

The decision of the board may be evaluated in terms of four issues of importance: The activities and sympathies of Oppenheimer from 1940–45, "his susceptibility to influence" during this period, "the arrogance of judgment" of Oppenheimer during the entire period of his Government service, and his opinions concerning the H-bomb crash program since the Truman directive to produce this weapon.

In a detailed series of findings covering the period from 1940 until 1945 specifically and some activities since that time the Board states that Dr. Oppenheimer had shown little doubt he was deeply involved from 1936 until 1942 with many people who were active Communists. It was further concluded that Oppenheimer's activities perhaps diminished after his filing of a personnel security questionnaire in April 1942. The first affirmative action on the part of Dr. Oppenheimer in this report was his resignation from the independent citizens' committee of the arts, sciences, and professions. The Board would have preferred to have found an affirmative action at an earlier date.

In the criteria for the evaluation of these activities of Oppenheimer the Board found that:

1. There is no indication of disloyalty on the part of Dr. Oppenheimer by reason of any present Communist affiliation.

2. Oppenheimer had bad judgment in continuing his past associations into the present.

3. Oppenheimer is concluded to be a loyal citizen.

It would, therefore, seem that Oppenheimer was judged clear of complicity in reference to his activities before 1945.

The second issue of importance was that of Oppenheimer's susceptibility to influence in matters of judgment. Under the provisions of President Eisenhower's Executive Order No. 10450 criteria for removing an individual from a sensitive security position were given to be "for any facts which furnish reason to believe that the individual might be subjected to coercion * * * or which may cause him to act contrary to the best interests of national security." In the findings the Board clearly found that "there was a susceptibility to influence or coercion within the meaning of the criteria" although it was also admitted Oppenheimer's actions might merely be called bad judgment.

The most important example of coercion or influence revolved around Oppenheimer's contacts with Dr. Edward Condon. Dr. Condon had openly protested Oppenheimer's efforts to have a Communist physicist deferred from the Army at the request of Oppenheimer. The physicist, Giovanni Lomanitz, had received his job at the University of California Radiation Laboratory at the insistence of Oppenheimer. This happened in 1943, but in 1949, Lomanitz and another Oppenheimer friend, David Bohn, both refused to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on the usual constitutional grounds.

In the findings, Oppenheimer admitted his close professional association with these two Communists. He also affirmed the allegations that he had known Lomanitz was very much a Red from the first and that he gave Bohn a recommendation for a position in Brazil despite the fact he was worried about Bohn having pleaded the fifth amendment before the Un-American Activities Committee. Dr. Condon wrote about the Lomanitz case in a great sense of outrage. Another incident between Dr. Condon and Dr. Oppenheimer is of great significance. Dr. Oppenheimer testified before the Un-American Activities Committee in 1949 that one Dr. Peters was a dangerous Red and former Communist. After this testimony appeared in the newspapers, Oppenheimer repudiated his statements as a result of protestations by Dr. Condon and other scientists. This was the first strong indication that the scientific brotherhood had begun to exert pressure on Oppenheimer. In the findings, the Board concluded that Oppenheimer had failed to appreciate the impropriety of making statements of one character in a secret session and of a different character for publication. The almost clannish loyalty of the scientific group was clearly shown as Dr. Condon had first bitterly assailed Oppenheimer, but when the Oppenheimer testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee was repudiated, Condon supported his friend as before. In this second issue of importance the Board finally concluded that "while loyalty to one's friends is a noble quality * * * being loyal to one's friends above reasonable obligations to one's country and to the security system * * * is not clearly in the interests of security."

The third issue of importance was the matter of Oppenheimer's arrogance of judgment. This matter touches upon the importance of intellectual freedom. Modern war is conceived and developed by intellectuals, including physicists, whose professional existence depends upon the right to make mistakes. Few men of intellectual capacity would quarrel with this principle. However, according to the findings of the Board, Oppenheimer has gone a step further in the matter of intellectual freedom. "He has repeatedly exercised an arrogance of his own judgment with respect to the loyalty and reliability of other citizens to an extent which has frustrated and at times impeded the workings of the system." Several cases of this type of arrogance are cited in the findings, but the Chevalier case illustrates the point of the Board decision. Dr. Chevalier is an old friend of Oppenheimer. Some indication of Oppenheimer's opinion of his friend may be gained from the findings' analysis of this association which stated: "Dr. Oppenheimer declined in 1946 to discuss a meeting of Communists at the home of Chevalier on the ground that it was irrelevant." Although Oppenheimer was interviewed by security agents several times during his Los Alamos work concerning this and other front meetings where Chevalier and other friends congregated with him, blank refusals were consistently made until the Board hearings.

Dr. Chevalier's Communist background and association were clearly known and admitted by Oppenheimer in the hearings. In item 23 of the findings, Oppenheimer clearly admitted that Chevalier had solicited security information for transmission to Russian scientists in 1943. This information was re-

fused by Oppenheimer. In that same year Oppenheimer refused to identify Chevalier as a Soviet agent for the security agencies. Later, Oppenheimer identified three other Soviet agents to the proper authorities after he was ordered by a superior to divulge the information. But he still refused to identify Chevalier.

Although Chevalier visited Oppenheimer at his home and tried unsuccessfully to get this classified information, Oppenheimer lied to Colonel Landsdale on August 26, 1943, concerning the details of this incident. During the hearing Oppenheimer admitted his complicity in this case and said he was an idiot and that he knew Chevalier was deeply involved. Apparently Oppenheimer learned nothing from this mistake as his connections with Chevalier continue until the present time.

Chevalier and Oppenheimer consulted together in 1946 after Chevalier had been interviewed by the FBI. In 1950 Chevalier wrote Oppenheimer asking him the details of his testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee. In view of the fact that Oppenheimer knew without a shadow of a doubt of Chevalier's long record of Communist complicity, as well as Chevalier's open solicitation of American atomic secrets, it seems strange that Oppenheimer would consent to give Chevalier a summary of what he, Oppenheimer, had testified before the Un-American Activities Committee. The importance of this Oppenheimer letter was highlighted in the findings by the statement that this letter was lated used by Chevalier in support of his application for a passport.

In December 1953, after these incidents should have resulted in a break between the two for the purposes of national security, Oppenheimer visited Chevalier in Paris. At this meeting, after the nature of the cold war could no longer be in doubt even to the most naive citizen, Chevalier informed Oppenheimer that he had used his name to establish a claim for a job with the United Nations as translator. Chevalier explained his problem to Oppenheimer as one of a security nature. He was worried because he was under investigation by the U. N. and was doubtful whether he would be cleared. Oppenheimer quickly responded to this crisis by dining with an official in the United States Embassy, although he denied assisting Chevalier in keeping his passport.

In summation of this third issue of importance in the Oppenheimer case, it is interesting to note Oppenheimer's continuing affirmation of friendship with this Communist, this open espionage agent of Russia and ideological intellectual. Dr. Oppenheimer, in his testimony, has stated that his association with Chevalier has continued and he still considers him to be his friend. The average citizen in our democracy might well ask: "Does the free flow of science require association between free scientists and Communists? Is it a threat to intellectual freedom if the genius is restrained from open association with Communists?" If so, the ordinary rules of our security system must be changed for the species homo genius. This type of action would seem to be incompatible with the workings of our security system which is firmly based upon the realization that Communist scientists are not free and that they are dedicated to the destruction of the West. No political party in America could institute security regulations on any other basis. No pious speeches will make America fit for world leadership. Only our conduct is the criteria. This conduct must apply to all citizens, geniuses as well as typists. Or so reads the decision of the Board which said, "Dr. Oppenheimer's continuing conduct and associations have reflected a serious disregard for the requirements of the security system."

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

Let's Put America First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent address delivered by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. JENNER] before the Dallas Public Affairs Club and the Committee of One Hundred, at Dallas, Tex., on February 14, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S PUT AMERICA FIRST

(Address by Hon. WILLIAM E. JENNER, of Indiana)

It is always a pleasure for me to leave Washington and travel to one of our great States, to meet with the people there and to discuss our national problems. I believe fervently the strength of our Nation resides not in the Capital but in the vast expanse of our country. Empires are represented by, as they are governed by, their capital cities. Free countries are not divided into a capital city and the provinces which are ruled by it.

It is a special pleasure for me to come to Texas, because in my State of Indiana we still believe the United States is a Union of sovereigns, and our State is in every respect the sovereign equal of the Federal Government. There is no deference in Indiana to the glamour and show which are now so evident in Washington. We believe that we, the people, govern the country, and Washington is the front office, part of the administrative headquarters. I am sure that doctrine will sound right and proper in the State of Texas.

It is a favorite argument of the collectivists that foreign policy is something remote and abstract, which can be understood only by experts who have spent years in the precincts of the State Department or on the staffs of certain daily newspapers. Congressmen, who have not had the benefit of long indoctrination in the mysteries, and you, who do not even breathe the air of Washington, are supposed to sit patiently and wait until the great minds have handed down what you may know.

Americans never accepted such nonsense. Our greatest diplomatic achievements were the work of laymen, who had spent most of their years in private life. In the last few years we have been bewildered and bemused by foreign relations experts in Washington offices, but the moment has come when the American people need to decide what kind of foreign policy they wish to stand for, and then tell our Government to follow it.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S COMMITMENT TO THE FREE NATIONS

President Eisenhower's message on defense of the nationalist stronghold on Formosa will certainly be a landmark in American foreign affairs, but what kind of a landmark it will be is not yet certain.

First let us look at the documents themselves—the message of the President, and the resolution of Congress supporting the President's position.

In the words of the message and the resolution, the United States reaffirms its close ties with its loyal ally, the Nationalist Government of China, and makes a commitment to defend the Nationalist stronghold with American military power if the Communists carry out their threat to attack it.

This statement does not solve all the problems of our foreign policy in the western Pacific. There is no good reason why it should be. We have had 20 years of mismanagement of our activities in Asia. It is not reasonable to ask that any single statement clear away all the confusion.

The message is significant because it deals with the most important question. We have announced that we shall tolerate no new retreat in Asia. The Red Chinese will not be permitted to breach the frontiers of the still free world. We will make it clear that we shall meet Communist military action with military action, the only argument the Communists understand. We will not start the shooting, but if the Communists choose to start a war, we will finish it.

A foreign policy carefully worked out in many conferences, publicly stated on the authority of the Chief Executive, and supported by Congress and both parties, should be firm as a rock.

But I say to you, what you know well, that the foreign policy established in the Formosa papers is not firm at all. The fact that it is clearly stated in a Presidential message, and formally approved by the legislative branch, may mean nothing. It is wholly possible that we shall follow the opposite policy of appeasement of the Communists, surrender of our advantage, and a sellout of our loyal allies in Asia.

Why am I so certain that the wishes of the American President, the American Congress, and the American people, may be flouted?

TWO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY CENTERS

The reason is, briefly, that we have two lines of authority in foreign policymaking. One is the line of responsibility laid down in our Constitution and followed by all those who believe in our Constitution. The other is a network whose members deliberately disregard our Constitution, our President, and our Congress, and act as a law unto themselves.

The sad fact is that no public document, no formal commitment, no legal mandate, can determine American foreign policy today. Our fluctuating foreign policy is a tug of war between these two forces. It is an unsettled question which group will be triumphant in the struggle to shape our Nation's destiny.

We have seen again and again in the last two decades, that the foreign policy put forward in our public statements, is not the foreign policy carried out by our Government.

This is not because the American Government has suddenly become untrustworthy. That would be a most inaccurate statement of what has happened.

The reason is that the American Government is a two-headed monster. It is led by two different organizing centers. The never-settled question of which center is to determine our foreign policies has kept us in constant turmoil, and made us look futile and ineffectual before the world.

This conflict between two heads of our Government will not end until one or the other is wholly defeated, uprooted, and destroyed.

For years now our Government has been pulled in two opposite directions in making its decisions.

ONE CENTER IS PRO-SOVIET

The hearings of the so-called Tydings committee disclosed clear evidence, in spite of the whitewash, that a powerful and ruthless group were guiding our decisions to the advantage of the Soviet Union. This was not news. Committees of Congress had been making the same charge for years.

The Russell committee, which investigated the dismissal of General MacArthur, and investigations by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, showed that a secret faction in our Government had worked out its own foreign policy, to suit its own ends, and had by infinite skill, patience, and ruthlessness, put it into effect, regardless of the legally established foreign policy set by Congress and by our President.

Throughout all of 1951 and 1952 the Congress, especially the Senate, was engaged in a great debate to turn the light on this secret foreign policy and destroy its influence.

You know the achievements of this secret group.

After the defeat of Japan in World War II, our official foreign policy was to defend and strengthen the Nationalist Government of China. But the secret faction in our Government was determined we should support the Chinese Reds. In the name of the United States Government, they insisted on a united front government in China, with the Communist rebels retaining their own armed forces. Our representative gave the Reds a long cease-fire by which they could rest and re-equip their armies, and he set up an embargo on American bullets for the guns of the defenders.

Since 1950 we have had two policies for the Nationalist Government on Formosa. Our official policy was to support the legal Government and help rearm the Nationalist forces. Congress voted the money again and again as proper for our own defense. But the hidden faction in our Government intended that we should "disengage ourselves"—as the polite phrase goes—from the Nationalists. Their real policy for Formosa paralleled the famous advice of Owen Lattimore—to let Korea fall, but not let it look as if we pushed her. In December 1949—5 years ago—our State Department even issued instructions to its personnel abroad to show no regrets when the Government on Formosa fell—according to plan.

During the war in Korea we were ostensibly fighting to defeat the Red Chinese attackers. Our military leaders, our people, and I believe most of the members of the administration were loyal to that objective. But the invisible group had a different policy. They were determined to prevent military victory over the Reds. They intended to return by force the Chinese prisoners of war who did not wish to go back to Communist China, as they returned the hopeless refugees in Europe after 1945. They intended to leave North Korea a wasteland, occupied by Red troops who could infiltrate South Korea at will and descend at a moment's notice on free Korea with armies rested and reequipped.

The secret group won every objective except the return of the pitiful prisoners of war, who were saved by the insistence of Congress and the unremitting determination of our military leaders.

The same double purpose can be found in our German policy, in Austria, in Italy, in Greece, and in the tragic surrender of all Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union.

The public policy of the United States, which has in almost all instances denounced conquest and supported the independent peaceful nations, has faded away. The secret policy of the faction so friendly to the Soviet Union has in almost every instance been triumphant.

Our public policy of resisting communism has succeeded only in Turkey, and to a limited extent in Greece. But Secretary of Defense Forrestal, who was determined to block the Communist advance; and who won over President Truman, was driven to an early grave. His hard policy of armed resistance to communism was replaced by the soft policy of economic aid to Europe.

From 1945 to 1952 the power of the Soviet Union spread east and west, until it covered one-third of the world and put millions of people in bondage. The conflict between freedom and slavery was not lost in Asia or in Europe. It was lost in Washington, because the little group in our policymaking which favored the Soviet Union was stronger than the people who believed in a pro-American policy.

ITS PROGRAM IS DEFEAT OF THE FORMOSA POLICY

I say to you that the Eisenhower policy, for defense of the perimeter of the free world where it is threatened in the Formosa Straits, will be underminded, eroded, covered up, twisted, and made over into a policy favoring Red China, unless we learn our lesson, and deal with the realities of politics today.

Already erosion is apparent. We constantly hear it dinned in our ears that it is all right for us to defend Formosa, but very wrong to defend Quemoy and Matsu. That is as if the UN should say to the United Sates, "You will reduce tension with the Soviet Union if you give up Alaska, which is nearer the Soviet border than it is to the United States. The Soviet Union says Alaska belongs to it. It does not matter if you need Alaska for radar information, whether information, and early warning of threatened attack. You must give up Alaska to the Soviet rulers so their tension will be lowered."

Another form of erosion is hidden in the warnings that Formosa really belongs to Japan, and so it is alright for the United States to intervene, but Quemoy and the Tachens belong to China, and therefore, if we defend the coastal islands, we are threatening Red China. That argument omits the minor fact that we are not theratening the Reds. They are threatening us. They cannot get the coastal islands except by conquest. They have already tried and failed. It is they who talk of new conquests, not we.

A third form of erosion is the attempt to get a cease-fire in the United Nations. A cease-fire would tell the Nationalists they could never win back their own country. That would be like telling George Washington he could have a cease-fire if he would remain in Valley Force, but make no effort to reconquer New York, or Philadelphia, or Yorktown.

A cease-fire would free the Red armies for a new attack on Indochina.

A cease-fire would give further recognition to the Red Chinese. It would tell the desperate people on the mainland they had no hope. It would tell the people of Poland, the Balkans, and East Germany, that the United States had no interest in their fate.

Other pitfalls are the proposals to establish two Chinas, and sooner or later to put free China under a U. N. trusteeship. We know where that will lead. After Red China is safely installed in U. N. as a peace-loving nation, it will bring up the demand that Formosa be surrendered to it, and cite the Cairo declaration as proof we have already agreed to the proposal.

Perhaps the most serious threat of all is the recent report that our Government intends to ask other members of the U. N. to help us patrol the Formosa Strait. That would end all pretense of either a pro-American or an anti-Communist policy. It would mean another victory like Korea.

THE UNITED NATIONS MAKES NO COMMITMENTS TO FREEDOM

Whatever you make of U. N. in general, it should be possible to get agreement among all good Americans on a few facts. The Soviet Union is a member of the United Nations. So are her satellites. She has a permanent seat on the Security Council, with the veto power.

The U. N. has no commitments to support freedom. For every obligation to the free nations it has corresponding obligations to the Communist nations. Its staff includes a proportion of open Communists, but it also has a substantial number of secret Communists. The U. N. recently awarded large damages to some American fifth amendment Communists on its staff, who were dismissed only because of hearings held by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The U. N. is in the middle, seesawing between the free world and the Communist world.

The most favorable policy to us which the U. N. can adopt is neutralism. It is nearer to downright coexistence.

This is the minimum of undisputed fact about U. N. on which all Americans can agree. The U. N. is an agent of both Communist, anti-Communist and neutral nations. It has no justification for favoring the side of the free. It has never pretended to do so. Nowhere in the vast outpouring of documents that flows from the U. N. is there any commitment to freedom. The U. N. works for peace, for welfare, for one world. It does not pretend to work for liberty.

PRO-COMMUNISTS CANNOT BE STOPPED BY PAPERS

Why do I say that these proposals to soften up the Formosa resolution—so dangerous to the interests of the United States, so shameful a breach of our moral obligations—will probably prevail, in spite of the solemn commitment by the President and the Congress to a true American line of action?

The reason is this. A group of gangsters cannot be stopped by a written contract. A power group in government cannot be stopped by a state paper. A revolutionary junta, whose purpose is to take over the sovereignty, cannot be stopped by a resolution of congress. The only answer to a ruthless political-action group, determined to destroy the honor of America, is a political stroy the honor of America, is a political-action group determined to support American political ideals and defend the men in Government who are loyal to them.

We have talked loosely and superficially about this rival-power system. But talk is no longer good enough.

We have called the product the Acheson foreign policy. This dual control of foreign policy was operating in our Government as nearly as 1940 under Harry Hopkins. It operated under Dean Acheson, but it has operated just as effectively since he left. We have no reason whatever to think this group lost its hold because Mr. Acheson resigned. Everything we know indicates the contrary.

Who then are the people we are discussing? Where do they operate? On what foundation does their power rest?

THEY DO NOT OPERATE UNDER CONSTITUTIONAL RESTRAINTS

Part of our confusion comes from the fact that this group does not operate along constitutional lines at all. Our legal foreign relations staff works in the State Department, under the direction of the President, and within the policy framework laid down by Congress. But the extralegal foreign-policymaking conspiracy operates all over the lot. Like a cancer growing wild, it ignores all the restraints inherent in a healthy, well-balanced organism. This collectivist machine operates, in part, in the State Department, in part, in the White House Secretariat, in the super-Cabinet agencies of national defense, in the Foreign Operations Administration, in the CIA. But a substantial part of it operates outside government. It may be found in the press, in the parties, in the colleges, in labor unions, in business, in the United Nations. The important point is that all the parts of this political machine are coordinated. They operate, as one, from some control tower we cannot see.

We have tried to blame our Presidents, the State Department, the party in power, for our failures in foreign policy. I am convinced we shall never recognize the octopus we have to fight until we realize it is not part of the legally established government at all. It is a revolutionary junta, operating within our Government, and through our Government, but not for our Government, our Constitution, or our Nation.

What keeps this cabal in power, under Democratic and under Republican administrations? Why has it been impossible for three Presidents and many Congresses to demolish it? That is a long story but it can be summarized in three p's: pressure groups, propaganda, and pelf—that is, big spending.

You are going to ask me whether this group is entirely Communist directed. I doubt if our problem is that simple. This group has, we know, included Communist Party members and Communist agents, and may still include them. It includes Socialists, collectivist one-worlders, ambitious individuals greedy for power, willing in time of trouble to advance themselves at the expense of their country. It includes trimmers and collaborators who believe they can make deals with the unscrupulous, who think they can get votes or power or contracts or publicity, from the Communists, and then cast aside their temptors. It includes the innocent and the simple minded, who love big words that have no meaning.

I do not know what proportion of these people are Communists, but I know for certain that everything they do is of benefit to Moscow, because it is directed by Moscow. The Soviet leaders are the most skillful people in the world today in the new political arts of propaganda, brainwashing, camoflage, and what I have called revolution by assembly line. We can save ourselves a great deal of time and thought if we realize one fact. As conditions are today, the Communist world revolution will control and use all the bits and pieces of collectivism, one-worldism, centralism, internationalism and all their variations. None of them will be helpful to us.

How are we going to redress the balance, and give strength to the vast majority of true Americans, so they can manage their own government?

We must give up our reliance on legalism.

The pro-Communist, internationalist, collectivist foreign policy, with its favoritism for everything which helps the Soviet Union, has triumphed again and again because of the energy, inteligence, and determination of a self-directed elite. We fight this advancing army with statements, promises, papers and laws. We will never win until

we oppose the collectivist political faction with resolute political action by men determined to put America first.

The pro-American group within our Government today is more numerous, abler, stronger, more devoted, than the collectivist group. It is supported by the vast bulk of the voters of both parties. Its weakness is that it is trying to win a debate under the rules of American political life. It should be fighting for victory over opponents who know no rules.

PRO-AMERICANS ARE UNDER ATTACK

We must know first the names of leaders of the pro-American group. You can find out who lead the American branch of our two-headed Government by the enemies they have made. The left-wing press and the collectivist collaborators are always ready to attack Secretary of Defense Wilson. They center much of their fire on Admiral Radford.

Khrushchev, speaking in Red China last fall, violently denounced Admiral Radford, and bracketed him with the Communist-hated Senators KNOWLAND and MCCARTHY. Isn't it significant that left-wing American columnists today follow exactly the line spoken by Khrushchev 4 or 5 months ago?

You remember this bloc did not exactly like MacArthur. They denounce the Senators who support the free nations of Asia. They criticize President Eisenhower if he dares cooperate with Republicans they have not recommended.

The collectivist press has not yet started to attack Herbert Hoover, Jr., who is now our Under Secretary of State, but it is a rule of theirs never to call attention to good people on our side until they have to. Assistant Secretary of State Robertson has escaped their attack for the same reason.

Today, pro-American officials have not one moment's security. They are constantly under attack, mostly by moves they cannot see. If you need a blueprint of how the collectivists keep dangerous anti-Communists under constant pressure, I suggest you analyze the series of moves which they employed to destroy Senator MCCARTHY, from the day in Wheeling, W. Va., when he tore down the curtain of censorship hiding the Communists in our State Department.

I tell you just such a subtle, complex, perfectly timed, secret campaign is already under way against the men who dared advise the President to resist the Chinese Reds. The strategy is worked out, and broken into steps. It will arise, spontaneously, from all directions. It will be echoed in all quarters of the world. The line is already apparent in the inspired British press and that of the Continent.

From a well-informed left-wing magazine I learn the shape of coming events. Once the U. N. is well in the picture the plan is to "build up enough pressure to make imperative the gentle liquidation of Chiang Kai-shek, and the establishment of true self-government for the Formosans under U. N. trusteeship." But, my friends, the Nationalists are not Formosans. Self-government will give the island to its prewar inhabitants. Can you see the Nationalist armies, driven from Formosan soil by a demand for neutrality, wandering like a ghost army about the world, as helpless as General Anders valiant Polish fighting men? Next we are told "binding multilateral agreements for the reduction of armaments are imperative." These agreements will bind us but not the Communists. Finally we are told, "then the gamble that the President has taken will start paying off. The greater his success, the more likely he is to acquire the freedom of action he needs to (and I urge you to note) shed his most troublesome aides."

ONLY POLITICAL ACTION WILL SAVE US

The bloc which intends to destroy the true Americans in our Government is in action. Is there a bloc to defend the true Americans and drive out the secret enemies of our country? I am not urging you to help our friends in Asia. I am urging you to prevent the humiliating defeat of our country and everything it stands for.

You ask who are the leaders of the collectivist bloc. Who is taking Acheson's place today?

I can guess but I have no legal proof. Remember, the physician cannot have proof that his diagnosis is correct. He can get that only from the autopsy.

But I want to point out one significant fact. We are never going to have legal proof, about the most dangerous enemies of our country. We will not be able to use what proof we have, when the culprit is close to the top. Attorney General Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover told us how FBI reports on Harry White, for example, were sent to President Truman, and his Cabinet officers again and again. We know President Truman and his top Cabinet members opposed promoting Harry White to the International Monetary Fund, in view of his record. But he was promoted.

Who could tell the President of the United States he must promote a known Communist collaborator? I have been told who was the person responsible but I have, so far, no proof. Shall we sit and do nothing, when we have political proof that some of our officials are selling out our country, merely because we have no affidavits of what was said in their secret conferences?

One thing we know. The Communists and their collaborators push their best men close to the top, because that is the safest place to be. No one could remove Dr. John from his job in Germany though more than one person knew he was disloyal. We may get the little traitors by assembling legal proof. We will never get the big ones, except by political counterattack.

The pro-Communist attack on our political institutions is political action. We must use political action to remove from public life every man or woman who is beholden to the Communists, or committed to a philosophy alien to our Constitution. We cannot wait until we see a party card.

POLITICAL ACTION WILL BRING ABOUT AN AMERICAN POLICY

We must also know American policy. It is all very well to know Communist policy, but it is more important to know American policy.

We must have a clear American foreign policy and a clear American military policy before we enter any conference with other nations in the United Nations or outside.

There is no harm in conferring with foreign governments, inside or outside of U. N. so long as we put America first.

Nationalist China has perhaps half a million men eager to fight for their independence.

Korea has courageous soldiers ready to fight on their own soil. Indochina can provide others, with American training. Altogether free Asia can furnish millions of troops eager to guard their sectors of the frontier of freedom.

Can we guarantee that no one in our State Department or FOA will hamstring the funds Congress has voted to arm them? Can we guarantee that agencies of our Government will not conspire to undermine Chiang Kai-shek or Syngman Rhee or Vietnam? If the great brains, who have abandoned newspaper work for pontificating, sow planned confusion or attack our pro-American leaders, are we ready to meet them with better newspapers, better writers, better radio and television programs, or, if necessary, by mimeograph machines in every block?

The Chinese Communists have started four wars in the last 10 years, with no penalty. The Red Chinese know they can never put down the Chinese on the mainland, while the Chinese on Formosa have an army. They will never be satisfied with less than total destruction of that army. They must destroy the armies of Korea and of Indochina. They count on the aid of their supporters in our councils.

Support of the armies of free Asia is American policy, as destruction of these armies is Communist policy.

The Communist regimes are weak and their people rebellious. The only strength they possess is the faction within the American Government which puts the Soviet Union first.

We must deal first with our own dual Government. If we will organize political action, to support the pro-Americans in our Government and in public life, the world conflict will soon be over. We can win true peace for all the world if we will gird ourselves to defeat the enemy within.

Tax Relief Under H. R. 4300

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, there has been a lot of talk to the effect that the Republican tax program of last year did practically nothing for lower bracket taxpayers, specifically those with incomes below $5,000. Let us put the record straight once and for all.

In the first place these statements have referred only to the big tax-revision bill. This ignores the fact that the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 was only one part of the entire tax program and, from a revenue standpoint a relatively small part. The entire tax reduction provided last year amounted to $7.4 billion, of which the revision bill only accounted for $1.4 billion.

The biggest single portion of the program was the across-the-board individual income-tax reduction which went into effect a year ago last January. That reduction amounted to $3 billion. There are some who say that that reduction was provided for in a law enacted by a Democratic Congress. Of course, we all know that the actual reduction could never have been permitted to take effect unless tremendous expenditure reductions had not been achieved by the Republican Party. The $3 billion reduction was achieved by a tax cut in the rate of about 10 percent in the lower and middle income brackets and ranging down to a little over 1 percent in the upper brackets. About 31 percent of the tax relief in that bill went to individuals with adjusted gross incomes of less than $5,000. It should be pointed out that this was approximately the same percentage by which these individuals had previously had their taxes increased. In other words, we went down almost exactly the way we had come up.

Moreover, it should be recognized that this group with adjusted gross incomes of under $5,000 to whom 31 percent of the tax relief went, actually bear about 29 percent of the total income tax burden. Therefore the percentage reduction in the below-$5,000 area represented an

equitable distribution of the tax relief based upon the existing distribution of the income tax burden.

In addition, the majority ignored the fact that we also provided $1 billion excise tax reduction on a wide variety of items including telephone calls, railroad tickets, ladies' handbags, toilet articles, and so forth. Practically this entire reduction benefited individuals, particularly the Nation's consumers. Moreover, I would like to point out that that particular tax reduction helped a class of people which the present Democratic $20 proposal ignores completely. The class which I am talking about is made up of those who pay no income taxes today because of low incomes, such as those living on social security benefits and other small pensions. Excise tax cuts are the only way to lessen the tax burden on these people.

Insofar as the tax revision bill is concerned, about $800 million or more than half of its total reduction went to individuals. It is not possible to make any accurate estimate of which classes of taxpayers received the most dollar benefit from this reduction. To say that those below $5,000 received little or no benefit is to completely distort the facts. Take one single provision, for example, the retirement income credit involves a revenue loss of about $140 million, approximately one-fifth of the entire individual tax reduction contained in the bill. This provision was so drawn that its benefits are concentrated almost entirely in the low income area. More liberal treatment of dependents, representing another $80 million in tax benefits was also of material help to low income taxpayers. It is my belief that individuals with adjusted gross incomes of $5,000 or less received approximately the same percentage of tax benefits as their present share of the tax burden bears to the total income tax.

The Soybean Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the soybean industry, and specifically the growers of soybeans in the Midsouth, are threatened by a proposal of the Department of Agriculture to reclassify certain varieties of beans.

This matter is rather complicated in its ramifications, and for the benefit of the Congress I would like to call to the attention of the Members several letters written on this proposal.

On February 14 the Department called a meeting of soybean growers in Memphis, Tenn. Herewith is a letter which I wrote to Mr. J. E. Barr, Chief of the Inspection Branch of the Agricultural Marketing Service Grain Division:

FEBRUARY 10, 1955.

Mr. J. E. BARR,
Chief, Inspection Branch,
Grain Division,
Agricultural Marketing Service.

DEAR MR. BARR: I am writing you in reference to the series of meetings you are conducting throughout the country concerning a proposal to define or classify soybeans with green seed covers, which in cross section are yellow, as green soybeans.

The growers in the section of Arkansas which I represent have been growing Ogden Lee, and Dortchsoy beans, all of which have a yellow meat but a green cast on their coats.

Such a reclassification, I am informed, would cause such beans to be labeled "mixed" and, as such, would sell for less. In addition, I am advised, they would receive a lower loan rate, and growers and producers would have greater expense of handling.

From information here in Washington, it would appear that there is some belief that within a few years these varieties will be replaced by others which have been given some trial in other sections. If this is true, I would be interested in knowing if sufficient trial has been given to assure that these new varieties will replace the beans now being grown in this section. This would, in a short time, eliminate the need for a reclassification.

Such action would prevent added economic difficulty to these growers and would solve the problem within a short time. For this reason, I am writing to suggest that any action to reclassify be deferred until it can be determined that these new varieties will be of commercial value to our growers and they can begin to switch over to these new varieties.

I will appreciate your placing this in the record of the meeting to be held in Memphis on February 14.

Yours very sincerely,
E. C. GATHINGS.

At the Memphis meeting, Mr. W. H. "Bill" Wyatt, of Blytheville, Ark., made a very fine statement relative to this reclassification, and for the information of the Congress, I wish to include Mr. Wyatt's full statement:

TESTIMONY AT MEMPHIS HEARING, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, ON CHANGES IN OFFICIAL STANDARDS FOR SOYBEANS, FEBRUARY 14, 1955

I am W. H. "Bill" Wyatt, of Mississippi County, Ark. As a member of the board of directors, I'm representing the Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation at this hearing.

Let's consider first the proposal to "define or reclassify soybeans with green seed coats, which in cross section are yellow, as green soybeans, instead of yellow soybeans as at present."

On the face of it, that seems to be all right since green soybeans and yellow soybeans now carry the same CCC loan value and both may be traded on the board. But on a closer analysis we find this to be entirely false as far as our Ogden soybean is concerned.

We called in C. A. Silas, of Woodson Tenant Laboratories, and asked for a description of the Ogden bean. This is what he said: "Ogdens are now classed as yellow beans. The proposed change would force them into the 'mixed bean' classification, because Ogdens are neither green nor yellow by seed coat analysis alone."

Keith Bilbrey, County Agent added, "The green pigment is variable and unstable depending on the age of bean and length of exposure to sun rays before harvest. So, because some of the Ogdens bleach out to yellow, they could no more be classed as green than as yellow. The dangerous consequence is that nearly all the highest producing soybeans in the South would automatically be classed as 'mixed beans.'"

This is supported by the definition on page 69 of the Official Grain Standard section (g) "Mixed Soybeans—Mixed soybeans shall be any mixture of soybeans which does not meet the requirements for classes, yellow soybeans, green soybeans, brown soybeans, or black soybeans. Bicolored soybeans shall be classified as mixed soybeans."

What does this mean pricewise to the producer?

The 1954 CCC Grain Price Support Bulletin Supplement 2, Soybeans, said: "The support rates for soybeans of the classes, black soybeans, brown soybeans, and mixed soybeans shall be 25 cents per bushel less than the support rates for the classes, green soybeans and yellow soybeans."

Mixed beans may not be tendered on the board, could not be hedged, and could not be delivered.

The American and world markets have accepted the Ogden bean for 10 years, with no complaint that we have ever heard of before. Why the suggested change now? It would be a calamity to the South. A tremendously unfair and discriminatory act.

Southern production in 1951

	Acres	Bushels per acre	Total
Arkansas	607,000	20	12,140,000
Alabama	88,000	18	704,000
Georgia	21,000	10.5	211,500
Kentucky	130,000	19	2,470,000
Louisiana	38,000	17.5	665,000
Mississippi	425,000	13	5,525,000
North Carolina	309,000	16.5	5,098,500
South Carolina	83,000	12.5	1,037,500
Tennessee	183,000	17.5	3,202,500
Virginia	166,000	18	3,004,000
Missouri [1]	420,000	20	8,400,000
1951 total	2,470,000		42,458,000

[1] Assuming ½ of Missouri's production in the Ogden area.

(1951 figures were used because they are nearest to, but under anticipated production in 1955).

Surely it is fair to guess that 80 percent of all southern beans are Ogdens. Mississippi County Arkansas' percentage will run 90 percent Ogdens.

Eighty percent of the 1951 production would be 33,966,400 bushels.

If you force Ogdens into a "mixed-bean" class, then by 1954 loan standards, you would be saying to the world, "The South's 33,966,400 bushels of Ogden soybeans are worth $8,491,600 less than the same number of yellow soybeans." And there would not be a word of truth in it.

And, by reclassification, the American market might start discrimination in price also, and for no reason, except promoted by Government classification.

We believe any foreign buyer can get strictly yellow soybeans from Northern areas for their limited needs without hurting them and without totally wrecking our economy.

Then there is extra danger: We fear the idea would "snowball" and others would start demanding strictly yellow beans.

We are against the proposed change in classification of Ogden soybeans from the cross-section analysis to color of skin coats. If the United States Department of Agriculture can show us just cause why they should be changed, then time must be allowed to develop a comparable yielding yellow bean for the South. In other words, we want no change now.

Likely lowering of support price for 1955 crop from 80 percent down to 70 percent may be tragic enough: $2.22 down to $2.04 if the market follows.

A conservative estimate of 4 or 5 million bushels crop in Mississippi County, Ark., alone in 1955, at 20 cents per bushel less would be nearly a million dollars to that county alone.

The United States survey shows 99 percent of Arkansas farmers sell less than $25,000 gross annually. All our farmers grow soybeans with cotton controls on. This thing would affect all of us.

This proposed change would only concern the South as the Ogden bean is not grown in cooler climate and since the crushers find the oil content of the Ogden as high or even a little higher in some instances and since the cross-section the Ogden is as yellow as the purely yellow-coated beans, the 58,000 members of the Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation respectfully request that no change be made in the classification of the Ogden soybeans.

Concerning the proposed revision which would decrease the maximum limits of foreign material by 1 percent in each grade, we, as producers after much consideration, can not see that this will benefit us in any way.

Last year nearly all buyers bought the No. 1 grade, which as it now stands limits foreign material to 2 percent. If these buyers plan to return to a No. 2 grade for basis of purchase under the proposed change, they are still allowing the 2 percent foreign matter. What is to be gained?

Grading at its best, as far as foreign materials are concerned, is far from accurate. No two graders can probe the same load and come up with the same foreign matter percentage.

Going a little further into this, I checked the grades on two carloads shipped January 27, 1955, by Farmers Soybeans Corp., of Blytheville, Ark. Here are results of three different peoples grading.

	Woodson-Tenant Laboratories	Memphis Merchants Exchange	U.S.D.A. Federal appeal
T. W.	56	56.0	56.0
F. M.	4.0	2.5	2.7
Splits	18.0	19.0	20.0
Damage	3.9	2.9	4.0
Moisture	14.1	14.3	14.3
T. W.	56	56.0	55.5
F. M.	2.8	2.0	2.0
Splits	19.0	21.0	22.0
Damage	4.2	3.0	4.0
Moisture	14.0	13.9	13.9

You will note the difference in the grades especially, even in the last two when the car was in Memphis and did not move. Because of this inability to accurately determine the exact amount of foreign materials in a load of beans (and the difference is much greater on a farm truckload because the beans have not been blended) it is dangerous and injurious to producers for this grade schedule to be too strict.

Until a better means of grading is found or until the country elevators and local buyers will use their cleaners and weigh the foreign material, or until a premium is paid for better grades as in purchase of cottonseed, we would hesitate to approve any tightening of the United States soybean standards.

We do not want to be shortsighted and lose our export market.

We are interested in improving and delivering a quality product as are other interested groups such as the American Soybean Association. If a 5/64 round-hole bottom screen is put into use in order to remove the chipped beans from the foreign material count, we will support the proposed revision which would decrease the maximum limits of foreign materials by 1 percent in each grade.

As to the other proposed changes, they are minor as far as the farmer is concerned compared to the aforementioned proposals, but most of the argument of foreign matter will relate.

In addition to Mr. Wyatt's remarks, two other excellent statements should be presented to further emphasize the seriousness of this proposal. Mr. G. A. Hale, of the Hale Seed Farm of Burdette, Ark., has pointed out a very definite objection to this proposal, and his letter addressed to the Director of the Grain Division follows:

HALE SEED FARMS,
Burdette, Ark., February 15, 1955.

DIRECTOR, GRAIN DIVISION, AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ADMINISTRATION, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: After attending the very efficiently and fairly conducted hearing in Memphis yesterday, I wish to submit to you my comments on one of the proposed changes in the present classification of soybeans by your Division: namely, the classification of soybeans with green seed coats but yellow in cross section as green soybeans.

As a breeder, tester, and producer of soybean varieties for the Cotton Belt since 1942, I am of the opinion from the remarks made by your representative and others at this hearing that they do not fully appreciate the reasons why southern soybean growers are opposed to classifying the Ogden variety and its selections and possibly the new Lee variety, when grown under some conditions, as green soybeans.

Commercial, State, and Federal soybean breeders in the South have been cognizant of the desirability and the possibility of breeding a completely yellow, full-season soybean variety to replace the Ogden variety and its selection, which we realize have several undesirable characteristics. To date no breeder has succeeded in producing a widely adapted all-yellow variety with the maturity date and high yield of the Ogden-type soybean. All of the adapted, available yellow varieties, with the possible exception of the Lee variety—which has some green coloring when grown under some conditions—and which is not adapted to the northern part of the Cotton Belt, yield from 10 to 40 percent less than the Ogden and its selections according to tests made by our State experiment stations in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture.

It is the opinion of all the growers and buyers of soybeans that I have contacted in this section that, if the proposed change in the classification of the Ogden-type soybean is made, this change would likely result in southern growers getting lower prices for the bulk of their soybean crop. Our only recourse to this condition would be to switch to the growing of less productive all-yellow varieties. This change would be impossible until we have time to increase the preseent inadequate seed supply of these varieties to the volume required to plant most of our acreage.

As a soybean grower, I appreciate the clear and enlightening presentation of the reasons why the Department of Agriculture has proposed the change in the classification of the Ogden-type soybean. It is doubtful if all of your problems would be solved by changing your method of grading so that our Ogden-type soybean would be classed as a green soybean because of the fact that the green coloring in the Ogden seedcoat will fade and the coat will be yellow under some conditions. The seed analyst of the Arkansas State Plant Board, Little Rock, Ark., which is the official seed-certification agency of Arkansas, has difficulty in determining whether or not even our registered-grade Ogden-type soybeans are pure as to variety because of the unstable color of the seedcoats.

Until soybean producers can develop and growers can increase an all-yellow soybean variety that is as good as the Ogden and its selections to replace it and until an accurate method of classifying soybeans with green seedcoats but yellow cotyledons such as the Ogden and its selections, which are very unstable in color, is devised, I am opposed to a change in the present classification because I do not think a change at this time would be to the best interest of any segment of the southern soybean industry.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to present my views.

Respectfully submitted.

G. A. HALE.

With this should also be included the letter written by Mr. Paul C. Hughes, of Blytheville, president of the Mid-South Soybean & Grain Shippers Association. Mr. Hughes points out the economic circumstances connected with this proposed change:

MIDSOUTH SOYBEAN & GRAIN SHIPPERS ASSOCIATION,
February 17, 1955.

TO DIRECTOR, GRAIN DIVISION, AMA, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C.:

VIEWS OF THE MIDSOUTH SOYBEAN & GRAIN SHIPPERS ASSOCIATION OF THE PROPOSED REVISIONS OF THE SOYBEAN STANDARDS

1. On the proposed revision that would reduce the maximum limits of foreign material 1 percent in each numerical grade. As country shippers we are in the middle on this question as we only buy on the grade that we have to sell but as the growers as presented by the American Soybean Association and the processors thought their present buying practices want 2 percent foreign material in No. 2 soybeans, we see no reason why the change cannot be made. We do, however, urge that a study be made to see if some simple method can be found to separate true foreign material from the small broken pieces of soybeans that fall through a 5/64 round hole screen. Maybe the use of a smaller hole size such as a 5/64 would let enough of the small weed seed through and leave enough broken pieces on the screen to reduce the buildup of foreign material we now have in soybeans through handling. If such a method can be found we urge its use.

2. On the reduction of moisture we see no reason why the moisture in No. 1 soybeans cannot be reduced to 12 percent. However, we feel that no change need be made in the moisture of No. 2 soybeans as we have found that even in our humid climate 14 percent moisture soybeans can be stored.

3. We can see no reason why the change in splits should not go through if you in the Department feel that it would improve the soybean grading system.

4. On the proposed special limits on heat damage in each numerical grade, we are against such limits as they would work a hardship on all shippers. Today inspectors are having enough trouble determining total damage or just how much total damage a sample contains. However, if the Department feels that such limits should be put into effect, then heat damage should be more clearly defined. We suggest that it means soybeans that have turned entirely black or brown from heat. The present methods of saying that a small brown spot in the middle of an otherwise sound soybean is heat damage leaves too much room for human error and judgment for such narrow limits of heat damage as have been proposed by the Department.

5. On the proposed reclassification of soybeans with green seed coats that are in cross section yellow from the yellow class to the green class. We cannot say too strongly that

we are opposed to this change. We have many reasons for being against the change. Here are just a few of them: 80 percent or more of the Midsouth soybean production would be affected by this change. No evidence was present at Memphis to disprove our conclusion that if the proposed change went through that 90 percent of our Ogden-type soybeans would grade as mixed. This was the case before the change in 1949. If they were classed as mixed in 1948 and before what new method has been developed to tell class by the variety predominate color and how could variety purity be proven? In other words how could an inspector tell the difference between a bleached Ogden and a pale S–100 to say that the sample was a mixture of green and yellow varieties or just a sample of Ogden-type soybean and therefore are classed green and just happen to have 10 percent or more that just happen to be faded yellow?

We recognized the Department's desire and the need to make a grade and class such that it will tell the buyer if he wants that certain quality or not. We agree that under the present standards for soybeans it is not always possible for the buyer to get just what he wants by buying a certain grade and class but as one of the speakers at Memphis pointed out No. 2 hard wheat does not always describe just what type of No. 2 hard wheat that a buyer wants. Therefore, a buyer will say that he wants Kansas or Texas No. 2 Hard Wheat and not Illinois No. 2 Hard Wheat. Today most buyers that need a yellow-coated soybean for their special products have found that they can get what they want by saying that they want a No. 2 yellow soybean from Illinois points or maybe Ohio. We feel that since the buyer can get yellow-coated soybeans by saying what he wants that it is not right to penalize the Midsouth that has no high yielding soybean that isn't mixed with green and yellow coats. We realize that you cannot sell a person for long something that he does not want so if it was not possible for a buyer to get yellow-coated soybeans without changing the standards we would not be opposed but as he can get yellow-coated soybeans leave the standards alone.

Respectfully submitted.

PAUL C. HUGHES,
President.

Mr. Speaker, from this brief outline of the facts it should be readily seen that this proposed change will work a great hardship on the South.

However, Mr. Speaker, in discussions with Mr. Barr and with Mr. Clyde M. Jackson, of the Grain Division, I have been unable to find a basis for this proposal.

I trust that the Department will abandon the reclassification plan. If it is put into effect the Southern soybean grower will be forced to sell his commodity at an appreciable smaller return.

The order should not be put into effect as it would work a severe economic hardship on a large section of the country.

The Atomic Development Mutual Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the statement which follows was submitted by Mr. Newton I. Steers, president of the Atomic Development Mutual Fund, to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The Atomic Development Mutual Fund is an organization which has been one of the prime movers in the field of developing atomic energy for industrial use. Mr. Steers' statement, therefore, is of great significance. Among the many men who are involved in furthering this vital effort is Mr. S. Chadwick Reed, of Plainfield, N. J. As the statement indicates, the fund has grown almost fifteenfold in 1 year, which is an index to its importance.

My name is Newton I. Steers, Jr. I am president of Atomic Development Mutual Fund, Inc., When I appeared before this committee on May 11, 1954, we were about 5 months old, and assets of our fund were about $1¼ million. We are now a little over a year old, and assets are in excess of $15 million. This growth constitutes a record in the branch of the securities business known as the mutual fund industry.

This rapid growth, which others have called even phenomenal, is of particular significance because it reflects the public's view of the financial future of atomic energy. Our fund has been presented as a vehicle for capital appreciation and not for income. The investing public evidently agrees with us that atomic stocks have a greater growth potential than any other group of stocks which could be assembled.

Some people feel that the public's enthusiasm has bid prices up beyond what earnings can support, that atomic prices are too high. The commonly used ratio of price earnings is, as a result, abnormally high, when based on present earnings. The question, of course, is whether future earnings will sufficiently increase in a short enough time to justify purchase at present prices. That is to say, whether increased future earnings will cause prices to rise over present levels by a sufficient amount, and soon enough, to provide justification for present purchase.

It is, of course, true that atomic stock prices cannot be expected forever to remain abnormally high relative to earnings. On the other hand, they may be expected to remain high in relation to other stock prices as long as the atomic industry is expected to grow more rapidly than other industries and, hence, permit higher earnings by the companies engaged in it than by other companies not so engaged. And particularly is this so if the rate of growth of the industry is itself growing. For those of you with a mathematical background, atomic stock prices may be said to be a more direct function of the first, or even the second derivative of earnings than of earnings themselves. To hold otherwise is to imply that prices cannot, or at least will not, rise until potential earnings have actually been realized. Those who hold to such a notion will inevitably find themselves lagging behind persons more willing to act on, not earnings, but prognostications of earnings; lagging behind, and buying at higher prices instead of selling at higher prices; lagging behind and, in effect, paying capital gains to earlier worms. We must not forget, of course, that a company which enters a new field and derives the benefits of extraordinary growth is not benefiting itself alone. It benefits its customers—the public. Economically speaking, the leaders of such a company have achieved a more efficient allocation of resources. Those who finance such a shift in resource allocation also contribute to the public benefit, as do those members of the public who, by their investment, release the money controlled by the primary sources of new capital for use on the next round.

But still, say more sophisticated critics, let us concede that atomic stock prices will naturally be higher in relation to earnings than other classes of stocks. But what if they are too high, even on that basis? The answer to this question involves an attempt to appraise how rapidly the atomic industry is now growing, and how rapidly that rate of growth is itself growing.

Such an appraisal is made more difficult by the concealment, most of it no doubt necessary for security reasons, of many of the key figures. The problem is further complicated by the fact that many atomic companies are in other fields as well and the extent of their atomic involvement is not always easy to estimate. Nevertheless, let us outline the various segments of the private atomic-energy business and infer as much as we can as to its all-important growth. In the table below, minimum figures are given on the dollar size of various portions of the private atomic industry at the end of 1955. For comparison, the figures supplied this committee in May 1954 are also given.

TABLE 1

	May 1954	Rate by end of 1955
Uranium and other atomic minerals	325	600
Radioisotopes and radiation instruments	27	40
Specialized equipment supply	107	200
Total	459	840

You will note that these figures are minimum figures. By this I mean they represent minimums which can be supported with reasonable assurance on the basis of the data available. Larger figures may, therefore, merely imply the release of additional data, rather than an increase in activity. Nevertheless, we must draw our inferences from the best figures available. Indeed, to ignore figures showing increases is in itself to draw the inference that there has been no increase.

Mr. Jesse Johnson, AEC's Director of Raw Materials, stated a few months ago that the domestic uranium industry was at the $100-million mark annually and that production should double within 18 months. (He also revealed that persons engaged in uranium mining had multiplied 8,000 percent since 1948.) On this basis, the $200-million mark should be reached about the end of 1955. We also know that two other areas are about as important as the United States. These areas are Canada and the Belgian Congo. If one of these is less important now than the United States, it may well be the other is more important. On this basis, we can arrive at a figure of 3 times $200 million, or $600 million. To be sure that this figure is truly a minimum, we should remember that South African production is mounting rapidly and by the end of 1955 may well cause that area to be 1 of the 3 leading areas. We know that 1954 production from South Africa was in excess of $25 million and was over 5 times that in 1953. Furthermore, our total figure is based on the inclusion of other minerals important to atomic energy, such as zirconium, beryllium, thorium, and lithium. The lithium industry in 1955 will be over $20 million, based on the expected sales of the 2 leading producers alone.

Passing from uranium to radioactive materials and radiation instruments figures, we are dealing with smaller figures, but ones showing very rapid increases. Thus, AEC figures show that radioisotope shipments have multiplied nearly 5 times in the last 5 years and the dollar volume of radiation instruments manufactured has increased more than 5 times to over $30 million. No one can foresee how large a market may develop for the class of radioactive materials which are left over after uranium fissions (fission products). Chairman Strauss has indicated that potatoes can be preserved

for 2 years without freezing by irradiation with fission products and that this irradiation can be accomplished for one-half cent per pound. It appears that a figure of $40 million can be postulated for the end of 1955 to include materials artificially irradiated (radioisotopes), materials resulting from fission (fission products) and radiation instruments.

The last figure in table I is $200 million for specialized equipment supply. There are various reasons for believing that the previous figure of $107 million must have about doubled. First of all, the $107 million figure was derived from a percentage of AEC purchasing, as between lumber, concrete, etc., which are not uniquely tied to atomic activity, and mechanical engineering equipment, electrical engineering equipment, and electronic equipment, etc., for which atomic energy has very pronounced implications. Since that time, there has been a decided shift away from construction expenditures toward expenditures for operation (e. g., operations were 41 percent of fiscal 1954 expenditures, but 77 percent of fiscal 1956 expenditures as budgeted). Operating expenditures are much less concerned with items like lumber and concrete. Further, the AEC has put increased emphasis on fixed price competitive bidding as its experience has accumulated. Operational expenditure again is much more susceptible to fixed price buying (on which the seller can make a profit). For these reasons it appears reasonable to believe that the portion of the $2 billion annual expenditure budgeted for the AEC which will be bought on a basis allowing a profit (excluding items included previously) will be at least $200 million.

In addition to the figures above totaling $340 million, there are many additional millions which are subject to profitmaking. One increment results from the large and growing business of treating uranium oxide to produce uranium metal and uranium salts. Another increment results from nongovernmental expenditures for research reactors which now run to several millions annually. In addition, it is known that the Navy has budgeted funds for at least five atomic submarines in addition to the *Nautilus*, and some of the reactor portion of these submarines will be bought on a basis allowing profit to the seller. If a billion dollar private atomic industry is not here by the end of 1955, it certainly should be here by the end of 1956. It may well be here now.

Finally, the recent competitive contract whereby the Army will purchase a 10,000-kilowatt reactor for about $2 million means that atomic power is not so far away as many have supposed. Only a year ago the phrase ran "a megabuck for a megawatt." This may be translated to $1,000 per kilowatt of capacity. The Army reactor will cost about $200 per kilowatt, and it is known that larger reactors can be built at a lower cost per kilowatt. Since coal-burning capacity costs around $80 per kilowatt of heat and the fuel cost of uranium fission is markedly less than in the case of combustion, it is apparent that very significant progress toward truly competitive atomic power has been made. A massive giant stirs and makes himself known though he is not fully visible. He is the multi-billion-dollar atomic-power industry intimately related to all that has been discussed above, but basically just one of the several atomic giants which may be seen in the years to come.

Let us return to the financial world and see how atomic companies have fared, without implying that they have so fared solely because of their atomic activity. In table 2 figures are given on companies which our company has given greatest emphasis to. It should be noted that these were not selected as the stocks undergoing the greatest appreciation, i. e., with the advantage of hindsight.

TABLE 2.—*Capital appreciation of selected atomic companies*

	1953		Feb. 3, 1955 price	Increase over 1953 high
	Low	High		
				Percent
Climax molybdenum	33	43	62½	45
Vanadium Corp.	15	23	37⅜	61
Gunnar Mines	2¾	13¾	14	2
Foote Mineral	11	15⅜	48½	220
Lindsay Chemical	15	19	44⅞	135
Lithium Corp.	3⅝	6¼	29½	372
Homestake Mining	33	41	43½	6
Beckman Instruments	11	17	24	41
Consolidated Engineering	11	15	28½	90
General Dynamics	31	47	100⅛	111
Union Carbide	61	75	83	11
Vitro Corp.	5¾	7⅞	19¼	144
Westinghouse Electric	39	52	79⅛	52
Average				99
Dow Jones industrial average	255	294	406	38

In table 3 below more inclusive figures are given. These cover some 75 companies in the fields indicated and were computed as of October of 1954. Yields and price-earnings ratios vary widely as might be expected from the varying degree to which the companies involved are expected to benefit from atomic growth and from the varying periods of time before these companies will feel the impact of atomic growth.

TABLE 3.—*Price-earnings ratios and yields of atomic companies*

	Price-earnings ratio	Average yield
Raw materials:		
Uranium mining:		*Percent*
United States	14.1	4.3
Canada		
Africa	19.5	4.8
Uranium processing	20.0	2.6
Byproduct uranium	15.7	4.0
Lithium, thorium, zirconium, beryllium	30.9	2.2
Radioactive materials and radiation instruments	37.5	0.9
Suppliers of special equipment	9.3	5.0
Atomic Energy Commission contractors	17.0	3.3
Application of atomic power	10.7	6.0
Diversified atomic activities	24.6	2.3

It appears evident that very substantial financing of the atomic industry will be necessary in coming years. The usual sources of new capital will undoubtedly be made available as the situation further crystallizes and intermediate obstacles are overcome. In the meantime, the public has demonstrated its faith in the future of the atom. Both large and small investors have shown their willingness to back up the new capital sources with the huge amount of liquid savings they hold throughout this Nation.

Great emphasis should continue to be put on Government-sponsored technical development. However, as this development proceeds, and we may hope accelerates, the procedures to allow private industry to apply its energy and ingenuity must also be developed. Passage of the act and the newly established market for plutonium and U–233 are important milestones. The advance of the variegated atomic frontier will be proportional to the incentives stimulating that advance. The uranium industry has shown how private enterprise can perform an atomic job when it is allowed to. Subject always to the paramount controls necessary to the national security, the uranium industry should serve as a model for the other phases of the atomic industry. In this fashion, the infant giant will mature most rapidly and in a manner consonant with the American tradition of freedom. The fundamental basis for free enterprise in the atomic arena is simply that the cost to the American public of atomic profits will pale into insignificance when compared with the savings to the American people which will arise from the energizing effect of these same profits.

For Better Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of February 15, 1955, entitled "For Better Public Service":

FOR BETTER PUBLIC SERVICE

The Federal Government needs more and better managers. Of course, every voter considers himself a manager. But what the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government is talking about is the managerial talent engaged in the day-to-day conduct of departments and agencies.

Everybody knows there are relatively few Federal jobs paying more than $10,000 a year. No business would dream of operating with such a thin sprinkling of top-level managers and administrators. No business would consider it economy to pay the men who make the big decisions so poorly. And almost any business would go bankrupt if it had a personnel turnover of 25 percent a year.

The Hoover Commission estimates that Federal costs could be cut $50 million a year just by reducing turnover 5 percent. But its most vital recommendations have to do with strengthening the management of Government business. It wishes to add to the number of noncareer employees who have political functions in the sense of determining or defending policies. But it also wishes to create a senior civil service to give more secure status and better pay to selected career administrators.

Manifestly a lot of questions are going to be asked about these proposals, for just where an administrator becomes a policymaker or vice versa is not always easy to determine. The Eisenhower administration has insisted that it should have men and women in policymaking posts who were in sympathy with its aims. This is reasonable enough. Any shift of parties after 20 years may find some employees slow to accept a change in direction.

But manifestly the line must be drawn fairly tightly against political appointments or the civil service will be undermined. As the civil service tradition deepens the United States should be able to develop a corps of able professional administrators who will follow policy as laid down—as military commanders are supposed to follow policies set by civilian leaders. But in each case they will have to be adequately paid and isolated from politics.

This brings up a curious failure in the commission report. One of the more serious problems in recruiting and holding good public servants in the last few years has arisen from the uncertainties and harassments of the security system. The commission's task force, headed by President Dodds, of Princeton, recommended the naming of a distinguished body of citizens to study and clarify the security code. Why this proposal was not endorsed is hard to understand.

The commission has many useful ideas for improving the public service, including better training and recruitment procedures ending political clearance for rural mail carriers, and a plan for more equitable application of veterans' preference, which often now works a major distortion of civil service.

But the proposals for improvement at the managerial level are the most striking and potentially valuable. We trust Congress will study, adapt, and adopt them. Possibly with good prospects now for an increase in congressional salaries the lawmakers will be more ready to advance the pay of men and women in the executive departments who are also vital to effective government. Whether we like it or not, the Federal operation is a tremendous business; Americans cannot afford to have it poorly run.

Benefits to Little Taxpayers by Republican Tax Revision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, by eliminating wasteful, duplicating spending, the Republican 83d Congress, with the backing of the Republican administration, has made possible the largest tax reduction in the history of the world. Since we took over as majority party in Congress in 1953, the tax savings to the American farmers, consumers, and businessmen have been at the rate of $7.4 billion per year.

Today, however, I would like to talk not about the great accomplishment of the Republicans in the field of tax reduction, but about what we have done in the field of tax revision.

The bill which I introduced and which the President signed on August 16, 1954, is the most monumental legislative undertaking ever attempted in any legislature anywhere in the world.

This 900-page Republican law cuts away the overlapping, unfair, and useless provisions of the Internal Revenue Code which had grown up piecemeal under successive Democratic Congresses. It corrects countless inequities which had been permitted to work against some of the most deserving groups of our taxpayers, such as farmers, retired old people, widows, widowers, working mothers, and those burdened with high medical expenses. And it closes innumerable loopholes in the old tax laws under which unscrupulous taxpayers were able to avoid their fair share of tax burden.

Work on this bill started in 1951 when, in anticipation of a Republican victory in 1952, I instructed my staff to prepare a questionnaire to be sent out to representative farmers, consumers, workers, and businessmen, asking them for their suggestions as to how our tax laws could be improved. The response was astounding. Over 15,000 taxpayer suggestions for improvements in the Internal Revenue Code were received. In addition, groups of leading tax experts throughout the country were organized to study specific problem areas in our Federal tax structure.

The Committee on Ways and Means conducted public hearings on 40 different topics of major importance in connection with general tax revision. In the course of these hearings the committee heard testimony from over 500 witnesses. The commitee and its staff then gave intensive consideration and study to the vast material which it had thus obtained. President Eisenhower and the staff in the Treasury Department endorsed this great task. In fact, the President has referred to it as the cornerstone of his legislative program. It has been estimated that over 500,000 man-hours have been spent on the bill.

Of course, I cannot summarize, today, the over 3,000 independent tax-law changes which the bill makes in our tax laws. I would like to give you just a few examples of the kind of thing that it does.

First, it permits a parent to take a $600 deduction for a child whom he supports, if the child is under 19, or it attending school, or is receiving on-the-farm training, or is going to college, regardless of the child's earnings. Number of taxpayers benefited, 1,300,000. Saving to these taxpayers, $85 million.

Second, it permits farmers to deduct up to 25 percent of farm income for soil and water conservation. Number of farmers benefited, 500,000. Saving to these farmers, $10 million. In addition, farmers are benefited by provisions which permit more rapid writeoff of the expense of farm machinery equipment and construction and which remove the tax on the sale of diseased cattle.

Third, retired persons 65 or over will be exempt on all retirement income up to $1,200, with tax saving up to $240 per person. In addition, of course, to their personal exemptions. Over one and one-half million of our retired schoolteachers, firemen, policemen, and civil servants and other senior citizens will be benefited by this provision. Tax saving to them, $141 million.

Fourth, under the bill medical expenses can be deducted when they exceed 3 percent of income, instead of 5 percent as under prior law. Thus under the new tax bill a family with $3,000 of gross income, and medical expenses of $150, will be able to deduct $60. The same family would not be able to deduct anything under the old law. In addition, the bill doubles the present maximum limit on the amount that can be deducted for medical expenses. Eight and one-half million taxpayers will be saved $80 million by this provision.

Fifth, the bill gives working widows, widowers, and mothers a tax deduction of up to $600 for child care expense. Two and one-tenth million taxpayers in the low-income group will save $130 million as a result of this provision.

Sixth, the bill exempts all death benefits up to $5,000 paid by an employer to the widow or other beneficiary of the employee.

Seventh, the bill gives some relief from the double taxation of dividend income. It does this by excluding from the taxpayer's income the first $50 in dividends. A 4-percent credit on the amount of dividend income over $50 is allowed. This is an election year and the Democrats have seized on this provision in an attempt to claim that it is designed to benefit the rich. They neglect to point out that among Americans who own stock are 2,130,000 housewives; 20,000 sailors, soldiers, and marines; 210,000 semiskilled workers, 320,000 farmers, 410,000 factory workers, 590,000 clerical workers, 250,000 small shopkeepers, and 200,000 salesmen.

Of the 4,750,000 families who own stock in public corporations those with income of $5,000 a year or less own about one-third of the stock. These include 200,000 families with incomes of $2,000 or less.

The Democrats neglect to point out that even under the new tax bill the total income tax on the single man who has wages of $3,000 per year would be $300. If the same man had made this amount of money in a corporation and had received it in dividends instead of wages the total income tax paid thereon would have been $1,563.

The Democrats also neglect to point out that almost all civilized countries provide relief from the double taxation of dividends far greater than that in the new law. Canada, for example, provides a 20-percent tax credit for dividend income—five times the credit in the new bill. Incidentally, one of the results of this Canadian tax credit is that new capital has been flowing into Canada at a tremendous rate, creating jobs in that country which otherwise might have been made available in the United States.

In addition to these benefits, the new law will save taxpayers $25 million in increased allowable deductions for charitable contributions; $10 million in deductions for interest on credit purchases and $10 million in more equitable taxation of pensions and annuities.

In addition to removing countless inequities in the taxation of individuals, the new Republican tax bill removes tax shackles which have impeded the growth of our economy. Thus, the bill will permit the more liberal writeoff of the cost of new equipment through the depreciation allowance. For example, in the first year of life of the new equipment the taxpayer will be able to write off twice the amount now allowed. This provision represents savings to taxpayers of $375 million, of which seventy-five million represents savings to individuals, such as farmers, shopkeepers, and salesmen.

Of course, in the long run there will be no net loss of revenue to the Government from this provision since by accelerating the depreciation deductions these deductions are simply shifted from later to earlier years. However, the provision will mean thousands of jobs and better products at less cost.

Other aids to business found in the new tax law are as follows: Tax accounting rules are brought into harmony with business accounting.

The law will ease for small business the penalty tax on certain accumulated earnings which are retained for legiti-

mate business purposes in the corporation.

The law will give to small-business men favorable tax treatment in the deduction of expenditures for research and experiments designed to create new products and new jobs.

I have listed only a very few of the important changes in our tax laws made by the bill. All in all, the new law contains $827 million of tax relief for individuals and $536 million of tax relief for business. However, since the new law also extended the present 52-percent corporate income tax for 1 additional year, it will bring in an additional $1.2 billion from corporations. This increased tax on corporations practically pays for all the tax relief granted so that the net cost of the bill to the revenue will be only $163 million.

I hope I have said enough to show that the new Republican Internal Revenue Code will create more jobs, will help farmers and workers, as well as business, will promote the technological development needed for defense, and will provide more goods and services for all our people.

It is a blueprint for a better and more prosperous America.

Dedication of the Research Reactor Building at the Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the Nation's second collegiate research reactor located on the campus of the Pennsylvania State University at University Park, Pa., was dedicated on Tuesday, February 22, 1955, as one of the many events in connection with the centennial celebration of the university. The dedicatory speech was delivered by Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission. Chairman Strauss' speech follows:

Mr. President, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, a century of academic and architectural growth lies between the Farmers' High School of 1855 and the Pennsylvania State University of today. During those years your predecessors and you have dedicated many new structures to the education of the young men and women of our country. We are met for such a dedication this afternoon as standing on the threshold of the second century we look backward with pride and ahead with confidence. Although we still know very little compared to what there is yet to be learned, we have discovered many useful things since 1855. This increased knowledge has enriched our civilization, lengthened our lives, and reduced our hardship and bodily suffering. Through mechanization we have done away with many of the chores of living. But the search for more capable tools to aid us in our learning and in our living is never ending. Over the years these devices, each based on the latest technology, have been produced and operated for every purpose for which man could conceive a need. The automobile, household appliances, the airplane, electric lighting, and this microphone—all are examples.

You know, I am sure, that our Government is engaged in a vast program, seeking out, testing, improving, and applying peaceful uses of atomic energy. Government laboratories, industrial organizations, and institutions of learning, such as this great university, are all contributing to this work.

Indeed, universities play a vital role in this research and development program, for in academic surroundings, projects are not evaluated solely by economic gain and immediate, purposeful application. Here, bold thoughts from keen minds can find a place for expression, discussion, and experimentation. Questions are answered because they are born of scientific curiosity and not necessarily because solutions are needed for a particular purpose.

Much is expected of universities in the development of the uses of atomic energy. When this new reactor, which we are dedicating today, reaches criticality some months from now, you will be in possession of a truly magnificent and versatile research instrument. Agriculture, medicine, chemistry, physics, and metallurgy are but a few of the great areas to which it can contribute. The radioistopes it produces will provide tracers for analytical procedures. Beams of its neutrons will reveal by diffraction the composition of matter. Experiments can be conducted in the sterilization and pasteurization of foods, and studies can be carried out to determine the effects of radiation on cell structure. It is now possible, by the same radiation, to give new and useful properties to materials such as plastics, and you will be in a position to amplify this knowledge and to discover ever newer applications.

But, beyond all of these and many more projects too numerous to catalog, this reactor is due to render a service which is best performed in universities. That service is the training of new scientists, technicians, and engineers to carry on and expand nuclear energy exploration. Skilled people are today a limiting factor in our program, and you are here accepting the responsibility for providing more of them.

These men and women will go out into laboratories and plants equipped with the vigor of youth and an understanding of the latest technology. Although we cannot foresee their farflung scientific horizons, we can help them toward ours. Theirs are infinitely farther reaching. This is a role in which universities have proved themselves in all fields. It will be the salvation of our country in nuclear science.

It is interesting to speculate as to who may stand in our places here and what will be dedicated by them 100 years from now. How many of our grandparents in 1855 would have even dreamed of a nuclear reactor or would have associated anything with those words if they had heard them spoken? Can we possibly imagine what will be the order of the day in the year 2055? Alas, we cannot see a hundred years ahead, nor even a score, but our actions each day between now and then will, in a large measure, set the pattern for our tomorrows, including that day when some group will gather to mark the 200th anniversary of this university. We do know this—that during the years ahead, we must teach those who follow us to be not only as good technically as we can make them, but also that we must set them an example of citizenship in the United States and of citizenship in the world. The President's atoms-for-peace program is such an example. Unless such precepts are successful, there may indeed be no second centenary for universities.

This morning you broke ground for an all-faith chapel building. It is fitting that this nuclear research reactor should be dedicated on the day already so hallowed. I have great faith in our future, faith in the next generation, faith that they will understand our failings and, in consequence, have fewer of their own.

Prayer being not inappropriate to a dedication, may I say that it is my prayer that this atomic reactor will become the instrumentality by means of which the potential for good and benign use of a great force of nature may make contact with the perception and the intellect of men.

To this unselfish and noble aim and in keeping with the genius of America and the spirit of this university, we dedicate this reactor.

How To Count the Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH P. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mrs. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced in this Congress a bill to provide for the adoption of the perpetual calendar devised by Willard E. Edwards, of Honolulu. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article by Mr. Edwards which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin describing a method of correcting time recording by inserting a zero year in the transition from B. C. to A. D. years, and its relation to the perpetual calendar. I wish to include also a chart showing correct time recording and copy of the perpetual calendar.

The article follows:

HOW TO COUNT THE YEARS

(By Willard E. Edwards, originator of the perpetual calendar)

Most of us look at New Year's Day as the birth of the newly numbered year, and are thinking of this year as the 1955th. This is really a misconception. Of course, last New Year's Day was the start of a new year. Nevertheless, it was really the start of the 1956th year of the Christian era, not that of the 1955th.

January 1, 1955, marked the anniversary or end of the first 1955 years, exactly as a person's 55th birthday anniversary marks the completion of 55 years of life. Just as a truthful woman says she is 55 all during her 56th year (the year before her 56th birthday anniversary), so we are recording the events of this year as occurring in 1955. The Christian era will become 1,956 years old on New Year's Day 1956.

HOW THE CUSTOM STARTED

Let us see how the misconception of looking at New Year's Days as birthdays began. It happened away back in the 6th century. In A. D. 533 Dionysius Exiguus introduced the system of counting years from the birth of Jesus. He erroneously took December 25th in the Roman year 753 as the date of birth. Then he arbitrarily decided to call January 1, 754, the start of the first year of the Christian era. He also called this first year the year 1 (one), being handicapped by the fact that the concept of zero had not been introduced into mathematical notation at that time.

Dionysius thus showed A. D. 1 as following 1 B. C. and overlooked the first 12 months that must precede the attainment of a year. Perhaps he counted age as the Chinese do,

by calling a baby a year old on the day he is born. But a Christian baby's first anniversary comes after he has lived 1 year. If Jesus had been born on January 1, 753, A. U. C., the year 1 of the Christian era would in reality have begun on January 1, 754 A. U. C. (A. U. C. is from anno urbis conditae, or ab urbe condita, and means dating from the founding of the city of Rome.)

It may also be that Dionysius was trying to date back the Christian era as far as possible. If so, he made a great mistake. Historians have proved him incorrect by at least 4 years. King Herod, who ordered the Massacre of the Innocents, died in the Roman year 750. And since Jesus is reputed to have escaped this massacre, he was living before Herod died. His birth is therefore now placed at 4 B. C. under the Dionysius style of counting. And this became an anachronism since the calendar year was not changed after the error was noted.

ADJUSTING THE ERROR

However, English astronomers Maskelyne, Herschel, and others have reduced this error by 1 year. They accepted a zero year A. D. (the Roman year 753) as a necessary mathematical requirement. This is explained by referring to the accompanying chart. When we count the years backward, the correct number of any year is always one less than the number of the year which followed it in time. The year 1, less 1, is equal to zero. Therefore, our old year 1 B. C. has been correctly renumbered as zero A. D. Similarly, the old year 2 B. C. has been correctly renumbered as minus 1 (or 1 B. C.), the old year 3 B. C. as minus 2 (or 2 B. C.), the old year 4 B. C. as minus 3 (or 3 B. C.), etc.

This was done so that B. C. years may be directly subtracted algebraically from A. D. years in order to find the correct elapsed time. Subtracting a minus number is the same as adding a plus number. Thus the elapsed time from 3 B. C., the reputed year of the birth of Jesus under the corrected count, to our 1954 Christmas anniversary was (1954) minus (−3) or 1957 years. In algebra, a number is not defined unless both its absolute value and its sign are given. However, it is customary to omit the plus sign. Our A. D. years are plus years, and subtracting an early A. D. year from a later one gives us elapsed time directly.

The correct assignment of the zero year between 1 B. C. and A. D. 1 is not simply a convenience. It is a mathematical necessity. We must also have a zero degree on our thermometer scales to show that the rise in temperature from −3 to +54 is 57. If Fahrenheit had used the same counting system as Dionysius, our thermometers would read −2, −1, +1, +2, etc. In that case, we could not correctly say that the rise in temperature from −2 to +2 is 4 degrees. It would then be only 3.

ZERO IS A NUMERAL IN RECKONING

To say that we had no actual year called the year zero does not prove anything. We had no actual year 1, 2, 3, nor any A. D. year at all, until about 533 years after the calculated birth of Jesus. But since we do go back into history to renumber our years, the renumbering should at least be mathematically correct.

Zero is a perfectly good number, even though at first glance it may seem somewhat confusing to those who have not studied mathematics. Some of us think of it simply as meaning nothing, or the absence of quantity. But zero is also a real number, 1 less than 1. It is correctly shown as the first numeral (0, 1, 2, 3, etc.). Zero is the point of departure in reckoning and has many common uses.

We use it in the measurement of elevations, bearings, and temperatures; and as the first figure on our balances, meters, and scales. The first or prime meridian is the zero meridian. We speak of the zero hour, the time set to begin an attack. Midnight is expressed as 0000 in the 24-hour system of recording time. The first hour of the day is also the zero hour. The first minute of the hour is the zero minute. The first second of the minute is the zero second.

Also, the first day of the year could be called the zero day, or January 0, a day apart. This holiday, followed by 52 even weeks, would allow our calendar to become fixed and perpetual, as in the Perpetual Calendar.

We went into a zero-ending year at the start of the 20th century in going from 1899 to 1900. Note also on the accompanying chart that we began the second half of the 20th century with a zero-ending year. Let us subtract 1950 from each of the years shown on the last line of this chart. We then get the B. C. and A. D. years at the start of the Christian Era, including the year zero A. D. This alone proves their correct numbering.

ORDINAL AND CARDINAL NUMBERS

We should not confuse the counting of units with our recording of time or measurements. Suppose we pick an apple from a tree and place it in an empty box. It is the "first" apple picked, as well as the quantity "one" in the apple box. But in measurements there is a decided difference between "first" (an ordinal number) and "one" (a cardinal number). The ordinal numbers show the order in a series, whereas the cardinal numbers express how many. Thus the "first" inch on an engineer's scale is the inch of "zero" measurements; 0.1, 0.2, 0.3, etc. The "second" inch is the inch of "ones"; 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, etc. We count our centuries, length of time in business, wedding anniversaries and ages likewise.

The years of the 20th century are those of the nineteen hundreds (1900–1999); of the second century, those of the one hundreds (100–199). Likewise, the years of the first century are those of the zero or no hundreds (0–99). Nor should we confuse a part of the first year A. D. (the year zero) with the entire year itself (one year). Our year "one" could not have started until the 12th month of our year "zero" had been completed.

During its 55th year, a business is spoken of as being 54 years old. At the end of the 55th year it becomes 55 years old. It is then beginning its 56th year. Throughout the 56th year it is spoken of as being 55 years old. This year is our 1956th year. Throughout this year we'll call it "1955."

COUNTING ANNIVERSARIES

A baby born on January 1, 1900, was in his first or zero year until January 1, 1901. If recorded in tenths of a year, his age during this first year was 0.1, 0.2, 0.3, etc. We can't start to count whole years until the first year has actually elapsed. The baby was in his second year from January 1, 1901, to January 1, 1902. But throughout his second year he was called only 1 year old. During this second year his age in tenths was 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, etc.

Last New Year's Day (Jan. 1, 1955) was the 1955th anniversary of the Christian era. Since 1,955 years had then elapsed, we are not in the 1956th year. However, during the 12 months of this year we'll speak of it as "1955," since 1956 years will not have been accomplished until New Year's Day 1956. If we count New Year's days the same as we do wedding anniversaries, the past misconception will disappear.

Acceptance of the year preceding the year 1 A. D. as the year 0 A. D. is the accurate, consistent and uniform way of recording our past time. Instead of perpetuating an ancient error, let's correct it like intelligent people. Let's consider New Year's days for what they are, closely approximate anniversaries of the beginning of the Christian era. On New Year's Day 1956 we shall have our next anniversary. It should be thought of and recorded as the 1956th."

The chart and the perpetual calendar are as follows:

(Accompanying chart)

Correct time recording, as accepted by modern chronologists, is shown below:

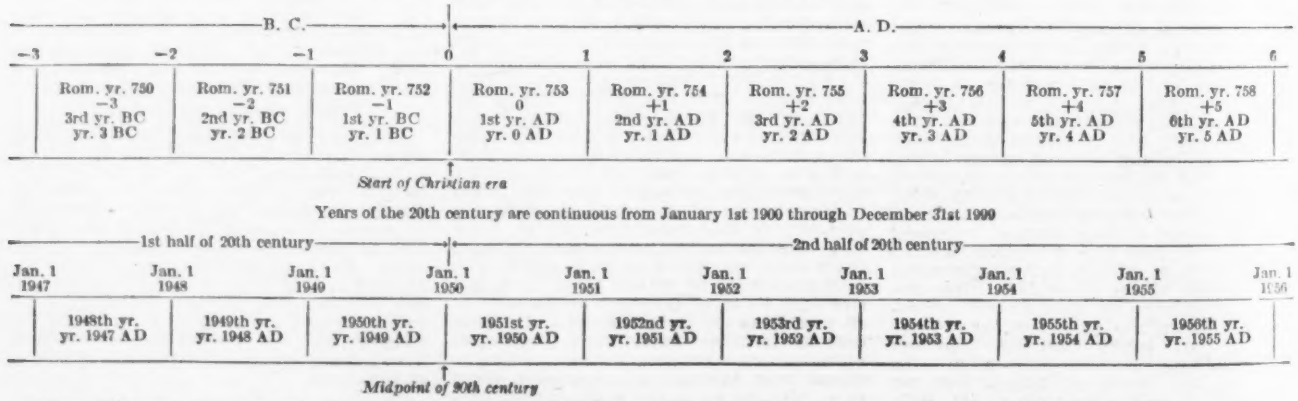

Years of the 20th century are continuous from January 1st 1900 through December 31st 1999

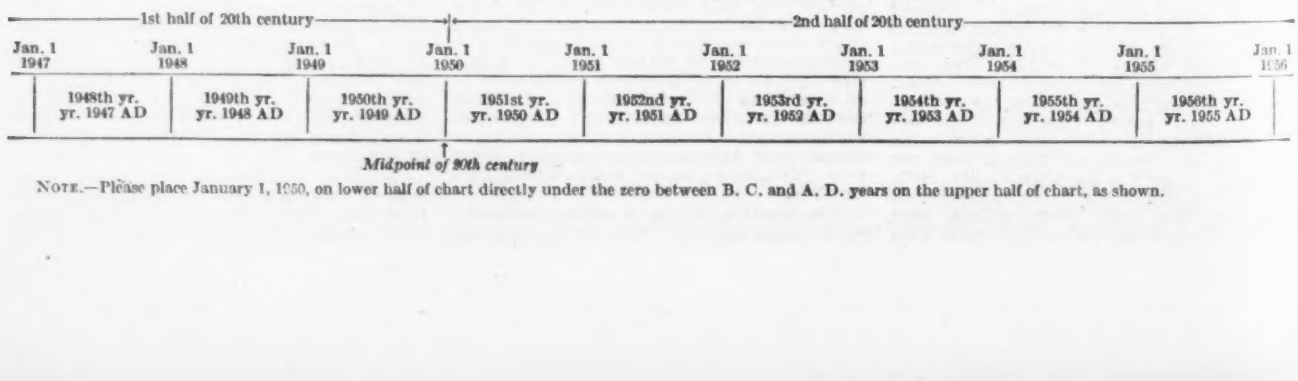

NOTE.—Please place January 1, 1950, on lower half of chart directly under the zero between B. C. and A. D. years on the upper half of chart, as shown.

THE PERPETUAL CALENDAR

*New Year's Day (a day apart from any week or month) is the first day of each year, a holiday, followed by the 364-day fixed calendar shown below:

January							February							March						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5					1	2	3
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
29	30						27	28	29	30				25	26	27	28	29	30	31

April							May							June						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5					1	2	3
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
29	30						27	28	29	30				25	26	27	28	29	30	31

*Leap-Year Day (a second day apart) is observed only during leap years between June 31 and July 1 as the first day of the second half-year, a holiday.

July							August							September						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5					1	2	3
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
29	30						27	28	29	30				25	26	27	28	29	30	31

October							November							December						
M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5					1	2	3
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
29	30						27	28	29	30				25	26	27	28	29	30	31

*These two Year-Days are definitely named and have a definite purpose. When considered apart from any week, they allow the calendar to become fixed and perpetual.

America's Business Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered at Youngstown, Ohio, last night by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BENDER] dealing with the subject of America's business future.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am very happy to be here with you this evening after the most strenuous 2 weeks I have put in since the campaign. In the last 10 days I have been talking to men and women all over the State of Ohio and in Pennsylvania. People sometimes ask me why I accept so many invitations and why I work so hard at my job. I can tell you the truth—I enjoy it. The more I see the people the more I enjoy it.

There is a great alertness in our country today. People are better informed on public affairs than they have ever been. They are often skeptical, but they are ready to listen to reason, and I think they have a real understanding of our country's basic problems.

Talking to you business and professional people, I know that I reflect the thinking of the overwhelming majority of the American people in what I am going to say. We have changed our country's outlook tremendously in the last few years. When all of us were a little younger our country's position was vastly different from what it is today. A generation ago we were a creditor nation, to be sure, but we had not yet realized all the implications of the position. Today, we have discovered what the British learned in the 19th century. The country which provides the world's financial foundations automatically assumes the responsibility of preserving these foundations.

This is, I think, the most important corollary of our new role in the world. Whether we like it or not, and many of us do not like it, a position of world leadership has been thrust upon us. I know that many of us would like nothing better than an opportunity to live our lives in peace and contentment. We have virtually all of the things we need upon this great North American Continent to provide for the needs of our country. If we were to stay at home, minding our own business, we would not require some of the raw materials which must be obtained from foreign sources for military forces.

If we could turn back the hands of time to the 19th century many of us would be far happier with our lot.

This is all a bygone dream. The world will not let us enjoy the luxuries of isolation. This last week a brigadier general of the Army told a group, over which I presided in Cleveland, that our entire system of military air defense is on a 24-hour 20-minute alert basis. Every military station in the country is prepared to go into action on 20 minutes' notice. This is a frightening prospect. But it illustrates the tension of the times in which we live. Today the expanding frontiers of science have compressed the world into a globe which is, figuratively, no bigger than a baseball. You can almost put your hands around it. Our means of communication can span the oceans in a matter of seconds. No one knows the exact speed of our potential guided missiles. Some of my scientific friends tell me that there is probably no theoretical limit which we can establish. Planes can already span our own country in a matter of 4 hours. If we can do these things, intelligence dictates the sobering knowledge that our possible enemies may do the same.

I say these things, not because I am fearful of the future, but because I believe sincerely that we sometimes think and react as if we could forget these facts of life. Often men and women who are confronted with the knowledge of something too frightening to contemplate, push it so far into the background that they lose all power of action. The Eisenhower administration has not made this mistake. Our President is a remarkable man. He has learned from long and bitter experience how to face a disturbing situation and how to live with it. When he relaxes it is only because he knows that he must do so in order to face the reality which he can never really escape.

There are people in our country who make a serious mistake of political judgment. Some of them have been writing me letters, declaring that they see no difference between the foreign policy of President Eisenhower and the foreign policy of President Truman. Nothing could be more erroneous. Truman and Acheson believed in waiting for the blow to strike. They did not anticipate. They did not plan. As a result, when the enemy did strike, in 1950, we were shockingly unprepared. Despite the fact that we had spent billions of dollars for defense purposes, our defenses in the Far East were grossly unprepared. Today that has been changed entirely. We are prepared for any emergency. We are not cocky. We have no chip on our shoulder. But, we are on the alert. More than this, our Secretary of State, acting under the President's direction, has taken the lead in organizing the free countries of Asia and the Pacific to meet any threat. For the first time in the history of the world, we are parties to an agreement in the Pacific. I want to call your attention to one of the specific terms of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. This provision declares that any of the countries involved may call for help from their allies to resist not only external agression, but also internal subversion. This is a most important development. In the past the Communist technique has been simple. They have infiltrated governments. They have used native Communists to stir up discontent and when they were challenged, they invariably said, "This is an internal problem, and it is none of your business." This is not going to happen again—thanks to the foresight of our President and his administration.

There is another vital distinction between the policies of President Eisenhower and his predecessors. Mr. Truman told American military leaders that they could go so far and no farther. He told our fliers that if they are attacked they could pursue their attackers up to point X. And then turn back. He told one of the greatest living military experts that he could not attack—he could only defend. President Eisenhower has reversed this entirely. If any one fires at an American plane, on an American ship, or on an American soldier, we are going to fire back. The prestige and dignity of the American people will no longer be ignored and trampled into the dust without retaliation. I think our people are sick and tired of playing the Communist game. We know that if we give them an inch they will take a yard. If we give them a yard—they will take a mile.

These are by no means the only differences that I can see in the administration's program. Right here at home, our President is doing his utmost to cut wasteful, meaningless spending of the taxpayers money. We are reducing bloated Federal payrolls. We are trying to establish intelligent order inside the bureaucracy that has grown up over the years. This is not easy. It involves human beings and no public official enjoys the prospect of dismissing any employee. We can't help remembering that each one of them has a family—and a vote. But nothing that I have seen in public life comes closer to sheer downright political opium smoking than the latest stunt of the Democrats in Washington. For months they have been shouting to the high heavens about the reduction of military personnel by the Eisenhower administration. They have been crying for more public housing. They have been asking for Federal funds for everything they can think of. Now they want to cut Federal taxes by $20 for every taxpayer and every dependent.

This is the best political mousetrap since Ralph Waldo Emerson's. No one in public life ever wants to raise taxes and cut spending. Everyone likes to cut taxes and increase spending, but unless somebody repeals the law of gravity and finds a way to keep going up higher and higher without ever coming down, it can't be done. I do not believe the American people will buy this kind of political goldbrick.

Just what is my conclusion from all of these observations? I am—you might not think it from what I have been saying—but I am an optimist. If I were not, I could not be a Republican. I was an active Republican when some of my colleagues were in hiding. But I have faith in America and its future. Our country shares that faith. Every 24 hours in the last year our population, throughout the country, has increased by 11,000 people. Every 30 days we have added to our population a city the size of Syracuse. This physical fact alone is going to create tremendous needs—more housing, more schools, more clothing, more automobiles, more savings, and more opportunities. More and more people reaching the age of retirement will be enjoying their years of rest. There will be more money to spend, more time to travel, and better health to enjoy it. The same technical skills which threaten the extermination of the world today can be used tomorrow to assure our country of an almost incredible future. The atomic science that can throw hydrogen ra-

diation to vast parts of the world can also fuel our factories, light our cities, and power every vehicle in the world. What we need is time—time to consolidate our knowledge—time to help mankind work out its destiny.

I am a man of faith. I do not believe that we are born into existence simply for our self-destruction. I believe that we have the intelligence and the judgment to prevent such a catastrophe. Certainly, here in America, we have the will to do so. With your help and with the help of the American people, I am sure that we will solve our problems, and that we will work together to create a world which will live and not die.

Public Power and the So-Called Partnership Program of the National Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, early in February I was asked by the North American Newspaper Alliance to present my support of public power and my opposition to the so-called partnership program of the national administration. At the same time, Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay was invited to state an opposite viewpoint on these vital issues.

I ask, Mr. President, that both of these statements, in fairness to Mr. McKay and myself, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR NEUBERGER DEFENDS PUBLIC POWER, STAND THAT GAVE HIM UPSET OREGON VICTORY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The junior Senator from Oregon, a Democrat, won an upset victory over Senator Guy Cordon, the incumbent Republican, in the traditionally Republican, Northwestern State. That victory, last November, gave the Democrats control of the Senate. The big issue in the Oregon campaign was public power. In this exclusive article, Senator NEUBERGER explains his position on this issue.)

(By Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon)

WASHINGTON, February 2.—The ending of the public-power program can only mean economic stagnation in many key regions of the United States. The TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams have brought electricity to American farms, strengthened industrial payrolls and during the war helped to make possible the production of atomic energy and 50,000 planes a year.

Why did the Eisenhower administration, through Secretary of the Interior McKay, abolish so beneficial a program for what it calls "partnership?"

Under partnership, the Government will put up half the cost of dams and private utilities generally the other half. When the dam is built, the Government gets the fish ladders and locks and floodgates, which yield no revenue. The utility acquires the kilowatts from the powerhouse for a period of at least 50 years.

What is the purpose of this? Under the Federal program, power receipts have been pouring into the Treasury. The Government has invested $128,549,822 in construction costs and operating expenses for Bonneville Dam. Yet, after only 11 years of full operation, this project has put $48,825,958 in power revenues into public coffers. In fact, the whole Bonneville Power Administration, which markets energy from all Federal dams in the Northwest, has collected gross income of $370,565,589 through the sale of kilowatts.

Why end this program for a vague partnership which could benefit only the private utilities and raise the cost of power needed for western industrial development? It is significant, I think, that the administration proposes partnership for the magnificent hydroelectric sites along the Columbia River, but at the same time recommends fully Federal dams for the far less valuable sites in the upper Colorado Basin where electric-power output is less profitable. In other words, the power companies get the cream, Uncle Sam the dregs.

I have compared the partnership proposed by the administration to the building of a department store by two men. Each partner puts up half the money. After the store is erected, one man receives as his share the drinking fountains, revolving doors, fire escapes, and escalators. The other partner gets the sales counters. That describes the partnership scheme under which the Government would get fish ladders while the utility corporations take over the powerplants.

Actually, partnership has proved to be the label for an empty package. In the 2 years that the administration has been pushing the idea partnership has failed to get a single Northwest power project underway. The only tangible accomplishment has been a 2-year moratorium on Federal construction of the Big Priest Rapids project while a local public utility explores the feasibility of construction. Meanwhile, the specter of a severe power shortage in the area—with inestimable economic repercussions—moves closer to reality.

As long ago as 1908 two great progressive Republicans—Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot—fought an historic battle to keep magnificent waterpower sites on mountain rivers away from what they then called the Power Trust. Contrast this with the desire of Secretary of the Interior McKay to give the great Hells Canyon site on the Snake River to the Idaho Power Co., a corporation which holds its annual meetings in Augusta, Maine, nearly 3,000 miles from Idaho.

The Idaho Power Co. would not develop the full power potential of Hells Canyon. Its rates are high, far higher than the Government charges through the Bonneville Administration. Long before this controversy began, the Corps of Army Engineers recommended in their famous 308 report the construction of a multipurpose Federal dam in Hells Canyon. Why reject this master plan for development of the Snake River?

The plan for full development of the Columbia River Basin, pioneered through the years by the Army engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, is an engineering masterpiece. The plan calls for operation of dams throughout the basin in a unified system for maximum power production, flood control, irrigation, navigation, and protection of wildlife. This integrated operation increases efficiency and total use of the region's water resources. As a result, benefits from the whole river system—as a unit—become greater than the sum of its parts.

From the standpoint of conservation, Hells Canyon is of major importance. If it is abandoned to partial development by a private company, as sought by the administration, the multipurpose possibilities of the entire river system will be greatly reduced. Specifically, this will mean the loss of 3 million acre-feet of storage for flood waters, loss of about 500,000 kilowatts of electricity, loss of assistance to irrigation from power revenues, less navigation, and fewer recreation benefits. The shortsightedness of the administration in breaking up the river program can be measured in countless millions of dollars.

I was born and raised in a region, the Pacific Northwest, where there is no coal, no oil, no natural gas. Our sole industrial fuel is falling water, water which flows to the sea for "as long as the sun shall set in the sky and grass shall grow on the hills," to use a colorful Indian phrase. In the first decade that the Government tapped the swift reaches of the Columbia River, where lurks almost half of the Nation's potential hydroelectricity, industrial payrolls in Oregon and Washington soared 329 percent. Think of the private enterprise, the tax revenues, the self-supporting families made possible by that great gain in factory employment.

By any conceivable test, public power has been a success. It has brought comforts to farmers, jobs to workers, profits for businessmen. Equally important, it is paying for itself. Grand Coulee Dam has had its full quota of turbines in action only since 1951, and yet $51,031,697 has been paid into the Treasury toward retiring an eventual power debt of $221,462,229. Under partnership a large portion of this income, instead of going to the Federal Government, would be preempted by the private power companies.

ROOM FOR BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POWER IN UNITED STATES, SAYS SECRETARY MCKAY—AIM: MORE POWER FOR PEOPLE'S USE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Secretary of the Interior McKay, at the suggestion of North American Newspaper Alliance, gives here a blueprint of the Eisenhower administration's policy on development of United States power resources.)

(By Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior)

WASHINGTON, February 6.—The partnership power program of the Eisenhower administration is not a question of public power versus private power, but whether there is to be Federal power, and Federal power only.

The idea of partnership is very simple. It is based on the concept of all the things that made this country what it is today—the greatest in the world. It is based on the pride that people take in initiative, in doing things for themselves.

In the 1952 campaign, President Eisenhower said at Seattle:

"We need resource development, and we need it on a river-basin basis. We need resource development, not to the limit of the whim of any administration in power, but to the limit of the capacity of the region to benefit. And to do that we need partnership to the limit of everyone's ability."

There is the blueprint of the Eisenhower administration's power policy. First, we want to give local enterprise—either public or private—a chance to develop its power resources.

But when the time comes when these agencies are either unable or unwilling to do so, then the Federal Government should step in and develop the power for the benefit of the people of the region.

Public power is here and it is here to stay. There are some who insist there is no place in this Nation for it. I do not agree. There is room for both public and private power and the job is to see that both are developed in a working arrangement which has but one goal—more power for use of the people.

There is one fundamental difference between those who support the partnership power policy and those who oppose it.

We who support it do so to move toward a goal of more actual kilowatts, not conversation kilowatts. More electrical power, not political power.

Here is what we mean by partnership.

We want local agencies, either public or private, to develop as much energy as they can. In some instances flood control, navigation, recreation, fish and wildlife, and irrigation come into the picture. In these instances we want to become partners in the project.

Three big partnership programs were approved in the 83d Congress. All were supported by Republicans and Democrats alike. In two instances Democrats introduced the bills for the projects.

So partnership is not partisan. I repeat, the disagreement is between those who want Federal power and Federal power only.

Here is how the partnership policy works.

Take, for instance, the big Priest Rapids Dam in the State of Washington, which will produce more than 1 million kilowatts. Here a public utility district, owned and controlled by the people in the area, wants to build the dam and have the Government build the navigation and flood-control features.

Congress approved the project and members of both parties joined. There are drillers now at work in that stretch of the Columbia River making test borings. It is a step toward the main goal—more power, not more conversation.

Take, now, the Cougar Dam in my home State. For years the Army engineers had approval of a flood-control dam on a fork of the McKenzie River. Then up came the city of Eugene, operating the oldest municipal power system in the State, and asked to become a partner in the project.

The city of Eugene wants to build the powerplant and pay for it and have the power available for the people in its area through the Northwest power pool.

A short distance away from Eugene is the Green Peter Dam site. Here the Government again has a flood-control project in which it plans to build a dam. A private power company offers to build the powerhouse and take the power through the Northwest power pool.

Senator KERR introduced and Congress approved a bill to permit a State-Federal partnership in the development of the Big Markham Ferry project in Oklahoma. That had been hanging fire for some time until the partnership idea led to its development.

Senators HILL and SPARKMAN, of Alabama, well known as public-power advocates, supported a proposal to deauthorize Federal development of the Coosa River in their State and Permit the Alabama Power Co. to join in a partnership to get this project started.

So, you see that Democrats and Republicans alike in the Congress have joined in getting projects started. Power is needed all over the country and this is just a faster way to get it.

Just last month in my home State the partnership policy came up in the State house of representatives. It was in the form of a memorial to Congress supporting the Cougar Dam and Green Peter proposals. The vote was 44 to 16 for the memorial.

Mrs. Richard L. Neuberger led the fight against the partnership. There are 25 Democrats in the Oregon house but 11 of them supported the partnership. Three of the 11 were recently elected from the Hells Canyon area. So, you see partnership meets with approval.

On the main stem of the Columbia between the Dalles Dam and the McNary Dam is the proposed John Day Dam. Here a group of private power companies want to join with public agencies to build the powerhouse and then take the power. They will simply be paying for their future power supplies in advance.

Now, the argument that here the Government surrenders its revenue-producing feature is fallacious. The Federal Government has always borne the cost of flood control and navigation. So the Government will not assume any more costs than it would if it built the dam alone.

In Oregon the house of representatives asked Congress to approve the project, either as a partnership or an all-out Federal project. The Federal Government is not withdrawing from the power field.

The President's budget includes $20 million to enable the Federal Government to participate in 1956 in partnership developments. The President has also recommended legislation authorizing the Bureau of Reclamation to undertake construction of two comprehensive river-basin developments. These projects are beyond the capacity of local initiative, public or private. Both are needed for irrigation, power, flood control, and municipal and industrial water supply. These are the upper Colorado and the Fryingpan-Arkansas projects. They are vitally needed to conserve the water supply in the Intermountain States.

These projects are beyond the ability of the local enterprise, either public or private, because they covered large areas in several States and require amounts of money beyond the capacity of anyone to raise except the Government. They meet the administration's standards and are being supported.

But to say that all power development must be Federal—all dams, all river development—is to ask the impossible from the money standpoint. To federalize completely all electric power and have control from Washington of all water supplies and the land which depends on these supplies is such a program of bureaucratic control of America or of any region to which the people will never subscribe.

Accomplishments of the Eisenhower Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, the accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration in encouraging initiative and enterprise have not made headlines because they do not involve controversy and crises. But these unspectacular achievements of the past 2 years have been very important to every American. The quiet, undramatic progressive developments the Eisenhower administration is helping in America—without making sensational news—are important for the present and future of our people.

This point was made very clearly by Treasury Secretary Humphrey in an address at Philadelphia last Wednesday, February 16. I ask unanimous consent that this address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, so that all Senators may have a chance to read this accounting of the fiscal management of the first 2 Eisenhower years.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY TREASURY SECRETARY HUMPHREY, FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF THE 1954 WILLIAM PENN AWARD OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF GREATER PHILADELPHIA, FEBRUARY 16, 1955, BELLEVUE-STRATFORD HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I am deeply honored to receive the 1954 William Penn Award of the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Philadelphia. It is a great privilege for me to receive this honor as a member of President Eisenhower's administration.

I am going to talk to you tonight not as Secretary of the Treasury, not as a Cabinet officer, or even as a businessman who is now a bureaucrat. I will talk rather as a friend and fellow citizen and a taxpayer who shares with you the responsibility of good government, of keeping America the land of opportunity—the land where the economy of today must build for the economy of tomorrow by its wisdom, its soundness, and its farsightedness. We must build a world with more and better opportunities for our children and our children's children and not a world that will take opportunity away from them.

The problems and accomplishments I speak of tonight are the problems of every citizen, and the accomplishments are the work of all who, by their own efforts, have helped to build soundness and opportunity by hard work and honest endeavor.

I am going to talk to you tonight not of headlines, controversy, and crises, but of the quiet, undramatic, progressive developments that are going on all around us in America. There have been no headlines to tell you that more than 60 million Americans are working at jobs of their own choosing—jobs that they are free to leave or change if and whenever they so desire. There are no headlines to tell you that about 55 percent of the 47 million families in America own their own homes, that Americans have savings of $60 billion in life-insurance policies; almost $50 billion in United States savings bonds; and $25 billion in retirement pension funds. There are no headlines to remind you that stringent wartime Government controls no longer hamper or restrict the individual or the businessman. And there are no headlines to herald the stirring return of confidence of Americans in their Government, in each other, and in our ability and strength to do whatever may be required of us in any emergency.

I am even more encouraged to talk about these simple principles that have made our country great when I read over the list of names of those who have been previous recipients of the William Penn Award, showing that the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce over the years has been honoring men who stand for the same principles of free, competitive enterprise and initiative which we now believe are basic to our American way of life—the way of life which has yet to be surpassed anywhere in this world of ours.

It has been a dedicated goal of the Eisenhower administration to keep alive and vigorous the priceless principles of free, competitive enterprise and initiative. But we must do more than keep them alive and vigorous. We must keep them growing and always developing the new things and the better ways of doing things which have made this Nation great.

What has been done in encouraging initiative and enterprise has not been sensational or dramatic. But it has been important to every American in his daily life. It is important to the standard of living of every American worker and his loved ones. And it is vitally important to the defense of all Americans against any possible enemy attack, for the power and strength of American

industrial capacity is the very foundation of our security.

It is often true that "good news" is "no news" to attract public attention in the daily news outlets of press, radio, and TV. Yet the quiet, undramatic, progressive developments that are going on in America—without making sensational news—are important for the present and future of our people.

I have no quarrel with what makes news. I make these observations only as a reason for talking a little tonight about some of the constructive things that have been done during the past 2 years—important things which are worth mentioning because they do not draw the attention that controversy and violence do.

What are some of these unspectacular things that this administration has been helping to accomplish during the past 2 years?

The undramatic but steady and healthy progress which has been going on in this country has increased the confidence of all Americans in the possibilities of our future. This increasing confidence is the most important stimulant to the development of the strength of our Nation's economy, with the careful and quiet assistance of an administration which knows that Government can do relatively little except to help to properly set a stage upon which free vigorous Americans can perform.

Our Nation has made the transition from a wartime high to a lower level of Government spending without a major economic upset. This transition was helped substantially by heavy tax cuts and other moves stimulating confidence.

While there is still high tension in many places, there is no armed warfare between major powers at any point on the globe as of this moment. There is peace, uneasy as it is, as far as American fighting men are concerned. War in Korea has halted. War in Indochina has ceased.

The present improved relationships in many places throughout the world have been achieved by ceaseless and dedicated pursuit of solutions for the vexing and serious widespread international problems. It is a treacherous path. Bold risks must sometimes be taken, but success to date is high proof of the competence and wisdom of the policies which have been adopted in wrestling with this problem of preserving the peace and making it more secure.

Inflation has been stopped. In the past 2 years the value of the dollar has changed only one-fifth of 1 cent. This compares with a drop in the value of the dollar from 100 cents in 1939 to only 52 cents in January 1953. All departments and many people in Government have been working hard for, and insisting upon getting, our Federal spending under control. Deficits, which lead to more borrowing and so to inflation, have been cut substantially.

The Federal Reserve System has acted promptly, courageously, and wisely to adopt monetary and credit policies which have met the needs of the economy while walking the fine line between deflation and inflation. And the Treasury has done its bit in halting inflation, and avoiding deflation, by doing its borrowing so as to be as careful as possible concerning its effect upon the constructive course of the economy.

This is well illustrated by the issue and highly successful placement only a few days ago of nearly $2 billion in 40-year 3-percent bonds. They are the longest bonds that have been sold by the Government since an issue to help pay for the Panama Canal in 1911.

There is nothing academic about the importance of keeping inflation locked out. The value of earnings and savings can be protected in no other way. Just realize that 55 out of every 100 families in America now earn more than $4,000 a year as compared with only 10 out of 100 earning $4,000 a year early in the century in terms of today's prices. And recall the millions of owners of their homes, accounts in savings banks, savings bonds, insurance policies, and pensions, of which I spoke just a moment ago. Because this Nation has quietly become a nation of haves rather than have-nots, inflation must stay checked to protect the earnings and savings of millions of Americans.

We had a cash balance between money collected from the public and money paid out by the Government last year. Although we will not have a cash balance this year, we are estimating a small surplus in the fiscal year ahead. The total debt has continued to grow because of the large deficit we inherited in our first year in office and the subsequent deficits, even though they have been much smaller. But the inflationary effect of deficit financing has been almost wholly eliminated now that most of the increase in debt is being financed by securities issued to Government trust funds rather than borrowing from the public.

In fiscal 1956, spending will be almost $12 billion less than in 1953. We have not yet balanced the budget. We could have done so in 1954, but a big tax cut was more stimulating to a growing economy and we believed that it was better for the people to have more of their own money left with them to spend, as they thought best, rather than to have the Government spending it for them. We have cut the deficit from more than $9 billion in fiscal 1953 to what we estimate will be less than $2½ billion in 1956. We are still a year and a half away from the end of that period, and we have every hope of cutting this deficit even further if some development elsewhere in the world does not upset our plans.

There is nothing in the Formosa situation or elsewhere in the world which up to this moment has altered our budget program for reduced expenditures in the year to come. And reduced expenditures we make do not mean reduced defenses.

As the President has said, the United States is in a stronger position to defend itself against aggression than it was 2 years ago. The Defense Department has developed a better balanced, more mobile and flexible and effective defense establishment at lower cost to the taxpayers.

Progress has been made in reducing waste and extravagance. Obsolete equipment and supplies are being eliminated. There is much left to be done, but that does not alter the fact that much has already been accomplished. We have a far better balanced program. We are making progress in real unification in the armed services, so that competition between them is less likely to duplicate efforts and expenditures that squander both tax money and our national resources. Greater unity adds strength to our defense position.

We can and we must spend whatever is needed for our security; that is our first concern. But we know that real security does not result simply from spending huge amounts of money. The worth of our defense must be measured not by its costs but by its wisdom.

The President's decisions on our defense forces are recognition of the fact that in this age of almost unbelievable developments in science and production techniques, we cannot have a static defense committed to old-fashioned strategy and weapons. Real security for our Nation over an extended period must also rest upon a sound and growing economy.

As cuts in future expenditures all through the Government's operations come clearly into sight, and if at the same time our expanding economy promises greater income with lesser rates of tax, we will look forward to further reductions in our tax structure, distributed as fairly as possible among all taxpayers.

The expectation of further tax reduction and the maintenance of sound fiscal policies are firm foundation stones creating greater confidence in our future prosperity.

These, then, have been fine, worthwhile accomplishments for the good of the Nation, its economy, and its future. They have been accomplished without fanfare or sensational controversy. In the Cabinet and in the agency heads in this administration, there exists a wonderful team spirit which has resulted in real accomplishment with few headline battles.

The role which the Government can play in the economic affairs of the Nation should be limited. Government manipulation is the antithesis of a free America, and encroachment by government in restricting the freedom of its citizens should be limited to doing, as Lincoln said, "for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do for themselves—in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

The future of free America lies in the initiative, the resourcefulness, the tenacity, daring, and courage of 160 million Americans, each free to choose how best he can promote his own interest and the interest and future of his loved ones in whatever way he can best devise only so long as he does not interfere with the rights of others. It is the cumulative power of this great effort which has made America great in the past and which I am convinced will drive us ahead in the future at an accelerated pace in excess of anything we have ever known before.

You and I as citizens must participate in this great drive toward a better America. As such a citizen, I am pleased and proud to accept this fine award from the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Philadelphia, and to receive it in recognition of the contributions which President Eisenhower's administration has made to the advancement of the economy of this Nation.

Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address by a very distinguished citizen of New Fork, Mr. Charles H. Silver, which was delivered on Sunday, February 20, at Temple B'nai Jeshurun in New York City. Mr. Silver at that time was the recipient of the annual Brotherhood Day award by Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, and his address is one of acceptance. It is most appropriate and inspiring, and I commend it to the multitude of Americans who are interested in the significance of Brotherhood Week.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF CHARLES H. SILVER

It is with a feeling of deep gratitude that I give to you my thanks for this distin-

guished honor that you have conferred upon me. I count it a very high privilege to be named as this year's recipient of your brotherhood award. This award is the symbol of your high regard for me, and I accept it in the spirit of brotherhood which has prompted you to take this action. I am grateful to you.

At the same time, I am impelled to point out that the bestowal of this great honor represents in a very large sense a tribute to all of us who are striving to weld together the relations of men of good will and to take another step in the direction of making this ideal an actual reality. This objective was born centuries ago, and, while we have moved slowly toward its attainment, we have yet a great distance to travel, for the world today is in the clutch of opposing forces that cannot be reconciled in a brief period.

This is indeed unfortunate, but we must accept conditions as they exist and unite to alter them for the benefit of all mankind. I think that is one thing we are trying to do through the medium of Brotherhood Week. We do not seek to destroy the beliefs of those not in our own faith, but we believe that there can be created a genuine spirit of brotherhood among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews if we have but the will and patience to bring it about.

These exercises are being held under the auspices of the Men's Club identified with a Jewish synagogue that is more than 130 years old. There are present men of other faiths, which is a clear indication that brotherly love is a vital part of the teachings of every faith and that we can meet on a common ground and live in a spirit of harmony, understanding, and affection.

I think that we who are members of the Jewish faith may well be proud of the fact that the principle of brotherhood was proclaimed centuries ago by our teachers, rabbis, and national leaders. We read in Leviticus the command "Thou shalt love thy neighor as thyself." One of the great religious teachers of his time, and indeed of all time, said that this was a fundamental principle of the Torah. Universal love is here proclaimed, not merely as an ideal advocated in the Torah but as the only true standard of human relationships. Those who have studied the writings of hundreds of rabbis believe that this rabbinic outlook in the area of morals was universal and not national. Some of these rabbis made definite reference to non-Jews and Hillel, the great teacher, said "Be a lover of your fellow creatures," and when an ancient rabbi was asked, "Why were all men descended from one couple, Adam and Eve?" he replied, "So that no one may say that he is in any way superior to his neighbor since all men have a common origin."

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, a minister of the Marble Collegiate Church, in an article which he wrote on the subject of "Understand—A Source of Strength," had this to say: "One of the most profound functions of religion after that of relating man to God is to relate man to his neighbor. Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself. Indeed the hallmark of the Christian is the depth and quality of his love for all God's children regardless of their race, religion, or their place in life."

A distinguished prelate of the Catholic church, His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, recently wrote, "If we are real Americans we must cooperate in checking the spread of bigotry which is a contagious and virulent disease. However, it is not only patriotic to cure this disease, it is essential to do so if America is to remain America. And how can we check the spread of this disease? The first step that each one of us must take to eliminate bigotry, selfishness, harshness, injustice, and contempt from the minds and hearts of others is to make sure that they have no place in our own."

Here we have the expression of great theologians and spiritual leaders of the three religions. They are in complete agreement that if the human race is to survive there must be established firmly a foundation of understanding and brotherhood and that is the challenge of our time.

It seems to me that we may make the greatest contribution in the history of mankind if we can create an atmosphere of love and decency that will no more be marred by petty hates and dislikes and the evil forces of bigotry. The scientific advances that have been made, especially in the field of what may be called the destructive arts, have placed a great handicap on those who would substitute love for hate. What does it avail to build atomic weapons, to develop dozens of electrical appliances, to conquer the stubborn forces of nature, if we continue to live in a climate of apprehension and suspicion. Material progress takes us not a single step from a life that is harried by suspicion and the hard edges of hate.

Words of understanding and compassion are more powerful than the most deadly bomb. It has been said that a soft answer turneth away wrath. How much pleasanter it is to speak softly and kindly even to those who disagree with us than to wield a deadly weapon. The kind word helps to create a climate of friendship, the destructive weapon destroys without rhyme or reason and rarely leaves anything to take the place of its object of destruction.

And so, today my friends, while I speak to you with full appreciation of the tribute which you have seen fit to pay me, I want to express the fervent hope that this brotherhood week will be another link that will eventually become part of a powerful chain, not only in this country but throughout the whole world that will embrace men and women of every racial strain and religious faith who will live side by side in a spirit of mutual respect.

It has been a long, hard road through the centuries, but it is a comfort to know that we have moved slowly in the right direction. As the years follow each other, we have sought and succeeded to some extent in getting a little nearer to our goal. To us, this is a great challenge, just as it was to those of other generations. We can make a worthwhile contribution to human happiness if we only reject the theory that it cannot be done and that there is evil among mankind that cannot be wiped out.

I am absolutely optimistic about the future. We of the Men's Brotherhood of B'nai Jeshurun will march in that procession which leads to ultimate victory over the forces of disruption, bigotry, and intolerance. I pray to God that he should give us the strength to carry on and to uphold those who will follow us in the pursuit of universal happiness and decent living. Thank you again for this great honor.

What Is an American?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, this week we have been celebrating Brotherhood Week throughout our Nation. The Methodist church has many wellknown preachers. One of them, Dr. Harold W. Ruopp, formerly pastor of Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church, and now minister-at-large of the Minnesota Council of Churches, has written an excellent statement on What Is an American? This was printed in the national Methodist weekly, the Christian Advocate, on July 1, 1954. It is so appropriate for this week that I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT IS AN AMERICAN?

(By Harold W. Ruopp)

An American is one who believes in the right of men and women—of whatever creed, class, color, or ancestry—to live as human beings with the dignity becoming the children of God.

An American is one who believes in the right to be free; free not only from crushing coercions and dictatorships and regimentation, but free for that way of life where men may think and speak as they choose and worship God as they see fit.

An American is one who believes in the right to vote, the right to work, the right to learn, the right to live, and—what is equally important—the right to be different; for he knows, that if we ever lose our right to be different, we lose our right to be free.

An American is one who believes in democracy, not only for himself, but for all his fellow-Americans, and by democracy he means not simply the rule of the majority, but the rights of minorities—and those minorities have rights, not because they are minorities, but because they are human beings.

An American is one who believes in the responsibility of privilege. What he asks for himself, he is willing to grant to others; what he demands from others, he is willing to give himself. His creed is not alone, "live and let live," but, "live and help live."

An American is one who acts from faith in others, not fear of others; from understanding, not prejudice; from good will, not hatred. To bigotry he gives no sanction; to intolerance, no support.

The only question the true American ever asks is not, "Are you a Protestant or Catholic, gentile or Jew, white or colored?" but "Are you an American? If you are, then give me your hand, for I am an American too."

Regulation of the Gas Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a revealing analysis by the reliable columnist, Thomas L. Stokes, from the San Francisco News of February 8, 1955, entitled "Heart and Spirit Have Been Reorganized Out of FPC," which reports the shocking degree to which the Federal Power Commission seems to be turning itself into an instrument of the gas industry rather than an instrument of Congress, as it was intended to be, for the protection of consumers. If the Commission's subservience to the

industry is as complete as indicated by its recent efforts (a) to limit its own jurisdiction and permit nontransporting gas producers to charge what the traffic will bear, (b) to rewrite its rate-making procedures to escape the fair requirements of the prudent investment or cost method, and (c) to reorganize the heart of the Commission's regulatory power out of existence and exile or send to Siberia any personnel that still wants to protect the public interest, then I fear that the time for major surgery is at hand.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the San Francisco News, February 8, 1955]

HEART AND SPIRIT HAVE BEEN REORGANIZED OUT OF FPC

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

WASHINGTON, February 8.—Something has been said here recently about the way Federal regulatory commissions have come under the dominant influence of business and financial interests, which the commissions are supposed to regulate—and how their function, ordained by Congress, to protect the public interest has been submerged.

A revealing case study is offered in the Federal Power Commission, which was created as an independent commission by Congress is 1930 during the Herbert Hoover administration to have jurisdiction over hydroelectric-power development and to which subsequently was assigned authority over natural gas in the 1938 Natural Gas Act.

The FPC emerged finally from a "reorganization" instituted by the Eisenhower administration. The result is that the "guts," heart, and spirit were possessed by this agency in behalf of protecting public and consumer interests have been nearly reorganized out of it.

OLD STORY

It's the old story. Things were made uncomfortable for key members of the expert staff whose conception of regulation does not coincide with that of the now prevailing business-minded element on the FPC. Some have been demoted and shunted aside to make way for more amenable personnel. Some have quit, including a number of lawyers on the staff as well as technical experts.

Morale is low. Apathy has supplanted a once-high esprit de corps.

The expert staff now finds itself frequently without support from the Commission, its recommendations and findings disregarded in vital issues with utilities, gas, and electric.

TWO STEPS

Instead there is developing a situation where the top officers of powerful utilities deal directly with the front offices of the FPC to negotiate for what they want.

Two steps achieved the transformation of the Commission, both familiar to anyone who has watched the same thing happen before.

First was a change in the Commission itself, which consists of five members. That began even before this administration. The offensive opened during the Truman administration when the Senate, under pressure from powerful oil-and-gas interests that were influential with leaders of both the Democratic and Republican Parties in Congress, defeated confirmation for another term of Leland Olds, for 10 years a stalwart defender of the public interest.

INDUSTRY VIEWPOINT

That started a shift in the very delicate balance on the FPC until, with three appointments during the Eisenhower administration, it now is weighted definitely toward what might be called the industry viewpoint.

But something more is required. That is the second step. That is to carry the treatment down below the Commissioners themselves, and intimidate or weed out in one way or another those on the permanent, civil service, expert staff whom the utilities, electric and gas, consider troublemakers because they seek to carry out the law in their recommendations without fear or favor.

Several months ago, as reported here at the time, the new chairman, Jerome K. Kuykendall, ordered a reorganization of the Commission which he announced at a staff meeting. Called in to make a survey was a New York management-engineering firm employed by the Budget Bureau, Cresap, McCormick, and Paget, which had no previous experience with regulatory agencies.

TOP EXECUTIVES

It called in the top executives of natural gas and electric utilities, at the suggestion of Chairman Kuykendall, but seemed to pay much less attention to the consumer so directly affected by everything the Commission does.

Though not adopting all of the firm's recommendations, the FPC has followed them fairly closely. It has abolished some bureaus, consolidated others, created some new ones—a technical process which it is not the intention to explore here, except for the effect.

The heart of the FPC was its Bureau of Accounts, Finances, and Rates, which passed on matters so vital to the public. Its head since 1936 has been Charles W. Smith, who has won a national reputation among men in his field for his knowledge of rainmaking. He was relied upon heavily by the Commission because of his experience and his fairness of judgment. His judgments were often counter to those of powerful utility interests, naturally.

DIVISION ABOLISHED

In the reorganization his division has been abolished and replaced with a new Bureau of Rates and Gas Certificates and a new office of chief accountant. Mr. Smith was fully aware of the purpose of the reorganization, opposed that aim, but knew he could not stop it. He has now been relegated to the newly created post of chief accountant, a position which his friends say he has taken until eligible for retirement a few months hence.

Thus a valuable public servant has been sidetracked. Everyone who has worked with him and under his direction is fully conscious of the meaning of his shelving, and knows that it puts an end to the kind of regulation in the public interest for which Charles Smith always stood.

There's another clue to what is happening in the case of another veteran who has been with the FPC since 1933. This is Edgar S. Coffman, Chief since 1945 of the Division of Rates which was under Mr. Smith.

NEW BUREAU

This, too, was abolished. Its functions are being taken over by the new Bureau of Rates and Gas Certificates, of which not Mr. Coffman, but another man, Carl T. Kallina, formerly head of the Gas Certificates Division, was made Chief.

The purpose of this was clear enough to Mr. Coffman. He asked for another assignment and chose to leave here and become regional engineer of the Fort Worth, Tex., regional office.

That tells more of the story. Another clue, too, may be found in the single dissent to the whole shakeup in these various key divisions. It came from the one member of the FPC today who has been on it since its creation in 1930. Claude T. Draper, a Republican, who from his long experience can see just what is going on today. It does not fool him.

But his was a voice in the wilderness.

Escapees View United States as Their Haven, but Few Are Able To Get Visas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article, written by Mr. Don Cook, and entitled "Escapees view United States as their haven but few are able to get visas." The article appeared on February 17 in the New York Herald Tribune.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRANKFURT, February 16.—The most important and vital problem an escapee faces when he comes through the Iron Curtain is that of getting a visa to settle down in a new land.

Needless to say, the United States is the promised land to which most escapees look with hope and confidence. Yet the fact is that as of January 1 only 43 United States visas had been issued under the Refugee Relief Act to escapees who have come across from the Soviet satellite countries since the escapee program began in the spring of 1952. Approximately 5,000 have escaped to freedom in that time.

The official figure of 17,050 visas recently given out in Washington by Scott McCleod, director of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, includes over 16,000 visas issued to Greeks and Italians who had been processed in years past but for whom there were no quotas under normal immigration law or the Displaced Persons Act. They were therefore declared eligible under the Refugee Relief Act—under which 209,000 new immigrants are supposed to be allowed into the United States by the end of 1956.

Thus there is a vast discrepancy between the generosity of the United States in assisting refugees through the escapee program and the performance in the vital final matter of stamping passports.

Under the old 1946 Displaced Persons Act, the United States opened its doors to some 400,000 refugees, and since the escapee program replaced the DP program, another 9,000 have gone to America with visas from the DP Act or normal quota visas.

The performance under the Refugee Relief Act has been far from what Congress appeared to have intended it should be when it voted the target figure of 209,000. This lagging has put a serious crimp in American propaganda efforts. Both the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe have soft-pedaled efforts to encourage satellite citizens to try to escape because an escapee finds things pretty discouraging on this side of the Iron Curtain.

The psychological situation has not been helped much by the occasional cases of spectacular United States speed in granting visas—as, for example, the engineer of the Czechoslovak "freedom train" who was immediately promised a job and house and everything he needed by a toy manufacturer who managed to get him to the United States in about 3 months.

Another such case was that of a Polish ballerina who deserted her ballet company in Western Europe and soon after got to the

States—but only because she had applied for a regular immigration visa in Moscow back in 1948 and her case could be speeded through the official machinery on the basis of the earlier application.

The escapee who comes through the Iron Curtain today must wait and wait and wait—and then his chances of going somewhere other than the United States are speedier and better. As of the first of 1955, there were 9,600 refugees living in camps in Germany and Austria waiting for visas to somewhere and another 16,300 living out of camps. With refugees coming in at the rate of barely 150 per month, it is clear that the United States program alone, if it ever gets going, could just about solve the escapee problem with a good many thousands of visas to spare.

The main stumbling block in the administration of the American legislation is not—oddly enough—the security check on an escapee. The Counter Intelligence Corps thinks it can do a pretty effective job of deciding in a few weeks or months who might be an agent and who is a genuine refugee.

The big problems are that the law requires a 2-year history on each case, and requires that every visa application must have an individual sponsor in the United States who guarantees a job, a house and financial responsibility for the person coming to America.

If a refugee comes through the Iron Curtain with very little known about him or his home town, then obviously the safest way to build up a 2-year history on the individual is to let him sit in a camp for 2 years. The Canadian Government, in fact, requires that the refugee be at least 1 year in the West before he can be admitted to Canada.

The American "sponsorship" problem is even more difficult. It requires some generous employer to give assurances of a job to a man whom he has never seen before and won't see for perhaps a year. The job must be approved by the Labor Department. Under the circumstances, obtaining a sponsorship is not an easy thing.

In this session of Congress, an effort is expected to be made to change the law to permit "blanket assurances" as was the case under the old Displaced Persons Act. Thus, the Tolstoy Foundation could, for example, give "blanket sponsorship" to so many Russian refugees without the difficulties of individual-to-individual sponsorship.

It is because of this complicated, cumbersome machinery that only 43 Iron Curtain escapees have gotten Refugee Relief Act visas.

American Knit Handwear Industry Seriously Injured by Low-Wage Import Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a serious crisis faces the American knit handwear industry as a result of ever-increasing imports of gloves, mittens, and glove linings from low-wage countries. In this regard I call attention to the following statement by Harry A. Moss, Jr., secretary of the American Knit Handwear Association, before the House Committee on Ways and Means on February 2, 1955, concerning H. R. 1, the trade-agreements extension bill recently passed by the House:

Honorable chairman and members of the committee, the American Knit Handwear Association, Inc., represents the manufacturers of gloves, mittens, and glove linings which are knit directly from yarn.

To understand our interest in this bill, one must first examine the conditions wrought in this industry by import competition.

Mortality: In 1953 there were 30 firms in the industry. Today there are 22—a business mortality of roughly one-third.

Unemployment: In 1952 the industry had over 4,000 employees. In 1954 there were less than 1,500—comparative unemployment of 63 percent.

Financial loss: The ratio of net operating profit to net sales among the 15 leading firms in the industry dropped from 6.1 percent in 1952 to 2.9 percent in 1953, while that of the textile industry as a whole increased from 4.6 percent to 5.2 percent in the same period.

Total net operating profits of the same firms declined from $1,210,000 in 1950 to $863,000 in 1952, and to only $273,000 in 1953.

But the full picture is more serious. Six out of 20 firms had net operating losses. An additional 3 had profits of less than 1 percent of net sales in 1953. An additional seven firms went out of business, and presumably each of them suffered a loss in its last operating year, which was 1953 for most of them. Were it possible to include the financial data of those firms which have gone out of business, the result would probably show a net loss for the entire industry in 1953, and unquestionably in 1954.

Lost market: Such corporate mortality, unemployment, and financial loss indicates the loss of a market. Production of the industry's principal product, wool handwear, dropped from 1,900,000 dozen pairs in 1949 down to 575,000 dozen pairs in 1954.

Import prosperity: As the American industry declined, importers enjoyed ever-increasing prosperity. Wool handwear imports jumped steadily each year, from 32,000 dozen pairs in 1946–48 to an estimated 1,200,000 in 1954, a constantly ascending increase from 1 percent to 68 percent of the total market in that period.

No mystery: The staggering success of imports at the expense of the American industry should pose no mystery. It is compounded from a single formula. The high percentage of labor in producing a glove makes its manufacture vulnerable to low-wage competition. Wages in this American industry average $1.13 an hour. In our Japanses counterpart, wages average 11.6 cents an hour. This is the differential which the Tariff Act is supposed to offset, but it is the very factor which H. R. 1 would exploit. The provisions of the proposed bill would foster further tariff rate cuts and give the executive branch even greater latitude in exercising powers which were originally meant for Congress, under Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution.

Significance: This industry has unwittingly served as a pilot plant for the rest of the textile and clothing industry. A study of our case history proves that those industries producing the hundreds of products on the Japanese trade agreement bargaining list may validly fear the effects of H. R. 1.

Recommendation: That H. R. 1 not be enacted, because it bestows on the executive branch unprecedented authority and broader powers than Congress has heretofore seen fit to delegate; because it invites a wholesale reduction of our tariffs, with even greater risk of injury to American workers, farmers, and producers; and because the hurry to push this bill through Congress prevents a careful study of its relationship to many pending proposals yet unrevealed.

World Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago there was much propaganda afloat in this country advocating a world government of which the United States is to be merely one of the states, surrendering its national sovereignty to the overall organization. That idea was apparently rejected by the people of the United States, and for a time the propaganda died out. Snice January of this year, however, it has been revived and is now going full bast.

This is the most important issue before the American people today. The question is: Shall the United States give up its national sovereignty and become only a member of a world government?

Some of the people in high places startle us with their statements. Owen J. Roberts, former member of the Supreme Court of the United States is quoted as saying: "National sovereignty is a silly shiboleth." Justice Roberts is president of the Atlantic Union Committee. How he could hold up his right hand and swear to defend and protect the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and then head a committee seeking to build a world government which would eliminate our own sovereignty is hard to understand.

Here is the text of the resolution introduced in the Senate on February 9 of this year:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President is requested to invite the democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates, representing their principal political parties, to meet this year with delegates of the United States in a Federal convention to explore how far their peoples, and the peoples of such other democracies as the convention may invite to send delegates, can apply among them, within the framework of the United Nations, the principles of free federal union.

Here again is the knockout blow against the Constitution:

This called meeting for next year • • • is to explore the possibility of relinquishing our sovereignty.

How can we support the Constitution and defend it against all enemies, foreign and domestic, if we are to contemplate relinquishing our sovereignty? The author of this resolution in the Senate just got through swearing to defend our Constitution, and in the next breadth he proposes the possibility of surrendering it. This last resolution does not propose to surrender our sovereignty, but proposes the possibility of doing so. It is a new coat of sugar—but the same doughnut.

It is a curious fact that Rhodes scholars are quite generally in line with the philosophy of world government, not all, however. I wondered why and

looked into the matter. Here is the announced purpose of this school. From the American Oxonian, the official publication of the Association for American Rhodes Scholars, January 1945, we read:

This is not an educational endowment as ordinarily understood. Its purpose is not to give anyone an education he could not otherwise afford; not to promote learning; but to encourage in the rising generation • • • a particular outlook on problems of the world: To give them in fact a political bias.

And a booklet issued by the Chicago Tribune in 1951 says:

Rhodes scholarships were established for the primary purpose of instilling political bias in the minds of young Americans in favor of world federation, involving the surrender of American sovereignty.

I would be unalterably opposed to the appointment of John Marshall Harlan as a member of the Supreme Court, because he is a Rhodes scholar and if indoctrinated with the philosophy above quoted, I would not be sure he would support and defend the Constitution of the United States if it conflicted with the Charter of the United Nations. Some members of the Supreme Court have taken this position already, and I refer to the steel-seizure case under the Truman administration. We already have on the Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, who is a vice president of the United World Federalists. In a recent test case before that body it is reported that the vote was a tie, 4 to 4, on the question of which is the supreme law of the land—the United States Constitution or the United Nations Charter.

Judge Harlan, if appointed, might turn against the doctrine of his own school, but the chances are that he would not. We cannot afford to take chances on a matter as important as this.

Assistance to the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, as medical techniques improve, greater numbers of people are living longer. This is a fortunate and happy circumstance. Yet, it also makes essential a higher standard of economic security in old age. The United States, in this urgent respect, unfortunately, has lagged behind other nations.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a most informative and revealing article by Edith Evans Asbury, from the New York Times of February 25, 1955, which shows how our own country could expand and improve its services and attention to the problems of our elderly people.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUROPE LEADS UNITED STATES IN ASSISTING AGED—OBSERVERS FIND THIS COUNTRY SUFFERS BY A COMPARISON WITH AID GIVEN ABROAD—RESPECT FOR OLD CITED—BUT RISING PROPORTION OF THE ELDERLY IS CAUSING A BIG PROBLEM IN SOME AREAS

(By Edith Evans Asbury)

The proportion of the aged in the population is rising in Europe as well as in the United States.

In Great Britain 10.83 percent of the population are 65 years or older. In Germany 9.28 percent are over 65. The percentage in the United States is 8.18.

Both Germany and Britain had about the same percentage of over 65 population as this country in 1900. In Germany it was 4.88. Britain had 4.69 and the United States 4.05.

France, Sweden, and Norway had large numbers of aged in 1900, their percentages being 8.2, 8.37, and 7.9, respectively. Today in France 11.80 percent of the population are over 65, in Sweden 10.31, and in Norway 9.7.

The Europeans began planning for the welfare of the aged long before we did. That was partly because their populations have been aging gradually over a longer period. Also they showed concern earlier because older persons in those countries receive more deference from their families and the public.

UNITED STATES SUFFERS IN CONTRAST

A report on a tour made last summer to observe how the aged are cared for in Europe and Scandinavia has been made by Miss Ollie A. Randall, national president of the American Geronological Society. She said:

"We sensed above everything else a feeling that nothing was too good for the old people. It is something that we in this country have not acquired to the same degree."

Miss Flora Fox, director of the Central Bureau for the Jewish Aged, who also made the tour, said she was "deeply impressed by the acceptance of the aged as people and entitled to special housing. It puts to shame the meager efforts in this country," she added.

Government-sponsored retirement systems were well established in Germany and the Scandinavian countries when we established ours, largely patterned after theirs, in 1935.

Bismarck introduced social security in Germany in 1873. Britain established a noncontributory pension plan, involving a means test, in 1908. A contributory plan, without means test, was started in 1925.

In early times the Swedes, or rather their Viking forebears, solved the old-age problem by pushing their old folks over the nearest precipice. Today, their old-age pension system is so inclusive it covers every Swede at his 67th birthday, irrespective of financial status.

The King is excepted, but the Queen is not. She, being 67 this year, will receive the pension.

Government subsidized low-rent housing planned especially for older couples, or for unmarried men and women, has also been constructed on a large scale in Germany and in the Scandinavian countries.

OTHER GRANTS BESIDES MONEY

Besides money payments, some European countries provide other benefits for the retired aged. In France, some cities grant coal, milk, sugar, and other food allocations as well as hospitalization.

Denmark, in addition to subsidizing low-rent apartments that house 5 percent of the country's pensioners, pays rent subsidies to those living in other housing.

Sweden, too, either provides specially built low-rent housing, or rent subsidy to the aged pensioners.

With their entrenched systems and their experience in administering them, it might have been expected that those far-sighted countries would be better prepared than the United States to handle today's aging population.

The European countries are, however, as perplexed and bedeviled as the United States by the mounting costs of chronic illness among the aging. They are learning, as we are, that pensions are not the final answer for the aged. And in many of the countries the retirement insurance structures have suffered from devaluations, war devastation and other blows to national economies.

As rapidly as possible, the European countries are making adjustments. There is a trend toward changing from fixed pensions to flexible ones tied to the cost of living. The Scandinavian countries already pay cost-of-living pensions. That system is being considered by the Governments of England and Germany.

DOUBTS ON MANDATORY RETIRING

The medically increased span of life, with its lengthened period of retirement, and the higher incidence of chronic illness have resulted in Europe as here in a trend away from institutionalization. It is also raising doubts about the desirability of mandatory retirement.

In some of the European countries older men and women who prefer to continue working are spared the hardship of enforced idleness and reduced income that is suffered by many American men and women past the mandatory retirement age.

Older persons are encouraged to stay on the job in England and Denmark. They receive larger pensions as a reward for delaying retirement, because in those countries there are more jobs than there are workers to fill them.

A third of the men and women over 70 in Sweden are still working. In Germany those retired on social security are permitted to earn money, and the majority do.

In France, on the other hand, it is reported that it is the lifetime dream of nearly every state employee to retire on a pension as soon as possible—at 50 or 55. Frenchmen, perhaps, feel less of a call to prove their worth to society by continuing to work. Older men and women are an integral part of the family in France, commanding respect and often obeisance.

In Europe, as here, strenuous efforts are being made to keep ailing older persons in their own homes as long as possible, both for their own morale and to avoid higher cost of hospitalization.

Since Britain has socialized medicine, the aged are entitled to free medical care, including drugs and hospitalization. Homes for the aged are available, but about 95 percent of the aged maintain their own households or live with their children. This is approximately the same percentage as in the United States.

Officers of the National Assistance Board visit pensioners who need help, and the board contributes financially to voluntary agencies providing recreation, meals, or other services for the elderly in their own homes.

CLUBS ALSO OFFER SERVICES

More than 2,300 clubs, providing recreation, handicraft classes, and, above all, companionship, are run by local groups affiliated with the National Old People's Welfare Committee, in which voluntary and statutory bodies are represented.

Mobile food services provide many old persons with hot meals in their homes.

Prosperous Sweden, which has not engaged in a war since 1814, provides handsomely for the aged. That country's national health program, effective this year, supplies hospital and medical care and free medicine for everyone, including the aged.

In addition, there are many State and municipal services for ailing older persons. Visiting nurses and homemakers are sent without charge.

About 23,000 low-priced apartments and 210 modern houses for the aged with 8,800 beds, the bulk in single rooms, also have been built for Sweden's aged.

Less blessed with prosperity, Germany and France face a more severe problem. West Germany's own people have aged earlier, physiologically, because of the rigors of war. And the country has been flooded with large numbers of aging refugees from East Germany and the Balkans. Medical care, drugs, and hospitalization are free for Germans receiving pensions under the compulsory insurance system.

PROBLEM ACUTE IN FRANCE

France's problem is acute, because it has the oldest population in the world. The average age of the French is 35, compared with 30 in the United States. The percentage of men and women over 60 in France is 16.2 as against 9.9 in the United States. Many of France's aged are war widows.

As France also has had a high increase in the birth rate, she has a disproportionate number of persons either over 60 or recently born. This places a heavy burden upon persons in the producing years, whose numbers have been cut by the casualties of two wars.

So far the problem of an aging population has not arisen in the under-developed countries of Asia, but it is expected to develop there, too, within the next 20 years. The benefits of medical science that extend the life span are easily exportable. Already mortality rates in some of those countries have fallen sharply.

It may be that by the time their aged populations assumes larger proportions, the underdeveloped countries will be better prepared to grapple with the problem than were the United States and Europe.

For one thing, larger numbers of children in their traditionally larger families will also survive, thanks to medical science. Secondly, their predominantly agrarian society provides more space and opportunity for older men and women in the family.

And last, but not least, the Asian family pattern protects older men and women from the demoralization so often at the root of their dilemma in our modern, industrialized society.

Many of the so-called under-developed countries have preserved, along with other antiquated customs, the belief that a family includes not only parents and children, but grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins to the second and third generation.

These older members remain in the household, sharing in its work, its play, its poverty, or prosperity, and its love.

Outlook for Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article on the outlook for Lithuania which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader under date of February 16, 1955:

This is Lithuanian Independence Day. As it cannot be observed in Lithuania, enslaved by the Soviet Union since 1940, it is fitting that attention be called to the occasion in America, custodian of what freedom there is left in the world today.

It was at Vilna on February 16, 1918, that the Republic of Lithuania proclaimed its independence. After 22 years, Lithuania was engulfed by the Red tidal wave, although the United States has not recognized the absorption of the country into Communist Russia. So, officially, Lithuania lives on despite its fate at the hands of a brutal oppressor.

The Baltic States—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—no longer carry on the uneven struggle alone. Today their hopes for liberation from the Communist yoke are brighter than ever, for the crisis, of which they have been a part so long, is approaching a climax.

The future of Lithuania is linked now with the United States, for our country has had the leadership of the crusaders of freedom thrust upon it. It is generally agreed a showdown is coming eventually between the forces alined with communism and with liberty. Then will Lithuania's fate be decided along with our own.

The world cannot go on indefinitely, half slave and half free. Even though we were satisfied, which we are not, to maintain the status quo, the Reds would not be, for their aim is world conquest. They will not be content with less. They hope to put the United States, above all, in bondage like Lithuania.

So in saving ourselves we shall rescue millions of Lithuanians and other nationals now behind the Iron Curtain. Nobody can say when the day of deliverance will come but it is getting closer all the time. During the past month it looked as though Formosa would supply the spark for the conflagration. The fact that open hostilities did not break out means only a postponement of a day that is inevitable.

Lithuania has suffered much but its spirit is unquenchable and its joy on the day of resurrection will be all the greater by reason of the hardships it has undergone during the past 15 years it has been held in subjugation.

Butter Over Guns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, today the Washington Daily News carried a most provocative suggestion and constructive proposal. It is well worth serious study by the State Department and the Congress.

Mr. Samuel Lubell's article, entitled "Butter Over Guns—A Peace Plan for the Free World," poses an enlightened approach toward solving our ever-present, most pressing problem—world peace.

The article follows:

BUTTER OVER GUNS—A PEACE PLAN FOR THE FREE WORLD

(By Samuel Lubell)

The peaceful nations of the world can seize the initiative—now—in the long struggle for peace by striking at all that is most vulnerable in the Soviet system.

That opportunity was put there by the Kremlin itself in the bitter struggle which brought the recent downfall of Premier Georgi Malenkov. In the course of that upheaval the soft underbelly of Soviet communism was flung over and exposed. Unwittingly, Russia's own ruler pointed where to strike the blow that could change the whole course of the cold war.

They showed the world the way to mobilize every measure short of war to halt aggression before it takes place.

How can that be done?

By taking these steps:

The United States should sponsor before the United Nations a bold new plan of economic and military disarmament which would: Limit the proportion of any nation's resources that could be devoted to "guns"—that is to war industries and all other direct and indirect military expenditures—as against "butter," meaning what goes to lifting levels of the people.

The debate touched off by this proposal should be used as a dramatic moral offensive to make clear to the world why high living standards are a built-in reassurance of peace, and any industrial nation which deliberately depresses the living of its people to build military power is a threat to peace.

If the Soviets accept the proposal, a basis for lasting peace might move into sight. Trade could flow freely, since products would be exchanged with Russia for mutual advantage.

But if the Soviets refuse to reverse their present guns-over-butter policy, the free nations should agree to treat her as a potential aggressor.

In support of that, every measure short of war should be invoked until the Soviets do reduce defense expenditures appreciably, and better the living conditions of the Russian people.

Among those short-of-war measures would be the full force of world opinion, the strengthening of other nations' defenses; also the breaking off of all economic relations—aid, credit or trade—which might strengthen a potential aggressor.

The basic idea of emphasizing living standards as a war deterrent was touched on by President Eisenhower in his speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington in 1953. But there was no follow through. Now there is opportunity to act.

This entire program stems from the nature of modern warfare. As Hitler taught only too well, wars do not start when one country crosses another's frontier.

War begins when a would-be aggressor shifts his resources from peaceful to warlike processes, when tractor assembly lines are replaced by tank assemblies, when building matreials are diverted from constructing homes to rearing munitions plants.

In short, war starts when a would-be aggressor makes the ominous choice of putting guns over butter.

Malenkov's ouster stripped away the last illusion that the Soviet Union has become anything more than a perpetual war economy.

Although our own defense budget has been cut for three successive years, Soviet arming has been raised at least to what it was when Russia was supplying Red China with equipment to fight in Korea.

The Soviet proposal announced a week ago to freeze defense budgets at present levels still would leave Russia mobilized for aggression, while preventing peaceful nations from strengthening their own defenses.

It seems to have been brought forward largely to delude the Russian people into thinking that the new sacrifices being imposed on them are made necessary by some threat from the West rather than by the Kremlin's aggressive commitments.

In ousting Malenkov the dominant faction in the Kremlin cracked down on efforts to increase civilian production so as to expand Russia's arms and war industry. In essence this was the same decision Hitler made when he boastfully chose "guns over butter."

The challenge is clear.

If war is to be prevented, Hitler taught, the time to act is when the bombs are being made rather when they are falling.

The "butter over guns" disarmament proposal would furnish the basis for such action. By setting ceilings on the use of certain key resources, "butter over guns" disarmament would lock up enough of every country's production in peaceful purposes so no nation could mobilize its economy for a blitzkrieg without giving the world at least 3 years' warning.

No country's economic expansion would be curbed, since the proportion of resources allocated to guns, not the quantities, would be limited. The butter-guns ceilings also would vary with the special needs of individual countries—underdeveloped nations would not have the same ceilings as highly industrialized ones—and they could be reviewed periodically, say, every 5 years.

The net effect would be like drawing a new internal frontier inside each nation's economy—the butter-guns line—which, if crossed, would be an open confession that a government had passed from peaceful to aggressive intention.

If the men in the Kremlin really want peace, they should welcome such disarmament and cooperate to set up the system of inspection and control that would be required to enforce it.

If they do not, the peaceful nations still can draw this frontier against aggression by declaring they will use Russia's division of her resources as a yardstick for judging Soviet intentions.

Going further, the free nations could bring forward their own "butter over guns" standard of how Russia's resources should be divided to insure a minimum level of decent living for the Russian people.

Soviet propagandists, of course, would try to make the world believe that Russian living standards were rising. But the outside world would have little difficulty in judging the truth of the matter.

If Russia's resources actually were directed from war to peace, it would become readily apparent in the new homes that would be built, the new factories for consumer goods, the general abundance of things to buy.

In debating this "butter over guns" disarmament proposal we could call on the world to judge which of the two economic systems, ours or Russia's, makes for peace.

Last year, for example, the United States produced 5.5 million autos, 7.3 million television sets, and 9 million washing machines, refrigerators, and vacuum cleaners.

The steel used to manufacture these articles obviously could not be used for war.

In Russia, with roughly half of our steel supply, only 45,000 pasenger autos were produced in 1954, only 365,000 TV sets, and hardly 600,000 washing machines, refrigerators, and vacuum cleaners. Most of the rest of Russia's steel went into expanding her military potential.

Shortly after he became premier, Malenkov revealed that more than two-thirds of Russia's industrial resources were being directed into heavy industry, and scarcely one-third to consumer goods.

Every possible means should be utilized to make known to the Russian people that satisfying their yearning for better living is our peace aim.

Within the Kremlin may be some men who will understand how other Soviet leaders are destroying any basis for peace by denying their own people a decent living.

Moscow has always sought to justify the harsh exactions inflicted on the Russian people as being necessary to strengthen Russia against outside attack. The "butter over guns" proposal would challenge this propaganda. The ceilings would be applicable to all major powers, including a revived Germany.

The peace offensive proposed here is not intended to settle every cold-war issue. It does not cover such problems as subversion, which could be considered another form of aggression. Nor would it take the place of efforts to control atomic and other weapons.

Essentially, it seeks to give new life to the possibility of curbing military aggression with measures short of war by gaining worldwide recognition for a simple principle:

That the intentions of even the most secretive dictators can be judged by how they divide the resources they command between war preparation and bettering living standards.

It may be argued that other countries will not go along with so forthright a program. Even if we knew that to be true, simply to proclaim this principle before the United Nations would be a considerable victory for the cause of peace.

WHAT ABOUT ENFORCEMENT?

(By Samuel Lubell)

Enforcing butter over guns disarmament would be no more—nor less—difficult than policing other systems of arms control.

The plan aims at padlocking enough of every nation's resources in peaceful production so no country can mobilize its economy for military aggression without warning the rest of the world. A variety of inspection controls could be employed to achieve that objective.

Every phase of economic activity need not be policed. We know enough of the interrelated processes of mobilizing for war to be able to select a relatively small number of economic choke points—which would show readily how a nation is dividing its resources between war and peaceful uses. In Russia, because nearly all her industries rely on railroad transportation, inspection would be easier.

Obviously it would be easier to make sure that tractor plants were not producing tanks than to check on the number of troops or weapons a country might be permitted.

In any case, these industrial and economic controls could be reinforced by and meshed with the usual controls on weapons and armed forces.

The big question mark, of course, is whether the Soviets would agree to the tamper-proof system of inspection and control which all disarmament plans require. This requirement cannot be compromised.

Where butter over guns differs from other disarmament plans is that if it breaks down, the violation comes early enough in the mobilization process to give every other nation time to rearm.

Also by drawing a guns-butter frontier inside every nation's economy it provides the free world with a moral basis for employing measures short of war to halt aggression while it is being prepared.

Willis W. Bradley: Naval Officer and Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the splendid eulogies on our late colleague, the Honorable Willis W. Bradley, of California, so far published portray not only a rich personality but also a career notable for its record of constructive achievements. Of his many important contributions none are of more lasting value than those for the Panama Canal while he was a Member of Congress, 1947–49. These merit special emphasis.

At the time he was elected to the 80th Congress Captain Bradley had just completed a long and distinguished career as a line officer of the Navy with early specialization in ordnance engineering. In later years, he had important administrative assignments, served as Governor of Guam, held responsible positions afloat, and navigated in many parts of the world. This background of experience combined to qualify him eminently for leadership in the 80th Congress, in which he was assigned to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. On that assignment he quickly became a recognized authority on interoceanic canal problems, for which he had been prepared by a lifetime of naval experience and years of study of the Isthmian problem.

When the question of the sea-level project for the Panama Canal was presented to the Congress in 1947, his definite views, vigorously expressed, served to prevent hasty action. Thus, the committees of the Congress were able to delve more deeply into that controversial proposal and its far-reaching implications.

On that committee one of his ablest colleagues was the late Representative Schuyler Otis Bland, of Virginia, who was then the senior minority member of the committee and its former chairman. He and Captain Bradley recognized each other's great abilities and formed an effective team, particularly as to canal matters.

When leaving the Congress in 1949, Captain Bradley passed on to Judge Bland and others the results of his canal studies. Thus, the 81st Congress, under the guidance of Judge Bland, who then resumed his chairmanship of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, was able to carry on its work on the Panama Canal without discontinuity. As the member of that committee designated by Judge Bland to be chairman of a special subcommittee to investigate the operations of the Panama Canal, I was one of the principal recipients of Captain Bradley's teachings. We had many consultations.

The highlight of these was a presentation on the subject of the Panama Canal in the Navy Department, arranged at the suggestion of Captain Bradley by the Secretary of the Navy. By means of canal operational exhibits and terrain models, Captain Bradley explained the problems of ship transit and what is required for their solution. A distinguished engineer with Panama Canal experience, who was also present, described the principal engineering questions, which are fundamental in its consideration.

The lessons derived from those particular discussions were of immeasurable value to the subcommittee. They helped to clarify much of the fog of confusion that has featured so much canal debates, and helped to start the investigation along a path that overcame obstacles.

Captain Bradley made two notable addresses on the Isthmian question. The first, delivered on April 19, 1948, before the Cosmos Club, of Washington, is entitled "What of the Panama Canal?" CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 94, part 10, April 21, 1948, page A2449. The second, made on February 24, 1949, before the Engineers Club of Washington, is entitled "The Whys of the Panama Canal," CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 95, part 12, March 4, 1949, page A1303.

These two addresses are among the finest pronouncements on the canal question in the records of the Congress. As such, they are must reading for all who wish to go deeply into the canal subject, and are especially commended for study by the committees of the Congress.

Why George Washington Remained Unique

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a very interesting article entitled "Why George Washington Has Remained Unique," written by John Harris and appearing in the Boston Globe of February 20, 1955:

WHY GEORGE WASHINGTON HAS REMAINED UNIQUE

(By John Harris)

WASHINGTON, February 19.—For generations Americans have sighed as they make their annual preparations to honor the birth date of George Washington, that in his lifetime Washington had no Boswell.

We can only wish we knew more about Washington the man, majestic father of our country, for of all the stars in our firmament of national heroes his is the brightest and yet the most remote.

How just a few intimate anecdotes, authentic and heart warming, would cut the distance that grows greater with the passage of the years:

Curiously, it is right here in the Nation's Capital, named after him, that we feel this lack the most keenly.

Lincoln, by contrast, is an ever lifelike memory, in the treasury of tales which he told or which were told about him.

It is surprising how little has come down to us about George Washington's association with the Capital, whose site he himself selected. We can picture him at Suter's Tavern in Georgetown arranging to buy the land; settling the dispute over Major L'Enfant, the city planner, or laying the cornerstone of the Capitol. There is little else. Indeed, at his death in 1799 just as the 19th century was about to dawn, the White House and Capitol were still incomplete.

AWE—LITTLE WARMTH

The Washington Monument, an obelisk greater in size than any raised in ancient Egypt or built elsewhere in the world, we do have.

It is an awesome memorial. Those who gaze upon it are impressed deeply with its dignity, austere simplicity, and, as well, with an inseparable sense of exalted aloofness and grandeur.

Some see this as a happy expression of the reserve that characterized Washington throughout his life. We all admire it; yet we cannot, in all reverence, be unconscious of a very human desire that the mere sight of the memorial, combined with a greater familiarity with the life of Washington than we can now possess, would touch more tender feelings.

Parson Weems did no service for the youngsters of the land when he told his improbable story about the cherry tree. Young bloods who avidly follow the Lone Ranger on TV and—at play—are equipped to shoot down Indians or cattle rustlers, are not likely to accept the goody two-shoes tale about young George and the hatchet.

Nor did another biographer, priggish Jared Sparks, do adults a service when he made his straitlaced revisions of Washington's own writings. A Hollywood director would say that Sparks, whose word picture of Washington was the inadequate model of Washington for decades, left the human side on the cutting-room floor.

YET, FIRST IN THE HEARTS

The anniversary at hand is, however, not so much a time for wishing as for reviewing, for reminding ourselves why it is that Washington, just as in the era when Col. Henry Lee first said it, "Is first in the hearts of his countrymen."

A succession of incidents in Washington's life comes quickly to mind.

Our young TV viewers would certainly thrill to the actions of the 23-year-old head of the Virginia militia as he fought beside the ill-fated General Braddock in the wilderness. Twice horses were shot from under young Colonel Washington and 4 times his coat was pierced by bullets. Washington, who expected and demanded a display of courage in others, displayed it fearlessly, almost recklessly, an earnest of the resoluteness that was to win freedom for a new nation.

There was this same resolution when young Washington journeyed to Boston to demand that Governor Shirley recognize a colonial commission as the equal of one granted by the British monarch.

HE RISKED ALL

No one can visit Mount Vernon without admiring the patriotism that impelled Washington to risk all his possessions and his head in the fight for liberty.

Here he lived the leisurely, aristocratic life of the Potomac gentry. He was owner of 55,000 acres and one of the biggest fortunes in the land.

He, a soldier, knew better than most colonials the might of the British imperium, but he never hesitated. In the depths of the struggle at Valley Forge his faith and fortitude remained constant.

When we scan history and count the conquering generals who put crowns on their heads, or observe the current world scene in which generals glide into the role of dictators, the patriotism of Washington shines in the supreme moment of military success. He rebuked and scorned officers who suggested he make himself a king. True idealist and man of democracy, Washington bade farewell to his army, laid aside his command, and headed back to Mount Vernon. He was, in the exulting phrase of Byron, "the Cincinnatus of the West."

When the States fell to wrangling and disaster loomed, disaster that would have offered a personally ambitious man another chance for a crown, Washington met with governors in the blue room of the now neglected Carlyle House in Alexandria, and initiated action that gave the Nation the Constitution. He accepted the Presidency only as a duty. And strictly from that same sense of obligation to his country did he accept a second term, in which he patiently endured a martyrdom of abuse.

HAVING A COUNTRY TO LOVE

It is at Mount Vernon and in nearby Alexandria, where Washington in 1798 joined in the first public celebration of his birthday at Gadsby's Tavern, still standing near the waterfront, we get the best appreciation of Washington the man. He loved the tidelands life of a planter.

He never left there, for war or the Presidency, without steadily missing it and yearning to return. He chose this as his burial place rather than the crypt prepared in the Capitol. His sincerely felt personal loss in long absences from Mount Vernon is a measure of his sacrifice. But in this devotion to duty, for which all Americans cherish him, Washington, too, had an abiding compensation, best expressed in words of James Russell Lowell, words Washington would have appreciated:

"There is something magnificent in having a country to love."

Eleven Useful Facts Concerning the World in Which We Live

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the following summary by George Hardin of a speech given by Leonard S. Kenworthy at a conference of the Friends' Peace Committee in Philadelphia appeared in the February 17, 1955, edition of the Chisholm (Minn.) Free Press. I commend it to the thoughtful consideration of the Congress and citizens of our great country:

ELEVEN USEFUL FACTS CONCERNING THE WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Reprinted herewith is a summary by George Hardin of a speech given by Leonard S. Kenworthy at a conference of the Friends' Peace Committee in Philadelphia.)

Because our world is so much bigger, or smaller, today, here are certain facts we need to remember in order to read newspapers, work on peace committees, rear children, work in schools, live in communities, and to live.

Most of the world lives in Asia. The sooner we recognize this, the better.

Most of the world is nonwhite. We must learn to live as a minority group.

Most of the world is abysmally, abjectly poor.

Most of the world is underdeveloped; it lacks tools and methods of production.

Most of the world is ill fed, ill housed, ill clothed, illiterate, and ill.

Most of the world is non-Christian. We must learn to think in terms of Hindus, Moslems, Communists, and others.

Most of the world is non-English speaking. We need new tools of communication.

Most of the world is either in revolution or has recently attained independence.

Most of the world differs from us. We must learn to associate differences with friendliness rather than hostility.

Most of the world is closely interdependent.

Most of the world is now working together in the United Nations; we must support it, and strengthen worldmindedness.

I Speak for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, in asking unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I want to call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that the young man who wrote the following essay entitled "I Speak for Democracy," is 1 of the 4 winners in a contest, sponsored by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, and participated in by over a million and one-half school children in the 48 States, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico. It is with a great deal of pleasure and pride that I call attention to the fact that the young man, Avron Joseph Maletzky, is a senior in the Nott Terrace High School, Schenectady, N. Y., 16 years of age, and a resident of my district, the 32d District of New York. It is with a great deal of pride that I submit his essay:

I speak for democracy—a force that means life, liberty, and freedom for millions of human beings—a force that elevates the dignity of man toward the divine—but a force that defies definition.

Scores of interpretations do not embrace the meaning of democracy, and none of us know where to find the words to express our belief in it. Perhaps the fact that we have not yet achieved democracy is the key to the whole situation—for true democracy is a quality toward which one strives, rather than a concrete object which one encloses in a glass case. Then how is it possible to defend something that is as basic as the world we live in, but must be thought of as a goal never quite attained?

It was not until we faced the possibility of its loss that we began to visualize the meaning of this precious inheritance. It was not until we saw other democratic countries filled with people, not unlike ourselves, submerged and conquered, that we began to appreciate democracy as both a moral ideal and an historical institution.

The theme of democracy goes back much farther historically than the great documents of the American, French, and English Revolutions. The idea goes back to the Hebrews with their theories of divine justice; to the early Christians with their ideal of brotherhood; to the Romans with their stress on equality and justice. Those who feel that democracy is young, and thus is an unstable force, forget what a long history it has, and how deeply it is imbedded in the culture of nations.

Today, we are beginning to think of democracy not as a political institution, but as a moral ideal, and a way of living together. The early Christians had an appropriate saying—"We are all," as they put it, "members of one another." We must, if our democracy is to succeed, believe as they did. We must realize that no one can stand alone. True, society recognizes a person as an individual with his individual liberties and freedoms, but only if the person recognizes society as a brotherhood of individuals. To be part of a democracy, one must fight the natural tendency to demand equality and freedom for oneself, and not for others.

Of course, there are those who say that because it opposes, or conflicts with man's natural desire for personal gain, democracy will defeat itself. But democracy has its own peculiar strength. This strength lies in the fact that democracy tends to bring men together into agreement—it satisfies and reconciles all involved. Its strength thus lies in the justice, humanity, and loyalty which are evolved from this agreement between men.

To be sure, as long as democracy exists, there will always be a mild state of confusion and conflict. But what are these conflicts? Conflicts are the instruments of change and progress—they are the propelling force behind democracy.

For democracy there is always a future, and a bright one, too. Its potentialities have never been fully realized, and it would take a person gifted with a fertile imagination to think of all the many possibilities that democracy has in store for a nation of the 21st century.

As the well-known philosopher, Irwin Edman, has written: "It is by the fire of this dream (democracy), that the future is lighted, rather than by the flames of destruction that now, as often in the past, have violated—but never for very long—the faith in the human dignity of each man in a society of brotherhood and freedom."

Democracy is a powerful force. It represents a gigantic struggle toward some unattainable goal. But even if this struggle never succeeds entirely, out of it can come the courage and the faith that will maintain democracy as a dynamic force for eternity.

Business-Managed Ruin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the Denver Post of December 9, 1954, entitled "Business-Managed Ruin":

BUSINESS-MANAGED RUIN

This country is spending $35 billion to $40 billion a year for defense. That's where most of the people's money is going. Figure out a way to cut defense spending, and you've got a way to cut taxes—really cut 'em.

Meanwhile, the politicians talk about economy. A balanced budget. President Eisenhower and his team have worked hard to reduce spending. They have not been entirely unsuccessful. But the costs of an Army, a Navy, and Air Force, and the fantastic gismos they use or will use, still levy a disheartening tithe on the taxpayer.

Looking ahead a few years, there's little relief, real relief, in sight. The best hope for sustaining the keep-home pay of the average guy, after taxes, is that there will be more taxpayers and more taxable wealth to carry the load. Nobody foresees a fire sale on arms or a deflation in their cost. Would that we could.

In view of the foregoing, is it good business to economize on Federal functions that add wealth—agricultural, industrial, taxable wealth—to the United States?

That's what Members of Congress are, in effect, doing when they wield their hatchets on western reclamation. They simply see no difference between operating expense and capital outlay. A business thus managed would be a runt, no less. They're saving pennies today that will cost dollars tomorrow, while retarding the growth of a country that may, some day, need every ounce of its strength to survive.

That's good business? Hah! That's business-managed ruin.

Stimulation of Economic Growth in the Free World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MATTHEW M. NEELY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on import-export policy, made on February 8, 1955, by Mr. O. R. Strackbein, chairman of the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor, before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The President in his special message to Congress on January 10, 1955, stated: "The Nation's enlightened self-interest and sense of responsibility as a leader among the free nations require a foreign economic program that will stimulate economic growth in the free world through enlarging opportunities for the fuller operation of the forces of free enterprise and competitive markets."

He added that "our own self-interest requires such a program because (1) economic strength among our allies is essential to our security; (2) economic growth in underdeveloped areas is necessary to lessen international instability growing out of the vulnerability of such areas to Communist penetration and subversion; and (3) an increasing volume of world production and trade will help assure our own economic growth and a rising standard of living among our own people."

Thereafter the message contained, among other things, specific legislative recommendations that had 5 days earlier made their appearance in H. R. 1 or the trade agreements extension bill of 1955 introduced by Mr. JERE COOPER, Democrat, of Tennessee, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means.

The statements above quoted are acceptable as generalities, but the extent to which the attainment of the stated goals or objectives rests upon the provisions of H. R. 1, it is based upon certain false assumptions and erroneous deductions from past achievements and failures. The message, to repeat a part of it, says:

'An increasing volume of world production and trade will help assure our own economic growth and a rising standard or living among our own people."

Of course, it would not necessarily do anything of the kind. Increasing world production and trade could just as easily take place at our expense and to our detriment.

The sublime or naive faith in foreign trade as the great cureall for the world's economic ills or as a sure road to the peace of the world, reflected in the message, is a curse and an affliction. It has prevented a clear-headed assessment of the facts for too many years and has reached the ridiculous stage. It is like a spell or a hypnosis under which the victim merely repeats uncritically what the hypnotist says. Or, differently stated, it ranks as a nostrum with the no-

tion that if 1 spoonful of medicine is good, 2 spoonsful are twice as good.

Trade is not and never was a good thing in and of itself. It can be evil and harmful, as the trade in opium. It may be thoroughly immoral as is prostitution. The slave trade was lucrative; but was it good? The trade in ivory created exchange and added to the income of the people who engaged in it; but was it in the national interest of the African tribes where it was carried on?

The halo must be torn from international trade before we can reason soberly about it.

Am I then saying that the President is naive or that those who participated in shaping the part of the message relating to trade are naive or unthinking?

A whole people can be blind. A whole national leadership can be led along by a false idea until it explodes in their face. We do not have to strain our memories for examples.

One notion held not so many years ago was that Russia would quickly crumble under the Hitler onslaught. The fallacy of that judgment was amply demonstrated by events. Another notion was that the German people would throw up their arms and surrender once the war went against them. That also was a false estimate, very widely accepted. There are enough of such false notions and fads floating around in other fields, such as medicine, diet, child psychology, etc., to give us pause. Ordinarily, it is necessary only to wait a few years for the upset or for knowledge to catch up. In the field of trade we cling to a used-up idea because we do not seem to know how, when, or where to stop.

It is understandable why certain export interests wish to perpetuate the idea that increased trade, meaning, of course, increased exports, is an unmixed blessing. On the other hand, the support of this idea by economists and private organizations of voters who cut across the economic spectrum merely suggests a bankruptcy of ideas. This in turn may be the result of immersion in a constant flow of inspired comment that itself has taken on the dangerous aspect of unreflecting acceptances of what is fed to it.

After 20 years of tariff reductions, carried out in 29 bilateral agreements, followed by three multilateral agreements; after a reduction of 75 percent in the protection afforded by our tariff and after witnessing the great number of nontariff restrictions on trade imposed by other countries, it is about time that we turned away from this broken-down vehicle to carry us to the promised land. Many of these nontariff restrictions were justified and justifiable and were symptomatic of the economic disruption of war; but that does not change the fact of their existence or obliterate their cause.

We would do far better to study the great shifts that have taken place in the basic foundations of trade in the past 15 years; the distortions in the world economy caused by the great upheavals of World War II and the effects of the political and military realinements of the world. We should ponder the meaning of a policy that would subordinate the strongest economy in the world to the vicissitudes of a necessarily shifting diplomacy in an unsettled world.

We have in the past 10 years contributed heavily to the righting of the war-upset world. We have greatly liberalized our trade. We have greatly increased our imports. They are more than half again as high per capita in physical volume as in 1938–39.

Our diplomacy has been profoundly at fault in not saying these things to the world about our trade. On the contrary, our diplomats and various officials traveling about overseas have aided and abetted the idea that it was our stiff-necked policy about tariffs and trade that caused and sustained the dollar gap. They converted the protests of other countries thus incited into instruments of political pressure on the home front in behalf of more tariff cuts. Only very recently has there been some evidence of a change.

We have actually reached the point in our tariff reductions where a halt is urgent. We have cut to the quick and in some instances well into the living nerves of many of our producers. However, no great reversal is involved; no general rise in tariff rates.

Our producers who are asked to absorb the foreign competition uncovered by 20 years of tariff-cutting are entitled to a remedy against errors of judgment committed in the wholesale approach to tariff cuts or against adverse changes in competitive conditions. There is no demand for undoing such good as may have come from the liberalized trade policy; only for a means of rooting out the evils. This remedy is not in hand. An escape clause that is more responsive to the needs of the case than the present one is called for.

All the minimizing of the losses caused or threatened by lower tariffs, so eagerly practiced by those interested in import profits or export markets or in upholding an intellectual position cannot overcome the very widespread and legitimate concern of the exposed industries and their workers. Final success in this campaign of belittlement would in any case succeed in depriving the very propagators of any real reason for advocating their own program.

In a nutshell, the trade-agreements program has run out of magic. Its constant elevation to the position of arbiter of world economic questions is not justified. As a measure that may be looked to for the attainment and maintenance of full domestic employment, the further general lowering of tariffs would bring us greater liabilities than assets. There is much more employment at stake, directly and indirectly, in the industries and agricultural pursuits that are vulnerable to import competition than exists in manufacturing or producing for export.

The fact that some of these producers are already highly protected by import quotas, such as wheat, wheat flour, and cotton, does not remove them from the list of exposed producers or from the list of beneficiaries of protection. That these groups themselves heavily support freer trade for others is only a measure of the high degree of consistency of which man is capable.

As for investment in foreign countries as a means of developing and strengthening them, the idea has merit; but again it is not foreign investment as such that is important. The kind of investment and the conditions under which it is made are more important. Investment in economically unsound projects will not only not accomplish what is sought, but will go sour. The same may be said of investment where expropriation, nationalization, or refusal to allow profit transfers may sooner or later confront the investors.

Inasmuch as tax incentives would tend to overcome the prudence and caution that should be exercised in such investments, their long-term value may be questioned. Also as inducements to industry to seek low-wage areas for location of new plants, tax incentives on foreign investments might do more harm than good. If our capital cannot find foreign outlets that are sound enough or free enough from state control or confiscation to make them attractive without special tax incentives, it certainly is not clear that the granting of such incentives would remove their obstacles to investment; but they might cause the taking of unjustifiable risk.

From present trends of world population it does not appear that our point 4 and similar elements of assistance will accomplish much more than to demonstrate the continuing validity of the Malthusian theory of population.

Justice in a New State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

JUSTICE IN A NEW STATE

(By the Honorable Shneour Zalman Cheshin, deputy president of the Supreme Court of Israel)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This paper is an adaptation of lectures delivered by Judge Cheshin before the association, the American-Israel Society and the Foreign Law Association.)

Four cases involving points of constitutional law of the greatest importance have recently come before the Supreme Court of Israel. The facts of the first case were briefly as follows:

According to our press law, the Minister of the Interior is authorized to suspend publication of a newspaper which publishes material likely to undermine the security of the state or endanger the peace of the inhabitants, but he must specify in his order the term of suspension.

Not so very long ago two newspapers, one Arabic and one Hebrew, severely criticized the foreign policy of our Government. The Minister of the Interior used his authority to suspend the publication of these two newspapers for a number of weeks.

They then applied to the supreme court sitting as a high court of justice for an order nisi in the nature of a writ of mandamus directing the Minister of the Interior to appear before the court and show cause why he should not cancel his order of suspension. Thus arose the issue of the freedom of the press involving, as it does, human rights and civil liberties.

Case No. 2 involved an Israeli Arab who was apprehended by a military commander and kept in prison. His whereabouts were not made known either to his family or to the civil authorities. Attorneys tried in vain to see him, to locate him, and to get information from him as to the reason of his apprehension. All their attempts were unsuccessful. His family therefore applied to the Supreme Court of Israel sitting as a high court of justice for a writ of habeas corpus—an order directing the jailers to appear in court and to show cause why they kept him without warrant of arrest and without bringing him to trial, and why he should not be released forthwith.

Case No. 3 also involves an Israeli Arab who, at the age of 62, although he was already married and the father of five children, fell in love with a girl of 20 and wanted to marry her. He appeared before the Kadi, who is the religious dignitary, or priest, of the Moslems, and asked him to perform the wedding ceremony, offering proof that he had purchased the girl from her father and paid a high price, and was, therefore, entitled to marry her. He also pointed out that Moslem religious law provides that a man may marry more than one wife.

The Kadi, however, refused to perform the ceremony, saying that the days have passed when a man may marry as many wives as he wishes. Israel, he explained, now has a law providing equal rights for man and woman and, in view of the fact that a woman may not have more than one husband, it follows that a man should have only one wife. And so the Kadi refused to perform the ceremony.

The elderly suitor then appealed to the supreme court of Israel sitting as a high court of justice. He complained that his right to freedom of worship was being infringed and he asked for an order directing the Kadi to perform the ceremony.

Case No. 4 had to do with a teacher who was discharged from his job, because of his political inclinations, by the director of education on the command of the minister of defense. It had transpired that before the establishment of the State of Israel this teacher had been the leading spirit in one of the underground movements and that he had not abandoned his revolutionary tenets and inclinations.

He, too, resorted to the supreme court sitting as a high court of justice, asking for an order directing the director of education to cancel his dismissal and to reinstate him in his position.

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

Before revealing what the decisions of the court were in these four cases, I think it worthwhile to explain, at least sketchily, the structure of the Government of Israel, including that of the judicial system, so as to make clear why these cases were brought to the supreme court sitting as a high court of justice.

As nearly everyone knows, Israel is a part of an area long known as Palestine. Up to the end of World War I, Palestine itself was part of the Turkish Empire and consequently lived under Turkish law. Then, for a period of 30 years, the British, under a mandate from the League of Nations to administer the area and to establish in it a Jewish national home, carried on the governmental functions.

On the 14th of May, 1948, when Israel was established as a State in accordance with a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations some 6 months before, Israelis faced a very interesting and vital practical problem, a problem such as the Americans faced soon after they declared the independence of the Colonies from Great Britain, namely, what law should be administered in the new State? Should it be entirely new law? Should it continue to be the law administered in Palestine theretofore, a law mainly based on English law and jurisprudence?

The mandatory regime, during its 30 years of existence, did indeed do a remarkable job in the field of legislation whatever may have been the record in other aspects of governmental action. It must be admitted that a large body of law was enacted which not only was appropriate to the development of a progressive community in Palestine but was, in large part, adapted to its needs at the time. Should this body of law be thrown overboard or should it be kept intact and acted upon?

We have adopted the very same solution that the ancestors of Americans of today adopted after they severed political, economic and, to a degree, intellectual ties with the mother country.

Immediately upon the establishment of the State of Israel, there was created a Council of State of 37 members and from these 13 were selected to form a provisional government. They enacted the first fundamental law of the new nation only a few days after the signing of the declaration of independence. To understand the spirit of this very important act, it will help to refer to a few sentences of that declaration, part of the articles of faith of the founders of the State of Israel and its inhabitants.

The proclamation of independence says that "the State of Israel * * * will be based on freedom, justice, and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants, irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education, and culture; it will safeguard the holy places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

These were the articles of faith of the founders of the State of Israel. It was contemplated to have them implemented in a constitution, in a basic law of the land or in subsidiary legislation. Yet the full flowering of these percepts could not occur in a moment. Israel has been engaged, during the past 6 years, in a struggle for survival, and a struggle to make a home for hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants who have come from all parts of the world—the remnants of the Nazi victims who are living witnesses to the denial of every human right in so many countries.

SOURCES OF THE LAW

A few days after the establishment of the State of Israel and the proclamation of our independence, a law, called the law and administration ordinance, was enacted. This law prescribes how the government shall be carried on. It says, most importantly, that the law of Palestine, as it existed on the eve of the termination of the mandate—the 14th of May, 1948—shall remain the law of Israel, insofar as there is nothing therein repugnant to the said ordinance or to the other laws which may be enacted by the Provisional Council of State, and subject to such modifications as may result from the establishment of the state.

Now, what was this law that we inherited at the outset? It had a number of sources and these are worth examining, for they help to give us an understanding of many of the problems which members of the bench and bar, litigants and legislators, have encountered and still meet.

There are, of course, the remnants of the Turkish law that was administered in Palestine, including what is now Israel, before the British occupation. This law is far from modern or suited to a progressive and intellectual community. Yet parts of it were and still are in force in Israel.

Much of the Turkish law was based on Moslem religious rules. These do not recognize locomotives, steam trolleys, or electrically driven vehicles but they do have a good deal to say about donkeys, camels, cows, and horses. The entire law of torts, moreover, is concerned with damage done by these animals. A few examples are illuminating:

"If dirt and mud are scattered about by the hoofs of an animal and another person's clothes are splashed therewith; or if such animal kicks with his hind legs or swishes his tail and inflicts injury thereby, there is no need to make good the loss. But a person riding an animal is responsible for collision or for blows inflicted by the front feet or by the head."

(Of course this point of view is nothing to joke about or laugh at. This was the law of a community of yesterday. It was appropriate for its time. It is no longer appropriate for the State of Israel or for any other modern society. I cite it to illustrate the problems with which our first legislators were faced in the new state. The intricate problems of the collisions of cars were unknown in such rules because the prophet Mohammed didn't know about automobiles; they had not yet been invented in his day.)

"If any person drags the clothes of another person and tears them, he must make good the loss and pay the full value thereof. If a person, however, takes hold of the clothes of another, and the owner of such clothes draws them away and, by so doing tears them, such person is liable to make good only one-half the value of the garment. Similarly, if any person sits upon the skirt of another, and the owner, unaware thereof, gets up, and tears his clothes, such person must make good one-half the value of the clothes."

This is the notion of sharing the loss. "The owner of a pearl worth 50 piastres drops it and it is swallowed by a hen worth 5 piastres. The owner of the pearl may take the hen upon the payment of 5 piastres."

Let us see 1 or 2 examples of the law providing for neighborly relations.

"If a person climbs up the fruit trees in his garden, and thereby overlooks the women's quarters of his neighbor, such a person must give information every time he intends to climb such trees in order that the women may cover themselves. Should he fail to give such information, the court may forthwith prohibit him from climbing such tree. * * *"

(This stems, of course, from the Moslem requirement that women must cover their faces. A violation of the above rule is considered to amount to injury. The old Turkish law even went so far as to require a householder to build a wall before a newly constructed window, overlooking a place where women of an adjoining neighbor foregather with uncovered faces.)

The regard for women can also be seen from the following provision in the law of evidence: "In civil cases evidence is only valid when given by 2 males, or by 1 male and 2 females."

(Here is reflected the social status of women under the old Turkish rule in provisions that have now become obsolete under the women's equal rights law of 1951.)

It would be possible to cite many other examples of the rules of law that arose out of social conditions of another age. Those I have mentioned, however, serve to show something of the provisions of the Turkish law with which we have had to deal.

The law and administration ordinance, mentioned earlier, provided as a source of law also the many important enactments, dealing with all areas of human endeavor, that were made by the British during their 30 years of administration as the mandatory power.

A third source of law is the provision enacted at the time by the mandatory government that any gap which may be found in the laws taken over from the Turkish administration shall be filled by the common law of England and the principles of equity. This is important to keep in mind, for much of the common law is still applied in Israel in spite of the fact that we have severed all ties with Great Britain.

The courts in Israel function, of course, against the background of the other organs of government, as well as against that of the sources of law. Our Knesseth, or Parliament, is composed of a single chamber of 120 members elected according to a system of proportional representation. The presiding officer, or the speaker, is elected by the members from among their number. Bills are handled by committees and are enacted only after three readings with ample opportunity for argument, debate, and amendment.

The President of Israel also is elected by secret ballot of the members of the Knesseth. In his selection there are no limitations as to sex or religion. He may be a man or woman, a Moslem, a Christian, or a Jew. The duties and the powers of the President of the state, however, are restricted; he charges one of the members of the Knesseth to form a government, appoints foreign representatives, receives foreign diplomats, and accepts the reports of the Prime Minister as occasion demands.

The Prime Minister is the focal point of governmental structure as he is in Great Britain. He presides over meetings of the cabinet, acts as the Government's chief

spokesman, and, in effect, is the chief executive officer of the state.

Certainly one of the most distinctive aspects of the governmental structure of Israel is its judicial system because of the novel method that has been adopted for the selection of judges from the lowest bench to the highest. This method has been devised to remove the pressures of politics from their selection and yet to obtain the benefit of the best-qualified opinion.

Under the Israel plan judges are appointed by the President of the State on the recommendation of a 9-member appointments committee made up of 3 judges of the supreme court (including its president), the Minister of Justice, and another member of the Cabinet, 2 members of the Knesseth who are chosen by the full membership, and 2 members of the bar, designated by the council of the Israel Bar Association to serve on the committee for a period of 3 years. The President of the State must honor the recommendation of this committee. All judges are appointed for life or until reaching the pensionable age of 70, when they must retire. They can be removed from office only for misbehavior after a hearing by a specially constituted committee.

As might be expected, the magistrates' courts have the most limited jurisdiction, both in civil and criminal cases. They number about 20 in all and are established in nearly every town and village of importance so as to be accessible to the people.

Appeals from the magistrates' courts go to the district courts, the second level of our judicial system. There are 3 district courts, 1 in Jerusalem, 1 in Tel Aviv, and 1 in Haifa. The one in Haifa goes on circuit to Safad and Nazareth in Galilee; the one in Jerusalem to Beersheba.

On the highest level, of course, is the supreme court. It holds its sessions in Jerusalem, the capital of Israel. The supreme court has 9 judges who sit in groups of at least 3. It hears appeals, both civil and criminal, from judgments of the district courts in the exercise of appellate jurisdiction. The supreme court also has original jurisdiction, and as a high court of justice hears applications that come from various quarters, often from the minority groups in Israel or from individuals who feel that their civil liberties or rights have been infringed by the Government or one of its departments. The supreme court as a high court of justice sits in cases involving habeas corpus, mandamus, quo waranto, and certiorari—the four prerogative writs.

When the Supreme Court of Israel sits as a high court of justice it does so to safeguard the interests and rights of the individual. That is why, in one of the cases mentioned earlier, a writ of habeas corpus was required, and, in another, a writ of mandamus. The court had to consider in those cases whether the civil liberties of the individuals concerned had been infringed.

THE SUPREME COURT DECIDES

We have now come, by a rather circuitous route but perhaps a useful one, to an appropriate point to examine the opinions laid down by the Supreme Court in our 4 cases.

In the first case, that of the newspaper publisher, who came alleging infringement of the freedom of the press, the Court said:

"The principle of free expression is a principle closely connected with the process of a democratic government. Under an autocratic regime the ruler is regarded as a superman and as one who knows best what is good and what is bad for his subjects. It is, therefore, prohibited to criticize in public the political actions of such ruler. In a democratic country, on the other hand, the rulers are only the representatives of the people who elected them. Every individual may, therefore, criticize the political actions of the elected representatives at any time, whether with a view to having them amend their action or in order to cause their immediate resignation and their replacement at election time."

The gist of this is clear, but here the Court also relied upon 3 authorities, 1 British and 2 American.

The British authority, Scrutton, J., in a famous opinion of his said that, "You really believe in freedom of speech, if you are willing to allow it to men whose opinions seem to you wrong or even dangerous." Otherwise there is no freedom of the press and no freedom of speech.

In a very famous case *Schenk* v. *The United States*, Justice Holmes said:

"When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight, and no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."

Meaning thereby that in time of peace everyone may criticize the Government even though his criticism may be severe and harsh.

The following are the words of Justice Brandeis, also from a very famous case, the case of *Whitney* v. *People of the State of California:*

"Those who won our independence believe that * * * freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth; that without free speech and assembly discussion would be futile * * *. Only an emergency can justify repression (of free expression). Such must be the rule if authority is to be reconciled to freedom."

These were the words that Justice Brandeis used, and these were the very words upon which the Supreme Court of Israel based its decision, not because it was bound by this authority but because of its persuasive argument.

After analyzing the two articles that were published in the two newspapers in the Hebrew and Arab press, the court came to the conclusion that even though they may be subversive, they did not tend to undermine the security of the country and did not endanger the peace of the public. Therefore, the court ordered the Minister of Interior to cancel his order of suspension and to allow these newspapers to resume their publication.

Mind you, the State of Israel is still in a state of emergency at the present time. There are border incidents every day and every night. Some claim that technically we are still in a state of war, and the Supreme Court of Israel dares at such a time to say that, in spite of all of that, human rights must be protected and the civil liberties cannot be infringed even in time of emergency.

In the second case, that of the Arab who was detained without trial, without the chance of being able to see an advocate, I should now like to say that we did not have enough time to enshrine all of the articles of faith of our proclamation of independence into positive law. Our statutes have not been revised entirely and, therefore, we still have remants of the British Emergency Regulations. These emergency regulations say, in a notable section, known as section 111, that the Military Commander may detain any person without trial if he thinks that his activities are dangerous and detrimental to the State. However, the very same regulation provides that there shall be a committee appointed by the Minister of Defense to which such a detainee may bring his objections. This committee sits in a quasi-judicial capacity. It has no great powers but, nevertheless, it at least gives the detainee somebody to resort to.

The Supreme Court, after hearing both sides of the story, found that this man had been detained without trial and without warrant of arrest and that no committee had been set up before he was detained, but only after the event. Thus a very important question arose as to the legality of the order of detention because at the time it was made, the detainee had no remedy. This is what the court had to say:

"In time of war authorities may deem it expedient in certain cases not to announce the reason for detention or the place of detention. However, in the absence of an explanation shedding light on the subject, one cannot avoid the impression that there are officials who do not yet grasp the idea that the attorney who defends the interests of his client is also rendering a valuable service to the State by helping to preserve the most fundamental rights of the subject; and it is the duty of the authorities to give him all possible help, and not to hinder him or thwart his efforts by repeatedly telling him, 'Go and come back.'"

That was as to the question why no advocates were permitted to see the man under detention. As to the merits of the case, the court said:

"Regulation 111 makes provisions which must be accepted so long as the state of emergency requires them and which ordinarily would have been declared unreasonable because they are incompatible with the ordinary rights of the individual. * * * Some slight relief was afforded to a subject who has been so detained by imposing upon the authorities the duty to establish, for the purpose of that regulation, a committee the functions of which shall be to consider any objection that a detainee might find it necessary to raise and to make its recommendations to the Military Commander. * * * It is entirely immaterial that this right of the detainee is so slender. On the contrary, if as against the immense power vested in the Military Commander, the detainee is granted so small a protection, it must be assumed that the intention of the legislature was that at least this right should be closely and carefully guarded. * * * This right is vested in the detainee from the very minute an order of detention was made against him and when a Military Commander makes use of this extraordinary power he is in duty bound to notify the detainee at once that he is being detained by virtue of regulation 111 in order to enable him to exercise forthwith his right to appeal to the committee. But in order that he may do so there must be a committee in existence at the time of his detention. It follows, therefore, that the Military Commander may exercise his power to make the order only if and when there is a committee in existence, and since the order in this case was made before the committee was established, the court holds that the very exercise of the powers under the regulations was illegal."

Consequently an immediate order was issued for the release of the detainee. The court further observed that the authorities are amenable to the law just as is an individual.

From the two decisions examined so far, it might be supposed that the Supreme Court, sitting as a high court of justice, always renders decisions against the Government, but that would be leaping at conclusions indeed.

When the elderly and married Arab suitor appealed to the Supreme Court sitting as a high court of justice, he contended that his right of freedom to worship had been infringed by the refusal of the Kadi to perform the marriage ceremony.

The Supreme Court looked into the matter and found a case that had been adjudicated in the United States and which appeared almost analogous to this one. This case, *Reynolds* v. *The United States*, involved a Mormon who was convicted of multiple marriage when Utah was a Territory under an act of Congress of 1862, prohibiting plurality marriages in the Territories of the

United States. He appealed to the United States Supreme Court on the contention that the said act of Congress was unconstitutional and that he was being deprived of his rights under the first amendment which guarantees freedom of worship. Furthermore, he argued that, according to the Mormon faith, it was mandatory upon him to marry more than one wife. The United States Supreme Court did not accept his contention.

In the case of the elderly suitor we decided that had the Moslem religion actually commanded a man to marry more than one wife, then any act by the State of Israel preventing him from doing so would have been an infringement of his constitutional or religious rights. All the Moslem religion says, however, is, "we permit you, we will not interfere." That is only permissive and not mandatory. A law that runs counter merely to permission does not infringe the rights of the individual. Therefore, we threw the case out of court.

Finally, in the case of the teacher who was discharged because of his political inclinations and tendencies, on the recommendation of the Minister of Defense to the Director of Education, this is what the Supreme Court said:

"Without in any way disparaging the honor and dignity of the Minister of Defense, and no one in this country treats lightly the heavy burden and the great responsibilities that are cast upon him, matters of education do no come within his jurisdiction. For these purposes a Director of Education has been appointed, and, although he may consult with other officials and departments as to the course to be pursued by him, he may not act as an instrument in the hands of others in matters falling within the purview of his office. Whenever the authorities act in a manner affecting the rights of the individual it is incumbent upon them to show that the law authorizes them so to do.

"No evidence has been adduced that applicant advocates the use of force or revolutionary force. The instruction or order issued by the Minister of Defense to the Director of Education not to engage the applicant as a teacher was illegal, and, therefore, of no effect."

The Director of Education, the Court added, did have the authority to dismiss the teacher but he acted, in this case, not upon his own judgment but upon the recommendation and command of some other officer. In other words his judgment was arbitrary, for he did not have the proper state of mind in which to exercise his own best judgment. The Supreme Court therefore ordered the cancellation of the order of the discharge.

THE LAW STRENGTHENS CIVIL RIGHTS

I have tried to explain that the evolution of the law in Israel has tended toward the strengthening of civil rights for all, even under the most adverse, precarious, and serious circumstances resulting from a state of war.

This is the trend and we hope it will continue. For the law of Israel is not a dead letter; it is a living law. It does not stand still. The supremacy of the law, the rule of law, is by no means a novel doctrine in the United States of America. Even children in the home know of it. Unfortunately, it is not generally so in our part of the world.

I have tried to explain the workings of the various organs of state, more particularly the judiciary. In our neighboring states the judiciary is a servant of some other organ of the state. The judiciary is in the hands of a cabinet and the cabinet is in the hands of an army.

In the State of Israel it is the other way around. The army is controlled by the government and the government complies with the law as interpreted when necessary by the supreme court sitting as a high court of justice. These are fundamentals of a free democracy.

Israel is a bastion of democracy in the Middle East. There is no reason why it should ever cease to be so. We hope that with the help of the free democracies of the world we shall be able to implement all the articles of faith that were laid down in our declaration of independence.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a resolution pertaining to Lithuanian Independent Day, which was adopted at a gathering of Wyoming Valley, Pa., Lithuanians held Sunday, February 13, 1955:

Unanimously adopted, after due deliberation, by the Lithuanian Americans of Wyoming Valley, gathered for the commemoration of the 37th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by the people of Lithuania.

Whereas for almost 15 years, Lithuania, one of the Baltic nations, has borne the yoke of slavery as a result of the brutal and unprovoked aggression by the Soviet Union;

Whereas a campaign of physically exterminating the Lithuanian entity has been conducted by the Kremlin masters on a scale unheard of heretofore;

Whereas no nation, great or small, can today feel protected from the claim of international communism supported, as it is, by all the destructive weapons that modern civilization has devised for mankind;

Whereas because of the global and totalistic nature of the Kremlin's peaceful coexistence line is designed primarily to gain time in order to divide and destroy free-world alliances and pave the way for world conquest: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this gathering of American citizens of Lithuanian descent of Wyoming Valley pledge their wholehearted support of this great country's efforts to achieve lasting peace and justice in the world, and urge the Federal Government of the United States to respond to the demands of this crucial time by initiating a positive and dynamic political program against the international Communist conspiracy; be it further

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Lithuanian Americans of this valley, the following steps should be undertaken as a part of such a program and with respect to the enslaved nations:

1. That in advancement of the program for world peace and freedom a special stress be laid upon the necessity to hasten liberation of the captive peoples, and that all acts or omissions which tend to confirm their enslavement be rejected.

2. That the resistance movements of the enslaved nations be encouraged and supported through the funds already authorized by Congress for such purposes.

3. That a new committee to investigate the facts and techniques of Communist aggression be appointed by the 84th Congress, in order to continue and complete the work splendidly done, during the last Congress, by the Select Committee on Communist Aggression headed by former Representative Charles Kersten.

4. That the United States Government sponsor a resolution in the United Nations based upon findings and conclusions of said investigation, denouncing the Soviet Union as an aggressor against all the nations now enslaved by communism.

5. Be it finally resolved that this gathering voice its deepest gratitude to the Federal Government and the Congress of the United States for their sympathy with and unchanging favorable attitude toward the eventual restoration of independence of Lithuania.

THOMAS E. MACK, Esq.,
Committee Chairman.
GENEVIEVE B. NATITUS,
Committee Secretary.

Our New Federal Interstate Highway System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert the text of the following two resolutions passed by North Dakota's 34th Legislative Assembly; one—House Resolution 9, the other Senate Resolution 6, both relating to a vital problem before us—that of extending an adequate interstate highway system over the Nation; and requesting that Highway No. 2 crossing our State be designated an integral part of the national system of defense highways, and that it be placed on the national system of interstate highways:

House Resolution 9

Resolution to the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States; to the Congress of the United States; to the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of the Department of Commerce; to the Honorable Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense; to the Honorable C. D. Curtiss, Chief of Administration for the Bureau of Public Roads; to the Honorable Milton R. Young and the Honorable William Langer, United States Senators from the State of North Dakota; to the Honorable Otto Kreuger and the Honorable Usher L. Burdick, Congressmen from the State of North Dakota; requesting a reallocation and increased strategic mileage in the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944 to add United States Highway Two to the National Interstate Highway System

Whereas the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944, which act amended the Federal Road Act approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, provided that "There shall be designated in the Continental United States a national system of interstate highways not exceeding 40,000 miles in extent, so located as to connect by routes as direct as practicable the principal metropolitan areas, cities and industrial centers, to serve the national defense and to connect at suitable border points with routes of continental importance in the Dominion of Canada and the Republic of Mexico"; and

Whereas the act further provided that "the routes of the national system of interstate highways shall be selected by joint action of the highway departments of the several States and the adjoining States," and in another provision required approval by the Federal Works Administrator; and

Whereas Phillip B. Fleming, major general, United States Army, Administrator of

the Federal Works Agencies, caused to be entered a certificate of approval of the national system of interstate highways, dated the second day of August, 1947, which adopted a national system of interstate highways, selected by the joint action of the State highway departments of each State and adjoining States; and

Whereas the national system of interstate highways selected, modified and revised, as aforesaid, is comprised of routes totaling approximately 37,800 miles in extent; and

Whereas there is a balance of 2,200 miles within the 40,000 mile limit provided for in the Federal Aid Act of 1944 which can be placed on the interstate system; and

Whereas United States Highway 2 is the shortest route through arterial highway link between Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., and Seattle, Wash., and runs parallel to the northern border of the United States and intercepts all highway communications with Canada in the State of North Dakota as well as the several other boundary States; and

Whereas said United States Highway No. 2 plays an ever-increasing integral and necessary role in the tremendous development of the country's natural resources, namely, oil, coal, gas, iron ore, nuclear, and other minerals, as well as the vast timber industry, and in the vast development of power being generated by the dams constructed and being constructed in the northwest, and in the expanding industrial development potential in the several States an in Canada, notably in the Provinces of Manitoba and Alberta, all of which demands a revision and an increase in our vital defense needs; and

Whereas the said United States Highway No. 2, which can without any difficulty be linked from east coast to west coast through the States of New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine, and connected with Canada's Highway No. 9, from New York to Montreal, and Highway No. 17, from Montreal to Sault Ste. Marie, which are of importance in the Dominion of Canada, is the only connection between our air-defense bases, the number of which and the personnel involved are known only to Congress, and Department of Defense officials, along the entire northern defense perimeter of the continental United States; and

Whereas under the hourly maximum traffic classifications, the interstate designation of the United States Highway No. 2, to be determined by the Bureau of Public Roads, can be the classification of interstate rural, under the specification for the interstate system set out by the Bureau, this could call for a 2-lane highway with a 100-foot right-of-way; and

Whereas the total mileage involved in this petition is approximately 2,178 miles in length and connects at points in 7 States, from the city of Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., to the city of Everett, Wash.; and

Whereas while this is a petition from the State of North Dakota, it is contemplated the joining by the several other States with similar petitions, action having already been started in the States of Montana, Idaho, and Washington, this is especially true in view of the gigantic growth and expansion of the areas served by, contiguous to, and adjacent to United States Highway No. 2 because such areas, at their accelerated progress, resulting from a shift of population and industry to the Northwestern States and increasing industrial expansion in all areas, demand a revision of the transportation needs; and

Whereas, this request that the designation of the United States Highway 2 be placed on the National System of Interstate Highways is made without prejudice to existing interstate highways in the State of North Dakota and in the other States served by the United States Highway 2: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota, That the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota does hereby, most earnestly and respectfully, request that the Congress of the United States recognize the strategic importance of United States Highway 2, and through the proper Federal agencies, take immediate action to have United States Highway 2 designated an integral part of the national system of defense highways, and that it be placed on the national system of interstate highways; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted by the Honorable Norman Brunsdale, governor of the State of North Dakota; and by the Honorable Ben Meier, secretary of state of North Dakota; to the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States; to the Congress of the United States; to the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, secretary of the Department of Commerce; to the Honorable Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense; to the Honorable C. D. Curtiss, chief of administration for the Bureau of Public Roads; to the Honorable MILTON R. YOUNG and the Honorable WILLIAM LANGER, United States Senators from North Dakota; to the Honorable OTTO KRUEGER and the Honorable USHER L. BURDICK, Congressmen from North Dakota.

K. A. FITCH,
Speaker of the House,
KENNETH L. MORGAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.

Senate Resolution 6

Senate resolution to the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States; to the Congress of the United States; to the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of the Department of Commerce; to the Honorable Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense; to the Honorable C. D. Curtiss, Chief of Administration for the Bureau of Public Roads; to the Honorable Milton R. Young and the Honorable William Langer, United States Senators from the State of North Dakota; to the Honorable Otto Krueger and the Honorable Usher L. Burdick, Congressman from the State of North Dakota; requesting a reallocation and increased strategic mileage in the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944 to add United States Highway 2 to the National Interstate Highway System

Whereas the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944, which act amended the Federal Road Act, approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, provided that "there shall be designated in the continental United States a national system of interstate highways not exceeding 40,000 miles in extent, so located as to connect by routes as direct as practicable the principal metropolitan areas, cities, and industrial centers, to serve the national defense and to connect at suitable border points with routes of continental importance in the Dominion of Canada and the Republic of Mexico"; and

Whereas the act further provided that "the routes of the national system of interstate highways shall be selected by joint action of the highway departments of the several States and the adjoining States," and in another provision required approval by the Federal Works Administrator; and

Whereas Phillip B. Fleming, major general, United States Army, Administrator of the Federal Works agencies, caused to be entered a certificate of approval of the national system of interstate highways, dated August 2, 1947, which adopted a national system of interstate highways, selected by the joint action of the State highway departments of each State and adjoining States; and

Whereas the national system of interstate highways selected, modified and revised, as aforesaid, is comprised of routes totaling approximately 37,800 miles in extent; and

Whereas there is a balance of 2,200 miles within the 40,000-mile limit provided for in the Federal Aid Act of 1944 which can be placed on the interstate system; and

Whereas United States Highway No. 2 is the shortest route through arterial highway link between Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., and Seattle, Wash., and runs parallel to the northern border of the United States and intercepts all highway communications with Canada in the State of North Dakota as well as the several other boundary States; and

Whereas said United States Highway No. 2 plays an ever increasing integral and necessary role in the tremendous development of the country's natural resources, namely, oil, coal, gas, iron ore, nuclear, and other minerals, as well as the vast timber industry, and in the vast development of power being generated by the dams constructed and being constructed in the Northwest, and in the expanding industrial development potential in the several States and in Canada, notably in the Provinces of Manitoba and Alberta, all of which demands a revision and an increase in our vital defense needs; and

Whereas the said United States Highway No. 2, which can without any difficulty be linked from east coast to west coast through the States of New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine, and connected with Canada's Highway No. 9 from New York to Montreal and Highway No. 17 from Montreal to Sault Ste. Marie, which are of importance in Dominion of Canada, is the only connection between our air-defense bases, the number of which and the personnel involved are known only to Congress, and Department of Defense officials, along with the entire northern-defense perimeter of the continental United States; and

Whereas under the hourly maximum traffic classifications, the interstate designation of the United States Highway No. 2 to be determined by the Bureau of Public Roads, can be the classification of interstate rural, under the specification for the interstate system set out by the bureau, this could call for a two-lane highway with 100-foot right-of-way; and

Whereas the total mileage involved in this petition is approximately 2,178 miles in length and connects at points in 7 States from the city of Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., to the city of Everett, Wash.; and

Whereas, while this is a petition from the State of North Dakota, it is contemplated the joining by the several other States with similar petitions, action having already been started in the States of Montana, Idaho, and Washington, this is especially true in view of the gigantic growth and expansion of the areas served by, contiguous to and adjacent to United States Highway No. 2 because such areas, at their accelerated progress, resulting from a shift of population and industry to the Northwestern States, and increasing industrial expansion in all areas, demand a revision of the transportation needs; and

Whereas this request that the designation of the United States Highway No. 2 be placed on the National System of Interstate Highways is made without prejudice to existing interstate highways in the State of North Dakota and in the other States served by the United States Highway No. 2: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota, That the senate does hereby, most earnestly and respectfully, request that the Congress of the United States recognize the strategic importance of United States Highway No. 2, and through the proper Federal agencies take immediate action to have United States Highway No. 2 designated an integral part of the national system of defense highways, and that it be placed on the National System of Interstate Highways; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted by the Honorable Norman Bruns-

dale, Governor of the State of North Dakota, and by the Honorable Ben Meier, Secretary of State of North Dakota, to the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States; to the Congress of the United States; to the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Defense; to the Honorable C. D. Curtis, Chief of Administration for the Bureau of Public Roads; to the Honorable Milton R. Young and the Honorable William Langer, United States Senators from North Dakota; and to the Honorable Otto Krueger and the Honorable Usher L. Burdick, Congressmen from North Dakota.

C. P. DAHL,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD LENO,
Secretary of the Senate.

Address by Hon. Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, Before the Republican State Convention, Detroit, Mich., February 19, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address delivered by the Honorable Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, before the Republican State Convention held at Detroit, Michigan., on Saturday, February 19, 1955:

It's always a pleasure for me to get away from Washington for a few hours, to meet and talk with fellow Republicans. It's an opportunity to keep a true perspective on American's problems and America's dreams.

We had a lot of both 2 years ago when the members of the Republican administration moved to Washington. Thank goodness, I can report that many of the worst problems have been conquered and that many of America's dreams are closer to reality. Our Nation has gone a long way under the inspiring leadership of Dwight D. Eisenhower. He has proven to political friend and foe alike that he is truly a great man, a great President.

Michigan has a wonderful squad working on President Eisenhower's team. You have given our President men of outstanding ability and integrity. Charley Wilson is doing a great job at Defense, and so is Governor Brucker. Joe Dodge put a lot of good old Michigan commonsense into the budget. Art Summerfield is putting the Post Office on a realistic, businesslike base. Senator PORTER has displayed the foresight so vital to sound legislation and decent legislative conduct.

Every one of them—and a lot of other Michigan peole—are devoting long, long hours of unselfish work for the administration and for the Nation. I know you are as proud of them as those of us who are privileged to work with them.

I'm just as proud of the fine performance of Fred Kaess here in Detroit and Wendell Miles in western Michigan. They are two of the best of the Justice Department's group of outstanding United States Attorneys.

Your personal interest in government and world affairs is heightened, too, as work progresses on the St. Lawrence seaway. Here is a project which was just a fond dream since George Washington first envisioned it. And the seaway, as you know, has been advocated by every President since McKinley. Yet, when Dwight Eisenhower presented the facts and the needs fully—and then went to bat for it—a Republican Congress passed the legislation to make that dream a reality. The seaway will bring deep-draft oceangoing vessels to the Lakes, letting your industry compete equitably for foreign trade. It will mean new factories, new jobs, and new prosperity for Michigan and for the entire Nation. History shows that any major advance in transportation benefits the entire Nation's economy—not just that of the immediate area served.

And let's talk realistically about prosperity for just a moment.

It was a big issue up here last fall. You still were making the transition from a wartime boom, based on blood and bullets, to a peacetime economy, based on the needs of our growing population and our rising standard of living. Also, campaign time was change-over time in the auto industry and a lot of people were temporarily out of work.

There was a lot of political talk of gloom and doom in the past 2 years. Yet, today, no one challenges the fact that your Republican administration has guided the Nation successfully from a wartime to a peacetime economy without the great depression so many predicted. No one challenges the fact that your Republican administration has helped bring our Nation instead its two most prosperous years in history in terms of wages, in terms of jobs, and in terms of earnings. We're well on our way right now to a third fine year.

This all was done without mirrors and without controls on the economy—on the prices a businessman could ask or the wages a worker could seek. Even more important, both can now plan realistically on the buying power of the dollar they will earn later this month, or next summer, or next winter, because inflation has been halted. The retired couple no longer find 10 or 20 dollars being taken out of each hard won hundred dollars every year by unchecked inflation. Neither do the parents trying to save money to give their children an education, nor the young couple saving for a decent home of their own, nor the farmer saving for new machinery or new stock.

All this is to the benefit of all Americans. So is the sense of security and faith that came from the end of that inflation, the end of the fighting in Korea, the end of loose security in Government, the end of corruption in Washington. It is such matters of the common good I wish to discuss primarily today because President Eisenhower's entire aim is to be a President for all Americans.

We all recall proudly that Republican Abraham Lincoln declared repeatedly he was for that "which will give the greatest good to the greatest number." Republican Dwight Eisenhower said in his recent state of the Union message, "Let the general good be our yardstick on every great issue."

The philosophy of Lincoln has returned to Washington.

President Eisenhower summed it up well for us when he said:

"This administration is committed to a program of progressive moderation."

He said that program must be "liberal in its human concerns, conservative in its economic proposals, constructively dynamic and optimistic in its appraisal of the future."

Progressive moderation is nothing new to the Nation or to the Republican Party. In a speech generally credited with uniting factions within the party just 2 years after its founding, Lincoln asked his fellow Republicans to "appeal to the moderation" of the people. He declared that "we will grow strong by calmness and moderation."

I think you will agree that all forward-looking Americans can support a program of progressive moderation, especially when we consider what President Eisenhower said in applying it to the individuals and what the administration seeks to do for those individuals. It was this, and I quote:

"We seek increase in their opportunity to enjoy good health, good schools, good homes; we seek a lessening in their fear of personal disaster and in the impact of hardships beyond their control. In this endeavor, we reject Federal domination over State and community, for we seek to strengthen—not weaken—the historic self-reliance of our people."

What does all this mean in specific terms? Well, I think we should first review quickly the first 2 years of the Republican administration and the steps to carry out this program of making this a better Nation for all to live in and to enjoy.

Most necessary, of course, in pursuit of this goal is a strong, growing economy. By keeping it vigorous and free, we create more and more opportunities and an ever-widening share in prosperity for our people.

What has your administration already done to help? Several things. For instance, I've discussed how controls were removed from wages, prices, and materials. Then, through reducing Federal spending, an unprecedented tax cut was possible, and Americans as individuals were the beneficiaries. The tax cuts also encouraged increased spending, which in turn brought about greater production and more job opportunities. Couple these moves with the flexible monetary and debt management policies of the administration and this is the result: a halt to inflation and stabilization of the value of the dollar.

Meantime, the administration created an atmosphere conducive to good labor-management relations. An unprecedented low of work stoppages due to strikes was reached. Man-days of idleness due to strikes in 1954 were the fewest in any year since the end of World War II. This resulted from the administration's belief that Government has no place at the bargaining table—that labor and management can settle their problems over that table without the Government sitting with either side.

And there's another helping hand which is being extended to the unionman, as part of a drive against the evil elements of organized crime. Extortion and bribery by labor racketeers had become a flourishing and lucrative business. This not only impeded commerce and industry. More important, it reflected unfairly on the millions of honest workingmen who were caught up as pawns of these labor racketeers.

A special section on Organized Crime and Racketeering was created in the Department of Justice last year. With the cooperation and assistance of the FBI, this section has been vigorously investigating labor racketeering. At present, it is initiating about 50 investigations every month. The effort is paying off.

During 1954, 65 of these racketeers were indicted in 37 cases and there were 28 convictions. So far this year, there have been nine more convictions or pleas of guilty. Contrast that, if you will, with a complete absence of any convictions under the anti-racketeering laws in 1951, 1952, and 1953.

Among those convicted was a racketeer who sought to extort more than $1 million from contractors for a powerplant for the Atomic Energy Commission. His actions cost the Government millions of dollars because of delays in construction. An Illinois man was sentenced to 4 years for extortion in a 700-mile pipeline project needed to serve the Chicago and Indiana area. A man tabbed the Duke of Indiana for the power he wielded for his own selfish gains pleaded guilty to attempting extortion in connection with road construction. And a longshoreman's leader in New York was convicted recently for taking gratuities from a trucking concern

with which he supposedly was dealing on behalf of his union. Ample warning has been served that the Government will not stand idly by while the unionman and the businessman are being victimized by the ruthless and greedy use of power by labor racketeers.

That is a matter of the common good. So are the tax reductions which have totaled more than $7 billion a year. More than half goes directly to the individual taxpayer, the consumer. And indirectly they benefit from the rest. It now looks, barring unusual developments, that a further tax cut will be possible next year.

Let's look at what was done in the social security field. Carrying out the 1952 pledge, Republicans improved many of the ills of the program. They added 10 million Americans to the eligibility rolls. They increased benefits for more than 6 million now entitled to and drawing benefits. On the unemployment compensation side of the picture, the President recommended to the States increased weekly benefits, while coverage was extended to an additional 4 million persons, including Federal employees who previously were not entitled to protection.

Here in Michigan a major industry is production of automotive vehicles. You will benefit from the record Federal-aid highway program allotting $875 million a year to the States. And while making it easier for our people generally who use the roads, it also will increase the market for vehicles. Hence your State will have both direct and indirect benefits.

One of the most important things in life is health. Over the years hospital facilities particularly have failed to keep up with the demand. We now have a 3-year hospital construction program embracing grants totaling $182 million.

What about homes? Well, the administration and Congress worked out a housing program permitting longer mortgages, thereby stimulating home ownership. It also speeded up slum clearance and encouraged remodeling, modernization, and repair of homes.

What about the future? President Eisenhower said that the wise course for Government in 1955 is to direct its program principally toward fostering long-term economic growth rather than toward imparting an immediate upward thrust to economic activity.

What did he suggest to Congress? Simply stated, he suggested a program which you and I naturally support and which, I know, all people of Michigan want. Here are the major recommendations:

1. Extension of personal security against the hazards of unemployment.
2. Strengthened minimum wage legislation.
3. Protection of savings in credit unions.
4. Increased Presidential discretionary authority to vary the terms of insured mortgage loans in the interest of economic stability.
5. Authorization of a great 10-year program to modernize the interstate highway system—this on top of what already has been done.
6. Meeting the nationwide need for school construction.
7. Creation of a coordinator of public-works planning and a revolving fund for advances to States and municipalities for public-works planning.

All of these proposals, plus the others now pending or to be sent to Congress, will create a favorable atmosphere for economic activity. They will encourage private initiative. The Federal Government would be in a position to help State and local governments in providing needed public facilities. They would provide greater opportunities for the less fortunate of our population and help all to cope with the hazards of unemployment, illness, old age.

In the field of health, the Nation is failing to exert proper efforts to reduce the impact of disease. This administration, under leadership of President Eisenhower, is urging steps which will alleviate the situation.

Establishment of a Federal health reinsurance service to encourage private health-insurance organizations in offering broadened benefits to those insured and to provide coverage to more people has been recommended.

I noted enthusiastically as I entered this hall the youthfulness of all of you. The youngest of you, I know, are beginning to understand, as oldsters do already, the economic strain on a family that comes in time of illness or injury.

Now, any one of us could become what the medical profession is now calling the medically indigent. They are referring to that time when any one of us could be faced with medical bills which we just could not afford to pay. Group hospitalization programs and the prepaid surgical plans available in some communities have done some good in meeting this problem. This is true also in the case of aid toward medical, therapeutic, hospital and similar bills by such organizations as the Tuberculosis Association, the Infantile Paralysis Fund, Heart Fund, and others. But more is needed.

The reinsurance proposal of the President would furnish a system for broad sharing among health-insurance organizations of the risks of experimentation. It would be the incentive for improvement in existing insurance plans, and encourage better protection, particularly against expensive illnesses. And it would mean extension of these private voluntary health-insurance plans to millions of additional people. It contemplates a reasonable capital fund, using it as necessary to reinsure programs which would meet the needs which I have outlined.

We also hope Congress will authorize separate Federal matching of State and local expenditures for the medical care needed by public-assistance recipients. As proposed by the President, it would provide better care for the aged, the permanently and totally disabled, the blind, and children deprived of parental care.

Also recommended to Congress is a program to further stimulate construction of more health facilities, such as hospitals, clinics, and technical establishments. As proposed by the President, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would be authorized by Congress to insure, for a small premium, mortgage loans made by private lending institutions for the construction of such facilities. This program, I am sure, would go a long way to help the many communities which today lack some, if not all, of these things needed for the protection of the health of our people.

Another part of the health program is designed to end the shortage of nurses. Recommended are a 5-year program of grants to State agencies for training practical nurses; and an expansion of Public Health Service operations to establish traineeships for graduate nurses in specialties such as administration, teaching, and research. In addition, Mr. Eisenhower has proposed revision of the present public health grant programs to include authority for training in all public health specialties, including mental health.

These are well-formulated plans. These, plus other elements of the health program proposed by your administration, represent a real attack against problems standing in the way of a stronger and healthier United States.

One other program the President has proposed means something to all of us. It is the proposal for Federal cooperation with the States to give our children as quickly as possible the classrooms they must have. As you know, there is a deficit of 300,000 classrooms, and with mounting enrollments at least 50,000 new classrooms must be completed each year just to care for this new crop of youngsters. What is happening is that the present construction rate is barely keeping up to the mounting enrollment, so the deficit of 300,000 classrooms is being cut only slightly.

Viewing this as an emergency and for purposes of meeting it on that basis only pending results of nationwide conferences, the administration has proposed to widen accepted channels of financing, without interfering with the responsibilities of State and local school systems.

Congress has been asked to authorize the Federal Government to purchase school bonds issued by local communities which are handicapped in selling bonds at reasonable interest rates. This would be possible if Congress authorizes appropriation of $750 million for use in the next 3 years. It is also proposed that the Federal Government be authorized to participate with the States in establishing and maintaining for State school-building agencies an initial reserve fund. Thus, we would help those communities which are unable to build schools because of restrictive debt limits and which now depend on State agencies. With such a program, $6 billion worth of building would be possible in the next 3 years.

Other elements of the proposed program would provide for grants to school districts with proved need, and lack of local income; and grants to States for administrative costs of State programs.

These are some of the things now planned to make this a better America, by protecting our most precious asset—our people.

What de do this year and next will continue to merit the support of the great majority of our citizens.

They already have seen a Republican Party devoted to serving needs of all people.

It will continue to serve the people well.

Under the inspiring and courageous leadership of President Eisenhower, we cannot fail.

Revenue Act of 1955

SPEECH

OF

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4259) to provide a 1-year extension of the existing corporate normal-tax rate and of certain existing excise-tax rates, and to provide a $20 credit against the individual income tax for each personal exemption.

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I did not really intend to get into this debate, because I did not think there was going to be a fight on it. But, when there is a fight going on, I do like to get into it. The reason I did not think there would be a fight is because I thought that this bill was doing what the President of the United States asked this Congress to do on this floor in his state of the Union message. If you will recall, he told us at that time that they anticipated cutting taxes in 1956. Now, that is exactly what this bill does. And, what has been done by this Congress is very simple. We have taken the suggestion of the President, and we are putting it into law so that he will not have

an opportunity to be talked out of what he wants to do for the American people. When he said that he wanted to cut taxes in 1956 he was doing 1 or 2 things: he was either playing politics or he was sincere. I prefer to think that he was sincere. I prefer to think that any President of the United States is sincere in what he does.

Now what happens? Immediately after this bill was prepared and brought to the floor—really before that—the newspapers were filled with all kinds of castigating remarks—including some of those by the President—saying that it was fiscal irresponsibility. Well, who suggested it in the first place? He is the man who suggested it. And do you know why it was necessary for Congress to act? If it had not been for some past experiences, this bill probably would not even be on the floor. But you know what happened when the opportunity presented itself to carry out some campaign promises concerning 100 percent of parity that was promised to the American farmer in Minnesota, and several other places. The American people remembered that. They also remembered this, that there was some small print in there that said "At the market place." Of course, the farmers have not found that market place yet. The market place that they have had to go to has very low prices.

But the point that I am making is simply this, that what they wanted to do was to pinpoint this because they did not want to turn up here in 1956 and be told when they thought this was the year they were getting a tax reduction that what the President meant all the time was to give another tax reduction to the coupon clippers who got it last year.

The little people in this country want some relief. They want it on the books so that somebody can understand it. And when you talk to me about fiscal irresponsibility I want to say this: that if it is fiscal irresponsibility to give some tax relief to the overburdened little people of this country, this country could use a lot of it. The truth is it is not fiscal irresponsibility, but on the contrary absolute fiscal and intellectual responsibility.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. I yield.

Mr. NICHOLSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. I yield.

Mr. NICHOLSON. Does not the coupon clipper get $20 under this bill?

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. He gets $20 under this bill, he certainly does. And we do not begrudge it to him one minute. I think it is fine that he gets it. What we want to do is to be fair with everybody but we do not want the little people to believe that we are going to do something for them and then later on have them learn that we are doing it only for a few and that we are saying, "Well, you just did not understand what we meant when we said taxes would be reduced. We were talking about the big boys not you little fellows.

If there has been any irresponsibility concerning this measure, it has not been fiscal, it has been vocal if not mental. When anybody says—and I do not care what office he holds or where he is from—when anybody says to me that I am fiscally irresponsible because I want to help a man to buy some shoes for his children's feet and some bread for their stomachs, I do not think he is being honest with himself or anyone else.

I shall never subscribe to the policy that substantial tax relief for a privileged few is "statesmanship" while meager tax relief for the many is fiscal responsibility.

The Glorification of Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, in 1938 at the age of 22, the people of Greenwood County, S. C., kindly elected me to the State house of representatives at the head of the ticket in a field of 10 highly regarded aspirants. It was no easy decision for me to decide to enter that race. Many people told me that I was too young and should wait until I was more mature. While burdened with indecision, I read an article by Dr. T. F. Callaway, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Thomasville, Ga., entitled "The Glorification of Youth." This article appeared in the April issue of the Baptist Training Union magazine in 1938. After reading Dr. Callaway's article, I no longer had any doubt about the place of youth in our American political life.

I am happy to report that Dr. Callaway is still living a very useful life in Thomasville, Ga., and is still encouraging the youth of that fine city. I commend to this House and to youth everywhere in America this splendid article written in 1938 by the beloved Dr. Callaway.

THE GLORIFICATION OF YOUTH

(By T. F. Callaway, pastor, First Baptist Church, Thomasville, Ga.)

"Let no man despise thy youth." (1 Timothy 4: 12.)

In the glorification of youth there is a threefold secret.

First, there must be a clear realization that youth can be glorified. No inferiority complex need posses the souls of the young today because they are afflicted with that malady we all wish we had and could keep, youth. This has ever been a young man's world, and never more than today. The pages of history have been largely written by young fingers. In every realm of life we find that youth has ever made a mighty impact.

Alexander the Great battled his way to world supremacy and died at the age of 33. Napoleon was a second lieutenant at 16, commander of the French Army in Italy at 25, dictator of France at 30, and the Emperor of France at 35. George Washington wrote his One Hundred and Ten Maxims of Behavior at 13, he was a surveyor in the wilds of Virginia at 18, and adjutant general in the British Army, with rank of major, at 19.

The halls of music and art are replete with pictures of men who early refused to allow the world to despise them because of their youth. Liszt began picking out tunes on the piano when he was 3. Mozart showed signs of genius when he was 4. Handel and Rubinstein were considered prodigies at 8. Mendelssohn was attracting wide attention at 10. Bethoven began composing his symphonies at 11. Michelangelo and Raphael began sketching while playing around their mothers' knees. Benjamin West was painting pictures at 6.

In the realms of science and invention Robert Fulton was a veteran of 14 summers when he first designed the steamboat. George Stephenson had arrived at the commanding age of 15 when the very first blueprint of a locomotive was drawn by him. Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in Georgia while in his early twenties. Cyrus McCormick was 22 when he gave his reaper to the farmers of America. Elias Howe was 26 when he proved himself good enough to give the sewing machine to the housewives of the Nation. Thomas A. Edison conceived the electric light while a news butcher on a passenger train.

Embryo statesmen of our country might well be inspired by men like Wilberforce, who began his monumental work on slavery at 16 and was a member of Parliament at 21; or by men like William E. Gladstone, who was a member of the House of Commons at 23 and Lord Treasurer of the empire at 26. Alexander Hamilton was Washington's most trusted adviser at 20 and a member of the Continental Congress at 25, yet he never weighed over 110 pounds. When Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence he was too young to have been elected President of the United States. John Quincy Adams was secretary to the Russian Legation at 14 and United States Minister to Holland at 27. In recent years many men in the Southland under 40 have been elected governors of great States. Among these are Moody of Texas, Byrd of Virginia, Johnson of South Carolina, and Russell and Rivers of Georgia.

In the business world today we see men who were born since the turn of the century serving as presidents and executive officers of gigantic banks, commercial corporations, and industrial concerns. A few years ago a graduate of the Georgia School of Technology was elected when 32 years of age to the presidency of the Otis Elevator Co., at a reputed salary of $150,000 a year.

In the realm of education we behold such things as Benjamin Franklin opening a publishing house at Philadelphia at the age of 14 and founding the public library of Philadelphia at the age of 26. Daniel Webster was the outstanding scholar at Dartmouth at 15 and at 18 was the Fourth of July orator at Andover. That son of the South, Robert Maynard Hutchins, when barely 30 became the boy president of the University of Chicago.

In the area of religion we likewise see many who refused to let the world despise them because they were guilty of the crime of being young. For there we behold John Wesley preaching at the age of 11. John Calvin was pastor at 17. Jeremy Taylor was preaching at the famous St. Paul's Cathedral in London at 18. Charles Haddon Spurgeon was pastor of the great London Tabernacle at 20. Francis E. Clark founded the Christian Endeavor movement when barely 20, When 22 years of age George Williams started the first YMCA. The Lord Jesus Christ had completely finished the Father's work on earth and gone to the cross as the Redeemer of the world at the youthful age of 33.

Truly, then, the first step in the life of him who would glorify his youth is the realization that it can become a thing glorified rather than despised in the eyes of the world.

The second secret in the glorification of youth is the firm determination that one's youth shall not be despised by the children of men. To realize the possibilities of youth is a mocking specter unless there is a corresponding purpose to translate those possibilities into realities. Success in life is not incidental, it is not accidental; it is the result of a will to win. Young people go to the top in life in direct ratio to the power of their purpose to succeed. The difference between the success and failure of youth is the difference between the power of a purpose and the lack of a purpose.

A few years ago I sat on my front porch one unusually balmy Christmas Day. Across the street were twin boys, about 8 years of age, dressed in Indian suits which old Santa had brought them the night before. Along with the Indian suits came bows and arrows and they were engaged in shooting the arrows as high as they could. I noticed that one of the little fellows shot his arrow high in the air, while the arrow of the other boy went little higher than his head. The second little fellow was handicapped by a bow which had been broken and was tied together by a cotton string. One arrow went high because the bow was strong; the other did not because the bow was weak.

It was impossible not to moralize a little over the picture. The arrows going into the air represent the degree of success that two boys, maybe in the same home, achieve in life. The bows represent the power of purpose in life. One boy will go high toward the goal of success because the power of purpose is strong, while his brother will never rise above the average plane because the purpose in his life is broken or weak.

Theodore Roosevelt was right in his moral geometry when he said that the circumference of a man's influence in life is determined by the radius of his purpose in life. The longer and stronger the radius of purpose, the wider the scope of one's influence in life. Truly the secret of success is the power of purpose.

Every school child recalls the story of Napoleon, who told his field marshal that the French army must be carried into Italy. "You cannot do it; the Alps are between you and Italy," replied the field marshal. "There will be no Alps before the army of Napoleon," rejoined the great commander. And verily there were no Alps before the army of Napoleon, for through sheer power of an indomitable will Napoleon's army of 300,000 men, horses, and cannon was carried over the Alps into Italy.

We southern people love Horace Greeley. Although a northern man, he was a true friend of the South. It was he who signed the bond of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, when it was a very unpopular thing in the North to do. We delight in a story that comes from his college days. When Horace Greeley entered Princeton University he pasted on the door of his dormitory room the letter "V." The boys wanted to know what that letter "V" stood for. Greeley told them to wait 4 years, and they would find out. Four years later young Greeley stood up during commencement exercises to deliver an address before an audience that taxed to capacity the largest building on the campus. He began by saying: "When I came to Princeton 4 years ago I placed upon the door of my room in the dormitory the letter 'V.' I told the boys who inquired as to its meaning that I would tell them in 4 years. The 4 years have now rolled around, and I wish to let everyone interested know that that letter 'V' stood for 'valedictory.' My mind was firmly made the day I entered college to graduate as valedictorian." And he did. It was no pull or bootlicking that caused Horace Greeley to graduate at the head of his class. It was purpose.

Who, as a youth, has not thrilled over the story of Daniel Webster? When he announced that he was going to practice law his friends tried to dissuade him, telling him that the legal profession was already overcrowded. With a twinkle in his eye he said, "There is always room at the top." And to the top he went. With the possible exception of John Marshall this country has never known a greater constitutional lawyer than was Daniel Webster. He succeeded on purpose.

It is this same power of purpose that has proved the secret of spiritual success in the lives that have glorified God and blessed humanity. We see a young Hebrew in a den of lions. A heathen king has passed a law that the king, himself, is the one to whom all prayers should be addressed and that any one daring to pray to any other should be cast into the den of lions. Daniel, although an exile in a foreign land, pays no attention to that law of the king, but goes to the open window where every one could see him and three times a day gets upon his knees and with his face towards Jerusalem prays to the God of Israel. Before he would compromise his convictions or sacrifice his sense of loyalty to his God, he goes to the den of lions. Why? Because when a mere boy, doubtless in his middle teens, he sat down in the palace of the king and deliberately made up his mind to stand true at all times and in all places, as revealed in those words that flash and flame: "Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself." How we of today need to sing and pray and live over and over again the hymn of our youth:

"Dare to be a Daniel, dare to stand alone;
Dare to have a purpose firm, dare to make it known."

We look at Paul. We see him rising like a mountain above the average plane of humanity. We make bold to say to him, "Brother Paul, you have blessed this world as no other man who has ever lived in it outside of the Lord Jesus. Your words and works have influenced more lives than any mere man who ever lived. Will you please give us the secret of it all?"

With all modesty we can hear Paul as he replies: "If my life has been a blessing to the world; if I have been true to my Lord; if my example has counted for his glory, you can catch the spirit of my purpose in life in my words in Phil. 3: 14: 'This one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus'." Paul was the product of his own purpose. There is nothing mysterious about spiritual success. We are as holy, as influential and as useful as we will to be. God can ever be counted on to empower the purpose to glorify Him and bless the world. Christian lives are so powerless today because they are so purposeless. Purpose in every realm is the secret of success.

Then, there is the third secret in the glorification of youth. There must be a preparation adequate for the success to be achieved in life. Realization and determination can only become actual through a preparation that is sufficient.

There should be preparation of body. The body is the vehicle of the mind. Many are the tragedies of men whose brilliant intellects have been handicapped by broken bodies. Alexander H. Stephens, the vice president of the Confederacy, had a mind that scintillated like a diamond. His body was thin, sickly, and emaciated. He and Abraham Lincoln were close personal friends. One day Lincoln heard Stephens in the halls of the United States Senate as this gifted orator from Georgia sat in his rolling chair and charmed and swayed the throng that listened. As the crowd quietly left the room Lincoln was heard to say, "If I had the mind of Alexander Stephens in the body of Abraham Lincoln I could move the world." No price is too great to keep the body clean and strong. Especially should the Christian remember that his body is the temple of the Holy Spirit. Let the body be a fit temple for the habitation of the Lord.

There must be a preparation of mind. This preparation of mind must be commensurate with the ambitions in life. A young carpenter is said to have been taking much time and unusual pains in finishing the judgment bench in the supreme court room of a middle western State. The foreman of the job reproved him for the time he was taking. The young man replied that he was building that bench against the day when he would sit behind it as the chief justice of the supreme court. Little did the foreman realize that this young man then was saving his money for college and dreaming dreams of a successful legal career and that the day would come when that young man would sit as chief justice behind that very bench. That young man could have remained a good carpenter without more preparation but he never could have achieved the heights of the legal profession without it. We remember the young lawyer in The Honorable Peter Stirling, which is said to be the biography of Grover Cleveland, who used ever hour of the many clientless days in careful study and was ready when the chance came to have part in a successful lawsuit which not only carried him to legal success but to the Presidency of the United States. As perhaps never before we are in a day when the man who goes is the man who knows.

There must be preparation of heart. Knowledge is power but it is power for evil unless directed by character that is good. An educated mind minus a cultivated heart equals a moral menace. The Federal prisons of our land are filled with men whose bodies are strong and whose intellects are keen from modern education and contacts, but whose minds have never been guided by the moral power of Christian character.

Some 2 years ago Robert E. Speer delivered a series of addresses in Atlanta. How he inspired those of us who heard him. Although then 70 years of age, he stood erect, his body strong. His eyes were keen, his mind was fresh and strong, his faith was simple and the force of his character was impelling. We could easily understand how he is regarded as one of the outstanding Christian statesmen of the world today. We thought of the price he had paid. At Princeton he made a national reputation as an athlete, especially in football. He stood in the forefront in his classes. He accepted Christ as his Saviour and Lord. He dreamed a career of Christian conquest. He dedicated his life to Christ and his service. The world rises today to call him blessed. He refused to let the world despise him in his young days. He achieved the glorification of youth.

Strictly Political

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include herein an editorial entitled "Strictly

Political," which appeared in the Grand Rapids Press of February 21, 1955:

The announced plan of House Democrats to cut the Federal income tax by $20 per person is an out-and-out political move. For one thing, they know it is almost certain that if such a measure should get through the House—and that is extremely doubtful—it would founder in the Senate, where Senator HARRY BYRD leads a strong Democratic bloc opposed to tax cuts this year.

However, sponsors of the idea probably figure that they can't lose by proposing a tax reduction of this kind. Even if the measure should go down to defeat, they would be able in next year's congressional campaigns to say that they had fought for tax cuts. And that always goes well with voters.

It just happens that this particular tax slash would affect everyone who pays the personal income tax. From a politician's standpoint, that's the best kind of tax reduction. And this one has an especially glittering appeal for the politician for the reason that it reportedly would remove from the tax rolls and estimated 4 million families. That's 4 million heads of families. With their spouses they represent roughly 8 million voters—enough to swing a national election.

Aside from the purely political angle, this tax-cut plan is to be condemned for still another reason. It flies in the face of the sound principle that the tax base ought to be as wide as possible. Everyone has a stake in the Government. Therefore, everyone ought to pay a little something toward its upkeep. Not everyone does at present, it is true. But that is no reason for taking a step backward, toward narrowing still more the tax foundation on which the Government rests. That principle now is accepted widely enough in Congress to guarantee that there will be no tax-forgiving scheme of this flagrant type this year—a year in which the Treasury stands, without tax cuts, to run behind again.

Nickels for Our Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Columnist Robert C. Ruark which appeared in a recent issue of the Detroit Free Press. The article focuses attention upon a matter which is a blight upon the American scene and which every decent thinking citizen should desire to eradicate:

I have noticed recently big, double-columned ads for an organization called Arrow, Inc., which is collecting funds to aid the American Indians. The headline of the ads says: "Being Sorry for Ira Hayes Is Not Enough."

Hayes was 1 of the 6 men who composed that classic photo of the American flag being raised on Iwo Jima. He was a full-blooded Pima Indian. He was found dead at 32 on the reservation, dead of exposure. Like so many other people, he had not been able to handle the bottle very well.

Hayes had tried to make it off the reservation, but had returned in despair. "I want to be out on my own," he said, "but out in Arizona the white man looks down on the Indian, and I don't stand a chance anywhere off the reservation."

Many Indians, largely of mixed-blood, have been able to make it off the reservation, and are proud today of their Indian admixture. But there are about a half million fullbloods in the country today, mostly on reserves, and they have had a pretty dirty shake.

It is not particularly news that they are ravaged by disease, or that they have not been extensively educated, or that their annual income is tiny. These facts have been hammered at a long time.

My point is that this column should not have been written at all, because Arrow, Inc., for the relief of the benighted redskin should not be necessary.

We have been pushing the noble Indian around now ever since we came over and appropriated his country.

We are mightily concerned all over the globe today mixing in other peoples' business and scattering money like chaff to the four winds.

We advise the rest of the world how to live, and we send aid all over the globe to the poor in resource, and we finance the construction of nightclubs in Rome.

But we still have done very little—the last time I was in Indian country—to change the blanket Indian gradually from a stone age aboriginal to a fit victim for the modern world.

The changing of any aboriginal from old ways to new is difficult, needing much time and gradual elimination of the old ways while substituting transitional aid and arriving eventually at the aim.

That sort of progress has been very swift for the American Negro in this country, but it has needed many, many years to effect, and is only partially complete.

But practically nothing has been done about our own aboriginals. The least we can do today, it seems to me, is to pause briefly in our vast international spending, divert a few funds from global do-good, and start improving the lot of the people who owned the real estate first.

AMA Statement on Health Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. PERCY PRIEST
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a press release issued by the American Medical Association with reference to the President's health message:

CHICAGO.—The American Medical Association commended President Eisenhower today for his January 31 health message to Congress and pledged continued support to improve the health of the Nation by strengthening medical efforts at the State and local levels.

Through its board of trustees, the AMA congratulated Mr. Eisenhower on his statement that health proposals to the 84th Congress "recognize the primacy of local and State responsibility" and would "encourage private efforts with private funds."

In support of many of Mr. Eisenhower's specific proposals the AMA noted that most areas touched upon in his message are those in which the medical profession as a whole has been concentrating much of its activity. It applauded the administration's recognition and support of what Mr. Eisenhower called important progress in bettering health and reducing the threat of leading diseases.

Specifically, the AMA said it supports or agrees in principle with these recommendations by Mr. Eisenhower:

1. An intensified attack on mental illness, which has been termed "the Nation's No. 1 health problem" by the AMA Council on Mental Health. The AMA, through this council which was established in 1952, and the American Psychiatric Association, are jointly sponsoring a national survey and report on all aspects of mental health and illness. This project, cosponsored by 16 national organizations, expects to evolve some fundamental departure from traditional concepts of dealing with mental illness which will lead to a far more effective attack on the problem than has thus far been realized.

2. Proposals aimed at relieving the shortage of nurses. The AMA has for years not only worked closely with the American Nurses Association, the League for Nursing, and the Committee on Careers in Nursing on this problem, but on several occasions has urged that Federal funds be made available to help support a nurse recruitment program.

3. Continued efforts in restoring to useful lives most persons who become disabled and who can be rehabilitated and returned to employment. The AMA agrees that reaching the President's goal will be a heartwarming achievement.

4. Permitting greater flexibility in the use by States of Federal grants-in-aid for public health services. The AMA has supported this theory in previous legislatures and agrees with the President's aim of unifying the grant-in-aid structure. Dr. George F. Lull, secretary-general manager of the AMA, has stated the organization considers it "eminently desirable for local health officials to have greater responsibility and discretion for solving public health problems" and approves of "sound proposals to meet these objectives."

5. Establishing traineeships in public health and strengthening the Public Health Service Commissioned Corps by improving its status and survivor benefits. The AMA is in agreement with actions designed to better the service.

6. Stepping up research on air and water pollution. The AMA has supported Federal research grants for this work and also recognizes the need for intensification of study.

The association said it is not prepared to comment on Mr. Eisenhower's proposals to improve arrangements for health service to public assistance recipients, until it can study the legislation recommended. The AMA has long supported and worked for better care for those unable to pay for it, and considers worth while the fundamental purpose of proposals intended to better this care.

The AMA also said it has no opinion yet on Mr. Eisenhower's new recommendation for mortgage loans to provide construction of health facilities but will study the legislation introduced.

The AMA has been "in complete accord" with the stated purpose of legislation designed to promote voluntary health insurance and commends Mr. Eisenhower for his beliefs and efforts in encouraging its expansion. The medical profession has been reassured to find that the official position of the Government is one of trust and confidence in the ability of private initiative to solve existing problems in the field of medical care. However, the AMA still believes that the proposed reinsurance system will not achieve the desired results.

"The AMA's interest has been and remains that of working for the best health for all the Nation," Dr. Lull said, adding: "In practically every instance of recognized deficiency, the AMA has been the first to undertake a positive, constructive program of action, and continues to be determined in its efforts and its cooperation with those working toward the same goals."

Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware, I am sure, of the fact that we are now in the midst of an annual observance of Brotherhood Week. America has a great number of observances during the year commemorating occasions, personages, and ideals—all of which have a special significance in their link to certain basic principles inherent in our democratic form of government and our concepts concerning man and his human rights. In these many observances, I think it well that we be reminded that Brotherhood Week, in the essential meaning of the observance and without regard to point of time in which the celebration was established, is the basic premise from which all of these observances stem. Brotherhood Week embodies the very roots of our religious faith and the very roots of the faith upon which our Nation was founded.

Whatever our religious creed, we who are Christians hold the common faith that the one Father made of one blood all the races of the world; that fundamentally all men are brothers. Whatever our political party affiliations, we who are American philosophically—in truth—hold the common faith that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Brotherhood Week is not then an observance pointing up the human rights of any particular people; rather it is an observance meant to keep in the fore of all men's mind that our basic religious and democratic tenets are the protection to your human rights, to my human rights, and to the human rights of all the peoples of the world who hold our common faith.

Human rights was the underlying issue behind extension of the universal military program, which involves the sons of all races, colors, creeds; human rights was the issue behind the Formosa resolution, involving protection of rights of our Nation and of brother nations. The right to life and the pursuit of happiness, through promotion of general welfare—as set forth in the opening of our Constitution—is the issue behind our concern in the economic well-being of our Federal workers and our Nation's workers in general.

"Your faith shall be known by your works"—if as an individual, regardless of race, creed, or national origin, we truly believe that we hold inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; if as an individual, we truly believe that through one God in whom we live and move and have our bieng, we, having a spark of His divine nature, have dignity and stature before all men, it must follow that all men have such equal rights and stature and to uphold and promote our individual human rights, we must uphold and promote the human rights of all men.

Brotherhood week is not a time to be viewed with lightness. It is a time for rededication to democratic principles and, above all, a time of rededication to the principles of our Christian faith. I call it to your attention, urging its practice, not for a week, but for each day of daily life, knowing that in its principles is the hope and salvation of this world in which we live.

Neuromuscular Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. PERCY PRIEST
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, Federal legislation is not the solution to all the problems uncovered by the comprehensive health inquiry made by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee during 1953 and 1954. As in the past, most of the responsibility must be assumed by private individuals and institutions. As chairman of the committee, I call attention to a particular need in the field of research that was developed partly by the recent hearings. In order to avoid any partisan approach to this critical human situation, the Honorable CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, chairman of the committee during the 1953–54 hearings, joins me in inviting comment and constructive suggestions. Our joint comment follows:

In the health inquiry directed by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee during 1953 and 1954, it was found that about 20 million persons are affected by neurological and sensory disorders for most of which medical science has discovered neither causes nor means of specific treatment, and that the deaths from these diseases are exceeded only by the number of persons dying from cancer and heart disease.

It was even more startling to learn that public and Federal Government expenditures from 1951 to 1952 for research and treatment for each victim of a neurological or sensory disorder averaged only 3 cents, while $29 was spent for each victim of cancer and $1.75 for each victim of heart disease.

Because the spending of this 3-cent-per-victim money is shared by the Government and by many individual national organizations concerned with multiple sclerosis, muscular dystrophy, cerebral palsy, the crippled, epilepsy, and neurology, it is apparent that very little can be allotted to fundamental research, without which progress toward finding causes and cures will proceed at a snail's pace.

This need for basic research is of special concern to the families of victims of certain neuromuscular disorders that baffle medical science and that have not been the specific concern of a national organization supported by public funds. This neglected group includes amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (the disease which ended Lou Gehrig's life when he seemed at the peak of physical health), progressive muscular atrophy, and peroneal muscular atrophy. In 1950, 1,006 Americans died from these diseases, compared to 1904 for poliomyelitis. One tragic aspect of the situation is that a man who contracts the disease from which Gehrig died cannot expect to live more than 3 years. Doctors are helpless; they do not even like to talk about this visitation of death to about 667 Americans each year.

Basic research in nerve fibers and muscle tissues offers the means of determining the causes of neuro-muscular disease and developing methods for treatment and prevention. Such research has been initiated in a small way by public and private groups. The National Institutes of Health, for instance, is carrying on a study of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis in Guam in an effort to find a clue as to why there are from 50 to 100 times as many deaths there per 1,000 of population as in the United States. Scientists such as Nobel Prize Winner A. Szent-Györgi, of the Institute for Muscle Research, are concentrating on basic research. The Neuro-Muscular Research Foundation has just been formed to promote basic research which will be directed toward amyotrophic lateral sclerosis and other neglected diseases as well as the neuro-muscular disorders which have received greater public attention. We commend an intensification of such activities and greater coordination of public and private efforts in this field.

On the probable cost of such a research program, we quote Dr. Cornelius Traeger, speaking for the National Committee on Research in Neurological Disorders at the House inquiry: "If we could get, not 3 cents per patient, but $2 a patient, I think that we could do a job that the Atomic Energy Commission did, or what preceded the Atomic Energy Commission did, in nuclear fission, and in about the same time."

J. PERCY PRIEST,
Chairman, House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.
CHARLES A. WOLVERTON,
Chairman during 1952–54.

The Medway Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, a great humanitarian and American by the name of William Montgomery Bennett has submitted to me for my perusal a foundation plan known as the Medway Plan Foundation.

The aim and purpose of the foundation is for the relief of the needy and mobilizes individual American citizens to adopt aged, sick, and permanently disabled refugees abroad. It is also carrying abroad an understanding of what our free way of life means to body and spirit of every human being.

I wholeheartedly recommend the Medway Plan Foundation to our American public and seek their support for such a worthy cause.

THE MEDWAY PLAN

"Giving money to good causes—churches, hospitals, universities, Boy Scouts, refugees, the blind, the crippled, the starving—is a commonplace of American life, a glorious commonplace that astonishes people, the world over, but a commonplace. We accept it as a matter of course.

Giving yourself is something else.

The Medway Plan Foundation didn't invent the idea. It goes back a good many centuries, back to the Good Samaritan and, back of him, probably thousands of years, to some cave man or cave woman bending over some stricken stranger. What Medway has done is to give the idea focus, emphasis, and potentiality on a world scale.

Is there a person in need in a little Austrian or Korean village that you never heard of, in need of money or food or medicine or clothes, or, perhaps, only of human fellowship to mitigate the sense of utter aloneness in a hostile world? Medway sends you his or her authenticated name and address and you do the rest. You find the money (among your neighbors or in your own bank account); you find the food at the chain store, the medicine at the pharmacy (perhaps both as gifts); you find the clothes in your attic or a friend's; you write the unknown, show an interest in his troubles, make him your friend, give him hope and a reason for living: you do just this at first, perhaps, only to get your next letter; after a while, perhaps, to pass on to others the saving touch of the concerned heart. What you have given in time, money, energy, has all, every bit of it, gone to your unknown correspondent. There has been no leakage, no waste; or overhead of rent, salaries, heat, light, and janitor service that drains off up to 60 percent of each dollar you send even to the most respected and thoroughly worthy charity organizations.

There are no salaries in Medway, no offices, no secretaries, stenographers, and office boys; no overhead at all. Medway's headquarters, books, and files are established in a single room in a New England house, where Medway's president, William Montgomery Bennett, at 76, is his own secretary, himself typing the letter asking you to take on this unfortunate or that. The stationary, stamps, telephone, and telegraph, freight charges and gifts of funds for special activities abroad? Bennett himself and some of his associates take care of those things. Every cent of every dollar you give (and you spend it yourself in your own town, as I have indicated) goes to the person who so desperately needs it.

What you get in return is something away beyond the momentary sense of an obligation met, when you send a check to a charity. You get an appreciation of the potentialities of human caring in the solution of the world's problems. You learn how you, in a little American community, the other end of nowhere, can, and indeed, have become one with the forces rehabilitating the victims of a tragic time; and you acquire a friend.

That, in a nutshell, is Medway. The human touch. The spark, jumping across thousands of miles of ocean, plains and forest, lighting a light in a dark room, starting a dynamo, long inert; waking blinded eyes to new visions and tortured hearts to new hopes. Not charity but compassion. Not an organization playing Lady Bountiful, but a person being human.

The idea works out wherever it is applied. Sometimes a whole town in America takes on a town in Europe or Asia, but, within the town, it is still the individual, giving service and fellowship, rather than the $5 bill or $10 check. The Medway idea has worked and is working in the hard-core cases that the International Refugee Organization, disbanding, dumped in Medway's capacious lap. It has worked and is working to get the story of freedom and democracy to men and women in Iron Curtain countries; not by leaflet from the sky (though that is a fine idea, too), but person to person, through the underground.

Person to person. Always person to person. Nonsectarian, nonprofit, nonpolitical, backed by leading figures in the church, the professions, banking, industry and government, officially thanked and bemedaled by Presidents and Prime Ministers, Medway works with all the great organizations in the field of relief and rehabilitation, the Medical and Surgical Relief Committee, Operation Town Affiliations, and the International Rescue Committee; with the Friends' Service Committee, the Church World Service, the International Friendship League, the National Catholic Welfare Conference and many other agencies. The major problem of all these organizations is people—people displaced, people starving, people in trouble of any sort. These organizations see them in the mass and are appalled. Where in the world is the money coming from, the personnel, the leadership? Medway isn't appalled. Medway knows that for every person in need, in Europe or Asia, there is a person in America, ready to help. Medway's problem is to find that person.

It is the genius of Medway, which means the genius of its sparkplug and president, Mr. Bennett, that it generally finds him or her and, having found him, puts him in touch with the person in need. It takes time. There is no national directory of Good Samaritans. But Bennett is building one. Perhaps, my name and address should be in it, could it be? And, perhaps, gentle reader, yours?

HERMANN HAGEDORN.

Gains of Technology and Displacement of Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, to remind us of the unbelievable speed of present-day industrial advances and of the serious questions that the growing displacement of workers raises for the American people and of their government, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a thought-provoking article entitled "Automation Is Here" from the March issue of the Democratic Digest. We cannot afford to forget basic human values in our self-congratulation over the gains of technology.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUTOMATION IS HERE—A NEW CHAPTER IN THE STORY OF MANKIND AND MACHINES

Nobody in the administration is talking about automation, whether they call it by its bright new name, or whether they call it pushbutton production, the robot revolution, or the age of electronic machines.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell isn't talking about it.

Secretary of Commerce Weeks isn't talking about it.

President Eisenhower isn't talking about it. (A check of the President's speech and statement index kept by the White House staff does not even show a listing for the word.)

There is so little Government interest in automation that the Government Printing Office does not have a single pamphlet about it among the thousands of documents it sells on every subject from dishwashing to atomic energy.

But whether Washington has heard of automation or not, many plant workers have, and they are concerned. Walter Reuther, the president of the United Auto Workers, is also concerned. He says that because of pushbutton production, 200,000 auto workers may soon be able to do the work of the present 1 million. His apprehension on this score is shared by many other union leaders who see automation making strides in their industries. Even a few responsible employers admit privately they are disturbed by the immediate outlook.

For automation is changing America—and fast. Yet it has developed so recently that even the word "automation" is in few dictionaries. It is unfamiliar to many opinion makers; it is a mystery to the man in the street—unless it has cost him his job. Yet it is causing basic changes all around us.

Just what is automation?

At its highest stage of development it is the completely automatic factory where machines untouched by human hands can turn out a product untouched by human hands.

The Wall Street Journal has defined automation as "doing a job by machines with a minimum of human assistnce. It usually implies also the use of electronic controls to automatically schedule and guide the production process."

This then is the beginning of an era when machines, not men, run other machines. It is the second industrial revolution. The first one replaced man's muscle with machines. This revolution is replacing his judgment with machines.

Specifically, we are entering an age when a machine can dig a hole, measure it, decide the hole is wrong, and correct its own mistake.

This is completely different from the garden variety of increased productivity which America has customarily enjoyed. Since 1930, for example, output per man-hour has increased more than an average 2 percent a year. This has come about as a machine took over a job a man was doing or helped him do it faster—a conveyor belt or a forklift truck moved merchandise a man used to push or carry; a pneumatic drill replaced a pick. Over the last 25 years such changes have resulted in an enormous growth in conventional productivity through wartime, peacetime, depression and prosperity.

From where we stand today this is all to the good. We have long since lost track of the telephone operator who went out when the dial system came in. Indeed, thanks to the expanding telephone industry, there are actually more telephone operators now than there were when the changeover to the dial system began over 30 years ago.

Through the years, we have lost track of other people who were displaced by machines. Most of them have been absorbed by the expanding economy and share now in the 50 percent more purchasing power enjoyed by the average American, along with 15 percent shorter working hours. But this does not mean there were not cases of bitter hardship when the conversions took place.

Today we are entering a new era that dwarfs the past rate of increased productivity. In the long run, again, we will be bound to enjoy shorter hours and higher living standards, but prospects for short-run displacement are disturbing. At a Chevrolet plant where these new machines carburize camshafts, productivity has gone up not a mere 2 percent in 1 year but 3,300 percent almost overnight. For where 250 camshafts used to be carburized in 34 man-hours they are now done in a single man-hour.

Equally astonishing strides have been made in the manufacture of radios, light bulbs, airplanes, television sets, and chemicals, in coal mines, bakeries, and tanneries, in the

handling of paperwork by utility companies, insurance companies, and railroads.

Here are some developments industry by industry.

Radios: In 1 Chicago plant, 2 men assemble 1,000 radios a day. Before automation, 200 workers were employed.

Light bulbs: One electrical-equipment company now turns out 90,000 light bulbs an hour with 230 employees. Automation magazine has estimated that this output by old-fashioned methods would require 75,000 workers.

Utility and insurance companies: Officials have told the Wall Street Journal that electronic brains now available will replace from 170 to 200 clerks each.

Airplanes: Convair now has 2 men with automatic riveters doing a job on wing panels that previously required 18 to 20 workers. At Solar Aircraft Co.'s Des Moines plant, machining time has been reduced 25 to 50 percent by automatic innovations. Boeing Aircraft, Seattle, with automation, can now bend tubes, which formerly were made in separate halves and then laboriously welded together. An official places savings at $14,000 on each airplane.

Television: Admiral Corp., with equipment it calls Robot I, can now assemble half a TV receiver chassis in a matter of seconds. Machines now on the designing board would be able to insert tube sockets and tubes. (Admiral announced it has lowered its price, and employed more women to complete the assembly of the sets.)

Coal mining: At the United States Steel's Karen mine, 14 machines are taking care of all coal output. They run with a crew of 3 or 4, produce 15 tons per shift for each man in the mine. The national production average with conventional methods is 6 to 7 tons.

Chemicals: Du Pont has used MIT's big electronic brain to solve a chemical industry production problem. One man working 40 hours a week would have taken 20 years to do the arithmetic the "brain" did in 30 hours. Du Pont figures savings at $450,000 as the brain eliminated need for large-scale high-cost test equipment.

Bakeries: Baker Process Co. is working on an automatic machine which would make bread untouched by human hands, will do an hour and half's work in 2 minutes.

Tanneries: Eagle Ottowa Leather Co. in Grand Haven, Mich., has bought a machine that will process leather in a few minutes instead of the weeks or months of conventional methods. Three or four men will do the work of 12 to 15. Pickled hides are put into a 25-foot long machine at one end and usually come out as leather in 4 minutes or less, already dyed, if desired.

The benefits from these changes promise to be enormous eventually. Indeed, we can look forward to a day of astonishing living standards achieved by nominal working hours. But the penalty in the short run threatens to be mass displacement, as man gives way to the machine.

What are these robots that can do the work of a man's mind? Basically they are electronic brains that run on the principle of feedback or self-regulation. Once they are set, or taped they can regulate a producing machine. The familiar household thermostat gives some idea of how they work. Once it is set to a certain temperature, it measures the temperature in the surrounding room and regulates a furnace so that the desired degree of heat can be achieved.

Automation machinery works on this same principle. But since it regulates far more complicated machines, the regulator itself is infinitely more complex. A typical machine may be from 70 to 100 feet long, with several rows of automobile-sized motors, joined together by a maze of wires, tubes, and pipes, while a couple of panels resembling switchboards are placed off on the side. The machine must be taped with the specifications of the product, a relatively unskilled job. Then electronic gadgets do all the work ordinarily done by the machine operator, controlling speeds and feeds, and even inspecting parts being machined.

Such a machine sounds too expensive for any but giant corporations, but this is not so. Walter P. Hill, Inc., Detroit machine-tool builder, has recently introduced a machine to assemble evaporating coils for air-conditioning equipment that sells for $7,000 to $11,000. Since 1 man with the machine can do the work of 12 men without the machine, labor savings may well pay for the new equipment in a few months.

This raises the question as to what products lend themselves to automation.

Machine-tool manufacturers are enthusiastic about the potentialities generally. "There isn't a product made which can't be automated," says C. F. Hautau, of Hautau Engineering Co., a leader in this field. "As long as a small manufacturer has a substantial volume in any one item, that item probably can be produced much cheaper through automation."

Richard L. Meier, of the University of Chicago, has classified the prospects for automation industry by industry. Advanced designs indicate that these industries will be fully automatic in the foreseeable future: Chemicals, liquid fuels, cement and brick, fermentation products, synthetic fertilizer, paper products, coap, and telecommunications.

A second group of industries will become largely automatic, but will still need some manual skills. Meier lists these as fiber and textile, glass and ceramics, iron and steel, machine tools, mining, and processed tools.

Today there seems little chance of dispensing with traditional skilled operators in transport, forestry and wood products, the garment trades, or in shipbuilding.

How long has it taken to make this astonishing progress, and how fast is this revolution advancing?

The basic research and developments came about during the war as part of the atomic and guided missiles programs. Today's machines are the peacetime result of this work. The first suggestion that these wartime regulators could be applied to industry seems to have come from a Massachusetts Institute of Technology mathematician and former child prodigy, Norbert Wiener. In 1948, he published his book, Cybernetics, which has led to the astonishing developments we see around us today.

Progress is so rapid that by now the manufacture of machine tools is a $3 billion industry. Another indication of the fast changeover comes from the Federal Reserve Board. In November 1953, their index figure for the output of mining and manufacturing industries was 129. One year later in November 1954, the index figure was still 129. Production, then, was at a constant rate.

Yet employment in mining and manufacturing had declined by almost 1 million workers. In other words, productivity per man-hour rose so sharply in 1 year that the same output was achieved with 989,000 fewer workers. This has implications which are hard to ignore.

Yet at this stage automation is so new that it is hard to know what should be done. What seems to be most needed is some sort of fact finding study which can appraise possible courses of action and come up with answers to such questions as:

Should we extend the time limit on unemployment compensation?

What are the possibilities for retraining workers?

How can we be sure to educate enough technicians to take care of the machines that run machines?

How can push-button production be translated into higher living standards for all of us?

We do not have forever to answer these questions. As the 19th century orator, Wendell Phillips, once said, "revolutions never go backwards."

Progress in 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the American Dairy Association made real progress in selling dairy products last year. This progress was made possible through the cooperative effort of the dairy farmer and the dairy industry in establishing the year-around set-aside. This year-around set-aside has added real muscles to the framework of merchandising, advertising, research, and planning that ADA has been building over the years.

The American Dairy Association is entering 1955 far better equipped to initiate and support real dairy promotion which will have significant effects upon the sale of milk products for years to come.

I am indeed proud and pleased to be able to present to the Congress the report of the American Dairy Association for 1954. This report is a splendid report on the activities of the American Dairy Association in 1954. After reading over this report, I am sure that you will all agree that it is too bad indeed that this great work of the American Dairy Association was not started on the same scale that it was carried out in 1954 several years ago.

The report is as follows:

PROGRESS IN 1954—A YEAR-END REPORT ON THE DAIRY INDUSTRY

The following report on the dairy industry in 1954 is presented in an effort to bring you up to date on important changes. The report relies upon United States Department of Agriculture estimates on production and consumption of dairy products. These figures are, of course, subject to correction at later dates.

An attempt has been made in the report to tell you how the dairy industry has moved forward to meet the problem of bringing production of milk and consumption of milk into balance.

THE DAIRY INDUSTRY MOVES AHEAD

The dairy industry is in the news—active, dynamic, progressive. Farmer, processor, and distributor alike—working together—are making economic progress. There is new emphasis on the importance of sales, the building of markets, aggressive merchandising, and a positive outlook, looking forward to growing service to the American people by this large, dynamic industry. This year-end report on the dairy industry gives background facts and a look toward the future of this key American industry.

MILK CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION HAVE INCREASED IN 1954

In the past 12 months dairy farmers set a new record for milk production. The

United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) estimates total milk production in 1954 about 124 billion pounds, 2.8 billion pounds more than was produced in 1953. However, the Department also estimates that consumption of milk, and the products made from milk, increased in 1954 more than the additional supply of milk.

Additional population each year requires approximately 1¼ billion pounds more milk. Based on current production and per capita consumption, this population factor alone would bring production and consumption of milk into balance in the year 1956.

The dairy industry, however, is not waiting for population to overtake production. The industry sold, according to USDA estimates, 9 pounds more milk, in the form of fluid milk or other dairy products, on an average, to each of the Nation's more than 162 million people in 1954, thus moving another 1½ billion pounds of milk into consumption.

PRICE SUPPORT OPERATIONS ARE STILL AN IMPORTANT FACTOR

The Department of Agriculture estimates that consumption of milk, in all forms, in 1954, totaled 118.5 billion pounds, leaving approximately 5.5 billion pounds of 1954 milk production which will be accounted for in Government purchases of butter, cheese, and nonfat dry milk solids.

The USDA reported that Commodity Credit Corporation dairy purchases for April–September 1954 decreased more than 13 percent from purchases during the same period in 1953. For over 6 weeks in September and October 1954 there were no Government purchases of butter, and there were much lower purchases of all dairy products during the final months of 1954 as compared with 1953.

It should also be kept in mind that the dollar investment of the Commodity Credit Corporation in dairy products has declined since April 1, 1954, not only because of smaller purchases but also because of lower support prices. The purchase price was set, as of April 1, 1954, to attempt to assure dairy farmers 75 percent of parity for their milk. Prior to this time the support level had been at 90 percent of parity.

GOVERNMENT DAIRY STOCKS ARE MOVING INTO CONSUMPTION

Government holdings of butter, chese, and nonfat dry milk solids, at the end of 1954, will represent a larger carryover than at the end of 1953. The stocks now on hand have been accumulated over a 22-month period.

It is significant, however, that in September 1954, the dairy trade repurchased dairy products from the Government stocks. In September the Commodity Credit Corporation sold more butter back to distributors than was purchased for price-support activities.

Disposal programs have also been developed and are now moving dairy products into consumption. In November, while making almost no purchases of butter, the Government made contracts for disposal of some 200 million pounds of its supply. USDA officials have predicted that in 1955 they will dispose of more butter than they purchase under the price-support program.

By 1956 the dairy experts in the Department estimate the Government may be out of the dairy storage business. Unfavorable weather conditions in the next 2 years, which could cut production, could bring about this change much sooner.

GOVERNMENT STOCKS ARE USED TO CARRY OUT OTHER GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Government-owned butter, cheese and dried milk are moving into consumption through various channels. The butter is not being destroyed, as was the case with some price support operations in other commodities in past years.

The butter is being distributed through the school lunch program, an increase in armed services use, through sales of butter at world prices to other nations, through conversion of butter into butter oil for reconstituting whole milk in several Asiatic countries which are short of milk, through donations to welfare agencies such as CARE. In most of these cases Commodity Credit Corporation stocks are being used to carry out other programs approved by the Congress, including the school lunch and foreign aid programs.

THERE ARE CHANGES IN MILK CONSUMPTION

The United States Department of Agriculture estimates that consumption of dairy products, on a milk equivalent basis, in 1954 increased 9 pounds over 1953, to reach a total of 697 pounds. This compares with a 1935–39 average of 791 pounds.

There have been changes in consumption patterns. In the 1935–39 period, per capita consumption of fluid milk was 264 pounds. This increased to a maximum of 335 pounds in the wartime year of 1945 when consumers spent a larger share of their income for nonrationed items such as milk. In 1954 the estimate is that fluid milk consumption was 299 pounds. Fluid milk and fluid cream consumption together in 1954 totalled 352 pounds, according to the USDA estimate, this being a 2-pound increase over 1953.

BUTTER CONSUMPTION UP FOR YEAR

Official estimates are that butter consumption for the year 1954 will be up four-tenths of a pound per capita for a level of 9 pounds per capita. This is a significant gain. A 1-pound increase in per capita consumption of butter would use the equivalent of 3¼ billion pounds of milk annually.

Less milk goes into butter now than in the abnormal, wartime years. In 1954 consumers used a total of 697 pounds of milk per capita, down 94 pounds from the 1935–39 average. A large portion of this drop has been because of smaller butter consumption.

Comparing more normal peace-time years, and leaving out the war-time years when food was one of the few consumer items available to the public, the per capita consumption of dairy products, with the exception of butter and evaporated milk, has shown a steady increase. Dairy foods have been among the groups of which have gained in consumption because of a general trend towards foods high in protein, vitamins, and essential minerals and away from the starchy, high calorie foods.

PEOPLE EAT MORE CHEESE AND ICE CREAM

Cheese and ice cream consumption, measured on a milk equivalent basis, have shown fairly steady increases in per capita consumption. In the 1935–39 period cheese consumption was equal to 55 pounds of milk equivalent, and this had increased to a record of 76 pounds of milk in 1954. Milk used for ice cream had moved from 25 pounds in 1935–39 to 46 pounds in 1954. Although the USDA estimated a slight decline in milk used for ice cream in 1954, as compared with 1953, there were increases in the low-fat iced milks, sherbets, and other dairy desserts which more than made up for the lower use of milk for ice cream itself.

Fluid cream on a milk equivalent basis, showed a 1 pound increase in 1954 over 1953, but the 1954 total of 53 pounds of milk was a drop from 66 pounds of milk in 1935–39. Evaporated and condensed milk usage has dropped from the peak wartime years, but in 1954 the 36 pounds of milk per person used in these products was the same as in 1935–39.

DAIRY FARMERS HAVE PROPOSED NEW PRICE SUPPORT PROGRAMS

Dairy farmers, through their various organizations, have indicated their willingness to work with the Department of Agriculture and the Congress to develop programs that will eliminate the need for the Government to purchase and store those dairy products which are not immediately consumed.

The Secretary of Agriculture, under congressional mandate, must report to Congress in January 1955 on various dairy plans and make recommendations for a new dairy price support program if the Secretary feels a better plan has been suggested.

A self-help proposal, originally approved by the National Milk Producers Federation over a year ago, with proposals for modification offered by other groups, is certain to receive considerable attention in the next session of Congress. This plan would assess a stabilization fee against milk producers, or use a base-surplus type of payment for milk, with dairy farmers themselves assuming the full cost of disposing of that milk which is not used in domestic channels.

Unless weather conditions should bring about a serious drouth in the next year or two, it would appear that the major factor affecting the stabilization of production and consumption of milk will be the success of the Commodity Credit Corporation in drastically reducing present Government stocks of dairy products. These large supplies on hand have the same effect on dairy marketing as an oversupply in any other industry. Any self-help proposal for dairying would depend upon Government policy in disposing of current Government holdings.

THE IMPORT-EXPORT QUESTION IS UP AGAIN

Because of the excess supply situation existing in the dairy industry in the past several years, the Congress has authorized limitations on imports of various dairy products. This program will be reviewed in 1955.

It appears doubtful that, under present conditions, there will be any important changes in current import restrictions. Exports of dairy products are not likely to show any major increases, except under special Government aid programs. Prices of dairy products in the United States remain substantially above those of the world market, and other dairy-producing countries are attempting to market dairy foods through exports.

The competition from lower priced dairy products, produced under different economic conditions in other countries, is not a problem unique to the dairy industry. Other American industries are finding themselves underbid in domestic and foreign markets by foreign manufacturers. United States manufacturers are, in fact, subsidized, or protected, in such competition within this country through the laws which require that foreign bids on Government-financed projects must be lower, by a congressionally set limit, than American bids before they may be accepted.

THE OUTLOOK FOR 1955 IS FOR MORE PROGRESS IN THE DAIRY INDUSTRY

If present USDA estimates for 1955 are fairly accurate, there will be little change in milk production rates in the next 12 months. At the present rate of consumption, the Department of Agriculture forecasts that the Nation will consume at least 120 billion pounds of milk in the next year, allowing for the anticipated increase in population. This, then, would leave production about 4 billion pounds higher than consumption, the equivalent of slightly over 1 pound of butter per person for a year, or about one-half pint of milk per person per week.

There are reasons to believe that per capita consumption of milk and milk products will show further increases in 1955.

The Agricultural Act of 1954 provides $50 million per year to expand milk consumption in schools. This amount of money, which has been allocated and is now being used in most of the 48 States, could mean the purchase and use of about 1,200,000,000 pounds of milk in addition to the amount already being used in the schools. The program is

educational, in that it aids schools in developing more nutritious lunch programs for pupils.

There is another rapidly developing trend in milk distribution and sales which is helping to increase consumption of milk. The automatic vending of milk in factories, transportation centers, office buildings, schools, and other places where there are sufficiently large numbers of people concentrated is helping to expand per capita sales of fluid milk.

Vending machine sales are usually additional sales of milk because the machines are installed in places where milk oftentimes has not been available in the past. The USDA reported, in November 1954 that surveys made in the vending field indicated a 25-percent increase in the number of machines vending milk in 1954.

The activities of the dairy industry in greater sales promotion for milk have produced results in 1954 and certainly should play an increasingly important role in dairy sales in 1955.

PRODUCING MILK IS LONG-TERM BUSINESS

It has sometimes been difficult for people not fully acquainted with the dairy industry to understand why dairy farmers have not been able to bring their production of milk into balance with current consumption demands.

First, it should be realized that the dairy industry is actually a collection of many separate industries, unlike the automobile industry for example, which is a matter of four major producers who maintain, through their own dealer systems a close check on sales of their cars. In dairying there are approximately 2 million individual dairy farmer-businessmen producing the raw material milk for sale. There are more than 25,000 firms which bottle or manufacture the milk. There are no producers or manufacturers who alone can exert enough influence on the industry to affect production of dairy products.

It requires 3 years for the dairy farmer to bring a cow into milk production. The dairy farmer, like any other patriotic citizen, has always responded to the calls from his country to increase production during wartime periods. He has been able to add to his herd in order to produce more milk, but he has not been able to cut production by the flip of a switch.

MILK PRODUCTION INCREASE BEGAN IN 1952

The current increase in milk production began in late 1952. In the fall of that year many economists were urging dairy farmers to increase their production of milk to meet what those economists felt were going to be larger demands for milk. Economists were also urging farmers who were producing crops then in surplus to go into dairying which in 1952 was providing a fairly stable income for farmers.

Good weather in the winter of 1952 and throughout most of 1953 in the heavy milk producing areas enabled dairy farmers to increase the production of milk at a rate never before attained. Dairy farmers put into practice the better breeding, better feeding, and better herd management programs advocated through the years. Their cows produced more milk.

There were other changes going on during this period. More milk was being produced in the eastern and southern market areas. In the meantime the Midwestern dairy States were also increasing their production.

Because each individual dairy farmer operates his own business enterprise, and because most dairy farms are comparatively small enterprises, operated by the farm owner and his family, income must be maintained at a level which produces a profit for that individual farm. Thus, historically, the dairy farmer has increased production of milk when prices paid for milk declined in order to earn approximately the same gross income. Milk production has not responded to price changes in the same way that some other products do. Each dairy farmer is his own production manager and responds according to his own income calculations.

THE INFLUENCE OF SUBSTITUTE PRODUCTS ON THE DAIRY MARKET

The dairy situation has been further complicated in the postwar years by sales of substitute products, those products which use the skim-milk portion of milk in combination with cheaper vegetable fats substituted for butterfat. The butterfat displaced by other fats has been manufactured into butter because churning butter is the traditional way to store butterfat.

THE DAIRY INDUSTRY IS BUSY SELLING MORE DAIRY FOODS

For many years the emphasis in agriculture has been on efficient production, and American farmers have become very efficient. In April 1954 the United States Census Bureau estimated that only 13¼ percent of the Nation's total people live on farms, as compared with 35 percent in 1910 and 75 percent or more not too many decades before the turn of the century. Today each American farmer produces enough food for 17 other people.

American farmers have been willing to take greater risks than almost any other businessmen. They have invested in land, buildings, livestock, and machinery to produce more and better food. They have each spring purchased fertilizer and seed, plowed and planted, cultivated and hoped that the weather would cooperate to produce crops. They have been successful, and today the United States, unlike most of the rest of the world, faces the problem of handling too much food instead of not enough food. Political and diplomatic situations, not any desire on the part of the farmers, are responsible for the inability to move excess American food to other areas of the world where food is needed.

FARMERS LOOK TO THEIR MARKETS

The American farmer has become the most efficient producer of food and fiber in the world. Even though some small groups of farmers, with specialized crops, learned the value of carrying on their own sales programs in past years, it has been only in the more recent postwar years that farmers, in general, have directed their attention to building markets for their products.

In 1954, the dairy farmers of America gave more attention to market building than ever before. In their local communities, dairy farmers have worked with civic groups, food retailers, dairy processors, and others to call to the attention of consumers the values of dairy foods. They have organized local dairy days and dairy promotion groups. They have set up dairy bars at fairs and other large gatherings of people to introduce their products to the public. They have helped to spread the use of milk vending machines. It is not uncommon these days to attend meetings of dairy farmers and find them discussing the intricacies of advertising and merchandising, public relations, and market research.

DAIRY FARMERS HAVE EXPANDED THEIR NATIONAL SALES PROGRAM

Perhaps the best indication of the new interest which dairy farmers are showing in selling milk and milk products is their rapid expansion of their own national sales promotion activities through the American Dairy Association. In 1954, approximately 1½ million dairy farmers in 44 States invested over $4 million in a national program of research, public relations, advertising, and merchandising. They have set up a budget of $5 million for 1955 to intensify further their sales campaign.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson issued a challenge to the dairy industry at the 1953 annual meeting of the American Dairy Association to sell more milk and milk products to the American public. Even before he had spoken, dairy farmers in several States had voted to increase their investment in the association from a 2-month program to a year-around program at the rate of 2 cents for each 100 pounds of milk they produced. This year-around plan was adopted as a national policy at the meeting addressed by the Secretary.

By January 1, 1954, most of the major dairy producing States, and many of the States where dairying is not a major enterprise, had either started on the new year-around investment program or had made definite plans to start sometime during the year.

Because dairy farmers themselves wanted a bigger sales promotion program and because they provided the funds for this program, they now have a voice that is being heard in an estimated 45 million homes every week, a voice telling consumers a strong sales story about dairy foods.

RESEARCH PAVES THE WAY

The dairy farmers have adopted and are using the same selling methods employed by other successful business enterprises. One of their first steps in their expanded sales program was to employ the services of an outstanding market research organization (Alfred Politz Research, Inc., of New York City).

Through the American Dairy Association, dairy farmers had been carrying out a research program to learn more facts about their products, nutrition facts, and processing facts. They continue to sponsor these studies in colleges and universities throughout the country, but they have added market research to learn consumer attitudes toward dairy products and toward the dairy industry itself.

These consumer studies have produced information which makes it possible to develop more effective advertising and merchandising programs and to direct public-relations efforts in the most productive channels. Sales messages are directed toward capitalizing on favorable attitudes toward dairy foods or toward correcting misconceptions which have developed.

NEW PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES SALES

During 1954 there were two major developments in one branch of the dairy industry. Instantly dissolving nonfat dry milk was placed on the market for the first time. A new bread-baking process, known as the stable ferment process, was introduced to the baking industry by the American Dry Milk Institute.

The stable ferment process for baking bread holds promise for reducing baking costs and increasing the use of nonfat dry milk in bread. Bakers who adopt the process will be able to reduce space and equipment requirements and eliminate the need for all-night baking crews.

Other developments in products and processing techniques are on the way. Efforts are being made to produce a powdered whole milk which will not require refrigeration. A completely new type of cheese has been developed at the University of Wisconsin and is now being manufactured (Dariworld). The dairy industry is making progress, from the farm to consumers' tables, through research.

DAIRY FARMERS ARE IMPORTANT FOOD ADVERTISERS

In 1954 dairy farmers have become important in the total food sales promotion field. Through the American Dairy Association dairymen are sponsoring national radio and television shows. Their advertisements appear regularly in leading magazines and

newspapers. They have developed a fluid milk sales program that, market research shows, is leading adults into the healthy habit of drinking at least three glasses of milk every day.

In 1955 the dairy farmers will launch a million dollar campaign to convince housewives that "even more than your guests, your family deserves butter." The dairymen are capitalizing on the prestige which butter still maintains among homemakers. They will be telling a powerful sales story on the use of butter in cooking and baking.

The dairy farmers, through the American Dairy Association, have developed a comprehensive sales program for milk, butter, cheese, ice cream, evaporated milk, cottage cheese, and nonfat dry milk. The sales plans are based on the market research. They include not only the biggest dairy advertising program ever conducted on a nonbrand basis, but also very complete merchandising ideas which are made available to brand distributors for use at the point of sale.

In 1954 milk dealers throughout the Nation were using the American Dairy Association's milk sales campaign. Local dealer advertising was in many cases tuned-in to supplement the association's national campaign. The dealers used bottle collars and a host of other merchandising tools to carry the story of milk drinking benefits into more homes. Where this milk sales story was used intensively by brand dealers, increased milk sales were easy to measure. Adult attitudes toward milk drinking showed important changes.

WHY DAIRY FARMERS ARE PROMOTING SALES

It is not customary for producers of raw materials to be spending the money they receive for those raw materials to promote sales of the finished products. Dairy farmers have not let customary practices stop them from going into dairy sales promotion full-scale.

Dairy farmers, fundamentally, are in dairy food sales promotion because they are interested in increasing consumption of milk rather than to cut production. They are not taking over all promotion for dairy products but instead have developed an overall campaign for everyone in the industry.

Brand distributors in the dairy industry are local or regional, except for several companies which do have national distribution of one or two of the major dairy products. Through the years there have been few national campaigns covering all of the dairy foods.

Dairy farmers have stepped in and filled a big void for the dairy industry. They have developed comprehensive sales programs for each of the dairy products. Brand distributors are kept informed about these sales campaigns in advance. Today even the smallest brand dealer can take advantage of a well-planned national promotion for milk or butter or cheese or any other dairy food. New packaging and merchandising ideas are available to the smallest processor as well as to the largest. Brand distributors are using the American Dairy Association campaigns to sell more dairy foods to present customers.

DAIRY FARMERS ARE PROVIDING SALES LEADERSHIP

Through the ledership which dairy farmers are giving to the dairy industry in sales promotion, it is now possible for the entire industry to have effective national sales programs. In 1954 processors and distributors of dairy products accepted and joined with the American Dairy Association program more than they have in the past, and 1955 will see more brand dairy products being sold through the sales appeals developed by the dairy farmers.

The year 1954 saw some improvement in per capita sales of various dairy foods. Prices on some of these products were at lower levels than in 1953. There is no accurate way to measure the relative effects of lower prices and sales promotion efforts on sales. It does seem logical to assume, however, that higher per capita butter sales in 1954 were the result of increased sales promotion as much or more than lower prices, since butter, even at the lower prices, was still more than twice the price of substitute products.

NUTRITIONISTS SUPPORT THE DAIRY FARMERS

Dairy farmers are convinced that their sales promotion, now that it is in high gear, can do a great deal to move more dairy foods into consumption. Nutritionists are strong supporters of the dairy farmer in that they are urging greater consumption of high-protein dairy foods. Some nutritionists have stated that the current population of the United States should be consuming 145 billion pounds of milk annually to reach a minimum level of good diet.

The dairy farmers are selling their products for both health reasons and for good eating. The dairy foods family includes America's favorite dessert, ice cream. Milk is consumed by almost 50 percent of all adults at least once each day. Cheese is found in over 90 percent of the homes as a staple food. Studies show that dairy foods provide approximately 30 percent of the average person's nutritional requirements at a cost of only 15 cents out of each food dollar. On a nutritional basis, dairy foods are rated as among the top buys in the food market.

It would take only a small increase in per capita milk consumption, about one-half pint of milk per person per week, to move all current production into consumption. The dairy farmers are intent upon selling that additional amount of milk so that they can turn their attention to increasing production to meet growing population needs instead of worrying about storing dairy foods in warehouses.

DAIRY FARMERS TELL THEIR STORY TO THE PUBLIC

Dairy farmers are in the public-relations business because they have not been happy about the unfavorable attitude toward them on the part of some segments of the public. The amount of money which the Government has invested in dairy products since the beginning of price-support activities in 1933 has been relatively minor in comparison with other branches of agriculture and with nonagricultural industries.

The dairy farmer would much prefer to sell his products directly to consumers, and through his sales-promotion program he is making an effort to do that. In the meantime it is not easy for him to cut production by turning a switch. The products which the Government has bought have gone into consumption and are going into consumption through various channels; they have not been wasted or destroyed. The dairy farmer, unlike other segments of the economy, has taken a drastic cut in his income. The Government price-support operations do not guarantee a high income for the dairy farmer but rather serve to keep the dairy farmer from becoming insolvent.

The dairy farmer's market research bears out the studies made by various public-opinion analysts. The public is not especially well acquainted with Government price-support programs. Those people who are familiar with such programs are not particularly upset about these operations. A majority of the people who indicated, in the Politz studies, that they were acquainted with price supports also indicated that they thought such programs were a good idea.

Price-support operations, which keep the dairy industry from going into a depression period which might eventually result in shortages of milk, are, dairy farmers feel, as justifiable as Government subsidies for shipbuilding in order to keep American shipyards from going out of business. Food, as well as ships, is essential to the Nation's defense.

Dairy farmers are working every day to increase their efficiency of production in order to cut their costs. They are investing in new equipment which helps to improve even more the sanitary standards under which milk is produced. They are engaged in a sales program to help move their products into consumption.

The dairy industry has made substantial progress in 1954, perhaps more progress than in any previous year. The industry is moving into 1955 with confidence that the new year will end with the industry closer to the goal of expansion rather than contraction.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by the People of Lithuania

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following resolution:

LAWRENCE, MASS., *February 20, 1955.*

Resolution unanimously voted by the Lithuanian Americans of the city of Lawrence, at the observance of the 37th anniversary of the declaration of independence by the people of Lithuania, held under the auspices of the Lithuanian Citizens Club and the Lithuanian American Council, Inc., at the Lyra Hall on the 20th day of February 1955:

"Whereas the intolerable conditions which now prevail in Eastern and Central Europe, including Lithuania and her two neighbors of Latvia and Esthonia, should be of gravest concern to Western democracies, and first of all to the United States, as no peace and stability in the world is possible without participation of that area which comprises a force of over 100 million people separated from the rest of the world by the Iron Curtain;

"Whereas the United States Government sponsor a resolution in the United Nations based upon findings and conclusions of said investigation, denouncing the Soviet Union as an aggressor against all the nations now enslaved by communism; also that the genocide convention which represents the most powerful legal means to save the Soviet-enslaved peoples from total destruction be immediately ratified by the United States Senate so that the Communist crimes perpetrated against humanity may be fully recorded and officially noted for prosecution:

"*Resolved*, That this gathering voice its deepest gratitude to the Federal Government and Congress of the United States for their sympathy with and unchanging favorable attitude toward the eventual restoration of independence of Lithuania."

JOHN URBONAS,
President Lithuanian Citizens Club.
JOHN A. STUNDZA,
President,
Lithuanian American Council, Inc.
JULIUS PIESLOK,
Vice President,
Lithuanian American Council.
MATTHEW STONIE,
Secretary, Lithuanian American Council.
ANNA T. JEVNESKY,
Treasurer, Lithuanian American Council.

Intellectual Freedom, Oppenheimer, and National Security—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD H. VELDE
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, under unanimous consent, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the first part of an article entitled "Intellectual Freedom, Oppenheimer, and National Security" written by my good friend, Mr. Glenn A. McLain, a professor at Eastern Kentucky State College who is serving as director of the university's center of international relations.

The second part of the article follows:

Within a short time after the release of the findings of the Gray Board, the official hearings titled "Transcript of Hearings Before Personnel Security Board in the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer" were released to the general public. There was something less than a rush on the part of the American people to read this rather formidable and closely printed document. However, the makers of public opinion in America owed it to their reading and listening public to read this remarkable record in its entirety. But almost as one, our newspaper reporters and newscasters ignored the documentary story except for the parts where the Board admitted any doubts as to whether Oppenheimer was guilty of actually submitting security information to Soviet agents. As in the case of the findings, the scientific brotherhood rushed into print with bulletins, and brochures claiming Oppenheimer was "humiliated because he failed to conform." It was this same kind of "conformity" that developed the idea in Klaus Fuchs' mind to give our atomic secrets to Russia in the cause of world peace. Oppenheimer probably would do none of these things, but what are average citizens, who run our Government and operate our democracy, to think of these "nonconformist" activities? If we had a platonic republic in America under the rule of philosopher kings, such activity would be acceptable. But not in a democracy.

Newspaper comment concerning the decision of the Atomic Energy Commission was something less than enlightening for American readers. The Alsop brothers led the parade of outright misinformed or deliberately partisan writers who complained that "the facts did not support either the Gray report or the AEC report." The Alsop brothers were given the original letter exchange between Oppenheimer and the AEC and tried to build up public opinion in favor of Oppenheimer before any official material was released. After the AEC report, the silence of the Alsop brothers was deafening. Apparently, these columnists who are capable in some fields of foreign policy but obtuse in matters of liberty and those concerning most congressional investigations had finally read some of the AEC report. Otherwise, their usual scathing journalistic comments would have been in order.

Various magazines and journals of opinion such as the New Republic commented that the whole unsavory incident should be blamed on the FBI. This is the usual type of hackneyed argument one might expect from these magazines which have a long history of following the unpopular causes in American life. We need all sorts of opinion on such matters whatever the ideological stripe of the writers. However, it would be more in the interests of scientific analysis if the facts were considered first before opinions are delivered with editorial bombast. This is the same type of ill-considered opinion that is often offered by such writers as Alan Barth who considers the FBI as a police state organization and all congressional committees as a threat to intellectual freedom in America.

With a very few exceptions, the only newspaper in America which seemed to consider the case on its actual evidence was the Christian Science Monitor. The Monitor, the New York Times, and a handful of other papers which consider the actual news as reportable and not some editor's opinion based on preconceived ideas, said that "the hard language of the documents in the case * * * was conditioned by the political and emotional climate in the United States, which likewise is hard." Roland Sawyer, one of the best Monitor correspondents, pointed out that "it is difficult to compel men who live almost entirely in the free and uninhibited world of the intellect to work with other men who must live entirely in the disciplined, almost semiauthoritarian world of the military." Both the Oppenheimer ivory tower and the tight security-conscious steel tower of the Pentagon official are necessary in this Orwellian world of ours. However, like the Ashram of Ghandi, Oppenheimer's ivory tower is in this world when he attempts to make decisions which influence political matters of importance. It is his right and the right of every citizen, scientist, or bootblack to give his considered opinion on political matters. But in exercising these rights both Oppenheimer and the bootblack must be bound by the conventions of national security. If Oppenheimer or any other individual is above and beyond the regular security standards perhaps our laws should be changed. Until the nature of our ideological struggle with international communism changes, this does not seem possible.

The opinion of the scientists in America was almost 100 percent against the first 2 to 1 decision of the Gray board and the 4 to 1 decision of the AEC Board against Oppenheimer. The Alsop brothers diligently reported that the scientists regarded "these charges as fundamentally irrelevant to a security proceeding." They further reported that a hornet's nest of scientific unrest had been stirred up by this decision and that petition signers at Los Alamos and other plants would be likely to lose their enthusiasm when contracts came up for renewal. This is fantastic nonsense. It is the same type of hysterical, fear-ridden thinking that characterizes the Wendell Furies and Corliss Lamonts who decry any attempt to search out the meaning of the Communist danger.

No one has to lose their liberty under the careful scientific analysis of such committees as the Gray or the AEC Boards. If such opinions are true, perhaps a little required reading in the actual history of the Communist movement in the world and as an organized conspiracy in America since 1921 are in order. Such studies are available free from the United States Superintendent of Documents in Washington. Perhaps this type of mental activity would be anti-intellectual. Perhaps we need some more hardheaded realism to temper our intellectual climate in America today. Most of the so-called "scientific hornets" do not feel that they lose their intellectual stingers by being required to stop associating with Communists. Or so the informed opinion of such scientists as Vannevar Bush and a host of others maintain. Let us believe the true savants in this matter and not those who would let us rob our Nation of its national security.

The issues at stake in the Oppenheimer case go far beyond the two rulings made by the Gray and the AEC Boards. Briefly stated, the issues are the validity of the security system of the United States, the right of individuals to be nonconformists under our existing laws, and the role of technical advisers in policy decisions. The shadow of fear and the uncertainty of the cold-war struggle loom over the atomic horizon which can bring plenty into a needy world or doom it to a hydrogen-blasted planet.

Let us explain these issues in the light of the findings, the hearings, and the actual facts. The formation and determination of public opinion depends upon a reasoned analysis of the facts and not emotionally charged ideas. The issue is not one between practical men of affairs and the scientists or professors. Rather the issue is one that cuts across all psychological, professional, and ideological boundaries. That is, it should if citizens of this Republic actually believe in the democracy we profess. How valid is a security system which penalizes the genius who was greatly responsible for the development of the A-bomb? Does the decision of the AEC Board set an unrealistic security standard? These are fundamental questions, and they deserve clearcut, unequivocal answers. No American seriously would wish to kill the goose that laid the golden egg of atomic and hydrogen power. This has not been done in the Oppenheimer case. His contract as a special consultant was merely not renewed when it expired on June 30, 1954. He is free to work on any scientific problem which might be in accord with his professional inclination. He has been told firmly by the AEC Board that "the record shows Dr. Oppenheimer has consistently placed himself outside the rules which govern others. He has falsified wherein he was charged with grave responsibilities in the national interest. In his associations he has repeatedly exhibited a willful disregard of the normal and proper obligations of security."

It would seem that this statement by the AEC members is self-explanatory. One can well imagine the political hue and cry that would ensue if Oppenheimer would be judged clear, securitywise, after such judgment had been developed from voluminous evidence and personal testimony of the involved person himself.

The right of the individual in our society to be a nonconformist is one of basic importance. Those who think otherwise misunderstand both the nature of our democratic system and the long historical tradition of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. Liberty for individuals does not mean license to transgress against the laws of our society which protect all citizens. Like a 20th century Hamlet, the position of Oppenheimer is one of infinite tragedy for the nonconformist who lives in an intellectual world of his own choosing. Our colleges and universities are staffed with such individuals who, like remnants of a golden age in America, are honored because of their humility and inherent greatness but who somehow are not capable of understanding this Machiavellian world of 1954, which is rushing toward Orwell's 1984. We need the anachronistic in political life. If they work for the Government, they should confine their activities to theory and not the application of theory in public affairs. Their intellectual skill is needed and need not be confined, as the free mind knows no bounds or it will atrophy. Practical decisions concerning the nature of the enemy are sometimes disregarded by this type of individual. Oppenheimer is obviously of this type, and as his work is a combined effort in scientific

fields and public affairs, he is not constitutionally or morally able to fulfill this dual function. There is no threat to the liberty of any scientist or any public figure because of this considered decision on the part of the AEC.

The final question to be considered is the role of the scientist in our national defense effort. The scientists are asking: "Does the Oppenheimer decision mean that the loyal scientist called upon to advise his Government does so at his own peril?" This is a vital question. If errors in judgment are to be punished by banishment like the Athenians were centuries ago, national security needs have created a Frankenstein monster. The AEC decision does not suggest any such movement. The carefully considered, well reasoned, and judicious analysis of the Gray and the AEC Board carry with them no overtones of such fear and danger. There is such a climate of opinion in American life today, but it has nothing to do with the Oppenheimer case. As Americans, let us consider each issue of national security on its own merits. If any citizen will take the trouble to actually study the excerpts from the findings or the the hearings as published in our national newspapers, in the U. S. News & World Report, Time magazine, or in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or the special reports, the decision would have to be in favor of the two Boards. Oppenheimer has made great contributions to America. His value as a scientist has been impaired by his lofty personal view of what the security needs of America were in 1954. If he and other Americans who fought fascism with such vigor and patriotism in the thirties and early forties apply that same vibrant energy to the understanding of the true nature of communism, their positions will be unimpaired under our security system. Such has not been the case. The decision could, therefore, hardly have been otherwise.

All Americans pride themselves on their acceptance of the law to regulate affairs and responsibilities of citizens. Our national security laws are clearly identified as being in conformity with the needs of our Nation in 1954. There is a difference in loyalty to abstractions in contrast to that same loyalty to human beings. Communism recognizes no abstractions. The daw is no respector of persons. Whether the individual be the President of the United States or an atomic genius, the issue is clear. The national interest is the duty of the individual. This is not chauvenism, super patriotism, or hysterical nationalism—it is solid respectable Americanism based upon the hard realities of our modern world.

(NOTE.—Since this paper was written in late summer 1954 some of the reporters and writers who are criticized here have written further articles concerning the Oppenheimer case. These same writers formed their opinions before reading the complete findings and the hearings so my evaluation concerning their inadequate reporting still stands. For a consideration of the views of those who disagree with the findings of the AEC in the Oppenheimer case see: We Accuse, Harpers, October, 1954 and The Oppenheimer Case, Atlantic Monthly, October, 1954. For the texts of the report and the findings see U. S. News & World Report, Gray Board Findings, June 11, 1954; excerpts from important testimony in the case, June 25, 1954, and AEC final decision in the Oppenheimer case, July 9, 1954. A debate between Roger Robb, AEC council and the Alsop brothers appears in the December 24, 1954 U. S. News & World Report.)

Address of Hon. Leroy Johnson, of California, Delivered to the New York Chapter, Atlantic Union Committee, February 18, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEROY JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, a group of us in both branches of the Congress have introduced concurrent resolutions asking the President to invite the other democracies who sponsored and signed the North Atlantic Treaty to meet in a convention to explore and report to what extent their peoples might further unite within the framework of the United Nations, and agree to form a Federal Union for our mutual protection. Last Saturday night I had the honor of making a speech on this proposal to the New York Chapter of the North Atlantic Union Committee.

Under leave to extend my remarks I am including that speech, which follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, I warmly appreciate the courtesy of your kind reception. Especially I am grateful for the high honor paid me by your invitation to address your chapter of the Atlantic Union Committee.

I rather imagine that any ideas I bring you on the North Atlantic Federal Union proposal will be neither novel nor startling. But what is lacking in originality I hope will be made up at least in part by my genuine, abiding inteerst and also by my true sincerity in respect to this challenging, vital proposition so important to every civilized person on earth.

Last week was a possible turning point in the long history of this movement.

In the United States Congress a group of Senators and a group of Representatives, including myself, introduced highly important resolutions. They contain this key provision:

"The President is requested to invite the other democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates, including members of their principal political parties, to meet in a convention with similarly appointed delegates from the United States and from such other democracies as the convention may invite, to explore and report to what extent their peoples might further unite within the framework of the United Nations, and agree to form, federally or otherwise, a defense, economic and political union."

I am profoundly convinced that the formation of a Federal union with free nations of Europe for defense purposes would open vast possibilities for advancing and stabilizing the world peace for which all of us hope so prayerfully today. If the proposition is sound, repetition of its supporting arguments may be useful, even though I suspect that most of you are more conversant with them than am I.

This fundamental approach to mankind's most critical problem—that of building a solid foundation for unity and peace in this divided world—first came into my consciousness through a lecture delivered by Clarence Streit in the 1930's in Stockton, Calif. I was deeply stirred by the concept. Today its appeal to me is as fresh and as powerful as it was two decades ago.

Little did I think as I listened to Clarence Streit that I would soon be witness to a global conflict far more destructive than the gigantic struggle in which I participated in 1917 and 1918. Nor had I the faintest premonition that I would become a member of the House of Representatives, or that for seven Congresses I would serve on a Congressional committee charged with drafting laws pertaining to the security of our Nation. In both the Senate and House of Representatives these laws are handled by the Committee on Armed Services. Senator KEFAUVER and I are members of these committees.

For the past several days, the House committee has had before it the top military experts of America. They have described with candor and in detail the dangerous situation confronting our country. They have set forth the steps we must take for our protection in this nuclear age. I shall quote a few of their statements made in public hearings. From them you may gain a clear appreciation of the deadly menace confronting us and of the character and scope of our defense needs.

Let us hear first from Adm. Arthur Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He says:

"In my opinion a personnel strength of 2,850,000 men is the size of forces we must maintain for as long as the Communist threat hangs over our head. This may be 10 years or it may be 50."

Next, let's listen to the Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson. He says:

"The security of the United States and the security of our allies are in reality one and the same. This concept of collective security is reflected in our military arrangements around the world.

"In the development of our military programs now and in the future we must reckon with the Communist capabilities as well as with their possible intentions. Because their military power has continued to grow and now includes the ability to produce and deliver nuclear weapons, the United States for the first time in its history has reason to be deeply concerned over the serious effects which a sudden attack could conceivably inflict upon us.

"As a Nation we reject the concept of preventive war. However, a sudden nuclear attack aimed at our population, industrial and military centers, could be a threat to our survival as a Nation. Therefore, our primary objective must be to maintain the capability, first to deter an enemy from such an attack; and second, to blunt any such attack if it comes. Both purposes require a combination of effective retaliatory power and a continental defense system of steadily increasing effectiveness.

"The forces envisaged in the long-range program of the Department of Defense constitutes by far the largest Military Establishment that this country has ever undertaken to maintain for an indefinite period of time.

"The maintenance of these forces and their qualitative improvement will require expenditures over an indefinite period of years of many billions of dollars."

Since the A-bombs were dropped in Japan, a decade ago, there has been a rapidly rising crescendo of frightfulness in the construction and development of weapons.

From a low-flying plane, about a year after atomic bombs had fallen on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I looked at the ruins of these two

cities. The sight of the carnage wrought by those two small bombs actually made me ill for several days. It was an incredibly ghastly, horrible, shocking sight. I kept saying to myself, "Has humanity gone stark, raving mad; is man so stupid, so inherently evil, so savage and untamed, that in the end he will destroy himself?"

And yet, today we face a situation far more staggering in its implications.

Today, we know, though we can scarcely comprehend the awesome fact, that the hydrogen bomb can wreck 1,000 times the damage inflicted upon Japan. Other weapons are still more hideous. Noted scientists have written that a few properly placed cobalt bombs could exterminate most of the human race. Weapons of such boundless destructive power may soon be in the hands of our own and hostile military forces.

In the face of such momentous developments, it is indeed understandable that during the past 10 years apprehension that these new weapons might be used against us has steadily heightened among our people. There is, in truth, no escaping this grim fact: We live in an age in which cruelly ambitious, unprincipled, atheistic men could destroy the civilized word—not only its people but also its institutions, its public and private works, its most hallowed traditions, its very will to survive. This dread capability rests both with the Communists and the free world.

As I look back over these 10 years, I can see that more and more, year by year, our country and its allies are relying on the power to destroy an enemy in an effort to find protection against sudden attack. We are, perforce, chained to a military treadmill; feverishly we labor, lavishly we expend our resources, in our effort to increase the deadly power of our military force. Our antagonists are ensnared in the same fantastic spiral; day and night they are striving to surpass us in building stronger, ever stronger, weapons of destruction.

And yet, here is the pathetic paradox:

Every person, in America and abroad, with whom I have seriously discussed this problem, longs ardently for peace. On every continent in the past decade I have talked of this terrible dilemma with public officials, businessmen, teachers, the poor and the rich. All give voice to the same deep yearning: "We want peace," they say with almost pathetic earnestness. "We do not want war."

Yet, the pages of history are filled with the message that a race in arms ultimately explodes into war.

The Secretary of Defense says we may have to fight for our survival; the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff says our tense situation may last from 10 to 50 years. The Secretary of Defense further advises us that our costly weapons rapidly become obsolete due to technological advances. Thus we are in an economic vise; we are also in a military position which will remain eternally precarious.

I must, of course, make this clear; I have have strongly supported all of our efforts to strengthen our Armed Forces. I have voted to draft our young men. I have voted to have American youth trained so they may be skillful warriors, able and read to defend not only their country but also themselves on the field of battle. I have supported our Nation's efforts to buttress our friends throughout the world. These steps and others I, as a Congressman, feel we must take to protect our country and to neutralize the terrible, imminent threat to our survival.

All of these things we reluctantly do for one reason alone: Ungodly men are at large in this world, implacably bent upon communization and enslavement of all humanity. At any time they may strike with atomic or hydrogen bombs, hoping to destroy our industrial system or, in one massive blow, wound us so mortally that domination of our country would surely follow. Our ready military power, our national resolution, our patient firmness, the certainty of our devastating counterblow will, we pray, deter them from war.

But, in all candor, it is somewhat less than inspiring to contemplate nerve-racking tension and deadly threat year after year, for decades to come, even though war may never be our lot.

I repeat that we cannot minimize the imperative necessity for a strong military posture. Our strength is our insurance against annihilation in today's world. But it is comparable to a fire-insurance policy: Comforting, of course, to have, but no guaranty that there will be no fire. We must stay alert to the danger of our situation; we must keep the threat in the forefront of our minds as we look hopefully and enthusiastically upon the promise held out to mankind by a North Atlantic Union Federation.

With these caveats behind us, let us now explore our route toward peace which provides an alternative to military force. It requires no coercion, no intimidation, no exploitation. In my deepest belief, this peaceful method of building strength against communism and aggression holds the key to the present world dilemma; it contains the seed from which can grow enduring world peace.

With my colleagues in the Congress, I am eager to explore the possibility of Americans joining with other peoples who have representative government, combining their ingenuity, their skill in government, their belief in a peaceful society, their boundless resource and strength, that ultimately, by the sheer majesty of their aggregate power, we shall neutralize and finally eliminate the threat that looms today over much of the world.

The federation we visualize would make common rules and establish legal machinery to compel the obedience of all member nations thereto. Those failing to comply could be brought to do so through judicial decree, backed by the combined force of the federated nations.

The obvious parallel is right at hand. We Americans have grown up with it.

In our country we have 48 States, each sovereign, yet each joined permanently in common cause for the common good. Controversies among our States are settled in the Supreme Court of the United States whose decrees are binding upon and respected by the losing parties.

Forgive me for particularizing in a somewhat personal way, but this example may help make the point clear.

Right now a controversy is awaiting resolution between my State of California and the State of Arizona. The issue involves interpretation of a contract governing the allocation of certain waters of the Colorado River. The differences between the States have been bitter, acrimonious, and explosive, for water is critically needed in both States. It is easy to envision that two sovereign nations would resort to war to settle such a dispute; matters of far less importance and complexity have turned nations to the sword in the past. But here, in our Federal system, we avoid the ultimate test of power, reposing the issue, for the common good, in a disinterested, objective branch of the Government.

Many persons anxiously search for parallels to this process in the processes of the United Nations. Some persuade themselves that this great body has the power to enforce its own decisions and those of its related agencies. But this is wishful thinking; it is dangerous thinking which could lead us to tragic ends.

The United Nations, true enough, can issue decrees; it can enunciate principles; it can find a nation guilty of subversion or aggression; it can recommend remedies for injustices committed by one member nation upon another. But it lacks the power to compel its members to obey its suggestions; it founders upon the rock of enforcement of its will.

This fatal weakness finally shattered the League of Nations; it tore the heart out of the Kellogg-Briand Pact which bound nine nations not to wage war on one another until every peaceful remedy had been exhausted. The insufficiency of both efforts is still painfully clear in our memory. We shall never forget that Japan struck us at Pearl Harbor at the very time their Foreign Minister was talking with our Secretary of State.

So it is that nations, in contrast to our States, in striving to adjust their differences, still tend to resort to that ancient and brutal institution—military force, which, applied today, amounts to mass murder and, conceivably, the obliteration of both sides.

In such a contest, victory is the goal. And what is its reward? The flower of our manhood decimated by slaughter; multitudes disabled for life; cities pulverized; a system of society sundered at its roots. Many among us today have seen three wars come and go, each more brutal than the one before. And yet, our experience is clear: military victory does not bring permanent peace.

I am convinced that man's inhumanity to man, that the endless, futile cruelty and bloodshed of modern warfare, can be avoided through a federal union of free nations. The federal system has proved both its efficiency and its stability in our own country and in the Swiss Republic. I remind you that in the latter nation four languages are in use; nevertheless, regardless of divergent, even antagonistic, national strains, the Swiss experience with federalism has been outstandingly successful.

I most earnestly hope, therefore, that our Nation will take the first halting step forward in the direction of which I speak. Let us move now toward creating the climate and the opportunity to build an alternative to Armageddon. Let us move toward joining with our friends throughout the world in exploration of a federal union which would bind the parties for mutual protection—and, if that should prove successful, moving toward an integration of a larger scope.

Now, of course, we have the jeremiads, the gloommongers, the it-can't-be-done type of people. In all ages, as in our own time, such people point with fear and trembling, obsessed with the problems, never inspired by the oportunities. These are the barnacles on the ship of mankind.

You know their doleful strain. It adds up, essentially, simply to, "It just can't be done."

Our own past shouts the denial to those who fearfully hold back.

Boldly oure forefathers resolved a chaotic situation which resulted from the inability of the Articles of Confederation to bind the Colonies closely together.

After the Colonies had fought and won the Revolutionary War, they shattered into independent, even antagonistic, sovereign units. Economies of the several States disintegrated; traffic was impaired; the common defense was undermined; navigation and trade was fettered and harrassed to the point almost of extinction. Something had to be done. The common good dictated subordination of the primitive fetish, sovereignty which held the Colonies almost at swords' points.

The Articles of Confederation became the first rallying point—the first attempt at common government. This failed utterly to unite the Colonies into a strong cohesive nation, with an effective central government. For a time, unity seemed impossible. You know what then occurred.

On February 21, 1787, the Continental Congress decided to hold a convention in May of that year at Philadelphia. Its purpose

was sharp and clear: to revise the Articles of Confederation. Delegates were chosen. Through the bitter debate that ensued only the majestic personality of the beloved George Washington and the benign influence of wise, philosophic Benjamin Franklin saved the deliberations from ruin. And then, as you know, ultimately, rather than amending the Articles of Confederation, they wrote a new Constitution and laid an enduring foundation for a new nation.

And in this Constitution, precisely for the reasons which plague us today in this trembling world, they turned to a Federal system. They built a national government with the vitality and power to carry forward the common good; they retained, nevertheless, State and local responsibilities, reserving to the States and to the people all powers not specifically granted to the National Government.

And in the preamble, they used language which is the key to much of the problem of which we speak today: "We the people of the United States," is the way they began this immortal document. Not "We the States"—but "We the people" do ordain and establish the Constitution for the United States of America.

Thus government was brought through the governmental maze to the citizen; thus sovereignty was brought home to the individual; thus government was made of the people, for the people, and by the people. And therein is a powerful lesson for those of us who today aspire to a better order of things in this world. There, my friends, is the key to world peace.

And so you see that I am indeed a devotee of this concept—because, mainly, I so deeply revere our own system and the strength and the glory it has brought to our people. I cannot conceive of any supportable reason why a similar effort would, in our own time, fail to bring just as many rich dividends to ourselves and to our children.

Across the seas are nations in mortal fear of the Soviet Union. They live in daily dread that their life, their property, their liberty, and all that they love in life may be destroyed by the Communist advance. They know all too well of the agony and, even, the despair of their neighbors today behind the Iron Curtain. I cannot but believe that they would slowly, perhaps, but surely, inevitably, seize upon a federation such as I have discussed with all the ardor of a drowning man reaching for a helping hand.

I happen to believe that a juncture of the free nations of the North Atlantic, with still others who might wish to join, would be so potent an aggregation that the Soviet threat of aggression would dissipate and frustrate and consume itself futilely, finally dying out altogether. Freedom is a mighty force. I mention only that 95 percent of inventions in the world in the last 2 centuries have been made by persons living in nations with representative government and protected personal freedoms. Freedom is the seedbed of initiative and ingenuity.

The nations of which I speak also have a genius for government based upon the will of the people. In most of them, substantially the rights accorded an American citizen are accorded to their citizens. They have, moreover, the industrial skill, the industrial plant, the agricultural knowledge, and the richest resources, added to ours, of this world. Such an amalgam would soon have a massive impact upon the ambitions of the Soviet Union. That nation would, in my judgment, recognize swiftly that only defeat would be the outgrowth of their continued assault on the free world. And this above all else is true: dictators cannot stand defeat. I am convinced that the rock upon which international communism will surely founder is federation of all or part of the states in the North Atlantic area.

Just as our own country has developed under the Federal system of Government, so would this group of nations, these millions of people, develop in strength, in capacity, in genius, in a unified democratic forum. They would be assured of victory in this divided world; they would be assured of a better world.

My friends, how deeply I wish that we were blessed by having 10,000 Owen J. Roberts to speak to a hundred thousand groups of our people. His penetrating mind, his profound experience and knowledge in judicial and governmental affairs, his wise insight into the perils of our time, would bring light into the darkest places of opposition to federation. Would that we also could stimulate the sale of Union Now, bringing its vital, gripping message to millions more of our people, so that this cause could reach out and truly grasp the minds and hearts and the imagination of His Majesty, Mr. Average American. Surely this is one light that we must ever strive to keep from under a bushel.

There are so many more things I wish I could mention. I remember with pride our gift of freedom to the Philippines in 1946. For 48 years we governed these wonderful people. But instead of resorting to tyranny and oppression, we spent a good part of those years helping these people prepare themselves for self-government and independence. Truly this is one of the brightest stars in our firmament. In many ways, I believe that my vote for Philippine independence was one of the most significant votes I have cast in my 13 years in the Congress. Two years ago, for example, I found on a trip into the Asian region that almost all nations along the Indian Ocean were aspiring to achieve the same recognition, the same self-respecting position in the family of nations, that our Nation had accorded to the Philippines.

Such is the power and the glory and the opportunity of America. Such is the promise our people, our faith, our system, holds out to the suffering and the oppressed who people much of the globe.

And such is the America which, I hope and pray, will boldly rise to today's challenge and lead God's people from the wilderness of militarism and terror into the shining light of hope and opportunity and dependable, just peace. Federation, my friends—what better article could America hope to merchandise among mankind today. It is an imperishable, proud part of our own experience. Let us help others reap its rewards.

And, in the process, we shall help ourselves and assure our children and their children a decent chance to lead fruitful, happy lives.

Thank you very much for your courteous attention.

Commission for the Study of the Civil Defense Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting a letter I have written to the President in which I respectfully urge that prompt action be taken to establish a commission for a study of the civil-defense problems which have been brought about by the advent of nuclear weapons. The letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 25, 1955.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Much has been said in the press this week concerning the possible establishment of a commission for a prompt study of the civil-defense problems brought about by the advent of nuclear weapons. In the light of the recent information released by various Federal agencies regarding the lethal affect of these nuclear weapons, I respectfully urge that immediate steps be taken to bring such a commission into reality.

Nearly 2 years ago, on July 22, 1953, I expressed my views on the civil-defense problem in a letter addresed to Mr. Sherley Ewing, director of the Maryland State Civil Defense Agency, a copy of which is enclosed. This letter, in which I expressed my belief that we have an obligation to make available to our citizens all information (within security limits) which will alert them to the peril created by these nuclear weapons, appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 24, 1953. At that time I urged that more effective civilian defense precautions be prepared and tested.

I do not believe that Members of Congress have been kept as well informed as security would permit concerning the horror flowing from the use of nuclear weapons, and certainly the average citizen has been kept even less informed.

As a result of the series of explosions now taking place in Nevada, I have been receiving quite a bit of mail from my constituents in which many of them express, for the first time, their great interest and alarm.

I believe that recent disclosures of information with regard to the hazards from fallout and other affects of nuclear explosions should be encouraged, and even expanded, within the limits of national security. I also believe that the Federal Government ought to make realistic appropriations for use at the Federal level and for grants to State and local governments on a matching basis, in order to bring our civil-defense preparations and activities to a level where, if and when needed, the citizenry will be protected.

I heartily endorse your recommendation to appoint a commission to study the problems of civilian defense. I again urge that this action be taken immediately.

Respectfully,

SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL.

Ambassador Brosio, New Envoy From Italy, Distinguished Lawyer, Statesman, and Diplomat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, it gives me great pleasure to insert herewith an article which appeared in the February, 1955 issue of the America-Italy Newsletter:

NEW ENVOY FROM ITALY, A DISTINGUISHED LAWYER, STATESMAN, AND DIPLOMAT

His Excellency Manlio Brosio arrives at a juncture in world affairs as delicate as that

which existed when his distinguished predecessor Alberto Tarchiani came, in the midst of the last war, to represent his country in Washington.

To this difficult assignment Ambassador Brosio brings the rich experience of 5 years in Moscow and 3 in London as chief of mission. In both capitals he was respected for his perseverance, his graciousness, and his political wisdom. His fluency in Russian and English enabled him to obtain a remarkable insight into the problems of the western democracies; his scholarly dedication to learning is combined with a coolness of approach which was a subject of comment even in England.

Manlio Brosio's qualities of mind and conduct are inherent. Born in Turin in 1897, he was nurtured in the Piedmontese tradition of enlightened leadership which gave guidance to the Risorgimento and united Italy. Young Brosio's interest in the great problems of the day was stimulated by close relations with such noble figures of 20th century Italy as Benedetto Croce, the philosopher, and Luigi Einaudi, the eminent economist who is now President of the Republic of Italy.

Barely 20, Manlio Brosio was decorated in World War I for his conduct as an officer in the Alpine Corps. Following the close of hostilities, he took his degree in law and began practising in Turin. His open participation in politics as a member of the Liberal Party and as a regular contributor to the most important Liberal magazine ceased with the advent of fascism, but his interest and his contacts with opposition groups continued.

During World War II and after the Armistice, he remained in northern Italy under German occupation; he was a member of the underground National Liberation Committee (1943–45) and general secretary of the Liberal Party (1944–45). He held ministerial posts in several postwar cabinets from 1945 through 1946, the last time under Signor Alcide de Gasperi as Minister of Defense. In January 1947, when the relations between Italy and the U. S. S. R. were extremely sensitive, Minister Brosio was selected as the first Ambassador to Moscow of the Italian Republic. He has remained in the diplomatic service ever since.

Despite the heavy demands of his position, the new Ambassador to Washington finds time to read widely and write on political and legal matters for leading Italian periodicals. Little wonder, then, that Manlio Brosio's record has been described as "the ideal one for the Washington Embassy."

The American-Italy Society will welcome the new Italian envoy, His Excellency Manlio Brosio, at a dinner to be given in honor of him and his wife on February 15 in New York at the Hotel Plaza. On this occasion the Ambassador will deliver his first major address in the United States.

Ellsworth Bunker, president of the AIS and former Ambassador to Italy, will introduce the members and guests of the society to the new Ambassador.

Ambassador Brosio arrived in the United States the last day of January, accompanied by his wife, Clotilde Brosio, and his sister, Signorina Emma Brosio.

The Worthy Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, everyone pays lipservice to the paramount importance of our greatest national resource, the youth of our country. But lipservice is not enough. American youth needs among other things schooling that is commensurate with our power, our wealth, and our importance in the world at large.

Miss Doris Fleeson, one of the ablest of Washington's correspondents, has written a column in comment on President Eisenhower's school-aid program that reveals its many and painful inadequacies.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith Miss Fleeson's article, The Worthy Poor:

THE WORTHY POOR
(By Doris Fleeson)

WASHINGTON, — President Eisenhower's school aid program does not represent a serious attempt to deal with the national emergency in education.

It is little more than a letter of condolence to the localities and school authorities which are struggling against an enormous and growing shortage of classrooms.

The President's Commissioner of Education, Samuel Brownell, has placed the current need at 370,000 classrooms. Federal cost estimates indicate that the job, well done, would cost more than $12 billion.

The President has suggested only $200 million in direct aid over three years which is about $65 million a year. Even if all went well and exactly as planned, it would build only a few thousand of the missing classrooms.

School authorities are equally skeptical about the proposed plans to help school districts and States. Twenty States are said to have constitutional debt limits which will prevent any new borrowing. In both Maine and Wisconsin, the courts have declared school construction authorities unconstitutional.

The school experts say also that it would be at least a year before any results would show from the Eisenhower plan. Meanwhile, school enrollment is going up at a rate of more than 1 million a year. This year it is 30,800,000—an increase of 22 percent since 1950.

The President's philosophical approach provokes as much gloom in school circles as his practical suggestions. As they see it, he has dealt with what they regard as the gravest internal crisis in this democracy in the spirit of a lady bountiful who restricts her gifts to the worthy poor.

The reference is to the President's restriction of outright grants to communities too poor to build their own schools. There wil be no States and few communities willing to take the pauper's oath on this or any other proposition. Actually many of the wealthiest States which spend proportionately the largest share of their revenues on education are among the most hard pressed.

The idea that some portions of this country should publicly admit to their poverty and throw themselves on the mercy of richer States or the Federal Government seems to have appeal in many quarters. It emerges regularly at the annual governors' conferences and just as regularly the overwhelming majority of the governors turn the cold shoulder.

This quarrel is basic. The original architects of the welfare state—much of which the President has accepted, at least in the theory—believe in prompt and ample Federal action to meet national emergencies like that confronting the schools. From their point of view the President's approach in the new message looks back—way back.

Perhaps one trouble with the present special school problem is that Washington draws to it for the most part the successful, the well-to-do and the more mature citizens. Their children are not victims of the present cruel classroom shortage and as a French philosopher said, one bears with equanimity the misfortunes of others.

Warning on Geology of Huge Upper Colorado River Dam—Rainbow Bridge Periled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on January 31, under title of "Plans for Huge Upper Colorado Dam Uncertain, Says Secretary McKay," I revealed in this RECORD the contents of a letter written November 30, 1954, by Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay to David R. Brower, executive secretary of the Sierra Club. The letter concerned the geology of the site of the proposed $21 million gigantic power dam at Glen Canyon, Ariz.

I explained that this dam would be the key structure depended upon to raise power revenues to pay for a substantial portion of the cost of the multi-billion-dollar upper Colorado River project, H. R. 270, now before Congress. I quote a portion of Secretary McKay's letter with respect to this geology as follows:

The poorly cemented and relatively weak condition of the materials in comparison with the foundations common to most high dams has given the engineers who prepared the preliminary designs of the dam some concern as to the competency of the foundation to support any structure higher than 700 feet.

As a direct result of those remarks, I have just received a communication from Joseph Jensen, chairman of the board of directors of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, who is himself a trained geologist, born and educated in Utah, and personally familiar with the location. This communication points out that not only is the site on which the dam is proposed questionable, but that the area behind it, which is supposed to provide a reservoir, may be little more than a sieve. In short the whole project might turn out to be as useless as a waterpail without a bottom.

Mr. Jensen informs me that the rock in Glen Canyon are essentially sandstone. They have been drained of all underground water to the level of the Colorado River.

As a result they are dry. They do not contain underground water which would prevent the migration of stored water from the reservoir. It follows that when the reservoir is being filled, the water will seep out into these parched sandstones for miles. The seepage will be limited only by the dip of the sandstone formation and the effect of the pressure of the head of water which accumulates behind the dam.

No one can tell how long it would take to fill the porous sandstones nor how many millions of acre-feet of water might be thus consumed before any wa-

ter could again flow down the river.

The reservoir might never be filled, nor usable for major power development. The country might be stuck with the most enormous white elephant in history.

Any dam that is built in the canyon would extend only a short distance into the canyon walls. Therefore, the water migrating out into the sandstone from the reservoir will create an underground body of water vastly more extensive than the reservoir itself, which is calculated to store 26 million acre-feet of water, twice the average annual flow of the Colorado River at Glen Canyon. It is apparent that eventually, as these sandstones become filled with the vast volume of water, it will migrate around the ends of the dam and thus render it wholly or at least partially ineffective for power purposes.

Although Secretary McKay's letter promised more intensive studies will be made of the foundation conditions after congressional authorization of the project, suppose this more intensive study discloses that no power dam should be built? How then will Congress explain to itself the appropriation of large sums of money for uneconomic projects for which there will be no pay-out from Glen Canyon power?

Further, although the Secretary was quoted in my prior remarks as stating that "appropriate changes will be made in the designs"—of the dam—"prior to construction" if further geological studies warrant, no modifications in the dam or its height can cure the fact that a reservoir built entirely on porous sandstone rock will not hold water.

Certainly this Congress will be well advised not to authorize or appropriate any expenditure on the Upper Colorado project until the safety and certainty of building a dam in Glen Canyon has been fully determined.

The best way of having this determined is to have a committee of three of the best experts in the United States on dam construction, two of whom would be men who have successfully built concrete dams, and the third should be a geologist of national standing and reputation familiar with the texture and character of rocks.

This is precisely what was done before the dam site for Hoover Dam was chosen. Only after three of the best engineers in the country approved the dam site, was that construction authorized.

This committee of experts also should determine whether or not any steps proposed to protect Rainbow Bridge National Monument from waters of the proposed Glen Canyon Reservoir by a barrier dam would provide adequate protection.

There is more than a suspicion that this barrier dam also would be built on nothing other than porous sandstone. Just as the water would seep around the Glen Canyon Dam, so would it seep around the ends of the barrier dam. If the elevation of water in the reservoir is as high as that of Rainbow Bridge, then the water would encroach to the bridge itself. All of these natural bridges owe their lives to the dry climate of the area. Moisture and water in any quantity would be fatal to their future life.

The Man Is Raising Sensible Cain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, the need for security controls is generally recognized. What is perhaps not as widely known and accepted is the need for rigid safeguards and for procedures that will provide the American people with its fullest security, at the same time that there is an unflagging effort to preserve those fundamentals of our free democratic tradition which makes our security worthwhile.

Benjamin R. Epstein, the national director of the Antidefamation League, has written a comment on this subject that I urge my fellow Congressmen to read. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include his comments:

THE MAN IS RAISING SENSIBLE CAIN

(By Benjamin R. Epstein)

Wolf Ladejinsky, through no particular effort of his own, has brought to a boiling point the mounting unhappiness of the country with the Government security program. It has, for instance, made Harry M. Cain unhappy—Harry Cain, former United States Senator from the State of Washington, who is mildly described as a conservative.

Mr. Cain is now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, a quasi-judicial governmental agency concerned with Communist activities and groups. In the 2 years since his defeat for reelection, he has had time to sit back and ponder the ways of men and government.

He had been set to thinking by the case of Lt. Milo Radulovich. ("It's time that we begin to worry when a young American, age 26, expresses surprise that he was dealt with justly by his Government.")

He was disturbed by the fate of an Air Force sergeant, Victor Harvis. ("Victor Harvis, at the age of 12, had been taken by his father, now dead, to some Communist Party meeting. * * * He was declared to be a security risk * * * and faced dismissal from the Air Force. In this country, the crimes of the father are not to be visited on the child.")

The Ladejinsky case made him boil over in a speech in Spokane. It is significant that the fate of "little men" in Government projected into the headlines of the Nation's press unsettled him.

Because Mr. Cain's words on this subject are projected from the far right corner of the political map, they have particular interest. The liberal would find them indistinguishable from some of the things he has said himself. To Cain, the country has been unnecessarily destroying individuals in the search for national security, and our security officials are not always well-trained for their jobs, failing to understand the difference between disloyalty and unconformity. On a frightened note, Cain said that the security program can snuff out the light of learning while making cowards and mental robots out of free men and women.

Sharpest criticism he reserved for that clause in the President's security Executive order which sets up the standard that a man's employment by Government has to be clearly consistent with the interests of national security. This, Mr. Cain finds, "constitutes a burden which can hardly be borne by anyone. It almost makes the employee affirmatively prove that the national interest requires the retention or continuation of his services."

And he asks, "Who among us could do that?"

The term "clearly consistent," he finds, can be read to mean pure hearsay or malicious gossip or unsupported allegations as creating doubts which would make a man unemployable. To his knowledge, it has been so read.

It has been so read by enough American citizens to create the present uneasiness with the operation of security procedures. The part played by determined mischief-makers and those who do not hesitate to give vent to prejudice has long disturbed the Anti-Defamation League, beyond its concern as all Americans have for an effective and fair security system.

In the Ladejinsky case, the note of malicious mischief entered when a Department of Agriculture official released the now notorious Vitt letter with its smear against Jews of Russian origin as revolutionaries. In the Abraham Chasanow case, malicious gossip, paraded as evidence, almost deprived the Navy of a valued employee and Mr. Chasanow of justice. In the Fort Monmouth case, it has not been possible to prove beyond a doubt the widespread belief that anti-Semitism was a factor in the suspensions of scientists there, but it became quite clear that the established criteria for security evaluation are so without safeguards that malicious rumor and the most careless hearsay became the basis for suspensions and loss of security clearances.

We can no longer afford the luxury of giving encouragement to malice or sanction to gossip. To paraphrase an old cliche, the time is long past when Americans, on this issue, can safely "come to the aid of their party." In the security program, party politics are played at the Nation's peril. It is indeed time "to come to the aid" of the country with a thorough study at the proper levels of the entire security program, so that we cease sapping our national strength by misguided decisions that drive some of our best governmental servants out of the Nation's service and frighten others from entering it.

Resolution of the Greenfield-Montague Zionist District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. HASELTON. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting a copy of a resolution adopted by the Greenfield-Montague Zionist District, Greenfield, Mass., as requested by the officers of that organization:

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE GREENFIELD-MONTAGUE ZIONIST DISTRICT, FEBRUARY 15, 1955

Whereas the Egyptian Government in its attempt to strengthen its unsettled internal position as well as to gain stature abroad, has so recently resorted to the hasty execution of some of its Jewish citizens after a shockingly unfair trial by Egypt's Supreme Military Court;

Whereas the 11th-hour pleas for clemency by the American, French, and other governments fell upon deaf Egyptian ears;

Whereas by their haste in carrying out these inhuman executions in spite of the intervention of the American Government, the government of Premier Nasser has again demonstrated its contempt for American public opinion; and

Whereas, by the continuation of abuses, calculated to harm the state of Israel ever since its establishment, in spite of repeated gestures of conciliation and good will by the Israeli Government: Be it hereby

Resolved, That, the Greenfield-Montague Zionist District in meeting assembled this day goes on record as condemning the Egyptian Government in this their latest shedding of innocent Jewish blood; and be it further

Resolved, That the Greenfield-Montague Zionist District commends the Government of the United States for its effort in attempting to save the lives of the two Jews in Egypt; efforts which were so unsuccessful as to highlight the contempt of Egypt for American public opinion and democratic concepts.

Von Tresckow Claims Atomic Energy Commission Rejected Proposal of His Group Which Would Save Government $125 Million to $250 Million in Power Costs Over Dixon-Yates Proposal

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include herewith an address before the Massachusetts Municipal Electric Association in Boston, Mass., February 24, by Walter Von Tresckow, head of a group which offered to supply power to the Atomic Energy Commission at greatly reduced cost than Dixon-Yates. Despite the more favorable proposal from the Von Tresckow group, the AEC entered into negotiations with Dixon-Yates and rejected the Von Tresckow offer without serious consideration.

Testimony before the Senate Antimonopoly Committee, 83d Congress, showed that every obstacle within and without the Government was placed in the way of the Von Tresckow group and it was finally brushed off unceremoniously.

The Von Tresckow group claim their proposal would save the taxpayers millions of dollars and they charge that under the Dixon-Yates contract the Government will be paying from $125 million to $250 million more for power over the period of the contract than would be the case if AEC had accepted the Von Tresckow proposal.

Mr. Von Tresckow's address follows:

IS THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT ALSO CREEPING SOCIALISM?

(Address before the Massachusetts Municipal Electric Association in Boston, Mass., February 24, 1955, by Walter von Tresckow)

The Dixon-Yates story begins in 1953 with a request by the TVA for 600,000 kilowatts of additional capacity. This capacity was to be built in western Tennessee. The TVA stated that it required this added capacity in order to be able to meet the demand of the AEC at Paducah in 1957.

Congress, even in Democratic administrations, has not been too favorable in late years toward the further expansion of TVA generating facilities by the construction of steam plants.

With the advent of the Republican and businessman's administration, TVA adherents realized that the task of getting money from Congress for the rapidly expanding needs for power of the TVA area, through the construction of additional steam plants, would be even more difficult.

For some time, nearly everyone concerned had realized that a new pattern or philosophy would have to be worked out for a Federal power operation that had begun as a byproduct of a flood control project but had grown to be the largest power system in the world.

The TVA request for appropriations for 600,000 kilowatts of additional capacity was turned down by the Republican Congress in April 1954, even though it was tied to the needs of the AEC.

Finally, in July 1954, President Eisenhower ordered the AEC to sign a contract with Dixon-Yates to meet the needs of the TVA in the Memphis area.

The final contract, however, was not for what the TVA had asked for—600,000 kilowatts of additional capacity—but for 600,000 kilowatts of firm power. This had not been requested, nor was it needed. TVA had ample facilities in its own system to firm up the added 600,000 kilowatts of capacity.

A heavy price was paid for this unneeded and unwanted firm power under the Dixon-Yates contract. In addition to all operating expenses, including taxes, the AEC pays for the installation of 650,000 kilowatts, but only gets the power from 600,000 kilowatts. Further, Dixon-Yates has the right to sell all the power not needed by TVA to their wholly owned subsidiaries. The rate at which Dixon-Yates is permitted to sell this power is at the incremental rate of 1.863 mills per kilowatt-hour.

In the contract, the fiction has been maintained that Dixon-Yates supplies the AEC 600,000 kilowatts at a 98-percent load factor, whereas the facts are that Dixon-Yates will supply the TVA needs in the Memphis area at about a 60-percent load factor. TVA will continue, as it is now doing, to supply the AEC at Paducah—225 miles away—the power it needs at a 98-percent load factor. This difference in the load factor between the two locations gives Dixon-Yates the difference between 650,000 kilowatts at a 98-percent load factor, and 600,000 kilowatts at a 60-percent load factor. It gives Dixon-Yates 2.4 billion kilowatt-hours annually, which they can dispose of to their wholly owned subsidiaries at 1.863 mills per kilowatt-hour.

At the present time, the power production costs of these Dixon-Yates subsidiaries are between 5 and 6 mills per kilowatt-hour. Within 5 to 10 years these production costs will rise to between 7 and 8 mills per kilowatt-hour because of rising fuel costs.

It is safe to say for the minimum term of the Dixon-Yates contract—25 years—the difference between the incremental cost of 1.863 mills per kilowatt-hour, and what it would cost Dixon-Yates to produce this power without Government subsidy, will be about 5 mills per kilowatt-hour.

If Dixon-Yates used all of the 2.4 billion kilowatt-hours available, it would mean a profit of $12 million per year, or $300 million for the minimum contract period of 25 years.

Now we do not believe it is wrong for Dixon-Yates or anyone else to make a profit. We believe in profits. However—it is decidedly wrong for Dixon-Yates to state publicly time and again that their profits are limited to $495,000 per year; when, as a matter of fact, they can make $12 million per year. Even under the worst circumstances they could not help but make $5 million more per year than they publicly state.

It is doubly wrong for the Atomic Energy Commission and the Bureau of the Budget to lend credence to these claims. These agencies of the Government either are not familiar with the facts, and therefore are unfit to make power contracts for the Government; or they are familiar with the facts, in which case much more serious questions arise.

Now to our own proposal. The group I head offered to supply the 600,000 of needed capacity; to produce water at a cost of about 25 percent less than Dixon-Yates; to limit all profits to $133,000 per year; and at the end of 30 years, turn the facilities over to TVA, debt free, for $1.

Our offer would save the Government the $100 million that would be needed in the budget for TVA to build the facilities. Our offer would save the Government $125 to $250 million in power costs over the Dixon-Yates proposal. The Government would own a plant it had paid for, and would be able to make the profits from the sale of excess power.

Our group made its first attempt to get a hearing from the AEC in April 1954. It took more than a month to finally get a hearing and we had only the one. In August the first very sketchy cost comparisons between the TVA, Dixon-Yates, and our proposals were published. It was on this analysis that the President of the United States based his directive to the AEC to enter into a contract with Dixon-Yates. As soon as possible thereafter, we advised the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy that the cost comparisons contained 6 major errors, resulting in 98 wrong figures. All of the errors were in favor of Dixon-Yates. For several months we received no reply to our communication to the committee. Finally, in November we were told that we would get a hearing before the Joint Congress Committee on Atomic Energy. Just as it became our turn to testify, the hearings were conveniently suspended.

The detail figures of the Dixon-Yates contract (how they arrived at power costs), which would permit an accurate comparison between their proposal and ours, were not released until after the contract had been signed.

The records of the Atomic Energy Commission and Bureau of the Budget, released in August 1954 by direction of the President, showed that the idea of making a firm power contract for 600,000 kilowatts—instead of supplying 600,00 kilowatts of additional capacity—originated only in April 1954. This is when we had made our proposal. No one had even mentioned it before. The main idea behind this change was to limit the bidding to Dixon-Yates.

The Senate Antimonopoly Committee came to the following conclusions in its report on the matter: "The testimony before this committee shows that every obstacle within and without the Government was placed in the way of the Von Treschow group and it was finally brushed off unceremoniously."

In other words, every obstacle inside and outside the Government was placed in the way of saving the taxpayers between $125 and $250 millions; and in the way of pointing out that Dixon-Yates, under their contract, would be charging the Government $125 to $250 millions more for power than we would, in addition to their making a profit of $125 to $250 millions over and above the $495,000 a year, which they did disclose.

From the record and the statements of President Eisenhower, the obvious conclusion can be drawn that the Republican administration believes no further Federal Gov-

ernment funds should be invested for the expansion of TVA power generating facilities. Probably this has grown to be the viewpoint of the majority of the country. The Dixon-Yates contract is the Republican administration's answer to the problem of meeting the expanding power needs of the TVA area.

In order to get the Dixon-Yates contract accepted over the violent objections of the people in the TVA area, and the Democratic Party, President Eisenhower adopted the propaganda of the private utilities for his own viewpoint. He called TVA creeping socialism because cheap power in that area is produced at the expense of all of the taxpayers of the Nation. If this is a true statement, then the Dixon-Yates contract is also creeping socialism, because under this contract, power is being purchased at a $250 million higher cost than we offered to produce it, and this increased cost is also at the expense of all the taxpayers of the Nation. According to President Eisenhower, it is creeping socialism if the taxpayers of the country subsidize the TVA area, but it is not creeping socialism if the taxpayers of the country subsidize Dixon-Yates to the tune of $250 million.

In their narrow zeal for their own answer to meet the expanding power needs of the TVA area, the administration has completely lost sight of a basic consideration which affects the Nation as a whole. They have put every obstacle in the way of preventing the competitive free-enterprise system from functioning to provide the consumer with the cheapest possible power.

We do not believe it is good policy on the part of the Government to prevent the effective functioning of the competitive free-enterprise system for the benefit of the consumer. Our country has grown to its present stature and standard of living because of the free and effective functioning of the competitive free-enterprise system. This system produces lower costs to the ultimate consumer; the Eisenhower policy produces higher costs to the ultimate consumer.

In the heat generated by the Dixon-Yates contract, involving one 650,000 kilowatt generating station, an important fact has been neglected altogether. In 1954 the TVA sold a total of 30 billion kilowatt-hours. Of this total only 12 billion kilowatt-hours (or 40 percent) were sold to the 148 municipals and cooperatives which supply all power to the residences, farms, industrial and commercial establishments in the area. The other 18 billion kilowatt-hours are used by the United States Government and 24 very large industrial establishments.

This municipal and cooperative load is growing at the rate of 500,000 kilowatts per year. Beginning in 1958 new steam generating facilities of 500,000 kilowatts per year will have to be provided.

If the majority of the people in the country feel that no more Federal Government money should be used to supply these power plants, then it is much more logical to ask these communities to build these required facilities for the TVA or themselves, than to force a Dixon-Yates type of contract down their throats.

This kind of a solution would seem to be the best and most reasonable one and more likely to meet the approval of the majority of Americans. Unfortunately this reasonable kind of solution has not been proposed to the administration by the 148 distributors.

In the face of stubborn opposition on part of the administration to further spending of Government money for added steam plants, the TVA adherents have been just as stubborn in their insistence on continuation of past policies. Only the city of Memphis has stated that it will build its own plant, if the Dixon-Yates plant is to be built. In our study of this situation we found that these plants can be financed and built and produce power at the same cost as Government financed TVA plants.

Under our proposal to the AEC and TVA we prove that we, as private enterprise, can produce power as cheaply as the TVA. In view of this fact, we have expanded our original proposal, which was to build 600,000 kilowatts for the AEC, to include supplying all the generating facilities required by the growth of the 148 municipals and co-operatives now supplied by TVA. Our aim in these proposals has been to do away with the necessity of further Federal appropriations, and at the same time, retain for the consumer the advantage of the low cost power resulting from the operation of a large integrated power system. The cost of power will not be increased over present TVA rates.

Our proposals are based on the principles we developed right here in New England—in the contracts between the city of Burlington, Vt., and the Green Mountain Power Corp. The philosophy underlying those contracts is that power costs to the consumer can be substantially lowered by cooperation between private and public enterprise, and secondly, that this kind of cooperation produces higher profits for the private utility company.

The net result of those pioneering contracts has been that the city of Burlington is retaining the same rate for its power needs that it has enjoyed since 1919; and the stock of the Green Mountain Power Corp. rose from $12 per share in 1952 to $35 per share in 1955. We do not mean to imply that this rise in the value of Green Mountain stock is altogether due to the Burlington contracts, but it is fair to say that those agreements were a substantial factor in the rise.

These startling results are truly a New England achievement in which all of us have a right to take pride. I would like to pay rightful tribute to Mayor Moran and the officials of the city of Burlington, Mr. Hill, chairman of the board of Green Mountain Power Corp., and its other officers and directors; and the New England Electric System (largest private utility company in New England), for the contribution it made toward these results.

Perhaps the best illustration of how sincere were the efforts of all concerned is to tell you that when an apparently insurmountable legal roadblock threatened to defeat the whole project, it was Mr. Robert Davison, counsel for Green Mountain Power Corp., who provided the solution which permitted a completion of the contracts.

I would like to point to the Burlington-Green Mountain contracts as an example of opportunity for all of you, as well as the private utility companies in New England, to lower power costs in New England, and in that way help to improve the competitive position of New England with the rest of the country.

As to the TVA area, which is surrounded in the West and South by Dixon-Yates subsidiaries, how much more could be accomplished, not only for the benefit of the ultimate consumer, but also for the Dixon-Yates companies, if Dixon-Yates offered to sit down with these 148 TVA distributors and say, "Let's solve our problems together; we'll help you."

We have enough faith in private enterprise and Dixon-Yates to believe that they will see the advantage of this type of cooperation for the benefit of the ultimate consumer and their own companies. The war that they, and the private utility industry as a whole are waging now to destroy the TVA concept, is ultimately bound to be a losing one.

The same amount of money and effort used in a determined effort to lower power costs on a countrywide basis, rather than raise them in the TVA area, would substantially benefit every American and raise his standard of living.

In our plans and proposals there always has been, and always will be room for cooperating with Dixon-Yates, because we feel that they will ultimately come to the conclusion that it will serve the best interests of their companies and their customers. It would make them statesmen in the realm of free enterprise.

The Springfield Daily News Celebrates 75th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues, and have printed in the RECORD, the news story relating to the 75th anniversary of the Springfield Daily News' first publication on February 24, 1880. This story tells of the numerous and well-deserved tributes that have been paid to this outstanding Democratic newspaper, and includes the congratulatory resolution of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

Also, Mr. Speaker, may I call to your attention the editorial entitled "Our Diamond Jubilee."

THE DAILY NEWS, 75 TODAY, RECEIVES MANY MESSAGES, HONORED BY LEGISLATURE—"NO. 1, 75TH YEAR," GOES ON MASTHEAD AS THE PENNY NEWS OF 1880 CELEBRATES DIAMOND ANNIVERSARY IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS

Today is the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Springfield Daily News.

Readers may note that today's anniversary date involves a change in the volume number under the masthead at the top of page 1. The Daily News ended its 74th year with yesterday's edition, and changes the volume number today to "75th Year, No. 1."

The first edition of this newspaper was published February 24, 1880, as the triweekly Penny News. It became the Daily News on May 13, 1880, and by sticking to its pledge as the people's paper, quickly assumed its present position as the largest newspaper in western Massachusetts.

The story of the rise of the Daily News from a struggling infant nurtured by the Bellamy family to a 94,572-circulation newspaper perpetuated by the late Sherman H. Bowles was told Saturday in a special diamond-anniversary supplement.

Copies of this 16-page, tabloid issue are available at the Daily News office for anyone who may desire to keep a souvenir record in picture and story of the paper's first 75 years.

MANY MESSAGES

Since publication of the anniversary edition, the Daily News has received scores of congratulatory messages and salutes.

The Massachusetts House of Representatives adopted a special resolution. Wire services sent anniversary stories about the Daily News to all parts of the country.

Readers, from the average citizen to high-ranking governmental and industrial officials, sent "happy birthday" messages in the form of letters to the editor.

Many of these letters have already been published in the Mail Box column on the editorial page and others are being printed today. An anniversary editorial and a special Pepper Box column also appear in today's Daily News.

Next Wednesday, the Daily News will be saluted by the Springfield Chamber of Commerce Breakfast Club at its monthly breakfast at 8 a. m. in Hotel Highland.

HOUSE RESOLUTION

The State house of representatives' resolution congratulating the Daily News was offered by Representative John F. Thompson, Democrat, Ludlow, and Representative Raymond H. Beach, Republican, Wilbraham.

The text of the resolution:

"Whereas on February 24, 1955, the Springfield Daily News, published in Springfield, will celebrate its 75th anniversary as one of the outstanding newspapers in the Commonwealth; and

"Whereas the Springfield Daily News, first named the Penny News, was the first successful penny newspaper published in New England and prospered as the people's paper to become the largest in western Massachusetts; and

"Whereas through the years the Springfield Daily News has contributed much to the newspaper industry by presenting the news to the public with an informal touch and has maintained the highest traditions of journalism and ideals of a free press; and

"Whereas recognition must be given to all of those, past and present, who have contributed to the success of an outstanding newspaper proudly published in the Commonwealth—the Springfield Daily News: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the house of representatives expresses its congratulations to the Springfield Daily News upon its 75th anniversary and to its publishers and editors and to all who have contributed to its accomplishments and extend its best wishes for continued service and success; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded by the State secretary to the Springfield Daily News."

OUR DIAMOND JUBILEE

It was 75 years ago today that Edward and Charles J. Bellamy produced the first edition of the Penny News which soon became the Daily News.

The editorial room was a painter's shop over the Bellamy law offices on Main Street, and a plank atop 2 barrels was the editor's desk. However, 2,000 persons paid their pennies for that first issue, and started the ever-growing family of readers. Soon, the Daily News became the largest newspaper in western Massachusetts, a distinction it still holds.

Since that day in 1880, the Daily News has counted many assets. We are indebted to the 2 publishers, to the 4 men who have served the newspapers as editors, and to the hundreds of men and women who have filled important reportorial, mechanical, and business positions.

We are grateful also to the ingenious technicians who developed the wireless, the teletypewriter, the high-speed press, the Linotype, wirephotography, photo facsimile, and the many other machines and processes which permit us to produce a better newspaper.

However, the greatest asset of any newspaper is its readers. In that regard, the Daily News has been richly blessed. Our huge family of readers includes stanch partisans and frequent critics, and it has sustained the Daily News through years of financial difficulties, keen competition, and newsprint shortages.

In Springfield, almost everyone reads the Daily News, and thousands of persons in other western Massachusetts cities which have their own hometown dailies nevertheless buy the Daily News each day.

On our diamond jubilee, we gratefully acknowledge the well wishes of many friends, and we express our thanks to our many thousands of readers in the western Massachusetts and Connecticut communities which we earnestly seek to serve.

Analysis: World Trade, H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, the problem to be discussed herein is simply whether H. R. 1 should be accepted as a sound measure in the national interest or rejected as an unsatisfactory solution to world-trade problems in light of its effect upon the United States economy.

For practical consideration the problem is divided into three basic elements: First, economic: What effect will the United States tariff policy have upon the economies of the free world nations? Second, world political: What effect will the United States tariff policy have upon the political and military unity of the free world nations? Third, domestic: What effect will United States tariff policy have upon the domestic economy and particularly upon industries affected by lower tariffs and international competition.

ECONOMIC

In terms of a long-run solution to the trade and payments problems of the world, the basic difficulty seems to be that of a continuing necessity for nations to adjust the allocation of their resources. This readjustment is necessary in order to keep pace with the constant increase in world production and reshuffling of world trade among the free nations. Three separate factors seem to be affecting the long-run distribution of national resources:

(a) The increasing integration of industries within each nation so as to gain the advantages of manufacturing their own basic raw material. Most important in underdeveloped areas although significant in Europe.

(b) The strong drive of all the free nations for strength and the highest degree of independence possible.

(c) The trading nations of the world have had a great tendency to develop into trading blocs with each bloc having somewhat divergent and competing interests and limited self-sufficiency. Sterling bloc, European Payments Union, dollar area.

Assuming the above facts to be sound and accurate we present the question of what effect the United States tariff policy will have upon the problems confronting nations with regard to trade and payments. The facts indicate that the current problems have had little connection with the United States tariff policy and therefore any change in this policy will have a negligible effect upon the important problems of international trade and payments. The facts from which this view was formed are as follows:

(a) Import tariffs are only one factor to be considered in judging whether or not the American consumer will buy foreign goods.

(b) The factors of taste, technology, and new inventions, distance and shipping costs, competing price reductions by domestic producers as a result of import threat have been largely omitted in considering the issue.

(c) In actual fact most evidence points to the fact that in the event that United States tariffs were completely removed there would be little change in the trade throughout the world. Mr. Howard S. Piquet, Senior Economic Specialist in the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, in his book Trade Aid and Tariffs, expressed a well-founded opinion that in the absence of any tariffs, imports into the United States would rise no more than $2.6 billion annually.

We are left with the conclusion that most of the foreign claims that a lowering of United States tariffs would remedy all the free world's economic and balance of payments difficulty simply are not true and that arguments in favor of freer trade based upon this concept of the international economic effects of such trade increases forthcoming through tariff reductions have been greatly overstated. A much more sound theory explaining the international trade and payments difficulties of the free world can be based on the three factors affecting the long-run distribution of national resources named in this discussion.

WORLD POLICY

The long-range United States foreign policy centers around one basic objective—a strong domestic economy in a peaceful community of nations. In order to fully realize this objective it is assumed that the United States must have strong, economically secure allies. This Nation has taken the dominant role in postwar politics and in the establishment of sound prosperous economies among the free nations. The free nations of the world now look to America as a leader and attach greater importance to United States action than is justified by fact. This exaggerated sensitivity is confirmed by almost every foreign reaction to United States policy. Thus, through the assumption of leadership in international affairs and through the natural internal economic strength of this country, the United States has become the leading actor on the free-world stage.

Coordinating the above statements and consideration of H. R. 1, we present the question of what effect United States tariff policy will have upon the political and military unity of the free world.

It is immediately apparent that the failure to accept the President's tariff proposal, H. R. 1, will cause violent objection among the free nations of the world, particularly the European trading nations who form the bulwark of our Western European defense perimeter.

In short, it is obvious that this kind of objection is economically, completely unjustified, but it is nevertheless a political reality. It must be analyzed as a reality.

The basic question then becomes a very broad one involving United States strategic policy. Should this Nation disregard the opinions of other free world nations because we know that the opinions had little basis in fact? The answer to this is no. Because of the fact that most of our allies are keenly interested in United States tariff policy and regard it as a primary index as to whether or not we intend to practice on the economic front what we preach on the political front, we must attach considerable importance to this phase of the trade problem. We must weigh the political realities alongside economic fact in setting forth the trade policy of the United States.

DOMESTIC

The effect of lower tariffs upon the domestic economy of the United States has formed the battleline for both the proponents and opponents of H. R. 1. Basically, this factor in isolation from other considerations is an insufficient foundation for a final conclusion. However, because of the tremendous publicity given this phase of the problem many misconceptions have been formed and many opinions drawn upon this factor alone. Those proponents of H. R. 1 who believe that low tariffs will act as a veritable panacea to the domestic economy must ultimately face the same disillusionment as those friendly nations who have in the past made the United States tariff policy the whipping boy for all their economic problems. The various pressure groups who by necessity or by choice have selected their belief and are now trying to utilize every conceivable rationale in favor of their original opinion do not come to grips with the basic question of the effect of United States tariff policy upon the prosperity of the domestic economy.

In general it is recognized that some economic gains accrue to a nation from such tariff reductions. This tends to reduce the price to consumers of the products imported in greater quantity and to increase the financial ability of foreign nations to buy United States produce. However, to put the tariff question in proper perspective, it should be made clear that the proposed changes set forth in H. R. 1 will have an insignificant beneficial effect upon the overall national economy.

In recent years exports have averaged approximately $15 billion and imports $11 billion per year which amounts to roughly 4.5 and 3.3 percent of the gross national product during the same years. Approximately $6 billion of the annual import figure enters the country free from duty. This means that a reduction in United States tariffs would affect only the goods presently being imported into this country at an annual rate of $5 billion or less than 2 percent of the gross national product. Reliable estimates of the probable increase in imports in the absence of any duties place the range at $1.2 billion to $2.6 billion. Judging from this estimate, the maximum effect of H. R. 1 upon the economy as a whole would be less than 1 percent of the gross national product.

The bare fact is that certain domestic industries have a long history of operation under tariff protection while other industries foresee a good possibility of expanding their sales and profits if tariffs are reduced. Just how much either group would be damaged or helped by the passage of H. R. 1 is impossible to determine since both sides constantly overstate their position. Nevertheless, herein lie the two sides of the argument.

Objective tests show that the industries which would be most affected by increased competition from foreign producers are the textile groups—wool and cotton manufacturers as well as textile fibers—and the machine and vehicle group—bicycles, autos, lawn mowers, sewing machines, and many types of other machinery. There would be a substantial rise in imports in the areas of animal fats and oils, vegetable products, and chemicals.

Is it in the national interest to continue tariff protection in industries where such protection now exists in order to prevent dislocation of production? This question must be answered on a case-by-case basis and not by a general policy as set forth in H. R. 1. Congressional action on this bill will merely set the trend for future changes.

There is no doubt that some controls are essential to prevent other nations from pushing the burden of worldwide economic adjustments onto the United States as world productivity capacity increases and changing factors force a reshuffling of resources throughout the world.

CONCLUSION

The tariff question boils down to this: We must weigh the effects of H. R. 1 upon, first, the free world economies; second, the political and military unity of the free nations; and, third, the domestic economy and protected industries.

Absolutely nothing the United States might do in the way of lowering tariffs can solve or even substantially aid the economic problems of the free world. The first step to be taken in solving national and international economic problems is a realistic insight into the actual difficulty by the countries involved. There can be no successful solutions to the problems so long as nations refuse to do this. It must be stressed that the role of this country should not be one of nurturing all the misconceptions which exist among the allied nations who continue to use United States tariff policy as a "scapegoat" for their own unsolved economic problems. We cannot make our laws and justify them on the basis of unsound opinions voiced by friendly nations.

The same basic principle of economic reality must be followed in coping with the strong foreign objections forthcoming from a United States policy to maintain tariffs at their present level. Legislation such as H. R. 1 must be based upon and justified by full considerations of domestic interests.

The full impact of further tariff reductions upon several of our domestic industries has not been stressed here. However, it is generally known that the textile, bicycle, lawnmower, and many other industries will be further depressed by a continuation of tariff reductions. Should we cease to protect these industries because of the good accruing to the consumer and the economy as a whole? The answer to this would be "Yes" if such general economic benefits were a probable result of a lower tariff policy. This is simply not the case. In fact, H. R. 1 will have the effect of helping one small group of producers at the expense of another small group of producers for the general benefit of no one, except the latter group.

Looking once more to the realities of the allover problem, it seems that a low-tariff policy has become the popular symbol of an economic cure-all. People and nations have attached themselves to this symbol in the hope of something better for themselves. The mysterious economic curing power attributed to a lower United States tariff policy is pure mythology. Sooner or later all nations must solve their economic problems through their own efforts and by facing up to the real problems. The time for this action is now and United States tariff policy is not the real problem.

The rational balance in the allocation of traded resources between nations cannot be expected to happen automatically. There must be tariffs and standby measures for the protection of all countries from dislocations in their internal economies. United States tariffs are now the eighth lowest in the world and the facts simply do not justify further reduction.

An Unworthy Political Trick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an editorial from the Indianapolis News of February 23, 1955:

AN UNWORTHY POLITICAL TRICK

The $20-for-everybody tax cut which some Democrats are trying to push through the National House of Representatives is nothing but a piece of political chicanery designed to put President Eisenhower on the spot.

This newspaper said last month, when the tax-cut idea was first broached, that until the continuing Federal deficit has been halted, the budget balanced, and the way opened to reduce the enormous national debt, any overall slash in tax revenues would involve risk to the Nation's economic stability and military security. That sums up the President's position, which we support completely.

The measure approved by the House Ways and Means Committee is particularly reprehensible because it combines irresponsible and untimely individual tax cuts with the

Eisenhower-backed plan to extend corporate income taxes at their present high rates.

It is a take-it-all-or-leave-it political plot. It ought to be recognized and repudiated as such by the House as a whole. Responsible Democrats in the Senate, including HARRY F. BYRD and WALTER GEORGE, chairman and ranking member of the Finance Committee, have condemned the move as unwise and unfortunate. Their counsel should prevail in the Senate even should the House be so reckless as to push the $20-handout trick to passage.

All economic indications point to the possibility of a balanced budget and some measure of tax relief, both for individuals and business, unless there is a downturn by mid-1956. However, the Government deficit for the 1956 fiscal year, which begins July 1, will total about $2,400,000,000. It is utterly unrealistic, therefore, to schedule general tax cuts now, especially any which might begin in January of next year. The situation a year hence can provide the only safe basis for deciding.

President Eisenhower is keenly aware that the public is entitled to tax relief just as soon as that becomes feasible. But he is also keenly aware that no loss of revenue should be risked while the Government is running in the red and while military demands are so great.

We believe the people will understand his position. If certain Democrats in Congress are so foolish as to think otherwise, their whole plot may boomerang in votes against them in the 1956 election.

United States Surplus Wheat Gift to Russia Sheer Folly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable discussion about the critical food shortage in the Soviet Union, and some speculation as to the effect this shortage might have upon the stability of the Russian autocrats sitting in the Kremlin. On the other hand, it has been suggested that since we have a wonderful bounty of foodstuffs accumulated as a surplus over a period of several years, that we should turn over a goodly part of this surplus to the Communist masters for distribution by them throughout their empire. The argument is advanced that this would be a great humanitarian act and that we would win many friends and stimulate better understanding between the Communist world and our free society.

Another point of view has been advanced that since one of the principal reasons for the critical food shortage within the U. S. S. R. has been the resistance of the farmers and their refusal to cooperate in the collectivist farming schems of the Russians, there seems little doubt but that the farmers in the Soviet Union who despise the Russian Communists, have set out to create a crisis by creating a critical food shortage. It is reasoned, therefore, that we, a free people, should not upset the hard-earned gains of the farmers in the U. S. S. R. who are engaged in a death struggle with the Russian tyrants.

On Wednesday, February 23, there appeared in the Cleveland News, an editorial entitled "United States Surplus Wheat Gift to Russia Sheer Folly." This editorial, in my considered judgment, is the most practical analysis I have yet seen on the question as to whether we should give or trade any of our surplus wheat to the Russian tyrants. It expresses a most refreshing point of view and I commended it to the reading of every Member of the House:

The United States Information Agency, which operates the Voice of America network, reports Russia's massive drive to step up farm output has failed so badly that the Soviet population has less grain per person than in 1926.

After more than a quarter of a century of collective farming under communism, says the USIA, the Russian people are still crtically short of foodstuffs, and livestock production is 3 million less today than before the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

Malenkov walked the Kremlin plank because he failed to improve Russia's agricultural output.

This brings us to the current suggestion of some Members of Congress to President Eisenhower that the United States make a gift of some 350,00 bushels of our surplus wheat to Russia as a "humanitarian act" which would improve relations between the Soviet and this country.

There is no question that there is a serious Russian food shortage, but not so grave but what Russia sold thousands of bushels of its wheat to Iran earlier this month.

The United States has a big wheat surplus, probably enough to supply this country's needs for 2 years. But to make a gift of 350,000 bushels of our surplus wheat to Russia seems to us a dubious proposition. If the Kremlin rulers would tell the Soviet population where the wheat came from, that it was a gift and why such a gift was necessary, then the proposal might possibly be in order.

Such knowledge, however, would never be given the Russian people by the Kremlin dictators. It would spoil their whole international act.

When the Marshall plan was inaugurated after the last war, Russia was responsible for those "Yankees go home" placards that appeared all over Western Europe, if you recall.

It would not pay now for the Kremlin to admit to their victims of terror within Russia that America is a humanitarian nation of people who have no quarrel with the Russian people.

Under the circumstances, it would be sheer folly and fantastic for us to turn over any surplus United States wheat to the Soviet bosses.

Once the gift was made, they'd laugh in our faces.

The Case for Mohawk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the consent granted me today, I submit for the RECORD an editorial from the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle:

THE CASE FOR MOHAWK

In the absence of more clarification it seems to us Mohawk Airlines has a point in protesting the Civil Aeronautics Board's refusal to grant it a hearing on its petition for a permanent license.

Mohawk, whose feeder lines serve Rochester and other eastern cities, meets all 15 requirements used by the CAB to measure operating performance. It believes it has made "reasonable progress toward ultimate self-sufficiency in relation to the public convenience and necessity" set by the CAB as a standard for a permanent license. It cannot be sure since the CAB has never precisely defined the standard, according to Mohawk spokesmen. But the airline's progress toward increasing traffic and decreasing subsidies has averaged 27 percent or more a year, they point out, and the company in August through September showed a net profit exclusive of mail pay subsidies.

One CAB member is quoted as opposing a permanent license because it might take away from feeder lines the incentive of expanding. That may well be. But should a going company such as Mohawk progress reports indicate it to be, pay this price? A permanent license for this and other stable, going airlines would help attract more investment money, improve their equipment and maintain high quality service.

Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that the substantial lines should have a permanent franchise.

A Critical Study of the New Proposals for Federal Aid to Schools—Editorial by the Most Reverend John F. O'Hara, C. S. C., Archbishop of Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, an editorial published in the Catholic Standard and Times of February 11, 1955, written by the archbishop of the diocese of Philadelphia, contains an interesting and informative discussion on some of the problems involved in meeting today's school needs. The editorial is entitled "A Critical Study of the New Proposals for Federal Aid to Schools," and was written by the Most Reverend John F. O'Hara, C. S. C.

As the archbishop points out in this editorial:

The Members of Congress, in the honest desire to serve the best interests of our Nation, should do all in their power to insure that prudence will prevail in the distribution of any aid granted by the Federal Government to assist local communities in their problems of education.

I was struck, Mr. Speaker, by the study and research which went into the preparation of this editorial and I commend it to all Members of Congress through these pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a means of bringing an informed and most interesting viewpoint to the attention of the Congress.

Archbishop O'Hara, in effect, urges the most careful study of all the facts and

the tremendous amount of available background information before any legislative action is taken on the matter of emergency Federal aid for school construction. The full text of the editorial is as follows:

Current proposals for an emergency program of Federal aid for school construction must have very careful study before any legislative action is taken.

Considerable material for such study is contained in two Government documents printed in 1954 for the use of the House Committee on Education and Labor. The first of these is Federal Aid to School Construction, a report prepared in the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress by Charles A. Quattlebaum; the other, Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor—House of Representatives.

The first thing that must be understood by the legislators is that the long-range problem of schoolroom shortage is, up to the present moment, largely one of obsolescence of buildings and mobility of population. The impact of increased births would hardly be noticed at the present moment were it not for the other two factors. The enrollment in public schools in the United States in October 1953 is reported by the Bureau of the Census (series P–20, No. 52, January 22, 1954) at 26,845,000. The enrollment in October 1934 (U. S. Office of Education) was 26,434,000. An increase of 400,000 in 20 years is not a notable increase (1.4 percent) in a total picture of more than 26 million pupils. The short-range view regards the increase of 3 million pupils since 1945.

The testimony of one witness on the mobility of the population in his State is illustrative of the general trend. This witness reported: "We are no different from any number of rural States in that we have a shifting population from farm to urban and suburban. We actually have some school buildings in our State that are in fairly good condition, that are no longer required because of their location and we cannot use them; yet in our urban centers we find we are underhoused, overcrowded, and we are at a loss to meet the situation." (Hearings, p. 225.)

Mobility looms large in the picture. The 1950 census showed that between March 1949 and March 1950, 18.7 percent of our population had moved from one house to another. A census report (series P–20, No. 49) showed that between April 1952 and April 1953, 20.1 percent of our population moved. Between April 1951 and April 1952, 19.8 percent of our population moved. From April 1950 to April 1951, 21 percent of our population moved.

Any congressional study of the present problems should include census data on the back-to-the-farm movement of the depression days of 20 years ago. Some of the local problems of overcrowded schools solved themselves 20 years ago when industrial workers who were unable to find employment in urban centers returned to the farms which they had abandoned in the 1920's.

Since mobility of the population is such a strong factor in the creation of school shortages, there would seem to be need for far more study than has been given at the present time to the question of whether a local population is transient or permanent. The construction of elaborate school facilities in what may be a ghost town 10 years from now would later be stigmatized as poor planning. The most skillful analysis is required to determine whether temporary or permanent buildings are advisable in a given situation.

In this connection a wise observation is offered in the general report of the Joint State Government Commission of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in January of this year. Reporting on the distribution of funds raised by the State Public School Building Authority, the Commission notes that on the basis of 1954 prices, construction cost per pupil for the authority-financed elementary buildings ranged from $474 to $2,166 • • • construction cost per pupil for secondary buildings constructed by Authorities ranged from $750 to $4,300. The report notes further that the most frequently occurring value is about $1,000 per pupil for elementary schools and $1,550 per pupil for secondary schools.

Since one proposal offered is based, in the main, on a nationwide expansion of the plan already in effect in Pennsylvania, the practical observations of this Commission should carry weight. The Commission recommends that in its future calculations it plan for construction costs of $1,100 per pupil for new elementary schools and $1,700 per pupil for new secondary schools.

Variations in construction cost per pupil just as great as those noted in Pennsylvania are to be found in the hearings mentioned above. Two other types of variation are reported in the hearings. Costs per square foot vary from $5 to $17 in estimates offered by various State school officers. Similarly costs per classroom vary from $8,500 to $45,000.

The hearings have also disclosed a great variation in the tax procedures of the respective States in the matter of raising funds for school construction. On pages 224 and 225 of the hearings the variation reported is rather striking—the State of Alabama is said to have a statutory prescription that the real estate assessment should be 60 percent of its reasonable market value, while in Arkansas the assessed valuation is supposed to be 20 percent of the real or fair value of the property. In the latter case it is further reported that there has been a considerable increase in the assessment ratio over the last several years.

The hearings reveal quite generally a hope that Federal aid will stimulate local activity where it has been lagging. A witness for one State school department, who stated that under present legislative restrictions only $16 million could be borrowed in the State for school construction, said he felt that a Federal grant of $150 million on a matching basis would stimulate the local and State authorities to remove whatever restrictions now exist so that the Federal grant could be accepted on a 50–50 basis.

An extreme example of the "pump-priming" concept is provided in the hearings (pages 129 and following). The witness cited one county with a bonding capacity of nearly $5 million and with estimated needs of replacement and modernization of $7 million. The voters of this county were reported to have rejected on five occasions proposals to issue bonds for needed school improvements. The witness expressed his conviction that an offer of the Federal Government to finance one-half the cost of improvements would induce the voters to approve a bond issue for the other half. The comment of one Congressman was: "You are giving me the best argument for no aid to construction I have heard yet. You are saying: 'We are going to sit back until we get some money from the Federal Government and are not going to raise a finger to help ourselves.' "

Another instance of loose thinking is offered by a State official who stated that in response to a telegram from the committee he had prepared a wire for the Governor of the State which reported the cost of needed classrooms as $82 million. In his testimony he amended the telegram to add the "necessary facilities that go with the classrooms, such as library, study hall, recreation rooms, etc." and gave as his revised estimate a total of $732,314,790.

President Eisenhower in his recent message to Congress has expressed a wholesome desire to safeguard "a fundamental element of the American school system—local direction by Boards of Education immediately responsible to the parents of children and other citizens of the community." While we approve this objective, we must observe that the extension of Federal aid without scrutiny as to its ultimate destination can give rise to a situation worse than the one for which a remedy is sought.

Careful analysis of the hearings is definitely in order before any further appropriation is voted for assistance to local communities in solving the school problems. Those who make the analysis should keep before them a recent observation of Dr. John M. Lumley, Deputy Superintendent of the State Department of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania. Commenting on the growth of the movement for consolidated school districts and jointures in rural areas, he said: "School jointures are a monstrosity because they are complicated by conflicting authority that impedes the administration of school affairs. We got ourselves into the jointures because we thought they were the answer to our school problems, but now we know that they are not and we are seeking a way to get out."

Any factual study of Federal participation in school construction should have access to all available material on previous action by the Federal Government in this field. The report, "Federal Aid to School Construction" by Charles A. Quattlebaum, shows that between July 1933 and June 30, 1942, the Public Works Administration made allotments for 6,687 elementary and secondary school projects, while the Works Progress Administration took part in the construction of 5,900 new school buildings and the modernization, enlargement or improvement of 33,000 other school buildings. In the PWA operation the expenditure was over $979,000,000, and in the WPA operation the estimated cost was $466,700,000, of which the Federal Government provided about 71 percent. This study needs to be brought up to date by factual information on the present condition and the present use of those buildings. If any of them are now abandoned, if any of them fell apart or deteriorated more rapidly than schools constructed under complete local responsibility, the facts should be laid before Congress.

An important element in the appraisal of the entire picture is the number of pupils per teacher. In 1934 the ratio was 31 pupils to 1 teacher for the entire United States. In 1950 the ratio was 24.4. (These figures are furnished by the United States Office of Education.) Study of the recommendations made by witnesses as reported in the hearings reveals that in their appraisal of needs the State school officers generally estimate 30 pupils to a classroom. In 1950 only one State, Mississippi, had this ratio for an average, while 24 States showed an average below the 24.4 pupils per teacher reported for the entire country. It is obvious that an increase of 20 percent in the average teacher load would take care of a great many students without increased construction. The mobility of the population, of course, stands in the way of using, or using to capacity, existing schools in depopulated districts, but a critical survey of actual conditions may reveal the possibility of savings in construction.

The estimates of building costs reported in the hearings have in general disregarded the element of the interest cost on bonds. A pertinent paragraph on this is offered in the general report of the Joint State Government Commission of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, page 2:

"Reimbursable project construction cost is necessarily smaller than the amount on which the Commonwealth subsidy is paid, which is the total of approved construction costs plus interest costs. For example, assuming that money is worth 3 percent and that all projects are amortized over a period

of 30 years, the total amount on which the Commonwealth would reimburse over time would be 1.53 times the project construction cost."

Revealed by the hearings is a general estimate of $10 billion as the cost of needed school construction. This observation of the Pennsylvania joint commission indicates that if the cost of bonds is taken into consideration, the estimate should be revised to $15,300,000,000.

A final observation. Much has been made of the reduction in the number of 1-room schools in the United States. This may or may not be a good thing. Certainly the local community should continue to determine its own needs. Those who love the 1-room school can point with pride to the young Governor of Pennsylvania, elected at the age of 37, who is a product of a 1-room school in York County. Certainly his preparation was adequate for his secondary education in York Collegiate Institute, his college education at Gettysburg, and his graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania.

The Members of Congress, in the honest desire to serve the best interests of our Nation, should do all in their power to insure that prudence will prevail in the distribution of any aid granted by the Federal Government to assist local communities in their problems of education.

Mohawk's Air Status

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the consent granted me today, I submit for the RECORD an editorial from the Utica (N. Y.) Observer-Dispatch of February 14, 1955:

MOHAWK'S AIR STATUS

The increasing number of central New Yorkers who fly Mohawk to get to New York and other eastern cities, will be surprised that the airline is still fighting for its permanent license.

Of course, Mohawk has to live up to all the safety and operational requirements of the Civil Aeronautics Board but it, along with dozens of other smaller lines, is considered merely trying its wings, so to speak, by CAB.

Mohawk has appealed the CAB ruling that it cannot have a permanent license at this time. The argument in the Board is reported to involve fear if feeder lines have permanent status they will lose their incentive for expanding.

The catch is that as long as Mohawk and other feeders lack permanent certificates from CAB they will not so easily attract investment needed to expand as fast as they and their public might wish.

Mohawk is an operating, functioning airline living up to all standards of CAB. Its progress toward more traffic and less subsidy has averaged 27 percent or more a year, its officers say. Also, in August through September last year the line showed a net profit exclusive of the mail pay of the Government.

Central New York would like to see this record recognized by a permanent license from CAB. It could mean even better aeronautic facilities for our service and convenience.

Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that the substantial lines should have a permanent franchise.

New England's Business Future Appears Bright

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, frequently the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD have contained important information on problems of the economy of New England.

However, it would be unjust to the spirit of New England's industry to present none of its brighter aspects to the Nation. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Boston Post of Sunday, February 13, 1955:

NEW ENGLAND'S BUSINESS FUTURE APPEARS BRIGHT

A growing population, expanding incomes, and increasing productivity provide foundations on which New Englanders may base sound expectations for the region's continued progress and development.

These conclusions are reached in the report of the Federal Reserve bank for 1954, which has just been released. The bank states that New England is a "dynamic demonstration that a mature industrial civilization can contain the seeds of rebirth and revitalization."

Highlights of the report show:

More than 2 million people have been added to New England's population since 1920.

A growth of 780,000 in total employment in the same period, including a 70 percent expansion in number of service industry workers.

The average level of manufacturing employment in New England in 1953 was about the same as the 1920 level, the bank said. "Yet during these years, individual incomes of an expanding population increased by one-half, even after the adjustment for changes in price levels.

"Obviously, a fundamental change in the character of New England's manufacturing activity took place during that period to enable the same number of workers to support more people at higher income levels.

"This change, the most striking development in the region's manufacturing history, has been the shift in labor force to higher-paying, more productive industries—to industries in which New England's manufacturers hold a better position in relation to their competitors in other areas."

METALWORKING ACTIVE

The transition in New England's manufacturing activities has been marked by the significant increase in the relative importance of metalworking activities—up from 30 percent of the total manufacturing employment in 1919 to 41 percent of the total in 1954.

And between 1947 and 1953, 63 percent of all new manufacturing jobs added to the region's economy were in just 2 product categories—electrical machinery and transportation equipment.

New England is also making improved use of its most important resource—manpower. New England labor force is being steadily "up-graded." Output from an hour of labor in the durable goods industries now exceeds output from a comparable hour in the nondurables by 10 percent.

There is encouraging evidence, too, the bank continued, that New England is improving its competitive position in the national manufacturing economy. In those industries where New England is growing the fastest, the net product per man-hour is also advancing the most rapidly.

The rise in individual incomes in New England, in dollars of constant buying power, has consistently exceeded the United States average. In terms of 1954 dollars, per capita income in New England has grown by one-half since 1929, reflecting the expanded output from each man-hour of labor.

"It is the combination of a concentrated area and a large manufacturing population, with both high incomes and high savings, that makes the area so rich a market for both consumer and industrial products," the bank comments.

Particularly helpful are community industrial foundation programs, State development credit corporations, and venture capital organizations.

GROWING POPULATION

"One may expect the New Englander to continue indefinitely the adaptability he has demonstrated for three centuries," the bank said. "As new economic problems arise—and problems are inherent in change—he is certain to find new devices and processes for solving them."

As to the future, the bank thinks the next decade will add another million to the region's population.

"This growing population will demand still further expansion of public and private facilities, and will provide new markets for many of the region's producers.

"In this fact lie both the need and the opportunity for a continuing expansion of economic activity. Another million people by 1965 will necessitate New England's finding 400,000 new jobs, and of almost every imaginable variety."

The Man With Ultimate Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, there is hardly an American today who is not aware of the many problems that beset our Nation and our world. Whether our principal job is in factory, farm, or office, or whether it is as a homemaker, all Americans sense the difficulties of maintaining healthy communities, a strong Nation, and a peaceful world. But our individual share of the responsibility is limited—even for those of us who take a more direct role in governmental affairs—and there is a certain solace in knowing that many others share the ultimate responsibility with us.

But there is one man in this country who cannot avoid ultimate responsibility. One man who carries upon his shoulders the massive task of leadership—for all Americans and for many free nations in the world. He is the President of the United States.

Recently, when new hydrogen bomb statistics were released to the public, it moved the Cleveland Press to ponder upon the dreadful responsibility of President Eisenhower. I call it to the attention of the Members because of its thoughtful consideration of a man who

deserves our fullest admiration and trust:

IKE'S DREADFUL RESPONSIBILITY

Nothing in recent years has underlined so clearly the dreadful responsibilities of the Presidency as this week's official news of the vast killing power of the hydrogen bomb.

Nothing has given us more cause for dependence on the President, or more cause for prayers that the President may make his decisions wisely.

The Atomic Energy Commission's explanation of how the "fallout" from an H-bomb can contaminate an area of 7,000 square miles is, of course, one of the big news stories of our time.

But it is much more than that. It reduces from a nebulous generality to reality the danger that civilization as we know it can doom itself in a hydrogen war.

The President has known this for a year. He knows much more; about even greater bombs, about guided missiles with atomic warheads, about bacteriological warfare. He knows much more than the public knows, much more than the public may know for a long time, if ever.

It is on this kind of information, some of which must be highly secret for obvious reasons, that the President bases the awful decision it is his duty to make. On such inside information, President Eisenhower has made the decisions which led to our Formosa policy, our attitude toward the shift of power in Moscow, his proposal to reduce Army manpower.

How can citizens judge such decisions of the President, with his superior information?

They can't.

They only can have faith that the information is sound, that the President is using his very best judgment.

On questions of foreign policy and military action, the President cannot balance his judgment against the views of many others, or against public opinion generally. He must "go it alone," for the most part.

Despite this, we are a Nation in which a well-informed people is the greatest bulwark of peace.

The decisions of the President are, in the ultimate sense, the decisions of the people.

But it is only when the people promptly understand the urgency of the facts behind these decisions that they also can share in the responsibility for them.

The Late Pete Jarman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Pete Jarman, an illustrious Member of this body from 1937 until 1949, and my esteemed friend and valued colleague, died on February 17 at the age of 62.

Pete Jarman represented the Sixth District of Alabama with courage, charm, and political know-how. He has been called a Congressman's Congressman. We can point with pride to his confident support of our foreign policy and the ability he had to draw others to him.

He was born in Greensboro, Ala. After graduating from the University of Alabama he tutored under his father in the probate office of Sumpter County. When World War I came he attended the first officers' candidate school at Fort McPherson, Ga., and went overseas as a first lieutenant. He returned February 2, 1919, having been wounded in France.

In 1931 Mr. Jarman became secretary of state for Alabama. Four years later he was named assistant State controller. Elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1937, he served until 1949.

President Truman named Pete Jarman as Ambassador to Australia in 1949. He left that post in 1953 and retired.

His interest and membership in worthwhile organizations reads like a cross section of American life. He was commander of the Department of Alabama, American Legion, in 1927–28. In 1947 he was elected president of the Jefferson Island Club, which drew its membership from members of the Democratic Party, and dedicated itself to the political principles of Thomas Jefferson.

Pete Jarman regarded his constituents as "the finest, the best, the kindest people of the world." He was one of them. He shared with distinction the responsibilities of our House Foreign Affairs Committee. His duties he regarded as a sacred trust.

I believe the finest tribute I can accord our deceased colleague is to repeat his own words, given in this Chamber during his years of service:

Congress is composed of men of common interests with the plain people as well as the mighty. * * * I have served all the counties of my district with regard for the advice and counsel of the citizens of them all, never having been controlled by any group. You also know I never will be * * * To serve my country, my district, my State, my Nation to the best of my ability has ever been my keen desire.

I rejoice that I was privileged to serve with Pete Jarman and welcome this opportunity to express my great admiration for him. I am certain you join with me in acknowledging a deep sense of personal loss in his passing.

The family life of our late friend and Mrs. Jarman was beautiful, an inspiration for all to follow. They were always together, always sweethearts.

I extend to Mrs. Jarman my deep sympathy in her great loss and sorrow.

"I Wuz Robbed," Cried the Elephant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, from New York there comes a plea for the underpaid workers of this country—that they should be relieved of at least a small amount of their taxes.

This is an appeal in behalf of those people, and I am sure the editors of the New York Post are close enough to these people in the low-income bracket to testify to their needs.

I am pleased, therefore, to extend my remarks in the RECORD to include the following editorial appearing in the New York Post of Wednesday, February 23:

"I WUZ ROBBED," CRIED THE ELEPHANT

About a month ago a Times headline said said: "Eisenhower Sets 1956 for Tax Cut." The headline was based on a clear declaration in the President's Economic Report that next year will be the year for a "general, though modest" tax cut for everybody.

It was thereupon noted in a few places that 1956 happens to be the year of a great national election, but nobody got very indignant about the coincidence.

Now come the House Democrats with a proposal for a $20-a-person income-tax cut starting next January 1. The cries of Republican protest are deafening. In nearly all the gazettes it is charged that the Democrats are guilty of irresponsible fiscal misconduct bordering on subversion.

The charge is badly stated. What the Democrats are guilty of is attempted robbery: they are trying to steal a campaign issue in broad daylight. If, in the process, they seek to insure that tax relief is not loaded in favor of the wealthy (as it was in the 1954 Republican tax bill), the theft must be deemed even more outrageous by the Republican press agents.

The offense of the Democrats is not that they are playing politics, but that they have beaten the Republicans to the playing field. Relax, folks; that noise in the distance is a wounded elephant groan, not to be confused with the death-rattle of the Republic.

One Nation Under God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, a well-deserved tribute has just been paid by the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge to Millard C. Browne, editorial writer of the Buffalo Evening News. The foundation has given one of its coveted awards to Mr. Browne for his thoughtful and moving editorial of June 16, 1954, concerning the addition of the words "under God" to our Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. Browne, in his editorial, notes that the addition of these words was spurred by the rise of atheistic Communism, but adds this thoughtful and incisive comment:

Our gravest danger as a Nation lies not in the possibility that significant numbers of Americans ever will fall for the evil doctrine of communism, but in the fact that too many Americans serve freedom with their lips and not with their hearts. The strong and active faith that motivated the founding of this republic and united its people behind a dream of liberty and justice for all God's creatures, has paled into a discussion of rights and duties that too often takes place in a vacuum, so far as it concerns any recognition of the authority whence those rights and duties derive.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include the full text of Mr. Browne's editorial:

ONE NATION UNDER GOD

"I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." (By act of Congress, June 14, 1954.)

Something new has been added to the symbolism of our nationhood—something as new as this year's Flag Day, yet as old as the Declaration of Independence.

The Pledge of Allegiance, memorized and recited by two whole generations of Americans, will have to be relearned with two vital words added. The very fact that they are new and unfamiliar will underscore them in the reciting and give a richer meaning to the whole.

The change is a simple one, saying no more than has been implicit all along; after "one Nation" is added the phrase "under God." Yet the addition to these two words speaks volumes about our national history and, for that matter, about the whole conception of "liberty and justice" on which America is founded.

Some traditionalists may wonder why it was necessary to tinker with the pledge—why, if it was good enough for grandpa, it couldn't be left as is for us. But traditionalists with a deeper understanding of America—its past and present—will not need to ask. They will know why these words—assumed, and thus omitted when the pledge was written—are needed now to complete an affirmation intended to encompass the vital things for which our flag stands.

The pledge we recite is not a dead tribute to the past, but a living testament of present day Americanism. The Founding Fathers could not have written it all, for the very accent on "one nation indivisible" is a reminder not of the Revolution but of the Civil War. The Declaration of Independence speaks not of an "indivisible" nation but of united colonies which "are, and of right ought to be free and independent States."

The other parts of the pledge would sound much more familiar to the founders of the Republic—especially its reference to "liberty and justice for all." That phrase goes to the core of their faith. Their very justification for our kind of government was rooted explicitly in the premise of a Divine Power which, guiding the affairs of men, held each one equal in His sight, and thus gave an inalienable dignity and status to every human personality.

Throughout our history, the basic testimonials to our national creed have been filled with recognition of the ultimate authority of a Divine Creator. The Declaration of Independence rests its case for national independence on "the laws of nature and of nature's god"—and it rests its case for the rights of men on the assertion that "they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." It closes with an assertion of "firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence."

Lincoln, in his immortal restatement of the American creed at Gettysburg many years later, voiced that same dependence, in words identical to those now added to the Pledge of Allegiance: "* * * that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom."

The Pledge of Allegiance, without explicit reference to God, came later. But its very author was a man of God, the Reverend Francis Bellamy, of Rome, N. Y. What he could not have anticipated in 1892 is that a nation which then accepted divine authority as a self-evident truth would soon fall into an era of skepticism, cynicism, and materialism—an era, moreover, in which our entire American creed would be pitted in mortal ideological combat against two godless tyrannies each dedicated to an inconceivable evil view of human beings not as creatures of God but as pawns of the state and its power-crazed rulers.

Even as we wage this struggle today, we see the American creed—the "last best hope of earth"—weakened rather than strengthened by the failure of so many of our own people to grasp and thrill to its revolutionary meaning. Just when the spirit of the American Revolution most needs rekindling to defeat the challenge of a tyrannous counter-revolution, that spirit falters for want of faith.

Our gravest danger as a nation lies not in the possibility that significant numbers of Americans ever will fall for the evil doctrines of communism, but in the fact that too many Americans serve freedom with their lips and not with their hearts. The strong and active faith that motivated the founding of this Republic and united its people behind a dream of liberty and justice for all God's creatures has paled into a discussion of rights and duties that too often takes place in a vacuum so far as it concerns any recognition of the Authority whence those rights and duties derive.

If our schoolchildren and their elders stumble a bit as they learn the new version of the pledge of allegience, maybe they will also think. If they think enough about that phrase "one Nation under God," they will know how vital it is to the whole American creed. If they ponder on that, the spirit of freedom may yet regain the dynamic force to make it the most revolutionary idea of our time, as it was in 1776.

Postal and Federal Pay Increase Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct the attention of our colleagues to my statement in support of the Federal and postal pay adjustment bills presently being considered by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am very appreciative of this opportunity to present my views in support of a pay increase for Federal and postal workers. My mail and personal contacts with those in a position to know indicate to me that now, more than ever, Congress owes the employees of the Government a fair and living wage.

You are all familiar with the steady rise in the cost of living and the difficulty the average wage earner has in making ends meet. I will not quote the numerous figures that conclusively prove this fact, since I am sure that your committee is already familiar with them.

The last time Federal and postal workers received a pay adjustment was July 1951. It was, in my opinion, inadequate in amount even when granted. The continuing rise in the cost of living has made the condition of Government workers more serious, and makes the need for another pay adjustment obvious.

I have been urging increases of pay for Federal employees of all grades and classes from the lowest to the highest ever since I came to Congress. Regardless of whether or not a campaign was approaching, I have done my best to gain the passage of bills that would close the gap between the cost of living and the inadequate salaries of Federal employees. Increased morale and consequently increased efficiency, in addition to the right of all workers to a fair wage, far outweigh any misplaced demands for Government economy in this field.

In fact, a salary adjustment for Federal and postal employees is one sure method to economize in Government. Such an adjustment generates esprit de corps and higher morale in the jobs affected and would thus improve the quality of the service rendered. It makes for longer tenure and smaller turnover, thus saving millions of dollars for training new personnel.

I urge support for appropriate legislation increasing the pay of Federal and postal employees.

Thank you for this opportunity to express my views.

A Modest Proposal on Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, there are some newspapers in this country that are actually on the side of the low-income people. The editorial below is from one of the papers that is close to these people. It is from Labor's Daily which is published in West Virginia.

Living in touch with these people, the editors know their financial condition.

The situation in West Virginia applies to many areas in Pennsylvania, where the coal industry has been injured.

With permission to extend my remarks, I am therefore including this editorial which appeared in Labor's Daily on Wednesday, February 23:

A MODEST PROPOSAL ON TAXES

(By Willard Shelton)

The party line of Mr. Eisenhower's supporters, expressed most emphatically by Treasury Secretary Humphrey, is that it would be unwise, inexpedient, and unjustified for Democrats to push a proposal to cut everyone's Federal income taxes, beginning next January 1, by $20 a year for himself and for each dependent. This department disagrees, and the modest proposal may be advanced that it is time for Humphrey to yield somewhat and show a little statesmanship.

The Humphrey argument is that the Treasury simply can't afford to lose the revenue involved in the $20 tax cut. He suggests, further, that we can't foresee economic conditions, and that maybe the next year we shall be in such inflationary conditions that a tax cut would not be justified.

The newspapers supporting the Humphrey viewpoint say the Democrats are simply playing politics.

Well, to some extent they are. What were the Republicans doing in 1952 when they promised to balance the budget with lower taxes?

What is Mr. Eisenhower doing now in holding forth the pledge that maybe next year, which is an election year, he will feel able to recommend tax cuts?

What did the Republican 80th Congress do in passing a tax-cut bill and insisting that the income-tax form show taxpayers specifically what they had saved as a result of the new law?

There are certain issues on which the people have a right to demand that legislators rise above their own political interests.

Revenue for the Government in a time of necessary heavy expenditures is one of these issues.

There is, however, a perfectly respectable professional economic viewpoint that considers relatively small Federal deficits, in our present situation, to be no threat to stability. It is the belief of some professional economists that the Humphrey emphasis on balancing the books right now is completely unrealistic.

Give the economy space to breathe, they say, and the increase of purchasing power and the rise in productivity will balance the books without a substantial cut in expenditures. The tax yields will be so much greater at lower rate that the books will be balanced automatically.

Humphrey's complaints that a tax cut for low-wage families may not be sound clashes logically with his refusal to tolerate a tax cut last year when the economy was definitely slipping and an increase of consuming power would have helped.

The only tax relief we got last year was special favoritism for corporation stockholders, plus a huge volume of technical changes in the revenue laws that had the practical effect of relieving business of substantial tax liabilities.

Let Humphrey advocate a repealer of the tax favoritism to stockholders, let him suggest a plugging up of loopholes that subsidize certain groups, and he would be on sounder ground in complaining that the Treasury can't afford to lose any more money.

There are good grounds for believing that a cut in personal income taxes, of greatest proportional help to low-wage and middle-income families, is appropriate economically, and desirable as a matter of equity. All the equities, previously, have been the equities of the already rich.

Marie A. Connery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which is a most praiseworthy eulogy that appeared in the Lynn Telegram-News, of Lynn, Mass., concerning Mrs. Marie A. Connery, wife of our late Congressman William P. Connery.

Mrs. Connery will be remembered by our colleagues who served in the Congress in the years 1923–37, as one who devoted much of her time and efforts assisting her husband in his duties on Capitol Hill. She was a kindly person, a sincere and conscientious and faithful wife, a loving mother and one who by her modest and gentle approach to people won countless friends both for herself and her respected and admired husband—Billery Connery. May both of them be blessed with eternal happiness for valuable services and charitable endeavors well done:

MARIE A. CONNERY

The death of Mrs. Marie Antoinette (Manseau) Connery this past week brought to the mind the many years she spend in the limelight as one of Lynn's most gracious and compelling personalities.

As the wife of the late Congressman William P. Connery, Jr., Mrs. Connery was a familiar figure at multiple social functions as she sought to try and make as many appearances as possible with her famous helpmeet. She made appearances because she knew the people of Lynn by the warmth and cordiality of their reception of her were sincerely interested in seeing and greeting her.

Mrs. Connery was a tremendous asset to her nationally renowned husband. She was not only wife and best friend but a careful and competent adviser. He leaned on her heavily and made no secret of the fact.

In those post World War I and depression days of the early 30's, the Connery household was a warm and happy one. Pictures taken in the household often depicted the happy couple with their only daughter, Marie Therese, seated between them at the piano. All had a flare for music and their friends could be assured of a song by way of greeting once they arrived.

The Connery family was to suffer a crushing and devastating blow in June of 1937 as the beloved Congressman was cut down suddenly by death. With the entire North Shore stunned by grief, no person could accurately compound the measure of the grief that was the wife's and daughter's.

In the years that ensued, Mrs. Connery did what every responsible American wife would do. She went to work to bring up her small daughter and give her the education and background she felt was so necessary. Then some years later she herself was stricken and confined to her bed.

During the long years of her suffering, Mrs. Connery was saintly and uncomplaining. And she had the love and devotion of a beautiful young lady, her daughter, Marie Therese, to asuage and comfort her. When she died and was reunited with her husband this week it could be truly said that God was good in that he at last had released her from her worldly yoke and made her life happy and beautiful again.

Today the people of Lynn salute the daughter of Billy and Marie Connery and offer her their sympathies in her own individual hour of sorrow upon the loss of her mother. She can be sure that by her constant ministering and devotion to her mother she measured up to the fullest traditions of an unforgettable family. What more can be said?

Permanent License Earned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the consent granted me today, I submit for the RECORD an editorial from the Ithaca Journal of February 2, 1955:

PERMANENT LICENSE EARNED

Mohawk Airlines has asked the Civil Aeronautics Board for a hearing on its petition for a permanent license.

Legislation is also being sponsored in the House by Representative JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, Democrat, of Mississippi, to bring about permanent certification of all established airlines. This legislation will affect 14 air carriers, including Mohawk, serving some 260 communities out of a total of 440 now provided with airline service.

CAB officials have indicated that Mohawk's request for a hearing will not be granted because the question of permanent operating authority for feeder airlines is pending in Congress.

The Board has set up 15 requirements to measure operating performance. Mohawk, operating under a 7-year certificate which has 3½ years to run, meets each one of these requirements.

The Board also has a standard under which it will grant a permanent license. This standard is reasonable progress toward ultimate self-sufficiency in relation to the public convenience and necessity.

Mohawk's president, Robert E. Peach, argues that the CAB has never defined this standard. He points out that Mohawk's progress in increasing traffic and decreasing subsidies has averaged more than 27 percent a year and asserts the airline showed a net profit in August through September, 1954, without regard to mail pay subsidy. In Mohawk's view, these facts constitute "reasonable progress toward ultimate self-sufficiency."

Josh Lee, CAB member, opposes permanent certification on the ground it would take away the incentive the feeder lines now have to drum up traffic, replacing this incentive with a Government guaranty of continued existence. Granting permanent licenses, he says, would reverse the trend of feeder lines away from Government subsidies.

The temporary operating rule was understandable in the early days, but the smaller airlines have now been carrying passengers and payloads, most of them, for several years.

Permanent operating certificates will enable these airlines to attract more investment money and to improve their equipment and services. This means the communities they serve will be given better air transport.

Certainly Mohawk is a permanent fixture in New York State. It, and the other feeder airlines, have earned a permanent rating.

Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that the substantial lines should have a permanent franchise.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

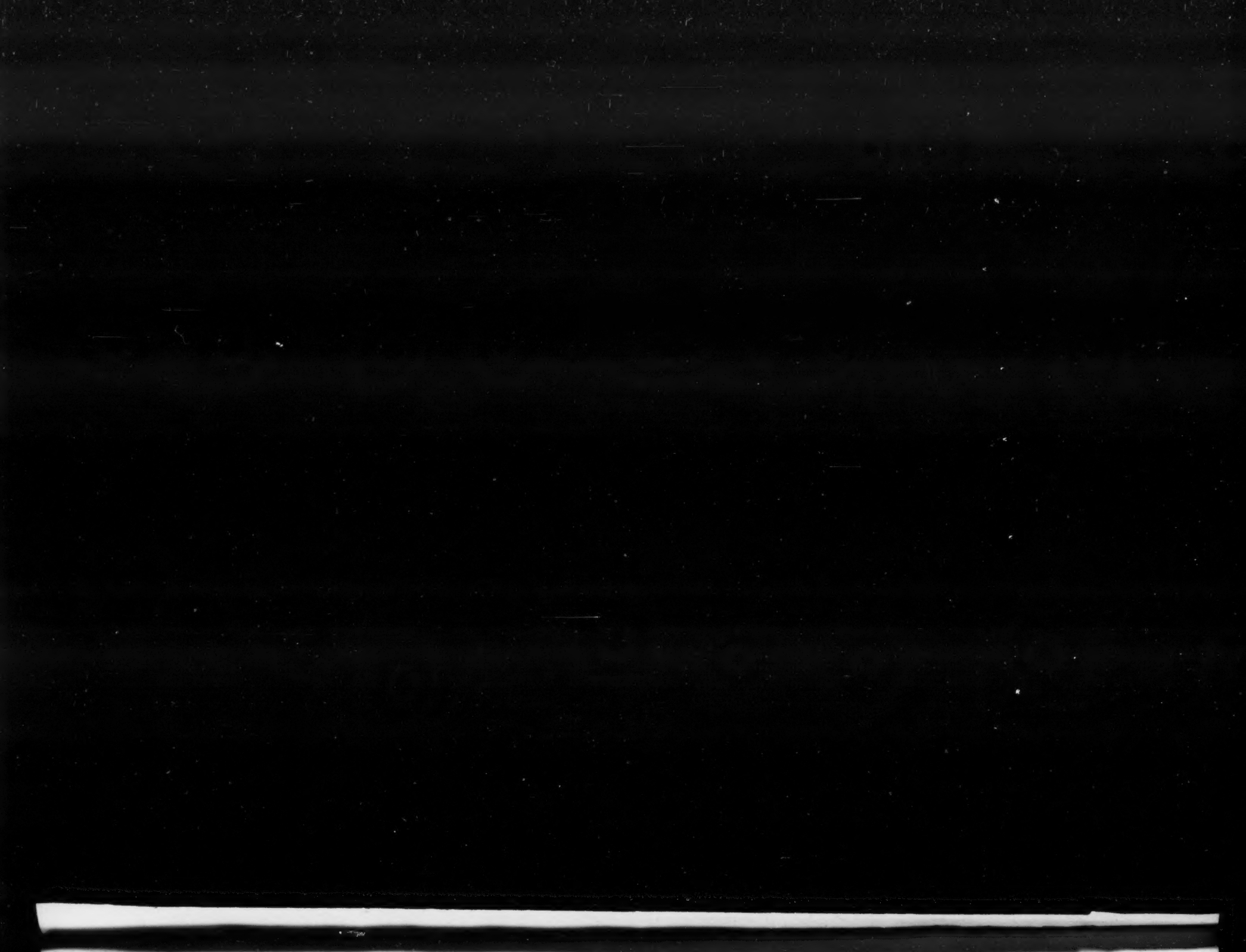

Appendix

Abraham Lincoln Address by C. A. Bottolfsen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN WELKER
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by former Gov. C. A. Bottolfsen, of Idaho, entitled "Lincoln: The Man Who Belongs to Everyone."

As Senators will remember, Governor Bottolfsen served the Senate during the past 2 years as Deputy Sergeant at Arms, and made many friends in the Senate. I commend a reading of Governor Bottolfsen's address to every Member of the Senate.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LINCOLN: THE MAN WHO BELONGS TO EVERYONE

(By C. A. Bottolfsen)

I should like to preface by remarks about Lincoln, by quoting an editorial which appeared in the Miami Herald on February 12, 1953, and which has been selected by The Lincoln Foundation advisory group as the most timely editorial published in American newspapers for that date:

"This is Abraham Lincoln's birthday. It is one of the most significant anniversaries not only in the history of the United States but of human kind.

"One-hundred-forty-four years ago today, destiny was at work in the one-door, one-window, dirt-floor Kentucky log cabin that housed the birth of the immortal Abe.

"Out of these primitive surroundings came the gaunt-faced, raw-boned man whose genius was safely to guide the country through the tempest of internal strife, forever to eradicate human bondage from the land in recognition and acceptance of the worth and dignity of all men.

"The story of Lincoln has been told often and at length. Its interest does not lessen through the years.

"In fact, in the last year there had been a great outpouring of scholarly studies of this immortal.

"He is the humanitarian symbol to freemen everywhere. He is the embodiment of the principle that a democracy can think and that there is a right-mindedness in the common people out of whom is woven the fabric of America.

"Lincoln came to the head of this Government at a time of great stress.

"He was the stabilizing influence in a period of national flux which threatened the permanence of this 'new Nation conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.'

"It is no present-day purpose to assess Lincoln's greatness against the causes that led to the War Between the States.

"The American people are not internally embroiled today. We do, however, face a menacing world turbulence. It has put us to the test, as a people, against an ideology of totalitarianism that would destroy us.

"Lincolns are not commonplace of any time or people. They are the great and rare lights in a man's quest for human decency in democracy.

"Lincoln was raised up not just for his time but as an enduring inspiration for all of us to live and work for the heritage of our fathers—the right to govern ourselves.

"His homely virtues, his courage, his abiding faith in the right, and his determination to follow it—if adhered to by our Government heads and practiced by all of us in our daily living—are the basic and essential guaranties that 'government of, by, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.'"

While the editorial I have just quoted is indeed a sermon in itself, it would be impossible to sketch even hastily the outlines of the life of Lincoln without omitting volumes of important events that bear constant repetition and grow closer to us with each telling.

Today Lincoln stands firmly enshrined as the American who, above all others, best represents the American faith. So it seems appropriate that in this history-making period of 1955, we should seek some lesson, some new guiding force to point the pathway to clearer, saner thinking. Surely, the life of Lincoln gives us a pattern of nobility of purpose and simplicity of faith that has no equal in the history of American public life.

Someone said of Lincoln: "When he speaks it seems as if the people were listening to their own thinking aloud." Albert J. Beveridge, a resident of the Hoosier State, where Lincoln lived for 13 years, commented: "In a sense, Lincoln may be said to have been the child of a people. All that was best in this great middlestream of that mighty American folk movement was combined in his person, character, and intellect."

From President Wilson came this analysis of the brotherhood of man: "Mr. Lincoln we describe as 'a man of the people,' and he was a man of the people essentially * * * who had his rootage deep in the experience and consciousness of the ordinary mass of his fellowmen. * * * A man of the people is a man who has felt that unspoken, that intense, that almost terrifying struggle whose object is * * * simply to live and be free."

President Eisenhower made this appraisal of his greatness: "The true values of America he understood are enduring, and they hold us together. And so he was patient. He was forebearing. He was understanding. And he lives today in our hearts as one of the greatest that the English-speaking race has produced, as a great leader. Yet never did he fall into the false habit of striking a Napoleonic attitude at any time and under any provocation."

He was the shepherd of his people at a time when our Nation was torn asunder. An unseen power must have had a very deep interest in Mr. Lincoln and this Nation, for it seems inconceivable that any one could have faced the multitude of personal dangers which he faced long before an assassin's bullet claimed his life, without protection from Him who rules the universe.

Lincoln enjoyed politics. It was the one activity throughout his entire somber life, in which he found genuine pleasure and enthusiastic enjoyment.

Lincoln was a man of great commonsense. His simple election statement proved that beyond a doubt. His homely simplicity, his quiet, penetrating humor, his feeling of equality with ordinary people and his unswerving faith in their integrity, builded firmly his political future.

Lincoln stood in awe of the Constitution of the United States of America. He believed that the Constitution was sufficiently all-embracing to demand his complete adherence to it, as a pledge in support of which he was willing, even glad if need be, to lay down his life. Nor was his reverence merely a blind loyalty to an historic document. It was well said of him in an address by the late Congressman Chiperfield, of Illinois: "The things for which he stood and which he attempted to do were in the name of the Constitution, and to this instrument, as he construed it, he was wholly devoted. The reckless and hairbrained experiment in government possessed no attraction for him, nor was he inclined to adopt a plan merely because it was new and untried, but going hand-in-hand with his conservatism was the ever-present desire to so adapt the Constitution that it would respond to the changing needs and requirements of the people."

If we who are assembled here today would honor Lincoln, we can render no greater service than to work for simplification of government; no greater achievement than elimination of rule by men and thus return to a rule of law, administered not for classes of society, but for all Americans.

Thus we may honor Lincoln in a living, powerful, permanent memorial to his name, a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

Even as Lincoln, we may at times see many of our efforts go down to defeat, as we already have, but even as Lincoln's experience, it is an honorable defeat.

"I am not bound to win," he said, "but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I must stand with anybody that stands right; stand with him when he is right and part with him when he is wrong."

Could there be a more simple yet moving expression of a moral code than this which has so indelibly been stamped on the history of American statesmanship?

He had scarcely assumed the duties of the Presidency before he was called upon to shoulder a multitude of additional burdens. He found extreme difficulty in selecting his cabinet, and it was in most instances complete submission to the ideals of those chosen, that he won for himself the personnel he insisted upon having. And even then, every member of his cabinet considered himself far above his master in intellect, in knowledge of national affairs—all of them believed themselves in full possession of greater ability to guide the Nation.

Lincoln was a man overburdened with sadness almost from his boyhood. His life was made up of one disappointment after another but not once did he flinch under the terrible strain. Researchers have come to the conclusion that his domestic life was not as trying as some historians would have us believe. Mary Todd came to Springfield from Lexington, Kentucky, and was one of

the most cultured women of that age. It is doubtful, according to present-day historians, if Abraham Lincoln ever met a more highly cultured woman than the one he was to marry within three years after they first met.

While she possessed a finished education, she lacked the ability to say in simple and beautiful language what her Saint-like husband was capable of expressing. No man in our early history, had the extraordinary talent for saying things so beautifully, so expressively and so inspiringly as Mr. Lincoln. Self-educated, and under most trying circumstances, he had a gift of expression and culture that few have ever equaled.

Lincoln had few intimate friends, but they brought him a degree of happiness, and it was the understanding and loyalty they displayed which strengthened him in his years of turbulent leadership.

"Now he is with the ages," said Secretary of War Stanton when Lincoln's life had ebbed away. Mad John Wilkes Booth, in a moment of infuriated hate, inflamed through months of chicanery by political enemies and powerful interests opposed to Lincoln's method of handling the slave question, committed the act which took the life of this great man. If Lincoln had lived, historians agree, there would have been less bitterness during the era of reconstruction. Lincoln's leadership would have brought victor and vanquished together in a peaceful and united effort to heal the scars.

The first official commemoration of Lincoln's birthday was in reality a memorial service arranged by Congress "to express the deep sensibility of the Nation to the event of the decease of their late President." Although nearly 10 months had passed since his demise, the fact that Congress was not in session at the time of the tragedy, had postponed, until the Members returned to Washington, the formal expression of grief.

Upon learning of the assassination of the President on April 14, 1865, several Congressmen hurried to Washington and met in the Senate reception room at the Capitol at noon on April 17. A committee of 4 Members of each House was appointed to report at 4 p. m. the same day and recommendations were adopted with respect to funeral arrangements and resolutions of sympathy.

Today there is no North, no South. We are welded together in a common cause for the advancement of the United States behind the stars and stripes. "One Nation under God indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

On January 30, 1919, President Calvin Coolidge issued a Lincoln Day proclamation that seems appropriate to repeat on this occasion. It is entitled "Lest We Forget":

"Fivescore and ten years ago that divine providence which infinite repetition has made only the more a miracle sent into the world a new life, destined to save a nation.

"No star, no sign, foretold his coming. About his cradle all was poor and mean save only the source of all great men, the love of a wonderful woman. When she faded away in his tender years, from her deathbed in humble poverty she endowed her son with greatness.

"His presence filled the Nation. He broke the might of oppressionn. He restored a race its birthright. His mortal frame has vanished, but his spirit increases with the succeeding years, the richest legacy of the greatest century.

"Men show by what they worship what they are. It is no accident that before the great example of American manhood our people stand with respect and reverence."

In our Nation's Capital City stands a beautiful memorial to the everlasting fame of this inspired man. I have stood with awe and reverence before this great work of art on numerous never-to-be-forgotten occasions. As I looked upon the lifelike and somber countenance of the Great Emancipator, he seemed to breathe life; he seemed to plead for continued faith in our beloved country.

A most impressive sight is to view this beautiful creation of man's genius at night, when subdued lights behind the colossal work of sculpture present a scene that will live long in the memory of everyone who views it.

The memorial of Abraham Lincoln, was not built until the generation that knew the man had passed. In 1922, the memorial, which had been erected by Congress, was formally presented to the Nation. It was designed by Henry Bacon and is regarded by many as the outstanding attraction of Washington. It is a beautiful rectangular temple of white marble with a colonnade of 36 Doric columns, 1 for each State existing at the time of Lincoln's death. Within the central hall is a colossal statue of the President—the work of Daniel Chester French. On opposite walls are two memorial tablets, one containing Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and the other his second inaugural address. Above the tablets are two large mural paintings, Emancipation and Reunion, by Jules Guerin. The Memorial stands, most fittingly, in a setting of dignified grandeur on the banks of the Potomac River, at the western end of the Mall. It has an impressive approach on broad steps and wide terraces. A pool lying between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument faithfully reflects the classic outlines of both, with the dome of the Nation's beautiful Capitol Building reflected against the horizon beyond. It presents a picture that will live in the minds of the visitors as long as life shall last.

Certainly if we seek inspiration for an attack upon the problems of government which face us today, it is to be found in the immortal memory of Abraham Lincoln.

If we fail to preserve for ourselves and our posterity this Union for which Lincoln gave all, he will have lived and died in vain, and the lives of over a million Americans will have been sacrificed and hundreds of blood-stained battlefields will have been war-torn for no good purpose.

All the benefits and glories earned by us through the ages, now appear to be the envy of much of the world. One hideous ideology of government is especially active in a ravenous ambition to destroy everything that freemen have striven and given ther lives to perpetuate, thraugh nearly two centuries of government that has advanced the pattern for which men patriotically gave their lives at Valley Forge; for the ideals Lincoln championed and which he set forth imperishably at Gettysburg; for the noble hopes for which Americans gave their all at San Juan Hill, in the Argonne Forest, Iwo Jima, Korea, and are now facing added perils at Formosa. The ideals for which they gave their all were good in those instances; they are worth fighting and dying for today.

Slavery was wrong in Lincoln's time; communism is wrong in our time. If we are to perpetuate the ideals which this Nation has championed for the past 2 centuries, it is timely to rededicate ourselves to the American Creed, the last paragraph of which reads: "I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies." If we rededicate ourselves to that principle, we will overcome much of that terrible ideology of government which is our sworn enemy; we will fully realize that those who are unwilling to stand up and speak for and defend America, but invoke the so-called fifth amendment to the Constitution, are enemies of our philosophy of government, and they shall be so recorded in our minds.

Lincoln said: "Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere."

Let us face the future with new enthusiasm. Let us determine to preserve our Republic at all costs, so "that this Nation of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from this earth."

Never in the history of our wonderful Nation has there been such a need for unity and patriotism and understanding and a willingness to fight for these principles as the need which faces us today. Undaunted, Lincoln fought for the principles he espoused after a long series of defeats and disappointments. Are we to be charged with being less patriotic and less inspired?

Lincoln also said: "Men will pass away—die; but the principle of democracy will live forever." To which I should like to add: "Providing we are alert to and subdue dangers which now are gnawing at our foundation."

"Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget."

The Continuing Problem of Communist-Front Groups in the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last night it was my pleasure to address the Knights of Columbus in Kenosha, Wis. I referred to numerous problems, notable among which is the antisubversive issue. I send to the desk the text of the address I delivered at that time. I append to it a most interesting article written by the nationwide syndicated columnist, Mr. Victor Riesel, and carried in the February 18 issue of the New York Daily Mirror and other newspapers coast to coast. It refers to the continuing problem in our Nation of Communist-front groups which solicit the names of the unwary and the gullible, and misuse the names of others.

I ask unanimous consent that both items be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the address and article were order to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHALLENGES WE FACE AT HOME AND ABROAD

(Address by Senator WILEY before Kenosha Knights of Columbus 50th anniversary banquet, in Kenosha, Wis., Sunday night, February 27, 1955)

I consider it a real honor to have been invited to join you on this occasion of your 50th anniversary.

I value this opportunity to rejoice with you on this half-century landmark, as well as the opportunity to learn your views, and to share with you my convictions concerning the challenges we face, as individuals and as a Nation.

THE K. OF C.'S GREAT RECORD

I am honored by your invitation for other reasons. Although I am not one of the million loyal members of your distinguished organization, I admire and respect you for the things for which you stand.

No one could read an issue of Columbia without sensing at once your deep convic-

tions on matters of national concern, your keen sense of civic responsibility, your abiding faith that right makes might, your grim determination that America shall remain free, that her enemies abroad shall not prevail, and that communism at home must not be tolerated.

I salute you for your record—for the constructive deeds of Father McGivney down to the present day—of charitable concern for needy widows and children.

I salute you for your firm stand against juvenile delinquency and against harmful literature.

I salute your loyalty to country, to you who have sent a higher percentage of your sons to defend our country than virtually any other group in America.

Yours is indeed an organization of which America rightfully can be proud, and to which all of us owe a great deal.

LEGISLATION AGAINST COMMUNISM

Since the Knights of Columbus are dedicated to the service of God and country, it is only natural that I submit to you some observations particularly on the foremost menace both to God and to country. I refer, of course, to the menace of international communism.

If time permitted, I would be happy to set forth for you now some of the things which I, for one, have tried to do down through the years in opposing the atheistic, international Communist menace—for example, some of the bills which I have introduced.

I should like to point out now, however, that for one thing, in the present Congress, I have introduced legislation to stiffen the penalties against seditious conspiracy either advocating to overthrow the United States Government by force or violence or conspiring to do so.

I SUPPORT ANTI-RED INVESTIGATIONS

I have given my support to the various vital investigating committees which are hard at work on this problem.

From time to time, as you know, there have been arbitrary proposals to force all of these congressional investigating groups into one.

I, for one, oppose such an effort. I believe that an important service can be performed by having the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Investigations Subcommittee, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, each fulfill their respective responsibilities in this important field.

This can and should, of course, be done without duplication of effort, with maximum of coordination, so that there is no waste in either manpower or resources.

I have seen, however, occasions when the individual interests and background of some committee chairman or members of one of the committees have made each of these groups, in turn, especially qualified to work on some particular phase of the complex Communist problem.

On the other hand, if all these investigations were centralized into 1 source, there might be a committee chairman of that 1 group whose interest might be so specialized that he might pass over some of the important aspects of the Communist problem.

SMACK DOWN ON RED FINANCES

I want to state that one phase which has hardly been studied is the matter of cracking the Communist conspiracy in the one place that it will hurt most; namely, the pocketbook. Vast sums of money have been collected by the Communist conspiracy in our country, most of it through Communist fronts. Large, inordinant sums have come from some wealthy people. Other large, in the aggregate, sums have come through smaller donations by considerable numbers of dupes.

There are indisputable evidences that the Communists have been guilty of financial trickery, in keeping the books, both on their own party organization and on their Communist fronts, as in the instance of the misnamed National Committee for Justice in the Rosenberg case, in so-called defense of the atom traitors.

However, ex-Communists have testified how, time and again, large sums of money have been transferred secretly from group to group, including to and from Red-dominated unions, by all sorts of bookkeeping juggling.

In addition to these sums from American origins, there are the considerable top-secret sums made available by the Soviet Union and its intelligence networks.

So I, for one, believe that the Internal Revenue Bureau should crack down on Communist finances. The Internal Revenue Bureau should assign a sufficient number of skilled agents to make sure that income taxes, social-security taxes, and all other taxes are actually being paid by the Red groups just as law-abiding, patriotic Americans must pay such taxes.

I believe that a careful study of Communist-front books would provide many leads for tracing down numerous secret phases of the Communist conspiracy. And so, I have corresponded with T. Coleman Andrews, the able Commissioner of Internal Revenue, for this purpose. I intend to follow up, because I cannot say as yet that he has given me the sort of complete assurances of an all-out effort such as I seek.

I do not believe that the Internal Revenue Bureau can sit back an wait for evidence to show up. The Communists are too sly to permit obviously phoney bookkeeping to be readily noted.

Unless you assign crack squads of agents to this task and for a long enough period of time—agents not only trained in detecting financial trickery, but agents who really know something about the Communist conspiracy, who can recognize the names of individuals and groups, then the full story of the Red financial network will not come out.

THE DISGRACEFUL MATUSOW EPISODE

Now, I want to say just a word about one particular anti-Red phase which has recently been giving serious concern to all of us who have fought against the Communist menace. I refer, of course, to the disgraceful situation involving the self-admitted liar, Harvey Matusow.

I do not purport to have any final observations as to the overall meaning of the current activity of this contemptible individual.

It seems quite clear, however, that he is trying deliberately and maliciously to cast a cloud over as many as possible former Communists who have confessed.

The fact of the matter is that, as John Edgar Hoover has often stated, the genuine defector from Communism is one of the greatest assets which we have in the fight against the Red menace. How else can we ever find out the secrets of the Communist conspiracy?

We really only have two means: (1) by placing patriotic agents inside that conspiracy, and (2) by encouraging defection by those who have had their stomach full of communism and who want to return to the American fold.

A great many former Reds have confessed their sins. They have confessed—in full and in truth—to the FBI. They have cooperated with the FBI. The Bureau has checked, double checked, and triple checked their stories in order to make sure that the ex-Communists were not lying or exaggerating or casting a cloud over any possible innocent individual.

This process of cross-checking must be intensified, particularly now, in view of the disgraceful Matusow episide.

Matusow's current allegations must be analyzed with greatest care and skepticism. Perjury charges must be carefully weighed. The Communists are capable of such trickery that we should not be surprised at almost any tactic they, or Matusow, may adopt. We must not permit them or their accomplices to prevent genuine defactors from deserting the party and telling all to the FBI. We must maintain our confidence in the Bureau.

SUPPORTING J. EDGAR HOOVER

And on this latter point, recently I noted that an educator from one of the New England universities conducted a vicious personal attack upon Mr. Hoover.

I do not have the full absurd text of what he said, but I can say this: There are few individuals who have been more intensely and effectively devoted to trapping the guilty and protecting the innocent (whether it is in connection with communism or general crime) than has John Edgar Hoover.

For more than three decades, he has been a faithful public servant. This untarnished, uninterrupted service in highest public office—under both Democratic and Republican administrations—proves the universal esteem with which he is rightly held.

I wonder if that educator stopped to think that one of the highest priority aims of the Communist Party in the United States has always been to smear and destroy John Edgar Hoover.

I am not accusing the educator personally of anything. I am simply pointing out the facts.

A man has a right to speak his opinions and to have those opinions weighed on their merits. But no man should shoot off his mouth before checking the facts, particularly on so important a subject as this, and involving so faithful a public servant as Mr. Hoover. And no man should open his mouth before he figures out whether he is unwittingly serving ends which are contrary to the best interests of our beloved country.

COMBATING RED MENACE ABROAD

Now, just as we must be adequate to meet the Communist menace at home, we must be adequate to meet it head on abroad.

Fortunately, the United States has taken a strong stand against aggression in the western Pacific Ocean. And by our very firm policy in relation to protecting Formosa, the Pescadores, and related areas, we have lessened the danger of war.

Our strength increases the possibilities of peace; weakness before communism, appeasement of communism, increase the danger of war.

The very fact that the Peiping radio is full of continued angry threats and vicious denunciations is proof of the fact that the Communists know that we are not bluffing.

We are determined to keep the Formosa bastion as a vital link in our chain of security in the western Pacific. The northern tip of Formosa is but 500 miles from Japan. The southern tip is but 100 miles from the Philippines. We must defend Formosa, the Pescadores, and such related islands as the Joint Chiefs of Staff determine are necessary in order to make sure that our Pacific security chain is not broken.

It has been estimated that if we were to lose Formosa we might have to retreat in effect far back across the Pacific. That would bring Soviet bombers still closer in range to American shores.

MODERN MILITARY PREPAREDNESS ESSENTIAL

As we view this Communist problem, we know that here at home we must be prepared against any military emergency.

The Knights of Columbus have contributed so many men to the uniform of our country that I need hardly remind you of the admonition of the Father of Our Country, whose birthday we celebrated last Tuesday:

"To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving the peace."

I know that none of you are fooled by so-called apostles of peace—false apostles, who preach unilateral disarmament—apostles who often are inspired by those who would destroy us. Nor, for that matter, are we fooled by those who seek to hide behind our Constitution, especially when their own sinister purpose is its ultimate destruction.

I am not one who believes that storm clouds on the horizon will cause us to panic. Nor am I one of those few who fear that Americans are not equal to the task.

You and your organization are but a symbol of the answer that America can and will provide. You, who stand for the dynamic principles of your organization; you, who have stood by your country before; you, who have demonstrated your loyalty to country and your determination to keep her free; you can provide the answer yourselves.

One of these answers is, of course, modern-type, military preparation. Just as the Boy Scout says, "Let us be prepared," so must we be alert to the dangers which threaten us—be prepared for any eventuality—be equal to any occasion.

We must guard the far-flung ramparts of the free world. We must taken every step necessary to maintain our own military preparedness.

Our giant industries must be maintained in a position for instant mobilization. Our people must be psychologically prepared for any emergency.

This is particularly important in the new jet-atomic age when time and space have been dwarfed by intercontinental guided missiles.

Enemy bases may exist only 3,300 miles from Milwaukee. Projectiles may someday soon be launched at a velocity of 10,000 miles per hour.

Yes, the need for up-to-the-minute military preparation is evident.

I need not remind you of the obligation of every American boy who may be called upon to defend his country. He is entitled to receive the type of modern military training (especially under field conditions) from his Government which will enable him to defend himself adequately and perform his duty with honor.

At the same time, we know that any system of universal military preparation must be scrutinized most carefully. The dangers of militarism that have enslaved other nations must be avoided. A tragic pattern of human bondage must never leave its scar across this beloved land of ours. Preparations for war, which are necessary to preserve the peace, must always be accompanied by adequate safeguards of our democratic principles.

PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Of course, interwoven with the problems of youth, is that of juvenile delinquency. The stand of your organization against this dreaded social malady among our youth is well known. It deserves the merit it has won.

In Congress, as a member of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency and as a former member of the Senate Crime Committee, I have sponsored the Juvenile Delinquency Control Act. I am deeply convinced that the moral standards of our youth are more than an indication of the level of our civilization. They are a direct indicator of the world of tomorrow.

For each of you know that the thoughts in the minds of our young people today will be the actions of our leaders of tomorrow. And, by safeguarding the moral climate of our youth, we are preserving for them the heritage they deserve.

The work your organization has done in this field is outstanding. I can think of no single contribution to the American way of life more beneficial. I congratulate you and urge you never to cease your vigilance.

Yet, there is a caution we must observe. As serious as this problem is, we must not lose our perspective. We must not forget that last year, some 18 million boys between the ages of 10 and 17 were not picked up by the police for any crime whatsoever. This vital statistic somehow escapes attention in our eagerness to solve the problems of juvenile delinquency.

By all odds, the great majority of our youth—over 95 percent—are law-abiding youngsters, living and learning and eager to take our place in the building of tomorrow. Our confidence in our youth must not be shaken by the bad example of a few.

DELINQUENCY AND THE MASS MEDIA

There is one particular phase of this juvenile delinquency problem which I want to mention.

It is the matter of the strong influences through public media of communications—on our Nation's youngsters. I refer to the printed word, the spoken word, and the visual scene: namely, books, magazines, motion pictures, radio, and television.

I am not one of those who believes that there is any one single cause of the present wave of juvenile delinquency.

You cannot, for example, trace it alone or even principally, to programs full of violence on radio or television. I would oppose any overstatement to that effect by our Senate subcommittee, or by any other source, were such overstatement submitted. Obviously, juvenile delinquency is a complex problem. It arises from a great many causes: from broken, divorced, or separated homes, and neglected children; from slum conditions, where the children don't have facilities for wholesome play, recreation, and growth; from lack of constructive influence by the schools; from physical and mental handicaps that are untended by society; from inadequate spiritual education and a preoccupation with material acquisitions; from inadequate police forces and improper rehabilitation by courts or by juvenile homes, and from other sources.

Fortunately, here in our own State, we have set a comparatively good example of combatting the problem, both of adult and of youthful crime. Fortunately, our Badger facilities are among the finest in the Nation. And, yet, we know they can be improved.

We know, too, that by and large American books, magazines, radio, and television are sound. But there is a small minority among books and magazines which are definitely of salacious, indeed, pornographic conten. These must absolutely be cleaned from the Nation's newsstands and from the mails. That is why time and time again, I have taken up this problem with the Postmaster General. That is why I will continue to support legislation in accordance with sound judicial process—to eliminate such pornographic literature.

Then, with relation to radio and television, I have urged a greater concentration on wholesome programs. This problem can be met, in part, by American parents insisting upon wholesome radio and TV fare for their children. Voluntary patronage or nonpatronage of sponsors' products is just about the most powerful lever for assuring good programs and curbing unwholesome ones. Government censorship as such is not the answer, except in programs clearly beyond the border of good taste.

I have stated publicly, too, that this country could use a topnotch regular radio-TV program, or programs, dedicated to the problem of combating juvenile deliquency, as such. The story of youthful waywardness can be and should be told without sensationalism, without exaggeration, without phony melodramatics, without still more suggested violence. It can be told simply, yes, even entertainingly.

It can be shown that juvenile delinquency is not something totally offbeat that happens to the abnormal child or the abnormal situation; it can happen in or out of the so-called normal home, with parents of fine background who are not vigilant to protect average youngsters.

What I want are down-to-earth, realistic radio-TV programs that tell the story of the average American home, the many wholesome influences in it that prevent delinquency, and yes, the all too common conditions in it, like parental neglect, which contribute to juvenile delinquency.

CONCLUSION

Now, my friends, this has been a gratifying experience for me. It has been a real pleasure to visit with you about a few of the problems which confront us daily in Washington. The pleasure of meeting with a group of dedicated and concerned citizens is always a stimulating and challenging experience.

I have passed along to you a few of the ideas and problems that have occupied my attention in recent days. In turn, I trust that you will give me the benefit of your advice and counsel—that you will not hesitate to tell me your problems, your views, and your considered opinions on issues affecting Wisconsin and our Nation.

Your problems are my problems. Thank you and God bless you.

SCIENTIST EASY PREY FOR PROPAGANDIST OUTSIDE LAB

(By Victor Riesel)

Explanation, please.

Prize-winning nuclear scientist Dr. Harold C. Urey has just written that the greatest danger to this country is a powerful revolutionary country, namely the U. S. S. R.

Yet, in the same message, soon to be made public, this atomic expert defends convicted spies and the perjurer, Alger Hiss, who helped make the Soviet Union the greatest danger to this country.

The atomic spies slipped to Russian intelligence the blueprint for the atomic trigger, the sky platform, and the famed proximity fuse. Alger Hiss delivered the inner secrets of our diplomacy.

Yet, Professor Urey, writing in the forthcoming Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, asks: "What is it that Alger Hiss * * * did that profoundly or even moderately put the United States in a less favorable position? How much damage have all the arrested and convicted agents actually done to the political and military position of the United States?"

Would it be too emotional to suggest that the answers come from the mothers of GI's dead in Korea?

In the same message from Dr. Urey, we see that he says that the "way we handled the Rosenberg (atomic spy—VR) trial" makes him "feel less secure for myself and my family."

We respect Dr. Urey's right to express himself so freely in words which would be howled down in the market place were they not written by one whose profession is viewed with awe by so many of us. But we do not respect his judgment in reflecting on men who are as skilled in their field as he is in his; namely, the jurists of the United States Supreme Court who upheld the convictions of Hiss and the spies.

We do not respect his taking the platform offered last week by a subsidiary of a pro-Communist agency devoted to a fight for the release of an Alcatraz prisoner by the name of Morton Sobell, a man who stole secrets from our Nation for the benefit of what Dr. Urey himself describes as our greatest menace.

But most important is the unscientific approach to all this by scientist Harold Urey. He agreed to accept a testimonial dinner on February 12 from something called the Chicago Sobell Committee, 20 West Jackson Boulevard, Room 1301, Chicago, Ill. Phone: Webster 9-5992.

Why did not Dr. Urey use his research skill to learn that this committee is a subsidiary of the National Committee To Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

These committees were set up to smear the United States. They use the same techniques, down even to the same exploitation of spies' innocent children.

Did not Professor Urey know that some of those who signed the imitation parchment paper scroll given him by the subsidiary of the National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee (headquarters, 1050 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; phone, LO 4–9585) are now bitter over being deceived into sponsoring what turned out to be a rally for a convicted spy and not merely a testimonial dinner?

We have spoken to one who signed such a scroll thinking he was adding his name merely to a list of persons honoring scientist Urey. This signer is the great fighter for human rights, A. Philip Randolph, head of the AFL's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Randolph is greatly disturbed over the emphasis on the spies at the dinner to Urey. He points out that he received an innocuous letter asking him to join in hailing Urey as a scholar.

"I signed a tribute to Dr. Urey as a distinguished scientist and scholar. I signed in good faith," Randolph told us.

"If any group then attempts to use my name and the name of my union for ulterior purposes—and especially pro-Communist purposes—they are doing something reprehensible. My union and I have been in the forefront of the fight against Communists."

Surely now Dr. Urey will use his great talents as a scientist to investigate and expose all this.

Or will he?

The Salt River Valley Water Users Association and the Tennessee Valley Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, several weeks ago there appeared in the Arizona Daily Star an editorial concerning remarks I had made about the TVA and the Dixon-Yates contract. In the editorial there was a discussion of the workings of the Salt River Valley Water Users Association, in my home State. That was not factual in every aspect, particularly when the editorial tried to compare the association with TVA. Because the editorial was published in the Appendix of the RECORD, and has subsequently appeared in newspapers, I now ask unanimous consent that an answer which I wrote to the editor of the Star, Mr. William R. Mathews, also be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEBRUARY 21, 1955.

Mr. WILLIAM R. MATHEWS,
The Arizona Daily Star,
Tucson, Ariz.

DEAR BILL: Once before it was necessary for me to answer an editorial of yours that touched upon some basic thinking of mine. That was the occasion when you asked me, "What kind of a Republican are you?" and, if you will recall, that answer required far more words than I like to burden anyone with, particularly a busy editor.

Now you have questioned my stand on TVA because I say it is socialistic, and you evidently do not agree with me, and, in the saying, you try to compare TVA with the Salt River projects, and I find it necessary to resort to a lengthy explanation, which I feel will explain to you why I do not like this approach that has been used under false colors in the State of Tennessee.

I do not consider the Salt River Valley Water Users Association in any way comparable to the Tennessee Valley Authority. I quoted Mr. Norman Thomas as an authority on TVA being socialistic. If he thought for one minute that the Salt River Valley Water Users Association was socialistic, I am sure he would have eulogized it as such years ago. I accept him as an expert on this subject.

I heartily endorse Federal assistance in the development of our streams for irrigation, flood prevention, navigation, and other beneficial uses, including the production of hydroelectric power. Had it not been for Federal assistance, the Salt River project would not have been developed to its present status or, let me say, developed to that status as expediently. I still believe a project as sound as it is would have been completely developed by local interests in time. Federal assistance was necessary to the development of many other fine reclamation projects in the West and it will be required in the future for many other fine developments such as the central Arizona project.

Congress, in its wisdom, decided to encourage reclamation development in the West, and in particular that of Government lands. It not only authorized loans for this purpose but offered further assistance, or subsidy, if you please, by making the loan interest free for a certain number of years. I am proud to say that a Republican administration, under the dynamic leadership of that great President, Theodore Roosevelt, made this possible by passing the Reclamation Act of 1902. I am happy to say that succeeding Democratic and Republican administrations have recognized the wisdom of the act and have not only continued it but have improved it. This is to the credit of both parties. The present administration has recommended the most ambitious of all reclamation programs, including the upper Colorado River development, which I was happy to cosponsor.

I feel confident that it will support our central Arizona project as soon as the court settles the question of water rights between our State and California.

In addition to irrigation this administration has initiated a farsighted policy—the partnership approach—for furthering flood prevention, navigation, and other benefits including hydroelectric power that come from the development of our river basins. This program I heartily endorse. It will result in more extensive development than could be accomplished by the Federal Government trying to go it alone.

The purpose of the above statement is to let you know how I stand on development of our water resources. I have no quarrel with Tennessee over the fact that the Tennessee River Basin has been developed. In fact, I am very happy that Tennessee or any other area can benefit from development of its water resources. However, I would not want what has happened in that State to happen to my State. Under the guise of flood control and navigation, the river has actually been developed for production of hydroelectric power. Their greatest irreplaceable resource—land—the best land in the State, has been inundated and lost to production forever. Better flood control could have been provided without losing this land. But if that is the way Tennessee wants it, I certainly offer no objections.

My criticism of TVA is that it has not done exactly what the Salt River Valley Water Users Association has done. The water users got some help from the Government to build a storage dam, some canals and to install a powerplant at the dam. The cost of this work was beyond the ability of the water users at the time. The Salt River Valley Water Users Association is a true cooperative of farmers. The electric power it produced was primarily intended to operate its facilities and provide electric service for its members. It sold excess power and used the money to reduce water costs to its members. When it needed additional power it financed the additional dams and steam plants through the private investment money market and pledged the land of its members as security. It did not run to Uncle Sam for another handout. When its facilities were completed, it took over the operation and management and has run them on a businesslike basis. It has paid interest—sometimes high interest up to 6 percent—on its borowed capital. It has assessed its members sufficient money to meet all of its costs including repayment of the money advanced by the Federal Government ahead of schedule. It got no gifts from the Government for flood control and other benefits provided by its facilities as did TVA. No, it is paying back all the Federal and private money and has never defaulted on a single obligation.

The Salt River Valley Water Users Association-Government arrangement is a true partnership that has worked out to the everlasting good of the State. The Government loaned a helping hand when it was necessary, but the people have retained their own independence and initiative and are beholden unto no Federal bureau or bureaucrat.

It is true that Salt River Valley Water Users Association pays no taxes, but you will remember that the Internal Revenue Department contended from 1936 on that it did owe Federal income tax on the profits it made from the sale of electric power. It was only after it organized the power operations into a separate and distinct public power district and made a cash settlement with the Revenue Department that it was relieved of further Federal income tax liabilities.

Public power districts, municipalities, etc., are tax exempt on the theory that they are subdivisions of the State and operate on a nonprofit basis. A true cooperative is tax exempt on the theory that at least 85 percent of its service, and therefore its income, is derived from its own members. The original concept of tax exemption for States and their political subdivisions was based on services normally performed by Government or segments thereof for the people, such as schools, roads, public buildings, etc. I am sure it was not originally thought of or contemplated to carry over these tax exempt privileges to the operation of proprietary businesses, otherwise through Government tax-exempt competition all such businesses will some day of necessity come under Government ownership. It must also be remembered that at the time these tax-exemption laws were set up, taxes, and in particular Federal income taxes, were not much of a business problem.

In the operation of a tax-exempt proprietary business it is not the state or segment thereof that gets out of paying the tax; it is the individual, the business or industry using the service that gets out of the taxes. Why should an industry located in a public power area escape paying taxes on the electricity it uses and an industry located in a private utility area, maybe right across the street, pay as much as 24 percent on its power bill for tax purposes? I am not suggesting the Salt River Project Power District pay taxes on its power operations so long as similar operations are exempt over the United States. And I am not suggesting that true farm cooperatives pay taxes on their power operations so long as they serve their members on a nonprofit basis, but when either starts serving business establishments and industries, I see no reason why such

businesses or industries should be exempt from taxes on power that other businesses have to pay.

We have discussed the Salt River Valley Water Users Association; now let us see wherein TVA differs. Let me tell you that I have made quite a study of TVA since the Dixon-Yates controversy came up and now realize for the first time what it is all about. Let me also tell you that the propaganda this country has been fed on TVA at public expense, could hardly have been excelled under a dictatorship and a controlled press.

TVA was originally sold as a flood control and navigation development with hydroelectric power incidental thereto. It had not been underway long before a public power clique decided to take over. The first step was to kick out Dr. Arthur Morgan, the Board's first Chairman, and put Dave Lilienthal in. After that the main emphasis was put on power development. I will not dwell on flood control and navigation except to say that instead of providing flood control to protect valley lands, TVA has permanently flooded with lakes more land than the Army engineers estimated would be flooded by the undeveloped river once in 500 years. The interest on the money invested in navigation facilities and the cost of operating and maintaining them alone costs almost as much as the all-rail rate on the same volume of freight. Besides that, the big percentage of water traffic results from TVA's own use.

Instead of providing reasonable flood protection, saving as much valuable land as was possible and improving navigation within economic limits and producing all of the hydroelectric power that could be economically developed from the primary undertakings, and turning this power over to the people to be distributed through existing facilities, either private or public, the TVA operators planned a Federal power monopoly. They schemed with a public power advocate, Harold Ickes, to use Public Works Administration funds for loans and grants to compete with the private electric companies and in this way forced them to sell their properties to the Government. The cities of Tennessee, under the persuasion and guidance of TVA, bought the electric distribution systems within their city limits. The cities operate the municipal electric systems and purchase their power from TVA at wholesale. These cities are now under captive contracts with TVA. They cannot build their own generating plants and produce their own power if they want to. TVA tells them what they shall charge for power and what to do with the money they take in. The local people not only have no voice in running TVA but are not allowed a free hand to run their own distribution systems. The situation is even worse than described above. TVA runs Tennessee. It has such a grip on the State, including its politics, that no candidate for political office, regardless of party, has a chance of election if he does not follow the TVA line. A farmer loses his free fertilizer and can no longer be a TVA cooperator if he supports a candidate that TVA objects to. This political and economic power is in the hands of a three-man Board of Directors appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The people of Tennessee have no say in the selection.

TVA claims it has averaged earnings of 4 percent on the power investment over the years. Yet it pays no interest on the money it gets from the Federal Treasury but the people, through taxes, have to pay an average of 2.6-percent interest on this long-term financing. We taxpayers have had to pay out in interest alone over $240 million on money advanced to TVA for expenditures other than those connected with flood control and navigation. TVA has returned to the Treasury through fiscal 1954 only $87 million, about one-third of the interest the rest of us have had to advance on this venture. It is not the Authority or the State of Tennessee that is getting out of paying this interest, it is the power consumers, individuals, businesses, and industries, many of them competing with other sections of the country.

TVA pays no Federal taxes and only token payments in lieu of State and local taxes. Once again, it is not the Authority or the State of Tennessee that dodges these taxes but the individuals, businesses, and industries consuming the power. If these TVA customers were paying their fair share of taxes it would mean just that much less the rest of us would have to pay. As it is we lose both ways. We are being taxed to support TVA and the TVA consumers get out of taxes the rest of us pay on power we buy.

TVA conducts special forestry and soil-conservation programs. Arizona and the other 26 States depend on the Department of Agriculture for such programs. Why should one State be singled out for a special program through some separate Government authority?

TVA operates a fertilizer program but the great development programs in this country, aside from atomic energy, have been through the initiative of private industry, not Government. Why do we have to turn to some Government authority for this work in one section of the country?

Salt River Valley Water Users Association by good business management, running its own affairs, paying its own way, financing its own expansion after an initial start, in other words through initiative of its own members, has contributed greatly to the growth and prosperity of Arizona. What has TVA, an all-powerful Federal authority done for Tennessee? After the expenditure of over $4 billion of Federal funds on TVA and atomic energy installations in Tennessee, that State has shown less advancement in those things indicative of prosperity than its neighboring States. I gave the Senate statistics supporting this statement last year and they have not been disputed. It is not because the State lacks the natural advantages of its neighbors. It is my opinion that the people have become so dependent on a Federal authority they have lost their own initiative.

TVA already has cost the people of Arizona $3,595,000 and the annual subsidy to TVA from Arizona is $175,000. If the Dixon-Yates contract does not go through and TVA is allowed to build another steam plant, it will cost Arizona at least another $235,000. I do not object and am sure the good people of Arizona have no objection to lending a helping hand to any section of the country, but we certainly have a right to expect those receiving help to put their operations on a sound businesslike basis as Salt River Valley Water Users Association has done and not be the continuing drain on us that TVA has been for over 20 years.

Sincerely,

BARRY GOLDWATER.

Can Communism and Capitalism Coexist in the Same World?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World?" delivered by George E. Stringfellow, senior vice president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., and longtime business associate of the late Thomas Alva Edison, at Fort Lauderdale, Fla., on January 14, 1955, before the Temple Emanu-El, together with certain statements indicating the reaction to this address on the part of prominent Americans.

There being no objection, the address and statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN CAPITALISM AND COMMUNISM COEXIST IN THE SAME WORLD?

(Remarks by George E. Stringfellow, senior vice president, Thomas A. Edison, Inc., and long-time business associate of the late Thomas Alva Edison, before the Temple Emanu-El, Fort Lauderdale, Fla., January 14, 1955)

Ladies and gentlemen, when Rabbi Marius Ranson invited me to address your Friday evening religious service, he paid me a great compliment and I want to express my gratitude to him and to you for this unusual opportunity.

I am honored to take part in any program with which Rabbi Ranson is associated. This meeting brings to my mind our many associations when he was with us up North. We in New Jersey miss Rabbi Ranson. He was a friend and a spiritual adviser. He served our community with honor and distinction in our many civic, social, and philanthropic endeavors. He left a void in our midst which no one has filled. I am sure he brought to Temple Emanu-El's congregation and to your neighbors the benefits of his rich scholarship, his clear and far-reaching vision, and his devotion to duty.

I am particularly honored to speak to you tonight. As a Christian I am conscious of the contribution the Jewish religion has made to our spiritual philosophy and to our general way of life. And, it is about our way of life that I shall speak to you tonight.

Many people today are concerned about the welfare of our country and the preservation of our way of life. Millions are asking, "Can capitalism and communism coexist in the same world?"

This question has been on my mind for a long time and although I am not an expert or an oracle on capitalism or communism, I believe the answer is obvious.

The nature of communism has stumped many an expert. "I cannot forecast the action of Soviet Russia," said Winston Churchill in 1939. "It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma," concluded the great British statesman.

I will not undertake to do what Churchill couldn't do—predict Russia's actions—but I will state without fear of contradiction that one of the two major systems that now divide the world will survive the other. That is not a very astute analysis, as no system of government has ever achieved immortality. In fact, no political, economic, or social system in written history, or even prehistory, has ever survived unchanged.

Human systems of organization, like every other living thing on this small planet, are the subject of inevitable change either by orderly evolution or by revolution. Neither communism nor capitalism will be an exception.

The Communists recognize this basic concept of changing life and, convinced that capitalism has passed its peak and is ready to decline, hope to achieve their dream of world domination by hurrying the process. If they can't attain that goal by peaceful process such as the cold war, they are doubtless prepared to grab by means of revolution what they can't win peacefully.

COMMUNISM

Before we go further, let us make sure we agree on our definitions. By "communism" I refer to the communistic system of government now in control in Soviet Russia and her satellites and in Red China. Under their regimes, man is regarded as a soulless, animated machine to be enslaved, used, and consumed by the state for its own glorification.

CAPITALISM

By "capitalism" I mean the economic-political system that now prevails in the United States. I distinguish our capitalism from the imperialistic capitalist systems now in dissolution, under which Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Holland, and even little Portgual have for a few centuries profited economically. They became rich on the basis of their colonies and although they introduced certain material blessings and even encouraged spiritual growth by supporting missionaries, nevertheless, in every colony the deep, fundamental relationship between the imperialist and the subject race was one of power—raw, physical power based essentially on gunboats and machine guns.

In my discussion of communism versus capitalism, I define capitalism as the political-economic system which protects freedom of enterprise as well as freedom of thought, worship, speech, and assembly, and other civil rights for its own citizens as individuals, limited only by reasonable restraints. I speak of the system which has encouraged free enterprise to attain a per capita productivity beyond the wildest imaginings of a few decades ago; the system which brought about such wide and equitable distribution of its material benefits, as to have almost abolished poverty and insecurity.

If communism and capitalism, whose antagonistic goals are apparent in their definitions, are to coexist for a substantial period of time, it must necessarily be a peaceful coexistence. In an atomic war, the extinction of one or the other systems would be virtually inevitable, if indeed, either could survive the holocaust.

With both systems armed with atomic weapons to the point where the only alternatives open to both are war that could easily destroy both, or peaceful coexistence, we are up against our original question. Stalin gave an answer to this question in his book Problems of Leninism, when he said, "It is inconceivable to me that communiism and capitalism can live in the same world. Sooner or later one or the other must conquer."

It could agree with Stalin in this instance, although we arrived at our answers in different ways. Let us examine the reasons for reaching this conclusion:

I am convinced that the communistic system contains the seeds of its own destruction. The saber-toothed tiger was a formidable fellow. However, his extinction was the result of his own terrible weapon, which became his handicap and his impediment when the supply of his large prey became exhausted.

All forms of tyranny and despotism eventually destroy themselves. Though temporarily successful, they breed the desire to resist faster than the tyrant can generate power to overcome the resistance. Political structures without the cement of mutual trust and love of fellow men eventually fall apart. Those who cannot be safely enslaved must be liquidated. That is why one purge must of necessity follow another.

Capitalism is a threat to communism. Knowledge of the blessings of the competitive system must be kept from the victims of communism lest that knowledge give hope and the courage to resist tyranny.

Gen. William H. Wilbur, in his recent book, Guideposts to the Future, tells how the Communist leaders fear the Voice of America and of the subtle and cruel Soviet program to shut it out. For example, a class of Polish schoolchildren were asked by their teacher to identify a number of melodies. The little hands went up in recognition of well-known Polish songs. Then another tune was played and several children raised their hands, not realizing that it is one frequently played on the Voice of America program. When those children returned home a few hours later, their parents had all gone to parts unknown, never to be heard of again.

The abominable use of fear and terror is a frightful and immediately effective weapon, but it will destroy the user, just as the awful fangs of the now extinct tiger destroyed him.

The Communists recognize belief in God as a further threat to their philosophy. They boldly assert that belief in God is an "opiate of the people" and "must be destroyed everywhere before communism can be safe anywhere." No greater indictment could be drawn of any movement than to say it cannot exist in a religious atmosphere. We in America practice brotherly love and we recognize God as the Great Architect of the Universe.

With two ideologies so diametrically opposed as to make peaceful coexistence untenable, and with the realization that an atomic war could bring about total destruction of one or both adversaries, what hopeful options are open to the world?

It is clear that we cannot sit idly by and let the Communists skillfully maneuver ideas and events to their advantage. We, too, must guide the natural course of things so as to derive the maximum benefit from them.

JOHN THE GARDENER

This reminds me of the story of John the gardener, which the Hon. Albert W. Hawkes, former United States Senator from New Jersey, and a long and close friend of your rabbi, tells with such force and effectiveness.

In a small, attractive community, the owner of a large lot in the center of town allowed the property to become an unsightly dump heap, and couldn't be persuaded to clean it up. However, he was not averse to having the town do it. The city council, with a plan to make the ugly lot into a beautiful flower garden, borrowed John the gardener from one of the wealthy citizens of the town who owned a magnificent estate with beautiful gardens.

In about a year's time, John the gardener had cleaned up the place and converted it into a thing of beauty. Everybody complimented him and told him that no one else could have done such a wonderful job. John's head began to swell and he really began to believe that he was a superman.

A minister of the gospel heard of John's growing conceit and decided to help John straighten out his thinking. The minister said to John, "John, this is a wonderful piece of work you have done. But I hope you remember you couldn't have done it without God's help. It was God who put the ingredient in the soil, and the characteristics in the seeds and sent the rain and the sun."

John readily agreed that without God there could have been no garden at all, "but," he reminded the minister, "don't forget what a terrible mess this whole property was when we left it to God alone."

And so I would remind you that if we leave it to God or to John the gardener alone to destroy communism, this godless form of government may make such a mess of our world that capitalism cannot live in it.

However, there is hopeful evidence that the people are turning to God for help. In the period from 1945 to 1954 the number of church members in the United States increased from 72 million to 95 million—an increase of 13.7 percent, as compared with a 12.5 percent increase in the Nation's population. Today 59 percent of the population of the United States are church members, as compared to 16 percent in 1850, when the record was first available.

Even in Russia the Communists are discovering that too many Russians go to church and are stepping up their program to combat this movement which is a threat to their atheistic philosophy.

As further evidence that people are turning to God, there is the fact that Dr. Norman Vincent Peale's book, the Power of Positive Thinking—a religious work, written by a clergyman, has been at the top of the best-seller list for 114 weeks. For more than 2 years this little book has outsold any other book to the general public.

Communism is its own greatest enemy. In time its cancerous nature will eat away at its vitals. In the meantime, we must keep ourselves strong spiritually, economically, and militarily, and exercise a reasonable amount of wisdom in combating this godless force. In this way our way of life will survive this crisis.

"George Stringfellow's thesis contains both logic and a welcome ray of hope as to the outcome of the present bloodless war between communism and the free competitive system called capitalism. * * * If we keep ourselves spiritually, economically, and militarily strong, we can count on the self-destruction of communism." (Robert Gardiner Wilson, Jr., 33d degree, past imperial potentate, member, board of trustees, Shriners' Hospitals for Crippled Children, probate court judge for Suffolk County, Mass.)

"I wish there were more people in America who had the courage and conviction that George Stringfellow possesses. I say this after reading his address, Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World?" (E. V. Rickenbacker, chairman of the board, Eastern Air Lines, Inc.)

"Temple Emanu-El was filled to capacity. Rabbi Marius Ranson presented George E. Stringfellow, the speaker, as one of America's leading industrialists and consecrated Christian layman. The members of the congregation sat in rapt attendance as the speaker delivered his address, Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World? in which he fearlessly attacked the Communists' way of life. * * * It was an hour we shall never forget. * * * America needs more such men in this crucial hour." (Dr. Carl C. E. Mellberg, minister, Simpson Methodist Church, Paterson, N. J., chaplain, Salaam Temple, AAONMS.)

"George Stringfellow exemplifies friendship in all of its noblest phases. He has hundreds of devoted friends throughout the United States because he is a real and devoted friend. * * * It has been one of the dreams of my life to have George Stringfellow deliver an address from my pulpit to my friends. That dream was fulfilled in his great address, Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World?" (Rabbi Marius Ranson, Temple Emanu-El, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.)

"I think George E. Stringfellow's address, Can Capitalism and Communist Coexist in the Same World? is one of the most remarkable and understanding that I have read in a long time." (George E. Sokolsky.)

"George E. Stringfellow has set down the problem of survival in clearly spoken and very understandable words. Every American should read them." (Frank S. Land, 33d degree, imperial potentate, Mystic Shrine of North America, and founder and secretary general, Order of DeMolay.)

"Here is a hard-hitting, sound, sagacious statement of some fundamental truths; I wish Dr. Stringfellow's admirable address could be read and pondered by all Americans." (Hubert M. Poteat, past imperial potentate, AAONMS.)

"I feel that George Stringfellow's address, Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World? should be published so that even he who runs may read. Take heed and join the crusade advanced by this great American." (Arthur H. Raith, potentate, Salaam Temple, AAONMS.)

"To me, it is always a privilege to read a speech by my honored friend, George E. Stringfellow. He never fails to bring inspiration and sound common sense to his readers." (Norman Vincent Peale, pastor, Marble Collegiate Church.)

"George Stringfellow is a realistic, successful, industrial leader. His comments in his address, Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World? reflect his philosophy, couched in the simple, lucid dramatic language characteristic of him." (Archie T. Keene, president, Indiana Technical College, Fort Wayne, Ind.)

"It is always a headline when a layman puts into plain words the ideals that we men in the pulpit are trying to emphasize. This George E. Stringfellow has done in the sermon Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World? which he preached at the Temple Emanu-El in Fort Lauderdale, Fla." (Rev. Dr. William F. Rosenblum, rabbi, Temple Israel of the city of New York.)

"Mr. George Stringfellow has long been a spokesman for religious faith, and his prominence in business and political and benevolent affairs gives his preaching exceptional force. The truth spoken incisively here is of primary importance." (Harry Milton Taylor, minister, Calvary Methodist Church, East Orange, N. J.)

"Mr. George Stringfellow's address, Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World? is one of the best analyses of this important problem that I have ever read. His clear-cut ideas define * * * the real issues which confront the world today, and the conclusions which he draws pinpoint convincingly and emphatically that the church offers the one great hope of a just and lasting peace." (J. Goodner Gill, vice president, Rider College.)

"Our imperial high priest and prophet's address, Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World? is a forthright and fearless exposition in defense of our American way of life. * * * I hope it will be given wide publicity." (Albert H. Fiebach, 33d degree, past imperial potentate, AAONMS.)

"Noble George E. Stringfellow has given his address, Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World? great thought and consideration. * * * Noble Stringfellow is doing his patriotic duty in his effort to make American citizens understand that our system of government cannot coexist with communism and in pointing out what the citizens can and should do about it." (Albert W. Hawkes, former U. S. Senator from New Jersey.)

"Once again, which has repeatedly happened, Illustrious George Stringfellow has given a stirring message in his address Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World? God give us more men like George Stringfellow who are capable of giving to the world a message like this one." (Albert Ellis, 33d degree past potentate and recorder, Maskat Temple, AAONMS, secretary-treasurer, Shrine Recorders Association.)

"I believe Noble George Stringfellow's address Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World? is excellent and I sincerely hope that it is given wide circulation." (George H. Rowe, 33d degree, past imperial potentate, and member of the Supreme Court of New York State.)

"It is gratifying to know that one of my associate imperial officers is making a major contribution to the obvious need for alerting America on the subject of Americanism and the dangers thereto encompassed in godless communism. Furthermore, Noble Stringfellow's contribution reflects a motive of true patriotism beyond question." (Walter C. Guy, 33d degree, deputy imperial potentate, AAONMS.)

"We are now approaching another crucial period in the life of our country when clear thinking is indicated. In my opinion, our imperial high priest and prophet, Imperial Sir George E. Stringfellow with his astute analytical diagnosis of the acute problem of communism and capitalism is doing just that." (Harold Lloyd, 33d degree, past imperial potentate and member, board of trustees, Shriners hospitals for crippled children, AAONMS.)

"The truth Noble George Stringfellow has stated needs to be repeated over and over again * * * I consider it a privilege to have my name linked to his address, Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World?" (Harvey A. Beffa, past imperial potentate, chairman emeritus, St. Louis unit Shriners hospitals for crippled children, AAONMS.)

"Do not fail to read George E. Stringfellow's address Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist in the Same World? * * * it is needed by you and by me * * * in bolstering our spirit for the fight for survival which lies ahead." (Adrien B. Hommell, 33d degree, commander in chief, Valley of Paterson, N. J., northern Masonic jurisdiction, United States of America, AASR of Freemasonry, and past grand master of the grand lodge of the Most Ancient and Honorable Society of F. & A. M. for the State of New Jersey.)

"Can Capitalism and Communism Coexist In the Same World? is a splendid address and should, in my opinion, receive wide circulation." (Alfred G. Arvold, 33d degree, past imperial potentate, AAONMS.)

"This sermon by George E. Stringfellow, is, in my opinion, one of the clearest outlines on this subject that it has been my pleasure to read." (Walter S. Gibbs, 33d degree, illustrious potentate, Crescent Temple, AAONMS.)

"George Stringfellow's sermon is full of wonderful words and food for thought." (Gerald D. Crary, imperial chief rabban, AAONMS.)

"It is a hopeful sign when one of our truly great businessmen will appear in a church or holy temple and stand and be counted for God and make such a timely and well-developed pronouncement in favor of our way of life, under God, as against a godless Communist." (Galloway Calhoun, 33d degree, past imperial potentate, president and chairman of the board of trustees, Shriners hospitals for crippled children, AAONMS.)

"George Stringfellow, with his customary forthrightness, forcefully explodes the theory of peaceful coexistence that Communist party lines and Communist dupes are trying to purvey to the American public." (Charles Edison, former Secretary of the Navy and former Governor of New Jersey.)

Committees Can Change Their Rules, but Red Witnesses Are Always the Same

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Committees Can Change Their Rules, but Red Witnesses Are Always the Same." The editorial was published in the February 19 issue of the Saturday Evening Post, and is a very timely one.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMITTEES CAN CHANGE THEIR RULES, BUT RED WITNESSES ARE ALWAYS THE SAME

Sometimes it is said that we ought to create some tribunal as lofty and unassailable as a British Royal Commission to replace congressional committees as probers of Red infiltration. The comrades show less enthusiasm for this idea than they once did, since the Canadian Royal Commission rooted out the Dominion's Reds with no more compunction than a gardener trapping moles.

Australia now has a Royal Commission investigating Soviet espionage and its connection with domestic Communists as an aftermath of the Petrov case. The distinguished commissioners are making a noble effort to carry on in the Liberal tradition, with public hearings. How are they making out? The London Times reported this passage from the testimony of W. H. Bird, Victoria, secretary of a seamen's union.

"Mr. BIRD. I have come hear to tell you what I know, without this boy [indicating Mr. Pape, junior counsel to the Royal Commission] interrupting me all the time. * * *

"Mr. PAPE. You are here to answer questions, not to talk.

"Mr. BIRD. Dry up. I know what I have to say without you telling me.

"Seamen in the gallery began to applaud, calling out, 'Good on you, Bill.' The commissioners retired to allow the gallery to be cleared, amid calls of 'This is a free country,' 'You can't take it,' 'You're a lot of cowards'."

If it all sounds familiar, it is because the method used by the party to disrupt social institutions is the same in every case and every country.

They've been doing it for years. In November 1928, at Zagreb, Yugoslavia, one Josip Broz went on trial for Communist agitation and propaganda, contrary to the law of the realm. The defendant told the presiding judge arrogantly: "I do not recognize the bourgeois court of justice, because I consider myself responsible only to my Communist Party."

When he was sentenced to 5 years and led away by the guards, there was the standard shouting match, joined by supporters in the packed audience. Broz, of course, is now better known as Marshal Tito, and the interesting fact is that his official biography cites this as one of the glorious episodes in his career.

There isn't much you can do with Communists except let them yell. But it would be a mistake to amend our procedures to make their obstructive tactics easier.

Hells Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, there is a great dramatic appeal in the name Hells Canyon, an appeal which undoubtedly evokes a wide variety of mental images about the geography of the area involved in the struggle to save this section of the Snake River for full, multipurpose development.

Recently, Gus Norwood, executive secretary of the Northwest Public Power Association, made an airplane flight over the Hells Canyon area. Later, he wrote a vivid editorial for the Northwest Public Power Bulletin, which not only gives an excellent bird's-eye view of this rugged and remote region, but also spells out the significance of Hells Canyon as a challenge to the foresight of Americans in seeking full development and wise use of their resources.

So that the Members of Congress will have the benefit of this word picture as discussion develops further on Hells Canyon, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WINGS OVER HELLS CANYON

(By Gus Norwood)

Flying up the deepest gorge on the North American continent is high adventure which will often return to haunt the memory.

We arrive at the Spokane airport at 6:30 on a crisp morning. The West Coast Airline DC-3 glistens with frost. Overhead not a cloud greets the rising sun. The clear, blue sky promises unlimited visibility.

Not given to formality the pilot says he will gladly detour a little to fly over the Nez Perce damsite and the more famous Hells Canyon damsite. The first leg of the flight is about an hour from Spokane to Lewiston, Idaho. The second leg from Lewiston to Boise requires 2 hours, of which the first half is up the grand canyon of the Snake River.

Wheatlands of the rich inland empire checkerboard the route to Lewiston. But Lewiston itself lies in a deep valley at the confluence of the Clearwater and Snake Rivers. All around this deep valley stretches the bleak plateau of dry farming wheatlands. Also on this plateau on a high bluff is the airport.

As if presaging the wonder and awe of the next hour is the takeoff from Lewiston. The pilot merely taxies to the end of the runway and keeps going, like taking off from an aircraft carrier. Seconds later the plane soars easily hundreds of feet above the broad swelling flow of the Snake River. Yet on each side of the edges of the plateau bound our pathway and as the plane climbs, the rim of the benchlands, changing to foothills, climbs also.

CANYON HOLDS ONE-EIGHTH OF FUTURE POWER

In this Pacific Northwest country of titanic proportions the famed Columbia River receives the glory as America's greatest hydroelectric resource with little credit or mention that one-third of its waters come from the mysterious and remote gorges of the powerful Snake River. Yet in these gorges one-eighth of the Nation's future waterpower awaits the engineer. Unspoiled by railroads, highways, and towns, useless for farming, the yawning chasms of the Snake and its great tributaries the Clearwater and Salmon Rivers offer over 11 million kilowatts of future hydroelectric power, the energy of 21 Bonneville Dams.

Defining the boundary between Idaho and Oregon the maps show the Hells Canyon of the Snake to be some 50 miles long. But actually the entire central portion of the river is encased in a canyon from the time it leaves the southern Idaho plain at Weiser until it reaches Lewiston 180-river miles or 150-air miles later. In this reach the river drops from 2,077 feet above sea level at Weiser to 757 feet at Lewiston, a total drop of 1,320 feet.

The sluggish Mississippi River drops about half a foot per mile, but the amazing Snake plunges into the canyon below Weiser and keeps on plunging, dropping 5 to 10 feet per mile. Even from the plane one sees and almost hears the roaring crashing rapids with their churning white water.

The plane is half empty and we shift from side to side as the friendly steward points out the Grande Ronde River where it joins the Snake and as we fly across the border from Washington into Oregon up the west bank of the Snake River.

CONTINENT'S DEEPEST GORGE

Ahead, looking like a tumorous swelling of the earth, lies a vast hump of mountains split by the deepest gash on the North American continent. Like two medieval fortress walls these mountain ramparts face each other for many miles along the Snake River trench. On the Oregon or western side lie the Wallowa Mountains with Sacajewea Peak slightly the highest at 10,033 feet. On the Idaho or eastern side the Seven Devil Mountains show their sawtooth pinacles along the very brink of Hells Canyon with the He Devil standing at 9,387 feet.

We're at the Nez Perce damsite. Forty-six miles above Lewiston, 2½ miles below the mouth of the Salmon River and 5 miles below the mouth of the Imnaha River lies the rock cradle of the proposed 615-foot high Nez Perce Dam. This is the Army's proposed project for generating 1,980,000 kilowatts of power and storing flood waters in a reservoir reaching 63 miles up the Salmon and 64 miles up the Snake to the toe of the proposed Hells Canyon Dam.

To the eastward one traces the upper portion of the curving abyss of the Salmon River, the "River of No Return," as it recedes into mountain ranges yet unnamed. Under the morning sun, still low on the horizon, the canyons lie in deep shadow made more ominous by trails of vapor and fog banks. Powdery snow on the northerly slopes helps to etch further the rugged landscape.

Now we are in the Hells Canyon, over 1,000 feet deeper than Arizona's mile deep Grand Canyon. The plane must be flying at about 8,000 feet, almost 7,000 feet above the water, yet one feels that the pilot is flying too low because the mountains crowd close. The jagged points of the Seven Devils tower above. Someone said Hells Canyon was so named as the playground of the Seven Devils. At least their sharp shadows play along the eroded wall.

BLUFFS FORM DAMSITE

The canyon is a broad V miles wide at the top and with an undulation of granite buttresses or headlands crowding in upon the river every quarter mile or so and each such pair of buttresses looks like another good damsite. The steward points out a sheer bluff which stands straight up 4,000 feet above the turbulent waters.

At the Hells Canyon damsite the pilot obligingly makes a wide S turn crossing the river. Down there the engineers will someday place a dam higher than Hoover Dam. It will raise the river from a tailwater level of 1,475 feet above sea level to 2,077 feet, a rise of 602 feet. Its reservoir will back water to the head of the canyon at Weiser 92 miles upstream.

What's that ahead? The river, which has seemed dark and forbidding in the gloomy shadow of the canyon, now curves around a rocky promontory and is flooded by the warm morning sun. Deep in its trench the narrow ribbon of water shimmers almost blindingly like a stream of molten silver.

As the pilot leaves the river for the shortcut to Boise, one sits back for the first time to ponder the wonderment of this river. Even when the Nez Perce and Hells Canyon projects are built, the fabulous gorge will remain. Man's highest dam will not reach 10 percent up those canyon walls. Thus in America's greatest and deepest chasm man can place huge dams to store the unruly and devastating floodwaters and put them to work for the good of mankind producing more power than the output of Grand Coulee Dam. Still there will remain for all future generations the primeval, awesome beauty that is the Hells Canyon of the Snake River.

Right To Work Law Conflict Broadens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Right To Work Law Conflict Broadens," which was published in the Prescott Evening Courier.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIGHT TO WORK LAW CONFLICT BROADENS

Union labor leaders, and maybe sincere rank and file members, lately have been waging a crusade against the so-called right-to-work laws of a number of States. Whether their efforts to induce Congress to adopt nullifying statutes would be effective if successful is problematic, since such legislation might conflict with the Federal Constitution. Anyway, Arizona's experience fails to offer evidence wherein the law has restricted organized labor's activities. Despite the clamor for suppressing the measure, no examples so far are recorded that emphasize its alleged unfairness.

The move to abrogate the statutes through Washington cooperation naturally brought reaction from those favoring them. Hence, due to labor groups bringing pressure toward erasing the States' authority, an association recently was created to fight the movement for voiding the various laws whose demerits are yet to be proved by the opposition. In outlining the purposes of the new formation, its chairman, E. S. Dillard, stated:

"The National Right to Work Committee declares its keynote belief to be that unionism by compulsion is utterly wrong and is a rising menace to the future of the United States.

"This organization will strive diligently to accomplish a single major objective, which is to establish in the United States the principle that Americans must have the right, but not be compelled, to join labor unions.

"Labor unions hold in their membership hundreds of thousands of American citizens against their will. Furthermore, thousands of persons have lost their jobs because they would not bend the knee to such compulsion.

"Emphasizing these and the many related facts and the injustices inherent in them is the determination of this committee. Further, the committee intends to defend the right to work principle against all who would invade it, whether unions or employers.

"A basic fundamental of American democracy is for every individual to have the right to earn one's own livelihood without being compelled to join, and pay money to, any organization. The National Right To Work Committee expects to carefully avoid injecting itself into the many complicated problems of labor-management relations. The committee will not oppose the expansion of voluntary unionism.

"The committee's conviction is that, in keeping with American guaranties of personal liberties, unionism must be voluntary,

devoid of compulsion. The intentions of this committee are to sponsor a program sufficiently broad and adequate to accurately present this whole problem in its many details not only to the American people but also to those men and women who exercise the authorities of government.

"When analyzed, this right-to-work problem presents political and economic issues which are of deep and far-reaching importance. Ranking first among these issues is whether or not justice is violated when a one-sided State of law protects the individual's right to join a union while providing no protection whatever for the right not to join a union.

"Another of these issues is this: Shall the Federal Government be allowed to strike down all State laws which seek to give the individual free choice as regards labor-union membership? American policy is positively set against the evils of monopoly in business and yet the question arises whether labor unions shall be permitted to achieve monopoly over the working forces of the Nation.

"A basic principle of our Republic is to protect civil liberties and minority rights against majorities. Shall this principle have no effectiveness in the basic realm of working and earning a living? The National Right To Work Committee hopes to convince the American National and State Governments and the whole populace that failure to eliminate unionism by compulsion will represent a triumph for collectivism. Already widespread unionism by compulsion has drastically encroached upon, and has severly damaged, various American individual rights.

"The foregoing paragraphs present broadly the fundamental policy and objective of the National Right To Work Committee."

"Flat Wheel" Harry Karr Retiring After 52 Years on Rails

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, March 1, 1955, is the retirement date of Harry A. Karr, of Washington, D. C., one of the most able passenger traffic men in the railroad industry.

"Flat Wheel" Harry, as he is known to Presidents and other officials of the Government, has served the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. for 52 years, spending 30 of them in Washington, D. C., as a division passenger agent.

Having worked under Harry Karr as a representative of the Pennsylvania Railroad traffic department not only did I learn to know him as an excellent supervisor but also as one of the most likable persons I have ever met.

In addition, my friend Harry has the reputation of being one of the most persistent "go-getters" in the railroad passenger field. Competition was his meat, and regardless of how keen it was, Harry Karr fought for the business without sacrificing any of his principles.

As a retired railroader Harry Karr will now be able to enjoy to a fuller extent the comforts of his home and family, which consists of his charming wife and son Harry. Credit for "Flat Wheel" Harry's accomplishments in the railroad industry is shared by his wife and son, who have constantly been at his side and supporting him in all his daily endeavors.

The February 27, 1955, issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald carried the following article which is a deserving tribute to one of the grandest employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad system.

The article follows:

"FLAT WHEEL HARRY" RETIRING AFTER 52 YEARS ON RAILS

(By Edward T. Folliard)

Harry Karr says farewell to railroading Monday.

He is retiring as division passenger agent of the Pennsylvania Railroad after 52 years of service with that company, 30 of them here in Washington.

"Flat Wheel Harry," as he has been called, has traveled with five Presidents of the United States—Coolidge, Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower. He sometimes gives the figure as six, because he was the railroadman in charge of the special train that bore the flag-draped body of Warren G. Harding from Washington to Marion, Ohio, in 1923.

Now a spry 66, Karr enjoys talking about all but one of his trips. When he comes to that one—a 3 week journey on a special train with Mme. Chiang Kai-shek—he shakes his head, and on his face appears a look of pain and bafflement. It was, he says, the most terrible trip of his career.

Mme. Chiang Kai-shek had come to Washington on February 17, 1943, to be the guest of the Roosevelts at the White House. The First Lady of China, as she was called at the time, caused quite a stir.

A famous beauty, who as Mei-Ling Soong had been an honor student at Wellesley College, she had an aura of romance about her; and, besides, hers was the voice of Free China, an ally of America against Japan.

All hearts went out to her when, attired in a split skirt and sables, she glided into the halls of Congress and spoke eloquently for an all-out effort in the Pacific.

There were whispers around the White House that Mme. Chiang Kai-shek was difficult, but they came from the servants and never got into print.

At any rate, Harry Karr had no reason to feel apprehensive when he got a telephone call from the White House one day. It was from Mike Reilly, then chief of the Secret Service there. He told Karr that FDR wanted him to get up a special train to carry Mme. Chiang on a tour of the United States.

Karr did a good job in making up and manning the 7-car special, or at least he thought he did. The Pullman porters assigned to the train were handpicked. They included Bill Reed and other veteran porters who had traveled with Presidents and who were known for their skill and courtesy.

The rolling stock, including a private car, was first rate and so was the food for the dining car. The late Jim Maloney and other Secret Service agents were aboard as guards.

The itinerary called for a visit to Wellesley in Massachusetts, to New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. The trip was to end at West Palm Beach, Fla., where Mme. Chiang would board a plane for the flight back to China.

Among those traveling with Mme. Chiang was her niece, Miss Jeanette Kung. Harry Karr says it will be a long time before he forgets her.

Miss Kung, who affected a boyish haircut, began to complain in the name of Mme. Chiang. She told Karr that the trip was too rough. She complained about the service.

"Mme. Chiang doesn't like the way you stopped the train," Miss Kung told Karr.

On other occasions, Karr recalls, Miss Kung complained because the train did not stop so Madame could get the latest editions.

In Chicago the party left the train for a night and put up at the Drake Hotel. The Secret Service assigned Karr to a room on the same floor as the Chinese entourage.

Miss Kung happened to pass Karr's room when his door was open. Seeing him inside, she said to him:

"What are you doing on the same floor with us?"

Karr explained the room had been assigned by the Secret Service. Miss Kung called the hotel manager and demanded that he be moved to another floor. He moved voluntarily.

On the way across the prairies, Karr recalls, Mme. Chiang decided to give a tea party for the lady journalists. She asked Bill Reed, the porter assigned to her car, to prepare cookies and garland them with the colors of China. Bill had no way of doing this, since he lacked the necessary ingredients, and he told Karr.

Another railroadman wired ahead to North Platte, Nebr., to appeal for help. The wives of railroadmen in North Platte went into action, made the cookies with China's colors, and that crisis was solved. Madame was pleased.

By this time, however, a really alarming situation had developed. The Pullman porters, saying they couldn't stand the nagging by the Chinese, threatened to leave. Karr and others finally persuaded them to stick it out.

One day, according to Karr, Miss Kung reached a peak in her complaining. She said that if Karr and the others didn't do more to make Mme. Chiang comfortable, she would have to make some other arrangement for the journey.

"If you were in China," Karr says Miss Kung told him, "you would have your heads cut off."

Karr still finds the experience sort of incredible.

"We did everything in the world to please them," he says.

It was different traveling with Presidents, he says, and spins many a yarn about them. Coolidge, he recalls, liked to prowl up and down the special. One evening "Silent Cal" ventured into the club car where the newspapermen were locked in a game of poker.

Coolidge, unnoticed, stood in back of George Durno, White House reporter for the International News Service. Durno had a tremendous hand—four aces. Coolidge gave him a jab in the back.

Durno, looking around, saw it was the President and became so excited the four aces tumbled out of his hand. That ended his chances of making a killing.

Karr traveled with President Hoover in his ill-starred 1932 campaign, and he vividly remembers an incident at the railroad station in Des Moines, Iowa. The Chief Executive was booed.

"That is not a nice thing to hear," he says.

President Roosevelt, Karr recalls, was unfriendly to the Pennsylvania because the head man of Pennsylvania at the time, W. W. Atterbury, was a prominent figure in the Republican Party. He made it clear his favorite railroad was the Baltimore & Ohio.

Ironically, the train that bore FDR's body to Hyde Park in 1945 was a Pennsylvania Railroad special. In charge of it was Karr.

Harry's legion of friends and admirers are throwing a cocktail party and reception for him at the Willard Monday from 6 to 8 p. m.

United States Relations With Latin-American Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article concerning our relations with Latin American countries, written by Mr. Nathaniel P. Davis, formerly the distinguished United States Ambassador to Costa Rica, and published in the Glens Falls (N. Y.) Star. I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEN SKETCHES

(By Nathaniel P. Davis)

Recent events in Central America once more bring to the fore the plaguing and complex question of military aid and training for foreign governments whose avowed foreign-policy objectives are similar to our own. An editorial in the Post-Star a few days ago drew a parallel between arms aid to Central American countries and to those of the Near East. It might be profitable to broaden the scope of our thinking on this matter to the whole world. And because we have had more experience with arms aid to Latin America, and greater opportunity to compare results with intentions, perhaps a review of some recent history of this continent can lay the foundations for some general principles of worldwide application.

When the United States entered World War II it urged all of the American Republics to follow suit. Most of them did so promptly, and before the fighting was over all but Argentina had declared war on one or more of our enemies. It will be recalled that in the early days of the war there was considerable hostile submarine activity off the coasts of North and South America and some widespread and well-grounded fear that German and Japanese agents might stir up military and sabotage activities in South and Central America to the detriment of our supply of strategic materials from those areas. When the United States urged its Latin allies to take preventive measures against such possibilities as well as against possible sea or air borne raids on their territory, most of them replied quite truthfully that they could only do so if we could furnish arms and other military equipment and train native personnel in their use. We did so quite generously considering our own state of unpreparedness, but quite inadequately considering the use to which they might have to be put.

We trained and equipped a modern mobile unit in Costa Rica. It never fired a shot at a German or Japanese, but was used by the Government to upset an election and plunge the country into civil war. We helped to create a small but effective force in Venezuela. It never got into the war either, but its officers overturned a popularly elected government and set up a military dictatorship which still rules the country by force of arms. American machineguns, military vehicles, and air facilities in Nicaragua seem to have confirmed the dictator president of that country in his belief that might makes right. Brazil's Army and Navy, rehabilitated and equipped by the United States, did take an active part in the Italian campaign and in patrolling the high seas. They also took a determining part in installing one president and ousting another.

These examples, by no means an exhaustive list, disclose a pattern which we should not ignore. It is not enough for a government to declare its solidarity with us in our opposition to military threats from Moscow. Before putting arms in its hands for the avowed purpose of common defense against that threat we should inquire very carefully as to the sincerity of that avowal. We ought to know by now that there are countries where the possession of arms by the organized few makes it certain that they will win the next election or upset it if by chance they lose. We ought also to know that there are countries which can think of more immediate and more interesting uses for modern arms than keeping them handy for an aggression that may never occur, particularly if the arms we give are better than those of a neighbor.

We ought also to satisfy ourselves as to the ability of the recipient to use the arms effectively for the purpose for which they are supplied. The mere possession of modern arms, without intelligent leadership, organization, some resources, and a will to defend oneself, plus a sincere and demonstrated devotion to democratic ideals, does not add strength to the democratic coalition. Quite the reverse. It is no service to democracy to arm would-be dictators just because they call themselves democrats. It is no service to world peace to arm would-be aggressors against small states just because they say they fear aggression against themselves by a larger one. And it is no service to anyone to put our reliance on bigger and better armaments for everyone not on the other side of the fence. Careful discrimination in this matter might add to Western strength, save the taxpayers some money, and contribute to the growth of democracy the world around.

The Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Highway Program," which was published in the Washington Daily News of February 23, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HIGHWAY PROGRAM

It is hardly necessary for anyone to point out the inadequacy of our present highway system, although President Eisenhower did a realistic job in his special message to Congress.

Anyone who rides in a motor vehicle is aware of the appalling accident toll, the extra cost poor roads impose on commercial traffic, congestion, and the usefulness of the highways in wartime.

The President was less realistic in his statements on how the huge program he has outlined might be financed. He said he rather favors special bond issues, to be paid off out of a big boom in tax revenues from highway users which his advisory committee thinks is in the offing.

The committee, you may remember, recommended that the Federal Government put up $31 billion in the next 10 years, the States and local governments the remainder of a total of $101 billion. The committee wanted to borrow this money, but not to count it as Federal debt.

We don't think Congress will buy any such deal, no matter who proposes it. We hope Congress won't accept any highway program which involves more Government debt.

The President says the States "cannot effectively" meet the need for a vastly expanded highway system. The only reason they can't is lack of money. And the same applies to the Federal Government. It is more deeply in debt than any State.

If ever there was a time when the country could afford to pay for the roads it builds, as it builds them, it is now. If we are going to borrow money in good times for the things we need, and pass the cost along—at a high rate of interest—to future generations, what are we going to do for the things we need in less good times?

We need a highway program. But first we need a way to pay for it. We hope Congress concentrates on that phase of it.

The Statehood Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the February 20, 1955, issue of the New York Herald Tribune is deserving of our attention:

THE STATEHOOD ISSUE

Hawaii and Alaska moved at least a shade closed to admission to the Union on Wednesday. A combined bill to confer statehood on the 2 Territories was approved, 19 to 6, by the House Insular Affairs Committee. It has still to be released by the Rules Committee, which blocked a somewhat similar measure last year, but Speaker RAYBURN indicated that this year it may have better success. There is a possibility of a Presidential veto, but a compromise within the bill, proposed by Alaskan Delegate E. L. BARTLETT, may have removed the grounds for such action.

The President's reservations on the subject of Alaskan statehood were intimated in a sentence of his state of the Union message: "As the complex problems of Alaska are resolved, that Territory should expect to receive statehood." One of these complex problems is, clearly, national defense. Secretary Charles E. Wilson, calling attention on Tuesday to the great size of the Territory, its sparse population, limited communications, and strategic location, told the Insular Affairs Committee that it would be in the interest of the national security that Alaska remain a Federal Territory.

On the point of the relation between national security and Alaskan statehood, opinion is by no means unanimous. Ernest Gruening, Governor of Alaska from 1939 to 1953 and author of a recent book on the Territory's problems, believes with a number of military leaders that the grant of statehood would, if anything, strengthen Alaska's defenses. In any event, the compromise authorizing the President to set aside up to 40 percent of northern Alaska as a defense zone, should meet objections on this score.

A serious consideration of the claims of Hawaii and Alaska to a place in the Union is long overdue. The Insular Affairs Committee has done its part by approving the combined bill. Now it is up to the House to take action.

Democrats and the TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Democrats and the Truth," written by Ralph McGill, and published in the Atlanta Constitution of January 4, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE TRUTH

(By Ralph McGill

Democrats take over the Congress tomorrow. There is no vindictiveness in them. There is no great anger. Certainly there is none directed toward Dwight D. Eisenhower. But more and more Democrats feel that certain of the men about him, and some of their friends, have deceived him and have used the confidence he has in them for the benefit of special interests.

So, there will be some investigations.

There will be a look at some of the curious aspects of the Dixon-Yates Co., created to build a plant on the edge of TVA's territory.

TVA's annual report, an official and factual Federal document, has just been published.

TVA's opponents, in large measure, have succeeded in doing two things. One, they have ignored the flood control features of the valley plan. This control not merely prevented great, almost annual damage, it enabled general farm plans to be worked out.

TRUTH

Agricultural wealth—which paid increased taxes on its land and income, grew with the years. New businesses, selling machinery, seed equipment, and other items, came into being. They paid new taxes. The purchasing power of the vast valley grew—and so did the tax total to local and Federal governments.

In addition, the recreational facilities produced new business. This, too, brought new taxable wealth to the TVA area.

Also, the lives of the people were improved in many ways. Income, schools, diet, a better standard of living—many intangibles of great value to the Nation came out of TVA.

Opponents of TVA have succeeded in obscuring most of this benefit to taxation and the general betterment of the area and, through it, the Nation.

Secondly, not content to try and make TVA appear as merely another power operation, its relentless foes have sought to make it seem an operation entirely subsidized by the Government. They have spoken of it as if it were operated wholly at the expense of the Federal taxpayer.

This is not true.

The truth is available in the report.

Last year TVA earned 3¼ percent net profit on its power installation.

Over the whole period of its existence it has averaged 4 percent annually.

By law it is required to pay back into the Federal Treasury (to the taxpayers) across a period of 40 years the total cost of all its power installations.

TVA PAYMENTS

It has actually paid back $101 million, of which $20 million was returned during the last fiscal year.

In addition, TVA has paid about 5 percent of its power-sales revenues, exclusive of those from Federal agencies, in lieu of taxes.

The enemies of TVA may argue about these figures all they wish, but the truth remains—TVA does pay taxes; it is not getting a free ride at the expense of the taxpayer.

Not only that, but the report shows the TVA rivers are carrying an increasing amount of freight. Research continues in fertilizers, chemistry, and physics.

More than that, it is TVA which is carrying a major load of national defense in the power field.

Without TVA the atomic bomb and later developments would have been long delayed. Future defense plans depend largely on TVA.

All the dam sites long ago were used up. But the valley and its development demand more and more power. It is already worth more to the Nation, as the New York Times said editorially, "than many divisions of troops, many ships, and many airplanes. What it does and can do might make the difference between vistory and defeat, or even between peace and war."

That is true.

It is a great national asset.

That greedy men seek to destroy it is one of the more sordid chapters in the long history of greed.

Early Casualty of H-Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of Thursday, February 24, 1955, well states the urgent necessity of prompt study leading to a new and more effective policy of industrial and urban dispersal. This could be done either by a Commission as suggested by Defense Mobilizer Fleming or by a congressional committee as proposed in my House Concurrent Resolution 66.

EARLY CASUALTY OF H-BOMB

One of the first casualties of the hydrogen bomb already is being buried by the Government. It is the much-publicized dispersal program for cities and industrial centers, drawn up before the ghastly and far-reaching effects of the H-bomb had been tested. Defense Mobilizer Arthur S. Flemming has told Congress that previous dispersal plans have been outmoded by developments in the grim realm of nuclear explosives. And he has sounded an urgent call for establishment of a special commission to prepare a rush report to Congress on the problem.

The hydrogen bomb has blasted into oblivion the so-called mileage yardstick setup by the civil defense authorities for dispersal of Federal defense and private industrial plants outside of the big cities. That yardstick provided for placing of key buildings and installations at least 10 miles beyond the limits of probable targets of enemy atomic bombers. Washington, of course, stands high on the list of such targets. The Office of Defense Mobilization even went so far as to propose a policy under which no new Federal buildings would be erected here except those housing agencies of a nonsensitive nature.

The old yardstick went out the window when estimates of blast and fallout hazards were confirmed during the H-bomb tests in the Pacific. The Atomic Energy Commission recently revealed that the fallout danger zone of a hydrogen bomb encompasses some 7,000 square miles. Ten-mile dispersal zones, or wider ones, would be completely inadequate against such an attack. Nor would previous plans for rapid evacuation of cities be of much value against the frightening background of the nuclear-fusion threat.

Under the circumstances, Mr. Flemming's suggestion of a prompt study of the new situation by a special commission makes sense. How much hope of survival such a group might be able to offer the potential victims of an H-bomb war, however, is a question which is as uncertain as the intentions of the men inside the Kremlin.

Swiss Watchmakers Lose Tiny Bit of United States Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the reasons for the watch tariff increase are widely misunderstood. I was, therefore, gratified to see in the Chicago American of February 20 an article, by Hal Thompson, which clearly states the case with great objectivity. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SWISS WATCHMAKERS LOSE TINY BIT OF UNITED STATES MARKET

(By Hal Thompson)

There was much wailing and gnashing of the teeth last year by the Swiss watch industry when the United States, in the interest of maintaining its own watch trade as part of a defense preparedness program, boosted the tariff on watch imports.

By lifting the tariff, the United States admittedly hoped to provide a larger portion of the domestic market for its own watchmakers.

The Swiss watch industry, however, hollered loud and long that the action of the United States was discriminatory, that it didn't square with this Nation's professed liberal foreign-trade policy and finally it asserted that the financial loss might well nigh prove irreparable to Switzerland.

IGNORE UNITED STATES EXPLANATION

Never once to our knowledge did the Swiss ever take cognizance of the number one reason given by the United States for taking such action—the protection of the domestic watch industry, so that it might be ready to turn out military weapons and parts should an emergency arise. That, they probably assumed, was a phony argument.

Well, for the edification of the Swiss it may be reiterated that it wasn't a false contention, but was the principal motivating factor that influenced the tariff commission to recommend the boost in duties on Swiss watches.

The United States needs the watch industry as a link in its defense program and it is committed through this administration to see to it that such facilities are maintained.

But getting back to the breast thumping which the Swiss watchmakers engaged in last year when the notice of the impending tariff hike was issued. At that time they were certain that they would immediately lose the bulk of the American market.

Experience has now shown that they were a bit too pessimistic concerning their industry's prospects in this country.

Figures on exports of Swiss watches for 1954 now are at hand. They show that such exports to the United States on a dollar basis were down only 6 percent from the preceding year.

Such exports last year netted the Swiss watch industry 1,039,915,622 Swiss francs, approximately $239 million. In the previous year these exports were 1,106,662,297 francs, or $254 million.

Final statistics on this Nation's exports to Switzerland are not as yet available. However, it is doubted that they will fall below the volume of Swiss watch imports and probably will be a lot larger.

SHOULD BE APPRECIATIVE

Instead of continuing to rail against the United States the Swiss should be appreciative of the flow of American dollars to their nation to help pay for the Swiss exports. So far it hasn't been slowed down very much through the boost in the tariff on Swiss watches. The sum of $239 million should go a long way toward helping the Swiss industry to assist financially in the maintenance of that nation's defense force.

The United States watch industry also should be afforded an opportunity to assist this country in meeting its defense requirements.

Edith S. Green, Representative From Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, all the State of Oregon is proud of EDITH S. GREEN, Oregon's first woman Member of Congress in 16 years. We know that she will make an outstanding record that will be a credit to her State, her family, her sex, and her country. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very informative article about Mrs. GREEN and her noteworthy career, which appeared in the Oregonian of Monday, February 21, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDITH GREEN FINDS CAPITAL BUSY, INTERESTING

WASHINGTON.—After 6 weeks of representing Oregon's most populous congressional district, Mrs. EDITH GREEN said of her new job: "I like it very much. It exceeds all my expectations."

That includes, she said, the stacks of letters to be answered as well as the many new challenges, the long hours, as well as the many friendly Oregonians who stop in to say "hello."

As one of 17 women lawmakers in this 84th Congress, Mrs. GREEN is a member of the largest band of women ever to sit in the national legislature. And she has happily discovered there is "certainly no discrimination" by the men who once made lawmaking exclusively their province.

Mrs. GREEN said the transition from ex-Representative Homer D. Angell's departure from office to her entrance into it was made smooth by Angell's helpfulness in turning over his files on such matters as pending immigration cases and appointments of young men from Oregon to West Point and Annapolis, as well as his advice and counsel.

"Mr. Angell was very cooperative and kind," said Mrs. GREEN. "I have found that other Congressmen have not had the same experience, so that is why I especially appreciate it."

Representative GREEN has good cause to feel grateful on another score, in view of the choice committee posts she received from the Democratic leadership. She got her first choice, Labor and Education Committee, plus a special dividend, Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

EDUCATION FIRST INTEREST

As a former schoolteacher, Mrs. GREEN's first love is legislation to promote improvements in the Nation's educational process. She favors a broad program of Federal aid to the States for support of local school programs, and said she thought President Eisenhower's recent proposal "does not meet in any degree the severity of the problem."

One of her first bills introduced in Congress was in this general field—a measure to authorize $7,500,000 annually for Federal payments to the States for use in extending the public library service to rural areas.

Her first concern in the field of her other committee is power. When the time comes she expects to throw her weight in the committee to gain favorable action on legislation to authorize a high Federal dam in Hells Canyon on the Iregon-Idaho border. This may be the next big fight in that committee, now that statehood for Hawaii and Alaska has been approved by a 19 to 6 vote in which Mrs. GREEN voted for both.

ELASTIC SCHEDULE FOLLOWED

With committee hearings taking a big bite out of her mornings, Mrs. GREEN in her first week's office has operated on an elastic daily schedule which usually bulged out at both ends into this sort of typical day:

8:30 a. m.: Breakfast meeting, usually 3 or 4 mornings a week. Each Wednesday it is with the Democratic freshman lawmakers, who elected her president of their group, the 84th Club. Others are various groups and associations.

9:30 a. m.: Arrive at office, scan first batch of mail to come in, deal personally with most important matters, confer with administrative assistant, Don Larson, and delegate assignments to staff. Her staff here includes Larson and two secretaries, Sue Mills and Patricia Hobbs.

10:30 a. m.: Off to a committee meeting until noon.

Noon: Lunch, almost invariably with visiting Oregonians, whom Mrs. GREEN says "make home seem much closer than 3,000 miles away."

12:30 or 1 p. m.: Go to House Chamber for afternoon session, unless House is in recess for day, which sees her back at office for scheduled appointments. She has average of three afternoon appointments, often with Oregonians who have come personally to the Capitol for solutions to the problems with the Government. Others on calling list have included labor officials and representatives of various groups trying to enlist her backing for this or that bill or cause. Among them was Mrs. Elizabeth Roecloud, of 3120 Southwest Schools Ferry Road, Portland, who is currently associate director of the American Indian Development Program of National Congress of American Indians. She sought to familiarize Mrs. GREEN with Indian problems that may arise in the Interior Committee.

6:30 p. m.: Dinner, usually at nearby restaurant.

8:30 p. m.: Back to office to finish up answering mail, which has been running 50 to 100 letters daily since Congress convened.

The No. 1 plea numerically in the mailbag of the Third District Representative has been from the postal workers of the Portland area for the 10-percent pay raise they want from Congress. Mrs. GREEN is on their side, having cosponsored a bill to this effect.

Next on list of topics of current concern in Portland, judging by her mail, has been foreign trade, with many conflicting views being voiced. Mrs. GREEN backed up her support of continued reciprocal trading by voting this past week for the broadened trade bill advocated by President Eisenhower. In preliminary skirmishing on the bill, she went along with those who voted to open the bill up to amendments on the House floor, but later switched her vote to prevent this after Speaker SAM RAYBURN made a dramatic plea for reversal of this action. It carried by one vote, 193 to 192.

While most of her correspondence comes from her district, Mrs. GREEN has been surprised to find women from throughout the Nation writing to indorse her bill to lower from 65 to 60 the age at which women qualify for social-security benefits.

NEWSLETTER ISSUED

To keep in touch personally with many of her constituents in Multnomah County, the Congresswoman has begun writing a newsletter which went to 10,000 homes the first run and is to go to many more in subsequent editions. And she is dickering with Portland radio and television stations for time in which to present periodic reports.

"I want to let the people in my district know what we are doing here and what my views are on the issues," said Mrs. GREEN, explaining she hopes this will increase their interest in national affairs so they will "let me know what they think."

Another devise for keeping in closer touch with constituents, said Mrs. GREEN, is her local office in the Portland Post Office Building where Mrs. Sybil Rinke maintains office hours from 10 a. m. to 6 p. m. daily and 10 to 1 Saturday. She said she finds this is particularly helpful to constituents who might find it difficult to explain their problem in a letter directly to her and can't afford a trip to Washington, D. C. She said "dozens" of persons have discussed such problems with Mrs. Rinke, who has communicated with the Congresswoman about them.

Like many other women who have made successful political careers, such as Mrs. Dorothy McCullough Lee, Portland exmayor now on the Federal Parole Board, and Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, Portland's new woman lawmaker doesn't despair at the little time her job may leave her for housekeeping.

She and her husband and son have an apartment in the suburbs in which they slept on cots "camping out style" until their furniture arrived from Portland after some delay last month. They are now looking for something a bit larger.

"But I have never been one to sit at home," declared Mrs. GREEN. "I like work—challenging work. All the issues I am concerned about are here, and this is the best opportunity one can have to do something constructive about them."

The Greatest Wonder: The Epic of the Four Chaplains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the

RECORD an article entitled "The Greatest Wonder," published in the Red Lantern, the publication of the 40 & 8 organization. The article refers to the 4 chaplains, 1 a rabbi, 1 a Catholic priest, and 2 Protestant ministers, who went down at sea on a troopship during World War II.

To my mind the story here retold records one of the most wonderful examples of unity in our country, and the article should receive the very careful consideration of all Americans, particularly at this time.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GREATEST WONDER

A dozen years have passed since the German torpedo found its mark and the United States troopship *Dorchester* went under the icy Atlantic off Labrador. Six hundred lives were lost that night—and yet, in the annals of American history, this disaster must be listed as a victory, not a defeat.

For in those grim moments on the sinking ship, the American dreams of unity took substance. Amongst the frightened and the dying, 4 men of God walked together—1 Catholic, 1 Jewish and 2 Protestant. Calmly, quietly, they helped the boys into their lifebelts and bolstered their morale with words of hope and encouragement as they leaped over the side. Deftly they administered to the needs of the wounded, easing their pain, offering God's solace and reassuring as they waited for the end to come. And resolutely—as one man—they made their heroic choice. To stay with the ship; to give their own life belts to four youngsters unable to reach their own; to go down with the injured, praying, comforting, inspiring to the very last.

George Fox, Alexander Goode, Clark Poling and John P. Washington stood on the deck of the *Dorchester*. Their backgrounds were different; so were their creeds. But their spirit—the spirit of American unity—was the same. The men in the lifeboats saw them, arms linked, Bibles in hand, till the waters swallowed the ship. Those men and all future Americans will see them thus in their minds forever.

World War II was still far from over. Some of the bitterest battles were yet to be won. But, pitted against nazism with its vicious doctrine of racial and religious bigotry, were the teamwork and brotherhood symbolized by the Four Chaplains. The news of their heroism helped seal the fate of the German superman.

Twelve years have brought many scientific wonders to America's arsenal. But the epic of the Four Chaplains reminds us that however fast our planes, however powerful our weapons, the greatest wonder and the greatest strength still lies in our national brotherhood—in the fellowship that unites and protects us all.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently there appeared in the Decatur Daily, of Decatur, Ala., an editorial entitled "What Are You Waiting For?" The editorial deals with the proposed program of extending Federal aid for the construction of school buildings, and the editorial relates particularly to the hearings which have been conducted by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, under the chairmanship of my distinguished, very able, and long-time colleague, the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL].

I think the editorial is a very good one, and is interesting, informative, and thought-provoking. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it be reproduced in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT ARE YOU WAITING FOR?

Senator LISTER HILL, who has had as much to do with the education and welfare of the American people during his term of service in the Congress as any man, continues to spur the Congress toward action in meeting the increasing American school crisis.

Indicative of progress is the representation in Washington before committee hearings from back home. In our own county of Morgan both superintendent of county schools Lester Wooten and Decatur superintendent of schools Walter Jackson have testified as to school needs. There have been many others. The appeals to committee members is straight from the grassroots.

Senator HILL is saying in substance to fellow Congressmen, "What are you waiting for?" in the following statement made to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

"The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare held extensive hearings on school construction legislation last spring. In those hearings witnesses provided a very complete picture of the education crisis as of that time. It is our purpose at these present hearings to bring the information on the needs of our Nation's schools up to date.

"The need for speedy action to meet the situation in our schools becomes more urgent every day. There is no need for lengthy proceeding at this time, particularly since our committee made such a full inquiry last year. What is needed in this emergency is to take emergency action.

"There is no more pressing problem confronting the Nation today than the crisis in our schools. Each day the shortage of classrooms grows more severe and we are finding ourselves with fewer and fewer trained teachers. School operating expenses have risen to new heights. The total financial demands are so great that, despite heroic efforts in community after community, we continue to fall further and further behind as each year brings a new and greater floodtide of children into our schools.

"Today it is estimated that over one-half of the classrooms in the Nation are so overcrowded as to make effective teaching almost impossible. Every 15 minutes of everyday our tremendous birthrate is bringing 30 more children into the population—creating a need, in effect, or another classroom and another teacher. Within 3 years our shortage of classrooms throughout the Nation will have climbed to 600,000. Day by day we are falling behind, with serious damage to our children and to the Nation. Millions of American boys and girls are being denied their American birthright—the right to an adequate education. Our national security is being endangered by the inability of our schools to provide the basic training needed by many who might become scientists and engineers and research workers and leaders in every walk of life. We are stricken by the worst wave of juvenile delinquency in our history because children are neglected and too often left to roam the streets.

We know that this past year enrollment again broke all records. We were short at least 370,000 classrooms last September and faced a net lack of about 135,000 new teachers.

People throughout the country are demanding, rightfully, that the Congress act to remedy these intolerable conditions. They are troubled not only for the well-being of the children themselves, but by the possibility that our superiority in the struggle against communism may be menaced by our failure to maintain American brain-power to overbalance the Soviet bloc's massive brawn-power."

Dissent and Separate Views of Commissioner Chet Holifield on Commission Report on Medical Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Hoover Commission released as of today—February 28—their recommendations regarding medical services furnished by the Federal Government to veterans, military personnel, and others.

I present herewith a copy of my dissenting and separate views to the majority recommendation and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

DISSENT AND SEPARATE VIEWS OF COMMISSIONER CHET HOLIFIELD ON COMMISSION REPORT ON MEDICAL SERVICES

The burden of the complaint in the Commission report is that (1) too many persons are receiving medical (particularly hospital) care at Federal expense; (2) they are receiving more care than is necessary; and (3) the Federal Government is maintaining more facilities than are needed to take care of the present patient load.

The Commission therefore proposes that no more general hospitals be built by the Veterans' Administration, that some VA hospitals be closed, and that hospital care for veterans with non-service-connected disabilities be limited in several ways. An effort is made, also, to reduce disability allowances to veterans.

Furthermore it is proposed that the general hospitals of the Public Health Service be closed and that merchant seamen no longer be given medical care by the Federal Government. Other beneficiaries and their dependents now receiving care at such hospitals (commissioned officers of the Public Health Service, and employees of the Coast Guard and Coast and Geodetic Survey) would be shifted to military hospitals for treatment pending the development of voluntary health insurance plans for all Federal Government employees.

Hospital and clinical facilities of the military services would be reduced by making one service in a given geographic area responsible for taking care of all military patients, whether Army, Navy, or Air Force. Dependents of military personnel would have access to military medical facilities only until such time as voluntary contributory plans for health insurance are developed by the Federal Government.

My objections to certain parts of the report are summarized as follows:

1. Hospital and other medical facilities of the Federal Government should not be curtailed in the face of impending civilian defense needs and greater Federal responsibilities in meeting them, which have yet to be clearly defined. Recent disclosures of the potential danger of radioactive fallout to millions of people are reason enough to make us pause and proceed with care.

2. Until the health insurance programs proposed by the Commission for Government employees generally and for dependents of military and certain other Government personnel are fully developed, and their adequacy demonstrated, I am opposed to any reduction whatever in the Federal medical services presently available to such persons.

3. It is not in keeping with congressional intent to take a narrow and restrictive view of hospital care for veterans. Although the veteran population will decrease, medical needs will increase as it grows older. On the basis of present and authorized hospital facilities, the Veterans' Administration should be able to plan and provide a stable program of medical care to veterans without severe restrictions on eligibility.

4. The proposal to make veterans who receive medical care for non-service-connected disabilities liable for future payment is wholly unrealistic. It poses awkward and difficult problems of assessing costs and enforcing collection in future years. It would create inequities as between those who received care in the past and those who receive it in the present or future.

5. Medical care for merchant seamen in hospitals of the Public Health Service in an historic function of the Service dating back to its inception more than 150 years ago. Whatever the arguments for discontinuing such medical care, certainly the Federal Government has a responsibility to see that suitable alternatives are developed within the maritime industry before terminating present arrangements. Huge subsidies paid to ship owners and operators by the Government should provide sufficient leverage to cause the industry to initiate and develop a program of medical care for merchant seamen.

I would add as a general comment that the repeated mention in the report of alleged waste in expenditures for Government medical facilities and services should not make us lose sight of the tragic waste of human life resulting from inadequate medical care.

The Government is said to be furnishing some type of medical service to 30 million people. Among the millons of taxpayers who do not receive such assistance, or receive it only in minor degree, are many families unable to meet the present high costs of medical care.

When the Government faces up to this problem and takes the initiative in devising an adequate medical insurance system for the whole population, perhaps it will be relieved in substantial part of the heavy demands for direct medical services and resultant large expenditure cited in this report.

From Yalta to Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, on last February 11 the Yalta treaty was 10 years old. This tragic blunder should be remembered by all and sundry, because we can sometimes learn from our errors. We can only do this if we face up to these errors squarely, with penitent and contrite hearts.

The following article by Mr. William Henry Chamberlain retells the whole dismal fiasco and points up once again that it might be well if we would stand by our friends, instead of trying to win over enemies who are still bent on our destruction as much today as they were 10 years ago:

FROM YALTA TO FORMOSA

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

The 10th anniversary of the Yalta agreement between Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill, which came on February 11, 1955, should not be overlooked. Not that it is a date to inspire any feelings of pride or happiness. Yalta was one of the greatest moral and diplomatic defeats in the history of the United States. But the memory of defeats is sometimes more instructive than the recollection of victories, especially at a time when new defeats of the Yalta type cannot be ruled out.

Yalta has been a main target of the whitewash brigade of the Roosevelt administration court historians and apologists. Desperate efforts have been made to prove either that Yalta was a regrettable military necessity or that the original pact would have been excellent if Stalin had only kept his word; that Roosevelt agreed to nothing that was dishonorable or contrary to United States national interests.

So it is worthwhile to recall those features of the Yalta pact which mark it as both a crime and a blunder and a sort of Pandora's Box, from which most of our international troubles in the postwar era have emerged.

First, Yalta signalized the abandonment of the free Poles, who had been fighting on our side during the war, the throwing over of their representative government and the acceptance of a made-in-Moscow puppet regime which has been governing Poland as a Soviet province ever since. At the same time, although the Atlantic Charter is hypocritically invoked in the pact several times, there were several flagrant and obvious violations of the Atlantic Charter assurances of self-determination for peoples.

The Soviet Union was allowed to incorporate, without a plebiscite, about half of Poland's prewar territory and about one-third of the prewar Polish population. Poland was given "compensation" in the annexation of considerable areas which were historically and ethnically German. This was emphatically a case when two wrongs did not make a right.

The Soviet Union was also assured a stranglehold on China's most industrialized area, Manchuria, and this was done without consulting or even informing the ally concerned, the Nationalist Government of China. The United States in the Yalta pact set the seal of its approval on the dismemberment of Germany and on the use of German slave labor as "reparations." The United States and Great Britain consented to be policemen for the execution of a kind of fugitive slave law. They assumed the obligation to return to death or concentration camps Soviet citizens who were found in the western zones of occupation.

No amount of apologetics on the part of Dean Acheson, the Alsop brothers and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., can obscure the plain historical fact that Yalta was a tremendous factor in the consolidation of the super-Genghis Khan empire which the Kremlin built up from the Baltic to the Pacific. Yalta made the United States and Great Britain accomplices—"unwitting handmaidens," if one prefers the expression—in the underwriting of this empire.

News of the Yalta agreement was a blow to anti-Communist forces of freedom everywhere, among the Poles and the other peoples of Eastern Europe, among the Germans, among the Chinese. If the United States and Great Britain were not prepared to stand up to Stalin, how could weaker countries, or resistance groups within these countries hope to do so?

It is sometimes argued by apologists for Yalta that Stalin received under this pact little which he had not taken, or could not have taken by force of arms. But this overlooks the vital point that American and British military sanction made the Soviet dictator's tremendous land grabs very much easier.

Even after Yalta, underground groups in Poland continued the struggle against Russian and Communist rule. They were only suppressed after thousands had been killed on both sides in the unequal struggle with the government troops and police. Had there been no acquiescence in Poland's mutilation and the subjugation by the Western powers, the underground struggle would, in all probability, have been much harder to put down.

Another argument of the Yalta apologists is that it was a great moral victory to persuade Stalin to sign his name to some promises about democracy, free elections, etc., all of which he broke without the slightest intention of keeping. In view of Stalin's long previous record of bad faith, this is something like hailing it as a sign of financial genius to accept without question at face value the checks of a notorious fraudulent bankrupt.

Was there an alternative to the Yalta sellout of Poland, of Nationalist China, of the ideals of Western civilization? Of course there was. The United States could have announced that it stood on the ground of the Atlantic Charter, that it did not propose to annex foreign territory itself and would not recognize as legitimate one square mile of Stalin's annexations beyond the prewar frontiers of the Soviet Union. Behind this declaration would have stood the power of a country that was still fresh in the war, that had achieved the mightiest concentration of air and naval power in history, that would soon detonate the atomic bomb. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was exhausted in manpower and resources, had sustained enormous casualties and was dependent on American lend-lease trucks, food, and field telephones to keep its offensives rolling.

The chances are that Stalin would have bowed to such a firm and clearcut statement of purpose. And if he had proved intransigent, the showdown in 1945 would have been less costly and risky than a showdown in 1955, or in 1965.

Yalta was not an isolated lapse. It was a consequence as much as a cause, a consequence of the persistently favored delusion of the Roosevelt administration that, if Stalin was only flattered and appeased enough, he would become a cooperative do-gooder in a brave new world.

In the interest of this delusion American public opinion was systematically drugged by the agencies for molding public opinion during the war. And it must be recognized that some eminent commentators, columnists, and magazine editors were pretty willing drug addicts.

As a result, it was only by stealthy, almost underground methods and in publications of limited circulation, like Human Events, that the less pleasant facts of Soviet behavior in newly annexed territory were brought to light. American public opinion at the time of the Yalta conference had been deliberately denied the facts on which it might have judged what a monstrous thing it was to hand over people to Communist rule or to send back Soviet refugees.

Few Americans at that time realized that the Soviet Government had murdered 15,000 Polish officer war prisoners in cold blood in the Katyn Forest and elsewhere (this atrocity was conveniently ascribed to the Nazis); that about a million and a quarter human

beings had been deported from eastern Poland under circumstances so cruel that about a quarter of them perished; or that similar atrocities were committed in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

I happened to be present at a small, informal dinner in a representative medium-sized American city just after the news of Yalta was announced. One of those present was an Estonian woman who had escaped from that Baltic country before the Communists took over. Her husband, less fortunate, had been shot. She knew, and I knew, that Yalta amounted to ringing down the curtain on freedom in Eastern Europe for a long time.

But the other guests—not Communists or fellow travelers, just average Americans—were enthusiastic over what they considered the happy news of agreement at Yalta. Had not Raymond Gram Swing assured them that "No more appropriate news could be conceived to celebrate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln" and Senator ALBEN BARKLEY given his blessing to "one of the most important steps ever taken to promote peace and happiness in the world"?

By appropriate coincidence the 10th anniversary of Yalta comes at a time when tremendous pressure is being put on the United States to repeat the Yalta formula of giving the Communists everything they want in the Pacific. Again we are being called on to sacrifice a loyal fighting ally, Chiang Kai-shek, in pursuit of the will-of-the-wisp of placating and appeasing an implacable and unappeasable enemy in Peiping and in Moscow.

Have we learned the bitter unmistakable lesson of Yalta, that appeasement in international relations, like blackmail in personal relations, never pays off and never ends? In that case we will keep up our clear "No trespassing" sign around Formosa and give the power-drunk dictators in Peiping the choice between backing down on their tall talk about liberating Formosa or taking on the United States in an air and naval war, in which there will be no privileged sanctuary, as in Manchuria during the Korean war. In this case we will win, whatever decision may be taken in Peiping, and will regain in Asia and in the world some of the prestige that was lost by the war fought with one hand tied behind our back in Korea and by the policy of shaking first a fist, then a finger, in Indochina.

But the decision to bring the United Nations, of unhappy memory for its ignoble role in Korea, into a picture as an agency for bringing about a cease-fire is full of ominous possibilities. Very few members of the United Nations are wholeheartedly committed, as we are, to keeping Formosa and the adjacent islands free from Communist domination.

We have had the spectacle of a distinguished British thinker, Bertrand Russell, going temporarily off his rocker and suggesting that 1955 may see the end of the human race, unless the fighting in Formosan waters is stopped. We can rely on Prime Minister Nehru of Indian, on the basis of his past performance in Korea, to serve up all sorts of 99-percent surrenders to Red China in the guise of acceptable compromises.

There will be a Tower of Babel chorus of voices urging us to be "flexible," not to stick at a trifle like surrendering the offshore islands which are so essential for the defense of Formosa. Few if any voices will urge the Chinese Communists to be flexible.

It is worth remembering that 10 years ago we sacrificed a fighting loyal ally, Free Poland, and in the vain hope of placating Stalin and winning a peace. Let us not imagine that we shall appease Mao Tse-tung and buy peace, in our time or for any long time, if we offer up Free China as a sacrifice in a Formosan Yalta.

Hon. Pete Jarman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, it was with a heavy heart and much regret that I belatedly learned of the passing of a colleague and friend, the Honorable Pete Jarman, Congressman from Alabama for the years 1937 through 1949.

Despite the great distance separating our respective constituencies, I found that the common ground of this House afforded me the privileged opportunity of knowing this great American. The tribute I wish to pay him, on the advent of his passing on February 17, is best told by way of the following antecdote:

It seems that at this particular time, Mr. Jarman was a member of the committee having jurisdiction over the Public Printer and, hence, the publication of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. In those days the RECORD was printed in two columns instead of the present three columnar arrangement. The then Public Printer, Mr. Augustus E. Giegengack, had sought for some time to change the format of the RECORD so as to effect a sizable economy of some $200,000 per Congress; but for some reason had not been too successful in selling his idea to the committee. Mr. Giegengack brought the matter to my attention which I, as a member of the Appropriations Committee, pursued in a statement on the floor when the matter came before this House. After presenting the case for revision of the RECORD, I was forcefully asked by Mr. Jarman if I would yield—which I granted. He consumed the first 5 minutes excoriating the Appropriations Committee's position in concerning itself with a matter not properly their primary concern. His indignant objections were interrupted by the Speaker's gavel giving notice that his time had expired. I immediately asked if the gentleman from Alabama desired additional time; for I felt that he had not touched on the merits of the question in his preoccupation of reprimanding the Appropriations Committee. The next 5 minutes were spent in the same manner as the first 5; for he was exercised greatly by what he considered an imposition on his committee's rights. But at each additional grant of time his vindictiveness waned until he culminated some 45 minutes later somewhat spent. He never honored my question on the floor, but was later instrumental in revising the RECORD to its present form and effecting the great savings.

Some time later I encountered the lovely Mrs. Jarman in a casual social gathering where, in her inimitable charming manner, she assured me that Pete intended nothing personal in his remarks. Strangely enough, I had felt no personal abuse from Pete Jarman's comments; instead, I was struck by the vitality of his manner in standing up to what he considered an encroachment of authority. It was principle, not personality that brought his verbal wrath upon our heads. This misunderstanding was the beginning of a long and memorable personal friendship with a truly great American who jealously guarded the principles of Jeffersonian democracy with uncompromising dedication.

In this day when expediency is sometimes confused with principle, the absence of men like Pete Jarman shall be noticeable. His service to country has been recorded here; his spirit, I pray, shall always permeate the proceedings of this House.

I tender to Mrs. Jarman deep sympathy in this time of her great bereavement and sorrow.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a letter sent to me which includes therein a resolution adopted by the priests and people of St. Casimir's Parish, in Westfield, Mass., at a meeting in St. Casimir's Hall on February 20, 1955:

WESTFIELD, MASS., *February 20, 1955.*
The Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK,
Majority Leader,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. McCORMACK: February 16, 1955, marked the 37th anniversary of the decalaration of Lithuanian independence. To commemorate the event with appropriate patriotic exercises, the priests and people of St. Casimir's Parish in Westfield, Mass., and their guests from the surrounding cities and towns assembled together at St. Casimir's Hall in Westfield on February 20, 1955. In the course of the celebration those assembled unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas in 1940 Soviet Russia, in vicious conspiracy with Hitlerite Germany and in brutal violation of all the treaties and obligations solemnly underwritten by her, invaded Lithuania with armed forces and, against the will of the people, annexed her to the Soviet Union, and, in 1944, following the defeat of the German armies on the eastern front, again took over that country in complete disregard of the wartime policies and obligations to which the Soviet Union was cosignatory with the United States and other Allies of World War II;

"Whereas Soviet Russia absolutely refuses to stop the persecution of religion in Lithuania, to exile her freedom-loving people into the cold, bleak wastes of Siberia, to plunder her people and institutions, and to separate the members of one family, one from the other;

"Whereas military aggression is not the sole means of enslaving people today, nor are conventional arms the only ways of conquest, intrigue, subversion, propaganda, and economic pressure are also weapons which have been used to diabolic perfection by the sadistic Kremlin masters;

"Whereas the United States has always followed a democratic policy based on the prin-

ciple that a true and lasting peace cannot exist in the world unless the peoples of every nation, be it large or small, are permitted to determine for themselves their own form of government, without the interference of any outside source; and

"Whereas the Government of the United States refuses to recognize and has on repeated occasions denounced the subjugation of Lithuania and the other Baltic States by Russia and the present President of the United States in his preelection campaign talks has stated that Lithuania and other countries like her should be freed from Russian aggression: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the American citizens of Lithuanian descent of the city of Westfield, That a new committee to investigate the facts and techniques of Communist aggression be appointed by the 84th Congress in order to continue and complete the work splendidly done, during the last Congress by the select Committee on Communist Aggression headed by former Representative Charles J. Kersten; be it

"Resolved, That the United States Government sponsor a resolution in the United Nations based upon the finding and conclusions of said investigation, denouncing the Soviet Union as an aggressor against all the nations now enslaved by communism; be it

"Resolved, That the Government of the United States ratify immediately the Genocide Convention, an act which will open up the way for Lithuania to present her just and legitimate case to the free world and without which little hope remains for the poor unfortunate victims of Soviet tyranny and aggression; be it

"Resolved, That we express our profound and sincere gratitude to the United States of America for the tremendous support it has given to Lithuania by refusing to recognize the unjust enslavement of the Republic of Lithuania, by the Soviet Union and by continuing to recognize the diplomatic representatives of Lithuania in the United States, and that the Government of the United States enter into no agreements which would in any way acknowledge the fruits of any past, present, or future Soviet aggression; be it further

"Resolved, That the Genocide Convention be immediately ratified by the Senate of the United States so that Soviet Russia may be made criminally responsible for the genocide perpetrated by her in the Baltic States and other countries behind the Iron Curtain; be is finally

"Resolved, That the Lithuanian Americans of Westfield, Mass., once again reaffirming their loyalty to the principles of American democracy, pledge their whole-hearted support of the administration and Congress of the United States in their efforts to bring about a lasting peace, freedom, and justice in the world."

CHAS. A. COVALESKI,
Chairman.
ANTHONY J. ROGERS,
Secretary.

Plea for British Statesmanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, the partition of Ireland, now 30 years in existence, daily becomes a greater irritant to the naturally close and friendly relations which the people of Ireland seek to enjoy with the British people.

The solidarity of Western opposition to the communism of the East is broken by the absence of Ireland from the community of nations banded together for the mutual defense of Western civilization. Lacking the actual jurisdiction over a part of the natural territory of the Irish Republic, Ireland is unable to commit her people or her land to the NATO countries, since such commitment would imply the acknowledgment of British sovereignty over the subjected six counties in her north.

Mr. Liam Cosgrave, Ireland's Minister of External Affairs, recently called upon British statesmen to set an example for the rest of the world by the ending of the partition of Ireland. In this connection, I include with these remarks the following United Press article from the Washington Daily News, Monday, February 7, 1955:

PLEA FOR BRITISH STATESMANSHIP—IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER CALLS FOR END OF PARTITION

DUBLIN, February 7.—Liam Cosgrave, Irish Minister of External Affairs, called on Britain today to end the north-south partition of Ireland "as one of the greatest possible acts of statesmanship" toward strengthening the free world against the dangers of communism.

In an exclusive interview with the United Press, Mr. Cosgrave said unification of the six British-controlled counties of Northern Ireland with the Irish Republic "would not only begin a period of real and sincere friendship between England and Ireland, but allow Ireland, with her strong racial attachments to the United States, to become a new and important link between America and England."

Mr. Cosgrave said no state in the free world was more opposed to communism than Ireland.

ANTIRED

"The Irish Government has no relations with any of the Communist states nor does it propose to enter in such relations," he declared.

But, he added firmly, it is difficult for Ireland to consider membership in the anti-Communist North Atlantic Alliance so long as the question of her own sovereignty "hangs like a baneful specter over our foreign policy."

He said Ireland would never recognize nor reconcile herself with permanent British rule in the six counties of northern Ireland.

"We can no more yield forever to partition of our country," he said, "than Germany can to her division between east and west."

Britain should realize this inevitability, he said, and take the first opportunity to allow consolidation of the country under the Irish flag—"she should not allow the Irish problem to be another one of too little and too late."

Mr. Cosgrave, a vigorous man of only 35 years, spoke with great feeling in discussing what he described as the right of the Irish people to live as one nation.

COOPERATION

He said there was some encouragement in signs of increasing cooperation between the republic and the six northern counties. He cited the electrification projects on the Erne River, fisheries control in the Foyle Estuary, and joint control of the Great Northern Railway linking Dublin with Belfast, principal city of the British-ruled north.

"I know that British leaders are terribly anxious over the possibility that some day atomic bombs will be dropped out of the skies in the region of the Irish Sea and destroy England. In an international situation which makes such an eventuality possible, it is obvious that England could be greatly aided by having Ireland as her true friend, a friend that could be made by ending partition now, without waiting for it to be exploited by people who are enemies of Britain and Ireland alike, and who profit by such divisions within the free world."

Who Are the Irresponsibles?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Who Are the Irresponsibles?" which appeared in the February 25 issue of Labor's Daily:

WHO ARE THE IRRESPONSIBLES?

(By Willard Shelton)

President Eisenhower's indignation at what he labels the "fiscal irresponsibility" of the Democratic tax-cut plan seems the emotion of an Executive who is able to tolerate only his own kind of irresponsibility, which of course, he considers mere hardened common sense.

Mr. Eisenhower didn't call the personal income-tax cuts advocated and passed by Republican congressional leaders in 1953 irresponsible.

He didn't think it was irresponsible fiscally to kill the corporation excess-profits tax at the end of 1953, and to advocate and sign another tax bill in 1954 that in the name of technical corrections gave corporations enormous favors in the way of quick writeoffs on equipment and carry-forward, carry-back devices for lowering actual tax payments.

His Treasury Department lost about $1\frac{1}{2}$ billion in corporate tax revenues in the first 7 months of the current fiscal year as a result of these tax revisions, but Mr. Eisenhower didn't think it wrong to grant these favors even at the expense of a still-unbalanced budget.

The Eisenhower administration threw all its heavy guns into a fight last year to grant special tax favors to corporate stockholders, with the great bulk of relief going to the families with the largest income from stocks.

Democrats fought the plan, and forced modification of the original program, but the principle of greater favors to investors than to people who earn their incomes from current work was written into the law. This scheme is costing the Treasury some hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes that otherwise would have been payable on April 15, and applicable against the $4.5 billion deficit Treasury Secretary Humphrey expects. But the President didn't deem that tax cut for stockholders "irresponsible."

The only time Congressmen act with fiscal irresponsibility, according to the administration theme, seems to be when they propose a tax cut that would do something for the low-income and medium-income families.

It becomes especially wicked, apparently, when they attach this plan to an administration-backed revenue bill and thus make it impossible for the President to veto it as a separate item.

Mr. Eisenhower, of course, could veto the whole bill and demand reenactment of his

own program minus the Democratic amendments, but this would require moral courage on his part and the capacity to wage a successful fight over the head of Congress by appealing directly to the people. He does not seem to view this alternative with relish, preferring to talk about the alleged lack of courage of Democrats in refusing to make it easy for him to outmaneuver them.

The Democratic-sponsored $20-per-person tax cut may never go through. It faces opposition in the Senate from such orthodox financial leaders as Senators BYRD and GEORGE, both Democrats—who were also orthodox enough last year, incidentally, to support the President on tax cuts to favor corporations and their stockholders.

It passes understanding, however, that the only tax relief tolerable to the President is "trickle-down" relief, with the public supposed vaguely to benefit eventually by the money corporations save on their tax bills—and with Mr. Eisenhower permitted next year, the election year, to have all the advantage of general tax-cut proposals.

Hoover Commission Report on Medical Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to the Hoover Commission report on medical services which was released to the press yesterday and which will shortly come before Congress. The report contains many sweeping and, I think, dangerous innovations. Today I wish to call attention only to recommendation No. 15 and a part of recommendation No. 17.

No. 15 is "that the provision of hospital and clinical services to American merchant seamen by the Federal Government be ended."

No. 17 provides that, except for certain institutions not pertinent to my comments, "the Public Health Service should close all of its general hospitals."

Since 1798 the Federal Government has provided some medical and hospital service to American-flag seamen, under authorities enacted, and with funds appropriated, by Congress. There are now, I believe, 12 general hospitals owned by the Government in which such cases are handled. One is known as the Public Health Service Hospital on Staten Island, in the district I represent.

The Public Health Service Hospital on Staten Island is one of the largest general hospitals operated by Public Health Service. It has 800 beds and has been running 80 to 85 percent filled. Something like two-thirds of its patients are American seamen. If service to those seamen were to be ended, as the report recommends, the hospital would of course have to close entirely. Beyond that, recommendation No. 17 expressly urges that it be closed.

Closing of that hospital would be calamitous in many ways for the community and would be a serious step backward for the Government. Such a move would work against the Government's policy of developing and maintaining a strong privately owned and operated merchant marine to be available for Government use in time of emergency, as well as for Government and private business at other times. And with present uncertainties as to whether or not, and if so when, a national emergency will develop, it seems unthinkable that the Government would consider closing an 800-bed hospital now fully staffed and equipped, in the part of the country in which that hospital stands.

I have the highest regard for the Hoover Commission and its work thus far, but not for this report. While I have spoken today only of the Public Health Service general hospitals in relation to merchant seamen, there are a number of other recommendations which seem open to serious question. It is fortunate that recommendations 15 and 17, as well as some of the others, cannot be made effective without first repealing or amending existing statutes. That fact insures time and opportunity for adequate study and consideration of the revolutionary changes proposed.

Señor Miguel Alemán, Former President of Mexico, Encourages Joint Action in Promoting Economic Development of Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, as a result of several visits to Mexico, the countries of Central America and South America, I have become greatly impressed with the economic future of these countries and the possibility of the extensive development of their resources.

In view of the above I have been a strong and persistent advocate of closer relations between our Nation and those to the south. I regret that the advantage of such a policy has not been recognized as fully as it should have been. I trust, however, that a better understanding and a greater cooperation will grow out of the combined efforts that are finding expression in many different ways.

In this connection, I call attention to the Inter-American Investment Conference opening in New Orleans on February 28, 1955. This conference was initiated in Washington officially; then the idea was taken up unofficially by several parties and sponsored by the city of New Orleans through its International House and by Life and Time magazines. The individuals in charge of promoting the idea are Mr. Edgar R. Baker and Mr. Rudolph S. Hecht.

Señor Miguel Alemán, former President of Mexico, was invited to attend but was unable to do so because of prior engagements in Central and South America. However, he sent the conference a message, as follows:

Latin America requires capital for development, designed to enlarge her economy on a plan of collaboration with her private capital resources, through sound investments creative of new sources of wealth and of labor, making for the real permanent advancement of each of her countries and of the hemispheric community.

We are all good neighbors and loyal partners and should furthermore be devoted in common to the principles of democracy applied to human fellowship in all its aspects and everywhere.

In the spiritual field, by consecrating ourselves to the service of the fundamental liberties to believe and to think, as well as of the freedom to express thoughts and beliefs.

In the economic field, by joining our efforts in order to make the progress of our countries an exemplary thesis set before the world, conceived in the following terms:

That private investments made for the equitable profit of all concerned do firmly uphold, together with justice, the peace among nations.

That in order to abolish the dire impoverishment which is one of the breeding grounds of communism, it is not enough to aim at a decorous poverty; the decided promotion of a generous and honorable abundance for all is what is needed.

This is now possible in the New World, as proven by the determination that inspires the Inter-American Investment Conference.

The spirit of cooperation and mutual helpfulness expressed by former President Alemán are entitled to serious consideration. A recognition of such principles would help materially in promoting goodwill between the respective nations in the Americas.

Work of the American Friends Service Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the American Friends Service Committee has long been known for its practical application of the principles of Christianity. Its wide range of activities is indicated by the following summary taken from the January 1955 issue of the American Friends Service Committee Bulletin:

QUAKER SERVICE TAKES MANY FORMS

COLLEGES

Staff members in 10 regions and New York City visited 350 college campuses to recruit workers and leaders for 55 summer projects and held 75 one- and two-day conferences on world affairs.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

We worked to integrate members of minorities (most of them Negroes) in employment (Dallas, Chicago, Columbus, Greensboro, N. C., Indianapolis and Philadelphia); housing (Philadelphia, Chicago, and two areas near San Francisco); and the classroom (Washington, D. C.). We helped Indians adjust to city life in Rapid City, S. Dak., and Los Angeles. On reservations from Maine to California our staff encouraged self-help projects of economic and social betterment.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Two staff members counseled several hundred objectors and visited 1,000 others in prisons, Army stockades, and at work in hospitals across the Nation. We assigned 9 conscientious objectors who sought work with the AFSC to projects in the United States, 19 to Mexico and El Salvador, and 12 overseas.

EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS FOR CHILDREN

Thousands of youngsters aided children overseas by making mitten trees at Christmas or becoming friendly beggars at Halloween. Traveling exhibits and booklets like If You Were a Child in Korea enabled children overseas to share their games and crafts with American youngsters.

FOOD

We shipped 2,338 tons of surplus food to 6 nations (and plan to send more than twice as much in 1955). Three-fifths of food shipments last year went to Germany; Italy and India each got 14 percent; France 5 percent; Austria 2 percent; and Korea less than 1 percent.

HIGH SCHOOLS

Staff members in 6 regions held 1-day or weekend conferences on world affairs for high-school students, who also participated in 3 summer work camps, 7 summer institutes, and a unit in Mexico. Students also met United States and foreign leaders 7 seminars in Washington, 3 at the U. N., and 1 combined session.

INSTITUTIONAL SERVICE UNITS

Ninety-six volunteers from 68 colleges worked during the summer at mental hospitals in 6 States (Arizona, Illinois, Indiana, New Mexico, Rhode Island, and Vermont) and at 2 reformatories in Illinois. (Two year-round units were dropped at the end of the year for lack of volunteers.)

INTERNATIONAL CENTERS

The AFSC staffed or help finance centers in seven countries: The Netherlands, Denmark, Switzerland, France, Austria, India, and Mexico, as well as Davis House and International Student House in Washington, D. C., and Quaker House near U. N. headquarters in New York.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SEMINARS

Nine seminars in world affairs of 2 to 4 weeks' duration were held in the United States, Japan, India, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia. Participating were 343 students of 48 nationalities including 28 Americans.

INTERN PROJECTS

Summer projects in 5 cities (Atlanta, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and St. Louis) gave 112 young people, most of them college students, a taste of factory life. Year-round intern projects with community agencies in Chicago and Oakland, Calif., added an extra 23 recruits during the summer.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCES

Rising young diplomats explored the roots of international tension and their own resources and responsibilities at AFSC-sponsored conferences again last summer in Switzerland.

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

Nine of these houses, which began by meeting physical needs, now foster fellowship: 4 are in Germany, 3 in Japan, and 1 each in Israel and in Pakistan. A similar center near San Francisco seeks to build racial brotherhood.

PEACE EDUCATION

Nearly 4,000 persons attended 23 summer institutes on world affairs—9 for families, 7 for high-school students, 6 for adults, and 1 for college students. Several regions trained community peace leaders the year round and we had special programs for leaders of labor unions, farm groups, churches, and friends meetings.

PRISONS

Two regional offices in California sponsored prison-visiting programs. In the summer of 1954 young volunteers worked in two Illinois reformatories.

QIAR'S

Reports from International Affairs representatives stationed in foreign capitals were circulated during the year.

REFUGEES

In Germany, we helped refugees who had been homeless for 10 years and new arrivals from East Germany find homes and jobs, both by giving funds to other groups and by programs of our own. In Korea, we staffed a hospital and sought jobs for widows. In Austria AFSC loans have helped refugee tradesmen, farmers, and professional men reestablish themselves.

SCHOOL AFFILIATION SERVICE

Pupils in 112 American schools exchanged essays, classmates, teachers, and ideas with children in 128 partner schools in France, Germany, England, Italy, Japan, Jordan, and the Netherlands.

SELF-HELP HOUSING

Work continued on a slum-prevention project in Philadelphia where tenants have become owners by making a downpayment of 700 to 1,400 hours of labor.

SOCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Ambassadors in shirt sleeves assisted preindustrial peoples in India, Israel, and Jordan raise bigger crops, battle disease, and overcome illiteracy. (Similar problems are being tackled by UNLA in Italy, to which AFSC has given funds, and by young Quaker volunteers in Mexico and El Salvador.)

UNITED NATIONS

An office and a year-round residence in New York provided a meeting place for U. N. delegates and a base for the team we assemble for each General Assembly session. Quaker working parties studied mediation, charter revision, and relations with Russia. A Quaker representative in Paris maintained close relations with UNESCO; one in Geneva worked with U. N. agencies on such international problems as food, health, and human rights.

Civilian Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Newark (N. J.) Star Ledger newspaper under date of February 24, 1955:

CD's No Joke

The Atomic Energy Commission's announcement that one H-bomb could kill almost everybody in a 7,000-square-mile area should serve as a much-needed spur to Civilian Defense.

We've treated CD as too much of a joke. The reason, of course, is fatalism. Most people act as if they can't do anything about atomic attack anyway, so they pooh-pooh the work of CD.

The Commission pointed out that one H-bomb could kill every human in a 7,000-square-mile area—unless they were adequately prepared for it.

CD is the only adequate preparation. The people who pooh-pooh it are wrong. They might be dead wrong.

New Attack Leveled at School Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, there is today in the United States a movement to destroy our private school system which since the establishment of this Nation has augmented our public school system in providing adequate educational facilities for our youth.

As a Nation we have been ever mindful of the vital necessity of providing public educational facilities free to our citizens. We have built a vast public-school system at the grade and high school level. We have established free State universities where a college education can be obtained for minimum cost to the student.

But the unprecedented growth in our population, especially during the past decade, has overtaxed our public-school system so that overcrowding and short sessions are seriously imperiling the efficiency of our public schools.

The fact that we have an excellent private-school system at this time has proved an invaluable aid in providing additional facilities to carry some of the overload now felt by our public schools.

In the field of higher education, our State colleges have never been adequate to provide facilities for all those wanting to attend a university, but privately endowed colleges and universities throughout the Nation have carried the main responsibility for higher education of our youth.

It has been as fundamental to our American way of life to permit parents to choose between public and private schools for the education of their children as it is allowed every American the right of free worship, and any attempt to destroy the private school in the United States should be met with instant opposition by every American who cherishes our heritage of liberty and individual freedom of choice.

The National Educational Association through its Educational Policies Commission has made a serious attack upon the right of private schools to continue in the United States, an attack which cannot go unchallenged.

In reply to this ill-advised attack, the following article and editorial which appeared in the Tidings, of Los Angeles, Calif., of which Msgr. W. E. North is editor, clearly state the case for our private school system which has contributed so much in raising the educational standard of our Nation, and the fallacy of attacks against our private schools which attempt to destroy them:

NEW ATTACK LEVELED AT SCHOOL FREEDOM—NEA COMMISSION INFERS ONLY STATE CAN EDUCATE

A new policy statement by a national public school teachers' group was strongly attacked this week as inferring there was no room for private schools in America and suggesting they be put out of business—by law.

Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, director of the Department of Education, National Catholic Welfare Conference, took sharp issue with "Public Education and the Future of America," made public last Monday.

The Monsignor says the booklet "purports to prove historically that the whole American tradition calls for a universal public school."

The booklet is the work of the Educational Policies Commission, a joint agency of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators. The commission is a small but influential research group. A foreword to the pamphlet says "publication in this form does not constitute formal approval by the sponsoring associations."

"WILL DISTURB CATHOLICS"

"We are convinced that any plan to force all children into a common school is a serious threat to the future welfare of our Nation," said Monsignor Hochwalt.

He added that these policies from such a high source in the public-school profession will disturb and confound many Catholic educators as well as parents, but that they are ready to meet the challenge.

In its study, the commission, which includes some 26 educators, said:

"Faith in public education rests ultimately on two beliefs: that a particular kind of education must be designed to support a particular way of life, and that public education will best support the American way of life."

In an address before the meeting of the National Catholic Educational Association last August, his eminence Samuel Cardinal Stritch, archbishop of Chicago, while citing the tremendous influence of the tax-supported school on our country and its future, added this comment:

"We do not admit that these tax-supported schools are, to the exclusion of private and group conducted schools, the educational system of our country. In this educational system we must include all the schools which exist and function under our laws and Constitution."

PARENTS CRITICIZED

"In its latest publication, Public Education and the Future of America, the educational policies commission of the National Education Association has called upon all Americans to make an act of faith in public education," said Monsignor Hochwalt. "This appeal has been phrased in terms of a neonativist orthodoxy that virtually equates certain values of our American way of life with the highest values of heaven and earth.

"Good Americans must believe, the policies commission says, that public schools develop moral and ethical commitments common to all great religions, that public education gives the best support to the American way of life, and that public schools alone can teach the real meaning of brotherhood because they intermingle children of all religious faiths.

"In effect the Commission's report labels Americans who believe in the values of both public and private education as persons of questionable loyalty to America's ideals. It infers that parents sending their children to private schools lack faith in public education and in a sense should be reprimanded for their failure to give full allegiance to an uniquely American institution like the public school.

"The report seems to urge all Americans to make the public schools good enough to put the private schools out of business. Although the writers of the report admire the complexities of American life it is quite apparent that they cannot tolerate a complex of educational systems, both private and public. They see and deplore the tyranny of the single school systems of Fascist and Communist countries and then with surprising illogic demand that the American way be made secure by a common public school system."

OREGON CASE CITED

"This report could be the beginning of a crusade to persuade all American parents to send their children to public schools. It purports to prove historically that the whole American tradition calls for a universal public school.

"It even goes so far as to suggest that the Supreme Court of the United States may have made a mistake when it invalidated a law compelling all children to attend public schools. There is a possibility, the report infers, that the fulfillment of the historic common school ideal may necessitate a reversal of the Oregon decision.

These policies from such a high source in the public school profession will disturb and confound many Catholic educators as well as the parents of Catholic school pupils. But they are ready to meet the challenge. They will refuse to profess faith in the report's doctrinaire assertions about democracy and the American way. They will resist every effort of the organized public school profession to seek laws that would force all children to attend public schools. They will continue, now as before, to build and to expand their flourishing private school system. They will not be intimidated by assertions that their devotion to private education makes them less American than their neighbors who favor public education for their children.

We are convinced that any plan to force all children into a common school is a serious threat to the future welfare of our Nation. Indeed, the very best safeguard against totalitarianism in our land is variety, diversity and independence of schooling.

In the Oregon School Case, decided on June 1, 1935, the Supreme Court held the Oregon anti-private-school act of 1922 to be unconstitutional.

The Oregon law required all children between the ages of 8 to 16 years—with very limited exceptions—to attend the public schools. The Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, and the Hill Military Academy obtained an injunction restraining the State from enforcing this law. The Supreme Court upheld this injunction and reaffirmed the right of parents to direct the education of their children.

The meaning of this momentous decision for education, says the booklet of the Educational Policies Commission, has been a subject of debate almost from the moment it was handed down. There seems little doubt but that most citizens and educators took it to mean that the vast majority of American children would continue to attend public schools—as was then the case—but that the way would be open for those who so desired to attend private institutions. On the other hand, the decision has been followed by a substantial expansion of private—particularly church-related school facilities.

EDUCATIONAL FASCISM

The National Educational Association again fondles the dictator's baton in its briefcase. Through its educational policies commission it deplores the existence of the private school, finds it inimical to the American way of life, berates the patriotism of parents who yet patronize other than public schools, laments the Oregon decision of the Supreme Court upholding the rights of parents in education, and calls for its revocation in the educational wave of the future.

One would think that public educators had enough problems of their own these days without tormenting their lot with the advocacy of regimentation in education. A little shelf full of books by even friendly critics has appeared lately bewailing their failures and shortcomings. Unprecedented demands by the schools are being made on the tax coffers of the Nation, and the citizens begin to be disturbed with the insatiable appetite of a new Moloch. Meanwhile, the Federal machinery is being oiled for at least insurance of multimillion State and local programs for education.

Much is made of parenership in education when the big partner is under attack, or when the fortunes of yet another bond issue are at stake, or when the people murmur and fume with visionary departures from the traditional curriculum. When professors are justly suspicioned for un-American affinities, who is expected to rush to their defense but secretaries and presidents in private education? Let the little partner seek only the redress of unjust taxation and the silence thunders dissent while the plot proceeds to banish freedom of education in the land yet free.

All this cant about public schools and the American way of life is so much bosh historically, philosophically, and pedagogically that it hardly merits attention. The American way of life embraces unity in diversity, and uniformity is utterly alien to it. These educational Fascists who tirelessely seek conformity in education are thought-brothers to the systems of tyranny they so glibly condemn. The depth of their nonsense is sounded in the statement that public schols alone can teach the real meaning of brotherhood—this we must suffer from the clique that hesitates even before the proclamation of the Fatherhood of God.

What are they afraid of, or what kind of society do they plan, this group that presumes to sway the schools of America to its whims? Surely, the little 10-percent partner with its feeble resources offers no serious competition to a system with the sky the limit at its beck and call. No, the fear lies in the constant reproach which private education offers to a scheme of schooling in secularism and sentimentalism which presumably, if unquestioned, will move the American temper docilely to embrace the ways of a semisocialist society. Education is the first concern of the totalitarian. And they are Fascists—whether red or brown, it hardly matters—who subtly insinuate State compulsion in the field of education.

The NEA should rather be about the betterment of the public schools. Benjamin Fine, its favorite reporter, essays in the New York Times a piece about the inadequacies of teacher-training preparation. He finds our schools of education crowded with courses that teach how to teach but not what to teach. He trumpets a return to general education, to English, history, mathematics, and science for those who will presume to teach English, history, mathematics, and science. He finds only seven States with sufficient and satisfying programs of teacher preparation. Mr. Fine writes naively as if to startle the smugness of the educational Ph. D's for whom jargon is more important than geography.

Here is but one field that could profit from the deliberations of the doctors for a generation or two. Meanwhile, we could enjoy surcease from these rash forays into fields foreign to the traditions of the free people.

The Summerfield Reclassification Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, we in West Virginia, have suffered mass unemploy-

ment and the misery that comes with that economic illness.

The current depressed economic conditions have not made things easier for post-office employees. Let no one make any mistake about that.

On the contrary, the economic problems of the area have closed the possibilities of self-help that the postal workers had formerly turned to. The West Virginia post-office employees had sought to supplement their meager incomes by getting additional part-time jobs and by having their wives work. But when the bad unemployment situation developed, the part-time jobs disappeared and the opportunity for large-scale employment of women ended.

The additional income upon which the post-office employees have had to depend for so long, therefore, ceased to exist.

West Virginia and the post-office employees in the State have some peculiar economic problems, but the need for an adequate postal wage increase is nationwide. It is up to us in Congress to meet that need.

When I say an adequate wage increase, I mean one that will really help post-office employees out of their really bad economic situation. Such an increase, I believe, is the 10-percent increase contained in several bills which have been introduced during this session.

I sincerely hope that Congress will approve the 10-percent increase for the postal workers, and I also want to urge that we flatly reject the Summerfield reclassification plan. This bid for extra powers by an appointed official is dangerous, not only to the post office employees' rights but also as a giveaway of congressional powers.

Last year Congress was assured in some of the most determined lobbying that has ever been carried on by a Government department that the Summerfield reclassification plan, then offered, carried no dangers. Yet, according to press reports, the Postmaster General in testimony a few weeks ago, in effect, admitted that many of the charges made against the 1954 plan had basis in fact.

The present plan, the Department assures us, removes all these problems. But we had assurances from the same people last year that no such problems even existed.

The present plan is still shot through with loopholes for downgrading of employees; it still involves the surrender of authority over tens of thousands of postal positions by Congress; it still provides meaningless raises of $210 a year to the rank and file employees and munificent grants of $4,000 a year to some top officials.

Even the postal positions which Congress would continue to control would suffer under this scheme. A Washington newspaper recently called the job descriptions of the Summerfield plan "frauds." It said that these descriptions are written so as to justify the salaries the Department wants to pay.

Any plan that has this type of unfairness to it, should be rejected at the outset. But the Summerfield job reclassification plan has the distinction of not only being unfair—in part a "fraud"—it is also dangerous.

It merits the same rejection that Congress accorded to its parent plan last year.

Arabs Step Up Border Attacks; Number of Incidents Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following news item which appeared in the February 18, 1955, issue of Israel Digest is deserving of our attention:

ARABS STEP UP BORDER ATTACKS; NUMBER OF INCIDENTS INCREASE

JERUSALEM.—An Israel soldier was killed and 2 wounded early this week when a patrol near Hirbet Sika in the south was attacked by a group of 20 soldiers of Jordan's Arab Legion who had occupied a hill in Israel territory. The Israel unit routed the Jordanians from the hill. Israel has requested an emergency meeting of the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission to consider this violation of the armistice agreement.

This incident was only one in a wide series of attacks from across the Jordanian, Egyptian, and Syrian borders which have taken place during the last 2 weeks. The following is a partial list of these incidents:

On February 1, an Israel soldier was wounded when automatic rifle fire was opened from an Egyptian position at an Israel unit near Nahal Oz in the Negev.

On February 1, an Israel patrol was fired upon from Syrian positions when it encountered infiltrators near Kfar Szold in upper Galilee.

On February 2, a Syrian position opened automatic fire at four Israel fishing boats on Lake Kinneret (Sea of Galilee).

On February 2, Israel boats on Lake Hule were fired upon from across the Syrian border.

On February 2, Syrian soliders fired across the armistice lines at a group of children in Kfar Szold.

On February 4, armed Jordanian infiltrators stole building materials from Elat, Israel's southernmost port on the Red Sea.

On February 4, shots were fired from a Syrian position at members of Sh'ar Yashuv working in the settlement's fields.

On February 5, an Israel patrol encountered a group of armed Jordanians at Kfar Saba in the Sharon. The infiltrators fled across the border.

On February 7, a vehicle belonging to Kfar Szold came across a stone barrier south of the village. While removing the barrier, the occupants were attacked by rifle fire from a Syrian position.

On February 8, an Israel soldier was wounded by Arab Legion fire in the Sanhedria quarter of Jerusalem.

On February 9, an Israel unit was attacked by Jordanian fire southeast of Rosh Ha'-Ayin, in the hills of Judea. Two Israelis were wounded.

On February 9, an Israel patrol in the area of Duweima in the Negev was atacked by armed Jordanians. On that same day, an emergency meeting of the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Jordan for firing upon an Israel patrol in the same area on January 25.

On February 9, armed Jordanians opened automatic fire upon members of the settlement of Shlabim in the Latrun area.

On February 11, fire was opened upon an Israel patrol by members of the Jordan National Guard in the Duweima area in the Negev. Later, the same patrol was attacked in the area of Hirbet Sika.

On February 13, an Israel boat at Lake Hule was attacked from Syrian positions.

The Great West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Great West," written by Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., and Mrs. G. S. Reuter, of Monticello, Ark.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GREAT WEST

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., and Mrs. G. S. Reuter)

Truth is always desired. A love for our Nation is normal. Thus in telling of the greatness of a section in our country is just relating a noble heritage. The writers recently returned from a 7,500-mile trip where positive values were noted. This trip carried them through the final 3 of the 48 States.

After leaving Joseph T. Robinson's Arkansas, Oklahoma was entered. The names of Joshua Bryan Lee, Elmer Thomas, Ernest W. Marland, Roy J. Turner, Robert S. Kerr, and A. S. Mike Monroney have given greatness to this State.

In Kansas, George McGill, Walter A. Huxman, William H. Burke, Edward W. Patterson, Randolph Carpenter, and John M. Houston, have been the statesmen. At Greensburg is the largest hand-dug well in the world, which represents a natural wonder.

In Colorado, Edward T. Taylor, John A. Carroll, Wayne N. Espinall, Byron G. Rogers, Edward P. Costigan, Alva B. Adams, Edwin C. Johnson, Teller Ammons, William Adams, Walter Johnson, and William L. Knous have been the pacesetters. It now appears Alva B. Adams, Jr., has a great future. From an institutional point of view, Dr. Sam Bradford's sermons Looking to Jesus and Guaranteed Security at famed Beth Eden Baptist Church and the Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary at Denver, represent eternal values. In a lighter vein it is C. E. Beach and his beautiful horses. Also, beautiful Rocky Mountain National Park is a lasting sight.

George W. Norris, Roy L. Cochran, and Charles W. Bryan, have been Nebraska's pride and joy. Of course, William Jennings Bryan made contributions in so many parts of America, that a single State may not classify him.

In South Dakota, the names Tom Berry, William J. Bulow, Herbert E. Hitchcock, Fred H. Hildebrandt, and Theodore B. Werner ring out as faithful servants of their people. Many speak highly of the late Peter Norbeck.

Mount Rushmore National Memorial is located in Custer State Park, near Keystone, S. Dak. The heads of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt are carved to the proportions of a man 465 feet tall. They are carved in the granite escarpment of the mountain, and this is one of the highest points between the Atlantic Ocean and the Rocky Moun-

tains. The late Gutzon Borglum was the artist-sculptor.

Another unusual scene in South Dakota is the Badlands National Monument. Congress has set aside this area to preserve the enchanted area for the perpetual enjoyment of the Nation. Writers have tried unsuccessfully to describe the beauty here.

The trial of Jack McCall for the killing of Wild Bill Hickok in Deadwood, S. Dak., on August 2, 1876, is reproduced 5 nights per week. While McCall was acquitted, he was arrested again at Cheyenne, Wyo., by a United States marshal. He was tried in Federal court at Yankton, S. Dak., and hanged in 1877. Some would question whether this was double jeopardy. McCall is classified as "bad" by the people in that section, even though the motion picture presented him as a grand person with a lot of bad luck.

The Passion Play at Spearfish, S. Dak., is shown three times a week during the summer, and is one of the truly great events in our Nation. Josef Meier plays the role of Christ. The entire ensemble consists of 250 players.

In North Dakota, John Moses and Thomas H. Moodie have rendered real service. Many admire the independence of WILLIAM LANGER. The State has many possibilities in the years ahead.

Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Lester C. Hunt, H. H. Schwartz, Leslie A. Miller, William Jack, Sam Tully, Paul R. Greever, and John J. McIntyre have rendered the State of Wyoming the same high type of service in Government that is found in the beauty of Yellowstone National Park.

Yellowstone National Park is the largest and oldest of our national parks, with an area of 2,213,206.55 acres of federally owned land, lying in Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana. The average elevation of the park is between 7,000 and 8,000 feet. Altogether there are about 10,000 separate and distinct thermal features. Most geysers are located in seven principal basins—Norris, Lower, Midway, Upper, Thumb, Heart Lake, and Shoshone. Old Faithful, Daisy, and Riverside erupt at regular intervals. John E. Erickson, Thomas J. Walsh, James E. Murray, Burton K. Wheeler, Elmer E. Holt, Roy E. Ayers, John W. Bonner, and Michael J. Mansfield have given Montana a proud heritage.

While sharing with Wyoming and Idaho concerning Yellowstone National Park, Montana also has Glacier National Park. This park lies athwart the Rocky Mounains. Its glaciers are among the few in this country which are easily accessible. It comprises approximately 1 million acres. Among its high peaks are more than 60 glaciers and 200 beautiful lakes. The spectacular Going-to-the-Sun Highway links the east and west sides of the park, and it crosses the Continental Divide at Logan Pass at an elevation of 6,664 feet.

Idaho's fame is partially through Yellowstone National Park. Also, C. Ben Ross, James P. Pope, Glen H. Taylor, Charles C. Gossett, Bert H. Miller, and Gracie Bowers Pfost have rendered outstanding service to our Nation. Hungry Horse Dam services this area, and after visiting this large dam it is easy to understand the philosophy of these statesmen. It is a wonderful project and a sound investment. Exclusive of irrigation, it will cost $102,900,000 but the entire cost plus interest will be returned to the Federal Government.

Vancouver, British Columbia, is a beautiful city near our Nation. Kitsilano Beaches, the International Airport, the city hall and archives, the trans-Canada Highway, Chinatown, the public library and museum, Harbour Navigation Pier, North Vancouver Ferry, the art gallery, the Burrard Yacht Club, and the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club are important places to see.

Not only is Seattle, Wash., the home of the August William Hempelmenns, but the State has many attractive features. No State capitol grounds are better kept. No greater statesmen can be found than Monrad C. Wallgren, Homer T. Bone, Lewis B. Schwellenbach, C. C. Dill, Warren G. Magnuson, Hugh B. Mitchell, Clarence D. Martin, Henry M. Jackson, Charles H. Leavey, Don Magnuson, and Clyde V. Tisdale.

Oregon has one of the newest and most beautiful capitol buildings. Portland is one of the most scenic cities in the Nation. Alfred E. Reames, Charles H. Martin, Walter M. Pierce, and Nan Wood Honeyman have given splendid service to America. The entire world knows the greatness of WAYNE L. MORSE, but only God knows how many more fine services he will render. Mr. and Mrs. Richard L. Neuberger represent the ideal couple in this grand Nation.

California has the beauty of the famous redwoods of San Francisco, of Palo Alto, of Los Angeles, of Long Beach, of San Diego, and many events. Americans like to recall the War Memorial Opera House in San Francisco and the United Nations, but Mrs. Edward B. Reuter at Palo Alto represented the best in American education whether at Stanford University, the State University of Iowa, or Fisk University.

The noted Old-Fashioned Revival Hour of Dr. Charles E. Fuller at Long Beach is serving the world for the 29th year. There may be found Mrs. Fuller and her letters, Rudy Attwood and the quartet, Leland Green and the chorus, George Broadbent at the organ, and Dr. Fuller preaching on The Blood Sprinkled Mercy Seat.

Also, the Fuller Theological Seminary at Pasadena under the leadership of Dr. Fuller and Dr. Harold John Ockenga, of Boston, is making a mark. The faculty is outstanding and sound. Here there are 250 students from all parts of the world. The plant represents over half a million Christian dollars and much effort.

Then there are the California statesmen who have meant so much to our civilization: William G. McAdoo, Helen G. Douglas, Culbert L. Olson, Upton Sinclair, Jerry Voorhis, James Roosevelt, Will Rogers, Jr., Robert L. Condon, and Sheridan Downey.

Dr. Richard S. Beal, of Tucson, Ariz., is not only the "'desert saint," but he has been termed the father of an ideal American family. The Painted Desert is an inspiration to behold.

Henry F. Ashurst and Carl D. Hayden have been the grand old statesmen of Arizona. Ernest W. McFarland, George W. P. Hunt, Dr. B. B. Moeur, R. C. Stanford, Robert Jones, Sidney P. Osborne, Dan E. Garvey, Isabella Greenway, John R. Murdock, Richard F. Harless, and Harold A. Patten have maintained that noble tradition.

New Mexico has an interesting civilization. There is much evidence of a beautiful blend of the Old and New World. Dennis Chavez and Clinton P. Anderson represent such a culture. Many fine things have come from the worthwhile service of Carl A. Hatch, Sam G. Britton, Clyde Tingley, John E. Miles, John J. Dempsey, Thomas Mabry, David Chavez, Jr., Antonio M. Fernandez, and Georgia L. Lusk.

Texas is large, beautiful, and mighty. Its might can be both good and bad as indicated by able former Speaker Sam Rayburn. James V. Allred, Morris Sheppard, Tom Connally, Wright Patman, Marvin Jones, Maury Maverick, Ralph Yarborough, and Lindley Beckworth are some of the other truly great Texas statesmen.

It was good to return home after reliving many of the experiences that made America great. While 1954 resulted in the passing from this world of Lester C. Hunt (June 19), Albert J. Merklin (June 27), Mrs. Joe Lee Allen (July 13), Blair Moody (July 20), Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde (July 20), Alcide de Gasperi(August 19), Getulio Vargas (August 24), Robert L. Doughton (September 30), and Robert H. Jackson (October 9), the West will join together with the other section to continue our heritage.

More Facts on Drought Damage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the following article from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Sunday, February 27, 1955:

TWENTY MILLION ACRES ARE READY TO BLOW

(By Aubrey Graves)

The specter of continuing and worsening drought hovers over many areas of the country, particularly the southern Great Plains. After 4 (and in some cases 5) dry years, some sections face conditions that can become more acute than those of 1954.

Compounding the accumulated effect of prolonged drought come depressing reports of greatly below normal winter precipitation.

In 11 Western States as of February 1, the mountain snowpack and reservoir storage for instance, were reported to be low—in some areas dangerously so.

More than 4 million acres of land have been damaged by wind erosion this winter, according to late Soil Conservation Service advices. Most of this soil blowing occurred in December. The high-velocity-wind months (March and April) are yet to come.

"We are praying that in the period immediately ahead we get more moisture than we get wind," Harvey Dahl, Agriculture Department drought program official, said last week.

MORE DISASTER AREAS

Last spring's soil blowing was the most widespread and severe since 1938. In some localities, moisture and crop conditions have deteriorated still further since then. In the 1954 emergency, 945 of the Nation's 3,000 counties were given Federal drought relief. Today, about 1,050 counties are officially designated disaster areas.

In Colorado, the mountain snow cover in some regions is down to 50 percent of normal. The upland soils are dry. In 47 Colorado reservoirs, storage is only about one-fifth of normal. In New Mexico, flow of the three streams feeding into the San Luis Valley is expected to be three-fourths of normal. In this area, the reservoir storage is 50 percent below the 10-year average.

In greatest jeopardy this spring are southeastern Wyoming, the extreme southwestern corner of Nebraska, eastern Colorado, western Kansas, the extreme northeastern part of New Mexico, and the panhandles of Oklahoma and Texas. More than 20 million acres, according to statements by Agriculture Department spokesmen, are ready to blow.

Soil Conservation Service Administrator D. A. Williams blames present difficulties largely on two things: (1) The continued plowing up of rangelands unsuitable for cultivation, and (2) improper farming and grazing methods. "There are now," he says, "about 7 or 8 million acres in cultivation in this region that should never have been cultivated."

There were few dust storms back in the early days when the hoofs of Indian ponies and buffaloes were about the only things that

agitated the prairie sod. Until the coming of the white man (about 1870), wild grasses held the topsoil in place. But with the white man came the plow.

Moist seasons favored the first crops the settlers planted. They plowed up ever more land. But in 1890 came a dry growing season. The drought persisted for 4 years. Crop disasters were general in the Great Plains in 1894. Many farmers moved away.

In 1896 came the rains, and shortly afterward the farmers returned. Fortune in the form of weather favored them for most of the next 14 years.

By 1912 the pendulum had swung back. In that year 65,000 acres of cropland in one Kansas county alone blew away. In the following spring, 38 dust storms lowered visibility to less than 1 mile on the Southwestern plains.

In 1933, though the soil was extremely dry, only 22 hard blows occurred; the winds that spring were unusually mild. Forty storms plagued the area in 1935. In 1936 there were 68; in 1937, 72.

During these years, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed to plant belts of trees to serve as windbreaks at points throughout the Great Plains where cultivated fields were most unprotected. Farmers were educated to the advantages of contour plowing and strip cropping in combating erosion.

THE QUICK PROFIT

The great demands for wheat and cotton created by World Wars I and II are blamed for man's misuse of much Western soil. It was not just the "suitcase farmers" of those eras who were responsible. These were the fly-by-nights who came in, leased lands and put in crops. In years of good crops, they took a quick profit and departed, leaving the fields devoid of protective winter cover.

The landowners themselves were guilty of the same offense, to a lesser degree. When they saw the possibility of making more money by plowing than by leaving their holdings in grass, they plowed.

Only one State—Colorado—has a law which really forces a man to protect his farmland in time of drought. Landowners there are required to "chisel" their fields when the soil starts blowing. A narrow plow point turns up moist soil in small ridges to arrest the destructive action of the wind. The State itself performs this service, and levies the cost of it against the treated land, just as it levies taxes. A few other States have wind erosion laws but with far less teeth in them.

SCS Administrator Williams believes that one of the big jobs of his agency is to induce farmers and ranchers of the arid and semiarid areas to farm and ranch "according to the existing climate, not according to what they hope it will be."

Soil surveys of the region show a wide variety of land conditions, ranging from that suitable for permanent cultivation (if good soil and water conservation practices are used) to that suitable only for range. In between these extremes are areas of hazardous croplands.

A farmer may produce profitable crops on this land in wet years, but he usually has a crop failure in drought years. And when drought persists, the soil starts to blow away.

"After the soil blowing starts, it is too late to plant grass on the land," Williams points out. "Hence, it usually continues to blow until another wet spell comes. By that time, much of it may have been so seriously damaged that it will no longer produce profitable crops even in the wet years."

Williams says that our present dilemma was caused in part by improper methods of cultivating and grazing.

"The improper farming or grazing," Williams adds, "is not always done by the man whose crops and land are damaged. Some fields with an excellent cover or productive stubble or straw are covered with drifting silt or sand from nearby unprotected fields. Some good grassland was smothered with dust from adjacent misused land.

There were many conservation farmers who followed the best advice they could get, yet saw their crops ruined and their land damaged by their neighbors' careless practices."

The problem of wind erosion, he insists, must be attacked on a community basis.

Williams reports that farmers cooperating in soil conservation measures in the potential dust bowl areas are practicing stubble-mulch tillage (leaving winter crops or wheat stubble and high-cut cotton stalks on about 5.5 million acres. They are "plowing on the contour" on another 6 million acres, and have built about 150,000 miles of terraces. They have reseeded nearly 1 million acres to grass since 1938.

There are at least 7 million acres of land which should not be cultivated at all, Williams says—land with thin or sandy soil, or land in low-rainfall areas. "These should be diverted to grass as soon as possible," he says.

The persistent drought harassing the farmer makes the men in the city street wonder what has been happening to the weather in recent years. Has less rain and snow fallen on the country as a whole, and has the climate actually got hotter?

Dr. Harry Wexler, chief of the Scientific Services Division of the United States Weather Bureau, has a quick answer to the latter question. The earth, he says, has become only 2.2° hotter in the last 60 years. In Philadelphia, the rise has been 4° since 1870.

The weather scientists assure that, on the average, the 48 States as a whole receive just about as much precipitation one year as another. It is just that the pattern shifts.

In recent years the Pacific coast, the northern border of the country, and New England have been betting more than their normal share of the precipitation. The Great Plains and the South, including Maryland and Virginia, have been short-changed. Some reason is given to hope that the pattern will change back again, sooner or later.

Virginia, in particular, hopes it will be sooner. Arlington and Alexandria found it necessary to ration water last summer. Some Fairfax County areas were left dry by the private-utilities companies for days at a time. Wells went dry that had never gone dry before.

Prolonged dry weather decimated crops throughout the northern part of the State. And many a Virginia Guernsey got her drinking water courtesy of the volunteer fire department, which hauled it to her in fire engines.

Virginia uses about 1,300 gallons of water per capita per day. The average citizen, of course, does not use that much. The manufacture of 1 ton of steel, for instance, requires 65,000 gallons of water. It takes 300,000 gallons to make a ton of rayon.

More than 27,000 gallons of water is needed to irrigate an acre of land to the depth of 1 inch, and there were more than 700 irrigation systems taking water from Virginia streams during last summer's drought.

Virginia has an annual rainfall of about 42 inches. About one-third of it flows away unbeneficially to the sea.

With population increasing the way it is, there is a growing conviction that Virginia will have to adopt some sort of legislation regulating the use of water, perhaps as the Western States do. A State legislature commission on water resources opened public hearings at Staunton Friday. It hopes to make water use recommendations to the next general assembly.

"The State needs a water code which recognizes the rights of everybody," said Dr. H. N. Young, director of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Blacksburg, and a member of the commission.

By "everybody" he meant the farmer through whose fields a stream runs, the farmer who lives near a stream and feels he has a right to some of it, and the city fellow miles away who depends on the stream for his drinking and bath water.

Thoughts From the Grassroots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN C. WATTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an editorial appearing in the Winchester Sun, of Winchester, Ky., on Friday, February 11, 1955.

In his article entitled "Patient But Firm," the writer dwells briefly and succinctly, but comprehensively, upon our Nation's stand in Far Eastern affairs—the Defense of Formosa. It is a confirmation of my thoughts, and I feel those of a great majority of the membership; it stresses and emphasizes many of the factors underlying our recent action whereby we definitely, resolutely, and clearly demonstrated to the world that in such matters partisan politics were laid aside, and that we stood shoulder to shoulder—united in the common cause; that, truly, we were Americans first.

In view of the concise and accurate analysis of the mental processes of the Chinese Communists; and the splendid treatment covering the events leading up to the necessity for such outward indication of unity, it is my notion that a sober reading of this exceptional editorial will be of interest and value to each of us.

PATIENT BUT FIRM

It cannot be denied that a risk of war is involved in the decision to stand firm at Formosa and to assist in the evacuation of the Tachen Islands. But no course of action the free world can pursue in these times is free of risk and it may be that a bold policy will pay greater dividends in the long run than would one of timidity and vacillation.

The Communists have demonstrated in the past that the one thing they respect is strength. A show of weakness or indecision has always been interpreted by them as an invitation to grab something that doesn't belong to them.

It would be hard to find in all history a nation as powerful as ours which demonstrated as much patience, endured as much provocation from another power without retaliation. In Korea the Red Chinese intervened and turned what should have been a United Nations victory into a stalemate—yet rather than risk extending the war we refrained from air or land attacks on the Chinese mainland. They intervened in Indochina—again they enjoyed impunity. They shot down our planes and imprisoned our soldiers and civilians without cause. We still managed to keep our tempers.

Now we have decided to draw the line beyond which we will not retreat. We have made it plain that we will not shoot first, that we will exercise every decent restraint—but we do not intend to back down. This firmness, this assertion of quiet strength may yet avert disaster.

Committee of California State Bar Delegates Recommend Amendments to Emergency Detention Act of 1950

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call attention to a study of the Emergency Detention Act of 1950 that was prepared by a duly constituted committee of the California State bar delegates as a result of a resolution adopted in 1952 and the amendments recommended by the committee.

It is, of course, the duty of the Congress to pass legislation to promote the general welfare and provide for the common defense. International unrest and the attitudes of Russia and Red China have brought the question of national security into prominence. It is certain that the Congress had the national security in mind when it enacted this law in 1950, but when we start dealing with the national security we must not, in its name, destroy or jeopardize the security of the individual citizen. We must try to balance values then in passing laws so that we do not sacrifice too much of one in order to achieve the other. These lawyers say, in commenting on judicial decisions, that hard cases make bad law. The same is equally true of the legislative processes—dangerous times can make bad law. But, even as we pass the laws we should be willing to listen to critism of the legislation and willing to study recommendations for improvement. This, I think, is particularly true when those recommendations come from such a respectable source as a committee of the bar association of a State.

With these thoughs in mind I am inserting at the conclusion of my remarks some amendments recommended by the Committee of California State Bar Delegates. While I think that the avowed purposes of the amendments are good, I am not yet ready to say that I think all of them or only these should be amended. For example, I am advised that the proposal to confer original jurisdiction in the Supreme Court can be accomplished only by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States and not by act of Congress. It is my intention, however, in the immediate future to look into some, if not all, of these proposals as amendments to the Emergency Detention Act of 1950.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report:

AUGUST 6, 1953.

To the Conference of State Bar Delegates:

In re: Report of the committee of State bar delegates formed pursuant to the 1952 conference Resolution 47, to study and report on title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950, known as the Emergency Detention Act (1950).

The above-named committee, of which the undersigned is chairman, reports as follows:

Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950, known as the Emergency Detention Act of 1950, does without doubt represent not only a complete break with the American and Anglo-Saxon concept of civil rights and liberties, but also a complete departure from the American tradition and the American way of life. There is no question but that, under the act, American citizens, in time of emergency, can be held in custody for a day, a year, or a lifetime (on secret evidence given by unrevealed witnesses) and can be deprived of reputation, property (and indirectly of life). This power is, by the act, vested in and may be exercised by a preliminary hearing officer of whom no particular qualifications are required for appointment to his position.

Since 1798 the President of the United States has had the power to confine enemy aliens in time of war for no reason other than that they are enemy aliens. The committee feels strongly that, in time of grave emergency, there should be legislation which will give the executive branch of the Government a like power with respect to enemies of the Government who are citizens, or have acquired citizenship (often with calculation) and who are thus better enabled to perpetrate or conspire to perpetrate espionage and sabotage.

The committee, therefore, feels that this act should not be repealed, but that it must be amended in many respects unless this country is now prepared to build up a secret police and follow a policy of detention on suspicion alone, a policy which has, in the past, been the weapon of absolute monarchs, and which, in our time, has been used with such devastating effect by Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, and the rulers of the Soviet Union since its inception. This committee recommends amendments to the act because it feels that the United States should not adopt the terroristic weapon of a police state which is the very weapon keeping in power that government against whose ideology and world aims this act was purportedly legislated.

In time of grave national emergency, it may be imperative that potential, dangerous enemies of the State be picked up on mere suspicion by kock-on-the-door arrests, but it is equally imperative that means be provided for preventing the abuse of that power and for quickly rectifying mistakes.

Fundamentally, it is imperative, too, that the time and circumstances under which this sinister and extraordinary power may be used, should be clearly defined, and that unequivocal and specific regulations be set forth for the exercise of such power. There should also be a clear definition when the right to use such power ceases.

"In matters such as concentration camps, therefore, there is still great wisdom in the words of the Kentucky Resolution of 1798: 'In questions of power * * * let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution'." (50 Col. Law Review 761, 775, Protective Custody Act.)

The committee's analysis (appended hereto as an addendum) of the act has impelled it to make the following recommendations for amendment or change.

COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AMENDMENT OF CHANGE

1. The definition of "emergency" as fixed by subdivisions 1, 2, and 3 of section 102 should be amended so as to change subdivision 3. Subdivision 3 now reads as follows:

"Insurrection within the United States in aid of a foreign enemy."

This should be changed to read:

"Declaration by concurrent resolution of both Houses of Congress that there is an insurrection in the United States in aid of a foreign enemy."

If subdivision 3 is not so amended, it would require no stretch of the imagination to conclude that the language could apply to any simple strike in the country. A strike, as pointed out in the addendum, could easily come within the definition of an insurrection.

2. Section 102 (a) now provides: "In the event of any one of the following:

"(1) Invasion of the territory of the United States or its possessions,

"(2) Declaration of war by Congress, or

"(3) Insurrection within the United States in aid of a foreign enemy, and if, upon the occurrence of one or more of the above, the President shall find that the proclamation of an emergency pursuant to this section is essential to the preservation, protection and defense of the Constitution, and to the common defense and safety of the territory and people of the United States, the President is authorized to make public proclamation of the existence of an Internal Security Emergency."

This portion of the act should be amended to provide that within 20 days after the proclamation of an emergency by the President of the United States pursuant to the above, the Solicitor General of the United States must, on behalf of the people of the United States, bring an action against the President of the United States in Declaratory Relief of which the Supreme Court of the United States shall have original jurisdiction. In said action, the Attorney General shall set forth the facts pertinent and request the Supreme Court to declare whether or not the President of the United States is justified in declaring a national emergency by the facts as they existed at the time of the presidential proclamation even though the conditions of items 1, 2 and 3 of the act have been met. The act should further provide that the Supreme Court must decide said action in Declaratory Relief within the 60 days after the filing of the action by the Solicitor General.

Amendment should be made to require the Attorney General of the United States to defend the action on behalf of the President of the United States. If the decision of the Supreme Court is a tie, this shall be deemed to be a disaffirmation of the fact that there is an emergency. The statute should also provide that the emergency may be terminated at any time by any one House of Congress rather than by the concurrent action of both Houses as is now provided.

3. The act should be amended to provide that, after the emergency has been declared, the chief security officer shall be, not the Attorney General as now provided, but a Justice of the Supreme Court or a judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals who shall be forthwith appointed by the Chief Justice of the United States. There is no reason why either judge could not take a leave of absence from judicial duties during an emergency to handle so important an executive and administrative position. Each already has a position for life. The attainment of such eminence is demonstrative evidence that such a person is one of solid background, of a high order of integrity and one who has an objective perspective. In addition, such an amendment avoids the concentration of power in the Executive. Upon the proclamation of an emergency, all powers vested by the act in the Attorney General should be vested in the chief security officer, with certain exceptions.

4. The Attorney General, however, shall retain the power to issue warrants of arrest and warrants of arrest could still be served by such officers of the Department of Justice duly authorized to do so by the Attorney General.

5. The act should be amended to provide that preliminary hearing officers shall be appointed by the chief security officer and, further, to the effect that a preliminary hearing officer must be a person who is licensed to practice law. The feeling of the

committee is that any judge of a court of record, whether it be State or Federal, should automatically be eligible for appointment as a hearing officer. In short, in lieu of having untrained men who may be appointed to what is presumed to be a temporary job with all the temptations of pressure and bribery, the additional burdens created by a national emergency could, by the act, be placed upon judicial officers who have to a certain extent demonstrated their qualifications and ability to serve the public in an impartial and disinterested manner and who have some training in the judicial and legal processes.

6. Amendment should be made to provide that immediately after the service of a warrant, the officer serving the warrant should deliver the detainee into the official custody of some official who has been designated for the purpose of keeping custody of detainees and the official custodian to whom the detainee has been so delivered should be obligated (with penalties attached) forthwith to notify in writing the next of kin of the detainee or to deliver a written notice forthwith to such third person as may be designated by the detainee. The detainee, however, should not be obligated to give the names of his next of kin or of any other person.

In addition to the foregoing notice and irrespective of whether or not it is given, the official custodian of detainees must, in any event, give written notice to the State bar or some other organization or official which or who shall be designated for that purpose in the act so that the organization or person, in turn, can notify the attorney who has been provided pursuant to the recommendation hereinafter made to assist detainee in the preservation of his rights.

7. The act should define with much more certainty than it now does, the various criteria upon which the finding of probable cause can be based. Perhaps the act should definitely state that there can be no finding of probable cause merely because a person belongs or has belonged to an organization which the Attorney General has listed as subversive, or because a person has made statements which hold up any person who is or has been connected with the Federal or State government to public or private ridicule, scorn, contempt or hatred, or who merely criticizes our institutions, Federal or State. It seems that criteria should be evolved which will require definite and specific findings by a preliminary hearing officer.

8. Amendment should be made to provide that all hearings should be public, and each hearing before a preliminary hearing officer should be held in the county of the detainee's residence.

9. Provision should be made that when a preliminary hearing officer has heard evidence not disclosed to the accused, or when the evidence has been disclosed and the name of the witness kept secret, and as a consequence of any such hearing, the accused has been detained, such detention shall not continue for more than 30 days from date of hearing unless prior to the expiration of a 30-day period, the accused has been accorded a public hearing at which all evidence has been disclosed and at which he is confronted with all witnesses with full right of cross-examination.

The act should further be amended to provide that, when a detainee has been released because of a failure to disclose evidence or the names of witnesses within a 30-day period, as in the preceding sentence provided, such detainee cannot be further apprehended for detention unless he is to be accorded a hearing in which all the evidence and the names of all witnesses are fully disclosed.

Further amendment should be made with respect to secret evidence or failure to reveal the names of witnesses which will require the Government to submit evidence of every kind and character and the names of all witnesses to the preliminary hearing officer on the first detention, and the preliminary hearing officer shall be empowered to examine and cross-examine said witnesses and call other witnesses if he so desires in secret.

10. Amendment should be made to insert specific provisions requiring arraignment when practical within 24 hours, but in no event can detainee be held for more than 120 hours without being arraigned and informed of his rights. Upon such arraignment, the preliminary hearing officer must set a date for the actual hearing not more than 30 days after the preliminary hearing unless an extension of time is consented to in open court by the detainee.

11. Since the nature of the charge does not permit of a double-jeopardy defense, the act should be so amended as to provide that the detainee shall not be apprehended or tried a second time unless at the time the subsequent warrant for arrest is issued, the Government has new, additional, and different evidence from that which was previously adduced.

12. As an added safeguard, the act should be amended to provide that a detainee who has exhausted his appeal rights and who is nevertheless held in detention should have the further right to be heard de novo at 90-day intervals, the first de novo trial to commence 90 days after his appeal rights are finally exhausted. Each such de novo trial should be held before a different preliminary hearing officer. Provision should be made which would requiire that the preliminary hearing officer must release the detainee unless he finds affirmatively as of the time of the de novo trial, that the detainee is and will continue to be a security risk.

13. The detention review board should be made up of lawyers who have had a minimum of 10 years active practice within a 15-year period prior to the date of their appointments. Service in any legal, judicial, or legislative branch of the Federal or State Government shall constitute active practice. It should be required that 1, but not more than 1 shall be taken from any one of the circuit court of appeals districts in the United States. Since there is a serious question as to whether one detention review board could handle the volume of appeals which would be certain to ensue, consideration should be given to the establishment of more than one board with correlative powers.

14. The nature of shelter and transportation, and the type of food to be furnished detainees, should be set forth with more particularity.

15. Machinery should be provided whereby a draft is made of every lawyer in the country as of the time of emergency. There should be set up authority whereby the court or president of a bar association formally selects the lawyers of every metropolis, town, and hamlet, and gives each a number upon the arrest of any detainee of such metropolis, town, or hamlet. The lawyer so provided must defend the detainee. Compensation for the lawyers' time would be provided on a scale to be set in the act. Whether the lawyer be a so-called corporation lawyer or civil or criminal lawyer, and whether his income be $300,000 or $3,000 a year—the lawyer must act as counsel for the detainee through every stage of the proceeding. The detainee, on the other hand, need not accept the lawyer so assigned. He may engage counsel on his own. Any counsel accepting such employment does not, by virtue thereof, lose his draft status. The detainee, instead of substituting the new counsel, for the one he would have had assigned to him by reason of the draft, could engage personal counsel to collaborate with the lawyer who has been drafted for him. The name of such collaborating counsel might or might not appear, depending upon the wishes of the detainee. Collaborating counsel, by accepting employment, does not avoid his draft status. The mechanism so set up eliminates the possibility or probability that persons apprehended and detained would not be able to employ competent counsel. No detainee, however impoverished, could be without counsel. No opprobrium could attach to counsel who appeared for any detainee if such appearance were mandatory under the law.

The committee, therefore, recommends that this conference of State bar delegates and the board of governors of the State bar of California memorialize the Congress of the United States to the effect that the act in question be amended or changed in the above respects.

Respectfully submitted.

LESTER WM. ROTH,
Chairman, Conference of State Bar Delegates Committee on Emergency Detention Act (1950).

Committee members: Lewis W. Boles, Jr. (Fresno),[1] William N. Byrd (Brawley), Roy E. Chapman (San Bernardino),[1] Faber L. Johnston, Jr. (San Jose),[1] John L. Martin (Los Angeles), George G. Olshausen (San Francisco),[1] Timothy I. O'Reilly (San Luis Obispo), Jeremiah R. Scott (Eureka), Peter N. Teige (San Francisco),[1] John A. Wilson (Stockton).

Attention is called to separate report of Mr. Olshausen, attached.

SEPARATE REPORT OF GEORGE OLSHAUSEN

1. I agree with the main report as far as it goes. The amendments which it proposes are an improvement over the act as it stands, and, as far as they go, I am in favor of them.

2. I am still of my original opinion that the Detention Act provisions should be repealed in toto.

a. No such methods were used in our history, at any time, previous to World War II.

b. There have been five rebellions in American history. (Shays' Rebellion, 1786; Whisky Rebellion, 1794; Aaron Burr Conspiracy, 1807; Dorr's Rebellion, 1842; Civil War, 1861.) In all of them, and in the two wars against England, the enemy was English-speaking of the same ethnic stock and on our own soil. The Civil War had basically the same mechanical facilities, except for the airplane, the telephone, and the radio. The opportunities for spying and sabotage were at least as great as they are today, even conceding that persons now get themselves naturalized for purposes of sabotage.

Yet in *Ex parte Bollman* (8 U. S. 75, 2 L. Ed. 554), arising out of the Burr conspiracy, Chief Justice Marshall insisted on admitting the defendants to bail; in *Ex parte Vallandingham* (28 Fed. Cas. 874, 925 Fed. Cas. No. 16,810) Lincoln had Vallandingham only removed to a distance from the Federal lines, not imprisoned.

c. The assumption underlying continuance of the act is that the detention-camp methods of World War II will be used again anyway, so they should be brought within an orderly procedure. (See par. 56 of the committee's analysis.)

There is no connection between the Imperial Japanese Government and the Communists. The assumption in advance that the methods of World War II will be used next time, rather than the method of some previous war, seems to me to indicate a change of mood rather than a change of circumstances.

---

[1] Denotes members of committee who affirmatively have indicated their approval of this report.

This being so, I do not think that an attempt to change this mood should be given up as futile before it is undertaken. (See par. 62 of the committee's analysis.) If the bar expects to exercise leadership, it must attempt to influence opinion, not merely be swept along by it.

d. Since this act goes beyond anything heretofore decided by the Supreme Court, I would not concede its constitutionality. I consider unconstitutionality an additional ground for repeal.

Planned Use of Great Lakes Water Calls for Recognition of Sanitary District Diversion Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, there is a growing realization throughout the Great Lakes area that there is a real need for a program of planned use and planned conservation of Great Lakes water in order to benefit all of the citizens located in the Great Lakes region.

More and more communities are thinking in terms of conservation and use of Great Lakes water, and they certainly must look sympathetically on the heretofore somewhat controversial question of diversion down the Sanitary District Canal at Chicago.

John H. Byrne, executive director of the Lake Erie Watershed Conservation Foundation, recently expressed the thought than an additional diversion of 1,000 cubic feet per second into the Illinois Waterway would not adversely affect any of the boundary States or the levels of any of the lakes. A bill to authorize this increased diversion was introduced in Congress this year by Congressman THOMAS O'BRIEN, of Chicago. All of the Cook County Congressmen, both Democrat and Republican, are united behind the measure, H. R. 3210. It proposes to increase the diversion of water for a 3-year period, until the Army Corps of Engineers will have been able to make a more thorough study of the matter.

An interesting article on the subject, written by Chesly Manly, appeared in the Chicago Sunday Tribune of February 20. The article is as follows:

PLANNED USE OF GREAT LAKES WATER URGED—HIGHER DIVERSION WINS SUPPORT

(By Chesly Manly)

Interstate and international cooperation for the planned conservation and use of Great Lakes water is being urged on both sides of the boundary with Canada as a result of greatly increased consumption and consequent shortages of water at many points inland from the lakes.

Demands for the use of Great Lakes water to supply vast inland areas have induced many long-time foes of Chicago's so-called water steal to reconsider that question sympathetically, as one of many problems that call for understanding and a mutual respect for mutual rights and interests.

NEW SLANT ON DIVERSION

For example, John H. Byrne, of Cleveland, executive director of the Lake Erie Watershed Conservation Foundation, declared in an interview that he has great sympathy for the problems of the Chicago area. Experts have advised him, Byrne said, that an additional diversion of 1,000 cubic feet per second into the Illinois waterway from Lake Michigan, as proposed in legislation now pending in Congress, would not appreciably affect the levels of the lakes.

Byrne produced a reprint of a column by John W. Love in the Cleveland Press, setting forth various proposals for supplying the interior of Ohio with Lake Erie water and adding:

"We may yet rue our agitation over the Chicago 'water steal' of the 1920's."

CANADIAN FOR INCREASE

Another recent example of the changing attitude toward Chicago's problem was the statement by J. W. Murphy, member of the Canadian Parliament from a district on Lake Huron, that Canada should immediately agree to an increased diversion of water into the Illinois waterway from Lake Michigan. Murphy declared that other members of Parliament representing lakeshore constituencies were alarmed about property damage resulting from high water levels.

The volume of water flowing through the Great Lakes system, averaging about 240,000 cubic feet per second from Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence River, is stupendous. One-fourth of this volume would supply the whole United States, with a population of 164 million, at a per capita rate of 250 gallons per day, which is the amount pumped by the city of Chicago for domestic, industrial, and commercial use by a population of 4½ million.

POINTS TO VAST SUPPLY

Byrne cited records from the Army Corps of Engineers showing that a half inch of water from the surface of Lake Erie, 9,940 square miles, would supply the daily requirements of the Nation's public water systems and that a depth of 3 inches from this lake would supply a population of 1 billion. And all five of the Great Lakes have a total surface of 95,100 square miles, more than 9½ times the size of Lake Erie.

Until a few years ago there was little interest in the lakes except as a great inland water transportation system which provided incidental benefits of hydroelectric power and served domestic and sanitary purposes along their shores.

Cheap transportation on the lakes, together with an abundance of iron ore and coal, made the Great Lakes region the most productive industrial area on earth. Water conservationists now maintain that the potential of the lakes for further development is limitless, provided conflicting interests can be reconciled and served by regional cooperation.

PROBLEMS UNDER STUDY

Here are a few of the problems in which the conservationists are interested:

1. Pollution of the St. Clair River and Lake St. Clair by municipalties and industries in southwestern Ontario may force Detroit to pipe its water from Lake Huron through a system that would cost more than $200 million. Detroit, which now gets it water from the Detroit River, below Lake St. Clair, has threatened to sue the Province of Ontario, in the Canadian courts, as it has a right to do under the 1909 boundary waters treaty with Canada.

2. Milwaukee, long a center of opposition to Chicago's diversion of water from Lake Michigan, pollutes the lake by closing the gates of its sewage treatment plant, during rainstorms and thaws, in order to maintain the quality of the commercial fertilizer it manufactures from sewage. Anthony Olis, president of the Chicago Sanitary District, has threatened to initiate a suit by Illinois against Wisconsin.

PROMOTING OHIO SYSTEM

3. The Lake Erie Watershed Foundation is promoting a plan for an integrated water system that would supply 23 counties in northern and northwestern Ohio with Lake Erie water. Fort Wayne, Ind., which is in the Lake Erie watershed, would be included in the system. While Akron, Ohio, rubber manufacturing capital of the world, is planning to bring its water 40 miles from Lake Erie, Syracuse, N. Y., is considering a project to pipe its supply about the same distance from Lake Ontario.

4. Governor Stratton's committee on metropolitan water and sanitation has submitted plans for an integrated water supply, waste disposal and storm drainage system that would provide Lake Michigan water to a metropolitan area comprising all of Cook and Du Page Counties, 5 townships in eastern Kane County and 9 in northern Will County.

URGES MICHIGAN CANAL

5. H. B. Tukey, head of the department of horticulture, Michigan State College, for years has advocated the construction of a canal to connect Lakes Michigan and Huron across northern Michigan and provide water for a vast supplemental irrigation system. He told a water conference at Elyria, Ohio, last November 23 that his project was closer to realization than many realized.

6. Dr. A. E. Berry, chief sanitary engineer of Ontario's health department told the Elyria conference that streams and ground water are not adequate for Ontario's rapid population growth and industrial expansion and that lake water must be supplied for inland development on a large scale.

DIVERSION FROM HUDSON BAY

7. Canada already diverts an average of more than 5,000 cubic feet per second of water from the Hudson Bay drainage basin into Lake Superior, through the Ogoki River and Long Lac projects, and engineers estimate that at least 12,000 cubic feet per second could be diverted.

Water conservationists maintain that such an increase in the water yield of the Great Lakes, together with regulating works and increased outlet capacities to control their levels, would assure an inexhaustible supply of lake water for unlimited development purposes in the eight Great Lakes States and Canada's Ontario province.

A plan for a Great Lakes basin compact, open to the eight Great Lakes States and to Canada's Ontario and Quebec provinces, was announced last December at a meeting of the Council of State Governments in Chicago. Under this plan, a commission, representing each State or province adhering to the compact, would make studies and recommendations on all lake problems.

SEE POLITICAL IMPACT

Proponents of the plan maintain that the States and Provinces would constitute a powerful, political force which could make itself heard in Washington and Ottawa. State Representative Albert Hachmeister, Republican, of Chicago, a member of the committee which drafted the compact plan, voted against it on the ground that it appeared to be aimed at preventing additional diversion of water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois waterway.

Proponents of the compact scheme deny any such purpose but do not deny their long continued opposition to Chicago's demand for increased diversion to establish and maintain a clean stream in the waterway. Olis and other sanitary district officials regard the proposed compact as a device to

stall and defeat the legislative relief desired by Chicago.

ILLINOIS MAY CHANGE STAND

If this legislation is enacted, with or without a veto by President Eisenhower, and the dispute over Chicago's rights is thus settled, Illinois officials may have a different feeling about the proposed compact. Its proponents will have an opportunity to demonstrate their sincerity by continuing to press for it, without reference to the Chicago diversion question.

Whatever the motives of politicians may be, conservationists on both sides of the Canadian boundary regard regional planning and cooperation as indispensable for a proper utilization of the Great Lakes water resource. Ontario's Berry told the Elyria conference that in respect to water problems "the border must not act as a barrier but both countries must act together to reach a solution which will be best for all."

Ohio's Byrne, winner of the 1951 Ohio Governor's award for his work in conservation, agrees that the peoples of the two countries must seek common solutions to common problems.

TIME FOR IMAGINATION

Byrne cited a statement by an electronics expert about machines that see better than eyes, calculate more rapidly than human brains, communicate faster, and farther than the human voice, record more accurately than memory, and act faster and better than hands.

"A machine does not possess a soul or imagination," Byrne added. "Man does. The time has come to arouse his thinking and imagination for the utilization of our physical, mental, and moral forces. Our goal is to seek in the various regions of the Great Lakes a form of regional authority, acceptable to the citizens, for the conservation and distribution of water to the various communities within the watershed on a plan undreamed of not many years ago.

CITES INDUSTRIAL SUCCESSES

"Cities that stop growing because they have reached the limit of their water capacity are like industries that must restrict their progress on account of scarcity of local processing materials. Industries have found a way to solve these problems. So must cities. The oil and steel industries are good examples.

"Transportation of ore, oil, gas, and lumber by pipelines, boats, and rails, have brought abundant supplies from long distances to their plants after local resources had shrunken below their needs. Transportation of water over natural courses and by pipeline may become the foremost undertaking on this continent as population continues its huge growth."

One Hundred and Sixty-third Anniversary of the Bill of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered by State Commander Irving Breakstone, of the Department of Illinois, American Legion, upon the 163d anniversary of the Bill of Rights. In the course of his address, Comander Breakstone announced a new policy for the Legion's Department of Illinois, calling for a program of adult education directed toward a better understanding of the ideas of the Constitution. This very important policy statement follows Commander Breakstone's address.

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY

(Address by Irving Breakstone, State commander, the American Legion, Department of Illinois)

Commander Lipsner, Past Commander Manos, Judge Geroulis, distinguished guests, ladies and gentleman, first, I want to thank Commander Benjamin B. Lipsner, of Aviation Post, who neds no introduction either in the State of Illinois or any other city in the Nation, he being the founder of the United States airmail system; I want also to thank my good friend Past Commander Nicholas G. Manos, of Hellenic Post, who have made possible this fine gathering of distinguished Americans. I want particularly to thank General Woodward, General Homer, General Kerner, General Whitney, Chicago's highly honored Postmaster Carl A. Schroeder, and all other patriotic Americans gathered here on this occasion.

We have just listened with intense interest to a historical discourse on American history and on the history of ancient Greece as well as some historical facts pertaining to our Bill of Rights by one of the most illustrious members of the Illinois bar, Past Commander Ralph M. Synder, which makes one proud and does honor to this occasion. Such scholarly and highly educational discourse gives one food for thought and makes us cognizant of the great contributions by our forefathers as well as ancient Greece to civilization. Only one steeped in the rich lore of history, philosophy, and literature and a devout student of the arts could be capable of expressing so eloquently these facts pertaining to the influence of our Bill of Rights and its comparative analogy to ancient Greece upon our glorious Republic and civilization in general. I regret that every schoolchild in America could not have been here today.

I want to thank our scholarly State's Attorney Judge John Gutknecht for his fine and timely talk and while I regret the inability of our distinguished United States District Attorney Robert Tieken to be personally present, we are indeed honored and appreciative of the presence of his first assistant, the Honorable Alexander O. Walter, himself a veteran and a man of high ideals.

While Judge James A. Geroulis is a member of Aviation Post, Hellenic Post nevertheless join in the presentation of this beautiful flag which will henceforth adorn the courtroom of our distinguished comrade as an ever present reminder of God and country to all who may appear before the bar of this court.

As commander of the Department of Illinois of the American Legion, I have particularly chosen the occasion of these ceremonies to open our drive to be known as Education for Freedom Week, and commemorating the 163d anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights. It is altogether fitting that we pause in tribute to the memory of the great men of our Nation who drafted the original document to which the Bill of Rights was made a constituent part. Under our Constitution, this Nation has enjoyed, and still continues to enjoy, the highest standard of living ever attained in history. We are an orderly society, with liberty and freedom for every citizen, in a measure seldom, if ever, equaled and never eclipsed on this earth.

Only 22 amendments have been attached to the Constitution. Of these, the first 10 constitute the Bill of Rights, which we celebrate today. These ten were added because the conventions of several States refused to ratify the Constitution in its original form until they had been assured that the Bill of Rights would be made part of it.

The fourth and fifth amendments to the Constitution give us a clue to the genesis of the Bill of Rights. It is a reference to the ancient right expressed in the phrase, "Every man's house is his castle." Lord Coke expressed this principle nearly 400 years ago when he stated: "The house of every man is to him as his castle and fortress, as well as for his defense against injury and violence as for his repose." At that time, this principle had been the law of the land for more than 1,000 years.

The makers of our Constitution and the framers of the first 10 amendments were never tired of quoting these immortal words of the elder Pitt:

"The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the force of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storms may enter; the rain may enter—but the King of England cannot enter. All his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement."

When ratification of our Constitution was pending before the Virginia Convention, the eloquent patriot, Patrick Henry, declared that he was "most awfully alarmed," that the document threatened the liberties of his country, among other reasons because it lacked a Bill of Rights. Henry challenged the view of James Madison, the so-called father of the Constitution. He challenged the views of the galaxy of scholars and statesmen who had drafted the Constitution and even that of the eminent George Washington, who had presided over the Constitutional Convention.

The Virginia Convention, after prolonged debate, ratified the Constitution by a bare majority of 10 votes, but only after James Madison had pledged his word that, at the earliest opportunity, he would use his energy toward placing in the Constitution the requisite amendments guaranteeing each citizen's rights, privileges, and immunities.

As soon as the Virginia Convention had finished the work of ratification, it adopted resolutions for the addition of a Bill of Rights as demanded by Patrick Henry, and these resolutions were forwarded to the Governors of the various States.

The first measure considered by the first Congress of the United States of America, under the new Constitution, was a bill to raise revenue to pay the expenses of Government. On July 21, 1789, James Madison, then a Member of the House of Representatives, introduced the second measure. This was a resolution to consider amendments to the Constitution in accordance with the pledges of faith and honor which had been made by public men everywhere in securing ratification of the Constitution.

The Bill of Rights amendments were ratified by the States within 2 years and 3 months. Thereafter, as far as Americans are concerned, and as far as the Constitution itself is concerned, they became as much a part of the original Constitution as if they had been signed on September 17, 1787, when the main instrument itself, was signed.

The 10 amendments constituting the Bill of Rights are restrictions upon national power. All the rights and immunities enumerated were already in existence. They did not owe their origin to the Bill of Rights. As had been stated in the immortal Declaration of Independence, these rights were inalienable and had come from the Creator. The Constitution was established, among other purposes, to make these God-given rights secure against oppression, secure against oppression even from the Government which the founding fathers were setting up.

The Bill of Rights amendments deal with 13 points covered by the opening words, "Congress shall make no law." The first 4 points view the citizen as a soul, or mind. Religion, speech, and the press, public assembly—all reflecting man as a spiritual being—shall be forever free from interference by Congress. The next 3 points protect the citizen's person, home, and effects from high-handed star-chamber methods of Government, such as are practiced in every totalitarian country today. The next 4 define the citizen's rights when involved with the criminal law.

These 11 points are double-clinched by the last 2—the one, warning that failure to mention a particular right in the bill must not be construed as denying that right's existence; the other, warning that a power not granted to the Federal Government is not thereby left ownerless but is reserved in full to the States or to the people.

The Bill of Rights is the law the people lay on their Government, but—notice—not on themselves. They themselves violate it with impunity. They constantly deprive others of what they will not permit Congress to deprive them. Does religious persecution exist in this country? Certainly, both public and private. Is free speech ever restricted by force, and violence, and boycott? Why, peaceable public assembly has been at the mercy of the mob in any number of our communities. Have you ever heard of the forcible invasion and destruction of private property in this country? Many times. And other rights also have been violated or denied. The law is written in the Constitution, but not on our hearts, which alone makes a law effective. Otherwise, all of us would know what some of us do not know, that to keep our own rights, we must respect the rights of others.

This great charter of the American—the American as a soul, as a citizen, as a political sovereign—has come to its 163d anniversary in circumstances emphatic with warning that rights entail duties. Evade the duty and you lose the right. May this anniversary serve to engrave sharply the meanings of both in the deep places of our minds.

The faith of our forefathers gave them the strength to plan for the ages. May we, with equal faith, guard our birthright and hand it down to posterity so that this heritage of liberty and this Nation, under God's will, may long endure.

In pursuance of this goal, the American Legion, Department of Illinois, takes this occasion to announce the following statement of policy:

"STATEMENT OF POLICY, THE AMERICAN LEGION, DEPARTMENT OF ILLINOIS

"The American Legion, Department of Illinois, announces a new approach to the problem of Americanism. This approach is the positive one of emphasizing the importance of understanding and advocating the principles which are our heritage as Americans and to which we are loyal.

"In the past the Legion has devoted a major portion of its Americanism program to rooting out Communists and other enemies of Americanism and to exposing the nature of communism as the enemy of American principles. Our zeal to protect Americanism from subversion and un-American sets of loyalties has sometimes appeared to take the historic form of a fight to extirpate persons and ideas deemed heretical or disloyal. This phase of the Legion's Americanism program has received an emphasis out of all proportion to its extent and importance when compared with other Legion Americanism activities, such as those carried on in the schools and veterans' hospitals.

"In concentrating on the negative phase of fighting the enemy, we have neglected the positive phase of Americanism set forth in the preamble to the constitution of the Legion, which places us under the obligation of upholding and defending the Constitution of the United States of America. The preamble obligates us to safeguard and hand down to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy.

"To fulfill this primary obligation of Americanism, it is obvious that we must first understand the ideas of the Constitution which we are sworn to uphold and defend. We must understand the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy we are sworn to safeguard.

"This positive approach to the problem of Americanism is in conformity with present thinking of the American Legion at the national level.

"In accordance with this understanding of our obligations as Legionnaires, every post in Illinois has been instructed to appoint an education for freedom chairman, who will be responsible for implementing the education for freedom program in his community. By enlisting the aid of educators, experts in constitutional law, writers, TV and radio commentators, etc., the legion will bring to every community a series of programs as traditionally American as the old town hall meeting or cracker barrel session.

"The program will be based on the reading and free discussion of the basic documents and critical issues of our heritage, especially the Constitution of the United States and the writings of great Americans like Abraham Lincoln.

"It is the principles and ideas expressed in these important source materials, as they have been defined and redefined by great Americans in times of crisis paralleling our own, which we must first understand if we are to protect them in the present global battle of ideas between our own free world and the dictatorships.

"This will be the first American Legion program of its kind. It will be a novel entry of the Legion in the field of adult education. It will be a new way of implementing the principles of the preamble of its own constitution.

"Education for freedom programs will bring to people in the State of Illinois an understanding of principles and ideas to which Americans are loyal—principles and ideas which, if dropped behind the Iron Curtain and actually practiced there, would prove more powerful than any H bomb.

"This is the Legion's operation freedom."

We adopt the language of our national commander, Seaborn P. Collins, who says: "I want you to know how grateful I am personally, and how appreciative all Legionnaires are for the additional prestige which the Department of Illinois is earning for the Legion through your education for freedom program. The positive approach to Americanism embodied in this program reflects the thinking of your organization on the national level. * * * Every other department of the Legion will be made fully aware of this inspiring program. Each department will be encouraged to further the objective of promoting greater public understanding and love of the principles and ideals which are our heritage as Americans. The American Legion's preamble obligates us to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States, and to safeguard the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy. Our positive program of Americanism is one important way by which we discharge this obligation."

Socialism by Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include and have printed in the RECORD an editorial in the February 28, 1955, edition of Realtor's Headlines, a weekly publication of National Association of Real Estate Boards, which I think my patriotic colleagues will find very thought provoking and something that should be read and considered by all of our leaders that do not wish to see socialism come upon America. The editorial follows:

If you are permitted by the Federal Government to keep any part of your income, this is, in effect, a subsidy to you and your family. Feeling is growing in Washington that the income of the American people is a national asset which belongs to the National Government to be disposed of by it as political leaders think best.

There are 76 million people in our country, according to a tabulation of Look magazine, who now receive Federal money or equivalent benefits. That is nearly half of our whole population. It seems incredible, doesn't it?

Every day it becomes more difficult for businessmen to accumulate capital from earnings to expand or invest. The financial tycoons of the future will be labor unions and other institutions that do not have to pay Federal taxes.

Our private-enterprise system can be destroyed just as certainly through high taxes and unlimited Federal spending, as through political action by Socialists or Communists.

Deficit spending, now popular, is the surest way to promote continued inflation and render valueless the savings and the security of our people. Why we should have deficit spending in times of great prosperity is difficult for anyone with commonsense to understand.

Blowing up "bugaboos" to frighten voiceless taxpayers into despairing acquiescence to the extortions of the Federal Government has become a fine art. Government departments spend over $100 million a year selling the American people on big spending and deficit financing. The newest plan for Federal spending is to set up a kind of double budget. One will be for regular expenses; the other, a so-called investment budget. Whatever an anesthetic they try to give, the tax bite will be just as painful.

They can't even spend the money as fast as it is appropriated. Some of our giveaway agencies still have billions of dollars authorized in the past, but not expended. The same is true with respect to whole departments.

Isn't it about time that by constitutional amendment we limit this taxing and spending orgy? Should we not adopt a provision that would hold down Federal taxing and spending in any year to a seventh of the national income for that year, unless we get into war and two-thirds of the House and Senate agree from year to year to spend more if necessary? Should we pledge the faith and credit of the people through the Federal Government without the consent of our States? If they are not asked about a

matter of this kind, then our Federal system of sovereign States becomes meaningless.

It is true that the Members of Congress may not agree to submit any such limiting amendment to the various States. The Members of Congress that you elect and send to Washington become infected with the same spending mania that has placed us under the rule of a giant bureaucracy that has its finger in the business and affairs of every single one of us.

Members of Congress are now increasing their own salaries so that they can spend your money with greater comfort. This is the best evidence that there is no intention in Washington to reduce the Federal budget, or to stop spending money we do not have.

Our only hope lies in the 40 million home and property owners of the Nation who, if aroused to the gravity of the issue, can force a change in policy and the adoption of constitutional limits on the runaway Federal Government.

HERB NELSON.

The Cairo Trials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following letter which was sent to Secretary of State Dulles by Dr. H. Bernard Birnbaum, president of the Bensonhurst Zionist District No. 19:

BENSONHURST ZIONIST DISTRICT NO. 19,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

SECRETARY OF STATE,
Department of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: A resolution passed at a meeting held of the District No. 19, Zionist Organization of America, reads as follows.

"The number of Jewish victims of the odious trials held at Cairo has now reached four.

One, according to the Egyptian authorities, took his own life in the cause of the trial, and two more were put to death this weekend.

"We rise in their memory and convey to their families expressions of our deep-felt sympathy. Just as other regimes in the past have resolved to similiar criminal devices, have thereby in the end sealed their own doom.

"Egypt has chosen to revenge itself on Jews in whose hearts there is a longing for Israel. Revolting sentences were imposed by military courts and the head of State confirmed the execution of some—life imprisonment or long term of penal servitude for others.

"Egypt will not be sustained by the blood which it has thus far spilled. Nor will Israel nor the Jewish people ever forget these, their blessed martyrs. Their love for the people will vanquish the hatred surrounding them.

"We as organized Zionists pay tribute to, and record our profound appreciation of the efforts which were made all over the world. Particularly by the Government of these United States, to save the condemned in Cairo, and we are voicing herewith our contempt and horror at the heartless rejection by the rulers of Egypt, of these urgent representations made to them.

"As the same time, we gathered at this moment wish to express our recognition of the efforts of all those who did what they could, by word and deed to save human lives and prevent the gallows from casting its shadow on the relation between Israel and Egypt."

Very truly yours,
DR. H. BERNARD BIRNBAUM,
President.

West Coast-Hawaii Airlines Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, membership on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee brings those of us fortunate to serve with that body in intimate contact with civil aviation and its multiple problems. I have been particularly interested, in the past few weeks, in what has taken place regarding the so-called West Coast-Hawaii case as determined by the Civil Aeronautics Board with the concurrence of the President.

There seems to be a great deal of misunderstanding as to what President Eisenhower did and did not do in the West Coast-Hawaii case. Since the record is clear, the misunderstanding must be created by those having a motive to do this.

The certificates for the Seattle/Portland-Honolulu route were first issued in 1948. Then, as now, there was a contest between Northwest Airlines and Pan American Airways as to which should be certificated.

The CAB decided, by a 2-to-1 vote, to give Northwest a temporary 5-year certificate. Northwest had argued that it could develop traffic to Hawaii from the Central and Eastern States which it serves on its transcontinental route. Pan American had argued that the route was important to it for through transpacific traffic. Pan American had argued also that it could operate more economically than Northwest because it already had installations at both ends of the route required for other operations for which it was permanently certificated, whereas Northwest had these at Seattle only.

Pan American sought reconsideration of the decision, claiming that the Board had been misled into various errors. President Truman directed that Pan American should be given a temporary 5-year certificate in addition to Northwest because "the national security and the public welfare require the establishment of the most direct and expeditious service between the Northwest and points on the existing services of Pan American Airways, Inc., in the South Pacific, Philippines, Japan, and other points in the Orient served by that company."

When the certificates expired in 1953, both companies applied to have them renewed. There was again general agreement that only 1 of the 2 should be selected.

The Board's staff investigated the claims of the two carriers. They decided Pan American had the better case. They found that Pan American had demonstrated by experience the truth of the assertions, made 5 years before, that it could operate the route more economically than Northwest. They found this would continue to be true in the future. They found that, on the evidence available at the time of the hearing, neither carrier had developed much through traffic. Since it appeared that the route would require subsidy whichever carrier was chosen, the choice should go to the one that would require less.

The CAB's examiner, who heard the evidence, agreed with the CAB's staff. He recommended also that Pan American be selected. He agreed with the staff's analysis of the relative costs. He also relied heavily on President Truman's determination that broad national interest considerations required an operation by Pan American. If one carrier was to go, as everyone including Northwest then agreed, it must therefore be Northwest.

The five-man Board reversed its staff and its examiner and selected Northwest over Pan American. Just why, its opinion does not make very clear. It admitted—at page 13—that—

> Upon consideration of the route structure of Pan American and Northwest, there can be little doubt that Pan American enjoys certain cost advantages which should enable it to operate the route at less total cost, and therefore, for less mail-pay subsidy, than Northwest.

It referred—at page 15—to a last-minute offer by Northwest to operate the route without subsidy but said that this proposal was not made at any earlier stage of the proceeding and was neither presented in detail nor subjected to critical scrutiny and that therefore the Board's decision was not predicated on this offer. Concerning the examiner's point as to President Truman's determination that broad national interest considerations required operation by Pan American, it specifically noted that these matters are properly within the province of the President—page 10.

On February 1, 1955, President Eisenhower advised the Board of his disapproval of this decision. He stated that he believed the choice of Pan American "will contribute most to the sound development of our air-transportation system in the Pacific." Quite obviously the President was acting on the same broad national-interest considerations that had led President Truman to determine in 1948 that Pan American should initially be certificated and to which the five-man Board had itself referred as being within the President's province. Since the hearing the amount of through traffic carried by Pan American over this route to points beyond Hawaii has tremendously increased. The loss of this through traffic to foreign-flag carriers, which would have resulted from the elimination of Pan American in favor of Northwest, was undoubtedly a factor in the President's decision. In any event, the President was simply going back to what the CAB's own staff and examiner had recommended, on a basis which the

five-man Board had recognized to be within his province. His selection of Pan American was no more a promonopoly decision than was the Board's selection of Northwest.

While Northwest's friends would have seen absolutely nothing wrong in a decision establishing a Northwest monopoly of this route and throwing off Pan American, which had become the carrier preferred by a large majority of the traveling public, they were horrified at the elimination of Northwest in favor of Pan American. All the stops were turned loose. The President was informed by the Board that although the opinion written as recently as November 26, 1954, stated—page 11—that all parties and the examiner agreed that "the operation would require substantial Government support in the form of subsidy mail pay for the foreseeable future," it now appeared that all of the Pacific operations would shortly go off subsidy. The President therefore altered his decision and directed that both carriers should be allowed to operate over the route so that both might have "an equal opportunity to demonstrate their capacity to develop adequate traffic to operate without subsidy or prove definitely that the route cannot economically support two carriers."

Both actions taken by the President were sound in the light of the facts before him at the time. If the route would require continued subsidy, as the Board's opinion had said it would, the route should be operated by only one carrier and that the carrier which had demonstrated that it could operate at lower cost and for which the route was a link in a through international operation rather than a stub end—page 15. If circumstances had changed so that the route can be operated without subsidy, the Board should have advised the President and not allowed him to be misled by the contrary view stated in its opinion. For if no subsidy is needed, then by all means both these carriers, which had developed a substantial business on the route in competition with each other, should be allowed to compete on fair and equal terms in the future.

Deadline Dates for Veterans' Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, assembled here is a list of several deadline dates before which eligible veterans must act if they wish to take advantage of certain benefits.

July 25, 1956: For those now in training under the World War II GI bill, no additional education or training may be afforded after this date except for veterans who may have additional training time under the Armed Forces Voluntary Recruitment Act of 1945.

July 25, 1956: In general, no vocational rehabilitation under Public Law 16 based on World War II service may be afforded beyond this date except for certain hardship cases who are granted an additional 4 years in which to train.

July 25, 1957: No guaranty or insurance will be available on World War II GI bill loans for homes, farms or businesses after this date except for those who have established a later terminal date under the Armed Forces Voluntary Recruitment Act of 1945.

January 31, 1963: Those who start their education or training within their required 3-year period must complete their training under the Korean GI bill by this date or 8 years after discharge, whichever is earlier.

January 31, 1964: For vocational rehabilitation under Public Law 894, eligible disabled veterans of the Korean conflict must start in time to finish their rehabilitation by this date or 9 years after separation, whichever is earlier.

January 31, 1965: For GI loans on homes, farms or businesses, eligible veterans of the Korean conflict now have until this date to receive VA guaranty or insurance as a result of the President's proclamation. No further guaranties or insurance may be issued after that date on loans made to veterans under the present law.

The Korean benefit termination dates apply to eligible veterans except in certain hardship categories. For these, an additional 4 years are granted by law in which to complete their rehabilitation.

Seriously disabled veterans of the Korean conflict may apply for a $1,600 grant toward the purchase of an automobile or other conveyance, but they must apply within 3 years after they leave service or they forfeit the benefit. The President's proclamation set January 31, 1955, as the end of the Korean conflict period, during which eligibility for this grant may be established. This means injuries to be covered by the law must have been sustained in active service on or before that date.

No application deadlines prevail on the other VA administrative benefits for veterans of the Korean conflict on the wartime basis. These include: hospitalization and domiciliary care for non-service-connected disabilities; compensation for service connected disabilities or death at wartime rate; pension for total and permanent and non-service-connected disabilities or death; reimbursements of burial expenses and a flag to drape the casket.

Progress Through Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of February 28, 1955:

PROGRESS THROUGH INFLATION

It may have been mere coincidence, but is interesting that just after the House of Representatives had voted a $20 borrowed-money cut in income taxes, the Council on Economic Progress came out with a big-spend, tax-reducing program for the Government.

The $20 deficit-making tax whittle voted by the House was sparked by Democratic politicians trying to beat President Eisenhower to the punch before the 1956 election campaign starts.

The Council on Economic Progress is run by Leon H. Keyserling, who used to be economic adviser to President Truman, back in the days when inflation was rampant.

Mr. Keyserling claims the way to national prosperity is to increase Government deficits by several billions through spending more and taxing less. This is a theory highly popular in quarters opposed to the Eisenhower administration.

It is not exactly in line with statements of Mr. Keyserling back in 1951 when he urged still higher taxes, firmer wage and price controls and Government economy as a means of fighting inflation.

In the 15 years before President Eisenhower took office, excessive Government borrowing and a succession of deficits had created such inflation that the purchasing power of the dollar was cut almost in half. Now, for 2 years, there has been no more inflation, to the immense benefit of millions of Americans—especially the least well-off who depend on pensions or other forms of fixed income.

Inflation can sap our defense program, imperil our financial stability, lower our standard of living and impoverish millions of Americans. It is the road of "progress" toward disaster. And its nursemaid is Government borrowing.

More Americans Are Traveling Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. FREYLINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, on January 10 of this year I introduced H. R. 1795, a bill designed to increase American travel abroad by raising the dollar limit of goods tourists can bring into the United States duty free. The importance of the bill is that it provides a valuable means of enabling our allies to earn dollar currency, thus decreasing their need for direct loans and grants. The bill is an important part of the administration's foreign economic program.

Under leave to extend my remarks I ask unanimous consent to include an article from the New York Times of Sunday, February 27, 1955, which discusses in detail the number and categories of Americans who traveled abroad in 1954:

HOUSEWIVES LEAD IN TRAVEL ABROAD—70,242 WENT TO FAR PLACES IN 1954 TO ESCAPE KITCHEN—UNITED STATES GIVES PASSPORT DATA

Nearly half a million Americans picked up passports, packed their bags and left for

foreign parts last year. A fifth of them were from this city.

The State Department's annual count of passports showed that 250,000 traveled by ship, that housewives were bigger gadabouts than anybody else and that more Americans went abroad on personal business than for any other reason.

The Department gave out 452,059 passports to persons in all 48 States. This city, the only municipal listing in the table, supplied 82,855 travelers, more than any State. The nearest number to that was California's with 33,458 foreign-bound citizens. Trailing the passports totals were 867 Wyoming residents.

Three out of four of the American travelers crossed the Atlantic to visit Western Europe. They required 339,024 passports for that area. Latin America drew 49,736 passport requests, the Near East 16,239, eastern Europe 15,702, Africa 14,244, the Far East 10,109, and Australia and New Zealand 6,059. Only 936 passports were issued for travel in Canada where the documents are not normally required.

MANY GO JUST FOR FUN

A total of 179,534 Americans told passport officials that they had personal business abroad. But 170,832 confessed that they traveled just for the fun of it. Commercial business accounted for 48,469 passports and education for 23,081. The remainder went away for employment, religious, health, or scientific reasons.

Ships carried 253,065 passport holders to foreign strands, while 194,923 others traveled by airplane. Automobilists received 2,719 passports and train travelers used 1,342.

Passports were taken out by 70,242 housewives to get as far from the kitchen sink as possible. They were many lengths ahead of the 35,114 clerks and secretaries who followed them. But the latter were ahead of their bosses, who received 34,576 passports.

MANY LABORERS GO ABROAD

Laborers (skilled) were not too far behind the swivel-chair men, accounting for 31,567 passports. Laborers (common) were common travelers, too, taking 23,023 border-crossing documents. Passports were issued also to 29,080 students and 20,986 teachers.

The report noted that 22,381 retired Americans got the traveling papers. Another 21,425 citizens proudly said that they had no occupation. They might have been anything from international rod riders to international playboys.

Merchants picked up 11,828 passports. Other categories spanned the alphabet from accountant (3,408), through farmer-rancher (7,446), and musician (1,328), to writer (6,908).

However, men edged out the women 236,906 to 215,144. Native-born Americans numbered 292,138, while naturalized citizens totaled 159,911.

Tax Cuts and Irresponsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD 2 editorials from the Capital Times, of Madison, Wis. The editorials deal with the Democratic sponsored tax cut of $20 and the Republican opposition to this proposal.

I wish to draw these editorials to my colleagues' attention because last year—when we voted on tax cuts for the benefit of a very few—there was no talk of irresponsibility on the part of Republicans. However, it appears that the Democrats are charged with irresponsibility when we sponsor legislation to give the small or average taxpayer some needed relief.

Following are the 2 editorials from the Capital Times—the first is from the February 23, 1955, edition and the second editorial is from the February 24, 1955 issue:

TEN-THOUSAND-DOLLAR SALARY INCREASES FOR CONGRESS—YES; $20 TAX DEDUCTION FOR ORDINARY GUY—NO

Many of the Republican Congressmen who have just voted themselves a $10,000-a-year pay increase have announced that they will fight the Democratic proposal to give the taxpayers a $20 tax reduction. Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, who endorsed the tax reductions and other give-aways to corporate wealth in the last session, is aghast at the proposal for a tax reduction for the little fellow. Yet they charge the Democrats with playing politics.

It seems to us that if the Democrats were playing politics, as the Republicans are charging, they would have waited until next year to make their proposal. This is not an election year.

It seems to us too, that the Democratic proposal is necessary to stop the continued drift toward depression. It will add some much needed purchasing power that will help to check growing unemployment and the continued slide of farm prices.

The signs that we are heading into the same economic climate that preceded the great depression of the 1930's are increasing. The Wall Street Journal published a national survey on February 21 showing that a growing number of bankers and businessmen fear the American consumer has shinned a little too far out on the credit limb.

From the East, New England, Midwest and South came reports that installment buying, the precursor of the great depression, is way up. Slower pay trends are very much in evidence. More checks are bouncing. Repossessions in some lines are the worst in 10 years.

Consumer credit at the end of 1954 had reached a record high of $30.1 billion, up 2 percent from the record high of the previous year.

Economists, of course, disagree on where the credit saturation point is for our economy. But this much is certain: As long as the present trends continue businessmen will be forced by the pressure of competition to ease credit terms.

The administration has been trying the old trickle-down theory, giving tax reductions to the favored few on the theory that investments would be increased in productive facilities at a time when we are not using our present productive facilities to capacity.

What is needed to put the economic machine on the tracks is more purchasing power. A $20 tax reduction for everybody will be a step in the right direction.

TALK ABOUT IRRESPONSIBILITY

Reporting on the President's press conference Wednesday, the Associated Press said in connection with the President's remarks about a $20 tax reduction.

"Speaking with marked show of irritation, Eisenhower said that when anyone talks about cutting Federal revenue when spending is greater than income, then we are reaching some kind of a height in fiscal irresponsibility."

In 1954, the Eisenhower administration added $3.1 billion to the national debt. It spent that much more than it took in.

But in 1954 the Congress of the United States with the approval of President Eisenhower did the following things:

1. Allowed the excess-profits tax to expire, costing the Government more than $2 billion.

2. Passed a tax bill that gave special tax exemption to the 6 percent of the American people who receive income from stock dividends.

3. Renewed a 27½-percent exemption on the gross income of oil drillers as a so-called depletion allowance.

4. Gave corporations depreciation write-offs in the new tax law which, according to the New York Times, will cost the Government $1 billion in taxes this year.

5. Handed out millions in other tax reductions to corporations and the wealthy.

All this was done in a year when spending was greater than revenue. But now, when it is proposed to give a tax reduction of a piddling $20 to the average guy, it becomes the height in fiscal irresponsibility.

We suggest that the President is demonstrating something that might be called the height of political irresponsibility by his remark at the press conference.

Political Handout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, in his farewell address, President Washington warned against the danger of excessive party politics under our form of Government.

There being constant danger of excess—

He said—

the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it.

A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

In this connection, I call attention to the editorial printed in the New York Times of February 24, 1955, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date at page 1707 by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], entitled "Political Handout."

In this connection, also, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the following editorials:

[From the New York Times of February 26, 1955]

THE TAX HANDOUT

By the narrow margin of five votes Democratic proponents of the $20-a-head tax handout succeeded yesterday in the House of Representatives in tacking this flagrantly political proposal onto an administration measure calling for the continuation of present excise and corporation taxes. By a wider and less partisan margin this hybrid bill—half of it destroying what the other half is intended to do—was then approved by the House and sent to the Senate.

It it to the Senate, therefore, that we must now look for enough political courage to defeat a project which would increase the Federal deficit, bring new inflationary pressures to bear on the economic situation

and relieve many thousands of present taxpayers from making any direct contribution whatever toward the support of their National Government. Politics had its heyday yesterday on Capital Hill.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of February 26, 1955]

RAID ON THE TREASURY

The House Democrats advanced to their raid on the Treasury yesterday with a discipline and unity which they seldom display in worthier causes. The Republicans, fortunately for their own credit, showed a similar solidarity, but failed by a hair's breadth to muster enough votes to protect the public purse. Now the issue goes to the Senate, whose Democratic members may be able to take a longer view of their responsibilities.

The strict party line-up in the narrow victory of the $20 tax cut is illuminating. If the measure, in itself, had elements really fevorable to the national welfare or even if it seemed that a sizable fraction of the electorate would be fooled by it, the party lines could hardly have been drawn so sharply. There would have been a more vital defense in debate, a greater tendency to split ranks. Tax cuts are usually hard for Representatives to resist, no matter which party sponsors them. On this occasion, however, only 5 Republicans went over to the other side, while 16 Democrats found the measure too much for their party loyalty. The partisan, vote-getting aspect of the scheme was too apparent.

It is to be hoped that the Senate Democrats will realize the folly which the House majority has perpetrated. If not, the voters certainly will be able to do so. The American people are not unused to legislators who try to win votes by a crude kind of appeal to the pocketbook. But the callous Democratic appraisal of the voter's intelligence and integrity as being worth $20 a head—payable by the voter himself, in one way or another—should neither be forgotten nor forgiven.

[From the Washington Star of February 26, 1955]

FIELD DAY FOR POLITICS

On a day during which a majority of the House could hardly have looked less like responsible legislators deserving a $7,500 pay boost, the Virginia delegation acquitted itself with distinction. Seven of the eight Virginia Democrats in the House voted, on the key test, against the transparently political Democratic proposal to give $20 in the form of a tax cut to every man, woman, and child in the country. In the end, the House approved the proposed tax cut, but if only 3 of the 205 Democrats who voted against the motion to recommit the proposal had joined the Virginia Democrats the scheme would have been defeated.

This tax-cutting device is a thoroughly bad and reckless project. Its political coloration is clearly revealed by the fact that the Democrats tied it to legislation requested by the President to postpone excise and corporate tax reductions scheduled to take effect on March 31. The effect of this is to put the President in a position where he cannot veto the $20 tax reduction, which will cost the Government $2,100 million in its first full year, without also vetoing the extension of the corporate and excise taxes, which would cost the Government $2,800 million. In other words, a veto would produce a net loss to the Government of $700 million, and this, of course, is why the Democrats tied the two together.

It has also been claimed that the Democrats, in putting through the $20 tax cut now, are merely doing what the President indicated he would do next year. This is not accurate. What the President said in his state of the Union message was that he was hopeful that further tax cuts can be made next year, and that they will "be possible when justified by lower expenditures and by (other) revenue increases." Thus, the President's expressed hope was subject to two qualifications. The $20 Democratic project, on the other hand, is subject to no qualification, and, if finally enacted, will become effective next year regardless of what the Government's fiscal condition may be at that time.

It is this which makes it such an irresponsible political maneuver, and it is this which argues so persuasively for a Senate reversal.

[From the Washington Star of February 27 1955]

DEMOCRATS HELD GUILTY OF SHABBY POLITICS

(By Frank R. Kent)

Not infrequently the smartest of our politicians outsmart themselves. There are many examples of this. The most recent seems to have been given by the Democrats in and out of Congress in the unrestrained violence and practical unanimity with which they have lined up against the so-called Dixon-Yates contract. Even now when there is plain evidence that they have badly overdone their attack, the Democratic politicians still continue to kick this issue around with unabated ferocity.

At the moment, prospects are that the contract, with the President's unwavering support, will be ratified by the Congress and the loud threats of taking it to court coming from the more garrulous of the demagogs will not materialize. One reason for this is that the opinion is practically unanimous that the courts would completely uphold the legality of the contract. This, however, does not diminish the stream of demagogic oratory still being loosed at the administration on this subject. Nevertheless, it is true that some of the more cautious Democrats are beginning to realize that the completeness with which their so-called leaders have made this a party question in the end is likely to leave them in an untenable, not to say ridiculous, position.

It does seem that the facts have begun to catch up with them. Most of the important newspapers in the country are supporting the President's position and no first-class economist, outside the labor field, has taken a stand against him. Nor have the Democrats supported their charges that the contract is a sinister plot in the interests of private power companies; that it is evil in its conception, economically unsound, wasteful of the people's money, and worst of all, a diabolical plot to destroy the more or less sacred Tennessee Valley Authority.

No evidence that stands up under scrutiny to support any of these dreadful allegations has been presented. Both the Atomic Energy Commission and the Securities Exchange Commission have indorsed it. The idea that it will interfere with the AEC's military work is regarded as utterly fantastic. Altogether, the Democrats are playing a particularly shabby kind of politics on this issue. Except for the Democratic politicians (particularly those from Tennessee) there would be no controversy at all over this contract and the notion that they can "keep it alive for years" is absurd. For the predicament in which they now find themselves they can thank the recently retired Democratic chairman, Stephen Mitchell, whose mistakes his successor, Chairman Paul Butler, seems determined to continue.

Another untenable position the House Democratic leadership has taken and which seems entirely dictated by politics is in their demand for a $20 income-tax reduction for everybody at this session. The unbalanced state of the budget, the great increase in defense expenditures and the increasing size of our unprecedented national debt make any proposal to lower taxes this year seem indefensible and unsound. None but the professional labor economists and the Democratic politicians advocate it. Obviously, the purpose of the latter is to head off the tax reduction which the President hopes to make next year. To do this they are willing to reduce Federal revenue this year by several billion dollars, thus vastly adding to fiscal difficulties not only for this year but next.

The House already has put through this $20 decrease, but it is exceedingly unlikely to pass the Senate. Not only will the administration oppose it, but such powerful Democratic Senators as BYRD, of Virginia, GEORGE, of Georgia, and others already have declared their opposition. In addition, there seems little more public demand for this $20 tax reduction than there is popular hostility toward the Dixon-Yates proposal.

Soon or late, when the showdown comes on these two issues the belief is that the President personally will lay the facts before the American people. And when he does there will be no convincing answer to him because the facts are all in his favor and in both cases the causes he advocates are clean and sound. It is not tribute to the intelligence of the Democratic leadership that it should have permitted itself to get so far out on this exceedingly precarious limb. They can't possibly substantiate their position either as to Dixon-Yates or tax reduction. Their contentions constitute the worst exhibition of demagoguery seen here for a long time.

The New York State Maritime College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I bring to the attention of the House the following resolution from the legislature of the State of New York, introduced by Assemblyman Joseph R. Younglove, asking that the present appropriation for the State Maritime College be continued:

RESOLUTION MEMORALIZING THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONTINUE THEIR PRESENT APPROPRIATION FOR THE STATE MARITIME COLLEGE

Whereas the New York State Maritime College has been of inestimable value to our national defense and to our educational system; and

Whereas it is the oldest nautical school in the United States and since 1946 has been a degree-granting college; and

Whereas the ever present emergency which seems to continue from year to year requires the type of training offered by our State Maritime College; and

Whereas the national educational program requires an expansion of educational opportunity as offered by the New York State Maritime College; and

Whereas the many illustrious alumni of this college provide convincing proof of its value in our educational program: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved (*if the senate concur*), That the President and the Congress of the United States be respectfully memorialized to continue their present appropriations for State Maritime Colleges; and be it further

Resolved (*if the senate concur*), That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Senate of the United States and the Clerk of the House of Representatives and to Members of Congress elected from New York State, urging them to devote their efforts to accomplish the purposes of this resolution.

Appendix

Career Planning in a Changing World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following speech delivered by Mr. Millard Cass, Deputy Under Secretary of Labor, at the College of William and Mary:

ADDRESS BY MILLARD CASS, DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF LABOR, AT THE COLLEGE AND CAREER DAY PROGRAM, COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, WILLIAMSBURG, VA., FEBRUARY 24, 1955

CAREER PLANNING IN A CHANGING WORLD

That the world is changing is a truism too obvious to require proof. Even in the lifetimes of those now in college, we have developed guided missiles, jet propulsion, atomic energy, television, electronic computers, radar, tubeless tires, antibiotics, numerous alloys and plastics, and countless other products.

Back in 1937 the only commercial transportation from here to Europe was by boat. This required 4 days on the *Normandie*, which was then the world's fastest ship. Today, planes regularly fly the Atlantic in approximately 12 hours.

It was 1930 before we had a telescope that was able to locate the planet Pluto, which comes within 2¾ billion miles of the earth. Now the 200-inch telescope at Mount Palomar Observatory captures from stars light which has been on its way to the earth for 2 billion years and has traveled at the rate of 6 trillion miles a year all that time. The distance of such stars from the earth runs into literally astronomical figures.

Change and progress are not, of course, new to the American scene. The difference between the technological advances of this generation and those which preceded us is basically in the rate, degree, and intensity of the progress.

You men and women now in college may, therefore, wonder in planning about the future. You may ask whether skills acquired today will be obsolete before they are perfected through experience. You may even feel that career planning in this changing world is futile. I do not blame you for being puzzled, but there is no need to be apprehensive.

Each generation of Americans has thrilled to the promise of new inventions. Some workers in each generation have viewed with fear, however, the effect which new industrial developments would have on their own opportunities for employment. Such fears—then and now—cannot be discounted. Industrial progress has ofttimes involved displacement of some workers. Always, however, it has required the employment of others in the new processes. Many basic inventions which at the time appeared to reduce job opportunities in fact opened vast new fields of employment. This was true of the invention of the steam engine by Oliver Evans in 1795, the steam locomotive of John Stevens in 1825, the Duryea Brothers' automobile of 1896, and the Wright Brothers' airplane in 1903.

It is up to us to be aware of the economic problems which arise from industrial progress and to render help whenever possible to those who are displaced by technological advances. It is up to those planning their careers to plan with a view to meeting the changing demands of a changing world.

The number of jobs available to our people has constantly increased through the years. Labor-saving devices have reduced our work but not our work opportunities. They have made it possible to reduce the workweek and lengthen vacations, thereby increasing our leisure time, improving our health, and expanding our cultural and educational activities. The marvelous inventiveness of the American people has thus helped rather than hindered our forward progress. Our ever-rising standard of living is based upon the industrial development of our Nation and the skill, ingenuity, and industry of our people.

There are some who have seen in the development of atomic energy cause for great fear. Like any other powerful force, atomic energy can be used to create or to destroy, to promote progress or to devour things we hold dear. Fire, gunpowder, dynamite, and electricity all share with atomic energy the power to make life more pleasant and fruitful or to destroy persons and property.

There is no more need for our generation to be paralyzed by the fear of a mushroom cloud than there was for prehistoric man to quake at the sight of fire, for the people of the Middle Ages to recoil at the threat of gunpowder, or for our own grandfathers to be petrified by the development of electric power or shaken by the explosion of dynamite.

Fire, gunpowder, dynamite, and electricity have all brought more blessings than sorrow to mankind. I am confident that this great new development of our generation will also, in the years ahead, become a benefactor of man and a servant of the human race. Already we have started to reap rich dividends from atomic research in the fields of medicine and agriculture, and have taken the first steps toward commercial production of electrical energy by atomic power.

I am convinced that we shall meet successfully the dilemma which nuclear fission has posed. We shall be able, through the peaceful uses of atomic energy, to bequeath to our children a better world than that we received from our parents.

As President Eisenhower said in his magnificent address to the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, 1953, we are determined "to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life."

Underlying all other economic and social change in the United States is the rapid growth of our population. Nearly 4 million children were born each year between 1948 and 1953. Last year, the number exceeded 4 million for the first time in our history. As a result, demographic experts predict that our population will increase to between 200 and 220 million by 1975. This increase in population will stimulate the economy by creating growing markets.

Men and women now in college will be about in the middle of their working lives in 1975. At that time, the labor force of the United States will be over 88 million, according to the Bureau of the Census—20 million more than now. We will need one-third more jobs for a work force of that size.

Of course, not every industry or every occupation will increase employment by one-third. For a second significant trend in our economy is the shift in manpower requirements as between certain industries. This shift has brought about a substantial realinement in recent years in the employment opportunities in the various sectors of our economy. Some industries, such as agriculture and mining, have been declining in employment for some years. Other industries, such as railroads and textiles, have been remaining relatively stable. The Department of Labor's occupational outlook studies suggest that some of the other basic industries, such as steel, electric power, and automobiles, may expect only moderate increases in employment over the next two decades.

Greater than one-third expansions will therefore have to take place in other segments of the economy—for example, such rapidly growing industries as chemicals and electronics manufacturing, health services, and educational services. We may need a half-million more teachers in the next 10 years to take care of a 50-percent increase in school enrollments.

The industrial trend in the years ahead, then, is definitely toward an increasing proportion of employment in services and a decreasing proportion in the goods-producing industries.

A third underlying trend in our economy is increasing productivity. Changing technology increases productivity and affects employment opportunities, as well as the whole social and economic framework of the changing world.

Output per man-hour in the economy as a whole has grown by about 2 percent compounded annually over the long run, and some studies indicate even more rapid growth in recent years. The heavy expenditures on factory construction and new equipment over the last 8 or 10 years have had a substantial effect on increased productivity. So has the increase in the number and percentage of our workers who are skilled.

The dramatic impact of technological advances upon our entire way of life can be illustrated with the important effects of a few products developed in the last 20 years, such as nylon, plastics, frozen foods, television, and antibiotics, which have already become taken for granted as a part of our daily lives, and atomic energy.

On the horizon we can see the beginnings of a few new developments which may have the same far-reaching effects in the next 20 years, such as solar energy, the gas-turbine engine, automation, and electronic computers.

We must assume that in the future technological development will proceed at an accelerated pace because the number of scientists and engineers in the United States is growing rapidly. In the 1930's, when the basic research was done which later gave rise to nylon, television, atomic energy, and antibiotics, there were less than one-quarter of a million engineers in the United States. There are now over half a million. The number of scientists has grown equally rapidly. Taking engineers and scientists together, we now have between three-quarters

of a million and one million people engaged in pushing back the frontiers of knowledge in the natural sciences and converting this new knowledge into practical use in industry, medicine, military applications, and our daily lives. There is every reason to think, therefore, that the fruits of their labor, which we will reap 20 years from now, will be even more impressive than the gains over the past two decades.

A fourth major underlying trend, and one that results directly from increasing productivity, is a vast and very widespread increase in consumer purchasing power. It is safe to predict that the American people will continue a steady gain in purchasing power out of an increasingly productive economy as long as there is no all-out war. This means, of course, a higher standard of living in terms of housing, leisure, vacations, labor-saving devices, education, and health services.

A fifth aspect of our changing world is the growing importance of international events to us in the United States. Our position of leadership in the free world provides us with a challenge and a responsibility. Today's college students will have to strive toward a greater understanding of the people of other countries so that, as thinking citizens of the United States, they can help our country exercise its leadership effectively.

What are the implications of all of these developments for you who are attending college today?

In the first place, the rapid changes of the past and the prospect of even greater ones in the future suggest that no individual can count upon making a career in one occupation or working for one employer his whole life. He must strive to maintain flexibility. Our studies of occupational mobility have shown that in every field there is a great degree of mobility into and out of the occupation, from one employer or industry to another, and from one part of the country to another.

To a person in college, getting a broad educational background is extremely helpful. It makes possible greater flexibility in the years ahead and increased mobility. Many of you are now struggling with subjects which seem at first glance to be quite remote from your chosen field of endeavor. You may wonder why a foreign language is important or what you are going to do with the mathematics or English which you are required to study. I think when you graduate and start to work, you will find that practically every subject you studied in your college career is of real use to you.

In order to progress in the world, to earn a good living and to find satisfaction from his work, a person must be qualified to accept the many and varied employment opportunities which come his way in the course of a lifetime. Now is the time when you must acquire the basic tools and the fundamental knowledge necessary to adapt yourselves to changing jobs in this changing world.

Even in professions like law and medicine, changes are constantly taking place and a broad background of education and training is essential in order to keep up with new developments. For example, commercial air transportation has opened to lawyers the new and specialized field of aviation law. The same is true of atomic energy, which has brought in its wake legal problems far different from those we have faced before. This is also the case in medicine, where new drugs and new methods of treatment require constant changes in techniques. New medical problems have been posed by radiation and, on the other hand, we hope to find new cures for old ailments through atomic research.

In addition to the need to be informed of international affairs so as to discharge your responsibilities as citizens, you should be interested in them in connection with your career planning. The number of jobs in all phases of international work has increased tremendously in the past 15 years and will continue to grow. These positions are in a number of Government agencies engaged in international affairs and technical assistance programs. They are also available in industrial firms having export business or overseas operations, as well as tourist and travel businesses.

The increased opportunities in the international field may confront many of you now in college with attractive job opportunities for which you can qualify if you have, for example, taken seriously your study of foreign languages. Thus, a subject which now seems to have no practical value may pay great dividends in the years ahead.

Many economists, statisticians, chemists, and physicists have found in later years that it is as important to be able to write a good letter as it is to know the technical tools of one's specialty. The English compositions which may seem like drudgery in college may, in fact, lay the groundwork for a good impression upon some business associate in later life. Too many of us forget that a large majority of the people with whom we deal may judge us by the letters they receive from us or the articles we write.

Just 2 months ago, the national manpower council at Columbia University released its study of a Policy for Skilled Manpower. This report points out that the nuclear age will not eliminate the need for skilled workers. Quite to the contrary. The more highly complex and automatic the machinery of production and daily living becomes, the more skilled technicians are required to produce, operate, and service this machinery.

The skilled worker will have to have a broad base of training and experience to meet the changing and increasingly complex problems he will face. As the research staff of the national manpower council found: "Automatic machines will require highly skilled maintenance and repair men. Atomic generators will require maintenance men who are more skilled than at present. Many of today's electricians will have to learn electronics if they are to retain their skilled status. Pipefitters may have to learn hydraulics. A skilled worker who formerly measured with calipers and now uses a micrometer will soon have to learn to work to tolerances measured with light waves." This is just as true in the professional and scientific field.

The college graduate of tomorrow will find, as so many of us have already found, that learning is a continuing process. The truth of the matter is that the college degree you will earn does not certify that you have learned anything of great moment in the business world. A college degree just certifies that you are ready to begin learning how to use to practical advantage the theoretical training you have already acquired. This truth does not confront only the college graduate. I have heard skilled craftsmen, who served an apprenticeship and worked as journeymen in their trades, state that they were only then beginning to acquire the well-rounded skill that permitted them to be justly proud of their ability.

All of use, whether we are in the skilled trades, in a professional field, or in the world of business or finance, continue to learn throughout our working lives by study and by experience. We must keep up with the changing developments, new tools, novel problems, and modern techniques in our vocations.

These facts emphasize the importance of a broad educational background which can provide a foundation for future learning and facilitate the acquisition of knowledge throughout one's working life. This changing picture has prompted Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell to give a new direction and increased impetus to the training activities of the United States Department of Labor.

As Secretary Mitchell has said: "For the training of our workers we use many sources—schools and colleges, vocational education, apprenticeship, the Armed Forces, and the on-the-job training courses of industry. We must reexamine all of these with a view to determining whether the methods they employ and the skills they teach are keeping pace with the temper of our times and the requirements of our economy. We must constantly reevaluate our training programs to determine whether we are training enough of the people we need in the skills we require."

Security is one of a number of factors worth considering in choosing a vocation. It is not the only or even the main factor, however. Yet, in the past 20 or 30 years there has been a growing emphasis on job security. People are deeply interested in protection against depressions. Security in this sense of permanence is not always consistent with opportunity. Relatively secure jobs, such as those in public utilities, retail establishments, or in the local, State, or Federal Governments, do not always offer the greatest opportunity to advance, the greatest earnings, or the greatest job satisfaction.

The United States is dedicated to the maintenance of a high level of employment and business activity. We believe that we have learned a few things about how to forestall serious depressions, and that we have developed mechanisms and programs to cushion our economy against economic declines, and to stimulate business when an incipient downward trend is spotted. We have come so far along the road of economic stability that all of us can appropriately face the future with confidence. The strength of our economy was fully demonstrated in the economic downturn of 1949–50 and in the decline through the first half of 1954.

I certainly would not advise any persons planning their careers today to choose their path upon the basis of economic fears or a depression psychology. Those whose main interest in choosing a career is security may find that they are paying a very high premium for insurance against something that is not very likely to happen.

You here at William and Mary are to be commended for holding a Career Day. This occasion provides an opportunity for you to give attention to job openings that might presently be available, and also to give thought to the broader aspects of career planning. I hope that today's program has been of both immediate and long-range assistance to all of you. But to get real returns from this program, you must follow-up; you must continue to think about and plan your careers, and to use the counseling facilities of your college.

In closing, I should note that by your presence here at this fine college you have already shown that you have a real interest in career planning. Merely by attending college, you are taking effective steps to prepare yourselves to meet the challenge of the world of tomorrow. Through your studies, extracurricular activities and social contacts, you are equipping yourselves to face the problems of this troubled world.

In you, and millions like you, studying in colleges, secondary schools, vocational schools and through apprenticeship and on-the-job training of industry, is the hope of our Nation.

The Wall Street Journal Shoots From the Hip and Misses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, there are two ways of doing things—the right way and the wrong way. No more striking example of these two ways of doing things has come to my attention for a long time than the handling of the same set of facts by the New York Herald Tribune of February 24, 1955, and the Wall Street Journal of the same date. Both papers were reporting on the hearings held by the subcommittee of the House District of Columbia Committee on legislation cosponsored by 12 of my colleagues and myself to create a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, drama, fine arts, and mass communications center.

One of the witnesses who appeared and testified in support of these bills was Robert W. Dowling, president of the City Investment Co., of New York, and president, also, of the congressionally chartered American National Theatre and Academy. The same day Mr. Dowling appeared before the subcommittee he repeated an offer he had made a few years ago to President Harry S. Truman to raise through private subscription from businessmen, foundations, and wealthy individuals whatever sums were necessary to build the kind of cultural center envisioned in these 14 bills. The New York Herald Tribune, the Washington Post and Times Herald, and the Washington Evening Star handled this story the right way. The Wall Street Journal handled the story the wrong way. I include the following material for the information of my colleagues who will undoubtedly have this legislation before them shortly for decision:

[From New York Herald Tribune of February 24, 1955]

PLAN FOR FINE ARTS CENTER IN WASHINGTON IS REVEALED

WASHINGTON, February 23.—A group of New York art patrons stands ready to underwrite the entire cost of a national fine-arts center in Washington. Representative ADAM C. POWELL, Jr., Democrat, New York, said today. Such a center, long proposed, would cost from $15 to $20 million.

Representative POWELL made his statement while testifying before a House District of Columbia subcommittee studying a bill to establish a commission which would plan such a center and a civic auditorium.

"I can state positively," Representative POWELL said, "that a group associated with the arts for many years and spearheaded by one of the biggest investment corporations will completely finance the project without one cent of expense to the United States."

The group would want from Congress only Federal land to build on,. Representative POWELL continued, and indicated the probable site would be near the Smithsonian Institution on the wide Mall which leads from the Capitol to the Washington Monument.

DOWLING HEADS GROUP

Representative JAMES H. MORRISON, Democrat, Louisiana, chairman of the subcommittee later said the head of the group, Representative POWELL, was talking about, is Robert W. Dowling, president of the City Investment Co. in New York, who also is board chairman of the American National Theater Academy, a private group promoting the American theater.

Representative MORRISON said Mr. Dowling had told him there was an excellent possibility that funds could be raised by private subscription to build a cultural center here second to none in the world.

NOT YET ORGANIZED

In New York last night, Mr. Dowling described the phrase "excellent possibility" attributed to him by Representative MORRISON as describing the situation accurately. He said the matter has been discussed by a number of groups, but that no organization has been formed nor any steps started toward raising the funds for the project.

[From the Wall Street Journal of February 24, 1955]

CULTURE BY DECREE

Like many other people in this country, we're all for culture. But like many others, we're not for all-out culture. We think people ought to be free to take it or leave it.

So we don't like the idea of the Government getting into the business of building theaters and cultural centers as proposed recently to a congressional committee. Some officials of the American National Theatre and Academy suggested that Congress pass a bill which would set up a District of Columbia Auditorium Commission, which in turn would plan construction of a civic auditorium including an inaugural hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center in the Nation's Capital.

The ANTA says that the center is necessary because of the State Department's cultural exchange program; France, for instance, has placed at United States disposal five Government national theaters there for painting exhibits and for performances of the Philadelphia Orchestra and Oklahoma. We think that's fine; it will doubtless do us more good for Europeans to see some American folklore and hear music by Americans than some of our other efforts to make friends there have been able to accomplish.

The trouble is, ANTA says, that while everything's up to date in Paris, France, the same isn't true of Kansas City or New York or Washington. There just aren't five Government theaters where visiting troupes or art collections from abroad can be housed to reciprocate in the exchange of culture. There isn't even one.

Well, we think that state of affairs is sound. For one thing, we doubt if there is such a lack of private space as ANTA says; a couple of years ago the Austrian exhibit packed the crowds into the art gallery the Mellons built in Washington. For another, you can't get culture by decree any more than the Treasury can get taxes by osmosis. For still another, why should taxpayers in San Antonio or Seattle or Sarasota be forced to contribute to a National Theater in Washington or New York which they may never have the chance to see? It would make as much sense to pass a law saying that every collector of old masters must scatter some surrealism about the walls.

There's even a better reason in our view why this proposal should be voted down. Art has languished and the theater has been prostituted everywhere exactly to the extent of Government interference and control.

Though he didn't mean it that way, what we mean was put very well by President Derwent of ANTA when he told the House District of Columbia Committee:

"Only in America do we lag behind in the establishment of a National Theater. We need to counteract efforts of Russia—the Russians use their arts in propaganda."

Exactly.

FEBRUARY 26, 1955.

Mr. WILLIAM H. GRIMES,
Editor, the Wall Street Journal,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GRIMES: I am very interested in the editorial "Culture by Decree" which appeared in your publication on Thursday, February 24, particularly because it was inaccurate in several respects.

As you know, I am 1 of the 13 House Members who introduced bills creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, drama, fine arts, and mass communications center. All of these bills provide that the proposed commission shall "endeavor particularly to formulate a method of financing the project on a self-liquidating basis."

The Nation's Capital is particularly disadvantaged and underprivileged in cultural matters in comparison with other world capital cities and many cities in our own country, we are told by competent observers who cannot be accused of making political hay or of trying for partisan advantage. In his message on the state of the Union last month the President declared that—

"In the advancement of the various activities which will make our civilization endure and flourish, the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities."

An appropriation of only $25,000 is called for in these bills which are sponsored by members of both parties on a strictly bipartisan basis. If your Washington representative had attended the hearings, or if you had taken the trouble to read the New York Herald Tribune of February 24, page 9, to check the facts, you would see that Robert W. Dowling, president of the American National Theater and Academy and the City Investment Co., who testified in support of these bills, repeated an offer he had made to President Truman to raise through private subscription from businessmen, foundations, and wealthy individuals whatever sums were necessary to build the cultural center envisioned in these bills. I would hope, also, that every American, when Mr. Dowling begins his fund-raising campaign, will be given the opportunity to contribute any amount he wishes toward building a great cultural center in Washington which will make the Federal city the Paris of America. Money is raised for the Metropolitan Opera Co. and the Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra of New York on a national basis and the advancement of the cultural status of our National Capital is a challenge to the loyalty and patriotic love of country which is present in each and every one of us.

As you know, the Congress insists on depriving Washingtonians of the vote and in serving as the city council of Washington—a role it has jealously maintained since the 1870's. The citizens of Washington pay nearly $170 million, more than is paid by a good many States, in Federal taxes each year. Yet they are deprived of all voice or representation in local or National Government, and the District's Commissioners are appointed by the President. Washington can't build a sewer, collect garbage, or put a dog in the pound without the consent of Congress. Washingtonians would like to

abolish segregation in their Fire Department and there is much discussion of this at the present time with Congress insisting that segregation be maintained. Forty percent of Washington's real estate is reserved for Federal purposes which effectively removes it from the tax rolls. The Government started out with a 50–50 division of costs of running the Federal City but has reduced its contribution over the years until now it is about 15 percent. No other American city is treated like this by private business located within the city's limits. Our forefathers threw the tea in Boston Harbor and went to war when King George III insisted on taxation without representation.

I have been told that the Federal contribution to the civic center at Columbus Circle in New York City was about $6,500,000. American tax dollars have been used to rebuild opera and music buildings in Europe (see the testimony of the CIO which was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Feb. 10, pp. A793–A794, by Representative LEE METCALF). Why can't similar funds be spent at home on cultural programs in San Antonio, Seattle, Sarasota, the cities you mention, as well as Cleveland, Trenton, New York, Washington, and other cities and towns across our land? Surely, more money should be spent in each State and in each community on the advancement of the various activities which make our civilization endure and flourish, for, as you may know, all of our cultural programs are finding it increasingly difficult to continue in the face of constantly rising costs.

In my statement on behalf of my bill, H. R. 4215, I said in part: In view of the many roadblocks which have defeated all efforts of earlier Congresses to enact legislation similar to the bills which you are considering here today, it is my considered opinion that it is very important to make a thorough and detailed study of American subsidy, direct or indirect, of foreign art programs and cultural centers. This information should be available through the Department of State and the Foreign Operations Administration. I hope, Mr. Chairman, that you will request this information and include it in the hearing record of your subcommittee. I believe that this information is essential to a general, public understanding of the issues involved in this legislation and to the advancement of these excellent bills in the Congress.

Copies of my bills, H. R. 4215, H. R. 4307, and H. R. 2210 (H. R. 4215 being considered), together with my statement before the subcommittee, are enclosed for the information of your readers and yourself. I hope you will do me the courtesy of carrying this material in order to correct the picture you presented. Dare we hope that once you have established your branch office in Washington the accuracy of your reporting will improve?

Cordially,

FRANK THOMPSON, JR.,
Member of Congress.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL,
New York, N. Y., February 28, 1955.

Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN THOMPSON: Thank you very much for taking the trouble to write us such a long letter about our editorial, Culture by Decree, and explaining to us your own views on the matter.

I note that you are interested in having the funds for this national theater raised by popular subscription or otherwise financed by private means. The Wall Street Journal would certainly not oppose a national theater financed on this basis and if our editorial gave any such impression, I am very sorry. What we questioned—and what we continue to question—would be the idea of having such a theater paid for out of Federal funds. Our view may be wrong, of course, but it is our opinion that a government ought not to take money from all the taxpayers and use it to subsidize individual cultural affairs.

You mention some cases where it has been done and can only note that we were opposed to it in those cases also. Specifically, we wrote an editorial opposing the use of Federal funds for the proposed civic center in New York City.

I hope this position does not make you think I am opposed to cultural activities. I personally contribute to both the Metropolitan Opera Guild and the Philharmonic Society and believe that this is the way for Americans to pay for their cultural activities.

You say you hope that the accuracy of our reporting will improve. I do not see from reading over the editorial again where our reporting was in error, although, of course, our opinions might be, but I am sure you will do us the courtesy of not denying us the right to a different opinion.

Sincerely yours,

VERMONT ROYSTER,
Senior Associate Editor.

The Canner in a Consumption Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, the canning industry as a part of the food industry represents the largest and the most vital part of our economy. It is for this reason that, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of the address by Ralph O. Paine, Jr., publisher, Fortune Magazine, New York, at the general session of the National Canners Association's convention at Chicago on Saturday morning, February 19, 1955.

The address follows:

THE CANNER IN A CONSUMPTION ECONOMY

It is a very high honor indeed you have conferred by asking me to appear on this program. There seems to be no argument whatever that the annual convention of the National Canners Association is the largest business convention in America. And that is saying quite a lot.

In addition to the honor of participating in this biggest of conventions, there is the very special honor of appearing on the same program with the Secretary of the Treasury. What I really mean is this particular Secretary, not just any Secretary of the Treasury. I don't think it will haunt him if I say that he is the best Secretary of the Treasury in the 25 years of Fortune's history.

Of course I know why I am here; I'm here to get out of the way as gracefully as possible so you can hear what Mr. Humphrey has to say. I feel the same way. So, without wasting any more of your time, I will tender a few observations on the food industry which, in all its manifestations, is by far the largest industry in the country. And the food industry in the United States since the war has confounded both the laws and the prophets.

If I talk more about the food market in general than about the canning industry in particular, it is because I know a little more about food than canning, which of course isn't saying much. Some of my associates, however, have studied this phenomenon in some detail and are still following it closely because food has played such an important role in this rapidly changing American market.

And the first big point about the food market, as you know, is that, contrary to all historical experience, the American people have increased the proportion of their income spent on food at the same time that their total disposable income was rising, and rising rapidly. How extraordinary this is can be seen when you realize that there was a well-recognized economic formulation to the opposite effect: Engel's law said that the higher a family's income, the smaller the percentage allocated for food. The corollary to Engel's law, namely that the smaller the percentage of national income spent on food, the more advanced the Nation, that went out the window, too. In 1941 Americans were spending 24 percent of their cash income for food. At one point right after the war the figure reached 30 percent for some pretty special reasons which you all recall, but by 1953 it had stabilized at 27 percent. And 3 percentage points applied to total consumer cash income at recent rates is roughly $7 billion dollars, which is the equivalent of a pretty good sized industry in itself.

Let me emphasize that this $7 billion more or less is in addition to the tremendous expansion which would have occurred if the food industry had simply maintained its relative market position. Rising consumer income would have guaranteed a great shift to better and higher priced foods; it would also have guaranteed a vast expansion in the convenience market.

Now, we all know, Americans still only eat approximately three-quarters of a ton of food per year. They eat better food and they are eager to pay for service, preparation, processing, built-in cooking, heat and serve, thaw and heat, add water, add milk and bake, and what have you. But how did you get them to spend the $7 billion more?

This is unquestionably the outstanding selling job of postwar America. And by selling I use Fortune's definition of salesmanship: "Everything that contributes to the salability of a product from the time it is conceived until it is finally used up or worn out."

Apparently the food industry was the first to sense the profound changes that were occurring in American society, and the first to do something about it. You were there with new products, better products, products better designed for the servantless society, the growing middle-income market, for the suburban market, for the baby boom, for the working-wife market, even for the all-pervasive barbecue market. And it cannot be contradicted that you sold superbly, for the food industry was taking its rising share of the market, from the clothing industry, from the home-goods industry, and from the automobile industry. A really tremendous achievement.

But what do you do now? The food industry was in there first after the war but other industries are beginning to catch on to this changing American market.

There are some indications that the terrific drive for automobile sales in 1955 may be at the expense of food. The clothing industry is also out in force to regain some of the ground it lost to food. What is the food industry going to do about it?

Before even suggesting an answer, I think it might be profitable to review a few underlying factors which strongly favor the food industry. They are all familiar to you but they are worth recalling for this discussion.

1. The upward trend in the rate of population growth is irreversible for another generation. This works in favor of the food industry, day after day, week after week, year after year. No other industry is such a sure beneficiary of population growth as food. And the birthrate has been so high

for so long that even if it dropped off unpredictably—and there is no reason to suppose it will—another upward surge will certainly occur when all the war and postwar babies start having babies of their own. A United States population of 200 million or more within 20 years seems inevitable.

Moreover there is a sizable expansion in the food market due to start very soon. That expansion will occur as the 37 million postwar babies develop teenage appetites. Children are such a large proportion of the population today that the food market has yet to benefit in full from population growth. For children do eat less than adolescents and adults. Fortune estimates that there is a good $2 billion additional expenditures for food coming up as the food intake rises from the 2,000 calories per day for a 6-year-old to the 3,800 of a 17-year-old boy.

Another way of putting it is that from now well through the 1960's the rise of the food market should increase about 3 percent faster than population.

2. Productivity is rising faster than population. Output per man-hour on average is increasing at an accelerating rate. We used to think 2 percent per year compounded yielded a pretty fair standard of living. There is now good reason to believe the figure is nearer 3 percent.

That is of great significance to the food industry, for it offers assurance that the United States people will not revert to lower food standards. Three-quarters of a ton of corn meal, sweet potatoes, turnip greens, and salt pork per person will support life after a fashion, but there isn't much profit in it for the canning industry.

3. The United States has arrived at a true consumption economy. The first, and still the only, consumption economy in the world.

Our problem is to get people to consume what we can produce. In the rest of the world the problem is to withhold enough from consumption to accumulate the capital by which production may be increased. In Communist Russia capital formation is achieved by government fiat; the standard of living is kept at a bare minimum, with the result that capital investment there is running very high. Throughout Asia and the Middle East the margin is so thin that capital formation is pitifully small.

In the United States, by contrast, we are over the hump; the more we consume, the more we can produce. In fact, if we don't consume, the whole machine begins to stall. Thrift is still a personal virtue, but the cold fact is that the American propensity to save is probably the most uncertain factor in this new American economy. The choice of spending or not spending is now available to most of the people of the United States over a very wide range of purchases. And they are prone to fads.

You know what happened to butter, and to potatoes. Suppose this crazy backyard barbecue thing went so far that men started to cook food instead of play with it? Men want their raw materials raw; no cans for them. You would be in serious trouble.

Consider what would happen if any very considerable number of people decided to make the old car do for 1 more year, to put up another year with that old 21-inch television, to carry on with that old nonelectric range. These are not very hard choices for Americans to make; a sudden national feeling that it was smart to be thrifty—for 1 year—would bring on a catastrophe that would shake the world.

WHAT HAPPENED IN 1951

How even moderate shifts in consumer attitudes can affect this new economy of ours was highlighted in a startling fashion in 1951. As you will recall, a good recovery from the 1949 readjustment was well underway by the spring of 1950. Then came Korea and a pretty wild 6 months of inflation, with little faith that the Truman administration was going to be able to bring it under control. There was every reason to believe that people would continue to turn cash into goods, that is, continue their buying spree.

But what happened? As we put it in Fortune: "In March 1951 the consumer clutched his pocketbook to his breast, spat in the face of world economic forces, and began to save a higher proportion of his disposable income than he ever had in peacetime."

By April the American consumer was saving at the rate of $20 billion annually and for the balance of the year up to 9 percent of his disposable income. This was a turnabout of 4 percent in the saving rate from the previous year. It was a good thing for the country that he did; this unprecedented and unpredictable savings spree brought Mr. Truman's inflation to a sudden halt, much to the surprise, if not annoyance, of the administration, which, of course, had the ground cut out from under its frantic appeals for a price freeze and direct controls.

It was a good thing for the country, that unpredictable savings spree, but it is frightening to think what would have happened to the economy had this occurred when defense spending was not rapidly expanding, which, of course, it was in 1951. If you were making or selling appliances you would have been acutely aware of the savings spree. For instance:

Refrigerator sales dropped from 6,200,000 units in 1950, "a scarcity year," to about 4 million in 1951, a year of oversupply. Television sales dropped from 7,500,000 in 1950 to a little over 5 million in 1951.

Some hard goods like freezers and unit air conditions, it is true, increased sales in 1951. It was also true that some companies did a better selling job than others. But generally speaking, 1951, was not a good year to be in the retail business. Yet the measurable difference in spending was around $6.5 billion, but that little 3 percent of consumer income carries enormous leverage.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FOOD INDUSTRY

The food industry, of course, is much more stable than consumer durables, and I am not suggesting any direct comparison. What I would like to suggest is the unpredictability of the American consumer—this new consumer who has such enormous reserves of optional buying power. The food industry, as I would like to repeat, has done a superb job of selling in this new economy. And by selling I mean to include not only sales, advertising, promotion, and merchandising; I mean also continuing innovation and improvement to meet consumer needs and wants and tastes. Any industry which can shift its share of the entire consumer market 3 percentage points—up—is some industry.

And it would be a bold man who had the temerity to lecture it. But, as someone who is not in the food industry, I feel I should point out that food is now taking such an extraordinary share of the consumer dollar that, in a very real sense, everyone else in the consumer field has to sell against food.

Can the food industry continue to hold its 27 percent of the consumer dollar? Or will Engel's law—that food expenditures drop relatively with rising income—become valid once more in the United States? Income in the United States is bound to rise, barring war. Can food, can the canning industry hold its share?

Let me say hastily that I hope it does. (That is a paid advertisement for my associates on Life magazine.) There is no limit in sight to the market for convenience. There is no limit in sight for rising quality. There is still an inordinate amount of time spent in the American kitchen—a form of labor which is considered so unproductive that it is not even entered in the columns of gross national product.

The larger question is, How successful will our efforts be in selling what America produces? The limiting factor in this new consumption economy is not production but sales. There is hardly an industry in the country in which the production men are not itching to open the throttle. If they did, of course, we would all soon drown in a sea of surplus goods.

In the overall, of course, the production process also produces the means to buy goods. But this marvelously tuned economy demands very close tolerances. Today the difference between prosperity and recession is very, very small when measured in terms of consumer spending.

Now consumer spending is not the only element in our prosperity. Capital goods and defense spending are both large factors. However, only one man in this room has much influence on defense spending, and as for capital goods, that market depends largely on business expectations, which comes back pretty much to expectation of consumer behavior.

The primary job in business today is to keep the consumer buying, to keep him buying steadily, and to persuade him steadily to buy more.

On Fortune several years ago we asked ourselves this question: "Why do people buy?" That is, after people reach a point where they possess optional or discretionary purchasing power—and today almost everyone in the United States has that in some degree, and at least half the population has it to an important degree. After a prodigious amount of research, we came to a very simple and unavoidable conclusion: People buy because they are sold.

This we discovered had never been admitted by any respectable economists. For to economists, selling, the persuasive element of the distribution process, has always been laughed off as one of the excesses or exuberances of American capitalism. It is treated as "economic waste." It may be. But I find it very hard to believe that the entire apparatus of American salesmanship, advertising, promotion, merchandising, and personal selling has no power to influence the total consumption of goods and services. I not only find it hard to believe; I think it's nonsense.

If the apparatus of American selling did no more than keep a consumer spending 2 percent above what he would without it, then the apparatus of American selling is worth everything it costs.

If the apparatus of American selling can keep people buying, keep them buying steadily and steadily buying more, it will have worked a greater wonder in the world than American production.

Sell more canned foods. Sell better canned foods. But above all, sell. That way it can be truly said of you that what is good for the canning industry is good for the United States.

Are States Rights Disappearing?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in a republic like ours, composed of member States, the trend is to enlarge the powers of the National Government and limit the power of the States; and this has been true since our Federal Government began.

The ninth amendment of the Federal Constitution declares:

> The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

The tenth amendment provides that:

> The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people.

There is no question, therefore, that Federal authority over the police powers of the States was not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, yet we have seen measures passed by Congress that invade the powers of the States. For example, no one will deny that a State has the right to fix hours of labor and to prohibit child labor and other matters pertaining thereto, but the courts have held that labor in connection with the manufacture of goods designed for shipment in interstate commerce is national in character, and that therefore the Federal Government has authority to pass laws which, in an extreme case, may annul a State law. So in criminal cases, such as the driving of a stolen automobile from one State to another, the Federal law controls. Almost any set of facts can be considered of national interest and concern; and when it is, the Federal Government assumes command. The tendency is, and has been for 100 years, to read into a set of facts a national interest.

The more business the National Government gets into in a State, the more the Federal courts ignore State laws. When the Government participates in appropriations for roads and the support of schools, when strings are tied to the appropriations, it is very easy to find a national interest, and hence Congress legislates where the State should and where it has a perfect right to do so.

Wars wreak great havoc with the Constitution. When a soldier is drafted or voluntarily enters the Armed Forces his civil rights end, and if sent to a foreign country the laws of his own country and the Constitution do not protect him in criminal cases. Congress saw fit to pass an act making all soldiers of occupied countries subject to the laws of that country. After a war stops, the whole economy of the country has suffered to such an extent that the Federal Government, to stop depressions and aid those in distress, gets busy with appropriations for relief. It then directs the manner of relief, the agents of relief, and jurisdiction over violations of law with respect to it.

If this course continues, the States will have a very small voice in the affairs of their own Government. That is not what the framers of the Constitution intended, but that is the way it has been interpreted.

Public health programs sound good on paper, but where the Federal Government supports them in a State, the Government will, directly or indirectly, control it. In this case it is easy enough to find a national interest, because the Federal Government wants sound soldiers, and I will not be surprised to see the health programs carried out in each State with minute details of administration prescribed by the Federal Government. The Government Health Department at Washington will make rules and regulations, regardless of what the States desire.

On the illegal manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor the Federal Government made great headway in subjugating the States to Federal law and has steadily encroached on their powers since that time.

I personally know of one glaring incident which illustrates well this Government interference in State matters. A merchant in a small town, whose reputation for honesty was not questioned, sold 100 pounds of sugar to an oldtime customer whom he had known for years, who wanted it to put up his fruit. Everything was open and aboveboard, and the sugar was delivered and the fruit saved.

Shortly after the sale revenue officers appeared at this merchant's store and said that the sale was illegal. The storekeeper consulted me about it and I said I would look it up. I did so, and found no law anywhere that would make the sale of sugar for canning purposes illegal. I so advised him. He was later arrested and hauled into a Federal court in Baltimore, tried by a jury and under the charge given the jury by a Federal judge was promptly convicted and sent to prison for 3 months. No one was permitted to see him, and although suffering from diabetes he was given no relief and died soon after his term was served.

What the court relied upon was a regulation issued by the Treasury Department saying that a sale of 100 pounds of sugar or more must be reported to that Department, and providing a penalty. I do not think one Member of Congress knew that there was any such regulation, having the force of law. From a strictly legal standpoint the regulation had been authorized by Congress. That is, Congress gave the Treasury Department the power to make such rules and regulations as it saw fit.

In this case the merchant did not know a thing about the regulation, but the court said they are printed every night in a book known as the Federal Register, and that publication there is notice to everyone. I since learned that the regulations are made during the day, hundreds of them, and published that night. Some of them come in late in the day, just in time to reach the printer. At 6 o'clock in the evening there was no law against selling sugar, but at 7:30 there was.

A successful lawyer in the Federal courts does not need any lawbooks. All he has to have is the Federal Register, and if printed at 12 o'clock at night, he must get a copy and sit up the rest of the night to find out what new law has been passed by some bureaucrat. Here you see the State laws of the State of Maryland set aside and ignored, and a Federal regulation taking its place. This is an extreme case, but a true one, as I know every fact in it from beginning to end.

Surely we ought to stop and listen, or all the power reserved by the Constitution to the people will be lost, and we will have in this country an arrogant Federal Government controlling our every action; and those rights which were guaranteed to the States in the Constitution will disappear forever here in this great heralded democracy.

I do not believe that the public generally recognizes this tendency toward an autocratic Federal Government. Wars, and depressions following wars, with all the distress that comes in their train, has made Government assistance necessary, but as soon as possible Government assistance ought to be discontinued or the Federal Government will usurp all authority down to the smallest township.

For their own good people should not encourage Government hand-outs while able to do for themselves. We did that to the Indians, and now, after a hundred years of dependence on the Federal Government, with very few exceptions, they cannot take care of themselves. We adopted the opposite course of action with the Negroes. With them it was "dig in for yourselves," and as a result the Negroes of today have made most praiseworthy progress. They have shown that they can make their way as well as any other class of citizens.

I hope the American people will not be lulled to sleep by a paternal Federal Government and thereby lose their own initiative, their desire to progress, and see their State governments mere agents of the Federal Government. This Government was never organized to insure success to any individual. All it was intended to do was to give him an equal opportunity, and how successful he becomes is up to the citizen himself. Special privilege can be controlled by law, but the success of a citizen must be determined by himself. Too much paternalism will lead to the destruction of individual liberty.

Reckless Tax Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial entitled "Reckless Tax Cut," which appeared in the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Press of Saturday, February 26, 1955:

RECKLESS TAX CUT

Politics took over in the House of Representatives Friday afternoon when the Democrats put through a bill to cut income taxes by $20 for each person and to continue corporation income and excise taxes at their present rates. President Eisenhower had asked that there be no tax cuts. He had requested Congress to continue the corporation tax at its present level of 52 percent, instead of permitting it to drop to 47 percent on April 1, as provided in the present law.

House Democrats made a political football of the tax bill. They talked loud and long of the tax cuts corporations had received

last year and asserted that this was the year to help the little fellow. They were not only willing but happy to vote for keeping the corporation and excise taxes at their present levels, while providing for a tax cut for the little fellow. That way they tried to make doubly certain that he would know they were thinking of him.

Tax cuts are wonderful—but when, as in this case, they mean plunging the Government an additional $2,200,000,000 into the red they are downright reckless. There is only one reason why house Democrats have insisted on a tax cut this year—it is President Eisenhower's statement that if things go all right a tax cut may be possible next year. If Congress waited until next year, the tax cut would be labeled a Republican reduction. This year if one went through it would be in spite of the administration.

But whether this one does go through remains to be seen. It still has to get through the Senate, and the Senate usually is much more cautious about such matters. It is a fact that the House frequently votes for measures that seem to do something for large numbers of persons (it's been voting a soldier's bonus with considerable regularity since the war ended) and then leaving it to the Senate to put things right. This way House Members get credit for having nothing but the best intentions and are relieved of any responsibility when the Senate bails them out.

It will be up to the Senate again to restore reason, if it is to be restored, because the tax cut has been made part of a package. Since the President does not have the power to veto an item in a bill, passage of the present measure by the Senate would compel him to approve the cut or sacrifice the rest of the bill. And that he couldn't do for the simple reason that it also provides for continuing the corporation tax at 52 percent. If this tax were permitted to drop to 47 percent and certain excise taxes were permitted to lapse the Government would be out about $3 billion.

The casual observer might view this as a clever bit of maneuvering. But he would be wrong. It isn't clever, it's irresponsible.

Plight of the Dairy Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, the problems attendant with trying to represent the views of all constitutents are aptly illustrated by a letter which has been written by one well-known Adams County farmer to another well-known Adams County farmer relative to the plight of the dairy farmer, and the farmer in general. Adams County is a part of the 19th Congressional District of Pennslyvania.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include the following copy of the letter written by J. Claude Hammond of Gettysburg, to President Eisenhower, also of Gettysburg:

GETTYSBURG, PA., *February 26, 1955.*
The President, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
White House, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I am one of the thousands of dairy farmers throughout the United States of America who have a few acres of ground and a small herd of dairy cattle, struggling for a meager existance at best.

According to newspaper and radio accounts, members of the Republican Party openly stated that there are too many people engaged in the dairy business and that some of us should be put out of business in order to reduce the amount of dairy products. This is a very cold and heartless way to accomplish an end. If that is what your administration wishes to accomplish, I suppose your collaborators would say you have been successful (success being used in the sense that your administration is accomplishing what it set itself to do). From any point of view, I should think that the word "destructive" would be more applicable. Many dairymen in the State of Pennsylvania, and even locally in Adams County, are being forced out of business because of the inequalities in the prices they receive and the prices which they must pay for things they need.

What class of people does the Republican Party, and the present administration cater to, the wealthy, of course. Ever since I was a boy I have heard this said about the Republican Party. If there was ever any doubt in my mind as to the truth of this statement, all doubts have been dispelled since the last presidential election.

Your administration did not hesitate to reduce taxes for the wealthy class of people who did not need relief and according to current news reports, many large corporations are reporting an all-time high in net earnings, some in spite of the fact that their gross earnings were smaller than in prior years. And what do they, openly and brazenly, attribute this increased net earnings to? Why, the answer is simply and factually stated by them, "reduced taxes." They are doing well as they were before this tax reduction. And now, how do they show their appreciation for this tax relief? They raise prices still more on things we dairymen need to buy (that is if we had the money). How long can this condition continue?

Now when the Democratic members of our Government say that the small taxpayer should have some relief—even a very meager $20 per person—members of the administration forces cry "inflation, the Government would lose millions of dollars." I wonder why some of the guardian angels of this great country of ours did not think of this phase of the matter when the millionaires of industry had more (unneeded) millions of dollars literally dumped into their coffers in the form of reduced taxes? With what, I ask you, will the farmers and cattlemen of this country buy the expensive items produced by these millionaires—when many of us have already reached the breaking point, and thousands more are rapidly approaching that point?

The present agricultural program, to me, is grossly unrealistic and in the matter of the dairy business, basically unsound. Take tobacco for instance. Tobacco is supported at 90 percent of parity, while dairy products are supported at 75 percent of parity. Which, I ask you, is more essential to the welfare of the 160 million Americans (either in peace or war)—a cigarette, a cigar, a chew of Brown's Mule, or a cool glass of nutritious, life-sustaining milk? Which would be more beneficial to the hungry workman, or the tired soldier in the muddy trench or bombshelter? Milk and various other dairy products sustain life. As for tobacco, there has been considerable speculation recently as to whether the smoking of tobacco encourages or even actually causes cancer. Yet tobacco is supported at 90 percent of parity and dairy products at 75 percent (if you can call that support) of parity. Tobacco, of course, produces more revenue—and we must have money to finance our governmental operations. But we must also have a healthy agricultural program—our people must eat as well as smoke.

It is true that prices have skyrocketed in every branch of our national economy, and it is agreed that prices are due for a downward revision. But, please, Mr. President, do not force the agricultural and cattle industry to carry the entire load of the downward revision while organized labor and big business continue to enjoy an all-time high.

Agriculture is a very difficult branch of our economy to organize for concentrated and effective protective action. The giant industrial labor organizations can effectively defend themselves. And, now, they are talking of another round of wage increases—while the essential and vitally important dairy industry is rapidly sinking to the depths so conspicuous and so prevalent during the Hoover administration.

Please, Mr. President, do not permit our vitally important dairy industry to be beaten to it's knees again. Agriculture in general has crawled on its knees, and even on its belly, for the major part of its existence and we are approaching the prone position again. The noteworthy exception to the above was during the several years of Democratic administration prior to the present Republican administration. Agriculture is willing to shoulder its share of any necessary economic adjustment, but it is unsound and grossly unfair to expect the dairy farmer to carry all or even a major part of the burden of economic adjustment while the rich get richer and the farmer gets poorer.

Respectfully submitted.

J. CLAUDE HAMMOND.

(Blind copy to Hon. JAMES M. QUIGLEY, Member of Congress, Old Office Building, Washington, D. C.)

Forestry Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Asheville (N. C.) Citizen-Times of February 27, 1955:

FOREST SERVICE ANNIVERSARY

From the first days, America's forests have been the sign and symbol of America's strength.

Coast-running explorers sailed home to Europe with high reports of the virgin forests of pine and hardwood crowding down around bays and riverbanks.

Timber and its byproducts of pitch and turpentine were the first major exports of North Carolina and other Southern seaboard States in the naval stores industry.

Later, as pioneers pushed past the Blue Ridge, they sent back word: "Good forage. Good wood and water here."

Wood and water. Later generations found the two vital resources linked far closer than the first settlers dreamed.

Behind the onrushing frontier, axes flashed and saws whined in an unleashed assault on forest wealth to meet the needs of a fantastically expanding population.

"Cut and move out" was the order of the day. Millions of acres of timberland were cut over and left with no thought of replanting. Slash waste was left where it fell, breeding forest fires that ravage huge areas.

With hillsides stripped, rains gullied out the onetime forest floors to send disastrous floods over lowland riverbanks. With no roots to hold the rainfall back, winter floods gave way to summer dryness.

A few voices were raised early to protest the reckless waste. Forest conservation methods, long practiced in Europe, were

urged to save the dwindling timber resources.

Gifford Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, was one of the first and most dogged campaigners for conservation. He bored many ordinary citizens and angered some profit-hungry exploiters with his endless preachments for guarding natural wealth. In the Biltmore, Pink Beds, and Pisgah woodlands, Pinchot gave the Nation one of its best lessons in scientific forestry.

The Pinchot doctrine took hold as more and more people, lumbermen included, saw the growing results of unregulated forest exploitation.

A program of Federal forest reserves was instituted for setting aside timberlands where scientific forestry methods could be practiced. The program grew into the huge national forest holdings of today.

In North Carolina, Joseph A. Holmes, the State geologist, first called Pinchot's attention to forest reserve opportunities here in 1893.

Today, with the 50th anniversary of the United States Forest Service, North Carolina national forests include 1,138,000 acres of timberlands. They form a vast reserve of managed lumber resources and watershed protection. They give magnificent fringe benefits of preserved beauty and vacation happiness.

The conservation doctrine took hold among private lumbermen with increasing force. Enlightened businessmen saw the folly of destroying the source of their own operations with no care for replacements.

Champion Paper & Fibre Co. was a pioneer in private conservation practices. Bemis Lumber Co., of Robbinsville, and Mead Corp., of Sylva, encourage tree farming and other conservation programs.

The great work of the Forest Service goes on and grows in importance with each year through programs of conservation and research.

This golden wedding anniversary of dedicated men and the great woodlands is one of which all the people can be gratefully proud.

Science Talent Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL C. KING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. KING of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the highest award in the 14th annual science talent search was awarded last night to a boy of my district, Frederick P. Greenleaf, 17-year-old senior of the Allentown High School. This young physicist-mathematician-chemist was awarded the $2,800 Westinghouse grand science scholarship after 5 days of intensive competition with 40 finalists picked from several thousand contestants throughout the country.

The people of Allentown and my whole district are very proud of this high honor paid to one of our boys, and we congratulate him, his parents and his school instructors who have guided him in his education.

In this talent contest young Greenleaf expressed his scientific knowledge with a project which demonstrated a process of practical use in separating almost any complex mixture of metals by distillation. I could not fully comprehend his explanation of the process, but it was apparent that Fred is an expert builder of "stills." Accordingly, I have offered his services as consultant to my congressional colleagues from the hills of West Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

The more important use of Fred's process will be in diverse fields, ranging from refining operations to atomic energy production. He believes the distillation method of separating mixtures of metals will be quick, economical, and efficient.

Science has interested Fred Greenleaf since he was 6 years old, when he received a chemistry set as a gift. Later he won top honors in the Annual Lehigh Valley Science Fair and competed in the 1954 National Science Fair.

The Science Talent Institute and Westinghouse are to be congratulated for their work in stimulating young talent in the field of technology which will be so important in the future development of our country.

Soil Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, at this time when we are to consider appropriations for soil conservation, I take great pleasure in presenting to my colleagues of the House the following letter of Luther H. King, of Clarksville, Ark., who is president of the Arkansas Basin Association and a great advocate of soil conservation and upstream development. It is one of the best examples of straight thinking that has come to my attention. Mr. King's statement is as follows:

SOIL CONSERVATION
(By L. H. King)

What can we expect of our boy, a young man, who wants to farm and is prepared by experience; has taken his training in our agricultural schools and has the know-how about farming. He has only the means that God gave him to start with; plenty of energy and ambition to succeed, but no means to work with. Place him on the average eroded farm. He has to make a living and would like to earn a little money, but he has the problems of rebuilding the soil that his ancestors have permitted to wash away for over 100 years, and he is supposed to build this soil up for present needs and the 200 million people which we expect to have in the not-to-distant future.

You know as well as I know that he will starve to death, let alone paying for the farm, save some money, and rebuilding the soil, without some aid.

Should the sins of our ancestors in letting this soil wash away be placed on this boy; something entirely beyond his control; something he could not help. I emphatically say "No." Do you expect him to build this soil up to feed this anticipated 200 million people without aid? Again I say "No."

Whose duty is it to rebuild the soil. I say that it is everybody's. Everyone who eats food should pay for this mistake of our ancestors and not this poor boy alone.

Who can claim that this is a waste of money or bad economy to aid this boy. No one with a sane mind. We are only saving our own hides in furnishing this aid.

I was born and reared on the farm and have farmed all of my life and know from experience the problems of soil erosion. I have seen millions of tons of topsoil go down the little gullies into the small streams and on into the Arkansas River, never to be of any use again. I can think of no worse economy than to permit this to continue. While I am writing this it is raining down in torrents and it makes my heart heavy to think of all the soil that is getting away from us forever. This soil means food, it means life. You cannot eat the soil, but you can eat the food that it produces, and if this soil could be converted into food, and it was being wasted, as it is now, we would be calling in the United States Army to stop it.

Our national debt is big and it would be fine to balance the budget, yet we could live without either, but we cannot live without food, and soil means food.

Are we going to reduce our standard of living to that of the Chinaman and our eastern Asiatic countries and be on starvation. We will if we don't conserve our soil. Our population is increasing and our soil is decreasing. God only gave us so much soil and he placed us guardians over it. We have done a bad job. Christ promised forgiveness of sins and I think it is time we ask forgiveness for wasting our greatest national resource and pledge ourselves now not to lessen soil conservation, but increase it if any change is made.

I know that some people say that it is a donation to the farmer—it is not. It is a donation to save our lives. We cannot help the mistakes of our ancestors in not conserving the soil. Some say the farmers cheat on the program—maybe a few farmers did cheat a little in the beginning of the program before they were educated to the workings and benefits of the program, but today I don't think one single man can be found cheating in our county. I, personally do not want one cent donated to me and I think the great majority of farmers feel the same way. You know that our farmers are honorable and honest in the main and their occupation has made them by nature self-reliant and independent, and I resent the charges of donation and cheating because I know it isn't true.

What can be done to save the soil? Build ponds and small lakes to save a lot of the overflow. Water is always needed on the farm for irrigation, stock water, spraying, fish raising, and fire prevention. Terrace the land to prevent an accumulation of water which makes the gullies. Cover crops, especially legumes, stop erosion; furnishes grazing for livestock, and the surplus may be made into hay and silage.

Fertilizer is an absolute necessity to start the cover crop. It is astonishing how fast the soil can be reclamed with cover crops, fertilizer, and erosion control.

What to do. The least Congress can do to save the young man on the farm and to save our own lives, is to maintain the soil conservation program. I have farmed 62 years and these ideas are not "pop-ups."

I respectfully submit this for your consideration.

Statehood and Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, there never has come to my attention a more

eloquent, convincing, and logical expression why the grant of statehood to Alaska and Hawaii would aid our foreign policy than that which was made on February 22 by Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, when S. 49, the Hawaii-Alaska statehood bill, was under consideration by the Territories Subcommittee of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Senator O'MAHONEY's remarks were made when Under Secretary of the Air Force James H. Douglas was before the committee; they were so appropriate and so right that I take pleasure in presenting the statement here:

Senator O'MAHONEY. Mr. Chairman, we have before us, Mr. Secretary, two recommendations from the Cabinet level. One of these is the letter of the Secretary of Defense, C. E. Wilson, from which I will read this sentence, which, of course, has been repeated several times during the hearing:

"With respect to title II of the bill"—being the Alaskan portion—"however, the Defense Department believes that it would be in the interest of the national security that Alaska remain a Federal Territory at the present time."

Now, those last three words are qualifying words "for the present." They may have little significance, or they may have much. I do not know.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I will be very glad to ask the Secretary if he thought it practical and appropriate to interpret those words.

Senator O'MAHONEY. I think it would be very well if you would do so. It would be helpful.

Now, the other report which I have here is the letter of the Assistant Secretary of State, Thruston B. Morton, dated February 4, 1955, to the chairman of this committee. In the second paragraph of his letter he says, speaking of the two Territories which are affected here:

"It is this Department's view that such action would serve to support American foreign policy and strengthen the position of the United States in international relations."

Senator JACKSON. Senator O'MAHONEY, that seems to corroborate the statement made by the then General Eisenhower in Denver after the Korean war, the very point that President Eisenhower previously made.

Senator O'MAHONEY. When I was chairman of this committee some years ago, and we held hearings on the Alaskan and Hawaiian statehood bills, and the committee endorsed them, I took them to the floor with the deep conviction that what Secretary Morton said was right, namely, that it is an efficient method of defense of the United States and of the freedom for human beings for which it stands, to prove to the Asiatic world that we believe in letting people govern themselves.

We are represented in this cold war as being imperialists who want to step into the shoes of the vanishing empires of Great Britain and France and Holland in Asia.

I have been convinced from the very outset that the most effective thing that we could do in the Pacific area would be to prove to the Asiatics that we do believe in self-government by granting statehood both to Hawaii and to Alaska. And when I say Alaska, I say it because I know that the Aleutian Islands are just directly north of Hawaii, and Bering Strait, only 40 miles across, separates Alaska from Siberia.

I am mindful of the testimony that was given on behalf of the governors of the 11 western States by Gov. Earl Warren, of California, now Chief Justice of the United States. I want to make a part of the record here his statement:

"I am also appearing as a westerner who happens at the moment to be chairman of a governors' conference of 11 western States, which organization has gone on record several times during the past few years in favor of statehood for Alaska. We in the West believe that the development of any part of the West is of great benefit to the entire West and we consider Alaska as an integral part of the West. We have had the association of its governor in the council of the governors' conference committee 5 or 6 years and we have come to believe that this is the time for Alaska to be given statehood. We believe that we have a particular interest in the defense of Alaska and we believe that if Alaska is given statehood, is given an opportunity to develop its resources and its civilization, that it will be a greater factor in the defense of our Nation than it could otherwise be. We believe in the last analysis the defense of Alaska will come from the civilization that we develop there rather than just from the airplanes we send there or the fortifications that we develop.

"We are of the opinion that Alaska will not develop to the full extent of its potentialities unless it does achieve statehood."

I cannot think of a more eloquent expression of the point of view which this committee has shared in the past. But the testimony that is now presented here on behalf of the Department of Defense is vague and cloudy and uncertain.

The issue before us is whether or not our foreign policy, of which Secretary Morton speaks in his letter, is to be supported by an attitude of the extension of freedom to our own integrated Territories or whether it is going to be hampered by a policy which would seem to indicate that instead of advocating the right of self-government in the Territories, we are being asked by the Department of Defense to insist that the territorial status be maintained in Alaska, but you do not say that as to Hawaii. Alaska is closer to the area of war than is Hawaii. If it is a matter of defense, if there is a present danger, if there are any conditions that this committee does not know of which are governing the Secretary of Defense in what he says, by all means let the Secretary come here and in executive session tell us what they are.

* * * * * *

Senator O'MAHONEY. Mr. Chairman, may I make another statement here?

Mr. Secretary, what bothers me about this matter is this: during this period while Congress has been declining to grant statehood to Hawaii and Alaska, the situation in Asia has been deteriorating. At this moment the Secretary of State is at Bangkok seeking to convince southeast Asia, where Thailand now is apparently about to be attacked by the Communists, that its interests lie in joining with the other states of southeast Asia in defense against communism, and the chief obstacle to the progress of the Secretary of State in Bangkok is the fact that we have been represented as only colonials of a different kind.

I cannot understand why it is not clear to the Department of Defense, unless there is something that you cannot tell us, why it is not clear to you that by granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii we will be telling all of Asia that we are not colonials.

Conference Report on H. R. 3828

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to passage of this bill at this time. I regret the action of the Democratic leadership of the House in bringing up such a bill now. Congress is the board of directors for managing the country's affairs, and I believe Members of Congress are entitled to a fair increase in salaries in line with their heavier responsibilities, greatly increased workload, and the increased costs which they face along with all other people in the Nation. Congress has had no increase since 1946, while other governmental employees have had two cost-of-living raises during that period and deserve a third. It is only reasonable that Congress be given a raise also.

However, the first responsibility of a board of directors is to the organization's employees, in this case the workers in the Federal service. We tried to enact a pay increase for them in the last Congress, and I voted for it twice. Unfortunately, some who pretended to be the special friends of Federal employees were more interested in playing politics with the issue. They blocked passage of the only kind of bill that could become law with the promise that they could get a better bill. The result was no bill at all.

Our first task is to correct that situation. I do not believe that Members of Congress should raise their own salaries until they have first taken care of employees in the lower-paid brackets.

Furthermore, how are Members who vote for the conference report now to resist the demands of all sorts of groups during the remainder of the session for all sorts of subsidies, increased grants, or appropriations? Full independence in using my best judgment on each issue as it comes along is more important to me than the salary increase.

President Eisenhower Should Suspend the Dixon-Yates Contract While the Shadow of Doubledealing Lies Upon It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith submit an editorial which appeared in the February 21, 1955, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The editorial entitled "Doubledeal in Dixon-Yates" follows:

DOUBLEDEAL IN DIXON-YATES

The fact that the administration negotiated the Dixon-Yates power contract in thick secrecy, and not at arm's length, was already known. It remained for Senator HILL's disclosures last week to show the Government's gullibility and the extremes to which secrecy was carried right up to the moment when the Alabamian dug in.

Mr. HILL reports that a vice president of a Boston company which was arranging financing for the Dixon-Yates contract was at the same time employed by the Bureau of the Budget as a consultant to advise it on the contract. The versatile gentleman in question is identified as Adolph H. Wenzell,

of the First Boston Corp., which had been consulted on sale of $114 million in bonds to finance the proposed Dixon-Yates plant at West Memphis, Ark.

Mr. Wenzell was thus serving in two mutually exclusive capacities. As a private financier it was his duty to press the interests of the First Boston Corp. and to argue down any objections which he might entertain in his capacity as an adviser to the Budget Bureau. As a consultant to the fiscal arm of the office of the President of the United States, it was his duty to listen with a skeptical ear to the views he was presenting in his role as a private financier. It all sounds like something out of Gilbert and Sullivan, and as in fact much more successful as nonsense than as public administration.

Senator HILL points out, furthermore, that Mr. Wenzell, the budget consultant, had access to confidential information from the Government's side of the bargaining table—if bargaining table it can be called. Some of this information might have been handy for Mr. Wenzell, the vice president of the First Boston Corp., to have on tap in representing his company's interests. Senator HILL does not know, but he would like to find out.

Senator HILL observes that the chronology of the Dixon-Yates deal issued by the Budget Bureau last August, which was represented as containing all the pertinent facts, contained no reference to Mr. Wenzell or to the First Boston Corp. More recently, when he asked Budget Director Hughes about Mr. Wenzell's employment as a consultant, Mr. Hughes mentioned the Bostonian's work on the TVA program but not his participation in the Dixon-Yates contract, Senator HILL says. Senator HILL says there is "definite indication that these facts have been deliberately concealed from the Congress and the American people."

This is a serious charge. It is all the more serious because these negotiations from the beginning, and continuously since then, have been distinguished by a remarkable lack of candor.

Senator HILL thinks it "imperative" that the Senate-House Joint Committee on Atomic Energy thoroughly investigate the disclosures he has made and any further disclosures to which they may lead. It would be hard to think of any plausible objection to a course so plainly indicated.

Meanwhile, would it not be the part of propriety for the President to suspend the operations of the Dixon-Yates contract while the shadow of double-dealing lies upon it?

Address of Mrs. James B. Patton, Past President General, DAR, Before the Society of Mayflower Descendants, District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, at the meeting of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the District of Columbia at the Daughters of the American Revolution chapter house on Massachusetts Avenue in the city of Washington, on the evening of February 4, 1955, the guest speaker was Mrs. James B. Patton. This distinguished and highly patriotic woman, as is well known, served as president general of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution for the term 1950 to 1953 next preceding the election of Miss Gertrude S. Carraway to that high position. Mrs. Patton is therefore a past president general of the national DAR; and she is presently serving in the very important post of national chairman of the national defense committee of the national DAR. Her address before the Washington Society of Mayflower Descendants was in line with her patriotic sentiments and ideals as so constantly and well expressed during the crowded years of her activities.

Under leave accorded, I am very glad to include her address as a part of these remarks:

ADDRESS OF MRS. JAMES B. PATTON
IS TIME RUNNING OUT?

As Thomas Paine wrote in The Crisis, in 1776, "These are times that try men's souls," and so it is today. I am speaking as one greatly concerned about some problems which confront our country.

The United States stands at a crossroad in its history, and for a number of years we have been approaching this crossroad and all of the signs along the way have given us plain warning that we are nearing a new milestone. Everything will depend upon the route we take.

This is the year, 1955, when the Charter of the United Nations comes up automatically for possible revision. It is now, at the present time, that every patriotic citizen should assume his or her responsibility to make certain that the charter is not revised so that any of our sovereign rights as a Nation are taken from us. Keep aware of events as they happen from day to day.

We must remember that the U. N. Charter originally was adopted as a treaty by our United States Senate. Also you will recall there have been cases where judges have upseld the U. N. Charter over our Constitution.

The purpose of the United Nations when it originated almost 10 years ago was to preserve peace on earth and many millions of people rejoiced at the idea. But the U. N. has not preserved the peace.

The strong supporters of strengthening the United Nations always refer to Korea as an example of the united effort of the free world in successfully halting Communist aggression. But on closer examination—with the United States furnishing the overwhelming majority of men, machinery, and leadership and actually being limited by U. N. directives in properly defending our lines—can this be a United Nations victory?

The U. N. caused the United States and South Korea to sign an armistice which is regarded throughout the Far East as a defeat for the United Nations forces. Can we call it any sort of victory as long as we leave even one of our boys in a prison camp on Red soil—and there are reportedly hundreds there?

I think that we all believe in cooperation with other countries which are trying to retain their freedom and we in our country have cooperated at the cost of thousands of American lives and untold billions of dollars.

It has been proved time and again that peace-loving nations cannot do business with the Soviets. The breakdown of the conference at Geneva last June alone proves that point.

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD we find the Kremlin blueprint for conquest which has been given to Congress. From whom this critical document was obtained is a closely guarded secret.

The gist of the document is this: Conquest of Indochina by 1955. Complete domination by Communists of the rest of all southeast Asia—that is, Burma, Thailand, and Indonesia—5 years later by 1960. Then in another five years, by 1965, conquest of all of Asia, including India and Ceylon. This to be accomplished without bloodshed, according to the Kremlin. Following these successes this secret memorandum shows the submission of Japan to Communist government "by peaceful means" and waves of Red revolutions which would sweep over the Arab countries, the Philippines, and Africa.

As Senator WILLIAM JENNER said, "It is time that this was brought to the attention of the public and time that we get a policy to cope with it."

In 1930, speaking to young men and women from all over the world who had been brought to Moscow to be trained in espionage so that they might go back to their native lands and practice their nefarious activities, Manuilsky had this to say: "War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. * * *

"So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate on their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched first."

Do you peacefully coexist with men who would thus train youth? We Americans need to remember as we have never remembered before in our national life how definite a sentence of death has been passed upon us by the very power with whom we have been asked to peacefully coexist.

Do you know the last lines of the infamous and secret Communist oath? It reads: "I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States."

How may a Communist be recognized? He or she cannot be recognized by merely looking at him. The person may be short or tall, fat or thin, rich or poor. They look and act much like any other human being. Outward characteristics reveal no clues to their attitude toward communism.

When a person professes communism or tangible evidence is produced, it is regarded as definite proof that he is a Communist. On the other hand, he might neither profess his affiliation nor have official credentials, but still be 100 percent Red.

The only way a Communist reveals his identification with this peculiar philosophy of life is through speech and actions. Certainly, if he accepted Communist philosophy, he would be sure to reflect it in his daily life, whether in the classroom or in the factory.

No one can be a true Marxist if he is a member of any church, or if he believes in any religion, or if he even believes in God. A Communist must be an atheist. Marx was an atheist, and so have been all the leaders of communism everywhere.

They are untold numbers who honestly do not regard themselves as Communits yet they are Communists in the making, because they have accepted and put into practice one or more of the identifying characteristics of communism. These people are perhaps the more dangerous to our Republic because they are not aware of the fact that they are collaborating with the Communists. This is something they honestly have no intention of

doing. Yet they can do untold harm when they occupy positions of influence in the levels of Government, labor unions, education, or anywhere that public policy and thinking are generally affected.

Now that we know the master plan for the domination of the world, the type of oath the Communists take and also what has taken place in the world during the last 20 or 30 years, we are cognizant of the fact that time is running out for the United States.

If all of the nations which comprise the U. N. had been sincere in their desire to preserve peace, the world would be very different today.

Various agencies began to spring out of the U. N. and with them many treaties which they hope to impose on the nations.

Some of these proposed treaties are well known to us at this time. The proposed Covenant of Human Rights is an interesting document to read, especially for what it does not say. The same holds true of the Genocide Treaty or Convention, as it is sometimes called. In 1954 the U. N. Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution urging upon every member the ratification of the Genocide Convention. The United States voted for this resolution. At present the Genocide Treaty is lying dormant in the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, and where we must be certain it will remain.

Secretary Dulles, representing the present administration, has stated that he would not ask for ratification of these two controversial documents at this time. But how do we know what subsequent administrations will do? If these treaties were ever ratified by our United States Senate, they would become the supreme law of the land and our sovereign rights as a nation would be taken from us.

We are a member of UNESCO, a branch of the U. N. As you no doubt know, UNESCO is the United Nations Economic, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Through this organization our children are to be prepared for membership in a world government. Although the words "world government" are seldom used by UNESCO, all of its propaganda is directed toward that end. The more shocking publications are not issued by UNESCO but spring from conferences and study groups held under UNESCO auspices.

Through an assortment of international agreements we must now go to war in defense of more than 20 separate nations the moment they are attacked. Under most of these agreements the war can start by Presidential order. Thus the exclusive constitutional power of Congress to declare war may be ignored. The Korean war is an example of this type of obligation. We have similar commitments in almost every part of the world.

One of the important links in the chain of international agreements which our country forged is the Yalta agreement. There, the then President of the United States obligated himself to enforce vital provisions of this nefarious document.

As we analyze even a few of these proposed treaties by the U. N. and know of executive agreements, we realize more than ever why we need an amendment to our United States Constitution which would prevent any treaty or executive agreement from superseding our Constitution.

The Status of Forces Treaty, ratified by the Senate in July 1953, deprives American soldiers of their constitutional rights in a supplement to the North Atlantic Treaty. It provides that treason, espionage, and offenses committed in the performance of duty shall subject a soldier stationed in a foreign country to trial by the authorities of his own country. For all other offenses he shall be subject to trial in the courts of the foreign country where he is stationed.

American soldiers, drafted and transported beyond the seas for the defense of foreign countries, are deprived of their constitutional protections.

Before the approval by our Senate of this treaty, soldiers stationed in foreign countries could be tried only by the military authorities of their own country.

Shall we go ahead and blithely give up our freedoms to foreign nations which jealously guard their own, or shall we work for an adequate amendment to our Constitution?

On January 6, 1955, Senator BRICKER introduced the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States designed to limit the treatymaking power of the President and the Senate in the following respects: (1) To prevent any treaty in conflict with the Constitution from having any force or effect, and (2) to prevent any treaty from becoming internal law except through valid legislation.

Legislation should be required to make a treaty effective as domestic law. All other countries, with the possible exception of France, Holland, and Mexico, follow this practice.

I believe that the American people are thoroughly aroused over the need for such an amendment and they will not rest until a fully adequate amendment is passed by our Congress and the State legislatures.

The type of legislation called for by the Bricker amendment can never be party politics—it is the very life and strength of our country which is at stake. Party politics would never enter into the question if an enemy should attack our shores, so why bring politics into a question just as vital in that it maintains our Constitution as the bulwark of our Republic?

Each Senator upon entering the office of Senator takes an oath to protect and defend the Constitution. Would not our legislators then be committed to support any legislation required to protect our Constitution? There is no limitation placed in this oath—such as protect and defend within the limits of political expediency.

Have we done enough to let our Senators know that the American people want this added protection now? Individual letters and personal contacts mean a great deal. That is the only way our Congressmen know the will of their constituents.

We believe that our Constitution embodies the most effective system for the preservation of liberty ever devised by the mind of man. However, now, because of existing conditions, this particular amendment to further safeguard our sovereign rights as a Nation is needed.

If you will remember, Article VI, paragraph 2, of our Constitution at present provides that all treaties shall become the supreme law of the land. Do you realize that it takes only two-thirds of the Senators present and voting to ratify a treaty? There is not even a provision that a quorum of Senators be present and not even a roll call vote is taken.

In 1952, treaties with Greece and Turkey were ratified with only six Senators present and voting. Three treaties were ratified that same year by the votes of two Senators—the only ones present when the treaties were presented. Also, in 1952, a treaty with Ireland was ratified by one Senator. It is difficult to believe that this could happen in our country.

Time is running out for our country unless we take a positive stand and act accordingly.

Earl Browder, who headed the American Communist Party for 15 years, declared in 1950 that socialism had progressed farther in the United States than in Great Britain which was ruled by a socialist government from 1945 to 1951.

The term "democracy" has been used so recklessly as to make it almost meaningless. Today it is commonly used in the political phraseology of the Communists. Certainly, we cannot express our concept of our American principles in the same language.

Our Constitution says: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union, a republican form of government."

Our form of government can only rightly be called a "republic." Neither the Constitution nor the Declaration of Independence use the term "democracy" even once. None of the existing 48 State constitutions have any reference to the word.

We in America, and many people the world over, know that here we have something unique in government. We have built our foundations on the premise of individual liberty and free enterprise.

There are those who would advocate more of a "democracy" in this country along the lines of the socialist government of England. Think for a few minutes of how many times our Republic has come to the aid of these "democracies" with loans, gifts, Marshall plans, etc. For us the choice must be obvious—to retain our republican form of government.

I urge each one of you not to join any organization which comes to your community until you have investigated those who are behind that organization on a national level. Many new organizations are and will be formed, with high-sounding names and purposes. Be alert and do not sponsor or join or lend assistance to these organizations or movements until you have made a thorough investigation. Too many fine Americans have been caught in the web of Communist-front organizations. It is so easy to sign your name and so difficult to explain why you did if later on that organization is found to be a subversive one.

Perhaps the Communist Party as such is no longer the chief menace in the United States because many of its members are known and many have been exposed and discredited. The weight of the fight against Communists is now shifted to other groups which operate under the cloak of "respectability." By virtue of their social positions these men and women exert greater influence and so are more dangerous than members of the Communist Party.

According to the FBI, there are only approximately 25,000 hard-core Communists in the United States. But as Mr. J. Edgar Hoover has pointed out: "The extent of dangerousness of the Communist Party should not be judged merely by the extent of its membership."

If and when you should have any information for the FBI, report it to them. Their telephone number is on the first inside page of every telephone book. They will respect your anonymity, if you so request.

If we will be realistic, we must consider the concealed numbers, the great underground menace that is in our very midst. Remember that no people ever voted for communism. But more than 800 million people live under communism because, when they still had the power to protect themselves, they could see only the relatively few enemies above ground, and were not alerted against the great army that remained hidden.

There is no such thing as a permanently free country without effort to keep it that way. Czechoslavakia proved that wealth, industrial power, and a high standard of living were not enough to save it from communism.

It is necessary to understand the oneness, the universality of the Communist movement to know how to fight it. To understand the problems of Europe and Asia, it is necessary to recognize the Soviet state as a single entity, with delegated tasks to member states.

The boys and girls of today are our first line of defense. In their very early life they should be inculcated with the fundamentals of Americanism. This should start in the homes and be continued in the schools with the proper textbooks on American history and government.

We must intensify our religious life as a people. We must restore to our homelife some measure of that information which our fathers and mothers bequeathed to us. We must give our children that sense of responsibility which will give strength to their characters and direction to their lives.

Our youth should understand that with all of the freedoms which our country gives, these freedoms also carry responsibilities which they must be prepared to assume.

Various groups are supporting drives to see that State legislatures enact laws to require the teaching of American history and State history in all schools. Perhaps we have taken our heritage of American principles and ideals so much for granted that we have neglected to instill the same love and reverence for our way of life in our children. We should remember that each generation is a new one and although we are born free we must be taught to recognize the basis of our freedom in order to protect it.

Let us remember the words of Abraham Lincoln in respect to reverence for the Constitution: "Love of the Constitution should be the political religion of the Nation. Let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges. Let it be written in primers, in spelling books, and in almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislation halls, enforced in courts of justice."

Parents should know the kind of books their children are studying, especially those on history and social science, as well as the type of books in the school libraries. It has been amazing what parents have discovered along this line. Eternal vigilance is truly the price of liberty.

Thirty-five years ago Lenin made this prophecy, "First, we will take Eastern Europe; then the masses of Asia. Then we will encircle the United States of America, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack it; it will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

If we look at the world map of today, Lenin's prophecy must startle us. The confident boast of Lenin that the United States will not have to be attacked because it will be like overripe fruit into the hands of the Communists cannot casually be dismissed.

What so many people fail so tragically to realize is that communism has a world plan and it has been following a carefully set up timetable for the achievement of that plan. Red rulers know what they want with terrible clarity; determined to get what they do want.

Time is running out for us because, given the present pace of the Communist advance, it cannot be long before its encircling pincers will be turning on us.

Far too many people in our country have felt that nothing could ever happen here in the United States to disturb their easy living and the enjoyment of their freedoms, when suddenly they came to the realization that communism in reality was invading this hemisphere as they read and heard of the revolution in Guatemala last summer, as well as troubles in other countries in our part of the world.

When the Director of the United States Information Agency returned last fall from South America he stated that "there are today about 200,000 Communists at work in Latin America, well financed and well organized." He also said that this was in spite of the fact that "13 of the 20 American Republics outlaw the Communist Party."

Certainly the time has come when our Government must reappraise the world situation now that the Communists have moved into the countries in our part of the globe. We cannot permit the Reds to take one piece of territory after another in this hemisphere as they have done in other sections of the world.

How long will it be before the great mass of our citizens realize the infiltration which is in every phase of our national life, in our labor unions, schools, churches, Government departments, and many other places. When will they realize the many years of planning and thoroughness of organization that the Communists have been following to accomplish their end, namely, the ultimate destruction of the great freedoms that are guaranteed to the citizens of these United States of America.

Communism as we know it today is not new in these United States, for it has been at work in small groups or cells for more than 30 years, extending its tentacles of destruction into all walks of life.

We Americans have created a great country and there is so much which is right in our country. Let us compare our country to a beautiful house of which we are so proud, but in many lovely homes there are termites gnawing at the foundations. So there are termites gnawing at the foundations of our Nation. Termites just like subversives are difficult to discover and eliminate.

Our American independence must be preserved. That must be our chief objective in the days which lie ahead. We must be ready to meet the challenge as women unafraid, mindful of our present duties, confident of the future.

As time is running out for our Nation, let us think of the words of Abraham Lincoln: "I appeal to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians, not with presidents, not with officeseekers, but with you is the question: Shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generation."

In a recent hearing in Washington on the strategy and tactics of communism, Mr. Louis Budenz told a subcommittee that the Communist conspiracy is stronger than ever in the United States. The realization is widespread that the power of the Communists over American life is increasing, and increasing at a frightening pace.

I believe that we cannot take one useful step to safeguard America from Communists in Europe and Asia unless we can find and remove every Communist agent and every Communist collaborator from every position of trust within our gates.

Communist conquest is not something planned for 50 years from now. We cannot fight communism tomorrow. There is only today.

In war, you live in the present or die, and we are at war. The Communist high command is waging war on us today by new and subtle methods of destruction.

As you know, we in the United States have been fighting communism for 35 years. Something must be wrong with our methods. American resistance to Soviet invasion, which had been effective in the twenties, received a setback in 1933 when our country gave recognition to the Soviet Union.

We must remember one thing, Soviet communism is not a party and not an ideology. It is not a leftwing political movement. It is an army, trained and drilled and officered by Moscow.

We need as full and accurate a list of collaborators in high places as we have of the people who have lent their names to the Communists' fronts.

This task cannot be left to our Government alone. The FBI and the Department of Justice have to work with legal evidence. That is the American way. They can catch spies and saboteurs. They cannot deal with a corporation president or a politician or a magazine editor who has made a deal with the Communists.

We need a committee on internal security in every State legislature in the Union. The danger to our Nation is clear. But we have so little time. The enemy is silently pressing deeper and every day the collaborators seem to be gaining in power over the patriots.

What is America worth to you? What would it mean to you if the beauty of America, the meaning of America, were to be wiped from the earth?

If America were today a conquered nation, with Red Chinese slave drivers forcing our people to work, and Red jailers, under Soviet masters, were torturing our fighting men and clubbing our leaders to death, what price would you pay to win back our country's freedom?

If each one of us would give a part of her time and strength and resources to safeguard America today, we could look forward to the time when the black cloud of Communist barbarity would be lifted from the earth.

The people of this country must know and face the facts and then move forward.

Are we—the American people—going to awaken from our apathy and insist that none of our sovereign rights as a nation are taken from us through treaties and executive agreements? Are we going to insist that a fully adequate constitutional amendment be passed which will prevent any treaty or executive agreement which would supersede our Constitution?

Are we going to insist that this Bricker amendment be ratified or are we going to take the slow train of socialism to communism, or do as some people are advocating, that we revise the U. N. Charter and have world government overnight? The time for us is very, very late.

Before going to bed, one little boy gave this definition of the stars he saw through his window: "They're lights God hangs out so I won't be afraid of the dark." When the clouds are the darkest, we must remember that there are stars behind those clouds.

We must not be afraid. Only with devotion to our ideals and with full faith in God can we hope to succeed in keeping America American.

No Wheat Should Be Sent to the Soviet People as Long as Good Americans Now Unemployed Are Denied This Same Wheat in Their Surplus Commodity Rations

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the recent Associated Press news article which appeared in the February 19, 1955, issue of the Washington Evening Star revealing the possibility of our Nation donating surplus wheat to the Soviet people is alarming.

In all fairness how can we, as a nation, give our surplus wheat to the Soviet people when unemployed Americans are denied surplus wheat in the form of flour to provide themselves with bread. For months a group of us in Congress representing labor surplus areas have been trying to get action on bills designed to permit wheat and corn to be processed into a form suitable for home consumption, such as wheat into flour and corn into meal. These food com-

modities would be added to the surplus commodities now available for needy families.

Until Congress takes care of our own unemployed Americans with what surplus wheat we have on hand under no consideration should a gift of wheat be made to the Soviet people.

The Associated Press article of February 19, 1955, follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of February 19, 1955]

PRESIDENT REPORTED STUDYING GIFT WHEAT FOR SOVIET PEOPLE

Secretary of Agriculture Benson said today he has talked over with President Eisenhower the idea of a gift of wheat to Russia and the idea "has not been dropped."

Mr. Benson said, in an airport interview as he was leaving for a Caribbean trip, that in his own opinion the idea is speculative. He added, however, that he and the President have discussed it.

"Of course, I can't tell you what the President said," he continued.

Meanwhile, it was reported that Nelson Rockefeller, who recently joined the White House staff to advise Mr. Eisenhower on international affairs, has been asked to study the wheat gift proposal.

Michael Newsom, master of the National Grange, said his office suggested the wheat gift to the White House shortly after Premier Malenkov resigned with a confession of failure to solve the Russian farm problem.

The American Farm Bureau Federation came out against the giveaway aspects of the proposal. A Farm Bureau spokesman said Russia should buy what wheat it needs with money the Communists now spend on subversive activities in this country.

He said the Russians have a trade balance of around $50 million in this country which they are unable to spend otherwise and added: "Let them use that money to pay for wheat if they need it."

James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, had no comment.

The plan, discussed by the New York Herald Tribune's Washington correspondent, Roscoe Drummond, would have the President personally write Russia's new Premier, Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, offering the wheat as a gift from the American people.

Some 675 million bushels of surplus wheat are now held by the Agriculture Department. It is valued at $1,767,220,000.

Financing Schools, Highways, Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Greensburg (Ind.) Daily News of February 22, 1955:

FINANCING SCHOOLS, HIGHWAYS, HOSPITALS

To meet the requirements of its growing population, the United States requires better school facilities, improved highways, and additional hospitals.

If local communities and the States do not assume this responsibility, the Federal Government will be forced to enter these fields.

With Federal aid will inevitably come Federal supervision, since the Government cannot appropriate money for these purposes and sign a blank check to States or local units of government.

At the present time the United States has reached the limit of $280 billion for its national debt.

One of the proposals which has been advanced has been formation of Federal corporations to defray the cost of these projects. In this manner the limit to the national debt would be bypassed.

These pressing problems were discussed by United States Senator HOMER E. CAPEHART at the Lincoln Day dinner here last week. The senior Senator from Indiana took a realistic view as to these problems and pointed out that schools, hospitals, and highways must be built. He expressed the belief that the best interest of the American people would be served if these projects were assumed by governmental agencies other than the Federal Government.

Senator CAPEHART asserted that he would welcome suggestions from his constituents in Indiana on these problems.

Organization of giant Federal corporations to finance schools, highways, and hospitals has several definite disadvantages which Members of Congress should consider.

Such a procedure would mean that communities and States would rely upon the Federal Government for financing their requirements.

Operation of the Federal corporations would be apart from the Federal budget, and no accurate picture of Federal indebtedness would be possible. This could easily lead to excesses over which Congress would have little control.

In the long run, any indebtedness of Federal corporations will be an obligation which American taxpayers will have to assume. The only avenue for liquidating the corporation will be from Federal taxation.

Some phases of the program can and should be financed locally. Many communities are in a financial position to build modern schools without relying on the Federal Government. On their own initiative many communities, including several in Indiana, are improving their hospital facilities.

The Federal Government could greatly aid highway departments of the respective States through repeal of the 2-cent Federal gasoline tax, making this money available to States for highway construction. Congress has apparently been unwilling to lose this revenue. As a result, Indiana and other States have no alternative but to seek Federal assistance in construction of highways.

In providing for improved schools, highways, and hospitals, four guiding principles could be employed advantageously. They are: That the Federal Government will enter these fields only in instances of exceptional need and inability to pay; that as much as these programs as is possible should be undertaken from local and State resources; that Congress should raise the national debt limit and give taxpayers an accurate picture of the Nation's finances rather than conceal obligations through Federal corporations; that the Federal Government should limit some of its functions so that through a reduction of Federal taxation more money will be in the hands of the Nation's taxpayers for local civic enterprises.

Veteran Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the welfare of our veterans is a subject in which we all are greatly interested; and, therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following news release of February 28, 1955, in the RECORD:

WASHINGTON, February 28.—Jack Williams, department adjutant of the North Dakota American Legion, today bitterly assailed Hoover Commisson recommendations to close down the only two Veterans' Administration hospitals in North Dakota.

The VA maintains general, medical, and surgical hospitals at Minot and Fargo. Williams, in Washington to attend the American Legion 32d annual National Rehabilitation Conference, criticized the recommendations as being "based wholly on outdated and unrealistic information." He said the Hoover Commission recommendation is certainly not in keeping with the present needs for VA hospital services in North Dakota.

Williams said there is a potential patient load of 63,000 men and women in his State.

He said he would talk today to the North Dakota congressional delegation with Department Service Officer George Rulon, "of the inaccuracies and serious implications of the Hoover Commission recommendations."

Williams denounced the Hoover Commission for attempting to economize Government costs at the expense of the veteran. He said the Hoover Commission report is not founded on facts or the moral obligation the Nation has to the veteran.

"Where would these veterans—who served our country honorably and without stint during our time of need—go for medical care if the VA hospitals at Minot and Frago were to be closed," he asked.

Rulon said that present patient loads in private hospitals automatically prohibit the influx of patients from the VA hospitals if they were to be closed.

Williams said that North Dakota had more actual battle casualties, proportionately, during World War I than any other State. He said that during World War II, North Dakota ranked third in the number of battle casualties.

"Certainly," he said, "we have a moral obligation to those veterans."

Williams said he saw the attempt by the Hoover Commission to close down the VA hospitals at Minot and Fargo as the first step toward shattering every concept of the veterans' benefits program.

Address of Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Jr.—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD a portion of the address of Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief of the Hearst newspapers, which was delivered at the National Press Club here in Washington on February 28, 1955.

Mr. Hearst, you will recall, has recently returned from a visit inside the Soviet Union where he had an opportunity to meet the current ruling leaders of that country.

I wish to commend this address to the attention of the House of Representatives because it is a keen analysis of a little-known subject—what is going on behind the Iron Curtain. Mr. Hearst

has very aptly pointed up the fact that the rulers of the Kremlin recognize strength and that the best means of preserving peace is to not let the Politburo forget that the United States is prepared to stand firm in the fight for freedom.

The address follows:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ladies, gentlemen, and colleagues, I would like to clear up one point first. That is to assure you that we had no invitation to Russia. No advance tip of any kind that important things would be taking place while we were there, nor any assurance that we would positively be able to talk with any of the Soviet leaders.

My reason for wanting to go was simply to get a first hand glimpse of the country and its rulers and its people.

It was my father's conception of journalism that it can and should be an exciting and audacious enterprise.

The original suggestion for this trip was made to me at the Gridiron dinner last December by Dave Sentner, a member of your club and bureau chief of the Hearst newspapers here in Washington. I had been mentally kicking the idea around ever since it became apparent that the atmosphere in Russia had undergone a change after Stalin's death.

I told Dave I would go on one condition, and that was that Kingsbury Smith, the INS European general manager, and Frank Conniff, my editorial assistant, go along.

Kingsbury, with nearly 20 years experience as a European correspondent, was, I knew, familiar with the Soviet problems and machinations and knew his way around the European diplomatic circles.

Frank Conniff had served as a war correspondent both in Europe and Asia. In addition to his city-desk side experience as a reporter and rewrite man on the New York Journal-American, he is a student extremely well informed on matters of history and the military. As you probably know, he is also my right hand at home.

With these two close friends and associates, I felt that we could handle any curves they might throw at us.

To my surprise, the visas for the three of us came back in 7 days. We flew to Paris, picked up Kingsbury Smith, and proceeded to Berlin, where we boarded a Soviet passenger plane for the flight to Moscow. It was a twin-engined Convair type of plane, which flew most of the time about 4,000 feet. It made one stop at Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, and landed us gently just after dusk in a snowstorm at the Moscow airport. The flight took 7 hours.

Now for some of my impressions and observations on this trip:

We became aware from the very first day of our arrival that we were getting the red-carpet treatment, or rather what we chose to call the whitewall treatment, from the sides of the gleaming Packard-like Zis that was made available to us.

We knew we were seeing only what the Soviet leaders wanted us to see and that no secret experiment or unflattering inner problem would be exposed to our prying gaze.

What we saw of the Russian people encouraged us to believe that a strong sentiment of friendliness toward Americans exists among them. When we were recognized as Americans in the streets, the theaters, the restaurants, and stores, we were greeted with smiles and friendly looks. Ten postwar years of anti-American propaganda seem to have had much less effect on the people of Russia than one would expect.

As for an overall impression of life in the Soviet land as seen from two of its main cities—Moscow and Leningrad:

I would say that living conditions in Russia are less bad than the West generally believes but by no means as good as the Russian people are led by their government to think they are in relation to the outside world.

A day in any Soviet city would, I am sure, convince an American shopgirl, factory or white-collar worker that in comparison with conditions in Russia, the United States is the paradise of the proletariat.

Indicative of what little influence the people have on the government that rules them was the apparent lack of popular excitement over the sensational shift in political power that occurred during our visit.

Replacement of Malenkov by Bulganin as head of the government was certainly an event of far-reaching importance. It was accompanied by policy pronouncements which made it clear that the change would affect the life of every individual in the Soviet Union. It meant less consumer goods and greater emphasis on the production of heavy industry.

Such a momentous political event would have aroused public controversy in any western democracy. One would have overheard it being discussed in the busses, subways and restaurants. Yet if there was any discussion of it among the Russian people, it was confined to the intimacy of the close family circle. No one would dare debate the right or wrong of it in public. As far as any public comments in Moscow or Leningrad were concerned, the downfall of Malenkov might never have occurred. We tried to draw out our intourist guide, but not a word would he say. The western envoys likewise told us they had received no reports of any public excitement or agitation over the news.

Some of the Russian translators in the press gallery of the Soviet Parliament at the time Malenkov's resignation was announced were heard exclaiming, almost in a whisper: "It's sensational."

Later, in the streets of Moscow, all was calm. In the shops, people did not even gather around the radios as the news was broadcast. They simply went about their business as usual. If they were listening intently, as they doubtless were, they allowed no sign of it to show. Unusual interest in such things might, I suppose, be interpreted as questioning the wisdom of what the rulers were doing. That would be deviationism, the first step to opposition.

The subjects of our interviews ranged from Khrushchev to Shostakovich, the composer; from Premier Bulganin to Ulanova, the ballerina; from Marshal Zhukov to Patriarch Alexei, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, and from Molotov to Svtlana Stalin, the late dictator's daughter.

In addition, we literally spent hours in discussion with the leading western ambassadors, checking our impressions and gauging our reactions against the experience of these diplomatic experts.

Our own Ambassador, Chip Bohlen, was most helpful and considerate. We consulted him every step of the way. We made certain that no move of ours would embarrass American policy.

We turned over verbatim transcripts of our interviews with Khrushchev, Bulganin, Molotov, and Zhukov, to the Ambassador as soon as Kingsbury Smith could type them out following our return from the Kremlin.

I do not think I violate any confidence when I say the Ambassador congratulated us on what we had obtained from the diplomatic as well as professional standpoint.

We felt that America has on the spot in Moscow a man whose training and background have well prepared him for the painstaking job of unscrambling the devious Russian moves and puzzling shifts in Communist policy.

To lend some perspective to our Russian journey, I made certain that at both ends it would be sandwiched by balancing talks with the influential soldiers and statesmen of the free world.

At Paris on the way in, we talked with Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, the SHAPE commander. Al Gruenther has a keen, agile mind and a penetrating understanding of the problems we face in Europe today.

And on our way home, when our party reached London after a day of flying from Moscow, I experienced the sentimental climax of the whole trip as far as I was personally concerned.

I spent an hour with Sir Winston Churchill in the historic cabinet room at No. 10 Downing St. Earlier in the day we had lunched with Minister of State Anthony Nutting and then talked informally with Sir Anthony Eden at the foreign office.

That hour with Sir Winston was something really special. He listened closely while I gave my impressions of the Russian leaders and ventured a few thoughts on the significance of recent Russian moves.

I assume that one of the questions uppermost in your minds must be whether the new leadership in Russia is more or less likely to precipitate war with us one of these days.

I must say the strongest hope for peace that I found in my 3 weeks' visit to the Soviet Union was the shrewdness of these new rulers of Russia.

These men can be ruthless. They have been merciless. Certainly no humanitarian considerations would cause them to hesitate to wipe us out if they thought they could get away with it.

They believe the end justifies the means. And for them the end remains Communist domination of the world. Khrushchev said so to me quite frankly. He said they hoped to gain the upper hand one day.

Nevertheless, these men are cold, calculating realists. I don't believe they are possessed by the madness that drove Hitler to bring Germany down in ruins. Nor by the recklessness that led Mussolini to tie Italy's kite to the shooting star of nazidom's short-lived conquest.

Crafty all the time, cruel if the occasion, in their opinion, warrants it. Yes. Unquestionably. But they are not paranoiacs.

They know the destructive power of nuclear weapons. Even if they possess the H-bomb—which British officials doubt—and even if they use it first, they know America has superiority in these weapons and the means to deliver them.

They know that the chance of emerging victorious from a thermonuclear conflict with the United States would be a very slim one. They know the risk of being wiped out along with their system would be great.

Furthermore, as Eden put it and in which we agree, the Soviets have now become the bourgeois of the Communist world. They have established an empire extending from the heart of Germany to the borders of China. They are becoming property owners—cars, television sets, iceboxes, even country homes. They have vested interests to protect.

As long as they feel they are not going to be directly attacked—as long as they know they cannot themselves attack without the certainty of swift and terrible retaliation—I seriously doubt that they will deliberately precipitate a fight with us.

If America was to let down its guard, if the day were to come when the Soviets thought they could deliver the knockout blow that would neutralize the United States, then the temptation to strike would be strong and I would give no odds on them not doing so.

For the present, however, I think they realize they could not pull an atomic Pearl

Harbor on Uncle Sam without getting back a nuclear punch that might well knock the red right out of Russia.

That is why I told President Eisenhower, when I reported to him on my return, that I felt his policy of firmness without provocation, of keeping up our guard and maintaining strong retaliatory force in readiness, was the right one.

The history of Soviet Russia during the past 30 years has shown that one can never be sure what is going to happen, especially within the inner circle of the Red hierarchy. As Marshal Zhukov said to me, "Fortune tellers can go wrong."

Nevertheless, I am prepared to dare a guess about the future of the Soviet leadership—that is, if another Stalin is to emerge on the Russian political scene, it will not be the new Premier.

Bulganin, with whom I talked for over an hour, did not impress me as the type who would be capable of seizing power and making himself the absolute ruler as Stalin did.

He lacked the dynamic personality and forcefulness of Khrushchev. He did not seem to possess the cunning that would be required for victory in a struggle for power with the tough ones in the Kremlin.

Bulganin struck me more as a front man for the principle of collective leadership. That principle, I think, for the time being, at least, continues to be the basis on which the Soviet system is now being run.

With his wavy white hair, trim goatee, and neat mustache, Bulganin has a professional look. As you know, he is a political general, not a professional soldier. Stalin bestowed the title of marshal on him during the war when he was commissar of the armed forces. He has a reputation for being an able administrator and organizer; more of an efficient bureaucrat than political crusader.

In his talk with us Bulganin adopted a conciliatory tone. He seemed to be trying to offset the violent attacks on the United States which he and Molotov had made a few days previously in the Supreme Soviet.

We took him to task for those attacks. We told him we did not see how he could reconcile them with the protestations for improved relations with our country. He denied that the attacks reflected any decision of the new government to pursue a more antagonistic attitude toward the United States. He insisted the Soviet leaders were sincere in their desire for the reestablishment of normal, friendly relations with America.

There is so much double talk in Soviet verbiage that it's difficult to know when they are speaking the truth. However, I do feel they think it is in their own interests to try to improve relations with us.

We thought we smoked out Bulganin on one thing. Molotov claimed in the Supreme Soviet that Russia had surpassed the United States in the production of hydrogen bombs. We called Bulganin's attention to the warnings of scientists that the continued explosion of nuclear weapons would have dangerous effects on human and animal life. We asked him whether Russia would be willing to enter an agreement with the United States and Great Britain to limit the number of these explosions for experimental purposes.

The quick and sharply negative reaction of the Soviet premier convinced me that the Russians are far behind us in the stockpiling of these new weapons, and may not have the H-bomb at all.

Of the four top leaders we met, Khrushchev was in many ways the most impressive. If any of the four were to grab power and build himself up into a Stalin-like dictator, my guess is it would be this boss of Russia's 7 million Communist Party members.

A bullnecked, blunt, and rugged individual, this heavy-set little man with the beady blue eyes and aggressive vitality gave the impression of being the boss of the Kremlin show at the moment, and knowing it.

On the day Malenkov publicly lost his job as premier, it was Khrushchev who dominated the scene in the Supreme Soviet. He nominated Bulganin as successor, and as he did so he remarked that he was sure the deputies would accept the suggestion. There was more than an expression of hope in that remark. It was clear that the "boss" was speaking. No one else was nominated, and no one else spoke for or against Khrushchev's candidate. The vote was called and the hands of some 1,300 deputies sprang automatically into the air. They remained up only a few seconds, then came down. The chairman glanced quickly over the room, said there were no dissenters and no abstentions. Of course, he could not tell whether one or more deputies in the back of the hall failed to raise their hands, but he was confident no one would question his statement. It was interesting to watch Soviet democracy at work.

During our private interview with Khrushchev, which lasted about 2½ hours, he also spoke with the voice of authority. He did not seem to bother to weigh his words the way Bulganin, Molotov, and even Marshal Zhukov did. He was fast on the comeback, and he talked with as much ease about foreign affairs as he did about internal policy.

He made no bones about the hope of the Communists to gain the upper hand in the world one day. But he sought to convince us that the Soviet leadership wants to confine the global struggle between the Communist and Capitalistic systems to measures short of war.

Unlike American Communists, he and most of the other Soviet leaders we met displayed a sense of humor. He laughed and joked and at times showed flashes of wit. He would doubtless order you liquidated without batting an eye if he thought it would serve Soviet interests. But he can be amiable.

He said quite frankly he could appreciate the feeling of our countrymen about Communist China's imprisonment of the American airmen. He added that he personally hoped the matter would be settled satisfactorily. That is more recognition of the wrong that has been done by the Peiping regime to our flyers than we would get from Communists and fellow travelers here at home.

As for Molotov, he seems to have become the elder statesman of the Soviet Government. Always the professional diplomat, he was cautious in his statements and quick to give us the propaganda line. He talked at length about American military bases surrounding the Soviet Union and, referring to our protection of Formosa, labelled it: "United States interference in the internal affairs of China."

From time to time, Molotov offered me a Russian cigarette and while he talked or listened to our questions, he toyed with a match box.

He spoke with an air of self-confidence, as though supreme in the handling of Soviet diplomacy and without worry about what the other members of the presidium might think of his methods.

However, I had much the same feeling about him that I had about Bulganin. I could not quite picture Molotov developing into another Stalin. He seemed to lack the flair for lone wolf leadership.

The western diplomats thought the most important part of our conversation with Molotov concerned the question of a temporary cease-fire in the Formosan area. This had to do with proposed evacuation of Chinese Nationalist forces from the exposed Tachen Islands.

When we put the question to Molotov, he said he thought hardly anyone would hinder such an operation. It was most gratifying to learn upon our return to Washington that this remark of Molotov had an important bearing on the decision to send the United States Navy to the Tachens to cover the withdrawal of the Chinese Nationalists.

William Randolph Hearst, Jr.—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD at this point part II of the address of Mr. Randolph Hearst, Jr.

The address follows:

Of all the four top men with whom we talked, Marshal Zhukov was the most pleasant. He received us alone except for our interpreter guide. He greeted us warmly when we arrived in his office at the National Defense Ministry. Here was the old soldier who had been on such friendly terms with General Eisenhower in the closing period of the European war and for a short time thereafter. He had stood with Ike beside him in Moscow's Red Square for the great victory parade. He had accepted an invitation from Eisenhower to visit Washington. Ike had offered him his own plane and his son, John, as an aide. The cold war prevented Zhukov from making the trip. He told us that it was his dream to do so, though he doubted that the time was ripe for it.

This husky, forthright military man commanded the defense of Moscow, prepared the Soviet stand at Stalingrad, and let the Red army to victory against Germany. He gave me the impression of being sincere in his expressed hope for improved relations with the United States and the warm sentiments he voiced about President Eisenhower.

I felt almost a sense of relief later when I heard that he had been moved up to the post of Defense Minister. Not because he would hestitate to do everything within his power to defeat us in the event of war between our two countries, but because I believe that soldiers like the President and Zhukov know all too well the horrors of war and want to avoid it. The presence of Zhukov in the high councils of the Soviet regime might be a conservative, perhaps even restraining, influence on recklessness.

Not that I think there is any likelihood of Zhukov exerting a dominant influence on Soviet policy. He strikes me as a soldier, likely to carry out the orders given to him. He also gave me the impression of being a dedicated Communist. Speaking rather proudly of being a member of the central committee, he said: "We soldiers follow the party line."

Nevertheless, I had the feeling that Zhukov is a patriot first and an international Communist second. As long as he remains in the top echelon of the Government I feel he would raise his voice strongly and perhaps effectively against any wild whims for a war that might lead to the destruction of Mother Russia.

With these four coldly realistic men at the top in the Soviet Union, I could not help feeling that any immediate threat to world peace is more likely to come from Red China than Russia.

Khrushchev told us he was confident that the Chinese Communist leaders would show what he described as commonsense in this respect.

If that is so, and we are not going to have war in the foreseeable future, then I believe we are going to face a struggle that may

prove more difficult for us to wage successfully than a military conflict. In the long run, however, this struggle will involve the survival of our way of life just as much as war would.

I am referring to the conflict of competitive coexistence. This is intended to be an ideological and economic struggle aimed at achieving Communist domination of the world by measures short of an all-out, East-West war. That is what we face now. It will be much less terrifying and much less destructive in a material way than a military conflict. It will be far more subtle than the cold war under Stalin. But its ultimate objectives, as far as we are concerned, will be the same.

The second half of this 20th century will determine whether Khrushchev was right when he told me that communism would ultimately gain "the upper hand" throughout the world.

He said it confidently and matter-of-factly, although acknowledging my right to believe that our way of life would become the stronger force.

This indicates the challenge of the future as clearly as any other hint during our 3 weeks' visit to Russia.

The faith of the bald, blunt man who bosses 7 million card-holders in Russia must be matched by a belief just as strong and just as deep.

Time alone will tell whether the free world is equal to the sacrifice, the self-denial, and the courage required to first control and then turn tide against rampant communism.

That means keeping our guard up. It means being prepared for the next 5, 10, or even 20 years to risk war at any moment to restrain Communist imperialism from further military conquests, just as we are doing today in respect to Formosa.

We must not let coexistence lull us into a false sense of security.

Unless and until Russia, Red China, and the rest of the Communist world would accept a really effective system of international control and inspection of armaments, we must maintain in a state of constant readiness a powerful retaliatory force.

I am absolutely convinced that is the only hope of preserving world peace. For let me repeat, if the Soviets or Chinese Reds thought they could neutralize us with a quick knock-out blow, they would not hesitate to do so.

They are not refraining from war because they have renounced it as an instrument of national or international policy. Nor because they are worried about what war would mean for western civilization.

We heard Molotov tell the Supreme Soviet and I quote him:

"World civilization will not perish no matter how much it might suffer from a new war."

He predicted that what would perish would be our way of life.

That should make it clear enough to us that the Soviet leadership does not rule out war because of its possible effect on civilization. It rules it out for the present simply because of the respect it has for the effectiveness of America's counteroffensive power.

That is why we must continue to be prepared.

But preparedness alone will not win for us the battle of coexistence. Something more is needed.

I believe in the strength and ultimate survival of the free world's system, based on human freedom, the dignity of the individual, and private initiative. Quoting to Bulganin the immortal words of Lincoln on Government of the people, by the people, for the people, I made clear my confidence that we will be able to cope with communism on a coexistence basis.

But the mere statement of this creed is not enough.

The western program of building armed strength should be widened into a more flexible and imaginative strategy for competitive coexistence with the Communists in every field and on every front.

While in Moscow I gained the impression that communism was moving ahead in many fields which the present western strategy overlooks.

The arms race is not the only event in which they are competing with us. They have taken sports and culture and the impressionable years of youth and transformed them into arenas of the cold war.

Dedicated materialists though they are, they are working mightily on the minds of men and seeking to capture the imagination of the susceptible.

Our reliance upon armed strength alone as our primary concern is permitting communism to take long strides forward in those fields which we have largely neglected.

By inviting to Moscow picked delegations from the satellite countries and wavering neutrals like India, they strive to convey the impression that Soviet customs are superior to those of the west.

The delegations are carefully chaperoned, of course. They only see what the Communists want them to see. On that basis the good things of Moscow can be impressive—the splendid Moscow ballet, the mosaic-adorned subway, the up-to-date classrooms of towering Moscow University, the new apartment buildings, and the progress that has unquestionably been achieved in the industrialization of a backward, almost primitive agricultural nation.

It would be cause for wonder indeed if the Indians, the Chinese and even the Communists militants of Eastern Europe did not go back to their homelands somewhat impressed.

Sports is another front on which the commissars are moving full steam ahead.

On one frigid night while we were there, 75,000 Moscovites jammed Dynamo Stadium—the local Yankee Stadium—to watch the home team humble West Germany in a hockey game, 10 to 3.

The United States is likely to have a tough time at the 1956 Olympic games in Melbourne, when Soviet Russia enters a team which even now is being prepared for the big test.

America has dominated the Olympic games since their inception. It has also been a source of prestige throughout the world, especially with sport-conscious young people.

How will the youth of the world feel, especially in doubtful areas, if the Russian team ends America's long sway at Melbourne in 1956? Of course, these Russian athletes are not really amateurs. They are professionals. They are trained under government guidance, with government help. They receive bonuses and money prizes.

We should find some way of making sure that our Olympic contenders get everything they need in the way of training opportunities.

The lively arts are another field wherein the commissars are operating with the professed intention of proving to the young people of the world that Russian achievements far surpass the West.

Ballet, the theater, literature—all are shaped toward aiding communism's long-range scheme of world domination. Top artists know they are not only expected to perform, but to give their services at clinics where the plastic minds of youthful visitors can be influenced.

From Moscow radiate troupes of athletes and artists, circulating through the Soviet world and the satellites, venturing into countries like Red China and India with their gospel of communism.

It stands to reason that such extensive wooing of impressionable minds is likely to pay dividends—unless we compete vigorously with the Communist effort and even surpass it.

We have so much more to offer than the Communists that any comparison must show up in our favor.

But it is not enough to sit complacently by while the Soviet Union throws its smaller resources into the scales and makes its weight felt because we do not choose to compete.

Nor is it enough for our leaders to advocate and appropriate large sums for foreign military and economic aid and think they have met the challenge.

Money is not enough. I came away from Russia convinced that only deep thought and long-range planning would suffice to prevail over communism in the conflict of coexistence.

Money spent on foreign aid will not get the most effective results unless it is thoughtfully expended in those fields where it will do the most good.

We should seek to convey to the world—to our allies, to the uncommitted countries especially, and to the Russians if possible—the idea that America is not only proud of its motor cars, its bathtubs, and other material benefits, but also of its cultural achievements.

I believe that any cultural exchange between Russia and the United States is certain to develop in our favor. Within limits, I think such exchanges should be encouraged.

Last year the Soviet Union welcomed a group of American student editors to Russia. The United States of America refused to grant visas to a similar group of young Russian students.

The reason given was that a provision of the McCarran Act made it impossible to sanction the visas automatically. And neither the Justice Department nor the State Department would take the technical steps needed to circumvent the provision.

Somebody was timid on that one.

We had nothing to lose by exposing those young Communists to the wonders of our civilization. Their faith in communism might have been rocked by a view of America with its vastly higher standard of living, its free press, its cultural institutions, its open-hearted give and take.

And I'm sure the traditional friendliness of the American people would have dispelled the Kremlin's propaganda about our alleged warmongering and dedication to the destruction of Russia.

Everywhere we went in official Russia, the case of the student editors was thrown at us. The astute foreign editor of Pravda appropriated Sir Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" phrase and asserted it was America, not Russia, that had such a barrier around it.

What I would like to advocate here today is the establishment of a permanent planning board commissioned to formulate a strategy on all fronts for meeting the challenge of competitive coexistence.

This board should be scrupulously nonpartisan. It should be culled from the finest minds and talents available, both in public and private life.

It should survey the whole global scene and develop plans for getting the peoples of the world on our side. Sports, the theater, educational exchanges—no field should be neglected in this competition of the two conflicting systems.

Who can doubt that America would emerge on top in any such competition?

My suggestion is not blueprinted. It may even be a little vague. But formulating and implementing it would be the job of the planning group of men and women, each devoting time and energy to developing an overall American strategy in those nonmili-

tary fields for 1955—and for the next generation.

We have a National Security Council. I would like to see a national competitive coexistence council to combat communism.

One side or the other is going to win the battle of competitive coexistence.

It had better be our side.

Everyone and everything we love and cherish is at stake.

I thank you.

The Serious Situation Confronting the Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a letter from the Textile Workers' Union of America, signed by Arthur Gustafson, president of Twin City Joint Board, and Anna Vanusek, secretary, Lumber Exchange Building, Minneapolis, Minn., with copy of resolution adopted at the national CIO convention in Los Angeles, Calif., December 6 to 10, 1954. The resolution sets forth the serious situation confronting the textile industry and recommends action be taken to prevent widespread unemployment and suffering.

The letter and resolution follow:

TWIN CITY JOINT BOARD,
TEXTILE WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA,
Minneapolis, Minn., February 17, 1955.

Hon. ROY WIER,
Congressman, Third District,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Enclosed, herewith, is a copy of a resolution which was passed at the national CIO convention at Los Angeles, Calif., December 6 to 10, 1954.

This resolution puts forth the depressing plight which grips the textile industry in the United States and is causing great hardship to all people who are depending on this industry for a living.

The members of Twin City Joint Board, TWUA, most earnestly ask you to do all in your power to have the proper agencies of our Government carry out the suggestions to investigate this situation, and as a result we feel a remedy will be worked out which will bring relief to the textile industry and cause reemployment of thousands of workers who are now unnecessarily unemployed.

Yours truly,
TEXTILE WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA,
ARTHUR GUSTAFSON,
President, Twin City Joint Board.
ANNA VANUSEK,
Secretary, Twin City Joint Board.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY PROBLEMS

(Resolution adopted at 16th convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Los Angeles, Calif., December 6–10, 1954)

The textile industry preceded the rest of the American economy in the descent to mass unemployment and suffering. Today some 300,000 textile workers are idle, more than 50,000 as a result of permanent mill closings during the last 2 years. Several hundred thousand are working part time. Employment is less than in 1932. Thousands have exhausted unemployment compensation benefits and have been forced onto local relief rolls. The depression in the industry has caused widespread hardship in textile communities throughout the country.

The plight of the industry is due to the failure of managements to fulfill their responsibilities to their customers and workers. Fabric and apparel design has not kept pace with the changing living habits of American consumers. Instead of fashioning materials to whet the appetites of the new suburbanites, the mills have continued to produce fabrics designed for more formal urban living. There is a dearth of fabric and apparel designs suitable for this era of the long, casual weekend, backyard sports, TV-viewing and the home workshop. Expenditures on advertising and sales promotion have been woefully inadequate. Research is needed on the potentialities of textiles for new industrial applications as well as for expansion of old uses.

Consumer per capita expenditures on apparel have not increased in proportion to the rise in total consumer spending because the textile industry has not moved to maintain its position in the consumer market. Employers have resigned themselves to shrinking the industry's capacity without consideration for their public responsibilities. Some have carried their irresponsibility to the point of capitalizing on tax loopholes and local government subsidies to reap financial gain by closing their plants. The welfare of the workers and the community has been ignored in the ruthless drive of a few men to profit from the low tax rate applicable to gains from the sale of capital assets. Others have exploited the industry-hungry towns which used their tax-exempt authority to float municipal bonds to pay for new plants and equipment.

Many companies were forced out of business because of their failure to reinvest the excessive profit earned during previous boom periods. Others were unable to compete in a buyers market because they lacked enterprising management. Their inability to keep pace with new methods, style changes, and merchandising developments made their demise inevitable.

In contrast, there are many companies whose efficiency and superior merchandising have continued to yield profitable financial returns. Corporations with strong financial backing have grown through the acquisition of additional plants. These mergers and acquisitions have resulted in an unprecedented concentration of control in the industry. Some 50 textile giants control half of the industry's basic capacity.

Rapid improvements in textile technology have added to the workers' problems by reducing the amount of labor required per unit of production. Management has taken advantage of these developments to extend work assignments inordinately and has refused to share the gains from increasing productivity. Man-hour productivity has risen at the annual rate of 4.5 percent since 1946 with a total cumulative rise of 36 percent. Combined with a declining total production to an annual rate of 12.7 billion yards from a rate of 14.76 billion yards at the end of 1950, these developments have permanently eliminated thousands of textile jobs.

Imports of textiles, including woolens and worsteds, cordage and twine, fine cottons, silk scarves and others, have increased markedly and have accentuated the problems of the industry. In the woolen and worsted branch the impact of imports has been most severe because of the shrinking American market and the concentration of foreign exporters of lightweight fabrics for this country.

The Federal Government has abdicated its responsibilities in the textile field. The defense manpower policy which authorized allocation of some Government orders to areas of high unemployment has been scuttled. The protection promised by the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act to employers with decent wage scales in bidding for Government contracts has been wiped out by the Fulbright amendment which authorizes court action to prevent minimum wage regulations from being put into effect. Increases in the minimum wage for work on public contracts, from $0.87 to $1 in cotton-rayon and from $1.05 to $1.20 in woolen and worsted, have been blocked by such litigation. The Government has refused to implement a provision of the tariff agreement which authorizes higher rates to protect the woolen and worsted industry from growing imports. On the other hand the Government maintains a duty on raw wool which adds to the cost of wool products without protecting the wool farmer.

It also supports an artificially high price for cotton which results in the accumulation of a huge cotton surplus and prevents the consumer from enjoying the benefits of lower cotton costs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved:

1. We call upon the Federal Government to take affirmative action to stem the tide of depression in the textile industry:

(a) An agency should be set up by Congress to represent the textile industry, labor, and the public for the purpose of enforcing a basic 35-hour workweek in the industry at 40 hours' pay. The agency should be empowered in periods of distress to limit machine operations to two shifts per day.

(b) A program of stockpiling needed military fabrics should be created now so that production orders can be released immediately.

(c) American textiles should be used in the same fashion as surplus food and coal for the relief of needy nations overseas. In similar fashion, textiles should be distributed to needy Americans as surplus food is now distributed.

(d) Contracts should be negotiated with mills in distressed manpower areas to reemploy the unemployed.

(e) A systematic investigation should be undertaken of ways to broaden the use of wool fibers as well as cotton. The Department of Agriculture should provide leadership in establishing a wool fabric library to stimulate new design and aggressive merchandising.

(f) Industrial expansion programs must be revised to locate new plants in areas where surplus manpower is available.

2. We support the proposal of the House Ways and Means Committee to disallow, for tax purposes, the deduction of rent from taxable income by industrial companies which lease plants built from the proceeds of municipal bond issues. This action would be a suitable first step in eliminating State and local tax exemptions and other subsidies to private enterprise.

3. All profits and capital gains resulting from the liquidation of mills should be taxed at a special rate of 25 percent and the proceeds used to finance local development programs, to aid workers to adjust themselves, and to set up public works and the development of local resources and facilities.

4. We call upon the Senate Committee on Labor and Education to look into the use of capital-gains taxes, local subsidies, and corporate mergers as stimuli to the liquidation of business enterprises.

5. The Federal Government should provide a research organization for studying methods of broadening the markets for textile fabrics.

The following unions concur in this action: Local Union No. 36, Tracy Chase, president, H. M. Lykke, secretary; Local Union No. 1262, Mary Zeppa, president, Dorothy Frank, secretary; Local Union No. 1260, Arthur Gustafson, president, Lesin L. Adams,

secretary; Local Union No. 1052, George J. Turnbull, president, J. Melton Johnson, secretary; Local Union No. 132, Sidney B. Thompson, president, Margaret Humphrey, secretary; Local Union No. 418, Ople Hopper, president, Wilma C. Ryan, secretary.

Pacific Locks, Panama Canal—Views of Sibert and Stevens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the history of the Panama Canal, in a large measure, is a record of heated controversy—debate as to choice of route and contentions over type and features of design. Of all the decisions as to design, none have affected more profoundly the planning, construction, and subsequent operation of the canal than that which separated the Pacific locks into two sets.

A brief summary of the background of this decision was presented on May 8, 1948, by Consulting Engineer Harry O. Cole, a builder of the Pacific locks, in a significant address before the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., which was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 94, part 11, May 21, 1948, page A3191.

In this address, Mr. Cole traces the development of the idea of a summit-level anchorage in the Pacific section of the Panama Canal from its conception in 1879 by Adolphe Godin de Lépinay through its proposal in 1906 by Chief Engineer John F. Stevens and its attempted revival in 1908 by Col. William L. Sibert.

These men were far-visioned engineers of distinction. Though they necessarily had had no experience in operating an interoceanic canal, they recognized and understood the problems of the Panama Canal, and urged the terminal lake solution. Unfortunately, they were unable to secure adoption of their idea. The Pacific end of the canal as constructed contained defects revealed by years of subsequent operation.

The critical situations produced by World War II again focused attention on the study of marine operations in the Panama Canal, at which time I was a member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. It is a great tribute to the vision of these three engineers that a naval officer, Comdr. Miles P. DuVal, who, in 1941–44, was captain of the port, Balboa, after a painstaking study of the problems of ship transit, developed the same plan. This proved to be the first comprehensive proposal for the operational improvement of the Panama Canal ever derived from marine experience. The proposal is described by its author in a notable paper, The Marine Operating Problems, Panama Canal, and the Solution, published in the American Society of Civil Engineers Proceedings, volume 73, February 1947, page 161, and Transactions, volume 114, 1949, page 558. In this Captain DuVal extends full credit to those engineers for their brilliant conceptions.

Fortunately, Chief Engineer Stevens and General Sibert outlined their views on the Pacific lock question in chapter IX of their splendid book, The Construction of the Panama Canal, published by D. Appleton & Co. in 1915—one of the best accounts of the construction era.

In order that this illuminating summary by these engineering leaders may be readily available to the Congress, the Executive and the Nation, I include its text:

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PANAMA CANAL
(By William L. Sibert and John F. Stevens)
CHAPTER IX. CHANGES IN THE ADOPTED PROJECT

The exposed position of the proposed lock at the Pacific entrance insofar as ship-fire from an enemy's fleet was concerned, in addition to foundation troubles in the construction of the necessary dams, especially the dam from Sosa Hill to near the mouth of San Juan River, caused investigations to be continued with a view to moving the locks in question inland to a position where the natural hills would protect them from hostile gunfire.

The advantage of a commodious lake at the Pacific terminus were many from a navigation and commercial standpoint, but the military features were considered paramount. The investigations which consisted principally in making borings in search of suitable foundation material were commenced at the old French lock location, at Miraflores, and continued south. These borings soon established the fact that suitable foundations existed at Miraflores for at least two locks. Work was proceeding, building the dams connecting Sosa Hill with the highlands on either side and starting the excavation for the Sosa Hill Locks, so if a change were to be made it was necessary that the decision should be arrived at quickly so as to stop expense on a project that might be discarded. When the question was brought before the Isthmian Canal Commission for recommendation, it was not known that suitable foundation existed at Miraflores for 3 locks and it was thought and stated by those conducting the explorations that there was not a suitable foundation for 3 locks at this site, so 2 locks were recommended at Miraflores and 1 at Pedro Miguel, which plan was approved by the President of the United States.

It was thought by some of the engineers connected with the canal that there would be a great advantage in having the 3 locks in 1 flight at Miraflores, making the 2 ends of the canal symmetrical. Investigations were therefore continued and soon established the fact that the three locks could advantageously be built at Miraflores on a rock foundation, thus making it practicable to carry out a little further up the valley essentially the same plan that had been studied in 1906 and abandoned because suitable foundations had not been located.

As soon as it was ascertained that suitable foundation existed near Miraflores for a duplicate flight of 3 locks, comparative estimates were made for that construction and for the locks separated—1 at Pedro Miguel and 2 at Miraflores. These estimates showed that the 3 locks on the Pacific side could be built in flight one structure for about $4 million less than if separated. This saving resulted largely from the following facts:

First, that only 1 set of guide and flare walls aggregating a length of about 4,000 feet would be needed if the locks were in 1 structure, while 2 sets of such walls would be necessary if the structures were separated as stated.

Second, that only 20 lock gates and 33 sets of gate valves were necessary if all locks were together, while 26 gates and 51 sets of valves would be needed if the locks were separated. The six extra sets of gates would also require a material increase in length of lock walls to accommodate them.

Third, the smaller number of expensive machines for operating the gates and valves.

Fourth, only one emergency dam would be needed in the first case, and two in the second.

The estimates also showed that the operating and maintenance cost would be about $250,000 a year less for the three locks in flight.

The advantages and disadvantages to navigation afforded by each of the propositions were discussed. One line of thought led to the conclusion that the navigation interests and the water-supply question would be best met if all the locks of the Panama Canal were separated by material distances, and that where this could not be attained it should be approximated as closely as possible, and that not more than two locks should be built together if it could be avoided; it being thought in the beginning that the saving of water due to the use of intermediate gates could not be affected in a flight of three locks.

These intermediate gates divide the 1,000-foot lock chamber into two smaller chambers of lengths sufficient to accommodate to the best advantage ships of commerce not exceeding 550 feet in length. Ships of this class constitute over 95 percent of the world's shipping which may reasonably be expected to use the canal.

It was also pointed out that a ship breaking through the upper gates in a flight of locks would be more surely and completely wrecked than if it broke the upper gate of a lock where only one lift existed. Gen. H. L. Abbot proved that, if the boats going from Colon to Panama were always passed through the same flight of locks—the west side, for instance—and those going the opposite direction through the east flight, that the same saving of water could be accomplished by the use of intermediate gates in a flight of three locks as could be if the locks were separated—without any cross-filling devices—which devices are of doubtful utility when the locks are used to maximum capacity.

The advocates of the three-lock design contended that it would probably make very little difference to a ship whether it plunged down one fall of 30 feet, or 3; that it would be wrecked anyway; and that the damage to shipping would, in the 3-lock design, be largely confined to the ship actually breaking the lock gates; while if the locks were separated, many other ships might be involved in the disaster on account of quickly draining the levels between locks and grounding the ships in such levels.

It was pointed out in the case of the flight of locks at Gatun that the upper miter-sill, which is about 25 feet above the general lake bottom in that vicinity, would limit the available depth in Gatun Lake, with the water flowing through the locks, to about 31 or 32 feet, and that, as the lake fell, there would be no unusual difficulty in stopping the flow before the largest draft vessel would ground in the anchorage space south of the locks. That is, should such a catastrophe happen, the damage to shipping would be limited to the ship breaking the summit level.

It was also pointed out that should such an accident happen the damage to the canal would be practically limited to the wreckage of the lock gates involved in the collision. The flow of about 100,000 cubic feet per second, which might result from breaking the summit level could not damage the masonry of the lock walls or floors and there was nothing below the locks to be damaged except the sea-level section of the canal. This section is 500 feet wide and 41 feet

deep and would carry 100,000 cubic feet with a mean velocity of about 5 feet per second, or less than 4 miles per hour. In that part of channel immediately below the locks where the guide wall divides it, the velocity should not exceed 7 miles per hour. To have no essential structures below the locks leading to the summit level of a canal, which in this case was a reservoir 164 square miles in area, was considered a material advantage.

It was also pointed out that should a lock gate be carried away at Pedro Miguel, there would develop almost immediately in the section through the Culebra Cut, which was then planned with a width of 200 feet, a current velocity of about 10 miles an hour which would imperil all vessels in such cut and would fill to overflowing in about 30 minutes the small lake between Pedro Miguel and the two locks at Miraflores. This might result in serious injury to the earthen dams and fills at Miraflores unless the spillway in the dam at that place was surely operated in a very short space of time.

It was pointed out that, if three locks were placed at Miraflores, the size and depth of the lake would be so increased over that in the two-lock project that, should a lock gate be carried away at Miraflores, the lake would fall so slowly that all ships in the Culebra Cut would probably have time to safely pass into either Gatun or Miraflores Lakes before currents could be developed in that cut destructive to shipping.

The congestion and consequent difficulties to navigation brought about by providing a lock at the end of a long narrow channel such as the Culebra Cut, due to the fact that ships accumulate and pass each other at locks, was pointed out. It was also pointed out that large ships could not pass each other in a 200-foot channel and that in order to attain the maximum number of lockages per day, it might be necessary to dispatch ships through the cut in fleets and that lakes at both ends of the summit level would facilitate this.

The advantage of such lakes was still further emphasized by the fact that dense fogs are frequent in the Culebra Cut during the year, especially in the rainy season. These fogs rise from 8 to 10 p. m. and disappear about sunrise. The records showed that navigation would experience practically no difficulty in the sea-level parts of the canal on account of fogs.

It was pointed out that the ability to pass ships to the summit level and have there a commodious harborage, where they could await the disappearance of the fog, would be a material advantage.

It was also pointed out that the greatest chance of accident in passing a ship through a lock was in entering the lock from the pool level above, as evidenced by the construction of duplicate lock gates at both ends of a lock next the summit or other levels, and by the construction and maintenance of expensive devices to stop the flow of water through a lock so situated, should its gates be carried away. Such entrance would take place only once if the three locks were in flight in one structure, and would take place 2 or 3 times if the locks were built at 2 or 3 sites.

A board of seven consulting engineers reported confidentially to the President that the better plan would be to build three locks at Miraflores. The matter was never passed upon by the Isthmian Canal Commission. An extended and bitter public discussion was then being carried on in the papers of the United States concerning the type of the canal. Changes in the adopted project could be utilized, it was thought, by the advocates of the sea-level plan in their arguments. Changes in plans were classed as admissions of weakness in the lock-type canal.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Annual Report of the Panama Canal, 1914, shows that the three locks on the Atlantic side of the canal cost $2,130,000 less than the three locks on the Pacific side notwithstanding the fact that the sand, stone and cement in a cubic yard of concrete in the Atlantic locks cost $2.01 more than in a cubic yard of concrete in the Pacific locks.

The decision afterwards to widen the Culebra cut to 300 feet will reduce the current in that cut to 6½ miles an hour in case such an accident as that described above should happen. The many devices adopted to prevent accident to the lock gates, of course, make it very improbable that any such accident will occur, and the entrance to Pedro Miguel lock can be still further widened, and thus minimize the disadvantage of having a lock at the end of a long narrow section of a canal.

The change of lock location on the Pacific side was the only change in location of the essential parts of the Panama Canal excepting the following changes in channel location: first, from the Pacific terminal to the south side of the group of islands about 3 or 4 miles off shore; second, the extension of the sea-level section to Miraflores, which route followed quite closely that followed by the French in their last plan.

The change in location of the channel leading from the Pacific terminal to deep water in the Pacific, placing the same on the west side of the islands, was primarily for the purpose of reducing the cost of maintenance, experience having shown that the currents in Panama Bay caused a movement of fine silt along the shore to the westward. By changing the channel and building a causeway on the east side of it from the shore to the islands, this channel silting would be stopped, and furthermore this causeway constituted a line of communication from the shore to the sea-coast fortifications on the island that could be protected by guns on the shore on that side of the canal that would be least subject to surprise by a raiding force.

The Cattle Program on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the Indian Bureau evidently does not understand the agricultural program among Indians. At the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation in North Dakota the Department advised the Indians to go into the livestock business. Through that venture, the Department thought, the Indians would become self-supporting. This was a good plan, but apparently the experts on agriculture in that Department did not think the plan through.

No one can go into the cattle business for 1 year or 2 years and get very far. This is a long-term enterprise. There have been some losses on the reservation from this livestock venture, but nowhere near the loss which the Department is now forcing on these Indians. Since 30 percent of the cattle loans are in default, the Bureau has decided to advance no more money—and remember, it is Indian money and not taxpayers' money—and are recommending that the cattle loans in arrears be closed out. In other words, the cattle on hand are to be sold and the proceeds credited on the loans.

Just as soon as this is done those loans will be an almost total loss. If the cattle are sold through forced sale, the Indian will have nothing from which he can get money to pay. What should be done is to tide these loans over, put into the venture more money, and bring the herds up to a good standard of production. In many cases the Indians have bred their original stock up to better beef animals, and that cannot be done in a year or 2 years. It takes time, and these herds should not be sold but financed. These good cattle should not be sacrificed to make small payments on the indebtedness. What would you think of a man who started a turkey venture, bought birds for production, set the eggs, and then sold the turkey hen before the eggs hatched? This would be the same as what the Department is now doing in the cattle business on the Fort Berthold Reservation.

Senator LANGER'S committee held hearings at the reservation in October 1954, and pages 116 to 163 of Senate Report, Senate Resolution 89, sets out the whole situation in the cattle business on that reservation. In my opinion the cattle loans must be refinanced in order to do two things:

First. To stop any further losses.

Second. To bring the cattle program to final success.

It cannot be done in a short time, but it can be done with proper financing over a long period of time. I am in the cattle business myself, and it took me several years in breeding better stock and getting a herd built up to a proper size to make my efforts worthwhile and to finally reach a point of success. I reached that point, but I didn't do it in 1 year or even 2.

The Indian Bureau evidently knows but little about cattle raising.

End of Ireland's Partition Draws Closer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, in reading the Irish Times of February 17, I was pleased to read an article indicating the willingness of the Irish Premier to meet with the Prime Minister of the six counties to discuss matters of common concern. The article is the result of an interview given to Mr. L. R. Muray and published in the Yorkshire Post. It may be of interest to the Members of the House to know that the Yorkshire Post is owned by the family of Sir Anthony Eden. Mr. Muray is a well known international correspondent, who visited in Washington about a year ago.

Not only does Mr. John A. Costello, Premier of the Republic of Ireland, indicate a willingness to meet with the representatives of the Six County government to settle problems of mutual concern, but also expressed the hope that this might help to create an atmosphere of friendly relations in which the grave problem of partition might also be considered and amicably terminated. The ending of the partition of Ireland has long been a matter of concern to me, and it has been with that in view that I have continuously urged the passage by this House of my resolution concerning Ireland. It has been my hope that such action by Congress would help to spur on the interest in and the solution of the partition problem.

In the course of the interview, Mr. Costello stressed the point that international cooperation was handicapped by reason of partition and that close defense ties with the United Kingdom could not be negotiated so long as the border remained. Based on these remarks, the Yorkshire Post also published an editorial regarding the necessity for coordinating defense plans between the two countries.

Knowing the interest of my colleagues in these matters, I am including in these remarks, the article which appeared in the Irish Times, recounting the interview with Mr. Costello, and also their reprinting of the editorial in the Yorkshire Post.

The two articles follow:

TAOISEACH WILLING TO MEET NORTHERN PREMIER FOR GREATER GOODWILL

The Taoiseach, Mr. J. A. Costello, is prepared to meet the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Lord Brookeborough, "at any time to discuss matters of common concern." These words are a quotation from an exclusive interview recently given to L. R. Muray, and published in the Yorkshire Post.

Mr. Costello said that a discussion could create greater good will and prepare for a saner view to be taken of problems; a view that might ultimately lead to a climate of opinion in which the end of partition could be discussed.

"When I asked Mr. Costello about the Irish Republican Army, the extremist underground organization, Mr. Costello said that he could not discuss it with the North except on the basis of the ultimate eradication of the root of all evil—partition," the article goes on.

"The IRA, he told me, did not enjoy very widespread support, though there was sympathy with the young people who got themselevs involved in the raiding of Armagh Barracks in Ulster last year, but it should be borne in mind that no party in the Eire Parliament advocated the use of force as a solution of the problem of partition. Ireland's outlook, Mr. Costello said, was to secure international cooperation irrespective of partition, but closer defense relations with the U. K. would depend on circumstances prevailing at the time, and whether or not the problem of partition was solved. The undertaking still stood that Ireland would never allow her territory to be used as a base to attack Britain. No government, however, could contemplate closer defense ties while partition existed. He complained that the British press maintained a barrier of silence on these issues.

"Mr. Costello would welcome further developments of agricultural exports to Britain, and more investments in Ireland by well-disposed people. His Government could not repeal the Company Act, which laid down that 51 percent of the capital of new companies must be Irish, but it would be glad to operate the special licensing clause of the act, that created exceptions very liberally.

"Mr. James Dillon, the Minister for Agriculture, to whom Mr. Costello referred me, said that he was about to reopen negotiations for a renewal of the 1951 pig and bacon agreement with Great Britain. Mr. Dillon expressed enthusiastic confidence in the future relationship between the two countries. 'By stepping up cattle production here,' he said, 'we can, by common effort, produce the iron ration of meat, in order to ensure that no one can starve out the people of our two islands in the event of war.' Britain, he went on, could never be beaten in any war, provided she was able to hold out the first 12 months. Such cooperation would, at the same time, confer substantial prosperity on 'our two peoples.' Mr. Dillon added that nobody could ever beat an Anglo-American Commonwealth, which by its strength could ensure the peace of the world, and which free nations could join. He smiled when I suggested that Eire would have to join the proposed commonwealth.

"Mr. Liam Cosgrave, the foreign minister, answering a question about meeting the Northern Ireland Premier, said that they would be prepared to discuss matters in a realistic manner, members of both governments had met before to discuss railways and fisheries. The Government of Ireland Act reserved defense and external affairs to Westminster and any general discussion would, therefore, have to be tripartite. Ireland, Mr. Cosgrave said, was willing to do her part in the struggle against communism, but one could not expect her to join NATO since the Atlantic Pact guaranteed the existing borders of the signatories. When I pointed out that the Atlantic Pact was for 50 years only, Mr. Cosgrave agreed that partition had been with them for more than 30 years now. It was a question, ultimately, he said, of a definition and agreement of the term 'realistic.'

"Apart from the reference to the IRA by Mr. Costello which is quoted above, I could gain no information from government sources in Dublin about the secret army. From well-informed sources, however, I gather that the IRA's enrolled membership is about 1,000, of whom 400 to 500 are in active cadres. The IRA leader, whose pen name is McDermott, can draw on those cadres for raiding parties, and my informants expect them to be active in Northern Ireland some time this year. The present policy of the IRA, it was explained to me, was to avoid antagonizing public opinion in the Irish Republic by acts of violence in the republic, but to draw blood and fire by provoking the authorities in the north. By such acts the IRA hopes to revive antagonism against Britain, which has virtually died out among the masses in the republic. The understanding attitude and the sober words of the Northern Ireland judge who tried the raiders of Armagh Barracks baffled the IRA leaders and took the wind out of their sails. One source quoted Pearse, the executed leader of the Easter rising of 1916, as saying to a friend just before he went into action that he and his friends would only succeed 'if the British are stupid enough to shoot us.' According to my informants, the present government is making discreet efforts in conjunction with the Roman Catholic Church to dissuade young men from joining the IRA.

"A recent speech by the Primate of Ireland, Cardinal D'Alton, was referred to as an illustration. On the other hand, neither government circles nor informed opinion appears to be disposed to ponder over the effects that acts of violence by the IRA committed in Northern Ireland might have on the attitude of the British public to the thousands of Irish subjects employed in Great Britain. It is almost taken for granted that relations will remain unaffected."

COORDINATION OF PLANS FOR DEFENSE NEEDED

A leading article in the Yorkshire Post, commenting on this interview says: "Is it possible to secure firm understanding and cooperation on matters of common concern between the Irish Republic and the United Kingdom?" In the exclusive interview which we print on this page today, Mr. John Costello, Prime Minister of Eire, declares himself ready at any time to meet Viscount Brookeborough, the Northern Ireland premier. He suggests that a discussion would create greater good will and prepare for "a saner view to be taken of problems—a view that might ultimately lead to a climate of opinion in which the end of partition could be discussed." It was a sign of improving relations that Irishmen representing all parts of the island attended the Leeds St. Patrick's Society dinner to hear the Irish ambassador, Mr. Frederick H. Boland, last night. Mr. Boland also made a moving appeal for the problem of partition to be tackled. Reactions in this country to this suggestion will be clear. We in the United Kingdom want to put an end to old, vexatious quarrels. We want to create an atmosphere of trust and friendship between our people and their close neighbors—the Irish. But we cannot disregard the wishes of Northern Ireland, nor could be contemplate an arrangement which would deprive us in time of war of the use of the Ulster ports, as we were deprived of the use of the southern Irish naval bases to our grievous cost during the last war. We welcome the undertaking which Mr. Costello assures us still stands—that Ireland will never allow her territory to be used as a base to attack Britain. But we hold that this assurance does not go far enough to ensure the safety of both islands should war come once more.

Closer defense ties are needed between the United Kingdom and Eire, who have so many cherished beliefs and interests in common. Their defense plans should be coordinated to make certain that everything possible is done to keep the lifeline across the Atlantic open. It would be a great advance if representatives of Erie, northern Ireland, and Great Britain could meet for a frank exchange of views on problems of this kind. Is it too much to hope?

Defense and Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I believe the following editorial from the Evansville Press of February 25 which appeared also in other Scripps-Howard papers states very well the need for clarification by the Department of Defense of its opposition to Alaska statehood:

Apparently it may be necessary to summon the Secretary of Defense in order for Congress to find out why the Pentagon is opposed to statehood for Alaska.

Senator HENRY JACKSON, Democrat, Washington, is quite justified in demanding that be done if Mr. Wilson refuses to clarify the matter. The officer sent to testify at the statehood hearings hardly did more than repeat the administration's previous vague

mumblings about national defense. That is not an explanation and Congress should not accept it, even from the Secretary himself.

If the Armed Forces need large portions of Alaska for military purposes, they need only ask for them. It was to make that clear beyond question that the House statehood bill was amended to specify that 40 percent of northern Alaska can be set aside for military reservations. As a matter of fact, areas in Alaska or in any of the 48 States can be taken for military use, as has happened many times. Statehood for Alaska would not change that situation in any respect.

Alaska's strategic importance and the responsibility of the Armed Forces to defend it are precisely the same now as would be the case if it became a State.

These facts make it difficult to imagine what purpose of national defense could conceivably be served by refusing any longer the legitimate aspirations of the Alaskan people for full citizenship.

Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the editorial entitled "The Great Commoner of Mankind, Abraham Lincoln." It appeared in the East Side News of February 12, 1955, and was written by my good friend, Harry Schlacht. The editorial follows:

THE GREAT COMMONER OF MANKIND, ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

One hundred and forty-six years ago a great soul beamed like a morning star on a troubled world.

In a log cabin among the green-clad hills of Kentucky, and in an atmosphere that was similar in its humbleness to the birth of Christ, the first cry of the babe that was Abraham Lincoln fell upon human ears.

He lived for others and sacrificed his all that humanity might live in a better world.

Carlyle said that in Dante 10 silent centuries found a voice.

In Lincoln, America found hers, a voice that pleaded and thrilled and ultimately brought light and life to oppressed mankind.

He was the great commoner of history.

His homely, humble and honest humanity carried him to the heights of rare achievements.

He was a child of the people.

There is no accounting for genius: it has neither ancestors nor descendants, genius is the child of necessity.

Lincoln was the product of a crisis, and a crisis gave birth to his savior.

He was the personification of Americanism, a symbol of all that gives life and strength to the Nation.

His worth is reflected in every impulse of his heart, and in every act of his life, and their splendor shone in one lustrous orbit.

In the firmament of life he moved in a circle all his own, the course of which has never been paralleled.

Lincoln said that "our reliance is in our love of liberty which God has implanted in us."

Our defense is in the spirit which he prized as the heritage of all men everywhere.

He plucked a thorn and planted a flower.

He caused in human beings the hardness to vanish, the pettiness and the cynicism to depart; and in their place he planted flowers of strength and power, love and human kindness.

He knew and obeyed the higher sentiments of his soul.

He traveled the upward trail, for the dedicated his energies to the common good of mankind.

To him America was not so much a place as it was a people, not a creed nor a dream but a breathing thing with a magnificent past and a great future.

Lincoln at Gettysburg was an immortal and soul-stirring scene rich in solemnity and pregnant with historical significance.

Neither the practiced hand of a Raphael nor the art and skill of a Praxiteles could adequately portray it in its original setting.

His Gettysburg address is the fountain spring of the American way of life.

The truths set forth in his historic speech are the foundation stones of free government.

His was the summation of American ideals, a flaming torch for the oppressed peoples of the earth who seek the blessings of liberty.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

These few words constitute the basis of the entire history of all mankind for human freedom.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any other nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure."

By these words, Lincoln sought to emphasize that the supreme question was the survival of popular government, not only ours by "any nation so conceived and so dedicated."

He climaxed his speech with a plea for a lasting democracy in these words:

"That from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave their last full measure of devotion."

Then followed 14 hisotric words:

"That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain."

This was a declaration of the eternal and inalienable rights of man.

Standing before the graves of our fallen sons, he told his silent witnesses, and the world that:

"This Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

America needs the spirit of Lincoln.

It needs the rekindling of the love of liberty which will rebel against slavery and enslavement.

The spirit of him must give the soul of America its rebirth.

To every generation of Americans is given the task of carrying forward the torch, of passing on to each succeeding generation undefiled the heritage of America's tradition—a tradition based upon the highest conception of mankind the world has ever known.

We are all the defenders of our faith.

America united is America invincible.

The Late Charles Laban Abernethy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM A. BARDEN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a press account of the death of the late Hon. Charles L. Abernethy, a former Member of this body, as carried in the New Bern Sun Journal, a newspaper printed at New Bern, N. C.:

C. L. ABERNETHY SUCCUMBS AFTER LENGTHY ILLNESS—FUNERAL SERVICE FOR FORMER CONGRESSMAN, 82, SET FOR FRIDAY

Critically ill there for the past 2 days, former Congressman Charles Laban Abernethy, one of the best known men in eastern Carolina until illness forced his retirement, passed away at the Kafer Memorial Hospital here at 3:30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon at the age of 82 years. He would have been 83 on March 18. For the 2 years preceding his death he had been confined to his home at 608 Pollock Street in New Bern, and illness had forced him to abandon his law practice prior to that.

Funeral services are to be held at the Centenary Methodist Church in this city Friday afternoon at 3 o'clock. Rev. John A. Russell, pastor of that church, will officiate. Interment will be in Cedar Grove Cemetery in New Bern. A member of the Centenary Methodist Church, Mr. Abernethy organized the Deems Bible Class there, and the Congressman frequently came from Washington to conduct the class while serving there.

A son of the late John Turner Abernethy and Martha Scott Abernethy, Mr. Abernethy was born at Rutherford College, North Carolina. His grandfather had founded that institution and he was educated there. In 1883 he located in Beaufort, N. C., as editor of the Beaufort Herald. He continued in that position for 8 years and took an active part in the upbuilding of the town.

Deciding to take up the practice of law, Mr. Abernethy entered the law school of the University of North Carolina. He graduated from the university and received his license to practice law in 1895. The same year he married Miss Minnie May, of Pitt County, and began the practice of law at Beaufort. For 2 years he was attorney for the town of Beaufort and for the Atlantic & North Carolina Railroad. His law practice is said to have been remarkably successful.

In 1900 he was elected a member of the electoral college and was the youngest of all the members. He served in that capacity again in 1904. In 1902 he was made a leading candidate for Congress, but withdrew in favor of Charles R. Thomas, of New Bern. During the governorship of R. B. Glenn in North Carolina, Mr. Abernethy was appointed by the Governor as superior court solicitor in the third judicial district, which later became the fifth district. At the time of his appointment, he moved to New Bern. He remained solicitor for 12 years.

A former member of the Democratic executive committee, Mr. Abernethy was elected to the 67th Congress to fill the unexpired term of the late Sam M. Brinson. In 1923 he was elected to succeed himself as the representative of the Third Congressional District, and there was no interruption in his 13 years of service in Congress.

It was during the depression days of the Hoover administration, while Congressman Abernethy was serving as a member of the Appropriations Committee, that he secured the appropriation for the present handsome Federal building here to house the post office and the New Bern division of the Federal eastern district court. When that had been completed, he aided the city of New Bern in securing the building being abandoned for use as a city hall. New Bern has been proud of one of the finest Federal buildings and one of the best city halls in the State. There was national recognition of the achievement of the Democratic Congressman during a Republican administration and a depression.

Congressman Abernethy was one of the first advocates of the inland waterways for North Carolina. That was one of the many

projects for eastern Carolina to which the Congressman gave untiring energy. The waterways became a reality during the time of his active service in congress.

An association which began while he was a resident of Beaufort, Congressman Abernethy was a past master of the Franklin Masonic Lodge there. He became a 32d degree Mason. He was a Knights Templar, a member of the Sudan Shrine temple, a member of the New Bern Elks Club, of the Odd Fellows, the Woodmen of the World, the Kiwanis Club, the Red Men, and the Sons of the American Revolution. He was the first president of the New Bern Historical Society.

Survivors include his wife, Mrs. Minne May Abernethy; one son, Charles L. Abernethy, Jr., who was associated with his father in the practice of law in New Bern; two sisters, Mrs. Frances Hardenburgh and Mrs. Dora A. Blount, both of Washington, D. C.; two brothers, Ivan B. Abernethy, of New York City, and Benjamin Abernethy, of Washington, D. C.

With Congressman Abernethy the oldest member of the Craven County Bar Association, the six newest members have been chosen as active pallbearers. They are C. E. Hancock, Cecil May, Lamar Sledge, Kennedy Ward, Raymond E. Sumrell, Raymond Dunn or Elwood Dunn, George Riddle, N. C. Reed, Jr., A. D. Ward, and J. W. Beaman have been named as alternates.

Honorary pallbearers are to be members of the Craven County bar and court officials, and W. C. Chadwick, L. C. Newman, George Wood, James W. Mitchell, Hugh Waldrop, Hugh Swan, S. G. Clark, N. F. Rowe, R. L. Tyndall, T. C. Fitzgerald, Leon C. Scott, Jr., N. E. Mohn, Joe Alben, Marcus Dill, Bryan Duffy, Dr. Charles Duffy, Dr. Richard N. Duffy, Dr. C. H. Ashford, Dr. C. S. Barker, C. T. Midyette, Sr., H. C. Lawrence, and Royal G. Turner.

Fiftieth Anniversary of the United States Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks made by me before the House Committee on Appropriations March 1, 1955:

Mr. Chairman, and members of your distinguished Committee on Appropriations, I appreciate this opportunity to appear in support of the appropriations for the United States Forest Service. I feel confident that your committee will give the forestry items in the budget the thorough and careful consideration needed to assure their future well-being.

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Forest Service. While February 1, 1905, is considered the birthday of the Forest Service, it really marks the beginning of the great conservation movement in forests, soils, water, and wildlife as we know it today in America, a movement that has captured the imagination, attention, and concern of millions of our people. Today more citizens are interested in what Congress is doing to protect and develop our forest resource than at any time in the history of America.

Congress has always played a big part in the development, use, and protection of the forestry resources of our Nation, not only through legislation but also with appropriations. We have often been generous with the first item and then failed to carry through in an adequate manner our responsibility under the second. Mr. Chairman, over the years Congress has passed numerous bills which will do reasonably well the forestry job at hand—both on our national forests and on State and private woodlands. Often, however, we have failed to appropriate the money needed to adequately carry on the work we have created, or we have been asked to make cuts in the working funds of the great forestry enterprises that have meant so much to our Nation. Under my remarks on page A995 of the RECORD for February 17, 1955, there is mentioned the gratifying progress we have made in forestry in the United States in the past half century. The Members of this and other Congresses can claim some of the credit for these accomplishments.

Mr. Chairman, today your committee is in an enviable and rather unique position, for in this 50th anniversary year of forestry you have a great deal to say as to just how the second half century of forestry in America will go forward. I, therefore, need not remind my distinguished colleagues on this committee that our responsibilities are great. Also, that throughout the Nation many eyes are upon us, conservation-minded eyes, so to speak.

There is an item on page 363 of the printed budget that deserves serious consideration. I refer to the proposed cut of $1,083,690 in the appropriation for cooperation with the States in forest-fire protection. This reduction in an essential program with the States came as a surprise to me because I know that Congress does not intend to go backward in this vital cooperative work. The 81st Congress passed Public Law 392, which amended the Clarke-McNary Act, to provide an annual authorization of $20 million for cooperation with the States in forest-fire protection. The appropriation for fiscal year 1955 is $9,449,500, some $10 million under what should be the annual appropriation if the full intent of the law were carried out. And now for fiscal year 1956 you have been asked to cut the current appropriation some $1 million.

The appropriation for cooperation with the States in fire control is one of the most important in the budget. Through it 43 States and Hawaii are assisted in the protection from fire of forests which produce primary forest products worth over $3 billion and which affect many payrolls and great investments in wood-using industries. This appropriation is the basis for protecting recreational values in State and private lands now estimated to exceed $4 billion. The sport of hunting and fishing so dependent on good forests now brings about $9 billion into the economy of this country. I need not dwell upon the need for protecting water resources and the reduction of loss from floods. All these are tied into this appropriation. Therefore, rather than a reduction at this time, an increase which would at least start to bring the Federal share of this appropriation somewhere toward the goal set by Congress would be in order and certainly would have the support of many organizations and conservationists throughout the Nation.

In fiscal year 1954, the total expenditures on this program were $39 million of which the Federal share ($9,449,500) as about 24 percent. This indicates that we are still a long way from doing the job particularly in light of a detailed study made jointly by the States and the Forest Service in 1949 which showed a need for an expenditure of over $48 million to provide basic protection to the forests and watersheds on State and private lands in the Nation. I might point out here that this estimate was based on 1949 prices. Also it provided only a normal or average level of protection and it didn't include any refinements or superior protection facilities by the State government cooperating in the program.

If I appear to be unduly concerned about this item in the budget, it is because we still have about 53 million acres of State and private forest land in this Nation without any kind of organized fire protection. This unprotected acreage is burning at an annual rate of more than 13 percent of the area. In comparison, the burn on the 374 million acres under protection is less than 1 percent of the area. In other words, 7 million acres of the 53 million unprotected acres burn each year while only 2½ million acres of the 374 million acres under protection burn. This indicates that the States are doing a fine job on the areas under this program. It also indicates that the big job ahead is to get these remaining 53 million acres under protection as soon as possible. The members of this distinguished committee know that we cannot do this by a reduction in the amount of Federal participation in the program. We have been 44 years making the above progress—our efforts cannot be relaxed now.

The proposed reduction if not restored would mean that each cooperating State can expect about 12 percent less Federal Clarke-McNary fire funds in fiscal year 1956. The argument that a few States might make up this reduction overlooks the fact that we still have a big job if we are to maintain the present level of protection and at the same time bring in these millions of acres of unprotected land. Also many people forget that cost of living has gone up and that the Federal appropriation now buys less than it did even a year ago.

The woods are full of people. In the forests of my State of Pennsylvania we find millions of people now coming to the woods for recreation. "Smokey Bear" is doing a great job in preventing fires, but in spite of his fine work and the work of everyone else concerned the average number of forest fires on State and private forest lands in 1953 was greater than the average number of fires during the previous 5 years. Simply, this means that there are more people using the forest. If the cooperative funds are reduced at this time the chances are slim that the reduction will be made up by additional State or private funds. In Pennsylvania we are spending $895,000 each year on this cooperative program; $188,500 or 21 percent is Federal Clarke-McNary money from this appropriation. The $20,000 more or less that Pennsylvania will lose if the proposed reduction is allowed could not be taken lightly because it would probably mean doing without several tractors or fire plows or other needed equipment. More seriously, it could mean loss of manpower. Pennsylvania has been in this program since 1920. Forest-fire protection has progressed under the cooperation of the Federal Government, and I urge the committee to give serious consideration to restoring the $1,083,690 to this fund for cooperation with the 43 States and Hawaii in forest-fire prevention. At the same time, I believe it would be good conservation business to give very serious thought to increasing the overall appropriation by several million dollars. Such an increase would amount to what commonly might be called a cost of living increase to provide for the increased costs the States must now pay for fire equipment, labor, tools, radios, and other facilities for fighting fires. No Member of Congress has ever been criticized for supporting a conservation program as vital to the national welfare as this one.

There is another item on page 363 of the printed budget under State and private forestry cooperation in which I am vitally interested. I refer to the item "Cooperation in Forest Management and Processing." Each year I have discussed this Federal-State cooperative program with the Appropriation Committee. It is a privilege now to discuss it with you.

Since 1940 the Federal Government through the Forest Service has been cooper-

ating with some 38 States in giving technical forest management assistance to the private owners of small woodland properties. As you perhaps know, over three-fourths of all the privately owned productive forest land in the Nation is in the hands of some 4¼ million small owners and farmers. Many of the forest problems of the Nation as far as proper cutting and regeneration of the timber crop occurs on these small properties. The problem is so important and caused so much concern that Congress in 1950 passed the Cooperative Forest Management Act which authorized to be appropriated annually the sum of $2,500,000 for cooperation with the States in advising and assisting the small woodland owners to do a better job of forest management on their properties. The act also included provisions for advising small mill operators to do a better job of sawing logs into lumber and other forest products. There are 50,000 of these small sawmill operators.

The budget this year provides $632,429 for carrying on this work in 38 States. The States are spending an additional $1,228,000. The work has just begun in that about 5 percent of the Nation's small owners have been assisted and better management has been started on 21 million acres or 8 percent of the small woodland acreage in the Nation. There has been over 5⅔ billion board feet of timber products harvested from the improved small forests with a return of over $100 million to their owners. Basically, however, the assistance of the farm foresters has been to improve the forest-management practices and to get better crops of timber on these small properties.

There are now about 275 farm foresters being employed by the States under the cooperative forest-management program. Some 8 or 10 States are marking time waiting to get into the program when Federal matching funds are available. These are States where the Federal leadership and advice in the development of the woodland management program, training the farm foresters, and review of the work is important. This is a program which has the support of the State officials wherever it is in operation; it is one which is of great importance to the Nation if our small woodland properties are to be brought into full productivity.

My own State of Pennsylvania has been temporarily out of this program for several years due to pressing requirements of surveys on State forest properties. However, it is my hope that Pennsylvania will be among the 7 or 8 other States that are coming into this program if a small Federal increase in this appropriation is forthcoming. Mr. Chairman, I have no hesitancy in urging your committee to consider granting the full amount of the authorization in the Cooperative Forest Management Act. And if such action is impossible at this time, I hope you will consider at least an increase of $100,000 so that more States can employ farm foresters. I know that there would be no criticism from the States or from conservationists throughout the Nation if this program were strengthened and brought up to operating needs of the cooperating States. Any increase, however, which the committee would make in this appropriation would enable the program to go ahead and bring better management on many thousands of additional small woodland properties.

Another item under "State and private forestry cooperation," page 363 of the budget, is cooperation with some 43 States, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico in the production and distribution of forest trees for planting unproductive land in this Nation. This cooperation is under section 4 of the Clarke-McNary Act. Each year a small annual appropriation of some $450,000 ($447,061 to be exact) is allowed for cooperation with the States in this worthy project. The States themselves in 1954 contributed $1,600,000.

In 1954 almost one-half million acres were planted to forest trees under this program. This sounds like a tremendous accomplishment. It is small, however, when we consider that there are around 60 million acres of private and non-Federal public forest lands in need of planting to restore productivity for future timber needs.

Mr. Chairman, while the budget allows the same amount for this program as the appropriation act included last year, I believe it would be good business to consider bringing this cooperative tree-planting program up to the full measure of activity which Congress provided for in the Clarke-McNary Act. I firmly believe this committee would receive the commendation of conservation groups all over America, State foresters, and private landowners if the full authorization of $2½ million in the Clarke-McNary Act were appropriated so that a realistic and dynamic tree-planting program could be started now and not 20 to 30 years from now when the situation is serious. I visited several foreign countries last fall and saw firsthand the terrible results of allowing denuded, unproductive land to wash away and erode into the rivers and streams. It's too late in many of these countries to do anything about it even though from time to time we have poured millions of American dollars into tree-planting programs far removed from our shores. I think it's about time we do something about this Nation's unproductive land. We can't make much progress by spending millions on conservation projects abroad and only a few thousand here at home.

White pine blister-rust control is another cooperative activity in which the Federal Government has been working with the States as far back as 1916. Federal funds for blister-rust control were reduced from $2,986,354 in fiscal year 1954 to $2,570,000 in fiscal year 1955. This represents a reduction of $416,354. Of the 1955 appropriation, $165,000 was earmarked for assisting States and private-property owners with control on their lands, a 50-percent reduction over 1954. The 1956 budget carries the same amounts as were appropriated for 1955—only $165,000 for assistant State and private owners with control.

The sharp reduction in the cooperative item in the 1955 appropriation was predicated on the belief that the States and property owners can and should assume a greater share of responsibility for this and other similar cooperative programs. However, funds provided by the States and local agencies for conducting blister-rust control of their lands totaled $732,192 for fiscal year 1954 and dropped to $650,315 for fiscal year 1955. There were reductions in 8 States in 1955 over 1954 totaling $97,880. There were increases in 9 States totaling $16,003. This represents a net reduction of $81,877 in cooperative funds in 1955 over 1954. The State of Pennsylvania was 1 of the 9 States increasing its contribution, from $25,720 in 1954 to $25,960 in 1955, an increase of $240.

The record thus indicates that the States and the local agencies did not absorb the slack occasioned by the reduction in Federal assistance. On the contrary, the overall net action was a reduction in both Federal and local funds for blister-rust control on State and private lands with its consequent curtailment in control work. Treatment on non-Federal white pine areas decreased from 981,165 acres to 687,690 acres, a reduction of 30 percent. For Federal areas the decrease was from 179,033 acres to 165,425 acres, or 8 percent. Here is another area of Federal-State cooperation which should be carefully scrutinized by your committee. The Federal appropriation for cooperation with the States in control work on State and private lands was reduced to $165,000 in the fiscal year 1955 appropriation act. I respectfully recommend that this item be restored to the full amount that was appropriated in the fiscal year 1954 appropriation act, namely $330,000. I urge this action because we are losing ground in the fight to control white pine blister rust. The blame for this backward step can be laid right at the door of the Federal Government.

In my appearance before this distinguished committee, I always consider it a privilege to speak in behalf of protection and management of national forests. Here I refer to the items on page 359 of the Budget. The small increases provided for timber resource management, the sanitation and care of public camp grounds and forest-fire protection on the national forests are a step in the right direction and should receive every consideration. In fact, the $200,000 item recommended on page 359 should be increased to at least $1 million.

While the national forests of the East do not have the tremendous volumes of timber sales of those of the West, the sales they do make are very important to communities and the wood-using industries on which these communities depend. The volume of saleable material is increasing rapidly on these growing forests and more thinnings should be made for the good of the trees. However, there are too many situations where the timber needs cutting, communities need the work, and industries need the wood, but the Forest Service does not have adequate funds to put the timber on the market.

It has been estimated that the national forests of the North, South, and East could increase their timber sales by almost 150 million feet a year if the necessary funds were available.

The $800,000 increase requested in the budget for timber management will provide more sales and more jobs in many communities where unemployment has become a real problem. It is only good business to help people who want to work to help themselves. And it is particularly good business to do this by providing more timber sales since for every dollar spent on timber sales, at least $10 is returned to the Treasury.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I want to comment on the item on page 361 of the budget, Forest Roads and Trails, for which an increase of $1,500,000 is requested to provide the total amount authorized for appropriation in 1956. As I understand this item, it is to complete the access roads needed to make Government timber available in inaccessible areas in the West.

Most of the road money appropriated for national forest roads and trails since before World War II has been spent for timber access roads. The Forest Service needs this timber access road money. There are millions of board-feet of Government timber that should be harvested before disease and forest pests destroy its value.

But other roads are also needed on the national forests. Visitors to the national forests have increased by leaps and bounds since World War II. Last year more than 40 million people came into the forests to camp and visit. Since the CCC camps were demobilized at the beginning of the war, national forest recreation roads and trails have been virtually neglected. During World War II forest road money was spent almost entirely on timber roads. There wasn't enough left to even maintain recreation roads. That was as it should be, but now we should be rebuilding the roads that went to pieces from lack of maintenance and building many more to accommodate the thousands of additional campers, picnickers, hunters, and fishermen.

According to Forest Service records, there are approximately 119,000 miles of existing roads on the national forests. Twenty-five percent of these are recreation roads, but

only a third of them are in good condition. Twenty thousand miles of recreation roads need improving and the Forest Service estimates that another 12,000 miles of new recreation roads are needed so people can reach camping sites and hunting and fishing that is now inaccessible to families in moderate circumstances. Recreation trails on the national forests likewise deteriorated while timber access road needs were consuming forest road and trail appropriations. The Forest Service says that there are enough trails, but 20,000 miles of the mountain trails need a lot of work before they are safe for vacationists.

From the Forest Service, I learned that about $15 million was spent from appropriated forest road funds for improving and building timber access roads in 1954. But only 5 percent of that amount was spent for improving or building recreation roads and trails. The Forest Service should have at least $3 or $4 million a year, just for recreation roads for several years.

On the Allegheny National Forest, in my State of Pennsylvania, we have a lot of national forest timber but since it is accessible after a fashion, we have no claim on the forest road funds earmarked for opening access roads to new timber stands. But there are thousands of people who want the timber roads and other roads on the Allegheny forest made suitable for automobiles as well as for travel by logging trucks. Those people want the Forest Service to continue building timber access roads where needed for getting out national forest timber in the West before it is destroyed by beetles and fire, but they also want a few good roads in the West and here in the East for other national forest users. Now, I might point out to the committee that 16,500 people live inside the forest; 64,000 additional people live immediately adjacent to the forest; 139,000 live in the four counties within which the forest is located; 5,125,000 live within the forest's immediate zone of influence; 47,099,000 people (Americans, Canadians not considered) live within 300 air miles—an average day's motor travel—from the approximate center of the forest. This is approximately 31 percent of all the people in the Nation. Within this area the population pressure is 222 individuals per square mile as compared to a national average of 50, and an average of 17 in the 11 Western States.

Recreation roads must receive more attention and more money or we shall have a few million national forest campers, picknickers, hunters, and fishermen on our necks. The national forests have always been open to public use and always should be. We can't discourage people from going to our national forests for recreation and to get away from their daily grind. The only other alternative is to provide funds whereby roads can be built for recreation needs. Here is one area of use which I urge this committee to give serious consideration.

Mr. Chairman and committee members, I appreciate your earnest and sincere interest in these appropriations for our forestry activities in our Nation. The amount of time you have granted for my remarks is generous indeed and reiterates your interest. This is a matter which should vitally concern every Member of Congress. We have been dragging our feet in keeping up our end of the load on these Federal-State cooperative programs of fire control, small woodland management assistance, and tree planting. Your committee, Mr. Chairman, will be doing the Nation a great service by beginning this next 50 years of forestry in America with adequate funds for Federal participation with the States in this work.

At the same time I urge continued vigilance that sufficient funds are appropriated to properly manage and harvest the resources of our great national forests.

Atomic Era Poses New Water Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and article:

WATERWORKS ENGINEERING,
New York, N. Y., February 24, 1955.
To the Members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We have the honor of filing with you an advance proof of an editorial entitled "The Atomic Era Poses New Water Problems," which will appear in the March issue of Waterworks Engineering.

This editorial bears directly on one important aspect of the new atomic energy law upon which you are scheduled to hold hearings on March 1. Since the safety of the water resources of the Nation are of vital importance to public water supplies, as well as to all other uses of water sources, we know that you will give due consideration to the public health problem to which the editorial refers.

It is essential that the great fund of scientific knowledge of the Atomic Energy Commission be augmented by the specialized abilities of the United States Public Health Service and the State health departments, now that private industry is to be licensed to utilize radioactive materials for peacetime purposes.

If we can be of further service to your committee in this matter, we are yours to command.

Respectfully submitted.

WILLIAM W. BRUSH,
Editor.

ATOMIC ERA POSES NEW WATER PROBLEMS

What to do about radioactive wastes has been quite extensively studied and discussed, especially since the atomic bomb has become a weapon with which we must live. So far, most of the research on handling, storing, and disposing of radioactive waste materials has been carried out by the Atomic Energy Commission. These waste materials have been produced, primarily, at AEC installations where control measures have been developed and utilized to prevent the discharge of hazardous exposure substances. Because of the careful control measures taken at the Federal level, there appeared, during the early stages of atomic research and development, to be little need for any supervision by authorities at the State or local levels.

Since AEC or its agents were the sole producers of such radioactive wastes, it was sufficiently reassuring to know that this governmental body was actively working on the problem of the safe handling and disposal of these potentially dangerous substances. Now that the Federal Government has authorized the licensing of private industry to utilize nuclear products for peacetime purposes, the problem of environmental contamination takes on broader implications. The question must be raised as to whether there is the need, or will be need, under the new conditions, for other governmental agencies to become interested in the control problems which have been exclusively handled by AEC in the past.

Certainly, it is important that, at the beginning of licensing private industry to use atomic power, a sound control policy be adopted. What are some of the basic factors in setting up such a policy?

The waterworks profession is vitally interested in such control policies because the operations of AEC installations and of private enterprises which may be handling radioactive substances will involve the use of water. This may be from both surface and ground sources, and may also involve discharge of spent waters and wastes back into the Nation's water resources. It is not surprising, therefore, that the American Water Works Association has already urged Congress to spell out, in the new atomic energy law, the responsibility of users of atomic substances to continue the same type of control which has, in the past, been provided by AEC.

The best guaranty that the water resources of the United States will not be impaired by any such uses would be obtained if the agencies most conversant with water problems are clearly given the necessary authority to control and police the proposed new operations.

What are these agencies? They are the United States Public Health Service, the State health departments, and, possibly, local water authorities. It would be desirable for the law, at the outset of the expanded program, to recognize these agencies and to make them a part of the program of controlling any radioactive hazards.

Obviously, waterworks men will turn to their State sanitary engineering organizations for information on how atomic power operations may affect their water supply, how any deleterious conditions may be detected, and what actions should be taken to protect public water supplies from this new type of atomic era hazard.

It is self-evident, therefore, for all State sanitary engineers to be kept fully informed on this new subject so that they may transmit authentic guidance to the waterworks profession.

Though it may be several years before atomic power is utilized by private industries, it is none too early to determine what legal controls should be set up and who should enforce them. It will take the cooperation of the Atomic Energy Commission, the United States Public Health Service, the various State health departments, and other recognized water authorities to formulate and implement a sound policy upon which Federal, State, and local legislation can be based. Waterworks management should be vitally interested in the development of such a plan and assist in its production and acceptance at all governmental levels.

Community Head States Spain Not Anti-Semitic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following news item which appeared in the Jewish Advocate newspaper in Boston, Mass., on February 10, 1955:

COMMUNITY HEAD STATES SPAIN NOT ANTI-SEMITIC

MANILA.—Newspaper accusations in the United States and Britain that Spain has been intolerant of Jews and anti-Semitic

were denied here this week by Daniel F. Baroukh, president of the Jewish community of Madrid, who is currently in the Philippines.

In a statement to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Sr. Baroukh noted that 2 years ago he was granted an audience by the Spanish Chief of State, the first such interview granted a Jew in Spain in 450 years. He said he came away from the meeting impressed with General Franco's words and message to the people of Israel.

Sr. Baroukh recalled that 2 years ago the Spanish Government gave its permission for the holding of public high holiday services in a Madrid hotel and that a Spanish Government representative attended the services, as did leading Spanish Catholics, representatives of the American Embassy, and American Jews. In a reference to the refusal to grant a permit to hold similar services in a Madrid hotel this past Rosh Hashonah, Sr. Baroukh said a mistake was committed by his secretary in Sr. Baroukh's absence.

The head of the Spanish Jewish community stressed that during the Nazi regime many Jews were saved by being admitted to Spain. He listed various other gestures by the Spanish Government toward the facilitating of religious services and instruction, and acknowledge its presentation of a magnificent collection of books for the projected Sephardic Library in Jerusalem. Sr. Baroukh said that there are now 35,000 Jews in Spain.

Lebanon, Tenn., Sends Goodwill Ambassador to the Republic of Lebanon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the promotion of goodwill among the peoples of the world has become in our modern civilization a matter of great importance, for where understanding exists, suspicion and hostility are absent.

In this connection, a goodwill Ambassador from Lebanon, Tenn., in the Fourth Congressional District of Tennessee which I have the honor to represent, is now en route to the Republic of Lebanon on the eastern edge of the Mediterranean. He is Dr. F. M. Baddour, esteemed citizen of this Tennessee city, whose parents were native of the nation of Lebanon. Dr. Baddour, as vice mayor of Lebanon, Tenn., has been joined for this visit instigated by the Lebanese Government, by the official representatives of 22 other cities of the United States which bear the name of Lebanon. His appointment as vice mayor was made as a tribute to this American citizen of Lebanese extraction by action of Mayor William D. Baird and other city officials of the city of Lebanon, Tenn.

This gesture of goodwill, Mr. Speaker, is of such importance that I ask consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, along with my remarks, excerpts from articles printed in the Lebanon (Tenn.) Democrat and concerning this visit of Dr. Baddour to the Republic of Lebanon.

The articles include the column Sense and Nonsense, written by Col. J. Bill Frame, editor of the Lebanon Democrat, a news story concerning Dr. Baddour's departure on his voyage of goodwill, and the proclamation issued by Mayor Baird on the occasion—all of which were published in the Lebanon Democrat.

The articles are as follows:

DR. BADDOUR LEAVES BY AIR FRIDAY FOR BEIRUT MISSION

Friday will be Dr. F. M. Baddour Day in Lebanon, when the new vice mayor and special representative of the Tennessee City of Cedars leaves on a 2-week visit to the land of his ancestors, the Republic of Lebanon, at the eastern edge of the Mediterranean.

Among distinguished guests at Berry Field when Dr. Baddour leaves by air for Washington and New York will be Mayor Ben West, of Nashville, as well as a motorcade of friends and associates from Lebanon.

The vice mayor will be one of more than a dozen officials of American towns named Lebanon to be special guests of the Lebanese Government March 1 to 15.

Gifts from local industries, including representative products of Barry-Carter Milling Co., Lux Clock Manufacturing Co., Texas Boot Manufacturing Co., Lebanon Woolen Mills, and Lebanon Garment Co., were shipped to Beirut by air this week. In addition, Dr. Baddour will take gifts from the Lebanon Lions and Rotary Clubs and the Lebanon Jaycees to their brother organizations in Beirut and also gifts from the Business and Professional Women's Club.

A Bible will be sent by the First Presbyterian Church, of which Dr. Baddour is a member, for presentation to a Lebanese Protestant church.

In Washington Dr. Baddour will be greeted at the airport by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER and Congressman JOE L. EVINS. Senator ALBERT GORE sent his regrets that he will be out of the city Friday.

A reception is planned by the Lebanese consulate general in New York City before the American mayors leave by plane for the Middle East.

Dr. Baddour's father, the late Marion D. Baddour, came to Lebanon in 1884 from Aurson, Syria, which became the Republic of Lebanon in 1946. He was accompanied by 2 brothers, and all 3 settled in Lebanon, but the brothers later moved to Covington, Tenn. Mr. Baddour opened a business in Lebanon, which he operated until 1902, when he returned to Syria, where he met and married the former Miss Adele Haddad, of Hamanna, Syria. They soon returned to Lebanon, Tenn., and reopened a mercantile firm, which they operated until 1926, except for about 2 years, when they went back to Syria on a visit, and then opened a laundry in Alexandria, Egypt, returning to the United States in 1910. In 1926 Mr. and Mrs. Baddour moved to Hughes, Ark.

Dr. Frank Baddour was born in Lebanon, Tenn., and has lived here all of his life, except the 2 years spent as a child in Alexandria, Egypt.

He was educated in the public schools and Cumberland University in Lebanon. He received his degree in optometry from the Northern Illinois College of Optometry and has done postgraduate work at Monroe College, of Chicago; Southern College of Optomery, Memphis, Tenn.; and at Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn.

He is active in church and civic affairs, is a member of the First Presbyterian Church, Men's Club, chamber of commerce, all Masonic bodies, including Shrine and Order of the Eastern Star, Shrine Club, Camera Club, and has the distinction of holding the only honorary lifetime membership ever given by the Lebanon Jaycees and is an active member of the Lebanon Lions Club.

He married the former Miss Rebecca Jewell, and they have three daughters—Mrs. Richard (Adele) Lykens, of Route 3, Kingsport; and Misses Glenda Ann and Patricia Baddour.

Dr. Baddour has three principal hobbies, either of which could be a full-time occupation. They are breeding fancy rabbits, peony cultivation, and cooking. For many years he maintained a peony farm near Lebanon and also operated an extensive rabbit-breeding business. He has gained considerable prestige as a cook, especially in the art of barbecuing.

Dr. Baddour has many relatives living in the Republic of Lebanon, among them being an uncle, brother of his mother, Abraham Haddad, of Hamanna. His maternal great-grandfather, Simon Haddad, was a Presbyterian minister.

SENSE AND NONSENSE

(By J. Bill Frame)

Tomorrow our new vice mayor and ambassador of good will, Dr. Frank M. Baddour, will leave on his trip to Beirut, Lebanon.

It would be an excellent gesture under any circumstances to send a representative to the country from which we derive our name. But in this instance, it is most fitting, because our representative is a descendant of Lebanese parents, and will have a particular appeal.

Nothing Lebanon has ever done will gain our town as much favorable publicity, and bring our community into needed limelight as will the action of our mayor and board of aldermen in selecting Dr. Baddour as our town's representative.

Mayor William D. Baird should be—and has been—complimented on his appreciation of the gold mine of news stories that will be used in conjunction with the trip, which will certainly place Lebanon, Tenn., in a very favorable light.

And the members of the city council certainly deserve credit for approving the plan.

Following is a bit of interesting material received by Roy Dowdy, president of the Lebanon Rotary Club, from the president of the Rotary Club of Beirut, Lebanon. This is indicative of the importance the Lebanese Government and civic organizations place on the visit of the mayors and representatives of Lebanons in the United States.

"DEAR SIR: Just 100 years ago the first Lebanese began to immigrate to your beautiful United States and now some 200,000 Lebanese are today United States citizens. We in the Middle East are proud of their record of achievement and grateful for the opportunity you have given them.

"Your Lebanon and our Lebanon have a most important thing in common, our name 'Lebanon,' which means 'White Mountain' in Arabic. On the snowcapped Lebanon Range where some of the present cedars of God have been growing for over 3,000 years, you can look down from their heights and see the blue Mediterranean below, indeed something to remember.

"Our Lebanon, from which your community has derived its name, has a long and famous tradition you will be proud to know in person. Our Phoenician alphabet from which all western languages are formed, the Biblical cities of Sidon and Tyre, up to and including some of the most modern installations in the world will give you a panorama of thousands of years.

"The current year of 1955 has been designated by the President of the Republic as 'Lebanese International Homecoming,' and we trust that many Americans of Lebanese descent and other American tourists as well will come to our shores to meet the modern Lebanese at work and at play, to see our famous historical sites and scenic beauties, and to enjoy the many special events we have planned on this occasion.

"It is with great pleasure, therefore, that the Lebanese Government extends to you, the mayor of Lebanon, an invitation to come

and visit Lebanon in the Middle East, as the guest of the Commissariat General au Tourisme, for a period of 2 weeks, from March 1 to March 15, 1955, inclusive, as a gesture of friendship and in grateful recognition of the welcome you in the United States have given all Lebanese at all times, for these last 100 years of our national association. Invitations are also going out to the mayors of the other 22 Lebanons, United States, which list is attached for your information."

PROCLAMATION

Whereas the Republic of Lebanon has invited the municipal officials of the 23 Lebanons of the United States to visit them from March 1 to March 15, 1955, in appreciation of the 300,000 former Lebanese who now reside in the United States; and

Whereas Lebanon, Tenn., has accepted this invitation and will send its duly elected vice mayor, Dr. Frank M. Baddour, on said visit to the Republic of Lebanon; and

Whereas the industries and civic clubs of Lebanon, Tenn., are sending gifts to the President of the Republic of Lebanon by the said vice mayor, who will depart from Berry Field Airport, Nashville, Tenn., at 2:45 p. m. on February 25, 1955; and

Whereas the importance and significance of this trip by the vice mayor of Lebanon, Tenn., is of great magnitude, and the city of Lebanon feels grateful and indebted to its vice mayor, Dr. Frank M. Baddour, for the giving of his time to make the trip, and service to our community.

Now, therefore, I, William D. Baird, mayor of Lebanon, Tenn., do hereby proclaim Friday, February 25, 1955, Dr. Frank M. Baddour Day in Lebanon, and humbly urge and request the people of Lebanon to express our appreciation to Dr. Frank M. Baddour for his sacrifice and service to the community and, if possible, to join the motorcade that will accompany him to the Berry Field Airport.

February 21, 1955.

WILLIAM D. BAIRD,
Mayor.

"Open Covenants Unopenly Arrived At"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the New York Times:

"OPEN COVENANTS UNOPENLY ARRIVED AT"—AN OBSERVER ARGUES FOR A REVISION OF WILSON'S SLOGAN—HE CALLS FOR A RETURN TO SECRET DIPLOMACY AND AN END TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS THAT TURN DIPLOMATS INTO PROPAGANDISTS

(By Drew Middleton)

LONDON.—Jules Cambon, of France, who died in 1935 at 90 and who was probably the ablest diplomat of his time, once said: "The day secrecy is abolished, negotiation of any kind will become impossible." The prediction has proved startlingly accurate, although it is unlikely that even the prescient M. Cambon envisaged the oratorical free-for-all of the past decade—the propaganda sessions that have so largely replaced professional diplomacy.

Now a cautious return to secret diplomacy seems to be in the making. A few recent settlements by secret diplomacy are already on the books. And the way has been opened, after a futile attempt in the United Nations, for an effort to end the fighting between Communist and Nationalist China through the channels of traditional diplomacy.

Granted that secret diplomacy—meetings in camera between ambassadors and the foreign ministers of the states to which they were accredited—was not perfect. And the world was much smaller when it was widely in use. But it is worth noting that for the century between Waterloo and the Marne secret diplomacy managed to put off a general war in Europe despite the constant shifting of alliances and national combinations and the competition among the great states for overseas empire.

From 1854 the Eastern question, which plagued two generations of statesmen, was dealt with by the cautious, painstaking efforts of the professional diplomats. The great issues and grave crises in Europe, Africa, and Asia which arose out of the development of Germany into a world power after 1870 were confined to reasonable bounds by this diplomacy. It was not a system that favored adventurers, as Louis Napoleon found, but it did favor those who sought a stable, peaceful world on the basis of live and let live. There were no righteous crusades. But there were no world wars.

Why, then, was secret diplomacy abandoned?

One reason was a disastrous misuse of the system. At the crucial time when World War I might have been averted, the Central Powers turned over the conduct of negotiations to impetuous militarists like Conrad von Hoetzendorf in Vienna and earnest but loose-thinking rulers like the Kaiser. War came and many thought that it had been caused, in some mysterious way, by the machinations of the professional diplomats in secret session.

Another reason for the fall of secret diplomacy into disrepute was that either the agreements and treaties which were the product of such negotiation were kept secret in toto or important annexes modifying the body of the pact were kept from the public. When at the close of World War I treaties like the Sykes-Picot treaty of May 1916, sharing out most of Asia Minor among Britain, France and Russia, became public knowledge, there was a clamorous popular reaction against such pacts and the methods of secret diplomacy that produced them. Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary, protested, "In war you will have secret treaties, and you cannot help it. Many things generally regarded as criminal are regarded as inevitable in war." But to no avail.

The revulsion against secret treaties, unwisely extended to secret diplomacy in the popular mind, helped win wide support in the United States and Europe for Woodrow Wilson's slogan: "Open covenants openly arrived at."

Consider the record of open diplomacy. It presents one salient lesson—especially since the close of World War II: it doesn't work. Under the conditions of open diplomacy in the various conferences that have been held between the representatives of East and West, the Russians could not be anything but intransigent.

The reason is that for more than a third of a century the rulers of Russia have been portrayed by their own propaganda as the omniscient and omnipotent executives of an unchallengeable governmental system. Such men cannot negotiate openly, for the concessions they might have to make would, in fact, testify that they were not omniscient and omnipotent, that their system had its flaws, that there were other governments in the world as powerful, as shrewd and as intelligent as that of the Soviet.

Thus, the Council of Foreign Ministers established by the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, and France at the war's end proved incapable of solving any of the major issues before it. At Moscow and London in 1947 and at Paris in 1949 the Council failed to make headway on the solution of the problem of Germany's reunification, then as now the most important problem in Europe.

Berlin, Trieste, the Saar, the Austrian peace treaty—one by one, the great problems facing Europe were pigeonholed as the inability of open diplomacy to deal with them became more and more pronounced. Intransigence of the Soviet representatives, Foreign Ministers Molotov and Vishinsky, contributed heavily to the failure.

The meetings of the Council, of the Security Council of the United Nations, of the Deputy Foreign Ministers were noisy propaganda platforms rather than diplomatic gatherings. The pattern became boringly familiar. Let us say the Council of Foreign Ministers was discussing German elections. To begin, the Council was not 4 men and their interpreters. It might number 40 or 80, for each Minister was supported by advisers from his own ministry, experts on military and political matters and public relations men.

This was the pattern:

The Russian Foreign Minister rises to speak. He talks on for 2 hours and every word is translated into English and French. The speech advocates powerfully and with a wealth of similes drawn from the more obscure Russian proverbs the Soviet plan for German elections. But the speaker does not end here. He attacks the United States for supporting the Nazis in Bavaria, the British for rearming the Germans in Saxony, and the French for requisitioning German cattle.

By the time the Russian is finished the three other delegations are angry, weary, and well off the track. But the Soviet Minister's harangue is dutifully reported, giving satisfaction to his Government and joy to all the comrades the world over.

The next day the British Foreign Secretary finds that before he puts forward his country's position he must reply in detail to the Russian charges and, since he is human, add a few countercharges about what is going on in the Soviet Zone of Germany. As the meeting progresses all the Ministers are drawn into a propaganda battle. Progress is measured not by accomplishment but by the scoring of propaganda points.

Exaggerated? Not at all. This is what happened, and it went on for week after week until the good sense of George Marshall and Ernest Bevin broke it off.

Perhaps the only thing to be said for these propaganda marathons was that, as Sir William Ridsdale has pointed out, they performed a useful educational function at a time when the British and to a certain extent the American publics had to be informed of the single-minded nationalist ambitions of the Soviet Union. But there were other, less expensive ways of doing this.

The arguments in favor of secret diplomacy are powerful. Only in private can rational discussion be carried out by representatives of conflicting interests. For both East and West the limits are extended when the principle of negotiation in secret is established. Then there is no gallery to play to. One side can offer a concession without fearing that it will be seized upon by the opposition at home and used to agitate public opinion against the negotiators. The other side can consider the concession without being called traitors or spoiling the facade of omnipotence. Piece by piece, a settlement can be constructed.

Such negotiations do not necessitate the strain and expense of huge meetings. The Foreign Ministers would be in touch with the negotiations through their envoys but they would meet only to approve the results or to bargain over points which were outside the competence of their ambassadors.

The main argument then for secret diplomacy is simply that it provides the con-

ditions under which diplomats can negotiate. Recent diplomatic history offers two examples of how this works.

One was the crisis that arose out of the blockade of Berlin by the Soviet Union in June 1948, which was in some ways the most dangerous of the postwar period. In the end the Russians got out of an increasingly untenable situation by diplomacy at the United Nations. But it was secret diplomacy, not open. They did not negotiate before the eyes of the cameras and the ears of reporters. Quiet talks were followed by consultation with the Foreign Ministry in Moscow and the State Department in Washington.

There is no sharper contrast between the two methods of diplomacy than the settlement of the Berlin blockade and the open diplomacy of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris soon after the end of the blockade. Here, again, diplomatic negotiation was replaced by propaganda, and about all the West got out of the meeting was the impression that Mr. Vishinsky could talk louder and longer than Mr. Molotov.

The second example of successful secret diplomacy was the settlement of the Trieste dispute. For 8 months in 1954 an Italian, an Englishman, an American, and a Yugoslav carried on in secret the delicate, complex negotiations that ended a problem that had plagued the West since 1945.

Two of the negotiators, Manlio Brosio and Dr. Vladimir Velebit, the Italian and Yugoslav Ambassadors in London, did not meet until the agreement was initialed. Representing the chief antagonists in the dispute, the Ambassadors communicated the positions of their nations through two tireless intermediaries, Llewellyn E. Thompson, the United States Ambassador to Austria, and Geoffrey Harrison, an Under Secretary in the British Foreign Office.

On these two cool, perceptive and experienced diplomats fell the principal burden. Individually or together, they interviewed the Italian and Yugoslav envoys, reconnoitering the two national positions. In discussions with their experts on the Trieste situation they sought the areas of dispute most susceptible to adjustment. Then, in other interviews with the Ambassadors, they slowly brought the Yugoslav and Italian positions closer together. There were concessions on both sides. There was hard bargaining. Great discretion was used. There were no press conferences. There were no inspired editorials in the newspapers.

It was unspectacular and difficult, this measured quadrille from embassy to Foreign Office to embassy. There were long messages to be composed to Foreign Ministers and in turn men sat late at their desks in Belgrade and Rome composing answers. It was tedious but effective. It provided the ultimate argument for secret diplomacy: it worked.

There is one serious qualification to any advocacy of a return to secret diplomacy and the relative stability of the 19th century. The diplomats of that era were, on the whole, products of the same general environment. They came from the upper middle class or the aristocracy. They had similar educations and tastes. They had at least one language, French, in common. Cosmopolitan by inclination and profession, they were familiar with the politics and society of nations other than their own. Above all, they had a common interest in maintaining the balance in Europe, and consequently the peace of the world.

The majority of these personal links are nonexistent among the diplomats of today. Even if the Soviet and western foreign ministers spoke French it is doubtful if in this nationalist era they would be willing to carry on negotiations in the old language of diplomacy.

Nevertheless, the trend toward a restoration of traditional diplomacy is encouraging. The prerequisite for its success is the establishment of a balance of power wherever the ambitions of the East and West clash. The lack of a power balance has been one reason for the failure to reach settlements with the two Communist powers. Such a balance rests as much on political unity as on military strength. In Europe that unity is at last in sight. In Asia it remains distant.

If secret diplomacy returns as the most effective manner of international negotiation, it is possible that the U. N., with its facilities for private consultation among delegates, will assume new importance as a clearinghouse for such negotiations. The U. N. Secretariat could be used more extensively in secret mediation between members.

What the world may hope for—in spite of Communist bluster—is that the advent of weapons far more terrible than any foreseen by the diplomats of the past will impose a common interest in preserving the peace. Indeed, the totality of destruction provided by these weapons is in itself one of the best of all reasons for a return to secret diplomacy. War now means not victory or defeat but survival or destruction for nations and peoples. In this situation another round of open conferences which would serve as no more than propaganda platforms would be worse than a waste of time, effort, and money; it would be criminal folly.

Great and trusted leaders of the West like President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill approve the idea of discussions with the East on the great political issues that divide the world. But negotiation will be impossible in these discussions if they are carried on amidst the popping of flashbulbs and to the accompaniment of public speeches. Today's requirement is open covenants unopenly arrived at.

Imports From Communist-Dominated Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include a letter I have received from Mr. Patrick E. Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, regarding the opposition of his organization to the importation of meat products from Communist-dominated Poland:

AMALGAMATED
MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER
WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA,
Chicago, Ill., February 25, 1955.

Hon. MELVIN PRICE,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PRICE: I bring to your attention an appalling situation which is developing through the importation of canned hams from European countries and which last year amounted to 99,163,000 pounds. The discomforting thing about such large importations of this product is that 19,717,000 pounds reached the United States from Communist-dominated Poland.

The United States ships products to some countries, but Communist Poland is not one of them. Dollars obtained by Poland through the sale of hams in the United States may be used by Poland to purchase in dollar-hungry third countries strategic materials, which, under current regulations, are not permitted to be exported from the United States to Communist countries.

The members of our union, as a result of this, are suffering unemployment. We find no objections at the present time to purchases of canned hams from Germany, Denmark, Holland, etc. There seems to be no excuse why hams from Communist-Poland reach our shores in such large quantities.

Very sincerely,

PATRICK E. GORMAN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Washington and Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON L. LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, with leave obtained to insert my own remarks in the RECORD, I am including the following column recently appearing in 2,000 weekly newspapers in America entitled "Washington and Small Business," by C. Wilson Harder:

WASHINGTON AND SMALL BUSINESS
(By C. Wilson Harder)

Washington pundits who claim only right-wing Republicans will oppose administration's protective tariff wrecking proposal, with Democrats supporting it, apparently have not marched through Georgia lately.

Representative HENDERSON LANHAM, a Georgia Democrat, takes mighty blast at plan to turn over economy to Acheson-Dulles theories of State Department.

Representative LANHAM feels pending tariff measure would be death blow to Nation's cotton textile industry and cotton growers already feeling effects of one-worlders.

He points out published list of planned tariff reductions includes almost every item produced by United States textile industry.

Representative Lanham also points out while average hourly labor rate in United States textile mills in $1.30, in Swiss mills it is 43 cents, in England 40 cents, France 38 cents, Italy 30 cents, India 9.5 cents, Japan 13.6 cents.

He further reports it is planned, if Congress approves current tariff-wrecking scheme, to also lower tariffs on foreign-made synthetic fibers.

Thus, plans are afoot to flood United States with foreign cottons made at wages ranging from 10 to 25 percent of prevailing United States wages but at same time, through cutting tariffs on foreign-made synthetics, it is planned to wreck United States cotton farmers even now supported by farm program.

The gentleman from Georgia even states he will ask congressional investigation on who drew up list of planned tariff slashes.

From his study, small business alone will bear brunt of tariff wrecking plans. In cotton textile industry, employing over 1,250-000, 75 percent of industry is composed of small firms who do less than 1 percent of total industry.

The Georgian also made this highly significant statement; "The American people feel that the great mass production industries of the United States are so much more efficient than foreign industries as to be immune to foreign competition. Hence we expect that articles selected for tariff reduction would include products of great super-

efficient mass production industries. They are either not on list at all, or are relatively minor items."

But he does charge through list of tariffs to be reduced Washington planners have selected for destruction many industries composed of small operators, or agricultural operators.

It is interesting that at the same time Congress is being asked to raise by law United States minimum wage rate to more than twice prevailing skilled wage rate in England.

It is also interesting to note that one of the first to testify in support of tariff wrecking was a cabinet officer who formerly headed Nation's biggest manufacturing firm which also operates branches in many of world's cheap labor nations. He was joined by Harold Stassen, whose experience in world trade has been confined to giving away United States tax billions as head of Foreign Operation Administration.

In meantime published figures show that since 1937, while United States tariffs have been slashed by 68 percent, England's have been increased by 20 percent. Thus many feel it is good they still whistle "Dixie" in Georgia instead of "God Save the Queen."

Regulation of Natural Gas Companies

SPEECH
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, we have just witnessed the second flanking movement in the two-pronged drive by the Eisenhower administration to sterilize the Natural Gas Act by removing natural gas companies from rate regulation. If there were any doubt that the big oil and gas corporations were the special darlings of this administration, that doubt was dissipated last Saturday when the President's Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy issued its report. Inasmuch as the 8-man committee consisted of 7 members of the President's cabinet and the head of the Office of Defense Mobilization as chairman, it is difficult to conceive that this report does not reflect the Eisenhower policy.

The report continues the administration's long record of flouting the interests of the consumers. If its recommendations are adopted, consumers will pay hundreds of millions of extra dollars into the treasuries of the big oil and gas companies in the country.

The report follows closely upon the first enveloping movement on the consumers' pocketbook which occurred last spring with the decision by the Federal Power Comission in the Panhandle Eastern pipeline case. This decision had the effect of relieving the pipeline companies owning their own reserves from the effect of rate regulation contemplated by the Natural Gas Act. The purpose of the act is to shield consumers from exorbitant charges by companies furnishing natural gas in interstate commerce and it requires the public utility concept of rate regulation, that is, a rate base predicated on actual costs. Until last spring, the Federal Power Commission had always used this method of valuation, even in the face of Panhandle's militant contention that the current field value of its gas reserves should be considered as the base for fixing its rates. In each instance where the Commission rejected the company's contention and insisted upon regulation based on actual cost, its decision was sustained by the courts. Then on April 15, 1954, for some reason the Commission changed its mind and adopted the company's argument. It apparently preferred the dissenting opinions of the late Justice Jackson to the majority opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States. The effect of the decision on the consumer was enormous. In my own city of Chicago, as one isolated example, 1,450,000 gas users will pay an additional $5,216,000 for their gas as a result of this decision. And its impact has not yet been fully felt inasmuch as the decision is still on appeal of the courts.

If other pipeline companies are given the same consideration as Panhandle Eastern, and there is no clear reason why they should not—if rate regulation is tied to current market price of gas reserves rather than original cost, the pipeline companies will have been taken out of effective rate regulation.

Now the report by the President's committee marks the second part of the attack on the Natural Gas Act. Essentially, the report advocates enactment of the old Kerr bill to relieve the so-called independent producers from regulation. This recommendation is in direct contrast to the action taken by the previous Democratic administration, for it will be remembered that President Truman refused to bow to the pressures exerted by the oil and gas interests and vetoed the Kerr bill.

The particular form of the committee's recommendation leads me to believe that the committee was guilty either of gross ignorance or willful deception. This is what it said:

> In the interest of a sound fuel policy and the protection of the national defense and consumer interests by assuring such a continued exploration for and development of adequate reserves as to provide an adequate supply of natural gas, we believe the Federal Government should not control the production, gathering, processing, or sale of natural gas prior to its entry into an interstate transmission line.

Certainly the committee knew or should have known that the production and gathering process is now exempt from regulation. Why, then, should it attempt to tie that process in with the movement of gas in interstate commerce unless it sought to confuse the issue?

As the Supreme Court has pointed out time and again, the important point is when the gas begins its interstate journey to the gas stoves of the consumers. This may or may not be when it enters an interstate pipeline. In the Interstate Natural Gas Co. case, the court held that it began before it entered the pipeline.

Mr. Speaker, prior to the passage of the Natural Gas Act of 1938, the Supreme Court of the United States has held in the case of *Public Service Commission* v. *Attelboro* (273 U. S. 83), that the States could not regulate the transportation of natural gas and electricity in interstate commerce and the sale of natural gas and electricity in interstate commerce for resale. Thus, natural gas companies engaged in interstate commerce were regulated neither by State nor Federal authorities. This void in interstate regulations became known as the Attelboro Gap. It was to fill this vacuum that the Natural Gas Act of 1938 was passed, to fill the regulatory gap beginning at the city gate and extending back to the source of the gas. If the recommendation of the committee be adopted, that gap in regulation will again come into being, to the detriment of the consumer.

Tax Reduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the New York Post on Thursday, February 24, 1955. It is entitled "Whose Bull Gets Hooked" and follows:

WHOSE BULL GETS HOOKED

President Eisenhower was indignant yesterday. In a rare burst of anger he denounced the Democratic proposal for a $20-per-person tax cut next year as "the height of fiscal irresponsibility."

We don't know who steamed up the President, but surely his brain trusters should have briefed him on some recent history. For it was exactly 8 months ago that some other men came up with a plan to shave taxes $20 a head. There was no protest from the White House; there were no cries of "irresponsibility." Conceivably the reason for the reticence was that the author of the proposal and the 45 Senators who voted for it were Republicans.

The measure was improvised by Senator MILLIKIN, of Colorado, and the Times soberly reported that it was "put forward at the urging of a group of Republicans led by Senator IVES, of New York, to balance off features of the tax bill benefiting business and recipients of income from corporation dividends."

Actually the amendment was an attempt to forestall a Democratic move to boost the $600 basic-tax exemption. In the ensuing maneuvers both proposals lost out.

The President stands on hollow ground when he sanctimoniously deplores the Democratic tax-cut drive as a threat to fiscal stability. The tax benefits for wealthy individuals and large corporations pushed through by the administration last year were adopted in the face of an anticipated Federal deficit almost twice as large as estimated now. Moreover, as Speaker RAYBURN pointed out yesterday, the Republicans themselves have been pledging individual tax slashes next year; under the Democratic proposal, the reduction would not take effect until January 1.

There may be flaws in the Democratic plan, but certainly the idea is no more subversive now than it was when 46 Republicans voted for it a year ago. If the Democrats deserve

reproach, it is for so belatedly recognizing the merits of MILLIKIN's amendment.

To put it another way, we quote Mr. RAYBURN: "It all depends on whose bull gets hooked."

To Aid Refugee Entry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith a letter I sent to the editor of the New York Times, which appeared in a recent issue of that newspaper:

TO AID REFUGEE ENTRY—CHANGES URGED IN REFUGEE RELIEF ACT TO INCREASE EFFECTIVENESS

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

On August 7, 1953, the Refugee Relief Act became effective. Ostensibly it was to be a great humanitarian gesture to permit 214,000 refugees, escapees, expellees, and orphans to enter the United States as nonquota immigrants. It was to encourage the taking of risks for the sake of liberty. It was to point up—and again I say ostensibly—that the United States has not departed from its tradition as a land of haven.

I have charged, and continue to charge, that the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 is a dismal failure.

Some 18 months have passed since the bill's enactment, and one-half of its lifetime. Of the 214,000 allotted under this act some 19,000 visas have been granted as of January 28, 1955. In short, a little over 8 percent of the total have received the coveted visas, with the act due to expire in 1956.

I say that the law is bad, but the administration of the law under Scott McLeod is worse. The operation of the Refugee Relief Act is tangled and snarled in nightmares within nightmares, forms, questionnaires, security checks, and duplication.

MANY OPERATIONS

As it is now, we have involved in the operations of one act: The housing authorities, United States Employment Service, the health authorities, the Department of State (both domestic and in the field abroad), the Department of the Army through its investigators, the FBI, the CIA, the CIC, and the CID, not to mention individual sponsorship. In processing each application the local police files are checked and the central police files are checked as far back as is possible. Not only are the files in the place of residence checked, but in all former residences specified by the alien.

In addition checks are made on the records of the courts and the public prosecutors; records of the United States, the CIC, the FBI; embassy files, central files, and files of the Visa Division in Washington. The sponsor's background is similarly investigated.

Mr. McLeod is playing a cruel game by pitting legal paragraphs against human lives. Escapees (an escapee is one who escapes from behind the Iron Curtain into free territory) beckoned by the light of liberty have dared to cross barbed wires, risk gunfire, spent harrowing days and nights in escape from the Iron Curtain countries only to find themselves finally barred by bits of paper. You can rest assured that a real security risk has made sure that all his papers are in order, that he can answer any question, devious or otherwise; that he has provided himself with every kind of documentation. No one single escapee has come into the United States, although provision is made for 15,000.

In one breath we encourage escapees to come over the border, then the great United States will offer haven, and in the other breath we say although you have risked your neck to come over the border you must overcome and run an impossible obstacle race to come into the United States.

THREE JOBS

Mr. McLeod wears three hats. He is administrator of security. He is head of consular affairs. He is administrator of the Refugee Relief Act. It is a physical impossibility to fill all posts properly and effectively. In the matters affecting the Refugee Relief Act and consular affairs the field officers are constantly seeking advisory opinions from Washington. I know that questions relative to the admissibility of aliens have traveled back and forth in a merry-go-round of passing the buck. If by any chance a field officer should made a decision contrary to Mr. McLeod's interpretation, then he may well find himself subjected to investigation. Hence, everything must be exact—so exact that the hopes of the alien are strangled between commas.

I have introduced a bill which, if enacted into law, will provide for group assurances by reputable voluntary agencies, thus eliminating the bottleneck of the necessity for finding individual sponsors. I have provided that the administrator of the act shall be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, thereby eliminating the language of the present act, which names the administrator as "the Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs established under the Department of State * * *." If passed, Mr. McLeod may walk the plank. It is my purpose to remedy defects of the law and to remedy its administration by the removal of the present administrator.

EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives.
WASHINGTON, *February 25, 1955.*

A $53 Million Kiss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it was my observation when abroad that many of our people in positions of responsibility over there instead of representing the interest of the United States gave the impression of being more interested in the welfare of the country in which they are located.

I commend to the House the following editorial from the Anderson (S. C.) Daily Mail:

A $53 MILLION KISS

We saw a picture on the back page of the Daily Mail Wednesday showing an Italian politician kissing the hand of the American Ambassador to Italy, Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, in appreciation of the American taxpayer—you and you and you, giving the Italians $53 million to help raise the living standards of the southern sections of Italy and of Trieste.

When is the big giveaway going to end?

Haven't we seen enough waste in Italy with American money? And in France and Spain and England?

As you prepare your income-tax return for 1955, do so cheerfully with the knowledge that part of your tax money is going to Italy as an absolute gift.

How many Italians would ever know the aid came from America? When is this constant gravy train riding by Italy and a lot of other fallen empires, like decadent France, to stop? Kiss your tax money goodby so the "Eyeties" can kiss the Ambassador's hand.

No one can show that the $50 billion we have expended in foreign aid since the end of the Second World War has made us any friends; all reports are that the result has been just the opposite. In fact, the quickest way to lose a friend—whether nation or individual—is to stop a policy of gifts or loans after it has once been started. For it is only true of human nature that the more you give a man the more he wants; and if you give it to him long enough, he will finally demand it as his right. And in this respect, nations are no different from individuals.

Those who are our real friends now would have been just as much our friends without any foreign aid. And those who give lip-service to friendship just in order to keep the dollars rolling in would long ago have been exposed for what they are.

No one can show that Marshall aid has restored the economy of Europe. No one can show that the economic recovery of Europe would not have taken place much faster and on a much sounder basis without our aid.

In fact, the sound-thinking conservatives of Great Britain will tell you that our aid hindered rather than helped their recovery. They will tell you that the $4 billion loan we made Britain in 1946 helped establish their Socialist Government in office, and that the succeeding Marshall aid helped keep it in office; that they would have gotten rid of this government—which drove them to the very brink of bankruptcy—much sooner had it not been for the aid we poured into them.

Alaska Road Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, January 27, 1955 marked the 50th birthday of the Alaska Road Commission. It was on that date in 1905 that the Congress created the Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska to work under the direction of the War Department. This Board, appointed by Secretary of War William H. Taft, was charged with the responsibility for location, construction, and maintenance of wagon roads and trails in Alaska. Prior to that time Capt. W. R. Abercrombie had located and constructed a military trail from Valdez to Eagle in 1901, over which mail was carried twice a month with packhorses in summer and dog teams in winter. In 1904 the Seattle Office of the Army Engineers completed a survey for a wagon road between the same points, Valdez at that time being the northern terminus of the Seattle-Valdez military cable, and Eagle the principal port of entry into Alaska from Canada and the Klondike gold fields.

The first road board consisted of Maj. Wilds P. Richardson, 9th Infantry, 1st Lt. George B. Pillsbury, Corps of Engineers, and 1st Lt. Samuel C. Orchard, 3rd Infantry, and was directed to hold its first meeting in Skagway on May 15, 1905. Major Richardson, being the senior officer, became the first president of what has since been known as the Alaska Road Commission. The first year's appropriation was $28,000, made available by the Congress from the Alaska fund derived from trade taxes collected outside of incorporated towns, and from liquor licenses.

Some of the earliest projects included a road from Haines up the Chilkat River to the large Indian villages of the Chilkat Valley, road from Fairbanks to the newly discovered gold camp on Pedro Creek, a tributary of Gold Stream, and short roads at Nome where gold had been discovered at and near the beaches. During this first year of the new Board, the overland route from Valdez to Fairbanks was also scouted out, utilizing the first section of the Valdez-Eagle trail between the coast and Gulkana. Based on these first-year studies of the Board, a direct appropriation of $150,000 was made by the Congress for work in 1906, which permitted start of construction of what is now known as the Richardson Highway, joining Valdez with Fairbanks, and which for years was the only overland route into the heart of Alaska.

The major effort until the late 1920's was directed toward improvement of the Richardson Highway and construction of mining roads in the vicinity of Anchorage, Fairbanks, and Nome. Then followed, in rapid succession, the construction of the Steese Highway from Fairbanks to Circle, the Elliott Highway from Fairbanks to Livengood, the Gulkana-Nabesna Road, and the road from Anchorage to Palmer to serve the colonization project established in 1935 to farm the Matanuska Valley.

The Glenn Highway, designed to connect Anchorage with the Richardson Highway, was started in the spring of 1941 and punched through during World War II. It was the following year that construction was initiated on the Alcan Highway—now officially the Alaska Highway—through Canada and Alaska to connect with the Richardson Highway at Delta Junction, as well as the Tok Cutoff to connect the Gulkana-Nabesna Road at Slana with the Alaska Highway at Tok Junction. Following World War II, construction was initiated in 1946 on the Sterling Highway on the Kenai Peninsula and also on the Taylor Highway, linking the Alaska Highway with Eagle on the Yukon River.

In 1948, at the request of the Armed Forces charged with the defense of Alaska, an extensive program of improving and asphalt surfacing of the main highway system was authorized by the Congress and which included the construction of the important link to join Seward with Anchorage. This program, having an estimated cost of $108,450,000, is now approximately 84 percent complete, with 812 miles of black top surfacing in place to serve the needs of the military as well as to aid in the development of the Territory.

The present system of highways in Alaska consists of a total of 4,100 miles, of which 3,791 miles are under the jurisdiction of the Alaska Road Commission and the remaining 309 miles, located in Chugach and Tongass National Forests, under control of the Bureau of Public Roads, the road-building agency for the United States Forest Service in Alaska. The major interconnected system joining the cities of Seward, Anchorage, Valdez, Fairbanks, and the villages of Kenai, Homer, Circle, Livengood, and Chitina with each other and the Alaska Highway, totals 1,372 miles. The important Copper River Highway, now under construction, will eventually link Cordova with this primary system.

The Alaska Road Commission continued under the jurisdiction of the War Department until June 1932, when civilian personnel and operations were transferred to the Department of the Interior with Mr. Ike P. Taylor as chief engineer.

Active heads of the Alaska Road Commission, in order, included:

Maj. Wilds P. Richardson, later general, 1905–17.

Maj. William H. Waugh, 1917–20.

Maj. John C. Gotwals, 1920.

Col. James G. Steese, later general, 1920–27.

Maj. Malcolm Elliott, 1927–32.

Mr. Ike P. Taylor, now retired, 1932–48.

Col. John R. Noyes, now brigadier general, and adjutant general of the Alaska National Guard was loaned to the Alaska Road Commission for 3 years by the United States Army to head up the extensive paving program requested by the military, 1948–51.

A. F. Ghiglione, incumbent Commissioner of Roads for Alaska.

Recent years, starting with the extensive improvement and paving program, have witnessed an increase in construction by contract on those roads which are readily accessible and adaptable to that type of construction. The Alaska Road Commission still continues to open up virgin and isolated areas of Alaska with crews and equipment under the direct supervision of the Commission, following a policy of stage construction whereby length is the initial and primary purpose of a highway in a pioneer country followed by refinements as needed and warranted by economic development. A current project of this nature is the Denali Highway connecting the Richardson Highway with a system of roads in Mt. McKinley National Park. The newest approved project is a road between Fairbanks and Nenana which will be started in the summer of 1955.

Working in cooperation with the Alaska Road Commission, a Federal organization deriving most of its funds from Congress, is the territorial highway organization consisting of the territorial highway engineer and a territorial board of road commissioners with one member from each judicial division. The territorial organization calls upon the Alaska Road Commission to perform a major part of work financed by territorial funds, thereby preventing costly duplication of effort. Mr. Irving Reed is the present Territorial highway engineer.

This oldest roadbuilding agency of the Federal Government numbers among its personnel many employees who have served the agency for 25 years or more, over half the period of its active life. Appropriate golden anniversary commemorative functions are planned during this 50th year of service to the Territory.

Lithuanian Resolutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include resolutions unanimously adopted at a mass meeting of the Lithuanian Americans of Worcester, Mass., held under the auspices of the Lithuanian Aid Association, Inc., on February 13, 1955.

The resolutions follow:

Whereas the 16th day of February 1955 will mark the 37th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by the people of the Republic of Lithuania;

Whereas the Republic of Lithuania, a peace-loving and progressive nation, notwithstanding its loyalty to international treaties and agreements, fell victim to the unprovoked aggression and military invasion by Communist Russia and in spite of all the declarations and obligations solemnly undertaken by the great powers under the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter is still subjected to the premeditated Kremlin policy of physical, national, cultural, religious, and economic destruction;

Whereas no peace and stability in the world is possible as long as that part of Europe comprising over 100,000 million people is held in captivity;

Whereas no nation great or small can today feel protected from the claim of international communism supported, as it is, by all the destructive weapons that modern civilization has devised for mankind: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this meeting voice its gratitude to the President, Secretary of State, and the Congress of the United States of America for the support constantly extended to the cause of independence of the Republic of Lithuania, and especially for the creation of the select congressional committee to investigate the circumstances under which the seizure and incorporation of the Baltic nations by the Soviet Union took place;

Resolved, That the Government of the United States enter into no agreements which would in any way acknowledge the fruits of any past, present, or future Soviet aggression;

Resolved, That the congressional investigation into the facts and circumstances of the Soviet aggression against free nations be continued by Congress, and that decisive and energetic action on the part of our Government be undertaken in the United Nations organization to brand the Soviet Union as an aggressor against all the nations now under the Communist heel;

Resolved, That the Genocide Convention be immediately ratified by the Senate of

United States so that Soviet Russia may be made criminally responsible for the genocide perpetrated by her in the Baltic States and other countries behind the Iron Curtain;

Resolved, That the Lithuanian Americans of the city of Worcester in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, once again reaffirming their loyalty to the principles of American democracy, pledge their wholehearted support of the administration and the Congress of the United States of America in their efforts to bring about a lasting peace, freedom, and justice in the world.

MICHAEL ZEMAITIS,
Chairman.
JOHN PALUBECKAS,
Secretary.

Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the Saturday Evening Post of March 5, 1955, which includes some observations regarding those who favor public power, as against private enterprise. Much has been said lately, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD contains long speeches by those who advocate public power as against the American way; namely, private enterprise. Why should Government go into competition with its own citizens? And why should Government do for the people what the people can do for themselves?

Those who favor public power are very careful not to disclose the fact that TVA would soon be here in Washington before the Committee on Appropriations, asking $100 million of the taxpayers' money to build another steam plant. When the steam plants now authorized in the TVA have been completed, 70 percent of the power generated in TVA will be steam power, and only 30 percent will be hydroelectric power. The tail will soon be wagging the dog.

Are the American people forever committed to furnish their tax money to a favorite area like TVA because the Government provided for the initial installation of hydroelectric power? Much of the steam power generated in the TVA has no relation whatever to hydropower.

The editorial from the Saturday Evening Post follows:

THE PUBLIC-POWER BLOC HAS MASTERED SOME TECHNIQUES OF TOTAL CONFUSION

The strategy and tactics of the public-power bloc in respect to the Dixon-Yates contract for construction of a plant to supply electrical power to the Atomic Energy Commission bear a certain superficial resemblance to the debating methods of the Communists over an issue like Formosa. (Hold it, readers. We're not comparing public-power advocates to Communists, merely pointing out resemblances in methods of procedure.)

The first stage after the contract was signed featured a vigorous attack on the aggressive imperialists of Wall Street, who, operating through the puppet Eisenhower regime, had committed a felonious attack upon the people's government of TVA. Then followed a series of revelations by former employees of the imperialist private utilities, plus efforts to brand private-utility companies as engaged in an effort to oppress the hapless colonial peoples of the TVA region. The confusion of resolutions and press releases continues, although President Eisenhower's flat statement that the Dixon-Yates contract will stand has weakened the campaign considerably.

However, just as in the United Nations, the antics of the public-power bloc have not been without effect. Thus Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, who seems to have voted for the Dixon-Yates contract when it was before the Commission, told a congressional committee later that the contract should be canceled because "something must be done to free the Commission from any connection with this cause for so much discord." Speaker SAM RAYBURN urged the Dixon-Yates group to withdraw from the contract because "this thing has created such a furor" that private-utility companies could be injured. In international disputes as conducted by the Communists, we are all too familiar with the desperation which eventually sets in, causing those who have no truck with communism to agree to almost any concessions if only the yammering will cease.

Fortunately, these tactics, like mass picketing, can produce effects quite the opposite of those intended. We appear finally to have put our back up in Asia, and, when President Eisenhower was asked at his February 2 press conference whether he had any plans to withdraw the Dixon-Yates contract, his reply was: "I do not."

Nevertheless, we can confidently expect the public-power boys to set them up in the other alley.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to pay tribute to thousands of Americans of Ukrainian descent who this year celebrated the 37th anniversary of Ukrainian independence on January 22. Their fervor for liberation of their homeland parallels the faith of all freedom-loving people in the hope that all enslaved nations under the Communist yoke will regain their self-determination.

The Ukraine enjoyed independence a short time before Communist domination placed them behind the Iron Curtain in 1920. However, their hopes for return to self-determination have not waned. It is important that our Voice of America continue to reach them to bolster that hope.

It is appropriate that we reaffirm our strong faith in the aspirations of the Ukrainian people who yearn for independence from totalitarian subjugation. On the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of Ukrainian independence, all Americans joined in fervent prayer that the Ukraine and all other captive homelands will soon be free again.

Job Creation or Job Destruction?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, in the last Congress we witnessed a political maneuver by some of our Democratic opponents to rush us into a new WPA program. This would have created a psychological effect that could have had serious consequences for our economy.

Sane judgment prevailed, and in spite of the cries of "Wolf, wolf," our factories are still humming, department-store sales continue at a high rate, and we continue to enjoy the same level of prosperity that has prevailed for several years, all without the WPA crutch.

A few days ago a new political masterpiece appeared on the scene, and without having heard witnesses present proposing and opposing arguments, the committee sent the measure to the floor of the House for action. I refer to the bill giving taxpayers a $20 tax reduction and a similar amount for each dependent.

How they arrived at this figure as $20, instead of $24.50, $29.95, $39.98, or some other vote-getting, bargain-counter figure, is not satisfactorily explained. How is it that the Democrats, without the aid of hearings and without waiting for appropriation bills to learn what it is going to cost to run the country during the year ahead, are able to say we can give every taxpayer and every one of his dependents a $20 tax cut, reducing Federal revenue by about $2 billion?

We all want tax reductions. No one likes to pay taxes. But revenues are needed to keep our country strong. This administration has diligently tried to cut out waste and reduce unnecessary expenditures. It is still effecting economies wherever possible, thus seeking to reduce the need for heavy taxes.

This hastily conceived proposal has far greater involvement than affording $20 immediate tax relief for the taxpayer. It goes beyond that, and the March 4 edition of the U. S. News & World Report contains an editorial by David Lawrence which sets forth some of the dangers of this proposal.

Mr. Lawrence's editorial follows:

JOB CREATION OR JOB DESTRUCTION?

When a political party proclaims a program of taxation based upon vote catching rather than sound economic principles, a serious question is raised as to its capacity to govern the Nation in a responsible manner if entrusted with power.

The Democratic Party in Congress came forth last week with a proposal to give every taxpayer a $20 cut in taxes. This would cost the United States Treasury more than $2 billion annually in tax receipts, but it could do far more damage eventually—it could start a cycle of inflation, and, as prices skyrocketed, a breakdown of confidence in the value of the dollar would ensue.

If this is a sample of what the Democratic Party has in mind in the event of victory at the polls in 1956, there will arise at once a widespread fear for the future solvency of the American Government.

It was Thomas Jefferson, founder of the Democratic Party, who enunciated the principle: "Equal rights for all, special privileges for none." The plan to give a $20 tax cut is really a proposal to grant to certain income classes a higher percentage of tax reduction than to other groups. It is a special privilege to be bestowed upon a particular group, irrespective of the economic consequences to the Nation as a whole.

The argument made by proponents of the measure is that prosperity can best be stimulated by furnishing money subsidies to certain consumers.

This was also the philosophy behind the Work Projects Administration during the depression days of the 1930's. But that policy was a failure. Unemployment remained at an unprecedented height for peacetime, and war alone came to the rescue of the national economy. It was not until 1940, when heavy-goods industries were finally given the opportunity to expand, that the unemployment figure began to drop perceptibly.

It is contended, of course, that the money saved by tax cuts will add to purchasing power. The resultant deficit in the budget, however, would have to be met by higher taxes on other income groups or by raising business taxes which are already too high.

To increase the quantity of purchasing power is futile if prices are forced upward due to lack of confidence in the purchasing power of the dollar itself. An inequitable tax scheme means a commitment to a prolonged unbalance of the whole national economy. This can only bring inflation, with its devastating effect on persons who live on pensions and fixed incomes.

What really makes America tick is a balanced economy. This means that funds must be made constantly available for investment in the expansion of business and in the replacement of worn-out equipment. Today's climate for investment, brought about by the Eisenhower administration, is the healthiest in 30 years.

Unless saving by the individual is encouraged and the fruit of his labors invested as seed money in business, there is no chance for a system of risk capital to survive. Only the Government could then provide the necessary capital. And that's the begining of the end of individual freedom. For little by little, as state capitalism takes hold and more and more people find themselves on the Government payroll, the incentive for management to create new enterprises vanishes. Governmental restrictions on human liberty then become necessary to maintain discipline.

Why do the patriotic leaders of a great American party permit themselves to become victims of the socialistic doctrine of job destruction?

For when taxation is inequitable and men of thrift and talent are discouraged because they are taxed virtually to the point of confiscation, business enterprise falters and unemployment is the inevitable result.

Certainly, to impose taxes only on a basis of subsidy to the maximum number—without regard for the eventual good of all—is one way to liquidate the managerial class in America and to bring economic chaos, as has been the case in Russia.

Tax rates should never be determined on the basis of money grants direct to the largest number of voters. Taxes should be imposed on the basis of incentive—by means of rates that will indirectly exert the maximum influence toward job creation. That's sound economics—it's the way to deserve the vote of all groups.

The Democratic Party of today is torn between the true Democrats who wish to conserve the American economic system, and the radicals who will, if allowed to become the majority, destroy the system which has given us the strongest industrial power and the highest standard of living any country has ever known.

Will the Democratic Party return to the dynamic conservatism of Woodrow Wilson, who in the fiscal policies of his administration maintained the principles of Thomas Jefferson? Or will the Democratic Party surrender to the insidious forces of state capitalism which seek to break down our whole economic system?

What kind of a Democratic Party are the American people to be asked to vote for in 1956?

Young Republicans for Eisenhower and Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the executive committee of the Young Republican National Federation meeting together with the Western and Midwestern Young Republican Councils has unanimously endorsed the renomination and reelection of President Eisenhower and Vice President NIXON.

Sullivan Barnes, chairman of the national Young GOP group, urged the young people of America to "spearhead a crusade dedicated to the renomination and election of Eisenhower and NIXON."

The resolution presented by the Young Republicans of California declared that "for the best interests of the United States and of our beloved party, the retention of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President of the United States and RICHARD M. NIXON as Vice President has been mandated by the people."

In discussing the resolution Chairman Barnes praised both the President and Vice President for their recognition and continued support of the Young GOP.

Over 200 Young Republicans from 35 States were in attendance at the meeting, held at the Broadmoor Hotel in Colorado Springs, Colo., on February 26, 1955.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas for the first time in 20 years, the United States of America has a President and Vice President that all Americans, regardless of party, can be proud of; and

Whereas the destiny of this Nation and of the free world depends largely upon the retention and rededication of this President and Vice President in public life; and

Whereas for the best interests of our United States and of our beloved party, the retention of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President of the United States and RICHARD M. NIXON as Vice President has been mandated by the people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the executive committee of the Young Republican National Federation in open session does hereby unequivocally and wholeheartedly endorse the renomination and election of Dwight D. Eisenhower for the Presidency of the United States and RICHARD M. NIXON as Vice President; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby dedicate ourselves to the task of instigating a ground swell of public opinion for our great President and Vice President to commit themselves to this undertaking.

Beware of Strip Mining in National Forests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I recently called to the attention of the Congress a letter which I had written to the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson. In that letter, I urged the Secretary to refuse permission to a Stearns, Ky., firm to strip mine in the Cumberland National Forest. I emphasized the fact that the issue is much greater than the 47,000 acres involved in the Stearns case, and that the decision by the Secretary would be far-reaching and, if favorable to the Stearns Coal & Lumber Co., the decision would ultimately lead to the destruction and devastation of national forests in West Virginia, Virginia, and other areas.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an editorial from the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette. The editorial stresses that the decision will be precedent setting and of vital national interest. I hope that other Members of Congress will not be unaware of the momentous decision which is presently in the making. The editorial follows:

SHALL STRIPPERS BE ALLOWED TO DESTROY FORESTS?—THAT IS QUESTION BEING PONDERED BY BENSON

A recent hearing at Stearns, Ky., is of vital importance to the people of West Virginia. It has to do with the possibility of strip mining in national forests.

In the hearing the Stearns Coal & Lumber Co. applied for permission to strip mine some 47,000 acres in the Cumberland National Forest.

This was the climax of an action started some time ago when Stearns applied to the forest supervisor of Cumberland Forest for permission to strip the property, but was refused; the company then appealed to Regional Forester Charles L. Tebbe and was refused; then appealed to the office of the Secretary, Ezra Taft Benson. Mr. Benson appointed a board of consultants to hear the matter, and it was this board that held the hearing on January 27.

The question raised affects far more than the small part of the Cumberland National Forest involved. It affects all the national forests in the country and all the States that have national forests within their boundaries. In West Virginia it has special meaning, because West Virginia has beautiful and delightful national forests. They are among West Virginia's greatest assets.

No one knows better than West Virginians the disastrous residues of strip mining. Huge areas of the State that once added to its beauty now after being stripped present a rubble of slag and soil that is enough to sicken the heart of anyone.

The State of West Virginia has by permanent injunction stopped the strip mining of its State forests.

It is obvious that the simple act of strip mining defeats the purposes of the Weeks Act authorizing the purchase of lands for the protection of watersheds at the deep waters of important streams.

It is obvious that the only thing that may be gained is to increase the supply of coal above ground and the present situation of the coal industry would not indicate that

this would be of any benefit. In the long run it would pollute and destroy our streams, denude and destroy our forests, wash away our soil.

Mr. Secretary, the decision that you make will be of vital national interest; it will be precedent setting. Let us urge you to act to protect our watersheds, our forest lands, and our future by upholding the action of your forest supervisor and your regional forester in denying the privilege of strip mining our national forests to any and all.

Big, Phony Word

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable discussion of commonwealth status for Alaska as a substitute for statehood. A recent editorial which appeared in many Scripps-Howard newspapers entitled "Big, Phony Word" nails the commonwealth pelt right to the barnyard door, which is exactly where it belongs. The editorial was as follows:

BIG PHONY WORD

So far the movement to obtain a so-called commonwealth status for Alaska, as an alternative to statehood, seems to have attracted about the same number of followers as apostles of vegetarianism. The latest Gallup poll showed 82 percent of the American public for statehood, and Alaska's friends in Congress are pushing for an early vote there.

So much nonsense on the subject has been spoken and written, however, that the origin and meaning of the term "commonwealth" evidently should be understood more widely.

It was invented a as title for Puerto Rico's unusual political status, when that island sought and obtained the maximum degree of autonomy which our system permits short of independence. Only later was commonwealth seized upon by those in Congress who had long opposed statehood for Alaska, and probably found such a purely negative attitude toward statehood increasingly difficult to defend.

It is not to Puerto Rico, nor could it be to Alaska, a steppingstone to statehood. On the contrary, Alaska (like Hawaii) is an incorporated Territory, which Puerto Rico never was, and therefore legally in the status of the Western States when they were admitted to the Union. Indeed, it is highly doubtful that Congress has the power to deprive Alaska of this status by making it a commonwealth.

Even if it has, it would seem preposterous to encourage political separatism in a Territory which has demonstrated no desire for it and which is, in the present circumstances, more vital geographically to the Nation's military defense than any State.

If Congress fails to grant Alaska statehood it should, of course, give it control over its resources and help it in other ways to strengthen its economy, in preparation for statehood. But to push it further away from us politically by making it a commonwealth would be an outrage upon the Alaskan people and nothing short of stupid from the national viewpoint.

St. David's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, there are few honors that please me so much in the course of a year than that of rising in the Congress of the United States on March 1—St. David's Day—to pay tribute to a proud, rugged, and productive strain in the American people whose ancestors were Welsh. St. David's Day is a folk holiday that is rich in ancient lore and steeped in religious faith. It has its inner appeal to all people who love strong character and the will to independence. It deserves recognition nationally. It has earned a place for itself on the calendar of significant events worthy of observance in this House because of the contribution Americans of Welsh descent have made to America's strength through the generations. And this holiday—St. David's Day—is a fitting moment for that recognition because it has a distinctive folk origin in the best sense of the word.

It expresses the vigor, the loyalty to tradition, and the love of life that is inherent in these remarkable people. In my judgment there is not an American of Welsh extraction who does not pause on this day to pay homage to what may well be termed the "patron saint" of Wales. In fact not only Americans of Welsh extraction but millions of other Americans join with their Welsh fellow-citizens to do honor to St. David. I sincerely hope we are witnessing the beginning of a celebration that, as the years go on, will become a day of national rejoicing for all Americans of whatever racial strain everywhere, a day upon which we can all join together to wish the people of Wales the best of health and the best of luck.

St. David's Day deserves a note of tribute from us all because it symbolizes the spirit of independence which is so characteristic of America's own beginnings and rules our way of life so much today. The intrepid quality of these people and their undying devotion to independence remained steadfast through the centuries, and it is this which is emphatically remembered as the Welsh all over the world join in keeping green the basic qualities of their unique culture. When Wales resisted the rule of the Norman kings in the 12th century—500 years after the death of St. David—it was their ancient saint's spirit that fired their cause. They evoked his memory in demanding an archbishop of their own, untrammelled by the domineering interference of Canterbury.

There is a fascinating mythology that has evolved through the centuries about the life of this unquestionably extraordinary historic personage. He is mentioned first in a 10th century manuscript of the Annales Cambriae. This reports his death in 601. He had been a bishop and presided over the synods in Wales in the sixth century. In 1120 Pope Callistus II canonized David, and since then he has served as a kind of deeply devout and immensely moving rallying torch for Welshmen everywhere. And the language of Wales, it should be remembered, is a Celtic tongue, Celtic at one time having been spoken from the Alps in the north, to Gaul, Iberia, northern Italy, and as far east as points in Asia Minor.

The reason this story moves me so much is because my fellow Americans in the district in Pennsylvania that elected me to this seat have impressed me with the tough and loyal qualities, the steadfastness, the hard-toiling life of usefulness and patriotism that so marks Americans of Welsh extraction. In many ways this holiday expresses the jocund strength of the Welsh. And it is this strength which has fused itself into the life of our country and contributed to its greatness. For St. David's Day brings out the vitality and the eternal youth of the Welsh on a note of triumph and in a burst of song. Wherever groups of Welshmen gather they will sing together Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau or The Land of My Fathers. And they will talk, with an eloquence that is traditional, of the glories of old Wales. Whether the American whose forebears came from Wales is a leader in industry, in business, in the church, in the professions, in politics; or whether he is one of the doughty anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania, we are bound to find in him the best of the stuff that makes a good American.

I believe that these people are so loyal to America, so indissolubly assimilated into the life and meaning of this country, because they are basically loyal, and, cleaving forever to the ancient folklore of their own racial beginnings, we know they will always—as they have demonstrated—remain loyal to the United States of America.

It is a pleasant duty and a reverent one to speak in honor of St. David's Day.

Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to bring to the attention of the Members of the House an excellent editorial which appeared in the February 18, 1955, issue of the Washington Daily News following approval by the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the joint Hawaii-Alaska statehood bill:

THE STATEHOOD BILL

A committee of the House of Representatives has approved a bill to confer statehood on Alaska and Hawaii.

While their situations are different, Alaska being a vast and booming territory and Hawaii a small, mature one, the realities of politics dictated a single bill rather than separate ones. Unless Republican leaders are incredibly naive, they must have known when President Eisenhower first requested it that statehood for Hawaii alone will not be passed by this Congress.

The administration's feeble attempts to justify its opposition to Alaska statehood for vague reasons of national defense should impress no one. If the Defense Department needs and wants more land in Alaska it can obtain it as easily after Alaska becomes a State as now. If can take over land in any State in the Union, and has done so many times. Its obligation to defend Alaska and the strategic importance of that Territory are precisely the same now as they would be after statehood.

We do not even see the need for the special amendment which would permit the President to set aside 40 percent of northern Alaska for military reservations, although if that is the price Alaska must pay for statehood it is willing to do so.

The most distressing aspect of the years-long controversy over statehood, in fact, is the cynical disregard by statehood opponents of the deep yearning for full citizenship on the part of the good Americans in Alaska and Hawaii and their moral right to ask for it.

We hope their long wait is nearing its end.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

The Expanding Great Lakes Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on last Saturday, February 26, it was my pleasure to address the Antigo, Wis., Chamber of Commerce on the subject of the expanding Great Lakes frontier.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EXPANDING GREAT LAKES FRONTIER

(Address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin)

It is a privilege to address this fine chamber of commerce regarding the expanding economic frontier of America.

I want to talk to you about the future prosperity which you of Antigo and which all of us in Wisconsin will enjoy in the years and decades to come.

What we are going to do is not, however, "put on rose-colored glasses" and assume that the future will be all bright and easy.

Rather we are going to take a realistic look at the great challenge—the great opportunity which lies before us.

SEAWAY A GREAT BOOST

It is my belief that the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway, now scheduled to begin operations in the 1959 shipping season, will prove to be one of the most tremendous economic boosts in United States history.

It is my belief that it will be a great spur to midwestern industry and agriculture; that it will pump economic health into communities in States all along the Lakes and adjacent to those States.

POPULATION WILL SOAR IN LAKE AREA

Right now, in the Great Lakes area, 58 million people live in the 8 States having immediate access to the Lakes.

An additional 13 million people live in the 9 States which are generally regarded as tributaries, in an economic sense, to the Lakes.

We 71 million Americans will be the ones most immediately affected by the waterway.

But meanwhile America's population is booming upward. Last year 4 million babies were born.

By the normal laws of population increase, our country as a whole is scheduled to jump from 163 million people today to around 285 million people 20 years from now—in 1975.

It is my belief that because of the seaway populations along the Lakes will increase even faster than the normal proportion of increase in other States provided—I repeat, provided—we take the necessary action to assure our progress.

NEW SEAWAY WILL BENEFIT US

Fortunately, such progress already is shaping up.

The lake area is going to benefit from seaway construction payrolls immediately, construction on harbors, construction on deepening of channels (such as are provided under the Wiley channel bill, S. 171).

Then, the lake area is going to attract many new industries, requiring direct access to the deepwater ports of the world.

It is going to attract increased tourist trade.

It is going to benefit from increased integration between America's economy and the economy of our Canadian good neighbor (which is also booming).

All this is scheduled to result, and yet I believe that it is only the beginning of the bright horizons before us.

OVERALL UNITED STATES OUTLOOK BRIGHT

If in the next decade the seaway were to come about all by itself, then the promise which the future holds would not be so completely bright.

But the fact of the matter is that the seaway is but a part of the overall expanding economic horizons affecting our country as a whole.

Right now, whole new American industries are developing.

I cite but two industries: The atomic energy industry, which will probably revolutionize electric power, medicine, and many other fields; and the industry known as automation; that is, the so-called automatic factories in which electronic machines perform operations which might otherwise be performed manually.

Now, it is a fact that all of these new industries will raise problems in turn.

They will require shifting of labor from one type of job and industry to other types, and there may be temporary labor surpluses.

But, so long as new industries are being created as fast as old industries feel the impact of sometimes adverse developments, then we can be sure there will be overall prosperity ahead for Wisconsin and America.

Now, I ask you, my friends in the Antigo area: How well are you and I planning to have this community benefit from the changing economic patterns of America—patterns involving, for example, atomic energy and automatic factories?

Can you contribute here in this area—directly or indirectly—to some of the subcontracting work involved in, say, these two enormous industries?

The fact of the matter is that each community must plan its place in the coming dynamic era.

You in this audience tonight are realists. You know that we cannot here in this area try to duplicate, even in part, the factories, the facilities, the resources, the transportation of some enormous metropolis. Even if that were possible, you wouldn't want it.

What you can and should do, however, is make Antigo's unique, specialized, tailored contribution to the coming era.

That means mobilizing the best minds in this community, the best civic organizers, and doers.

It means tapping your finest engineering, business, labor, and professional abilities so as to make Antigo's fullest contribution.

GETTING IN ON GROUND FLOOR

Most of the technical developments which I am describing are not going to happen overnight. They are going to take years and years. But the time to get in on the ground floor is now.

Recently, I have been in correspondence with an outstanding organization known as Atomic Industrial Forum, which consists of leading Wisconsin and other businesses which are planning for their atomic future.

This is the type of self-help, forward-looking organization which will help accelerate America's economic development. It is the type which is needed as we advance boldly and in a free-enterprise fashion to America's new economic frontiers.

So, too, I am hoping that in our State of Wisconsin we can, on a statewide basis, plan to attract the most modern type of industries to our State. We want industries with tremendous growth potential, industries which will need the type of skilled workers with which we in Wisconsin are blessed, industries which will need the stable, wholesome communities which we in Wisconsin have to offer.

That is why I have been in correspondence with the Governor's office, with the University of Wisconsin, and with other leading Wisconsin enterprises—private and public.

SO-CALLED NORMAL INDUSTRIES REQUIRE ATTENTION

But we don't need miracle fields, like atomic energy or automation, to assure our prosperity.

Even and indeed, especially, in so-called normal ordinary types of enterprise—manufacturing, wholesale, distribution, agriculture, we can and should plan to benefit from the St. Lawrence seaway.

WORKING OUT PROBLEMS WITH CANADA

But I want to repeat my word of caution regarding not becoming overoptimistic or going overboard, and assuming that prosperity will automatically be ours. And let me mention now that we still have to work out some seaway matters with our Canadian friends.

I want to say very frankly that there have been some differences with regard to duplicating seaway facilities between ourselves and our friends across the border. I have hope and confidence that these differences are properly going to be worked out satisfactorily. After all, there is no finer set of neighborly relations in the world than prevails between ourselves and our Canadian friends.

America tarried too long on approving the seaway. We were long overdue in coming in on the dual-nation, dual-purpose navigation and power project.

But now that we are going in, I hope that we and Canada will proceed on a basis of complete cooperation. I hope we will definitely avoid duplicating facilities and will put our respective dollars where they can be of best possible use for the good of both nations.

MIDWEST MUST PROTECT ITSELF

And just as I want America to speak up frankly in relation to her needs and those of Canada, so I want the Midwest to speak up frankly in relation to her needs.

Frankly, the Midwest has often been woefully negligent in protecting itself in the economic race.

Time after time, the Midwest has been treated like an orphan child when Uncle Sam has built new projects and poured in new Federal funds.

Time after time, the Midwest delegations in Congress have failed to work together as a team, while, by way of contrast, New England delegations or gulf coast or Northwest delegations have far exceeded us.

I don't mean to say that I want the Midwest to come "hat-in-hand" to Uncle Sam for handouts. We of the Midwest don't believe in handouts. We don't believe in looking to Washington for things which we should do and will do for ourselves.

But neither should we fail our obligations to make sure that we receive our fair share of Federal cooperation on projects in which there is a very definite national interest.

The Great Lakes connecting channels represent one such project. But there are many others which will directly benefit us.

Now, just how will the seaway affect Wisconsin?

It is my belief that Wisconsin particularly stands most immediately to gain from the seaway. Our State has probably planned more intensively for the seaway than most other States. We have been in the forefront of the battle for the seaway, and it is we who should be in the forefront of benefiting from it.

CHANNELS MUST BE DEEPENED

Our first priority must, of course, be to secure action on the legislation to which I have already referred. It is the legislation which not only I have introduced, but which numerous other Senators and Representatives have introduced—namely, to deepen the connecting channels to 27 feet. Otherwise we will not have a 27-foot deep waterway west of Lake Erie.

We can we quite sure that these channels are going to be deepened. That does not mean, however, that we should take them for granted. Actually, some of my colleagues from the South, for example, were more interested in getting Federal funds to supplement the hundreds of millions that they have poured into the gulf coast than they are interested in approving the relatively modest $109 millions which will be necessary for the Great Lakes connecting channels.

Now, as channel work is getting under way, it is our estimate that seaway traffic will reach 52 million tons by 1965.

This tonnage will be of great aid to all of Wisconsin, to its industries, and its farmers who will be able to ship their products inexpensively across the waters.

But, I reiterate, my friends, that each community, including Antigo, should not assume that benefits will flow automatically to us, should not assume that prosperity is going to drop into our laps.

In the first place, there is stiff competition for new business all along the lake area.

QUESTIONS ON ANTIGO'S FACILITIES

In the second place, even if there were not this competition, each community cannot prosper unless it analyzes and improves its own particular facilities and resources—soundly and carefully.

And so, we should ask ourselves, as I'm sure you of this Chamber have been asking yourselves:

What is our available industry and our available labor supply?

What are the trends affecting current Antigo business?

What can we do to hold what we have and improve what we have?

What land do we have available for expanded industries?

What housing is available for increased labor supply?

How modern is the machinery in our plants?

What is our access—today and tomorrow—to other means of transportation: railroad, road, and air?

These are but a few of the important questions which must be considered before Antigo or any other community can fully benefit from the waterway.

There is every reason for faith and confidence in the future. Wisconsin stands at the threshold of a new era. I am sure that with the leadership displayed at this meeting and meetings throughout our State, we can go forward to fully benefit from this great frontier.

CONCLUSION

I have tried during this address to comment on some of the highlights of the coming era. I have tried to paint a picture which I believe is realistic and sound, and not one based upon superoptimism or rose-colored glasses, especially in relation to so-called new miracle industries.

I believe, in summary, that the seaway is what you and I choose to make it. It is not going to drop prosperity into our laps. But it is going to make prosperity available to us if we have the brains and the initiative to realize it, as I believe we will.

Very shortly, there will be published in Washington a new St. Lawrence Seaway Manual which has been prepared at my direction. It will help answer some of the many questions which I know are in your minds about the seaway. I hope that you will write to my office for a copy of it. And I hope that on my return to Washington you will always feel free to contact me. Give me the benefit of your judgment, your constructive criticism, your advice. I will be happy to hear from you always.

Thanks again for your attention and good luck to you all.

Cutting Taxes in an Effort To Catch Votes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Cutting Taxes in an Effort To Catch Votes," which was published in the Salt Lake Tribune of February 27, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CUTTING TAXES IN AN EFFORT TO CATCH VOTES

Before House Democrats put through their plan to cut income taxes $20 per person, President Eisenhower described the move as the height of "fiscal irresponsibility."

That's exactly what it is, for the reduction was voted after practically no study and in the face of an estimated Federal deficit of $2,400,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1. Equally as bad, it is an example of politics pure and simple, a fact only emphasized by Democratic speeches in favor of the scheme.

Speaker SAM RAYBURN argued that the plan was "simple justice for the little fellow," an obvious reference to the Republican-sponsored tax-cut bill enacted last year which the Democrats have long and loudly contended was class legislation in that the big taxpayer benefited while the little one did not. This is a hollow claim. The Republican bill cut taxes for everyone. At the time the Democrats wanted to concentrate the cut in the lower brackets, a result they are again attempting to achieve. We wonder how many of the Democrats who voted for their tax plan last week voted against the GOP's general tax reduction a year ago.

Mr. Eisenhower skillfully unmasked the Democrats' motives at his press conference last week. Any tax cut, he said, is popular. However, when the Government is struggling to balance expenditures with income, an ill-considered tax reduction can have the worst possible results. It is true that the 1954 cut was enacted in the face of a deficit, but it must be remembered that the cut was incidental to a general, and long overdue, revision of the Federal tax system. It was carefully drafted and was based upon extensive studies—something that certainly cannot be said of the latest Democratic maneuver.

Moreover, the Democrats did not put their cut into a separate bill so it could stand or fall on its own merits, but instead tied it to legislation requested by the administration. Corporation and excise taxes will be automatically reduced this year unless extended by Congress, and the Government cannot stand the loss of revenue. By including a tax cut and a tax extension in the same package, the Democrats hope to put the President on the spot since he will have to accept or reject the whole plan. This is an old legislative trick, but it never has been one to condone.

The Democratic plan is designed to catch votes. If it becomes law, every taxpayer will have his burden lightened somewhat, while about 5 million persons with low incomes or large families will pay no Federal income tax at all. And, of course, all taxpayers are supposed to be grateful to the party which made this possible. This may be slick politics, but it could easily boomerang once the voters realize the irresponsibility of the action.

Though we are shocked by the Democrats' victory in the House we are somewhat encouraged by the narrowness of the margin, 210 votes to 205. We hope that in the Senate, where the party division is paper thin, the natural conservatism of some Democratic leaders will defeat any similar move to play politics with Federal finances.

A Woman's Advice to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on behalf of the present occupant of the Chair, the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two articles by Miss Frances Givens, of the Detroit Times, which appeared in that newspaper on February 3 and February 7, 1955. They are entitled "What I'd Tell Congress." The articles arose from the incident when a woman attempted to speak in the House of Representatives some weeks ago. They express points of view with which I am in general agreement.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Detroit Times of February 3 1955]

It took Detroit 248 years to find room for a woman in its city council but the experiment was such a success that the second time she ran Miss Mary V. Beck found herself ahead of seven councilmen and only 1,160 votes behind the council president.

She repeated this performance in a third term which she is now serving.

She has been a practicing attorney 11 years and before that enjoyed a varied

career in social work which always concerned the welfare of children and the family.

ANXIOUS FEELING

If she could address the United States Congress she would say:

"My first feeling is one of sincere appreciation for this, my only and probably never-recurring opportunity, to address this distinguished body of lawmakers. This soon gives way, however, to a feeling of anxiety, the reason for which you may well guess.

"How can I best utilize these precious 5 minutes and yet convey to you my deep concern, shared by so many, over the state of our Nation?

"From my humble position in life, I have had opportunity to observe, in the pattern of living of the average American:

"1. The ever-increasing emphasis upon the material aspects of life."

TEMPO OF LIVING

"2. The enervating acceleration of the tempo of living in the quest for those material possessions and the attendant stress and strain upon our bodies, minds, and spirits.

"3. The ever-widening acceptance of deceptive standards by which achievement and success are measured.

"4. The growing neglect of the old, but tested and true principles, which alone can serve as the guiding posts to successful living.

"5. The continuing abandonment of the irreplaceable faith in the Supreme Being in whose Divine hands rests our destiny.

"It is evident from this, to those who will really look, that the moral and spiritual fabric of our civilization is wearing thin in many spots and has actually broken through in others, leaving large gaping holes, beyond repair. Is it not time therefore, to call into action, you, ladies and gentlemen, whom I would respectfully label the Master-Weavers?"

URGES LEADERSHIP

"Yet the strong and unbreakable fibers that you should use, if you will, in this monumental task of reweaving, must be of your own making. If you will but lead along those paths, that are clearly designated by the signposts of honesty, integrity, and unselfishness and constructed from the seemingly fragile but genuinely solid components of courage, persistence, and determination, the rest of us have no choice but to follow. Thus we will all be assured of reaching the destination of all mankind, which is human welfare and human progress.

"My words do not carry the implication that you have necessarily failed in living up to those expectations in past performance, but simply the suggestion that more than ever before you must become and remain keenly aware of that part of your responsibility."

[From the Detroit Times of February 7, 1955]

Dr. Mildred Peters, of Wayne University, who is dedicating her life to education, would beg Congress to help the Nation's children. She says:

"There is no asset as valuable to any nation as its physical resources.

"If one wishes to preserve these resources, to further them, it will be necessary for duly-elected legislatures to look at two needs that will make this possible. Otherwise, we may limit the development of a large part of the Nation."

SCHOOLS CROWDED

"One of our great needs is in the area of education.

"The increase in the number of schoolchildren has literally pushed the schools out at the seams. The census figures have shown this will continue for a long time.

"Because of this, local municipalities have been unable to meet this need from local taxation. It would seem, then, that Federal aid in building of schools would be a temporary must.

"Without this, half-day programs, increased class loads, limited seating space, curtailment of programs, will be the state of affairs in many schools throughout the Nation."

NEED HOSPITAL AID

"I also should like to make an appeal for funds for the hospital program, particularly in the field of the chronically ill.

"The medical profession has worked to extend the life span, yet doctors and hospitals have tended to use their limited facilities to care for younger patients and emergencies.

"Congress should assist in hospital construction and research.

"Another large segment of the American public deserves the benefits of group hospitalization. They are the retired men and women whose hospital bills are largest."

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

Dr. Mildred Peters is associate professor of guidance and counseling at Wayne University. She earned her AB and master's degree at Western Reserve University and her Ph. D. at Ohio State.

She spent her sabbatical as a research fellow in psychiatry at Western Reserve.

The Proposed $20 Tax Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Twenty-dollar Handout," which appeared in the Journal-Every Evening, of Wilmington, Del., on Saturday, February 26, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWENTY-DOLLAR HANDOUT

There are a good many ways of trying to buy the support of the voters at the expense of the Federal Treasury, but the $20 per-person tax cut put over by the Democratic majority in the House yesterday is as crude an effort as we have ever seen. It takes millions of people off the tax rolls and gives a $20 handout to millions more at a time when the Government is running a huge deficit. Even the 205 Democrats who voted for the cut cannot honestly contend that the Government can afford to reduce taxes at this time. At any rate, they tacked their tax reduction on to a bill to keep corporate taxes and excise taxes, which take dollars out of every man's pocket, at the same level for another year. And to make sure that it will have the maximum effort in winning votes for the Democratic ticket, they have made the cut effective next January.

This sort of tax legislation is an insult to the intelligence of the American voter. It implies that his vote is to be had for a $20 cash handout, regardless of the fact that the inflationary forces this sets in motion may cost him even more. If the Democrats in the House had set out deliberately to prove that they are as utterly irresponsible in financial affairs as the Republicans have charged, they could hardly have chosen a better way. The one comfort today is the probability that the Senate will have the good sense to bury the whole scheme.

Mary Lee Jurges Runner-Up at Speech Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Clearbrook (Minn.) Leader of February 24, 1955:

MARY LEE JURGENS RUNNER-UP AT SPEECH CONTEST

Mary Lee Jurgens, who was given first place in the Clearwater County 4–H radio speaking contest a week ago, was awarded the runner-up prize at Crookston on Monday afternoon. The region contest was held as a part of the winter shows at Northwest School of Agriculture.

Two first-place selections were made at the contest in Crookston, with one of them going to eastern Polk County, to Pearl Pederson, of McIntosh.

Following is Mary Lee's oration on the topic: "What Are My Opportunities and Responsibilities Under Freedom?"

"We Americans live under a system of government that furnishes more personal freedom than any other system of government in the world.

"I, who am inclined to take my freedom in America for granted, must ask myself the questions. What are my opportunities under freedom? My answer, 'Why to be free, I suppose.' And my responsibilities? 'Well, to vote, I guess.'

"If these are the only answers I can give to these important questions, I do not deserve the privilege of being a citizen of the United States. The savage natives of Africa could be called free. The people of Soviet Russia can vote. If my country means no more to me than this I do not deserve my freedom.

"The early leaders of my country fought for the privilege of undertaking the responsibilities of freedom. They died to secure the opportunities that freedom offers. And I, to be frank, can't tell you offhand what these responsibilities and opportunities are.

"It's something to think about, not tomorrow when we will have more time, but now, for tomorrow we may have lost our freedom. Liberty is given to those who value and guard it.

"First, we must learn our opportunities so that we will value our freedom. Then we must learn our responsibilities so that we will be able to guard our freedom.

"Our opportunities under freedom are many. All citizens are guaranteed the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The section of the Constitution called the Bill of Rights assures some of the most important rights and opportunities of American citizens. These are:

"The freedom of religion, to worship as we please, in our own way. The freedom of speech, to say what we think, to freely criticize, praise, argue, express our ideas. The freedom of the press, to print and publish what we think. The freedom to assemble.

The freedom to be secure in our homes that no one may enter or search without our permission. The freedom to petition the government for help.

"These freedoms are important but our rights and opportunities are so many that they could not be listed. The Bill of Rights also says that the government has no rights except those given to it in the Constitution. All other rights belong to the people.

"Opportunities unusual in other parts of the world and at other times, are here so common they are usually taken for granted. We have the opportunity to choose our own job or field of work, to move from place to place, to go into business for ourselves. We have the opportunity to be an individual, we are not regimented into a carbon copy of every other person.

"We, the people of the United States of America are the Government of the United States of America. Each of us has the opportunity to live his own life, to develop his own talents and give to our country that which he is perfectly suited to give; whether it be criticism, leadership, or good hard work.

"Another opportunity is the opportunity of choice. Choice in hundreds of everyday things, like, what we eat, what we wear, what we read. These things mean nothing to us now but should they be taken away, we would find that they mean everything.

"These are little things. 'Unimportant,' you may say, but just try to imagine life without them.

"These opportunities are ours with but one limitation, that we do not interfere with the life, liberty, or pursuit of happiness of any other individual.

"Along with each of these opportunities goes a responsibility. Fulfillment of our responsibilities to our Government is the only way we can hope to keep our freedom.

"Our first great responsibility is in conduct. Our conduct must be such that no one would ever have any reason to take our freedom from us.

"If we would keep our freedom of religion, we must avoid religious prejudice and discrimination. If we are to keep our freedom of speech, we must use that freedom for good, not to spread lies or false rumors.

"If we would keep our freedom of the press we must avoid printing that which is untrue or harmful. If we are to keep our freedom of assemby we must see that assemblies are not riotous and do not do damage.

"Our second great responsibility is interest. By taking an interest in government we will learn more about our Government, how it functions, its history, its founders, its place in the world today.

"Through a knowledge of America's past we gain faith in America's future. Through a knowledge of the mechanics of American freedom we can better protect American future.

"The third great responsibility is respect. Respect to our Government brings obedience to its laws, and a willingness to undertake our responsibilities. A willingness when we are of age to serve jury duty, to do military service, to pay taxes. You know even that headache is our responsibility. Without money our Government could not function as it does today.

"Finally our greatest responsibility to vote. Our vote is our voice in the Government and our voice in the future of America. We must use it and use it wisely.

"These are some of my opportunities and responsibilities under freedom.

"May the realization of them make me a better citizen. May it make me more appreciative of my opportunities, more determined to undertake my responsibilities, and if need be, in the uncertain future, to struggle and to sacrifice to keep and protect my freedom."

Democratic Republican

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an editorial which appeared in the newspaper, Star and Herald, of Panama City, Republic of Panama, on February 25, 1955.

This editorial entitled "Democratic Republican," shows the way in which our great Vice President's visit was received in Panama, which is typical of the success he is meeting in his tour of the Central American countries:

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN

Like his boss, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON is as democratic as they come. Not only democratic but enthusiastically friendly. He likes people, all the people, all of his neighbors. He's just plain "campechano," as the Panamanians say, and for that they love him. As of today Vice President NIXON can have anything he wants in Panama. He's a regular guy.

And that, friends, is news.

From time immemorial United States Congressmen have been coming here, on Government business, on surveys, or just on joyrides, because the ride was for free. But NIXON is something else again. He's a real person, besides being Vice President of the United States.

He's like Ike, whom we all like down here in latitude nearly nine. Perhaps because Ike served here once. Or perhaps because we loved him when he came here fresh from the Allied victories overseas. Or because he and Mamie were so sweet to President José Antonio Remon C., when the late President of Panama and Doña Ceci were guests of the Eisenhowers in the White House. We in Panama like Ike and we also like his V. P. and are grateful to President Eisenhower for having sent Vice President NIXON as far as Panama so we can tell him so.

What a guy is NIXON. No formality; a cheery smile and handclasp for all comers. He does all the correct things, and with evident sincerity. He lays a wreath on the tomb of Panama's assassinated President Remon. He visits Panama's young President Ricardo (Dicky) Arias E. He tours Panama and the Canal Zone. He is always genial, friendly, smiling and he simply bubbles with sincerity. This is what the Panamanians call the don de gente (the good mixer, the faculty of being friendly, winning people's confidence).

In other words, Vice President NIXON is a "regular guy" in Panama. He has won all hearts. And so, apparently, has his golden-haired "señora", Mrs. Patricia (familiarly known as "Pat") Nixon.

If anything were needed to cement good relations between Panama and the United States—following the recent revision of the Panama-United States treaty—it was the friendly visit by the Nixons and their entourage. On the surface it is merely a friendly gesture to Panama among the other friendly gestures on the part of Uncle Sam to the nations of Central America.

But in Panama it is more than that. Panama and the United States are virtual partners in the Panama Canal. Panama gave her land (and receives rental thereon, it is true) but she gave it. And she is not only proud of giving it but benefits from the world traffic it brings which, in some proportion, is reflected in her economy. She has tourists. She gains in international trade. Panama is doing all right. But she never forgets Uncle Sam's assistance. And Vice President NIXON represents that Uncle here today. He is not reminding anybody of the aid the United States has given Panama. He is here on a friendly visit.

Nor is Uncle Sam reminding any of the Latin American nations of any aid he may have given. He wants all these nations to be affluent, self-supporting, healthy—economically and idealogically. He wants them to be free, to stay free, to buck communism wherever it may appear in their midst.

Vice President NIXON is not saying these things as he extends the hand of friendship to all comers here in Panama. Nevertheless he must rejoice in the politically healthy atmosphere here. He must feel that, under this—as in former administrations—Panama is a loyal ally as she has been through two world wars. The Uncle can count on this youngest Republic of the Americas to stand by with everything she has and help guard this most necessary unit of all-American defense and commerce, the Panama Canal.

Drought-Relief Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, from time to time there has been inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD criticisms of the handling of the drought-relief program by the Department of Agriculture. Most of these criticisms have been made by those who do not have a clear understanding of the problem or the steps taken to alleviate the hardships caused by drought throughout the country. Congress has passed several acts to help meet the distressing situation caused by drought and it has been the earnest desire of those charged with the administration of the programs to so administer them within the law as to give the greatest relief possible.

I am placing at the close of my remarks a table showing the number of cases and the funds expended through the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year 1955, and in the case of loans, feed, and hay programs and wind-erosion control, July 1, 1954, through February 4, 1955.

The charge has been made that the emergency credit made available to farmers in drought-stricken areas has been entirely inadequate. However, since emergency loans were first authorized in 1949 pursuant to Public Law 38, 81st Congress, a total of 157,940 loans amounting to $212,274,468 have been made to enable farmers in designated areas to continue their normal operations. Since the inception of the special livestock-loan programs, which was authorized in 1953, a total of 5,649 loans amounting to $49,702,328 have been made to livestock operators. Most of these loans, as well as a majority of the emergency loans, have been made as a result

of the drought conditions which have existed throughout much of the country. The following table reflects the activity under these programs by years for the country as a whole:

	Emergency loans		Special livestock loans	
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount
United States:				
1949	362	$974,948	------	------
1950	25,360	29,833,887	------	------
1951	13,274	19,198,873	------	------
1952	21,226	31,488,774	------	------
1953	35,442	43,225,068	------	------
1954	42,449	57,984,342	3,985	$37,282,206
1955 through Feb. 4	19,827	29,568,576	1,664	12,420,122
Total	157,940	212,274,468	5,649	49,702,328

These loans have been made to farmers and stockmen who have been unable to obtain elsewhere the credit required for them to continue their normal operations and the volume of loans made is an indication that the emergency credit programs of the Department have been used fully in meeting the needs of farmers who have suffered from the drought and similar conditions.

Uniform regulations have been issued with respect to all of the emergency lending programs of the Department and these regulations apply in all of the States. The Farmers Home Administration emergency lending authorities are used in meeting the needs of small farmers as well as the needs of large operators who qualify for assistance. The refinancing of existing debts under our emergency lending authorities is prohibited. To do otherwise would not be consistent with the acts under which the various loans were authorized. Likewise Farmers Home Administration emergency lending authorities are not used to compensate applicants for the actual losses which they have suffered as a result of the drought or similar conditions. Emergency and special livestock loans were authorized for the purpose of enabling qualified applicants to continue their normal operations. Consequently, the amount advanced to each applicant is limited to what is necessary for that purpose. The amount actually advanced may or may not be in excess of the actual losses suffered by the applicant, depending upon the particular circumstances involved.

The act under which special livestock loans were authorized states specifically that such loans will be made only to those applicants "who have a good record of operations but are unable temporarily to get the credit they need from recognized lenders and have a reasonable chance of working out of their difficulties with supplementary financing." A similar restriction applies to all of the other types of emergency loans and it would not be consistent to approve a loan for any applicant in a position to obtain his credit elsewhere or to any applicant who did not have a reasonable prospect for success with the assistance of the loan. It is not intended for these loans to compete with credit extended by banks and other private lenders but rather to supplement the credit available from those sources. When loans are made other creditors are urged to cooperate in keeping the farmer or stockman in business so that he will have an opportunity to recover from his losses and in a relatively short period return to his usual source of credit. Therefore, there is no justification or authority for making loans to applicants who are able to obtain their credit elsewhere or to applicants who do not have a reasonable prospect for success.

When loans include funds for the production of cash crops, the amounts advanced for that purpose generally are scheduled for repayment out of the income to be derived from the crops produced. Loans are scheduled for repayment in this manner as it is the generally accepted principle that creditors advancing funds for production purposes are entitled to the first claim upon the income produced. In situations in which an applicant's prospective income will be abnormally low because of the drought or other conditions or when his expenses will be abnormally high for similar reasons, provision is made for the scheduling of amounts advanced for annual recurring expenses over a period longer than 12 months.

In general, there have been two chief criticisms of the agricultural conservation program.

First. Fair prices of conservation materials were discontinued.

Second. Green manure, small grains, and so forth, were limited to land shifted from production of crops because of acreage allotments.

The determination and posting of the maximum fair price at which ACP would purchase materials—in this case seed—for conservation work was required under law until enactment of Public Law 690, 83d Congress. It then became permissive and could be used whenever and wherever it was apparent that a maximum was needed to prevent unjustifiable increases in prices of conservation materials or services. Instructions were sent to States by the Acting Secretary, September 3, 1954, canceling existing fair prices and giving instructions for their re-establishment where needed. Conditions for establishing were:

First. Supply through local sources inadequate to meet anticipated demand.

Second. Inadequate supply will result in commercial prices that are excessive in relation to such demand.

In drought areas there was a special practice (F-3). This practice permitted use of cost-sharing for cover crops without regard to the shifting of acreage from other crops. The rate of cost-sharing for this practice was determined by the State and county committees as that rate necessary to obtain adequate performance under prevailing conditions without regard to the 50 percent of cost provision.

In order to further alleviate the drought situation where 1954 funds were not adequate, authority was given to open the 1955 program in the late summer and fall of 1954 with the use of funds allocated for the 1955 program.

On January 27 and 28 a conference was held here in Washington, attended by one representative from each of the drought States. In most cases, prior to January 27, representatives of the Federal agencies had conferred at the State level in order to enable their conferee to reflect the thinking of all agencies.

Several times during the conference here the statement was made to the effect that the emergency drought measures carried out in 1954 under the agricultural conservation program were most helpful and no doubt more productive of lasting good than any of the other emergency measures.

The statement has been made that the present emergency feed program is inadequate in that farmers, particularly the small farmers, cannot obtain sufficient relief.

The present emergency feed program was designed to utilize the regular channels of trade to the maximum extent practicable. Aside from the general policy that private channels of trade should be used insofar as practicable, there were other compelling reasons for utilizing the type of program. It was clearly the intent of Congress that feed grains should be placed in the farmers' hands as rapidly as possible. This type of program was designed to take advantage of the feed grains in dealers hands and elsewhere in the pipeline so that farmers could obtain feed without any delay.

It is probable that at least a month's time was saved on the average as compared to delivering feed direct to farmers from CCC stocks. It was also realized that to furnish feed grains to farmers in designated areas gratis would tend to greatly disturb the national price structures by offering incentives to obtain feed in large enough quantities to permit resale at a profit. It was felt that the subsidy rate when coupled with the provisions for credit and the provisions of the hay program would make it possible for farmers, both large and small, to retain their basic herds.

It has been suggested that the Department should furnish CCC stocks of feed grains or seed direct to farmers for the purpose of planting pastures. This type of program was also considered but the same delays could be expected in placing the feed grains and seed stocks in farmers hands as outlined above. Furthermore, to furnish these direct to farmers would be putting the Government in direct competition with the long-established channels of trade.

Large supplies of hairy vetch have been held by CCC and a stock of 26 million pounds remains in inventory. These seeds have been and are, at the present time, offered for sale at $12.65 per hundred pounds. CCC sold several million pounds of hairy vetch in fall of 1954 at the above price, which is the market price in wholesale carlots.

The crimson clover seed held by CCC was mostly acquired from the 1953 crop in February and March of 1954. This seed was sold by CCC at prices that returned to CCC its total cost in the seed and this action kept the price of the seed to the consuming farmer much lower than would have been the case had CCC not owned the seed.

The alfalfa seed owned by CCC amounted to 37 million in January 1954. This seed had been offered at $37.50 and $43, which is more than CCC costs for nearly a year with few sales. It was reduced $35 and $40, which is the support price at which it was acquired. These prices are market prices for carlots in producing areas as is evidenced by the fact that CCC has at present 7,700,000 pounds and sales are not active.

Mr. Speaker, I believe you will agree with me that Congress has wisely provided ways to alleviate a serious drought situation that has extended all the way from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean. It is my belief and I think will be concurred in by most Members of Congress, that the hardships of drought have been very grave and that they continue to be a threat to a great many communities throughout the Nation. It may be that additional legislation will be required. However up to the present I think you and Members of Congress from these States will agree that the drought relief program as authorized by Congress and administered by the Department of Agriculture has been of untold help in relieving a most distressing situation.

United States Department of Agriculture drought program (fiscal year 1955) [1]—Loans, feed, and hay programs, and wind erosion control (July 1, 1954, through Feb. 4, 1955)

	Loans						Feed and hay assistance						Allocations to States for emergency wind erosion control measures under the 1954 agricultural conservation program [4]
	Production disaster		Economic disaster		Special livestock		Emergency feed program [3]				Commitments for advances to States under hay distribution agreements [3]	Number of counties	
							Purchase orders issued to farmers	Hundredweight of feed	Dealers certificates issued				
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount			Number	Amount			
States designated under Public Law 875:													
Alabama	581	$562,510	23	$35,425	15	$44,065	21,356	1,398,699	3,958	$972,330	$500,000	58	
Arkansas	244	293,985	1,119	1,442,430	118	103,365	134,541	4,099,431	10,233	2,770,369	500,000	69	
Colorado	209	395,350	28	66,080	168	1,566,285	10,848	1,210,256	1,875	654,125	500,000	24	$2,900,000
Georgia	753	1,532,580			10	34,815	15,533	1,509,654	3,086	929,504	500,000	124	
Kansas	66	64,265	380	614,015	76	814,265	26,338	2,204,072	4,030	1,442,187	500,000	43	4,100,000
Louisiana	197	192,835	299	292,910	2	750	13,217	504,089	1,324	262,444	500,000	28	
Mississippi	517	586,050	687	821,335			31,812	1,540,317	3,787	862,678	500,000	58	
Missouri	477	518,490	1,023	944,295	263	382,950	121,713	3,889,597	9,400	2,643,444	500,000	82	
Nevada	3	6,525			9	252,735	587	151,874	145	95,570	500,000	14	
New Mexico	72	122,405	118	289,370	175	1,669,655	4,885	795,101	914	497,360	500,000	19	1,600,000
North Carolina	702	573,490	1,129	1,456,251	1	1,600	10,177	354,359	883	195,385	500,000	39	
Oklahoma	110	103,610	707	881,351	146	1,062,585	186,990	6,677,364	16,196	4,166,641	500,000	77	550,000
South Carolina	2,134	1,906,780	1	160	1	3,000	13,421	723,766	2,033	505,307	500,000	46	
Tennessee	105	67,030	253	161,760	10	8,800	42,210	2,334,166	4,725	1,461,497	500,000	90	
Texas	2,445	4,476,222	4,759	9,506,546	492	4,082,471	176,824	9,080,242	19,463	5,665,833	1,000,000	127	4,000,000
Utah					16	406,526	781	135,323	110	75,280		9	
Virginia	12	29,700	38	30,595	5	40,400	2,700	166,799	167	44,667	500,000	33	
Wyoming	23	32,355	1	2,500	23	371,640	7,054	1,350,239	1,589	732,743	500,000	19	
Other States	387	987,266	175	569,105	134	1,574,195							
Total	9,087	12,451,448	10,740	17,117,128	1,664	12,420,122	820,987	38,125,348	83,918	23,977,364	9,000,000	959	13,150,000

[1] This report covers the States in which counties are currently designated as drought disaster areas for emergency feed and hay assistance. A separate report is available, as of June 30, 1954, covering activities under the drought program in the fiscal year 1954.

[2] This reflects activity under the 1954 feed program. In addition, there were obligations of $79,500 for Colorado and $491,500 for New Mexico incurred in the fiscal year 1955 under the 1953 feed program which was terminated in these 2 States as of July 15, 1954. The cost of the subsidies under the 1954 program is being borne by Commodity Credit Corporation pursuant to sec. 301 of Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480, 83d Cong.); the administrative costs are being borne under Public Law 175 funds.

[3] Charged to the balance of $15,257,747 of the $50 million appropriated to carry out sec. 2 (d) of Public Law 38, as amended by Public Law 115, 83d Cong.

[4] Represents allocations made from the $15 million provided by the Third Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1954. An allocation of $180,000 from these funds was also made to Nebraska.

The Alabama Coosa River Basin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, during the 83d Congress legislation was authorized to permit the building of five hydroelectric dams on the Coosa-Alabama Rivers system, and it has long been evident that a 9-foot channel should be constructed from Rome, Ga., to Mobile, Ala. This improvement is in great demand and should be done at the time the dams are being constructed, by providing for locks on the dams and by dredging these rivers while the hydroelectric dams are being constructed. This would result in great savings to the Federal Government. In order for this work to proceed in an orderly, economical, and efficient way, a new survey of the river should be made by the Corps of Engineers, and I am especially grateful that a public meeting has been called under the sponsorship of Mayor W. A. Gayle, of the city of Montgomery, the chamber of commerce of the capital city, and the Coosa River Improvement Association.

On Saturday, March 5, 1955, public officials, businessmen, industrial leaders, and others of the cities and towns which will be affected by this improvement will meet in the city of Montgomery for the purpose of organizing a movement to begin work on this important development. An outstanding engineer, Lieutenant General Pick, United States Army (retired), will address the group at its luncheon meeting.

I have prepared a statement on this important development which gives the background and history of the improvements that have been made, and of the efforts that have been put forth in the past to bring about the realization of this highly important development. The statement is as follows:

THE ALABAMA-COOSA RIVER BASIN

THE RIVER

The Alabama-Coosa River is one of the principal rivers of the Southeast extending from the Blue Ridge Mountains of northwest Georgia and southeast Tennessee southwesterly across the Piedmont Plateau to the lowlands of the gulf coastal plain in Alabama and draining an area of 22,800 square miles.

The river basin has all the natural and climatic resources essential for economic progress. It has a moderate climate with an abundant but well distributed rainfall. It has fertile soil. It has many of the basic raw materials within its soil, so essential for future industrial progress. The human resource—an adequate supply of labor—is also available for industrial progress.

The potential hydroelectric development of the river basin is great. At the present time, there is an installed capacity of 564,000 kilowatts of hydropower in the 6 plants owned by the Alabama Power Co. together with the Allatoona plant built by the Corps of Engineers. This past session of Congress (83d) Public Law 436 was enacted which will permit the Alabama Power Co. to construct an additional 5 dams on the Coosa River and which is expected will add 360,000 kilowatts to the Alabama Power Co.'s capacity; these dams are to be constructed within 10 years from the date of the commencement of construction of the first dam.

At the present there are frequent floods in the river basin and though they are not severe, they cannot help but retard the economic growth of the basin. About 526,000 of the acres are subject to overflow which could be avoided by the construction of certain flood projects in connection with the development of the dredging of the river

and the construction of the proposed dams and hydroelectric plants.

HISTORY

The development of the Coosa River has been the subject of study by the Corps of Engineers for the past 80 years. The Corps of Engineers of the Army first began investigating and reporting on the practicability of improving the Coosa River for navigation in 1870. The Corps of Engineers made a study of the Alabama River in 1875. The first improvement was a series of locks and dams in the Coosa River to enable shallow-draft navigation to reach Rome, Ga. The first really significant step toward overall basin development in the Alabama-Coosa River system was the 308 report made in 1934. This report recommended a system of locks and dams on the Alabama River and on the Coosa River above the existing power dams, and locks in the power dams. It also recommended a 9-foot deep channel for navigation upstream to Rome, Ga., 650 miles above Mobile, and additional power.

The feasibility of several dams for power on the tributaries was also investigated. A system of levees was built at Rome to control floods, and another flood-control project has been built at Prattville, Ala. Great progress was made when the Allatoona Dam and Reservoir was built on the Etowah River, 48 miles above Rome.

In 1941 the Corps of Engineers submitted a report recommending the adoption of a comprehensive program of development of the basin's water resources in accordance with plans being prepared by the Chief of Engineers with such modifications thereon from time to time as seemed advisable. This was adopted by Congress and approved by the President in 1945 and is the present authorization for the Corps of Engineers' program.

The 83d Congress enacted Public Law 436 to permit the Alabama Power Co. to construct five dams along the river.

OUTLINE OF LEGISLATIVE ACTION

The Corps of Engineers 308 report was made in 1934. It presented a long-range plan for development of the river. (H. Doc. No. 66, 74th Cong.)

House Document No. 414, 77th Congress recommended a comprehensive project including a deeper channel for navigation.

Hearings held on Alabama-Coosa River in the 77th Congress before the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors. (November 5 and 6, 1941.)

Hearings held in 78th Congress:

1. Before House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, October 19-20, 1943.

2. Before Senate Committee on Commerce, April and May 1944. (Held on H. R. 3961.)

The Rivers and Harbors Act of 1945: It authorized appropriations for the implementation of the plans as set forth in House Document No. 414, 77th Congress.

Public Law 436, 83d Congress authorized the Alabama Power Co. to build a series of dams on the river.

THE FUTURE OF ALABAMA LIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALABAMA-COOSA RIVER

One of the firmest cornerstones of Alabama's future lies in the development of the great resources of the Alabama-Coosa River Basin. This promising future can be attained only by the eventual development of the Alabama and Coosa Rivers and the long hoped for and dreamed of 9-foot deep-water channel from Rome, Ga., to Mobile.

The fulfillment of the dreams Alabamians have had for this magnificent river basin for these many years would provide a significant contribution to the defense bulwark of our Nation—allowing for the fast, safe, yet inexpensive movement of vital defense elements such as petroleum, chemicals, pulp, ore, and building materials; it would provide economic advantages to the industries already in the area through lowering their operating costs; and it would attract new commerce and industries to develop the abundant natural resources within the river basin.

The present shallow depths of the Alabama River generally limit commerce to small movements of gravel, sand, logs, and pulpwood. The Alabama and Coosa Rivers must be channeled because of the advantages which will accrue to Alabama and its people, the Nation, and its citizens.

RESOURCES OF THE RIVER BASIN

Industry

Textiles: Cotton processing is important; silk and rayon knitting are prominent. There are approximately 130 textile mills employing about 43,000 workers.

Steel and iron: There are steel and iron mills in the river basin towns of Gadsden, Anniston, and Rome which use coal and iron ore mined in the surrounding area. This industry employs about 10,000 men in 33 plants.

The vast Cahaba coalfield of St. Clair, Bibb, and Tuscaloosa Counties which produce great amounts of coal would be made available if the coal had the advantage of reduced transportation rates afforded by river transportation. The same situation would be true of the great Warrior coalfield lying in the counties of Walker, Blount, Cullman, Winston, Marion, Fayette, and Tuscaloosa.

The steel mills would use Venezuelan iron ore and ore from other foreign countries coming into Alabama through the port of Mobile, thereby giving the counties served by the Alabama-Coosa, an equal and fair chance with the counties served by the Tombigbee and Warrior system which is now being made navigable.

Paper: Paper manufacture consumes vast quantities of water, involves a difficult waste problem, and requires low-cost, dependable, bulk transportation to and from the mill. The waters of the Coosa River plus the nearby supply of pulp has aided in the success of the Coosa River Newsprint Co.

Chemical: In the river basin there are approximately 64 establishments engaged in the manufacture of chemical products, including fertilizer plants, the Childersburg powder works, and cottonseed-oil mills.

General: There are about 70 concerns of the glass, clay, and stone group of industry which are engaged in the manufacture of cut stone, marble, building brick, and tile.

Agriculture

The abundant rainfall and fertile soil make farming desirable in this area. About 40 percent of the population is engaged in agricultural pursuits. Cotton, corn, peanuts, potatoes, velvet beans, and cattle raising are the most important.

Mineral resources

The Alabama-Coosa River Basin acreage contains many valuable minerals; bauxite, Selma chalk (for cement), clays, coal, arsenic ores, fluxing materials, fuller's earth, gold, lead graphite, granite, marble, slate, mica, ochre, lime, manganese ore, iron ore (both brown and gray), gravel, sand, silica sand, and asbestos.

At the present time because of the high transportation costs, only clay, coal, marble, lime, iron, gravel, and sand are being produced. Decreased water transportation costs would undoubtedly make it more profitable to mine bauxite, cement, coal, iron ore, fluxing materials, fuller's earth, graphite, and manganese.

Human resources

There is an adequate labor supply in the river basin—much of it due to the influx of war workers, many of whom stayed on. The number of workers has also increased due to the movement of new industries into the area.

It is interesting to note that populations demonstrate a tendency to follow water. In northern New York State where water transportation on the New York State barge-canal system parallels the railroad, the population is 5½ times greater than the population in southern New York which has only railway service. Almost three-fourths of the 100 largest American cities are either sea, Great Lakes, or river ports with rail connections. Take the case of Houston, Tex., 50 miles from deep water in the Gulf of Mexico. In 1910 Houston's population was 78,000. Today it is 600,000. The city is next to the largest port in the Nation, second only to New York, and this is due to the dredged ship channel from the gulf to Houston.

THE ADVANTAGES OF WATER TRANSPORTATION

In recent years, freight business on the Nation's waterways has been increasing between 10 to 15 percent a year; in 1953 the waterways, excluding Great Lakes, transported 6 percent of the total ton-mileage. Traffic on the inland waterways has nearly tripled since 1946. Over the past 20 years, ton-miles have increased on the inland waterways at the average rate of 3.25 billion a year. On the Mississippi, traffic rose from 36 million tons in 1942 to 80 million tons in 1953.

The greatest advantage water freight has over other methods of transportation is cost. The average cost of railroad equipment to move 15,000 tons of freight would be $3,220,551. The average cost of equipment to move 15,000 tons of freight on the inland waterways would be $930,000. In the 22-year period ending June 30, 1948, the transportation savings on the 15 largest and most active waterways, as computed by the Army engineers, totaled over 2.5 billion dollars.

As another example, take the shipment of a ton of wheat from Minneapolis to Knoxville. By rail it costs $17.69 but by water costs only $5.55.

This is why new industries moving south every day would prefer to settle along the banks of a river where it can take advantage of the low costs of water transportation rates. In the first 3 months of 1954, 85 waterside development projects—all costing over $100,000 and some well into the millions—were announced. Within the last 2 years over $3 billion in new plant investments has been made along the banks of the Ohio River and its tributaries.

In 1952 the midcontinent of the United States surpassed the industrial East as a producing area—and why? Because industries have been leaving the East and settling along the inland waterways. It should be remembered that the railroads serving the river-port cities have also benefited by thousands of additional car loadings from industry and by greatly increased movement of in- and out-bound consumer goods and passengers.

ALABAMA'S FUTURE LIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALABAMA-COOSA RIVER

Full development of the Alabama-Coosa River would bring the river-basin area adequate hydroelectric power for industrial purposes; employment for its people; cheap water-rate transportation; freedom from floods; and would provide wonderful recreational areas for its people to enjoy. The river and its basin possess all the natural resources of people, water, and minerals, and all it needs is the direction of man in order that this area can make a significant contribution to the national defense and general economic progress of the State of Alabama and the entire Nation. Every dollar spent will bring more than its own value in return. It is estimated that the river and harbor and flood-control program accomplished to date by the Corps of Engineers has returned to the Nation more than $2 in value for every dollar expended.

I would like to urge that the State of Alabama and the Federal Government jointly pursue the full development of the Alabama-

Coosa River, including a 9-foot channel from Rome, Ga., to Mobile, Ala. Such an undertaking would be beneficial not only to the immediate people and industries within the river basin but to Georgia, Alabama, and to the Nation.

I would like to encourage the State of Alabama and the Federal Government to undertake this project at the same time that the Alabama Power Co. is building five dams along the river in order that the work might be coincided and accomplished with the least amount of cost. Perhaps the State could assume the responsibility for building the docks in the various ports under the already established State Waterways Commission. The cities could also participate in the construction of such docks and warehouses. The counties and State jointly could contribute to the building of access roads to service the ports. The Federal Government would dredge the river and build the channel, and work on the flood-control installations.

Alabama should no longer ignore the bounty of this magnificent river system. Alabama must act now.

Trees and Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Asheville (N. C.) Citizen of February 1, 1955:

TREES AND MEN

In the mountains it is often possible to see the forests for the trees.

The lush woods grow all around us. They are celebrated in verse, song, and book. They are the resource of a three-quarters of billion-dollar Tar Heel industry. To name the trees that grow in North Carolina from the subtropics of the southeast coastal islands to the fir-clad high mountains would take more space and breath than we have at hand. The tree is the prop and pillar of a whole scheme of civilization.

It was only 50 years ago today, however, that these truths really impressed themselves on the country at large. For it was on February 1, 1905, that President Theodore Roosevelt established the United States Forest Service.

Western North Carolina's share in these auspicious beginnings was immense. And its stake has grown. The first USFS Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, received much of his training on Biltmore Estate. The estate was also the site of the first formal school of forestry (then a European monopoly) in America. The Pisgah Forest Experiment Station began in a couple of tents at Bent Creek and grew at length into the Southeastern Forest Experiment Station, with eight experimental forests and a corps of researchers including men with worldwide reputations. The present Chief Forester, Richard E. McArdle, is a graduate of this renowned project, and E. L. Demmon, of Asheville, is president of the Society of American Foresters. We can indeed see the woods. And the trees. And the men.

T. R. defined forestry simply as "the preservation of forests by wise use." Today the Forest Service has grown to an organization of 6,700 permanent employees administering 115 national forests which yield each year 5 billion board-feet of lumber grown under scientific management plus research of immeasurable value to American industry.

The beginnings were small, like the seedling, and now the harvest is prodigious. In half a century the slashing, criminal waste of forest exploitation has been turned back into channels of wise use. America is the richer for it. And it is eternally in debt to the Forest Service and its band of dedicated men, conspicuous for their humility and a distinctive character (if you know your forester) that seems somehow aged in the woods. A happy birthday all around.

Dixon-Yates Versus the Taxpayers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following editorial from a recent issue of the Florence Herald, Florence, Ala.:

DIXON-YATES VERSUS THE TAXPAYERS

One argument against the proposed Dixon-Yates power contract that seems to stand out above all others is the gross injustice to the taxpayers.

When the TVA was established some 22 years ago it offered the people of the Tennessee Valley an economical supply of power on a partnership basis, that is, the Government to produce it at wholesale rates, the people to buy and distribute it. It has proven to be an amazingly efficient and business-like arrangement that has been mutually acceptable to the TVA and the people. The Government is being paid back for its investment which it will still own after it is entirely amortized.

Dixon-Yates is the reverse of this. It would make the TVA dependent upon surrounding private utilities and would tax the people to pay for some of these private utilities (as in the case of Dixon-Yates). The people would pay for the facilities which Dixon-Yates would own after 30 years, and they would pay twice as much for these facilities as compared with the same amount of power furnished by TVA.

Just what Mr. Eisenhower hopes to gain by the Dixon-Yates deal is hard to see. It appears that in view of Russia's progress with atomic weapons we have lost much valuable time in settling the issue of who is to furnish the power for this vitally important plant. To brush aside the largest and most successful power-producing agency in the world in favor of a newly formed and untried private concern cannot be a course charted by other than political reasons.

Just why the Government's Atomic Energy Commission should have been placed in a position where it would have to bargain for power is a mystery. Oak Ridge was adequately served by TVA and so were hundreds of other large industries in the valley during the critical war period. There have been no complaints about the TVA's ability to deliver power.

The fact that Uncle Sam's atomic-energy plant would require some 600,000 kilowatts that TVA could not spare was known in 1953. It was then that the Bureau of the Budget and the AEC made the acquaintance of Messrs. Dixon and Yates and began negotiating for some sort of a power deal that would leave TVA out.

That this secret courtship succeeded is evidenced by the fact that TVA's proposal to build the Fulton steam plant was quickly nipped in the bud.

Despite the President's order that the Bureau of the Budget and the AEC make a full disclosure of the Dixon-Yates deal the people are still unaware of all the facts in the story back of the proposal.

It should be told.

Veterans' Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution adopted by Post No. 290, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Nanticoke, Pa., and a resolution adopted by the 12th District of the American Legion. These refer to an identical bill introduced by Congressman TEAGUE, of Texas, the distinguished chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House, which I hope will receive the attention of the committee. Following this resolution, I include two other resolutions adopted by Post No. 290 concerning World War I veteran pensions and an auditorium for the Veterans' Administration hospital at Wilkes-Barre:

Whereas the American Legion is a leader in the field of unselfish service closely akin to rehabilitation; and

Whereas this field is child welfare; and

Whereas the American Legion has achieved universally recognized leadership in this field of service to children of deceased veterans; and

Whereas the American-Legion sponsored legislation on child welfare has sought the cooperation in their passage through the friendship of members serving the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas Legionnaires of the 12th district, Luzerne County of Pennsylvania, maintain its courtesy toward and appreciation toward the action of their Congressman in the 11th Congressional District for his introduction of a bill granting educational benefits to children of deceased veterans as outlined in such bill: Therefore be it

Resolved, That district 12, the American Legion, Luzerne County, Department of Pennsylvania, comprising 40 American Legion posts and representing more than 13,000 veteran Legionnaires of the Great Wars, commends the splendid efforts of Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD, 11th Congressional District, United States House of Representatives, for his introduction of a bill in the House of Representatives establishing an educational-assistance program for children of servicemen who died as a result of a disability incurred in line of duty during World War II or the Korean service period in combat or from an instrumentality of war.

NANTICOKE POST, NO. 290,
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Nanticoke, Pa., February 15, 1955.

Subject: H. R. 3589, sponsored by Representative FLOOD.

Whereas it has come to the attention of Nanticoke Post, 290, VFW, that H. R. 3589 is to be considered by the 84th Congress of the United States; and

Whereas the provisions of H. R. 3589 are extremely salutory for the benefits of orphan children of deceased veterans: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Nanticoke Post, 290, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars go on record to urge Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD to press with all his vigor and exceptional ability for the passage of said resolution at the 84th Congress; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the House of Representatives of the United States and to Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD.

A. SAVUKINAS, *Commander.*
LEONARD E. GAWFOURLIS,
Adjutant.

NANTICOKE POST, NO. 290,
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Nanticoke, Pa.

Subject: World War I veteran pensions.

Whereas a man's service to his country in the Armed Forces can never be measured in dollars and cents; and

Whereas those veterans who served in World War I have now passed the age where they are desirable as new employees; and

Whereas we feel that no one who has served his country valiantly in the Armed Forces should be left to the relief agencies for care in their old age: Be it hereby

Resolved, That you, Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, join forces with those who desire to aid in providing a suitable pension for those of World War I to aid in the final days of their lives.

A. SAVUKINAS, *Commander.*
LEONARD E. GAWFOURLIS,
Adjutant.

NANTICOKE POST, NO. 290,
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Nanticoke, Pa., February 14, 1955.

Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a regular meeting of the post on January 23, 1955, it was expressed that the facilities of an auditorium were badly needed at the VA hospital to provide recreation for those who are being treated there. Adequate entertainment is always necessary for adequate mental and physical rehabilitation. So, therefore, we are taking this opportunity to inform you that we would like to have your support in trying to see that such facilities should be provided for our sick comrades while they are being rehabilitated. Any other help that we might give you in bringing this matter to the proper authorities will be dispatched to you immediately at your request.

Sincerely,

LEONARD E. PAWLOWSKI,
Adjutant.

The Congressional Salary Issue

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the provisions in the bill H. R. 3828 which will increase the salaries of Members of Congress by $10,000 per year, and I shall vote "no" on this bill when it is considered in the House of Representatives.

I shall also vote "no" on any proposal to increase congressional salaries when so many of our people are overburdened by heavy taxation and so many persons are struggling to support themselves and their families on reduced incomes due to the agricultural depression and industrial unemployment.

I realize that many cogent arguments can be made in support of some salary increases for Members of the legislative branch of the Government, but the amount of salary increase specified in the bill H. R. 3828 for Members of Congress seems to me to be very extravagant.

I am well aware that the cost of living has increased substantially since 1946 when the present congressional salary schedule was established. However, the cost of living has not increased by an amount sufficient to warrant the very substantial salary increase carried in this bill.

The portion of the bill which relates to the salaries of judges of Federal courts and United States attorneys, I believe should have been considered separately and apart from congressional salaries.

From the information I have, judicial and attorneys' salaries are presently far too low and I have no objection to the parts of the bill which relate to salary increases for Federal judges and United States attorneys.

A New Voice Is Heard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I want to draw the attention of Members of the House to an editorial that appeared February 24, 1955, in the Salt Lake Deseret News and Telegram concerning the thoroughness and studiousness the freshman Congressman from Utah, HENRY ALDOUS DIXON, has brought to Washington. Too often the cost of our price-support program has been masked in a tangled maze of columned figures. Congressman DIXON is to be commended for bringing them out in the open where they can be seen by all.

The editorial follows:

A NEW VOICE IS HEARD

An old tradition dictates that freshman Senators and Congressmen, like small children, should be seen and not heard. When a comparative newcomer does make his voice heard above the multitude, he had better have something to say which is well worth listening to. Otherwise he is more than likely to be acutely embarrassed.

Representative HENRY ALDOUS DIXON, Utah's brandnew Congressman, made his voice heard from coast to coast last week. Judging by the reaction—and by a close analysis of what he said—the "Freshman's" speech was well worth listening to. It is causing a lot of embarrassment, all right—but not to the man who made the speech.

Supporters of the much-debated rigid 90-percent parity agricultural price support had told a House committee that the price-support program had cost only $20,700,000 over the whole 22 years of its existence. They had the figures to prove it—impressive figures, taken from a statistical table presented by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson himself.

Dr. DIXON made a close analysis of the figures which had been offered and their source. He found the quoted figures on the official chart, all right, and sure enough they represented the total of the column entitled "Price Support Programs." But, with his educator's typical thoroughness, he didn't stop there. A little further checking showed that the column title had been rather loosely used. Actually, that column represented cost of "Nonrecourse commodity loans and purchase agreement programs," just one of the factors making up the cost of "price-support programs." When the table was correctly read, and all of the cost elements added in, the total 22-year cost of agriculture price supports added up to a staggering 5 billion dollars-plus, or just 240 times the amount that had been cited by the veteran Congressman who had been trying to win support for the rigid price-support programs.

House veterans—especially those directly embarrassed by Representative DIXON's careful analysis—may not appreciate the Utah "Freshman's" disregard for tradition. But the taxpayers—whose sensitive pockets can readily feel the difference between $20 million and $5 billion—definitely do.

Schools for War Babies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, which now has before it consideration of the President's program for Federal aid to education, I believe the article which appeared in the February 28, 1955, issue of Newsweek and written by Raymond Moley will prove of interest to my colleagues.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article:

SCHOOLS FOR WAR BABIES
(By Raymond Moley)

There is grumbling among school people about the pallor of the gravy in the President's school-building program. There are loud cries from politicians like Senator HILL about the lack of pork under the gravy. For these reasons the President's suggestions seem modest by comparison with what might have been. Nevertheless, there is an apologetic tone in the President's explanation of the reasons why he has bypassed the constitutional principle of local responsibility to which he has so often paid fervent tribute.

There is something fearsome in the multitude of war babies grown to school age which overwhelms even the strictest constitutionalists. The late Senator Taft was once induced to sponsor a bill for Federal aid to education. His defense of the bill in the Senate was not in the best Taft tradition. When he was asked by a colleague how the Federal octopus was to be kept out of local school affairs if Federal money were given, he answered that the bill contained all the words which he could muster to prevent such an invasion.

He knew quite well that words are not enough. For lurking in the shadow of every Federal dollar, wherever it may go, is a Federal bureaucrat. If it is Federal money, the Federal Government is responsible for its use.

On this constitutional background the President's program must be evaluated. Since it represents a distinct advance of Federal authority over the already depleted powers of the States and local communities, there should be a clear answer to two questions: What and where are the needy communities? Is there any other way consistent with traditional State responsibility to get the money for the building that may be necessary?

The plan itself hardly matches the ballyhoo about a $7 billion school plan. Maybe it will be $7 billion, maybe not. It will be sure to cost Uncle Sam more than a billion over 3 years and maybe 2. Whether $7 billion will be spent by everyone concerned nobody can know. The financial plan is fourfold.

1. The Federal Government would buy $750 million over 3 years of the bonds of districts which have not reached their borrowing limit.

2. The Federal Government would match State money to pay interest on bonds issued by school-building authorities (which would be public corporations) organized for the purpose. These authorities would rent the buildings to school districts too poor to build their own schools.

3. For districts too poor to participate in either of the foregoing plans the Federal Government would provide $200 million in grants over 3 years.

4. The Federal Government would provide $20 million over 3 years toward administrative expenses for the foregoing.

The plan would give a great deal of discretion to the United States Commissioner of Education and if he were an economical person devoted to the principle of State responsibility he could keep Federal spending to a minimum. A provision in the bill would lift his financial transactions above review by any other government official. This is mischievous nonsense.

There is no evidence in the President's message, nor in the other documents and statements issued by the administration in support of this plan, that a truly careful appraisal of the real needs and the financial resources of the local districts has been made. To a large degree the administration seems to accept exparte estimates of beneficiary States and districts. We are asked to accept a figure more or less pulled out of the air with the assurance that after it is authorized by the Congress, the administration will in its discretion spend it wisely. Nor has the administration faced the fact that by returning to the States and local government such a tax as is now levied upon amusements, school needs could be met by the States and districts without Federal help.

Also the President might have waited to hear from his own Commission on Intergovernmental Relations which has a very competent task force under the chairmanship of Dr. Adam Bennion, of Utah. It has prepared a good report on this subject.

Federal School Aid Unnecessary?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial entitled "Federal School Aid Unnecessary?" It appeared in the Huntsville Times of February 25, 1955:

FEDERAL SCHOOL AID UNNECESSARY?

Some governmental reports make sense. Others do not.

A prime example of the latter is the report made recently to President Eisenhower's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, saying that Federal aid is not necessary for the construction of new schools. The States can afford to spend more of their own money, according to the study group which made the report.

Since the news story quoting this report made no mention of exceptions, we must presume the report meant all types of Federal aid, including aid for areas where Federal installations have caused abnormally heavy and sudden increases in school populations.

We know little about the financial conditions of other States, but we are well acquainted with Alabama.

Where would Huntsville be now, educationally speaking, without Federal aid? Huntsville High School, Terry Heights Elementary School, the new West Huntsville Elementary School were all made possible only with Federal funds. And we are still crowded, with little local or State money available.

The same conditions apparently exist all over the State. Nationally speaking, there is an estimated shortage of 300,000 classrooms, with the shortage growing more acute.

Spend more State money? What money? Strenuous efforts have been made for several years to find enough money just to raise teachers' salaries. They have been unsuccessful.

Of course, taxes could be increased. But, ask a housewife or a father, who must feed and clothe his family on an average income, how much money he has left over which might go for taxes. It's hard enough for most folks to make ends meet now.

We take no issue with the desire to be independent of Federal aid. But to say that aid is not necessary anywhere is exhibiting an amazing degree of blindness.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the continuing plight of the peoples who have been enslaved by communism. One of the nations which has been so enslaved is Lithuania, a proud country which had known independence for only a short time before it again fell under the Russian yoke. I would call the attention of the Congress to the thoughtful and worthwhile resolutions which were recently passed by the Linden, N. J., branch of the Lithuanian American Council in commemoration of the 37th anniversary of the declaration of Lithuanian independence:

Whereas 37 years have passed since the Council of Lithuania, meeting at Vilnius, the historic capital of Lithuania, on February 16, 1918, proclaimed to the world the determination of the Lithuanian people to embark upon an independent life; and

Whereas for Lithuanian-Americans it was a source of pride and satisfaction to observe the progress of the independent Lithuanian Republic in managing its affairs, raising the welfare of the people and elevating their cultural and educational standards; and

Whereas intolerable conditions now prevailing in Central and Eastern Europe, including Lithuania, are of grave concern to Western democracies, including the United States of America, since peace and stability are impossible without participation of that area, comprising a population of more than 100 million inhabitants, now separated from the rest of the world by the Iron Curtain: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, Americans of Lithuanian descent of the city of Linden, N. J., convened under the auspices of the Lithuanian American Council, Linden branch, to commemorate the 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence, being mindful of the gravity of the present international situation and concerned over the fate of the Lithuanian nation, now pledge our loyalty and cooperation to the Government of the United States, and record our gratitude and appreciation to the President, the Secretary of State, and to the Congress of the United States for their support of the cause of a free Lithuania, and for having authorized a congressional investigation into the facts and methods of Communist aggression as experienced by Lithuania and other unfortunate nations; be it further

Resolved, That we appeal to the President, the Secretary of State, and to the Congress of the United States to (1) develop a foreign policy to defeat the forces of international Communist conspiracy, and restore sovereignty to Lithuania and other Soviet-dominated countries; (2) use all possible means to protect enslaved peoples from genocidal destruction and preserve their hope of eventual liberation; and (3) have the United States Senate promptly ratify the Genocide Convention so that Communist perpetrated crimes against humanity may be properly recorded and officially noted for prosecution; be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, His Excellency Dwight D. Eisenhower; to the Secretary of State, the Honorable John Foster Dulles; to the Senators of New Jersey, the Honorable H. ALEXANDER SMITH and the Honorable CLIFFORD P. CASE; and to the Representative from the Sixth Congressional District of New Jersey, the Honorable HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

JOHN LIUDVINAITIS,
President.
VLADAS TURSA,
Secretary.

LINDEN, N. J., *February 14, 1955.*

Milk a Bargain as Source of Protein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an article by Mr. Herb Jacobs, farm writer for the Capital Times of Madison, Wis.

Mr. Jacobs' article summarizes very well the fact that milk—particularly nonfat dry milk—commonly known as powdered milk—is one of the best sources of protein. He further proves,

with figures, milk and dairy products are the most economical buy for budget conscious housewives.

Following is Mr. Jacobs informative article which I commend to my colleagues for their consideration:

(By Herb Jacobs)

How would you like to buy the body-building foods for your family on the basis of the cost per pound of proteins they contain? Proteins are the building blocks out of which the body is largely made, from the mighty biceps of a weight lifter to the lustrous hair and peace-bloom skin of a Hollywood starlet.

The red stuff in meat, the white stuff in milk, and the clear part of a raw egg, for instance, are all the building block proteins—but if you were buying them just for their proteins, 1 variety would cost you more than 5 times as much as another.

It's important to Wisconsin too, because the dairyman, via milk, produces about half of all the animal-origin protein in this country—and the experts say he's selling it for about half what it is worth.

For Wisconsin that could mean a $500 million per year increase in prices received by farmers for their milk.

But the protein price chart also affects consumers. Since the animal-origin proteins all have about the same body-building value, a housewife anxious to get the most for her money could shop around among meats, dairy products, and eggs to get the best buy in proteins. For instance hamburger contains about 16 percent protein. If the hamburger sels for 41 cents a pound, the price of a pound of portein in hamburger form would be $2.02. On the other hand, pork chops, with a protein content of 13.3 percent, run up to $5.47 per pound of protein in pork chop form, if the pork chops are selling retail at 79 cents per pound.

By contrast, the best buy for the housewife would be nonfat dry milk powder if she were looking for a cheap form of protein for her family. At 40 cents a pound, and with a protein content of 35.6 percent, the protein in the dried milk would be costing only 97 cents per pound.

These figures are from the January 15, 1955, retail protein price report of the Protein Economics and Research Council, W. Lincoln Way, Route 3, Ames, Iowa.

Here is part of a protein price chart which the council is seeking to have newspapers throughout the country print weekly for the shopping guidance of housewives:

Food	Retail price	Percent protein	Price per pound of protein paid by consumer
Beef:			
Chuck roast, pound	$0.54	16.2	$3.07
Hamburger, do	.41	16.1	2.02
Round steak, do	.94	17.6	5.17
Cheese:			
Cottage (box) 12 ounces	.24	19.5	1.63
Cured cheddar, pound	.65	25.1	2.19
Chicken: Frier, ready to cook pound	.53	15.2	3.38
Fish:			
Haddock, frozen fillet pound	.50	18.2	2.74
Salmon, canned pink pound	.53	20.5	2.49
Lamb, leg, do	.69	15.0	4.31
Milk:			
Evaporated (can)			
Fresh, whole, quart	.22	3.5	2.48
Nonfat, dry, pound	.40	35.6	.97
Pork:			
Chops, do	.79	13.3	5.47
Ham, whole, do	.64	14.7	3.73

Harry C. Andrews, a former atomic scientist who worked for years with the E. I. DuPont de Nemours Co., is director of the protein council. He declares that the council's studies show that about 60 percent of the housewife's food dollar goes to buy protein.

"By using the protein price chart, a family of 4 can cut from $200 to $300, and sometimes as much as $400 from its yearly food budget, and eat better while doing it," Andrews insists.

Andrews has been roving the Midwest in recent months, telling his protein cost story to newspaper editors, agriculture departments, and nutritionists. He looks forward to the day when stores will advertise a "best protein buy" just as they now advertise bargains in meat, poultry or other foods. Some newspapers are now publishing the weekly protein price charts for the guidance of consumers.

"That white stuff in milk is valuable," Andrews says, thinking as much of the farmer as of the consumer. "Wisconsin milk protein production of 500 million pounds per years is actually worth from $500 million to $1 billion per year more than we are getting, compared to other proteins of similar quality.

"Each year the dairy industry in the United States produces at the farm level about as much protein as that consumed in the form of all beef, pork, veal, lamb, mutton, poultry, fish and eggs combined. This is a whale of a lot of protein.

"Wisconsin and Iowa together produce about a third of the high quality or animal protein, with Wisconsin estimated as being the top net producer."

Andrews adds that there is a bright future for Wisconsin's dairyland in the trend toward reducing diets, "because a reducing diet is really a more adequate protein diet."

The Protein Economic and Research Council is a nonprofit organization studying production and distribution of food resources, with particular emphasis on protein. Andrews thinks more widespread information on protein costs and availability would aid in defense stockpiling.

The question of buying foods on the basis of their protein content price is a difficult field, comments Dr. C. A. Elvehjem, dean of the University of Wisconsin graduate school, who is widely known for his studies in nutrition. Listing of the protein content of foods in terms of the price of the protein has considerable value, he said, but he pointed out that other factors also enter the picture, such as taste, mineral content, and other nutritional elements.

National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include herein an editorial, together with certain letters from J. Wellington Hall, national secretary of the American Material Handling Society, Inc., in support of House Joint Resolution 231, to proclaim a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week.

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC.,
Toledo, Ohio, February 24, 1955.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am enclosing for your information an editorial which is sufficiently informative so that anything I could try to add would be superfluous.

Entitled "How Would You Answer," it is written by V. H. Laughner, editor, Modern Materials Handling Magazine.

I feel that it has a direct bearing on the effort to obtain recognition for the material handling industry and profession and would request that it be inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a means of aiding the establishment of a National Material Handling Week.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL, A. M. H. S.,
National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division.

NEWARK, N. J.

HOW WOULD YOU ANSWER?

If your son, about to enter college, were to ask your advice about a career in industrial engineering—and particularly in materials handling—what would you tell him?

Would you think of the many years you spent trying to sell management on the production and distribution savings possible through efficient handling, and advise him against subjecting himself to such frustration? Would you say that any engineering degree is a stigma, and that management looks on any technical man as necessary to the business but a little peculiar personally? Would you point to the 5-year-old car in the garage, the mortgage on the house, and the money you must borrow to put him through school—and tell him with some bitterness that salary scales in his contemplated profession are lower than those in many other professions?

Then, as we heard a man in the field do recently, would you cite other irritants associated with your work, like never being able to forget it after hours? Would you tell him that few engineers, particularly in the materials handling field, enjoy any professional recognition, that their next door neighbors never understand what they really do, and care even less, that the technical societies to which they belong do a wonderful job of keeping them abreast of technical progress, but nothing to improve their take-home pay and professional standing?

And after expounding on these themes for some time, would you tell him to study law, take business administration, or even be a veterinary, but to stay out of engineering?

Or would you tell him that the demands on industry for more and better products at lower cost will be greatly intensified by a growing population in the next few decades, that the men in production and distribution who were responsible for making us the most powerful Nation in history are now on the threshold of retirement, thus creating a void that he and others like him must fill, that management in the years ahead will have to depend far more on the "savvy" of the specialists not only to start but to stay in business, that with this increased dependency will come bigger salaries and greater professional recognition? Would you chart the tremendous importance of the professional societies and explain to him that they can provide the foundations for growth, but that each individual must, in the final analysis, be responsible for his own future?

Would you try to impart to your son the necessity for technical progress if we are to survive, and the great satisfactions that will be his by contributing his share?

If he were to ask you, how would you answer? What would you say?

V. H. LAUGHNER,
Editor.

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC.,
Toledo, Ohio, February 25, 1955.

HON. PETER W. RODINO, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am enclosing for your information some programs which will demonstrate the interest in the material-handling field.

On February 17–18, 1955, a 2-day conference on material handling was held at West Lafayette, Ind., cosponsored by Purdue University and the Indianapolis Chapter of the AMHS. This is the fifth annual Purdue material handling conference.

On March 10, 1955, an all-day material handling workshop seminar will be held at the Melbourne Hotel, sponsored by the St. Louis Chapter of the AMHS, St. Louis, Mo.

On March 16, 1955, the fifth annual material handling forum will be held at Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J. Cosponsored by Stevens Institute and the New Jersey Chapter of the AMHS, in cooperation with the Material Handling Institute. Attendance at the event for the 4 previous years has never been under 100 persons and has been over 150.

Dr. Jess H. Davis, president, Stevens Institute; Prof. James R. Bright, Harvard University; Mr. James M. Wallace, manager meter division, Westinghouse Electric Corp.; Mr. F. C. Wier, superintendent, material handling, Timken Roller Bearing Co., will be the principal speakers in the morning sessions. The afternoon will be devoted to 10 separate panel discussions.

The forum, seminar, or conference type of meeting is used by the material-handling profession and industry to spread the accumulated knowledge of the latest techniques and developments in the field. Meeting on the common ground of interest in the subject, the executive, the engineer, the vendor, and user of equipment, as well as the professional educator, discuss problems and solutions objectively and without restraint.

The programs listed here are only a small part of the hundreds held each year. It is significant that two are being held for the fifth time, proving the value and the interest in these sessions.

I would like to request of you that this information be inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as an indication of what the colleges and the material-handling industry and profession are doing voluntarily to broaden the knowledge of those desiring information and as a part of the effort to have declared a National Material Handling Week.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL, AMHS,
National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

Problems Confronting Manufacturers of Power Lawn Mowers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from Mr. Edwin F. Ringer, vice president of the Foley Manufacturing Co., Inc., Minneapolis, Minn., regarding the serious problem confronting manufacturers of power lawn mowers.

I wish to call to the attention of the Members of Congress how at times—with the best of intention—impractical provisions are incorporated in the law that make it impossible for industry to meet its requirements without severe penalty.

Mr. Ringer's letter follows:

FOLEY MANUFACTURING CO., INC.,
Minneapolis, Minn., February 28, 1955.

The Honorable ROY W. WIER,
Congressman from Minnesota,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WIER: The purpose of this letter is respectfully to request your consideration and assistance on a general problem confronting manufacturers of power lawn mowers.

Our company is a Minnesota corporation doing business in Minneapolis, Minn., which manufactures and sells power lawn mowers.

We urge your active support of H. R. 3712 introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressman LAWRENCE H. SMITH, of Wisconsin. This bill would remedy the hardship and inequity to which many manufacturers were subjected when, last April, they were involuntarily made an agent of the Federal Government for the purpose of refunding to their dealers floor stock credits arising from the reduction in excise tax.

You will recall that in April 1954 Congress reduced the excise tax on power lawn mowers and on certain other commodities from 10 percent to 5 percent, and, by section 3416, Internal Revenue Code, provided for floor stock credits and refunds for such inventory as dealers may have had on hand for resale on April 1, 1954. Such refund was effected by provision for refund by the Federal Government to the manufacturer who had reimbursed its dealers holding unsold mowers, and who had filed a claim for credit or refund in the Internal Revenue Service no later than August 1, 1954. Since August 1, 1954 fell upon a Sunday, the claims actually had to be in the hands of the Internal Revenue Service by Friday, July 30.

While the bill reducing excise taxes was passed and became effective April 1, regulations of the Internal Revenue Service (T. D. 6072) prescribing procedure for floor stock refunds were not issued until June 3 and, because of the intervening weekend, did not reach most manufacturers until Monday, June 7. The manufacturer, therefore, had only 38 regular working days for processing the vast amount of paper work in handling the properly substantiated inventories from dealers and wholesalers and in preparing and filing the manufacturer's claim for credit or refund with the Internal Revenue Service.

The specific things which the manufacturer was compelled to attempt to accomplish within this limited 38-day period were as follows:

1. Analyze a rather complicated Internal Revenue Service regulation;

2. Prepare and have printed appropriate forms for reporting April 1 inventory of mowers;

3. Distribute the report forms to its wholesalers, and insure that such report forms were further distributed to the dealers of each of its wholesalers;

4. Each dealer and wholesaler then had to identify and also report on the forms their April 1 inventory of unsold mowers;

5. Such completed report form then had to be passed up the chain of distribution from dealer to wholesaler for appropriate endorsement and finally to the manufacturer;

6. The manufacturer at its risk had to determine the adequacy of each form, both as to the taking and reporting of inventory and as to execution; allow valid claims of its wholesalers; and make reimbursement thereof not only by the trade practice of credit memos but also by the actual mailing of refund checks prior to July 30; and

7. The manufacturer then had to prepare his Quarterly Excise Tax Return and Claim for Refund in each case asserting claim against the Government for the total amount in which it had previously reimbursed its wholesalers. Such manufacturer's Quarterly Excise Tax Return and Claim for Refund—in order to be allowed—had to be in the hands of the appropriate Internal Revenue Service office by Friday, July 30.

The existence of several stages in the chain of distribution—from manufacturer to wholesaler to dealer—severely aggravated the burden of the inventorying, reporting, and paperwork.

Manufacturers—particularly the smaller ones—who were unable to process the paperwork in the limited time prescribed, were placed in the following dilemma:

(a) They could either not handle many thousands of dollars of valid claims from their customers; or

(b) They could attempt to handle all valid claims from their customers at the risk or late filing of the manufacturer's claim against the Government and the late mailing of refund checks to cutsomers—either of which inadvertent delinquencies would result in the rejection of the manufacturer's claim against the Government.

Our company is a small business. We attempted to handle as many valid claims of our customers as possible, within the limited prescribed period. Our office force, however, was unsuccessful in processing the added paperwork involved.

As a result, our company inadvertently mailed certain refund checks to certain wholesalers as late as August 9 in remittance of credit balances created by the allowance of their valid claims. The examining agent from the office of the District Director of Internal Revenue has rejected our company's claims in the amount of $1,862.50 because of our unintentional 9-day delay in mailing certain refund checks to certain wholesalers.

Our company acted in good faith in attempting to comply fully with the provisions of the statute by refunding to all of our wholesalers tax money to which they were entitled. We feel very keenly the inequity of the above penalty, which is particularly burdensome upon us as a small company.

The above situation is one in which many manufacturers of power lawn mowers now find themselves. We therefore urge your active support of H. R. 3712, which would remedy the above hardships by extending the deadline of August 1, 1954, for the filing of floor stock credit and refund claims to July 1, 1955.

Sincerely,

EDWIN F. RINGER,
Vice President,
Foley Manufacturing Co.

National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include herein a letter from J. Wellington Hall, national secretary of the American Ma-

terial Handling Society, Inc., together with an editorial which appeared in the February issue of Modern Material Handling:

AMERICAN MATERIAL
HANDLING SOCIETY, INC.,
Toledo, Ohio, February 24, 1955.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Subject: National Material Handling Week.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am enclosing, as part of the program, an editorial from the February 1955 issue of Modern Materials Handling magazine entitled "Kudos and Bows."

Written by V. H. Laughner, editor, it is a graphic account of the phenomenal growth of the materials-handling function in the past 3 decades.

Please note the reference to the "$2 billion" worth of equipment and component parts sold by the material-handling industry in the year of 1954. Five times that of 5 years ago. Almost double that of the machine tool builders.

That material handling is accepted as an art and sciences would seem to be an established fact based on these figures. Yet, this tremendous dollar figure is not even dignified by our own Government as a basic industry, but classified as "general industrial equipment."

There is much yet to be done, in recognition, in education, in industry and in research and development.

The advances made to date are history. It is in the advances still to be made, in safety, in economy, in the elimination of the human being as a substitute for mechanical handling, wherein lies the greatest benefits to our civilization.

I would request of you, in the furtherance of this effort, that this editorial be inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, feeling that the message contained is of value to the program.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL,
National Secretary.

KUDOS AND BOWS

The cover on this month's issue of Modern Materials Handling is the first of a four-color series that will be published monthly throughout the coming year.

Actually, this cover is a symbol of progress. It symbolizes not only our progress but that of the entire industry and of every man connected with it. It furthermore is an indication of the importance that industry today places on efficient handling of materials and of in-process and finished parts.

This was not always so. Just a few years ago, the title of materials handling engineer was scarce indeed. Then, more attention was given to almost every other phase of manufacturing and distribution. At best, the development of efficient handling patterns was considered of tertiary importance and met with suspicion by many managements.

In those days, too, the companies making materials handling equipment were just on the threshold of tremendous growth. For the most part, they were small, had few design engineers and, with but some exceptions, had yet to formulate their current policy of underwriting research on a large scale. But they had faith in the future, they did not stint on their products, and they promoted materials handling with the zeal of crusaders. These companies grew and are growing as the field and the men in it grew and are growing.

In 1954, over $2 billion worth of equipment and components were sold by the materials handling industry—five times that of just 5 years ago and almost double the dollar volume done by the machine tool builders last year. Men who are in the field have increased in stature and are being given the recognition that has long been their due. No further proof is needed that industry now recognizes the tremendous savings that are possible through adaptation of better handling methods, or that the rate of progress will accelerate, not decelerate, in the future.

We are proud to have grown with the field. Our progress, like yours, has not been easy. Investment rather than tricks, study rather than superficiality, hard facts and not half truths have been the cornerstones on which we have built.

We will in the future, as we have in the past, publish the news, write the articles, and describe the new products that in our opinion will be of maximum benefit to you. We shall look upon this and future covers as symbols of that pledge, as well as evidence of progress.

But it's you who should take the bows, you who should accept the kudos. For ours is but the symbol, while yours has been the accomplishment.

V. H. LAUGHNER,
Editor.

Fair Prices for Agricultural Commodities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota:

Joint resolution memorializing the President, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Congress to support measures promoting fair prices for agricultural commodities in the national interest and recommending policies to strengthen the family farm system

Whereas an expanding economy should be the goal of the State and Nation in order to provide the best use of our total resources, and such an expanded economy is impossible because substandard farm income results in loss of income, purchasing power, property values, retail sales, employment and industrial activity, and this effect upon the general prosperity will be accentuated in 1955 and 1956 if the farm price level is lowered; and

Whereas the present farm program does not meet the needs of the Nation because it actually tends to widen the gap between farm income and farm operating costs, and because the laws do not now provide adequate price protection on dairy products, poultry and eggs, and cattle and hogs, commodities which are so vital to the economy of a diversified farming State like Minnesota; and

Whereas the continuation or worsening of present farm price levels will mean widespread and bitter economic distress for farm families of Minnesota; impair the ability of these families to stay on the land; make it increasingly difficult for young people to take up farming; have serious repercussions in our rural communities upon the trade centers, schools, churches, and REA systems built to serve the present population; and have a severe effect upon the tax base of our townships, school districts, counties, and the State and make it difficult for these units to meet the necessary costs of Government; and

Whereas below parity farm income is hindering farmers from making progress in retiring their debts, in keeping up with needed replacements and repairs on their farms, and in carrying on necessary soil conservation measures on their farms; and

Whereas it is a disservice to the people as a whole, for anyone in agriculture to confuse and divide farmers and consumers, to set one type of farmer against another, to discredit farmers and the farm program, to fail to use available funds and authority in the face of critical farm price collapses, and to risk economic havoc in the country through policies which intentionally force down the level of farm prices: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, That the President and the Congress of the United States be requested to do all in their power to enact and maintain an effective farm program by—

1. Providing mandatory price supports to assure full parity returns to producers of all major farm commodities, using whatever methods may be most practical; either direct support measures such as loan programs, production payments, purchase programs, and promotion of exports, or a combination of these mthods. As far as possible, self-regulating, and self-financing support systems, using excise or processing taxes and tariff levies similar to those used to finance the sugar and wool support programs should be used. Pending the adoption of such a comprehensive farm program, the Secretary of Agriculture should be directed by Congress to effectively use his available funds and authority to prevent disastrous price breaks in the markets for commodities which do not now have mandatory supports.

2. Promoting balanced production through a balanced system of price supports. In the event of acreage controls, there should be a compensatory increase in price-support levels. Incentive payments should be made to encourage soil-conservation practices upon acres diverted from crop production in order to more effectively stabilize our visible farm reserves and build up a reserve of soil fertility and to encourage soil conservation. It should be the policy that land diverted under a production control program be planted to grasses and legumes and that no crop be harvested on these acres and that supplemental pasturage of this land not be permitted.

3. Establishing a definite national policy on the size of food reserves which should be carried in the national interest.

4. Providing for greatly expanded research programs to study the farmers, marketing and pricing problems, and to develop new uses and new markets for farm products.

5. Priviiding adequate funds for operation of the farm programs, including Commodity Credit Corporation, crop insurance, soil conservation, farm credit, and for the REA.

6. Continuing an integrated Federal program of soil conservation and soil-building through the Agricultural conservation program and the soil conservation service, and opposing moves to dismember the programs into separate State programs.

7. Directing the Farmers Home Administration to liberalize its lending policies to meet present-day credit needs by (a) long-term real-estate loans at a lower rate of interest, (b) production-type credit at more reasonable rates of interest and on longer repayment schedules.

8. Providing for measures to encourage greater consumption of our abundance of food and to promote the use of this food to improve the diet of America's aged, its school children, its low-income groups, and those in institutions; and be it further

Resolved, That the President, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Congress of the United States, be requested to foster the participation of individual family type farmers in the

development, administration, and conduct of farm programs by (a) safe-guarding the right of farmers to elect their own farm committees, (b) restoring the authority of these committees to manage the programs at the local level, (c) appointing typical family type farmers as a majority on all advisory groups on farm problems, (d) conducting a nationwide farm policy review through the farmers-elected committees. Within our State such a review should be conducted in cooperation with the University of Minnesota and the commissioner of agriculture, dairy and food; and be it further

Resolved, That the President of the United States set a course of farm policy in line with the above recommendations; and be it further

Resolved, That the President and the Congress of the United States be requested to take the lead in working for a full parity price support program and in placing the entire matter above partisan politics. We commend our Minnesota Senators and Representatives who have supported such a program; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Minnesota be instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture, to each Member of Congress from the State of Minnesota, and to each member of the Agricultural Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Girl Scouts of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include in the RECORD a statement about the Girl Scouts of the United States of America. I know that all Members of the Congress are familiar with the fine work that is being accomplished by the Girl Scout organization. However, I feel it is appropriate that we give special recognition to this worthwhile group and take note of some very interesting facts about the Girl Scouts.

During the week of March 6 to 12 the Nation will observe Girl Scout Week. As the organization of the Girl Scouts of the United States of America begin their 43d year, there are 2,350,000 girls and adults registered as members of the organization. In my own State of South Dakota there are well over 6,000 Girl Scouters.

South Dakota is known as the Land of Infinite Variety, because we are blessed with a variety of terrain and activities that are ideal for outdoor enthusiasts. Anne L. New, director of public information for national headquarters of the Girl Scouts, informs me that the State and National parks in South Dakota will no doubt be visited by many Girl Scouts during the coming camping season. I know that all of the other States will also experience considerable activity by the Girl Scouts as they develop resourcefulness through camping and outdoor living.

I like the Girl Scout theme for 1955, which is "Believe, Belong, Build."

Girl Scouts believe by knowing their country's history and traditions, by constantly renewing their promise to God and their country, by adhering to the Girl Scout laws, which emphasize the spiritual foundations underlying our society.

Girl Scouts belong by entering into scouting's free association of girls and adults, by learning through actual experience to accept people on the basis of their essential worth, by enjoying the personal satisfactions of belonging to a group with worthy objectives and a constructive program of learning by doing.

Girl Scouts build as each girl in scouting develops her own best capacities under the guidance of trained and devoted adults, as she explores her community and its resources and contributes to community welfare in line with her growing experience and ability, as she learns the duties and responsibilities of citizenship and strives to achieve the Girl Scout goal of becoming a happy, resourceful individual who is willing to share her abilities as a citizen in her home, her community, her country, and the world.

Some 10 million women have enjoyed Girl Scout experiences and certainly the training they have received through the organization has helped them to be better citizens. The Girl Scout organization is helping to build a strong America, and it is fitting that this Congress give the Girl Scouts recognition and support.

Reservists Show Their Mettle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article that appeared in the Evening Tribune newspaper, of San Diego, Calif., under date of October 28, 1954:

RESERVISTS SHOW THEIR METTLE

Among San Diego's most welcome guests in many days have been the members of the Fleet Reserve Association at their convention here. More than one comment has been heard on the dignity and decorum with which the reservists conducted themselves.

Their behavior is understandable. Men freed from the curbs of Navy discipline remain a self-controlled breed, a credit to the service that trained them, to themselves, and to all of us.

And then comes a disturbing note. These men might have still been in active service, a backbone of career men keeping the Navy alert and powerful. But they are lost to Navy activity because of many ill-considered policies that have chipped away at the rewards for active duty.

Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Republican, of California, told the reservists that many Members of Congress now are aware that they must set up better pay rates and provide greater benefits for members of the Armed Forces to hold capable men.

Various proposals for action to this end await consideration by the next Congress. They would stand an even better chance if all its members could have seen the Fleet Reserve Association as San Diego saw it this week.

De Valera Approves Joint Talks Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I was privileged to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD remarks concerning the proposal of Mr. Costello, Premier of Ireland, to engage in mutual discussion of problems between the Republic and the officials of the six-county government in Ireland. In the February 18 issue of the Irish Times appears an article giving the reaction of Mr. Eamon De Valera, former Premier of Ireland, to the proposal suggested by Mr. Costello.

The complete harmony of viewpoint of these two opposing leaders of the Irish Republic is indicative of the universal opinion held by the Irish people concerning the demand for the unification of their island country. Mr. De Valera shows a complete accord with Mr. Costello regarding the desirability of mutual talks concerning the various problems, which must, of necessity, arise between the two areas of the country. He also pointed out the impossibility of any agreements being reached on the matter of mutual defense between Great Britain and Ireland, so long as partition continued.

During the course of his address before an audience in Manchester, England, Mr. De Valera concisely set forth the difficulties underlying any consideration of the question of mutual defense between Great Britain and Ireland. He also very forcefully pointed out that the principle by which those in the six counties demanded separation from the rest of Ireland, applies equally to the majority in Tyrone, Fermanagh, Derry city, South Down, and South Armagh, where that majority desired to be separated from the six counties and reunited with the Republic. If the principle is valid in justifying the cutting off of the six counties from the rest of Ireland, then certainly that same principle is equally valid in cutting off these additional areas from the six counties and returning them to the Republic of Ireland from which they were forcibly removed.

The resolution which I have presented to this House, House Resolution 32, would aid in bringing about the mutual discussions and amicable settlement of the border problem in Ireland. The urging for such a solution, which favorable consideration of my resolution would provide, could well prove a determining factor in achieving an end to partition in Ireland.

The article reporting Mr. De Valera's recation to Mr. Costello's proposal, as

well as the article reporting on Mr. De Valera's speech in Manchester are being made a part of my remarks, because I feel that both articles are of genuine interest to the Members of the House. They are as follows:

NORTH-SOUTH TALKS PROPOSAL ENDORSED BY MR. DE VALERA

Mr. Eamon de Valera, T. D., said in London on Wednesday that a meeting between the Governments in Dublin and Belfast was an obvious step, which should be taken. But on the question of defense talks, he said that the Irish people could be relied on to take the necessary measures. There was no possibility of discussing this subject while the country remained divided.

Mr. de Valera said this is an interview with a representative of the Yorkshire Post. He was commenting on an interview with Mr. Costello published in that newspaper, and in the Irish Times yesterday, which quoted the Taoiseach's readiness to meet Lord Brookeborough, and on a leading article in the Yorkshire Post.

The report of the interview quotes Mr. de Valera: "I am particularly glad to see a paper like the Yorkshire Post showing an interest in this question, which is of fundamental importance," and goes on: He added that the attitude of Britain and of its publicists when the question of the partition of Ireland arose and was discussed, was: "Oh, it's a matter for the Irish themselves. If only the Irish would agree among themselves."

"You seem to want to have it both ways," Mr. de Valera commented. "When there's a possibility of Irish agreement you say, 'We must have something to do with it.' If that's your attitude you must share the responsibility for the continuance of partition. Those of us who have been dealing with this matter over the past years feel that this shows a little of the old imperial approach. It is the wrong way.

"The way to get good relations between the two countries is to admit that the question of Irish policy is a matter for Ireland. There should be agreement on matters of common concern between the representatives of Ireland, on the one hand, and the representatives of Britain, on the other. That's the way to get a lasting result. When approached in that way you have the goodwill of both peoples with you."

"If there are aspects of the defense of the two countries that are of common concern, then the Irish people through their own parliament and in their own interests can be relied on to take the measures considered necessary," he said. "There is no possibility even of discussing this while our country remains divided.

"Mr. Costello has indicated the willingness of his Government to be represented at such a meeting," he said. "The question now is, what is Lord Brookeborough's attitude?"

(Mr. de Valera was in London to attend the funeral yesterday of Mr. John Dulanty, the former Ambassador to Britain.)

REPUBLIC'S ATTITUDE

Mr. Eamon de Valera, T. D., addressing the Manchester branch of the Anti-Partition League in Manchester last night, said he was glad that important papers such as the Yorkshire Post, had shown themselves interested in the question of partition and about what steps might be taken about the reunification of the country. He recalled that Mr. Costello had expressed his willingness to meet the representatives of the six-county government. What one wanted to know now was what would be Lord Brookeborough's attitude.

As far as the people of the 26 counties were concerned, their first objective must be to secure unity with the rest of the country. Until this objective was achieved, they could not regard national independence as having been attained.

The question at the moment was to secure independence, rather than confederation or how to preserve it. If independence was secured, then the people of all Ireland would have the same anxiety to preserve the nation's independence as other nations, and would naturally be ready to consider what steps they might take, in cooperation with other countries, to make their independence secure. An All-Ireland Parliament, completely free, would be able to consider what steps it might take with Britain and other countries towards mutual defense. Defense policies could not usefully be discussed under existing circumstances. That was also the position largely during the last war. If there was to be any reconsideration of Ireland's attitude in a possible future war it could only be done by a united Ireland.

Mr. de Valera told his listeners that the Yorkshire Post had stated that certain British interests were paramount, and that the claim of Britain to use Irish ports, etc., would have to be maintained. "Britain cannot have it both ways," he asserted. "If this attitude is taken up, Britain must accept her share of the responsibility for the continuation of partition, and cannot wash her hands of it. The claim put up by the Yorkshire Post cannot be admitted. It savors of the old imperialism which we experienced in the past."

Referring to the attitude of those in the six counties who wanted to remain separated from the rest of their fellow countrymen, Mr. de Valera said that the principle on which they demanded separation would equally apply to the majority of the people, of say, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Derry city, South Down and South Armagh, who desired to be separated from the Belfast Parliament and to be attached to the 26 counties. At present the majority in those areas were being held against their will, and coerced to remain under a jurisdiction to which they would not willingly submit.

Forest Service's Role in Our Past and Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Asheville (N. C.) Times of February 1, 1955:

FOREST SERVICE'S ROLE IN OUR PAST AND FUTURE

It was 50 years ago today that the Forest Service was created in its present form in the United States Department of Agriculture. The purpose of this special Federal agency was, and still is, to see to it that all land in our national forests be devoted to its most productive use for the permanent good of the whole people.

The Forest Service has had a colorful history marked by many great achievements. Justly proud of its record of significant work for the country, the Forest Service has planned an elaborate observance of its golden anniversary in order to publicize and promote its objectives. In this observance and in the Forest Service's program no part of America could have more genuine interest than western North Carolina.

There are two vital reasons for this deep and enthusiastic local and regional concern for the welfare and work of the Forest Service. One is that an exceedingly large part of our vast mountain wonderland is made up of national forests which are major factors in the section's economy, both industrially and for recreational purposes. The other reason is that, from its earliest beginnings until now, the Asheville area has contributed mightily to forestry conservation and development by supplying trained leaders in this professional field and by serving as a key base of operations for study and experiment.

When the Forest Service came into being its first Chief Forester was Gifford Pinchot, who got much of his training and inspiration for that great post while handling forestry development problems on the Biltmore estate for George W. Vanderbilt. One of the results of Pinchot's early work here was the establishment of the Biltmore Forest Forestry School.

Later, graduates of that school contributed much to the development of enlightened forestry programs in this section and throughout America.

A National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein the following letter from J. Wellington Hall, national secretary of the American Material Handling Society, Inc., together with an editorial entitled "Dubious Yankee Ingenuity."

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC.,
Toledo, Ohio, February 24, 1955.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I have sent to you an editorial entitled "Dubious Yankee Ingenuity."

I would, in the interest of this program, request that this be inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a means of bringing to light one of the reasons we have sought your aid in the establishment of a National Material Handling Week.

It graphically tells the story of a modern factory, with tremendous investments in machine tools, yet with "little red child's express wagons" used as devices for the handling of materials.

That some managements will spend thousands for machine tools to reduce by split seconds the stroke of a punch press or the cycle of a machining operation, but will blithely ignore the real savings in time, in men, and in profit dollars by using "little red wagons" or something equally inept, is a fact which cannot be ignored.

Money spent in manual handling, and the man-hours involved, are forever lost "down the rathole of shortsightedness and poor planning, and not 1 penny or 1 hour can ever be regained. The investment, however, into mechanical handling produces "profit dollars" every hour of every day after installation.

I trust you will consider this editorial as valuable to the effort, in that it cites a condition which should not be ignored.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL, A. M. H. S.,
National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp.

NEWARK, N. J.

DUBIOUS YANKEE INGENUITY

A couple of weeks ago, we took in a conducted tour of a few of New England's great industries. It was the 6th annual research tour, sponsored by the New England Council.

Visiting industrial plants is no novelty to us, but doing it under the precise schedules and able management of American Express was a new experience. We liked it.

We also liked most of what we saw. Being a Connecticut Yankee by birth, we were proud to see that rigor mortis had not set in as we feared it would, years ago, when we left our home site for greener pastures. In fact, from what we've seen and heard, we're fondly nurturing the belief that the Yankees are tooling and gearing up for a strong return to the industrial leadership they enjoyed in the days when father wore knee breeches.

But all is no roses. The boys up Nor'East still have a long way to go just to catch up with other industrial areas.

Their problem is not one of quality or quantity. On both of those counts they rate high. It is a problem of handling—the movement of raw, in-process, and finished goods.

In some cases, handling is primitive; 4 men slowly struggling with a load that easily and speedily could be handled with a fork-lift truck and 1 man. In other cases, handling has advanced a generation but still is makeshift. Just to prove that we're not too critical, here's just one f'rinstance:

One plant visited evoked much admiration from our group about the excellent production processes, controls, and tools in use. As we approached one department, our guide pointed with great pride to a large production machine; a $30,000 investment that promised to pay big dividends. But, as we moved on, we almost tripped over a child's metal express wagon. For a moment, we stared at this incongruous sight—fearfully suspecting, yet not believing, that this battered toy with bent axles and misalined wheels might be used for * * * (perish the thought.)

As our group moved on, timidly and furtively we slipped the question to the guide. In a matter of fact and nonchalant manner, he replied. We were dumbfounded.

A minute later, as we moved along in a daze, another member of our tour, traveling with another group, rushed up to us. "Want to see something special in the way of materials handling equipment?"

Before we could answer, he pulled us into an adjoining bay and pointed—to another child's express wagon.

May we suggest that the New England Council tackle materials handling as its next collective research project? We can promise immediate as well as long range benefits.

A. W. GREEN.

Taxes and America's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. LeCOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, Fred Maytag II, who is director and chairman of the taxation committee, National Association of Manufacturers, as well as president of the Maytag Co., of Newton, Iowa, spoke before the NAM at their meeting in New York in December of 1954. I have read his speech with great interest and commend it to other Members of Congress who seek the enactment of legislation to keep our Nation free and strong. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Maytag's speech entitled "Taxes and America's Future." He points out that under the 5-year plan his committee recommends, bringing tax rates down to 35 percent, there would be no actual loss in revenue to the Government, because of increased yields resulting from growth in the economy. He contends that instead of whittling away at the tax base, it will strengthen it. He deplores the present high rates of individual and corporate tax, which he insists inflict penalties on initiative and success and actually threaten survival of our way of life.

The speech follows:

TAXES AND AMERICA'S FUTURE

Since I last spoke to you from this rostrum,[1] a year ago, the Internal Revenue Code has been thoroughly revised. The enactment into law of H. R. 8300, otherwise known as the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, will stand as one of the major achievements of the 83d Congress. This new code contains many important changes of great benefit to all taxpayers. I want to pay high tribute to the leaders, both on Capitol Hill and in the Treasury, who labored so long, so diligently, and so skillfully to bring about this achievement.

But that is not the subject of my address. What is past is prologue. Instead of looking backward, I propose to look ahead to the problems and opportunities of the future.

Our association has a new tax program, developed by its taxation committee and approved by its board of directors. Within the program is an orderly 5-year plan for substantially reducing the high and discriminatory rates of Federal income tax. I believe it is one of the most important plans our association has ever developed, because its adoption would greatly lessen the tax discrimination which now impedes economic progress. Today it is my responsibility—and my great privilege—to present this plan to you and to release it publicly for the first time.

But I have another purpose in my remarks. I want to pose the basic issue of tax discrimination itself. It is time for responsible American leaders, in and out of business, to face squarely this fundamental problem which is the root of 95 percent of our tax difficulties, and join the issue with those who, for cynical political reasons, or sincere but misguided philosophical reasons, favor continued discrimination.

The hour is late.

Not just because 9 years after World War II, individual tax rates have receded little from the wartime peak, and the corporate rate has risen 12 percentage points.

Not just because the $7 billion tax reduction this year, except for repealing the excess-profits tax, hardly touched the problem.

Not just because the great postwar inflation, which concealed the economic evils of the discriminatory rates, has run its course, and fully competitive conditions have returned to the economy.

Not just because the promise of a more abundant life for a rapidly growing population is at stake.

Not just because sound tax policy is essential to our future military security.

[1] Congress of American Industry.

The hour is late for all these reasons, but it is later still because we businessmen, individually and collectively, through our companies and firms, our trade associations and chambers of commerce, our service clubs and professional organizations, have been too complacent to join in a consistent effort to define the issue, pick a common target, and work together to achieve a fair and equitable tax structure.

No wonder, then—

That we debate phoney issues and propose tax reforms which seek to ease the effects rather than eliminate the causes.

That we elect and reelect politicians who bleed for small business but support a tax structure conceived by Karl Marx to liquidate the middle class.

That so few of us recognize that the true meaning of "ability to pay" is proportional taxation, not progressive confiscation.

No wonder, then, that we have a tax structure which destroys ambition, penalizes success, discourages investments to create new jobs, and may well turn a nation of risk-taking entrepreneurs into a nation of softies who place security above opportunity.

Too often we businessmen have been more concerned with the immediate and localized effects of our tax structure than with its basic principles. Too often we have quarreled among ourselves about who is to be taxed, and when we have agreed it has frequently been on some mitigating device or gadget to soften the harsh effects of the high rates instead of meeting the main issue. We have thus permitted the opposition to divide and rule. While they accused us of seeking tax loopholes, we have been indifferent to the devices by which they have diverted the debate from the underlying issue into one bypath after another, until the one important question has been lost in a deep thicket of socialist dialectic.

The hour is late, but not too late. There is no excuse for our hesitating any longer. With all the strength of equity and logic on our side, and with the urgent need for taking the tax shackles off economic progress, the initiative is ours if we have the courage to take it. It's time to put the opposition on the defensive. It's time to make a direct frontal assault on this tax system which was taken out of the book of Karl Marx and has no proper place in a free America.

If we fail to force this issue, we will have only ourselves to blame.

With the future welfare of all Americans so obviously linked to the growth of a healthy industrial system, who can contend that corporate rates of over 50 percent do not impede investment, discourage initiative, and retard the creation of new jobs for the million persons per year who are being added to the labor force? It should be obvious to even the simplest intelligence that a continuation of these rates will bring about economic strangulation.

Anyone who contends to the contrary is in the position of the man who fell off the roof of a 10-story building and, as he went past the third floor, shouted, "I'm doing all right so far."

The situation is even more obvious, the story more simple, with respect to the progressive individual income tax. You can tell the story as well as I. This tax strikes hardest at the small-business man, the new business, the little unincorporated enterprise which yearns for growth. You can cite the rates—not just the 91 percent top rate, but the steep progression which reaches 50 percent at $16,000 of taxable income.

You can equip yourself with illustrations. You can get familiar with the book by Harvard's Professor Sanders called Effects of Taxation on Executives, which presents a moving drama of instance after instance in which high rates have frustrated human incentives.

You can appeal to common sense with such hypothetical examples as telling your sales force: "I'm going to put new commis-

sion rates into effect. The harder you work, the more sales you bring in, the lower your rate of commission is going to be." Any manager who would be so stupid ought to have his head examined; yet that is exactly what our Government for years has been saying to every taxpayer.

When you put the progressive tax structure in this perspective I think you will be surprised at the people who will hear your story through and be convinced, especially when they learn what few now realize—that the high rates produce so little revenue that the whole progressive structure could be wiped out for the same cost as raising exemptions $200. In other words, if you were to wipe out the entire superstructure of progressive rates and leave only a 20 percent tax across the board on all taxable income—and mind you, we are not advocating this—it would raise as much revenue as if you left the rate structure exactly as it is and gave every taxpayer an additional exemption of $200.

So much for the issue; now for the plan.

In the time available to me I can present it only in outline. To get its full flavor, to understand the underlying facts on which it is based, and to be prepared to meet the opposition, you must read the whole program.[3] Please do. Letting George read it won't make you a salesman, and in this campaign everyone of us must be a fully equipped salesman.

When members of your committee and your staff studied the problem of discriminatory rates we were confronted by two stubborn facts.

The first is that with the Federal budget now some $14 billion below the last Truman budget, reductions in expenditures will not come as easily in the future.

The second is that programing for relief from the high rates on a year-to-year basis has proven to be a futile procedure.

These facts led us to one simple conclusion—that we should stake out a claim to the tax-reduction opportunities which come from the increase in the tax base and the rise in tax receipts resulting from the growth of the economy. In other words, we would recapture the revenue coming from the operation of the growth factor and use it exclusively to reduce the discriminatory rates; we would extend the plan over a period of years until moderate and bearable rate levels were reached.

We have confidence that putting this plan into effect will provide the best guaranty that the economy will continue to grow. We are convinced that an established plan—with specific goals at the end of a set period—will provide the maximum benefit, because the confirmed promise of further relief in the future will compound the stimulation provided by current reductions. We tentatively set our target date 5 years ahead and, interestingly enough, the various parts of the plan fell neatly into place within this time limit.

The plan assumes no anticipation of general increase in revenue requirements over the next 5 years. The present Federal revenue is approximately $60 billion annually. Our basic assumption is that this can be used as the measure of maximum revenue requirements until the goals of the plan have been achieved. The question, then, is: If we hold revenues at $60 billion, how many dollars would become available as a result of the growth factor for reducing the excessive rates?

Economic growth over the greater part of the past half century has averaged about 3 percent per year. If we project this growth into the future and apply it to the Federal tax structure, we determine how many revenue dollars are available to reduce the rates.

On this basis, we find that if the rules are not changed, total revenues will gradually increase from $60 billion per year to about $69 billion at the end of a 5-year period. In deciding to use this $9 billion as the measure of potential reductions, we have two reasons for being sure of our ground. The first is that, because of the composition of the tax structure, the tax base and hence tax revenues tend to grow somewhat faster than the growth in the economy as a whole. The second is that contemporary economists are projecting a possible rate of growth of up to 4½ percent over the next decade or so.

Turning now to the rate structure, we find that both the top individual rate and the top corporate rate can be reduced to 35 percent with an apparent revenue loss of only $8.4 billion, which is one-half billion less than the amount conservatively estimated to be available.

The reduction in the individual income tax would be the least costly. This is because, contrary to popular opinion, the progressive element of the rate structure is by far the least productive of revenue. Let me illustrate. The Government, this fiscal year, expects the individual tax to yield about $28¾ billion. Our figures show that a little more than $24 billion, or 84 percent of this, will come from the basic rate of 20 percent which is paid by all taxpayers on the first bracket of income. Only about $4½ billion, or 16 percent, will come from the entire progressive element of the rate structure. This is why we can achieve such a drastic reduction in progression with so little effect on revenue.

We, therefore, propose the making of five annual reductions of 16 percent each in the progressive element of each rate bracket—with each reduction computed on the original element rather than on the declining balance. This would reduce the entire progressive scale proportionately and would bring the top rate down to 35 percent at the end of the period. The eminent fairness of this approach is obvious. All income taxpayers would receive the same percentage reduction of their tax burdens which result from progression.

The relationship between rates and revenue is quite different when we come to the corporate tax. Each percentage point of the combined rate produces the same amount of revenue. But, the base of this tax, corporate profits, is relatively small, so it takes high rates to produce large revenues.

In determining the goal for corporate rate reductions, we are mindful that many problems of tax administration and corporate management would largely disappear if there were approximate equality in corporate and individual rates at moderate levels. With a plan to bring top individual rates down to 35 percent, it is apparent that we should set the same goal for corporate rate reductions.

This means cutting 17 percentage points from the present combined corporate rate of 52 percent. The first step is insistence on the reduction of 5 percentage points in the normal tax, which is scheduled for April 1, 1955. Then in each of the succeeding 4 years, there would be a further reduction of 3 percentage points bringing us to a combined rate of 35 percent.

At the end of the 5-year period the annual revenue loss from these reductions would be $4.7 billion in the corporate tax and $3¾ billion in the individual tax. This makes a total apparent revenue loss, as I mentioned earlier, of slightly more than $8.4 billion for the plan as a whole—a loss which would be more than offset by the increased yields resulting from growth in the economy.

The most amazing thing about this plan is that it achieves so much at so little cost. Instead of whittling away at the tax base, it will strengthen it. Instead of grasping all tax reduction opportunities, it leaves the field wide open to apply all reductions in expenditures to reducing other taxes.

We specifically recommend that, during and after accomplishment of this plan, additional opportunities for tax reduction be largely used to bring down the first bracket rate of the individual tax—which would provide the greatest direct benefit to the greatest number of taxpayers. We are convinced that achievement of our plan would have such a buoyant effect on the economy, and so strengthen the revenue base, that over the years there would be more, rather than less, opportunity for reduction in this 20-percent base rate.

With an issue and a plan, we are ready to operate. We can hope that leaders and groups representing all segments of American life will join us in promoting this proposal. Yet, regardless of who joins us, we have the responsibility to see the issue through. As businessmen, we are custodians of an economic system which has provided more of the good things in life for more people than any other system known to man. From our own experience, we know that the high and discriminatory rates of individual and corporate tax inflict a great penalty on initiative and success; that they undermine the capacity of the Nation to provide the venture capital which is the lifeblood of a free economic system—thus we know that the survival of our very way of life is threatened.

Despite our responsibility, however, we will not avoid being accused of self-interest. Our motives will be suspected in some quarters. I truly believe, however, that our goal is attainable and that we should secure an increasing number of converts to our cause. I hope we will find that support for the present discriminatory system, and opposition to fair and reasonable rates of income tax, has been based more on cynical opportunism than on an actual desire to persecute and harass the productive forces of the Nation.

Nevertheless, the soapbox orators of the left will pull out of the bag all the old tricks—the emotional phrases designed to beguile and becloud the basic issue. We will hear much of the phrase "ability to pay" as it has been distorted and twisted by muddled thinking.

We may have thrown at us the old charge of "tax relief for the greedy but not for the needy." In all probability we will have to deal with the new and ingenious phrase "the trickle-down theory of tax relief," coined in the heat of the debate over the 1954 tax legislation.

This latest phrase is a vicious and presumably deliberate distortion of the economic process of saving and investing. The result of this process is not to trickle down, but to lift up. The saving of part of what we have produced, and its investment in tools to provide more jobs, has lifted this Nation to unparalleled heights of industrial strength. It has provided a standard of living which is the envy of the world. Should fabricators of this kind of economic libel prevail in dominating tax policy in the critical period ahead, we will indeed, have reason to fear for America's future.

The constant association of responsibility to pay taxes with economic status has set class against class. It has created gulfs of mistrust where bridges of understanding should exist. It has led to the imposition of punitive taxes on the numerically small, but economically indispensable, segments of a free capitalistic society—taxes, which if continued, could destroy the society itself, not just the capitalists. That's just what Marx intended.

We have a long way to go.

Hopefully, I say to you, the way can be shortened. It can be shortened if the leaders of both our great political parties decide there is more to be lost for the Nation, which they all love and serve, than there is to be gained for the respective parties, by

[3] May be obtained from National Association of Manufacturers, 2 East 48th Street, New York, N. Y.

continuing the stalemate over high and discriminatory income tax rates.

There is no partisanship in devotion to the cause of keeping our Nation free and strong.

There is no partisanship in dedication to the endless promise of our free enterprise system.

Crippling tax rates cast a long shadow over the fulfillment of that promise. The Nation is faced by a peril which transcends party lines. We need statesmanship which also transcends party lines.

Hoover Commission Latest Report a Blow to Many Existing Veterans' Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the new Hoover Commission report to the Congress on personnel and civil service, in effect, is a repeat of the job and the recommendations made some 4 years ago by the original Hoover Commission.

Certainly the position taken in this new report is a repeat performance so far as the basic rights of veterans are concerned, inasmuch as the recommendations propose a further whittling away of the vital veterans' preference rights under existing law.

Foremost among the recommendations again put before the Congress, is the abandonment of the rule of three, the means by which initial selection for jobs in the Federal service has traditionally been made. The substitute offered would be a rule of five, which plainly means there will be no veterans' preference of any consequence—a system of select any and pass over others. A further recommendation is made for the elimination of the numerical rating and the present register system—the substitute offered being some loose device called the category system.

The Hoover Commission would also limit veterans' special appeal rights and otherwise whittle away at the statutes.

The recommendations in this regard should again be defeated. In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I desire to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD, along with my remarks, an editorial entitled "Hoover Commission Latest Report a Blow to Many Existing Veterans' Laws," which appears in the current issue of the National Tribune-The Stars and Stripes, a publication of the veterans of the United States.

The article is as follows:

HOOVER COMMISSION LATEST REPORT BLOW AT MANY EXISTING VETERAN LAWS—CALLS FOR REDUCTION IN COMPENSATION FOR SOME SERVICE-CONNECTED CASES—WOULD DENY HOSPITALIZATION TO NONSERVICE GROUP AND ASKS FOR PROMISSORY NOTES FOR CARE IN CERTAIN CASES—HOSPITAL PROGRAM CUT

The Hoover Commission last Sunday night released its special study on the vastness of Federal health and medical services, and recommended radical surgery of such services.

The Commission's economy knife was directed chiefly against medical services of the Veterans' Administration, but other medical programs such as those of the Armed Forces, Public Health Service, and other Federal arms also would be overhauled and curtailed.

The report, which deviated considerably on some major points from the recommendations of the Commission's medical task force which spearheaded the study, recommended:

That VA hospitalization and other medical services be confined only to service-connected ailments, and to those veterans with nonservice-associated ills who are truly indigent—and are proved to be so needy they can't go elsewhere.

That even needy veterans with non-service-associated illnesses be required to sign some non-interest-bearing promissory note, obligating them to pay for their hospitalization or other medical care at a future date should their financial state improve.

That the whole VA system of disability pension ratings for service-connected infirmities be made more realistic to the effect of such disabilities on earning capacity. (The Commission cited, as example, that present VA practice allows 30 percent disability, with pension of a minimum of $50 a month, for amputation of a great toe in service-connected cases.)

That there be more cross-servicing between the military hospitals to better fill some hospitals and eliminate others now only partially filled. Thus, sailors would be admitted to Army hospitals; soldiers might go to Air Force hospitals and, in general, admissions would be made for convenience rather than according to the kind of uniform the patient wears.

That merchant seamen patients be no longer eligible for care at public expense. These seamen are now cared for at 12 Public Health Service hospitals at a cost estimated by the Commission's medical task force at about $12 million a year.

That all plans to build any more VA general hospitals, excepting those actually under construction or contracted for construction, be withdrawn. This would forever kill the hopes of those fighting for a new VA hospital for the Washington area.

To effect many of its major recommendations, the Commission urged creation of a Federal Health Advisory Council to coordinate Government medical policies and oversee systematic cross servicings among the 66 administrative units now having medical functions.

The Commission also asked the Government to develop a voluntary, contributory system of medical and hospital insurance for its civilian employees, rather than provide the medical services and hospitalizations in Government institutions.

The report complained that Federal agencies have assumed more and more responsibilities for complete or partial health and hospital care until they now service some 30 million Americans. The cost of such servicings, the report noted, now exceeds $4 billion, including $2,030,000,000 for disability allowances under "a cumbersome system which breeds inefficiency and huge waste."

Unless something is done, these costs and coverages will increase, it was stated in the Commission's report.

The medical report is the latest of a series the Commission is making on Government reorganization. An earlier medical task force for the first Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government made similar findings, in March 1949, on "enormous and expanding Federal medical activities, devoid of any central plan."

The report similarly complained that in addition to the wastage, the Federal medical services also drain off physicians and dentists from private practice. In 1954, the newest medical task force estimated, more than 6 percent of the active medical personnel in this country was employed by the Government.

The Commission's report is scheduled to be presented to Congress this week and since it touches on so many controversial points it is certain to meet many objections from legislators.

One, Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, of California, a nonveteran, who also is a member of the Commission, filed the sole Commission dissent, which accompanied release of the report and recommendations.

Congressman HOLIFIELD called the report recommendations "wholly unrealistic," and said he was opposed to curtailment of any hospital and medical facilities "in the face of impending civilian defense needs."

The Commission's report differed radically from that of its own task force in the recommendations for medical care of veterans with non-service-connected ailments. In effect, the Commission recommended a form of "means test" of financial ability to pay. These veterans, in non-service-connected illnesses, who could pay for part or all of VA hospitalization costs, would have to do so. Others would have to sign obligations for future payments, if they could afford this repayment in the future.

The task force, however, had recommended a form of GI bill of health rights which would offer veterans free care for even non-service-connected ills occurring within 3 years after separation from the service. After that, except for service-associated ailments, veterans would be on their own.

As now practiced, the Commission said, veterans with non-service-connected disabilities can get VA care only if beds in VA hospitals are available, and only if they sign a statement of inability to pay for such care. However, the Commission pointed out, the Veterans' Administration is prohibited by law from challenging such can't-pay statements.

On the task force's 3-year limit on VA hospitalization rights, the Commission said it believes that "the sentiment of American people is that a sick and really indigent veteran should be provided care in a Veterans' Administration hospital." But it recommended that the can't-pay statement should be verified by VA investigators, and that VA be authorized to collect wherever such statements are not substantiated.

"It is difficult to believe," the Commission said in its report, "that all of the approximately 369,000 such veterans given care last year were actually unable to pay for at least part of their hospital and in-patient medical care."

Lincolnite Lodge, No. 567, Slovene National Benefit Society, Favors Supporting, Strengthening, and Expanding REA, TVA, and Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed a letter I received from the Lincolnite Lodge, No. 567, Slovene National Benefit Society:

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., *February 23, 1955.*
Representative PETER F. MACK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MACK: The Lincolnite Lodge, No. 567, Slovene National Benefit So-

ciety, with an adult membership of 104 persons, went on record unanimously, February 20, 1955, as follows:

"We call upon our two Senators and Congressman PETER F. MACK, to support, strengthen, and expand REA, TVA, and public power."

We hope to hear from you soon, and learn where you stand on the above questions.

Sincerely,

JOE G. BRINOCAR,
President.

AUBURN, ILL.

ADAM BUNEVICH,
Secretary.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Eisenhower's So-Called Power Partnership Reverses Half a Century of Public Power Policy

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the principle of low-cost public power with preference to municipalities and other public agencies has been stated at least 13 times in acts of Congress dating from 1906. In other words, for almost 50 years the Federal Government has consistently followed a policy of selling publicly produced power at the lowest possible rates, giving preference to municipalities and public agencies. Furthermore, that has been the policy of the executive agencies in the generation and sale of electric energy during all of that time, including the present administration up to and including the issuance of the power statement made by the Department of the Interior with the approval of the President in August of 1953.

The adoption of the so-called power partnership program therefore is a reversal of almost half a century of power policy in the Federal Government. It is a complete reversal of the low-cost power principle and a complete abandonment of the preference to municipalities and other public agencies. If this new policy is adopted and put into effect, there will be no more low-cost public power, and public agencies will no longer be able to secure such power on a preference basis, or at all.

The reversal of this historic policy in the Federal Government will have the effect of turning over for the exclusive benefit and profit of the private power monopoly the major yet-to-be-developed hydroelectric resources of the Nation. The huge investments of the Federal taxpayers in these great projects will be in a large measure handed over for the profitable use of the private utilities.

It gives the private utilities the benefit of the Government's low interest rate on the storage features of these projects used for power—no doubt the power companies would be glad to have the Federal Government build the storage features on all their projects on the same basis.

This would enrich the treasuries of the private utilities but it will leave the general public without the benefit of a low-cost power supply. The private power monopolies, operating with what amounts to a guaranteed profit on their investment, will be able to charge the power consumers whatever price they choose to fix or can wangle from the various State agencies established for the purpose of regulating power rates. In my opinion, this is exactly the opposite direction to which the American people want to go.

CVP PROJECT CITED

An example of how this policy will operate can be readily seen by asking what would have happened if such a power-partnership principle had been applied in the construction of the Central Valley project. Under those circumstances, the private power company would have built the powerhouses at Shasta and Keswick, paid the Federal Government a price for storing the water in Shasta Dam, and then distributed and sold the power at its established commercial rate throughout its service area in California. There would have been no low-cost Government public power for the farmers in the irrigation districts in California, or for the Federal installations and the municipalities using that power at the present time. There would have been no low-cost public power in the market with which to compare the rates of the private utility, thus forcing a more favorable contract as has been done for the city of Redding. There would be no power to operate the pumps at the delta to lift the water of the Central Valley project to the San Joaquin Valley, unless the Federal Government turned around and bought some of its own power back from the private utility for that purpose, presumably at a much higher rate than is presently being charged the farmers of the San Joaquin Valley for the use of power. The revenues from power which presently are used to subsidize the irrigation development in the San Joaquin Valley would be nonexistent. In short, the Central Valley project would never have been built and today would not be serving the needs and growth of the State of California.

Even a more dramatic example is the possible application of this principle on the power development on the Columbia River. Great industrial development has followed the low-cost available power in the Northwest; however, had private power companies taken over the development of these powerhouses, the cash receipts they paid to the Federal Government for storing the water would be returned to the United States Treasury and the power would have been sold on the market at the going commercial rate. The great aluminum plants that contributed so much during the Second World War would not have grown up around that kind of a power market.

PUBLIC POWER AN ASSET

There is little real distinction between the taxpayers and the power consumers of an area. Everybody who turns on a light pays taxes in one form or another, and everybody who turns on a light pays a light bill. Low-cost public power produced in this area is a rebate on taxes to every consumer who turns on a light. If that public power is turned over to a private utility, the light consumer pays the commercial rate and the private power company puts the profit in its pocket. Low-cost power is an asset in every area in which it is produced and distributed. History has shown that the volume of use of electricity and industrial growth rises in proportion to the reduction in power rates. That has been true not only in the Northwest, but in the TVA area. Turning the powerhouses on the proposed Trinity River project over to the P. O. & E. Co. is an assessment against every man who uses an electric light or electric power in his business in this whole area.

While belaboring the partnership idea at home, and calling on the local people to build their own projects, no such philosophy is being advocated or put in effect overseas. We are committed to spend nearly $2 billion—1.7 billion—for irrigation and power developments in foreign lands. This compares with roughly two and one-half billion—$2.4—spent in over a half century in this country. Not one penny of this foreign expenditure will be repaid, principal or interest, while here at home repayment is becoming the main test for new projects. Why has our Government agreed to give away nearly as much for irrigation and power development in 6 years of the Marshall plan as we spent in 50 years of reclamation here at home? Obviously because it is a good thing for the economies of those countries we are trying to help. I am in favor of doing a little something for America too as we go along—and without a lot of argument about partnership, and how soon the project is going to pay back to the last penny.

PROGRAM INCONSISTENT

But the inconsistency in this administration's clampdown on irrigation and power development does not end there. The projects under construction in Europe today with your money are all for power—nothing for irrigation—a million one hundred and fifty-five thousand kilowatts—1,155,000 kilowatts. If anyone suggests that the Federal Government here build a steam plant, a howl goes up to high heaven. But in Europe most of the power being built is steam power—900,000 kilowatts of it, only 255,000 in hydroelectric power. We have had knockdown and dragout fights over the Federal Government building transmission lines, but in our foreign aid program we build not only the transmission lines but the distribution systems as well.

Is this "creeping socialism" here at home, and something good and beneficial in foreign countries? The answer is no—it is good for those countries, and it would be good for us. But here we have a well-healed power lobby that picks the pockets of the power consumers in order to poison their minds with false propaganda.

Report of Presidential Committee Regarding Supplies and Reserves of Coal, Oil, and Natural Gas for Defense and Peacetime Requirements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, early in July 1954 a group of Congressmen representing the soft coalfields in eastern United States visited the White House and conferred with President Eisenhower regarding depressed conditions in the industry that were having adverse effects on the railroads and related industries.

After our conference with President Eisenhower the Chief Executive appointed an Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy. The Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Arthur Flemming, was designated as chairman with the heads of the following agencies serving as members; Departments of State, Treasury, Defense, Justice, the Interior, Commerce, and Labor.

The White House directive respecting the committee's assignment included the following specific statements:

At the direction of the President the committee will undertake a study to evaluate all factors pertaining to the continued development of energy supplies and resources fuels in the United States, with the aim of strengthening the national defense, providing orderly industrial growth, and assuring supplies for our expanding national economy and for any future emergency.

The committee will review factors affecting the requirements and supplies of the major sources of energy including: coal (anthracite, bituminous and lignite, as well as coke, coke tars, and synthetic liquid fuels), petroleum, and natural gas.

The committee has been aided greatly by an able and representative task force appointed pursuant to the President's instructions. The committee's recommendations are set forth as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE REPORT ON ENERGY SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES POLICIES

INTRODUCTION

The importance of energy to a strong and growing economy is clear. As conditions of supplies and reserves of coal, oil, and natural gas change and as both defense and peacetime requirements come more clearly into focus, the bearing of Government policies upon energy needs reexamination.

What degree and kind of public regulation is appropriate to the present situation and future outlook? What trade policies for energy supplies will most effectively express the overlapping national needs for adequate protectable supplies in case of war and for encouragement of economic growth of this country and friendly countries elsewhere in the world? What steps may be taken to improve the economic position of the coal industry, now seriously depressed, without penalizing competing industries, as a means of enhancing the ability of that industry to contribute to the national defense? More particularly, should specific changes be made in tax, freight rate, research, Government purchasing, or other policies in the energy field?

These and other policy questions press for careful review and decision.

On July 30, 1954, the President established an Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy. The Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization was designated as chairman and the heads of the following agencies served as members: Departments of State, Treasury, Defense, Justice, the Interior, Commerce, and Labor.

The White House directive respecting the committee's assignment included the following specific statements:

"At the direction of the President, the committee will undertake a study to evaluate all factors pertaining to the continued development of energy supplies and resources fuels in the United States, with the aim of strengthening the national defense, providing orderly industrial growth, and assuring supplies for our expanding national economy and for any future emergency.

"The committee will review factors affecting the requirements and supplies of the major sources of energy including: coal (anthracite, bituminous, and lignite, as well as coke, coke tars, and synthetic liquid fuels); petroleum and natural gas."

The committee has been aided greatly by an able and representative task force appointed pursuant to the President's instructions. The committee's recommendations are set forth below.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Natural gas regulation

We believe the problem of natural gas regulation should be approached from the viewpoint of assuring adequate supplies and the discovery and development of additional reserves to support such supplies, in the interests of national defense, an expanding domestic economy, and reasonable prices to consumers.

To secure these objectives, it is essential to give due consideration to (1) the operations known as the production of natural gas, (2) the transportation of gas in interstate transmission lines, and (3) the distribution of gas in municipalities. Individual companies may engage in more than one of these activities. Each operation of such companies should be treated by like criteria according to its appropriate industry function.

In the production of natural gas it is important that sound conservation practices be continued. This area of conservation management is under the jurisdiction of State conservation commissioners. In the interest of a sound fuels policy and the protection of the national defense and consumer interests by assuring such a continued exploration for and development of adequate reserves as to provide an adequate supply of natural gas, we believe the Federal Government should not control the production, gathering, processing, or sale of natural gas prior to its entry into an interstate transmission line.

The interstate transmission of natural gas by the interstate transmission lines and the subsequent sale of such gas for resale is a public utility function and should be under the regulation of the Federal Power Commission. In considering the certification of new lines and applications for increased rates based on new or renegotiated purchase contracts, the Commission should consider, in order to provide protection for the consumer, not only the assurance of supply but also whether the contract prices of the natural gas which the applicant has contracted to buy are competitively arrived at and represent the reasonable market field price, giving due consideration, in the interest of competition, to the reasonableness and appropriateness of contract provisions as they relate to existing or future market field prices.

The several States or their political subdivisions should continue to provide the public utility regulation of distributing companies in accordance with usual utility practices.

Thus the complete cycle of natural gas production, transmission and utilization will be appropriately regulated: the production and conservation of natural gas by the State conservation commissions; the interstate transmission of natural gas by the Federal Power Commission; and the distribution by the local public utility commissions.

2. Sales below cost by interstate pipeline companies

The basic principles regarding the regulation of natural gas and the use of alternative energy resources should be as far as possible that of free choice by the consumer and free and fair competition among suppliers. This, it is confidently thought, will provide most effectively for the assurance and flexibility of energy supply, both for economic growth and strong security readiness. But sales either for resale or direct consumption below actual cost plus a fair proportion of fixed charges which drive out competing fuels constitute unfair competition and are inimical to a sound fuels economy.

The committee recommends, therefore, that appropriate action be taken that will prohibit sales by interstate pipelines either for resale or for direct consumption, which drive out competing fuels because the charges are below actual cost plus a fair proportion of fixed charges.

3. Eminent domain for natural-gas storage

The power of eminent domain for the acquisition of surface and mineral rights for the development of underground storage reservoirs should be granted subject to appropriate safeguards to protect the public safety, including the mining industry.

4. Crude oil imports and residual fuel oil imports

An expanding domestic oil industry, plus a healthy oil industry in friendly countries which help to supply the United States market, constitute basically important elements in the kind of industrial strength which contributes most to a strong national defense. Other energy industries, especially coal, must also maintain a level of operation which will make possible rapid expansion in output should that become necessary. In this complex picture both domestic production and imports have important parts to play; neither should be sacrificed to the other.

Since World War II importation of crude oil and residual fuel oil into the United States has increased substantially, with the result that today these oils supply a significant part of the United States market for fuels.

The committee believes that if the imports of crude and residual oils should exceed significantly the respective proportions that these imports of oils bore to the production of domestic crude oil in 1954, the domestic fuels situation could be so impaired as to endanger the orderly industrial growth which assures the military and civilian supplies and reserves that are necessary to the national defense. There would be an inadequate incentive for exploration and the discovery of new sources of supply.

In view of the foregoing, the committee concludes that in the interest of national defense imports should be kept in the balance recommended above. It is highly desirable that this be done by voluntary, individual action of those who are importing or those who become importers of crude or residual oil. The committee believes that every effort should be made and will be made to avoid the necessity of governmental intervention.

The committee recommends, however, that if in the future the imports of crude oil and residual fuel oils exceed significantly the respective proportions that such imported oils bore to domestic production of

crude oil in 1954, appropriate action should be taken.

The committee recommends further that the desirable proportionate relationships between imports and domestic production be reviewed from time to time in the light of industrial expansion and changing economic and national defense requirements.

In arriving at these conclusions and recommendations, the committee has taken into consideration the importance to the economies of friendly countries of their oil exports to the United States as well as the importance to the United States of the accessibility of foreign oil supplies both in peace and war.

5. Petroleum refining capacity

The Departments of Defense and the Interior should have studies made by their staffs and expert advisers as to the adequacy of present and prospective refinery capacity, both as to amount and dispersal, as well as other factors, to determine the need for any measures to maintain refinery capacity necessary for defense purposes, particularly the capacity operated by small, independent refineries.

6. Tax incentives

(a) Present tax provisions on coal, oil, and gas production have been an important factor in encouraging development of energy sources at a pace about in keeping with demand. Further analysis and study by the appropriate branches of the Government should from time to time be made to review the amount and method of making such allowances to maintain proper relationships with continuing changes in other features of the tax law. Any changes which may be proposed in the future must be analyzed in terms of their probable effect on development of domestic resources needed for economic progress and national defense as well as the fiscal and tax policies of the Government.

(b) Retroactive tax legislation and special relief provisions should be avoided.

(c) Accelerated amortization should be used only to insure the maintenance of a sound mobilization base for energy supplies.

7. Research and development program for coal

We recognize that coal is a great national asset and endorse a cooperative study to determine what research and development could be undertaken. The coal industry and both Federal and State Governments should participate in this study and its cost.

8. Unemployment and business distress in the coal industry

We recognize that serious unemployment and business distress exist in the coal industry and recommend that the Interdepartmental Committee on the Soft Coal Industry be continued for the purpose of developing for Cabinet consideration specific action programs to alleviate these conditions.

9. Coal freight rates

In order to maintain coal's vitality as an instrument of national defense by improving currently its ability to compete with other fuels, the railroads, by voluntary action, and, in the absence thereof, the Interstate Commerce Commission, by compulsory order, should adjust freight rates to the extent necessary to remove the excessive and disproportionate contribution that coal rates are making to meet the cost of other unprofitable services of the railroad industry. Train load rates should be established to reflect the lower costs of such service.

10. Coal exports

(a) The Government should urge foreign governments to reduce unreasonable discriminatory restrictions against imports of United States coal.

(b) The Government, when making foreign loans, should use its best efforts to obtain provisions to prevent discrimination against United States coal. Discrimination would be judged to exist when United States coal imports are disallowed despite its availability at costs no higher than foreign coal.

(c) The Government should expedite efforts to establish credits through the Export-Import Bank to foreign banking institutions in countries where there is reasonable prospect of repayment so that American coal exporters can offer more competitive payment terms to foreign customers.

(d) Where United States coal can be supplied competitively with other available coal, the Government should use its best efforts to enlarge the participation of United States coal in the foreign aid program.

(e) The Government should compensate for higher shipping costs when incurred as a result of the requirement that 50 percent of all shipments be in United States ships at fair and reasonable United States market rates.

11. Mobilization requirements for coke

The Committee believes that present and prospective rates of shutdown and dismantling of slot-type coke ovens will leave inadequate coking capacity to support full mobilization production of steel and other essential wartime industry.

On the basis of national security, coke requirements can only be met if the Office of Defense Mobilization is directed to prepare plans to make the necessary arrangements and tests to expand coke production rapidly in the case of an emergency.

12. Government fuel purchasing policy

In working out a more consistent and equitable coal purchase policy, the following steps should be taken:

(a) The Secretary of Labor under the Walsh-Healey Act should pursue his present policy of making determinations of wage standards applicable in the coal-producing areas and should establish these standards at the earliest practicable date.

(b) The Government agencies should, to the extent practicable, purchase not less than 75 percent of their estimated annual coal requirements on a contract basis.

(c) All Government agencies purchasing coal should, prior to and after the award of the contract, verify the quality of the coal offered and supplied to the agencies.

(d) All Government contracts for the purchase of coal should contain appropriate escalator clauses which protect the buyer and the seller.

(e) In instances where it is not possible for a Government agency to take all the coal for which it has contracted, the deficit should be apportioned equitably among all participating contract suppliers without penalty to the Government.

(f) Coal suppliers should be required to submit, along with their bids, proof of their ability to produce the requirements at the times specified.

(g) All coal suppliers to the Government, regardless of size, should comply with the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act.

(h) All transactions with the Government relating to coal purchases and supply should be public information.

(i) The domestic fuel purchasing policies set forth above should be applied to purchases of coal by companies acting as agents for the Federal Government, as well as to purchases made direct by Government agencies.

Prior to the purchase of any fuel by a Federal Government agency having a large annual use of fuel, that agency should request advice from the Office of Defense Mobilization as to how this purchase can contribute to the maintenance of a strong mobilization base within the domestic fuels industry. The Office of Defense Mobilization should be directed by Executive order to develop a mechanism for accomplishing this objective.

Tolerant of Our Fellow Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following well-prepared news item from the Revere Journal, Revere, Mass., Thursday, February 24, 1955, which merits the attention of each Member of Congress and people of all nationalities and creed:

BROTHERHOOD WEEK

This week has been set aside as Brotherhood Week to foster the spirit of tolerance and good will. Thousands of words will be written, thousands more spoken on the theme that prejudice, antagonism, racial and religious hatreds cannot flourish in this country.

The week will pass. The words, spoken and written, will make little impression. Those who are prejudiced, those who practice racial and religious discrimination, will continue as they have in the past. Good will and tolerance will be nice-sounding words, nothing more.

There is no intention here to decry the efforts of the individuals and groups who are working unselfishly to bring about a better understanding between people of different races and creeds. They are to be highly commended for their work.

Brotherhood Week, however, is a mere gesture, 1 week in the long year in which people are reminded that they should be more tolerant of their fellow men. Those who believe in the equality of man do not need the yearly reminder. Those who preach and practice intolerance and prejudice are not moved by it.

Who wants to be tolerated? Tolerate means to endure, as a pain or hardship. Is that sufficient?

Jefferson declared that all men are created equal. That may be, but it is foolish to say that all men go through life equal. The accident of birthplace is considered important to many. The color of a person's skin makes a great difference. The manner in which a person worships God—the same God—often brings abuse and prejudice.

It doesn't seem possible that here in America, where a peace-loving people has been drawn into two world wars and a third combat in Korea because it couldn't remain indifferent to wanton cruelties, intolerance exists. It doesn't seem possible that prejudice and hatred are so rife that an annual publicity campaign is needed to unmask it.

Revere is so free of prejudice that those who are fortunate enough to live here find it hard to believe that it exists in a dangerous degree in a country that, for more than a century and a half, has been a refuge, a haven for the oppressed and persecuted of other lands.

There is no doubt, however, that this prejudice has assumed alarming proportions no farther away than sections in Greater Boston. It has blazed forth in Milton just as Brotherhood Week is being observed. It has come out into the open where men and women of decent and honorable principles can see it in all its hideousness and lend their efforts to crush it as they would a venomous snake.

If, because of their faith, the Jews are maligned and abused today, is it not probable that the Catholics and others of minority creeds and races may be the chosen victims tomorrow? Another Ku Klux Klan may

spring from this poisonous nucleus, unless stamped out, to burn its fiery crosses on the hills of New England. Crosses that, like the symbol of Nazism, corrupt the Cross of Christianity, deathless personality of Him who died on Calvary that the sentiment of equality, understanding, and sympathy might bind humankind together in a true brotherhood of man.

There is but one way to combat prejudice and religious hatreds and that is by education. Education taught in the homes and in the early grades of the schools when children are young and impressive. Parents have a responsibility in teaching their children that the color, race, or creed of a person is of less importance than his character.

Prejudice is the mangy whip of cowardice. Very few are they who have the courage to admit intolerance. Even though it be the blackest lie, the apostle of prejudice will loudly proclaim that he is free from racial or religious hatreds.

To preach brotherhood is not enough. It must be taught to the young. It must be practiced by men and women throughout the year. Until we accept this priceless virtue of equality we cannot truly call ourselves Americans.

Resolutions Approved by the Illinois State Legislative Committee of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks at Its Fifth Biennial Meeting, Held at the Hotel Sherman in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed a letter I received from the Illinois State Legislative Committee of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, together with three resolutions unanimously approved by this committee at its fifth biennial meeting held at the Hotel Sherman in Chicago on January 22–23, 1955:

FEBRUARY 18, 1955.

Hon. PETER F. MACK, JR.,
United States Representative, 21st Congressional District of Illinois, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MACK: At this committee's fifth biennial meeting, held at the Hotel Sherman in Chicago, on January 22–23, 1955, the attached three resolutions were unanimously approved by the delegates in attendance. These delegates (1 from each of the more than 200 local lodges in Illinois) represent some 50,000 members of our organization who reside in this State.

The following descriptions are quite brief as I believe you will find the resolutions self-explanatory:

Resolution No. 4, on Public Law No. 199: We oppose the repeal of this law. As you know, Representative BROYHILL has already caused the introduction of H. R. 73, a bill designed to repeal Public Law No. 199. We are opposed to the passage of H. R. 73.

Resolution No. 5, on the question of a minimum wage: We favor a minimum-wage law of at least $1.25 cents per hour.

Resolution No. 26, on the diversion of mail from railroads to trucks and planes: We oppose this diversion of mail from the railroads.

In behalf of our more than 50,000 Illinois members, I am requesting your support in carrying out the intent of these resolutions.

With appreciation for all past courtesies, and with kind personal regards, I am

Yours truly,

EARL G. QUINN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

RESOLUTION NO. 4, SUBMITTED BY ARTHUR W. POST, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, LAKESIDE LODGE, NO. 2219

Whereas Public Law No. 199, a law to readjust size and weight limitations on shipments entered as fourth-class parcel-post mail, went into effect January 1, 1952; and

Whereas, this law was instrumental in reducing the unfair competition which the Railway Express Agency had suffered through Government-subsidized parcel-post service; and

Whereas this has resulted in an increase in express traffic and reduced unemployment among involuntarily furloughed express members; and

Whereas, our members now employed by the Railway Express Agency have a greater feeling of security in their positions; and

Whereas, the mail-order firms and other heavy users of the subsidized parcel post service were instrumental in having legislation introduced in the 83d Congress, which if passed would have repealed Public Law No. 199; and

Whereas, these same interests will undoubtedly bring about the introduction of legislation designed to repeal or amend Public Law No. 199 in the 84th Congress: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Illinois State Legislative Committee, in regular session convened, this 22d day of January, 1955, go on record as being opposed to any legislation designed to unfavorably amend, or bring about the repeal of, Public Law No. 199; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to all United States Senators and Representatives from the State of Illinois.

RESOLUTION NO. 5, SUBMITTED BY ARTHUR W. POST, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, LAKESIDE LODGE, NO. 2219

Whereas the cost of living has risen steadily during recent years; and

Whereas this high cost of living has reduced countless thousands of our working people to a miserable economic status; and

Whereas the present 75 cents per hour minimum wage is entirely inadequate to meet rising living costs; and

Whereas an increase of the minimum hourly wage base to at least $1.25 is most necessary to alleviate the sufferings of these people now forced to exist on the starvation minimum wage of 75 cents per hour: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Illinois State Legislative Committee, in regular session convened, this 22d day of January 1955, go on record as supporting the policy of the American Federation of Labor in requesting the 84th Congress to adopt the base of $1.25 per hour as the minimum wage and to extend this law to cover millions of workers now exempt; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to all United States Senators and Representatives from the State of Illinois.

RESOLUTION NO. 26, SUBMITTED BY EARL G. QUINN, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, LODGE NO. 188

Whereas there is a growing tendency on the part of the Post Office Department to divert more and more mail to trucks and planes; and

Whereas the railroads have invested millions of dollars in buildings and equipment to handle the mails; and

Whereas the railroads are required to accept the mail and transport it at the direction of the Postmaster General; and

Whereas many thousands of railroad employees, coming under the class and craft of employees represented by this brotherhood are seriously affected by the diversion of the mails and are being deprived of their employment: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Illinois State Legislative Committee, in regular session convened, this 22d day of January 1955, protest this diversion where reasonable rail facilities exist for the transportation of the mails; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to our grand president, George M. Harrison, and to all United States Senators and Representatives from the State of Illinois, calling their attention to this serious condition and soliciting their assistance to correct this constantly growing threat to the investment of the carriers and the jobs of the employees.

Weapons Fail To Replace the Human Factor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article that appeared in the San Diego Union, San Diego, Calif., under date of February 13, 1955:

WEAPONS FAIL TO REPLACE THE HUMAN FACTOR—PROPOSED MILITARY PAY RAISE WILL HELP BOOST MORALE, ENCOURAGE REENLISTMENTS

Despite tremendous scientific advancements, the human factor still determines the success or failure of almost any military maneuver.

Our fighter planes may have the ability to run rings around the Russian MIG's. But they will be shot down if the pilot's ability does not measure up to his aircraft.

Our Navy is equipped with the latest in electronic equipment, and some ships even depend upon Buck Rogers-like rockets for firepower. But unless the fleet has trained men to maintain and operate the equipment, they will be of little more value than the cannons of John Paul Jones' day.

The human factor cannot be ignored even though the Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Army thrive on a scientific age.

Thus when Congress considers the military pay-raise bill, it has under study a program essential to the security of the United States. Without a pay raise and an improvement in other benefits the human factor—the morale of our men—will suffer severely.

Insufficient pay for experienced men and the decline in military benefits since 1948 have to a large degree accounted for tremendous turnovers in the military forces. The result has been damaged morale among those men who have stayed in the service, and the costly loss of skilled military manpower.

The service must be made more attractive if it is to retain its efficiency. Those who sacrifice for their country must not be made to suffer because of a failure to consider their problems adequately.

The immediacy of the problem was reflected in the testimony of Navy Secretary Thomas before a House Armed Services Subcommittee:

"It is alarming to note that the Navy overall reenlistment rate has fallen from 24 percent in fiscal 1954 to 9 percent in the first quarter of 1955," he commented.

The Navy case is not isolated. Only 11.6 percent of the Army personnel reenlisted in 1954 as compared with 41.2 percent in 1949.

It actually costs the Nation money to skimp on military pay and services such as adequate dependents' medical care. It costs $3,200 for the basic training of each replacement for a man leaving the service. It costs $2,000 to $5,000 more for training in technical skills. And the need for these techniques increases almost daily.

A man who is worried because of uncertainty over the medical care of his family or over whether his pay will cover the essentials at home is unlikely to function at top efficiency. Off Formosa or any other area where our Armed Forces are today, this could be disastrous for both the individual and the Nation.

The Folly of Low Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Chelsea Record, Tuesday, March 1, 1955, which points out why we must maintain reasonable tariffs to protect our industries and our workers from the competition of cheap foreign labor:

TARIFFS, OPTICS, AND SECURITY

Recently, before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives in Washington, Henry S. Woodbridge, vice president of American Optical Co., spoke on pending legislation to change the Federal tariff structure. Points he raised were vital ones, particularly to people in communities where there are optical plants. Chelsea is such a community, with an American Optical Co. plant at 80 Heard Street.

Mr. Woodbridge opposed the proposed change in tariff regulations which would reduce import duties and thereby increase the flow of optical goods, particularly instruments at present, into this country from foreign sources. The proposal, basically, calls for a 3-year extension of the reciprocal agreements, with the President having the authority to reduce duties by 5 percent each year for 3 years.

Imported microscopes and other instruments already present a serious situation for American Optical Co. and all other instrument makers. West Germany, Italy, England and Japan already are sending items to this coutry in ever-increasing numbers. For example: In 1947, imports represented one percent of the total microscope sales in this country. In 1954 the same figure was 44 percent. Because of the far lower wage scales and living standards in those countries, these imports far undersell domestic products. This, naturally, reduces the volume of the optical business, and the number of jobs in the industry.

The question Mr. Woodbridge raised was: If the optical industry in the United States is eliminated by foreign competition, who will make the necessary instrumentation in the event of a national emergency? If overseas sources of precision optical apparatus should be cut off—as they have been twice in recent history—where would the United States find the workers to make the lenses and prisms necessary for range-finders, bomb sights and fire-control equipment?

Skilled workers in these fields are not trained in weeks or months. It takes years. If there is no civilian industry—no place where these workers can earn a living at their trade—there will be no skills available if an emergency arises.

An amendment to the proposed bill has been submitted by the industry. It calls only for investigation by the Defense Mobilization Board of circumstances which might threaten national defense or public health with findings and recommendation to be sent to the President for suitable action.

Congress will, eventually, be influenced in this matter by the thinking of the people. Industry has expressed its opinion. People who do likewise may be helping to protect themselves—and their country.

Statehood This Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the February 23, 1955, edition of the New York Times:

STATEHOOD THIS YEAR?

The cause of statehood for Hawaii and Alaska is not being helped by the evidently divided opinions on the subject within the administration. The State Department is in favor of the admission of both, the Secretary of Defense says Alaska should remain a Territory for the present, the Secretary of the Interior says he personally favor admission of both but with a reservation regarding Alaska, and the President has been in favor of admitting Hawaii but cool toward Alaska.

Furthermore, the congressional approach has confused the issue more than it has clarified it. During the last Congress the House approved statehood for Hawaii, but the Senate tacked Alaska onto the same measure, with the result that no bill on this subject was passed by both Houses. The explanation for this congressional maneuvering is that the Republicans want to admit Hawaii but the Democrats seem determined that neither Territory will be admitted unless both are. Now, with the new Congress, the tug-of-war has begun again, but in somewhat different form.

This time it is the House Interior Committee that has approved a joint Hawaii-Alaska bill with the novel provision that 40 percent of northwestern Alaska may be reserved by the President for military purposes. It has always been the contention of this newspaper, which favors the admission of both Hawaii and Alaska, that the two areas should be handled entirely separately. There is no logical reason why they should be linked, except from the standpoint of partisan politics. However, the prospects for both together do look brighter for this session, inasmuch as the resistance to the joint bill last year came from the House, but this year it is a House committee that has taken the initiative in offering its own joint bill.

The amendment reserving up to 40 percent of northwestern Alaska for military purposes was added to the bill in committee after it was reported that President Eisenhower would veto it without this provision. We see no reason for objection to this amendment, which is reminiscent of the proposal Governor Heintzelman of Alaska made last April that statehood be granted only to the southeastern half of the Territory. There have been differing views as to the effect of statehood on Alaska's military position; but this amendment ought to set at rest all serious doubts on that score.

Prepare To Begin Work on Beardstown's New Seawall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SID SIMPSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Illinois State Journal, of Springfield, Ill., under date of February 27, carried an article dated at Beardstown, Ill., February 26, to this effect, and I quote:

Prepare To Begin Work on the Beardstown's New Seawall.

Beardstown, Mr. Speaker, is in Cass County, Ill., and in the 20th Illinois District. Representing that area, it was my privilege to intrpduce a bill for the original authorization for this work which is just starting as outlined in the Illinois State Journal.

Many years ago at the expense of the city of Beardstown and the State of Illinois, a so-called seawall was constructed. It is my understanding that at that time, the engineers stated this wall was constructed 28 feet and would be high enough to hold back any flood water of the Illinois River that might come in the future. This did not prove to be correct. In 1943, when the Illinois River was at flood stage this same seawall had to be sandbagged to a height of over 32 feet. Even then, their situation was so precarious that older people and children were evacuated from the city.

Last year, the Civil Functions Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee included funds to start this project which is just now beginning to take shape. The budget this year has additional funds recommended to be allotted for further construction. The total cost of this project, Mr. Speaker, is estimated at $3 million. This is to protect a city of over 6,000 people, factories, flour mills, railroad shops, churches, schools, and homes. It is justified in every way.

I simply wish to take a few moments before the Congress to personally thank the United States Army engineers in Washington, in Peoria, and in the Chicago office for their help and cooperation. I wish to thank the Civil Functions Subcommittee for their fine cooperation as well as the full Appropriations Committee. I wish to thank the entire membership of the House for agreeing to the authorization and the first appropriation.

I am doing this, Mr. Speaker, knowing full well that the citizens of Beardstown agree with my statements here today in thanking the House in their behalf for what they have done.

PREPARE TO BEGIN WORK ON BEARDSTOWN'S NEW SEAWALL

BEARDSTOWN, February 26.—Work of driving the sheet piling, which is a preliminary to the beginning of construction of the new seawall here, will start Monday. Several men started unloading the several large loads of piling Wednesday and 10 men will be on hand Monday.

The Peoria Barge Terminal Co. has the subcontract for putting down the piling. The Myers Construction Co., which has established offices at Main and Jackson Streets, has the contract for building the $3 million wall.

House Democrats Put Politics First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I enclose the following editorial taken from the Des Moines Register of February 28, 1955:

HOUSE DEMOCRATS PUT POLITICS FIRST

Now that the House has passed the indefensible $20-a-person tax-cut bill, it's up to the Democrats in the United States Senate to demonstrate that the party isn't completely irresponsible with respect to the Nation's fiscal and tax policies.

We think they will. Democrats like Senator HARRY BYRD, of Virginia, will do their best to see that this purely political tax plan does not become effective. They must recognize that it not only would be bad for the Nation but it also would be bad for the Democratic Party.

The House vote was partly explained—but not excused—by the fact that Speaker SAM RAYBURN got mad at some of the attacks on Democrats and at some of the arguments used by Republicans. But a good record of Democratic cooperation on foreign policy and on such issues as the reciprocal trade treaties doesn't justify playing unadulterated politics on a tax plan of this kind.

This tax proposal isn't designed to correct any inequities in the tax structure, nor is it designed to stimulate business. It is inconsistent with demands of many Democrats for increased defense spending. It has no relationship to revenue needs and expenditures. It would increase deficit spending and invite inflation.

If the $20-tax-cut plan were standing alone—and on its merits—there wouldn't be so much reason to worry about it. The President could kill it with a veto in the event both the House and Senate approved it.

But the plan isn't standing alone or on its merits. It is attached to an important revenue-producing proposal. The $20 cut wouldn't go into effect until January 1, 1956. The tax bill, however, must be passed by March 31 or lower corporation and excise taxes automatically go into effect. The purpose of the tax bill is to see that the Government doesn't lose some $2 billion revenue. That purpose would be defeated by including the $20-tax-cut plan in the bill—and it also would be defeated by a veto of the bill.

So it is very important for Senators to recognize that the responsibility of trying to keep the Nation's economy sound is, like the Nation's foreign policy, a nonpartisan objective. It shouldn't be endangered by trying to win some votes with a $20 handout.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, on February 18 the House passed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act to which I was opposed and voted against because of the domestic market being faced with cheap foreign articles that are imported into this country in direct competition with our industries. Our industries are suffering from the lack of markets, and this ultimately produces unemployment.

My position is well fortified through a news article from the Escanaba Daily Press, a daily newspaper published in my congressional district. The article sets forth conditions that exist in a small industry of the 11th District of Michigan.

Under permission granted, I include the article entitled "Cheap Foreign Plywood Is Threat to United States Industry," and that it become a part of the RECORD so my colleagues may be informed as to how cheap foreign products are threatening small industries in the United States of America:

CHEAP FOREIGN PLYWOOD IS THREAT TO UNITED STATES INDUSTRY

The American hardwood plywood industry, taking an alarmed look at the rising tide of unfair import competition, is asking that tariff concessions be modified and quotas imposed on imports of hardwood plywood.

The story of the import plywood problem and its effect upon the industry in Escanaba, Gladstone, and throughout the Nation was told recently in Escanaba by R. D. Behm, Chicago, director of the trade-promotion program for the Hardwood Plywood Institute. Behm talked to the Escanaba Rotary Club, where he was introduced by Russell Lee, Birds Eye Veneer Co. official.

Behm reported that the domestic industry is being seriously injured by tariff reductions that have resulted in a sharp rise in imports.

LOST 300 JOBS

"The imported plywoods are being sold in America at unfair prices much below those required by domestic producers to remain in business," Behm noted. He said the Hardwood Plywood Institute cited these facts in an application for an investigation by the United States Tariff Commission.

The application to the Tariff Commission to modify tariff concessions on cheaply produced foreign plywood and impose quotas on imports will be heard in Washington on March 22.

Birds Eye Veneer Co. and Northwestern Plywood and Veneer will be among members of the Hardwood Plywood Association represented at the hearing. These 2 local industries, together with related woods and sawmill operations, have lost an estimated 300 jobs to the community because of the cheap foreign imports.

The mounting volume of imports, according to the application, has decreased domestic producers' share of the American market, depressed domestic prices, and caused substantial unemployment and wage losses among American plywood workers.

IMPORTS CLIMBING

Tariff concessions were made in 1936, 1949, and 1950, the application pointed out. The last revision provided for reductions of up to 50 percent from the rates prevailing in 1949.

Detailing the results of the lowered duties, the application asserted that—

Imports rose from 63,362,000 square feet in 1950 to 220,424,000 square feet in 1953, an increase of 348 percent. They have continued to climb in 1954, amounting to 133,750,000 square feet in the first half of the year, compared with 98,831,000 square feet in the corresponding period of 1953. This represented a gain of 35.3 percent. Third quarter totals recently released show imported plywood amounting to 124 million square feet against domestic production of 177 million square feet.

Japan, which accounts for 57.4 percent of the imports, boosted its shipments to this country by 506 percent last year, as compared with 1952. Finland, the second-largest exporter, registered a gain of 583 percent.

FLOODING THE MARKET

Shipments of domestic producers, on the other hand, dropped from 451,663,000 square feet in the first 6 months of 1953 to 337,043,000 square feet in the first half of this year.

In 1951 the ratio of domestic hardwood plywood on the domestic market was 12 square feet to each square foot of imported plywood. By the first half of this year the ratio had shrunk to 2.5 square feet to one. Currently, the rate is closer to 1.4 square feet to one.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that the price index for hardwood plywood declined from 108.4 in 1953 to 101.9 for January and February 1954. The price index for all commodities, however rose from 110.1 in 1953 to 110.8 for January of this year.

HUGE WAGE LOSS

A survey of 43 domestic plywood plants, among the industry's total of 142, revealed that employment was 19.3 percent lower in the first quarter of 1954 than in the similar period of 1953. The reduction in hours worked amounted to 26.8 percent.

Estimated wage losses to American workers as a result of this curtailed output was $2 million Extension of the same rate of reduction to the entire industry would indicate a total wage loss of $5 million to $6 million for that period.

The Institute's membership accounts for about 60 percent of the total domestic production of market hardwood plywood, according to the application.

While Canada is among the larger plywood exporting countries, the application said, production costs of Canadian manufacturers do not permit them to sell at prices comparable to the unfair prices charged by Japanese and Finnish producers.

Eleven-Year-Old Girl Gains Recognition for Work in Scientific Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, Miss Lucy Ehrlich, of 100 Thayer Street, New York City, an 11-year-old girl, has recently been notified that her work in scientific research is worthy of recognition and accordingly she received a plaque for her remarkable collection of insects.

Lucy is the granddaughter of Mr. and Mrs. Leo Ehrlich, old and dear friends of mine, and both they and I are very proud of her.

I took it upon myself to write to this gifted youngster in congratulations and good wishes for her achievement, and in encouragement of her continued interest in science. I wrote to her as an indication of the recognition that I think is due to those young Americans who, by their devotion to science, are strengthening our country and contributing to a more informed world.

Letter to a Pro-Communist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article written by Stewart Alsop appeared in his column Matter of Fact in the New York Herald Tribune of February 27, 1955. I direct it to the attention of our colleagues:

MATTER OF FACT
(By Stewart Alsop)
LETTER TO A PRO-COMMUNIST

Was the recantation of self-confessed liar Harvey Matusow carefully stage managed by the Communists? There are signs that it was. For example, as noted in a previous report on the Matusow turnabout, Cameron & Kahn, the publishing firm which is sponsoring the Matusow confession, has a decidedly pro-Communist coloration. And because it bears on this point, it may be worth reproducing, slightly shortened, a letter from this reporter to Publisher Albert Kahn, written after a telephone conversation some 10 days ago:

"DEAR KAHN: When I talked to you on the telephone the other day, you declined to say whether you were a Communist. You said you would take the fifth amendment if asked this question by a congressional committee. And you indicated your true political position in other ways. Accordingly, I think I ought to make my own position clear in the matter of Harvey Matusow's self-exposure, and the issues which it involves.

"It is fashionable nowadays to say that McCarthyism is the greatest threat to American freedom. This may be so, but the fact remains that McCarthyism owes its existence to American communism. Communism, moreover, presents a most serious issue to those who respect our liberties, however much this issue, to the delight of the Communists, has been distorted by MCCARTHY and those who ape him.

"The issue is this: Should we grant full political rights to those who owe their first allegiance to a potential enemy? On the telephone, you denied that your first allegiance was to the Soviet Union. Maybe so. But as I said on the telephone, only a fool could doubt that the first allegiance of the disciplined, hard-core Communist belongs to Russia, and not to his own country. Therefore, the issue posed above is a real one which needs to be answered. To anyone sensible of the American traditions it is as prickly and difficult an issue as there is.

"Anyone so sensible, for example, will defend against all comers your right, or anyone else's right, to take the fifth amendment. MCCARTHY's public contempt for this constitutional safeguard is subversive, in the real sense of that word. But this does not mean that it is necessary to admire the motives of those who take the fifth amendment.

"When I made this point to you on the telephone, you complained that people who are not Communists, and so swear under oath, are likely to be jailed for perjury. Asked to name one such, you cited your friend Clinton Jencks, of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. Now it may be that Jencks was not a formal member of the Communist Party when he swore that he was not a Communist, to comply with the Taft-Hartley law. And there is also no doubt that Matusow lied about Jencks on the witness stand. But this is no sort of evidence that Jencks has actually changed his true political allegiance.

"And there is a most real and present danger in the control of labor unions by those who owe their allegiance to another country. The danger was greater, to be sure, when the Communists, in 1947 and 1948, almost succeeded in seizing control of the CIO—and I am proud that my brother and I played a part in exposing that effort. But the danger is still real.

"This leaves unanswered the question of how to deal with this danger of communism in a free society without creating a greater danger. But one thing I am sure of. Nothing plays more into Communist hands than for the Government to accept the word of any ex-Communist like Matusow who happens along. In taking at face value the testimony of such a man—and he is not alone—without a serious attempt to examine his credibility, the Justice Department and the congressional committee were inexcusably at fault.

"Your taking the fifth amendment will not excuse the fault. Nor, indeed, will the fault be excused if it turns out that the whole Matusow turnabout was carefully planned by the Communists, as I am rather beginning to believe it was. Your Communist friends may think that they have brought off a major coup. But they will be wrong.

For—if only the Congress and the Justice Department have the courage to undertake a serious examination of the new profession of the ex-Communist political informer—Matusow's self-exposure will in the end be good for the political health of the United States. And anything that is good for the political health of the United States is hardly in the long run to the advantage of communism.

"Yours sincerely."

Perhaps two footnotes to this letter need to be added. First, in all fairness it should be said that Kahn vehemently denies that there was any Communist plot to exploit Matusow. Second, a few days after this letter was written, Kahn did take the fifth amendment.

School Lunch Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed a letter I received from Mr. Charles Romani, assistant superintendent of schools, Bond County Community, Unit No. 2, Greenville, Ill.:

BOND COUNTY COMMUNITY,
UNIT NO. 2,
Greenville, Ill., February 28, 1955.

Hon. PETER F. MACK,
Congressman, 21st Congressional District, State of Illinois.

DEAR SIR: This letter is in protest of the proposed $16-million cut in Federal school-lunch appropriations for the next school year. As school-lunch sponsor of our school unit I am definitely interested in improving child health by means of the school-lunch program. This cannot be done if funds are cut eliminating section 6 commodities. Commodities such as canned fruits, canned vegetables, citrus products, and peanut butter are necessary in preparing attractive and well-balanced meals for schoolchildren.

The justification offered for this cut by the Secretary of Agriculture is unrealistic and misleading. There will not be enough surplus commodities distributed next year to offset the loss of section 6 commodities. We can't operate the program on promises. Distribution this year is running behind that of last year and there is no reason to believe that it will be increased next school term. More than likely it will be reduced because the only surplus commodities that the Department of Agriculture has on hand and can count on for next year are dairy products and fats and oils.

The Department of Agriculture's estimate of the value of surplus commodities to be distributed for the past 2 years has been too high. During the school term 1954–55 their estimate was at least 60 percent too high.

The program cannot stand a cut. I would appreciate any help that you may give in seeing to it that there is no Federal reduction in the school-lunch program.

Very truly yours,
CHARLES ROMANI,
Assistant Superintendent.

Ernest Hemingway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in 1954, a coveted honor was awarded to a distinguished native of Oak Park, Ill., when Mr. Ernest Hemingway received the Nobel prize for literature. Another tribute, which I am sure was warmly appreciated by Mr. Hemingway, was occasioned by the announcement of this award.

This tribute came from a group of outstanding Pan-American scholars and educators, assembled at the bicentennial conference of Columbia University on Responsible Freedom in the Americas, and was the result of the only resolution approved by the conference. Six former presidents of Latin American Republics were participants in the conference, Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, of Colombia; Dr. Eduardo Santos, of Colombia; Dr. Galo Plaza, of Ecuador; Dr. Ricardo Alfaro, of Panama; Dr. Otilio Ulate, of Costa Rica; and Dr. Carlos Davila, of Chile, who is now secretary general of the Organization of American States.

The conference approved a resolution submitted by Dr. Jorge Manach, of Cuba, which called for a commendatory message to be sent to Mr. Hemingway, and

the following message was sent in behalf of the conference:

By awarding Ernest Hemingway the literature prize for 1954, the Nobel Prize Committee has rendered a well-deserved tribute to a great novelist whose works have reflected with virile energy a passion for liberty and justice, a love of the heroic in man, and a generous concern for human suffering. Assembled on the occasion of the bicentennial conference of Columbia University on Responsible Freedom in the Americas, writers and teachers of both Americas send their congratulations to the great author of The Old Man and the Sea. In their behalf this message is sent.

The Economic Position of the Americas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Diario Las Americas, a bilingual newspaper published in Miami and which covers all of Latin-America, under the date of Saturday, February 19, 1955:

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE AMERICAS

Amidst the fluctuations of hemispheric politics which seem to be reaching a climax of anxiety, we have to note an ever more pressing problem: The true situation of the economy of the Americas following the conference at Rio de Janeiro.

On many occasions we have referred to the urgency of raising to the point of efficient and rapid labor, the cooperation of the United States in Latin America. At no time have me insinuated gifts which the majority repudiates, but rather we have referred to loans made through the Export and Import Bank. In the past, we have said that this institution has an enormous responsibility in its hands, the importance of which will have repercussions in the whole future of the Americas. Many times we have pointed out, that the operations of the Export and Import Bank up to the present, have represented profits for the United States in all sectors. Profits derived from the interest in its money, profits for United States citizens who carry out the projects financed by the loans, profits for the industry of this country which is assured of a Latin American market despite its high prices.

The Export-Import Bank appeared to have a great opportunity after the Conference at Rio de Janeiro. A policy of ample credit and above all, fast handling methods, seemed to be in the offering for the hemisphere. Up until now, judging by the information we receive from Latin America, such a policy does not seem to be in full swing. At least public opinion in the Americas, has not heard any reports which would change certain conclusions about the bank's operations being still restricted by underground forces governed by higher authorities.

Our editorial comment is the result of the considered opinions of distinguished Latin Americans who, in Washington and in their own countries maintain that, up until now, the small and less developed countries are still encountering serious difficulties in obtaining loans from the Export-Import Bank for essential projects, such as highways, electrification, airports, etc.

In conclusion, we want to say that the Export-Import Bank at the present time is one of the most important agencies of the United States Government. Many millions of the citizens of this hemisphere, who need opportunities for development through loans and not gifts or gracious concessions, have placed their hopes in it.

To liberally open the reserves of the Export-Import Bank is to comply with an obligation toward a strong sector of United States taxpayers who, without the aid of that Government agency, will see themselves displaced from the large Latin American markets. It is not a case, then, of merely complying with the offer of the United States delegation in Rio de Janeiro, but rather of satisfying a pressing need of hemispheric subsistence.

Block Ike Plain Is Brainchild of Economic Planners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, there are people in this country who sincerely believe that the free enterprise economic system is no good and should be replaced either piecemeal or entirely by some form of state socialism.

Why, when all evidence points to the fact that our present system of free enterprise is the greatest system ever devised by the mind of man for his own betterment, these people persist in their beliefs is a mystery to me. They need but look at the result of state socialism wherever it has been tried to see physical evidence of its inadequacies.

An interesting article in the current issue of the U. S. News & World Report detailing the deterioration of Britain's defenses observes that the quantity and quality of that Nation's armaments went into immediate decline during her postwar flirtation with socialism. Under the socialistic scheme of things neither peacetime nor wartime items flowed into Britain's economy as they did under the free-enterprise system.

Nevertheless the economic planners in this country are determined in their efforts "to halt and reverse the Eisenhower administration's counteroffensive on behalf of private enterprise and less government dictation" as is set forth in the following column by Ray Tucker:

HALT IKE PLAN WELL DESIGNED

(By Ray Tucker)

WASHINGTON.—The most unpublicized conflict at Washington today concerns the attempt of the so-called economic planners of New Deal stamp to halt and reverse the Eisenhower administration's counteroffensive on behalf of private enterprise and less Government dictation.

Opponents of Ike's milder measures have two main objectives: They do not expect to enact their more advanced and radical proposals at this session, awaiting possible return to power in 1956 or 1960. They plan to expand or to kill off his offerings.

They do not want them to be given even a temporary trial lest the success of the measures check their movement for Government intervention and operation in almost every field of human activity.

"ECONOMIC POULTICES"

They argue, for instance, that Eisenhower proposals on Federal aid to health, education, and highways are mere economic poultices. The most spectacular example of the conflict in philosophy is illustrated by the quarrel over Washington's contribution to improvement of national health.

Ike wants the work to be done by private insurance companies with minimum financial assistance from the Government. The "planners," who resemble the British Fabians that led Britain step by step into a Labor-Socialist regime, demand compulsory health insurance. They would finance their bedside scheme along the lines of social security—namely, by direct payments from everybody's pay check.

If Ike's plan is adopted and gives promise of success in its initial stages, their alternative will lose its appeal. There is nothing so difficult to defeat as demonstrated success in politics.

Similar strategy has been applied to the farm problem. Ike believes that flexible price supports will maintain farm income, lower retail prices, dispose of surpluses. The planners still insist on the Brannan plan, with Uncle Sam paying the difference between the market price and the higher Government-financed support figures.

PRIVATE EXPANSION PLAN

Likewise with power. As in the Dixon-Yates contract, the White House seeks to limit the Government's investments and operations in this field, as well as in atomic developments. President Eisenhower advocates private expansion to a maximum degree under a partnership of local, private, and Federal interests.

His enemies demand continued Government production of power, although Uncle Sam and local political units now generate about 20 percent of the Nation's electricity.

The planners want Washington aid in obtaining contracts for a guaranteed annual wage. They demand higher minimum-wage levels, to be policed and enforced by NLRB and the Labor Department. They insist upon greater control of credit by Treasury and the Federal Reserve System.

They urge a vast public-works building blueprint after the pattern of Roosevelt-Ickes-Hopkins programs in the depression. They shout for far larger foreign-aid funds, with the United States economic reforms aboard.

AIM TO DEFEAT IKE'S COMPROMISES

Although recognizing that fulfillment of their dreams and ambitions under Republican rule is impossible, the liberals' main aim is to keep alive agitation for their schemes. When they recapture the White House and Congress, they hope to transform them into reality. Meanwhile, they must defeat Ike's milder compromises.

Ironically, they may get help from GOP conservatives on Capitol Hill, who think that Ike is too radical. They refuse to recognize his program as a holding action.

Expulsion of Russia From the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I am presenting to the House of Representatives an editorial entitled

"Why Russia Should Be Expelled From the U. N." by David Lawrence, editor of the U. S. News & World Report. This editorial strikes me with peculiar force and the thoughts contained therein should receive our most careful attention. It seems to me that the Communists have abused the privilege of being members of the United Nations to the point that we can serve the free world best by expulsion. I, therefore, find myself in hearty agreement with the thoughts in this editorial.

WHY RUSSIA SHOULD BE EXPELLED FROM THE U. N.

(By David Lawrence)

Much of the trouble in which the free governments of the world find themselves today is due to a failure to steer by the compass of moral principle.

Governments that appease the aggressor go from the frying pan into the fire as they build up complications for themselves by their successive retreats.

The indictment was summed up succinctly last week by Secretary of State Dulles when he said:

"The United Nations Charter of 1945 binds 60 nations to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. But there has been armed aggression in Korea which was promoted by Soviet Russia, and later Communist China was found guilty of armed aggression there."

The world for some time has known about the repeated violations of the U. N. Charter by the Soviet Union. The principal evidence was furnished by its own representative, who publicly boasted to the U. N. in March 1953 that the Soviet Union had supplied armaments to the Red China government throughout the Korean war. In that war more than 33,500 American boys were killed and 103,000 wounded.

The Soviet Union, moreover, gave military assistance to Red China notwithstanding the fact that in February 1951 the Peiping government was formally declared by resolution of the U. N. to be an aggressor. The Moscow Government ignored the U. N. warning that all members should refrain from rendering assistance to the aggressor.

The act of aggression is even more flagrant because it has been directed against the armed forces of the United Nations itself.

The United Nations is still in a state of war with both the Communist Chinese and the Communist government of North Korea. An armistice has been signed, but no treaty of peace has been consummated. Nevertheless military aid to the aggressors from Soviet Russia continues. Russian-built MIG's are commonplace in the skies of Korea.

This is in the face of the plain language of article 2 of the Charter, which provides:

"All members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action."

The United Nations Charter specifies exactly how offenses of a traitorous member shall be dealt with by the other members. Article 6 reads as follows:

"A member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present charter may be expelled from the organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."

It will be argued, of course, that the Security Council would not so recommend because the Soviet Union could block such a step by exercising her veto in the council. The fact is, however, that the Soviet Union, being a party to the dispute, would have no right to vote at all. Article 27 of the charter covers that point by declaring that decisions of the Security Council shall be made by an affirmative vote of 7 members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members, provided, however, that "a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting."

It has been contended that the Soviet Union had obligations under a treaty with China to come to the assistance of that country on the basis of an offensive and defensive alliance. But article 103 says:

"In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the present charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present charter shall prevail."

The charter declares that membership in the United Nations shall be open to "peace-loving States" willing to accept the obligations of membership. The Soviet Union, however, has disregarded its obligations to the U. N.

By aiding Red China and North Korea, which are at war with the United Nations, the Soviet Government has forfeited its seat in the U. N. That seat should be declared vacant by a formal resolution. It would constitute notification to the people of Soviet Russia that their government had demonstrated its incapacity to fulfill international obligations, and had become a menace to peace-loving nations. The kind of government a nation chooses is its own affair, but only up to the point where such a government does not become a threat to world peace.

Some day, when a free government arises in Russia, the seat in the U. N. declared vacant could be awarded to such a new government. But today the Moscow regime must be expelled if the United Nations is to retain the respect of the world as an organization obedient to law—the words of its own charter.

American Good Government Society Honors Hon. Howard W. Smith, of Virginia

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend, on Tuesday evening, February 22, 1955, the third annual George Washington awards dinner of the American Good Government Society.

The American Good Government Society was formed in 1942 for the purpose of fostering good government in America and to reinspire a wide and deeper appreciation of the American political system, through a clearer understanding of it.

This organization is endeavoring to bring to our citizens the realization of the importance of maintaining our Government as it was founded and set up under the Constitution. It is rendering a real and important service to the country.

In 1952 the society established the George Washington awards that it presents to outstanding citizens who have rendered distinguished service beyond the call of duty to good government in America.

It has presented two awards for each of the past 3 years. In 1953 the society honored Senator HARRY F. BYRD and the late Senator Robert A. Taft. In 1954 the recipients were the Honorable Herbert Hoover and Gov. Allan Shivers, of Texas. This year, the society honored the Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH, Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, and Gen. Robert E. Wood.

I am most pleased that the outstanding services that Representative SMITH has rendered our Nation are being recognized by the presentation of this award.

"Judge" SMITH, as he is affectionately called by his colleagues and many friends, is one of the outstanding statesmen of America today. He stands for and represents the highest ideals in public life. He is one of the most beloved as well as one of the most influential Members of the House of Representatives. He is admired for his keen intellect, his ability to grasp a situation quickly and for his determination to do what he thinks is right and best for his country regardless of the political consequences. All of us love and admire him for the statesmanship he has exhibited down through the years and join with the society in its description of his virtues set out in the award which is as follows:

HOWARD WORTH SMITH, statesman, lawyer, farmer and banker, has served the public weal for more than 30 years—as judge and as Representative in Congress, becoming chairman of the Committee on Rules in the 84th Congress.

Among his notable achievements are the Smith Act of 1940, which declared the law under which Communist leaders have been convicted, and the constructive investigation of the National Labor Relations Board which led to the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947.

Law is the eternal sense of justice of the community. Law is because law was, unwritten, unfolding and growing as man moves slowly toward civilization. Spurious edicts, pretending to be law but not law at all, are struck down when the law is restored.

In any early restoration of law the wisdom of Judge SMITH will be a vital influence. We can rejoice in numbering this Virginia gentleman among the Nation's most illustrious sons.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I herewith include the address delivered by the Honorable HOWARD W. SMITH on the night of February 22, 1955, when the American Good Government Society bestowed upon him its George Washington good government award:

The basic ground rules of good government upon which our Republic was founded was the principle that matters of controversy between the States and relations with foreign governments should be delegated to the Federal Government, while the solution of all domestic and local problems should be reserved to the respective States.

It was the guiding principle of the framers of our Constitution.

It was the very heart of the contract between the Thirteen Original Colonies as expressed in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. It was implicit throughout every word, every sentence, and every paragraph.

It was summed up so that "he who runs might read," in the brief words of the 10th amendment: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor

prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

When that amendment was adopted, as the last and final clause in the Bill of Rights, the American people meant it. The great bulk of the American people, regardless of party affiliation, mean it just as earnestly today.

The difference is that the framers of the Constitution were painfully aware of their recent wrongs that required remedy. As the country grew and prospered, the people became neglectful and indifferent to the basic principles of government that brought about that growth and prosperity.

A spirit of slothful indifference replaced alert determination. Today we have reached a point of centralized government that has swallowed up the reserve states rights. We have transferred the administration of justice away from home into the strange and far away hands of the Federal Courts.

The legislative department has usurped the power to deal with a multitude of local problems reserved by the Constitution to the States and in doing so has delegated to the executive department the power to fill in the details of administration by regulations having the force and effect of law. While the Chief Executive confronted with a huge and overwhelming mass of administrative detail has, in turn, delegated the power to make regulations to sundry minor executives not elected by or responsible to the people.

Each such departure from constitutional standards has directly or indirectly deprived the citizen of some constitutional liberty until today the individual American citizen is gradually being placed under compulsion and his daily life and activities controlled by the judgment of the Federal courts, the acts of Congress, and the edicts of the executive department to an extent never remotely conceived by the authors of the Constitution.

Today we have what might be called government by delegation of authority.

Local communities have delegated to State legislatures local problems that could best be solved at home, in return for a mess of financial pottage from the State legislatures.

The State governments have delegated to the Congress problems that could be best solved at home by the States, in return for handouts from the Federal Treasury of their own money. Congress, in turn, catching the spirit of the times, has passed out the appropriations from money derived from taxes imposed upon the citizens of the States and exported to Washington to be, in turn, doled back to the States after deduction of an appropriate but substantial toll. Along with the appropriations and as a condition, go laws curtailing the freedom of the citizen, and then the whole impossible mess is turned over to the Executive to administer, abdicating to him the legislative power to make regulations having the effect of law, a violation of which subjects the citizen to criminal penalties in the Federal courts. But the end of delegation is not yet. The President delegates the authority given him by Congress to the heads of departments and agencies. They, in turn, delegate it to the heads of bureaus; and to whom the bureaus delegate the actual writing of these regulations or laws, only God knows.

Congress finally found it necessary to provide for a daily publication known as the Federal Register, in which the executive departments are required to publish each day all new regulations which now control the lives and activities of our citizens.

I mention this for the information of the unwary citizen, who may prefer what freedom he still enjoys to a Federal jail house, with the advice that he peruse the Federal Register along with his daily paper.

On top of this whole mess of delegation, administration and confusion sits the judicial department, the ultimate and final arbiter of our constitutional rights.

So when the Supreme Court speaks the final word we all, including the present spaker, relieve our blood pressure by exercising our remaining constitutional prerogative of abusing the court.

What is the remedy?

There is only one.

Congress reflects the will of the people. The will of the people is transmitted to Congress by those who make the loudest noise, and the most convincing threats of political reprisal.

Until and unless the great mass and majority of our thinking people awaken to their responsibility and assert their demands for sound and constitutional government and a return to the constitutional limits upon the functions of the Federal Government, we shall continue the present policy until some time, some sad day, we find that we have gone too far to retrace our steps.

In a democracy a people get the kind of government they deserve.

If they think little, they deserve little. If they do little about it, they get little results.

If the present trend of government away from the sovereignty and the reserved rights of the States is wrong, as I believe it is tragically wrong, it will continue wrong as long as a slothful and indifferent people remain impervious to, and neglectful of, the danger signals flying all about them.

Misquoting Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune should enlighten some of our oratorical statesmen who quote our first president so frequently on American foreign policy:

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL

Washington's warning in his Farewell Address against "permanent alliances" (Jefferson later used the term "entangling alliances") is often stressed in February 22 orations by the isolationist group. A conservative Republican rally in Chicago on Lincoln's Birthday this year brought forth attacks on the United Nations and a charge that American foreign policy is no longer American.

Actually, the isolationists take Washington's phrase out of context in order to fit their purposes. In averring that "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation," Washington was warning at the time against a specific danger, not setting a future policy for the Nation. His concern was over the wedge driven between Americans by the French Revolution.

All Americans had hailed the Revolution with joy at first. Washington had accepted the key of the Bastille, the police fortress stormed by the French populace, as a "token of the victory gained by liberty." But as the French revolt developed excess after excess, conservative Americans turned sharply against it.

Most Jeffersonians managed to keep some sympathy with it, however. They denounced the Jay treaty with England as taking sides against the ally which had aided us in our own rebellion against England. And Washington, appalled at the invective poured on his aged head, saw the house of America divided against itself.

That was the setting for the Farewell Address. It was written, further, in consultation with Alexander Hamilton. Washington sent him a rough draft of his proposed speech. Hamilton returned a completely new draft, later added some further suggestions from Mt. Vernon. And though the manuscript Washington finally sent to the printer was in his own handwriting, the style was Hamilton's and there's no way of telling which of its ideas were Washington's and which were Hamiltonian.

Washington of course knew the value of foreign alliances. He knew the value of French aid to the Colonies during the American Revolution. It does discredit to his stature as Chief Executive to use his own words as argument against America taking its place in the family of nations.

Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial on Brotherhood Week published in the East Side News on Saturday, February 26, 1955:

BROTHERHOOD WEEK

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

This is Brotherhood Week. It is sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It is dedicated to the ideals of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It is seeking to exemplify these ideals in our daily lives.

Brotherhood is the crying need of our day. It was the question which Malachi asked his people 2,500 years ago: "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us all? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, profaning the covenant of God?"

Whether we are protestants, Catholics, or Jews, whether we are black or white, or whether we came from the first or sixth generation, we are all members of the brotherhood of free Americans.

Tolerance thrives in the sunlight. It is a word of healing. It is the finest fruit of man's struggle to grasp the torch of liberty. It believes in the humaneness of our humanity. It marks the elimination of class distinction. It symbolizes the freedom of the soul.

Here is a story of the glory of American brotherhood at its best. It is the grandest story of heroic sacrifice. It is the saga of the transport Dorchester, which appeared in the American Weekly.

There were four chaplains on board: A rabbi, Lt. Alex Goode; two parsons, Lt. George L. Fox, and Lt. Clark V. Poling; a priest, Lt. John P. Washington.

They handed out the lifebelts to keep the bodies of the men afloat. They spoke words of cheer to keep up their courage. They saw the lifebelts run out. They gave away their own. They were last seen kneeling together on the sinking ship.

They were praying in three language. They were praying to the same God. In English—"Our Father, who are in heaven, hallowed by Thy name." In Hebrew "Schma Yisroel Adonay elehenu Adonay echod" (hear, O Israel, the Lord is thy God, the Lord is one). In Latin, "Miserere mei Deus, secundum maknam miseri cordian Tuam" (have mercy on me, O Lord, according to Thy mercy).

Four God-loving souls who preached the glory of God and the brotherhood of man in their simple lives and humbly testified to their convictions by their undying deaths. "Greater love hath no man."

Travel where you may on a thousand battlefields. Travel where the delicate poppies carpet the earth with rich, red blossoms. Travel where the glistening white stones rise above the flower-strewn mounds. There you will see, side by side, one beneath the star of David, one beneath the cross of Christianity.

They have fought together. They have bled together. They have worshiped together. They have died together, so that we may live together.

Let no racial or creedal fissure undermine our American foundations. Let us hold fast to the faith of the Founding Fathers. Let us hold fast to the ideals of our origin. Let us hold fast to the moral values which are the fiber of our national character.

Let us cherish the thought that we are Americans. Let us keep the light burning that made our country great. Let us have a unified feeling of one flag and one nation. Let us remember that in God's rainbow there is no favored tint. Let race lines and creed lines and all lines vanish. Let America march forward as one great brotherhood with undivided ranks toward the dawn.

If we build in clay, it will be subject to the storm of time and the wind of the ages. If we build in brick, it is destined to crumble under the atmospheric pressure of the heavens. If we build in iron and steel, it is destined to flow as water before the smelting processes of the universe. If we build in marble, it will not last forever. But if we build in the humane spirit of common brotherhood we build for eternity.

Nomination of Lt. Gen. Alexander R. Bolling, United States Army, for the South's Hall of Fame for the Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the nominating remarks made by Lt. Gen. Alvan C. Gillem, Jr., United States Army, retired, when he nominated Lt. Gen. Alexander R. Bolling, United States Army, commanding general of the Third Army, for a place in the South's Hall of Fame for the Living.

Both General Gillem and General Bolling are distinguished Americans and rank among the great military leaders of our time. General Bolling presently commands the United States Third Army and General Gillem commanded the Tihrd United States Army prior to and at the time of his retirement:

NOMINATION OF LT. GEN. ALEXANDER R. BOLLING, UNITED STATES ARMY, FOR THE SOUTH'S HALL OF FAME FOR THE LIVING

(By Lt. Gen. Alvan C. Gillem, Jr., United States Army, Retired)

With reference to nominations for the South's Hall of Fame for the Living, I would like to place in nomination the name of an outstanding American soldier and citizen: Lt. Gen. Alexander R. Bolling, United States Army, commanding general, Third Army, Headquarters, Third Army, Fort McPherson, Ga.

In presenting the name of this distinguished officer, I have taken under consideration the factors which are set as criteria for selection in this group. It is my considered opinion that the man whose name I am presenting for this recognition meets in every way the requirements for the honor.

It has been my privilege to know personally the candidate and to have had his invaluable assistance and professional advice during the European campaign of World War II.

General Bolling served under my command throughout the battles incident to the defeat of the German Army. During these campaigns he was commanding general of the gallant 84th Infantry Division, which was an important element of my XIII Corps in Belgium, Holland, and Germany.

I found him to be possessed of all the characteristics of a real leader in war and peace. Recently I have enjoyed his friendship in the twilight years of the so-called peace, which we have been experiencing since the defeat of Germany and Japan.

He has, during the past 2 years, served as commanding general of the famous Third Army, with headquarters at Fort McPherson, Ga.

As commanding general, he has had the responsibility of directing the induction, training, and administration of thousands of young American men and women, for the area of his command encompasses the seven Southeastern States of the Nation.

His human qualities have gained for him and the Third Army a host of friends not only in Atlanta but throughout the South.

He has made an outstanding contribution to the progress of this critical area by his understanding of, and solution of, problems involving the military and civilian.

I have been informed that after his retirement later on in the current year, he is contemplating the establishment of a permanent home in the city of Atlanta.

It is my belief that Lt. Gen. Alexander R. Bolling, United States Army, is eminently fitted for inclusion in this category of Famed Americans, and I so recommend his nomination for this honor.

Nebraska's Birthday

SPEECH
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was Nebraska's birthday. Eighty-eight years ago, on March 1, 1867, President Andrew Johnson signed a proclamation making the State of Nebraska one of the United States, the 37th State in the Union. It is interesting to note that the Nebraska statehood bill is one of the few statehood bills vetoed by a President.

On March 21, 1864, the Congress passed a law defining the boundaries of the Nebraska Territory and setting up the machinery for creating the State of Nebraska, which was subsequently approved by the President on April 19, 1864. The people of the proposed State called a constitutional convention, adopted a constitution and a formal government and transmitted these items to the Congress.

The Statehood Act was passed by the Senate and the House of Representatives, but was vetoed by the President because he felt that a provision in the act might be construed as infringing upon the right of the new State to regulate the voting and other fundamental rights of its citizens. The Congress then reconsidered the act, and overrode his veto and Nebraska was admitted on the condition that the embryonic State assure the Congress and the President that there should be no denial of the elective franchise and all other fundamental rights of persons within the State by reason of race or color. The territorial legislature was called into session and on the 20th of February 1867, enacted its assurance accordingly. President Andrew Johnson then, on the 1st of March 1867, issued his proclamation declaring Nebraska a State. Thus, in the strife-torn years immediately following the Civil War, we find the formal beginning of the State of Nebraska.

There are many factors that have contributed to the greatness of our State, but the two most important are its land and its people. From 1867 until 1950 our population has grown from 50,000 to 1,325,510; and our land has been developed from the native unbroken prairies, even then rich with life-giving grasses, to the highly cultivated irrigated farm grounds that lie in the valleys of the many Nebraska rivers.

The exploration and settlement of Nebraska is one of the striking chapters in the history of American expansion, one without parallel. It is a story written in adventure, in toil, in tragedy, and reward. Acheological expeditions have uncovered considerable evidence of the presence of prehistoric man in the State, indicating that man existed in this area from ten to twenty thousand years ago. The deep soil deposits have preserved some of the finest prehistoric animal and raptile specimens yet found on the North American continent.

At the time of the coming of the first white men, the Nebraska territory was inhabited by the Indian tribes, who moved across the Great Plains as the food supply shifted from place to place. The first white men to visit this region were 30 Spaniards under the leadership of Francisco Vasquez Coronado, who came into the territory on a foray from the Rio Grande in 1541. French fur traders began to venture up the Missouri River about 1700, and in 1739 the Mallet brothers, with a party of eight Frenchmen, named the Platte River and traveled nearly the entire length of the State on a journey from the Missouri River to Santa Fe.

During these years, ownership of this little-explored and richly abundant territory was a source of struggle between France, England, and Spain. The reports of the early French explorers, glowing with praises of this wonderful new empire, awakened the imagination of the French as to the possibilities of this "most marvelous region upon the face of the earth." France moved upon the Nebraska region from two directions—from the North, following the founding of Quebec in 1609, and from the South with the founding of Biloxi on

the Gulf of Mexico in 1700. By the year 1720, Spain and France had become rivals for possession of this vast region west of the Mississippi River; the Spanish had settlements in the Rio Grande Valley and in Texas; the French in the Mississippi Valley. At the close of the Seven Years' War, France ceded all her claims east of the Mississippi River to England, and all claims west to Spain. Nebraska was thus a part of the Spanish province of Louisiana from 1763 until 1801, when Napoleon bought it back from Spain. Even before the new provisional governor could arrive to take up control of his domain, war broke out between France and England. In financial desperation, Napoleon changed his plan and sold the entire province to the new American Republic for $15,500,000; and at an imposing ceremony in the Great Square on the river front in New Orleans on November 30, 1803, the Nebraska region became American territory with Thomas Jefferson as her president.

Almost before the ink was dry on the purchase agreement, an American expedition started to explore the area of the Louisiana Purchase. Lewis and Clark were the commanders of this initial exploratory adventure, and in the 2 years of their expedition, 1804–06, skirted the Nebraska territorial boundaries. Five years later, the Hunt party of Astorians touched Nebraska on their way to Oregon, and in 1813 seven of the party crossed the mountains and followed the North Platte to its junction with the South Platte, and thence along the Platte to the Missouri River. Manuel Lisa, who built a permanent fort in 1812 about 10 miles north of the present Omaha post Office, was probably the first white settler and the first to engage in farming in Nebraska. In September 1819 Major Long established Fort Atkinson upon the site of the present village of Fort Calhoun in Washington County, and the 1,000 people who came to live there built the first school library, brickyard, sawmill, and grist mill in the State.

The missionary period followed the establishment of a permanent fort in Nebraska. While the missionary work among the Indians of the State did not generally convert the tribes to Christianity, still the story of missionary work among the Indians filled the space of 40 years in the history of Nebraska with a heroic record and with more valuable information upon the elements of life in this territory at this time than is derived from any other single source.

With the settlement and beginning of development of Nebraska, the pioneers again looked to the westward toward the lands that lay beyond the Continental Divide. Nebraska was the avenue for the crossing. The rich grasslands provided the food to sustain the animals, and the abundant water supply and wild game provided the means of survival for these hardy adventurers. To Nebraska belongs the honor of first pointing out to the American Nation a natural, practicable roadway across the mountains, binding the western shores of this great country to the rest of the Nation.

Several trails were developed. Of all the old overland trails crossing Nebraska, each with its story written deep into the lives of the men and women in the record of the westward march of the American people, the Oregon Trail was the first and the most famous. The Trail began its career in 1832, and by 1840 had become a well-traveled road, a great traveling city flowing 2,000 miles from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.

The migration of the Mormons from Florence, now a suburb of Omaha, in the spring of 1847, brought into existence the great Mormon Trail, which traversed Nebraska and merged at Fort Laramie with the established Oregon Trail.

An increased interest in quicker, more adequate transportation naturally followed after the establishment of these wagon routes to the West. The Nation was divided by the extreme pressure of commercial interests of the North and the South, each pushing to construct the first Pacific railroad. Farsighted leaders of both areas grasped the strategic position of the Nebraska Territory as the natural route for the railroad to the west coast, and voices in many quarters became loud in a demand for the organization and recognition of the Nebraska Territory. In his annual report, dated November 30, 1844, Secretary of War William Wilkins recommended the formation of a territorial government, but it was not until May 30, 1854, after several bills had been introduced and nearly all the controversial issues of the day were debated, that President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill into law.

In only a few years the movement for statehood was started, and on April 19, 1864, the Nebraska enabling act was passed and approved. Nebraska's statehood, as had her Territorial establishment, was to be delayed and greatly influenced by the stark national issues facing the Congress and the people during those times. Local factions were divided over the slave-free question, and controversy developed over the problems of governmental expense which would be created if Nebraska was to become an independent State, so it was not until 1866 that a constitution and a form of State government were framed. The statehood bill finally passed after long and bitter debate, over Presidential veto, when the Nebraska Legislature adopted laws repudiating slavery in the new State.

Settlement and growth of this new Territory had been slow during the Civil War period and years before, although the foundation for growth had been laid by the Congress when it enacted the free-homestead law in 1862. On the date this law became effective, January 1, 1863, Daniel Freeman took out the first homestead in the United States, on Cub Creek, in Gage County, Nebraska. Since that time, over 1 million homesteaders over the United States have received more than 120 million acres of land from our Government, and more than 100,000 homesteaded and lived in Nebraska. These settlers came from New England and New York, Michigan and Illinois, and from the war-torn States of the South. More and more settlers came from many countries across the seas. The Irish settled in Holt County in 1874 and Greeley County in 1877. Germans settled Madison, Stanton, and Thayer Counties between 1867–70. Swedes settled in Polk and Saunders Counties about 1870 and Phelps and Burt Counties about 1880. Bohemians founded communities in Knox, Colfax, Saunders, and Saline Counties about 1870. A group of Hollanders settled in the southern part of Lancaster County about 1875 and extended their settlements into Clay and Hamilton Counties. Danish, Swedish, Bohemian, and Polish communities were founded in Howard and Valley Counties. French settlements were made in Richardson, Nemaha, Antelope, and other counties. The seeds of greatness of Nebraska's people were brought in from a score of different States and from a dozen different foreign countries; but, once these seeds took root in Nebraska soil, the product which grew from them became Nebraska's most valuable asset—courageous, hard-working and sincere American citizens.

The several homestead laws, the free homestead law of 1863, the Timber Culture Act, and the Kinkaid law, have been instrumental in opening the lands of Nebraska to the agricultural development and cultivation now so prevalent in our great State, and the railroad brought great progress by transporting settlers into the State and farm commodities from Nebraska to the other States of the Union.

Over the many years, one of the significant achievements in the State's history has been the development of irrigation in the North Platte Valley. Local individual initiative and the Federal Reclamation Act of 1902 helped these farmers turn much of the dry land into a true Garden of Eden, the Quivera for which Coronado searched when he and his small band of explorers first entered this territory. Scottsbluff, one of the most important and fast-growing cities in Nebraska, owes much of its expansion to the development of irrigation from the North Platte River and its feeder streams. The sandhills area grazes most of the State's 5 million beef cattle, and we look with pride on the industry that provides much of the world's beef supply and foundation stock for cattle herds in all quarters of the agricultural world.

Nebraskans are justly proud of the progressive, efficient, and economical record of their State government. The State constitution, adopted in 1920, contains a provision prohibiting the State to contract any indebtedness in excess of $100,000. The State has no income tax and no sales tax, and in 1934 the people adopted an initiative proposal to create the unicameral legislature, a novel experiment in the field of lawmaking bodies.

Many Nebraskans have brought credit to the State and the Nation with their contributions to literature, art, and music; and to the military and political science of the world. Writers such as Willa Cather, Bess Streeter Aldrich, Mignon Eberhart, Louise Pound, Hartley Burr Alexander, Keene Abbott, and Mari Sandoz; poets such as the beloved John G. Neihardt, poet laureate; musical composers such as Thurlow Lieurance and

Howard Hanson; great military leaders such as John J. Pershing; artists such as J. Laurie Wallace, Elizabeth Dolan, Kady Faulkner, Robert Gilder, Dwight Kirsch, and Dale Nichols; and political giants of their time such as William Jennings Bryan, J. Sterling Morton, Charles G. Dawes, and George W. Norris, have helped bring fame and recognition to the State, and have left their works as a heritage to the people of our time. Our State Capitol, the creation of Bertram Goodhue, stands as one of the outstanding architectural achievements of the age, a fitting monument to the men and women whose courage and vision built a prairie land.

No tribute to the great State of Nebraska would be complete without pause to pay homage to the 47,801 sons who served, and the 1,000 who died, in World War I; and the 128,000 men and women who served, and the 3,655 who died, in World War II.

One of the most able portrayals of Nebraska is contained in a description of the great seal of Nebraska, adopted by the legislature in 1867:

> The eastern part of the circle to be represented by a steamboat ascending the Missouri River; the mechanic arts to be represented by a smith with hammer and anvil; in the foreground, agriculture to be represented by a settler's cabin, sheaves of wheat, and stalks of growing corn; in the background a train of cars heading toward the Rocky Mountains, and on the extreme west, the Rocky Mountains to be plainly in view; around the top of this circle, to be in capital letters, the motto, "Equality before the law," and the circle to be surrounded by the words, "Great seal of the State of Nebraska."

"Equality before the law," "Honesty before men," "Reverence before God"—these are the precepts that have made Nebraska great during her 88 years as a State; these are the precepts that will keep Nebraska great as long as our free Nation endures.

Peaceful Coexistence With Soviet Russia?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting address by Mr. George Brady, chief editorial writer for the Boston American-Record, Boston, Mass., on the subject of communism, which he delivered at the fourth annual spiritual Sunday observance of the greater Lawrence postal employees on Sunday, February 27, 1955, at the Central Junior High School, Methuen, Mass.

Mr. Brady, a well-known journalist, has been connected with several large newspapers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He is a student of international affairs and has specialized in the work of educating his readers and listeners to the danger of communism and its effects on the United States. I know that all Members of Congress are aware of the spread of the communistic doctrine, and know that they will appreciate the expression of Mr. Brady on this most important of all subject matters at the present time.

We hear a lot of talk nowadays about peaceful coexistence with Soviet Russia. The slogan hits me every time I turn on my radio or television or open the pages of my daily newspaper. It is supposed to be a new version, a modern adaptation of the old aphorism, "Live and let's live." But is it?

I don't know who devises or dreams up these slimy slogans, as the late William Cardinal O'Connell used to call them, but I am sure that the inspiration for them does not come from angels and saints or from living persons destined to be angels and saints.

How can an honest, decent, God-fearing, God-loving American coexist in peace with murderers, assassins, blasphemers, torturers, and individuals who boast about their total denial of individual human dignity.

He can't, of course.

If he could achieve such a peaceful coexistence, his heart would be as black as the murderers, his soul as damned as the blasphemers, and his hands as bloody as the torturers.

Such an American would be no better morally than the debased people of the Middle Ages who went into the Black Forest of Germany to perform indecent rites at midnight and to offer their souls to Satan. Those self-damned individuals sought material gain on earth and for that they were willing to barter away all eternity. They were apostles of expediency. They cared only for the present and were not concerned with the morrow. So do the people who preach and practice peaceful coexistence with Russia in this supposedly enlightened year of 1954.

The slogan of peaceful coexistence is fastening on the public mind in a drum-beat sort of way, beginning softly, slowly, subtly, and increasing in tempo and force.

We shall hear a great deal more of these tom-toms of peace in the immediate future, for this is the new turn in the Communist propaganda line, but it is new only in the sense that it is being used again.

Actually, it is an old and highly effective trick out of the Kremlin's book of tactics. It is employed whenever time is needed—time to consolidate gains after a period of conquest, time to appease the long-suffering slaves of the Moscow tyranny, time to subdue the captive nations and wring out of their inhabitants, with force and violence, the last sparks of patriotism and revolt.

Twice in the memory of every person in this room, the trick has been employed by Moscow with spectacular results. We swooned for the siren song of peaceful coexistence in 1933 when we granted recognition to the minority government of Russia and thus saved that government from being overthrown and destroyed.

We closed our official eyes to the fact that priests and nuns, peasants and kulaks had been murdered by the millions for the crime of believing in God, to the evidence that churches and synagogues had been perverted into museums for the godless, to the knowledge that every Christian and Judiac ideal and principle had been ridiculed and reviled.

We protested but feebly when the men in the Kremlin, in brazen violation of their own written pledges, deluged our country with malicious and lying propaganda, infiltrated our schools, colleges, and labor unions, and did their utmost to foment a revolution.

We chose to look the other way when the Soviet Embassy in Washington became the center of a spy ring, frequently by traitorous and treasonable Americans whose names and identities are too well known to all of you to warrant a recital by me.

We lulled ourselves into believing or hoping that trade with the murderers and blasphemers of Russia would fatten our pocketbooks and bring on an era of enduring prosperity after the long depression. Of course, the Red currency might be gory with the blood of the innocent, but that did not matter to us, not much anyway.

We wanted business. We wanted trade. We wanted what we called normalcy. We wanted early riches. So did the self-damned men and women of the Middle Ages who surrendered their ideals and compromised with the Devil in Germany's Black Forest. Let's not add hypocrisy to our sins by saying that we were different.

A dozen years later the ruse worked again by wheedling from the United States and the Western World the fateful concessions of World War II that made Soviet Russia the only real victor of that conflict.

We had seen Josef Stalin enter into a treaty with Adolf Hitler—a treaty that was to produce the most horrible, most costly and most needless war that mankind had known.

We deluded ourselves into believing that the men in the Kremlin were democratic peace-lovers, and there are people in journalism, in radio and even in the United States Senate today who went so far as to liken Stalin and his murderous clique to Washington, Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln. And the great tragedy of our country is that those very people are controlling our national destinies at the present moment.

We sent Soviet Russia $13 billion in materials and supplies through lend-lease and other slick and sly political arrangements.

We mortgaged our economy to transfer Russia from one of the most backward agrarian nations in the world to one of the most highly industrialized.

We opened our homes, our schools, our factories, our laboratories and our hearts to military observers who flocked to our shores from Russia with espionage and destruction in their hearts.

We did not have to open our churches to them, because they were not interested in God or His goodness or greatness.

And when the war was over, including that part of the war in the Pacific which Russia had shunned until 5 days before its termination, we sat down at the peaceful coexistence table with Stalin and surrendered to him, millions of God-fearing, God-loving men, women, and children in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other unhappy lands.

There were 180,000,000 persons behind the Iron Curtain up to that time.

Now, due to the pacts of Yalta, Potsdam, and the Korean and Indochinese surrenders, there are 800 million.

Never before in all human history was there such a giveaway of human lives, or human souls, or such a betrayal of all that is decent and divine.

The great danger of our era is not the atomic bomb or the hydrogen bomb, although I would be the last person in the world to disparage or minimize the potentialities of the split atom. It is well within the realm of possibility, and even of probability, that a minor conflict such as the Formosa dispute may touch off an atomic war that will utterly destroy nations and turn back the clock of human progress a thousand years.

But I do not anticipate quick devastation of this type. The results are too obvious, too apparent to all governments, and no government provokes or promotes a war unless that government believes it has a reasonable chance to emerge victoriously.

Rather I look for wider, greater, and more frequent use by Russia of the provenly successful weapon of peaceful coexistence. Why worry about an enemy's body if you can capture his soul? Why resort to armed

force if mental ingenuity will accomplish much more?

Who then are the dangerous people in America? Who is most likely to succumb to the Communist propaganda of "you live your way and worship God while we go our way and do our utmost to destroy God"?

The most dangerous people in America are those who have no real belief in God and who are concerned only with pleasure, wealth, power, and pride. When you go to your church on Sunday morning and see an empty seat and tell yourself that the person who should be in that seat is negotiating a business deal, or playing golf or making political hay in the hope of getting a position of power and prestige, beware. The person who puts his own ambitions above his obligations to God is the kind of person who will turn a ready and willing ear to the music of peaceful coexistence with tyranny, brutality, and blasphemy.

And let us not forget that no less an authority than the Federal Council of Protestant Churches has stated that 60 million Americans never attend a church, never say a prayer, never read the Bible. If so many people can dismiss God so conveniently in normal times, it is illogical and inconsistent to assume that they will have much moral resistance when the choice is between standing up for God and sitting down and allowing God's sworn enemies to expand and grow stronger.

If we are going to win this cold war, if we are going to preserve and perpetuate our democratic institutions, if we are going to retain our freedom and liberty, we must place less emphasis on materialism and expediency and more emphasis on God and His Divine Word. Our churches, not our atomic bomb stockpiles, are our real arsenals; and those college professors, smart-aleck businessmen and pompous writers and editors who speak disparagingly of our churches are our real enemies.

These people are doing exactly what the Russians did a quarter of a century ago. Give them enough encouragement and they will be with the Russians, body and soul, a quarter of a century from now.

God is indeed a mighty fortress in these atheistic times; and if we are to survive, the hymn that wells in our hearts must be—

"Onward Christian soldiers, marching as to war
With the Cross of Jesus going on before."

What Is Freedom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial published February 23, 1954, for which Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa., awarded Griffin Daily News Editor Quimby Melton, Jr., its George Washington Honor Medal. It was the second medal the foundation has awarded Editor Melton. He won the first for a similar editorial published in 1951.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Mr. Melton is a distinguished veteran of combat service in World War II. He participated in practically all of the battle engagements in the southwest Pacific area from New Guinea through the recapture of the Philippines, and was awarded the Silver Star for gallantry in action. While he was serving in the southwest Pacific area his only brother, Lt. Fred Melton was killed in Europe. He, therefore, knows the cost and the price that must be paid for freedom. He believes in it and is not paying mere lip service to its principles. It is, therefore, with especial pleasure and pride that I include his prize-winning editorial in this issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

(By Quimby Melton, Jr.)

In the world fight of the free against the slave, America is attempting to tell what freedom is, and it is a difficult task.

How can you describe vision to a person blind from birth? How describe a symphony to one who has never heard? How describe God to an atheist?

Words are feeble when applied to a thing as glorious and as basic to Americans as our freedoms. We sense them, we realize them, we know they are ours. It is impossible for us to imagine life without them because they have been our since birth, our priceless heritage since the 18th century when Americans declared themselves to be free men whose freedom stemmed from the Lord God Almighty who created them and whose freedom could not be abridged by mere man though he called himself emperor, potentate of king.

This belief that man was created free by the Almighty God is the basic foundation of all American's freedoms and from this belief stems all the other beliefs which by right are ours.

Since God created man and endowed him with freedom, it follows without question that man has the right to worship his Creator as he pleases, a basic right of all Americans. Here in Spalding County, for example, there are dozens of denominations and religious sects, all seeking to persuade people to worship God as they are convinced He should be worshiped. But note that they seek to persuade, not to force, because no denomination regardless of its zeal can force anyone to follow its beliefs. Nor can any individual or group prevent any person from worshiping as he pleases, be it in the church, the synagogue, the cathedral or in the stillness of his heart in his own home or in a field.

Pursuing the basic principle of freedom further, it is apparent that since God created man and endowed him with freedom, and man and not God created government, a government exists solely to serve the people under its jurisdiction. It was created by them and for them and they were not created by or for it. Thus it is their servant and not their master. Furthermore, since God created all men and men created governments no man has the right to set himself above his fellowmen and to proclaim himself their master. Hence the theory of dictator nations is incorrect at the very beginning and dictatorships are built upon a theory as flimsy as a bubble of soap.

The fact that government is a servant of the people makes it obvious that the people by right should choose those who govern them and that the twin rights of free elections and secret ballots are theirs. And since a people cannot choose wisely unless they are informed, the rights of a free press and speech, the right to assemble, the right to petition for a redress of grievances are theirs.

Again since the government is a servant and not a master, the people are entitled to the services of the government as a protector against infringement of our individual rights, protection against nations and individuals which would take them from us. This, of course, entails responsibility as well as privilege because the protection can come only from collective action and requires such things as military service.

In communistic nations, the people serve the state instead of the state serving the people. So there is no right to own private property which is basic with us. There is no right to move about freely at home and abroad as we do. There are none of the legal protections which are ours such as the right to prompt trial by jury, habeas corpus, freedom from arbitrary government regulation and control and the right to contract about our affairs. There are none of the personal rights and privileges such as privacy of homes and person, choosing our own callings and the places we wish to follow them, bargaining with employers and employees, engaging in business, competing for a profit and bargaining for goods and services in a free market.

These things are so fundamentally ours that we think of them little more than we think of the air we breathe. But to Americans, life is just as inconceivable without freedom as it is without air.

What, then, is freedom? It is a fundamental part of people who realize that God created them and that they in turn created government as their servant, not as their master. It is as much a part of us and just as intangible as the souls which set us apart from the mechanical men and women with lusterless eyes and no hope in their hearts and whose sole purpose in a mechanical sort of life is to serve the state which is their master and which owns them body and soul.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to include in the RECORD a resolution unanimously voted by the Lithuanian Americans of the city of New Haven. The commemoration of Lithuanian Independence Day offers not only a display of the fearlessness, courage, spirit, and perseverance of this fine nation, but also it is a tragic reminder to us of the free world that the Soviet tyrants will stop at nothing in their fanatic obsession to annex the entire globe. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY VOTED BY THE LITHUANIAN AMERICANS OF THE CITY OF NEW HAVEN, CONN., AT THE OBSERVANCE OF THE 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE PEOPLE OF LITHUANIA, HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN-LITHUANIAN COUNCIL, AT THE ST. CASIMIR HALL, ON THE 27TH DAY OF FEBRUARY 1955

Whereas in 1940 Soviet Russia, in vicious conspiracy with Hitlerite Germany and in brutal violation of all the treaties and obligations solemnly underwritten by her, invaded Lithuania with armed forces and, against the will of the people, annexed her to the Soviet Union, and, in 1944, following the defeat of the German armies on the eastern front, again took over that country in complete disregard of the wartime policies and obligations to which the Soviet

Union was cosignatory with the United States and other allies of World War II;

Whereas for almost 15 years Lithuania, one of the Baltic nations, has borne the yoke of slavery, as a result of the brutal and unprovoked aggression by the Soviet Union;

Whereas the Kremlin conspirators are constantly trying to seduce the free nations to enter into agreements with the Soviet Union in hope of splitting their common defense efforts and gaining their tacit consent to the status quo of enslavement of millions of people under the heel of international communism: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this gathering of American citizens of Lithuanian descent of the city of New Haven pledge their wholehearted support of this great country's efforts to achieve lasting peace and justice in the world, and urge the Federal Government of the United States to respond to the demands of this crucial time in initiating a positive and dynamic political program against the international Communist conspiracy; be it finally

Resolved, That the Lithuanian Americans of New Haven, once again reaffirming their loyalty to the principles of American democracy, pledge their wholehearted support of the administration and Congress of the United States in their efforts to bring about a lasting peace, freedom, and justice in the world.

MATHEW VOHETARTIS,
President.
MARY JOKUBAITIS,
Secretary.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

The Booker T. Washington Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH Q. ALEXANDER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a statement by Rev. S. R. Johnson, Jr., of Salisbury, N. C., which appeared in the Journal and Guide of Norfolk, Va., on February 6, 1955, and also the Carolina Times, of Durham, N. C., on February 19, 1955:

THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON MEMORIAL

It has been reported to me through the columns of several newspapers that the B. T. Washington Memorial Birthplace Foundation, Rocky Mount, Va., has folded its arms and the founder now seeks to blame failure for this proposed project on the noncooperation of Negroes.

Nothing that begins wrong will end up right. From the very beginning as one who has followed this project it got off on the wrong foot. Some few years ago while working as a reporter for the Journal and Guide, a Negro weekly newspaper at Norfolk, Va., I was assigned to the coverage of the auction sale of the now reported defunct site of the Booker Washington birthplace.

On that dreary afternoon all kinds of mystery surrounded the purchaser of the site who outbid the late Thomas C. Walker, noted Negro lawyer, of Gloucester, Va., who along with Lee Waid, retired businessman of Rocky Mount, Va., and Conrad Martin, a banker of Danville, Va., and several others who were interested in the sale hoping that the Negro Organization Society of Virginia might develop the site not for commercial purposes, but to develop it as a shrine to the noted educator.

It was the thinking of Mr. Walker, Lee Waid, and others that the State of Virginia along with the society would contribute to the development of this shrine.

This dream was shattered by Mr. Phillips and several other mystery figures who were unknown in Franklin County. During the auction the Phillips' interest offered a skyrocket bid that was almost unreasonable considering the land. All who were present were amazed and wondered as to what was taking place but no one could get any information. At the close of the sale Mr. Phillips presented a check drawn on a bottling company for the amount of $500 as a downpayment. When asked what was to be done, those who inquired were told they would be surprised. No, they weren't surprised, but by now it seems as though Mr. Phillips is.

Mr. Walker left the sale brokenhearted and went back home outdone. For it was his conviction that outside interests had come in to exploit the name of Booker Washington to ride to national fame.

While in the capacity of a reporter, I was assigned to the dedication of the site that was later to be used as a memorial. On that day noted statesmen from Virginia came to hear a race orator who stood on the Franklin County Courthouse grounds in Rocky Mount, Va., telling of the life of Booker T. Washington.

It always seemed strange to me how people would be allowed to roam the streets peddling the United States silver for a profit that bore the image and name of Booker Washington. I was living in a big Virginia city (Norfolk) and saw peddlers going from place to place selling half-dollars for a dollar. What became of this profit?

On a recent visit to the memorial site one would not be too impressed to see incomplete buildings, rundown grounds, and a dull post office that had received so much publicity. What became of the profit? Was this a stab in the back at those who are doing a good job at Tuskegee? There ought to be a lot of explaining. The Negro race must not be blamed because one man made a failure and now seeks a way out.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Testimonial to Hon. Warren R. Austin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINSTON L. PROUTY
OF VERMONT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. Speaker, recently the Vermont Jewish Communities staged a testimonial to Ambassador Warren R. Austin in recognition of his historic contributions to the cause of world peace and to the establishment of Israel.

The occasion was highlighted by the presentation of a scroll marking the establishment of the Warren R. Austin Forest.

Ambassador Austin long championed the State of Israel and the Vermont Jewish Communities have most fittingly comemorated his labors by the planting of a forest in the soil of this land.

Mr. Speaker, in times of international crisis when others stood confused, alarmed, and vacillating, Ambassador Austin was a tower of strength confidently facing each challenge with firmness and resolution. His calm courage stilled the feeble voices of fear and pessimism and his unceasing devotion to the ideal of world peace will be remembered as long as history is recorded.

Some time ago it was my pleasure to visit Israel as a member of a study mission of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The achievements which the Israelis have made during the brief period of their independence are most impressive. I had the feeling while there that I was observing a vigor characteristic of people who enjoy the blessings of liberty and freedom.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I place in the Appendix of the RECORD the addresses which were given during the testimonial to the Honorable Warren R. Austin. These are as follows: Address by Rabbi Max B. Wall, address by His Excellency Ambassador Abba Eban, presentation of scroll to Warren R. Austin, and address by Warren R. Austin.

ADDRESS BY RABBI MAX B. WALL, OHAVI ZODEK SYNAGOGUE, BURLINGTON, VT., JANUARY 30, 1955

Reverend colleagues, distinguished guests, and friends, I deem it a great privilege to be able to serve as chairman for this afternoon's testimonial activities. My good friend, Saul S. Spiro, chairman of the Warren Austin Forest Committee, should have been the chairman this afternoon and I wish to thank him for his remarkable efforts in helping to make this meeting a reality.

We are gathered here to pay homage to a dear and beloved neighbor who is one of the most distinguished statesmen of our generation.

I wish to talk of a man and of a forest.

The man is well known to us as a neighbor who takes pride in his family, his friends, his record of service, and his apple orchard. How do we measure the stature of a man or of a people; surely not with a ruler by inches or feet.

The stature of Warren R. Austin dwarfs the Green Mountains from which he went forth into the world. He is tall because he has the far look—the vision—the inextinguishable confidence that holds forth the promise of peace and justice, freedom and rebirth for all men.

In the Senate and in the United Nations, he served the best interests and high purposes of our Nation and of the peoples of the world. He was always the symbol of that unswerving undiscourageable granite type Vermonter who makes no compromise with injustice, who is the upholder of the weak and the protector of the helpless.

It was in 1936 that Senator Austin went to the Holy Land for a tour—to see for himself what was going on in Palestine; and when he returned, his admiration and respect for the people and the land was not kept secret. In newspaper articles and in public statements as well as in private correspondence, he described with enthusiasm the effort of a small people that was trying to rebuild its ancient homeland and rebuild itself in the process.

No doubt he must have felt a certain kinship with the pinoeers in Palestine; for he was an American—he knew from his history, as he knew from his very being, what it means to be able to live in peace and freedom enjoying the fruit of one's own hard toil. His Christian upbringing and faith supplied him with the memory of ancient promises to a people too long tempest-tossed and friendless, promises of a return and rebuilding. He recalled with profound gratitude the blessings of heart and mind that resulted once when people and land were united. I am sure he prayed that the builders would rebuild and that the homeless would return and that children would once again play on the long neglected and sorely abused soil of Eretz Israel.

How fortunate for us who dreamed of Israel reborn that this devout spirit and courageous statesman represented our Nation in the United Nations during those hectic days of 1947 and 1948. How happy he must have been to speak forth along the lines which were to lead to the establishment of the State of Israel. The role that our Nation played in the establishment and recognition of the State of Israel was in the words of the Herald Tribune, Saturday, May 15, 1948, "the only one which was consonant with American traditions." The voice that spoke our country's mind came forth with confidence and power because the man who spoke did not merely fulfill orders. He was realizing a dream.

To this man, undeterred by threats of reprisal and boycott, we owe a debt of gratitude which can merely be expressed but not paid.

Therefore have we joined together and dedicated a living testimonial, a forest, to this man. It will grip the soil of Israel and hold it firm. It will fight the ravages of 2,000 years of heartless destruction and will remind people of an American whose heart was big enough to reach around the world.

This forest will remind us of the many bonds and invaluable links between our country and Israel. For our country borrowed from ancient Israel's quarry of faith—the Bible—the stones upon which to build its future. "Thou shalt proclaim liberty throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." And Israel of today took from our political heritage the essence of our great Declaration of Independence. We who are conscious of the shared spiritual heritage between our country and Israel are confident that the hand that built so well will continue to be the hand that upholds and supports.

We hope that the efforts of our own beloved friend to bring peace to the Middle East will meet with continued support from those who guide the destiny of our country. May we exert our influence to bring a real peace and with it an opportunity for both Arabs and Jews to live in brotherhood, each one enjoying freedom, prosperity, and peace.

We dedicate this forest planted in far-away Israel in loving and heart-felt tribute to a man—may it bring with it the blessings of old to a land and an area of the world in need of peace and plenty. May he, whose name it will bear, live to see the fruits of his efforts to bring about a better world. May he be as the psalmist of old described, "And he shall be like a tree planted by streams of water that bringeth forth its fruit in its season, and whose leaf does not wither, and in whatsoever he doeth he shall prosper."

The man and the forest—long may they live and blessed may they be.

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY AMBASSADOR ABBA EBAN, BURLINGTON, VT., JANUARY 30, 1955

Rabbi Wall, Your Excellency Governor Johnson, Ambassador and Mrs. Austin, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, a generous and graceful impulse has arisen in the Jewish communities of this mountain State. You have gathered here in tribute to a fellow citizen whose voice has carried the name of Vermont in accents of dignity and peace across the continents and oceans of the world.

There is a good foundation for your pride, and a fine sense of propriety in your method of attesting it. It has occurred to you in a flash of brilliant intuition that after many years of unlimited debate in the Senate of the United States and in the United Nations, your honored guest could not be granted anything more enjoyable or original than the opportunity to come here and listen to a lot of speeches. This reminds us of the new spirit of diplomatic life. Diplomacy was traditionally associated with qualities of reticence. Behind a silent exterior our predecessors in the diplomatic craft were assumed to harbor an invisible abundance of wisdom and knowledge. In this age of television and of diplomacy by conference all that is changed. An ambassador today might well be described as a man who can approach any international question with an open mouth.

But if our voices must be heard, they could not be uplifted in a higher cause than that which brings us here together in affection and fraternity around Warren R. Austin, Senator and Ambassador of the United States. At the end of the Second World War his statesmanship and eloquence, which had until then been in the service of his State and country, became a potent weapon in a universal cause. We all remember the poignant hopes with which our suffering generation accompanied the establishment of a universal forum dedicated to international peace. The world has risen battered from the ravages and anguish of the war. Millions of human beings had been its vic-

tims. Vast areas had been devastated. But the worst terrors of the recent conflict were obscured by the fearful vision revealed by the blinding explosion of Hiroshima. Man, by his conquest of nature, had made warfare a transgression which this planet could no longer afford.

This new dread reinforced the passion with which we began to dream of a world society in which sovereign states would be bound by the restraints and sanctions that guard us against indignity, dispossession, and assault.

Amidst these high hopes and grim anxieties there gathered in San Francisco the representatives of the world's sovereign states who founded the United Nations as the bulwark of man's eternal hope of peace.

It is customary in some circles to describe these high hopes of 1945 against the disillusionment and disappointment of the succeeding years. It has become a fashion to describe the achievements of the United Nations in terms of failure and frustration. I would address to you a warning against such an erroneous judgment. True, the great alliance upon which the United Nations was established soon fell apart. The intrinsic conflict between the doctrines of freedom and the theories of totalitarianism reflected itself in the field of international relations. Thus there grew up this widening chasm which has divided the free world from the world of totalitarianism in the arena of international politics. As a result the organs of the United Nations were paralyzed and frustrated. Their beneficial interventions in the cause of peace were obstructed by disagreements and vetoes.

Yet it would be an error to generalize this failure into a basic disillusionment. Anyone who imagined that world society could spring into existence overnight in a single spasm of history was seriously misguided. Surely a cause so vital as this deserved the opportunity of trial and error, of victory and defeat. All expansions in the sense of community have been difficult and slow. First, the family alone recognized mutual obligations toward its members. Later the sense of community spread from family to tribe, from tribe to village, from village to city, from city to state, from sovereign State to the great systems of federal government such as that which is so inspiringly expressed in your own Constitution. The last and most crucial victory for the expanding sense of community has still to be achieved. This is all that the United Nations means—that there should exist between sovereign states the same kind of relationships of law and of mutual respect that exist amongst citizens and groups within the framework of our individual States. So long as we can see a progress, and evolution toward that goal, the United Nations is no failure, and its record should not be written in terms of despair.

Even against the background of global conflict the United Nations has many glittering inscriptions upon its banner. In 1948 and 1949, during which our guest of honor led the deliberations of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, international conciliation brought an end of warfare to three parts of the world, in Indonesia, Kashmir, and in the Holy Land. Then in 1950 there came the most vital and significant step of all. For the first time collective resistance to aggression was organized in Korea beneath the banner of a universal organization. If there ever comes a time when the habits and restraints of law prevail in international relations, men will look back upon the United Nations action against aggression in Korea as one of the authentic points of climax in the history of civilization.

The United Nations has also enriched and broadened the concepts of economic and social cooperation. Its efforts have been illuminated by sudden flashes of inspiration, such as that which enabled us a few months ago to adopt a unanimous program in the General Assembly for harnessing atomic energy to peaceful ends.

In all the achievement of the United Nations for many years Ambassador Austin was America's voice, and, therefore, the voice of greater stature and influence. And amongst these achievements one stands out with special radiance. This was the sudden emergence of the Jewish people to sovereignty upon its ancestral native soil. The Jewish people had been the greatest victim of the Nazi holocaust. Six million of our people had perished in Europe. Out of the darkest depths of man's divided nature there had sprung at the throat of the Jewish people the most violent hatred which had ever distorted the spirit of man. This was the lowest ebb in the fortunes of our people in the 4,000 years of continuous history. Yet as the nations of the world gathered in San Francisco, they faced a deep moral danger—that all peoples would be established in freedom—except the people which needed it most. Every country would be given its area of sovereignty and liberty, except the people which had been the chief target of totalitarian fury. If the world society had been built on this discrimination its moral character would have been indelibly stained. From this reproach the world purged itself by the great process which began in 1947 and carried itself forward in the ensuing years. The world, represented in the United Nations said, "Just as it is right for the Arab States to possess and enjoy their unlimited resources of political and natural power, their multiple influence in international councils, just as it is right that Arab emancipation should be carried out in such lavish measure, so it cannot be wrong for the Jewish people to enjoy the peaceful possession of its small but cherished home." There was to be freedom and sovereignty for both the peoples of our ancient region, for Arab peoples within the shelter of their vast domain, and for Israel in the land which it had immortalized in ancient times. This was the mature judgment of international equity.

So many unique circumstances came together here to mark the establishment of our State as an event conceived in the highest dimensions of human history. First it was a victory of faith against all the calculations of chance. There were no conditions which would lead a rational man to believe that the reestablishment of the Jewish homeland was still possible. Yet in a moment we passed from a world in which the establishment of a free Israel seemed inconceivable to a world which seemed inconceivable without its existence. This event is a crushing argument in the great discussion between the sovereignty of faith, the belief in the human will as an active agent of history, against the fatalistic deterministic doctrines of history which see the human being as the passive and helpless object of historic processes.

It was also a rescue of a people at the lowest ebb of its fortunes; an opportunity to restore to our land its ancient fertility as described in our Hebrew literature "the perfection of beauty, the joy of the entire earth."

It was an exercise in democracy; we have planted in the continent of Asia, dominated by dictatorships and tyranny, a sanctuary for the democratic way of life based upon the principle that government derives its just power from the consent of the governed. Finally, Israel's rebirth gave a new dimension of completeness to the international community. I often reflect that the family of sovereign nations is also the family of the human cultures and civilizations. There are some 30 states in our midst which, whatever their attitude toward formal religion, symbolize the Christian ethic and ideal. Fifteen countries are dominated by the heritage of Islam; 3 or 4 new sovereignties in Asia uphold the Buddhist system of thought and life. There is no lack of states which adhere to the materialistic doctrines. But until 1949, 1 voice alone was missing, 1 voice did not have expression, could not respond to the challenge of statehood, society, and international relations. This was the original Hebrew voice. When we reflect upon the influence which the Hebrew mind has exerted on the course of human history its absence from the family of nations was surely an intolerable paradox.

Thus by our admission to the United Nations proposed and sponsored by Warren R. Austin on behalf of the United States, a new dimension was given to the world community. A new voice—the oldest voice—was added to the symphony of freedom.

Here I have briefly recounted the events which gave to Israel's rise a stature beyond our physical limitations. The Security Council, despite its limitations in other areas, powerfully influenced the new pattern of international relations in the Middle East.

First it localized and curtailed hostilities in 1949 and confirmed the armistice agreements which govern the rights of Israel and the Arab States. Second it initiated Israel's membership, thus completing the structure of our international status. Third, in 1951 it established, in the case of the Suez Canal, the principle of nonbelligerency and discredited the theory of a continuing state of war.

By these acts the Security Council laid the foundations for normal political relations in the Middle East.

It was my privilege to work with Mr. Austin in each of these discussions. His statesmanship was pervaded by deep stirrup of conscience. How could any American who drew his roots from this green soil fail to be inspired by the memories which Israel evoked? Israel, like America, was a land of immigrants opening its doors to the dispossessed. Israel, like America, was a land of pioneers. Israel, like America, was a country of tolerance and diversity, united so many creeds and backgrounds into the unifying discipline of a new nation. Israel, like America, was devoted to democracy, with its conception of personal and social freedom. America, like Israel, acknowledges allegiance to the laws of individual rectitude, social justice, and universal peace, first proclaimed by immortal voices in the hills and valleys of Israel, and later to become the heritage and consolation of all mankind.

Is it not natural, therefore, that our two countries have trod so many roads together and that many of the chapters of American-Israel relations have been written in the United Nations?

These thoughts, these memories of many advance and some setbacks crowd in upon me at this moment as I come to bring the gratitude of my government to one who helped to strengthen our country's early steps upon the universal stage. The State of Israel is now nearly 7 years old. It is a full member of the world community. Year by year it strengthens its foundations, increases its economic strength, intensifies its industrial activity, reinvigorates its undying devotion to the achievements of mind and spirit, sets an example of dynamic progress to its region and its continent. It has become recognized and befriended by many countries and people. We are grateful to them all. But we would be less than human if we did not have a special place in our hearts for those who befriended us when we were alone, those who went with us in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown. Such a friendship, deep and enduring, belongs from us toward your honored citizen and guest. Ambassador Austin was the father and pioneer of the American tradition in the work of the United Nations. He moved with strength

and dignity in high issues of conflict and conciliation. He has written his name on many great debates of this generation. Yet, I believe that as he looks back, he will find no greater spiritual satisfaction than that belonging to his role in assisting this small but venerable people to reassume its place of freedom in the family of nations after the torments and anguish of 2,000 bitter years.

We are a small people, we have no decorations or orders of chivalry: We can therefore bestow upon your guest the only honor that is in our power; we have written his name in green words of trees upon the landscape of our country. Perhaps in so doing we have endowed him with a precious immortality. This is a people which writes its history with an eternal pen. Nothing that ever happened to our country and our people have ever been forgotten. Therefore, as this forest casts its shade over our hallowed land, may Ambassador and Mrs. Austin derive the deep proud satisfaction of knowing that their names are established with honor upon a grateful and incomparable soil.

PRESENTATION OF SCROLL TO WARREN R. AUSTIN BY DR. ARTHUR GLADSTONE

As president of the Vermont Jewish Council, I am indeed grateful to Mr. Saul S. Spiro, the chairman of the testimonial, for having given me the honor of making this presentation. Dr. Weizmann, a world-renowned Zionist and the first president of the State of Israel, once said that it is characteristic of the Jewish people to forgive and forget its enemies but to remember its friends.

So, today, Vermont Jewry is acting in the tradition of the Jewish people in honoring a friend; and we are indeed honored to play this part in the drama of perpetuating the name of Warren R. Austin in the Holy Land. I, therefore, wish, on behalf of the Jewish communities in Vermont, to present this scroll to Ambassador Austin, which reads:

"JEWISH NATIONAL FUND FOREST IN TRIBUTE TO WARREN R. AUSTIN

"For his manifold, invaluable services to mankind, his outstanding contribution to the cause of freedom and democracy.

"In everlasting gratitude for his glorious part in the historic drama of the restoration of Israel, when, as United States Ambassador to the United Nations, he threw the power and influence of America on the side of the creation of the State of Israel, thus aiding in the fulfillment of the prayerful hopes and aspirations of countless Jewish generations.

"This scroll is presented marking the establishment of the Warren R. Austin Forest which the grateful Jewish community of the State of Vermont is planting in his honor, forever linking his name with the soil of Israel.

"In witness whereof we have subscribed our names and affixed our seal on the 30th day of January 1955 (the 7th day of Shvat 5715).

"JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA,
"MENDEL N. FISHER, *Executive Director.*
"HARRIS J. LEVINE, *President.*
"SAUL S. SPIRO,
"Chairman, Jewish Communities, State of Vermont."

ADDRESS BY HON. WARREN R. AUSTIN

Dr. Gladstone, very distinguished and esteemed gentlemen and ladies, I wish that the time could be given to us to eulogize the names of all of you. I feel that I have not in many years seen such a galaxy of distinguished people as I face today in this audience, and on this stage. Thank you all who are here in this magnificent synagogue center, and thank you the Vermont Jewish communities and the Jewish national fund. Your noble award of a Warren R. Austin Forest planted in the soil of Israel will promote peace through the United Nations among all people. My gratitude is too great for adequate expression, but if there is not time for more than this, I am determined to tell you the experience that Mrs. Austin and I had in seeing and understanding that faith is the real power in Christendom and in the whole world. For countless centuries there has been a covenant with God that there shall be a promised land for the chosen people. In the 20th century before Christ, "By faith Abraham sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise" (Hebrews, 11:9). Though constantly repeated covenants and promises were declared in sacred testaments, yet the fulfillment had not arrived until after a tremendous concentration of the faith of the Jews effected it, and brought it on—almost like a miracle—in a moment—as it were.

Now I lack the time to tell the full story, but this I must do. I must repeat these thoughts which Mrs. Austin and I inscribed while we were touring the Holy Land. We were studying Palestine under extremely difficult conditions, for a terror existed in that part of the world. Then and there we felt these conditions which are, I believe, the proof of the faith which was strong enough to achieve an independent state based on the venerable prophesy. This was after a great world war, when thought of the promise was cherished by the Jews. Already Jews and Zion began to aspire for a political state; not merely a national home for Jews—not merely a center of spiritual and cultural achievement. Dr. Weizmann, at Paris in 1919, at the Conference for Peace, spoke of the home that was considered at that time under the proposed mandate should be a state which is Jewish, wholly Jewish, as Jewish as America is American, or England is English. Later, in 1922, the point was made again by a great historian, a great statesman, Hughes, the Secretary of State of the United States, in a letter to Lord Balfour. He called the "home" the Jewish state. So, through modern times, we find the ideal of the fulfillment of the faith in a state, not merely a home in somebody else's state, but a state, an independent state.

We wrote down the following as we were traveling home:

"It is undeniable the vigor and self-discipline on the part of the Jewish immigrants and a determination to redeem the land of their forefathers and to erect a home for their race in the promised land have achieved miraculous transformations. Deserts have become forests, swamps have become orchards and vineyards. 'Milk and honey' has become again descriptive of that part of the land cultivated by the Jews. Health for Jews and Arabs alike has been promoted by the jurification of the water and amplification of its supply. Drainage, sewage, and other hygienic works, especially the health centers and the excellent hospitals and dispensaries operated by the Hadassah, have materially improved the lives of the inhabitants. The infant mortality rates have dropped sharply. Educational facilities are widely developed, culminating in excellent universities, both Jewish and Arab. Palestine boasts a high per capita school budget in the Near East.

"The political and economic issues involved in the reconstruction of the Holy Land under the mandate compelled the attention of American public opinion (1936). In addition, the monumental example set by the Jews of Palestine of obedience to constituted authority and exercise of self-restraint under terrific provocations during the prevailing terrorism justifies a sympathetic interest in the promotion of a national home for the Jews by all friends of humanity and peace."

Much more I would like to add to this, but I must shorten what I have to say.

The ambition for a state was the perfectly natural irrestible effect of that dynamic power which the Jewish pioneer brought to Palestine. It cannot be measured by yardsticks of economics though they were very important. Four hundred and fifty million dollars of capital had been brought in through Zionist people, and others, to Palestine at that time, in 1936, and constructive use made of it in agriculture and industry, and public works and services, and the budget showed adequate surplus. I don't know how much more since then. It had tremendous implications to the welfare and the power of the Jewish people. Now then, under the mandate, it was impossible to create a political state. Nevertheless, as soon as the mandate was terminated, immediately, on May 14, 1948, when the Jews were relieved from the limitations of trusteeship, a political State of Israel was declared, and almost forthwith the Government of the United States recognized that political State of Israel.

Thereupon commenced that period of conflict and debate which followed in the Security Council. And there we found indeed a great champion of freedom, of righteousness, of execution of the Security Council, which has been maintained and glorified since that time, Ambassador Abba Eban. Within 2 years after the problem was presented to the United Nations, the State of Israel was born, without a major war; fighting had been stopped, and the way paved for lasting peace, in an area where all previous efforts at peaceful settlement had failed during 30 years and bloodshed.

I must close by saying that it was a great honor to me to be associated with such a wonderful statesman and cultured gentleman as Ambassador Eban. I sat near him throughout the great debate in the Security Council which resulted during the period of 2 years, ending in 1949, with the adoption of four armistice agreements signed between the new State of Israel and its Arab neighbors. Simultaneously, a United Nations Conciliation Commission began mediation for a settlement in the Holy Land.

And now while the world still remains in a problem of how it is to maintain peace all over the world, how we may promote it, I must say that I am still of the opinion that faith is the only real way of arriving at that goal. I want to announnce publicly that I have that faith myself, that is so beautifully expressed in these words by Samuel Longfellow:

"Thy hand in all things I behold,
And all things in Thy hand."

The Leading Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following broadcast:

CBS RADIO PRESENTS THE LEADING QUESTION, FEBRUARY 27, 1955

Participants: Hon. FRANCIS E. WALTER, chairman, House Un-American Activities Committee, and Hon. William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General in charge of Internal Security Division.

They will give their answers to the lead-question: "How effective are former Communists as witnesses?"

Moderator: Dwight Cooke.

Producer: Nancy Hanschman.

Mr. COOKE. How effective are former Communists as witnesses?

Well, gentleman, recent events have raised this whole question of how effective former Communists are as witnesses, and for that matter, how useful they are and how desirable they are.

Of course, I suppose the item of news which has spurred interest in this overall subject has been the recent testimony of one Harvey Matusow, who has now, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, testified that he has been a perpetual and habitual liar, and I believe he was involved in testifying against some 180 persons by name.

Other witnesses also have changed their minds, or decided what they said was not so.

Does this mean, Congressman WALTER, that most former Communists should not be depended on as witnesses?

Mr. WALTER. Of course it does not. To my mind it indicates that the anti-anti-Communist drive is succeeding.

Mr. COOKE. Wait a minute, a double negative is takable, but the pro-Communist drive then——

Mr. WALTER. That's it exactly. It's technically called the anti-anti-Communist drive, Mr. Cooke, but I certainly feel that the American people are quite fortunate in having people who are willing to make the sacrifices that they do make, in order to learn about the machinations of this conspiracy, willing to come forward and assist the agencies of Government in exposing this international conspiracy.

Mr. COOKE. Well now, Congressman Walter, are we not talking simultaneously about two different groups of people involved here now? First, the former Communist, like Harvey Matusow; and, second, the Americans who never were Communists, but who infiltrated into the Communist movement so that they would help the United States against it.

Mr. WALTER. That is correct.

Mr. COOKE. Do you also have praise for the first group, the former Communists themselves?

Mr. WALTER. I find it very difficult to bring myself around to praising anybody who, at any time, was a member of an organization that had as its purpose the overthrow of this Republic. However, they have apparently seen the light and are willing to atone for the dreadful mistakes that they made.

Mr. COOKE. So far we have only heard from the legislative branch of the Government.

Mr. Tompkins, how about the executive branch?

Mr. TOMPKINS. Mr. Cooke, I'd like to say this: first of all you must remember that former Communists have given very valuable testimony concerning the revolutionary principles of the Communist Party; and you should also bear in mind that their testimony has been subjected, in each instance, to extended and intensive cross-examination by highly competent counsel.

Some of their cross-examination has lasted for several weeks. Now, the testimony of these witnesses, furthermore, has been weighed by numerous American juries, and it has been found credible.

Now, so far the 85 defendants that we have tried for conspiring to violate the Smith Act, and for, and in one membership case which recently terminated here in Chicago, 82 have been convicted.

Now, I can't give you a more convincing yardstick of these witnesses.

Mr. COOKE. These witnesses being carefully tested before you present them all, as part of the case?

Mr. TOMPKINS. Very definitely so. In a preparation for a case, a host of reports have to be digested, a lot of material has to be correlated, the witnesses have to be interviewed, and you must remember that in many of these cases the witnesses are going back many years, searching their recollection.

Now, some of them may have notes from the time that they were members of this Communist conspiracy, but others are searching back maybe 10 or 12 years.

Mr. COOKE. And yet, gentlemen, I can hear some of your listeners say, "I have been reading about a character called Harvey Matusow. He says he was a liar when he testified to the things which helped cause court decisions and jury decisions to be made in one way or another. What kind of a witness was he then, or what kind of a witness was he now?"

Mr. WALTER. Well, maybe I could answer that best, Mr. Tompkins, because I heard Matusow testify before the Committee on Un-American Activities, and it seems to me that before I mentioned his testimony, it might be well for me to point out what that committee does in order to attempt to establish the credibility and honesty of the witness before its called.

In the first place, and, General, may I say that we call on the Department of Justice for information? Is that revealing any secrets?

Well, we obtain a report from the FBI, and its judgment as to whether or not a witness is responsible and trustworthy, reliable, and honest.

Then we turn to the other agencies of Government concerned with people of this sort, and direct the same inquiry to them. Then the witness is interrogated in executive session by an investigator or counsel for the committee.

Then a report is made to the committee, as to whether or not in the judgment of the person who was charged with the responsibility of making this preliminary inquiry, this person is trustworthy.

The committee then acts, usually on the recommendation of the investigator or the attorney.

Now, that's exactly what happened with Matusow. We were of the opinion that the man was trustworthy and reliable. His story to the committee was absolutely straightforward. I saw nothing in it to indicate that it was colored, and having had the experience of trying literally hundreds of cases in the courts, and knowing something about witnesses, I felt positive that this man was telling the truth.

And, let me tell you, Mr. Cooke, I am convinced that he did tell the truth when he testified before our committee.

Subsequently, we heard stories about his recanting, we called Mr. Matusow a second time, took his original testimony and asked him questions on the original testimony, and he reaffirmed everything that he had said originally.

Now, and that is why I am thoroughly convinced that the fellow is now an emissary of the anti-anti-Communist movement, because when he said that he didn't tell the truth beforee our committee, then I say it was then that he lied.

Mr. COOKE. So in other words you believe now that Matusow is lying in order to help the Communist Party by impugning witnesses who've testified against people they claimed were Communists.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Cooke, not only to aid the Communist Party, but in order to try to prevent justice from being done in the cases of those conspirators who were convicted and are faced with the serving of terms in the penitentiary.

Mr. TOMPKINS. Mr. Cooke, and Congressman WALTER, I'd like to point out one very fundamental fact: People say why do you have to use these witnesses, and I'd like to quote a very famous jurist, American jurist, Judge Learned Hand, speaking for the court of appeals in the famous Dennis case, wherein the judge said:

"Courts have countenanced the use of informers from time immemorial in cases of conspiracy or in other cases when the crime consists of preparing for another crime. It is usually necessary to rely upon informers or accomplices because the criminals will almost certainly proceed covertly."

Now, the Communists and some of the Soviet apologists and some of the left-wingers have attempted to connote something evil in the term "informer."

In other words, they have tried to cast a shadow over every one of these witnesses who will come forward and testify for the Government.

Now, a second thing that I think you should be mindful of, in the country today, there is an article that appeared in the January 30 issue of the Denver Post, and it was a very blunt announcement that the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and I think all of us know what kind of an organization that is, and that it was expelled from the CIO——

Mr. WALTER. May I interrupt, Mr. Tompkins, for the benefit of those people who don't know what it is, let me say categorically that it is a Communist-dominated union.

Mr. TOMPKINS. Thank you, Congressman.

The International Union, at any rate, announced publicly that they were going to start a drive to discredit Government witnesses who were appearing against Maurice Travis, the union secretary-treasurer, who is awaiting trial in Denver's Federal District Court.

They have made no bones about it, that they are going to use every means to discredit the Government witnesses.

Mr. COOKE. In your statement——

Mr. WALTER. Well now, may I interrupt at that point?

Mr. COOKE. Go ahead.

Mr. WALTER. And isn't it a fact that this same union has purchased 6,000 copies of Matusow's book, which is now on the presses?

Mr. TOMPKINS. Congressman, if you will accept that amendment, it's gone up. I think it's closer to 10,000 right today.

Mr. WALTER. Well, of course it will go up, as is necessary to maintain this man.

Mr. COOKE. Well now, a minute ago Mr. Tompkins used a phrase I would like to have him expand a little bit.

You have been stressing how you believe people like Matusow are an attempt to impugn witnesses which help you convict Communists.

You used the phrase, Mr. Tompkins, "Communists," and I don't remember it specifically, it doesn't matter, and left-wingers, something to that effect.

Would you like to expand that last part of that phrase a bit, because——

Mr. TOMPKINS. Well, the only way I can expand it is this: We expect to see the Daily Worker come out and denounce these witnesses, but we are very, very much mystified at some apparently respectable writers who have been carrying on a consistent campaign to discredit; and I might say some of these writers had an advance copy of Mr. Matusow's book.

Mr. COOKE. Are you thinking of a certain columnist specifically who said he'd read it, and every page had been signed by Mr. Matusow?

Mr. TOMPKINS. That's correct.

Mr. WALTER. Well, I might inform you gentlemen that I have a copy of the book here, with me, and I brought it over just because I thought that at some time or other in this discussion with the distinguished Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States somebody might raise the question about the loyalty of this man at any time.

And I think that right at the very beginning he makes it very apparent that he has always been a Communist, in addition to his testimony before the Senate the other day, when he questioned whether or not there

was any international conspiracy; but here is what he says in his book:

"My second act of political agitation was a violent one. I threw a rock through the window of the Young Communist League headquarters in my neighborhood. I knew nothing about communism, and cared less, because communism was bad and I feared and hated it.

"I lost my fear while in Europe when I met my first Communists face to face, two members of my infantry company were party members and, to my great surprise, I liked them.

"On occasion I went to Paris and there I met a number of French Communists. I found I respected them. They had all been active in the underground movement, fighting on the same side, in the same war, and for the same cause that brought me to Europe."

Now, gentlemen, I submit that as exhibit A of my charge that this man has always been a Communist, because if that isn't the Communist Party line, then I don't know what the Communist Party line is.

Mr. TOMPKINS. Well, I think the Congressman and I have very, very strong suspicions that Mr. Matusow had no such book in mind until he fell afoul of the Communists. I think that one of the publishers of his book pleaded the fifth amendment when questioned before a Senate committee last year in Boston.

Mr. COOKE. Not about this book, though?

Mr. TOMPKINS. Not about this book, no; the book was not in being then, I don't believe.

I think it's also interesting to note, in connection with Mr. Matusow's testimony now, in which he repudiates his testimony concerned with Clinton Jencks, an official of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Union. It's interesting to note that Mr. Matusow now has retracted his testimony, and I'd like to cite this as an example of whether his present retraction is in good faith.

When a Senate committee had a hearing, I believe it was out in Salt Lake, Mr. Matusow testified that Mr. Jencks, I believe, was a member of the party.

When Mr. Jencks was confronted by Matusow, put under oath and asked whether he was a member of the party, he pleaded the fifth amendment.

Now, I don't think it takes much reasoning to come to the conclusion as to why he pleaded the fifth amendment, and as to whether or not Mr. Matusow was then telling the truth.

Mr. WALTER. Now, General, right at that point, may I ask you this: A number of people have minimized the importance of pleading the fifth amendment. Of course, I recognize the fact that there are some people who have firm convictions about testifying; but don't you—hasn't it been your experience in checking over the people who have used the fifth amendment, that they are Communists and have a Communist background, and are using the fifth amendment instead of admitting that they are Communists?

Mr. TOMPKINS. Oh, I think that's absolutely correct, Congressman WALTER.

Mr. WALTER. Well, it's very interesting to me, in examining Matusow's testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities with respect to a youth organization. He named a number of people, and I say to you quite frankly that we have subpenaed these people, not for the purpose of corroborationg Matusow's testimony but for the purpose of establishing by other means the fact that these youth organizations against which he testified are, in fact, Communist organizations.

And it would be interesting to me to see how many of the people we've subpenaed will plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. TOMPKINS. I think you will have quite a large group of them, Congressman.

Mr. WALTER. I am sure we will.

Mr. COOKE. There is one point I wanted to clear up, Congressman WALTER:

Are you suggesting that anyone who pleads the fifth amendment, namely, that says "I will not answer the question, because it would in some way criminally involve me," is, therefore, necessarily assumed to be a Communist?

Mr. WALTER. No, sir; nothing further from the truth. However, it's important, insofar as the Committee on Un-American Activities is concerned, to bear this in mind: That the people who have advanced the fifth amendment, have pleaded the fifth amendment, to use the vernacular, are people that we know are Communists.

Mr. TOMPKINS. Well, let me clear up one point, Mr. Cooke, in view of the question you just asked Congressman WALTER: Just remember this, you cannot plead the fifth amendment unless you have a reasonable apprehension that a truthful answer will incriminate you or expose you to a criminal charge.

Mr. COOKE. You can't plead it on matters of, so to speak, faith and conviction, that you don't believe that a committee has any right to ask you the question, and therefore you are not going——

Mr. TOMPKINS. I don't think you have any legal ground, so to plead it.

Mr. WALTER. That's right.

Mr. TOMPKINS. And these people are well advised by counsel, they have them outside grand-jury rooms, and next to them at hearings, and next to them at trials.

Mr. COOKE. So that a counsel says, "You can't—look here no matter what your conviction is here, you cannot plead the fifth amendment unless you have something to hide."

Mr. TOMPKINS. That's correct.

Mr. COOKE. Now, let me say——

Mr. WALTER. Wait a minute; I want to interrupt you at that point.

Mr. COOKE. We have two lawyers, and here we go.

Mr. WALTER. No, it isn't "here we go"; but you are overlooking this, Mr. Tompkins: Some of the members of the legal profession—I don't call them lawyers—you know there is a distinction between a member of the bar and being a lawyer——

Mr. TOMPKINS. That's right.

Mr. WALTER (continuing). But some of these members of the profession that you and I are members of, and are proud of, are the kind of characters who would attempt to prevent congressional inquiries from taking their full course, and would impede their work by advising their clients to hide behind the fifth amendment for no reason at all except that they, the lawyers, were desirous of preventing the truth from being known.

Mr. TOMPKINS. Congressman, you are absolutely right. I intended to bring out that point, sir. It's been my experience, in many cases, that you can pick any name out of the air; I've picked famous ballplayers, prizefighters, and people sitting next to me in grand-jury rooms, and the Communists have taken the fifth amendment.

Now, in other words, let me make this clear, and the Congressman, I think, has already made it clear—they don't plead the fifth amendment in good faith.

Mr. COOKE. All right; thank you——

Mr. WALTER. Well, I think the most dramatic instance of that comes from my own community, where a man came down here to testify—came to Washington to testify before a Senate committee—and he was approached in the Senate by a member of the bar who has appeared in a great many of these cases, who offered him his services. This man said he didn't have a lawyer, didn't want a lawyer, because he was going to testify, and this member of the Washington bar advised the man to plead the fifth amendment, which he did; he went back home to Easton, Pa., and lost his job as a steelworker.

Mr. COOKE. Mentioning Pennsylvania brings up another case, Mr. WALTER.

So far, the only witness we've mentioned by name here has been Harvey Matusow. There was a woman who testified in a hearing before the FCC, I believe, she testified first linking the owner of this television station with Communist activities, and then later retestified and said all that was false.

Where does she fall into the general picture here?

Mr. WALTER. Well, Im afraid that the FCC has gotten around to the point where a general investigation of its activities is indicated. I couldn't imagine anybody calling the kind of a witness this woman apparently is, and giving credence to her testimony.

Mr. TOMPKINS. You want to—you brought in the name of another witness now, Mr. Cooke, and I want to bring in the name of still another one that I know the Congressman is familiar with.

Mr. COOKE. I didn't name her, but I referred to her.

Mr. TOMPKINS. Well, I will mention one right now that some of those who seek to undermine the Government's program have attacked—Paul Crouch. They attacked Paul Crouch for his testimony in the Philadelphia Smith Act case which was concluded here last summer. They claimed it was at variance with the testimony that he gave in the Harry Bridges case on the west coast, when he was asked did he know 98 different names, in rapid succession.

Now, let me say this: The Government could have corroborated Mr. Crouch's testimony in Philadelphia with another witness, but for reasons of security we can't, you know, always use all witnesses at a given time, for reasons of security that witness was not used; but I want to make this very clear, that Mr. Crouch's testimony in Philadelphia could be corroborated.

Mr. WALTER. Why was it necessary? One of those witnesses up there, one of the defendants up there, admitted that he was a Communist, but he said it wasn't a crime.

Mr. TOMPKINS. That's exactly right——

Mr. WALTER. Now, they are going to try to impeach Crouch's testimony because he testified against a man who admitted he was guilty.

Mr. TOMPKINS. Well, of course, as you know, Congressman, the Communists and their supporters want to confuse and mislead the American people.

Mr. COOKE. There's one area you gentlemen, I know, are interested in, we haven't had a chance to focus on.

Mr. WALTER mentioned it for a minute, and that's the area of witnesses who have gone into the Communist Party for you, or gone into other organizations to infiltrate and then report back. There are people who have accused them of being tattlers, spies, un-American, all kinds of things.

Mr. WALTER. Yes, that term "tattlers" reminds me of my own hometown newspaper where the editor describes a great patriotic American's testimony as tattling.

I want to tell you that it takes a great deal of courage to do what these people have done, to go into the Communist Party, lead the kind of lives that they lead when they are in it, only in order to make a contribution to the preservation of our institutions; and I think that they are deserving of a great deal of credit.

They are really the unsung heroes of this cold war.

Mr. TOMPKINS. Well, that's exactly right. I want to reiterate what the Congressman has said about these citizens who—he and I, I know, feel very strongly—are patriotic citi-

zens. For example, one of these informants had to discontinue attending his church functions because of the antagonism shown toward what were believed to be his Communist activities. The children of his neighbors were not permitted to play with his boys and girls because their father was considered a Communist.

Now, when they come and testify, editorials—they have gotten editorial support and help in everything. Now, why is it that certain people now see fit to call them "stool pigeons"?

I disagree.

Mr. COOKE. All right, gentlemen; thank you for being with me today and giving us the benefit of your knowledge and your experience in this very tricky subject of former Communists as witnesses for the Government of the United States.

A New Field of Federal Regulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following from the March 1955 issue of the Guaranty Survey, published monthly by the Guaranty Trust Co., of New York, entitled "A New Field of Federal Regulation":

A NEW FIELD OF FEDERAL REGULATION

A question of prime importance with which Congress will be called upon to deal at this session is the economic status of one of the country's major industries—the production of natural gas. Shall the competitive and hazardous business of natural-gas production be regulated as a public utility, or shall it be allowed to operate under the rules of private competitive enterprise? The continued vitality and growth of this dynamic industry, and of others as well, may hinge upon the answer.

The question arose suddenly last June as the result of a Supreme Court decision. By a vote of 5 to 3, the Court ruled that the Natural Gas Act of 1938, which gives the Federal Power Commission authority to regulate sales of gas for resale in interstate commerce, applies to sales by independent producers to interstate pipeline companies. Section 1 (b) of the act reads: "The provisions of this act * * * shall not apply * * * to the production or gathering of natural gas." For 16 years it had been generally supposed, and the Commission itself had repeatedly ruled, that this exemption covered sales by independent producers and gatherers—that is, producers and gatherers not affiliated with the interstate pipeline companies. The Court's decision, which reversed one of the Commission's rulings, upset this established belief and the practices based upon it.

STRUCTURE OF THE NATURAL-GAS INDUSTRY

The natural-gas industry is divided into three parts. Gas is sold to consumers by local utility companies, which are regulated by local commissions. The utilities in turn buy the gas from the interstate pipeline companies, which are regulated by the Federal Power Commission. Both of these divisions of the industry are recognized as public utilities—natural monopolies—and there is no serious question as to the propriety of regulating them as such.

The third division of the industry is the discovery, extraction, purification, and gathering of natural gas for sale to the interstate pipelines and other buyers. This business is radically different in its nature from the transportation and distribution divisions. It is done by thousands of vigorously competing companies, large and small, most of them independent of the pipeline companies. These producers operate under a wide variety of conditions. Their costs are highly variable and often cannot be determined, since natural gas is commonly found with oil and a single set of costs applies to both. The business is exceptionally hazardous, because it involves costly drilling operations, most of which produce no gas or oil. The drilling of a well often costs $100,000 and may cost up to $1 million, and 8 out of 9 wells, on the average, prove to be dry holes.

Large amounts of natural gas are sold locally by producers, and the abundant supply of cheap, efficient, and convenient fuel has greatly stimulated industrial development in and around the gas-producing areas. The rest of the gas is delivered to the interstate pipelines for distribution throughout the country. Some of these pipelines are more than a thousand miles long, and their aggregate mileage far exceeds that of the railroads. All but four States are now served by natural gas, and the fuel now provides nearly a quarter of the country's total energy supply. About 21 million homes use straight natural gas, and another 4 million use a mixture of natural and manufactured gas. About 15 million homes are heated by gas, and the number is increasing by about 1 million a year.

PROTECTING THE CONSUMER

The production of natural gas has been regulated by the States for many years with a view to conserving a valuable and limited natural resource. Federal regulation, on the other hand, is designed to protect consumers against exploitation. This was the primary aim of the Natural Gas Act of 1938, which placed interstate pipelines under the regulatory authority of the Federal Power Commission. The specific exemption granted by the act to the production or gathering of natural gas was in line with the basic premise underlying a private-enterprise economy, namely, that effective competition is the best protector of consumers' interests, and that governmental regulation is necessary and proper only in cases where effective competition is impossible or impracticable. Public utilities in general operate under exclusive monopolistic privileges granted by governmental charters, and in return for these privileges they must submit to dictation of rates and, in effect, limitation of earnings by governmental commissions.

The production of natural gas, however, is as far from monopolistic as an industry could well be. If gas production is a proper object of regulation in the consumer's interest, what industry is not?

The case for regulation to protect the consumer becomes even weaker when it is considered that the price received by the producer is, in most cases, a small part of the price paid by the user. The ratio varies with distance and other factors, but on the average it is estimated that 90 cents or more of the consumer's dollar pays for transmission and distribution, and only 10 cents goes to the producer. This striking disparity is, of course, no reflection upon transmitters and distributors, whose costs are heavy and whose rates are regulated. It means, however, that even if producers should give away their gas the saving to most consumers would be relatively small.

THREATENED DAMAGE

The strength of the opposition to Federal regulation of natural-gas production is based upon the belief that it is not only unnecessary but positively detrimental. Gas men are convinced that their industry cannot thrive in a public-utility environment. The cost of drilling dry holes cannot be capitalized and hence cannot be made the basis for rate regulation by conventional methods. Exceptional risks can be taken only when there is a reasonable prospect of corresponding rewards to the successful. Unless these risks are taken, new natural-gas reserves in sufficient amounts cannot be found. Proved reserves are even now at an all-time low in relation to the rate of current use. The effort to give the consumer protection he does not need could have the effect of gradually diminishing his future supply.

The threat to the consumer is further increased by the fact that producers now have a strong incentive to escape Federal regulation by selling natural gas locally. Already consumers in areas adjacent to natural-gas fields are using four times as much gas in relation to their total power needs as are consumers elsewhere. Federal regulation may be expected to widen this disparity and, at the same time, promote the industrial development of these local areas at the expense of the rest of the country.

As for producers, they will be caught between two types of regulation aimed at two different objectives. There may well be a clash of jurisdictions, placing the producer in a position where he cannot comply with one without violating the other. Moreover, artificially low prices are undesirable from the viewpoint of conservation, for they encourage the use of an exhaustible natural resource for purposes in which other fuels can be used and might be more economical in a regime of free markets.

If the threat of dwindling interstate supply is borne out by experience, the unit costs of transmitters and distributors would seem almost certain to rise, necessitating higher rather than lower prices to the consumer. If the effect upon supply is sufficiently serious, local utilities throughout the country will have no alternative but to resort to manufactured gas, with further increases in costs and prices.

Some of the steps taken by the Federal Power Commission under its new authority have been drastic. Prices to the pipelines have been "frozen" as of June 7, the date of the Court decision, and producers have been forbidden to discontinue service without the Commission's approval. Both of these orders run contrary to the terms of many existing contracts. It has long been customary to sell natural gas under "escalator" clauses providing for regular schedules of price increases. Many contracts also contain "escape" clauses voiding the agreement in case of Federal regulation. The Commission's orders, therefore, in effect constitute a seizure of property and a denial of the right to withdraw from a type of business that may have become undesirable. They invalidate the terms of long-standing contracts upon which untold millions of dollars have been invested. It would be difficult to dispute the contention of spokesmen for the industry, who declare that no more sweeping invasion of private rights by political authority has ever been attempted in the United States except in time of war or national emergency.

The industry has reacted vigorously. The Supreme Court has been petitioned to review its decision. The Commission has been requested to reconsider the validity, necessity, and practicality of its orders. Congress is being asked to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to establish beyond doubt the exemption of independent producers and gatherers from its provisions. (Such an amendment was passed in 1950, but was vetoed by President Truman.)

The immediate loss and injustice to natural-gas producers are serious enough, but the questions involved in Federal regulation strike even deeper. An increasingly vital industry is threatened with creeping paralysis. A precious natural resource is exposed to the risk of artificially induced wast-

age. Consumers face the prospect of effects on price and supply exactly the opposite of those intended. Worst of all, the whole concept of free competitive markets is under attack. If natural-gas production is subject to Federal regulation, no segment of industry entering into interstate commerce is logically exempt. What Congress is being asked to do is not merely to rescue an important industry and its customers from the risk of grave injury, but to reaffirm a basic principle of American politico-economic philosophy.

City of Chicago Objects to Legislation Which Would Exempt Independent Producers of Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and resolution of the City Council of Chicago:

CITY OF CHICAGO,
LAW DEPARTMENT,
City Hall, February 28, 1955.

Hon. SIDNEY R. YATES,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Your attention is respectfully solicited to proposed amendments of the Natural Gas Act to exclude so-called independent producers of natural gas from the category of natural gas companies subject to regulation. It was strenuously argued in the case of *Phillips Petroleum Co.* v. *Wisconsin* before the Supreme Court of the United States that the Natural Gas Act was not intended to apply to producers of gas who sold their product in the State in which the gas was produced even though delivery was made to a pipeline for transportation and sale in interstate commerce. The Supreme Court held that such sales by producers are sales in interstate commerce and that such producers are natural gas companies within the purview of the Natural Gas Act and subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

It is now urged that natural gas when produced is a commodity similar to wheat and other produce and to timber, coal, ore, and oil which are sold in the open market free from price regulation; that natural gas in the field should likewise be free from regulation. The forests and produce of the land must be differentiated from the mineral resources which cannot be replenished or restored when consumed. These mineral reserves constitute the primary wealth of the Nation and the public has such vital interest in their products that they are inherently subject to Government regulation for conservation and necessary use. The necessity for regulation of traffic in such products depends upon the degree of freedom of the channels through which they can be brought to the market for ultimate consumption, as well as upon the balance of supply and demand.

Under our pattern of dual government jurisdiction, and in accordance with long established tradition, the States have assumed control of production of natural gas to prevent waste and rapid depletion of the resources within their respective boundaries and the local distribution of gas for consumption. The United States Congress has undertaken to regulate the production and transmission of natural gas for interstate commerce to protect the ultimate consumers from economic pressure incident to virtual monopoly of the interstate channels for distribution of the gas.

The producers of gas are primarily engaged in the production of oil. They explore the country for oil and may discover gas, which, but for the demand of distant consumers developed by investors in interstate transmission facilities, would be burned up or carried away by the winds. They are not interested in the security, comfort, or convenience of posterity, or, for that matter, in the welfare of the present generation. They are bent upon immediate exploitation of all the oil and gas which they can sell in the present advantageous market with preferential taxwise consideration for depletion. Since oil and gas are competitive fuels the producers can control the price of both if the gas can be sold without regulation. Hence, they have organized an unprecedented lobby for exemption from regulation of the price of natural gas produced for sale in interstate commerce, advancing incompatible arguments, in support of their right to a free competitive market price, that it will stimulate exploration for gas to supply the demand and encourage conservation of the resources in the natural gas fields.

The corporate authorities of the city of Chicago, in behalf of its million consumers of natural gas, having evaluated the special interest of the producers, who are now subject to regulation under the Natural Gas Act, their incompatible interest in the sale of both oil and natural gas, and their spurious and inconsistent arguments against the interest of the consumers, as well as the interest of investors in other natural gas companies, which the Natural Gas Act is designed to protect, passed a resolution opposing any action of Congress to nullify the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that independent producers of natural gas for sale in interstate commerce are subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

A certified copy of the resolution of the City Council of Chicago is herewith transmitted.

Very truly yours,
JOSEPH F. GROSSMAN,
Special Assistant Corporation Counsel.

Approved:
JOHN J. MORTIMER,
Corporation Counsel.

RESOLUTION ON EXEMPTION OF INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS OF NATURAL GAS FROM REGULATION BY FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Whereas more than 1 million homes in Chicago are dependent upon a supply of natural gas from the Peoples Gas System for cooking, and many of them for other domestic uses, such as water heating, refrigeration, and space heating; and

Whereas the Peoples Gas System is an integrated system of interstate natural-gas companies and the Peoples Gas Light & Coke Co. the sole distributor of gas in the city of Chicago and said system is dependent in great measure upon a supply of gas purchased from so-called independent natural-gas producers who have heretofore been free to sell their gas at prices affected by competition between natural-gas pipeline companies seeking a supply of natural gas to satisfy their respective customer demands; and

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has recently determined in the case of *Phillips Petroleum Company* v. *Wisconsin*, that independent producers are natural-gas companies within the purview of the Natural Gas Act and are subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission to prevent unjust, unreasonable, and discriminatory prices for natural gas produced and sold in interstate commerce; and

Whereas the oil and gas interests in the United States have initiated a nationwide campaign through the press and other media for enactment of legislation by the Congress of the United States to exempt producers of natural gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission so that they may exact from those who supply gas for ultimate consumption in the homes of Chicago and elsewhere the highest price obtainable by the incidence of competition among the pipelines for their sources of supply; and

Whereas such competition and competitive prices will rapidly increase the cost of gas for domestic uses in Chicago and elsewhere and will inevitably increase such cost as to restrict the normal use of gas necessary for the health and comfort of residents of Chicago: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States be fully informed of the consequences of such legislation and that the corporation counsel be and he is hereby directed to use all proper means, and to make such representations to the Congress of the United States, to prevent the enactment of legislation exempting producers of natural gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
County of Cook, ss:

I, Ludwig D. Schreiber, city clerk of the city of Chicago, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of that certain resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Chicago at a regular meeting held Wednesday, the 26th day of January A. D. 1955.

Witness my hand and the corporate seal of the said city of Chicago this 16th day of February A. D. 1955.

LUDWIG D. SCHREIBER,
Chief Clerk.

Alaska Steamship Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an outline of the history of the Alaska Steamship Co. Today this fine shipping concern, whose headquarters are in Seattle, the gateway to Alaska, begins its 61st year of service to our great and growing Territory in the north.

The matter follows:

March 3 marks the completion of 60 years of Alaska Steamship Co. service to Alaska. With the sailing from Seattle of the motorship *Square Sinnet* scheduled for March 4, the Alaska line will have commenced its 61st year.

Organized in the rough and tumble nineties, Alaska Steamship Co. served Alaska through the gold-rush period. It carried cargo to Skagway before the White Pass and Yukon route was constructed, to Seward before the Alaska Railroad came into being, and into Valdez when the Richardson Highway was a trail.

Seattle was but one of a number of Puget Sound ports serving Alaska in 1895. Most of Alaska traffic was carried by vessels headquartered in San Francisco. There had been a number of gold discoveries in Alaska and the demand for shipping to the north land

was brisk. Charles E. Peabody, the father of Capt. Alex M. Peabody, the present president of Puget Sound Navigation Co., together with Capt. George Roberts, G. H. Lent, and C. E. Taylor, citizens of the Puget Sound region, figured that a Puget Sound-Alaska steamship operation should pay off and announced plans for a service to southeastern Alaska.

The immediate response was not encouraging. The Pacific Coast Steamship Co., the major carrier in the trade, slashed passenger fares to all northern points. First-class tickets were cut from $52 to $20, second class, from $30 to $10, as chronicled by the Tacoma Ledger of January 22, 1895. "The supposed objective," the story said, "is to cut out the new steamship line to Alaska."

J. A. Johnson, superintendent of the Pacific Coast Steamship Co. left no doubt. "We are going to have the travel, if we have to pay premiums to passengers to induce them to ride with us," he said.

Nevertheless on January 28, 1895 with $30,000 capital Peabody and his associates organized the Alaska Steamship Co. at Port Townsend. They purchased the 136-foot 450-ton steamer *Willapa* and set a bimonthly schedule from Seattle with the initial sailing date of March 3.

Six days before the first scheduled departure the Pacific Coast Steamship Co. slashed freight rates from $11 to $3 a ton as reported by the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of February 26, 1895. But the alterations on the *Willapa* were completed and she sailed as scheduled with a full complement of 79 passengers and a capacity load of cargo. The Alaska Line was in business.

Two years later, on July 17, 1897, the steamer *Portland* of the Pacific Steam Whaling Co. arrived in Seattle with a ton of gold from the Klondike. That news, flashed around the world, sparked a stampede of thousands intent on getting to the gold fields. The demand for transportation became intense. In order to help meet it the Alaska Line purchased and placed into service the now historic steamers *Rosalie, Farallon, Dirigo, Dolphin,* and *Jefferson.*

While gold activity in Alaska continued at a high pitch another metal, a base metal, entered the life of the Alaska Steamship Co. The Guggenheim interests had acquired a number of copper properties in the Prince William Sound area and to insure adequate transport for their ores and concentrates they purchased the Northwestern Steamship Co., organized as a result of the Nome gold strike in 1899. This company served Prince William Sound, Seward, Cook Inlet, Alaska Peninsula, and the Nome run. Three years later, on January 1, 1908, the Northwestern Steamship Co. and Alaska Steamship Co. joined forces as the Alaska Steamship Company of Nevada under the presidency of Charles E. Peabody. This extended the service of the Alaska Line to include all Alaska routes.

The combined fleet of the enlarged company numbered 18 vessels, including the steamers *Victoria, Dora, Edith, Orizaba,* which later became the *Northwestern,* and the ore carrier *Seward.*

The Alaska Steamship Co. transported thousands of prospectors to and from the gold fields and millions of dollars in gold, but from 1908 until the copper mines became exhausted in 1938, copper from Kennecott and Latouche provided the only substantial year around traffic that moved from Alaska. This haul helped to sustain the Alaska line through good years and bad when other companies were bowing in and out of the trade. In all about 70 companies did, and for good reason. The Alaska trade is considered one of the most difficult. In 1947 during a discussion of the dearth of operators in the trade by a congressional committee investigating Alaska shipping, George Talmadge, of the United States Maritime Commission, in response to a question from Congressman Willis W. Bradley, said:

"Sir, I personally asked at least 25 principal steamship companies if they could possibly be induced, under any circumstances, to enter the Alaska trade. Replies ranged from a horselaugh to nuts. That generally is considered as one of the least desirable trades any one would want to be in."

The trade is seasonal, emphasized by rigorous winters and characterized by a one-way haul situation. Stretching along Alaska's prodigious coast line are many ports to be served, only a fraction of which are able to offer the 500-ton-call inducement required in other United States trades. Any ship's master will tell you Alaskan waters are among the most hazardous. Disasters were frequent in the preradar days. While these figured strongly in the changes in the composition of the Alaska Line fleet, Alaska Line vessels also figured in some noteworthy rescues. Probably the most outstanding involved the steamer *Cordova* while under the command of Capt. Thomas Moore. She was at Nome on September 20, 1914, when a distress call came from the revenue cutter *Tahoma,* sinking off Kiska Island. She had hit an uncharted reef. The Cordova steamed 1,900 miles, running as far west as Attu Island to rescue 66 crew members. The 29 others were picked up by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey ship *Patterson.*

Altogether during the Alaska Line's 60 years of service, the company has lost 18 ships through marine casualties. Three of these occurred during World War II, which otherwise proved to be a costly period for Alaskan operators.

A combined fleet of 43 ships of 83,252 tons served Alaska in 1942 when the Government War Shipping Administration took over the operation and requisitioned the vessels of the owners: Alaska Steamship Co., Alaska Transportation Co., Northland Transportation Co., Santa Ana Steamship Co., and a number of salmon packers. In most cases these ships were reassigned to the owners as agents to operate where, when, as, and how the Government directed. On this basis the Alaska Line operated their ships and about 50 additional which were assigned them for operation in supply of the military throughout the world.

Long identified with Alaska through their salmon-cannery interests the Skinner & Eddy Corp. of Seattle purchased the Alaska Steamship Co. from Kennecott Copper Corp. in 1944 and Gilbert W. Skinner became president.

Although the war in the Pacific ended in August 1945, vessel operating costs in the Alaska trade had skyrocketed to the extent that the Government found it necessary to continue this operation 3 years more. When finally returned to private account in 1948 only 6 ships of 25,000 tons remained. Forty-seven ships of 58,000 tons had been lost to the trade through war and marine casualties, requisitions for title and the sale of obsolete bottoms.

The operators now faced greatly inflated costs and the problems of vessel replacement. As a consequence by January 1, 1949, 6 months after the end of Government service, all prewar operators except Alaska Steamship Co. had pulled out of the trade.

The Alaska Line inaugurated a program of improvement. Their vessels were among the first to be outfitted with radar. They moved their headquarters to the spacious modern pier 42 terminal facility. They purchased 4 Liberty ships and 1 Knot type coastal freighter. In each of the Liberties portable 'tween decks were installed to facilitate handling the large volume of Alaskan packaged cargo. The floor of the vessels' holds were paved like a city street to permit rapid movement of fork-lift trucks employed in the company's unitized cargo program.

This program was inaugurated in 1952 with a few hundred containers used exclusively on the southeastern Alaska route. The Alaska Line now has 10,000 containers in service and more on order. They range in size from a 60 cubic foot collapsible type to refrigerated trailer vans of 2,000-cubic-foot capacity. The growth of this service, which now includes all principle areas of Alaska, is attributed to the savings to shippers in handling, packaging, and marking, and the protection against pilferage, loss, and damage.

The most advanced type of container service, a seatrain operation, is now receiving intensive study by the company.

In October 1953, Gilbert W. Skinner died and his son, D. E. Skinner, who had been vice president and general manager of the line since 1950, succeeded his father to the presidency. Melville McKinstry is vice president and general manager; R. C. Anderson, executive vice president; R. J. Behnke, vice president and treasurer; and Albert L. Cahill, secretary.

For many years the Alaska Line has maintained agencies throughout Alaska to assist Alaskans in meeting their transportation problems and to handle essential ship's business. These agencies are located at Ketchikan, Wrangell, Petersburg, Juneau, Haines, Skagway, Sitka, Cordova, Valdez, Seward, Anchorage, Fairbanks, Homer, Seldovia, Kodiak, and Nome.

One of the early carriers in the coastwise passenger service, the Alaska Line was the last American line to withdraw from this business. Mounting costs and other problems that had kept passenger service deep in red ink since the end of World War II led to its suspension in October 1954. Now Alaska Steamship Co. completes its 60th year of Alaskan operations and begins its 61st specializing in cargo transportation, which has been the backbone of its activity from the start.

Officials of the company point with pride to the extra years of passenger service they were able to provide to Alaska beyond the time when all other American coastwise passenger operations had been suspended. They also add up their record of cargo-handling improvements since the war and say that Alaska can expect more of this in the future.

Package Freight Service on Great Lakes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

Concurrent resolution memorializing the President of the United States, the Federal Maritime Board, and the Congress of the United States to support measures to restore package freight service on the Great Lakes

Whereas the Congress of the United States under Public Law 856 enacted by the 81st Congress, provided that certain surplus vessels could be reconverted for use as package freighters on the Great Lakes; and

Whereas the vessels which were so reconverted were not used for the purpose intended because of the outbreak of the Korean war, but were assigned to the carrying of iron ore; and

Whereas prior to World War II package freight was a major Minnesota industry. In excess of 700,000 tons of freight were

shipped to and from the port of Duluth during the last year that package freighters operated on the Great Lakes. Included in said shipments from the State of Minnesota were approximately 64,000 tons of butter; 6,000 tons of buttermilk; 12,000 tons of cheese; 28,000 tons of cream; 6,000 tons of eggs; 45,000 tons of dressed poultry; 170,000 tons of flour; 107,000 tons of mill products; in excess of 18,000 tons of wool; 19,000 tons of lumber; 3,000 tons of paper products and in excess of 40,000 tons of manufactured metal products; and

Whereas this trade benefited every segment of the Minnesota economy including the great agriculture and manufacturing industries; and

Whereas the discontinuance of this trade not only has adversely affected our agriculture and manufacturing industries, but has caused substantial unemployment in the maritime industries at the head of the Great Lakes; and

Whereas the restoration of package freight service on the Great Lakes not only will substantially contribute to the well-being and growth of Minnesota industry, provide a market for products grown and manufactured in Minnesota, both at home and abroad, but will also help reduce unemployment and more importantly will provide a stepping stone to the maximum use of the facilities of the port of Duluth for international trade when the St. Lawrence seaway has been completed: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives, the senate concurring, That the President of the United States, the Federal Maritime Board, and the Congress of the United States be memorialized to effect the restoration of package-freight service on the Great Lakes; be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of State be instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Chairman of the Federal Maritime Board, and to each Member of Congress from the State of Minnesota.

Adopted by the house of representatives, the 1st day of February 1955.

ALFRED F. JOHNSON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
G. H. LEAHY,
Chief Clerk, House of Representatives.

Adopted by the senate, the 11th day of February 1955.

KARL F. ROLVAAG,
President of the Senate.
HY TORREY,
Secretary of the Senate.

Approved February 18, 1955.

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Governor of the State of Minnesota.

Indefinite Status

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call to the attention of the House a very disturbing situation which has arisen in my district in connection with the new civil-service appointment system, referred to, I believe, as the career conditional appointment system, which went into effect in January.

On the surface the technical features of this program point to a definite improvement of the system. However, as is so often the case, when put into practical operation many grave inequities immediately become apparent. I am referring in particular to the unfortunate position in which over 1,000 employees of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard have been placed through no fault of their own. Many of these employees, having a record of from 3 to 8 years' continuous employment in the yard and with excellent performance records, now find themselves with an indefinite classification, and as such will fall victim to the first reduction in force that comes along, simply because at the time of employment the civil-service register had either been exhausted or was not established. Conversely many other employees with much less length of service and perhaps a lower efficiency rating have been classified as career conditional or in some cases given career status, with all the benefits and protection attendant to these categories.

I have received scores of letters protesting the arbitrary enactment of this new system. Many of the authors of these protests are known to me personally as fine craftsmen and would represent a serious loss to the defense effort should they fall victim to this ill-conceived order. I am asking the Civil Service Commission to review this program to the end that these glaring inequities be corrected.

As further proof of the disturbed condition of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, I offer by way of explanation an editorial entitled "Indefinite Status," which appeared on Friday, February 25, 1955, in the Salute, a weekly publication of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard:

INDEFINITE STATUS DISCUSSED

The retention of PSNS employees junior in length of service to shopmates who recently received reduction-in-force notices has given rise to questions about the regulations that authorize this apparent inequity.

In January the Civil Service Commission directed the Navy to replace the indefinite system of appointment with the career system. Under the new regulations indefinite employees who had been hired from the civil-service register were automatically converted to a career or career-conditional status. Other indefinites who may have been hired for similar work but were hired instead by recruiting (off the street), remained in an indefinite status and with lower retention rights. Because indefinite employees are in the lowest retention status they are usually the first to be affected by a reduction in force.

Prior to the adoption of new regulations the Civil Service Commission made no distinction between persons hired off the register and those hired by recruiting. During the Korean buildup registers were exhausted and many employees were hired off the street.

When notice of the new regulations was received the shipyard took every step possible to convert indefinite employees to career or career-conditional status. The conversion procedure requires that the indefinite employee who did not receive appointment from the register must now file and be within reach for appointment before he can be changed to retention group II.

The shipyard is doing little hiring at present and as current registers have many outside applicants it is not expected that conversion of all indefinite employees will be accomplished in the near future.

Los Angeles County School Shortage Expected To Grow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, in the Los Angeles Times for Monday, February 28, is set forth an article on the important shortage of schools in southern California. I was very sure its contents would be of great interest and information for all of us in this great legislative body, who are naturally and properly concerned about the subject of education in our great Nation and the shortage of schools and consequently the shortage of the full educational opportunities for the American children in our Nation.

The article follows:

SCHOOL SHORTAGE EXPECTED TO GROW—BUILDING CZAR PREDICTS THAT BY 1957 50,000 MORE WILL GO HALF-TIME

(By James Hubbart)

Nowhere in the country is the problem of classroom shortages more acute than it is in the sprawling Los Angeles school system, where about 38,000 youngsters at present are attending school part time.

And in the words of Virgil M. Volla, the district's new building czar: "If you think we've had it up to now, just wait another 5 years."

Volla estimates that an additional 50,000 pupils will have been affected by half-day sessions by 1957 at the present rate of expansion.

NEED 3,400 MORE ROOMS

The projected enrollment for the city schools in 1960 is 523,151 children—an increase of about 144,000 over this year. Volla says it will take 3,400 new classrooms to house all these youngsters.

To finance this construction the voters will be asked to approve a $133 million bond issue in April—the third such measure since the stork sweepstakes started in 1946.

With all its woes, however, the future for Los Angeles is considerably brighter than it is for the neighboring smaller districts.

RED TAPE BLAMED

"Money has never been our chief worry," says Volla. "The voters of the district have always responded to the need and we have no reason to believe they won't do it again.

"There are three other reasons why our building program has lagged behind the enrollment—red tape, educators themselves, and our failure to tool up for the job."

Volla, an outspoken realist who has some resolute ideas on how schools should be built, now has command of the entire operation. What he says goes.

But this was not always so. For 9 years the process functioned with divided responsibility and little in the way of a clear-cut policy. Everybody had a piece of the action.

PLANS OFTEN REVISED

"We had to get our preliminary plans okayed by supervisors and assistant superintendents, all of whom had different ideas," Volla relates.

"Teachers and administrators would be forever coming in with last-minute changes—an extra door here, more shelves there—until it got so the architects were drawing the plans over and over, trying to please everyone.

"Educators, by and large, are not very good business people. They're always changing

the curriculum and teaching methods to keep up with the latest trends. So when they hear of an innovation in classroom design they want to try it out right away. Thus we haven't been able to get uniformity."

Dr. Alexander J. Stoddard, superintendent of schools during all this indecision, was every inch an educator and a confirmed idealist.

Stoddard was proud of standing up at school-board meetings and saying, "Nothing is too good for our youngsters. They deserve the best, so let's see that they get it."

Stoddard demanded bigger and better classrooms with all the newest instructional improvements. With him the best possible educational opportunity for the child was the primary consideration.

He was a devout champion of the junior college system, and the idea of erecting an $800,000 football stadium and auditorium at East Los Angeles Junior College was attributed to him.

VETOED BY VOTERS

The reasoning behind this was that starting with the stadium would naturally inspire the people to build a fine school around it.

But the voters crossed Stoddard up in the 1952 election by rejecting the junior college bond issue. The result: ELAJC students are still studying in war-surplus shanties in the shadow of one of the prettiest stadiums in town.

"High ideals are the life blood of education," Volla agrees, "but in these abnormal times, ideals have to be compromised. To build schools in a hurry, you have to cut corners."

Besides the time-consuming deference to the wants of educational theorists, Los Angeles must join with 2,000 other California districts in having its plans and specifications approved by the State division of architecture, an agency which is hard pressed to handle the crush of business.

CITY O. K. NEEDED

On top of that, city and county planning commissions must pass on the plans, and building permits must be issued. More months drift by.

"We start out with a school designed to house 900 pupils," says Volla, "but by the time it's finally completed, there are 1,200 kids knocking on the door."

Buying land for a new school also takes up valuable time. It has to be surveyed and it must go through escrow. If a condemnation proceeding is necessary, it takes even longer.

Perhaps the most classic example on record is the school system's purchase of the Watts Junior High School site. They've been buying up the land—lot by lot—for more than 2 years. And the chore isn't finished yet. Owners of some of the parcels can't be located.

Despite the obstacles, Los Angeles has accomplished what is nationally recognized as a remarkable job in keeping up with the expanding pupil population. Approximately 55,000 children have been taken off half-day sessions since 1948.

Volla believes that with a better coordinated program he can do even better. The board of education had enough confidence in him to promote him to assistant superintendent at $16,000 a year.

"We're aiming for more standardization of classrooms, and whole schools where possible—at least everything above the foundations," he reports.

"Portable buildings which can be moved from place to place can be used more advantageously. And the possibility of building schools with prefabricated sections has barely been touched.

"Simplification of the rules and regulations would help us more than anything. We still have to submit for State approval a separate set of plans for each school. That the plans may be identical doesn't matter. And even if we reuse our plans, the law says we must have supervision of an architect each time. All that wastes time and money.

"And why can't we have a uniform building code for schools instead of a different set of ground rules in every community?"

Volla's formula is to streamline everything, eliminate the frills and approach schoolhouse construction on a mass production basis.

It remains to be seen whether this view can be reconciled with the almost traditional opposition by teachers and their organizations, and even by whole communities, to austere, look-alike schoolhouses.

"We're asking teachers and principals to help us by getting along with the bare essentials," Volla says. "The classrooms they'll have to work in won't be educational showplaces, but they'll do.

"Remember, the more refinements you put into a school, the longer it takes to plan and build it."

Volla figures he'll have to make some iron-handed decisions in the task ahead and say "no" to a lot of people. He doesn't expect to win any popularity contests.

Says he:

"Maybe that seems hardboiled, but I happen to believe that even a tent on full-day session is better than an ideal classroom on a half-time basis."

Voice of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the other day it was my privilege to include in the RECORD the speech of one of the four national co-winners of the Voice of Democracy contest sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Broadcasters. The young lady who was among the top winners of the contest, in which over a million young Americans participated, is Miss Catherine Styles, an exchange student from New Zealand, who is making her home this year in Minneapolis.

It is unfortunate that more of these essays are not available to the public. It must have been a hard job for the judge to select only four out of the thousands of splendid statements revealing so thrillingly the thoughts and aspirations of young Americans today.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the contribution to this contest by Ralph Marlatt given as a speech in the District of Columbia contest in which he received honorable mention. He is a senior at St. John's College High School here in the District.

The speech follows:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(By Ralph J. Marlatt)

I speak for democracy as Americans have always spoken for democracy. Our land and our people have a rich heritage in democracy. The basic principle was written into the first American declaration that "all men are created equal." Americans believed it then, Americans believe it now. It is this belief and our constant endeavor to follow the precepts of liberty, equality, and justice which have made it possible for us to grow into a great and powerful nation.

Democracy was not presented to us by our founding fathers already shaped and fashioned. True, they did guarantee that men should enjoy the "certain unalienable rights."

However, the first step in securing these rights meant that Americans were willing to go to war, to fight and die to preserve those rights for themselves and their posterity.

It is significant that all America's wars have been fought, not for conquest, not for gain, nor for the purpose of enslaving other peoples, nor adding new territory, but to preserve democracy and to guarantee the freedom of men everywhere.

In the day of our fathers, Americans fought and died in three wars, not on our soil, but in far-distant lands and they, too, fought and died for democracy. And wherever men have challenged tyranny and injustice and the threat of enslavement, Americans have fought alongside them. For Americans believe that all men in all lands are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with the right to be free.

As we have been willing to fight for democracy in war, so we have been willing to live for democracy in peace. America has welcomed men of all faiths, all religions, all creeds, and we have said to them, "here you may seek a haven, here you may worship according to your mind and heart."

Because we spoke for democracy we wanted all men to be equally prepared to make for themselves a better life and so we established a great school system. And from our schools, public and private, have come capable scholars, learned scientists, great industrialists, men of business, poets, singers, writers, and inspirational leaders in all fields of endeavor. We speak for democracy in our schools.

When we provided for freedom of worship and freedom to learn, we then gave man another freedom, freedom of opportunity. Into our vast industrial system went the heart, the mind and the sinew of democracy, and our factories were developed, our great cities came into being, and our productive farms stretched across 3,000 miles of rich and fertile land. It is not mere poetry when we sing of our shining seas and towering mountains; these are songs of democracy and they speak for democracy by which free men have conquered the seas and the mountains and the great plains and have drawn from the bounties of nature food and fiber for a land which now boasts of more than 160 million free men.

So from our Founding Fathers dream of democracy we fashioned this structure we know today as America. But the job is not yet complete, nor can it ever be complete so long as there is one man on earth who is not free. Democracy offers us a daily challenge, the challenge to keep it alive. For democracy is a living principle and must grow and expand or it dies. We have not yet created a perfect land, but the essence of democracy is that we have the opportunity to keep striving for perfection.

In speaking for democracy today I speak not only for Americans, but for the millions of human beings who are enslaved. Our democracy can never be secure, nor can we ever truly enjoy the blessings of liberty while millions are behind an iron curtain. Speak up, then, you who claim to believe in democracy, speak up on your streets, in your community, in your State, and in your Nation. Speak up by accepting the responsibilities of citizenship and demanding that all men are given freedom of opportunity in this land of ours and throughout the world. The ultimate victory of democracy will be when each man stands up and declares without fear and without qualification, "I speak for democracy."

Burley-Type Tobacco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Tobacco of the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives, it has come to my attention that the burley-type tobacco program is not operating as it should or as the Congress had contemplated it would under the present program.

As a result of this, the representatives of burley-tobacco growers from the several States involved recently held a meeting and have made a number of recommendations to strengthen and improve the tobacco program.

In addition to this, our subcommittee held a joint meeting today with the Tobacco Subcommittee of the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee. Representatives of the Department of Agriculture testified before us and made certain recommendations of proposed changes in the law so as to improve the present tobacco program.

The recommendations were as follows:

The Department recommends five changes in legislation:

1. The act be amended to permit redetermination of the 1955 national marketing quota and State and farm acreage allotments for burley tobacco on the basis of data now available.

2. The rate of penalty on the marketing of excess tobacco be increased from 50 percent to 75 percent of the average market price during the previous year.

3. Amend the act to provide that any acreage of tobacco harvested in excess of the allotted acreage for any farm for any year shall not be considered in the establishment of the allotment for the farm in succeeding years.

4. Amend the act to require a reduction in the acreage allotment next established for a farm if any person connected with the farm causes, aids, or acquiesces in filing or causing to be filed any report with respect to the acreage of tobacco grown on the farm which the county committee determines to be false.

We wish to direct the committee's attention to another serious problem which applies only to burley tobacco. That relates to minimum allotments. We estimate that about 64 percent of the 320,000 farms having burley allotments have allotments of seven-tenths of an acre or less. If this minimum is maintained, it will necessitate drastic reductions in the allotments above the minimum. It is suggested that the committee may want to give careful consideration to the many problems relating to minimum farm acreage allotments.

5. There is one other suggestion we have, which does not apply to burley tobacco since growers have consistently approved quotas for 3-year periods. However, on some other kinds of tobacco, quotas have been approved 1 year and then disapproved for the next year. We recommend that the act be amended to eliminate the provision whereby growers may vote for quotas either for 3 years or 1 year and provide for voting only on the question of quotas for 3 years. This proposal does not apply to burley tobacco where growers always approve quotas for 3-year periods. This would eliminate the expense of establishing allotments and conducting referenda in areas where growers are opposed to marketing quotas. Further, it would prevent losses to Commodity, since a sound price-support program cannot be opeated on an in-1-year and out-the-next basis.

Let Us Fight Against Multiple Sclerosis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, for all of us concerned with the health of the Nation, there is a problem of vital urgency—and that is to control the disastrous effects of the crippling disease, multiple sclerosis.

In thousands of households there are young mothers and young fathers stricken with disabling multiple sclerosis. This means that there are mothers who cannot take care of their homes—guide their children—play with their children. That there are fathers who must cease being breadwinners; who are unable to assume their role as the head of the family unit. This also means that there are young men and women throughout the land—some in college, who are forced to give up their education; some just starting on careers they are unable to pursue; because they have been afflicted with MS, which is the popular abbreviation for multiple sclerosis.

Multiple sclerosis is indeed a matter of pressing import to the Nation for, at this time, the cause and cure of this insidious disease are unknown. It attacks mostly young adults in the prime of youth—those between the ages of 20 and 40—the very best, the most productive years, of any person's life, and it strikes at the very heart of the basic foundations of our society—the home and the family.

Let me try to explain for a moment, for those of you who may not understand the nature of this mysterious illness, just what this is all about. I have tried to find out for myself and I will speak in terms which I have understood, as a layman, from my discussions with doctors who have specialized in this field.

Multiple sclerosis is a disease of the central nervous system. It gets its name from the fact that multiple, or "many," sclerosis, or "scars," form in certain areas of the brain and spinal cord. This results in what may be likened to a short circuit, nerve impulses which usually pass through the central nervous system are blocked by scar tissue which has formed on nerve covering. Then we have the usual symptoms of the disease which may be: paralysis in hands, arms, and legs; blurred or double vision; staggering gait; garbled speech; loss of personal functions. A victim of MS may have one or all of these distressing symptoms. The ordinary dignities with which most of us are privileged—such as washing ourselves, dressing ourselves, taking a walk around the block, reading or watching television—all these private necessities, pleasures, and privileges are often denied sufferers of multiple sclerosis. Some victims are ambulatory; some are on crutches or in wheelchairs; most severe cases are bedridden. There are about one quarter of a million victims of MS in the country.

Because MS is usually progressive, and thus far incurable, it presents a problem of care and financial stress which always goes with chronic long-term illness.

I am glad to say that all is not black in this picture. Something is being done across the Nation to help the victims of multiple sclerosis. In 1946, with the founding of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society, an intensive program of research and patient-care service for MS sufferers was begun. Today the society is a vast organization with some 65 chapters throughout the United States, all supported by public funds. The society is a clearing houses in MS for all up-to-date scientific and self-help information for patients and physicians.

Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower, this year, as in the previous year, is honorary chairman of the campaign to raise funds for this very important and worthy organization. In this respect, Mrs. Eisenhower is a real helpmate to her husband, for our own Mr. President has been a stanch ally in helping Congress to appropriate funds for continued and expanded aid in the fight against chronic neurological, crippling illness. President Eisenhower has made magnificent strides throughout the country in the field of rehabilitation of the disabled. The President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped has worked with nonprofit health organizations, such as the National Multiple Sclerosis Society, in spurring the public's support and industry's support in the help to our disabled.

There is much reason for hope in the multiple-sclerosis problem. Leading scientists in universities and laboratories throughout the land and beyond its borders are engaged in intensive research—about 45 projects in all—to find the answers to the cause and cure of multiple sclerosis. Clinics for the rehabilitation of multiple-sclerosis victims are in operation, teaching independence and self-reliance to the severely handicapped. All this heartening work is being done under the guidance and support of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society, which in turn is dependent upon public funds and governmental appropriations in order to sustain and expand its promising work.

Each year the Government appropriates funds to the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. This vast Institute, which is conducted by our foremost research scientists, is at present investigating the causes and treatment of multiple sclerosis. It is one more example of hope in dealing with this problem.

I urge all of my fellow Congressmen to give serious thought to the ways in which each of us, in our own way, may help in the fight against crippling multiple sclerosis. Perhaps we may serve on special committees, perhaps we may be

able to fight for bigger and better appropriations in the war against crippling neurological diseases. To be sure, it is, as they say, "all for the good of the country."

Former Diplomat From Country Now Behind Iron Curtain Says Exiles Rejoice in United States Stand on Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by the eminent columnist, Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

SEES CAUSE FOR REJOICING IN UNITED STATES STAND ON FORMOSA

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

Much to my surprise, the foreign ex-diplomat welcomed me with a broad smile.

"Sit down. What shall it be—a cup of tea, whiskey, vodka, slivovitsa."

E. A. M. Has somebody back home left you a fortune?

F. E. D. If he had, the Communists would have been in possession of it long since.

E. A. M. Other good news, perhaps?

F. E. D. Good news from Formosa.

E. A. M. What's happened?

F. E. D. Can't you see—the American Government is standing up to the Communists in the matter of those off-shore islands.

E. A. M. What's so startling about that? Did you think we were going to invite them to take the whole Far East?

ANOTHER MUNICH

F. E. D. No; but I expected another Munich—a sellout.

E. A. M. Now, come. We stood up well enough in Greece, at Berlin, and in Korea, though we ought to have united that country by force. We have strengthened the Middle East and gained ground in Iran.

F. E. D. Yes, but you let the Communists keep half of Indochina, and you yourself think they may get the rest.

E. A. M. The Communists got north Vietnam all right. But we made the concession not to them but to our European allies.

F. E. D. Precisely. But at Formosa, your administration is standing up both to the Communists and to your allies. Believe me, that is good news for all of us exiles.

E. A. M. I fail to see how disputes among allies can help you much.

F. E. D. In the short run they do not help us. Especially not when, as usual, you Americans give in. But in the long run, there will be no peace for the world and no liberation for captive countries until the American administration does what is right, regardless of war-shot and trembling allies in Europe.

E. A. M. Come now. They aren't that bad.

DEPTH OF FEAR

F. E. D. They are worse. What you do not realize—you Americans—is the depth of fear and cynicism to which the West European countries have sunk. You talk of stopping communism, and perhaps one day you will. Your allies talk only of preventing war.

To prevent another war they are ready—indeed, eager—to feed other countries and peoples piecemeal to the Communist wolves. Of course, they do not like to see communism grow. But if the choice is between handing over another five, ten, or 50 million foreigners as slaves to communism and having a war, they will gladly hand over the foreigners.

Some of us exiles believe they will not even fight to defend themselves. I do not go so far. But I can tell you, they will continue throwing victims to the Soviet wolves until you stop them.

Now it is the Chinese offshore islands you must make Chiang give up. Tomorrow, if you yield the islands, it will be Formosa itself. Next time, what remains free of Indochina—South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Then—why not?—Thailand and Burma. And so on, right back to their own countries.

E. A. M. You exaggerate.

BLACKMAIL

F. E. D. Not a bit. See how they are trying to blackmail you into surrendering the islands. A great English newspaper has the nerve to write that Americans must choose between keeping those islands and having West Europe as an ally.

Ignominy could go no lower. During the last war you saved West Europe. You might have simply defeated Japan and let Hitler conquer Russia. Where would West Europe be?

And now because you are drawing a line in Asia, they have the nerve to blackmail you with loss of their precious support. Tell them to go jump and see how quickly they will change their tune. For, without you, they are gonners, lacking both the power and the will to resist.

E. A. M. I understand the feeling of you exiles whose countries were seized by the Soviets. But do you think your peoples are willing to pay for their liberation by another world conflict worse than any ever seen?

F. E. D. Willing? They are eager. Here—see these letters. What is more, if you make communism stronger, you will have a war as sure as tomorrow—unless your allies can induce you to surrender.

No; you have been losing—on balance. But now in Formosa you are standing up against both enemies and allies. We exiles do not know if it will last, but while it does, it looks wonderful.

Here, have a slivovitsa. To freedom.

A Prayer for Our President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, it is not often that a piece of mail comes to our desks that is worthy of general attention. Today such a rare thing occurred to me and I want to share with you a prayer that is being said for President Eisenhower by a worthy lady from my home city of Long Beach, Calif.

The lady is Mrs. Lillian Marshall. I know of no one who has a greater love for our country than Mrs. Marshall, nor do I know of anyone who holds her public officials more strictly accountable for their responsibility to govern wisely.

To the best of my knowledge, Mrs. Marshall is a member of the Democratic Party.

This is her prayer:

A PRAYER FOR OUR PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Dear Heavenly Father, I am not asking anything for myself, but I wish You would help our President. He is so kind and good—and tries not to hurt anyone. You know he always thinks of his country before his party.

I get so tired of these selfish politicians who want to harm him in the public mind.

He depends so much on You for guidance, won't You please, dear Lord, give him some extra help.

Soften the lawmakers' hearts who think first of themselves or their party. Put into their hearts more tolerance and love for their country.

We did not elect them just because they were Republicans or Democrats. We elected them because we thought they would do the right thing. But now some are acting very badly.

Thank You for all Your goodness to me. Amen.

Focus on Older People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of February 25, 1955. I am very proud of the work being done by New York City and State in assisting the aged.

FOCUS ON OLDER PEOPLE

The number of older people in our midst and the proportion of the population they represent have grown with such sensational rapidity in the last decade that a social crisis of extreme urgency has now developed, with far too little action being taken to cope with it. The articles by Edith Evans Asbury, ending in this issue, have documented this beyond a doubt. They have also focused public attention on what is being—and should be—done to meet the situation.

At the core of the problem is a central fact, recognition of which is essential to the success of all remedial effort. The most effective preventive—and often cure—for all old age is activity. And the more useful it is the better it is. Employers have a special, and growing, obligation to keep older workers employed as long as they are able to do some useful job. Also the age barrier to finding new employment needs breaching.

The elderly whose health limits their activities present other problems which urgently call for action. Experience has proved that many in this group can do much more than they—and those who care for them—think they can. And doing more has often great therapeutic value. But for those who find it impossible much more can and must be done—and far less expensively than now. Home care seems by far the best. Where this isn't feasible care as much like home as possible is needed. Boarding and nursing homes, public and private, increasingly serve the elderly who must have continuous supervision; but more are urgently called for and the shortcomings of many of the commercial type need stricter regulation.

Old people now in hospitals, and those who must be sent there in the future, present still more problems to be met. Apparently a large percentage of them are there without

any valid medical excuse and often only because there has been no other place to send them.

Fortunately, both New York State and city authorities are well aware of all these problems and are working valiantly to meet them. Examples are the day centers of the welfare department and the adult counseling centers of the health and welfare departments in Kipps Bay and East Harlem. Bills are in the Albany hopper to stimulate golden-age clubs, remove antiage legislation and promote jobs for workers over 45. All such efforts deserve public recognition and support, for the age of the more aged is upon us.

Final Determination of Partition Is Termination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday and the day previous I inserted with my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some articles which had appeared in the Irish Times on February 17 and 18. I was not surprised to find that the statements by Mr. Costello and by Mr. De Valera, leader of the opposition to Mr. Costello in the Irish Republic, did not meet with approval in the government of the Six Counties. The absolute refusal to discuss the matter of partition is typical of the attitude of the leaders of government in the northeast section of Ireland.

In the absence of Viscount Brookeborough, Six County Premier, who is now visiting at government expense in Australia, the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Brian Maginess, Q. C., who is the minister of finance for the Six Counties, replied to Mr. Costello's proposal. Mr. Maginess asserts that his government is not prepared to discuss partition since he considers it a fait accompli and thus finally determined.

I can readily appreciate why the leaders of government in the Six Counties are not prepared to discuss partition, inferring that it has been finally determined. They well realize that from the very beginning the idea of partition was that it should be put a temporary expedient, that it would not be possible for the Six Counties to hold themselves aloof from the rest of Ireland and that ultimately they would of necessity be rejoined to the other counties of the country. They would like to think that the matter has been finally determined because they know that the final determination of partition can only be the termination of partition.

In order that my colleagues may have the complete picture in this discussion I am including in these remarks the statement by Mr. Maginess, acting premier, which I have taken from the Irish Times. In answer to this statement I am also including the reply of Mr. Costello, Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland, which appears in the Irish Independent for February 19. These two articles are as follows:

[From the Irish Times]

STATEMENT BY NORTHERN IRELAND ACTING PREMIER

The Acting Prime Minister of Northern Ireland and Minister of Finance, Mr. Brian Maginess, Q. C., made the following statement last night in Belfast:

"In the temporary absence of Viscount Brookeborough my attention has been called to a statement made to a Yorkshire newspape by Mr. Costello, who is reported to have said that he is prepared to meet the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland to discuss matters of common concern. Mr. Costello further stated that this could 'create greater good will and prepare for a saner view that might ultimately lead to a climate of opinion in which the end of partition could be discussed.'

"The Government of Northern Ireland has repeatedly expressed its desire to maintain friendly relations with the Government of Eire, and demonstrated its readiness to meet representatives of that government on matters of mutual benefit to the inhabitants of the two areas.

"But the Government of Northern Ireland is not prepared to discuss partition, a matter which has been finally determined.

"So long as the Eire Government is prepared to accept this position, there is no reason why the two governments should not discuss matters of common concern at any time.

"The Northern Ireland Government would never regard partition as an obstacle to cooperation in any work which is for the good of the people of north and south.

"It must be clearly understood, however, that this would not imply any change in Northern Ireland's constitutional position as part of the United Kingdom.

"This has been made clear by Lord Brookeborough on many occasions.

"The acceptance of this principle by the government and people of the republic would help to generate and develop a better feeling between the two areas.

"At the same time, it must be strongly emphasized that the harboring in Eire of persons who have carried out armed raids in Northern Ireland largely prevents the attainment of this desirable end."

[From the Irish Independent]

TAOISEACH REPLIES TO MR. MAGINESS—GOOD WILL THE AIM IN ENDING PARTITION

"The only way by which the partition of Ireland can be finally determined will be by its ending," said the Taoiseach, Mr. Costello, commenting on the statement published yesterday by Mr. W. B, Maginess, Acting Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. "Our aim is to insure that such an ending will be achieved with mutual good will," he added.

"If," said Mr. Costello, "a literal interpretation were to be given to last night's statement by Mr. Brian Maginess it would mean that no arrangements of mutual benefit or concern could be entered into between ourselves and our fellow countrymen in the north unless we had previously accepted the position suggested by him that partition was a matter which had been finally determined.

"Such an alleged principle or condition was not implicit or recognized in the discussions or agreements ultimately reached concerning the River Erne, the Great Northern Railway or the Foyle Fisheries. Such a position would be impossible of acceptance by an Irish government. I hesitate to think that Mr. Maginess realized the full implications of his statements.

"If he really intended so to define the attitude of himself and his colleagues, informed and detached public opinion would pass a severe judgment on those responsible for such an unreasonable attitude. If such an approach were to be tolerated in connection with the many tense and dangerous international problems which afflict nations and peoples today nothing but disorder and possibly ultimate chaos could be expected to result. Mr. Maginess and his colleagues would do well to ponder on the great contribution which a united Ireland might give to the solution of some of those problems.

"The only way by which the partition of Ireland can be finally determined will be by its ending. The forces tending to break this unnatural barrier, though they may appear to be slow moving, are nevertheless, inexorably at work. Our aim is to secure that such an ending will be achieved with mutual good will, so as to bring peace and harmony between and benefit for all classes and creeds, north and south."

Integration in the District of Columbia Fire Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I think we can all agree that the District enjoys as fine a Fire Department as any city in the country and this is due in no small measure to the inspirational and intelligent leadership of Fire Chief Millard H. Sutton. Chief Sutton is not only a man who knows all about the business of firefighting but he enjoys a rare intelligence and a devotion to duty which is extraordinary. He is a born leader, commanding the respect of the men under him, and a man of superb courage as his record fully testifies. Therefore, I am glad to insert in the RECORD a statement—in which I fully concur—he made before the Subcommittee on Police, Firemen, Streets, and Traffic of the House Committee on the District of Columbia during hearings held on H. R. 3573, relating to integration of personnel in the Fire Department.

STATEMENT OF FIRE CHIEF M. H. SUTTON, MARCH 2, 1955

Mr. Chairman, it is my opinion that the integration of personnel in the Fire Fighting Division of this Department is in the best interests of both the Department and the taxpayer.

Immediately prior to the integration order of September 18, 1954, there was a surplus of 14 colored firemen assigned to the 5 colored units. Since we operate on an overall authorized quota of personnel, we had a corresponding shortage of 14 men in white units. The salaries involved amount to $61,341 and will increase eventually by the additional cost of automatic and longevity increases provided by statute. The services of these colored men were not actually needed in the colored units and they were not available for service in other units due to the policy of segregation. Under the present integrated policy their services are being utilized to the maximum degree, thereby making possible a better distribution of available manpower to meet the needs of the service. From

a fiscal standpoint, no other policy can be justified.

Under a segregated policy, members assigned to colored units do not receive the diversity of experience that is available to members assigned to white units. There is only one colored truck company, no colored rescue squads or fireboat. Consequently, members assigned to colored engine companies, with the exception of those assigned to the one housed with the colored truck company, have a very limited practical knowledge of fire-fighting evolutions and techniques associated with truck companies. None of the colored firemen have an opportunity to gain experience in duties incident to evolutions or techniques employed by rescue squad or fireboat units.

A fireman's efficiency is measured by his ability. This ability is developed by the practical knowledge and confidence he acquires in the day-by-day performance of duties incident to the protection of life and property. Members denied this all-round experience can never achieve a degree of efficiency approaching the maximum.

As head of this Department, I consider it my duty to afford equal training facilities to all members so that when emergencies arise on the fire ground there will be no unnecessary loss of life or property resulting from inexperience.

I am aware that at this time the policy of integration is not popular with some members of the Department and that its adoption created opposition. However, I feel that this opposition must be subordinated to what I consider to be the best interests of the Department from both fiscal and efficiency viewpoints.

I am opposed to the provisions of H. R. 3573.

High Priority for Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an editorial from the Kansas City Star of January 17, entitled "High Priority for Water":

HIGH PRIORITY FOR WATER

Beyond any doubt the greatest problem facing Kansas since the white man elbowed out the Indians is more efficient use of its water. The driest 3 years on record dramatize the need. Scores of Kansas cities are showing deep concern over whether, a few years hence, present facilities will provide enough water for general use and growing industrial expansion. Some cities, notably Topeka, already have been notified that they can expect no more large industries until they can guarantee a greater permanent supply of water. The problem is national in scope.

It is time for straight thinking. Stripped of all emotionalism, the quandary simply is for an intelligent people to provide means for retaining more of the rainfall in Kansas rather than permit it to run off in flood waters to the sea.

All the other phases—flood control, watershed treatment, soil conservation, and soil rebuilding—are only parts of a huge basic program.

This realization slowly is dawning on the State. A fact-finding committee has just completed an inventory of the State's water supplies as far as present information goes. It has recommended to the legislature the creation of a permanent State agency to coordinate the work of four existing agencies and plan a program for land and water use.

That Gov. Fred Hall is acutely aware of the critical nature of the problem was pinpointed in his message to the legislature. He spoke of the future development of the State "threatened by drought and the lack of water" * * * and "such a program should have the highest priority" * * * "no time to waste."

The Governor called on the legislature to create a State agency which would report its recommendations to the session next January. He expressed his belief that the State has full responsibility in cooperation with the Federal Government, for establishing a sound policy for the use of land and water resources.

As he outlined the policy, it includes research, soil conservation, protection measures, and "small dams and large dams where economically sound to the economy of the State."

While the State is making its studies, the Federal programs for flood control and irrigation should go right ahead. All are needed.

The people of Kansas will support any reasonable program to conserve water. This is the stage of research and appraisal of the facts. The sooner the State can get a plan of action the better for its long-range welfare.

Presidents' Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, unanimous consent having been granted me heretofore so to do, I am pleased to present for your information, and that of all the Members of this great legislative body, further information about President's Day, which is March 4, 1955.

The text of the letter hereinafter set forth to me from Mr. Hal Fischer of Compton, Calif., in the great 23d District, he being the director of the Committee for Presidents' Day, I am sure you will find interesting and informative.

Also, I am pleased to include in these remarks from the Committee for Presidents' Day, so ably headed by Mr. Fischer, two further documents.

Likewise, I am pleased to express my appreciation to our distinguished Chaplain, Bernard Braskamp, who on Friday, March 4, 1955, will again graciously offer special prayer for Presidents' Day:

COMMITTEE FOR PRESIDENTS' DAY,
Compton, Calif., January 22, 1955.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: As you know, Presidents' Day was supported by 41 Governors of States in 1954. This year, through the guidance of Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby and Dr. Little, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, we now have the vigorous support of most of the chief State education officers. They are advising their schools, via their State education publications, of the activities of Presidents' Day. A moderate estimate of the national picture indicates that Presidents' Day will be observed on March 4, 1955, in at least 100,000 schools over the Nation. They will participate in many activities, such as on the enclosed suggested-activities sheet, and hundreds of original ones as well.

On Washington's Birthday, February 22, some of the children from the great 23d Congressional District will appear on the Art Linkletter House Party, coast-to-coast TV and radio on the Columbia Broadcasting System. These children will be students of the George Washington Elementary School of Lynwood, and they will be dressed as Presidents and their wives. They will be questioned on various presidential facts about the Presidents they represent.

We would greatly appreciate if it could be arranged again this year for prayers for the President of these United States be offered on the opening of the House on March 4, 1955. It would be appreciated also, if the prayers might be prefaced with "On this day in honor of all our Presidents, as the youth of our Nation searches back into the lives and deeds of our Presidents." Our reason for this to pinpoint the especial reason for the prayer, and also to help the day. I am going to write to our Members of the Senate to see if the same may be done in the Senate on this day.

Presidents' Day is now listed in the Special Days, Weeks, and Months pamphlet of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Many chambers of commerce in the country have written to the Compton Chamber of Commerce for more information to help the day. We have received many inquiries from research organizations and calendar companies asking for more details.

You know, Congressman DOYLE, we hear a lot about juvenile delinquency these days, and sometimes I wonder if we should not properly label it "adult delinquency," which it most properly is. If we adults do not properly instill the ideals of our great democracy into the seedlings and show them the beautiful road of the American way of life, how can we expect other than the wanderings of youth because of boredom? Many of our very young children do not know that the America of yesterday was not, television, radio, railroads, pictorial newspapers and magazines, telephones, etc. Questions on Presidents' Day are, "How did Washington look on television?" and "Did Jackson fly to Washington in a jet for his inauguration?" Children are amazed that some of our Chief Executives were once schoolteachers, tailors, country lawyers, etc. And this revelation shows the promise and the opportunity of America. The ancestral backgrounds of the Presidents show that an American can work from the wrong side of the tracks to our highest office of service to the Nation. Many teachers and parents have told me that their students have continued studies of a special President or Presidents for the rest of the year, and not just for Presidents' Day. We need more planting of ideals in children's minds and less curing of rotten apples.

You will receive shortly one of our Presidents' Day awards, which we hope you will like. It is a small token of our appreciation for your great assistance with the day.

Mrs. Fischer joins me in offering our very best wishes to you and Mrs. Doyle for an abundance of health and happiness.

Cordially yours,

HAL FISCHER,
Director, Committee for Presidents' Day.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES FOR PRESIDENTS' DAY

STUDENT BODY ACTIVITIES

Poster displays; events in the lives of Presidents; assemblies to hear speakers with an emphasis on character development and qualities needed to be an Executive; musical programs with songs popular during the terms of the Presidents; games, such as

Guess the President, with classes guessing from facts or costumes; short talks by students on "The President I Would Like To Have Been," giving the reasons; class discussions on the changes in our Nation between our first and our present President, such as transportation, communication, mode of living, etc.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Art work on bulletin boards; costumes of the periods of the Presidents; making of a Book of Presidents by each class or entire school, with pictures, poems, cartoons, stories, etc.; English biographies of Presidents; schoolpaper coverage of the day; write notices for school bulletin; class or assembly skits; debates; discuss desirable personality traits for leaders; games; write and mail letters to the President (they are answered by the White House and possibly the President); ancestral backgrounds of Presidents, showing America as the great melting pot; discover contributions of other nations to American culture and tradition.

SOCIAL STUDIES

Study the Constitution, with emphasis on the executive branch; growth of influence of the executive branch; collect pictures of Presidents; list our Presidents and accomplishments of their times; study attitudes toward our Presidents from the cartoons and editorials of their times.

Awards will be made for best entries received by the committee by May 1 each year.

PROCLAMATION

Whereas the office of the President of the United States of America is the highest and most important that a citizen may attain, and it is the living and working symbol of the American flag and our Constitution; and

Whereas free peoples everywhere today face their greatest trials for the survival of their democratic way of life, which makes it incumbent upon citizens of this Nation to accept their just responsibilities in preserving the general welfare of this land; and

Whereas religion is our most vital asset, as it was with our Founding Fathers, and it is essential to remember and reaffirm our faith in God and our system of delegated authority under him:

Now, therefore, as Governor of the State of ————, I do hereby proclaim March 4 as Presidents' Day in and for this State, and urge that prayers be said in all churches and places of worship for the President of the United States of America, and urge that the opportunity be given our schoolchildren to acquire a better understanding of the American way of life by studying the lives of our Presidents and their wives and presenting special programs appropriate to the observance in the schools of this State on this date.

Graham Dad's Day Opcration Big Hit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, a new and most encouraging note was injected into military life last Saturday, February 26, when the Graham Air Base at Marianna, Fla., held open house for the parents and wives of air cadets who are undergoing flight training at that excellent Air Force contract school. While attention is called to this particular function which was an outstanding success, it is only one of many innovations introduced into the cadet-training program by W. H. Graham, president of Graham Aviation, the contractor. He has made Graham Air Base a model activity of its kind in the country. Letting the parents see firsthand how their sons live and train is a fine thing and brings about a better understanding and appreciation of the objective. Our own Rev. Dr. Braskamp, beloved Chaplain of the House, was among those privileged to attend, with Mrs. Braskamp, and to observe their own son in training.

A report of the event by Al Thomasson, staff writer for the Florida Times-Union, is completely explanatory and most worthy of reading. It is reproduced herewith:

GRAHAM DAD'S DAY OPERATION BIG HIT

(By Al Thomasson)

GRAHAM AIR BASE, MARIANNA, February 26.—An air of expectancy pervaded the campus at this air pilot training mill Thursday afternoon, while activity geared itself to an upcoming event which included the awaited arrival—unusual as it may seem—of an airplane.

Some special cargo—fathers.

They were coming in from all over. The expected chartered airliner was bringing in parents of enrolled cadets from the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania area.

Others were driving in from other States—one from as far away as Idaho. He had heard about the program and notified authorities he would be here.

Many of them came only from surrounding States, to see this new and exciting environment which had captured the time and fancy of their sons.

WIVES, CHILDREN ALSO PRESENT

Wives of married cadets also came, some leading or cuddling wide-eyed youngsters.

But primarily the dads showed up. Among those from nearby: A. E. Crowley, Sarasota; J. Roy Summers, Bristol; George F. Schofield, Miami Springs; A. E. Markette, Sr., Douglas, Ga.; and Gaspar Bua, Tampa.

About 60 came for the weekend program arranged by W. G. Graham, president of Graham Aviation Division of Pittsburgh Institute of Aeronautics.

Graham runs the civilian operated school which trains pilots for Uncle Sam's Air Force on a contractual, cost-plus fee basis. "We are in the pilot-training business professionally," general manager Martin Gracey pointed out. He explained how this saves the Government money, while at the same time offers a stable, efficient cadet training program.

And this modern cadet training life has something over the World War II stuff. That is possibly one thing which attracted some of the dads here this week. They probably couldn't believe the tales about the nice apartment-type living quarters, the food, recreation facilities, climate, and—most of all—that a course in aviation could take a man through so many sciences, both in the classroom and in the air.

Graham thought the dads were long overdue such a visit. He arranged for them to get a good cross-section of a day or two in the life of the modern pilot training course.

STUDENTS FOR A DAY

He made it so they could actually join in and become student pilot themselves, at least for 1 day.

On the agenda: greetings from Gov. LeRoy Collins. The Governor met the group in one of the academic rooms where he insisted they all keep their seats while he made the rounds, making the acquaintance of each personally.

Operating on a tight schedule, the alarm wristwatch on Governor Collins arm went off as he shook the hand of J. D. Anthony, of Dahlonega, Ga. Anthony's consternation was quickly smoothed as the Governor explained what had happened, relating how a similar incident had halted a basketball game a few nights before when the players mistook the noise for a time-out buzzer.

Next the guests were saluted by the Drum and Bugle Corps, witnessed formal retreat and attended a dinner with sons. Later they were welcomed by top Air Force officers.

Next morning: proud fathers posed with swelled-up cadets near a T6 trainer plane stationed in front of flight operations. Dads foHowed flyer-to-be sons right to flight lines. After sons took off for scheduled flight instructions, fathers were toured over base facilities.

A formal parade honored the fathers today and tomorrow a highlight will be at the base chapel with the Reverend Bernard Braskamp, Washington, D. C., delivering the sermon. The Reverend Mr. Braskamp is Chaplain of the United States House of Representatives, but he had something in common with all the visiting dads. His son is 2d Lt. Bernard Braskamp, Jr., stationed at Graham with the 3300th Pilot Training Squadron.

Shortly after the services will come the flight line send-off by Marianna citizens and officialdom, and the guests will be on their ways home.

While here each father has acquired a better picture of "Graham." Each has found his son in good hands and undergonig the finest in Air Force pilot training.

Operation Dad's Day can be termed a popping success.

National Material Handling Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following communication which I have received from J. Wellington Hall, national secretary, American Material Handling Society, Inc.:

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC.,
Toledo, Ohio, February 28, 1955.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr.,
Member of Congress, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: It is with the deepest sense of appreciation of your efforts in behalf of the material handling industry and profession, that I note your resolution, House Joint Resolution 131, introduced in the House of Representatives, requesting a National Material Handling Week.

I would like to inform you of the reaction to your effort.

I have before me a letter, written by C. W. Henkle, president, Industrial Truck Association, who says in part: "Mr. Van Brandt, managing director, has forwarded your letter and I want you to know I feel sure that the Industrial Truck Association would heartily endorse this movement." He further states, "Anything of this kind, which is for the good of the entire industry, would unquestionably receive our wholehearted support."

The Industrial Truck Association is an organization of manufacturers of material handling equipment, specializing in gas and electric powered industrial trucks. The objectives of the associations are to advance the material handling profession and industry, to cooperate with other societies for the dissemination of technical and statis-

tical information in the field of material handling and to maintain a high standard of performance and quality from the manufacturers within their organization.

Mr. William C. Faricy, president, the Association of American Railroads, states in his letter, "The railroads are one of the largest material handling organizations and, of course, are intensely interested in any methods or means that will tend to improve this important phase of their activities. The Association of American Railroads is glad to endorse a National Material Handling Week."

This organization, composed of class I railroads of the United States, maintains divisions for operations, maintenance, terminal switching lines, statistics, advertising freight and passenger traffic rates, telephone and telegraph, construction, signals, motor transport, containers, public relations, legislative research, car-exchange rules, accounting procedures, etc. Maintains the Bureau of Railway Economics and the Bureau of Explosives. Cooperates with National Association of Shippers and Transportation Association of America.

Herbert H. Hall, chairman, material handling division, American Society of Mechanical Engineers, states, in his letter: "The Material Handling Division of ASME was formed in 1920 and since that time has been active in furthering the application and disseminating of information regarding material handling. You can count on the support of ASME."

The American Society of Mechanical Engineers is this year celebrating the 75th year of its founding. Its membership now consists of some 40,000 members, approximately 90 sections, and 125 student chapters. There are 23 professional divisions.

L. West Shea, secretary, the Material Handling Institute, writes, "We shall be glad to cooperate in this program and will be interested in hearing of the progress being made."

The Material Handling Institute is an association of manufacturers composed of several sections which include gas and electric powered industrial trucks, hand trucks, wheels and casters, conveyors, hoists, monorails, pallets, and industrial metal containers, each of which is represented on the board of directors. This organization, being aware of the need for material handling engineers, was the guiding force behind the formation of the American Material Handling Society.

In order to make industry and Government aware of the benefits to be derived from material handling, MHI maintains a traveling clinic for panel type forum sessions. It has to date published four articles in a series called the "Material Handling Library of Know-How." These, plus films and other educational aids are available without charge to students and teachers. It supports a college industry committee on material handling education.

Its objectives are:

1. To promote the use of material handling equipment and standards.

2. To compile, distribute, and exchange helpful information and simplify material handling information.

3. To improve safety methods.

4. To provide special services to members.

5. To emphasize advantages gained through integrated material handling.

R. C. Sollenberger, executive vice president, Conveyor Equipment Manufacturers Association, has written: "The correspondence to and from Congressman RODINO is most interesting and we hope it will result in the declaration of a National Material Handling Week. Heretofore, material handling equipment has always been thrown into a basket called "general industrial equipment," to the effect that we are eternally telling people that such equipment is basic to industry and that you can't have anything without such equipment coming first."

The CEMA is an organization of manufacturers of conveyor equipment which has presented many programs for the education of materials handling engineers. Mr. Sollenberger is a nationally known figure in material handling and his articles on the conveyor industry are nationally recognized and quoted.

Glenn Mather, secretary, Fibre Drum Manufacturers Association, writes, "You may count this organization among your sponsors—I believe the proposal is excellent and should be a very effective means of educating the general public on modern methods of material handling."

The Fibre Drum Manufacturers Association is an organization of manufacturers which has contributed much to the material handling and packaging field. During the late war, the developments of the member companies of this organization, in the moisture-proof, corrosion-proof packaging drum, and in the packaging of foods, chemicals, and other items necessary to the effort, did much to keep the masses of materials moving overseas and insuring the good condition of the contents on arrival. This organization lists as these objectives:

To collect and disseminate information and to promote the growth of the industry through expansion of markets. To establish and maintain contacts with Federal agencies regarding specification and related problems, and with rail, motor, air, and water transportation authorities. To foster equitable business practices. To promote friendly relationships among its members and to cooperate with other industries and organizations.

If you will note the type of organization which has endorsed this effort, it can be seen that these are the organizations of men first called in national emergencies: The railroad in war, fire, flood, or famine or disaster, this tremendous farflung, nationwide network of supply lines; the industrial powered trucks, the hand trucks, the conveyor lines which move the material into receiving, through manufacturing into warehouse area, to be shipped via the over-the-road carriers; the Fibre Drum Manufacturers, with their shipping containers. The Nation thrilled with pride in the know-how when they read of armies being supplied by dumping the cargoes over the side of the supply boats to float to shore. These, then, are the men who did it. These may be the men called on to do it again, though we pray it may never be necessary.

Research, development, know-how, education, training: these are things that we must continue in order to stay ahead in our methods of supply. It is for these things that we ask that recognition be given for past accomplishments, that the future may bring all the benefits to our civilization that these men are capable of providing, the engineers who develop the methods.

May I request that this be entered into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a part of the program—A National Material Handling Week.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL,
National Secretary.

Fallout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial entitled "Fallout," by Leo A. Lerner, which appeared in a recent issue of the Lincoln-Belmont Booster, of Chicago, Ill. The editorial follows:

THE FIRST COLUMN
(By Leo A. Lerner)
FALLOUT

It used to be that the word "fallout" meant that we could break ranks and go home.

But now the term "fallout" means that we should form ranks and get away from home, especially if we get any warning.

I have been reading an article about radioactive fallout in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists. The article is illustrated by a man sitting in an atomic foxhole shelter.

An atomic foxhole, according to the article, is a special hole that every well-equipped family should have. We have had a mistaken notion, up to now, that every family should have an automobile, or a television set, or a combination washer and laundry drier. This is wrong. What every family needs is an atomic foxhole, and the best families will have one for each member of the family.

The foxhole has to be at least 3 feet wide, and 5 feet deep. There should be a chair or a box in it, so that its occupant can remain seated in it for at least 2 days.

If there is a warning when a bomb falls, each member of the family goes to his atomic foxhole, or, to say it another way, he falls out to avoid the fallout.

The top of the open hole should be covered with a loose board and on top of that there should be a thick newspaper or some articles of old clothing, since the wind is more likely to blow fallout into the foxhole if it is open to the sky. Neverthless, even in an open foxhole the radiation exposure is less than 5 percent compared with standing in the open.

I like the calm and perfectly matter-of-fact way that the scientist who writes the article tells his story. He doesn't turn a hair, as if he were telling us how to go down to the drug store for an ice cream soda.

After we have been in the foxhole for about 2 days after a hydrogen bomb has fallen (it is a good idea to keep a bit of food and clean water in the bottom of the foxhole for emergency) you should get out and put on some uncontaminated clothes.

I fear the scientist made an error at this point in his advice. He doesn't say where to find any uncontaminated clothes. I am guessing that it would also be an idea, therefore to keep an extra set of coveralls and shoes in a tin box in the bottom of the foxhole in order to have some clothes when they are needed. You also should have a battery-powered radio in the hole to get instructions from the authorities.

And now comes the big task. If the all-clear has sounded and the wind has blown most of the contaminated air away, you are to crawl out of the foxhole, find a broom and sweep the roof.

Yes, you heard me right. Your first and most important job is to sweep the roof of your house. And mere sweeping isn't enough. The article speaks of "a good stiff sweepdown." I suppose with an uncontaminated broom.

After that, you are to sweep down the walks, the street, and stairways around your house. This is a more normal procedure, until we think about the sweepings. The sweepings are full of fallout. You can't therefore, sweep like most clumsy men sweep when their wives are in the country, by raising clouds of dust.

Radioactive dust is worse for the lungs than that cancerous cigarette smoke. You sweep so as not to raise the dust, and you keep all the particles together. Also, you wear a mask, if you have one left over from last Halloween.

The next big job is to dispose of this practically invisible dustpile.

The scientist says to bury it in the lawn, or sweep it into the sewer.

As for the lawn, it should be immediately turned over with a spade.

At this point, I must admit, I rebelled.

What, I asked myself, is the matter with those guys?

Don't they know I spent 17 years trying to raise a good lawn? I should spade it up, just like that?

I was reading some of this aloud to the family, and I became quite belligerent when I came to that part about spading up the lawn. My son calmed me down.

"Listen, Dad," he said. "You musn't forget that would be after a superbomb had fallen. Don't think about your lawn as it is now, but how you would feel about it then. Whats' a lawn compared to all our lives?"

He had me there. It is very hard to think about how it will be after. Ordinary things certainly won't matter.

But to get back to the foxhole, if you can't dig them in the open, you may dig them in a corner of the basement. The main thing is to have underground shelter of a type that reduces the intensity of radiation.

The article stresses that all this preparation and all these activities are temporary. It has been discovered that extensive dispersal from a big city is unwise (and also impossible), so the best thing to do at the beginning is to get out of the atomic rays and wait a while. After that, you decontaminate as much as possible.

And then, within a few days, and before you have taken in too many roentgens (pronounced rent-jens), you clear out, preferably to a decontaminated area, being careful on the way not to go through any districts that are sprinkled with particles.

If you think I am dreaming all this, or imagining it, I assure you that I am not. Most of the technical material in this column comes from an article in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists for February 1955. You can get a copy of the magazine for 50 cents and find there a picture of the foxhole, with dimensions. This is the age of "do-it-yourself," a part of the thermonuclear era, and it is appropriate to look over the blueprint with an eye to building one.

As to my purpose in telling you all this, it is the same old purpose. It is to talk with you about the kind of age we are now living in, and to ask, without having an answer, whether we can grow up in time to deal with it and save the things we think are worthwhile.

To Amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938

SPEECH
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Chairman, I wish to emphasize my strong support for the provisions of H. R. 1573, which would repeal section 348 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938. Sometime ago I introduced a bill identical in purpose to H. R. 1573.

Section 348 under existing law is to take effect this year and will deprive farmers of agricultural-conservation program payments if they knowingly exceed acreage allotments for any of the crops under control by the ASC.

For example: In my own State of South Dakota, during 1954, 60 percent of the farmers in the commercial-corn area overplanted their allotment. These same farmers, if they continue their present operation in 1955, will lose their AC payments under the provisions of section 348.

Many South Dakota farmers have contacted me about this matter, and I share their belief that the agricultural-conservation program should not be tied in with the acreage-allotment law. No one would suggest that the original ACP program was inaugurated in order to exercise an unfair control over the farmers of this Nation. It was to the contrary a program aimed at inducing farmers to enrich the fertility of the soil by building up soil resources through engaging in good farming practices.

I do not have to outline for you the significant accomplishments of the ACP program, as we are all familiar with the great value of soil-conservation practices. It is enough to say that the AC program has given our farmers increased incentives to practice soil-conservation methods, and the program has thereby played an important role in maintaining our Nation's economic strength.

It is grossly unfair to deny our American farmers partial reimbursement for cost of their conservation programs because they have not complied with acreage allotments.

The agricultural conservation program should not be used to compel compliance with the programs for price support. If a farmer does not choose to comply with acreage allotments and thereby lose his right to participate in the price-support program, it is not necessary to impose an additional penalty in the form of depriving the farm operator of soil conservation payments.

I know there are many Members of the House who agree with my contention that the provisions of section 348 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 would prove to be very detrimental to the American farmer and thereby of great harm to the entire Nation.

I hope that the Congress will recognize the great benefit to be derived from repealing section 348 and making it possible for the farmers of this country to receive Federal cost-sharing payments under the agricultural conservation program even though the operator plants in excess of acreage allotments.

Stop the Smuggling of Narcotics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, since the end of World War II there has been a sharp increase in the crime rate throughout the country, due in large measure to the social upheavals during and after the war, the lack of discipline, and the breakup of many family units. Most deplorable is the growth of juvenile delinquency, particularly the large number of youthful drug addicts.

In recent years narcotic addiction among teen-agers has reached alarming proportions in many of our major cities. These young addicts are often driven to commit serious crimes in order to obtain the necessary funds to purchase drugs. Unfortunately, the American public is not sufficiently aware of the problem and the menace it constitutes to our youth. Our laws are too lax in meting out punishment to those who peddle drugs among teen-agers, and the hand of our Federal Government must be strengthened if we desire to gain control of the situation.

Above all, it is absolutely necessary that we locate the origin and roots of the narcotics trade and expose the evil men who bring this poison into our country for illicit purposes and force it into the hands of inexperienced and thrill-seeking youth. Most narcotics are imported from the Far East, the Middle East, and Africa. They are smuggled into this country by ship and plane as well as across our borders, and then distributed to the dope traffic to continue its deadly work, whose only harvest consists of broken and agonized lives.

If we can succeed in plugging up this evil trade and corrosion of human lives, we will have solved much of the problem. About 2 or 3 years ago, Harry M. Durning, the collector of customs for the port of New York, stated that only 1 of every 5 ships entering the port of New York can be searched for smuggled narcotics because of the lack of sufficient personnel in the customs service. I do not know to what extent this situation has been remedied since then, but the problem is still very much with us.

Congress must take effective action to suppress this vile trade by giving the Bureau of Customs the means and the men with which to operate in the proper enforcement of our antismuggling laws.

For this reason, I have introduced today a bill in Congress which provides for the establishment of a United States customs port patrol and a United States customs border patrol in the Treasury Department's Bureau of Customs in order to increase the effectiveness of this agency in dealing with the smuggling of narcotics into this country. These are to be law-enforcement bodies with adequate personnel and equipment for use in patrol work in our harbors, airports, along the coasts and borders. Officers of these patrol services shall be empowered to enforce the antismuggling laws of the United States, to make searches of all vessels, as well as seizures and arrests in accordance with our laws.

Mr. Speaker, the customs patrol officer is our best and most effective obstacle to the constant flow of illegal narcotics from our docks, airports, and borders. He is the only law-enforcement officer regularly assigned on a 24-hour basis to apprehend and arrest the dope smugglers. By increasing the ranks of these men and giving them the necessary authority to pursue their antismuggling

assignments, we shall be able to root out this evil.

Parents, teachers, welfare agencies, civic organizations, church groups, and most of all, our young people themselves, whose health, morale, and careers are at stake, will heartily endorse this action by Congress. I urge all of my colleagues to support my bill and I call for its speedy enactment. Remember that each day's delay means the additional sacrifice of young American lives.

Eisenhower Security Program Pays Dividends—Routine Check Caught Petersen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on January 10, at page 170 of this RECORD, our colleague from New York, Mr. KEATING, revealed that a man named Joseph Petersen, Jr., a former code expert in the National Security Agency, had just confessed and been sentenced to 7 years in prison for espionage. The point of Mr. KEATING's remarks was that Petersen was caught by means of a routine check under the new security program instituted by President Eisenhower. He pointed out that but for this program, Petersen would still be on the Government payroll today, undetected and unapprehended, and continuing to turn over the Nation's secrets to our enemies.

Now it has been revealed by Columnist David Lawrence that Petersen himself was one of those who attacked as un-American even the loose 1950 security measures that failed to turn him up.

There are bound to be mistakes in administering any security program. We should seek constantly to improve our program and avoid any injury to the innocent. President Eisenhower commendably suggested recently that procedures be established to permit persons labeled as security risks to establish, if they can, the error of such classification. But let us not forget the Petersen case when evaluating the efficacy of our present program.

The David Lawrence article referred to above is as follows:

ATTACKS ON SECURITY SETUP—PETERSEN, NOW IN JAIL FOR STEALING NSA SECRETS, IN 1950 DENOUNCED UNITED STATES SPY-DETECTION SYSTEM

(By David Lawrence)

Who is attacking the security system of the Government today and attempting to discredit it? Many well-meaning persons, thoroughly patriotic, are doing some of it, but it so happens coincidentally that this form of attack has for some time been engineered also by persons who themselves turn out later to be involved in violations of the security system.

Thus this correspondent has just received a clipping from the August 29, 1950, issue of the Washington Post, which, in its "letters to the editor" column, innocently printed a communication from Joseph S. Petersen, Jr., who now is in jail. He pleaded guilty in December 1954, to the theft of secrets from the National Security Agency but in 1950 appeared to be just an indignant letter-writer. Yet from March 1948, through December 1952, according to the evidence at his trial, Petersen was giving to a representative of a European government messages and documents which he was not authorized to transmit and the foreign government was not authorized to receive.

So vital was the secret material that the Department of Justice, for security reasons, did not disclose at the trial all the coded documents that were stolen by Petersen.

How did Petersen escape detection for nearly 5 years? Evidently the security system was not strong enough. But Petersen himself boldly wrote to a Washington newspaper vigorously condemning the very system he was violating. Here is the full text of his letter:

"Under the guise of security, numerous sins are being committed. The welfare of the Nation is of supreme importance, but the right of an individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, is one of supreme importance, too. The Constitution does not allow one to be condemned without trial; it does not permit one to be judged guilty of charges of which he has no knowledge. But that is happening in our Government at this time.

"Today our Government agencies are accused of everything short of treason by irresponsible persons. The faith of the American people in the Government is being undermined by villifiers seeking self-aggrandizement . In order to restore this waning faith of the people, agencies are forced to sacrifice all upon whom the breath of suspicion falls.

"How this must give aid and comfort to our enemies. Those enemies in our midst are united on a definite plan of action and are slowly but inevitably putting it into force. The ghosts of Marx and Lenin must be chuckling over the distrust and disunity that decandent capitalists are causing among themselves—preparing the way for communism.

"Now is the time to cease seeing enemies on all sides, to stop this persecution of innocent people under the label of security of the Nation. The American way is to let a man know what charges have been brought against him and give him a chance to defend himself. Otherwise, what we condemn in others we shall find being used by ourselves.

"JOSEPH S. PETERSEN, Jr.

"WASHINGTON."

It would be a mistake for anyone to generalize about all those who write letters to newspapers just because the Petersen letter reveals insincerity and duplicity. But some of the people who are attacking the security system are exultantly talking about Harvey Matusow's lies as proving that all ex-Communists are liars. Such generalizations are ill-founded, and the case of the Petersen letter underlines how important it is to take every incident separately and weigh the factors in the light of the circumstances in each case.

There are some letter writers who are guilty of writing lies to newspapers, even including their own names and addresses. Again and again, as some of these persons are addressed, the post office returns the letters with a notation that the individuals are unknown at the address given. It is a Communist trick to use phony names, and some day it may prove advisable to print names and addresses so that the neighbors can check as to whether anyone of that name lives at the address given. Many letters come from Communists, but there is no way for a newspaper to know who they are, though sometimes the argument or the language parallels exactly the articles in Communist newspapers.

The art of propaganda is well known to the Communists in this country, and the device of letters to the editor has in the last few years become a powerful means of creating confusion and of attacking the security measures being taken by the national Government.

Heart and Spirit Have Been Reorganized Out of FPC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the article by Tom Stokes which appeared in the San Francisco News of February 8, 1955, entitled "Heart and Spirit Have Been Reorganized Out of FPC." The article follows:

HEART AND SPIRIT HAVE BEEN REORGANIZED OUT OF FPC

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

WASHINGTON, February 8.—Something has been said here recently about the way Federal regulatory commissions have come under the dominant influence of business and financial interests—which the commissions are supposed to regulate—and how their function, ordained by Congress, to protect the public interest has been submerged.

A revealing case study is offered in the Federal Power Commission, which was created as an independent Commission by Congress in 1930 during the Herbert Hoover administration to have jurisdiction over hydroelectric power development and to which subsequently was assigned authority over natural gas in the 1938 Natural Gas Act.

The FPC emerged finally from a reorganization instituted by the Eisenhower administration. The result is that the guts, heart, and spirit once possessed by this agency in behalf of protecting public and consumer interest have been nearly reorganized out of it.

OLD STORY

It's the old story. Things were made uncomfortable for key members of the expert staff whose conception of regulation does not coincide with that of the now prevailing business-minded element on the FPC. Some have been demoted and shunted aside to make way for more amenable personnel. Some have quit, including a number of lawyers on the staff as well as technical experts.

Morale is low. Apathy has supplanted a once-high esprit de corps.

The expert staff now finds itself frequently without support from the Commission, its recommendations and findings disregarded in vital issues with utilities, gas and electric.

TWO STEPS

Instead, there is developing a situation where the top officers of powerful utilities deal directly with the front offices of the FPC to negotiate for what they want.

Two steps achieved the transformation of the Commission, both familiar to anyone who has watched the same thing happen before.

First was a change in the commission itself, which consists of five members. That began even before this administration. The offensive opened during the Truman administration, when the Senate under pressure from powerful oil and gas interests that were influential with leaders of both the Demo-

cratic and Republican Parties in Congress, defeated confirmation for another term of Leland Olds, for 10 years a stalwart defender of the public interest.

INDUSTRY VIEWPOINT

That started a shift in the very delicate balance on the FPC until, with three appointments during the Eisenhower administration, it now is weighted definitely toward what might be called the industry viewpoint.

But something more is required. That is the second step. That is to carry the treatment down below the Commissioners themselves and intimidate or weed out in one way or another those on the permanent civil service expert staff whom the utilities, electric and gas, consider troublemakers because they seek to carry out the law in their recommendations without fear or favor.

Several months ago, as reported here at the time, the new Chairman, Jerome K. Kuykendall, ordered a reorganization of the Commission, which he announced at a staff meeting. Called in to make a survey was a New York management-engineering firm employed by the Budget Bureau, Cresap, McCormick & Paget, which had no previous experience with regulatory agencies.

TOP EXECUTIVES

It called in the top executives of natural gas and electric utilities at the suggestion of Chairman Kuykendall, but seemed to pay much less attention to the consumer so directly affected by everything the Commission does.

Though not adopting all of the firm's recommendations, the FPC has followed them fairly closely. It has abolished some bureaus, consolidated others, created some new ones—a technical process which it is not the intention to explore here except for the effect.

The heart of the FPC was its Bureau of Accounts, Finances, and Rates, which passed on matters so vital to the public. Its head since 1936 has been Charles W. Smith, who has won a national reputation among men in his field for his knowledge of ratemaking. He was relied upon heavily by the Commission because of his experience and his fairness of judgment. His judgments were often counter to those of powerful utility interests naturally.

DIVISION ABOLISHED

In the reorganization his division has been abolished and replaced with a new Bureau of Rates and Gas Certificates and a new Office of Chief Accountant. Mr. Smith was fully aware of the purpose of the reorganization, opposed that aim, but knew he could not stop it. He has now been relegated to the newly created post of Chief Accountant, a position which his friends say he has taken until eligible for retirement a few months hence.

Thus a valuable public servant has been sidetracked. Everyone who has worked with him and under his direction is fully conscious of the meaning of his shelving, and knows that it puts an end to the kind of regulation in the public interest for which Charlie Smith always stood.

There's another clue to what is happening in the case of another veteran who has been with the FPC since 1933. This is Edgar S. Coffman, Chief since 1945 of the Division of Rates which was under Mr. Smith.

NEW BUREAU

This, too, was abolished. Its functions are being taken over by the new Bureau of Rates and Gas Certificates, of which not Mr. Coffman, but another man, Carl T. Kallina, formerly head of the Gas Certificates Division, was made Chief.

The purpose of this was clear enough to Mr. Coffman. He asked for another assignment and chose to leave here and become regional engineer of the Fort Worth, Tex., regional office.

That tells more of the story. Another clue, too, may be found in the single dissent to the whole shakeup in these various key divisions. It came from the one member of the FPC today who has been on it since its creation in 1930, Claude T. Draper, a Republican, who from his long experience can see just what is going on today. It does not fool him.

But his was a voice in the wilderness.

Congressional Resolution to Abolish War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, in the RECORD of February 17, 1955, I inserted an exchange of letters which I have recently had with Gen. Douglas MacArthur regarding the latter's proposal for the abolition of war.

The St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times has published a most interesting and thought-provoking editorial, in its issue of February 28, dealing with General MacArthur's views in the matter and my offer to him to introduce a congressional resolution declaring that it is the will of the American people to abolish war as a means of settling international differences.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to insert this editorial in the RECORD and call it to the attention of all my colleagues:

A TOKEN OF FAITH WHEN HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL

The Lenten season brings a lull in the world's turmoil and hope enough to some men to at least discuss the possibilities of permanent peace.

The awesome reports on atomic and hydrogen tests commands men of good will to reconsider and reappraise possible means of abolishing war.

After other wars men have dared to hope for permanent peace. In 1929 the Kellogg-Briand antiwar treaty was signed by 62 nations pledged to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. President Hoover and the free world proclaimed this pact.

And now another disarmament conference meets in London. President Eisenhower acknowledges that history does not reassure us in our eternal hope that mankind will not continue to crucify itself on the cross of war.

But a Congressman writes to another protagonist of three world wars in the last half century—Gen. Douglas MacArthur—and wants to know whether a simple congressional resolution—speaking for all the American people—might make it clear to the world that we abhor war and devoutly hope to abolish it as an instrument of national policy—if other leading peoples will join us. In a remarkable letter, the general replied, and said:

"It has always been my opinion that war's abolition can only come about through the emergence of a leadership in world affairs with the strength and vision and moral courage to proclaim a readiness in concert with other major powers, to enforce it as a matter of constitutional doctrine by specific constitutional prescription. There is no doubt in my mind but that the great masses of every nation in the world, whether on this side of the Iron Curtain or on the other, would, as a matter of self-interest and protection, fully support such a constitutional limitation upon political power and zealously guard it against any despot's violation or abuse."

We need, the general says, "aggressive action to implement the basic concept" as well as great world leadership. And with that we would all agree. Do we have the concept? Do we have the leader? MacArthur, like the rest of us, hopes and says:

"To trigger a worldwide movement for the abolition of war * * * it would take a ringing affirmation of a dedicated leader commanding universal respect, capable of arousing the conscience of mankind into a crusade against lagging leaders who in the mad lust for ever-increased political power willfully ignore the realism that war as an instrument of political power has been outmoded by the advance of science. I do not know when this Nation will be blessed by such a leadership but I pray that it will be before it has been drawn through the tragedy of another and infinitely worse cataclysmic conflict."

The general's efforts to arouse the United States and the world to the basic concept of outlawing war, can be doubly effective, because he has fought in all the modern wars. But the general's thinking and planning are hampered because he can conceive of action only in terms of the leadership of one man.

MacArthur was replying to Congressman VICTOR ANFUSO, of New York, who is groping for the answer on just how America can convince and reassure the world that we are devoted to the idea that war can be abolished—despite the record of history. Somehow we have lost the initiative and even our friends fear that we are trigger-happy and irresponsible—that the Nation which made the first atomic bomb cannot comprehend the madness of a hydrogen war.

A congressional resolution, backed by numerous other State resolutions throughout the land, can prove that our leaders will be supported in any truly practical disarmament plan. President Eisenhower rightly says:

"We must have ways and means of determining that each principal nation * * * is acting in good faith."

But a congressional resolution subscribed to by the whole country and by the President's own party leaders, such as Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, can be the token of faith America offers at this time of year when hope springs eternal in the breast of all mankind.

It Must Be Conclusive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial by F. W. Brinkerhoff, editor of the Pittsburg (Kans.) Headlight of January 26, entitled "It Must Be Conclusive":

IT MUST BE CONCLUSIVE

The Asiatic situation now is undoubtedly far more serious than the country realizes. The defense of Formosa with arms by this country may quickly require war. What else than war can such a defense by force be?

The President made it perfectly clear in his message to Congress that aggressive mil-

itary operations may come when he asked congressional approval to "engage in whatever operations may be required," to keep Formosa out of the hands of the Reds. It was indicated that the defense may mean aggressive action as a proper military measure when the President made it clear that the defense of Formosa may require attacking the Red Chinese before they leave their own ports. If it is deemed necessary that such an attack be made, and the highest military judgment undoubtedly would approve, the attack must be a major one. Certainly it should be designed not merely to warn the Reds or to discourage them but to destroy their military effectiveness before they can use it. If this move must be made, and certainly now it must, it should mean business. The quicker and more powerful the American move, the better it will be.

America's experience in Asia in these recent years gives support to the idea that this movement must be conclusive.

It was Gen. Douglas MacArthur who said, it will be recalled, that "in war there is no substitute for victory."

President Eisenhower moved with wisdom as well as in obedience to his promise to the American people in submitting to Congress for its approval his proposal for the defense of Formosa. His proposal was clearly and fully stated. He has pursued the constitutional course. The decision of Congress on the President's recommendations, whatever results, will produce a policy that will be a national one, not an administration one.

The Poor Man's Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article written by Bernard Simon which appeared in the February 1955 edition of the National Jewish Monthly.

Mr. Simon is on the public relations staff of the Antidefamation League of B'nai B'rith. The director of the bank is my very dear friend Abraham Gribetz.

THE POOR MAN'S BANK

(By Bernard Simon)

Abraham Gribetz fingered the morning mail that lay unopened on his desk. We sat in his small private office at the far end of the shabby, weather-worn building on New York's Second Avenue. In the large front room that faced the street entrance were the customary wickets behind which tellers did their work. It looked like a run-down bank.

Gribetz nodded at the calendar on the wall. "This is the day," he said. He is a white-haired, quiet-spoken man who has worked 30 years behind the same desk. He chose one envelope from the pile, tore it open. Without examining the contents he handed it to me.

I unfolded a check for $500. There was also a small note that said simply: "Lucky money."

"They haven't missed this day in 12 years," said Gribetz. He told me the story—without names.

It began on this anniversary morning, 19 years before. A middle-aged man and his wife entered the offices of the Hebrew Free Loan Society and asked for the director. The man had the mark of a business executive, the woman wore an expensive fur coat that was now somewhat threadbare. Not an uncommon sight in those depression days.

The man told his story frankly. His once thriving business had succumbed to hard times. Rather than seek escape by bankruptcy, he and his wife had sold almost everything they owned, their furnishings and personal belongings, to pay off creditors.

But the man was cheerful. He wanted a fresh start, he said, another business. He needed capital. Would the Hebrew Free Loan Society give him a free loan of $500?

"I handed them the check myself," Gribetz remembers. "Under our rules they were supposed to repay the loan in 6 months. They tried, but couldn't meet their payments promptly. We gave them extensions, and finally, after 15 months, they both arrived one day with the final installment and many words of gratitude.

"I learned later that after several years of struggle the new business prospered."

And every year, on that same day, there's another $500 check and the same note: "Lucky money!"

Philanthropy, along with steel, oil, and automobiles, is one of the 10 biggest industries in the United States. It is a three-billion-dollar-a-year business. By these standards the work of the little-known social service group called the Hebrew Free Loan Society might be dismissed as inconsequential. In fact, its annual overhead, less than $50,000 a year, marks it as a small-time operation.

What makes the society unexampled in the ranks of philanthropy is that it doesn't give anything away. Whatever it gives—it wants back. It started in business 62 years ago with $95. It still has the same $95, and some six hundred thousand more.

The purpose of the society is exceedingly simple. It will lend you from $5 to $500, for as long as 6 months. You pay no interest or other charges Your credit rating doesn't matter. And although this is a Jewish-sponsored institution, your race or religion doesn't matter, either. No one asks why you need the money or how you intend spending it. It calls itself "the poor man's bank."

To research this article I walked into their bank and approached a teller's window. "I want to borrow $100," I said.

The young lady in the cage answered matter-of-factly. "Of course." She motioned me to a large, glass-enclosed conference room.

I had brought with me some canceled checks to identify two business acquaintances who had agreed to act as endorsers to my loan. This is the society's only safeguard for its funds.

"Only one endorser is needed on loans of $100 or less," the girl explained. Then she got down to my personal history. She asked exactly three questions: My name, my address, my occupation. I said I was an unemployed poet.

With that, the interview was over.

I couldn't resist interrogating the clerk.

"You people don't seem to care what happens to your money," I said.

"Oh, but we do!" She was dead serious. "You are obligated to repay it promptly, you know."

"But you don't know anything about me," I protested. "How can you possibly check on me without any information?"

"We don't," she said. "We have never investigated a borrower. We lend him money on his good faith. It's always paid back."

I discovered later that this is true. The society's yearly losses on free loans are between one-tenth and one-half of 1 percent, a record better than that of most commercial banks.

Next day, when I returned, she handed me a check drawn for $100 which had no identification on it except a number. This, I learned, was to help preserve the anonymity of my loan. When I cashed the check no one could tell where I had gotten it. This, I thought, is strictly business—I'm no chairty case. Which is precisely the way the society wanted me to feel.

The poor man's bank has been operating in this fashion for six decades. Some 800,000 persons have entered its doors to borrow, without interest, a collective total of $40,000,00. During periods of economic stress, as in pre-World War I days, when waves of immigrants landed in New York, most of them impoverished, and in the depression of the 1930's, when native and immigrant both hit bottom, as many as 20,000 persons hunted up the society each year and the annual volume of loans exceeded $1,250,000. There were times when the society's perpeual loan fund was completely exhausted. When that happened the directors went to commercial banks and borrowed at normal interest rates in order to keep making free loans. In that way they preserved the society's most unique boast: It has never turned away a single legitimate borrower.

On the morning that I returned my loan and revealed my identity and purpose to Abe Gribetz, he invited me into his office to examine some of the society's files and learn the character of its borrowers. Few of them, I quickly learned, are the kind of credit risk welcomed at ordinary banks. Many are in desperate straits—an operation to be paid for, a new baby in the family, an empty pay envelope because of a seasonal lay-off. But these are people who scrupulously reject charity, and it is to sustain their spirit of independence and self-reliance that the Hebrew Free Loan Society provides its unusual services—in a manner that, as its founders decreed, violates the dignity of no man. To many, it has meant freedom from the pawnshop and the loan shark.

The society's attitude is that if a financially responsible person has enough faith in the borrower to endorse his loan, why should they have less? The need for endorsers keeps out the chiselers and petty swindlers. The sincerity of the borrowers is evident in the fact that in less than 2 percent of its cases is the society forced to apply to endorsers to make good.

Free loans have started many young people in their own business. They helped to establish a doctor in his new office; bought tools for a refugee carpenter; financed the car that embarked another eager lad on a salesman's career. They have paid for births, for weddings, and funerals; for a poor youngster's graduation dress and a GI's down payment on a home. One free loan bought a new suit—and a chance for rehabilitation—for an exconvict.

How good is an ex-con's credit? This one had just fiunished a stretch for—embezzlement. When the society loaned him $100, with no questions asked, he called it holy money. He was as prompt with his weekly installments as was the Brooklyn minister who borrowed for a new set of dentures.

Their secret is safe. The society will not, for any reason, reveal the identity of a borrower.

In Gribetz' office hangs a little tablet on which is inscribed in Hebrew, gemilath chasodim (acts of loving kindness). It is one of the great Jewish precepts and it was imbedded in the hearts of the 11 men who met in an East Side synagogue one evening in 1892 and there organized the Hebrew Free Loan Society.

It was strange, indeed, that these 11 worshipers should have become organized philanthropists. They were hard-working tenement dwellers, none of whom could boast even modest resources. Yet, they reasoned, there were others in greater need than them-

selves. How best to help them was found in the Biblical quotation of Exodus XXII, 24: "If thou lend money to any of My people, even to the poor with Thee, thou shalt not • • • lay upon him interest."

The 11 founders contributed a total of $95 to start a perpetual loan fund. By making free loans of $5 and $10—$10 in those days could buy stock and a pushcart for an immigrant, or tools to ply his trade—they assisted 227 borrowers in that first year.

The fund has since grown to more than $600,000—although the society has never made any public appeal for funds. Instead, many of its grateful clients have become its financial supporters, and philanthropists like Jacob H. Schiff and Adolph Lewisohn also came to its support. It was Schiff who coined the name "poor man's bank."

As the fund increased, the maximum loan was proportionately increased until, by 1929, the present $500 figure was set. The fund is used for no purpose but capital for free loans. The society's operating expenses are borne by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

Last year the society inaugurated another fund provided by a donor who prefers anonymity. It serves refugees who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain. "Most of them," said Gribetz, "are Russian intellectuals, capable, freedom-loving people whose abilities find them jobs in this country quickly. But they arrive here penniless and need a little help to get started."

The Hebrew Free Loan Society takes pardonable pride in its "acts of kindness" and its philosophy of accepting without question any man's good faith. "But we're proudest of the integrity of the clients who come to the poor man's bank," says Director Gribetz. "You don't find a really bad risk among them."

National Material Handling Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a communication which I have received from J. Wellington Hall, national secretary, American Material Handling Society, Inc.:

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC.,
Toledo, Ohio, March 1, 1955.

Hon. P. M. RODINO, Jr.,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: Since writing to you advising of the spontaneous response to your speech by various organizations engaged in or interested in material handling, I have received some letters from other organizations endorsing your effort to establish a National Material Handling Week.

Mr. Roy H. Stewart, operations engineer, American Trucking Association, Inc., has written stating, "I personally feel that the effort to secure designation by President Eisenhower of a National Material Handling Week is a worthy one. We at American Trucking Association stand ready to lend assistance wherever possible in publicizing the efforts of the various participating organizations."

The American Trucking Association, Inc., is an organization composed of almost 400 member organizations of trucking associations. It's worth is attested to by its phenomenal growth from 202 member organizations to its present size in the 12 months of 1954. They maintain training programs for the membership, educational program, scholarships are given, reprints of articles of interest are mailed to their members and educational institutions. A monthly newsletter keeps their members advised of conditions within their industry.

Chester C. Thompson, president, the American Waterways Operators, Inc., has written, stating, "I wish to acknowledge—reprint of speech by the Honorable PETER W. RODINO, JR., urging the adoption of a resolution proclaiming a National Material Handling Week, and you are assured that this National Association of the Barge and Towing Vessel Industry will do everything it can to further the adoption of Mr. RODINO's resolution."

The American Waterways Operators, Inc., is an organization of domestic water carriers engaged in the transportation of freight cargo, chiefly in the Mississippi River and gulf coast areas.

Mr. Kenneth E. Knowles, vice president, Clapp & Poliak, Inc., producers of industrial shows, writes, stating, "We believe the idea has very fine possibilities and will add impetus to a better understanding of the tremendous importance of material handling as a technique which vitally concerns not only industry, but, in the end, our personal life. I hope that you will keep in touch with us so that we may best see how we may participate."

This organization will produce the Materials Handling Exposition in Chicago's amphitheater in May of 1955.

John Bright, chairman, the Institute of Material Handling, London, England, writes, and in his letter he states, "This organization seeks to join in an all-out drive during an International Material Handling Week. He further states, and I quote, "This institute would act as the responsible coordinating body this side of the globe."

The Institute of Material Handling is an organization of men engaged in the material-handling field who have joined together to preach the gospel of material handling on the other side of the ocean. Though separated by many miles of water its aims and purposes are essentially the same as those of ASME, SAM, SIPMHE, AMHS. Truly, the science of materials handling knows no boundaries.

Donald W. Pennock, vice president, Material Handling Division, Society for the Advancement of Management, writes, stating, "On February 12, 1955, the SAM executive committee and society officers approved of a National Material Handling Week."

This is an organization of more than 50 chapters in the United States and Canada. It has 95 student chapters in leading universities. An organization of some 60,000 members, drawn from the top levels of management, they have contributed much to community and industrial development by undertaking specific projects for labor-management cooperation, worker incentives, and advanced management techniques for government.

SAM was formed in 1936 by merging the Taylor Society, organized since 1912, and the Society of Industrial Engineers, formed in 1917. In 1946, the Industrial Methods Society merged with SAM.

They participate yearly in hundreds of clinics, seminars, and round-table discussions on all phases of industry and community management. Their annual time study and methods conference is one of the most outstanding each year, averaging an astounding 2,000 registration per session in the last two sessions.

The organizations listed here, the trucking industry with its 10,000 trucks on the road, the barge and towing-vessel industry, the management organizations, the engineers, these are the people who have solved this Nation's problems of supply and distribution. It is material handling that stocks the floor of the automobile showroom, the shelves of the supermarket, the vegetable store, the department store, the coal bin or oil tank in the cellar. Yes, even the water, electricity, or gas flowing into the home must be moved in some fashion and in any movement of material there must be a means provided for the movement, be it a piece of wire or a piece of pipe, a ship, a truck, or an airplane or conveyer.

The general public, however, accepting all these things as part of our civilization without ever asking how, is not fully aware of the tremendous scope of these functions. It is for this reason I would ask you, as part of the effort to establish a National Material Handling Week, that this letter be entered into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL,
AMHS National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

Pity the Poor Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT HALE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Stewart Alsop:

MATTER OF FACT
(By Stewart Alsop)
PITY THE POOR DEMOCRATS

The hassle over taxes neatly illustrates the hideous dilemma confronting the Democrats. The dilemma is so seemingly insoluble that it has the Democratic leaders of the House and Senate, who are about the shrewdest politicians in the United States, baffled, irritated, and divided.

The dilemma can be defined in a couple of questions: How are the Democrats to win back the White House when it is seemingly political poison even to criticize the well-liked President? And what issues are Democratic congressional candidates to run on when the administration keeps snatching all the best issues out from under their noses?

There are two theoretical solutions to these conundrums. One is to use every means to present the Eisenhower administration as the friend of the rich, casting the Democratic Party in the role of the defender of the little guy. Meanwhile, the Democrats should be ready to stand up and slug it out with the President when the need arises. Chief proponents of this strategy are Paul Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and his assistants. With modifications, the Butler view is shared by House Speaker SAM RAYBURN and the other House leaders.

Solution No. 2 is to avoid direct conflict with the President, concentrating instead on building up the Democratic Party as unified and responsible and the Republican Party as irresponsible and divided. As for defeating Eisenhower (everybody assumes he will run again) that is a nasty little problem for the Democratic candidate, whoever he may be.

Chief proponents of this view are Senate Majority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON and most of the senior Democratic Senators. This is not to say that there is any row brewing between JOHNSON (whose illness has complicated matters) and his fellow-Texan RAYBURN. But there is a distinct and important

difference of approach. There are good reasons for this difference.

For one thing, only a comparative handful of Democratic Senators need to worry seriously about the next election. Moreover, the Senate leaders are by no means starry-eyed about Adlai Stevenson, most probable Democratic presidential candidate. This gives them a rather relaxed attitude toward 1956.

By contrast, Butler and the national committee officials are Stevenson men, and they are quite aware that Stevenson can hardly hope to win if Eisenhower is considered above criticism. The House Democrats, what is more, feel the breath of 1956 already hot on their necks.

In fact, many House Democrats are worried sick at the prospect of running in 1956, with the popular Eisenhower heading the Republican ticket and with no "gut issue"—no issue that really excites the voters—to use against the Republicans. State delegations have repeatedly passed the word to RAYBURN: "We've got to have an issue."

This is one reason why RAYBURN and Butler are natural allies in the Democratic war council. It is also one reason why RAYBURN and company decided to spring the $20-for-everybody tax surprise.

The surprise was most unwelcome to the Senate leaders. As they saw it, instead of giving the Democrats the needed issue, the move unified the Republicans and hung the irresponsible label on the Democrats, all at one stroke. As this is written an effort is being made to patch up some sort of compromise which will save face for the House leaders without giving the administration a political bonanza.

This will be a neat trick if it can be done, but it will not begin to solve the Democratic problem. The Democrats thought they might have the essential "gut issue" in aid for education. But Senators IVES, of New York, and SMITH of New Jersey needled the administration to jump in with an education bill of its own. Democrats angrily denounced the administration bill as a phony. But the bill has, nevertheless, robbed them of the clear-cut issue to use against the administration which they are seeking. And the same thing is true all the way down the line.

Perhaps events may solve the Democrats' problem. An ugly little war in Asia, for example, might change the political climate. Former President Harry Truman has reportedly written Senator WAYNE MORSE, congratulating him for his antiadministration stand in the Formosa crisis, and accusing the President of abdicating his responsibilities. The time might come when some such line would be politically effective.

Or a worsening economic situation might do the trick for the Democrats. But House Minority Leader JOE MARTIN often remarks to friends: "Give us peace and prosperity in 1956, with Ike heading the ticket, and nothing can beat us." And many Democrats privately agree—at least as regards the White House.

Smaller Business Association of New England, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on February 24, 1955, representatives of the Smaller Business Association of New England, Inc., presented their views in Washington on the problems and plight of small-business men to the Members of the Massachusetts delegation. Each and every one of those who addressed the meeting of the delegation—A. L. Lawrence, president; Ralph A. Fletcher; Howard D. Williams; A. Dudley Bach; and S. Abbot Smith—made concise and constructive recommendations. What they had to say, as well as their recommendations, is a matter of interest to all small and independent businessmen throughout the United States. I am pleased to include in my extension of remarks the statements made by the above gentlemen on the occasion of the meeting of the Massachusetts delegation on February 24, 1955, in the Capitol in Washington:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS OF A. L. LAWRENCE, PRESIDENT, SMALLER BUSINESS ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND, INC.

Honorable chairman and Members of the Senate and Congress from New England, it is nice to be with so many friends. My name is A. L. Lawrence. I am treasurer of the H. B. Smith Co., Inc., of Westfield, Mass., manufacturing boilers for 102 years. I have the honor this year to be president of the Smaller Business Association of New England, Inc.

We very much appreciate the time and interest you are giving to us today on the problems of smaller business. These problems are many but they are still basic. They have, however, been multiplied over the years.

The small-business man is a truly optimistic and independent American, who has faith in his country, in its future, and in himself. If he didn't, he would never have had the courage to start his own business. What he really wants are the rights he should have inherited, has fought for, and is still fighting for under our free-enterprise system, primarily his rights to live as a freeman, to worship as he pleases, to work in his chosen field, to grow and prosper thereby to better his standard of living, and to obtain thereby some measure of earned security for himself, his family, and his fellow employees. These rights certainly are in the American tradition and must be preserved. That is why we are here today.

It is a fact that this is the only country in the world where these basic rights are still even recognized and we are thankful, but let us be fully aware that these rights are being constantly impaired, so that the objectives are getting harder and harder to attain.

The American rights to live as freemen, to worship and to work have been virtually preserved.

Our chief concern today is for our right to grow and prosper as a result of our good hard work. This right has become an obstacle course, full of legislation, taxes, red tape, and not always helpful administration.

The tax situation we believe is the greatest deterrent to the growth of small business, as what is left after today's multiple taxes does not leave enough to the small-business man to reinvest in the business for reasonable growth and progress. Couple this with a lock of equity capital, rampant business mergers, Government competition in business, some poor administration, and redtape, with the prospect of lower or no tariff, and the obvious advantages of big business to mention only a few reasons, and we have some very real causes for concern.

The Smaller Business Association of New England has fought for many years for relief from this eventually ruinous situation. We fight in the American way with a program of education and understanding, for corrective legislation and better administration of the laws. We are this year reorganizing our association on a regional basis with membership committees in every New England State and are at this time planning an extensive radio program. Our bulletin entitled the Voice of New England has this year been streamlined and is now widely circulated and read.

It is obvious that there is not time to cover today all of the things which bother small business, so we have picked out some of the most important. The gentlemen who you will hear on specific matters of great concern to us are all directors of our association and have made this trip at their own expense.

Again may I thank you all for our association for your kind interest and we hope for your continued cooperation on behalf of smaller business, the backbone of our economy.

STATEMENT OF RALPH A. FLETCHER, BEFORE NEW ENGLAND SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 24, 1955

Honorable chairmen and members of the New England congressional delegation, I appreciate your extending to me the privilege of appearing again before this group on behalf of the Smaller Business Association of New England.

We have always been accorded an attentive and understanding reception not only by our representatives from New England but as well by the Senate and House committees before whom I and my associates have from time to time appeared.

I shall first explain the reasons for my interest in the problems of small business. I am a small-business man. As an engineer by education and training and a quarryman and manufacturer by experience, I have long been concerned with the difficulties which confront every small-business man. These have resulted in part from an expanding economy, our Federal tax structure and the disproportionate advantages that accrue to the large business corporations under our current system.

For these reasons, some 10 years ago I became associated with the Smaller Business Association of New England as a director, and had the honor to serve as its president during this past year.

Among the many problems which have beset the small-business man under our present tax system is that of depreciation including obsolescence, and that is the problem to which I wish to direct my remarks. We do not need to expand on the fact that this problem of a more flexible depreciation is accepted by you and our other representatives in Washington.

The Select Committee on Small Business of the Senate in a considered report issued in June 1953, recorded themselves in favor of more liberal depreciation policies: "We do not wish to recommend a reproduction cost basis for calculating depreciation, but we do believe that management should have a greater latitude for judgment and should tie depreciation charges to its own policies as they relate to machinery replacement and the recognition of obsolescence." (83d Cong., S. Rept. No. 442).

Not only in 1953, but in 1954, when the new code was under legislative consideration, the Senate Finance Committee in its report recognized the impact of depreciation policies on the small-business man: "Small business and farmers particularly have a vital stake in a more liberal and constructive depreciation policy. They are especially dependent on their current earnings or short-term loans to obtain funds for expansion. The faster recovery of capital investment provided by this bill will permit them to secure short-term loans which would otherwise not be available."

In these reports the problem is recognized. I could continue at length in an attempt to

convince this group of a need which is conceded to exist. I do not intend to waste your time. I expressed these same views on April 6, 1950, at a similar meeting of this delegation. These comments were published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am having copies of these remarks distributed.

The question is what do I suggest should be done to solve this problem.

In the first place, I know that we all appreciate the time and study the Senate Finance and the House Ways and Means Committees have devoted to the depreciation problem. And I think that the requirements as expressed in section 167 of the new code present a liberalization of the old rules which could have resulted only from serious study of the problem. However, the declining balance method and the sum of the digits formula do not as a practical matter solve the depreciation problems of the small-business man.

Frankly, the problem is as simple as this. A Government agent or agency sets a period of time which is presumed to represent the useful life of a depreciable asset. This may be an arbitrary standard, as for example Bulletin F, and which in many instances fails to give due consideration to the factor of obsolescence. This under present retooling and replacement demands greatly shortens the period which would reasonably be considered the useful life of a piece of machinery or other property subject to depreciation.

Therefore I believe and, with the support of my codirectors, recommend to the serious consideration of our New England Representatives, and to the congressional committees charged generally with the interests of small business, that two changes in section 167 should be made.

The first one has to do with the burden of proof. This is important. I am not a lawyer, but it has been my experience in ordinary business transactions that the person claiming money is due him must prove his case (by competent evidence). He has the burden, the responsibility, of establishing his claim.

In the case of depreciation allowances, however, the burden is on the taxpayer to prove that the Government in establishing the depreciation rate (based on useful life) is wrong.

Our association believes that the independent small-business man who knows his own business and has his own capital at stake and who is faced with rapidity of change in technique and style is better qualified to fix the depreciation period.

Our second recommendation is that the individual or concern who proposes to take depreciation be free to a limited extent to set his own life estimate, especially since obsolescence may quickly destroy the useful life of a property. In our tax structure, we have many specific exemptions granted, for instance for each dependent, $600; from estate taxes, $60,000; from gift taxes, $30,000. We think that a reasonable amount should be established, in the nature of a specific exemption, as an annual depreciation allowance. This should not be subject to question but, of course, could not be taken in excess of the available undepreciated asset values. This should eliminate most of the controversy with Federal tax authorities and also quiet most of the complaints from small business relating to depreciation and obsolescence allowances.

In order to accomplish both of the purposes which we have in mind, we recommend that section 167 of the 1954 code read as follows:

The law as proposed:

"SEC. 167. Depreciation.

"(a) General rule: There shall be allowed as a depreciation deduction a reasonable allowance, as determined by the taxpayer, for the exhaustion, wear and tear (including a reasonable allowance for obsolescence) (1) of property used in the trade or business, or (2) of property held for the production of income. The Secretary or his delegate shall have the burden of proving that the allowance as determined by the taxpayer is not reasonable and in determining such question of reasonableness annual depreciation deductions in an amount not exceeding $50,000 may be taken by the taxpayer which amount shall not be subject to attack by the Secretary or his delegate: *Provided, however,* That adequate depreciable assets exist."

And again I thank you for the opportunity of appearing before this group among whom I recognize so many friends of long years standing.

STATEMENT BY HOWARD D. WILLIAMS, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR THE ADEQUATE FINANCING OF SMALL BUSINESS; PRESIDENT, WASHINGTON MILLS ABRASIVE CO., NORTH GRAFTON, MASS.

To the Honorable Delegates to Congress from New England, at Washington, D. C., February 24, 1955:

The level of high taxation, both corporate and personal, continues severely to discourage the financing of small-business enterprises. Individual savings continue to be channelled largely into savings banks and insurance companies whose funds are not generally available to small-business enterprises; and taxation does not leave enough working capital in small businesses to enable their reasonable growth, nor indeed to build up those resources desired to safeguard workers' security in adverse business cycles.

The short-term cash requirements of small businesses are in general being well met by commercial banks in our area, however commercial banks do not generally undertake the long-term needs, by which I mean loan terms of 1 year and upwards.

It is for the long term capital needs of small business that a vacuum exists. Smaller business of New England does not prefer direct financing by Government agencies, but until some adequate source for these long term capital needs is established we firmly recommend the continuance of loaning authority in the Small Business Administration.

To enable Small Business Administration effectively to function we recommend its continuance as an independent Government agency, reporting directly to the President and to Congress, and another of our speakers makes a recommendation to you as to its life span. We recommend to you that SBA be authorized to make individual advances up to $150,000, but that this amount be increased to $300,000 in the case of advances for the fulfillment of Government contracts, prime or sub. We point out that the fulfillment of Government contracts in many cases imposes a very heavy drain on the contractor's finances, and believe that an increase in SBA's loaning limit for this purpose is necessary and realistic. We point out that without this increase an obstacle is being created which would prevent many smaller businesses from obtaining Government contracts and this would not be to the advantage of the Government. In this general connection we could stress the desirability of authorizing progress payments to the contractors and subcontractors. This does not eliminate the need for financing on Government contracts, but does reduce it.

We would like to mention to you that in each New England State there is now in operation some form either of credit or business development corporation, working under State charters. These bear some close resemblances to the capital bank for the long-term credit needs of small business which our association has been urging for some years. It is evident that a State credit corporation will not be able to obtain the broad averaging of risks which would be possible to a federally chartered and operating capital bank, but our association will watch and if you will allow us will report to you as to the ability of these State development and credit corporations to raise the working funds they need, and as to the extent to which they may be able to meet the long-term financing needs of small business.

We are of the opinion that a federally chartered capital bank for the purposes of making secured or unsecured advances to small businesses is needed and will prove to be one of the most effective and satisfactory ways of meeting this unfilled need. Quite recently three Senate bills introduced by Senator SPARKMAN have been brought to our notice, S. 381, S. 382, S. 383, all of which have been referred to Committee on Banking and Currency.

At this time we ask your interest particularly in S. 382. Section 2 (a) would regulate the interest chargeable by Small Business Administration in participation loans, and we recommend this to you. Section 2 (b) would increase SBA's loaning authority to $500,000 and we have made a different recommendation to you. Section 3 would extend the life of SBA to 1957; we have recommended SBA as a permanent agency.

S. 381 would authorize the formation of national investment companies; S. 383 would provide for the insurance of credit risks, on advances to small business, by the Federal Reserve System. With regard to S. 381, we approve the principle of this bill but are giving it further study. With regard to S. 383, it is our belief that such powers if given to the Federal Reserve System would not be used more extensively than were the powers given to the Federal Reserve System to make direct loans to small businesses.

STATEMENT BY A. DUDLEY BACH, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ENGLAND METALLURGICAL CORP., BOSTON, MASS.; PAST PRESIDENT, SMALLER BUSINESS ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND; MEMBER, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CONSULTANTS OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

To the Honorable Delegates to Congress from New England, at Washington, D. C., February 24, 1955:

The New England Smaller Business Association has asked me to appear before you today on their behalf and express their views on what we believe should be incorporated in any legislation sponsoring the continuance of the Small Business Administration.

Our association does not at this time wish to go on record as being in favor of any one of the many bills that have been presented, but wish to point to the important items that should be incorporated in such a bill.

We firmly believe the Small Business Administration should be extended as a permanent, independent agency; whose Director shall be responsible only to the President and Congress. We wish to emphasize the words "independent agency" because there is a tendency by some to recommend that the Small Business Administration be absorbed by the Department of Commerce. This has been tried on two different occasions with no success. We feel that while the Department of Commerce furnishes data to all business, it is particularly geared to the problems of big industries and, therefore, we believe that small business with its problems should have the benefit of a completely independent agency such as the Small Business Administration.

One of the important functions of the Small Business Administration is the loaning of money to those small businesses who cannot obtain it from other sources, and we believe that the limit of $150,000 is normally adequate. That amount, however, is not sufficient in our opinion to finance Government prime or subcontracts because of the

great amount of money involved, and we suggest, therefore, that the bill be amended so that the maximum be increased when the borrowed money is to be used to finance Government contracts or subcontracts to be $300,000. This limit might be adequate providing progress payments against Government contracts would still be available to the small contractor against any Government prime or subcontract.

We do not believe that municipalities should be eligible for loans under the Small Business Administration, and we also feel that the Small Business Administration should not be privileged to make loans for recreation or amusement facilities of any kind.

The bills that have been presented thus far in most cases stress the loan features of the Small Business Administration. But we would like to point to the many other functions of the Small Business Administration that we think are equally important and should be given consideration.

The Small Business Administration, for example, has been cooperating in establishing the many State development corporations which are being set up to furnish equity capital to small business. These are operating very successfully in some cases, but we still feel that a Federal capital bank of some type is necessary, and our Mr. Howard Williams will comment on that.

Any new bill should strengthen the hand of the Administrator of the Small Business Administration by giving him more authority in the matter of procurement. The greatest part of dollar volume of all Government contracts is still going to big business, and the inability of the small contractor to get a portion of these contracts is working a severe hardship on all small industries throughout the country. Our Mr. S. Abbot Smith, who is with us today, has some very definite recommendations upon that problem.

There are other features of the Small Business Administration such as technical aids and marketing aids that have been more than helpful to small business and should be continued. Again, the college-management courses which are being sponsored at 51 universities throughout the country, for which the individual attending has to pay as much as $50 tuition, are meeting with tremendous success, and in many cases repeat courses are already underway.

Because of the success of these many programs, it is important that adequate funds will be appropriated so that the Small Business Administration can broaden its service to small businesses of America.

In closing we again wish to stress the most important point made in my opening remarks to the effect that the Administrator be responsible only to the President and Congress, and further that the bill setting up the Small Business Administration as a permanent, independent agency give the Administrator of the Small Business Administration sufficient authority so he can make it a strong, constructive agency and help small business to become once again the strong, vital force that it at one time was in our American economy.

Respectfully submitted.

A. DUDLEY BACH.

STATEMENT OF S. ABBOT SMITH, SMALLER BUSINESS ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND, INC., BEFORE NEW ENGLAND SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 24, 1955

Chairmen and honorable Members of the Congress, may I add my thanks to those of our President to you all for taking the time out of your busy day to meet with us here this morning. It is especially pleasing to me because so many of you are old friends of years' standing. We have fought the battles of small business and New England together since those days in 1942 when I first came to Washington as a Director of the Smaller War Plants Corporation.

As I believe you all know, ever since its inception the officers and directors of the Smaller Business Association of New England have always tried to present only well-considered programs. We try at all times to be sound and constructive.

In line with that objective, I should like to present for your consideration a recommendation which we made to Mr. Wilson, Secretary of the Department of Defense.

We have been disturbed because the SBA has apparently not been able to obtain for the small businesses of the country as large a proportion of Government contracts—both prime and sub—as we believe they should, and as we believe the Congress intended when it created SBA.

Awhile ago we were told an Executive order was under consideration to try to improve this situation by transferring the small-business specialists of the services to the SBA. While this might help, it did not seem to us this went to the root of the matter.

The basic problem, we believe, is that many of those specialists and the procurement officers do not thoroughly know the already existing directives of their respective services with regard to small business and many pay little or no attention to them. Furthermore, there seems to be a very considerable difference in the extent and efficacy of these programs as between the services as well as between contracting officers.

Quite obviously no program will work unless it is given wholehearted backing at the top and unless it is followed through at each level of command right down to the individual contracting officer.

So after considerable study we wrote Mr. Wilson a letter, a copy of which is attached to my statement which you have. In brief, our suggestion is that he should appoint as an Assistant Secretary of Defense for Small Business a high caliber, competent man sympathetic to small business who would report directly to him and whose sole job would be directing the coordination and implementation of the small-business programs throughout the armed services—Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps; who would study the programs now in effect with a view to improving them and who would utilize in all the best features of each.

Then in each of the services, starting in the Secretary's office and right down through the chain of command there would be one individual charged with this same responsibility for his part of the small-business program and who would devote his entire time to this job.

By focusing responsibility in this way on one individual at each level, we believe better coordination, integration, and implementation could be obtained. Every contracting officer and every small-business specialist would know exactly what he has to do under the program.

If you, for instance, wanted to know just what the program is you would contact one man who would have the whole thing in his hands.

When the Administrator of SBA felt changes were desirable, he would go directly to this Assistant Secretary of Defense, i. e., the top, to discuss them. In short, this Assistant Secretary would be charged with seeing that the intent of Congress when it created SBA is carried out as regards the Armed Services and procurement.

It seemed to us this might eliminate to a large extent what so many people, especially small-business men, complain about when dealing with the armed services, the run-around.

In our opinion, this would be a more efficient plan than the recent arrangement SBA has just made whereby one of their men has a desk in the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Supply and Logistics. In this way it is hoped to have closer liaison between the two offices. Also, the men in charge of the small-business programs in each of the services are being upgraded. This surely is better than it has been but still the liaison man is an SBA man on the outside looking in while under our plan he would be on the inside. Furthermore, it is our understanding that most of the men in the services who now are supposed to take care of the small-business programs have other duties as well. Under our plan, their whole time and attention would be devoted solely to the small-business programs.

Although we are somewhat skeptical, nevertheless it is undoubtedly best to try out the new arrangement for awhile anyway. We hope it will produce the desired results.

However, the trial period must not be too long for already small businesses are in trouble and failing all over the country due to the cutting off of subcontracts by large primes. So if good results are not forthcoming soon, then it might be worthwhile to take out our suggestion and dust it off again for further consideration. The titles suggested may not be correct but we believe the basic idea of pinpointing responsibility is good.

Furthermore, we fully realize that the suggestion we make is one which requires executive not legislative action. On the other hand, the Congress expressed its intent to help small business when it created the Small Business Administration. We do not feel that intent is being realized to the greatest extent possible and so are calling this suggestion to your attention.

We hope you will keep close watch of how things go because whether or not they get a suitable proportion of prime and subcontracts will make a tremendous difference to our small businesses and the whole economy of New England.

JANUARY 7, 1955.

Hon. CHARLES E. WILSON,
Secretary, Department of Defense,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We smaller businessmen of New England were very much disturbed at the reports published some months ago that you favored the services placing most contracts with a few large suppliers, and then were much pleased to read in the Wall Street Journal early in December that actually you favored spreading contracts widely and wished to encourage multiple sources of supply, which would obviously mean keeping many competent small concerns with their great geographical dispersion in the picture.

This is of vital interest to many of our members who built up organizations to produce essential, frequently highly classified items, during World War II. If they cannot continue to obtain contracts now, much of this skill and know-how accumulated by years of effort will be dissipated. That kind of organization and know-how takes even longer to build up again than the big long-lead-time machines and so should be held together as part of our defense mobilization policy.

The officers and directors of the Smaller Business Association of New England have watched with the keenest interest the efforts of the Congress and the armed services to utilize to the greatest extent possible the facilities and know-how of the small businesses of the country, both during the war and since. Sometimes the results have seemed to be pretty good and sometimes

rather poor, depending usually upon the attitudes of individual procurement officers, their superiors and their departments or bureaus. Directives which looked good in writing at the higher levels seem to lose efficacy as they go down through channels until when they finally reach the man in the field they have become so weak and diluted the procurement officer usually seems to think he had better follow the old easiest, and safest procedure of giving the contract to the big well-known company whenever he can, pretty much without regard to other considerations.

The Congress has for many years and in various acts expressed its intent that small business should get a fair share of defense business. We know that you, as Secretary of Defense, would like to see that mandate satisfactorily carried out. The $64 question is how can it be done and yet not weaken the responsibility of the procurement officers for obtaining the right items, at the right time, at the right place, and at the right price.

The officers and directors of the Smaller Business Association of New England after long study and consideration recommend that you appoint a top-grade, high-caliber man, sympathetic to the cause of small business, as an Assistant Secretary of Defense who shall report directly to the Secretary of Defense and who shall be directly responsible for the coordination and implementation of the small-business programs throughout the armed services—Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps. He shall study the programs now in operation in each of the services with a view to constantly improving them in every way possible by adopting and adapting to each, to the greatest extent feasible, the best features of the others as they now operate. Working down through the chain of command in each service, there shall be a specific individual assigned to see that the directives of the small-business program are fully carried out both as to letter and spirit so that the intentions of the Executive and the Congress may be realized that the facilities, manpower and know-how of the small businesses of the country shall be utilized to the greatest extent possible to broaden our mobilization base and keep multiple sources available in case of emergency.

We realize this setup will mean the addition of some personnel but the added cost will be small compared to the tremendous increase in the efficiency of the program and will probably actually save the services money by bringing into the procurement program highly competent smaller companies who will in many cases furnish as good or better items for less money.

We believe it will be a relief for you to have an Under Secretary who will be in charge of and responsible for the whole small-business program and to whom all inquiries on the subject would be directed, including congressional committees. He in turn would have an under secretary in each service who would be responsible for the program in that service and so there will be one man in each echelon conversant with what is being done and seeing that directives are being carried out satisfactorily.

Thus the whole would be thoroughly integrated and coordinated to the advantage of all concerned. The intent of the Congress will be carried out, the services will get what they need, more small businesses will get more contracts and to that extent life will be easier for you.

Sincerely yours,

SMALLER BUSINESS ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND, INC.,
S. ABBOTT SMITH,
Chairman, Legislative Committee.

More on the Northwest Airlines Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, for those who are in doubt as to what happened at the White House that caused President Eisenhower to reverse a unanimous decision by the Civil Aeronautics Board in the West Coast-Hawaii case, docket No. 5589, I recommend the reading of the following article which appeared in the February 28 issue of American Aviation:

"SINNY" WEEKS' BOBBLE

Put aside for the moment the particular airlines and the particular route involved, but focus attention on the procedural steps in the controversial transpacific route case just recently resolved, and you come up with a shocker of the first order.

We refer to President Eisenhower's reversal of the CAB decision and his subsequent public admission of error and supplementary instructions to the CAB in the transpacific case and specifically his partial reversal of his original reversal of the Board on the Seattle-Portland-Honolulu segment. Here was an extraordinary case of mishandling involving the mysterious role of Secretary of Commerce Sinclair "Sinny" Weeks.

When Congress created the CAB it gave this independent agency full and final authority over the air transport system of the United States. But for all routes outside the continental United States, i. e., to foreign countries or to Territories and possessions, the CAB decisions "shall be subject to the approval of the President." Through the years since 1938 the White House has taken an increasing interest in and responsibility for all such international cases until now, it seems, just about everybody can get into the act.

The shocker in the transpacific case comes in two parts. One is the knowledge that the President of the United States didn't even know (and wasn't told) what the CAB decision was. The second is why "Sinny" Weeks accompanied Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams to the President's office to obtain his signature on a letter of instructions to the CAB which only vaguely resembled the Board's own recommendations. There can even be a third question asked, and that is why Mr. Adams didn't take Acting CAB Chairman Chan Gurney with him to the President for the deciding action.

It seems fair to ask whether "Sinny" Weeks, a Boston blueblood possessing only a remote idea of how the rest of the world lives, did not subvert the intent, the language, the purport, and the spirit of the Civil Aeronautics Act by injecting himself actively and directly into procedural steps in which he has no part by statute, morals, ethics, or direct concern.

In short, "Sinny" threw a curve to the President which resulted in considerable embarrassment to the White House. To the full credit of Mr. Eisenhower, the President had the good grace to admit he hadn't been informed of the Board's decision. As for Mr. Adams, if he is fulfilling the job of chief of staff for the President, he couldn't have fumbled worse.

Congress has shown signs of dissatisfaction over the way CAB matters are handled in the White House. Well it might. We hope it digs deeply into the interventions and pressures of the Department of Commerce in the affairs of an agncy which Congress intended to be independent. It might well inquire also why Under Secretary of Commerce Robert Blaine Murray, Jr., who resigned effective January 21, accompanied "Sinny" Weeks to the White House February 5 and took a leading part in the hastily called conference on the transpacific case. The whole situation has a mighty foul odor.

A Sound Warning to the Free World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, because of its keen analysis of the present world situation and the sound message which it contains for this country and for the entire world, I include, under leave to extend my remarks, excerpts from an address delivered in Detroit, Mich., on January 30, 1955, by Gen. Kazimierz Sosnkowski, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Polish insurrection against Russia in 1863.

Gen. Kazimierz Sosnkowski is generally conceded to be the elderly statesman, reflecting the concensus of opinion of Poles in exile. He has a distinguished career as a military leader, having been the inspector general of the Polish Army at the outbreak of World War II. He served as Minister of War in 12 Polish prewar cabinets. During the war, he served in the cabinet of General Sikorski's government-in-exile, as minister in charge of organization of the Polish underground forces. After General Sikorski's death, he was commander in chief of the Polish forces.

The remarks of the general follow:

Polish soldiers fought in the last two wars for Poland and for the freedom of other nations. These Polish soldiers fully realized that in the 20th century and in the present conditions freedom as such had become indivisible and that the times when it could be cut and fashioned according to specific tastes were gone forever. A clear understanding of this obvious truth which, I am sorry to say, is so often forgotten by the West, is a consolation for our hearts in the difficult times in which we live. Most difficult times, I should say, because once more the Polish nation is obliged to drink the bitter cup of disappointment prepared by Allied statesmen, erring so tragically at the crossways of Teheran and Yalta.

With the development of the present world crisis, the democracies of the West, and among them the great American democracy, will have to realize that they will have to fight for their own survival. They will have to think again and this time in all earnestness about the fate of Poland and the other nations behind the Iron Curtain. They will have to prove this positive way of thinking not by words but by deeds. I use the term "have to" because otherwise either the successful outcome of the coming unavoidable world struggle will be endangered, or the final victory will be achieved only under the most difficult conditions at the cost of

additional but unnecessary sacrifices. Therefore, you, Americans of Polish descent, must demand justice for Poland, that is, freedom within her rightful frontiers. By doing this, you are supporting the truest interests of your new homeland, America, sparing your country unnecessary holocaust, if and when it comes to the worst.

After the fateful Yalta agreements and even after the end of World War II, unceasing convulsions have harassed humanity because Soviet Russia keeps the world in turmoil by modern methods of Red strategy. She uses infiltration, penetration, and the stirring up of social friction and internal unrest; she provokes the armaments race and economic difficulties; she organizes civil wars under the pretext of fighting colonialism or supporting liberalism everywhere—except in her own territories and those of captive countries. At the same time, Soviet Russia supports local wars. For these local wars which have been and are taking place near the frontiers of the huge Red empire, the world of the west has invented a whole collection of shy and modest labels which make it easier to avoid facing the dangerous truth. Terms such as cold war, police action, war by proxy, peripheral war, pocket war, and so on, have been coined. However, if we choose to remind ourselves of the classical definition of Clausewitz, that war is a continuation of policies by other means, then we arrive at the inevitable conclusion that Soviet Russia, after the defeat of Hitler's Germany, strengthened by gaining all the key territories of central eastern Europe, has turned against the western democracies, waging a peculiar war which, although not openly declared and hidden behind the smokescreen of peace offensives, is creating an extremely dangerous world situation.

After all, in every struggle, and especially in great historic struggles, it is the final result that counts and not the means used—the strength of the forces employed, the types and amount of weapons, or the type of combat used. The battle at Yorktown finally decided the fate of American independence; in other words, it has changed the course of history and has had a strong, even if indirect, influence on our present epoch, for the United States of America has now assumed the main burden of responsibility for the future of the world and of the civilization known to us.

And yet the battle of Yorktown was fought on a rather limited space within the sight of commanders. Only a few thousand soldiers and only a few hundred bronze guns of limited range and fire power were involved in this epic battle. How then can we describe the continuing military-political struggle which has been going on for 10 years extending the frontiers of militant communism over Czechoslovakia, the whole Chinese continent, half of Korea and Indochina, increasing the Red empire's reservoir of fighting forces to 800 million people? This question constitutes the crux of the whole problem: the free world has to realize that the war is already being waged, at least in its initial preparatory phases; only on the recognition of this fact will the West become immune to the insidious peace declarations coming from Moscow. The West may then abandon its defensive attitude and the initiative in the struggle pass from the Reds to the defenders of Christian civilization.

In the realm of strategy one should not separate political from military problems; they permeate each other and must be considered as one. Soviet strategy has always adhered firmly to this principle which in a large measure explains her successes. On the Western side, the separation of military from political problems has occurred many times and that is why the Soviet Union has reaped such a political harvest from World War II. The Western cession of Central Eastern Europe to Russia has protected her on the west, allowing her ample opportunity to begin the big gamble for the Asiatic continent which up to now has been very successful.

To understand clearly what is happening in our world today we must first realize that the principal traits of Soviet strategy are consistent planning and immutable aims. It is only the tactics of the Red satraps which are flexible and subject to frequent changes depending on the necessity of a given moment or situation. It is well known that strategy has to answer the questions of where, when, and why to fight, whereas tactics—how to conduct the struggle.

The answer to the question of what are the aims of Soviet strategy has been given long ago in such reliable sources as the words of Lenin himself and I quote:

"The existence of the Soviet republics and the imperialistic states side by side is, in the long run, inconceivable. One side or the other has to triumph in the end. However, before this occurs, it will be impossible to avoid terrible collisions between the Soviet republics and the bourgeois states. * * *

"* * * We will first conquer central eastern Europe, then we will take the Asian masses. Later on, we will complete the encircling of the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism * * * and then it will fall into our hands like an overripe fruit."

My final quotation from Lenin is the most concise and timely statement of Soviet strategy: "The road to Paris leads through Peking."

Before our own eyes the second act of the great drama is already being played on the world stage—the mastering of the Asiatic Continent. The tentacles which are to encircle the United States are already being stretched toward Africa with her airbases and her western shores. The Soviet effort to penetrate the South American Republics, though so far not very successful, is certainly continuing.

As we see, facts are confirming Lenin's statements with an iron logic. In this context it becomes clear that the recurring peace offensives of the Soviets are only a very cunning trap ventured against a background of the postwar weariness and the known, sincere love of peace of the Western democracies. The secondary objectives of these smokescreens are to confound and mislead public opinion as to the real Soviet aims and, if possible, create disagreements among the Western nations. The main objective, strategic in nature, is to gain time for the reorganization and rearming of Red China's Army and for consolidating and extending the Communist empire in Asia.

Thus, the deeper insight into the true meaning of Soviet maneuvers is truly revealing. We note, on the one side, the siren voices offering peaceful coexistence with the West and, on the other, the activities the ultimate aim of which is the conquest of the Far East. The conquest of all of Indochina with Laos and Cambodia will encompass Thailand and Burma and will eventually constitute a menace to India. The real objective of the loudly heralded attack on Formosa, supported by dubious arguments based on international law and on claims of unifying all Chinese territory, is to outflank Japan and the Philippines as well as drive a huge wedge pointed at the American bases in the Pacific. Finally, the aim of the so-called psychological warfare being waged by the Communists in the Far East is to cause the United States to lose face. All these elements together fit exactly into the strategic pattern outlined in Lenin's thesis of conquering the masses of Asia and encircling the United States.

That is why no Poles, and especially those who have had the opportunity of getting well acquained with Russia and the ways of thinking of the Kremlin masters, can discern even a shred of political realism in the fashionable ideas of peaceful coexistence with her. Sooner or later these theories will share the fate of similar dreams which, under the pressure of hard facts, have turned to ashes. Here I have in mind the well known attempts at coming to terms with the red world by means of the so-called policy of containment. All efforts to appease the red moloch were, are, and will remain vain; he understands only the language of strength. Stalin did not hesitate to ask with irony, "How many divisions does the Pope command?" You can only vanquish the plague, you cannot coexist with it.

To the Poles and I presume to all other enslaved nations, the terms "appeasement," "policy of containment," or finally "peaceful coexistence" have one and only one meaning: a tighter closing of the Iron Curtain and leaving their countries, surrendered against their will to the rule of the despots, under the Soviet heel. The Poles simply cannot realize that the United States have actually abandoned their traditional ideals on which their greatness has developed—human right, self-determination of nations, freedom and justice for all.

When I spoke here in Detroit a few years ago, I stressed that in the gigantic struggle which sooner or later threatens the world, the West will need not only material but, above all, moral and spiritual values. I think this truth still remains incontestable. How then today, and I repeat, today, when the material strength of the West has been so eminently increased, thanks to the efforts of the United States, how then today could the free world renounce its conscience? The last three words are an expression used 2 years ago in one of the speeches of the President of your great country. In another speech that same year he said, "The conscience of America cannot find its peace until the enslaved nations again become the masters of their own fate."

I consider it simply my duty to state publicly that the Polish people in Poland and the free Poles scattered all over the world are deeply concerned and saddened by the lack of even a mention of the enslaved nations in the last state of the Union message. What a difference between it and the one in 1953 in which we were told of the need for revoking the secret agreements concluded in the past which allowed the enslavement of free nations.

The Poles are by no means a nation of war mongers as hostile propaganda tries to represent them to the West. The Polish nation suffered too much in the last war and sustained too many losses to welcome a new universal catastrophe. Still wars come usually against the will of the people. I remember too well how in the critical summer months of 1939 most of the information from Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy stressed that in all probability war would not occur because of the people's great resistance to war and their desire for peace. But the longings of a nation mean nothing when we have to deal with the uncontrolled will of one madman or of a few madmen who will not hesitate to set fire to the whole world and sacrifice millions of human lives, if they are convinced that for this price they will be able to gain mastery of the world and realize their insane dreams.

For this reason the free world must take into account that, in spite of all the efforts of people of goodwill and in spite of the West's great love for peace, a universal catastrophe is possible. In case this happens, the hearts and souls of the enslaved nations will become most valuable, they might even play a decisive role in the balance of strengths. It would be most painful if, in the general conflict between Red imperialism and the West, the enslaved nations' confidence and trust in the West were diminished

or lost because of indifference or neglect on the part of the free world.

In European affairs, the problem of rearming Germany has reached a critical and maybe final stage. In several public speeches which have been published in London 3 years ago, I voiced my opinions on the German problem; I also called attention to the dangers for the Polish cause in the rearmament of Germany. I do not have time today to repeat all my considerations but will summarize them briefly.

In the present situation with the ratification of the Paris agreements possibly taking place within the next few months, the free Poles, deprived of course of the possibility of taking any active part in these momentous decisions, can only express their regret that as usual their warnings have been made in vain. Today the climax has been reached of what I called years ago, "the haggling for the German soul and the bones of the German grenadiers." Both sides, the East and the West, are eagerly promising the Germans: the end of the state of war, the end of occupation, the regaining of full sovereignty, and the unification of their country. At least there are the promises made publicly; we do not know, of course, whether there are also secret clauses whose meaning is tantamount to yielding some territory to the Germans at the expense of Poland and some other enslaved nations.

The Polish Nation is the natural ally of the free world in its fight against Red imperialism, even though today Poland can reveal only a small fraction of her true conviction. Therefore, it is the moral obligations of Free Poles and Americans of Polish descent to warn persistently whomever it may concern that such a rearming of Germany cannot include the promoting of German revisionism. Promoting German revisionism would be a fatal step threatening the security of Europe. It would be a great asset for Red propaganda and would further the aims of Moscow. Remembering the bitter experience of the past, we are obliged to cry out incessantly that our country cannot bear again a bargain at the expense of our national territories, and that no honest Pole in the whole world can ever abandon the defense of the Polish Oder Neisse frontiers.

Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Minnesota Future Farmers of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Frazee (Minn.) Times of February 21, 1955:

FFA CHAPTER SETS OBSERVANCE

Future Farmers of America members throughout the State are scheduling special activities to focus public attention on the work of their organization during FFA Week, February 19–26. This year, 1955, marks the 25th anniversary of the Minnesota Future Farmers of America. The silver anniversary State FFA convention will be held at University Farm, St. Paul, May 9–11.

Locally, members of the Frazee FFA chapter plan a main hallway display at the high school.

Membership in the FFA is made up of farm boys who are students of vocational agriculture in high school. The organization's activities are designed primarily to help develop rural leadership and good citizenship, and to stimulate the boys to better achievement in their study and work toward successful establishment in farming.

The Frazee FFA chapter has 101 members. It is the seventh largest chapter in the State. Lambert Schilling, vocational agriculture instructor in Frazee High School, serves as adviser of the FFA chapter.

The national Future Farmer organization has more than 370,000 members in the 48 States, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. Membership in Minnesota totals 10,500. There are 240 Future Farmer chapters in Minnesota.

A story of Minnesota FFA in commemoration of its 25th anniversary year is being prepared and will be released on April 1. Highlights of 25 years of activity, personal anecdotes, and items of local interest will be included in the 200-page publication. The local chapter at Frazee will be in charge of sale and distribution of the publication. A film depicting FFA activities during the silver anniversary year is also being planned. The film will be financed jointly by the Minnesota FFA association and the newly organized State FFA foundation. The film will be available for showing after July 1.

Twenty-Dollar-a-Head Gimmick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial entitled "Twenty-Dollar-a-Head Gimmick," which appeared in the Detroit Times for Monday, February 28, 1955:

TWENTY-DOLLAR-A-HEAD GIMMICK

Democrats have a lulu of a gimmick riding on the tax bill.

We hasten to add that the Democrats referred to are the Democratic politicians in Congress, of whom there are many, as opposed to the Democratic statesmen, of whom thank heaven, there also are many.

The gimmick is to tack a $20-a-person (or dependent) income-tax reduction as a rider onto the administration tax bill.

President Eisenhower describes it as reaching the heights in fiscal irresponsibility.

This being a period when we are fighting for the very life of our Nation, we agree.

We hate high taxes. We hate them only less than we hate the kind of money-destroying inflation that is brought about by deficit financing, and the reduction in all fixed values—pensions, savings, defense bonds, insurance—which follows.

We can't escape a suspicion that there is an element of vote buying in this unfortunate device.

Once upon a time the big city machines bought votes for drinks at the corner saloon. Then, for a time, $5 was the going price of voting right.

But that was before inflation.

If vote cadging is in the minds of the politicians, we don't think $20 a head will do the trick. Certainly not when the price would include weakening all the Nation's defenses.

The U. N. and American Oil Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a most interesting and significant editorial by Mr. Raymond Moley which speaks for itself both as to content and the background of Gunnar Myrdal:

THE U. N. AND AMERICAN OIL INDUSTRY
(By Raymond Moley)

Through a fine example of newspaper enterprise the Wall Street Journal has published the details of what was intended to be a secret report by the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. It proposes that governmental machinery, which probably would be implemented by an international agreement, to fix right prices for crude oil produced in the Middle East. This would affect 5 American and 3 European companies. European newspapers are full of the subject at the moment and are interpreting the U. N. proposal as an attack upon monopoly. It is in fact an effort to substitute a socialistic government system of control of which American companies would feel the brunt.

I shall give some attention to the economic aspects of this proposal at a future time but at the moment confine my attention to the interesting person who seems to be masterminding this scheme.

That person is one Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish Socialist. He is the head of the Secretariat which has gotten up this scheme. Myrdal is not unknown in the United States. He was brought over here by the Carnegie Foundation to make a study of the status of the Negro in the United States. The appropriation by the foundation for that purpose was $250,000 and the results published under the title "An American Dilemma," in 1944. Why there should be no person or persons in the United States fit to make such a study is not clear. Perhaps the Carnegie people felt geographic detachment would be a virtue even though that detachment had been so absolute as to deny the student of this problem an opportunity to have lived with the vexing problems of race in the South.

At any rate the Carnegie Corp. got exactly what it might have anticipated which was a severe indictment of the United States. The Myrdal rancor toward the American Constitution can be illustrated by some of his comments. He designates the American respect for the fundamental law as "a nearly fantastic cult." He says that our Constitution "is in many respects impractical and ill-suited for modern conditions," that its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people," and that "until recently, the Constitution has been used to block the popular will." His contempt for our culture is equal to his contempt for our Constitution. One of our cultural trails is, he says, "a relatively low degree of respect for law and order."

Our legal culture is anarchistic but we have a tendency to regulate human behavior tyranically.

Myrdal's qualifications were apparently highly satisfactory to some Americans for 5 years after these animadversions the Rockefeller Foundation gave a grant of $12,000 to the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. Gunnar Myrdal was

then as now the Executive Secretary of that outfit. The grant was to provide social-science scholarships for selected European students.. The cream of the jest is that according to tradition the Rockefeller money was made in the oil business. Now the UNECE is cracking down on American oil companies including the Standard of New Jersey, the Socony-Vacuum, and the Standard of California.

Still earlier than his Carnegie grant was a turn as a Rockefeller fellow at the School of International Studies at Geneva.

At the commencement of Columbia University in 1954 there was a great celebration of the bicentennial of that institution. Among those honored with the degree of doctor of humane letters was Gunnar Myrdal who was hailed as the "distinguished son of a distinguished kingdom * * * a man of gifted energies * * * at home on two continents * * * making the world his classroom."

At the moment he seems to be making the Rockefeller oil companies his footstools.

Grain Storage at Cathlamet Basin, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a resolution favoring storage of grain at Cathlamet Basin, in the area known as Tongue Point near Astoria, Oreg. Also, I include a telegram received by me on this date from the mayor of Portland, Oreg., and representative of the extreme concern held by the people in my State over consideration by the Board of the Commercial Credit Corporation in this matter. At present there are approximately 80 empty Liberty ships of the reserve fleet berthed at the Cathlament Basin to be used for surplus-wheat storage. It has been proposed that 75 of these ships be removed from their present moorage and towed up the coast to the Puget Sound area near Olympia, Wash. This proposal is most regrettable because there exists most conclusive evidence that maintaining the ships at their present moorage is overwhelmingly preferable to the proposed transfer.

RESOLUTION FAVORING STORAGE OF GRAIN AT CATHLAMET BASIN

Whereas the Department of Agriculture's latest plan to use 75 *Liberty* vessels from the Astoria reserve fleet for surplus wheat loading and storage in the Columbia River area is in danger of being diverted to Olympia, Wash., because of outside opposition; and

Whereas the State of Washington's congressional delegation in Washington, D. C., has been successful in holding up definite action because of their contention that the storing of wheat at Astoria would require expensive dredging operations at Cathlamet Basin, while there is already sufficient room for mooring the ships at Olympia, Wash.; and

Whereas the Commodity Credit Corporation of the Department of Agriculture, although favoring a strictly Columbia River operation, has agreed to hold up further action pending receipt of additional information which would clarify the dispute; and

Whereas the Portland Branch of the Masters, Mates, and Pilots, Local No. 90, is vitally concerned in keeping this operation in the Columbia River because of the critical unemployment and economic conditions existing in the maritime industry: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Portland Branch of the Masters, Mates, and Pilots, Local No. 90, advise the Commodity Credit Corporation in Washington, D. C., that they feel that the loading and storing operation should be a strictly Columbia River project because—

1. The freight differentials on grain shipments to the Northwest makes it cheaper to load the vessels in the Columbia River, and that the cost of towing a loaded vessel to Olympia, Wash., would be more expensive than a strictly Columbia River towing operation;

2. It is also in the national interest to maintain shipyards, loading facilities, and labor forces at a reasonable and continuous level in all communities in the Northwest instead of concentrating them in one area such as Puget Sound;

3. The dredging operation at Cathlamet Basin, which is considered expensive by opponents of the Columbia River plan, will also be of great strategic value as well as a mooring from the grain vessels because another potential naval base and anchorage will be made available for the west coast, and which could be rapidly expanded in case of an emergency and all-out war; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be mailed to the Members of Congress from Oregon, the Oregonian, the Oregon Journal, chamber of commerce, and other interested parties for their information of our efforts to keep this operation in the Columbia River area.

WILLIAM M. CALDWELL,
International Organization of Masters, Mates, and Pilots, West Coast, Local No. 90.

PORTLAND, OREG., *February 28, 1955.*

Hon. EDITH GREEN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

I today sent the following telegram to Hon. Ezra Benson, Secretary of Agriculture:

Regarding March 1 meeting of Commodity Credit Corporation on program for ship storage of surplus wheat.

I have organized committee of interested Columbia River people as listed below. This committee through me emphatically protests any consideration for diversion of vessels from Tongue Point lay-up fleet to Puget Sound for loading and subsequent moorage. Our experience satisfies us comparative costs plus consideration of normal flow of greatest volume of grain via Columbia River will demonstrate that such diversion greatly increases overall cost of the program.

We believe any proposal to tow empty vessels in open sea without crews consists unwarranted risk of public property. We insist no decision be made until all costs are determined and compared and most important made public.

Harry Lundberg Sailors' Union of the Pacific states "His union insists vessels be manned with nine sailors including boatswain for open-sea towing and that he has so advised Maritime Administration."

Costs in addition to normal factors of towing, dredging, cleaning, and preparation should include special preparation of vessels for open-sea towing, including securing of all tackle and equipment thereof. Volume of annual grain flow via Columbia River is 3 to 1 compared to Puget Sound.

Loading facilities in river are 9 marine terminal elevators compared to 3 in Puget Sound. Therefore greatest demand for relief of storage exists in river area. Labor representatives on committee emphatically point out river area is in critical zone for unemployment classification.

Committee which concurs in the foregoing consists of: John J. Winn, Jr., Port of Portland; Kit C. Conyers, West Coast Transoceanic Steamship Co.; H. Davies, Albina Engine & Machine Works; Al Bird, Portland Metal Trades; H. H. Harrison, Electrical Workers Local, No. 48; John Gilliard, Steamfitters Local, No. 235; A. G. Merriss, Coastwise Line; Norman Hicks, Boilermakers Local, No. 72; Geo. Palmon, Machinist Local, No. 63; Larry Rafferty, Boilermakers; William R. Gray, Laborers, No. 296; William Berry, Sailors' Union of the Pacific; J. Moorhead, colonel, Corps of Engineers, district engineer, Portland District; Matt Meehan, ILWU; J. C. Hayes, Willamette Iron; A. E. Farr, Northwest Marine Iron; F. E. Battaglea, Albina Engine & Machine Works; Capt. A. J. Carlton, M. M. and P. Local, No. 17; Capt. H. T. Shaver, Shaver Transportation Co. and Tidewater Shaver Barge Lines; Thomas P. Guerin, commissioner of public docks; Hudson Lothian Pope & Talbot; L. M. Thompson, Western Transportation Co.; William Garry Bend, Portland Truck Service; William F. Martin, the Quaker Oats Co.; H. E. Sanford, Continental Grain Co.; R. L. Clark, president of Portland Chamber of Commerce.

FRED L. PETERSON,
Mayor of Portland, Oreg.

The Principle at Stake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include and have printed in the RECORD an editorial in the February 1955 edition of the American Issue, a monthly publication devoted to abstinence and civic righteousness, which editorial has some very constructive thoughts pertaining to the necessity of having appropriate restrictions upon the alcoholic persuasions of the whiskey, wine, and beer visitors that may come into the American home through modern advertising media.

One of the world's great writers once referred to "booze" as something that could steal away the human brain and I have seen it happen on many occasions with very tragic results. I have never been able to see any man-of-distinction personality in this robber and arch criminal called "booze." The wisest of books tells us in Proverbs 20–1: "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and he that is deceived thereby is not wise." So, I hope my colleagues will be very wise and seriously consider this editorial and then help enact pending legislation for banning "booze" advertising from the American home.

The editorial follows:

THE PRINCIPLE AT STAKE

Broadcasting magazine, in an editorial Drink on the House opposes dry efforts to ban beer and wine-casting by claiming that a vital principle is involved. "The principle at stake," says Broadcasting, "is whether Federal censorship will be applied to radio and TV. It is on that principle that broadcasters ought to stand.

"By Constitutional amendment, the Federal Government has left it up to the State to decide whether the sale of alcoholic beverages is legal or illegal. It is not the prerogative of the Federal Government to reserve for itself the power to prohibit advertising of such beverages. Such a prohibition would constitute unadorned censorship of a particularly objectionable kind since it would be directed exclusively against radio and television and would not affect any other advertising medium.

"Let the Government get away with banning beer-wine advertising from the air and there would be no consistent argument against its banning any other kind of advertising.

"Whether the percentage of total broadcast time occupied by beer-wine advertising is zero or 100, it is not a matter for adjustment by the Congress of the United States."

And that's exactly where the temperance forces of America feel this problem of the invasion of the home by beer and wine advertising must be settled—by the Congress of the United States—and there are certainly several principles at stake.

WHY RESTRICTIONS ARE NEEDED

First, there is the alcoholic beverage industry. Because of the harmful character of alcohol, whether in beer, wine, whisky, or vodka, the manufacture and sale of these beverages is a privilege—not a right. In every one of the 48 States there are dry areas where the citizens by local option or regulation have banned the sale of alcoholic beverages. In every one of the 48 States there are hours of the day and week when such bevarages may not be sold. In every one of the 48 States there are more laws, regulations, restrictions, and prohibitions dealing with alcoholic beverages than with any other marketable commodity. Why these regulations and restrictions? Because alcoholic beverages are injurious to the health, safety, and moral welfare of the individual and society. Alcoholic beverages are not healthful products like bread and milk and oranges. Alcoholic beverages make pedestrians stagger and drivers dangerous, and homes a hell on earth for the families of millions of alcoholics. This is why the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages is so closely guarded and proscribed.

SALES TALK INVADES HOMES

Second, the advertising of any product is the process of education and persuasion, and the subconscious compulsion to buy and consume that product. And there is no more persuasive or compulsive advertising than the beer and wine advertising on radio and television. Radio is everywhere—home, car, barbershop, filling station, student's room, and children's bedside. Television has moved from the tavern to the living room, but it has brought with it into the home the breath of beer and wine. And into some 35 million American homes today, this marvelous instrument which could so bless our Nation, is using human voice and human personality with consummate skill and limitless wealth, to talk and sing the harmless glories of beer and wine, persuading all listeners, young and old, that no matter what else belongs in the home, beer and wine belong. Never a word of warning. No mention of the presence of dangerous alcohol. In fact, the ABC of Beer Advertising published by the U. S. Brewers' Foundation in 1953 warns brewers never to mention the presence of alcohol in their advertising.

AIR WAVES BELONG TO THE PEOPLE

Third, the air waves and television channels belong to the people of the United States. They are not the property of the stations or of the networks. Through the Federal Communications Commission the people of the Nation grant to radio and TV stations a franchise for the use of a certain wave length or channel to be used in the public interest. The radio or television franchise is a privilege to operate, not a bill of sale. The radio and television business is a privileged business, like the liquor traffic. And because of its power to influence the thinking, the habits, the desires, the ideals, the lives of people, the radio-TV industry needs to be as carefully and closely guarded as the liquor traffic itself. In fact, the radio-TV industry is a vital part of the liquor traffic when it uses the air waves and TV channels to create the desire and appetite for alcoholic beverages. And as long as it engages in this practice of beercasting it should come under the same strict regulation as the liquor traffic whose willing servant it is.

FEDERAL CONTROL NEEDED

Fourth. The 21st amendment gives full power to the several States to deal with alcoholic beverages as they may see fit within their respective borders. But it does not give to the States any power to deal with advertising of alcoholic beverages which crosses State lines from without. The licensing of radio and TV stations is not a State matter; it is in the hands of the Federal Communications Commission, because all broadcasting is interstate. It is obvious therefore, that some legislation is essential to correct this division of responsibility. There must be Federal laws giving protection to dry areas against beer- and wine-casting, and to protect homes from invasion by brewers and vintners via the ether waves.

This is not a matter of censorship. It is a matter of keeping out of the home the appeal to buy and drink harmful beverages. Temperance people are as anxious as other citizens that radio and television shall be used as a blessing and not as a curse to America. They are willing and glad when these important media can be used for wholesome and constructive purposes, in the public interest. But selling beverage alcohol in the homes of the Nation is dangerous business. A Federal law banning such advertising should be enacted without delay. Certainly if less than 3 percent of television time and 2 percent of radio time is used for beer and wine, the broadcasting industry will suffer no financial loss while it replaces alcoholic with nonalcoholic programs.

Congress should speedily enact a law to protect the homes of America from the invasion of the liquor traffic over air waves and TV channels which belong to the people themselves.

Resolution Approved by the Egyptian District, Department of Illinois, Disabled American Veterans, at Centralia, Ill., on February 20, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following resolution approved by the Egyptian District, Department of Illinois, Disabled American Veterans, at a regular meeting held at Centralia, Ill., on February 20, 1955:

Whereas the Supply Department of the Veterans' Administration, Washington, D. C., has issued an order that in all general medical and surgical hospitals of the Veterans' Administration with under 300-bed capacity, the 35-millimeter commercial movie program will be discontinued on April 1, 1955; and

Whereas the 35-millimeter commercial movie program in these hospitals under 300-bed capacity is one of the major sources of entertainment for patients in these smaller hospitals; and

Whereas the geographical location of most of these hospitals is such that entertainment for the patients is hard to obtain, and these movie programs in these smaller hospitals enhance the morale and contentment of patients; the discontinuance of this movie program would not only leave much idle time, which would have a tendency to lead to moroseness of patients with chronic conditions, who are forced to stay in the hospitals over long periods; and

Whereas these movie programs have been in force over a period of years at most of these hospitals, and would be very hard to replace with other forms of entertainment: Be it

Resolved, That we urge our State department and national organization to serve notice on the Veterans' Administration to the effect that our organization cannot see the justification for the discontinuance of the 35-millimeter movie program of the smaller hospitals; and be it further

Resolved, That our State department and national organization take necessary action to inform all subordinate units of our organization on the aforesaid contemplated action, and that the membership at large may act to cause the rescinding of such action.

Dated March 1, 1955.

EGYPTIAN DISTRICT, DEPARTMENT OF ILLINOIS, DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS,
JOE P. BOYLE, *Commander*,
FLOYD J. GROOTHINS, *Adjutant*.

Price Increases in Shotgun Shells

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I represent a district whose inhabitants burn up more powder than those of almost any other district in the Nation. In recent months, I have received many protests from hunters and trap shooters at the sweeping price increases imposed by the manufacturers of shotgun shells in the last 10 years. In the case of 12 gauge trap loads alone, the increase in this period has been 147.6 percent. I am further informed that price changes are generally announced by all manufacturers on the same, or practically the same, date. Typical of the many protests I have received is the following letter of February 25, 1955, from Mr. J. W. Whitehill, president of the Milwaukee Gun Club:

DEAR MR. REUSS: I am writing to you this morning in the interest of the many shooters from Wisconsin who participate in shooting trap and skeet at the Milwaukee Gun Club, Lake Park, Milwaukee, Wis.

The greatest number of shooters are from the Milwaukee area, however, at times shooters from all over the State shoot on our grounds. A considerable number of teams

from the large industrial plants also shoot with us and we all are very much disturbed over the raising of the price of shotgun shells during the past year.

Earlier in the year of 1954, these prices were raised and at this time both the shooters and the manufacturers felt that by the elimination of some of the variety of shells being loaded we could agree upon simplifying our requirements by adopting a lighter load in a few specific types. It was our feeling that this would in some degree assist the manufacturers in stabilizing the price. Shortly after this, however, the manufacturers again raised the price 6 percent.

These continuing raises in price are most discouraging to the average citizen who derives pleasure and recreation in shooting of shotguns and in a very sincere effort to help ourselves we are experimenting at this time in the reloading of shells already shot and in this way we are reducing the cost to the shooters who are turning to this reloaded shell in desperation. The Milwaukee Journal has already written a story about this situation and we are finding more and more clubs around the country very much interested in doing something to cut down shooting costs, even importing foreign shells which can be delivered here for 10 percent less than the cost of American shells. We believe this is a most unfortunate situation, Mr. Reuss, and something should be done to stop it.

Shortly after these complaints came to my attention, I asked the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to obtain for me the price history of shotgun shells in the last 10 years. On February 11, 1955, the Legislative Reference Service wrote the Shotgun Shells Manufacturers Trade Association, the Sporting Arms and Ammunition Manufacturers Institute at 250 East 43d Street, New York, requesting a list of price changes in shotgun shells for the postwar period. When no reply was received, the Legislative Reference Service sent a followup telegram on February 25, 1955, saying, "Information urgently needed for Member of Congress."

Finally, a letter dated March 1, 1955, has been received by the Legislative Reference Service from the Sporting Arms and Ammunition Manufacturers Institute:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter requesting a list or table showing price changes in sporting ammunition.

We regret that we are unable to comply with your request, but the Institute does not collect or publish information of any kind in regard to prices and has no such list or table. It is a definite policy of the Institute not to engage in any activity in respect to prices. Thus, the Institute has nothing whatsoever to do with prices charged by any of its member companies. Each member company determines its own pricing policy on whatever basis it sees fit and does not report its prices to the Institute. Therefore, we do not have and are not able to furnish any information as regards price changes for sporting ammunition over any period.

The activities of the Institute are concentrated in the fields of research, promotion, safety, and conservation. With the thought that they might be of some interest in connection with your survey of the industry, we are enclosing copies of various Institute publications, which will give you an idea of the important types of activity engaged in by the Institute.

RICHARD P. WEBSTER,
Secretary.

I have communicated to an official of one of the sportsmen's clubs in my district the position of the Sporting Arms and Ammunitions Institute that "We do not have and are not able to furnish any information as regards price changes over any period," and asked him for his comment. His comment was "applesauce."

I have today directed to Mr. Edward F. Howrey, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, the following letter:

MARCH 3, 1955.

Mr. EDWARD F. HOWREY,
Chairman, Federal Trade Commission,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I wish to bring to your attention a situation existing in the shotgun shell industry which is working great hardship on the millions of Americans who enjoy the sport of hunting and of trap and skeet shooting.

For some time, I have been receiving complaints from both within and without my district complaining of the steady price increases in shotgun shells and noting that these price increases have quite generally come at precisely the same time and in precisely the same amount. The following appears to be the price history of the larger shotgun shell manufacturers for 12-gauge trap load shotgun shells during the past 10 years:

Year:	*Price per thousand shells*
1942–46	$32.41
March 1946	37.21
July 1946	40.00
January 1947	48.00
March 1947	50.90
July 1947	53.45
January 1948	53.52
April 1948	58.82
July 1948	64.50
November 1948	67.70
May 1949	64.50
January 1950	65.10
August 1950	71.10
December 1950	78.60
January 1953	75.60
December 1954	80.25

Although trap loads are only some 20 percent of the total shotgun shells sold, the same percentage raises have been made over the years for all varieties of field loads.

You will note that the increase in price is 147.6 percent in under 10 years. I am further informed that these increases by the various manufacturers have been practically simultaneous.

You are, of course, familiar with the numerous cases establishing that horizontal price-fixing practiced in concert by manufacturers is violative of the Federal antitrust laws:

Federal Trade Commission v. *Pacific Paper Association* ((1927) 273 U. S. 52, 62); *United States* v. *Socony-Vacuum Oil Company* ((1940) 310 U. S. 150); *American Tobacco Company* v. *United States* ((1944) 147 F. 2d 93); *United States* v. *Paramount Pictures* ((1946) 66 F. Supp. 323, 337).

On the question whether concerted action can be inferred from a long-standing uniformity of prices charged for a given product by the various manufacturers, coupled with almost simultaneous announcements periodically of identical price increases, the Federal court in the *United States* v. *Paramount Pictures* case had the following to say:

"Such uniformity of action spells a deliberately unlawful system, the existence of which is not dispelled by the testimony of interested witnesses that one distributor does not know what another distributor is doing; and there can, in our opinion, be no reasonable inference that the defendants are not all planning to fix minimum prices" (*United States* v. *Paramount Pictures*, op. cit., p. 337).

On the facts, it seems to me that a thorough investigation of whether the Sherman and Clayton Acts have been or are being violated is in order. In this connection, the question of mergers in the shotgun-shell industry, and of possible relationships between domestic producers and foreign manufacturers of shotgun shells in restraint of trade should also be investigated.

I shall appreciate being informed of such public action as the Federal Trade Commission undertakes.

Sincerely,

HENRY S. REUSS,
Member of Congress.

Address by Louis S. Rothschild, Chairman of the Federal Maritime Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address on maritime problems, delivered in Boston, on February 24, by Louis S. Rothschild, Chairman of the Federal Maritime Board.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY LOUIS S. ROTHSCHILD, CHAIRMAN, FEDERAL MARITIME BOARD AND ADMINISTRATOR, MARITIME ADMINISTRATION, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BEFORE A LUNCHEON OF THE GREATER BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, HOTEL STATLER, BOSTON, MASS., ON FEBRUARY 24, 1955

I am, indeed, honored to have been asked to speak in the Port of Boston. There are a number of reasons why I feel deeply gratified on this occasion. First of all, as a schoolboy at home and later as a student in a nearby New England university, I developed a sort of reverence for the Port of Boston as the birthplace of our seafaring heritage.

Of more recent date and more immediate interest, however, is the fact that my immediate boss, the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, hails from this historic port. His selection by President Eisenhower for the Cabinet post under which comes the responsibility for maritime affairs is most fitting. The President, keenly aware of the importance of our maritime potential to the strength of the Nation, could not have made a more appropriate choice.

Secretary Weeks has set a wonderful example as an American businessman of the highest caliber serving his country unselfishly and with rare efficiency. Boston, which has given more of its sons to national service than perhaps any American community, may well be proud of his contributions to the present administration. Certainly I count him as a warm and understanding friend and mentor, my superior officer in whom I have the utmost confidence and trust.

So when I was asked to make this talk I thought the least I could do was to look up some statement made by the Secretary that would prove appropriate to the occasion. I found it.

Sinclair Weeks once said: "The sea is the old, tried friend of Boston business. Don't overlook its value."

With true New England brevity and aptness, I think he has given us a valuable message in these few phrases. It has a special meaning to those of us primarily concerned with ocean transportation.

As Chairman of the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administrator, our principal interest in the American merchant marine has been the merchant fleet itself, its construction, maintenance, and operation. But we do not forget that there is another equally important factor in our maritime potential—the continued efficient functioning of our port cities.

These communities are more than mere terminals for ships traversing the seas. They must face the sea and inland as well. They must provide for the all-important function of transshipment of cargoes to and from the rails and highways into and out of the holds of oceangoing vessels; their complex organization calls for a standard of efficiency and orderly procedure unappreciated until ill fortune stops it. Almost immediate economic paralysis is the inevitable result, a malady that quickly affects interior communities for hundreds of miles, disturbs deeply the daily livelihood and habits of millions of Americans.

The task of administering the multiplicity of functions of a great port such as Boston is of great importance and requires skill and experience. It is a task that calls for constant improvement, constant attention to the daily details, and a readiness to meet competition of all kinds. It calls for an attitude of responsibility not only to the port itself but to vast productive areas of our Nation—the fields and forests, the factories and workshops, and the market places for goods transported in ships from far-off lands across the seas.

All that I have read and heard about the Port of Boston's progress in recent years points to the fact that it is quite conscious of its vital role as a doorway leading in and out of a vast producing and consuming region of this Nation. Boston has, perhaps, led the East in the provision of new and modern facilities, such as the Mystic, Hoosac, and the East Boston piers. It was a forward-looking spirit that envisaged the need and found the means to accomplish this. As a matter of fact, I think it fair to say that Boston started the postwar cycle of port improvement that will add nearly a quarter of a billion dollars worth of new facilities to the ports of the Nation. Furthermore, one cannot help but be impressed at the high caliber of the individuals in authority and the democratic manner in which they are selected to direct the port activities of the State of Massachusetts.

It is heartening, too, to contemplate the demonstration that takes place day after day, month after month, of the cooperation of management and labor in keeping the goods flowing in and out of Boston in an uninterrupted stream. Such stability begets sound confidence on the part of users of this great national port. This year of unbroken labor peace on the water front is an augury of what can be done throughout all port areas of the Nation.

I believe, in other words, that the Port of Boston well understands that trade goes where it is invited, and stays where it is welcome.

Other ports have heeded this axiom, particularly in the postwar period. For example, Savannah and Wilmington, on the Atlantic coast, have added greatly to their facilities and stepped up their promotion throughout the inland areas they serve. Baltimore is planning additional modernization, and the matter of a new port authority is currently before the State.

On the west coast new and very modern terminal facilities have been put into service in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Long Beach. New Orleans, the Texas ports, and Gulfport, Miss., on the gulf coast, have all stepped up their postwar developments, reaching for their business far into the heart of the Nation through the transportation network of the Mississippi Valley.

Development and improvement in this competitive world is all important, not only to the management of a port but to the seagoing phase of our maritime life as well—to the designing, building, and operating of the ships of our merchant fleet.

Today, the policy of the United States is clear. Federal Government aid and encouragement must be available to the extent that our American merchant marine can be relied upon as an instrument of national security. The principal measure of the amount of that aid is the differential in costs that must be borne by our shipping firms in meeting low-cost foreign competition. It is a credit to the present administration that it has reaffirmed that policy, not in any offhand manner, but as a result of a study both deep and wide in its implications and scope.

With true New England conservatism and prudence, the Department of Commerce and the Maritime Administration, under the direction of Mr. Weeks, engaged first in a down-to-earth audit of its maritime responsibilities, and reached its judgment as to further action only when a sufficient amount of data had been accumulated and analyzed.

The value of such a process is obvious. It removes us from an area of doubt and uncertainty in the field of Government-industry relations, into a position of clarity and understanding. It encourages the mutual trust and confidence which must be present in the partnership of industry and Government if we are to meet America's maritime needs. The steps taken in this direction have been among the most valuable achievements of Secretary Weeks' administration of the Commerce Department.

Make no mistake about it—America's maritime needs must be met, for despite the lurid fascination of push-button warfare, of the Buck Rogers type of ultra-technology which blithely conquers the air and stratosphere for trade and defense, ocean transport remains as the solid bulwark of our strength and defensive planning. We must continue to guarantee our ability to use the sea lanes to support our bases overseas in an emergency, and meanwhile to employ them as avenues of peaceful trade with the free nations of the world, over which to export our own goods and products, and to import the long list of cargoes essential to our well-being, to our production schedules and to the stockpiling of strategic materials.

The maintenance of our seagoing fleet at an acceptable competitive level with the merchant ships under other flags, plus meeting our national defense requirements in terms of active ships, in reserve strength and in mobilization readiness—this is one way of describing the major responsibility of the Department of Commerce's Maritime Administration. In addition, the Federal Maritime Board is charged with carrying out the Nation's maritime regulatory laws and the all-important task of determining the extent of the differential subsidy contracts entered into by the Government to aid the maintenance of operation and construction of seagoing ships under the American flag.

Let me sketch out some of the highlights of our present program. In so doing, may I pay tribute to one of your outstanding national leaders—Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, who has continued throughout his years of service to his State and country to understand and work for our maritime welfare. His efforts in the Congress contributed mightily to the achievement of the current shipbuilding and ship repair programs, and he continues to be enthusiastic over the continuing efforts proposed in the President's budget request to Congress for the coming fiscal year.

In 1953, our studies showed clearly the need for maintaining sufficient shipbuilding in this country to continue the employment at all times of a skilled working force in our major shipyards so that they could be a nucleus for expansion to meet mobilization pressures and a high level of shipbuilding if war comes again.

At the start of last year, no orders from the shipping industry had been placed with the shipyards for the construction of new ships. A Government program, commenced at the time of the Korean campaign for the construction of mariner-class freight ships, was coming to a close. And of deeper concern, our projections showed that the eventual replacement of presently active ships in the commercial fleet would not be due, under normal economic processes, until a period of from 8 to 10 years in the future.

We realized, of course, that the prime impulse for the construction and employment of merchant ships must come from private industry, since ships are units in our maritime industrial plant. We were convinced that in the past there had been great wastefulness inherent in the Government's role of principal shipbuilder.

Therefore, our task was to move quickly, for the sake of our shipbuilding and ship repair potential; but at the same time, to use all our efforts to encourage and supplement the investment of private funds in the construction of oceangoing vessels.

Massachusetts can be doubly proud of the part played in bringing this program to reality by those two great congressional leaders, Representatives JOSEPH MARTIN and JOHN MCCORMACK.

I believe that the teamwork exhibited by both the executive and legislative branches of our Government in bringing about our present program was unique and marks the beginning of a new period of coordinated national effort aimed at keeping our maritime progress rolling.

The Congress made possible a shipbuilding and repair program amounting to a $400 million potential of business for the yards, at an expenditure of less than half that amount in direct Government appropriations. In addition, a wider Federal insurance of privately held mortgages for ship construction was made possible.

Whereas the program could not immediately translate itself into jobs for the shipyards, it has already halted the downward trend, and is beginning the long uphill climb.

Already there are orders for 8 new supertankers, of which 1 has been placed in the yards at Quincy. There is a potential of 25 more tankers of this new type in the current program.

It should be emphasized that 4 of these 8 ships are being built by private industry. Two are the result of the so-called tanker trade-in-and-build program, and two made possible by our approval of the transfer of older tonnage to foreign registry. Under the present trade-in program authorized by Congress, the Maritime Administration can place as many as 20 serviceable tankers in the National Defense Reserve Fleet.

In addition, the present program calls for the construction of four large new passenger ships. The ability of the New England shipyards to produce ships of this type would lead one to suppose that they will be active bidders on these jobs when invitations to bid are sent out.

Of very great significance has been our ship-repair program, authorized by the last Congress. There are a number of military type ships in our reserve fleet anchorages that need basic repairs before they could be reactivated. Up to now, funds for anything more than preservation of these ships along with the others in the anchorages, have not been available. But our current program has enabled us already to contract

for drydocking and repair of 46 ships, and we expect to complete 70 before the current program is over.

One of the compelling reasons for this program was to provide work for this vital industry along all the coastlines. Bidding was invited on a regional basis, and in this area, Boston yards have worked on four of these vessels, withdrawn and towed here from our Hudson River reserve fleet anchorage.

Already, too, our program has taken us deeply into the field of new ship machinery design and plans for the development of new cargo handling gear, both of which will no doubt greatly influence our merchant fleet in the coming years. Experimental work is going ahead on Liberty ships withdrawn from the ranks of our reserve fleet, where there are 1,400 of these cargo carriers so valuable in the last war, and yet which are completely outmoded today.

While our current ship building and ship repair program continues, it is necessary, of course, to present for budgetary approval scheduled operations for the next fiscal year beginning July 1. Here we have continued along the major lines laid down during this year, but with even more emphasis on the greatest problem overhanging the merchant marine—that of ship replacement to offset the bugaboo of block obsolescence.

In our new program, we hope to encourage the replacement of five older dry cargo ships with new ones in much the same manner as we are now offering tanker operators under the trade-in-and-build program. We look forward to the start of construction of 4 additional new passenger liners, 2 for the round-the-world service, and 2 for service between the west coast and Australia and New Zealand ports. The latter two will be created by extensive conversions of mariner-type ships.

At the same time, we are well aware of the need to maintan our defense posture, a requirement in our maritime planning that has been sharpened with recent developments in Asian waters.

All of the ships I have mentioned so far in our 1956 program are to be constructed under the subsidy laws, with the Government sharing in the costs only to the extent of the difference in the estimated foreign cost of producing such ships and the higher prices necessary from American shipyards. In addition, we hope to continue the tanker trade-in-and-build program, planning for the construction by the tanker industry of 10 new supertankers and the acquisition by the Government of 20 older but usable tank ships for standby service in reserve. Here, too, full materialization of this part of the program will provide some $194,500,000 worth of work for American shipyards, with the Federal share of the outlay about $72 million by the taxpayer.

In addition, three ships are contemplated to be built directly by the Government under the 1956 program. These will be prototypes of ships essential to mobilization plans. We must not delay in producing such ships, which can be built in large numbers under emergency conditions, and which would serve in the vital functions of general cargo carriage and as naval auxiliaries.

Two of these new ships are to be freighters, each with the same hull design, but one of higher power and suited for use as a naval auxiliary. The other, with a speed of 16 knots, would be the counterpart of the Liberty ships of World War II. This design has been termed the Freedom ship.

The third prototype contemplated is a 20-knot tanker of the pipeline class, extremely valuable to the Navy as well as to meet the very heavy demand which war would bring for swift, worldwide transport of petroleum products. The jet age has increased this dependence upon the sea transport of fuel, not decreased it.

In the list of new ships to be built as replacement vessels come additional names new to America's maritime terminology In addition to the freedom replacement for the old Liberty, there are on our drawing boards the following: Clipper, of 18 knots speed, intended for replacement of present C2's, and Seafarer, for the C3's and C4's. These two latter types form the backbone of our merchant freighter fleet today. The new designs are faster, and show the trend toward higher stowage factor. All will embody the very latest in cargo-handling gear.

Three other designs are ready for new construction as shipping companies decide to replace their steadily aging vessels. These are the Island type, a coastal freighter; Bulk, a 16-knot common carrier for all types of dry bulk cargoes such as ores and grains; and perhaps the newest concept of all, the Turnpike class. This is a twin-screw ship of 20 knots speed, essentially a ship to carry trailers and capable of side and end loading. Presumably this type of ship would be used for the most part in intercoastal and coastwise services.

These are preliminary designs produced for the purpose of discussing with the steamship lines the replacement of ships now in operation. We have thus provided a variety of ship designs to help evolve a well-balanced fleet in the next generation of vessel construction. Propulsion machinery and cargo gear no doubt will be greatly influenced by the experimental work we are conducting today. Given the type of cooperation between Government and the industry which I confidently expect, we should be able to look forward to a fully competitive, advanced merchant fleet suitable to meet the needs of our commerce and our defense.

Thus we are working toward the provision of an improved merchant fleet—a fleet of ships faster and better able to handle the transfer of cargo to and from transit by sea to carriage by land vehicles. We must seek the greatest efficiency in this direction, for it is at the terminal where we must work toward achieving the quick turnaround of a ship. It is the ship at sea, not at the pier, that pays for itself.

This means an increasing responsibility on port management. Here, too, the element of direct competition is evident. The opening of new port facilities, such as now looms because of the St. Lawrence seaway program, calls for correspondingly greater endeavor on the part of the older ports. Yet I feel confident that there will be business for all in this expanding economy. Populations are increasing, world-trade volume is steadily climbing, and as we hold off the aggressive threats of communism, the economies of the friendly nations of the world improve by leaps and bounds.

Tomorrow is bringing a tremendous promise to the businessmen of America; and a vital part of that business must flow through the port cities of our coastlines.

Such a realization sharpens the impact of Secretary Weeks' admonition: "The sea is the old, tried friend of Boston business. Don't overlook its value."

The Fourth Object of Rotary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered on Tuesday of this week at the Memphis Rotary Club. As Senators know, I have been concerned by the manner in which our policy has been proceeding in the Far East. I am glad that the President clarified it publicly to some extent this week when, at his press conference, he assured all that this Nation will not help Chiang invade the mainland. I am glad also that the Secretary of State this week did not give Chiang assurances of help in support of the offshore islands. How I feel about this situation is expressed in my address to the Rotary Club.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is a great honor that you have invited me to participate in your golden anniversary of Rotary. I have been rereading the object of Rotary. I want to talk with you briefly today about the fourth object. As all of you know, it is: "The advancement of international understanding, goodwill, and peace through a world fellowship of business and professional men united in the ideal of service."

There is no greater need in the world today than just such organizations truly dedicated to just such an object. I am told that there are now 8,431 Rotary clubs, composed of 396,000 Rotarians in 89 different countries. Your Rotary foundation is contributing much toward international understanding by sending students all over the world for a year's study.

The activities of such an international group as yours, really working at the job of effectively carrying out the fourth object can contribute magnificently toward international understanding.

I feel that we Americans today face three major problems. Broadly stated they are these:

1. To preserve the peace.
2. To preserve our constitutional liberties and our free way of life, and
3. To preserve our economic health and prosperity.

All three of these blend together and are really aspects of the same problem—the problem of preserving a free society.

It is the first of these—the problems involved in preserving the peace—which I wish to discuss with you today and which fit in so well with your fourth object.

Anyone would be less than frank to say that we are not today in a very delicate situation in our international relations. Our world is balanced precariously between peace and war.

We want peace—but what has caused me so much concern is the fear that we are forever on the verge of stumbling into war, with the very best of intentions to be sure but with disastrous consequences nevertheless.

I think it is time that we raise our sights. We owe it to ourselves and to posterity to do so. We have been losing the forests in the trees. We haven't been able to see India for Matsu—we haven't been able to see Japan for Quemoy.

If a major war is to be avoided we cannot blink at the fact that the position of the United States in Asia generally is deteriorating steadily and that the Communists are gaining strength through improved tactics. If this trend continues the bulk of free Asia may follow China behind the Iron Curtain within the matter of a decade or so. Long before then, moreover, we may have lost whatever ability we now have to influence events.

An Asian policy broad enough, bold enough, and flexible enough to reverse this dangerous drift must have the support not only of a preponderant majority of the people here at home, but also of our free allies in Europe. Like it or not, there is a situation in the world in which the only alternative to co-

existence may be no existence, which could be the result of an atomic or hydrogen war. And coexistence is a two-way street—there has to be give and take on both sides.

I don't think we have been proceeding in a very sophisticated way. For instance, we have just entered into a mutual defense treaty with Chiang Kai-shek. I was one of a minority who voted against it. In this treaty we mutually agree that if anyone attacks Formosa we will help Chiang and if anyone attacks the United States he in turn will help us.

What's mutual about that? I have no objection to defending Formosa. I think that the United States has both a moral and a legal obligation to do so. Formosa and the Pescadores were liberated from Japan largely by our arms during World War II. Pending their final disposition we are in what amounts to a sort of trustee position. Chiang is there by our forebearance.

We are, therefore, under obligations to defend Formosa, but let's not kid the world or ourselves by keeping up the fiction that Chiang is a great, dynamic force in Asia, and that he will be rushing over to defend the United States should anyone attack us in mutual exchange for our defense of Formosa.

I thought my colleague, from Tennessee, ALBERT GORE, put it very well when he said:

Of course, I have no sympathy whatsoever with the Red Chinese claim to Formosa, but I believe that until final disposition of the islands is determined, neither Chiang nor the Reds have sovereign rights to them. In this respect the Formosa treaty falls short of meeting the definition of a treaty, because treaties are agreements between sovereign nations. Chiang's government is not a sovereign nation, but a government in exile.

Furthermore, Formosa, doesn't include Matsu and Quemoy. These offshore islands are within 5 miles of the China coast. To say that their defense is necessary to the defense of Formosa is about like saying that the defense of Staten Island, in front of the harbor of New York, is necessary to the defense of Bermuda. They may be important to the morale of Chiang Kai-shek but one cannot really expect the Chinese Communists to lie down and play dead with his forces that close to their harbors.

I doubt if the administration intends to defend these islands. We are told that they must keep this unclear in order to confuse the Chinese Communists. The trouble is that it confuses us here at home, too, and it certainly confuses our allies. Thus during this past week we have seen Mr. Eden at the SEATO conference trying to clarify the situation as far as these islands are concerned and Mr. Dulles keeping it unclear.

I had hoped that the administration had given up its go-it-alone policy. However, when we had the Formosa resolution before Congress, it was obvious that it took the British, our strongest ally, by surprise. Evidentally there had been no consultation.

Unless the administration has a very firm rein on Chiang this is very dangerous business. His goal is to return to the mainland. I would rather see him there than Mao, but to be realistic I must say that he can't get there unless we put him there and that brings into play the Sino-Soviet defense treaty, which really is mutual. And I'm not willing to pay that price, particularly when I believe that if the Chinese people ever successfully throw over the Communist regime they will not be looking to Chiang for leadership, but will be looking to some new force.

One disturbing thing is that immediately after ratification of the Formosa treaty, Chiang announced that this meant the United States would defend Quemoy and Matsu even before Dulles indicated we would. At the very least, I prefer to have our policy announced by our own State Department, rather than by the Generalissimo.

A Far Eastern policy tied to Chiang is almost certainly doomed to fail, and by the time the failure is recognized it may be too late to disengage ourselves without grave loss of prestige.

The key to the security of Asia lies instead in the development of dynamic centers of indigenous stability and power which will lend their own growing strength to that of their neighbors—with the military and economic power of America and the western alliance discreetly in the background.

The two major potential sources of such stability are Japan and India. The history of our generation in Asia may be written around what happens in these two nations, with one-fifth of the world's population.

If they remain free, there is every reason to believe that the bulk of Asia will remain free. If they go under, the Communists are likely to take over from Tokyo to Cairo. We must continue to defend and support the smaller nations now favorable to us, but we should not assume that they constitute a decisive, effective anti-Communist force.

We must remember also that the real bulwark of our strength in the world is the western alliance. For the past 2 years while the administration has fought the so-called war party within the Republican Party the western alliance has taken a back seat. The doctrine of massive retaliation enunciated for domestic political purposes along with the unleashing of Chiang Kai-shek frightened our allies. They would stand exposed to massive annihiliation.

Now the administration is again showing awareness of the Atlantic concept, but here, too, we have got to drop outworn theories and plan big things. My own strong conviction is that NATO must be more than just a military alliance. It must have political and economic ties as well in order to operate effectively. We will be effective neither in Europe nor in Asia as long as the free world itself is divided on its approach, for the Communist world is not.

Problems of American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address which I was pleased to deliver on Washington's Birthday at Stephen's College in Columbia, Mo.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

(Address by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY at Stephen's College, Columbia, Mo., February 22, 1955)

I am grateful to you for asking me to speak on the problems of American foreign policy instead of on the answers. It is a great deal easier to recognize the problems than it is to find the solutions to them, and I will frankly confess at the outset that I do not know the answers to many of the problems I am going to discuss with you.

Still, it is helpful if one knows the problem to which one is looking for an answer. Indeed, a precise definition of the problem may point to an answer. And in this field defining the problem is not so easy an exercise as some people apparently think. There is a great temptation to oversimplify, and oversimplified problems lead to oversimplified solutions.

Let us begin, however, by attempting to define our objective. What is it that we are really trying to achieve through our foreign policy?

The answer to this question, I think, is fairly simple. We want a world in which the American people can live securely, peacefully, prosperously, and happily. That is what is at the bottom of our foreign policy—so far to the bottom that sometimes we lose sight of it and talk about the means by which we try to achieve it as if they were ends in themselves.

Some of us may have strong cultural and sentimental ties with Western Europe, but the preservation of democracy in Western Europe is properly an objective of American foreign policy, not for these reasons, but because the communization of Western Europe would immeasurably reduce the chances for the American people to live as they want to live.

Some of us may have strong emotional feelings about the righteousness of the cause of Chiang Kai-shek and the iniquity of Chou En-lai, but the defense of Formosa is properly an objective of American foreign policy, not for this reason, but because the occupation of Formosa by an unfriendly power would make the defense of the United States more difficult.

Some of us may feel called upon in a spirit of Christian charity to feed the hungry and clothe the naked of Asia, but the success of the Indian 5-year plan is properly an objective of American foreign policy, not for this reason primarily, however appealing it may be, but because a prosperous India can contribute to the peace and well-being of the American people while an impoverished India represents a positive threat to that peace and well-being.

Keeping our eye on the end and not on the means will help us to limit our activities and commitments somewhat, but even so our objective is a pretty big one and our national resources are limited.

Despite our great wealth and power, we are not strong enough to arrange the world precisely as we would like it. Neither are we strong enough or secure enough to ignore the rest of the world.

This seeming paradox sets the upper and lower limits of our foreign policy. Regardless of our likes or dislikes, there are many things which we cannot do, and at the other end of the scale there are some things which we must do.

Although we still occasionally hear voices urging upon us the doctrine of isolationism, I think the suicidal implications of that doctrine have by this time been pretty well established.

It is rather a curious thing, however, that some of the people who have been emotionally inclined toward isolationism have now swung to the other extreme. Whereas formerly they wanted to have nothing at all to do with the rest of the world, they are now clamoring for all kinds of impossible intercessions. I am sure you are familiar with the type. They have what we might call ultimatum mentality. They demand that we tell the Soviet Union and Communist China to behave themselves or else. What is even worse, they demand that we have the effrontery to tell one of our sovereign allies to do as we say "or else." Apparently they are not at all concerned that the "else" in one case might be hydrogen warfare and in the other case the loss of a valued ally.

One extreme is as bad as the other. The ostrich, which hides its head in the sand, is not particularly more stupid than the rhinoceros, which charges at every noise it hears.

Both of these extremes fail to take adequately into account four major interna-

tional facts of this mid-20th-century world. These facts are:

1. The existence of aggressive communism with sufficient resources and power to constitute serious threat to all free societies.

2. The development of technology at an ever-increasing tempo.

3. The dynamic urge for political independence and economic development which characterizes most of the non-Communist world.

4. A shrunken world due to man's ingenuity.

Any one of these facts, taken alone, would present a challenge to American foreign policy. But they are interrelated, and the problems presented by each become more acute and more difficult because of the existence of the others.

NATURE OF COMMUNIST THREAT

Let us consider some of the implications of these facts, and let us begin with the nature of the threat posed by aggressive communism.

This threat is only in part military. It is also in part economic and political. It has been most immediate, however, in its military aspects, and this is the form in which it is easiest to meet.

Compared to our other problems, it is a relatively simple matter to draw a line around the Western Hemisphere or around Western Europe and to generate, in concert with our allies, enough military strength to create doubts in the minds of the potential aggressor as to his ability successfully to breach that line.

In his first annual message to Congress in 1790, George Washington, whose birthday we celebrate today, said: "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace."

Well-meaning people have sometimes criticized our policy as being too heavily militaristic; but when you are confronted with overwhelming military power, you necessarily have to devote first attention to building some sort of a defense structure. While doing this we have by no means neglected the political and economic aspects of the Soviet threat, but I think the time has now come when we must give these aspects even greater attention.

IMPLICATIONS OF HYDROGEN WEAPONS

One reason for this is found in the second major international fact which I mentioned earlier—the ever-increasing tempo of technological development. This is one of the factors which seems to me to make allout war a remote possibility, if, indeed, it is any longer possible at all. In the cobalt-coated hydrogen bomb technology has given us something which, if it is not the absolute weapon, is at least so close to it as to raise grave questions as to whether its use would be self-defeating. Both the United States and the Soviet Union may very well at this moment have the mutual power of total destruction. This includes, of course, self-destruction.

In dealing with nuclear weapons, you very quickly reach a point beyond which superiority becomes meaningless. If each side has the power to inflict a mortal blow upon the other, then it doesn't matter if one side has twice as much power as the other.

I once heard this point made in terms of less awesome weapons. For example: If I am pointing a .38-caliber pistol at you, and you are pointing a B–B gun at me, I have a very great superiority. But if we each increase our strength, so that I am pointing a .45-caliber pistol at you and you are pointing a .38-caliber pistol at me, then, although I would still have a superiority of sorts, it wouldn't really do me very much good in and of itself.

GROWTH OF TECHNOLOGY

As the military applications of technology make allout war more nearly impossible, and as the defensive strength of the free world increases in other respects, aggressive communism tends to shift its tactics from overt military action to other means. These other means cannot be met by military measures. They require a good deal of imaginative, constructive thinking on our part.

The United States has risen—one might almost say it has been thrust—to its present extraordinary position of wealth and prestige with only 6 percent of the world's land area and only 7 percent of the world's population. Other countries have more natural resources. Other countries have more people. But none has approached the United States in either total or per capita production.

There is an old saying that "It's what you do with what you have that counts." Americans have done the most with what they had. The atmosphere of political and economic freedom which has always prevailed in the United States has had a great deal to do with it, but there is more to it than that.

One of the great advantages which the United States has in world competition—perhaps at this moment in history the greatest single advantage—is our superior technology. This superiority is so marked that we are apt to take it for granted. But it is not inherent. There is nothing peculiarly American about genius. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that genius occurs with no more frequency per million Americans than per million non-Americans. The difference lies in the fact that the American system of education and of social organization makes possible a greater development of the talents which are inherent in all people.

Recent studies, however, indicate that the Soviet Union is bending every effort to close the technological gap between itself and the United States. More scientists, engineers, and technicians are being trained in the Soviet Union than in the United States. And the evidence is that they are being well trained. This to me is an alarming fact, and one that we had better do something about.

It seems to me, for example, extremely wasteful of talented manpower to draft bright young scientists into the Armed Forces. These people can make a greater contribution to the security of the United States by working in laboratories than by carrying a gun.

We would also be well-advised to take steps to train more high school and college teachers in mathematics and the physical sciences. Our position in the world dictates such a course, quite apart from considerations of domestic policy and aid to education generally.

I would not want it inferred from this, however, that our schools should emphasize science and technology to the exclusion, or even to the neglect, of the humanities and other fields of learning. As short as we are of technicians, it could still be argued that our technological progress has outstripped our social progress. One need only look at the impressive fact that although scientists have discovered how to blow us up, statesmen haven't discovered how to keep them from it.

It is important, therefore, that we maintain, or if possible widen, the technological and economic gap between ourselves and the Soviet Union. At the same time, it is equally important that we narrow that gap between ourselves and the underdeveloped countries of the free world.

The economic disparity between the United States and these countries is great—and it is growing at an increasing rate. This trend is not in our national interest.

I have frequently said that the world today is one big neighborhood. Now, no matter how well off you may be yourselves, you cannot have a really good neighborhood if most of the families in it are on the verge of starvation. And the United States cannot continue rich and growing richer in this world neighborhood today so long as a majority of the human race, in the words of Fairfield Osborn, is "living in a crisis whose monotone is interrupted only by catastrophe."

People in this condition make poor customers. They also make poor suppliers—and more and more of the materials our industry uses come from abroad.

Thus, it is our national interest to encourage the economic development of underdeveloped countries on economic grounds alone. Given the existence of the Soviet threat, it is also in our national interest on political and military grounds. From the military point of view, highly developed countries are better able to defend themselves, and to join in measures of collective defense against overt aggression. From the political point of view, they are better able to defend themselves against subversion.

The matter takes on particular urgency at this moment in history because of the third of the major international facts which I mentioned at the beginning; the drive for political independence and economic development in these underdeveloped countries. These twin urges pose different problems for American foreign policy.

DRIVE FOR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

The United States itself was born in a revolution against colonialism, and it has traditionally been anticolonial. Most Americans can easily understand the desire of other people to govern themselves.

Our history confirms that we sympathize with that desire. We set a target date for the independence of the Philippines and stuck by it. We allowed the people of Puerto Rico to work out their own destiny, and they freely chose to become a self-governing commonwealth in association with the United States. We have turned down many opportunities to acquire overseas colonies and possessions.

We have used our good offices, through the United Nations and in direct contacts, to hasten the withdrawal of colonial powers from other territories, many of which are now sovereign states. At the same time, however, we have found some of our principal allies in the world struggle against aggressive communism among the colonial powers of Europe. Because of our close relations with these powers, we have been tarred throughout much of Africa and Asia with a kind of colonial guilt by association.

For understandable, but also, I fear, ill-founded, reasons, we have too frequently sought to steer a middle course, torn between military logic which dictated that we support our European allies on the one hand, and on the other hand our historic sympathies which dictated that we support the colonial peoples. After much travail of spirit, we have usually alined ourselves in the end with the colonial peoples.

Speaking now with the benefit of hindsight over the last 10 years, I think we should have been much less equivocal about our position in these matters. I do not say that in any spirit of criticism of those who have been in charge of our policies, because I am not prepared to say that I would have done it differently myself—given the circumstances which existed at the time. I am not one of those who believes in using hindsight to take an unfair advantage of someone in public office. Hindsight is useful only to the extent that it helps us to avoid mistakes in the future. But if we had it to do over,

I would advocate a much stronger policy in favor of freedom and independence for the colonial areas of the world. It is not yet too late to adopt such a policy, and I believe we are moving in that direction. Actually, of course, more people have achieved political independence in the last decade than at any other comparable period of history.

DRIVE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The record of economic development does not, unfortunately, show as much progress. A start—and on the whole, an encouraging start—has been made, but the difficulties are so complex that we do not as yet thoroughly understand the problem. Here, especially, we must guard against the tendency toward oversimplification against which I warned at the outset. There is a proneness in some quarters, and not least in some of the underdeveloped countries themselves, to think that massive doses of capital investment, administered by the United States, will bring about the desired results. The problem is not that simple, nor is the cure that expensive.

This is another field in which what the United States can do is limited, not only by our own resources but also by the attitudes of the people with whom we are dealing. After all, it is their countries we are talking about, and they can do as they please with them. We should—and we do—stand ready to help insofar as we properly can, but the initiative and most of the effort must come from the people who are being helped.

Economic development is an exceedingly intricate process, consisting of many things, but one of its most important aspects is psychological. Economic development—or economic stagnation to look at the other side of the coin—is in part a state of mind. It is the result of a combination of circumstances which can rarely, if ever, be induced from without. The urge for economic development must be self-generated.

At this point, it is important to distinguish between the urge for economic development and the simple desire for automobiles, air conditioners, and steel plants. Economic development is closely related to cultural attitudes and social organization. Before a country can economically have automobile factories, it must have enough people with enough money to buy the automobiles, and it must have highways for the automobiles to run on. It must have an agricultural production efficient enough to feed the persons who will have to give up farming themselves in order to work in the automobile factories. If it wants greater agricultural production, is it willing to change its system of land tenure which, in at least some underdeveloped countries, breeds inefficiency? If it wants greater industrial production, is it willing to step on the toes of the privileged few who have a vested interest in monopoly and restrictions on output—a privileged few who are usually in positions of great political power? Finally, if it wants eventually to have a complex corporate economy, is it willing to revise its social ideas about the position of women, without whom the American economy could not operate a single day?

These are all questions which can be answered only by the country itself. What its answers are will indicate whether it really has the urge to develop or whether it merely wants the material results of economic development without the social and cultural reorganization which such development implies.

Economic development is only in part the result of capital investment. It is also an aggregate of technical skills—the knowledge and capacity to make efficient use of capital and capital goods. This is the field in which, in my judgment the United States can make the most worthwhile contribution to the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

In this context, then, it seems to me that the proper course for the United States to follow is to adopt, on a long-term basis, a policy of furnishing technical assistance to countries which are genuinely interested in making efficient use of it. You can get more results in work of this kind from a billion dollars spent over 10 years than from a billion dollars spent in 1 year. Indeed, if we tried to spend that much in 1 year in the areas I am talking about, it would be largely wasted. Among other things, it would cause a severe inflation and leave the country which was supposedly being helped worse off than before.

I would not rule out entirely funds for capital investment. But such activities should be limited to specific situations in which a clear and compelling case can be made.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that results are required quickly. Throughout Asia, Communist propaganda is telling people that communism offers a short-cut to economic development. The short-cut, of course, is slave labor but sometimes a people may not realize the implications of this until it is too late.

PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

We may now, thanks again to technology, have found a way to speed up the process within the framework of a free society. As atomic energy provided the weapons which may have made war impossible, so atomic energy may also have provided the materials which will make peace durable. Potentially the most hopeful development of the atomic age is the movement through the United Nations to establish an international pool of atomic energy materials for peaceful uses. Growing out of the President's great speech before the U. N. General Assembly in December 1953, this movement has made slow but nonetheless real progress and there are frounds for encouragement that more progress may be made in the next several months.

This promises, indeed, to be one of the great imaginative triumphs of American diplomacy. The Soviet reaction indicates that the Kremlin is fully aware of the danger which is posed to its own schemes. The first reaction of the Soviet delegate to the U. N. was automatic—he criticized the President's speech. Within 48 hours, his bosses in Moscow had taken a new reading on world opinion and instructed him to make noises of cooperation. In the intervening period, the Soviet Union has tried to block the project without giving the appearance of doing so—and without being wholly successful on either count. All in all, the last 14 months must have been a very trying time for the Communists. They have used it, however, to push feverishly ahead on their own research into the peaceful applications of atomic energy.

It is just as important that we stay ahead of the Soviets in regard to the peaceful use of atomic energy as it is that we stay ahead of them in regard to the military applications. It is perhaps not too much to say that the uncommitted world of Asia will go to the side that first develops a feasible means of using atomic energy for peaceful purposes on a large scale. For that reason, we can welcome the recent decision to supply heavy water to India.

It may very well be that the benefits of atomic energy can be made available in underdeveloped countries before they become practicable in countries such as the United States. In a country with a shortage of electric power and with fuel resources which are either insignificant or underdeveloped, for example, it would be economical to generate electricity from atomic energy at higher costs than in a country with abundant and well-developed supplies of other fuels.

We can only guess at what large quantities of atomic-generated electric power would mean in the underdeveloped countries of the world. Irrigation projects would become feasible to bring vast new areas of land into cultivation with all that that would mean in terms of an increased food supply, a better diet for the people, and improved distribution of land ownership. Multitudinous new light industries could be established.

There are undoubtedly other uses which we cannot now foresee. The potentialities are so vast that any sort of analogy with known experience is dangerous. But one comparison which suggests itself and which may be indicative, if not precise, is that the atomic powerplant may very well do for Asia what the steam engine did for Europe—and that, of course, is to remake totally the economy and society of the area.

We must not allow ourselves to become so preoccupied with day-to-day crises that we lose sight of these underlying, long-range problems that I have been talking about. But at the same time, of course, we have to deal effectively with today—or else tomorrow may never come. So let us now examine briefly 2 or 3 of our more pressing immediate crises. There are, unfortunately, a large number from which we can choose, but let us take two on opposite sides of the world—one in the Far East and one in Europe.

SITUATION IN FAR EAST

Paradoxically, it seems to me that both the chances of war and the chances of peace have increased in the Far East in the last month. This results primarily from the fact that both military and diplomatic activity in the area of Formosa have been stepped up, and the situation, which had been in something of a stalemate, has become more fluid. It is now off dead center, but we do not yet know which way it will move. This is another instance in which the power and influence of the United States are limited, and we must frankly admit that the decision is to a large degree up to the Communists. If they want war, there will be war. If they want to avoid war, they can do so very easily.

So far as the United States is concerned, our basic position is quite simple. Our national interests do not permit us to tolerate the occupation of Formosa by an unfriendly power. The island is an integral part of the chain which runs north and south in the Western Pacific from the Aleutians through Japan, the Ryukyus, Formosa, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. World War II provided a vivid demonstration of what even some of these islands in unfriendly hands can mean to the United States. Formosa provides a potential enemy a means to outflank the Philippines, as well as our bases on Okinawa in the Ryukyus. The Philippines and Ryukyus, in turns, provide stepping stones to other islands and so on, until we reach Hawaii and the west coast.

Since the end of World War II, Formosa has been in friendly hands—namely, the Republic of China headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. But its status in international law is not entirely clear. Prior to the 1890's, Formosa was occupied by the Chinese, and it was ceded by China to Japan some 60 years ago. In the Cairo Declaration of World War II, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang agreed that it should be returned to China. In the Japanese Peace Treaty, Japan renounced all claims to the island, but no affirmative disposition of it was made. It should be noted that the Soviet Union was a party neither to the Cairo Declaration nor to the Japanese Peace Treaty.

Since 1950 there have in effect been two Chinas—one on the mainland, which is Communist, and one on Formosa and a few other islands, which is not Communist. The United States, the United Nations, and most of the nations of the world have recognized the non-Communist regime on Formosa as the legitimate Republic of China.

As long as these two Chinas spar with each other across the Straits of Formosa there exists an area of international tension which is in constant danger of erupting into full-scale war. The situation has become increasingly acute since last September as the Communists have stepped up their attacks on the Nationalist-held islands and as they have filled the air with loud declarations of their firm resolve to capture Formosa.

Two other new elements have also been added. First, the United States has made it as clear as possible—we hope beyond the possibility of misinterpretation even in Peiping—that we will use American Armed Forces to protect Formosa and the Pescadores. We have already used our Armed Forces to protect the withdrawal of Chinese Nationalists from the Tachen Islands in a redeployment which will not only strengthen the overall Nationalist position but will also remove a potential trouble spot.

Second, the United Nations Security Council has taken cognizance of the situation, and efforts are under way to arrive at a cease-fire which will introduce at least some measure of stability into the situation. I do not know what the outcome of those efforts will be. So far as the U. N. itself is concerned, the prospects do not at this moment look particularly favorable. But at least the question has been opened up, and it is a matter of active concern to the world's statesmen, not only in Washington but also in London and New Delhi, and we may hope in Moscow and Peiping.

The United States should support these efforts to achieve a cease-fire, insisting only that our vital interests be protected. We can protect those interests without becoming involved in a war on the mainland of China. The prevention of such a war should be one of the primary objectives of our policy.

SITUATION IN EUROPE

Let us look now at Europe, where the stakes are, in some ways, even higher than they are in the Far East.

Western Europe contains the world's greatest aggregation of industrial capacity and technical skills outside the United States. With Western Europe a part of the free world, our preponderance of economic strength over the Soviet bloc is overwhelming. With Western Europe behind the Iron Curtain, our economic strength and that of the Soviet bloc would more nearly approach parity.

Through the Marshall plan, we strengthened Europe economically so that it could resist subversion and at the same time support a military effort of its own. Through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the military defenses of Europe have been further built up.

But one more tremendously important step remains to be taken, and that is to make the skills, the energies, and the resources of the people of Western Germany available for the common defense of Western Europe. We thought a way had been found to do that through the European Defense Community, but national jealousies were still too great, and the memories of three German occupations of France were still too vivid.

Now, through wise statesmanship, an alternative has been worked out to admit the Federal Republic of Germany to NATO, to restore German sovereignty, and to provide for the rearmament of Germany.

The London and Paris agreements which make provision for these steps have been approved by the French National Assembly, but we still wait for action by the French Council. We wait, also, for action by the German Bundestag.

Meanwhile, we see a political deterioration in both France and Germany. In France, one government crisis follows another. In Germany, delay brings with it increasing opposition to the agreements.

Actually, what is involved is more than simply adding German strength to our system of collective security in Western Europe. What is really involved is the integration of Europe—a dream of a thousand years that is now so close and yet apparently still so far from realization.

If we fail this time, we may not again soon have another chance. Yet here we have another instance of a situation beyond the control of the United States. We can only watch and wait and pray—and remind our friends in Europe that this is a time for responsibility, for rising—as Lincoln said—with the occasion, and for putting aside petty jealousies in the interests of the whole community.

UNITED NATIONS

No discussion of the problems of American foreign policy would be complete without considerable emphasis on the United Nations. It is perhaps not a very great exaggeration to say that no organization has ever accomplished so much in the face of so many difficulties. By any standard, the list of what the U. N. has done is impressive. It becomes positively astonishing when one remembers that the U. N. was founded on the principle of Big Five unanimity in the Security Council and that that unanimity hardly survived the San Francisco Conference.

To mention only a few of the U. N.'s accomplishments, it got Russian troops out of Azerbaijan, it ended the Israeli-Arab fighting, it preserved the integrity of South Korea, and through its technical assistance program it has made a modest but hopeful beginning toward improving standards of life in underdeveloped countries.

But it has done more than this. It has provided an international forum where nations can talk out their problems and differences, where the whole world can see the obstructionist tactics of the Soviet Union and the constructive efforts of the free nations. It has provided an excellent means of clarifying the issues in the cold war.

That the United Nations has accomplished as much as it has despite the abuse of the Soviet veto is a clear indication of the powerful, underlying desire of the nations and the people of the earth for an international organization to keep the peace.

The United Nations deserves our full support. I do not have very much patience with people who criticize the U. N. because it falls somewhere short of perfection. No human institution will ever be perfect; nor will one ever be improved by carping complaints.

CONCLUSION

Now, in conclusion, let us try to sum up by formulating some principles which can serve as guideposts for the United States to follow in making and carrying out its foreign policy.

First, we must measure up to the position of leadership which we occupy in the world, but we must at the same time remember our own limitations.

Second, the foremost of these limitations is that we cannot live alone. We must have allies. The only real security lies in collective security.

Third, although the Soviet veto in the U. N. has made it necessary for us to develop a series of regional security alliances, we must remember that the best instrumentality for developing a real system of collective security is the United Nations.

Fourth, although we must not neglect the military aspects of our security, we must pay increasing attention to the political and economic aspects.

Fifth, we must continue technical and other assistance to promote the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

Sixth, we must continue and strengthen our overseas information programs, not merely to counteract Soviet lies about us, but more importantly to present an affirmative story of freedom.

Seventh, and possibly most important of all, we must keep faith with ourselves and our allies. Let the Communists entangle themselves in devious Machiavellian plots. In foreign relations, as in personal relations, honesty and frankness are the best policies.

With our minds so much on the Far East, I cannot help but recall the teaching of Confucius (and this the Chinese Communists would do well to recall) that there are three essentials to a state—a revenue, an army, and good faith. Of these three, he said, "the greatest is good faith. Without a revenue and without an army, a state may still exist, but it cannot exist without good faith."

Senator George, of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a newspaper article entitled "Senator GEORGE Is Most Powerful Single Solon," written by Martin S. Hayden, of the North American Alliance, and published under date of February 27, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR GEORGE IS MOST POWERFUL SINGLE SOLON

(By Martin S. Hayden)

WASHINGTON, February 27.—The venerable WALTER FRANKLIN GEORGE seems to prove a paradox—that as senatorial togas get older they become more durable.

At 77—and after 33 Senate years—GEORGE, of Georgia, is not just the senior Member of the United States Senate. He is also the most powerful single man in Congress.

As the Senate's president pro tempore, he holds titular rank over all his colleagues.

As the Foreign Relations Committee chairman he has three times demonstrated in recent weeks that his is the strongest foreign-affairs voice Capitol Hill has heard since the passing of Michigan's Arthur Vandenberg.

As the senior member and ex-chairman of the Senate Finance Committe, his is the single vote most likely to make or break a tax bill.

And, in almost every other field of legislative business—from reciprocal trade to the slapping down of JOE MCCARTHY—one question dominates among predebate dopesters: "Where does WALTER GEORGE stand?"

It wasn't always so with the big, slow-moving, gray-haired man whose ponderous voice echoes a political era when statesmen needed no mechanical microphones to make themselves heard by a crowd.

GEORGE entered the Senate in 1922 as an avowed conservative supported by businessmen, the power interests, and Georgia's drys. As those groups thought, so did WALTER GEORGE vote. It might have been unfair to state (as some did) that GEORGE lacked political courage. But certainly he was troubled by indecision when Georgia, like other Southern States in the 1930's, split between those who went New Deal and those who

stuck with the interests and traditions of the Old Dixie.

During a period of wavering, GEORGE supported the National Reconstruction Act (NRA) and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) but opposed investigations of private power and the death-sentence act on public utility holding companies. He was for the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Wagner Act, and social security, but against the Guffey coal-control bill, civil-rights legislation, and anything else pictured as an invasion of States rights.

The break with Franklin Roosevelt came on the Supreme Court packing plan. When the President suffered there his first major congressional beating, he put WALTER GEORGE at the top of his list of unreconstructed Democrats who had to be purged in retaliation. The President made his decision known on a Georgia campaign platform. After endorsing GEORGE's opponent, Lawrence S. Camp, he turned to the Senator on the other side of the platform and said with a Roosevelt grin:

"God bless you, WALTER. May we always be friends."

GEORGE rose solemnly, shook the President's hand and boomed out: "I regret that you have taken this occasion to question my democracy and to attack my public record. But I want you to know that I accept the challenge."

In a campaign marked by brass-knuckle tactics and undisguised play by the contenders for racial voting, GEORGE swept the field. Under Georgia's archaic county-unit system he got more than a majority of the whole unit count while Gov. Eugene Talmadge ran second and New Dealer Camp a bad third with less than one-quarter of the popular vote.

From then on no one accused GEORGE of being a Roosevelt man. In 1940 his seniority gave him the Foreign Relations chairmanship and a year later he gave it up to take the Finance Committee chairmanship. If they did not actually suggest the change business interests were pleased by the move that put a man they trusted in the tax-writing post that would have otherwise gone to the less-predictable Tom Connally, of Texas.

When the Democrats took over Congress last month, GEORGE returned to the Foreign Relations chairmanship, leaving another sound tax policy man, Senator HARRY BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, in charge of finance. In 5 weeks he pushed through lop-sided Senate conformations of three historic measures sought by the Eisenhower administration: the resolution authorizing the President to fight for Formosa and related regions, passed by an 85-to-3 vote; the southeast Asian (SEATO) defense treaty, approved 82 to 1, and the defense treaty with Nationalist China, which passed 64 to 6.

Urging the controversial authorization for use of American men in the defense of Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa, GEORGE, who lost a son in World War II combat, hit a new high of bipartisanship:

"I believe," he said, "that President Eisenhower is a prudent man. I believe he is dedicated to a peaceful world. I believe what he says and I am willing to act upon it."

By the time GEORGE was finished a retreat had begun by bigname Democratic Senators who, until the old man had his say, were talking of amendments that would have limited the President's freedom of action. GEORGE passed them off as trifling and told his colleagues to stop talking so the world might know of America's bipartisan unity.

When GEORGE's three-rollcall job was done, Republican State Department officials hailed it as the hardest blow yet struck at world Communists who would picture America as a divided Nation.

In the Senate today there is speculation about how long GEORGE will be around to run the show. Some say that, come 1956, he must either retire or be beaten by the established political power of Georgia's ex-governor, Herman Talmadge.

Others take a different view, Talmadge, they agree is the boss of Georgia, but WALTER GEORGE has lived to become a legend and legends are hard to beat in politics.

Nixon Makes a Good Ambassador

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "NIXON Makes a Good Ambassador," written by Marquis Childs, and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 4, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NIXON MAKES A GOOD AMBASSADOR
(By Marquis Childs)

While he still stands high on the Democrats' list of ambassadors of ill will, Vice President NIXON is winning friends and influencing people from Central America.

The Vice President stepped into the middle of the bitter fued between President Anastasio Somoza, of Nicaragua, and President Pepe Figueres, of Costa Rica. He undertook not so much the role of a mediator as that of a catalyst seeking to bring a better understanding between two proud Latins.

There are increasing signs of his effectiveness in bringing peace between the two embittered neighbors. President Somoza has opened up the San Juan River to traffic, thereby resolving one of the chief sources of friction.

During his tour NIXON got publicly behind a project that has languished since the withering of the good-neighbor policy. That is completion of the Inter-American Highway, which has strategic as well as goodwill aspects and is dear to the heart of Central America. He also pledged himself publicly to speed up economic aid for Guatemala.

Those who followed the tour he made last year in Asia, and they include critics of the domestic brand of politics he practiced in the election campaign last fall, believe that fully as important as any specific achievement is the psychological effect of the touring NIXONS. Both the Vice President and his wife make every effort to be friendly and cooperative. There is never anything condescending or stuffy in their approach to their hosts.

Several of the countries they visited in Asia are in the neutral or uncommitted category. NIXON was careful to avoid any suggestion that they had better choose sides between East and West in the cold war.

An example was Indonesia where the Vice President made plain in a half-dozen speeches that he understood both the power, real and potential, and the problems of this new nation struggling to achieve statehood and stability. He was cheered by Indonesian audiences again and again in their country of 80 million people, the sixth largest in the world in population and with vast undeveloped natural resources.

On the practical side NIXON familiarized himself with the urgent problem of the Indonesian Government in disposing of its tin and rubber in order to get foreign exchange to try to build up industry. On his return to Washington the Vice President provided the extra push necessary to get an agreement signed providing that the United States would buy all Indonesian tin and rubber for at least a year.

All this is particularly important in view of the Asian-African conference to be held late next month in Bandung, Indonesia. The Indonesians are disturbed by statements in the American press to the effect that this is to be a Communist-dominated conference. Yet, as they point out, Pakistan, which is firmly alined with the West, is one of the inviting powers.

Among the 17 powers that have already accepted the invitation is Communist China, but whether the Red Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai will attend is not yet certain. Also among those accepting are the Philippines and Thailand, both members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization which recently met in Bangkok. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is reported to have encouraged both countries to send representatives to help counter the Communist viewpoint put forward by China.

NIXON in his own estimate of the conference puts it down to the desire of newly independent people to show that they can get together to talk about the future just as do the great powers with a long history of diplomatic negotiation.

As NIXON concludes his Central American tour, there is already talk of another such good will expedition, perhaps as early as next fall, to the Middle East. On the assumption that he will be the vice presidential candidate seeking reelection with President Eisenhower, NIXON is planning to do all his traveling in this country in 1956.

Angry Democrats discussed after election in November various ways to punish NIXON for what they charge was a calculated use of the Red smear. One proposal was to force him to listen as a senior and conservative Democrat read the speeches NIXON made in Montana and Oregon. Nothing has come of these proposals. Told of the achievements of NIXON's good will tours, one of these still-embittered Democrats remarked:

"What you say may all be true and, if so, fine. I'm for keeping him out of the country all of the time."

Education: Democracy's Indispensable Weapon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered before the convention of the American Association of School Administrators, at St. Louis, Mo., on Monday, February 28, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATION: DEMOCRACY'S INDISPENSABLE WEAPON

(Address of Hon. LISTER HILL, United States Senator from Alabama, before the convention of the American Association of School Administrators, St. Louis, Mo., February 28, 1955)

The public school, conceived in a frontier settlement more than three centuries ago,

is one of the great rocks on which our Nation has been built. In the early days of this Republic, learning, reason, and faith in the people's capacity to govern themselves inspired that adventurous spirit which dared trust the future of an infant nation to the judgment of the many instead of the dictates of the few. The lives and fortunes of individual Americans, the nature of our institutions, the quality of our industry, commerce, and agriculture, the conservation and use of our natural resources, the nature of our law—the destiny of the Nation itself—depend on decisions rendered by all the people. The public school was created to inform the popular wisdom.

The magnitude of the responsibility resting on public education was forcefully described by Jefferson when he declared: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."

The frontiers of our forefathers have faded from the American scene. Today we live among busy lanes of commerce, mighty industries, complex networks of communications, productive farms, great hydroelectric plants, and, now, the harnessing of nuclear power.

These are achievements of generations of American men and women educated in our system of free public schools—achievements wrought by a nation grounded in belief in the supreme worth of the individual man, his dignity, his freedom, his capacity to meet the challenge of each new age.

These are the values and traditions that have led people all over the earth to turn longing eyes toward America, to knock on her door for admittance. These are the values and traditions that have made people in the free nations turn to America for leadership in this time of crisis. These are the values and traditions upon which the greatness of America rests. These are the values and traditions that our schools must preserve and perpetuate.

Our schools, as has been so eloquently stated by your splendid president, Mr. Larson, "are the backbone of our national defense, the bulwark of our free enterprise system, and the foundation of a trained and loyal American citizenship."

Yet, anyone who studies our public schools today, as it has been my opportunity and responsibility to do as a citizen and a Member of your Congress, knows that American education is in serious trouble.

The millions of children attending school on a part-time basis, in makeshift quarters, in overcrowded classrooms, evidence the plight of education in America today. Census figures on the increased millions of children already born who will be crowding through our schoolhouse doors in the years immediately ahead pose an even more desperate situation.

Quantitatively and qualitatively we are possessed of an education deficit that threatens the very capacity of the American people—scientifically, politically, and intellectually—to cope with the most complex and most dangerous problems in the history of freemen.

Educationally speaking, we are still breathing the quiet air of the peaceful years before the wars and revolutions of the first half of the 20th century wrought a world filled with malice and fear.

As we analyze what has taken place in the world, we know that the fall of the western democracies from their preeminence was due not as much to the designs of evil men as that those nations lacked the clarity of purpose and resolution of mind and heart to deal successfully with the world disorders which made possible the rise to power of the totalitarian warlords.

The world disorder has forced us to adopt a radically higher and different defense concept, employing the most terrible and costly weapons that man can devise, yet we have been willing to limp along on an educational system that is wholly inadequate for turning out sufficient numbers of highly trained citizens and for meeting the multiplied demands for moral discipline and wisdom of great affairs.

The hour demands a radically higher and different concept of education.

Our supreme and ultimate aim is to build a world in which all men may live together in peace. But, if we are to build the peace, we must first be able to survive.

We know that our ability to survive in this era of warlords of aggression rests upon our ability to marshal superior brainpower against the brawn of overwhelming numbers. And our edge is slipping away as our educational system falls further and further behind in the quality and quantity of its product while Russia is pushing her educational effort to unprecedented heights.

One field in which this is clearly apparent is that of the training of engineers and scientists.

Our defense authorities tell us that Russian schools this year will graduate some 54,000 engineers, as compared with only 19,000 to be graduated in the entire United States. This is a ratio of 3 to 1. The ratio is as bad or worse with respect to physicists and scientists of every kind. But this is not the worst of the story of how Russia is outstripping us. Russian facilities will turn out approximately a quarter of a million technicians in nonengineering categories this year, while Americans with comparable training will number but 10,000. This is a ratio of 25 to 1.

Dr. M. H. Trytten, of the National Research Council, and Dr. John R. Dunning, atomic expert and dean of Columbia University School of Engineering, have warned that if present trends continue—that is to say, if our education systems fails to effect a sharp increase in the annual output of engineers and other scientific graduates, the Russians will catch up with us in the next 5 years and after that they will pass us in the race.

The same warning has been echoed by Prof. Joel Hildebrand, president of the American Chemical Society. "In producing scientists," Professor Hildebrand declared, "we need to run very much faster if we intend to win the race for survival."

Today we are reaping the harvest of years of neglect of our educational system—of waste of the talent of our youth. Dr. John K. Norton, head of the department of educational administration, Columbia University, told our committee at our hearings on school-construction legislation that "more than half the children who enter at the first grade fail to finish high school." He added that "even more important in terms of its effects upon our preparedness is the fact that only one-half of our top talent, those who get high marks in high school, who pass intelligence tests, who it is generally agreed could do college work and do it well, actually do so." "We are," Dr. Norton declared, "wasting one-half of our top talent in terms of giving them substantial professional, technical, or vocational training."

We must bring to a halt the 50-percent dropout rate in our elementary and secondary schools. We must make certain that more and more of the top talent among our high-school graduates is fully capitalized through college and university training.

We know that if we are to do these things—if we are to build our professional manpower resources—we must begin in our elementary and secondary schools for it is here that our young people must be trained and prepared to pursue college and university training.

Emphasizing the urgent need for training more scientists, the National Science Foundation in its annual report just submitted to the President and the Congress declared that the fostering of scientific training involves first the matter of incentives.

"The primary and indispensable incentive," the National Science Foundation report declared, "is a deep, personal, and indefatigable interest in scientific discovery. To find ways to promote that interest is," the report concluded, "of first importance and leads directly to the quality of the teaching in the secondary schools."

We must sharply increase our supply of well-trained teachers. To do so, we must lift the level of teachers' salaries from its present rank among the lowest of all employed groups in America to its rightful place.

Indeed, the hour demands a bill of rights for the teacher. A bill of rights guaranteeing a salary which will enable the teacher to enjoy a good standard of living, to permit recreation and travel, continued study and educational growth, and provide security in old age.

The bill of rights must go further. It must recognize the essential worth and dignity of the teacher and assure full opportunity to take part in the life of the community—outside the classroom. The teacher must be free of the petty restraints and interferences with his personal life that are so often imposed in many communities. The teacher must be protected from the unprincipled demagogic attacks that fetter the mind, breed suspicion and fear, and threaten the very destruction of free public education.

Teaching has long been called a profession. We must make it a profession, in fact—appreciated and honored in the community, adequately paid and acclaimed for devoted public service.

The total accumulated needs of our educational system are so great that we cannot, with any reasonable hope of success, attack them all at one and the same time on any major scale.

Today the States and local communities and the across-the-board needs of education are straitjacketed by our $12 billion classroom deficit and the 6-year certainty of continued recordbreaking school enrollments. Our best hope of relieving the deficit and of enabling the States and local communities to turn more of their efforts and resources to raising teacher salaries and to meeting the other needs of education lies in the Federal Government putting its shoulder to the wheel and providing substantial Federal aid for school construction.

As soon as the returns of the elections last November were known and it became evident that I would be chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I pledged to our parents, teachers, and school officials that the very first bill that I would introduce in the new Congress and the very first bill that I would take up in the committee would be for Federal aid for school construction.

On the very first legislative day of the Senate, I, along with 29 of my Senate colleagues, introduced Senate bill 5, providing a billion dollars in Federal aid for school construction over a 2-year period.

On the same day the President referred to the school crisis in his state of the Union message and announced he would have more to say in a special message on February 15. This was encouraging but the idea of waiting another 5 or 6 weeks to see what the President might say would—it seemed to me—involve a breaking of faith with our parents, teachers, and school officials to whom I had pledged full speed ahead. So we moved forthwith with hearings and consideration of Senate bill 5 and similar bills that were ready for action.

As we know, the President early this month sent to Congress his education message and the administration bill. Our committee moved promptly to hold hearings and consider the bill.

The administration bill provoked a storm of protests from educators and school officials. Spokesmen for leading educational organizations, experts on school financing problems, State school laws, and State constitutional provisions came before our committee at the hearings and literally took the administration bill apart.

One witness called it Federal aid for investment bankers. Others said they are prohibited by their State constitutions and State laws from complying with the loan provisions of the bill. Still others said their school districts could not afford to go further into debt or pay interest or amortize Federal loans or pay rent on school buildings without seriously reducing the already inadequate funds for salaries to teachers.

Stating that the bill provides "much too little aid and much too much control," Dr. William Carr, executive secretary of the National Education Association, declared that the NEA refuses to "embrace untested and hastily formulated proposals which do not conform to the existing pattern of State and local school administration."

Dr. Carr declared further that the bill, while hedged about with unnecessary restrictions and controls, provides only token assistance.

He showed that while Secretary Hobby and Commissioner of Education Brownell have spoken of the administration's bill as a proposal to set in motion a $7 billion school program, analysis of the bill reveals that actually the only Federal expenditure for construction provided is $67 million a year for 3 years—less than 1 percent a year of the huge $7 billion figure Secretary Hobby and Commissioner Brownell have been talking about.

Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, told the committee that he had "never seen a bill that had more Federal control. Under the bill," Dr. Fuller declared, "there would be General Accounting Office people, tax attorneys, estimators of building values, and a horde of Federal officials in local school districts. The bill," Dr. Fuller declared, "is written with the tone of a mortgage banker who is lending money to a pauper and is going to tie him down just as solidly as he can to make sure he gets back every cent plus a good rate of interest. As this bill is written," Dr. Fuller declared, "the Federal Government will eventually make a profit at the expense of the school districts of the county most in need. The Chief State School Officers," Dr. Fuller declared, "would not favor the bill because it would set up separate State agencies and because it would be too expensive and because it would be an example of Federal discrimination against schools in contrast with generous Federal grants to highways, hospitals, and other physical facilities in the States. It would," he continued, "make education an orphan, deny it broad sources of income that every other service has and throw the schools back on real estate taxes as a permanent policy."

Our committee heard either in person or by telegrams and other communications from 40 out of the 48 State superintendents of education. Not one favored the bill.

Dr. Carr and other educators cited as the proper kind of approach to school construction legislation the bills developed and sponsored by the late Senators Elbert Thomas, of Utah, and Robert Taft, of Ohio, and myself. The bills embodied these fundamental principles:

1. Direct grants to all the States;

2. Allocation of funds on an objective formula;

3. Administration of the funds by the established State and local agencies.

We have twice passed in the Senate by overwhelming vote, bills containing these principles. These are the principles of Senate bill 5.

Every day of delay deepens the crisis in our schools.

The testimony before our committee made clear that with the passage of Senate bill 5 at least 42 States, under authority of State statutes already on the books, can begin at once to put Federal funds to work along with State and local funds to build schoolhouses for our children.

I am urging that Senate bill 5, strengthened and fortified in every possible way be quickly brought to the Senate floor that we may pass it now. With your splendid help, we shall win the battle.

Please let me take this opportunity of telling you how helpful the support of your association has been in the fight for our Oil for Education amendment, which will dedicate to education the income from the oil wealth of the Outer Continental Shelf. With your help we won adoption of the amendment in the Senate in the last Congress. We have reintroduced the amendment and are carrying on the fight for final victory.

From these oil resources $150 million has already come into the Treasury and the Department of the Interior has predicted that the revenues will utimately exceed $6 billion.

The $150 million that has already been derived and the revenues that will follow should be put to work to help meet the financial crisis in our schools and colleges.

Here is nontax revenue for relieving the financial straits of our elementary and secondary schools, for providing more and better schools and better trained teachers, and for scolarships, fellowships, and training and research grants. With your continued help, my friends, these revenues will become education's endowment for the future.

As we provide for the education of our children, we nourish the wisdom of America at its roots, we strengthen the well-springs of our democracy, we build the strength and security of our country and build for the peace of the world.

Judge Harlan Before the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Judge Harlan Before the Senate," published in the Chicago Daily Tribune of February 28, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUDGE HARLAN BEFORE THE SENATE

Judge John Marshall Harlan has been testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee which is considering his qualifications for membership in the Supreme Court.

Judge Harlan, in substance, asked the Senate to take him on trust. The nominee did not deny that he had been a member since 1952 of the advisory council of the Atlantic Union Committee. Yet when the objectives of this organization were read to him, he professed astonishment that he had been supporting a movement to drive the United States into a political union with a number of European and other foreign countries, with a common citizenship, common foreign policy and defense establishment, unified currency, economic integration, and unrestricted immigration.

Judge Harlan said if that was a correct statement of the objectives of Atlantic Union, "I disassociate myself." We should say that this awakening comes rather late in the day.

We find it difficult to believe that an experienced lawyer, a sitting judge of the United States Court of Appeals in New York, and a worldly man could be as naive as Judge Harlan seeks to make himself out. He could not have been around for 4 years, with the newspapers available, let alone being a member of Atlantic Union Advisory Council, without knowing at least generally that it is committed to the liquidation of American sovereignty.

A lot of Communists and members of Communist fronts have testified that they were so simple minded that they never knew that they were being used for a revolutionary purpose. It is difficult to credit their testimony as to Communist fronts; it is difficult to credit Judge Harlan's as to one world fronts.

The judge admitted membership in the Citizens' Association for the United Nations, but again said he had no idea of its program or aims and would drop his membership. "I am not," he said despite these connections, "an internationalist, a one worlder, nor a union nower."

Again, Judge Harlan said he felt that a Supreme Court judge, when he takes the oath, must resign from all such organizations as those he was questioned about. But the fact is that the candidate already is a judge of a very important Federal court, and not until now has he felt it incumbent on himself to put aside connections with internationalist organizations. If a Supreme Court justice should not be encumbered with such prejudicial baggage, why doesn't the rule hold equally for a judge of the court of appeals?

Judge Harlan was noncommittal when the claims of treaty law as against the supremacy under the Constitution of internal law were brought up in questioning. He would not declare himself, although the seat for which he has been nominated may prove decisive in tilting the Court toward the extinction of American sovereignty and constitutional liberty.

It is no pleasure to take note of these matters. Judge Harlan is a distinguished lawyer and in his brief career on the court of appeals, has shown judicial capacity of a high order. Nevertheless, the testimony before the committee raises the gravest question of his fitness for the Supreme Court. It would be a great mistake to forget that, in the steel seizure case, three Supreme Court judges took the position that obligations assumed under the U. N. treaty authorized the Federal Government to seize property in violation of the Constitution. The margin of safety on the Court is already narrow. Surely among thousands of learned and judicially minded lawyers in this country, at least one can be found who can pass the most rigorous of Senate examinations without raising any doubts of his fitness.

Centenary of St. Mary's College, Near South Bend, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement

in commemoration of the centenary observance this year of St. Mary's College, near South Bend, Ind.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CENTENARY OBSERVANCE OF ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, NEAR SOUTH BEND, IND.

St. Mary's College for women, the first Catholic women's college in the United States empowered to grant degrees and the first to confer bachelors' degrees continuously, celebrates the centenary of its establishment at its present site just north of South Bend, Ind., during 1955.

The college began as an academy for girls in Bertrand, Mich., in 1844 and held its first commencement 4 years later. Four young French Sisters of the Holy Cross, members of the order established 2 years previously, came to the Indiana frontier in 1843 to assist the priests and brothers who had founded the University of Notre Dame only a year before.

The Sisters began their work in America by assuming housekeeping duties for the new mission school of Notre Dame, but soon established their own girls school at Bertrand, 6 miles north of Notre Dame, and the school was chartered by the State of Michigan in 1851.

As the decade of the 1850's opened, the Sisters came to realize that Chicago was fast replacing Bertrand as the area's population and trading center.

Early in 1855, the Sisters of the Holy Cross moved their young school to its present location north of South Bend, Ind., and west of the University of Notre Dame. The State of Indiana promptly granted an academic charter to the school (February 28) "for the education of young ladies in the various branches of arts and sciences * * * and to confer such degrees upon scholars as are usual." In April 1855 the cornerstone was laid for the first building.

The convent and novitiate later (1868) became the motherhouse of the United States Sisters of the Holy Cross.

Under Mother M. Angela, first directress of studies, who guided the school until 1870, St. Mary's developed a curriculum acclaimed by both Catholic and non-Catholic educators.

While emphasizing the study of the liberal arts—still the foundation of a St. Mary's education—the college curriculum continued to add specialized courses.

The most memorable event for the young science department at St. Mary's came in 1899 when the first long distance wireless transmission in the United States was received at the college.

Prof. Jerome Green, of the University of Notre Dame, unaware of Marconi's achievements in Europe a few months before, amazed a group of newsmen by successfully sending a message from the Notre Dame campus to St. Mary's, more than a mile away, on April 19, 1899.

The physical growth of the campus has kept pace with the academic development of St. Mary's. Magnificent LeMans Hall, a tasteful combination of administrative offices, resident rooms, and classrooms, was built in 1926 at a cost of $1,250,000 and a home economics practice home was erected in 1939.

The college marked the centenary of the founding of the Sisters of the Holy Cross with the building of a 90,000-volume library in 1941. A new 30-room science hall will be dedicated on April 23, 1955, as one of the major events of the year's centenary program and a modern fine arts building and auditorium will be begun on February 26, 1955, as a centenary project.

Sister M. Madeleva, CSC, current president of St. Mary's succeeded to the presidency of the college in 1934. A world-renowned poet and educator, Sister Madelava has had a strong influence on the intellectual and physical growth of St. Mary's.

Under her guidance, St. Mary's in 1944 established the Nation's first graduate school of sacred theology for laywomen and sisters. This pioneering graduate school, under papal approbation, offers the master's degree and doctorate in religion and a number of summer schools of theology have been opened throughout the country as a result of Sister Madeleva's inspiration.

St. Mary's College, in its centenary year, now ranks as the largest resident Catholic women's college in America.

St. Mary's offers courses leading to the degree of bachelor of arts, bachelor of music, and bachelor of science.

The Republican Valley Conservation Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by me, entitled "The Republican Valley Conservation Association."

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE REPUBLICAN VALLEY CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION

(Statement by Senator CURTIS)

I should like to take a few minutes today to call the attention of this body to a very important development which is taking place out in Nebraska. I refer to the reorganization of the Republican Valley Conservation Association, which has made great strides during the past 15 years, and has built a reputation for effective promotion of flood control and irrigation in the upper Republican River watershed.

Many Senators will recall the disastrous flood of 1935, when 112 persons were drowned and tens of millions of dollars of property loss sustained in southwestern Nebraska. It is interesting to note that the numerous flood-control conferences which were called through the years, to deal with the perennial flood threat, found Gov. Arthur Weaver, of Nebraska, among the most active advocates of a complete program of flood control from the headwaters down. Congressman PHIL WEAVER, who succeeded me in that great First District of Nebraska, is the son of the illustrious Governor, and has taken up the campaign where his father left off, determined to complete the job that is so nicely underway. The whole decade of the thirties witnessed repeated droughts and floods. Frequently, as in 1935, heavy floods would be suffered in the spring, then the crops would be lost that fall as a result of drought. Clearly, the only possible method of stabilizing agriculture in that area lay in a program involving the storage of floodwaters in the spring, which could subsequently be spread upon the land in the summer months in the form of supplemental irrigation. For instance, during the year just passed (1954), this territory received less than 10 inches of moisture. To meet this challenge, many of the State's outstanding citizens have come forward and put their shoulders to the wheel.

Nebraska has furnished many outstanding workers in the field of reclamation. C. Petrus Peterson, of Lincoln, is currently serving as president of the National Reclamation Association and one of the greatest authorities nationally on irrigation from ground water sources is Dr. E. C. Condra of the State University, Lincoln. Also, the lower Republican River had had its share of illustrious leaders who have unselfishly devoted their efforts to the furtherance of such a program. Any such list would have to include Oswin Keifer, of Superior, the late Paul Spence, of Red Claud; Ben Harrington, Leon Sprague, and Halpert Thomas. Also, northwestern Nebraska, and the Platte River territory generally, have brought forward their own group of men who have helped mightily to make our State a better place in which to live.

But no group has ever launched a program of action with as many strikes against them as did the Republican Valley Conservation Association. The organization was formed in McCook in 1940 under the vigorous presidency of Harry D. Strunk, who himself served as director for many years, representing Nebraska on the board of the National Reclamation Association. The Republican Valley group was told by the United States Corps of Engineers that no flood protection was possible in the upper Republican, inasmuch as the valley possessed no satisfactory sites for dams and reservoirs. This would have stopped men of lesser courage. I am rather proud that, responding to a request of that body, I personally urged a review of the reports on the upper Republican by the Engineers Corps. Also, the association sent representatives out into the field, and recorded detailed statements of landowners, setting forth the actual property losses which they had sustained in 1935 and subsequent flood. These sworn statements helped the Engineers Corps reappraise the potential flood damages, and increase its estimate of benefits which could flow from the construction of flood-control reservoirs. And, fortunately, a review of the upper Republican enabled the corps, and the Bureau of Reclamation, to come up with a list of about a dozen reservoir sites. Here, then, was the basis for a sustained drive by which the people of that area could appeal to the Congress to reclaim their lands and usher in an era of irrigation farming.

Many other headaches confronted this little group of citizens. They immediately discovered that, because of State and Federal statutes, it would be necessary to negotiate an interstate compact between Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado, legally apportioning, for consumptive purposes, the flow of the Republican River and its tributaries. And such a compact had to be ratified by the Congress. With the everlasting help and guidance from the late Senator Hugh Butler, together with all other members of the Nebraska congressional delegation, these initial legislative hurdles were cleared.

Then World War II broke loose. It was apparent that the United States would be fighting for its very life, and all critical materials were to be diverted to defense purposes. So it was that a good many of the members, and some of the officers of the Republican Valley Conservation Association, took the view that it would actually be unpatriotic for the organization to carry on its activities during the war period. It was proposed that they suspend their efforts until the war was over, but level heads prevailed and the group decided to carry on for, after all, a stepup in the production of food supplies comprised one of the methods by which such areas could make their maximum contribution to the Nation's welfare during that emergency period.

It was well that they continued active, because they were able to bring about Federal appropriations sufficient to complete investigations by technical agencies of the

Federal Government. Thus it was that they were ready to have included in the Flood-Control Act of 1944 authorization of 10 or 12 upstream projects. Since Congress passed that measure, Enders, Medicine, Bonny, and Culbertson Dams and Reservoirs have been constructed, one by one, together with several diversion dams. This is a tremendous beginning toward a basinwide program, which will ultimately enrich that area immeasurably. Senator Butler used to say that completing the flood-control and irrigation program in the upper Republican Basin would mean more, economically, than striking oil in southwestern Nebraska.

But as the years went by, some of the original band of loyal sponsors of the program, including Dr. M. Campbell, of McCook, treasurer, and P. N. Foster, director, from Imperial, passed away. The organization encountered considerable difficulty in meeting its moderate financial requirements. Some of the leaders have been obliged to invest substantial amounts of their own money in order to keep a vigorous program running. McCook, the headquarters of the organization, has always contributed a good deal more than its proportionate share among the 32 member towns. But with the firm backing of the McCook Chamber of Commerce, under the presidency of Joe Rothmeier, a special committee has now been named, including Ralph G. Stevens, John Van Auken, Elwood C. Ackerman, and Ben Hormel.

Also, a few of the forward-looking business firms in Lincoln, Omoha, Kansas City, and Denver have made modest contributions through the years. Unquestionably, it is to their enlightened self-interest that they do so. After all, more than $100 million of Federal funds alone have been expended to date in the upper Republican, and $50 million to $75 million remain to be spent before the job is finished. This will treble the farm production in that area. Supplemental irrigation brings in sugar beets, potatoes, increased corn crops, and multiplies materially all phases of livestock production. Growth of these crops also brings, in its wake, the processing plants needed to handle such products. Further, completion of the job will step up the population and the buying power materially, and it will provide permanent protection against recurring floods. All of these things are important within the market area of Omaha, Denver, and Lincoln. By the way, irrigation is universally conceded to be the biggest single factor which has caused population in the 17 States to increase nearly 2½ times as fast as population in the 31 Eastern States during the last 50 years. Without irrigation, western Nebraska would undoubtedly have lost population heavily in the decade of the thirties and subsequently.

One of the principal reasons that I wished to speak today was to urge that the Congress give sympathetic consideration of the proposal for appropriations for investigations by the Engineers Corps and the Bureau of Reclamation, not only in Nebraska but elsewhere in the Nation. It seems to me that we should have a reservoir of projects built up, from those which are found practical and feasible, so that construction can be inaugurated at the earliest possible date. You are all undoubtedly aware of the fact that President Eisenhower himself has said, "I am recommending increased funds for general investigations by the Bureau of Reclamation to insure a proper basis for project authorization." We must have investigational moneys from which detailed investigations can be undertaken on the Red Willow, the Pioneer, either Wray or Parks, and along those three Kansas tributaries, the Beaver, Sappa, and Prairie Dog, which enter the Republican below Oxford. It has already been 11 years since these projects were authorized by the Congress, but no detailed investigations have yet been undertaken.

I want to emphasize today that I am especially ambitious for this program because of the great record which the Republican Valley Conservation Association has made in its efforts to develop southwestern Nebraska, northwestern Kansas, and southeastern Colorado. Not only has Harry Strunk continued to serve as president in the intervening 15 years, giving unselfishly of his time and energies, but he has been surrounded by other good citizens who, likewise, have made a great contribution.

Mr. Strunk has stepped aside now, and become chairman of the board of directors of his organization, welcoming to the presidency H. E. Robinson, who just retired as director of the Kansas River District, Bureau of Reclamation. It was he who built these projects that today stand as a monument to them, and to the farsighted Members of this Congress who have appropriated the necessary funds. And it is Harold Sutton, one of McCook's real leaders, who today serves as treasurer of the organization. And there is another man who has served the group extremely well through the years. He is M. O. Ryan, who served as executive secretary of the organization from 1940 until World War II struck, in 1942. Since 1943, while being otherwise employed in Washington, his extensive knowledge of the entire area and of the complex problems involved has made his judgment invaluable to the Federal agencies and to the Nebraska congressional delegation as they sought to push this program forward.

There are some who maintain that Federal appropriations for development of western areas must be reduced. Let me point out that W. A. Dexheimer, Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, states that for the fiscal year of 1954, all appropriations for reclamation construction through the 17 Western States comprised only one-fourth of 1 percent of the national budget. Geographically that is more than one-third of the land area of this country. Of course, President Eisenhower has already asked Congress for a somewhat larger allocation of funds for the fiscal year beginning next July 1. In addition to funds to step up navigation facilities on the Missouri River, which runs through eastern Nebraska, and for the construction of agricultural levees at numerous points, an appropriation is asked for multiple-purpose power project at Gavins Point, Nebr. And then, in the field of reclamation, the President is asking more than $10 million in appropriations for the Bostwick, the Frenchman-Cambridge, and the Sargent projects in Nebraska.

Appropriations alone do not meet the total needs, however. Refinements in our Federal statutes must be made from time to time. Already, during the 84th Congress, I have joined hands with 11 other Senators from the Great Plains, including my colleague Senator HRUSKA, in introducing S. 787, which paves the way for the negotiation of a compact to achieve maximum conservation and development of water resources throughout the Missouri Basin. Also, I have joined with seven other Republican Senators from west of the 100th meridian, in introducing S. 863, which strengthens the control of the individual Western States over navigable and unnavigable waters within their boundaries. Such a bill appears necessary in order to clarify the nebulous area between State and Federal jurisdiction over reclamation and flood-control activities.

Also, my esteemed colleague, Congressman A. L. MILLER, of Nebraska, who is the ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, has reintroduced a bill which he proposed in the last session, which is now numbered H. R. 1824, clarifying national policy in regard to the development of certain water resources. These are among the measures which Congress will need to enact if we are to meet our full responsibility in paving the way for maximum development of arid lands throughout the West.

A watershed like the Republican is honeycombed with many small creeks and streams. In between the major tributaries, upon which larger projects can be built by the Engineers Corps and the Bureau of Reclamation, lie innumerable smaller streams, each of which provides a flood threat. The Soil Conservation Service, an integral part of the United States Department of Agriculture, is geared to treat these areas with small retardation dams. My mind goes back to 1950, when Senator Kenneth Wherry, an active member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, personally inspired the first appropriation of $500,000 for the Soil Conservation Service to undertake surveys to ascertain those watersheds where feasible projects existed. Our late Congressman Karl Stefan, who was simultaneously serving on the House Appropriations Committee, put his shoulder to the wheel, and both bodies of Congress approved that appropriation. From the resulting survey, the first of a number of pilot projects are ready for construction in 1955. The McCook Gazette of January 26 gave a map, in complete detail, of Dry Creek watershed project, the first in that area to be constructed under the Hope-Aiken Watershed Protection Act, which was passed by the 83d Congress. These projects do take time, but once constructed, they last a lifetime.

Commissioner Dexheimer offers concrete evidence of the national value which reclamation projects offer to our United States economy. He reports that Federal-tax revenues from reclamation areas, since 1916, have exceeded $3 billion. This sum alone exceeds by 25 percent the total cost of all Bureau-constructed projects in the past 50 years, or since the Reclamation Bureau was established. Not only do landowners on reclamation projects enjoy enhanced revenues, as a result of irrigation, but the adjoining urban areas share substantially in the increased revenue. As an example, in 1953 reclamation project farmers had an income of $550 million, whereas the nonfarming urban areas, which had these projects in their immediate vicinity, enjoyed total income of approximately $786 million.

We have reason to rejoice this year over the fact that hundreds of additional acres of fertile land in the Missouri basin will be brought under supplemental irrigation for the first time. Completion of the last 50 miles of irrigation canals on the Frenchman-Cambridge project, east of Cambridge, and the 13-mile Franklin Canal on the Bostwick project, jointly account for very substantial acreage in southwestern Nebraska which will be irrigated this year for the first time.

To my way of thinking, these groups like the Republican Valley Conservation Association are the only device by which 32 member communities, or whole sections of a State, can pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. I think that the modest support required from chambers of commerce, city councils, and county commissioners, to maintain such organizations, comprise one of the best possible investments in the future welfare of any State.

As I stand here today, I am concerned about the fact that the Department of Agriculture reports more than 26 million acres of farm land in the whole dust bowl area are in condition to blow this spring. In many areas the Great Plains are experiencing the worst drought since the decade of the thirties. Without adequate snow cover, and frequent spring rains, the Dust Bowl could be revived before root fiber from the 1955 crop affords protection against wind erosion. This perennial threat will be with us constantly until we have brought the benefits of supplemental irrigation to the maximum acreage possible, and stepped up the volume of cover crops and legumes which effectively anchor the soil.

Let me confide something to this great body, the United States Senate. The very last day he was alive, our beloved Hugh Butler spent the afternoon in his office conferring with top level officials, seeking ways and means to step up the tempo of this program in the upper Republican watershed in Nebraska. I was there, as were Secretary McKay and other officials of the Department of the Interior. That night he was stricken, and died 24 hours later. To Mr. Strunk and Mr. Robinson, and the directors from the individual cities and towns that comprise the association, I send greetings, confident that they will continue to enjoy the support of all city, county, and State officials. Their efforts will forever remove the threat of repeated floods, and will temper the droughts, and thus stabilize the economy as nothing else in that whole area can do.

I trust that this important program may go forward to completion.

Peace Through Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech entitled "Peace Through Power," delivered by the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Fred A. Seaton, at Kansas State College at Manhattan on February 9.

On this occasion Secretary Seaton was awarded by Kansas State College at Manhattan the honorary doctor of laws degree.

Manhattan is the home town of the Secretary and he is a graduate of Kansas State College.

Secretary Seaton is a successful businessman and newspaper publisher who has had an outstanding career in public life. At the present time he publishes newspapers in Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, and South Dakota. Through these mediums he wields great influence for the building of our Nation and the strengthening of our democracy.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEACE THROUGH POWER

You are all familiar with the general aspects of our present world situation. You know the story of the spread of Communist influence and power from a numerically insignificant Russian political party prior to the October 1917 revolution to its present dominion, over 800 million people arranged over one-fourth the land area of the world.

In response to the common threat to their security, more than 40 of the nations of the world, including our own have allied themselves in several regional defense agreements.

The two blocs—the Communists and the free world alliance—now face each other across a narrowing world, and compete for the support of those nations which have not as yet committed themselves to the struggle.

The seat of military power of the Communist bloc is the Soviet Union. In terms of ground strength, this amounts to a standing army of 175 divisions, to which must be added the 70 divisions of the European satellites. Communist China, furthermore, has more than 2 million men under arms. The amount of manpower the two principals could eventually mobilize is suggested by the fact that during the latter part of World War II, the Soviet Union had on its western front an active strength of over 400 divisions, and, further, on conservative estimates, that the Chinese military manpower pool amounts to over 20 million men. In contrast, at the peak of its military strength in 1945, the United States had 95 divisions (89 Army and 6 Marines) under arms.

On the sea, the Soviet Union commands virtually all the effective strength of the Communist bloc. Its submarine fleet consists of at least 375 vessels, 75 of which are long-range fleet types. It possesses 125 modern destroyers, and 24 cruisers, 15 of which are known to be modern, combat-worthy types. So far as we know, the Russians possess no aircraft carriers but we cannot dismiss the possibility that some may be under construction. Since World War II, the Soviet Union has built more combatant ships—destroyers, cruisers, and submarines—than all of the free world put together.

In the matter of air strength, we estimate the Soviet Union to have an inventory of over 1,000 TU–4 bombardment aircraft, which are copies of our own B–29's. If we credit the Soviet air commands with the capability of in-flight refueling, which seems reasonable, it means that a substantial number of our vital cities and installations come within their range. And, of course, on a one-way mission, they could reach almost any target in the United States, if confronted with no opposition. We know also that the Soviet has an undisclosed but growing number of medium and long-range jet bombers, and that they are producing a better fighter than the MIG 15, which was used in Korea. Their total number of aircraft of all kinds exceeds 20,000, most of them tactical types—fighters, interceptors, and light bombers.

As you know, this brief recital of military means at its disposal in no way describes the true dimension and nature of the threat which comes from the Soviet sphere. Policy decisions in the Kremlin have resulted in a world situation which has influenced us to allocate since June 1950, a staggering portion of our national substance and effort valued at $220 billion to the economically unproductive purposes of defense. Today, 60 percent of your Federal taxes go for the equipping and maintenance of a 3-million-man armed force.

The Communists know as well as we that the physical basis of all our military power is our economy, and that if this economy can be undermined and sabotaged, the effect may well be as disastrous to us as a major military defeat. We must not permit this to occur.

Moreover, we must also contend with the insidious threat of subversion, sabotage, and espionage within our own country and the countries of our allies, which can sap the strength and vigor of the most enlightened democracy. Externally, there is the continuous pressure of political and psychological warfare, of deceit and bluff and blackmail. All these are also part of the total threat, physical and moral, which militant communism poses to freemen.

Obviously this threat, total as it is in scope, cannot be successfully countered by military means alone. But the provision of adequate military strength, particularly for the years immediately ahead, is an indispensable prerequisite to every other action which we must undertake. We must maintain military forces in being sufficient to deter aggression, either limited or unlimited, or in the event we are attacked, to preserve the minimum territorial and military security essential to successful mobilization and subsequent prosecution of the war. Moreover, we must be organized for smooth and rapid mobilization of our material and human resources.

This military capability to handle ourselves under any and all possible situations is the essential shield upon which we must rely to provide the protective sanction to the political, economic, and psychological pressures we must continue to exert against the Communist regimes.

To this end we have developed over the past 4 years a very potent military force. It is in fact, the most powerful we have ever maintained in time of peace. We have a Navy second to none, with its own steadily growing atomic striking potential. Our large and growing Air Force now consists of 119 wings which will increase steadily toward an ultimate goal of a minimum of 137 wings by 1957. We have a mobile amphibious striking force of 3 Marine divisions and 3 Marine air wings. With the cessation of fighting in Korea, our Army has gradually been reoriented toward a June 1956 strength objective of approximately 1,027,000 men. This represents a decrease of about one-third from the average strength during the Korean operations, but it remains well over 80 percent above the pre-Korean level.

And here I would like to talk briefly about this matter of ground strength, if I may. One of the foundation stones of our military policy is that our strength shall be integrated with that of our allies in such a way that the maximum power potential is made available to the community of allies. Throughout all these alliances there runs the understanding, written or otherwise, that each partner will contribute to the common cause those elements of strength which it is best able to supply, and to the limit that it is able to supply them.

In this great global system of alliances in which we participate, our Nation is peculiarly well suited to supply two vital elements—sea power and the striking capability of long-range land based air power. Our contribution in these particular categories is by all odds the preponderant one. We also have made a substantial contribution in ground strength, but in the very nature of things we cannot hope to supply more than a small part of the total number of troops required. The basic accounting unit of a land army is the man. Which suggests that within the special situation obtaining in each strategic area, the contribution in ground strength must bear a general relationship to the population of each interested nation. So we greatly understate the total ground strength available for our common defense effort if we do not count the very substantial contributions of our allies.

To our own 19 divisions should be added at least a hundred more which the free world could count on in any major war undertaken by the Soviet bloc. NATO presently has available to it an active ground strength equivalent of 48 divisions. The Republic of Korea has approximately 19 battle-tested divisions within a total force of 400,000 men. Japan has initiated the formation of its national security police force, and the Philippines have reestablished internal order and are rapidly building up their strength. The 12 West German divisions are to come. We feel, militarily, well able to take care of ourselves in the event of actual physical attack, provided we conduct our operations along lines which permit us to oppose our own factors of strength against the Soviet factors of weakness.

And this, I think, is the key to the success of our whole defense effort. There are certain areas in which we are greatly superior to the Soviet—our powerful and versatile economy, the depth and breadth of our technology, the enormous fire power and mobility assured by our intensive development of atomic weapons and our control of the seas. Most important of all, there is the universal appeal of the great system of values we have

moved to defend, as contrasted to the total disregard for human life and liberty which necessarily underlies the Communist philosophy.

It is of great significance to me that in 1952 United States produced half again as much coal as the Soviet, 2½ times as much steel, 4 times as much electric power, 7 times as much oil, and 20 times as many automobiles and trucks. While free American agriculture was bringing in record crops, the Soviet staggered lamely along at about its level of 25 years ago. I am sure you would be interested as I was, in knowing that the USSR, still largely an agricultural nation, consumes more grain than it harvests, that its cattle population is 10 million below what it was in 1928, that its pork production has dropped by 5 million tons since 1940; that by its own admission the supply of meat, potatoes, and vegetables is unsatisfactory.

Our allies, on the other hand, have set remarkable records of food production. England now produces a surprising 56 percent of her food needs whereas she formerly imported about 80 percent. France and Turkey are now producing surpluses of wheat. Wherever free enterprise operates free men always win the battle of production.

I derive a keen sense of satisfaction in the marvelous technology which both supports and depends upon our economic system—the same technology which daily enriches our lives in its thousands of peacetime applications, but which when the chips were down could bring forth such vital weapons of war as radar, the VT fuze, and the atomic bomb.

But, most of all, I sense the great latent strength of a society whose goals represent the highest hopes and greatest expectations of men throughout the world—values which men the world over have repeatedly shown themselves ready to lay down their lives to obtain and defend—a sense of dignity for the individual, the right to worship, to speak, and to think as freemen, to have the love of family and friends, to enjoy the love of the land, and of one's ancestral home, the right to participate freely in a government of their own choosing, and to stand as equals before the eyes of the law. These deep and abiding aspirations we hold in common with all people, and in no way can the barren, atheistic philosophy of communism claim them as basic or even a fundamental part of its ideology.

In contrast, the Soviet has nothing to rely upon except force—force of the most brutal and callous sort. Many of you have read of our President's account of his deep shock when, as General Eisenhower, he learned from a high-ranking Soviet officer the Russian Army technique of clearing minefields. "When we come to a minefield," the Soviet officer told him, "our infantry attacks exactly as if it were not there. The losses we get from personnel mines we consider only equal to the losses we would have gotten from machine guns and artillery if the Germans had chosen to defend that particular area with strong bodies of troops instead of with minefields." This may be logical from a coldly analytical military viewpoint, but it is hardly logical in light of the fact that any regime, even a dictatorship, depends for its existence over the long term upon a certain minimum degree of acceptance by the people over which it exercises its authority. To me it shows weakness, not strength.

Nevertheless, there are certain areas in which we must concede the advantage to the Soviet bloc. Their numbers far exceed the combined strength of ourselves and our allies in sheer military manpower. Moreover, a differential population increase is presently weighing the manpower balance further in their favor, so that it may be expected to become more and more unfavorable to us as time goes by, unless we can associate ourselves with additional allies. In World Wars I and II, our side had a very substantial numerical superiority, and this advantage had its influence in shaping our strategy and tactics in those two great conflicts. But the reverse will be true of any conflict which may be fought out on the present alinement of world power and this tremendously important fact demands our close and continued study.

The only logical remedy for a situation in which we cannot match the enemy man for man lies in the development of capabilities which nullify this enemy advantage. Fortunately, the controlling element in military operations is not mere manpower, but effective firepower, delivered at the time and place of decision. And in the development of such firepower, and the means of its effective delivery, our technology and our massive economy give us a long lead over our nearest competitors. Our arsenal of atomic weapons ranges from giants in the megaton range, which is to say the equivalent of 1 million tons of TNT, down to small tactical weapons which can be fired from guns for relatively limited effect. We have them in increased supply. The Army, Navy, and Air Force all are busily engaged in perfecting the tactics and techniques of employing these tremendous new additions to our military capability.

In the battlefield employment of atomic weapons the effectiveness of our Army has been enormously increased by the 280-millimeter atomic gun, the Honest John rocket, and the Corporal guided missile. All these powerful innovations are now available to our ground forces in Europe, and the recent North Atlantic Council meeting in Paris gave its approval to the proposal that atomic weapons be fully integrated into the basic strategic concept for the defense of Western Europe. It is our deep and earnest belief that the devastating curtain of fire which we shall be able to call down upon the enemy hordes will enable us to keep any would-be invader out of Western Europe and thus deny him his prize.

Measured in our capability to project destruction in the form of rockets, missiles, and bombs, our firepower in the air increases daily. The last B–29 has been retired from active service, and our long-range bombers now are mainly the jet B–47's and the combination jet and propeller-driven B–36's. The B–52's, a superb long-range jet bomber, is being received in increasing numbers and will eventually replace the B–36.

A point frequently overlooked is the fact that the capability of delivering massive firepower is not confined to the Strategic Air Command alone. Our Tactical Air Command also has a tremendous atomic capability. All the fighters and light bombers of the TAC will be able to carry either high explosives or atomic bombs, depending on what the target requires. All of its wings are modern, and all of its fighters are jets, in the high subsonic speed ranges. Our new fighter interceptor aircraft now in production, beginning with the F–100, will have supersonic speeds. Moreover, our great mobile airfields, the Navy aircraft carriers, have comparatively unrestricted access to the seven-tenths of the earth's surface which is covered by water, and can bring their seaborne atomic striking forces to bear upon targets deep in the interior of the enemy's homeland.

We review this vast power which is ours with mixed feelings.

We can derive great satisfaction and confidence from the enormous increase which it represents over the power which was available to us even a scant 10 years ago. Yet we are sobered by the contemplation of where our weapons technology may lead us in the decade which lies ahead. Moreover, our problem is complicated by the fact that we neither can nor will prepare for initiating war as a conscious act of national policy. Adhering to our moral code, as a nation we can only prepare for the eventuality that war may be forced upon us under unknown conditions at an uncertain future date. Thus, the element of chance in the preparatory phase of war is inherently larger in the case of democracies than it is with dictatorships, for we cannot with certainly predict when war will occur, if at all. We cannot predict, except within the general limits, the method of attack, or the exact direction from which it may come. Nor can we now foresee very far into the future the political arrangements which may result from the use of military pressures exerted by an aggressor prior to the outbreak of hostilities. These things we cannot know. We can know only that in this lawless world we must be prepared to fight at any time, with weapons that are better than those which will be used against us.

As a result, in the area of weapons procurement, we dare not put all, or even most of our eggs, in one basket. We dare not load our Armed Forces down with weapons which may, at best, have begun to be or become obsolescent even before the last lot has been delivered. The best that we can possibly hope for is to keep our weapons stocks at a level which will enable us to fight effectively with what we have, meanwhile pushing out the older versions with newer, more efficient models as they become available from an economy that has never been known to stand still.

There are those who constantly agitate for more of everything now—more planes, more guns, more of this and more of that. Sincere as they may be, they fail to take into account either the economic or the military problems involved. To over-burden our economy is to risk losing the struggle against communism without firing a shot. To overload the services with obsolete equipment is to risk defeat in battle. True war readiness consists in being able not only to fight today's war with today's weapons, but of being ready to fight tomorrow's war with tomorrow's weapons. This requires a sensible balance in weapons programing. And that, we now believe we have achieved.

This, I think, is the thing which we must keep always in mind in all our defense considerations. For our national security is not tied to a date on a calendar, or to a certain specified number of divisions, ships, planes, or men. It is not to be identified with any one type of weapon or any one strategic approach. Rather, it depends upon our continuing and increasing ability to meet successfully a variety of challenges—military, political, and economic—while maintaining the essential soundness and health of our economy and our political system. And this we must be prepared to do perhaps for 50 years to come.

There is nothing transitory about the threat to our Nation and our way of life, and there is nothing cheap or easy or simple about the things which we must do to protect and preserve them. These difficult and costly measures which we must undertake in our defense will demand the very best that is in us, the people of America. Among these responsibilities will be your own part in the great common effort we all must make to maintain our military readiness, our political solidarity, and our industrial and technological superiority over that of any possible enemy.

If we can do these things, we have an excellent chance for peace, and an accommodation between the free world and the Communist bloc which will effectively serve our interests.

From a plateau of great strength we can negotiate for the easing of tensions and the reduction of trouble areas dangerous to world stability. For many years, it may be a peace, not of good will, but of power, in which our national strength will be the validating factor. But it will be a peace in which free men can live and breathe, and pursue those

ends which tend to lessen the misery and increase the sum of human happiness in the world. It can, at the least, be a peace which will stop the flow of the Red tide which has engulfed so much of the world, and the opening of a more hopeful prospect for democracy than the one it has faced these past 20 years.

This is the peace which we must have, and can have, provided we remain patient, united, and strong.

Defense Argument Not All on One Side in Oil Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Defense Argument Not All on One Side in Oil Case," written by John Harriman, and published in the Boston Globe of March 1.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE ARGUMENT NOT ALL ON ONE SIDE IN OIL CASE

(By John Harriman)

In no area have the voices of protectionism been louder and more insistent than in the matter of oil imports.

Leading the fight have been the domestic producers of oil, the coal industry, and John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers. These groups have consistently sought to have a lid clamped on the 1 million or so barrels of oil which we draw daily from foreign sources, mostly the Near East and Venezuela. And it now looks as if their efforts may meet with success.

Over the past weekend the President's so-called blue ribbon Cabinet Committee recommended just what the doctors of coal and domestic oil have been trying to order—a limit of foreign imports to 14 percent of domestic production, the amount which we took last year.

WHY NOT USE NEAR EAST OIL WHILE WE CAN?

Oil imports come from American companies, of course. These are the big internationals: Gulf, Socony Vacuum, Texaco, and the Standards of California and New Jersey.

This oil is, by and large, cheap oil, due to the high productivity of the fields of Venezuela and the Near East. It could undersell most oil in this country in a free market where costs would dictate selling price. It is for this reason that the coal and domestic-oil industries have sought to have it placed under quota. And they have sought to justify their moves by maintaining that restrictions on imports are necessary to a healthy domestic industry and that a healthy domestic industry is a prime requisite for national defense.

But many, including some of the best students of the industry, place the defense shoe on the other foot and say that our defense need will be best served by increasing imports.

Much of our imports come from the Near East, which is close to the Soviet orbit, and hence only available to us in peacetime. As one statistical service recently put it in a study of the industry, "If war came, it would make sense to have consumed their (Near East) oil during prior years, and to have saved ours for the time of dire need."

IMPORTED OIL IMPORTANT TO NEW ENGLAND

But there is another reason why it would seem the part of wisdom to draw on foreign oil as much as possible for our domestic needs today.

In the Near East, oil is about the only source of wealth, and economic progress in that area, as well as in Venezuela, depends on the royalties that American producing companies pay. If these royalties are reduced, by a cutback of production due to our limiting imports, these countries will suffer. Thus, governments at best none too stable would be still further weakened, and the cause of the Communist propagandists by the same token would be enhanced.

Finally, there is the broad question as to why the American people should be asked to subsidize with import restriction a domestic industry already lavishly favored by the tax break given in the so-called depletion allowance.

This is particularly true of us in New England. Oil is the only fuel that is relatively cheap in this area and that is due to our geographically favored position for imports. Every study of the New England economy has emphasized the importance to us of increasing oil shipments from abroad.

But the Cabinet Committee has recommended the opposite course. As a result, Congressmen from the Gulf States are preparing this week to write into the President's reciprocal-trade bill a provision limiting the import of oil.

Bank Consolidations Viewed as Serious Threat to the Future of Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a press release dated February 25, 1955, issued by the National Federation of Independent Business.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business, stated today that the recent announcement of the Federal Reserve Board citing 207 bank consolidations nationwide in 1954, contrasted with 116 in 1953, and 100 in 1952, is viewed by small business as a serious threat to their future in getting needed financial assistance through customary banking channels.

Small business notes with further alarm that the justification given for these increasing mergers in the banking field is credited to United States growth and spread of population in leading metropolitan areas—for example, New York, Philadelphia, and California.

Burger states: "The federation and small business generally cannot agree with the statement which appeared in the press that it has become necessary for large banks to open numerous neighborhood banks. The outlying or suburban communities would offer tremendous opportunity to local small banking facilities to be established and serve adequately both the needs of small business and the public." He concluded that the administration and the Congress must act effectively to arrest the trend in the larger segments of our economy, big business, big labor, big farm groups, or by failing to take the necessary action it will result in a serious economic situation which has spelled ruin for most nations throughout the world. The spiral of gigantic growth in the hands of few segments of our economy opens up the door for socialistic planners.

Agricultural Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated February 25, 1955, which I have received from George Stadstad, of Manvel, N. Dak.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MANVEL, N. DAK., *February 25, 1955.*
Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: It appears as though a vote will be taken again this year to determine if we have changed our minds from the last few years as to whether or not we want the high or low support for our produce.

Why do we have to vote on this issue every year as long as we have a support program? It seems, as in the past potato-support program, that as soon as the Department of Agriculture succeeds in obtaining enough votes in any one year to drop supports on any one commodity we never have an opportunity to vote on such a program again. The Government must think we change our minds from year to year, or they wouldn't require a vote each year to determine if we still prefer a high support. If we are apt to thus change our minds, then why not ask us to vote on 90-percent support on potatoes? We were asked such a question a few years ago and voted to go along without so-called Government interference. We cut our acreages, and potatoes went up. The Government put a ceiling on them. Why?

By lowering the supports on our crops 15 or 20 percent the Government would succeed in bankrupting agriculture, such as Mr. Benson did with the livestock men. Is this doing anyone any good?

I read from time to time where the Government cannot stand the continued expense of farm supports. That statement is too stupid to even be good politics.

I'm no economist, but I'm sure that very nearly 100 percent of the money put out by the Government for supports is returned to them in the form of income taxes, excise taxes, etc., and at the same time creating a healthier economy.

A very successful businessman friend of mine in California (a Republican) told me this winter that he was very much disgusted with the proposed Benson farm program. I asked him why, and also told him I was under the impression that most businessmen felt that as long as agriculture was supported so should other business. Here is his reply: "Let the Government support agriculture, and agriculture will support the rest of the economy."

I hope you see fit to vote for and work toward 90-percent rigid supports for the farmer, and also to bring potatoes back under price supports. Even with acreage controls. You know as well as I do that the sliding scale can't work for the farmer. If he has a good chop the price drops, and with a poor one it goes up when he has nothing to

sell. Sliding scale and lower price supports cannot work for us; for Mr. Benson and Ike, sure; anything to break agriculture.

Thank you for your support.

Sincerely,

GEORGE STADSTAD.

Current Issues in Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Current Issues in Education," by Dr. William G. Carr, executive secretary, National Education Association. Dr. Carr's address was delivered before the National Association of Secondary-School Principals in Atlantic City, N. J., on February 19, 1955. The address is timely and challenging, and I hope that every Member of the Senate will read the address.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CURRENT ISSUES IN EDUCATION

(Address by William G. Carr, executive secretary, National Education Association)

My topic is Critical Issues in Education. We can forget the plural. The one issue I shall discuss is this: What is the proper role of the Government of the United States in the education of its citizens?

All agree that the welfare of our country demands good schools fully available to all our young citizens. All agree that our schools are not good enough. All agree that a quarter century of inadequate support has now developed into an educational crisis. The question is no longer whether the Federal Government ought to act in this matter. The question is: How should it act, and how quickly can it act?

The policy of the National Education Association is the result of years of study and experience. It calls for substantial Federal grants distributed according to an objective formula through the regular State educational agencies. It calls for clear written guaranties that educational policy remain in the States and communities.

We have been applying these principles to proposed school legislation for many years. We have stood fast by them when it was not popular to do so. Many of you can remember the stand we took on the National Youth Administration. During the depression, educational service to youth was needed on a scale far beyond the ability of the local communities and States to finance. The Federal Government responded not by helping the schools but by establishing the National Youth Administration. This Federal agency without administrative connection with the local high schools, proceeded to use Federal funds to educate selected segments of the population. Of course, the teaching profession opposed this development. Of course, we identified it as a dangerous infringement on local control of education, and eventually the National Youth Administration was discontinued.

Meanwhile, the Chief Executives, beginning with President Hoover and continuing to the present time, have each created commissions or other agencies to study Federal relations to education. Regularly, as these commissions completed their work, they recommended Federal grants to the States. Regularly, these reports were transmitted to the Congress. Regularly, each session of Congress held hearings during which the same evidence was taken over and over again. Sometimes these bills got out of committee, sometimes they did not. On two occasions they passed the Senate but failed to come before the other House for consideration.

That process is still going on. Meanwhile, another process has been going on. School buildings are getting older; teachers are not getting any younger; and the supply of new teachers continues to dwindle. Increasing numbers of children and youth are receiving instruction from inadequately prepared teachers in overcrowded and unsafe buildings.

Is it not strange that the rich and powerful United States, which can perform miracles of production and construction, which has more wealth per capita than any other nation at any time in history, which can actually spend more for amusements than it spends for food, and which must have good education to survive, has continued to temporize with this situation?

Nevertheless, that is just what has happened. Meanwhile other functions of Government, notably highways, but not exclusively highways, have continued to demand and to receive more and more Federal money. Typically, these Federal funds are on a matching basis. They tempt the States to allot money to these favored purposes because they can get a Federal dollar for every dollar of their own. This Federal policy may cause the States to reduce their ability to provide adequately for their schools.

Our Government has also inaugurated a splendid, far-flung program of aid to education in other countries. We are sending some of our best teachers and educational leaders to distant lands to lay the educational foundations for national freedom and prosperity. But at home education has been largely ignored by our National Government.

We are told that our Government is in debt. So it is; but we do not forget that taxes were reduced last year while Federal grants for highways were nearly doubled.

Now let us see where we are right now in the process of persuading our National Government to accept its responsibility in education. It is not easy to summarize the entire situation. So many different conferences, committees, inquiries, hearings, bills, proposals, and counterproposals have clustered around a relatively simple proposition that we are in danger of overlooking the essentials. Let me try to review the main points in the record of the immediate past.

One of President Eisenhower's first recommendations after he took office in 1953 was the creation of a commission to study relations between the States and the Federal Government. This body, commonly known as the Intergovernmental Commission, has been operating for about 2 years. Originally, Dr. Clarence Mannion, formerly of Notre Dame Law School, was named chairman. Now this Commission is under the direction of Mr. Meyer Kestnbaum, of Chicago. It had a subcommittee on education which is said to have drafted a report. Little has been heard from it in Washington for many months.

Also in 1953, the President recommended, and Congress promptly agreed, that a new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare be added to the Cabinet. The National Education Association and other civic and professional groups strongly recommended that in this reorganization the United States Office of Education be given an independent professional status, wherein the Commissioner would be responsible not to a political appointee, but to a national nonpartisan board of education. This recommendation, however, was not approved. The status of the Office of Education within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare remains no better than it was in the old Federal Security Administration.

Coming down to 1954, early that year, in his state of the Union message, the President called the attention of Congress to the crisis in our schools. He recommended that there be held in 1954 a series of State conferences on education, culminating in a White House conference.

Legislation to make such conferences possible was not considered immediately. By the time the Congress acted, it was clear that the conferences could not possibly be held in 1954 as the President had suggested. The White House Conference is now scheduled for November 1955. The State conferences should be held before that date. However, there has been no clear request to the States for their opinion on the Federal role in financing education. On the contrary, attention has been directed toward local and State matters. It is not easy to see how the State conferences can culminate in a useful consideration of national policy unless more of the States than is now the case formulate their views on what the national policy should be.

During 1954, committees of the 83d Congress held hearings on bills which would have provided Federal grants for school-building construction.

It is a remarkable fact that such bills received unanimous, bipartisan approval from both Senate and House committees. This approval, however, was directly contrary to the advice of Secretary Hobby and Commissioner Brownell, who said that Congress should await the findings of the White House conference. Largely, for this reason, the bills were never on the floor of either House. The legislation carefully considered by the 83d Congress must in the 84th Congress start all over again on the long road from drafting to enactment.

That was the situation a little over a month ago, when the President rode down Pennsylvania Avenue to deliver his annual message on the state of the Union. In that message, he rejected the policy of waiting for the White House Conference before even emergency action could be taken. He affirmed the deep national interest in education. And he announced that on February 15 he would send to the Congress a separate message on education.

These declarations had an electric effect. Bills were introduced in both Houses. Senator HILL, the new chairman of the Senate committee, gave school legislation an unprecedented top priority. Hearings were quickly completed on legislation closely similar to that approved by the committees of the 83d Congress. Most of the present members of the Senate committee were members of the committee last year when it voted unanimously for the legislation. It seemed difficult, therefore, to see how this committee could fail to recommend passage again. Very strong support also was rapidly building up again in the House of Representatives. The President made his own contribution to the sense of urgency by sending his message on education a full week ahead of time.

Naturally, the contents of the message were properly kept in complete secrecy, although rumors about it found their way into the press. It is not so easy to understand why there was no sustained consultation about the legislation with the professional and civic groups concerned.

Now that this legislation is before us at last I believe that disappointment is the most kindly word that anxious parents and hard-pressed school boards, administrators, and teachers are likely to use to describe their reactions.

Before we analyze this legislation, however, let us return for a few moments to the President's message itself. It is a noteworthy state paper for a number of reasons.

First, the state of the schools was recognized by our Chief Executive as an integral part of the State of the Union. The President eloquently affirmed, at the very outset of his message, "the undeniable importance of free education to a free way of life." Such an expression of Presidential concern in a separate education message to the Congress is unique. It will make February 8, 1955, a memorable date in the history of education in our country.

Second, the message states clearly that emergency action is needed to meet a national crisis. "Millions of children," said the President, "still attend schools which are unsafe or which permit learning only part time or under conditions of serious overcrowding." This is not news, of course. But for the President to say this, with all the close public attention and immense prestige which accompany his office, is a cause for gratitude.

Third, the President did not stop with recognition of the national importance of education and of the school-building crisis. He went further. He declared explicitly that the crisis required the Federal Government to act—as he put it, to "step forward to join with the States and communities." On many previous occasions, President Eisenhower has indicated his concern about the inadequacies of education. Those of us who had the privilege of working with him when he was a member of the NEA Educational Policies Commission for 4 years know how deeply he believes that good education is an essential source of national security, freedom, and prosperity. On one occasion, the President stated that an impairment of our schools could be more dangerous than an armed assault. In several important state papers, before and since he became President, he has stressed the necessity for prompt effective help for the schools. On February 8, President Eisenhower made explicit his belief that the Federal Government must carry part of the financial responsibility for education. And the President, believing as do nearly all Americans in local and State control of education, is sure that this Federal financial responsibility can be met without Federal control.

Fourth, the President concluded his message with a tribute to the teaching profession which this often underpaid and almost invariably overworked group of citizens will profoundly appreciate. In a time when professional alarmists are pointing with trumped-up trepidation to the supposed failures of our teachers, it is heartening to have the President of the United States calmly declare that "Today, the professional quality of American teaching is better than ever."

Now let us consider Senate bill 968, the legislation proposed to give effect to this Presidential leadership. Its major provisions are stated in three titles. With some oversimplification they may be summarized as follows:

Title I authorizes Federal purchase of local school bonds where such bonds cannot otherwise be sold at reasonable rates of interest. State educational agencies must certify that the district could not sell its bonds at a reasonable rate, and that the proposed schools met all State standards. Appropriations are $750 million for the next 3 years. Interest rates would run about 3⅛ percent.

Title II authorizes Federal credit assistance to State school building agencies. The United States Commissioner of Education and the State would advance to the State school building agency equal amounts to create a fund which would be security for the bonds the State school building agency issues. The State school building agency uses the money from the sale of its bonds to construct schools which would be rented by local districts. The rent paid by the school districts, collectively, must be high enough to cover interest on the bonds, to pay one-fourth of 1 percent to the State school building agency, and to pay also the cost of maintenance, repair, replacement, insurance, and other expenses. After about 2 years the State school building agency would begin repayment to the Federal Government. These Federal funds are, therefore, advances; as such they are limited to an amount necessary to set up the reserve to assure payment of one-half the principal on the bonds up to $6 billion over the next 3 years. Estimates indicate that the Federal advances would require about $50 million a year. The Federal Government gives no money to State school building agencies; it advances part of the money which is to be repaid with interest at a rate fixed at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Title III authorizes $200 million for the next 3 years to provide grants to enable impoverished school districts to borrow or rent under titles I and II. No district may qualify unless the State educational agency certifies that it is fiscally incompetent and that the schools are needed to relieve "extreme overcrowding, double shifts, or hazardous conditions."

Titles IV and V deal with the cost of administration, research, planning, and legal questions.

The preamble to Senate bill 968 states that free public education is of vital importance; that it is an obligation of the States and communities; that a serious shortage in school buildings exists; that local communities cannot meet the emergency; and that the Federal Government should help them. It is, therefore, proclaimed that the purpose of the act is "to provide assistance of a substantial and effective nature to States and communities which are handicapped by the shortage of public school facilities."

Now let us consider how well the proposed law meets the need for substantial and effective assistance.

First, how substantial is this help? The newspapers, with their imperative demand for simplicity, seized on phrases in Secretary Hobby's release and headlined this bill as "the $7 billion Federal program." Nothing much has yet been done to correct this monumentally inaccurate impression. Yet it needs to be said that the Federal cash contributions are limited to cases arising under title II Iand amount at most to about $70 million a year, or $210 million in 3 years. All the rest of the widely discussed $7 billion, or $6,790,000,000, is provided by States and localities.

The sum of $70 million would build about 2,400 classrooms. The deficit in classrooms is currently about 300,000, according to the Commissioner of Education. Thus, in each of the next 3 years, the Federal grants would reduce this deficit by eight-tenths of 1 percent.

It is true that title I provides for Federal loans at a rate of about 3⅛ percent. However, as you know, almost all school districts that can borrow money at all can get it at rates far more favorable than that.

That leaves title II, the backbone of the proposed law. What help can the hard-pressed schools expect from that source? This title requires the establishment of State school-building agencies to construct schools for rental to the local communities. Only two States (Georgia and Pennsylvania) have such agencies in full operation today. Administrators of these agencies have said that title II would be of little help to them. But, it may be said, title II could perhaps help other States after they create school-building agencies of their own. Perhaps; but it will take years to establish such agencies and set them in motion. It will require State legislation, with all the delays inherent in that process. Even then, if Georgia and Pennsylvania are typical, it will require another 2½ years before the first school is ready to receive children. Even this lethargic timetable assumes that such legislation is constitutional in each of the States, an assumption open to grave doubts which time does not permit us to explore.

With minor exceptions, S. 968 leaves the burden of school construction exactly where it is now, on the back of the local real-estate owner and on such supplementary revenues as can be obtained by the taxing power of the States. Real property, even when fully assessed, lags far behind the rapidly growing wealth and income of the Nation. The schools will be barred from a proper share in national prosperity until they secure grants through use of the Federal tax mechanism. In short, this bill does not provide substantial and effective assistance.

Moreover, this system of loans would be attended by far more Federal controls than are possible under any of the direct grants-in-aid bills which have been recommended by previous committees of the Congress. Thus, in title I, the Commissioner of Education may, at his discretion, include "such other covenants, conditions or provisions as he may deem necessary to assure payment." There are many other examples. In title III, for instance, the Commissioner must tell the States how to determine the eligibility of local school boards. Again, although it is probably an oversight due to hasty drafting, it must be recorded that the bill includes no clause which explicitly restrains the Federal Government from exercising control of the educational process.

But the presence or absence of particular clauses are not the greatest sources of danger with respect to control. By limiting direct aid to those districts that will, in effect, step forward to take a pauper's oath, the bill isolates the weak local school districts from the rest of the Nation and leaves them in a position highly vulnerable to pressure.

Furthermore title II, the backbone of S. 968, requires the States to establish State school building agencies. Whether or not they think this is the best way to meet their school problems, whether or not they can constitutionally assent to it, the States must adopt this particular federally favored procedure or forego even the limited benefits of the bill.

The teaching profession wants no Federal control of education. Our record in resisting it, whenever and by whomsoever it has been threatened, is clear and emphatic.

The National Education Association will, therefore, continue to support bills of the type which were reported favorably and unanimously by committees of both Houses of the 83d Congress. We shall try to get similar unanimous action (and we hope prompter action) by the 84th Congress.

We are not committed to oppose every aspect of the administration bill if it is amended to safeguard more fully local and State control of education, and if the amounts involved are substantially increased. We must oppose the bill if it is intended to prevent or to delay more fundamental, substantial, and better considered legislation. We support legislation of the type that has been championed and developed over years of study by such universally respected lawmakers as Robert A. Taft, of Ohio; John S. Cooper, of Kentucky; Elbert Thomas, of Utah; and Lister Hill, of Alabama. Their programs and policies in this matter call for legislation extending Federal grants to all the States for school purposes. Only in this way can the President's earnest desire to offer our schools prompt, effective help be realized.

Ninety-six years ago next Thursday President Buchanan sternly vetoed the first attempt to provide Federal grants to the State

colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. He asserted flatly that the proposal was unwise and unconstitutional. He said the bill would surely encourage the States to depend on Uncle Sam instead of expending their own resources for education. He predicted a long series of catastrophes if such a law were to be approved.

Two years later another President, and one much better known to history, approved this same proposal. Many of us remembered this act when the Nation celebrated Abraham Lincoln's birthday last week. During all the intervening years the Federal Government has given a modest measure of assistance to the land-grant colleges. They have repaid the Nation a thousandfold. The States did not relax their efforts. The Federal Government has not controlled instruction in a single classroom. Lincoln was a better prophet than Buchanan. Those who today prophesy the doom of the Republic if the Nation spends some small part of its wealth for better schools may well ask themselves whether history has vindicated Lincoln or Buchanan on this issue.

The Matusow Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an analysis by Mr. James Ratliff with respect to the Matusow case.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer of February 27, 1955]

THE MATUSOW CASE

(By James Ratliff)

One of the most remarkable exhibits of irresponsibility ever seen, even at Washington, D. C., was staged this week by Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, Arkansas Democrat, as chairman of the Senate Investigating Subcommittee.

Nothing ever charged to Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY, his predecessor, came near the spectacle put on by Mr. MCCLELLAN with Harvey Matusow. Mr. MCCLELLAN took a man who already had publicly confessed that he was a perpetual liar, and gave him a nationwide, congressionally immune Senate forum to promote the book in which he psychopathically describes his own lies. As if this weren't enough, Mr. MCCLELLAN put the mess on television.

Senator MCCLELLAN knew that the publisher of this book could answer under oath whether or not he was a Communist. He knew that Matusow's press conferences were staged by Carl Marzani, notorious jailed Communist, and Nathan Witt, who refused to reply when asked if he was in Alger Hiss' Soviet espionage cell. Yet despite all this, Mr. MCCLELLAN questioned Matusow in front of cameras and newsmen on the ground that he wanted the truth from Matusow "if the truth was in him."

For 1 week Matusow had been babbling, "Read the lies in my book." This was a book by a Communist, openly parroting the Communist lies. But instead of questioning Matusow behind closed doors, Mr. MCCLELLAN chose to give the Communists of America their outstanding propaganda coup of years.

I met Matusow in October 1951. He was brought here by Martha Edmiston, one of the Federal Bureau of Investigation undercover agents who had helped so much 16 months before with the Enquirer's Communist expose before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Matusow was a swarthy but alert young men in a snappy Air Force sergeant's uniform. He kept twisting pipe cleaners into funny little animals while he talked. Maybe it was a warning. Martha, then a public relations official of Wright-Patterson Air Base, told us:

"This is the fellow who drove Wright Field brass into shudders when he listed the Communist Party and 46 Red fronts in his background. But he's a former Commie who wants to talk, Jim."

Matusow could type, so we put him at a typewriter to do his life story. It was an interesting tale of Red intrigue, 37 pages of it. But it still lies unused in Enquirer files, because only a little of it could be verified by us. One verification was a copy of the Daily Worker, the Commie paper, of January 29, 1951. In it Matusow was pictured as expelled from the Communist Party for misrepresentations. (How ironic can you get?)

By coincidence, the Communists were helping to form the National Negro Labor Council, a Red front, over on Central Avenue. Matusow said he could identify some of the Communists so he went over there with reporter Joseph Green, who had the news story.

Matusow recognized some Communists all right. But they recognized him as a traitor to the party and threw him out. The Enquirer reported the incident, without using Matusow's name.

In a few weeks Matusow was bounced out of the Air Force. He went to testify before the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission. I told Sid Isaacs, commission counsel, that he might be able to use Matusow for a while as Commie spotter and research man. This is a calculated risk, but the best way to investigate a secret conspiracy is a man who has been in or can get into it.

Mr. Isaacs told Matusow he would give him about $300 a month, but Matusow didn't actually last a full month. He started working on January 21, 1952, identifying Red literature, but had to go off for 10 days in February to testify in Washington, Sid told me.

When Matusow got back from Washington he had forgotten the repeated warnings that he was just a Communist trying to undo the harm he had caused. He became a big-time agent. Without a by-your-leave, he went off to Yellow Springs, Ohio, site of Antioch College, and suddenly, to the horror of Isaacs, issued a press statement.

"Antioch has at least 400 potential Communists on its campus," Matusow blurted. Even if true, Matusow didn't know this and he had no authority to open his mouth anyway. Isaacs, who had given him endless warnings, blew up. Matusow was due to testify before the Senate, so Sid paid him off at the end of February.

We never saw Matusow again, but heard of him. He made occasional headlines, romping from one trial and hearing to another as a witness. Many columnists, including ourselves once, mentioned him briefly. But when he began identifying Owen Lattimore and Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as Reds we became worried. We looked up his forgotten story in the files.

"He didn't tell us he had met Lattimore or Oxnam," I told city editor Jack Cronin. "He may be lying." But we were unable to prove his possible lies any more than his story and we didn't print it.

Now Matusow admits he lied about Lattimore and Oxnam. He says he doesn't know when he ever told any truth. This leads to speculation the Communists may have published his expulsion to set a decoy who would discredit all Communist investigations.

Credence to this theory is lent by the fact that Matusow, again a Communist, is linking every Communist exposer he can think of with his lies.

But his tissue of lies is mainly hackneyed Communist Party line stuff. For example, I am supposed to have told him (his book says) "not to overshadow the Ohio Commission, as they need the headlines for votes."

The Commies aren't even clever. This has been the Communist Daily Worker line for years. Imagine me giving a hoot whether the 7 Republicans and 5 Democrats on that commission from all over Ohio got votes for the Ohio Legislature.

Matusow quotes Sid Isaacs as telling him to "break up unions in Dayton, Ohio." The old mouldy Red line. Not only is Sid so liberal that the Republicans wouldn't give him a job in the State Department which asked for him but whenever he goes after Communists like those leading the United Electrical Workers, a decent American union benefits.

I don' think Matusow was planted from the start, however. Too much of his original tale was corroborated by Government committees. The Commies wouldn't dare let him expose so much just for the later harm he could do. They probably blackmailed him back into line when it became obvious to them, too, that he was lying for headlines.

But the harm is done. All over the country people who never say an unkind word about communism are saying it's all a tissue of lies. The fact that endless FBI files send the Commies to jail—not just a Matusow—doesn't bother them. They keep croaking it's all a witch hunt.

As for Senator MCCLELLAN'S great book promotion that has aided the Communists? Well, it's your move now, Senator.

The Current Situation in Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, most Members of the Senate know personally May Craig, Washington columnist for some of our Maine newspapers. May is currently on a trip to Europe and the Middle East. The dispatches she is sending back are excellent firsthand observations on current happenings of great interest to us all. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report May Craig has written on the current situation in Berlin together with an editorial on that report from the Portland (Maine) Press Herald of March 1, 1955.

There being no objection, the report and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAYOR OF BERLIN WANTS REARMAMENT

(By May Craig)

BERLIN.—In Berlin, "an island in a Red sea," the tall blonde Governing Mayor Otto Suhr told us that Berlin is for the rearmament of Germany. I asked him if he would be for neutrality to get unification of Germany and he said he would not. This is the great bait being dangled before West Germany today the Russians and the Social Democrat Party, to which Dr. Suhr belongs,

and to which half the Berliners belong. Social Democrats are first and foremost for reunification of Germany. Dr. Suhr's party accuses Konrad Adenauer, the Chancellor of West Germany, whose party is the Christian Democrat, of not putting reunification first.

This party claims it has the unions and youth with them against rearmament and the treaties linking West Germany with the West, and Berlin sent Willy Brandt, Social Democrat, to Bonn, while the treaties were being debated in the Bundestag, to oppose ratification. He wanted talks with the Russians before the ratification, saying that ratification would make reunification almost impossible.

Supporters of the treaties argued it would make it easier to talk with the Russians, because West Germany would then be talking from a position of strength. With the small group of editors and publishers I travel with, we went to the city hall and talked with Dr. Suhr and with his deputy, Franz Amrehn. We asked them if they were for rearmament and they said yes. What they said was translated to us, in sentences, after they spoke, and at this point Amrehn interrupted the translator to use the word "defend." Yes, they would defend West Germany. But even as we talked together, busloads of rioters, mostly Communist, were in Bonn, surging around the Bundestag buildings in the falling snow, with placards saying "Mothers' Protect Your Sons," "Free Elections in 1955," etc. We have this picketing in the United States, too; I have seen it at White House and Capitol and elsewhere and it was usually Communist too.

The appeal to the mothers is poignant; rearment means the draft, and these women have seen their husbands go forth in the world war, and what happened. War-weariness and pacifism is the fruit of dreadful and too-recent experience here, not to lead to reluctance toward a draft.

In a high tower on the city hall is freedom bell, the great bronze bell, gift of the American people to Free Germany, and every day at noon it rings and Berliners stop to listen. At city hall we were asked to pause a moment before 12, so we would be silent and hear the deep bell ring. An official said: "It reminds us of our struggle for freedom."

Berlin is divided into 4 sectors, 1 United States, 1 Russian, 1 French, and 1 British. Russian sector is set apart by the Communists and though people from the West may go into it, the East Germans do not come too much to the West. Berlin does not belong to the Federal Republic, which is West Germany. The Western Allies do not want it to, besides the fact that Berlin is cut off from the rest of Free Germany, and is deep in the Russian Zone. The three Western Allies wish to maintain the contention that Berlin does not belong to the Russian Zone, that it is in fact a quadripartite city, free to all the people of Berlin and to the three Western nations.

The 3 Western nations have practically unified their sectors and zones, the area and population of the 3 sectors about that of the Russians, though the Western zones have many times the population of the Russian, augmented by many refugees from the East. Some go back to the Eastern zones because the West is so crowded they have to live in camps, and they long for the homes they left in East Germany.

Since Berlin is cut off from the West by the 105 miles of air corridor, and other means of transportation is too often blocked by the Russians, industry and business is difficult. Contracts might or might not be fulfilled in Berlin though the Western Allies subsidize it so that the transport back and forth to Berlin to the West does not add to the cost compared to production in the West.

So there is unemployment in Berlin and it is not any longer a white-collar city, the banking and other important business having fled to the Western zones.

Dr. Suhr spoke of the difficulties of administering such a city. To me one of the important things he said is that "the will for freedom is our best treasure." If the Germans deeply believe that, they will stay with us in our struggle against communism.

MAY CRAIG IN GERMANY DURING HISTORIC MOMENTS

Germany has an historic tendency to lead the news. Whether she is making war, disturbing the peace or contributing to the peace she is one of the pivotal nations of the world. Her legislature's decisions have international repercussions.

The past weekend was typical of Germany's prominence and the seriousness with which the rest of the world watches every flutter of a ballot in the Bundestag. It finally came time for West Germany to act on proposals, the West has been working on for years. The Bundestag, had it not followed the stubborn leadership of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, could have virtually nullified the plans of a free world for effective defenses against communism and effective buffer territory on the outskirts of those defenses.

The Bundestag cooperated with the West. It voted for West German rearmament; it voted for the end of occupation, the restoration of sovereignty, authorization for American, British, and French troops to remain in the Bonn republic; it voted to join NATO; it voted to neutralize partially the Saar valley.

The weekend marked a turning point in world history. Whether the turn will be for better or for worse, no prophet can tell us. The Bundestag voted as the West would have had it voted. To do otherwise would have been an immediate tragedy. But it is possible, for instance, that West Germany's decision to maintain its attachment to the Saar will cause trouble in France. West Germany's attitude could prevent ratification in France and another major chasm in western unity.

Press Herald columnist May Craig observes these events. She is visiting West Germany at a truly historic moment. Her first stop on a tour of Europe was Berlin, whence this morning's column was filed. As she travels to other parts of Germany and to other parts of Europe, Mrs. Craig will see at first hand the repercussions of the West German decisions made over the weekend and attempt to interpret what she sees for Press Herald readers. She couldn't have picked a more strategic time for her globe-trotting.

Back to Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Back to Inflation," published in the Arizona Republic of February 26, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BACK TO INFLATION

When President Eisenhower was campaigning for the Presidency, he delivered a speech in Troy, N. Y., charging that inflation was no accident under the Truman administration.

Now Speaker RAYBURN and his Democratic associates in Congress have proved the truth of Mr. Eisenhower's charges. They have passed a bill which would provide a $20 across-the-board cut in personal income taxes, thereby adding another $2.3 billion to the $2 billion deficit already planned for next year. In Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey's words, the Democratic measure would "just about wipe out" the progress President Eisenhower has made toward balancing the budget. It would also hit every consumer in the Nation right square in the pocketbook, despite the illusion of tax savings.

In January 1953, when President Eisenhower took office, the wholesale price index of the bureau of labor statistics stood at 109.9. In January 1955, it stood at 110.2. Two years ago the consumer price index stood at 113.9. The latest figure is 114.3. In other words, so well has President Eisenhower's administration held inflation in check that wholesale prices have risen only .3 percent, while retail prices have risen only .4 percent. As a result, rising wage scales have given every worker increased purchasing power in stable dollars.

If the Rayburn faction has its way, this trend is now to be reversed and the country is to go back on the inflationary merry-go-round. But there is still a chance that the Democrats will come to their senses, and a coalition of Republicans and Democrats can hold the line against inflation in the Senate.

States Can Do Own School Building

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "States Can Do Own School Building," published in the State, of Columbia, S. C., of February 26, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATES CAN DO OWN SCHOOL BUILDING

A Washington dispatch carried in our newspaper Friday morning said that a recommendati n reportedly approved by the United States Commissioner of Education, and now under study by a Presidential Commission, says flatly that Federal money for school construction is not necessary.

Not only have we here in South Carolina undertaken to modernize our facilities, but we have completely revamped and implemented our transportation system.

No State proportionately will have a greater burden to carry, and few face one that is equal to that undertaken by us.

What the report in question says is what on several occasions we have urged in these columns. We have suggested that our Representatives and Senators in the Congress cite South Carolina as an example in the matter of school construction.

The report which the Presidential Commission is now studying says in part:

"We have been unable to find a State which cannot afford to make more available to its schools or which is economically unable to support an adequate school system."

South Carolina, as readers of this newspaper know, assessed a 3-percent general sales tax to finance the multi-million-dollar school-improvement program undertaken in 1951. Some States already have a sales tax the revenue from which is being used for

other purposes. But the type of tax is not the point. The general sales tax was not being assessed here, so it was chosen as the levy to back the bonds. A State already in this field would have to find another source to tap.

It is a mistake to think that Federal aid is outside money—something free. In most cases it is simply our money that has traveled to Washington only to be sent back after a handling cost. The sooner we realize this, the better for all concerned. We will never get Federal taxes down if we are continually opening up new avenues of expense.

That a Government Commission should recognize State responsibility, and ability, as evidenced in this case, is indeed refreshing, but if its recommendations are ignored, and Congress goes right ahead with its Federal construction plan, the Commission, like so many in the past, will have wasted its time.

We hope our 2 Senators and 6 Representatives will stand up and be counted on the right side as this issue develops in Congress.

Preservation of the American Outdoors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the preservation of the American outdoors has stirred our people for many decades and has brought to the fore such men as John Muir, Gifford Pinchot, and Lyle F. Watts.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article written by Ora Niemela about the Three Sisters Wilderness area in the Willamette National Forest of Oregon, which was published in the Oregon State Grange Bulletin of February 25, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THREE SISTERS WILDERNESS REGION BEING THREATENED

(By Ora Niemela)

Farm people have become more and more conservation-minded in the last decade. Flood, silt, and erosion control are an accepted part of our planning. To effect these controls on our farmlands we must be on the alert to first see to it that similar planning and control is done in the watersheds of our streams, the planned runoff of which is vital to every lowland acre.

Thus it is that Oregon farmers are interested, though as yet amazingly uninformed, in the developments in that part of the Three Sisters Wilderness area which embraces the McKenzie River watershed. Farmers should also be interested in the Three Sisters Wilderness area because of its value to the science departments of our Oregon colleges, and its value as a recreation area for the present 1,500,000, and soon-expected 3 million people of Oregon.

The Three Sisters Wilderness area is threatened immediately by dissection.

HISTORY OF THE AREA

In 1929 the Secretary of Agriculture gave the Chief of the United States Forest Service the authority to set aside areas within the national forests to be designated wild areas (between 5,000 and 100,000 acres) and wilderness areas (over 100,000 acres). At present there are 78 such wild and wilderness areas in 73 national forests scattered through 12 States. Their total acreage comprises 8 percent of the national forest lands. Much of their acreage is in alpine country above timberline. Although many of our wild and wilderness areas have outstanding scenic value, they were not set aside for that purpose, but rather to preserve intact samples of typical primitive areas of the outdoors before we have none left. With the exception of Linville Gorge Wild Area in North Carolina there are no such areas in the East large enough to be so classified because easterners awoke to the possibilities too late. (By Forest Service regulations, to be classified wild or wilderness areas, sections of land under consideration must be free from roads, private property, and commercial activity of all kinds although a few exceptions have been made in the case of already existing mining activities.)

The Three Sisters Wilderness area (246,728 acres) was set aside in 1938 in the Willamette National Forest. It included the North, South, and Middle Sisters, Broken Top, the Husband and the Wife, and many lesser mountains. Near the western border, it includes Horsepasture Mountain and Olallie Mountain, which are joined by a ridge to which we will refer later.

LUMBER RESOURCES QUESTIONED

Now the Forest Service proposes to eliminate 55,620 acres from the wilderness area starting at Horse Creek, which lies in the canyon bottom, and continuing up the steep western slope and over the Horsepasture Mountain-Olallie Mountain ridge with the intent of opening this area to logging. The chief contention of the Forest Service is that small and medium-sized mills in Lane County must have this extra timber to sustain themselves. Lyle Watts, who was Chief of the United States Forest Service from 1943 until he retired in 1952, has exploded this contention by pointing out:

"The need for additional timber to log is not acute in the Willamette National Forest or in Lane County. The west side of the Horse Creek drainage includes some 12,000 acres. This area, based on available estimates, would appear to support between 380 and 525 million board-feet of timber. The increase in the allowable cut under sustained yield for the McKenzie Working Circle would be between 4 and 6 million board-feet per year.

"At present, about 1,250 million board-feet of lumber is cut each year in Lane County. The volume cut on the Willamette National Forest annually is around four hundred and twenty-five million. To be sure, the sustained yield annual cut for Lane County is only about eight hundred and thirty million. Thus the timber in the county is being cut one and a half times as fast as it grows.

"The point is, that by opening to cutting the west side of Horse Creek you would add just about one-half of 1 percent to the allowable cut for the county, and about 1 percent to the allowable cut on the National Forest. Obviously, in a community where the unbelievable volume of 1,250 million board-feet is being cut each year, the additional 5 million is of minute economic consequence. It may well be desirable to place this timber on ice for future need."

Ex-Gov. Charles A. Sprague said in his Oregon Statesman, November 30, 1954:

"The argument for scaling down the size of the area now reserved as wilderness is that the size is excessive and that the timber is needed to help sustain the local economy. However, there are other values than economic, and the wilderness in its primitive condition with access only by trail provides values which cannot be calculated. As the Sierra Club has said: 'It is important to us and to those who follow us that samples of our richest heritage be preserved intact, complete with all the resources that, despite their possible money value, are even more valuable for their inspirational qualities.'

"The demand of the lovers of the wilderness that the boundary revision stop at the ridge rather than split the basin along the creek seems quite practical and logical. A divided basin, one-half green and the other half logged off, would be neither fish nor fowl. The creek would become a carrier of silt from the eroded hillside, and brush and snags would collect along its course."

COLLEGE SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS OBJECT

The science departments of Oregon State College, University of Oregon, and Willamette University have protested the change for scientific reasons. They point out that the area makes an ideal natural-science laboratory close at home, inasmuch as it contains terrain from low altitude to high altitude—1,900 feet to 5,600 feet on Horsepasture Mountain. Dr. Ruth Hopson, Ph. D., assistant professor of general science, University of Oregon says:

"We are spending vast sums of money in buildings and indoor laboratories for science, but we can never reproduce within a building the things found in this region, nor can we replace them, once they are destroyed. Fieldwork in the out of doors as a method of learning in the natural sciences is gaining in importance both in the public schools and in the colleges. By the time we fully realize these values, will the virgin forest be here to study?

"Since plans call for the eventual logging of most of the virgin forests and the sustained-yield program does not provide for trees much more than a hundred years old, who can say what the worth may be of such a region left undisturbed, containing as it does the wisdom of the ages by representing the sum total of everything that has happened here in ages past. It is, in fact, a history, a record that may be studied. We cannot afford to lose such a record."

USES OF NATIONAL FOREST

Many of us are unacquainted with the resources of our national forests and make the mistake of assuming that their sole purpose is to produce timber to log. When he was Chief of the United States Forest Service, Lyle Watts said:

"The national forest are forests in the larger sense of the term; that is, they are not exclusively tree-covered areas. A forest in the larger sense is a composite of trees, brush, grass, water, wildlife, scenery. Each one of these elements has its own value. Combined, they give the forest a value much greater than that of a mere producer of wood. For the most part, these various types are so intermingled that no one can be set apart from the others for separate handling.

"It is this composite value which gives the national forest importance to so many different elements in our population."

Now the Forest Service's avowed policy in the supervision of the national forests is to operate them for the greatest good of the most people. Would they be carrying out their promise to us if they turn these acres over to a small group of local logging operators instead of preserving them for the use of millions in the not too distant future? It has been reliably estimated that Oregon's population (now 1,500,000) will reach 3 million in 20 to 25 years and that the Willamette Valley will then house 2 million people. We cannot wait to set aside recreation areas until teeming thousands have arrived to demand them; they must obviously be set aside in advance if we are to have any at all.

RECREATIONAL IMPORTANCE

The CIO Woodworkers Union is one of those organizations opposing the change; A. F. Hartung, CIO-IWA international president, says timber resources of the area don't merit logging. The executive committee of the AFL's Northwest Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers also oppose the logging of

this area, basing their decision, in part, on the A. F. of L.'s policy of protecting recreation areas. As many laboring people have pointed out, laborers cannot afford to fly their families to plush Miami Beach spots for a vacation; they must have easily accessible, inexpensive places to vacation close at home.

Approximately 21,000 members of 30 outdoor clubs of the Pacific coast, including the Mazamas, Crag Rats, Salem Chemeketans, Astorian Angoras, Eugene Obsidians, and the Salem Chemeketans, banded together in 1931 to form the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs. The 21,000 members of the federation vociferously oppose the logging of this western portion of the Three Sisters wilderness area. They have reluctantly agreed to sacrifice that portion further west of the Horse Pasture-Olallie Mountain Ridge. These clubs depend almost exclusively on our national parks and forests for their weekly hikes and climbs and for their annual outings in the summers. For a lover of the wilderness to look down from the Skyline Trail or from the summit of any of the Three Sisters on the nearby scarred, logged-off western slope leading down to Horse Creek would ruin much of the pleasure of this country as a recreation area.

THIS IS JUST THE BEGINNING

An audience of over 300 interested persons listened to a four-man panel discuss this boundary revision question on December 3 in Eugene. They heard Gus Arneson, representative of the lumber companies on the panel, state quite frankly that the logging companies would, of course, quite logically demand the timber on the eastern slope of Horse Creek once they had taken the timber on the west slope. His frankness was admirable; his demand for the timber across the creek would in a few short years be bolstered by the claim that the logging road which they had built up Horse Creek (if they are allowed to build one) must be used if it is to give the most economical returns on the investment.

On that same panel Robert Aufderheide, superintendent of Willamette National Forest, said: "When in doubt we should withhold our decision because true wilderness cannot be restored in less than centuries." If the Forest Service has not had enough doubt cast on their decision by the testimony of ex-Governor Charles A. Sprague; ex-chief of the United States Forest Service, Lyle Watts, the science departments of the three colleges, the protests of 21,000 Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, all augmented by protests from labor unions, Boy Scouts, and other organizations, it's probably time we farmers added our voices in this matter.

A public hearing on this question will be conducted at the Veterans' Memorial Building, 1626 Willamette Street, Eugene, Oreg., February 16 beginning at 9 a. m. If you are interested in the Three Sisters western boundary you may appear at the hearing and you may voice your protests to J. Herbert Stone, Region Forester, United States Forest Service, post office box 4137, Portland 8, Oreg., with a copy to Richard McArdle, Chief Forester, United States Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C.

The Problems of Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, the proposal now before the Senate Armed Services Committee to establish a special commission to study the increasingly complex nature of civil defense has focused new attention on our preparation for atomic warfare here at home. One matter which merits immediate consideration is the possibility of industrial dispersal. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Lewiston (Maine) Daily Sun of February 28, 1955, discussing civil defense and industrial dispersal.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INSURANCE AGAINST DISASTER

One of the wisest moves this administration has made, in connection with defense of the United States against overseas air attack, is to propose a special commission to study the increasingly complex nature of civil defense.

Defense Mobilizer Flemming has laid the plan before a Senate Armed Services Subcommittee, suggesting that the commission it sets up be required to report by May 15.

Now, civil defense means protection of humans against bombing raids, for one thing, and that function has thus far occupied most of the attention of the appropriate agencies. But civil defense also means protection of the Nation's warmaking potential, and that is an equally difficult problem.

Assuming a set of fortunate circumstances, such as enough warning time and an evacuation plan that works, we may be able to protect most of the civilians now occupying our largest cities. War industries, however, are a different proposition. You cannot pick up a plant employing 10,000 or 20,000 or more persons and lift it out of the way of a hydrogen bomb. You cannot even shield it from gamma-ray activity if a bomb drops 100 miles away.

So it is highly important that Mobilizer Flemming says the commission's primary job is to work out a method of dispersing the country's prime atomic targets. Nearly everyone knows what they are. The atomic facilities themselves at Oak Ridge, Paducah, Hanford, and elsewhere cannot be dispersed, though it will be possible to give better protection to their top personnel. But there are the huge electronic plants, the complex of industries around Detroit, the steel mills in the Chicago-Gary area, the big plane manufacturers and shipyards, and even the highly critical scientific research laboratories concentrated in Boston and Cambridge. It would be a great tragedy to lose the brains assembled there.

When the commission comes to study industry dispersion, it will discover at least one sensible method of saving our vital warmaking facilities from complete destruction. The Federal Government will have to rule that no more expansions of existing critical industry, or new industry, shall be made within at least 150 miles of existing major manufacturing centers. And it will have to force or induce the most important plants to detach an integrated or vertical nucleus and establish it in some well-removed small city so that it can serve as a well advanced starting point of reconstruction in the event the parent industry is fully wiped out.

There may be other methods that will occur to the commission. But the above is indispensable to the national security. Surely it would be folly to perfect a plan of saving from death scores of million of citizens in urban areas, and neglect to draw a plan that will secure the United States against a knockout blow. In fact, if the Communists saw they could not destroy our ability to fight back, they might not attempt it. Industry dispersal regardless of what it costs is good insurance against the kind of assault we must expect if war comes.

Strengthening of the Clayton Antitrust Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a very timely, able, and thought-provoking statement of the personal views of our former colleague from New York, James M. Mead, who is a member of the Federal Trade Commission. The statement is entitled "Strengthening of the Clayton Antitrust Act."

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STRENGTHENING OF THE CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT

The basic purpose for which Congress established the Federal Trade Commission was to maintain a competitive economy and to prevent the growth of monopoly. The first antitrust statute, the Sherman Act, was passed in 1890. Notwithstanding that very valuable statute, monopolies continued to grow after the turn of the century. In 1911 the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil case limited the effectiveness of the Sherman Act by adopting the so-called rule of reason in interpreting that act.

In 1912 there was a demand by both political parties for Congress to take a New Look at the problem of monopoly and unfair competitive practices and to adopt such legislation as would be necessary in the public interest. Congress in 1914 adopted the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Act. Notwithstanding the enactment of these two statutes, we still have with us the problem of monopoly and unfair competitive practices.

The great American dream is twofold: (1) Political liberty and (2) economic opportunity. Without economic opportunity there cannot really be effective political liberty. Economic opportunity in its simplest and basic terms means that the ordinary American—John Smith—has the opportunity to go into the legitimate business of his choice, and by hard work and commonsense, grow and prosper and be able to enjoy for himself and his family the necessities and some of the luxuries of life. When that dream dims, the virility of our economy is impaired.

The prevention of monopolistic and other unfair trade practices depends on three factors: (1) Effective legislation; (2) selection of competent administrators of the statutes; and (3) adequate appropriations.

This memorandum is addressed to the factor of effective legislation and more particularly to the Clayton Act. The basic principles of the Clayton Act are as sound today as they were in 1914. There are, however, certain points involving congressional intent and questions of procedure which merit consideration. They are as follows:

1. The good faith or equality of opportunity bill.

2. Prior submittal to the Federal Trade Commission of proposed mergers of larger corporations.

3. The finality of orders to cease and desist issued by the Commission under the Clayton Act.

THE GOOD FAITH OR EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY BILL

The Supreme Court in the recent *Standard Oil* case (340 U. S. 231) held in effect that the good faith meeting of a competitive lawful price is an absolute defense to a charge of price discrimination under section 2 (a) of the Clayton Act as amended

by the Robinson-Patman Act although the result of the discrimination may be to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly. The Robinson-Patman Act is properly regarded by small and independent businessmen as their Magna Carta against the encroachments of monopolies and predatory business practices. In my opinion the discrimination section of the Robinson-Patman Act as interpreted by the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil case is now of limited effectiveness and is not in accord with the purpose for which it was enacted. In my opinion the Robinson-Patman Act should be amended so as to make it crystal clear that good faith is not a complete defense when the discrimination is of such severity and importance that the effect may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly.

In the enforcement of the antitrust laws we must constantly remember that their ultimate objective is to preserve and promote competition. The intent with which business practices are used is certainly a factor to be considered, but the final test of whether or not those practices should be prohibited must be the result of their use and not the intent with which they are used. Our antitrust laws would be futile instruments of national policy indeed if they are to be construed to countenance the destruction of competition solely because such destruction is accomplished by good men acting in good faith.

The right to discriminate in price and meet in good faith a competitive price is a private right subject to regulation by the State. The right to be free from monopolistic and other unfair trade practices is a public right also regulated by the State. When the private right to discriminate in price conflicts with the public right to be free from monopolistic practices, the public right should prevail. That is the basic political and economic justification for enacting the Kefauver-Patman equality of opportunity bill.

PRIOR SUBMITTAL TO THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION OF PROPOSED MERGERS OF LARGER CORPORATIONS

The Federal Trade Commission now has some experience with the amended section 7 of the Clayton Act which prohibits mergers when they have certain adverse competitive effects. In my opinion this record of experience indicates the need of an advance submittal amendment to section 7 of the Clayton Act.

Under the present law the Commission must inform itself as to proposed mergers. This necessitates a staff engaged in inspecting a variety of news and trade publications for information which the principals in these mergers could readily supply to the Commission. A large number of these news items suggest the possibility of illegality of proposed mergers and the Commission then has the burden of collecting certain elementary facts about the companies involved in order to determine whether a full investigation should be made. The necessary information includes, for illustration, the assets of the companies, their principal products, their approximate sales, their competitive relationships, whether there has been a customer-supplier relationship between the merged companies and whether competing companies are likely to be cut off from essential supplies, whether important patents are involved, and other types of information. As a practical matter the Commission must depend upon the companies involved to supply this information. When a great number of companies are merging and in view of the limited staff of the Commission, there must of necessity be numerous delays before the necessary information is obtained. This problem of unnecessary expense and delay would be largely corrected by an advance submittal requirement since such a requirement would give to firms wishing to merge the incentive of supplying the Commission with the necessary factual information as expeditiously and as completely as possible.

While the Commission has not yet had the occasion under the revised section 7 to order a divestiture of assets of illegally merged corporations, there is a real problem in attempting to "unscramble the eggs" after the assets of two corporations have been merged. Fiscal and other business properties are frequently such that they may be used in any one or several lines of commerce and there will be occasions where the Commission's order for divestiture will not assure that an effective competitor, once destroyed, will be recreated.

I do not believe that it would be either necessary or feasible to require all proposed mergers be cleared in advance with the Federal Trade Commission. It may be that any such advance submittal provision should be limited, for illustration, to situations where the combined assets would exceed $10 million. I am advised that there are approximately 1,000 corporations in the manufacturing industries which have total assets valued at more than $10 million.

It is probable that there are no more than 1,000 additional such corporations in other fields which are under the jurisdiction of the Commission, these being largely the distributive and mining fields. Thus by this criterion, about three-tenths of 1 percent of approximately 650,000 corporations in the United States would be subject to the advance approval requirement.

One of two different procedures relative to this advance submittal might be adopted. They are as follows:

1. Require the proposed merging corporations to file with the Commission a notice of their intention of merging and also require the corporations to submit to the Commission any facts, data, etc., which the Commission would require. Within certain time limits the Commission would make a finding whether or not the proposed merger is in the public interest. This procedure might be limited to corporations above a certain size. The difficulty with this procedure is that it might place a very large administrative burden on the Commission and adequate staff would not be available to the Commission for such purpose. The difficulty is that the Commission would be required to give a definite yes or no answer within a limited period of time. If the Commission did not find against the merger, it is not likely that the law would permit the Commission to attack the merger at a later date;

2. Require the proposed merging corporations to submit to the Commission a notice of their intention to merge and also require such corporations to submit the facts and data requested by the Commission. Within a certain time limit the Commission could issue a regular complaint attacking the proposed merger. In the event that the Commission issued such complaint the law would provide that the proposed merger would be suspended pending the final disposition of the complaint. The issuance of the complaint would be in effect a "stop order" which some utility commissions are authorized to issue relative to proposed rate increases. The case could then be tried as a regular case but in the meantime the merger would not be consummated and the Commission would not have the very difficult task of trying to unscramble the eggs. The law could also provide as a safeguard that if the Commission did not issue the complaint within the time specified prior to the proposed merger that the Commission would also have the authority to issue a complaint after the merger as is provided in the present section 7. This procedure would not place on the staff of the Commission the great burden of deciding definitely (and finally) within a prescribed time limit whether or not the merger is in the public interest. The issuance of the complaint which would hold up the merger would not be a final decision. It would only constitute a "reason to believe" by the Commission.

THE FINALITY OF ORDERS TO CEASE AND DESIST ISSUED BY THE COMMISSION UNDER THE CLAYTON ACT

Orders to cease and desist issued by the Commission under the Federal Trade Commission Act become final and enforceable within 60 days after their issuance unless the respondent appeals to a United States Court of Appeals. After orders issued under the trade act become final the Commission may request the Department of Justice to have the appropriate United States district attorney sue for a violation of the order in a civil penalty proceeding. Violators are liable to a monetary penalty up to $5,000 for each day of violation. This provision makes trade act orders to cease and desist effective because they are readily enforceable.

It is suggested that section 11 of the Clayton Act be amended so as to provide for cease and desist orders under the Clayton Act to have the same degree of finality and the same penalty provisions as provided for orders issued under the Federal Trade Commission Act. This amendment is needed to insure effective enforcement of the statutory prohibition against monopolistic mergers, competition-stifling exclusive-dealing contracts, unjust discriminations in price, services, or facilities and certain types of interlocking directorates. It is needed to eliminate the laborious, time-consuming, and expensive procedures now required before an order under the Clayton Act is fully effective.

Under the present Clayton Act the orders of the Commission have no force or effect without subsequent court enforcement. In addition the statute limits the right of the Commission to seek enforcement. In order for the Commission to secure enforcement by the court the Commission must prove that the respondent has failed to obey the order to cease and desist.

The long road which the Commission must travel in order to force compliance with Clayton Act orders to cease and desist is as follows:

(1) The Commission must prove that the respondent has violated the Clayton Act. (2) If such proof is made, then the Commission issues its order to cease and desist. (3) If the respondent does not appeal to the court from the Commission's order and if the respondent continues to violate the order, the Commission must prove to the satisfaction of the court that the respondent has violated the order of the Commission. (4) If such proof is made to the satisfaction of the court, then the court may issue a decree making the order of the Commission the order of the court. (5) If thereafter the respondent violates the decree of the court and the Commission is successful in proving such a violation to the court, then the court may punish the respondent for contempt of court.

Under the procedure now provided, the investigations and hearings may drag on for years before effective enforcement with Clayton Act orders to cease and desist is obtained. The resources and energies of the Commission are thus needlessly dissipated and the antimonopoly purpose of the Clayton Act is thwarted.

CONCLUSION

The above constitutes a modest but a very necessary program of proposed legislation designed toward making the Federal Trade Commission a more effective instrument of national antitrust policy.

Postal Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated February 26, 1955, which I have received from Thomas Nolin, legislative representative of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, together with an article entitled "Postal Pay Raise," published in the St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press of February 24, 1955.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
POST OFFICE CLERKS,
St. Paul, Minn., February 26, 1955.

Senator WILLIAM LANGER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The morning after the Senate Committee brought out our bill, I phoned to thank you for your fine support. Unfortunately, you were not available, so please accept my sincere thanks for your successful efforts in our behalf. As always, you are in our corner.

In the House, it seems that we may be in for trouble but we have many friends there too, so, although I am not unduly optimistic, I have hopes that the House Committee will bring out a good bill.

Reports indicate that soon an investigation of the overall operation of the Post Office will get underway. If you will be on this committee, I would like to bring to your attention, the manpower-control system. It was initiated about 6 months ago and seems to be as secret as the atomic research program. We would like to learn what it is supposed to accomplish and how much it is costing the taxpayer.

Meanwhile, I certainly hope that the Department does not have sufficient support in the House to gain many of the things advocated. The Postmaster General is using his high office to disseminate to the public, over radio and television, some rather strange information. He has implied that if any postal-salary bill passed by the Congress does not meet with his approval, he will cause it to be vetoed.

High in the Government he may be but isn't this a great deal of authority for one man to hold?

Thanks again, and best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

THOMAS NOLIN,
Legislative Representative.

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press of February 24, 1955]

POSTAL PAY RAISE

(By Val Bjornson)

A fundamental point in Post Office Department reforms launched 2 years ago remains that of whether stress should continue on making the service fully self-sustaining. The issue arises in connection with pay-raise proposals, vetoed by President Eisenhower in the form given them by Congress in August of last year.

Postal employees said widely at the time that they shouldn't be made to bear the burden of the postal deficit. Administration spokesmen objected, in the main, to another indiscriminate across-the-board pay increase, identical in approach to five such increases made the past 10 years. Maurice Stans, the certified public accountant from Chicago who has headed the task force making fiscal studies of the Post Office Department, expressed such objections in a speech he delivered in the Twin Cities last December.

Speaking of the vetoed measure, Stans said: "It provided for more of the same old treatment, a 5-percent increase across the board. It provided no new revenue with which to meet the $100 million cost. It did call for a study of reclassification, but this would probably have merely delayed indefinitely the correction of basic existing inequities in the post office salary structure. The President without hesitancy vetoed it."

Postmark, monthly publication of St. Paul Local 65 of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, reports the running fire of argument on now about two varying pay raise bills. The publication also reveals the active interest of postal employees in the goal of improved service, emphasized by current reorganization efforts. Union representatives of postal employees favor a flat 10-percent pay raise now, regardless of classifications, and their bill would make the increase retroactive to last August, the time of the President's veto.

The Department's own pay-raise bill continues its major stress on reclassification, with increases varying according to bracket, anywhere from 5 to 40 percent.

The St. Paul publication, Postmark, shows the concern of postal employees here and elsewhere as to improvements in service and operating efficiency. The view often found as to efficiency experts is evident. Comments, whether as to public or private endeavors in the field, frequently raise the point that it may cost more to study and find supposedly inefficient practices than their continuance involves.

Postal employees, maintaining their interest in long delayed modernization techniques, are wondering about the manpower control structure instituted some 6 months ago among departmental reforms. The monthly Postmark made these "clipboard experts" a target recently. The argument was that stress on production records may be outweighing some phases of service to the public. Tallying closely the mail volume handled in 6-minute intervals makes for remarkably complete production records, the union publication admits, but that bit of efficiency expert technique can be carried so far as to delay mail deliveries.

Interest in postal reforms is obviously widespread, and logically so. The service reaches everyone in the country, and it handles 175 million pieces of mail a day.

The Supreme Court of the United States a Usurper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, in the early days of my newspaper employment, I came to know a man whom I now list in my book of fondest memories. He is David Rankin Barbee.

Much water has passed under the bridge since Dave Barbee was one of the brilliant editorial writers and I was the assistant sports editor of the New Orleans States.

Since those days during the late twenties Dave Barbee too has come to Washington and has gone, but in the interim he has left his mark.

Born in Tennessee he has newspapered for some 60 years, 25 of which were spent in Washington.

He has long been interested in the history of the Old South and has written many articles for historical magazines about that section and its people. In the last year of his life, Dave Barbee helped the late Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, on his biography of Lincoln. After the Senator's death, their correspondence was published, with editorial notes, under the title of "An Excursion on Southern History," which was highly commended by leading historians and is now regarded as a classic.

Dave Barbee wrote a popular history of the Nation's Capital, entitled "Washington: City of Mighty Events." This book is much consulted by serious historians and is the most widely read book about Washington in the District of Columbia Public Library.

He has just completed, after 25 years' labor, a definitive study of the assassination of President Lincoln, which scholars call the most original contribution to Lincoln literature in this century.

He wrote several speeches for the late President Roosevelt, notably the Lafayette speech delivered before the Congress, the Gettysburg speech, and the speech before the Gridiron Club on its 50th anniversary.

Mr. Barbee has recently written a scholarly essay on the subject of the United States Supreme Court which is well worth reading and studying. His concern is not individual or personal, but is also the concern of many of us who are strong believers in constitutional government.

Mr. Barbee's article is most timely in view of present conditions and current problems before the Supreme Court which under our Constitution was created to interpret, not write, the laws of the Nation and also to render decisions based on the law of the land and not on sociology books.

Here is Mr. Barbee's treatise:

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES A USURPER

(By David Rankin Barbee)

For 170 years the Supreme Court of the United States has assumed and exercised an authority which the Constitutional Convention of 1787 unanimously denied it. This is the power to void an act of the Congress or of any of the States in the Republic. Strange as it may seem, this usurpation of power has gone unchallenged, except in one instance. During the turbulent administration of President Jackson, the Court declared unconstitutional a law in which the President was much interested. Angered by the decision, Old Hickory defied the Court and refused to obey its mandate. "John Marshall has made his law; now let him enforce it," he defiantly exclaimed. And the decision was never put into effect.

Marshall was not a member of the Constitutional Convention, and, therefore, was ignorant of its proceedings. Twelve years before he was appointed the Chief Justice, in the Virginia Ratifying Convention, he announced the doctrine of judicial review of the acts of the Congress, in these words:

"If they (the Congress) were to make a law not warranted by any of the powers enumerated, it would be considered by the National Judges as an infringement of the Constitution which they are to guard. They

would consider such a law void. To what quarter will you look for protection from an infringement of the Constitution, if you will not give the power to the judiciary?"

Seated at his elbow was the man popularly called "the Father of the Constitution," James Madison, whose notes on the daily proceedings of the constitutional convention are almost our sole authority on the debates and the actions of that great legislative assembly. He could have told Marshall that the convention had, after long and serious discussion, participated in by its ablest members, unanimously denied any such grant of power to the Federal judiciary. But he kept silent. He was more interested in defeating Patrick Henry and the cohort of eminent statesmen opposing ratification than he was in the truth. His silence then, and in another conspicuous case, brought everlasting woe on Virginia, on the South, and on the Nation, even to our own time; for, following Marshall's momentous decision of 1815, in the Georgia Indian case, the Court has rewritten the laws of the country and changed the destiny of its historic course.

The Madison papers were locked up in James Madison's possession until 1842, when the Congress, having purchased them from his widow, ordered them published. The Congress, in 1926, ordered a new edition of these papers published. A careful reading of the history of our country, and particularly of the writings of the foremost authorities on the Constitution, from Associate Justice Joseph Story, whose Commentaries on the Constitution was published in 1833, on down to the present, shows that no Member of the Congress, no member of the Federal judiciary, no historian, and no law writer has attentively read those momentous documents which alone reveal the minds of the Founding Fathers. Even so eminent a historian as the late Charles A. Beard, in his Basic History of the United States, refers only casually to Madison's notes, and that in his criticism of Calhoun and South Carolina and the Democratic Party in the nullification controversy. He does say that neither did "the public pay much attention to the revelations contained in Madison's papers."

In line with Story and other Federalist interpreters of the Constitution, Dr. Beard says: "The unity of the country was also symbolized by the Constitution in the creation of the Supreme Court. * * * Its Justices might be divided in cases before it, but its decisions made by a majority of them were to be binding at law throughout the land."

It is remarkable, and not at all understandable, that a famous scholar in history, who was venerated by the members of his profession, should have made such a statement, in view of the fact that the Constitution does not make any such grant of power and the Madison papers definitely show that the Founding Fathers shrank with horror from bestowing any such power on the Court. What is still more significant is that the Congress, in the Judiciary Act of 1789, setting up the Supreme Court and the Federal judiciary under the Constitution, carefully refrained from giving the courts the right to void acts of the Congress or of the States.

If Dr. Beard—and he is representative of the profession he adorned—paid little heed to the Madison papers, he fairly worshipped the Federalist, to which he paid this glowing tribute: "From that day (1788) to this the Federalist has been widely regarded as the most profound single treatise on the Constitution ever written and as among the few masterly works on political science produced in all the centuries of history."

After such high-flown praise one naturally would conclude that Dr. Beard had not only read but had studied closely what Alexander Hamilton had written with regard to the power granted the Supreme Court to void acts of Congress. Hamilton is justly regarded as the ablest member of the Convention of 1787. He had participated in the discussion on the powers to be granted the Federal courts, and had played a principal role in fixing these powers. In the 91st number of the Federalist, combatting the widespread notion that the Constitution gave the courts the power of life and death over the acts of the Congress and of the States, he said:

"There is not a syllable in the plan under consideration (the Constitution) which directly empowers the national courts to construe the laws according to the spirit of the Constitution, or which gives them any greater latitude in this respect than may be claimed for the courts of every State." Of course, no State court had the right to void an act of the Congress.

Hamilton did not deceive his readers and the people of New York as to where the Constitutional Convention placed the authority to void an act of the Federal Legislature. He was very definite about that when he says in the same number of the Federalist:

"There never can be danger that the Judges (of the Supreme Court), by a series of deliberate usurpations on the authority of the Legislature (the Congress) would hazard the united resentment of the body intrusted with it (the authority to void an act of the Congress), while this body was possessed of the means of punishing their presumption by degrading them from their station."

The Congress has never shown its "united resentment" of any of "the series of deliberate usurpations on its authority." Even now, with a timidity that is amazing, its chief Members shrink from even examining the question.

Turning now to the Madison papers for light, we find that on June 4, 1787, Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, raised the question of the right of the Supreme Court to participate in voiding acts of the Congress. "It is quite foreign (said he) from the nature of the office to make them judges of the policy of public measures." He, therefore, moved "that the National Executive shall have the right to negative any legislative act which shall not be afterward passed by (blank) parts of each branch of the National Legislature."

Rufus King, of the same State, seconded the motion, "observing that the Judges ought to be able to expound the law as it should come before them, free from the bias of having participated in its formation."

One of the ablest members of the Convention, James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, opposed the resolution. He said "the Executive ought to have an absolute negative. Without such a self-defense (he went on), the Legislature can at any moment sink it (the Executive) into nonexistence." He proposed giving the Executive and the judiciary jointly an absolute negative.

Joining him in this suggestion, Alexander Hamilton said: "There was no danger * * * of such a power being too much exercised." How little prophetic vision those two great statesmen had.

The Nestor of the Convention, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, sternly differed from Wilson and Hamilton. He was afraid, he said, "that more power would be demanded (by the Executive), till at last enough would be gotten (by him) to influence and bribe the Legislature into a complete subjection to the will of the Executive." The Madison Papers clearly reveal the intent of the Founding Fathers to confer on the policy-making department of the new government, the Congress, the ultimate power in it.

Joining Dr. Franklin, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, also dissented from the views of Wilson and Hamilton. He was, he said, against "enabling any one man to stop the will of the whole. No one man could be found so far above all the rest in wisdom. He thought we ought to avail ourselves of his (the Executive's) wisdom in revising the laws, but not permit him to overrule the decided and cool opinions of the Legislature."

"If a proper proportion of each branch (of the Legislature) should be required to overrule the objections of the Executive," James Madison argued, "it would answer the same purpose as an absolute negative. It would rarely if ever happen (said he) that the Executive * * * would have firmness enough to resist the Legislature, unless backed by a certain part of the body itself."

On and on the debate, one of the ablest and most spirited of the Convention, raged, with no determination being reached, but with the chief thought in the minds of the great men participating in it, that the Congress should make the laws and determine their constitutionality.

Action on Mr. Gerry's motion was postponed, and on August 16, 1787, the convention resumed consideration of the question. Mr. Madison reopened the debate by moving "that all acts (of the National Legislature), before they become laws, should be submitted both to the executive and the supreme judiciary departments; that if either of them should object, two-thirds of each House, if both should object, three-fourths of each House (of the Congress) should be necessary to override the objections and give the acts the force of law."

Mr. Wilson seconded this motion.

Mr. Pinkney (sic), of South Carolina (probably Gen. Charles Pinckney), opposed it on the ground that it would lead to "the interference of the judges in the legislative business." If agreed to, it would, said he, "involve them in parties (i. e., politics), and give a previous tincture to their opinions."

From the days of Chief Justice Marshall to the present time, the Supreme Court has been a political and a lawmaking body. Dr. Beard calls attention to this in his Basic History, when he says: "A fervent advocate of a strong National Union, Marshall welcomed the opportunity to make his views of the Constitution prevail in law." A leader of the Federalist Party, he gave the laws that came before him the tincture of his political opinions, even during the administrations of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. That is one reason why his kinsman, the Sage of Monticello, hated him so. In our own day we saw how an ultraconservative Court took almost fiendish delight in knocking down the liberal legislation of the 1930's.

While endorsing Mr. Madison's motion, John Francis Mercer, of Maryland, one of the ablest lawyers and legislators in the convention, "disapproved the doctrine that the judges, as expositors of the Constitution, should have the authority to declare a law void. He thought laws ought to be well and cautiously made, and then be uncontrolable."

When put to a vote, Mr. Madison's motion was defeated, 9 States to 3, only Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia voting for it.

This left Mr. Gerry's original motion before the convention, and debate on that was at once resumed, with John Dickinson, of Delaware, agreeing with Mr. Mercer "as to the power of the judges to set aside the law. He thought no such power ought to exist."

Gouveneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, described as "one of those geniuses in whom every species of talents combine to render him conspicuous and flourishing in debate"—the man who took the acts of the Convention and whipped them into the shape in which we now have the Constiution—"suggested the idea of requiring three-fourths of each House to repeal laws where the President should not concur. * * * He could not agree (he said) that the Judiciary * * * should be bound to say that a direct violation of the Constitution was law. * * *

Encroachments on the popular branch of the Government (the Congress) ought to be guarded against."

Roger Sherman, expressing what undoubtedly was the mind of a large majority of the Convention, said that "he disapproved of judges meddling in politics and parties. We have gone far enough in forming the negative as it is," he concluded.

Finally, tiring of the long-running debate, the Convention voted down a motion to postpone further action on Mr. Gerry's motion, and having made up its mind not to give the Supreme Court or any of the national courts the right to void acts of the Congress or of a State, adopted, by a unanimous vote, the motion, giving the Executive the right to veto an act of the Congress and the Congress, by a three-fourths vote of each House, the right to overturn the veto.

There the matter stands in the long silent records of the Constitutional Convention. Who, then, will deny that the Supreme Court has not usurped the power it has exercised for the past 170 years?

The President's School-Construction Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by the Honorable Pearl A. Wanamaker, superintendent of public instruction in the State of Washington. In this statement, Mrs. Wanamaker very ably analyzes the ineffectiveness of the administration's school-construction program as applied to the situation in my State.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON S. 968, SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1955, TO THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES CONGRESS, BY PEARL A. WANAMAKER, SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, STATE OF WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 16, 1955

INTRODUCTION

During the past 13 years a cooperatively financed school-building program has been in operation in the State of Washington. While our effort to provide the necessary funds has been considerable, we now find ourselves in a more serious school-housing situation than we were in 1942, the beginning of this school-building program, although since 1951 local, State, and Federal sources have provided some $214 million for school-building construction.

School districts have received maximum amounts of Federal funds in federally impacted areas. Local school districts have bonded and rebonded themselves to their legal limit as assessed valuation has increased; in addition, they have raised all the money through special levies that their patrons reasonably can be expected to vote—several cases representing more than 200 mills' effort to provide needed school buildings. This has been accomplished as together we have set ourselves to the task of providing adequately for the education of our children.

In this local, State, and Federal endeavor over the past years, we have learned that there are certain principles which must be observed carefully in a school-building program which has as its objective adequate teaching space to provide a desirable educational program for our children.

These principles are:

1. Responsibility for school building planning must reside with local boards of school directors.

2. The method of distribution of funds must be understood readily and therefore simple in design.

3. State and Federal funds must supplement local school district funds to provide a minimum program permitting the district to go beyond the minimum in the development of its schools to meet individual school and community needs.

4. Interest rates and debt services must be kept to a minimum cost.

5. Assured revenue must be provided at the local level for the retirement of all legal obligations without impairing current operations.

6. The proper framework for an intelligent expenditure of public funds must grow out of comprehensive planning which involves all the forces within a community and State that affect the growth of that community and State, including economic, sociological, and geographic conditions.

ANALYSIS OF S. 968 AS IT WOULD APPLY TO THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Title I: This section will give no relief to hard-pressed local school districts faced with expanding building needs. Legal bonding capacity of school districts is fixed by constitutional provision at 10 percent of assessed valuation.

School district bonds in the State of Washington command very favorable rates of interest on the open market, ranging from 1.5 to 3 percent with a median of 2.6 percent; lowest rate currently being received on 10- to 15-year bond issues.

Title II: In a growing State, unlimited pyramiding of school district obligations is neither desirable nor supportable. Proposed machinery for administration of this section appears to be excessively complicated and will add to the very substantial bonding debt already carried by needy school districts. This section appears to violate the principle of the prerogative of the local school district to determine the type of educational program necessary to meet the particular needs of its community.

This section does not carry out the principle that all Federal funds for educational purposes shall be channeled through the State educational agency, a basic principle with relation to Federal aid to education.

It appears that the plan proposed in title II would require school districts in the State of Washington to assume a substantial debt with no assured revenue to retire that obligation. In other words, local school districts could be forced to pay debt services out of current maintenance and operation which can be reflected only in lowering teacher salaries.

Title III: This section is not designed to provide relief for needy school districts in our State, inasmuch as it applies only to those districts which cannot qualify under titles I or II. Although school districts in the State of Washington could qualify under title II, they have no assured sources of revenue to repay that obligation. Consequently, it cannot be a solution to our school building program.

Ninety-three school districts, educating 184,460 students, are bonded to capacity and are attempting to vote yearly special levies for operation and maintenance. Seventy-seven of these districts face critical school housing shortages which must be satisfied during 1955–60. In the past, the State has financed up to 75 percent of the cost of building schools in these districts. If districts are to provide needed school housing, funds from other sources as well must be provided to take care of construction costs, architects' fees, and sales tax. The careful study of this section indicates that Federal funds cannot be made available to the needy districts of our State.

Title IV: Provisions of title IV can be useful for carrying on long-range planning looking toward modifying school-district organization and modification of unduly restrictive tax or debt limits. This section would help to assure the retention of basic responsibility for school planning in the local board of school directors and assure proper framework for intelligent expenditure of public funds.

SUMMARY

Title I will provide no aid to school districts in the State of Washington. Guaranteed debt services apparently would be higher than current rates in this State.

Title II cannot function in Washington because of its failure to protect the prerogative of the local school districts to determine their educational programs. It appears to set up an excessively complicated framework of administration and tends to restrict the right of local boards of directors in planning to meet the educational needs of their respective communities. This section fails to carry out the principle of channeling through the State educational agencies. This section does not provide assured revenue for the retirement of school districts' capital outlay obligation.

Title III could assist needy school districts except for the provision of nonqualification under title I or title II which eliminates title III as a source of help for school districts in the State of Washington.

Title IV can be of assistance to the State of Washington in the further study and analysis of proper school-district reorganization patterns and methods of revising unduly restrictive tax or debt limits currently in effect in this State.

Views of CAB Members Lee and Adams in Respect to Transocean Air Lines, of Oakland, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on February 8 of this year, I addressed the House with respect to the reported failure of the Civil Aeronautics Board to recommend to the President the adoption of the recommendation of the Board's Assistant Chief Examiner that Transocean Air Lines, of Oakland, Calif., be awarded a limited certificate for a period of 7 years to conduct irregular nonscheduled nonsubsidized air-transport operations between Oakland and various points throughout the critical transpacific area. I was bitterly disappointed in the Board's failure to concur in the findings of one of its ablest and most experienced examiners. His recommendation was based upon a record of extensive and comprehensive public hearings.

On February 16, the Board's opinions and the President's actions in the transpacific case were made public; and I was most interested to read that two mem-

bers of the Board, former Senator Josh Lee and Col. Joseph P. Adams, urged that the examiner's recommendation that Transocean be certified should be approved forthwith. It is difficult to believe that the President was made aware of the views of Members Lee and Adams; because I believe that if the President had read their forceful and cogent dissenting opinion he would have adopted it and thus affirmed the recommendation of the examiner that Transocean be granted a limited temporary certificate.

Because I believe that the Members of the House will be very much interested in the views of CAB members Lee and Adams with respect to Transocean, I am making their views a part of my remarks today:

We must also dissent from the majority's refusal to give Transocean a certificate to engage in air transportation on an irregular basis between California, Hawaii, and points in the Orient as recommended by the examiner. The majority's action in deferring decision on the examiner's recommendation for further consideration with the large irregular carrier investigation, docket No. 5132, ignores the evidence of record in this case which shows that Transocean has performed a needed public service in the transpacific area, transporting more than 26,000 passengers between January 1951 and March 1953. The majority's decision also ignores the fact that the intolerable hardships on Transocean of further delay may force it to disband its efficient organization and deactivate the facilities it now operates in the transpacific area.

We are fearful that the majority's action with respect to Transocean will lend support to the charge that the Board is following a policy of death by delay against the irregular carriers. It was only little more than a year ago, in March 1953, that a former board chairman appeared before the Senate Select Committee on Small Business and assured the committee that the board is not conducting a war of attrition against the irregular carriers but, on the contrary, has a policy of encouraging these carriers to prosecute their applications in proceedings such as this before the Board. The chairman stated:

"The large irregular carrier investigation is not the only avenue, of course, by which the irregular air carriers and others may seek permanent authority from the Board for operations exceeding those which may be conducted on an irregular and infrequent basis under part 291 of the Board's regulations. The Board has always urged that applications for permanent authority for regular operation should be filed and processed by irregular carriers in preference to expansion of operation in violation of the limited operating privileges granted them by the blanket exemption regulation."

Transocean has followed that course here only to be told that this is not the time or place for a decision on its proposal, even though the evidence demonstrates the need for continuance of its service. Instead of having a decision on a clean-cut record as established in this case, Transocean is told that it must wait for a decision in another case—a decision which appears to be at least 2 years in the future.

But now Bureau counsel on brief to the examiner in the large irregular carrier investigation takes the position that the record in that case "will not support any economic finding as to the quantity and class of route-type service required for particular segments or areas." He therefore recommends that the need for such service as proposed by Transocean "should be determined in a regular area certificate proceeding, where requirements for specific route segments are ascertained after a thorough analysis of all related factors." We submit that there must be an end to these procedural maneuvers which are continually pushing the irregular carriers from pillar to post. First, they are told to participate in the large irregular carrier investigation. Then they are encouraged to try their applications in individual-area proceedings. Having done this they are again referred back to the large irregular carrier case (as the majority has done in the instant proceeding). And now Bureau counsel, who is the agent for the Bureau of Air Operations (that arm of the Board responsible for policymaking), takes the position that the record in the large irregular carrier investigation will not permit the granting of the applications of the irregular carriers and suggests that they again seek relief in the individual-area cases.

This is not the first time the majority has placed the irregular carriers in a difficult procedural position. Nearly a year ago on January 20, 1954 (Order Serial No. E-8052), we dissented from the majority's decision in the large irregular carrier investigation to separate the general public interest question from the issues regarding qualification and selection of carriers. In that dissent we pointed out that such action by the majority will delay the final decision in the large irregular carrier case and only if the majority finds that the public interest does not require the services of the irregular carriers could the procedure adopted by the majority result in expediting the proceeding, a finding we were not prepared to make then and are not prepared to make now.

JOSH LEE.
JOSEPH P. ADAMS.

Dispersal of Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith Senate Resolution 19 of the 69th Illinois General Assembly submitted to me by Secretary of State Charles F. Carpentier. The resolution, adopted by the Illinois State Senate on March 1, 1955, urges the encouragement of industry to take steps to effectuate the dispersal of its facilities in the State of Illinois.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Springfield, March 2, 1955.

Hon. MELVIN PRICE,
Representative in Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have the honor to attach herewith, as directed, copy of Senate Resolution 19 of the 69th general assembly.

Sincerely yours,
CHARLES F. CARPENTIER,
Secretary of State.

Senate Resolution 19

Whereas the development of thermonuclear weapons has made all former concepts of warfare obsolete and has made modern war so extremely destructive that the largest cities may be effectively and permanently destroyed by one explosion; and

Whereas the industrial areas now existing in Illinois are so concentrated that virtually every principal industry in this State could well be destroyed or seriously crippled by bombs dropped by a comparatively few enemy aircraft on the first day of a war; and

Whereas little or no effective action has been taken by industry to disperse the industrial facilities in Illinois so as to preserve an undamaged and repairable industrial capacity in the State in the event of an atomic attack; and

Whereas the degree of dispersal required by the threat of eventual hydrogen bomb attack makes any halfhearted attempt at dispersal futile; and

Whereas the lives of millions of our people may be saved by a suitable plan of dispersal of industry which would minimize the destructive results of any attack by nuclear or radiological weapons: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the 69th General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That industry be encouraged to take immediate steps to effectuate the dispersal of its facilities in this State; and be it further

Resolved, That the Governor of the State of Illinois be respectfully urged to call a conference of industrial leaders, city planners, officials of the Federal Civil Defense Administration and other interested State officials and citizens to make plans for dispersal of industry and to discover how the State of Illinois can help, financially or otherwise, in such dispersal efforts; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this preamble and resolution be forwarded by the secretary of state to the United States Senators and Congressmen from the State of Illinois to inform them of our deep concern with respect to such matters and to urge them respectfully to initiate similar steps at the national level.

Adopted by the Senate, March 1, 1955.

JOHN WM. CHAPMAN,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD H. ALEXANDER,
Secretary of the Senate.

Smog Can Kill, Claim Experts After Survey and Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the Congress may soon have to give serious consideration to legislation concerning the responsibility of the Federal Government to help eliminate smog in highly industrialized and thickly populated areas throughout the Nation.

Smog and all forms of air pollution which are dangerous to the health and welfare of our people have been increasing steadily in the United States during the past decade, and I am sure that this is a matter in which all Members of Congress are concerned.

The Atomic Energy Commission informed the Nation recently of the horrifying effects and possible death and certainly the detriment to the health of millions of people within the area of an atomic bomb fallout which would contaminate and pollute the atmosphere within a 7,000-square-mile area, if the zero point was located in New York City.

This clearly indicates the urgent need of an immediate study of the effects of

the fallout from atomic bombs tested in Nevada over the past several years.

Even if we knew nothing of the atomic bomb and did not have to consider the effects of the atomic fallout on millions of people, we would still have the serious problem of exhaust fumes from millions of motor vehicles which are increasing daily as they are not equipped with efficient carburetors to consume all of the gas delivered to the engine nor are they equipped with filters on the exhaust to neutralize or reduce the unburned gasoline vapors or the noxious products of combustion which is thrown into the atmosphere of thickly populated and highly industrialized areas in various parts of the Nation every day and and thus contaminating the atmosphere with poisonous and irritating pollutants.

It is only fair to say at this point that the automobile manufacturers of the Nation are at present studying and experimenting with more efficient carburetors for motor vehicles which will reduce the poisonous gas now released from these machines. However, it is estimated that it will be a considerable time in the future before such a carburetor can be manufactured and applied to the millions of motor vehicles in operation in the United States.

Since motor vehicles are freely permitted in interstate commerce is further evidence that the problem of the elimination of smog and other air pollutants is one which the Federal Government should assume some responsibility for its solution.

Some preliminary studies have been made of the problem of smog and other atmospheric contaminants including a report by the Stanford Research Institute on the nature and causes of smog. This report, published in 1954, considered the growing smog problem of Los Angeles County since 1947, and pointed out that it is a serious problem which cannot be oversimplified. It is a problem which must be thoroughly understood, all contributing causes classified and identified, before effective control can be achieved.

I have introduced H. R. 3680 which would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to conduct intensified research into the causes, hazards, and effects on human health of smog and all forms of air pollution, and to investigate the most effective means of eliminating smog.

Many parts of the Nation have been severely affected by the deadly and irritating menace of air pollution, and Los Angeles County and other areas in southern California have had this problem for some time.

As further evidence of the dangerous effect of smog, a survey and study by medical experts was conducted recently which I submit herewith together with a letter to me from Francis M. Pottenger, Jr., M. D., chairman of the smog committee of the Los Angeles County Medical Association:

MONROVIA, CALIF., *February 9, 1955.*

Hon. GORDON L. MCDONOUGH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MCDONOUGH: I am sending a copy of the Los Angeles Times of January 21, 1955, which contains the full report of our committee which was passed by the council of the Los Angeles County Medical Association. In reply to your letter, my remarks are in clarification of these resolutions.

First, we feel that air pollution can cause death. It has done so elsewhere, including within the confines of the United States.

Air pollution is a continuing problem. It changes from day to day and locality to locality, depending upon meteorology as well as technological problems that apply in a given area at that particular time. For this reason, in the past, the committee has felt that the study of smog must be to a large degree be based on the study of local factors. It is for that reason that we have felt that the acceptance of standards of toxicity that might be developed in Buffalo, N. Y., although they might deal fundamentally with the same toxicological studies, that the standard permissible in New York City would not necessarily apply to Los Angeles because there may be other pollutants in the Los Angeles atmosphere that might not be present in Buffalo, and the effect of the Los Angeles pollutants might be additive, so that a far lesser concentration of a given component might be lethal or a serious health hazard, while in Buffalo it could be breathed with more or less impunity.

Likewise, we have realized that the pollutants are continually changing. They are changing as technical advances change, both as elimination is carried on and also as new techniques develop. On the other hand, we are convinced that it is essential that the relative toxicity of each major contaminant in the atmosphere be determined at once. That problem would be the same in any city of the United States, and, therefore, could be a problem of Federal Government.

Definite establishment of toxicological standards would provide the enforcement officer with two primary tools of great leverage. First, it would provide him with a knowledge of what material must first be eliminated from the atmosphere, and, secondly, it would provide him with information that would enable him to act in a legal manner should the accumulation of toxic elements reach a level that could be assumed to be approaching a critical health hazard. It is also essential from our point of view that some biological means of determining the general critical level of toxicity of air pollution must be discovered to supplement purely chemical determinations. A homely example of this was the early observation tha poisonous fumes in mines would cause the canary bird to be overcome long before the effect on man was noted. This warned the miners that they must take measures to protect themselves.

* * * * *

As to the effect of your bill on the smog problem, it appears to me that any legislation that will encourage industry to install devices for the elimination of atmospheric pollution, such as a means for tax relief should be encouraged. Likewise, although not included in your bill for the potential sources of atmospheric pollution, especially those that are associated with the wider use of atomic energy, should make it mandatory that industry determine the public health aspects of its pollutants that are new to the arts.

I certainly wish to thank you for your interest in this problem, and the committee will be very happy to receive further information. I will see that your bill is brought to the attention of our committee at its next meeting.

Sincerely,
FRANCIS M. POTTENGER, Jr., M. D.,
Chairman, Smog Committee, Los Angeles County Medical Association.

[From the Los Angeles Times of January 21, 1955]

AIR POLLUTION CAN KILL, MEDIC GROUP CLAIMS

"Air pollution can cause death."

This was the first of a group of 9 motions submitted to the council of the Los Angeles County Medical Association by its smog committee and approved by the council, according to the association bulletin.

The smog committee, headed by Dr. Francis M. Pottenger, Jr., of Monrovia, also noted:

2. That air pollution is a continuing dynamic problem in the Los Angeles area.

SAFETY OF HUMANS

3. That the smog committee proposes that biological as well as chemical indices must be determined for the safety of human beings.

4. That the smog committee approves in principle the establishment of chemical standards of air pollution as proposed and begun by the County Board of Supervisors.

5. That the smog committee feels that present chemical standards do not alone safeguard the health of the public.

6. That the tolerance levels of toxicity for human beings of each important contaminant in the atmosphere must be determined both for acute and chronic exposure, both singly and in combination.

REPORT WANTED

7. That the deans of the three medical schools in the area and the California Institute of Technology be requested to prepare a report to the Los Angeles County Medical Association indicating what program each school would propose to determine standards of toxicity of air pollutants, both acute and chronic, and to prepare an estimate of the cost of such a program.

8. That the council of the Los Angeles County Medical Association request each section of the association to send its chairman or representative to meet with the smog committee to make plans for a survey of the membership of the section as to the effect of air pollution on human beings.

9. That the council of the Los Angeles County Medical Association request the county board of supervisors to obtain the cooperation of private, city, State and Federal agencies in financing the necessary facilities and salaries for biological research to determine critical standards of air pollution toxicity, utilizing the facilities of all local institutions capable of carrying on such research.

Federal School-Construction Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Federal School-Construction Aid," published in the Lewiston (Maine) Daily Sun of February 23, 1955.

The editorial refers to one of our distinguished colleagues, the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. PAYNE], who was formerly Governor of that State.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION AID

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has opened hearings at Washington

on the administration's Federal school-construction aid bill, and the measure has quickly run into a storm of criticism.

In one way, this is a good thing. It proves what we have long suspected—that most of the proponents of Federal aid to education want an indiscriminate giveaway program of huge size, taking little or no account of the ability-to-pay principle.

There is no question but that the bill now before the committee can be improved. Its sponsors never anticipated it would pass unchallenged. But the principle is sound, it is flexible in its application, it contains no unjustified rewards for rich States perfectly capable of building their needed schools from current revenue or bonds, and it places the initiative for new school construction in the hands of local and State authorities where it belongs.

All these points were made by Senator FREDERICK G. PAYNE, of Maine, when he appeared before the committee late last week and courageously supported the White House bill. This fact in itself is significant. The Senator represents one of the poorer States, and he might have been expected to be among those attacking the bill. But Senator PAYNE was Governor when the Maine School Building Authority was established, and he knows something about schools. He could point with pride to the fact that Maine was an early pioneer in setting up a school-construction authority, by which municipalities unable to afford schools through lump-sum purchase or bonding may contract with the authority to build a school, lease it over a long-term period, and then acquire ownership.

Now, the authority idea is basic in the President's plan, and although it has worked well in Maine the educationalists and the New Deal Democrats violently oppose it. They ignore the weakest point in a generous giveaway plan of grants—that on a matching basis the poorer States will find themselves unable to benefit. They say nothing about one of the best features of school-building authorities—as it has worked in Maine, at least—that the careful series of steps undertaken cuts out frills and luxuries and keeps costs at a minimum in terms of functional needs.

We do think the loan section of the White House program can be improved by directing the Federal Government to subscribe to school bonds at much lower rates than prescribed in the bill, and this newspaper would not object to a larger fund for direct grants, which the States would have to allocate among those communities unable even to afford the services of the school-building authority.

But we repeat, the bill is sound, and it rests on the admirably firm foundation of the school authority idea. If Maine can make it work, so can others—unfortunately too many educators, too many Members of Congress, and too many States are simply looking for handouts. It is ridiculous to see big cities like New York and Chicago opposing the bill on the ground that since they build schools from current yearly revenues, they won't be eligible. If they are that well off, they don't deserve it.

Extinction of the United States a Matter of Time Says Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, if you have any doubt that Red China does not mean business, read the following statement from the official Chinese Communist Handbook published for Communist study groups.

After reading it I am confident that all good loyal Americans will agree that we should not appease, compromise, or yield 1 inch to Red China, that we should not be duped into the fallacy and deception of coexistence, and that we should use all of our influence as a great world power to keep Red China out of the United Nations, or withdraw from the United Nations if Red China is admitted over our veto.

EXTINCTION OF UNITED STATES "A MATTER OF TIME"

Official Chinese Communist handbook titled "Fundamental Knowledge on Internationalism," published for Communist study groups:

"Among the nations today obviously exist two antagonistic camps: one is the anti-imperialist camp, that is, the camp of democracy and socialism, with Soviet Russia as its leader; the other is the imperialist camp, that is, the camp of war, anti-democracy and capitalism, with the United States as the leader.

"The reactionary camp led by the United States is day by day showing its inferior position of passivity and isolation. Its extinction—which means the extinction of the entire world capitalism—is only a matter of time. All mankind is on the eve of the total extinction of world capitalism and the total victory of socialism. The animosity and struggle between these two camps are so acute that all races, all nations, and classes cannot avoid being swept into the struggle.

"If people do not stand on this side, then they stand on the other; if they do not join the anti-imperialist camp and help in the struggle for liberation of all the enslaved people and laboring masses in the world or struggle for their own liberation, then they join the imperialist camp and help American imperilism and its running dogs to enslave the peoples of their world or their own people. There is no third path. If somebody thinks a nation can achieve revolutionary victory alone without unity and assistance from the forces of world revolution, [or] after its victorious revolution stay aloof from the animosity between world revolution and counterrevolutionaries, then he is against proletarian internationalism and has fallen into the mire of nationalism."

Watchdog on a Leash

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an article from Ammunition, official magazine for the United Auto Workers, CIO:

WATCHDOG ON A LEASH

Last November the conservative Los Angeles Daily News published a shocking series of articles revealing the widespread contamination of grain and grain products—bread, soda crackers, rice, flour, cornmeal, cereals, and other common household commodities.

This is what the newspaper said:

"There is no guaranty that the bread on your table isn't made from contaminated flour. There may be weevils, rat droppings, or other infestations in it—and maybe you can't see them."

Despite these disclosures, made in a detailed series, conditions have not been improved.

The paper stamped the blame for these shocking facts on Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; on Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson; on Kansas City and Omaha grain dealers, and on "economy-minded" Republican Congressmen who at the last session voted to slash the Food and Drug Administration's budget by $648,000. That action forced a 25-percent cut in the FDA inspection staff.

It showed up in invisible dirt in your food.

One of the most important and least-known agencies of the Federal Government, the Food and Drug Administration's main job is to enforce the Federal Pure Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

It has the responsibility to protect the consuming public by making certain that foods, drugs, therapeutic devices and cosmetics are pure and wholesome, safe to be used, manufactured under sanitary conditions, and honestly labelled.

The story of the fight to secure enactment of the original Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 marks a significant victory for consumers over the powerful drug and food manufacturers' lobbies which fought pure food and drug legislation for years with the now familiar slogans of socialism, regimentation, and dangerous regulation of private enterprise.

Despite these widely advertised well-financed attacks, the law was passed. Through the years, it was enforced vigorously. Even in the wildly political administration of Warren G. Harding, the Pure Food and Drug Law was given needed support to make sure its objectives were carried out.

For while the efforts to weaken the law went on, the measure generally was considered as apart from politics. And the attacks were turned aside.

But that apparently no longer is true.

By 1900, food processing was moving away from the family kitchen and into large factories. There, the housewife no longer could control the sanitary conditions under which food was processed and canned.

Shocking exposures of filth, contamination and vermin-infested food were common. Adulteration of food products by dangerous chemical preservatives, use of poisonous dyes, the wholesale production of "cure-all" patent medicines created a public demand for congressional action to protect the health and safety of American consumers.

The 1906 law was revised and modernized in 1938. Since then, it has been strengthened even more through amendments and court decisions. In 1940, administration of the law was transferred from the Agricultural Department to the Federal Security Agency which in 1953 became the Department of Health, Welfare, and Education.

An important 1953 amendment to the law gave FDA inspectors authority to inspect factories and warehouses without first getting permision from the owners. Passage had followed a sideswiping court decision which invited Congress to strengthen this section of the act.

It did. But later, it did an about-face and slashed the FDA budget so heavily that enforcing the section was weakened drastically.

Despite such administrative and legislative ups and downs, the fight against the unscrupulous, the fraudulent and the greedy food processors and manufacturers who exploit and endanger public health is a never-ending struggle.

Occasional newspaper stories—and regular FDA bulletins—report frequent cases in-

volving food found containing rodent droppings, rat hairs, worms, weevils, pieces of bugs, maggots, and other adulterations. Other cases are based on decomposed food, fraudulent mislabeling, and other danger signs for families.

Most of these never are reported in the press. Often they are considered too small or routine for news. More often, however, the threat by processors or manufacturers to keep their advertising out of a newspaper has been reported completely effective in killing such items.

Some authorities recently observed that American consumers are fighting a losing battle against those who endanger our health for the sake of bigger profits. Charles W. Crawford, former FDA Commissioner, for example, estimated the agency would need $15 million a year to protect the public adequately.

The new Eisenhower budget calls for only $5,484,000 to finance FDA's vast watchdog program.

FDA's inspection job is vast. This "consumers' FBI" directs the inspection of domestic plants and examinations of interstate shipments of foods and drugs which involve about 96,000 separate manufacturers, shippers, and warehouses. These handle food, drug, and cosmetic products having a retail sale value of about $60 billion a year.

In 1953's fiscal year, more than 15,400,000 pounds or unfit or contaminated foods were removed from the market. That was more than 148 tons a week.

In one recent month, the agency brought about seizure of 1,422,833 pounds of unfit food in 81 Federal court actions. FDA court actions average about 2,000 a year. Most of these involve seizure to take filthy, spoiled, or harmful products out of the market before they can be consumed in quantity. Less than 2 percent of the cases brought by FDA actually are contested in court.

Weakening this work by slashing FDA's budget, therefore, can only mean filthy foods and adulterated drugs will be bought unknowingly by families in startling quantities.

The apparent increase in contaminated foods in the past year, for example, can be more readily understood by examination of the FDA budget, the size of its inspection staff, and the behind-the-scenes work of the grain lobby during the past 2 years.

The number of FDA field inspectors has dropped, since the Republicans took over, by more than 20 percent—from 249 to a low of 195.

The FDA budget has been chopped down 10 percent during the same period. Result has been in the last year less than 10 percent of the 96,000 establishments actually were inspected.

That means it would take more than 10 years for FDA inspectors to average just one visit to each plant or warehouse.

Cost of the FDA's watchdog enforcement of the Pure Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act averages only 3½ cents a year for each person in the United States. That compares unfavorably with the 7-to-8 cents per person appropriated in Canada for similar inspection work.

Each year 12 times as much of the taxpayers' money is spent by the Department of Agriculture just for the inspection of meat and meat products.

The grain lobby's role in weakening the law has been completely obvious. In May 1953, for instance, FDA and the Agriculture Department jointly agreed to set aside temporarily certain enforcement aspects of the inspection of grain shipped by freight.

That prevented inspection of grain shipments for rodent infestation, a program which had been put into effect just a few months before.

Next, an insect infestation inspection program, scheduled to go into effect in July 1953, also, was blocked. Pressure by the Senate Agriculture Committee and the Department of Agriculture was compounded by protests by grain interests against the new inspection program. The protests did not draw any resistance from Secretary Hobby, whose Department, which includes FDA, had just been raised to Cabinet status, the month before.

Reporting all this, the Wall Street Journal said the action shunting aside the inspection program was apparently taken on the demands of the grain industry.

In an obviously political move aimed at placating those angered by their action, Secretaries Hobby and Benson then appointed a special committee to study the grain inspection-enforcement program. Their report, completed early this year, failed to recommend that the inspection program be brought back.

Thus, for more than a year and a half now, the people have been denied the protection (to which they are entitled under the law) against filthy, rodent-infested, contaminated grain going into the food products they eat every day.

Despite the committee's weak report, FDA has acted to resume the random sampling of carloads of grain. But there again is fresh evidence that the grain lobby is hard at work in Washington once more to cripple strict enforcement of the law.

Senator MILTON YOUNG, Republican, North Dakota, has introduced a bill which would strip FDA of its grain inspection authority and transfer it to the Agriculture Department.

The alarming increase in contamination recently prompted the Eisenhower administration to request an additional $284,000 for strengthening the field inspection program. But that—which only partly remedies the original crippling slash—is just a small fraction of the amount actually needed.

And instead of requesting sufficient funds, based on obvious needs, Secretary Hobby has appointed another study group to look into the adequacy of enforcement of the Federal pure food and drug law. Should this study take as long as others made by administration agencies, its report will not be made until after the next election.

Consumers, therefore, must look to Congress for their only possible protection. Yet chances for action to improve and strengthen FDA in this session are uncertain.

Legislation tightening up FDA's enforcement power in such areas as chemical additives in food and cosmetics, mislabeling and misbranding of food products, adulteration, and the dangers from residues of pesticide chemicals no doubt will be reintroduced this year.

But unless the Senate and House appropriations committees act favorably to increase the FDA budget well beyond the inadequate Eisenhower recommendations of $5,484,000, the watchdog enforcement program of the pure food and drug laws will be on a dangerously short leash.

And that would endanger everyone's health and safety.

Special Postage Stamp in Honor of the Late Charles Russell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 4, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the late Charles Marion Russell, of Montana, was one of America's outstanding artists.

In recognition of this distinguished Montanan, our legislative assembly asks in the following joint memorial that a postage stamp be issued in his honor:

Joint memorial of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Montana to the Congress of the United States; to the Honorable James E. Murray and the Honorable Mike Mansfield, Senators from the State of Montana; to the Honorable Orvin Fjare and the Honorable Lee Metcalf, Representatives from the State of Montana, and to the Honorable Postmaster General; relating to issuance of a stamp commemorating Charles M. Russell

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Whereas the western frontier has developed a large portion of the American heritage, a heritage that will live ever in the spirit of our National and State endeavor; and

Whereas the rugged conditions of the West produced a scene in the passage of history that will never be duplicated; and

Whereas Charles M. Russell has preserved for posterity in works of art unsurpassed in character and insight and has, as the passage of time will more fully indicate, designed a monumental guide to which the American people may always refer, to ever keep the thoughts drawn upon the ideals our frontiersmen and cowboys sought to carve out of a wilderness; and

Whereas these principles are now more than ever needed before the public eye, and it is the desire of the people of Montana and those that appreciate his significance, that a stamp dedicated to Charles M. Russell be issued by the Postmaster General of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 34th Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana (the Senate concurring), That we respectfully urge that the Senators and Representatives from Montana to the Congress of the United States, and the Honorable Postmaster General take appropriate action to issue a stamp commemorating the genius Charles M. Russell; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be forwarded by the chief clerk of the House of Representatives of the State of Montana to the Honorable James E. Murray and the Honorable Mike Mansfield, Senators from the State of Montana; to the Honorable Orvin Fjare and the Honorable Lee Metcalf, Representatives from the State of Montana, and to the Honorable Postmaster General of the United States.

LEO C. GRAYBILL,
Speaker of the House.
GEO. M. GROSMAN,
President of the Senate.

Prior to receipt of the above memorial, the senior Senator from Montana—Senator MURRAY—the junior Senator from Montana — Senator MANSFIELD — and I had introduced companion bills (S. 862 and H. R. 4373) to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in honor of the late Charles Russell.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Transfer of Soil Conservation Technical Assistance From the Federal Government to the States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in its issue of November 14, 1954, the Washington Post carried a story in which Mr. Aubrey Graves reported that a committee of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations had recommended the transfer of the function of soil conservation technical assistance from the Federal Government to the various States.

Mr. Graves' story follows:

SOIL PROGRAM SHIFT TO STATES IS PROPOSED—STUDY COMMITTEE URGES ABOLISHING FEDERAL CONTROL

(By Aubrey Graves)

The transfer of the function of soil conservation technical assistance from the Federal Government to the various States has been recommended by the Committee on Federal Aid to Agriculture.

The recommendations, concurred in by 9 of the 10 committeemen, are contained in a report filed with Meyer Kestnbaum, chairman of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, last September 30.

The latter group, which will report eventually to President Eisenhower, has not yet accepted or rejected the committee's proposals.

The committee was established to examine the interrelationships among different levels of Government in the conduct of governmentally aided, sponsored or directed programs in the field of agriculture.

It was directed to formulate recommended legislation "to bring about a proper allocation of functions as between the Federal Government on the one hand and the States and their political subdivisions on the other."

The Committee has also recommended that the agricultural-conservation program service, which gives financial help to farmers cooperating in soil-conservation practices, be likewise shifted to State administration and control.

The recommended transfers of authority away from the Federal Government are certain to ring vigorous protests from conservation leaders who futilely fought Agriculture Secretary Benson's reorganization of the Federal Soil Conservation Service.

In that shakeup the seven Federal regional offices were abolished and their duties and most of their personnel transferred to State offices.

Hugh H. Bennett, founder and former chief of the Soil Conservation Service, declared at that time that the shift "cuts the heart out of soil conservation • • • it means watering down a carefully built organization of skilled technical men and dispersing them to • • • State offices or the winds."

Benson replied that in the State offices most of the highly trained scientists and technicians would continue to do exactly what they did before, and that the move would serve farmers better and more economically.

The moves now recommended by the committee would be vastly more far reaching and will be even more bitterly fought.

If they are carried out, soil conservation will be retained at the national level only to furnish national leadership, to coordinate grants-in-aid programs, to carry out the responsibilities of the Department of Agriculture with respect to a few authorized watershed projects ,and to work with other Federal agencies on river-basin development and flood-prevention activities.

The individual farmer who wants help in building a farm pond or a field terrace would deal with his local government.

Soil conservation is currently federally operated, federally manned and practically 100 percent federally financed. In fiscal 1954 the Federal appropriation for assistance to conservation districts totals $56,600,000, most of which is being used to pay Federal technicians.

STATE APPROPRIATIONS SMALL

As of October 1953 State appropriations specifically available for soil-conservation programs during 1 year were about $2,100,000.

This means the Federal Government is now putting up about $14 for every State dollar spent in conserving the soil. This compares to 5 State dollars currently being put up for every Federal dollar contributed to agricultural research activities.

Approximately 12,000 permanent Federal employees are now carrying out soil-and-water conservation work: 385 in the national office; 500 in State offices; 700 in area offices; and more than 10,000 in 3,000 local work unit offices located for the most part in county seats. Employees at the local work unit level are the ones who render on-site assistance to individual farm or ranch operators.

The committee, in making its report, conceded that strong Federal action was needed at first (beginning in 1937) to focus national attention upon the necessity of arresting further depletion of an all-important natural resource—the soil.

"Quite likely this could not have been done without national direction, a well-planned national compaign and highly skilled technicians," it says. "However, these arguments are no longer valid, primarily because the importance of soil conservation is now recognized everywhere."

OPPOSITION ANTICIPATED

The committee report anticipates that opponents of its plan will argue that if Federal funds now being used for soil conservation are parceled out to the States, the result will be 48 different programs, some good, some bad, and the majority probably indifferent.

It expects objectors to point out that the States turned in a very poor showing on soil conservation efforts prior to the entry of the Federal Government in this field, and that State administration of the program might become susceptible to undesirable State political influences.

It also anticipates the argument that many Federal civil servants whom the Federal Government has trained at a cost of millions of dollars may be unwilling to work for State governments, both because of the lower prestige attached to such employment and the lower salaries that might result.

There will be fear expressed, the committee concedes, that the corps of technicians built up over the years will be dispersed.

In answer to these arguments, the committee "emphasizes the blunt fact that the Federal Government is presently engaged in a direct educational program in soil conservation and there is no basis for viewing the function of agricultural extension and that of agricultural research as primarily State functions and, on the other hand, treating soil conservation technical assistance as a wholly national function."

The committee recommended spreading the transition of the technicians to State control over a 5-year period. During the first year it proposes that States receive 100 percent Federal grants.

In the second year, it suggests "an adjusted matching arrangement" between Federal Government and the States, and during the third and fourth years a shift over to an equalizing grant basis. Federal funds would be allocated on a formula giving weight to such factors as area and type of farmland farm population and per capita income.

The States during this period might put up from one-third to two-thirds of the cost, "depending upon States' fiscal capacity as measured by State per capita income."

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Members of the Committee are: R. I. Nowell, of New York, chairman, vice president in charge of farm mortgage department, Equitable Life Associations Society; Edward J. Condon, vice president, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago; Dr. Frederick Lawson Hovde, Lafayette, Ind., president of Purdue University and president of the Association of Land Grant College; Phillip F. Aylesworth, United States Department of Agriculture; Judge Fred B. Glass, president, National Association of County Officials; W. C. Jacobsen, Director of Agriculture, State of California; John A. Logan, Washington, D. C., president, National Association of Food Chains; Herschel D. Newsom, master of the National Grange; Robert A. Rowan, chairman, R. A. Rowan & Co., Los Angeles, and Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel, Republican of Kansas, a member of the President's Committee on Intergovernmental Relations.

Newsom is the member who dissented from the committee's recommendations concerning the Soil Conservation Service.

The Wildlife Management Institute took note of this recommendation. The following appeared in the November 26, 1954, issue of the institute's biweekly Outdoor News Bulletin:

SOIL CONSERVATION PROGRAM TOO SUCCESSFUL FOR ITS OWN GOOD

Despite the denials of agricultural leaders, evidence keeps mounting that vigorous efforts are being made to scuttle the highly successful soil conservation program of the United States Soil Conservation Service, according to the Wildlife Management Institute. James G. Patton, national president of the Farmers' Union, was quoted recently in the New York Times as saying that "the Eisenhower administration was preparing to dismantle the Federal soil conservation pro-

gram and shift responsibility for soil conservation to State governments."

Mr. Patton was referring to a report of the committee on Federal aid to agriculture to its parent Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. This report, which is awaiting action by the Commission, proposes that with the exception of a small administrative staff, the SCS be dismantled and its soil scientists and technicians be assigned to State land-grant colleges.

"If this reorganization is permitted to go into effect," Patton said, "it will set our soil conservation work back by 20 years." The Commission is scheduled to make its full report to the President by March 1, 1955.

According to Wayne Darrow's Washington Farm Letter of October 30, 1954, the shift would be done over a 5-year period, with SCS personnel transferred at once and 100-percent Federal grants-in-aid available the first year. It is planned that the States ultimately would share some of the expenses, but even after the Federal program is disjointed, the United States participation still would be anywhere up to two-thirds of the cost of the programs.

The committee that made these recommendations consists of R. I. Nowell, Equitable Life of New York, chairman; E. J. Condon, Sears, Roebuck Co.; President F. L. Hovde, Purdue University; Phil Aylesworth, United States Department of Agriculture; Fred Glass, National Association of County Officials; John Logan, National Association of Food Chains; Herschel Newsom, the National Grange; Robert A. Rowan, Los Angeles; and Senator Andrew Schoeppel, of Kansas. Mr. Newsom is reported to have dissented to the plan for shifting the soil conservation work to the land-grant colleges.

At its annual business meeting in Butte on November 30 and December 1, 1954, the Montana Association of Soil Conservation Districts adopted the following resolution:

Whereas the soil conservation research program being conducted cooperatively by the Agricultural Research Service and the land-grant colleges is of vital importance in developing best possible soil conservation measures and sound land-use practices; and

Whereas funds are inadequate to carry out the research program urgently needed to answer current soil and water conservation problems; and

Whereas new investigations are needed to study means of increasing the efficiency of moisture use and reducing erosion in dry land and range farming areas and to solve drainage, irrigation, and soil-management problems in river-valley areas so as to maintain agricultural production and preserve our soil resources: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Montana Association of Soil Conservation Districts assembled in Butte this first day of December 1954, go on record as supporting research on problems pertaining to soil and water conservation. These problems are being worked on cooperatively by the Agricultural Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture and the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station at Bozeman, Havre, Huntley, Moccasin, and Sidney. To meet the need, Montana could use effectively $80,000 more annually; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to each member of our Montana delegation in Congress, the Secretary of Agriculture, the President of the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, the Administrator of the Agricultural Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C., and the Chief of the Soil and Water Conservation Research Branch, Agricultural Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Beltsville, Md., the Director of the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, Bozeman, Mont., and appropriate committees in the State legislative bodies.

On January 24, our colleague from Texas, the Honorable JIM WRIGHT, called our attention to the proposal in these words:

One of the finest activities of our entire Government, Mr. Speaker, and one which I am convinced is absolutely essential to our ultimate survival as a nation, is in jeopardy of being destroyed.

A subcommittee of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has officially recommended that the field activities of our Federal soil-conservation program be discontinued.

The panel proposes that the responsibility for sending these trained field technicians out to the grassroots, at the forks of the creek, where they can actually help the American farmer save our soil, be simply turned over to the various States to accept or ignore as they may individually see fit.

I find it difficult to conceive of a more costly or a more disastrous move.

Montana's House of Representatives also urged that Congress "reject the proposal of the subcommittee of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to dismantle the Soil Conservation Service and turn its functions over to the States." Here is House Memorial No. 2:

Memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Montana to the Congress of the United States, to the Honorable JAMES E. MURRAY and MIKE MANSFIELD, Senators from the State of Montana, and to the Honorable LEE METCALF and ORVIN FJARE, Representatives in Congress from the State of Montana, urging that the Congress reject the proposal of the subcommittee of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to dismantle the Soil Conservation Service and turn its functions over to the States

Whereas the Federal Soil Conservation Service, working with soil-conservation districts, has been outstandingly successful in serving the soil-conservation districts of America; and

Whereas the subcommittee of the President's Commision on Intergovernmental Relations has recommended that this program be relegated to the various States with a progressively decreasing grant-in-aid status; and

Whereas the present corps of SCS technicians would be gradually shifted to the status of State employees; and

Whereas the idea is financially impracticable because a number of the States, including Montana, have, in the past, been unable to make sufficient appropriations to meet their obligations on other similar grant-in-aid programs such as Federal highways and other worthwhile projects; and

Whereas a good program must be based and dependent on well-trained and educated personnel who can be assured of the security and permanence that only the civil-service status could provide; and

Whereas a high standard of achievement is unlikely of achievement in all 48 States under separate programs; and

Whereas under the provisions of the Reorganization Act, this undesirable shift in soil conservation service responsibility will automatically go into effect after its approval by the Federal Commission unless rejected by the Congress within 60 days; and

Whereas the benefits of a nationally administered program of soil conservation accrue to all the people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the State of Montana, now in session, hereby most urgently request the Congress of the United States to reject the aforesaid reorganization plan, and retain the soil conservation as a Federal service in substantially its present form, with responsibility for carrying forward the programs developed by the locally administered soil conservation districts; and, be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Montana be hereby directed to transmit a certified copy of this memorial to the Congress of the United States, to the Honorable JAMES E. MURRAY and MIKE MANSFIELD, Senators from the State of Montana, and to the Honorable LEE METCALF and ORVIN FJARE, Representatives in Congress from the State of Montana.

LEO C. GRAYBILL,
Speaker of the House.

With this file before me, I called the office of the Commission, seeking information. I was told that while there was a leak by a member, the Commission has issued no report, has not made a recommendation to the President, and is not expected to do so until May at the earliest.

I understand that the Commission is meeting this weekend on the recommendation. Knowing the personnel of the committee, I venture the prediction that when the report is published it will show the fears expressed above to be well grounded. We might as well get ready to fight this out on the floor of the House.

The Need for the Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, that great patriotic organization, the American Legion Auxiliary, has been alerted to the dangerous loophole that exists in the Constitution relating to treaties and executive agreements.

In a forceful article appearing in the American Legion Auxiliary National News, Mrs. Luther D. Johnson, of Valley, Nebr., chairman of the national legislative committee, points out that treaty law can override the Constitution. Her authority is no less a distinguished person than the present Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am inserting Mrs. Johnson's article:

THE NEED FOR THE BRICKER AMENDMENT
(By Lucile Johnson)

Our Constitution has a dangerous loophole. The loophole has been described as follows:

"The treatymaking power is an extraordinary power, liable to abuse. Treaties * * * are, indeed, more supreme than ordinary laws, for congressional laws are invalid if they do not conform to the Constitution, whereas treaty law can override the Constitution. Treaties, for example, * * * can cut across the rights given the people by their constitutional Bill of Rights." (Address by

Hon. John Foster Dulles before a regional meeting of the American Bar Association, Louisville, Ky., April 11, 1952.)

The framers of the Constitution intended to close every avenue to tyranny. They never dreamed that constitutional rights could be undermined by treaties and executive agreements. Thomas Jefferson pointed out that if the treaty power is unlimited, "then we have no Constitution."

Beginning in 1920, however, a line of Supreme Court decisions removed treaties and executive agreements from effective constitutional control. The loophole opened up by these decisions has assumed alarming proportions.

Scores of United Nations treaties in various stages of preparation would, if ratified by the United States, permit freedom of speech, press, religion, and other fundamental rights to be denied by executive decree. One treaty proposed by the U. N. would permit Americans to be tried abroad by an international court without a jury and perhaps in secret. Already, under the terms of the NATO Status of Forces Agreement, American servicemen are being tried by foreign courts under alien law. They are denied the constitutional protections which govern trials in our own military service courts.

Many advocates of world government and Atlantic Union would use the treaty power to achieve those ends.

The American Legion, along with the American Bar Association and many other national organizations, favors a constitutional amendment to protect personal rights and national sovereignty against abuse of the treaty power. The Bricker amendment, reintroduced in the 84th Congress as Senate Joint Resolution 1, would prevent such abuse. It would:

1. Prevent any treaty or executive agreement in conflict with the Constitution from having any force or effect; and

2. Prevent any treaty or executive agreement from becoming domestic law except through valid legislation.

All members of the American Legion Auxiliary should study the vital issues raised by the Bricker amendment. You should then express your views to your Senators and Congressmen.

For additional information on the Bricker amendment, write to Mr. Beurt SerVaas, director of national foreign relations commission, the American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

Industrial Advantages of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RILEY
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. RILEY. Mr. Seaker, under leave, I insert in the RECORD an address delivered by Hon. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., Governor of South Carolina, before a group of business and industrial leaders in New York City. The address follows:

In South Carolina there is an atmosphere filled with optimism for the future. In the belief and with the sincere hope that many of you will share in that future, I want to emphasize some of the advantages of South Carolina.

PEOPLE

Our people are our greatest asset. Ninety-nine and six-tenths percent of them are native-born Americans. That is a higher percentage than in any other State. They think alike and act alike. They are predictable.

South Carolinians are fundamentally conservative—in their family life, their religion, and their government.

They are staunch individuals. Their concept of freedom is basic. It rejects controlled-group ideologies. It abhors outside intermeddlers. It questions the sincerity of those who come professing to see moats in the eyes of others, while evidencing ignorance of the beam so apparent in their own.

To fully appreciate the competence of the South Carolina industrial worker of today, one needs to understand his background.

(a) Attitude

Prior to 1860, South Carolina was the third richest State in the Nation. At the end of the war of that time it was the poorest. The only material values that remained were its natural resources, a favorable climate, and the unconquerable courage of its people. They were determined to hold on to their State and to rebuild it in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties. This required a spirit that can sustain a man in toil from sunup to sundown without regard for time. Hard work engaged all of our people.

Our farmers often had to improvise. When needed equipment was not available, they made their own tools. When modern machinery was available, they learned to operate that machinery and learned to repair it.

Rebuilding required planning and material development without the aid of a Marshall plan. It required the stamina and ingenuity of men and women who could take the ashes of destruction and rebuild their State with their own hands and their own resources. They accomplished this while laboring under the yoke of punitive regulations imposed upon them by unrepresentative government.

Their efforts have made South Carolina today a land of rich opportunity. Its present foretells even greater development for the future. That achievement, no amount of misreport can destroy.

This experience, passing as it did from a ravished economy to the present day of unfolding opportunity, has enriched the character of our people. It has developed, as no other experience could, their basic respect for property and for the rights of others. That respect is engrained in them. They know the value of production. They had to produce in order to rebuild. The variety of their heritage provides a tolerance that lends itself to harmony and unity. They know the value of the rights of others.

It was this same spirit that enabled their forebears to fashion a wilderness into the third richest State in the Nation. It was this same spirit that enabled you and others like you to assume the heavy responsibilities of conduction successfully your large enterprises.

(b) Quantity

In many respects our modern South Carolina farmer is an industrialist. Basically, his problems are like your own. He must plan for the operation of his farm as you must plan for the operation of your industry. He must determine what crops to plant and when and where to plant them, as you must determine your products and when and where to produce them. He must make plans to market what he produces as you must market what you produce. He has problems of financing as you have problems of financing. The successful management of his farm involves the doing of all those things that make for the operation of any successful business. The stability of government is essential to his intelligent planning as it is essential to enable you to plan intelligently.

I am not trying to tell you that the farmer of South Carolina is capable of operating your industrial plant. I do tell you that, with his knowledge and experience, and with his basic characteristics, you need him because he can do a better job for you than many that you may find in other localities.

Industrialists who have come to South Carolina will tell you that our people quickly learn industrial occupations and that their productivity is 20 to 50 percent above that of workers doing similar jobs in other sections of the Nation.

In South Carolina there is no shortage of those with this background and this competence. For every 100 farmers who die or retire in South Carolina there are 214 young men to take this places. This increase is among the highest in the Nation.

Moreover, thousands of skilled employees with the same basic characteristics are being made available for industrial employment in our State through modernization of existing plants.

It was the productive capacity and attitude of the South Carolina worker that played a large part, I am sure, in enabling many of you here tonight to build a profitable textile empire in our State, free of the interruptions and upheavals which have beset your counterparts in other sections.

(c) Dependability

The dependability of South Carolina employees is shown by our low unemployment compensation rates. The experience rates range from twenty-five one hundredths of a percent to 2.35 percent with the largest portion of taxable payrolls in a recent year having an average of less than 1 percent. The unemployment compensation fund has been so administered that there is now on deposit with the Federal Government enough funds to pay the majority of our covered employees maximum benefits for the maximum length of time eligible.

GOVERNMENT

Basic South Carolina conservatism finds its best expression in sound, efficient government, which has been firmly established for many years.

(a) Constitution and taxes

Our constitution prohibits me as Governor from signing a budget bill that is out of balance.

We have a sound tax structure, founded on a broad base, well distributed among various sources of revenue. Corporate taxes account for approximately 10 percent of the total. Our fiscal affairs have been so managed that some taxes have been eliminated. We have no tax on intangibles. We have no State tax on real property. We have reduced the franchise tax from 3 mills to 1 mill, and have equalized this tax with respect to foreign corporations doing business in South Carolina. Our sales tax exempts purchases of raw materials, machinery, machine repair parts and any item used to make or produce a finished product. Our tax system is universally acceptable.

Assessments on industrial plants are made by our State Tax Commission. This insures uniform assessment regardless of plant location.

Plant assessments do not exceed 16.8 percent of the actual cost of the plant. The value of grading, landscaping, air conditioning, or other expenditures which add to the comfort of employees are not assessed.

(b) Appropriations

In our 1953–54 budget, highways and schools account for more than 60 percent of expenditures, all paid for by consumer taxes.

Construction and maintenance of our highway system, one of the Nation's best, is paid for by our gasoline tax, which can be used for no other purpose. Our school-

building program is paid for by our retail sales tax, which can be used for no other purpose.

Other sources of revenue contribute to our general fund and are allocated to specific needs.

(c) Turnover

Turnover in all departments of our Government is small. When I became Governor, there was scarcely a ripple among departments whose officers and personnel continued to function as before.

The only new appointments made to the Tax Commission within the past 40 years have been to fill vacancies caused by death or resignation.

(d) Cooperation

All of our agencies are available to industry upon call. This spirit of cooperation exists in every department. It exists also in the general assembly. Its leaders are in the forefront in our effort to develop the State industrially.

(e) Development board

To assist industry, South Carolina has a development board with a technically trained staff ready to work in confidence. Factual information acceptable by leading engineering firms throughout the country has been assembled and is available on request.

(f) Survey

Our State employment service has made surveys of labor available in any section. This service is also prepared to give dexterity tests and test batteries in order that plants may obtain the best available labor for their respective operations.

(g) Schools

The courage and realism of South Carolinians in public affairs is revealed in the manner in which we are meeting our school problems. For years every State has known that it must modernize its public schools. Four years ago we determined that we could afford such a program. We are building a school system equal to any in the Nation.

Our schools for Negroes are superior to any in the Nation.

Our school planning is projected into the future. As we modernize, we build for future needs.

By sound planning and sound financing South Carolina has already accomplished an educational revolution, while other States continue to face a crisis. The critical school situation in other States has been recognized by the President of the United States. He has advocated a $7 billion program in an effort to correct the lack of school facilities. We are 4 years ahead of that program despite the fact our State ranks only 45th in the Nation in per capita income. Our financial condition is so sound that we could not qualify for Federal aid under the school program proposed by the President. This educational accomplishment was attained without levying a single corporate tax and without endangering our State's double-A credit rating.

Expansion of facilities in higher education is proceeding in a comparable way, especially in technical fields. South Carolina has the highest percentage of white college graduates of any State in the Nation. This means a continuing supply of educated personnel for management. Our States supported colleges have graduated more than 3,600 engineering students. Our engineering courses are attracting more students each year. We now have more than 750 students enrolled in electrical engineering and more than 500 in mechanical engineering.

Sixteen colleges in South Carolina are undertaking long-range intercampus programs designed to improve their curricula to fit our young people for responsible jobs in industry.

Some 5,000 of our Negro youth are currently enrolled in institutions of higher education in South Carolina, and this number is increasing each year.

NATURAL RESOURCES

(a) Water

South Carolina has an abundance of water for industrial purposes. There are four large drainage basins embracing our State, a 3d of North Carolina, and a 10th of Georgia. The Pee Dee River drainage area is the second largest on the Atlantic coast. The Santee River drainage basin is the third largest. The Savannah and Edisto Basins have high rankings. Together these rivers drain an area of more than 45,000 square miles. The result is adequate water for industry in South Carolina.

(b) Bushy Park

Near Charleston there is a development known as Bushy Park. This development alone will provide a minimum of 1½ billion gallons of fresh water each day for industrial purposes, with a potential of 10 billion gallons every 24 hours. By comparison, your great city of New York consumes only a billion gallons a day.

In addition to its water supply, Bushy Park has 4,400 acres available as industrial sites, served by highways, railroads, and ocean-going ships. When that is utilized, there is a 10-square mile area which can be made available immediately for industry.

(c) Ground water

In ground water South Carolina is fortunate in amounts and in purity. In many areas the ground water is of such excellent quality that no treatment is required for industrial purposes.

Through a scientifically managed water pollution program, industry can be assured that its plans may be confidently laid without fear that future regulations may upset them.

Continuing studies assure a source of data readily available on any water site in the State.

(d) Electric power

Three major electric power companies and two major public power projects serve South Carolina. Their generating facilities provide adequate service and guarantee ample capacity for future growth. These facilities have a history of expansion. All have been geared to our industrial future.

Commercial and industrial power rates in our State are considerably below the national average. The actual figures are 1.795 cents a kilowatt hour for the United States and only 1.280 cents for South Carolina.

(e) Fuel

Our fuel situation is excellent. Coal is readily available from the bituminous fields of District 8. Fuel oil is brought in through pipeline outlets and by tanker at the Port of Charleston. The Transcontinental Natural Gas pipeline crosses the State and the Southern Natural Gas Co. lines also supply us.

(f) Communications

Our telephone and communications systems have matched the pace of industry since World War II so adequately that we have led the Nation's telephone rate of growth by a substantial margin.

(g) Forests and transportation

Our forests—covering 62 percent of the land area—offer numerous opportunities to industry.

Our paved highways reach every hamlet with roads second to none in the Nation.

Charleston, the fastest growing port in the Southeast, offers favorable rates to industrial centers and the great markets of the world. Ports at Georgetown and Beaufort have excellent harbors available for tremendous development.

More than 400 truck lines serve South Carolina.

Sixteen railroad companies serve to give the State one of the highest rail densities in the South. There are airports near at hand, all served by major airlines.

(h) Markets

South Carolina is centrally located with respect to the world's fastest growing markets. Our State is nearer to 87 percent of the Nation than is the city of New York. Many of our new plants have been built to take advantage of these markets. Many others will come.

In less than a year an acquaintance of mine has purchased 18 bottles to feed one baby. These bottles cost him 40 cents apiece.

Last year about 210,000 babies were born in South Carolina. Some of those babies will not get 18 bottle apiece. But each year, as per capita income rises, more families will buy more milk bottles for more babies. If each baby averages only 6 bottles, that would amount to 1,260,000 milk bottles. At 40 cents each, it would mean gross retail sales in excess of a half million dollars. From South Carolina, in the heart of the Southeast, markets several times as large could be served easily by any manufacturer.

The bottles my friend purchased were manufactured more than 700 miles from South Carolina.

One day, someone will take advantage of this growing opportunity where he can anticipate a multimillion dollar market.

Our markets are not limited to milk bottles for babies. They exist for practically all consumer goods.

INDUSTRY IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The record shows what is happening to industry that comes to South Carolina.

A manufacturer of world-famous women's hosiery established a plant in South Carolina. Within 3 years he had 5 plants in the State—one quarter of his total world-wide investment. Today he is further expanding in South Carolina.

A cement plant was designed for an 800,000 barrel capacity. Within a few years it was increased to 2 million barrels.

A giant fiberglass plant went into production only 8 months after ground was broken. Extensions are now being added.

A tufted-carpeting manufacturer is planning to double and possibly triple his operations. The first carpet came off the line only 6 months ago.

A famous maker of women's clothing established his first South Carolina plant in 1944. He now has a chain of six.

The great Deering-Milliken and J. P. Stevens Cos. each have more than 20 plants in the State. The vast majority of their postwar expansions have been in South Carolina.

We are also proud that our own Springs Mills, Greenwood, McKissick, Abney, Textron, Woodside and many other great names in industry have done all of their expansion in our State.

WHAT SOUTH CAROLINA WANTS

South Carolina needs and wants new industry. We believe that the surest way to expand our ability to finance the things that are beneficial is to provide new revenue without additional taxation by raising the income of our people.

We believe that new industry and new payrolls are the best means of increasing our per capita income. Each new payroll not only provides more revenue for services rendered by the State, but enables our people to raise their standard of living. It raises the standard of the necessities—housing, food, clothing, and medical care. It enables our people to purchase more items which add to the pleasure and comfort of living in this modern age.

Our people and our Government reject the philosophy of tax and tax, spend and spend. We want a sound prosperity. We want to increase that prosperity on a broad base.

I have told you of our people and our Government. In the final analysis it is the character of a people which makes their Government and its leaders what they are. It is this character which makes us reject the static thinking of the right and the erratic thinking of the left. It is this character that guides us as we study and plan for the future.

South Carolina has no interest in unsound industry. We do not want industry which seeks to exploit our labor or our natural resources.

South Carolina wants industry that will join us in planning for the future—industry that is sound in its thinking as our people are sound in their thinking. South Carolina wants industry which will grow and develop with us.

Our people and our government are pledged to fair treatment and sound planning. From our future industrial citizens we ask as much.

Review of Civil Air Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. PERCY PRIEST
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I have just introduced a bill containing a number of amendments to the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938. In its examination of this bill, along with other amendments of the act which may be proposed by others, the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee will conduct a review of the civil air policy of the United States.

Through the years this committee has been responsible for developing and presenting in legislative form the present civil air policy, both as it relates to purely domestic operations and as it affects the operations of our aircraft abroad and foreign aircraft to this country. This committee wrote and recommended to the House the legislation which became the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, the basic statute under which civil aviation operates today. The committee is proud of that statute. Under it, civil aviation has made the magnificent progress with which all of us are familiar—progress which permits us to say that we maintain, under the American flag, the finest air transport system in the world, both at home and abroad.

During the years since 1938 there have been few changes in the Civil Aeronautics Act. The problems of civil aviation have been adequately dealt with, notwithstanding the vast changes which have come about in those 17 years. However, the time has come when it is necessary to review that statute to determine whether some changes need to be made in order to make it a more effective instrument for the continued development and regulation of this great industry.

The bill which I have just introduced will serve as the basis on which this inquiry will be made. In it I have sought to present the major legislative issues which are under discussion at this time. However, if there are other issues which the Members of this body feel should be reviewed as they affect civil aviation, I hope they will be promptly presented to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in order that they may be resolved.

My bill provides for the regulation of contract carriers by air. At the present time these carriers are not subject to economic regulation unded the Civil Aeronautics Act. The bill would impose limited economic regulation upon them along the lines presently prescribed for contract motor carriers and contract water carriers. Since contract carriers compete with both scheduled and nonscheduled carriers by air for the best traffic available, the regulation of contract carriers is designed, among other things, to prevent discrimination in regulation. Your committee will expect to call upon its knowledge of civil aviation, as well as its experience in regulating other forms of transportation, in determining whether contract carrier regulation is necessary, and if so, the manner in which this regulation should be carried out.

My bill also includes provisions which more clearly define the reltionship between the State and Federal Governments in the regulation of civil aviation, both safety and economic. Unfortunately, in the past few years there has been quite a bit of litigation in which it has been sought to draw the line under the existing law between the jurisdiction of State and Federal Governments in aviation regulation. Here again the committee will call upon its experience in dealing with other forms of transportation, as well as on its knowledge of the special characteristics of aviation, in working out this particular problem.

My bill also deals with the problem of the proper regulation of nonscheduled air carriers. Some years ago the Civil Aeronautics Board issued certain exemptions from regulation for the benefit of carriers conducting nonscheduled or, as we call them in the motor-carrier field, irregular route operations. Ever since that time the Board has expended great efforts in seeking to enforce its regulation which restricts these carriers to nonscheduled operations. While most of the carriers who are beneficiaries of the Board's exemption successfully conduct operations within the regulation, a few have sought to conduct elaborate scheduled operations between major cities in the country. The Board's efforts to enforce its regulation have resulted in violent controversy, some indications of it having appeared in statements on the floor of the House. Members have been concerned by reason of the charges made by some of the nonscheduled lines that a monopoly exists in air transportation, to the detriment of the sound development of air transportation. Similarly, members have been concerned by reason of the countercharges that the Civil Aeronautics Act is being subjected to wholesale violations. These fears, of which Members of this body have spoken, must be inquired into by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House. The facts must be ascertained, and if legislative remedies are necessary, they must be recommended to the House by your committee. This will be done.

My bill provides for the extension to international operations of the Board's present powers to regulate cargo and passenger rates. At the present time the Board's powers to regulate international rates are very limited. A number of times the Board has recommended that its ratemaking powers be extended in the way provided for in my bill. This is a controversial subject. Your committee studied this same question very carefully prior to recommending legislation which became the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938. At that time the committee rejected the proposal for complete rate regulation in the international field, because it was fearful that this would cause retaliation and place the carriers in such an inflexible position that they would not be able to compete effectively with their foreign competitors. Times have changed greatly since that decision was made. The committee should explore the controversy and settle this question as to the scope of the Board's rate regulation.

In reviewing this proposed legislation I have touched upon only the major issues with which the bill deals. Many significant, though less important, changes appear in the bill and will be subjected to review. My reason for making this lengthy statement upon the introduction of this bill is to inform the Members of the House that this review of civil aviation policy is to be conducted by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Thus the members will be afforded an opportunity to inform the committee of any problems affecting civil aviation which are giving them concern. Based upon its knowledge not only of civil aviation, but related fields of transportation, the committee will then consider these problems and make a report to the House, accompanied by such legislation as seems required to meet the problems presented.

Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the address of the Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, Governor of the State of Maryland, to the congregation of Temple Oheb Shalom, Baltimore, Md., during the annual observance of Brotherhood Week.

The address follows:

ADDRESS OF GOV. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, TEMPLE OHEB SHALOM BROTHERHOOD MEETING, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1955

Brotherhood is a theme on which men can write and have written variations in endless numbers, ranging from the highest realms of thought to the lowest levels of expediency.

Consider them in descending order: brotherhood is part of the law of God; brotherhood is the highest of human ideals; brotherhood is the mortar with which we build civilization; brotherhood is the best security of man in a hostile world—brotherhood is a paying proposition.

I propose today to offer you still another variation, without saying whether it is high in the scale of values, or the lowest of all. That depends upon the point of view. But, high or low, it is as profoundly true as any; and I put it in a phrase borrowed from a former President of the United States. It is this: brotherhood is a condition and not a theory.

To illustrate my point I do not need to quote the Bible, nor any other ancient book that men have regarded as Holy Writ. I call your attention instead to the newspapers of this very month in which we are living, the month of February 1955.

You have all read in your newspapers the accounts of what follows the detonation of such a hydrogen bomb as we set off on a remote Pacific island. It was, the scientists tell us, by no means the most powerful bomb that can be made; we know the formulas for the construction of others much more destructive than this one, and there is no apparent reason why we cannot produce them whenever we choose to do so.

Yet after this bomb of relatively moderate size exploded, for 10 miles up the wind and for 190 miles down the wind, that is, for a total distance of 200 miles, invisible death rained from the skies for the next 2 days. It was a visitation more merciless than the fire and brimstone that the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah, for that at least was swift; the cities of the plain were wiped out almost instantaneously. But this man-created horror does not strike like a thunderbolt; it sets up within the victim's body an invisible and unquenchable fire that consumes him by slow degrees through weeks and months of increasing agony.

Under that soft and gentle sifting down of pain and death, do you think it matters in the least what is the color of a man's skin, or how blue is his blood, or which of our countless creeds he holds to be true religion? Whether they cry to Jehovah, or to Allah, or to Christ the King, it is all one. Whatever they may have been before, they are brothers in their agony, brothers when merciful death has brought their only possible release.

This, I repeat for emphasis, is a condition and not a theory. We cannot alter it in any way. We can deny it, but our denial will be "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." We all stand in the same peril, all under the same condemnation, and the way of escape is escape for all or for none. War is the last, most insolent denial of human brotherhood, and continued war plainly threatens the existence of the race.

If, then, we are brothers in the last extremity, who will have the hardihood to assert that the relation begins only in the shadow of death? And if the relation exists from the beginning, how can we escape the conclusion that the organized slaughter of human beings, whatever name we give it, is in the final analysis fratricide?

It is our custom to brush this somber fact aside with the argument that war has existed since before the dawn of history, that war is a condition of human life in this world, and that it is a distortion of logic to equate it with the individual crime of murder.

It is true that war has always existed, has always been a condition of human life. But war guilt is entirely different. Even the stumbling approach to perfect justice that is man-made law recognizes that the degree of guilt increases with the mental and moral responsibility of the guilty. An imbecile is not held legally responsible for any of his acts, and even the crime of murder cannot send a man to the gallows unless the jury is convinced that he knew the difference between right and wrong.

Only in the higher civilizations have the masses of men begun to suspect the essential criminality of war, and only in the highest have they realized that aggressive war is not distinguishable from mass murder. We have yet to develop a civilization high enough for men to realize that truth, emotionally as well as intellectually, which is to say that we have not yet developed any civilization high enough to abolish war. Not until we feel, as well as think, that war is a crime will we be capable of getting rid of it.

Development of that kind of civilization is the world's one hope, and the chief responsibility for it rests upon the nations that are the leaders of our present civilization. Americans cannot evade that responsibility unless we are willing to concede that ours is a backward nation morally, however far in advance it may be in technology. It is a concession that I, for one, am unwilling to make; I prefer to accept the heavy responsibility for leading the world in the ways of peace.

But in accepting the responsibility we must face the fact that the hour is late, I fear much later than we think. It is an ironical fact that the time left us has been shortened by our own act. Like the fisherman in the Arabian tale who removed the seal of Solomon from the bottle and let the evil geni escape, we have employed our energy, our wealth, and our scientific genius to remove the seal of ignorance that barred release of the infernal powers that now loom over us as the monster towered over the fisherman.

We excuse ourselves by saying that if our hand had not done it, another would within a short time. It may be true; but that does not alter the fact that we did it, and by doing it incurred chief responsibility for seeing to it that the unleashed evil does not overwhelm our brother men.

How may we hope to discharge that responsibility? Only by facing the facts, all the facts. One that must be faced is the somber fact that the nations are not yet morally developed to the point at which they will all voluntarily renounce war as an instrument of national policy. Some must be restrained by knowledge that aggression cannot bring profit but only ruin to the aggresser; and it is our business so to organize the world that the knowledge will be too plain for any man to escape it; this involves labor, expense and eternal vigilance. We must be strong ourselves and we must be surrounded by strong friends, a condition that will last probably for many years.

But we must face all the facts, and there is another that is equally grim, equally distressing. It is the fact that our own moral level is far too low to justify us in assuming a holier-than-thou attitude toward any other country. The fact of human brotherhood is frantically denied every day and every hour in the streets of our own city and in every other city across the continent. It is not done in words as often as in deeds more eloquent than words. If we are honest with ourselves we will admit that it is denied in our own heart. "Am I my brother's keeper?" snarled Cain, and the mark of the murderer was laid upon him; but where is the man who can stand before the bar of judgment and swear that never has that scream of the beast been echoed, even in his inmost thought?

None of us is guiltless, none of use has never yielded to the impulse to reject the condition of brotherhood; and it is that guilt that blinds our eyes so effectively that we cannot see our way through the labyrinth of the modern world. I believe that the growth of a realization of our brotherhood, not with Chinese and Hindus, but with the man next door and the man down the street, with the man who worships with a rite different from our own, the man whose skin is of a color different from our own, there will come a sharpening of the vision of statesmanship, a lifting of the mists that obscure our way. With the growth of brotherhood here at home, problems abroad that now seem beyond solution will become increasingly simple and plain.

Cynics sneer at this as impractical idealism, but it is the cynics themselves who are superstitious fools, still believing in witchcraft, still proposing to cast out devils in the name of Beelzebub, Prince of Devils. The realist knows that human brotherhood is not a pious aspiration, but a biological fact, and that fratricidal strife among brothers is a defiance of the laws of nature as disastrous as swallowing poison or deliberately walking off the edge of a precipice.

I think it is realism, too, to acknowledge the fact that all existing programs for the abolition of war are probably inadequate. Pacificism will not do it, although loyalty to the ideal of peace is certainly an essential. I am skeptical of world government as a solution because it seems to me that world government should follow as a result rather than come first as the cause of the abolition of war. Most emphatically reliance on military power can produce nothing but the opposite result, as all history proves.

The fact is that the blind alley in which the modern world finds itself has no way out through any sort of formulas and systems. Formulas and systems may have their uses after the way out has been discovered, but the first necessity is a change in the human heart.

If you feel inclined to throw up your hands at that and cry that human nature never changes, my answer is to ask you, in that case what has civilization accomplished? Is the human nature of an American of the twentieth century exactly the same as the human nature of a caveman of prehistoric times? Basically it may be unchanged, but you know very well that it manifests itself in ways so different that the two creatures seem hardly to belong to the same species. Of course human nature changes; if it were not so, education would be a waste of time and religion nothing more than an empty dream.

The attainment of a sense of human brotherhood is not an impossible ideal, but I sometimes think that we may have laid too much stress on it as an ethical duty. It is a duty, certainly, but it is also a rational process, very much like attaining a realization that the world is round. For many ages that idea, too, was rejected by the mass of mankind as a denial of common sense. Any man, merely by looking around him, could see that the world is flat.

For an even longer time men have been taught by that same common sense that they are not brothers, but mortal enemies. Any man can see it, merely by looking around him. Nevertheless, as evidence kept piling up that the world is round until the fact had to be accepted, so the evidence that men are and must remain brothers keeps piling up. The evidence of the hydrogen bomb is merely the latest item. The lives of countless millions of human beings are in our hands, and our lives are in their hands. We are our brothers' keepers and we can no more alter the fact than we can alter the course of the planet around the sun.

Our choice is limited to accepting or rejecting the duty that the fact implies. It is within our power to be murderous brothers of the breed of Cain, but brothers we shall remain, and if the voice of blood cries out from the ground, it will be our brothers' blood.

Which is my reason for saying that brotherhood is a condition and not a theory and

its acceptance is only secondarily a moral triumph. It is first of all a triumph of reason over ignorance and superstition; and as every triumph of reason results in intellectual enlightenment, so I have faith to believe that the progressive acceptance of the fact of human brotherhood will be a lamp unto our feet and a light unto our path that will guide us through the darkness that threatens to overwhelm us and lead us into the perfect day.

Address by Seaborn P. Collins, National Commander of the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of Seaborn P. Collins, national commander of the American Legion, before the 32d annual national rehabilitation conference of the American Legion in the Statler Hotel in Washington, D. C., on Thursday, March 3, 1955:

Chairman McCurdy, distinguished guests, and my fellow Legionnaires, I am very happy and proud to be with you tonight.

It's always a privilege for me to recognize publicly Legionnaires who have worked tirelessly to put across the programs of our organization, programs which contribute so much to the welfare of the Nation. Tonight I especially welcome the opportunity to pay tribute to you post, department, and national rehabilitation officers of the American Legion. No group within the Legion has contributed more to the welfare of veterans and all citizens than you have. No group is more deserving of the gratitude of every member of our organization.

However, you did not come here to be praised. The way you have worked these past few days proves that you came to this 32d annual national rehabilitation conference of the American Legion for one purpose only—to seek, through discussion and the exchange of ideas and experiences, means of serving our Nation's veterans more effectively.

I have seen the various panels and committees in action, so I don't hesitate to predict that you will leave here with new solutions and new approaches to the many difficult problems which you face. You will leave here with new determination to carry out the burdensome tasks assigned you.

It is essential that you do so, because the burden of preserving existing benefits for America's veterans, their dependents, and their survivors is daily becoming heavier and more difficult to carry.

Tonight those benefits and services which we believe in so dearly are in serious jeopardy.

Before considering the nature and extent of the threats to the entire structure of veteran benefits, let's determine the source of these threats.

The increasingly bold challenge to the very concept of veteran benefits stems primarily from the recommendations of the Hoover Commission on Government Organization. Of course, the threat comes from other quarters as well—from responsible citizens—yes; even from high officials of our Government.

For my part, I want to make one thing very clear:

The American Legion will fight with every resource at its command to preserve and protect essential veteran benefits. Our defense of these benefits will be based on principles, not on personalities; on facts, not on the opinion of hurried investigations.

We would prefer to devote our efforts to the things that unify rather than those which divide Americans; to the task of strengthening the military security of our Nation; to the job of destroying the insidious disease of communism that has found openings in the bloodstream of America; to the problem of improving the health and welfare of our children; to the countless other tasks that challenge the wealth and will of our Nation.

If our efforts in these directions must be relaxed so that we might throw our forces into the battle for the preservation of veteran benefits, it will not be because we wished it so.

Let me assure any who might doubt our purpose, however, that the American Legion will not hesitate to commit whatever strength is required to win this fight.

The American Legion seeks no cause to prove that it has the physical courage to stand up against powerful opponents. At the same time we will never fail to meet any challenge demanding the moral courage—the guts, if you want to call it that—to stand up and fight for what is right.

Veterans have earned the help and care to which a grateful Nation—through the Congress—has provided. We believe that the principle of adequate medical care for disabled and sick and indigent veterans, compensation for service-connected disabilities, job opportunities, and modest pensions to enable aged and totally disabled veterans to live out their lives as dignified, decent human beings, is right and just and necessary.

This principle is as sound as the sense of justice and morality which gave it birth. It is above compromise.

The American Legion has always been willing to sit down and discuss every practical, honorable means of discharging the Nation's obligations to its veterans within the limits of sound economy. But such discussions cannot be based on the assumption that the Nation has no obligation to veterans simply because there are a large number of veterans involved.

We are not willing to sit down and bargain with those budget-conscious, nearsighted individuals who can see only one place to trim Federal expenditures—the appropriation for veteran benefits.

By the same token, we respect the other fellow's right to disagree. We welcome every opportunity to discuss the critical question of veteran benefits with men of good will and good faith, with men seeking the truth about veteran benefits, and with men seeking earnestly to reevaluate these benefits in terms of future needs and the means to meet them.

The American Legion, however, will never be party to appeasement. We will never sell down the river the interest of the disable veteran.

Now that we have made clear how and why the Legion must act to protect veteran benefits, let's see where we must act to preserve these benefits.

The first and most serious challenge confronting us is to combat the unrealistic assumptions, unwarranted conclusions, and unjust recommendations of the Hoover Commission with respect to veteran hospital and medical benefits, disability compensation, and veteran preference in Federal employment.

Known officially as the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, the Hoover Commission has submitted only 3 out of 20 reports to be made to the Congress. Two out of the three reports submitted to date deal primarily with veteran benefits.

The action taken today by the national rehabilitation commission in adopting a resolution expressing very clearly and in the strongest possible words the American Legion's vigorous opposition to the Hoover Commission's recommendations affecting veterans demonstrates your recognition of the fact that these reports are slightly less than objective and accurate.

I don't know how much consideration and study went into the Hoover Commission's reports. Some of the Commission members perhaps had little time to personally analyze them; otherwise I would find it hard to understand how objective, fairminded men could lend their names to findings which are so misleading, inaccurate, and incomplete.

Let's forget for a moment, however, that these reports may have been the product of a creed—a philosophy, if you will—which substitutes dollars and cents for justice and gratitude. Let's consider these reports in the cold light of facts.

The Hoover Commission, having stubbed its toe in previous attempts to discredit a whole system of benefits through citation of a few sore thumb cases, now comes up with a sore toe case.

The American Legion agrees that the Commission's sore toe doesn't rate disability compensation, but we deny emphatically the Commission's allegation that service-incurred disabilities rated 30 percent or less "are not being realistically related to loss of earning power."

The American Legion is shocked at the Hoover Commission's heartless denial of the historical principle that veterans who have suffered service-connected, disabling injuries are entitled to compensation from their Government. We find it difficult to believe that worship of the dollar has so corrupted the conscience of any American that he would seriously suggest substitution of greed for creed. Surely the Commission does not expect that this Nation will abandon principle for the sake of a few dollars and accept its recommendation that ability to earn be made the single criterion for determining a veteran's entitlement to disability compensation.

No less heartless is the Hoover Commission's recommendation that 20 Veterans' Administration hospitals be closed, despite the fact that the existing number of VA hospital beds is short of the total needed, and short of the total authorized by Congress.

As far as I'm concerned, this recommendation is so short-sighted and unrealistic that it doesn't even merit consideration. It reflects only one of two things: either a complete lack of understanding of the medical needs of veterans, their entitlement to medical care, and their use of this entitlement, or a deep-seated, bitter hostility toward veterans.

The Commission's charges of excessive hospitalization and medical care for veterans with non-service-connected illnesses and disabilities are completely inaccurate. They are completely, if not deliberately, misleading. You know this from your own experience. You have never hesitated to do everything within your power to obtain needed hospitalization for veterans who were entitled to it. At the same time, you have never tried to obtain VA hospitalizaiton for veterans who could afford private care for non-service-connected illnesses and disabilities. I urge you, in all sincerity, never deviate from this policy; never forget this dual responsibility.

You know, it's easy to prove, by juggling figures, that 60 percent or more of VA patients discharged from VA hospitals are non-service-connected.

For example, in a 100-bed hospital, 90 beds are occupied by the service-connected, and the tuberculous, the neuropsychiatric, chronic neurologic and chronic cases. Only 10 beds are occupied by non-service-connected general medical and surgical cases. This is

an accurate percentage of patients in VA hospitals.

During the year, there are 75 discharges from the 10 G. M. and S. beds, 10 from the long-term category of non-service-connected cases, and 15 from service-connected cases. Propaganda artists add the 75 and 10 and broadcast as a fact that 85 percent—not just 60 percent, mind you, but 85 percent—of the discharges were nonservice connected. Even as they make this charge, they know full well that every day of the year 90 out of the 100 beds were occupied by patients in classes which the Hoover Commission itself recognizes should be given VA hospital and medical care in accordance with the sentiment of the American people.

It's also easy to prove that veterans, with incomes of $50,000 a year, receive VA hospital care for non-service-connected disabilities. It's easy to prove, that is, if you search long enough and hard enough, and finally come up with the case where an individual, earning $50,000 a year, collapsed on the street from a heart attack. He was moved to the nearest hospital, a VA hospital, and kept there for 3 or 4 days until he was well enough and strong enough to be transferred to another hospital.

Time doesn't permit the full-dress discussion which this particular report of the Hoover Commission warrants. I've covered enough of it, however, to demonstrate how little credence the American people should place in the Commission's findings concerning veterans.

There are other Hoover Commission recommendations which we should keep in mind. These would emasculate, if not destroy, veteran preference in Federal Government.

The first report issued by the Commission dealt with personnel and civil service. The Commission's recommendations are just as hostile and just as destructive in this report as are its recommendations on medical care and compensation.

Among other things, veterans would lose employment preference and job retention rights which they now enjoy under the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944. And they would be denied the right of appeal to the Civil Service Commission 5 years after they entered Federal employment, if the Commission's recommendations are adopted.

There are many other signs which indicate clearly that veteran benefits are under the gun. It's impossible to examine them all tonight. But before closing I would like to call to your attention two other developments which bear watching.

By Executive order last January 14, President Eisenhower established a commission to make a comprehensive survey and appraisal of the structure, scope, and administration of laws providing pension, compensation, and related nonmedical benefits to veterans and their dependents. Taken by itself, this action might not be considered detrimental to the existing program of veteran benefits. But when it is related, as it must be, to the President's statement of last fall that steps would be taken "to examine the entire structure, scope, and philosophy of our veterans benefit laws in relation to each other and to other Government programs," this action must be recognized as a very serious and very real, potential threat to veteran benefits.

The House of Representatives has appointed a select committee to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of benefits provided to survivors of deceased members and former members of the Armed Forces. Again, viewed independently, this action doesn't seem to warrant special concern on our part. Yet, it must be remembered that this special House committee is a successor to the so-called Bates committee. You're familiar with the report of that committee so you can appreciate that the new select committee might very well consider a major alteration of survivor benefits.

You can be certain that your national rehabilitation commission and staff will keep you immediately and completely informed of important developments in these areas. My only purpose in mentioning these studies tonight is to alert you to the fact that they may develop into critical areas of activity for you in the next few months.

One of the most effective ways I know to destroy whatever good might result from the strong stand which the American Legion has taken during this conference for the protection and preservation of veteran benefits is to begin to qualify that stand. I have no intention of doing so.

In closing, however, I do want to make these points clear.

The American Legion recognizes that existing benefits for veterans who have earned them through wartime service can be jeopardized by their continuation for all future veterans without regard to the length or circumstances of their service. Therefore, we offer our 36 years' experience in rehabilitation and service matters to the President, the Congress, and other concerned agencies or groups appointed to study this critical question.

The American Legion will not hesitate to confer with any individual or organization seeking sincerely to learn the facts about veteran benefits. We will not hesitate to inform and counsel any individual or group uninformed or misinformed about veteran benefits.

In doing so, however, we will never compromise with the principle that the essential veteran benefits which veterans have earned, and for which we fight are just, and right, and necessary.

We cannot compromise this principle if we hope to convince all of our citizens that this principle is right. And we must convince our fellow Americans, if veteran benefits are to be preserved.

Length of Congressional Terms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Greenfield (Ind.) Daily Reporter of March 3, 1955:

LENGTH OF CONGRESSIONAL TERMS

A chance and probably extemporaneous remark by President Eisenhower at his Wednesday press conference, brings up an interesting concept of the workings of our Government.

Mr. Eisenhower was talking about the pay raise from $15,000 to $22,500 which Members of Congress have just voted themselves. He intimated that he favored and would sign the measure.

Then he remarked that he thought Members of the House of Representatives should be elected for 4-year terms instead of the present 2-year terms.

The length of congressional terms is set by the Constitution. Therefore, it would take a Constitutional amendment to change them. Members of the Senate generally serve for 6 years; Members of the House for only 2 years, with the possibility of a complete changeover every 2 years. One-third of the Senators stand for election each 2 years, so, barring death or other emergency, two-thirds of that body carry over.

One of the objections to serving in the House of Representatives has always been that the aspirants or incumbents are in an almost perpetual state of campaigning, with the straining labors and the expense involved. The possibility of a complete changeover in the House is actually not very great because of the general practice of multiple terms, long tenures, and the fact that an incumbent, if he be doing a relatively popular job, has a distinct advantage in both nomination and election over a new-coming aspirant.

But the remark of the President raises the question as to what was the purpose and intent of the Founding Fathers in establishing the two legislative bodies and in the variance in the length of terms.

It is another example of the old idea of checks and balances. The House is supposed to be quickly and highly responsive to the will of the electorate. The Senate is supposed to be more stable and deliberative and to be removed a few degrees from the flash and flare of political pressures. One body offsets the other in a measure. That is the primary reason for the difference in the length of the terms. It should be remembered that for many years Members of the Senate were not selected in direct elections but were chosen by the State legislatures, presumably from a selected list of wise and seasoned men. Still continuing this idea in part is the practice, as in Indiana, of selecting the partys' senatorial candidates in convention rather than by direct primary, while the Representative candidates are picked in primaries.

Therefore, no matter how much more convenient it would be to have longer terms for Members of the House, such a change could not be made except to the detriment of the possibility of quick response to the will of the people.

That is important. And in a time when big government is more and more inclined to ignore the public will; in a time when an increasing preponderance of appointive rather than elective public servants are deciding and executing matters vital to the public welfare; it is no time to loosen the public halter, or control, any more than it has been eased.

The Flemming Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK IKARD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. IKARD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Wichita Daily Times of Tuesday, March 1, 1955, entitled "The Flemming Report":

THE FLEMMING REPORT

Congressman FRANK IKARD's bill to divorce the Federal Government from control of natural gas at the wellhead received unqualified support in the Flemming report that was made public in Washington Saturday.

"In the production of natural gas it is important that sound conservation practices be continued," the report recommended. "This area of conservation management is under the jurisdiction of State conservation commissions. In the interest of a sound fuels policy and the protection of the na-

tional defense and consumer interest by assuring such continued exploration for and development of adequate reserves as to provide an adequate supply of natural gas, we believe the Federal Government should not control the production, gathering, processing, or sale of natural gas prior to its entry into an interstate transmission line."

The Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, and the seven Cabinet members heading the Departments of State, Treasury, Defense, Justice, Interior, Commerce, and Labor had been directed by the White House last July to evaluate factors pertaining to the continued development of energy supplies and resources fuels.

That the study group should come up with findings to the exact point of the bill introduced by Representative IKARD, and of other measures on the same subject, is gratifying and offering hope that Congress will now act favorably on legislation to contravene the ruling of the United States Supreme Court in the celebrated Phillips case.

The Flemming report clearly outlined the scope of Government control of natural gas production, transmission, and utilization. It recommended that production and conservation of natural gas be regulated by State conservation commissions; that interstate transmission be regulated by the Federal Power Commission; and that distribution be regulated by the local public utility commissions.

Texans ought to be thoroughly familiar with this separation of authority. It is the theory under which the natural gas industry has operated all along until the Phillips case interfered last year.

Thomas Masaryk: The First Czechoslovak President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today is the 105th anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk, and under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to pay tribute to an outstanding leader of our time.

Great nations have produced great men who have shaped the destiny of their peoples. America has men like Washington and Lincoln; Czechoslovakia has Thomas G. Masaryk. He was born on March 7, 1850, in Moravia, under humble conditions, and died as the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Throughout his life Masaryk was a seeker and protector of the truth. He abhorred violence and terror in social life and politics. His intense feeling for democracy is evident from his statement: "The ideal of democracy is so high, so valuable, so dignified, that it is worth believing in, living for, fighting for." A champion of the oppressed, he constantly fought for the rights of minority groups.

Believing the Hapsburg monarchy to be incompatible with democratic self-government he worked for a free and independent Czechoslovakia. He continued the struggle after the outbreak of World War I, by travelling abroad to gain support for the Czechoslovak cause and with the aid of Edward Benês formed the Czechoslovak National Council, which was recognized, during the war, as the de facto government of Czechoslovakia. On November 14, 1918, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy collapsed, he was elected president of the newly formed Czechoslovak Republic, and being on American soil at that time he visited President Wilson to express his gratitude for America's aid in the creation of the infant nation.

The Czechoslovak state which he founded was based on democratic freedom and recognized the rights and duties of the individual. Under Masaryk's firm leadership Czechoslovakia became one of the foremost democracies in Europe. He was reelected to the presidency in 1920, 1927 and 1934 and resigned, due to ill health, in 1935.

His spirit lives on in Czechoslovakia, despite the tragic experiences of the Czechoslovak people under the present Communist regime. This was appropriately expressed by President Benês at Masaryk's funeral in 1937 when he said:

Though he passes on Masaryk is still with us. * * * President-Liberator, we will remain faithful to the heritage which you have laid in our hands.

Although this heritage has, at least for the present, been betrayed by the Communists, we know that the Czechoslovak people remain faithful to it in their hearts.

Thomas G. Masaryk: The Spirit of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, this 105th anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk, founder and first President of the Czechoslovak Republic, ought to remind us all of the great American heritage of democracy.

Thomas Masaryk was the embodiment of those same concepts that have made our Nation a great Nation. And it is not without significance that it was in America that Thomas Masaryk found much of the spiritual inspiration for creating the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918. Thus, Thomas Masaryk represents a link between America and his own native Czechoslovakia.

On this anniversary of the great Czech statesman let us, therefore rededicate ourselves to those higher ideals of democracy which are exemplified so well by the spirit of Thomas Masaryk. We are living in an epoch of trial; and the firmness of our convictions, the steadfastness in the righteousness of our cause, and the determination to preserve Western democracy—all are the elements which will insure ultimate victory.

A Target Area's Request for a Chance To Survive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a splendid statement sent to me by Evelyn Smart, of Roxbury, Mass., entitled "A Target Area's Request for a Chance To Survive."

It is inspirational to know that there are persons like this lady, who are so deeply interested in such an important matter, which should be of the utmost concern to each and every one of us. The thoughts and views of Mrs. Smart are worthy of deep consideration.

The statement follows:

A TARGET AREA'S REQUEST FOR CHANCE TO SURVIVE

Since the detonation of the first hydrogen device in 1954 I have been compiling information from official sources as to the merits of a personal defense kit for the public in target areas, in the event of enemy attack by nuclear or bacteriological warfare.

My first letter, in the spring of 1954, was to President Eisenhower, asking if a program for protective devices was considered. This letter was forwarded finally to the Atomic Energy Commission. The reply was that "the protection of the public against the effects of nuclear detonation was clearly the concern of the Federal Civil Defense Administration."

My first questions were asked at a time when any layman could estimate that a hydrogen blast would generate a dangerously increased fallout of radioactive particles from which the population would need protection by filtered respirators and special clothing.

I have since found information which proves a kit should be prepared with Government specifications, which could be sold at cost, manufactured under Government subsidies.

Statements from the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission Director in San Francisco, the Institute of Pathology in Washington, D. C., Brigadier General Calloway of the Army Quartermaster Research Center in Natick, Mass., all prove that garments can be made to protect evacuating people from blast, flash burns, glass penetration, inhalation of radioactive dusts, and bacteriological warfare.

The present certainty of delayed rescue calls for each person to carry his own first-aid supplies and emergency rations.

Various booklets prepared by the Atomic Energy Commission inform us that workers in atomic-energy installations wear plastic suits against the dangers of internal radiation, so, our garments' outer surface should be of plastic; for the lining, I have learned that 3 or 4 layers of wad cotton insulate well against thermal radiation and would not be bulky enough to impede freedom of movement. The garment should be either a hooded cape or hooded coverall for quickly putting on.

The vital areas of head, neck, and lungs should have the protection of the nylon material already used in the Armed Forces as body armor, to guard against glass penetration and falling sharp or heavy debris.

Outer pockets should carry plastic overshoes and gloves or mitts, as well as goggles. Inner pockets should contain first-aid sup-

piles and emergency Army-type rations. An ultra filter type respirator should be worn about the neck, ready, at a cost of $4.50.

If civil defense were to issue a design for patterns, many women could make for their families the capes or coveralls. The garments could be made in high schools, settlement houses, prisons, by Red Cross groups, Girl Scouts, and civil-defense groups.

Then for Congress to enact legislation to provide a Government-subsidized manufactured garment, they could still sell at cost. The cost probably would not exceed $12 or $15. Not too far out of reach for the general public. Radio, TV, and newspapers could educate the public as to their use and protective qualities.

Boston parents, last year, signed permission for school authorities to evacuate school children. Can the picture of thousands of bareheaded, bare-armed, first graders setting off on the fearful gamble of evacuation to face the most awful perils man has known be the verdict of Congress?

Just as life preservers are stored in ships these kits should occupy one wall in every schoolroom in every school, hospital, office, mill, factory, etc.

The blind and lame and aged will have to be led to shelters; a hooded cape would allow crippled people to use their crutches and increase their chances of survival.

A mother carrying an infant in her arms might have to flee a burning or collapsing shelter. She would be spared a great deal of fallout radioactive particles if a plastic garment covered her and her baby.

We won't all get rides to safe areas. We won't all survive, but it should become the aim of this Congress that no expense be spared to give greater chances of survival to the public.

The life which is spared might be your own.

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk: Scholar and Educator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on this 105th anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk it is fitting that we pay tribute to the man, to his life, and to his work.

At this critical juncture of civilization, the name of Thomas Masaryk has a special meaning; for next to Woodrow Wilson, perhaps no statesman of World War I had a greater appreciation of the importance of knowledge and education in relations to a democracy and to the continued growth of Western culture than Thomas Masaryk. Like Wilson, Masaryk was a scholar, statesman, and philosopher well grounded in the ideals of our Christian civilization. Christian democracy was to Thomas Masaryk the highest ideal to be achieved in the building of a state: A state inspired by, and based upon, the ideals of both Christianity and democracy.

A statesman convinced of the necessity for a sound educational system in a democracy, Thomas Masaryk infused into the newly constructed Czechoslovak Republic his own spirit of democracy and humanism. As a cure for political evils, Masaryk wrote:

Democracy demands the political education of citizens and electors.

Education, he pointed out, was not to be solely erudition or one-sided and exclusive school education because they alone cannot bestow understanding, talent, or political sense. A nation needs a "strong and healthy brain," he said, and thus the objective of education in a democracy is "to teach the young to think."

Education did flourish in the Czechoslovakia of Thomas G. Masaryk, and it aided in molding the new Republic in the spirit of true democracy and humanism.

Since the Communist seizure of Czechoslovakia in February 1948, the Communists have made a concerted effort to destroy the structure of the educational system of once free and independent Czechoslovakia. They have endeavored to build a structure based entirely upon the philosophy of communism. Knowing that education can mold the generations to come, the Communists have tried to mold the entire Czechoslovak system in the image of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and to produce a new type of man, the so-called Soviet man.

This communistic system of education, presently operating behind the Iron Curtain, is atheistic; it is materialistic; it is antidemocratic and antihumanistic.

Fundamentally, the Communist educational system is the very antithesis of everything Thomas Masaryk stood for.

Today Czechoslovakia is a participant in the universal struggle against totalitarian, atheistic communism. Unfortunately, Czechoslovakia is now within the Soviet orbit of power, and thus it is a nation in slavery.

On this 105th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Masaryk, let us, therefore, call the attention of all the world to the dedication and to the principles of this great statesman. Let us also reassert and reemphasize our Christian and democratic principles, for it is in the strength and the vitality of these principles that the salvation of mankind may well rest in this global struggle with materialistic and totalitarian communism.

Peanut Industry Nets Millions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Violet Faulkner:

PEANUT INDUSTRY NETS MILLIONS
(By Violet Faulkner)

Did you know that American farmers reap $175 million from their peanut crop each year? That's $25 million more than is spent on the diamonds imported into the United States in a comparable length of time.

The National Peanut Council states that although America produces only about 10 percent of the world's peanuts, we have more uses for them than any country on earth. We eat quantities of them as is; hundreds of pounds go into candy and peanut butter. We use them in sauces and soups (Hotel Roanoke is famous for peanut soup); in desserts and fancy toppings for cakes and ice cream.

Peanuts rate well in thiamin and niacin and contain large amounts of riboflavin. The fat content is high, almost 50 percent, but there are those who contend their energy value offsets their calories. For the record, the energy value of 1 pound of peanuts is equal to 4 pounds of beefsteak, 21 pounds of cheese or 33 eggs.

Kids, peanuts and carousels seem to go together. So, why not pay tribute to the popular goober and have a party for the pigtail set during National Peanut Week, March 6–12.

CAROUSEL CAKE

It's a tossup who'll have the most fun • • • mom, while she's dreaming up variations on this carousel cake • • • or the squealing pigtail gang when they see old goober goofer doing a wing-ding on the merry-go-round roof.

Let's start: The roof of the carousel is a party hat, minus its elastic. Posts for the prancing animal crackers are jumbo-size soda sippers pushed snugly through holes in the roof. Dots of household cement secure the cookie steeds. The goober goofer is held together by bits of pipe cleaner inserted for joints. A big darning needle is just right for punching holes in the shells.

Set your carousel aside while you bake a big 9-inch, 4-layer cake. Two packages of cake mix will save you time. Spread each cooled layer with chocolate frosting. Sprinkle with chopped peanut confection • • • candy bars or peanut brittle. Stack. Ice sides with white, top with chocolate. While icings are fresh, press on animal crackers, wagon wheels cut from a one-fourth pound peanut candy bar, and redskin peanuts to hitch the procession together. Use a pastry tube for the chocolate frosting cages. Now a circus ring of salted peanut halves around the edge, those merry-go-round posts erected firmly • • • and the show is on the road.

PEANUT CONE SUNDAES

If you've a teener on the premises, expect a platter party any day. Chances are there'll be jitter-bugging in the rumpus room, mamboing in the living room, and hot jazz emanating from the attic.

And where there are teen-agers, there'd better be plenty of food. For a real cool idea that will start the blue jeans crowd stomping. We recommend make 'em yourself cone sundaes for that next disk-spinning party. Stock up on supplies and let the youngsters take over. Have these on hand:

Peanut-chocolate candy bars—figure one nickel-size bar for each cone to be topped. Melt bars over boiling water; soften with a few drops of water.

Whipping cream—half a pint will top up to a dozen cones. Whip and sweeten.

Maraschino cherries—those with stems handle best.

Salted peanuts—have plenty; chopped for topping, whole for munching.

Ice cream—two cones apiece won't be any too many. Neatest to serve are the 2-inch ice-cream cubes, in a choice of flavors. Keep in freezer until needed. Or buy ice cream by the gallon and scoop with the biggest dipper you can find.

Cones—buy 'em by the box.

Peanut cookies—buy or use the new prepared peanut-cookie mix.

H. R. 1, the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Malden (Mass.) Evening News of February 28, 1955:

IT COULD HIT HOME HARD

If some superhuman power were suddenly to transfer Malden industry thousands of miles away, the effect on the community would be catastrophic.

Jobs would be lost, millions of dollars in payroll would be gone, the money to buy food and goods and to pay for household appliances would disappear, and the eddies of disaster would move in concentric rings throughout the community affecting the pace of its life in a hundred different unhappy ways. Once recovered from the shock of such an outlandish development every voice in the community would rise in anger and protest.

Such an event, on such a scale, in such a manner, is not likely to happen. But in a less conspicuous way, but very real way, employment of more than a thousand people in Malden and a payroll of more than $3 million a year (which has a very real effect on the community), and the survival of very substantial local industry, may well be in jeopardy as a result of certain things presently going on down in Washington.

These things include a bill, H. R. 1, which is designed to extend the President's power for 3 more years so that he may adjust the tariff structure of the United States to encourage the development of industry in seemingly less fortunate parts of the world.

Generally speaking, the American people are an enlightened people and they very genuinely subscribe in principle to the theory behind this bill. Why not, they ask themselves, develop trade instead of spending endless sums on aid? Why not, they ask again, help raise the standards of living of people in foreign countries by offering them opportunities to sell goods in our own markets?

Because: Granted that American industry, at least for the present, has a know-how unequaled anywhere else in the world; and further granted that the American workman, for the present, has the skills to out-produce his counterpart anywhere else in the world, nevertheless, the authority inherent in the extension of the reciprocal trade act would make it possible for the President to wipe out differentials existing in tariffs so that the influx of foreign goods could seriously injure those firms in America which produce the same product.

The rubber footwear industry is a case in point and the Converse Rubber Co. in Malden and its employees, which make up our largest industry, face a real threat as contained in the language of the reciprocal trade act.

Let it be understood, incidentally, that nowhere in this act which has already gone through the House in Congress and awaits action in the United States Senate, is the rubber footwear industry specifically threatened with a tariff situation which can put them out of business. But the power and the authority is there given to the President at his own discretion to use.

Not too long ago the threat to use that power to reduce the tariff on importing rubber footwear was quite real. Except for the tremendous efforts of the workers in that industry and the sympathetic hearing they received in Congress and at the White House, the tariff cuts would have gone into effect and the position of the rubber footwear industry put, in the minds of most observers, in serious jeopardy.

What makes the rubber footwear industry especially sensitive to tariff fluctuation is the fact that labor represents a high percentage of the production costs in its operations. Thus, the American rubber footwear industry finds itself in a particularly vulnerable position as long as it has no guaranties in the face of foreign, cheap labor competition. For example, in Hongkong where 65 percent of the canvass footwear imported into Canada last year was made, the average hourly wage being paid to males in their rubber footwear factories was 14 cents an hour. Workers there have a 9-hour day, every day of the week, including Sundays and holidays except for certain Chinese festivals. The Chinese workman does not enjoy the long list of fringe benefits paid for in American factories. On this score alone it is perfectly obvious that the application of the authority of reduced tariffs to encourage the importation of foreign-made rubber footwear could be nothing short of disastrous for the American workman in this field.

This becomes all the more apparent when it is realized that there is available to the foreign producer of rubber footwear the very same machinery that is used by the American manufacturer. In many cases the American Government is sponsoring tours of factories in the United States so that foreign producers may observe and study American working methods to take back home—but not the wage scales. All these elements contribute to the stark realization that, in truth, there are no special advantages enjoyed by the American producer of rubber footwear which would permit him to overcome the existing wide wage differential.

Passage by Congress of the Reciprocal Trade Act is expected to be followed by consideration of three other bills, all of substantially the same nature and which aim at providing relief for Americans dislocated by any tariff policy that the President may desire to pursue. In recognition of the danger of dislocation to American industry and workers by the Reciprocal Trade Act, these bills intend to provide special unemployment compensation and accelerated retirement policies for displaced employees, some assistance in helping people pick up and leave their localities to get new jobs elsewhere, and a measure of assistance to industries which find adjustments necessary.

As far as the rubber footwear industry is concerned, all these cushions add up to nothing more than a rather dreadful alternative to be paid by an industry which has enough problems even now competing with foreign production without the disadvantage of further tariff cuts.

The interesting part of this whole tariff picture and this proposed extension of authority for the President is that even the most zealous supporters of the principle of lowered tariff barriers to encourage so-called economic rebirth abroad, hedge in their convictions with an exception in behalf of special cases, such as our rubber footwear industry. And yet it seems they have set in motion on a broad basis forces to create authority to do certain things which overlook this elemental respect and understanding of a specific problem.

Thus, on a realistic basis no one can ask a complete reversal of national policy to the end that the Reciprocal Trade Act not be extended. The large picture should not be lost sight of, and we do not oppose the principle of assisting our free world allies to build their economies. Nevertheless, the people of Malden know very well that it does not make sense to try to achieve that goal at the expense of our local prosperity and our local economy. Nor is there any justice in requiring that the major burden of such a national policy be borne by those workers who happen to find themselves employed in industries where wages and salaries form a significant percentage of the cost of production.

Efforts by our Massachusetts Congressmen to halt the speedy passage of H. R. 1 several days ago, because they realized these facts, were not successful. But the matter is now before the United States Senate, which can do something, we think, about amendments to protect such an industry as the rubber footwear industry, which is currently entitled to that protection. The people of this community who are concerned with what can happen to one of our principal industries should make their feelings known in this regard by writing to either Senator KENNEDY or Senator SALTONSTALL. For whether a citizen of Malden feels one way or the other about the Reciprocal Trade Act, he is in no way compromising his principles by asking for a provision to protect an important nationwide industry with an important impact on our own immediate area.

Message of Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include an article which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star newspaper of March 6, 1955. It is a speech delivered by the venerable world diplomat and fearless leader of our Korean allies, President Syngman Rhee.

In preface to his excellent message of encouragement to our great people, I should like to reiterate his timely warning in defining our true enemy—for it speaks in the reminiscent voice of a passed great American leader, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Mr. Rhee identifies the enemy as fear and self-doubt born of insufficient faith in our own institutions. The greatest antidote for combating this lack of self-assurance is significantly contained in the word "faith." Faith in turn is directly dependent upon our relationship to God, who is the final depository of man's dependent and transient destiny. Therefore let us, as the final hope of all the world's free peoples, be ever mindful of this dependence through the exercise of a greater faith in ourselves and, ultimately, God.

Mr. Rhee's message follows:

RHEE TO AMERICA: HAVE FAITH IN YOURSELF

Last Tuesday President Syngman Rhee spoke in Seoul on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of Korea's Mansei independence day. It commemorates the occasion in 1919 when Korean patriots dared to speak out for liberty and justice against their Japanese oppressors. Much of what President Rhee had to say should be of interest to Americans. Here are excerpts from his address:

"There is no more ridiculous charge ever made then the repeated propaganda of the Communists that the United States is building up military bases in Asia for purposes of colonialism and imperialism. Exactly the opposite is the case, as has repeatedly been proved; but they recite their lie in order to deceive the uneducated masses of peoples and line them up against America.

"The United States entered South Korea with its armies when we had no government and no military strength of our own. It helped us to conduct elections, and build our own democracy; and it has armed and trained for us an army for our own self-defense. Similarly, the United States has intervened in Chinese affairs solely to help defend the last outpost of Chinese independence, for the everlasting benefit of both the entire free world and the great masses of the Chinese people themselves. One of the greatest proofs of American generosity is the great helping hand it has extended to its defeated enemy, Japan.

"I wish the people and the Government of the United States were not so quick to criticize and doubt themselves. When they hear the Communist propaganda charging that the people of Asia do not like their interference, they are fearful that there might be some truth in such charges, and they have a tendency to withdraw.

"If I could deliver just one single message to the heart of all America, it would be this: Trust yourselves a little more. Have faith in your own ideals. For truly the American principles and the American ideal are the last great hope of the world.

"The people of Asia know America, perhaps better in some ways than the Americans know themselves. It is too bad that American newspapers have so much to say about the supposed dislike and distrust of the peoples of Asia toward the United States. It is too bad there is so much discussion in America of the fact the only atomic bombs ever used in warfare were those dropped by American aviators upon an Asian people.

"This kind of self-castigation has partially at least closed the eyes of the American people to the tremendous position of strength they hold in our hearts. Stories such as these are created by the Reds to win over the voting population of every land as part of their Communist revolution campaign. In this way the Soviets have succeeded in making many nations their satellites. All intelligent Americans should realize this and make it known to their fellow citizens.

"No Asian will ever forget that at the time of the Boxer Rebellion the United States used its indemnity from China to educate Chinese students. No Asian will or can forget that the entry of the United States into the Philippines was for the purpose of educating and assisting the Philippine people to attain their independence. No Asian can overlook what the United States is doing for Korea and China.

"The truth is that the United States is a giant only partly aware of its own strength. When that giant is awakened by some awful catastrophe, as it was at Pearl Harbor, its strength is shown to all the world—as is its generosity and forbearance after the fighting is ended.

"Perhaps it is inherent in any democracy that its real power is concealed except in emergencies. In this period of half-war, half-peace—when every responsible statesman is doing his best to prevent a world disaster—the democracies reveal to everyone their own self-criticisms and their own tendencies to retreat as far as possible rather than to fight

"Under such circumstances, it is the totalitarian dictatorships that look powerful. • • • But while the dictatorships look, talk, and act fierce, the facts show that they are nothing but paper dragons. Red China has a large army, but the masses of Chinese hate their masters; and there is nowhere on the continent of China any industrial power to support a major war. Russia conducts a tremendous game of global bluff, but is weak in oil, coal, and steel—and has behind its Iron Curtain an uneasy collection of captive peoples who long for the opportunity to reassert their historical independence. • • •

"What I do deeply believe is that our greatest enemy is not the armed masses of Communist soldiers who confront us with one gun held at their own backs. The greatest enemy of the free world is its own fearfulness and self-doubt. If this can be overcome in time, the Communist dictatorships can be stopped and the rot that lies behind the Iron Curtain can be exploited to cause its own collapse."

Upper Colorado River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, Dinosaur National Monument is an important part of our national-park system. It straddles the Utah-Colorado border up near Wyoming, and contains in it some of the most livable and beautiful river scenery in the entire Colorado system.

Right now, Dinosaur is under a serious threat. There is a multi-billion-dollar reclamation project before Congress to build a series of huge dams in the upper Colorado River system, so that Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, and New Mexico can make use of their half of the Colorado River's water. Conservationists would like to see a good Colorado River development plan. But they do not want to destroy our enviable, priceless reserves of parks and scenic wilderness unless there should be a compellnig national need for such destruction. There is not.

The proposed Echo Park Dam, which is part of the proposed upper Colorado River project, would destroy the best of Dinosaur. All over the country conservation organizations have vigorously protested this plan because national parks and monuments were set aside to be left unimpaired for the enjoyment and use of present and future generations. In the course of compiling their protests, they have discovered from the Bureau of Reclamation's own figures that alternate dam sites can do the job that needs to be done.

The conservationists oppose it for one reason: It violates both Dinosaur and the whole national-park idea. If a place is set aside for use as a dam site, the building of a dam will change it for all time. It is only fair, then, that if a place is set aside as a park or monument, it should be left as it is for just as long a time—forever unavailable for conflicting types of use.

I am a life member of the Sierra Club, which is an organization dedicated to the purpose of preserving our national parks and monuments. Last summer I spent 6 days in a rubber boat traveling 80 miles of the Yampa River Gorge through Dinosaur National Monument and past the proposed site of Echo Park Dam. The Yampa River Gorge is truly one of the most spectacular and unusual river canyons in the United States. It would be changed materially and adversely by the proposed Echo Park Dam. The destruction of the beauty of Dinosaur National Monument for the construction of such a dam would violate every principle upon which our great system of national parks and national monuments was built.

I am strongly opposed to the Echo Park Dam and therefore must be and am opposed to the upper Colorado River project, unless this project is modified to eliminate the Echo Park Dam and to use some alternate site which will not destroy Dinosaur National Monument.

The Sierra Club, in its bulletin for February 1955, has published the following analysis of the weaknesses of the upper Colorado River project as now proposed:

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE COLORADO PROJECT?
A BRIEF STATEMENT OF DISPUTED QUESTIONS

CONCERNING PROPOSED ECHO PARK DAM

1. Advocates insist, even after demonstration that their figures were wrong, that this dam would save loss by evaporation that would supply water for "a city the size of Denver." This is incorrect. Alternate plans would result in less loss by evaporation.

2. Advocates imply that land nearby in Utah and Colorado would derive irrigation benefits. This is misleading. No water will be available for irrigation or domestic use from this dam.

3. Secretary McKay has stated that the dam would alter but not destroy the scenic beauty of Dinosaur National Monument. This is an error in judgment. The National Park Service was correct when it said the effect would be deplorable. The reservoir would periodically retreat nearly 40 miles, exposing 30,000 acres of silted landscape.

4. Some advocates claim that a reclamation withdrawal in the 1938 proclamation enlarging Dinosaur justifies constructing Echo Park Dam. It does not. This withdrawal is specific to Brown's Park, where a dam would flood a mile of canyon. The Dinosaur dams would flood 100 miles.

5. Advocates promise recreation for millions. Such choice is unnecessary and would be tragic. We need not flood an irreplaceable scenic sanctuary to provide reservoir recreation which can be had in abundance outside the national park system.

6. Advocates deny the damaging precedent, but precedent means "that which goes before"; and there now exist plans to build dams in nine national parks and monuments. The future will need more parks, not fewer.

CONCERNING THE ENTIRE DEVELOPMENT

1. The administration's local-State-Federal partnership plan for conserving small watersheds will alter the flow of the Colorado River. The effect on big-dam requirements is not yet known and needs to be considered.

2. The present storage project encompasses only part of a river basin and tends to duplicate rather than to complement existing costly development.

3. Premature authorization of so questionable a project would prejudice the emerging national water policy.

4. The project is likely to require major redesigning to accord with the pending Supreme Court interpretation of the 1922 Seven State Compact.

5. Financing, based on estimating procedures now proved unreliable, places undue faith on assumed hydroelectric-power rev-

enues for repayment decades hence in an atomic-power age.

6. Excessive water is committed to more agricultural production—and at high altitudes—at the cost of upper basin industrial development and national decentralization.

7. Proponents have not given a frank estimate of the ultimate cost—probably to exceed $13 billion exclusive of interest subsidy.

Alaska and Hawaii Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to the following editorial which appeared in Collier's magazine in the issue of March 18, 1955, endorsing statehood for Alaska and Hawaii:

LET'S MAKE IT 50 IN 1955

Oklahoma's Senator MIKE MONRONEY, writing in the March 4 Collier's, opposed statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and proposed commonwealth status, instead. He made an earnest and vigorous argument which brought the issues out into broad daylight where the American people can sort them out and debate them intelligently.

With full respect for Senator MONRONEY, Collier's finds the weight of logic on the opposite side of the balance, and believes the time is long past when a satisfactory solution can be found by tossing Hawaii and Alaska a bone called commonwealth status. The two Territories have served out their apprenticeships—Hawaii for 57 years, Alaska for 88. Hawaiians and Alaskans want statehood, not a watered-down compromise. They want to be full-fledged Americans and wear the honored badge of that status—the right to a voting voice in Federal affairs. Commonwealth status would deny them that right. The issue remains, therefore, statehood or not.

The kernel of Senator MONRONEY's argument is that the addition of these two new States would diminish the physical strength and symbolism in our land mass, and would dilute the common American heritage of ideals and democratic traditions with new voters of differing heritages.

The first of these arguments was blown out of the water by a series of explosions beginning at Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, and culminating with the first hydrogen blast beyond the Urals. The second mistakes the very nature of the American heritage.

The events of the past 13 years have thoroughly gutted the concept of the 48 States as a snug fortress with oceans for walls. A nation's strength, in this age, is an amalgam of many elements—scientific and military wherewithal, the speed and mobility of its striking power; its economic know-how and stability, its access to far-flung vital raw materials; and perhaps most important of all, the faith it inspires in its people.

Hawaii and Alaska, in the atomic age, are part and parcel of this pattern of American strength. They are military outposts of incalculable value. They are reservoirs of vast and varied natural resources. And they are communities of people—citadels of great potential spiritual strength. What we make of them is up to us. What we have made of them up to now, compared with their potentials, is very little.

We have denied these people a voice in the control of their own destinies, and in our own conduct of their affairs we have been shortsighted, whimsical, discriminatory and indifferent. We have stunted their industrial development with arbitrary restrictions. We have shortchanged them in various forms of Federal development aid. We have imposed restrictions which have stifled the development of their natural resources. And by denying them both the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship we have inhibited their progress toward political maturity.

It is no satisfactory answer to point out that in spite of these handicaps the Hawaiians and Alaskans have moved steadily forward, building their cities and roads and industries, rendering loyal service in every crisis. They have labored in patient expectation that their country would one day recognize their deserving and take them into full partnership. To grant them such partnership will not only open the way to accelerated development of their resources and strength, it will spread before the world a practical example of the kind of democracy we preach.

Senator MONRONEY fears dilution of the American heritage; these people have been sharing and defending that heritage for generations. Within the narrow limits allowed them, their performance has been superb. Our own performance, as custodians of that heritage, has left a good deal to be desired.

Our 48 States are a renowned melting pot of races and creeds, brought together in respect for a doctrine that says a man shall be judged by his character, not his ancestry; much of the rugged strength of America derives from this very diversity of peoples. Equality and individual justice are the essence of the American heritage, and we have tried to respect that principle in our policy toward Territories and possessions. Rejecting the way of colonialism, we have brought the Territories along to a level of political and economic maturity and then given them either independence or full partnership. That is how it was with the Philippines; that is how it was with Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and Oregon. That's how it should be with Hawaii and Alaska.

Senator MONRONEY fears for the future of a 50-State Union. He fears that conflicts of interest would arise between the new States and some of the older ones. There have been such conflicts ever since an industrial Massachusetts and an agrarian Virginia aired their mutual suspicions and fought out their differences in the original Constitutional Convention, and the Union has grown steadily stronger. He points out that the populations of Hawaii and Alaska would have more per capita representation in the Senate than would some of the more densely populated present States. So do New Mexico, Arizona, Idaho, and Rhode Island; Nevada has almost twice as many Senators per capita as the new territories would if they came into the Union at this moment. After all, one reason we have a Senate is to afford an arena where the sovereign States can meet on equal terms. He fears that the admission of Alaska and Hawaii might bring a parade of other Territories pounding on the door for statehood. Probably so—but the American people can be trusted to bar the undeserving, and admit those whose entry would strengthen the Union.

This is an age when a businessman can fly to Honolulu in the time it took his grandfather to drive a wagon from Chicago to Gary, Ind., and a bomber can fly from Bering Strait to Detroit in the time it took a frigate to sail the length of Long Island Sound. In such an age it is neither sound nor safe to regard Hawaii and Alaska as remote, picturesque possessions, nor their loyal people as outlanders. Hawaii and Alaska are essential, integral parts of the United States of America.

To make sure that their development proceeds with maximum speed and effectiveness requires that those most directly concerned—the people of Hawaii and Alaska—gain a positive voice in the basic decisions governing that development, and that freedom be given the same meaning for the people of Alaska and Hawaii that it has for the people of the present 48 States.

Hawaiians and Alaskans are ready for full citizenship—ready and anxious to pull their full weight on the American team. In justice and commonsense they ought to have statehood, now.

A Congressman's Pay—The Increase in Salary Should Bear Good Fruit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Castle (Ind.) Courier-Times of March 2, 1955:

A CONGRESSMAN'S PAY—THE INCREASE IN SALARY SHOULD BEAR GOOD FRUIT

The action of the Congress in raising the pay of its own Members is not likely to find current listing on the legislative hit parade. It is the sort of thing that always is suspect, and of course it lends itself beautifully to political capital if there are those disposed to make that of it.

But we're for it.

We approve of the $22,500 salary for Congressmen for several reasons.

First of all, it's more democratic. It removes the necessity that a person be well fixed financially in order to afford to be a candidate for Congress.

Adequate pay for our Congressmen will tend to remove the mink-coat deep-freeze threat. Few Congressmen are dishonest enough to accept bribes, but this eliminates also the need to receive gifts from anybody with an ax to grind.

There are many expenses that a Congressman has that he can't charge up to office expense. He has to do some entertaining, and he has to dress pretty well. Who wants a shabby-looking Congressman?

He has to live away from home, paying hotel and restaurant prices, and Washington is not a cheap place. The whims of the electorate being what they are, he probably still keeps the old home place, too; so he maintains 2 homes.

Most important of all, it should help get good men to run for office for when a man runs for Congress he likely must prepare to give up his occupation.

Many of our Congressmen are lawyers, and their familiarity with the law does tend to make them better fitted to be lawmakers. Take the case of a lawyer who has a good practice, a happy home and a hometown he loves. He is pretty well satisfied with life, and any idea that he close his law office, uproot his family, move away from his friends, and as Justice Sherman Minton used to say, "leave the hometown, where business is done on the square, for Washington, where everybody goes in circles," must be accepted in the sense of personal sacrifice for the public good.

The new Congressman's salary is some recompense to such a man for the sacrifice that he must make to become a servant of the people.

There may be those who will see evil portents in the new salary increase, but we believe that it is money well and properly spent, and that its fruits will be good.

A Common Intellectual Tradition Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, there is a weakness in our colleges and universities. It lies in the failure to keep intact as a unifying reference point for the students a common intellectual tradition, a sense of an intellectual community leading to a sense of the continuity of human experience. One used to find all this in the old prescribed courses of the humanities before a rampant, free-for-all, excessively individualist elective system ripped everything apart. But now we live with a situation where doctors only know how to make their meaning plain to other doctors; or engineers to other engineers; or lawyers to other lawyers, or businessmen to other businessmen, and so on. Each of these talks, and talks well within the range of a profession. But they do not talk up and down and across their professions. They do not talk up and down and across the whole range of human experience, stimulating and stimulated by that experience, to perfect the spirit of their age in the light of the spirit of all ages. They do not and they cannot do this, because they do not have in common a vocabulary they all understand—a vocabulary that was once drawn from the common fund of knowledge embraced by the humanities.

This point was well and brilliantly made in a recent speech at the National Conference on Higher Education by Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, Arkansas. I include this speech here. I do this in connection with a bill I am introducing today which I trust will help to correct a situation which is growing progressively worse.

The speech follows:

After the many taxing hours you've spent in discussion groups, I think I can best thank you for the invitation to speak here in this final hour, by speaking briefly. I shall try to do just that. In fact, the heart of what I have to say is expressed in but one story.

Some time ago, so this story goes, a warden at the Joliet penitentiary played host to a conference of criminologists, called to consider ways and means of reducing the crime rate. One speaker seemed to carry the day with his thesis that the way to do this was by requiring all young people to study mathematics intensively. For the discipline gained in this way, so the speaker claimed, would lead the young to think logically, and so make them virtuous when they came of age.

There was great applause when he reached the end and sat down. The warden alone seemed unimpressed. He asked an aide to fetch a certain prisoner, introduced him to the meeting, and then at once sent the prisoner back to his cell. "That man you just saw," the warden explained to the criminologists, "is the most brilliant mathematician in the whole prison. So brilliant, in fact, that it took bank examiners 10 years before they found that he was embezzling funds by juggling bank ledgers. That man was not deficient in mathematics. What he lacked was a sense of grammar and rhetoric. He simply didn't know the difference between the words 'mine' and 'yours'."

You will agree, I think, that the criminologist who saw in the science of mathematics the means to create a nation of moral men and good citizens, is not alone in his approach. He is joined by a chorus of voices, each with a special educational emphasis leading to the magic formula. To one person, it is training in physics, or medicine, or plant life. To another, it is training in business, or homemaking, or athletics. Let this or that be the cornerstone for higher education—so they say—and the arrangement of its own force will meet every danger, solve every problem, remove every evil, and gain every good.

As for myself, I am inclined to favor the Warden's theory of education, if I may call it that. I am inclined to favor it, subject to three qualifications.

First, no system of higher education, however arranged, can bear the whole load of cultivating what lies in the human spirit. For that spirit, as the ancients taught us long ago, is a mixed thing. It is formed and ruled not alone by reason. It is also formed, and it is all too often ruled, by the will and by the passions. And if there are those who may deny this ancient fact, the rule of Adolph Hitler in Germany, and Mussolini in Italy, and the careers of a variety of imitators in the United States—each in a land preeminent for its literacy and enlightenment—are case studies of how reason can be set on its head by willful men who know how to play on passions, and so make the worse cause appear to be the better one.

The second qualification follows from the first. It is that if the education of the individual is viewed in its entirety, then disciplined hearts must dwell in the same body as disciplined minds. And in this light, not the schools alone can carry the burden of the work that needs to be done. Nor can they be charged—as they now often are—with full responsibility for any defective products. Our homes, our churches, our political institutions, our economic enterprises—all our media of communication—are, and must be considered, a part of what educates the individual. None can absolve itself from the end result. All are jointly responsible for what it is like.

The third qualification is addressed to those who would have the schools and colleges emphasize this or that specialized science and art. Let me say here that I have the utmost respect for the specialist. It is plain, for example, that we urgently need scientists and technicians who can lend their expertness to the defense of America and the free world. So, too, as a further example, do we need men, skilled in the art of economic management, who can perfect the way we organize production and distribution. This work is of supreme importance; for though it is true enough that man does not live by bread alone, at least he lives by bread. And we need places specifically set aside for the purpose of cultivating the science and art of making bread, and defending it.

Yet divorced from all else, this specialization in art and science—and here I come to my point—is not an education for a democracy. There is nothing to distinguish it from an educational system in a totalitarian state. Men like Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin may have boasted of a Nazi, or a Fascist, or a Communist science and technology. Yet these bits of knowledge are not political or moral by nature. The same textbooks dealing with them can be used by students in both democracies and tyrannies. For the subjects themselves are equally useful to freemen and slaves alike; and indeed, in ancient times, they were cultivated chiefly by slaves.

I repeat that this specialization does not form an education for a democracy. It does not create an atmosphere in which the mind can be opened to every intimate impulse and voice, meshed with other minds of a like sort. Specialization, by definition, focuses on only a small part of the human battleline. It orients no one toward a view and a place in the battleline as a whole. It orients no one toward the whole intellectual life and tradition of a country. It orients no one toward an understanding of man as he appears in a particular moment of current history, and in the history of the ages.

And it is precisely at this point—as I shall try to make plain in a moment—that the comment of the warden at Joliet seems to apply on all fours. Here, let me digress to say that from what I have seen of our colleges and universities, their key weakness is not that they breed Communists. It is arrant nonsense to say that they do. Not one of our enlisted men who went over to the Communist side during the Korean war and refused repatriation, cited as his reason any Marxist indoctrination while in college. Many of them never went to more than the primary grades, and in fact, were illiterate. As for the officers who were court-martialed for aiding the enemy, not one of these pointed an accusing finger at some university professor under whom they had studied at West Point or elsewhere.

Yet there is weakness in our colleges and universities. And now, in this hour of grace, we ought to turn our thoughts inward, and seek where this weakness lies. In my view, at least, it lies in our failure to teach grammar and rhetoric—to teach the difference between "mine" and "yours." In the largest sense for which this difference in words is but a symbol, it lies in our failure to keep intact as a unifying reference point for the undergraduate body, a common intellectual tradition, a sense of an intellectual community leading to a sense of the continuity of human experience.

One used to find all this in the old prescribed courses of the humanities before a rampant, free-for-all, excessively individualist elective system ripped everything apart. But now we live with a situation where doctors only know how to make their meaning plain to other doctors; or engineers to other engineers; or lawyers to other lawyers; or businessmen to other businessmen, and so on. Each of these talks, and talks well within the range of a profession. But they do not talk up and down and across their professions. They do not talk up and down and across the whole range of human experience, stimulating and stimulated by that experience, to perfect the spirit of their age in the light of the spirit of all ages. They do not and they cannot do this, because they do not have in common a vocabulary they all understand—a vocabulary that was once drawn from the common fund of knowledge embraced by the humanities.

All of this lends an air of paradox to our commitment to democracy. On the one hand, we assert our devotion to a system of government that is based on free and intelligible communication between citizen and citizen, and between the leaders and the led. On the other hand, we weaken the effectiveness of that system by a prevailing educational process that tends to narrow down communication by limiting it to an "Information Please" program and a Read-

ers Digest, or by rendering meaning altogether meaningless. This paradox, let me add, is made to order for exploitation by the demagogs. For I noticed that when our higher institutions of learning came under attack from that quarter, all too many of them were bewildered by what they were called on to defend. They seemed at times to flounder in an inner darkness of their own making, equal in density to the darkness the demagogs meant to impose on them from without. The best that many of them could do was to raise the rallying cry of academic freedom. Yet academic freedom, while of supreme importance in the educational process, is not the end aim of the process. It is but a means to an end. And under conditions where so many of our institutions of higher learning lacked any coherent, general, and organized body of knowledge they meant to impart to their students, they were at a loss how to define the end they meant to preserve through academic freedom.

In saying this, I am not implying that our colleges and universities ought now to sit down in a solemn convention and agree on a body of doctrine which they will then impose as a new orthodoxy on their student bodies. In common with all of you, I see in any such proposal the death of all education; of an education, at least, whose aim ought to be the infusion of the spirit of learning among students, and whose method ought to be not indoctrination, but the constant exercise of the mind in meaningful arguments. In common with all of you, also, I see in any such proposal for orthodoxy, something of the ludicrous outlook of a university trustee who strongly objected to the text of a university president's commencement address. And when the president said to the trustee, "Well, don't you want your students to hear the truth?" the trustee answered, "Of course. But can't you print the truth on the back of the convocation program, and hand it to the graduates as they file out of the chapel?"

The tradition of the humanities, for whose restoration I am pleading as the heart of any educational system that can best serve democracy, is not a tradition of orthodoxy. It is a tradition of continuous disagreement between parties in a great dialogue extending back over the ages. All that these parties agreed upon was the topics they felt were worth talking about. And beyond this, the sense of unity that is present in their great dialogue was hinged to the fact that when they disagreed, they knew what they were disagreeing about. Today, by contrast, we are inclined to rush ahead pellmell with our solutions, without first asking what the question is we want to solve. Today, also, it happens all too often that people disagree violently without recognizing that they are talking about different things in the first place.

In the long retrospect, I think it is fair to say that the strength of our political institutions, is a strength drawn originally from men who shared the common heritage of education in the humanities. Indeed, in this respect, there probably was no institution of higher learning in history equal to the community of men who formed the Constitutional Convention. All were preeminent in practical affairs. Yet they were also men who knew how to speculate, who brought a broad range of human experience to bear first on their thoughts and then on their practical work. This is not to say that they agreed with each other. They disagreed sharply. But when they did, they shared a common vocabulary which made the eventual agreement possible. So, also, in later years, a Thomas Jefferson and an Alexander Hamilton, whose thoughts form the basic fabric of our national life, disagreed sharply. Yet they were children of the same tradition. And because they were, each in the act of disagreeing, brilliantly served the Nation so that we can now turn to Jefferson for guidance under one set of circumstances, and to Hamilton under a different set. And in this way, we profit from both.

I am saying here that tradition does not mean uniformity. It means diversity within an embracing unity. And it is to this end, I feel, that we must reconceive and reorganize the life that is lived in our schools of higher learning. We must make of those schools the home for a new spirit of learning. We must make them, as Woodrow Wilson pleaded in 1909, "a community of scholars and pupils—a free community but a very real one, in which democracy make its reasonable triumphs of accommodation, its vital process of unity. I am not suggesting," Wilson continued, "that young men be dragooned into becoming scholars or tempted to become pedants, or have any artificial compulsion whatever put upon them, but only that they be introduced into the high society of university ideals, be exposed to the hazards of stimulating friendships, be introduced into the easy comradeship of the republic of letters. By this means the classroom itself might some day come to seem a part of life."

A final remark. I have no illusion that even if all this is done, all will be well with us in a present and future hour. For we face the fact that what we are educating, is, after all, the son of old Adam. And like his ancestor who rebelled against a teaching from the highest possible quarter, so can the son of old Adam rebel against what he is taught, and reach for forbidden fruit. Yet this much, at least, can be hoped for: That a familiarity with what the many generations of man have talked about and experienced in their career on earth, can, by pointing up the consequences, reduce the danger of such a rebellion, though it may not eliminate it altogether. Indeed, without this heroic hope that education can inch humanity forward toward the vision of human perfectibility, life itself would have no purpose.

In all that touches existence, free men everywhere look to America for leadership. When we wobble, they feel unsteady. When we creak, they groan. When we slip, they fall. But when we act with the clarity of a great purpose, they feel braced and uplifted. Our schools of higher learning must view themselves as the heart within the heart of what it is that can enable America to give free men the leadership they want. Yet America cannot exercise that leadership if, within the borders of our own land, we are in danger of losing the ability to talk to one another. It is to the restoration of that lost art, in all its admitted difficulties, that I hope our schools of higher learning will bend their chief energies.

Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Connersville (Ind.) News-Examiner of March 3, 1955:

PAY RAISE

Our lawmakers always seem to feel a little embarrassment at voting themselves a raise. Rarely if ever can they bring the question up in election years.

It is well deserved, and long overdue. Most lawmakers today, whatever the range of their mental talents, are hard-working. They endure heavy strains and are subject to much harassment from constituents, lobbyists, and others.

Furthermore, in the nature of things each is compelled to maintain 2 homes, 1 in his State and another in Washington. Considering today's housing prices, this is in many instances an almost unbearable burden.

If we are ever to improve the caliber of our lawmakers, clearly we must offer recompense that will attract men of ability, and not require them to work as public servants at an undue sacrifice.

Twin Spotlights on Naval Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a very interesting editorial which appeared in the February 14 issue of Aviation Week.

This editorial very vividly expresses the need for adequate funds so that the Navy can continue its program of research, development, and procurement. Most of us are familiar with the aircraft prototypes developed by the Navy and utilized by both the Navy and the Air Force during the recent Korean conflict. I am greatly impressed with the progress the Navy Bureau of Aeronautics has made since that time in an attempt to maintain our air superiority.

We have underestimated the importance of naval aviation in the development of a well-balanced air arm. It is apparent that we have neglected naval aviation, as we had not anticipated that they would be called upon to play such a vital role in the Straits of Formosa and this Far East area.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include this editorial:

TWIN SPOTLIGHTS ON NAVAL AVIATION

(By Robert Hotz)

Twin spotlights of public attention are now focused on naval aviation—off Formosa where the four big attack carriers of the 7th Fleet are holding the line against Chinese communism and on Capitol Hill in Washington where a congressional subcommittee is investigating the reasons for the Navy's lagging procurement of modern combat aircraft.

The fact that development and production of modern transonic jet-powered aircraft for the Navy has been slow is apparent in the equipment of air groups aboard the 7th Fleet carriers. Once again the amount of time it takes to translate congressional appropriations into combat-ready airpower is heavily underscored in an hour of crisis.

The billions appropriated for the production of naval aircraft after the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950 have not yet reached the firing line in the form of enough modern jet aircraft to be of military significance.

NONE IN BATTLELINE

Public prints have been full of the record-breaking capabilities of the latest crop of Navy's transonic fighters—the Douglas F4D Skyray, the Grumman F9F–9 Tiger, and the North American FJ–3 and FJ–4 Furys. All of these aircraft are flying and some of them have been in the air for as long as 2 years. Yet none of them is with the 7th Fleet on the battleline off Formosa. Fighter squadrons aboard the carriers *Kearsarge, Essex, Wasp,* and the giant *Midway* are equipped with straight-winged Grumman F9F–5 Panthers and McDonnell F2H Banshees, both with speed limitations well below the current standard for modern air-to-air combat. Some fighter squadrons with the 7th Fleet also have Grumman F9F–6 sweptwing Cougars, a more modern fighter edging into the transonic range but still with performance well below the F9F–8 now in production at Grumman's Bethpage, Long Island, plant and the F9F–9, still in experimental flight test stage.

In the bomber category the Navy has two fine Douglas designs, the sweptwing A3D Skywarrior and the A4D lightweight delta, already in production. But again these planes are not on the firing line in Formosa. First A3D carrier squadron has been organized, but the A4D still is in experimental testing. The bombers with the 7th Fleet are the old veterans of the Korean war—the piston-powered Douglas Skyraider. In its atomic bomber units stationed in Japan, but available for operations off 7th Fleet carriers are the North American AJ–2's, powered by a pair of piston engines with a jet for extra boost.

Although equipment is only one part of the air combat equation that includes pilot proficiency, tactics, and leadership, it would take an extreme optimist to be happy about the quality of the aircraft the 7th Fleet has to fight against the sweptwing MIG–15 fighters and the twin-jet IL–28 bombers that are operational in sizable quantities with the Chinese Communist air force.

There is little doubt that in these other items—pilot proficiency, tactics, and combat leadership—the 7th Fleet has quality far superior to its potential foe. Aircraft industry leaders, who remember Vice Adm. Alfred M. "Mel" Pride for his technical pioneering with early carrier aircraft and his tenure as Chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics, will agree that the Navy could find no better commander for what is now its most important battle force afloat. In addition to his wartime record as an aircraft-carrier commander in the Pacific he knows so well, Admiral Pride made important contributions to the development of carrier arresting gear, and on the autogiros from which developed Navy's present use of helicopters. For years he has fought almost singlehandledly to keep turboprop development alive in this country.

BUREAU'S PERSISTENCE

The fact that the Air Force will be able to build a fleet of turboprop-powered transports to equip its aerial logistics system of the future is due in large measure to the Navy Bureau of Aeronautics' persistence, led by Admiral Pride, in pushing development of this type engine, despite what looked to many as insurmountable obstacles only a few years ago.

We do not think the subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee will accomplish much by raking up the details of the technical troubles of the Navy's aircraft development during the past 5 years. The details are well known in the aircraft industry and in the Navy, and investigations will not resurrect the once-promising projects that might have filled the interim gap in the Navy's aerial battle force.

Fundamental to this problem was the starvation diet of naval aircraft research and development funds in the pre-Korean area that prevented a more vigorous attack on the technical problems of the jet age.

RESEARCH IS KEY

There are many promising new technical avenues along which naval aviation is moving toward its future—the vertical takeoff and landing figthers; the waterborne aircraft, ranging from the giant jet seaplane teamed with submarine tankers to the supersonic delta fighters equipped with hydroskis for landing on water, snow, ice, or tundra, and the lightweight-design philosophy that can pay a double dividend in increased combat strength for less money.

We recommend to the House Armed Services Committee and their colleagues in the Senate that instead of poking around in the ashes of the past they bend their efforts to making certain that naval aviation gets the research, development, and procurement funds necessary to push its promising new developments as hard and fast as possible in a concerted effort to avoid the qualitative inferiority that will threaten its aerial battleline if the new ideas are again allowed to drag and wither for lack of sufficient support.

Paying for Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD two editorials from the Democrat and Chronicle of Rochester, N. Y., bearing on the issue of Federal aid to education.

This issue, now coming to focus, is a crossroads issue in the history of our country. Our decision on it will determine irrevocably whether we are going down the road to statism, or shall hold fast to the precepts and tenets of the Founding Fathers. In no area of government is the concept of local responsibility and local control so vital. It is impossible to detach responsibility from control in this matter. The President knows this, and has recommended a program of self-help geared to this principle. The people know it, and have responded to today's unquestionably acute school needs with a high sense of responsibility. Never in our history has there been such a spectacular advance in school construction and support as in the past few years. But it has been well said that responsibility is a sense that deteriorates very quickly. Under the humid promise of massive Federal aid, this noteworthy and vitally important grassroots effort would melt down like butter under a hot sun. We are tampering with the very foundations of our Government when we suggest such a possibility.

The following editorials ably and effectively set forth the grassroots views on this important issue:

[From the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle of February 26, 1955]

PAYING FOR SCHOOLS

Some of the best news in many a day on the subject of schools has just come from a Presidential commission on the subject. "We have been unable," says the commission, "to find a State which cannot afford to make more money available for schools."

Rochester area school districts have demonstrated repeatedly their willingness to care for their children's school needs. There has been no tendency locally to look to Washington for the solution to this problem, regarded historically in this country as a purely local one. Delays in approving purchase of school sites or school construction have been nearly all due to disagreement as to details, not disagreement on the principle of paying for schools out of district taxes.

So this area is on its way to solving its own school problems. Programs may be slower than they should be, but a quickening of pace is apparent. School crowding is far from ended in the area as a whole, but there is assurance that it will be. There is an air of solid responsibility about the way school district residents have attended educational meetings on school-construction problems, debated the issues thoroughly, even heatedly, but in the end voted for more schools.

These local taxpayers have a right to call for the same kind of responsible action elsewhere in the State and Nation. No one has a right to ask us to shoulder our own school burdens and theirs, too, if they can afford the money. The Presidential commission, after careful study, says all States can afford to build their own schools. The size of the school shortage makes no difference in the principle. There is a tremendous need for new homes in the Nation, too, but how long would we have to wait for them if Washington was asked to supply the money?

Many politicians are fond of screaming about State's rights when it suits their purpose. There are such things as State's duties, too.

[From the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle of March 3, 1955]

LISTEN HERE, PROFESSOR

Some of the folks dignified by higher education took an undignified slide from the heights last weekend. They are unhappy about the Presidential subcommittee's report that Federal school construction aid won't be needed.

Their first tack was to shout "shocking," "astounding," "incredible," and "amazing." The screaming implies the judgment could have come only from a madman or a fool. One gentleman of many attending the convention of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education became downright sarcastic. We thought it was beneath the dignity of one tagged as "head of higher education" in a big university * * * but, from his words, decide for yourself:

"The only conclusion to be reached is that the practice of having babies is an intolerable, expensive hobby which must be abolished. * * * This can be done by persuading people to substitute dolls for babies."

Well, professor, Rochester area people go right on having babies and building schools, the best.

Not the easy way—the grassroots way.

Our school people—from school board members, superintendents, on down to janitors—and parents and taxpayers sell good schools. When a school is needed, they go to work, first selling each other. They talk to the man on the street, in the butcher shop, the drugstore, in factories, in offices, on trucks, on the farms * * * everywhere a school patron or taxpayer can be found. They don't always make it—the first time. We know of one area school now being built that took five school elections.

Scarcely ever do our people oppose schools as such. They often argue on method or detail, and they don't cater to waste or frills. But they don't talk about handouts from Washington. They're solid folks who accept

responsibility. The harder the job, the harder they work.

That's the hard way, professor * * * and it works, too, here in western New York.

Farmers Like Their Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there is a theory prevailing in some quarters that we have too many farmers in the United States. At times I have the feeling that this theory is held by people responsible for the administration's agricultural policies.

I do not subscribe to this theory. For many reasons—both social and economic—I believe in the preservation and expansion of family-type farmers in the United States.

Family farming—even when the incomes of those who follow this occupation are low—is a way of life. Editor William Ender, of the Durand (Wis.) Courier-Wedge, summarizes reasons why farmers like their life, even when they make less than $2,000 a year. His editorial follows:

FARMERS LIKE THEIR LIFE

What keeps Wisconsin farmers on the land? What kind of a fellow has the stamina to wrest a living from the land?

Those two questions interested a team of University of Wisconsin economists who began a farm survey in 1950. Their figures suggested these answers:

Strong family ties bind the farmer to the home place. Ninety-five percent of all farm labor is supplied by the family itself. The hired man accounts for only 5 percent of Wisconsin workmanship.

Only one-tenth of the farmers would quit the land for better opportunities elsewhere. And only 2 percent would allow themselves to be driven from their acreage by serious financial troubles.

Many farmers choose agriculture as an occupation because they inherited a farm, because they were brought up on a farm, or because farming is the only type of work they know. Fewer than one-fourth of our farmers even considered any other kind of work.

Yet, life on the farm is not easy. One-tenth of all Wisconsin farmers make less than $2,000 a year. In northern Wisconsin, 3 percent of all places are in this low-income bracket. Farm wives, in addition to household chores, supply 15 percent of the general labor it takes to keep a farm running. Sons and daughters, too, are kept hustling. That accounts for some departures for the cities, where workdays are shorter and vacations are expected.

Despite the gloomy outlook one might have after reading research figures, those who stay on the farm do so by choice. They are not required to stay there for lack of money. Most farmers find advantages in their mode of living, even though they do not get rich. Only about 5 percent of the rural people of Wisconsin consider farming as a dollars-and-cents proposition.

The University of Wisconsin survey received answers from 1,700 farms. There were 17 sheets of questions. H. W. Halvorson, A. M. Weisblat, D. M. Day, and K. H. Parsons worked together to compile information.

Their work is a creditable performance. Replies tend to show that farmers, the smallest but most independent industrialists in the world, are willing to face their lot in life with cheerful vigor. When challenges come, they are met and conquered with determination. A lot more of us need dispositions like that.

Are Claims of Defense Essentiality Swamping the President's Tariff Reform Program?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following statement by the Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc., published in the New York Times of March 4, 1955:

ARE CLAIMS OF DEFENSE ESSENTIALITY SWAMPING THE PRESIDENT'S TARIFF REFORM PROGRAM?

DEFENSE ESSENTIALITY

That is what the high tariff lobbies are putting their money on.

And because every American wants our country to be prepared to meet any emergency it all sounds like a pretty good argument.

But Secretary of State Dulles and Secretary of Defense Wilson, our two top Government officials responsible for defense, have gone down the line for H. R. 1, the bill to extend and reform our Reciprocal Trade Agreements program. So now, as the Senate begins to consider the President's tariff bill, we should all take a good hard look at this "defense essentiality" line and see how much substance there is to it.

WATCH INDUSTRY STARTED IT ALL

The four domestic producers of jeweled watches began all of this. And again, just recently, one of their major executives took an ad to tell how the industry is being driven into "extinction" by imports from Switzerland. Let us look at a few of the very strange contentions he made.

A. Only 4,000 precision watchmakers are left in America

The fact is that the United States timing industry employs 21,519 precision workers. The four jeweled watch companies are only a small part of the United States horological industry, and yet even they employ 9,754. (From U. S. Tariff Commission's report to President, of May 21, 1954. The figures given are based on 1954 averages of employment in the 4 jeweled lever watch factories and in 14 factories producing pin lever watches and clocks.)

What about that 4,000 figure?

The four jeweled watch companies employ 4,246 workers in making civilian watches, while 5,508, 50 percent of their labor force, are now in military production. All Government authorities agree that about the same "precision" skills are used in both civilian and military production.

Is any part of the United States time industry more "essential for defense" than another?

Not according to Thomas P. Pike, Assistant Secretary of Defense in Charge of Supply and Logistics, who told the Senate:

"It is * * * from a Defense Department standpoint nearly impossible to arrive at a determination that any one part of the horological industry is more essential for defense than any other part."

Do they make defense materials that no other companies can make?

Not according to the Department of Defense which told the Office of Defense Mobilization the following:

"There is no item or product which is not being made or procured in some quantity outside of the jeweled watch industry.

"There does not seem to be any part of the manufacture or assembly of mechanical time fuzes that is peculiar to the jeweled watch industry."

Another important contention is this—

B. The Swiss already have 85 percent of the United States market

But the fact is that United States watch manufacturers are not confined to 15 percent of the market as they would have you believe, but have 41 percent of the United States watch market, according to the latest official figures. (From U. S. Tariff Commission's report to the President, May, 1954, giving latest official figures on ratio of U. S. production to imports. This shows that United States factories produced 8.3 million jeweled-lever and pin lever watches, in competition with 12.2 million imports in both categories in 1953.)

Here are the facts that disprove basic contentions on the defense-essentiality argument used by the four domestic jeweled-watch companies. This rich industry (the figures for 1953—the last year available—show that three of the four enjoyed the greatest profit margin after taxes in their histories) has certainly started something. Right now, every high-tariff interest has devised some sort of theory by which they are essential. Defense essentiality is the anvil on which President Eisenhower's proposals for expanding trade are to be beaten out of shape.

WHERE WILL IT ALL END?

Riding right in on the second wave of defense essentiality is the chemical industry, particularly those who manufacture synthetic organic chemicals. They are not only against the President's very modest reform of the reciprocal trade agreements program, but, according to one of their spokesmen, also "call for the removal of (past) tariff concessions on items which have resulted in a volume of imports which threaten industrial capacity vital for defense."

What's being threatened? Why only a puny little industry made up of du Ponts, Monsantos, Dows, etc., that has grown 10 percent per year for the last 25 years. Producing $20 billion of goods annually, they exported $894 million during the first 9 months of 1954, while imports totaled only $242 million.

About the vital synthetic organic chemicals for which they ask high tariffs: The domestic industry produces $4 billion worth each year. The amount imported in 1953 was $50 million. According to the United States Tariff Commission only $5.8 million of these imports, or less than one-half of 1 percent, were competitive.

And now, because the getting is good, all the high-tariff lobbies are riding the tide of the defense-essentiality argument. Here are the arguments some industries cited in their demand for more protection:

The lace manufacturers say they make military mosquito nets, and are essential for defense.

The wool glove manufacturers say they make soldiers' gloves, and are essential for defense.

The cutlery manufacturers say they manufacture military machetes, and are essential for defense.

The tunafish producers contend that their tuna fleet is needed in time of war, and they are essential for defense.

The Lead Pencil Manufacturers Association says that pencil manufacturers are indispensable to national defense only conceding that their product is not directly utilized for combat purposes."

Who's next?

IT SOUNDS SILLY—BUT IT'S DANGEROUS

While it may seem awfully silly, this is a very serious business. No American can, of course, afford to have a closed mind on any matter that pertains to national security. But, in viewing the problem with the objectivity that it deserves, we must be careful not to be just swept along with a "defense" slogan.

Britain did that—and learned the hard way. They decided to "protect" their optical industry so that they would not be dependent on overseas suppliers during time of war. "The result," Fortune magazine reports, is that "Britain has lagged seriously behind the United States and Germany in optical development;" so that, walled off by high tariffs from the stimulation of competition, the British optical industry became obsolescent and inadequate for national defense needs.

And in taking an objective look at the defense essentiality argument we should ask ourselves to what we should gear our national preparedness—World War II or a war of the future? Obviously, another world war would be tragically different. This time the war would inevitably come right to our own country. The area of the H-bomb makes an arsenal of defense, 4,000 miles away from the battlefield, an impossible dream.

Just one H-bomb, the AEC tells us, would cause death throughout an area the size of New Jersey. In a third world war tremendous areas of our country and of our defense industry would be devastated. In a third world war the test of our defense industry will be its flexibility; its ability to adapt itself quickly to every circumstance. The idea of copying the British and building a defense industry that becomes complacent and fat behind high tariff walls is not the answer to the Nation's needs.

WORLD TRADE AND A STRONGER AMERICA

Why all the concern about tariffs and trade? The President has stated:

"For our own economic growth we must have continually expanding world markets; for our security we require that our allies become economically strong. Expanding trade is the only adequate solution. If we fail in our trade policy, we may fail in all."

Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc., a bipartisan, 100-percent volunteer organization, declared before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives that the President's trade program is "the touchstone for success in our foreign policy, stimulation of our national economy, and aid to the consumer."

The President's plan for liberalizing and expanding trade, H. R. 1, was passed a short time ago in the House of Representatives. Against the onslaught of the high-tariff bloc the bill only won out by seven votes. Now before the Senate, this attempt to give America a modern trade program faces very rough sledding.

All those who believe in the need for a tariff policy in the national interest—a tariff policy that will build up—not tear down—our anti-Communist foreign policy—should write at once to the Senate Finance Committee or to their own Senator and protest exaggerated "defense essentiality" arguments and endorse the President's program, H. R. 1, as written.

And every Member of Congress should be urged to support all moves that will undo the harm where we have fallen for "essentiality" sloganeering in the past.

Committee on Foreign Trade Education, Inc., National Headquarters, 270 Park Avenue, New York City: David C. Hamilton; John C. Howatt, Deputy Executive Director; Thomas L. Hughes; W. Byron Kantack; Eric Keble; David C. Lane, Treasurer; Gwelda McPhee, Secretary; Winthrop R. Munyan; B. A. Rittersporn, Jr., Executive Director; Daniel F. Ruge; Board of Directors.

Junior Conservation Essay Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission has sponsored a junior conservation essay contest as part of its program of acquainting boys and girls of Florida with the essentials of wildlife conservation. This very fine program has produced a great deal of interest on the part of young Floridians. I think it worthwhile to reproduce in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the winning essays of the junior conservation essay contest. The first division winner is Paul M. Bruun, age 10, Miami Beach. The first prize winner in the second division is Frank K. Jordan, age 17, Pensacola.

The essay follows:

WHAT CONSERVATION MEANS TO ME

(Winning essay by Paul M. Bruun, North Beach Elementary School, Miami Beach)

I am writing this paper from a sportsman's point of view.

When Columbus came to this country he found Indians who had tried to keep most of the game animals alive. The white men had to build homes and thus had to cut down trees. Food was also needed, therefore lots of game was killed. This was their natural way of providing food and shelter for their families, but like most white men, they were very wasteful.

Likewise the Indians had to kill game, such as bear, fox, deer, panther, and other animals. But they used almost every bit of the animals they killed. They caught fish from the many streams and lakes.

When the Indians hunted buffalo, they killed only what they needed and left enough for future food. They also roamed over large territories and didn't kill off all the game in any section.

On the other hand, the white man used just the choice meat of the game he killed. He used just the middle of the trees he cut down.

The buffalo, the passenger pigeon, whooping cranes, giant panda, trumpeter swan, heat hen, and the Carolina parakeet have become extinct because of man's great greed. The last passenger pigeon on record died in 1914 in the Cincinnati Zoo.

I love to see beautiful woods and beautiful lakes with big-mouth bass jumping and clean rivers and streams. I love wild flowers and growing trees and if the law doesn't protect this beauty, nobody will.

When a farmer plows his hill fields up and down, a heavy rain washes the soil away. But when there is a smart farmer, he will plow crosswise and when the big rains come, the soil isn't destroyed.

Without minerals we would be pretty sad but with erosion, many precious minerals are lost from the earth. When the forests are destroyed, it leaves the land wide open to big, destructive floods.

I am a fisherman at heart and while I don't really enjoy killing animals, I do go game hunting with my dad. I do enjoy shooting guns for the sport of it, such as target practice.

There is something so attractive in a mountain stream, lake, or in a wilderness that could keep me there for hours on end. But if that lake or stream isn't clean, its beauty is lost, and with it, its attraction for me. A littered body of water isn't going to draw my best attention, as a beautiful lake is a clean lake without chemicals from factories.

A beautiful lake is one where old camping equipment hasn't been thrown in. It does not contain poison for the killing of insects.

A trout will eat anything he can sink his fool mouth into, so it would be a better plan to let the trout and bass kill the insects instead of manmade poisons.

On a visit to Lake George in New York this past summer I learned that New York's forest program has as its slogan, "Don't be a litterbug." This would be a good slogan for Florida.

My main question of the conservation commission is, Why are sailfish allowed to be killed uselessly?

One day I went fishing in the Gulf Stream on a charter boat. I caught a tuna, my father caught a bonita, and a little boy caught a very small sailfish. I have heard there is some sort of a law that says you should not keep a sailfish unless you are going to eat it or mount it. If this isn't a written law it should be. This small sailfish had been injured near the tail.

There was reason to keep the bonita for bait, and the tuna was kept for food. The little boy who caught the sailfish wasn't allowed to take it home. Was it sold illegally. Was it eaten by the captain, or did it just go to waste? Why doesn't somebody put real conservation measures on the big, beautiful fish of the deep?

Ever since I can remember, I have been interested in conservation. To prove my strong feeling on the subject, I am including a little story I wrote when I was 8 years old and in the fourth grade, which was printed in our school paper. It was entitled "The Forest."

"The forests of our country are very, very beautiful. There are beautiful trees and there are many animals and pretty birds that live in the forests. If the forests are burned, the birds and animals wouldn't have any home and our country wouldn't be beautiful any more.

"When you drive out in the country, be careful that you don't throw any lighted matches out of the car windows.

"If you are camping, pour water or sand on your campfire before you leave. The slogan on the 1950–51 license plates is 'Keep Florida Green!' Let's do it."

The population of game is very great in the Everglades. I like to take airboat rides through the swamps but the constant draining of the glades kills a lot of the natural dwellers there and wrecks their homes. Now drilling for oil is permissible but clearing the middle of the swamp for crops is idiotic.

I love the Ocala National Forest where my father and I hunt deer, turkey, bear, and panther. When I think of Florida, I think of good hunting and fishing and if there's hunting, there has to be game.

There is great wealth in wildlife. Conserve it.

THE VALUE OF WILDLIFE IN FLORIDA'S ECONOMY

(Winning essay by Frank K. Jordan, B. T. Washington High, Pensacola)

To consider the true values of wildlife in Florida's economy, I believe that we must

first understand what is meant by wildlife and how we might classify it. Wildlife is, according to noted authorities, all wild animals, trees, and plants collectively and especially as objects of Government conservation. From this definition, I am able to gather three things: First, wildlife has reference to all nondomesticated animals. Second, all plants and trees, within the State, that are not home grown, are classified as wildlife. Third, wildlife, itself is essential to the livelihood of our entire country.

We are especially interested in the effect that these various forms of wildlife have on the economy of our great and wondrous State of Florida. Florida is topranked as a resort State and winter wonderland. Its wildlife plays an important, yes, an essential role, in its having so many tourists. More than 4,500,000, of all nationalities, come to Florida annually to enjoy its many natural resources and Florida's wildlife is a principal part of its vast natural resources. Since more than 90 percent of the population of the United States can reach Florida within 48 hours, many people come to Florida solely to enjoy its many varieties of crops, fishes, trees, flowers, herbs, and birds.

Florida's wildlife resources are so plentiful and immense that I shall consider them in sequence. The first is Florida's wild game. Wild game, of all types, are more or less abundant in all sections of this State. In the vast forests and undeveloped sections of Florida may be found deer, bears, coons, wildcats, possums, wild turkeys, squirrels, and foxes. In the vastness of the Everglades, panther and other wild game can still be found. In the more open sections and in the fields, quails and dove offer the hunter ample opportunity to display his sportsmanship. Ducks and geese are found all over Florida's many rivers and lakes.

Fish, too, are wild game and all along the 3,700 miles of the gulf and Atlantic coasts, they provide anglers with unlimited opportunities to display their prowess. For example, the sailfish, and the tarpon are two of the most prized sport fish in the world. They are found abundantly in the waters of Florida. This fact alone, causes literally thousands of sportsmen to visit Florida annually, which when added up in dollars and cents, comes to a considerable amount of money, which is used wisely on improvements on our schools, better highways, and higher living standards in our communities.

Birdlife is another form of Florida's wildlife. Florida is hostess to millions of birds a year. Birdlife, as part of Florida's economy, is so important that the late President Roosevelt established the first bird sanctuary in the United States on Pelican Island, near the lovely city of Sebastian, Fla., on March 14, 1903. The world famous and awe-inspiring sanctuary at Bok Tower, near Lake Wales, Fla., is said to be one of the most beautiful spots in the United States. According to John J. Audubon, world famous for his realistic study of birdlife, our State bird, the mocking bird, is the most beautiful singer in all birddom. It not only imitates but composes, and has been known to change its song 87 times within 7 minutes, and that is a record unequalled. In the extreme southern part of Florida, the rare birds have their home. The crane, who stalks majestically through the shallow Everglade waters; the colorful flamingo, who resembles an immensely beautiful, red and pink rose from a distance; and the white Ibis, who from a distance makes the trees resemble a beautiful snowball; are outstanding examples of why any tourist should visit Florida. The rare beauty, magnificent coloring, and stately grace of these birds gives one a lesson of God-given beauty. Because of the fragile loveliness and rapturous beauty of these birds, they are a natural drawing card, therefore indispensable to Florida's economy.

Another equally valuable part of Florida's wildlife is its plants and flowers. There are more than 3,000 varieties of flowering plants, in this land of many flowers. From the gorgeous royal poinciana, to the hibiscus, to the tiniest wild flower that hides its head on the thick grass of the Everglades, Florida offers a panorama of floral beauty that is unexcelled. To our winter visitors there are many surprises, such as rare air plants, that attach themselves to stately trees and unfold their beautiful blossoms in artistic beauty.

Last, but not least, Florida's forestry plays an excellent role in its economy. Florida has 328 species of native trees. Vast forests of pine, oak, cypress, and other trees, dot the entire State, affording restful contemplation for the visitor. Our forests occupy 22 million acres and yield an annual production of lumber, pulpwood, and naval stores valued at $175 million. Our tung tree crop annually exceeds $1 million, and the Spanish moss income amounts to $1 million a year.

It is, therefore, self-evident that Florida's various forms of wildlife—fish, ducks, birds, plants, flowers, and forests—rank high as being among its most valuable resources, worth more to every true Floridian than his weight in gold. Florida's heart is found in its valuable wildlife resources.

Holy Rosary Academy Nuns' Society Emerged Out of Cholera Plague That Swept Rome 118 Years Ago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to have printed an article on the Holy Rosary Academy nuns which appeared on March 2, in the Hudson Dispatch, Union City, one of the great dailies in my district. I believe the Nation will delight in reading the heroic account of the noble work of these holy women.

The article follows:

HOLY ROSARY ACADEMY NUNS' SOCIETY EMERGED OUT OF CHOLERA PLAGUE THAT SWEPT ROME 118 YEARS AGO—SISTERS CARRY OUT EDICT TO "SPREAD CATHOLIC ACTION" IN WEST HOBOKEN SECTION

Out of a dread cholera plague which swept Rome 118 years ago emerged the religious order which now maintains Holy Rosary Academy in Union City, and contributes to community life in West Hoboken section of the city.

With completion of their new school at 15th Street and Bergenline Avenue only a short time away, Sisters of the Catholic apostolate which run the school are carrying on the edict of their founder, Blessed Vincent Pallotti, to spread Catholic action.

For more than 50 years in West Hoboken, the Sisters have carried on their work, which can be summed up merely as "doing what is best for the life of the community in which they are." Unlike most Catholic orders, the Pallottine Sisters are not bound to any particular field of work, but instead bend their efforts to "what is most needed."

THE NEW WORLD

Half a century ago, when the Sisters first came to Union City, the need was to care for the children of the flood of immigrants who came to this country deluded with dreams of "the New World" only to find it one that demanded long hours of toil in factories and on construction jobs.

With the schedule of work from sunrise to sunset, many of the immigrants found it impossible to provide properly for their children. To fill this void, Sisters of Catholic Apostolate were established in Newark shortly after the turn of the 20th century, to supervise a boarding school for girls.

In 1903, property was purchased on Spring St., West Hoboken (now Bergenline Av.), which was formerly owned by B. P. O. of Elks, and still stands as Holy Rosary Villa at 15th Street. As it stood, the building was not large enough to accommodate the 60 boarders transferred here from Newark, and work was immediately begun on an adjoining edifice.

FIRST SUPERIOR NAMED

First superior was Mother Catherine, accompanied by two sisters. One of them, Sister Rufina, is still at Holy Rosary Academy although more than 90 years old. The other, Sister Anita, died last year during celebration of Holy Rosary's golden jubilee in Union City.

Through the heroic efforts of the three pioneer sisters, the edifice was completed in 1904, following months of hardship and anguish during which the sisters were forced to solicit alms to pay the workmen. One sister was actually threatened with arrest for illegal solicitation during this period.

As the order became established in West Hoboken, the new edifice became too small to house the students. A new wing was added in 1911.

During World War I, a new problem confronted the community and decided the course of action for the Sisters. With fathers in service and many mothers compelled to take defense jobs, children were being neglected.

SISTERS AID CHILDREN

State and Catholic welfare bureaus called on the Sisters to come to the aid of these children, whose lives had been so violently disrupted. Despite a lack of accommodations, Mother Agnes, then superior, took up the responsibility. An old mansion, opposite the academy, was purchased. Housing was provided for 56 children, many of them of preschool age.

During the postwar period, and through the depression years, the Sisters continued to care for orphans because of public need. Welfare funds were insufficient to provide for needs of the children, and once again the Sisters were compelled to solicit funds from the neighborhood, permitted under rules of the order only in cases of dire necessity.

The foster-home movement of the 1930's deemphasized institutional care, and Holy Rosary reverted to its former status of private school. With parochial schools in the area becoming overcroweded, day students were accepted for the first time.

PLAN FOR HIGH SCHOOL

Within a few years, a new need became apparent. Pupils requested again and again "why do we have to leave after finishing grammar school?" In 1937, plans were initiated for a high school, which was completed under supervision of Mother Faustina, present superior of Holy Rosary.

First principal of the high school was Sister Mary Martha, now Mother General of Sisters of Catholic Apostolate. When she became the first American elected to head the worldwide order in 1948, she was replaced by Sister Cecelia, who has carried on the excellent scholastic rating of the school.

With 1954 designated by Pope Pius XII as The Marian Year, the Sisters chose as their project the building of the new half-million-dollar school which shortly will add to educational facilities of the city. Built despite constant technical difficulties, the school would be in use today except for interruptions.

Under supervision of Sister Xavier, the new school will provide accommodations for approximately 300 students. Cornerstone was laid December 6, 1954, by Most Reverend Thomas A. Boland, archbishop of Newark.

Flexible Failure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a year ago in March I introduced a stop-gap bill to prevent Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson from lowering dairy support prices from 90 to 75 percent of parity. In numerous speeches I drew my colleagues' attention to the inequitable features of this order by the Secretary of Agriculture.

The Secretary of Agriculture had the blessing of the administration and the cut in dairy supports became effective on April 1, 1954. Later, in the general farm bill, we were able to revise the figure up a trifle.

It was with interest, then, that I read an editorial in the Spring Valley(Wis.) Sun which comments on the failure of this program. Before I recommend the editorial to my colleagues' attention, I wish to point out that the editor of the Spring Valley Sun—Mr. Alden Munson—is not a Democrat. As a matter of fact—if my memory serves me correctly—I believe Mr. Munson supported my opponent in the last election.

Editor Munson is a sincere and objective individual, and that is why his editorial—Flexible Failure—is an interesting commentary on the dairy support price program. The editorial reads as follows:

FLEXIBLE FAILURE

As the anniversary of flexible price supports for dairy products draws nearer with no change in the program in sight the editor is placed in the very uncomfortable position of having to admit that he was wrong.

In supporting editorially the flexible price support idea because we thought that it was an answer to the surplus problem that was dangerously threatening the dairy industry, we ignored one significant fact—that lowered flexible supports lose their soundness when applied to only one of many farm products.

If the lowered flexible supports were such a good idea for dairy products, then they should have been applied to all farm products or never put into effect on a small segment of the farming industry, because the result has been a lower return for the dairy farmer while he is paying the old rigid support price for his feed.

In effect this has doubly penalized the dairy farmer without providing a solution to the surplus problem or lowering prices to any marked extent for the consumer.

As a consequence, the flexible price-support program has been a costly and worthless experiment with the dairy farmer paying the bill for the Government's poor management and bad guessing.

Why the dairy farmer has been made the goat for such stupidity we haven't any idea, but it is bad enough to make such a mistake without adding insult to injury by letting the condition continue.

When narrowed to only one part of the farming industry that is dependent to a large extent on the rest of the industry for feed and other products, the 75-percent flexible program is a form of discrimination that the dairy farmer has every right to question and protest as vigorously as possible, especially when the program has not succeeded in any of its proposed goals.

If the objective of the program was the elimination of the medium and small dairy producer, the reduced return for their efforts the past months has gone a long way toward reaching that objective.

Before the Government takes steps to deliberately lower the income of any segment of our population it would do well to take steps to bring the prices of the thousands of other commodities this segment must buy to live down with their income.

Failing this, the least they can do is to attempt to rectify their mistake and put the dairy farmer back on a level with the rest of the industry and their urban neighbors whose income is going up with the cost of living.

It is certain that Congressmen are going to have a hard time justifying nearly doubling their own income while telling the dairy farmer that he is going to have to continue to take a lower return for his product.

Perhaps the Members of Congress should spend a couple of weeks in a dairy barn milking the cows before voting on their sad plight with only a $15,000-a-year income and while shoveling out some of the residue a cow leaves they just might realize that members of the dairy industry work as hard as they do while resting their bottoms in the halls of Congress.

Distributive Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK IKARD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. IKARD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Denton Record-Chronicle of Sunday, February 27, 1955, entitled "Distributive Education":

DISTRIBUTIVE EDUCATION

The distributive education program at Denton High School is a two-way project: It helps the participating students and also aids the employers in Denton.

This learn-while-you-earn proposition is a sound venture. Right now there are 25 junior and senior students engaged in the program and they not only are paid a salary, they receive academic credit at high school and also learn the techniques of their business while on the job.

There is no better way to learn a job than do it. One can study forever but if he doesn't apply his knowledge he might as well have never been exposed.

After their tenure in the distributive education project, Denton High School graduates are equipped to go right on the job. They have a working know-how as well as academic knowledge.

Credit must go to the businessmen in Denton who cooperate with the program. Without their full cooperation the program could not succeed. But they are wholeheartedly behind it and are continually working to improve their part in the venture.

The distributive education program here is continually growing because it is a good thing. We hope it is around for a long time and that each student who has the opportunity to participate, realizes the full advantages of the program.

Antarctic Claims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, in view of the current activities of several nations in connection with the sending of expeditions to the Antarctic the following article, which appeared in the July 1954 issue of the Foreign Affairs Quarterly, would seem to be timely:

ANTARCTIC CLAIMS
(By David Winston Heron)

I

Meteorological observation in the Antarctic is of great importance to long-range weather prediction throughout the Southern Hemisphere. The wild and frigid storms originating over the great glacial plateaus in the interior make themselves felt as far north as the Tropic of Capricorn: It has been estimated that the immense Antarctic icecap results in a difference of 10° Fahrenheit between the mean temperatures of the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. For this reason it is not surprising that in spite of the hardship and danger of wintering in the Antarctic, there are some 18 weather stations maintained there throughout the year. The interesting fact is that 15 of these establishments are concentrated within a radius of 500 miles of Hope Bay, at the northeastern tip of Palmer Land, which reaches up from the Antarctic Continent into the southern Atlantic.

This compact arrangement is not primarily in the interest of science, although the Palmer Peninsula and its archipelagoes offer particularly interesting topography, weather, and ocean currents, and are more accessible than any other Antarctic land areas. The primary reason for their concentration is a unique and anachronous contest of increasing intensity devoted, in effect, to the colonization of the last frontier continent. The principal competitors are Britain, Argentina, and Chile, whose efforts have more than quadrupled the Antarctic population since the end of the Second World War. All three have claimed sovereignty over sectors in the American quadrant, with the peninsula and its islands as the main objects of contention.

The competition took a new turn on January 30, 1952, when, with a darkening storm moving in over the icy crags of the Trinity Peninsula, a British ship, the *John Biscoe*, anchored in the comparative shelter of Hope Bay. The *John Biscoe*, commanded by Capt. William Johnson, is one of the ships assigned to the British Falkland Islands Dependencies Survey, and its mission to Hope Bay was to reestablish a meterological station first built in 1944 and destroyed by fire during the Antarctic summer of 1948–49. The British party discovered, without too much surprise, that there was a new Argentine establishment ashore a few hundred yards from the ruins of their base. After riding out the storm which lasted through the next day, they began to land their supplies and equipment. The naval officer in charge of the Argentine base, according to an account

appearing in the London Times the following Monday, indicated that he would resist any attempt to land; and as the first load of supplies was deposited on the beach, a burst of machine gun fire crackled over the heads of the landing party. The unarmed Englishmen were shortly surrounded by Argentine riflemen who forced them to retire from the beach. The Argentine detachment returned their supplies to the ship.

The next day, Sunday, February 3, after consultations in Buenos Aires between the British Ambassador and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the zealous Argentine lieutenant was apparently instructed to hold his fire. The *John Biscoe* party resumed its landing operations, and eventually the British base was reconstructed. There was a report of a ceremonial visit later by the Governor of the Falkland Islands aboard a small warship.

The shots fired on February 2, 1952, were the first incidence of violence in the course of the competition, and although the affair was not allowed to become a casus belli, it clearly reflected the increasing determination of the Latin Americans to challenge the southernmost outpost of the British Empire. The affair has been treated as an unfortunate misunderstanding by both Britain and Argentina, but the use of firearms by the Argentine naval detachment may well mark the end of the era in which national differences were forgotten in the struggle against the violence of nature.

The seven specific claims to Antarctic sectors have all been made since 1908. On July 21 of that year Britain claimed the Falklands sector, the shape of which was altered by letters patent of March 28, 1917. On July 30, 1923, the Ross Dependency was claimed by Britain; France, on March 27, 1924, claimed Adélie Land, sector boundaries of which were more precisely defined in a decree of April 1, 1938. Australia's claim went into effect August 24, 1936; Norway's claim on January 14, 1939. Argentina's claim was made first in a letter to Britain on November 30, 1925. Chile's was in a decree of November 6, 1940. However, because of the inaccessibility of the interior of the continent—four-fifths of which is still unexplored even by air—and because even those strips of coast which have been charted are scarcely habitable, it has been necessary to define and justify these claims by the use of unique and legally questionable devices.

II

The geographical delimitation of claims to Arctic and Antarctic territory has been facilitated by the invention of the Polar Sector, attributed to a Canadian senator named Pascal Poirier. Poirier proposed it in 1907 as a device for proclaiming sovereignty over the Canadian Arctic, and it was adopted by the Canadian Parliament. It has since been used by England, France, Australia, Norway, Chile, and Argentina in the Antarctic, and by the Soviet Union in the Arctic.

The sector is an arbitrary device, reminiscent of Alexander VI's Papal Bull of 1493 dividing the globe between Spain and Portugal. It has been traced to the doctrine of continuity, invoked in past centuries to justify the extension of colonies into the hinterland where effective territorial control was neither possible nor necessary. Because of the need to control islands in or near territorial waters, the continuity principle has been projected into the principle of contiguity, used to justify claims to land separated by water from the territory of the claimant state. In the Antarctic, separated from the nearest inhabited continent by over 700 miles of high seas, even the doctrine of contiguity cannot be applied without reservation.

The substantive justification for the claims themselves can in most cases be documented with legal precedent. This has been done, in general, by analogy with the European colonization of the Americas and Africa, where national sovereignty over terra nullius was established by satisfaction of three general conditions: discovery, publication, and effective occupation.

The requirement of publication is satisfied by the issuance to a foreign government of any pertinent official document with the force of national law. It has little significance in the 20th century, and has not caused any serious differences relating to Antarctic claims.

Satisfaction of the requirements of discovery and effective occupation, however, has been the subject of controversy ever since the British laid claim to the Falkland Islands Dependencies sector in 1908. This claim, made in letters patent July 21, 1908, illustrates the abstract quality of the sector. It blithely included some hundred thousand square miles of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, restored in an amending decree 9 years later, which removed the northwest corner of the Falklands sector. Since the Second World War this controversy has been considerably intensified, particularly in the conflicting claims of Britain, Argentina, and Chile in the American quadrant, and their efforts to outdo one another in demonstrating their rights to territorial sovereignty.

One of the most interesting aspects of this contest has been the Latin American challenge not only to the British claims themselves, but to the first principle advanced in their justification: the legal validity of discovery rights. Discovery, particularly in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, was, needless to say, a primary requirement for the claim of a European nation to colonial territory in the Americas, Africa, and the islands of the Pacific. As such it was generally accepted in the 19th century codification of international law.

It has been given consideration in 20th century writing on questions of territorial sovereignty in spite of the fact that only the Arctic and Antarctic coasts have not been accurately charted. When the Island of Miangas was awarded to the Netherlands in 1928, Max Huber, in his opinion as arbiter for the Permanent Court of International Justice, acknowledged that discovery carried inchoate rights to sovereignty, but stated that they must be "completed eventually by actual and durable taking of possession within a reasonable time." [1]

Discovery, however, is explicitly advanced as justification for British claims to the Falkland Islands dependencies in the Antarctic, and is at least implicit in the Norwegian, French, and Australian claims to sectors of the continent in which their respective nationals have made significant discoveries. The United States, while not specifically denying the validity of discovery rights in the Antarctic, has maintained the official position first laid down by Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes in 1924, that no nation can claim sovereignty over an area where effective occupation is not possible.[2]

In an exchange of notes with Britain in the summer of 1951, Argentina denied the validity of British discovery rights in the Antarctic, stating that effective occupation must be the test. Argentine claims to effective occupation, with reference to a weather station operated on Laurie Island since 1904, are in themselves a denial of effective British occupation.

Chile, during the same summer, denied the validity of British discovery rights even more categorically, charging that, "In fact discovery and scientific expeditions carried out in the Antarctic do not and cannot constitute any title over this region." [3] Chile makes no claim to discovery rights, but claims effective occupation since the establishment of a Chilean whaling station on Deception Island in 1906.

Both Argentina and Chile have refused the British offer to submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice. In making this offer, Britain expresses confidence in the validity of her Antarctic claims, and Chile and Argentina seen to exhibit a lack of confidence that they would be rejected. The reasons given for refusing arbitration are various. In addition to their reluctance to weaken their positions by submitting to arbitration, they are aware that an international tribunal might support discovery rights to a certain extent. There is some question as to the effectiveness of the Chilean whaling station on Deception Island as a colonial outpost. The Falkland Islands, included in the Argentine claim, are manifestly an exception to the Argentine assertions of their own continuous and effective occupation of the whole sector. There are, in fact, a number of circumstances which weaken the Argentine and Chilean claims to continuous and effective occupation. Nevertheless Britain has found it necessary to defend her position in the colonization contest.

III

British discovery rights in the Falkland Dependencies sector have been subject for some years to a different type of challenge from still further north. Although the importance of discovery rights in international law seems to have diminished, the heroic stories of exploration still dominate the literature about the Antarctic, and the question as to who first laid eyes on the Antarctic mainland has received a considerable amount of attention. Whoever it was almost certainly gazed at the mountains of the peninsula known variously as Palmer Land, Graham Land or Tierra O'Higgins. This peninsula extends to within a day's sailing time of waters frequented by seal hunters as early as the first decade of the 19th century. It was partly the search for sealing grounds which took Captain Edward Bransfield of the British Navy south to the coast which he named Trinity Land in 1820. Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer, of Stonington, Conn., who was with the American sealing fleet moored at Deception Island later in the same year, sailed south to investigate the line of mountains which he had sighted from Deception.

The British base their discovery claims on Bransfield's expedition. Palmer's expedition is the basis of American claims which have been made officially that "Palmer Land" was adopted by the United States Board of Geographical Names as the official name of the peninsula; a few articles asserting Palmer's discovery have appeared in Government publications. Bransfield sighted Antarctic land almost a year before Palmer; however, Palmer's defenders base their claim on the assumption that what Bransfield saw was actually an island, and that Palmer was first to sight the actual mainland. The records of both expeditions are inconclusive, and for several years before the Second World War there was a heated argument between British and American geographers, led by Prof. R. N. Rudmose-Brown of Sheffield University and the late Arthur R. Hinks, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, and by the late Prof. William H. Hobbs, of the University of Michigan. It was carried on in the pages of such publications as Science, The Geographical Review and Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. The articles aroused considerable public interest

[1] United Nations. Reports at International Arbitral Awards, vol. 2, 1949, p. 845.

[2] U. S. Department of State. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1924, vol. 2, pp. 519–520.

[3] The British notes and translations of the Chilean and Argentine notes appear in Polar Record, vol. 6, No. 43, January 1952, pp. 413–418.

in what had previously been an obscure issue.

Another effect of the Bransfield-Palmer controversy, however, was to call forth new contenders for the honor. No dissenting voice has been raised in England against Bransfield's title, but a New England historian has discovered the log of a Nantucket whaling captain named Christopher Burdick who sighted land from a point close to the controversial peninsula, and identified it as the southern continent, which neither Palmer nor Bransfield had done.[1] This newly discovered log must certainly be treated as seriously as the secondary accounts upon which the titles of Palmer and Bransfield rest. Another contender has appeared since 1949, when Soviet Russian geographers devoted considerable time and effort to the examination of records of the voyage of Adm. Fabian von Bellingshausen, on which during the Antarctic summer of 1820–21 he discovered 2 large islands off the coast of the continent and sailed very close to the northern coasts of the Palmer Peninsula. As a result of these researches, the All-Soviet Geographical Congress concluded in 1949 that Bellingshausen, sailing in the service of Czar Alexander I, was the discoverer of the Antarctic Continent.

It is unlikely that there can be any satisfactory answer to the question of who first discovered the southern continent. All existing claims have been based on controvertible evidence. Moreover, there is always a chance that an earlier account will be brought to light. The claims to Antarctic discoveries no longer seem able to satisfy the demands based on them. As a result, even those sector claimants whose assertions of sovereignty are associated with discovery are following the leads of Chile and Argentina. France, Australia and Norway (the last in conjunction with Britain and Swenden) have established winter stations within their sector claims during the last 5 years, and plan to continue maintaining them.

Admiral Byrd has announced that he is planning a new American expedition as soon as possible. If he is able to muster an organization comparable to "Operation High-Jump" in 1946–47, there is no doubt that he will cause the governments of Britain, Chile, and Argentina some little concern. There are indications that "High-Jump," with its 13 ships and 4,000 men, served to remind the Chileans and Argentines that unfriendly control of the Palmer Peninsula would be a real threat to their security. Their recent official geographical publications show that they are taking their Antarctic claims quite seriously.

Beginning in 1948, the British have negotiated annual trilateral agreements with Chile and Argentina which have provided that none of the signatories will indulge in a provocative show of naval strength in the Antarctic seas. A bilateral agreement was concluded between Chile and Argentina in 1947, and an exchange of official observers has been conducted between Chilean and Argentine expeditions—indicative of united opposition to British claims. The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1947 included the American Quadrant of the Antarctic in its mutual defense area. This treaty, in effect, applied the Monroe Doctrine to the Antarctic for the first time.

Meanwhile, there has been an increasing awareness of the potentialities of the southern polar area as a strategic land mass, as a potential source of mineral wealth and as a possible valuable colony. It lends point to the Hope Bay incident as a reminder that European claims to Antarctic sovereignty which have stood unloved but unmolested for a good many years are being challenged.

In the eventual solution of the Antarctic question the assertion of discovery rights will clearly play much less of a role than the establishment of effective control. Effective occupation, by a definition which goes back to the 16th century, and is found in such instruments as the General Act of Berlin (1885) and the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye (1679), is exclusively unilateral. No more than one national authority can operate effectively and independently in the same area even though the number of persons and the amount of property involved be negligible.

The importance of effective occupation, the fact that to be effective it must be exclusive, and the fact that the joint tenancy of Hope Bay, for example, cannot be so regarded, combine to stimulate activity in the American Quadrant. It is perhaps significant that the machine gun has been introduced as an instrument of exclusion.

[1] Edouard A. Stackpole, "A First Recognition of Antarctica." Boston Public Library Quarterly, vol. 4, No. 1, 1951, pp. 3–19.

Speech by Mayor Bernard J. Berry, on the Occasion of Welcome to the Deans of Seton Hall College of Medicine and Dentistry, Monday Evening, February 21, 1955, Hotel Plaza, Jersey City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a speech delivered on the occasion of welcome to the deans of Seton Hall College of Medicine and Dentistry, on Monday evening, February 21, 1955, at the Hotel Plaza, Jersey City, N. J., by our illustrious and indefatigable mayor, Hon. Bernard J. Berry.

The speech follows:

It's very gratifying to see so many leaders of our city's industries and businesses here tonight.

With your indulgence, I would very much like to consider this attendance tacit approval of a program which the city administration has introduced, developed and—yes, fought for—in the best interests of our community over the past year.

You know, it hardly seems like a year has gone by since the idea of a College of Medicine and Dentistry right here in Jersey City was germinated and encouraged. Yet, in the sands of that time we have seen history written.

From the day our city factfinders returned from Rochester with their report on the feasibility of a private university operating a medical and dental school with the facilities of the Jersey City medical center, we can mark the steps which led to its fruition.

Last March, Seton Hall University showed its first public interest in establishing a college of medicine and dentistry at our city hospital and sent Dean Hirschboek, of Marquette University School of Medicine, to survey the medical center facilities.

Suffice to say, Dr. Hirschboek was impressed by what he saw.

In May, the city commission advertised in the Nation's press for interested universities to consider and bid for the facilities of the medical center for a medical school.

On June 22, 1954, Seton Hall University submitted a formal bid and a detailed plan for such a school and the city commission authorized negotiations with that renowned institution.

Negotiations began and on August 11, 1954, the establishment of the Seton Hall College of Medicine and Dentistry was formally observed in televised ceremonies at Murdoch Hall.

In November, my colleagues on the city commission, Commissioners Whipple, Soriero, Spence, and Ringle, and I approved the lease of the clinical building of the medical center to Seton Hall and in that same month the new college received its State charter.

On December 10, 1954, Archbishop Thomas A. Boland signed the lease with the city for the use of the clinical building.

The new year 1955 was still in its dawning when the Right Reverend Monsignor John L. McNulty, president of Seton Hall University, remained true to his promise that only the best educators in the land would be on the staff of the new College of Medicine and Dentistry.

Just a few weeks ago, Monsignor McNulty announced the appointment of the exceptionally qualified man we greet and honor here tonight—Dr. Charles Leonard Brown, the first dean of the Seton Hall College of Medicine, and Dr. Merritte M. J. Maxwell, the first dean of the Seton Hall College of Dentistry.

Those have been some of the stepping-stones, and as I tick them off so briefly, I cannot halt the flood of thankfulness that engulfs me, the gratitude to the many who worked in the spirit of cooperation and untiring devotion to an ideal—from the wisdom and counsel of his excellency, Archbishop Boland, and the inspired zeal of Monsignor McNulty to the unflagging support of my fellow city commissioners.

And what have we all worked for? What has been the ideal, the true goal?

Not merely an edifice, a bronze nameplate to be added to the white bricks on a tall building at Baldwin Avenue.

I don't believe Seton Hall University wanted a medical school just for the sake of adding another college to its already imposing list and, when you come right down to it, even though the unused floors throughout the high medical center buildings offend economic sensibilities, this administration's interest wasn't simply the sheer filing of that space.

No, in the final analysis, the motivating force was service to you, to every man, woman, and child in this city, this county; yes, this State of New Jersey.

The true goal is alleviation of suffering and pain, the curing of ills, giving better health to this generation and succeeding ones.

We have been dedicated, committed—if you will—to the fulfillment of a need New Jersey has long expressed—a medical and dental school to train those who will lead us to better health.

You hear this question raised: "Aren't there enough doctors?"

Well, there are about 220,000 medical doctors in the United States, but three years ago the President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation estimated there would be a shortage of 22,000 to 45,000 doctors by 1960. And recently, Dr. Howard A. Rusk, chairman of the Health Resources Advisory Committee of the National Security Resources Board, estimated a shortage of 20,000 physicians before 1960.

I can tell you from personal experience, as director of the Department of Public Affairs of Jersey City with jurisdiction over the medical center, that we don't have enough American internes and resident physicians.

The country needs more doctors and the State needs more doctors to meet medical and surgical care, research and medical education programs.

One way to fill this need—and it's not an easy way because of the tremendous costs involved—is to establish more medical schools.

It's heartening to note that 10 new 4-year medical schools are now in various stages of planning or development in the States of California, Mississippi, Missouri, Florida, Kentucky, West Virginia, North Dakota, New York and—thanks to Seton Hall University—New Jersey.

The record of our State to date in attempting to develop medical and dental education has been a sorry one.

As far back as 1776, when the only form of instruction was the doctor-apprentice system, medical men recognized the importance of formal training. A group of 17 doctors met in New Brunswick to form the Medical Society of the Colony of New Jersey and improve standards but it wasn't until 1792 that Queen's College (now Rutgers) started a medical department which was short-lived.

In 1830, Princeton University opened a medical school which lasted only a few years and other attempts followed in various parts of the State but all were of very short duration.

Thus it can be seen that those who worked to help the Seton Hall College of Medicine and Dentistry come into being hold no patent for originality.

The idea for a medical and dental college in New Jersey is not new.

Neither is the idea of attempting to utilize the vast unused areas in the gigantic medical center plant. A score of years ago, the city administration tried desperately to get the Federal Goverment to help lighten the tremendous financial burdens of the hospital—to no avail.

A few years ago, my predecessor in office, former Mayor Kenny, offered a very constructive plan to the State of New Jersey for use of the medical center facilities for a State-operated school—in vain.

So it remained for Seton Hall University to offer a solution to the problem of meeting the State's medical and dental education needs. I think they have the answer to this problem and I do not foresee a repeat of past State medical education history because the Seton Hall history is one of continued successes.

The very foundation of Seton Hall is its deep faith in humanity and that faith has been repaid in kind.

Every citizen who has any feeling for his community, who wants to see it prosper, should be proud that Seton Hall University selected the medical center as the site for this State's first successful medical and dental college.

This seat of culture and learning, staffed by such leaders in the world of science and education as Dr. Brown and Dr. Maxwell, heralds the dawn of a new era for Jersey City.

Strange View of Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, an editorial entitled "Strange View of Alaska," which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch for February 26, clearly suggests that the Defense Department's position in opposition to Alaska statehood is a "puzzler." I take pleasure in presenting the editorial here:

The Defense Department's contention that national security will be best served by keeping Alaska Territory for the present is indeed a puzzler. It is contradictory of the position of the State Department. It runs counter to the views authorities have hitherto expressed. Neither Defense Secretary Wilson nor Air Force Undersecretary Douglas, who stated the position, offered any reason in support of it.

The chairman of the Senate Territories Subcommittee, Senator JACKSON of Washington, is therefore quite right in asking the Defense Department what reasoning has led it to so surprising a conclusion. There are many reasons to support the view that admission of Alaska to statehood would strengthen national security.

More people could be expected to cast their lot with a new State than with a neglected Territory—and underpopulation is one of Alaska's greatest weaknesses. Two Senators and voting representation in the House could do far more for Alaska than the present single non-voting Delegate, perhaps striking off the shipping monopoly and extending the inadequate railroad system. A larger population, with better transportation, producing more on farms and in factories, could better feed, transport, and maintain Armed Forces for Alaska's—and the Union's—defense.

What possible considerations of national security could argue stronger against Alaskan statehood than these reasons argue for it?

Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, several foreign nations have been seeking to have our Cargo Preference Act of 1954 undermined. The following article appearing in the New York Journal-American on February 4, 1955, labels their efforts for what they are—propaganda. I trust that Members of Congress will read the article:

PROPAGANDA

Since 1936 this country has paid subsidies to American shipping interests in order to have an American merchant marine to carry a fair portion of our maritime commerce and to serve as an auxiliary to the Armed Forces in time of war.

In World War I we had to spend billions of dollars to build ships. Then the costly process had to be repeated in World War II because of our own negligence. Experience has plainly demonstrated that the ship-subsidy plan is both cheaper and safer.

Now, it appears, Great Britain has a scheme to divert American subsidies to the support of the British merchant marine, which competes with ours.

Under the foreign-aid program, Congress requires that part of the goods we give away be carried overseas in American vessels. Our Government, of course, pays the cargo charges as well as the cost of the goods. And lately the Government has been giving away $700 million worth of farm products as a means of reducing $7 billion worth of surpluses accumulated through the agricultural price-subsidy plan.

We read, however, in the London Sunday Despatch, that the British Government is refusing large quantities of these free goods because the United States has laid it down that half the goods must be moved in United States ships.

"The United States Government has been told," the report continues, "that unless the rule is altered, the United States economic aid plan is in danger of breaking down."

Perhaps, in the circumstances indicated, the sensible course would be to let the aid plan break down, and save our money. We certainly cannot afford to let our merchant marine be broken down by subsidized foreign competition—much less, ourselves pay part of the foreign subsidy.

Northwestern Timberlands Threatened

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in House Document No. 88, President Eisenhower asks a supplemental appropriation for control of forest pests.

Last fall I attended a meeting in Missoula devoted to a discussion of the spruce budworm. I came away convinced that unless vigorous control measures were started this year the forests of Montana, Idaho, Oregon, and New Mexico would suffer tremendous damage, the economy of the region would be upset, and Montana's thriving Christmas-tree industry destroyed.

An investment of $2½ million here will save $38 million worth of timber and thousands of dollars worth of other property and prevent incalculable damage to recreation areas and the watersheds of several of our greatest river systems.

Recently the following appeared in Outdoors Unlimited, publication of the Outdoor Writers Association of America:

NORTHWESTERN TIMBERLANDS THREATENED

The great gray shadow that has spread over 1,750,000 acres of Montana forests is cast by a tiny, soft, gray moth, and more than $2,250,000 will be needed to clip his wings.

The spruce budworm, who is a moth at one phase of his short but destructive life, has been silently and effectively at work almost everywhere Douglas-fir grows in Montana's mountains for nearly 5 years, and that is why his deadly mission has suddenly become so apparent.

Because the budworm nibbles only the new, tender needles, the tree stays green for about 5 years, the time needed for the older, untouched needles to drop to the ground in an evergreen's natural shedding process. When these are gone, there are, thanks to the budworm, none to take their place, and the tree dies.

The more obvious results of such mass death are the graying hillsides so startlingly gaunt where yesterday there was nothing but green, the money loss of sawtimber soaring up to more than $30 million, and the gradual strangulation of Montana's $1 million Christmas-tree industry. Not so obvious is the staggering loss of watershed protection,

the rising hazard of fire among the dead and dying, the stripped shade for fishing waters, and the loss of food and cover for wildlife.

Ever since the 1920's the budworm, a native of the forested Northwest, has been nibbling at Montana's forests, first in Yellowstone Park and the Deep Creek Canyon country near Townsend, but not until the forties and fifties did it spread like a crown fire on a hot summer's day, sweeping across the forests of Montana and northern Idaho until it now extends from the Snake to the Musselshell and from Yellowstone to Glacier Park.

As of now, the picture is this: Out of the 2 million infested acres in all this area, Montana has all but a quarter million. Douglas-fir in both Montana and Idaho has taken, and is taking, the brunt of the attack. Last year the blight spread to new forests in the Crazy Mountains, along the Madison Range, in the Beaverhead, and in the Ruby Mountains of southwestern Montana.

Areas sprayed by plane in 1953 around Helena and in the Deer Lodge National Forest are nearly back where they were. Moths moved in practically as soon as the planes left the sky, and foresters are convinced they must act now on a wider scope until there are no moths left to move back.

At a meeting last fall in Missoula there was general agreement that the tiny moth was too huge a problem for private forest owners or even the States to meet. It was a national problem, the meeting decided, and to do the job the way it should be done, in the few summer days when spraying is really effective, it would take more than $2 million and a fleet of spray planes. This much money to meet a national obligation would have to come from Congress.

Colorado learned the hard way only a few years ago that the bud worm won't wait and that he can wipe out timber. Between Colorado Springs and Denver, a scant few years back, there was a beautiful woods known to Coloradans as the Black Forest. Today there are bare trunks where there was shade, and naked limbs where needles grew green. The big summer homes of Coloradans stand curiously alone in a forest of snags.

Serious as the situation is in Montana right now, there is plenty of time to save a good share of this timber if there is money and if the money is used properly. "Hot-spotting" or treatment of small areas has been shown that spraying will work, properly applied at just the right time, but it has to to be done in big blocks to keep the worms from taking over again. This is 1955's problem, and there is no time to lose.

Immigration Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith the statement on immigration adopted at the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee, on January 30, 1955, at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City:

STATEMENT ON IMMIGRATION

In his message on the state of the Union on January 6, 1955, President Eisenhower declared that despite sincere efforts to administer the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 humanely, certain of its provisions "have the effect of compelling actions in respect to aliens which are inequitable in some instances and discriminatory in others. These provisions should be corrected in this session of Congress."

This statement applies with equal force to the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

While supporting the President's views, the American Jewish Committee nonetheless believes that only fundamental revision will overcome the discriminatory features of the McCarran-Walter Act and the cumbersome, unworkable provisions of the Refugee Relief Act.

We commend those Members of Congress of each political party who, during the last session, joined in sponsoring bills to improve these laws. We approve the reintroduction of these bills and the early adoption of legislation based on American democratic principles.

Adopted January 30, 1955, Hotel Roosevelt, New York, N. Y.

Eighty-three Years on One Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RILEY
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. RILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave, I insert in the RECORD an article by Mr. George Robinson, Washington Post and Times Herald, Sunday, March 6, 1955, giving an account of what is probably the longest continuous industrial employment record in the world.

The subject of this article, Mr. James Wesley Rearden, is a distinguished resident of my district and an employee of the oldest cotton mill in the South operating under its original charter.

The article follows:

GRANITEVILLE, S. C.—This will be quite a year for James Wesley Rearden, a leading citizen of this little mill community nestled in the rolling hills of upper Horse Creek Valley near Aiken. On June 6 he'll celebrate his 94th birthday. On May 10 he'll round out 83 years of work with the Graniteville Co., a group of modern cotton mills.

And that makes Mr. Rearden the holder of the longest continuous industrial work record in the world. In the office of the president of the Graniteville Co. hang five portraits. Four are those of presidents of the firm. The fifth is that of the shipping clerk to whom the firm long has paid tribute for "always doing a little more than is expected of him."

The remarkable Mr. Rearden has a standing offer from the Graniteville Co. to retire any time he wants to or report for work any hour of the day he chooses. But he's regularly among the first on the job, walking the short distance from his white frame home (not far from the plant gates) to his office. He treats himself to a short rest period after lunch every day, but otherwise puts in full time.

A retirement system was adopted by Graniteville in 1949 for employees reaching 65, but Mr. Rearden—then 88—had been told long before that he could work as long as he cared to. So he's doing just that. "As long as they'll let me," he says, "I'm going to show up for work each morning. I like the people I work for and I'd feel lost without something to do."

That "something to do" for the past 35 years has included teaching the Young Men's Bible Class at St. John's Methodist Church in Graniteville, where he has been a member 70 years and has sung in the choir almost that long.

Mr. Rearden won his longest-work-record title fair and square. In 1950 the Thomas De La Rue Co., Ltd., printers and engravers, of London, challenged the United States to produce a man with a longer continuous work record than their Harry Adkins, a 75-year man. The Rearden record, supplied through the National Association of Manufacturers, showed that he topped Adkins by 3 years.

HE STARTED AT 10

He began work for Graniteville on May 10, 1872. He was nearly 11 then, but, as he recalls, "big for his age." That was the only reason he was able to get a job in the plant; every child under 13 was supposed to be in school. Mr. Rearden's first job was "tack boy," his only tools a needle and thread plus a shoe knife for cutting thread to tack cloth.

Mr. Rearden still remembers the company's founder, William Gregg, who started the mill in 1845. It is the oldest cotton mill in the South operating under its original charter. As for Mr. Rearden, he feels the same about his job today as in 1947, when the company honored him on his 75th consecutive work year.

Said he then: "If I had to make the choice again, it would be the same as it was in 1872."

Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by William Henry Chamberlin appearing in the New Leader of March 1955 entitled "Where the News Ends":

WHERE THE NEWS ENDS

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

LET'S NOT YIELD TO RED BLACKMAIL—FORMOSA IS VITAL TO ASIAN DEFENSE

Totalitarian tyrannies are expert in the art of bluster and blackmail, of making crime pay. For years before the outbreak of the Second World War Hitler and Mussolini carried out one land grab after another by exploiting fear of war. But retreats and surrenders did not avert war; they only brought it on under less favorable conditions.

One might have thought that one such lesson would be enough, that the world would have recognized the futility of dealing with totalitarian aggressors without equal or superior force and the willingness to use this force if necessary. Unfortunately this has not been the case. The Soviet Union and Red China have been as successful as Hitler and Mussolini in making crime pay.

One striking example of this technique was the Soviet reaction to the discovery in the Katyn Forest of the bodies of some 15,000 Polish officer POW's. The Soviet Government, in the face of overwhelming circumstantial evidence to the contrary, asserted that the massacre had been committed by the Germans and used the request of the Polish Government-in-exile for an impartial Red Cross investigation as an excuse for breaking off diplomatic relations. This was the first step toward creating a Polish puppet regime.

The Chinese Communists have been apt pupils in this game of terror and blackmail. By intervening in Korea they tried to shoot their way into the United Nations. After winning a still more decisive victory in Indo-

china, they decided that, if they couldn't shoot their way in, perhaps they could kidnap their way in. Hence the outrageous "trial" and sentencing of 11 American fliers who should have been repatriated with other war prisoners in 1953.

As these fliers were fighting a war under the authorization of the United Nations, the challenge to that organization was clear. The U. N. took it lying down. Instead of threatening a complete trade boycott if the prisoners were not released, U. N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold went to Peking on a pleading mission which has not brought release of the fliers but has considerably increased Chinese Red prestige.

Now the squeeze has started on Formosa, as Peking emits bellicose threats almost daily with responsive echoes from Moscow—the old familiar Hitler-Mussolini smash-and-grab technique. It seems both surprising and unfortunate that public opinion in Great Britain seems to be softened up for new experiments in appeasement and retreat. Britain shares many American ideals and interests, and is our strongest and most dependable ally. But some of the Bevanite outbursts are hard to take, notably the reported suggestion of Harold Wilson that Chiang Kai-shek and his government and the American 7th Fleet should all be banished to St. Helena. (Where would Mr. Wilson expect help to come from when the Chinese Communists fall on Hong Kong and Malaya, as they certainly will if they succeed in driving the United States from the Orient?)

As an antidote to Mr. Wilson, the clear-headed, sensible viewpoint of the Economist is worth quoting:

"Those, like Mr. Attlee, who imply that it is all the United States' fault are simply playing the Communists' game by dividing the public opinion of the western countries. * * * To egg the Communists on, as Mr. Attlee has been doing, is to work for war."

What is at stake in Formosa is something more important than an island of strategic value which is also the last outpost of Chinese freedom. What is at stake is the possibility of making any stand against a complete Communist sweep in East Asia. Mr. Dulles seemed to see this clearly when he said recently:

"It should not be carelessly assumed that peace and security will be promoted merely by the non-Communist nations indefinitely granting one-sided concessions to the Communist nations. A great danger in Asia is the fear of many non-Communist peoples that the United States has no real intention of standing firmly behind them. * * * If the non-Communist Asians ever come to feel that their western allies are disposed to retreat whenever communism threatens peace, then the entire area could quickly become indefensible."

These are brave and sensible words. Does anyone in his right mind suppose that the Communist designs on Formosa would be abandoned if the offshore islands were surrendered, or that Formosa would be anything but a stepping stone to Japan, the Philippines, southeast Asia? Let's hope Mr. Dulles stands firmly behind these words.

Thomas G. Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, today, March 7, marks the anniversary of the birth of one of the great men of our times, Thomas G. Masaryk, founder and first President of Czechoslovakia. Much has happened since the establishment of that country, and much that has happened has been tragic. But history has a way of redeeming its tragedies and of restoring to its great and noble figures the status that is their due.

I was invited recently by the publishers of a Czechoslovakian newspaper in the United States to express my sentiments about Dr. Masaryk; and I was glad to do so in a message as follows:

Mr. ANDREW J. VALUCHEK,
New Yorksky Dennik-New Yorske Listy, C. S. Publishing Co., Inc., New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR: I am deeply moved to be able to participate in the observance of the anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk, one of the noble spirits of our times, a great leader of his country, and a distinguished citizen of the world family.

No matter how intensive the efforts of those, to whom his democratic ideals are repugnant, to besmirch his reputation and to seek to eradicate the memory of his great achievements, the name of Masaryk will survive. His enemies may demolish the stone memorials commemorating his name. They can never reach the shrine in which he is steadily revered, the hearts of his countrymen and indeed of the people of all the world.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR G. KLEIN,
Member of Congress.

Eisenhower-Nixon Teamwork Elevates Vice Presidency to Proper Importance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the new status of the office of Vice President as in fact the Nation's No. 2 spot in dignity, tone, and importance has been noted by Columnist Walter T. Ridder. He gives credit to President Eisenhower and Vice President NIXON for this New Look in the Nation's table of organization in the following article:

NIXON GIVES DIGNITY TO VEEP SPOT
(By Walter T. Ridder)

WASHINGTON.—One thing you've got to give President Eisenhower and Vice President NIXON. Working together, they have lifted the Vice Presidency out of the Alexander Throttlebottom class. They have given the Nation's No. 2 spot a dignity, tone, and importance which it rarely had in the past.

A good deal of this is due to Eisenhower's firm intent not to leave the Vice President in utter darkness as to what's going on in the White House. He is very conscious of the fact that something might happen to him and he wants NIXON to know what has been going on and why. He does not want a repetition of Harry S. Truman's uneasy entrance into the White House.

In later years, Truman told friends that he spent his first few months in the President's office merely trying to find out what policy and plans President Roosevelt had been following. Vice President Truman had been pretty much relegated to his job of presiding over the Senate, which gave him a picture of domestic affairs, but he was utterly in the dark as to what was happening on the international front.

This is precisely what Eisenhower is seeking to avoid. NIXON, when in Washington, acts as the President's representative at many official affairs; he sits with the National Security Council, he attends Cabinet meetings. He takes on special jobs for the President, such as his good-will tour to the Far East and his present journey through Central America. He is, in every sense of the word, a working Vice President.

Much of the credit for the expansion of the Vice President's job must go to Nixon himself, who has thrown himself into his work with a marked energy and a tirelessness which is remarkable to see. He takes on back room political tasks on Capitol Hill, tries to keep himself abreast of international development, and shoulders as much of the social routine as he can in order to free the President for other work.

Time was when the Vice Presidency was a treadmill to political obscurity. The holder of the job sat up in his office in the Senate, swapped jokes, drinks and card games with the boys, and sauntered every now and then to the Senate floor where he cast votes only to break a tie.

All that has now been changed.

If NIXON and Eisenhower between them can change the character of the Vice Presidency, it may result in high-caliber men seeking the job and more care at national conventions in the choosing of vice presidential candidates.

United States Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, Now in Good Condition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, some consideration has been given to increasing the number of judges on the United States Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, which now has nine judges.

My own view is that a court of 11 or 12 judges would be administratively awkward and cumbersome. These judges sit in panels of three. Already, I understand, there are often instances where two different panels considering similar cases are almost simultaneously rendering opposite decisions. Increasing the size of the court would increase this possibility.

Another suggestion has been to divide the circuit, putting Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska in a new circuit. Most of the bar associations in these States have passed resolutions against such a division. The Montana Bar Association was unanimous in its opposition the last time this suggestion was voted on.

The following article from the February 28, 1955, San Francisco News indicates that the Ninth Circuit Court is in excellent condition, with litigants able to go to trial within a month or two after their case is ready. It also is anticipated that with a drop in new cases, and faster handling of decisions by increased use of the service of district judges, the court will have cleaned up its backlog by next January and then can stay current with

its nine judges, probably making additional judges unnecessary.

MORE JUDGES NEEDED IN COURTS?

(By Tom Hall)

Are the requests to Congress for more Federal judges justifiable?

Those asking for additional judges point to heavy workloads and quote figures showing how, at least in this ninth circuit of seven western States, that population increases are going to make the situation worse.

Actually, as previous articles have pointed out, the district court is in excellent condition with litigants able to go to trial within a month or two after their case is ready.

And statistics in the office of clerk Carl Calbreath show there is a decrease in the amount of civil cases being filed.

In the fiscal year 1952–53 a total of 1,875 civil cases were filed. That included approximately 700 Chinese citizenship cases, filed in large volume to beat a deadline set by McCarran-Walter Act provisions.

FEWER FILINGS

The fiscal year 1953–54 saw 1,591 civil cases filed. But so far this year only 627 docketings have been recorded. Projecting that figure for the rest of the year, an estimated 940 cases would be filed by July 1.

Many cases filed in past years, however, were the type which took a short time to try, such as OPA violations. Many now being filed, advocates of more judges say, are more substantial and take longer to try.

This decreasing amount of filings in the district court, naturally, is reflected in the circuit court's appellate calendar, which also shows a decrease in docketings.

JUDGES DISAGREE

Circuit clerk Paul O'Brien's statistics show 515 cases docketed for the fiscal year 1953–1954, while projected figures show an estimated 400 will be filed this fiscal year.

All concerned caution that filings could suddenly soar, but that's the way the statistics stand now.

All judges of the appellate bench do not see eye-to-eye on the need for additional help.

Last year, even, at their annual judicial council here, 1 group thought that with the help of the district judges, as well as the additional judgeships created last year, they could get their calendar current.

To some degree the prediciton has come true, but they are hearing 400 to 450 cases a year now to prior years' average of the 225 in order to accomplish it.

Last year one looked ahead nearly 2 years to secure a date to argue an appeal. Now it takes about a year.

FIVE COULD RETIRE

One solution is not publicly discussed, but expected to be offered by some Congressmen when the additional judgeship bill comes up for debate. That is, why don't retirable judges of this circuit retire?

There is no mandatory retirement rule, but Federal judges may retire at age 70 after 10 years service, or at age 65 after 15 years service, all on full pay.

And though retired, they may still sit actively on as many cases as they physically can handle.

Clifton Mathews, who retired 2 years ago, is still a very familiar figure on the bench here.

Age average of the 9-judge circuit court here is 70.

Five are more than 70 years old and could retire while at least 1 other could retire under the 65-year-old provision.

Those opposing more judges note that retirement of the eligibles would leave vacancies to be filled by younger men, but not mean the loss of experience and legal knowledge of the older judges.

They also point out that if Congress refused to give more judges, it would be one way the circuit could take the matter into its own hands to get additional help.

Democracy's Answer to the Marxian Dialectic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, last November 8–10, there was held in Washington a unique convention—the first national conference on the Spiritual Foundations of American Democracy.

The conference was sponsored by the Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order, a nonsectarian educational organization headed by Dr. Charles W. Lowry, a well-known Episcopal clergyman, and Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, pastor of the National Presbyterian Church in Washington. The foundation has offices in the Dupont Circle Building, Washington. Its national advisory council is made up of distinguished American clergymen and laymen, representing all faiths and including a former President of the United States, Catholic, Episcopal, and Methodist bishops, and several university and college presidents.

The conference speakers included eminent Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders of thought. President Eisenhower spoke briefly at noon on the second day, commending the aims of the movement and emphasizing the religious basis in his view of our democratic form of government. At this same session Senator STUART SYMINGTON and Judge Matthew F. McGuire spoke on God and Government.

The final session was addressed by the chairman of the foundation, Dr. Charles W. Lowry. Dr. Lowry is a graduate of Washington and Lee, Harvard, and Oxford Universities and has pioneered in helping Americans understand the philosophy and psychology of communism. His address is more than a brilliant logical refutation of Marxism-Leninism. It is a profound, passionate affirmation of the truth and meaning of democracy for the 20th century.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Dr. Lowry's address:

DEMOCRACY'S ANSWER TO THE MARXIAN DIALECTIC

(By Charles W. Lowry)

I approved but did not originate this impressive subject. I assented to but did not initiate my assignment to discuss it. The responsibility for both actions falls primarily upon Dr. Elson and Dr. Trueblood, and secondarily upon Father Cronin and Rabbi Gerstenfeld.

I am, however, stirred in a deep way by the challenge of a theme that goes so surely to the very heart of the issue which, like a powerful spear, transfixes the body of this time and demands a clear resolution as the price of cauterizing a mortal wound. We are living at this moment not in an ordinary period with events continuing in a normal succession, but in what can only be called an interruption of history. This lucid and original expression I owe to my friend, Dr. Carlos Davila, the secretary general of the Pan American Union. What we all desire to see, and what our world groans to feel, is a return of history and the rescue of a future.

This happy consummation is not just going to take place; it is not an inevitable which we can take for granted. It rather represents a deed which must in some sense be performed by us, albeit with the aid of divine grace. It consists of an act of collective will which presupposes hard thinking, bold imagining, sympathetic identification, and dedicated passion. It must come by a deep, creative thrust of vision, of courage, of faith, and of love propagated by the energy of many hearts.

To assist however humbly such a nisus or drive of the spirit is the purpose of our meeting and deliberating here. It is the meaning of this national conference. It is the test, and so far as I am concerned the sole test, of the validity of the movement expressing itself in the Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order.

"Son of Man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord God, Thou knowest. Again He said to me, 'Prophesy to these bones, and say to them, O dry bones, hear the word of the Lord.' Thus says the Lord God to these bones: 'Behold, I will cause breath to enter you, and you shall live. And I will lay sinews upon you, and will cause flesh to come upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and you shall live; and you shall know that I am the Lord.'" (Ezekiel 37: 3–6.)

That is a parable of modern man and his worldly wisdom and his secular civilization, so imposing in grandeur and so sterile in things of the spirit. It is an allegory of democracy in the 20th century. How dry and impotent must democracy have become when men and women reach out hungrily to the words of the Marxian dialetic and receive its heavy sophisms as a gospel of life. Yet assuredly it is in a rekindled and resurrected democracy, child of a Jewish father and a Christian mother, and not in a totalitarian materialism, stripped of soul and mind, of mercy and pity, of freedom and love, that man's hope lies.

To speak so almost mystically of democracy and its answer in terms of resurrection may seem obscure and it will certainly seem to some wayward and obstinate. Yet it is just this dimension of the American dream, a dream which for a century the world adopted for its own, that we have all but lost. This near loss explains our curious impotence in the area of ideological struggle and psychological warfare. It explains also the appeal of the Marxian dialetic—communism's cumbrous substitute for the providence and power of God, its secular replacement for mysticism as a factor in politics and society.

THE MARXIAN DIALECTIC

Thus we come forcefully up against our theme and it looms up before us as truly gigantic in scope and magnitude. Yet clasp it and wrestle with it we must, for in such encounter lies the task and the destiny of our age.

What is the Marxian dialectic? To this question many brilliant men have addressed themselves, and quite a few not so brilliant have had their day in the court of attempted explanation. In the second category I may place myself and an ambitious effort at simple exposition of a complex subject in the first chapter of my book, Communism and Christ. Here I am going to say very briefly and I hope intelligibly that dialectic was Karl Marx' way of rationalizing the com-

plexity of history and society, including his own doctrine of violence, revolution, and transitional dictatorship. It was his formula for making all these contradictions compatible with his faith that history was moving toward a final goal of good and that this ultimate stage was a universal classless society.

Of course the word "dialectic" is related to "dialog" and for centuries meant the same thing as logic. It denotes the fact that truth like reality is not a simple thing, but is a matter of opposites which somehow produce together a larger actuality. This idea and observation is older than Plato. It was elaborated in its most systematic form by the German philosopher Hegel with his division of the dialectical process into the three stages of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

This analysis and terminology was appropriated lock, stock, and barrel by Marx and his friend Engels, the founders of modern systematic communism. In spite of their brutal rejection of mysticsm and God, they applied to raw, unsupported, uncreated, and uncoordinated matter in motion these dialectical attributes. Otherwise they would have had no message and no tools with which to move the minds of men but would have been saddled with the cold frigidity of classical, deterministic materialism. This was the last thing Marx wanted. In his Theses on Feuerbach, worked out in 1845 but unpublished till the appearance in 1888 of a new edition of Engels' book Ludwig Feuerbach, he exclaimed: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."

I could not help recalling this sentence of Marx when in 1953 at the annual meeting of the British Labor Party at Hargate Aneurin Bevan shouted: "We are the people who want to change the world." The problem of course is not the desirability of change and improvement. The problem is, in what direction, at what pace, and to what end shall we move?

But to return to the subject of dialectic, it was this concept derived from Hegel and the long history of spiritual philosophy that enabled Marxism to become international communism and to generate the ideological drive and appeal which has been the cutting edge of the most powerful tyranny in the twentieth century. Without its dialectic Marxism could not have become a plan of secular salvation; it could not have carried concealed within its materialistic armor a faith capable of turning the world upside down; it could not have found an intellectual framework on which to hang its dogmas and buttress its prophecy both of revolution and of a new world.

KEY TO UNDERSTANDING COMMUNISM

Even now it is impossible to understand communism and its claims without constant reference to the key of dialectic. It is only from a dialectical standpoint that one can comprehend the possibility of capitalism (a new thesis) undermining itself and turning by inexorable historic processes into its opposite (or antithesis) of socialistic dictatorship. Beyond this contradiction, embracing even the most savage and arbitrary tyranny, there lies from the standpoint of dialectical insight the certainty that a great, final, climactic synthesis will arise, a social utopia in which all things will be held in common by all people, and in which there will be no more classes, no more competition, no more want, and no more war.

People often ask, what makes educated men, university men, even wealthy men, susceptible to the lure of communism? What is the mysterious attraction of this new system which obviously has in it so much of ancient tyranny and primitive brutality?

The answer is to be found in the accomplishments for communism of the concept of dialectic. By this theft from Hegelian idealism—for materialism logically can gain no benefit from logic—the Marxist can claim an understanding of reality and history which appeals to the intellectual; he can parade a scientific approach to economics and sociology which makes contact with the immense prestige of science in western and now also in eastern education; and he can point to the advent of an ideal social order with the certainty of a heartwarming reaction among the generality of optimistic liberals, garden variety socialists, and modernistic religionists in the world of the west.

At least this was true for a generation after 1917 and has not yet ceased to be a factor with which Europe and America, North and South, must reckon. In Asia and Africa we can discern a similar pattern, adapted to differing conditions and slower and more promising from the Communist standpoint in its tempo of evolution.

SIX WITNESSES FOR COMMUNISM

Let me set down for illustrative and comparative purposes several excerpts from basic Communist writings, covering a sweep of approximately 75 years. I believe that a scrutiny of these texts will be illuminating to the ordinary American, and they will bring home the lesson that we must, first of all, take the time and effort necessary to understand what communism is in structure and psychology. The texts I choose are all nontechnical and are pointed in some way to the social goal of communism. But bear in mind, please, that every one could be matched with a quotation from the same source asserting the rightfulness of violence and the necessity of immediate, absolute military dictatorship as the way to bring in, first, socialism and, ultimately, pure communism. And do not forget that the reconciling key to these apparent contradictions is supplied by our friendly ever so helpful formula, dialectic—dialectic joined to an ultimate and unqualified materialism.

Our first witness is Karl Marx himself, the Moses of communism as the German Engels was its Aaron. He wrote in Capital:

"We can then foresee the advent of social conditions under which everyone will be relieved of the burden of material difficulty and distress. * * * In this society of the future, personal freedom and the well-being of all without exception will, for the first time in history, become realities, and the individual will, at the same time, be able to develop fully his personal aptitudes and capacities." (Marx: Capital.)

Our second witness is Engels. In his work, Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, he made a prophecy that might well prove an inconvenient reminder of many things to Communists and fellow travelers of today. Said Engels:

"The society that organizes production on the basis of the free and equal association of the producers will put the whole state machine where it will then belong: in the museum of antiquities, side by side with the spinning wheel and the bronze ax."

The third witness we now call to the box is Lenin, the Russian conspirator and Marxian zealot, who became the most successful revolutionary of all time. He wrote in his authoritative book, The State and Revolution:

"There is no trace of an attempt on Marx's part to conjure up a utopia. * * * Marx treats the question of communism in the same way as a naturalist would treat the question of the development, say, of a new biologic species, if he knew that such and such was its origin, and such and such was the direction in which it was changing."

The fourth witness is an American, William Z. Foster, and my quotation is from his suppressed and rare volume, Toward Soviet America, published in 1932:

"Communism will inaugurate a new era for the human race * * * (It) will bring about the immediate or eventual solution of many great social problems * * * war, religious superstition, prostitution, famine, pestilence, crime, poverty, alcoholism, unemployment, illiteracy, race and national chauvinism, the suppression of woman, and every form of slavery and exploitation of one class by another * * * the revolution, in its upward course, will carry humanity to heights of happiness and achievement far beyond the dreams of even the most hopeful utopians."

The fifth witness is the Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, dated 1939 and published over the unwritten imprimatur of Joseph Stalin, if not indeed written by him. This sentence is compact and summary in character; it partakes, in fact, of the catechetical character and purpose of the Short History. I quote:

"Marx and Engels taught that it was impossible to get rid of the power of capital and convert capitalist property into public property by peaceful means, and that the working class could achieve this only by revolutionary violence against the bourgeoisie, by a proletarian revolution, by establishing its own political rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat—which must crush the resistance of the exploiters and create a new, classless, Communist society."

Our sixth and final witness is an Asiatic—another man of steel who holds sway, we are told, over nearly one-fourth of the human race. I refer to Mao Tse-tung, who in his book, China's New Democracy (1940), wrote:

"Communism is the proletarian system of thought, and is also a new kind of social system. It is different from any other ideological system or social system in that it is the most complete, the most progressive, the most revolutionary, and the most rational system in human history. * * * It is only the Communist ideology and social system that grow and spread in the world, with a mighty, thundering force that can level mountains and overturn seas, and maintain their flowering youth. * * * The world now depends upon communism as its star of salvation, and so does China."

DEMOCRACY'S ANSWER A DIALOG

In these quotations we see the Marxian dialectic in its practical operation. And we are warned that the answer must be concrete and positive, not merely an academic refutation.

Such refutation is as simple as it is fruitless. Any philosopher with even an elementary training in logic can see that the Hegelian theory of dialectic and materialism are incompatible. They mix about as well as oil and water. The validity of dialectic as a tool for understanding natural and historical development is dependent entirely on the analogy of the human to the divine mind. The Marxian expropriation of the fruit of this analogy without regard to its root and origin represents one of the really monstrous hoaxes, one of the palpable, immense fudges, in the history of thought.

Man, unfortunately for the rationalist, does not live by logic. He lives by something deeper, something that offers or seems to offer food for his spirit. This may include food and other necessities for his body, for the spirit of man justly craves enough transcendence of physical needs to have the freedom to live at a higher level. It is here that Marxian communism has made contact first with Western and then with Eastern man. It has moved into a spiritual and moral vacuum with the power of an elemental force. It will be answered and expelled only by a comparable force that can add to truth subjective depth, social passion, and immediate relevance to man's actual situation of need.

Democracy, honestly conceived and spiritually apprehended, has such an answer. Of this we have no slightest doubt. Yet it must be confessed that there is a problem here which is very searching and very profound. This problem involves the mystery of faith and of the relation of faith to ideology. It

involves the paradox that man must believe in order to live and yet is powerless to create in himself or in others a lively faith. This is always something done in man. It is always finally a mystery.

The problem, therefore, which democracy faces today is one that cannot be solved without taking into account the outreach of the multitudes in every continent for meaning and new life. The same point applies also to intellectuals, for their quest and crisis and aberrations involve the question of man's existence and destiny in an age of science, technology, war, depression, and planetary unification. It has often been remarked from Dostoevski to Whittaker Chambers that the problem of communism is ultimately not one of economics but is the problem of faith.

The answer of democracy, accordingly, must be humble and profound. It must be dialectical in the true meaning of this ancient and oft-abused phrase. It must take the form of a dialog and must eschew easy dogmatism and false simplicity. It must look at all sides of the complex prism of truth and at the same time must believe in Truth and accept her majestic compulsion upon the human conscience. It must not be afraid of the role of the dogmatic and the mythological in human experience. Plato as well as Christianity and all religions of power, whether classified as higher or lower, are our teachers from this standpoint. Finally, this answer must proceed out of self-examination by democracy and must be manifested in a new will to repentance and amendment of life.

In this spirit it is right that freemen should take the false ideology of communism apart and expose it for what it is. They should point out the massive contradiction, approaching social and moral schizophrenia, between the doctrine of Communists and their works whenever and wherever they are in power. Such a contradiction is inexplicable and untenable, even on the basis of the Marxian dialectic pilfered from Hegelian idealism. Communism is not really for man and against the state, but is against man and for the omnicompetent, absolute state as the abiding organ of a tyranny both unable and unwilling to yield any part of its unlimited power. In this sense communism is Red fascism, and it does not have the excuse of Hitler's national socialism that at least it stated openly and candidly its nihilistic doctrine and program. The Soviet revolution is not in reality revolution, and is in no sense continuous, as both Marx and Lenin assumed, with the classic democratic tradition of the overthrow of tyranny and the increase of self-government. Instead, beginning with January 19, 1918 when Lenin dissolved by armed force the constituent assembly gathered at St. Petersburg to give Russia a democratic constitution, communism has represented counterrevolution and reaction and has extended its sway not to liberate but to enslave human beings.

THE GOD THAT FAILED

The choicest spirits who accepted the Communist system in terms of its own ideological valuation as a liberating force have revolted and have had the courage to bear witness before mankind of their error. I think of the six intellectuals who make their respective confessions and bear a common testimony in a remarkable volume The God That Failed (1949). A rollcall of these witnesses is suggestive and invigorating: Arthur Koestler, a Hungarian; Ignazio Silone, an Italian; Richard Wright, an American Negro; André Gide, a Frenchman; Louis Fischer, an American (son of David Kantzapolsky); and Stephen Spender, an Englishman.

To these names should be added that of a man who was more deeply mired in the sticky amalgam that is communism than most of them but who came to himself and who was ready with a willing sacrifice when his country called. I refer to Whittaker Chambers, and I beg permission to share with you a passage which records a milestone of spiritual progress in a century that without doubt will be known for its atheism and barbarity as well as for its inventive genius and colossal strides in the mastery of nature.

What modern man has to a large degree lost and what he must rediscover is the knowledge of the reality of good and evil. This is the starting point of the Bible and the foundation of health both for the individual and for civil society. Marx, like Nietzsche, set out from the terrible twin convictions that "God is dead" and that man in his freedom is "beyond good and evil." Communism, like national socialism, may be defined as a particular course of action designed to carry out logically the consequences of these two premises.

In the following passage Chambers records in a moving way a Communist's rediscovery of the reality of evil:

"It will be impossible for a non-Communist to conceive the fever with which I decided to read my first anti-Communist book. I mean fever quite literally; and furtiveness as if I were committing an unpardonable sin, as I was. For the fact that I voluntarily opened such a book could mean only one thing: I had begun to doubt. By chance, and I will let that evasive word stand for something which I do not hold to be chance at all, the first book I read was the book best calculated to shake me to the depths. It was called I Speak for the Silent. Its author was Prof. Vladimir Tchernavin.

"Professor Tchernavin was not a Communist. He was a Russian technician of some kind. He was a little man in the Communist world, gentle, humane, good. He went about his routine chores, finding what happiness he could in his love for his wife and small son. Suddenly, for no reason at all, he was arrested and carried away by the secret police. He began that long transit of the Soviet prisons, like a gummed fly slipping from strand to strand in the web of a spider that was always waiting to pounce. At last he was sent to a sub-Arctic prison camp (from which together with his wife and son he later made a sensational escape to Finland). In freedom, he wrote of the horrors of that slave-labor camp, simply, factually; it was their monstrousness, not his pathos, that sickened the soul. Some years before, a British trade-union delegation had toured Russia and reported that there were no slave-labor camps, and that had been good enough for me. I wrote off the recurring rumors as propaganda. Now, for the first time, I believed that slave-labor camps existed.

"A year before, that would not have mattered much to me. I would have put down Tchernavin's book and would not have reopened it. I would have known that, even if some of it were true, it was the price of social progress. I would have known, as what Communist does not know, that terror is an instrument of policy, right if the Communist is right, justified by history, enjoined by the balance of forces in the social wars of this century. Now, too, I put down I Speak for the Silent. But for a different reason; because I could not go on, because I could not endure the question that it raised. I was that Communist whom I have described in the foreword to this book. About me had closed a separating silence—the deathly silence of those for whom Tchernavin spoke—and in that silence I heard their screams. 'He hears them for the first time. For they do not merely reach his mind. They pierce beyond. They pierce to his soul. He hears them for the first time because a soul in extremity has communicated with that which alone can hear it—another human soul.'

"I did not know what had happened to me. I denied the very existence of a soul. But I said: 'This is evil, absolute evil. Of this evil I am a part'."

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

So far what we have said implies an identity of some kind between a religious view of the world and democracy as a particular form of society and civil government. This implication is a correct one if we agree that by democracy we mean not a political abstraction but a movement in modern history expressive of a certain faith, a certain spirit, and a certain body of ideas.

People often use the word "democracy" very loosely. Indeed this assembly should not even for a moment lose sight of the fact that communism, abandoning the usage of Lenin and Stalin in his more imitative phase, has brazenly appropriated this word for the standard dictatorship which it sets up whenever it seizes power in any given society. I have acquaintances who say, "Let them have it after all 'republic' and 'Republican' were good enough for our Founding Fathers." I cannot agree with this counsel; and I hardly need add that I indicate no political preference in a current or party sense in affirming such a conclusion.

Words are as tricky as they are fascinating. Their evolution is often as deep a mystery as the development and inner springs of personality. In the case of democracy two things impress me. One is the extraordinary, across-the-board appreciation of this verbal coin during the last 150 years. The other is the growing zeal of the Communists to exploit the prestige of this term despite definite statements of Lenin to the effect that the word "democracy" cannot be scientifically applied to the Communist Party and is a shackle or a blind hindering a revolutionary nation from building up a truly Soviet form of power. Here are two strong reasons for our holding on to the term "democracy" and to what it naturally and logically denotes as the fundamental focus of the ideology which we have and which we seek to pass on to other peoples and nations in our day.

Only, we must be willing to do some thinking and analyzing and defining. We must mean something more than a vague platitude, a least common denominator of governmental mechanism, when we speak of democracy.

When I first went to New England as a graduate student at Harvard, I made friends with a native son of Massachusetts who was born and bred a Unitarian. He used to say that "a Unitarian was a person with a very lively and sustaining faith in he knows not what." That is our problem in talking about democracy and democracy's answer. We are sure that democracy is real and that it is a good thing. We are certain that it represents a tremendous and perhaps an all-conquering force of history. The world, however, of the 20th century is unconvinced. It is a world in transition, peopled with a humanity which in General Smuts' phrase "has struck its tents and is on the march." It is a postcolonial world with immense masses in commotion mutely prophesying the advent of vast alterations in the affairs of men. This contemporary world, which is our world, wants to know what we in the United States really believe. It wants to know what we have to offer. It is ready to listen and eager to follow, but only if it can detect in the voice and words of those who hail democracy the accent of sincerity and an authentic intimation of sympathy and understanding.

A DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY

Accordingly, with great boldness and in full realization that my effort may be only as a child's halting step along a road that winds far and is strewn with boulders, I propose to outline a democratic credo or ideology. An ideology, it should be noted, is not just any set of ideas—political, social, moral, or religious—but is a particular body of concepts and propositions through which actual

men think and by which they live. The most acute commentary I know on the real import of the ideological in the struggle and confusion of our age goes back to World War I and was penned by a brilliant Englishman who, with so many of his most promising young fellow countrymen, fell in that tragic struggle. I refer to T. E. Hulme and this acute commentary:

"There are certain doctrines which for a particular period seem not doctrines, but inevitable categories of the human mind. Men do not look on them merely as correct opinion, for they have become so much a part of the mind, and lie so far back that they are never really conscious of them at all. They do not see them but other things through them. It is these abstract ideas at the center, the things which they take for granted, that characterize a period. * * * It is these abstract things at the center, these doctrines felt as facts, which are the source of all the other more material characteristics of a period."

What Hulme is talking about is what we mean today when we speak of ideology. An ideology always has in it a religious element, or that which is an equivalent of religion psychologically and in motivating force. It is generally wider than religion and always involves politics and social arrangements and relationships. Democracy is an ideology and is wider than religion but it has its starting point in religion. Indeed, in its modern development, which is what we mean when we use the word with an upper case "D," Democracy is the deposit and the impact of the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition in the field of politics and civil society.

First, then, democracy is a faith. Second, it is a political principle. Third, it is an economic doctrine. Fourth, it is a vision of a good society.

1. Faith

Democracy in its modern form, in the living stream of which we are a part, began as a faith. It affirmed faith in man because of faith in God. To the Christian men who wrote and signed in the year 1620 the Mayflower Compact it came as naturally to conclude, "In the name of God. Amen," as it does for you and me to breathe.

The same is true of the more highly educated and the somewhat more rationalistic men who in 1776 accepted and signed the composition of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, known to history as the Declaration of Independence. This manifesto, which is less than 75 years older than A Communist Manifesto, appeals as a matter of course to a Creator God and to the conscience and reason of mankind. The last thing of which the American signers would have dreamed was an appeal to inevitable economic law and absolute social processes. Between America in 1776 and Europe in 1848 there was a difference not of 75 years but of the antipodes of the spirit and hope of man. How prophetically did this infinite qualitative difference forecast the planetary conflict of the 20th century with its cosmic overtones?

Liberalism

The accent of the American Declaration, in line with the ideas of the political mentor of this classical revolutionary struggle, John Locke, was on the natural freedom of equal men. There was asserted, in other words, not a counsel of perfection or even of desirability but a dogmatic expression of what is. As we have seen, there is a dogmatic core to every ideology. The ideology that was expressing itself in Locke and in the American Revolution as well as in Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations (1776) is what should be known technically as liberalism. It is very remarkable that Karl Marx regarded himself as primarily an economist and set out in Capital to outdo his British predecessors, Smith and Ricardo, in analyzing immutable economic law and drawing correct conclusions as to the direction in which society was inevitably moving.

A clue to the really astonishing outcome of history in the first half of the 20th century, with America unconsciously making herself the principal instrument of promoting the world advance of international communism, is to be found in the retention by some New Deal braintrusters as well as by the political leaders under their influence of the term liberalism for an ideology actually much closer to Marxian socialism. It is tempting to say that these extraordinary and ironical developments are the witness of facts (which can be misread but cannot lie) to a dialectical relationship between liberalism and Marxism. Such a conclusion would contain an element of truth. It would, however, concede too much to the exaggerated view of dialectic held by Hegel and all his followers. It would obscure the commanding role of man's freedom and will both in the founding of the Marxian system and in the deed by which Lenin a generation later harnessed to this system the Russian Revolution of 1917.

These events constitute one of the best refutations of economic determinism or any other doctrine supporting the concept of a block universe. They reveal a future that is not a cast-iron affair but an adventure filled with the free deeds of courageous men. They show that there is nothing inevitable about a Communist world and inspire us to dream with equal daring of a truly democratic world, in which peace and social concord shall be restored and freedom and brotherhood shall march hand in hand.

Words we have said are fascinating things. This fascination is inseparable from the drama of meanings conveyed by them. We must seek always to penetrate to the meanings, using key words as our provisional guides but taking care not to become victims of terms.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity

So we return now to democracy, which we view as a spacious and growing reality destined to dominate the next age of history. The first wave of democracy as a definite ideology was liberalism, accenting freedom but affirming also as a natural fact equality. In the French phase of the new revolutionary drive for liberation and freedom, there was a clear accent upon equality and to the two watchwords "liberty" and "equality," a third was added, "fraternity."

There was in this instinctive Gallic phraseology something very logical. From the angle of the ideal meaning of democracy, it represented a kind of final achievement, a magna carta, one might say, of a new phase of human development. For ever after, to the very end of time, to progress could only mean to move nearer the realization in actual society of the triune motto of the French Revolution.

Unfortunately the third aspect of the Gallic trilogy fell speedily into neglect. Equality, and the problem of its relation to liberty, riveted the attention, first, of French, and, then, of other European intellectuals. Out of this preoccupation arose the Socialist complex, including the bold ideological demarche of communism, the supreme example of raids in the history of ideas.

The heart of this ideology, as we have seen, is the notion of an inevitable dialectic process in which liberalism (capitalism) produces dictatorial socialism and socialism will turn into pure communism. Against this entirely unfounded but undeniably seductive system of illusion democracy's answer is simple but far-reaching. It is that liberty and equality are fulfilled in love and that love is the supreme instance of the truth of dialectic.

Dialectic of Love

Man, we commonly say, is a being related vertically to God his Creator and horizontally to his fellow man or neighbor. These spatial metaphors, while not without point or limited usefulness, are misleading and have often operated to blunt the thrust of religious truth as a unitive factor in the social and civil spheres of life. In reality the two relations of man are different aspects of one whole, for God is not related to man spatially or in a limited way but in His Divine presence and meaning comprehends and enfolds all human beings and all finite relationships.

This means, as both Holy Scripture and the Judaeo-Christian tradition at their deepest levels have plainly glimpsed and taught, that love is not many but one. The love of God is not one reality and the love of neighbor a secondary real added on, but the second love "is like unto" the first and is its inseparable expression and partial definition. Divine love undergirds, sanctions, and hallows human affection and will to the good of another but it is in the knowledge of the power of human love alone that we understand and enter into the mystery of the love of God. This seems to be the clear teaching of the Parables of the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan, and receives vital reenforcement in 1 Corinthians 13 and the First Epistle of St. John.

"Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love."

These words carry in them a force so elemental and yet so elevating that argument about them seems out of place. Yet they are true or false. Their significance admits of no gradations and allows of no evasions. We in this conference know and feel that they are real and true. What we perhaps have not realized is that in this Johannine dialectic of love, Divine and human, human and Divine, there lies the power of a new outlook and a new age.

This truth has been understood sometimes partially, sometimes blindingly, by many saints throughout the Christian era. I do not detract from numerous examples that could be given when I say that for me there is a modern artist and poet who has been my teacher in the dialectic of love. I refer to William Blake and I think it is very important to remember that he watched without losing his vision of spiritual reality both the rise and the fall of the French Revolution. Equally important he saw into the human meaning of the new industrial revolution.

"And was Jerusalem builded here among these dark Satanic mills?"

But unlike Marx and Engels a generation later Blake did not embrace vengeance and the spirit of violence. Instead in his prophetic poem Jerusalem (which mystically understood meant England), he wrote:

"Jesus said, Wouldst thou love one who had never died
For thee, or ever die for one who had not died for thee?
And if God dieth not for man, and giveth not Himself
Eternally for man, man could not exist, for man is love,
As God is love. Every kindness to another is a little Death
In the Divine Image, nor can man exist but by brotherhood."

Such is the dialectic of brotherhood in which alone liberty and equality are saved from self-destruction and are perpetually renewed in their meaning for the life of man.

2. A political principle

Democracy sets out from religion at the point of its absolute intersection with ethics. But it is, after all, a form of social polity.

It denotes a system of government. It stands for a theory and plan of politics. It cannot meet the demand of our world unless it is demonstrably relevant to the political nature of man and the special political ferment of the present generation.

Democracy is to be distinguished, as Plato and Aristotle taught their contemporaries and all subsequent generations, from tyranny, monarchy, aristocracy, and oligarchy. It denotes, in contradistinction to all these alternative polities, the rule of the people. When the great Greeks wrote, it was against the decline of Athenian power and they were pessimistic about the prospects of democracy. This fact explains the unpoplarity of the term and the idea at the time of the American Revolution and with the generality of the Founding Fathers. It was a conditioning factor in the origin of our Federal Constitution, with its mixed character from the standpoint of clear polities and its distributed emphasis upon both a strong central government and a proper system of checks and balances.

Nevertheless, the new stream of democracy was flowing with ever increasing power and gathering into itself the fruits of sound constitutional experience and theory. When fourscore and seven years after the beginning of American Independence Abraham Lincoln undertook to describe our political system, the words that came to him were inspired. They were: "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Add this phrase to the French motto of "Liberty, equality, and fraternity," and add both to the assertion of the American Declaration that all men "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; and you have a pretty comprenhensive and a pretty satisfactory summary of democracy as a social and political principle.

People and Individual

Democracy in its maturity means two things with respect to man and man, and man and the state. It means that sovereignty inheres in the people and that government rests by right upon the consent of the governed, not upon the arbitrary will of a monarch or a dictator or a committee of tyrants. It means, secondly, that man's dignity as an individual is a sacred principle which qualifies even the will of a majority at a particular time and which operates as a perpetual check upon the abuse of power even by elected officials of the people. Thus a constitution to be truly democratic must have a bill of rights or its equivalent.

Here, I suggest, is the political essence of democracy as distinct from constitutional devices, details, and methods. There are many possible constitutions which will embody the principle of democracy; the principle is one which is true and right and therefore cannot change. This principle is one whole in two related parts: the sovereignty of the people in government and the value and rights of the individual as an end in himself.

What is the future of democracy? Is it the answer for which the new as well as the old peoples of our seething world are in search? I am persuaded that it is the answer in a very definite way to the aspirations of the awakening nations of the postcolonial era and that there is no other answer. It is the high mission of the United States to be at once a witness to the truth of democracy and to remain the patient friend of peoples who are inexperienced in self-government and are determined to find out for themselves the way that is good. If we are faithful to our mission, we will stand guard without rest at the gates of an open future until all the peoples shall pass through them and enter into the light of an ampler and a happier age.

3. An economic doctrine

Democracy is not only a religious faith. It is not only a political principle. It is also an economic doctrine of teaching. It has something clear and definite and constructive to say about the wealth of nations.

If this were not the case, it would not be necessary for the opponent of democracy to find any other condemnation of this system. It would be a fruitless and sterile plan for human life. One does not have to be a Marxist to realize that economics is very basic and deeply penetrative in its effect upon society, politics, morals, and religion. It is valuable for us to reflect on the fact that Adam Smith was first professor of logic and then professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow. Before he wrote his Wealth of Nations, he had published a book entitled "Theory of Moral Sentiments."

Democracy makes three fundamental assertions with respect to economics. These propositions are not concerned with the detailed complexities and relative applications of principle that pertain to any science involving the behavior of human beings. Democracy repudiates without compromise the claim of Lenin that Marx treated the problem of communism (from the angle of course of economic determinism) in the same way as a naturalist would treat the question of the development of a new biological species. Such a claim is fraudulent outside the sphere of the physical and biological sciences. In the sphere of the human sciences the data which constitute the subject matter have a necessary role in determining method.

First Principles

It is another matter with first principles. All sciences assume certain dogmas and would be without the ability to function or achieve if they were devoid of unproven assumptions. These first principles are less obvious and more concealed in the case of the natural sciences than they are when we come to the operations of the human sciences. In the latter case the presence and potency of given assumptions is a fact that cannot be hidden. This is true of ethics, of psychology, and of sociology. It is true of economics.

Our three propositions, therefore, are in the nature of first economics principles. We state them dogmatically not because they are self-evident or with any thought that they are not debatable. We set them forth rather as the meaning and impact of democracy as a total ideology upon the wealth, or material welfare, of individuals and nations.

First, freedom is the fundamental form of economic life, as it is of political order and personal existence. Second, private property is a right inseparable from the dignity of the individual, the integrity of the family, and the wise limitation of the state. Third, it is the function of moderate government, in accordance with justice and the responsibility of the general welfare, to act as regulator and balancer in relation to the impersonal character of economic forces.

Each of these propositions could be discussed at length. Here I prefer instead to present as a background for such discussion a short resumé of broad trends in the relationship of the state and economic practice.

Historical Summary

In classic thought politics is thought of as prior to economics. Man is thought of as a political animal. His dependence upon the community of which he is a part is accented, and the reality and power of the state are seen as the direct reflex of this social, economic, and psychological dependence. Economics without doubt assumes various degrees of partial distinctness and autonomy but always regulation and subordination to state policy are taken for granted. This holds down through the mercantilism of the 17th century.

Meanwhile, however, the development of the individual, first in consciousness, then in philosophy, politics, and economics, was taking place and was becoming more and more emphatic. Finally, in the 18th century the age-old cocoon of state supremacy burst, and we witness not only a new birth of political democracy but a new concept of society known as political economy. According to the new idea, politics is to take a back seat and economics is to be endowed with complete autonomy. A corollary is the dictum that the least government is the best government.

Now we see spread out for our instruction one of the real ironies of history. Adam Smith brought out his Wealth of Nations in 1776—the very year of the American Declaration of Independence and of the birth of a new English-speaking nation. His work was essentially an extension of the French doctrine of physiocracy or the rule of nature. In Paris in the 1750's Smith met Vincent de Gournay, author of the phrase laissez faire, laissez aller, and he met also another physiocrat, a friend of de Gournay named DuPont de Nemours. The great idea was to let economic forces alone, to release them from artificial control and make them as free as the atoms of physics.

We know the sequel. Immense power was released. The new industrial age came in with a bang. But there were some unexpected results. One of them was what we called the socialist complex. Another was Karl Marx, who, we repeat, set out with the picture of himself standing on the shoulders of laissez faire economics and in his book Capital expounding, with the fullness of science informed by dialectics, the thesis of classic political economy that economics determines or should determine politics.

Marx, of course, was self-deluded. The condition of our world at this moment shows the extent of his error. He brought in not communism, as he visualized it, a condition of perfected universal anarchy based upon an economic sufficiency automatically passed out to all men, but the most powerful example in modern history of the revived and enlarged omnicompetent, totalitarian state. To find any real analogy for the actual communism that has come about, we have to go behind the Christian era and even the Graeco-Roman period to the age of the Pharaohs and of the despots of Babylon.

Lessons

Thus the wheel swings full circle, and hard lessons are forced upon us. The Marxian error was only partly economic; it was moral, philosophical, and political as well. But it points a fundamental lesson, namely, that man is not and must never be viewed as simply or mainly an economic being. When this happens, no matter how liberal or benevolent the intent, the door is opened for disastrous error. Man's personal dignity is lost. His moral and spiritual nature are forfeit. He ceases to be an end in himself. He, and not merely his labor, becomes the commodity and value of abstract economic theory.

Yet laissez faire doctrine was right in its judgment that political freedom presupposes economic freedom. This is perhaps the supreme lesson of the modern flirtation with socialism including its extreme of communism. There is a second and corollary lesson—and "the second is like unto the first"—namely, that the freedom and integrity of religion presuppose both political and economic freedom. Freedom is, in fact, one and it is indivisible.

The error of laissez faire political economy was in having too negative a view of freedom and too rationalistic a view of economic law in relation to the general welfare. Again we see illustrated the deep and abiding truth of the dialectical principle rightly understood. Truth is not a simple affair but is always a complex involving the synthesis or

union in tension of opposites. Applied to Democracy as an economic doctrine, this means that freedom is an absolute but that the State under God has the duty of seeing to it that this principle does not result in concrete tyranny and in heartlessness from the standpoint of plain human beings.

Mrs. Humphrey Ward, in the last century, once had occasion to write a member of the Parliament of Great Britain on behalf of one of his constituents who needed his help. The distinguished leader in politics replied that he was sorry but that he was so busy planning for the good of the race that he had no time for the individual. "Ah," said Mrs. Ward on receiving this reply, "our blessed Lord, when last heard from, had not achieved this sublime altitude."

The meaning of democracy is that the government has time for the smallest individual. Parliaments and congresses, presidents and judiciaries, are not ends in themselves, but are dedicated to the service of "the least of these" our brethren. Man is not made for the state, but the state for man. In the words of our own President, Dwight David Eisenhower, "Government must have a heart as well as a head."

4. A vision of a good society

Every ideology is three things. It is a body of ideas. It is a faith. And it is a concrete vision—a picture of a good society toward which man strives.

Examples leap to mind. Plato is an evident instance. The medieval idea is another. The humanism of St. Thomas More is a third, with a Utopia sketched out to make the main points clear. Communism is the outstanding modern example, with its hard-core dogmas, its dyamic psychology expressive of something that can only be called a secular mysticism, and its social dream posited as the inevitable, scientifically certain outcome of the dialectical processes of history.

What of democracy? Is it an ideology in search of a vision? Or does it know where it is going?

The answer to both questions is, "Yes." Democracy was born when modern man, conscious of his origin and nature as a child of God and convinced that his life should embody both reason and freedom, posited a social contract as the basis of society and government. This theory we now realize was an artificial construct from the standpoint of actual origins. But it tells us a great deal about the ideas, values, and expectations of the first democratic believers. The real meaning of the social contract lies in transposing it from past to future. It was the first instalment of democracy's vision of a good society, and it remains, seen in this light, essentially valid.

Developing and Dogmatic

Yet there is truth also in saying that democracy is by its very nature a thing incomplete and is today as in the past an idea and a faith searching for an adequate vision of its goal. Some will condemn this, and point out the obvious superficial superiority of communism in this respect. Others—representing the mentality which absolutizes open-mindedness and the non-dogmatic and which is sometimes called today liberalism of the American type, as distinct from the European—will seize on this aspect as the very essence and justification of democracy.

We reject both attitudes and emphasize with all possible force that the tentative and undogmatic side of democracy concerns its relationship to the growth of man in history and his liability to error because of finitude and sin. With the first principles of democracy—religious, moral, philosophical, political, and economic—the case is otherwise. The foundation must be a dogmatic one. Here communism is partially correct, and we can learn from it.

I refer, of course, to the dogmatic character or form of Communist first principles, not to their erroneous content. When the architects and continuators of this system then go on, as they do, to ascribe an equally dogmatic certainty to social goals, the main processes of history, and the plasticity and infinite malleableness of human nature, error is piled grievously upon error and the grand result is a totalitarian monstrosity without parallel.

This colossal idol has three faces. One is political. One is social. The third is religious—religious in the sense of unlimited claims to truth and value and in the sense also of the arrogation to man of the power, meaning, and loyalty normally ascribed to God alone. But behind each of these faces is a single dynamic idea. This idea, as we have emphasized earlier, is given status in the Communist system by the device of dialectic. It is the idea of a perfect social order—a Utopia in time where all men shall be happy and free, and where there shall be no more evil.

This is the concrete vision which since 1848 has been the mainspring of Communist ideology. It is by this social dream that it has swayed the minds of men.

Democracy did not begin as a starry utopian plan, and it cannot and must not attempt to outbid communism at this point. But from its first beginnings in modern history democracy has spelled man and his dignity, man and his hope of ceaseless growth and improvement. Since man is a social being, and therefore a political animal, as the Greeks taught, it follows that democracy is inseparable from the concept of the general welfare and the will to its promotion and advance.

A New Social Goal

In our century a step is indicated which was impossible in the 18th century and which was really inept and unfeasible in the 19th, as contemporary history proves to the hilt. This step is the projection of a clear social goal, a vision of a world society in which is posited a progressive solution of the basic material problems of mankind hitherto regarded by wise and good men as objectively beyond the capacity of the human race.

The meaning of modern technology, symbolized in dramatic terms by the artificial fission and fusion of the atom, is that within man's grasp for the first time in history is abundance for all. An age of plenty has dawned. A solution is in sight of the basic, age-long problem of material existence for the masses of all continents.

The atom is the Creator's first handiwork. It is the building block of all creation. As unveiled in its surprising and marvelous inner texture, it is a symbol both of the power and the restraint of God. Are we not as believing men compelled to see God at work in our time and to hail the good news of atomic energy?

To ask such a question is to answer it. It is for democracy in the strength of the vision which is opened up by this answer, the answer of the presence and purpose of God, to resume its arrested progress and to meet with boldness the dreams of newly awakened peoples. It must affirm the end of mass poverty and wretchedness as it proclaims with a new vibrancy the ideals of liberty, equality, and brotherhood. It must speak in tones of confidence and clarity, for all men to hear, the words of Isaiah the Hebrew prophet, taken by Jesus of Nazareth as His own at the beginning of His ministry in the synagogue of His home city:

"The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me to bring good tidings to the poor; He has sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those who are bound; to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor. (Isaiah 61: 1, 2 cf. St. Luke 4: 18, 19.)

A Servant of the Nations

There is one qualification. To use words like these imposes a costing commitment. Democracy can clothe itself in such liberating words only if its adherents know that sacrifice is required of them. We dare not speak of deliverance, concern, brotherhood, human solidarity, the solution of ancient, chronic, deep-seated problems of the general welfare, unless we are moved by the spirit of love and are prepared to count the cost of proclaming a new age.

All of us know in our hearts that in a special way at this mighty hour of history our great country is called to be, in the spirit of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, the servant of the nations. The problems and difficulties are vast, but who will say that we lack the power and ability to make a decisive contribution, if we can find the vision and the will?

Economics and Spirituality

But, it may be asked, are you not saying that the solution is economic? Are you not saying in effect, set in motion a larger point 4 program, perhaps under some other name, and we will extend democracy, defeat communism, and save the present uncertain day? Is not this Marxist doctrine in concealed and honeyed phrases?

The answer is emphatically in the negative. Economics by itself or even as a first installment of good will is not enough. Man does not live by bread alone. We insult him if we think he can be won by rice or wheat or technological crumbs from the rich American Nation's table.

We must begin with what we believe in our deepest soul and have the humble daring to share the truth that is from God with men and women who are hungry above all for the bread of life. We know that a part of this truth is the affirmation of human dignity expressed in respect, readiness to learn, simple self-giving, and brotherly love. We know that we cannot truly love God and show a right faith in Him unless there is lodged in our heart and conscience the Commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Having said this with all possible emphasis, let me remind us all that one of the supreme assets of the Hebrew-Christian tradition is its understanding of the relationship of spirit and matter. In this tradition there is no illusion of pure spirituality; there is no hollow separation of soul and body. St. Thomas Aquinas represents a mountain peak of this outlook and of humanism for all time when he says that though the soul is nobler than the body, the human person constituted by the union of soul and body is nobler than the soul. Beside this I may place a pregnant sentence from a modern Anglican theologian, Archbishop William Temple: "Christianity is the most avowedly materialist of all the great religions."

Such a tradition is uniquely fitted to deal with the age of the atom—new symbol of technological mastery and harbinger of coming material abundance. It is prepared to interpret the exciting advances of science as encompassed in a divine plan and at the same time to affirm the utter necessity of transcending the plane of the material and sensate. For the miracle of man is that, though formed of atoms, molecules, and chemical elements, he is created in his totality in the image and likeness of God, with the gift of reason and "with power on his own act and on the world."

CONCLUSION

This means, to sum up, that economics and ethics, politics and religion, are not diverse and unrelated areas of human concern; rather, they belong together and constitute not a hierarchy but a rich, interrelated com-

plex of life interwoven throughout with the two complementary patterns of individual salvation and the common good. The will of God for His human children is abundant life, both in this order of His creation and in the larger, veiled life of the world to come. Therefore, the needs and pain and material aspirations of the masses of our world must be met. A new and more humane and kindly order of society must be projected as a goal for our time. Labor for the fulfillment of this vision must be undertaken by good men everywhere as a sacred religious task.

But we must be warned and our matter-conscious, engineering-centered world must be warned of one thing. This warning was voiced nearly three decades ago by a modern Plato — a mathematician-philosopher with the style of a poet named Alfred North Whitehead. In the intervening period neither Marxian materialism nor scientific humanism in any form has brought forth fruits that justify changing in the slightest degree the tone or substance of this prophetic word:

"The fact of religious vision and its history of persistent expansion is our one ground for optimism. Apart from it, human life is a flash of occasional enjoyments lighting up a mass of pain and misery; a bagatelle of transient experience."

Labor Unity: A Vast Power Potential

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the March 4, 1955, issue of the new Jackson (Miss.) State Times:

LABOR UNITY: A VAST POWER POTENTIAL

Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations now seems certain. Approval of the unity plan proposed after long study and negotiation by a joint committee is up to the executive bodies of the two groups. There is little likelihood that they will turn down what George Meany and Walter Reuther have agreed on.

Labor unity has been talked of so long and argued so vehemently that we tend to forget the Nation has had a single great organization before, although not in the sense of the potential of this merger. Until 20 years ago, the AFL counted within its affiliated memberships virtually every laboring man who belonged to a union.

The AFL's tardiness in recognizing the changes inherent in the development and vast growth of the mass industries brought about the creation of the CIO in which workers were organized horizontally by industry rather than vertically by crafts. But the AFL was never the force, either politically or economically, that is promised by the merger at hand now.

For one thing, the real growth of organized labor did not begin until the early 1930s, and the major expansion in numbers has been in the industrial unions of the CIO. For another, organized labor rarely attempted to exert itself politically until it was plunged by power-seeking leaders into the political battles accompanying the creation and maintenance of the New Deal. Consciousness of labor's influence at the ballot box and in the halls of legislatures has been a major development of these same years.

Nearly 16 million Americans are listed as members of unions now affiliated with one or the other of the two organizations. Virtually all are of voting age and are being constantly exhorted by their leaders to qualify themselves as voters. Numerically, they represent fully a quarter of the voters in a modern presidential election—a proportion which theoretically should hand them control of the situation on a silver platter.

But does it? Not necessarily, by any means. Regardless of the talk of the labor vote, the truth is that it does not exist as a solid bloc, subject to the dictates of any small group of bosses. American workers mark their ballots—when they mark them, for as a group they are as negligent about the fulfillment of this vital responsibility of citizenship as are the rest of us—as Americans first and labor-union members second. Some are Republicans, some are Democrats, a few are radicals but each is an individual scarcely more subject to outside pressures than their fellows.

The recent decision in the DuPont monopoly case said that industrial bigness of itself is not evil. It recognized that size brings power, but held that as long as that power was wielded with responsibility and without damage to others, it was not legally wrong.

The same reasoning can be applied to the labor merger. The Nation will look to the labor leaders to handle the potential force of their merged organizations in the best interests of the Nation and not for narrow purposes.

The best checkmate against its use otherwise is still the free American worker who as an individual has the fortitude to speak his mind and vote his convictions, inside the labor union and out.

"Just the Facts, Ma'am"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, there is hardly among us anyone who has not at one time or another heard over the radio or the television, the expression which has become almost a household phrase, "Just the facts, ma'am."

Of course you recognize the phrase as that of Sergeant Joe Friday in the radio-television series "Dragnet."

Facts have always been a fetish with me.

For long years I dealt with the facts as a newspaper reporter. In those days I always attempted to portray the facts in the pieces which I wrote, as reliably and accurately as I knew them.

But facts, like statistics, are a rather tricky medium in the hands of individuals.

It has been said that statistics can prove anything.

I have always made the assertion that the same set of facts in the hands of an adroit and able reporter can be used for any purpose.

Give any reporter a set of facts and he can write a piece in any one of three ways: up, down, and in the middle. Facts can be slanted with adjectives and phrases to convey an idea or a conclusion which the reporter desires instead of what the cold facts actually are.

Give me a page 1 story and you can have 50 editorials on the editorial page of a newspaper and I will direct your conclusions.

An individual approaches an editorial page in one of three different attitudes.

If he is in agreement with the policy of the newspaper which he reads he approaches the editorial with a kindly and sympathetic feeling.

If he disagrees with the policy of the newspaper then he approaches the editorial with an antagonistic attitude and in a resentful mood.

If he has no feelings on the policy of the newspaper then he approaches the editorial with an open, but certainly argumentative frame of mind.

With the news story it is entirely different.

The average American newspaper reader accepts a news story at its face value as he does the remarks of the radio commentator, who in turn has gotten his information from the newspaper story.

Without suspicion the clever and adroit reporter can make his reader believe anything he wants him to believe. He can mold him like clay in the hands of a sculptor. And the very first to indignantly deny that he is being led by the average news article is the very individual himself who was affected.

Now what does all this lead to?

Having worked the other side of the street and with cause, believing that I know most of the tricks of the trade, it has annoyed me considerably to read some of the so-called objective and unbiased news articles which have appeared in the Nation's press on the recent congressional and judicial salary boosts.

Objectivity—or the lack of it—in news reporting has always intrigued me and I am sure it would intrigue all of you if you ever stopped long enough to analyze some of these objective reports.

Seldom has there been such clever misrepresentation of the facts as during the consideration of the congressional and judiciary pay raise bills. In fairness to the press it must be stated that they were given very able assistance by some of our own Members.

I had hoped that these misrepresentations would cease with the final action on the measure. It was indeed a forlorn hope.

The most annoying thing about the whole business is that these misleading articles do deal in factual statements and in the facts but they are presented in such a manner and fashion that a completely erroneous conclusion is drawn from such articles.

I have a case in point.

Under the Associated Press credit line an article appeared in the Washington Post of Friday March 4 under the heading "Congressmen To Get Big Pension Hike."

Now that is true. Under the recent pay boost Members of Congress will get a big pension hike. But there is still more truth to such a statement—that part of the truth and the facts which have not been printed and which are necessary to complete the picture.

Any individual reading the article would immediately come to the conclusion that Members of Congress boosted their retirement pay by $5,625 to $16,875.

The article did not say that in order to receive such a retirement payment a Member would have to serve 30 years beginning March 1, 1955, through March 1, 1985, that he would have to pay a total of $40,500 from his paycheck and that he would have to have reached the age of 62 years.

In order to demonstrate what I have been talking about I have used this article and headline as an example of how a certain set of facts can be used to distort conclusions.

I am reproducing the article as it appeared in the Washington Post under the Associated Press credit line. I then have taken the same story and written another story around the same set of facts but painting an entirely different and favorable picture. In order to be most accurate and to clearly and vividly demonstrate my point I have taken the exact words of the Associated Press story and incorporated them into my rewritten story and see what you have.

Here is the original story by the Associated Press:

CONGRESSMEN TO GET BIG PENSION HIKE

The $7,500 annual pay rise Congress voted its Members this year adds $5,625 a year to maximum congressional pension benefits.

The maximum payment goes only to those who complete 30 years or more of congressional service. To qualify for the new top pension of $16,875 a year, a Member would have to serve 30 years under the new pay scale.

Pension payments to Congressmen are based on average annual salary during a Member's tenure in office, with a limit of 75 percent of full pay.

President Eisenhower signed into law Wednesday a bill raising Congress Members' salaries from $15,000 to $22,500 a year as of March 1.

The top pension any Member could draw under the salary scale in effect when the present Congress convened was $11,250.

Pension payments are at the rate of 2½ percent of average pay multiplied by the number of years of service.

Contributions to the pension fund also will increase as a result of the pay rise, since Members pay 6 percent of their salary into the fund. Participation is voluntary.

Now here is the same story around which has been written all the facts in the case.

For the purpose of emphasis I have quoted those portions of the following story which appeared in the original Associated Press story. I have also written a new headline which is also as factual as the original headline but which carries a different suggestion and most certainly has a different flavor.

Here is the story which will never be printed except in these columns.

CONGRESSMEN MUST PAY HEAVY ADDITIONAL TAX

(Disassociated Press)

As a result of the recent $7,500 congressional pay rise, Members of Congress will be compelled to pay out of their checks an additional $3,300 annually, reducing the "take-home pay" of the new amount by approximately 40 percent.

Part of the deductions from the monthly paycheck of Members of Congress are compulsory, part of it voluntary.

The compulsory withholding sum for income-tax purposes will amount to $2,850 more annually assuming that the new pay rise, exclusive of other income, places a Member of Congress in the 38-percent bracket. In at least one instance the new pay rise will result in only $75 a year additional "take-home pay." The Member affected is already in the 90-percent bracket and voted against the pay raise.

The voluntary deduction, which qualifies a Member for participation in a retirement fund only after he has reached the age of 60, at a lesser rate, or the age of 62, at full rate, after he has served at least 5 years, will amount to $450 additional annually. Those Members of Congress who have elected to participate in the retirement fund are now paying annually $900 per year. The new pay raise will bring this contribution up to $1,350 annually, the highest it has ever been in congressional history.

"The annual pay rise Congress voted its Members this year adds $5,625 a year to maximum congressional benefits."

"The maximum payment goes only to those who complete 30 years or more of congressional service. To qualify for the new top pension of $16,875 a year a Member must serve 30 years under the new pay scale." No present Member of the House could, therefore, qualify for the maximum figure unless he is reelected to the next Congress and serves 30 years after that. Because the pay raise did not become effective until March 1, 2 months short of a complete year for service in the 83d Congress, no Member of the House would be eligible until 1984 for the maximum.

"Pension payment to Congressmen are based on average annual salary during a Member's tenure in office with a limit of 75 percent of full pay."

Pension payments are also made to members of the judiciary who were given pay rises in excess of the amount given Members of Congress. Unlike Members of Congress who elect to participate in the retirement plan, judges do not contribute anything to their retirement payments which are automatic at retirement age regardless of years of service.

While the retirement amount for Members of Congress is based on the average salary during tenure of office the retirement pay of other Government workers coming under retirement plans is based on the 5 years' highest salary during Government service.

Members of the armed services, who also do not contribute to their retirement fund, receive an amount based on the pay of rank at their retirement regardless of age.

"President Eisenhower signed into law Wednesday a bill raising Congress Members salary from $15,000 to $22,500 a year as of March 1."

"The top pension any Member could draw under the salary scale in effect when the present Congress convened was $11,250." Only a relatively few Members of the present Congress could qualify for this amount, however, since it is based on 30 years' service at a salary of $15,000. For retirement purposes the $15,000 salary figure became applicable during the 82d Congress, thus only those elected to the last Congress and who serve for 30 years, to the year 1983, would have become eligible for this amount. "Pension payments are at the rate of 2½ percent of average pay multiplied by the number of years of service." Any Member to qualify for the maximum retirement pay under the recent pay rise must voluntarily contribute from his salary the sum of $40,500, serve 30 years, and reach the age of 62 years.

"Contributions to the pension fund also will increase as a result of the pay rise bill, since Members pay 6 percent of their salary into the fund. Participation is voluntary."

To further illustrate exactly how misleading the Associated Press story is, there are men serving in the present Congress for 30 years and over who never, never could or will qualify for the maximum retirement pay. These men, if they are in the retirement plan, will have their retirement computed on the basis of a salary ranging from $7,500 to $22,500 per year. A provision which would have enabled Members of Congress to enjoy the same privilege as all other Government civil service workers in the retirement plan by basing the retirement pay on the 5 highest consecutive years was knocked out of the proposed legislation.

To be specific take my own individual case. I could remain here 30 years and never receive either the new maximum of $16,875 or the most prior maximum of $11,250. When I first came to Congress the salary was $10,000, then it became $12,500 and then $15,000 for retirement purposes and now $22,500. I am in my 15th year. I will qualify when I become 62 years of age which is 8 years away. Then I would have had 22 years service and my retirement would be computed on the average ranging between $10,000 and $22,500. And incidentally I had to pay $3,000 cash in order to qualify for retirement when the system was opened to Members of Congress. There are many other cases similar to mine. I only cite it for example.

Anybody, however, reading this Associated Press article would come away with the conclusion that every Member of Congress just had to wait until he retired to collect this handsome sum of money.

Oh yes; "Just the facts, m'am" are rather confusing when presented by some people who really do not want you to have all the facts about the facts.

What good will all this do?

None.

At least I have gotten it off my chest.

The Bank Holding Company Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, during the course of the hearings before the

House Committee on Banking and Currency on H. R. 2674, to regulate bank holding companies, we were privileged to hear W. J. Bryan, president of the Independent Bankers Association of America.

The background material that he presented, in my opinion, is of extreme importance.

Every Member should be acquainted therewith in order to act intelligently on this proposed legislation. I, therefore, commend it to their attention, as follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is W. J. Bryan, and I appear here as president of the Independent Bankers Association of America. This association has a membership of more than 5,200 banks from States other than those in the 12th Federal Reserve District. Those States have their separate association, which is represented here by its president, Mr. Harry J. Harding. Our members are predominantly small and medium-size banks, which are unable, individually, to send representatives here to plead their cause. We do not maintain a Washington office or have any paid lobbyists. None of us who will testify to you in behalf of H. R. 2674 receives any pay from either association.

We heartily endorse H. R. 2674 as urgently needed to stop the evasion of Federal and State laws that were designed to prevent concentrated control over money and credit. We should like to emphasize the fact that this is the only country left where most communities are served by home-owned and home-managed banks which are aware of and responsive to the needs of the people of their areas. We believe that this has been the most important single factor in the development of the United States. Like yeast cells in a loaf of bread, each working in its immediate area, our banks scattered throughout the country have cooperated to produce the greatest and most general economic development the world has known.

Other countries must depend on 3, 4, or 5 banks having up to thousands of branches. Policies and important credit decisions are made hundreds or thousands of miles from many of the branches. The interest of an enterprising local customer may run counter to that of a large main office account, in which event the former might suffer. This inevitably tends toward concentration in all lines, cartels, the stifling of new enterprises, and stagnation—what has been termed the "mature economy." When forced to choose between such monopoly and some ism, countries invariably have chosen the latter.

Recognition that political freedom and economic freedom are interdependent is prominent in American history. I should like therefore to review some of this history for the purpose of bringing up to date this old and recurring struggle for and against centralized power, and to present the present problem in its proper focus.

The Bank of the United States, chartered by Congress in 1791, was authorized to have branches. It proved unsatisfactory, and its charter expired in 1811. A second Bank of the United States was chartered by Congress in 1816. It had as many as 27 branches in various cities. One of these was in Cincinnati. Illustrative of the tendency to abuse power, the bank in 1818 ordered the Cincinnati branch to collect its loans at the rate of 20 percent each month. The effect was disastrous to people and businesses in that city, as the bank foreclosed a great amount of real estate upon which it later realized much profit. This action precipitated the panic of 1818–19. The bank became so powerful, politically as well as financially, that it attempted to force President Jackson to renew its charter 4 years before it expired. Jackson's veto of a renewal bill passed by a Congress friendly to the bank was a paramount issue in the election of 1832, and his election doomed the bank. Thus ended our first and only nationwide branch banking system.

In the same year, 1836, Rhode Island adopted legislation against branch banking. The Free Banking Act of New York in 1838 prohibited branches. Massachusetts passed similar legislation, and the bank commissioners of Connecticut charged that branches had not been recognized by law and should be prohibited. Whether recognized by law or not—and mostly not—banks operated branches in most of the States on a broad scale, but practically all ended in failure. This caused Congress to insert in the original National Bank Act of 1863 a prohibition against branches of national banks, but it was amended in 1865 to permit State banks with branches to come into the system and retain their branches. Notwithstanding this concession, the branches which came in did so as independent units. As a result, there appears to have been only one branch (of a State bank) left in the country in 1865.

From then until 1910 there were relatively few banks with branches outside their home cities. In 1910 29 States apparently had no laws on branches, pro or con. Nine prohibited them, and five restricted them to cities or parish.

After 1910 the spectacular and rapid expansion of the Bank of Italy in California begot imitators around the country. Banks in many States started branches, which led to the adoption of State laws which prohibited or restricted branches within limited areas, but the existing branches were left. By 1929, 22 States had prohibited branches, 10 permitted them within narrow limitations such as cities, counties, etc., 9 permitted them statewide, and 7 had no laws on the subject.

It will be recalled that the late 1920's was a period of expansion, mergers, and speculation. In almost every field there was great rivalry to be the biggest. Banking was no exception. When the possibilities of growth by absorbing competitors were exploited, other means were sought. Stopped by Federal and State laws from branching out into other areas, ambitious bank promoters turned to the holding company device, which was working so successfully in other fields, notably public utilities. So bank-holding companies began to spring up in States that prohibited branch banking. Most of these were intrastate operations, but some were interstate. The organization of one holding company under the sponsorship of a bank usually led to the formation of another by its principal competitor, which felt it must do so to maintain its competitive position. Other rivals sometimes followed suit. In my State, three such holding companies were organized between the adoption of our anti-branch-bank law (in 1925) and 1930. The Federal Reserve Bulletin of February 1938 reveals that on December 31, 1931, there were 97 bank-holding companies in existence, an average of more than 2 for each State.

I should like to emphasize that as branch banking started without any lawful basis for existence, being neither specifically permitted nor prohibited, which omission was corrected in most States by prohibitory laws, bank holding companies likewise were organized not only without any lawful recognition, but for the purpose of evading the laws on branch banking. The very circumstances of their origin is proof of this. The Federal Reserve Bulletin of April, 1930, noted that, "the area within which these developments have been relatively more considerable in extent is composed largely of States which have prohibited the establishment of branch banking offices." Business Week of September 21, 1929, declared bluntly, "Chains are evasions of law." Dr. Gaines T. Cartinhour, in his book, Branch, Group and Chain Banking published in 1931, listed "The desire to circumvent Federal and State laws prohibiting or limiting branch banking in anticipation of legislation removing the restriction" as the primary motive for establishing them. The principal exponent of the branch and holding company movement, Mr. A. P. Gianini, stated to this comittee at hearings in 1930: "I believe branch banking should be extended on a nationwide and worldwide basis, for if you do not have direct branch banking you are going to have it indirectly through holding companies." The then chairman of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, Mr. Marriner S. Eccles, stated to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency of the 80th Congress: "Under existing law * * * there is nothing to prevent it (a holding company) from acquiring stock of an existing bank and operating it as a branch of the entire holding company system." Mr. Eccles' successor as chairman of the board, Mr. Thomas B. McCabe, stated to the same Committee of the 81st Congress: "Through the acquisition by the holding company of the stock of an existing bank which thereafter may be operated for all practical purposes, as a branch of the holding company system the denial of a branch application of a (holding company) controlled bank may become almost meaningless." The present chairman of the board of governors, Mr. William McChesney Martin, has stated in a letter to the chairman of your comimttee that a holding company can evade laws as to branches of banks and as to engaging in nonbanking businesses. That they can and do evade these laws is a self-evident fact.

Although there were no laws regarding bank-holding companies, an opinion issued by the Solicitor General of the United States on November 6, 1911 held that a bank-holding company (perhaps the first of the modern type) "in its holding of national bank stocks is in usurpation of Federal authority and in violation of Federal law." As a result, this holding company disposed of its bank stocks. We may well ask why this opinion was not evoked in connection with later holding companies? Or why it is not applicable now? The facts and laws cited therein appear relevant. In fact, they are so pertinent to the consideration of H. R. 2674 that I should like to review the opinion and quote portions of it.

The Solicitor General, Hon. Frederick W. Lehmann, considered "the purposes which the framers of the national banking act had in view. The first, the paramount, purpose was to secure a uniform national system of currency, and to do this without the creation of a great central institution like the old United States Bank. The oppositin to such an institution was deep-seated and widespread. * * * It was affirmed that frequently great inconvenience and sometimes terrible disaster resulted to the trade and commerce of different localities by the mother bank of the United States arbitrarily interfering with the management of the branches by reducing suddenly their loans and sometimes withdrawing large amounts of their specie for political effect. * * * It (the National Bank system) will be as if the bank of the United States had been divided into many parts, and each part * * * revolving on its own orbit, managed by its own board of directors, attending to the business interest of its own locality."

The first Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. Hugh McCullock, was quoted: "It is not to be a mammoth corporation, with power to increase and diminish its discounts and circulation, at the will of its managers, thus enabling a board of directors to control the business and politics of the country. It can have no concentrated political power. * * * It will concentrate in the hands of no privileged persons a monopoly of bank-

ing. * * * The banks created by the National Banking Act were, and were designed to be, local institutions and independent of each other," said General Lehmann.

He quotes section 5133 of the National Bank Act: "Associations for carrying on the business of banking under this title may be formed by any number of natural persons, not less in any case than five." He emphasizes: "It should be noticed in passing that only natural persons may engage in the formation of a bank." He quotes section 5146: "Every director must, during his whole term of service, be a citizen of the United States and at least three-fourths of the directors must have resided in the State, Territory, or district in which the association is located for at least 1 year, immediately preceding their election, and must be residents therein during their continuance of office. Every director must own, in his own right, at least 10 shares of the capital stock of the association of which he is a director. Any director who ceases to be the owner of 10 shares * * * shall thereby vacate his office." Again he emphasizes: "Here the local character of the bank is secured. The directors must all be shareholders, they must all be citizens of the United States and three-fourths of them must be residents of the State." It should be noted here that the law regarding directors of national banks and their ownership of bank stock remains in effect identically the same as quoted above. Mr. Ben DuBois, secretary of the Independent Bankers Association, in testifying before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency at hearings June 23, 1954, pointed out that some holding companies retain a hold on th directors' qualifying shares through a repurchase agreement or option to buy them back when they cease being directors. Since the holding companies can remove them at will by not reelecting them, they serve as directors and even hold their qualifying shares at the pleasure of the holding companies. Thus a feature of the National Bank Act upon which its founders laid great stress has been practically nullified.

Furthermore, every application for a new bank, national or State, receives a very thorough investigation by the Comptroller of the Currency or appropriate State bank supervisor. They investigate the need for the bank, its prospects, and particularly the qualifications of the proposed officers and directors. Yet on the very day it opens for business a holding company, an intangible corporation located anywhere in this country and controlled by people of whatsoever character, can acquire control of the bank, and the supervisory authority has no power whatsoever to prevent it. H. R. 2674 gives the supervisor who assumed the responsibility for chartering the bank the rightful power to veto such acquisition.

Returning to the opinion of General Lehmann, he quotes from a court decision regarding ownership of national bank stock by another national bank: "Another evil that might result, if large and wealthy banks were permitted to buy and hold the capital stock of other banks, would be that in that way the banking capital of a community might be concentrated in one concern. * * * Such accumulation of capital would be in disregard of the policy of the national banking law. * * * The smaller banks, in such a case, would be in fact, though not in form, branches of the larger ones."

His conclusion was: "Certainly there can be no holding of such shares by any corporation when the result is to defeat the policy of the National Banking Act; that is, to destroy the local character of the bank, break down its independence, vest its control in another corporation, and link it in substantial proprietary interest with some other business than national banking. * * * We are dealing with corporations of a public character, with national banks, which have public duties to perform, and of these it is a peculiar obligation 'to maintain independent corporate existence and not surrender control of their affairs or the exercise of their powers to another corporation.' No authority is given by the Federal statutes to the National Banking Association for assigning their powers and delegating their duties to a corporation created by a State, and which, under its charter from the State, may engage in a business and exercise powers denied to the banking association by the law of its creation.

"Here again it is to be observed that if the power in question exists, it exists without limit. The company may extend its power to the full control of all the banks into which it has made entrance. Nor need it stop with these. As it grows by what it feeds upon it may expand into a great central bank, with branches in ever section of the country. It is in incipient stage, a holding company of banks, with added power to hold whatever else it may find to be to its advantage.

"Where public law and public policy are involved, forms and fictions are disregarded and the facts are dealt with as facts.

"* * * Indirection, if it accomplishes the same purpose, stands upon the same footing with direction."

Our courts, Federal and State, have consistently supported the conclusion reached in the above opinion:

"The spirit as well as the letter of a statute must be respected." (Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court Marshall, *Durousseau* v. *United States* (307, 314, 6 Cranch 307, 3 L. ed. 232).)

"It is a well-known maxim of the law that one cannot do indirectly what the law prohibits being done directly." (Justice Campbell of the Supreme Court of Oregon, *Friedenthal* v. *Thompson* (146 Oreg. 640, 31 P. 2d 643, 645).)

"It is a rule of law that a party is forbidden to do indirectly what it cannot do directly." (Justice Griffin of the California Supreme Court of Appeals, *Shenson* v. *Fresno Meat Packing Co.* (96 C. A. 2d 725, 216 P. 2d 156, 160).)

"The corporation cannot do indirectly what it is prohibited by law from doing directly." (Hon. PRICE DANIEL, now a Member of the U. S. Senate while attorney general for the State of Texas, in opinion rendered Texas Banking Department in 1952, which led to the dissolution of bank holding companies in Texas.)

As stated above, the finding that the holding company was "in usurpation of Federal authority and in violation of Federal law" caused it to divest itself of its bank stocks, and itself was later liquidated. Why was this opinion not used to prevent the later information of bank holding companies? Senator Carter Glass charged that it had been "suppressed" when he found it in the Comptroller's office. The Comptroller at that time was an outspoken and active advocate of interstate branch banking, which may have kept him from proceeding against these effective fifth columns for branch banking. This illustrates one reason the advocates of H. R. 2674 want definite laws to regulate holding companies, rather than leaving it to discretionary authority.

We have mentioned that there were 97 bank holding companies on December 31, 1931. While those remaining in existence now claim much credit for "stabilizing" banking during the 1930's, these claims are open to serious question. Their public statements when they were organized were to the effect that they were buying only "the strongest and best banks." They could hardly have sold stock for the purpose playing the Good Samaritan to failing banks. One would be naive indeed to believe they did so except where it was to their advantage, one way or another. Independent banks throughout the country helped in various ways to save their weaker brothers, not necessarily from the goodness of heart, but to restore confidence in banks. Actually, the areas which were hardest hit by failure were those where holding companies most nearly monopolized banking. Much has been made of a statement that a governor asked an out-of-State holding company to organize a bank in his State. He would not have had to do this except for the failure of a large chain which paralyzed his State.

The holding companies and their banks were leaders of the agitation during the early 1930's for Federal and State legislation to permit branch banking. They claimed they wanted this so they could save small independent banks from failing by taking them over as branches, and in fact had support from some such banks on this premise. A probably stronger reason, however, was that by converting their affiliates into branches, most of the capital funds of the affiliates would be recovered, as the parent bank would not be required to have capital equal to the aggregate capital of itself and its affiliates. Evidence that this was a desperation move for some of the holding companies is furnished by a statement of Senator Carter Glass during hearings conducted by him as chairman of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency:

"Mr. GLASS. It is the view of the committee, upon information presented, that if we do not adopt statewide branch banking, the holding companies and the banks which they hold are going to be pretty soon wrecked. I do not know that it ought to be stated here, but we want to consider this whole problem in frankness. If the existing requirements of the law were put into effect by the Comptroller of the Currency, there are thousands of banks which have not yet closed their doors, whose capital and surplus have been impaired, which would have to be closed up today, and unless we do something of this nature, that part of the country where these holding companies exist—and they are not confined to any one section, though perhaps they are more numerous in the northwestern section of the country than in any other section—are going to find themselves in inextricable difficulties."

You will note that Senator Glass put the blame squarely on the holding companies: The worst banking troubles were in the areas where holding companies existed; the reason for passing the bill to permit national banks to have statewide branches, regardless of State laws to the contrary, was to save the holding companies and the banks which they hold from being wrecked, and that part of the country where these holding companies exist from finding themselves in inextricable difficulties.

However, in States where there were no leaders to organize opposition and present the facts, the anti-branch-bank laws were repealed or altered. Where such leadership was found, the laws usually remained unchanged. The Independent Bankers Association started with a small group that waged a successful fight in Minnesota. Much of its early financial support came from banks that were so afraid of the big holding companies that they would not join openly. Intimidation was tried in other States, where holding company representatives muscled in on meetings of independents.

The net result was that between 1929 and 1939 the number of States that prohibited branch banking declined from 22 to 9; the number permitting it increased from 19 to 35; the number without legislation on the subject was reduced from 7 to 4.

On the other hand, between the ends of 1931 and 1936 the number of bank holding companies dropped from 97 to 52; 24 (almost 25 percent) had failed, 17 had converted

their banks to branches, 7 had sold their banks—usually to people in the respective communities. Only 42 groups were in operation on both the above dates.

These figures show that bank holding companies have been very effective Trojan horses for opening breaches in our laws after circumventing them. By breaking down State laws they have brought about changes in the National Bank Act, in order that national banks could compete on an equal basis with State banks. But the Congress has steadfastly respected the rights of the States to specify the extent to which branch banking shall be practiced within their respective borders. Practically all the States have done so, but they have no way to protect themselves against an outside corporation's coming in and buying stock in their banks and gaining control. H. 2674 affords them that protection. Discretionary control would not do so.

The fundamental strength of H. R. 2674 is that it is founded solidly and firmly on existing law, Federal and State. It states in clear language what has long been a basic rule of law, that one cannot do indirectly what is forbidden to be done directly. Federal law forbids banks having branches across State lines. H. R. 2674 forbids holding companies from buying banks across State lines. State laws limit branches within their borders in varying degrees. H. R. 2674 accordingly limits the acquisition of banks by holding companies. National and State laws prohibit banks from owning other types of businesses. H. R. 2674 provides that a company that controls two or more banks shall not own such businesses.

The opponents of this bill have contended that to base holding company legislation on branch banking law is wrong, because there is a difference between branches and affiliated, or subsidiary, banks. Great stress is placed on their difference in form, which everyone of course recognizes. But they are differences without a distinction. For, as was shown by authoritative quotations above, subsidiary banks are to all purposes and effect branch banks. Other than in form, what is a practical difference between a branch and a bank the stock of which is owned by a holding company that selects the bank's directors and changes them at its pleasure, even holding repurchase rights to the directors' qualifying shares; that hires and fires the bank's personnel and otherwise supervises its operations; that makes its investments, handles its insurance, buys its supplies, originates and places its advertising; passes on its loans to local firms and individuals, usually receiving a fee for all these services? "Where public law and public policy are involved, forms and fiction are disregarded and the facts are dealt with as facts. Indirection, if it accomplishes the same purpose, stands upon the same footing with direction," to requote Solicitor General Lehmann. H. R. 2674 treats facts as facts.

Thus far I have dwelt on the moral side of this issue: Whether laws and their clear intent are to be respected or whether by clever utilization of what courts have called the corporate veil an illegal act is legalized? Whether precedents established by failure to enforce a law shall become the basis for changing that law? I should like now to point out some compelling reasons why H. R. 2674 is urgently needed.

According to information furnished by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency on June 10, 1953, there were 84 bank holding company groups as of December 31, 1952. Four of these are now in process of being liquidated as a result of a ruling by the attorney general of Texas in 1952 that they were in violation of Texas' anti-branch-bank law. Two others have converted their controlled banks into branches after a change in State law. That leaves 28. In addition, there are several chains not classed as holding companies, but operating in the same manner. Some of both types are small—in some instances family holding companies. But 12 of the holding companies had banks in from 2 to 7 States, as of December 31, 1952. One of these controlled banks having 44.88 percent of the deposits of one State, 76.75 percent of another, and 45.59 percent of a third; in addition to controlling a large number of nonbanking companies—manufacturing and processing, insurance, mortgage and financing, etc. In another State one holding company controlled 36.65 percent of that State's deposits with another holding company having 11.13 percent—or 47.78 percent between them. Another holding company controlled 30.12 percent and 24.40 percent respectively in two additional States. Two other holding companies competing in still other States controlled 57 percent, 44 percent, 29 percent, and 32 percent respectively in four States. These last two holding companies control almost half of the deposits of an entire Federal Reserve district.

Further acquisitions and mergers since December 31, 1952, reveal increased and startling concentration of bank deposits. Nine of the 26 largest banks in the country, as of December 31, 1954, absorbed 46 banks that year. Thirty-two of these were taken over by 2 banks in different States, both controlled by the same holding company. Such acquisitions brought the deposits of one of these banks to 44.6 percent of its State's total. But a competitor bank also acquired 2 banks with 10 branches to attain 42.6 percent, giving 2 banks 87.2 percent of that State's deposits. The same holding company has a bank in another State which has two-thirds of that State's deposits; yet this bank apparently felt constrained to take over one of its 7 competitors last year. This same holding company has another bank which has 20 percent of still another State's deposits. But another bank in this State, with over 49 percent of the deposits on June 30, 1954, formed a holding company to acquire control of a competitor having 8 percent. Thus, one holding company now controls 58 percent of another 20 percent—over 78 percent for the 2.

This amazing and alarming concentration has been possible only because of the holding-company device. H. 2674 would have prevented it, had it been enacted in time. It can still prevent the same from happening to the rest of the country. But immediate action is urgently needed. Ambition is insatiable. Having acquired the banks in the areas where they now operate, the holding companies will look for new fields to conquer. New companies will be organized as a protective measure. Then the larger holding companies will absorb the smaller ones. Within a generation most of our banks will have disappeared, and we shall have a very few very large systems. Do we want this? Do we dare risk it?

From the early days of this Republic, it has been public policy to encourage small business. In this year's Economic Report of the President he stated, "The public policy to encourage the expansion of a free economy must assign a high place to measures that keep the doors to opportunity open for new and small enterprises. * * * The Government has a responsibility to maintain easy entry into trade and industry, to check monopoly, and to preserve a competitive environment. * * *" Most of our leading companies were once small, and got started because local banks had confidence in the ability of the founders. Ideas and ability are to be found everywhere. And who is so likely to recognize these as the local banker who has the power to act on his judgment, and who will benefit his bank and his community by developing a substantial customer and employer. I am sure your home districts, like mine, offer many such examples. As the Commercial and Financial Chronicle has so well stated:

"Unit banking is peculiarly suited to the genius of the American people, to the democratic republican form of government which we have developed, to the nature of our business and industrial organization, to our social institutions, and to the individualism which is the foundation of our national progress. * * * Let us never despise the day of small beginnings nor the virtue inherent in small things."

Contrary to possible opinion, bank support for H. R. 2674 is not for selfish reasons. Holding companies offer the best market to those wishing to sell, which is the reason for their growth. Independent banks are more than holding their own with them in competition. Holding companies offer better salaries to management of banks to enlist their aid in buying stock. Some of us might find it profitable to form holding companies of our own. So we are really working against our financial interest. But we know what the end result will be. We want to see our communities continue to grow. We are fearful of what will happen to our customers needing character loans based on our personal knowledge; to our small merchants and manufacturers who are competing with national organizations; to our local papers who depend on local businesses, as do our lawyers, insurance agents, and other professional people. We have read some history, both American and foreign, and have observed that all power corrupts. Absolute power corrupts absolutely. We know that it can happen here.

We do not contend, nor do we believe, that those representing or connected with holding companies are motivated by any evil design. They are able and ambitious men, who are representing the corporations that employ them. We are not trying to put them out of business. H. R. 2674 is not punitive legislation. It takes none of their banks away from them. It simply requires them to respect our laws in future expansion.

There is cause for grave concern over the increasing trend toward concentration of control over our country's money and credit. We are rapidly following the example of England, whose many banks became the Big Five. She finally passed a law against further concentration. Do we dare wait so long? The Bank of England has been nationalized. France has nationalized its few banks. There are only a very few in all the other countries. The same will inevitably come to pass here unless we forestall it by legislation.

There is no question about what the reaction of the American people would be to such a condition. A nation that would not allow a monopoly over tobacco certainly will not condone one over the life blood of its economy—money and credit. Through their Representatives in Congress and the State legislatures they have at various periods erected legal barriers against such centralization. Some of these have fallen, some have corroded. It is urgently necessary that we stop the remaining laws from being evaded. H. R. 2674 would do this. Its adoption by the Congress is necessary if we are to preserve our free enterprise banking system, the economic counterpart of our political system. Each is essential to the other.

The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, some time ago, an article in the Yale Law Journal of May 1954, concerning the American Medical Association, was called to my attention. Feeling that this piece of research should receive wider attention, I wrote to the Journal indicating my desire to insert the body of the article, minus footnotes, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and to the president of the AMA asking him to comment, if he wished, on any part of the article which seemed inaccurate or unfair.

I have received the approval of Mr. Gerald Walpin, the managing editor of the Yale Law Journal, to omit for the sake of brevity the article's 709 footnotes, which, he states, contain authority and explanation for almost every sentence in the text. In his reply, Mr. Walpin also said that they would be interested in my response from the AMA. "Before the article was published," he added, "we mailed galleys of the text and footnotes to the AMA requesting their criticisms and/or corrections. Instead, in the letter that the AMA released to the papers at the same time our article was published, they limited their comments to generalities."

In his reply to my letter to the AMA, Dr. George Lull, secretary and general manager, enclosed a press release of the Yale University News Bureau and a press release issued by the American Medical Association. The latter is printed below: I am omitting the former since it seems largely a restatement of the AMA release. Dr. Lull also said, "I might say that the students who wrote the article never visited American Medical Association headquarters, and many of the statements contained in the article are given an incorrect slant entirely."

There follows the American Medical Association statement on the Yale Law Journal article, The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine:

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION STATEMENT ON YALE LAW JOURNAL ARTICLE

(INFORMATIVE NOTE.—The July issue of the Yale Law Journal carried an article entitled: "The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine." The soundness and worth of the article's conclusions are completely undermined by cumulative misstatements and distortion of facts, many of which are not even in accord with references presented in the footnotes. Herewith is the American Medical Association's answer to this article.)

CHICAGO.—An 84-page study of the American Medical Association, prepared by student editors of the Yale Law Journal, was branded by Secretary George F. Lull today as a mixture of misinformation and distortion.

The article, which criticizes the AMA for failure to use its excessive authority over medical practice as an instrument of progress, was written by student editors headed by David R. Hyde and Payson Wolff, both of whom received their law degrees from Yale last June.

The students, whose study required 2 years, claim that their conclusions are based upon studies of the American Medical Association's published records, interviews with both its critics and proponents, and a questionnaire directed to State medical societies.

"Yet," Dr. Lull said in Chicago, "the editors took neither the time nor trouble to visit the AMA headquarters office nor interview any of the AMA officers or staff people to get their facts correct."

FACTS AGE GIVEN NEGATIVE SLANT

"The real danger in this distorted article," Dr. Lull added, "is that nearly all of the facts are given a negative slant whereas they could have been presented in a positive light to reflect the major accomplishments of the American Medical Association since it was founded 107 years ago. It is very apparent that the young authors built up a strawman and then proceeded to knock him down; an obvious attempt to neutralize the conservative influence of one of America's great voluntary organizations."

"The attempt," Dr. Lull continued, "recalls the publicity fanfare in the summer of 1951 when the same publication, the Yale Law Journal, attacked the Federal Bureau of Investigation for allegedly invading academic freedom by pouncing on any student who joins a liberal organization.

"FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover charged at the time that the pages of the Yale Journal had been used to distort and misrepresent the truth.

"Like the FBI, it is very difficult for the American Medical Association to understand how so many factual mistakes could have been made in the writing of this article. The errors, of course, will be plain to anyone familiar with the subject. Unfortunately, the article will be read by many without such knowledge."

JOURNAL CARRIES ERRONEOUS STATEMENTS

The Yale Journal articles finds that "no other voluntary association commands such power within its area of interest as does the AMA. It holds a position of authority over the individual doctor, wields a determining voice in medical education, controls the conditions of practice, and occupies a unique position of influence in shaping Government health policies."

For example, the authors charge that the AMA's power has been used to block virtually all plans for providing low-cost health and medical care unless subjected to medical society control. At present, the article continues, the AMA is opposing President Eisenhower's proposal for Federal Government reinsurance of voluntary health plans on the thesis that this might lead to socialized medicine.

Commenting on this statement, Dr. Lull said that "the Americal Medical Association opposed the Federal reinsurance plan because it was unnecessary and represents the intrusion of the Federal Government into a phenomenally successful area of private enterprise. Evidently the House of Representatives felt the same way because it recently killed the bill by an overwhelming majority—238 to 134."

The Yale Law Journal pointed out that although many physicians are critical of AMA policies, the AMA, with its total national income of $9 million a year, is not truly representative of the Nation's doctors and does not tolerate conflicting opinions within its membership. The article claims further that the Journal of the AMA "rarely prints opinions in disagreement with positions taken by the organization's governing boards."

Dr. Lull branded this statement as false. "On the contrary, the AMA is so representative of its membership that many other organizations, including the American Bar Association, have modeled their organizational structure after the AMA. Furthermore, one sentence of the article carried this conflicting statement: 'The AMA * * * enjoys the consent and loyalty of an overwhelming majority of physicians.'"

ANOTHER FALSE STATEMENT

Doctors who defy AMA authority, the Yale students found, may be subjected to professional ostracism, which could cut them off from patients referrals and consultations, deny them advancement in hospitals, or bar them from professional appointments.

Dr. Lull also branded this statement as false. "The American Medical Association, as well informed people know, has almost no authority over individual physicians. It is the county medical society that disciplines members who are guilty of unethical practices."

"Despite the dangers inherent in such a concentration of power," the Yale article continues, "no interest group enjoys more freedom from Federal control than organized medicine."

Several steps are recommended by the authors to curb these powers.

First, to protect the individual doctor from unreasonable exercise of organized medicine's authority, the importance of society membership should be deemphasized in order to mitigate the severe consequences of its disciplinary powers. As one step, the writers suggest that this could be done by insuring availability of hospital privileges to nonmembers.

AMA HAS NO CONTROL OVER HOSPITAL STAFFS

Commenting on this statement, Dr. Lull said, "The American Medical Association has no control whatsoever over hospital staff appointments which are made by the local hospital board of trustees."

Second, the students urged that organized medicine should be divested of its control over the Nation's supply of doctors. This step could be accomplished by Federal aid to medical schools without impairing AMA powers to set educational requirements and to inspect these schools, according to the authors.

Dr. Lull termed this accusation "false and malicious." "The AMA," he said, "has no control over the Nation's supply of doctors. The Yale Medical School admission committee and all similar committees throughout the United States determine the number to be admitted. The AMA has nothing to do with control over the supply of doctors. The statement is ridiculous."

The students also argue that legislatures should divest State medical societies of their control over the formation of new methods of providing low-cost prepaid care. At present State statutes requiring approval or participation by the medical society or a majority of the doctors have foreclosed experimentation in solving pressing medico-economic problems.

"Independent groups of doctors, cooperatives, unions, and employers—as well as the medical societies—should be free to work out their own solutions. Government assistance to plans for low-income subscribers may also be required," they write.

Finally, the authors say, the AMA should provide a forum for dissenting opinions and conflicting viewpoints.

"This," Dr. Lull commented, "has been provided long ago. Twice a year the AMA house of delegates meet to discuss pro and con the policy issues of the association."

"New ideas," the article concludes, "which the association has accepted have been forced

upon it; by assuming leadership in experimentation with unproved systems of practice and payment, the AMA could become an instrument of progress."

To this statement, Dr. Lull said that the students' article, on the contrary, refers to innumerable instances where the facts belie this conclusion.

CITE ARTICLE'S INACCURACIES

Following are just a few examples of the article's inaccuracies, contradictions, and false implications:

In claiming the "lack of an effective forum for dissident opinion," the authors first make the untrue statement that the Journal of AMA rarely prints opinions contrary to organization policy. They also ignore the existence of Medical Economics, Modern Medicine, and other national medical publications, not to mention the many journals of the autonomous State and county medical societies. They further neglect the fact that any doctor member can appear before a reference committee of the AMA house of delegates to express his opinion. Above all, they minimize the basic fact that the policies of the AMA are established at the grassroots level by the members of county and State medical societies—just as the Nation's policies are established by the voters at the polls.

The article further demolishes its own point by naming several other organizations to which doctors can belong and through which they can express themselves—such as the American College of Physicians, American College of Surgeons, the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, the Physicians Forum, the specialty organizations, and others.

FAILS TO CITE PUBLIC BENEFITS

The article dwells heavily on the penalties and disadvantages suffered by physicians who are denied membership or suspended from membership in medical societies. In fostering the impression of monopoly and coercion on this score, the authors fail to bring out the salient fact that the standards based have been formulated for the protection of the public, not for the protection of physicians.

As an example of an outright misstatement of fact, the article says that one of the purposes of Today's Health, the AMA monthly publication for the general public, is to gain public backing for health measures supported by organized medicine. Quite to the contrary. Today's Health avoids material of a medico-political nature and devotes itself to public-health education in such matters as disease prevention, family health problems, and medical advances.

As one of its major points the article hauls out the old, oft-repeated, and thoroughly discredited accusation that the AMA controls and curtails the supply of doctors in this country through its program of inspecting and approving medical schools. The only purpose of that inspection program is to maintain high standards of medical education so that the American public can be assured of properly trained physicians. It makes no difference to the AMA whether a medical school doubles, triples, or quadruples its enrollment, just so long as the school maintains high standards relative to its faculty, facilities, equipment, and teaching methods. The AMA never—before, during, or since the economic depression of the early thirities—has attempted to impose enrollment quotas on the Nation's medical schools; in fact, it has in the past turned down all such suggestions and is now actively encouraging the current expansion of medical schools which already are at record-breaking levels of enrollment.

ARTICLE MISREPRESENTS AMA PAST

The article has distorted or misrepresented the association's past and present attitudes toward such things as group practice, voluntary health insurance, public-health programs, and financial aid for medical education, while at the same time ignoring the constant AMA study and effort to bring about evolutionary, progressive developments based on sound medical and financial principles and a sincere concern for the public welfare.

The article, by mixing various portions of truth, half-truth, untruth, opinion, and implication, has greatly exaggerated the power and authority of the American Medical Association and has greatly understated the autonomy and independence of the individual physician, the country medical society, the hospital governing body, and the many other elements which make up the American medical system.

The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows part II of the American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine:

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION: POWER, PURPOSE, AND POLITICS IN ORGANIZED MEDICINE

INTRODUCTION

In its hundred-odd years of existence the American Medical Association has attained a position of undeniable authority and influence over medical affairs. The power of organized medicine affects not only the physician but also everyone who requires the assistance of the healing arts. AMA successes in raising the quality of medical education, practice, and care are beyond question. However, in these endeavors it has acquired such power over both public and practitioner that it can channel the development of American medicine. Dangers inherent in such power are compounded by the layman's ignorance of medical matters and the AMA's monopoly position as spokesman for the profession. Out of this situation arise questions of grave significance. The AMA is motivated both by obligations to the public and loyalties to its own members. The demands on it from these two points of view underlie all its activities and suggest the possibility of conflict. To what extent does professional self-restraint, combined with present laws and institutions, assure that this conflict will be resolved in favor of the public interest?

THE AMA STRUCTURE

Membership

The American Medical Association consists of 53 State and Territorial (constituent) societies and 1,987 county (component) societies. Each county society sets its own qualifications for membership and its members automatically belong to the State association. Aside from racial barriers in most southern counties, all reputable and ethical licensed M. D.'s are eligible for membership. And in most areas virtually every practicing physician belongs to his local society. Until recently, all members of county and State medical societies were also automatically members of the national association. But in 1950 payment of dues, previously assessed only by the county and State groups, became a prerequisite to AMA membership. Now some physicians belong only to their county and State societies, and are not members of the American Medical Association. On the other hand, since belonging to a county society is a prerequisite to admission at all levels, membership in the AMA depends upon acceptance by the local organization.

Reasons for membership: Many factors contribute to the high percentage of physician membership in organized medicine—a proportion unique among voluntary professional associations. With membership in the society, the doctor receives ready access to the social and professional contacts indispensable to the growth of his practice—contacts which may lead to patient referrals and consultations. Additionally, there is the all-important factor of association with men engaged in his own science, with opportunities for exchange of knowledge and acquisition of professional status. The medical societies disseminate the latest scientific information through professional journals which are available to members either at no cost or at reduced rates, and through lectures, exhibits, and medical libraries which the societies support. In addition to these professional services, the local and State societies aid members by providing group malpractice insurance, and by offering legal advice. Many of the larger societies maintain bill-collection agencies. There may also be direct economic benefits incident to membership. Since the societies often contract to furnish medical care to indigents and veterans, participating physicians have a supplementary source of income from these programs. Membership can also be a conduit to such professional advancements as hospital staff appointments, teaching positions, and specialty ratings.

Beyond the advantages which accrue to the member physicians, there are services which the society renders to the profession as a whole. The AMA has improved curricula and facilities in American medical schools. It gives financial support to research projects and publicizes medical discoveries through its journals and meetings. Moreover, many doctors look to the American Medical Association to protect their interests against encroachment. Thus, the AMA spearheaded the drive against compulsory health insurance and other governmental inroads into private medical practice. And the association has worked to rid the profession of quacks, as well as licensed physicians thought guilty of malpractice, and to limit the activities of nonmedical practitioners. Since the entire profession profits by these efforts of the AMA, physicians may feel obligated to join and give their material and moral support.

Reasons for nonmembership: However, a substantial number of American doctors do not belong to the American Medical Association or its component units. Many of these are retired physicians who let their membership lapse, or young practitioners who have not yet fulfilled the residence requirements for their local society. Doctors who do not conform to the code of medical ethics are not eligible for membership. And many southern societies exclude Negro physicians. Salaried doctors, such as those on the staffs of universities and research institutes, and civil servants often do not join medical societies; here professional advancement is available through channels other than medical society membership. In remote areas services which the society can render may be so negligible that doctors have little incentive to join. Some physicians may find the dues prohibitive; for example, in parts of California the total of county, State, and National dues runs as high as $190 annually. Undoubtedly some doctors do not join because of apathy, while a small minority of physicians do not choose to belong because they disapprove of the policies of the AMA.

Formal structure

The formal structure of the American Medical Association provides for the largest measure of direct democratic control in the county medical societies, and increasingly indirect representation at the State and National levels. Members vote directly for county officials and representatives to the State legislature, usually known as the house of delegates. These delegates select their own State officers and elect the State representatives to the national house of delegates. This body elects the president and other AMA officers and the nine-man board of of trustees.

In theory, the policymaking function of the American Medical Association is vested in the house of delegates. However, since the house meets semiannually, many administrative and policy decisions are necessarily left to the board of trustees. Although it is responsible to the house of delegates, the board functions with little supervision when the house is not in session. The members of the board perform the typical role of corporate directors: they approve all AMA expenditures, and generally the chiefs of the association's operating bureaus are responsible to them. The trustees also appoint the secretary-general manager and the editor of the Journal. The president has little formal power in formulating AMA policy, although he enjoys tremendous prestige as chief spokesman for the organization.

The AMA functions through standing committees or councils elected by the house of delegates or appointed by the board of trustees. Each council directs the activities of the association in a particular field with the assistance of a full-time staff. The 900 employees of the national organization are supervised by the secretary-general manager of the association, who has chief responsibility for the day-to-day decisions of the organization between meetings of the board of trustees.

Real power structure

While democratic procedures exist at the county level, many members do not have sufficient interest in activities to attend meetings. Doctors are extremely busy with their practice and have little time to devote to the problems of organized medicine. In New York, for example, 25-percent attendance at a business meeting is considered good. Thus, the few doctors who are interested in medical politics can easily wield power and influence out of proportion to their numerical strength.

The nominating process for elections within the American Medical Association allows the officers in power to have the dominant influence in deciding who shall succeed them in office. At the county level, the president appoints a nominating committee which puts up a slate of officers and delegates for the State house of delegates. The State president functions in the same way in the selection of national delegates. These elections are rarely contested. In at least one State, Alabama, the delegates are appointed by the president. The election of the official slate is made easier by the fact that the State and national organizations forbid electioneering and soliciting votes for office. Even where the official slate offers alternative nominees, basic differences between the candidates are unlikely.

The nominating process, in combination with the apathy of the average doctor, assures domination by a single faction within the AMA. In New York—one of the few States where an organized opposition has developed—these challengers have had little success. State societies report that reelection of delegates is common, the same names appearing on the ballot year after year. Frequently officers progress steadily from county, to State, to national prominence as they acquire seniority.

One of the major obstacles to the formation of any opposition is the lack of an effective forum for dissident opinion. The Journal of the American Medical Association, which is the publication most widely read by members, rarely prints opinions in disagreement with positions taken by the house of delegates or board of trustees. In response to criticism of this policy the American Medical Association asserts that members can present their views initially in their county societies; that if these views win approval, delegates will present them to the State society, and finally the members' opinions will be presented to the national house of delegates for consideration. In practice, however, because of the indirect system of elections, such a procedure eliminates any dissident viewpoints above the county level unless they win majority support. And while a member can oppose official policy in his local society, the structure of organized medicine makes it almost impossible for him to effectuate his opinions within this framework.

One study of the American Medical Association has concluded that the physicians who rise to power within the medical societies are predominantly urban practitioners and specialists. Although there is only a slightly larger number of specialists in the United States than general practitioners, usually over 90 percent of the officers of the AMA are specialists. Specialists, whose incomes are above those of the average practitioner, are probably better able to devote time to medical politics. Statistics also reveal that cities contribute a larger proportion of officers than rural areas. And in the AMA house of delegates those who have served long terms are primarily from urban localities, while the shorter term delegates tend to be from the rural areas.

Although these officers are not average American doctors, it would not be accurate to say that their policies are unrepresentative. The support of the membership is clearly shown in the immediate response of most members to a voluntary assessment voted by the house of delegates. Most members also seem willing to distribute literature and advocate AMA policies. But perhaps the most indicative fact is that groups organized to oppose AMA policies regarding the economic and political aspects of medical practice have never gained widespread support among the doctors. No group of any significance that has been formed to modify or review AMA policy has offered itself as an alternative to the AMA. Doctors are free to join such organizations while retaining their AMA membership but few have enrolled. Even though the actively controlling group within the American Medical Association is a self-perpetrating minority its viewpoint is readily accepted by the passive majority. This acquiescence assists that governing minority in excluding dissident opinion from organized medicine.

SOURCES OF AMA POWER AND INFLUENCE

The essence of AMA strength is found in its power over the medical profession, its economic position, and the status of the doctor in society. Moreover, due to the character of its membership, organized medicine probably has a greater potential influence than organizations of other professions. And it has capitalized upon its latent strength by a skillful application of all the resources at its disposal.

Power over the profession

Consent: Fundamental to medical practice is the concept of professionalism. Practitioners are bound by a common interest in increasing the effectiveness and maintaining the integrity and prestige of the profession. This derives from recognition of a duty toward the public, as well as a desire to benefit individual members. In addition, problems and affairs of medical practice are assumed to be beyond the comprehension of the layman. So, in order to realize its objectives, the profession must govern itself through an effective organization. The American Medical Association fulfills this function and enjoys the consent and loyalty of an overwhelming majority of physicians. Even potential dissenters may remain silent in the belief that the interest of the profession is best served by presenting a united front to the public.

Monopoly: This consent has enabled the AMA to attain a monopoly position within the profession. Doctors may believe rivalry between competing professional associations would be injurious to both public and practitioner. Consequently, other medical groups formed to fulfill specific needs have tended to cooperate or affiliate with the AMA. And until recently there was almost no disagreement within the profession concerning its proper interests. So the small minority which would today challenge AMA authority is confronted with an organization that has already built its position into one of natural monopoly.

No independent medical association provides the doctor with an alternative to membership in his local medical society. In the scientific realm there are such groups as the American College of Physicians, the American College of Surgeons, and organizations representing the recognized specialties. In the field of medical economics and politics the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care and the Physicians Forum actively oppose AMA policies. And the National Medical Association, composed of Negro physicians, is concerned with the problems of a minority group and seeks constituent membership within the AMA. These groups, whose members are usually AMA members as well, supplement its work or compete with it only in a limited sphere. None possesses the membership size, power, and influence of the AMA, nor can any challenge its claims to speak on behalf of the profession.

Coercion: To maintain what it considers the integrity and standing of the profession, the American Medical Association has established a code of ethics to govern the behavior of practitioners. The most basic of its standards have usually been enacted into State medical practice laws. For example the felon, abortionist, alcoholic, and in some States the fee-splitter is subject to suspension or revocation of licensure. But the medical societies have more exacting standards governing virtually every aspect of medical practice and care. Because almost all physicians recognize the need for some such standards, application of sanctions is rarely necessary. However, this nearly unanimous agreement does not extend to some ethical interpretations which inhibit experimentation in solving problems of medical economics.

Because the AMA has the consent and support of a great majority of doctors, its standards can often be enforced against an offender without formal action. The physician who is suspected of unethical practice may be subjected to professional ostracism. This may involve denial by member physicians of patient referrals and consultations, and the loss of advancement in hospital and other professional appointments. The mere availability of such sanctions is usually enough to deter possible violators of AMA's code of conduct.

If a physician does not respond to such techniques, formal sanctions may also be invoked. County medical societies generally have boards of censors to hear charges against members. A system of appeals is provided, culminating in the judicial council of the AMA. However, this body is bound by findings of fact made at the local level. Those found guilty of violating the standards of the organization may be subjected to rep-

rimand, suspension, or expulsion. Such safeguards as the requirement that charges be specified and proved and the right of appeal limit the availability of these sanctions.

The consequences of a denial of an application for membership are just as serious as those of expulsion. But admission is entirely at the discretion of the county society; there is no right to a hearing and no appeal from the society's verdict. In one extreme case a county medical society dissolved itself and then reformed without an alleged offender, who was then denied admission and had no further recourse. The threat of denial is particularly effective in controlling the behavior of the young physician who desires membership, as well as of the doctor who has transferred his residence.

The importance and effectiveness of these formal sanctions is reflected by their severe consequences. In addition to the imposition of the informal sanctions mentioned above, the physician who is expelled or denied membership loses the positive benefits and economic advantages conferred by organized medicine. Membership in organized medicine has also been adopted by some outside groups as a criterion of professional competency.. Nonmembership may raise questions regarding the character of an applicant for reciprocal licensing privileges. The nonmember will also find it difficult to obtain malpractice insurance on terms comparable to those offered members, if he can obtain it at all. In one instance doctors were forced to obtain insurance from Lloyds of London after being refused by American companies.

The most serious consequences of rejection or denial are those which handicap the physician in the actual practice of his profession. As a nonmember, he is ineligible for specialty board examinations and ratings. Referrals and consultations, so essential to the growth of a new practice, are denied him. Expulsion or denial carries the stigma of unethical practice so that members who have professional relations with a rejected practitioner may themselves be considered unethical. Thus, as part of its enforcement program one medical society circulated a "white list" of approved doctors to its members. The disapproved physician will also be handicapped in caring for his patients. Unless he relinquishes control over the patient he may be unable to secure assistance in time of emergency. Perhaps most important, he will be denied the use of most hospital facilities. The Mundt resolution, passed by the AMA house of delegates in 1934, advises that the staffs of hospitals accredited for internship training be composed solely of members of local medical societies. Accordingly, hospitals with a combined total of up to 99 percent of their State's bed capacity require membership. Others give nonmembers limited privileges, or extend staff membership only to society members and those qualified for membership.

The medical societies will rarely choose to disrupt the professional life of nonmembers eligible for membership, or those excluded only by racial barriers. Member physicians will often cooperate with such doctors; they may find less difficulty in obtaining hospital appointments and may be invited to participate in the scientific programs of the medical society. It is the practitioner who is expelled or denied membership who finds the punitive tactics of organized medicine employed to their fullest against him. In those cases nonmembership amounts to a partial revocation of licensure to practice medicine. It is only the established physician with guaranteed tenure on hospital staffs and specialty boards, or one who has the security of a faculty or governmental position who can afford to challenge the ethical standards of the AMA. Few doctors enjoy such a status, and defiance of AMA authority means professional suicide for the majority.

The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine—Part III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows part III of the American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine:

The financial basis of power

Physicians receive an average income higher than that of any other professional group. Consequently, organized medicine can receive considerable financial support by drawing on the resources of its membership. On the county level, where dues are the major source of revenue, assessments vary from nominal amounts to as much as $125 per year. State dues range from $20 to $55 annually, while the AMA itself assesses each of its members $25. On the State and national levels considerable income is also derived from subscriptions and the sale of advertising in the societies' publications. Total revenues of the national organization exceed $9,000,000 per year. State societies have incomes ranging as high as $500,000. With only 1,601 dues-paying members the Colorado State Medical Society, for example, has an annual income of $120,000. Similarly, the financial strength of many of the county societies assumes considerable proportions. This substantial economic support enables organized medicine to attract new members, and to engage in a variety of costly activities which serve to enlarge its power and influence.

The political basis of power

Prestige: The political strength of the AMA is to a large degree attributable to the status of the doctor in society. Because of his services to humanity, his learning, and economic position, the physician enjoys prestige and public confidence. The public looks to the doctor for advice and gives great weight to his opinion. This trust, unchallenged in the realm of medical science, extends also into economic and political aspects of health. Because of the AMA's high percentage of physician membership and its status as spokesman for the doctor, the lawmaker turns to organized medicine to ascertain medical opinion.

Mastery of political tactics: Attempting to influence governmental decision is one of the historic purposes of organized medicine. Without encouraging public action of a regulatory nature, the early medical societies could not have fully realized their objective of raising medical standards. But regulation of the profession is a function of the States, and medical legislation has been, until recently, devoted primarily to policing medical practice rather than providing medical care. So the American Medical Association had few occasions to influence political action on the national level. However, with growing public acknowledgment of governmental responsibilities in furnishing medical care, the political activities of the AMA have expanded enormously. This development, most pronounced on the Federal level, has also been manifest in the States. But while the public may have confidence in the judgment of individual doctors, it may be suspicious of selfish motivations in an organized group. Therefore, organized medicine's new lobbying has developed techniques of creating a favorable public opinion to supplement the older techniques of direct contact with lawmakers.

The American Medical Association is considered by some observers the most powerful legislative lobby in Washington. Measures apparently assured of passage have been voted down, buried in committee, or substantially amended upon the announcement of AMA disapproval. In physical size the AMA's lobbying facilities are not impressive. Yet, during 1949 and 1950, the AMA reported the highest expenditures of any group registered under the Federal lobbying law. While its financial outlay has since declined, its potential influence remains unimpaired.

Both national and State organizations have public relations programs to present the views of organized medicine. Attempts are made to solicit editorial support and societies have purchased advertising in the press and on radio and television. These efforts are generally designed to illustrate the achievements of American medicine; sometimes they may be directed to medico-political issues. Member physicians are urged to participate in these political endeavors by delivering public addresses—the texts of which are often furnished by State or national headquarters, and by distributing literature in waiting rooms and with monthly bills. Doctors' wives, working through medical society auxiliaries, are also active in this type of work.

Organized medicine also attempts to demonstrate numerical support for its position by getting outside groups to "go on record" as allies. Related professions in particular share common political interests with medicine. The recently formed Inter-Association Committee on Health, consisting of the AMA and the American Dental, Hospital, Public Health, Nursing, and Public Welfare Associations, serves as liaison in this area. During health insurance controversies, medical supply houses, pharmaceutical firms, and insurance companies cooperated closely with the AMA, rendering financial assistance and publishing tie-in advertising furnished by the medical societies.

Some of organized medicine's present political power may be attributable to the increased activity of its members in political affairs. The AMA supports no party or candidate, but in many localities physicians organize separate "healing arts" committees to campaign for candidates favorable to the association's views. The formation of these committees has been approved and their choice of candidates endorsed in some instances by local medical societies, although the latter practice is not common. The work of these healing arts committees is thought to have been influential in several close congressional contests and primaries.

The medical societies also exert great influence over medical legislation on the State and local levels. The enactment of favored measures and the defeat of those opposed can usually be secured. State societies have a lobbyist or legislative agent, often the executive secretary. The societies also actively encourage their members to run for legislative positions to insure adequate representation of the organization's interests. Personal contact with each legislator, if possible by his own physician, is stressed. County societies may also endeavor to have prominent local doctors write their legislators and encourage their patients to do likewise. Much State medical legislation originates with the State societies, bills are often drafted with the aid of counsel, and such measures are easily introduced.

While influencing the actions of legislative bodies constitutes the most apparent means of determining governmental action, the continuing relationships of organized medicine with administrative agencies are no less important. It is at this level that much public health legislation originates and is implemented by rules and regulations; here also enforcement takes place. The AMA and its constituent societies have many councils and committees which serve public agencies in an advisory capacity. Such

bodies can gather information of a professional nature not readily available to Government officials. And by receiving the views of the profession on specific regulations the public agency obtains the opinion of one of the groups vitally affected and whose cooperation is necessary for the success of most programs.

The medical societies have also attempted to increase the profession's influence in administrative decisions by trying to make medical licensure a prerequisite for positions of control over health or medical programs. The influence of medicine upon administrative agencies is probably stronger on the State than on the national level. Many State health officials are appointed on the recommendation of the medical society, and it is often through their offices that Federal health grants are administered. Health officials, knowing the legislative influence of the medical societies, are not likely to incur their antagonism. Having accused Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing of sympathies toward socialized medicine, the AMA consistently opposed provisions which would grant his agency discretionary authority in administering health programs. But such outright enmity between organized medicine and health agencies is the exception rather than the rule.

Legal recognition. As a consequence of its monopoly position, financial resources, and political strength, organized medicine is able to maintain a quasilegal status in medical affairs. In many States, laws authorize State and local medical societies to appoint or recommend members of regulatory bodies. AMA standards in medical education, training, and practice are usually adopted by law. In adidtion, AMA inspection to determine whether its own standards have been satisfied is seldom subject to judicial review. Thus the political authority of the State itself has in effect been delegated to organized medicine.

THE APPLICATION OF AMA POWER

No aspect of medical affairs—from Hadacol to health insurance—is outside the scope of AMA interest. The power of organized medicine is exerted in a wide variety of ways. Its activities may conveniently be categorized as raising the quality of medical services, determining the conditions of practice and payment, and controlling an ever-expanding governmental interest in the national health.

Promoting the quality of medical services

Scientific Activities

Historically, the AMA has exerted influence and directed more than half its yearly expenditures into "scientific activities." It has felt a vital interest in the quality of products closely related to the practice of medicine. In the early years, the AMA's efforts in this respect were designed primarily to elimnate extravagantly advertised nostrums. Since then it has adopted a more positive approach—the policing and promotion of higher standards for recognized medical products.

Through laboratory tests and expert evaluation, AMA councils examine new drugs and medicines, dietary and other special-purpose foods, and therapeutic and diagnostic devices. A manufacturer of any such product may obtain an evaluation at no charge, or the AMA may investigate on its own initiative. Standards are above the bare minimum of harmlessness; requirements as to purity, effectiveness, and the truthfulness of the manufacturer's claims must be met. Even AMA critics concede the impartial scientific basis upon which the judgment is rendered. Products which meet AMA standards receive the privilege of displaying the Seal of Acceptance in their medical journal or lay publication advertisements. But the Seal of Acceptance is of greater value to a manufacturer than a mere advertising device. A medical product must be "accepted" before its manufacturer can buy advertising space in the Journal or in the great majority of State society journals. Thus, products which depend to a great extent upon a doctor's prescription or recommendation cannot advertise in the medium which best reaches the medical profession unless AMA standards are met.

To buttress its work in this field, organized medicine has campaigned for legislation to protect the consumer further. The AMA was a sponsor of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 and it has promoted similar State measures. Moreover, a provision in the AMA code of ethics forbids member-doctors from prescribing "unknown or secret remedies." Infractions are rare, for few physicians would risk use of a medicine untested by the association's staff.

The AMA does not attempt to develop new medical products directly, but it does foster independent research. The Committee on Research awards grants to projects which have particular medical significance. The committee also obtains outside sponsorship, often from pharmaceutical firms, for clinical studies of disease, nutrition, and long-term effects of new medicines.

Postgraduate Medical Education

The practicing physician must keep himself informed of improvements constantly being made in the field of medicine. And the average doctor has come to depend on his society as a highly important source of new medical knowledge. The process of instruction on the local level is carried on at society meetings largely by speakers from medical school faculties or the staffs of large hospitals. This service is of particular importance to country doctors whose contact with medical progress might otherwise be limited. The societies provide specialized courses of instruction, and, at their annual meetings, arrange for a concentrated series of scientific papers, demonstrations, and exhibits. Moreover, most State societies, or a small group of State societies, publish a journal, largely devoted to scientific matters. The national organization's most effective means of keeping physicians informed is through its publications. The Journal, published weekly, has the largest circulation and is one of the most respected of the world's medical periodicals. Its staff selects about 600 of the most outstanding of several thousand manuscripts submitted annually for publication. Its special departments, in addition to organizational and political news of interest to doctors, include reports of the tests conducted by various AMA councils and committees, medical book reviews, a medical question and answer column, and medicolegal information.

The AMA's scientific sections, representing the various medical specialties, each present full programs at their annual national conventions. Nine of these specialties also publish their own monthly journals geared to the specialist's needs. Also valuable to the physician are the AMA's quarterly index of medical literature, a directory of licensed physicians in the United States and Canada, and various handbooks on drugs and diseases.

SERVICES TO THE PUBLIC

Much of the AMA's contact with the public is in the field of health education. Today's Health, a monthly publication, is written for the lay reader; its purposes are to gain public backing for health measures supported by organized medicine, and to foster understanding of the developments in medical science. The Bureau of Health Education also maintains a speaker's bureau, offers an extensive radio transcription service, and has recently added a series of packaged television shows. Another type of AMA educational work is directed toward making the member physician a more effective health educator. Materials on public speaking, radio presentation, health column writing, and program planning are available to members.

The AMA also engages in extensive activities within specialized areas of public health. Association officers have cooperated with the National Education Association and other interested groups in formulating school health policies and programs. The Chicago headquarters has full-time personnel engaged in industrial health, rural health, and civil defense work. In all of these activities the AMA works closely with lay organizations to cosponsor conferences, stimulate interest, and publish materials.

The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine—Part IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows part IV of the American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine:

Setting the qualitative and quantitative standards for medical practitioners

The Campaign Against Nonmedical Practitioners

To protect the public against treatment by improperly trained practitioners, all States have passed statutes making a license prerequisite to the rendering of healing-art services. Legislative pressure by State medical societies has been largely responsible for the original passage and periodic revision of these Medical Practice Acts. Licensing requirements provide for minimum educational standards and successful completion of an examination given by a State examining board.

Quacks: One of the AMA's first goals was to bar from practice a wide variety of completely unqualified healers. This campaign complemented its role in removing nonscientific remedies from the market. Licensing requirements forced the quacks to withdraw or practice illegally. Since passage of these laws, the AMA's function in this field has been primarily one of policing. Advertising often provides a clue; the quack still relies upon ballyhoo to attract patients. Since the turn of the century, various medical societies have exposed mail-order diagnosis by urinanlysis, vacuum treatments, cancer cures, diabetes cures, virility regenerators, and a wide variety of electric, radioactive, or otherwise miraculous remedies—all dispensed by unlicensed practitioners. The Association's Bureau of Investigation in Chicago keeps a file of known offenders and supports county and State societies in their detection and prosecution of the unlicensed invader.

Chiropractors and osteopaths: The emergence of conflicting theories of disease, particularly chiropractic and osteopathy, has complicated State medical licensing. Chiropractors are able to acquire licenses to practice in nearly all States but, due to strenuous opposition from State medical societies and the AMA, theirs is a limited privilege. Usually the practice acts restrict treatment by a chiropractor to manual adjustment of the spinal column and forbid administering or prescribing drugs, puncturing the skin, or practicing obstetrics. A few States limit the osteopath to almost the same narrow privileges granted chiropractors, but most allow

him to administer drugs or to perform surgery, although only upon a showing of additional special training. Several States license the osteopath for the same unrestricted practice as the doctor of medicine.

Despite limitations, these groups continue to provide the medical profession with active competition. Each year, 2 million Americans consult one of the Nation's 32,000 licensed chiropractors for the first time. There are over 11,000 licensed osteopaths in the United States, they maintain fully equipped hospitals, they sometimes serve in city and State health departments. And, although organized medicine's justification for limited licensing of the "cults" is expressed in terms of protecting the consumer from unqualified practitioners, there may also be present an element of self-protection from this economic encroachment.

Organized medicine's campaign against the chirpractor is presently a battle of containment. In four States the requirements for licensing are the same as those for a doctor of medicine; practically, the chiropractor has been excluded. Elsewhere, medical societies police the legal boundaries of a chiropractor's limited license and oppose legislative extension of his privilege.

Basic science requirements, although originally designed as a method of raising the standards of medical practice generally, are a weapon of great potential in organized medicine's struggle against chiropractic and other limited healing arts. But it is a weapon that has thus far failed. These requirements, adopted by law in 19 States and the District of Columbia, direct all applicants for any healing art licensure to pass examinations in anatomy, physiology, chemistry, bacteriology, and pathology. But often the examination taken by candidates for medical licensure is different from the chiropractic basic science test. Medical men have termed the chiropractic basic science exam a farce. Consequently, the AMA has proposed a uniform basic science act, applicable to "nonsectarian medicine, osteopathy, chiropractic, naturopathy, sanipractic, and other modes of healing." AMA's stand is: "Whatever may be said of separate licensing boards for the nonsectarian practitioner and the cultists, there seems to be no valid argument against a uniform examination in the basic sciences." Widespread adoption of this act could mean the end of the cults' challenge to organized medicine.

Recently, the National Chiropractic Association has engaged the AMA in a top-level clash of competing interest groups. The NCA was successful in having chiropractic colleges certified for the G. I. bill; by 1949 the Government had paid the tuition of 1,700 veterans studying chiropractic. And now the NCA is campaigning for Veterans' Administration recognition of—and reimbursement for—chiropractic care. In 1950 AMA spokesmen appeared before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee and helped defeat this proposal, arguing that chiropractic does not recognize the bacterial theory of disease, is not taught at any university or college supported by public funds, and therefore should not be recognized by the VA. So the NCA has moved the fight to the American Legion, from which it has sought backing. Thereupon the AMA urged its member veterans to become active Legionnaires in order to forestall any possible pressure from an organization equipped with lobbying power on a par with its own.

Historically organized medicine's struggle to limit the practice of osteopathy took the same form as that against the chiropractors. Courts have upheld the constitutionality of AMA-fostered differentials in licensing privileges granted an M. D. and a D. O. despite apparent similarity of training. Furthermore the United States Supreme Court has upheld the right of governing boards of public (and a fortiori of private) hospitals to deny osteopaths use of their facilities. And hospitals seeking AMA accreditation for internship and residency training usually must bar osteopaths from their staffs.

Recently the City Council of Bay City, Mich., voted to allow osteopaths to use municipal hospital facilities. The 70 staff M. D.'s then walked out rather than "jeopardize their own ethical standings," and the AMA Council on Medical Education and Hospitals immediately withdrew registration and approval of the hospital. The struggle between local physicians and osteopaths was finally resolved by a referendum in which the voters chose nearly 3 to 1 to exclude osteopaths from their city's hospital staff.

An important recent change in the AMA attitude toward osteopaths has been a policy tending toward their absorption into the medical profession. Precedent for this trend exists in the case of the homeopathic physicians, who formerly were considered cultists but who now have approved medical schools, unlimited rights of practice, and membership in the AMA. Evidence of a similar policy toward osteopaths is clear. Although the AMA code of ethics provides that "[a]ll voluntarily associated activities with cultists are unethical," the judicial council has recently approved limited medical consultation with osteopaths, as well as sharing facilities with them in small, outlying hospitals. In many States medical society-sponsored Blue Shield plans allow osteopaths to participate. A resolution urging immediate action toward an eventual amalgamation of medicine and osteopathy was voted down by the house of delegates, yet AMA and AOA leaders have conferred with amalgamation in mind.

The basis for amalgamation is the present approximation of medical standards by osteopathic schools. The osteopathic curriculum is nearly the same as the medical, but includes osteopathic science, which to the AMA carries the stigma of cultism. Virtual abandonment of this teaching would probably permit M. D.'s to instruct in osteopathic schools, leading to eventual approval. Indeed, osteopathic services are already approved by the Veterans' Administration and the United States Public Health Service.

But AMA approval seems to depend upon economic as well as strictly medical factors. Amalgamation is opposed in rural States where general practice prevails and the osteopath provides strong competition to the physician. Support for amalgamation comes from large urban centers where specialists dominate medical practice. Probably a continued high demand for medical services, mitigating competition, will accelerate organized medicine's acceptance of the osteopath as an equal.

Psychologists: Originally the practice of medicine was limited to the care of physical disturbances; many State medical-practice acts still do not specifically require licensure for the treatment of behavioral or mental disorders. Both medical and nonmedical specialists have contributed to knowledge in the behavioral sciences. The psychiatrist claims exclusive jurisdiction in diagnosis and treatment of mental disease, asserting that his medical training gives him psysiological knowledge requisite to an appreciation of the patient's overall condition. He regards the psychologist's role as ancillary, similar to that of the nurse or X-ray technician. Psychologists, who presently provide many diagnostic and therapeutic services to mental patients, do not agree that psychotherapy should be the sole province of the M. D.'s.

The American Psychological Association, much like the AMA, has attempted to raise the level of psychological practice. Since many States do not regulate the treatment of mental disorders, unqualified persons hold themselves out as competent psychologists. To set the qualified practitioner apart, many psychologists have urged passage of certification acts, whereby those meeting educational requirements and passing examinations may receive the privilege of calling themselves "Certified Psychologists." These acts, adopted in only a few States, do not limit psychological practice to those certified, but they do provide the public with a possible guide to competence. Bills have also been proposed in a few jurisdictions requiring licensure of psychologists and prohibiting practice by those not meeting prescribed standards. But psychiatrists, fearing that their sphere of competence might be invaded, have secured the support of organized medicine to defeat these measures. Governor Dewey vetoed the New York licensing bill and cited the "vigorous and impressive objections" of the State medical society and American Psychiatric Association. After this setback, the psychologists refrained from seeking legislation pending conferences with the medical profession designed to define each profession's scope of competency.

Recently, however, the psychiatrists have taken affirmative action to prevent the further encroachment of non-medical practitioners. The Medical Society of the State of New York, in cooperation with psychiatric groups, has unsuccessfully sought revision of the New York medical practice act to make only the M. D. competent to treat "mental and nervous disorders." Both the American Psychiatric Association and the AMA favor such legislation. But these laws would freeze the status of two professions which often work in a flexible and cooperative relationship. Under such circumstances, joint efforts to define each specialty's qualifications should be encouraged. This would leave both groups free to cooperate in eliminating the unqualified practice of psychotherapy.

Controlling the Quality and Supply of Doctors

Another key function of the AMA is its inspection of medical schools and its annual listing of those approved. All States require that an applicant for medical licensure be a graduate of an acceptable medical school. Standards of acceptability are set by statute, or by formal rule or informal policy of the State medical examining boards. These statutes or rules provide that the board will consider only graduates of schools approved by the AMA and/or the American Association of Medical Colleges, whose lists are identical. Since it is impossible for each State board to make an independent inspection of every medical school whose graduates apply for licensure, these boards must rely on an outside agency. The AMA fulfills this need and its list thereby acquires the force of law.

Through their reliance upon the AMA to inspect the Nation's medical schools, the States tacitly confer upon it the power to set the standards for approval. These standards, of course, fix the quality of medical education, but they also indirectly determine the size of classes in each school. Maximum student/faculty or student/cadaver ratios, for example, make expansion costly.

Moreover, many Sates require a medical school graduate to serve an internship in an approved hospital as an additional training requirement. Again, practical considerations require licensing boards to utilize the AMA standards and list of approved hospitals. AMA approval is vital to a hospital; without it, the hospital cannot obtain the low-cost services of interns. This power gives organized medicine a device to enforce conformity with policies occasionally unrelated to medical training.

Medical education: The improvement of medical education was one motive for the founding of the American Medical Association. Early attempts, however, were not successful. In 1910, the Carnegie Foundation's Flexner Report publicized the serious inadequacy of many of the medical schools in the country. Strong public opinion and State medical association pressure has since

forced State examining boards and medical schools to recognize the standards set by the AMA Council on Medical Education. Although 81 substandard schools have been forced out of existence, some formerly inadequate schools have managed to survive by rapidly improving in quality. Today there are 79 medical schools in the United States, all approved.

When adoption of AMA requirements forced disapproved medical schools to close, the annual graduating class of doctors was cut in half. But these numerical losses have been recouped. Existing schools have gradually expanded their facilities to a point where annual output exceeds the 1910 level. For the past 5 years, each freshman class has surpassed the previous year's record-breaking enrollment. The AMA has provided technical assistance to schools planning expansion. And State societies have sometimes advocated the formation of new medical schools, as in Maine and New Jersey, or supported the conversion of 2-year "basic science" schools into full 4-year schools, as in North Carolina and West Virginia. The resulting increase in physician supply has raised the American doctor/patient ratio to 136 per 100,000, second only to Israel with its large number of refugee Jewish physicians. This ratio is expected to hold despite rapid population gains.

But the AMA has not consistently pursued a policy of increasing the doctor supply. Moved by a desire to mitigate competition among doctors during the depression, the association attempted to reduce medical school enrollments. By 1932 the AAMC and AMA had become alarmed about an increasing surplus of doctors. In 1933 the AMA council on medical education invited the active support of the Association of American Medical Colleges in bringing about a substantial reduction of their enrollment. The council's secretary, in a speech before the AAMC, mentioned the alleged surplus of doctors and deplored the practice of making up classes in medical schools without any regard to the needs of the profession or of the country as a whole. He concluded: "The time has come when we must still further limit the enrollment of our medical schools. By 1934 the council could report that several schools were decreasing enrollments in adherence to the council's principles.

Even today, AMA's limited support for expansion in medical education may not be adequate to meet growing demand for physicians. Increased military needs, coupled with expanded public-health programs and private requirements, have created a doctor shortage which is becoming progressively more acute. Estimates of the adequacy of the doctor supply by 1960 vary greatly, depending on an intangible variable: desirable level of medical care. Maldistribution of physicians, resulting from the emphasis on specialization and the concentration of physicians in urban centers, has compounded the shortage. Local action by doctor-needy communities—guarantees and special inducements to young graduates seeking a location—may be a partial solution. Local and State medical society scholarships, granted on the stipulation that the recipient will practice in a small community, have also helped. A recent AMA campaign glorifying the general practitioner may have some effect. But the need for long-term regional or nationwide planning of the supply and distribution of doctors has not been met under AMA guidance.

Indeed, the wisdom of lodging quasi-legal authority over medical schools in the AMA may also be open to question. Without doubt, the quality of medical education has improved enormously under AMA guidance. And experienced medical educators and practitioners are best fitted to adjust standards to the needs and potentialities of the school and student. But the power to determine supply, which resides inevitably within the power to set standards, should not rest solely in the hands of a private group which is neither directly responsible to the public nor necessarily responsive to the Nation's requirements.

Licensing of foreign-trained doctors: The establishment of licensure requirements for foreign-trained physicians was not a pressing problem until the late 1930's. With the rise and spread of European totalitarianism, however, the States received an increasing number of requests for recognition of foreign credentials. Today there are few displaced European physicians left. But in their place increasing numbers of Americans, unable to gain admission to medical schools at home, have gone abroad to study and now seek accreditation.

The official attitude of the State examining boards toward foreign-trained doctors has largely been the result of State medical society and AMA policies. By the 1930's, 22 States would not accept foreign physicians at all. In several others, full citizenship and additional training requirements achieved the same purpose. The exclusion of refugee physicians was accomplished over the protest of farmer and labor medical cooperatives, particularly in States suffering from doctor shortages.

Since the war, the AMA Council on Medical Education has established a less restrictive policy toward foreign medical school graduates. The AMA and AAMC have jointly issued a list of 50 European schools which they suggest for State board acceptance. But the list does not include institutions from which refugee doctors are likely to come—those of Germany and Austria. For these doctors an AMA spokesman has recommended adoption of the procedure followed by the Iowa Board of Medical Examiners . There the foreign doctor is placed as an assistant in a State institution for 1 year, during which he receives supervision, refresher courses, and grades from his physicians in charge. At the end of his trial period his file is considered by the State board and he is accepted or rejected.

It is of great importance to American students educated abroad that 23 licensing boards have reported willingness to consider graduates of foreign schools recommended by the AMA. But, despite the AMA's insistence that the list is "tentative," and that "absence of a school from the list does not necessarily imply disapproval," the tendency among these boards has been to consider only graduates of already approved schools. Yet, of the 1,121 American students in foreign schools in 1951, only half were enrolled in approved schools. Furthermore, 11 States still do not accept any foreign credits. And even in States which do allow foreign graduates to take the board examinations, the percentage of failures among them has been high. A European medical education is still not a reliable path to licensure in the United States.

The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine—Part V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows part V of the American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine:

Determining the conditions of practice and payment

The AMA "Principles of Medical Ethics" is a codification of the doctor's professional conscience as well as a blueprint for the organization of medical practice. In theory, the principles are not "laws to govern" but rather "guides to correct conduct." However, for the doctor they approach legal status since unethical conduct is a ground for expulsion from every county medical society. The code regulates, in general terms, a wide range of the doctor's conduct toward his patients, other physicians, and the public at large. Thus it is applicable to most matters affecting medical practice.

This code of ethics is geared to the typical unit of medical practice in America—the individual practitioner, remunerated on the basis of a fee for service rendered. But the pressure of changed conditions is forcing modifications in this pattern. Increased medical knowledge and new techniques have created the specialties, with consequent increased interdependence among doctors; much modern medicine is practiced by a team rather than by a lone practitioner. The need for expensive equipment and reliance upon technicians has made individual entrepreneurship difficult; hospitals, medical consumer organizations, and groups of doctors—able to supply needed capital—have hired physicians on a salary basis, shifting risk of loss or chance for gain to themselves. And a desire to anticipate unpredictable medical expenses has led the consumer to demand an application of the insurance principle to the cost of sickness. Each of these modifications—group practice, salaried practice, lay sponsorship, and prepayment—is still in the experimental stage.

Throughout this period, organized medicine has resisted or attempted to control change, rather than allow free experimentation. The physicians in positions of power within the AMA have risen to the top of the profession via the individual fee-for-service system. Any significant change in that system represents a threat to a familiar and tested method of practice.

The AMA has expressed or rationalized its opposition to change in terms of ethics. In so doing it has often failed to meet the economic issues realistically. By counterproposals, predicated on the fee-for-service system, it has attempted to satisfy the same needs which brought forth the new methods of practice. Organized mericine's purpose has thus been to contain developments within the orthodox pattern. Its effort to do so has called forth all the power at its command.

Methods of Practice

The vast majority of physicians in the United States practice alone. Yet group practice offers advantages both to patient and physician. It affords fuller use of, and a chance to spread the cost of, technical equipment and personnel. The doctor has ready consultation with other specialist-partners—a convenience to the patient, and a means of retaining control of the fee. Moreover, younger men in the profession, schooled in a depedence upon other members of the medical care team, often favor medical partnerships.

In the almost automatic referral from partner to partner, characteristic of group practice, critics have seen an infringement of the patient's free choice of physician. And they consider the division of income according to any partnership agreement other than value of services rendered, as akin to fee splitting. Early groups were disparaged as unethical. But within recent years active steps have been taken only against those groups offering a plan for some type of flat-

fee prepayment. Rather, the AMA has mildly discouraged combined practice by repeatedly denying the necessity for, or success of groups. Its studies have emphasized negative aspects of group practice, such as causes for frequent dissolution of groups and the legal snarls of partnership agreements. Failing to curb the spread of group practice, organized medicine has tried to keep existing groups within traditional bounds through the ethical code: "The ethical principles actuating and governing a group or clinic are exactly the same as those applicable to the individual."

Methods of Remunerating the Physician

Eight out of 10 practicing physicians are self-employed, either as individual entrepreneurs or as members of a partnership firm. But the number of salaried practitioners has been increasing. Organized medicine disapproves of this trend and has condemned some types of salaried practice as unethical, fearing that a doctor's primary loyalty will be to his employer rather than his patient.

For many years certain familiar types of salaried practice have been acceptable to the AMA. Physicians engaged in research, public-health work, and teaching do not establish a close relationship with patients, nor could the fee-for-service system be readily adapted to suit their circumstances. Military medicine, too, is far removed from the context of private practice. And one physician may hire another on a salary; the employer is subject to the same ethical requirements as the employee, and the patient commands the primary loyalty of both. Furthermore, such employment is usually for training purposes and temporary, similar to internship or residency.

But organized medicine has not accepted some of the newer developments in salaried practice. One of the most widespread has been the hiring of doctors by hospitals. The practice of radiology, anesthesiology, and pathology is most commonly associated with large institutions. Each involves large outlay for equipment and deals chiefly with hospitalized patients; none involves the customary strong doctor-patient relationship. And since these specialty departments—staffed by salaried M. D.'s—often provide profits which cover other operating deficits, hospital management is reluctant to abandon this system. But the average net income of the salaried specialist ranges well below that of his self-employed counterpart. The salaried anesthesiologist averages $10,000 annually; the independent, $12,700. The hired radiologist averages $12,300 and the independent $18,500. These differentials may have contributed impetus to AMA disapproval and action against hospital practice.

Medical societies have characterized hospital practice as primarily a moral problem; they fear exploitation and lowering the dignity of the profession, and envision lay-employer control as forcing a lower standard of care for the patient. The specially appointed Hess committee reaffirmed and clarified the AMA's long-standing position against salaried purveyal of medical service. The committee condemned hospital practice and urged component societies to act against institutions and member physicians who work within this disapproved framework.

But there has been neither extensive nor highly successful activity on the lower levels. The head of anethesiology of a Boston hospital attempted to change its salary-plus-share-of-profits system, charging that he was being forced to split fees with an institution. Although the hospital admitted making a profit in that department, the local medical society upheld the arrangement. And similar charges of unethical practices against the Yale Medical School were dropped. The school was retaining the fees paid to its affiliated hospital by patients for services of salaried medical-school professors. While State specialty societies have impeded the spread of salaried practice to new hospitals by refusing to recommend, or threatening to expel a member who accepts salaried terms, they have not effected any appreciable change where the practice is already entrenched.

The national organization is unable to initiate action in cases of individual violations of the Hess report since it is bound by its constitution to wait for charges to proceed through regular channels. Instead, its officers have tried to work out agreements that can deter salary-paying hospitals. They have requested Blue Cross to refuse to pay hospital bills covering charges for salaried doctors' services. Conferences have been held with American Hospital Association officials in an effort to work out a compromise arrangement. Both sides have denied an irreconciliable conflict, but after 4 years of negotiation there is still no agreement.

Methods of Payment by the Consumer

In meeting the cost of illness, the consumer is faced with two alternatives. Under the traditional method, he pays in accordance with services actually rendered. But the need for medical attention is unpredictable and falls unevenly throughout the population. The costs of serious illness, particularly among low-income families, may be financially disastrous. Prepaid health insurance can alleviate such consequences by spreading the risk and expense over a large group. Under prepayment, the consumer pays in advance to receive medical care and treatment if and when they are needed—not for services actually received. Consequently he can budget a regular portion of his income to cover such potential medical needs as hospitalization, surgery, or complete medical care.

The AMA endorses the principle of health insurance provided participation is voluntary. However, organized medicine has not always had this favorable attitude. In 1932, the report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, advocating expansion and development of voluntary prepayment plans, was severely condemned. Experimentation with various methods of prepaid hospitalization, such as Blue Cross, was disparaged and discouraged. The AMA today explains this early opposition on the grounds of inadequate standards of care under existing plans, insufficient payment to physicians, and a fear of governmental domination leading to compulsory participation. However, although some early plans did exploit both patient and physician, medical society opposition was directed against almost all such schemes. Not until serious proposals for governmental compulsory health insurance materialized did organized medicine enthusiastically espouse voluntary prepayment. State societies, encouraged by the AMA, then took the lead in establishing insurance plans. At the same time, the AMA attempted to shape voluntary plans into an approved pattern.

Prepayment plans may insure against the costs of hospitalization and/or the expense of physicians' services. The most common type of health insurance covers only specified hospital services. Commercial insurance companies, as well as the familiar nonprofit Blue Cross plans, offer such policies. State medical societies have approved the Blue Cross plans, but have objected to the reimbursement to hospitals for services of their salaried doctors. Other than this objection, and concern over the economic soundness of some insurers, hospitalization plans have caused no recent controversy within organized medicine.

The recent development of insurance covering the costs of physicians' services, however, has raised more fundamental problems. Two major types of medical care plans have appeared. Under the cash indemnity system, money benefits are paid to cover specified medical expenses when incurred by the insured. The patient consults his own physician and is reimbursed by the insurance company according to a stipulated schedule. The insurance check may or may not equal the full amount of the doctor's bill. The physician has no contractural relationship with the insurer; he enjoys complete freedom as to the method of rendering his service and determining his fee. Such policies are offered by commercial firms or by several State medical societies under nonprofit Blue Shield incorporation.

In contrast, medical service plans offer their benefits in terms of physicians' services. The patient can consult only a participating physician, from whom he receives any needed care for which he has contracted. The physician is reimbursed for his services by the insurer according to a previous agreement, which may also determine the manner of practice. Lay organizations, independent groups of physicians, and a few State medical societies have sponsored such plans. The majority of medical society plans employ a combination of the two methods, providing for service coverage to lower income groups and cash indemnification for others. This permits the physician to collect from higher income groups a fee above that granted him by the insurer.

Only under medical service plans does the insurer become a middleman dealing with both physician and patient. He contracts with consumers to furnish care and must then obtain this care by securing physicians' services. As contractee with both parties, the insurer is in a strategic position to determine the standard of medical care, services covered, financial arrangements with both parties, consumer membership eligibility, and type of physician participation. For this reason, organized medicine has laid great stress on the sponsorship and control of service plans.

If a medical service plan is operated for profit, the AMA fears exploitation of both patient (through lowering of standards) and physician (by reduction of income). This objection cannot pertain to cash-indemnity systems—even those operated commercially—because the doctor deals only with the patient and retains control over standards and fee setting. Service plans controlled by State medical societies are said to provide professional safeguards for the patient and a free choice of physician; also, the AMA believes that medical society sponsorship shifts the consequences of financial failure. Subscribers of some early insolvent service plans never received paid-for benefits since funds were insufficient to engage doctors. But in medical society plans participating doctors guarantee to provide their services, bearing the risk of the insurer's financial inadequacy. More important from the standpoint of the profession, medical society plans are open to all member doctors and therefore do not affect competition within the membership group. Furthermore, remuneration rates are set on an individual fee-for-service basis and at a level determined by medical society representatives.

At one time, organized medicine vigorously attacked prepaid service plans operated by independent physicians; some of these arrangements now receive qualified approval. These plans have uniformly combined prepayment with group practice. The choice of physician is thus limited to those practicing as a unit; subscribers are removed from the doctor's competitive market for patients. The economies of group practice may also enhance the plan's competitive position. But because the insurer is a group of doctors, themselves subject to ethical precepts, the AMA does not fear exploitation of this favorable economic position. Rates to subscribers, compensation to participating practitioners, and standards of practice are all under professional control. Medical socie-

ties do not encourage such plans, but, unless they violate the professional code by such tactics as advertising, neither do they actively oppose them.

The major area of controversy over voluntary health insurance concerns lay-sponsored service plans. There has been little change in organized medicine's tenacious opposition to provisions found in such plans. However, the AMA has provided a method for approval of these schemes if they conform to certain principles. The concessions necessary to gain organized medicine's approval are so severe that, as yet, virtually none have complied.

The earliest of the lay-sponsored service plans were formed by industrial employers. Employee groups, often under collective-bargaining agreements calling for management support, soon followed. Schools and universities often employ this device to insure their student bodies. The number of potential subscribers in each instance is limited to the size of the specified group. On the other hand, groups of consumers outside of industry have formed cooperatives or community-sponsored nonprofit corporations to provide prepaid medical services. These are open to the entire community, subject only to the limitations of available facilities. AMA opposition to this latter type has been much more pronounced than to restricted membership plans.

Regardless of the nature of the sponsoring body, the AMA has laid great stress upon placing control in professional hands. Such control involves two aspects: Over standards of medical care, and over terms of physician participation. Lay sponsoring bodies readily grant the former. But the power to set terms of physician participation means determination of the method of practice and the type and level of doctor remuneration. This, in effect, means control over the table of fees which the plan pays the physician and consequently the rates which the plan must charge the consumer. Furthermore, this latter aspect of professional control must, to meet AMA approval, be vested in a committee representing all the doctors in the community, not just those serving the plan. So in order to qualify for approval, the lay-sponsored plan must duplicate the essential elements of medical society plans. Thus it would relinquish the very power which might enable it to outbid individual practitioners and other prepayment systems in the medical market.

Virtually all disapproved service plans render medical care through group practice. The combination of lay-sponsored prepayment and group practice has been condemned by the AMA as panel medicine. The subscriber must seek his medical services from the limited number of doctors in the group; the AMA views this as a denial of his free choice of physician. But from the nonparticipating doctor's standpoint, there is also a denial of access to potential patients. Another reason for medical society hostility to the panel medicine combination is its tendency to employed disfavored methods of remunerating the doctor. Distribution of the group's income on a fee-for-service basis is apparently not utilized. Payment according to the number of patients treated, another possible method, is condemned as tending to lower the quality of care to each individual. The most common form of physician payment is by salary.

From the consumer's standpoint, prepayment group practice schemes offer several advantages. Aside from the economies of group practice, these plans tend to offer more thorough coverage. Subscribers may contract to receive comprehensive medical care, often with hospitalization as well. Because it is to the advantage of the plan to minimize illness among members preventive medicine is often stressed. In contrast, most medical society plans limit benefits, up to a stipulated maximum, to surgery and medical care for hospitalized cases. To justify the exclusion of such low cost services as occasional house and office calls, the AMA contends that these costs are not susceptible to the insurance principle. The risk falls evenly and widely throughout the population so that the administrative costs of such insurance are unjustified. But this argument does not apply to a vast range of unusual medical exigencies which do not require hospitalization.

The public demand for broader coverage and competition with lay-sponsored prepayment systems has forced many medical society plans to liberalize their terms. Some now offer disaster riders, covering costs above the standard maximum. A few have removed income discrimination while others have expanded benefits to cover complete medical care.

The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine—Part VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows part VI of the American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine:

Methods of Controlling Disapproved Voluntary Prepaid Health Insurance Plans

Even a close analysis of the AMA attitude toward various types of prepaid insurance schemes does not provide absolute predictability of medical society reaction to any given plan. All nonmedical society plans contain a diversity of features any of which may be objectionable either alone or in combination with others. Intangible factors, such as the climate of political and public opinion, the prestige and influence of the lay sponsors, and the intensity of professional attitude, also govern medical society responses. Yet the two broad considerations of professional integrity and economic interest set outer limits beyond which no privately sponsored plan can venture without incurring vigorous opposition. And these factors provide clues to probable intensity of resistance against any plan containing objectionable features.

Discrimination against participating physicians: For many years attempts to form medical-service plans were opposed by organized medicine through direct disciplinary action against participating physicians. The medical practitioner has much to lose when membership in his medical society or the good will of fellow physicians are denied him. It was, therefore, inevitable that organized medicine would apply its strongest weapon in opposing early attempts to form medical-service plans. The AMA's record contains various examples of techniques for disciplining physicians associated with disapproved schemes.

In 1929 the employees of the Los Angeles department of water and power entered into a doctor-sponsored prepayment service through an agreement with the newly established Ross-Loos Clinic. The plan called for comprehensive medical care by the clinic group's participating physicians as well as hospitalization insurance benefits. Subsequently, some of the clinic's doctors, including a former president of the Los Angeles County Medical Society, were expelled by that society. They were later reinstated on appeal by the AMA's judicial council because of procedural defects in the local society's action. Since that time the Ross-Loos Clinic has not encountered further opposition from organized medicine, neither has it accepted opportunities for normal expansion of its facilities or enrollment.

In 1937 HOLC employees in the District of Columbia organized Group Health Association, a nonprofit, prepayment medical care and hospitalization program for a limited number of qualified Government employees. Physicians were hired on a full-time salary basis to provide low-cost medical care for members and their families. The local medical society, however, objected to this lay-sponsored group and employed its coercive powers to destroy this competitive threat to private practitioners. The District Medical Society expelled or otherwise disciplined several of the doctors hired by Group Health; in some instances mere threats of such action led to resignations from the GHA staff. Moreover, the society circulated a "white list" of approved organizations and individuals, from which GHA was excluded, thereby making it impossible for GHA doctors to obtain consultation with fellow physicians. Furthermore, Group Health had no hospital of its own but depended upon the availability and cooperation of local institutions. The AMA and the District Medical Society virtually crippled GHA by enlisting nearly all the hospitals in the District to deny GHA physicians staff privileges and bed space for their patients. The effective combination of these tactics resulted in the Justice Department's successful criminal prosecution of organized medicine under the Sherman Act.

In the State of Washington, Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound was created in 1946 to give prepaid medical and hospital service to members of several granges, unions, and consumer cooperatives. It hired a staff of 20 doctors to be remunerated by salary and participation with subscribers in a profit-sharing arrangement. Like the District of Columbia group, it lacked hospital facilities of its own. Again local medical society intervention caused hospitals throughout the area to refuse GHC doctors staff privileges, and even emergency surgical facilities. The society's characterization of GHC's staff as unethical resulted in its withholding or withdrawing membership from several physicians who consequently lost consultation privileges and certification by specialty boards requiring society membership. In 1949 group-health doctors sued to enjoin the county medical society under a provision of the Washington State constitution forbidding combinations or agreements to fix prices or limit production of any commodity. In 1951, the Washington Supreme Court decided for the cooperative and delivered a forceful condemnation of organized medicine's tactics in attempting to halt the development of private medical programs in the State.

Sponsorship and promotion of competing plans and restrictive legislation: Despite determined medical-society disciplinary action against staff members of disapproved prepayment groups, various forms of medical service plans have continued to grow steadily. Furthermore, the use of discriminatory tactics has been found illegal under both Federal and State law. Consequently, organized medicine has softened the use of such techniques, and adopted subtler, but possibly more effective methods of meeting the threat of prepayment plans.

A concerted effort to set up competing medical society sponsored and controlled plans was the first of these. Before 1940 three such plans, California Physicians' Service, Michigan Medical Service, and Western New York Medical Plan, were in actual operation. But their formation focused at-

tention upon two legal questions: whether these plans were subject to State laws governing insurance companies and insurance contracts; and whether these plans constituted the unlawful corporate practice of medicine. In several jurisdictions, these obstacles had proved fatal to nonsociety plans. While the elimination of these obstacles to the development of medical society plans provided much of the incentive for organized medicine's promotion of special enabling legislation, many of the resulting laws were also designed to insure medical control of all ensuing prepayment schemes.

To a varying degree most of these statutes restrict the formation and operation of plans to those with medical society approval or control. One type of statute requires that a majority of directors be doctors or they may provide for State medical society approval of directors. Other statutes bar any prepayment plan from providing medical services unless it includes a majority of the licensed physicians in the area of service. The practical effect of such laws is to prevent lay sponsors or small medical groups from offering prepaid services.

The increased threat of compulsory national health insurance in the 1940's gave added impetus to organized medicine's development of its own voluntary medical care plans. Although disapproved voluntary plans gained little or no respite from organized medicine, society sponsored plans provided the AMA's positive answer to the argument for governmental action. In 1942 the AMA could point only to 11 medical society sponsored or approved plans; by 1951 the total was 104 such plans. Medical society plans frequently offer less comprehensive coverage than the independent plans with which they compete. However, they have exploited their competitive advantages through "medical public education" campaigns and word-of-mouth promotion by family physicians to effect an impressive growth of membership.

The struggle against HIP: Organized medicine is presently bringing the utmost power at its disposal against the health-insurance plan of Greater New York. HIP, with almost 400,000 subscribers, is one of the largest group practice, prepayment medical service plans in America. It was originally promoted by Mayor La Guardia to provide comprehensive health insurance for New York City government employees and their families; half of the premium is borne by the city and half by the insured. Since its formation, HIP has opened its enrollment to other employed groups and some individuals.

HIP's organization resembles that of the typical lay-sponsored plan. The plan is headed by a doctor, but a majority of directors are laymen. The board has control over the premium rates and contracts with groups of physicians who, in turn provide medical care to subscribers. Each of the 30 affiliated groups receives a per capita payment based on the number of subscribers registering with it. The group divides its receipts among member-doctors as it wishes; most choose salaried practice, with annual earnings ranging from $7,500 for starting physicians, to $18,000 for senior partners. The subscriber may select any one of the 30 groups, from which he receives comprehensive medical care. And the enrollee may choose any doctor within his group as his family physician. Preventive medicine is particularly stressed since it is to the advantage of the group to minimize illness among its patients. Premium rates vary according to income and size of family: an individual with an income under $5,000 pays $42.72 per year; a family earning under $6,500 pays a maximum of $155.52. HIP does not cover hospitalization; its subscribers are required to enroll in Blue Cross or an equivalent.

From its inception, HIP has steadily grown in size, and the local medical societies' pressure against it has increased proportionately. When Mayor La Guardia suggested the formation of a comprehensive health plan for city employees the medical societies urged utilization of existing services, and liberalized the benefits of the society-sponsored United Medical Service. Since then, a controversy between these two competing plans has ensued over the right to advertise. The ethical code permits society plans to attract subscribers through advertising on the theory that all doctors benefit equally. Although the local medical societies initially tolerated advertising by HIP, they recently have changed their view and branded the practice as unethical. An appeal from this ruling has recently been denied at the State level.

Rather than inviting comparison of their plan with HIP in terms of quality, coverage, and premiums, the local medical societies have disparaged HIP for its alleged denial of free choice of physician. It is true that HIP subscribers can obtain services only from doctors in a participating group. But the independent subscriber can exercise a free choice originally between any available plan, or no plan at all. And if he chooses to join HIP, he has a choice of several groups and of numerous doctors within each group. Perhaps the doctors' hostility stems from HIP's denying their free access to 400,000 potential patients.

Condemning HIP as unethical conveys a threat of possible disciplinary action against affiliated doctors, and may implant the fear that fellow physicians will view their participation as detrimental to the profession's welfare. Nevertheless, increasing numbers of doctors have joined HIP affiliated groups. Consequently the New York medical societies have advocated State legislation designed to destroy the HIP panel practice system. Under the guise of guaranteeing free choice of physician, the proposed act would have forced prepayment group plans to compensate any physician rendering services to subscribers. But the 1954 New York Legislature adjourned without passing this measure: Now the State medical society is attempting to secure its objective of destroying panel practice groups by "clarifying" its own ethical code. One new interpretation condemns the salaried practice of medicine except in institutions where patients are public charges; this ruling would necessitate a fundamental change in the income distribution system of HIP affiliated groups, but would not destroy the plan. Another interpretation, asserting free choice to be denied whenever the patient must choose a physician from a panel or group, would inevitably outlaw any group practice prepayment system. Whether the New York medical societies will enforce this ruling by disciplinary action against participating physicians is the crucial question.

AMA attitudes toward health measures under Government auspices

Governmental activities in the field of public health have steadily increased. This expansion has occurred not only through changes in our social and economic philosophies, but also from advances in scientific knowledge. Communicable disease was once thought to result from environmental defects with a consequent limitation of public health activities to sanitation. But bacteriological knowledge has demonstrated personal communicability, and led to a public concern for the welfare of the individual as well as his environment. Consequently, public health functions have come to include such programs as diagnosis, treatment, and hospitalization. More recently these programs have been broadened so as to cover not only communicable, but degenerative disease, and maternal and child-welfare projects as well.

The development of many public-health activities has met with hostility from the medical profession. Physicians often resisted such early programs as smallpox inoculations, diphtheria immunizations, and venereal disease clinics as invasions of the domain of private practice. Often State health departments, their personnel being influenced by the medical societies, were themselves opposed to expansion into areas of general medical care. Where health officials did institute new programs, they sometimes had to resign from their local medical societies because of opposition to these ventures. And where medical societies gave approval to diagnosis and treatment by public-health agencies, they have favored furnishing care by private practitioners on a free choice, fee-for-service basis, rather than by the less costly salaried physician hired by the State.

Measures providing public medical care directly to the patient have usually met with the opposition of organized medicine when made available to those able to pay for private services. These programs, it is charged, put the State in competition with private practitioners of medicine. As a consequence of opposition from medical societies, the initiative for most public-health development has come from outside the medical profession. Although the American Medical Association today approves a number of public-health measures once opposed by medical societies, it would still define the scope of public health more narrowly than most public-health officials. A recent resolution would limit health departments to such activities as vital statistics, health education, sanitation, communicable disease, and laboratory and clinical services essential to the control of such diseases. This concept of public health excludes programs in the field of maternal and child welfare, sight and hearing conservation, care of crippled children, degenerative disease, and mental health.

Governmental Level of Sponsorship and Control

AMA opposition to governmental health measures, occasionally expressed in terms of general principles, is more often aimed at particular features of administration, sponsorship, or control. Medical Society opposition increases in intensity as local administration is bypassed and control is lodged in the Federal Government. Most State medical societies do not uniformly follow AMA pronouncements defining the proper sphere of public health. In many instances State societies formerly in opposition, now cooperate and participate in State administered maternal and child health or degenerative disease programs for the benefit of indigents. Nevertheless, similar programs under Federal sponsorship have encountered AMA opposition. Organized medicine primarily expresses objection to centralization of control in the Federal Government, not the purposes of the particular program. Possibly a further explanation for the differential in State and national activity lies in the State society's relatively greater control over health programs within its jurisdiction.

On the State level, medical society control is facilitated by the State health department's relative freedom from legislative and executive supervision over enforcement, regulation, and development of new programs. And, under Federal grant-in-aid programs, funds originating in Washington, but destined for local communities, are routed through the State health office, which thus occupies a strategic position in indirectly determining national policy. Joint coordinating committees of State health department and medical society representatives often draw up regulations and allotments under various specified programs. Such a relationship may promote the efficient administration of public-health meas-

ures. But medical society influence goes deeper, pervading health department activity. In many State, the department head is nominated, appointed, or recommended by the State medical society; in a few States membership in a county medical society is a requirement for departmental appointments. And, since the statewide cooperation of doctors is essential to the success of any program, health departments must permit the medical societies to participate in the formulation of policy. This leverage enables organized medicine to protect the interests of the profession against governmental encroachment.

The national organization has been less influential in shaping Federal administrative policy. In fact, health leaders of the recent Democratic administrations were openly hostile toward organized medicine. Since 1876 the AMA has advocated assembling the medical functions of the Federal Government into a single agency of cabinet rank headed by a physician. The AMA opposed and contributed to the defeat of two reorganization proposals submitted by President Truman consolidating health services together with welfare and education. Hostility was grounded upon the fear that Oscar Ewing, advocate of compulsory health insurance and the AMA's arch-enemy, would gain control over medical matters, and that health services would not be independent of other agencies. However, after the 1952 election, the same proposal was submitted by President Eisenhower, and on this occasion organized medicine abandoned its former stand. This reversal followed Presidential assurances that the new office would not advocate compulsion in the medical field. Organized medicine probably anticipates a relationship on the national level similar to that enjoyed in the States.

The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine—Part VII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows part VII of the American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine:

Federal Grants-in-Aid for Health Purposes

Federal grants-in-aid in the health field began with the Chamberlain-Kahn Act of 1918 for control of venereal disease. Three years later the Shepard-Towner Act was passed providing for grants to the States for maternal and child welfare. The 1918 act received qualified approval from the medical societies, but the latter measure was denounced as "a form of bureaucratic interference with the sacred rights of the American home." The AMA based its objections not on public activity in this field, but on Federal participation in it. Shortly thereafter the association announced ts blanket opposition to Federal grants-in-aid for medical services. After a few years both of these grants were allowed to die, and the AMA successfully resisted efforts to revive them until the passage of the Social Security Act. Under this measure both programs were reactivated, and grants were established for general public health activities as well. At the present time funds are allocated for a wide variety of public-health services, research, and hospital construction.

Grants for health services: The American Medical Association now accepts the allotment of Federal grants to the States as a well-established principle in our Government. In fact, it has itself called for the extension of public-health services to areas where needed. However, the association emphasizes that public health is primarily a local responsibility, and that there must be a showing of actual need by the States. Similarly, the AMA favors local autonomy in administration. Professional advisory committees are favored, especially if their recommendations are made binding on administrators. Even when these conditions are met the AMA will resist grants for treatment of all but the most contagious diseases unless made contingent on the recipient's inability to pay.

Thus, the AMA opposed the Pepper bill of 1945 which would have increased the authorized expenditures for maternal and child health, crippled children, and child welfare. The association protested that the measure contained no means test—grants being available without regard to need—and also that the chief of the Children's Bureau had too much discretionary authority in administering the program. However, the AMA gave its approval to the Priest bill in the last Congress. This authorized financial assistance to States and subdivisions for local public health units, particularly in national-defense areas. Approval followed the adoption of amendments suggested by the association to guarantee local autonomy and to clarify the types of service that might be rendered.

Grants for medical research: When grants-in-aid for medical research were first proposed in the late 1930's the AMA expressed its disapproval. Their objections were said to be based on a fear that Federal subsidies would discourage private gifts, and that such subsidies would not be given without Federal control over the manner in which funds were to be used. But the AMA's position changed after grants for such purposes had been passed. The work of the Office of Scientific Research and Development during the war had demonstrated that Federal funds could be applied advantageously for promoting research and accelerating the use of medical discoveries. Since that time the AMA has usually favored measures providing for research grants. The creation of a National Science Foundation, as well as a National Cancer Institute and National Heart Institute, has been approved; such Federal institutes direct important research projects in medicine.

Grants for hospital construction: The AMA has consistently favored Federal grants for hospital construction, provided that local need is shown. Thus the association approved the original Hill-Burton Act of 1946 for hospital surveys, construction, renovation, and improvement. Hill-Burton funds are applied only to the physical plant of hospitals, not for medical services. Also this program has operated primarily to assist hospitals of small capacity in rural areas where need is greatest. And Federal funds, as in most grant programs, are channelized through State health departments.

Grants for medical education: The increased cost of medical education has led to recent proposals for Federal aid. No measure submitted thus far has received organized medicine's approval—and none has been enacted—despite AMA denial that it opposes Federal grants to medical schools. At first such grants were incorporated into the omnibus National Health Act along with controversial compulsory health insurance proposals. In the hope of expediting bipartisan action on the aid to education portion, Senators Murray, Pepper, Taft, and Donnell sponsored a separate bill in 1949. This measure and its House counterpart, after committee consultation with AMA representatives, were amended to limit Federal participation in the budget of any medical school to 40 percent, and to give a professional advisory council, responsible to Congress, the duty of making recommendations to the United States Surgeon General before he could promulgate regulations under the program. In addition, any Federal direction, supervision, or control with regard to personnel, curriculum, or instruction was expressly forbidden. After Senate passage of this measure by unanimous vote the American Medical Association announced its opposition to the measure. In accordance with the association's recommendations, the House then placed a 30-percent limit on Federal participation, but AMA still opposed the bill, and it died in committee. Similar measures introduced since that time have met a like fate. The AMA has announced that it would support single installment Federal grants for the construction and renovation of medical school plants similar in terms to the Hill-Burton grants for hospital construction.

The AMA bases its opposition to medical education subsidies on a fear that Federal domination over the schools will result, and that educational standards will deteriorate. Critics of this argument, particularly the deans of the medical schools, who have been overwhelmingly in favor of Federal aid, point out that the schools are already receiving large grants for research and these have resulted in no Federal control. Some observers attribute organized medicine's attitude to a fear that medical education subsidies would constitute a further acknowledgment of Federal responsibility in providing medical care and thus pave the way for socialized medicine. And perhaps the AMA fears loss of some of its present power to influence the size of medical school enrollment.

Furthermore the AMA contends that adequate support for medical education may be had from voluntary sources, that the availability of such sources has not been fully explored, and that Federal subsidies would discourage the development of private support. The AMA has supported the efforts of the National Fund for Medical Education in obtaining contributions from private and corporate sources. And in 1951 the association announced the formation of its own American Medical Education Foundation to aid the National Fund. The foundation has received large amounts from the AMA and its constituent and component societies, as well as individual physicians. Critics charge that the fund is a mere diversionary action to shift attention from the need for Federal aid, and is sure to be inadequate to meet the annual deficits of the medical schools. Indeed, while estimates of medical school needs above present income range from $10 million to $40 million annually, the fund contributed less than $2 million in 1953. However, the AMA claims that private contributions can provide a solution to the financial crisis facing medical education.

Federal Health Services

United States Public Health Service: Many Federal health measures are carried out through grants-in-aid whereby the Public Health Service is responsible only for overall administration, with most discretionary authority being delegated to the States. But the Service itself directly administers numerous programs. Many of these are old-line public-health functions such as vital statistics, pollution control, and international quarantine. In addition, the Service now operates direct programs for the treatment of narcotic addicts, employees of certain governmental services, and seamen, and for the provision of a wide variety of other health services. The development of such projects has not met with the opposition from

organized medicine that have some of the grant proposals. Most Public Health Service programs are of a limited nature, not competitive with private practitioners.

Military and veterans' medicine: During World War II, Congress instituted an emergency maternal and infant care program to provide medical care for servicemen's wives and children. Although the AMA endorsed the program it opposed direct EMIC cash payments to participating physicians, and some medical societies refused to cooperate unless payments were made to servicemen's wives. Today, the national organization is resisting efforts to revive any form of EMIC. Servicemen's dependents can now receive medical care in military hospitals on the post provided there is sufficient capacity. Families not living within range of the post hospital must arrange and pay for treatment on their own. A series of recent bills introduced to provide off-the-post care has been unsuccessful and the AMA no longer fears the likelihood of a broader EMIC program.

Ever since the establishment of governmental medical services for World War I veterans the AMA has consistently led efforts to block the extension of Veterans' Administration care to include non-service-connected disabilities. Under present law VA hospitals are permitted to care for such cases to the limit of available beds and if the recipient cannot defray the expense of private treatment.

The VA's intensive hospital construction program is constantly increasing available facilities. During its campaign against compulsory health insurance, the AMA, not wishing to alienate the American Legion, softpedalled its opposition to the growth of VA medicine. But more recently, organized medicine has opposed further construction of VA hospitals and urged that treatment even of service-incurred disabilities be kept within the limits of existing facilities. The AMA is against any Federal care of non-service-connected disabilities; it advocates State or local care for veterans unable to pay for private care. In lieu of this, however, it has urged a more exacting means test to disqualify financially able veterans. Of 24 bills concerning veterans' medicine pending in the 1954 Congress, the AMA as announced its active approval of only 1—a bill to investigate the VA.

Compulsory Health Insurance

Federal health insurance proposals were a culmination of two lines of development: The recognition of the insurance principle as adaptable to meeting medical costs, and the increasing scope of governmental interest and participation in the provision of medical care. The public and many individual doctors have accepted both patterns, often from direct contact with voluntary prepayment schemes on the one hand, and with State and Federal health services for fractional segments of the population on the other. Organized medicine has generally resisted each of these developments. However, these encounters with innovation seem but skirmishes in comparison to the bitter struggle which followed the merging of the two lines into compulsory health insurance.

Development of a national health program: While prepaid governmental medical care has become a major issue in this country only recently, European experiences stimulated some mild interest here nearly 40 years ago. The AMA at this time received reports from abroad with equanimity and began to consider the possibility of adopting such programs in the United States. But by 1920 its position was clearly one of opposition to Government controlled or regulated medical service. In 1932 the majority report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care indicated tentative approval of tax-supported health insurance, and received wide attention in medical circles. It was in 1935 that the New Deal became interested in the passage of a health-insurance law as part of the social-security program. By 1938 the issue of compulsory health insurance had assumed more threatening proportions for the AMA. The President's Technical Committee on Medical Care, appointed to study the 1935 Social Security Act, recommended a program of medical care and sickness insurance. In an address to the Congress, President Roosevelt asserted that medical care for the people was a matter of public concern.

At this point the AMA abandoned its resistance to the insurance principle for meeting the costs of medical care. The issue became whether medical society or governmental auspices for health insurance provided the best solution. Organized medicine opposed anything which might divest it of any part of its control over medical services.

The first serious legislative proposal for a national health program was introduced by Senator Robert Wagner, of New York, in 1939. It followed closely the program of the President's Technical Committee and provided for grants-in-aid to the States to enable them to develop plans of their own choosing—subject to basic standards set by the Federal Government. Despite a favorable interim report from the subcommittee which studied the bill, the AMA's own study committee submitted 22 distinct arguments against it and no further action was taken. The next significant health measure was the first Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill of 1943. This provided for a Federal system of medical and hospital benefits, with medical care payments from a fund composed of equal payroll contributions from employer and employee. Senator Wagner denied that the bill would socialize the medical profession, pointing to provisions maintaining the doctor's freedom to remain outside the program, to choose his own patients, and to determine by what method he should be paid. However, the bill provided that each patient could select the doctor of his choice only from participating physicians. Moreover, the Surgeon General was given extensive powers to set fee schedules and limit the size of the doctor's panel of patients. These proposals brought forth violent reaction from organized medicine and the bill died in committee. A similar Wagner-Murray-Dingell proposal followed President Truman's special message to Congress in November 1945, but even with outspoken administration support the bill was no more successful than its predecessor.

In 1946 and 1947, however, Senator Robert A. Taft sponsored an alternative measure to the administration's program. The Taft bill, instead of health insurance, proposed locally-administered Federal subsidies to the States to assist "those families and individuals in the State having insufficient income to pay the whole cost of" health services. The AMA did not react unfavorably, but fearing the possibility of lay administration at the local level, it was unenthusiastic. Also in 1947 the newly-elected Republican Congress considered a significantly modified Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. Conforming to criticism of the earlier bills, the sponsors assigned the duties formerly designated for the Surgeon General to a 5-man board in the Federal Security Agency, and control of the proposed program was further decentralized; but more services were offered, and more groups were covered.

The last major administration health insurance bill was inspired by the Ewing report of 1948. This report endorsed a national health program and was instrumental in the identification of its author with compulsory health insurance. Ewing's proposals received the full backing of President Truman in the 1948 presidential campaign. AMA anxiety was heightened by the election returns and the prompt introduction in January, 1949, of a bill similar to the 1947 Wagner-Murray-Dingell proposal.

AMA tactics of opposition: Organized medicine's earlier attempts to block the passage of compulsory health insurance displayed an essentially ad hoc approach. The earliest proposals for national health insurance required little more than vocal opposition by medical spokesmen. With the introduction of Senator Wagner's 1939 bill, however, the AMA and many State societies intensified their campaign against Government medicine. The AMA's cause was almost entirely taken up by the newly formed National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, which served as the propaganda arm of organized medicine. Although the AMA denied any official connection with this organization, the NPC was headed by AMA members and supported by its fund-raising machinery. For nearly 10 years the AMA itself confined its official opposition to State insurance to public addresses, to editorials in the Journal, resolutions in the House of Delegates, and testimony before legislative committees.

The NPC undertook organized medicine's first concerted effort to influence public opinion. Working largely through doctors, the committee is reported to have distributed 25 million pamphlets. But the occasional crudeness of its methods reduced its effectiveness. In 1948 the press protested the NPC's "attempt to buy editorial opinion" through a $3,000 prize offered for the best published antinational health insurance cartoon. And when the NPC distributed copies of a letter signed by "Reverend" Dan Gilbert, editor of the notorious Defender and former associate of Silver Shirt Gerald Winrod, severe criticism from AMA members followed. By the end of 1948 the NPC's utility as a rallying point for organized medicine was negligible.

Similarly, Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the Journal and the recognized spokesman for organized medicine had become the symbol of old reactionary leadership in the profession, at a time when favorable public opinion was becoming increasingly important. The AMA's decision in 1946 to hire a special public relations counsel was an important step officially taken to curtail Fishbein's activities. Finally, in 1949, the board of trustees announced the retirement of Dr. Fishbein after 37 years of devoted service.

By the end of 1948 it was apparent to AMA leadership that a more positive and drastic program was needed to forestall the enactment of compulsory health insurance. The Ewing report, followed by the Democratic victories in the fall, increased the likelihood that Congress would pass a national health program. Moreover, the new British experiment in socialized medicine had fostered public interest and discussion concerning the adoption of a similar program in the United States. The discrediting of the National Physicians Committee and the retirement of Dr. Fishbein cleared the road for new, more effective opposition techniques.

The interim session of the house of delegates convened in St. Louis the month following the November elections in a spirit of great urgency. The delegates voted to assess each AMA member $25 to build a $3,500,000 political war chest to fight socialized medicine. Despite considerable adverse criticism from members the AMA went ahead with plans for an enlarged Washington office and an advertising campaign to educate the American people. And it soon announced that its national education campaign would be conducted by the public relations firm of Whitaker & Baxter.

The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine—Part VIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows part VIII of the American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine:

The experts whom the AMA chose to lead its campaign were already well known for their successes in California politics. Chief among these was their victory, on behalf of the California Medical Association, over Governor Warren's proposal for statewide compulsory health insurance. Whitaker & Baxter were called in immediately after Governor Warren announced his legislative program in January 1945. In accordance with the procedure they had evolved for short, urgent campaigns, they "started at the top and worked down." They obtained public endorsement from the leaders of more than 100 State organizations, enlisted the support of more than 200 newspapers, made speeches to some 9,000 physicians, and induced doctors, druggists, insurance executives, and dentists to speak to hundreds of thought leaders. A statewide Voluntary Health Insurance Week promoted membership in the society-sponsored California Physicians Service. Medical groups bought 40,000 inches of paid advertisements, and sympathetic merchants another 30,000. At the end of 3 months, Warren's bill was defeated by 1 vote. In 1947 a similar bill failed by a wider margin, and today State health insurance is given little or no chance of passage in California.

The Chicago office of the AMA's national education campaign, with a staff of 37, was established in January 1949. To overcome opposition from within the profession to the campaign and its $25 assessment, public-speaking tours and circulars were successfully employed and intense doctor support was stimulated. During the first year of the campaign all but a few members displayed posters and nearly 20 million pamphlets were distributed to patients; Congressmen were contacted by their personal physicians and urged to support AMA views. A campaign blueprint published in February indicated that the first year's strategy would be to mobilize lay group leaders who, in turn, would urge the membership of their groups to back the AMA in communications to legislators.

By December 1949, the national education campaign headquarters reported that it had the public endorsement of 1,829 separate organizations, ranging in size from a few to more than 5 million members. In addition nearly 55 million pieces of literature had been distributed to an estimated 100 million people at a cost of more than $1 million. Traveling press representatives and selected spokesmen operating through speakers bureaus, and 250,000 physicians, druggists, and insurance men under less formal organization, had spoken, written, and distributed AMA material. Half of the first year's budget was allocated to defense and attack, the other half to extending and improving the services of the voluntary health insurance system. The latter was to be organized medicine's affirmative answer to the Ewing program. Insurance companies and doctors were urged to promote the sale of voluntary health insurance policies under the slogan "The voluntary way is the American way." The rate of enrollment in 1949 was nearly 1 million each month.

The national education campaign soon produced a marked effect. Former congressional supporters of the President's plan began to withdraw their backing, and by November many sponsors conceded that there was no hope of enacting any health insurance law in the first session of the 81st Congress.

Realizing that its 1949 success provided only temporary respite, organized medicine planned its 1950 campaign to end conclusively the threat of national health insurance. The house of delegates, in December 1949, voted to impose permanent yearly dues of $25 for all AMA members. There were fringe bills to defeat and, most important, there was a decisive congressional election to be won.

Much of the strategy of the 1950 campaign was a continuation of the previous year's blueprint. Furthermore, an intensive 2-week advertising campaign was timed to influence the congressional elections. $1,100,000 was set aside—one-half for newspaper advertisements and the remainder equally divided for radio time and magazine space—to arouse public opposition to compulsory health insurance.

Since the AMA could not openly endorse any candidates, it urged individual members to engage in political action supplementary to the national education campaign. Member doctors formed healing arts or medical-dental committees to help defeat supporters of national health insurance. Previous experience in special elections had demonstrated the effectiveness of such committees. During the 1949 election in the 26th Pennsylvania Congressional District the healing arts committees mailed more than 190,000 letters, made more than 120,000 personal telephone calls, placed a series of 12 advertisements in every newspaper in the district, and purchased radio time to urge the election of JOHN P. SAYLOR and the defeat of his Democratic opponent, who had endorsed the President's program. The total vote approached the district's turnout for the 1948 Presidential election and more than 20,000 Democrats switched their votes to elect SAYLOR.

During the 1950 campaign, doctors in many congressional districts formed their own political committees. In Wisconsin, the Physicians for Freedom helped to defeat Representative Andrew Biemiller through posters, advertisements, and campaign literature included with monthly bills to patients. In Florida, similar tactics were used against Senator Claude Pepper in his unsuccessful bid for renomination. Tallahassee hospital patients received breakfast trays upon which were placed cards reading, "This is the season for canning Pepper." And in Ohio the Physicians Committee for Taft was politically active in enlisting support.

The national education campaign and the healing arts committees were rewarded by the election returns. Some of national health insurance's most active supporters were defeated. The president of the AMA called the results very reassuring and announced to the House of Delegates that in the light of the recent campaign any compulsory health insurance bill in Congress today would go down to defeat by at least a 2-to-1 vote.

Despite the fact that national health insurance seems a dead issue, organized medicine has maintained a continuing interest in political affairs. The Democratic platform in 1952 made no mention of national health insurance. Governor Stevenson stated his opposition to such a plan but commented on the need for assistance in financing the costs of illness. The Republican platform unequivocally stated opposition to Federal health insurance and General Eisenhower left no doubt that he was opposed to socialized medicine. A nonpartisan organization, the AMA took no official sides. But by October a National Professional Committee for Eisenhower and Nixon was mailing letters from the National Education Campaign's former address, urging that medical and related groups support the Republican ticket. The letterhead featured the names of former AMA presidents Henderson as chairman, and Cline and Irons as vice chairmen, as well as Whitaker and Baxter.

Since the defeat of the Truman-Ewing plan, controversy concerning the role of the Federal Government in the health-insurance field has centered around proposals to aid voluntary projects. The Magnuson report, prepared by President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, recommended Federal grants to subsidize either these plans or potential subscribers having low incomes. In a 1954 message to Congress, President Eisenhower advocated a different measure: Federal "reinsurance" of voluntary plans. At present, most voluntary schemes place a limit upon the protection given their subscribers. This leaves the cost of catastrophic illness to be borne largely by the individual. Under reinsurance the Federal Government, in return for premiums received from the plans, would insure against claims over a certain figure so that coverage could be extended to include high-cost services. The AMA opposed the Magnuson recommendations because they called for Government subsidies. They have similarly condemned reinsurance, fearing that it might lead to subsidization and constitute an "opening wedge to socialized medicine.

Throughout its recent campaign to halt governmental inroads into medical affairs the AMA has adopted an essentially emotional approach. The basic issues are obscured by the AMA's use of catch phrases, like "socialized medicine," and such devices as mass distribution of the famous Sir Luke Fildes painting, "The Doctor," captioned "Keep politics out of this picture." Organized medicine's counterproposals, advocating local controls or private, voluntary remedies, often provide inadequate or partial solutions. By presenting the profession's views realistically, the AMA's campaign against Government health programs could lead to enlightened discussion of the merits rather than exchange of invective.

LIMITATIONS ON AMA POWER

No other voluntary association commands such power within its area of interest as does the AMA. It holds a position of authority over the individual doctor, wields a determining voice in medical education, controls the conditions of practice, and occupies a unique position of influence in shaping Government health policies. Despite the dangers inherent in such a concentration of power, no interest group enjoys more freedom from formal control than organized medicine. The individual physician, subjected to disciplinary authority of the medical society in his local community, has little redress outside the framework of organized medicine. Courts, comparing society membership to affiliation in fraternal or benevolent organizations, find that expulsion or denial of membership deprives the doctor of no property right, and are reluctant to interfere unless the society's own prescribed formalities were not observed. Even if the scope of judicial review encompassed an examination of the merits, and resulted in admission or reinstatement of unreasonably disciplined physicians, the remedy might still be of little use. Legal process cannot prevent informal sanctions and ostracism. And within the framework of organized medicine, the doctor who challenges AMA authority to determine his method of practice is tried and judged by his fellow physicians who may have an economic interest in proscribing his allegedly offensive conduct.

Moreover, while the disapproved prepaid medical service plan is better able to cope with some of organized medicine's weapons, the legal protections available to it are probably inadequate. True, in *American Medical Association* v. *United States*, the Supreme Court held organized medicine in violation of the Sherman Act for its conspiracy to destroy Group Health Association in Washington, D. C. The Court viewed the furnishing of prepaid health services as a trade or business within the scope of the antitrust laws. It found the conduct of group health doctors to be prohibited by the principles of medical ethics, but refused to give legal status to the principles by holding that the societies' attempt to enforce them constituted a restraint. However, the Government was not required to show an effect upon interstate commerce; this case was brought under the Sherman Act's section 3, which regulates activities within the District of Columbia.

United States v. *Oregon State Medical Society* demonstrates the practical difficulty of such an action under sections 1 and 2. There, nonmedical society plans and organized medicine had been engaged in a bitter "tooth-and-claw struggle." One charge, alleging a conspiracy to restrain competition between several medical society sponsored plans, was dismissed because these plans did not operate across State lines. The other charge, alleging conspiracy by organized medicine to destroy private plans which were operating across State lines, was dismissed for failure of proof, thus avoiding the necessity for deciding the question of interstate commerce. Even if interstate commerce had been involved here, the commerce clause remains an obstacle to Sherman Act relief; practically all other private plans operate within the confines of a single State. Local sponsorship of such groups plus variations in restrictive State medical service acts have prevented expansion into neighboring States.

Actions such as *Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound* v. *King County Medical Society*, brought under the Washington State constitution, do not encounter this problem. However, State courts may not construe antimonopoly provisions as broadly as did the Washington supreme court. And, most important, in a majority of States medical societies have obtained restrictive legislation which makes their plans legal monopolies.

Perhaps the major obstacle to antitrust prosecution under either State or Federal law is the difficulty of proving a conspiracy. The District of Columbia and Washington State cases were characterized by such acts as expulsion and denial of hospital facilities. But in the Oregon case, medical societies had abandoned such tactics in 1941, 7 years before the action was brought. Recently, organized medicine has conveyed veiled threats to doctors participating in disapproved plans by outspoken condemnation of such plans in ethical terms. Such indirect, less overt opposition probably discourages physicians from affiliating with disapproved plans, but is less susceptible to antitrust prosecution.

Perhaps a more effective limitation on the power of organized medicine stems from developments in medical technology and public demand for more medical care. The growth of group practice has been inevitable, despite AMA discouragement, because of advances in medical science, increased specialization, and interdependence among doctors. And increased public awareness of the necessity for more frequent and complete medical attention has created an incentive to provide medical services under systems which encourage lower costs, facilitate budgeting, and utilize governmental assistance. These tendencies constitute an underlying limitation on organized medicine's ability to control the development of medical practice.

CONCLUSION

To protect the individual doctor from unreasonable exercise of organized medicine's authority, the crucial importance of society membership should be deemphasized. This approach would mitigate the severe consequences of the medical society's disciplinary powers. Dissident physicians might better be able to resist AMA views if, for example, Government and specialty board appointments were not dependent upon membership. The societies' power to punish serious medical offenses would be weakened, but the medical practice acts can afford the public adequate protection. And revocation or suspension of licensure, unlike medical society disciplinary action, is subject to the impartial scrutiny of judicial review.

Perhaps the most effective method of deemphasizing membership would be in insure availability of hospital privileges to nonmembers. Montana has achieved this through legislation prohibiting discrimination by hospitals against any licensed physician. If he is qualified to practice under State law, the Montana doctor may send his patient to any hospital. This type of provision might require qualification in teaching hospitals and in urban areas where variations in the desirability of hospitals would necessitate some limitation on use of facilities. However, its primary effect is to remove organized medicine's coercive power over doctors without impairing professional standards.

Secondly, to promote greater responsiveness to the public's medical requirements, organized medicine should be divested of its control over the Nation's supply of doctors. Presently the AMA sets educational standards and the State societies dominate licensing boards. It is desirable that agencies composed of physicians control qualifications for admission. But organized medicine's resulting power over supply can be diminished without sacrificing the quality of a doctor's training. Existing high AMA standards, combined with lack of funds, impose a practical limitation upon the number of M. D.'s graduated each year. The doctor supply, so crucial to the Nation's well-being, should not hinge upon the financial condition of medical schools. Federal aid to medical education would help divorce the size of classes from standards of quality. AMA power to set educational requirements and to inspect schools would not be impaired. But the public's need for physicians, rather than financial considerations, would determine our doctor resources.

Organized medicine also exercises quasi-legal authority over the formation of health insurance plans. To foster the development of new methods for providing low-cost prepaid care legislatures should divest the State societies of this control. State statutes requiring approval or participation by the medical society or a majority of doctors have foreclosed experimentation in solving pressing medico-economic problems. No existing plan, irrespective of sponsorship, satisfies all requirements. Variations among the needs and financial capacity of medical consumers necessitate different types of practice, coverage, and sponsorship. While indemnity insurance against hospitalization and surgical costs may be adequate for some, comprehensive coverage under group practice may be highly desirable for others. Independent groups of doctors, cooperatives, unions, and employers—as well as the medical societies—should be free to work out their own solutions. Governmental assistance to plans or low-income subscribers may also be required.

The Illinois Voluntary Health Services Plans Act of 1951 is a unique example of progressive health insurance legislation. This statute enables the formation of nonprofit medical service plans under consumer sponsorship. Thirty percent of the trustees of such groups must be licensed physicians; doctor representation is assured, but lay control is permitted. Group practice is facilitated because there is no requirement that all or a majority of doctors in the area participate. The Illinois State Medical Society assisted in securing the passage of this legislation. But other medical societies have not been so forward looking.

Finally, there is a range of activity which external restraints upon organized medicine cannot reach. Certainly no legislation can require the AMA to provide a forum for dissenting opinion. But so long as conflicting viewpoints are sidetracked at the lower levels and denied space in the Journal, the AMA cannot accurately claim to speak for the profession. Similarly, no legislation can prevent organized medicine from prejudging new ideas and disparaging them in evasive ethical terms. In the past, the AMA has condemned as unethical various medical practices which it now approves and advocates; the "principles," as interpreted by the medical societies, are not unchanging. And until organized medicine meets questions of medical economics in terms of the real issues, it will not contribute to the solution of current problems. New ideas which the association has accepted have been forced upon it; by assuming leadership in experimentation with unproved systems of practice and payment, the AMA could become an instrument of progress.

Antarctica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, from explorations made by citizens of this country in the Antarctic, there is no question but what, if followed up, the claim of the United States to large areas of this great continent would be recognized. If we do nothing about it, time will obliterate any claims we have. I desire to present herewith an article by Miss E. A. Kendall, of Chevy Chase, Md., which appeared in the Wall Street Journal under date of January 5, 1955:

INTO ANTARCTICA

EDITOR, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL:

The recent column (December 28) by Mr. Chamberlin quoting Herbert Hoover's splendid words about nationalism and patriotism, and the tone of some letters from your readers at times, would seem to indicate that there is considerable thought nowadays about whether or not this Nation is behaving as a sovereign nation. At this point this is a most healthy trend, for it often appears (judging from our statesmen's attitudes and actions) that perhaps we are not much longer to be a sovereign nation. Let us hope this is merely surface appearance. Deep down we all know that a sincere nationalism treated always with altruism and common sense can be all to the good, both for ourselves and for our neighbors everywhere.

I should here like to comment apropos of this, and most urgently, that there is one step probably we should take at once in the role of a sovereign nation. I speak of the matter of claiming our rightful territory in Antarctica. Taxayers with whom I have talked about this feel that there is no overriding reason for delay in making land

claims. The Antarctic Continent is almost 6 million square miles in area and obviously whatever countries are interested in development of minerals and ocean products thereabouts will find that there is room for each one in proportion to her earnest activity and attention. It is to be hoped that decency and love of freedom will prevail in such activity and attention. Ten percent of the planet's land surface is in question. Profound study of any complications in its development, whether political, economic, physical, or psychological is in order. And, as a taxpayer, I consider this one of the most urgent problems for our Nation to handle. Congress has had measures in pigeonholes and these may well be brought next session into the full light of public attention. The whole citizenry, it would seem, should have knowledge and a part in decisions of what to do about Antarctica. It is no small matter and no thing that we can postpone indefinitely. We can and should act as a sovereign nation with the kind of nationalism and patriotism that has proven of value to us and to the whole world through us.

E. A. KENDALL.

CHEVY CHASE, MD.

Paper Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Paper Revolution," which appeared in the February 27, 1955, issue of the Park City Daily News of Bowling Green, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

PAPER REVOLUTION

We hear a lot of talk about the industrial revolution that started us on the path we are traveling today at such breakneck speed. But we do not hear enough about the paper revolution that went right along with it.

If you asked them, most people probably would say the steel mill stack or the electric dynamo was the perfect symbol of our civilization. But maybe it ought to be the filing cabinet. Or the wastebasket.

In and out of our offices (not to mention our homes) pours a torrent of paper—letters, reports, appeals, advertising material, documents, and so on.

This deluge of white stuff is almost overwhelming at times. After the material is shuffled about for awhile, it usually heads for one of two destinations—the basket or the file cabinet. Some of the toughest decisions in government and business hinge on which place to pitch a paper you hold in your hand.

The school of thought that automatically thinks "file it" is the right choice evidently believes we're living in such a marvelous age that nothing ever recorded on paper should ever be destroyed.

At the other end of the scale are those who seem to figure that so much happens every day that nobody will care much what occurred a week or two back. They're the wastebasket feeders.

Recently the new Hoover Commission had occasion to report on the paper flood as it affects government. What the Commission found was pretty staggering. The Federal Establishment creates or handles about 25 billion pieces of paper a year, not counting untold tons of pamphlets, technical manuscripts, and so on. Wastepaper consequently is the largest item shipped out of Washington for industrial use.

Office space for the 750,000 workers engaged in full-time paper handling—one way or another—is equal to 36 Empire State buildings. The space required for the 24 million cubic feet of Federal records equals 7 Pentagons.

The Commission estimates all this costs the Government $4 billion a year. And this averages out to $100 in taxes for a family of four.

The investigators thought about $255 million savings might be managed on paperwork. Not a paltry sum, yet hardly large enough to suggest great confidence that the paper snowstorm can be reduced to harmless flurries.

The cost is only one sad aspect of this thing. Think of all those trees.

Mexican Press Shouts Praise of Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of February 17, 1955:

MEXICAN PRESS SHOUTS PRAISE OF NIXON

(By David Hellyer, Inter-American Affairs Editor)

The reception accorded Vice President and Mrs. Nixon and their party in the Mexican capital went way beyond the bounds of mere protocol. A courteous reception usually is guaranteed all visiting diplomats. But such a tumultous, spontaneous, and joyous welcome, stemming from the grassroots, and reflected in the plaudits of the nation's press—this is something different.

Press reaction in Mexico is significant. Sentiments expressed by the capital newspapers usually mirror accurately the sentiments of Mexico's Government leaders. Thus it is interesting to note the markedly friendly reaction in two of the capital's principal dailies, Excelsior and Novedades.

Calling NIXON a great and sincere friend of Mexico, and referring to Mrs. Nixon as a charming lady, Novedades said in a front-page editorial:

"We must say, loudly, that this eminent ambassador of friendship which the United States has sent us has made a definite impact on the heart of Mexico, and has inspired the confidence of our people.

In visiting Mexico's famed Basilica of Guadalupe, the Vice President endeared himself even more firmly. Both newspapers commented editorially on the visit. Excelsior quoted NIXON as saying on the occasion: "Fortunately, the peoples of the United States and Mexico have in common the conviction that man does not live by bread alone, but must also elevate his spirit toward God."

This statement hit the heart of the Mexican people, who are deeply religious. Commented Excelsior: "It is very satisfying to thus confirm that North America's leadership understands the way of life of our people. • • • It is this understanding and mutual respect on which is built authentic and lasting friendship between the United States and Mexico."

NIXON's natural personal warmth won him hosts of friends among the Mexican people. Too often our diplomats and leaders have kept themselves aloof, either because they have felt unsure of themselves, or out of an ill-concealed sense of superiority. NIXON's ingenuous readiness to shake hands with every comer thus was a refreshing change from the coldness to which many had become accustomed.

Nor did the Vice President lose any friends for the United States with his statement of frank admiration for President Ruiz Cortines. After 3 or 4 hours of cordial visiting with Mexico's Chief Executive, NIXON termed Ruiz Cortines one of the great national leaders of this age. This is an appraisal on which many agree, both within Mexico and outside it, and was not mere political sugar talk.

The Vice President again is proving to be a great statesman.

The Nixon visit to Mexico will go down in both Mexican and United States history as a major contribution to lasting understanding between our peoples, and as a master stroke in United States diplomacy.

Radio Report by Hon. George S. Long to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address delivered by me over station KALB, Alexandria, La.:

Ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience, this is your Congressman GEORGE S. LONG speaking to you from Washington, D. C., by tape recording.

A great deal of discussion has been had through the newspapers and by various individuals regarding the salary raise just voted to the Congressmen, Senators, and Federal judges. Inasmuch as it concerns me, your Congressman, I shall devote a brief part of this talk to discussing this subject. In the first place, this is the first salary raise that the Congress has had for many, many years. Like all others, the Congressmen's expenses have increased year by year. I have been in Congress now for almost 3 years and on the present salary have not been able to save $1. To the contrary, I have used money derived from other sources to help bolster my expenses in order that I might stay in Congress and represent you.

Briefly, may I say that I have to keep 2 homes—1 in the District and 1 in Washington. While I do not entertain a great deal, I do entertain some of those coming to Washington on business. I felt that a salary raise was due; I voted for it honestly. I have only this to say to my constituents. You have 2 years now in which to watch my work and see if you think I am worth the salary I am receiving.

At the end of 2 years, if you do not feel I am worth the money, then this will afford you the opportunity to select a man who is. May I say with all candor that you do not need a cheap man in Congress. You need one who is worth the salary he will receive and if I am not that man, I shall find no fault with you should you elect someone else to serve in my stead.

On Thursday, February 24, the United States House of Representatives was again

considering legislation designed to provide tax relief for our taxpayers. The bill, H. R. 4259, was sponsored by the Democrats and, unlike last year's Republican-sponsored bill which gave relief only to the favored wealthy, this bill will provide, among other things, a $20 credit against the individual income tax for each personal exemption. It goes right home to the individual taxpayer whether he be wealthy or poor.

I recall that last year I tried to get the tax exemption for each individual raised from the $600 allowed to $1,000. This was blocked, and the figure was lowered to $900. This, too, failed and an exemption of $700 was sought. The Republicans opposed even that small relief for our taxpayers and the bill they forced through Congress bypassed the little man completely.

That bill, H. R. 8300, can be explained this way. In our area in Louisiana we have a lot of people who work with their hands and who earn $3,000 and less. Take a man with a family who earns $3,500 farming. He works with his hands 12 months in the year. His wife works, and all of his children work. They make $3,500 in 12 months—if they are lucky. His tax under this bill approximately is $60. But take the man who uses 12 minutes of his time, instead of 12 months. A man who clips bond coupons in the amount of $3,500—his tax is in the neighborhood of $20. Now have you helped the little man or have you helped the big man? Those are the facts.

Last year's tax bill contained 875 pages. On every page you find help for the big taxpayer. On every page he turns, he finds a golden nugget which takes care of him. But for the little fellow in the low brackets you might just as well send him a Sears Roebuck catalog, which would do him more good than this bill, H. R. 8300, did for him. Republicans say that this $20 tax reduction will not do anyone any good and that it is a phony. A $20 bill, my friends, is never a phony. You will find that one $20 bill will buy just as much food for empty stomachs as another. Twenty dollars is $20 in anybody's language. This is not just $20 to the taxpayer. His wife gets $20 and each of the children get $20. A family of 5 get $100.

The Republicans say this is politics. You bet this is politics. H. R. 8300 was politics. That was Republican politics and it did not help the little man in this Nation. But now this is politics, too—this is Democratic politics that believes in filling the stomachs of the hungry people of America. While I admit that $20 is very small, it goes to every man, woman, and dependent in this great Nation of ours. This will bolster the economy of this country and will put purchasing power in the hands of the people. This is an extra $20 that all of us will have to spend. We do not hesitate to give relief to other nations when they are in need. Then why in all good reason should we not give relief at home? Let me repeat, the only thing wrong with this tax cut, it is not enough.

I was very pleased when this tax-relief bill passed the House on Friday, February 25, despite the opposition of the Republicans. I am pleased because it is a definite step in the right direction. While small, it begins the journey which I hope will lead us to greater tax relief.

In my humble opinion, we must have relief from the burdensome taxes we are now paying. This small cut that we are making now could be easily cared for by just a little of the money being curtailed that we are giving to the foreign-aid program.

Thank you for allowing me the privilege of coming into your home, and may God bless you.

William Wallace Royster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a letter from Mr. Gottfrid Lindsten, of Minneapolis, Minn., commending Mr. William Wallace Royster, a former Soo Line locomotive engineer, for originating the basis and essentials of the railroad pension law, and extending congratulations to him on reaching the age of 83 years.

Mr. Lindsten's letter follows:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *February 12, 1955.*

Hon. ROY W. WIER,
Representative in Congress,
Third Minnesota District,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WIER: May I take this occasion to remind you once again that March 7 is just around the corner, and I trust that I and thousands of more railroad employees here in the upper Midwest can prevail upon you to join with us in paying homage and our deep respect and reverance to a man whose birthday always will be an important milestone in the hearts and minds of thousands and thousands of railroad employees for whom he strove so long and arduously to bring a little security into the future for us oldtimers on the rails.

William Wallace Royster resides in Vallejo, Calif. He will be 83 years of age on March 7, 1955. The Board of County Commissioners of Pope County, Minn., appropriately recognized the monumental work of their former resident of Glenwood, Minn., through assigning an excellent space in the main lobby of the courthouse in the county seat, Glenwood, for the bronze plaque memorializing Mr. Royster, following an impressive dedication and unveiling ceremony in the high school there September 27, 1952.

The plaque was largely purchased through voluntary subscriptions of railroad employees. A few weekly newspapers in Minnesota, including the dailies, the Minneapolis Star and the Vallejo, Calif., Times-Herald, published excellent articles re: the Royster railroad pension plan project and efforts extended by him in the development of the plan, and the memorial to him now erected in the courthouse in Glenwood, Minn. Aside from this press recognition, I do not recall of any national press recognition being given Mr. Royster, except in a limited way when President Roosevelt was photographed with a group of railroad brotherhood officials when he signed the Railroad Retirement Act, which photographic cut appeared in the railroad union's weekly Labor. The cut included Mr. Royster of the National Pension Association.

Some time ago, a young switchman in the St. Paul Union Depot Co. yard, observed to me that he thought "the Government gave the pension to the railroad employees." This must be the reaction of thousands upon thousands of railroad employees in this country who do not know how the railroad pension law originated, nor its procedural enactment. The Government, incidentally, does not finance the railroad retirement pension, this being done by the carriers, the employees, on an equal contributional basis.

Quite naturally, many railroad employees who knew Mr. Royster, or about him and his masterful pension work, revere their great benefactor. The large balance of railroad employees, with newer employees in mind, have not had the benefit of a public relations expert to publicize the Royster pension project. Aside from the devoted, informed, he is literally unhonored and unsung. This would appear incomprehensible, considering his contribution to a pension system—outstanding welfare measure of its type, so beneficial and utterly necessary that its value cannot be over-estimated or over-emphasized.

An appropriate congressional resolution for the official record indicative of the Royster pension achievement would, per se., be an unparalleled recognition of his work.

I have conferred with the Honorable JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR., Member of Congress, Sixth California District, in which district Mr. William Wallace Royster resides at 2 Short Street, Vallejo, Calif., regarding a congressional resolution as afore discussed. Perhaps a joint effort could be established in the premises as pertains to such resolution.

Thanking you for your interest, I am

Respectfully yours,

GOTTFRID LINDSTEN.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT: AN APPRECIATION

Numerous railroad employees, especially those of more recent carrier employment connection, are unaware of the origin of the concept of the railroad pension plan as developed through the indefatigable efforts and applied genius of William Wallace Royster, a former Soo Line locomotive engineer in Minnesota, now retired and residing in California. Old timers express the deepest and most heartfelt gratitude for Royster's successful crusade in behalf of retirement pensions for railroad employees. The project, forerunner of the present Federal pension law—Railroad Retirement Act—formulated by William Wallace Royster, working until early hours in the morning at his home in Glenwood, Minn., after completing his run, represents the outstanding achievement of this type in our national railroad annals.

Essentials of the pension plan were developed by Royster in 1928. Various railroads afforded a gratuity pension to such employees as management deemed worthy. The pensions could be terminated at will by the carriers. Obviously, too, discrimination could be evidenced. Royster's formal pension plan of February, 1929, later printed in pamphlet form—copies lodged with the Minnesota Historical Society and the Smithsonian Institute Washington D. C., eliminated injustice incident to gratuity pensions, and made it compulsory to pay a pension to any qualified employee.

Equal carrier-employee pension contribution obtains in the present Railroad Retirement Act, which sustains the fund and administration thereof.

Royster's plan met with spontaneous rank and file response. Enthusiastic "rails" rallied nationwide to Royster's pension crusade, despite some railroad brotherhood officialdom opposition. Subsequently, accord was attained between both groups as in requesting congressional support for the joint proposed pension law, which assistance was procured, defects in the first enactment being corrected in a later enactment, signed by President Franklin Roosevelt. The organic act represents the first plan for providing a retirement pension for industrial employees ever offered in the United States of America, becoming a Federal law before

legislation for the Social Security Act was was submitted as a bill in Congress.

"Rails" salute William Wallace Royster, intellectual pioneer of their large group and time, a benign personality, preeminent benefactor of railroad employees, a real American.

Two Schools of Thought Sometimes Conflict

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TOM STEED
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, I am placing an editorial from the Oklahoma City Times in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because it deals with one of the most difficult problems in the Congress, a conflict of interest in national affairs. At a later time I may discuss again how well the advice and logic of this editorial, and others like it, has been received in the community served by this newspaper. The editorial follows:

[From the Oklahoma City Times of March 1, 1955]

TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT SOMETIMES CONFLICT

A few months ago the Denver Chamber of Commerce issued a notable declaration which said, in substance, that from now on this organization will refrain from asking for Federal funds for local improvements.

The reasons back of such a pronouncement are compelling and inescapable.

The national debt has risen to an all-time high. When President Eisenhower took office 2 years ago he expressed high hopes that this debt could be progressively reduced, and that the era of lavish Federal spending was over. The previous 20 years had been marked by reckless involvement in all kinds of Government handouts and pork-barrel projects. It was obvious that a halt had to be called, or the Nation would face the extremely serious possibility of insolvency and repudiation of its sacred obligations. In short, ruin.

President Eisenhower found, however, that a combination of factors made the economy program difficult.

First, of course, is the Federal bureaucracy which had been progressively infiltrated and dominated by the "gimme" school of thought, and that policymaking could not be taken over by elected officials. The old crowd of spenders continued to call the signals.

In the second place there are countless special-interest organizations throughout the land which continue to make Federal grabs one of their foremost objectives, and it is impossible to muster the necessary congressional support for economy when our national lawmakers are continually being prodded and needled for Federal grants in aid for local projects.

In this set of circumstances the old familiar line always appears: "The Federal Government may be going broke—it looks like it is going broke—but it continues to hand out money, and if we don't get that money someone else will; we are paying taxes to replenish the Treasury, so we had better get ours while the getting is good."

This is an insidious and seductive doctrine ("after us, the deluge"). More and more dope until the patient dies.

Is there any way of getting off the dope and embarking on a course of action that will save our children and children's children from national insolvency

The Denver Chamber of Commerce realized the potency of this question and adopted the resolution.

However, sad to relate, it wasn't long before a special appeal was made for the Federal financing of the vast Upper Colorado and Frying Pan projects in Colorado, and the chamber was put on the spot, since many leading Denver citizens demanded this pork-barrel item. It is not plain that the chamber got off the spot, but at any rate it did not rebuke this vast new raid on the public treasury.

Tomorrow, in Oklahoma City, will be held the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council—an organization aimed chiefly against governmental extravagance. In its leadership are found many men who also belong to many other civic organizations.

There is a conflict between some of the objectives.

Should communities and States demand as many Federal handouts as possible, or should they stand solidly back of the taxpayers' organizations who have frequently and forcefully demanded economy in all government—municipal, county, State, and Federal? There is the critical question. Certainly it doesn't make sense when one influential organization demands one thing and another demands the opposite, especially when memberships overlap from one into the other.

It is a hard choice that must be made, but we are repeatedly, patriotically, solemnly, and convincingly warned that if we don't "get off the dope," our country is sure to face disaster. And this process, like charity, begins at home.

Our Soldiers Convicted Under Foreign Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, we always thought the Constitution follows the flag, but that idea now is purely a myth. Congress passed an act making our soldiers subject to the laws of the country in which they are stationed.

Here is a case where a soldier assaulted a taxi driver in France and was given a 5-year sentence. In this country he would have probably been fined and perhaps given a few days jail sentence.

The following item appeared in the Washington Daily News of March 1, 1955:

The Supreme Court yesterday refused to review the case of Pfc. Richard T. Keefe, 26, formerly of 5310 Hamilton Street, Riverdale, who was sentenced to 5 years in jail in 1953 for assaulting a taxicab driver in Orleans, France. His wife, Gladys, contended that he was deprived of his rights in the French trial.

In view of the act passed by Congress, the Supreme Court could make no other decision.

Time of Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following column which appeared in the New York Post of Thursday, March 3, is worthy of our most serious consideration:

TIME OF DECISION

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

WASHINGTON.—This seems none too early to direct attention to an opportunity which, if muffed, could endanger something very vital to us and the world and something seemingly very much endowed with the hopes and ideals of the American people.

That something is the U. N., and the opportunity is to make it stronger and better. Such an opportunity will be offered this fall when the U. N. General Assembly is to decide whether to call a conference for review of the U. N. Charter and possible revision to improve the machinery for preserving peace. The charter adopted at San Francisco in 1945 provided that the General Assembly at its 10th annual session should take up the question of review and revision.

In the tumult and confusion of events in the tense times of recent months, this important decision bearing on the whole future of the U. N. has been pushed to the background. Now the date for the decision is slipping up on us.

If our Nation and the rest of the nations are to capitalize upon the opportunity, it is very clear that enthusiasm and determination must replace a presently apathetic attitude that is noticeable both in our Government and among our people. While friends of the U. N. have been passive, its enemies have been most active. They have busily exploited the frustrations natural to this unsettled and troubled era to try to weaken or destroy the international organization we created here on our soil with such high hopes.

About all that seems fairly positive now is that our government will support a U. N. review conference when the issue comes before the General Assembly in a few months. That assurance came from Secretary of State Dulles when he appeared over a year ago, January 18, 1954, before a special Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee which is exploring the whole subject of U. N. review and possible revision. At that time the Secretary said that "present indications are that a review conference will be held."

State Department officials charged with U. N. affairs are studying the possibilities of a review conference, though, it is reported, with rather a negative, pessimistic attitude because of the veto power of the permanent members of the U. N. Security Council, including ourselves, Russia, and Great Britain, which applies to proposed amendments to the charter as it applies to regular operations. A similarly discouraged attitude was manifest at the convention here this week of the American Association for the U. N. It has been one of the most active promoters of the U. N.

There are two events between now and the General Assembly meeting in New York this autumn which offer a means of generating interest, that is, if properly capitalized by our leaders.

For one, the special Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on U. N. review and re-

vision will resume hearings about the middle of next month on proposals for revision which it began over a year ago. Last year the committee visited several cities in the Middle West where scores of individuals representing all sorts of groups flocked before the committee to submit ideas about how the U. N. might be strengthened. It was a heartening demonstration.

On April 18, the committee will hold a public hearing in Atlanta, and on the next day at Miami. Thereafter it plans to visit the Pacific coast and Far West and New England for further hearings before it winds up with concluding hearings here and makes a report to the Senate.

As for the second event—in late June—there will be the celebration in San Francisco lasting for over a week of the 10th anniversary of the U. N., which was created in that city. The occasion, which will be attended by representatives of the 60 member nations, offers another opportunity for a revival of interest in the UN and ways to improve and strengthen it.

What our people need so desperately in their groping and searching for peace through improvement of the machinery embodied in the U. N. is leadership that can arouse their hope and faith and direct it.

It is equally clear that President Eisenhower, who is himself so firm an advocate of the U. N., must assume that leadership and exert it forcefully if the apathy and confusion in our government and among our people are to be dispelled. His voice carries weight also among people all over the world who, likewise, must be aroused if the U. N. is to become more useful.

We face a great opportunity which we cannot afford to forfeit to indifference, syniccism, or delay.

Supreme Court and U. N. Charter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, every day adds cumulative evidence to the proposition that we should get out of the United Nations at the earliest possible moment. This we can do by an act of Congress, as I have explained heretofore. We do not need any constitutional amendment to do it, although that would accomplish the purpose and further would make future so-called treaties like the Charter of the United Nations impossible.

The question came up squarely in the Steel Seizure case, where an attempt was made to declare the Charter of the United Nations superior to the provisions of the Constitution. Five Justices of the Supreme Court said "No," but the Chief Justice and three others said "Yes" or took no part. This decision saved the Constitution, and I thought it not likely that another attempt would be made to assault its authority. But it came up in the Iowa Supreme Court, where the decision declared unequivocally for the Constitution, and held that the Charter of the United Nations could not override the State laws of Iowa.

That decision was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, where 4 Justices declared for the Charter of the United Nations and 4 declared against it. One vacancy on the Court caused this 4-to-4 decision, and, there not being a majority of the Court ready to declare the charter superior to a law of Iowa, the Constitution was saved again.

This last case was a close call, for if it had gone the other way the Charter of the United Nations would have been declared superior to any law in any State.

You cannot, therefore, blame the Members of the Senate of the United States for being suspicious of the appointment of John Marshall Harlan, for, being a Rhodes scholar, and knowing the purpose of the Rhodes scholarships from their own definition. the chances are that this new Judge would be more apt to uphold the Charter of the United Nations as being superior to any State law. Senator EASTLAND, in opposing the confirmation of Mr. Harlan, has put his finger on the danger to the Constitution that could easily arise from the confirmation.

Two Finnish Holidays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring attention to two Finnish holidays, that of February 5 and February 28, which are tributes to a hardy, hard-working people. Under leave to extend my remarks of these significant holidays, I include the following:

JOHAN LUDVIG RUNEBERG: FINLAND'S NATIONAL POET

February has a double significance in Finnish literature. February 5 is the birthday of the great Finnish poet, Johan Ludvig Runeberg. In the early part of the 19th century Finland was under the rule of Russia, but in 1820 a nationalistic movement began which was accompanied by a keen interest in Finnish folklore. Johan Runeberg's poems, with their idealistic depiction of rural life inspired the patriotic love of the people for their sleeping nation. Later, political philosophers encouraged the idea of a Finnish national state and guided the awakening from the literary to the political sphere. It would be difficult to overestimate the value of Runeberg's patriotic poems in this early awakening. He is now considered the Finnish national poet, and one of his poems has been adopted as the Finnish national anthem.

KALEWALA DAY

Each year on February 28, the Finnish people commemorate the Kalewala—the great Finnish national epic poem. Well they might, for the influence of the Kalewala in Finland has been extensive and profound. Literature, painting, music, and scholarship have found inspiration in this long epic poem. Its fame abroad has also been remarkable for it has been translated into many languages, including English. It has served as a model for poets in other countries, in fact, our own American poet, Longfellow, was very much influenced by the Kalewala in his own epic poem Hiawatha.

Until the 19th century, the Kalewala existed only in fragments in the memories and on the lips of the peasants of Finland. But in 1835, Dr. Elias Lonnrot wandered about the country, into the most remote places and took down in writing these favorite songs of the people. After unwearying diligence, Dr. Lonnrot succeeded in collecting 12,000 lines and arranged them systematically in story form.

Today, the great Finnish people, who deeply cherish their freedom and their national heritage, recite in song and verse, the beautiful Kalewala. From generation to generation the great epic is treasured in the memories and in the writings of the people. We Americans have our own favorite poems and songs which reveal the stories and the ideals of our own national heritage. It is not hard, therefore, for us to imagine the pride and happiness with which the Finnish people set aside February 28 as a day of celebration of this great epic song.

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, on March 7, 1850, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk was born in southeastern Moravia. He later became the first President of Czechoslovakia. A Slovak by birth and the son of poor parents, he entered the University of Vienna in 1869. There he studied and later lectured on philosophy. In 1891 he was elected to Parliament as a member of the Young Czech—Liberal—Party. However, soon thereafter he resigned his seat and during the next 15 years wrote a series of books on the Czech question, the principles of nationality, and social philosophy. In 1900 he founded the small but influential Realist, or Popular, Party.

At the outbreak of the First World War he envisaged the breakup of Austria and the emergence of the Czechoslovak state. He fled to Italy and then to France, England, Russia, and the United States. In May 1917 Masaryk founded the Czech National Council with its headquarters in Paris. He then went to Russia and created the Czech Legion out of Czech deserters from the Austrian Army. After the Bolshevik Revolution he secured the consent of the Soviet government for the exit of the legion through Siberia.

He came to the United States, and to a great extent through President Wilson's support for the Czech cause, the Republic of Czechoslovakia was recognized in 1918 by Italy, Great Britain, Japan, and the United States. The Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence was formally published at Washington, D. C., on October 18, 1918, and the Republic was formally proclaimed at Prague on October 28, 1918. Masaryk was elected the first President of the Republic. As President-Liberator, he wisely guided his country's affairs until 1935, when he resigned for reasons of

health. Two years later Masaryk died, beloved by all his countrymen.

Masaryk ranks among the great as a philosopher and a statesman. Above all, he will take his place in history as a devoted Czechoslovak patriot who dedicated both himself and his country to the ideals of liberty and democracy. He was a friend and admirer of the United States and the principles for which it stands. He was an enemy of tyranny and a friend of freedom. As long as his memory and his teachings endure in the minds and hearts of the Czechoslovaks, the Communist regime which now oppresses them is doomed to fail. The Czechoslovaks can be sure that they have the sympathy and support of the American people in the trials through which they are passing.

Foreign Aid Cost to the United States for 1954 Exceeded All Payments to Operate Our Government, Including Checks to Individuals, by $831,061,737

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the following tables will point out just how our Government expense account audits up, and shows how much money we spent and on what project spent, during 1953. We hear many complaints about the cost for old-age assistance, assistance to dependent children, the crippled and the blind, aid to veterans and hospitals for veterans, the agricultural conservation program, unemployment compensation, readjustment benefits to veterans.

Here is the actual accounting sheet:

Grants to States and local units

ACTIVITY AND TOTAL AMOUNT TO ALL STATES	
Agricultural experiment stations, grants	$12,285,308
Cooperative agricultural extension work	31,485,726
National school-lunch program, grants	81,665,047
National forest fund, shared revenues	17,608,934
Submarginal land program, payments for	448,049
State and private forestry cooperation	10,275,566
Removal of surplus agricultural commodities	66,024,948
Commodities donated by CCC to schools	12,986
Federal airport program, CAA	26,990,836
Bureau of Public Roads, highway grants	515,444,540
Bureau of Public Roads, emergency grants	1,866,254
Support of State maritime schools	266,432
Lease of flood-control lands, Army	869,051
Federal aid, wildlife restoration	12,474,131
Distribution under Minerals Leasing Act	17,010,013
Distribution from receipts, Migratory Bird Act	485,694
Payments to States from grazing receipts	$7,190,714
Unemployment compensation and service	197,779,364
American Printing House for the Blind	185,000
Office of Vocational Rehabilitation	22,244,093
Colleges for agricultural and mechanical arts	5,030,000
Cooperative vocational education	25,420,754
School construction, and survey, grants	118,308,139
Maintenance and operation of schools, grants	65,994,669
Venereal disease control, grants	7,162,260
Tuberculosis control, grants	5,300,000
General health assistance, grants	13,536,970
Mental health activities, grants	3,049,736
Cancer control, grants	2,894,666
Heart disease control, grants	1,348,104
Water pollution control, waste, studies	1,113,416
Hospital construction and survey	109,302,421
National Cancer Institute, grants	2,301,773
National Heart Institute, grants	1,685,740
Old-Age Assistance, regular grants	899,390,252
Aid to dependent children, grants	338,549,221
Aid to permanently disabled, grants	59,317,125
Aid to the blind, grants	32,668,872
Maternal and child health services, grants	13,299,919
Services for crippled children, grants	11,814,776
Child welfare services, grants	6,388,437
Housing aids of all kinds, grants	30,715,401
Disaster relief	4,629,128
Civil Defense Administration, grants	13,890,743
Federal Power Commission, payment to States	33,531
State and Territorial homes for veterans	3,722,190
Supervision, on-the-job training, veterans	1,890,574
Self-employment allowances for vets	242,156
Grants-in-aid	2,802,365,266
PAYMENTS DIRECT TO INDIVIDUALS	
Agricultural conservation program	$206,797,815
Administration Sugar Act, subsidies	61,210,169
Farm Housing Repair program, grants	56,310
Forest Highways, Bureau of Public Roads	22,334,373
State marine schools (4 States only)	273,298
National Guard and Air Guard	150,941,660
Unemployment compensation for veterans	25,907,392
Research grants, several fields, total	21,052,428
Traineeship awards, several fields, total	2,230,488
Teaching grants, etc	6,661,923
Fellowship awards, grants, total	1,784,673
Autos for disabled veterans	18,223,614
Readjustment benefits for veterans	734,073,888
Total payments to individuals	1,251,576,528
Plus grants-in-aid	2,802,365,266
Grand total (1953)	4,053,941,794

For all of the purposes, which in a great republic like ours was necessary. Compare that total of $4,053,941,795 to the total handed out to foreign countries during the same period of time. This total was $4,885,003,528.

The only place we can save money, and take off the backs of the people the onerous load of taxes, is to do it by cutting down this foreign aid. We cannot reduce our appropriations for national defense; we cannot do less than we have for the people of the United States—we should do more—but we can plug up this hole through which our billions are going in foreign aid.

The figures are taken from the News Bulletin No. 45, issued by Paul Peters.

Atomic Energy Progress Confronts Upper Colorado River Project With New Obstacle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the age of nuclear power has arrived and electric power companies are now building at their own expense new plants which will supply electricity produced by atomic fission.

What does this mean to conscientious legislators who must evaluate proposals to invest large sums of money in new Federal hydroelectric projects?

Simply that they must look at them, not only in the light of all factors heretofore considered, but with this additional question in mind: In the foreseeable future will nuclear power be transformed into electric energy at cheaper rates than electric energy can be obtained from water power?

If the answer is "Yes," then our vast hydroelectric plants may become obsolete white elephants, giving way to more efficient nuclear-electric plants just as the horse and buggy gave way to the more efficient automobile. If this should happen, the Federal Treasury would never recover the millions it might pour into hydroelectric and related developments.

With millions, and possibly billions at stake, consideration of this possibility is absolutely essential if Congress is to act with responsibility in this day of swiftly moving scientific progress.

The proposed multi-billion-dollar upper Colorado River storage project is a specific instance.

Bills now before the Congress call for a spending authorization ranging from $1 billion to $1.8 billion on the upper Colorado River. They would construct numerous irrigation projects, the revenues from which could repay only 10 percent of their cost. Tied in the bills are expensive hydroelectric projects, the power revenues from which would be expected to repay not only the cost of the power dams and installations, but also 90 percent of the cost of the irrigation projects.

Planning figures show that it may take up to 100 years to pay for these projects out of the hydroelectric power cash register.

Thus, for financial success, nuclear-electric energy must not be produced more cheaply than hydroelectric energy for at least 100 years.

What are the prospects in this regard?

Simply, that not in 100 years, not in 50 years, but in a much shorter time nuclear-electric energy will be produced much cheaper than hydroelectric energy.

Remember, just 15 years ago, in 1940 nuclear power was practically unheard of. By 1945, 5 short years later, the first A-bomb had exploded over Hiroshima. Research for peacetime use was so concentrated during the subsequent 10 years that today commercial nuclear-electric energy generating plants actually are being constructed.

The British Government announced a 10-year program for building 12 atomic power stations at an estimated cost of $840 million. The British say these plants will produce electricity at a cost of 6 mills per kilowatt-hour in comparison with their present convention generating cost of 7.2 mills.

United States cost figures prepared by James A. Lane, of Oak Ridge National Laboratory, show the average figure in this country for producing electricity in conventional steam plants is 7 mills per kilowatt-hour, while the cost in a nuclear plant would be 6.7 mills.

That is without considering that nuclear-electric plants can actually produce plutonium as a byproduct which can be sold for a high price, in the neighborhood of $100 a gram.

If this be done, there is little cost left for power generation to bear, and a reactor plant could put on the transmission line 1 or 2 mill current instead of 6.7 mill current. Even if the military demands become satisfied and the price of plutonium eases back to its fuel value of about $20 a gram, the sale of byproduct plutonium can be a substantial source of operating revenue.

That is why Representative CARL T. DURHAM, of North Carolina, Vice Chairman of the Joint House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee, just a few days ago predicted that atomic experts will develop a reactor in the next 2 years that will produce power as cheaply as oil, coal, or water.

Within 5 years, he said, atomic powerplants should be commercially competitive with present lower cost sources of power, which, of course are the hydroelectric plants.

During a speech in Los Angeles on February 15, Floyd B. Odlum, financier and president of Atlas Corp., predicted that by 1975 all electricity in the United States will be generated by uranium-based powerplants. He, too, said that even at present atomic energy is practically competitive with other fuels for the generation of electric power.

Using a cubic-inch block of wood as a symbol representing a similar block of uranium 235, Odlum said that 20 such little blocks of U–235 would supply enough energy to provide New York City with all its electrical needs for a 24-hour period.

Of course, there are numerous technical difficulties yet to be overcome in the production of nuclear electricity. But the fact is they are being overcome and sometimes in the very process of building nuclear-electric facilities.

Consolidated Edison of New York, one of the Nation's leading power producers, boldly announced only a month ago that it will soon build a nuclear-electric generating plant to add to its system.

Thus the problem is facing us squarely, and we cannot dodge it in connection with the Upper Colorado proposal. The Bureau of Reclamation and the Congress must have their eyes open to these facts of modern day life. There must be a clear-cut determination as to whether or or not nuclear-electric energy developments will turn this proposed multi-billion-dollar expenditure into a dead loss. We cannot inflict such an enormous new burden on the Nation's taxpayers for several generations to come.

Therefore, Congress must hold thorough hearings on this point. It must even delay consideration of the legislation for a year or two, if need be, so that it may be evaluated in the light of results of nuclear-electric energy research and development now underway.

So that the Congress may be further informed I am backing up this plea by citing additional information collected over the past few weeks.

On March 27, 1954, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy said in a report that—

Economically competitive atomic power will be a reality in the United States within the next 10 years.

On March 9, 1954, Henry D. Smyth, member of the Atomic Energy Commission, said in an address:

It is evident that we can build powerplants which will convert the energy released in nuclear fission into electrical energy to be fed into transmission lines.

The electric companies public information program said in a 1953 report:

Nuclear power looms on the horizon as an energy source which might well become competitive with coal, oil, gas, or falling water in the next few years. Within the past 2 years nuclear heat has converted water to steam, from which electricity was generated.

In a report to Congress in July 1954, the AEC stated it could be reasonably expected that nuclear fuel would be economical enough to compete with conventional fuels in the foreseeable future. Atomic material costs have been brought to a record low, and ore processing developments have resulted in major reductions in the cost of fissionable materials and paid for themselves many times.

Thorium, which can be converted by atomic reactions into a fissionable material, is 3 or 4 times as plentiful as uranium, the report said.

Dr. John R. Dunning, dean of engineering at Columbia University, said on June 3, 1954:

The important conclusion from the data is that already, with only about 10 years of any appreciable searching for uranium, we have completely reversed our position held in the immediate postwar period when most so-called experts were saying we couldn't possibly have enough uranium to build an atomic power economy.

In this short space of time, there has come general agreement that our uranium reserves constitute the major fuel reserves in the world for the future. A figure something like 25 times as much energy in uranium as in coal, oil, and gas is now usually quoted.

There, again, this figure has to be viewed as a tentative figure. It wouldn't surprise some of us too much to find there were 100 times as much energy in the form of atomic fuels as future progress develops in atomic energy release methods, atomic fuel recovery methods, raw material prospecting, and so on down the line.

The important lesson is that our future energy reserves are abundant in the atomic field.

On December 20, 1954, the Associated Press reported from Washington in the Salt Lake Tribune:

Within 20 years about twice as much electric power will be furnished by the atom as is now generated by waterpower, according to a private study prepared for the use of investor groups.

The growth will represent conservatively a private investment of about $6 billion in nuclear-powered electric plants, it was estimated, of which more than $1 billion will go into reactors alone.

The survey was made by H. Dewayne Kreager, metal and power specialist associated with John R. Steelman. Steelman, a top assistant to former President Harry S. Truman, now is an industry consultant here. Kreager until mil-1953 was the executive officer of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

Labeled "an economic timetable," the survey predicted that from 1975 to the end of the century, 80 percent of all new generating capacity installed in this country will be atom-powered.

* * * * *

"The first 10 years should be regarded as an experimental period," the study says. "Nineteen hundred and sixty-five is the estimated and somewhat arbitrary date at which power from nuclear reactors is expected to become economically competitive with existing thermal (coal- or oil-fueled) plants.

"However, 1965 is an outside date; competitive electric power from nuclear energy may come as early as 1960."

A 5-year program of the AEC will embrace 5 different reactor projects costing a total of $241 million.

The projects are:

First. A full-scale nuclear powerplant to be built by Westinghouse Electric and Duquesne Light near Pittsburgh.

Second. A boiling-water reactor to be built by the Argonne National Laboratory. This reactor promises to cut power costs substantially.

Third. A socium-graphite reactor to be built by North American Aviation, Inc. This reactor may produce more atomic fuel than it burns.

Fourth. A fast breeder reactor to be built by Argonne.

Fifth. A homogeneous reactor to be built at Oak Ridge.

In March 1954 a report of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy stated:

There is real confidence that atomic power can be produced at a cost competitive with fossil fuels such as coal and oil within the next decade by exploring these five approaches.

Lawrence R. Hafstad, Director of Reactor Development for the AEC, said, on July 21, 1954:

In uranium we have what promises to be both a compact and a cheap source of energy. * * * One pound of uranium, about a

cubic inch, contains as much energy as * * * 1,500 tons of coal. That this energy promises to be cheap, we can see by calculating the cost of the 1,500 tons of coal. At $8 a ton, this would be in the neighborhood of $10,000, whereas the cost of 1 pound of uranium is more like $20.

A story in the New York Times, December 12, 1954, said:

Leaders of the Nation's $25 billion electric light and power industry have come to the conclusion that they must build nuclear reactors. This decision has been reached despite the greater efficiency of coal at present for generating steam for power.

In a private report being sent to the executives and engineers of the country's power companies, emphasis is placed on atomic fission as the future source of energy. * * *

Some of the finest atomic engineering minds in the country put the findings together after considerable research. The report is being issued by the electric power companies information program (PIP).

"The consensus of opinion is that within 10 years, or possibly sooner, private industry will cross the threshold of economic nuclear power," the study says.

Congress has appropriated more than $13 billion for atomic energy activities.

The Atomic Energy Commission already is the world's third largest business. Only Metropolitan Life Insurance and American Telephone & Telegraph have greater assets. Physical assets owned by the AEC is considerably larger than such assets of General Motors and Standard Oil of New Jersey. If the present expansion program continues, the AEC will soon be the world's largest single enterprise.

More than 150,000 persons were given employment under the AEC program in 1953.

Faced with a growing shortage of coal for power generation, Great Britain has turned to the development of commercial nuclear power reactors as before noted. "This is a historic day for Britain," declared Geoffry Lloyd, Minister of Fuel and Power, when he announced the plan to Parliament February 15. He spoke of tremendous prospects that offer possibility of a new industrial revolution.

Canada is completing a big reactor, after which private enterprise will be permitted to develop commercial nuclear power.

Norway and Sweden are engaged in extensive work to develop nuclear power for commercial use.

Brazil, Australia, and India are at work to develop nuclear power for commercial use.

The Edison Electrical Institute said in its 1953 report:

Commercial utilization of nuclear energy * * * could result in important conservation of the Nation's reserve of fossil fuels, a highly desirable long-range objective. Moreover, this potential sources of fuel may ultimately provide a means for reducing fuel costs at central stations.

On February 17, 1954, President Eisenhower said in a message to Congress:

In 1946, too, economic industrial power from atomic energy sources seemed very remote; today, it is clearly in sight * * * largely a matter of further research and development.

Coal Age View of the 1955 Picture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Coal Age View of the 1955 Picture," which appeared in the February 28, 1955, issue of the Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

COAL AGE VIEW OF THE 1955 PICTURE

The bituminous coal industry will continue its upward trend in 1955, with a maximum production gain of 5 to 10 percent, or 20 to 25 million tons over 1954, Coal Age, McGraw-Hill publication, predicts. Anthracite production, however, is expected to continue its downward course this year, due to home-heating competition from natural gas and oil.

Total bituminous production was down to 392 million tons in 1954, or 14.3 percent under 1953. However, much of the loss occurred in the first 3 months of the year, and, from April on, the general trend was up. Output of anthracite, which totaled 27,118,000 tons last year and was 12.4 percent under 1953, is expected to drop another 10 percent or more in 1955. Coal prices, which were down for both bituminous and anthracite in 1954, should remain steady this year, with no major price rise expected.

Electric utilities, steel, and other industry will be coal's best market in 1955, the magazine says. Coal for kilowatts, for example, should increase by 20 million tons this year, while steel consumption of coal should rise by about 12 million tons to a total of 100 million tons, as compared to about 88 million tons in 1954. Decreased steel consumption last year, the magazine notes, was responsible for the coal industry's biggest loss.

Industrial consumption of coal, down some 16,450,000 tons to 89,350,000 tons in 1954, showed a 15.5 percent drop from the 105,799,000 tons in 1953, primarily because of decreased business activity. This year, however, increased business should bring the total up by 7 to 10 million tons.

Railroad and retail coal consumption, on the other hand, are expected to drop 3 to 5 million tons apiece during 1955. In 1954, railroads used only 17 million tons of coal—a drop of 25.9 percent under 1953, while diesel fuel, coal's chief competitor in the rail market, rose and will continue to rise this year, the magazine reports. In the retail market, natural gas should register a gain this year, while oil sales will rise, but more modestly.

Although bituminous coal exports overseas increased last year to 15,088,000 tons over 14,176,000 tons in 1953, shipments to Canada dropped sharply from 19,590,000 tons in 1953 to 15,838,000 tons last year. Further railroad dieselization in Canada is expected to continue a downward trend for bituminous exports to that country.

Although losses to competitive fuels continued to plague bituminous coal in 1954, they were far outstripped by losses resulting from the 1954 business recession, particularly in steel. The bright spot last year was electric utilities, which increased their burn by 2 million tons. Even with this gain, however, total loss over 1953 is estimated at 63 million tons. Production suffered by an additional 10 million tons taken out of stockpiles.

However, changes in the competitive picture, at least in the heavy-fuel market, are favoring coal. And Government authorities, it appears, are alert now to the plight of coal, and the need for maintaining a strong industry.

As Things Look to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ORVIN B. FJARE
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. FJARE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following speech by Mr. Ancher Nelson, Administrator of Rural Electrification Administration, entitled "As Things Look to Me":

AS THINGS LOOK TO ME

(Address by Ancher Nelsen, Administrator, Rural Electrification Administration)

Years ago in Minnesota we had a farm magazine called the Farm Stock and Home, and a former editor of that paper by the name of Harry Owens used to write a column entitled "As Things Look to Me." Harry would tell us each month just exactly what was on his mind, what he thought was right and what he thought was wrong. He gave his own opinion and appraisal of happenings of the day and these expressions represented his honest views. As a result, his readers eagerly followed his column month after month.

I am going to borrow that column heading to use as the title of my speech here today. I want to emulate also Harry's forthrightness in stating the facts as I see them as I give my annual report to the farm people who make up this rural electrification program.

This opportunity to speak to so many of you people who have the first-hand responsibility to your farm neighbors for the management of the rural electric system over the country is to me a real challenge. As co-op directors, you are carrying a responsibility which I used to have in my own co-op, and actually I feel more at home talking with you whom I consider fellow directors than in talking as REA administrator.

As directors and officials of the rural electric systems, you are the custodians of a great trust which your neighbors and friends have placed in your. You share in responsibilities which are common to all of us in this program. The fact that more than 9 out of 10 of our farms today are enjoying central station electric service does not mean that the trust has been discharged. No, not by any means. In some respects, your responsibilities are just starting.

We in REA have responsibilities too. Most of them are similar to yours, area coverage, financial soundness, adequate low cost power, self-reliance. These are among the things that concern you as well as REA.

Since coming to REA from my local co-op now nearly 2 years ago, I have tried to keep a clear picture in my mind as to what our job should be and with the help of the many dedicated people we have in REA, we have sought to shape a program of action aimed at getting those jobs done. What we have is a program that is working effectively on many fronts.

I want to make use of this opportunity here today to give you a report of that comprehensive action program and the progress we are making toward the major REA goals. If you will accept this report with an open mind, weighing fairly what has been done, I am convinced you will agree that REA has gone forward so that today rural electrification stands more firmly on solid ground that ever before.

Let us outline the major jobs that we have before us and then appraise what we have done about them.

First, there is area coverage.

REA was established in the first place to accomplish this job. The REA borrowers came into being to accomplish this job. It is a responsibility that is shifting more and more to you, the borrowers. REA continues to have the financing part of the job but, in the final analysis, whether or not area coverage is achieved depends upon what you do.

During the last year the percentage of farms electrified moved a little nearer the 95-percent mark. REA approved loans in calendar 1954 that will finance central-station electric service to a total of 116,000 consumers, a substantial increase over the year before.

Loans are the first step in area coverage and we have sought to speed up our handling of loan applications. We adopted a fast, hard-hitting type of organization, with competent people in the key jobs, and we cut redtape to the bone. This has speeded up our handling of loan applications, and we have been able to cut down the backlog of applications to just about half of what it was a couple of years ago. There will, of course, always be some backlog but the present situations means that there is a minimum of delay for borrowers in getting their loans approved.

Moving over into the telephone program, we have proceeded diligently to speed up operations there too, and we believe that new preloan engineering procedures now in effect will speed things up still more. In calendar 1954 we made more than $66 million in telephone loans, more than in any other calendar year since the program began. More than 100,000 rural homes now have received new or improved service through the program, and construction is proceeding at a good pace.

One of the big difficulties in the telephone program is to get enough qualified telephone engineers. We need them for our own staff and there is also a need for more private consulting engineers to work with borrowers.

Good progress in the telephone program requires a high degree of industrywide cooperation. Every borrower must have connecting arrangements of some sort—always for nationwide long-distance service and usually for local service into trading centers as well.

Our endeavor has been to cultivate an atmosphere of understanding and cooperation with the industry. In turn we have expected their cooperation. Gradually much of the distrust and misunderstanding is being overcome. We have repeatedly indicated that we are not interested in building an empire in the telephone field. We are only interested in making telephones available to the farmers. To the extent the industry is financially able and willing to do this, that is fine. Where the industry can't, REA will push ahead as hard as it can to find ways for doing the job.

From President Eisenhower on down the administration objective in both the electric and telephone programs is to meet the needs. The needs are being met and there is going to be money left over.

When this fiscal year has been completed, we will have made another reduction in the backlog of loan applications and there will be a total of $56 million of surplus loan funds that will not have been used. Remember that statement.

In one State as of now, it seems likely that the State allotment formula will handicap the making of loans, but keep this one thing in mind: more money is not the solution to that difficulty.

If we were going to circumvent the law by asking Congress to pour extra appropriations into the State allotment formula, it would take a truly fantastic additional loan authorization. The figure would be something like $250 to $350 million and we would end the year with a carryover of unused loan funds of about $300 million.

The sensible answer is to remove the State allotment formula from the law. That is exactly what we have asked the Congress to do.

In the early days of the REA program this formula served a useful purpose in making sure that the lines were built where the need was the greatest. Today, it is no longer needed with almost every State at or above the 90 percent level of connected farms. It is obvious that the greatest need for loan funds will be in those States where improvements are needed in systems already built and in those States that need new or extra sources of power.

Briefly, the need of funds in the various States can no longer be measured accurately on the basis of farms without electricity. On the contrary, the size of the REA program in the State will be the principal determining factor as to how much will be needed.

As to our new budget it recognizes greater loan requirements next fiscal year than this. The 1956 budget provides for $20 million more than the amount loaned in each of the last 3 years.

Incidentally, I want to thank all the borrowers which cooperated with us so extensively in our survey of loan needs. We obtained responses from more than 80 percent of the borrowers.

In addition to the funds being provided in new loan authorization, there is still nearly a half billion dollars of approved loans that has not yet been drawn by the borrowers, so it is hard to think that any borrower can be hurting for lack of construction funds. If there is, I would ask this fact be brought to our attention.

In this 20th year of the program, however, area coverage is primarily a responsibility of the systems serving the rural areas. Area coverage can never be completely realized unless they continue to forge ahead toward this objective.

How many of REA's borrowers actually have 100 percent area coverage in their proper service area? That is a question that you should ask yourselves. Here are some of the questions you ought to consider:

Have you determined the geographical area within which you should be responsible for seeing that electric power is available?

Have you recently surveyed this area? If not, shouldn't you do so to determine if there are people without service who rightfully look to you for service?

Have you developed plans which you are carrying out that will make electric service available on a sound and businesslike basis to all those people?

If not, what should you do about it? What do you think REA should do to help you?

We can see as we travel over the country that progress toward area coverage has been made. What's before us now is a challenge of seeing to it that you, with the help of REA, can finish the job so well begun.

The second major responsibility, as I see it, is to build financially sound systems. That is another responsibility shared by both REA and the borrowers. Certainly the Government's stake is great. The REA loans will soon total $3 billion, and the only way to get this repaid—as it is being repaid—is to have financially sound businesses.

Although the Government's stake is large, ours as rural people is even larger. We must build financially sound electric systems so that we can be sure of continuing to have the benefits of electricity in our homes and in our farming operations.

From REA's standpoint, our action program is geared to approach this matter of loan security from several angles.

First of all, I would like to say a good word about the work of the Management Advisory Committee which represents your association in the field of management. The group executive training meetings and management improvement activities that this committee has helped push along constitute one of the most significant developments of the last year. If this work is continued and expanded as it should be, it will do more for the future safety of rural electrification than any other single thing that I can think of.

Conversely, if serious financial reverses or defaults should occur, it would give the program a real body blow. Just at this time, we face one of the most serious threats of this type that has ever confronted the program. We have one borrower that is in a hopeless financial condition, and a loss amounting to upward of a half million dollars is possible if it goes under. Even though this loan was made before I became Administrator, I certainly don't want to see the program get such a black eye and we are giving the situation our closest attention, working with every agency we know of that can help.

In the program as a whole, we are working with co-op directors and managers not only in identifying the difficulties that may lie in the future but in drawing upon the kind of practical and tested skill and experience that is needed if we are going to have financially sound systems in the future.

One point on which we have the opportunity to draw upon this experience resource is in connection with capital credits. A number of people from many areas have raised questions with us as to the capital credits plan and we have it under examination with the air of bringing about improvements as these can be developed.

We proudly point to the fact that of the approximately 1,000 borrowers, only 14 are delinquent in their loan repayments. However, a look at the principal and interest payments that will come due in the period ahead will illustrate that we cannot be complacent but must plan carefully for the future. In 1954, the amount due on loans was about $72 million. By 1958, it will amount to $116 million. In other words, this debt amortization load will increase 50 percent within a short period of 4 years.

How well prepared is your cooperative to meet your future obligations so that you can maintain a sound, enduring business?

One way to answer this is to calculate how you would stand if you faced your full amortization schedule today. We have made that calculation for all of the borrowers, and we have found that nearly a fourth of the borrowers would be in some financial trouble to a major or minor degree in that case. I am happy to report that as a result of our joint efforts with borrowers, about three-fourths of those systems with financial problems have achieved some improvement in their position during the past year.

Another interesting thing we have found is this: Of the total number which need to do something to improve their future outlook, about half are selling less electricity than was figured at the time the loan was made. If they were meeting these estimates, they would be out of the woods.

That is one of the reasons why we started last spring to strengthen the power use program and get some results in the form of load-building. This program is tremendously important to you as a director respon-

sible for the successful operation of your power system and it is even more important to you as a farmer who has much to gain from the use of electric power.

The big thing that was done in this program was to organize the Inter-Industry Farm Electric Utilization Council, headed by Deputy Administrator Fred Strong. Today, through this council's efforts, borrowers in most States are working in cooperation with all segments of the electric industry and with the colleges and extension service. It is a game where everybody wins—the REA borrowers, the electric appliance people, the power companies, who serve part of the farms directly and sell you more than $50 million a year in wholesale power. And the one who will benefit the most from this power-use program is the farmer himself as he makes more profitable use of electric power on his farm and in his home.

My third point has to do with our goal of adequate low-cost power.

During 1954, we made major progress in improving the supply of electric power in rural areas. REA has been determined to work with borrowers in whatever direction promises better and cheaper service for the farmer, whether it be generation or buying wholesale or a little of both. We have made generation and transmission loans where these have been necessary and we have encouraged integration and interconnection where this approach has been to the borrowers' advantage. From the standpoint of the long-range view, we are keeping a careful eye on developments which may lead to lower cost power whether it involves conventional fuels or atomic energy.

As I have previously stated, I believe the REA authority to make G–T loans is important to the farmers. It is a fundamental part of the REA program and must be preserved. To keep it we must use it wisely. This is our aim and we are making G–T loans where they are the means to lower cost electricity for the farmer.

We approved G–T loans in 1954 in the amount of more than $40 million. This was nearly a quarter of all the loans approved by the Agency during the year, slightly higher than usual for the Agency through the years.

We were providing financing that will boost the generating capacity of the cooperatives by something over 100,000 kilowatts. At the same time, loans already approved were making possible the construction of a recordbreaking amount of generating capacity. During the calendar year 1954, REA borrowers in 10 States and Alaska put into service more than 200,000 kilowatts of generating capacity. This is more capacity than there was in service on all REA-financed generating plants on January 1, 1948. This new capacity sets a record for any one year of the program.

You don't get very far into this matter of power supply before you run up against the question: Do we get it alone or do we engage in an effective cooperative effort with all other segments of the electric industry?

It seems to me that the only sound approach to that question is to think about what is best for the farmer, because the program was set up to benefit him. Looked at from that viewpoint, the cases where it will pay to go it alone are might few and far between.

We have learned by experience that an isolated system of relatively small capacity means high-energy costs and requires standby capacity that adds to the expense. During the past year, an alarming number of distribution borrowers have come to us because they feel their rates are higher than their distribution systems can continue to stand. Some are paying their wholesale bills under protest and some have requested that we agree to their release from their contracts to buy power from their own G–T systems. Developments of this kind, unless solutions are worked out, might well be a threat to the future of the G–T co-op which in turn would be a blow to the whole program. It underscores the need to move forward soundly and carefully.

These are some of the reasons why we have recommended that consideration be given to interconnections where capacity can be merchandised into a power pool and peaking capacity purchased, resulting in a better power rate to the farmer and in turn protecting the distribution cooperatives. Interconnection and integration agreements were actually completed in three States during the past year, while in other instances studies are under way to see what the possibilities might be for savings. In one case, the co-op saved about $3 million in transmission lines, and in another a co-op saved close to a million dollars by exchanging with a power company and alternating the installation of new generating capacity.

Half the power input of your systems is being purchased from power companies at this time. Generally speaking, you are getting rates than in earlier years. The average rate of power company purchases today is 8.2 mills as compared with 12.4 mills 15 years ago. The cost of power through G-T federations is higher, although it is improving gradually. I anticipate that further reductions in costs of power produced in REA-financed generating plants will be achieved through the marketing arrangements like the ones I have mentioned.

Another question for us to consider as Government officials and as electric co-op people is: What about the challenge of atomic energy?

Nobody can say for sure that atomic energy will lead to cheaper production of power than the fuels we are presently using. However, we have tried to gear our operations on the assumption that this will be the case because we want the farmer to benefit along with other consumers if it is.

For approximately a year, we have been working with the Atomic Energy Commission. We have asked for and received security clearance for five of our top people and through them we keep advised on the progress and research and development in that field and also are able to keep the Commission informed as to our needs.

The suggestion has been made that REA should employ physicists, metallurgists, and other specialized personnel for experimental work in the atomic field. However, we have been assured by AEC that people on its staff will give us the help we need at no additional cost to REA or to the taxpayers. This would appear to be the wise and effective course, and it is the course we intend to follow.

At the present time, we are contacting borrowers which are planning construction of generation plants. We are seeking to determine their interest in looking into the possibilities of nuclear power as a source for generating electricity. Where any of them is interested, we will help them get security clearance so that they can work with AEC and us in getting the up-to-date information they need to make their decision.

On the basis of information available to our people who are working with the Atomic Energy Commission, the prospects are not bright for obtaining power cost reductions in the near future through the use of atomic energy. As of now, nuclear power reactors are in a developmental state and their costs are therefore high. Commercially atomic energy is not yet competitive. Moreover, there are questions of service interruptions, site of plant locations and liability that have a bearing on the consideration of this matter.

At the same time, AEC's research is steadily going forward and we must keep up with it. In that way, we will keep informed and we will take advantage of every development that gives concrete assurance of a lower cost power source that will be dependable and feasible. We are determined that the REA co-ops will be able to move into the atomic age just as soon as it makes economic sense to do so.

In these days we are in the midst of a great debate on what our national power policies ought to be for the future. It is good that this debate is going on. But let us not permit emotionalism to decide the course for us. One of the questions before us is this: What is the proper role of the Government in the electric-power picture? We know that many have decidedly strong points of view on what the answer should be. I do not pretend to be a judge on this but I am impressed by that large group of our citizens who do not see a solution in any extreme—rather in a moderate program that wil harness both our natural resources and our private capital for the benefit of all our people.

What is the role of government?

Lincoln said—as we have frequently heard quoted—"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all or cannot so well do for themselves."

That certainly spells out a job for government. But the rest of that Lincoln quotation is this, and I quote: "In all that the people can individually do so well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

And that spells out a job for you and me as private citizens. I am convinced we will be better off if we spend at least as much time and thought trying to figure out how we can do things for ourselves as we sometimes spend trying to figure out how we can get government to do things for us.

Thomas Jefferson's view on that subject was this: "Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread."

And that brings me to my fourth point—that of borrower self-reliance. The rural electrification program is free enterprise. We own and operate our system. We have borrowed money to build our lines. We intend to pay it back. We are proud of our accomplishments to date. Likewise, we need to remember that there are others who have invested their savings and facilities who also deserve tolerant consideration on our part. We should always be willing to give the same degree of attention, respect, and recognition to the problems that others face. Commonsense and mutual understanding are not always easy to achieve, and the test of leadership is to find answers through those means.

It is sometimes tempting and easy to be critical, but there are many constructive things to be talking about. In the words of the popular song, let's "count our blessings instead of sheep."

Counting our blessings, we find that Congress in its wisdom and generosity has made some $3 billion available as loans to you and me so that we might have electric and telephone service.

We find that human ingenuity has designed and built more efficient equipment so that in spite of commodity cost increases, you and I are able to buy electricity cheaper today than ever before.

We find that a farm today can enjoy a telephone, running water, freezer, television, and countless other home appliances, as well as milking machines, hay driers, and motor-driven devices by the score for farmstead chores.

Taking stock of these and the many other blessings we enjoy, let us not lose sight of the fact that these are times of international tension and peril. We must keep our program in its proper perspective, mindful always of the overall interests and problems of our country. As President Eisenhower has said, "Citizenship is not just a privilege, but also a responsibility."

Looking to the future, we, the directors, managers, and officials in this rural electrification program need always remember that the best insurance we can get for the program is to establish in other people confidence in us and in our integrity.

I know that every employee of REA joins with me in expressing the hope that our handling of your business with REA will merit your confidence because of our performance.

If all of us in the program are fair, tolerant, and sound—if we are willing to hear all the facts in regard to a question—we will be accepted with dignity and we need have no fear that any force can destroy the program.

Think back to your own community and recall the men well regarded and who have earned roles of leadership and influence. You will find their stature has grown from conduct guided by fairness, soundness, and reasonableness.

So as we look to the future of our program let us remember the principles that have proved to be of enduring quality. There is a quotation hanging on the wall in a Missouri co-op which goes like this:

"Four ways to test:

"1. Is it the truth?

"2. Is it fair to all concerned?

"3. Will it bring good will and friendship?

"4. Will it be beneficial to all concerned?"

Proceeding on such a basis, I am sure, will lead the way to a great future for rural electrification.

Rural Delivery Mail Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, on February 7 I introduced H. R. 3655, which would extend rural delivery mail service to persons desiring such service and residing on or near improved roads. Since that time I have received favorable response to this proposed measure, not only from my own constitutents, but from others who feel that rural patrons are entitled to this improved service. I submit the following letter which typifies the comments which I have received.

DEAR MR. BETTS: We were so pleased to see your item in the Marion Star (our daily paper) in reference to rural mail route extensions. We have lived in our present home 45 years and have gone one-fourth mile for our mail. This means a long wait sometimes or miss the mailman, which is getting to be quite a problem for us as we are in our seventies and in very poor health. We pay taxes on 190 acres and we feel like we are entitled to adequate mail service if we share the tax burden, as was mentioned in the article. It was also mentioned there should be 3 families to the mile; there isn't and never will be another house on this mile as we own the three-fourths mile south of us on our side of the road and the owners on the other side live on east and west roads and get their mail at their door. We have a good black-top road and a good drive for the mailman to turn in and we will appreciate it very much if you can help us get the extension. Thanks so much, and we hope and pray that your bill will pass.

We will be glad to hear from you if possible. We hope you won't forget us when extensions are being made.

AN EIGHTH DISTRICT, OHIO, CONSTITUENT.

The Future of the Arab Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following statement made by Ambassador Michael Comay before the U. N. General Assembly's Ad Hoc—Political—Committee on November 26, 1954, is deserving of our attention. Mr. Comay is the Ambassador of Israel to Canada and acting chairman of the Israel delegation to the ninth session of the U. N. General Assembly.

THE FUTURE OF THE ARAB REFUGEES

Year after year, this Committee has sought to discuss the task of UNWRA in a humane and constructive spirit, free from rancour and political controversy. Year after year, to our deep regret, the Arab representatives have exploited this item for propaganda warfare against Israel. My delegation has now asked itself whether it should react at all. The facts about the origins of the problem have repeatedly been placed on record at previous sessions. Many of the attacks are irrelevant to this issue. To repeat these stale and unprofitable debates can only reduce the chances of peace in the Middle East, without helping a single refugee. Prompted by what we believe to be in the interests of Arab-Israel relations, and in the best interests of the refugees themselves, my delegation will therefore refrain from replying in detail to a number of provocative statements made in this Committee and I shall confine myself to a few general observations.

For one thing, Arab speakers are welcome to establish by copious quotation that Jews criticize each other, or that opposition papers in Israel find fault with the Government. That fact need not claim our special notice. Nor do I propose discussing the excerpts from Professor Toynbee which have been read out. In his historical philosophy, there does not appear to be any place for small states. In particular, he seems seriously displeased that the Jewish people should be creating a vigorous young state, despite the fact that he has dismissed us as a "dead relic of a vanished civilization."

It is the professor's privilege to be a vehement anti-Zionist if he so chooses, but the historical record must be allowed to speak for itself. The cardinal and undisputed feature of that record is that the Palestine Arab leaders announced they would resort to arms, and did so; that the Arab states announced they would invade Palestine, and did so—proudly announcing the fact in a telegram to the President of the Security Council.

Nobody can foresee how a war will alter the lives of persons and nations. This refugee problem, like other refugee problems, is the bitter fruit of war. Those who started it cannot now cast the blame upon the United Nations, the great powers, Israel, and everyone else. But for the Arabs' fateful decision there would never have been a single refugee. Arab and Jew would have been allowed quietly to work out their common destiny and the world might have been allowed to relax about the relations between the two semitic peoples. That is what we wanted, and that is what we offered. It did not happen. We have little inclination to dwell on the might have been or to continue an exercise in the apportionment of past blame. Unless I am mistaken, there is even less such inclination among the rest of you, members of the international community, who find yourself saddled with the tragic aftermath of a war which was not your war. I shall therefore proceed without much ado to a sober restatement of my Government's attitude upon the central problem raised by the Director's report: the problem of the refugees' future.

I. THE CONTRIBUTION BY ISRAEL

Though Israel did not create this problem, it cannot be insensitive to the human tragedy involved. We have done and will do what we can to alleviate it, and I shall refer to a series of practical measures.

A measure of reintegration

I would first of all direct the committee's attention to the first of the tables annexed to the Director's Report on page 7. When the agency was set up, 4 years ago, it had 48,500 refugees on its relief rolls in Israel territory. By 1952, we had progressively reduced this number, by absorption, to some 20,000. The Israel Government thereupon relieved UNWRA of all further financial or administrative responsibility for the remaining refugees. This meant a large annual saving to the agency, and enabled it to wind up its operations in Israel, transfer its personnel, and devote the whole of its funds and attention to its work elsewhere. For us this was no facile gesture. As my government wrote to Mr. Blanford, the former director of the agency, on May 18, 1952, it "would throw a substantial additional burden on the Government, particularly as up to half the remaining refugees are social cases who are not expected to become self-supporting and will remain a permanent charge on the community." The same letter states, "The Government contemplates that there will then cease to exist in Israel a distinct category of Palestinian refugees, with a status which differs from that of other inhabitants of the country." In this way, a part of the problem, concerning nearly 50,000 persons, has been settled by reintegration. This is only a small part of the whole, but it compares favorably with the total of 8,000 refugees taken off the relief rolls by other means. Incidentally, the position of the Israel Arabs, with whom these former refugees have now been merged, is quite unlike the picture of misery which has been painted here. This is not a matter before the United Nations and I do not want to dwell on it, although we take some pride in the rapid progress our Arab community is making.

I would only express regret that a hostile frontier evidently acts as a distorting mirror. I would be happy to have the distinguished delegate of Iraq visit my country as our guest; he would be relieved to see for himself that the Arabs in Israel are first-class citizens, participating fully in our democratic life and already enjoying standards of well-being from which the corresponding classes of Arab society elsewhere are still remote.

While the refugees within our borders were thus being integrated, a measure of repatriation was also taking place. Certain categories of relatives of Arabs living in Israel were permitted to come in, in order to reunite broken families. Also, a large number who had filtered illegally into the country were permitted to remain as legal residents. These two processes contributed to the rapid growth of our Arab population, which numbered less than 100,000 in 1948, and is by now over 180,000. For reasons which I shall shortly explain there is little prospect that Israel will be able to take in any more of the refugees now in the Arab countries.

Release of blocked accounts

Next, there is the question of blocked accounts. In his opening statement, Mr. Labouisse made a somewhat critical comment on this matter, but I fear he had not been fully informed about its progress. In the first phase of releasing these frozen bank

accounts, which is still in progress, nearly $2 million are being paid out to refugees in Arab countries. Arrangements have since been concluded to pay out the balance, amounting to over $8½ million. Any slight delay there might have been was solely due to the Israel Government's wish to obviate the obstructions and difficulties which presented themselves in the first release, by inviting the representatives of the account holders themselves to suggest improvements in the procedure. This they did, with the result that the procedure has been simplified, and the Government has been able to satisfy all their requests about the conditions of the release.

The Committee might take note of this as a case where Israel and the persons directly concerned have reached a satisfactory agreement by sensible negotiation.

On November 16, the same day that the Director of UNWRA spoke in this Committee, my Government made a public statement in Jerusalem. In view of the various inaccurate stories put before the Committee, I shall take the liberty of reading this statement, and would request that it be fully inserted into the record. It reads:

"On September 27, 1954, the Israel Government announced its intention, which was elaborated on November 3, 1954, to proceed with the release to absentee or refugee owners, of outstanding balances of their accounts with banks in Israel and of articles held in safe custody and the contents of lockers. The Israel Government has since been considering practical proposals for implementing its decision and is now able to announce the following release procedure:

"All account holders already receiving releases at a monthly rate of 50 pounds to 500 pounds maximum will shortly receive letters addressed to them at the address given on their previous application forms, enclosing a simple form of request for release and transfer of the remaining balance. The completed form should be submitted either directly or by the applicant or through any local organization he may select, to the nearest branch of Barclay's Bank or the Ottoman Bank, or to the London offices of these banks, or through the nearest UNWRA office. Accoount holders who have not yet submitted applications, or those whose applications were not eligible under the previous scheme, are required to make application in the above manner on special forms which should be available within 2 weeks at branches of Barclays and Ottoman Banks and UNWRA offices in neighboring countries. Application forms will also be available at the London offices of the two banks.

"The Israel Government will ensure that applications are dealt with expeditiously and certainly within 14 working days of receipt. All amounts deducted under the 10 percent compulsory loan, and all amounts transferred to the custodian from balances of accounts exceeding 500 pounds, will be refunded and included in the final release. The transfer of the amount released will be made in sterling at the rate of 1 Israel pound equal to 1 sterling, in a single payment.

"Applicants requiring release of safe custody articles of contents of lockers must complete a special application form. After verification by the bank and approval by the Israel Government, articles can be released in one of the following ways:

"(a) To the depositor on personal application.

"(b) To his representative on production of an adequate letter of authority.

"(c) By posting the articles either to a bank nominated by the applicant or to the applicant himself on his written application, subject to compliance with normal customs regulations in force at the time, but not to any currency or exchange control regulations, which will not be applied in respect of any article released by the custodian.

"If in terms of (a) the depositor wishes to make a personal application, the Israel Government is prepared to facilitate this by providing an escort and transportation for depositors and their property. The Israel Government reserves the right to refuse entry to any person at its discretion."

I would merely add that since then the forms have been printed and distributed to the banks, and we are awaiting the applications, which as the notice says, will be dealt with in at most 14 days.

The question of compensation

My government reaffirms its willingness to consider a measure of compensation for abandoned Arab lands. Our original position, a perfectly logical one, I submit, was that this question was one aspect of the larger problem, and could best be dealt with in the context of a general Israel-Arab settlement. Subsequently, because of the humanitarian nature of the refugee problem, my government announced that it was prepared to enter into discussions on compensation with any appropriate United Nations organ, in advance of any general settlement.

My government is now giving fresh consideration to ways and means whereby a measure of compensation might be made available, and might be used to help in the process of integration. This is a complex matter, and in order that the committee should have a realistic picture of it, I must mention the two main difficulties which have to be surmounted.

The first, quite simply, is money—the ability to pay. It will be understood, that such a financial operation does not depend only on us, and with the best will in the world, it would be premature to make specific proposals until we have found means of making the necessary sums available.

Provided the necessary funds become available, we are willing in principle to incur these heavy obligations. But here there arises the second of the two problems to which I have referred. This is the state of economic siege which the surrounding Arab countries maintain against Israel. It takes a number of forms: the severing of all communication ties, the outlawing of all trade relations, the illegal blockade of the Suez Canal, the pressures on third parties to cease dealing with Israel, and so forth. We suffer severe losses from this economic warfare. In 6 years of this it had directly and indirectly cost the Israel economy an amount which is probably not less than that of the value of abandoned Arab property, estimated by an expert U. N. body at a figure of 100 million pounds. These losses spell a harder life and sharper austerities in the daily lives of our people. Yet it is poor psychology, for tightening our belts only tightens our resolve and spurs us to greater efforts. The Arabs suffer losses too, particularly Jordan, which denies itself access to our Mediterranean ports and our markets. In fact nobody gains from this wasteful situation, except for such emotional satisfaction as it may give to short-sighted political leaders. Among those who suffer most are the refugees, for no compensation scheme could operate in such an abnormal setting of economic warfare. It would not make sense if Israel were to pump large sums of precious foreign currency into the economies of countries which were at that very time doing their best to ruin Israel's economy. In the formal sense the two issues could be separated; in practice, they are organically connected. The host governments must choose which is more important to them—carrying on a war against Israel in the economic field or making it possible for compensation to be paid. The committee must surely hope that they will adopt the latter course, thus liberating the economic energies of our region for constructive purposes, and above all for resettlement and compensation of the refugees.

Jordan-Yarmuk project

The distinguished delegate of the United States has referred to the negotiations which Mr. Eric Johnston has been carrying on with the governments concerned, including Israel, about the Jordan-Yarmuk development project. As this scheme holds such a central place in UNWRA's plans, I would put on record my interest in it. The Israel Prime Minister and Foreign Minister recently referred to it in the course of an interview which appeared in the U. S. News & World Report on September 17 last. He stated that the idea was eminently sound, "both for its own sake—that is, for the sake of the water settlement—and as a means of getting the parties to realize that they can only achieve something worthwhile if they pull together and not apart. So, from both these standpoints, it is the right approach." Asked about the basic proposals, Mr. Sharett added that "everything depends on the details of the actual plan. That means primarily on the allocation of the waters. If water is going to be used as a political bribe, no agreement will be possible. But if the water will be allocated on the principle of how much water each state actually needs and how much water it can put to beneficial use, that is another thing." Pointing out that our whole future depended on the possibilities of irrigation, Mr. Sharett hoped that Mr. Johnston would hammer out something acceptable to all parties.

These discusisons are continuing, and I understand Mr. Johnston will be visiting the area again shortly. Meanwhile the committee may safely discount the distorted Arab accounts given here about this important mediation effort.

Border adjustments

There has been some discussion in the committee on the passages in the director's report dealing with the so-called economic refugees—that is to say, persons who have lost their livelihoods because the demarcation lines between Israel and the Arab States deprive them of access to part of their former farmlands in Israel. It should be remembered that the demarcation lines were determined by negotiation between Israel and the Arab States concerned and incorporated in the armistice agreements between them, which were approved by the Security Council.

Where the demarcation line follows the old frontier of western Palestine, there is no problem of village lands. That is generally the case with the Lebanese and Syrian borders, and in the south with the Egyptian and Jordan borders. But in the central region, a large irregular part of former Palestine territory was occupied by Jordan forces and annexed to Jordan. Between this area and Israel territory the armistice agreement created a new border, which unavoidably cut across village lands in a number of cases. Undoubtedly hardship was caused on the local level wherever a village was thus deprived of a portion of the lands which it used to cultivate. On a lesser scale, the same situation exists with regard to the Gaza strip, another Palestinian area which was occupied and is held by Egypt. Here again, a new border has come into existence.

The distinguished delegate of the United Kingdom has asked whether this problem could not to some extent be relieved by local adjustments of the demarcation line. It is not always feasible for an armistice line, which is also an international border, to zigzag back and forth so as to fit around village boundaries. However, my Government has always been willing to explore the possibility of adjustment.

The armistice agreements themselves lay down that the line can only be altered by the mutual consent of the signatory governments. From time to time we have attempted to deal with the situation by land

exchanges which would overcome some of the anomalies in the frontier. Thus in January 1951 we proposed such an exchange which would have improved the situation in the Qalyubiya area. On May 9, 1952, the Jordan representative informed us that our suggestion was rejected.

On January 30, 1952, negotiations took place for the division of the Latrun no-man's-land. Under this transaction, Israel would have gained some 20,000 dunams and Jordon 25,000 dunams. An agreement was provisionally worked out in the Mixed Armistice Commission. On May 29, 1952, however, we were informed that Jordan had rejected the agreement.

Again, an arrangement for the exchange of land in the Zeita area, suggested by Israel was worked out as a joint plan in the Mixed Armistice Commission by Israel and Jordan representatives, in the presence of United Nations observers. In November 1952, the Jordanians withdrew their agreement to the suggested exchange.

The Israel Government is ready to reopen negotiations on this matter at any time with the Arab governments concerned, within the context of the armistice agreements. Although this subject is outside UNWRA's terms of reference, I have set out the relevant facts because they have a bearing on the question of the economic refugees.

II. REPATRIATION OR RESETTLEMENT

In the various ways with which I have dealt, Israel has tried to contribute to a solution of the problem. We hope to contribute in the future by way of compensation. But it is obvious that Israel cannot solve it. For several years past, it has been clear that the basic solution lies in the permanent integration of the refugees amongst their own kin, in the Arab countries. During these years a number of the most responsible delegations of the United Nations have had the realism to state this view, however unpopular it might be in some quarters. During the present debate there have been fresh affirmations of this evident truth, in particular by the distinguished representatives of the Netherlands, the United States, and France. My delegation owes it to the committee to set out the Israel position on repatriation with complete frankness.

Problem of security

Many governments are concerned with sensitive problems of internal security, and carefully inquire whether those who wish to cross their borders and settle in their countries might not be a danger to the State. Is Israel, of all countries in the world, so fortunately placed that it need take no thought for its own safety? The refugees we are discussing have never identified themselves with our State. On the contrary, they left their former homes, at their leaders' behest, in the course of an armed struggle. The express object of that war was to prevent Israel from being established, in accordance with the General Assembly resolution of November 29, 1947.

The host governments who demand the right of the refugee to return to Israel refuse even now to concede Israel's right to exist, and make it clear that they would destroy it if they could. Their state of mind is unhappily only too clear from their own recent actions and declarations, including statements made in this debate.

Against such a background, is it probable that the refugees would enter our borders in order to become loyal citizens of the state, giving their full allegiance to its government and its laws, willing to defend it against any threat; would they now accept the national objectives of a country which is Jewish by definition, and is dedicated to fulfilling the historic tasks of Zionism? I regret that there is little sign of such a change of sentiment. My distinguished colleagues have had the benefit of hearing a refugee point of view, and it must have struck them how fully Dr. Tannous corroborated what I have just said. The really significant aspect of his statement was the state of mind it revealed. Since he and his fellow refugees evidently believe that Israel is in illegal occupation of the country, that it is enemy No. 1, that the Arab minority within it is suffering persecution, that this is a hundred years' war—how could we safely throw open our borders to a fresh influx of such people? What is likely is that Israel, beleaguered as it is by hostile neighbors, would also be fatally disrupted from within.

A larger state could perhaps minimize the risk by settling elements of dubious loyalty well within its interior, where contact with unfriendly neighbors might be difficult. Unfortunately Israel has not been endowed with an interior. Our state is 70 miles across at its widest part, 10 miles at its narrowest. The whole country is a border strip, with frontiers that from their length and physical nature cannot be sealed off. What this lack of depth means for our security has been only too plain to us, in our efforts to curb infiltration and marauding. Were there to be repatriation, our internal-security problem would become insoluble, and our country indefensible.

A sovereign right

Israel is deeply concerned with retaining the good will of the world—particularly of those countries which have sympathized with the need of our ancient and sorely tried people to have a home of its own once more. That is why, when the United Nations is faced with this painful problem, we wish to gain your understanding for what has been called our negative attitude on repatriation. It is not a question for us of the semantics of resolutions or the tactics of debates. The question is whether any government and any state can be required to do things inconsistent with its own survival. Here I should like to say a word on our right of decision to admit or not to admit people from neighboring territories. We have listened with deep interest to the views of other governments on this matter. But the determination whether the admission of any person or group of persons to our territory is or is not conducive to the national security or welfare is a sovereign right of the Government of Israel, just as all other countries possess and do not hesitate to apply a similar sovereign right. I am grateful to those of my colleagues who have shown understanding of this problem.

Economic aspect

Reluctance to create a Trojan horse in Israel is a decisive obstacle to repatriation, but not the only one. From the economic point of view it is a mistake to think of repatriation as simply allowing refugees to trek back across the border, and pick up the threads of their former lives in their former homes. One can understand the tendency of all uprooted persons to live in the past. That is a human and a natural feeling which merits our compassion. But the world they once knew has vanished. Their businesses and jobs disappeared during the Arab exodus. The derelict villages have crumbled away; the abandoned lands have been resettled. The repatriates would be, in effect, new immigrants, to be settled afresh in a country which has been rapidly transformed, and bears little resemblance to the territory they once left. In the economic sense, therefore, repatriation is a misleading term. In practice it would not be an alternative to resettlement, but a more difficult and more costly resettlement than elsewhere.

Exchange of minorities

There is a further aspect we must examine. Would repatriation, even a partial repatriation, pave the way to peace between Israel and the Arab States? In the face of every discouragement, we continue to believe that such peace will come—that Israel and its neighbors will live and work together as good neighbors should, for the benefit of our region as a whole. But we are convinced that nothing could be more calculated to bedevil Israel-Arab relations for all time, than creating in Israel a large Arab irredenta, having the deepest ties with its conational States which surround us. The world is only too familiar with the impact of such minority problems on relations between States. Nearly 20 years ago, when a British Royal Commission first proposed the partition of Palestine, it also suggested an exchange of minorities, for the sake of harmony. This is in fact what has happened, through the rough surgery of a war which was none of our seeking. The bulk of the Palestine Arabs are in the Arab lands; the bulk of the Jews from those lands have been resettled in Israel. This two-way movement has created a factual situation which cannot be rubbed out, but on which a better future could be built.

The 1948 resolution

The General Assembly Resolution of 1948, which spoke of a right to return was adopted only a few months after the end of the mandate, at a time when the fighting was not yet over. Even at that time, when the realities of the problem were less plain than they are now, the Assembly qualified its recommendation with reference to two criteria: peace and practicability. The views I have expressed today do not offend against the original resolution. The two stipulated conditions for return do not exist, and it is not helpful to the refugees themselves to keep the idea alive in their minds.

Lessons from other areas

It may be instructive to glance at the experience of other areas. The political changes which took place in the immediate postwar period, including no less than five partitions, produced a number of large-scale refugee movements. I would refer, for instance, to the 13 million refugees in West and East Germany, the 15 million in India and Pakistan; the 400,000 Karelians in Finland; the 350,000 Volksdeutsche in Austria; the 2½ millions who moved from North to South Korea and an unknown number in Indochina. The circumstances may have differed in each of these problems, but they have certain striking features in common, to which I would draw the Committee's attention:

Firstly, in no case was repatriation the answer to the problem;

Secondly, in each case the problem was solved because there was no conational or coreligious host country which was willing to solve it;

Thirdly, international organizations or private charitable bodies could assist a willing host country, but could not be a substitute for one.

Jewish experience

These conclusions are also borne out by Jewish experience since Hitler came to power. I do not need to recall the prewar problem of finding new homes for Nazi victims. There was no Jewish State, but there was a community in Mandatory Palestine which had the international status of a Jewish National Home, and which was eager to take in as many as possible of its persecuted brethren. As a result, nearly 200,000 found a new life there—a large slice of the total problem. After the war, the world once more faced the pitiful challenge of the Jewish DP's in European camps, and the Jewish communities which faced persecution in a number of countries. The problem seemed insoluble until the birth of Israel. Jewish homelessness was no longer an international concern, because now there was a national

State prepared to take the problem on to itself.

Challenge to Arab statesmanship

The only solvent for mass refugee problems in our time has been through the refugees being able to invoke the family sentiment of kindred host countries. That lesson has a bearing on the present case too. The problem presents a major challenge to Arab statesmanship—which is whether it has the capacity to make a home for these refugees who live amongst their own relatives. Nobody would wish to minimize the size of the task, its real difficulties, or the time it will take. The director has referred to some of these factors in his able report. One special difficulty is that the great bulk of the refugeecs have remained concentrated around the armistice lines, whereas the most promising resettlement areas are farther afield in the Arab hinterland.

But the elements of a solution do exist. I was surprised at the talk we have heard about foreigners. The Arab peoples insist that they are a single people, and that no Arab is a foreigner in any of their countries. Surely this makes it feasible to resettle the refugees among 40 million of their kin in 8 sovereign states—with unexploited land and water in some—with huge oil revenues in some, and with international funds and assistance available in generous measure. The ultimate factor is not physical resources, but the will to do so, and the courage to say to their own people and the refugees that it must be done.

The present discussion has revealed very mixed feelings. Our admiration for the splendid work done by the director and the agency in feeding the refugees and providing them with essential services, is tempered with dismay at the lack of progress toward a solution, after 6 years of international effort. The United Nations and the contributing governments are now being asked to carry the burden for 5 more years. We can but hope that during that time the problem will be substantially settled. That will only happen if it is lifted out of the political and emotional bog in which it is now so unhappily embedded, and if it is clearly and frankly examined. I have tried to put the Israel Government's views before the committee in that spirit.

William Wallace Royster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, today, March 7, is the 83d birthday of William Wallace Royster, a former resident of Glenwood, Minn., and now of Vallejo, Calif.

Numerous railroad employees, especially those of the old days, value the contribution that Mr. Royster made to the idea of a pension plan for railroad employees. Many old-timers of the railroads have expressed deep and heartfelt gratitude for Mr. Royster's efforts.

His story, as told to me by Gottfrid Lindsten, is that after completing his run as a Soo Line engineer in Minnesota, Mr. Royster worked into the late night hours to develop a railroad pension plan that was one of the earliest of these plans.

The essentials of a pension plan were developed in 1928 by Mr. Royster, when various railroads offered gratuity pensions to such employees as the management considered worthy, which pensions could be terminated at will by the railroads. In these plans discrimination was possible, but Mr. Royster's plan sought to eliminate possible injustices of the gratuity plans, making it obligatory for the railroads to pay pensions to qualified employees. His plan, printed in pamphlet form, was filed with the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul and with the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

Many railroad employees supported Mr. Royster's plan; many joined his movement to effect such a plan. Their efforts, as well as those of many others, were successful when the Railroad Retirement Act was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It is fitting, therefore, that William Wallace Royster be remembered publicly today as he is remembered by many of his friends and coworkers, the old-timers of the Nation's railroads.

Mr. Good Neighbor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of March 1, 1955:

MR. GOOD NEIGHBOR

In the realm of inter-American relations, the term "good neighbor" has become a diplomatic catchword in recent years. Deplorably, the term has sometimes proved to be little more than a mere catchword. We have often been charged by the Latin Americans, and not always unjustly, with caring more for the show than the substance of good neighborliness.

In helping to restore the spirit of the term, the present tour of Vice President NIXON through the Central American Republics is performing an invaluable service to our foreign policy in that area. The Central Americans have found a genuine friend in Mr. NIXON, and his warm personality has done much to restore amity between their nations and ours.

In the realm of diplomacy, Mr. NIXON's visits with Central American chiefs of state already have produced significant results. Without appearing to meddle in their internal affairs, Mr. NIXON has succeeded in bringing the Presidents of Nicaragua and Costa Rica closer to a peaceable settlement of their long dispute than they have been for many months. This he has been able to do because these leaders recognized and respected Mr. NIXON's sincere friendship, and his desire to serve the cause of inter-American amity.

For years to come, RICHARD NIXON will live in the minds and hearts of these people as Mr. Good Neighbor himself.

The Tyranny of Labels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I believe all our colleagues are vitally interested in the health of this Nation and are, therefore, also interested in a good health program. With this in mind, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following very fine article written by Dr. Max Seham, which appeared in the February 28, 1955, issue of the New Republic magazine. Dr. Seham, a practicing physician in Minneapolis, is a member of the Committee for the Nation's Health.

THE TYRANNY OF LABELS

(By Max Seham)

President Eisenhower, in his 1955 health message to the Congress, has placed major emphasis on the renewal of a proposal rejected by the 83d Congress last year—a limited reinsurance plan. This plan, in the President's view, "is the only logical alternative to socialized medicine." He counts on it to solve the problem of the continually rising costs of medical care by extending health insurance to farm families, providing more protection against the costs of prolonged illness, and insuring low-income families against doctor bills, as well as hospital bills.

Briefly, the Eisenhower reinsurance scheme would set up a $25 million governmental fund to stimulate insurance companies into offering better health coverage by providing for "broad sharing among health insurance organizations of risks of experimentation."

The fund would pay 75 percent of a private company's losses in any one year, if according to designated yardsticks such losses were unavoidable. The theory is that with this Federal guaranty behind them, insurance companies will take the risk of giving better coverage to the 100 million present holders of bona fide voluntary insurance, and that they would be encouraged to enroll a large segment of the 63 million people who now have no health insurance at all.

But the administration-sponsored health bill of 1955 does nothing to require significantly more comprehensive benefits from insurance companies. In fact, the bill's suggested model plan for lower-income families would leave the insured to pay such an appreciably large and unpredictable portion of his medical bills that it is difficult to see how a low-income man could find such a policy attractive, and hence, why any insurance company would want to bother about it.

What is badly needed if health standards in the United States are to be raised is lowering of premiums for low-income groups and lowering the cost of enrolling rural groups and self-employed persons. The reinsurance plan does nothing in the direction of cutting the high cost (reflected in premiums) of enrollment. And it cannot of itself improve benefits without increasing the costs which essentially determine premiums. The reinsurance plan cannot, in effect, lower the cost of health insurance. All it encourages is experimentation with different arrangements of benefits, which needs no encouragements at all.

By placing the health of the people in the hands of the commercial insurance companies, the administration's plan does not provide for social health insurance in any accepted meaning of the term. Premiums

still would be too high for those who need protection most.

When the President's plan went to Congress last year the odds were in its favor. American Medical Association leaders before they analyzed the bill were elated by the President's assurance that it would "forever lay the ghost of compulsory health insurance." They were so sure of the New Look that they even dropped their multimillion-dollar national education campaign against progressive health legislation.

Insurance company representatives were invited to the White House and handed the program with luncheon. New and Fair Dealers in the House and Senate offered no active opposition. The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported the bill with no important changes. The House Rules Committee approved it unanimously. Then came a stunning bipartisan defeat, 238 to 154, 75 Republicans joining 163 Democrats to kill it.

Why was this pet administration project—which denied the label of subsidy, claimed to embody the principle of self-help, and placated an economy-minded Congress—so decisively defeated? It now seems clear that Eisenhower was hit from four sides—by the commercial insurance companies, by the AMA, by the Democrats, and by the spokesmen for the public. The plan satisfied no one.

The insurance companies rejected the plan because, as they put it, the impaired health of a large minority of the population made it unprofitable to insure these people: "To attempt to insure the indigent would impair if not eventually destroy voluntary insurance." They also said, with more candor than the administration could muster, that the Federal reinsurance fund would bring Government into direct competition with private business. They disagreed with Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Oveta Culp Hobby's assertion that the plan would reduce the cost of health insurance, and make it available to groups or areas not now within the reach of insurers. They concluded that they saw "no need for such a plan at the present time." They declared their confidence in this administration, but they feared the plan might become more socialized under another administration. The AMA, which deserves most credit for defeat of the bill, gave practically the same arguments, stressing the danger of Government interference and calling the plan "an entering wedge toward state medicine." So much for the administration's private enterprise allies.

On the other side of the fence, Members of both Houses also spoke their opposition, but for entirely different reasons. SAM RAYBURN called the bill a "blundering stupid way to start a health program." Senator JAMES MURRAY, Democrat, of Montana, thought it was "puny, paltry, and parameciumlike." Representatives of organized labor, farmers, and white-collar workers joined against the bill. People from both urban centers and neglected rural areas told tragic stories of their's and neighbor's experiences with disease that is allied to poverty. Negroes related incidents of discrimination which cut them off from hospital care. The testimony added up to a demand for nothing less than early and continuous, preventive, diagnostic, and curative care for the entire family.

This year's plan has been completely rewritten in an attempt to meet some of the criticism leveled against it last year; but the changes are superficial; it is the same plan.

Studying the President's message, I find myself confused by his semantics. He seems to be speaking with two voices. As chief spokesman for the new look he repeatedly insists that he is "flatly opposed to socialized medicine and will continue to reject it." As Chief Executive of our country he urges Congress to enact into law a health program supported by Federal tax funds. Nowhere has he defined what he means by "socialized medicine." Does he have in mind a pure State medicine system like that in Russia, with the State in complete control of the entire medical system? Does he agree with those who label President Truman's compulsory (contributory) pre-payment plan, Kremlin directed? The cold war over socialized medicine has created a babel of language. Whether on the floor of Congress or in town hall debates, it has become a popular sport for opponents of social progress to call anyone who proposes national health legislation a Socialist. Reforms in health legislation have too long been retarded or defeated, not because the programs were impractical or revolutionary, but because the tyranny of labels has frightened legislators from backing health measures.

Whether we recognize it or not, the American medical system today is a mixture of what may be called limited State medicine—socialization through Government financing and/or control—and private practice. Of total 1954 medical expenditures amounting to $14 billion, Federal tax funds supplied some $4.5 billion. And the programs this Federal money is spent on all are continued in Eisenhower's plan: Vocational rehabilitation; hospital, nursing-home, and convalescent-home construction; public-assistance grants; public-health services; research on air and water pollution; mental-illness control; medical research; and medical care for the 500,000 Indians in America. These matters, he has even said, required boldness and imagination (qualities conspicuously absent from his recommendations) and a little more money. Our system could not function without such a partnership.

Unless we get rid of the phrase "socialized medicine" or agree upon an exact meaning for it, there will never be a meeting of the minds. Precise and meaningful adjectives like compulsory, or contributory, Government, tax-supported, grants-in-aid, etc., might help. The test after all is not whether a health program is private or public, Federal, State, or local, but whether it is a sound, practical, democratic way to do the job.

Like the President's semantic confusion about socialized medicine is that about another abused term—subsidy. Why does Eisenhower deny so vehemently that his reinsurance plan is a subsidy? Are all subsidies pure socialism? And what about the subsidies for farmers and banks and airlines, etc.?

Yet despite the confusion there is reason to think that the 20-year cold war in medical economics may reach a decisive stage in the 84th Congress this year.

For many years the American people, confused by political propaganda, frightened by the bogy of socialized medicine, were complacent and indifferent to their best health interests. But through firsthand, cumulative experience with the financial hazards of illness, they have become aware of the pressing needs for better financial protection and more equitable distribution of medical services. The present system of private practice plus the limited benefits offered by commercial and medical-society prepayment plans are but a stopgap for millions of people who suffer preventable sickness and die prematurely because they do not have the dollars to buy the miracles of modern medicine, surgery, and hospitalization.

New 50-Star Flag Designed by Orpha Klinker, Noted California Artist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, now that statehood for Hawaii and Alaska is a definite possibility, it is appropriate to give some advance consideration to the necessary change in the design of our flag which must be made when statehood is granted.

Too often while much time is given to the deliberation on the question of so vital an issue as statehood for a Territory, little attention is given to the necessary flag changes until statehood is granted and an immediate change is necessary so that our flag will carry the white star to represent the new State on the field of blue, which represents the whole of our Union.

Miss Orpha Klinker, of Los Angeles, Calif., one of our outstanding artists whose paintings have been exhibited in public and private showings, has become interested in probable change in our flag design, and has developed one of the most appropriate suggestions, in my opinion, to be submitted for consideration since the original design was completed by Betsy Ross.

Miss Klinker is a native daughter of the Golden State of California, from one of the first families of the State. She is established as an artist of great creative ability, and is especially noted for her portrait and landscape paintings.

She is also the creator of a series of paintings of historical events and sites depicting the history of the State of California. Among her famous works is her painting of The Four Freedoms in which freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom from want, and freedom to petition the Government of the United States are represented.

Miss Klinker has conceived a new and unique design of the American flag which includes two additional white stars on the blue field to represent Hawaii and Alaska, when they are admitted as new States in the Union.

The total of 50 white stars are arranged on the blue field to spell the word "Freedom." Nothing else in the design of our flag is changed.

I have seen the design and it is very inspiring, patriotic, and carries a message to the world of the precious freedom the people of the United States enjoy under the United States Constitution and the Government of the United States.

In my opinion, Miss Klinker's design adds beauty and additional interest to the flag of the United States, and it has already been submitted to the Heraldic Branch of the Department of Defense for consideration with any other new designs proposed for the flag when

Hawaii and Alaska are admitted to the Union.

The proposed freedom design is most appropriate because the flag of the United States of America is an emblem which stands for freedom from oppression to people of every other land on earth. It represents a Nation where there is equal opportunity for every citizen, where there is complete freedom of religion, where a free press can publish the truth to the people uncensored by Government dictatorship.

We seldom hear of a citizen of the United States renouncing his native land and leaving America to take up citizenship in some foreign land.

But millions upon millions of people from all other parts of the world are constantly seeking admission to the United States, eagerly awaiting the day when they can leave their native lands to come to America where they may enjoy the benefits found nowhere else in the world.

The United States has established in the world a unique experiment in human relations. Here under the stars and stripes, the American people established a nation dedicated to the individual liberty of every citizen. This is a far cry from many other parts of the world where men for generations have been ruled by monarchs or dictators, and have never known true freedom.

Today it is of vital importance, if we are to preserve our Nation and our American way of life, that our citizens be aware of the blessings that are our heritage, and that we realize that only through constant vigilance can we maintain the freedoms which were guaranteed to us by our Constitution and Bill of Rights when the United States was founded.

Our flag is the symbol of all that America represents, of the opportunity offered to us in this Nation, of the wealth of our land which supplies our food and daily needs, of the freedom which makes each man the master of his own destiny.

On June 14, 1777, the Continental Congress adopted a resolution which stated that "the flag of the 13 United States shall be of 13 stripes of alternate red and white, with a union of 13 stars of white in a blue field representing the new constellation." This resolution was promulgated by the Secretary of the Congress on September 3, 1777.

Since that date the Stars and Stripes has proudly flown as the official emblem of our great Nation. It was first carried into battle in the Battle of the Brandywine on September 11, 1777, and has gone with our troops into every battle since that day on land, on sea, and in the air, and from our own shores to the far corners of the earth.

Since that day in 1777 when the Stars and Stripes first unfurled as the emblem of our great Nation, the country has steadily expanded, and with each forward step new States have been admitted to the Union, each State a new star in the flag.

The rearrangement of the constellation on the field of blue has followed the admission of each new State, and now, once again the American frontier has expanded so that two more Territories clamor for admission to statehood.

They cannot be long denied, and again we must consider a change in the design of stars on the flag. The design created by Miss Klinker symbolizes the spirit of freedom which has ever represented the guiding principle of our American way of life, and when we again rearrange the stars of the flag, adoption of this design would truly represent within our flag the spirit of America.

Lack of Understanding Poses Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Lack of Understanding Poses Problem" which appeared in the February 26, 1955, issue of the Messenger and Inquirer of Owensboro, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

LACK OF UNDERSTANDING POSES PROBLEM

Correspondents traveling about Europe and Asia keep talking about the continuing current of anti-American feeling that exists in many places. We would be foolish if we were not disturbed about this.

Basically the catalog of complaints is all too familiar. We're imperialistic, our policies are confused, we're rattling the sword, we're insensitive to the real needs of other nations, we won't take advice, we're brash and inexperienced, and so on.

Much of the criticism is unfair, but not all of it. And just because we know a good deal is unsound, we must not fail to search out and seek to meet the reasonable complaints. We are not the perfect people some Congressmen like to say we are. Any adult American knows we have our shortcomings, that we have made many mistakes, and will make more.

Still, we are not as bad as some unhappy foreigners would paint us. Their tendency to overstress our failings, and even to manufacture some, is gravely puzzling unless we look hard at these people's history and their current difficulties.

Some of these nations once were great leaders in their own right. They cannot help feeling resentment at the young America which now has become world leader. Prodded by envy, bitter at their lost power and status, they assail what seems to them the symbol of their troubles, though it be a country avowedly their friend and helper.

Other nations never have had power and have either just cast off or are trying to cast off the yoke of outside rule. As the colonial grip on them has weakened, they have been chagrined to learn they are moving into a tense world where two colossi—Russia and the United States—stand at the head of great rival forces contending for dominance.

They can see America only as the friend of the colonial powers. They are unimpressed by argument that the Communist conqueror is a greater threat than any they ever knew.

Moreover, they have not found the uses of their long-sought freedom so easy as they may have imagined. Confronted by today's harsh realities, they have been plagued by frustrations and defeats. As most men do—especially including Americans—they have sought a scapegoat. The United States, rich friend of the hated colonial overlord, was the logical choice: We are to blame for all their ills.

As France worries more about her ancient despoiler, Germany, so the lands of Asia can find scant room for fear of a new enemy in minds crowded with the old colonial hatreds.

We are loved even less because we, having been burned twice in great wars, are alert this time to the menace to peace, and are pressing these peoples to join old enemies—whom they know firsthand—to stand against a new enemy whom they know only secondhand.

In all this they are showing themselves to be terribly human. Probably these attitudes will change only with the long passage of time. All we can do to assist the change is try unflaggingly to show these peoples what we really are, and extend to them more understanding and more generosity of spirit than they seem willing to offer us in return.

Israel's Border and Security Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following very interesting article written by Maj. Gen. Moshe Dayan, which appeared in the January 1955 issue of Foreign Affairs:

ISRAEL'S BORDER AND SECURITY PROBLEMS

(By Maj. Gen. Moshe Dayan)

I

Seven years after its war of independence the State of Israel still faces a security problem of unusual complexity. The area of the country is only 8,100 square miles. But owing to the configuration of its territory there are 400 miles of frontier. Three-quarters of the population of Israel lives in the coastal plain, running from north of Haifa to south of Tel Aviv, with a slender salient branching off to Jerusalem. This densely settled area has an average width of no more than 12 miles between the Mediterranean and the Jordanian border. From the Israel Parliament buildings in Jerusalem the armed sentries of the Jordan Arab Legion can be seen a few hundred yards away. The headquarters of the Israel general staff in the coastal plain are within clear view from the hills which mark the Jordan frontier. The country's main roads and railways are exposed to swift and easy incursion. Scarcely anywhere in Israel can a man live or work beyond the easy range of enemy fire. Indeed, except in the Negev, no settlement is at a distance of more than 20 miles from an Arab frontier.

Thus the term "frontier security" has little meaning in the context of Israel's geography. The entire country is a frontier, and the whole rhythm of national life is affected by any hostile activity from the territory of neighboring states. On the other hand, the Arab States are in no such position. Border tensions affect a narrow fringe of their territories, beyond which stretch deep hinterlands entirely remote from the hazards and strains of frontier life. An American citizen who can cross a vast continent without seeing a foreign, let alone a hostile, face may require an unusual measure of imagination and humility to un-

derstand the unique vulnerability which geography imposes upon the people of Israel.

The effects of geographical vulnerability are aggravated by the fierce antagonism directed against Israel across her embattled frontiers. There is no other state in the world community whose very right to existence is so persistently challenged by all its contiguous neighbors. This is not the classic pattern of international conflict in which neighboring peoples recognize each other's statehood but are divided by specific disputes which they have failed to reconcile. The hostility of the Arab governments toward Israel is more fundamental. It has passed through three phases: First, before 1948, there was a determination to prevent the establishment of an independent Israel; second, in 1948, there was an unsuccessful attempt to destroy Israel's independence at its birth by armed assault; and, third, in the period 1948–54, there has been an attitude of inveterate revenge based on nonrecognition and the undying hope of Israel's extinction. The elementary duty of members of the United Nations to recognize each other's right to sovereignty and integrity has never found any reflection in the relations of the Arab world with Israel.

More than 15 years ago a British Royal Commission had recorded the official Arab view presented by the Mufti of Jerusalem that the Jewish population of Palestine was too large and should be reduced by military action. In November 1947 the United Nations' recommendation for the establishment of a sovereign Jewish State in Palestine was the signal for a purposeful attempt to put this doctrine into effect. In the General Assembly, Arab spokesmen frankly asserted their refusal to acquiesce in the new international policy or even to abstain from using force against it. Six delegates mounted the rostrum of the world peace organization to announce their intention of violently destroying the community whose right to independence had just received international confirmation. On November 30, 1947, this assault began with the slaughter of 36 Jews in the first week of hostilities commenced by Palestinian Arab guerrillas. A liberation army organized by Arab governments moved into Palestine to continue the carnage. Finally, on May 15, 1948, when the British Mandate expired, the armies of all the Arab States invaded Israel with the avowed aim of destroying her independence. Iraqi and Jordanian battalions took over the Arab half of Palestine, then pressed on toward the coastal plain while Israel stood with her back against the sea. Syrian tanks crashed into farming villages in the upper Jordan Valley. Lebanese regulars and irregulars from Syria converged upon Galilee. Egyptian forces began what was intended as a triumphal march on Tel Aviv, coming within 9 miles of the city's suburbs. Aircraft bombed Israel's undefended cities. A ring of fire encircled Jerusalem and exposed its population to the horrors of bombardment, famine, and siege.

There has never been any serious dispute about the origins of this assault of its aggressive character. In the spring of 1948 a United Nations Commission reported: "Powerful Arab forces are defying the resolution of the General Assembly and attempting to overthrow by force the recommendations contained therein." The authoritative international view was further expressed in the United Nations by Ambassador Warren Austin, speaking for the United States, in the Security Council, on May 22, 1948:

"Probably the most important and the best evidence we have on that subject is contained in the admissions of the countries whose five armies have invaded Palestine that they are carrying on a war.

"Their statements are the best evidence we have of the international character of this aggression. They tell us quite frankly that their business in Palestine is political and that they are there to establish a unitary state. Of course, the statement that they are there to make peace is rather remarkable in view of the fact that they are waging war." [1]

The American representative then invited his colleagues to determine that this "aggression of international character" constituted a breach of the peace within the meaning of article 39 of the U. N. Charter. The fighting between May 15 and June 13, when a 30-day truce was concluded, had involved the Arab governments in the open rejection of the Security Council's 3 cease-fire orders.

When the 30-day truce expired, the United Nations ordered its renewal. The Arab States refused to accede, arguing with frankness that if there no fighting it would be impossible to prevent the State of Israel from continuing to exist. In a resolution adopted on July 15, 1948, the Security Council renewed its verdit of Arab responsibility by resolving that the Arab refusal to prolong the truce constituted a breach of international peace and security. This was the first time that such a determination under chapter VII of the Charter had been made by the United Nations on any issue.

The repulse by ill-equipped defenders of this assault was Israel's first achievement, and it won her high renown. But both the Army and the civilian population sustained cruel loss of life. Some of the patient rewards of five decades of pioneering had been ravaged. The State of Israel had come into existence in the shadow of imminent destruction, and the memories of escape from fearful dangers have attended the people of Israel from the very dawn of their independence. These memories abide with us still, and go far to explain the depth of our preoccupation with security. Nor have the Israel people ever forgetten that in their supreme ordeal they received no direct assistance from outside, although waves of sympathy flowed in from free peoples everywhere and provided a valued consolation.

The acceptance of a permanent truce in July 1948 did not signify the end of the war. Contrary to the terms of the truce and to the rulings of the United Nations Truce Supervision Board, the Egyptian Army blocked the supply road to the Jewish villages in the south and renewed the attack on Israel positions in tne Negev. A convoy was sent to supply the Negev villages. It was heavily attacked by the Egyptian forces from positions secured after the truce. Seven days' more fighting ensued, which gave to the Israel forces control of Beersheba, center of the Negev, as well as of the northern Negev with the exception of the Gaza strip and the Faluja pocket. In a statement made on October 25, 1948, by the United Nations Chief of the Truce Supervision Board to the Egyptian commander in chief in Gaza, he attributed the renewal of the fighting in the Negev primarily to the failure of the Egyptians to comply with ruling No. 13 of the Truce Supervision Board regarding the passage of convoys to the Jewish villages in the south. In March 1949 the Israel forces occupied the Wadi Araba up to the Gulf of Elath and thus gained control of the Negev—a desert area which had been part of Israel since her establishment but had been unoccupied by any forces up to that time. Neither the Egyptians nor the Jordanians had ever possessed international sanction to occupy this part of Israel in the first place, and if their patrols had ever crossed or scantily supervised it prior to its occupation by Israel—a claim that was never substantiated—their expulsion was a blow against aggressive conquest.

The purpose of the Arab invasion had been the destruction of the state of Israel and the ejection of the Jewish population from the soil of Palestine. In a statement made by Azzam Pasha, then Secretary General of the Arab League, on May 15, 1948, the eve of the invasion of the Arab armies, the Arab war aim was formulated in unambiguous terms: "This," he said, "will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacre and the crusades." Indeed, the Arab attack, especially in its first guerrilla stage, did not lack cases of disregard of the rules of war.

There are at present more than 180,000 Arabs living in the state of Israel, but not a single Jew survives in any part of Palestine that came to be occupied by the invading Arab armies. The Jewish quarter in the old city of Jerusalem, with its ancient synagogues and monuments, was completely destroyed; even the Jewish cemetery of the Mount of Olives was desecrated and laid waste.

II

In 1949 a series of armistice agreements were concluded under United Nations auspices between Israel and each of the Arab states which had participated in the war, with the exception of Iraq. It was assumed that this step marked the conclusion of the war and that the armistice would herald the early advent of a lasting peace. Indeed, in their preambles, the armistice agreements were described as designed to facilitate the transition from the present truce to permanent peace in Palestine. They provided that no aggressive action should be undertaken or threatened by either party against the other and that the right of each party to its security and freedom from fear of attack by the armed forces of the other was to be fully respected. The conclusion of the armistice was described as an indispensable step toward the liquidation of armed conflict and the restoration of peace in Palestine.

The events of the past 5 years have belied these hopeful expectations. No sooner had the Arab States recovered from the shock of Israel's successful resistance than they began to question the character of the armistice agreements as a phase in the progress toward a final settlement. So far from regarding them as an arrangement "to facilitate the transition to permanent peace," the Arab signatories, in a joint statement issued on April 1, 1950, pledged themselves not to conduct peace negotiations with Israel and declared that any Arab State doing so would be treated as a traitor and an outcast. Subsequent policy has been in full accord with that declaration. Instead of abstaining, as required by the terms of the armistice, from all threats of aggressive action, their spokesmen in parliament, press, and radio have incessantly warned Israel of a coming second round.

This concept of Israel as a temporary bridgehead to be eliminated by war or blockade still dominates Arab official utterances. "In demanding the restoration of the refugees to Palestine," wrote Muhammad Salah-ad-Din, a former foreign minister of Egypt," the Arabs intend to annihilate the State of Israel." [2] No less outspoken was King Saud in a statement made in Riadh soon after his accession to the throne: "The only way which the Arab States must go is to draw Israel up by her roots. Why should we not sacrifice 10 million out of 50 million Arabs so that we may live in greatness and honor?" [3] Against this mood of war and revenge, reason has little chance of prevailing. "The Jews are our enemies," Baghdad radio told its listeners on June 28, 1949, "and it does not matter how peace-loving they may be. We shall never cease to prepare for the day of reckoning, for the second round, when the Jews will be driven off our soil."

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

In this matter, the new regime in Egypt, contrary to early expectations, has not diverged from the traditional slogans. In his opening address to the Arab armistice deletions, made in Cairo on April 18, 1953, Mohammed Naguib, then President of Egypt, said: "The existence of Israel is a cancer in the body of the Arab nation." Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt, was equally frank: "Israel is an artificial state which must disappear," he said on May 8, 1954, to a representative of the Greek newspaper Kathimerini. During his visit at the Lebanese Parliament on July 1, 1954, the Egyptian Minister of National Guidance, Maj. Salah Salem stated: "The evacuation of the occupation forces from our country will free essential forces of ours. We shall then be able to raise our voice and to liberate Palestine. We shall prepare the forces that will liberate Palestine. And, with the help of God, there will be a great revival."[4]

It has been a habit of Arab propaganda to assert that their refusal to make peace is justified by the prior demand to have the original recommendation of the United Nations fulfilled. There is no juridical or moral force in the contention that Israel has a duty to set aside its rights under existing treaties in favor of the recommendations which Arab governments themselves destroyed by force. Indeed, it was because of Arab opposition that the United Nations abandoned its 1947 resolution and called upon the parties to reach their own binding agreements. This they have done; and nothing in the armistice system may now be changed without consent. In December 1952 the General Assembly of the United Nations rejected by vote the Arab thesis that fulfillment of old recommendations was a prior condition of a negotiated peace. But in any case, this argument belongs to the tactics of controversy, not to the reality of the Arab position. Mohammed Salah-ad-Din said recently: "The Arabs will not be satisfied with the implementation of United Nations resolutions. We shall only have complete satisfaction when Israel is finally blotted out from the map of the Middle East. The Arabs will find not rest until this cancer has been removed from their heart."[5] While on November 3, 1954, the Syrian Prime Minister, Faris Al Khoury, declared in Parliament:

"Certain Arab leaders say that there can be no peace with Israel before the implementation of the U. N. resolutions. * * * They link peace with Israel with these terms. I denounce such a statement, and I say that there is no connection between peace with Israel and the return of the refugees and the U. N. resolutions. * * * Whether they return the refugees or not, peace must not be concluded with Israel in any form. I do not believe that the Arabs would approve peace so long as the Jews remain settled in that spot, the heart of the Arab States, threatening all those around them, and spreading corruption and evil. * * * How can we possibly make peace with them while they remain there? This was the first round and, unfortunately, it was not successful. The Arabs, we included, should prepare for a second round and do their utmost."[6]

In such an atmosphere, the idea of progress towards peace with Israel is regarded as a form of treason: "Whoever thinks of making peace with the enemy signs the death warrant of all the Arab nations," said Dr. Fadhil Jamali, the Foreign Minister of Iraq, on his way to Washington to negotiate for the receipt of weapons for the Iraq Army.[7]

Such statements cannot be lightly regarded in any discussion of Israel's security problem. No other state has Israel's experience of being constantly threatened with violent destruction by hostile neighbors a few miles away.

Nor has Arab hostility been confined to warlike propaganda. From the very inception of the State of Israel, an economic boycott has been enforced against it by the Arab States, of which the most significant aspect is the closing of the Suez Canal to all Israel shipping and the interference with the passage of ships of other nations carrying cargoes to Israel. This action of the Egyptian Government is a violation of the Constantinople Convention of 1888, under which the power contiguous to the Suez Canal is bound to keep the canal "always * * * free and open in time of war as in time of peace to every vessel of commerce or of war without distinction of flag." The Security Council of the United Nations on September 1, 1951, ruled that under the Armistice Agreement neither party could assert that it was actively a belligerent or entitled to exercise the right of visit, search, and seizure. The Council found that Egyptian interference with the passage through the Suez Canal of goods destined for Israel was "inconsistent with the purpose of the armistice agreement" and "an abuse of the exercise of the right of visit, search, and seizure." It called upon Egypt to terminate all such restrictions. No heed has been paid to this decision, and the Egyptian blockade has recently taken the form of the flagrant seizure of an unarmed Israel ship in the international waterway.

A widely ramified boycott machinery has been set up, with headquarters in Cairo, to prevent trade between the Arab States and Israel, indeed between Israel and other countries. International firms trading with Israel are blacklisted, airlines and shipping companies are denied servicing in Arab airports, and harbors, if they maintain contact with Israel. A conspicuous example of this policy was the campaign of intimidation conducted by the Arab States against the German Federal Republic which had signed a reparations agreement with Israel. Danger to international air traffic has been caused by the refusal of Arab airports to provide flight information to aircraft proceeding to or from Israel. The boycott of the Arab States against Israel extends even to the denial of information on the movement of infectious diseases or locusts. Neither considerations of humanity nor the common ills of nature have prevailed against this intense hostility.

III

The facts already enumerated would themselves be sufficient to give a disquieting picture of the threat to Israel's security. No state is as vulnerable as Israel in the configuration of its frontier; none has such memories of recent aggression; none is beset by the nerve-racking experience of hearing the renewal of aggression repeatedly threatened; none is assailed even now by every form of hostility short of regular warfare. But the picture is still not complete without reference to the wider international context, which subjects Israel's fragile security to additional strains.

Israel, while subjected to regional hostility, is not immune from any of the dangers which might ensue from a world conflict reaching into the Middle East. Indeed, a great power conflict in the Middle East would face Israel with a double peril—attack by an invading great power and a simultaneous assault by neighboring Arab states.

Moreover, Israel faces these manifold dangers with no sure prospect of assistance from any quarter. Israel is not integrated into any system of defense pacts or security guaranties. The Arab League collective security pact, the British treaties with Iraq, Jordan, and Egypt, the defense association growing up around Turkey and Pakistan, and American arms aid agreements in the Middle East are all oriented exclusively toward the Arab states and are based on Israel's exclusion. There is thus not a single country in the world which has contracted a firm, unequivocal obligation to help defend Israel by armed force in the event of aggression. Recourse to the United Nations Charter which in 1948 had some effect in limiting the duration of the war and localizing its effects is now a dubious safeguard. In the present conflict between the great powers and in the light of the veto provision twice exercised in the Arab-Israel context by the Soviet Union, it may be doubted whether Israel, if attacked, could even obtain a cease-fire resolution from the Security Council. Six years ago the Security Council was able to adopt five such resolutions, two of which the Arab States obeyed and three of which they defied. Thus not only does Israel face formidable dangers; she also faces them in unusual solitude.

The effect of great-power policies in the present international situation has been to increase this already grave disadvantage. For, while the Soviet Union has twice prevented any action in the Security Council favorable to Israel's security, the Western Powers have embarked upon a policy of unilateral Arab rearmament. The British treaties with Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt constitute guarantees of Arab security of a kind which Israel entirely lacks. But now, in addition, Egypt under the new treaty with Britain is about to inherit one of the greatest military bases in the world, with its airfields, installations, and factories. Iraq has signed an agreement for military aid from the United States, and a similar agreement has been offered to Egypt. In thus increasing the strength of Israel's neighbors, the Western Powers have so far failed to maintain the principle of equality by offering similar arrangements to Israel. Nor have they sought from Arab governments any relaxation of their hostility to Israel as a condition of Western assistance. This policy of one-sided reinforcement of Israel's neighbors appears to the Israel people as a deviation from the best standards of international morality or prudence. It also implies a retreat by the Western Powers from the undertakings contained in the Tripartite Declaration of May 1950, under which they pledged themselves to maintain the military balance between the Arab states and Israel and to enable "Israel and the Arab states" (not the Arab states alone) to contribute to the defense of the area against aggression.

These policies increase the existing advantage which the Arabs possess as a result of their geographic and demographic preponderance. They have vast expanses of territory and vital strategic strong points. They have huge resources of oil. They have enormous reserves of manpower. Their financial and economic resources are vastly superior to those of Israel. These advantages may or may not be reflected in their current military posture. But this is of small moment. In discussing a regional security problem the criterion is one of basic potential, not of current military strength, and in such terms the Arab States possess an advantage even without the treaties and arms agreements showered on them and withheld from Israel by the United States and Britain. In recent years all the Arab States have been strengthening their armies, their military industry, and their equipment. Huge military budgets that cannot be matched by Israel's struggling have enabled them to purchase modern western equipment, such as jet planes, artillery, tanks, and armored war machines. The military budgets of the Arab States in the current year exceed the total of Israel's entire budget for all purposes, civil and military.

It is against this background that the specific problem of border insecurity, of marauding and infiltration, should be viewed. An intermittent guerrilla war on Israel's borders, especially those with Jordan and the Egyptian-occupied Gaza strip, is the spearhead of comprehensive hostility. It is difficult to imagine that a quiet border could coexist with the political and emotional

Footnotes at end of speech.

attitudes of the Arab leaders which I have described. An improvement of relations between governments is a prerequisite of a more peaceful frontier life. Yet specific consideration is needed for the movement of Arab infiltration, which is acknowledged by both parties and by the United Nations to be the primary specific cause of recent outbreaks.

The process of infiltration began in the period immediately following the conclusion of the armistice agreements. It was at first a sporadic trickle of illegal crossings actuated in part by motives of family reunion. Efforts made by Israel to regulate this movement by agreement with the Arab States failed owing to the Arab refusal to legalize any transit of persons between their respective territories and Israel. As a result, these illegal crossings became a regular practice, which after a time degenerated into wholesale infiltration accompanied by theft and smuggling. The Government of Israel first took no steps to suppress this movement, regarding it as a temporary phase. It also put into operation an official scheme of its own for the reunion of Arab families separated by the war, and as a result several thousand Arabs have rejoined their kinsfolk in Israel. Contrary to expectations, however, the movement showed no sign of abating. Thefts, robbery, holdups, and eventually murder and sabotage became of frequent occurrence. As the border region became more tense with constant violence, the Israeli villagers in the area were authorized to organize their own defense against invaders.

It has been asserted quite wrongly that this infiltration is conducted primarily by refugees. The nightly incursions into Israel territory, which in most cases show careful planning, are not the work of destitute refugees but of highly trained gunmen acting on paramilitary lines. They openly sell their booty in the markets of the Arab border towns, not infrequently sharing their gains with the appointed organs of security. In a number of cases, where the Israel authorities supplied to the Arab Governments data on the identity and the crimes of the infiltrators, these were not brought to trial, and only rarely have the stolen goods been returned.

There can be little doubt that much of this guerrilla war is of a military character. The targets chosen, the form of attack, the types of arms used, and the methods employed indicate that many of these raids are planned on military lines. The setting of mines, the ambushing of watchmen, and firing at guards are clearly not the work of hapless refugees. In more than one case the raids have been well synchronized and carefully planned military operations executed with a high degree of precision. This campaign affords first-class opportunities for instructing men in guerrilla tactics, gathering military information and making the raiders familiar with the territory in which the second round may one day be fought.

The dimensions which the guerrilla war against Israel has assumed in recent years may be gathered from the following data. From 1949 to the middle of 1954 there have been an average of 1,000 cases of infiltration per month along the several frontiers, the majority of them on the Israel-Jordan border. The number of clashes with armed marauders on the latter border alone amounted during the last 4 years to 1,069, the incidents of theft, burglary, and armed robbery to 3,573. Livestock, seed, fertilizers, agricultural implements, and irrigation pipes have been among the principal booty of these marauding expeditions. Miles of telephone wires have been stolen and telephone poles destroyed, while the cutting of electric wires has seriously interfered with agricultural and industrial activities. All this material damage, however, is overshadowed by the fearful toll of human life. On the Jordan border alone 513 Israelis were killed and wounded during the past 4 years. The commander of the Arab Legion proclaims the innocence of a process which, unless checked, may bring ruin to the whole armistice regime.

A summary of incidents within a brief period of time and along a single sector of the Jordan frontier was presented by the Israel representative at the United Nations to the Security Council on November 12, 1953. The nightly attacks there recorded, with their ever-increasing toll of lives, have created nervous tension in the Israel border villages which militates against the self-restraint maintained during the early phases of this war. It is not the first time that the Jews of Palestine have been exposed to this trying ordeal. In 1920, 1921 and 1929 there were serious Arab attacks in Jerusalem, Jaffa, the coastal plain, Hebron and Safad, in which hundreds of Jews were massacred and a number of Jewish villages destroyed. In 1936, countrywide disturbances began which lasted intermittently until the outbreak of the Second World War. In these conflicts it was the policy of the Jewish authorities, upheld by the bulk of the community, to abstain from retaliation. The same restraint was maintained when after the establishment of the State of Israel, the old guerrilla attacks and marauding expeditions were resumed. Tension in the border areas, however, has of late become so acute as sometimes to result in a breakdown of that traditional attitude.

Many of the attacks have occurred not along the "frontier" but deep inside Israel territory. The innumerable wadies and tracks covered by sand make it easy for raiders to enter and escape undetected. Not infrequently Israel watchmen and border police wounded by shots have been dragged across the frontier and cruelly done to death, their mutilated bodies then being presented as evidence of Israel aggression against Jordan. The Jordan Government has distributed arms and ammunition to village youths in the border areas, labelling them "national guards," without effective control or training. Its agreement has not yet been received for any radical measures to stop guerrilla activities along the border, such as the regular policing of the area, the division of no man's land or the marking of the armistice line.

According to a report of the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization to the Secretary-General of the U. N., dated October 30, 1952, no effective system of frontier demarcation could be set up "since the Jordan authorities have been unwilling to agree to any 'permanent' scheme for the marking of the demarcation line." According to the same report, "an Israel survey team engaged in the marking of the border was fired on from Jordan-controlled territory," and the "officer in charge of the surveying team was seriously wounded." This has happened in many instances. The case of the Lebanese frontier, which is clearly marked by cairns placed every few hundred yards and where the local gendarmerie maintains order, indicates that where there is a will, an end can be put to violence across the border. In articles and interviews [8] the Commander of the Arab Legion has said that "in international practice every nation is responsible for the prevention of illegal entry into its frontiers" and that "the Israelis must deal with such incidents in their country and not expect the military command in Jordan to do so"—the implication clearly being that notwithstanding the terms of the armistice agreement, the Jordan military authorities do not feel obliged to stop the evil at its source. In July 1954 the United States, Britain, and France proposed the demarcation of the frontier and the erection of barriers as a measure to prevent infiltration and reprisals. This suggestion was accepted by Israel and again rejected by Jordan. It is hard to see how refusal to mark the border and consolidate its defenses can be reconciled with peaceful intention or purpose.

A serious situation, second in gravity only to that on the Jordan frontier, has developed in recent months on the Egyptian border. Though the constant raids into Israel territory across the Egyptian armistice line do not, like those from Jordan, operate in populous areas, they have created in the wide expanses of the Negev a state of insecurity necessitating exceptional measures of vigilance to safeguard the lives and property of the rural population. Many of these raids reveal paramilitary training and careful reconnaissance of the ground and of the local farmers' habits. Flocks numbering many hundred heads of sheep have been driven off, plantations uprooted, and vital communications mined. A special problem is presented by the Bedouin in the area. The Egyptian authorities frequently employ their own Bedouin for attacks on the Israeli Bedouin, particularly at times of political tension.

IV

The prospects of removing such a profound tension by palliative measures are not hopeful. A development of the armistice agreement into a peace settlement is the only radical cure. But if there were a desire to move progressively toward peace, many effective steps could be taken. The first would be to stop the campaign of incitement in the Arabic press and radio, and the public statements of political leaders. A second step would be the elimination of the economic boycott against Israel which is doing the Arab countries no less, if not indeed more harm than Israel. Third, a number of specific measures could be adopted for improving conditions on the border. A series of such proposals was submitted by Israel to Jordan in March 1953, but met with categorical rejection. The most important measure to prevent trouble in the border region would be the demarcation of the present lines by clearly visible signs on the ground. A further preventive measure would be the partitioning of the "no man's land" areas on the border which considerably hamper the effective policing of the frontier region. To remove the incentive of booty, searches should be carried out to discover goods stolen by marauders in Israel. At the same time, the responsibility of the local authorities to prevent the infiltration of marauders into Israel territory should be enforced by disciplinary measures. Firearms should be carefully registered and licensed and all unauthorized explosives and their detonating agents should be confiscated by the competent authorities in Jordan.

Another measure intended to stop infiltration was the agreement reached on March 5, 1951, between Israel and Jordan for the holding of regular meetings of local commanders for setting border problems, exchanging information on marauders, arranging for the return of stolen property and providing for the return of persons who had inadvertently strayed across the unmarked line. After a year's trial it became clear, however, that the Jordanian authorities had no intention of cooperating effectively in the prevention of marauding. Stolen property was for the most part sold openly in Jorden market places and was returned only in very exceptional cases.

On January 8, 1953, Israel informed the Jordanians that it saw no purpose in continuing this agreement. In June 1953 Israel took the initiative in proposing a new local commanders' agreement, following a suggestion made by Secretary of State Dulles. The Jordanians were reluctant, but in the

Footnotes at end of speech.

end grudgingly signed it. The new agreement, too, remained a dead letter. Very little was done by the Jordan police to return stolen property and apprehend marauders even when their names were officially communicated to them by the Israel authorities. Israel also proposed the setting up of telephone lines in exposed districts, such as the area of Al-Kubeibe-Latrun, to facilitate a speedy exchange of information. This proposal, too, was first held up and then rejected. The Israel authorities also suggested that in certain areas the armistice line be redrawn, so as to enable villagers to work on their fields without crossing the border. In this matter, too, the Jordanians have maintained their negative attitude.

Israel would welcome any measure, however temporary and palliative, that might help in some measure to reduce tension. In recent weeks, especially since the appointment of General Burns to lead the U. N. Truce Supervision Organization, there has been a promising reduction of tension. Israel has no aggressive designs against her neighbors. If she had, she could have had many opportunities in recent years, when Arab States were weakened by internal disturbances and coups d'etat. There has been a scrupulous abstention by Israel from exploiting these instabilities. Nor would an aggressive Israel support American and British proposals for reinforcing the armistice demarcation line as a tangible barrier to movement from either side. Israel urgently needs peace for economic development and for accomplishing the great task of absorbing the 700,000 Jewish refugees who have come from all parts of the world—including 350,000 immigrants driven by intolerance from Arab lands. Some Arab leaders must be aware that peace with Israel would benefit the Middle East and open out a new horizon of regional progress; but such moderation, if it exists, has not yet found tangible expression in official policy, the Arab leaders having become slaves of their own bellicose slogans which they cannot now recant.

Despite this negative attitude Israel has from time to time outlined concrete peace proposals. In the Seventh General Assembly of the United Nations in 1952 the Israel Government submitted an elaborate blueprint for a peace settlement and regional cooperation between Israel and the Arab states. These proposals were categorically rejected by the Arab spokesmen. In November 1953 the Government of Israel made another effort to seek an agreed settlement of outstanding issues with Jordan by requesting the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in conformity with article XII of the armistice agreement, to convoke a conference of both parties for the purpose of revising and improving the armistice agreement in the light of past experience. Although the terms of the armistice agreement make attendance at such a conference obligatory, the request of the Secretary General, supported by the Western Powers, was rejected by the Government of Jordan. In October 1954, the Israel Government released the blocked accounts of Arab refugees and proposed the conclussion of nonaggression pacts as an intermediate stage between the armistice and a peace settlement.

At the time of writing, despite a comparative lull on the Jordan border, no long-term solution is in sight. It does not appear likely that local border incidents will develop into a general collapse of the armistice frontier; but the air is heavy on both sides of the frontier, and peace hangs on a tenuous thread.

No international question has been so much discussed and so little solved. The discussions have at least defined the three avenues of progress. The first and best alternative would be a negotiation between Israel and each Arab state with the object of making a transition from the armistice to permanent peace. There is nothing revolutionary or unreasonable in this suggestion. It expresses the duty of all civilized states to live together in neighborliness and tranquillity. It does not involve the Arabs in any new commitments; for the armistice agreements are defined in their own terms as acts of transition to permanent peace. There is an impressive volume of world opinion in favor of the doctrine that the armistice system, with its many improvised and impermanent features, has lasted too long and should be succeeded by a more stable system of international relationships. The Great Powers and the United Nations would do well continually to articulate this as the determined will of the international community. Six years ago Mr. John Foster Dulles, addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations, clearly expressed the view that it would be perilous to allow a provisional military relationship to endure too long. He said: "Fighting must give way to truce, truce to armistice, and armistice to final peace." There can be no assurance that negotiations between Israel and her neighbors would lead to swift agreement; but a stubborn refusal even to negotiate is surely out of accord with any doctrine of international duty.

A second alternative, which might bring relief until a peace negotiation takes place, would be to utilize the opportunities of review and revision inherent in the armistice agreements themselves. Article VIII of the armistice agreement with Jordan provides for a special committee for settling many dangerous problems, especially in the Jerusalem area. In 1952 the United Nations chief of staff reported that Jordan refused to meet Israel in that committee. This refusal still persists. There are articles in each armistice agreement which oblige either party to accept the U. N. Secretary-General's invitation to attend a conference, convoked at the request of the other party, for the purpose of reviewing, modifying, or suspending any or each article of the armistic agreement. Here, too, Jordan has refused to honor its signature obliging her to meet Israel under the procedures laid down in the armistice agreement. It is extraordinary for a government to proclaim fidelity to an international agreement while declining to meet the central provision of that very agreement for revision or review. Recently, the policy of ostracism has been carried to even more extreme lengths by Jordan's refusal to attend meetings of the United Nations Security Council because the charter makes such attendance conditional upon the acceptance of an obligation of pacific settlement.

A third and more modest line of possible improvement has recently been tried in the form of proposals for marking the border and erecting obstacles at suitable points. This too has been rejected on the Arab side.

The Israel Government and its defense forces will not neglect any idea or opportunity which seems likely to offer hope of a remedy. In these circumstances the basic question is clearly not one of procedure but of policy. Does there exist any international influence which can overcome the comprehensive negation which the Arab Governments have chosen to adopt? Refusal to discuss peace; refusal to develop the armistice agreement into more lasting accords; refusal to review the armistice agreement under article XII; refusal to confer with Israel under article VIII of the armistice; refusal by Jordan to attend the Security Council's meetings under article 35 of the charter; refusal to mark the frontier; refusal to erect barriers to infiltration; refusal to restrain the eruption of marauding bands across the frontier; refusal to desist from inflammatory propaganda and incitement; refusal by Egypt to abandon an illicit blockade—all this together adds up to a political attitude which will surely have to be modified if the tension in the Middle East is to be relieved. Until then the Israel defense forces will face a heavy task, and face it virtually alone as the solitary effective means for safeguarding Israel's physical integrity.

---

[1] Security Council official records, 3d year, No. 72, 301st and 302d meetings.
[2] Al-Misri, August 24, 1953.
[3] Al-Ahram, January 10, 1954.
[4] Al-Ahram, July 2, 1954.
[5] Al-Misri, April 12, 1954.
[6] Radio Damascus, November 3, 1954 (from a verbatim recording).
[7] Filastin, June 24, 1951.
[8] Gen. J. B. Glubb in Foreign Affairs, July 1954, and in an interview in the New York Times, July 17, 1954.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

Appendix

"He Is One of the Finest Institutions of Washington"—A Personal Portrait of Speaker Rayburn by a Correspondent of the British Broadcasting Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the Members of the House will be interested, I believe, in a word portrait of the great American who presides over the House of Representatives as carried in a broadcast recently in the General Overseas Service of the British Broadcasting Corp., and which has just been brought to my attention by a constituent from St. Louis who sent me a reprint of it in the BBC's publication London Calling.

This personal portrait of SAM RAYBURN, written by BBC correspondent Robert Waithman, formerly assigned, I believe, to Washington, accurately describes our Speaker as "the most beloved figure in the House." It discusses his role in accomplishing the reconciliation of views and of sectional interests here in the House in order to make democracy function for the whole Nation.

The Members will also be interested in the BBC correspondent's description of the legislative processes of the House and of the Speaker's role.

I think that without exception all of us will agree with Mr. Waithman of the BBC that our great Speaker is one of the finest institutions of Washington.

The article follows:

SAM RAYBURN

(By Robert Waithman)

In the small hours of the morning of November 3, 1954, some scores of newspapermen were frowning over tape machines and radio and television sets in Washington trying to make sense of the election results that were coming in spasmodically from all over America: I was one of this uncertain crew. One of the brethren of the typewriter rose, picked up the wad of copypaper he had been using to work out his calculations and said: "Well, SAM RAYBURN'S back, anyhow."

SAM RAYBURN has been elected 21 times without a break by his constituents in north Texas. He is the 8th son of a family of 11: his father was a cotton farmer. He worked his way through college, became a school teacher, then a lawyer, went into politics and got himself elected to the State legislature. At the age of 29 he was Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives—the youngest man ever to hold that post. Then he stood as candidate for Congress and was elected. So he came to Washington—in 1912.

He sought and obtained, and for 42 years he has been well satisfied with, membership of the Lower House. He has never wanted to move up into the Senate. He has developed a fierce and abiding love of the noisier, faster-moving House of Representatives.

A RECONCILER OF INTERESTS

There are 435 Members of the House, elected according to the voting strength of the population from districts all over America—a pretty accurate cross section of the Nation. They often have the difficult job of reconciling national interests with the local interests they are expected to promote when they get to Washington. If they want to be reelected, as all but a fraction of them do, they must keep themselves in the headlines of their local papers at home. The Speaker knows that. But he also knows that there is considerable national business to be done, and only a limited time to do it in. So he allows the Members to make use of a little device that often fascinates legislators from other parliaments in other countries. It is the practice of obtaining the House's permission, as the phrase has it, "to extend my remarks." This means a speech, which is never in fact delivered, nevertheless appears next day in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the Hansard of Washington.

When, in 1940, Mr. RAYBURN succeeded Speaker Bankhead—Tallulah Bankhead's father—he permitted another agreeable practice. He allowed Members to talk for 1 minute only on any subject under the sun for a short, introductory period each day while the House was settling down to business. That released a lot of inhibitions, and, as he had rightly calculated, made it possible to get along faster with the important work. And there is a lot of important work. The authority of the House of Representatives is greatly enhanced by a provision of the Constitution that all revenue bills—every sort of legislation touching the public purse—must originate there, and not in the Senate. One of the Speaker's first jobs is to see that this business is attended to, first in the relevant House committee and then on the floor of the House, with all possible speed and efficiency. And with this duty goes considerable power.

In the first 10 years of this century the House found itself with a Speaker who used his powers so ruthlessly that he turned his office into a little dictatorship—and brought retribution on his head. This was Speaker Joseph Gurney Cannon, who put the committees into the pockets of his own political clique and crushed all minority groups until a coalition of Republicans and Democrats passed new legislation which broke his power and reduced the power of all subsequent Speakers. But since then the United States has moved into a new place among the world's nations—as leader of a great alliance. Today the Speaker of the House has responsibilities and opportunities such as the dictatorial Joe Cannon never imagined at the height of his authority.

It is doubtfull whether anyone could have exercised them more carefully or more successfully than has the gentleman from Texas. The office is one that could be exploited by anyone who wanted to talk his way into the public consciousness. But Mr. RAYBURN is one of the most taciturn men in Washington. One consequence is that what he does say is listened to with respect. Another is that the office of Speaker of the House is invested, while he occupies it, with a dignity which a garrulous man could not give it.

He is patient and restrained, both on and off the floor of the House. There are days when as many as 100 visitors, mostly Congressmen in search of guidance or counsel, seek and obtain appointments to see him, singly or in small groups. Plainly he cannot spend much time with any of them, but almost nobody comes away from SAM RAYBURN'S office with the feeling that he has been slighted or rebuffed. And for a new Congressman, uncertain of the ropes and unsure when to speak or act, it is of vast comfort to have seen the Speaker and to have got his advice.

This is not to say that Mr. RAYBURN is not capable of being both outspoken and tough when he thinks the need arises. At election times he reveals himself to be a Democrat of the deepest dye, pouring scorn and fury upon the Republicans. As to his toughness there probably is no better illustration than the story of what happened in the House on the afternoon of August 12, 1941—a day when America came terribly close to inviting disaster.

It was less than 4 months before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. President Roosevelt had called upon the Congress to extend the Selective Service Act—which enforced conscription in what was peacetime for America. The isolationists were fiercely fighting this bill. They were intent upon bringing about an immediate demobilization of the American forces. And when in the House the vote came out at 203 to 202 in favor of passage of the bill there was furious noise and excitement on the floor. Speaker RAYBURN accepted a motion for a recount. When it was over the vote stood as before. Scores of Members leaped to their feet, and there is little doubt that many of them were looking for a chance to change their vote. But Mr. RAYBURN banged the gavel and froze this vote, making another count impossible, and though there were angry challenges thereafter it was seen that in the 15 seconds when he had used the Speaker's power SAM RAYBURN had almost certainly saved the Nation from weakening itself at the crucial hour.

MOST BELOVED FIGURE IN THE HOUSE

But these exhibitions of the iron hand are the exception, not the rule. Mr. RAYBURN has attained his influence far more by gentler means, and those same means have made him the most beloved figure in the House. There is, and there long has been, no doubt about the affection that is felt for him in the Congress—and there is certainly a wealth of evidence to prove it.

For instance, when the Democrats lost control of the 1947–48 Congress, and SAM RAYBURN had to step down from the Speaker's chair, he relinquished the right to use the official limousine attached to the job. So a fund was started to buy a car "so that SAM won't have to walk," it was explained at the time. A number of Republicans sought to contribute to the fund, but their checks were all politely returned. This was a Democratic gesture. The big new car for SAM was bought, and in it there was affixed a small plate which reads, "To our beloved SAM RAYBURN—who would have been President if he had come from any place but the South."

There may be a tinge of southern bitterness, a reflection of unforgotten history, in that sentiment. A lot of Americans would say, though, that there is a touch of truth in

it, too. Certainly there cannot be many people in America, in or out of the Democratic Party, who do not admire the firm, knowledgeable, upright, self-disciplined gentleman from Texas, or who have any doubt that the high office of Speaker of the House, will be discharged in the present Congress.

It was on January 6, 1955—RAYBURN's 73d birthday—that President Eisenhower drove up Capitol Hill to deliver his state of the Union message to the Senate and House assembled in joint session. The President began by acknowledging the RAYBURN anniversary in an interpolated sentence which did not appear in the official text of the message. The Congress, to a man, rose to hail this graceful bow by a Republican President to a leader in the opposite camp. But SAM RAYBURN is more than that. Full of years and honor, he is one of the finest institutions of Washington.

Accounting Provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, in the course of its extensive overhaul of our tax system during the last Congress, one of the most widespread complaints received by the Committee on Ways and Means was that artificial divergences had developed between the computation of income for tax purposes and the computation of income for business purposes as determined under generally accepted accounting provisions. These differences were confined almost entirely to questions of when certain types of income and expenses should be taken into account in arriving at net income.

As a result, the new Internal Revenue Code of 1954 sought to bring the income tax provisions of the law into harmony with generally accepted accounting provisions and, as stated in the report of our committee, "to assure that all items of income and deductions are taken into account once, but only once in the computation of taxable income." Sections 452 and 462 of the new code were designed to meet these objectives.

Under the prior law, payments received in advance for the use of property in future years or for services to be rendered in future years were includible in the income of the recipient in the year they were received. This was true regardless of the taxpayer's method of accounting. However, well established accounting procedures provide that, in the case of taxpayers on an accrual accounting system, payments for rentals, club dues, warehouse fees, and the like should be included in income in the year in which income is earned and in the year in which the related expenses are incurred. Obviously, this is not necessarily in the year of receipt.

As a consequence, section 452, in general, permits accrual basis taxpayers to defer the reporting of advance payments as income until the year, or years, in which, under the taxpayer's regular method of accounting, the income is earned.

With respect to deductions for expenses and losses incurred by a taxpayer, prior law provided that these deductions could be taken only when all events had occurred which fixed the fact and the amount of the taxpayer's liability. This rule, in many cases, was at variance with generally accepted accounting principles which require all determinable liabilities relating to reported income to be taken into account.

As a result, section 462 of the new code conformed the tax treatment of expenses more closely to general business treatment by permitting an accrual basis taxpayer to deduct reasonable additions to reserves for estimated expenses.

These two provisions, sections 452 and 462, were strongly advocated by the accounting profession of the United States. Each section was approved by the unanimous vote of both the Republican and Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means.

It has developed recently that there is a sharp difference of opinion between taxpayers and the Government as to the scope of these sections. The tentative regulations issued by the Treasury on January 22 in order to carry out the provisions of the law have come under strong attack as being too restrictive. For example, the tentative regulations would not permit a deduction for additions to reserves for estimated repair and maintenance expenses. Taxpayers have already served notice that they intend to litigate this restriction. Should they be successful in the courts, the revenue loss under the law would be far in excess of anything contemplated by the Congress.

In addition, the tentative regulations also require that the reserves which these sections permit for tax purposes must be shown on the regular books of the company which are used for statements of financial condition to stockholders. This requirement is also under attack although it would seem to be in line with the objective of the law to bring tax accounting into harmony with business accounting.

Therefore, it seems clear that many groups will seek an opportunity under these sections to receive tax benefits substantially in excess of anything anticipated by the Congress. If the present provisions remain in effect, extended litigation appears inevitable. As a result, I believe that the two sections in question should be repealed in order to prevent this type of uncertainty and to avoid possible taxpayer abuse. The Secretary of the Treasury has recommended this action. I have introduced a bill, H. R. 4726, to carry out this objective.

There is absolutely no question in my mind but that the objective which Congress sought to achieve by these provisions was and still remains highly desirable. Tax accounting should not depart in an artificial manner from generally accepted principles of business accounting. Therefore, it is my earnest hope that this matter will receive further study with a view to solving the transitional problems which have occurred. Mr. Speaker, I am confident that effective and practical legislation along these lines can and should be developed.

Resolution Dealing With the American Legion Position Opposing the Federal Medical Services Report of the Second Hoover Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. DEMPSEY
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution of the American Legion adopted at the 32d annual national rehabilitation conference of the American Legion on March 3, 1955:

Whereas the Second Hoover Commission has filed with the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate its report and recommendations in the field of Federal medical services; and

Whereas said report contains many vicious, unwarranted and unjustified attacks on the sick and disabled veterans of America; and

Whereas, in addition to the official report, the accompanying task force report contains misinformed discussions and presentations critical of the existing structure of veterans benefits and services; and

Whereas the report would form a Federal advisory council on health, another superagency which, among its other duties, would exercise indirect control over the Veterans' Administration; and

Whereas the report would transfer the cost of disability compensation, pensions, and military retirement from their proper place as a delayed cost of war and make this an added charge to the Nation's health program; and

Whereas the report contains direct attacks on disability compensation of those who received their disability in service and are entitled to the greatest consideration which the American public can offer; and

Whereas the Commission recommends the closing of 20 hospitals when at this time there are thousands of eligible veterans certified for hospitalization unable to secure proper medical care and treatment because of the lack of beds; and

Whereas the Commission believes that authority to evaluate the extent of disability should be vested in the Department of Medicine and Surgery when the complicated laws, rules, and regulations governing rating are a joint legal, occupational, and medical matter now exercised by the VA Department of Veterans Benefits; and

Whereas the Commission has disregarded the health needs of our disabled veterans as established by the Congress and the people of the United States and recommends that authorizations to construct and money which is already appropriated for the construction of badly needed beds be rescinded; and

Whereas this Commission has branded the Nation's veterans as goldbrickers and implies that our sick and disabled veterans are a group of perjurers to our country which they defended and which they patriotically uphold and support; and

Whereas they have recommended that a system of socialized medicine be instituted in the United States by permitting veterans

to use the VA hospitals and outpatient medical services and pay at a later date when, and if able, and this program is an expanded, uneconomic, and costly program to the American taxpayer and unworthy of serious consideration by informed people; and

Whereas the Commission's proposal to require our service-connected disabled veterans to file an economic statement in order to secure hospitalization for disabilities other than their service-connected disabilities: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That, for the above-enumerated reasons, the American Legion expresses its great shock, disappointment, and disapproval of these unfounded, uneconomic, and heartless recommendations and deplores the direct attack on our disabled veterans who have so courageously served to protect our freedoms; and be it further

Resolved, That we call these matters to the attention of the President of the United States and request his sympathetic understanding in the solution of the problems of the disabled veterans whom he committed to war service; and be it further

Resolved, That the case of America's disabled be placed before the Members of the 84th Congress, with full confidence that the Members of that body will continue to reflect the generous attitude of the American people in connection with the care of our disabled.

Tuition Expenses Should Be Deductible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to provide an income tax deduction for amounts paid as tuition or fees to public and private institutions of higher education for the education of any dependent of such individuals.

This is a matter of tax justice which should be carried through by this Congress at the earliest practicable time. The average taxpayer can generally provide for his family until he faces the high and ever-increasing costs of higher education for his dependents, over and above the normal expenses of support. While higher education and training for dependents may be a matter of personal pride for the taxpayer—it is also a matter of investment in human life which pays fruitful dividends to the whole economy.

Higher education and training makes for a more useful citizen—in every respect. Not only is the educated or trained dependent more productive—but through such increased productivity he earns more income and pays more income taxes. Therefore, the entire national economy is benefited by the development of its most important resource—its young people. Taxpayers who contribute and help in this important way are certainly entitled to a tax deduction for the costs of education and training for their dependents. We should give the taxpayer credit for his contribution to the national wealth. When a taxpayer educates his dependent, he does so for the benefit of the entire American economy.

Family life is the very bulwark of our democracy—a fact which should be recognized in our tax structure. The family as our most cherished institution must not be allowed to suffer through present tax inequities.

We must recognize that the wealth of the Nation is more in its people than in its atoms. We must help the family develop the latent I. Q.'s buried under N. S. F.—not sufficient funds.

What Price Automation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, in the following article by Mr. Benjamin F. Fairless, which appeared in the newsletter, Human Events, of March 5, the bogyman of automation is laid quietly and efficiently to rest.

We humans are always fearful of what we do not understand, whether it be the U. S. S. R. or automation.

Mr. Fairless shows clearly that our way of life is basically geared to the use of better, bigger, and more effective machines; that, far from creating fewer jobs, they have created better and more jobs.

Finally, in the words of the late Philip Murray, president of the CIO: "I do not know of a single, solitary instance where a great technological gain has taken place in the United States of America that it has actually thrown people out of work."

Mr. Speaker, automation is just one more great technological gain.

WHAT PRICE AUTOMATION?

(By Benjamin F. Fairless)

There is nothing new, of course, about man's fear of machines. Nearly three centuries ago, an inventor in Danzig built a loom that could weave six webs at once. The workers seized the hapless inventor and drowned him in a nearby creek.

At the outset of the so-called industrial revolution in England, mobs of angry workers broke into the mills and tried to destroy the new automatic machinery which they feared would leave them jobless.

Today we know that it was the machine alone which enabled England to support her rapidly growing population and provide it with a rising standard of living. In countries like India and China, where mechanization did not occur, the standard of living fell far below subsistence levels and the population was decimated by starvation and disease.

Twenty-five years ago, similar fears of the machine were widely prevalent here in the United States. A popular Broadway play of that period, R. U. R., brought the word "robot" into our language.

Today, the same old blind, unreasoning fear of machines is reappearing among us; but we are being frightened—not by the advance of technology itself—but by a strange new word: "automation."

The Public Opinion Index took a poll among more than a thousand factory workers, and asked them two question: First, did they favor the use of more new and improved machines? They did, by about 3 to 1. Then they were asked how they felt about more automation. But they opposed that, 3 to 2.

Yet the two things, of course, are really identical. There is nothing new about automation. The mechanics of it are older than our own American Republic.

Back in 1784—before our constitutional Government was established—a man named Oliver Evans, living near Philadelphia, built a flour mill about as automatic as any mill can be. A system of conveyors, run by waterpower, picked up the grain, carried it through all the grinding operations, and delivered the finished flour. But when an auto manufacturer in Detroit builds a plant which handles engine blocks in exactly the same manner, we think it's something new, and it worries us.

Nowadays, too, we marvel at the modern business machine which writes checks and keeps records through the use of punchcards. And on our production lines are other wonderful machines which are automatically controlled by a punched paper tape. But is this really new? Not at all.

More than 150 years ago, a Frenchman named Jacquard built an automatic loom which wove all kinds of complicated patterns in accordance with instruction that were also punched in paper.

So let's face it. This thing called automation is simply evolution—not revolution. It is only another little step in the slow and plodding progress of man toward a richer, fuller life and a better, freer world.

Suppose we think for a moment of the three outstanding examples of automation that we have seen in our lifetime:

The first one that comes to mind, probably, is the dial telephone. We would naturally assume that it must have thrown thousands of telephone operators out of work; and some of the current propaganda on the subject would seem to confirm that assumption completely. But what are the facts?

Between 1940 and 1950, the number of telephone operators in this country increased by 159,000—or 79 percent.

Next we come to business machines and these fabulous new electronic brains that we've seen on television. Surely we don't need accountants any more. But still the census shows that the number of accountants and auditors increased 71 percent in this same 10-year period.

And how about these so-called automatic factories in Detroit, where the word "automation" was thought up? Are the automobile workers losing out? Not by a long shot. Their number doubled in 14 years. Automobile mechanics and repairmen have increased 75 percent. And for every new job in the auto industry, five new jobs are created in allied fields which supply the raw materials and components that go into the manufacture and equipment of new cars.

But this, of course, is not always the case in every industry and every occupation. Dislocations do occur in some instances, and men do have to change from one job to another. That has been true in farming for nearly 40 years. Moreover with the falling demand for coal, employment in the mines has also dropped off substantially, and there is recent evidence of a mild decline in oil refining.

Where are these men to go? Has automation made it tougher for them? Look at the picture as a whole. Just what really has happened in the last 15 years or so—say from 1939 through 1953?

During this period the population of the United States has increased 22 percent. But the total number of jobs has grown by 35 percent—or more than half again as much. In the field of manufacturing itself—where automation has advanced most rapidly—employment has gone up 73 percent, or more than three times as fast as the population.

This rapid increase in employment has occurred because of mechanization—not in spite of it. The building of machines them-

selves—plus their installation, maintenance, and the construction of new factories to house them—has opened up thousands of job opportunities that never existed before.

Employment in the field of electrical machinery, for example, has more than trebled during this period. In other machinery it has increased by 150 percent.

In the specialized field of automation itself, the mere manufacture of the necessary instruments of measurement and control has mushroomed into a $3 billion business which already employs as many men as the auto industry did in the middle 1930's.

But that is only the beginning. As mechanization has enlarged the output and the purchasing power of our people, it has also multiplied enormously their demand for services. So they, in their turn, employ more doctors and dentists, more engineers and scientists, and more teachers and clergymen. They send out more of their laundry, and they eat more often in restaurants. Even the fact that they have more leisure time has created more jobs for others. Employment in tourist courts and camps has more than tripled. Theaters, movies, amusement parks, and similar establishments provide 75 percent more jobs than formerly. The purchase of books has doubled, and expenditures for home music have trebled. And so it goes. Employment in the service industries alone has risen by more than 2 million during these 14 years. That is a jump of 65 percent.

The same thing has happened, too, in the general field of trade. As the volume of production has increased, it has taken more workers to sell and to handle these goods. Thus 6 million new jobs have been opened up by the growing employment demands of department stores, shops, offices, builders, bankers, utilities, bus lines, trucking companies, and others in this category.

Finally, of course, our advance in technology has created whole new industries and vast new fields of opportunity, in television, antibiotics, airconditioning, many new branches of electronics, and now, in atomic energy—just to mention a few. So with each passing year, and with every new invention, our people have a wider choice of jobs; and today it is reported that there are more than 40,000 different ways whereby Americans can earn a living.

But suppose, for example, that all technological progress in the auto industry had stopped back in 1908, and that we were to try to build a 1955 car, at today's wages, with the tools and machines we used then. Such a car, if it could be produced at all, would cost well in excess of $65,000.

How many cars would there be on the road? And how many roads would we have? How many jobs would there be in Detroit, and in the oil fields, and the tire-making industry—or even in our steel mills for that matter? Why, millions of our workers would be idle, and America would rank among the so-called backward nations of the world.

The time has come to nail this propaganda for the fraud that it is. The facts show that only through the widest possible use of new and better machines can we hope to achieve the fullest measure of employment and a higher standard of living.

While we are at this business of nailing, let's tackle another dangerous deception that the busy propagandists are perpetrating these days: That is the charge that the greedy owners of industry have grabbed the lion's share of the fruits of technology, while the workers have been robbed of the rightful rewards of their mounting mechanized production.

Fortunately, the facts are readily available in a study made by Allen W. Rucker, published by the Eddy-Rucker-Nickels Co., Cambridge, Mass. This study covers the 33-year period from 1914 to 1947 and is based entirely on the United States Census of Manufacturers and other official Government reports. I do not suppose that anyone will challenge the authenticity of the facts which he presents. This is what they show:

On a man-hour basis, over this entire period, the output of the workers and machines, in American manufacturing as a whole, increasesd by 161 percent; the real wages of the men, measured in terms of purchasing power, increased 157 percent; the relative prices of manufactured products, measured in terms of hourly wages, declined 61 percent.

The real wages of the worker have advanced "at almost exactly the same rate as the improvement in productivity." Under the American system of manufacturing, the advance in such wages "depends wholly upon advances in productivity." The report continues that the manufacturing industry on the whole has passed on to its customers and employees "virtually all the 'savings' from increased productivity"—that rarely, and only temporarily, have the owners retained any gains whatever from this source.

To support Mr. Rucker's statements, I call attention to one additional fact which is not contained in his report: Back in 1914, the share of the national income which went to the owners of business in the form of dividends was about 6 percent; but in 1947, their share amounted only to about 3 percent. So over this 33-year period the owners who put up the money for all the machines that made increased production possible found that their slice of our total economic pie had been cut approximately in half.

It may well be asked, of course, why industry continues to spend billions of dollars upon the development and purchase of improved machines if its owners receive no direct gains from these expenditures. And the answer to that, as we know, is all bound up in one simple and compelling word: competition.

When a business in America fails to keep its plants modern, and thus allows its more efficient competitors to undersell its products in the marketplace, that business is on the way out. Unless it can recover its lost ground quickly, it is through. The money that its owners have invested in it will be largely wiped out—and so, of course, will the jobs of all its employees. Thereafter, in a very important sense, technological improvement is simply the process by which we protect, not only the investment of the owners, but also the job security of every industrial worker.

I conclude my argument with a quotation from Philip Murray, president of the CIO. Standing before a convention of the CIO, not long before his unfortunate death, he said:

"I do not know of a single, solitary instance where a great technological gain has taken place in the United States of America that it has actually thrown people out of work. I do not know of it—I am not aware of it—because the industrial revolution that has taken place in the United States in the past 25 years has brought into the employment field an additional 20 million people."

Minimum Wage Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the consideration of legislation to increase the minimum wage from 75 cents per hour to $1.25 per hour, I include in my remarks certain information prepared for me by a reliable source.

The information follows:

Number and classes of employees covered under Fair Labor Standards Act of 1949 and number and classes not covered or are exempted

	Covered and not exempted	Not covered or are exempted	Total
Manufacturing	15,448,000	683,000	16,131,000
Mining	747,000	21,000	768,000
Construction	614,000	1,951,000	2,565,000
Wholesaling	1,693,000	846,000	2,539,000
Retailing	230,000	6,698,000	6,928,000
Finance, insurance, real estate	1,048,000	744,000	1,792,000
Transportation, communication, and utilities	3,441,000	515,000	3,956,000
Miscellaneous	741,000	3,447,000	4,188,000
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	14,000	3,052,000	3,066,000
Domestic service		2,021,000	2,021,000
Total	23,976,000	19,978,000	43,954,000

Source: Department of Labor.

The Fair Labor Standards Act applies, with certain sizable exceptions, to all employees engaged in interstate commerce or in the production of goods for interstate commerce, with out regard to size of firm or whether the employee works in factory, office, or at home.

Coverage under the wage-hour provisions deals with the worker individually, rather than with the employing establishment; if the individual's work is in interstate commerce and his job is not exempt, he is covered regardless of the basic nature of the business. Many firms employ both covered and noncovered workers on the same premises.

Exemptions in the act exclude about half of the workers in interstate commerce who would otherwise be eligible. White-collar jobs—executive, administrative, professional, and outside selling jobs—are specifically excluded. Employees in retail or service establishments where more than 50 percent of the annual dollar volume of sales is made within the State are exempted. Also exempt are certain cannery workers and food processors, workers in logging if the total number of employees does not exceed 12, certain agricultural workers and handlers of agricultural products within the area of production, certain employees of the fishing and maritime industries, workers on small county newspapers, and switchboard operators at exchanges with fewer than 750 stations.

The law permits payment of subminimum rates to learners, apprentices, messengers, and handicapped persons in protected employment. It sets no monetary rates for these categories but authorizes the Wage-Hour Administrator to approve pay scales lower than 75 cents an hour through certification of a limited number of subminimum workers to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment.

HOW IS ENFORCEMENT OF THE ACT SUPERVISED?

Enforcement is in charge of an administrator who has a staff of employees in Washington. The continental United States is divided into 10 regions, each under the supervision of a regional director. The territories embraced by the regional offices are as follows:

Boston: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

New York: New Jersey and New York.

Philadelphia: Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

Birmingham: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Cleveland: Michigan and Ohio.

Chicago: Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

Kansas City: Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming.

Dallas: Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas.

San Francisco: Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington.

Nashville: Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

In North Carolina enforcement is under the supervision of the State Labor Department under a cooperative agreement. The same arrangement is true with respect to approximately one-half of the counties in Minnesota.

In addition to the continental regional offices there are Territorial offices in Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. Field offices under the jurisdiction of the regional offices are located in almost every State.

The actual number of investigators throughout the States and Territories at present fluctuates between 480 and 500. The investigators have authority under the statute to enter places of business, examine books and records and to interview employers and employees to determine whether the statute is being violated.

The remedies available where violations are found are:

1. Suits for injunctions to prevent future violations.
2. Criminal prosecution.
3. Suits by the Secretary of Labor to recover unpaid wages when such suits are requested by employees.
4. Suits by employees themselves to recover double the amount of unpaid wages.

Number of employees and number of violations for each of the last 8 fiscal years

Fiscal year	Employees	Violations
1947	1,509	20,570
1948	1,131	15,799
1949	1,110	18,180
1950	1,253	13,446
1951	1,821	18,908
1952	1,618	24,321
1953	1,375	22,186
1954	1,046	20,694

Source: Department of Labor.

GAAT Renews United States Curbs on Food Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to a news dispatch from Geneva, Switzerland, under date of March 7, and appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 8.

The article has to do with the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade—GATT—and brings forcibly to mind the recent battle on the House floor over the renewal and extension of our Trade Agreements Act.

Our farm groups should be on guard, since already our unknown members of this outlaw group at Geneva have promised other nations that restrictions set up under the general agriculture act are soon to be set aside.

Some of the outstanding proponents of our trade policies are in for a surprise. I refer to the steel and automobile groups. The latest move by GATT is to admit the six-nation European steel and coal group to membership. It is just possible some of our big domestic mass-production industries will join the great bulk of our domestic producers at the tariff "wailing wall."

The article follows:

GATT RENEWS UNITED STATES CURBS ON FOOD IMPORTS

GENEVA, March 7.—The 34 member nations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade have granted permission for the United States to continue to impose quantitative restrictions on certain agricultural imports, it was learned here today.

But the members also gave other countries permission to retaliate and seek compensation if affected by the restrictions, which are contained in section 22 of the United States Agricultural Adjustment Act.

This section mainly concerns imports of dairy produce and has led to clashes with several nations in the past. Holland once retaliated by slashing imports of wheat from the United States.

The United States is understood to have assured GATT that it will end any restrictions under the act as soon as they are no longer needed, and consult with interested countries before taking further action.

It also was learned that Switzerland will seriously study this year the possibility of joining GATT. It is thought that Switzerland would try to join it if it can obtain protection for home agriculture similar to that granted to the United States.

A statement published here today revealed that the six nations of the European coal-steel community intended to seek permanent recognition of organizations such as theirs in the revised GATT agreement.

The Mather Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of the Members of the House a news story which well illustrates the happy results which can be achieved when labor and management join forces to solve a mutual problem.

The labor history of Toledo, Ohio, a great industrial center, is not unmarred by strikes and discord. In fact, there was a time when the city bore the stigma of poor labor-management relations and new industries were reluctant to locate there.

Today the situation is quite different—different because the labor unions and management leaders found that they had a common stake in better labor-management relationships and went to work to do something about it. Much of the credit goes to the Labor-Management Citizens Committee of Toledo, to the Toledo Industrial Development Council, and to the individual leaders of labor and industry whose foresight, wisdom, and sense of community responsibility have made labor-management cooperation possible. Above all, tribute must be paid to the workers for their unselfishness, courage, and faith in the future of their city.

That is why I am proud, today, to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Mather Story as told in the Toledo Blade of February 6, 1955. It is the latest example of how labor and management are working together for their mutual benefit which will be reflected in the welfare of the community as a whole.

THE MATHER STORY—UNION AND COMPANY COOPERATED—SUCCESS ACHIEVED BY JOINING HANDS IN FACE OF ADVERSITY

(By Frank R. Kane)

Henry T. Mather, president of Mather Spring Co., and other officials of his company had a date last night with their employees in UAW-CIO Local 12's headquarters.

Behind that meeting lies a remarkable story of union-management cooperation in a Toledo plant. It is the story of how a company and a union that had fought each other for years suddenly joined hands in the face of adversity and found that they could work together in solving common problems.

Three years ago Henry Mather would never have even contemplated meeting his employees at a union hall. To understand why not, you have to go back as far as 1911, when his father, Gordon M. Mather, founded Mather Spring in Toledo.

Gordon Mather was one of the pioneers of the auto industry. He developed the use of strong, flexible alloy steel for automotive springs and became the sole supplier of springs for Henry Ford's Model T. He also became friend and associate of such rugged early automotive giants as Ford and William C. Durant, founder of General Motors. And he ran Mather Spring much as Henry Ford operated the Ford Motor Co., as almost a one man show.

Mr. Mather was fiercely proud of maintaining an intimate relationship with his workers. He felt he had a personal responsibility for their welfare and he took pride in the fact that he had kept the firm operating in the depression and paid relatively high wages. But he also was convinced that so-called "outsiders" could never represent the interests of the employees effectively.

Naturally, when the UAW-CIO later organized Mather Spring, there was little love lost between Gordon Mather, with his strong personality and convictions, and a union that appeared to be challenging his single-handed control of the destinies of the company. Mr. Mather and the union respected each other as tough adversaries, but they also eyed each other with mutual suspicion and they fought hard and frequently.

Six years ago, Gordon Mather withdrew from active participation in the business because of advancing age and his son Henry took over. Henry Mather admired and respected his father and saw no reason to change his policies, particularly his fighting attitude toward the union.

Then 3 years ago, Mather Spring's management could see trouble coming. Throughout the years it had maintained a high level of quality in its product, but it had not kept pace with its competitors in improving plant efficiency and worker productivity. As a result, the company's production costs and prices were drastically out of line with the rest of the automotive-spring industry.

As Henry Mather later explained it, "The only reason that we were still in business in late 1952 was because the Government had imposed controls on alloy steel. Because of our high volume of production in

previous years, we had large allocations of this alloy steel and many auto firms found that if they wanted alloy steel springs, they had to buy from us."

Mr. Mather and other company officials were not kidding themselves. They knew that when the Government lifted controls on alloy steel, many of their customers would shift to lower-cost spring suppliers.

Drastic action was needed to reduce operating costs and make Mather Spring competitive. So Mr. Mather arranged for an impartial, objective survey of the business by an organization of management consulting engineers.

Together Mather officials and the consultants studied every phase of the company, figuring where they could reduce costs. Among other things, they reduced the number of different types of steel being stocked, so they could cut handling costs. They streamlined accounting procedures and they developed new production methods such as a $150,000 assembly line which would combine operations then being done at 14 different centers in the Toledo plant.

During the discussions, the management consultants also pointed out that individual worker productivity would have to be considerably increased and this could only be done with the wholehearted cooperation of the employees and the union. So Mather officials arranged a meeting with the plant committee and international representatives of the UAW. They also conferred with Richard T. Gosser, UAW vice president.

Clarence "Buck" Tucker, chairman of the Mather unit of UAW Local 12, later said, "We went to that first meeting determined that we would be nothing more than good listeners. We thought the company was just going to wave a crying towel at us."

"But the management went into every detail of the company's competitive situation and their proposed program. They told us how they needed our help, that they wanted to install a new assembly line which would mean retiming practically every job in the plant.

"They convinced us that they were sincerely asking our cooperation. We decided to go along."

Both union and company officials later agreed that if the union had continued to maintain its attitude of suspicion and mistrust and fought the proposed changes, the cost-cutting program would have been a failure.

Both sides, however, settled down to cooperation. The union aided in the installation of the new assembly line and other improvements and did not oppose the introduction of new job standards as it could have done. The company agreed that in any case where there was a dispute over a time study of a job, a joint time study would be conducted by the management and the union. Actually the program worked so smoothly that the joint time-study provision was invoked by the union only a few times.

The company also conducted a training program for supervisors, on every subject from labor relations to departmental budgeting. It increased the supervisors' responsibilities and successfully encouraged early settlement of problems at the foremen-steward level.

A real test of the program at Mather Spring came early last year when the company had opportunity to bid on a big spring contract being let by one of the largest automobile manufacturers. At that time a number of Mather employees from the finishing department were laid off. If Mather got the business, seniority provisions in the union contract would require that these workers be called back before any new employees were hired.

But as William B. Barney, plant manager, pointed out: "This meant that the company would be recalling the finishing department workers and placing them in other departments where they would have to be trained to do that work.

"Then when production in those other departments got underway more jobs would open up in the finishing department and those former finishing workers would go back to their department. Then we would have to hire new workers for the other departments and do the training job all over again. If we did it that way, it might take 6 months to get the new production underway."

Union officials explained the situation to the laid-off finishing department workers, who agreed to allow new workers to take the jobs in the other departments and to remain on layoff for another few weeks until work expanded in the finishing department.

"Because the union and the workers cooperated, we were able to meet our planned schedules on that very important contract," Mr. Barney said.

Company officials, however, reserved their highest praise for the continuing vigorous campaign for higher productivity that union officials themselves conducted at union meetings.

Mather Spring also improved its engineering, research, and sales departments. Within a few months the program was definitely on the way to success. Costs were reduced to competitive levels and the company was beginning to reestablish its former strong position in the industry.

Last night Henry Mather and other company officials reported on progress of the program to members of the Mather Spring unit of local 12 and their wives at a social get-together in the union hall. They had a good story to tell.

In the last 2 years employment has just about doubled at Mather Spring's 2 Toledo plants to 500. Last year the company had its biggest sales in history and employer-employee relationships have improved greatly. There has been only 1 written grievance filed by the union in 2 years.

At the same time the company is working to increase job security for the workers by developing new products in an attempt to lessen the firm's dependence on the auto industry.

In his letters to employees during this period, Henry Mather has always concluded with the phrase: "We are going places together." Today Mr. Mather, union officials, and rank-and-file workers at Mather Spring are looking forward to the future with confidence that by working together they can make their company successful from every standpoint.

Civil, Military Leaders Battle Over Airways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, I want at this time to draw the attention of my colleagues to an article published in the Detroit News of February 27, 1955, which deals with a subject vital to the defense and commerce of our Nation.

In this article the writer, Mr. Robert S. Ball, gives an accurate picture of the behind-the-scenes struggle between civilian and military interests over what kind of common air-navigation system we should have.

The facts in this controversy are not all in but the background which this article supplies is important. I commend it for the attention of my colleagues:

CIVIL, MILITARY LEADERS BATTLE OVER AIRWAYS

(By Robert S. Ball)

WASHINGTON, February 26.—A bitter battle for control of the Federal airways system finds the might of the military establishment arrayed against embattled components of civil aviation.

The battle already has cost the public a reported $500 million, and many additional millions are yet to be spent before it is resolved, whichever way it goes.

When the controversy erupts in a public inquiry, as now appears certain, these charges will be aired:

1. That the Pentagon has, under a veil of secrecy, spent more than $350 million on an electronic short-range navigation system that still does not work satisfactorily, and will not for another 3 years.

IGNORED CONGRESS

2. That the Department of Defense violated the will of Congress in developing a system competitive with one agreed upon by all components of aviation and ordered into operation by congressional act.

3. That after the military air navigation system was once rejected by an interdepartmental committee evaluating competitive proposals, the Navy quietly pushed ahead with the competitive development which has led to the present controversy.

4. That the Defense Department has usurped the prerogatives of the State Department by seeking to impose its system as the universal air navigation system, for both military and commercial operations, in all North American Treaty Organization (NATO) countries.

SEEK TO JUNK SYSTEM

Immediately at issue is a decision to junk, starting June 30, a substantial portion of the existing civil airways system on which $92 million already has been spent and an additional $15 million is committed.

While the controversy is basically a split between military and civilian aviation, it has resulted in sharp disaffection between the Civil Aeronautics Administration (CAA) and its parent Department of Commerce, has State Department aviation chiefs seething, and has split the Air Transport Association (ATA) down the middle.

Here is the story as pieced together from official documents and the statements of informed persons who only recently were partially released from a pledge of secrecy:

Back in 1947 Congress directed the civil and military agencies to cooperate in the development of a common navigating system. A special committee of the Radio Technical Commission for Aeronautics recommended a general system.

APPROVED PROJECT

Congress approved the recommendation and the project was launched with firm military support.

A new interdepartmental agency, the Air Navigation Development Board (ANDB) was established to amalgamate military and civilian technical knowledge, and finally there was evolved, what is known as VOR–DME (very high frequency omniranges and distance-measuring equipment).

This was adopted as the common system, to be used by both military and civilian aircraft, for cross-country navigation.

Pilots using this equipment are constantly informed as to their heading on the transmitter to which they are tuned as well as to the exact distance from the homing point.

NINETY PERCENT COMPLETE

In effect, the control tower operator can keep precise tabs on all approaching and departing aircraft.

Installation was begun in 1950. Today, the Federal common system is nearly 90 percent completed.

In addition to these CAA-operated ground stations, there are nearly 54,000 sets operating in aircraft, representing a total investment of approximately $50 million.

It is now disclosed that almost immediately after the joint military-civilian agreement to proceed exclusively with the VOR-DME common system, the military started developing a rival system called TACAN (tactical air navigation).

What makes this duplicate expenditure of public funds even more grievous, in the eyes of Pentagon critics, is that the TACAN system is incompatible with the present system—in other words, it is on an overlapping wave band and both cannot be used.

Anniversary of the Independence of Estonia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on February 24, 1918, Estonia proudly proclaimed her independence. For two centuries Estonia had suffered under Russian domination, beginning with the period when Peter I conquered the territory in 1710. Independence came only after many uprisings and bloody reprisals, of which the most notable was the revolution of 1905. In November of 1918 Estonia declared herself a democratic republic and repulsed an invading Red army. But in 1940 the Soviets seized the country.

It is important for us to remember that the spirit of freedom that lived in the hearts of Estonians in the past is no less alive today. We in the United States should keep faith with the principles upon which our Nation was founded. Ours is a nation forged out of the strength and convictions of people from many countries. Ours is a nation that has the capacity to aid in the rehabilitation of displaced persons. We should not be blinded by our fortunate position so that we cannot appreciate the hardships of others less fortunate. Nor should we forget that a concrete basis of hope is sustained by a generous policy of immigration and by a continued and more revealing congressional investigation of the Soviet crimes against the Baltic peoples. It is desirable that we correct any shortcomings in this respect.

One closing thought that I wish to call to the attention of the House is this: We in the United States are fundamentally one people. We are one people in the support of the Constitution of the United States. We believe in the freedom and dignity of man. We have faith in the ability of man to learn and grow and to overcome the obstacles in the path of his development. It seems to me that there might be more time spent toward establishing a more certain and a more effective long-run policy of carrying the message of the American people to the world, and this applies to those locked behind the Iron Curtain.

Remarks of Mr. Paul M. Butler, Chairman, Democratic National Committee, Before the Kiwanis Club, Tallahassee, Fla., March 1, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the text of a splendid address delivered by the Honorable Paul M. Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, before the Kiwanis Club of Tallahassee, the capital city of Florida, on March 1. Paul Butler has assumed executive leadership of the Democratic Party with a firm and capable hand, and his philosophy on politics and government is particularly refreshing. I recommend the reading of his address to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

The address follows:

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, and members of the Kiwanis Club, I deeply appreciate the graciousness extended to me since I arrived in your Sunshine State. I feel even more honored by the fact that my visit to Florida coincides with the 110th anniversary of Florida's admission to the Union.

Although this is not my first visit to Florida, it is by all odds the most pleasant. So much so, in fact, that I would like to remain much longer than the few short days my schedule permits.

How easy it must have been for the one who coined the phrase—"Any place in Florida is better than anywhere else"—though I suppose a minority of people elsewhere is still hard to convince.

I am especially pleased to accept the hospitality of your invitation and to have this opportunity to meet with you on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the first Kiwanis Club. It was in 1915 that an exciting new idea entered the lives of a few business and professional men in Detroit, Mich., and in Cleveland, Ohio. Allen S. Browne, a professional organizer, set about to form a mutual-interest club for Detroit businessmen. So 5 men, together with 100 other pioneers, organized the first Kiwanis Club. The idea expanded beyond the limits of the community where it was born. Later in the same eventful year, Cleveland businessmen found the Kiwanis idea had magic appeal. They, too, set up a club and there established the universality of what was soon to become an international movement.

The very next year saw Kiwanis grow from 2 to 32 clubs. Today, after 40 years of unselfish service which has made life better for everyone it has touched, we have seen the Kiwanis international membership move steadily toward the quarter-million mark.

The whole concept of Kiwanis has been one of ever-expanding service and understanding. It found expression in its broad policies of rural-urban cooperation, public affairs and working with underprivileged children. It has emphasized the need for international understanding.

During World War II, Kiwanis pledged itself to morale building for the war effort. But you did more than just that. You started collecting scrap rubber and metal, sponsoring victory gardens, marshalling blood donations, entertaining troops, and watching over the dependents of men who were fighting overseas. Your motto was: "Victory by united effort—by individual service." In 1945, Kiwanis was keyed to victory with the theme, "Win the war—build the peace."

In 1948, the Kiwanis awareness of the realities of world leadership was reflected in the growing number of public affairs activities. Much interest was shown in the United Nations, housing, universal military training, and other vital matters.

In evaluating the 40 years since the first Kiwanis Club was formed, Mr. Dan E. Engdahl, president of the Kiwanis International had this to say:

"As 1954 drew to a close, there was a growing awareness that the year ahead, while marking 40 years of growth, would also mark 40 years of preparation for tomorrow.

"We have moved from one milestone to the next until today we find ourselves at No. 40. Here the road forks. One branch is straight and level. It goes on and on until the road is lost in the mist.

"The other fork winds upward over narrow ridges and chasms. The grade is steep. The way is sometimes clogged with boulders. But leads to the summit of the towering mountain—this we can see.

"The easy road, the way of least resistance, is not worth taking. By following the rugged path of challenge we continue to be worthy of those many men whose pioneering efforts have built our Nation and our beloved Kiwanis.

"The rugged road means ever-expanding service * * * and more dynamic leadership for the free world."

It is about our preparation for tomorrow and the road we choose that I would like to talk with you today. We will be able to follow the rugged road of ever-expanding service; we will be able to give dynamic leadership for the free world only if we understand what living in a free democracy means, only if we have greater tolerance and understanding of one another here at home and of our allies abroad.

Your invitation to me as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, a political partisan, is a fine example of what living in a democracy means—of what tolerance and understanding of one another means. If the time should come in America when a gathering of this sort becomes impossible, then we are in trouble.

Now politicians have always been looked upon with a certain suspicion in our country. You may remember what Artemus Ward, the American humorist of the last century, once said in recommending himself: "I am not a politician and my habits are good."

This attitude of apprehension and caution which many of us hold toward politicians is strongly rooted in America. The ever-present raised eyebrow and tongue in cheek of the man in the street when he talks about the professional politician is in part healthy.

For all of us, as citizens in a democracy, should keep constant check upon those men and women who, from every level of public office, from township advisory board to the White House, govern us.

It is our task as citizens to see that they use the power which we have entrusted to them in a responsible way. We need constantly to keep looking over their shoulders to see what they are doing in the public trust.

What disturbs me, however, is the attitude of almost complete cynicism with which too many of us look upon politics. How many of you have not heard someone say, or perhaps yourselves have said, with ill-disguised contempt, "I want no son or daughter of mine in politics."

To serve one's country in the armed services is considered an honor but to serve one's country by taking part in the process of government and the selection of our officers of government, which is politics, is too often considered not quite respectable.

Perhaps this is because in the past few years officeholders, from both parties, have betrayed their public trust. And because they were in public service, their betrayals received widespread attention. But we can no more generalize about politicians than we can about any other group. I think it well to recall the wise words of Thomas Jefferson: "The want or imperfection of the moral sense in some men, like the want or imperfection of the sense of sight and hearing in others, is no proof that it is a general characteristic of the species."

What I am concerned about is that we recognize in America the importance and, indeed, the necessity of politicians if democratic government is to be more than just a high-sounding phrase.

In a country as large as the United States, with so many sectional and economic and social differences, we must have persons skilled in the art of resolving conflict, persons able to bring out the seemingly irreconcilable variety that is America, national policies which will keep our country from falling either into revolution or reaction, but rather moving steadily ahead.

Such artists are all too infrequently described as what they are: Politicians.

Therefore, we must seek in America to recruit the best talent that we have for political leadership, in both our major parties.

A good way to begin this task is to remove some of the stigma we commonly attach to the word "politician," while keeping an ever-vigilant eye on our public officeholders. And those of us who have some responsibility of political leadership can do much in this respect by seeing to it that men and women of integrity and capacity are encouraged to seek public office.

It is, or least has been with few exceptions, the hallmark of the American system of government that our political parties freely and enthusiastically compete at the polls and then graciously, though often reluctantly, accept the people's verdict.

The victory does not as a rule try to exterminate the loser. Our democratic form of government has grown strong on the basis of our two-party political system.

The annihilation of one party by labeling it the party of treason would, indeed, be fatal to that most successful political system in the history of the world.

I wish that all of you might have heard the fine tribute that was paid by the Democratic Speaker, SAM RAYBURN, to the outgoing Republican Speaker, JOE MARTIN, on the opening day of the new 84th Congress a few weeks ago. Mr. RAYBURN pointed out that he treasured the personal friendship that had existed between Mr. MARTIN and himself for a number of years. And then Speaker RAYBURN said: "There are no degrees in truthfulness. There are no degrees in honesty. You are 100 percent, or you are not. I have found you, JOE MARTIN, 100 percent in both."

This is not to say that the two great parties do not have genuine and profoundly different convictions about the important political issues of the day. But because the Republicans believe sincerely in one issue, and we Democrats believe with equal sincerity the opposite, it does not make one or the other lacking in honesty, integrity, or more important, in patriotism.

Character assassination has become a comparatively recent but nonetheless vicious part of our political campaigns. It is a political role unbecoming to the American scene, a campaign technique that places the desire for political office above the interests of our country. And it has been known to reach beyond political campaigns into the personal lives of the American people wherein neighbor is turned against neighbor, and even family ties are threatened by accusations, many times unfounded, and more often unproved.

Let us remember the Ten Commandments in our daily lives and in our political campaigns. Let us disagree honestly and vigorously on public issues but without stooping to impugn the personal character of the men and women who disagree with our own point of view.

It is in great part the genius of America that we are all free to be different. The maintenance of that freedom is surely one common goal on which all of us can and should unite in the best interests of our common country.

Hon. Arthur G. Klein, of New York, Receives Community Service Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY A. FINE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. FINE. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, February 27, one of our distinguished colleagues, the Honorable ARTHUR G. KLEIN, Representative of the 19th Congressional District of New York, was awarded a plaque by the East End Temple of New York. This was in recognition of his exceptional services to the community and took the form of a citation, hailing him as the Man of the Year. Mr. Samuel Nichols, president of the Men's Club of the East Side Temple, presented the award with an introductory statement that I will include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

He said:

We are presenting Congressman ARTHUR G. KLEIN with our first community service award today. We all feel deeply indebted to him for his immeasurable services to the East Side. His help to people, institutions, and organizations has been outstanding. There is not a philanthropic or communal enterprise in this part of the city, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or nonsectarian, that has not known the benevolent influence of his assistance, and often his direct participation. There is not an institution with a public service objective that has not known the warmth of his encouragement.

But while we are here to pay recognition to these community services of his, I must not forego the opportunity to remind all of us of Congressman KLEIN's exceptional services to the maintenance of the noblest traditions of our country. Whatever our political views, we must acknowledge with respect that in him we have a tireless champion of the freedoms and rights of every American, that have been granted to us by the work of the Founding Fathers of this country. I recall in particular his forthright challenge to the iniquities of the McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Law. I recall his courageous stand, in and out of Congress, that this country must not put up with the concept of second-class citizenship. I recall his almost solitary voice against the invasion of our privacies by the condonement of wiretapping practice. I recall his humane understanding of the needs of the latest of our large immigrant groups when he designated for a West Point appointment a young man of Puerto Rican origin. I recall, too, his forthright challenge to the late Mr. Rankin.

Congressman KLEIN is a son of the East Side. As its Representative in Congress he has been responsive to the needs and wishes of his constituents; but he is remarkable in another and broader aspect. He has been responsive, in and out of Congress, to the heartbeat of all Americans.

We are proud of you, Congressman KLEIN; and I am proud to be able to give you the citation in behalf of our temple.

Memorandum Prepared by the Massachusetts Maritime Academy for the Consideration of the Massachusetts Congressional Delegation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an informative memorandum prepared by Arthur C. Sullivan, chairman of the Massachusetts Maritime Academy, showing why necessary appropriations should be made for the fiscal year of 1956 to keep in existence the present State maritime academies.

The memorandum follows:

MEMORANDUM PREPARED BY THE MASSACHUSETTS MARITIME ACADEMY FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

It is reported that no money is to be appropriated to carry out the aims and purposes of a law enacted under which the various States have assumed obligations in the way of establishing colleges in the furtherance of the merchant marine.

The law to which reference is made is "An act for the establishment of marine schools, and for other purposes," enacted on June 20, 1874, and later, the purposes of the 1874 act were reaffirmed by H. R. 24145, approved March 4, 1911.

This law is now included in the United States Code, title 34, chapter 19, starting with paragraph 1121, and has as its purposes:

I

"To promote nautical education, the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized and empowered to furnish * * * a suitable vessel of the Navy * * * to be used for the benefit of any nautical school or school or college having a nautical branch established at each of the following parts of the United States: Boston, Philadelphia, New York * * * upon the condition that there shall be maintained at such port a school or branch of a school for the instruction of youths in navigation, steamship marine engineering, and all matters pertaining to the proper construction, equipment, and sailing of vessels or any particular branch thereof."

This law has been amended as it applies to specific locations, but otherwise it is in force and effect.

II

This law also provided:

"That a sum not exceeding the amount annually appropriated by any State or municipality for the purpose of maintaining such a marine school * * * is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the purpose of aiding in the maintenance and support of such school or schools, provided, however, that

the sum for any one school would not exceed $25,000."

The Massachusetts Legislature has appropriated the following amounts for each of the last 5 fiscal years:

1950	$211,416
1951	200,704
1952	236,159
1953	261,700
1954	279,231

It is to be noted that the annual grant of $25,000 has not been increased since 1874.

III

The law also provided that "The President of the United States is authorized * * * to detail proper officers of the Navy as superintendents of or instructors in such school."

At the present time the superintendents at all the State academies are former naval officers; 1 is a vice admiral, 2 are rear admirals, and the other is a commodore.

There are officers and enlisted personnel assigned by the Navy Department to conduct a course in naval science corresponding with similar courses at other colleges, to which reference is herein made to Brown University at Providence, R. I., Dartmouth College in Hanover, N. H.; Harvard College at Cambridge, Mass.; Holy Cross College at Worcester, Mass.; Tufts College, Medford, Mass., Yale College at New Haven, Conn.

In compliance with the 1874 law, academies were established in four States, and these academies were later authorized to grant bachelor degrees.

New York was the first to comply with th law by establishing a maritime academy in 1874. Later there were academies established:

Massachusetts, 1891.
California, 1929.
Maine, 1941.

For a period supervisory control of the State academies was under the Navy Department and later for a short period the supervision was taken over by the Coast Guard, but the general supervision of the State academies and other colleges comes under the Maritime Administration.

After the enactment of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 and in accordance with the amendment thereof, the Maritime Administration took over the supervising control of the State maritime academies and adopted rules and regulations for the administration of the State maritime academies.

In 1938 there was established by the Maritime Administration the United States Marine Cadet Corps and for a period to 1942 the members of this corps were all trained in State maritime academies, and it was provided that it was a requirement for Federal aid that the State academies agree to admit out-of-State residents as students in the State academies in a number not to exceed one-third of the academy capacity.

It was determined in 1942 that the requirements of the Maritime Service exceeded the capacity of the State academies, so a Federal Academy was established at Kings Point to supplement the available opportunities for the training of officers.

It is to be noted that when the war requirements for officers were met and the normal needs did not require the full capacity of the State and Federal Academies, the contest started as to whether the United States Government should recognize its obligation under the 1874 law or should such money as is available for maritime training be used exclusively for the maintenance of the Federal Maritime Academy. The authorized enrollment at the 4 State academies is approximately 710 students, which is approximately the same number as those under training at Kings Point. The Federal subsidy to the State academies is reported to be about 20 percent of the cost of operating and maintaining the Federal Academy.

The decision to discontinue the Federal subsidy under the 1874 law is not based upon the economy of the situation for the training at the State academies is at substantially less cost than the training at the Federal Academy. At the Federal Academy the Federal Government provides the premises, as well as all of the instructors for the academic subjects whereas in the State academies, the Federal Government merely makes a contribution to partially reimburse the State academies.

It appears to be the present opinion of some that the 1874 law which has been in effect over 80 years does not reflect our national tradition so that Federal aid to State colleges should be discontinued on the 81st year.

In addition to the grants and allowances under the 1874 act, there have been other funds made available, but these funds are in the manner of assistance to the students in attendance at the State and Federal Academies as indicated below.

Starting in 1942 the Federal aid was increased so that the students in attendance at the Federal and State Maritime Academies were granted aid in two ways:

1. There was a subsistence allowance of approximately 75 cents a day.

2. There was an allowance to each cadet of $65 per month. In 1950 this was changed to $200 a year.

For the fiscal period ending June 30, 1955, the Federal aid to the students was $200 for books, uniforms, etc., plus $275 for subsistence, on the basis of 710 students at the State academies and the same number at the Federal academy.

During the last session of Congress the House of Representatives acted favorably upon House bill 9434 which established that the need for officers for the maritime service was so demanding as to require the establishment and continuance of a Federal Maritime Academy with the students to have the same financial allowance as granted the cadets at the United States Academies for the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

It is reported that the President has recommended that the appropriations to the various States in compliance with the 1874 law be discontinued, as well as the subsistence and other allowances to the students in an amount on a parity with the students in attendance at Kings Point.

If the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is required to provide the training ship at the academy the cost would be prohibitive, as it would be for all the other State academies.

It appears to be a determined fact that the need for maritime training is an essential today as in the past, or there would be no need for the continuance of a Federal academy at Kings Point on the basis suggested by House bill 9434.

At the present time the applications are being considered by the commissioners of the Massachusetts Maritime Academy for the class to be admitted in August 1955, and the appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, is being considered by the Massachusetts Legislature, so some present policy determination must be made in connection with the Federal subsidy.

The above is not intended to be all inclusive, but is merely a summary of the situation.

It would be appreciated if each member of the Massachusetts congressional delegation would advise as to what further details are desired.

ARTHUR C. SULLIVAN,
Chairman, Board of Commissioners,
Massachusetts Maritime Academy.
FEBRUARY 1, 1955.

Good Evening

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the Good Evening column by Clifford B. Ward, of the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel. The views expressed by this article, in my opinion, are both important and timely.

GOOD EVENING

(By Clifford B. Ward)

Most human beings have a tough time of it. There may be a few favored individuals who go through life without ever encountering any bad bumps in the road, but I doubt it.

Living is a battle and only a few take part in a battle without getting hurt.

I think that a lot of death certificates are improperly made out.

Most people die, not of the things that doctors write on death certificates, but as a result of having lived. An auto ends up on the junk pile, not because its fuel pump failed, but because of the long service which caused not only the fuel pump but a lot of other things to fail. But human beings, of course, are differently constituted. One person gets bumped and becomes embittered, another one gets bumped and becomes a more mellow, kinder person as a result of it. The one person feels sorry for himself, the other has a better appreciation of what the other fellow's sorrow is.

MARKED DIFFERENCES

Now and then I run into people with a grudge against the American system of private enterprise because of what happened to them back in the depression days in the early thirties. Most people who went through that period were hurt badly. Some of them took it in stride, others made it an excuse for espousing causes aimed at destroying our country. But there again we run into the differences between people. Some people can take a lot of pain, others can't take any. One person's first inclination is to feel sorry for himself, another would rather die than yell "ouch."

At any given time in any community, there are hundreds and hundreds of cases of human beings in serious trouble of one sort or another. Every once in a while some particular case is dramatized for public attention making it seem that the case is unique, but actually for every one case dramatized there are many just like it that never get attention, simply because many people do not want to bring attention to their troubles.

DEPRESSING ITEMS GALORE

Actually, on any day any newspaper could be filled from front page to last page with news stories of human beings in trouble. Almost any large hospital has scores of cases that would rate commanding the attention of the public, but normal human beings couldn't take living constantly in an abnormally stressed atmosphere of suffering and death. Oddly enough those who probably have the greatest claims on the pity of other human beings object to having their troubles publicized.

This is not an age in which much attention is paid to any virtues. Virtues are moral things and moral things are ignored. Most people have never heard of the word "fortitude," do not know it is such a thing

as a virtue and know even less about its moral necessity. If life is a battle, it is fought with weapons and the weapons are virtues. All of the good things derive from virtues. Loyalty, courage, patriotism, honesty, manliness, generosity, kindness, and the like are all moral things. The word "virtue" itself derives from the Latin for "manliness." What a ghastly thing it is to send a soldier onto a battlefield without having taught him anything about how to fight in defense of himself. It is even more ghastly to send people onto a battlefield of life without any training in the use of the moral weapons they must have if they are to survive the fight.

Kalewala Day of Finland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on February 28, 1835, the Finnish national epic, the Kalewala, first appeared in book form. The 120th anniversary of this great epic was celebrated on the 28th of February of this year. Composed of folk verses about the deeds of three semidivine brothers of gigantic stature who lived in Kalewala, the epic has had a great effect on all Finnish art.

The Kalewala is a mythical land of happiness and abundance. This epic of rich mythology is composed in the eight-syllable trochaic line that was imitated by Longfellow in Hiawatha. Scholars had known of the Kalewala since 1733, but the verses had to wait until the following century to appear in print.

The verses were first collected by two Finnish physicians, Dr. Zakarias Topelius, who published fragments of the epic in 1822, and Dr. Elias Lonnrot, who was responsible for the 1835 edition and the Kalewala as it appears today.

Appropriately close to Kalewala Day is the date of March 5, the anniversary of the birth of John Ludvig Runeberg, 1804–77. This great national poet of Finland, like all Finnish authors of his day, wrote in Swedish. From 1837 until the end of his life, he served as professor of Latin at Provoo, near Helsinki. The Finnish national anthem was taken from Runeberg's The Tales of Ensign Stal, 1844. Among his other best known works are the peasant epic The Elkhunters, 1832, a cycle of romances, King Fjalar, 1844, and Nadeschda, 1841. Runeberg's works have been, in part, translated into English.

The country of Finland, through its struggle to remain free and independent, has endeared itself in the hearts of all Americans. The relations of the United States with Finland have been noteworthy for the respect each holds for the other. It would be a sad day for the world if Soviet imperialism ever endangered Finnish independence. And I know that I speak for all Americans in saying that we intend that a free Finland shall continue the fine contributions that distinguishes her history and traditions.

National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein a communication from J. Wellington Hall, national secretary of the American Material Handling Society, Inc., commenting in House Joint Resolution 231 designating a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week:

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC.,
Toledo, Ohio, March 4, 1955.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr.,
Member of Congress, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: That you are thoroughly cognizant of the varied activities of the material handling industry and profession is evidenced in the extension of remarks you prepared in regard to a National Material Handling Week. I will, therefore, not take your time in a long discourse on material handling functions, as the contents of your speech is indicative of your familiarity with the subject.

I would, however, like to again state that there can be no industrial activity in which material handling does not occupy a most important niche. Consider the United States Postal Department as a governmental function.

The conveyor industry has in operation some moving sidewalks. R. C. Sollenberger, in an article from the Conveyor Equipment Manufacturers Association Bulletin, states, and I quote:

"On May 24, 1954, the country's first public passenger conveyor went into service at the Erie terminal of the Hudson & Manhattan Railroad, Jersey City, N. J. Length of the conveyor 227 feet, more than half of it up a 10-percent grade, with an approximate speed of 1½ miles per hour and a capacity of 10,800 people per hour."

In planning, may be the replacement of the 42d Street subway shuttle trains by passenger conveyors, as announced by Col. Sydney H. Bingham, manager of New York's Transit Authority. Other projects in planning are: In Cincinnati, an 80 block long system for keeping buses out of the downtown area, a 14-block long system for Cleveland, and many others, all intended to reduce the traffic and congestion in the downtown areas of great cities. Quotes Mr. Sollenberger, "It took the unholy traffic congestion in our cities to make them (passenger conveyors) economically feasible and probably downright necessary."

To cite another example of the material handling engineer's use of all available means to reduce the cost of transportation, the communications industry has increased the efficiency of material handling equipment tremendously. By use of two-way radio communication, it is now possible to have the apparatus do the work for which it is intended, eliminating the time formerly lost waiting for assignments, by having a piece of material handling equipment formerly assigned to a small area, because of lack of communications, now able to cover tremendously large areas, because of the central control. Today, no piece of mobile equipment, be it a bulldozer, crane, overhead or crawler, yard locomotive, lift truck, highway truck, steamship, airplane, or freight train is further away than the microphone.

In my original letter to you, requesting a National Material Handling Week, the intent was to project the material handling industry and profession into the niche in the industrial organizational structure of this Nation which it is, and by right should be, entitled to occupy.

The designation, in itself, poses a particular problem. The organizations participating, in the strictest sense of the word, make and use as many types of equipment and materials as can be found in an analysis of American industry.

The one common interest is material handling. And material handling is composed of many things. The railroad, the highway truck, the airplane, the conveyor, the pipeline, the fork lift truck, the industrial tractor-trailer train, the lowly, but so important hand truck, ad infinitum.

But, basic to all of these is the package. How shall it be handled? How can it be handled? How best can we transport or warehouse bulk commodities in steel, brass, bar, coil or strip stock or chemicals, liquids and powders? How best can we load and fully load, ships, planes, trucks or freight cars.

Then, too, the manufacturers of pallets for transportation and warehousing are an integral part of the tremendous material handling machine.

Therefore, the communications industry, the packaging industry, the pallet industry are basic to the concept of good material handling.

It is with extreme pleasure that I note your resolution House Joint Resolution 231, a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week.

This designation acknowledges the various organizations which are vital cogs in the immense machine known as material handling, whose various contributions to the function have contributed so much to the Nation's economy.

I would request of you, in the furtherance of this effort, that this letter be inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as of value to the program to establish a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL,
National Secretary.

Thomas G. Masaryk—World Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, on March 7, 1850, Thomas G. Masaryk was born.

The world was busy that year. Jenny Lind, the Swedish Nightingale, was giving her first American concert. California was admitted as a State. Senator Henry Clay was striving to bring together the rapidly dividing interests of the North and the South.

But, to the world, nothing that happened in 1850 was more important than the birth of this one child.

Thomas Masaryk might have gone down in history as a great organizer. It was through his dedicated efforts that the diverse peoples of Czechoslovakia were welded into one.

Thomas Masaryk might have had his name graven among the great as a scholar. The brilliance of his pen produced books which will, long after his death, be praised as outstanding contributions to the science of politics.

Thomas Masaryk might have been forever known as a prophet. It was he who said, "A Communist is only a Czarist with his uniform on wrong side out."

But, to me, Thomas Masaryk was more than an organizer, more than a scholar; even more than a prophet.

He was a patriot who lived with his people; for his people. He was a lover of liberty who extended the hand of enduring friendship to all men who loved freedom, irrespective of their breed or their birth.

Thomas G. Masaryk was—and is—a hero of the world.

Prime Minister Churchill's Address on Deterrent Defense and the Hydrogen Bomb

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD today the full text of the address delivered to the House of Commons last week by Prime Minister Churchill. This is certainly the most thorough and perceptive analysis of defense in the age of the hydrogen bomb which we have yet had. Those interested in this paramount problem will, I am sure, want to read, and reread, this statement. The address follows:

We live in a period happily unique in human history, when the whole world is divided intellectually and to a large extent geographically between the creeds of Communist discipline and individual freedom, and when at the same time this mental and psychological division is accompanied by the possession by both sides of the obliterating weapons of the nuclear age.

We have antagonisms now as deep as those of the Reformation and its reactions, which led to the Thirty Years' War. But now they are spread over the whole world instead of only over a small part of Europe. We have to some extent the geographical division of the Mongol invasion in the 13th century, only more ruthless and more thorough. We have force and science, hitherto the servants of man, now threatening to become his master.

I am not pretending to have a solution for a permanent peace between the nations which could be unfolded this afternoon. We pray for it. Nor shall I try to discuss the cold war which we all detest but have to endure. I shall only venture to offer to the House some observations, mainly of a general character, on which I have pondered long and which I hope may be tolerantly received as they are intended by me.

NEW SOURCES OF POWER

And here may I venture to make a personal digression? I do not pretend to be an expert or to have technical knowledge of this prodigious sphere of science. But in my long friendship with Lord Cherwell I have tried to follow and even predict the evolution of events. I hope that the house will not reprove me for vanity or conceit if I repeat what I wrote a quarter of a century ago:

"We know enough," I said, "to be sure that the scientific achievements of the next 50 years will be far greater, more rapid and more surprising than those we have already experienced. High authorities tell us that new sources of power vastly more important than any we yet know will surely be discovered.

"Nuclear energy is incomparably greater than the molecular energy which we use today. The coal a man can get in a day can easily do 500 times as much work as the man himself. Nuclear energy is at least 1 million times more powerful still. If the hydrogen atoms in a pound of water could be prevailed upon to combine together and form helium, they would suffice to drive a 1,000-horsepower engine for a whole year. If the electrons—those tiny planets of the atomic systems—were induced to combine with the nuclei in the hydrogen, the horsepower liberated would be 120 times greater still.

"There is no question among scientists that this gigantic source of energy exists. What is lacking is the match to set the bonfire alight, or, it may be, the detonator to cause the dynamite to explode."

This is no doubt not quite an accurate description of what has been discovered, but as it was published in the Strand magazine of December 1931—24 years ago—I hope that my plea to have long taken an interest in the subject may be indulgently accepted by the house.

What is the present position? Only three countries possess, in varying degrees, the knowledge and the power to make nuclear weapons. Of these, the United States is overwhelmingly the chief.

Owing to the breakdown in the exchange of information between us and the United States since 1946, we have had to start again independently on our own. Fortunately executive action was taken promptly by the Right Honorable Gentleman, the leader of the opposition, to reduce as far as possible the delay in our nuclear development and production. By his initiative we have made our own atomic bombs. Confronted with the hydrogen bomb I have tried to live up to the Right Honorable Gentleman's standard. We have started to make that one too.

GRAVE DECISION

It is this grave decision which forms the core of the defense paper which we are discussing this afternoon. Although the Soviet stockpile of atomic bombs may ge greater than that of Britain, British discoveries may well place us above them in fundamental science.

May I say that for the sake of simplicity and to avoid verbal confusion, I use the expression "atomic bombs" and also "hydrogen bombs" instead of "thermonuclear," and I keep "nuclear" for the whole lot.

There is an immense gulf between the atomic and the hydrogen bomb. The atomic bomb, with all its terror, did not carry us outside the scope of human control or manable events in thought or action, in peace or war. But when Mr. STERLING COLE, the chairman of the United States Congressional [Atomic] Committee, gave out a year ago—February 17, 1954—the first comprehensive review of the hydrogen bomb, the entire foundation of human affairs was revolutionized and mankind placed in a situation both measureless and laden with doom.

It is now the fact that a quantity of plutonium—probably less than would fill this box on the table, and quite a safe thing to store—would suffice to produce weapons which would give indisputable world domination to any great power which was the only one to have it. There is no absolute defense against the hydrogen bomb, nor is any method in sight by which any nation or any country can be completely guaranteed against the devastating injury which even a score of them might inflict on wide regions.

What ought we to do? Which way shall we turn to save our lives and the future of the world? It does not matter so much to old people. They are going soon anyway. But I find it poignant to look at youth in all its activities and ardor, and most of all to watch little children playing their merry games, and wonder what would lie before them if God wearied of mankind.

The best defense would, of course, be bona-fide disarmament all around. This is in all our hearts, but sentiment must not cloud our vision. It is often said that facts are stubborn things. A renewed session of a subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission is now sitting in London and is rightly attempting to conduct its debates in private. We must not conceal from ourselves the gulf between the Soviet Government and the NATO powers, which has hitherto, for so long, prevented an agreement. The long history and tradition of Russia makes it repugnant to the Soviet Government to accept any practical system of international inspection.

A second difficulty lies in the circumstances that, just as the United States, on the one hand, has, we believe, the overwhelming mastery in nuclear weapons, so the Soviets and their Communist satellites have immense superiority in what are called "conventional" forces—the sort of arms and forces with which we fought the last war, but much improved.

The problem is therefore to devise a balance and phased system of disarmament which at no period enables any one of the participants to enjoy an advantage which might endanger the security of the others. A scheme on these lines was submitted last year by Her Majesty's Government and the French Government, and was accepted by the late Mr. [Andrei Y.] Vishinsky as a basis of discussion. It is now being examined in London.

UP-TO-DATE ARMS NEEDED

If the Soviet Government has not at any time since the war shown much nervousness about the American possession of nuclear superiority, that is because they are quite sure that it will not be used against them aggressively, even in spite of many forms of provocation.

On the other hand, the NATO powers have been combined together by the continued aggression and advance of communism in Asia and in Europe. That this should have eclipsed in a few years and largely efface the fearful antagonism and memories that Hitlerism created for the German people is an event without parallel but it has to a large extent, happened. There is widespread belief throughout the free world that, but for American nuclear superiority, Europe would already have been reduced to satellite status and the Iron Curtain would have reached the Atlantic and the Channel.

Unless a trustworthy and universal agreement upon disarmament, conventional and nuclear alike, can be reached and an effective system of inspection is established and is actually working, there is only one sane policy for the free world in the next few years. That is what we call defense through deterrents. This we have already adopted and proclaimed.

These deterrents may at any time become the parents of disarmament, provided that they deter. To make our contribution to the deterrent we must ourselves possess the most up-to-date nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them. That is the position which the Government occupy. We are to discuss this not only as a matter of prin-

ciple: There are many practical reasons which should be given.

Should war come, which God forbid, there are a large number of targets that we and the Americans must be able to strike at once. There are scores of airfields from which the Soviets could launch attacks with hydrogen bombs as soon as they have the bombers to carry them. It is essential to our deterrent policy and to our survival to have, with our American allies, the strength and numbers to be able to paralyze these potential Communist assaults in the first few hours of the war, should it come.

The House will perhaps note that I avoid using the word Russia as much as possible in this discussion. I have a strong admiration for the Russian people—for their bravery, their many gifts, and their kindly nature. It is the Communist dictatorship and the declared ambition of the Communist Party and their proselytizing activities which we are bound to resist, and that is what makes this great world cleavage which I mentioned when opening my remarks.

There are also big administrative and industrial targets behind the Iron Curtain, and any effective deterrent policy must have the power to paralyze them all at the outset, or shortly after. There are also the Soviet submarine bases and other naval targets which will need early attention. Unless we make a contribution of our own—that is the point which I am pressing—we cannot be sure that in an emergency the resources of other powers would be planned exactly as we would wish or that the targets which would threaten us most would be given what we consider the necessary priority, or the deserved priority, in the first few hours.

These targets might be of such cardinal importance that it would really be a matter of life and death for us.

All this, I think, must be borne in mind in deciding our policy about the conventional forces, to which I will come later, the existing services.

Meanwhile, the United States has many times the nuclear power of Soviet Russia, I avoid any attempt to give exact figures, and they have, of course, far more effective means of delivery. Our moral and military support of the United States and our possession of nuclear weapons of the highest quality and on an appreciable scale, together with their means of delivery, will greatly reinforce the deterrent power of the free world, and will strengthen our influence within the free world. That, at any rate, is the policy which we have decided to pursue.

That is what we are now doing, and I am thankful that it is endorsed by a mass of responsible opinion on both sides of the House, and, I believe, by the great majority of the Nation.

A vast quantity of information—some true, some exaggerated, much out of proportion—has been published about the hydrogen bomb. The truth has inevitably been mingled with fiction, and I am glad to say that panic has not occurred. Panic would not necessarily make for peace. That is one reason why I have been most anxious that responsible discussions on this matter should not take place on the BBC or upon television, and I thought that I was justified in submitting that view of Her Majesty's Government to the authorities, which they at once accepted—very willingly accepted.

APPALLING PROSPECT SEEN

Panic would not necessarily make for peace even in this country. There are many countries where a certain wave of opinion may arise and swing so furiously into action that decisive steps may be taken from which there is no recall. As it is, the world population goes on its daily journey despite its somber expression and earnest longing for relief. That is the way we are going on now.

I shall content myself with saying about the power of this weapon—the hydrogen bomb—that, apart from all the statements about blast and heat effects over increasingly wide areas, there are now to be considered the consequences of "fallout," as it is called, of windborne radioactive particles. There is both an immediate direct effect on human beings who are in the path of such a cloud and an indirect effect through animals, grass, and vegetables, which pass on these contagions to human beings through food.

This would confront many who escaped the direct effects of the explosion with poisoning or starvation, or both. Imagination stands appalled. There are, of course, the palliatives and precautions of a courageous civil defense, and about that the Home Secretary will be speaking later on tonight. But our best protection lies, as I am sure the House will be convinced, in successful deterrents operating from a foundation of sober, calm, and tireless vigilance.

However, a curious paradox has emerged. Let me put it simply. After a certain point has been passed, it may be said, the worse things get, the better. The broad effect of the latest developments is to spread almost indefinitely and at least to a vast extent the area of mortal danger. This should certainly increase the deterrent upon Soviet Russia by putting her enormous spaces and scattered population on an equality, or near equality, of vulnerability with our small, densely populated island and with Western Europe.

I cannot regard this development as adding to our dangers. We have reached the maximum already. On the contrary, to this form of attack continents are vulnerable as well as islands. Hitherto crowded countries, as I have said, like the United Kingdom and Western Europe, have had this outstanding vulnerability to carry. But the hydrogen bomb, with its vast range of destruction and the even wider area of contamination, would be effective also against nations whose population hitherto has been so widely dispersed over large land areas as to make them feel that they were not in any danger at all.

PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE

They too become highly vulnerable; not yet equally perhaps, but still highly and increasingly vulnerable. Here again we see the value of deterrents, immune against surprise and well understood by all persons on both sides—repeat, on both sides—who have the power to control events. That is why I have hoped for a long time for a top-level conference where these matters could be put plainly and bluntly from one friendly visitor to the conference to another.

Then it may well be that we shall, by a process of sublime irony, have reached a stage in this story where safety will be the sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation. Although the Americans have developed weapons capable of producing all the effects I have mentioned, we believe that the Soviets so far have tested by explosion only a type of bomb of intermediate power.

There is no reason why, however, they should not develop sometime within the next 4, 3, or even 2 years mode advanced weapons and full means to deliver them on North American targets. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that within that period they will. In trying to look ahead like this, we must be careful ourselves to avoid the error of comparing the present state of our preparations with the stage which the Soviets may reach in 3 or 4 years time. It is a major error of thought to contrast the Soviet position 3 or 4 years hence with our own position today. It is a mistake to do this either in the comparatively precise details of aircraft development or in the measureless sphere of nuclear weapons.

The threat of hydrogen attack on these islands lies in the future. It is not with us now.

According to the information that I have been able to obtain—I have taken every opportunity to consult all the highest authorities at our disposal—the only country which is able to deliver today a full-scale nuclear attack with hydrogen bombs at a few hours' notice is the United States. That surely is an important fact, and from some points of view and to some of us it is not entirely without comfort.

It is conceivable that Soviet Russia, fearing a nuclear attack before she has caught up with the United States and created deterrents of her own, as she might argue that they are, might attempt to bridge the gulf by a surprise attack with such nuclear weapons as she has already. American superiority in nuclear weapons, reinforced by Britain, must therefore be so organized as to make it clear that no such surprise attack would prevent immediate retaliation on a far larger scale. This is an essential of the deterrent policy.

For this purpose, not only must the nuclear superiority of the Western powers be stimulated in every possible way, but their means of delivery of bombs must be expanded, improved, and varied. It is even probable, though we have not been told about it outside the NATO sphere, that a great deal of this has been already done by the United States. We should aid them in every possible way.

I will not attempt to go into details, but it is known that bases have been and are being established in as many parts of the world as possible and that over all rests the United States Strategic Air Force, which is in itself a deterrent of the highest order and is in ceaseless readiness. The Soviet Government probably knows in general terms of the policy that is being pursued, and of the present United States strength and our own growing addition to it.

Thus, they should be convinced that a surprise attack could not exclude immediate retaliation. As one might say to them: Although you might kill millions of our people, and cause widespread havoc by a surprise attack, we could, within a few hours of this outrage, certainly deliver several, indeed many times, the weight of nuclear material which you have used, and continue retaliation on that same scale. We have, we could say, already hundreds of bases for attack from all angles and have made an intricate study of suitable targets.

GUIDE OF SOVIET INTERESTS

Thus, it seems to me, with some experience of wartime talks, you might go to dinner and have a friendly evening. I should not be afraid to talk things over as far as they can be. This, and the hard facts, would make the deterrent effective.

I must make one admission, and any admission is formidable. The deterrent does not cover the case of lunatics or dictators in the mood of Hitler when he found himself in his final dugout. That is a blank. Happily, we may find methods of protecting ourselves, if we were all agreed, against that.

All these considerations lead me to believe that, on a broad view, the Soviets would be ill-advised to embark on major aggression within the next 3 or 4 years. One must always consider the interests of other people when you are facing a particular situation. The Russian interests may be the only guide that is available. We may calculate, therefore, that world war will not break out within that time. If, at the end of that time, there should be a supreme conflict, the weapons which I have described this afternoon would be available to both sides, and it would be folly to suppose that they would not be used. Our precautionary dispositions and preparations must therefore be based on the assumption that, if war should come, those weapons would be used.

I repeat, therefore, that during the next 3 or 4 years the free world should and will

retain an overwhelming superiority in hydrogen weapons. During that period it is most unlikely that the Russians would deliberately embark on major war or attempt a surprise attack either of which would bring down upon them at once a crushing weight of nuclear retaliation. In 3 or 4 years' time—it may be even less—the scene will be changed. The Soviets will probably stand possessed of hydrogen bombs and the means of delivering them not only on the United Kingdom but also on North American targets. They may then have reached a stage not indeed of parity with the United States and Britain but of what is called saturation.

MEANING OF SATURATION

I must explain this term of art. "Saturation," in this connection, means the point where although one power is stronger than the other—perhaps much stronger—both are capable of inflicting crippling or quasi-mortal injury on the other with what they have got. It does not follow, however, that the risk of war will then be greater. Indeed, it is arguable that it will be less, for both sides will then realize that global war would result in mutual annihilation.

Major war of the future will differ therefore from anything we have known in the past, in this one significant respect that each side at the outset will suffer what it dreads the most—the loss of everything that it has ever known. The deterrents will grow continually in value. In the past an aggressor has been tempted by the hope of snatching an early advantage. In future, he may be deterred by the knowledge that the other side has the certain power to inflict swift, inescapable and crushing retaliation.

Of course, we should all agree that a worldwide international agreement on disarmament is the goal at which we should aim. The western democracies disarmed themselves at the end of the war. The Soviet Government did not disarm, and the western nations were forced to rearm, though only partially, after the Soviets and Communists had dominated all China and half Europe. That is the present position. It is easy, of course, for the Communists to say now, "Let us ban all nuclear weapons." Communist ascendancy in conventional weapons would then become overwhelming. That might bring peace but only peace in the form of the subjugation of the free world to the Communist system.

I shall not detain the House very much longer and I am sorry to be so long. The topic is very intricate. I am anxious to repeat and to emphasize the one word which is the theme of my remarks, namely, "deterrent." That is the main theme.

The hydrogen bomb has made an astounding incursion into the structure of our lives and thoughts. Its impact is prodigious and profound, but I do not agree with those who say, "Let us sweep away forthwith all our existing defense services and concentrate our energy and resources on nuclear weapons and their immediate ancillaries." The policy of the deterrent cannot rest on nuclear weapons alone. We must, together with our NATO allies, maintain the defensive shield in Western Europe.

Unless the NATO powers had effective forces there on the ground and could make a front, there would be nothing to prevent piecemeal advance and encroachment by the Communists in this time of so-called peace. By successive infiltrations the Communists could progressively undermine the security of Europe. Unless we were prepared to unleash a full-scale nuclear war as soon as some local incident occurs in some distant country, we must have conventional forces in readiness to deal with such situations as they arise.

CONTRIBUTION TO NATO

We must, therefore, honor our undertaking to maintain our contribution to the NATO forces in Europe in time of peace. In war, this defensive shield would be of vital importance, for we must do our utmost to hold the Soviet and satellite forces at arms' length in order to prevent short-range air and rocket attack on these islands. Thus, substantial strength in conventional forces has still a vital part to play in the policy of the deterrent. It is perhaps of even greater importance in the cold war.

Though world war may be prevented by the deterrent power of nuclear weapons, the Communists may well resort to military action in furtherance of their policy of infiltration and encroachment in many parts of the world. There may well be limited wars on the Korean model, with limited objectives. We must be able to play our part in these, if called upon by the United Nations Organization. In the conditions of today, this is also an aspect of our commonwealth responsibility. We shall need substantial strength in conventional forces to fulfill our worldwide obligations in these days of uneasy peace and extreme bad temper.

To sum up this part of the argument, of course, the development of nuclear weapons will affect the shape and organization of the Armed Forces and also of civil defense. We have entered a period of transition in which the past and the future will overlap. But it is an error to suppose that, because of these changes, our traditional forces can be cast away or superseded.

The tasks of the Army, Navy, and Air Force in this transition period are set forth with clarity in the defense white paper. The means by which these duties will be met are explained in more detail in the departmental papers which have been laid before the House by the three service ministers. No doubt, nothing is perfect; certainly nothing is complete, but, considering that these arrangements have been made in the first year after the apparition of the hyrogen bomb, the far-seeing and progressive adaptability which is being displayed by all three services is remarkable.

I understand that there is to be a vote of censure. Well, certainly, nothing could be more worthy of censure than to try to use the inevitable administrative difficulties of the transitional stage as a utensil of party politics and would-be electioneering. I am not saying that anyone is doing it; we shall see when it comes to the vote. The future shape of civil defense is also indicated in broad outline in the defense white paper. This outline will be filled in as the preparation of the new plans proceeds, but the need for an effective system of civil defense is surely beyond dispute.

It presents itself today in its noblest aspect; namely, the Christian duty of helping fellow mortals in distress. Rescue, salvage, and ambulance work have always been the core of civil defense, and no city, no family, nor any honorable man or woman can repudiate this duty and accept from others help which they are not prepared to fit themselves to render in return.

If war comes great numbers may be relieved of their duty by death. But none must deny it as long as they live. If they do, they might perhaps be put in what is called coventry. I am speaking of the tradition, and not of any particular locality.

The argument which I have been endeavoring to unfold and consolidate gives us in this island an interlude. Let us not waste it. Let us hope we shall use it to augment or at least to prolong our security and that of mankind.

But how?

There are those who believe, or at any rate say: If we have the protection of the overwhelming powerful United States, we need not make the hydrogen bomb for ourselves or build a fleet of bombers for its delivery. We can leave that to our friends across the ocean. Our contribution should be criticism of any unwise policy into which they may drift or plunge. We should throw our hearts and consciences into that.

OWN NEEDS STRESSED

Personally, I cannot feel that we should have much influence over their policy or actions, wise or unwise, while we are largely dependent, as we are today, upon their protection. We too must possess substantial deterrent power of our own. We must also never allow, above all, I hold, the growing sense of unity and brotherhood between the United Kingdom and the United States and throughout the English-speaking world to be injured or retarded. Its maintenance, its stimulation, and its fortifying is one of the first duties of every person who wishes to see peace in the world and wishes to see the survival of this country.

To conclude, mercifully, there is time and hope if we combine patience and courage. All deterrents will improve and gain authority during the next 10 years. By that time, the deterrent may well reach its acme and reap its final reward. The day may dawn when fair play, love for one's fellow men, respect for justice and freedom, will enable tormented generations to march forth serene and triumphant from the hideous epoch in which we have to dwell. Meanwhile, never flinch, never weary, never despair.

The 105th Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas G. Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, as a tribute to a great and worthy man, whose very life exemplified the highest ideals and traditions, I call attention to the 105th anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk, the father of the Czechoslovak Republic. It is only fitting that we here in America should note this anniversary because the Communist masters of Masaryk's homeland have banned any celebration, as did the Nazis before them. And why? Simply because they know that as long as the name of Masaryk lives in Czechoslovakia their rule is insecure. The spirit of Masaryk is the spirit of belief in the individual, of tolerance, of respect for truth and hatred of insincerity, and of belief in one's Creator. No dictatorship in the world can permit these truths to flourish and itself long endure.

Even in his personal life Masaryk can serve as an inspiration. He was born to a low station in life, but raised himself to a position of eminence by hard work and perseverance. Yet he never hesitated to jeopardize that hard-won standing by embracing causes that he believed to be right, regardless of popular or official opposition. He was undismayed in defeat, and magnanimous in victory.

A true friend of the United States, he created a Czechoslovakia that was an embodiment of the democratic ideal. We regret profoundly that this anniversary cannot be honored in his own land. The world needs more men like Thomas G. Masaryk.

Death Takes Jim Thomas, Director of District 15

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, the sudden death of James J. "Jim" Thomas, director of district 15, United Steelworkers, came as a deep shock to his many friends, among whom I had the privilege to count myself.

Jim Thomas was a close friend of mine and of my late husband Congressman Frank Buchanan, for many years. His efforts and his accomplishments on behalf of the Steelworkers were tremendous. He earned and enjoyed the respect and affection of his fellow workers and of his community, to which on many occasions, he devoted his great diligence and his many talents. His death is a tragic loss to the United Steelworkers and a truly personal loss to me. To his devoted wife and family I extend my heartfelt sympathy.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article from the March 1955 issue of Steel Labor:

DEATH TAKES JIM THOMAS, DIRECTOR OF DISTRICT 15—"OLD FAITHFUL" IN STEEL UNION MOURNED BY MEN OF THE MILLS

Death has struck down one of the mainstays of the United Steelworkers of America.

James J. "Jim" Thomas, director of one of the largest districts in the steel union, died unexpectedly, February 22, of a heart ailment while he was confined to Homestead, Pa., hospital for a series of tests and treatment. He had been in the hospital for about 2 weeks. He was 55.

The news stunned his thousands of friends, both inside and outside the labor movement. It was a particularly heavy blow to the 50,000 members of the union in district 15, where Jim had labored so faithfully for 15 years in building the United Steelworkers into a solid, closely knit organization.

President David J. McDonald, who was in Washington for the CIO executive board meeting, expressed the grief felt throughout the union:

Jim Thomas was one of the old faithfuls who devoted all of his life and the vast store of ability and energy to the people he loved best—the men of the mills and their families.

"The services he rendered to this union simply cannot be measured. He was a man who could be depended on no matter how rough the going might be. We will miss him in countless ways, and the imprint he leaves on the United Steelworkers of America will be felt as we move down through the years."

Mr. Thomas was a steelworker all of his working life. He was a union man in the truest sense of the phrase. He went into the mills of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. at a very early age and was active in union affairs while still in his teens. Born in Uniontown, Pa., in 1900, Jim moved to Hazelwood, in Pittsburgh, with his family and went to work in Jones & Laughlin's Hazelwood mills. He learned the machinist trade, advanced to first-class machinist, and worked in that plant until 1940.

As far back as 1919, when an attempt was made to organize basic steel by the old Amalgamated, Jim poured all his youthful drive into the campaign. When the attempt failed he bided his time until the steelworkers organizing committee was formed in 1936 and became one of the very first volunteer organizers while continuing his regular job in the mill.

When local 1843 was formed Jim became a key officer, holding most of the posts in the local. The union called him to take on the job of director of district 15 in 1940, a position he filled until his death. He was reelected without opposition in every referendum.

Jim Thomas was a man who was easy to know and easy to love. He was a kindly man, always ready to sit down and reminisce or worry about someone else's problems. A perpetual smile creased his face, regardless of the tenseness that surrounded many union problems he bucked day in and day out. He experienced great joy in mingling with his people—the steelworkers—in their homes, their local unions, their clubs.

His genial personality sometimes hid an uncanny shrewdness that enabled him to cut through to the heart of a problem. That, plus the fact that he knew the steel industry from stem to stern, made him a top-notch negotiator. And his honesty at all times commanded the respect of management people, as well as his fellow unionists.

Those who really knew Jim Thomas marveled at the deep reservoir of strength within him and at the hidden drive that led him to take part in scores of outside activities aimed at helping people. He devoted many evening hours to such activities as the Community Fund, which he served as a board member in western Pennsylvania. He served on the Blue Cross Blue Shield Board upon which thousands of union members depend for protection under union insurance programs. He was active in dozens of fraternal organizations that hold an interest for steelworkers. He served for several years on the Pittsburgh Housing Authority.

All of this Jim managed to crowd into a busy life within the union itself, as he headed the most highly concentrated basic steel area in the world. District 15 stretches for 18 miles up the Monongahela River from Pittsburgh, boasting some 46 locals. It comprises such mill towns as Homestead, McKeesport, Braddock, Clairton, Irvin Works, DuQuesne, and Rankin, where big basic United States Steel plants operate.

Jim was one of the top negotiators in contracts negotiated with Big Steel for many years. He served on most of the important committees within the union, including the pension and insurance committes.

Since the early 1940's he was a vice president of the Pennsylvania CIO Industrial Union Council. As such, he became involved in the problems of other unions and could always be counted upon to fulfill a duty as he saw it. He was one of the prime movers in the early, hectic days of the formation of the Steel City Industrial Union Council in Pittsburgh and one of his last appearances was on the platform, with President McDonald, at a special meeting called by that body to mark its anniversary.

Through international conventions and his many assignments to serve on special commissions in other districts, Jim became known and loved by steelworkers across the country.

Friends were received at the O'Toole & O'Connor Funeral Home, around the corner from his early home in Hazelwood and within the shadow of the J and L smokestacks. Solemn requiem high mass was offered in St. Teresa Church, Homestead, and burial was at Calvary Cemetery, Pittsburgh.

Mr. Thomas was survived by his widow, Mrs. Claudia Hetrick Thomas; a son, James R. Thomas, of Pittsburgh; a daughter, Mrs. Jo Ann Marino, of McCallen, Texas; 3 brothers, Frank, Joseph and Howard; 3 sisters, Mrs. Kathryn Pearson, Mrs. Rose Shirey and Mrs. Virginia Fisher, and 2 grandchildren.

Instead of flowers, Mrs. Thomas had requested that donations be made to the Heart Fund. Members of the United Steelworkers international executive board were honorary pall bearers.

European Credit Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the February 1955 issue of the Texas Credit Union League Bulletin carried an article by Mr. H. B. Yates, president of the Credit Union National Association, of Dallas, Tex., entitled "European Credit Unions," which I am inserting herewith.

Mr. Yates' comprehensive report of the tour of 8 European countries by himself and 11 other cooperative leaders is so interesting, it will be found worthwhile reading. It is as follows:

EUROPEAN CREDIT UNIONS

(By H. B. Yates, president, Credit Union National Association)

The tour of 12 cooperative leaders visited 8 countries in 3 weeks, spending from 2 to 3 days in each country. The time was spent principally in conferences with the leaders of the different countries and conducted tours to cooperative stores, farms, and factories. We did spend a small part of our time in sightseeing.

The credit union movement and the cooperative movement have separate origins and today are still separate movements in most of the countries visited. Only in Finland, and to some extent in Holland, did we find what might be called an integrated movement. As practically all of our time was spent with the cooperative leaders, I found it somewhat difficult to get complete information on credit unions in all of the countries visited.

One characteristic of all European credit unions is that they require security or comakers. This general attitude is not different from that found in some American institutions; that one should be able to prove that he does not need a loan in order to secure one. Raiffeisen insisted that only members of good character be accepted in the credit union and that character loans be made. The only character loans that I heard of being used in Europe were in the credit unions in Finland, Holland, and Germany organized among people working for the same industry or on the same payroll and then loans were small. The development and extension of character credit is a contribution of American credit union to the movement.

The principle of a person borrowing money to improve his position in the world is not so prevalent in Europe as in America. European borrowing seems to be more for necessity. Europeans are naturally more conservative than Americans. In Europe, due to the crowded conditions in all countries and the relic of the class system found in some, the social and economic status of an individual is much more fixed than it is in America. One Englishman said to me: "We do not believe in encouraging our poor people to go into debt." Most European governments do more for the lower

classes than does the Government of the United States.

Raiffeisen's credit unions were organized primarily for farmers and the European credit union today is still primarily for farmers. The widespread organization of credit unions in the cities is another American contribution to the movement. In countries where the credit needs of the farmers have been provided for by the Government as in England and France, there is no credit-union movement. The credit unions in all countries visited, regardless of the name they operate under, are based on the Raiffeisen system except they have discarded the character-loan idea. Various names are used for credit unions in different countries as Raiffeisen bank, rural bank, village bank, credit cooperative or credit society. The best development of credit unions is probably found in Finland, Germany, and Holland. In all countries, they primarily serve the farmers, but in Germany, Finland, and Holland, the middle and working classes in the towns and cities are included to some extent. In all countries, these organizations have their own central banks, which have charge of the supervision and examination. This seems to be more effective than our supervision and examination by Government agencies as embezzlements are unheard of. The central bank is much closer to the credit union and more interested in the success of the credit union than a government agency would be as the central bank is dependent on a healthy credit union movement. As a rule, these credit unions are small, usually located in villages where everyone knows everyone else's business.

Finland, at the close of 1952, had 650 credit societies with 354 branch offices and 970,000 members. One person in four in Finland belongs to a credit society. These organizations had $250 million in working capital, $78 million of it borrowed. Fifty-four percent of all agricultural loans are made by the cooperative credit societies. Nineteen percent of all the deposits in Finnish financial institutions were made in the credit societies in 1953. The Finnish cooperatives, due to heavy agricultural loans, had the same difficulties during the depression that the country banks had in the United States, so the central bank reduced the number of organizations from 1414 in 1930 to 623 in 1952. The membership in the Finnish credit societies is divided as follows: 64 percent farmers, 20 percent city workers, 7 percent skilled workers and professional people. The Finnish movement has had much support from the Government. The funds for settling the displaced persons and for the reconstruction of north Finland at the close of the Second World War were handled by the credit societies. In Germany, there are 11,157 Raiffeisen banks with 3,317,000 members and $354 million at the close of 1953. The German credit unions usually carry the accounts of the other cooperatives in the village. One person out of 14 in Germany belongs to a credit union. In Holland, there are 1,320 credit cooperatives with 300,000 members and $500 million in assets at the close of 1952. One person in every 33 in Holland belongs to a credit cooperative. In Sweden, there are 631 credit societies with 142,000 members; in Denmark, there are 53 village banks with approximately 30,000 members; in Italy, there are 900 rural banks with approximately 200,000 members. According to recent issues of Cuna Briefs, there are 950 Raiffeisen banks in Switzerland with 100,000 members and 15 credit societies in Norway.

The work of Mr. Filene, Mr. Bergengren, and Mr. Doig, can best be appreciated by studying the credit-union movement in Europe. There are more than 19,000 credit unions in North America with 9 million members and $2½ billion in assets. Compared to an outside number of 17,000 in Europe, with approximately 6 million members with possibly $1½ billions in assets. Free western Europe has a population of about 200 million people.

Cooperatives are best developed in Britain and the Scandanavian countries. One person in four in Britain belongs to a cooperative. In the well-organized countries, the cooperatives usually control about 20 to 30 percent of the business, enough to set the prices. Some products, such as dairy products, in Denmark, are all controlled by the cooperatives. Consumer cooperatives have their own wholesale houses and factories. The consumer cooperatives have established their own banks in Britain, Denmark, and Germany. These banks handle the surplus of the cooperative societies as well as the savings of cooperative members. Savings banks are found in practically all countries which accept savings and make loans on security to the general public in the cities. Building societies comparable to our savings and loan institutions are found in most countries.

The last week of the 4-week trip was spent in Paris—most of it at the 19th Triennial Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance. The International Alliance is 59 years old and has 117 million members. Russia attempted to secure memberships for the co-ops of Poland, Hungary, Albania, and East Germany. This motion was voted down 671 to 366 on the grounds that a cooperative cannot determine its own policies in a dictator state. The theme of ICA Director, W. P. Watkins' paper was "Cooperative Development in Underdeveloped Countries." Several favorable speakers from different countries were heard on this paper, even a Russian delegate. I was glad to report that the Credit Union National Association had set aside $50,000 to be spent in underdeveloped countries in 1954.

Red-Ink Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of Friday, February 18, 1955, entitled "Red-Ink Post Office":

RED-INK POST OFFICE

Postmaster General Summerfield thinks he can hold the post-office deficit to about $315 million this year.

That's about half the size of the postal deficit in 1952, the year before Mr. Summerfield took over.

The Postmaster General says most of this improvement has resulted from economies in the operations of the Department.

But you can go only so far in economies before you start impairing the service. Mr. Summerfield thinks he has gone almost that far.

To get the post office on a black-ink basis, then, he needs to raise his prices—4 cents for first-class mail and increases for other classes.

If the post office is to meet its purpose, the service should be A–1. But it ought to pay its way.

This estimated deficit of $315 million for this year will come out of the pockets of the taxpayers. We think the people would prefer to pay directly for their postal service, as they use it, instead of indirectly through taxation.

And since the whole Government keeps running up deficits, the people who are going to pay off most of this debt haven't even had a chance to use the postal service. They haven't been born.

Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas G. Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, March 7 marks the 105th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, the founder and first President of the Czechoslovak republic. He lived an extraordinarily productive life—1850–1937. He is acknowledged as one of the great democratic philosopher-statesmen of this century. A friend of Woodrow Wilson, and married to an American, Charlotte Garrigue, whose surname he adopted as his middle name, he was always an admirer of the United States. Thomas G. Masaryk was born in Moravia, the son of a Slovakian coachman. His unusual ability enabled him to study at the University of Vienna, where he became professor of philosophy. From 1882 to 1911, he taught at the University of Prague. From his youth, he was active in the political education of his people and took a leading part in the movement to liberate his country from Austrian rule. He was elected to the Austrian Parliament, but was forced to flee to Paris at the outbreak of World War I. There, he formed the Czechoslovak National Council, which was recognized by the Allies as the Government of Czechoslovak Republic, and was reelected to the office in 1920, 1927, and 1934. In 1935, he resigned as President because of his advanced age.

It is very befitting that Gov. G. Mennen Williams, of the State of Michigan, issued the following proclamation on behalf of this great statesman:

PROCLAMATION—THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK DAY

This year on March 7 American citizens of Czechoslovakian descent, along with all the other freedom-loving peoples of the world, are celebrating the 105th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk.

On October 28, 1918, Thomas Masaryk proclaimed from Washington the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic. Mr. Masaryk's great patriotism was equalled only by his belief in liberty and his magnificent intelligence. He contributed much to western culture and our peoples honor him equally for each of these contributions.

Therefore, I, G. Mennen Williams, Governor of the State of Michigan, do hereby proclaim March 7, 1955, as Thomas Garrigue Masaryk Day in Michigan, and urge all our people to join their fellow citizens of Czechoslovakian descent in paying homage and tribute to the memory of this great statesman of peace and independence.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Michigan, this second day of

March in the year of our Lord 1955, and of the Commonwealth the 119th.

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS, *Governor.*

By the Governor:

JAMES M. HARE,
Secretary of State.

No Giveaway Scheme

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Edwin L. Dale, Jr., which appeared in the Sunday issue of the New York Herald Tribune, on March 6, will, I hope, counteract some of the many factless statements about the new Internal Revenue Code of 1954:

MILLIONAIRE SAVES $600—DIVIDEND-TAX CUT PROVES NO GIVEAWAY BY UNITED STATES

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, March 5.—If a Democratic Congressman wants to risk his health, he need only go up to a holder of stock who has just gone through the agonizing process of filling out his tax return and tell him that the dividend relief in last year's big tax bill was a "steal," a "giveaway," and a "bonanza for the rich."

The stockholder, if he has any energy left after making out the return, will undoubtedly seriously consider pounding the Congressman with the nearest blunt instrument.

For he will have just discovered that some of the most intricate calculating he has ever been required to perform has saved him in taxes approximately enough money to spend one night with his wife at a medium-priced restaurant.

That is, unless he is so rich and has so much stock that he isn't worried about money anyway.

Take, for example, the fellow who has the substantial sum of $10,000 invested in stocks. Let's suppose they are high-yielding stocks paying 6 percent dividends. And let's also suppose that half of those dividends were paid after August 1, 1954 (see col. B in special schedule I on p. 4 of form 1040)—both of them favorable assumptions to the taxpayer.

First, he pays no tax on the first $50 of dividends. If he's in, say, a 25-percent bracket, that saves him the solid sum of $12.50. Then he gets a 4-percent credit—subtraction from his tax—on the $300 of dividends paid after August 1 (though he can't prove it until he has worked out first 2 percent of his taxable income and the amount of his total tax to see if they are bigger than the credit, which they invariably are). That's another $12.

So the big steal has netted him the staggering sum of $24.50—no doubt approximately equal to his hourly earnings for the time he spent figuring out the $24.50.

According to Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, in his testimony Thursday before the Senate Banking Committee, the average stockholder holds $4,000 worth of stock. The great bonanza will yield this average individual about $17.

And even the fellow who has the large nestegg of $25,000 worth of stock would save only about $42 in his taxes because of dividend relief.

Of course, the J. P. Morgan who has $1 million worth of stock may find the whole thing worthwhile. If all his stocks yielded 6 percent, he would have $30,000 worth of dividends and his tax savings would be more than $600. But one cannot escape the feeling that $600 would hardly be visible to the fellow with that much stock salted away in his portfolio.

If you haven't worked out your taxes yet, in other words, don't lick your chops too eagerly when you start bravely through that haze on page 4. You'll be disappointed.

Remarks by William B. Murphy, President, Campbell's Soup Co., Before the Washington Board of Trade's General Membership Luncheon, Concurrent With the Business Outlook Conference, Shoreham Hotel, January 25, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFF CLEVENGER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including a speech of great significance to a great farming area and the effort over the years to get away from one- or two-crop farming. My district was blessed by nature, surely, with deep, strong soil that grows almost any crop well, but most of all it is blessed with thousands of growers who have conserved the soil, diversified the crops, and farmed with intelligence that has attracted the largest food packers in the Nation.

This great company is starting an addition to their plants at Napoleon, Ohio, costing millions of dollars. One main building covers 23 acres of floor space. To create this new Campbell soup plant—giving year round employment to thousands of local people—good shipping by great railroads, truck facilities, and Great Lakes shipping will make this a great outlet for farm products and poultry and add to the greatness of the area.

The above-mentioned speech follows:

Gentlemen, it is generous of you to let me be your guest today and to take a look at what the year 1955 may have in store for all of us. I should like to divide what I have to say into two parts.

The first part has to do with major economic questions, about which I know no more than the average businessman and certainly no more than you.

The second part has to do with questions with which I am more directly familiar—the outlook for tomatoes, for example.

Now, in regard to part 1.

It seems clear that for the long pull the general economic outlook for this country is most promising. When we get down to something specific, like tomatoes, it's not so easy. Anyone who can tell us in April what the tomato crop will be in August can count on a cordial welcome from us and no questions asked.

I would like to make a few observations on the prospects for 1955 as we see them, and then talk more about the long-term outlook.

The best phrase I have heard to describe 1955 is that it will be a year of competitive prosperity; in other words, a good year for those who recognize the need to compete for business with all the ability at their command.

It seems likely that the year 1955 will nudge out 1954 from its position as our second best year and may turn out to be our No. 1 peacetime year.

The newspaper columns, the newscasters, and the trade papers have been full of prognostications as to 1955. I suppose everyone of you has read and reread the predictions.

We have all been informed that steel production is likely to be up this year.

It is predicted that retail sales will increase about 5 percent.

Automobile manufacturers expect to sell nearly 6 million cars.

The fairly heavy liquidation of inventories that took place in 1954 is not likely to be repeated in 1955.

Street and road construction will be at a high level.

There will be a record number of schoolrooms, new water systems and sewerage facilities under construction.

These and other factors have led many leading economists to the opinion that 1955 will be a good year—moderately better than 1954.

Now, if I may, I would like to talk about a couple of major developments that seem to be behind today's healthy economic state. These are: (1) A high rate of technical development in our industry that is producing a kind of a revolution of products and processes, and (2) important shifts in home life, affecting particularly our urban areas, which we might call a kind of revolution in living.

Our technical development as it affects industrial products and processes stems from the research work which has gone on in the past and which is now going on at a higher rate than ever. This technical development has many effects:

It has increased industrial spending.

It has produced new products—products of better value.

It has helped to lower costs of production and permitted higher wages and salaries. Naturally enough it has opened up wholly new fields for future development.

This kind of a revolution in products and processes has been aided by new concepts of automatic controls and mechanized processes; new electrical, chemical, and atomic discoveries; and new concepts of management.

Not the least of all of these favorable developments is a growing understanding by all concerned that wage and salary increases must be hinged to productivity increases, if those wage and salary gains are to be real in terms of standard of living.

Another major factor that is prevalent this year has to do with development of the home—changes in our way of living. This is reflected in the fact that 1.2 million new homes were constructed in 1954. One of our best and most conservative exports in the field of home construction predicts a slightly higher number in 1955, possibly 1.25 million. He also predicts in excess of 1.1 million new homes per year through 1960.

Those of us who travel about the country see with our own eyes a tremendous movement to single-family units, each with a plot of ground.

About one-half of the new homes are for new families, and about one-half are accounted for by the movement from multi-family structures.

It is estimated that the cost to repair and fix up homes will be about equal to the cost of new home construction. In addition, there is a strong trend which has been labeled "do it yourself" and means much to the makers of tools and appliances and building materials.

Another trend affecting the homelife which has been going on for some time and which continues unabated, is the trend toward the use of more prepared foods. This

trend has the effect of enabling the housewife to have more time to spend on her home and with her family.

Tied in with the home development is a rising population. Last year there were approximately 4 million babies born (the greatest number in 1 year in our history). In this respect we seem to be going back to the old days when families were larger. It is reliably estimated that the population in the United States in 1970 will be 200 million. Whatever problems may be created by our rapidly accelerating population curve, we in the food business simply accept the fact that there are going to be many new mouths to feed.

So much for the general economic outlook. Now let me talk about that part of the economy I know a little more about, food, which happens to be one of the largest, if not the largest single industry in the United States, and an important one to each of us at least three times a day. Although Campbell's is a small part of the food industry, we have a fairly wide knowledge of foods, if only because we buy 130 different food ingredients and market 44 different food products. We are also, by the way, a fairly large producer of metal cans.

If I presume to mention my company occasionally, I hope you will understand that my purpose is to use its experience and status as typical of many companies in the very large food industry, an industry which is tied closely to the economy of the Nation and to the general conditions that will affect all of us in 1955.

Campbell Soup Co. today does over half of the soup business in this country. We have one competitor, however, who is very big—about as big as we are—a noncorporate competitor who is making us hustle. This competitor is the American housewife, who in her own kitchen makes approximately 40 percent of the soup consumed in this country today. We think that we can persuade a great many of these competitors of ours to save themselves time, trouble, and money by switching to our products. But this is very stiff competition and we have no reason, therefore, to feel complacent.

Furthermore, we are conscious that there are 21 meals in every week, and that our soup is served at the present time at only 1 or 2.

In quite a few homes soup is served once a day, but just think what it would mean to us if all homes served our product once a day instead of once or twice a week. Our business would be more than quadrupled. Now don't laugh over this. There are people, you know, who like soup for breakfast, and that is a trend we propose to encourage.

Our company had net sales of $338 million in the fiscal year ending July 31, 1954, the highest to date. Our goal is $500 million by 1960. Accordingly we are not looking to 1955 as a period in which we can doze comfortably by the fireside. Our competition would not let us and we would not want to anyway.

In the move toward our goal we are in the process of expanding our plant capacity—new buildings and new machinery—expected to cost us over $60 million by 1960. Here, again, may I say that we are only typical of aggressive food manufacturers.

We Americans, naturally enough, talk with satisfaction and pride about the high standard of living we enjoy, about the many automobiles, the variety and quality of the many household appliances that have been produced by our industries. We look at our friends overseas and realize how well off we are by comparison. But isn't it a healthier outlook when someone—in General Electric, for example—observes that there are 54 varieties of standard electric appliances, but the average American household has only 9 of them, or notes that in this great electrified Nation of ours there is something like $15 billion worth of work that needs to be done simply to replace deficient electrical wiring.

The potentialities for progress in America seem greater than at any time in our history. As we learn more we also learn that the scope for future development is broader that we imagined.

Nowhere in the American economy is this observation more true than in agriculture and in farm yields. Consider that jewel of rural America, the Campbell tomato, for example. The average grower 15 years ago obtained 6 tons of tomatoes to the acre. In 1954 he was up to 10 tons per acre. Furthermore, future potentialities are reflected in the achievements of the most successful growers who last year produced over 20 tons per acre.

In the 1930's and 1940's we all thought that 10 tons of tomatoes per acre was a fine achievement and there were 10-ton clubs—with not very many members. Today 10 tons is only a fair crop. Actually, with what has been learned, and what we know can be learned, about new plant varieties, new soil treatments, new sprays, and new growing methods, it is not at all unrealistic to foresee an average of 20 tons per acre, and maybe more, of redder, more perfect tomatoes that taste better and have superior food values. When we reach the 20-ton average you can be sure ways will be found to push the yield even higher. Think what this will mean to the grower, the processor, the distributor, and the consumer. The changes taking place in tomato growing parallel those for other agricultural products.

What has happened in the past as to farm yields and what we believe is in store for us in the future tells something of the capability of the agricultural industry. I doubt that there is any cause to worry about feeding the population as far ahead as you and I can see, and a lot further.

Now, I would like to touch on another subject that will have a lot to do with the future welfare of the food industry. There is an accelerated development of better equipment for processing foods and making containers. This is certainly true for us and other food companies must be having similar experiences.

For many good reasons, there will always be a considerable amount of handwork in the food industry. We know that certain operations probably can never be done by machinery, but, as the ingenuity of machine designers has developed, we have found more ways to eliminate tedious handwork. Where this mechanization is possible, costs are usually lowered and quality improved. At least to us, this has not meant less employment. Because of the upward trend of our business, our employment actually has been growing.

It is our feeling that, for us, the chief opportunities for increased productivity come from improvements in machinery and plant methods and equally important from a better understanding and cooperativeness between our workers and our supervision.

I have spoken as if our business were exclusively soups. Of course this is not true. We make Franco-American prepared foods and V–8, and we recently expanded into the field of frozen soups. We are now experimenting with a number of other high quality prepared food specialties.

There is a strong trend today toward prepared foods which are designed to ease the work of the housewife and our business is being built on this trend. We hope to accelerate this trend by the good old American system of preparing such tantalizing products, advertised in such a tantalizing manner and offered at such tantalizing price that we will prove irresistible.

No one in the food business can be successful and ignore what is going on in the field of distribution and marketing. Food retailing—in fact, all retailing—is undergoing a kind of continuous evolution.

We feel that we have thus far only scratched the surface in our marketing research. There is a wide field for psychological and motivation studies having to do with consumer habits.

For example, we just don't know why one family has a food freezer and uses a great quantity of the new frozen foods, whereas another family of similar kind and circumstances ignores these conveniences. We feel sure this isn't caused by sunspots or the signs of the Zodiac, but a great deal of probing needs to be done to find the correct answers.

Technical improvements are constantly being made in the field of advertising media. Foods can be pictured more attractively today in magazines than ever before. Coverage of local markets by newspapers and radio is probably more widespread today than any time in our history. Meanwhile, television has added a whole new dimension to the selling equation, and color TV is obviously on its way.

Nutritional research and flavor research offer us some of the most fascinating possibilities for the years ahead of us. The Nutrition Foundation, an organization for research financed by many of the food manufacturers, is today studying a wide range of subjects of nutritional importance. The same is true of a good many of our colleges and universities and government agencies. And, of course, companies like ours are continually studying nutritional needs and the effect of foods in meeting these needs.

We can assume that most everyone enjoys food that is delicious, so it's a real consolation to know that enjoyment of food is important nutritionally. It is interesting that a good deal of attention is being given today to the basic nature of flavors and how to improve them.

As we look into the future we see exciting potentialities for growth in the food-processing industry—in the interests not only of the consumer but of the farmer. If Campbell's business expands as we expect it to, we will need new full-line production units at the rate of about 1 every 5 years—units similar to the one recently completed at Sacramento and the one now being built at Napoleon, Ohio. We expect that these new plants will be located adjacent to favorable agriculture sections in various parts of the country. Such a policy establishes plants close to the farm areas from which we draw many ingredients and provides the farmer a nearby stable market.

There are many advantages to this close relationship. Obviously, it is desirable to process fruits and vegetables as soon after they are picked as possible, but there is more to it than this. By decentralization we can encourage cooperation between the food processor and the producer and stimulate improvements in farm production methods as well as in food processing.

Now if I may summarize briefly the thoughts I have tried to express:

(1) For the economy as a whole, we are told that 1955 will be a good year—possibly our best peacetime year.

(2) So far as Campbell Soup Co. is concerned, we believe 1955 will be the biggest and best year in the history of our company.

(3) In spite of the tremendous technological progress which has occurred already in this country, it is possibly only a beginning. We have barely scratched the surface of progress. Certainly, this is true of the food-processing industry, despite the great gains that have been made since World War II.

(4) There are two ways of looking at our situation in this country. One is to recognize the strength of our position and the progress that we have been able to achieve in the development of a high standard of living. The other point of view is more interesting and certainly more constructive—

it is to recognize how much there is ahead of us—how much unfinished business there is to do. We at Campbell's are delighted at how much Campbell soup Americans consume today but perfectly appalled at how much they do not consume. They are missing so many opportunities—and so are we—it must be our fault.

I want to thank you again for inviting me to this luncheon and for the privilege of speaking to so distinguished an audience. No subject seems more important to us today than trade—the vigorous production, development, improvement, and marketing of food products and services that contribute to the health, comfort, and wealth of all of us.

Thank you.

A Tribute to John T. Jones, by His Pastor, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Foundry Methodist Church, Chaplain, United States Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following tribute to John T. Jones by his pastor, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, United States Senate:

The brief working day of a valiant servant of God and of humanity, on this mortal stage, is ended. His sun has gone down down while it is yet day. Our eyes are staring, stunned, bewildered, and strangely moved at a vacant place against the sky of our choicest friendship, our church and our Nation.

By dint of his own energy and effort, John T. Jones, climbing from the penury and darkness of his childhood and youth, never forget the pit from which he was digged. The ruling passion of his life became to light that darkness for others who bent their backs to its heavy tasks.

His own spirit was as the candle of the Lord—not just to shine in places of plenty and comfort, to which his indefatigable toil, his devotion, and his ability lifted him, but to bring justice and safety and more abundant homelife to those hardy servants of the public good, his brother miners, whose contribution to the gadgets and glitter of an industrial day sentenced them to arduous labors, with light of day denied.

We are vividly conscious in this hour, now that his lips are silent, that with righteous indignation against selfish powers which sought to exploit those whom he always regarded as his comrades in toil he cried out again and again to exploiters in high places of privilege, "Let my people go."

We remember today the wistful appreciation with which in memory he turned often to that long-suffering, Christian mother, whose face and form were ever with him and who, amid conditions which might have stifled spiritual aspirations, lighted the candles of faith and reverence on the altar of his boyish heart, a flame that no winds of adversity could ever blow out.

As we survey the record of this useful life we are thankful, as was his own grateful heart, that when as a young man his face turned from across the sea to this land of hope and glory, our America, this "blessed land of room enough" gave him his chance to unlock native talents for leadership and for wide service which struggled for expression in the heart of this Welsh lad whose life, until that emancipating day, had been so cabined and confined. In these latter years, as with disciplined powers he moved on levels of great influence, all his days were as a paean of devotion to the great Republic which had become so truly his as it molded life to ampler patterns of service to man and his Maker.

We think of the great causes which claimed his loyalty and the full measure of his devotion. We bear witness to his love for the church of the living God and his belief in her mission. John T. Jones was not just a hearer, but a doer of the Word. The message of the church and the kingdom to him was literally expressed in the program as announced by the Great Head of the Church: "I am come to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and to set at liberty them that are bruised." In this triumphal hour we testify that here was a Christian, indeed, in whom there was no guile. In a time of sophisticated artificiality he loved and clung to the genuine and true. He hated sham and cant, and knew both when his honest eyes looked upon them with scorn in high places and low.

We rejoice in the heritage of the moving words he recently wrote, blazing with holy wrath against the sophistries of those who, in the titanic global struggle now raging, blaspheme the paramount dignity of the individual and the rights of the common man.

Our hearts are warmed as we remember his genius for friendship and how his life was bound as with bands of steel to the very souls of those he loved and trusted. As we think of his devotion to the Master of all good workmen, it will be to us evermore who ministered to him in holy things a blessed memory that on his last earthly Sabbath, listening, by his own earnest request, to the ancient words of contrition and consecration, his hands, so still now, reached out reverently for the bread and the wine in remembrance of the Lord and Master who was the strength of his life.

Ringing in our ears will ever be his clear witness, just before the human skill of surgeons did their best, his confident words will light us to the end of our own way as we count the rosary of his assurance: "I am not afraid, if this is the end of this life for me, for I know that the next room is a place of beauty and brightness beyond compare." Inspired by his undimmed trust as he walked through the valley of the shadow and feared no evil, now that he has gone into the bliss of that larger room, our hearts cry out:

"Servant of God, well done.
Thy glorious warfare past;
The battle's fought, the race is won,
And thou art crowned at last."

And so we give thanks that there was a man sent from God whose name was John, and we give him back, with clean hands and pure heart, knowing where we shall find him again and in what company we shall see him when the long night is past and the eternal morning breaks.

"A friend has passed
Across the bay
So wide and vast
And put away
The mortal form
That held his breath;

But through the storm
That men call death,
Erect and straight,
Unstained by years,
At heaven's gate
A man appears."

The Government Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by David Lawrence appeared in the Washington Evening Star on March 7, 1955, and brings into proper focus the whole employee security problem of the United States:

PERSONAL RIGHTS AND UNITED STATES JOBS—SUPREME COURT RULING DUE SOON ON WHETHER ONE PERSON CAN FORCE A LEGAL PROCEEDING ON REJECTION FOR POST

(By David Lawrence)

Some press dispatches within the last few days, in reporting the news about a new brief filed in the Supreme Court by the Attorney General, have given a misleading impression to the American people by implying that President Eisenhower has been or is now at odds with the Department of Justice in the handling of security cases.

What has been quoted to support such an alleged divergence of view was a speech made by the President on November 23, 1953, in which he said something about "the right to meet your accuser face to face." While this comment—which obviously referred to court proceedings and not to the discretionary powers exercised by the Government in hiring and firing employees—was resurrected by some of the press associations, they neglected to point to the President's comments of a few days later explaining the real meaning of his speech.

At the press conference which occurred on December 2, 1953, Mr. Eisenhower, replying to a direct question about this same speech said there was one point which he must make clear, namely, that employment in the Federal Government is not a right of citizenship, but a privilege. He added that if there is real justifiable belief and conviction that a person is a security risk, you cannot keep him in a delicate position and in certain instances probably couldn't keep such persons at all. The President emphasized that there is a difference between determining whether or not a man should work for the Federal Government and charging anyone with a heinous crime of any kind.

It was clear that Mr. Eisenhower was differentiating in the traditional way between a criminal court proceeding and a personnel inquiry in which the Government decides whether to hire or fire an employee. The applicant or the employees does not have to be proved a security risk. It is necessary only for the Government to be convinced of his unreliability or unsuitability by reason of his background.

The issue as to the rights of the individual employee to convert a personnel inquiry into a court proceeding is coming up for a decision soon in the Supreme Court of the United States. Already extensive briefs have been filed by both sides in a test case involving a college professor who was not cleared for service as a consultant to the Government on account of alleged connections with Communists and was declared ineligible on security grounds. The case originated under the Truman loyalty program.

The Department of Justice has just filed a brief with the Supreme Court which points out that to grant to an individual a hearing within the Government is a privilege bestowed by the Government itself, that it really is under no legal obligation to furnish

any reason if it wants to fire an employee, and that the executive branch must determine for itself the scope of its personnel restrictions.

The Supreme Court of the United States ruled in the famous Myers case, involving a postmaster dismissed obviously for political reasons, that the Chief Executive could remove any employee at will in the executive departments unless Congress by law had enumerated specific causes for removal. The late President Franklin Roosevelt removed a member of the Federal Trade Commission because "your mind doesn't go along with mine," but the Supreme Court held that Congress, in creating the Commission, had specified grounds for removal and political incompatibility wasn't one of them.

So the absolute right of removal resides in the executive branch until and unless Congress qualifies it in some way by law.

An attempt has been made to argue that the Constitution requires that a person shall not be deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process, namely a trial. Is he guaranteed by the Constitution, however, the liberty to undermine his own Government from within? If so, it would mean that the Government departments would have to submit to a court trial if they wanted to get rid of an incompetent employee or an indiscreet employee or if they just wanted to give the job to somebody else.

The issue basically turns on whether the FBI should be required to bring into the hearings as witnesses for cross-examination the persons from whom it got its information originally about a suspected employee. The President has approved slight amendments in existing regulations so that the FBI will furnish to the accused a complete statement of the charges and as comprehensively as possible the nature of the information. But the new program does not provide that the identity of all informants be disclosed.

The FBI says the whole system of protecting national security would breakdown if the Communists were to be able to learn by one means or another who the informants are, so that they could either intimidate or liquidate them.

So again the Supreme Court is asked to decide an issue it has had up before in the so-called clear and present danger cases, whether or not to tell the Department of Justice and the Civil Service Commission, in effect, that they must wait until a conspiracy is actually fulfilled and the damage done before firing a suspected employee. In other words, must the Federal departments here get an affidavit from Moscow and corroborative testimony from the Russian secret service itself before anybody in America can be fired as a security risk?

Incorporation of Veterans of World War I of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which would grant a Federal charter to a new national organization known as the Veterans of World War I of the United States of America. This organization meets a need which has become more and more apparent in recent years—a need for separate recognition of the common interests of those who served in our first great world conflict. It is not, of course, that these older veterans want in any sense to dissociate themselves from all the brave young men who carried on so splendidly in World War II and in Korea. But some of their memories and traditions are distinctive, and I can fully understand how there is a growing desire to band together for the purpose of keeping them alive.

Actually, this new group has been operating since 1949, when it was first established by a group of veterans who met in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1953 it held its first national convention, in Baltimore, which was attended by representatives from all over the country, and in 1954 it met again, in Buffalo, with a much larger attendance. It is now formally organized in 31 States and several Territories, including even a post in the Philippine Islands. It has a total of 186 units, some with as many as 400 individual members. There is also a ladies auxiliary which has organized 84 units to this date.

The organization is, of course, nonprofit, and it has not aspirations which would bring it in conflict with the other large veterans groups. I hope it will be accorded the honor and privilege of a Federal charter.

Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including herewith the proclamation issued by Gov. G. Mennen Williams, of the State of Michigan, on the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko:

PROCLAMATION: GEN. THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO DAY
STATE OF MICHIGAN,
Lansing.

February 12 is of special significance to Americans of Polish descent. To all Americans it, of course, symbolizes the birthday of the great Abraham Lincoln. In addition, however, it also marks the birth date of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko.

This great general came to America in 1777 to fight in the American Revolutionary War. He built the fortifications at West Point and played a tremendous role in the Saratoga and Carolina campaigns. Upon his return to Poland, he became a champion of Polish independence, and led his countrymen in their uprisings against the Russian and Prussian monarchisms. Exiled by the Czar, he died in Switzerland. It is more than fitting that we remember the great contribution this man made to our American liberty.

Therefore, I, G. Mennen Williams, Governor of the State of Michigan, do hereby proclaim February 12, 1955, as Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko Day in Michigan, and urge all our citizens to join with the citizens of Polish descent in paying homage to the memory of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Michigan, this 10th day of February 1955, and of the Commonwealth the 119th.

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS,
Governor.

Net Incomes of Farmers in Certain States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, Col. Paul J. McGahan, who has been a writer for the Philadelphia Inquirer for more than 40 years, had a most interesting article in that newspaper of last Sunday on agriculture as it relates to the States of New Jersey, Delaware, and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Believing that it will be of great interest to my colleagues, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON THE FARM FRONT—NET INCOME DIPS 10 PERCENT IN 1954
(By Paul J. McGahan)

WASHINGTON, March 5.—Nationally the farmers' net income totaled $12 billion in 1954, 10 percent less than in 1953, the Agricultural Marketing Service of the Department of Agriculture disclosed today.

Cash receipts were below those of 1953 in 44 States. These included Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, a fact well realized by the agriculturists of Delaware Valley, United States of America.

In 1954 cash receipts from farm marketings in Pennsylvania were 7 percent lower than the 1953 figures; in New Jersey they were 8 percent lower, and in Delaware they were 9 percent lower. The largest percentage decline was 21 percent in Mississippi, and the largest gain was 3 percent in Florida.

Cash receipts for the Nation's farmers from marketings in 1954 totaled $30 billion, 5 percent less than in 1953.

Delaware Valley, U. S. A., farmers shared in the drop which was general over the North Atlantic region, which was the hardest hit over the Nation. Total receipts were 7 percent below 1953, with livestock and products down 8 percent and crops down 6 percent.

Receipts from dairy products and poultry were lower by reason of lower prices. In Delaware the livestock prices were 12 percent below 1953, and in that State there were also lower receipts from broilers.

The statistics just released are as of February 15 and the estimates are preliminary. It will be another 6 months before sufficient new information is available to justify revision of the estimates.

With farm production costs remaining high as gross income declined, farmers retained as net income in 1954 only 35 percent of their realized gross farm income, the smallest percentage in 22 years. Expenses for purchased feed and livestock were up slightly, and farm-property taxes and farm-mortage interest charges continued upward.

It is interesting to note that the number of persons living on farms declined 3.5 percent to 21,900,000 in 1954, compared with

the decline of 3 percent in the total income of the farm population. As a result the per capita farm income increased slightly to $918. On the other hand, the nonfarm population continued its upward trend, while the total income of nonfarm population remained almost the same, so per capita nonfarm income dropped 3 percent to $1,836.

Compared with the post-Korea high in 1951, farmers' total realized net income was down 18 percent, but with 3 percent fewer farms the realized net income per farm was down 15 percent. On a per-farm basis, realized net income in 1954 remained slightly higher than in 1950, the low point of the postwar period.

Statistics on the cash receipts from farm marketings by States disclosed that Pennsylvania farmers received $748,860,000 in the year. In New Jersey, farm marketings amounted to $336,826,000. In Delaware the cash receipts were $93,708,000.

July was the high month for receipts in two of the States, New Jersey farmers getting $39,772,000, and those in Delaware $12,923,000. The high month for Pennsylvania was August, with cash receipts of $72,583,000. Low month for Pennsylvania receipts was June, for Delaware it was December, and for New Jersey it was February.

Livestock and livestock products proved to be the principal source of cash receipts for farmers in the tri-State area, Pennsylvania farmers received $73,445,000 from this field in 1954; those in New Jersey got $216,726,000, and those in Delaware $70,179,000. High month in Pennsylvania was October, with receipts of $50,915; in New Jersey, March with $19,619,000; and in Delaware, July with $6,912,000.

In Pennsylvania last year farmers received cash receipts of $175,365,000 from crops. In New Jersey the figure was $120,100,000, and for Delaware, $23,529,000. August receipts in Pennsylvania were highest and those of December the lowest. In New Jersey the high receipt month was July, with the low ebb in February. In Delaware the high month was July and the low month was February, with only $802,000 accruing from crop cash receipts.

Government payments under various programs brought Pennsylvania farmers $4,002,000, those in New Jersey $872,000, and in Delaware a total of $390,000.

The House this week by voice vote passed H. R. 1573, to repeal section 348 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, effective with respect to 1955 and subsequent crops, relating to restrictions on agricultural conservation payments. The bill is now before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and hearings are scheduled. This bill would eliminate the provision of law that farmers who plant in excess of farm-acreage allotment in certain commodities shall not be eligible for conservation benefits. It is aimed to help the small farmer.

The House Agricultural Committee, under the chairmanship of Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, Democrat, of North Carolina, on Friday concluded hearings on bills proposing a return to rigid price supports for certain basic commodities at 90 percent of parity. The committee is scheduled to hold an executive session on Tuesday. It's anticipated that, by a lopsided vote, the committee will order the measure favorably reported to the House for action there.

This will be a field day for the farm bloc Members of the House, who last year opposed the Eisenhower-Benson plan for flexible price supports which carried Congress. Because of recent rifts between Democrats and Republicans over administration domestic policies, the debate is expected to be quite vigorous. The measure may pass the House, but is expected to become stymied for the remainder of this session in the Senate.

Politics and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Politics and Taxes," published in the New York Times of March 8, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICS AND TAXES

When the Senate begins debate this week on the Democratic proposal to cut income taxes by $20 a person next year's Presidential campaign will loom in the background perhaps even more importantly than this year's state of the budget. For the handout thought up at the last minute by the Democratic leaders of the House, and pushed through by a five-vote margin, is political in conception and political in purpose. It is thought to be a good issue on which to garner votes in 1956, irrespective of how much it will increase the existing Federal deficit.

An example of this kind of political thinking is implicit in recent statements of Paul M. Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. On the one hand, Mr. Butler claims—presumably with a straight face—that this tax reduction was soundly conceived so far as the fiscal policy of the Government goes, which is about as broad a stretch of the political imagination as we have seen in many moons. On the other hand, and much more to the point, is his further statement that the Democrats will fasten on the President personally the responsibility for its defeat, if it is defeated. This is the real key to the proposal.

If it goes through, the Democratic Party hopes to take whatever political credit there may be in removing 5 million persons, including many voters, from the Federal tax rolls. If it doesn't go through, the Democratic Party will attempt to picture the President as interested only in the welfare of big corporations and not at all in the welfare of the little individual. This fiction will be maintained despite the fact that the present bill continues the existing high level of corporation taxes, dispite the fact that in 1953 the President had fought for and obtained a 6-month extension of the excess-profits tax, despite the fact that a 10-percent personal income-tax reduction took effect a year ago, despite the fact that last year's monumental tax revision bill included many features aimed directly at helping the individual, and despite the fact that is most important of all to the small taxpayer: The price level has been stabilized, inflation ended and savings once again have some meaning.

Senator CLEMENTS, of Kentucky, acting majority leader, has said that the Democratic Senate leadership would make a party fight for the $20 reduction. But fortunately there are Democrats in the Senate who refuse to be maneuvered into pushing the Government into a ruinous financial position just to make some political hay. It appears at this writing that there will be enough such Democrats to prevent passage of the $20 handout. The more there are, the less this can be made the party matter that the Democratic leadership—or most of the leadership—is trying to make it. And the more there are, the better the chances of defeating the proposal in conference.

We have never said that the Republicans are above playing politics in this crucial game of national financial stability; but in the present case the onus does lie with the Democrats. They have asked for the responsibility and they must have it. But the hope is that they may yet be saved from themselves and the National Treasury saved from a politically inspired annual loss of over $2 billion.

A New Look at Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the press has recently told of this year's A-bomb tests at the Nevada proving grounds of the Atomic Energy Commission. I was privileged to witness one of the previous tests. It is an awesome and unforgettable experience. I dread the day that we are faced with atomic warfare. Though we will be prepared due to the work of the AEC and the Department of Defense, nevertheless it is a terrible thing to contemplate. Worse still is radioactive fallout which according to the AEC report of February 15 had added a new dimension to atomic warfare.

What is radioactive fallout—and how is it brought about? Here is what happens: When an H-bomb goes off, the explosive force is so great and the fireball so huge—sometimes 4 miles in diameter—that great quantities of pulverized material are scooped up in the tremendous blast. They become impregnated with deadly radioactivity. This dust then is carried downwind from the explosion and is deposited over a cigar-shaped area which in last year's Pacific test extended 220 miles and was 40 miles wide.

As my constituents know, Adm. Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, stated that the radioactive fallout of bombs such as were used in the Pacific tests last year will extend over an area as large as New Jersey—more than 7,000 square miles. If no preventive measures are taken or if the people do not know what to do to protect themselves, casualties would be inflicted upon more than 90 percent of the population and some 45 percent of these casualties would probably be fatal. The situation is not hopeless because there is much that we can do. If we take cover either in a building or in a shelter, preferably covered by 3 feet of earth, we have a good chance of surviving. Radioactive substance also can be washed off. The difficult task is to determine where the radioactivity is because it is invisible and odorless. To meet this problem the Federal Government and our States and cities will have to provide monitoring instruments—Geiger counters—to civil-defense workers, fire and police stations, and probably to high-school science instructors. On the encouraging side, New

Jersey has been in the forefront of the States that have had a good civil-defense organization. Gov. Robert B. Meyner has been briefed by the top people in the Government including the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and the FCDA Administrator on the importance of the civil-defense program. Newark has budgeted $157,409 for civil defense, including approximately $84,000 which is matched by Federal funds for the purchase of equipment for warning systems and for stockpiling emergency supplies. By July 1 of this year over $130 million worth of medical supplies and other equipment will be stockpiled for civil defense use. Some of these medical supplies and other equipment is available for use in case of attack in the FCDA warehouse at Somerville, N. J.

In concluding these remarks I call your attention to the following words of Gov. Val Peterson, FCDA Administrator, before the Kefauver Subcommittee on Civil Defense during its present hearings:

As I see it, the need for civil defense will continue until one of these two conditions prevails: until we are satisfied that man has been able to develop a permanent, secure peace; or until our Military Establishment is able to guarantee that no enemy can make an attack on this country. I am afraid that neither of these two conditions will be fulfilled for many, many years to come. Consequently, as long as there are weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering them—in other words, as long as we need a military defense—we will need a civil defense.

Lest there be any misunderstanding, I should like to make it clear that the military efforts to build strength to deter attack, or if it comes to defend our homeland, are most important contributions to civil defense. The successful military defense of a city is the best type of civil defense—and I am convinced that our military leaders are doing everything humanly possible to build the required strength. But since we are assured that no defense can be perfect that enough bombers may be expected to penetrate our defenses to pose staggering problems of destruction, we in turn must spare no effort to build a strong civil defense.

They Are Building a Better America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include some pertinent facts about an outstanding American girl: 16-year-old Janet Hammer, of Scales Mound, Ill., of the 16th Illinois Congressional District. The following statement appeared in This Week magazine, under date of February 27, 1955, on the subject of We're Raising a Great Crop of Kids, and reads as follows:

Look at Janet Hammer, 16, of Scales Mound, Ill. She gets up before sunrise to tend her own herd of cattle. After breakfast, she is off to school, 6 miles away, driving the family car. She can't come home on the school bus; she's too busy with after-school activities. She comes home in time to help cook dinner and wash up. After dinner she studies—she is a good student. Then she sits down at her sewing machine (which the cattle paid for) and really goes to work. She will tackle anything from an evening gown to a bathing suit. She sews all her own clothes and takes in plenty of orders from schoolmates. She has just finished her biggest job to date—costumes for the school's cheerleaders.

Inadequacy of Program for Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Oregon Education, which is the official periodical of our Oregon State Education Association, published a very effective editorial in its recent March issue showing the inadequacy of the recent administration plan for our schools. It is important to note that this editorial points out that "for Oregon schools, we doubt that the $1 billion program would have any appreciable significance."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AT FIRST GLANCE ONLY

Take a look at $1 billion and what it might do for the Nation's hard-pressed schools. Take a second look at the conditions appended; then reconsider the known facts and authoritative estimates.

President Eisenhower recommended, in a special education message to Congress last week, that the Congress allocate $1,120,000,000 to help alleviate the Nation's desperate school-building needs. He noted that the Nation was short some 300,000 classrooms now, and, of course, we in education know that additional thousands of classrooms will have to be built in the next few years to accommodate pupil upsurge.

The President's $1 billion-plus recommendation sounds like a lot of money, but it isn't in light of current school needs. And by comparison with the President's proposed $100 billion highway-building program, it dwindles to relative insignificance.

At a very conservative cost of $10,000 per classroom, just to catch up with present shortages would cost $3 billion. And additional classrooms are needed every day—and will be needed daily until well into the 1960's. The National Citizens' Commission for the Public Schools, in 2 recent reports (Financing Public Education in the Decade Ahead and How Do We Pay for Our Schools) estimates that all the schools needed by 1965 could be built at a budget of $2 billion a year if State authorities financed them, amortizing over 30 to 50 years. That's $20 billion over the next 10 years for construction alone and does not take into consideration rapidly mounting operational costs as enrollments expand.

Of the President's recommended allocations, $900 million would be in loans, repayable with interest to the Federal Treasury. Only $220 million would be in grants, and not all of this directly applicable to school construction.

For Oregon schools, we doubt that the $1 billion program would have any appreciable significance. We know of no schools in the State which have been unable to negotiate satisfactory loans for building purposes. Yet high interest rates are one of the requirements anticipated for receiving Federal loans. And our school districts currently have bonded debt limits beyond which they legally may not go, despite need and the availability of Federal loan funds.

But if circumstances were different, if all of the $1,120 million were directly available for school construction, and if Oregon as a State received one forty-eighth part of the contemplated funds, the amount so allocated would come to only $23 million. That would be roughly enough to take care of our current school building needs for 1 year's time. Between now and 1960, it is authoritatively estimated that Oregon will have to spend over $100 million for school capital outlay.

The President's proposal is no panacea for the Nation's school ills. At best it can bring substantial aid only to a relatively few districts. It should not divert our efforts to find effective solution to our school finance problems.

A billion dollars seems like a lot of money, but at first glance only.

The American Red Cross and Dr. Schweitzer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "American Red Cross Campaign," published in the New Beacon, of Provincetown, Mass., of March 2, 1955. It eulogizes Dr. Albert Schweitzer and his work in relation to the Red Cross.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN RED CROSS CAMPAIGN

During the month of March the American Red Cross will conduct its annual campaign for members and funds in our town and throughout the country. At the same time, in an African jungle, one of the great men of our time will begin his 42d year in a project of selfless devotion to mankind. Between these two seemingly unrelated events there is a connection, a strong one.

The man is Dr. Albert Schweitzer, physician, philosopher, writer, and Nobel Prize winner, who has devoted most of his 80 years to running a hospital for the inhabitants of a remote jungle community.

Doctor Schweitzer has developed a principle called Reverence for Life, a subject on which he was interviewed recently.

It is not enough, he said, to do one's daily job, support one's family, abide by the laws. "That's all very well," he said, "but you must do something more."

"You must give some time to your fellow man. Even if it's a little thing, do something for those who have need of help, something for which you get no pay but the privilege of doing it."

So great was Doctor Schweitzer's belief in this principle that he left his native Alsace to live out his life in a jungle. That principle brings us back to the Red Cross.

The Red Cross, in its essence, is merely the means by which we all can give some help to those of our fellow men who need it, who

must have it. Through the Red Cross we can lighten the load of a tornado victim, help brighten the hours of a hospital patient, even save a life. In helping them, our own lives become more meaningful.

The Red Cross has long realized that fact and on it has been built the enduring, world-wide organization which serves us in so many ways. We can serve it, in turn, by joining during its March campaign for members and funds.

Capitol Cloakroom Discussion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT S. KERR

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] appeared on the CBS radio program Capitol Cloakroom on March 6, discussing various issues before the Congress and the Nation at this time. Inasmuch as the Senator's statements shed considerable light upon several of these issues, I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of the program Capitol Cloakroom be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAPITOL CLOAKROOM

Guest: The Honorable RUSSELL B. LONG, Democratic Senator from Louisiana.

CBS correspondents: Griffing Bancroft, Wells Church, Paul Niven.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator LONG, will this Congress reduce income taxes?

Mr. CHURCH. Can tariffs be lowered any more without hurting American industry?

Mr. NIVEN. Senator LONG, will the South go Democratic in 1956?

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator LONG, welcome to Capitol Cloakroom. A lawyer, and youngest man in the United States Senate, you have been here now for 5 years, where you are a member of the Senate Finance Committee which this week has been busy with taxes and tariffs.

Let's start with the first: Will this Congress reduce personal income taxes?

Senator LONG. Mr. Bancroft, it is impossible to give you an answer for that. All I can tell you is that we will make a very strong effort to do it on the Democratic side of the aisle.

Right now I suspect we are a few votes shy of what we need in the United States Senate to put through the kind of amendment that the House adopted. I hope that we can gain more votes there, as the fight develops. I believe we have a good case to make for income-tax relief for the average individual. And, of course, I am going to support the kind of relief that the House voted for that the average man would have $20 tax relief, $20 more for his wife and $20 more for each child. For example, a family of 5 would have tax relief of $100 on their income tax.

Mr. BANCROFT. I know, Senator LONG, you were one of those who supported that in the Finance Committee, and were outvoted. Do you think there is a possibility that you can get it through the Senate when it comes up on the floor?

Senator LONG. I do not believe in giving up a fight before you have tried. I believe that we have a good case to make.

This type of tax relief would help to relieve unemployment. At the present time we have 3,350,000 people unemployed, and, incidentally, the press has not noticed particularly that unemployment increased 500,000 from December until January of this year. Those figures are too high in terms of unemployment, and I believe we are losing a tremendous amount of wealth in terms of national production by failure to give some tax relief in the ways of increasing purchasing power among the great masses of our people.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator LONG, I would like to ask this:

In view of the fact that there are stories and reports going along that you supporters of this $20 tax cut are engaged in stalling the bill—we do not know for sure, it is apparently not coming up on the floor of the Senate until late next week at the earliest; when will that bill come up on the floor, and is there any deliberate stalling on the part of you supporters of it?

Senator LONG. Mr. Bancroft, there is no deliberate stalling as far as those of us supporting the tax cut are concerned. But we do want some time to get together the facts and figures uon which we buttress our case.

Now, I have been just today consulting with other minority members on that committee. I say minority, we are part of the majority, we are a majority of the Democratic majority, but the two Democrats voting with the Republicans give them a majority on that committee because Republicans vote solidly against this tax cut. We want that bill to come up. We want to make our fight just as we did last year to see to it that the average individual gets some tax relief because we believe it is in the overall interest of this Nation.

I would like to point this out in connection with this tax relief. We supported last year efforts to reduce taxes in the low-income bracket, and we were defeated by the Republican majority at that time both in the House and in the United States Senate. Now there was some income tax relief. However, it did not reflect itself where it was needed the most, because the increase in social security tax was even greater than the reduction in personal income tax as far as anybody making $3,500 or less was concerned. That meant that more than 50 percent of the people of this Nation really had no tax relief at all because the increase in social security more than offset what the reduction was in their personal income tax.

Mr. CHURCH. But, Senator, what about the Republican charge, as I understand it, that this tax cut will be just enough to cause sufficient inflation to more than wipe it out in some instances, the value of the dollar?

Senator LONG. Mr. Church, a man ought to be ashamed to make argument if he knows what the real facts are.

Last year against a previous budget deficit of $9 billion and a budget deficit of last year that turned out to be $4.5 billion, the administration was willing to go along with $7 billion of tax relief.

Now, for this coming year, we are told that the budget deficit would be only half much, about $2.5 billion. So, without as much budget deficit, we are now told that it would be inflation to give just $2 billion of tax relief, or one-third as much.

Mr. CHURCH. But the Republicans say that is predicated on the Congress cutting expenditures in this next year.

Senator LONG. The point was that we had a deficit last year twice as big as we will have for this coming year and in spite of that $7 billion of tax relief did not produce any inflation at all.

The $7 billion, however, for the most part, went to the corporations and those who were better fixed financially. Now we want to give about one-third that much tax relief to the people, and there is no reason to think that would be any more inflationary than it was when the $7 billion was given to those who are better fixed economically.

Mr. NIVEN. Senator, I presume you have been getting some mail on those proposals. Do your constituents seem interested in this $20? Do they regard it as a political maneuver or are they just bored by it?

Senator LONG. Mr. Niven, the press has made great effort to convince the people that the Democrats are just playing politics by trying to give the average individual $20 tax relief, per person. However, the average person feels that both Democrats and Republicans play politics, and I believe that if you want to be fair and you ask the man on the street—I do not mean the businessman, I mean the average little fellow who is working for a living by the sweat of his brow—he will probably tell you it was Republican politics when the Republicans gave tax relief to the corporations, and perhaps Democratic politics, when the Democrats tried to give tax relief to the average man.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator LONG, you mentioned having gotten licked last year, and last year you had, I think we will all concede, a pretty big asset on tax matters over here in the Senate on your side, in the person of Senator GEORGE, and Senator GEORGE is against you this year. Do you still think with that opposition that you are going to get this bill through the Senate?

Senator LONG. Fortunately, after the people got through hearing the argument about the taxes last year, they elected more Democrats and, therefore, our hand is somewhat strengthened in that regard.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator GEORGE—to come back to him for a moment—while he said he opposed this, has talked about the possibility of a compromise if the House stands firm in its insistence on the $20 cut. Do you look for some possible compromise to come out of this thing, assuming you may get licked on the floor of the Senate?

Senator LONG. It is certainly my hope that the House conferees will stand their ground to the very last. If they will, I believe that there should be some sort of compromise.

For my part, I am ready to agree with the President, or anyone else, that there is no reason why we should reduce the corporation tax at this time. The corporations got relief last year on their dividends from taxation, and they got all sorts of handouts that are too complicated and too lengthy to explain here. But, if you read that 875-page bill, it was almost like an Easter egg hunt for golden nuggets, as far as a corporation executive was concerned.

Now, looking into this next year, it is only fair to say that their corporation stock is now at an all-time high. It has never been that high, even in 1929. Particularly, large corporations are concerned. They are not entitled at this time to expect any further tax relief, and we should extend that corporation tax for a while longer.

The Democrats will ga along with the Republicans on that part of it.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator Long, suppose it comes to a question of choosing one or the other, and I have in mind there the possibility of the President vetoing a bill which might combine the two of them. Would you then go along for an extension of the corporation and the excise taxes alone, as he has asked?

Senator LONG. I suppose if we are successful in getting a bill to the President that would reduce taxes for the average individual, that we would stand our ground if the President vetoed the bill. I do not think he would veto it. I do not think he could afford to do it, for many reasons: politically, morally, and many others.

Mr. NIVEN. But you surely could not get two-thirds of the votes to override the veto, could you?

Senator LONG. No; we could not get two-thirds of the votes to override the veto; that would be correct.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator LONG, I know in your Finance Committee you are involved in another problem now, this week, and this was the question that Mr. Church has asked you about the tariff bill:

What do you think is going to happen to that over here in the Senate?

Senator LONG. I believe we will report out substantially the bill that was sent to us by the House of Representatives. I suspect that there will be some amendments adopted in the Senate committee. I cannot predict just what those amendments will be, but I see that there are quite a few Senators who are receptive to one suggestion or another on that committee, and I would expect that there would be a few amendments drafted over in the Senate committee, in addition to those that were adopted in the House.

Mr. BANCROFT. Do you think those amendments would take the form of broadening the so-called escape clause, to make it easier for certain industries to get out of tax reductions or tariff reductions?

Senator LONG. I would not be surprised to see an amendment offered that would gain substantial support, along the line of saying that the President could not reverse the judgment of the Tariff Commission if the Tariff Commission recommended protection for domestic industry.

As you know, the President has reversed the Tariff Commission more often than he has upheld the Tariff Commission, when the Tariff Commission has recommended that the escape clause be invoked to protect some domestic industry.

I see substantial support for that, and I just cannot predict what the result will be when that amendment comes to a vote.

Mr. CHURCH. If I follow you correctly, Senator LONG, it sounds to me as though there might be an equally close shave in the Senate as in the House.

Senator LONG. It might very well be that way. As a matter of fact, on the floor of the House of Representatives the rule was that Members could not offer amendments. They could only offer one proposal to recommit the bill to consider one particular amendment.

Now in the United States Senate no one would ever agree to such a thing. As you know, we have this rule of unlimited debate. As long as someone wants to continue to fight, he has the right to stand there and be heard.

We have some Senators, I won't call any names right here, but I have some in mind, who very well might stand and talk at great length about that bill and offer an untold number of amendments. Some of those amendments may be adopted.

Mr. CHURCH. Is there chance for enough amendments to ruin the bill, that is, ruin it in the eyes of the President in what appears to be a Democratic majority in favor of the bill?

Senator LONG. I think that as far as the administration is concerned, they will have a good chance to regain whatever ground they lost in the Senate in conference because the conferees, for the most part, are either Republicans who have pretty well stayed with the President on most issues, or Democrats who believe in expanding trade, if you look at the senior Democrats and senior Republicans on the Finance Committee, so it is possible that the President may gain coming back from conference what he might lose on the Senate floor if a substantial number of amendments were agreed to there.

It is sort of like the man being chased by the bear. He jumps for a limb on a tree. A friend said, "Did you catch the limb?" He said, "I missed it on the way up, but I caught it on the way down."

Mr. NIVEN. Senator, once you start accepting amendments, surely the meat would be knocked out of it completely in a very short time, would it not?

Senator LONG. I do not believe that the committee will recommend accepting any amendments. I think the committee, for the most part, will stay together in trying to beat off amendments that are offered on the floor. Usually the Finance Committee has done that in the past. As a matter of fact, the Senate Finance Committee has a rather good record under Democratic leadership of defeating amendments. I recall on more than one occasion when Senator George was the chairman of the Finance Committee in which he was successful in getting the committee to stick together and beat off as many as 200 amendments without a single one being adopted. I would not be surprised to see that sort of thing work out again if the committee sticks together.

Mr. NIVEN. Will the committee stick together even in the case of amendments designed to help industries in their home States?

Senator LONG. There will be more difficulty in that case.

Mr. CHURCH. There were some 75 Members of the House, as I recall it, who had industries in their own State which caused them to go against the bill. How about your own State, Do you have anything down there that would make you worry about this bill?

Senator LONG. I have some individuals in my State who are interested in amendments to the bill. I do not expect to support many such amendments because I believe that most of those industries are getting along reasonably well and, after all, although this bill gives the President the authority to reduce tariff 5 percent each year or to reduce tariff on items where there is only a negligible amount being imported at the present time by as much as 50 percent, that is not mandatory upon the President. It is only anticipated that he would reduce the tariffs in the cases where he finds that American industries would not be too adversely affected.

Many of the industries that complain the most bitterly about this matter really cannot show that they are badly hurt or that they would be badly hurt by expanding foreign trade and permitting a few more imports to come into this Nation.

Mr. BANCRAFT. Senator LONG, I would like to ask this if it has any bearing on the support of you southerners for this tariff-reduction bill, and that is the matter of the textile industry. As you know, the New England textile Senators are mostly lining up in opposition to this on the ground that it will definitely hurt their textile industry. But I have heard some of you southerners say that a little reduction in tariff might encourage even more movement of the textile industry from New England down South and, therefore, might help your industry. Is there anything to that?

Senator LONG. Mr. Bancraft, looking at the whole picture, we cannot expect everything to be in our favor in this foreign trade picture. You cannot expect to get everything from others without giving something in return.

Now in good years we can sell as much as 50 percent of our cotton to other countries, and they consume that cotton within those countries and I suppose they process most of it there.

We do have some textile imports coming back into this country, but the last figure that I saw on it indicated that we are actually shipping out more manufactured textile products than we are importing. So, what are we complaining about? I cannot see that there is any great reason to feel that the textile industry is being very badly injured.

Now, there has been some reduction in employment in textile industries but, for the most part, that has been because of the improvement in their machinery and increased productivity of their working people.

I think I receive about as much mail from textile workers in my State as almost any other one thing. But I believe that if we are efficient, as you suggest, and we continue to improve our ways of doing business, that we should be able to meet a slightly stiffened competition from abroad, and we should try to expand our textile market just as others try to expand their export to us.

Mr. NIVEN. Senator LONG, is anyone in your party contemplating plans for Federal aid to communities which might face severe distress because of foreign competition, conceivably, for instance, a one-industry town which was going to be injured by foreign competition to take a loan from the Government in order to retool its factories, switch to another field?

Senator LONG. I do not know of any such proposal as that that is being advanced with much support at the present time, Mr. Niven. As a matter of fact, I do not know of any proposal of that sort pending at the moment. There might be.

I have, myself, thought that we should try to work out some way to compensate some of those who are genuinely injured as a result of tariff reductions. I particularly have that in mind when the President reverses the recommendation of the Tariff Commission for relief. Nevertheless, it is so difficult to work out a practicable plan to protect all those who are injured or to help those who are injured in so many different connections. For example, you hight help the man who owns the plant, but then the laborers lose their jobs, and how are you going to compensate them? The best thing you can do for them is to help them find a job somewhere else. The result is that no one really has anything worked out, that I know of, to help those who might be injured as a result of increased foreign competition.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator LONG, there are some other points in the President's overall program, as I understand it, to increase world trade. One of them is stepping up the so-called point 4 program, and another to grant some sort of tax relief for American business investments overseas. Are you in favor of those things in addition to the tariff relief?

Senator LONG. For the most part, Congress is getting rather weary of these foreign give-away programs. I believe the tendency will be to reduce them, rather than give more in the future.

This economic aid has been going on for so long now that a lot of people would like to get out of the business. Congress, for the most part, will vote to reduce those things.

Insofar as the tax reductions for those doing business overseas are concerned, I would prefer to be selective and try to determine where we want to encourage additional investments or who we want to help and perhaps write into trade agreements if those people have a general increase in their living standards, that we would be willing to reduce our own tariff to help them to continue to sell on the American market. I have that in mind, especially in Central American countries, where many people are only making about 5 cents an hour for their labor. I think that just tends to encourage communism and things of that sort. However, I do not know whether you can attract much support for that sort of proposal.

Mr. NIVEN. Senator LONG, you supported the Stevenson ticket in 1952, but the South was anything but solid. Is it going to go Democratic again in 1956?

Senator LONG. Yes; I believe the prospects are very good for the South going solidly Democratic the next time. I would not be

surprised to see every Southern State go Democratic. I said that some time ago, and I see nothing in what has happened during the past 2 years to change my mind about it. I would be inclined to think that you will see the South go together. We have been able to resolve many of these party fights during the last 2 years. We have had very good leadership; we have not fought nearly as bitterly. We have divided on some issues, but it has not been nearly as pronounced or bitter as it has been in years gone by. For that reason, I think the South will be inclined to go back solidly for the Democratic ticket next time.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator LONG, is this prediction of the South going Democratic based on the assumption that President Eisenhower will be the candidate for the Republicans in 1956?

Senator LONG. Yes; that is based on that assumption. As a matter of fact, I have seen various polls that have been made in my own State that would indicate that there is far stronger sentiment today for the Democrats than there was at the last election, even assuming that Eisenhower would be the candidate.

Mr. BANCROFT. Well, of course, your State of Louisiana went against Eisenhower in 1952.

Senator LONG. We carried it, with difficulty. We carried it by about 40,000 votes, which is not a safe majority when you are polling about 750,000.

Mr. BANCROFT. In other words, you think President Eisenhower is less popular in the South now than he was in 1952?

Senator LONG. That is correct. It is not so much a matter of Eisenhower being less popular; it is a matter of the Democrats as a party, being more popular.

We had many burdens to carry at that time. It was difficult to explain a lot of things that were complicated. A lot of people tried to blame the Democrats for the various burdens that we had to carry during the Korean war, and things of that sort. I think that the next go-around, not having been in power for 4 years, we will be in better shape than we were, having been in power for 20 years.

Mr. NIVEN. Senator LONG, you said a moment ago that your party has avoided a fight in the last couple of years. Perhaps you made a distinction as to other parties. But, do you have reason to believe that the Northern liberals are going to let the race issue and the civil-rights issue lie dormant between now and the election?

Senator LONG. I do not know precisely what moves may be made by our Northern liberal friends, but I believe, on the whole, that they have been willing to join with us on those things that Democrats can unitedly support. And as long as we continue that trend, I believe there is every reason to believe why the South should be more happy with the Democratic Party and more anxious to support it.

Mr. NIVEN. Then you do not expect a strong civil rights plan in the 1956 platform in your party?

Senator LONG. I expect a civil rights platform similar to the one we had last time. I do think the Southern Democrats will be somewhat helped in keeping their States in the Democratic column, however, because of the fact it is now clear that the Republican Party is not for the Southern position on civil rights. They are just as much opposed to our position, perhaps, as the Northern Democrats. But that always took a lot of explaining down South and kept some of us very much on the defensive when we were urging some of the people to vote Democratic before.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator LONG, this prediction of yours about the South was based on the assumption that President Eisenhower would be the Republican candidate. I would like to ask you if we could take the other assumption that Adlai Stevenson will be the Democratic candidate?

Senator LONG. It is possible that Adlai Stevenson would be, and he would be a good candidate. But at this time I would not be at all prepared to concede Adlai Stevenson would be the Democratic candidate. I think he would run a very good race and stand a very good chance of winning if he were the candidate. However, I think there are other possibilities who might run just as strongly and perhaps a stronger race.

Mr. CHURCH. Could you name some of them?

Senator LONG. I would rather not do it. I have some in mind, but I do not want to suggest any of them. I would rather let them put themselves forth rather than me advance their candidacies.

Mr. CHURCH. You do agree that the President will run again?

Senator LONG. I do not agree he will run again. I do not know. I cannot speak for him.

Mr. CHURCH. That is what I understood you to say a moment ago.

Senator LONG. Well, I believe if he runs the South will go solidly Democratic, and I believe the Democrats will have a——

Mr. NIVEN. Is there likely to be a southerner in the race for the Democratic nomination?

Senator LONG. I would certainly hope so, being a southerner myself. I am rather proud of our representation from the South. I would certainly hope that we would have some good southerners offer themselves.

Mr. BANCROFT. Do you think Senator RUSSELL would run again?

Senator LONG. He said he would not. He is a man of his word, and if he said it, he means it.

Mr. BANCROFT. Let me ask you this about yourself: Your term is coming up in 1956. Are you a candidate for the United States Senate next year?

Senator LONG. Well, there is quite a bit of local politics in Louisiana at the present time. I have indicated that I might be a candidate for governor. I have not at all decided that. I think we had better let first things be decided first, and I cannot tell you whether or not I will run for Governor of Louisiana at the present time. Therefore, I could not tell you whether I would be a candidate for the Senate as yet.

Mr. BANCROFT. Could you say that you would be a candidate for one or the other?

Senator LONG. I would rather not answer that question quite that way. I would prefer to decide a little bit later on what my position will be, as far as offering myself for office is concerned.

Mr. NIVEN. Would you exclude retirement from your plan?

Senator LONG. I do not necessarily exclude it, but I would rather leave that to the public to decide.

Mr. CHURCH. You do enjoy being in the United States Senate?

Senator LONG. I have enjoyed it very much, Mr. Church.

Mr. BANCROFT. Coming back to some of the problems in the United States Senate, we have mentioned some of your problems on the Finance Committee. You are also a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs which has this problem of statehood for Hawaii and Alaska.

What is going to happen to that in this session of Congress?

Senator LONG. I wish I could predict. I was one of those who supported the President's position that Hawaii should become a State because it had been ready for some time, and Alaska was not ready for statehood. Last year the Democrats were successful in adding an amendment that would put the Alaskan statehood bill in with the Hawaiian statehood bill. You had to vote for both of them or none. Therefore, I voted for statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii.

It looks as though there is not much chance for separating those bills, and so I suppose we will pass such a bill through the Senate again, if we get a chance to consider it.

Mr. CHURCH. Both of them?

Senator LONG. There are some machinations about this legislative mill. For example, there is the Rules Committee over there on the House side. If there are any differences of opinion between the leaders on the House side, sometimes they won't let the House vote on it. That is what happened to the statehood bill last time. It might be the fate this time.

Mr. NIVEN. Why are most southerners opposed to the admission of Hawaii and Alaska?

Senator LONG. They can make many arguments, and I would prefer to believe that they are 100 percent sincere in saying that they believe that we shouldn't broaden the representation of this Nation, and that we would be a stronger Nation if we limited ourselves to the continental United States and did not take in outlying areas.

Personally, I believe that we would be a greater country if we did take those areas in.

Mr. NIVEN. Other motives are sometimes ascribed to them, aren't they?

Senator LONG. Oh, yes; there are some that say southerners feel it would be two more votes for FEPC or two more votes to make southerners quit talking when you try to reduce States rights.

I do not think that necessarily would be the case. I am inclined to think that the new States would be even more jealous of their States' rights than existing States.

Mr. BANCROFT. Senator LONG, I know one matter you have taken considerable interest around here in is the matter of civil defense. What do you think Congress ought to do about civil defense?

Senator LONG. About 10 times what we have done. A tremendous number of lives could be saved if we would make some plans to alert the people to the kind of measures that could be taken to save their lives in the event of an atomic attack. Just to give you an example, if you had an atom bomb, let's take a hydrogen bomb, the huge kind that could explode on one of our cities, while that might kill everyone within 5 or 6 miles of the explosion, most people beyond that point would live if they had just a good, deep basement to go into and stay there until the radioactivity of the so-called fallout, the dust that is created by these explosions, had settled and dissipated itself into the atmosphere. But most people would not know that unless you do a better job of educating them. The result is most of them would leave their homes to try to get away, and many of them would be killed as a result of the radioactivity.

Then, too, when those type bombs explode, these clouds of radioactive dust might go as much as three or four hundred miles, dropping the cinders all along the way. A person could be safe from that if he had himself a small cellar, or if he had prepared a little bomb shelter with as much as two feet of dirt over the top of it to protect himself against the radioactivity that would be involved there.

Mr. BANCROFT. Do you think the Federal Government should put up some money to help him do that construction?

Senator LONG. The first thing we ought to do is to tell him what sort of shelter he ought to build. Then I believe it would be good to pass some sort of legislation to make a housing loan to a person, just as you have a title I, FHA, where a person can borrow money to put venetian blinds or a thing of that sort in his home. Perhaps we ought to make them a longer term loan to install a properly speci-

fied bomb shelter in their own homes that might save their lives in the event of an atomic disaster. I believe you might save as many as 40 million lives that way if you had the proper type protection from just the radioactivity.

Mr. BANCROFT. I am afraid that is all the time we have. Thank you very much, Senator LONG.

Senator LONG. You are very welcome.

Vice President Nixon's Caribbean Trip

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by Robert C. Hill, the distinguished American Ambassador to El Salvador, relative to the tremendously beneficial effect to the United States of Vice President NIXON'S recent trip through the Caribbean area.

There being no objection, the latter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
San Salvador, El Salvador,
February 21, 1955.

To the EDITOR.

Because of your constructive policy in conveying news to the people of the United States, I am sure you will be interested in comments regarding the current trip of Vice President NIXON and his wife through Central America.

This trip is exerting a tremendous influence toward achieving the hemispheric solidarity which is vital to the future of the United States and Latin America.

In the 48 hours that the Vice President and his party were in El Salvador, the growth of warm friendship for the United States and its citizens was a tangible, active experience.

Perhaps the original announcement of the proposed visit by Mr. NIXON to Central America was received by the public with an understandable lack of enthusiasm. The people of Central America are our friends, but they are also our neighbors. Here, as at home, neighbors have a way of being critical, of developing a dislike for mischievous children and of being annoyed when the other fellow's radio is too loud. Central America also has memories of times gone by when, rightly or wrongly, they considered Uncle Sam the neighborhood bully. It has been a long time since there was a basis for such recollections, but neighbors have long memories.

These are the agricultural countries with great masses of workers that the Communists cultivate. And they succeeded, for a time, in Guatemala until the people rose up against them and reestablished democracy.

These are the countries which depend for their livelihood on the purchase by the people of the United States of their agricultural products—mainly coffee and bananas. These are the countries which buy more than 80 percent of their manufactured articles from the United States.

And these are the countries which—just because they are considered to be our solid friends—we have largely ignored in our international efforts to win friends and influence people on the side of democracy.

Now, in a matter of days, public opinion here has changed. I have talked with Government officials, with newspapermen, and with men on the street. They say: "Mr. NIXON'S visit proves you really are interested in us—it is not just words."

Mrs. Nixon, too, is showing the same sympathetic understanding of Latin Americans. Here she visited hospitals, the nurses' home, and the wonderful orphanage called Ciudad de los Niños which is modeled on Boys Town, Nebr.

The effect of the trip on El Salvador is best summed up in the editorial which appeared today in La Prensa Grafica, the newspaper of widest circulation in this country. Its concluding paragraphs state:

"Bolivar wanted Latin America united. He fought until he died to achieve that union. Today, Bolivar's ideal is enlarged to include the union of all America as the only means of survival.

"The significance of Mr. NIXON'S visit—which makes us very grateful—is that the great nation to the north has understood also that its destiny is the same as that of Latin America."

The Vice President and his party deserve our gratitude for the contribution they are making to the free world.

ROBERT C. HILL,
Ambassador of the United States of America to El Salvador.

Century of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Century of Progress," published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 7, 1955. I am particularly pleased to call attention to the editorial because St. Elizabeths Hospital was created through the unceasing work of a Massachusetts lady 100 years ago.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CENTURY OF PROGRESS

The centennial of St. Elizabeths Hospital, which was observed last week, is significant for something more than 100 years of growth in an institution. It brings to the fore a totally different concept of mental and emotional illness. The story of St. Elizabeths is the story of 100 years of evolution in the practice of psychiatry. It is a matter of good fortune for the people of Washington and many others who make use of this institution that Dr. Winfred Overholser and the other four eminent superintendents who have served it have kept abreast of modern methods of treatment as well as the heavy demands upon its facilities.

Some concept of the progress that has been made in this century may be had by remembering that it was the spectacle of mentally ill persons incarcerated in a Massachusetts jail which drove Dorothea Lynde Dix to work unceasingly for the creation of a special hospital for mental patients in the Nation'ss Capital. Over the years the inhuman practice of treating these unfortunates as criminals was changed. Special institutions were built for them, but in some instances these became worse than jails, and the prevailing use of mental hospitals was for segregating the insane from the sane. For many long decades these hospitals were little more than prisons for mentally disturbed persons.

Today all the leading mental hospitals have become in fact scientific treatment centers. Of course, they care for many patients who are not curable by any methods now known to medical science. But the great majority of patients go to a mental hospital for treatment and return to society in precisely the same way that they enter and are discharged from other hospitals. The emphasis is in finding the cause of a patient's disturbance and supplying a remedy through psycho-therapy or other means.

St. Elizabeths has contributed much to this evolution. In addition it has trained a great number of psychiatrists, psychologists and others engaged in the care and treatment of the mentally ill and is the only public mental hospital which has been approved by the American Medical Association for general internship. It is everywhere recognized, however, that this century of progress is only a beginning in the development of this highly specialized branch of medicine. Many types of emotional and mental illness are still not adequately understood and the techniques of treatment can be vastly improved. Indeed, the gulf between the treatment applied in the best of the mental hospitals and in the poorest is still discouragingly wide. We must recognize also that the strains and tensions of life today are causing an appalling volume of emotional and mental disturbance. It is a challenge to society in general as well as to the medical profession—a challenge which calls for more of the foresight, courage and spirit of experimentation that led to the creation of St. Elizabeths.

Irrigation in Northwestern Lake County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by John L. Denny in the Portland Oregonian of February 28, 1955, describing the irrigation of 30,000 once arid acres on the upland desert of south-central Oregon.

Cheap electricity provided by the Midstate rural-electric cooperative, with headquarters at Lapine, Oreg., is making possible the pumping of water to create a new agricultural civilization amidst Oregon's high desert. This is a tangible demonstration of what low-cost water power means in terms of development and economic progress in the Pacific Northwest.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IRRIGATION PUMPS BRING NEW LAND RUSH TO NORTHWESTERN LAKE COUNTY

(By John L. Denny)

A new land boom is in the making in the Fort Rock area, a high-desert basin in northwestern Lake County ringed by the shattered remnants of long-dead volcanoes.

This is a new boom, because the first land rush was in the 1890's, when homesteaders

by the hundreds settled the country, and towns sprang up, flourished and died.

The homesteaders went broke, and only their abandoned buildings remain to remind of the first boom. Their exodus was aptly described by E. R. Jackman, range crops specialist at Oregon State College, in a recent issue of the Oregon Farmer:

"The homesteaders left without benefit of FHA, PMA, SCS, REA, or crop-disaster loans. When their cash ran out, so goods no longer came COD, they left PDQ. Their deserted homestead buildings still dot the landscape, though some were torn down for some vague reason when the Government decided the land thereabouts was pretty marginal and bought it up in the heyday of the New Deal.

This time irrigation is the magic word triggering the new land rush. It might better be called a pump rush, because pump companies are getting set for an Eldorado, selling pumps to the settlers. One company is talking of sending salesmen with sleeping bags and order books, to be in on the ground floor.

The water to irrigate this thirsty hunk of desert will come from a vast underground lake, and the juice to pump it will come from a new 191-mile line the Lapine Rural Electric cooperative is building into the basin with a $1 million loan from Uncle Sam.

Enthusiastic boosters of the project say irrigation will convert the basin into a garden spot, growing grain, potatoes, and sugar beets.

Skeptics assert that settlers who hope to get rich growing with irrigated cash-crop farming are going to wake up some frosty morning singing "Yes, we have no bonanza."

George Larimer, manager of the Lapine REA, is one of the backers of the project who believes it has a rosy future in row crop and grain farming. He says the 100-day growing season gives plenty of time for crops that grow in the ground, such as sugar beets and potatoes, and cites sagebrush 6 to 8 feet tall as proof of the deep and fertile soil, just waiting for the water.

LIVESTOCK SEEN ANSWER

Larimer said contracts for construction of 43 miles of transmission line and 148 miles of distribution line will be awarded by the REA co-op Monday night. He said 80 customers on the line have signed up to put in pumps the first year.

Larimer said some 30,000 acres will be developed in the first phase of the project. Shallow wells will provide low-cost water, he believes, because the water level averages only 20 feet down.

A different view of the prospects for farming in the project is taken by most farm authorities and some of the livestock ranchers now in the basin.

Jackman, for example, believes the short and undependable growing season will rule out cash crops. The growing season might be 100 days one year, all right, but the next year it might be only 30 days.

Jackman believes prospects are good in the area for livestock farming. Irrigated pastures and alfalfa will produce about 400 pounds of beef to the acre a year. At present cattle prices, ranchers would do all right. With cattle at 15 cents a pound, roughly, this would yield $60 an acre a year, or $10,000 on a quarter section, with production costs of around $5,000.

Only trouble with this picture is that no one knows how long cattle prices will stay where they are.

It will cost about $100 an acre to convert the sagebrush into irrigated farms, and financing may be a stumbling block that will hold back the boom. As Jackman put it:

"A lot of folks with small holdings can't get a well drilled until they get the money, and they can't get the money until they get the well drilled. It's like the Irishman who couldn't get his new shoes on until he had worn them a couple of days."

The United States Geological Survey report says the water supply in the basin is adequate for irrigating 30,000 acres of land. Others say 100,000 acres is the limit.

Part of the land is in private ownership, some of it in livestock ranches which owners will subdivide. And Larimer reports that heirs of some of those 1890 homesteaders are showing up to claim their property.

Approximately 100,000 acres of the basin is land acquired by the Government under the resettlement project in the 1930's. Unlike other regular public domain lands, this land utilization project is not under the Homestead Act. It cannot be transferred to private ownership unless Congress passes special legislation.

SOILS FIT FOR WATER

Soil Conservation Service technicians who have been doing some soils surveying in the basin say they have delineated five broad areas suitable for irrigation. But unfortunately about half of the suitable land is in the Government land utilization project, closed to homesteaders. This area is being used as grazing land, under supervision of the Bureau of Land Management.

All of these and other pros and cons of the incipient boom are due for an airing Tuesday at Fort Rock Grange Hall, at the annual meeting of the Fort Rock soil conservation district. Promoters of the project, pump company representatives, and a panel of State and Federal soils and irrigation experts will be on hand. The meeting starts at 10 a. m.

The Robinson-Patman Act and Food Distribution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Mrs. Marie Kiefer, secretary-manager of the National Association of Retail Grocers, at the annual convention of National Food Brokers Association in Chicago, on February 19, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT AND FOOD DISTRIBUTION

(Address by Mrs. Marie Kiefer)

It is a pleasure, indeed, to be here today and have the opportunity of discussing with you the Robinson-Patman Act, and more pointedly the evil of price discrimination which it was intended to prevent.

Insofar as the basic issues of the evils of price discrimination, and the need for strong enforcement of the statute are concerned, there is no difference in our respective positions.

But before getting to the heart of that matter, I want you to know that we recognize how important brokers are in the pattern of food distribution today. Please don't misinterpret this, my purpose is not to flatter you by making a pretty speech complimenting you in a dozen different ways, but actually I have a far different purpose in calling attention to your importance.

All of us know that the food distribution industry has experienced sweeping changes in its method of operation in recent years. The self-service market, modern packaging, and new methods of processing are frequently cited and discussed as an index to the progress made in bringing better foods to the American consumer at lower costs. But the food broker needs recognition in this picture, too, for he plays a very vital part.

I know, without the use of statistics, that more and more food processors and manufacturers are turning to brokers to help sell their products. Everyone in the industry is aware of the fact that the growth of sales through food brokers has been substantial, and is continuing to climb. Why is it? What is responsible for this growth? In my judgment, the answer can be stated in one word—competition. The food industry, from manufacturer and processor right through to the retailer, is one of the most fiercely competitive in the entire country. This also means that a high degree of efficiency prevails in the industry, and the overall result is that within the last 20 or 30 years the cost of food distribution has been cut in half.

Food brokers have succeeded because they offer to both small and large manfacturers and processors an economical method of promoting and selling their products. That is not all—for food brokers also stimulate competition by providing an outlet for small sellers and those just getting started who cannot afford to hire a salaried sales force. Food brokers also reduce the cost of merchandise by expanding the market for products they handle through personal visits with distributors. This extra service of brokers calling on retailers has resulted in a much closer relationship between retailers and brokers than ever before.

Mentioning this close relationship brings to my mind a suggestion we would like to offer for the interchange of views to strengthen the relationship. For some years, NARGUS has had a very active merchandising committee, made up of successful, enterprising, and progressive retailers. We are proud of the work the committee has done in solving some common problems with similar groups in other segments in the industry. The same beneficial accomplishments can be attained if our committee could meet together with representatives of your group and lay a foundation for working together in selected areas of mutual interest. We would like very much to become better acquainted with your views, and to let you know those of the retailers, not only for ourselves but for the welfare of the industry and consumers generally. I surely hope you will give this suggestion serious consideration, and that before too long your representatives and ours can sit down around the table to discuss mutual interests and problems.

As I mentioned earlier, we believe food brokers serve a most useful and necessary purpose. It will not come as any surprise to you, I am sure, that not everyone in the industry tells this way about brokers. You will recall the recent effort to destroy the section of the Robinson-Patman Act dealing with brokerage payments. Please note I said "destroy," because that is the ultimate effect the proposed legislation would have.

NARGUS opposed this legislation vigorously, after careful consideration of the entire problem by our executive officers. For example, supporters of that proposed legislation requested our officers to review the measure with them. This was done, not once but several times. The secretaries of our affiliated associations reviewed the proposed measure, too, at their meeting in Kansas City last year. All of them, unanimously, determined to oppose the measure aimed at amending the brokerage section of the Robinson-Patman Act. After the bill was introduced, a congressional hearing was held during which we were subjected to a flagrantly abusive attack, simply because we did not go along with the bill. Had it not been for our long and impartial consideration of the measure before it was intro-

duced, we might not have been in a position to meet and disprove the vituperative and defamatory things said against us before a committee of Congress. This is the last time I shall refer to this unhappy experience for, as they say, to err is human, to forgive divine.

NARGUS opposed the bill to amend the brokerage section for one reason, namely, it was adverse to the best interests of the independent retail grocers, regardless of what buying practices or arrangements they may follow. It was this reason, and this reason alone, that led us to the position we took. There were two parts to our reasoning on why we felt the proposal to open up the brokerage section was one we could not support. First, brokerage payments from sellers to buyers were, prior to the Robinson-Patman Act, the chief and most disastrous form of price discrimination against independent retail grocers. The Federal Trade Commission, in the investigation that started in 1928 found, after 6 years of study, that phony brokerage payments was the rotten thread which ran completely through the fabric woven for the purpose of hiding special preferences to mass buyers. Listen to what the House Judiciary Committee had to say in its report on the Robinson-Patman bill:

"Among the prevalent modes of discrimination at which this bill is directed is the practice of certain large buyers to demand the allowance of brokerage direct to them upon their purchases, or its payment to an employee, agent, or corporate subsidiary whom they set up in the guise of a broker, and through whom they demanded that sales to them be made."

The practice of buyers setting up dummy brokerage houses was so thoroughly corrupt that one very large retail distributor not only received phony brokerage payments on its own purchases, but also shared in those paid on products sold by its competitors. I could stand here for hours and cite to you case after case from the public record showing how brokerage payments paid to huge buyers and their intermediaries became a monopolistic endeavor at work in the food distribution industry. A few of you in this audience managed to live through those days. Those of us who saw the destruction, dishonesty, and discrimination that prevailed will never forget it.

The second reason that we, in the retail field, vigorously opposed efforts to open up the brokerage section of the act was because we believe the proposed bill violated the antidiscrimination policy of the act itself, as well as the principles of our Constitution. The bill was framed in such a way as to purport to allow a few specially defined wholesale headquarters houses to collect brokerage. It was deceptively designed to create the impression that only independent distributors would share in the benefits derived from payments received. Actually, what this bill proposed was to write a special discriminatory preference into an act which condemns discrimination on principle. In other words, the bill would encourage the very practice the act was intended to prevent. As our spokesman said to the Senate Judiciary Committee at the time: "We view this with alarm, because we see the act doomed if it is to become a vehicle for granting special privilege to any class of buyers. 'Equal justice under the law' is an essential part of the Robinson-Patman Act, without which it loses both its meaning and its purpose."

Now let me pass to the broader subject of injurious price discriminations. Senator KEFAUVER has discussed the public interest that is served by the Robinson-Patman Act. He has also described the urgent necessity for legislation closing the loophole now in the act. I shall not attempt to elaborate on what he has said, but I do want to tell you that the rank and file of NARGUS members across this country are alert to the fact that price discriminations in the food distribution industry are on the march again. Hardly a week goes by that we do not hear reports of some special concessions or arrangements that favor a select group of retailers over their competitors. I feel sure that most of you, too, are aware of this kind of vicious price discrimination now going on.

There is a case now pending before the Federal Trade Commission charging a canning company on the west coast with selling fruit cocktail to a large buyer at $1.75 per dozen while charging smaller competing purchasers $1.80 per dozen. The Commission also charges that this canner sells its commodities through brokers and sales agents to some of its buyers at approximately 2½ percent to 7½ percent higher than it sells the same commodities of like grade and quality to some of its direct buyers.

If this canner, is, in fact, giving discriminations as charged—it's a safe bet his competitors are now or will likely follow this same practice.

Many discriminations today are not direct price preferences. There is the frozen-food manufacturer who pays the salary of the frozen-food buyer for a local chain in the east, the dairy which pays cash to get exclusive distribution in a food store, the individual arrangements which permit large numbers of representatives of a supplier to work on a full-time basis throughout some special featured event in one or several large retail establishments. There are all types of promotion schemes which give one group of stores preference in both allowances and facilities over competing retailers. Free goods for store openings, manpower for stocking shelves, consignment sales, and so on, are very frequently offered on a preferential basis to buyers who have no scruples about making illegal demands on suppliers.

Sometimes these discriminations are carried on by representatives of a firm which has a headquarters policy against the practice. The trouble is that the sales staff disregard the policy or perhaps do not even know it, but we believe it is up to the manufacturer to see that their representatives observe a law as important to the entire industry as the Robinson-Patman Act.

I am sure you know that the act prohibits discriminations in allowances and facilities, as well as in price. You know that a seller cannot evade the terms of the act simply by giving these indirect forms of price discrimination, but it is quite evident there are a number of people in the industry who either do not know this or else they choose to ignore it. Let's not underestimate the amount of money involved in discriminations of all kinds. The public record shows that in 1 year a large buyer received, in what the court termed "headquarters allowances," $6.4 million—which constituted 24.59 percent of their total profits from all operations in that year. These headquarters allowances were the largest single source of profit for that organization.

Of course, it isn't always the largest buyer who gets the most, but legitimate operators today in the retail field have good reason to wonder why some suppliers seem to feel the Robinson-Patman Act is dead, and that no one need pay attention to it any more. Let's not kid ourselves into believing that some of the evil practices condemned in the early thirties which gave birth to the Robinson-Patman Act don't exist or will pass away of themselves. They won't, and if something isn't done to correct the situation, it will get worse.

The overwhelming majority of business people do not desire to stoop to injurious discriminatory and unfair practices, but if the willful few, who choose this way of doing business, are allowed to pursue their evil conduct then many will feel they must adopt similar tactics to meet unfair and unethical competition. If this is permitted, the ethical standards of the industry will sink to the lowest level followed by the most unscrupulous. Two decades of effort to wipe out discriminations and to preserve equality of opportunity for all are now threatened by a resurgence of this old enemy.

We recognize the difficulty in overcoming this dangerous situation. In the first place, the Robinson-Patman Act is structurally weaker now than ever before in its history. This is why we join with you and other groups in supporting efforts to strengthen the act. This effort must go forward with all the vigor and determination at our command. Happily, our two organizations are joined together in this great crusade to save equality of opportunity in America. On behalf of our entire organization I want to commend your association and its officers and members for the spirit and zeal you have always shown in fighting to preserve the act and the principles it stands for. No organization has given greater and more unselfish service to this important cause than yours, and I am thankful for the opportunity to state this fact publicly for the record.

At this point I cannot overcome the irresistible impulse to pay tribute to your president, Watson Rogers. I have known Watson a long time, probably longer than most of you, and it may be for that reason I feel a little embarrassed in acclaiming him because I am just as sure as anything I won't do justice to the man. In all sincerity you have as your president one who combines all the rare qualities of mind, character, and personality that make him an exceptional, outstanding leader. He is a fighter and by that I mean he has the courage to fight for what he believes. Such men have made this industry a great productive force. I shall not say more for surely neither he nor you need my voice to add to his laurels.

Both your organization and ours have a unity of purpose in preserving equality of opportunity in America. But I wonder sometimes if either of us realize how desperate is the need to make more effective the rules against systematic and injurious price discrimination. Oh, sure, most of us know how seriously the Robinson-Patman Act has been weakened. We know that in many instances it is not being enforced and that in some instances the act has been weakened by judicial and administrative opinions. But do we know how far this dry-rot has progressed?

The most recent example was given at the trade practice conference for the frozen food industry recently held by the Federal Trade Commission. Representatives of the Commission inserted into a draft of these rules the following as their explanation of the provision allowing discriminations given to meet competition:

"This," it said, "is to be understood as permitting an industry member to meet in good faith a lower price at which like goods are being sold or offered for sale to the same customer by a competitor, though such price be lower than the industry member's price to other buyers competing with such customer, when the industry member is able to show that his lower price was granted under circumstances which would lead a reasonable and prudent person to believe that it would in fact meet the equally low price of a competitor, unless the industry member knew or should have known that the competitor's offer of price was unlawful."

This is the law as presently seen through the eyes of the Commission. I do not pretend to know all it means, but one would have to be totally blind not to see how this new interpretation weakens the original intent of Congress and leaves a loophole which any coercive buyer can take full advantage of. This is the main reason why the equality-of-opportunity bill, which Senator KEFAUVER discussed is so necessary to effectual prevention of harmful price discriminations.

And there is another side to this problem that needs to be stressed. It is the individual responsibility each of us has to foster fair competitive opportunities by refusing to countenance harmful practices we know are taking place. And here I am talking to each one of you as an individual and not just to food brokers as a group.

Each of you is in a unique position in this respect. As sales agents of manufacturers, dealing with buyers of every size and description, you are in a strategic position to learn of violations almost from the moment of their inception.

As an example, one of your principals might send you a notice not to bother contacting a particular buyer because this account is to be handled directly. The principal offers no explanation, but you don't need one. The probabilities are this buyer has succeeded in arranging a special deal where he buys at a discount in lieu of brokerage. Not only you, but this favored buyer's competitors, are the victims of this practice. They cannot compete with such a disadvantage. The trouble is that other buyers do not know the supplier is cutting their throat.

Though you may be willing to accept this loss of brokerage philosophically, you must also consider each one of the nonfavored buyers who is being hurt.

Take even a worse example. You may be told by a principal that a certain large buyer is to get a preferential price not known or available to competing buyers. Perhaps the special preference may not be so blatant, for it may take the form of selling at a discount kept secret from others. There are all kinds of possibilities, and I dare say many in the audience here today could expand tenfold these few examples through your alert observations of daily events.

Now, I would like to get personal. I want to ask you as a legitimate and honest food broker what you do when you find unfair or illegal practices being used? You disapprove of them, of course, but that is not enough. Your duty doesn't stop there.

Suppose you are in your office some day and witness a bank being held up across the street. You stand there observing the event and notice the robbers are geting away in a car. You jot down the license number and make a note of the description of the car and the robbers. Now what do you do about it? Do you shrug your shoulders, comment on how terrible it is, and go back to work? Is that what you do, or do you immediately call the police and tell them all you know, offering your services in apprehending the criminals?

The analogy fits well because discriminations of the kind we are talking about are robbery and are more serious than a bank holdup. The bank is covered by insurance, but the food retailer has no insurance to compensate him for being denied the right of equality of opportunity to succeed in his business.

Can you, in good conscience, become a party to a discriminatory practice that leaves so much harm and destruction in its path? You may not be asked to become a participants in the perpetration of the wrong doing, but in many cases your acquiescence will be necessary to its success. In some instances all that is required of you is to look the other way, to remain silent and unconcerned. But is this all you would be doing? Obviously not. For each violation you overlook is another nail in the coffin of the Robinson-Patman Act. Have not the enemies of that act done enough damage without getting indirect support from its friends? Abraham Lincoln once said: "To sin by silence when they should protest makes cowards of men."

If you are interested in this law—and I know you are—you will do your part in seeing that it is properly and fairly enforced. You will see to it that all violations familiar to you are reported to the Federal Trade Commission regardless of who is involved. As a citizen whose duty it is to uphold the law you have the right to do this without discussing it with anyone. A letter, signed by you, containing a short and simple statement of the facts, with the name and address of the violator, is all that is needed. Send it direct to the Federal Trade Commission in Washington. Correspondence of this nature coming to the Commission is classed as confidential, and the law provides that unauthorized divulgence of information by an employee of the Commission is punishable by a fine, imprisonment, or both.

Even if passive acceptance is all you, as a broker, may be properly charged with, I cannot find anything that relieves you of your duty as a citizen to report the facts to the proper authorities. If you will do at least this much, you, as a part of the fraternity of food brokers, will be a part of a great moral force for good in the industry. Not only that, you will be admired and respected by the great majority.

All this requires is living up to the principles of fairness to all, privilege for none. On this basis the greatness of America is built. Let all of us, therefore, think and act in terms of our individual responsibility to preserve freedom of opportunity so all will have a fair and equal chance.

I do not wish to imply that most of the discriminations are carried on in lines handled by food brokers, for such is not the case. Generally, there is less discrimination in sales handled through brokers. In fact, without brokers and the great advances they have made in expanding their sales volume, the situation in the industry today would be much worse. Credit for this goes to you and your association, but I know and you know that the chiselers in this industry fear the brokerage section of the Robinson-Patman Act more than any other part of it. It is not conditioned by a lot of "ifs," ands," and "buts" like some other sections.

If you will help lead a crusade to recapture the lost territory, your supporters and followers will be legion. The issue is yours to face because of the position of trust you hold. Food brokers can become the greatest constructive force for fair play there is in the industry.

And right here and now—during this convention—is a wonderful opportunity for you to begin the campaign. Following this session you will meet with principles in many conferences. The Robinson-Patman Act affects the sales policies of each of them, and every manufacturer and processor should be just as interested in strengthening and enforcing the Robinson-Patman Act as "we" are.

You have an obligation to tell your principals how necessary it is that they vigorously and religiously observe the law and not look for loopholes by which to grant price discriminations. If they do not yet realize how important this act is to them, show them what it means to their own survival. You and I know that if they grant unfair discriminations it will boomerang, in time, and they will destroy themselves.

I cannot believe manufacturers and processors are completely unaware of the grave dangers to themselves from such discriminations. Surely they do not have to be told that it is the same large distributors who are granted discriminations that are putting in their own processing plants, and developing their own brands of merchandise. It is no secret that many of these large distributors are using the money they get from these illegal kickbacks to promote and advertise their own brands, which they pack in competition with the manufacturers and processors who are stupidly granting the discriminations. For these suppliers there is more at stake than saving equality of opportunity. Their own future is at stake. Unfortunately some of them do not see this clearly, and here is where you can render them a great service.

Have you pointed this out to your principals recently? It is your job to get over to them that at best price discriminations provide them with only temporary gains. Before the manufacturer knows it he is being sucked in deeper and deeper until there is no escape. No matter how large a manufacturer or processor may be, he cannot afford to disregard this dangerous threat—the food industry cannot afford it—the Nation cannot afford it. You can—and must—help prevent this growing cancer from destroying the food industry.

Thank you most sincerely for giving me this opportunity to speak to you.

Estonian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, February 24 was celebrated in the United States as Estonian Independence Day. Those valiant people have suffered under the yoke of the Communist tyranny since 1940, but the hope for their eventual liberation has been kept alive both in their homeland and throughout the free world.

I ask unanimous consent that a resolution adopted by the Estonian National Committee in the United States at a patriotic meeting held on the occasion of Estonian Independence Day be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK,
February 27, 1955.

We, Americans of Estonian descent and Estonian refugees, assembled on occasion of the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Estonia, are deeply concerned about the growing attitudes of complacency in the free world against the menace of Communist aggression.

Most of us have directly experienced the naked face of the Soviet quest for world domination which actually involves not only grasping rule over free nations, but is bound to result in the extinction of substantial parts of the subjugated populations. Therefore, it is not only our wish, but our duty, to point out the true extent of the ruthlessness of the Communist conquistadores, if they would succeed in their world domination, after having lulled the free nations, the American Nation among them, by their peace and coexistence propaganda or paralyzed them into concessions by threats about their alleged hydrogenic superiority.

The Special Report No. 3 by the Select Committee on Communist Aggression of the House of Representatives, titled "Communist Takeover and Occupation of Estonia," describes succinctly what went on in Estonia after the seizure of power by the Soviets.

"About 10,000 men, women, and children were arrested during one night (June 14, 1941) and sent in cattle cars to Siberia and northern Russia. This was to be only the beginning. • • • The biggest roundup of the population, however, occurred in March 1949. At least 30,000 to 40,000 persons were sent to slave-labor camps in remote regions. • • • It has been estimated by witnesses before the committee that during the 2 occupations

up to date, about 120,000 to 150,000 Estonians have been deported to the Soviet Union. * * * Thousands of people were plainly murdered and thrown into mass graves, often after tortures."

The population of Estonia before the Soviet conquest was roughly 1.2 million, and the first years of Soviet domination in other conquered countries have resulted in about the same percentage of victims (10–12.5 percent of population). In terms of the total population of the United States, it means that no less than 16 to 20 million persons would be practically annihilated here during the respective period of time.

These simple facts and figures are a grave warning. The question arises: Which requires more victims: the red terror or nuclear warfare?

In 1940 the Estonian Government and Parliament decided to meet the Soviet ultimatum demanding occupation of Estonian territory by the Red army in order to avoid war and unnecessary bloodshed. The result was worse than anticipated: More people were killed or deported by the Communists than the whole armed forces of Estonia taken together, and most of the statesmen themselves who made this decision were among the victims.

The forces of the Communist empire are growing daily, the development of heavy industry and war potential is going on at a much faster pace than in the free West, and is being accelerated. In order to aline their forces, the Soviet grip over satellized nations is being consolidated through continuing extinction of population and through indoctrination of youth. The day may come, when our nation who now is longing for liberation will be turned against the West as a part of the "monolithic" Soviet structure. Our experience tells us that as soon as the balance of power will become favorable to the Soviets, they will not hesitate to apply military forces against the West, if necessary.

Therefore we regard as our duty to recall, again and again, that a mere containment of Communist expansionism will not avert a final disaster for the free world, and that a more active policy against them should be pursued. Liberation of the Estonian as well as other Baltic and satellized peoples, which they are unable to achieve by themselves without outside help, is just one, but an integral part of such a more forceful policy against the successful buildup of Communist power in general, an integral part of a policy which we regard to be also of vital interest to this country.

Congressional Committee Rules and Red Witnesses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Committees Can Change Their Rules, but Red Witnesses Are Always the Same," published in the Saturday Evening Post of recent date.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMITTEES CAN CHANGE THEIR RULES, BUT RED WITNESSES ARE ALWAYS THE SAME

Sometimes it is said that we ought to create some tribunal as lofty and unassailable as a British Royal Commission to replace congressional committees as probers of Red infiltration. The comrades show less enthusiasm for this idea than they once did, since the Canadian Royal Commission rooted out the Dominion's Reds with no more compunction than a gardener trapping moles.

Australia now has a Royal Commission investigating Soviet espionage and its connection with domestic Communists as an aftermath of the Petrov case. The distinguished commissioners are making a noble effort to carry on in the Liberal tradition, with public hearings. How are they making out? The London Times reported this passage from the testimony of W. H. Bird, Victoria, secretary of a seamen's union:

"Mr. BIRD. I have come here to tell you what I know, without this boy (indicating Mr. Pape, junior counsel to the Royal Commission) interrupting me all the time. * * *

"Mr. PAPE. You are here to answer questions, not to talk.

"Mr. BIRD. Dry up. I know what I have to say without you telling me.

"Seamen in the gallery began to applaud, calling out, 'Good on you, Bill.' The commissioners retired to allow the gallery to be cleared, amid calls of 'This is a free country,' 'You can't take it,' 'You're a lot of cowards.'"

If it all sounds familiar, it is because the method used by the party to disrupt social institutions is the same in every case and every country.

They've been doing it for years. In November 1928, at Zagreb, Yugoslavia, one Josip Broz went on trial for Communist agitation and propaganda, contrary to the law of the realm. The defendant told the presiding judge arrogantly: "I do not recognize the bourgeois court of justice, because I consider myself responsible only to my Communist Party."

When he was sentenced to 5 years and led away by the guards, there was the standard shouting match, joined by supporters in the packed audience. Broz, of course, is now better known as Marshal Tito, and the interesting fact is that his official biography cites this as one of the glorious episodes in his career.

There isn't much you can do with Communists except let them yell. But it would be a mistake to amend our procedures to make their obstructive tactics easier.

Why the Navy Needs the "Forrestal" Type Aircraft Carrier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of the Navy Charles E. Thomas when appearing before the House Armed Services Committee March 7, made the following statement concerning the Navy's fiscal year 1956 shipbuilding program.

While his statement covers the shipbuilding program in general, his reasons as to why the Navy needs additional *Forrestal* type aircraft carriers should be of interest to all persons concerned in that type of a national defense designed to meet any type of aggression that may concern our national security. Secretary Thomas' statement follows:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE CHARLES S. THOMAS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, BEFORE THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, REGARDING H. R. 4393

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, Admiral Duncan, Admiral Leggett, and I are here today to outline the Navy's fiscal year 1956 shipbuilding program and to give your committee reasons and justifications for it.

At the outset, I wish to note, as indicated in section 2 of H. R. 4393, that the proposed legislation does not grant increased shipbuilding or ship conversion authority to the Navy beyond that already authorized by law. This bill would simply indicate the approval of the committee and the Congress for this specific program. In this bill, the committee would give us a bill of particulars.

On the occasion of my recent appearance before your committee, I stated that President Eisenhower had indicated that the fundamental policy of the Department of Defense (which Admiral Carney, General Shepherd, and I fully and unequivocally support) is to prepare a military program which is adequate, balanced, and long ranged. A program which will prevent war if possible, which will meet a variety of military contingencies and, at the same time, a program which our national economy can support indefinitely.

The naval part of this 1956 program, I feel, meets these demanding requirements, and provides for a strong and balanced Navy and Marine Corps that will have the highest degree of combat readiness and flexibility for discharging our peacetime missions and worldwide commitments, and for carrying out our important tasks if war should occur.

In any size or type of war which can now be foreseen, the need of a strong and adequate United States Navy is more essential than it has ever been before. We must have command of the seas so that we can consolidate our strengths with those of our friends and allies. We must always be able to cross the seas to supply our industrial machine—still the free world's arsenal—with the many critical raw materials we need. We must have a Navy for transporting our armies overseas and for keeping them supplied. We must control the oceans in order to operate and supply our worldwide network of bases. And most important, we must be able to exploit the seas to keep the conflict away from our shores, and to carry the fight into the enemy's own territory.

One of the major and vital parts of that naval program is the procurement and conversion of combat ships. In these days of rapid progress in fields such as atomic propulsion, guided missiles, metallurgy, plastics, and shipbuilding techniques, ordering a combat ship demands much foresight on the part of the planners to insure that the vessels which they design are superior and advanced in the technical, naval, and engineering fields. To provide this superiority, our planners must not only anticipate the period of the ship's construction, as much as 3 or 4 years, but must also calculate the adaptability and potential of each type vessel during its life span of about 20 years.

Moreover, the naval needs of a quarter century in advance must also be foreseen with as much vision and wisdom as we can command. For this difficult task, the best—perhaps the only—parameters are experience, logic, and ingenuity. Careful weighing of the many diverse factors of national strategy,

probable naval requirements, technical advancements, budgetary limitations, relationship to other military programs must be taken into account in arriving at a decision.

I assure you that all such factors have been most thoroughly and carefully reviewed by Admiral Carney, Admiral Duncan, and myself, and others in authority, in the presentation of this shipbuilding and conversion program for your consideration. I consider it a vital, sound, and well conceived one. This program also carries the President's approval.

The shipbuilding program for fiscal 1956 can be summarized by reference to four types of ships—the carrier, the cruiser, the destroyer, and the submarine. I will take each one of these in turn.

The Navy is requesting a fifth aircraft carrier of the *Forrestal* type; we are also requesting authority to improve six of our older carriers by conversion.

This carrier program is essential for several reasons. First of all, new carriers are needed as replacements for World War II carriers which are now 13 and 14 years old. A ship has a life of about 20 years, so beginning in 1960 until 1965, we will be reaching the economical limit of their service. This carrier-construction program is a plan to gradually replace our older ships over an extended period.

Secondly, the fleets are now beginning to receive several types of new and larger jet aircraft whose full performance and potential can only be achieved from these modern carrier bases. The new *Forrestals* will have the stronger and larger landing areas, including the angled deck, increased hangar-deck heights, improved steam catapults and faster elevators, stronger arresting gear, and many other new features such as better fire-fighting and damage-control ability. The new families of jet aircraft, such as the A3D, a very advanced attack aircraft weighing 70,000 pounds, the A4D, an equally advanced but light attack aircraft, and several excellent fighter aircraft, such as the F4D and the F9F9, go hand in glove with our newest model carriers which have been specifically designed to operate and accommodate such modern, high performance planes. We are reaching the point, so to speak, where the suit of clothes we bought some 12–15 years ago is getting to be a tight fit for the growing young man of jet naval aviation.

But the most important reason is that our aircraft carriers—which are the key units of our naval task forces—are absolutely essential to the successful execution of our naval missions, and to the security of the country, either in cold war, fringe war, or nuclear war.

In this present period of prolonged tension, the value of having a potent offensive navy, built around our carrier forces, was recently seen in the Tachens operation. In the troubled waters around Formosa—far removed from our normal naval bases, in an area where our fixed air bases are also limited, and 7,000 miles from our homeland—the importance of having our mobile carrier forces move into the threatened area to reinforce our national policy and to prevent trouble was, I am sure, readily apparent to all. I am confident that the continued presence of our naval task forces in the Formosa area is an effective brake and a great deterrent to the outbreak of general war, giving us time to work diligently for a real peace in the Far East.

The importance of carrier forces during a fringe or local war is best illustrated by the recent Korean war. I will not dwell on this, for I am sure the gentlemen of this committee are very familiar with the 3 years of unremitting and invaluable work which our naval task forces accomplished there. The Navy and Marine Corps flew approximately 183,000 sorties in Korea, totaling 412,000 flying hours from carrier decks.

As for having carriers during an all-out nuclear war, their value and capabilities are even greater. As a matter of fact, I am firmly convinced that a nuclear war would make our carrier forces even more indispensable than they have ever been before.

In a nuclear war, the first task of any air force will be to destroy the opponent's air power at its sources. It is logical to assume that our retaliation system—our planes, our weapon sites, and our bases—would receive the enemy's initial onslaught.

Therefore the integrity and security of our airbase system, from whence our reprisal originates, assume the very highest priority in our defense planning. Ideally our base system should be a combination of both fixed air bases, continental and overseas, and moving air bases. The fixed air bases of the Air Force are designed, and properly so, to carry out the primary mission of strategic air warfare. The moving air bases of the Navy, which are the modern aircraft carriers, serve to carry out the Navy's vital tasks and to complement the fixed bases in order to make our reprisal system varied, versatile, and invulnerable.

Our moving carrier bases make it impossible for any enemy to completely destroy or neutralize our reprisal system in a sneak attack because he can never be sure of their locations. A balanced system of our primary fixed bases, complemented by our moving carrier bases, makes an aggressor uncertain that a blitz attack would succeed. No matter how powerful or pervasive his attack upon it, there will still be a sufficient punch left to devastate him. A partially successful enemy blitz of our retaliation system is tantamount to his suicide.

I am sometimes asked, usually by members of the press, 3 questions about the *Forrestal* carriers concerning their (1) vulnerability, their (2) state of development, and their (3) ultimate use which I think are fair ones, which are pertinent to this shipbuilding program, and which may be in the minds of some of the members of this committee.

Are not the *Forrestals* so vulnerable, I am asked, as to make it infeasible to build them? My answer is "no," because they are extremely difficult to destroy, even with an atomic bomb. Yes, a *Forrestal* can be hit. Any target can be hit under the right conditions. But it is patently obvious that a target moving at speeds up to 40 miles per hour, which can change its location 500 miles in a day, is a harder one to find, to hit, and to destroy than one which cannot move. Finding a carrier task force in the great wastes of an ocean is not an easy task even in these days of electronic magic. Even when it is found, attacking it would be very hazardous. Enemy planes would have to penetrate concentric circles of electronic warning curtains, overcome formidable jet fighter protection, and survive a guided missile and antiaircraft barrage before reaching their release point.

Moreover, the fast moving task force would be operating under dispersal conditions so that even a mass destruction weapon could neutralize but a small part of the force. Individual ships of the fleet might be neutralized, but it is highly unlikely that the task force could be kept from doing its job. Furthermore, the presence of our carriers in proximity to an aggressor's land will force him to divert his own offensive strength to defend against their power (which might otherwise be used against our homeland or fixed bases) and will also dilute his defenses; for he must anticipate attack from every direction from the seas which surround him.

The next question raised regarding the *Forrestals* concerns their state of development. Shouldn't a moratorium be called while these new ships are tested and evaluated? This question presumes that the carrier is an untested vessel, a new type which should be evaluated. My reply is that the aircraft carrier weapons system is a fully tested, repeatedly evaluated, and an oft-proven weapons system, that the new *Forrestals* are simply a logical and progressive step in the Navy's art of building aircraft carriers. We firmly know what they are capable of doing, and we must have them if we are to keep our fleets modern and capable of handling advanced aircraft essential to the fulfillment of the Navy's mission.

And finally, the question is asked, How does the Navy plan to use these ships which will be able to carry large attack and fighter planes capable of transporting nuclear weapons to targets more than 1,000 miles from their flight deck? The answer to that is that the Navy has many legitimate naval targets for which we need such a weapons system—such targets as submarine pens, shipping concentrations, shipbuilding activities, airfield bases, and other targets which jeopardize our command of the seas. Moreover, in the NATO theater, the Navy has been given certain collateral tasks to further prosecute the air battle and assigned certain specific tasks to support the land battle. In no sense does the Navy compete or infringe upon the field of strategic air warfare which is properly the primary responsibility of the United States Air Force.

In summary, then, a fifth *Forrestal* will add to our potent carrier weapons system which is the very foundation of our naval striking power. Without this carrier weapons system, it would be impossible to carry out the Navy's last mission to control the seas. The best military and civilian talent in the Department of Defense, and the President, have approved the building of a carrier this fiscal year as a proper requirement, and I strongly urge your appoval.

Turning briefly now to the other types of ships, we are requesting the conversion of one light cruiser and one destroyer to equip them with guided missile capabilities in order to make effective our guided missile progress. We are also requesting one nonatomic submarine with a guided missile capability. As you know, two guided missile cruisers—the *Boston* and *Canberra*—are virtually complete and will be joining the fleets this year. All of these ships, which are fundamentally prototypes, are indicative of the Navy of tomorrow. In the guided missile field, the Navy is just now crossing the threshold into a field which promises to revolutionize navies as much as did the discovery of gunpowder.

We are also requesting 13 destroyer types—7 destroyers and 6 frigates." The frigate is a destroyer type, somewhat larger, with better sea-keeping qualities, and with heavier antisubmarine and antiaircraft defenses. These 13 destroyer types being requested are replacements for the hardworking, versatile, and indispensable workhorses of our Navy.

And finally, the submarines. As you know, the modern submarine is a very potent offensive weapon as well as an effective defensive weapon. We foresee that as a guided missile platform, the nuclear submarine with its almost unlimited range, can appear over the horizon or emerge from the depths of the ocean, and send missiles of great destruction great distances with deadly accuracy. Eight submarines are included in the program, 3 nuclear powered ones, 4 conventional ones, and the one I mentioned earlier which will have a guided missile capability. We have been encouraged by the excellent progress of the atomic-powered *Nautilus*, and we are progressing as rapidly as is practicable in this very promising field. However, we do not feel justified in waiting for final completion of this development to request these submarine replacements. The requested four conventional submarines, we feel, with their improved power plants, armament and hull structures, will not become obsolescent during their normal life span.

In summary, I believe the naval program for fiscal 1956 is sound. Throughout our country's history, naval power has always been an indispensable factor in carrying out United States policy in peacetime and in achieving victory in wartime. It is no less important and vital today. In the nuclear era now upon us, I am convinced that the talents of a Navy are even more necessary than ever before.

Scott McLeod Replies to AVC Refugees Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, the February issue of the American Veterans Committee bulletin carried an article under the heading "Scott McLeod Replies to AVC Refugees Resolution." This seems to be the other side of the story previously inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN]. In order that the RECORD may be complete, I ask unanimous consent to have the article published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCOTT MCLEOD REPLIES TO AVC REFUGEES RESOLUTION

(NOTE.—On February 9, Senator HERBERT LEHMAN, of New York, introduced into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the resolution adopted by AVC's 8th national convention condemning the State Department for its failure to effectively implement the Refugee Act of 1953. In immediate response, AVC received a letter from Scott McLeod, the act's administrator, excerpts from which appear below.)

When the resolution was adopted the Refugee Relief Act had been passed some 15 to 16 months, yet the reference in the resolution was to the "first 10 months." The first 10 months of the program were admittedly difficult. We took off from a standing start, since this Bureau had no previous experience in such work. The act is very involved legislation. It required international agreement before we could start in any of the countries. There were problems of staffing and of working accommodations overseas. In providing for safeguards in the national interest, the Congress wrote into the act requirements that resulted in administrative hurdles. These could be reduced only after a period of operating experience.

The tooling-up process was not an easy one. But experience was a good teacher, as usual, and we have now put behind us the major difficulties. • • •

I have been well aware that a speed-up has been needed in issuance of visas under the act, and I can assure you it is now being attained.

INCREASE IN VISAS

Illustrating this is the fact that of the more than 25,000-visa cases that have been processed, 20,000 visas have been issued in the program to date, and 38 percent of these have been issued in the last 90 days. In addition, 51,000 applications are now in some stage of processing, which is an increase of 10,000 within a 30-day period.

This is not exactly a minute total, the word used in the committee statement. Nor does the current tempo of the program indicate failure in attaining the objectives of the law if United States citizen assurances for refugees are forthcoming. We are not yet at the halfway point in the 40-month life of the program. There are still 22 months ahead of us within the statutory limits of the program.

So, you see, with some 75,000 persons having entered the "pipeline"—applicants notified of documents required—there is marked progress toward the numerical halfway mark in the program, considering the 209,000 total admissions set by the act. • • •

ADMINISTRATOR'S JOB

As Administrator of the Refugee Relief Act I consider my job, and the job of my staff, to be that of assisting intelligent, hard-working, healthy aliens, who are free of criminal and subversive taints, to migrate to this country. All of us in the program, as citizens and taxpayers, have the common duty to make certain that the best interests of the United States are safeguarded. Within the limits of administrative discretion we are bound to act not upon personal inclination but upon the broader concepts of humanitarianism and patriotism.

This operating policy of mine, I trust, will ease the concern of those, who, in the language of your resolution, have felt there is a disregard for the expressed will of the Congress and the President of the United States.

Resolution of Lithuanian-Americans of the City of Kenosha, Wis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. McCARTHY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the Lithuanian Americans of the city of Kenosha, Wis., commemorating the 37th anniversay of the Declaration of Independence of Lithuania.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

These following resolutions are for adoption at a mass meeting of the Lithuanian Americans of the city of Kenosha, Wis., gathered for the purpose of commemorating the 37th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Lithuania:

"Whereas Lithuania with her 700-year-old history, tradition, language, and religious customs; and

"Whereas the people of Lithuania during these 700 historial years, have time and again fought aggressors to defend her freedom, have shed their blood to prove to the world that Lithuania as a nation is worthy of self-government; and

"Whereas Lithuania, together with her neighbors, Latvia and Estonia, make up a population of 6 million people, have wholeheartedly and sincerely defended the principles of western democracy; and

"Whereas the Baltic Democratic Republics, these past 15 years, enslaved by Hitler and Stalin, have been subjected to torture and death; and

"Whereas the citizens of Lithuania, placing their faith in the Atlantic Charter and in world peace, today face tragedy, and wholesale massacre by the thousands, and also deportation to the slave camps of Siberia; and

"Whereas Lithuanian freedom being dissolved by the Communists, her religious beliefs persecuted, and tens of thousands of her loyal subjects scattered throughout the world, homeless: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That loyal Americans of Lithuanian descent of Kenosha, Wis., having carefully reviewed the events and being well aware of the graveness of the present international situation and concerned over the fate of the Lithuanian nation, pledge all possible support to the Government of these United States in its effort to achieve the principles of justice and freedom for all the nations, great or small; be it further

"Resolved, That the Lithuanian Americans of Kenosha, Wis., pledge the Government of the United States:

"1. That the servitude of the Baltic States be further held as an act of aggression, and to accept and recognize only the democratic diplomats in this country.

"2. To support this country's resistance movement by information and organization.

"3. To help carry on and conclude the testimones of the Committee on Communist Aggression.

"4. To make known to the United States the Baltic States Aggression Act.

"5. To recognize the Genocide Convention, thereby concluding defenseless people wholesale massacres.

"6. To accept Kersten's committee findings as a sharp weapon against Communistic propaganda; to propagate the enslaved people's plea through the press, so that political leaders throughout the world would awaken and realize the dangers of communism, and act by liberating these people from their aggressors. Silence only urges Communists on to more barbarous acts by subjugating other nations and by tearing down democratic principles.

"Resolved, That this meeting of the Lithuanian Americans of Kenosha, Wis., express their deepest gratitude to the Federal Government and both Houses of Congress of the United States for their support constantly extended to the cause of independence of Lithuania."

California Fights Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD some recent correspondence I have had with the Honorable Edmund G. Brown, attorney general of California, whose continuous efforts to combat crime, especially as it exists in California, are highly commendable. His proposed legislation, as detailed in the following correspondence, if adopted, will provide, I believe, thorough and effective weapons against organized crime, and should make the State of California one of the progressive leaders in our war against crime.

Without hesitation, I would commend to law-enforcement agencies in other States all of Attorney General Brown's

proposed legislation, particularly that portion which recommends the coordination of State crime activities with local law-enforcement agencies, crime commissions, State and Federal officials, and agencies, as well as the proposed mutual exchange of information concerning activities of reported criminals, racketeers, and their associates.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
San Francisco, February 21, 1955.

Hon. ESTES KEFAUVER,
United States Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KEFAUVER: Your recent letter addressed to H. G. Robinson has been called to my attention.

I appreciate receiving your comments on the legislation which has been proposed to amend the California Penal Code to provide for surveys of local enforcement and for the establishment and operation of intelligence files.

After the lengthy and detailed studies which have been made of the matter by the United States Senate Crime Committee, the American Bar Association committee on organized crime and the California Crime Study Commission on Organized Crime and the unanimity of the recommendations made by these groups it is appropriate that those recommendations be implemented by appropriate legislation at State level. California, as you have found in investigations by the Senate Crime Committee, has been in the forefront in the matter of crime control and, as attorney general of this State, being charged with maintaining uniform law enforcement, it is requisite that everything be done to keep enforcement in this State at the highest attainable standard.

In further explanation it can be stated that during the past 3 years the work of our Bureau of Criminal Statistics has been strengthened and expanded. The results of this work have been published in two reports, Crime in California 1952 and Crime in California 1953, copies of which are being forwarded under separate cover. Further improvement in our statistical reporting has been programed during the coming year.

A good system of statistical reporting can measure and define the nature and scope of the crime problem but as worth while and necessary as this function is, it requires a further step to explore the factors giving rise to the statistics tabulated. Manpower, equipment, and training deficiencies resulting from unrealistic and budget conscious city administrators all have a material bearing on the general crime picture despite the common practice on the part of the public to relate crime trends to spiritual, moral, or economic factors. Until further survey functions make it possible to probe the underlying factors, there is no realistic way of completely interpreting or evaluating even the most accurate statistics on crime.

Your interest in this legislation and your valued comments are appreciated. Considering your leadership in the field of crime prevention and your continuing interest in this vitally important field, you will perhaps agree that the following acrostic suggests a more objective spelling out of the crime picture:

C-ongressional
R-ecommendations
I-mplemented by State legislation to
M-odernize and strengthen
E-nforcement efforts.

Sincerely yours,

EDMUND G. BROWN,
Attorney General.

FEBRUARY 15, 1955.

Mr. H. G. ROBINSON, Esq.,
Deputy Director, Division of Criminal Law Enforcement, San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR ROBBIE: I have read with great interest your letter of February 9, 1955, containing the proposed legislation to be introduced by Attorney General Brown, which I feel should make effective, the recommendations approved by the United States Senate Crime Committee, the American Bar Association Committee on Organized Crime, and the suggestions contained in the attorney general's two proposed amendments to the California Penal Code, appeal to me, particularly those that recommend the coordination of your State crime activities with local law enforcement agencies, crime commissions, State and Federal officials and agencies, as well as the proposed mutual exchange of information concerning activities of reported criminals, racketeers and their associates.

Your proposed legislation, if adopted without any crippling amendments, should very materially strengthen you law-enforcement machinery, and I am hopeful that other States may emulate the splendid steps that California is taking to combat crime.

With kindest personal regards to Attorney General Brown, yourself, and all other friends in California, I am,

Sincerely yours,

ESTES KEFAUVER,
United States Senate.

The $20 Handout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, recently an editorial appeared in the New York Times which clearly sets forth the issues of the proposed $20 tax cut. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include it in the RECORD:

THE $20 HANDOUT

The refusal of the Senate Finance Committee to accept the $20-a-person tax handout pushed through last week by the Democrats of the House is a victory for responsible fiscal policy; but it is a victory that is still a long way from being clinched. The administration, and those Democrats and Republicans who also believe in a realistic and equitable tax policy conforming to the actual financial position of the Government, will have to stand firm and fight hard on this dangerous political issue.

The $20 tax handout is thoroughly bad for a number of reasons. It would result in a major loss of revenue at a time when the budget is still unbalanced. But, say its Democratic proponents, this is an unfair and partisan argument because the Republican administration itself takes credit for a reduction of $7.4 billions in taxes last year, when the budget was also unbalanced. The answer is twofold: (1) Those cuts came at a time when the economy seemed to be faltering, and they were, except for the excise reductions, part of an orderly tax plan designed to stimulate business activity in conjunction with a shrinking Federal deficit; (2) the cuts in excise taxes, amounting to about $1 billion, were not asked for and were in fact opposed, though ultimately accepted by the administration.

The tax handout is also bad because it is a blatant effort to purchase the political goodwill of the estimated 5 million persons whom it would remove altogether from the Federal income-tax rolls. While obviously the rich can, should and do pay more income tax than the poor, it is still true that as broadly based an income tax as possible is sound public policy from the standpoint both of obtaining revenue and of reminding al of us that we have a direct financial as well as political stake in the economic stability of our Government. Furthermore, this particular handout is bad because it was not adequately considered by the House that approved it; it formed part of no coherent tax proposal; it was, on the contrary, thrown in by Speaker RAYBURN at almost the last minute as a transparent effort to anticipate a potential—though by no means assured—Republican-sponsored tax cut next year.

The tax handout is bad because it lends itself so easily to promoting the demagogic claim that last year's reductions were all for "the big fellow" while this one is for "the little fellow." The very first tax cut last year was the approximate 10 percent slash in income taxes of some 50 million individuals. It is perfectly true that the corporation excess profits tax also expired at the same time, but this law had been extended, and at the President's urgent request, 6 months beyond its original expiration date. Many features of the general tax revision of 1954 were directed toward improving the lot of the individual taxpayer. In addition, the present tax bill calls for a continuation of existing high corporate tax rates as well as some excise taxes; so that it is simply a distortion of the fact to say that in its tax philosophy the administration has looked out only for the "big fellow." Most important of all to the "little fellow," the price level is stable. Absence of inflation is infinitely more beneficial to the "little fellow's" pocketbook than absence of taxes.

We do not say that the administration's tax policy is perfect. Such matters, for example, as the very large depletion allowances so dear to the hearts of certain Texas Democrats bear much sharper examination. Nor do we say that politics has been absent from the Republican side of the fence, for it certainly has not. But the $20 deduction is politics pure and simple, it has no place in the present revenue-raising (or any other) bill, and it happens to be a Democratic measure backed by the official Democratic leadership of both Houses. We do not see how anyone of either party who believes in fiscal responsibility can continue to support it.

Weekly Radio Program of Dean Clarence E. Manion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. McCARTHY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of the weekly radio program of Dean Clarence E. Manion, broadcast No. 21, of February 20, 1955.

There being no objection, the program was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WANTED: A PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

Behind the Iron Curtain the Communist world is in convulsions. Mao Tse-tung is dying of cancer. A struggle is on for his job as No. 1 man of the Chinese Communist

Party. Chou En-lai, the odds-on favorite to succeed to the top spot, has formidable and ruthless opposition. Thus Chou has much more important work on his hands these days than that which shapes up for him in the Formosa Straits. Chinese Red Army generals, sensing a shift in the direction of the political wind, are showing warlord symptoms. This is the old Chinese military ambition to boss and squeeze tribute from their own local provinces and let it go at that. Once this symptom becomes a contagious disease, the Chinese Communist conspiracy is finished.

Basic in this political turmoil is the Chinese food situation. Rice rations in Communist China were recently cut one-third. As the food supply diminishes, Communist brutality is proportionately increased. The one old-fashioned way to weld all this interior disintegration into disciplined unity is to incite fear of destruction from without. To this end Chinese Communist propagandists are busy reviving memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where uncounted thousands of brown men were cooked to a crisp by two small bombs dropped on them by white men from the United States. Such disturbance as Chou En-lai can create and exploit over Formosa and the fear of American hydrogen bombs will be used to restore disciplined unity to his wavering generals and force fearful docility upon the starving, terrorized Chinese people. Across Manchuria and on into Communist Russia it is the same critical story, but with much more open evidence to support it.

In Moscow, a Foreign Minister is not now recalled nor is a mere chief of police arrested for subsequent trial and liquidation. For this sort of thing there is a long list of Communist precedents. For what has actually happened in Moscow there is no precedent. Like a bolt out of the blue, the King himself announces that "the King is dead," and by his own hand. King Malenkov says he is unworthy to reign any longer because he has miserably failed. In what field? Foreign relations? Military management? No. He has failed to properly organize Russion agricultural production. Failure of agricultural production means food shortage. There is hunger in Russia and it is going to get worse.

Could that ominous fact have been more graphically demonstrated than it was in Malenkov's resignation? The commissars can successfully deceive the Russian people on the subject of Communist foreign policy, or about the strength of the Red army, or the quality and quantity of their hydrogen bomb, but on the subject of available food, no deception is possible. When food rations are cut, every Russian learns about it the hard way. When the people's stomachs are empty they can't be filled by Communist propaganda in the United Nations, or by Red parades around the Kremlin. Many times during the past 35 years the Russian people have been hungry, very hungry. But never before has the famine been serious enough to make the commissars cook up and serve their Premier to the people. This has happened now.

Malenkov is a fat goat certainly for the fires of popular discontent, but he is an extremely dangerous sacrifice for the commissars to offer. Remember that the hard core of world-wide Communist discipline is the fixation that the king can do no wrong; that the dictator cannot make a mistake; that the Communist Party line as it flows out of his dictatorial power and wisdom is supreme over the order of reason, experience, or the plain evidence supplied by the psysical senses. This hypnotic spell of blind Communist obedience is brilliantly portrayed in Arthur Koestler's book Darkness at Noon. (Random House, 1951.) Malenkov's sensational announcement has shattered this thesis for all time.

Some years ago, under orders from Moscow, Earl Browder publicly confessed error and expelled himself as the commander of the Communist Party in the United States. Even that tiny piece of revelation was hard for some American fellow-travelers to swallow. Beria's liquidation was released to the public 1 inch at a time, and thus, however hypocritical, was nevertheless capable of containment within the iron mould of Communist discipline. Malenkov's suicidal announcement has cracked this iron mould to its very center. Communist discipline, inside and outside of Russia, will never be the same again.

Like Chou En-lai, first Molotov, then Konev promptly screamed about impending American aggression upon the Russian Motherland. Said these commissars in substance: "We may have failed to produce food but we are your only hope against otherwise certain destruction by American bombs. Better to starve slowly than to be blown to bits any minute. Forget your bourgeoisie appetites. Tighten your belts with Russian patriotism." Then concludes Konev: "Our army represents a mighty force. If the Imperialists dare to attack our Motherland, the Soviet armed forces have at their disposal all kinds of weapons for the complete defeat of the aggressors."

To whom is Konev speaking? Is any outside listener so naive as to believe that this balderdash was spoken to deter a military attack upon Russia by the United States? Soviet agriculture may have broken down, but the Soviet American-based spy system is as good as ever. From it Konev knows as well as we do that the United States will never attack Russia until Russia has attacked us. But the Russian people do not know that, and Konev and Molotov were talking to the same Russian people to whom Malenkov made his suicidal confession. Malenkov, Molotov, and Konev were all speaking to the same audience and for exactly the same purpose. The one purpose of all three speeches was to quiet the hungry, rebellious Russian people, and control them with deliberately manufactured fear—fear of the United States. For this purpose Konev accused what he called American imperialists of surrounding Russia with bases for atomic warfare.

This latest Moscow show is the most transparent exhibition that the Soviet gangsters have ever staged. Through this hypocritical bombast the truth is clearly and officially revealed to the world. The truth is this: The Soviet governors are literally scared to death of the Russian people. In his time, that flint-hearted old bandit, Joe Stalin, took care of similar situations with mass murder and systematic starvation. His uncertain successors lack the nerve and perhaps the facilities to follow his example. In the current Communist command nobody can trust anybody any more—even to carry out an order of execution.

The Soviet gangsters are panic stricken. Make no mistake about it, if they decide that war is the only way to whip their rebellious subjects into line, behind the faltering Communist command, they will provoke war. Meanwhile, they will continue to wash the brains of their hungry, bedeviled slaves with the repeated assertion that American bombs and worldwide military bases are designed to destroy the Russian people, and that the hour of their planned destruction is close at hand.

What have we done to counteract the effect of this propaganda? Precisely nothing. Officially, we ignore the conflict between the Soviet Government and the Russian people; a conflict that is now openly disclosed by the Soviet Government itself. Unfortunately, our professed hope now seems to be that President Eisenhower's one-time friendship for General Zhukov will give us a few more years of unheated cold war.

This is the hypocritical nonsense of coexistence magnified a thousand times. Through 10 years of cold—and sometimes not so cold—war with the Soviet Government, we have refused to express one official word of sympathy for the more than 15 million Russians who are continuously subjected to slow and painful death in Soviet slave-labor camps. Officially, we have not deplored the fact that the Russians, throughout their history a devoutly religious people, are now deprived of the right to worship God by their viciously materialistic Communist masters. The natural rights which dignify all mankind and which American government recognizes as unalienable and God-given, have been torn from the Russian people by a ruthless dictatorship forced upon them against their will.

This is the same Soviet Government which for 15 years the United States refused to recognize as lawful and respectable. Then, just when it was ready to collapse, we took this gangster apparatus to our bosom and hold it there even now, while it tries in every way to stab us in the back. We have outlawed communism in the United States and we have spent billions in relatively fruitless efforts to prevent the spread of its contagion around the world, but we have not expressed one official word of concern for the 800 million human victims of communism, in spite of our serious official responsibility for their plight.

Let us not forget that it was our recognition of the Soviet Government and our subsequent concessions to that monstrous clique of cutthroats at Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam, that sold most of these same people into this diabolical system of slavery. To date, we have never had the decency to ask their forgiveness nor have we repudiated the agreements that sealed their doom. At this point it is no longer a mere matter of human decency; it is a matter of American self-preservation. Unless we get the truth to the Iron Curtain people immediately, their panic-stricken, power-mad dictators may soon pull the trigger that will end our world. The time has come to prove our good intentions, not to the criminal Communist governments, but to the millions of bruised and bleeding human beings now held in unlawful bondage by Chou En-lai, Khrushchev, and company.

We have heard from Messrs. Molotov, Konev, and Malenkov. Now let us hear again from Nikolai Kokhlov, for years a captain of the Russian secret police. Kokhlov, you will remember, was sent from Russia by the Soviet Government to supervise the killing of Georgei Okolovich, the leader of the anti-Communist Russian underground in West Germany. Instead of carrying out his mission, Kokhlov exposed the plot, deserted the Communists, joined the revolutionary forces, and is now working for them in the United States. Interviewed by the Brooklyn Tablet last February 5, Kokhlov said: "It is my firm belief that if the Christian world would strongly and openly support the fight for freedom of the Russian people, a war could be prevented. Let the Russian people know that the free world does not hate them. Let them know that the free world is aware of and sympathizes with their sufferings and that it would welcome their becoming free from their tyrannical regime."

It is just as serious and yet just as simple as that. The ice was broken a few weeks ago, when the Texas House and Senate passed a stirring resolution of sympathy and hope for the suffering Russian people. Hurrah for Texas. Every State legislature now in session should do the same, but the die will not be definitely cast until Congress calls upon the President to set aside an official day of prayer and sympathetic sacrifice dedicated to all the hungry people behind the Iron Curtain whom we have so grievously offended. Let us offer—not to their gangster

governments—but to these hungry, suffering people directly the surplus grains with which our Federal granaries are now bulging. Only such a congressional resolution and a subsequent Presidential proclamation can break the curtain of silence that the Communists have thrown about their now rebellious slaves.

This is that precise "tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads to fortune," but which, if ignored, will drown civilization in war and endless misery. We have made every mistake in the book. Let us now do right for a change.

The Historical Development of the Conference Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, conference committees of the two branches of Congress have often been referred to as the "Third House" of Congress. This designation arises from the fact that when the House and Senate have worked their will on a legislative proposal, particularly of a controversial nature, conference committees have often reshaped such legislation and thereby developed a very substantial influence on the whole course of legislation.

It has often occurred to me that the historical development of the conference committee and its powers would be of special interest to all members of the House and Senate, and accordingly some time ago I requested the Library of Congress to make a documented study of this matter. This deserves consideration not only in government but by students of political science throughout the country.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD because I am confident it will be useful to students of political science, useful in science courses, and useful to Members of Congress and others.

There being no objection, the document was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE THIRD HOUSE OF CONGRESS

Now that the Federal Government has come to have an intimate impact upon the life and work of all of us, it is important for us to understand how the laws are made which influence our daily lives. Books have been written to describe the process of lawmaking. All I can do here is to hit the high spots of the legislative process as I have observed it work in Congress.

STAGES IN LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

From the introduction of a bill in the Senate or House of Representatives to its proclamation as the law of the land, there are 28 stages in the process of lawmaking. These steps are described in detail by Congressman CLARENCE CANNON in his authoritative manual of parliamentary procedure. The process begins when a Member drops a bill in a basket or "hopper" on the Clerk's desk on the floor of the House. Senate bills may be jointly sponsored by several Senators, but House bills may not be introduced jointly.

After its introduction, the bill is referred by the Parliamentarian to the committee which has jurisdiction over its major subject matter. There are 15 standing committees in the Senate and 19 in the House, set up along roughly parallel lines. The jurisdiction of these committees is defined in the rules to cover every conceivable subject of legislation. The clerk of the committee receiving the bill enters it on his committee calendar which is a schedule or docket showing the number of the bill, by whom presented, date of reference, title, subcommittee to which referred, and any action thereon.

The first major stage in the legislative process is the committee stage. Some committees have regular meeting days; others meet only at the call of the chairman. When the committee meets, the calendar is called by the clerk and a particular bill taken up for consideration. If the bill is important, it may be referred to a subcommittee, appointed by the chairman, for study. Where a matter is deemed to be of sufficient importance, and the committee or subcommittee desires information on the subject, hearings are held and witnesses are called, or may ask to be heard, to give testimony. A day is fixed for the hearings and interested persons are notified. The hearings may last for 1 day or several weeks, depending upon the importance of the bill under consideration. After the hearings, the committee meets in executive session and votes either to report the bill favorably to the Senate (or House) or to lay the bill on the table. This is commonly known as pigeon-holing a bill. If the bill is reported favorably, with or without amendment, the committee staff prepare a report explaining the bill which is then referred to the Senate (or House) Calendar. The House has 5 different calendars, whereas the Senate has but 1.

Subject to various limitations, the committees of Congress have come to play a dominant role in lawmaking. Each composed of a few members, each acting independently of the others, they now determine the agenda of both Houses, which have surrendered to their standing committees the power to determine what matters shall be considered on the floor and to control the proceedings there, subject in the lower Chamber to the terms of its Rules Committee. Committees can amend or rewrite bills to suit themselves. They can report bills or pigeonhole them. They can initiate measures they desire and bury or emasculate those they dislike. They can proceed with dispatch or stall indefinitely. In short, congressional government is still government by the standing committees of Congress, as Woodrow Wilson wrote in 1885.

The second major stage in the legislative process is the floor stage. Numerous ways are provided by the House and Senate rules for taking up a bill once it is on a calendar. In the Senate a bill is taken up either by unanimous consent or on the call of the calendar. In the House there are five routes by which a bill may reach the floor. Admission to the House floor of important, controversial bills usually depends upon getting a special order or green light from its Committee on Rules which has acquired power to prescribe the terms of admission, including a time limit on debate, the conditions of amendment, etc.

When a bill has finally reached the floor, it may be debated, amended, passed, or rejected. Debate is strictly limited in the House under various rules and rarely lasts more than 1 or 2 days per bill. In the Senate debate is unlimited, except by unanimous consent, and may continue for several weeks. Bills strongly opposed by a few Senators may be filibustered indefinitely, i. e., talked to death. The Senate adopted a cloture rule in 1917, but it has been successfully invoked only four times in 35 years, and never since 1927. A majority vote of those present and voting is required to pass an ordinary bill. A two-thirds vote is needed to suspend the rules and for certain measures specified in the Constitution, such as a resolution to amend that document.

After a bill has gone through its several stages in the House where introduced, it is engrossed and transmitted to the other house where the same steps are repeated. If the bill finally survives all the possible pitfalls in its path—pigeon-hole, filibuster, Rules Committee blockade, irrelevant debate, dilatory tactics, a single objection on the call of the Senate Calendar—and passes both Houses in other than identical form, it is referred to a conference committee. This is the final major stage in the legislative process. A conference committee is a joint committee composed of Representatives and Senators, appointed by the Speaker and the Vice President, respectively, which is charged with the duty of compromising the differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill. The conference committee, which has been called a third house of Congress, nearly always reaches an agreement, and then resubmits the revised bill to each House for a majority vote. The report of the conference committee is almost invariably approved by the vote of both Houses, although the House surprised the country in October 1951 by rejecting the first report of a conference committee on a tax bill.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

Ada McCown, historian of the origin and evolution of the conference committee, traces its origin back to 14th century England.[1] In that century the English Parliament became a bicameral body, with the lords and prelates sitting in one house and the knights and burgesses in the other. Contemporaneously the custom arose for members of both houses to confer together on the answer to be given to the king's request for funds. According to the historian, William Stubbs, a real conference committee system existed in England before 1378.[2] The first conference recorded in the Journals of the House of Commons was held in 1554. We learn from these early Journals that parliamentary conferences were usually held in the Painted Chamber, that twice as many Commoners as Lords attended them, that the upper chamber fixed the time and place of meeting, and that "the Lords came in a body, expecting the Commoners to await them. They sat with their hats on while the Commoners stood with their hats off. While a conference was in session all other proceedings in both houses were suspended."[3]

Conferences became especially signficant during the 17th century in England when they were used in a series of parliamentary crises. But with the development of the cabinet system in the 18th century they declined in importance; and by the middle of the 19th century they had disappeared. The conference device has been obsolete in England for a hundred years.

While the conference committee was dying out in the mother country with the rise of the cabinet system, colonial records indicate that it was widely used in the American Colonies as a means of reconciling differences between the two houses of the Colonial legislatures, and it continued to be used in the State legislatures after the Revolution. In New York State the Constitution of 1777 provided for conferences between the Assembly and the Senate which were held in public and sometimes excited great public interest, as in the differences between the two houses over the State's support of the Federal Government in the War of 1812.

McCown reports that "from the very beginning of our congressional history, the

Footnotes at end of speech.

conference committee was the accepted method of adjusting differences between the House of Representatives and the Senate. At the beginning of the 1st session of the 1st Congress, on April 7, 1789 * * * the Senate charged a committee with the duty of preparing rules for the government of the two houses in the case of congerence." [4] The House chose a similar committee of 5 members and the result of their report was a joint rule which read as follows: [5]

"*Resolved*, That in every case of an amedment to a bill agreed to in one House and dissented to in the other, if either House shall request a conference, and appoint a committee for that purpose, and the other House shall also appoint a committee to confer, such committees shall, at a convenient time, to be agreed on by their chairmen, meet in the conference chamber, and state to each other verbally, or in writing, as either shall choose, the reasons of their respective Houses for and against the amendment and confer freely thereon."

According to McCown, several conferences were held during the 1st Congress on such subjects as the impost bill, Members' salaries, the amendments to the Constitution, judicial procedure, the Treasury and Post Office bills, trade with the Indians, and other matters.

Inherited from England, the conference committee system is an evolutionary product whose principal threads were woven on the loom of congressional practice into a unified pattern by the middle of the 19th century. "By 1852," writes Ada McCown, "the customs of presenting identical reports from the committees of conference in both Houses, of granting high privilege to these conference reports, of voting upon the conference report as a whole and permitting no amendment of it, of keeping secret the discussions carried on in the meetings of the conference committee, had become established in American parliamentary practice." [6]

CONFERENCE PROCEDURE

A large body of law and practice has developed over the years governing conference procedure and reports. They operate under the limitations of a code of rules which occupy 16 pages of the Senate Manual, 14 pages of the House Manual, and 22 pages of Cannon's Procedure. The essential features of conference procedure under the modern practice have been succinctly described by Gilbert Steiner as follows: [7]

"The conference stage is reached in congressional action when disagreement is formally stated by one House or the other. Usually, this will occur when the second House has amended a bill and returned it to the House of origin which refuses to accept the amendment(s). Not infrequently, however, the second House assumes that the House of origin will refuse to accept a change, and consequently votes to insist, and requests a conference without returning the bill to the House of origin. In either case, the Presiding Officer does not dispose of the conference request on his own initiative, some Member will address the Chair; he may ask unanimous consent that the bill be taken from the table with the amendments of the second Chamber, that the amendments be disagreed with (or insisted on), and that a conference be agreed to (or requested). When unanimous consent is not obtained in the House, a special rule may be brought in by the Rules Committee providing for a conference. In the Senate it is, of course, always theoretically possible to filibuster against the appointment of a conference committee. Actually, no cases of real opposition to agreeing to a conference have been found. The reason for this is obvious—the bill has already been passed by the Chamber involved, and presumably sufficient votes to agree to a conference should therefore be garnered. In addition, opponents of a measure may well prefer to wait for the conference report, before taking obstructive action, since the report may result in a modified bill more to the liking of disaffected elements.

"Under House rule X, clause 2, dating back to 1890, the Speaker appoints House managers. By tradition, Senate managers are named by the Vice President or President pro tempore of the Senate. The range of free choice is strictly limited, however, in that the customary practice in both Chambers is for the chairman of the committee having charge of a bill to send to the desk a "little pink slip" bearing the names of his nominees for appointment. The chairman and ranking majority and minority mebers of the comittee are usually named conferees, although as is noted subsequently, there has been something of a problem in determining the membership of conference committees with the growth of the subcommittee device. A tradition has not yet developed as to whether subcommittee members deserve a preferred place on the conference committee over ranking members of the full committee originally involved. Indeed, the seniority principle itself has sometimes been ignored, and this has led to charges of "packing" the conference with proponents of a point of view supported by the standing committee chairman and the presiding officer of the House involved. The number of managers appointed is also determined by the standing committee chairman with the approval of the Presiding Officer, but by precedent it is three, five, seven, or nine. There does not seem to be any correlation between the number of managers and the importance of the legislation. Nor does the number of managers appointed by one House determine the number appointed by the second Chamber.

"A fairly elaborate process governs the possession of conference papers; the original engrossed copy of the bill attested by the Clerk of the House or the Secretary of the Senate; the engrossed amendments; any special acts concurring in amendments with amendments, and the messages transmitting them between the two Houses, all similarly attested; and later, the conference report signed by the managers. The House agreeing to the conference sends the papers to the House asking for a conference. The managers on the part of the House asking the conference bring the papers to the conference room. At the close of a successful conference, the papers change hands; the managers on the part of the House agreeing to the conference receive them and take them to their House, which is first to consider the conference report. If the managers on the part of the House agreeing to the conference fail to take possession of the papers, by agreement or otherwise, from the managers on the part of the House asking conference, the report may be received first by that House. A conference report may not be considered when the original papers are not before the House considering the report. If the conference is not successful in reaching agreement, the papers are not surrendered, but remain with the managers of the requesting House, and that Chamber first receives the report of disagreement and takes action. If a conference report is recommitted to the conference committee, the papers are no longer before the House ordering recommittal, and no motion regarding the amendments in disagreement is in order.

"Instructions to conference managers must be given before managers are named, but after the House has agreed to a conference. Once instructions are given, no further motions to that effect are in order. Whether instructed or not, managers may disregard all instructions, and the conference report is not subject to the point of order that it is in violation of instructions. Insertion of new matter, and alteration of agreed matter, is cause for a point of order since the rules of both Houses have presumably outlawed these practices. However, a technique which Miss McCown dates back to the 1860's and 1870's has developed whereby one House may strike out all after the enacting clause of a bill passed in the other Chamber. The second House then substitutes its own bill as a single overall amendment, retaining only the number and the enacting clause of the bill passed by the first House. Under such conditions, it has been successfully argued that everything in the legislation was in technical disagreement, and that the conferees were legally empowered to write a completely new bill eliminating matters agreed on by both Houses or inserting legislation never approved by either Chamber. Section 135 of the Reorganization Act was designed specifically to eliminate this practice. An evaluation of its efficacy is made in this study.

"The operation of the conference itself is very informal. Meetings are usually held on the Senate side of the Capitol, and by tradition, the first named Senate manager is nominal chairman of the committee. Voting is by the unit rule, and a majority of the managers of each Chamber sign the conference report. The minority has no authority to file a separate report, but may do so under unanimous consent.

"A conference committee may secure whatever expert opinion it thinks desirable. Members may bring aides to conference with them so long as no objection is raised by managers of the second House. In at least one instance, the managers on the part of the House of Representatives prevailed upon the House to pass a resolution requesting that Senate aides be asked to depart from a conference. Invariably, House and Senate legislative counsel will be present at a conference to aid in the actual drafting of the report. This is particularly necessary when the conference committee recommends a third bill as a substitute for two bills committed to it. A conference report may not be called up for consideration until the conferees have formally reported the matter back to their respective Houses.

"Under the rules of the House of Representatives, if a conference fails to yield a report within 20 calendar days, it is a matter of high privilege for any Member of the House to move to discharge its conferees from further consideration of the measure assigned to them and appoint new managers. During the last 6 days of a session, the limitation is reduced from 20 days to 36 hours. A conference report may not be called up in the House until 1 day after it is filed, except by unanimous consent or during the final week of the session.

"It should be noted that the motion to send to conference is certainly not the only possible disposition of a bill amended in the second Chamber. Indeed, six other motions are possible, each of which takes precedence over a motion to disagree and ask for a conference. These are a motion to lay on the table, a motion to postpone indefinitely, a motion to postpone to a certain date, a motion to refer to a standing or special committee, a motion to amend, and a motion to agree. As has been stated, however, in the case of important legislation, the motion to disagree and ask for a conference is nearly always made.

"There are no minutes or formal records kept of the sessions of conference committees. On the contrary, members seem to feel that the conference is a confidential matter, and explanations of conference activity made on the floor of House or Senate are sometimes preceded by the comment that the speaker does not wish to violate the confidence of the conference. Usually, influential members of the conference will make a statement to the press on the day-to-

Footnotes at end of speech.

day progress at a conference, but only the formal conference report embodying the recommendations of the committee becomes a part of the official record. The rationale for this practice is that publication of debates and votes would subject the managers to external pressure and would hamper the give and take necessary for a successful conference. The process may be compared to international diplomacy; great powers deem it unwise to make public detailed progress reports, out of fear of giving a strategic advantage to the other powers. The process may also be analogous to collective bargaining in labor agreements, since detailed interim statements may adversely affect the results for one group or the other.

"Because the formal conference report is often very little more than a recommendation that each Chamber recede on certain numbered amendments, the House of Representatives has adopted a rule requiring that every report be accompanied by a statement. This statement must be sufficiently detailed and explicit to inform the House what effect suggested amendments or propositions will have on the measure to which they relate. In practice, this statement has been used to make clear to the Members of the House the differences between a bill as originally passed by the House and as it would be if the recommendations of the conference were approved. The statement must be in writing and must be signed by a majority of the House managers. A conference report may not be received in the House without the accompanying statement. There is no requirement in the Senate of any comparable nature.

"Conference reports are considered matters of high privilege in both House and Senate. In general, they are in order except when the body is dividing or when the Journal is being read. The Senate rules specify that when received, the question of proceeding to the consideration of a conference report, if raised, shall be put immediately, and shall be determined without debate. In the House, the previous question may be ordered to decide the question of proceeding to consider a conference report if a challenge is raised.

"A conference report may not be referred to a standing committee, and, in the House, may not be referred to the Committee of the Whole. A conference report may be withdrawn in the Senate by leave of the Senate, and in the House by unanimous consent. It is not in order to amend a conference report, and it must be accepted or rejected as an entirety. This last requirement, of course, greatly enhances the potential power of conferees. This is particularly true near the close of a session when rejection of a conference report, because of dissatisfaction with a single portion of it, may well cause the loss of the entire bill, time being too short to permit a new report to be drawn. Rejection of a report is usually followed by the ordering of another conference, if there is adequate time, and in accordance with custom, the same conferees are appointed to the second committee as served on the first. The only method whereby conference reports may be amended is by concurrent resolution or order, and this is usually reserved for technical corrections.

"Finally, partial reports from a committee of conference will be accepted in both Chambers. In such a case, approval is given to that portion of the report on which agreement has been reached in conference, and the respective Houses indicate whether they desire their managers to insist further, whether they are willing to recede, or whether they wish to propose a further compromise."

EXTENT OF PRACTICE

The conference committee has been a medium of continuous struggle for legislative supremacy between the Senate and House of Representatives. Here behind the legislative scenes many decisive battles of congressional history have been waged. For 2 weeks during the 79th Congress, for example, the conferees on the full-employment bill locked horns.[8] In the 81st Congress the civil-functions appropriations bill was tied up in conference for 4 months—a period longer than any within the memory of living Members. According to Representative CANNON: "The delay was due to the unanimous objection of the managers on the part of the House to agreeing to exorbitant and unwarranted expenditure of public funds proposed by the other body."[9] In the first session of the 82d Congress the House, in a surprise move, rejected a conference report on a tax bill by the combined action of Republicans and Democrats who voted against it for different reasons.

This device has been used extensively by every Congress since 1789. Of the 217 public laws enacted by the 2d session of the 82d Congress, 90, or 41 percent, went through conference and, of these, 13 were appropriation bills. Most important legislation goes through the conference closet and is there revised, sometimes beyond recognition, by the all-powerful conferees or managers.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

During the 1945 hearings before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, considerable testimony was presented regarding the introduction by conferees of new material into conference reports, and the elimination or substantial change of legislation agreed to by both Houses. While the standing rules are clear regarding the limitation of conferees to the disagreements between the two Houses, parliamentary procedures make it possible for conferees completely to rewrite legislation substantially agreed upon in both Chambers. This is done by one House striking everything after the enacting clause, substituting one overall amendment, and thus technically placing everything in the bill in disagreement and making it subject to complete revision by the conferees.

To meet this situation, the La Follette-Monroney committee recommended in its final report "that conferees of the two Houses be limited to adjustment only of actual differences in fact between the two Houses and that matters on which both Houses are in agreement be not subject to change in conference."[10] This recommendation was followed by the inclusion in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 of the following section:

"SEC. 135. (a) In any case in which a disagreement to an amendment in the nature of a substitute has been referred to conferees, it shall be in order for the conferees to report a substitute on the same subject matter; but they may not include in the report matter not committed to them by either House. They may, however, include in their report in any such case matter which is a germane modification of subjects in disagreement.

"(b) In any case in which the conferees violate subsection (a), the conference report shall be subject to a point of order."

Thus, the act restated the old rule that the authority of conference committees is limited to matters which are in disagreement between the two Houses, while recognizing their right to report a substitute on the same subject matter.

Few points of order against conference reports under this rule have been made or sustained in recent years. On June 4, 1947, Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan made a point of order against the conference report on the bill (H. R. 3020) to prescribe fair and equitable rules of conduct to be observed by labor and management in their relations with one another which affect commerce, etc., on the ground (1) that the conferees had changed the text theretofore agreed to by both Houses, and (2) had inserted additional matter which, even though germane, they had no authority to insert. "The House is considering an entirely new bill," said Mr. HOFFMAN, "that was written in conference by seven men * * *." After discussion, the Speaker was "convinced that the conferees had followed well-established precedents" and overruled the point of order.[11]

On October 5, 1951, Mr. SPENCE, of Kentucky, made a point of order against the conference report on the Mutual Security Act of 1951 on the ground that it contained matter not committed to the conferees by either House in a section providing for making the Mutual Security Director a member of the board of the Export-Import Bank. After discussion, the Speaker sustained the point of order.[12]

On October 1, 1951, Senator DWORSHAK, of Idaho, made a point of order against the same conference report on the ground that the conferees had changed identical sections in both the House and Senate bills by changing the percentage of funds which the President could transfer between military and economic aid. After spirited debate, the Chair overruled the point of order and held that the change was a germane modification of the original languge. Upon appeal, the Senate sustained the decision of the Chair by a vote of 41 to 36, with 19 absentees. This vote seemed to strengthen the powers of the conferees and to weaken control of legislative action by the Senate.[13]

The ensuing Senate debate on the powers of conferees revealed a loophole in the conference rules which Senator Ferguson, of Michigan, sought to plug by offering a resolution (S. Res. 221, 82d Cong., 1st sess.) to amend paragraph 3 of rule XXVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate by prohibiting conferees from striking out matter passed in identical form by both Houses or from modifying any such matter. The Ferguson resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration which took no action upon it. The effect of the Ferguson amendment would be to restore language in the rule which was approved by the Senate when it passed the legislative reorganization bill in June 1946, but which was deleted from that bill after it had passed the Senate and while it was on the Speaker's table.

On September 15, 1950, and again on April 11, 1951, the Senate agreed to a concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 79) providing that every conference report shall be accompanied by a statement explaining the effect of the action agreed on by the conference committee. Seventy years earlier the House of Representatives had adopted a similar rule on February 27, 1880 (rule XXVIII–1b). Compared with the strict code of the House, the rules of the Senate have advanced at a snail's pace.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that in the House the chairman of the House conferees usually asks and obtains unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the conference report. Then, after the statement explaining the conference report has been partially read, the chairman usually requests that the further reading of the statement be dispensed with. Since neither the conference report nor the explanatory statement has yet been printed in the RECORD during the last 6 days of a session, Members have little knowledge of the contents of conference reports, of the changes that have been made by the conferees, or of whether or not the rules regulating confer-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

ences have been complied with. In the absence of such knowledge, they can hardly make points of order against conference reports."[14]

EVALUATION OF DEVICE

Comparatively unknown except to the few who are familiar with the mysteries of the legislative process, the conference committee is today perhaps the most unique and powerful legislative institution in America, the least dramatic, and one that has received all too little attention.[15] It is a notable fact that American legislatures stand alone among modern bicameral legislative bodies in providing a formal method for adjusting differences between them. Since few, if any, important bills ever pass both Houses of Congress in precisely identical form, and since the final shape of differing measures must be determined in conference, the strategic role and importance of the ad hoc conference committees will readily be appreciated.

Commenting upon the powers of conferees, Willoughby writes: [16]

"In cases such as these [substitute bill situations] the committee has before it the whole subject and has practically full discretion with respect to the drafting of a new measure for submission to the two Houses. Even where resort has not been had to this form of amendment, conditions are often such as to permit of a wide range of action by the committee in seeking to formulate provisions that will be mutually acceptable. Except, therefore, where the matters in dispute are very specific, these committees have large powers in the determination of the provisions of many important bills that will come before the two Houses for final action. To such an extent is this true that the statement is often made that the real character of the legislation actually had it determined by these bodies * * *."

In general, writers on Congress regard the conference committee as an admirable device for achieving its purpose. The advantages claimed for the system are that it settles differences between the two Houses in most cases, that it serves to expedite legislative business and prevent deadlocks, and that it facilitates majority party control of legislation. Some mechanism for reconciling differences under a bicameral system is obviously essential.

Yet the disadvantages of the system have also been recognized. In her authoritative history of the subject, Ada McCown writes: [17]

"The evils and dangers of this conference committee system are perhaps apparent. It gives too much power into the hands of a few men who are not really held to answer for what they do. In the privacy of the conference mutual concessions may be made which involve provisions which would never pass if considered openly in the House or the Senate. The conference committee has much power of independent action, but it is not held responsible in any such manner as is a ministry under a cabinet system. No conference committee of either House is forced to resign because it has gone counter to the wishes of the House which it represents. Its Members still retain their positions on the regular standing committees and they will be members of the next conference committee which is chosen to settle differences on a bill coming within their province."

Writing in 1946, George B. Galloway remarked that serious evils have attended the development of the conference committee system.[18]

"Suffice it to say here that serious evils have marked the development of the conference committee system. In the first place, it is highly prodigal of members' time. McConachie calculated that the average time consumed in conference was 33 days per bill. (He made this estimate by comparing the dates upon which the appropriation bills passed the Senate in the 54th Cong., 1st sess., with the dates when they became laws.) Bills are sent to conference without reading the amendments of the other Chamber. Despite rules to the contrary, conferees do not confine themselves to matters in dispute, but often initiate entirely new legislation and even strike out identical provisions previously approved by both Houses. This happened during the 78th Congress, for instance, when an important amendment, to the surplus property bill, which had been approved by both Houses, was deleted in conference.

"'Conference committees, moreover, suffer like other committees from the seniority rule. The senior members of the committees concerned, who are customarily appointed as managers on the part of the House and Senate, are not always the best informed on the questions at issue, nor do they always reflect the majority sentiment of their Houses. Furthermore, conference reports must be accepted or rejected in toto without amendment and they are often so complex and obscure that they are voted upon without knowledge of their contents. What happens in practice is that Congress surrenders its legislative function to irresponsible committees of conference. The standing rules against including new and extraneous matter in conference reports have been gradually whittled away in recent years by the decisions of presiding officers. Senate riders attached to appropriation bills enable conference committees to legislate and the House usually accepts them rather than withhold supply, thus putting it, as Senator Hoar once declared, under a degrading duress.

"It is also alleged that under this secret system lobbyists are able to kill legislation they dislike and that 'jokers' designed to defeat the will of Congress can be inserted without detection. Senator George W. Norris once characterized the conference committee as a third house of Congress. 'The members of this house,' he said, 'are not elected by the people. The people have no voice as to who these members shall be. * * *' This conference committee is many times, in very important matters of legislation, the most important branch of our legislature. There is no record kept of the workings of the conference committee. Its work is performed, in the main, in secret. No constituent has any definite knowledge as to how members of this conference committee vote, and there is no record to prove the attitude of any member of the conference committee. * * * As a practical proposition we have legislation, then, not by the voice of the Members of the Senate, not by the Members of the House of Representatives, but we have legislation by the voice of 5 or 6 men. And for practical purposes, in most cases, it is impossible to defeat the legislation proposed by this conference committee. Every experienced legislator knows that it is the hardest thing in the world to defeat a conference report." [19]

One Senator's opinion of the power of conferees was reflected in a satirical speech a few years ago by Senator FULBRIGHT, who congratulated the conferees on a national defense appropriation bill "for so forthrightly disregarding the wishes of the common lay Members of the Senate and the House." Said he: [20]

"I submit, Mr. President, in all sincerity that there is no need whatever for the ordinary lay Member of Congress to come back to Washington for a special session. It is clearly evident, Mr. President, that to save the world and the people of this country from disaster, all that is needed is to reconvene, preferably in secret, only those incomparable sages, the conferees of the Appropriations Committee. From their deliberations the same results would be achieved and without the expense and trouble to everyone that is involved in going through the archaic ritual of pretended legislation. It is quite clear that regardless of what the common Members of this body may wish, the conferees make the decisions."

The chief criticisms made of this device over the years have been that: (1) bills are sent to conference without reading the amendments of the other house; (2) much legislation has been forced through Congress in the form of Senate riders on House appropriation bills late in the session; (3) conference reports are voted upon blindly without knowledge of their contents, especially during the end-of-the-session log jams; and (4) Congress has docilely surrendered its legislative powers to irresponsible committees of conference.

PROBLEM OF CONTROL

The central problem connected with the conference committee system is that of controlling it. Various rules and rulings of the Chair have been made to this end during the past century. In 1918 the Senate adopted the Curtis rule which makes it possible to challenge a conference report on the point of order that it contains new matter not committed to the conference committee, whether germane or not, even under a substitute bill situation. This appears in clause 2 of rule XXVII of the standing rules of the Senate which has been strictly construed and which reads as follows:

"2. Conferees shall not insert in their report matter not committed to them by either House, nor shall they strike from the bill matter agreed to by both Houses. If new matter is inserted in the report, or if matter which was agreed to by both Houses is stricken from the bill, a point of order may be made against the report, and if the point of order is sustained, the report shall be recommitted to the committee of conference."

In the House a rule of 1920 (rule XX, clause 2) forbids House managers to agree in conference to a large class of Senate amendments to appropriation bills without a separate vote on each amendment by the House. This rule has been generally observed and is regarded by McCown as "probably the most effective means yet devised of controlling the evils of the conference committee system." [21]

In 1946, as noted above, the Legislative Reorganization Act, in section 135 applicable to both Houses, authorized conferees to report a new bill where one house strikes out all after the enacting clause of the bill of the other House and inserts new language. The defect of this amendment, as noted above, is that it does not forbid conferees to delete or modify matter passed in identical form by both houses.

In the House of Representatives the Speaker may rule out a conference report if it be shown that the managers have exceeded their authority; and points of order may be made against conference reports in the House before the reading of the explanatory statement. The House adopted a rule (rule XXVIII, clause 2) in 1902 which provides that "it shall not be in order to consider the report of a committee of conference until such report and the accompanying statement shall have been printed in the RECORD, except on either of the 6 days preceding the end of a session."

This rule may be evaded, however, by the granting of unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of a conference report; and by its own terms it is inoperative during the last 6 days of a session when many conference reports are made.

In practice, the rules governing conferees, like all rules, depend for their effectiveness upon their enforcement. Writing in 1927, McCown reports that the rule forbidding the insertion of new matter in conference re-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

ports has been "flagrantly violated in recent times." [32] Points of order against infraction of the conference rules are, in fact, seldom made. Committees of conference enjoy largely uncontrolled powers to write new legislation in substitute bill situations where the rules allow them to report any bill germane to the bills under consideration. Sometimes conference reports are brought up in the House of Representatives under a special rule granted by the Committee on Rules waiving points of order against them. Under all these circumstances, it is obivously difficult to control committees of conference, which have long exercised a determining influence upon the shape of much important congressional legislation.

CONCLUSIONS

However, it would appear that effective control of conference committees is possible under existing rules, if they are enforced. McCown concluded "that under the House and Senate rules of the present time a fair degree of control is maintained over the managers * * * since the additions of the Senate rule of 1918 and the House rule of 1920, control of the managers has been increased so that there is much less conference committee legislation than there was at one time. Certainly there is now [1927] more control over the conference committee by the two Houses than there ever has been in the past. It would seem, then, that conference committee legislation is bad," concludes McCown, "but that there is not enough of it that eludes the rules and practice of the two Houses to cause despair." [33]

"The truth is that the conference committee system is a necessary part of the congressional government system. It must, however, be kept under the control of the two Houses. The managers must not be allowed to include in their report any matter not committed to them by either House nor must they be allowed to eliminate items which have been agreed upon by both Houses. On the other hand, the peculiar composition of a conference committee makes it particularly fitted to offer constructive suggestions in regard to a bill that may have been altered several times in the course of its progress through the two Houses * * *."

Similar conclusions were reached by Dr. Gilbert Steiner, of the University of Illinois, in his 1951 study. Steiner made an intensive analysis of 56 pieces of the most significant legislation enacted between the 70th and 80th Congresses, inclusive, which went through conference. He concludes that "the conference committee has not been a consistently irresponsible 'third house' of Congress. Conference committees have sometimes been reckless, and sometimes have flouted the will of a congressional majority, but the number of such instances is small, too small to justify a damning generalization. Conference committees may be and have been controlled by effective rules and precedents. It would not appear, however, that the institution of the conference committee is such as to require closer oversight than is given any other congressional committee." [34] Steiner concludes that "the conference committee is both a practical and satisfactory device" of accommodation and that no new method of adjustment is needed.

In the 56 cases studied by Dr. Steiner in the period 1928–48, he found only 3 outstanding instances in which conference committees had deleted matter agreed to by both Houses or had included new matter. These involved the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, the Transportation Act of 1940, and the Surplus Property Act of 1944.

Of special interest is Dr. Steiner's conclusion that the House has been more influential in conference than the Senate. For the period and cases studied, he reports that "the House achieved 57 percent of the victories, the Senate 27 percent, and 16 percent of the cases showed joint influence." House influence was predominant in all cases of revenue and appropriation acts studied, while the Senate dominated in broad fiscal policy legislation.

PROPOSED REFORMS

Thus, we see that the conference committee is a little-known institution which operates secretly behind the legislative scenes and exercises large influence over the final form of much important legislation. It takes the handiwork of the two Houses and, in the interests of compromise, can modify the actions of either branch no matter how preponderant the vote therein may have been on the original bills, and submit a conference report which almost always becomes law.

Several suggestions have been made from time to time for changes in the congressional conference committee system. Mention has already been made of Senator Ferguson's resolution to amend paragraph 3 of Senate rule XXVII so as to plug an apparent loophole in it, making it crystal clear that it is the intent of Congress to limit the power of conferees in dealing with a substitute bill. To the same end, Senator Vandenberg sought in 1938 to add the following sentence to the rule:

"It is hereby expressly provided that this paragraph shall be deemed to include reports on measures where one House has struck out all after the enacting or resolving clause and inserted a substitute."

Adoption of this proposal by both Houses would eliminate the loophole still provided by permission to "include in their report in any such case matter which is a germane modification of subjects in disagreement." The problem in the substitute bill situation has been less that of inclusion of new matter than that of deletion of matter agreed to by both Houses, and section 135 of the Legislative Reorganization Act does not meet this squarely.

Another recurring suggestion is to permit conferees to report new matter separately for separate consideration in each House. This requires unanimous consent and has occasionally been done. It has been the practice in the House under the 1920 rule in the case of certain Senate amendments to appropriation bills. [36]

As a remedy for secrecy it has been suggested that conference meetings be open to Members of either House. Open conferences were prescribed by the New York State Constitution of 1777 and the first congressional conference ever held over a legislative disagreement—the conference on the impost and tonnage bills on June 26, 1789—was an open one attended by several Members of both Houses. The annals of Congress record no other such open conference from 1789 until 1911 when a tariff conference opened its meetings to representatives of the press under the influence of Senator La Follette who was strongly in favor of publicity. [36]

In order to avoid inadequate consideration of conference reports during the crowded closing days of a session, the elder La Follette also suggested that a deadline be fixed by rule upon the receipt of bills from the other House. No action was ever taken on this proposal which is probably impractical. [37]

Another abortive suggestion was that made by Representative McRae in 1902 that conference reports be printed in bill form, with changes in italics so that they can be readily recognized and any "jokers" discovered. But Congress has been content to rely upon the explanatory statements for knowledge of the changes made in conference.

Others argue that the real remedy for the defects of the device is to keep it under congressional control by enforcing the conference rules so as to make theory and practice coincide. Congress makes its own rules and only Congress can compel compliance with them.

Several alternatives to the conference device are conceivable. Conference committees are not used in the Legislature of New York State. Amendments made to a bill in one chamber at Albany are returned to the house of origin for acceptance or rejection. And agreement is apparently achieved under the leadership of the Governor.

Under the parliamentary form of government used in England and many other countries, deadlocks between the houses are avoided by the cabinet which originates all important legislation, keeps harmony between the two chambers, and replaces the conference committee as the instrument for adjusting interchameral differences. Under the Cabinet system disputes between the chambers are conciliated by the Government whose ministers move freely between the two Houses, consult with their committees, and defend Government measures on both floors. But adoption of the Cabinet system in the United States would be a herculean remedy for the evils of the conference committee system.

Within the bicameral framework perhaps the most promising remedy is to make more use of joint standing committees in the formulation of important bills. It is easier through such committees to prevent differences from arising in the initial stages of the legislative process than it is to compose them after measures have passed both Houses. Persuasive testimony on this point was presented to the La Follette-Monroney committee by Representative HALE, of Maine. "A committee of conference," he said, "is not nearly as well adapted to framing legislation as a joint standing committee. A joint standing committee having agreed upon a bill can generally procure its passage with minor amendments through both bodies. But a committee of conference finds it much harder to get the coordinate branches of the legislature to recede from a position previously taken and concur with the other branch. All sorts of factors of pride and prestige are involved on the presentation of conference reports which are not involved in the report of a joint standing committee." [38]

Increased executive influence, perhaps in the form of a joint executive-legislative cabinet, has also been suggested as a potential method of minimizing House and Senate differences. This suggestion was made by Thomas K. Finletter in 1945 in chapter XI of his well-known little book Can Representative Government Do the Job? It was also proposed by the La Follette-Monroney committee in its final report which recommended "that the majority policy committees of the Senate and House serve as a formal council to meet regularly with the Executive, to facilitate the formulation and carrying out of national policy, and to improve relationships between the executive and legislative branches of the Government." [39]

The taking of steps to strengthen party government in Congress might be expected to reduce the need of conference committees, except when opposing political parties control the two houses. Several proposals to this end have been made in recent years. Most noteworthy among them are the suggestions to revive the party caucus as an instrument of policymaking, to create single responsible leadership committees for each party in each house, and to abandon the seniority custom in committee appointments and the selection of chairman. [40]

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

A drastic remedy for the alleged shortcomings of the congressional conference committee would be to allow the example of Nebraska and adopt a unicameral legislature, thus eliminating the need of conferences. There are those who believe that the United States Senate no longer performs any unique or indispensable functions in the American system of government.[31] Its tolerance of unlimited and irrelevant debate and its frequent absenteeism have been severely criticized by its own members.[32] The decay of second chambers and the trend toward unicameralism in the democratic constitutions of the postwar world are widespread phenomena.[33] Twenty-nine nations have unicameral national legislatures today. And in several others the role of the second chamber has been reduced to a mere suspensive veto. The British House of Lords was finally emasculated by the Parliament Act of 1949. Some students of representative government believe that under the new order of affairs there is less justification for the bicameral system than it has had in the past. As Walter Shepard wrote in 1935, "The Senate • • • may lose its raison d'etre. A single chamber • • • might constitute a better instrument to do the work which seems to lie ahead of Congress."[34] But unicameralism is probably merely an academic suggestion, for neither House of Congress would sign its own death warrant by submitting such a constitutional amendment to the States.

---

[1] Ada C. McCown, The Congressional Conference Committee (1927), ch. II.

[2] William Stubbs, Constitutional History of England (1860), vol. ii, pp. 645–646.

[3] McCown, op. cit., p. 25.

[4] Ibid., p. 38.

[5] Annals, 1st Cong., 1st sess., p. 20, April 15, 1789. Quoted by McCown.

[6] McCown, op. cit., pp. 254–255.

[7] Gilbert Y. Steiner, The Congressional Conference Committee: 70th to 80th Cong. (1951), pp. 7–11.

[8] See Stephen K. Bailey, Congress Makes a Law: the Story Behind the Employment Act of 1946 (1950), ch. XI: Conference and Compromise.

[9] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 3, 1949, p. 13970.

[10] S. Rept. No. 1011, 79th Cong., 2d sess., p. 8.

[11] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 4, 1947, pp. 6537–6539.

[12] Ibid., October 5, 1951, pp. 12962–12964.

[13] Ibid., October 1–2, 1951, pp. 12678–12681, 12718–12737.

[14] For an example of this situation, see remarks of Representative COLMER, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 7, 1952, p. A4742.

[15] The books by Ada McCowen (1927) and Gilbert Steiner (1951) are the only full-length studies of the American conference committee system. Brief descriptions of it are given in textbooks and treatises on American government. See, for example, W. F. Willoughby, Principles of Legislative Organization and Administration (1934), ch. XXVI.

[16] Willoughby, op. cit., p. 421.

[17] McCown, op. cit., p. 16.

[18] George B. Galloway, Congress at the Crossroads (1946), pp. 98–99.

[19] The Model Legislature, address at Lincoln, Nebr., February 22, 1934. Reprinted in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Feb. 27, 1934.

[20] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 80th Cong., 2d sess., p. 9206 (June 19, 1948).

[21] McCown, op. cit., p. 260.

[22] Ibid., p. 262.

[23] Ibid., pp. 264, 266.

[24] Steiner, op. cit., p. 174.

[25] McCown, op. cit., pp. 267–268.

[26] Ibid., pp. 36, 43, 177.

[27] Ibid., pp. 268–69.

[28] Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, 79th Cong., 1st sess., April 24, 1945, p. 342.

[29] S. Rept. No. 1011, 79th Cong., 2d sess., p. 18.

[30] For a full discussion of these suggestions, see Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System, Report of the Committee on Political Parties, American Political Science Association, September 1950; and pertinent testimony on Party Government in Congress before the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, hearings on the Organization and Operation of Congress, June 1951.

[31] Cf. Arthur N. Holcombe, Our More Perfect Union (1950), p. 230.

[32] Hubert H. Humphrey, The Senate on Trial, American Political Science Review, September 1950, pp. 650–660. See also Holcombe, op cit., pp. 231–34.

[33] Arnold J. Zurcher, ed. Constitutions and Constitutional Trends Since World War II (1951), ch. 4, The Position of the Representative Legislature in the Postwar Constitutions, by Edward G. Lewis.

[34] Walter J. Shepard, Democracy in Transition, American Political Science Review, February 1935, p. 16. Presidential address.

The Blessings of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, several days ago at the second century convocation of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., the Chief Justice of the United States, the Honorable Earl Warren, delivered a thought-provoking address entitled "The Blessings of Liberty."

I commend its reading to my brethren in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, and I now ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY

(Address of Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, at the second century convocation of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., February 19, 1955)

It is a thrilling experience to participate in the opening session of this second century convocation of Washington University. The time, the place, and the cause to which the convocation is dedicated make it an occasion of major importance. The campus of Washington University enriched by a hundred years of devotion to the highest ideals of education and by the contribution of its thousands of alumni to the good life in America provides an ideal place to reflect upon "the blessings of liberty." To do so at a centennial celebration where the experience of the past, the events of the present and aims for the future can so appropriately be brought into balance adds greatly to the content of the occasion.

The times in which we are living are not normal times. Powerful forces are at work in the world—both to preserve liberty and to extinguish it. The interplay of hope and fear, belief and doubt, determination and frustration keeps the affairs of mankind and the minds of people in a state of turbulence—a turbulence that destroys perspective and clouds the vision. Such times call for constant reflection and reappraisal. In the atmosphere of these surroundings where men and women have devoted their lives to the pursuit of truth throughout an entire century, we can more effectively detach ourselves for the moment from the complexities of everyday life in order to determine what our heritage of liberty is and what we are doing today to preserve it for our children and for those who come after them.

It is imperative that we do this. Notwithstanding the contributions of patriots through the centuries, the farsighted wisdom of the Founding Fathers or the written guaranties of the Constitution, liberty is not necessarily our permanent possession. Both external and internal pressures constantly assail it. It is axiomatic that every generation, to keep its freedom, must earn it through understanding of the past, vigilance in the present and determination for the future.

It is easier to know how to combat a foreign enemy who challenges our right to these freedoms and thus prevent a sudden collapse of the things we hold dear than it is to subject ourselves to daily analysis and discipline for the purpose of preventing the erosion that can with equal effectiveness destroy them. I say "easier" because Americans have never hesitated to make the choice between liberty and death. Normally we can rely upon our representatives in government to keep our defenses sufficiently strong to enable us to ward off outside attack, but we cannot delegate to any or all of our governmental representatives the full responsibility for protection of our freedoms from the processes of erosion. Such protection can be had only through an understanding on the part of individual citizens of what these freedoms are, how they came into being and whether their spirit dominates our institutions and the life of our country. The protection I speak of is that sense of strength and comradeship which flows from national unity, buttressed by freedom of thought, of expression, of mobility, and of participation by all in the life and Government of the Nation.

I have no doubt it seems strange to some people that we take time to discuss such things almost 2 centuries after the adoption of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. There are some who regard our freedoms merely as their birthright which they may simply take for granted. There are others who would never shrink from the loss of little freedoms—by the other fellow of course. And there are also those who would procrastinate until the deluge. The fact remains, however, we do have a battle today to keep our freedoms from eroding just as Americans in every past age were obliged to struggle for theirs. Many thoughtful people are of the opinion that the danger of erosion is greater than that of direct attack. I do not mean to suggest—nor do they, I am sure—that outside of the totalitarian menace any substantial group of our citizens would wilfully destroy our freedoms. But the emotional influences of the times coupled with the latent suspicion and prejudice, inherent in human nature, are capable of threatening the basic rights of everyone, unless those emotions are controlled by self-discipline, community spirit, and governmental action.

A few days ago I read in the newspaper that a group of State employees—not in Missouri—charged with responsibility for determining what announcements could be posted on the employees' bulletin board refused to permit the Bill of Rights to be posted on the ground that it was a controversial document. It was reported that the altercation became intense, and that only after the governor in writing vouched for its non-controversial character was the Bill of Rights permited to occupy a place along with routine items of interest to the State employees. And this happened in the United States of America on the 15th day of December 1954, the 163d anniversary of our Bill of Rights, declared by proclamation of

President Eisenhower to be Bill of Rights Day.

It is straws in the wind like this which cause some thoughtful people to ask the question whether ratification of the Bill of Rights could be obtained today if we were faced squarely with the issue. They inquire whether we are as united today in defending our traditional freedoms as were the American people in asserting them during the first years of Constitutional government in the United States.

My faith in the sober second thought of the American people makes me confident that it would now be ratified. On the other hand I am not prepared to dispute with those who believe the issue would provoke great controversy.

Have we not had enough controversy over teaching in and the conduct of our colleges and schools, both public and private, to warrant the inference that an effort would be made to curb freedom of speech and thought in that important segment of American life?

Have not sufficient doubts been expressed concerning the rights of individuals to invoke their constitutional privilege against self-incrimination to justify the belief that the proposed adoption of this safeguard against tyranny might provoke heated discussion?

Does not the suspicion that has attached to lawyers who represent unpopular defendants indicate some departure from the constitutional principle that every person charged with crime is entitled to be effectively represented by counsel?

Are there not enough shortcuts advocated, and too often practiced, in our time-honored legal procedures resulting in what we called a denial of due process of law?

Have there not been enough invasions of the freedom of the press to justify a concern about the inviolability of that great right?

Departures from the letter and spirit of our constitutional principles are not the product of any one person or any one group of persons. They are more properly chargeable to the entire body politic; to the suspicion, hatred, intolerance, and irresponsibility that stalk the world today; and also to a lack of appreciation of the age-old struggle of mankind to achieve our present-day blessings of liberty. Government, whether national, state or local, is not the sole culprit in this matter. For it does not operate in a vacuum. In the last analysis it only reflects the mores, the attitudes, the state of mind of the dominant groups of society.

How do we come to have a Bill of Rights, and what is its significance in the history of this Nation?

The Bill of Rights, which became part of our fundamental law in December 1791 does not by any means define all our rights. Many of our rights are to be found in the original Constitution, and others are formulated in later amendments.

The Bill of Rights did not originate the rights which it guarantees; there was at the time of its adoption not a single novel idea in it. It did summarize in a striking and effective manner the personal and public liberties which Americans 164 years ago regarded as their due, and as being properly beyond the reach of any government, old or new.

The men of our First Congress knew, as we may be in danger of forgetting, that each element in the Bill of Rights was a painfully won acquisition. They knew that government must be neither too strong nor too weak; that whatever form it may assume, government is potentially as dangerous a thing as it is a necessary one. They knew that power must be lodged somewhere to prevent anarchy within and conquest from without, but that this power could be abused to the detriment of their liberties. Confronted by this paradox, they turned to the experience of their forebears for counsel.

The English people, in their long struggle to control the monarchy founded by William the Conqueror, hit upon a happy solution: government should remain strong for its proper ends, but its strength should be kept within clearly defined limits. It became the consensus of the English people that certain acts should be clearly understood by all to be beyond power of government, and illegal if committed by any of its agents. Here we have the basis of the Anglo-Saxon legal and constitutional tradition.

The first great document in this tradition was the Magna Carta of 1215. There was little new in Magna Carta. It merely recorded the rights which had been asserted, with varying success, against the Norman monarchy during the previous century and a half, and needless to say, there were reactions and backslidings in the five centuries that followed. But in the main the movement was forward, toward the accumulation of a body of well-established liberties and immunities enjoyed by the true-born Englishman.

The century or so during which the British colonized America was especially important in the development of British constitutional rights. A full century before Madison rose in the First Congress and proposed our American Bill of Rights, the British Bill of Rights had already come into being. It was the culmination of generations of struggle against the arbitrary government of the Stuart dynasty in England.

In the course of the 18th century, the question arose whether the residents of Thirteen American Colonies were true-born Englishmen, and as such entitled to the traditional liberties and immunities enjoyed in the homeland. Since the King and Parliament of Great Britain were resolved upon giving a negative answer to this question, the colonies decided, in the year 1776, that the time had come to make a fresh start, and to adopt a Declaration of Independence.

In one sense, the Declaration is a lineal descendant of Magna Carta. But in another sense, it is a very different sort of document, a characteristic product of the Age of Reason. Instead of appealing to royal concessions and traditional immunities, it takes its stand upon self-evident truths, the laws of nature, and unalienable rights. It was a new turn in human history. It was an experiment which had never been attempted. It is still on trial.

Our Revolutionary forefathers had had their fill of royal governors, and of George III and his ministers, and so they forgot for a time one of the great lessons of constitutional history: that government must be strong for its proper ends. Many of the new State constitutions set up a hobbled and ineffectual executive branch. Our first attempt to create a national Government, the Articles of Confederation, provided for no executive at all. Our attempt to operate under a weak government barely got us through the Revolutionary War. The return of peace began a drift which, all clear minds perceived, was toward anarchy. The inevitable and timely reaction brought about the Federal Convention of 1787, by which our present Constitution was submitted to the American people.

To the American people, the Constitution was a new and permanent legal basis for their Government. They wanted nothing left to conjecture. They insisted upon concrete rights being set down in black and white. If government was to be strengthened, the more apparent became the need to delimit its proper powers, and to itemize the immunities which its citizens ought to enjoy. And so, directly upon the establishment of Government under the Constitution, the first Congress submitted the Bill of Rights to the States.

Such, in the most general kind of way, is the process by which we acquired our Bill of Rights. If you have not read its provisions recently, I urge that you read and reread them. They were never more important. The Bill of Rights contains only 462 words and can be read in only a few moments, but from the American viewpoint it embraces the wisdom of the ages as divined from man's struggle for freedom throughout civilization.

The liberties thus written into our fundamental law have not gone unassailed in the course of our national history, for men in office are still men. Whether men derive their authority from hereditary right or from popular election, they remain prone to overstep constitutional limitations and invade legal immunities. Periods of domestic dissension and of foreign war are especially liable to produce tendencies to disregard established rights in the name of national safety. Often the tendency persists after the danger which provoked it has passed away, and at such times Americans who cherish these rights have had to fight to vindicate them. The French Revolution, and the deep cleft of opinion which it brought about in our country, led to the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. When Thomas Jefferson succeeded to the Presidency 3 years later, he set free all those who had been imprisoned under what he regarded as an unconstitutional statute. Our Civil War saw the tendency to substitute military for civil tribunals which the Supreme Court rebuked in the famous case of Ex parte Milligan in 1866. World War I was followed by a wave of repressive measures, such as mass arrests without benefit of habeas corpus, which were strenuously opposed by the libertarians of that day. In our time, we have seen the greatest of wars give way to a decade of chronic tension and crisis, in which it is to be expected that new encroachments upon traditional liberties may have to be countered.

I have suggested that if there has been damage done to our traditional rights it has been accomplished by a process of erosion. Are the privileges and immunities summed up in our Bill of Rights in danger of loss through subtle changes in our climate of opinion? Is distrust of our fellow countrymen wearing away our traditional concept of the innate dignity of man?

These questions call for constant and intense exploration far beyond the limits of this discussion, but because we are here on the campus of a great university, I would remind myself and you that if our other rights are to be of value to us we must first have the untrammeled right to search for the truth in institutions such as this, and then to teach it in accordance with the dictates of conscience. If that right should ever fail, so will our other blessings of liberty. That is precisely what has happened to people in other parts of the world, and in our time.

But I do not wish to end on a mournful note. Nor do I wish to suggest that our liberties are about to be lost. Erosion may have begun in some respects but the fabric of our liberties is still far from undermined.

Surely the America that sent 12 million men into a world war to preserve freedom everywhere will not allow its own freedoms to be frittered away. Surely the America that has poured out its substance to rehabilitate the free world, and even our former enemies, so that they can resist tyranny, will not willingly pass on to its children less freedom than it has itself enjoyed.

It has been sagely remarked that men more frequently require to be reminded than informed, and I hope that we may all join in the good work of reminding each other of how much we have to lose, and how heedless we would be to lose it.

With a strong belief in the wholesomeness of our objectives and the courage to

defend our freedoms, I have no doubt we shall preserve our heritage.

Faith, the apostle tells us, is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. Faith in America confirms the hope that we shall preserve for our children all that our fathers, by the way of clear thinking, firm resolution, patient endurance, and willing sacrifice secured for us; that our heritage of liberty will not dwindle but increase; and that we will prove worthy of what we have so abundantly received.

It is such faith, I believe, that brings all of us together today to consider the blessings of liberty.

Atomic Dawn or Twilight?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article entitled "Atomic Dawn or Twilight?", by Michael Amrine, appearing in the Progressive for March is worthy of our thoughtful attention. There is no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that we have come to one of the great crossroads in world history, one of the great hours of decision.

If we—and this means humanity—make the wrong decision, our civilization may well be doomed forever. It will matter very little, if we make the wrong decision and use the atom for our own destruction and that of the universe, whether we vote to put taxes up or down, or whether pay and fringe benefits are increased or curtailed. These things will be nothing but forgotten sound and fury if this planet joins those that go rolling on through space with no life upon them, giving out a cold silver light, or reduced to particles flying like meteors through space.

The article follows:

ATOMIC DAWN OR TWILIGHT?

(By Michael Amrine)

(This is the first of a series of articles exploring the peril and promise of atomic power. Other articles in the series will examine in detail the impact of atomic power in the fields of medicine, agriculture, public power, and foreign affairs. Michael Amrine, one of the Nation's foremost interpreters of modern science, has worked closely with Harold Urey and Albert Einstein. Formerly, editor of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, he recently won Variety's award for the "best public-service program of the year" with his television series, Atomic Report.—THE EDITORS.)

When sunlight falls upon your hand, the warmth you feel is heat energy radiating from a hydrogen-helium reaction. The star we call our sun is really a kind of hydrogen bomb, slowly running through a complicated atomic-fusion process.

A sunrise is thus an atomic event, and atomic activity is part of our daily lives. All earthly life depends on the atomic energy of sunlight, which falls steadily upon the earth in enormous amounts—a quadrillion kilowatt hours of energy each day.

But the atom is closer to you than the sunlight through your window.

In the length of time it takes you to read this article, the chances are that 1 or 2 stray atomic missiles, traveling with an impetus gained in outer space, will pass through your body. The earth's surface is under constant bombardment from these "cosmic rays," and the odds are that every few minutes a "ray" will go through the average-sized human being. But the ray is so small and travels so fast that it is most unlikely to collide with any atoms of your body. When a cosmic ray does hit an atom, its energy of billions of electron volts may split an earthly atom into a score of separate fragments, themselves scattering at tremendous energies.

Atoms and particles fragmented by man may also be shooting through you.

This is the season for growing giant mushrooms at their testing grounds. If you are reading this in the long shadow of an atomic explosion in Nevada—that is, if you are reading this a few days after such an explosion, and if you are east of Nevada, even by hundreds of miles—this spring you will probably bump into a stray radioactive particle somewhere in the rounds of daily life.

The odds are overwhelming that this chance encounter will not do any harm to you or to your descendants. But what about the ultimate chances that the human race will kill itself through the accumulation of this radiation? The prospect is most real, as we shall examine in detail later. The hot cloud from the mushroom may go three times around the world and remain an entity detectable to our Geigers and those of the Russians. Its radiation will persist for centuries, long after it is too diffuse for measurement.

The most overwhelming questions of all asked by the atomic age are the basic ones of war and peace. What are the odds that you and millions of others will die from atomic blast, from heat, from shock, from fire, from radiation?

No statement on the atom is realistic if it does not make some assessment of the basic danger in which it places all of us.

Albert Einstein, with his customary lucidity, has put the central fact of atomic danger as simply as anyone: "Atomic bombs kill cities as bullets kill men."

This fact, however simple to say, however easy to demonstrate, has proved exceptionally difficult to communicate to peoples or to society or to the rulers of nations, including our own.

One could even say that the human mind and emotions are not organically capable of continuously living with this fact in our everyday world. There is no observable tendency for atomic scientists to live any further from the center of cities than their fellowmen live; interest in civil defense is as lacking at Los Alamos, N. Mex., the bomb-making center, as it is in less informed cities.

Truly understood, the fact that A-bombs can kill cities and H-bombs devastate whole regions, leads to some other basic conclusions.

One is that there will be no effective military defense against the atom. Bombs which can kill cities add up to total attacks which could virtually kill countries overnight (leaving aside the long-term menace of radiation). No amount of money—some want to spend $20 billion on an antiaircraft net—can now make cities safe. We may disperse cities—we can never put walls around them.

Those who talk of defenses, like perfecting radar and fighter plane networks are deluded by the notion that our vulnerable neck can be protected by some superchromium collar. It can't be; militarily, the battleship *New York* is osbsolete; militarily so is the city of New York.

II

We can build better Maginot lines; they will never be good enough. H-bombs may arrive by planes. They may come in merchant ships or in submarines. They may be fired in guided missiles from ships offshore. The present range of guided missiles is 300 miles, but our planners now expect that both we and the Russians will have the 3,000-mile range missile within a few years. Traveling thousands of miles per hour, this missile could not be efficiently shot down by any device science can now imagine.

But a bomb to destroy New York can be brought in entire in a station wagon, or in pieces in suitcases carried by ordinary men.

Try to communicate this to yourself: Recently publicized scares about planted bombs had some foundation in conceivable fact: Soviet bombs may already be planted in our principal cities. And our bombs may be sleeping, awaiting a nightmare awakening in the shadow of the Kremlin. We or they can fire or hire a million Ladejinskys or Berias but we will not turn our times into an age of security. This is an age of total insecurity.

Congenital optimists that we Americans are, we forget this; when we forget it we become unafraid, so that the deaths of a few Japanese fishermen do not seem to us any great misadventure. Perhaps the fatal flaw in our foreign policy is that we thus seem heartless and heedless to those people outside our borders who can better appreciate war's destruction.

You should not be expected to keep this fact by your bedside any more than you should contemplate the fact that sooner or later, bomb or no bomb, you will one day die.

But whenever you undertake to think of foreign policy or military posture, of our aducational programs abroad, or any basic national and international issue, you are playing Hamlet without Hamlet if you do not remembr that H-bombs can kill cities as bullets kill men.

This is the real specter which truly haunts the world. It lies behind the fact that Coventry, England, and Chicago, Illinois, alike have no heart for civil defense. It sits at Adenauer's shoulder and it inspires and depresses Nehru. It redoubles the fanaticism of Red China and it disturbs the serenity of Schweitzer in Lambarene.

We can be tired of the bomb, frustrated by it, sick of it. But we cannot, like Pandora, seek to forget it by shutting it back in the box. Nor will science find a "miracle drug" to make this specter go away.

All this need not produce in rational men a depression or hysteria which says that there is no use, the game is over. In this atomic jungle, if we are accustomed to dressing for dinner, it would seem we should continue to dress. And if we have any ability to think, at dinner or at our jobs, we should by all means continue to think. This enormous danger gives all mankind a common fear and a common need, It is not fantasy to say this may well yet lead to common hope and community action.

Fortunately, the fantastic power of the atom also promises and has begun to deliver real benefits of value to all mankind.

The terror and the beauty of the physical world as now revealed lend support to the concept that mankind has not reached its maturity but its adolescerce. Like a youth who has begun to discover the mystery of sex, mankind can be both frightened and ecstatically excited by this startling atomic force. Like the vital powers of the life-urge itself, our atomic powers can be directed to be playthings or to be instruments of domination; distorted, they can sharply limit our future and narrow our lives instead of broadening them. But if understood and respected, they can help illuminate the mystery and beauty of man's life.

When Enrico Fermi in 1942 led the first experiment which sustained a chain reaction in the atom, the code message flashed to Washington said, "Italian navigator has landed in a new world."

The atom could build a new world.

As Fermi was dying this winter, the first practical use of atomic power was being successfully tested. The first atomic ship, the submarine *Nautilus*, was starting what could be the longest voyage man has ever taken. The *Nautilus* could sail all of Columbus' seas, and in fact could go around the world like Magellan, without stopping once to refuel.

There are other far more useful and hopeful promises in atomic power than such dramatic endurance contests. In fact, even atomic power will probably not be the greatest benefit to flow from atomic energy. Six months after the first chain reaction Fermi argued that the great achievement would not be a new fuel but a new tool for learning more about the world.

The kinds of new atomic knowledge proving of benefit in agriculture, medicine, industry, and other fields will be discussed in detail later, but it might be useful here to list some examples in shorthand form:

The application of radiation is uncovering new information every day about the life processes of crops and animals. Radiation directed at the genes, the cells which carry hereditary characteristics, can cause variations of species. Within the last 2 years, for the first time, radiation has been used not just to cause harmful changes, but to point the way to better and stronger plants and animals.

Within the past 3 months reports have been received of the use of radiation to help understand the basic life process of photosynthesis. This may seem a forbidding word, but we should learn now to respect it, for it has enormous importance for the human race. "Photo" in this instance stands for light, and "synthesis" stands for the system by which plants take energy from units of light falling on them, and use that energy to process chemicals from the soil. Their chemical activity—their growth—far exceeds in measure and complexity all of man's works.

Man is completely dependent on this process, for we mainly eat plants or we eat the meat of animals that eat plants.

Moreover, coal is fossilized plant-stuff, and so are oil and gasoline. The log or the coal represent solar energy which plants have put through photo-synthesis and stored where we could use it. Thus the warmth of a fireplace, like the warmth of the sunlight in the yard, traces back to the hydrogen-helium reaction in the sun.

Should we solve the mystery of the process of photo-synthesis, we would solve the food problems of the world. The population growth today, matched against potential food shortages, will threaten the world within 50 to 75 years as ominously as the H-bomb does now.

Hundreds of medical scientists today are using radiation to study and treat disease. Fermi, like the late Senator Brien McMahon, who headed the first Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, died of cancer; the bitter irony of their untimely deaths underlines the great hope that through radiation man may abolish this scourge.

Scientists are uneasy about making promises, however vague and however tied to the future, which say that any amount of money or any of the revolutionary new knowledge is sure to place cancer, like typhoid and yellow fever, in the category of problems man has solved. But it can be stated definitely that knowledge based on radiation research is bound to extend and to save thousands and millions of human lives in the future. It is claimed today that radiation, including the long history of radium therapy, already has saved more lives than were wiped out in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This sort of simple balance is a little childish, but it may help us to get away from the kind of atomic age thinking which if applied to electricity would make us think of electric power only as the force which operates the electric chair.

Articles in this series will discuss these and other prospects in detail. This one attempts to introduce them by taking a look at the atom itself, to provide some simplified answers to these questions: What is an atom? What is radiation? Why do scientists believe our new knowledge can, if used properly, be more important to the human race than either atomic bombs or atomic power?

To begin with, one of the things we know about the atom which the Greeks did not know is how very small atoms are—so small that a teaspoonful of water contains a million billion billion atoms. The period at the end of this sentence contains perhaps a half dozen billion, give or take a billion. Combinations of atoms are called molecules and may include 2 to 2,000 atoms. Hydrogen and oxygen make a good combination adding up to molecules that form the common compound, water. Most atoms exist in compounds, and chemists constantly invent new ones. In the dot of ink at the end of a sentence would be many kinds of atoms in several compounds—hydrogen, oxygen as water, a lot of carbon, and intermixed with the dot of ink individual atoms and group-molecules from the cellulose of the wood-pulp which made the paper you now hold in your hand.

The very smallness of the atom has made it incredibly difficult to study. Much of the research, however fine the calculations, has been done simply by throwing atoms at each other—the so-called bombardment which is done by cyclotrons and other nuclear instruments. From the way in which atoms collide, or bounce off each other, or the way in which the atom-bullets slide through the atoms in their target, physicists have gradually been able to put together a picture which is useful, although at present so incomplete as to be basically unsatisfying.

III

But from the minute size of the atom flows the wonderful precision of measurement now applied by thousands of researchers to the physical world. You can do more precise work with bricks than with boulders.

Man has measured the diameter of the hydrogen atom's nucleus. It is 15/100,000,000,000,000 of a centimeter. Man now can use the hydrogen atom as a probe in the form of a bullet, to explore matter, leading to more precise knowledge than if he were poking into matter with a relatively rough scalpel, razor blade, or the finest point one could get on a needle.

Then we have learned that even the infinitesimally tiny atom is composed of still smaller parts, arranged in a very airy fashion, perhaps something like the solar system.

The outer shell of the atom is the electrons. Cartoonists always picture them somewhat like solid ping-pong balls and draw lines to indicate that they whirl in regular orbits. For many reasons the cartoonists' pictures inaccurately represent what physicists think the atom possibly looks like. Electrons actually have no mass or weight; they may be called particles for convenience, but are only particles of electric charge or energy.

Another major correction of the atom drawing which has become the atom's trademark is that in the heavier elements there are many rings of electrons. Hydrogen has one electron circling around, and one proton in the center. Uranium has 92 electrons, arranged as if in layers, around 92 protons and 146 neutrons.

The cartoonists' picture is off for still another reason—because, small as the atom is, it is mostly empty. The cartonist makes it cozy. It isn't. The electrons whirl so rapidly that they make the atom appear to be a solid sphere. This quality and the electrical forces operating which repel the "bullets" physicists shoot at them go a long way towards establishing atoms as the hard-indivisible balls the Greeks dreamed about as atomes. But they are not homogenous, nor tightly put together.

The nucleus, as the sun of this tiny solar system, is far from the outside rings of electrons. If a nucleus were enlarged to about the size of a baseball, the outermost electrons would be half a mile away. The nucleus of the next nearest atom would thus be a mile away from our first nucleus.

The mass of the atom—and the mass of all matter—is the center of these tiny whirligigs; the really solid stuff is a very small part indeed of what we call matter.

This vast emptiness of the atom gives rise to such dramatic illustrations as those written by George W. Gray, that if we could strip off all the weightless electrons, and concentrate nuclei together, the whole of Mount Everest might be packed into a cigarette case. The earth itself could shrink from its present diameter of 8,000 miles to about a thousand feet. Without the electrons, it would weigh the same. It would be an incredibly hard ball, though not indivisible.

The "vast spaces" between our constituent atoms explain why cosmic rays can pass through our subatomic latticework more easily than a boy can throw a baseball through a rose trellis on a summer's day.

But the key thing that we know which the Greeks did not know at all is the fundamental concept elaborated by Einstein: matter and energy are interchangeable. When the once invincible nucleus is penetrated, and is split into fragments, some of its elements may become parts of other atoms, or some of the nuclear stuff may do a quick change and come off as energy, or as particles traveling with enormous power.

Let's say that we have an atom composed of 100 protons and neutrons and electrons, as a dollar might be composed of pennies, dimes, and quarters. As such it exists and has its being as a dollar atom. Somehow we smash it and its elements reform themselves again into atoms which are harmonious, legitimate currency. However, there is always considerable loose change—charges which might be electrons but with no place to go, neutrons which escape at tremendous velocities—thousands of miles a second—and are not captured in another system. These homeless ones may do a lightning change to become pure energy, or may collide with and impart energy to other atoms.

Some elements—radium and uranium 235 are among them—are naturally unstable. They seem almost to be one of nature's mistakes. Their inner arrangement does not add up to a harmonious total—their particles are not at peace with themselves. Every so often one of their atoms disintegrates. That particular atom sends out some particles or energy and becomes stable. The atoms in a gram of radium will disintegrate at the rate of millions every second, but this is a small number compared with the sextillions of atoms in that gram.

Such unstable elements are called radioactive, and now we know that with modern instruments we can make an atom of almost any element radioactive. The carbon in a dot of ink, for example, can be made so radioactive that some of its atoms will still be disintegrating 20,000 years from now. This is done essentially by throwing into the normal harmonious atom a particle which it cannot digest, and which eventually it throws off.

If carbon atoms are radioactive, their presence anywhere can be detected by a Geiger counter. And it is from this fact that much research with radiation flows.

If we want to know just what a certain organ of the body is doing with the carbon it receives from the outside world, we could "tag" some of the incoming carbon by making it radioactive. Much work has been done in just this way with radioactive iodine, in study of the thyroid gland. There are literally thousands of research projects using this basic tool underway in the world today.

Wiretapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most interesting yet terrifying article captioned "Rise in Wiretapping Brings State Inquiry," written by Charles Grutzner and published in the New York Times on Sunday, February 27, 1955. I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RISE IN WIRETAPPING BRINGS STATE INQUIRY—EAVESDROPPING, LEGAL AND ILLEGAL, IS NOW A WIDESPREAD PRACTICE

(By Charles Grutzner)

One of the livelier shows at the New York World's Fair of 1939–40 ran continuously at the telephone company exhibit, where visitors from all over the country could call the folks back home toll free. The only strings to the deal were the wires leading to 200 earphones to which other fairgoers glued themselves for blissful sanctioned eavesdropping. The operator who got the hinterlands numbers invariably greeted the person who answered with the warning: "People are listening in."

The way wiretapping has spread in the last few years the phone company could do its subscribers and dime-droppers a service by substituting for the dial tone a recording that would say: "Someone may be listening in."

No one has been able to measure accurately, or make even an informed guess at, the odds that the average telephone conversation will be eavesdropped or recorded. That is because so much tapping is done illegally and no public record is made of it.

MOST IN NEW YORK

In only about half a dozen States is it legal for law-enforcement officers to tap phones, and then under varying restrictions. New York, which permits such eavesdropping by law officers only under court order, has without doubt more of it than any other part of the Nation, although Washington, D. C., probably has more per capita.

In New York City, police have been cutting in on phone company wires since 1895. Many policemen, who have mastered the simpler techniques or who work with former phone-company employees, listen in on phones regularly without bothering to get a court order until they come upon a lead they may want to use in court.

Some Federal agencies engage in widespread wiretapping, although strictly speaking it is a Federal offense (section 605, Federal Communications Act), punishable by 2 years in prison, $10,000 fine, or both.

District attorneys' men are frequent telephone eavesdroppers, usually with ccurt orders.

PRIVATE DETECTIVES

Most of the illegal wiretapping is done by private investigators, hired by business concerns to steal trade secrets or to keep tabs on competitors by management to spy on employees; by some union leaders; by jealous husbands and wives; by persons fearing prosecution, and all sorts of other mortals who want either to eavesdrop or to protect themselves against it.

Many private eyes work it both ways. For a price they will tap someone's wire for you or try to find out if someone is tapping yours. The latter assignment is far more difficult to carry out successfully.

It is impossible to determine the full extent of wiretapping. Even sales records of special equipment, if available, would be meaningless because some technicians operate with little more than a $1 set of war surplus earphones and 25 cents' worth of wire. Otherwise use induction devices requiring no physical contact with the telephone wires. Almost every month brings forth new gadgets, some quite Buck Rogers. Some wiretap technicians carry equipment valued at thousands of dollars.

LISTENING POST RAIDED

A clue to the mushrooming of the wiretap practice came within the last 2 weeks when the New York City Anticrime Committee, in asking for a legislative study of the whole situation, broke the news of a secret police raid on a wiretap listening post on midtown Manhattan's East Side.

Police who made the raid on February 11 kept it a secret even from District Attorney Frank S. Hogan. The first the district attorney, who is charged with enforcing the anti-wiretap law, knew of the raid was after John O'Mara, executive director of the Anticrime Committee, informed the legislature 6 days later. The police have never explained how it was that a large amount of electronic equipment in the apartment vanished between those dates. Mayor Wagner called in Police Commissioner Francis W. H. Adams, in an attempt to clear up the mystery.

The legislature has ordered an investigation of wiretapping in all its ramifications. A joint committee will hold public hearings and report by March 31 whether new legislation is needed. That is exactly what the Anticrime Committee wanted. The committee, privately financed, feels that there is too much ambiguity, too much hypocrisy, too much legal grayness, instead of clear-cut black-and-whiteness about the whole situation.

NEW LAWS NEEDED

The fast-spreading use of eavesdropping and recording devices that require no direct contact with the wires has raised some doubts as to the applicability of existing laws. Perhaps new definitions are in order, as well as straightforward Federal and State laws that will be enforced by the officials.

In the 21 years since Congress passed section 605 only one person has been convicted under the Federal wiretap ban. The lone luckless wight was Jacob Gruber, a lawyer, who went to jail for inducing a switchboard girl in the Securities and Exchange Commission to cut him in on phone conversations involving investigation of one of his clients. Ironically, Mr. Gruber was not even a wire-and-plier man. He was convicted under that part of the law which makes it a crime to intercept and divulge a telephone communication.

JUSTICE UNIT'S ATTITUDE

The Department of Justice position on wiretapping is one of the most interesting aspects of the overall problem. The Department has frankly declined to prosecute other wiretappers because its own men tap wires illegally. Former Attorney General Robert H. Jackson admitted as much publicly in 1940.

Federal law not only makes a crime of wiretapping but forbids use in court of evidence so obtained. The FBI and other agencies have resorted to wiretapping nonetheless, because this was the only way they could obtain leads in some investigations. After getting information from tapped wires, they then substantiated it by other means and went into court with evidence which, although stemming from an original illegal practice, did not require the wiretap evidence in court.

It was this particuular tactic by the Department of Justice that led to one of the reversals of the conviction of Judith Coplon, charged with giving Justice Department secrets to a Russian spy. The Coplon appeal was based, in part, on a 1939 precedent in which Justice Felix Frankfurter, writing the Supreme Court's majority opinion, referred to any evidence stemming from an original wiretap, no matter how well substantiated by other means, as "the fruit of the poisoned tree."

Wiretapping by Federal agencies won powerful support, although it was not legalized, when President Roosevelt in 1940 sent a secret memorandum to the Department of Justice approving of its use in certain specific cases of suspected espionage. Although not so intended, this was interpreted as a green light for much more wiretapping than the FBI had originally indulged in.

FEDERAL ACTION MINOR

But the Federal wiretapping is nothing compared to that of local police and private investigators across the country.

A former law-enforcement officer told this writer a few days ago:

"Detectives use wiretaps on maybe half of all the important police cases in New York, and many use wiretaps as a routine thing to pick up leads on bookmaking, prostitution, and other crimes without bothering to get court orders or even to let their captains know they're tapping."

One reason for shortcutting the legal order, which can be obtained in New York State from a Supreme Court, county court or general sessions judge, is the unwillingness some judges are showing now to sign such orders. Supreme Court Justice Samuel H. Hofstadter, in denying the applications for three policemen to tap wires in a bookmaking case only last month, said a tapped wire was "far more devastating—to civil rights—than a search warrant." His decision was hailed by the Civil Liberties Union as a "major victory to preserve the constitutional right of privacy."

INNOCENT PARTIES

It must be remembered that whenever a law enforcement officer—or anyone else—taps a wire he hears the conversations not only of the suspected parties but also of innocent persons who may use the tapped lines. In the case of taps on public telephones, which is widespread in bookmaking and some other cases, thousands of personal secrets, confidences and other conversations of innocent persons may be eavesdropped—and possibly played back in court on the same disk with a bookie's or prostitute's talk which preceded or followed it on the public phone.

Not all police, and certainly not all private investigators, limit their use of eavesdropped talks to those conversations they set out to hear. Blackmail and sale of business secrets, though incidental, have been found lucrative to crooked operators. A policeman who will share a prostitute's earnings or shake down bookmakers—neither of which is an unheard of occurrence in police circles—will not hesitate to sell secret information he has stumbled upon.

FOR THE POLICE

Among the wiretap technicians a favorite story is that of the former signal corps GI, who tinkered with radios and electronics when he got out of the Army. The local police captain asked him one day if he could tap the wires of neighborhood bookmakers. The ex-soldier complied, glad to oblige the law, even if illegally. He was surprised when the captain later gave him a fat fee. After that he was less surprised to learn that the captain was using the taps to check on the bookies' business to make sure they gave him an honest deal in the protection payoff.

New York State law, while providing penalties of 2 years and $1,000 for wiretapping, does not make it an offense for a man to put a device on his own phone to protect his business interests or the sanctity of his home.

Speech of Dr. Harold D. Fasnacht, President of La Verne College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, last January, President Fasnacht, of La Verne College, which is located in my district, visited Washington and conferred with a number of Government officials. When he returned to California he discussed some of his observations of Washington in a speech before the Kiwanis Club. Mr. Lee Aldrich, editor of the San Dimas Press, printed the entire text of Dr. Fasnacht's speech in his newspaper on March 3, 1955. The speech follows:

FASNACHT SEES NATIONAL OFFICIALS AS SINCERE, EARNEST, AND DEDICATED

(By Dr. Harold D. Fasnacht)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Dr. Harold D. Fasnacht, president of La Verne College, made some remarks at a recent Kiwanis Club meeting about his impressions of our national officials in the Nation's Capital which the Press editor felt should have much wider circulation. Upon request he gladly consented to write those impressions for publication. He has done so and they follow:)

In January I had the privilege of attending the Association of American Colleges Convention in Washington, D. C. It was one of the greatest educational experiences of my life—not only because of the conference itself, but because of related opportunities in Washington and en route.

Each time I go to Washington, I return home with a new appreciation of our National Capital. My sensitivities to the work of our leaders in Washington are awakened and whetted. One cannot be long in Washington without being aware that the hub of the Nation, perhaps the world, revolves there. Indeed, people—important people—are there from all over the world. They have reason to be there, and that reason makes them busy and important people.

But, in spite of the fact that Washington is a busy place, and by its very nature a large and impersonal metropolis, I feel a sense of belonging while there. There are reasons for it.

I had the unique privilege, with several hundred other college presidents, of seeing and hearing President Eisenhower in person. He addressed the conference luncheon briefly, in person. Intensive preparation had been made. Each of us had to have our credentials approved to be admitted to the luncheon. The Secret Service and Washington police were in evidence literally everywhere. The President's personal flags and banners were draped along the platform. There was spontaneous applause and enthusiasm when he entered. I sat at a luncheon table not over 30 feet from where he stood to speak. I could study his features, the depth of his reflections, his sincerity.

He spoke without notes, but obviously from a well-thought-out sequence of ideas. He told us presidents that he had one thing on his mind at this moment, above others. It was that he wanted us to challenge our faculties to find the answer to the greatest need of the day—that of how to get along with ourselves and with other nations. It is the problem of human relations, he insisted. He said that no one else had so vital a stake in it as the liberal arts colleges, and he said further that at center, it is a religious matter and based upon religious values. He was in dead earnest about the peace of the world. Everyone was easily aware of how it weighted on him—this problem of dealing with the other nations of the world.

Mrs. Peter Marshall and Dr. Edward L. R. Elson (the President's pastor) addressed our convention. The admonitions of the Sermon on the Mount and the imperative of Christianity were lifted. One could feel that the influence of such great souls was an outreach for good from the Nation's Capital.

I visited several Government offices. On the way eastward, I had business at the office of the Regional Housing Administrator in San Francisco. I spent an hour in Congressman PAT HILLING'S office. I wanted to share viewpoints regarding United Nations, selective service, social security, and the postal rates. From his office I went to see Senator GORDON ALLOTT, newly-elected Senator from Colorado, whom I have known since boyhood, for we grew up in the same community. We talked of some of the same problems. Although both of them were extremely busy, for it was the week of the organization of congressional committees, they had time to listen to my viewpoints, and to express their concerns.

It was almost by chance that I heard that Col. Merlyn McLaughlin, a former teaching associate in Denver, was in the Pentagon as a high official in the Air Force. I phoned to say hello. He would have it no other way than for me to catch a taxi and come out. He met me at the entrance, showed me through a part of the labrynth of winding corridors in the Pentagon and to his office. Long distance calls and personal interviews awaited but he had time to introduce me to his friendly associates.

My convictions about Washington were deepened as I left the city. Whatever one's political viewpoints, whatever your attitude toward particular personalities, theories, or policies, one must admit that the men and women who go there to direct and coordinate the affairs of our Government are trying to do a terrific job. They are busy and overburdened. They are human, and they do err; they have widely varying viewpoints toward the methods of achieving aims, but I believe that the overwhelming majority want to go the same direction. They are sincere, earnest, dedicated, and unselfish.

Postal Increase Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial written by Mr. Robert Ingalls and published in the Corvallis (Oreg.) Gazette-Times:

POSTAL INCREASE NEEDED

Almost all Congressmen are leary of doing anything about the constantly increasing deficit operation of the United States Post Office. They feel a boost in rates would make people unhappy—and we presume it would. However, most people are reasonable and when the facts are explained to them they are usually willing to go along.

Here is the situation faced by the Post Office Department:

Right now this business-type enterprise within the Government is being operated on a prewar price level and a postwar cost level. Consequently, it is now losing money at the rate of at least a million dollars every working day. Since World War II, during a period of unprecedented national prosperity, the Post Office Department has operated at a total loss of more than $4 billion. The interest alone on this portion of the national debt is costing American taxpayers more than $100 million a year.

In spite of the fact the Department lost $399.5 million in the fiscal year of 1954, pending wage increases and other employee benefits that will cost at least $166 million more per year are being considered. Most of these benefits are deserved and necessary.

The question is, Should we go on deceiving ourselves by keeping postal rates artificially low and taxing ourselves additionally to pay the deficit and the interest thereon?

Somehow, this just doesn't make sense. In the first place it costs everyone more money and in the second place everyone pays proportionately regardless of how much they use the mails. It would seem more intelligent and fair for those who use the mails to pay the costs.

Watson Wooddy, Corvallis postmaster, has given us some interesting facts on the mail-rate situation and we pass them on to you.

The 3-cent first-class mail rate was established back in 1932. Since that time Post Office expenses have doubled and the mail user's ability to pay has increased doubly as well. The cost of almost everything else has also doubled (actually about 97 percent).

In 1954 the cost of handling the average first-class letter was 0.0312 cent and it will be higher in 1955. So it costs you in additional taxes a percentage of .0012 cent every time someone drops a letter in the box. The cost of handling the same letter in 1932 with the same postage rate was .0189. Quite a difference.

To make the recommended 1-cent increase on first-class mail easier to digest it should be pointed out that at least three-fourths of all letter mail originates with commercial users and that an increase of 1 cent on the first ounce of first-class family mail would cost the average United States family about 10 cents per month.

Additional rates in proportion have been recommended for all the other mail classifications. It is estimated that if all the increases were approved by Congress the Post Office Department would be able to operate on close to a pay-as-you-go basis. It would seem intelligent to have the actual users of the mails paying a larger share of the costs instead of ultimately transferring them to the shoulders of the American taxpayers.

Congress should muster up its courage and push the increases of postal rates.

Ethics in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very

thoughtful and provocative address by our former colleague, the Honorable William Benton. The address on Ethics and Politics was delivered before the Harvard Law School Forum on February 18, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ETHICS AND POLITICS

As a part-time politician, I thank Harvard for the chance to share this platform with two professionals. I also feel honored because politics is a noble calling—one of the noblest—and I am proud to be part of it, even part time.

Just 20 years ago I sold out my interest in my first creative business enterprise—the New York advertising agency of Benton & Bowles, which I founded. I dedicated 6½ years of my life to Benton & Bowles, big full-time years, when I thought only of business and of financial risks, uncertainties, and profits; but of the 20 years since I've devoted myself, in about equal parts, to 3 fields of action: first, to higher education, as an administrative officer of a university and as a college and university trustee; secondly, to the 3 businesses which I control and own—in publishing, motion pictures, and music; and, thirdly, to politics, including service as Assistant Secretary of State, and later as a United States Senator.

Thus, I've had an opportunity to compare the ethics of practitioners in three major fields. If we here tonight were to ask Dr. Gallup or Mr. Roper to get us a rating scale of public opinion on the relative virtue—or perhaps the word is respectability—of the three groups, I'm sure the professors would come in first—almost with haloes; the businessmen would rate second, because, as President Coolidge said, "the business of America is business"; and the politicians would come last, and many would label them as mendacious and corrupt.

My own rating scale, based on my observations of the 20 years, and taking into account the pressures to which each group is subjected, would reverse that order. I would put the politicians first—and remember, please, I am speaking of ethics—and the professors last.

I hasten to assure you that my veneration for scholarship and the life of learning is not diminished by my discovery of its ethical deficiencies as ethics are understood by practitioners of business and politics. The professor does not apply his high code of scholarship to one significant facet in any code of ethics, the realm of private and personal relationships.

Early in 1949, after I had served in the State Department as a high administrative officer working closely with the Congress, but before I had any notion I'd ever serve in the United States Senate, I gave a talk to the Sales Executive Club of New York. I may have startled some of the members with this paragraph:

"The truth is that the Members of Congress—the five-hundred-odd Members of Congress—are the finest group of men that I have ever met anywhere; and on integrity, intelligence, hard work, they rank above any group of men with whom I've ever worked and, believe me, I know the business community well. I know the board of trustees of the committee for economic development, and I am not without friends in the chamber of commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers. I would trust our United States destiny overwhelmingly to the Members of Congress, judged by intelligence, integrity, competence, and hard work, far ahead of trusting our country's future to the top business leaders as represented in these business associations. That is as great a tribute as I know how to pay to a group of men who are so frequently kicked around, and abused, misunderstood, and unappreciated."

Today I still hold with that view—and with far greater emphasis after my 3 years in the United States Senate—I hold with it even after 3 years' exposure in the Senate to the condemned man from Wisconsin. The ethical practices of politicians are greatly underrated in contrast to other groups in our American community; and it is by such contrast that they must in part be judged.

The notion that all politics is dirty is one cause of the cynicism and apathy that keeps nearly half of all our eligible voters away from the polls, even in presidential years—a disgraceful record compared with the democracies of Europe. I pause here to pay high praise to my State of Connecticut where 93½ percent of the eligible voters went to the polls in 1952, the highest percentage ever achieved in any State in any election. I praise this percentage even though it was the Eisenhower vote which accounted for my own defeat.

This idea that politics is dirty is also one reason why otherwise estimable citizens avoid any personal involvement in politics. The truth is that only some politics is dirty.

We are not here to minimize the ethical problems of politics. Many of these problems are very old indeed. From the Old Testament on, a high proportion of the great books of our Western World have debated the virtues that are required of political leaders, and the vices associated with political power and with the struggle for power. Plato and Aristotle had much to say about this; Plutarch very much. So did Machiavelli and later the 18th century philosophers.

As my approach to the problem before us tonight, I shall seek to identify some major ethical problems of politics as they exhibit themselves in our day; and secondly I shall discuss some steps we might consider in our effort to resolve them, at least in part, for our generation—more precisely, how we might pursue those steps which may reduce the powerful pressures toward mendacity and corruption which our society inflicts on our politicians.

What are some of those pressures? And what are some of the easier things we can do to relieve them? In these two questions I pose a long series of discussions and debates before this forum. We cannot undertake tonight to develop a catalog. I shall only try to identify for you four major areas of acute ethical discomfort in politics, and briefly suggest approaches to relieving them.

I shall not invoke for you that great tried and true remedy of the orators and reformers, the only true, permanent, and sovereign cure, that of an ardent and informed citizenry. I shall not invoke it if only because from my efforts to sell encyclopedias and other books I know some of the difficulties in achieving this goal. This is a true goal, a great one, but it is very long range, indeed.

Two of my four areas concern election campaigns. The other two concern the conduct of an officeholder, specifically a Member of Congress, once he has achieved election.

There are really three kinds of politicians. There's the candidate who's running and any good candidate must run hard. Then there's the same man after he's been elected, the officeholder. Finally, there's the man in the back room, the professional, the manipulator and compromiser whose power is often absolute and whose word must be better than other men's bond.

My comments tonight deal with the first two species of homo political and ignore the third, who is often the most important of all.

As the first of my four areas, let's look at the financing of campaigns. This is the single most ticklish ethical question in the whole field of elective politics. Every candidate is now a panhandler, first among his friends, and then among people he hopes to make his friends. (Of course, I'm talking about Democratic candidates—we Democrats realize that a bottomless cornucopia flows automatically into the Republican coffers.)

The school of thought which holds that all politics is dirty of course believes that candidates and their campaigns are bought and paid for by the so-called vested interests. The truth is at least cousinly to this belief: It is that nearly every candidate, at least for Federal office, must violate the spirit if not the letter of corrupt practices legislation. The limitations set forth in the corrupt practices legislation are unrealistic for our day. Since these acts were passed, campaign costs have increased 400 percent to 500 percent and they will increase further with the greater use of television. The Congressional Quarterly records that candidates for Congress are now reporting a national total of $10 million in expenses per election, and the Congressional Quarterly adds: "The reported spending is actually far below what it cost to elect many candidates for contested seats." Ten million is by no means an excessive total. The truth far exceeds this. Ten million is far too small to underwrite and pay for the campaigns which must be waged. All the professionals know this. Ask Mr. DeSapio. If you don't believe him, ask Mr. Javits.

Further, in defense of these higher and ever higher expenditures, may I suggest that our political campaigns are our principal instrument for education in public issues, as our elections are our principal instrument for determining the public will. On that alleged $10 million rides the decisions we shall make about many tens of billions and, potentially, hundreds of thousands of lives. The ten million by current standards is a pittance. It's the old nickel subway ride.

Unhappily for the morals of our generation, the present pattern of our corrupt practices laws, Federal and State, is such a sieve that any Harvard undergraduate can drive a bulldozer through the holes. What is now needed is a realistic revision of existing corrupt practices laws, and then rigid enforcement of the new legislation.

Among reforms required is new legislation to provide high penalties on corporation officials who reimburse themselves, in one way or another, from their companies, for their campaign gifts. Another urgently needed reform is a greatly improved system of reporting campaign contributions. A contribution made in the open loses much of the sinister character of a hidden gift. I would insist also that this reporting take place not only immediately after the election but shortly before it, and again at stated intervals following the election, to disclose how a campaign deficit, if there is one—and there frequently is—is met. I think all of us should know about the NIXON funds, even before the recipient becomes a candidate for Vice President.

Fifty years ago Theodore Roosevelt felt so strongly about the ethical hazards in campaign financing that he recommended that Congress provide "an appropriation for the proper and legitimate expenses of each of the great national parties." I'm not sure I'd go quite as far, but I'm not sure I wouldn't. Here's a good study for some willing doctor of philosophy candidate. But before I embrace President Theodore Roosevelt, I'd like to examine possible ways to broaden the base of political giving. As a people we haven't yet learned to give for politics. Our political fund raisers—and many of my best friends do it—are almost all of them part-time amateurs. Philanthropic money raising is developing as a science and an art. The political parties and partisans have yet to learn the techniques of the Red Cross, the Community Chest, the March of Dimes, the

Harvard Alumni Association, to which you are about to become abject subjects.

I'm merely opening the door into this first dark and murky area, that of the financing of political campaigns. I'm giving you a peek, but with little light. I haven't even touched the high spots.

I move hastily into my second area of danger—the character of the campaign itself.

I hasten to assure you I have no hope of overcoming the current excessive flamboyance of campaigns. I refer to the kind of exaggeration for which we Americans have developed a high tolerance.

But can we not concern ourselves with a moral peril point which is reached when a campaign becomes vilification and defamation—an attempt to political assassination? As a high example, I place in this category Governor Dewey's speech in Hartford, the capital of my State, when he told his audience that "Whenever anybody mentions the words 'Truman' and 'Democrat' to you, for the rest of your lives remember that these words are synonymous with Americans dying thousands of miles from home because they did not have the ammunition to defend themselves. Remember that the words 'Truman' and 'Democrat' mean bungling our country into war and the lack of courage or the capacity to win the war or to win a truce."

I take this as my example because this comes from no irresponsible political campaigner but from the 8-year titular head of one of our two great parties—a far more responsible role than that of any governor or United States Senator.

I take this as an example because I am here at the Harvard Law School talking to young men who could not be blamed if they wished to emulate Governor Dewey's present role, as a senior partner, in nomenclature at least, in a firm not unknown even in my community of Fairfield, Conn.

In this, my second area, I ask 2 questions, though I am not applying these 2 questions to my reference to Tom Dewey, who is perhaps an understandable idol for any young Harvard Law School student, even though a dubious one by the ethical standards which is our subject tonight. I ask these questions of those who seek to teach you. First, I ask whether our laws of libel and slander, applied to political campaigns, should be strengthened. In practice we have made it almost impossible for a complainant to recover damages for statements made about him in a political campaign. We have taken the position that "all's fair in love and politics." Perhaps a change is in the offing: A few weeks ago a New York court assessed $25,000 damages against a candidate for Congress who described 2 of his opponent's workers as Communist fellow travelers. In my own second campaign advertisements were run all over Connecticut attacking me in eight points as a Communist.

Is there not a question here of legitimate interest to your forum and to the Harvard Law School?

Even more valuable than strengthened libel and slander laws could be the creation of a permanent Citizens Elections Practices Commission, a national body which could serve as a model for similar State commissions. I urged the creation of such a Commission when I served in the Senate. Such a nonpartisan Commission of distinguished private citizens could be called upon, among other responsibilities, to issue reports each 2 years after elections—a kind of referee to report on low blows delivered during the heat of campaigns and to admonish against them, and then to recommend criteria of responsibility. Such a Commission could sponsor an era of public enlightenment which our politics desperately needs.

My last two areas of moral hazard, for officeholders, are characteristically pitfalls of office as they are traps for campaigners. The first of these involves the familiar old dilemma of compromise. George Bernard Shaw once described a political situation as "smirched with compromise, rotted with opportunism, mildewed by expedience, stretched out of shape with wirepulling, and putrified with permeation." But politics has also been defined as the art of the possible. It has been defined even more precisely for the politician by T. V. Smith as "the art of compromising an issue without compromising yourself."

Compromise is necessary and inevitable in politics. But exactly where, in the necessary and inevitable compromising, exactly where lies the question of ethics? A good compromise is the best practicable solution of a problem, possible at a given time, in the interest of one's constituency, and of one's nation.

A bad compromise is a politician's decision to support the proposals of a special interest group, even though they may conflict with the general interest. A classical example is pork-barrel legislation. Personal financial gain is rarely the consideration of the politician in such compromises. What is at stake is votes the politician seeks to own or control. Rarely is outright cynicism involved, but rather what might be called gymnastic rationalization. That is why I prefer to speak of relieving pressure on the politicians, rather than of redeeming sinners.

The root of the pork-barrel problem, and by any other name it smells the same, is that the special pleaders control a bloc of votes—or successfully create the illusion that they do—and the politician is not convinced that he opposes the bloc, no matter how small it may be, he will gain an off-setting support in the general citizenry, by virtue of his opposition.

Here is the great potential role for the voters' league, the citizens' council, the women who prefer politics to poetry. Here is the answer to the familiar question, "Does it do any good to write to your Congressman?"

Now let me move to my fourth area of acute ethical discomfort in the field of politics. This springs from the politician's need for publicity. Of all the crafts and professions, politics, and the theater are the two for which publicity seems indispensible. This is no mere matter of ego satisfaction for the performers. A good press transiates into tickets at the box office, and into votes at the polls.

Applied to the politician, this urgent need for publicity is consistent with democratic theory. The ethical dilemma feeds upon the fact that what is interesting, what is newsworthy, has no necessary relation to what is important.

Congressman who knocks himself out trying to master tax measures, appropriations bills, tariff problems, water resource issues, or any key problem, may find his lazy colleague, or his opponent, grabbing the headlines with a quick denunciation of the latest shakeup in the Politbureau.

When I was a very junior Senator—in fact No. 96 in seniority—a batch of Hoover Commission proposals, for the improvement and reorganization of the Federal Government came before the Committee on Expenditures, of which I was the junior member. To my surprise, many of these worthy proposals had no Senate champion. Perhaps because of my business background these proposals to save money and achieve efficiency appealed to me powerfully. I leaped into the breach, not, I like to believe, without some success. One columnist said of mé he couldn't decide whether I was a Sir Galahad or just naive. I never was a Galahad; I happen to think my heart is reasonably pure, but it never gave me the strength of 10, or even one and a half in the Senate. But I was puzzled. The Senate has many able and dedicated men. Why had they not stepped forward?

Senator Wherry helped me gain understanding. After my speech in support of the Hoover Commission proposal to reorganize certain aspects of the Treasury Department's relationship to the banks, and I was the only Senator to speak for this proposal which was opposed by the banks and finally mustered only 7 votes, Senator Wherry left his front row seat as Republican leader and walked back to my back row No. 96. We were friends from my State Department days. He said, "Bill, your speech reminds me of my first as as a Senator; I prepared it carefully; as I spoke I saw the old and distinguished heads nodding in approval; I thought I was doing fine; but when the vote came, I wasn't there; I didn't have them; and I remember that as I walked off the floor Senator Reynolds came up to me and put a consoling arm around my shoulder."

At this point, Senator Wherry put his arm around me.

"Kenny," Senator Reynolds said to me, "Kenny, we was with you as long as you was talkin'."

I learned that, older and wiser than I, the old hands of the Senate knew there was no political sex appeal in reorganization. There was little publicity, almost no incentive in terms of popular support, meaning votes in the next election, and there were some real and terrible penalties in terms of organized opposition of those who think they stand to lose, whether they be bankers or postoffice workers.

In this my fourth area there is a great opportunity for creative ideas and I have one suggestion I'll give you tonight. Can we develop a system of recognition which is independent of newsworthiness? A month or so ago, when Harold Lasswell of the Yale Law School was visiting me, I suggested an idea to him. He is to be president of the American Political Science Association next year. I suggested that the association each year designate the 10 Members of Congress who had done the most valuable unpublicized work of the year. If no member could be named twice in 5 years, that would mean that every 5 years 50 members would receive such recognition. I do not believe it would be difficult to make the selections. Such matters are common knowledge to the staffs on Capitol Hill. And I would not underestimate the value of such recognition even in a campaign. I believe Senator DOUGLAS would acknowledge other value to him in last fall's election in Illinois of the fact he had been named the No. 1 Senator in a poll of Capital news correspondents.

My suggestion here is trivial, however, in contrast to the problem in this area. I give it to you because it's quick and easy. This problem well warrants a full evening by your forum.

Many of you young men here tonight in this historic hall will find yourselves within a few years deep in politics. I say, strength to your arms. The risks and hazards and pressures of politics are great. But the rewards outweigh them all. All your capabilities, all your experience will be called into play. And when other desires and ambitions have been satisfied, or blunted by the years, your desire to serve the public interest will sustain you.

I have outlined some of the pressure that operate against morality in politics. I have suggested a few possible ways of helping to relieve such pressures. But I have not mentioned the best solution of all. That solution is everywhere in this hall tonight. It is in yourselves, and in what you can and will and must do, for yourselves and for your country and for all of us, as you of the Harvard Law School move into politics. As your generation moves in and takes over American politics, in line with the great history of this hall and university, to which your presence here tonight shows you chose to con-

form, you will bring to politics all the truth and earnestness and honor that is in you. This is the best solution, the great solution, and to it I hope that some of you may dedicate yourselves here—in this hall—tonight.

Results of Russia's 5-Year Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by R. H. Shackford, a Scripps-Howard staff writer, which is entitled "Promises Galore—Five 5-Year Plans Net Nothing."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of March 4, 1955]

PROMISES GALORE—FIVE 5-YEAR PLANS NET NOTHING

(By R. H. Shackford)

Scene: Moscow hotel lobby.

Time: During 1947 Foreign Ministers Conference.

Characters: Old lady cloakroom attendant; stenographer for United States delegation.

Old lady (looking closely at girl's handsome hairdress, well-tailored dress, sheer nylons, and attractive shoes): Americanski?

Stenographer: Yes.

Old lady: Ah, you have everything. We got nothing. They promise us everything. But we get nothing.

The Russian people still are getting nothing but promises.

The Soviet's own statistics prove how great is the Russian need for butter over guns.

Former Premier Malenkov produced some revealing facts about the Soviet planned economy during his brief stay at the top.

Stalin started his forced industrialization plan for Russia with the first 5-year plan in 1928.

Almost five 5-year plans later—in the 25 years between 1928 and Stalin's death in early 1953—the Soviet state invested more than 1 trillion rubles for industrialization. By the Soviet's official phony rate of exchange that is $40 billion but actually closer to $100 billion in terms of real purchasing power.

STILL NOTHING

But as the little old lady in the Moscow hotel cloakroom remarked, the average Russian got nothing from that huge investment.

Malenkov himself gave the breakdown of the 25-year expenditure of that 1 trillion rubles as follows:

Heavy industry: 683 billion rubles—65.5 percent.

Transportation: 193 billion rubles—18.5 percent.

Agriculture: 94 billion rubles—9 percent.

Light industry (consumers' goods): 72 billion rubles—7 percent.

Thus 84 percent of the 25-year investment went for heavy industry and transportation, while only about 16 percent was aimed at the Russian consumer. No other nation in the world has ever attained industrialization by so grinding its people. The United States, Britain, and Germany became industrial nations by parallel development of heavy and consumer industries

Latest figures on Soviet industrial output and Kremlin plans for this year—the last year of the fifth 5-year plan—show a decrease for consumer goods for both 1954 and 1955. Here are the figures based on official Soviet indexes showing the industrial trend toward less and less for the Russian people:

[In billions of rubles]

Year	Total output	Heavy industry	Consumer goods	Percent consumer goods
1940	139	85	54	38.8
1950	240	174	66	27.5
1952	309	223	86	27.8
1954	390	288	102	26.2
1955 (plan)	431	319	112	25.8

The School-Lunch Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a statement I have today submitted to the Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture in opposition to the proposed cut in moneys for the school-lunch program. The statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am grateful for this opportunity to express my opposition to the proposed reduction in appropriations for the school-lunch program. Budget recommendations, if followed, would mean a reduction of approximately $15 million worth of section 6 foods, and such action would seriously affect the school-lunch program in my State. With an increasing number of children participating, we need these section 6 foods along with the donated commodities received each year to keep our children's meals up to standard. If the $15 million were cut off, it would mean less adequate meals, fewer free meals, and the closing of several schools.

Section 6 foods are of value to the school-lunch program because children throughout the country need more vitamin C than they receive at home. Canned fruits and vegetables are very necessary for an adequate and well-balanced diet, a diet that is delectable, interesting, and colorful. Peanut butter is accepted and enjoyed by practically all children, and this product supplies the additional proteins needed by youngsters.

An increasing number of meals are being served under this program in West Virginia, and this might be expected as a result of any normal population growth. Even though our Federal appropriations should continue at $83,236,197, one can see how thinly it has to be distributed when figures from the biennial report of 1947–48 are compared with those of the 1953–54 report.

	1947–48	1953–54
Number of schools participating	1,278	1,478
Number of meals served	13,406,002	21,394,925
Number of free meals served	2,215,750	3,334,503
Average daily participation	86,828	123,862
Total expenditure	$3,097,484.35	$5,149,117.77
Amount paid by children	$1,782,611.87	$3,551,219.87

West Virginia's population, however, is not increasing. Rather, it has been decreasing over the past several months as a result of conditions in the coal industry which have seriously and adversely affected the State's economy. Notwithstanding the fact that there has been a decrease in population, there is an accelerated increase in school lunches served. In December of 1954, we had an average daily participation of 143,474 children, or almost 20,000 more children per day than we had last year.

Gentlemen, these facts are enough to convince anyone that it would be a serious mistake to curtail this humanitarian program. Many children never receive a well-balanced and appetizing meal other than that which is provided under the school-lunch program. Over 225,000 people in West Virginia are dependent upon surplus food commodities at the present time. In such a distressed area, anyone who is willing to look a fact in the eye can see that children are being deprived of adequate diets in the home, and must depend upon meals such as those served at school for additional fruits and vegetables so necessary to proper health and growth.

Gentlemen, if this Government must retrench and curtail its spending, let it not be miserly in a program like this, a program which, in my opinion, is one of the best ever to be devised.

A nation's wealth is not to be found only in natural resources; its greatest wealth is in its human resources, its people, and these must be healthy in mind and in body if America is to be strong. Let us not be penny-wise and pound foolish in our attempts to economize. I am in favor of economizing wherever and whenever it is practicably possible to do so, but I submit that funds for the school-lunch program cannot be and should not be cut in the name of economy. I urge you, therefore, as members of this committee, not to sustain the reduction that has been recommended. I beseech and implore you to restore the amount to the extent that it will equal or surpass the figure within which the States are presently operating. The health and welfare of children cannot be measured in dollars and cents, and the strength of this Nation lies not in its gold and silver but in its boys and girls, the men and women of the future.

A Tribute to Thomas Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, next Monday, March 7, marks the 105th anniversary of the birth of the founder and liberator of the Czech Republic. I am extending my remarks to pay tribute to this great man.

America has always had a warm place in her heart for Thomas Masaryk. Many thousands of Americans either came themselves or are descendants of men and women who came to us from the land of Thomas Masaryk, Czechoslovakia.

Furthermore, Thomas Masaryk had spent some time in the United States, where he had worked toward the final achievement of his goal, the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic. Here in Washington, he was a close friend of our great wartime President, Woodrow Wilson. And like Wilson, he

was a scholar, a statesman, and a great leader of democracy.

Most of all, however, it was in America that Thomas Masaryk saw embodied many of the ideals of democracy which inspired his drive toward the achievement of national independence for Czechoslovakia. It was, therefore, partly upon the same principles which motivate American democracy that Masaryk constructed the Czechoslovak Republic.

On the anniversary of the birthday of Thomas Masaryk, it is fitting that all Americans pause to pay tribute to the memory of this great Czech patriot. In our tributes let us not forget the homeland of Masaryk, a nation which now lies downtrodden beneath the yoke of the Communist aggressor. The Communists destroyed the Republic of Thomas Masaryk, but they can never destroy the ideals for which he dedicated his life. It is our prayer, as it once was Thomas Masaryk's, that Czechoslovakia will once again be free and independent.

The New Rules, The Old Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the New York Post of March 7, 1955, is deserving of our attention:

THE NEW RULES, THE OLD GAME

Attorney General Brownell's heralded reorganization of the Federal security program is a hoax. It embodies no basic changes in the unjust, oppressive system which has brought demoralization to the Government service and dishonor to the country.

In four basic respects the allegedly revised setup bears deadly resemblance to the plan Herblock has called the United States internal insecurity program.

1. No attempt is made to reduce the scope of the screening process. Now, as before, all Federal employees will be subjected to investigation, reinvestigation, and re-reinvestigation, whether they hold strategic posts in sensitive agencies or they serve as minor flunkies to assistants to assistant bureaucrats in public relations.

2. No revision is proposed in the loose, sweeping definitions of "security risk" which have resulted in so many unwarranted dismissals. It was the fantastic vagueness of the criteria which enabled two different Government agencies to reach utterly divergent conclusions in the monstrous Ladejinsky affair.

3. No machinery is set up to allow dismissed employees to appeal to any agency outside the department from which they have been fired. Ezra Benson, for example, will remain the final arbiter of the fate of Agriculture employees despite the know-nothingism he exhibited in dealing with Ladejinsky; there is no court of appeal within the Government.

4. Finally, perhaps most serious, accused employees will still be denied the right to confront their accusers whenever the Justice Department and the FBI deem it in the interest of national security to shield an informant. In a brief filed in the Supreme Court Friday in a loyalty case, Brownell made it plain that "undercover agents, paid informers, and casual informers" must be "guaranteed anonymity" in most instances. (It may be of major future signifiance that Simon Sobeloff, the Solicitor General, declined to sign it.)

In short, the dirty business of anonymous attack will go on as usual despite President Eisenhower's assertion that "the right to meet your accuser face to face" is a treasured American principle.

Undoubtedly there are exceptional cases in which the identity of a trained intelligence operative must be guarded. But the exception has become the rule; secrecy has become the refuge for a wide variety of professional character assassins, volunteer scoundrels, and irresponsible gossips.

What the Brownell formula amounts to is nothing more than a pious promise to behave better, to be more careful, to produce accusers once in a while, when it seems entirely convenient, and to avoid the embarrassing confusion created by the Benson-Stassen dispute over Ladejinsky.

No doubt Brownell hopes his rhetorical flourish will end the debate. But we believe the argument has just begun.

Americans have too long tacitly accepted abuses and wrongs and follies committed in the name of national security. Now, almost concurrent with the Ladejinsky debacle, other things have happened to force an agonizing reappraisal of the whole security panic. The recantations of Harvey Matusow, mingled with the revelations of false testimony by 2 witnesses in an FCC case, have thrown new and painful light on the business of accusation in America.

The disclosures have shaken many men and institutions. Currently the Senate Internal Security Committee is engaged in a frantic attempt to prove that Matusow is a low character in bad company. Such hearings are hardly necessary; Matusow boasts of his incorrigible unreliability. The question is why he was able to fool so many respectable men while he was playing the anti-Communist side of the street. Who protected him? How did so many supersleuths—in Government, on congressional committees and in McCarthyite journalism—fall for him?

Nothing in the new Brownell program offers any real assurance that another Matusow will not be permitted to destroy innocent men while their backs are turned. That is the issue Brownell—like so many of Matusow's old playmates—is trying to evade. But the issue haunts Washington.

John Marshall Harlan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "An Evasive Witness," which appeared in the Standard-Times, of New Bedford, Mass., on March 4, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN EVASIVE WITNESS

John Marshall Harlan, the Federal judge from New York who has been nominated to the United States Supreme Court, assumed a decidedly defensive attitude when questioned by the Senate Judiciary Committee which is now weighing his appointment. Although he was afforded several excellent opportunities to do so, Mr. Harlan did not state clearly and unequivocally his views on such vitally important topics as world government and the relationship between the United States Constitution and treaties.

Judge Harlan was nominated last November by President Eisenhower to be an Associate Justice of the Nation's highest Court, to succeed the late Justice Robert H. Jackson. The Senate Judiciary Committee has completed its hearings on the Harlan nomination but has not yet reported on it to the Senate.

At the hearings Senator EASTLAND, of Mississippi, a Judiciary Committee member, asked Harlan if he thought a treaty could override the Constitution. Harlan said he felt it would be inappropriate for him to comment, since the scope of the treatymaking power as set forth in the Constitution had been an issue before the courts many times in the past and would be again.

"Can a treaty take power from the States and give it to an international body?" Senator EASTLAND persisted. Harlan held it would be indiscreet and inappropriate for him to comment.

Senator EASTLAND then asked: "Would you approve a treaty that would deprive the people of rights guaranteed them by the Constitution?"

Replied Harlan: "That is a question that has not arisen for the last time. I should not be asked to forecast how I would decide cases."

Thus, a man who has been a judge of a United States circuit court of appeals for approximately a year and is a nominee for the highest court in the country, declined to tell a Senate committee whether he would uphold rights of the people guaranteed them by the Constitution.

Several members of the Judiciary Committee questioned Mr. Harlan about the proposed Bricker amendment, which would clarify the treaty-making provisions of the United States Constitution. Harlan said he knew nothing about the amendment, a startling admission since it was the subject of major debate in the United States Senate last year and failed to win approval of that chamber by a narrow margin.

Mr. Harlan told the committee he had joined the advisory committee of the Atlantic Union in 1952. When Senator Jenner of Indiana pointed out the Atlantic Union favors common citizenship and laws for North Atlantic nations and eventual world government, Harlan said he had not heard of those aims before and did not know the organization had any objectives which would threaten the sovereignty of the United States.

It is almost incredible that Mr. Harlan would join a committee fostering principles of which he remained unaware even after joining.

Judge Harlan told the Senate committee he would disassociate himself from the Atlantic Union committee if he is confirmed as a Supreme Court Justice, but apparently he sees no reason to separate himself from the Atlantic Union while he wears the mantle of a United States Court of Appeals judge. This is an amazing display of inconsistency, since some cases considered by the Supreme Court also are handled by Courts of Appeals.

Appearing before the Senate committee in his own behalf, Judge Harlan said little to enhance his prestige. In view of his reluctance to speak out on fundamental questions and his general evasiveness during the committee hearings, it is doubtful that Mr. Harlan possesses the qualifications of a Supreme Court justice.

Wiretapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials dealing with the problem of wiretapping. One is from the Washington Daily News of February 21, 1955. The other is from the New York Times of February 21, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of February 21, 1955]

THE WIRETAPPERS

In New York a raid a few days ago disclosed an array of equipment capable of tapping every telephone line on six East Side exchanges. And it is more than incidental, no doubt, that many of the prominent and successful people who live in Manhattan happen to reside in the areas involved.

There has been enormous growth in the private investigating profession, to whose members tapping a free citizen's telephone is as simple as picking a lock.

The fact that reputable private detectives have ethics is cold comfort in view of the ease with which any scoundrel can learn the rudiments of the business. What does it matter to a crook whether he has a license, if he doesn't get caught?

Wiretapping by law enforcement officers is a delicate business, which the public has tolerated largely because of its usefulness in catching subversives. Even where evidence so obtained is admissible in other types of cases, there are restrictions on wiretapping and public distaste for it.

Those who invade privacy by wiretapping, for any reason less than the Nation's security, deserve little consideration.

If we have not enough laws to punish them, let's pass them. If the telephone companies and the police have tolerated them or cooperated with them, let them too feel the effect of an honest public's righteous anger.

[From the New York Times of February 21, 1955]

THE WIRETAP MENACE

Current revelations in this city of what appears to have been wiretapping on a wholesale scale for private gain must disturb any thinking citizen. Such wiretapping is not only illegal under section 605 of the Federal Communications Act of 1934, but it violates every citizen's basic right of privacy. More than 2 years ago a pioneering survey by the Reporter magazine charged that wiretapping by governmental and private agencies was widespread. The latest revelations certainly support the latter half of this charge.

Wiretapping by police agencies goes back at least to 1895. The possibilities for private gain through such surreptitious acquisition of information are so obvious that it must be assumed that wiretapping by private persons has a long history. The basic equipment required is simple if one knows where the pair of wires required to tap a particular phone is located. To gain that knowledge, however, requires some specialized training or knowledge of telephone company procedure and practices. More recently there have been hints of advanced electronic devices which do not have to be even connected to the wires that are tapped. One such device the Reporter has stated, is a recording machine capable of picking up audible speech at a distance of 40 feet and so small as to be easily hidden.

The rich rewards—from would-be blackmailers, from those seeking divorce evidence, from unscrupulous businessmen or labor leaders seeking economically useful information—available to expert wiretappers have apparently created a specialist group in this field. These rewards also make possible the corruption of telephone company employees.

There has been much controversy about the desirability of wiretapping by Government agencies. There can be no such controversy about the complete undesirability of private wiretapping, yet the record does not suggest that our law enforcement agencies have fought this evil as energetically as it needs to be fought. If the laws are inadequate to deal with this menace, then stronger laws should be passed. Certainly the citizen who picks up his phone is entitled to every protection in keeping his affairs private between himself and whomever he is addressing. The fact that many persons already make a practice of not discussing sensitive matters over the phone suggests the widespread fear of wiretappers that exists, and apparently not without justification.

Judge Weiss Sets Record on Murder Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure many of the older Members of the House will remember the genial, energetic and likeable Samuel A. Weiss, of Glassport, Pa., who voluntarily retired from Congress in 1946 to become judge of the court of common pleas of Allegheny County, Pa.; a court with unlimited jurisdiction in every type of litigation—civil, equity, and criminal.

I am certain the Members will be pleased to know that Judge Weiss is making an extremely excellent reputation as a jurist. With his extraordinary sense of American fair play and his judicial temperament he is exercising the same sound judgment and dynamic energy he displayed to all of us here while serving as a Member of this body. In other words he is in every respect a most commendable jurist.

Recently he made an alltime record in western Pennsylvania in the hearing of successive trials of murder indictment which was noted in the Pittsburgh newspapers.

Under unanimous consent heretofore granted, I ask that the article appearing in the Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph of January 29, 1955, reporting this accomplishment, be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD. The article follows:

JUDGE WEISS SETS RECORD ON MURDER CASES

Despite a serious throat ailment which necessitated the use of a microphone while on the bench, Judge Samuel A. Weiss has established an all-time record for hearing successive homicide cases in criminal court.

The murder marathon set by Judge Weiss started last December 6, when William Cole was found guilty of a homicide charge. Cole is in jail awaiting sentence. The hard-working jurist heard his last murder trial Thursday. William Mobley was the defendant. He has been sentenced to prison after being found guilty of a manslaughter charge.

Between December 6 and last Thursday, Judge Weiss was the trial judge in the trials of Eddie Foster, now serving life in Western Penitentiary; Albert W. Goff, in jail awaiting a court decision on whether he is to be given a new trial; James Parnell, sentenced to prison; Otera Holmes in prison, and Oscar Brewster, awaiting sentence.

SIX IN ONE MONTH

The remarkable thing about Judge Weiss' record fete is that six of the murder trials were held this month.

The nearest any judge has ever come to the new record was the late Jurist Joseph M. Swearingen, who in 1915 presided over four consecutive murder trials.

Although Judge Weiss was aware that he had presided over an unusual number of murder trials this month, he had no idea he had set a record until yesterday when Court Crier John (Jack) McIlvany, visited Judge Weiss' chambers and told him.

KEEPS OWN RECORDS

McIlvany keeps his own records, and for more than a quarter of a century he has recorded every homicide trial held in criminal court.

The court crier checking over his little black book realized the jurist had heard more successive murder cases than any other judge in the history of criminal court.

One of the first persons to congratulate Judge Weiss on his record was Assistant District Attorney William V. Swearingen, son of the late Judge Swearingen, whose record Judge Weiss had broken.

The Engineer's Role in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HAYDEN
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by William A. Dexheimer, Commissioner of Reclamation, before the Arizona Society of Professional Engineers at the Hotel Westward Ho, at Phoenix, Ariz., on February 24, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ENGINEER'S ROLE IN AMERICA

(Address by Commissioner of Reclamation W. A. Dexheimer before the Arizona Society of Professional Engineers at the Hotel Westward Ho, Phoenix, Ariz., Thursday, February 24, 1955)

It is a particular honor and a pleasure to be invited to participate in your observance of National Engineer's Week.

It is a pleasure because it is always a delight for me to come back to Arizona. There is a lot of beautiful and spectacular scenery in the United States and elsewhere in the world, but I have never found anything to quite equal the thrill of sitting down in this Valley of the Sun on a warm winter day after a flight across the snowy and wind-swept miles between here and Washington.

It is an honor to be here because I am proud of the engineering profession and of my association with it. I am proud of our accomplishments—and when I say "our" I am not referring alone to my own sphere of operations in reclamation but to the whole broad field of engineering.

The contributions of the entire engineering profession to the advancement of civilization have been such that it is difficult to visualize progress in the world without a man with a slipstick in his pocket up somewhere near the front.

Mr. Raviola, in his letter of invitation, wrote that the primary purpose of National Engineer's Week is to convey to the American people an understanding of the function, the work, and the responsibility of the engineering profession and of its rapidly growing importance in our national life.

That shouldn't be too difficult to demonstrate. If anything, I would say the profession has already grown to major importance in our national life. Any kind of an analysis will show that engineers have been inextricably linked with the whole dynamic history of our country almost from its beginning.

As a matter of fact, the course of civilization has been pretty well charted by individuals who would be identified as engineers today. There is that unnamed genius of the stone age who chiseled out the first wheel from a block of stone to set us all in motion. Or the deep thinker, possibly from the era of the Neanderthal man, who discovered that by leverage he could move boulders twice as big as those his neighbor was pushing around by brute force.

These men were brothers under the skin with our profession today, just as were the great builders of Biblical and medieval times. Some of the great ruins of the past which have been found in various parts of the world are monuments to these early builders in our civilization. They all figured out how to do something and then went ahead and did it.

Nevertheless, engineering as a profession did not obtain real recognition until the middle of the 18th century, when civil engineering became clearly distinguished from military engineering. The earliest professional engineering society, the Institution of Civil Engineers of London, was not chartered until 1828, a half century after this Nation had launched itself as the free and independent United States. Thus, I believe we can safely associate the growth and stature the engineering profession has attained in the last two centuries with similar growth and world leadership of our Nation.

The United States has attained world leadership as a Nation on its reputation for freedom, vision, and the ability to do things. The American way is more than a political slogan. It is a beacon light offering to the world a future of peace, prosperity, and freedom. This American way we talk about has, as one of its foundation stones, progressive economy, an ability to get things done. And no one has been in the vanguard of this parade of progress more than the engineer.

To compare our lives in America today with those of a few generations back, even to the turn of the century, offers a startling contrast and story of progress in fields in which engineers are particularly involved.

One example might well be automobile transportation. It was hardly more than 50 years ago that the first few horseless carriages were chugging and sputtering along on city streets and country lanes that were either quagmires of mud or choked with dust. Constantly improved design and construction methods, which were worked out by research engineers, have transformed those rickety cars into the sleek vehicles we are now producing at the rate of 6 to 8 million per year. Some of you may remember the auto shows of 1910 or 1911 when the model T advertisement was a record repeating, "It gets you there and brings you back."

Production engineers designed the marvels of the assembly line and the latest production magic, automation, that have brought automobiles within the price range of millions. Then, don't forget the construction engineers who laid out the smooth ribbons of concrete and asphalt which compose our highway system for these millions of cars. Of course, any Sunday driver will tell you there aren't enough roads, but the engineers are doing something about that too, just as fast as they can get the necessary funds.

The same favorable comparison can be made in other fields of transportation. Who would have dared forecast, 50 years ago, that an individual would have been able to leave Washington in the morning to attend a dinner meeting out here at night? Or that there would be regularly scheduled nonstop commercial airline flights across the Nation, and across the oceans. I remember watching the altitude and speed records for airplanes being broken at Belmont Park, N. Y., in 1910. The speed record was 65 miles per hour on a closed course, and the altitude record was 9,700 feet. Engineers have brought us a long way since then.

The contrast is equally startling in the field of communications. In the last two decades, electronic engineers have transformed television from an impractical dream to a virtual household necessity. You can punch a teletype here to operate a linotype in a newspaper office two or three thousand miles away. It won't be long until you can dial not only your neighbor on the telephone but your former neighbor who now lives in another State or a continent away.

Another important aspect of our national progress, in which I am proud to say the engineers have had a major role, is the development of our natural resources. Our country is blessed with the richest supply of natural resources of any nation on earth.

Geologists have tracked down untold wealth in underground deposits of ore, oil, and water. It has remained for the engineers to devise ways and means of bringing that wealth to the surface and using it. Engineers also have designed marvels of machinery to improve the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of agricultural produce. Production engineers are constantly at work improving the processing machinery for foodstuffs, fibers, and hard goods. The result is a constantly improved product, a better diet and better standard of living for the consumer, and usually at a lower price.

No one needs to tell you here in Arizona that water is the most essential commodity in our life. You have a thriving economy here, but it is almost totally dependent upon your water resources. And once more, the engineer is right in the center of the picture.

The story of reclamation development in Arizona is almost the story of reclamation engineering. The Roosevelt Dam on the Salt River was considered one of the major structures of its day. It has set the pattern for the great multipurpose structures which have accomplished so much in harnessing our rivers and turning their waters to a beneficial use. It remains, today, one of reclamation's proudest structures. Subsequent construction additions to the Salt River project reflect the changing and improved methods engineers have devised for utilizing our water resources.

When the engineers moved into Black Canyon to initiate construction of Hoover Dam, a whole new horizon of possibilities for western expansion and development began to unfold. Oldtimers and some of you who are not so old will recall that there were many doubters about the construction of Hoover Dam. It was a bold undertaking which was even questioned by some engineers.

How in the world, they asked, could anyone build a dam that big? Besides, the Colorado will probably go on another rampage and rip it all out. But the engineers knew. They knew from past experience on similar but smaller structures, and from their surveys on the river, that they could build a concrete dam in Black Canyon which would create the world's largest artificial lake and subdue the mighty Colorado forever.

The hardheaded businessmen in six big construction companies thought enough of the engineers' opinion to contract to build the job, and the rest is history. Hoover Dam stands today, still the world's highest, one of the engineering wonders of the world and a tribute to the profession.

The same might be said of Bartlett Dam on the Verde River, the world's highest multiple-arch dam, Grand Coulee Dam, up in Washington State, or Shasta, or the other great multiple-purpose structures which have been completed in recent decades.

Arizona has not only these monuments to the skill and importance of proper reclamation engineering in the control and development of its water resources. It also has evidences of what occurs when a Nation or a people do not or cannot take proper care of their water resources.

The first modern irrigation in the Western Hemisphere is popularly and correctly attributed to the Mormon pioneers who settled in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. But there are remnants here in Arizona and other parts of the Southwest of crude irrigation canals which the primitive Indians scooped out in an effort to eke out a living.

These early peoples of the Pacific Southwest could not cope with the sharp fluctuations in annual rainfall and the long summers without precipitation which we, today, consider one of Arizona's great advantages. They had no conception of storing up water for a single season, let alone planning ahead to save the surplus water in years of plenty to use in years of drought. Thus, their primitive irrigation ditches ran dry and their civilization faded out.

There is no danger of that occurring today. Thanks to the skill of the reclamation engineer—and here I am not alluding only to Bureau of Reclamation engineers, for we have had plenty of outside help—the Salt and Gila Rivers and the Lower Colorado are among the most efficiently used of any in the country.

Five more storage reservoirs have been added to the original Roosevelt Dam. Diversion works and canal systems have also been improved. This work must continue until practically the last drop of water for consumptive use, hydroelectric power production, and the other multiple purposes has been squeezed from the Salt and Gila and their tributaries.

When water allocations in the lower basin are determined in the action now pending before the Supreme Court, some additional major facilities may be contemplated. Again, the engineers will be called on to determine how best to keep the water supply ahead of the demand in the Southwest. For here, probably more than in any section of the United States, there is an awareness of the need for proper conservation and use of water. That is probably why this has been the starting place for the concept of multiple-use reclamation facilities.

For example, I don't have to tell anyone in this audience that Hoover Dam was built not just because there was a good damsite in Black Canyon and a bunch of engineers saw an opportunity to build the highest dam in the world. You and I know that Hoover Dam was built to control and put to work a fluctuating and unruly river.

There is ample evidence of the success of this function in the current cycle of dry years which has brought Lake Mead to its lowest level since the reservoir was filled back in the thirties. Even though the runoff has been such that the normal flow of the river would have been little more than a soupy trickle by late summer, a steady and consistent year-round flow has been maintained downstream by operation of Hoover Dam and

its downstream partners, Davis and Parker. This year, we are reducing power output to further conserve the river for its primary consumptive purposes of irrigation, domestic, and industrial use.

But there are too many people who either do not know or else blindly ignore the reasons for construction of these reclamation facilities, and class them as a giant boondoggle or pork-barrel operation. Believe it or not, we are getting some of the same arguments against presently proposed reclamation work that were used 2 and 3 decades ago against projects that have since proved their worth many times over.

Just listen to what one columnist wrote about reclamation a few weeks ago: "If ever an object of Government expense needed an airing, it is what is loosely and inaccurately called reclamation."

The columnist goes on to mention the investigations by the Hoover Commission and the President's Cabinet Committees on Water Policy, and then asserts:

"It is to be hoped that one of the other of these reports will really tell the story, for there is a whale of a story to tell—a story of failure, of frustrated hopes, of political pork, of bureaucratic misrepresentation, and of widespread ignorance of what has been done with taxpayers' money over a period of more than half a century since T. R. pushed through his Reclamation Act of 1902."

Well, I join in hoping that the story of reclamation is fully aired. I hope that the successful operation of the Salt River project here in Arizona, the Boise and Minidoka projects in Idaho, the Yakima and Columbia Basin projects in Washington can be described. I hope the story may be told of how the Colorado-Big Thompson project in its first year of full operation this past summer prevented a drought disaster on 500,000 acres of land in north-central Colorado.

I hope the story may be told of the Central Valley project in California and how it has turned flood disaster on the Sacramento River, in the north part of the valley, into a combination rescue and agricultural expansion effort in the far southern end.

I hope, too, that the story may be told of the needs for the future. The West generally, and the Southwest in particular, are experiencing the most rapid population growth of any section of our country. These new frontiers of expansion and opportunity were, to a large degree, provided by reclamation projects. These areas are providing a tremendous market for American industrial products.

The future holds more opportunities for progress. Various Western-State groups have several new reclamation projects ready for Congress to consider for authorization and initiation of construction. They have been worked out by States and local groups in close collaboration with the planning engineers of the Bureau of Reclamation. None of them would have been feasible by the standards of 50 years ago.

But then there weren't 35 million people in the Western States in 1900 as there are today either. An acre-foot of water today is worth infinitely more than the farmer on the Salt River project could have paid 30 or 40 years ago. And conversely, the contribution that a farmer can make to the American economy by the successful operation of his farm is much greater today than it was a half century ago.

That is why I urge the engineering profession, particularly in these Western States, to keep in mind not the bigness of the reclamation structure, the number of yards of concrete that go into the dam, or the intricate design of the outlet works, but the end result. Keep in mind what these reclamation facilities are designed to accomplish, what they are accomplishing, and what those planned in the future can do to lift the ceiling of economic opportunity.

And be prepared to be vocal about it. We in the West, whether we be engineer, merchant, or farmer, are faced with a challenge to demonstrate the worth of reclamation to the Nation. We should do some talking about it. We should be fully armed to cite chapter and verse of the benefits Roosevelt Dam has contributed to the Salt River Valley—and by the same token, of the benefits the Salt River Valley has contributed to the economic stability and welfare of the Nation.

We should be able to tell, for instance, that retail sales in Maricopa County in a recent year, totaled $468 million, that bank clearings were $3,229,000,000 and that Federal taxes were estimated at $69 million a year. All this from an area which has been built around a reclamation project in which the Federal Government invested the grand total of $23 million. I suspect that in another half century, the projects now being completed at costs of several hundred million dollars will have the same outstanding ratio of returns to investment that the Salt River project boasts.

Our challenge to the future then, as I see it, is not alone to accept the engineering responsibility of designing and constructing the structures we need to put our remaining unused water resources to work. It is to join in the common cause of preserving and strengthening the case for reclamation wherever and whenever it is challenged.

By acting promptly and vigorously, we can keep the way opening up for additional growth and opportunity in the arid West.

No one questions the engineers' competency today as we use roads, bridges, elevators, automobiles, airplanes, ships, and innumerable other creations of sound engineering. These things were developed and improved by engineers of broad vision and with keen realization of the future needs.

We have not yet found, nor does anyone expect to find, a substitute for water. Our very lives depend on it. Industrial and agricultural need for water is tremendous and expanding. The entire economic growth of the country is keyed directly to adequate water supply.

There are many challenges to engineers today in many fields, but the greatest of these is, I believe, the need to provide adequate, usable water, and to convince the doubters of the necessity for planning and building for the future.

"Butter Over Guns" Disarmament Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the campaign which is being conducted by the Scripps-Howard newspapers known as the "butter over guns" disarmament plan, is attracting wide attention. It is certainly a campaign worth bringing to the attention of the people of the United States as proposed by the resolution which has been coauthored by a great number of Members of the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD several articles and editorials on this subject.

There being no objection, the articles and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Cincinnati Post of March 3, 1955]

THE CROSS OF IRON

It was President Eisenhower, as he himself recalled at his press conference yesterday, who first suggested the "butter over guns" disarmament plan. He did it in a speech in Washington April 16, 1953, and in that speech he said:

"The peace we seek * * * can be fortified, not by weapons of war, but by wheat and by cotton, by milk and wool, by meat, timber and rice."

Because the rearmament race, as he said, is not a way of life at all, but "humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

Now the "butter over guns" idea at last is getting a concrete use. The Senate Foreign Relations committee will take it up, under the urging of a Democrat, Senator Symington, and enjoined by a Republican, Minority Leader Knowland, to explore and debate it.

In this way, Russia's rulers can be challenged on the good faith of their vaunted peace intentions. Will they divert the resources of their land to the betterment of their people? Or will they stolidly drive on with their feverish production of war weapons, while their people continue to hang from a "cross of iron"?

Good faith, the President said, is essential to any disarmament plan, essential to a peaceful world. Do Russia's rulers have it?

And if they do, they can show it in another way by sending us some of their men of the soil.

We salute the Des Moines Register for bringing forth an idea with great propaganda punch. New Kremlin Bossman Khrushchev said one thing wrong with Russia was that the peasants needed to learn how to grow better corn and hogs.

The Des Moines paper promptly suggested that some Russian farmers be sent to Iowa where corn grows tall and hogs grow fat. They have no secrets to hide.

It's a marvelous idea! In fact, any idea which will permit the Russian people and other people to compare our way of life with theirs is to our advantage.

We have only one suggestion. If any Russian farmers are to be brought over here to learn how Iowans grow corn and hogs, let them be real farmers. They ought to be men our Iowa farmers can understand. Send us no bureaucrats, no men with soft palms!

[From the Washington Daily News of March 3, 1955]

KNOWLAND ASKS HEARING FOR "BUTTER OVER GUNS"

(By R. H. Shackford)

Republican and Democratic Senators today urged full debate and exploration of the "butter over guns" economic disarmament plan.

Senate Republican Leader WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND of California, called for early hearings by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to examine the proposal for limiting the proportion of a nation's resources that could be used for military purposes.

Senator KNOWLAND is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. He asked that committee to study the proposal and discuss it with the State Department and other appropriate Government agencies.

The merits and demerits of the plan should be debated, he told the Senate, adding that there might be demerits as well as merits. His emphasis was on getting the subject discussed, and on trying to devise some kind of formula to get the world directed toward more peaceful pursuits.

Senator KNOWLAND spoke on the Senate floor and inserted the full plan, as published last week by the News and other Scripps-Howard newspapers, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD after these other developments:

Senator STUART SYMINGTON (Democrat, Missouri), formally introduced a resolution,

embodying the "butter over guns" plan, and urged other Senators to join him in sponsoring it. His resolution asks the President to present the plan to the United Nations, which would try to find a formula for increasing living standards by putting a ceiling on resources that a nation could use on armaments.

President Eisenhower told his press conference that the United States was devoted to the idea of using the world's production for human welfare rather than human destruction.

"We believe in it (the idea) thoroughly," the President said, but warned that any disarmament plan must include implicit assurance that everyone was acting in good faith. The "butter over guns" plan provides for inspection and control.

Mr. Eisenhower said that on April 16, 1953, he had embraced the same general idea in a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He had deplored the fact that the cold war and defense programs were not a way of life at all, but "humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

"The peace we seek," the President said then, ". . . can be fortified—not by weapons of war—but by wheat and by cotton, by milk and by wool; by meat, timber and rice."

The President's 1953 suggestion has remained dormant and never was studied or debated in the Senate.

• • • • •

The "butter over guns" plan would challenge the Soviets to devote more of their resources to food, clothing and housing for the oppressed Russian people. If the Kremlin refused and continued to put most of its resources into war industries, its aggressive aims would be unmasked before world opinion.

At the heart of the plan, as now sponsored by Senator SYMINGTON, is the principle that the peaceful or aggressive intentions of a nation can be determined by the way a nation divides its resources. The Soviets allocate only 25 percent to consumers, while about three-fourths of the United States massive production is for consumers' goods.

The Symington resolution points out that Russia, which never disarmed after World War II, "recently announced an increase in its armaments budget and has proclaimed as policy the expansion of arms production and war-supporting industries at the sacrifice of civilian production."

"Low living standards are one of the primary causes for war and improved living standards promote peace," the preamable says.

Aggressive wars, it follows, cannot be undertaken by nations who devote most of their production to promoting the welfare of their people.

[From the Washington Daily News of March 4, 1955]

TWO HUNDRED MILLION IVANS

President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill have given the world a timely reminder—that our quarrel is not with the Russian people but with their Communist masters.

"I think the Russian people, as such, don't want war any more than we do," the President told his press conference. "They want opportunities to advance themselves economically, culturally and, of course, traditionally Russians are very devoted to all the arts."

Sir Winston urged the House of Commons to make a distinction between the Soviet regime and the Russian people—to refer to Soviet rather than Russian threats, to Soviet rather than Russian aggression.

"I have a strong admiration for the Russian people—for their bravery, their many gifts and their kindly nature," Sir Winston said.

"It is the Communist dictatorship and the declared ambition of the Communist Party and their proselytizing activities which we are bound to resist."

Wise words, these. Because our sympathies and hopes are with the Russian people.

If the day ever comes when the Communist conspiracy ceases to rule Russia, let us pray that the Russian people will look on us as friends.

One of the valuable possibilities in a Senate debate on the butter-over-guns disarmament plan is the chance to show the world that the American people would like nothing better than an end of the raw deal the millions of Ivans in Russia have been getting for 37 years.

Such a debate could—

Compare the life of an average American and an average Russian;

Show that our free society spends huge sums to defend itself against communism but still provides a high standard of living;

Dramatize how a slave Communist society disregards human welfare for the sake of piling armed might on armed might;

Disclose that the Soviets have the resources to raise the living standards of their people if they desired;

Challenge the men in the Kremlin to put up or shut up about their professed peaceful motives and concern for mankind.

There are 210 million people in the Soviet Union. But only about 6,800,000 are members of the Communist Party.

That leaves more than 200 million Russians who are the real victims of communism. We in the West are threatened by communism; those 200 million are already in its grasp. They are the people President Eisenhower says "don't want war"—they are those Sir Winston calls brave, gifted and kindly people.

The butter-over-guns disarmanent plan offers a way for the Soviets to reverse their economy in favor of the common people—to give them something besides promises.

Senate debate on the plan offers the chance to show that our major interest is more food, more clothing, more houses, more of all the amenities of life for Russia's Ivans—things the Soviet rulers cannot give them if the Kremlin persists in its mad policy of building only war potential.

[From the Washington Daily News of March 7, 1955]

RUSSIA'S PROBLEMS ARE SAME OLD ONES—EXPERT CALLS SOVIET WAR ECONOMY A REAL THREAT

(By R. H. Shackford)

Soviet Russia is a poverty-stricken land—but the Soviet economy is a war economy and has been so since 1928. Soviet concentration on basic economic and military might is without parallel in human history.

That is why the Soviet war economy is a very real threat to us—as big if not a bigger long-range threat than the huge Soviet military establishment.

Those are the conclusions of the State Department's top intelligence expert on the Soviet Union—Mose L. Harvey. They were given in a speech before the fall of Georgi Malenkov, when many were indulging in a dreamy, wishful-thinking disregard of the cold, hard facts.

Those same conclusions are at the heart of the butter-over-guns economic disarmament plan, as published in the Scripps-Howard Newspapers and supported in a Senate resolution by Senator STUART SYMINGTON, Democrat, Missouri, former chairman of the National Security Resources Board.

CHALLENGE

The butter-over-guns plan would challenge the Communist rulers to shift to a peaceful economy after almost 25 years of war economy. All nations would agree to limit the proportion of key, war-vital resources devoted to military purposes and to increase production of consumers goods.

The plan will be discussed on the Senate floor this week when the Symington resolution is referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

It may be a delightful emotional experience to think that the Soviet regime is cracking because of an internal economic crisis, says Mr. Harvey.

But all the Kremlin's current problems—agriculture, low standard of living, housing shortabe, and so forth—are old and chronic ones—as old as the Soviet Union itself.

"In spite of them," the Russian expert told the National Industrial Conference Board "the Soviet system satisfies the requirements of the people on a level to which they are accustomed. • • •

"(But) if you consider the masses available for employment in the military forces of the Soviet Union and its empire, and allow the possibility of the Soviet government's using the economy of the country almost exclusively to arm these masses • • • we do indeed face a very real Soviet threat."

SINGLE PURPOSE

The Soviet economy is relatively weak—a pigmy compared with a giant—when matched against the United States. But the important fact is that the Soviets use almost all of their economy for war or war preparation.

Mr. Harvey concludes that it is extremely dangerous to believe that Russia's relatively limited economic capabilities could prevent a Kremlin challenge to the United States.

Eighty-four percent of Soviet investments from 1928 to 1953 was for expansion of heavy industry and transportation, the sinews of war. In 1953, 70 percent of all Soviet industrial workers were employed in heavy industry which also accounted for over 70 percent of total industrial production.

The Soviet Union only produces thirty-eight to forty million tons of steel a year compared with our 100 million tons. But the Kremlin can use all but a couple million tons of their steel each year for potential or immediate war purpose—without denying the Russian people anything that they are now getting.

Mr. Harvey cites this most important reason why the United States cannot afford to be complacent about American economic superiority over the Soviet Union.

OUT OF PROPORTION

"The economic base of Soviet military power is far greater than the general economic capabilities of the U. S. S. R. would suggest. This derives from the simple circumstance that the Soviet Government controls production completely and is able to channel it where it will. It invariably has willed to channel it where it would contribute most to military potential."

The Symington "butter-over-guns" resolution urges the United States to take the initiative in economic disarmament, as well as in nuclear and conventional weapon disarmament. A limit on guns doesn't mean much if a nation remains on a war economy.

[From the Washington Daily News of March 5, 1953]

SOVIET POWER STRUGGLE IS IN FOURTH PHASE

(By R. H. Shackford)

Josef Stalin died 2 years ago today, but the struggle for his Kremlin throne still goes on.

The debate and speculation in the West, touched off by his death, still goes on too—did or did not March 5, 1953, mark the end of an era and open a more hopeful one?

It is far too soon for anyone to know.

Among the certainties are these:

The power struggle is now in its fourth phase.

The internal debate over heavy industry versus consumers' goods has just zigged again in favor of heavy industry.

The agriculture situation is critical, but Russia is still selling grain abroad for political reasons.

The Kremlin got a lot of credit for more than a year with its peaceful coexistence campaign which is now being permitted to die a natural death. It also won important diplomatic victories in the Far East with this aged propaganda device.

By using weasel words, the Kremlin also fooled part of the West for a while by pretending to shift its economic emphasis away from heavy industry and armaments toward consumers' goods and agriculture. That fraud now has been unmasked.

NO CHANGE

But along with this zigging and zagging at home and abroad, 2 years after Stalin's death finds the Communist conspiracy about where it was in fundamental aims:

Ultimate world domination.

Guns over butter, with the Russian people living in a perpetual war economy.

SAME OLD LINE

Meanwhile, Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov still peddles the same foreign policy line he has trumpeted since 1939.

Molotov is the only man in the Kremlin hierarchy who seems to have weathered the post-Stalin palace revolts.

Beria is gone. Malenkov is deposed. Krushchev and Bulganin are in the saddle today. But for how long?

MALENKOV MYTH

Short as was the Malenkov era, it was long enough for myths to be built around the man.

He was supposed to have a softer approach to the cold war. Yet it was Malenkov who first boasted of the Soviet hydrogen bomb in August 1953.

He was supposed to have a softer approach to Soviet economy. He got an unwarranted reputation for wanting to shift industry from a war to a peaceful basis.

OVERSIGHT

It generally was overlooked that in the same speech in which he urged more consumer goods he also warned the Russian people that heavy industry was the basis of Soviet economy and must have priority.

Malenkov had his chance at Berlin and at Geneva to prove whether his peaceful coexistence words were more than propaganda. They were not. There is no sign that the new rulers are any more sincere.

[From the Washington Daily News of March 8, 1955]

"BUTTER OVER GUNS" GETS ROLLING—THIRTY SENATORS BACK SYMINGTON PLAN

(By R. H. Shackford)

Senator STUART SYMINGTON, Democrat, Missouri—supported by 30 other Senators—today urged the Government to consider the "butter over guns" economic disarmament plan as a new means of proving America's primary interest in peace and human welfare.

Senator SYMINGTON is sponsor of a resolution appealing to the President of the United Nations to explore possibilities of getting all nations to agree to limit the proportion of key resources, such as steel, it uses for military purposes.

The plan, authored by Samuel Lubell, an associate of Bernard M. Baruch, was published in the News and other Scripps-Howard newspapers.

As of the close of business last night, Senator SYMINGTON had 30 bipartisan cosponsors for the plan, representing all wings of both parties. More signatures were expected on the resolution today before it is referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

CHALLENGE TO KREMLIN

In a speech prepared for delivery in the Senate this afternoon, Senator SYMINGTON pointed out that the plan would challenge the Kremlin, which deliberately keeps the Russian people on a poverty level, to devote more resources to butter and less to guns.

"Much of the continuing search for peace and freedom," he said, "lies in lifting the living standards of all people toward those which have been attained in America, instead of having them dragged down to the armed misery of a totalitarian fortress."

NO ILLUSIONS

Neither Senator SYMINGTON nor anyone else has any illusions about the Soviet leaders being willing even to discuss a plan which would turn the Soviet economy back to a peaceful one after 25 years of war economy.

"Rejection of the plan could only mean that sacrifices now being exacted from the Russian people are being exacted in order someday to be able to carry out the carefully planned long-term aggressive intentions and commitments of the rulers in the Kremlin," Senator SYMINGTON said.

Even before today's discussion in the Senate, the Kremlin reacted—as expected. In a Moscow radio broadcast, it laughed at the proposal and denounced it as "eloquent nonsense" and an attempt to hamstring Soviet development.

Senator SYMINGTON pointed out today that the most important step in such a plan would be agreement to limit the use of steel for military purposes—steel being the most important element in a war machine.

In 1950, he said, 1,260 pounds of steel were produced in the United States for each person.

If it could be agreed that no less than X percent of a nation's steel should be allocated to civilian economy, the Senator said, we would be on our way to effective disarmament.

INSPECTIONS

The Symington resolution provides for adequate inspection and control, to avoid cheating. It is based on the principles that low living standards are a primary cause of war, improved living standards promote peace, and that such improved living standards can be reached only if world resources are devoted increasingly to peaceful purposes.

"Since the same resources cannot be used simultaneously for both peaceful and warlike purposes," Senator SYMINGTON said, "a rapid increase in the standard of living in Communist countries would tend to curb their potential aggressive power."

SOVIETS LIKE LUBELL PLAN BUT SHIFT THE BLAME TO US

Moscow Radio conceded today that a government's peaceful or aggressive intentions can be determined by how it apportions its resources.

But it rejected, and laughed off, the butter-over-guns disarmament plan with the usual charge that it was the United States—not Russia—that was using most of its resources for war purposes.

The broadcast ignored the suggestion that the Soviets put more emphasis on better living standards as well as the recently announced increase in the Soviet military budget and the return to Stalin's primary emphasis on heavy military industry.

Soviet Commentator Nikolai Andreyev, however, devoted more than 1,000 words to the butter-over-guns proposal which was published by the News and other Scripps-Howard newspapers and is sponsored in a Senate resolution by Senator STUART SYMINGTON, Democrat, of Missouri.

Referring to irresponsible commentators in the United States, the Soviet commentator said, "One can even get a real laugh out of them. As, for instance, the recent story of Samuel Lubell in the New York World-Telegram and Sun."

Senator SYMINGTON, the commentator continued, decided to make political capital out of Lubell's flight of fancy and is skating on thin ice.

The Soviet commentator not only distorted the plan but twisted statistics to charge that the United States military effort was more than three times greater than Russia's. The facts are that the U. S. S. R.'s direct military budget is about 15 percent of the gross national product compared with 9 percent in the United States. The Soviet budget is going up while the United States budget goes down.

Federal Appropriations for Forest-Fire Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a statement which I submitted last week to the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Interior. My remarks are in opposition to the proposed reduction of Federal funds for the forest fire suppression and control program. The statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am deeply appreciative of this opportunity to express my opposition to any reduction in moneys for the Federal forest fire control fund. It is my understanding that the President's budget would cut the appropriation by $1,083,690, and I believe that it would be a great mistake to follow this course.

I am not in a position to speak for the Nation as a whole concerning this subject, but I do know something about the problem as it pertains to my State of West Virginia.

West Virginia, being situated in the heart of the Appalachian Mountains, has an extremely rugged terrain that provies numerous watersheds and produces many streams. These meandering streams are the source of the navigable rivers that serve West Virginia and many other States. Most of the slopes are covered with an indispensable form of plant life—trees. These trees produce a sponge on the forest floor that creates a continuous flow of small streams. Other types of vegetation are not consistent to proper land use of these rugged slopes.

Today we are faced with the tremendous problem of fire that is threatening to destroy this vital natural resource and West Virginia, I am sure, is only one of many States that are confronted with this enemy. Progress has been made in recent years in combating this serious enemy to our forests, but not sufficiently to bring the problem under control. Recently, we have experienced serious droughts that have added to the severity of the problem. In 1952 and 1953, West Virginia suffered a forest fire loss of more than one million acres. During the fall of 1952, the southern part of West Virginia was riding on the brink of disaster and, had high winds prevailed during this period,

there is every reason to believe that a loss of human lives and homes would have resulted. Presently, if West Virginia were to experience a severe outbreak of fires, we would be without adequate funds due to heavy expenditures in 1952 and 1953.

United States Weather Bureau records cause some experts to believe that there are more dry years just ahead. Should this be true, we would not be financially equipped to control forest fires.

In view of the fact that more States are increasing their areas of protection and the fact that all of West Virginia's forests are under protection, the Federal appropriations for West Virginia have been on the decline, as shown in the following table:

Federal allotments and State budgets

Fiscal year	Federal allotment	State budget
1955	$136,431	$200,538
1954	136,431	259,974
1953	141,379	283,343
1952	152,918	[1] 325,000
1951	163,462	349,023
1950	163,462	344,001
1949	175,766	232,169
1948	193,329	187,180

[1] Estimated.

Mr. Chairman, it would be a serious mistake to follow a pennywise and pound-foolish policy in reducing funds for combating this great enemy of our natural resources. It is imperative that, during the critical days and years ahead, years which will spell the destiny of our Nation in world history, we exert every precaution for the protection of our forests which, in turn, preserve the watersheds and conserve the soil of America. I, therefore, urge the Committee not to reduce this important item, but, rather, that it be increased by $2 million in order to provide an equitable Federal distribution of funds for the forest fire suppression and control program.

Government Participation in American Shipping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, residents of inland States who may be inclined at times to question the need for Government participation in American shipping as something in which they have no immediate interest, may be interested to learn of certain facts developed by the research division of the committee of American steamship lines concerning the importance of the American merchant marine to the American farmer and to workers in industry as well.

I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD some excerpts from articles in the February 1955 issue of Maritime Affairs, a publication of the committee of American Steamship Lines, with regard to how the farmers and employees of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri industries profit from the services of vessels flying the United States flag.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARMERS, SHIPS SUPPLY GLOBAL, OCEAN BREADLINE

American farmers and ocean shipping became partners in the greatest movement of foodstuffs of all times when the international demand for wheat reached its peak during the postwar years, 1945–1953. One-third of the Nation's wheat production left United States farmlands to cross ocean highways bound for Europe, Japan, India and Pakistan during this period.

Farmers in Illinois and Missouri received $40 million per year for the annual shipments of 20 million bushels they exported during this wheat heyday.

This eight-year overseas breadline bought annual revenues of $821 million into the United States. This income meant jobs to thousands of farmers, their families and communities. All of this was made possible by ocean shipping.

* * * * *

United States farmers and American-flag merchant ships have teamed up to bring a new leading cash-crop to Illinois and Missouri within the past 20 years.

Soybeans, a product used for centuries in the Far East to do everything from making waterproof varnish for Chinese junks to baking oriental pastries, was almost unknown to the American farmer in the early 1930's.

More money is now earned by Missouri farmers from soybeans than any other crop and Illinois farmers find it their second best revenue producer. Between them, the two States account for from 40 to 45 percent of total United States soybean production. Their 1952 earnings from this crop were $342 million.

Each year ships carry overseas about $25 million worth of Illinois and Missouri soybeans. American flagships make an important contribution to farm income.

* * * * *

FORTY MILLION ACRES OF FARMLAND NEEDED FOR FOREIGN BUYERS

Imagine the entire State of Illinois, including cities and towns, being plowed under and converted into one gigantic farm. It would not be large enough to raise the crops and other farm products carried to overseas markets by oceangoing ships in 1953.

It would require 40 million acres of farmland, or 62,500 square miles, to produce the United States exports of farm products in 1953, according to the United States Department of Agriculture. This is an area 4,224,000 acres larger than Illinois.

* * * * *

More than $11 million in processed milk left Wisconsin, Illinois, and Missouri farms, across ocean trade routes to foreign ports in 1952, it is estimated. Cuba and the far-away Philippines, both ocean islands, imported the bulk of this amount, buying almost all of the evaporated and condensed milk shipped abroad by United States farmers in 1952. Venezuela bought 75 percent of their dried milk exports.

Wisconsin, Illinois, and Missouri produce 20 percent of the Nation's dairy products, with Wisconsin—the leading United States dairy State—alone accounting for half of this combined percentage. Wisconsin's principal industry is processing dairy products. The 3 States combined employ 103,000 men and women in factories producing dairy foods, or 20 percent of the total United States dairy-processing work force.

* * * * *

ILLINOIS STEEL PLANTS GET VITAL METALS FROM WORLD BY UNITED STATES SHIPS

Jobs for 71,000 men and women are created by Illinois' steel industry, where 10 percent of the national output is produced.

Vital to these workers and their families is American shipping. Fifteen essential raw materials must be brought into Illinois by ship from five continents of the globe to operate its steel plants.

Manganese, for example, which goes into every pound of steel produced, comes to this country from ports in India, South Africa, the African Gold Coast, Cuba, and Brazil.

United States needs alloys

America is deficient in more than half of the 20 alloying elements required to produce steel. About a half-dozen imported materials go into the 160 types of steel required by the automobile industry.

Meanwhile, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri all benefit from the steel commodities shipped abroad on American-flag vessels.

* * * * *

LOCAL LEATHER PLANTS NEED GLOBAL NETWORK OF SHIPS TO OPERATE

It takes a global network of ocean-going supply lines to equip the Illinois-Missouri-Wisconsin leather goods industry with the raw materials it needs to meet the demands of the domestic market.

America boasts the most highly developed leather industry in the world, but leather goods manufacturers could not supply United States residents with their yearly 3.15 pair per-capita-consumption of shoes without imports from the 4 corners of the globe.

Two hundred and twenty-two million dollar payroll

Eighty thousand workers in Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri are earning $222 million per year in tanneries and leather goods plants, and are therefore directly dependent upon the existence of American-flag vessels bringing in hides, skins, kips and tanning materials from diverse, world-wide sources.

The Illinois-Missouri-Wisconsin area is the home of more than 22 percent of the Nation's leather goods industry. Leather goods plants in these 3 States import over 99 percent of their goat and kid skins from distant sources like India, Pakistan, Nigeria, and South and Central America.

About 55 percent of the sheep and lamb skins they use come mostly from Brazil and Africa.

Twenty-five percent of their calf skins and kips are shipped from India, Pakistan, Canada, France, and Poland. Kangaroo and Wallaby skins are found only in Australia and New Zealand.

Need tanning materials

Domestic sources of tanning materials are almost nonexistent. Chestnut, 1 of the 3 principal sources of tanning fluids, is imported mostly from Italy. Quebracho, the second most popular tanner, is only found in Argentina and Paraguay. Wattle, the third principal source, comes from the mimosa tree and is imported from British Africa, where harvesting labor is cheap.

Leather is a dramatic example of how American-flag merchant vessels serve to bring the world to the doorstep of United States industry.

* * * * *

WHY GOVERNMENT AIDS UNITED STATES SHIPPING

Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri residents have a direct stake in the Government parity payment program to shipping because so much of the three State agricultural and industrial output is exported abroad. Imports are as vital to these three States as they are to other sections of our Nation.

To help maintain a modern, strong American fleet so essential to this export and import trade, our Government assists United States shipbuilders and shipowners by sharing with them a portion of building and operating costs under the American flag.

Without this Government assistance, in the form of shipping subsidies, American

ships could not compete with low-cost foreign operators.

The biggest item in ship operation is wages. In 1952, for example, for every $245 spent by an American operator of a C–2 cargo vessel, a foreign competitor paid from $41 to $69 for the same services.

Do not guarantee profit

Government operating payments help to make up this difference and to place American steamship lines on a parity basis with foreign lines. Government payments in no way guarantee an American shipowner a profit. In fact, if earnings permit, the owner is required to repay to the Government a part or all of what he received in subsidy payments.

As history has shown, if American shipowners do not receive Government assistance, American shipping disappears from the seas.

Important Change for Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Important Change for Indians," printed in the Devils Lake (N. Dak.) Journal on February 15, 1955, together with a letter signed by John B. Hart, executive director of the North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Devils Lake (N. Dak.) Journal of February 15, 1955]

IMPORTANT CHANGE FOR INDIANS

In June an important transfer will take place that will affect persons on our Indian reservations.

At that time the Bureau of Indian Affairs will relinquish its operation of medical and health services for Indians to the United States Public Health Service, which is under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

It would be difficult to know, at this time, how the new arrangement will work, but it could hardly be worse than the operations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which has a record of irresponsibility in practically every field of operation.

It is hard to believe how the public Health Service could be more niggardly in the use of its funds for medical purposes than the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Bureau does operate a clinic for the Indians at Fort Totten with a nurse to look after minor medical needs. Reluctantly, it would seem, the bureau picks up the bill for operation of the clinic, under an arrangement with the Public Health Service.

To the Bureau must go the credit for closing the Fort Totten hospital over the objections of the Indians. The action was taken despite the fact that local medical facilities are particularly overcrowded now that the city has but one hospital.

Cases have been reported, in addition, where Indians in need of emergency treatment have found it difficult or impossible to get the Bureau to accept financial responsibility. Haggling has resulted between the Indian agency and the welfare agencies of the State, who naturally have no jurisdiction in Indian matters.

Humanitarianisms on the part of the hospital and medical profession has prevented loss of life in at least one case. There can be no justification for such a state of affairs in a country where people place great value on even one human life.

Congress, which has many precedents for conducting investigations, should probe the operation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in an attempt to find out who actually is benefiting from its operations.

Perhaps the Bureau, in an attempt to show the inadequacy of Federal jurisdiction over the Indians, believes that apathetic administration of its duties will convince the public that it would be better for the States to take over.

In many other fields, however, where the Federal Government has no particular business, it is ever willing to encroach on the rights of the States. Operation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs would seem to indicate the the Federal agency wants to drop the reservations and their residents like a hot potato.

Let the Bureau come forth with a construction program for making the Indians self-supporting, in order that the States will not be left with the welfare bills, and it will come in for less criticism. You just don't solve a problem in the traditional Army pattern of "passing the buck."

NORTH DAKOTA INDIAN
AFFAIRS COMMISSION,
Rolla, N. Dak., March 1, 1955.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,
Senator from the State of North Dakota, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: Attached herewith you will find an editorial from the Devils Lake Journal under date of February 15, 1955 entitled "Important Change for Indians."

The thought occurs to me that it might be worth your while to insert this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It would certainly please the publisher of the Devils Lake newspaper and it would be adding a little heat to this entire medical care program. It might also add a little heat on this law enforcement program. If not, it might be a good idea for you to send the editorial to Mr. Emmons, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, asking him for his comments on the subject. I would certainly appreciate any correspondence you would have on the subject.

Sincerely,

JOHN B. HART.

Egypt-Israel Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 28, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following bulletin of the Israel Office of Information. In view of the current situation, I believe it to be of vital interest to our colleagues.

EGYPT-ISRAEL RELATIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Egypt's attitude toward Israel has taken a sharp turn for the worse in the course of recent months. Tension has risen to new heights. The lives and property of Israel's citizens have been attacked with increasing frequency. Egypt has persisted in its attitude of contempt for the resolution of the U. N. Security Council of September 1, 1951, and stubbornly refuses to release the Israel freighter, *Bat Galim*, and allow it to proceed through the Suez Canal. Threats by Egyptian leaders against Israel have continued with growing violence. The execution of two Jewish defendants in the Cairo trial, in spite of pleas for clemency from all over the world, has further exacerbated the situation. The latest instance of Egyptian recklessness took the form of a raid into Israel territory at the end of February 1955. The raiding party penetrated as far as the town of Rehovot, 18 miles inside Israel territory, where on February 25 they murdered an Israel civilian from ambush. The same band operated in the vicinity of Rehovot for a few days. Its tracks were found clearly leading back to the Egyptian-controlled Gaza territory.

2. When the regime of King Farouk was overturned in the summer of 1952 by the revolutionary council led by General Naguib, the then Israel Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, publicly expressed Israel's readiness to cooperate with the new regime. In a public statement on August 18, 1952, Mr. Ben-Gurion declared:

"Israel wishes to see Egypt free, independent, progressive. There were no grounds, nor are there now, for any quarrel between Egypt and Israel. There is no cause for territorial disputes, nor any reason for political or economic problems. We have no enmity against Egypt for what was done to us 4 years ago. We have never sought to exploit Egypt's political difficulties with a great power by attacking her or taking revenage upon her, as she did upon the establishment of our state."

3. These friendly overtures which have been frequently repeated, have brought no response. Indeed, the record of recent months indicates a growth in Egyptian hostility and a deliberate rejection of a policy of reconciliation.

B. BORDER UNREST GROWS

4. Between September 1954 and February 1, 1955, Egypt has been condemned on no fewer than 27 occasions for violations of the Israel-Egypt Armistice Agreement, including armed attack, murder, and sabotage. Repeated warnings by the Mixed Armistice Commission to Egypt to put a halt to these acts of aggression have had no effect.

5. In the period between August 1954 and February 1955 the Egyptians were responsible for 9 cases of sabotage and 34 armed clashes in Israel territory, in addition to numerous cases of illegal border crossings and plunder. The main targets of sabotage were the pipelines bringing water to the southern part of Israel on which all the settlements in the area depend for their very existence. The pipelines were blown up on four occasions causing considerable damage.

6. On January 21 an Egyptian army unit drove up to the armistice line and took up firing positions. Part of this unit crossed the frontier and attacked an Israel military post. Of the 3 Israel soldiers on duty, 1 was killed and 2 wounded. The Egyptians retreated only on the approach of Israel reinforcements. On January 24 the Israel-Egypt Mixed Armistice Commission condemned Egypt for this attack. The Commission's resolution was worded as follows:

"Decides that this aggressive action carried out by a unit of the Egyptian army is in flagrant violation of article II, paragraph 2 of the General Armistice Agreement with Egypt;

"Notes with extremely grave concern this aggressive action and calls upon the Egyptian authorities to terminate these aggressive acts against Israel."

7. Only a few hours after this resolution was passed, on the night of January 24, an armed band crossed the frontier into Israel from the Gaza strip and penetrated 4 miles into Israel territory, attacking the settlement of Ein Hashlosha. Two of the settlement's plowmen were ambushed, one killed and the other wounded. Three days later, Egypt was again condemned by the Mixed Armistice Commission for this act of aggression and the Commission passed the following resolution:

"Notes with grave concern the serious situation prevailing along the Gaza strip, resulting from these repeated attacks;

"Notes once again with extremely grave concern, that despite obligations imposed upon Egypt by the General Armistice Agreement and a number of Mixed Armistice Commission resolutions, these penetrations and killings of Israel citizens have not been terminated;

"Calls upon the Egyptian authorities to put an immediate end to such aggressive acts."

8. The incidents in January were the continuation of a long series of incidents which had been increasing in number and gravity in the latter part of 1954. As early as October 2, 1954 the Mixed Armistice Commission, in condemning Egypt for the murder of two Israel farmers on September 20 near Migdal Ashkelon, had called upon Egypt "immediately and finally" to put an end to these acts of aggression. Since January 1955 the incidents have continued despite the demands of the Mixed Armistice Commission that Egypt refrain from continued aggression. On February 1, 1955 fire was directed from Egyptian positions against an Israel patrol, and once again, Egypt was condemned by the Mixed Armistice Commission. The following day Egyptian soldiers fired at a member of an Israel border settlement at work in the fields. Later in February, an armed band was intercepted by an Israel patrol at Yad Mordecai in Israel territory. On February 25 two Israel police cars were fired at in Israel territory near Yavne. The same day, an armed band from the Gaza strip killed an Israel citizen near Rehovot, deep inside Israel's territory. Throughout this period illegal border crossings for the purpose of theft, espionage and illegal harvesting continued unabated.

C. ESPIONAGE, SABOTAGE BY INFILTRATORS

9. Egyptian Army Intelligence officers have been systematically organizing marauders who are sent into Israel, apparently from the Gaza strip, for purposes of espionage and sabotage. At the end of September 1954 a group sent to commit sabotage was caught after it had sniped at farmers and blown up houses in a border settlement. In December 1954 four youths were caught trying to gather military information in Israel. They admitted they had been trained and sent by Egyptian officers in Gaza.

10. Despite condemnations by the Mixed Armistice Commission, repeated well-organized military operations have taken place against the vital water pipeline to the Negev, Israel's arid southern area. For the second time within a month, the main pipeline near Nir Am was blown up with TNT on September 7 by a group of trained saboteurs. On October 25 a similar attack on the pipeline near Mefalsim took place.

11. Noting the serious damage incurred, the Mixed Armistice Commission on the latter occasion emphasized its "great concern over the repeated acts of planned demolition on main water pipelines in Israel by well-trained, organized, and armed groups coming from Egyptian-controlled territory."

12. Attacks on the Negev pipeline have not ceased. In December 1954 the pipeline near Uza was blown up. The Egyptian authorities have taken no steps to prevent the continuation of these planned attacks.

D. THE CASE OF THE "BAT GALIM"

13. On September 28, 1954 the Israel freighter *Bat Galim*, carrying a cargo of tinned beef, hides and plywood en route from Eritrea to Israel, was detained by the Egyptian authorities at Port Tewfik at the entrance to the Suez Canal. In an attempt to justify this illegal action, the Egyptian Government charged the crew of the *Bat Galim* with having committed various crimes in Egyptian territorial waters, ranging from trespassing to the killing of Egyptian fishermen.

These allegations were put forward not only to explain the detention of the vessel, but also to justify the detention of its ten crew members in a military prison under inhumane conditions, and the confiscation of the ship's treasury and cargo.

14. Investigations by United Nations Military Observers of the Egyptian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission, carried out at the request of the Security Council of the United Nations, proved the complete falsehood of these allegations, and, as a result, the Egyptian Government was forced to withdraw the charges, even from its own courts, and to release the crew. The *Bat Galim* and its cargo are still held by Egypt.

15. At meetings of the Security Council of the United Nations held on January 4 and January 13, 1955, Egypt's attitude was severely criticized by the majority of representatives. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, on behalf of the United States, said; "we cannot fail to state our view that Egyptian restrictions on ships passing through the Suez Canal whether bound to or from Israel, or whether flying the Israeli or some other flag, are inconsistent with the spirit and intent of the Egyptian-Israeli General Armistice Agreement, contrary to the Security Council resolution of September 1, 1951, and a retrogression from the stated objectives to which both sides committed themselves in signing the armistice agreement."

16. Under the Charter of the United Nations, decisions of the Security Council, as distinct from recommendations of the General Assembly, are binding upon all members. Egypt, by flouting the Security Council decision of September 1, 1951, which called upon her to terminate the restrictions on the passage of international shipping and goods through the Suez Canal wherever bound, and to cease all interference with such shipping has consistently and deliberately violated the charter which she signed in 1945. The records of the United Nations contain no parallel to this willful and persistent defiance of the Security Council.

17. On January 13, 1955, the President of the Security Council, Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand, summed up the wish of that body to see the *Bat Galim* released through the Suez Canal within the context of the 1951 resolution. Egypt has to this day ignored this expression of international opinion.

E. CAIRO SENTENCES SHOCK WORLD OPINION

18. While assaults increased against Israeli citizens, and Egypt persisted in her defiance of United Nations' wishes concerning the *Bat Galim*, 12 Jews were charged with espionage on behalf of Israel before a military court in Cairo. During the trial, the defendants testified that torture had been used to extract confessions from them. One defendant, Elias Cremona, died under torture before coming to trial; another, Max Bennett, committed suicide during the trial; a third, Victorine Nino, threw herself from a window during pretrial interrogation, but survived; the French Consul-General in Cairo, who attended all sessions of the trial, reported that the body of one of the defendants, Moshe Marzouk, a French citizen, bore the marks of the brutal treatment he had received during the interrogation.

The crimes of which these people were accused were described in the London Times as "too amateurish to be taken seriously." Mr. Roger Baldwin, chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man, who was in Cairo during the trial, described the charges of espionage and sabotage as "childish and irrational."

19. On January 27, 1955, 2 of the defendants, Moshe Marzouk, a physician, and Shmuel Azar, a schoolteacher, were sentenced to hang; 2 defendants were given life terms, and 4 others long sentences. The death sentences, which were confirmed by Colonel Nasser, the Egyptian Prime Minister, were carried out on January 31 despite pleas for clemency from all over the world and from all quarters, including the Secretary General of the United Nations, the Governments of the United States and France, the Latin American delegations to the United Nations, and prominent individuals the world over.

20. Condemnation of the brutality of these sentences was worldwide. The Washington Post (February 4) called the hangings judicial lynching and described them as representing the lengths to which the Egyptian Government would go in its desperate effort to retain the seniority of the Arab bloc. The New York Herald Tribune of February 1 said: "The hasty executions stemmed as much from political conditions as from the demands of justice." Mr. Baldwin stated that "the conclusion is inescapable that the executions were ordered for political reasons, despite prior private official assurances of leniency."

F. CAIRO THREATS CONTINUE UNABATED

21. In this recent period marked by growing border unrest, Egyptian defiance of the U. N., and disregard of world opinion in regard to the mock trial in Cairo, Egyptian leaders and official publications have maintained their anti-Israel propaganda offensive. Not only is all prospect of peace rejected, but threats against the very existence of Israel are made.

22. An editorial in Al Gomhouria, official mouthpiece of the regime, stated recently:

"Egypt and the Arabs must turn in the name of humanity and its culture to all nations of the world who will aid in wiping Israel off the face of the map because of its barbarism" (October 15, 1954).

The following statement was made on Saut El-Arab (Voice of the Arabs), the official broadcasting station:

"Egypt sees Israel as a cancer endangering the Arab people. Egypt is the physician who can uproot this cancer. Egypt does not forget that it is her obligation to take revenge, and she is mobilizing all her forces in anticipation of the hoped-for day" (November 16, 1954).

23. Recent statements by Maj. Saleh Salem, Egyptian Minister of National Guidance, stress the refusal to make peace under any circumstances. Speaking to visiting Syrian journalists in connection with Egyptian armament plans, Salem said:

"Egypt's policy has not ceased to rest on the principle of 'no peace with Israel' in any form and at any time. Egypt will not make peace with Israel even if Israel were to implement the U. N. resolutions on Palestine" (December 27, 1954).

Again, in similar vein, Major Salem stated to another group of visitors on January 9:

"Egypt will strive to erase the shame of the Palestine war even if Israel should fulfill the U. N. resolutions. It will not sign a peace with her. Even if Israel should consist only of Tel Aviv, we should never put up with that" (as quoted in the Manchester Guardian, January 28, 1955).

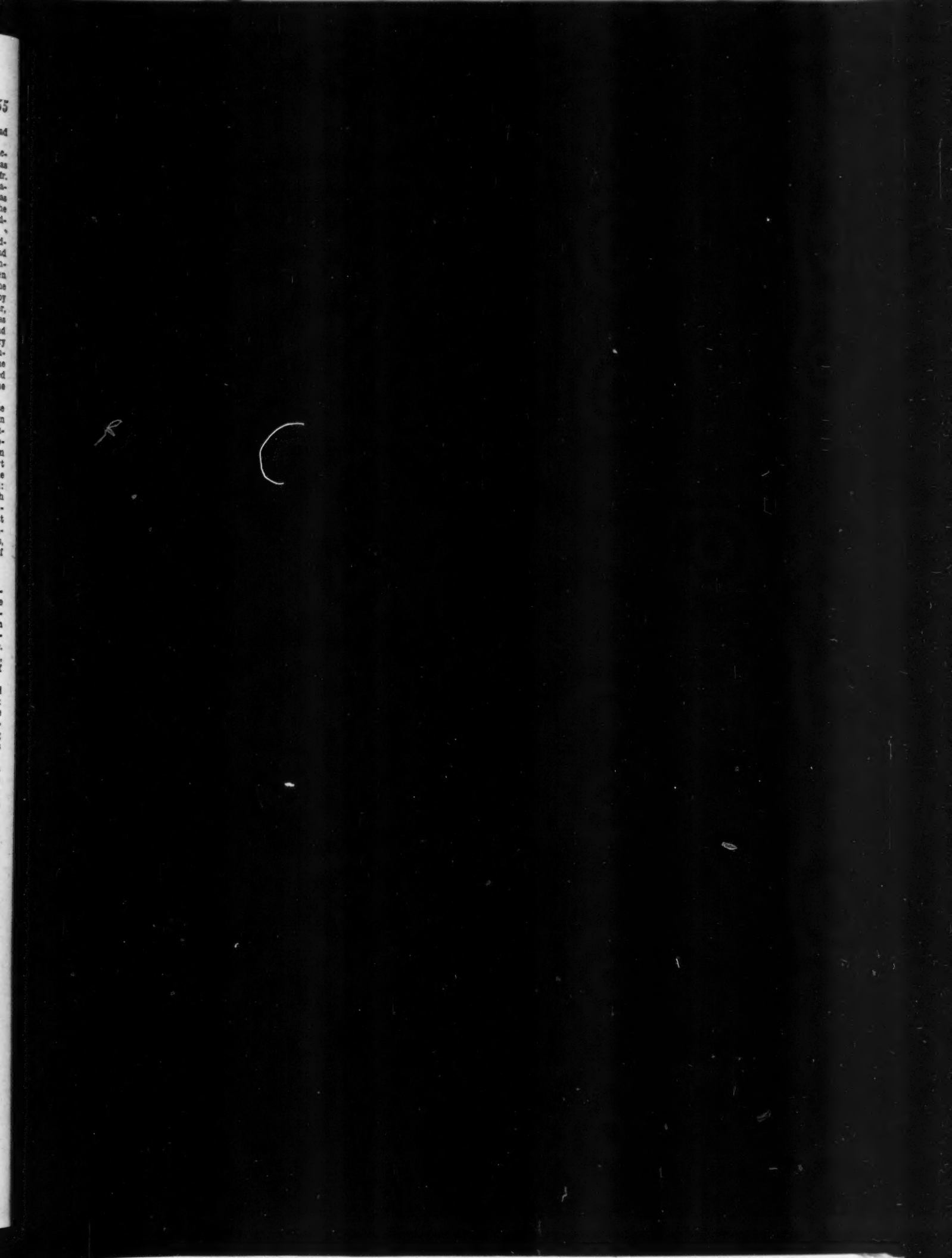

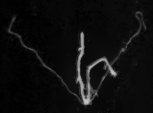

Appendix

Fort Dix

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. T. MILLET HAND

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Anthony J. Volpe, who had distinguished combat service in World War II, and was severely disabled therein, is presently the county service officer of the Cape May County (N. J.) Veterans Bureau. He recently made a very thorough inspection trip at Fort Dix and his extremely interesting report on that visit is herewith included for the information of the Congress.

The report follows:

CAPE MAY COUNTY VETERANS' BUREAU,
Cape May, N. J., February 21, 1955.

Hon. T. MILLET HAND,
Second Congressional District,
State of New Jersey,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HAND: Sometime ago I communicated with the Public Information Office at Fort Dix, N. J., requesting an invitation to conduct an impartial objective survey among the troops regarding questions of military pay, military housing, legislation which is before the 84th Congress, how the average GI in all grades felt about our international circumstances, what they thought of the army generally, etc. Also this survey was made by the undersigned to determine or evaluate and observe physical fitness, discipline, tactical teaching, quality of weapons, and usage, morale of troops, alertness of troops, psychological adaptability to army life, instructors and quality of instruction, food, special services, etc. The PIO Office at Fort Dix graciously granted my request and invited me up to Fort Dix to conduct this survey as a public relation and liaison. On February 14, 1955, I arrived at Fort Dix and reported to the PIO Office, and arrangements were made for me to be quartered in the officer's guest house, and a copy of training program for the 14th and 15th of February was placed at my disposal. Further Capt. Hamrick, PIO officer, assigned Lieutenant Young of his office as my guide around the training areas of Fort Dix including observation of housing, kitchens, hospital, service facilities, and religious facilities. The cooperation I received from the PIO Office, gave me a proud feeling of respect for that particular office and allowed me to observe the excellent ability and functions of Captain Hamrick, Lieutenant Young, and their staff.

It is my request and desire that you make the following report a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that your colleagues and others concerned may have the benefit of the contents of this report.

Lieutenant Young and I proceeded to one of the training regiments in the field on one of the rifle ranges. With 8-week recruits, I began my objective survey and the following questions and answers on remarks made:

1. "What do you feel to be a sufficient military pay raise?" Ninety percent of the men questioned during this entire day on this question answered, "We think a 10-percent raise in military pay to be fair and adequate." Others replied, "We'd be glad to get whatever we can."

2. Question asked, "Do you go to religious service more since being in the service than you did in the civilian life?" Eighty-five percent of the men questioned said "Yes." On this score official records in the P. I. O. office show that the 13 chapels at Fort Dix show an attendance of 324,069 worshipers during 1954. This is an amazing attendance record and a definite credit to the chaplains and to the commanding general of Fort Dix. This in itself should show the parents and the average civilian that men in the service are more religiously inclined than in civilian life. I would like to add that during 1954 the troops of Fort Dix voluntarily contributed $40,000 to charitable civilian purposes.

3. Question asked of noncommissioned officers and field grade commissioned officers, "Do you feel that the new army of these recruits show a tendency toward sufficient and proper discipline?" The majority replied that "discipline is nowhere near to what it should be." I then asked what they thought some of the reasons for this lax in discipline might be. Some remarked, "It is difficult to discipline a young man entering the service today when discipline in civilian life had been lax and also that the new trainee has too many avenues of redress," a great many of which are abused by the serviceman. For example, a new man in his first 8 weeks of basic training must undergo an entirely different change of environment and adaptation which is admittedly somewhat difficult. These factors are considered by troop commanders and field instructors. However, the men themselves feel the restrictions and are too prone to write aggravated letters home, and as a result of these letters the parents immediately wish to contact their Congressman or the commanding general of the base. Upon this question my survey finds that many noncommissioned officers and field grade officers have been embarressed by such intervention by parents and congressional inquiries. The consensus of opinion among the line grade noncommissioned officers and troop commanders is that they feel that their primary mission in training new troops is to teach and discipline them so that these men will remain alive in combat and participate in the success of any military mission. Unless the ideology of rugged training and discipline and fair and adequate authority to noncommissioned officers and troop commanders is reinstated, we shall suffer not only a greater amount of casualties on a potential battlefield but we shall have an army with manpower but without discipline. I thought that this was an important matter to bring to the attention of the readers of this report.

Another question asked was: "Do you think that servicemen should have free postal or mailing benefits restored?" All personnel questioned answered "Yes." This free or postal mailing benefits represents one of several fringe benefits that Army or Armed Forces personnel have lost since World War II.

4. Question asked, "Do you believe that wartime veteran benefits should be retained so long as an international crisis such as we face in the Far East is apparent?" Sixty percent of the men questioned answered, "Yes," 40 percent answered, "No."

5. Question asked, "Are you a high school graduate?" Approximately 75 percent indicated that they either had 3 years of completed high school or a high school diploma. Those that were not high school graduates expressed the fact that they did have an opportunity to continue or complete high school in the military service.

6. Question asked, "Do you think the civilians generally show sufficient or proper respect to members of the Armed Forces?" Seventy percent of the men questioned answered "No." 30 percent answered "Yes." Those that answered "No" were asked why they felt this way. Some of the remarks weer as follows: "We are basically a nonmilitary country. The average civilian is not basically interested in servicemen or legislation for servicemen unless they as individuals have a member of their family in the military service."

7. Question asked of both enlisted men with dependents, NCO's, and commissioned officers, "Do you think that service housing for dependents is adequate?" The answer was over 95 percent "No." After asking this question I then requested my PIO officer guide to take me to some of the NCO quarters, officer's quarters, guest homes, and dependents' housing. Without any reservation it is very obvious that these quarters are very poor, inadequate, poorly heated and ventilated, and most of them consist of old World War II temporary barracks. One large housing area for officer personnel and their families is a former old original station hospital of Fort Dix. This would be a very interesting and enlightening factor to witness by members of the House Armed Forces Committee and Members of Congress, and I am sure that after they saw these conditions they would readily understand why veteran NCO's and field grade officers are leaving the military service on a greater scale every year. The housing situation outside of post in and around Fort Dix is almost ridiculous. However, on a lighter side of this picture, in 1954 there were 55 modern steel and masonry buildings built by civilian contractors at Fort Dix. Twenty-three of these buildings were company-sized barracks which house an entire infantry company with modern heating and ventilating, kitchen and recreation facilities. One of these new buildings was built for a regimental headquarters. Twelve were made into regimental classrooms. One new building was built as a firehouse; 5 as maintenance shops, and 1 as a boiler central control house. There is a joke amongst the regiments still housed in the old ramshackled World War II temporary buildings that the one regiment housed in these modern barracks were known as the "Hollywood Regiment." These 55 new buildings represent a step in the right direction. However, the allocation of funds for Fort Dix for more of these new barracks is very limited and there should be some study made for the purpose of increasing the funds for Fort Dix. We must remember that Fort Dix has approximately 40,000 troops. A considerable number of these troops are married personnel. We should also consider the fact that Fort Dix is a permanent military installation with very few permanent-type buildings. We should consider too, that Fort Dix maintains a training division status.

The new inductees receive their very first impression of the military service while at Fort Dix. Certainly this impression of military facilities cannot be consdered by these men as favorable. A very important fact to consider is that the commanding officer and his staff, the personnel of the public information services, the chaplain services, the special services office, and primarily the NCO's, the field grade officers, who must care and train these men, are doing an excellent and commendable job in spite of the fact that they themselves are not properly or adequately taken care of. It was amazing for me, as an observer, to note and to listen to and sense the feeling of pride that the NCO's and troop commanders have in their particular positions. They show a valid desire to do such an effective job to save men's lives and ready them for war that all of us concerned can feel justly proud and privileged to have such men in the military service. The entire staff, from the commanding general, down to the NCO in the field, have a feeling and a desire to express and recommend to the parents of these young men that they, in order to do a job to their young sons properly and to insure that these young men will survive combat, that they honestly and objectively feel that too many ties and too much interference is detrimental to their own sons and daughters. It must be appreciated that these men must be converted from ordinary civilians to fighting men in a short space of time. The value of discipline here in training camps spells the difference of life and death or success or failure in a combat military situation.

Emphasis is being reinstated on physical fitness and stamina of these troops in training. The tactical training being give at Fort Dix is excellent. Fort Dix has a program, nightime combat operation training, which will ready our young men to fight offensively during the dark hours. We saw with much misgivings and casualties in the Asiatic theater, in both World War II and Korea, that the Asiatic was more adept at night fighting than we were. I was especially glad to see at Fort Dix that night combat operational training is a must factor there and that it is proving to be some of the best training our men are receiving.

Psychological training: The command at Fort Dix has instructed a phase of psychological training which will certainly help the combat soldier to combat the ideology and the propaganda of potential enemies.

SUMMARY

In summation, my observances at Fort Dix resulted in the following:

1. That as a retired ex-infantryman and as a taxpayer I am extremely proud of the entire command of Fort Dix and I can objectively say that from the commanding general on down to the line officer and NCO, these men are doing an excellent job in spite of hardships and poor facilities as outlined and remarked above. Fort Dix should be considered a great asset to the Department of the Army.

2. There should be an objective survey by Department of Army officials and congressional officials into the need of better housing and facilities at Fort Dix. A movement should be initiated at Fort Dix to make a reality of its permanent base status by eliminating as many of these temporary old World War II units as possible. This can be accomplished by increasing the amount of funds for buildings and facilities for Fort Dix.

3. That there should be some type of educational program whereby the Department of the Army can impress upon the parents and taxpayers of our country that their primary mission is to train men in order to survive. This factor can be assisted by returning the authority and prestige to the line grade NCO's, and field grade commissioned officers.

4. The House Armed Forces Committee or any other congressional committee may indicate by their favorable action on servicemen's legislation that they do care and are interested in the welfare of service personnel and their dependents, to a greater extent.

5. Letters of appreciation or any other commendable communication should be forwarded to troop commanders and others of their staff for the fine work that they do.

In conclusion may I add that I have in this survey, compared my World War II training and discipline with the so-called new army and I honestly find that the only reason that I survived combat and many subsequent surgical operations was because I had had good training, good stamina, and a profound pride of military service. If this can be incorporated into the new men of our present army, we should have nothing whatsoever to fear.

Respectfully submitted,

ANTHONY J. VOLPE,
County Service Officer.

Tenth Anniversary of Capture of Remagen Bridge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I wish to comment briefly on the significance of the 10th anniversary of the capture of the Remagen Bridge on March 7, 1945. This was one of the heroic acts which turned the tide of battle during World War II. I quote from the Washington News of March 9, 1945, the report sent by C. R. Cunningham, United Press war correspondent:

Victory is in the air on this side of the Rhine, where American troops hit the pay dirt of Germany.

It can't be told yet how the Americans crossed the Rhine, but it took only 15 minutes to get at least one company of infantry to the eastern side yesterday afternoon.

The crossing was a case of spotting an opportunity and grabbing it. Maj. Murray Deevers, of Hagarville, Ark., ordered his men across and the company swept into inner Germany.

An earlier dispatch from Cunningham had reported that a Second Lieutenant Burroughs and 1st Lt. Carl Timmerman, of West Point, Nebr., spotted the opportunity and flashed the word to battalion headquarters where Lt. Col. Leonard Engemann, of Minnesota, made the historic decision.

It is with understandable pride that I mention the outstanding contribution made in this historic advance by the late Maj. Murray Deevers, of Hagarville, Johnson County, Ark., at that time within the Fifth Congressional District which I have the honor to represent. Johnson County is now a part of the district represented by our able colleague Mr. TRIMBLE.

I am sure that the Members share my feeling of deep appreciation for the service of Major Deevers, and those associated with him who contributed so much to the defense of our country.

Civil-Service Retirement Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
January 25, 1955

Mr REUSS. Mr. Speaker, a recent publication of the National Planning Association called the Budget in Transition, contains important material bearing on the civil-service retirement fund.

HANDLING THE GOVERNMENT'S SHARE OF THE COST OF THE CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT FUND

For many years Federal Government employes and the United States Government have shared the cost of a retirement and disability plan operated through the civil-service retirement fund. From 1929 through 1953 the budget included an allowance for the Government's contribution to the cost of the system; appropriations were made, and the amounts involved were recorded as a Government expenditure. They were added to the total deficit as reported on the administrative basis.

The amount appropriated for many years was a compromise figure—below true actuarial cost and above the cost of current benefits and payments and for this reason and others, the liability of the Government not represented by appropriations has grown to a figure in excess of $10 billion. This led to proposals for a reconsideration of the policy of financing the retirement fund, and studies of various possibilities have been going on for some time.

Because a policy had not been worked out, Congress has refused to make appropriations for the fiscal years 1954 and 1955 in line with the pattern established during the previous 30 years of the system's life. The appropriation would have been $368 million in fiscal 1954 (President's budget message for 1954, p. M52) and a somewhat greater amount in fiscal 1955, roughly about $390 million.

For fiscal year 1956, on the old basis, the figure would have been still greater, roughly about $416 million, but the President suggested (message for 1956, p. M82) only $216 million. These figures exclude certain cost-of-living increases for workers who have already retired, which have continued to be appropriated each year.

The failure of Congress to appropriate the amounts involved reduced the accounting totals of expenditures and the deficit. It has no effect on payments to retired employees but it allows the Government's unfunded liability figure to grow faster than would otherwise have been the case.

Highlights of changing policy with regard to the appropriation for the civil service retirement fund appear in the budget messages sent by the President to the Congress during the past few years. In the message on the 1953 budget, the President said (p. M75):

"The cost of civilian employee's retirement benefits is financed by contributions from the employees and the Government. By law, Federal employees covered under the system are required to contribute to a trust fund 6 percent of their salaries, and the Government is required to contribute an amount sufficient to cover the remaining cost of benefits.

"The Government contribution for the fiscal year 1953 consists of a normal contribution of 2.78 percent of payroll to pay currently accruing costs, and a deficiency contribution to pay interest on and provide for amortization of the Government's accrued liability to the fund.

"This liability results from employees' services rendered prior to the effective date of the system, credits for military service, and insufficient appropriations for the Government contribution in some years. This budget includes $458 million for the annual contribution of the Government for the fiscal year 1953 to the civil-service retirement and disability trust fund, $148 million more than in the current fiscal year.

"This estimate takes into account the higher benefits for future annuitants which will result from a recent advance in the pay rates for Government employees.

"It also provides for the first of 30 annual payments to amortize the Government's accrued liability to the fund so that the retirement system eventually will be financed on a full reserve basis, as is contemplated by the Retirement Act."

Congress questioned the program suggested by the President and established a committee to report on the problem. It appropriated $324 million for 1953, however, which represented a continuation of past Government policy.

In the message on the 1954 budget, the President said (p. M52):

"I am recommending appropriations of $427 million to cover the Government's obligations to the civil service retirement and disability fund and $3 million to pay annuities under special laws.

"The Government's obligations to the civil service retirement and disability fund include $59 million to cover the cost for 1953 and 1954 of the temporary increase in benefits voted last summer for persons then receiving annuities from the civil-service retirement system, and $368 million for its contribution as employed for the fiscal year 1954.

"The amounts I am recommending do not provide for payments on the Government's outstanding liability to the fund, since this is one of the problems to be studied by the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel recently established by the Congress."

Congress failed to appropriate the amount requested by the President, waiting instead for the report of the committee that it had established.

In the message on the 1955 budget, the President said (p. M101):

"An appropriation of $30 million is recommended to permit the continued payment to retired Federal workers of temporary cost-of-living increases as authorized by the Congress in 1952. The budget also includes $2 million to pay annuities under special laws.

"The civil-service retirement system is financed jointly by employee contributions and appropriations by the Government. The Congress, at its last session, however, did not appropriate for the Government's payments to the fund. The resumption of these payments is not included in this budget.

"Recommendations for financing this system as well as other retirement programs for Federal personnel will be determined after the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel completes its study and reports to the Congress on or before June 30, 1954."

No appropriation was requested for the fiscal year 1955, and none was made.

In the message on the 1956 budget, the President said (p. M82):

"The civil-service retirement and disability system should be financed on a more satisfactory basis. Employees now contribute 6 percent of pay, covering about one-half the currently accruing cost, and the Government is responsible for the rest of the cost.

"In the past the Government's share of payments to this fund has not been provided on a consistent basis and in the last 2 years appropriations have been deferred pending the report of the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel.

"The Committee's report to the 83d Congress establishes the necessity for a sound and lasting financial basis for the civil-service retirement system. Financing of the civil-service system is a problem requiring careful consideration because of its importance to the Federal career service.

"For 1956 I am recommending a Government contribution of $216 million, which is estimated to be the difference in that year between the Government's share of current benefit disbursements and the interest earned on its part of the fund. This will serve to maintain at its present level the equity the Government already has built up in the fund through its past contributions."

A table showing the figures on appropriations to the civil-service retirement fund by the Government on the basis of policy decisions existing in 1953 and prior years, compared with actual and proposed appropriations, is set forth below:

[In millions of dollars]

Year	Old basis	Actual and proposed	Difference
1952	310	310	0
1954	368	0	368
1955	[1] 390	0	390
1956	[1] 416	216	200

[1] Estimated.

The estimates for 1955 and 1956 are rough projections based on the figures used in 1953 and prior years. They are lower than the estimated $794 million level premium cost to the Government, carried in the tables of the report of the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel which was submitted to the 83d Congress on June 29, 1954. Included in the level premium cost are amounts necessary to put the system on a self-sustaining basis.

The Achievement of a Just Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the joint commission on social action of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis recommended to the 43d general assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations concerted action on various problems.

Although I was unable to attend the convention, I heartily endorse the recommendation of the commission, of which I am honored to be a member, as well as the action of its parent body in adopting the following statement:

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST PEACE

(A statement of principles adopted by 43d general assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in Los Angeles, Calif., February 14, 1955, upon recommendation of the commission on social action)

The quest for peace has been stamped indelibly upon the character of Judaism. Our prayers and hopes have always been directed toward the achievement of peace for all humanity. At a time when war was the normal relationship among the nations of the world, the prophets proclaimed the vision of universal peace. From its earliest beginnings, Judaism has praised the peacemaker, condemned the warmonger; indeed, the early rabbis forbade Jews to traffic in the instruments of war. The majestic dream of a time when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more, has been an essential element of Judaism's heritage to all mankind.

As heirs of the great religious tradition which conceives of its ultimate goal as the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth, we rededicate ourselves to the goal of universal peace. We confront the modern threats to peace, symbolized by the awesome power of thermonuclear weapons, with deep anxiety and concern but with undimmed faith in the even mightier power of God and man.

Only when there is a universal will for peace, can peace be achieved. In a world divided into two mutually hostile spheres, tensions inevitably develop, poisoning the very atmosphere of international relations. We recognize that aggressive communism is primarily responsible for this division and for many of the tensions threatening world peace.

That Communist imperialism is the chief threat to world peace does not, however, absolve the United States from the heavy responsibility of constantly examining our own policies and conduct to make sure that we do not, in discouragement and frustration, weaken in our determination to build a peaceful world. As Americans and as Jews, drawing upon our religious experience and insights, we must urge our Nation to intensify its positive efforts and to repudiate certain tendencies which in themselves constitute impediments to the achievement of world peace.

Accordingly, we urge—

1. That the United Nations be made in deed as well as in word the cornerstone of United States foreign policy. There is little doubt that the prestige and influence of the United Nations have been weakened by a tendency to bypass it, or to fail to make full use of its machinery in crucial matters. Our task must be to strengthen the United Nations. We believe that such strengthening requires the United Nations to become truly a world organization which it cannot be until it becomes a council of all nations. We darken the hope of world peace when we neglect the United Nations, disparage its values, and especially when we give vent to irresponsible threats to withdraw from this assembly of nations.

2. That the United States not yield to despair in the search for universal peace. We must not fail to pursue every path, to consider openmindedly every proposal, that might lead in the direction of easing world tension. We take pride in United States sponsorship of the uniquely generous Baruch plan for control of atomic armaments. But we are aware that this plan has been dead for years. We warmly commend President Eisenhower for his imaginative proposal for an atomic pool for peacetime purposes, and for our country's contribution of fissionable materials for peaceful uses. The United States should similarly seize the initiative in the quest for universal disarmament. Until a workable, realistic program of world disarmament is in force, however, the United States must continue, in concert with other free nations to maintain its military strength, including its atomic stockpiles. It is an ironic truth that these stockpiles may be the most effective present deterrent to a world war.

3. That consideration of a preventive war as a possible instrument of American policy be rejected as immoral and a blasphemy both of religion and of democracy. We heartily commend President Eisenhower for repeatedly repudiating such an alternative, and

for courageously urging patience and maturity in the pursuit of peace, but we are disturbed by the continued prevalence in places of high authority of a state of mind which seems to regard a preventive war as a solution to our difficulties. Religious groups especially have a profound obligation to inspire in the hearts of men the conviction that the achievement of peace is man's greatest challenge in our time.

4. That the fundamental contest between democracy and tyranny be recognized as a long-range struggle, which may continue for generations, and which will be won ultimately not by armaments but in the loyalties and minds of men. We can win this contest only by demonstrating constantly and conclusively that democracy is dynamic, that it spurns colonialism and racism, that it can and will address itself to the crushing problems of world poverty. In this connection, we welcome the achievements of the point 4 and U. N. technical assistance programs and urge that they be greatly expanded. We urge the speediest possible implementation of President Eisenhower's plan for peacetime use of atomic energy through an international pool.

5. That the processes of free discussion in the United States be revitalized. Too many Americans, distressed by the painful complexities of international affairs, have left thinking on these questions to their leaders. We are also disturbed by the tendency to stifle free discussion and healthy controversy by resort to loose charges and pressure toward confromity. The result of these tendencies is that the very processes of international diplomacy, negotiation, and compromise have been held up to contempt; honest criticism of existing policies and even advocacy of coexistence have frequently been equated with procommunism. These are among the factors contributing to the weakening of United States prestige throughout the world and to the grave impairment of morale in the United States diplomatic service, thus increasing the difficulties of achieving a genuine peace.

To revitalize public discussion and debate of crucial international issues, we urge the convening of an international conference of religious, educational, scientific, and civic leaders from all nations to discuss the threats to peace and to consider ways of strengthening the fabric of universal harmony.

6. That religious bodies of all denominations intensify their efforts to instill in the hearts of man a renewed dedication to peace. Only the ringing cry of faith can cross the barriers and curtains now separating man from man. The voice of religion, the message of salvation through righteousness and justice, must be heard above the clatter of the weapons of war. Reaffirming our belief in the sovereignty of God over all humanity, we pledge ourselves to join with all men of conscience in seeking a way to achieve mankinds' opportunity for redemption: A world at peace.

Congressman Horan Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following news release issued by Congressman WALTER HORAN, of Washington, which contains very interesting information about the extension of rural electric light and power to the farm homes of America:

CONGRESSMAN HORAN REPORTS

WE LEAD

The great State of Washington leads the entire Nation in the percentage of our farms that are electrified—99.1 percent. We are still working on the remaining 0.9 percent Moreover, our rural folks have electricity in abundance, thanks to our forward-looking leaders in every farming area.

BUILDERS

In fact, it has been men of courage throughout our State that have helped to banish the treadmill and the lantern. It has not always been easy to extend and expand our transmission lines into the remoter areas, yet it has been and is being done. The paradox of living remotely within an easy horesback ride of great dams like Grand Coulee or Chief Joseph without the blessings of electricity is being overcome. We are even lighting our skiing areas atop our majestic mountains.

This progress is a tribute to our leadership and to the spirit of neighborly cooperation that has seen those in the so-called cream areas help to extend service to those far distant from them. A score of years ago only 47 percent of Washington's farms had electricity, and those were in the more thickly populated sections. In the Nation the picture is also astounding. In Mississippi, 20 years ago, less than 1 percent of the farms had power or light; only 1.2 percent in Arkansas, 2.3 percent in North Dakota, and 2.3 percent in Texas. Strangely, Utah, with over half her farms electrified, was among the leaders then, second only to California and New Hampshire. Today the Nation's average is a little over 92 percent whereas 20 years ago, the national average was 10.9 percent.

NEW APPROACHES

For 20 years the emphasis has been on extending the blessings of electricity farther and farther into the rural areas. A formula still is in the law that requires: "One-half of each year's new (REA) funds for electric loans shall be allotted for loan use among the States in the proportion which the number of unelectrified farms in the State bears to the number of unelectrified farms in the whole country." Thus, in effect, out of all annual new REA funds, each State's allotted funds are reserved for applicants from that State for a period of 1 year.

When only 10.9 percent were electrified that was a wise formula. But when less than 10 percent lack electricity today, that formula stands in the way, as it is presently written, of a wise and flexible use of new funds for the consolidation of present rural systems, for the creation of new sources of supply, the rephasing of outmoded transmission systems and many other improvements that will give better service, more power and lower charges to our rural people.

A GOOD ADMINISTRATOR

Ancher Nelsen, for nearly 2 years now the Administrator of REA, wants this formula brought up to date. During his administration he has done marvels. One achievement stands out. He found a Hatfield-McCoy type of feud going on among the various rural electrical services in Kentucky. He moved in with his engineers, both electrical and, may we say, diplomatic. Meetings were held in Washington and Kentucky. Differences were overcome, agreements were reached. Integration was established and interconnections were made. Three million dollars was saved. Rates were reduced.

Now Ancher Nelsen is working on rural telephone extensions. More than 50 percent of our Nation's farms still lack telephones. Nelsen plans to carry on an aggressive and effective program to meet the needs.

WASHINGTON

I have served on the subcommittee that supplies funds to the Department of Agriculture for more than a decade now. I have good reason to be proud of the farmers of our great State of Washington for, from my vantage point, I can see the rural progress—or the lack of it—across the Nation. Our folks meet problems honestly and take full advantage of every just and proper opportunity for better, more productive and, therefore, more secure rural living. We will always have our problems but working together we will solve them. Thus we strengthen ourselves and provide a wholesome example for farmers in other sections.

Another Drought Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, we continue to receive alarming reports of the imminent danger of another great Dust Bowl in the Southwest, where 3 years of drought have created a national disaster area.

An illustration of these grave reports is afforded by an article printed on March 7, 1955, in the Daily Oklahoman, by the veteran reporter, Roy P. Stewart. Mr. Stewart, who has covered leading news events of the region for many years, speaks with authority on this important subject. The article follows:

ACRES OF DUST READY TO MOVE

(By Roy P. Stewart)

This is not intended as a scare story, but unless a beneficient providence sends gentle rains over the Southwest soon, there are more than 18 million acres of land restless to lend their unwanted grit to black blizzards of dust.

Oklahoma has less of it to contribute than its 4 sister States—only 1,334,000 acres—but as the winds come principally from eastern Colorado, western Kansas, northeastern New Mexico, and northwest Texas, this State will be on both the receiving end and a contributor, as dust seeks target areas far removed.

Last week's sudden, unseasonal warm weather, felt good to bodies chilled by winter winds, but throughout the Southwest, and particularly colder areas to the Northwest, it melted a frost pan which held down light soil, powder dry from lack of moisture.

That is true of most of Colorado's 4,519,000 acres all set to blow; of Kansas' 5,696,000 surveyed dry, light lands; of New Mexico's 1,444,000 acres and Texas' additional 5,397,000, making a total of 18,390,000 acres with too little cover to stop blowing.

Recent blizzards off the Rocky Mountain highlands brought snow but winds were so strong it was almost all swept off fields. It filled ditches and canyons, where sudden warm suns melted it, leaving pools of water beside parched fields, still cracking from thirst.

On thousands of abandoned wheat acres in Colorado, some in the high plains country of Texas and even some in Oklahoma, farmers could hardly do an effective job of listing soil in furrows quartered to prevailing winds because it was almost dust.

Some farmers are still hopeful, particularly in some Oklahoma areas where soil is light

enough to switch from wheat to grain sorghums, or to cotton, provided late moisture comes, and hesitate to plow up land with buried wheat seed. They could have a chance to overplant with another crop if moisture comes before too long.

Overgrazing the past 2 seasons because of drought, even by men who know how dangerous that practice is but hope rain comes in quantity before permanent damage is done, also contributes to the possibility of dust, soil conservation service officials will tell you. That is particularly true of semiarid, desert grass country, where there is sparse cover at best.

One reason there has been such a clamor for larger cotton acreage than present allotments call for is the possibility of seeding cotton if April rains come—right on top of wheat land. Grain sorghums, although not a basic crop under the support plan, also come into that view because so much layout land was shifted to feed raising.

Off Years Are Minority Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower, in a recent press conference, advocated the election of Members of the House for 4-year terms.

In its December 28, 1954, publication, the Patriot, a newspaper in my district, made some interesting observations with regard to the merits of such a proposal.

Because there is a keen and widespread interest in 4-year terms for Congressmen, I am submitting this newspaper's editorial for the convenience of my colleagues:

OFF YEARS ARE MINORITY YEARS

Next week, the 84th Congress of the United States convenes.

Final tabulations of the official vote reveal the fact that this Congress was elected by a total vote cast of 44,447,496, which is 42.7 percent of the qualified voters as of last November.

Whatever mandate was given the 84th Congress was by less than 43 people out of 100 in these United States who could have voted. Obviously, it is a Congress authorized by a minority of the voters.

That is not peculiar for off-year elections. In fact, it is something of an improvement. Some States made notable records—New York with 84.4 percent of registered voters, Connecticut 81.3 and Arizona 81.1. But even this was of registered, not eligible, voters.

When compared to the 61 percent of eligible voters who turned out for the presidential elections of 1952, the off-year vote was pretty sad. Of about 100 million eligible to vote in 1952, a total of 61,679,882 went to the polls. Of some 104 million eligible in 1954, only 44,447,496 took the trouble to vote.

Of course, it is the fault of the 57 out of 100 who stayed at home that they are without representation in the halls of Congress for the next 2 years. They forfeited their right by staying away. They have been staying away in increasingly large numbers on off-years since the beginning of the Republic.

Doesn't that suggest the question, are off-year elections necessary? Do they serve any valid reason? Are the time, effort, and cost of a modern off-year election justified? If the answers are all in the negative, as we suspect, then what is the remedy?

A Member of the House of Representatives hardly gets his feet under his desk when he is back campaigning for another 2-year term. As the more popular and responsive House, its Members should be elected and serve concurrently with the President, for a 4-year term. Senators might serve for 8 years and half of them be elected every 4 years with the President. In this way, a mandate of a majority of the electorate will be given the President and the Congress. A more responsible and representative government should result. It would always be a government by the majority of the American voters through their elected representatives.

Miss Adina De Zavala, Noted Texan, Historian, and Writer, Called by Death

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL J. KILDAY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, on March 1, 1955, Miss Alina De Zavala, granddaughter of Gen. Lorenzo De Zavala, first vice president of the Republic of Texas, died at San Antonio. The Southern Messenger, of San Antonio, carried the news of her death in an item which I include under authority granted me to extend my remarks:

MISS ADINA DE ZAVALA, NOTED TEXAN, HISTORIAN AND WRITER, CALLED BY DEATH

On the eve of Texas Independence Day Miss Adina De Zavala, 93, pioneer San Antonio resident whose grandfather, Gen. Lorenzo De Zavala, played a prominent part in the establishment of the Republic of Texas and served as its first vice president, died Tuesday, March 1, at 6:10 p. m., in Santa Rosa Hospital. Her home was at 141 Taylor Street, but since last summer she had resided at Incarnate Word College.

All her life she was interested in Texas and Texans especially of historic interest and because of her enthusiasm manifested on all occasions the De Zavala Chapter of the Texas Historical and Landmarks Association, which she founded and in which she was the guiding spirit, was named in her honor and that of her father and grandfather.

Another prominent member of this organization, Col. Martin Crimmins, died in San Antonio a few weeks ago.

Miss Adina, as she was affectionately known to her many friends not alone in San Antonio but all over the State, traveled to all parts of Texas, sometimes on horseback, doing research work for her writings on early pioneers and attending their gatherings. She was well versed in all phases of Texas history, rich in the tradition of this great State whose cause her grandfather so ardently espoused.

Miss De Zavala, daughter of Augustine De Zavala and Julia Tyrrell De Zavala, was born at De Zavala's Point, the homestead of her father and grandfather, opposite the battlefield of San Jacinto in Harris County.

She received her early education at her home from a private teacher until she was old enough to attend the Ursuline Academy in Galveston. Following her attendance there, she was sent to a normal college.

Later she spent some time as a teacher in the public school on Avenue E, on the site now occupied by the Express Publishing Co.

Through a life of devotion to Texas history, folklore and general civic, patriotic, and uplift work, Miss De Zavala had, perhaps, more than any one person in Texas, aroused in the general public a desire for a fuller knowledge of the history of the Lone Star State.

She was, perhaps more than anyone else, responsible for interest manifested on the part of the public in celebrating the birthday of Texas independence and other State holidays in recent years. She was also highly successful in bringing about a more general display of the Texas flag on all holidays.

As an author, she wrote the publication, History and Legends of the Alamo and Other Missions in and Around San Antonio and A Collation of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico. For some years she edited a Texas History Department in a Texas magazine.

All the tablets and monuments erected by the Daughters and Son of the Heroes and Pioneers of the Republic of Texas and by the Texas Historical and Landmarks Association were placed by Miss De Zavala as chairman and historian of tablets and monuments.

SAVED SHRINE

It was Miss De Zavala's action in barricading herself in the Alamo for 3 days and nights, with a shotgun on her lap, that is credited with keeping the Shrine of Texas Liberty from being sold to hotel interests shortly after the turn of the century.

She obtained an option on the Alamo which she held for many years and in 1906 dictated the memorial and bill presented in the 29th Texas Legislature appropriating $65,000 to complete the purchase of the famous mission.

It was the De Zavala chapter of the Daughters of the Texas Republic, of which she was president, that raised and paid the first part of the purchase price of the Alamo.

Of a brilliant mind, even at her advanced age, she was keen and alert and abreast of the times notwithstanding the fact she had lost her eyesight a few years ago.

A person, firm in her convictions and of sterling Catholicity, Miss De Zavala was generous in her benefactions to education and other worthwhile projects, and did untold good to the needy and unfortunate.

The eldest of the three De Zavala children, Miss De Zavala was the last to die. Her sister, Miss Mary, died a few years ago. Their brother, Capt. Augustine De Zavala, a former student of St. Edward's University, Austin, was active in the Spanish-American War and in the draft board during World Wars I and II. He served also as bank director in Austin and died in that city in 1952. He is buried in the family plot in St. Mary's Cemetery, San Antonio.

Results of Statewide Poll Among Nevada Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFTON (CLIFF) YOUNG
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I have recently conducted a statewide poll among Nevada citizens on seven important issues facing this Congress.

The results have been tabulated by International Business Machines Corp., and I wish to call them to the attention of my colleagues.

May I also make formal expression of my appreciation to the thousands of Nevadans who took the time to express their views and thus render a valuable contribution to the shaping of national policy.

The poll follows:

	Yes	No	Undecided
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
1. Regarding foreign policy do you feel:			
(a) Red China should be admitted to the U. N.?	9.8	81.6	8.6
(b) The United States should withdraw from the U. N. if Red China is admitted?	33.9	54.0	12.1
(c) Economic assistance and technical advice to non-Communist countries should be continued?	69.9	17.5	12.6
2. Regarding taxation and the budget (the national debt now totals over $274 billion; the interest on this costs American taxpayers more than $6 billion each year; the deficit for present fiscal year is $4 billion plus), do you favor:			
(a) Higher taxes to balance the budget?	15.9	65.7	18.4
(b) Following the President's recommendations which continue the gradual trend toward a balanced budget but still maintain a deficit?	75.3	11.3	13.4
(c) Reducing taxes by increasing the individual exemptions from $600 to $700 (will cause loss of $2.4 billion annually)?	22.9	60.0	17.1
3. With regard to national security do you feel:			
(a) Administration is placing sufficient emphasis—over 45 percent of military budget—on airpower?	66.5	15.7	17.8
(b) Universal military training is preferable to extension of selective service?	66.2	20.5	13.3
4. Which of the following statements expresses your views on the Taft-Hartley law?			
(a) "Slave labor law which is unfair to unions and the average workingman."	7.3	40.1	52.6
(b) "Not strict enough in prohibiting monopolistic, unjust, and dangerous practices by unions."	31.9	18.6	49.5
(c) "Experience has shown that law is fair and just; may need some amendments but over all is a good law."	77.0	4.5	18.5
5. Do you favor the health reinsurance program whereby the Federal Government plans to encourage expansion of private health insurance by assuming exceptional risks?	42	39.4	18.6
6. Regarding natural resources do you favor:			
(a) More emphasis on State and local participation in reclamation projects?	69.9	12.4	17.7
(b) Encouraging private enterprise to participate in developing atomic power for peacetime use?	85.2	7.4	7.4
7. Do you feel postal rates should be increased to assist in cutting down the postal deficit (now $1 million plus per day)?	74.1	20.9	5.0

Thirty-Seventh Anniversary of Renewed Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I received from Dr. A. Zukowsky, president of the State branch of North Dakota of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., the speech given by Dr. Zukov on the 37th anniversary of renewed Ukrainian independence, and the Ukrainian Independence Day declaration.

The continuing determination of the people of Ukrainia to throw off oppression and the spirit of liberty which has remained strong and unyielding through generations of tyrannical rule by their conquerors should prove an inspiration to all those who believe in freedom and individual rights.

The matters follow:

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE
OF AMERICA, INC.,
STATE BRANCH OF NORTH DAKOTA,
Bismarck, N. Dak., March 6, 1955.

Hon. USHER L. BURDICK,
House of Representatives,
Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BURDICK: I am taking the liberty of writing you regarding our recent celebration of the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of free and independent Ukrainian Republic, and 36th anniversary of act of union of all Ukrainian territories in one independent and indivisible state.

Radio programs, special church services, and other celebrations were held in North Dakota during January, with newspapers carrying publicity on these events commemorating Ukrainian independence.

This proclamation was issued by the Ukrainian Parliament, the Central Council on the 22d day of January 1918, in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine. The free and independent Ukrainian Republic was recognized by countries all over the world, among them Russia, which soon afterward attacked the independent state.

The love of democracy and freedom lives on in the supressed Ukraine, for although the Republic was short-lived and fell under the forcible occupation of the Russian Communists in 1922, the resistance of the Ukrainian people to Communist totalitarianism has not ceased until this day.

At the same time our committee had the opportunity to read the staff reports of the Subcommittee To Study the U. N. Charter, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In this series of studies (particularly in staff study No. 4) Ukraine is referred to in comparison with Texas, i. e., that Ukraine is as much a part of the Soviet Union as Texas is of the United States. Moreover, the study urges the exclusion of Ukraine from the U. N. on the basis that it is not a nation but a part of the Soviet Union.

This sort of thinking is of course completely without basis, since Ukraine, in the international sense was, and is, a Nation in itself. It has been recognized by the great powers including Soviet Russia, England, France, and others throughout its history. To disclaim its status as a nation simply because it is under Soviet Russian tyranny would necessitate the exclusion of Czechoslovakia and Poland from the U. N. because they are also under Soviet domination.

The object of the Soviet regime is to absorb cultures and nations in order that the peoples which they enslave would offer less resistance to their tyranny. Such a move on the part of the United States would greatly diminish the feelings of the enslaved Ukrainians toward this country, because they look upon America as an ally in their struggle. Were America to deny their very existence as a nation we would play into the hands of the Communists.

Enclosed is a copy of the speech I gave on January 23d by transcription over the Bismarck and Dickinson radio stations. Also is enclosed declarations signed by people at rallies held at Wilton and Belfield during January.

On behalf of our Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., State branch of North Dakota, and the 20,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent living in North Dakota, I would appreciate your inserting these statements, including this letter, into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a matter of public record.

Very sincerely yours,
Dr. A. ZUKOWSKY,
President, State Branch, UCCA, Inc.

SPEECH GIVEN BY DR. A. ZUKOWSKY, PRESIDENT OF STATE BRANCH OF UCCA, INC., OVER STATIONS KFYR, BISMARCK AND KDIX, DICKINSON, ON JANUARY 23, 1955

THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF RENEWED UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

From coast to coast Americans of Ukrainian descent today are observing solemnly the 37th anniversary of the renewal of the independence of the Ukraine which was proclaimed by the Ukrainian Parliament—the Central Council (Rada) on January 22, 1918, in Kiev.

This celebration is not merely a Ukrainian one.

With the growth of understanding of the meaning of the celebration in America it increasingly becomes an American celebration. The governors of many American States, the mayors of many American cities proclaimed today as Ukraine Day.

So it was last year. So it was 2 years ago.

Today many of our States have raised the historical yellow and blue flag of independent Ukraine together with our star-spangled banner to demonstrate the identity of ideal which the two nations fought for under these flags.

What is the meaning of today's celebration for America? To find it we must look back into the yellowed pages of history and the blood-stained pages of the recent decades, and also look ahead into the future.

Ukraine is one of the oldest European nations, with a cultural and governmental tradition going back for more than a thousand years. This should no longer be news to any American. Many elaborate statements by eminent Americans about the glorious past of Ukraine can be found not only in books and articles but also in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of recent years.

The Ukrainian people are a traditionally democratic nation having always cherished freedom above all material treasures, and having throughout many centuries never ceased to fight for it.

Through her vital geographical position, through her immeasurable wealth of natural resources, the fabulous richness of her soil—Ukraine was always the main object of aggression of her neighbors, whereas Ukraine fighting for her own rights never had any aggressive intentions toward others.

So the history of Ukraine is a history of an unafraid and determined struggle for freedom and independence, for the unification of all the Ukrainiain territories in one free and independent Ukrainia state—a struggle which in recent history brought a short-lived but complete renewal of independence for Ukraine 37 years ago and the unification of all the Ukrainian territories in the Ukrainian Democratic National Republic of January 22, 1919.

It was then that the Ukrainian people rightfully and freely expressed their will concerning their state. And the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence of 37 years ago is as lawful and valid today and for the future as is our own American Declaration of Independence.

The fact that the tyrannical forces of Communist Russia have overrun the independent Ukrainian Republic does as little change the validity of this declaration as the fact that the predecessor of Communist

Russia—Czarist Russia—brutally violated the Pereyaslav Treaty, which was exclusively a military alliance, has ever changed the historical right of Ukraine to independence.

The Ukrainian people, having the sole right to decide upon their own destiny, rightfully and freely decided 37 years ago. Therefore, all discussion whether Ukraine should be federated with Russia or possibly torn apart for the convenience of her neighbors is now belated.

We repeat, the Ukrainian people have proclaimed their will when they were free to do so. So there was and there continues to be an independent Ukrainian state.

This state is enslaved now.

It is enslaved because there was no understanding of Ukraine's struggle against Communist Russia 3½ decades ago. Communist Russia now threatens the entire yet free world. Ukraine was her first victim. There were many to follow years later: The Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and so on. There will be more if there will be no real understanding of the enslaved people here in the free world, particularly in America.

The Select Committee on Communist Aggression of the House of Representatives for the investigation of the Communist takeover and occupation of the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. has given through eye-witness testimony ample evidence of the unlawful tyrannical rule of Soviet Russia in Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the other countries incorporated in the U. S. S. R.

Ukraine is our strongest ally behind the Iron Curtain; it is an ally which never stopped and will never stop fighting the enemy of human freedom. The Ukrainian people look for encouragement primarily from America, for they recognized long ago the identity of American and Ukrainian ideals.

The policy of liberation proclaimed by President Eisenhower is an essential part of our foreign policy. It is a part which will play a vital role in future developments of the world. And in designing this our policy, we should always keep in mind that Ukraine is the key problem of Europe, that as long as justice is not restored to Ukraine there will be no peace for the world.

Had we helped Ukraine when she fought Communist Russia so desperately 3½ decades ago, the world would be different today. There would be no Soviet Union, the life of millions and millions starved and tortured to death by this regime would have been spared, our American sons would not need to die in Korea, they would not have to perish in Communist prisons, there would be no fighting in Indochina, there would be no universal constant fear.

How else can we explain the recent proposals to alter the charter of the United Nations to exclude Ukraine and Byelorussia from membership in that organization, with the argument that this would reduce the voting strength of the Soviet Union and that Soviet Ukraine and Byelorussia are even so not independent.

Why not go even further and exclude all the nations of the Soviet bloc, such as Poland or Czechoslovakia? At the present they are exactly as independent as Ukraine or Byelorussia are. Their representatives are all representatives of the Soviet Government and none of them is the representative of his nation.

By excluding Ukraine and Byelorussia from membership in the United Nations we would only hurt our strongest allies behind the Iron Curtain, showing them that we are going along with their enemies and denying their right to independence.

Ukraine and Byelorussia alone should not be excluded from the U. N. in order to leave the Soviet Union with two less votes, which, with the existence of the veto, would not improve the situation. In the event that the Soviet Union itself should be excluded, Ukraine and Byelorussia should remain as members, because they are victims of Soviet aggression.

Not the nations should be questioned, but their representatives. And we would gain immeasurably in our international position and moral strength if we would deny the acceptance of the present U. N. representatives of Ukraine and Byelorussia which were put there exactly as those of Poland or Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union. This would leave their seats empty for the time being until their nations are liberated or representation could be given to those who will really represent the Ukrainian and Byelorussian people, as the representatives of Nationalist China in the U. N. do now.

We should be able to realize that by questioning the right of Ukraine or Byelorussia to their place in the U. N. we make another fatal mistake. We would actually strengthen the Soviet Union by hurting our allies behind the Iron Curtain. Let us not repeat the ignorance of three and a half decades ago which has cost our Nation so many precious lives. If we are not actively helping our allies now let us not discourage them by doing injustice.

The celebration of the anniversary of the renewal of Ukrainian independence is the occasion for us Americans to think of the future of the world, of the future of America.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY DECLARATION

Thirty-seven years ago the Ukrainian people renewed their sovereign rights on Ukrainian territory.

The Ukrainian Parliament—the Central Council (Rada)—proclaimed the renewal of the Independent Ukrainian State on the 22d of January 1918 in the Capital—Kiev.

The free and independent Ukrainian National Democratic Republic was recognized by England, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy, the Vatican, Argentina, Georgia, the Don Cossack Republic, and Russia.

But continuing along the old path of Russian imperialism, Communist Moscow attacked the independent Ukrainian Republic and overran it despite the desperate resistance of the Ukrainian people. Thus the new Republic became the first victim of Communist Russian aggression. It also became the first nation to resist the aggression of Communist Moscow which today threatens the entire still free world.

The Ukrainian Government of the Independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic went into exile. Communist Moscow set up by force and violence the Communist regime and Government in Ukraine.

But the people, faithful to their democratic traditions continue to fight against this regime and the Soviet Government.

We, Americans of Ukrainian descent, gathered at the celebration of the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of the independent and free Ukrainian Republic in Belfield, on January 23, appeal to the Government, Representatives, and people of the United States of America to help the Ukrainian people to restore their own democratic Government.

We declare that the proposal to exclude Ukraine from the United Nations is against the interests of our country, against our American policy of liberation. The present regime in Ukraine and its right to represent the Ukrainian people can and should be questioned. But no one can question the right of Ukraine to be a member of the United Nations.

N. M. PROKOP,
Chairman.
FRANK KORDONOWY.
JOHN B. SHYPKOWSKI.
JOHN KYTTOR.

BELFIELD, N. DAK., *January 23, 1955.*

Modern Day Success Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include the following article from the New York Times:

ALONG THE HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF FINANCE

(By Robert E. Bedingfield)

Here's a success story built of a shrewd conviction that two sewing machine makers are too few for a country as big as the United States. It is the story of Leon Jolson, late of Warsaw, Poland, and Benjamin Krisiloff, a Polish compatriot of some years' earlier arrival in America. It took 7 years' labors, a $2,000 loan from the United Service for New Americans and one of $50,000 from Mr. Krisiloff to attain success.

Their $50-million-a-year business is the Necchi-Elna Sewing Machine Sales Corp. Mr. Jolson, a 42-year-old refugee, is the organization's president. He owns 43 percent of its stock. Mr. Krisiloff, 45, a former New York City cab driver who saved his tips and went into the sewing machine business with his brothers in the early 1930's, is secretary of the company. As the supplier of the original $50,000, he heads a group which also owns 43 percent of Necchi-Elna's stock. The remaining shares are owned by persons outside the company.

DOES NOT MANUFACTURE

The concern does not manufacture sewing machines. It is the American sales distributor for the Swiss-made Elna portable sewing machine. Its biggest business, however, is the assembling and distributing of the standard-size Italian Necchi sewing machine. The latter uses American-made components. Only the basic machines are manufactured abroad.

For three generations the Jolsons of Poland and the Necchis of Italy were friends and business associates. Mr. Jolson's father was east European representative of the Necchi Sewing Machine Co. of Pavia, Italy, until his death in 1936. Leon, a graduate of the University of Warsaw, ran the family's $700,000 plant in Warsaw from 1936 until it was confiscated by the Nazis in 1942.

Because Mr. Jolson was a skilled machinist he was given special work by the Hitler regime and was kept busy going from one concentration camp to another putting sewing machines into working order. One day word reached him through the underground that all 3,000 men in a camp where he was stationed were to be killed. Mr. Jolson managed to escape and joined General Bor's Polish underground organization.

IN HIDING 20 MONTHS

He did not come out from hiding for 20 months—until the Russian Army marched through Warsaw. But he found the Russians as bad as the Nazis. So he and his wife entered a displaced-persons camp. They placed their names on a Red Cross list for transfer to America. When the Jolsons reached the United States, 8 years ago last Friday, he turned to the one thing he knew—repairing sewing machines.

For several weeks he went from floor to floor in every building in Manhattan's vast garment area repairing sewing machines until he had saved enough to rent a small shop on West 29th Street. The times favored him. Mr. Jolson discovered, he says, that America's two big sewing-machine

companies had been content to change their models very slowly so that many features remained just as in the days before power machines came into use.

Opportunity, he felt, was fairly knocking his door down. In Europe 43 manufacturers fought for a slimmer market. This had forced developments which Mr. Jolson thought needed only to be introduced here to sell a great many machines. Without attachments European machines could stitch zig zag, embroider, make buttonholes, blindstitch hems and overcast edges.

He managed to import four such machines from the Necchi factory in Italy late in 1947. He and his wife worked day and night using them to create an unusual advertisement. They embroidered cards with 96 varieties of machine needlework. They sent these to hundreds of retailers whose names they had obtained from a purchased mailing list.

The response was exactly what Mr. Jolson had hoped for. He used the inquiries to persuade Mr. Krisiloff, with whom he had been dealing for supplies for his repair shop, to go into business with him. Necchi Sewing Machine Sales opened its doors as a company on February 6, 1948. The first year the company sold 10,000 machines. Last year, with the average price of a machine $300, sales at retail reached $50 million, roughly 10 percent of the American market.

Mr. Jolson became an American citizen in 1952 . He still has to do some catching up on his Americanization, however, most notably in the matter of the 40-hour week. He toils from 8 o'clock in the morning to 7 o'clock in the evening and takes work home. Home is in Forest Hills, Queens. When he gets further from home than his backyard he is headed either for his office, the company's 2,200 dealers and distributors across the country, or for the synagog.

Absurd Legal Loophole

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, where a person testifies under oath in a completely contradictory manner, he shows his utter contempt for the sanctity of his oath and should be found guilty of perjury. Under the present Federal statute on this subject, before proceeding to obtain an indictment, the prosecution must decide which time he was lying and then allege and prove that was the time he gave false testimony. All he has to do to escape conviction is to show that he happened to tell the truth that time and was lying the other time. Such a situation simply cannot be understood by the layman and should not be tolerated by the lawmaker.

It was to correct this intolerable and absurd loophole in the law that I introduced H. R. 799, to extend the law relating to perjury to cover the wilful giving of contradictory testimony under oath. The Attorney General has recently endorsed the principle behind this measure. I have requested the chairman of the Judiciary Committee to grant an early hearing to plug this loophole. I hope this Congress will act promptly to wipe out this absurdity.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following splendid editorial on this subject from the Washington Star:

ABSURD LEGAL LOOPHOLE

A big loophole in the Federal perjury law will be plugged up if Congress approves an amendment proposed by Attorney General Brownell. Under the present law it is not sufficient to prove that a person made contradictory statements under oath. The Government must show which of the statements was false and which was true. In some cases this is not easy to do—and the Matusow case would seem to be one of those in the difficult category. Yet the former Communist has made false statements, at one time or another, before grand juries, in the courts and at congressional hearings. A grand jury and a Senate committee are trying to sift fact from fiction.

But it ought not to be necessary to spend time and money in such a search when it is plain from two sets of contradictory sworn statements that a person is a deliberate perjurer, or when such a person states that he has lied. Last year, to meet just such a situation, Mr. Brownell asked Congress to amend the perjury law so as to permit conviction on the mere showing that sworn contradictions have been given to a grand jury, a court or congressional committees. The request was made so late in the session, however, that no action was taken. Now the Attorney General, with the Matusow type of case in mind, has renewed his request. (The proposed amendment makes no mention of perjury committed before such an administrative agency as the Federal Communications Commission, to which Mrs. Marie Natvig gave conflicting testimony that has led to her indictment for perjury.) Mr. Brownell is right in describing as "ridiculous" the shortcomings of the present law. No self-confessed perjurer should be permitted to escape the consequences of his falsifications because of Government difficulty in proving which of two conflicting statements was a lie.

The $20 Cut in Income Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. BURNSIDE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks into the RECORD, I should like to include the following letter, a copy of which was forwarded to me by the writer, Mrs. Sowards:

HUNTINGTON, W. VA., *March 2, 1955.*

The PRESIDENT
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As a secretary in the offices of a large corporation here in West Virginia, I have transcribed many letters to various Government officials throughout the years—letters of criticism as well as letters of commendation. I now feel compelled to write this one on my own.

I understand you are opposing a $20 cut in income taxes. A $20 tax reduction may seem a trivial matter to you, but I would like for you to look at the situation from another's point of view. I have a friend who is a widow, living alone in the little house where she and her husband lived for years. Since her husband's death she has been forced to earn her living by doing housework, babysitting, etc. It will be several years before she can draw social security and in the meantime she is working for $15 a week, out of which she must pay for rent, utilities, food, insurance burial fund, social security, and medical treatment (I know that she often foregoes medical treatment she actually needs to keep her frail body going simply because she does not have the money to pay for such care). Her clothing is hand-me-downs from neighbors and friends.

Do you realize that this woman makes $780 a year, and is required to pay an income tax of $22? This came as quite a surprise to me. She called me today and told me that her employer had not deducted any income taxes throughout the year, and asked me if she would have to file a return. Without stopping to look at the complicated book of instructions for filing income-tax returns, I assured her she wouldn't have to worry about income taxes—I knew she made only $15 a week, and I thought there was some provision for head of a household in the income-tax setup. After talking to her, I dug out the instructions and found that the head-of-a-household provision does not reduce your taxes unless you have a dependent, and that the poor woman would owe the United States Government $22 which she will have to borrow.

I know that our Congressmen and Senators are quite busy voting themselves a substantial increase in their own salaries, but some of them have seen fit to sponsor a bill to reduce income taxes by the munificent sum of $20. Reports seem to indicate that this effort will be defeated and I am appealing to you for consideration. I believe you were elected by the voters of our country because they felt that your wide experience in dealing with people throughout the world would enable you to understand and sympathize with the problems of the individual, as well as the masses.

If the taxes cannot be reduced on an equal basis, I most certainly believe that in this land of plenty no human being who is obliged to maintain a home on $15 a week should be required to pay any income taxes, instead, they should be admired for doing the best they can and not asking for charity. Do you not feel that this is true?

Very respectfully yours,
SHIRLEY SOWARDS
(Mrs. Harvey Sowards).

Platform of the Slovak National Council Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House that March 14 marks the 16th anniversary of the creation of the Slovak Republic, which remained in existence for approximately 6 years before it was dissolved by postwar developments. The memory of independent Slovakia has, however, been kept alive by many Slovak organizations here in the United States, notably the Slovak League of America.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in my remarks the text of the platform of the Slovak National Council

abroad which was adopted by the executive council of this organization last July 4 at Niagara Falls:

We, the representatives of the Slovak political exile, solemnly declare:

1. That we hold to the right of self-determination of all nations, including the Slovak nation;

2. That the best safeguard of the political, cultural, and economic rights of the Slovak nation we perceive in the democratic Slovak state, whose government and all its branches shall be elected, after liberation, in free, secret, and direct elections by the Slovak nation;

3. That we deem European federation as the most fitting form of political organization of the free nations of Europe; the realization of this idea we shall support;

4. That in line with the tradition of Slovak generations we repudiate bolshevism and all forms of communism and declare that there cannot be freedom for the Slovak nation as long as democratic governments shall seek a compromise with the Soviets or with states having a communistic government;

5. That we stand for close cooperation of all nations which adhere to democratic principles and whose aims are equal rights, liberty, and independence also for those nations which today cannot freely decide their own destinies;

6. That we are willing to cooperate with all anticommunistic regional and international movements in the West which aim to win the struggle against communism and set up a natural legal order behind the Iron Curtain;

7. That we demand equal rights for Slovak exiles—the same as those enjoyed by groups of other nations from Central and Eastern Europe;

8. That we do not recognize the right to the existence of Czechoslovakia and, therefore, also the right of exile institutions which presume to speak in behalf of Slovakia within the Czechoslovakia framework; we also deny this right to the Council of Free Czechoslovakia which expresses neither the will of the Slovak nation, nor the will of Slovaks in exile;

9. That we welcome the existence of free Czech representation abroad as well as the representations of other neighbors of the Slovak nation and are willing to cooperate with them as equals with equals against communism and for the freedom of our nations;

10. That we are for close and effective cooperation of all Slovaks in the free world, and for this purpose we shall further willingly maintain cordial relations with the Slovak League of America, and with every Slovak organization in the United States, in Canada, in South and Central America, as well as with those on the other continents, whose program and aims are identical with the program and aims of the Slovak League of America;

11. That in the United States and its allies we see a guaranty of the protection of human rights and of political liberties, compatible with the Christian character of the Slovak nation and, therefore, on the one hand, we thank the Government of the United States and the governments of its allies for receiving our organization, its leadership and its membership in their lands and granting them political asylum and, on the other hand, in the spirit of their traditions and sublime ideals of liberty and democracy, we hope to secure the program we have here outlined, which binds us as a constituent part of the crusade for the freedom of the entire Western World;

12. That we again stress these principles and requests, because we are convinced that this is in accord with the will of the Slovak nation whose present enslavement obliges us to remind free governments and nations of the demands which for ages have been acclaimed by all free humanity.

It is unfortunate that we have a continuing controversy on the subject of federation versus independence between various Czech and Slovak groups. I think the application of the principle of self-determination for all enslaved peoples, including the Slovaks, is the wisest policy for our Government to pursue under the present circumstances. In the meantime, I am sure that my colleagues will join with me in extending sincere sympathy to the suffering Slovak people behind the Iron Curtain and hope that the day will come when they will again be able to choose freely not only their political but also economic and social institutions under which they wish to live.

Judaism and Individual Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 1, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, an important statement of principles was adopted by the 43d general assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in Los Angeles, Calif., on February 15, 1955, upon the recommendation of the commission on social action.

Although unable to be present during the deliberation there, I am in complete accord with the action of the assembly as well as of the commission, of which I am happy to be a member.

STATEMENT ON JUDAISM AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Judaism teaches that liberty stems inalienably from God, and that the soul is the divine element in man which should not be interfered with by other men or governments of men. Deep respect for the right of conscience inheres in Jewish reverence for human personality. The right to express or keep private the dictates of his conscience, and to give utterance to honest differences among men, is part of the Jewish tradition: "These and those are the words of the living God." In the conviction that these principles of Judaism are equally relevant to the contemporary scene, and because we believe that the preservation of democracy everywhere rests in large part upon preservation of the principles of civil liberties and civil rights, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, at this biennial assembly, hereby declares these basic principles:

The most significant trend in the area of civil liberties is the steady encroachment upon our freedoms by certain elements in Government. The legitimate and necessary requirements of protecting ourselves from Communist infiltration and espionage have been grossly exploited by some to justify certain governmental procedures which corrode freedom of speech and of conscience under the claim that these must yield to the larger security of the Nation. The need for a calm, steady, and positive program to insure the triumph of democracy over communism has given way to a pathological fear of communism which inhibits the thinking of some political leaders and colors the judgment of many citizens. We oppose any effort, legislative or otherwise, which would make criminal the expression of opinion, no matter how controversial. We must not hark back to the days of the alien and sedition laws which the people repudiated 150 years ago. The anomaly of the concept that the state can preserve its security while it weakens individual freedom seems to have been lost upon us. Seven centuries of travail, blood, and sacrifice, from Magna Carta to the Atlantic charter, hang in the balance.

We have tended to proscribe every person and organization at any time pro-Soviet, including many of the most effective present opponents of communism, and regardless of whether former attitudes now condemned were at the time consistent with our national policy. Those loyalty-security procedures which deny confrontation and thus encourage false witness; the type of congressional investigation which in contravention of constitutional liberties tries individuals for their beliefs; the public condemnation by the Attorney General of organizations without previous hearing; these must not become accepted techniques of government.

We deny the validity of the proposition that our Government can make itself more secure by denying justice to any man. Absolute security for the state is possible of achievement only in a totalitarian regime and is unattainable in a democracy. There can be no freedom without some measure of risk. In the current demand for absolute security, we must not utilize the totalitarian practices of the enemies of democracy, thus destroying the human and spiritual values which are the mark of civilized men.

Irked by the constitutional inhibition against self-incrimination, some congressional investigators are calling upon schools, colleges, and other institutions to deny the right to work to those who would seek refuge in the charter of our liberties. The university is being attacked because of the presence on its faculty of persons claimed to be politically undesirable. The unfortunate result is that the campus and classrooms in a number of our institutions are ceasing to be places where the youth of America may learn the spiritual values of dissent and nonconformity.

Within the framework of the national community relations advisory council we have taken our position with respect to the usurpation of power by some congressional investigating committees, and have made suggestions for curbing their excesses.

We protest the irresponsible use of political informers by our law-enforcement agencies. We deplore the view that citizens should be encouraged to inform against fellow citizens with respect to their opinions and political associations.

We would defend all constitutional privileges and immunities without regard to the guilt or innocence of those who invoke them. In our view, the preservation of these rights is of greater significance to our way of life than any benefit our law-enforcement agencies can derive from curtailment or suspension of these rights.

We abhor the test oath and its loyalty oath derivations. As did our forefathers before us, we reject the notion that the techniques of the inquisition, the high commission, and the star chamber are to have acceptance by us in any form.

We favor the vitalization of the Civil Rights Section in the Department of Justice by whatever legislative and administrative procedures are necessary. We believe that the preservation of civil rights and civil liberties is a function of Government equal in importance to the prosecution of subversive offenses.

There are heartening signs of increased awareness of the need to reverse current assaults on fundamental liberties. Yet the fever of suspicion and fear, which has impaired our country's prestige throughout the world, has not yet abated. We know that the price of civil liberties is eternal vigilance.

Liberty cannot be stored away, even for a day. Therefore—

1. We reaffirm the recommendation, adopted at our 42d biennial assembly, that the President of the United States be requested to appoint a commission of outstanding citizens representative of the broadest possible cross-section of American life to study the best ways of protecting our Nation from totalitarian dangers without subverting our traditional American freedoms.

2. We urge the rabbis and leaders of our congregations to join forthrightly in the struggle to safeguard civil liberties and to speak out with dignity and with courage for their preservation. The Jewish ethic supports, indeed is the spiritual source of, these liberties. As teachers and adherents of Judaism, we are, by our religious faith, committed to defend them for the benefit of all men.

3. We urge the appointment of congregational social action committees to study the application of ethical principles to the problems of civil liberties, and to consider ways of resisting all efforts to enjoin upon us conformity of thought or speech.

4. We urge our national commission on social action to seek the cooperation of all groups which share our concern for the maintenance of American liberties. Our political and religious faiths are both bound up with the preservation of our liberties; as Americans and as Jews we must cooperate with those who would defend them.

Ames President Warns Against Trade Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. BURNSIDE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks into the RECORD, I should like to include the following news item entitled "Ames President Warns Against Trade Act—Harte Fears Tariff Squeeze," by Marie Wood, of the News staff, which appeared in the Parkersburg News, Thursday morning, February 3, 1955, of Parkersburg, W. Va:

Every American business is going to be affected if Congress extends the present so-called Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, Richard Harte, president of Parkersburg's O. Ames company, warned last night.

Already the two O. Ames plants in Parkersburg with a payroll of over 800, are beginning to feel the tariff-imposed squeeze, Mr. Harte reported.

The O. Ames-manufactured shovels—made by American workmen to wholesale to American consumers at $22 a dozen—are facing the competition of German-manufactured shovels which are shipped in under present United States tariff rates to wholesale at only $16 a dozen.

Already heavily hit by the dieselization of American railroads, the local O. Ames plants now stand to be even harder hit.

The sardonic feature in this, Mr. Harte added, is that Germany's present unemployment is only 6 percent, and economic conditions in Germany and western Europe are so good that the British economists are using the word prosperity to describe them—in contrast to American unemployment of over 3½ million, representing 5 percent of the United States working force, and double the United States unemployed percentage of last year, despite the United States multi-billion-dollar defense program.

Further, he pointed out that the present United States tariff program is heading the Nation toward conditions of 1894, 1907, and 1917, and that means these low tariff rates will continue until enough American workmen lose their jobs. Congress will have to do something.

"The sad part of it is that we have to have such a visual demonstration," the O. Ames head commented.

Then: "What makes the difference is where you sit in the grandstand," he summed up the attitude of what he described as American big business.

"It's the difference of whether you manufacture 7 million automobiles or a few hundred thousand. As if I couldn't make 7 million automobiles cheaper than someone who makes a few thousand, and if I made 7 million I could take the attitude everybody ought to work for a low tariff.

"Those are the ones who can poke out their chests and haul up the American flag," Mr. Harte added.

He went on to say that business that does its job mostly with machinery doesn't have to worry.

However, the O. Ames Co. use 40 percent labor, and cannot be so successful, as the human element enters in, the company official pointed out.

Warnings have been issued that continuation of the present tariff program will put out of business over 100 American basic small producers who cannot possibly meet the competition they have been asked to meet from European and Japanese imports.

Congress itself has been held partly to blame since the 83d session approved a tax bill that reduced income tax on dividends coming from foreign investments.

By that act alone, Congress set up a 14-percentage-point advantage for American capital to go abroad and establish factories and to exploit cheap labor abroad in order to make products to be brought into America under American trade-treaty regulations to take jobs from American workmen.

The tariff situation plus the congressional actions making it more profitable to invest American capital abroad than to invest capital at home to develop American resources, is beginning to take a heavy toll.

The American marine industry, with 6 of its 7 plants located in West Virginia, was the first to raise its voice in protest.

The American Viscose Corp., with 2 of its 7 plants in West Virginia, subsequently protested.

Protestants appearing before the House Ways and Means Committee in Washington, conducting hearings on the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act have included spokesmen for the glass industry, with many plants in West Virginia, and the Manufacturing Chemists Association, Inc., whose combined membership represents more than 90 percent of the tonnage of chemicals produced in the United States.

They have warned of the widespread unemployment which will result should the reciprocal trade agreements program be continued as proposed.

Commemoration of the 105th Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas G. Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join with my colleagues in observing the birthday of one of those great men of our times who belongs not only to his own homeland but to the entire world. March 7 was the 105th anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk, who was such a man. Born in Morabia, of a humble parentage, Thomas Masaryk rose to prominence as a scholar, author, philosopher, and man of affairs.

It was his vision and tenacity that led to the emergence of the Czechoslovak state, out of the wreckage of World War I. He established the Czech National Council in 1917. He organized the famous Czech Legion which marched through the great expanse of Russia in the aftermath of the Bolshevik revolution. He came to the United States and, winning the support and friendship of President Wilson, proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Czechoslovakia and secured its recognition by all the great powers.

Masaryk became the first President of Czechoslovakia, and dominated its sound development as a European power until 1935, when he resigned on account of his health. It is perhaps a blessing that Thomas Masaryk died before the Nazi scourge immersed Europe. His complete dedication to his country and to the ideals of freedom and democracy will live on forever in his memory and teachings. His great friendship for the United States will remain as an inspiration to all of us who feel the strong bond of friendship in return toward the brave men and women who are keeping their country alive through the ordeal of Russian domination behind the Iron Curtain.

The Harvest: Nixon Visit Solidifies Americas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to introduce the following editorial from the San Diego Union, San Diego, Calif., of March 5, 1955, pointing out the significance of the Vice President and Mrs. Nixon's goodwill tour of Central America:

THE HARVEST: NIXON VISIT SOLIDIFIES AMERICAS

It is difficult for us in the United States to realize what a tremendous effect the goodwill tour by Vice President and Mrs. Nixon has had on Central America.

This is true in part because not many of us are fully aware of the well-organized minority hate campaigns which have been undertaken in our neighboring countries. Some evidence of this was spotlighted when the Communists controlled Guatemala, but the signs about "Yankee imperialism" can be found on walls in almost any country south of our border.

The impact of the NIXON tour has been described by Robert C. Hill, United States Ambassador to El Salvador:

"Perhaps the original announcement of this proposed visit by Mr. NIXON to Central America was received by the public with an understandable lack of enthusiasm. The

people of Central America are our friends, but they are also our neighbors. Here, as at home, neighbors have a way of being critical. • • •

"Central America also has memories of of times gone by when, rightly or wrongly, they considered Uncle Sam the neighborhood bully. It has been a long time since there was a basis for such recollections, but neighbors have long memories. • • •

"And these are the countries which—just because they are considered to be our solid friends—we have largely ignored in our international efforts to win friends and influence people on the side of democracy.

"Now, in a matter of days, public opinion here has changed. I have talked with newspaper men and with men on the street. They say: 'Mr. NIXON's visit proves you really are interested in us—it is not just words'. • • •

"This trip is exerting a tremendous influence toward achieving the hemispheric solidarity which is vital to the future of the United States and Latin America."

The comment is typical of that found in newspapers throughout the area covered by Mr. and Mrs. Nixon.

Perhaps the most tangible result of this trip has been the smoothing of relations between Costa Rica and Nicaragua. The enmity between the presidents of these countries has built up over a period of years, but Mr. NIXON, in statesman-like fashion, was able to influence both sides in a few days to a point where normal relations now are being restored.

The Vice President has indicated he has some serious recommendations to make—based on his observations during this trip. This should be given immediate consideration so as to take full advantage of the statesmanship which has done more good than armies or promises of years past.

The Vice President Makes Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, when President Eisenhower selected Vice President Nixon as his personal representative to tour the Far East and, more recently, Central America and the Caribbean islands, our Chief Executive again displayed one of the qualities which has marked him as a great and inspiring leader—the ability to pick just the right man for the right spot.

If it were possible for the Vice President, accompanied by his charming wife, to visit every country in the world, including those outside and behind the Iron Curtain, much of the misunderstanding about our country's motives, intentions, and aspirations would surely be dispelled.

It is the warmth of their personalities and the sincerity of their interest in people which have endeared the Vice President and Mrs. Nixon to the people of all races and all stations in life whom they have visited. Floyd Barger, of the New York Sunday News, has so dramatically and interestingly caught the spirit of the recent good-will mission to our neighbors to the south that it is worthy of the attention of the Members. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this article.

Also included is an editorial from the Washington Evening Star.

[From the New York Sunday News of March 6, 1955]

NIXON IS HOME; HE CONQUERED CENTRAL AMERICA BY LANDSLIDE

(By Floyd Barger)

Washington, March 5.—The man who never wastes a smile or forgets to wave a hand when two or more people are gathered together came home today, mission fulfilled. He has just entwined Central America and the Caribbean islands with the United States in new and tightened bonds of friendship.

Vice President and Mrs. Nixon arrived back here this afternoon from Haiti, completing a 7,500-mile, 4-week tour of 10 countries. If this had been a political campaign—and the smiles, hand-shakes, and waves reminded one of the hustings—NIXON would have won by a landslide.

CONQUERED HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE

Everywhere, the Spanish-speaking people had a word for him—"simpatico"—meaning, he conquered their hearts. But the payoff of the trip—at an estimated cost of $1 million—will begin when action (some of it urgently) is taken on NIXON's recommendations to President Eisenhower and the National Security Council.

What NIXON and his gracious wife Patricia brough back they also left in countless unforgettable memories etched on many who saw and were touched by the good-will couple:

The little orphan girl who never knew mother love and had a precious moment of it when Mrs. Nixon cuddled her in her arms in El Salvador.

The old men and women in a hospital at Colon, Panama, who wept as the sight of Mrs. Nixon.

RELUCTANT TO SHAKE MRS. NIXON' HAND

In Panama City a dozen top-crust society women were reluctant to shake Mrs. Nixon's hand because she had shaken hands with lepers that day.

"I assured them it was all right," Mrs. Nixon said. "I didn't touch any leper inmates who had running sores, although some of the hands I shook were mere stubs. I wasn't afraid."

To Mrs. Nixon this was the most indelible experience of her trip which included appearances with her husband at luncheons, receptions, dinners, and doing 400 miles of tours on her own to 19 hospitals, 51 schools and 9 other institutions.

"The 160 inmates of the leprosarium really appreciated our visit," she said. "They see so little of the outside world."

SHOESHINE BOY BECOMES A MAN

Then there was the shoeshine boy in Guatemala City just turned nine who became a man the day he met NIXON. Rodolfo Gonzales ran alongside the Vice President's car 2 miles from the airport to the palace. The next day this free enterprise boy caught up with NIXON at the Independent Monument and gave him a shine.

Coinless, NIXON turned to Assistant Secretary of State Henry Holland and said: "Pay him three times what it's worth." A protocol official protested that NIXON would "spoil the boy." NIXON, in effect, said nuts.

Holland shelled out a quarter while NIXON wrote on his personal card, "Good luck. Come see me some day in Washington."

Today a local newspaper is conducting a campaign for a scholarship to send Rodolfo to the States.

In Panama a 10-year-old waited 2 days to get NIXON's autograph. His name was Franklin Delano Wasson. A line in his autograph book, under the signature, was reserved for the signer's hobby. NIXON wrote: "Shaking hands."

PAT LOOKED FRESH IN BROILING SUN

Even in the broiling tropical sun, Pat looked as wholesome and fresh as the girl next door.

"Que bonita," the boys shouted, the Latin equivalent to a wolf call.

In Guatemala City, one big 12-year-old youth kissed her hand and tried to throw his arms around her.

Rafael Trujillo, ex-President of the Dominican Republic who now wears the title of benefactor, lit 10,000 lights outside the palace for the Nixons' first night there. When the Nixons made their enchanted entrance—300 feet across an Arabian Nights rug to the awaiting Trujillos—it was like a storybook picture of a kingdom of the past.

BARRELS OF CHAMPAGNE OPENED AT RECEPTIONS

And even though he had said a few hours earlier that he preferred a soft drink, NIXON was served champagne—the most golden, expensive brand obtainable. He merely sipped it, for he much prefers coffee or a small beer.

NIXON is known to feel that the money-pinched Latin-American Republics should have saved lots of money by not cracking open barrels of champagne on his behalf.

It was during his stops along throng-lined streets, visits to a textile factory in Ciudad Trujillo, a housing development in Puerto Rico, a banana plantation in Costa Rica, coffee farm in Honduras, sugarcane plantation in Cuba, that Nixon revealed himself as an uncannily shrewd politician. He sucked sugarcane, posed with bags of coffee beans, munched pineapple, gulped a banana, wore a Panama hat.

HE ALWAYS FACED THE CAMERAS

Every moment of his working day—he averaged 5 hours sleep a night—he was like an actor on stage. The play had to go on no matter how tired he was. But the amazing thing was that he and Pat are almost physically indestructible.

"If he rests, he'll rust," cracked one observer.

He played every moment to the hilt. He always faced the cameras. Yet there was no ham in him. He spoke in booming tones as if he had rehearsed a speech all day long, instead of making it up on the spot.

The smile was his charm and he could turn it on and off without waste, making it feel warm. He waved and waved, gesticulated with his left hand and grasped the fingers of strangers with his right.

For that handshake moment the stranger was alone in the world with NIXON. Words tumbled out: "How are you? What is your name? So nice to see you. Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes."

[From the Washington Evening Star]

THE VICE PRESIDENT MAKES FRIENDS

Efforts have been made during several administrations to expand the duties of the Vice President and to give the holder of that office a more important voice in policy-making. In the present administration, President Eisenhower appears to have found a formula for Vice President NIXON that is proving effective and valuable. It is the practice of having Mr. NIXON travel as a sort of special representative of the President, authorized to talk on a level of high responsibility with leaders of foreign governments and their associates.

The good impression which Mr. NIXON makes during these travels was illustrated first in his trip last year to Asia. It has been evident again in the journey just finished through Central America and the Caribbean area, a region that is highly important to us and that has been deeply disturbed in recent months by internal political crises and conflict between neighboring gov-

ernments. The Vice President took a good look at all of these problems, talked realistically to some of the key political figures and left behind his renewed and improved determination on the part of the local government spokesmen to resolve their area problems peaceably.

In turn, Mr. NIXON has brought back to this country an encouraging report on the trade potential in most of the area visited. He foresees a new period of political and economic stability there and he feels that private enterprise from our own country should explore the investment and commercial opportunities more thoroughly. One of his warnings to the Central American authorities, however, was that they could not expect capital investment from the United States unless the political and economic environment is such as to assure protection from unreasonable risk.

The Vice President is planning a more detailed report to the Nation soon. It promises to be a constructive and informative one.

Three Hundred Years of Jews in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. T. MILLET HAND

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, with the consent of the House, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an address which I was privileged to make to the Jewish community of the city of Wildwood, N. J., and their friends and neighbors, on February 28, 1955, celebrating the completion of three centuries of the participation of the Jewish people in our national life:

THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF JEWS IN AMERICA

It is always an honor to be called upon to speak before a substantial congregation of your fellow citizens, because I think that the invitation must imply that you expect, or at least hope, that the speaker will have something of merit to say to you. I trust that in this instance you will not be too disappointed. In this case, however, I feel a particular sense of honor and responsibility that you should have selected a non-Jew to speak to you on an occasion which is not only essentially a Jewish one, but one which is very close to your hearts, and which in a sense is a huge family celebration. I take this to mean a recognition that you and I, with all of our differences of race and creed and background and past cultures, are nevertheless one in our viewpoint of what makes a great society and a good life; that you and I are one in our Americanism, and in our intense pride in being Americans.

I like to think too that I am honored partly because of your appreciation for the small but sincere and continuous efforts that I have made over a period of many years in behalf of the Palestine homeland, and finally in behalf of the creation of the State of Israel. It can be truly said that Israel exists as the results of the devoted work and support of the American Jewish Community, and of the consistent support of the Congress of the United States. I think we can both take great pride in our work, and have great hopes for the future of this State, which is at once both spiritually and materially of the greatest significance.

We are here tonight to celebrate the Tercentenary of Jews in America. It is surprising how few people realize that Jews have been a substantial part of our history from the very beginning. A great many people associate the incorporation of the Jews into American society as beginning after the great pogroms in Russia at about 1880, and it is true that there was a huge influx of eastern Europeans at that time, but centuries before that, your people had identified themselves with the very beginning of what was to become the United States. It is true beyond a doubt that Jewish merchants and Jewish adventurers were associated with the first voyage of Christopher Columbus to the New World, assisted in the financing of those voyages, and were actually aboard. There were records of Jews in North America in 1621, which was within 1 year of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. About the first Jewish group to settle permanently in North America, apparently landed at New Amsterdam (now New York) in 1654, and thus you are well within historical limits in marking your 300th birthday.

You came for the same reason that the Pilgrims came; to achieve religious and political freedom. And while America, from the beginning, was heavenly in contrast with the Old World, progress toward acceptance was slow. Governor Stuyvesant was unfriendly, as indeed he was to Lutherans and "Papists" and it was 30-odd years before any measure of rights were won. Restrictions were not removed until 1785 in Virginia, 1816 in Maryland, and as late as 1868 in North Carolina. The first prayer by a rabbi was uttered in the House of Representatives on February 1, 1860. The first Jewish chaplain was appointed in the United States Army during the Civil War.

It is a strange paradox of history that some of our ancestors, who came here for their liberties, were unwilling to grant it to others who did not conform to their views. Thus Protestants were as unwelcome in Maryland as Catholics were in parts of New England.

Too many people, even now, are for freedom of speech only so long as what you say pleases them. Too few, even now, really believe with Voltaire, who said: "I disagree with all that you say, but I will fight to the end for your right to say it."

But there were giants in the land, too, and one of them was Roger Williams. The tiny province of Rhode Island, under his liberal influence, provided that "all men whatever nation soever they may be, that shall be received inhabitants of any of the towns, shall have the same privileges as Englishmen, any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

With the climate of freedom thus provided, one of the earliest settlements was Newport, R. I., where a congregation was established in 1658. It was to the Hebrew congregation there that, in 1790, George Washington wrote in part:

"The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy, a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now, no more, that toleration is spoken of as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."

Remember these glorious words, "The United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance."

The fact that you were here from our beginnings is not important, but your full participation in our development is important. It is safe to say that as high a percentage of Jews backed the movement for independence as did the English. There were only 2,000 Jews in the Colonies at the time of the Revolution. Most of them backed General Washington. At least one of them, Haym Solomon, was necessary to its success. A man of great wealth, he impoverished himself in behalf of the patriots' cause.

The pattern set by the Revolution has been followed in all our wars, the Jewish people serving their country valiantly and well.

And so, in peace, they have helped to weave the strong social fabric of America, both in the humanities and in commerce.

Abraham Duker says: "Jews pioneered in philanthropy, initiating through federations, the Community Chest movement, and introducing free loans, cooperative credit, visiting housekeepers, settlement work and visiting nurse services. Jewish workers pioneered in trade unionism, in unemployment insurance, cooperative housing, labor banking, medical care and recreational facilities for workers, with names like Samuel Gompers and Sidney Hillman among the outstanding labor leaders. Together with Jewish industrialists they often set the pattern of arbitration and peaceful settlement of disputes.

"In commerce and industry, they are best known for pioneering in the garment, motion picture and plastic industries, and for activities in the publishing field. They have been particularly active in the sciences, scholarship, and medicine. Like Americans of other faiths, Jews have also been prominent, and frequently made notable contributions, in all three branches of government."

Enemies of your race view with alarm your great influence in the fields of public opinion. But you can point with pride to their conduct. Who can say that the National Broadcasting Co., headed by David Sarnoff, or the Columbia Broadcasting Co., largely Jewish controlled, are not wholly American in their outlook? Who will argue that the Jewish-owned New York Times is not, by and large, the world's greatest newspaper, or that its columns reflect bias or prejudice?

But the activities of the Jewish people in the business world can be overemphasized You have made preeminent contributions to your country in the world of literature, music, and the arts. Louis Untermeyer, the poet; Edna Ferber and Fannie Hurst, the novelists; David Belasco in the theater; Elman and Menuhin in music; Isadore Baline, if you please (whom all Americans love as Irving Berlin), come to mind amongst literally hundreds and thousands of others who have brought culture and pleasure to our millions.

In the field of enlightened capital, shall we mention the Kuhns, the Strausses, the Guggenheims; in the field of labor leadership, Sam Gompers, who for 40 years, was the American Federation of Labor.

And because the Jewish people have loved their country and wish to serve it, they have given us a dozen Senators, 50 or more Representatives, and other great public servants, of which Bernard Baruch, Eugene Meyer and Henry Morgenthau are but a few. Because of their love of law and order, justice and freedom, they have given us Brandeis and Cardoza.

But I labor the point. It is even more important that the everyday lives of the families of the 5 million Jews in America can and do teach us lessons in self-reliance, in law and order, in culture and decency, and good living.

And so you have won, and deserved to win, a full measure of acceptance in this great society which is America, but you and all of us must continue to guard our inalienable rights, remembering that to secure them is the highest purpose of government; remembering too that 2,500 years ago Solon said: "That is the most perfect government under which a wrong to the humblest is an affront to all."

Again quoting the Father of his Country in his letter to Newport congregation:

"May the children of the stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants, while everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid. May the Father of all mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths, and make us all in our several vocations useful here, and in his own due time and way everlastingly happy."

I again thank you for the privilege of participating with you tonight on this memorable occasion and I express to you my everlasting gratitude for the good citizenship award which you have so graciously given me.

The Law of the Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I arise to congratulate Robert Post, of Pittsburgh, whom we all know as Bob Post, on the production of his motion picture The Law of the Land, which is doing so much to explain to the people of the United States the method of the making of the laws in the United States, as well as the practical working of the United States Congress.

We who have known Bob Post for many years, are pleased with the recognition which is being given both to the picture and the producer. On Tuesday, February 22, 1955, at Valley Forge, Pa., Robert Post has received Freedom Foundation's award for producing the picture which they say is "an outstanding achievement in helping to bring about a greater understanding of the American way of life during 1954." I believe that Freedom Foundation has made a wise choice in naming as one of the recipients of the George Washington Honor Medal for 1954 both my good friend Bob Post as well as the fine motion picture The Law of the Land.

Another individual who has by his support contributed much to the success of the picture is David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America with headquarters in the Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. David McDonald is to be complimented for recognizing the value of the picture The Law of the Land and arranging for its distribution and showing among the members of the United Steelworkers, in order to bring to the working men and women a fine view of the working of the United States Congress and our United States Government.

Mr. McDonald knows the eager interest with which our working people are learning and taking new part in our local State and National Government bodies, which is making for an informed and intelligent electorate among the people. The action of labor leaders in our labor relations in developing an informed and experienced electorate, will make for efficient and stable Government in the future, and contribute to the stability of our system of Government.

We hear many cries against various groups in this country, but there is one point on which we can all unite, and that is the development of an intelligent and informed, free electorate. We are proud that David McDonald and the United Steelworkers of America have seen fit to purchase copies of this picture that will give the congressional story national distribution. In its preface Mr. McDonald states:

Unselfishly, this picture is available to other labor unions, schools, church groups, fraternal and civic organizations—in fact, anywhere that Americans congregate.

This is labor statesmanship.

Statement to the California Congressional Delegation by the Department of California of the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, unanimous consent having been heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present herewith the statement to the California congressional delegation on February 28 by the Department of California of the American Legion. It is self-explanatory and I believe will be of timely information to all who read it:

STATEMENT TO THE CALIFORNIA CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 28, 1955

Mr. Chairman and Members of the California congressional delegation, it is a genuine pleasure to again be given this opportunity to meet with you. We bring you greetings from the American Legion, Department of California. Your courtesy in extending to us this privilege to present some of the major problems concerning veterans' affairs in California for your sincere consideration is appreciated.

We have given each ofthe various subjects a number for your convenience only. They do not necessarily reflect the importance of one over the other.

1. We again request further assistance for the construction of the new 1,000-bed Veterans' Administration neuropsychiatric hospital approved for the San Francisco area, without any further unnecessary delay.

Comment: The approval for construction of this hospital was granted October 19, 1946. Subsequent to approval there have been many unreasonable and unnecessary delays. It was not until August 7, 1948, that the first site—a 200-acre tract at Fort Funston, San Francisco—was selected. Preliminary plans were then drawn and were later changed to provide for bombproof inner-core construction. The latter plans were not completed until May 9, 1950. Not until October 21, 1952, was the clearing, grading, and other excavation work completed at the Fort Funston site, at the cost of $413,307. Early in December 1953 the site at Fort Funston was abandoned, following the placing of a ban by the Civil Defense Administration on such structures within 10 miles of any critical atomic-bomb target area.

Shortly thereafter, a site-finding committee from central office of the Veterans' Administration looked over several other prospective hospital sites in the San Francisco area, which finally resulted in the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs announcing on December 19, 1954, that a 115-acre site on the southwest perimeter of the Stanford University grounds (Palo Alto, Calif.), was accepted and that the Veterans' Administration would go ahead immediately with the condemnation proceedings to acquire the site. This hospital was badly needed even before approved for construction, and the need for it has continued to grow in each of the more than 8 years since approval.

2. The urgent need for replacements of the Oakland Veterans' Administration Hospital, Oakland, Calif.

Comment: Last year, in discussing the physical condition of this hospital with you, we were told you would appreciate having the views of the American Legion, Department of California, as to whether it was feasible and economical to remodel the present structure into a modern hospital building, or should a completely new hospital be built.

A special subcommittee from our department rehabilitation commission was appointed to make a thorough investigation of this problem and bring its findings and recommendations to our full commission. This subcommittee's study and investigation was made. Its report and recommendation were presented to our full commission. Among the major things they found were:

(a) The building was originally constructed in 1910 as a hotel of approximately 350 rooms and operated as such for 45 years.

(b) The Army took it over early during World War II and operated it as a general medical and surgical hospital until the year 1946. It was then transferred to the Veterans Administraion and since then, operated by it as an 800-bed (standard capacity) general medical and surgical hospital.

(c) The building was never reconstructed by either the Army or the Veterans' Administration as a hospital.

(d) A great loss of space is taken up by bathrooms, hallways, clothes closets, etc. Such wasted space in this building—not feasible for hospital use—is estimated to be enough to provide sufficient space for one more floor.

(e) When the building was constructed it was along the lines of the larger type hotel rooms. No reasonably sized wards are available. Only 2, 3, 4, and 5 hospital beds can be placed to a room. Most of the rooms can accommodate only 2 or 3 beds. Such arrangements are very unsatisfactory for a general medical and surgical hospital because of the varied types of patients to be cared for. The doors in very room on all floors are too small to accommodate a hospital bed for moving patients, whether it be in case of fire, or interroom transfers. The elevator facilities are most inadequate. They are the original 1910 installation. Any replacement of parts requires having them especially machined and fabricated. They are too small to accommodate a hospital bed for such necessary movements from one floor to another. A guerney cannot be accommodated in the elevators unless placed diagonally. Patients in wheelchairs and on stretchers, must be carried on the same elevator with visitors, other patients, and personnel. The bodies of deceased patients must be removed by the same elevators as used by the general public. The conditions of the plumbing and electrical wiring are deplorable. The plumbing system was installed for hotel services of approximately 500 guests. It is most inadequate for the demands necessary for an 800-bed general medical and surgical hospital. The hot-water pipes are so old that the pressure has had to be reduced to the lowest possible degree to eliminate the possibility

of a major shutdown because the pipes are known to contain a multitude of potential leaks. The electric-wiring system would be most inadequate for a hospital one-fourth the bed capacity, due to the varied pieces of technical and clinical apparatuses and other electrical equipment, necessary to properly operate a general medical and surgical hospital. Some independent electric power leads have had to be carried to equipment which is both costly and time consuming.

The four major surgical suites are old converted hotel sample rooms located on the mezzanine floor. They are inadequate to handle the surgical workload of this active general medical and surgical hospital. The air-conditiong system for this area is ancient in design, inefficient in operation, and skillfully balanced on an old bathtub, and is a source of constant deep concern to the surgical staff and the engineering division.

To sum all of this up, it adds terrifically to the cost, to say nothing of the fire hazard involved. It requires 800 employees working under hardship and many difficulties to take care of 661 patients in this 800-bed general medical and surgical hospital.

(f) It is the findings of our department, after considerable study, that it is physically impossible to convert the present structure into a modern economical hospital. Study was also given to the possibility of remodeling by adding another wing to the present structure. This was also studied by central office of the Veterans' Administration and rejected as economically unsound, as it would cost approximately $10 million and, when completed, would still be inadequate for the increased needs, especially as it pertains to intermediary care; that is, the patient who has reached maximum hospital benefits and unable to care for himself makes him ineligible for domiciliary care, but is in need of nursing and attendant care.

Recommendation: It is our recommendation that an 800- to 1,000-bed general medical and surgical hospital building of modern design be constructed on the adjoining lot now owned by the Government. The lot in question is bound by 13th, Alice, 14th, and Jackson Streets. It takes up a full city block, or approximately 60,000 square feet, immediately east of the present structure, just separating the 2 by the width of Alice Street; that this addition be connected with the present building by overhead passageways or corridors and tunnel or corridors under Alice Street. When completed the present load of patients be moved to the new addition; the old or present building be moderately remodeled, furnished with adequate plumbing and electric power; the first floor be used for administrative space and that other necessary space be used for all types of services, such as overall rehabilitation, physical therapy, occupational therapy, etc.; and the balance of the building, exclusive of the basement, be used as an annex to care for patients requiring intermediary care. These are the veterans denied domiciliary care because they are too helpless to meet the requirements for membership and denied hospitalization because there is little that medicine can do for them, and to admit them would freeze beds badly needed for acutely ill patients.

There is room for much improvement in the basement of the present building to provide for employees' lockers, space for care and storage of patients' clothing, improved conditions for storage of oxygen tanks, and by adding one additional boiler to the present heating plant, it is believed, would sufficiently care for the heating requirements of the present and recommended addition.

Our committee estimates the total cost of the new addition, plus the remodeling and repairing of the new structure as outlined, to be approximately $22 million to $25 million.

Our committee's study took into consideration the location. Among the many advantages in having the hospital located at the present site and adjacent property in downtown Oakland are:

Transportation for patients, personnel, visitors, and economic delivery of supplies.

Maintaining adequate consultants and attending physicians.

Fire protection. The Oakland fire department cooperates 100 percent, and fire stations are within minutes of the hospital.

There would be many disadvantages should a new hospital be constructed in an outlying territory away from this present central location. Among some of these are: Loss of personnel, creating a recruitment problem; difficult to maintain consultant and attending physician service; loss or curtailment of many volunteer services such as volunteers nursing aid; the added cost of building and equipping a fire station, plus recruiting, training, and maintaining personnel for fire protection.

The only disadvantage advanced from any source to our knowledge, is that downtown Oakland may be considered a prime military target. For protection against an atomic bomb attack, the Civil Defense Administration has indicated such buildings must be constructed 10 miles away from a prime target area. It is not believed that such a hospital building or the patients would be any safer in an atomic or hydrogen bomb attack 10 miles out of downtown Oakland than they would be in the heart of that city.

3. The need for repair and rehabilitation of the Palo Alto Veterans' Administration Hospital.

Comment: This hospital was constructed in 1922, at which time the patient population was approximately 50 percent of what it is today. Practically nothing, with the exception of emergency alterations and repairs, has been undertaken since the hospital was constructed. All buildings are in need of alteration and repairs. Some should be replaced. A few of the buildings that are more urgently in need of alterations and repairs than some of the others are the general medical and surgical, the infirmary, and the admission or reception.

There are 104 temporary buildings used for nonpatient use. For 13 years now, consideration has continuously been given to the construction of a new dietetic building. The present structure is inadequate to accommodate the patient load. Equipment is poor and storage space, insufficient. Electric lines and transformers installed in 1922 cannot carry the necessary load and are badly in need of replacement. The surgical unit, the ear, eye, nose, and throat, and dental clinics, are badly in need of alterations. For over 9 years there has been a real need for an administration building. For several years there has been need for expansion of the section for female patients. Only 26 beds are available for this class of patient, with 38 mentally ill female veterans on the waiting list. The Veterans' Administration is paying for their care in other hospitals. We have been told, however, that when the new neuropsychiatric hospital for Palo Alto is completed, adequate facilities will be made available for mentally ill female patients.

4. The necessity for the expansion and modernization of the Wadsworth General Medical and Surgical Hospital, Veterans' Administration Center, Los Angeles, Calif.

Comment: We have been advised that the plans for the new pathological wing for this hospital were completed February 1, 1955; further, that it is expected that bids will be called for in March. This is considered a two-phase program. The second phase of the project anticipates the modernization of the present hospital building. The present building was originally constructed for intermediate care in connection with the domiciliary unit; that is, the care of the chronic patients, more in need of nursing and attendant care. It was not planned for it to be, and it is not now suited for, a general medical and surgical hospital. The new pathological wing will house such services as surgery, X-ray laboratories, the reception and outpatient services.

It is our study and recommendation that the new pathological wing form the anchor for an additional 1,000-bed general medical and surgical hospital and the present facilities being used as a hospital under most difficult and trying conditions, be used or converted for the type of care it was originally intended. All Government and private medicine will agree that there is a growing need for the care of those chronically ill, who have reached maximum hospital benefits, but are unable to care for themselves.

5. Urgent necessity of replacing all temporary construction at the Veterans' Administration Hospital, Long Beach, Calif.

Comment: This is a 1,600-bed hospital. Approximately 200 beds and the administrative offices are housed in good, modern, permanent construction. Other buildings are in the rambling type of temporary wartime construction, built 12 or 13 years ago to care for Navy and Marine Corps patients during World War II. Thanks to the 83d Congress and more particularly to its Members from California, an appropriation of $8 million was granted for additional permanent construction to replace a portion of the temporary barracks-type buildings. We are told the preliminary plans for the new addition were submitted to the Bureau of the Budget on February 1, 1955, and within 15 days after receiving these plans a member of the Bureau of the Budget inspected the present facilities. One could not make such inspection even though inexperienced, without observing the very poor, rundown condition of the temporary buildings, which are most difficult and expensive, if not impossible, to maintain. Roofs are continuously springing leaks, floors are buckling and splintering, a fire hazard exists, and conditions are unsanitary.

The present plan for this hospital is reported to be a two-phase plan. The $8 million appropriated is to complete the first phase. It will provide permanent construction for 561 beds and one additional surgical suite. The second phase is to bring the remaining 761 beds under permanent construction at an estimated cost of $12 million.

During the construction program, approximately 200 beds for veteran patients will be lost, if provisions are not made to care for an equal number of veteran patients elsewhere, such as the Corona Naval Hospital. The veteran population continues to increase in California, far more than in any other State in the Union. In spite of this, since 1949, California has lost over 1,700 general medical and surgical beds for veterans, while several other States—New York as an example—has had huge increases in the number of hospital beds for veterans, by new construction. We urge your continued interest in this project to the end that there will be no unnecessary delays.

6. Hospital beds for sick and disabled veterans in the San Diego and Imperial Counties area continue to present a problem.

Comment: The 200-bed General Medical and Surgical Veterans' Administration Hospital for San Diego, originally approved in October 1946, progressed to where the site was acquired, plans were completed, bids were called for and the low bidder was announced. Just before actual construction started, in January 1949, this project was eliminated by Executive order.

The Veterans' Administration has had for a number of years, a contract with the United States Naval Hospital in San Diego for a various number of general medical and surgical beds. The number contracted has varied from 250 to 100. It is believed that a fair minimum of 110 beds for general medical and surgical veteran patients (quick

turnover patients) would be adequate at this time, provided an additional 100 beds were made available for chronically ill veteran patients. Under the present and past contracts, the naval hospital does not admit the chronically ill, in need of hospitalization. Should our recommendations for the General Medical and Surgical Hospital at the Veterans' Administration Center, Los Angeles, be carried out, the provisions in the recommendations for the care of the chronically ill patients in need of nursing and attendant care would bring needed and perhaps adequate relief for this type of service for the entire southern California area.

7. The need for Federal aid to State and Territorial veterans' homes for capital outlay expenditures.

Comment: A majority of States have established, and operate veterans' homes for domiciliary and/or hospital care of disabled war veterans. The Federal Government has recognized the assistance given by the States in caring for thousands of disabled war veterans through Federal aid subsidies in part payment for the operating expense of maintaining veterans' homes. As you know, our very fine California Veterans' Home is in Napa County.

The ever increasing veteran population eligible to our California Veterans' Home has continuously required additional construction, modernization, additions, and/or improvements of domiciliary, hospital, and auxiliary buildings. Financial assistance is required by the several States, including California, in providing additional and planned facilities in relation to the veteran patient and member population.

Our department executive committee, meeting in Sacramento, February 5–6, 1955, by unanimous vote, adopted a resolution calling on our State legislature at the current session, to memoralize the United States Congress to appropriate the sum of $5 million annually for 5 consecutive years to remain available annually until expended for the purpose of matching similar funds by States that qualify to receive grants for the construction, modernization, additions and/or improvements of domiciliary, hospital and auxiliary structures at State or Territorial soldiers' homes.

Our State government has been very generous in maintaining and modernizing our California Veterans' Home. It is considered the finest in the land today. At present there are over 1,900 members, both male and female, in domiciliary, chronic and convalescent, and hospital. Modernization and construction of new additions are presently under way. The overall plans call for accommodations to care for a maximum of 3,250 members.

8. The need for amending legislation to provide for payment by the Federal Government for cost and transportation to any place within the continental limits of the United States of bodies of veterans who die in State veterans' homes.

Comment: When a veteran dies in a Veterans' Administration hospital, or domiciliary Home, payment for transporting the body for burial to any place in the continental limits of the United States may be authorized. Veterans in our State veterans' home, without exception, met the Veterans' Administration requirements for hospital or domiciliary care. When they die, the next of kin or the State of California now have to pay for the transportation of their bodies to the place of burial.

9. The need for a national cemetery in the Los Angeles area.

Comment: It is reliably estimated that there are 818,000 veterans residing in Los Angeles County. There are well over a million veterans residing in the Los Angeles area. We have many complaints of the next of kin who cannot afford transportation to the Golden Gate Cemetery, San Bruno, or Fort Rosecrans, San Diego, for the purpose of attending the funeral of their loved one who was killed overseas and returned to the United States for burial. The same holds true with respect to the next of kin of veterans, where it is the desire to bury them in a national cemetery. We know of no place in the United States with such heavy concentration of veterans where a national cemetery is so far away for their burial. The Veterans' Administration Cemetery in West Los Angeles is not available for burial of deceased servicemen or veterans who die outside of Veterans' Administration hospitals.

10. The urgent need for adequate funds to maintain the hospital and medical services for veterans in California.

Comment: The lack of sufficient funds allocated to Veterans' Administration hospitals and medical clinics in regional offices in California for the fiscal year 1954–55 have caused—

(a) A further reduction in the number of available hospital beds that are so urgently needed. As an example, 131 general medical and surgical beds are closed at the Veterans' Administration Center, Los Angeles, Calif., because of insufficient funds.

(b) Reduced badly needed and justified out-patient treatment to veterans for their service-connected disabilities. This reduction is causing hardship on veterans with service-connected disabilities and has now reached a point to where many private practicing physicians are dropping out or losing interest in the home town care program.

(c) A decided lowering of morale of Veterans' Administration employees, especially those in the department of medicine and surgery. They are only human and want some assurance of security. Under present conditions they never know from one day to the next whether they have a job or not.

(d) The reduction in the wonderful research program which was providing excellent medical and scientific information for the benefit of all peoples.

We urgently request that you give sincere consideration of appropriating the necessary funds for these justified services and/or seeing that the Veterans' Administration medical facilities in California receive sufficient funds from the appropriation to maintain their operations on a basis equal to the demand.

11. Veterans' hospitalization:

Comment: Some groups or organizations continue to oppose the laws that established the veterans' hospitalization program. This opposition appears to be purely selfish for economic reasons. It is based on:

(a) Alleged widespread abuse of hospitalization for the so-called non-service-connected veterans.

(b) Veterans do not constitute a special class and should not be entitled to this privilege.

The story about widespread abuse of this program by veterans falsely swearing under oath as to their financial and economic ability to pay for their hospital and medical care, is definitely contrary to the findings of the Subcommittee on Hospitals, of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, 83d Congress, 1st session, July 1953.

The right of American veterans to preferred treatment as a special class by reason of their military services has been long established as public policy supported by specific legislation extending throughout the history of our country. Those opposing the care of veterans as a class, are in direct contradiction to the will of the American people, as repeatedly expressed through enactments by the Congress. Their misrepresentations operate to deny privileges and entitlements to the sick, broke, and disabled veterans, which the American people desire that they receive.

Only recently the board of directors of one of our local chambers of commerce made public, a resolution adopted by them, opposing hospital and medical care for veterans. It is loaded with false statements and untrue accusations. This chamber "• • • emphatically opposes the furnishing of free hospital, medical, or surgical care for non-service-connected ailments and urges that such services be discontinued. • • •" They apparently favor free hospitalization in county and State hospitals for nonveterans who cannot afford to pay, but by their action, they have officially placed our Nation's war veterans below any other citizens. While we deplore their action, we think they were misled by false information emanating from those who have a selfish, economic interest for financial gain, and possibly those favoring socialized medicine.

Hospitalization for Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. M. G. BURNSIDE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks into the RECORD, I should like to include the following letter I have received from Mrs. Gilbert Q. Duncan, 729 Washington Avenue, Huntington, W. Va.:

DEAR SIR: I want to thank you for your letter of February 16 and for trying to secure hospitalization for my husband. I realize the situation is deplorable and that, you did all you could. It is deeply appreciated. You asked me to write to you if there was anything you could do for me. So I am taking this opportunity to seek aid not just for my husband, but for all veterans.

Today I talked with Mr. Linten at the Veterans' Administration (Veterans' representative of Huntington, W. Va.). He told me there were 16,000 veterans in this country with mental conditions. Most of them are in jails and can't even get into a State hospital. I am not going to try further to get hospitalization for Gilbert (her husband) since he is better off than so many others. It is heartbreaking to see a brilliant man in such a condition, especially since he could be helped with proper treatment. They are not equipped to give insulin at the Huntington State Hospital. He does not respond to other treatments. It is also heartbreaking to think that so many mental patients are in jails. Anyone who has had mental illness in the family knows that jail is no place for these patients. It seems that veterans are forgotten men now, and it is about time something is done about them, especially the mentally ill. So it is my hope that you can introduce a bill that would take care of the men in jail who do not belong there. It seems reasonable that the Government would be far ahead to cure these men and get them back on the job instead of paying pensions. I know that without proper treatment, many people will be in hospitals the rest of their lives.

If there is anything you can do to help this terrible situation, it will be deeply appreciated. You may use my letter if it will help any. It is very difficult to try and raise two little boys under these conditions. So if you can help any of the others, it would certainly help me. Let me know if there is anything I can do. Thank you again.

Respectfully,

MRS. MARIAN DUNCAN.

The Great Contribution of the Irish People to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, with the advent of St. Patrick's Day, I deem it appropriate to speak on the great contribution of the Irish people to America.

Many people believe that there were only a few Irish in America at the time of the Revolutionary War and that no considerable portion of them arrived until around the middle of the last century. However, the facts disprove this statement. In Pennsylvania, for example, there is evidence to show that an important Irish colony came over with William Penn in 1682. Penn was well acquainted with the Irish people for he lived many years at Kinsale, county of Cork, as manager of his father's estate. When he first came to America he brought with him a number of Irish people from Cork and Wexford. Seventeen years later, on one of his return voyages, he brought with him a brilliant young Irishman, James Logan, of County Armagh, who later became Chief Justice of the provincial courts. In 1723 a considerable number of Irish people located in Dauphin, and in the next year Irish settlements were established west of the Susquehanna River, what is now York County. In 1728, 5,600 Irish arrived in Philadelphia.

It looks as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither—

Wrote Secretary Logan in 1729—

for last week not less than 6 ships arrived. The common fear is that if they continue to come they will make themselves proprietors of the Province.

When the British Government started to suppress the American Colonists, the Irish unanimously gave their support to the Colonists for two reasons: the first was the inherent love of liberty which ever dwells in an Irishman's heart and his sympathy for all people struggling against political inequality; the other was the bitter heritage of struggle with the British Empire which heritage they brought with them to America, and which was transmitted with undiminished fervor to their descendants. It was easy to show that the power which had trampled upon the affections of their fathers and tyrannized over their rights in the Old World was aiming at the same object in the case of their children in the New. Only one generation removed from the exiled and suffering generation the sons had as lively recollections of the tyrannies of Britain as if the experience had been immediately their own.

Three native-born Irish—Smith, Taylor, and Thornton, were signers of the Declaration of Independence, as were six descendants of Irish—Carroll, McKean, Read, Lynch, Paine, and Rutledge.

Washington had a high regard for the Irish people and the records show that he had many of them as friends and associates. In 1748, when surveying land for Lord Fairfax, his journal shows that several Irishmen accompanied him—he mentioned among them Patrick Rice, Patrick Matthews, James McCormick, and Timothy McCarthy. Many of the Irish officers of the Army and Navy of the Revolution enjoyed his friendship and esteem. On March 4, 1776, he appointed Colonel Stephen Moylan his aide and private secretary. Moylan was born in County Cork and was a brother of the Catholic Bishop of that diocese. When Colonel Moylan was promoted to the command of the Fourth Pennsylvania Dragoons, Washington appointed Colonel John Fitzgerald, a native of Wicklow, as his aide. Fitzgerald's successor in the office of aide to Washington was Major James McHenry, a native of Anthrim. A later secretary to General Washington was Colonel Joseph Reed "The Incorruptible," whose parents were from Dublin. At Cambridge on March 16, 1776, Washington selected "St. Patrick" as the password and he named General John Sullivan as officer of the day. At Valley Forge on St. Patrick's Day, 1778, General Washington directed "that all the Army keep the day" and on March 16, 1780, in his general orders he directed "that all fatigue and working parties cease for tomorrow, the 17th, a day held in particular regard by the people of the Irish Nation." On December 18, 1781, Washington attended a banquet of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia and was then "adopted a member of the society." On the same day he wrote the president of the society accepting "with singular pleasure the gold badge of membership in so worthy a fraternity as that of the Sons of St. Patrick in this city, a society distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are embarked."

The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia contributed approximately $500,000 to the cause of the colonists and from its own members supplied the Colonial Armies with 11 generals: Stephen Moylan, Edward Hand, William Maxwell, William Thompson, Griffith Rutherford, John Patton, Anthony Wayne, Walter Stewart, Richard Butler, William Irvine, and John Shee.

One of the most brilliant generals in the Revolutionary War was Gen. Anthony Wayne, born at Waynesboro, Pa. His father and grandfather were born in Ireland. Wayne was an active member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia, and was also a member of the Hibernian Society of Philadelphia. He was commander of one of the most effective fighting arms of the Revolutionary forces known as the Pennsylvania Line. Gen. Henry Lee, afterward Governor of Virginia, in his Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department, makes the following reference to General Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line:

Wayne had a constitutional attachment to the decision of the sword and this cast of character had acquired strength from indulgence as well as from the native temper of the troops he commanded. They were by the designation of the Line of Pennsylvania whereas they might have been, with more propriety, called the Line of Ireland.

The muster roll of the Pennsylvania Line, as shown by the archives of Pennsylvania, reads like the registry of a parish in Ireland as, for instance, the muster roll of the 7th Regiment company commanded by Capt. John McDowell, shows 76 percent natives of Ireland; the company commanded by Capt. Jeremiah Talbot, 70 percent; Capt. Samuel Montgomery, 69 percent.

When Washington evacuated Long Island on August 30, 1776, he personally selected 4 regiments of the Pennsylvania Line and 1 from Maryland to cover the retreat. The Pennsylvania regiments were commanded by four native-born Irishmen: Col. John Shee—later General Shee—from Westmeath; Col. Robert Magaw from Strabane, County Tyrone; Col. Edward Hand—later adjutant general of the Continental Army—from Kings County, now Offaly; and Col. John Haslet from Dublin.

After the evacuation of Long Island, Col. Robert Magaw, with 3,000 soldiers from the Pennsylvania Line, was selected to defend Fort Washington in upper Manhattan against a force of 14,000 under the combined commands of Generals Howe and Matthew, Lord Cornwallis, and the Hessian commander, Baron von Knyphausen.

Among other Irish generals in the Revolutionary War were Gen. John Sullivan, who captured Fort William and Mary 6 months before the Battle of Lexington; Gen. Richard Montgomery, killed at the Battle of Quebec; General Warren, killed at Bunker Hill; and General Stark.

The first captain to be commissioned in the American Navy was an Irishman, John Barry; he was also the first American commander to receive the title of "Commodore."

Among the French troops sent by France to aid the American Colonies were the regiments of the famous Irish Brigade under the commands of Gen. (Count) Arthur Dillon and Colonel Walsh.

Among the members of the convention that framed the United States Constitution were four native-born Irishmen: Thomas Fitzsimons, Pennsylvania; Pierce Butler, South Carolina; Dr. James McHenry, Maryland; and William Paterson, New Jersey. Four were of Irish descent: George Reade, Delaware; Daniel Carroll, Maryland; Hugh Williamson, North Carolina; and John Rutledge, South Carolina. William Paterson was later appointed Justice of the United States Supreme Court. John Rutledge served as Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1789 to 1791, was chief justice of the Supreme Court of South Carolina from 1791 to 1795. In 1795 he was appointed by President Washington as the second Chief Justice of the United States, but was not confirmed by the Senate.

In St. Paul's Cemetery on the west side of Broadway from Fulton to Vesey Street, two of the most imposing monuments are erected to Irishmen. On the Fulton Street side is the tall obelisk erected to the memory of Thomas Addis

Emmett, a brother of Robert Emmett; the Gaelic inscription on this monument is by Rev. John English, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Charleston, S. C., born in the city of Cork. On the Vesey Street side is a monument to the memory of Dr. William J. McNevin, one of the men of 1798, an associate of Robert Emmett. The inscription is in Latin, Gaelic, and English. Dr. McNevin, however, is not buried in St. Paul's Cemetery, but is buried in the Riker family cemetery on Long Island.

Right at the entrance of St. Paul's Church is the grave of Gen. Richard Montgomery, born in County Donegal, one of the brilliant young leaders of the Revolutionary War who was killed in the Battle of Quebec.

The equestrian statue of General Sherman at the plaza, 5th Avenue and 59th Street, is the work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, born in Dublin, Ireland.

The first colonial Governor of New York was Thomas Dougan, a native of County Kildare. He was responsible for the charter which set up public schools, and he also proclaimed the doctrine of religious toleration. The first mayor of New York after the Revolution was James Duane, a son of Anthony Duane, of County Galway, Ireland. Duane had been a member of the Continental Congress. The first Governor of New York after the Revolution was George Clinton.

The Clinton family played a very important part in the history of New York and the United States. George Clinton and his brother James were born in Orange County. Their father came from County Longford, Ireland. George Clinton was a member of the Continental Congress; a brigadier general in the Revolutionary War; elected Governor of New York in 1777. In 1804 and in 1808 he was elected Vice President of the United States.

James Clinton served as a colonel and brigadier general in the Revolutionary War; took part in the siege of Yorktown; served in the New York Legislature and constitutional convention.

DeWitt Clinton, son of James Clinton, was born in 1769. In 1797–99 he was a member of the New York Legislature; in 1801 he was a United States Senator; in 1803 elected mayor of New York City; from 1811 to 1815 he was mayor of New York City and also lieutenant governor of New York; in 1812 he was a candidate for President of the United States against James Madison and received 89 electoral votes. From 1817 to 1828 he was Governor of New York, and died in office in 1828.

That many Irish families bear names of other than Irish origin is due to the fact that under the reigns of Henry and Edward IV many penal laws were passed by Parliament compelling the Irish families to adopt English names, or the name of a town, or a color, or an art or science. These laws were forerunner to the Austrian Empire law of 1787, and Napoleon's decree of 1808 ordering Jews to adopt surnames.

These laws of the Henrys and the Edwards resulted in Irish families adopting such names as White, Brown, and Black, Butler, Carpenter, Mason, and Taylor. They also resulted in a rough translation of the Gaelic names into English; for example, James Smith, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a native of Dublin, a descendant of a family named MacGowan. In Gaelic "Mac" means "son of" or descendant of." The prefix "O'" also means "son of," and "Gow" means smith or blacksmith. When the laws of Edward IV became effective this branch of the MacGowan family changed their name to Smith. Other changes were "McShane" meaning literally in Gaelic son of Shane, or John became Johnson or Jackson. McTiernan, literally the son of Master, became Masterson. O'Donnall became Donalson. McFergus became Ferguson. O'Cleary became Clark.

How a name is changed from English to Gaelic is illustrated by the fact that a few years ago an energetic man from Ireland, Erie O'Gowan, toured America in support of a campaign to remove the border between North Ireland and Ireland. During World War II he was a well-known brigadier general in the British Army, known as Eric Smith, and he changed the name to the Gaelic O'Gowan when he realized the injustice the border was inflicting on the Irish people.

As an example of the Irish contribution to America, we might look at the record of James Shields, born in Dungannon, County Tyrone. He was a brigadier general in the United States Army during the Mexican War; in 1848 he was appointed Governor of the Territory of Oregon; in 1849 he was United States Senator from Illinois; 1858–59 he was United States Senator from Minnesota. He was commissioned a brigadier general in the Union Army in the Civil War, was wounded at the Battle of Winchester, and finished his public career as a member of the State Legislature of Missouri from 1877 to 1879.

President Theodore Roosevelt boasted that two collateral branches of his family were Irish.

The ancestors of Presidents Buchanan, Polk, and McKinley were from County Donegal; the ancestors of President Chester A. Arthur from County Antrim, Ireland.

Andrew Jackson, the 7th President of the United States was born in the Waxhaw settlement between North and South Carolina on March 15, 1767. His parents came from Carrickfergus County Antrim, Ireland in 1765. His father, a poor farm laborer, died before Andrew's birth. In 1780, at the age of 13 he enlisted in the Revolutionary forces under General Sumter. In 1781, he was captured by the British and experienced brutal treatment from his captors.

Jackson taught school and began the study of law at the age of 18. In 1823, he was elected to the United States Senate, and the next year was a candidate for President. He received the largest popular vote among the four candidates, though John Quincy Adams was elected by the House of Representatives through the influence of Henry Clay.

In 1828, Jackson was triumphantly elected President over John Quincy Adams after a campaign of great bitterness.

With Jackson began a new era in American politics. His was the age of "Jacksonian democracy," the rule of the people.

Former presidents, even Jefferson, had been chosen from the more learned aristocratic class—from the "rich and well born" as Alexander Hamilton put it during the Constitutional Convention. In the early years of the Republic it was understood this favored class should take the lead in managing public affairs, while the masses were to follow and obey. With the election of Jackson the people came into their own. Himself a sturdy frontiersman who had risen from lowest poverty, "Old Hickory" was one of the plain common people, and they gave him their confidence and trust more fully than any other President. Victor in two Indian wars; hero of the battle of New Orleans. Men acclaimed Jackson for his proven courage and directness in accomplishing results; even his enemies, and he made them by the score, could not deny his honesty, sincerity of purpose, and his warm heart.

John C. Calhoun, Senator from South Carolina, one of Jackson's political opponents, was a son of Patrick Calhoun born in Ireland.

The New York World-Telegram in March 1947 had the following news item:

HONOR MRS. ROOSEVELT

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, whose great grandfather, Valentine G. Hall, emigrated from Ulster, Ireland, and settled in Flatbush, will receive the honor medal of the Ulster Irish Society of New York at the organization's banquet Friday night in the Wedgewood Room of the Waldorf-Astoria, it was announced today. The medal is awarded to Americans of Ulster ancestry for notable service rendered to the United States.

In the field of invention the Irish have given us Fulton of the steamboat, Morse of the telegraph, McCormack of the reaper and binder, and John P. Holland, inventor of the submarine.

In surgery they gave us Drs. Agnew and Murphy.

In journalism: Greely, Laffin, Grady, and S. S. McClure.

On the stage: Bouccicault, Barrett, the elder Drew, and Keane.

In poetry: Father Ryan, the poet of the South, John Boyle O'Reilly, O'Hara, and James Whitcomb Riley.

In industry: Orr and McCall of life insurance; James J. Hill, the railroad builder; A. T. Stewart; O'Day of the oil industry; Cudahy, meat packer; Mellon and Farrell of steel industry.

In music: Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore, predecessor to John Philip Sousa, Victor Herbert, and John McCormack.

In athletics: Sheridan, Ryan, McGrath and McDonald, and in baseball McGraw, Jennings, and Connie Mack.

In religion: Dr. Francis Mackenzie, founder of the Presbyterian Church; Rev. James Waddel known as "the blind preacher"; Father Matthews who preached temperance; Archbishop Ireland, Cardinal Gibbons. The first Catholic bishop in New York was a native-born Irishman, Rt. Rev. Luke Concannon.

During the Civil War President Lincoln selected the first Catholic Archbishop of New York, John Hughes, born in County Tyrone, Ireland, to visit Europe as a special envoy.

A few years ago Reader's Digest published an article entitled "Prelude to Fame," a recopy of an article previously published in the Queen's Work. It told dramatically the story of nine young Irishmen who were convicted of treason in the young Ireland uprising in 1948, and sentenced to death, which sentence was later commuted to banishment for life to Van Diemen's Land, then an English penal colony, now Tasmania. They all escaped; and later when the Queens authorities investigated the convicts were located as follows:

Richard O'Gorman was Governor of Newfoundland.

Thomas D'Arcy McGee was a member of Parliament from Montreal, Minister of Agriculture, and President of the Cabinet of the Dominion of Canada.

Sir Charles Gavan Duffy was Prime Minister of Victoria in 1871.

Morris Lyne was Attorney General of Australia, and was succeeded in that office by his assistant and fellow convict, Michael Ireland.

Four of the convicts came to the United States:

Patrick Donohue was a brigadier general in the Union Army during the Civil War.

Terence Bellew McManus was a brigadier general in the Union Army during the Civil War, and is known for his intense spirit of Irish nationalism.

Thomas Francis Meagher was a brigadier general in the Union Army in the Civil War, and was in command of the famous Irish Brigade made up of New York's 69th, 88th, and 63d regiments, the 28th Massachusetts, and 116th Pennsylvania Regiments. Later he was Governor of Montana.

John Mitchell was the only one of the nine convicts who did not hold public office. He was an editor and publisher, and a fearless, caustic writer. He lived in New York City after his escape from prison. In 1862 he became editor of Jefferson Davis' paper, the Richmond Enquirer; this caused a breach with his Irish friends who were all fighting on the Union side.

When the war ended, two of Mitchell's sons had been killed while soldiers in the Confederate Army; Mitchell's property in Richmond had been destroyed by fire in the siege of Richmond, and Mitchell was imprisoned in Fortress Monroe with Jefferson Davis. When he was released, he returned to New York, became reconciled with his old friends, and took an active part in the Fenian movement to free Ireland. In 1874 he returned to Ireland and was elected to the British Parliament from County Tipperary. Then ensued a vitriolic battle between Mitchell and the Prime Minister. Mitchell refused to take the oath of allegiance to Queen Victoria, and the Prime Minister insisted he could not be seated because he was an escaped convict. In the midst of the controversy Mitchell died.

His grandson, John Purroy Mitchell became the Fusion mayor of New York in 1913.

No matter how one may view the Irish contribution to America, these facts cannot be controverted. In the 48 States of the United States there are 253 counties bearing distinctive Irish names; there are 65 places beginning with "O"; there are 1,000 places beginning with "Mc"; there are 7,000 places bearing Irish names; there are 24 Dublins; 24 Waterfords; 18 Belfasts; 16 Tyrones; and 10 Limericks.

Irish blood, brain, and brawn have played a valiant part in the fabric of America, and the people of Irish descent may take a pardonable pride in the Irish contribution to the development and preservation of the American Government.

The Law of the Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, on George Washington's birthday last week, February 22, Robert Post, of Glenshaw, Pa., a constituent of mine, was awarded the George Washington Honor Medal by the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa.

This coveted honor was bestowed upon Mr. Post because of his achievement in producing a motion picture entitled "The Law of the Land." The picture was selected from over one hundred submitted as being distinctly effective in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life during the year 1954.

Of particular interest to us is the fact that the Congress of the United States is the "star" of Mr. Post's picture. His story is that of a proposed bill being made a law of the land. It is told in a highly dramatic style and captures all the significant highlights, the heat and heartaches, the trials and tribulations that go into making a law.

Special permission was given to Mr. Post to set up his cameras in the House of Representatives and the Senate. His cast is one that I am sure would be a Hollywood casting agent's dream. It includes our present and former Speaker, the President of the United States and the Vice President, the Secretary of Agriculture, and many individual members of the House and Senate.

The film is strictly nonpartisan and attempts only to tell the story of how we make laws with proper emphasis on democratic principles at work. It has received enthusiastic reviews from educators, civic leaders, fraternal groups and service clubs all over the Nation.

A comparative newcomer into the field of documentary motion pictures, Mr. Post conceived the idea for The Law of the Land, wrote the story and was the "spark-plug" behind the picture's production. To him and to all those who worked with him to make his achievement and award possible, I offer my most sincere congratulations.

German Assets in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following up-to-date editorial from the New York Times of March 9, concerning German assets in the United States, is worthy of our attention.

We, in the Congress, are prone to overlook minorities, no matter how just their case. I am afraid we are more interested at times in the number of votes than in the case of justice for the individual.

There are some cases, not many, of elderly women who were married to German nationals in the days when a woman had to relinquish her American citizenship when marrying a foreigner and assume his nationality. These women had trust funds set up for them by their American parents who did not want their money taken out of the United States. During the last war these trust funds were confiscated by the Attorney General's Office. These individuals are now to have their claims settled at the rate of $10,000 per head. With luck, they may get an income of $500 a year. Their money, these trust funds are American money and American trust funds. Not 1 penny has ever left the United States or been invested outside this country. These funds have been taxed, and have paid taxes into the United States Treasury. Only the income was sent to foreign nationals.

Mr. Speaker, this is a new approach to the problems resulting from the dislocations caused by war. Maybe it is true that we should proceed on the theory that "to the victor belong the spoils," but it is not justice, and it is not American.

The New York Times editorial follows:

GERMAN ASSETS IN THE UNITED STATES

The United States and Germany have reached a preliminary understanding on an American plan calling for a partial return of German property in this country seized during the war. According to this plan, which must still be approved by Congress, the United States proposes to return such property to individual owners in West Germany up to a maximum of $10,000 per person, and to restore all German copyrights, trademarks, and cultural property. The same formula will be applied to residents of East Germany when Germany is reunited.

Germany welcomes this plan as a constructive step, but it is not a final solution in either principle or substance. The property is to be returned as a matter of grace, not as a matter of respect for private property—a principle to which the United States has frequently pledged itself and which it observed in large measure after the First World

War. Furthermore, the plan does not cover corporate property, which constitutes the bulk of the $450 million worth of German assets seized. This is left to future settlement.

The problem has been complicated, first, by the ruthless Nazi treatment of private property, which prompted European nations to look askance at any return of German property; and second, by counterclaims of American nationals against Germany for war damages. The latter claims are now to be settled up to a maximum of $10,000 in each case, from a fund of $100 million to be set aside out of payments made by Germany for American economic aid after the war. But taking into consideration the scandals attending the alien property administration after the First World War, the use of such property for political rewards after the last war and the long delays in and exorbitant cost of any settlement, it cannot be said that the treatment of private property constitutes the most glorious chapter in the history of Western democracy. The sooner that problem is finally solved with full vindication for the principles for which we stand the better will we be able to meet the Communist challenge to the free world.

Commemoration of Hungarian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution, adopted on March 5, 1955, at the commemoration of Hungarian independence, Hunter College, New York City:

Whereas Hungary by tradition and history had been the bastion of Christianity since the 14th century and by three centuries of continuous fighting at the sacrifice of 4 million of her people, had secured peace and progress for Western Europe; and

Whereas the unjust and cruel consequences of the agreements of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam have led to Hungary's subjection to Soviet domination and Communist rule; and

Whereas the Hungarian people have never ceased to remain dedicated to national independence, individual freedom, and western cultural standards as has been demonstrated even under Soviet military occupation at the 1945 and 1947 elections; and

Whereas the present Communist regime and Soviet colonial exploitation are being maintained in Hungary only by violent domination by the Red army and arbitrary rule by the Communist secret police; and

Whereas the Hungarian people silenced by Communist terrorism have been deprived of all possibilities of expressing their true will and communicating with the free world: Therefore,

We assemble tonight under the banner of "free Americans for free Hungary," and raise our voice in behalf of our brethren in protest against their subjugation and the intolerable slavery into which they have been plunged: Be it

Resolved, That we herewith create a committee representing 1 million Americans of Hungarian descent and designate the American Hungarian Federation as our agent. The federation is herewith authorized and directed to submit our appeal to the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and simultaneously to call upon him as the leader not only of the American people but of the free world, to reaffirm his solemn pledge against all tyrannies, never to compromise for the sake of illusory coexistence, those eternal ideals of national freedom and human rights defended throughout American history and to do all in his power to liberate our enslaved people from under Soviet tyranny and Communist degradation.

Tax Cut Move Purely Political

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "Tax Cut Move Purely Political," which appeared in the Grand Haven (Mich.) Daily Tribune on March 5, 1955:

The obvious purpose of the House Democratic move to write a $20 income tax cut for everyone was, and still is, political.

Fortunately, a Senate committee blocked action in its chamber to include this provision in its version of the bill, which the House had written into the administration's recommendations. This hasn't blocked a similar move on the Senate floor, but it has put a temporary kink in the tactic.

President Eisenhower properly described as irresponsible the proposal which would have cost the Treasury an estimated $2,200,000,000 in revenue.

We don't say that the Republicans have all the right answers on tax legislation. There was widespread feeling that the GOP hurt itself in the last session of Congress by not making more allowances for the so-called little fellow. But blanket reductions of this nature, which have no scientific application to the whole problem of maintaining a balance between tax revenue and Government costs, could be both inflationary and dangerous to the national economy.

Nor do we claim that President Eisenhower has done all he could to bring down the high cost of government. He has a much improved record over the preceding Truman administration in this respect, but the money still being poured into projects abroad could stand some sharp scrutiny.

We simply contend that a "$20 cut for all" is an oversimplification of the tax problem. The aim of any tax structure is to maintain balance and proportion. You kill initiative if you have nothing more to offer in a tax program than to "soak the rich." And you aren't solving the problem of ability to pay by spreading a somewhat nominal tax cut among all and sundry.

Not only have Republican Presidents had to combat this pernicious congressional habit of trying to upset the tax applecart for the benefit of a few votes back home, but both President Roosevelt and President Truman had to resist similar moves to embarass the executive branch of Government.

This sort of slap-happy politicking provokes a great deal of the trouble in this country. It reflects on the ability of some of the Congressmen to dig into the tax problem realistically. The whole strategy seems to be to make the voter think that his dear Congressman is for him by trying to buy his support, as it were, with a $20 bill. This is all the more ridiculous in the light of congressional determination to boost its own pay checks by no miserly amount.

Let's get that budget in balance before we resort to the political wrecking bars.

Who Are the Disciples of Christ?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, an article Who Are the Disciples of Christ?, appeared in the November 30, 1954 issue of Look magazine. It describes the beliefs, background and emphases of the Disciples of Christ Churches—usualy known locally as Christian Churches. The Disciples of Christ Churches, according to latest figures, number more than 8,000 comprising a membership of nearly 2 million. The Disciples of Christ have been leaders among protestantism in working with other religious communions in cooperative efforts through the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America and the World Council of Churches. It is not a sect—but one of the larger protestant communions in the United States and around the world.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an article entitled "Who Are the Disciples of Christ?"

(By James E. Craig, elder and trustee of the Park Avenue Christian Church, New York City)

Who are the Disciples of Christ? The Disciples of Christ constitute the largest indigenous American religious group, with around 1,800,000 adult communicants and some 8,000 autonomous congregations. In point of origin, the beliefs of the Disciples are as American as the Declaration of Independence. In point of liberty of individual conscience, they are as American as the Bill of Rights.

Some will say that the Disciples of Christ are a great evangelical Protestant denomination. Others will say that they are not a denomination at all, but the pure New Testament Church of Christ. Still others will prefer to describe them as a brotherhood, or a communion. Perhaps the most favored word among Disciples themselves is movement—a movement back to the New Testament and forward under God to ultimate unity of all who call themselves Christians.

Of the total of 1,800,000 communicants, some 1,300,000 are members of congregations cooperating through the International Convention of Disciples of Christ, which is a voluntary fellowship of local churches in the United States and Canada and of their various missionary, benevolent, and educational agencies. A "reporting convention" rather than a legislative body, it presents recommendations on every subject affecting the movement. These are advisory only, but, such is the convention's prestige, most of the recommendations are accepted by local congregations. Any Disciple may attend its meetings and vote. In this article, the word "Disciples" (unless otherwise specified) relates only to the congregations cooperating through the international convention.

What are the tenets of their creed? The Disciples have no creed but Christ and no

doctrines save those which are found in the New Testament or are reasonably to be inferred therefrom. The Disciples are God-centered, Christ-centered, Bible-centered, with no creedal formula but one—the answer of the Apostle Peter to a question from Jesus Himself: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." Open confession of this faith and acceptance of the Nazarene as Lord and Savior, and baptism (by immersion) are all that may be demanded of a candidate for admission. The Disciples are inclined to regard formal creeds and historical sects as milestones on the highway of an evolving theology.

The Disciples believe in the priesthood of all believers; that is, that the believer can reach the Throne of Grace without any human intermediary. According to authorizations they find in the New Testament, they have evangelists, pastors, elders, and deacons. But they look upon these officers only as useful instruments sanctioned by the Apostles. They never doubt the right of any man to go directly to God, by prayer, for guidance in all problems arising in the conscience. They place absolute trust in divine mercy and good will. They nevertheless encourage pastoral consultation and advice.

How do the Disciples differ from other Protestants? Disciples have no catechism and no prescribed rituals. Disciples do not accept the doctrine of apostolic succession. Hence, they have no archbishops or bishops or hierarchy of ecclesiastical authority. They interpret the New Testament words for "bishop" and "elder" as synonyms for a single lay office, elective by the congregation, and in no sense authorized or regulated from above.

Disciples believe that confession of faith in Jesus as the Christ requires no added metaphysical doctrine. They regard conversion as a voluntary, rational act which does not require special revelation. In receiving a new member, they take the applicant's statement at face value. They employ no formula of interrogation.

Disciples believe that a Christian's right to Holy Communion is a matter for his own conscience. They admit to the Lord's Supper any baptized person, without regard to his secretarial affiliation.

Perhaps the most notable difference between Disciples and many other Protestant groups is the Disciples' emphasis upon individual liberty of opinion; upon each believer's right to interpret the Scriptures in his own way.

Disciples base their whole appeal upon a simple outline of faith and a democratic system of church government. They have no sense of rivalry among the denominations. They hold that so long as a member accepts the simple faith and the idea of democratic government in the church he may believe what his mind dictates about many of the tenets of other Christan bodies.

Disciples observe with joy that the differences among Protestants are receiving less and less attention today, while the many things they have in common are receiving more and more. To Disciples, the rising trend toward mutual grounds of faith marks a steady advance toward ultimate church unity. And in this field the Disciples have made their influence most heavily felt. They have been in the forefront of almost every important cooperative and ecumenical movement. Thirty-nine Disciples were active in establishing the old Federal Council of Churches; 200 are enrolled in the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America; 14 Disciple leaders serve the World Council of Churches.

What do the Disciples believe about the Bible? The Disciples share the common Protestant belief that the Bible (except for the apocryphal books) is the word of God, written by different persons at different times under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. They use the Old Testament for meditation and instruction, as a schoolmaster bringing the faithful to Christ.

Many Disciples believe, however, that the Old Testament represents two dispensations—one for the patriarchal age before Moses, the other for the age from Moses to the resurrection of Jesus. These accept the New Testament as a third and purely Christian dispensation, for the guidance of Christian churches and peoples.

In common with other Christian bodies, the disciples have their fundamentalists and their liberals. The literalists, or fundamentalists, accept every word of the authorized version of the Bible as the infallible word of God. The liberals believe that newer translations, and the studies of inspired scholars, have thrown new light upon many passages of the Scriptures. There is nothing to prevent liberals and literalists from sitting down together around the table of the Lord's Supper, each responsible for his own beliefs and each serving God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

Do disciples believe in the Holy Trinity? The disciples have had little trouble in discarding most of the dogmas which sprang up between the 1st century and the 19th. Hence, speculation about the Holy Trinity has bothered them little or not at all. They baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as Christ commanded. They believe that the Holy Sprit is the comforter promised in the New Testament, but they do not worry over its constitution or the nature of its operations. They accept its guidance as constantly enlarging the horizons of Christian thought. They are not concerned about such matters as original sin and predestination.

Whom do the disciples baptize? They baptize only those adult enough to know what they are doing. They baptize by immersion, believing it to have been the New Testament way—an act of obedience and surrender, a symbol of the death, burial, and resurrection of the Lord Jesus.

Do the disciples believe in the Virgin birth? It is probable that about 99 percent of them do. It is possible that others have doubts. But there is no authority—except in individual congregations—which can accept one belief as orthodox and reject the other as heretical.

What do the disciples believe about sin and salvation? No answer covering all the congregations is possible. The disciples as a rule reject the doctrine of original sin; but most of them believe that we are all sinful creatures unless redeemed by the saving sacrifice of the Lord Jesus.

Early in the history of the movement, the conception gained ground that a reasonable God would not leave His creatures without a rational plan of salvation which any person could understand and follow. Walter Scott, a kinsman of the novelist, was perhaps the first notable exponent of this idea. He suggested a five-fold plan: Faith, repentance, baptism, newness of life, gift of the Holy Spirit. By faith, he meant a sincere belief in the power and goodness of God. By repentance, he meant not merely sorrow for past misdeeds but perfect contrition, coupled with resolution not to sin again. By baptism, he meant obedience to a command of the Savior and emulation of the example of the apostles. By newness of life, he meant such conduct thereafter as would be void of further offense to God and of scandal to the church. By the gift of the Holy Spirit he meant the coming of the indwelling commorter promised in the Gospels.

It was Walter Scott's belief that when a sinner honestly fulfilled these requirements, he had no need to look for some mystical inner manifestation of saving grace.

Do the Disciples believe in heaven and hell? Here, again, it is difficult to give an answer that will prove satisfactory to all members of the fellowship. Almost all believe in the immortality of the soul and in a blissful reunion hereafter for all the faithful who have died in the Lord. Many doubtless believe in a literal Paradise and a literal hell. Others are content to leave the details of future rewards and punishments to Divine mercy. Disciple faith in general is a matter of personal conviction, rooted in confidence that the Kingdom of God will prove invincible.

How did the Disciples begin? The Disciples began by the confluence of two main currents of religious thought. One, that of the Christian church, developed in Kentucky and Ohio under Barton W. Stone. The other, that of a body which came to call itself Disciples of Christ, developed in western Pennsylvania and western Virginia under Thomas Campbell, his son Alexander Campbell, and Walter Scott. All these men, known as the Big Four, were of Presbyterian antecedents; all were well-educated according to the scholarship of their time, which laid emphasis upon Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

These scholars and religious statesmen cast their lot among pioneers. In the early 19th century, a great westward migration was in swing. Men and women of various church allegiances found church homes among denominations with which they were familiar. Many others were unchurched wanderers. Out of this emergency, a great opportunity and a great vision came into flower.

The opportunity was that of bringing all these drifters into a single Christian fold. The vision was that of an ultimately united Protestant Church. This revolutionary idea cannot be ascribed to any one person. As early as 1803, Stone and his supporters gave voice to it in Kentucky. In 1809, Thomas Campbell gave it literary expression in his Declaration and Address. Scott and such popular preachers as "Raccoon John" Smith, Baptist, of Tennessee, imparted to it an evangelistic fervor. Alexander Campbell, a skillful debater, gave it forensic and theological expression.

Simple as the program may sound, the practical business of putting it into effect encountered enormous difficulties. It was easy enough to say there should be no creed but Christ, and to adopt the ordinance of Baptism, by immersion, and weekly observance of the Lord's supper. After the New Testament was declared to be the guide for Christian faith and practice, it seemed logically possible to ask for strict fidelity to the essentials of faith while allowing complete liberty of opinion regarding the nonessentials. Here, of course, came the rub: How do you decide what the essentials are and who is to make the decision? The distinction has troubled individual disciples to this day.

Are the disciples of Christ, Christian church, and churches of Christ all the same? In 1832, the disciples of the East and the Christians of the West came together in a single union. From that day on, the term "Christian Church" has been more commonly used in the Midwest and South; the term "disciples of Christ" has been favored in the East. In the international convention, and in many congregations, the words are used interchangeably. Two other groups formerly called themselves Chruchian Churches. One of them, James O'Kelly's group, called itself Republican Methodists and then changed its name to Christian. A New England group has since united with the Congregationalists as the Congregational-Christian Church.

One branch from the family tree of Disciples and Christian Churches calls its congregations Churches of Christ. Its members form an extremely conservative body, adhering literally to the New Testament. It does not, in the main, believe in instrumental music in churches, in missionary societies or in other matters for which its

members see no specific authorization in the New Testament. Other conservative congregations do not support the international convention for reasons concerning New Testament interpretation.

Do the Disciples have an ordained ministry? Except in a few remote sections where ordained ministers are not available, almost all the cooperating churches do have ordained pastors. In an emergency, an elder or other layman may fill the pulpit. Elders usually, but not always, conduct the communion service.

In the early days, distrust of clericalism was so great that ministers were called elder, not reverent, and the wearing of gowns or cassocks in the pulpit was looked upon as smacking of prelacy. (Both these prejudices have now largely passed away.) No important distinction was made between clergy and laity. Indeed, any elder could perform any ministerial duty—except that of performing marriage ceremonies, a function usually regulated by the State. Certain weaknesses in this system became obvious. Congregations began to demand ordained pastors, especially trained for the ministry. Today, more than 34 Disciple colleges, universities, and biblical training schools are trying to keep abreast of that demand.

What are the Disciples' views on divorce? There is no central church authority on this subject. In practice, ministers and congregations differ in their attitudes. Some believe that the questions propounded to Jesus by Pharisees were trick questions based on then current Jewish law, and that what Jesus answered must be viewed in that light. Some take the Master's answer as binding and oppose any remarriage of divorced persons. Others are willing to consent to remarriage of the innocent party in a divorce obtained on the ground of adultery. Still others, perhaps a majority, believe that divorce has become a legal function of the State, and do not hesitate to remarry any person to whom the civil government has accorded the right of remarriage.

What are the Disciples' views on birth control? The old Disciple rule is that where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent. There can be no doubt, however, that a majority of Disciple ministers believe that, in certain circumstances, birth control is justifiable. The one sure test of this attitude rests in the fact that no Disciple minister can be silenced, either by the brotherhood at large or by his own congregation. By the terms of his ordination, each considers himself empowered, as were the prophets of old, to denounce whatever he considers amiss in the life of his people—and silence seems to give at least a modified consent. In general, Disciples are content to leave such matters as birth control to the individual consciences of husband and wife.

What is the church service like? Sunday morning worship in Disciple churches follows pretty much the same pattern. With or without processions, and with or without organ, the service begins with the singing of hymns. This is followed by responsive readings, recitation of the Lord's Prayer, reading the Scriptures, pastoral prayer, an anthem or two, sermon, invitation to fellowship, gathering of tithes and offerings, communion service, benediction, and final hymn or recissional. Sometimes communion precedes the sermon. On occasion, the sermon may be omitted, but never communion. Many disciples attribute their large and steady gains in membership to the weekly practice of offering the right hand of fellowship to all who desire to join a congregation.

How are the Disciples governed? The average Disciple church is governed by a pastor, an official board of elders, deacons, deaconesses, and perhaps representatives of the Christian Women's Fellowship. Women are taking an increasingly greater part in disciple activities, from pulpit to pew.

Elders look after the spiritual welfare of members; deacons manage incidental business. Laymen play a growing part; at least 50 laymen are giving national service at heavy financial sacrifices to themselves. The Christian Women's Fellowship and the Christian Men's Fellowship have a membership in excess of 200,000 each.

All matters of fundamental importance must ultimately be decided by the congregation as a whole. Trials for heresy are almost unknown among the Disciples, although withdrawals of fellowship for immoral or scandalously un-Christian conduct are subjects for congregational action. Disciples believe that only the Lord himself can expel any person from the Church Universal.

Do the disciples believe theirs the only true religion? Certainly not. They believe theirs to be most nearly in accord with the early Christian churches. They also believe that their greatest mission in life is to bring Christians of all faiths into one church of Christ. Their ancient retort to an ancient gibe about their name was to say: "We are not the only Christians, but are Christians only."

Great Game of Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial entitled "Great Game of Politics," from the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Herald of March 7, 1955:

Early climax of the "$20 income-tax cut for everybody" political game is in sight.

It appears all but certain that the Senate will turn down the rider attached to an administration bill by House Democrats and passed there 205 to 201. Senator BYRD of Virginia, who with his fiscally astute Democratic colleague, Senator GEORGE, of Georgia, won a 9 to 6 vote against it in the Finance Committee, says he will have a minimum of 10 Democratic Senators on his side.

Then it would go to Senate-House conference, where Senator BYRD hopes to get it disposed of as soon as possible.

One victory for responsible fiscal policy has been won and another is in sight.

But even though the rider is finally thrown out, we shall not have heard the last of it.

The irresponsible proposal is sure to be campaign material for 1956.

At this point, its House sponsors probably don't much care if it is doomed to defeat. They can say they tried to reduce taxes, and that's enough of a claim for a stump-speaker.

It has even been suggested that the House Democratic leadership did not actually expect or want the rider finally adopted.

Certainly the leaders must have known that Senator BYRD and Senator GEORGE would oppose it, with good prospects of success. The reputations of these men, in matters fiscal, are such that they could not be compromised by politically inspired but reckless moves.

If and when the rider is unhorsed, they will have made their point, however. A majority of Democrats will have voted for tax reduction.

It will then be up to the Republicans to shoulder the far more difficult task of defending a realistic and equable, but far less flashy, tax policy.

Although the $20 tax handout is a thoroughly bad idea, it may be hard to convince the 5- to 7-million small taxpayers whom it would relieve of all income tax liability.

It is a bad idea, to begin with, because it is no time to reduce taxes when the budget is still unbalanced and when at the same time personal income is the highest in the Nation's history and still rising. To do so means more deficit financing, further postponement of the reckoning, more taxes in the long run because a higher debt results in additional interest payments.

This particular tax-cut plan is particularly bad because it is not a part of a coherent tax proposal, but something tacked onto the administration's own carefully conceived program for tax reduction as that becomes practical.

The method of offering it was, indeed, suspect. It showed that its sponsors had no hope of getting it passed on its merits. They tacked it onto the bill to extend present corporation and excise rates which are now due to drop on April 1. In other words, they added a tax-cutting proposal to a tax-raising proposal.

It was a spectacular gesture, but we give enough credit to the Democrats to assume they wouldn't really want to be responsible for a tax cut that might or might not be justified by the time it would go into effect. It is more generous to assume they are simply playing the great old game of politics.

To the Eyes and Ears of the World We Must Seem Pretty Silly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, we must seem pretty silly in the eyes and ears of the world when we look upon certain incidents occurring within our own shores.

We are spending billions of dollars to stop communism all over the world, and yet permit known Communists freedom of action within our own shores.

To give an idea of such an incident, I would like to quote from a newspaper column appearing in the Duluth (Minn.) News-Tribune. In the column, titled "Between Us," by Siinto Wessman, there appears the following very pertinent and oh so truthful, pointed statement:

Knut Heikkinen • • • the man convicted of being a commie-alien • • • still doing whatever commie-aliens do on a newspaper in Superior • • • the Tyomies • • • Government has tried to deport him for 4 years • • • but every time, Knut appeals • • • He's now free on $5,000 bail while court of appeals ponders his case • • •. Here we spend 15 million bucks on the Duluth airbase • • • to defend ourselves against them • • • while one of their number runs around loose in our own backyard.

I want to say that Siinto Wessman speaks the mind and the heart of many millions of Americans who are getting pretty impatient with our silk-glove treatment of Communists within our own midst.

The Navy Needs the "Forrestal" Type Carrier as Replacement for World War II Carriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on March 7, 1955, Adm. D. B. Duncan, United States Navy, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, read the following statement of Adm. Robert B. Carney, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations, to the House Armed Services Committee, urging support for the Navy's fiscal year 1956 shipbuilding and conversion program.

Admiral Carney's statement follows:

STATEMENT OF ADM. ROBERT B. CARNEY, UNITED STATES NAVY, CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WITH RESPECT TO H. R. 4393

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I deeply appreciate the opportunity to have my personal statement with respect to H. R. 4393 presented to you today by the Vice Chief of Naval Operations.

This bill incorporates the Navy's fiscal year 1956 shipbuilding and conversion program, approved by the President, and for which we are now seeking funds from the Congress. Mindful that this committee already has an extensive knowledge of the Navy's shipbuilding requirements, it is my intention to present as concise and meaningful a picture as possible to this group, dealing with the program as a whole, and then follow by a more detailed discussion of one item in the program. I thank the committee for giving its time and attention to this program, so important to the Navy.

At the outset I should like to comment on the relation of military strategy to national policy. The fundamental character of military strategy derives from and must be in consonance with national policy. The Armed Forces functioning in accordance with approved military strategy are thus carrying out the mission of support of the national policy, from which a large number of functions and activities extend. Since our Government, to mention a few examples, is a party to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which ties us to the general area of Europe, from the North Cape to north Africa and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Middle East, and since we have mutual security arrangements with many of the nations in the western and southwestern Pacific, not to mention those in our own hemisphere, and since national policy involves cooperation and collaboration with the free nations of the world, it is evident that our grand military strategy must be a forward one. From the fact that our grand military strategy is a forward one is derived the Navy's overall task to control the seas. The proper performance of this task is essential in order to project the power of our Armed Forces overseas and to any part of the world where it is needed and includes direct and positive support of the land battle and the air battle in overseas theaters of operation. The Navy is a primary and indispensable element in the projection of military power to overseas areas and naval airpower is an essential element in all phases of naval operations. The Navy on the sea, under the sea, and in the air, may well be the factor which determines whether a war is fought far from our shores or in our own homeland. This is important. Ships and aircraft and the means of operating them, of the kinds and numbers required to fight in the kind of a war which we may expect if we are so unfortunate as to be plunged into one, are essentials to the Navy, and a continuing, progressive and forward looking shipbuilding program is a good part of the lifeblood of the Navy.

The basic objective of our annual shipbuilding and conversion programs is direct and clear-cut. Each is an increment of a longer range plan, designed to maintain the most modern Navy possible, with the needs of the future always in mind.

The two most important factors affecting our programs are, first, the specter of overage and block obsolescence as it affects many of our existing ships; and, second, the vital necessity of maintaining the lead in today's race in the technological field. There are other factors which we must take into consideration. Our programs must be orderly, keeping pace with evolutionary transition, for it would neither be practicable nor desirable to replace the entire fleet at once. We will always have some old and some new. We must consider the importance of maintaining the know-how and mobilization base in the shipbuilding industry.

In preparing our annual shipbuilding and conversion program, we are also mindful of the naval capabilities of unfriendly powers. While such naval capabilities do not directly control the level of our forces, they do have a most definite impact on the tasks that we will have to accomplish. In the case of the Soviet Navy the most dangerous element is its submarine force. A large part of the U. S. S. R. undersea craft, now estimated at about 350, are modern and are certain to be well-armed and equipped. While we have no information that the U. S. S. R. has built, or is building, aircraft carriers, the number of Soviet naval aircraft is upwards of 3,000. This weakness in the lack of aircraft carriers is a weakness which we must exploit, and for which, I may add, we may take some measure of comfort. Soviet naval construction of surface combat ships, as well as submarines, is increasing. Both cruisers and destroyers in relatively large numbers have been built by the Soviets since the end of World War II. The U. S. S. R. has more ships in active service in commission than any other navy except our own.

Of major importance—our programs must place the emphasis on hitting power rather than on massive numbers of ships, mindful that balance must be retained.

Most of the ships now in our active and reserve fleets are World War II vintage; many have already passed the midpoint of their useful life expectancy. Unless a continuing and orderly shipbuilding and replacement program is provided, large numbers will become obsolete at about the same time, and because of the long lead-time for building ships, it would be impossible to replace these ships in a relatively short time, even if unlimited authorization and funds were available. In the technological weapons race of our era, yesterday's or even today's weapons in old or new hulls soon become marginal or obsolescent. We must not fail to continue our strenuous drive to develop new weapons, and when ready, to incorporate them in our ships without delay.

Our shipbuilding and conversion program is designed to achieve a proper balance between useful modernizing of the old and acquisition of new and advanced types with modern characteristics not achievable through modernization, and we are mindful of the need for proper phasing of our programs in order that economy and efficiency may both be realized to greater measure.

In every case where it would be economical and practicable to modernize an existing type, we have taken that course; but where an existing hull cannot meet the need, or where a conversion would be disproportionately costly in the light of future value of the ship, we have requested that a new ship be built. I think that the committee understands that the point of diminishing returns is eventually reached with regard to the modernization of existing ships. When that point is reached, we must either replace the ship or vacate its place in the fleet.

My own philosophy with respect to this program may be briefly stated as follows:

It is a program designed around long-range needs—the fast carrier task force, to project airpower where it will be most effective; the development and employment of nuclear power for propulsion; weapons modernization, including missiles; greater seakeeping qualities in our ships; and last, but far from least, the improvement of our anti-submarine effort, including the procurement of a few prototype escort types which could be produced rapidly and cheaply with a minimum of material and labor.

The bill before you would authorize and direct the President to undertake the construction of, or to acquire and convert, 34 naval vessels, large and small, plus about 14,000 tons of landing craft; and to convert or modernize 28 existing ships. The individual types and their respective tonnages are listed in the bill, but in summary, I should like to indicate briefly, for the more important items some of the features or reasons why they are included in the program.

(a) One, *Forrestal* type carrier has been requested in the program in order to continue an orderly replacement program of World War II carriers; to meet the operational demands of carrier aircraft envisioned for the future, such as requirements for increased catapult capacity, increased arresting gear capacity, stronger flight decks, larger elevators with higher lifting capacity, higher hangar deck overhead to accommodate larger aircraft; and in order to provide for increased jet fuel capacity, greater speed, and survival power.

(b) Eight submarines, three of which are nuclear powered, and five with improved conventional diesel powerplants. One of the latter will have guided missile capabilities.

We attach great importance to the 3 nuclear-powered submarines, 1 of which is a large radar-picket submarine. They represent a progressive advance in nuclear power, and will incorporate the latest developments available. The 3 nuclear-powered submarines represent a part of our continuing efforts to phase in nuclear power for ship propulsion as rapidly as practicable, depending upon the state of the art and upon the capacity of industry to produce the required powerplants. This transition must proceed in a prudent, orderly, and forward-looking manner, recognizing that development of nuclear-power propulsion is still in its infancy, and that the ships which we build must be useful for many years.

The 5 submarines with conventional propulsion systems are included in the program as a part of our efforts to overcome the acute problem of block obsolescence in this type. I would point out that the conventional propulsion powerplants are not obsolescent, or will they become so in the near future. The submarines in this program, with the diesel-electric-propulsion machinery, will have many advanced features, including new weapons, deep-diving capacity, and are badly needed in the fleet. We cannot afford to delay submarine construction until adequate nuclear powerplants are proven and available. We are confident that the conventional powerplants in the 5 non-nuclear-powered submarines in this program will be useful and effective for the life of the ship.

(c) World War II destroyers are rapidly becoming obsolescent, and on a modest re-

placement basis, we are requesting as new construction:

(1) Seven conventional destroyers with the latest antiaircraft armament, sonar, and antisubmarine weapons.

(2) Six frigates, a type similar to the destroyer *Leader* previously constructed, which will now also be classified as frigates. These ships will have improved antisubmarine and antiaircraft warfare capabilities, and improved sea-keeping qualities. We now plan that 3 of the 6 will have guided-missiles capabilities.

(3) Two escort vessels. Upon mobilization there will be a requirement for a large number of escorts for merchant convoys and slower naval forces, and these new escort vessels are being developed as a low-cost prototype that could be mass produced.

(d) The program includes 3 auxiliary ships—2 fast ammunition ships, and 1 fast general stores issue ship. In the design of these ships, consideration was given to increased speed and to a more rapid replenishment-at-sea rate.

The principal items in the conversion program are:

(1) The installation of angled decks on six carriers to gain improved performance from jet aircraft, plus the additional safety factor inherent in the angled deck.

(2) One austere conversion of a light cruiser to carry the Talos missile and one conversion of a destroyer to carry the Terrier missile. Again, these are prototypes.

(3) To permit the Navy to carry out its commitments in support of continental defense, it is planned to convert 12 escort vessels and 4 Liberty hull cargo vessels into radar picket ships. This is a continuation of a previous program.

The ships in this program have been recommended by me as Chief of Naval Operations, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of Defense, and the President. It has been included as a program deemed essential by those who are responsible not only for the effectiveness of our naval forces, but also by those of the executive branch, who have great responsibilities for the security of the United States and the responsibility of making recommendations in the premises to the Congress. Notwithstanding the approval by these officials, some questions have been raised with respect to the carrier included in this program and therefore, I feel it would be appropriate to discuss in more detail the need for this particular ship.

I mentioned earlier that we place greatest dependence on hitting power rather than on massive numbers of ships. Our greatest hitting power today is spearheaded by our mobile carrier task force, and this bespeaks the importance attached to developments in aircraft carriers, aircraft, weapons and techniques, in order that we keep abreast of technological advances. It is essential that we keep abreast if we expect to carry out effectively our missions and tasks.

Our striking power must be available on D-day to initiate immediately our offensive and defensive tasks.

The inescapable effects of age are such that by 1965 we will have only 7 attack carriers fully capable of operating our high performance aircraft if the carrier program is discontinued; and 3 of the 7 would be 16 to 20 years old. Six more ships, incorporating every possible improvement, will have become marginal in capability. Such a situation would not meet the security requirements as envisaged today by those who are responsible for the military security of the United States.

It is the clearly and emphatically stated policy of our Government today that we should strengthen our airpower. The President has defined the United States airpower as the total airpower of the military forces.

The foregoing considerations constitute the basis for including an aircraft carrier in the fiscal year 1956 shipbuilding program.

For the nuclear deterrent role, the United States must possess striking forces which are powerful, varied in their nature and employment, and as invulnerable to surprise attack as we can make them. They must be varied in character because, if we were to rely on only one type of striking force, the enemy's defense problem would be much more easily solved, or he might more easily persuade himself he has solved it, and in this belief launch his surprise attack. A variety of types of forces also lessens the vulnerability of our national striking power to any single type of enemy attack. A mobile base, for example, will not be vulnerable to the very long-range ballistics missiles of the 1960–70 era. A sea base can be more readily defended against many forms of air attack, particularly in the atomic area. The sea base from which we can employ airpower, offensively and defensively, on the seas and contiguous land areas where the use of airpower would otherwise be unfeasible, impracticable, or impossible, is the carrier striking force. I would like to evaluate the capabilities of a carrier striking force.

A sea-based carrier striking force has the following capabilities:

1. An ability to deliver nuclear weapons in considerable quantity.

2. An ability to deliver such weapons against the very bases from which the enemy may challenge our control of the seas, such as enemy submarine pens, or other bases from which the enemy might operate vessels or aircraft against our forces.

3. Dispersal of part of our national power upon the sea where it is able to move about and thus, because it does not remain in a fixed position, reduce its likelihood of destruction.

4. An ability to operate effectively against targets the destruction of which requires very accurate delivery of weapons.

5. An ability to participate readily and effectively in "brush fire" type of warfare, such as Korean war and the Tachens, while retaining a power to join in an all-out nuclear attack.

6. An ability readily to shift pressure as the center of the threat shifts without constructing new bases and without danger of the old base falling into enemy hands.

7. And finally, the carrier striking force represents power that we can place overseas and use as we will, without negotiation or consultation with foreign governments, and without the advance build-up for which there may not always be time.

I can state unequivocally that the most important ship in the Navy's fiscal year 1956 shipbuilding program is the aircraft carrier of the *Forrestal* class. This ship, together with the four *Forrestal* class carriers previously authorized, is necessarily larger than any of our present carriers in order to be able to operate, without restrictions, new and more powerful carrier aircraft, as I have mentioned earlier. The modernization program for World War II carriers has permitted the Navy to date to keep abreast of carrier aircraft development and the needs of naval aviation. However, the practical limit for a substantial improvement of these carriers is clearly in sight. Anticipating this situation, the Navy designed the *Forrestal* class carrier with aeronautical and other features which will provide substantial operating margins for aircraft envisioned for its useful life. The *Forrestal* class carrier is a logical and forward looking step in the development of a proven weapon.

Carrier forces are deemed essential elements of the Armed Forces and are incorporated in approved force levels recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and approved by the Secretary of Defense and the President for the fiscal year 1956. As a matter of interest, the fiscal year 1956 naval force levels include one more carrier and one more carrier air group than in fiscal year 1955. This, I believe, clearly demonstrates the essentiality of the carrier forces.

Furthermore, the approved force levels for fiscal year 1956 include the operations of the best and most formidable carriers in our inventory, a fact which indicates the necessity for obtaining the best possible capabilities from this essential component.

Under the philosophy that we are girding for the long pull, and are leveling off with powerful forces that can be supported for such a period, it is to be expected that carrier forces will be needed for the foreseeable future, and it is axiomatic that the carrier forces in commission should have the maximum capabilities attainable. The aircraft carrier and the Fast Carrier Task Group make up a vitally important weapons system in which we have a major advantage over our most likely enemy. Any action at this time that would forfeit this advantage would appear to be a most unwise course indeed.

In conclusion, I should like to assure this committee that every ship included in this program is essential. Each type has a definite mission and definite tasks to perform in our concept of modern naval warfare. Each is designed to be useful for the maximum period of time. I earnestly hope that we will have the support of this committee in obtaining approval of this program and I recommend the enactment of H. R. 4393.

Upper Colorado River Storage Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, while the upper Colorado River storage project is being supported in the following letter by George T. Hansen, Republican national committeeman from Utah, the project is in no wise a partisan affair. I insert in the RECORD Mr. Hansen's letter to show the vital importance of this project to the people of our entire country:

FEBRUARY 14, 1955.

Hon. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR HAD: For the 3 million people of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming, the most important issue facing the 84th Congress is the upper Colorado River storage project. It is more than important—it is vital.

Upon the legislative determination of that issue depends the economic life or death of this area. The Colorado River is the last big waterhole and unless the opportunity is provided to utilize their fair share of the water, the end to expansion and growth in these arid States is already in sight.

Paralyzing thirst already is being felt. Water rationing is necessary in some areas and the specter of water shortage discourages future expansion of population as well as industrial and agricultural development.

Water will make of this area the "treasure house of the West," and thus confirm the faith of the pioneers who coined this appropriate designation.

Objections to this project have been circulated from certain sources. The sources

cite opposition to the invasion of Dinosaur National Monument, and the destruction of scenery and natural beauties of the area.

The President of the United States in 1938 made a promise to the people of the West that the extension of the area of Dinosaur Monument would not interfere with power or grazing developments. Provision for power dams preceded the establishment of, and was years ahead of, the monument. Obviously the Echo Park Dam can be no invasion of a national monument.

Contrary to the theory of destruction, the facts are that the beauty of the area actually will be enhanced. Clear, still water will cover only the present flood-washed canyon floors. The impressive canyon walls will tower far above the water level. Their beauties will be made accessible for all Americans to see and enjoy for the first time. The project will open up a new recreational area for millions.

Our national administration has endorsed the Colorado River Storage Project after thorough study and first-hand investigations. The project has the support of the Secretary of the Interior, has been passed by the Bureau of the Budget, and has received favorable action by both the House and Senate committees in the 83d Congress.

No issue more vital to our western area has ever come before the Congress. When it reaches your House, you will have it in your power to provide a new economic life for the people of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. As a resident of the area and a representative of the Republican Party of one of the States vitally concerned, may I earnestly solicit your support.

Sincerely,

GEORGE T. HANSEN,
Republican National Committeeman from Utah.

The Founder of Czechoslovakia: Thomas G. Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, on this anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk, first president of the Czechoslovak Republic, it is only fitting that we should do him honor. As much as George Washington was the father of our country, Thomas G. Masaryk was the father of his. Yet the people of Czechoslovakia are not permitted to celebrate his birthday, because those who rule Czechoslovakia today represent the negation of everything Thomas G. Masaryk stood for. He stood for truth; they stand for falsehood. He stood for liberty; they stand for the bitterest kind of oppression. He stood for a religious and moral basis of life; they stand for atheistic materialism. He was the friend of America, and they are our sworn enemies.

Under the inspiration of Masaryk, Czechoslovakia became a model of democracy in the heart of Europe. Her fate at Munich left the friends of freedom dismayed. After enduring the worst of Nazi tyranny the Czechoslovak people looked forward to an era of peace and freedom. Those hopes were cruelly dashed by Communist conspiracy and betrayal. Today the people of Czechoslovakia and the other enslaved peoples of the world need our continued support and encouragement. We will furnish that support and encouragement, for we believe that the spirit of the Czech people is still the spirit of Thomas G. Masaryk.

The Administration's School Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, the Montgomery (Ala.) Examiner on February 21, 1955, carried a perceptive article on the administration's program for school construction. I commend it to the membership of the House. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include it in the RECORD. The article:

WILL IKE'S PROGRAM REALLY HELP SCHOOLS?

In 1950 there were somewhat more than 25 million American school children enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools. Last fall the number had climbed to more than 29 million. By 1960 it is expected to go more than 37 million.

This terrific boom in children is magnificent assurance for the future of America. Yet the United States today is facing a desperate shortage of school buildings and teachers to take care of this unprecedented growth.

The other day President Eisenhower presented the long-awaited administration program to take care of the problem. It met with expressions of bitter disappointment in labor, educational, and liberal circles in general.

"Too inadequate and too cumbersome," was the restrained verdict of leading educators. "Too little and too late" was the tart criticism of political leaders such as Senator LISTER HILL, chairman of the Senate Labor and Education Committee. A scheme for the benefit of bankers was the even sharper charge of other critics.

The President himself, in his special education message to Congress, said that there was a shortage of more than 300,000 classrooms. In addition "to keep up with mounting enrollments, the Nation must build at least 50,000 new elementary and high school classrooms yearly." It must also replace thousands of classrooms that become unsafe or unusable as the years go by.

To meet this emergency, the President proposed:

1. Bond purchases by the Federal Government from school districts unable to market their bonds at reasonable rates of interest.

2. Federal assistance to States in establishing special school building agencies which would build schools for local school districts on a lease-purchase basis.

3. Federal grants, to be matched by the States, to enable school districts to qualify for either of the first two forms of Federal assistance.

4. Federal grants, to be matched by the States, to stimulate the development of long-range plans to overcome obstacles to school construction.

The President spoke of this program as envisaging a total of $7 billion over the next three years. Such were the headlines the program got. Actually, critics answered sharply that the program called for only $200 million direct Federal aid over the next 3 years, the rest having to come out of State and local financing. Yet it is because the States and local communities don't have the money that most of today's school shortage exists.

From the viewpoint of most critics of the program, the President simply is dumping virtually the whole program back in the laps of the State and local communities. This is in line with general administration policy. But critics declare that the program simply aids the banks which will help float bond issues and dump the whole burden on States and local communities.

American Victory in Korea Twice Abandoned on Orders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, there are still many big holes in the history of America's first military defeat—in Korea, June 1950–53. But thanks to the determined inquiries of the Jenner Committee on Internal Security, the day-to-day chronicle of Dean Acheson's personal management of the war from the State Department, in Washington, has gradually been unfolded.

Our military forces had two great opportunities to win the Korean war decisively and conclusively. But on each occasion the smashing final stroke of victory was countermanded from Washington. Who ordered the victory twice to be abandoned, and why?

The most recent chapter on Acheson's "limited war" was related on November 23, 1954, by Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond, retired, who had been Gen. Douglas MacArthur's chief of staff in Korea. He was asked in public session: "General, how many opportunities did our side have to win the war in Korea?"

His answer, illustrated with 13 field maps from the Korean theater, was two—first, in November 1950, following the historic Inchon envelopment of the North Korean forces; and second, in June 1951, when some 50 Chinese divisions were trapped and routed clear across the peninsula on a line extending roughly from Seoul to Kansong. At that point—2 months after Truman's sacking of General MacArthur—the whole American offensive was halted and abandoned on direct orders from Washington—hearings, page 2109.

Your answer is, then, we had two opportunities to win the war?

I think so—

General Almond responded.

General Almond's testimony comprises 78 printed pages, including 13 detailed operations maps depicting various phases of the Korean war.

We believe—

Said Senator Robert C. Hendrickson, of New Jersey, in his opening statement—

That there have been and still are, hostile forces working tirelessly to corrupt, to misdirect, and to destroy us from within. We believe that the most skillful, and the most menacing, of these forces are engaged in trying to subvert our political and military policy.

The Senator then recalled that the committee earlier had heard Gens. Mark Clark, George Stratemeyer, and James Van Fleet.

In each instance, information was gleaned that helped clarify the still confused, partly undisclosed, story of the Korean war. In each instance, it was discovered that these great generals shared our uneasiness and had asked themselves some of the questions the American people are asking—Why? And who? And when? And how will it end?

General Almond was assigned to General MacArthur's staff in Tokyo in June, 1946, advancing to Chief of Staff in February 1949. He returned to duty in the States in July 1951, and retired in January, 1953.

From 60 percent of normal peacetime strength as of October, 1946, MacArthur's command gradually was built up to approximately 75 percent by June 1948; and by June 1950, General Walker's Eighth Army had been built up almost to full peace strength, Almond told the committee.

But peacetime organization meant a battalion of infantry with only 3 companies, instead of 4. It meant a regiment of infantry with only 2 battalions instead of 3. It meant a tank battalion with only 1 company instead of 3. It meant an artillery battalion with 1 battery instead of 3 in it. That was the condition of the Eighth Army when we were faced with throwing our troops into Korea (hearings, p. 2056).

The Communist aggression in Korea broke on June 25, 1950, just 6 months after the British Government had extended formal recognition to the Chinese Communist regime at Peiping.

From the very outset it was a confused and uncertain war.

Many things happened back here that I didn't understand, and I would hesitate to try to assign reasons for them—

General Almond told the committee.

In other words—

Questioned Senator WELKER, of Idaho—

your impression was that the State Department was calling the signals at that time?

That is correct, sir—

Replied General Almond.

On June 20, 5 days before the war began, 2 distinguished visitors had been in Tokyo from Washington. They were Secretary of Defense Johnson, and Gen. Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Did you get any impression or intelligence from those officers to the effect that trouble was brewing in Korea?—

Senator WELKER asked.

No, sir; we did not. I don't think they knew it—

General Almond responded.

General Almond was at his desk in Tokyo when first word of the Communist invasion reached him, about 2 p. m. Sunday, June 25. During the next 2 hours the whole peninsula burst into flame. Almost 200,000 North Korean aggressors swept into action in a military operation which had been skillfully planned and meticulously organized for almost 3 years. The South Korean forces were, as planned, overwhelmed and routed in 48 hours.

Two days later, June 27, the Pentagon directed Tokyo to send a reconnaissance party to Korea to determine the nature and extent of the Communist military operation. But so swift and demoralizing had been the Communist thrust from the north that this American party never reached the Seoul airport, already in Communist hands. The party was forced to put down at Suwon. On June 29, MacArthur himself joined this reconnaissance group at Suwon. Everywhere the ROK defenders were in utter rout.

At best, there were some 24,000 ROK troops available to resist the swiftly advancing column of 150,000 North Korean Communist troops. Back in Tokyo that night General MacArthur began a series of two-way ticker conferences with the Pentagon.

It was during that period, just before and during this trip to Korea—

General Almond continued—

that it became known to us, much to our surprise, I will say, and much to General MacArthur's surprise, that this country was going to participate in armed action in Korea. None of our plans had included this.

This was the beginning of the Truman-Acheson "police action," which was to cost 143,000 American casualties and $20 billions, during the coming 3 years.

The first directive from the Pentagon suggested that MacArthur send a regiment of infantry to Pusan to protect the supply base there. Later MacArthur was directed by the Pentagon ticker to use whatever forces he deemed necessary to protect the supply lines through Pusan.

That terminated the telecon, and General MacArthur immediately ordered 3 divisions under General Walker, the bulk of the Eighth Army, to Korea; because he knew the situation was so bad that nothing short of a fundamentally sound military movement would salvage it. I don't think you have to have me testify that even that wasn't enough for the next 3 months. The immediate action that was taken was barely enough to drag along, so that General Walker could maintain the semblance of a continuous line in defense of Pusan, called the Pusan perimeter (hearings, p. 2062).

That is how Truman and Acheson pushed the United States into the Korean war—unprepared, underequipped, still at less than full peacetime strength, and into a campaign which never had been considered even as a theoretical possibility by the staff headquarters in Tokyo. Korea was not in the Far Eastern Command's defensive area. Congress was not consulted on the decision for war.

At this point, General Almond told the committee:

Our lines held, in spite of the restrictions and limitations imposed by our own Government, and our casualty lists were enormous (hearings, p. 2063).

From this tenuous beginning, however, General MacArthur was able at length to fashion victory. The historic Inchon landing was planned and executed in 23 days, and was effected on September 15, 1950. In another 60 days our United States forces were up to the Yalu River.

But Formosa had been neutralized by Truman late in June, thus releasing all the Communist Chinese coastal forces to be concentrated in the north, in defense of Manchuria. As General MacArthur himself asserted:

Actually it was this protection which permitted the transfer of the very Communist armies assigned to the coastal defense of central China, for the attack upon our forces in Korea (hearings, p. 2069).

President Eisenhower revoked this neutralization of Formosa by our 7th Fleet late in January 1953, an act applauded publicly by MacArthur as one which "should be supported by all loyal Americans irrespective of party." The Korean armistice followed in 6 months.

But as soon as MacArthur hit the Yalu, in November 1950, the question of bombing the Yalu bridges developed. Specific orders from Washington sharply forbade this interruption of the Communist lines of supply and retreat—hearings, page 2068.

Similarly, the question of "hot pursuit" by American fighter planes was resolved by Washington in favor of the Communist forces sheltered in Manchuria.

So, too, was the issue of bombing the Manchurian bases resolved in Washington in favor of the Communist position. Of this situation, General Stratemeyer, commander of the United States Air Forces in the Far East, complained:

The enemy can hit me where I am based. I cannot hit him.

Precisely at this point the first victory in Korea was abandoned and forfeited on specific orders from Washington.

General Almond was asked at this juncture of his recital if he ever had heard of any commitments made in Washington not to win the Korean war.

His response:

Senator, I have no way of knowing what commitments were made. I can only answer that the things as they happened looked very strange insofar as the assurance with which the enemy appeared to operate. I think it would have been a very hazardous thing for the Chinese to enter North Korea in the abundant numbers in which they did, if they had thought that their bases of rice or ammunition, or any other kind of base, would be subject to attack.

That's the whole story of the first Korean victory abandoned by Washington. The Chinese Communists, somehow, had obtained complete assurances that they would not be bombed in Manchuria.

In November 1950 the Chinese Communists entered from their sheltered north to drive the Eighth Army and General Almond's X Corps back to Seoul. For the American forces, the brilliant and smashing Inchon victory of late September had been turned, in less than 3 months, into a tragic Dunkirk at Hungnam.

In this first Chinese attack from the protected north our Eighth Army was outnumbered 20 to 1—hearings, page 2072. But still MacArthur was not permitted to bomb the Communist bases in Manchuria. History one day will tell us who in Washington ordered this brilliant military victory at Inchon turned into shocking and humiliating defeat.

The second great victory for our United States forces in Korea came in May and June 1951. General MacArthur had been removed from his command by President Truman on April 11.

The Chinese Communists sent in a massive offensive on April 22, 1951. These forces comprised 38 Communist divisions, of which 24 were destroyed, and the Chinese withdrew on April 30.

But on May 16 the Chinese Communists returned to the attack with 175,000 new troops, principally against the United States 2d Infantry Division of approximately 20,000 men. This operation lasted 6 days and nights, during which General Almond's X Corps of 7 divisions suffered 14,000 casualties, and was driven back at some points almost 100 miles.

Nevertheless, on May 22, Almond launched his counterattack, slashing through the enemy at every point of contact, "and in the next 2 or 3 days this complete enemy force reversed itself and started hiking for the rear," General Almond continued.

They lost every piece of transportation that they had in this area. * * * With the result, by the 1st of June we had regained much of this territory that we had lost in December-January 1950–51, and some more besides.

About this time—I will say, between the 1st of June and the 1st of July, when we were adjusting this new line—a thing happened to me that I have never experienced before. By private conversation with my commander, the Eighth Army Commander, General Van Fleet, I was told to halt my troops on that line and advance no further. * * * In other words, it was decided somewhere above General Van Fleet's head—and where, I do not know—I complied with the orders—that when we had defeated this huge force * * * the cream of their army * * * I think we were entitled to capitalize on it * * * the mission of any battlefield commander is to win in the field, and not be denied a victory for his forces—hearings, page 2074.

Dean Acheson testified before the MacArthur hearings, in early June 1951 that the 38th parallel limited the official area of United States operations in Korea.

General Almond was asked:

When were you informed that the 38th parallel would constitute victory?

He replied:

I was never informed of that fact or decision. I was only informed that my troops, which I considered victorious, and which were prepared to destroy the enemy—that could have been easily done; the only knowledge I had of that statement by Mr. Acheson is the fact that we were ordered not to advance further.

This, then, was the second specific occasion on which the State Department ordered the American Forces in Korea not to win the war.

And, of course, they never did.

Acheson's policy—never to crush the Communist forces—prevailed to the very opening of the cease-fire talks.

When the Chinese Communist forces first were spotted in massive formations in Manchuria, in November 1950, President Truman met in emergency session with the National Security Council, in Washington. After the session he issued a public statement, November 16, declaring in part "that we have never at any time entertained any intention of carrying hostilities into China."

That was all the Communists needed. Seven days later, on November 24, the first Chinese units apeared in North Korea in organized massive offensive operations. And when these new forces finally were destroyed the following June, Washington summarily ordered the American counterattack halted in its tracks.

Mr. Acheson's war was America's first military defeat—not because our forces were wanting in valor, courage, or sacrifice—but only because it was a war rigged against victory from the very outset.

As soon as MacArthur's forces got close to winning it—"in spite of the restrictions and limitations imposed by our own Government"—MacArthur was summarily sacked.

And when MacArthur finally was busted, the New York Daily Worker heralded the news in screaming headlines of Communist triumph.

"Good riddance" roared the Daily Worker headline, in 72-point blackface.

The Owen Lattimore plan of 1947, to deliver China to communism, was now a fait accompli.

Hello Uncle Sucker: American Shipyards Close and Lose $1.8 Billion—Foreign Shipyards Boom and Take in $1.2 Billion From Uncle Sam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, of the 1,347 merchant vessels under construction today in the world's shipyards, being paid for by Uncle Sucker, only 14 of these vessels are being built in the United States of America. In 1954, United States ships carried only 29 percent of our own Nation's foreign trade.

Vessels aggregating 3,884,749 gross and 6,054,831 deadweight tons have been ordered in foreign yards by American interests during the postwar period. If placed in American yards these vessels would have cost $1.8 billion. Their cost abroad is approximately $1.2 billion. Here then is the wholesale flight of American capital—which has made the difference between a sound shipbuilding establishment in the United States and one that has been reduced to a state of emergency. The answer—lower shipbuilding costs.

However, there is no reason to blame the shipowner. Sound business practice dictates his orders. He needed ships. He could get them built in foreign yards for 33 to 45 percent less than it would cost in this country. Some had funds tied up in foreign currency which were not convertible to dollars. It was the only way to get their money out.

The high cost of American-built tonnage is keyed to higher wages enjoyed by this country's labor force. Certainly the solution to making our shipyards more competitive is not to lower our standard of living. The only alternatives are greater efficiency and Government aid.

Our shipyards have been operating on an austerity basis for some time, and a minimum of man-hours and a maximum of efficiency go into each ship. Therefore, Government help is necessary to keep some of this work in our own shipyards.

It would have cost the Government approximately $67 million a year to have held this business for United States shipyards. However, the Government would have received back in taxes at least $50 million each year.

The cost to the American economy is greater. The shipyards alone would have had to employ 17,000 more workers. An equal number would have been employed in supporting industries throughout the country. What it will cost in an emergency cannot be calculated.

At last report with the small backlog of orders on hand, our yards had dropped to 12th place in world shipbuilding.

An exclusive survey just concluded by Marine Engineering shows that shipbuilding contracts placed abroad by United States and affiliated interests in the postwar years now total 302 vessels of 3,884,749 gross tons, 6,054,831 deadweight tons, equipped with propulsion machinery aggregating 2,691,165 horsepower.

The contract value of this work if it had been placed with United States shipyards is estimated at $1.8 billion. It is estimated that the cost of these 302 vessels built by shipyards in Europe and Japan will total about $1.2 billion.

This great volume of new shipbuilding business placed abroad by American and affiliated interests had its beginnings in 1949. It far exceeds the total business contracted for with United States shipyards in the postwar years. During the past 8 years, beginning January 1947 and running through 1954, American shipyards completed 247 major-sized vessels of 4,642,000 deadweight tons for Government and private shipping interests. This is one-third less than the total tonnage ordered abroad in the past 6 years by these same private shipping interests.

This very definite and disturbing trend toward buying abroad, with its attendant neglect of the United States shipbuilding industry, is entirely a postwar development. In the 20 years between the two great wars very few vessels had been ordered from foreign shipyards by American interests. These were principally a few fruit carriers constructed for subsidiaries of the United Fruit Co. However, this trend has been developing very rapidly in recent years as will be

noted from the following tabulation which shows the accumulated total of orders placed with foreign shipyards at various dates of exclusive surveys conducted by Marine Engineering.

Date of survey	Number of vessels	Deadweight tons
September 1950	32	559,900
June 1951	100	1,630,310
February 1952	178	3,313,970
September 1953	261	5,273,034
March 1955	302	6,054,831

It will be noted that the rate of increase in the total of these orders has slowed somewhat in the past 18 months as compared with the period represented by the other surveys. Part of this is due to the cancellation of some few orders during the past 2 years, and to the considerable contraction in ocean commerce and activity experienced since the end of the Korean war. During the past 6 months, however, there has been a very definite revival in the ordering of new ships in the principal maritime nations of the world. American interests have participated in this and ordered some especially large vessels from Japanese and European shipyards.

If only one-half of these 302 orders had been placed in the United States, the shipbuilding industry would be in a flourishing condition. Instead it has reached a point where shipyard employment is now at a postwar low. However, due to remedial measures passed by the last Congress the prospects ahead for the United States shipbuilding industry have brightened considerably. This has been brought about by cooperative efforts on the part of the Maritime Administration, the Shipbuilders Council of America, and the trade associations of the American shipowners.

This loss of business by American shipbuilding establishments to foreign competitors has meant not only a reduction in employment at the yards, but contraction for the very many affiliated industries in the 48 States which supply materials and parts for the building of ships. The United States Government and State governments also have been big losers through reduced income taxes from individuals and smaller corporation taxes.

The shipyards of the world now have orders on hand for the construction of 1,300 seagoing vessels of about 16,500,000 deadweight tons. A large percentage of this huge deadweight tonnage is for American interests as, of the over 6 million tons ordered from foreign shipyards, well over 50 percent remains to be constructed. Many of these vessels ordered abroad by American interests will not be completed until the end of 1956, and some few in 1957.

During the postwar years the shipbuilding industry of most maritime nations has experienced an almost constantly expanding volume of business, except for the last 2 years. The American orders placed abroad have been a major contribution to this condition and in effect has been a major source of export business for these nations. While the vessels cannot be classed as imports into the United States, the business does represent tremendous purchases from foreign interests, and in many cases is paid for in American dollars. To import these vessels into the United States and register them here would hardly be practical in view of the high duty that would have to be paid.

WHY ORDERS ARE PLACED ABROAD

All of these vessels ordered abroad will fly foreign flags upon completion. Most will be registered in Liberia and Panama. A liberal number, however, will be documented in Honduras, Great Britain, Holland, France, Norway, Italy, and Germany. This will enable the owners to employ foreign crews at greatly reduced rates over those paid to American seamen. A number of these vessels will never come to the United States as they will be utilized by foreign subsidiaries of American interests trading to the countries in which they are registered. However, many will be employed in the foreign trade of the United States and will fly the flags of Panama and Liberia. These vessels, of course, cannot be used in the coastwise and intercoastal trade of the United States as these routes are restricted by law to American built and registered ships.

This postwar trend of ordering new ships from foreign shipyards will continue and additional contracts will be placed this year and for the next few years if world conditions warrant. The principal reason for this is, of course, the cost factor. The higher cost of labor and materials in the United States makes it practically impossible for American shipbuilders to compete in the world shipbuilding market.

Another major reason for ordering tonnage abroad is blocked currency owned by American oil companies in foreign countries. This has been principally in the sterling areas. In return for the privilege of marketing their products in these sterling and other areas, American oil companies have been forced into agreements to accept payment in sterling, and so forth, without conversion privileges. As a result, considerable balances, through profits, have been built up abroad. The most practical method to retrieve these profits is to invest in goods produced in the foreign areas involved, and take them out upon completion. Therefore, American oil companies with profits on hand in foreign countries have ordered a large number of oil tankers, oilfield equipment and other materials required in the conduct of their business. Under these conditions United States shipyards are practically eliminated from bidding on the construction of any of these new tankers.

Among the American oil companies affected by the blocked currency condition are the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Standard-Vacuum Oil Co., Gulf Oil Corp., Tide Water Associated Oil Co., The Texas Co., and the Caltex group. The latter is a combination composed of the Standard Oil Co. of California and the Texas Co.

While a considerable number of tankers have been ordered abroad by this American oil company group because of blocked currency, the total represents only a small percentage of the grand total of tankers and other types of vessels contracted for with foreign shipbuilders by American interests, mainly because of the cost factor. Some of the tanker orders placed abroad, however, have been contracted for by subsidiaries of American oil companies established principally in Great Britain, Italy, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Norway, and Denmark, and will be used by these subsidiaries to import oil into these particular countries where their products are marketed. A brief study of the companies listed in table 1 will reveal, through similarity of names, the foreign affiliates of American companies established for marketing or tanker operating. A number of oil refineries have been built in many of these countries since the end of the war by American oil companies.

Many of the 217 tankers listed in table 1 have been ordered abroad, chiefly because of the cost factor, by other than oil companies. Included in this grouping are the National Bulk Carriers, Tidewater Commercial Co. of Baltimore, Hillcone Steamship Co. of San Francisco, Naess Shipping Co. of New York. Also, large investment groups composed in many cases of Greek-American backed by American bankers and insurance companies. Several of the largest banking institutions in the United States, among them the National City Bank and the Chase National Bank, have loaned money for the building of tankers, as have, also, insurance companies like the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. These vessels when completed are long-term chartered to oil companies for periods ranging up to 15 years. Among the Greek-American groups ordering tankers abroad are the Orion Shipping & Trading Co., J. M. Carras, Inc., Olympic Oil Lines, Onassis, North American Shipping & Trading Co., Niarchos, Atlantic Oil Lines, Livanos, and many smaller organizations.

The oil companies, both here and abroad, have for a long period encouraged the construction of tankers by independent investment groups, as by so doing the oil people are able to retain their capital for the development of oil properties and the marketing of oil. In many cases the investment group orders the size and type of vessel needed by the interested oil company, complying with their established construction practices and specifications.

A principal factor contributing to this postwar development of ordering new vessels built abroad is the vast increase in the amount of imports required by the United States since the end of the war. While the importation of all types of basic materials has experienced great in-

creases compared with pre-war figures, the big volume has been in iron ore, bauxite ore, gypsum, and oil, and this movement will continue.

For the transportation of this type of bulk cargo there is no necessity to operate ships under the American flag with attendant higher operating costs. Therefore, lacking the proper ships to move these bulk cargoes, American interests have gone abroad to secure most of the tonnage needed, mainly because of the difference in production cost between United States and foreign shipyards.

The types of cargoes moved has led to an ever-increasing size of vessel, and this has proven economically feasible because of the long hauls involved and the constantly spiraling cost of shipboard labor, upkeep, and maintenance. Along with this has come in the postwar years a new trend toward increased speed of ships. Accordingly, where one new 30,000- to 45,000-ton tanker now is displacing 2 and 3 smaller ones this same vessel with the sea speeds now being adopted is making almost twice the number of yearly voyages her counterpart of prewar days accomplished.

Before the war the number of large bulk iron-ore carriers in existence for ocean transportation was negligible. This situation is fast changing in the postwar years due to the development of new ore fields and the approaching exhaustion of American mines. This has necessitated the construction of big bulk carriers especially designed for long-haul runs.

The major steel producers, such as United States Steel Corp., Bethlehem Steel Co., Republic Steel Co., and the Inland Steel Co., have developed these new foreign iron-ore sources to serve the new and expanded steelmaking capacity created in recent years. None of these companies desire to engage in the transportation business, preferring to retain their capital for the development of steel mills and ore mines. Therefore, contracts have been made with shipping companies to move the ore into the United States.

Ships had to be built for this service and, based on costs, the business went to foreign shipbuilders. A number of iron-ore carriers already have been completed in foreign shipyards for American interests, ranging in size from 24,000 to 62,000 deadweight tons each. Bids currently are being solicited in Europe and Japan for the construction of additional ore carriers. Combination vessels also are being built which alternately can carry oil or iron ore and thus be in a position to participate in whichever trade offers the best freight rates.

Ore is being moved in new bulk-ore carriers by the States Marine Corp. from Liberian ore fields to Baltimore, where it is transshipped to railroad cars traveling inland to Republic Steel Co. mills. Considerable ore now is being taken from the Venezuelan mines of the United States Steel Corp. and the Bethlehem Steel Co. The National Bulk Carriers and the Joshua Hendy Corp., with new ships, are bringing the United States Steel ore into Mobile and the new Fairless Works at Philadelphia. The Bethlehem Steel Co. is moving its Venezuelan ore into Baltimore with its existing vessels.

The new Labrador ore fields being developed by a United States-Canadian combination headed by the M. A. Hanna Co., of Cleveland, now is beginning to produce. Ore has been moved down the St. Lawrence River from the Labrador fields by the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co. with new vessels. Also, the M. A. Hanna Co. has ordered two 30,000-ton bulk-ore carriers from British shipyards to participate in this ore movement. Ore soon will be mined in new fields in Peru by the Utah Construction Co. and moved to the United States in big bulk carriers being built in Japan for an affiliate, Associated Ocean Freight Services of San Francisco.

TYPES OF VESSELS ORDERED ABROAD

The increase in the total of orders placed abroad since our last report has been mainly in the tanker and bulk-carrier categories. It will be noted from table 2 that five-sixths of the total deadweight tonnage ordered is of the oil-tanker type, these accounting for 217 vessels of 5,100,828 tons. Large bulk-ore and bauxite carriers total 27 of 615,450 tons, while dry cargo and refrigerated cargo ships add up to 43 of 321,673 tons. The very large majority of these 302 vessels ordered from shipyards in foreign countries are of the large transoceanic type.

From table 3 it will be observed that almost 30 percent of the total deadweight tonnage has been ordered from shipyards in Scotland and England, totaling 102 vessels of 1,698,152 tons. Japanese shipbuilding establishments secured the second largest percentage of the deadweight tonnage ordered, this representing 47 vessels of 1,331,249 tons. German plants are running a close third with 64 vessels of 1,238,368 tons.

While these three nations secured between them more than two-thirds of these particular vessel orders and almost 70 percent of the tonnage, totaling 213 vessels of 4,267,769 tons, the balance spread around among shipyards in other nations amounted to 89 vessels of 1,787,062 tons. This went to yards in France, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, and Canada.

Low building costs has been the principal reason for attracting so much of this new construction to shipyards in Germany and Japan. In 1954 contracts were reported placed in Japan for the building of some of the tankers included in table 1 at costs ranging between $105 and $130 a deadweight ton. Japanese yards were aided to some extent by indirect Government subsidies and by building contracts directly linked to the importation of sugar. Dutch and German yards currently are reputed to have the lowest building costs in Europe, and this has attracted much of the building for American interests. Italian yards, although aided by direct Government subsidies, have not been successful in securing the orders.

Largest of the vessels ordered abroad by American interests are the three bulk-ore carriers built at the Kure Shipyard, Japan, for the National Bulk Carriers. Two of these were finished in 1954 and the third in January 1955. These vessels have been registered in Liberia under the ownership of a National Bulk subsidiary, the Universe Tankships, Inc. Each is 794 feet long overall, 116-foot beam, 56-foot depth, twin screws, propelled by geared turbines of 16,500 shaft horsepower. These are the largest cargo vessels in the world.

Also completed at the Kure Shipyard for the National Bulk Carriers last year was the 47,000-deadweight-ton tankship *Phoenix*.

The largest oil tankers owned by any oil company in the world were ordered in January of this year by the Tide Water Associated Oil Co., western division, from two French shipyards. These vessels will be of 48,000 deadweight tons, and two each will be constructed by Chantiers de Penhoet, and Ateliers and Chantiers de France.

Four 39,000-ton tankships have been ordered in Japan by Orion Shipping & Trading Co. Two will be constructed by Harima Shipbuilding & Engineering Co., and two by Mitsubishi-Yokohama.

Among the many tankers being built abroad for the Afran Transport Co., affiliate of the Gulf Oil Corp., are two 37,000-ton vessels ordered from the Netherlands Dock & Shipbuilding Co., and one 36,800-ton ship now nearing the launching stage at Chantier de Penhoet, France. Two 47,000-ton tankers are underway at Vickers-Armstrongs, England, for the World Tankers Corp., and one 38,500-ton vessel at Howaldtswerke Hamburg A. G., Germany.

These are but a few of the very many outstanding vessels which have been completed or are on order in foreign shipyards of the world for the account of American or affiliated interests. Many slightly smaller vessels of 30,000 to 32,000 tons have been finished or are now underway together with an even greater number ranging in size between 20,000 and 30,000 tons.

TABLE 1.—*Vessels ordered or completed in foreign shipyards for United States or affiliated interests during postwar years*

BULK ORE

Name and owner	Builder and country	Flag	Length BP	Gross tons	Dead-weight tons	Horse-power	Drive	Knots	Year of de-livery
			Ft. In.						
Carl Schmedman—Tropical S. S. Co. (Reynolds Metals Co.).	Vickers Armstrong—England	British	504	10,839	15,500	7,000	Turbine	15	1952
Bomi Hills—States Marine Corp	Fairfield S. B. Co.—England	Norway	613 1	17,318	22,400	8,500	Diesel	14¼	1952
Enduro—States Marine Corp	do	do	613 1	17,318	22,400	8,500	do	14¼	1953
Chateauguy—States Marine Corp	do	do	613 1	18,232	22,400	8,500	do	14¼	1954
Mosic Bay—States Marine Corp	do	do	613 1	18,232	22,400	8,500	do	14¼	1955
Not completed (2) States Marine Corp	do	do	613 1	18,200	22,400	8,500	do	14¼	
Pathfinder—Pan Ore S. S. Co. (Aluminum Co.).	Hawthorn, Leslie—England	Panama	447	5,466	7,500	3,400	do	12	1950
Prospector—Pan Ore S. S. Co. (Aluminum Co.).	do	do	447	5,466	7,500	3,400	do	12	1950
Dispatcher—Pan Ore S. S. Co. (Aluminum Co.).	Burntisland S. B.—England	do	425	6,650	8,000	3,300	Turbine	12	1954
Discoverer—Pan Ore S. S. Co. (Aluminum Co.).	Burntisland S. S.—England	do	425	6,650	8,000	3,300	do	12	1954
Not completed—Pan Ore S. S. Co. (Aluminum Co.).	Ommell Laird—England	British	650	21,300	31,000	7,700	do	12	
Do	Lindholmens—Sweden	do	601	18,500	26,000	8,000	Diesel	12	
Wanderer—Pan Ore S. S. Co. (Aluminum Co.).	do	Panama	425	6,715	8,000	4,150	do	12½	1953
Wayfarer—Pan Ore S. S. Co. (Aluminum Co.).	do	do	425	6,715	8,000	4,150	do	12½	1954
Not completed (2)—National Gypsum Co	Nordseewerke—Germany		500	10,000	15,000	4,500	do	12	
Not completed—U. S. Gypsum Corp	Deutsche Werft—Germany	Panama	425	8,000	10,600	3,000	Turbine	12	
Cerro Bolivar—Joshua Hendy Corp	Eriksbergs—Sweden		549	12,000	19,000	7,500	Diesel	15¼	1955
Saguenay—Saguenay Terminals (Alcoa)	Burntisland—England	Canada	427 3	6,650	7,850	4,000	Reciprocating	12	1954
Not completed—Utah Construction Co	Nippon Steel Tube—Japan		625	11,300	31,400	13,000	Turbine	16	
Ore Chief—National Bulk Carriers	Kure Shipyard—Japan	Liberia	756	20,910	62,000	16,500	do	15	1954
Ore Transport—National Bulk Carriers	do	do	756	21,690	62,000	16,500	do	15	1954
Ore Titan—National Bulk Carriers	do	do	756	21,690	62,000	16,500	do	15	1955
Sturip—Saguenay Terminals (Aluminum Co.).	Davie Shipb., Ltd.—Canada	British	450	8,000	12,700	5,000	do	13½	1954
Not completed—M. A. Hanna Co	Furness S. B. Co.—England		630	22,000	32,000	13,750	do	16	1955
Do	Swan, Hunter & W. Richardson—England.		630	22,000	32,000	13,750	do	16	

REFRIGERATED

Almirante—United Fruit Company	Bremer Vulkan—Germany	Honduras	343 3	3,677	3,430	3,920	Diesel	15	1954
Aragon—United Fruit Company	do	do	343 3	3,677	3,430	3,920	do	15	1954
Alenas—United Fruit Company	do	do	343 3	3,677	3,430	3,920	do	15	1955
Not completed (3)—United Fruit Co	Cammell Laird & Co.—England	do	426	6,500	5,500	9,000	Turbine	17	

CARGO

Leon—United Fruit Co	Bremer Vulkan—Germany	Honduras	315	2,765	2,900	2,800	Diesel	12½	1952
Lempa—United Fruit Co	do	do	315	2,765	2,900	2,800	do	12½	1952
Simon—Global Transport (States Marine Corp.).	Fairfield S. B. Co.—England	Norway	461	9,516	12,500	7,000	Turbine	16	1953
Sjoa—Global Transport (States Marine Corp.).	do	do	461	9,506	12,500	7,000	do	16	1954
Sira—Golbal Transport (States Marine Corp.).	do	do	461	9,538	12,500	7,000	do	16	1953
South African Merchant—Global Transport States Marine Corp.	do	do	461	9,506	12,500	7,000	do	16	1955
El Cafetero—Gulf & Atlantic Shipping Co	Deutsche Werft—Germany	Panama	349	2,743	4,320	3,500	Diesel	14	1952
Sakura—Nortuna Shipping Co	Yokohama S. & E.—Japan	Liberia	442 11	5,976	8,873	7,000	do	16	1950
Eugenia—Monrovia Shipping Co	Wm. Gray & Co.—England	do	438	7,404	10,000	3,000	Recip. turbine	11½	1952
Aliki Livanos—Monrovia Shipping Co	do	do	438	7,404	10,000	3,000	do	11½	1953
George—A. G. Pappadakis	Wm. Denny & Bros.—England	do	475 5	7,200	10,500	7,000	Turbine	16	1953
Not completed (2) P. D. Marchessini	A. G. Weser—Germany		475	7,300	10,600	7,500	do	16½	
Not completed (2) St. S. Niarchos, N. Y	Kieler Howaldtswerke—Germany			8,000	12,500	5,400	Diesel	15	
Not completed—West Africa S. S. Co	Bartram & Sons—England	Liberia	445	6,100	10,750	5,500	do	15	1956
Baie Comeau—Quebec-Ontario Trans. Co	Atlantic S. B. Co.—England	Canada	252 3	2,260	3,000	1,220	do	10	1954
Not completed—Quebec-Ontario Trans. Co	do	do	252 3	2,260	3,000	1,220	do	10	1955
Not completed—Canadian Gulf Line	Uddevallavarvet—Sweden		330	3,800	5,400	5,600	do	16	1955
Anna C—West African S. S. Co	Bartram & Sons—England	Liberia	445	6,100	10,800	4,800	do	15	1954
Not completed (3)—Consolidated S. S. Corp	Hitachi S. B.—Japan		262 5	1,500	2,000	2,900	do	15	
Not completed—Comp. Nav. Valiente S. A	do		475 5	7,000	12,000	6,600	Turbine	15	
Not completed (2)—Fianza Comp. Nav. S. A	do		475 5	7,100	12,000	6,250	Diesel	15	
Not completed—Parana Comp. de Vapores, S. A.	Kieler Howaldtswerke—Germany		470	6,400	11,100	6,300	do	15	
Pindar—Parana de Vapores	Short Bros.—England	Panama	450	6,129	10,200	5,550	do	14	1954
Aghios Nicolaos—Rethymnis & Kulukundis	W. Doxford & Sons—England	do	450	6,590	11,000	5,000	do	14	1954
Aghia Marina—Rethymnis & Kulukundis	do	do	450	6,590	11,000	5,000	do	14	1954
Atlantic Countess—St. S. Livanos	W. Gray & Co.—England	Liberia	475	8,000	12,500	6,000	Turbine	14	1954
Daphne—Cia Arm. Transoceanic	do	Panama	450	6,000	9,000	4,000	Diesel	14	1954
Nymphe—Cia Arm. Transoceanic	Furness, S. B. Co.—England	do	450	6,000	9,000	4,000	do	14	1954

TUGBOAT

Sandy—United Fruit Co	Elsflether—Germany	Ecuador	75	100	100	600	Diesel	10	1954

WORKBOATS

Not named (4)—Arabian American Oil Co	Haarlemsche S. B.—Holland	Liberia	61	60	110	340	Diesel	10	1954

TABLE 1.—*Vessels ordered or completed in foreign shipyards for United States or affiliated interests during postwar years*—Continued

TANKERS

Name and owner	Builder and country	Flag	Length BP		Gross tons	Dead-weight tons	Horse-power	Drive	Knots	Year of de-livery
			Ft.	In.						
Maritime Leader—Maritime Transportation Co.	Jn. Cockerill—Belgium	Panama	548	6	12,064	18,519	8,000	Turbine	16	1953
Maritime Trader—Maritime Transportation Co.	do	do	548	6	12,064	18,519	8,000	do	16	1953
North America—The Texas Co. (Norway)	Kockums—Sweden	Norway	581	8	15,925	23,925	8,500	Diesel	14	1952
Brasil—The Texas Co. (Norway)	do	do	513	3	10,546	15,625	6,800	do	14½	1952
Not completed—The Texas Co. (Norway)	Deutsche Werft—Germany	do	540		12,000	18,300	9,500	do	16	1955
Britannia—The Texas Co. (Norway)	do	do	540		12,000	18,300	9,500	do	16	1954
South America—The Texas Co. (Norway)	do	do	540		12,000	18,300	9,500	do	16	1954
Not completed (2)—The Texas Co	do	Panama	595		18,000	28,000	13,750	Turbine	17	1955
Not completed—The Texas Co	Fratamaes Mek Verkstad—Norway	Norway	520		10,000	15,750	7,000	Diesel	14½	1956
Not completed—Oriental Trade & Trans. (Std.-Vac. Oil).	At. & Ch. de la Seine Mar.—France	British	406		7,300	11,000	3,660	do	12	1956
Royal Arrow—Sovosco Transp. Co	Netherlands Dock—Holland	do	630		20,413	31,000	15,000	Turbine	16	1954
Sylvan Arrow—Sovosco Trans. Co	do	do	630		20,413	31,000	15,000	do	16	1955
Aramis—Soc. Mazout Transports (Socony-Vacuum).	Chantier de Penhoet—France	France	600		18,200	27,400	13,750	do	17	1953
Seahawk—Seabird Tankers, Inc	Mitsui S. B. & E. Co.—Japan	Panama	539	8	12,200	19,000	8,000	Diesel	15	1953
Porthos—Soc. Mazout Transports	Chantier de France—France	France	600		16,000	27,000	13,750	Turbine	16½	1954
Thermidor—Soc. Mazout Transports	Odense Skibs—Denmark	do	539		11,000	18,000	8,000	Diesel	15	1954
Not completed—Deutsche Vacuum Oel	Bremer Vulkan—Germany	German	500		10,000	16,500	7,000	do	14½	1955
Vacuum Pioneer—Vacuum Oil Co	Grangemouth Dock—England	British	245		1,300	2,000	2,000	Reciprocating	11½	1953
Maqua—Afran Transport Co. (Gulf Oil Corp.).	Furness S. B. Co.—England	Liberia	600		15,813	24,600	6,800	Diesel	14	1951
Suhail—Afran Transport Co. (Gulf Oil Corp.)	do	do	600		15,813	24,600	6,800	do	14	1952
Melika—Afran Transport Co	do	do	630		20,550	32,000	13,750	Turbine	16	1954
Not completed—Afran Transport Co	do	do	630		20,550	32,000	13,750	do	16	
Persian Gulf—Afran Transport Co	Chantier de Penhoet—France	do	631		20,390	31,461	15,000	do	16	1954
Not completed—Afran Transport Co	do	do	660		24,800	36,800	16,250	do	16	1955
Not completed (2)—Afran Transport Co	Netherlands Dock—Holland	do	660		23,000	37,000	13,750	do	15	
Do	do	do	630		20,000	31,000	13,750	do	16	
Not completed—Gulf Oil (Netherlands)	Terneuzensche S. B.—Holland	Holland	181	1	220	450	250	Diesel	10	1955
Cabimes—Afran Transport Co	Deutsche Werft—Germany	Liberia	630	11	22,000	32,000	13,750	Turbine	16	1955
Lagunillas—Afran Transport Co	do	do	630	11	22,000	32,000	13,750	do	16	1955
Not completed (2)—Tide Water Associated Oil Co.	Mitsubishi S. B. & E.—Japan		698	10	27,400	45,000	16,000	do	16	1956
Do	Chantier de Penhoet—France		698	10	27,400	48,000	16,000	do	16	1956
Do	At. & Ch. de France—France		698	10	27,400	48,000	16,000	do	16	1956
Monagas—Afran Transport Co	A. G. Weser—Germany	Venezuela	446		8,000	12,750	6,000	Reciprocating	15	1954
Andros Venture—Andros Shipping Co	Davie S. B. & R. Co.—Canada	Canada	595		17,845	28,070	13,750	Turbine	17	1953
Andros Fortune—Andros Shipping Co	do	do	595		17,845	28,070	13,750	do	17	1954
Esso Margarita—Comp. de Petroleo Lago	Rotterdam D. D. Co.—Holland	Panama	406		7,434	10,905	4,000	Reciprocating	14	1954
Esso France—Esso Std. Francaise	At. & Ch. de la Loire—France	France	666		25,000	37,350	17,000	Turbine	17	1955
Not completed—Panama Transport Co	do	Panama	660		25,000	35,550	16,500	do	16	
Do	dell Adriatico—Italy	do	660		25,000	35,550	16,500	do	16	
Esso Antwerp—Esso Standard Co	Cockerill Yard—Belgium	Belgium	601	2	17,000	26,650	13,750	do	16	1955
Esso La Guaira—Comp. de Petroleo Lago	Giessen & Zonen—Holland	Panama	406		7,434	10,905	4,000	Reciprocating	14	1954
Esso La Caroubier—Esso Std. Francaise	van der Werf—Holland	France	280		1,800	2,730	2,000	Diesel	10½	1952
Not completed—Esso Nederland, N. V	Giessen & Zonen—Holland	Holland	601		17,000	26,650	13,750	Turbine	16	
Esso Liguria—Esso La Columbia	del Tirreno—Italy	Italy	406		6,836	10,248	4,000	do	14	1954
Esso Venezia—Esso La Columbia	Navali Riunitu—Italy	do	558	1	14,700	21,500	10,000	do	16	1955
Not completed (2)—Esso Waried Tankers	Deutsche Werft—Germany	German	601	2	17,000	26,650	13,750	do	16	1955
Esso Dusseldorf—Esso Waried Tankers	A. G. Weser—Germany	do	601	2	17,000	26,650	13,750	do	16	1955
Esso Munchen—Esso Waried Tankers	do	do	601	2	17,000	26,650	13,750	do	16	1955
Esso Westminster—Esso Petroleum Co	Vickers-Armstrong—England	British	601	2	17,515	26,650	13,750	do	16	1954
Esso Canterbury—Esso Petroleum Co	do	do	601	2	17,515	26,650	13,750	do	16	1954
Esso York—Esso Petroleum Co	do	do	601	2	17,600	26,650	13,750	do	16	1955
Esso Exeter—Esso Petroleum Co	do	do	601	2	17,600	26,650	13,750	do	16	1955
Esso Oxford—Esso Petroleum Co	Cammell Laird & Co.—England	do	601	2	17,600	26,650	13,750	do	16	1953
Esso Cambridge—Esso Petroleum Co	do	do	601	2	17,600	26,650	13,750	do	16	1954
Esso Paris—Esso Std. Francaise	Penhoet—France	France	601	2	17,600	26,650	13,750	do	16	1954
Not completed—Standard-Vacuum Transp. Co	Jn. Brown & Co.—England	do	601	2	17,600	26,650	13,750	do	16	1955
River Boat—Esso Transportation Co	Dunston, Thorne, Hessle—England	do			600	1,000	800	Diesel	9	1954
10 barges—Esso Transportation Co	do	do			350	500				1954
Esso Odin—Dansk Esso A/S	Kremer Sohn—Germany	Denmark			400	600	900	Diesel	9	1954
Not completed—Dansk Esso A/S	Odense Yard—Denmark	do	621		17,600	26,400	11,000	do	15.3	1956
Not completed—Esso Petroleum Co	R. Dunston, Ltd.—England	British	190		700	1,070	865	D-E	9	1955
River Boat—Esso Nederland N. V	Schram & Zonen—Holland	Holland	240		500	750	500	Diesel	9	1954
Bitumen Boat—Esso Petroleum Co	Hull, Russell & Co.—Scotland	British	290		1,500	2,300	1,300	Recip	11	1955
Not completed—Esso A. G	Scheel & Johnk—Germany	German	100		200	300	200	Diesel	9	1955
Not completed—Esso Std. Belgium	Cockerill—Belgium	Belgium	170		600	900	400	do	9	1955
Not completed—Esso Std. Belgium	do	do	100		200	300	200	do	9	1955
Stanvac India—Std.-Vacuum Oil Co	Cammell, Laird & Co.—England	British	601	2	17,350	26,700	13,750	Turbine	17	1954
Stanvac Japan—Std.-Vacuum Oil Co	Mitsubishi S. B. & E.—Japan	do	601	2	17,379	26,700	13,750	do	17	1953
Stanvac South Africa—Std.-Vacuum Oil Co	do	do	601	2	17,379	26,700	13,750	do	17	1953
Imperial Leduc—Imperial Oil Ltd	Collingwood Shipyds.—Canada	Canada	600		12,639	18,000	4,500	do	12	1951
Imperial Woodbend—Imperial Oil Ltd	do	do	600		12,639	18,000	4,500	do	12	1952
Imperial Sarnia—Imperial Oil Ltd	do	do	380	6	4,580	6,800	2,500	do	12	1948
Imperial Redwater—Imperial Oil Ltd	Port Arthur S. B. Co.—Canada	do	600		12,582	18,000	4,500	do	12	1951
Caltex Pakanbaru—Caltex Oceanic Ltd	Jn. Cockerill—Belgium	Holland	250		2,000	3,200	1,600	Diesel	11	1952
Caltex Bangkalis—Caltex Oceanic Ltd	A. F. Smulders—Holland	do	250	5	1,984	3,220	1,600	do	11	1952
Caltex Rupat—Caltex Oceanic Ltd	L. Smit & Zoon—Holland	do	250		1,984	3,220	1,600	do	11	1952
Caltex Antwerp—Overseas Tankship Corp	Jn. Cockerill—Belgium	Panama	517	7	11,863	17,000	7,300	Turbine	15	1950
Caltex Brussels—Overseas Tankship Corp	do	do	517	7	11,863	17,000	7,300	do	15	1951
Caltex Liege—Overseas Tankship Corp	do	do	517	7	11,863	17,000	7,300	do	15	1951
Caltex Delhi—Overseas Tankship U. K. Ltd	Wm. Doxford & Sons—England	British	470	6	8,527	12,500	5,150	Diesel	14	1952
Caltex Kenya—Overseas Tankship U. K. Ltd	do	do	470	6	8,527	12,500	5,150	do	14	1952
Caltex Tanganyika—Overseas Tankship U. K. Ltd.	do	do	470	6	8,527	12,500	5,150	do	14	1952
Caltex Calcutta—Overseas Tankship U. K. Ltd	do	do	470	6	8,527	12,500	5,150	do	14	1952
Caltex Liverpool—Overseas Tankship U. K. Ltd.	Hawthorn Leslie & Co.—England	do	524	3	11,814	17,000	7,300	Turbine	15	1952
Caltex Bahrain—Overseas Tankship U. K. Ltd	do	do	524	3	11,814	17,000	7,300	do	15	1953
Caltex Manchester—Overseas Tankship U. K. Ltd.	do	do	524	3	11,814	17,000	7,300	do	15	1953
Caltex Canberra—Overseas Tankship U. K. Ltd.	Furness S. B. Co.—England	do	524	3	11,860	17,000	7,300	do	15	1953
Caltex Perth—Overseas Tankship U. K. Ltd	do	do	524	3	11,860	17,000	7,300	do	15	1953
Caltex Padang—Caltex Oceanic, Ltd	Smit & Zoon's—Holland	Holland	250		2,038	3,220	1,640	Diesel	11	1954
Not completed—Caltex Oceanic, Ltd	van P. Smit—Holland	do	540		11,000	18,000	9,200	do	16	1955
Not completed—Caltex Oceanic, Ltd	Rotterdam D. D.—Holland	do	530		12,000	18,000	8,800	Turbine	16	1956
Not completed—Caltex Oceanic, Ltd	Wilton-Fijenoord—Holland	do	630		20,000	32,000	13,750	do	16	1956
Not completed—Nederland Pacific Tankvaart	Hitachi S. B. & E. Co.—Japan	do	270		2,150	3,400	1,600	Diesel	14	1955

TABLE 1.—*Vessels ordered or completed in foreign shipyards for United States or affiliated interests during postwar years*—Continued

TANKERS—Continued

Name and owner	Builder and country	Flag	Length BP	Gross tons	Dead-weight tons	Horse-power	Drive	Knots	Year of de-livery
			Ft. In.						
Not completed—Overseas Tankship UK	Hawthorn Leslie & Co.—England	British	524 3	11,814	18,000	7,300	Turbine	14½	1957
Not completed—Overseas Tankship UK	Scott's S. B. & E. Co.—England	do	524 3	11,800	18,000	7,300	do	14½	1956
Not completed—Alvion S. S. Corp	Vickers-Armstrong—England	Panama	640	21,000	32,000	13,750	do	16	1955
Not completed—Alvion S. S. Corp	Jn. Brown & Co.—Scotland	do	640	21,000	32,000	13,750	do	16	1955
Not completed—Alvion S. S. Corp	Blythswood S. B. Co.—Scotland	do	540	11,000	18,500	8,000	Diesel	15	1956
Cygnus—Rethymnis & Kulukundis	Furness S. B. Co.—England	do	500	10,800	16,300	5,500	do	16	1954
Arcturus—Rethymnis & Kulukundis	Howaldtswerke—Germany	do	595	18,288	28,238	13,300	Turbine	16	1953
Proteus—Rethymnis & Kulukundis	Netherlands Dok. Co.—Holland	Greek	600	15,800	24,000	9,200	Diesel	14½	1955
Not completed (3)—Atlantic Refining Co	Cockerill Yd.—Holland		530	12,500	18,700	11,000	Turbine	16	1955
Not completed—Marine Enterprises, Ltd	Bartram & Sons—England	Panama	525	10,000	17,000	6,800	Diesel	15	1955
Not completed (2)—Western Shipping Corp	Harima S. B. & E. Co.—Japan	do	630	21,000	32,000	15,000	Turbine	16	1955
Not completed—Comp. Maritime LaEmpresa	do		630	21,000	32,000	13,750	do	16	1956
Not completed (2)—Orion Ship. & T. Co	do		656 2	24,200	39,000	17,500	do	16	1956
Do	Mitsubishi-Yokohama—Japan		608 10	26,000	39,000	19,000	do	16	1956
Not completed—United Shippers, Ltd	Kawasaki Dockyard—Japan		659 5	24,200	39,000	20,250	do	16	1955
Not completed—Petromar S. A	Mitsubishi-Kobe—Japan		629 11	21,000	32,000	13,750	do	16	1956
Not completed—J. A. Cosmas, San Francisco	Oresundsvaret—Sweden	Panama	535	13,000	20,000	8,150	Diesel	15	1956
Ionian Messenger—Transocean Carriers Co	Nippon Steel Tube Co.—Japan	Liberia	551 4	13,490	20,000	9,500	Turbine	15	1953
Ionian Challenger—Transocean Carriers Co	do	do	551 4	13,490	20,000	9,500	do	15	1953
Ionian Traveler—Transocean Carriers Co	Mitsubishi—Japan	do	585 2	15,826	24,000	8,800	do	14	1952
Tini—United Cross Nav. Co. (John Carras)	Hitachi S. B. & E. Co.—Japan	do	541 4	12,556	19,980	8,000	do	14½	1952
Genie—United Cross Nav. Co. (John Carras)	do	do	541 4	12,556	19,980	8,000	do	14½	1953
Darnie—United Cross Nav. Co. (John Carras)	do	do	541 4	12,556	19,980	8,000	do	14½	1953
Christina—United Cross Nav. Co. (John Carras)	do	do	541 4	12,556	19,980	8,000	do	14½	1953
Leonidas—Miramonte Cia Naviera	Nippon Steel Tube—Japan	Panama	550	13,000	20,000	9,500	do	15	1953
Andrew Dillon—Tanker Transports Co	Uraga Dock Co.—Japan	do	556 8	13,500	20,000	9,000	do	15	1953
Virgin Islands—Caribbean Land & Shipping Corp.	Deutsche Werft—Germany	do	517 5	11,362	17,000	8,000	Diesel	15	1952
Windward Islands—Caribbean Land & Shipping Corp.	Bremer Vulkan—Germany	do	513 6	11,197	17,000	6,800	do	14	1952
Patricia—Oriental Nav. Corp. (Caribbean L. & S. Corp.).	Kawasaki Dockyd Co.—Japan	do	600 1	18,000	28,400	12,800	Turbine	17	1953
Mosoil—Neptune Shipping Co	Deutsche Werft—Germany	do	517 5	11,349	17,000	7,600	Diesel	15	1952
Mostank—Neptune Shipping Co	do	do	517 5	11,349	17,000	7,600	do	15	1952
Almak—Alvion S. S. Corp	Jn. Brown & Co.—England	do	540	12,618	19,000	8,000	do	14½	1952
Alcol—Alvion S. S. Corp	do	do	540	13,618	19,000	8,000	do	14½	1952
Alkaid—Alvion S. S. Corp	Netherlands D. & S. B.—Holland	do	600	16,000	24,000	7,550	do	14½	1953
Alkor—Alvion S. S. Corp	do	do	600	16,000	24,000	7,550	do	14½	1953
Karen Naess—Norness Shipping Co. (Naess Meijlander & Co.).	Deutsche Werft—Germany	Liberia	510 11	11,157	16,870	8,000	do	15	1952
North King—Comp. Petrolera Armadora, S. A. (Pappadakis).	Blythswood S. B. Co.—England	do	536 7	12,191	18,500	7,300	do	15	1952
North Prince—Comp. Petrolera Armadora, S. A.	Howaldtswerke—Germany	do	540	12,029	18,300	7,300	do	15	1952
Nicolas—Parana Cia de Vapores	Blythswood S. B. Co.—England	Costa Rica	530	12,350	18,500	7,500	do	15	1953
Chloe—Cia Armadora Transoceanica, S. A	Furness S. B. Co.—England	Panama	560	15,800	24,500	6,800	do	14	1953
Natura—Oceanic Shipping Co	Kawasaki Dockyard Co.—Japan	Liberia	554 3	13,000	19,000	9,500	Turbine	15½	1953
Eurydeia—Soc. Maritime San Nicolas, S. A	East Japan Heavy Ind.—Japan	do	584	15,869	24,223	8,500	Diesel	15	1952
Adrias—Republic Marine Co	Nippon Steel Tube Co.—Japan	do	551 4	13,752	20,000	9,500	Turbine	15½	1953
Kipawa—Unitas, Inc. (Maritime Trading Co.)	Jn. Brown & Co.—England	Panama	535	13,099	20,000	6,500	Diesel	15	1951
Ottawa—Unitas, Inc. (Maritime Trading Co.)	do	do	535	13,099	20,000	6,500	do	15	1950
Clydewater—Tidewater Commercial Co	do	do	535 6	12,774	19,000	6,500	do	15	1951
Petrokure—National Bulk Carriers	Kure Shipyard—Japan	Liberia	645	21,262	38,000	17,600	Turbine	18	1953
Petroking—National Bulk Carriers	do	do	645	21,262	38,000	17,600	do	18	1953
Petroqueen—National Bulk Carriers	do	do	645	21,262	38,000	17,600	do	18	1953
Petroemperor—National Bulk Carriers	do	do	645	21,240	38,000	17,600	do	18	1953
Phoenix—National Bulk Carriers	do	do	693 9	25,733	44,633	17,600	do	16	1954
Not completed—National Bulk Carriers	do	do	645	21,300	38,000	12,500	do	16	1955
Atlantic Duchess—Atlantic Oil Carriers	Wm. Gray & Co.—England	do	470	8,631	12,910	4,750	Diesel	13	1950
Atlantic Duke—Atlantic Oil Carriers	Smith's Dock Co.—England	do	508 5	10,930	16,652	5,500	do	13½	1952
Atlantic Baron—Atlantic Oil Carriers	Fairfield S. B. & E. Co.—England	do	545	12,700	20,000	8,000	Turbine	15	1953
Atlantic Baroness—Atlantic Oil Carriers	do	do	545	12,700	20,000	8,000	do	15	1953
Atlantic Lord—Atlantic Oil Carriers	Furness S. B. Co.—England	do	525	12,000	18,100	7,600	Diesel	15	1953
Atlantic Viscount—Atlantic Petroleum Carriers.	A. G. Weser—Germany	do	534 9	11,300	18,100	8,250	Turbine	15	1954
Atlantic Viscountess—Atlantic Petroleum Carriers.	do	do	534 9	11,300	18,100	8,250	do	15	1954
Atlantic Marques—Atlantic Petroleum Carriers.	do	do	534 9	11,300	18,100	8,250	do	15	1954
Atlantic Marchioness—Atlantic Petroleum Carriers.	do	do	534 9	11,300	18,100	8,250	do	15	1955
Atlantic Lady—Atlantic Oil Carriers	de la Seine Mar.—France	do	538	12,000	19,800	9,800	do	15	1955
Atlantic Earl—Atlantic Tankers, Ltd	Kockums—Sweden	do	500	11,000	16,800	8,100	do	15½	1954
Not completed—Naess Shipping Co	Netherlands Dock—Holland	Norway	650	24,000	38,000	16,000	do	16	1956
Not completed (2)—Naess Shipping Co	do	Holland	580	15,500	24,700	8,400	Diesel	15	1956
Milton Araujo—Naess Shipping Co	Knockums—Sweden	Panama	570	15,800	24,830	9,200	Turbine	15½	1954
Olympic Light—Olympic Oil Lines	Kieler Howaldtswerke—Germany	Liberia	552	13,923	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1952
Olympic Mountain—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	552	13,923	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1953
Olympic Valley—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	552	13,652	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Hill—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	552	13,580	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Snow—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	552	13,665	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Rock—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	552	13,665	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Ice—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	552	13,665	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Brook—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	552	13,678	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Lake—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	552	13,678	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Dale—Olympic Oil Lines	Kieler Howaldtswerke—Germany	do	552	13,678	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Cloud—Olympic Oil Lines	A. G. Weser—Germany	do	557 9	14,047	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1953
Olympic Wind—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	557 9	14,047	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Storm—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	557 9	14,047	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Breeze—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	557 9	13,934	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Rainbow—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	557 9	13,934	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1955
Not completed—Olympic Oil Lines	do	do	557 9	13,934	21,500	10,000	do	16½	1955
Olympic Valour—Palmas Transp. Co	Penhoet—France	do	631	20,453	31,688	15,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Honour—Montserrado Transp. Co	At. & Ch. de France—France	do	631	20,611	31,397	15,000	do	16½	1954
Olympic Splendour—Olympic Oil Line	de la Ciotat—France	do	628 3	20,595	31,440	15,000	do	16½	1954
World Enterprice—World Tankers Corp	Vickers-Armstrongs—England	do	635	20,536	33,040	13,750	do	16	1953
World Harmony—World Tankers Corp	do	do	635	20,991	33,040	13,750	do	16	1954
Not completed (2)—World Tankers Corp	do	do	725	28,000	47,000	20,000	do	16	
World Unity—World Tankers Corp	do	do	625	20,131	31,745	13,750	do	17	1952
World Concord—World Tankers Corp	do	do	625	20,131	31,745	13,750	do	17	1952
Saronsea—No. Am. S. & T. Co	Kockums—Sweden	British	525	13,000	20,000	10,000	do	15½	1953
Saxonsky—No. Am. S. & T. Co	do	do	525	13,000	20,000	10,000	do	15½	1953

TABLE 1.—*Vessels ordered or completed in foreign shipyards for United States or affiliated interests during postwar years*—Continued

TANKERS—Continued

Name and owner	Builder and country	Flag	Length BP	Gross tons	Deadweight tons	Horsepower	Drive	Knots	Year of delivery
			Ft. In.						
Saronheath—Oriental Tanker Corp	Nederland Dok—Holland	Liberia	538 9	12,705	18,500	9,000	Turbine	15½	1952
Saronhill—Oriental Tanker Corp	do	do	538 9	12,705	18,500	9,000	do	15½	1953
Saronglade—No. Amer. S. & T. Co	Vickers-Armstrongs—England	British	528	13,321	20,450	8,300	do	14	1952
Saron dale—No. Amer. S. & T. Co	do	do	528	13,321	20,450	8,300	do	14	1952
Saronglen—No. Amer. S. & T. Co	do	do	528	13,321	20,450	8,300	do	14	1953
Saronmead—No. Amer. S. & T. Co	do	do	528	13,321	20,450	8,300	do	14	1953
Tina Onassis—A. S. Onassis	Howaldtswerke A. G.—Germany	Liberia	723 2	25,010	46,000	17,600	do	15	1953
Al-Malik Saud Al-Awal—A. S. Onassis	do	do	723 2	28,738	46,000	17,600	do	15	1955
World Gratitude—World Tankers Corp	Kieler Howaldtswerke—Germany	do	630	20,035	32,500	17,600	do	16	1954
World Grace—World Tankers Corp	do	do	630	20,431	32,500	17,600	do	16	1954
World Guardian—World Tankers Corp	do	do	630	20,431	32,500	17,600	do	16	1955
Not completed—World Tankers Corp	do	do	630	20,431	32,500	17,600	do	16	1955
World Justice—Intermarine Nav. Corp	Mitsubishi-Nagasaki—Japan	do	630	20,500	32,000	15,000	do	16	1954
World Jury—Intermarine Nav. Corp	do	do	630	20,500	32,000	15,000	do	16	1954
Not completed—Stavros S. Niarchos	Kockums—Sweden	British	640	22,000	32,500	16,500	do	16	1955
Not completed—Stavros S. Niarchos	Howaldtswerke—Germany	Panama	663	24,000	38,500	16,000	do	16	1955
East River—Tidewater Commercial Co	Jn. Brown & Co.—England	Liberia	535 6	12,775	19,000	7,000	do	15	1954
Not completed—Tidewater Commercial Co	do	Panama	631	20,400	32,000	15,000	do	16	1955
Not completed—Stavros S. Niarchos	Kockums—Sweden	Liberia	663	24,000	38,500	16,500	do	16	1957
CAR FERRY									
New Grand Haven—West India Fruit & S. S. Co.	Canadian Vickers—Canada	Honduras	436	5,074	4,280	8,560	Unaflow	18	1951
DREDGE									
Sandpiper—Creole Petroleum Co	Canadian Vickers—Canada	Dutch	237	1,902	2,500	2,880	D-E	14	1950
Clarence B. Randall—Construction Aggregates	Port Arthur Sy.—Canada	Canadian	174	1,800	2,500	10,000	D-E		1955
Joseph L. Block—Construction Aggregates	do	do	174	1,800	2,500	10,000	D-E		1955

Totals—302 vessels; 3,884,749 gross tons; 6,054,831 deadweight tons; 2,691,165 horsepower.

TABLE 2.—*Types of vessels ordered from foreign shipyards by United States and affiliated interests during the postwar years*

Type	Number	Gross tons	Deadweight tons	Horsepower
Tanker	217	3,270,685	5,100,828	2,241,515
Bulk carrier	27	372,251	615,450	213,900
Reefer	6	30,531	26,790	37,860
Freighter	37	197,106	294,883	165,850
Carferry	1	5,074	4,280	8,560
Dredge	3	5,502	7,500	22,880
Tugboat	1	100	100	600
Oil barge	10	3,500	5,000	
Total	302	3,884,749	6,054,831	2,691,165

TABLE 3.—*Countries building vessels for American and affiliated interests during the postwar years*

Type	Number	Gross tons	Deadweight tons	Horsepower
United Kingdom:				
Cargo	17	116,117	170,750	83,290
Reefer	3	19,500	16,500	27,000
Bulk	15	216,221	283,750	110,600
Oil barge	10	3,500	5,000	
Tanker	57	808,921	1,221,152	516,715
Total	102	1,164,259	1,698,152	737,605
Germany:				
Cargo	8	45,273	67,420	41,200
Reefer	3	11,031	10,290	10,860
Bulk	3	28,000	40,600	12,000
Tugboat	1	100	100	600
Tanker	49	715,879	1,119,958	525,500
Total	64	800,283	1,238,368	590,160
Canada:				
Bulk	1	8,000	12,700	5,000
Ferry	1	5,074	4,280	8,560
Dredge	3	5,502	7,500	22,880
Tanker	6	78,130	116,940	43,500
Total	11	96,706	141,420	79,940
Japan:				
Cargo	7	31,676	50,873	33,800
Bulk	4	76,100	217,400	62,500
Tanker	36	666,652	1,062,976	468,350
Total	47	774,428	1,331,249	564,650

TABLE 3.—*Countries building vessels for American and affiliated interests during the postwar years*—Continued

Type	Number	Gross tons	Deadweight tons	Horsepower
Sweden:				
Cargo	1	3,800	5,400	5,600
Bulk	4	43,930	61,000	23,800
Tanker	9	138,271	212,180	93,750
Total	14	186,001	278,580	123,150
Denmark:				
Tanker	2	28,600	44,400	19,000
Norway:				
Tanker	1	10,000	15,750	7,000
Italy:				
Tanker	3	46,536	67,298	32,200
Belgium:				
Tanker	9	79,517	119,088	53,850
Holland:				
Tanker	29	360,630	580,550	254,190
Workboat	4	240	440	960
Total	33	360,870	580,990	255,150
France:				
Tanker	16	337,549	539,536	228,460
Grand total	302	3,884,749	6,054,831	2,691,165

TABLE 4.—*Number of vessels ordered abroad by major American organizations in postwar period*

	Number
United Fruit Co	9
States Marine Corp	10
Aluminum Company of America	10
Reynolds Metals Co	1
M. A. Hanna Co	2
Standard Oil Co., New Jersey, and affiliates	45
Standard-Vacuum Oil Co	6
Socony-Vacuum Oil Co	7
Tide Water Associated Oil Co	6
Gulf Oil Co	13
The Texas Co	8
Caltex group	21
Atlantic Refining Co	3
National Bulk Carriers	9
North American Shipping & Trading Co	25
Atlantic Oil Carriers	14
Olympic Oil Lines	21
Orion Shipping & Trading Co	6
Naess Shipping Co	7
J. M. Carras, Inc	4
Hillcone Steamship Co	2
United States Gypsum Co	1
National Gypsum Co	2
Chicago Tribune	2

Lawyers Entitled to Benefits of Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ELLIOTT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the February 25, 1955, issue of the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser:

IT TAKES TIME

After all these years, the American Bar Association, traditionally a conservative body, has decided that social security is not socialistic after all. At the annual midwinter meeting of the house of delegates, policymaking body of ABA, the lawyers went on record as favoring voluntary admission to the Social Security System.

In a countrywide poll, it was revealed, State and local bar association presidents had voted 4 to 1 in favor of the plan—making the bar's 50,000 members the first professional group in the Nation to seek what once was denounced as the diabolical plan of bearded revolutionaries.

There were a few sour notes, of course. Judge Floyd E. Thompson, of Chicago, said that he was still against "making Socialists out of lawyers." The president of the Illinois State bar said that the move was "a first step toward renunciation of the independence of our profession."

But, in the main, the lawyers have recognized that social security is here to stay. The 8,000 members of the New York County

Lawyers Association had voted overwhelmingly for the proposal, the New York delegate said. Others reported similar lopsided votes in favor of voluntary social security.

A footnote to this change might be the old and new attitudes of another organization hardly noted for radicalism, the American Medical Association. In 1932, when a small group of medical economists had recommended the expansion of voluntary health insurance, AMA's official organ had denounced the proposal editorially as socialism and communism, inciting to revolution. Today, as half the Nation has some form of voluntary health insurance, AMA is the plan's most aggressive advocate, calling it "the American way toward better health."

And President Eisenhower's health reinsurance plan, which AMA has denounced in about the same language it used against voluntary health insurance in 1932, will probably be advocated by the doctors in a few years as a moderate American way to meet the health needs of the Nation.

Should the U. N. Expel Russia?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following reprint issued by the U. S. News & World Report, of an exclusive interview with Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States Ambassador to the United Nations, which was held in the conference room of the U. S. News & World Report, Washington, D. C.:

SHOULD THE U. N. EXPEL RUSSIA?

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Should Soviet Russia be expelled from the United Nations for conspiring in and aiding open aggression? Could Russia be expelled under present rules? What can the U. N. do to prevent help to an aggresscor in the future? What, also, are the chances that Communist China, an aggressor, will get into U. N.? If that should happen, should the United States get out? For the answers to these and other questions, U. S. News & World Report invited Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., chief American delegate to the U. N. to its conference room. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., 52, former Republican Senator from Massachusetts, 10 years ago resigned his Senate seat in order to fight in World War II. He came home a colonel with five battle stars, and with a new interest in international affairs. Mr. Lodge's grandfather, the first Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, helped block United States entry into the League of Nations. The grandson, President Eisenhower's choice to head the United States mission to the United Nations, believes in the U. N. as a preventive of war and an important forum in the cold war.)

Question. How would you define the purpose of the United Nations Charter, Mr. Lodge? Is it the purpose of the charter to provide a meeting place for governments?

Answer. No. The purpose of the charter was to create an organization of peace-loving nations—and I underline those two words "peace loving"—who would get together in case of an aggression and repel it—who'd try to prevent aggression in the first place, and, if an aggression occurred, would get together and repel it.

Question. You don't regard the machinery of the United Nations itself as a formal structure such as a federation would be?

Answer. I think "federation" is much too strong a word. It's not even as much like a confederation as the Confederacy at the time of the Civil War, and that proved to be too weak to maintain itself in the face of opposition. The United Nations is nothing like as formal an organization as that was. Nothing like it.

Question. Is it an alliance?

Answer. It's not an alliance. We have no alliance with the Soviet Union. It's a center for harmonizing.

Question. In practice is it any more than a debating society?

Answer. It isn't a society. We are not on a basis of a society with the Soviet Union. It's an arena, it's a device, it's an instrumentality. It is, among other things, a place where we stand up against the Soviets when they try to use the U. N. as a forum for prosecuting their cold war. And, if we're successful in doing that, we can generate world opinions which will influence the Communists in the Kremlin. We've proven that several times.

Question. You underline the words "peace loving." Do you mean by that that if we had it to do over again, Soviet Russia might not have been in it?

Answer. Absolutely. I do mean that.

Question. What is your definition of peace-loving?

Answer. Well, I can define it negatively. It is a nation that has not been convicted of aggression by the United Nations. I'll put that down as a minimum definition.

Question. That would take care of Red China, wouldn't it?

Answer. In my opinion, that takes care of Red China.

Question. Would you be in favor of pushing the Soviet Union out of the United Nations?

Answer. That's a calculation you have to make. There are lots of pros and cons on that, you know. From the standpoint of logic, yes, they ought to be out. And, as I say, if we had known in San Francisco the way they were going to act, I don't think we would have ever been in favor of admitting them. But there are certain advantages in having them there, too. It gives them a chance to make an exhibition of themselves, and that's a chance of which they take very frequent advantage. And part of the effect of their making an exhibition of themselves is a unifying of the free world.

I've seen it happen many times—the free nations, being free, start to drift apart, and everyone follows his own way. The politicians in the free nations start attacking each other. But when it gets to that point, the Soviet representative will say something that is so monstrous, so shocking, so irritating, that the free people start pulling together again. If they were to leave it would not be the end of the U. N.

Question. What countries are now being kept out of the U. N.?

Answer. They are Japan, Italy, South Korea, Finland, Ireland, Portugal, Austria, Ceylon, Nepal, Jordan, Libya, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia. West Germany is not eligible.

Now the Communists want to get in Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Albania, and the section called Outer Mongolia, which they are trying to contend is a country.

Question. And China——

Answer. Well, China is there. It's a question of who represents China.

Question. We should be entitled to have Texas in there, too, then, shouldn't we?

Answer. If they've got the Ukraine and Byelorussia, then we certainly ought to have Texas—and I would add Massachusetts.

Question. Is this subject often discussed, this idea of taking in some and letting others go?

Answer. We talk about it all the time.

Question. In the circles around the United Nations——

Answer. Yes, and we've tried one scheme after the other. If there is one thing that I think we ought to unite public opinion on in this country, and in the other free countries, it is that when the revision of the charter comes up, we should amend it so as to eliminate the veto on admission of new members. I'm not advocating it necessarily on anything else, but on the admission of new members we ought to eliminate the veto.

Question. Would you make it a majority vote?

Answer. Well, you could require seven votes in the Security Council and two-thirds in the General Assembly. I'd just as soon do that.

Question. Getting back to the work of the United Nations, you spoke of some of these subsidiary organizations. What do you visualize as regards the new setup in the Assembly which permits nations to take group action as we did in Korea, but, without recourse to the Security Council where the Soviets have the veto? What constructive value do you think that may hold for the future in the way of preserving peace?

Answer. You mean the uniting for peace resolution of 1950? I think that if there ever is another aggression that United Nations gets into, like this Korean one, I think the response is going to be very much better. I thing this uniting for peace thing, if it is ever needed, will completely bypass the Soviet veto, and I think there will be a much greater percentage of troops from other United Nations members than we had this last time. The Korea affair was the first time in human history that there had been collective military resistance to aggression under the auspices of an interntional organization.

Now, while it could have been better, it also could have been worse. We've learned a lot from it. I'm sure that if there is another aggression—which God prevent—we'll have a much better participation.

Question. What have you done to cure the defect to which many people point—namely, that the United Nations on its surface takes the position on a resolution against acts of aggression and still there are neutrals who do not obey and deliberately violate it? Mr. Vishinsky announced that defiantly in December of 1951—he said they had been sending ammunition and supplies to Red China's forces. Yet, the resolution of the U. N. called on all members to refrain from aiding the aggressor. What have you done about that situation?

Answer. I personally favor revision of the expulsion procedures——

Question. To deal with that sort of thing——

Answer. That's right. You see, when I came in there, the first speech I made was listing 10 specific things that the Russians had done in the way of guns, tanks, planes and so on—the calibers, types, and everything else—to show how they were actually aiding and abetting the aggressor. I was planning to lay a foundation for doing something like that, and then the aggression stopped. But one way to cope with that might be to strengthen the expulsion procedures.

Question. How do you deal, then, with the country which says it is "neutral"?

Answer. I think a country which just stays out of the fight has a perfect right to do that. But a country that claims to be neutral and is actually aiding and abetting a convicted aggressor—the U. N. ought to have a stronger sanction against that sort of thing, and a stronger expulsion procedure might be one answer.

Question. There wouldn't be any place for a "neutral," really, would there?

Answer. Well, if you aid and abet the aggressor, you are not a neutral.

Question. What specifically is "aid"? What about trade?

Answer. With trade, it always depends upon who's getting the benefit of the trade.

Trade isn't bad as such. I think we ought to grow up a little bit more on the subject of trade. There are many advantages to trading with countries that you don't like at all. You get in there and may get things out of them that you will be glad to have. Of course, when you trade with a Communist you have to know exactly what you're doing. He trades as a matter of politics and strategy, not out of the ordinary business motives that animate traders in a free country.

Question. That is one phase of it. But what about the authority and moral power of the United Nations to enforce this resolution which says, in effect, you shall not aid the aggressor? How far does that go toward stopping countries which claim to be neutral from giving direct aid to those people and saying that it's mere trade?

Answer. When the Soviet Union sent all those tanks and guns and planes to the Chinese Communists and the North Koreans, they were acting contrary to the resolution as passed by the United Nations. It was illegal as far as the United Nations was concerned.

Question. What about the sale of rubber that was made by Ceylon to the Chinese Communists during the same period?

Answer. That is contrary to the spirit of the resolution, but, of course, Ceylon is not a member.

Question. Britain sent rubber, too, to Russia during the war. They claimed that it wasn't strategic, or else they claimed they had enough of it anyhow——

Answer. Morally, of course, Soviet Russia was an aggressor in Korea. We have machinery outside the United Nations that does a pretty fair job of controlling strategic trade with the Iron Curtain countries. It would have been hard to deal with that in the United Nations.

Question. Shouldn't that be considered in the Charter if you are going to be an effective organization?

Answer. It is a defect, no doubt about it, and one that ought to be remedied.

Question. Can it be remedied without creating a superstate with authority?

Answer. I think you can have a very good try at it; yes.

Question. You are relying on moral force to do it, then?

Answer. Public opinion; yes.

Question. Do you think the threat of expulsion would prevent aid to aggressors or discourage them after they had started it?

Answer. I think it certainly would. I think if we had an easier expulsion method, that would be a very good thing.

Question. Is the revision of the expulsion method also subject to veto?

Answer. Yes. Every revision is subject to veto. That's why you have to gather a lot of public opinion behind it.

Question. As a practical matter, is there any way to expel anybody from the U. N.?

Answer. Not now, if any permanent member of the Security Council doesn't want them to be expelled.

Question. They have to agree to the expulsion?

Answer. That's right.

Question. How do you assess the Russians' present "soft" approach to the United Nations and the world?

Answer. I think it's superficial. It's very evident. I see it every day. But the basic premise hasn't changed a bit. They want to take over everything that they possibly can. The don't want to do the way we have done the past 150 years and develop their own resources. I don't know why they don't. They've got a great big continent there to develop. They have this mania to go out and subvert and conquer.

Question. How interested do you think the Soviet Union is in staying in the U. N.?

Answer. They want to stay in. They don't dare leave it. They can't destroy it, and they don't dare leave it. They never miss a meeting.

Question. How do you account for some of their inconsistencies? For instance, Red China wants to be admitted. The Soviet Union wants Red China admitted, and yet Red China will not accept United Nations auspices in settling the Korean problem.

Answer. That's one of the strong arguments for keeping Red China out—she not only won't accept United Nations auspices but attacks and holds the United Nations in contempt.

Question. Is there much sentiment for admitting Red China among some of the countries?

Answer. I don't think so. I've heard it said that there is, but I have always felt the votes would be with our side if we ever had to get a vote on the merits of it. Of course, we've gone along now simply saying that we would not consider it. Last year we voted to postpone it. This year we had a resolution that was a little stronger. We didn't use the word "postpone," which implies that we'd let it come up automatically. We said, "We shall not consider it this session." We got 43 votes, which is 3 more than I thought we would get.

Question. Is the British position closer to ours on that?

Answer. The British voted with us on the motion not to consider it.

Question. Mr. Lodge, what do you think has been the greatest benefit to the United States in its participation in the United Nations?

Answer. I would say that the United Nations, in spite of the fact that one of the basic assumptions on which it was founded—which was an alliance between the United States and Soviet Russia—has never materialized, in spite of that fact has had a vital effect in preventing world war III from breaking out, as a result of United Nations action in the following incidents: The presence of Russian troops in Iran, the Communist encroachment on Greece, the independence of Israel, the independence of Indonesia, the struggle between Pakistan and India over Kashmir, and the aggression in Korea.

Any one of those affairs could have mushroomed out into world war III. They were all accompanied by violence and at least minor fighting. While the United Nations didn't play the sole part—and in many cases the United States played an enormous part—still the United Nations played an essential part in preventing world war III from coming out of those incidents.

Question. Would you say that if there had not been a United Nations, diplomacy would have accomplished the same thing?

Answer. No, I don't think so. I don't think it would in any case because, while the legal power of the United Nations has been nullified by the Soviet abuse of the veto, something has happened that was not foreseen and that is the development of a thing known as "world public opinion."

The increase in radio and television and journalism and printing, all that, all over the world, means that world public opinion, while it isn't in so sharp a focus as public opinion in New York State or public opinion in the United States, nevertheless is a very real force. And the Soviet Union, while it maintains an iron dictatorship wherever it has the legal power to do so, is very sensitive to public opinion in the world outside its borders.

Question. To what extent do you think that the criticisms made in the United States are due to what we often have heard as the overselling of the United Nations in the first instance?

Answer. Oh, I think that's a very big factor. Even at the founding of the United Nations, some people in 1945 in San Francisco, and some of the people who followed them, undertook to get the idea spread around that here was an automatic peace producer, an automatic war preventive, like a patent medicine—you could take a swallow of it, and the disease would be cured. Well, of course, there isn't any such thing, and there never will be any such thing. If the United Nations is as automatic as a burglar alarm, why, that's all you can expect of it. Now, what happens after the bell rings is up to the members every time.

NO WORLD GOVERNMENT

Question. How far do you think that misunderstanding went? Do you think many people thought of it as a world government, as a supranational government?

Answer. There were a few. A very small percentage. Of course, it is not a world government and should not be a world government. In fact, I don't think world government is in the cards at all.

Question. How do you distinguish between what is called a world government and what we have in the United Nations?

Answer. In the United Nations, everything that is done is purely recommendatory, except in the Security Council. And in the Security Council we are completely protected by the veto. That's all there is that's legally binding. Now a government can take your boy out of your home and stick him into the army, a government can impose a tax on you, a government can issue coinage, a government commands your allegiance.

Question. Would you regard the United Nations, then, as a federation of governments?

Answer. No. I think it's a device, a contrivance, an instrumentality. It's a very useful, necessary thing, but when a man goes to work for the United Nations, he doesn't stop being an American, and there isn't any higher loyalty than to the American flag. There are 1,800 Americans working over there, running the elevators, fixing the electric lights, doing expert work of the intellectual type—of course, they owe the United Nations a day's work, and they owe it not to agitate and make trouble. But their allegiance is to the United States.

Question. When you say that it is not a federation, you mean that it is not part of a structure known as a federation, like a formal alliance. But isn't it actually a loose federation of states?

Answer. No, it is not a loose federation of states, because the Communists are in it and we have no such relationship as a federation with the Communists. All that the Communists and we are united on—if we are united on it—is the common desire not to be blown into destruction by the atomic bomb, and we hope we are united on that.

PROBLEM OF UNESCO

Question. What importance do you attribute to all the collateral, or subsidiary, organizations of the United Nations, like the U. N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization?

Answer. I am not a great admirer of the way UNESCO has been administered although it has a fine purpose. I issued a statement to the press not long ago which indicates my view.

Question. Aren't you referring to the personnel and policies? What about the actual organizational setup itself? Should we have such subsidiary organizations?

Answer. It's a bad organizational setup. We have about 11 specialized agencies, and some are doing such a good job that you never hear of them. It's always the ones in which there is trouble that get into the papers. The International Civil Aviation Organization does a terrific piece of work, and you never hear about it because it works perfectly. They run the guides to navigation across the North Atlantic for airplanes. Every pilot swears by them. You don't worry about them. That takes care of itself.

The World Health Organization does a good job.

The Food and Agriculture Organization—I was just amazed at the number of enthusiastic supporters it has in this country.

I think the International Labor Office is well run.

But the administrative setup for these agencies is poor because there is no overall administrative direction at all. The Secretary General of the United Nations doesn't control them. They are considered to be specialized agencies of the United Nations, but he has no real legal authority over them. They are hard to touch from New York.

You may hear a lot of complaining about a specialized agency, but I can't do what you think I can do—go over to the Secretary General and say, "Here's this complaint about such and such." I can't do that.

Question. Are they floating international commissions?

Answer. They are floating international bodies. They are more than commissions. Each has its own governing body and makes it own rules and selects it own administrative chief and everything else. The point of contact is not through me. It's through the State Department.

Question. What do you mean by governing bodies? They don't govern any more than the United Nations itself does, do they?

Answer. Yes, they govern the specialized agency.

Question. But the United Nations does not govern them?

Answer. No.

Question. And they are independent, but they are often referred to as a part of the United Nations?

Answer. That's the point.

Question. The World Bank and the Monetary Fund are in that category?

Answer. Yes, specialized agencies.

Question. And yet there are people in this country who are blaming the United Nations for what UNESCO does?

Answer. Absolutely. I've made a study of why the U. N. is unpopular with some people in America—so far as it is unpopular; it's very popular with most people—and it's usually due to bad publicity attributed to UNESCO.

ONE-FLAG TROUBLES

Question. What are some of the things that arouse comment?

Answer. Well, some fellow in UNESCO writes an article saying we ought to have 1 flag, or we ought to have 1 citizenship, or we ought to have 1 this or that. The first time I appeared before the Senate Appropriations Committee asking for money—I had been a member of it for 7 years in the Senate, on the other side of the table—the first day I appeared, one Senator, an old friend of mine, handed me a thing that had "UNUM" printed on it, that looked like stage money, and said, "What is this? Is the United Nations beginning to emit currency?"

Well, of course, I repudiated it immediately. It was something that some joker in UNESCO had put out. It didn't really mean anything. But that kind of thing infuriates people. They think people are trying to destroy our Government, and I don't blame them for being infuriated.

Question. What branches of UNESCO are guilty of that sort of thing?

Answer. We don't know. There's no one in New York I can talk to about UNECSO. I'm just as remote from UNESCO as you are.

Question. Does UNESCO serve any useful purpose as far as this government is concerned?

Answer. The idea behind it is a good idea. I don't know about its specific accomplishments. The Russians joined it this year. They have never been in it before. I question the prudence of our getting out of it.

Question. Are these functions of other organizations, such as the World Health Organization, valuable to UNESCO?

Answer. Oh, they are not UNESCO. I haven't thought this trough, but I question whether we ought to leave UNESCO and leave the Russians in it as the dominant voice. I just don't like to leave them in any of these organizations without our being there too.

Question. Why do you feel the Russians should stay in?

Answer. I've heard people say, "Let's get out." If we had been out of the United Nations when the Soviet Union tried to use the United Nations as a device to try to take over Guatemala, we would have been in very serious trouble.

Question. We would have been in the same position that they were when the Korean affair came along—

Answer. Yes, and look at what that got them into. And, believe me, on a thing like that nobody's going to fight for Uncle Sam the way Uncle Sam will. You just can't assume anything else. Now, we have marvelous cooperation from other members, but we are a big member of the team. We have to be there. To get out would look cowardly, but, apart from the looks of it, it would be a very imprudent thing to do, a very unwise and dangerous thing to do.

Question. Then you don't think the proposal that we get out of the United States very feasible—

Answer. I think it very dangerous.

Question. Even if they let Red China in?

Answer. I don't think they are going to get in.

MORE IN UNITED STATES FAVOR U. N.

Question. Have you ever found out in your informal chats with these people whether the Russians deliberately absented themselves in June, 1950?

Answer. I don't know, but I think it was accidental. It caused an awful lot of trouble for them.

Let me add one thing here. In 1951 the percentage of Americans who said they thought the United Nations was doing a good job was 43 percent; in 1954 it is 63 percent.

Question. Is this on the basis of a public-opinion poll?

Answer. National Opinion Research Center.

Question. To what do you attribute that increase?

Answer. I attribute it to one word—"Eisenhower." There are a lot of other things that go with it, of course.

You've got the Korean armistice, with the principle of voluntary repatriation.

You've got the fact that we foiled their attempt to go in and take over Guatemala.

You've got the fact that we've kept the Chinese Communists out, and Americans know that there would be great danger if the Chinese Communists were in. You've got the atomic-energy proposals.

Question. What really is UNESCO?

Answer. UNESCO is the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, not to be confused with the Economic and Social Council, which is altogether different. There are three councils in the United Nations—Security Council, Trusteeship Council, and Economic and Social Council.

Question. Who is our representative to UNESCO?

Answer. The Director General of UNESCO is an American gentleman with whom you are all acquainted—Dr. Luther Evans.

Question. Formerly of the Library of Congress——

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do we have a representative also?

Answer. Not an official representative. On the governing board there's a United States national who serves as an individual in his expert capacity.

Question. Isn't that the person responsible to and appointed by the State Department—or appointed by the President?

Answer. No. We are trying to get the UNESCO Charter changed to make him an official representative responsible to the President. But the Director is the responsible administrative head.

Question. We read about the American Association for the United Nations—Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt is active in it——

Answer. Dr. Charles W. Mayo is president of it.

Question. Mrs. Roosevelt was identified with UNESCO, wasn't she?

Answer. I don't believe she was. She was on the United Nations Human Rights Commission, I know.

ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Question. Is that a separate Commission—the Human Rights Commission—of UNESCO?

Answer. That's not UNESCO. But what the Human Rights Commission did that aroused a great deal of commotion in this country was to negotiate these human-rights covenants, and although they were approved by the executive branch at that time, none of them ever got ratified by the Senate.

Question. What year was this?

Answer. This was in 1950, 1951, 1952. When this administration took office, we took the position that we didn't approve the use of the treaty powers to effectuate internal social changes, that the treaty power existed for the regulation of international relations.

If, for example, they want to make it legal for a foreign-born person to become President of the United States, the way to do it is not to make a treaty with some country, but to amend the Constitution and pass an act of Congress. So that whole idea has been dropped now. But that infuriated a lot of people, and understandably so. Any internal changes we want to make in this country should not be done by treaty—we want to do it ourselves. Treaties are for international affairs. This had to do also with minimum-wage and sanitation conditions in factories and all that. Well, that's not a proper subject for treaties, we think.

Question. To what extent is point 4 under the U. N. or under a separate agency

Answer. Well, there is a technical-assistance program directely under the U. N., and I think it's been well run. I think we get as much out of it for our dollar as we do in our bilateral technical assistance, because we've got a lot of other nations represented that we don't get in the other, and we don't get that invidious feeling that we are dispensing charity, which tends to kill the prestige value of the gift.

Question. Conversely, though, do the people of the rest of the world know the part we play in it?

Answer. They do. It's a good-will builder.

Question. The UN doesn't get the credit?

Answer. No. I don't think so. I think that's done us a tremendous amount of good. And it isn't much money compared with most of these things.

Question. What's the budget of the UN, roughly?

Answer. We contribute $13 million, and that's a third. The budget is 39 million.

WHAT RUSSIA PAYS

Question. What does Soviet Russia contribute?

Answer. We contribute 33 percent. The Soviets are up to about 14 percent. We got them up and got ourselves down.

Question. How are those shares fixed?

Answer. They are fixed by an expert committee in accordance with national income adjusted for per capita income. The United States share is established by the ceiling of one-third which has been fixed for the largest contributor.

Question. How do you determine Soviet wealth?

Answer. What I did when I went there as a Senator in 1950 was take all their own statements about the progress they've made. I quoted all their own figures, and on the basis of that we got it raised.

Question. Are they any wealthier than we on paper?

Answer. No. They are not as wealthy as we are on paper. You see, what happened was that in 1946, when the thing started, the expert committee, the contributions committee, took a very theoretical view and produced a recommendation that the United States ought to pay nearly 50 percent of the total. Senator Vandenberg was our represenative. He told me about it. He was horrified when this thing happened. Well, there we were faced with an expert recommendation that the United States should pay half of the budget. So, it's been a constant process since then to bring it down. Senator Vandenberg got it down under 40 percent. Now it is down to 33 percent. I think that's about right.

Question. Speaking of contributions, one of the main things people are interested in is how you allocate troops when these big aggressions occur. We gave 90 percent in Korea, and they killed a lot of our boys. What is the principle of equity on which that's based?

Answer. My idea is that when an aggression occurs, broadly speaking, nations should put up troops in proportion to population. They should not be expected to put up hardware or dollar exchange, because many of them just can't do it. In 1950 at the time of the Korean aggression, somebody at the Pentagon in effect said we were not going to take any troops unless they put up their own logistic support.

Largely as a result of that policy, United Nations members, other than the United States, put up the equivalent of only two divisions. I believe that if there had not been that policy, and we had taken them just by military manpower alone, supplying the dollar logistic support where they couldn't, we'd have had six divisions. As it is, the equivalent of two divisions that we had from the other countries would have cost us $600 million a year at World War II prices had we paid for them ourselves, which we probably would have had to do.

The cost today is a military secret, but $600 million a year is what two divisions cost during World War II. And also there's the higher arithmetic of nearly 17,000 casualties and 3,000 dead, which we would have had probably to absorb.

So, when you measure that $600 million against the 13 million we put in as our basic annual contribution to the United Nations budget, it is not a bad deal. But it could be a much better deal if there hadn't been this shortsighted view, and I may say that if we have another aggression that mistake will not be repeated. The President has very strong views on that.

Question. That we shouldn't allocate a disproportionate amount of our people—is that it?

Answer. Yes. When a nation has effective, valuable manpower, the United Nations should get the service of that manpower even though they haven't got dollars.

Question. And we furnish all the logistic support——

Answer. Yes. We furnish the logistic support the way we did in World War II.

MORE FIGHTING MEN

Question. What reason do you have to believe that they would have contributed four additional divisions?

Answer. I know of cases where they offered them.

Question. From other countries——

Answer. Yes. And I also believe that others could have been very easily persuaded.

Question. The Turks wanted to send more, didn't they?

Answer. Yes. The Turks wanted to send more and the Greeks wanted to send more.

Question. How about Italy and places like that?

Answer. Italy's not in the U. N., although Italy did contribute hospitals.

Question. What is the legal situation as to renewal or amendment of the charter? Is this an automatic review that does bring it up this next year?

Answer. Yes; in 1955.

Question. Does that leave it entirely open to our Congress and the other legislatures to do with it as we will?

Answer. Well, the veto applies on changing the charter, and that's why you have to get a big hue and cry going throughout the world. That's where journalism comes into the picture. Legally, any changes can be vetoed. As I have said, many times the Soviets have proven their sensitivity to public opinion, and if we could get a big hue and cry going throughout the world to want to eliminate the veto on the admission of new members, that would make it unpopular for them. They'd lose some skin by opposing, and then they might not veto.

Question. Is that a little dangerous? Isn't that a precedent that might lead to loss of the veto in other matters which Congress itself is very anxious to retain?

Answer. I don't think so. I'd fight to the death to keep the veto on troops and things of that sort.

Question. It won't be a precedent?

Answer. I don't think so. It will be just on this one thing—the admission of new members. It will just lift the admission of new members out of the category of vetoable subjects.

Question. It's a procedural question, having to do with organization rather than sovereignty, isn't it?

Answer. I wouldn't say it's "procedural." It's pretty fundamental. It involves how much of the world's population will be in or not.

TWO KINDS OF VETO

Question. But isn't it a technical point between the use of the veto to protect your own interests and the use of the veto to prevent somebody else's government from being admitted? They're two different things, aren't they?

Answer. They are two entirely different things. I haven't any doubts that we could get the votes for the countries that belong in and get the votes against the countries that don't belong in.

Question. Suppose Congress takes no action whatsoever this next year with regard to amendment, just doesn't legislate at all—is there any automatic provision that expires with regard to the U. N.?

Answer. Oh, no. The charter is a treaty, you know. There's no time limit on it. What happens is that if a modification of the charter is agreed to, then it will go to Congress for ratification by two-thirds vote. That's what will happen. Anything that is proposed must be done with that in mind.

Question. To what extent are you a free agent as the head of the United States delegation? Do you have general instructions from the State Department and you implement them yourself?

Answer. I am in the Cabinet and go to almost all the Cabinet meetings. I can't go right now. This is a very busy time for me. Usually, however, when the Assembly is not going the way it is now, I come down to Washington every Friday for Cabinet meetings. So, I get policy guidance there. And I get it from the State Department.

Question. Would you say that the United Nations, as you have studied it, is a more effective instrument than the League of Nations?

Answer. Yes. I think it's a more realistic thing. I think they've learned from some of the mistakes of the League of Nations. There isn't any question about guaranteeing territorial integrity in the United Nations, which I think was one of the major mistakes in the League of Nations under article X. I don't think anyone seriously advocates that any more today. Even the Atlantic Pact doesn't do that. Because such a guaranty commits troops to precise geographic locations which may be very bad tactically.

Question. Your grandfather—Senator Lodge—was one of those who opposed that article X very vigorously, wasn't he?

Answer. Yes. I think my grandfather was ahead of his time.

Question. Do you think your grandfather would oppose what you're doing?

Answer. Oh, not at all. This thing is like an airport. It's something you've got to have. It's not a big, transcendental, world socialistic supergovernment. It's a practical device that you have to have, with the world getting smaller all the time.

Question. Why doesn't diplomacy still do that job today?

Answer. Well, diplomacy still does 90 percent of foreign relations. There's 10 percent that's very international in character where you waste too much time trying to take it up all the way round, one by one.

Question. To what extent are diplomats who are accredited to the United Nations performing diplomatic tasks at the U. N.? Is there much of that?

Answer. An Ambassador at the U. N., for instance, doesn't conflict at all with the Ambassador of his country here in Washington. He reports directly to his home government. They have no administrative connection. Of course, they may see each other at social functions. But it's a distinct work.

Question. Is it utilized for interchange?

Answer. Oh, yes, all the time.

MEETING THE RUSSIANS

Question. Is there more interchange, perhaps, with the Soviet Union representative at the time of the U. N meetings than there is in the way of contacts in Moscow itself?

Answer. More than in Moscow, more than in Washington.

Question. It's permanent diplomacy in effect, isn't it? Instead of occasional contacts, it is continuous—you are always there——

Answer. You are always there, and you bump into each other all the time in committee rooms, in corridors, in the delegates' lounge, and so on. It hasn't ever meant anything tangible since I've been there, but there's always the possibility that it may, and, if so, there's one less door for you to go through. I think the President feels that that contact is an asset for the American people to have just in case of need. It doesn't cost you anything.

Question. It boosts the caliber of the men who meet, too, doesn't it? In other words, ambassadors can meet in a capital, but the caliber of those men is not always the level of the men we send to the United Nations——

Answer. I've never served with a higher grade group of men than I am serving with there. The foreign governments make a tremendous effort to send intelligent men. It is a very interesting group of men to be associated with. The small countries make a tremendous effort. Because a man can have weight at the U. N. on his individual merits regardless of the size of his country.

ATOMIC ENERGY NEXT

Question. What is your opinion as to what is going to happen in the next few weeks in the Assembly? What is the nature of the subjects that you have up before this next Assembly?

Answer. Well, this is a wonderful year at the U. N., in my opinion, because for the first time there is no organized fighting going on anywhere and we have this chance

to take a step forward for President Eisenhower's plan of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

As a great man once said, "The United Nations is not created to take us to heaven, but to prevent us from going to hell." Nevertheless, if the United Nations can play a helpful part in the material well-being of the human race, it's a good thing, and it is a particularly good thing for us.

As this session we hope to do the United Nations side of implementing this proposal for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The other side of the plan is a treaty being negotiated now and setting up the agency which will put the fissionable materials to work. The United Nations should, we believe, set up a sicentific conference whereby all these nations can make known their wants and get plans that transcend national frontiers so that these fissionable materials will be used in the most intelligent way. That is going to be—to me, anyway—the biggest thing in the Ninth General Assembly.

Of course, in the Security Council you never can tell what you're going to have. You can get anything there on short notice. But that, I think, is the biggest thing in the General Assembly. I have my doubts as to the Soviet's disarmament proposal that they're discussing now. It looks to me like lots of window dressing. They don't ever want to come to a serious talk about inspection.

They want to talk about inspection in the Security Council where they have the veto. Whenever they want to put anything into the Security Council you want to look out, because that's where they have the veto. They wanted to do that at the time of the Guatemala thing last June. They wanted to use the Security Council as a cover to take over Guatemala and so torpedo the Inter-American system.

Question. What do you think is the overall value in our proposals with reference to the civilian uses of atomic energy?

Answer. It's very real. The world politicians, as I see them at the U. N., are fed up with propaganda and gestures and cold-war stuff. There isn't a single cold-war device that they don't see. Now, certain parts of the public may be fooled by them, but the politicians are not. They think we are genuine and we mean it. This peaceful use of atomic energy is a proof of our genuineness.

I think, perhaps, one of our greatest national assets throughout the world is that people think we are kind. I hear it said that we're the first powerful nation in history that has been kind and hasn't wanted to imperialize and throw its weight around. This atomic proposal is tangible proof that we have a heart and we are kind, and I think it has done us an enormous amount of good.

The fact that after President Eisenhower made it, on the 8th of December, we worked quietly all this time without making a lot of propaganda out of it, I think, shows our sincerity. It showed that we were making a sincere effort to have productive bilateral negotiations with the Soviet Union, which failed.

WHY WARMONGERS?

Question. And yet people come back from Europe and tell us repeatedly that throughout the world we are regarded as warmongers——

Answer. The Communists are trying to make it seem that way, and I will say that some of our fellow citizens cooperate with them, sometimes unwittingly, because we do have some people who talk of nothing but dropping the bomb. Many of our magazines print these long articles about how we are going to attack and how this is going to happen and that is going to happen. Of course, every time we do that, the Communists pick it up and say, "There's the voice of the United States Government," and repeat it.

We don't always put our best foot forward. The noises that come out of America are often not the representative noises. The things that go out abroad about us are the things that are trivial—vulgar movies, armchair strategists, braggarts, and things like that.

The Soviets send pianists, ballet dancers, chess players, and in Europe they're beginning to think how civilized the Russians are and that the Americans think about nothing but the atomic bomb. I think we ought to put more money into showing the world what we really are.

Question. Isn't it amazing that men such as Clement Attlee, of Britain, who you think would know better, or Aneurin Bevan make the same charges?

Answer. Well, of course, I am speechless when I think of some of the things Attlee and Bevan have been saying.

Question. But they are representative of lots of people in Europe——

Answers. I don't know how representative they really are. I saw what Prime Minister Churchill said recently about the Anglo-American alliance, which I thought was pretty good, and I don't think if it came right down to a vote that the rank and file of the Labor Party would follow Bevan on cutting off ties with the United States.

INDIA'S INFLUENCE

Question. Do people like India's Krishna Menon have much influence in the U. N.?

Answer. Well, India is a great country in population. People pay a lot of attention to India. I pay a lot of attention to India. Whoever is representative of India is going to have a lot of attention paid him.

Question. You have a pretty good speaking knowledge of French, don't you?

Answer. Yes. I speak French.

Question. Would you say it has been helpful?

Answer. Very helpful indeed. French is a second language with many, many people.

Question. Do you write French as well as you do English?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do many of the Russians there speak French?

Answer. Yes, quite a few Russians speak French. There are lots of Latin Americans who speak French—although I speak a little bad Spanish. French is a second language for some of the Arabs. French is very, very useful.

Question. How about the other people in your delegation—do any of them have other languages?

Answer. I make it a point always to have a Russian-language man on my staff. I have some very good Spanish-language men. There are five official languages in the U. N. I haven't a man who speaks Chinese because the Chinese all speak perfect English.

Question. How many members are there in the United States delegation?

Answer. Every country is entitled to 10 delegates—5 delegates, 5 alternates—to the General Assembly. The alternates are not like alternates to a national convention. They do everything the delegates do. The only difference is they sit lower down. There are 60 countries, most of them with a delegation of 10, so there are nearly 600 delegates.

Question. There are a good many social functions?

Answer. There have to be. You see, it's like a national convention that runs for 3 months—if you can imagine such a thing. You get all these people coming in from all over the world. There are not only the 600 delegates. There are X number of attachés and juniors, and you have to get to know everybody quickly and try to maintain a friendly atmosphere.

Question. Going back to a point we touched on, this document issued by the International Civil Service Advisory Board which indicated to some people that the allegiance of a United Nations employee was forsaken to his own country and greater allegiance given to the United Nations—how is that really viewed in the U. N.?

Answer. Well, of course, that is a perfectly preposterous concept. When I was asked about it on Meet the Press recently, I denounced it immediately because no American who works for an international organization puts himself above the law of the United States. It's perfectly ridiculous.

There is no higher allegiance there than the allegiance to our own flag. There's no allegiance at all to the United Nations. It's an organization, it's an instrumentality, it's a contrivance. It's a very useful, necessary thing, but it has none of the attributes of government.

It was a very wrong and unfortunate use of the word "loyalty." I went around to the United Nations the next day, and the Secretary General issued a statement to the press completely sustaining my viewpoint. The report was badly worded in the first place, and then it was further misunderstood in the press. The Chairman of the Board issued a statement to that effect. Of course, the Board is only advisory to the Secretary General, anyway.

QUESTION OF LOYALTY

Question. How does this question of allegiance come up? Is there any occasion on which a professional employee of the United Nations would be asked to do something that would be contrary to the interests of the United States?

Answer. I can't imagine it. It's never happened.

Question. Why does the question come up, then?

Answer. In this U. N. Secretariat case it was really a misunderstanding because of poor choice of words. But a real loyalty question has come up in the case of UNESCO, because eight Americans employed by UNESCO have had a negative loyalty report from the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board of the United States Government. Seven of them wouldn't even appear, let alone answer any questions. These people evidently think because they work for UNESCO they don't have to do what every other American would.

Question. What redress do we have in a case like this?

Answer. To state the facts and press the organization to correct the situation.

Question. How can those people receive funds from the United States Government?

Answer. They do so indirectly through our contribution to UNESCO. However, that's up to the Congress and the State Department. UNESCO is not in my jurisdiction. The question is important only in UNESCO. It has no reality as far as the U. N. itself is concerned because we have never had any such problem.

Question. Are those people still functioning as employees of UNESCO?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Can they be held in contempt of anything? Can they be arrested?

Answer. I don't know what you can do with them. They are in Paris. You can take away their passports, perhaps. I don't know. The State Department has tried patiently. Mr. Gerety, who has been chairman of this International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board, has been very patient. I should imagine that the United States Government could do quite a number of things. But you ought to ask the State Department about that. You're getting out of my field.

"STATELESS" FRIENDS

Question. Are there any stateless people on the secretariats of international organizations?

Answer. Yes, there are, and some are very good friends of ours. That's why I think it would be a pity to pass a law which says that nobody shall work for the United Nations

who isn't approved by the Attorney General. If we did that, then all countries would be able to do the same thing and we might lose some of these anti-Communists who are very friendly to us and who do us a lot of good. It would be a good idea to pass a law like that if we weren't screening our nationals in the Secretariat in other ways, but we are weeding them out through the President's Executive order.

We have 1,800 Americans there and all of the policymaking ones in important positions have been cleared, from Ralph Bunche, Director of the U. N. Trusteeship Division, on down. There are only a handful, about 50, who have not yet been cleared, and they are in very minor jobs. They will be reviewed shortly. So, when you are working it out effectively that way, why hamstring yourself by passing a law which will result in some of your good friends in their being dismissed?

Federal Payroll Reduced by $612 Million in 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, the Federal payroll for civilian employees of the executive branch during the calendar year 1954 was $612,123,000 less than for the preceding calendar year.

In December 1954, the number of Federal civilian employees was 186,238 less than in January 1953.

Since 1930 the population of the United States has increased 30 percent. In the same period the number of Federal employees increased 300 percent and the dollar amount of the payrolls increased 900 percent.

However much we may wish for even more substantial reductions in the payroll figures than were accomplished in 1954, the achievement of President Eisenhower's administration on this score is tremendously significant and heartening.

Not only have the brakes been put on, so far as a dangerous 20-year trend is concerned, but the trend has actually been reversed.

The following charts, taken from News Bulletin No. 49, issued by Paul O. Peters, give the comparative executive payroll figures for the calendar years 1953 and 1954:

Calendar year 1953

Month	Employees	Payrolls
January	2,554,310	$893,513,000
February	2,546,954	836,739,000
March	2,526,819	897,785,000
April	2,502,772	887,785,000
May	2,478,963	799,638,000
June	2,482,359	823,980,000
July	2,454,714	834,482,000
August	2,430,412	783,594,000
September	2,401,912	808,805,000
October	2,373,113	787,943,000
November	2,366,710	757,788,000
December	2,357,294	874,352,000
Total for 1953		9,986,386,000

Calendar year 1954

Month	Employees	Payrolls
January	2,346,892	$756,498,000
February	2,340,962	729,975,000
March	2,340,137	803,530,000
April	2,335,296	782,146,000
May	2,330,509	751,688,000
June	2,333,894	781,945,000
July	2,332,200	774,902,000
August	2,331,508	774,464,000
September	2,317,565	780,632,000
October	2,323,029	753,513,000
November	2,343,707	780,632,000
December	2,368,072	904,338,000
Total for 1954		9,374,263,000

George Washington: The Businessman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Mr. Clem D. Johnson, of Roanoke, Va., who is the president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. He delivered the address entitled "George Washington: The Businessman," at the annual George Washington Day dinner of the American Good Government Society, at Washington, D. C., on February 22, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I deem it a high privilege to have a special part in this tribute to the Father of our country.

One of our 19th century historians, Herbert B. Adams, once observed that, "It would seem as though in one way or another, all lines of our public policy lead back to George Washington, as all roads led to Rome."

In my opinion, Mr. Adams' comment would be no less true had it been written yesterday. It is safe to say that we have never gone wrong by heeding Washington's advice.

Lord Brougham, the Scottish statesman, referred to Washington as "the greatest man that ever lived in this world uninspired by divine wisdom and unsustained by supernatural virtue."

Of course, his lordship's judgment might have been colored just a little bit. Brougham was the author of a manuscript entitled "Statesmen in the Time of George III," and considering the caliber of the British Ministry in that day and age, this must have been a dismal undertaking.

By contrast, it seems logical that Washington assumed an almost Olympian luster.

Nevertheless, Lord Brougham's superlative appraisal of the first President is by no means undeserved, although I believe that we prefer to think of Washington as sort of a common denominator of ourselves—as the average American raised to the *n*th power.

For all his special qualities, George Washington was intensely human, and the more we think of him in that perspective, the more his memory becomes our surest anchor to the fundamentals of our Republic and to the precepts of the men who brought it into being.

My assignment in this annual seminar on the life of George Washington is to discuss him as a businessman. No subject could be more to my liking, but I confess that I approached it with some trepidation. The stereotyped stories of the Washington career say little or nothing of his business talent and commercial adventures.

As children, we are exposed to the ridiculous legend of the hatchet and the cheery tree, which as you know, was a fabrication of a certain Parson Weems.

Then we find Washington as an attaché of a very foolish British general named Braddock. It was Braddock, you recall, who thought it was most unsporting of the Indians to shoot at him from ambush. One can only hope that in his final moments the general was sustained by the knowledge that he himself had obeyed every rule of war as he had learned them on the vacant lots and the cobblestoned squares of the Old World.

The third chapter in the Washington stereotype finds Washington summoned to command the continental troops. He is victorious—he is elected President—he refuses a third term and retires to Mount Vernon.

Somewhere along the line, the stereotype tells us that George Washington married the wealthiest young widow in Virginia, and we are left with the unhappy impression that he never really knew what it was to work for a living.

This assumption is absurd on the face of it. As many a man has discovered, it is frequently more difficult to mary money and to live with what comes with it than to earn a competence on his own hook.

The truth is that if ever there was a self-made man, it was George Washington, and those are not my words. I was quoting from the late Calvin Coolidge, and Mr. Coolidge was so cautious in his judgment that he wouldn't admit a sheep has been sheared unless he had walked all around it and seen both sides of it.

A little research in the business life of Washington reveals that he was not only a self-made man but got off to an early start.

He was worth at least $20,000 by the time he was 21, and every shilling had been acquired through his own efforts, and no thanks to anyone. At the age of 16, he was a qualified surveyor, with a commission to survey a vast acreage in the Shenandoah Valley then possessed by Lord Fairfax.

The young Washington spent 3 rugged years in the wilderness, working at daily wages that varied from $7.20 to $21.70 in terms of our money—and no squirrel was ever more thrifty. Or any young eagle more farsighted.

While on his mission for Lord Fairfax, Washington patented 500 acres of wild land in Frederick County for himself, and pridefully called it My Bull-Skin Plantation, because of its proximity to Bullskin Creek. At the age of 18, his savings were sufficient for him to buy 456 acres adjoining this plantation for £112.

And when he was 20, he bought 525 additional acres on Bullskin Creek for £150. At 21, he had about 1,500 acres of good land and had spent considerable money on improvements. The clearing and cultivating of his holdings were not long delayed after he had staked out his claim and made his purchases.

The young Washington had known from childhood that he must make his own way. He was a younger son, while the principal heir to his father's estate was his half-brother Lawrence. His father left George a typical younger son's portion—a few acres on the Rappahannock—but not until the death of his mother, when he was a middle-aged man, did Washington come into possession of this bequest—and by that time it was only frosting on the cake he had baked for himself.

It is true, of course, that he came into possession of Mount Vernon through the untimely death of his half-brother Lawrence and the even more untimely death of Lawrence's daughter, Sarah, but Washington had already started on the road to wealth and would have acquired it without assistance.

The popular picture of George Washington as the pampered son of a rich father rather fades away when one peruses this record, and there emerges instead the portrait of a determined young free enterpriser who knows exactly where he is going and how to get there.

George Washington was a born businessman with a knack for management and a head for figures that his fellow executors of his half-brother's estate were not slow to discover. The other four dumped the burden of administration on his youthful shoulders. Lawrence had been the principal stockholder in the Principio Iron Works which operated profitable mines in Maryland and Virginia, and had been active in the business. George stepped into his place until the estate's interests were sold, thus acquiring his initial experience in an industrial concern.

At the same time, he was the administrator of a farflung empire known as the Ohio Company of which Lawrence had been president and principal stockholder. It was a development project involving a half million acres of western Virginia land—and a ticklish operation all the way around, for the French thumbed their noses at Virginia titles and claimed the whole of it.

Fortunately for young Washington—and fortunately for the United States as it turned out—Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia was disposed to argue with the French, partly because he too was a stockholder in the enterprise.

And so we find George, at the age of 21, commissioned by the governor to dispute the French claims—first by exploring the territory and then as an officer of militia with orders to settle the matter by force, if need be.

While these adventures more properly belong in the military phase of the Washington career, they served to introduce Washington to a territory in which he was to be much interested later on, both as a land owner and as President struggling to establish the land policies of a nation.

Meanwhile, there was Mount Vernon, an operation so large for its day, that it needed a strong hand to guide it in order to pay off, and Washington, the businessman, plunged into the multiple duties of a farm manager.

We can dismiss from our minds any picture of Washington as the gay young blade of the fox hunts, revels, balls, and routs of an easy going country squire life. There was social life aplenty, true enough, but the work came first.

Soldiering had not been a moneymaking enterprise, and while George was rich enough in land when he returned to Mount Vernon he was almost penniless as far as ready cash was concerned. The estate was neglected, run by indifferent management, and its records were either nonexistent or in a wild tangle.

As a farm manager, Washington would have no trouble filling one of the top jobs in that field today. Besides that he loved the life, and he once said that "the life of the husbandman of all others, is the most delightful. It is honorable, it is amusing, and with judicious management, it is profitable."

Every acre he owned or managed he sought to make profitable, and it might well be said that he was several generations ahead of his time in soil conservation, crop rotation, and fertilizing methods. We find among his writings the comment that "the present mode of cropping practiced among us, is destructive to landed property, and must, if persisted in much longer, ultimately ruin the holders of it."

It is regrettable that Washington left us no thoughts on the subject of farm price supports, but as one reads between the lines of his agricultural methods, one is given the impression that he probably would not have approved.

Mount Vernon had produced some bumper crops of tobacco, but Washington disliked the manner in which tobacco drained the soil of its substance and he concentrated on the small grains, particularly wheat. In later years, he built his own flour mills, becoming the largest flour producer and merchant in the colonies.

He was then a surveyor, a dealer in lands, a coal-mine operator, a farmer, a miller, and on the side, a fisherman.

He tells of catching 50,000 herring in one night, all of which were salted down for sale.

This operation and others made it necessary for him to employ skilled labor on rather an extensive scale, and his relations with his help were uniformly excellent.

The term "fringe benefit" was then unknown, but we find him signing a contract with an expert gardener wherein it is specified that the gardener was to have "₤4 at Christmas with which he may be drunk for 4 days and 4 nights; ₤2 at Easter to effect the same purpose, so at Whitsuntide to be drunk for 2 days; a dram in the morning and a drink of grog at dinner at noon." Those of course, were the happy days of strong beer at tuppence the quart.

It was against this background as a colonial businessman that Washington was summoned to command the first American Army.

As an officer of Virginia militia, he had learned more than the art of war. He had learned the infinite details of administration that enter into preparing an army for the field and maintaining its lifeline of supplies.

As a private entrepreneur, he was known throughout the colonies for his shrewd business brains, his meticulous honesty, and his almost uncanny ability to pick the right man for the right job.

Washington's mind was the business mind. He was not a businessman in the modern sense of the word, solely because he did not live in a business age. But the problems which he understood and knew how to solve were executive problems, and he approached them in the executive manner. His ability expressed itself in the selection of subordinates and in getting results through them.

And he needed all of this ability when he took over as Commander in Chief of the American forces. We all like to think that the Revolution represented a popular uprising of an outraged citizenry—when the truth is that only a minority of the citizens were sufficiently aroused to give aid and comfort to the cause.

The total population of the colonies was about 2½ million. Of these, half a million were slaves. Of the remaining 2 million, one-third, at least, were definitely Tories. This left 1,400,000, about one-fifth of which were potential soldiers.

Had all of them entered the service, Washington might have had an armed force of 280,000 men. But he never had any more than 25,000 men in his command at any one time, and that number rarely.

He found himself in command of an army without food or clothing; an army that was beset by short-term enlistments and rankled by hand-to-mouth pay in dubious currency. It had little artillery, and gunpowder was frequently so scarce there were only 10 rounds issued to a man.

We have all been told of the rigors of Valley Forge, and we are given a pathetic picture of Washington retiring to the quiet of a snow-swept glen to kneel in prayer for divine guidance in an hour of dreadful crisis. Perhaps he did pray, but we might just as well be told a little more often that Washington was strong for the idea that God helps those who help themselves.

He had chosen Valley Forge as winter quarters in 1777 partly because of its proximity to Philadelphia, which was occupied by the British, and partly because the countryside was rich in wheat and cattle, which the honest farmers were eager to sell—if someone had the wherewithal in gold.

Washington had no gold, and the farmers seemed to be somewhat lacking in that impulsive quality of patriotism so necessary to make continental money look attractive. As a result, the British in Philadelphia got the beef and wheat—and the troops at Valley Forge gnawed on their belts and bootlaces.

Then Washington went into action. He issued an order—quite without authority, of course—that all farmers within a distance of 70 miles must thresh one-half of their wheat by the first of February, and the other half by the first of March.

Otherwise, he would seize it all and pay for it as straw. He sent his officers to enforce this order, and on the side, they contrived to persuade the reluctant agriculturists to part with cattle as well. Perhaps we had better not inquire too closely into the methods by which this persuasion was accomplished.

We do know, however, that Washington insisted that careful records be kept, so that every farmer would be paid in the end.

Naturally, there were many complaints to the Continental Congress, and in answer to charges filed against him, Washington replied that "necessity had warranted" his conduct, and he added that "a character to lose, an estate to forfeit, the inestimable blessing of liberty at stake, and a life devoted must be my excuse."

He was the original "Do it now man," and I have often wondered if the phrase, "Let George do it," might not have originated as a result of his administration of the Continental Army.

The Congress hesitated to make adequate provisions for arms and provisions in the weird concept that the people might protest from fear of military tyranny, and the public felt that patriotism from a small group of men was all that was required to insure success.

It was well known then, as now, you see, that any American could lick 10 lobsterbacks or 10 foreigners from anywhere—with his hands tied behind him.

Washington was under no such illusions, which probably accounts for his welcome to Baron von Steuben as drill master of the Army and his welcome to other foreign officers of experience in specialized arts of war.

While it is true that he might have bumbled in choosing Benedict Arnold to command West Point, he more than made up for this by the selection of such officers as Nathaniel Greene for important commands.

Greene was to Washington what Stonewall Jackson was to Robert E. Lee—a faithful subordinate of superior skill, the dependable vice president of what might well be called a new corporation—a man who could be given an assignment and then left to his own resources to carry it through with success.

Washington's career as a general was rather aptly summed up by Calvin Coolidge when he said that "we see the qualities of a great man of business which he brings to serve the vast task of organizing and equipping his armies."

The business general became the business President.

Once again, he surrounded himself with capable subordinates. Alexander Hamilton he had known and trusted for 12 years, and

he made him Secretary of the Treasury. Henry Knox was a trusted officer of the Revolution and became Secretary of War; Edmund Randolph was Attorney General, and Thomas Jefferson—largely because of his experience abroad—became Secretary of State.

One biographer of George Washington describes the launching of the first administration in the following words:

"The business in hand was to maintain and strengthen a new Nation with the aid of nation-builders of vision and courage. The war experience, coupled with a knowledge of the everyday man, since that time, had convinced Washington that the average citizen was not thinking nationally—that he had no conception of what was really taking place in the formation of a republic but was still immersed in local self-government. The education of the average citizen was a job to be performed by wise and efficient service from men who, like himself, were ready to set an example and live and act for the common good."

One of the first orders directed to the executive staff of the infant Government by the first President reads like this:

"Let me impress the following maxim upon executive officers. In all important matters, deliberate maturely, but execute promptly and vigorously and do not put things off until tomorrow which can be done and require to be done today. Without an adherence to these rules, business will never be done, or done in an easy manner, but will always be in arrears, with one thing treading upon the heels of another."

The word "arrears" in that quotation is highly pertinent, for if the new nation was anything at all, it was busted. There is no need to dwell on the manner in which the first Washington administration tackled the question of sound money and the public debt.

We will all be hearing more of that during the Alexander Hamilton bicentennial in 1957. And in passing, may I say that I am happy to note that the Alexander Hamilton Commission for which plans were first announced at this dinner last year, is now a going concern, with the blessing of the Congress and the administration.

Hamilton's program, it goes without saying, could not have succeeded without the strong shoulder of Washington behind the wheel. Washington viewed a public debt with the same repugnance that he had always viewed a private debt. He abhorred the idea of cheap money; he was anti-inflationary—and while we usually look to his writings for inspiration in more esthetic matters, it might behoove us to remember that he was what we today would call a bug on economy. This extended to his personal life as president.

On one occasion, the steward of his household found that only one shad was available in the market, and knowing Washington's liking for this fish, he bought it without stopping to count the cost.

When the fish was served, the President asked him how much it had cost. Washington knew the shad season as well as any fisherman of his day, and this wasn't the shad season.

"Three dollars," said the steward.

"Take it away," Washington thundered. "Take it away. It shall never be said that my table sets such an example of luxury and extravagance."

It would be fatuous for me to suggest that George Washington was the prototype of the modern man of business, and yet I believe that a businessman can read his biographies and his writings with an understanding that needs but little nudging from those who make a profession of interpreting the Washington career.

The fundamental principle underlying all of his private business operations was that the possession of property carried with it an obligation to make it produce profitably for the owner and at the same time contribute something to the common good.

He carried that same principle into public life, translating it to mean that stewardship of national affairs must function on the business pattern.

Nowhere do we find any record of Washington subscribing to the present-day picturization of work as an evil or to the philosophy that a man with a 20-hour workweek is somehow twice as happy as a man with a 40-hour workweek, and that presumably the happiest man of all is the man with a "no-hour" workweek—what the wags now refer to as a guaranteed annual wage with full unemployment.

George Washington was not only prudent, thrifty, and industrious—he got real joy out of his work—he knew the satisfaction of a good job well done.

His whole life was dedicated to building, to producing, to uplifting. I suspect that he did these things instinctively, not from his high sense of duty, but because he found them pleasant and satisfying and because they appealed to his innate sense of rightness.

Somehow it is hard for us to imagine George Washington demanding rigid price supports or free Government fertilizer, more pay for less work or advocating repeal of a State right-to-work law, or buying off a labor racketeer.

It would be hard to picture him in a movement to obtain freedom from want and freedom from fear at the cost of his own personal freedom of action.

George Washington, businessman, farmer, one of the richest Americans of his day, did not hesitate to risk his fortune and life when freedom was at stake.

Have times changed so much that we can now afford to ignore his example?

Failure To Educate Young Americans Is Good News to the Russians Who Are Going Strong With Their Own Educational Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the February 21, 1955, issue of the Montgomery (Ala.) Examiner:

IKE'S EDUCATION PLAN A DUD

President Eisenhower has been sold a bill of goods on his program for school construction, according to top school men over the Nation, including those in Montgomery.

They say the administration plan amounts to little more than saying to the States—"Do it yourselves."

Senator LISTER HILL is among those who do not take the school crisis lightly. He says there must be a substantial school construction prorgam if our American children are to get a decent education. Senator HILL insists that the United States, as the world's richest nation and its leader, must prepare youngsters to lead.

The issue boils down to this: Either Uncle Sam does the job, or it won't be done.

And failure to educate young Americans is good news to the Russians, who are going strong with their own educational program, including the preparation of technical men and scientists.

Ike would do well to get behind the education plans being offered by Senator HILL and other Democrats.

Conditions in Foreign Shipyards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, the Senate Water Transportation Subcommittee, of which I had the privilege of serving as chairman, made an inspection trip in Europe last fall, and upon its return submitted a comprehensive report relating to conditions in foreign shipyards. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] as chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, obtained unanimous consent, on February 18, to have this report printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and it is contained on page A1044.

As a supplement to that report, I should like to direct the attention of the Senate to comments which were made on December 8, 1954, at a panel discussion on shipbuilding and ship repair, held in connection with the American Merchant Marine Conference and 28th annual meeting of the Propeller Club of the United States at Miami, Fla. These observations very succinctly emphasize the point that the relative efficiency of the United States shipyards in world shipbuilding is a matter of great importance to the economy and security of the United States.

With the hope that this excellent paper, entitled "Relative Efficiency of United States Shipyards in World Shipbuilding," prepared and delivered by Mr. Harry W. Pierce, president, New York Shipbuilding Corp., will contribute to a better understanding of the problems of our shipbuilding and ship repair industries, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In the year just past, I have talked to a great many people in an attempt to impress them with two urgent needs; that of a strong and modern American merchant marine and that of a healthy shipbuilding industry in these United States. My interest is not wholly altruistic or objective—in fact, I will cheerfully admit that it is partially self-serving. As president of the New York Shipbuilding Corp., my own interests and personal welfare are bound up with shipbuilding. If there is no American merchant fleet there will be little, if any, shipbuilding beyond that carried on by our own Navy. As one who finds a peculiar and lasting satisfaction in ships and shipping, and because I believe sincerely and wholeheartedly in the importance of both to our national defense, as well as to the national economy, my labor sprang also from conviction that the cause is just.

A great many ships have been built by the maritime countries of the world since the end of World War II. A surprisingly large number—over 250 seagoing ships—aggregating over 5 million tons—have been built by American companies or American capital, but not in the United States. Shipbuilding has thrived in England, in Sweden, in Holland, to mention some of the leaders. It continues to flourish, particularly now in Western Germany and Japan. Yet with all this activity the shipyards of the United States have seen few similarly busy or prosperous years. At no time has there been anything like full utilization of the relatively modest peace-time potential of our established building yards. Why not?

The basic answer, of course, is price—that is, the cost of the ship to the customer. Of course, the price tag is not always the only consideration, for we have seen in recent years a situation in tankers, where time of delivery was more important than first cost. There are many other factors as well—financing arrangements or inducements, tax considerations, exchange rates or frozen currencies, indirect subsidies, protective laws and governmental regulations and, in many cases, national pride.

Nevertheless, I think there will be little dispute with the general premise that the bulk of shipbuilding contracts flow to the area where the customer gets the best price, all factors considered. Why then is the United States at such a disadvantage in the world market for ships? To put it another way, if ships for other than coastwise trade are to be built in this country, it is apparent that this can be done only through subsidy. For what, then, does this subsidy from the taxpayer pay? Are we only equalizing cost factors which result from the high American wage rates, or are we compensating for inefficiency and lack of enterprise and ingenuity on the part of American shipyards? If it is solely the matter of American wage scales or living standards, then why do not the same circumstances apply with equal force to all manufactured products? How do we sell anything in the world markets without subsidy, or protect our own home markets without excessive tariffs or regulations?

I am not going to attempt an exhaustive discussion on so wide a field as the questions above imply. Nor will I belabor this group with a debate on fundamental policies on which I feel sure we would find little disagreement. Rather, I would like to attempt to answer in terms understandable to our average fellow citizens, the question of relative efficiency and why we find ourselves at a particular disadvantage in shipbuilding. As anyone who has been involved even slightly in the question of shipbuilding subsidies knows full well, precise and mathematical determination of cost differentials are wellnigh impossible. This difficulty itself would force me to keep my observations in general terms. Regardless of differentials, the selling price of any fabricated article the world over is made up of four parts: (1) Labor, direct and indirect; (2) materials or services bought by the builder; (3) fixed charges or overhead, taxes, insurance, etc.; (4) profit.

Of these factors, we today will deal principally with only one—labor—which is by far the major consideration. It is obvious that labor enters into the cost of materials and services bought and therefore any advantage in general labor costs is reflected in lower material costs to the foreign shipbuilder. In any specific case this is susceptible of reasonably accurate determination. The cost of indirect labor is likewise a large part of overhead, but the real importance of overhead lies in the volume of work to which it must be allocated. Exorbitant profit margins simply do not exist in this competitive day; and if anything, percentagewise, higher margins are a matter of accepted practice abroad.

The labor cost is the product of two factors: the man-hours spent in performing work multiplied by the rate of pay.

The second of these factors—the rate of pay—is very largely beyond the control of the shipbuilder. The charge is often made that in the wartime days of cost-plus, or where subsidies are concerned, the shipbuilding employer has no incentive to oppose exorbitant demands made by his labor and that he cheerfully submits the bill to the Government. This is a charge neither easily proven or disproven. When management and labor sit down in collective bargaining to negotiate wage rates, many elements enter the picture. Certainly no shipbuilder has a desire to price himself out of the market, even as far as his American competition is concerned, although this is a consideration that apparently does not enter into some union thinking.

Nevertheless, in shipbuilding there is no great departure from the general industry pattern when all factors are considered, nor are there great differences between that pattern and corresponding rates in other heavy industry. Fringe benefits, which are so large a part of present day labor costs, premiums paid by various incentive or bonus systems, holidays and other payments for time not worked, make direct comparisons within our own country difficult. A comparison is practically impossible when applied to foreign countries, with the added complications of exchange rates and Government aid, particularly in those countries with a socialistic regime. In a paper presented in March 1953 at the meeting of the Philadelphia section of the Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, Mr. Ingvar Jung gave a table of average wages for shipyard workers, reduced to United States dollars per hour as follows:

United States of America	1.80
Scandinavia	.80
Sweden	.90
Denmark	.64
Norway	.55
Great Britain	.54
Germany	.40
Holland	.38
Italy	.33
Japan	.10

As has been pointed out, exact comparisons are difficult or impossible. The figures quoted, however, are in general agreement with other sources and can be taken to at least indicate the tremendous cost handicap faced by the American shipyards.

If it were possible to reduce all elements to real wages, we could better evaluate the differential faced by the American shipbuilder. The major differences in the standard of living are quite evident to even the most casual visitor to foreign lands. One has only to look at the bicycles parked around a Dutch shipyard, and the automobiles at one of our own. Or look at the average workingman's home in this country with its television, electrical appliances, and other luxuries. Or look at the relatively expensive hobbies or recreational pursuits of the average American in comparison with his foreign counterpart.

I am sure no one wants to see the standard of living reduced in this country. It is what makes America great. Nor is the skilled shipyard worker one bit less deserving of the wages with which to enjoy these good things than the plumber, machinist, or the electrician in other industry. In fact, the fluctuation in shipyard employment, some of shipbuilding's physical drawbacks and hazards, make it sufficiently less desirable an occupation so that wages paid should not be considered so grossly out of line as they are frequently represented to be.

We here are primarily interested in the relative efficiency of foreign and American yards, i. e., the output per man-hour. For the purpose of further analysis in this direction, differences in output per man-hour could be due to some or all of the following: (a) Greater industry on the part of men; (b) greater skill as craftsmen; (c) more extensive or better use of modern tools; (d) development of new and timesaving methods; (e) simplification of product. Each of these deserves a bit of elaboration, if only to stimulate later discussion.

There is little published data to substantiate or disprove the relative diligence of various national groups. Further, as in America, there is significant variation between yards in the same country. We hear much of the native industriousness of the Japanese, yet the tonnage output in the United States against total employment compares favorably with theirs. The power consumption curves I have seen in large Japanese shipyards indicate the same characteristics at the start and end of shifts as in our own. I am inclined to believe more the reports I read of the productivity of the West Germans, if only because most of the pertinent comment on their activities comes from competitive English builders. Certainly, the war proved the efficiency and effectiveness of free labor, even in the face of strikes and stoppages, over plodding slave labor. The American workman is subject to many psychological reactions, and there seems to be no question of his output once the proper incentive—and this is not always money—is offered.

In the matter of individual skill as craftsmen, I am inclined to believe that we actually have some advantage. It is true that the effectiveness of foreign industry is largely reliant on the aptitude of the individual craftsman as opposed to machine mass production in this country. Prolonged apprenticeships in our skilled trades are no longer so common as they were in the past. In their place, however, we find more stress on manual skills in our schools and the mechanical inclination of most of our youth, reflected in their amazing interest and skill in radio, model airplanes, hotrod cars, and similar hobbies.

In modern tools, I believe we have largely lost our one-time advantage. The use of electric power, pneumatic tools, modern welding and burning techniques, and specialized machine tools is now the common rule and not the exception abroad. Plants damaged during war years have been rebuilt, modernized, and reequipped. What plant manager would not welcome an opportunity to tear down parts of his plant and rebuild anew, particularly if the kindly Uncle in Washington footed much of the bill through ECA and Mutual Security aid?

Foreign shipyards have, by large, overtaken us in our war-gained lead in the development of the welded ship. The foreign inspection teams, under the auspices of the various economic recovery programs, gleaned much from their tours of American industrial plants and have obviously put the information to good use in modernizing their own plants and methods. Another more recent and perhaps far-reaching innovation in shipbuilding practice is European in origin. I refer to the use of the optical plate marking system wherein comparatively small-scale drawings, made very accurately, take the place of the oldtime full-scale loft layout, and are projected full size directly on the steel. Very considerable manpower savings are claimed and its adoption by leading yards throughout Europe is indicative. This development has not yet been accepted by the shipbuilding industry in this country, but it may be forced upon us by the lack of skilled loftsmen as well as its possibilities in labor saving.

Unquestionably, a most fertile field in this competitive day lies in the direction of cost reduction through simplification. The engineer's first answer to his problem is not always the best solution from the standpoint

of manufacture. Close liaison of drawing room and the shops can develop some amazing savings without detriment to the finished product and, in fact, frequently with improvement in function and maintenance. Special attention to this field is now being paid by some of our largest industrial corporations; it is one equally attractive to the shipbuilder and marine designer. This is not to be confused with another field in which the designer is vitally interested—constant research and improvement in structure, propulsion, fuel economy, better cargo handling, and so on. Through the research program of the Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, a united effort is being made to keep American design ahead of our foreign competition. The program has been primarily financed by the shipbuilders, but the program merits and has in large degree the financial support of all maritime industry.

Overriding all of the above avenues of attack on costs are the very simple but basic items of: (1) volume, (2) continuity. It has been through the development of mass production methods that American engineers have revolutionized industry and raised our standard of living. At the same time, mass production and a consistent reduction in the labor portion of the sales dollar has made it possible for America to undersell many a foreign product for years. The Old World concept of craftsmanship, of the custom-built article, the lack of enterprise to invest heavily in capital equipment, which could be justified only by volume production and mass selling, have been the salvation of the American manufacturer in many a foreign market. No less an authority than Business Week has pointed out in recent months that our foreign competitors are fast overhauling us in this field. An increasing use of mass production methods abroad, coupled with low wage rates, is making it harder for all American products to meet competition on the world market.

There has never been and, by the nature of ships, there simply cannot be mass production of ships in that same sense. Two world wars have led to the production of an extraordinary number of ships built from a single design. Such multiple ship production is only a small step toward the concept of mass production. True, these programs resulted in spectacular savings in successive ships. They made possible the dilution of trained shipbuilders, with the relatively quick training of green men to specialized jobs; intrinsic saving in engineering costs and through greater volume of purchases. The result, however, was not reduction of man-hours through mass production machine methods, but simply the opportunity to reduce man-hours through somewhat more efficient utilization of manual skills. Could Chevrolet or Ford, for example, tool up for an efficient run of 500 cars?

It is hardly necessary to point out here that in peacetime our domestic shipbuilding never has had neither the volume nor any degree of continuity that would supply stability to our industry. In bad times, the skilled shipbuilder seeks work in other and more stable industries. Once he is conversant with job stability, he is not likely to be drawn back into shipbuilding by sporadic programs. At the same time it would be an extraordinarily venturesome management who would invest the kind of money required for extensive facilities with such an indefinite and uncertain market ahead.

Summing up, I think we may fairly conclude that today's American shipyards measure up, on a productive basis, to foreign competition. As a matter of fact, a comparison of recent figures for tanker construction indicates quite clearly that at least a portion of the tremendous wage differential has been overcome, either through efficiency of some of our yards, or by drastic cuts in overhead and profit margins. The great disparity here and abroad lies solely in the matter of wages, which reflect the relative standards of living here and overseas. This differential is so great that it seems improbable that it can be overcome by any possible effort on the part of our shipyards alone; in other words, some Government assistance in the form of subsidy must help to bridge the gap. It is more than justified by the value of our shipyards both in national defense and as an essential part of our national economy. It is not paying for inefficiency or lack of effort.

Our survival in the world market beyond the reach of subsidy, however, presents a challenge to the labor, management, and technical personnel to prove their right to the American standard of living in outproducing foreign competition by sheer ingenuity, diligence, and teamwork.

Deficit Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRICE DANIEL
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Deficit Spending Is Leading Us to Dreadful Awakening," published in the Houston Chronicle.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

With America persisting in living off the cuff, we are heading for a dreadful awakening, Raymond Moley warned in a recent column in The Chronicle. He said that everyone is for economy in the abstract, but changes his tune when the economy affects him. He cited as examples an automobile executive who argued in favor of a large Federal expenditure for highways and a school-board member who wants more Federal aid for schools.

It is interesting to correlate the Moley article with an interview U. S. News & World Report had with Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey, entitled "Inflation Is Still a Threat."

Two of the Humphrey quotes are especially apropos. In commenting on the danger of inflation, he said, "unnecessary Government spending, inadequate or improper taxation, or excessive credit expansion could again lead to inflationary pressures if we are not constantly alert." To avoid more inflation, he said, two things are needed, "First of all, we have to keep our fiscal operations on a sound basis and keep working toward a balanced budget at the lowest levels of taxation consistent with our defense needs. On top of that, we have to be sure that our monetary and debt-management policies continue to be directed along that narrow road between inflation and deflation."

Since Humphrey is a member of the Eisenhower administration, his warning takes on added significance.

When the Government sets the pace with deficit spending—we have already been told there is no hope of a balanced budget for the next fiscal year—we are bound to have "loose money." That means inflation. It means also that we are selling our children and grandchildren into economic bondage. It means that the time is not far off when we must have a "dreadful awakening."

A National Prosperity Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, we are today faced with a great amount of propaganda concerning the economic prosperity of our Nation. This propaganda does not stand up in view of reliable statistics on the subject. I therefore offer for the information of my colleagues, a positive, forward looking program for a continued, increasing prosperous economy by men of outstanding ability. Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the attached article by the Conference on Economic Progress:

A NATIONAL PROSPERITY BUDGET

At home and abroad, America is faced with mounting responsibilities. Despite the most effective economic system ever devised, an excessive number of breadwinners have long been without jobs. In a land capable of almost limitless plenty, more than 7 million families have incomes below $1,000 a year, and millions of children lack adequate schools. And on the tense international front, America has become the central tower in the structure of freedom.

As we strive to fulfill our responsibilities, we should always remember this: We suffer from no poverty of resources. In some underdeveloped areas overseas which have become crucial to the future of freedom, hundreds of millions of people toil with scant means which make it hard to maintain a bare standard of living and to resist Communist encroachment. In sharp contrast, the United States now possesses an immense reservoir of idle men and other productive strength, pleading to be used to meet our needs. Between now and the end of this year, we can bring more than 2½ million unemployed and new workers—the most skilled and productive in the world—into the stream of usefulness. We can, without inflationary strain, expand our total output for 1955 at least 6 percent above 1954, and by the fourth quarter of this year lift it to about 8 percent, or about $30 billion at an annual rate, above current levels. If we unsheathe fully the great nonsecret weapon of our economic strength, we can more adequately and more easily serve our domestic needs and world responsibilities—and also balance the Federal budget.

But our current national economic policies are not well adjusted to the full use of this great nonsecret weapon. These policies seem geared to the objectives, optimistically described, of advancing our total output this year by only about 3 percent above last year. This would be far short of the expansion needed to keep up with a growing productivity and labor force. With such limited growth, the true level of unemployment—which includes both full-time unemployment and its part-time equivalent—would be likely to rise from about 4 million in 1954 as a whole to about 5 million in 1955 as a whole, with a considerably higher level by the year's end. That would leave us, even at the end of the year, with an annual rate of output nearly $20 billion below the full production level.

Moreover, it is doubtful whether under existing policies and programs we would register even a 3-percent rate of growth for this year. Farm personal income, so essential to national prosperity, is being pushed

further downward, despite a 20-percent reduction since 1951 and a per capita income for farmers averaging only about one-third that of other citizens. Auto production, the mainspring of the recent upturn, is scheduled to decline later this year. Business investment in plant and equipment is not expanding, small business is losing ground, and consumer incomes are not rising sufficiently. Public policies, instead of being adjusted upward to furnish the stimuli required for a full economy, are mainly being reduced downward to mesh with a stagnant or retarded economy.

National security and international economic assistance, already severely slashed, are being compressed further in the face of serious world difficulties. With the shortage in educational facilities already a national disgrace and becoming a national menace, the Federal Government which alone has the resources to meet most of this deficit has thus far proposed only a strikingly inadequate stopgap. Vast health needs are being countered by an assumption that some new way can be found to pay for better health without really spending money. Natural-resource developments, for conservation and power, highways and water supply, are being driven further downward, although they are already far below the requirements for national security, population growth, and private industrial development. Old-age insurance is being held to levels which furnish our senior citizens only about one-third of the cost of a decent standard of living, and unemployment insurance protection is so weak that close to 2 million of those unemployed in 1954 exhausted their benefits. Minimum wage proposals are not even keeping up with changes in living costs; much less with economic growth. With about one-third of all American families living in substandard housing, there is practically no rebuilding of slums, and without this the housing boom may be near the saturation point.

Efforts to give the financial account of the Government priority over the economic account of the country put second things first; in addition, they are self-defeating because the customary Federal budget is not and cannot be balanced in an unbalanced economy without taking domestic and international risks which quite properly no one should take. In calendar 1954, the Federal deficit was about $4 billion; in this calendar year, the prospective deficit is estimated at about $3.5 billion.

Instead of spiraling the servicing of our domestic and international needs downward in a resigned attitude toward high unemployment and slack production, this pamphlet proposes an alternative course. It advances for sober consideration by the American people and their leaders a set of programs and policies based upon legitimate hopefulness rather than unwarranted complacency; upon rising to what we can and must do, instead of crystallizing and perpetuating the failure to do our best. The practical goal of these programs is to bring forth, by the end of this year, the more than 2½ million new jobs and the almost $30 billion (8 percent) increase in the annual rate of total output, needed for full employment and almost full production.

To expand consumption, which is at the core of prosperity in relative peacetime, the personal income tax exemptions should be raised by about $200, furnishing about $4½ billion of additional purchasing power. The minimum wage law should be raised to $1.25 and coverage expanded, which by the end of this year might add another $2½ billion to purchasing power. Further to stimulate production and jobs, the annual average level of Federal outlays for this calendar year, in the conventional budget, should be raised about $3½ billion above those now contemplated, which in a much expanded economy would still be $6¾ billion below the 1953 level. Gradual expansion, to achieve the higher average for the year as a whole than now contemplated, could by the fourth quarter of this year add about $3 billion, stated at annual rates, to outlays for national security and international aid; about $750 million toward the restoration of agriculture; about $1 billion toward improved education and about $300 million toward improved health; and about $1 billion toward the protection and expansion of our natural resources base, including public works.

It is also proposed that old-age insurance benefit payments by the fourth quarter of this year be increased by about a billion dollars at annual rates, and that unemployment insurance be greatly strengthened. These changes would not result in higher Federal budget costs because of their method of financing, but they would add greatly to consumer buying by enlarging the receipts of low-income families, who spend a larger part of what they receive. And it is recommended that the Government undertake to lift the annual rate of slum clearance and low-rent housing to an annual rate of between 300,000 and 500,000 units by the end of this year. The subsidy cost of this to the Government would be only a few million dollars annually in the first year, but no other single measure would add so much toward reemployment and business stimulation through the channels of enterprise.

This program is entirely consistent with the purpose of the Employment Act of 1946 that maximum employment, production, and purchasing power be combined with the preservation of free competitive enterprise. The program deals with traditional programs, but expands them to match our needs and productive abilities. A rise in the annual rate of Federal spending above current levels by about $6 billion by the fourth quarter of this year would be accompanied by a rise of almost $30 billion in our total national product. Due to vast reemployment and appropriate wage increases, the annual rate of wage and salary income would rise by more than $15 billion. The annual rate of consumer spending—and consequently of business sales to consumers—would rise by about $16 billion. The annual rate of farm personal income, to make up for the gross disparity in farm income, would rise by about $4 billion; and expanded consumption of food and clothing, plus exports to underdeveloped areas, would cut deeply into farm "surpluses." The annual rate of total business investment would rise by about $6,500,000,000; exclusive of inventory change, it would rise by about $2,500,000,000. Corporate profits would rise by at least $2,500,000,000. The people of America would not only produce and consume more; they would also save about $3⅓ billion more at annual rates.

With this balanced economic expansion on all fronts, Federal spending under the customary budget would drop from 20.2 percent of total national output in calendar 1953 to 17.7 percent in calendar 1955. With a base established for even more solid economic progress in 1956, a balanced Federal budget in a balanced economy would result by the end of that calendar year.

Up to now, and out of line with the purposes of the Employment Act of 1946, separate economic policies and programs have been viewed in isolation, without looking at their effect upon the progress and well-being of the economy and the people as a whole. The farmer, old people, the unemployed, the small-business man, the low-income family, are being inadequately dealt with under scattered policies which measure what we think we cannot afford in detail without examining what we need and can best afford when we look at the whole picture. This trends toward a pennywise and pound-foolish policy.

Instead, we should embrace the concept of a national prosperity budget, which would blend in just proportion our common needs and capabilities in a full employment and full production program for all. Aside from the benefits to our national economy and our national security, this would stress the great moral values which weigh most in a democracy. It would bring the American people to an appreciation of the great things which bind us together instead of the small things which divide us; it would place the things we can achieve above the things we should not fear; it would range the things we must afford above the things we have erroneously come to believe we cannot afford; it would substitute for a sword hanging above our heads the great nonsecret weapon of our productive genius and capacity for progress when we pull together in practical pursuit of common goals.

The National Committee of the Conference on Economic Progress, all of whom do not necessarily subscribe to all details of this study, but who join in the desirability of placing it before the public, is listed on the outside of the back cover of this pamphlet. The staff work on this study, directed by Leon H. Keyserling, has been done by: Joel Darmstadter, Peter G. Franck, Mary Dublin Keyserling, Philip M. Ritz, and Warren C. Robinson. Help has also been received from John A. Baker, Wallace J. Campbell, Roy F. Hendrickson, Carl Huhndorff, Donald E. Montgomery, Robert A. Rennie, Stanley H. Ruttenberg, Elmer E. Walker, and Nat Weinberg.

Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner—Address by Hon. Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine address delivered by our colleague, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN] at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at Richmond, Va., on Friday, March 4, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR HERITAGE: A BLESSING AND AN OBLIGATION

(Address by Senator SAMUEL J. ERVIN, JR.)

I am grateful to the Democratic State Central Committee of Virginia for inviting me to join the militant and unterrified democracy of the Old Dominion in this Jefferson-Jackson Day gathering. The invitation affords me ample excuse for absenting myself for the time being from the babel of Washington, where the confusion engendered by the Republicans calls to my remembrance an event which occurred some years past in my home town of Morganton, N. C.

On that occasion my diplomatic colored friend, Jock Fleming, went automobile riding with two companions. The automobile was undobutedly full of gasoline. Its occupants were allegedly full of moonshine. The automobile left the road and turned over, causing substantial injuries to Jock's two companions. Jock was unhurt. After extricating Jock's companions from the wreckage and sending them to the hospital for medical attention, Morganton's Chief of Police,

Fons Duckworth, undertook to ascertain by inquiry of Jock who was driving the automobile at the time of the accident. He received this reply from Jock: "'Fore God, white folks, 'fore God, I don't know. The last thing I remember all three of us were riding on the back seat."

I trust you will pardon at this point an allusion rather personal in nature. I cannot come to the Old Dominion without experiencing emotions similar to those which prompted Moses to remove his sandals from his feet because he stood on Holy ground. Kindred of mine fought for the Confederacy in virtually every engagement on Virginia soil from Bethel to Appomattox. One of my great-uncles was killed in action at Seven Pines. Another fell in combat on the Darbytown Road.

In the words of Britain's heroic poet, Rupert Brooke:

"These laid the world away; poured out the red
Sweet wine of youth; gave up the years to be
Of work and joy, and that uphoped serene,
That men call age; and those who would have been,
Their sons, they gave, their immortality."
—*The Dead.*

Since their dust is commingled forever with Virginia's good earth, Viriginia to me is hallowed ground.

I wish to bear this testimony to the Democrats of Virginia: It is a great privilege to serve in the Congress with the able and devoted men sent by you to that body. Senators HARRY BYRD and WILLIS ROBERTSON and Congressmen WATKINS ABBITT, VAUGHN GARY, PORTER HARDY, BURR HARRISON, PAT JENNINGS, EDWARD ROBESON, HOWARD SMITH, and BILL TUCK bring to the performance of their legislative duties the high courage, intelligence, intellectual honesty, and patriotism which the Nation has long since become accustomed to expect of Viriginians.

In my remarks on this occasion, I forego discussion of the transient issues of the hour. I prefer to consider with you fundamental principles which must be preserved if the America we know and love is to endure.

1. OUR HERITAGE

As Americans, each of us can assert with the psalmist of old: "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage."

These words of the psalmist suggest the subject of my remarks: "Our Heritage: A Blessing and an Obligation.

We received our heritage in trust for ourselves and our children and our children's children from all those men and women, both great and small, whose blood, sweat, tears, and prayers made the America we know and love a living reality.

Our heritage is liberty. While liberty has blossomed in our land, love of liberty did not have its origin here. It was brought hither by courageous men and women from the British Isles, the vine-clad hills of France, and the Palatinate of Germany, who craved above all the things of earth the economic freedom, the political freedom, and the religious freedom denied to them by the tyrannical rulers of the Old World.

Since so many men now appear so anxious to swap the reality of human liberty for the mirage of economic security, it would be well if we would pause a moment, and ponder the choice our ancestors made when they forsook the compartive security of the Old World for the terrifying insecurity of the New. It was not without many pangs of regret that they turned their backs for all time upon the scenes of their childhood, the graves of their beloved dead, the comparative security of the then civilized world, and journeyed in tiny barks across a boisterous ocean to establish homes for themselves and their children and their children's children in what was then a perilous wilderness in a new and strange land.

Why did they do this? Why did they exchange the comparative security of the Old World for the terrifying insecurity of the New? The answer is simply this, and nothing more: They believed that only the slave, who depends upon a master for the bread of bondage, is really secure; and they knew that only the self-reliant soul, who spurns security for opportunity, is truly free. For this reason, they chose liberty rather than security.

Liberty reveals herself in a threefold guise as economic liberty, political liberty, and religious liberty. Let us consider her attributes in each of these aspects.

2. ECONOMIC LIBERTY

The brave men and women, who brought the love of liberty to these shores, did not learn economics sitting at the feet of those who promise "abundance for all by robbing "Selected Peter to pay for Collective Paul." They acquired their knowledge the hard way. Their teachers were despotic governments, which robbed them of the fruits of their labor by confiscatory taxation, and in that way reduced them to the status of economic slaves.

The valiant folk who made America great had the hardihood to accept the economic truths plainly visible to all persons who possess the capacity and willingness to meet reality face to face.

They knew that earth yields nothing to man except the products of his own labor. They knew that Adam's curse is an unchanging and unchangeable law of life: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground." They knew that man has but one choice in respect to this immutable economic fact, and that such choice is simply this: Whether the bread which he must eat in the sweat of his face shall be the bread of freedom or the bread of bondage. They knew this unalterable decree of the Creator of the universe: Freemen cannot be induced to produce things of value unless they are permitted to retain a fair share of the fruits of their labor for themselves and their families.

They knew, moreover, that man can be free only if he is willing to accept the responsibility for his own life which is inseparable from liberty.

3. POLITICAL LIBERTY

The political philosophy of the Founding Fathers is readily understood if one bears in mind the historical fact that the Thirteen Original States—Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Virginia—became self-governing Commonwealths 12 years before the United States had its legal birth.

The representatives of the people of these States met in constitutional conventions, and framed State constitutions. These men were conversant with the story of the long and bitter struggle of the English-speaking race for some substantial measure of dignity and freedom for the individual. They loved liberty and loathed tyranny, and were convinced that government itself would have to be compelled by fundamental law to respect the inherent rights of the individual if freedom were to be preserved and oppression were to be prevented. In consequence, they inserted in the constitutions of the States declarations of rights designed to protect citizens from the States.

It was no accident that the first words incorporated in the constitutions of the original States were declarations to the effect "that all political power is vested in and derived from the people" and "that the people of * * * (the States) * * * ought to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police thereof." The writers of the organic laws of the States placed these declarations in first place in their constitutions because the political concepts embodied in such declarations occupied first place in their hearts and minds. They had much cause for assigning prime importance to their beliefs in the sovereignty of the people and the rights of the States to local self-rule. They had suffered many things at the hands of a government far removed from the people.

The consciousness of early Americans that liberty is inevitably imperiled by a government far removed from the people finds further example in their implacable insistence upon the insertion of the first 10 amendments in the Federal Constitution. These amendments guarantee the personal and property rights of the individual, and declare that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The ancient beliefs that all political power is vested in and derived from the people and that the States ought to have the right to regulate their internal affairs are as valid today as they were when the Declaration of Independence was signed and the Constitution of the United States was ratified.

4. RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

The most heart-rending story of history is that of man's struggle against civil and ecclesiastical tyranny for the simple privilege of bowing his own knees before his own God in his own way. As Chief Justice Walter P. Stacy of the North Carolina Supreme Court so well declared in one of the great judicial opinions of all time, "men contend more furiously over the road to Heaven, which they cannot see, than over their visible walks on earth," and history records "the tragic fact that men have gone to war and cut each others' throats because they could not agree as to what was to become of them after their throats were cut."

The men and women who gave liberty to America were devout souls. They had learned some of the sorrowful facts of the spiritual life of man in the bitter crucible of experience. Most of them dissented from the doctrines and usages of the churches established by law in the lands of their origins. They were denied the right to worship God in their own ways. They were compelled to pay tithes for the support and propagation of religious opinions which they disbelieved. They had their marriages annulled and their children adjudged illegitimate for daring to speak their marriage vows before ministers of their own faiths rather than before the clergymen of the established churches.

But these cruel oppressions merely steeled their convictions that religion is a private matter between man and his God; that no human authority should undertake to control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and that "to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical."

For these reasons, our ancestors staked the very existence of America as a free Nation upon the principle that "all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences," and the corollary that this natural and unalienable right can be secured only by keeping the hands of the state out of religion and the hands of religion off the state.

5. A BLESSING AND A WARNING

Courageous men and women built America with strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands. They gave us a great country dedicated to the proposition that men "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, the enjoyment of the fruits

of their own labor, and the pursuit of happiness." They gave us this land with the knowledge, however, that God grants freedom only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it; and they left us the solemn warning that a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty.

They bequeathed this warning to us because they had read the history of the long and bitter struggle of men for some substantial measure of dignity and freedom for the individual, and had found this shocking but everlasting truth inscribed upon each page of that history: Government itself is the deadliest foe of liberty.

This tragic truth was well expressed a third of a century ago by a great statesman and Virginian, Woodrow Wilson. He said: "Liberty has never come from the government. Liberty has always come from the subjects of it. The history of liberty is a history of resistance. The history of liberty is a history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it."

6. OUR OBLIGATION

Let us ponder these words of Wilson. Let us recur with frequency to fundamental principles. Let us preserve for ourselves and our posterity our goodly heritage—economic liberty, political liberty, and religious liberty. This is our obligation. We must perform it. As followers of Jefferson and Jackson, we cannot do otherwise.

Economic Disarmament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD three editorials published in the St. Joseph (Mo.) News-Press, the Memphis Press-Scimitar, and the Richmond Times-Dispatch of Richmond, Va., dealing with the subject of economic disarmament.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Joseph News-Press of March 3, 1955]

ECONOMIC DISARMAMENT

Senator STUART SYMINGTON presents a bold plan for curbing military production. At the same time each nation would increase its economic production and raise living standards. In a resolution presented in the Senate Tuesday, the Missourian calls on the President of the United States to present such a proposal to the United Nations.

The Senator's plan for peace would work as follows. Each nation's resources would be appraised. A limitation would be set on the amount that could be allotted to military production and the rest would have to go into civilian production. Look at this comparison of the use of steel. Last year the United States produced 5,500,000 automobiles. Russia produced 45,000. It is safe to surmise that the vast bulk of Russian steel went into heavy armaments.

Under the Symington plan only a prescribed portion could go toward tanks, planes, and other heavy armament. The rest would have to go for automobiles, factory machinery, farm equipment, and other civilian goods. Nations would be subjected to periodic inspection to prevent any one of them from aborting the international agreement. There also would be a periodic review of the quotas and equitable revisions made. Both the review board and the inspection teams would be under the sanction of the United Nations.

Any nation that defied its quota immediately would tip its aggressive intent to the rest of the world. Such defiance would be a clanging alarm serving notice on the world that a war was brewing. Simultaneous with Senator SYMINGTON's speech, Prime Minister Churchill was addressing Parliament. The British statesman said that a system would have to be devised for disarmament if the world were to enjoy security and peace. Presently a secret conference of a U. N. subcommittee is in progress in London. The conferees are studying a plan for braking the armament race.

Some nations are rearming at the cost of their populace's living standards. Senator SYMINGTON cites poverty and low-living standards as breeders of communism. Our Nation's peaceful security therefore is jeopardized by substandard living conditions in other lands. Anything that we do to raise the living standards of others shores up our own continuance in peace.

The Senator has tackled the problem of war fear that taunts the world today. His answer is embodied in his plan for peace. Its import is of such magnitude it commands action.

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) News-Scimitar of March 1, 1955]

THE GAGE OF RED INTENT

We can have no hope that any disarmament talk, whatever its form, ever will lead to actual disarmament so long as the rulers of Russia continue to pour the bulk of their nation's resources into war goods.

Unfortunately, Russian "peace" propaganda has been too much trusted, too little suspected, in too many parts of the world.

But the real test of the Kremlin's intentions can be measured by the treatment of Russia's civilian population. How much for human necessities and comforts? How much for war?

That is the purpose of the "butter over guns" disarmament proposal, which Senator SYMINGTON, of Missouri, now recommends to the United Nations. Senator SYMINGTON proposes a Senate resolution calling on President Eisenhower to urge the U. N. to explore and consider this proposal.

The idea is simple: Whatever nation depresses the living standards of its people to build military power is an aggressor nation, and therefore a menace to the peace of the world.

"High living standards," said Senator SYMINGTON, "constitute a built-in deterrent against possible aggression."

It is a test any people can understand. It is a test from which the Kremlin bosses cannot hide. So long as they deprive their people of necessities and comforts in the interest of military power, so long must the free nations of the world judge them aggressors.

[From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch of March 5, 1955]

BUTTER OVER GUNS IS MAKING PROGRESS

The butter-over-guns proposal which we presented on this page last Monday for the consideration of the United Nations, is making headway in Washington. The plan, suggested by Sam Lubell and designed to stop the armaments race, has been given formal sponsorship of Democratic Senator SYMINGTON, of Missouri, and has been publicly commended by Senator KNOWLAND, of California, Republican floor leader, although he is a vigorous critic of the United Nations.

Senator SYMINGTON has introduced a resolution calling on President Eisenhower to urge the U. N. to explore and consider the proposal. Senator KNOWLAND rose on the floor to declare that the matter is "worthy of the attention of the Senate," and he added:

"I hope the Committee on Foreign Relation will consider them [articles and editorials on the subject from the Washington Daily News which had been read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for March 2], and that the agencies of the executive branch which are interested in foreign affairs may also have the opportunity to discuss with the committee the merits or demerits of the proposal, in case there should be some weaknesses in the plan."

Other sponsors are expected to be obtained shortly for the Symington resolution, which requests President Eisenhower to present to the U. N. the Lubell plan "to explore the possibilities of limiting the proportion of any nation's resources which can be devoted to military purposes so as to increase steadily the proportion of every nation's resources devoted to improving the living levels of the people."

Mr. Lubell—whose new book, the Revolution in World Trade, caused the Scripps-Howard newspapers to get him to write for that large chain the article we published setting forth his guns-or-butter plan—is a long time associate of Bernard Baruch. While Mr. Baruch has not said that he helped Mr. Lubell work out the plan, it is highly probable that Baruch saw it before publication, and gave Lubell the benefit of his profound knowledge and wisdom. There is no better informed man in the United States on war mobilization and all the ramifications thereof than Mr. Baruch.

Senator SYMINGTON, himself an authority in this field, by virtue of several high positions he has held in private industry and the Federal Government, points out that the resolution he is sponsoring is based on three principles:

1. The way a government divides the resources at its command is a revealing measure of its peaceful or aggressive intent.

2. High living standards constitute an automatic, built-in deterrent against possible aggression.

3. After a nation has committed its resources to peaceful uses, a significant length of time must elapse before they can be converted to war.

A keystone of this plan would, of course, be careful and unlimited inspection of industrial plants in all the participating countries. The Soviet Union has always refused to permit such inspection. Yet the internal crisis with which that country now is confronted, growing out of shortages of food, clothing, and other consumers' goods, may create such pressure on the Government as to force participation.

Such is the hope of Senator SYMINGTON. If, however, Russia refuses to go along, its refusal can be publicized all over the world, and especially to the badly pinched Russian people. At the very least, the Soviet Government will be thrown sharply on the defensive.

Give Armed Forces Their Due

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL J. KILDAY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an

editorial appearing in the San Antonio Express of San Antonio, Tex., on March 7, 1955. This editorial has to do with the military pay bill under consideration in the House today.

GIVE ARMED FORCES THEIR DUE

For strengthening the Nation's defenses at a weak spot, President Eisenhower, in a special message, recommended that Congress raise the Armed Forces' pay all the way from private to commanding general.

To build and maintain the alert, effective, resourceful and constantly up-to-date Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps required for national security, the President then pointed out, the United States must have a solid background of career men. Today that essential foundation of the Armed Forces is being weakened because too many men leave the service at the end of their initial enlistment period.

For that reason the Nation faces a challenge: How make a career in the Armed Forces attractive to qualified young men? How persuade the youth who has made good in the service to reenlist?

One way to promote those vital objectives, the President considers, would be to raise the serviceman's pay. Were that done, both enlisted man and officer would be under stronger incentive than before to earn promotion and higher pay.

Traditionally, in the Armed Forces the door to advancement is kept always open. But nowadays, when the services are so largely mechanized, opportunities are multiplied. The youth who possesses the knack, intelligence and industry to acquire skill is certain of his chance to get ahead in the Armed Forces. But that young man is worthy of his hire.

By way of carrying out President Eisenhower's recommendations, a House Armed Services subcommittee, by unanimous vote, has approved the proposed 1955 Armed Forces pay bill. That measure, due to be reported to the House floor this week, would increase the servicemen's earnings by $735 million a year all told.

As compared with the $40 billion a year defense budget, that is a modest sum; but no expenditure on the Nation's armament will yield higher returns. The servicemen's pay raise will represent an investment in fair play for the Nation's defenders, and hence in their morale.

Will Controls Throttle Natural-Gas Industry?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to introduce two editorials on the natural-gas controversy which I think should be brought to the attention of all Members of Congress as well as the public.

I give credit to the Saturday Evening Post, March 5, 1955, issue for the following editorial entitled "Will Controls Throttle Natural-Gas Industry?"

WILL CONTROLS THROTTLE NATURAL-GAS INDUSTRY?

If any American citizen doesn't know the natural-gas story within the next few months, it won't be the fault of the natural-gas producers. The Supreme Court's decision of last June, which gives the Federal Power Commission jurisdiction over the producing end of the gigantic natural-gas industry, has convinced the industry's leaders that, if Congress is to be persuaded to change the situation, the natural-gas story will have to be told to the public at large.

The Natural Gas Act of 1938 seemed to exempt from Federal regulation those engaged in the production or gathering of natural gas. This view was accepted by the Federal Power Commission, which on various occasions has denied that it had jurisdiction over gas producers. To remove all doubt of its meaning, Congress, in 1950, passed the Kerr bill, which was supposed to nail down the point for good and all. The Kerr bill was vetoed by former President Truman. The Supreme Court, in June 1954, decided that natural-gas producers are "natural-gas companies" as defined in the law and that, since the "gathering and production" took place before the sales of gas to the pipelines occurred, the producers are engaged in interstate commerce and are therefore subject to regulation.

What are the merits? The public, which burns the gas, is the real party in interest and is entitled to some nonhysterical reporting.

Pipeline companies which transport the gas from the production areas to the cities where it is consumed are subject to Federal regulation since they are engaged in interstate commerce. Distributing companies in the various cities and municipalities which use natural gas enjoy at least a partial monopoly and are properly subject to regulation by State public utilities commissions. The argument of those favoring regulation of natural gas producing companies and individuals, of whom there are more than 4,000, is that the producers are a basic factor in the whole industry and should be equally subject to public control. The Supreme Court took this view.

The natural gas producers, on the other hand, point out that they are engaged in a highly competitive business and that a continued supply of their product, natural gas, depends on the continuation of incentives offered to those who search for new supplies and invest large sums of money in doing so. Federal price fixing, along with the complicated and often contradictory bureaucratic rulings which accompany regulation, would, they insist, discourage such investment and exploration. Thus the consumer, in whose interest regulation is urged, might get less natural gas at higher prices, instead of vice versa.

In his dissent from the majority opinion, Justice Douglas declared that the decision on natural gas regulation should be made by Congress, not by the court, because "regulation of the business of producing and gathering natural gas involves considerations of which we know little and with which we are not competent to deal." At any rate, Congress will have to declare its intention once more, making it clear whether or not it wishes to maintain the distinction between interstate pipelines and distributors, on the one hand, and competitive natural gas producers, on the other. This distinction was recognized in the Natural Gas Act, but, despite the small part which the price of natural gas at the well plays in the amount which the domestic consumer pays on his monthly gas bill, the clamor that the Government should fix rates for the thousands of companies and individuals who dig for natural gas and find it has never ceased.

It is hard to believe that Congress will ignore the record of an industry which has increased its customers by millions within a single decade, while keeping the ultimate cost low during a period of inflationary prices. What more could be accomplished by Federal regulation of this business is hard to imagine. The Supreme Court's decision of last year will certainly produce a new battle in Washington. It will be unfortunate if the debate becomes so intense that the basic principles involved are generally ignored. One of these certainly is that any move to impose regulation on an American industry should be supported by substantial evidence that a need for regulation exists and that the measures sought are consistent with the operation of a free economy.

The second editorial is accredited to March 7, 1955, issue of Time, and is quoted as follows:

NATURAL GAS PRICES—THE CASE AGAINST FEDERAL CONTROLS

As a fuel, natural gas heats 14 million United States homes and fires the stoves in 21 million kitchens. In politics, the booming young natural-gas industry, now seventh biggest in the United States, sets fires from coast to coast, and especially in Washington. This week angry gasmen are fighting no less than seven bitter court battles against the United States Government; in Congress three separate bills have been introduced by southern Democrats to remove Federal price controls from gas at the wellhead. This issue—whether or not gas prices should be controlled in the field—has been burning hot ever since 1950, when the famed Kerr bill, which exempted gas producers from controls, was vetoed by President Truman.

The gasmen, who are against control, got some potent help last week from a special commission appointed by President Eisenhower to study United States resources and power policy. Said the commission: "We believe the Federal Government should not control the production, gathering, processing or sale of natural gas prior to its entry into an interstate transmission line." The United States Supreme Court, on the other hand, ruled in favor of Federal control in the Phillips Petroleum case last June (Time, June 21). The court's argument was that controls in the field reduce prices to consumers. Though the producers may operate only within State limits and own no interstate pipelines, the prices they charge affect the ultimate cost to consumers thousands of miles away. Thus, while the 1938 Natural Gas Act specifically stated that its restrictions "shall not apply * * * to the production and gathering of gas," the Supreme Court held that producers come within the spirit if not the letter of interstate commerce.

The Federal Power Commission itself has never interpreted the Gas Act to include producers; in fact, it has argued against it. But it was quick to obey the court. It froze gas rates at the wellhead as of June 1954, regardless of the provisions already written into existing long-term contracts with the pipelines. The overall effect has been to invalidate virtually every contract throughout the industry—long-term contracts (20 years or more) between producers and pipelines written at the behest of the FPC to bring about stability. To protect themselves against increased costs, producers wrote in "escalator" clauses permitting gas price increases. Now all such adjustments are illegal.

Gasmen scoff at the court position that FPC control will mean saving to consumers. They point out that more than 90 percent of the costs occur after the gas leaves the field. Phillips Petroleum Co., for example, now sells gas from the Texas Panhandle for 9.5 cents per 1,000 cubic feet to Michigan-Wisconsin Pipe Line Co. which delivers it to Milwaukee for 35 cents. The Milwaukee Gas Light Co. then charges the housewife a whopping $2.13 the first 1,000 cubic feet.

Gasmen insist that FPC is simply not equipped to control gas production. Since June some 7,000 applications for rate in-

creases have been filed and FPC has not yet acted on most of them. The problem is not simply one of setting a gas rate for 5,000 producers. Each gas field is a distinct operation with separate problems; rates must be set for thousands of different wells. The industry is so closely bound up with oil that gas exploration, drilling, and production costs are inextricably mixed together. To regulate gas, FPC would also, indirectly, partially control oil prices. Moreover, costs of drilling wells are climbing so fast that even the current contracts lag behind the true expense of production.

Perhaps the strongest argument of all against FPC controls is that producers do not have a protected monopoly, like most public utilities, but are highly competitive. They compete not only among themselves but also with sellers of coal, electricity, and oil. Said Magnolia Lawyer Ross Madole: "If the FPC has to control gas production prices in order to control the price of gas as delivered to the customer, then why doesn't it control the price of coal in steam-generating electric plants and the price of copper in telephone wires?"

Some companies have threatened to shut down interstate gas operations rather than go under FPC control. American-Louisiana Pipe Line Co., Tennessee Gas Transmission Co. and Texas-Illinois Gas Co. have either slowed down their expansion or postponed plans for new pipelines since many of the big producers refuse to sign long-term contracts. In Texas, more and more producers are talking of selling to local markets exclusively to dodge Federal controls, use their gas in Texas towns and the State's burgeoning petrochemical industry.

If Congress does not pass new legislation exempting producers from FPC regulation, the gasmen see no end to the troubles. But if Congress recognizes gas as a competitive commodity, gasmen think the laws of supply and demand will peg prices at a fair and competitive level.

How One President Made Law Without Congressional Approval—It Must Not Happen Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, "The Yalta agreement is the blackest page in American diplomatic history," so said the Honorable George A. Finch, eminent constitutional authority in the National Republic for February 1955.

The Yalta Pact strengthened the hands of Red China and Soviet Russia. Today those aggressors are in a position to enslave millions of innocent people and our own country is trying to close the barn door after the horse has been stolen. It is a ridiculous and horrible situation and the cost to the American taxpayer cannot be estimated at this time—we know it will be in the billions of dollars.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the article by Mr. Finch:

It would be futile to remove the doubts concerning limitations on treaties if the Constitution could be evaded by substituting executive agreements in lieu of treaties. Executive agreements are not mentioned in the Constitution, but recent administrations invented the theory and adopted the practice that such agreements are interchangeable wih treaties in the President's discretion. The flagrant abuse of this power by President Roosevelt at Yalta raised a storm of protest in Congress and was one of the reasons why so many Senators joined with Senator BRICKER in introducing resolutions for a constitutional amendment.

The Yalta agreement is the blackest page in American diplomatic history. The Nationalist Government of China under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, after years of patriotic defense against the devasting aggression of Japan, became our firm and loyal ally in World War II. At Cairo in November 1943, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill promised the Generalissimo that Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores "shall be restored to the Republic of China." That was to be a part of China's reward for her help against the Japanese after Pearl Harbor. At Yalta, on February 11, 1945, the same Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill, but with Stalin in place of Chiang Kai-shek, agreed, among other things, that to Russia should be restored "her former rights" in Manchuria. The phraseology of the agreement bears inherent evidence of its Communist origin. It is characteristic of Communist perversion of history. Russia had no more rights in Manchuria than had Japan. Both were regarded as alien invaders and oppressors by the people and Government of China. Every one familiar with the Far East knows that the power that controls Manchuria controls all China and most of Asia.

The Yalta agreement reversed our traditional policy of the "Open Door" and respect for the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. That policy was initiated by John Hay at the turn of the century to stop the march of Czarist Russia into Manchuria. In 1919 the United States Senate refused to approve the Treaty of Versailles because, among other provisions, President Wilson agreed to transfer the important Chinese province of Shantung to Japan in consideration for the latter's acceptance of the Covenant of the League of Nations. That great injustice was rectified at the Washington Conference of 1922, called by President Wilson's successor. Our traditional policy of sincere friendship for China raised our people and Government to preeminence in the respect and regard of the Chinese people. They erected a monument in Peiping to the memory of President Harding in appreciation of his services at the Washington Conference. The Yalta Agreement has contributed to the sabotaging of 100 years of Christian advance and Western culture in Asia.

The occupation of Manchuria by the Soviet Army under that agreement provided the golden opportunity for them to turn over to the Chinese Communists the arms of the Japanese who had been forced to surrender by American arms without Russian aid. That consequence of the Yalta agreement was more responsible than any other cause for the loss of face with his people by Chiang Kai-shek and his eventual forced retreat to Formosa. With the Chinese Nationalists installed in Manchuria instead of the Communists, there would have been no Communist invasion of Korea. The United States would have been saved $15 billion expenditure and 150,000 casualties, including 33,000 deaths, and our enemies would not now be in positions of such strength that they cannot be dislodged except at the risk of another world war.

In extenuation of the Yalta agreement it is said that the Soviets would have occupied Manchuria, agreement or no agreement with the United States. That statement is a mere hypothesis which would probably have been untrue if the United States had honestly supported its Chinese allies—but there were other subversive influences at work in Washington working for the Communist cause. A few months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Congress, on February 3, 1942, authorized a credit of $500 million to the Chinese Nationalist Government. China was in such dire need at that time the State Department feared its government would collapse before Congress could act. Yet, according to Senator POTTER, the distribution of the money was delayed for 4 years by Harry Dexter White and his associates in the Treasury Department. These men, the Senator charged in the Senate July 30, 1954, "bear a major share, if not by far the largest share, of responsibility for the destruction of the Nationalist Government of China. The basic material is readily available for all to see. When interpreted against the background of other easily documented material * * * this story can only be termed as one of everlasting shame and disgrace in the record of our foreign relations."

Supposing it were hypothetically true that the Soviets would have occupied Manchuria without the Yalta agreement, they would have done so without our approval in advance, and Chiang Kai-shek would not have been coerced to lend the color of legality to his betrayal by concurring in President Roosevelt's arrangements with Stalin.

Secretary of State Dulles told the Senate Judiciary Committee that the President could not properly make agreements like Yalta with long-range permanent effects unless made subject to ratification by the Senate as treaties. The text of the agreement makes no mention of the necessity of ratification, but President Roosevelt stated that he intended to submit the agreement to the Senate in the prepared text of his report on the Yalta Conference to the joint session of Congress after his return on March 1, 1945. For some unexplained reason, this sentence was omitted from the President's speech as delivered. The complete text of the secret agreement was not made public until nearly a year later, after President Roosevelt's death. When releasing the text on January 26, 1946, Secretary of State Byrnes stated that Mr. Roosevelt always held the view that as to the cessions of territory at Yalta "it was a matter that had to be settled in the peace treaty."

Why did President Roosevelt change his mind about submitting the Yalta agreement to the Senate? Did his advisers remind him of his supposed discretion to consider it a valid executive agreement in lieu of a treaty? Or perhaps he recalled the agreement he made in 1933 with Litvinov, the first Soviet Ambassador to the United States, which assigned to the Government of the United States the title to private property in the United States belonging to Russian subjects that had been confiscated without compensation by Soviet nationalization decrees. The validity of that assignment was challenged in the courts of the State of New York on the ground that it violated State law and policy and the fifth amendment of the Federal Constitution. On appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States that Court, in a decision known appropriately as the *Pink case* (315 U. S. 203) held that the fifth amendment did not stand in the way of giving full force and effect to the Litvinov assignment. The fifth amendment provides that no person, which means friendly aliens as well as citizens, "shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." The Supreme Court reasoned that, although the agreement was concluded by the President without the participation of the Senate, the same rule of supremacy of treaties over State law and policy results "in the case

of all international compacts and agreements from the very fact that complete power over international affairs is in the national Government and is not and cannot be subject to any curtailment or interference on the part of the several States." The Supreme Court concluded that "In respect of all international negotiations and compacts, and in respect of our foreign relations generally, State lines disappear."

When testifying in opposition to the Bricker amendment before the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Secretary of State Dulles stated that the widespread concern over the liability to abuse of the treatymaking power was a legitimate one. "Those who shared it were alert citizens," he said. "I believe they have performed a patriotic service in bringing their fears to the attention of the American public. But," he pointed out, "the arousing of that concern was a correction of the evil. There has been," he continued, "a reversal of the trend toward trying to use the treatymaking power to effect internal social changes. This administration is committed to the exercise of treatymaking power only within traditional limits. * * * I do not believe that treaties should, or lawfully can, be used as a device to circumvent the constitutional procedures established in relation to what are essentially matters of domestic concern."

While this administration has lived up to that promise, its assurances will not bind future administrations.

The American people are now being admonished that they must live in coexistence with communism. At the same time they are being told that the Kremlin has not changed its intention to dominate the world. We have witnessed the fatal results of following the slogan of the two previous administrations: "We must get along with the Russians."

If we must resign ourselves to a long period of coexistence with militant communism to avoid a third world war, it is our duty while there is time to protect our ramparts at home from insidious infiltration by destroying the Trojan horse now sheltered in the Constitution. Candid opponents all admit that there is now no limitation on the treatymaking power, but contend that a limitation is unnecessary and might be dangerous. Thomas Jefferson, however, foresaw that "if the grant of the treatymaking power were boundless then we have no Constitution. In questions of power," he added, "let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

Sir Winston's Deterrent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the Congress to the following editorial appearing in the Washington Post on March 3, 1955. This editorial is, I believe, an excellent critique of the grave questions of nuclear weapons and disarmament.

SIR WINSTON'S DETERRENT

Sir Winston Churchill has posed somberly and eloquently the strategic challenge of our times. There will be gratification in this country that the British Government's estimate of the importance of nuclear weapons as a deterrent to global war coincides with what has become accepted American policy. Sir Winston views the meaning of power in the historical sense, and his remarks climax the evolution of British strategic thinking disclosed in the defense white papers. He sees a significant British contribution in the expansion and maintenance of the nuclear deterrent—and he has some highly important words on civil defense in the hydrogen age and on the necessity for a strong posture in conventional weapons as a deterrent to limited wars.

In a sense it is a rebuke to the incomplete unity of the two great powers that Britain should have to build her own hydrogen bomb when the United States is acknowledge by Sir Winston to be supreme in the field. The Manchester Guardian, for example, criticizes the lack of close cooperation in secret research and goes on to argue that the main value of the separate British H-bomb program will be in its influence on American policy. But the defects of cooperation in the past are now academic. There will be at least some comfort that the responsibility for nuclear defense soon will be shared with another free world power. The advent of a British H-bomb certainly will give Britain more say, and to that extent it should have a steadying effect.

Sir Winston is persuasive in his critique of disarmament schemes that would ban nuclear weapons but leave the Soviet Union with a vast advantage in conventional arms. This has been the glaring flaw in Soviet proposals in the United Nations and in the attitude of some neutralists. Sir Winston also has a pointed warning against too great reliance on nuclear weapons; he calls for conventional forces in readiness to deal with local conflicts if they should arise. This has special relevance, not only because the H-bomb is no deterrent to subversion, but also because any war in which nuclear weapons were used, even tactically, would open a Pandora's box. Our tactical planning ought not to be so geared to atomic weapons that we would be trapped with no alternative to using them.

Reassuring as much of this is, the address does not grapple with the ultimate problem. What happens if by a process of sublime irony, in the rolling Churchillian phraseology, the world reaches a stage in the story when safety will be the sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation? What, indeed, can be done to avert the apocalyptic test, as Sir Winston so movingly puts it, if God wearied of mankind? There is room for disagreement whether the time of saturation in hydrogen weapons—when the Soviet Union will have the same power of destruction American arms now hold—is 3 years off, as Sir Winston believes, or has a less definable date, as President Eisenhower intimates. Very probably Sir Winston is right that Russia now lacks the means of delivering hydrogen weapons. But the day is surely coming when she will have both a full hydrogen arsenal and the means of delivery.

What then? Is it realistic to think that the world can long balance itself on the edge of a precipice? Is it enough for Britain and the United States to be content now with a disarmament formula in the United Nations which we know the Russians will reject? Sir Winston notes that the long history and tradition of Russia makes it repugnant to the Soviet Government to accept any practical system of international inspection. No doubt the present Soviet proposal at the meeting in London is as phony as its predecessors. But does this relieve us of the responsibility, while retaining our deterrent and the goal of workable inspection, to try for lessor accommodations, hoping that self-enforcing agreements on small points eventually may lead to agreement on the major objective? Precious little of this kind of thinking was reflected in the all-or-nothing mood reported before the London conference. There would be less reason for the flinching, the wearying, and the despair which Sir Winston counsels against if free world diplomacy were as flexible in seeking new approaches as it is resolute in welding a deterrent.

The Fair Labor Standards Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a letter from Mr. J. A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, CIO, Washington, D. C., recommending that the Fair Labor Standards Act be amended to provide a $1.25 per hour minimum wage.

Mr. Beirne's letter follows:

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA,
Washington, March 4, 1955.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Failure of the American economy to expand above 1953 levels threatens our Nation with serious social consequences.

This failure is reflected both in current employment and unemployment figures: As of December 1954, the number of Americans gainfully employed was down to 60,680,000, lowest since 1950. Unemployment continues to hover near the 3 million mark.

Unless our economy expands more rapidly, about 700,000 young workers entering the job market this year will be faced with problems of idleness. Unless such expansion takes place, many additional workers may be thrown out of work because of increased man-hour output due to new types of automatic machinery and improved production methods. The American Federation of Labor, in fact, has just predicted unemployment of from 3,500,000 to 4 million in March, largely due to such factors.

America's ability to produce for a higher living standard and full employment has been proven abundantly. Our problem is one of increased purchasing power which will create effective consumer demand for the products of American industry.

It is the belief of the Communications Workers of America, CIO, that such consumer demand can best be created by increasing the purchasing power of the 30 percent of Americans who, together, receive only 9 percent of all money income.

This can best be done, in our view, by amendment of the Fair Labor Standards Act to provide a $1.25 per hour minimum wage and the broadest possible coverage for America's industrial citizens.

In this connection, we would like to point out a situation in our own industry. In our industry, telephone operators have been singled out for special discrimination. Operators employed in exchanges having 750 or fewer subscriber stations are exempt from coverage of the law and, therefore, are the most exploited workers in the industry. How serious this is may be seen from the fact that telephone operators employed in 10,733 of the 11,502 non-Bell telephone company exchanges are not covered.

When the Fair Labor Standards Act was originally enacted, all operators were covered. The only amendment to the law between its original passage and its amendment in 1949 excluded exchanges of 500 or fewer stations. In 1949, when the minimum wage was increased to 75 cents, all operators in ex-

changes of 750 or fewer stations were exempted, subjecting these women telephone workers to even more gross discrimination. The fact that these workers alone in our industry have been declared second-class industrial citizens highlights the full measure of indignity.

In keeping with our view, we have prepared the enclosed pamphlet, entitled "The Case for the $1.25 Minimum Wage." It is our hope that you will study this pamphlet and that you will see fit to support a minimum wage and coverage in keeping with the new age of electronics into which we are entering.

Our union represents over 320,000 workers in the communications industry who are employed in 46 States and the District of Columbia.

Sincerely yours,

J. A. BEIRNE, *President.*

THE CASE FOR THE $1.25 MINIMUM WAGE

During the past 2 years, America has dealt most generously with big business and with those of her citizens in the upper-income bracket.

Through changes in Federal tax laws, net income available for spending, saving, and investment has been redistributed in favor of those whose economic status was already highly favorable.

Even a cursory look at our cities and our countryside will show that it is not these upper-bracket-income citizens who should have priority in Government action designed to promote the welfare of her people.

Far too many Americans are still ill-housed.

Far too many Americans still lack adequate standards of living.

Far too many American children must forego educational opportunity to which all should be entitled.

Far too many Americans still lack adequate wages and purchasing power to participate as first-class citizens in this new golden age of production.

This is a matter of concern to all citizens of good will. It is of vital concern to American labor, many of whose members have suffered subnormal living conditions. It is a matter that cannot await any long-term economic process. It is a problem that cries out for immediate solution.

The Communications Workers of America, and its sister CIO unions, contend that such conditions need not exist in the America of 1955. They, together with organized labor generally, take the position that American productivity and industrial potential make such conditions needless cruelty. They contend that, in the light of present realities, no American doing useful labor need be condemned to a life of economic misery.

As a part of its program for a better America, the CWA and the CIO urge that Congress shall establish by law a minimum wage of $1.25 per hour—$50 for a 40-hour workweek—to replace the present inadequate 75-cent statutory minimum. In the light of present conditions, this is a modest objective—a minimum wage only two-thirds the average prevailing for manufacturing workers.

A $1.25 hourly wage minimum is far below that required for even a minimum American living standard. But it is one that will improve the lot of those millions of Americans whose need is greatest. At the same time, it will generate purchasing power needed to keep our factories at maximum production. It is a minimum wage that America can well afford. It is one in keeping with the great industrial potential being created by our new technology of electronics and atoms.

SAME OLD ARGUMENTS

The industrial recession of 1937 was aggravated by wage cutting and by a lengthening of the workweek without overtime pay, as well as by layoffs. To prevent this process from feeding upon itself, Congress passed the original Fair Labor Standards Act, puting a floor of 40 cents per hour under wages and a 40-hour roof over the workweek. As Congress debated the issue, a storm of wrath descended from whole sections of big business, of the press, and from reactionary political forces.

A minimum wage of $16 per week, it was argued, would bankrupt and drive whole industries out of business, cause prices to rise beyond the ability of the consumer to buy, make it impossible for the United States to engage in international trade, increase unemployment and create economic stagnation, cause the minimum wage to become the maximum throughout industry.

In 1949, in an effort to bolster declining purchasing power, Congress amended the Fair Labor Standards Act, putting a floor of 75 cents per hour beneath the wages of those employed in interstate commerce.

Again the prophets of doom raised their voices in agonized chorus, dragging out the same old arguments.

History has since rendered its verdict. The dire consequences predicted have not come to pass. Increased purchasing power for America's lowest paid workers has, instead, contributed to economic progress.

Every major industry affected by the minimum wage law has grown and prospered.

Consumer purchases have risen sharply to new highs.

The United States, bolstered by the high productivity of its workers has more than held its own in international trade.

America has enjoyed record prosperity, based upon higher purchasing power and rising productivity.

The minimum wage has helped to buoy up the general wage level.

As America once more faces national debate on an increase in the minimum wage, similar arguments once more will be raised, alleging that America cannot affort to increase the living standards of its lowest paid citizens. These arguments are variations on the same old theme. They are based upon economic conditions that have been banished from this land.

THE ECONOMY

In the second quarter of 1953, America produced goods and services at the rate of $370 billion annually. A year later, the annual production rate was down to $356 billion. Billions of dollars worth of goods and services were forever lost to the American people.

During this same period, industrial production dropped, even more sharply, down 9½ percent. Steel production, the heart of the American economy, was down 29 percent.

In some areas, factories shut down or ran only part time. Newspaper stories of distressed areas became common. Labor income dropped by $6 billion and the decline would have been greater had it not been for unemployment compensation.

At the depths of this decline, 4 million Americans were jobless and many more were under-employed. For many Americans, this meant skimping and, in some cases, the decline in industrial activity caused actual want. In many cities relief loads soared as people felt the pinch of joblessness.

Although there has been a pickup in economic activity, 2,900,000 were jobless as 1955 began. Economists and business leaders, exuding optimism, predicted that 1955 would be a second-best year, with production below 1953. Despite this optimism, there were indications of a turn in the economy, from one of growth to one of contraction.

America cannot afford a contraction of her economy or even a decline in the rate of economic growth. For the longer pull, failure of the economy to grow must have serious, possibly tragic, results. Rapid changes in technology, bringing with them a significant yearly increase in man-hour output, must create a rising living standard or America will be plagued with mass unemployment.

The achievement, in 1953, of a $370 billion economy gives proof that the problem is not one of production. This rate, in fact, is only a sample of what can be achieved. Only recently, Dr. Gover W. Ensley, staff director for the Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report, declared that a 50 percent rise in the national output to $535 billion is possible within a decade.

Within recent months, accounts of startling technological developments have been featured in leading newspapers. These developments are making possible an even more rapid rate of economic growth than that of the past decade.

The Ford engine plant in Cleveland symbolizes what lies ahead. In that plant, 3 machines and 9 men perform crankshaft hole-drilling operations that required 29 machines and 39 men before the introduction of new automatic devices.

In a recent speech before a gathering of insurance executives, Cleo Craig, president of the giant American Telephone & Telegraph Co., reported that the Bell System already is 83 percent dial and that this will increase to 95 percent within a few years. Craig also reported that customer dialing of toll calls, without the use of an operator, is increasing rapidly; this being made possible by the development of automatic billing devices.

The magazine Automation, devoted to discussion of automatic devices, has reported that electric light bulbs today are blown at the rate of 90,000 per hour in a plant employing 290 workers. Such production would have required 4,000 workers in 1934.

The new Fairless plant of United States Steel, employing 6,500 workers, will produce 2,100,000 tons of steel annually. In older operations, 11,000 workers are required for the same production. Output per man is up 55 percent in steel since 1937, just before passage of the original Fair Labor Standards Act.

America should produce $400 billion in goods and services in 1955 to continue even the rate of growth indicated in 1953. Failure to achieve this will result in significant unemployment and only illusory prosperity for millions.

Population growth alone adds about 700,000 new workers annually to the labor force. Increased productivity, unless accompanied by expanded consumer demand, must create displacement of workers. In October of 1954, nearly a million fewer workers were employed in manufacturing than in the same month a year previous.

Failure of the United States economy to grow in 1954 and 1955 will prove costly. Estimates of 4 million unemployed in 1955 were common as the year started. Such unemployment will result in lost production worth billions.

America cannot long afford a large pool of permanently unemployed workers. It cannot afford to have in its midst permanently distressed cities and areas. It cannot afford this greatest waste of all—waste of human resources.

There is no reason for American workers to be unemployed. There is no need for America to lose billions in unproduced goods and services. The resources and facilities for increased production are at hand. Greater purchasing power in the hands of those who need it most will stimulate production, since it will be used quickly to improve living standards. A $1.25 minimum wage, more than any other single thing, will provide such purchasing power where it is needed most.

THE NEED

The human needs of America's lowest paid can be seen at a glance in any industrial community. Substandard housing, broken-down housefurnishings, ill-dressed children,

inadequate diets, the use of dangerous jalopies on our roads—these are only some of the surface manifestations of the need. Beneath the surface lies a more tragic story of inadequate medical care, broken health, needless broken homes, improper child care, and of juvenile delinquency.

Available figures on income distribution, while necessarily impersonal, further highlight the needs of America's lowest paid citizens.

The highest tenth of America's income receivers had a total of 31 percent of all money income in 1953, and the highest 20 percent had a total of 46 percent. At the other extreme, the submerged tenth received but 1 percent of all money income, the lowest 20 percent but 4 percent, and the bottom 30 percent received a combined total of only 9 percent of all money income.

This bottom 30 percent lives in actual want or on its darker edges. This America includes factory workers, distributive workers, communications workers, clerical workers, transportation workers—workers in almost every industry.

This America, by and large, is without savings or reserves. It is condemned to fearful economic insecurity—forced to turn to public and private relief at the slightest shift of the economic winds. Its existence accounts for the greater part of the social-service load that must be borne by the community. It is the group that would benefit most from a $1.25 minimum wage.

NOT ENOUGH

Although America has grown much stronger and wealthier since 1938, much of its thinking with regard to the minimum wage remains geared to that year.

The 40-cent minimum wage remained in effect through the war years and through the worst years of postwar inflation. When the minimum wage was increased to 75 cents in 1949, living costs had risen by 80 percent. The increase did little more than take the living cost rise into account.

Measured in 1953 dollars, total production of goods and services were worth $171,800 million in 1938. In terms of these same dollars, total production in 1949 had risen to $294,200 million; an increase of 70 percent.

America's lowest paid and neediest citizens were excluded from a proper share of this increase in national wealth. In 1949, organized labor called for a rise in the minimum wage to $1 per hour, based upon increased national wealth and the living cost rise.

In his recent message to Congress, President Eisenhower called for enactment of a 90-cent minimum wage, basing his recommendation upon living cost increases since 1949. This recommendation once more would condemn millions of Americans to second-class economic citizenship, denying to them any participation in America's increased ability to create wealth. It would perpetuate present inequities and, for the longer pull, would cause even greater distortions in income distribution. President Eisenhower, in his Congress message, stated that his recommendation would affect only 1,300,000 workers, who would have their wages raised by an average of only nine cents per hour.

Based upon 1953 dollars, production of goods and services is presently running at the rate of $356 billion annually; a rise of 110 percent over 1938. A proportionate increase for those wage earners most in need certainly is in order. It would be logical, in view of this, to establish a real wage at least double that of 1938 for these groups—a minimum wage in excess of $1.50 per hour, in present-day dollars.

American labor is not seeking such a wage minimum, recognizing its sudden impact upon the national wage structure and upon some industries. It is, however, asking $1.25 per hour to assure to America's most exploited industrial citizens a fairer share of the Nation's product.

LOW STANDARD DANGEROUS

A continued inadequate minimum wage must inevitably have a lopsided effect upon the Nation's growth and welfare. An inadequate statutory minimum contributes to establishment and continuation of a low wage economy in whole areas of the country. This must cause serious and debilitating repercussions throughout America's mass production economy.

Spurred primarily by a pledge of low wages, and with the added inducement of special tax privileges and locally-paid-for physical facilities, many large and small employers are locating plants in low-wage areas. Given the advantages of low-wage structures, these employers have small incentive to increase efficiency.

Movement of plants into low wage areas causes serious dislocations in the communities from which these plants have fled. The process, in feeding upon itself, becomes a matter of vicious throatcutting. Ultimately, it must endanger the whole national wage and price structure—a cost far too great for any specious advantage that might be alleged at a given moment.

Over any period of time, this process will endanger the very communities into which low-wage plants are being invited. Low-paid workers cannot assume the tax burden of community growth which inevitably follows. The result is inadequate schools, municipal services, and a neglected community with deteriorating homes.

Competition for low-wage plants must also spread, as it already is doing, among communities in each low wage area. Greater and greater incentives must be offered to employers who cause communities to outbid each other. This might well bring shambles instead of industrial development.

What can happen is well illustrated by a letter from the mayor of Pelahatchie, Miss., a community of 989, to a New England manufacturer:

"Then our wonderful labor, 98 percent native born, mostly high-school graduates, will lower average hourly industrial wage rates 6 cents to 49 cents below other Southern States, and from 50 cents to 95 cents below Northern States."

There it is in a nutshell—the mayor promised all this plus 99-year tax exemption and a free plant. Obviously, such standards, if permitted to spread, must become ruinous to the country.

All areas of America deserve maximum development. This can be achieved through proper use of area resources, programs of adequate and cheap power, valley development and through the natural growth of America. Lasting beneficial results cannot be achieved through any wage exploitation driving down living standards and causing more problems than it solves.

The average national wage in manufacturing is $1.80 per hour. The average wage in manufacturing in North Carolina is $1.26 per hour. Just as water runs downhill, such low wages must undermine the whole national structure. Establishment of a $1.25 hourly minimum will remove unfair wage differentials now threatening the economy.

A realistic $1.25 statutory minimum will establish fairer standards of competition between areas, permitting an enduring growth predicated upon the need and resources of each area. It will provide to each area the mass purchasing power required for lasting growth. It will make for better communities in each area now undergoing industrial development. With the $1.25 wage minimum, operating efficiency and suitability of a plant to a given area, rather than exploited workers, will become the basis of industrial growth.

THE QUESTION OF COVERAGE

All Americans are entitled to equal protection of the law.

Nevertheless, Congress exempted millions of workers from protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act in passing the original law in 1938, despite its power to regulate by law the wages and conditions of employees in interstate commerce. In 1949, when Congress amended the law, it further narrowed the coverage of the law, instead of providing protection for a greater number of employees.

In the communications industry, for example, Congress exempted those employees most needful of legal protection. These are telephone operators employed in smaller exchanges. While the original law protected all operators employed in exchanges having 500 or more subscriber stations, the amended law narrowed this coverage to provide protection only for operators employed in exchanges having 750 or more stations. As a result of this exemption, telephone operators employed in 10,733 of the 11,502 non-Bell telephone company exchanges have no statutory protection on wages and hours.

Some 7 million workers employed in retail establishments are presently exempted from coverage of the law. Many of these are in jobs affecting or involving interstate commerce. Many more in service industries—laundries, cleaning establishments and the like—are also exempted. These groups are notoriously among the most exploited in America, needing the protection of law to obtain even minimal wage and hour standards.

Certain categories of railway employees, employees of weekly newspapers, certain workers in lumbering and forest industries, workers in agricultural processing, fishery employees, pipeline employees, and seasonal employees are among other significant groups of workers not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Many of these groups, because of the conditions of their work and the insecurity of their jobs, do not have the benefits of union organization. Low wage conditions afflicting them have a depressing effect upon wage levels generally. The sole recourse of many of these workers lies in the law. Failure of Congress to improve the conditions of these workers is a matter of gross discrimination and a social crime.

Big business lobbies such as the National Retail Drygoods Association, the United States Independent Telephone Association, the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers can be counted upon to fight extension of coverage to workers not now enjoying the benefits of legal protection in wages and hours. These groups are almost certain to weep crocodile tears on behalf of the small-business man.

The arguments which are certain to be presented—and the Retail Association has already given forewarning—are as hypocritical as the lobbyists whose tears will flow so copiously. Behind the NRDGA, for example, there lie such small businesses as the multimillion dollared Allied Stores and Federated Stores. In the same fashion, the USITA provides a very convenient front for such small businesses as the General Telephone Corporation, second largest in the Nation's telephone systems.

TIME FOR ACTION

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, one of America's most respected newspapers, recently carried an editorial entitled "The Deficit in Jobs." This editorial noted that the total number of persons gainfully employed in December of 1954 had dropped to 60,688,000. This was the lowest December total since 1950. It was a million and one-half below August of 1954, which, in turn, was the lowest peak month since 1949.

Peak employment in August of 1954 should have been at least 64,643,000, according to

this same editorial. The editorial expressed extreme concern with this job deficit and urged national recognition of the dangers concerned.

At the present moment, the American economy is underemployed and the Nation is losing over $30 billion of productive output at an annual rate.

We have the productive capacity at hand. The productivity of our working force is increasing and will rise even more rapidly with the increased use of automated devices in our workplaces.

Our productive machine can run at full capacity if we provide effective consumer demand. This can best be achieved by applying purchasing power where it will be used immediately in the mass production market—to the 30 percent of America most in need of an improved standard of living.

This 30 percent has not obtained its just share of America's increased productivity and wealth. Its wages have hardly kept pace with 1938 levels. It must have a 1955 wage level if our American economy is not to falter.

A $1.25 minimum wage and broader Fair Labor coverage for our industrial citizens are realistic and sound in the light of the facts concerning our industrial potential. They will permit growth consistent with our new technology. We cannot afford not to establish such statutory regulations. A half-step is an invitation to continued subnormal standards and second-class economic citizenship for millions. It is an invitation to a continued job deficit, to underemployment of our productive capacity and, perhaps, to economic stagnation.

J. Edgar Hoover Warns of Red Boring

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, there are still many in this country who feel that the problem of subversion and infiltration has been solved and that the tensions of the past 10 years have been fully relaxed. In my opinion, the greatest authority on the ramifications and consequences of this dangerous type of apathy and false understanding is Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI.

On January 2, 1955, the Baltimore Sunday American included an interview with Mr. Hoover in which he stressed the vital need for continued alertness. This interview has so impressed me that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOOVER WARNS OF RED BORING—FBI HEAD, ON 60TH BIRTHDAY, SAYS HARD-CORE MEMBERS STILL ACTIVE

(By William K. Hutchinson)

WASHINGTON, January 1.—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warned today that hard-core Communists are boring into such basic American industries as steel, automobile, chemical, electrical, and shipping.

The man who, in his more than 30 years as Director has built the Federal Bureau of Investigation into a massive bulwark of national security, sounded the warning in a question-and-answer exchange with International News Service.

Hoover's hard-hitting comments were made in an exclusive interview on the 60th birthday—New Year's Day.

America's top investigative official, who became Director of the FBI in 1924, has no intention of retiring in the foreseeable future. He is in vigorous good health and is wholly dedicated to his career of public service.

Here are the questions and answers which cover the highlights of Hoover's three decades as FBI Chief and which give eloquent expression to his faith in a better, safer, happier America:

Question. In your 30 years as Director of the FBI, what has given you your greatest satisfaction?

Answer. Three matters come to mind. In the first instance, I recall the concern which was manifested by leaders of Government in the early thirties over the rise in power of the lords of the underworld. In community after community these gangsters literally held the power of life over death.

An attitude of defeatism was sweeping the country. This attitude of defeat changed overnight when it was demonstrated that the FBI, with a comparatively small force of men, could secure evidence of their crimes and a determined prosecutive policy of the Department of Justice demonstrated that with this FBI evidence, gangster leaders could be sent to prison.

As a result, the underworld which they ruled was conquered.

Secondly, when the clouds of World War II were lowering, a wave of hysteria broke out of fear against fifth column and enemy assaults within the United States. Through alertness of law enforcement agencies, spearheaded by the FBI, no enemy-directed sabotage occurred and enemy espionage was controlled in World War II while civil rights were preserved in the American way.

Thirdly, the manner in which the work of the FBI has been supported and backed by presidents, attorneys general, the Congress and law-abiding people everywhere has contributed largely to making the FBI the career service that it is today recognized as nonpartisan, objective, and fair in all of its activities.

Question. What is your estimate of the present total strength of the internal Communist subversive force within the United States?

Answer. At the present time the Communist Party has a total membership of roughly 24,000.

These numbers may not seem large, but we must always remember that Communist power is not measured in numbers alone but in organized fanaticism, perverted reasoning and dedication to a cause.

These 24,000 members are hard-core Communists. The "faint hearted" have long ago been purged. The party is today recruiting members, but the most stringent security precautions are in effect.

Question. What is the present status of the Internal security of the United States against the constant, insidious subversive activities of the Communists?

Answer. The Communist Party, United States of America, has been hit hard since 1948. To date, a total of 134 Communist leaders have been indicted under the Smith Act. Eighty-one have been convicted. The party has been kept on the defensive. This must be continued and never again should we drop our vigilance.

Question. Is the Communist Party still interested in the Nation's basic industries?

Answer. Most emphatically. The party today may be underground but all the time it keeps paramount the tactic of infiltrating basic industries, such as steel, automobile, chemical, electrical, shipping.

A program of "colonization" is being employed, whereby young party members are being told to secure jobs in industrial plants, I consider this program one of the most dangerous being conducted by the party.

The party is now implementing a subtle program of trying to infiltrate its members into the well known anti-Communist unions where, in the future, they can exert influence. This program will fail if the truly dedicated American labor leaders remain alert as they have in the past.

Question. Have you any advice to law enforcement agencies, parents, school authorities of community leaders for meeting the challenge of the present-day problems of juvenile delinquency?

Answer. There is no doubt as to the gravity of the problem. What is needed more than anything else is a determination to give youth a chance to be decent.

If our young people are taught the difference between right and wrong, the fundamentals of life, the virtues of hard work, thrift, integrity, self-reliance, and personal responsibility and, if they are given examples of decency on the part of their parents, adults, and all who come in contact with them, they themselves are more likely to be decent.

The many fine youth serving organizations, such as the Boys' Clubs, Girls' Clubs, 4–H Clubs, YMCA, YWCA, Catholic Youth Organization, the Boy and Girl Scouts, YMHA and the other fine agencies should have the fullest support of adults and youth should be encouraged to take part in these constructive and worthwhile programs.

Question. Can you give any advice on this same problem to the youngsters themselves?

Answer. Yes; first of all boys and girls, be decent and learn that you can make of your life what you will. Seek the guidance of your parents, ministers, teachers, and youth leaders.

They are concerned about you and know what is best for you.

Set your sights high and never be content with any activity until it is as nearly perfect as possible.

Freedom's Frontiers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the recent Manila-Baguio Conference from which Secretary of State Dulles has just returned renews our hope for freedom in the Far East. More important than our military aid to threatened Asiatic countries, however, is our peaceful help in raising Asian standards of living and production to check the growth of communism. I think it is appropriate to call the attention of the Congress to the New York Times editorial position in this regard:

FREEDOM'S FRONTIERS

Secretary of State Dulles returned yesterday with a word of cheer after another one of those appointed rounds from which neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor gloom of night can stay his swift completion. This time he had been in such places as Burma, Indochina, the Philippines, and Formosa.

"I have seen at first hand," he said, as he got off the plane, "the forward positions of freedom—positions which the Chinese Communists are desperately trying to take. I found courage, and love of liberty, and hope." The hope, he thought, "stemmed

largely from the power of the United States and our dedication to the cause of freedom"

This position has the support of 15 chiefs of United States Far Eastern missions, who on Saturday ended a 4-day conference, held at Manila and in the lovely hill town of Baguio. These ambassadors held that, given a free choice, the peoples of the Far East will not be "seduced by gospels of hate designed to stir them up against each other and against other nations of the free world."

The Manilo-Baguio Conference had of necessity discussed the question of military aid to threatened Asiatic countries, but it had also, as this newspaper's dispatch from Robert Alden stated, "considered multilateral and bilateral arrangements for cooperation in the achievement of this economic well-being of the people of the Far East."

Communism grows like a weed in the swamp of human misery—and even there it has never been accepted by the majority of any nation except under pressure of armed force. A year or so ago it seemed that this misery and the accompanying force might spread the Red regime through much of Southeast Asia. A few years before that it had seemed that much of Western Europe might succumb to the same evil circumstance. In Western Europe the growth was checked, though its dangerous miasma lingers.

Perhaps we can now hope for a corresponding development in the Far East, though it may be slower and more confused. It is not possible that the people of Asia, having been largely freed from the old-fashioned kind of colonialism, will now turn toward the slavery of Moscow. But to resist they will need our help—and, let us hope, especially our peaceful help in raising their standards of living and production.

Cities Like Worcester Make America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, a most informative article concerning the history and development of the great city of Worcester, in the heart of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, written by Mr. Howell Walker, appeared in the February issue of the National Geographic Magazine, and I am pleased to include it here for the information and edification of my fellow Members.

The article follows:

CITIES LIKE WORCESTER MAKE AMERICA—FROM THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH TO NEW ENGLAND'S LARGEST INLAND METROPOLIS, THIS COMMUNITY HAS GROWN WITH INDUSTRY AND YANKEE INGENUITY

(By Howell Walker)

A white man sat down with a few Indians and smoked a pipe of peace. For 8 square miles of land he gave them 2 coats, 4 yards of cloth, a little money. The trade cradled the city of Worcester a century before the birth of the Nation.

But that bargain went up in smoke when red men burned the first huts. Wilderness regained its grip on Massachusetts' "Far West" frontier, 40 miles from Boston; over the ruins hung the silence of subsequent years. Then daring settlers tried again.

The lure of greener fields urged colonists to push inland from the crowded coastal strip. And Worcester, like so many other New England towns, took root despite death and captivity at savage hands.

PERSISTENCE, RESISTANCE, AND SUCCESS

Hardy pioneers named the village for their English city where Cromwell fought and won the last battle against Charles II. Puritan determination developed it for "the better convenity of attending God's worship, the better education of their children, and for the better accommodation of the tradespeople." To these precepts Worcester has always subscribed.

The city's background is the Nation's. A marker near the site of the earliest log cabins sums up chapter one: "The first settlement of this lonely region called Quinsigamond was attempted in 1673, but abandoned during King Philip's War. A second settlement, attempted in 1684, soon named Worcester, was also temporarily abandoned because of Indian hostility. Permanent occupation was effected in 1713."

In a pleasant valley among the gentle hills of central Massachusetts, the city today goes about life in much the same way as any other American community its size. As an industrial and educational center, the seat of Worcester County fairly represents New England.

For weeks I watched Worcester at work. Its impressive output of high-precision machine tools, steel and wire goods, forgings of aircraft and automobile parts, grinding wheels, and plastic whatnots amounts to an industrial revelation. But it was good to find a midcity smith hammering at an old-fashioned anvil.

Around the village blacksmith Worcester took shape as naturally as a house around its chimney. Some 700 manufacturing concerns have grown up within its municipal area. A population of 205,000 ranks the city third in New England, surpassed only by Boston and Providence, R. I.

Half the employed population works in factories. Nearly everyone goes to church. Thousands attend 109 schools and 6 colleges.

Sleek apartments are replacing outdated 3-decker tenements. Well back from elm-arched streets ramble handsome homes founded on steel, barbed wire, envelopes, looms, emery wheels, firearms, boots, brains—and honest, hard labor.

Worcester's strong tradition of craftsmanship—work expertly done by hand—has never let the Machine Age take the human touch out of its industry. This, plus a vigorous civic spirit and far more than idle interest in culture, makes Worcester tick evenly as the heart of the Commonwealth.

YANKEE INGENUITY FINDS A WAY

In 1685 the village began its industrial career with completion of the first gristmill. For the next century it lived quietly by agriculture and simple household crafts. During long winter months farmers tanned leather, made shoes, furniture, and other necessities. Much of their handiwork they traded at fairs.

Unable to obtain tools, machinery, and technical secrets from abroad, the colonial folk worked things out with Yankee ingenuity.

The town became a key center in a system of stagecoach lines covering the eastern part of the new Republic. But universally bad roads, often impassable in winter, discouraged movement of heavy goods.

In a bold and expensive project the inland community backed the digging of a canal to link Worcester with Providence, seaport of Rhode Island. Opened in 1828, the Blackstone Canal closed after a short but full life of 20 years. It introduced cheap transport of weighty freight and invited enterprising firms to settle in Worcester.

Railroads took over from the canal they killed; local trades gained momentum as steam heralded a new age of power.

INVENTORS CROWD CITY'S HALL OF FAME

Creative minds from the Worcester area revolutionized manufacturing around the world. As early as 1793 Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin; he also standardized parts of other products and opened the way for mass production in America. Elias Howe in 1846 patented the first lock-stitch sewing machine. In the 1850's a physician, Dr. Russell L. Hawes, designed machinery for folding paper into envelopes; Erastus Bigelow invented a power carpet loom; Thomas Blanchard turned out a new type of lathe for irregular forms and experimented with steam power.

The first piano wire made in America came from a Worcester mill. Here originated the steam calliope, the street lunch cart, and, some say, the first Valentine greeting card in the United States. In 1843 Charles Thurber improved the typewriter, effecting a letter-spacing principle still copied today. A graduate of Worcester Polytechnic Institute developed one of the first American gasoline-engined automobiles. And in 1926 a Clark University physics professor, Dr. Robert H. Goddard, first successfully projected a liquid-fuel rocket.

The city's hall of fame contains names of other notables. Here was the home of George Bancroft, eminent historian and father of the United States Naval Academy. Clara Barton, mother of the American National Red Cross and its first president, was born nearby in Oxford and closely identified with Worcester.

Immigrants—Swedish, Irish, French Canadians, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, and others—supplied much-needed skills and manpower. Eventually, elements of almost all nationalities that make up America's population added their flavor to this melting pot.

Big-business men built factory blocks and rented space and power to small concerns just getting started. This encouraged the little man. If he had an idea, he could begin a project without large outlay of capital.

Worcester still shows intrinsic respect for craftsmanship. Call it art in industry, personal pride in product, or what you will. Here it has endured from the pioneer days of Yankee ingenuity to the know-how of now.

"Worcester really is an industrial museum," the vice president of the Worcester Historical Society told me. "All our big works started here in a small way. It is rewarding to trace their progress from the first rough tools to our streamlined mass production."

Some individual factories have their own special museums. The Worcester Pressed Steel Co. contains the John Woodman Higgins Armory—a remarkable exhibit of man's metal products. It demonstrates the history of the metal craft.

In one long room duplicating the great hall of a Gothic castle in Austria I admired a fabulous assembly of arms and armor. An adjoining hall displays modern steel products: parts for airplanes, automobiles, typewriters, and torpedoes—all made on the premises.

Mr. John Woodman Higgins, chairman of the board of the Worcester Pressed Steel Co., traveled widely to collect and arrange his industrial museum. Its object, in his own words: "To inspire steelworkers, to attract superior craftsmen, to stimulate functional art in industry, to improve steel craftsmanship, to inform the public regarding the history of steel, and to preserve the best examples of steel craftsmanship for future generations."

SHINING ARMOR SHOWS EARLY STEEL CRAFT

Drawn by the glittering array of armor, I visited and revisited the varied collection. I saw the foot soldier's standard uniform of 500 years ago, the ornate protection worn by a reigning prince, and a group of 16th-century knights mounted on chargers.

In the up-to-date wing a metal airplane hangs above an auto chassis, which is 90 percent pressed steel. Exhibits show the company's successive operations in the manufacture of propeller domes for battle planes.

Ordnance Department experts studied this armor collection during World War I, and the plant produced thousands of steel helmets.

Here hangs Jan Brueghel's master panel, the Forge of Vulcan. It shows Venus and Cupid assisting Vulcan at his anvil and furnace; they make tools and products like those exhibited in the museum's cases. Walls of the 17th-century alcove carry portraits of kings in fancy parade armor, while the modern gallery has as many pictures of contemporary craftsmen at their machines and furnaces.

Adjoining the museum, the steel factory also invites visitors. Among the mass of machinery, I watched giant power rolls and presses accomplish in seconds what medieval armorers would have taken months to finish by hand.

Worcester's diverse industries are mostly home-owned, not uncommonly managed and manpowered by generations of the same families. They usually follow the old American custom of plowing back profits. With a generous civic spirit, many direct part of their earnings to local hospitals, art museums, and educational facilities.

WPI TRAINS INDUSTRY'S VIP'S

"Industry made Worcester Polytechnic Institute possible," said its late president, Rear Adm. Wat Tyler Cluverius. "And as long as the engineering college maintains its high standard, it will hold the interest of industry."

Established in 1865, WPI rates high among the Nation's engineering colleges. Its alumni have pioneered in steel, automobiles, aircraft, machine tools, railroading, shipbuilding, electrical communications, chemical research, oil, ruber, and abrasives. An annual enrollment of 900 represents every section of the globe.

The first instructor and superintendent of the institute's machine shops designed valves for an early plunger elevator and started several highly successful manufacturing plants. These include Worcester Pressed Steel and the Norton Co. He was Milton Prince Higgins, known as the father of the public trade school movement in America.

Entering the Worcester Boys' Trade High School, I paused by a bronze plaque. Under the Philosophy of Learning a Trade appeared this simple wisdom: "To make a good living; to have a happy family; to make preparation for hard times; to wear overalls in the shop with the same dignity as good clothes are worn on Sunday—this is the wholesome philosophy of learning a trade. —MILTON P. HIGGENS."

From what Higgins began in 1910 has materialized one of the best equipped training centers of its kind in America. Its courses lessen the need for factory apprenticeships. Its shops have trained hundreds of skilled mechanics for industries like Norton Co., Worcester's biggest industrial concern and the world's largest manufacturer of abrasive products.

In April 1953, Norton Co. added to its already enormous factory a $6 million precision grinding machine plant spreading over 6½ acres. Two months later a tornado swept through Worcester, leaving the newly built division roofless and littered with debris; the repair bill ran to a million dollars.

"But machines were back in production within 69 hours," said Norton's public relations manager. "And by September 1953, the plant was as good as new."

That tornado, with twisting winds up to 350 miles an hour, left 90 persons dead, 10,000 homeless, and $50 million worth of damage.

Norton Co. grew out of a potter's shop that successfully bonded natural emery with clay and fired the mixture in a kiln. So began the era of the emery wheel—an improved version of the age-old grindstone. Later the company pioneered grinding with diamond.

Norton now turns out enough grinding wheels to allow every man, woman, and child in Worcester a different type, size, or shape. They range from drills tiny as a dentist's to 10-ton pulpstone wheels 6 feet in diameter.

PULP WHEEL GRINDS 40 CORDS A DAY

"Most mechanically produced pulp for paper is ground with our stones," said a Norton research man. "A large one can grind 40 cords of wood a day."

Another Worcester manufacturer materially helps the paper industry. Rice Barton Corp., established 117 years ago, has probably built more machines for making newsprint than any other company in the paper machine manufacturing field. In fact, the firm forged, cast, and finished the machinery that makes and coats the pages of the very magazine you are reading.

"It takes from 9 to 18 months and about 400 workers to complete just one of the machines," said a representative. "Selling prices are as high as $2,500,000 for a large machine."

Shortly before 1850 a local doctor, Russell L. Hawes, became so interested in mechanics that he abandoned his medical practice to work for Rice Barton Corp. (then known as Goddard & Rice). A few years later he patented a device for making envelopes. Thus began an industry new to Worcester and to the United States. Prior to Hawes' achievement, Americans usually just folded a letter and sealed it with wax.

Today several divisions of the United States Envelope Co. operate enormous plants in Worcester.

One of the city's oldest and largest industries is also one of the most ancient metal crafts.

"The basic process of wiremaking by pulling metal through a die dates back to the eighth century," an official of American Steel & Wire's Worcester division explained.

Not until 1831 did anyone better the process. Then Ichabod Washburn, a blacksmith by trade, developed a machine for drawing steel rods into wire and started a timely business. Instead of expensive whalebone, women's fashions absorbed wire for hoop skirts, bonnets, and hairpins. And the expanding young West needed barbed wire for fencing livestock on boundless plains.

By 1880 Washburn's concern had grown into the world's leading wiremaker. Nineteen years later it merged with the newly formed American Steel & Wire Co., which subsequently became a division of the United States Steel Corp.

Today the Worcester plant covers 140 acres, employing some 3,500 workers. Monthly output approximates 12,000 tons of steel and wire products.

HOT STEEL ROLLED AT 50 MILES AN HOUR

The magic of wiremaking fascinated me. Like a colossal clothes wringer, the rolling mill presses a 3-ton red-hot ingot the size of a bathtub into a 6-inch bar 90 feet long. The next set of rolls squeezes it thin as your wrist while a flying shear cuts it into 30-foot lengths. These billets gather speed as they pass through subsequent rolls. Out race hot rods at 50 miles an hour to coil up like snakes, no thicker than a pencil but three-fourths of a mile long.

Cleansed in acid, rinsed in water, and coated with lime, a rod is drawn cold through a die to a prescribed diameter. A successive set of dies can reduce it to four-one thousandths of an inch.

Consider the myriad uses for wire in everyday life: kitchen utensils, nails, screws, and bolts; suspension bridges and needles; hoisting apparatus or typewriter parts; springs for vehicles, guns, telephone dials, and watches; piano strings, overhead and submarine cables. Ours is a world of wire without end.

In another division of the plant, cold-rolling machines produce flat strip steel for the manufacture of such items as knives, saws, rules, gages, razor blades, and ribs for umbrellas.

The small but significant beginnings of some early industries encouraged others to settle at Worcester. So in the 1830's William Crompton arrived—all the way from Lancashire, England—to manufacture textiles with newly patented machinery.

His son improved power looms and eventually formed the firm of Crompton & Knowles Loom Works. In normal years the company has 2,500 employees on 25 acres of floor space. It yearly ships about 10,000 looms for domestic and foreign use. These machines weave fabric from half an inch to 50 feet wide and weigh from one-half to 60 tons.

"The loom has come a long, long way down the road of progress from the looms of ancient Egypt," a former president of the factory said. "In the benefits it has bestowed upon mankind it ranks with the plow, the printing press, and the locomotive."

FROM SHEEP'S BACK TO CARPET

M. J. Whittall Associates, Inc., weaves a million yards a year of fine Anglo-Persian rugs and modern carpeting.

"We've still got growing pains," said Manager Harry Inett, 50 years with the company.

"We buy our wool directly from the backs of sheep grazing in India, Iraq, South America, and New Zealand," Inett said, "and we process it right through to the finished carpet."

We followed the works from beginning to end: reception of raw wool, scouring, carding, yarn making, wool and worsted spinning, weaving, trimming, finishing, and rolling for shipment.

In 1883 the growing importance of textiles stepped up manufacture of loom parts. Entering the field, two WPI graduates started the Wyman-Gordon Co. They took over a photographer's tiny shop on the cheapest land in town.

Now the company employs more than 2,500 persons in its Worcester division and another 1,500 at its western plant in Harvey, Ill. Watching the operations in Worcester, we flinched from heavy bars of red-hot steel shifted by overhead cranes. Sturdy crews manhandled the fiery metal under steam-driven hammers to shape automobile crankshafts and important aircraft parts. The constant pounding deafened and bodily jolted me.

Imagine the buffeting endured by the actual task force, day after day. Some have stuck to this rugged labor for more than 30 years.

The Government selected Wyman-Gordon to develop a special project: wider use of light metals like magnesium and aluminum in aircraft forgings. England, Russia, and Germany already had facilities for similar ventures; America had to keep pace.

Accordingly, in 1946 Wyman-Gordon completed a new plant at nearby North Grafton. It included an 18,000-ton press, designed primarily for large magnesium forgings and those of aluminum alloys.

How big can a forging plant get? Under the United States Air Force's recent press expansion program, the light-metals forging plant has been increased more than 10 times its original size. Now housed in this massive factory are five presses ranging in size from 1,500 tons to 50,000 tons. Standing by the base of one of these towering presses, I had that feeling of smallness and wonder I have known at the bottom of the Grand Canyon.

I saw $100,000 worth of jet engine impellers hot off the press, and one of the most intricate forgings ever produced in any metal—a brake-assembly unit of a plane wheel, looking like a birthday cake, candle and all. Here also were aircraft forgings bigger than any heretofore produced in the United States.

Wyman-Gordon, a leader in research work for the industry, has played an important role in the development of techniques for forging steel, high-temperature superalloys, aluminum, magnesium, and now titanium, that new wonder metal.

It's a relief to find in Worcester a place of business proud to produce the smallest something. As an experiment, Commonwealth Press, which prints anything from calling cards to complex catalogs, published a book it believes is the tiniest in existence. It is a translation of verses from the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, bound in leather. Somebody once fitted 24 of the works into a thimble.

FIRST AMERICAN NOVEL PUBLISHED

A printer was the city's first great citizen. Escaping enemy-held Boston, Isaiah Thomas smuggled his press to Worcester in 1775 and circulated its first newspaper. A successor to Benjamin Franklin in this field, he built up the foremost printing and publishing business in the young Republic.

Pioneering in mass-production methods of book publishing, Isaiah Thomas printed the first novel by an American author, The Power of Sympathy, by William Hill Brown; also the first medical and music volumes. One of the earliest copies of the Bible published in this country came from his press, as did spellers, primers, almanacs, and ballads of the day. When paper got scarce, he established Worcester's first mill to make it.

To compile his thorough history of printing in America, Thomas accumulated the best source material available. Anxiously he sought to found an institution which could preserve his library and build upon it.

As a result of his efforts, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts incorporated the American Antiquarian Society for "the collection and preservation of the antiquities of our country, and of curious and valuable productions in art and nature * * * to enlarge the sphere of human knowledge, aid in the progress of science, to perpetuate the history of moral and political events."

TWENTY SHELF-MILES OF HISTORY

The society was organized during the War of 1812. At Worcester it was safe from the guns of foreign fleets, and there the society's library and offices have stayed.

On more than 20 miles of continuous shelves rest well over a million books, pamphlets, newspapers, maps, prints, and manuscripts. Fittingly, one room of the building preserves Isaiah Thomas' original printing press.

The library contains copies of 75 percent of all recorded books and pamphlets printed in the United States before 1820. It has the Nation's most complete collection of American newspapers from 1704 to 1821, and for the years up to 1865 the newspaper files rank with those of the Library of Congress.

Distinguished American historians and 12 Presidents of the United States have been members of the society. Leading scholars, as well as the casually inquisitive, have turned often to this valuable storehouse for national knowledge.

In a conversation with Calvin Coolidge, not long out of the White House, someone referred to him as the ex-President.

"But I am still president," Coolidge replied sharply, "of the American Antiquarian Society."

"We get all sorts of queries," said the society's director, Clarence S. Brigham. "Once two elderly men came in to settle a dispute: Who played right field for Baltimore in 1896?

"We found that very easily," Dr. Brigham said, "because of our immense newspaper files. It was Willie Keeler, who ended up in baseball's hall of fame."

And in the American Antiquarian Society.

In 1829 the Worcester Natural History Society began collecting and labeling wild flowers. Today this organization stresses the need for conservation of America's natural resources. In addition to educational exhibits, the society's museum conducts classes for children and adults in natural-history subjects.

"I don't know what we'd do without the National Geographic magazine," said Director Richard C. Potter. "It's an invaluable and constant source of reference in our studies."

Mr. Potter arranged for me to visit his society's nature-training school outside the city. Walking over some of the school's 40 acres bordering a pond, I found groups of children studying various forms of nature: Flowers, trees, and flowerless plants, astronamy and weather, reptiles and birds (page 201). Since Mr. Potter became director of the Natural History Society in 1940, membership has more than quadrupled.

Among the first in the United States to purchase land for a public park, Worcester has preserved hundreds of acres for recreational purposes. Lake Quinsigamond, 7 miles long, forms the city's eastern boundary; over its current-free course some of the country's topnotch oarsmen race in national regattas; here in 1952 were held United States Olympic rowing trials (page 208).

A minute's walk from a solid block of factories took me to the Worcester Art Museum. Its superb collection of masterpieces ranges from 2600 B. C. to modern times. I saw rare works of classical, medieval, and early American art in galleries that are among the Nation's best (page 198).

In the same area stands the Memorial Auditorium, where crowds swarm to hear unusually fine concerts or watch first-rate plays. For more than 90 years music lovers have annually thronged the week-long Worcester Music Festival, the country's oldest.

BIOLOGISTS STUDY BASIC MEDICAL PROBLEMS

On the city's outskirts, in the mansion of a once-private estate and in several additional buildings, the nonprofit Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology lives up to its name. Here, scientists strive to solve problems important to mental health, arthritis, cancer, and reproduction. This work is done primarily through studies of hormones produced by the adrenal and sex glands.

In only 10 years of existence the foundation has come up with some interesting findings. Workers discovered that cancer patients secrete an abnormal balance of sex hormones. The present research program involves a study of the chemistry of blood in persons suffering from the disease. Since cancer is a runaway growth of tissues, its causes depend on the intimate chemistry of the cells; and the relation of this chemistry to steroid substances is important to cancer research.

BIG INDUSTRIES FROM SMALL CRAFTS

Worcester's old crafts never die; they usually grow into something bigger. It happened with steel rolling and wire drawing, manufacture of railway carriages and trolley buses, fire extinguishers and firearms, and worsted materials for civilian and military clothing.

Besides the phenomenal growth of older industries, new ones are still springing up. Since World War II, 283 firms have started and stayed in business.

So Worcester grows with increasing industry. But the city's real strength, like that of the Nation, stems from the people. They started from scratch; inventive genius was their chief natural resource, and it still is.

Worcester is a city of industry made so by the character of its citizens. It began with a bargain between white man and Indians. Puritans laid the sound foundation. Then men faced hard work with strong hands, initiative, skill, and intelligence. They still do.

There are other places in the United States like Worcester. Its story is the story of the growth of industrial America. Such communities made this country what it is today.

Resolution Urging Amendment of the Sugar Act of 1948

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following memorium by the State of Utah House of Representatives by Representatives Larsen, Hebertson, Gardner, and Kerr:

House Joint Memorial 1

An act memorializing the Congress of the United States urging the enactment of legislation amending the Sugar Act of 1948 to enable the domestic sugar industry to have a fair and equitable share of sugar consumption in the United States

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Utah:

Whereas the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended provides for a fixed quantity of sugar which can be marketed in the United States by processors producing sugar from beets or cane grown in the United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands; and

Whereas sugar consumption in the United States has increased from 7,500,000 tons in 1948 to 8,250,000 tons in 1954 due largely to an increase in population from 150 million to 163 million during that same period; and

Whereas sugar consumption in the United States may be expected to continue to increase at the rate of more than 100,000 tons per year; and

Whereas under the Sugar Act of 1948 as amended, no portion of the increased consumption is permitted to be produced or sold from beets or cane grown by domestic producers; and

Whereas the sugar industry is a vital part of the agricultural economy of Utah and the Nation, being an important source of income to producers and factory laborers; and

Whereas any national emergency would require the existence of a strong, vigorous domestic sugar industry capable of providing a major part of the Nation's sugar needs; and

Whereas the domestic sugar industry is capable of meeting the challenge of an expanding market and of possible requirements in case of a national emergency, if permitted to do so under the law; and

Whereas the Government has found it necessary to limit the acreage of many major crops because of overproduction, and many of these acres are adapted to sugar beet production which could be used to supply a larger proportion of the domestic sugar needs, and at the same time aid in the solution of the difficult problem of what to do with diverted acres: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of Utah does hereby urge the Congress of the United States to enact legislation amending the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, in such a manner as to enable the domestic sugar in-

dustry to be allowed to produce and sell a fair share of the sugar needed to meet the increased demands of consumers within the United States resulting from our Nation's growth, and to provide for the maintenance of a stable, vigorous domestic sugar industry which will make a sound practical use of farm land now restricted from other use, and to provide an adequate supply of a strategic material within the United States in case of a national emergency; be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of State forward copies of this memorial to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to Members of the United States Congress, and senators and representatives from the State of Utah.

The Navy and the Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEWEY SHORT
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit the following enlightening address delivered by Adm. Robert B. Carney, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations, before the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce in Cincinnati, Ohio, on Monday, February 21, 1955.

Time will prove that Admiral Carney will go down in history as one of our greatest officers of the United States Navy. His address is so full of hard commonsense and irrefutable argument, along with undeniable facts, that it should be read by our present generation and preserved for posterity. It is the product of a clear mind, clean heart, and noble character, born of innate ability, careful training, rugged discipline, and long and successful experience.

THE NAVY AND THE ATOMIC AGE

(Address by Adm. Robt. B. Carney, U. S. Navy, Chief of Naval Operations, before the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, the Cincinnati Chapter of the Navy League, and the Naval Reserve Advisory Council of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio)

The Navy is a composite of great weapons systems capable of discharging its job, both in wars that are hot and wars that are cold. But the word "Navy" represents more than the material components such as ships, guns, guided missiles, and aircraft; it represents a complex system of people who are not only trained in sea-fighting and all manner of technical specialties, but are molded in the fields of character and mentality to produce the utmost of intelligent dedication in the application of their knowledge.

Of the past, I will only say that regardless of their scope and temperature, had we not won the wars at sea, we would not have won the wars. So much for the past. The Navy is not living in the past and we have no intention of doing so. Nor are we merely living in the present. We are profoundly concerned with the tasks which we might be called upon to perform for any crisis in the atomic future. Perhaps I should say that we are concerned with a 3-dimensional projection of history in which we are adhering to the applicable things of the past, planning for the best utilization of what we now have in our locker should we be confronted with an emergency today, and planning a future Navy that will have the greatest capability for furthering our own national aims and defeating the intentions of any enemy.

Prior to embarking on a discussion of the Navy in this atomic era, it might be useful to permit our informed imagination to contemplate what war in the future could be like.

In its most depraved and horrible form, it could involve the unrestricted use of nuclear weapons on both sides. Consequently, we must reckon on the possibility of the holocaust; but we must also consider that conflicts of lesser scope and magnitude are possible because of the deterrent effect of world-wide understanding of the ghastly consequences of atomic war.

Until nuclear weapons are brought under foolproof international control, they must be included in our security thinking. At the same time, we must not be blinded to other dangers; a single concept could be a trap. Strength in depth, strategic mobility, sensitivity to changing conditions, and versatility are essentials in the scheme of long-range security.

Recent history has taught us the stern lesson that our possession in 1945 of some very powerful weapons did not deter Red conquest of China, nor did it stop the Reds moving into Greece, nor did it stop the Red's march into South Korea, nor did it stop the Communist thrust against Indochina. Nor does it appear to stop them now.

Our mere possession of atomic weapons has not deterred the world's most skillful and persistent arsonists, although it has undoubtedly been an important factor in preventing their setting fire to the world. Perhaps the masters of the Kremlin do not desire a struggle that could bring self-destruction; nevertheless the world may yet see many relatively minor struggles. Minor though they be, they are of profound importance because the sum total of multiple little defeats could add up to a situation of great gravity.

First, we as a nation must be prepared to withstand the shock of the worst surprise blow that could be delivered against us. I, for one, do not subscribe to any idea that the spirit of our people would be whipped by the first blow and ready to surrender. Patrick Henry's words never had more meaning to our citizens than they have today.

The instigator of a war, large or small, always has the momentary advantage of surprise and can predetermine where, when, and how he plans to accomplish his initial objectives. Knowing precisely his own intentions, he can fashion plans and implementing tools which he thinks will be foolproof. But, commonsense would certainly counsel an aggressor that even he must have an assortment of alternative capabilities up his sleeve lest his opponent anticipate his scheme.

Obviously, the defender is in a less advantageous position than the aggressor for he can never be certain that he will be able to predict his opponent's moves, either politically or militarily. Therefore, it is imperative that the defender be prepared for various contingencies; preparation for only one rigid and unalterable course could be suicidal.

Our first and constant objective is to avert war, and the best preventive lies in convincing strength and convincing readiness. Sea-air power plays an important part in this picture with its mobile and flexible capability for contributing to America's power in the air, its elusive capacity for dispersal, its wide range of geographical potentiality, and its built-in defenses.

The Navy would be immediately involved in any atomic exchange—defensively, parrying the enemy's efforts whether they come from above, on, or beneath the sea's surface; and by lashing back with all the destructive force that our sea-based weapons can bring to bear. For such a fight, the Navy is prepared to make a significant contribution, both with weapons systems already perfected and with others under development.

By its central location in the Eurasian land mass, international communism has the opportunity to radiate out in any direction. Conversely, he could be hit from many directions. From the standpoint of the maritime aspect of this fact, it is significant that beyond his littoral and coastal sea lanes lie vast expanses of ocean in which our forces can operate if we retain freedom of action—carriers, guided missile ships and submarines, or perhaps an elusive force of submarine-supported seaplanes. But these capabilities are not had just for the asking. The Soviets even now own the second largest Navy and are working feverishly to expand it. The prize of maritime supremacy is again being contested. Our national planning must allow for this lest we lose the necessary margin in one of the essential elements of our national security.

It should be noted that these American sea forces I have mentioned all have the built-in attributes of concealment and surprise. Nor do they require any permissive diplomatic arrangements.

With these thoughts for background consideration, let us train our glasses on the horizon for a glance at what could be the pattern of future naval wartime operations.

Should the Armageddon come, there will be the need to blunt and survive the initial attack of the enemy, no matter in what form or from where it may originate. This certainly will involve many of our ships and aircraft operating on vigilant ocean patrol, their electronic sensories probing the depths of both sky and sea to facilitate finding and destroying the enemy's transoceanic raiders. There will be the immediate necessity for sea-based aircraft and missiles to participate in massive attacks against the enemy's source of strength and power.

Presumably, massive blows would continue as long as either side retined the capability. With the passing of that initial phase, and, if the issue is still unresolved, tough people would carry on across the radioactive ashes and waters, with what weapons are left. Nuclear explosions will certainly not eliminate the ageless problems which the oceans have presented to man. Even if an enemy gained temporary advantages from an atomic exchange, unless he gained sea control he could not invade our land and take control of our Government. Sea control will be an elemental consideration in accomplishing either the follow-through phase of an atomic war or the better appreciated chores of a prolonged nonatomic war.

To summarize, our Navy would be required to protect sea areas vital to our own and allied interests both before and, God forbid, after the atom; a Navy will be needed to support our national commitments overseas. We might be called upon to seize contested beachheads, to render active combat support to our sister services, to launch and intercept guided missiles—in short, to perform any military task within the realm of our own blue-water interests.

The kind and size of a navy needed to do all these things depends on the arms situation the world over. For naturally, our weapons and methods must change with changing conditions, including the changing nature of our competition. Modern war is ruthlessly competitive, and weakness in any one sector or segment of defense is merely to tempt and perhaps even invite aggression.

In this connection, we in the Navy have been carefully watching and soberly evaluating the Soviet Union's ability to translate her obvious desires for maritime preeminence into solid materials and hardware. They are utilizing their own shipyards to build new cruisers, destroyer-types, submarines and smaller vessels such as tor-

pedo boats and minecraft. They are buying and having built ever-increasing amounts of merchant tonnage from our allies and friends. They are strengthening their naval aviation.

We do not know all of the armament characteristics being built into these new Soviet naval vessels. We do not know exactly how they are progressing with nuclear propulsion, guided missiles and atomic ammunition. We can only assume that they are not overlooking those applications to naval problems. One must also logically assume that they are not building new ships and deliberately equipping them with obsolete armaments—deliberately building new ships to be sunk by more modern weapons, the existence of which is well known to them.

The probability of multiple tasks being involved in future control of the oceans calls for building into all our weapons systems the maximum mobility, flexibility, versatility and last mentioned, but by no means of least importance, economy. An undefeated navy would be of little consolation to a nation suffering from economic collapse.

The rise of the Soviet Navy in no way minimizes the military threat opposing us and our allies on land and in the air, but it does indicate determined Soviet effort to leave no loopholes in the master plan. And there is another point of no little significance. The fact that the Soviets have embarked on a vast naval building program is one of the most conclusive bits of evidence that they are not contemplating a short war.

Recent public discussion here in the United States of Soviet maritime growth has proven to be a rather sensitive matter in Moscow—so sensitive, in fact, that Soviet spokesmen have deplored American naval views concerning the supposed aggressiveness of the Soviet Navy.

I can only say in rebuttal that I can see no valid purpose of any nation going to the great expense of building in a short time the second largest navy in the world, and still expanding, unless it visualizes some need to change the status quo at sea.

There have been other critics from overseas who have sincerely proffered their help to us in determining the future strategy of the United States. Although obviously well intentioned, we must carefully consider the source of such advice which is not necessarily imbued with the American viewpoint nor with an understanding of the United States problems. Perhaps it would not be amiss to point out that they have been somewhat limited in their own experience in the conduct of war at sea.

In some respects the naval officer is a fortunate military man, because from his earliest days, he has not only made his home aboard ships at sea but also he has lived with the many weapons which operate from and with ships. Those who do not wear wings nevertheless live constantly in the shadow of the airplanes' wings for they are normal tools for the job that he is doing on and beneath the surface. The Navy man constantly absorbs through his pores a familiarity with such air weapons as fighters, attack bombers, seaplnes, blimps, helicopters, and more recently, with various types of missiles.

Also, curiously enough, the naval officer rubs shoulders continuously with ground troops—the Marines, than whom there are no finer. No matter what type of ship he is aboard, whether it is an attack transport or an LST in connection with amphibious problems, or whether it is a destroyer or a cruiser which must be trained for accurate gunfire in support of the troops, the naval officer must know something about the Marines' business. He must automatically acquire information that is needed to transition troops from water to land. Actually, we have gone further than that and rendered support to troops deeply deployed in the hinterland, as was the case in Korea. These contacts with forces of the land, sea, and air have become a part of the United States Navy's business and perhaps entitles us to a measure of confidence in our own appraisal of the realities of sea warfare.

Here in our country we have come to accept argument and controversy as a fundamental method of finding out the truth. Argument is a characteristic of America that you find around the "cracker barrel" of the country store, and in the Security Council in Washington. Perhaps the cracker barrel is one of the finest security councils we have. An appreciation of any subject is always improved by debate. So I should like to digress for a moment and discuss a few points raised by those who are unimpressed by the importance of sea power.

Some have questioned whether the Navy can be depended on to provide safe conduct for sea transport. There are those who still say—in the face of all the fact to the contrary—that the carrier is a dead bird.

First, let us take a look at this sea transport business. I will say at the outset that it would be perfectly wonderful if our country could stand the cost of transporting everything by air.

It is true that certain items must be fast moving; the trend is in that direction, and our war machines, regardless of service and flag, will need the most rapid logistics support possible. This does not mean, however, that surface freighters, rail, road, and ocean are all passe. Far from it, in fact.

It would be perfectly wonderful if our country could stand the cost of sailing all military passengers and cargo aloft over the submarine menace. All the military services would appreciate the inherent advantages of some sort of invulnerable cargo carrier—invulnerable to submarine attack, air attack, and missile attack. But the cost of such an operation is something that must be taken into consideration by us taxpayers. We must consider the cost of cargo aircraft that would be relatively invulnerable, the cost of fuel, and the cost of both airborne and seaborne tankers, the cost of expanded air facilities and maintenance, the cost of operating personnel—all these airlift costs must be weighed against the cost of transporting by sea. Most of those cost differentials are here to stay.

Another consideration is the tonnage requirements of combat in these days. Suffice it to say that whether we are talking of rapidly dispersable armored ground forces or antiaircraft elements, tonnage estimates per man are going higher and higher. So it is with the airman. So it is with the services of our allies to whom we are committed all over the world. The ever-widening logistical demands are staggering. Our overseas airfields need thicker and ever-lengthening concrete runways, more vehicles, more repair facilities, more defensive measures. All the foregoing is not to say that air transport does not have its place; indeed, there are certain critical items that can and should be speedily air transported over great distance to all the services.

The Navy has always had, and will continue to have, an active and participating interest in improving our national airlift capacity, but we also know the bulk of overseas lift must for the foreseeable future be moved by sea and protected in transit.

Now, let us take a look at the carrier. There are millions of square miles of territory in the world from which air power could do a great job of work. But where the requisite of land-based air and its extensive bases either cannot be constructed because of national objections or could not be constructed in time to do us any good, how, then, is air power to be applied from these myriad points on the globe?

Obviously, many of these places can be reached by mobile sea-air power.

As to the reported vulnerability of the carrier, put yourself in the position of the enemy. Your first problem is to know where the carrier lurks. So, you must send out a snooper. The snooper will undoubtedly locate something on his radar, but he cannot be sure what the pip is telling him unless he takes a look. The carrier of course, has powerful, far-reaching radar of its own, as do the carrier planes, as do the supporting ships. And you should see what happens to an approaching aircraft when the modern surface-to-air guided missile sallies forth to extend its greeting. I can tell you that it is quite a thing.

But, for the sake of argument, let us suppose that the snooper gets off his report, "Enemy carrier group latitude so-and-so, longitude so-and-so"; enemy bombers are alerted, and shortly afterwards they take off for the geographical position indicated by the snooper's report. But the carrier force does not stay put. Unless it is kept under constant surveillance, the bombers—jets with a need to husband their fuel—will have to search for it again. Within a matter of hours, it will be hundreds of miles from the point of original contact. Meanwhile, the carriers have already been alerted; their fighters, with performance characteristics equal to anything that will oppose them, are already stationed aloft, their radars probing, their air-to-air missile switches alive. Ships' guided missiles are poised and ready. And do not forget that the atomic art is reaching the point where guided missiles could be tipped with atomic warheads. That kind of flak could make large segments of the sky untenable.

The aircraft carrier has the unique quality of giving us, in the same package, both a hot-war and a cold-war capability. For example, our 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean provides the primary heavy-air striking force for NATO's southern flank. Its primary mission today is to support the armies and tactical air bases located in Italy, Greece, and Turkey. Its presence has had a profound influence on the national attitudes and favorable political actions of our friends in the Mediterranean basin.

In Formosan waters today as the history of the cold war unfolds, another chapter is being written by our versatile, mobile aircraft carriers. They, with their hot-war capability, play an important cold-war role, keeping it cold—or at least cool. The Tachen operation was a shining example of the sort of situation in which American tactical air power could be invoked only by carriers.

The constant combat readiness of a global sea-air capability provides the United States with a military asset and a military advantage of priceless value. Within a few days, our fleets, which are already globally deployed, can be dispatched to troubled areas. Recently, within 4 hours of the time the decision was reached in Washington to cover the removal of troops and civilians from the Tachens, Seventh Fleet aircraft were on guard over the islands and cruisers and destroyers were soon patroling nearby—ready for anything that might develop. That could only have been accomplished with a readily available sea-air power.

Nor does the carrier provide the Navy's only potential in projecting sea-air power. Seaplanes offer the possibility of providing a significant and flexible addition to our sea-air capability. New military applications of this weapons family are still in the making, but already we visualized a considerable potential.

But perhaps the most significant development is one of which you are already aware. I refer to nuclear propulsion. Nuclear ship propulsion, although still in its infancy, is beginning to expand; and, I predict that it will one day become commonplace in our Navy. Not only are various types of nuclear-

powered surface units surely approaching, but nuclear flight may not be as far away as first anticipated and looks to have attractive possibilities in the field of water-launched aircraft.

In this connection, it was interesting to read what a Soviet scientists has recently envisaged in the field of atom-powered transport. He stated that the installation of nuclear reactors will be particularly convenient in the case of large vessels. Thus, a seagoing vessel with a cargo capacity of several tens-of-thousands of tons will need a supply of nuclear fuel as large as the size of a cigarette case and this will be sufficient for a whole month's sea journey.

The nation that makes a major conversion from oil to atoms will have taken a long stride in the maintaining of sea supremacy.

Although I have spoken this afternoon primarily of the Navy, we are but one component of our total national armed strength and it takes more than a navy to win a war; we know that it takes more than any two of the services. It takes all three services mutually supporting in a common effort. We believe also that it ould take more than any one nation to win a major struggle in this complicated age. We will need the combined resources and will of powerful allies and they will need a powerful, vibrant United States. The continued existence of our alliances can only be assured by retention of sea supremacy.

I would like to leave this thought with you. Long after you and I have ceased to participate in affairs mundane, the seas will be a vital highway both in peace and in war; and sea-air power will be needed to secure that highway. It is to be devoutly hoped that our country will never let go by default this great military advantage which we now hold in world where every advantage must be cherished and none needlessly relinquished.

Fine Highways Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an editorial which appeared in the Los Angeles Examiner on February 24, 1955:

FINE HIGHWAYS MESSAGE

In his special message to Congress on highways, President Eisenhower took a conciliatory, cooperative attitude that brought the highway problem back into its proper focus.

It is exactly this attitude which has been lacking recently in the legislative branch of the Government where intemperate, irresponsible, and usually ill-informed statements have become the rule.

The President stated his suggested program and gave his reasons, but he was not dogmatic nor insistent. He opened wide the door to compromise.

In his words:

"Inescapably, the vastness of the highway enterprise fosters varieties of proposals which must be resolved into a national highway pattern."

The Hearst newspapers must agree with the President's recommendation that the Federal Government assume the principal responsibility for financing the national system of interstate highways.

This recommendation is essentially the Hearst plan for better roads published by this and other Hearst newspapers more than 2 years ago.

It was a good plan then, it is a good plan now, and in the past 2 years it has received the endorsement of almost all of those organizations whose purpose is to secure better roads for America.

And while the President was not insistent, Congress will do well to give this recommendation careful study before it decides to "compromise" the highway bill into something that will not really improve any system of roads anywhere.

We believe that the President's temperate message will settle a lot of unnecessary dust that has been kicked up in political scuffles.

The way is clear now for Congress to get down to work and produce a highway bill based on known needs and known needs only. The highways, as we have said so many times, are not political.

Let's All Be Thankful That We Are in Front of the Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to invite attention to the following poem by Clevelander William Schneider which recently won a Freedom Foundation award:

LET'S ALL BE THANKFUL THAT WE ARE IN FRONT OF THE IRON CURTAIN

(By William Schneider)

Looking out into a free world
What would those enslaved ones see?
Things they never dreamed of
Enjoyed each day by you and me.

Free schools for all our children
Jobs for all who would work
And at good living wages
Whether factory worker or clerk.

Most families own an auto
To roam this land and see
The wonders of our Nation
And just think—it's all for free!

The worker has his union
To bargain for his rights
He sits with his boss 'round the table
And peacefully avoids a fight.

Our laws are based on justice
That's why we are so free
No one can be wrongfully treated
By his municipality.

We worship in our churches
Whether Protestant, Catholic or Jew
Only God is our Supreme Ruler
No one else dictates to you.

Our homes and farms are many
Owned by those of every race
No one dares disturb them
Invasion they never face.

We strive to live a peaceful life
And give a helping hand
To others not so fortunate
Whether here or on foreign sand.

So look outside and see the truth
It's free so come and see
Why peaceful lives are best enjoyed
In lands of Liberty.

One Speaks Out, at Last, for the Little Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. L. PILCHER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. PILCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I enclose herewith the following editorial entitled "One Speaks Out, at Last, for the Little Man," which appeared in the Camilla Enterprise, Camilla, Ga., March 4, 1955:

ONE SPEAKS OUT, AT LAST, FOR THE LITTLE MAN

It looked like in the last 2 weeks no one was going to speak out for the "little man," who makes up about 99 percent of the population in reference to the House passed, Republican opposed, tax cut of $20 for every taxpayer.

For a good many years since the war the small taxpayer, the man who really makes up the bulk of the tax-paying numbers and pays the largest proportion of the taxes, has been promised some relief. Most of these tax paypayers have no write-offs, no depreciation, no deductions, no tricks or special accounts in which to gain a little breather from the heavy load of Federal taxation.

The microscopic reduction which automatically went into effect last year, having been stacked on top of the old rate to finance the Korean difficulty, was so small that it didn't make any appreciable difference in what this taxpayer was paying. Coupled with this was a rise in the social security rate which more than offset this tax reduction and the Nation's smallest taxpayer last year found himself paying more taxes in 1954 than in 1953.

The Democratic move, which would have saved each taxpayer $20, would have been felt. It would have been felt weekly in the paychecks as the column of deductions was a little smaller.

The politically sensitive House passed the measure over strong protest. The President branded it folly, Republican leadership called it many things, Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey said it was "inflationary" but it remained for an economic adviser to the President to speak out this week with words to the effect that the $20 was just what was needed to perk up the country. It, as he termed it, would start buying again, would put money where incomes were pinched the hardest. It would do more to reduce unemployment, than reductions at the top.

It has long been a difference between Democratic leaders and Republican leaders as to what makes our economy tick. The Democratic concept is that a few extra dollars in the hand of the smaller wage earner starts the business machine to ticking, while Republican leadership has always maintained that business must be encouraged to make expansions, create more jobs, and the benefits will trickle down to the smaller wage earner.

Inducements since the war have favored the larger investor, the stockholder, the manufacturer, the corporation. The little man is still fighting a heavy load of taxes and higher prices for everything, plus higher interest rates when he borrows. The farmer has seen his income decline due to the same policy and there have been no stimulations for his prices or income.

The proposed tax cut would cost the country a little over $2 billion. This $2 billion would be put right into the trade channels in every part of the country and in every

line. Its effect would be very good on business in general. In the long run the Government would perhaps make this money back through increased business income and its corporation tax structure.

The single wage earner making $50 per week pays Uncle Samuel each Friday or Saturday $6.80 plus a $1.00 more social security which makes $7.80 every payday. That is mighty rough taxes in anybody's language when you measure it against his living expenses. Richer people pay more percentagewise, but it doesn't cut into their day to day living.

Thirty-second Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the House the following resolution adopted by the Lithuanian American Council of New Haven, Conn., at the observance of the 37th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Lithuanian people.

I think we might all gain inspiration from the courage of these people who have lost their homeland to Communist aggressors, but not their determination to restore freedom to Lithuania, and uphold it in the United States.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY VOTED BY THE LITHUANIAN AMERICANS OF THE CITY OF NEW HAVEN, CONN., AT THE OBSERVANCE OF THE 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE PEOPLE OF LITHUANIA, HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN-LITHUANIAN COUNCIL, AT THE ST. CASIMIR HALL, ON THE 27TH DAY OF FEBRUARY 1955

Whereas in 1940, Soviet Russia, in vicious conspiracy with Hitlerite Germany and in brutal violation of all the treaties and obligations solemly underwritten by her, invaded Lithuania with armed forces and, against the will of the people, annexed her to the Soviet Union, and, in 1944, following the defeat of the German armies on the Eastern front, again took over that country in complete disregard of the wartime policies and obligations to which the Soviet Union was cosignatory with the United States and other allies of World War II;

Whereas for almost 15 years Lithuania, one of the Baltic nations, has borne the yoke of slavery, as a result of the brutal and unprovoked aggression by the Soviet Union;

Whereas the Kremlin conspirators are constantly trying to seduce the free nations to enter into agreements with the Soviet Union in hope of splitting their common defense efforts and gaining their tacit consent to the status quo of enslavement of millions of people under the heel of international communism: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this gathering of American citizens of Lithuanian descent of the city of New Haven pledge their wholehearted support of this great country's efforts to achieve lasting peace and justice in the world, and urge the Federal Government of the United States to respond to the demands of this crucial time in initiating a positive and dynamic political program against the international Communist conspiracy; be it finally

Resolved, That the Lithuanian Americans of New Haven, once again reaffirming their loyalty to the principles of American democracy, pledge their wholehearted support of the administration and Congress of the United States in their efforts to bring about a lasting peace, freedom, and justice in the world.

MATHEW VOKETAITIS,
President.
MARY JAKUBAITIS,
Secretary.

Loyalty and Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the many Americans in public and private life who have justifiably been deeply concerned over the operations of the Federal Government's employee security program can take little pleasure in the long overdue and elementary procedural reforms recently instituted by the administration. Although it is nice to know that the administration has finally become cognizant of the public record of gross injustices which the security program has worked against loyal and competent Federal workers, we are still far from having a just and adequate security program. I am in complete agreement with the editorial position of the New York Times of March 7, 1955, on this most serious subject. Under unanimous consent, I include this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

LOYALTY AND JUSTICE

The deep and growing disquiet felt by many Americans about the operations of the Federal Government's employee security program has finally impelled the Eisenhower administration to order some badly needed improvements. The latest changes represent a forward step which can be welcomed against the background of all too many public examples in which the security program has worked manifest injustices against loyal and competent Federal workers. This public record of injustices has tended to make Government employment unattractive to able people with alternative opportunities, with the result that at times our security has probably been reduced rather than enhanced.

How serious has been the defects in the security program until now may be realized by taking account of what the situation must have been before the new safeguards now introduced. Federal employes have been suspended without being told of the charges against them, and sometimes the charges have not been "specific enough to be meaningful to the employee." Meticulous care has not always been employed in suspending employees, and there has not always been "a personal interview with the employee prior to suspension." The top legal officers of departments concerned have not always been consulted nor their opinions "secured as to the sufficiency of the information justifying suspension." There has not always been a legal officer present at security hearings. Security boards have not always been composed of "persons possessing the highest degree of integrity, ability, and good judgment." Heads of different agencies have not always consulted with each other when one agency proposed to make an adverse judgment on a person previously cleared by another.

The quotations given above are from Attorney General Brownell's statement on the substance of the latest changes. This is a late date indeed to introduce such elementary reforms, and it is chilling to reflect on what the situation may have been in individual cases up to now.

Does the latest set of changes go far enough and protect both the national security and the rights of the individual Federal worker? The answer would seem to be rather clearly in the negative. Federal employees still may not confront and cross-examine all their accusers when security officials believe that the production of a particular witness may jeopardize the national security. But by what criteria are such determinations made? Are there other misinformers like Harvey Matusow being protected from exposure under the guise of serving national security? This question must inevitably arise against recent history as background. Is our Government not sufficiently ingenious to protect the identity of particular informants while subjecting their testimony to outside check? The problem is not easy, but it would not seem to be insoluble.

There are other serious problems too. What safeguards now exist to prevent such flagrant miscarriage of justice as was suffered by Prof. Val Lorwin? Professor Lorwin was indicted by an officer of the Eisenhower Administration in December 1953 on the ground that he had lied in denying that he had ever been a Communist Party member and on two related matters. Six months later an Assistant Attorney General had to go into court and ask that the indictment be quashed because the Department of Justice attorney who secured the indictment had made two gross misstatements of fact to the grand jury. Such an outrage was possible, even though Professor Lorwin had earlier been suspended and cleared by the State Department.

The problem of fairness and justice in security procedures has long since become a major national question. Millions of Americans must have security clearances to work for the Government directly, or on Government production orders, or on Government-subsidized projects. To be labeled a security risk today is perhaps the most terrible of brands on a person who has been convicted of no crime and tried in no court of law.

There are those who deserve such stigma and such punishment. But none of us can rest easy in our minds or hearts when we know that innocent men and women may be placed in this most terrible of Coventrys because of the spiteful words of a vengeful neighbor or to satisfy the ambition of an unscrupulous security officer or Government attorney. The soundness of the foundations of our national tradition of freedom and justice are at stake. And if these are not sound, we have no security and can have none.

Natural Gas Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege granted me

to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I present an editorial that appeared in the March 1, 1955, edition of the Shreveport Journal entitled "Threat to Gas Industry":

THREAT TO GAS INDUSTRY

Louisiana's producers and marketers of natural gas, as well as those of other States which depend upon this resource for much of their income, should applaud the action of President Eisenhower's top advisers in recommending that the individual States be allowed to retain control of the gas industry.

Specifically, the recommendation of the President's Cabinet members is that the States be allowed to control production, gathering, processing, and sale of natural gas prior to its entry into interstate transmission lines—this in the face of a Supreme Court ruling which has the opposite effect.

The President's stand may have a great bearing upon the manner in which Congress deals with the question during its current session.

Additional opposition to Federal regulation of natural gas production is contained in the March issue of the Guaranty Survey, a monthly publication of the Guaranty Trust Co., of New York. Following are excerpts from the Survey's discussion of the issue:

"Shall the competitive and hazardous business of natural gas production be regulated as a public utility, or shall it be allowed to operate under the rules of private competitive enterprise? The continued vitality and growth of this dynamic industry, and of others as well, may hinge upon the answer.

"The question arose suddenly last June as the result of a Supreme Court decision. By a vote of 5 to 3, the Court ruled that the Natural Gas Act of 1938, which gives the Federal Power Commission authority to regulate sales of gas for resale in interstate commerce, applies to sales by independent producers to interstate pipeline companies. Section 3b of the act reads: 'The provision of this act * * * shall not apply * * * to the production or gathering of natural gas.' For 16 years it had been generally supposed, and the Commission itself had repeatedly ruled, that this exemption covered sales by independent producers and gatherers, that is, producers and gatherers not affiliated with the interstate pipeline companies. The Court's decision, which reversed one of the Commission's rulings, upset this established belief and the practices based upon it.

"The strength of the opposition to Federal regulation of natural-gas production is based upon the belief that it is not only unnecessary but positively detrimental. Gas men are convinced that their industry cannot thrive in a public-utility environment. The cost of drilling dry holes cannot be capitalized and hence cannot be made the basis for rate regulation by conventional methods. Exceptional risks can be taken only when there is a reasonable prospect of correspond.ng rewards to the successful. Unless these risks are taken, new natural gas reserves in sufficient amounts cannot be found.

"Congress is being asked to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to establish beyond doubt the exemption of producers and gatherers from its provisions. (Such an amendment was passed in 1950 but was vetoed by President Truman.)

"The immediate loss and injustice to natural-gas producers are serious enough, but the questions involved in Federal regulation strike even deeper. An increasingly vital industry is threatened with creeping paralysis. A precious natural resource is exposed to the risk of artificially induced wastage. Consumers face the prospect of effects on price and supply exactly the opposite of those intended. Worst of all, the whole concept of free competitive markets is under attack. If natural gas production is subject to Federal regulation, no segment of industry entering into interstate commerce is logically exempt. What Congress is being asked to do is not merely to rescue an important industry and its customers from the risk of grave injury, but to reaffirm a basic principle of American politico-economic philosophy."

National Support for Bolton Nursing Commission Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, my resolution to establish a National Commission on Nursing Services, House Joint Resolution 171, has received an outstanding response from key health leaders in all parts of the Nation.

Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I am inserting a press release which describes in some detail the public reaction to my legislation:

HEALTH LEADERS THROUGHOUT UNITED STATES STRONGLY ENDORSE MRS. BOLTON'S PROPOSAL FOR NATIONAL COMMISSION ON NURSING—EMPHASIZE IMMEDIATE NEED FOR THOROUGH STUDY—SAY NURSE SHORTAGE IS NATIONAL PROBLEM—COMMEND WISDOM OF LONG-TERM APPROACH

Outstanding groups and individuals representing the fields of public and private health, nurse associations, hospital administrators, State boards of nursing, university deans, State directors of vocational education, State health officers, hospital directors of nursing, community organizations, and other comparable groups, in statements released today by Congresswoman FRANCES P. BOLTON, pledge their wholehearted support of a congressional resolution to establish a National Commission on Nursing Services.

Mrs. BOLTON, Republican Representative of Ohio's 22d District, is noted for 15 years' leadership in the Congress on nursing, health, and welfare legislation. During World War II she authored the Bolton Act which created the United States Cadet Nurse Corps.

The Congresswoman introduced House Joint Resolution 171, to establish a National Commission on Nursing Services, on January 25, 1955. It has been referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Congresswoman BOLTON said she has had specific requests for more than 5,000 copies of her bill from hundreds of groups and individuals in the health fields, State governors, Members of Congress, and leaders in Government, industry, and education.

Leaders were united in their opinion that the nursing situation in the United States is at a critical state and that immediate steps should be taken to find out what the facts are so that remedial measures might be taken by private and public authorities.

Many agreed with Congresswoman BOLTON that the current rate of hospital construction, while vitally necessary, is outstripping the increase in the number of trained nurses. A representative statement was one from Bessie E. Oakes, director, nursing service, Central Michigan Community Hospital, Mount Pleasant, Mich., which said:

"I think the Commission would be a step in the right direction. While the need for more professional nurses is urgent, it is also national in scope and by the very nature of the problem, it must have the long-term approach.

"We have a great need to add at least 50 more beds to our hospital right now and I as a public-minded citizen, say, 'Let's get started.' But, as a nursing administrator, I say, 'Where, oh where, will we get the nurses?' We can build a hospital in a year or 2, but it takes 3 years to train a nurse."

Leaders in various health and community fields underscored Congresswoman BOLTON'S emphasis of the need for better utilization of existing nurses and for relating their services to the great advances in the medical sciences. They felt that since the public welfare is the principal objective, Mrs. BOLTON'S proposed Commission would go far toward informing the public of the need for a more and better trained nurse personnel. Many respondents said they discussed House Joint Resolution 171 within their professional groups, which then formally offered their services in any way they could be of assistance.

Following are excerpts from representative letters from all parts of the United States:

STATE OFFICIALS

Oregon: Harold M. Erickson, M. D., State health officer, Oregon State Board of Health, Portland: "After reviewing the bill and your remarks upon its presentation, we feel you should be commended for the comprehensive manner in which you have approached this problem of nursing services. We are particularly impressed with your comments regarding the necessity for the economic status of the nurse becoming more nearly commensurate with her skills and added responsibility. The more effective use of nursing skills for real nursing needs is another area we are happy to see that you have included. Our present limited nursing power could surely be expanded by better use of nursing time and at the same time give more satisfaction to the nurse than she now obtains."

Pennsylvania: Robert T. Stoner, State director of vocational education, department of public instruction, Harrisburg: "Your initiative in promoting this worthy endeavor should ultimately result in a unified program of nursing education which will key the education of nursing personnel to the needs of the Nation. I am sure that vocational education as authorized and supported by congressional action will be interested in adding its personnel and facilities to this effort."

UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS

Virginia: W. T. Sanger, president, Medical College of Virginia, Richmond: "If something aggressive is not soon done, I am confident that the public will wake up and find an almost tragic situation due to the shortage of well-prepared nurse personnel. There has been much emphasis of late on recruitment and glamorizing of nursing as a career, but not enough emphasis on developing understanding on the part of the public as to where our country stands now and even more so in the future with reference to nurse shortage. I have not been able to think of any solution except the development of more large schools of nursing supported by tax funds or philanthropy as we support teacher education, although not too adequately."

New York: Mrs. R. Louise McManus, director of nursing education, Columbia University: "Faculty of Nursing Education heartily endorses proposed legislation for the Commission on Nursing Services. We believe multidisciplinary approach to the problems of nursing will contribute to the solution of many related problems which present barriers to providing adequate health services to people of this country. Shortages of nurses prepared to fill key teaching and administra-

tive positions is critical. Training grants are urgently needed."

Florida: Vivian M. Duxbury, dean, School of Nursing, the Florida State University, Tallahassee: "It would certainly seem that the establishment of such a commission might help to interpret to the public our very great need in nursing today, particularly in that field of preparing nurses for teaching, supervisory, and administrative position, as well as for the care of the patient at the bedside."

Ohio: Howard R. Taylor, Jr., vice president, Fenn College, Cleveland: "I think you should be commended for this proposal and I firmly believe that such a study will provide the basis for a more effective plan to alleviate the nursing shortage."

STATE BOARDS OF NURSING

Tennessee: Nina E. Wootton, R. N., secretary-consultant, Tennessee Board of Nursing, Nashville: "Be assured of our cooperation individually and collectively in your effort to have this resolution passed."

HOSPITAL ADMINISTRATORS

Connecticut: Hiram Sibley, director of program development, Yale-New Haven Medical Center, New Haven: "That our Federal Government should aim to provide a setting in which such thinking can be done is to me a positive and constructive approach to a complicated social problem. If the right people can be appointed your proposal offers many benefits to the future of the nursing program."

Kentucky: Dr. J. W. Armstrong, superintendent, Berea College Hospital, Berea: "I hope that favorable action will be taken and that results do not get tangled in a jungle of confusion and time. This study could well help solve our problem."

Pennsylvania: T. K. Leinbach, superintendent, Community General Hospital, Reading: "Your bill is a step in the right direction. We sincerely hope that it will become a law of the land."

New Jersey: Raymond W. Stem, administrator, Warren Hospital, Phillipsburg: "After a careful review of the bill, I am firmly convinced that this is the first firm approach to the question of nursing shortages."

Oklahoma: Bryce L. Twitty, administrator, Hillcrest Medical Center, Tulsa: "Your proposal seems to me to be logical and fair and I think it would be a good thing. We are all interested and appreciative of the very fine work you are doing."

Georgia: Dr. W. H. Lewis, director, Floyd Hospital, Rome: "I have read with interest and approval your comments upon the nursing service of the country. The situation warrants not merely study but action."

NURSES ASSOCIATIONS

New York: Hilda M. Torrop, executive director, National Association for Practical Nurse Education: "We are thoroughly in accord with your bill which provides for a Commission on Nursing Services. The NAPNE has long been aware of the need for the type of information the Commission will produce. Many of the points indicated for study are identical with those the NAPNE has outlined in a prospectus prepared for presentation to a foundation, in support of a request for funds to make essential studies."

Arizona: Vellamo Tikkala, R. N., chairman, committee on public relations and nursing education, Arizona State Nurses Association, District No. 12, Phoenix: "I have shared this information by reading the bill at a meeting of the house supervisors and head nurses at the Maricopa County General Hospital, and last night the bill was discussed at our monthly district meeting. Each of the nurses who discussed the bill were very much in favor of it, and agreed that such a commission was needed to find a solution to the present nursing situation."

New York: Ethel G. Prince, R. N., executive secretary, Nurses Association of the Counties of Long Island, Inc., district No. 14, the New York State Nurses Association, Brooklyn: "There is much need of the type of work a commission would accomplish since the building of hospitals has so far outdistanced the number of nurses being educated."

North Carolina: Marietta C. Raines, R. N., B. S., member of the legislative committee of district No. 3 of the North Carolina State Nurses Association, Winston-Salem: "I should like to commend you for your proposed National Commission on Nursing Services. It is something which is much needed in the nursing profession and should have a far-reaching effect in relation to the health and nursing care of the people of the Nation. As a member of the legislative committee of district No. 3 of the North Carolina State Nurses Association, I shall do all I can to see that your proposal is supported in this area."

New York: Joseph F. Munn, R. N., president, Nurses Alumni Association, Brooklyn State Hospital, Brooklyn: "Our praise and encouragement is sent wholeheartedly for your work and success to obtain your goal—and ours. I think this is the shot in the arm the nursing profession needs."

HOSPITAL DIRECTORS OF NURSING

Maryland: Anna D. Wolf, R. N., director, School of Nursing and Nursing Service, the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore: "I have read your resolution to the Congress with considerable interest. Such a commission as you have proposed should bring before the public very forcibly the requirements for nursing services and the educational and recruitment needs to meet these obligations."

California: Delores J. Schemmel, director of nurses, Huntington Memorial Hospital, Pasadena: "Commission composed of the best appointees available dedicated to objective investigation and study would gain respect of the American people and lead to concerted public action."

Utah: Anna L. Vogt, director of nursing, St. Mark's Hospital, Salt Lake City: "I think your proposal is a sound and practical one, and I sincerely hope that it will be passed and put into effect soon. Your proposed bill is really a practical and sensible measure for providing some workable tools for development and progress in the nursing profession. I would like to express the appreciation of our nursing staff to you. Much success for the passage of this bill."

Maryland: Richard E. W. Bolin, R. N., director of nurses, Springfield State Hospital, Sykesville: "I have given the resolution careful study and as a nursing administrator on the 'firing line' as it were in the critical field of psychiatric nursing, I endorse your resolution completely. Your move, Mrs. BOLTON, was inevitable and completely necessary in view of the many situations relating to the national health problem as they involve nursing and nurses. Your proposed commission, I am sure, has excellent possibilities in that it will be able to inject a larger degree of objectivity into its studies and evaluations than has hitherto been possible."

Pennsylvania: M. Naomi Houser, R. N., director of nursing, St. Luke's Hospital, Bethlehem: "I presented the bill to our faculty at conference Tuesday and there was a unanimous decision that I communicate with you to commend you on your fine vision and keen insight into the nursing situation combined with your efforts to further study our needs."

Congresswoman BOLTON was asked whether she felt her proposal for a Commission on Nursing Services would preclude specific grants now before the Congress for improvement in practical nurse training programs, for traineeships for graduate training of professional nurses and professional public health nurses, and for research.

"Definitely not," said the Ohio Congresswoman. "The nurse shortage today is endangering the health of the Nation, and we must deal with it as an emergency situation. I strongly support the Eisenhower administration's health proposals. But I feel that emergency action alone will not solve the problem. A national Commission on Nursing Services would deal with the entire scope of nursing services, the effect of shortages on the health of the American public and the possibilities for future legislation which would be of maximum benefit to the public and the health professions."

Address of President Syngman Rhee, of Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to submit the text of an address by President Syngman Rhee, of the Republic of Korea, delivered in Seoul, March 1, 1955:

Today is the 36th anniversary of our Mansei Independence Day and the 10th year since the liberation of our nation from Japanese aggression. We meet today to pay tribute to the patriots of 1919 who undertook to keep the ideal of freedom alive when all around them it seemed to be dead. They lived under the tyranny of one of the world's worse police states, and yet they dared to speak out for justice and liberty at the risk of their own lives.

The best tribute we can pay to them is to show by our own actions that their courage and faith are still alive in our own hearts. The darkness of our own times is like the darkness of the totalitarian terror under which they were enslaved. The dangers of our time may be even greater, but so are our opportuities and our responsibilities.

The patriots of 1919 had no government they could call their own and no soldiers to defend their cause. They had no allies upon whom they could call for help. They had very little to sustain them except their faith in freedom—and this faith proved to be enough.

We in our time see our nation devastated, divided, and threatened by the worst aggressor in all history. But we do have a government and an army of our own. And we do have allies who have proved their integrity and unselfishness in standing by us in our darkest days.

Korea has become a symbol in the eyes of the world. We were threatened but we refused to surrender. We were invaded when we had almost no army at all, but we fought back with endless devotion to our democratic liberties. The world has learned a great lesson from the spirit and courage of the entire population of Korea. Our people endured the worst suffering ever visited upon any nation in the disastrous winter of 1950. And despite everything that has happened to us, the determination of the people of Korea remains as a bright light to encourage all the free world in its struggle to beat back the dark and evil aggression of communism.

I do not mean to say very much about what we Koreans have done. You know what you have all had to endure, and you know that you would suffer as much again, and many times worse if necessary, rather than submit ever to the slavery of communism.

In this life and death struggle we count on the nations of the free world, and especially on the United States. In this time of tortured history, there is only one strong barrier that stands between the Communist tyrants and their dream of world conquest, and that barrier is the strength of the United States of America.

This strength of America is not alone military or industrial; it is largely moral and psychological. It is the same strength that prompted the fathers of the American Revolution to declare their independence in 1776 and it is the same strength which inspired our patriots to declare our independence in 1919. It is the strength of idealism which led the United States to take the lead in bringing the free world to our support when the Communists attacked us in 1950. It is this same unselfish spirit of brotherhood that leads America to help us with our economic reconstruction and that is attempting to build an alliance of anti-Communist strength in Asia.

There is an old saying that those who will not learn from history will be required to repeat it. I wish the Communist rulers would meditate long and deeply upon the role that the United States has played in all its history. America never has been a colonial power. When it came into the Philippine Islands and later into South Korea, it was with the aim of liberation and assistance, not aggression.

There is no more ridiculous charge ever made than the repeated propaganda of the Communists that the United States is building up military bases in Asia for purposes of colonialism and imperialism. Exactly the opposite is the case, as has repeatedly been proved; but they recite their lie in order to deceive the uneducated masses of peoples and line them up against America.

The United States entered South Korea with its armies when we had no government and no military strength of our own. It helped us to conduct elections and build our own democracy; and it has armed and trained for us an army for our own self-defense. Similarly, the United States has intervened in Chinese affairs solely to help defend the last outpost of Chinese independence, for the everlasting benefit of both the entire free world and the great masses of the Chinese people themselves. One of the greatest proofs of American generosity is the great helping hand it has extended to its defeated enemy, Japan.

I wish the people and the Government of the United States were not quite so quick to criticize and doubt themselves. When they hear the Communist propaganda charging that the people of Asia do not like their interference, they are fearful that there might be some truth in such charges, and they have a tendency to withdraw.

If I could deliver just one single message to the heart of all America, it would be this: Trust yourselves a little more. Have faith in your own ideals. For truly the American principles and the American ideal are the last great hope of the world.

The people of Asia know America, perhaps better in some ways than the Americans know themselves. It is too bad that American newspapers have so much to say about the supposed dislike and distrust of the peoples of Asia toward the United States. It is too bad there is so much discussion in America of the fact that the only atomic bombs ever used in warfare were those dropped by American aviators upon an Asian people. This kind of self-castigation has partially, at least, closed the eyes of the American people to the tremendous position of strength they hold in our hearts. Stories such as these are created by the Reds to win over the voting population of every land as part of their Communist revolution campaign. In this way the Soviets have succeeded in making many nations their satellites. All intelligent Americans should realize this and make it known to their fellow citizens.

No Asian will ever forget that at the time of the Boxer Rebellion the United States used its indemnity from China to educate Chinese students. No Asian will or can forget that the entry of the United States into the Philippines was for the purpose of educating and assisting the Philippine people to attain their independence. No Asian can overlook what the United States is doing for Korea and China.

The truth is that the United States is a giant only partly aware of its own strength. When that giant is awakened by some awful catastrophe, as it was at Pearl Harbor, its strength is shown to all the world—as is its generosity and forbearance after the fighting is ended.

Perhaps it is inherent in any democracy that its real power is concealed except in emergencies. In this period of half-war, half-peace—when every responsible statesman is doing his best to prevent a world disaster—the democracies reveal to everyone their own self-criticisms and their own tendencies to retreat as far as possible rather than to fight.

Under such circumstances, it is the totalitarian dictatorships that look powerful. While the democracies fear that any show of defensive force might precipitate a world war, the dictatorships launch huge air raids upon democratic areas. When conferences are held, the democracies do all they can to relieve tension—while the dictatorships seize that occasion to launch threatening military attacks—as they did at Dien Bien Phu during the Geneva Conference.

But while the dictatorships look, talk, and act fierce, the facts show that they are nothing but paper dragons. Red China has a large army, but the masses of Chinese hate their masters; and there is nowhere on the continent of China any industrial power to support a major war. Russia conducts a tremendous game of global bluff, but is weak in oil, coal, and steel—and has behind its Iron Curtain an uneasy collection of captive peoples who long for the opportunity to reassert their historical independence.

In 1919 the patriots who launched the Mansei revolution had very little to uphold them except faith in themselves, in the decency of mankind, and in liberal democracy. Their greatest ally was courage, and with it they cast aside fear.

In this world of 1955 the democracies of the earth have no greater need than that same self-confidence and idealistic faith.

What is it that causes some of our friends to be afraid?

Is it death that they fear? If so, they should remind themselves that all through human history brave men and women have had to risk their lives in order, slowly and painfully, to win the liberties that we enjoy today.

Are they afraid that in another world war civilization itself may be destroyed? If so, they should take note of the fact that democratic civilization already has been erased from more than half the population of the world. The rest of our civilized areas may also be lost unless we acquire the vision and the courage to defend the great heritage that has come to us from the past.

I do not wish on this occasion to issue only a simple restatement of democratic principles. If I emphasize them, it is not with any intention of avoiding the direct issue of what we should do to confront a very immediate and present threat of Communist aggression.

What I do deeply believe is that our greatest enemy is not the armed masses of Communist soldiers who confront us with one gun in their hands and another gun held at their own backs. The greatest enemy of the free world is its own fearfulness and self-doubt. If this can be overcome in time, the Communist dictatorships can be stopped and the rot that lies behind the Iron Curtain can be exploited to cause its own collapse.

For 10 years, after the German and Italian and Japanese aggressors were soundly defeated, the free world has retreated time and again before the onward rush of the Communist imperialists. This retreat by the free world and the consequent advance by the Communist dictatorships has created an illusion of weakness on the part of the democracies and of strength on the part of the dictatorships.

The grave dangers that confront us all arise in large part from the existence of that illusion. It blinds the judgment of the allied statesmen as they seek for the means of self-defense. And it similarly blinds the Communists as they make increasingly grandiose plans for still faster advances.

Back in 1917 the intellectual Marxians still believed that they had no other choice than to wait and hope that Karl Marx was right when he promised them that the free world would fall of its own errors and thus pave the way for a nonviolent triumph of communism.

The success of the Communist revolutionists in seizing control of Russia led them to raise their hopes still higher. Then they began to plan actively for world conquest—and under Lenin's leadership they laid down the principle that the surest way to world conquest led through Asia.

During the past 10 years the ambitions of the Communists have constantly expanded. They no longer look to an indefinite and distant future, when the world will fall into their grasp through sheer decay. Now they believe they have built up a military power and a myth of invincibility that will carry them triumphantly through a succession of easy victories to a climactic war of annihilation.

The choices that lie open to the free world today are far more limited than they were 10 years ago. There is no easy road to salvation. There is no security to be won without risk. No one but a demagog can promise peace and security for freedom except by the harsh and painful way of courage and sacrifice.

The role of Korea in world affairs is not one of primary leadership. We are not even a member of the United Nations. We cannot proclaim a program and expect to rally the free nations around us to achieve it.

Nevertheless, we do feel that our nation has a mission worthy of our great history. When the Communist aggressors struck against us, we fought back. Despite our grievous suffering, when even our allies thought the time had come for a compromise peace, our united voice was raised to ask for yet more sacrifice and suffering in order to gain a basic and essential victory.

And now, when new crises sweep across the world, our voice is still raised to counsel courage, and faith. We stand on the frontal battlefield of the global struggle, but we seek no fancied and false security in neutralism or in the compromise with aggression that all history teaches is only a shortcut to defeat.

We believe in victory. We know what communism is, and we do not think for an instant that it is possible to appease its ambitions. We do not try to coexist with cholera. And we do maintain our hope that this spirit of Korea will yet prove of genuine value to the free world.

We are not a big nation but we refuse to be a weak one. And we face the future with confidence, because we know that among our democratic allies there exists the only genuine reservoir of strength that is great enough to determine the future destinies of the world.

Civilian Distress From Army Camp Fluctuation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions I have had the privilege of addressing the House with respect to the problem being faced by the residents of Southside, Va., due to the Army's deactivation of Camp Pickett. It will be recalled that the Army abandoned Camp Pickett on June 30, 1954, following a stay of some 4 years. The camp is now in mothball status with a group of some 75 persons charged with caretaking the Army's investment covering an area of some 46,000 acres.

This is the third time within the past 9 years that this situation has been allowed to exist. Camp Pickett was opened in 1942, closed in 1946; reopened in 1948, and closed in 1949; reopened in 1950, and of course closed again last year.

The result has been a constant strangling of the economy of a large area of Southside, Va. It has been even more disastrous to the small town of Blackstone, Va., which is 3 miles from Camp Pickett.

During the course of the past 16 months, I have been actively engaged in a campaign with the Army and the other related agencies of the Department of Defense attempting to have them make clear what the future will be for this section of Virginia. The Army has taken the position that it does not need Camp Pickett at the present time but that it should be retained for some future use. The Air Force has declined to use it although it admittedly has one of the best airfields in our section of the country. The Army has moved various military units to other less desirable places rather than to utilize the vast facilities of Camp Pickett which are obviously superior.

With this in mind I have endeavored to have the Army declare Camp Pickett surplus in order that this vast acreage be put to some useful purpose and to eliminate this drag on the economy of our State.

A number of newspapers have commented most favorably upon our efforts, and I wish to insert editorials from three of our papers dealing with various aspects of this overall problem which I feel are pertinent to this question.

Editorial in the Daily Press Newport News-Hampton-Warwick, Va., Sunday morning, March 6, 1955:

CIVILIAN DISTRESS FROM ARMY CAMP FLUCTUATION

Representative CARL VINSON's disagreement with the Southside, Va., effort to have Camp Pickett either disposed of as a surplus property, or used, calls sharp attention to just one of the many wastes incident to war. The most disheartening aspect is that such things seem to be completely unavoidable.

Mr. VINSON, who is chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said he agreed "that the Army should make use of Camp Pickett, but the camp may have to remain closed." The fortunes of the little town of Blackstone, of about 3,500 population, are intimately bound up in this reservation's use. During the Second World War it was used as an Army penal camp. It was made idle after hostilities ceased. It was reoccupied later, and since then has been closed again. When Pickett is active, Blackstone booms; when it is idle, Blackstone suffers.

This is of at least indirect interest on the peninsula. Take Fort Eustis. As Camp Eustis it was used for staging and training in the First World War; then it was closed. In the early 1930's the cavalry reopened it and did some tank development; then it was closed again. For a time it was used as a Federal penal camp. Then it became a Works Progress Aministration camp to rehabilitate depression-hit transients. Again it lay idle, until the Army's transportation corps took it over and now has a large establishment.

Suppose Pickett was disposed of as surplus. If a new crisis arose the Government would have to obtain other land and develop a post. That evidently is why Mr. VINSON wants the Army to keep it on a caretaker basis, as the Army plan now is. Yet so long as it is so maintained it inflicts a boom-and-bust economy on Blackstone nearby. Camp Pickett affords a special example of seemingly unavoidable waste imposing harsh civilian hardships.

Editorial in the Portsmouth Star, Sunday, March 6, 1955:

CAMP PICKETT'S POTENTIALITIES

The congressional controversy stirred by the proposal to sell Camp Pickett near Blackstone, Va., was to be expected. Those Congressmen away from the Virginia situation have a hard time seeing the need for disposal of an abandoned Army camp, and raise the anguished cry that national defense must not suffer. Yet it is our contention that national defense now or in the future will not suffer if the Army disposes of Camp Pickett. However, we do know that Blackstone and, indirectly, Virginia economy will suffer if the camp is allowed to remain on its present standby basis.

The Virginia Jaycees have wisely adopted a resolution which calls for the Army to dispose of Camp Pickett. The resolution points out the fact that not only is an economic vacuum being created in southside Virginia, but the national taxpayer is losing out also. As long as the 46,000-acre tract is in Government hands, Nottoway County can collect no taxes, and while the camp is idle, the area cannot economically benefit from its inactivity. As the camp is 14 years old, it is depreciating rapidly, more so because its structures are not at present being utilized.

A proposal to declare the camp surplus was defeated in Congress last year and should get serious restudy and passage this year. As the camp has been opened and closed three times since its opening in 1942, it is evident the Army has no serious plans to make it a permanent base. With the current emphasis on airpower and atomic weapons, large numbers of infantrymen such as could be trained at Pickett, at great cost since the camp would have to be refurbished after years of inactivity, would not be needed.

Pickett is an exceptionally well-outfitted camp and is considered the best training and maneuver camp in the Second Army area. This alone is sufficient reason that it be opened on a permanent basis. However, as this does not seem to be the Army's desire, in the interests of both National and State economy, the pattern of Camp Butner in North Carolina should be followed.

Camp Butner posed a problem to our Tar Heel neighbors comparable to that which Pickett presents to Virginia. The State of North Carolina was able to purchase this property at nominal price after it was declared surplus. At Butner, 15 miles from Durham, there were created 4 large State institutions with 760 on the payroll, and 5 industries with 450 on the payroll. There were established youth prison centers, training schools for subnormal mental students (in some instances patients), and a place for alcoholic rehabilitation.

If Virginia can acquire Camp Pickett, many problems besetting our Capital Outlay Study Commission could be more easily solved. State mental hospital facilities now greatly overcrowded could put branches there. Overflowing State colleges could set up temporary or permanent extensions on part of the property. Some prison facilities could be carved out of the area. At present some of the State prison facilities are so overcrowded the prisoners are being stacked like cordwood in firetrap buildings. Also, youth prison centers and training schools for the mentally handicapped could be established. Pickett's potentialities are virtually limitless in the area of industrial expansion.

Solution to the problem must come quickly because of continuing building depreciation from inactivity and because of State needs. The Pickett problem can be shelved no longer.

Editorial in the Progress-Index, Petersburg, Va., Monday, March 7, 1955:

AN EXCELLENT BILL'S GLOOMY PROSPECT

Representative CARL VINSON, Georgia Democrat, and chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, has said "it would be a fine thing" if the Army continued to use Camp Pickett, but the installation "may have to remain closed."

Fourth District Representative WATKINS M. ABBITT has submitted a bill calling for either utilization or disposal as surplus property of the Camp Pickett site. The measure will go to Representative VINSON's committee, which apparently is not a healthy place for it.

Representative VINSON told newsmen recently that Camp Picket has been given a mobilization-day assignment, which means it would be used again if a defense emergency warranted. Meanwhile, under this condition, it would remain an unproductive piece of potentially productive land.

We have stated a number of times the reasons we believe Camp Pickett should be utilized by the Defense Department or awarded to some private or public source that would make good use of it.

As long as the camp remains as it is, the economy of a large section of southside Virginia will be affected by an unstable force. Representative ABBITT's bill is an excellent one, and we hope it travels past Chairman VINSON to success in House and Senate.

Resolution for Minimum Wage of $1.25 an Hour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following resolution adopted by the Greater Lawrence CIO Industrial Union Council, urging Congress to enact legislation providing for the establishment of a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour:

Whereas the President of the United States has proposed, and Congress is now considering, legislation to increase the Federal minimum wage above the present inadequate figure of 75 cents an hour; and

Whereas a fair and reasonable minimum wage would raise the living standards of underpaid workers, increase the national income, stimulate business activity, minimize unfair industrial competition based upon sweatshop wages and help to solve the problem of runaway shops; and

Whereas a fair and adequate minimum wage is of particular concern to textile workers, whose earnings have been frozen and in many cases reduced because unscrupulous owners of unorganized mills have held wages down below the level of subsistence, who have for 4 years suffered unemployment and partial unemployment from the resulting chaos of liquidations and migrations, and who live in constant fear that some new sweatshop will steal their livelihood; and

Whereas the imposition of such conditions on more than a million workers is an intolerable abuse of economic justice and a threat to the Nation; and

Whereas the President's proposal of a 90 cent minimum falls far short of the need, and will not significantly remedy any of the problems we have cited: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Greater Lawrence Joint Board of the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, That we most strongly urge the Congress of the United States to raise the Federal minimum wage to $1.25 an hour, and call upon our Senators and our Representative to support such legislation and work diligently for its adoption.

Revision and Amendment of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and Revision of Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to amend and revise our present immigration and naturalization law. I am also introducing a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 so as to increase the minimum hourly wage from 75 cents to $1.25.

First, may I state that insofar as the present Immigration and Naturalization Act is concerned, I am in vigorous support of the chief objections to this law. At no time in the history of our Nation has there been a more desperate need, for the sake of preservation of civilization, to resolve misunderstandings, fears, and distrust among the peoples of the world. We are gripped by awareness that it is these tensions which have spurred nations in the race for military supremacy in atomic warfare.

Over and over again, in this critical period of world history, America has reavowed its concepts of fairness and standards of decency; its faith in the dignity and worth of all men. We have reaffirmed our faith in the principles of our Declaration of Independence, and to uphold these principles are now, in this Congress, considering the issue of maintenance of Reserve Armed Forces to protect our way of life, our Nation—homes and families—in their right to freedom and equality.

Yet these contentions, backed up by thousands and thousands of American dollars invested in programs of economic assistance to fellow-nations, in channels of communications—radio, press and goodwill ambassadorships—that we may make our American way of life and the basic concepts of our form of Government made known to propagandized and enslaved peoples of the world, are contradicted by one of the most important laws of a land which proclaims:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

I do not hesitate to say that there is an apparent keen bipartisan awareness of those contradictions. Former President Harry S. Truman saw them in his veto of present immigration legislation. The present administration's awareness of them was made known in campaign pledges promising remedial action.

The very title of title II, chapter I, of our present immigration law is a contradiction to American concepts in its statement "Annual Quota Based Upon National Origin." It is a provision which discriminates against certain peoples because of national origin, color, and religion. In addition, the quota is based upon statistics concerning the number of inhabitants in the continental United States in 1920, not withstanding the fact that well before November 11, 1941, concepts concerning unified relationships in foreign policy were revolutionized.

In its administrative features, its vestment of wide discretionary powers within the hands of one official, the present act withholds from its guests and those who proclaim their accord with the American concepts, equal protection of the law. It subjects them as has already been discovered to the possibility of imprisonment without charge of crime.

In addition, the act contains unnecessary restrictions and penalties against individuals. These are but the major objections to this plan.

The bill which I am sponsoring today is one originally introduced by the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER.

Through it the national origins quota system would be eliminated and in its stead our Nation would establish in its book of law its basic policy of acceptance of persons without regards to race, color, national origin, or religion. Preference groups would be established with regard to purpose—as family unification, occupational preference, national interest preference—rather than with regard to national origin and would establish a unified quota system based on 1950 census, with minimum and maximum percentages set equally for all countries.

The bill would eliminate insubstantial ground for revoking or denying citizenship and arbitrary grounds for denying admission. It would make clear distinctions in requirements for entry between aliens seeking permanent residency and visitors coming for other purposes.

We, who form the Congress of the United States, that governmental body which is to represent, reflect, and uphold the principles of government under which our Nation found its freedom from oppression, under which it rose to its present status of world leadership must uphold our own integrity and exhibit openly our sense of moral responsibility by erasing from our books a law which is not in keeping with American faith. I urge this Congress to take swift action to demonstrate its bipartisan faith in the American way of life by working for and voting for the passage of the measure which I have presented.

The second bill which I am introducing would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 so as to increase the minimum hourly wage from 75 cents to $1.25. In our program of fostering economic security, we must give our attention to domestic affairs. The minimum wage under Federal law of 75 cents per hour was established in 1950. In the 5 years since that time there has been an acknowledged substantial increase in the cost of living and in the average hourly earnings in many of the Nation's industries. The increase of the minimum hourly wage, in keeping with the economic growth of our Nation, would assist those workers in areas where recognition has not been given to increasing costs. Such an increase in these areas would have, in increased spending, its beneficial effect upon the Nation's total economy.

I urge the Congress to adopt this measure for a minimum hourly wage of $1.25 as that figure adequate to meet present economic standards.

The American Jewish Society's Statement on Soviet Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, the American Jewish Committee has made a tremendous contribution to our understanding of conditions within the Soviet Union. On January 30, 1955, the committee adopted the following statement on present Soviet policy. I respectfully urge my colleagues to read this statement.

STATEMENT ON PRESENT SOVIET POLICY

Consideration of certain aspects of present Soviet policy has led some observers to the hope that there would be a genuine change, including a more equitable treatment of all religious and ethnic groups.

The Soviet Government has recently made some minor concessions to world public opinion, such as the relaxation of travel restrictions, the release of a few selected foreign prisoners, and the softening of hostile

propaganda. However, it has not taken any genuine forward step on the basic issues that separate the Soviet Union and the free world, and it continues to wage the cold war.

In the field of human rights, with which the American Jewish Committee is primarily concerned, there has been no significant change. Slave-labor camps are still maintained; the protests of 100,000 slave laborers in Vorkuta in 1953 were cruely suppressed. The amnesty proclaimed after Stalin's death excluded most political prisoners, and a new wave of arrests of those suspected of sympathizing with the strikes in East Germany and the satellite countries has taken place.

The Soviet Union still fails to accord elemental human rights to its inhabitants: men are still jailed arbitrarily; the right to emigrate is still withheld; freedom of expression is still suppressed; religious education of youth is still forbidden; religious observance is still strictly limited; free development of religious communities is still blocked.

The Soviets have not modified their policy of suppressing Jewish communal and cultural life. The fate of the Yiddish writers deported in 1948 is still unknown. Jewish communal leaders in the satellite countries remain in jail. Although public anti-Semitic campaigns have been toned down, anti-Jewish propaganda in the disguise of anti-Zionism continues. In Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and other satellite countries, hundreds of Jewish leaders, held in jail for years, have received harsh prison sentences for their Jewish communal activities.

The United States and the Western Powers have demanded that the Soviet Union prove by deeds and not mere words that its policies have really changed. Likewise, the American Jewish Committee, as an organization concerned with the fate of 2½ million Jews in the Soviet empire, points to the need for deeds, not words, with respect to human rights.

1. We deeply deplore the failure of the Soviet Union to accord elemental human rights to all within its borders, whatever their race, religion, or nationality.

2. Elementary justice demands that the Soviet Union release all Jewish leaders jailed because of their communal activities; return deported Jews to their homes; permit freedom of religious worship and education; allow Jewish religious communities and cultural institutions to administer their affairs freely; allow emigration to those Jews who wish to do so.

3. The American Jewish Comittee is convinced that without the restoration of elementary human rights throughout the Soviet Union there is no reason to believe that the Soviet Government genuinely desires to become a peaceful member of the family of nations.

Adopted January 30, 1955, Hotel Roosevelt, New York, N. Y.

The Matusow Mess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Stewart Alsop which appeared in his column Matter of Fact in the New York Herald Tribune of March 6, 1955, is a graphic illustration of the need for revision of committe investigative procedures.

MATTER OF FACT
(By Stewart Alsop)
THE MATUSOW MESS

The hearings in the matter of Harvey Matusow, the self-confessed liar and former professional Government witness, have turned into a tedious farce.

This is sad, since the hearings could have served a most useful purpose. But no doubt it was inevitable, in view of the passionate bipartisan desire in the congressional committee's concern and in the Justice Department to conceal their own disgraceful role in the matter.

The Senators who have been grilling Matusow have been working hard to establish two propositions: (a) That Matusow is a liar, a fraud, and not to be trusted, and (b) that Matusow has come under Communist influence and sponsorship. No congressional committee has ever set itself an easier task.

On point (a) Matusow himself is an eager and effective witness. As for point (b), it is now quite clear that Matusow fell to the Communists by default.

He tried to peddle his story all over Washington and New York. But he was so obviously a slippery faker that no reputable publisher, newspaper, or reporter would touch him with a barge pole. In this vacuum, the pro-Communist publishers, Cameron & Kahn, with the backing of a left-wing union, placed a bet on Matusow in the form of a small advance.

The bet paid off lavishly with a detailed confession, which, of course, the Communists have been using to a fare-thee-well.

But if Matusow was so obvious a fraud, how did it happen that three congressional committees and the Justice Department, as well, used him repeatedly as an "expert witness?" And if the Communists are now using him, whose fault is it, if not the fault of the Senators and Representatives and Justice Department officials who built him up in the first place?

In all the barrage of questions in the current hearings, these indelicate queries are never asked. Yet they ought to be asked, and they ought to be answered.

For it is bad enough that Congress and the executive department should accept the word of a man like Matusow without making the slightest attempt to examine his credibility. What is really disgraceful is that from the very beginning, there has been ample and solid evidence that Matusow was a liar, evidence wholly available to the congressional committees and to the Justice Department.

Take two examples: Early in 1952, at the very beginning of his career as an informer, Matusow testified under oath before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that he "knew by sight probably 10,000 Communist Party members in New York * * *" This was inherently and obviously a lie. Yet Matusow was an anti-Communist witness, a "friendly" witness. So no questions were asked.

Or again, in the autumn of 1952, speaking in Montana as an "expert on communism," Matusow said on the record that "the Sunday section of the New York Times alone has 126 dues-paying Communists." This particular lie was spotted by these reporters, who pointed out that the entire staff of the Times' Sunday section numbered 87, including two part-time copy boys.

These are only examples of the kind of obvious untruths that should instantly have alerted the Justice Department and the congressional committees. The FBI, to its credit, apparently dropped Matusow early for just such reasons. But right through 1953, as long as Matusow said what was expected of him, the Justice Department went right on hiring him and putting him on the stand as an "expert witness."

In this same period, Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY was hailing Matusow as a "great American." This might be expected of MCCARTHY as long as Matusow played the game the MCCARTHY way. But many other Senators, including those who have been falling all over each other to show how much they dislike and disapprove of Matusow, heard him respectfully when he testified as an "expert witness," and asked no inconvenient questions.

It once seemed at least conceivable that good might come out of this smelly mess. There is a crying need for an honest and straightforward inquiry by both Congress and the Justice Department, into the kind of practices which are sure to lead to more smelly messes—much to the delight of the Communists—if they are not corrected.

For example, a serious inquiry would determine why neither the committee staffs nor the Justice Department investigators apparently make any effective attempt to establish the creditibility of such "expert" witnesses as Matusow. A serious inquiry would also examine most seriously the flatly contradictory and demonstrably untrue testimony of other professional witnesses.

But it was no doubt naive to expect any sober examination of the problem posed by Matusow and his kind. For then the Justice Department and the committees concerned would have to consider their own past practices, perhaps even to admit mistakes—and that, of course, would never do.

Denmark—The Better Way?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, each nation of the world realizes that the basis for its economy is agriculture; and, therefore, what other nations are doing to improve and strengthen their agricultural economy is of interest to us.

For this reason, I am pleased to place in the RECORD a very fine article written by Mr. Harlan Trott, of the Pacific News Bureau of the Christian Science Monitor, concerning the agricultural program of our friend and ally, Denmark.

It is interesting to note that Denmark adopted the Koge resolution the same year the United States Congress enacted the Federal Reclamation Act, and both have had the effect of encouraging the development of family-size farms.

Mr. Trott's article, which appeared in the March 4 issue of the Monitor, follows:

DENMARK—THE BETTER WAY?
(By Harlan Trott)

COPENHAGEN.—In Denmark, of course, there are class distinctions just as everywhere else. Only the Danes have difficulty discovering where to apply them.

This augurs well for the popularity of the Scandinavian Airlines System's thrilling new polar route which makes Denmark and California overnight neighbors.

Any way you look at it, America's breezy westerners are sure to get along just fine with these friendly Danes. There's nothing standoffish about either and SAS will show the way.

It doesn't take visitors very long to detect the high and very even cultural level which the Danes have reached through their excel-

lent school system, including the extremely practical folk schools founded by the great Lutheran Bishop Grundtvig.

This and the quality of democracy out of which it has grown explains why university professors and bus drivers can converse with ease on any wothwhile subject, and usually do.

The only difference between them, according to Mogens Lind, is that bus drivers earn more than professors.

"Nobody looks down on a man who is a millionaire," one straight-faced Dane explained. "Besides, we know that the tax collector is not going to let him go on for very long, and anyway he is not happier than the rest of us."

Knud Tholstrup impressed me as a man no less happy than those who are blessed with more immunity from tax collectors. The Direktor of Kosangas lives in a beautiful new glass house on the road to Kronborg Castle. He drives a new Ford car, and is a major distributor of bottled fuel gas in Denmark and other Balt countries.

At the same time, Mr. Tholstrup refuses to default to the tax collector. As a member of Parliament he favors the tax-reform program of Denmark's small but influential Justice Party.

Denmark after the war was a country without raw materials, a country badly robbed by the Nazis, a country where the Iron Curtain has cut off a great part of its shipping and trade in the Baltic. Even so, I am told the Danes have the highest living standard among the European nations involved in the last war.

Free trade and land value taxation are two inseparable planks in the Justice Party's platform, policies which helped to prevent the distintegration of little Denmark after the defeat by Prussia and Austria in 1864 reduced Denmark to half the size of Maine.

"What we have lost without we must win back within," Capt. Mylius Dalgas told his countrymen. He referred to the vast wasteland in the Jutland Peninsula. In 40 years this bleak tract was transformed into farms, gardens, and forests.

This will interest Californians. The Danes did it with the same tax principles the people of the Central Valley used to make Modesto and Turlock perhaps the richest farming areas in the world. They did it by taxing the value of benefited land and not the buildings, orchards, irrigation ditches, and other improvements.

The Danes adopted a public revenue system that made it unprofitable to hold land idle. They encouraged farmers to own and use the land and intensify production so as to get the most out of the soil. Just like in the Central Valley of California, the Danes taxed people into business instead of out of business.

Denmark's land reform program worked so well that today 94 percent of Denmark's 200,000 farmers own their own farms. The United States ranks second with 64 percent.

About the time the United States Reclamation Law came into being, the Danes were adopting their so-called Köge resolution. In essence it stated, "As the smallholders consider their form of husbandry to be the most advantageous for themselves and the community, their economy cannot be based on subsidies and contributions from the state or from other sections of the community. They seek no favor for themselves in the way of tax legislation, but on the contrary the earliest possible removal of all tariffs and taxes on consumption or earnings of capital and labor; and they demand instead that, for meeting the public needs, taxes be levied on the land value which is not due to any one person's individual work but arises from the growth and development of the community. Such charges will not weight upon labor but will make land cheaper and thereby make it easier for every man to have a home of his own."

For anyone confused by the economics of farm subsidies—people paying more taxes in order to pay more for butter—the Köge resolution of 1902 offers food for thought. Denmark's example in trade and taxes implies that a people's wisdom is not necessarily measured by population or income.

The giants of this earth perhaps have something to learn from little Denmark.

Opposition Against Reduction in Tariff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from a recent issue of the Chelsea Record, Chelsea, Mass.:

TARIFFS, OPTICS, AND SECURITY

Recently, before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives in Washington, Henry S. Woodbridge, vice president of American Optical Co., spoke on pending legislation to change the Federal tariff structure. Points he raised were vital ones, particularly to people in communities where there are optical plants. Chelsea is such a community, with an American Optical Co. plant at 80 Heard Street.

Mr. Woodbridge opposed the proposed change in tariff regulations which would reduce import duties and thereby increase the flow of optical goods, particularly instruments at present, into this country from foreign sources. The proposal, basically, calls for a 3-year extension of the reciprocal agreements, with the President having the authority to reduce duties by 5 percent each year for 3 years.

Imported microscopes and other instruments already present a serious situation for American Optical Co. and all other instrument makers. West Germany, Italy, England, and Japan already are sending items to this country in ever-increasing numbers. For example: In 1947, imports represented 1 percent of the total microscope sales in this country. In 1954 the same figure was 44 percent. Because of the far lower wage scales and living standards in these countries, these imports far undersell domestic products. This, naturally, reduces the volume of the optical business, and the number of jobs in the industry.

The question Mr. Woodbridge raised was: If the optical industry in the United States is eliminated by foreign competition, who will make the necessary instrumentation in the event of a national emergency? If overseas sources of precision optical apparatus should be cut off—as they have been twice in recent history—where would the United States find the workers to make the lenses and prisms necessary for range-finders, bomb sights and fire-control equipment?

Skilled workers in these fields are not trained in weeks or months. It takes years. If there is no civilian industry—no place where these workers can earn a living at their trade—there will be no skills available if an emergency arises.

An amendment to the proposed bill has been submitted by the industry. It calls only for investigation by the Defense Mobilization Board of circumstances which might threaten national defense or public health with findings and recommendations to be sent to the President for suitable action.

Congress will, eventually, be influenced in this matter by the thinking of the people. Industry has expressed its opinion. People who do likewise may be helping to protect themselves—and their country.

Reviewing the Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, on January 20, I introduced H. R. 2590, a bill for the establishment of a Commission on Internal Security. I wish permission to extend and revise my remarks to include an article by Mr. Roscoe Drummond, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 2 supporting the proposal of a review of our security program by an individual commission:

REVIEWING THE SECURITY PROGRAM

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The modest changes which the administration is gingerly making in the employee-security program constitute a useful beginning—but only a beginning.

To put the job of reviewing their own handiwork into the hands of the same officials who devised the security program, and who have been principally responsible for carrying it out and defending it, is not going to get you a very objective or a very bold review. It's like asking baseball pitchers to revise the pitching rules and the batters to revise the batting rules. Each has too great a vested interest in one side.

This is why neither the administration's own basically-everything-is-all-right review of the security program nor the Senate's probably-everything-is-all-wrong review is likely to be adequate.

It is not being unfair to organized Republicans to recognize that their tendency is to find that nearly everything is going perfectly and that all you need to do is to tighten up a bolt here and add a spot of oil there.

It is not being unfair to organized Democrats to recognize that their investigative tendency is to find that nearly everything is going to pieces and that the best solution is to scrap the works, including the Republicans, and start all over again.

The fact is we are not going to get a detached and searching reexamination of how the security program can be made to work better—both for the protection of the Government and for the protection of individuals—until such a reexamination is put unreservedly into nonpartisan hands.

President Eisenhower has acted upon this principle many times—and to good advantage. The several Hoover commissions, the Randall commission, the Highway Commission, the National Conference on Public Schools are all examples of how the administration has acted to take partisan politics out of the study of national problems. This doesn't mean diluting responsibility. The administration's responsibility is to decide what it shall accept or reject and to carry out the program once it is objectively reviewed.

The desirability of having the best possible security program—thorough and fair, just and strong—is as great as the desirability of having the best possible road-building program or the best possible review of veterans' benefits. If a commission study in such areas of public policy and procedure

is useful, it would seem reasonable to put as much care into improving the security program.

One independent investigation of the security program is being undertaken by the New York City Bar Association on a $100,000 grant from the fund for the Republic.

A proposal for a commission type of inquiry is before the Senate Government Operations Committee this week on motion of Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota. I suspect that if the President does not take an initiative stronger than he has thus far, Congress will take the matter in its own hands. This itself is far from ideal, since the primary responsibility for policing the personnel of the executive branch of the Government belongs to the President.

Nearly every newspaperman in Washington knows of cases in which Government employees have been casually, cruelly, or cavalierly treated under the security program. Here is a recent instance:

"I was dismissed without a single direct statement from the Government to me. The news came by devious channels to my superior in my private work. (I worked for the Government in a consulting capacity.) I have never been told the basis of the decision; I have had no hearing, no opportunity to speak in my own defense; and there is no path of redress open to me so far as I can see now."

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has just announced that from now on the employee must be fully acquainted with the specific charges against him and that he should be given a personal interview.

It will seem unreasonable to many that it has taken 2 years to establish such a minimum essential of justice—to know precisely what you are accused of and to have a chance to defend yourself to your chief—and this suggests that a bolder, more detached review would break new ground for the benefit of everybody.

Extending Universal Military Service and Training Act

SPEECH

OF

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3005) to further amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act by extending the authority to induct certain individuals, and to extend the benefits under the Dependents Assistance Act to July 1, 1959.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, this is the Tydings amendment, so-called.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. I yield.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, it is possible I may be absent from the Chamber at the time the vote is taken on this bill. If so, and I could be present, I would vote for it.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, this is the so-called Tydings amendment which the Congress wrote into the law when the draft act was earlier before us and again when the act was extended.

I understand an attempt was made to by the amendment which was accepted by the chairman of the committee, and which was adopted earlier today. But under the law as it is written even with that amendment there is doubt about what will happen to farm workers.

This amendment is offered because the armed services just does not pay proper attention to the laws which the Congress enacts; and I would like to make it clear to the departments if I may, that when we write a law we would like to have the executive department execute it.

To substantiate what I say I am reading a directive issued by General Hershey on the 3d day of January 1945. The directive follows:

EXHIBIT B

State Director Advice (No. 288) Issued: January 3, 1945.

Subject: Reclassification of registrants in agriculture, ages 18–25.

(Confirmation of telegram to all State directors within continental United States dated January 3, 1945.)

The following letter from the Director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion has been received by the Director of Selective Service:

"The Secretaries of War and Navy have advised me jointly that the calls from the Army and Navy to be met in the coming year will exhaust the eligibles in the 18- through 25-year-age group at an early date. The Army and Navy believe it essential to the effective prosecution of the war to induct more men in this age group.

"You have reported that other than the men becoming 18 years of age the only remaining substantial source in this age group is in the 364,000 men now deferred because of agricultural occupation. You have further advised me that if this group is not available, you must call into the service occupationally deferred men in the next age group, 26 years and older, most of whom are fathers.

"The Chairman of the War Production Board, Mr. Krug, advises me that the loss of these men would make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to meet critical war demands. Moreover, these older men would not meet the expressed needs of the Army and Navy.

"The War Food Administrator, Mr. Jones, has advised me that although we still need all of the food we can raise, the loss of production through the induction into the armed services of the physically qualified men in this 18- through 25-year-age group who do not clearly fall within the scope of the Tydings amendment should not result in a critical condition.

"The Tydings amendment to the Selective Service Act does not give the agricultural worker absolute exemption from selective service. It was not so intended. In asking Congress to adopt this amendment Senator Tydings said: 'All my amendment seeks to do is to provide that whenever a person is employed continuously in good faith in the production of food, and taking him off the farm would leave a large section of land uncultivated, and there is no replacement, he shall be deferred upon those facts until a replacement can be found.'

"I have reported these facts to the President. He has found that the further deferment of all men now deferred in the 18- through 25-age group because of agricultural occupation is not as essential to the best interest of our war effort as is the urgent and more essential need of the Army and Navy for young men. The President feels in view of existing conditions, agriculture like our other war industries can, with few exceptions, be carried on by those in the older age groups.

"The President has authorized me to ask you to take such action in connection with the administration of the Tydings amendment as may be necessary to provide to the full extent permitted by law for the reclassification and induction of the men agriculturally deferred in the age group 18 through 25."

Forward text of Justice Byrnes' letter to all local boards and boards of appeal. Direct all local boards to promptly review the cases of all registrants ages 18 through 25 deferred in class II–C excluding those identified by the letters "F" or "L." In considering the classification or retention of such registrants in class II–C, local boards will consider the President's finding that "the further deferment of all men now deferred in the 18- through 25-age group because of agricultural occupation is not as essential to the best interest of our war effort as is the urgent and more essential need of the Army and Navy for young men." Also direct local boards to issue orders for preinduction physical examination to all registrants ages 18 through 25 in class II–C excluding those identified with the letters "F" or "L" in accordance with the most expeditious schedules it is possible for you to arrange with the commanding general of your service command. In order to accomplish the review and preinduction physical examination as promptly as possible, local boards may conduct the review of any such class II–C registrants at the same time as they are forwarding such registrants for preinduction physical examination.

HERSHEY.

That directive created so much criticism that the general issued another one on the 23d day of the same month.

The second directive follows:

EXHIBIT C

State Director Advice (No. 288–A) Issued January 23, 1945.

Subject: Reclassification of Registrants in Agriculture, Ages 18–25.

(Confirming telegram to all State directors within continental United States dated January 22, 1945.)

Questions of interpretations of State Director Advice 288 have been brought to my attention by Members of Congress and by others.

The directive of January 3, 1945, State Director Advice 288, did not change or modify in any manner the Tydings amendment. The opinions and findings contained in State Director Advice 288 were for the consideration of the local boards in determining the classifications of registrants in the age group 18 through 25.

Section 5k of the Selective Training and Service Act known as the Tydings amendment places upon each local board the responsibility to determine, subject to appeal, in the case of the individual registrant whether or not the registrant meets the requirements prescribed by this section.

Notify all local boards immediately.

HERSHEY.

(This telegram was dispatched only to State directors within the continental limits of the United States as it is not applicable in the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.)

The result was that the State authorities instructed the local boards to disregard completely the Tydings amendment.

In support of that statement I cite the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 2, 1945, when this same issue was before us. Permit me to read a part of that debate.

At that time—February 1945—the Honorable Earl Michener—as capable, as industrious a Member as ever served in this House—addressed the House and

called attention to the disregard of the provisions of this amendment by local authorities interpreting and administering the act. Permit me to quote:

Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I called the attention of the Congress to the alarming condition in agricultural sections because of the interpretation being placed by local draft boards on General Hershey's directive of January 3, requiring the reclassification and induction of boys 18 through 25 years of age who were deferred because of agricultural occupation.

Then, referring to a statement issued by the local board, our former colleague said:

The above statement by the board was published on January 29, and in the evening of the same day Maj. Nick A. Luscombe, representing the Michigan State director of selective service, addressed a meeting in Lenawee County and made it clear that all farm registrants 18 through 25, who were physically qualified, were to be inducted into the military service, the Tydings amendment and the statutory law of the land to the contrary notwithstanding.

The gentleman then added:

We are asking that the local boards, whose members live in the community and know the facts, be permitted and required to draft or defer under the provisions of the law provided by the Congress. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 91, pt. 10, 79th Cong., 1st sess., Feb. 2, 1945, pp. A411-A412.)

On the same subject, from the Well of the House, on February 5, 1945—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 91, part 1, page 829, 79th Congress, 1st session—will be found a statement which, taken in connection with what happened at that time, shows clearly that the executive departments do not follow the law as it is written by Congress:

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the confusion which has arisen over the drafting of agricultural workers, in my judgment, can be laid to the directive of General Hershey issued on the 3d day of January 1945, No. 288. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hook] inquired of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Knutson] where there was any reason to charge the drafting of these men to the President. If the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hook] will read Directive No. 288—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 761—sent out by General Hershey he will find there quoted the statements of Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Jones, and in the statement signed by General Hershey, quoting Mr. Byrnes, it is stated:

"I have reported these facts to the President. He has found that the further deferment of all men now deferred in the 18-to-25 age group because of agricultural occupation is not as essential to the best interests of our war effort as is the urgent and more essential need of the Army and Navy for young men."

There is where the trouble started, and you cannot get away from it. The fact is that after that order went out the local draft boards throughout the country, acting on it, as the President must have expected they would, began to ignore the Tydings amendment. They began to put men who were in II-C directly over into I-A, and to send them into the Army without any review as to whether they fell under the Tydings amendment and should be deferred. When they did that they disregarded their duty.

In my judgment, they are not to be criticized, because the idea that the Commander in Chief can do no wrong, make no mistake, has been stressed so often and so strongly by some papers, by Members of Congress, by almost every columnist, that as a practical matter the local draft boards had no choice. I know what has happened and so do you. A local draft board which deferred these agricultural workers would have been charged, just as you and I have been charged during past months, with being disloyal, with aiding the enemy, with exempting men who were not entitled to be exempted, with refusing to support the war effort. Who is there in a local community who wants to stand up to that kind of criticism from the daily press, from the administration, and the administration spokesmen?

There is more to the same effect to be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Permit me to quote—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 91, part 2, page 2431, 79th Congress, 1st session, March 19, 1945:

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, whether, if the present policy of General Hershey in disregarding the Tydings amendment is followed there will be a shortage of food, I do not know. * * *

I do know that notwithstanding the so-called corrective of the directive sent out by General Hershey some local boards were advised by selective service officials under General Hershey to disregard that corrective.

Similar complaints were made in the Senate. On April 23, 1945, Senator Shipstead of Minnesota, among other things, said—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 91, part 3, page 3634, 79th Congress, 1st session:

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a concurrent resolution which was adopted by the House of Representatives by a vote of practically 4-to-1, dealing with the question of drafting farm help, and its effect upon the production of agricultural products, and asking for the appointment of a joint committee of the House and the Senate to investigate.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 29) was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That in order that there may be no further misrepresentation of the will and the desire of the Congress in enacting subsection K, section 305, title 50, United States Code, commonly known as the Tydings amendment to the Selective Service Act, Congress reaffirms the necessity to our war effort of said subsection K and again expresses its will and desire that the local selective-service board, in classifying the registrant, observe subsection K and concern itself solely with the registrant's essentiality to an agricultural occupation or endeavor, and to the question of whether or not a satisfactory replacement can be obtained."

The purpose of this amendment is to call attention to the fact that, as long as there is a provision in the law which permits the President to use his discretion as to deferments, the will of the Congress will not prevail.

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON] made the statement that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARRISON] took care of the situation. In my humble judgment, it does not take care of the situation, because, under the law as it would read, the President still has authority to make the rules and regulations governing deferments. This situation is not new, nor is the disregard by the executive department of legislation enacted by Congress new.

Please note that the House, by the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 29, on March 19, 1945, recognized the necessity not only for the Tydings amendment, but for a further directive to the executive department.

We are today putting through legislation which gives the armed services control for a period of 8 years over the lives of every physically and mentally fit American young man.

Why enact a draft or conscription act which carries a loophole which will enable the executive department to conscript into the service individuals that the legislative department—the Congress—declares shall be entitled to deferment or exemption?

The amendment which I have offered is the Tydings amendment. It was debated in both Houses. It was adopted by a substantial majority in both Houses. After its terms had been disregarded by the armed services, the House and the Senate found it necessary to call attention to this maladministration. There would seem to be no reason why today, extending the act for 4 years, that Congress should not, in unequivocal terms, express its will.

Puget Sound Naval Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks and include extraneous matter, I would like to say that during the past 2 years I believe there have been some rather significant and heartening developments in our naval shipyards. A spirit of competition as between various public yards has resulted in cost consciousness by the respective labor-management area groups to the end of obtaining more defense for the taxpayer's dollar. A program looking toward elimination of peaks and valleys in employment levels has raised morale. So has a policy of incentive awards.

From close personal observation, I have found that the Bureau of Ships is making every effort to schedule work so as to combine economy and stabilization of employment which is a most difficult assignment.

I cannot praise too highly the personnel of the Department of the Navy from the Secretary on down for the effective way that the construction and modernization program is being handled.

In my congressional district is the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, which has been recognized because of its record of quality, efficiency and economy. This yard is the community project of Bremerton, where labor, management, and all segments of the population combine through an organization called the Puget Sound Naval Base Association to justify and maintain a stable workload.

The following resolution adopted March 7, 1955, by this association reveals its cooperative and forward-looking objectives:

Whereas a major objective of the Puget Sound Naval Base Association is the develop-

ment of various ways and means to help maintain a relatively steady workload for the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard; and

Whereas the achievement of this objective permits the shipyard to stabilize its employment, thus bringing about an efficient, businesslike utilization of its supply of highly skilled shipbuilding craftsmen, and thereby contributing to both the short-time and long-time total defense of the United States; and

Whereas the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard is demonstrating repeatedly that its productive team of management and labor is a leader in the field of aircraft-carrier conversions and is capable of performing low-cost quality repair work for ships of the fleet when called upon; and

Whereas the shipyard is located on a deep-water seaport in close proximity to the strategic North Pacific Ocean and is located in the Kitsap County community, which is keenly and vitally interested in the Navy and is pleased to have the men of the fleet as friends, neighbors, and visitors; and

Whereas the shipyard is manned by career craftsmen, artisans, professional engineers, many of whom have dedicated their lives to naval shipbuilding and who are teaching valuable knowledge and experience to the youth of the community; and

Whereas Adm. Robert B. Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, United States Navy, in a recent address prepared for the Cincinnati Chapter of the Navy League, the Naval Reserve Advisory Council, and the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, said that atomic powerplants for aircraft are closer than had been anticipated and predicted that atomic propulsion will become commonplace in our Navy; and

Whereas Charles S. Thomas, Secretary of the Navy, told the Senate Armed Services Committee that planes and ships are being equipped with guided missiles; and

Whereas the budget and workload schedules are being reviewed at the national level: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Puget Sound Naval Base Association, That the entire Washington State congressional delegation be encouraged to work actively toward these goals:

1. Construction of a new large drydock, capable of both the construction of and repair of underwater damage to the large aircraft carriers of the future.

2. Continued conversion work on aircraft carriers for all types of aircraft. This includes the U. S. S. *Coral Sea*.

3. A stepped-up program of repair and overhaul of live ships.

4. Construction of lage *Forrestal*-type carriers whenever the decision is made for construction on the west coast.

5. Establishment at once of an atomic propulsion project with arrangements for selected project members to work with Hanford, Wash.; Arco, Idaho; and other atomic projects.

6. Construction of modern submarine repair facilities with at least one sub overhaul job per year so as to maintain essential skills. Proximity to Carr Inlet is to be noted.

7. Construction of small craft of one type or another to assure diversity of skills.

8. Conversion of vessels to fire guided missiles.

9. Continue to obtain work on submarine contracts from the Hanford plant and similar organizations; be it further

Resolved, That the Washington State congressional delegation be encouraged to make strong representations to the Navy Department for the strategic basing of an operation fleet in the Puget Sound area; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to each member of the Washington State congressional delegation, the Honorable Secretary of the Navy, and the Honorable Governor of Washington State.

No Stone Unturned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, because of its general interest to all Members of Congress, under leave to extend my remarks I should like to include an article from the Christian Science Monitor of March 2, 1955, entitled "No Stone Unturned":

NO STONE UNTURNED

(By Neal Stanford)

WASHINGTON.—Twice before official Washington has taken a look at this subject—and filed it away for future reference. But the chances are that it will not be pigeonholed this time. That recent 40- by 220-mile H-bomb fallout picture was too graphic. The result is that both on Capitol Hill and in the hush-hush departments of the executive branch this subject is now coming into its own. The subject: Governmental continuity in case of an H-attack on Washington.

Both the Executive and Congress are beginning to see that this is a question that must be considered. The Founding Fathers faced the contingency of a President dying in office; and our Constitution provides for the unhappy event of both President and Vice President not surviving their terms. But the framers did not have to face the possibility—remote as it may be—of an entire administration being wiped out by an atomic attack. That is something the current successors have to tackle.

They took a quick look at it after the first A-bomb blast and felt that as long as the Soviet Union did not have the A-bomb there was no real worry. Then when the Soviet did explode its first A-bomb, several Congressmen both spoke and wrote on the need for arranging governmental continuity should the United States Capital be destroyed in a sneak atomic attack. But again the discussion died down. It is back again with the disclosure by the Atomic Energy Commission of the truly devastating potentialities of an H-bomb.

So again one hears on the Hill and around the Capitol talk of how to arrange for a Federal Government that could carry on if all of the Washington personnel happened to be wiped out.

A proposal that is being revived and discussed both openly and secretly here is that the only existing semblance of a governing body that represents the whole country should be officially delegated to step in and take over. That body is the Council of State Governors. They could step into the breach caused by the H-bomb and at least make a start of running things. Either their chairman or one of their members chosen by lot could become temporary President.

This proposal, based on the worst possible picture painted by the AEC, envisages almost total destruction for the Capitol and its occupants. That, of course, is a remote possibility considering early warning, tracking, intercepting, shelter, and evacuation preparations now underway. If indeed any Nation ever dares risk the retaliation such an H-bomb attack would bring.

The point is, however, as all talk about it emphasizes, that even the possibility should be faced and it be officially decided whether some proposal for such conditions should not be written into the Constitution or law of the land. This time, it is argued, the question should not be shelved for lack of discussion. Officials now know the potentialities and it is up to them to decide if the danger is real enough to do anything about it.

The Council of State Governors is admittedly a weak substitute for Federal executive power in an emergency. But it does exist now as an entity and could be developed into something stronger and more productive if desired. It has the one great advantage of being national—representing the entire Nation—not a section thereof. Also it is made up of experienced officials with political background and executive experience.

Presumably the chairman of the council—if he were to be President pro tempore—would pick his Cabinet from his colleagues. There would be lieutenant governors available in the 48 States, so that State government would not falter or collapse.

Finding a substitute for the Congress might be harder—but two proposals are generally brought forward whenever this subject comes up: a hastily called election in 3 months, or appointment of a certain number of State senators and representatives to seats in Washington—not necessarily a full Congress, but enough to transact business.

This subject of governmental continuity in the H-bomb age is admittedly too novel and tremendous to be resolved in a day or a month or possibly even a year. But it is a subject that those who know most about the power of new weapons discuss seriously. The problem is to get it out in the open and to keep the public informed.

S. 968

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in regard to the President's program for Federal aid for school construction, as embodied in S. 968, introduced by Senator SMITH of New Jersey, I would like to call the attention of the Congress to the following statements of Frederick Raubinger, New Jersey commissioner of education, and Archibald S. Alexander, New Jersey State treasurer. I am in complete agreement with Dr. Raubinger's analysis of S. 968 and join with State Treasurer Alexander in saying that the Federal program appears likely to be of very little help to New Jersey.

STATEMENT BY DR. FREDERICK RAUBINGER ON SENATE BILL 968, INTRODUCED BY SENATOR H. ALEXANDER SMITH, OF NEW JERSEY

This bill is designed to authorize Federal assistance to States and communities to enable them to increase public elementary and secondary school construction.

TITLE I

Title I is designed to authorize purchase by the Federal Government of obligations issued by local educational agencies to finance school construction where such obligations could not otherwise be marketed at reasonable rates of interest. As we read this part of this bill, it seems designed to provide a Federal guaranty in New Jersey of 50 percent of a proposed bond issue of a local educational agency, at a reasonable rate, based on the prevailing rate of marketable obligations of the United States, plus one-half of 1 percent.

During the past 3 years, the following situation has prevailed with regard to rates paid for bonds issued by school districts in New Jersey:

The audit reports indicate that in the fiscal year 1952–53 the school districts of New Jersey issued bonds in the principal amount of $47,138,300, representing 99 issues. Thirty-two issues in the amount of $20,742,000 were sold at interest rates of 3.2 percent or higher.

In 1953–54 there were 67 issues in the principal amount of $32,440,000.

Nineteen issues in the amount of $10,374,000 were sold at interest rates exceeding 3.2 percent at an average rate of 3.4 percent.

From July 30, 1949, to June 30, 1954, only 13 New Jersey districts have issued bonds with interest rates exceeding 3.5 percent, most of them during the past 2 years. These issues totaled $8,607,000 out of a State total of $155,248,700 issued by school districts during this 5-year period.

It will be noted that the fluctuation in the municipal bond market has noticeable effect on interest rates paid by school districts. It should be further noted that the obligations of the State of New Jersey enjoy better rates than similar obligations of the United States. Illustrative of this is the teachers' college bond issue floated January 28, 1953, in the amount of $15 million, on which the interest rate was 1.69 percent.

Thus, there are a number of New Jersey districts which could benefit by the support of the credit of either the State or the Federal Government. However, we note that as much as 15 percent of the Federal sums appropriated in this bill for any year might be available to a single State, and we note further that the eligibility of a district to participate in such a program is determined by the eligibility of the State, based on the per capita income of the State. Thus in periods of financial stress, unless more money were appropriated, it is probable that the subdivisions of a State with a financial standing of that of New Jersey, would be unable to qualify with high enough priorities for funds available under this title. In any case, there is no provision in this title which could not be carried out, at least as efficiently, by a State guaranty of reasonable interest rates for local bond issues, if the State legislature and the people so decided. In such an event, sections 106 and 107, providing for the administration and audit of such provisions, could be operated by the State independently of the Federal Government.

In general, we believe that this title is more applicable to States which have statutory debt limits for local districts which cannot be exceeded. In New Jersey under 18: 5-86 of New Jersey Statutes Annotated (title 18, Education), the commissioner of education and the local government board have the power of extending debt limits under certain conditions. We believe that this has served to operate in such a way as to help prevent excessive interest rates, and that this conclusion is substantiated by the record.

TITLE II

Title II would extend Federal support, together with that of the State, for "obligations issued by State school-building agencies to finance the construction of school facilities for rental to and eventual ownership by local educational agencies." In New Jersey no such State school-building agency exists. Such an agency may be compared in general with authorities such as the New Jersey Turnpike Authority or the Garden State Parkway Authority. However, section 202, paragraph B, providing for coordination between such a school-building authority and the State educational agency, eliminates the probability that a turnpike authority is analogous. Hence, we would suppose that such a school-building authority or agency would be created by the legislature subject to approval by the voters, and would obligate the State to guarantee bonds in a given amount to finance the authority. After this had been done, the following situation would be a hypothetical illustration of its operation:

The State athority would provide $100 of bonds for school building purposes.

New Jersey would guarantee $2.50 of a $5 assumed debt service rate, while the Federal Government would lend the remaining $250 for 32 years without interest as an additional guarantee for the bonds.

The State authority would, under provisions required by the Federal Government, require that annual payments for rentals for such buildings would be sufficient to meet interest obligations, that one-fourth of 1 percent would be deposited as an insurance for such interest (similar to Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation), and that the cost of maintenance, repair, replacement, and insurance of such facilities would be provided for in the rental.

The Federal Government does not grant an indefinite and outright guarantee for interest payments, and even stipulates that ay advance from the supplemental reserve which it provides be repaid with interest. The Federal Government, through the United States Commissioner of Education, may stipulate the investment of Federal funds advanced as part of the basic reserve fund guaranteeing principal and interest.

In reviewing title II, the following questions have been raised concerning its relationship to present New Jersey law, and even to the New Jersey Constitution. Can a State school building authority be established to provide such funds without the approval of the people? Can the State school building authority stipulate such items as maintenance, repair, and insurance, where present school law charges local boards of education with these responsibilities? Since New Jersey law provides that the board of education has no legal life beyond 1 year and cannot make rental agreements beyond that period, could a local school district enter into any long-term rental agreement with a State authority without a vote of the people, and perhaps without an amendment to the constitution?

Basic New Jersey thinking with regard to long-term obligations of the school district is the premise that the electorate or, in city districts, the board of school estimate, alone has the right to bond a district or commit a district to any capital expenditure. It is not likely that any legislation at a State level could change our present pattern without (a) reducing to some extent local control and initiative, and (b) materially affecting the credit of the school district.

TITLE III

Title III provides for "Federal grants to the States to assist them in helping local educational agencies, economically unable to qualify for the assistance described above, to obtain urgently needed school facilities." We estimate that in New Jersey perhaps only 15 or 20 small school districts would be able to qualify for such aid, if they could not qualify for the provisions of title I and title II. Such districts would be unable to sell their obligations at a reasonable rate, even if half of these obligations were guaranteed by the Federal and State governments, and would be unable to pay an annual rental or amortization payment adequate to finance their obligations. In other words, these districts would be those which we would consider eligible for outright State grant or Federal grant for the building of school facilities. This title provides that for such districts, the State of New Jersey would have to provide at least 60 percent of the grant, and that as much as 40 percent of the balance could be paid by Federal grant.

To qualify for such a grant, it would be necessary for the district to fail to qualify under title I and title II, which presumes that there would be a State school building authority in New Jersey unable to provide for such districts. This title gives broad powers to the United States Commissioner of Education to review such applications and to establish restrictive conditions for both the State and local agencies in respect to qualifying for payment, the conditions under which payment would be granted, and the type and kind of construction which would be eligible. It would give to our State educational agency considerable powers which it does not presently possess, which would only be possible through the adoption of new legislation. It gives to both the State and Federal Governments jurisdiction over the financing of the project by the local district.

TITLE IV

Title IV, provides for "Federal grants to the States to assist them in meeting the administrative costs of developing and initiating programs designed to overcome obstacles to local financing of school construction." It states specifically that such payments will not be made unless there is "a new program for the State" related to the development and initiation of programs for State assistance to local districts. New Jersey could not qualify in all likelihood for such assistance unless a State school building authority were established.

This title does not necessarily have to be related to the first three titles, if its purpose is to improve administrative provisions in the States for providing technical or other assistance to local school districts in their building problems. In the setting in which it is placed, it must be regarded as an adjunct to the first three titles, and as being only applicable in case of their adoption by a given State.

GENERAL STATEMENT

If the intent of this bill is to provide immediate, necessary relief for school districts and to facilitate immediate construction of buildings, it would not attain this purpose in New Jersey, since many of its provisions would require extensive revision of existing statutes and possibly referenda by the electorate. The amounts of money provided in title I and title III seem unrealistic in view of the total amount of school construction estimated as needed in the 48 States. Its main purposes seem to be to extend Federal guaranties of credit to State agencies or authorities created by the State, and in New Jersey such guaranties are not presently needed if the State itself provides such guaranties to local districts.

Any consideration of the bill must further consider the extent and amount of Federal control and State control which is desirable for imposition upon local districts. This bill would involve the Federal Government in thousands of decisions concerned with local districts, instead of granting money to States under certain terms and allowing the States to make the decisions.

Our past and present programs for school construction in the State have been almost universally engendered by local initiative, and we believe that this is a force which must be maintained. We believe further that the use of State guaranties of credit may be provided for local districts in other ways than by the establishment of State school building authorities. Acquisition of school buildings through a rental-purchase system should only be considered if local residents have the power to determine the nature of long-term obligations, and the effect of such obligations upon the fiscal soundness of their communities.

STATEMENT BY ARCHIBALD S. ALEXANDER

I agree completely with the conclusions of the Department of Education memorandum. I do not believe that any of the four titles will be of substantial assistance to New Jer-

sey. I believe that any assistance which will be furnished to New Jersey will have to be at the expense of increased Federal and State control over local school affairs. This is contrary to New Jersey's tradition and violates the sound general principle that remote control is inferior to local responsibility and control with respect to matters which are peculiarly local in impact and interest.

We requested the State Tax Policy Commission about a year ago to make recommendations for solutions of the pressing problem which many school districts have with regard to construction of facilities. This is the second aspect of the school-aid problem, the first aspect, with regard to operating expenses, having been dealt with during 1954. The Tax Policy Commission evolved a tentative plan and met to discuss it the evening of the day when the President's program was announced. It was impossible to consider the matter fully until the President's program had been analyzed.

The staff of the State Tax Policy Commission is completing this analysis and there will then have to be another meeting, now scheduled for March 7, 1955. At that meeting I intend to take the position stated earlier in this memorandum, and I would hope that it might be possible to persuade the Commission to do likewise.

Speech by Maj. Gen. S. D. Sturgis, Jr., Before National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEWEY SHORT
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted, I include the following interesting and informative address delivered by Maj. Gen. S. D. Sturgis, Jr., Chief of Engineers, United States Army, before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington, D. C., on May 25, 1954:

Gentlemen, as earlier speakers have indicated, this is the first time in 4 years that this congress has come together. I believe that this meeting is most timely because there has been much progress in the field of water resources development in the United States during the past decade, and many changes in public approach to this important problem. Our whole country is alive as never before to the importance of our water resources. In fact, our water resources development policies and procedures of past years are, indeed, receiving a "new look" from the people of this country. Some of these looks are thoughtful; some of them are baleful; all of them are significant and need our attention either to improve our current policies or to preserve them against unsound and questionable proposals. At any rate it is a time that stirs the blood and calls for action.

What are the evidences of this renewed and expanded national interest in these questions? I should like to cite a few, as follows:

1. Certainly the farmers and agricultural organizations of the Nation are extending their interest in conservation of land and water resources, attempting to speed up the great work they are doing in soil conservation. But in extending their efforts to achieve a greater measure of flood protection in our upper watersheds, serious problems are being introduced in overall valley planning.

2. In the general field of flood control there has been a steady growth of demand for protection as our population and industry has expanded. But there is a growing recognition that this job is far from complete, and that many of our main river valleys are still subject to the destructive impact of great floods, in some cases with no popular solution even in sight. There is also a growing concern that recurring flood losses are an economic drain which this country cannot afford.

3. Our deep-draft ocean harbors have been improved progressively since the days of sailing ships, but in some cases they are no longer adequate to handle the cargo vessels and tankers of today. Adequate improvement and maintenance of these essential facilities are a basic need of our shipping interests, and should not be neglected but are being neglected due to inadequate funds.

4. Traffic on our inland and intracoastal waterways has risen sharply during the past 25 years, from 9 billion ton-miles in 1929 to over 60 billion ton-miles in 1952. But many of the channels and structures which permit movement of this ever-increasing commerce have been in heavy and constant use for 30 to 50 years. We thus have an aging system striving to meet the needs of a revitalized and dynamic water-transportation industry. Basic industrial and heavy economic development have followed the course of these waterways an rely upon them. They must be modernized to encourage rather than throttle future development.

5. There is a new appreciation of the importance of our Great Lakes and their connecting channels as the basic transportation system of our industrial Midwest. The recently authorized St. Lawrence Seaway is only a part of the improvement needed to permit full use of the potentialities of this great system.

6. Reclamation of arid land and provision of supplemental water supplies is still an important factor in the economy of our Western States. Its importance to the future economic development of wide areas in the West is increased by population shifts of recent years.

7. Our experience with flood control has demonstrated the rather startling fact that the benefits from regulation of low water flows of rivers may equal or exceed the values of flood control and protection. Farmers everywhere are beginning to appreciate the attributes of moderate and larger dams in this respect. Increasing use of our rivers for water supply, as outlets for industrial and municipal wastes and for recreation, have emphasized the necessity for maintaining and augmenting the normal year-by-year flow of our rivers.

8. In certain areas of our country where fuels are scarce there is almost a frantic demand for hydroelectric power to maintain industrial growth and ever lessen the burdens of farm and home. At the same time, there is a distinctly growing feeling upon the part of people as a whole at the justification of greater participation by local groups and private industry in this field. We have heard the term "partnership" used in this connection to denote a real cooperation between the Federal Government and non-Federal interests in the development of this major resource.

9. Drought conditions such as now afflict the five-State area of Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Kansas, and New Mexico show clearly that we must conserve and use wisely all available waters. Even in the normally humid East, there is growing use of irrigation. Eastern States legislators are, even now, studying water-rights legislation, which is an old story to the West.

These are by no means the only fields of expanding interest in and public reexamination of problems connected with water-resources development, but they will serve to indicate the widespread nature and complexity of differences upon these problems. As the President of the United States has indicated to you, the enlightened settlement of these matters are vital to our national strength and progress. Under the lash of necessity, however, we must approach their solutions within the limits imposed by the hard necessity of maintaining our strength for national defense and, at the same time, a sound fiscal policy.

Citizens frequently tell us that they are concerned because we cannot undertake all of the improvements which are so vitally needed and at the same time meet our national and international commitments without risking collapse of an overloaded economic structure. This is a very real problem which people have difficulty in applying if it restricts their personal interests in any particular Federal activity. But it applies perforce to the field of water resources, too. It deserves the best thought of all our people; and the public spirited services of organizations such as yours which can crystallize and make known the priority needs of important regions interested in water resource development.

How can this challenge be met? What is the Corps of Engineers doing about it? These questions cannot be fully discussed in the time available here today. But I can and will present some measures and ideas to stimulate your interest and for you to think further about. There is, for example, a growing feeling that there should be a greater local participation in flood control and other aspects of water resources development. Such action holds the possibility of greater accomplishment even with reduced Federal appropriations at a time when the Federal Government has many more places to put its dollars than it has money to spend or invest. The Corps of Engineers supports this basically sound policy; but considers that application must be practicable and not so restrictive as to throttle development which requires the impetus of substantial Federal participation.

We in the corps feel that development of our water and land resources cannot, in the face of present necessities, proceed on a hit-or-miss basis. Back in 1927, over 25 years ago, we initiated the so-called 308 surveys which were the first attempt at comprehensive water resources planning for all of our major river basins on a nationwide basis. All that has happened since then, and our present dilemma, merely emphasizes the fact that our planning must be coordinated; that improvement and development must recognize the interrelationship of our water needs and problems; and that solutions of one phase of the work must complement rather than conflict with the needs of others. In our studies and construction we have constantly in mind the ideal of comprehensive and coordinated development.

We have in the past and are now consistently advocating sound methods of project evaluation; fair and equitable allocations of cost of multiple-purpose developments; recognition of the rights of States and non-Federal interests in water resources; greater Federal activity in securing needed basic scientific data; and the clarification of Federal water resource policy in areas where it is deficient and productive of conflicts and inefficiency.

In brief, I think that, without immodesty, I can say that the Corps of Engineers, which has served as a pioneer in Federal water resources development, is keenly aware of the new national interest in this field and it striving to keep ahead of public needs and contribute from its fund of experience to solutions of the problems.

Finally, what is this Congress contributing to "further a sound and coordinated develop-

ment of the Nation's water and land resources," which I quote from your brochure setting forth the purpose of your organization? What can you do to further this purpose at this critical time?

I think it is quite plain that old methods and procedures will no longer suffice. An interest in individual proposals or projects is understandable and useful but is necessarily a limited interest at a time of new appraisal and transition.

For example, I have noted with interest the constructive governmental concern with this problem which has drawn the ablest men in the water-resources field into service with task forces of the Commission which is now restudying the relationships between the Federal Government, the States, local organizations, and private enterprise in water-resources development.

These practical experts, however, require and have asked for information and advice from Federal agencies, includings the Corps of Engineers. We have gone "all out," I assure you, in cooperating with these gentlemen. They must also have information as to the ideas and needs of the people who are directly affected by policies and projects and who, in the final analysis, pay for them. Is it not a function of a public organization such as yours to aid such study groups by presenting sound ideas and views for their consideration?

This is a time when, in water-resource development, we stand between the "upper and nether millstones" of maintaining our military strength and preserving our economic structure. It is, therefore, bound to be a time when limitations on Federal activity will generate competing demands for Federal participation. It is unavoidable that interests will conflict; that strong groups may advance their particular needs at the expense of others; and that the overall public interest may be ignored. Your organization provides a meeting ground for the diverse but related aspects of water-resource development. Is it not, therefore, eminently situated to reconcile conflicts and generate strong public support for a soundly coordinated water-resource activity?

In 1950, the President, on behalf of the entire Nation, attempted to make a reappraisal of Federal water resources policy. Possibly a few people recognized the ramifications of that task. This useful approach has not yet been carried to a conclusion; but the need for clarification and establishment of sound water policy is greater than ever. Impetus for such a policy must come not only from the Federal Government and its agencies; primarily it must stem directly from the people. Such a policy cannot be evolved in the ivory tower of the past because water, in its varied uses and problems, intimately affects every citizen and every citizen has become far more aware of that fact than 10 years ago. Here, finally, I see one of the greatest opportunities of your organization—to recognize intelligently and realistically the situation which faces us in the development of this basic resource and to aid in making known the views and needs of the citizens of this country.

Thus, the new nationwide concern—the "new look" at water resource development—demands that such organizations as yours as well as the Federal agencies, provide real leadership. You must become effective instruments in crystallizing the ideas and needs of interested citizens in the correct direction. Antiquated methods must give way to a highly scientific approach, and coordinated action; and these must serve an awakened and enlightened public interest.

Gentlemen, there is the problem and I cannot overemphasize it. I do not doubt you can make progress here and there by the old methods of pressure and mutual cooperation. But with the world situation as it is and with the new, broad and highly thoughtful interest of the awakened American people the employment of such methods of themselves will end in your defeat in detail. Worse than that, the Nation's water resource program will fall far behind the development of the rest of our economy.

In my opinion a more realistic approach will be for you to recognize clearly these popular forces, harness them and guide them to national objectives in the water resource field as delimited by the President. To do this your various organizations and groups may have to hire competent engineers and economists for advice. To do this you personally may have to study continuously all sides of the economics and engineering of the issues involved. To do this you must adopt those concepts and policies that will benefit the Nation as a whole—not for tomorrow but for decades to come. To do this may requirel ocal sacrifices of projects and proposals that are unsound. But in the end such a statesmanlike course will redound to the individual good as well as that of the Nation. More than that it will assure a strong and prosperous America because water resource development will have grown in step with a healthy economy.

Iron Curtain Captives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the peoples of two European nations this week have special occasion to lift their minds and hearts to the remembrance of freedom, even though they now find themselves bowed under the relentless hand of communism.

March 7 was the 105th birthday anniversary of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, founder of the Czechoslovak Republic and on March 15 the Hungarian people will mark the 106th anniversary of Hungarian independence from Hapsburg rule.

It is our hope that the people of Hungary and Czechoslovakia will look back to the origins of their freedom, now lost, and renew their resolve to once more attain independence and a rightful place among the free nation of the world.

I have great faith in the spirit and resolve of these captive peoples. During my work with Radio Free Europe I saw, over and over again, evidences of it. And I saw, too, how these courageous people look to the United States for help and encouragement.

It is not enough that we voice pious tributes and bold promises to the liberty-loving people behind the Iron Curtain. Only by our continuing fight against communism at home and abroad can we set the pace for others who would be free. Only by our unwavering insistence in the councils of nations and on the very doorstep of the Kremlin itself can we keep the spark of hope alive.

We must give concrete evidence of our genuine concern for these oppressed peoples. Let us liberalize our immigration laws and welcome to our shores their homeless. Let us redouble our efforts, through such agencies as the Voice of America, to pierce the Iron Curtain, and let us make sure that our military strength matches our urgent demands for a free world.

Rev. Paul A. McNally

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, the passing of a renowned scientist represents a distinct loss to society, particularly when the pursuits of the individual have been devoted to the advancement of civilization through the acquisition of knowledge hitherto hidden from man's eyes. Such a great loss has recently occurred at Georgetown University, here in the Nation's Capital, in the death of the Reverend Paul A. McNally, S. J., vice president of the university and one of the outstanding astronomer-mathematicians of our day.

We mourn this sad event, and extend expressions of sincere sympathy to the president and faculty of Georgetown and also to the alumni and student body.

Such well-deserved encomiums have just been published editorially in the Washington Post and Times Herald and by the Washington Evening Star of March 7, 1955, that I ask unanimous consent to have them reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 7, 1955]

THE REVEREND PAUL A. MCNALLY

The Reverend Paul A. McNally, S. J., vice president of Georgetown University who died Friday, probably was best known as one of the Nation's eminent astronomer-mathematicians. As director of the Astronomical Observatory at Georgetown he participated in a number of internationally famous expeditions to study solar eclipses. Father McNally was widely honored by scientific societies, and the attention his work received helped make Georgetown, which has operated an observatory since 1841, known throughout the world as an astronomical center. A man of many parts, Father McNally also had taught mathematics, had served as regent and dean of the university's medical school, and was chairman of the physics department at the time of his death. His administrative talents were recognized in the broad responsibilities he bore. We extend our condolences to Georgetown on his death.

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 7, 1955]

FATHER MCNALLY

Georgetown University has lost a devoted leader and servant in the sudden death of the Rev. Paul A. McNally. Born on the same day with President Eisenhower, he came from his native Philadelphia to Woodstock College, Maryland, pledged to the Society of Jesus in 1908, and was graduated with the A. M. degree in 1917. Later he was at Innsbruck in Austria, Fordham University, the Gregorian

University in Rome and the University of California. Before beginning his Washington career in 1925 he taught mathematics at Boston College and at Fordham. His assignment at Georgetown Observatory commenced when the Rev. Edward C. Phillips was promoted to be provincial of the Maryland-New York province of the Jesuit order.

The aspect of astronomy which interested Father McNally most was that of solar eclipses. He joined forces with the National Geographic Society in expeditions to watch them in Soviet Siberia, Canton Island, and Brazil. But his ability as an administrator resulted in his being drafted away from his studies of the sky. He was made vice president of Georgetown University in 1942, directed the campaign for funds for the new Georgetown University Medical Center and then was appointed executive officer of the activities of the institution thus created, serving until a heart condition forced him to relinquish the task in 1953. Since that date most of his effort had been devoted to the Georgetown University physics department, for the development of which he formulated great plans.

A tireless and completely selfless worker, Father McNally was an inspiring example to scores of younger men. He insisted upon the highest standards, yet his popularity was a legend wherever he served.

A New Industrial Magazine Is Born

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in the past few months a new magazine has put in its appearance in the field of American industrial journalism. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to welcome and to extend best wishes to Plastics Technology. The plastics industry is one of the fastest growing in the United States and it is happy omen for its future that a magazine of the obvious caliber of this one has been established to meet the needs of intercommunication within the industry.

In this connection, I include an editorial appearing in the first issue which sets forth the aims and purposes of the new publication. The editorial follows:

A NEW INDUSTRIAL MAGAZINE IS BORN

This is the first issue of Plastics Technology—a new publication concerned primarily with the technical aspects of the plastics industry, and edited for the technical men in production, research, development, sales, service, and management.

It is a logical outgrowth of the plastics section of Rubber World, another Bill Brothers publication, and is timed to meet the needs for a publication which will report and review the technological advance of the industry.

This issue, volume 1, No. 1, presents a physical sample of the editorial formula we have developed out of the thoughtful suggestions of hundreds of plastics technologists who have given freely of their time and effort because of their realization of the need for such a publication. Here, all material will be carefully selected and edited for value to the reader, and presented in an honest, factual and comprehensive manner. Of necessity, some of our editorial aims are long-range in nature, but we expect to achieve them in due course of time.

Certainly, in presenting Plastics Technology we do not assume to infringe upon the well-earned franchises of other established publications. Rather, we expect to carve out our individual niche and by intelligence and integrity thus serve those responsible for the extraordinary and rapid development of their industry. As the magazine of applied engineering it will be our special mission to chronicle and interpret the industry's advance and direction in a lively and interesting, but always accurate and unbiased fashion.

The plastics industry is now coming of age after an infancy associated with inflammable collar buttons and an adolescence of many misapplications. In maturity, plastics must take their place as recognized engineering materials that will contribute more and more to the advance of our industrial civilization. It is in this forward march that Plastics Technology undertakes to play an important part.

We could not conclude this brief expression of our editorial philosophy without thanking those who have helped so enthusiastically in the production of this first issue—our contributors, the men of the industry who make up our editorial advisory board, and our editorial staff. And being human, we shall be most happy to receive your comments—the brickbats as well as the bouquets—and your studied suggestions for making Plastics Technology progressively more useful to a vital and dynamic industry.

ARTHUR M. MERRILL,
Editor.

Detroit's Choir-Singing Congressman Rabaut: "Voice of the People"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, a most fitting tribute was paid to Representative LOUIS CHARLES RABAUT, of Michigan, in an article written by Reporter James M. Haswell, which appeared in the Sunday, March 6, 1955, issue of the Detroit Free Press. It is a pleasure and privilege to include this article in the RECORD:

DETROIT'S CHOIR-SINGING CONGRESSMAN KEEPS HIMSELF TUNED TO THE TIMES—RABAUT: "VOICE OF THE PEOPLE"

(By James M. Haswell)

WASHINGTON.—Detroit's East Side Congressman, LOUIS CHARLES RABAUT, 69, has a great human touch. With him, truly, politics is people. For 20 years LOUIS has called more Congressmen by their first names than any other man in Washington.

RABAUT came to Congress because of a protest against the machine age. He objected to industry's practice of firing men past 40.

"You are wrecking home life," he told Detroit efficiency engineers. "You are glorifying the young kid over his father by paying youth the big wages. You are putting the old man behind the stove in the family kitchen. It's no good, I tell you."

SINGS AVE MARIA AT RITES IN HOUSE

RABAUT was a marked Democrat from the day he entered the House as 14th District Representative. He could sing as well as talk. He had social poise, and made friends quickly.

Speaker Joseph W. Byrns, Democrat, Tennessee, almost at once put him on the Appropriations Committee, where now he has served longer than any man except Chairman CLARENCE CANNON, Democrat, Missouri.

Within a few months Byrns died and RABAUT sang at funeral services held in the House. As his silvery tenor soared into the lovely melody of Ave Maria, official Washington recognized that a new personality had arrived.

Thereafter RABAUT sang in the White House, at political gatherings, in Washington churches, everywhere. He became the sweet singer of the New Deal, the choirboy who had come to Congress.

During two decades here RABAUT has supervised the spending of billions. He once saved taxpayers $535 million by inserting 13 words in an appropriation bill.

"Not many Americans," says RABAUT, "ever get a chance to save half a billion dollars."

Once he drove a pork-barrel bill through the House with a single wisecrack. It was an economy year and the barrel wasn't full. RABAUT's job was to turn back hungry Congressmen who were proposing amendments to spend just a little more money.

"This Chamber rings with economy," RABAUT said sarcastically. "These walls echo the words, 'I am for economy—but not in my district.'" That stopped 'em. Not a man added a dollar to that bill that day.

RABAUT says the high spot of his committee service came the year he had charge of one big bill adding together all regular money bills of the session. The experiment wasn't repeated, but RABAUT still likes the idea.

"It is one way to impress on all the people," he says, "how much money the Federal Government spends."

During two decades of lawmaking RABAUT has voted with the New Deal, with labor, against drifting into war, for national defense, for the seaway, and for reciprocal trade. Labor once called him its 100 percent Congressman.

"PACK YOUR BAG," CONSUL IS TOLD

In the 1930's he was a globetrotter. "The people in my district," he says, "were very understanding. They knew that a Congressman must travel to learn his job."

In going about the world, RABAUT often was appalled by the length of time State Department officials lived abroad and how closely they identified themselves with foreign life.

Finally he ran across a consul in Scotland who hadn't been back to the United States in 19 years because his wife (Scotch) didn't like America.

"Pack your bag, brother," said RABAUT indignantly, "and get ready to travel."

RABAUT hustled back to the Secretary of State, the late Cordell Hull. Between them they drafted a rule that every State Department employee must revisit this country each 2 or 3 years.

It also was RABAUT's duty to supervise the Department of Justice budget. He worked closely with Attorneys General Homer Cummings, Frank Murphy, Francis Biddle, Robert Jackson, and Tom Clark.

RABAUT looks with pride on his service on the Commission which rebuilt the White House. His name is among those engraved on a marble memorial in the reconstructed building.

The latest accomplishment which pleases him is his part in revising the pledge of allegiance to the Flag. Congress inserted the words, "under God," so that it now reads, "one Nation under God." He also has induced the Postmaster General to place the words In God We Trust on stamps carrying letters abroad.

One year RABAUT entered wholeheartedly into a campaign to persuade Italians to vote against the Communist Party in Italy.

Afterward he was horrified to discover that many Italians holding United States citizenship had gone to the polls.

Their impulsive actions had cost them their United States standing. RABAUT spent several sessions lobbying through Congress a bill excusing these too-enthusiastic voters and restoring them to United States citizenship.

Not all of his causes succeed. When he wanted to protest against lifting meat price controls too soon after World War II, RABAUT wrote a song. "The Old Gray Mare," he sang to a delighted House, "will be a blue-plate special soon."

It was no use. Democrats laughed about the "horsemeat Congress," but the price controls came off anyway.

For several years RABAUT lobbied in vain for a bill to stop the galloping papas. What RABAUT had in mind was a measure permitting local welfare authorities to pursue deserting fathers across State boundaries.

"Uncle Sam helps support abandoned children," he says. "The bill is a big one. I thought runaway fathers ought to be caught and made to pay."

Like Speaker SAM RAYBURN and many other Democrats who brought the New Deal to town, RABAUT strongly resents current Republican talk about 20 years of treason. He considers that President Eisenhower's so-called security regulations may be used unfairly against individuals.

RABAUT's way of protesting was typically dramatic. He got up in the House on Lincoln's birthday, a year ago, and interrupted a Republican flood of oratory on the subject of liberty and freedom.

DEMANDS OUSTER OF GOP CHAIRMAN

RABAUT abruptly called on President Eisenhower to fire Leonard Hall, chairman of the GOP National Committee. He said that Hall is masterminding a plot to brand millions of Americans as traitors.

Coming to Congress in 1935 was an afterthought for RABAUT. He might have gone on the stage and become a singing star. As a boy he sang in the famed choir of Saints Peter and Paul Catholic Church in Detroit. Gregory Freitag, the choirmaster, coached his solo parts, which he performed before more than 5,000 worshippers some Sundays. The Shubert brothers, big time theatrical producers, offered him a professional career. "But father was against that," RABAUT recalls. "I could sing half a note above high C, and used several of Caruso's endings. But father wanted me to be a speaker, not a singer."

So young LOUIS stayed in the family wholesale business and went to Detroit College and later the Detroit College of Law. He won five gold medals for speaking. When he began practicing law, real estate was booming in Detroit and RABAUT became a landowner and home builder. He was well-to-do until the depression.

The Rabaut family are old Detroit merchants. Charles C. Rabaut and his wife, Madame Rabaut, came from Belgium to Detroit in the middle of the 1800's. Madame Rabaut opened a store on Woodward, where the J. L. Hudson Co. Downtown now stands. She and here husband sold French and Belgian laces. The shop was well-known in its day because the Rabauts kept a skilled lacemaker working in the store.

Later Madame Rabaut sold the retail lace business to J. L. Hudson, and with her son, Louis, moved the wholesale business to 208 E. Jefferson Avenue, opposite the present City-County Building. There it gradually became a wholesale notion supply house, with fireworks as a side line.

This was the business in which Choir Boy Rabaut grew up. Today, at 19565 Mack, Grosse Pointe Woods, Vincent Rabaut, a great-grandson of Madame Rabaut, is making a success of Rabaut's Fabric Mart, specializing in home draperies. A great-granddaughter, Mrs. August Amato, also makes draperies.

"We Rabauts always have a flair for color and decoration," the Congressman says, proudly.

RABAUT says there are more than 50 Rabauts in Detroit, descendants of the original lace merchants. He has 9 children and 19 grandchildren. His father had a family of 11.

Religious devotion has been a Rabaut family trait. RABAUT has a sister who is a nun. Another sister, who was also a nun, is now dead.

The Congressman has three daughters in church orders.

Sister Mary Palmyre, IHM, is a librarian at Marygrove College, Detroit; Sister Stella Maris, IHM, teaches in the Girls Academy at Monroe, Mich., and Sister Martha Marie, IHM, teaches at the Holy Rosary School, Detroit.

His oldest son, Father Francis Dermott Rabaut, S. J., serves on the faculty of Loyola University in Chicago.

Another son, Louis, is a Detroit lawyer. Three of his daughters have married. They are Mrs. Amato, Mrs. Jules DePore, and Mrs. John Barrett, all of Detroit.

DAUGHTERS WORK IN DAD'S OFFICE

Several of the girls worked in father's office in Washington at times. It's an old congressional custom to put relative on the office payroll. Many of them just draw pay. But with the Rabauts it was different. These girls worked, and made the office hum. LOUIS bragged about how much he paid them, and swore the family couldn't get along without their money.

Unlike other Detroit Democrats in Congress, RABAUT has had strong Republican opposition to meet in his district. He has met, through the years, Carl Weideman, now a judge; Fred M. Alger, later Secretary of State and now Ambassador to Belgium; O. Z. Ide, now a judge; Miles Culehan, now a judge; Joseph Moynihan, Jr., son of the Detroit judge; Harold Youngblood, and Richard Durant.

He lost to Weideman in 1932, and to Youngblood in 1946. "But I beat them both later," he says.

Request From Other Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the committee investigating Communist aggression, in the 83d Congress, has been receiving a great number of requests from nations all over the world for reports on its findings and recorded testimony.

I am herewith submitting a typical letter which was received from Rev. Lloyd I. Glass, M. M., a former prisoner of the Chinese Communists:

CUYAHOGA FALLS, OHIO, *March 4, 1955.*
SPECIAL PROJECT ON COMMUNISM,
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I wish to express my deepest admiration for the public service you have done in making available the reports on Communist aggression.

If possible I should like to procure five additional copies of the "summary report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression," and also if it is available a copy of the report on "Communist Aggression in China." I was a prisoner of the Chinese Reds for 19 months and I find your reports the most authentic and valuable of any in print in America.

Sincerely and gratefully,
REV. LLOYD I. GLASS, M. M.

Labor-Management Relations at Morrison-Knudson Co., Inc., Boise, Idaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN WELKER
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, the State of Idaho, which I have the honor in part, to represent is indeed proud of the world's largest construction engineering firm, namely, the Morrison-Knudson Co., Inc., and its subsidiary corporations, which have done great work not only in the United States but also, I dare say, in almost every country on the face of the globe.

In these days, when we hear so much criticism of those who have made free enterprise work, when we hear them called materialists and industrialists and haters of labor, when we hear it said that management cannot get along with labor, I am moved by an article which I read in the March 1955, issue of The EM-Kayan, official publication of Morrison-Knudson Co. This company, incidentally, has the finest labor-management relationship that it has been my privilege ever to have observed. If more persons would pay attention to the profound remarks made by the president of the Morrison-Knudson Co., Mr. Harry W. Morrison, I feel certain there would be less bickering between labor and management.

It was my privilege as a young boy to have seen the beginning of what is now a giant corporation. I saw it grow from humble beginnings to be the largest company of its kind in the world.

Listen now, Mr. President, to the words of the president of Morrison-Knudson Co., when he speaks not only to the laboring man, but also to supervisors and other persons.

I read from his statement in the March issue of the company's magazine:

> The company's continuing investment in accident insurance, safety supervision, and safety equipment is substantial; but no amount of mere money can be measured against the life of a man carelessly lost—as any widow will testify. Time lost in a hospital bed is never recovered by the employee or the company.

Mr. Morrison closes with this exortation:

> Keep alert to keep alive. Safety is no accident.

I have never heard more profound or finer words addressed to labor or management.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire message of President Harry W. Morrison, of the Morrison-Knudson Co., Inc., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT'S MEMO—SUBJECT: PASTE THESE SLOGANS IN YOUR HARD HAT

No more important advice that I know of can be constantly urged upon the construction men of M-K than is expressed in the blunt but realistic catch phrase: "Keep alert to keep alive."

Through the years, each month's back cover of this magazine (except our annual New Year's covers) has illustrated an actual situation on an M-K job, portrayed by our own cartoonist as an example of unsafe performance that has caused a serious accident. Please read and absorb these messages, gentlemen, and remember especially the ones that apply to your own work or the work of men under your supervision.

The management is proud of the fact that for several years our safety records have progressively improved and are generally better than the the national averages for comparable operations. We are delighted with frequent reports printed in the Em-Kayan safety column of awards made by Government engineers to M-K jobs for outstanding safety performance. These Government agencies and, likewise, private owners for whom we work are increasingly conscious of the good or bad safety reputations of the construction jobs they authorize.

The company's continuing investment in accident insurance, safety supervision, and safety equipment is substantial: but no amount of mere money can be measured against the life of a man carelessly lost—as any widow will testify. Time lost in a hospital bed is never recovered by the employee or the company.

Our earnest appeal to every thinking man of M-K—and I trust we have no others—is to memorize these two easy slogans and keep them in mind until you are ready for retirement at a ripe old age: "Keep alert to keep alive," and "Safety is no accident."

H. W. MORRISON.

Westinghouse Annual Science Talent Search

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, recently there was held in the Nation's Capital the award dinner of the Annual Science Talent Search conducted by Science Service throughout the Nation as a means of encouraging the interest of young people in a scientific career.

Naturally, I was particularly pleased to note that a fine young lady from my own State, Miss Kathleen Hable, aged 18, of Loyal, Wis., was awarded the second highest honor.

But, irrespective of that, I pay tribute to the great job which is being done by the Science Clubs of America, an activity of Science Service, whose noted director is Mr. Watson Davis.

Officers of Science Service are: Dr. Leonard Carmichael, president, secretary of Smithsonian Institute; Mr. Charles Scripps, vice president, chairman of board of E. W. Scripps Co.; Mr. O. W. Riegel, treasurer, director, Washington and Lee School of Journalism.

Science Service itself is a nonprofit corporation with trustees nominated by the National Academy of Sciences, the National Research Council, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the E. W. Scripps estate, and the journalistic profession.

By means of the science clubs, which it sponsors—15,000 clubs in the United States and abroad, including more than one-third of a million boys and girls—we are getting our youngsters to start in high school on the adventuresome paths of physics, chemistry, astronomy, biology, geology, and all the innumerable other phases of modern science.

Also, by means in particular of the science fairs, 70 of which are affiliated, including the one in my own science-minded State, Americans can participate at the grassroots.

On April 15, 16, and 17, there will occur at Brooks Memorial Union, Marquette University, the Southeast Wisconsin Science Fair, sponsored by Marquette and the Milwaukee Journal. Director of the fair is Father L. W. Friedrich, and working with him is an outstanding group of civic, industrial, educational, labor, engineering, and other leaders who are going to make this fair a grand success, I am sure. The National Science Fair winners will be selected at the nationwide competition taking place in Cleveland on May 12 to 14.

I am sure, too, that next year there will be still more science fairs affiliated in the national competition, and I am wishing every success for the continued flourishing of this grand concept.

Increasingly, our Nation is aware of the dangerous shortage of scientists and of the necessity of expanding their ranks. The Westinghouse talent search is one vital means of achieving this fine objective.

In the March 1, 1955, issue of the New York Times magazine there appeared an article describing the meeting by the young science talent winners with the President, and referring to the fine address which was delivered at the award dinner by Assistant Secretary of Defense, Donald A. Quarles. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—I should like to ask a question. Is it not true that a North Dakota girl received the first prize?

Mr. WILEY. I think the Senator is correct. I am glad the Senator is on his toes today, and recognizes that while the folks in North Dakota may not obtain ambassadorships, occasionally they win first prize.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Wisconsin?

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALLENTOWN BOY IS SCIENCE VICTOR—CHOSEN FROM FINAL LIST OF 40 FOR $2,800 SCHOLARSHIP IN WESTINGHOUSE CONTEST

WASHINGTON, February 28.—A 17-year-old physicist-mathematician-chemist, Frederick P. Greenleaf, of Allentown, Pa., received tonight the $2,800 Westinghouse grand science scholarship.

He was chosen from a field of 40 high-school seniors for his method of separating metals by distillation. The method is regarded as widely useful in such processes as refining and atomic fuel production.

Second honor, a $2,000 Westinghouse science scholarship, was won by Kathleen A. Hable, 18, of Loyal, Wis., who submitted "an exacting study in heredity." She traced a widow's peak in a Wisconsin family for 4 generations which included 65 individuals. She found frequency of more than 50 percent in the fourth generation.

Next was Vaughan A. Aandahl, 17, of Denver, a biologist, who brought here a collection of butterflies and moths. He was 1 of 8 contestants who won $400 scholarships.

OTHER $400 WINNERS

The others were Thomas S. Briggs, 16, of San Francisco; Charles Jetter Eichman, 17, of Audubon, N. J.; Roald Hoffman, 17, of Woodside, Queens, N. Y.; W. Stanley Marshall, 18, of Nashville, Tenn.; David K. Hergaard, 18, of Princeton, N. J.; James E. Potter, 17, of Rockford, Ill.; and Daniel H. Wilson, 17, of Kansas City, Kans.

The 40 contestants, 32 boys and 8 girls, visited President Eisenhower at the White House during the day.

Instead of making a speech to them he asked them questions about their projects. In his informal chat he said that he thought there should be more junior colleges in the country.

Tonight's awards in the Westinghouse Annual Science Talent Search were made at a banquet. Donald A. Quarles, Assistant Secretary of Defense, said in an address that the talent search touches on the security of all of us.

"Like it or not," he declared, "we are in a race for technicological supremacy with Communist world and this science talent search has a direct bearing on the outcome of this race."

INCENTIVES IN UNITED STATES STRESSED

He asserted that the Soviet Unon was now "graduating well-trained scientists and engineers at more than twice the rate we are in this country." But, he added, because of our freedom and incentives "their pool would have to be considerably larger before it equalled the effectiveness of our own."

"Nevertheless, these statistics must give us pause," he continued. "We certainly can no longer take our superiority and military technology for granted."

He noted that the President had sent to Congress a plan to modify and expand the Selective Service Act and to revamp the National Reserve System. He declared that the training and use of scientists and engineers was an important part of the President's plan and that it included research grants and special scholarships.

He told the young scientists that work like theirs stimulated the interest of young people in professional careers in the physical sciences and engineering.

He closed by asserting that success against communism would depend on moral fiber as well as scientific skills.

Intrigue in the Arab World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article written by J. Benari, appeared in the February 1955 issue of Jewish World.

Is this the way we will stop Communist aggression in the Middle East?

INTRIGUE IN THE ARAB WORLD

(By J. Benari)

Two very important conferences have just taken place in the Middle East: The meeting in Damascus of United States envoys to the Arab countries and Israel, and the Cairo session of the Arab League, attended by the foreign ministers of the league countries and by the personal representative of the King of Saudi Arabia.

The Cairo meeting was arranged with the view of forging the future policy of the Arab world, whereas the purpose of the Damascus gathering was to give Mr. George Allen, newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State in Washington, an opportunity to explore the political scene in the Middle East.

The Cairo Conference had a touch of unreality. The foreign ministers of at least some of the Arab countries realized that they represented unstable regimes, regimes to which the people concerned not only failed to give their support but even registered their violent opposition. The meeting only demonstrated the chimera of a united Arab world.

The conference reached an agreement in principle—defense of the Arab countries through the League Security Pact. Each Arab country would, however, have the right to decide independently on the acceptance of financial or military aid from a foreign power.

ROOTS OF DISSENSION

It is known that Saudi Arabia and Egypt violently opposed Iraq's decision to the agreement with the United States regarding the delivery of arms to that country. The decision of the league typifies the defeat of both Saudi Arabia and Egypt and leads itself to one interpretation only: the league was unable to reach a decision on this vital issue. The schism in the Arab League is now greater than ever since the creation of the league by Great Britain. The Damascus conference of the American ambassadors attempted a realistic evaluation of the Arab scene, and was faced with a gloomy picture of instability, brutal oppression, dissension, and potential danger prevailing in the Arab world.

General elections were held recently in Iraq, Syria, and Jordan. In Iraq and Jordan the Parliaments were dissolved; new elections were held with the specific purpose of impressing the State Department and Whitehall with "stable" governments and thus facilitating negotiations for agreements on military aid. The Syrian elections were held in order to give the country a representative government and lead Syria into the Fertile Crescent Federation. How the elections in Iraq and Jordan were conducted and how "stable" governments were established is told by the Arab press itself.

The independent Lebanese daily Al Hayat, an old and faithful friend of Iraq, published the following account of the elections in Iraq:

"Nuri es-Said's policy, his contempt for his country's government and his fallacies, have brought discontent in Iraq to a new peak. The last elections were a farce which made not only Iraq but the whole world laugh at this travesty. Nuri es-Said assembled a Parliament composed of his relatives and of servants to his policy. For the first time in history a premier appoints all his relatives to sit in the chamber of deputies. He has not one single relative left outside the chamber unless it be one whom he appointed to the Senate. The people of Iraq boycotted the elections. The withdrawal of the two Istiqlal deputies from the chamber makes this boycott complete. It cannot be said that Iraq has a Parliament since 80 percent of its deputies have been thrust on the constituencies by a government order and without due elections."

And the Lebanese daily concluded:

"We fail to see how the Premier proposes to set about such important matters as talks with Britain with that type of Parliament. For if Nuri ignores the people and the remains of its representatives in the chamber of deputies, the people will, as a result, disassociate themselves from Nuri's decisions."

No wonder that a prominent Bagdad diplomat commented in London:

"Only one heartbeat of the aging Nuri stands between Iraq and grave disorder."

The government has already, anticipating some public manifestations, banned all political parties and has dissolved all religious affiliations, measures which dealt the severest blow to the national and religious minorities.

ELECTIONS IN JORDAN

The elections in Jordan did not exactly follow the pattern set by Nuri in Baghdad. There were violent and bloody incidents. We will again quote an Arab source. Nasser ed-Din Nashashibi, one time master ceremonies to the King, and Jordan's Director General of Broadcasting, describes the elections in the Cairo weekly Ashker Saa as follows:

"I watched the electoral battle in Amman and had a hearty laugh. I laughed at the government officials, who issued bulletins every hour, claiming that the country was calm, whilst the legion's and the demonstrators' machine guns rattled in almost every town and village. I laughed at the candidates who shouted themselves hoarse speechmaking and who wasted their money on an election, since they knew full well that the result was a foregone conclusion."

Nashashibi, a shrewd political observer endowed with a sense of humor, continues:

"The theory of political science has it that democracy calls for the free interplay of political parties. The Jordanian elections, however, like the elections in Iraq, Lebanon, and Yemen, were conducted in an atmosphere hostile to parties. Parties appointed by the Government were unable to convince the voters, whereas non-Government parties were unable to convince the Government of their integrity. Thus, the sole arbiter of the contest was—the candidate's relationship to the Government. If he was its friend—he won. If he was its enemy—well, there was always the army and the army's bloc vote to stand in his way. I say that 27,000 of the electors' vote remained a secret known only to Allah and General Glub Pasha. The people voiced openly," concludes Nashashibi, "that the elections were fraudulent. Opposition supporters went into the streets. The legion went after them with guns and armor. The people rose in Amman and the victims fell. After Amman the turn came for Es-Salt, Nablus, Ramallah, Irbid and Jenin. Arrests began. Censorship was clamped down and the farcical elections were over."

Palestinian Arabs in Jordan outnumber Jordanians by 3 to 1, but in politics, in the administration, in the Government, in Parliament, commerce, and business the Palestinian Arabs are not trusted. The country is governed by martial law and by Glub Pasha's bayonets.

Syria emerged after the elections more divided than ever, with an unstable Government supported by an "independent" plurality of 67 out of 142 deputies. The Shaab Party, champion of a federation with Iraq, has lost its majority and received only 27 seats in spite of the open and generous support it received from the Iraqi Government. Never before was the position in Syria so unstable as after the elections, and the separation between the Government and the nation, especially the national and religious minorities, is complete. Everybody agrees that the situation is tense and may lead at any time to a violent explosion.

From Libya and Yemen, the American Ambassadors can only bring reports of disorder, political assassinations and dark conspiracies of underground movements. Ibrahim all-Shalhi, the power behind the throne in of underground movements. Ibrahim all-Shalhi, the power behind the throne in Libya, was assassinated by a member of the Royal Senousi family. The popular underground movements in Cyrenaica and Tripoli work independently. The People's Party there is supported by the majority of young officers of the army and police and by Goverment officials, and has a political program which openly proclaims political assassination as its cardinal principle.

Libya is on the verge of revolution and anarchy. The King refuses to live in his capital and prefers to live in Tobruk, not far from the Egyptian border.

TROUBLE IN YEMEN

Not less disquieting are the reports which reach the free world from closely guarded Yemen. The Imam of Yemen—Yahya, established his rule over the country after the assassination of his father in 1948, and then only at the price of handing over his capital, Sana'a, to the hungry and savage tribes of the desert who supported him. The tribesmen looted the capital, captured the womenfolk and the Imam did not dare to set foot in his capital until 1954. As in Libya, the ruler is subservient to pressure from members of the royal family, from vested commercial interests, and from tribal families. A strong opposition is, however, making itself felt in the ranks of the younger generation, many of whom have been educated in Egypt. A revolutionary movement is now being organized by Yemenite students and military cadets in Cairo under the title "Young Yemenite Party." The party expects to receive a loan from Egypt, and has proclaimed its intention to depose the present Imam, having already agreed on his successor, who, it appears, has accepted the principle of a parliamentary monarchy. Among their adherents the party claims the majority of the Imam's brothers as well as the 300 Egyptian-trained army officers. They realize, of course, that they will encounter armed opposition on the part of the tribes, but believe that the army will gain the upper hand.

The Egyptian political scene is well known to American diplomats. Everyone concerned in Egypt, as well as in Washington, seeks an answer to the classical question: "the rebels are all conquered, but are they all exterminated?" The gallows may be an effective measure for an oriental government—but even in the Levant they are not a substitute for a policy.

Iraq and Syria, Libya and Yemen, Egypt and Jordan, are breeding disorder and anarchy. American arms may save the present regimes in those countries for a certain period of time. No one can, however, guarantee that the arms will not eventually pass into the hands of the conspirators and potential rebels of tomorrow, as was the case in China with the American arms supplied to Chiang Kai-shek.

A Bill To Authorize Issuance of a Stamp To Honor Amelia Earhart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, as the Congressman from the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts, I today introduced a bill in Congress which authorizes the issuance of a commemorative stamp in honor of, and bearing the likeness of, Medford's own Amelia Earhart.

While it may be truthfully said that Amelia Earhart was not born in Medford but rather in Kansas on July 24, 1898, still we citizens of Massachusetts and particularly those proud citizens of Medford have as great a claim to Miss Earhart not only because she made her home here for many years but, as a matter of fact, we are further proud of the fact that her mother and her sister still reside in our district in the city of Medford.

Amelia Earhart is recognized as the most outstanding of all aviatrix. From the time of her first flight in 1920 until the cruel Pacific wave tops reached for her gallant spirit on July 7, 1937, there was never for her any music quite like the cadence of the skies with its unbounded mysteries to be discovered. Miss Earhart was the first woman to fly the great expanses of both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. She was the first woman to reach the height of 14,000 feet, and one of the first American fliers of either sex to experiment with air-cooled engines, which later proved so valuable in our Nation's hour of need. In fact, Amelia Earhart is rightfully acknowledged as the supersaleswoman of our great aviation industry. She slogged out distance records, pioneered the autogiro, tested experimental planes and engines, gave hundreds of young enthusiasts their air instruction, boosted air travel with learned articles and thousands of lectures.

All men admired her for her femininity and good sportsmanship. All women warmed to her modesty, her championship of careers for their daughters. She was showered with honors and decorations, was feted by royalty, mobbed whenever and wherever she appeared in public. She was the best known woman of her day, and with it all her head remained unturned and she was the sweet epitome of gentle womanhood that we all look up to and admire.

Few women have been able to contribute so much to their country in such a short time as Amelia Earhart. Every day we see more clearly the outstanding contributions that she made to the happiness, the progress, and the welfare of the American people and to the strength and security of our Nation. Men and women everywhere cling in their sorrow to her unconquerable courage and selfless devotion in building American aviation. There is now no question that she, too, gave her life in our Nation's and humanity's war for freedom of all people. It is to be hoped that the commemorative stamp will be issued as it will pay tribute to Amelia Earhart, a truly remarkable woman and a real American, and keep immemorial the services she so unselfishly gave our country, thereby encouraging thousands of American young women in their efforts to make this country even a greater place in which to live.

A Major Mistake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith an editorial written by one of the foremost editors of Kansas.

The gentleman writing this is Mr. Rollo Clymer, of El Dorado, Kans. He is "listened to" by the people of Kansas. His editorial speaks for itself:

A MAJOR MISTAKE

Congress gets blamed for a lot of matters—some justly, some unfairly.

But Congress will have none but itself to blame if the salary grab it has engineered for itself sets off another hectic round of wage-raising in this country, together with a myriad of labor-management disputes and a new kink in the inflationary spiral.

Something of the sort seems bound to happen as the result of Congress' deep dip into the Treasury for the benefit of its own Members. Congress may well set a model or pattern in this respect for those who want more money for their services—and thus Congress bears a heavy responsibility for its actions to date.

This newspaper is not in sympathy with the view expressed in some quarters that the pay for Congressmen is too low and should be raised on a 50- or 100-percent basis. If Congress had cut itself a 10-percent slice of cake, it might have been viewed as within the limits of reason, and passed over without serious objection. But for Congress to move into the guarded precincts of the Treasury and help itself to a lion's hunk of the wherewithal there amassed does not seem to be justified by the circumstances.

After all Congressmen are paid well, judging by the circumstances of most of the humpbacked taxpayers the Nation over. And while the market in Wall Street may be soaring to giddy heights and silver-tongued economists predict that the present business boom will roll along indefinitely, lots of businesses and lots of citizens out here in the hinterlands have a difficult time in making both ends meet. If another wave in the inflationary spiral is touched off, many of them simply don't know how they will manage—people with little homes they are trying to pay for, with children to educate, and with ungodly taxes of all sorts to pay.

The rank-and-file folk of this country ought to be able to look to Congress with some confidence that this body will help to hold material affairs in line until we all can adjust ourselves to the changes of a rapidly developing peacetime economy. But when Congress acts the hog regarding its own personal emolument, then such guidance is distressingly absent.

If Congressmen don't like their present pay, they should get out and go to work at some private occupation like the rest of us. Nobody asked them to run for office in the first place. Nobody certainly had in mind that they would demand top-flight pay for what—on many occasions—is only second-class performance and matter.

(NOTE.—This editorial will not be republished in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

North Dakota Legislature Asks President's Commission To Reject Transfer of Certain Soil Conservation Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit this resolution by the North Dakota Legislature detailing objections to proposals of the Committee on Federal Aid to Agriculture which would transfer the function of soil conservation technical assistance to the various States. The resolution follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 1

Concurrent resolution memorializing the President of the United States and his Commission on Intergovernmental Relations not to approve the reported recommendations of the Committee on Federal Aid to Agriculture relative to transfer of the function of soil-conservation technical assistance to the various States

Whereas the Committee on Federal Aid to Agriculture, a subcommittee of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, has reportedly recommended to the Commission the transfer of the function of soil-conservation technical assistance to the various States; and

Whereas the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, representing more than 2,600 soil-conservation districts in the United States, and the North Dakota Association of Soil Conservation Districts, representing 79 soil-conservation districts in this State, along with other individuals, groups, and organizations who are vitally interested in the program, are opposed to the reported recommendation; and

Whereas if the reported recommendation is approved it would place an inordinately heavy financial burden upon the State of North Dakota, since the contemplated State appropriation each biennium could amount to a sum in excess of $1 million if assistance to local soil-conservation districts is to be maintained at current levels; and

Whereas such program would greatly retard, if not eventually destroy, the national program of soil and water conservation now being carried on, and since the problem is national in scope, it should be dealt with accordingly: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota (the Senate concurring therein), That the President of the United States and the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations are hereby respectfully memorialized and urged not to approve the reported recommendations of the Committee on Federal Aid to Agriculture, relative to gradual transfer of soil-conservation technical assistance functions from the national authority to the various States; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded forthwith to the President of the United States, to the Chairman of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and to the Senators and Representatives of the State of North Dakota in the Nation's Capital.

K. WELCH,
Speaker of the House.
KENNETH L. MORGAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.
C. R. DAHL,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD LENS,
Secretary of the Senate.

North Dakota Legislature Condemns Proposal To Close State's Two Veterans' Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following resolution of the North Dakota Legislature pertaining to recommendations by the Hoover Commission task force.

The resolution follows:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 1

Concurrent resolution relating to the recommendations of the Hoover Commission for the closing of the Minot and Fargo veterans' hospitals

Whereas a recent report of the Hoover Commission after a study of the Veterans' Administration has recommended that the veterans' hospitals at Fargo and Minot be closed; and

Whereas adoption of the report of the Hoover Commission would mean that veterans of the State of North Dakota would have to travel for medical treatment between 250 and 650 miles to Minneapolis where the nearest veterans hospital would be located; and

Whereas such action would result in unfair discrimination and hardship to the veterans of the State of North Dakota who are in need of medical treatment: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That the President and Congress of the United States are hereby urged and requested to allow the veterans' hospitals in the cities of Fargo and Minot in the State of North Dakota to remain open in order to provide adequate and accessible medical treatment to the veterans of this State; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the secretary of the senate to the President of the United States, the chairmen of the House and Senate Military Affairs Committees of the United States Congress, the Commissioner of Veterans' Affairs, and to all Members of the North Dakota congressional delegation.

C. P. DAHL,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD LENO,
Secretary of the Senate.
K. A. FITCH,
Speaker of the House.
KENNETH L. MORGAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.

Address of Department Commander Charles N. Collatos, Department of Massachusetts, the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of Department Commander Charles N. Collatos, Department of Massachusetts, the American Legion, at the recent testimonial extended to him. Over 11,000 Legionnaires attended his testimonial and I greatly enjoyed his address. I hope many others may have an opportunity to read it:

American opinion is far from clear upon the tangled problems of fact, law, policy, and morality which Communist-inspired situations involve.

There are people of intelligence, standing, patriotism, and high courage who, now and later, will differ from the prevailing opinion touching the proper method for dealing with international bandits and murderers.

The foreign policy of our Nation, until recently, has been distinguished by strong leading traits, patience, good judgment, and a forbearance scarcely paralleled in our history.

The spirit manifested toward other nations has been frank, conciliatory and consistent. The policy, of necessity, has been defensive for we are, basically, a peace-loving people.

We have negotiated important agreements and made substantial material contributions as we constantly pursue our chief objective of warding off international mischief and eventual chaos.

Persuasion, earnest and constant, has been employed, to no avail, to make Russia and her satellites respect the law of nations.

It is no new thing for governments to ally, confederate, or even consolidate in the common cause of justice.

Nor is disagreement between nations anything new or novel either.

But the recollection of the Korean war, its exchange of war prisoners, and the recent disclosure from Peiping with reference to Americans now held by the Chinese Reds on trumped-up charges, rankles in the American mind as disbelief, dismay, and indignation quickly succeed each other.

The argument most violently advanced today, Collatos declared, is that no clear avenue exists by which we can escape the consequences of a showdown save the dishonorable and humiliating one of leaving our fellow Americans to their fate at the hands of these international butchers.

Subscription to such an alternative is cowardly, useless, foolhardy, and a shameful retreat from the principles that have bound Americans from Valley Forge to Iwo Jima.

The spirit of 1776 still dominates the loyal American mind.

Public opinion moves onward relentlessly. This majority conscience is convinced that, if our way of life is to endure; if we are to preserve our heritage as free men, we must recognize the fatal antagonism, born of the murderous red heart, that now exists between us and the bandit governments bent on world enslavement, declared Collatos who is a labor relations commissioner for Massachusetts.

To consider this intolerable situation in any other light manifests a narrowness of vision which marked the early division of other peoples and the ultimate domination of their lands by those whose sole resources are force and cruelty.

The Communist grows more insufferably insolent with each passing day.

Too long have they been pampered by civilized nations as they continue to extort, again and again, an ignoble ransom of concession for each new outrage.

In sheer ugliness of despotism; in wholesale systematic barbarism; in irredeemable corruption and clumsy circumvention, the Chinese Communist out does even his Kremlin masters in their defiance of international law and contempt for the legitimate.

The farther we recede from the truth; the farther we recede from the rock of manliness and honor, the sooner will the curtain drop upon this lurid prisoner drama which must, of necessity, sicken every American heart.

Despondency, like the black clouds above, must be made to disappear before the sunshine of justice.

We are Americans. That means much to me.

It means much to you.

It means so very much to our fellow-Americans now in Communist hands.

We must face the facts.

Our forefathers resented the pretense of ruling them from across the seas—and Britain lost her most precious territorial possession.

The Barbary Pirates demanded tribute for American freedom of the seas and received an abundance of shellfire in response which committed their Corsair fleet to the bottom of Tripoli's waters.

Our English brothers of 1812 sought to impress American sailors into their naval service and our infant Navy soon dispelled their illusion of unassailable supremacy of the waves.

Spain learned that excuses could not raise the battleship *Maine* nor return our heroic dead.

Kaiser Wilhelm, Mussolini, Hitler, and Tojo, each of them, had the lesson driven home that the flag of these United States, though soft in texture, represents the combined strength, power, and fury of the just under God.

Reprisal instead of ransom and concession must be the rule against those who recognize no law of man or God.

Our enemies know that peace is our interest—and peace we always seek. But, if we are forced from our position, reason and passion, will, as in the past, prompt a firmness on our part that no power can long ignore.

This our Government knows—this our Government should never forget.

America is still the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Correct an Injustice of the Social Security Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill to amend the Social Security Act. This bill provides that a widow who loses her widow's benefits by remarriage may again be-

come entitled to such benefit if her husband dies within 1 year after such remarriage.

Recently my attention was called to a situation in my home of Everett, Wash., which pointed up very sharply the need for the legislation I have proposed. A widow became entitled to widow's benefits under the Social Security Act. Shortly thereafter she married a second time. Within 9 months her second husband died. Upon her remarriage the widow's benefits from her first husband were, of course, terminated. Under the present wording of the Social Security Act, the widow received no benefits from the second husband following his death as the statute stipulates that the parties must have been married for a full year. So, at the age of 67, this woman finds herself twice widowed and unable to receive any widow's benefits.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that such a situation was ever intended and my amendment to the Social Security Act would correct it. While the requirement of 1 full year of marriage is perhaps, under ordinary circumstances, a justifiable standard to prevent fraud, such a standard has no application in these special conditions. Furthermore, under my bill the benefits to which the widow will be entitled upon the death of her second husband are those of her former husband. Thus, there is no chance that a remarriage would be arranged on the chance of receiving higher benefits from the death of a second husband of less than 1 year.

The situation which my bill seeks to correct is unjust. I believe it is incumbent upon Congress to make sure that social security benefits are not kept from the deserving by unnecessary technicalities of the law.

Bricker's Hope a Must—There Is Great Need for This Constitutional Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there is a growing demand throughout the country that the 84th Congress adopt a constitutional amendment as proposed by Senator JOHN BRICKER. Treaties and executive agreements that can override domestic law and constitutional rights are a dangerous threat to our liberties.

The Milwaukee Sentinel on March 9 has a timely editorial on this subject and I offer it at this point in the RECORD:

BRICKER'S HOPE

Commenting on the chances that the present Congress will approve his constitutional amendment calling for control of the Executive treatymaking power, Senator BRICKER, of Ohio, says he hopes President Eisenhower will no longer oppose it.

Last year, the measure failed to pass the Senate by just one vote short of the required two-thirds majority. It was reintroduced January 6 this year.

"I hope that the President is for it," said BRICKER, "and I am confident he wants to protect the rights of the American people."

We share that confidence and hope.

We also believe that the amendment should pass without regard to any one President's desire, intention or determination to protect the rights of the American people.

Mr. Eisenhower has shown he can be depended on not to conclude treaties or agreements with other nations without the approval of Congress.

But there is no guaranty whatever, as the Constitution is now worded, against a future President committing the Nation to unwise foreign treaties.

A glance at the immediate past provides dire warnings against giving our Executive a blank check in international relations.

The Bricker amendment is designed to curb a power that Mr. Eisenhower obviously and properly does not care to exercise.

Nevertheless it is a power clearly abused by predecessors and open to abuse by successors.

According to the Constitution today, treaties are the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Treaties or executive agreements, in short, can override the laws Americans make for themselves.

The Bricker amendment provides that no foreign pact shall become effective, nor become domestic law, without valid legislation.

That's all it calls for.

But it's more than enough to make its passage a vital need.

In Favor of Bill H. R. 4720 To Provide Incentives for Members of Armed Services by Increasing Certain Pay and Allowances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly pleased that the House Committee on Armed Services has reported favorably H. R. 4720, a bill to provide incentives for members of the Armed Forces by increasing certain pays and allowances.

The purpose of the bill is to encourage continued service so as to avoid the tremendous turnover of personnel that now prevails in the armed services.

The President, in a message to Congress on January 13, 1955, set forth with convincing and cogent reasons the necessity and advisability of passing legislation that would encourage officers and enlisted men to continue in the service on a career basis in order to obtain maximum usefulness from the skills and leadership which are achieved after long and costly training.

When the type of service that is now required of our men, whether they serve on land, sea, or in the air, is considered it becomes readily apparent that increasing mechanization and complexity of defense forces as stated by the President in his message make technical skills and a wide background of experiences vastly more important than ever before.

All of this is sufficient in itself to justify the passage of the bill now before us. But in addition thereto is the fact that during 1954 the armed services experienced one of the lowest reenlistment rates in the history of the Nation. This applies to every branch of our services.

The situation with regard to officers is equally alarming. The report submitted by the Armed Services Committee of the House in support of this legislation has given the detailed figures. It confirms the general statement that I have made that the situation is alarming.

Not only does the lack of reenlistments in sufficient numbers justify the passage of legislation of this character as a means, we hope, of correcting that situation, but the cost involved in training service personnel reaches such proportions as to make it necessary to adopt some means of making the services appealing enough to incline men to remain in service and thereby diminish the cost of training programs for additional men. It is known, as the report sets forth, that each man who enters the armed services and undergoes basic training and up to the time of assignment to his first unit, involves approximately 6 months, costs the Government $3,200 in pay, allowances, subsistence, clothing, and overhead directly chargeable to the trainee together with the costs chargeable to the trainers. Thus, if the reenlistment rate could be increased by only 100,000 individuals in the year 1955, the savings cost alone for replacements would be tremendous and most worthwhile.

To increase the number of reenlistments the present legislation limits the pay increases to officers with 3 years and over of service, and enlisted personnel with 2 years and over of service. Thus it can be seen that the objective is solely and entirely to encourage officers and men to continue in the service. However, I am personally of the opinion that it would have been proper under existing circumstances to allow some increase for enlisted men and their dependents. We are all familiar with the financial hardships that are created when a father, or a son supporting his aged parents, is called into service. While I would have liked to see the bill grant some help to these whom I have just mentioned, yet I am aware of the necessity of the bill as presented and, accordingly, it has my approval and support.

Interest Grows in Copyright Factfinding Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I introduced on January 20 a bill, H. R. 2677, creating a Federal commission to study the copyright laws

and to make recommendations for their revision," and set forth the background of this proposal in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date. On March 2, the distinguished Senator from North Dakota, WILLIAM LANGER, introduced a companion measure, S. 1254, in the Senate.

There has been a growing interest in this proposal for a study commission, and I am pleased to be able to include here the following items as evidence of that interest:

[From Billboard magazine of March 12, 1955]

FACTFINDING HEATS UP

Although the habits of Congress are a bit difficult to understand—as when a Senator and Congressman introduce one another's conflicting bills—the pattern of events during the past 2 weeks indicates factfinding is gaining strength.

The original advantage enjoyed by the licensing agencies, an advantage derived from the almost unprecedented organized strength behind the Kilgore bill, is slowly being dissipated. The gap is narrowing not so much because of defensive measures on the part of the jukebox industry, but because the legislators are becoming more aware of the tremendous complications involved. They are learning that a lot of missing facts must be amassed before conclusions can be drawn.

That such an awareness should crystallize is inevitable. It develops as more and more people become cognizant of the opinions of unbiased copyright experts, such as Prof. Walter J. Derenberg, professor of law at New York University and a member of Attorney General Herbert Brownell's antitrust committee, and Prof. Benjamin Kaplan, of the Harvard University School of Law.

There is no black or white, right or wrong to the copyright problem. It is not as simple as that. Congress, for over 30 years, has unsuccessfully tried to come up with the answer. The Kilgore bill is exactly the same as those which stymied previous legislatures.

Let's be done with the time-consuming, misguided effort. Let's get into the basic economics of the problem, the basic economics of the music business. Let factfinding go beyond the licensing agencies, beyond the Music Operators of America, to the people who are directly involved—the operators, writers, and publishers.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY,
SCHOOL OF LAW,
New York, N. Y., February 23, 1955.

The Honorable FRANK J. THOMPSON, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN THOMPSON: As you may know, our law school has done some pioneer work in the field of copyright and we are currently conducting a seminar in advanced problems on literary and artistic property which is attended by some 40 graduate students. Your bill, H. R. 2677, proposing a Federal fact-finding commission to study revision of the copyright law, has stimulated a great deal of discussion here and I am taking the liberty of suggesting to you some thoughts that have occurred to me in this connection.

I have been a member of the Attorney General's National Committee to Study the Antitrust Laws, which is about to submit its report to the Attorney General within the next 2 or 3 weeks. This committee consists of some 60 experts in antitrust law representing both private and public points of view, who were appointed by the Attorney General upon recommendations made by the co-chairmen of the committee, the Honorable Stanley N. Barnes, Assistant Attorney General and head of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, and Prof. S. Chesterfield Oppenheim, of the University of Michigan Law School. No congressional action preceded the appointment of the committee and its work was financed by the appropriation available to the Department of Justice. The committee came into existence simply upon a suggestion by the Attorney General to President Eisenhower.

Some of us believe that a similarly constituted committee to revise our copyright law might best serve to bring about a much needed revision of our entire statute. In view of the many technical aspects of this field of the law, it may be more advantageous to have a committee appointed under the auspices of the Librarian of Congress which would not consist primarily of Congressmen or Senators but of copyright experts on both our domestic and international copyright law. Such a national committee might well lay the necessary groundwork for subsequent congressional action.

Similar committees of experts have handled similar assignments in Great Britain and Canada with outstanding success as evidenced by the Report of the Copyright Committee (Board of Trade), London (October 1952). Since I have gained the impression from reading some articles in the trade papers, Billboard, etc., that you are interested in getting reactions to the bill which you have proposed, I am taking the liberty of offering these thoughts to you.

Very sincerely yours,

WALTER J. DERENBERG,
Professor of Law.

P. S.: I am enclosing, as a matter of possible interest and information, a notice of the current seminar and an outline of the cases and materials used in my course on copyright at New York University School of Law.

MARCH 8, 1955.

Prof. WALTER J. DERENBERG,
School of Law, New York University, New York, N. Y.

DEAR PROFESSOR DERENBERG: Thank you very much for your very kind letter regarding the bill I have introduced to establish a commission to study the copyright law. You were quite correct in assuming that I would like to have comments on the bill from interested and qualified persons such as yourself.

I have been giving your suggestion that we set up the Commission under the Librarian of Congress considerable thought. It would seem to me that the bill as it stands at present would accomplish the ends you state in your letter. This bill would empower the President to appoint 7 of the 13 members of the Commission. He would thus be able to appoint men with outstanding reputations in the field of copyright law either from the Copyright Office and other branches of the Government and/or eminent members of the bar. In addition, the Commission would be composed of 3 Senators and 3 Representatives. These members would be taken from the membership of the respective Judiciary Committees of the two Houses. Since any revision of the copyright law would necessarily have to be passed by the Congress, it seems desirable to have some Members represented on the Commission.

This, at any rate, is the way the matter appears to me at the present time. If you have any further thoughts on the matter, I would greatly appreciate hearing from you. In any case thank you again for your interest.

Cordially,

FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
Member of Congress.

[From Billboard magazine of March 12, 1955]

GETS IN COPYRIGHT ACT—NYU PROFESSOR SUGGESTS FACT-FINDING GROUP SIMILAR TO ANTITRUST ORG

(By Ben Atlas)

WASHINGTON, March 5.—A new wrinkle in the copyright fact-finding issue on Capitol Hill was added this week when Walter J. Derenberg, professor of law at New York University and a member of Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.'s, antitrust committee, in a letter to Representative FRANK J. THOMPSON (Democrat of New Jersey) suggested that possibly a fact-finding group similar to the Attorney General's antitrust committee might perform the task specified by THOMPSON in his bill for a Federal Commission to study revision of the copyright law.

Professor Derenberg informed THOMPSON that proposed legislation for creation of a Federal factfinding commission "has stimulated a great deal of discussion at New York University's Law School which." Professor Derenberg said, "has done some pioneer work in the field of copyright" and is currently holding a seminar on advanced problems on literary and artistic property.

DERENBERG'S LETTER

Derenberg's letter went on to state:

"I have been a member of the Attorney General's national committee to study the antitrust laws, which is about to submit its report to the Attorney General within the next two or three weeks. This committee consists of some 60 experts in antitrust law, representing both private and public points of view, who were appointed by the Attorney General on recommendations made by the cochairman of the committee, the Honorable Stanley M. Barnes, Assistant Attorney General and head of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, and Prof. S. Chesterfield Oppenheim, of the University of Michigan Law School. No congressional action preceded the appointment of the committee and its work was financed by the appropriation available to the Department of Justice. The committee came into existence simply upon a suggestion by the Attorney General to President Eisenhower.

"Some of us believe that a similarly constituted committee to revise our copyright law might best serve to bring about a much-needed revision of our entire statute. In view of the many technical aspects of this field of the law, it may be more advantageous to have a committee appointed under the auspices of the Librarian of Congress which would not consist primarily of Congressmen or Senators but of copyright experts on both our domestic and international copyright law. Such a national committee might well lay the necessary groundwork for subsequent congressional action.

"Similar committees of experts have handled similar assignments in Great Britain and Canada with outstanding success, as evidenced by the report of the Copyright Committee (Board of Trade), London, October 1953. Since I have gained the impression from reading some articles in • • • Billboard, etc., that you are interested in getting reactions to the bill which you have proposed, I am taking the liberty of offering these thoughts to you."

CONSIDERATION UNLIKELY

It appears unlikely at this time that Professor Derenberg's suggestion for a Library of Congress committee on copyright will get serious consideration in Washington. Nevertheless, the suggestion was indicative of the awakening of interest, particularly on law campuses, in the fact-finding proposal. Previously, Prof. Benjamin Kaplan, of the Harvard University Law School, in a communication to Representative THOMPSON, voiced interest and indicated that the subject would

be taken up by the Harvard Law School faculty (the Billboard, February 26).

Professor Derenberg enclosed with his letter a schedule of New York University Law School's copyright seminar. The seminar course is directed by Professor Derenberg "with the cooperation," he explained, "of outstanding experts in various specialized branches of copyright law." These experts include the following, several of whom are familiar figures on Capitol Hill as supporters of legislation in previous Congresses to end the copyright law's exemption of jukebox royalty payments.

The seminar roster of experts includes:

Arthur Fisher, registrar of copyrights, Library of Congress; Herman Finkelstein, general attorney, American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers; John Schulman, general counsel, Authors' League of America; Edward E. Colton, negotiator for the Dramatists' Guild; Edward A. Sargoy, former chairman, copyright committee, American Bar Association; Morris Ebenstein, legal department, Warner Bros. Pictures, Inc.; Samuel W. Tannenbaum, of Johnson & Tannenbaum; Robert J. Burton, vice president and resident counsel, Broadcast Music, Inc.; Charles B. Seton, of the New York Bar; Philip Wittenberg, author of the Marketing of Literary Property; Prof. Harry G. Henn, of Cornell University Law School; Joseph A. McDonald, treasurer, National Broadcasting Co., and former general attorney, American Broadcasting Co.; and John P. Allison, formerly editor, Tax Barometer.

Community Action: A Key to Rural Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. PERCY PRIEST
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Hon. HAROLD D. COOLEY, of North Carolina, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture:

A great and latent force is being remobilized in America.

It was present at the birth of civilization. It brought mankind out of roving in wildernesses. It was the strength of mutual effort in the American Colonies and in the founding and formative years of our great Nation.

This force is the community spirit.

But somehow in many places this spirit seemed to have receded in our new age of invention, of bigger and glittering cities, of fast travel, of movies, radio, television, gadgets, in the myriad of other devices for entertainment and diversion—and in a kind of snobbery for many simple virtues.

The results have become plain to all of us, in the shapes of an alarming growth in juvenile delinquincy, of crime, of rotting little towns, of neglect of community loyalties and pride, and a lack of the full satisfactions of a free trade in friendship and common purpose that community effort nourishes.

But now I believe one of the best signs of our time is that more people feel a need to reexamine the old virtues of neighborliness, of mutual concern, and of community action.

We can tell as we travel across our own great State where the community spirit has been revived or was never lost. We see it in the beautiful farms, well-kept church and school buildings, in evidences of work and pride all around. We can tell, too, where the spirit has withered.

The story of the Rabbit and Cat Creeks community in western North Carolina should be an inspiration to all of us. In 1936 a survey showed that the land there was eroded, crop yields small, homes were poor, the standard of living was low, and the church and school needed attention. The people decided to do something about this. And today that community is a symbol of the progress that comes of community action. There are other models in our State for us to work by.

I believe a great new ground swell in community action awaits only upon leadership and organization.

Someone has said that a community is the image of the people who live in it and I think a good start can be made by each citizen asking himself or herself a few questions:

Am I proud of my community?

Do I boast about it to other people?

What are the good points of my community? Also, what are its needs, and how can those needs be met?

Could better living result if more of my neighbors and I worked together in a community program?

What can we do to start such a program or to move it forward?

I was impressed recently by a news story from Butler, Mo., that started off by saying, "You'd be surprised to see what they are doing here in Bates County to those old, abandoned rural schoolhouses." The story then told how the people there were putting pretty drapes at the windows and bright linoleum on the floors—making them into cheerful clubhouses where they meet to discuss community affairs, eat home-cooked food and have loads of fun.

That a revival of community action is about to take hold in a big way is demonstrated in a motion picture I recently saw. It was produced by one of the big automobile manufacturing companies and bore the title "The Town That Came Back." The theme of the picture is that it always takes people to make anything happen. It is the true story of a group of people who breathed new life into the almost-dead community spirit of a small Midwestern town.

Neighbors in this town hardly knew each other any more and there was not much left to hold young people in the community.

Then somebody got the idea of reactivating a 4–H Club, and things began to happen. Where there was disinterest and defeat, a new community now thrives.

It is a story that could be repeated a thousand times over across this broad and good land of ours.

One of our great Presidents, Woodrow Wilson, always stressed the importance of the community, and he once had this to say:

"When I look back on the processes of history, when I survey the genesis of America, I see this written on every page, that the nations are renewed from the bottom, and not from the top; that the genius which springs up from the ranks of unknown men is the genius which renews the growth and energy of the people."

I am impressed, too, by a statement that comes from the Committee for Economic Development, an organization of the Nation's top business leaders, as follows:

"America came to greatness from her grassroots, and it is from life in small communities that strength must continue to flow and nourish our country toward greater accomplishment which can be shared by all. The hope of America is not that our huge cities shall become more vast—it is rather that the small communities shall consolidate their opportunities to grow and become better, more interesting places for our people to live in and prosper. In the final analysis, our Nation is just one community added to another until the splendid total makes us what we are."

What needs to be done is clear. How to do it provides the problem—and the challenge.

"If," said the shrewd Portia, "to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels had been churches and poor men's cottages princes' palaces."

First, in considering community action, it must be remembered that to get anywhere, it is necessary to start from where you are, and that nothing will run itself except when it is going downhill.

A few public-spirited citizens can start a community-betterment program. I believe that all that's needed is a sincere interest in the community and a willingness to assume initial leadership in arousing general interest and enthusiasm in community self-improvement.

The University of Illinois, after considerable study, has published a bulletin on how a betterment program can work in the community. This suggests steps in organization, as follows:

1. A public mass meeting at which everyone could speak his mind, where experiences of other communities with improvement programs can be discussed, and where specific needs of the community can be reviewed.

2. A community council should be organized at the public mass meeting. This council would serve as the overall planning and directing force of the betterment program. The council should be a broadly representative group, its members coming from the various occupations and interests of the community, including youth organizations. It would formulate general policies as guides in developing action programs.

3. An executive committee, drawn from the members of the community council, should be named as the first step in setting up action machinery to transform general policies into definite projects.

4. Action subcommittees should function to follow through on specific action programs.

While the program will not change a community overnight, the payoff in a more satisfying community life can be expected within a short time after it is started. Better streets, better recreational programs, community beautification, new business and industries—these may be some of the first signs that the program is beginning to work.

Then it will be known that the spirit of neighborliness and mutual concerns and efforts that sustained our forefathers in conquering the wildernesses has returned. This will be a happy day.

The community spirit simply is friendship in action.

Praise for Our Secretary of State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 18, 1955

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to enclose the letter of thanks forwarded to the Honorable John Foster Dulles on behalf of the Worcester Zionist district, the Worcester Lodge B'nai B'rith and the Hadassah groups, by Judge Joseph Goldberg, of Worcester, Mass.

The letter follows:

FEBRUARY 4, 1955.

Hon. JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
United States Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

HON. JOHN FOSTER DULLES: I know that very often you receive letters of criticism and it must be nice to receive a letter of appreciation.

On behalf of 1,000 members of the Worcester Zionist district and thousands of

members of the Worcester Lodge B'nai B'rith and the Hadassah groups, I wish to express to you the gratefulness of all of us, for your intercession and the intercession of our Government, on behalf of two Jews that were hung by the Egyptian Government. Certainly, there was no such urgency, as to require this speedy execution.

The whole trial was shocking and the hanging was both brutal and unjustified.

I just want you to know that your act of friendship in this tragedy, is characteristic of the humane attitude of our Government in all such instances.

Most respectfully yours,

Judge JOSEPH GOLDBERG.

Thomas Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, today all freedom-loving people throughout the world are observing the 105th anniversary of the birth of the founder and liberator of the Czechoslovak Republic. Speaking of Thomas Masaryk, as one of the greatest statesmen, politicians, philosophers, and above all a real democrat of the 19th and 20th centuries, one cannot forget how deeply rooted were the principles of true Americanism that were embodied in this great man. Emil Ludwig, considered to be a great German biographer, once put this question to Bernard Shaw: "Who could be President of the United States of Europe?" to which the distinguished British playwright answered: "I know of only one man—he is Masaryk."

And it was Masaryk who believed so strongly in the idea of uniting all Europe, despite the fact that first he began by uniting his own beloved country. He knew, however, that "federation without freedom is impossible" and if any of our statesmen of the past had followed the political line of thinking that Masaryk had laid down and preached many years ago, they never would have made the mistakes for which millions of human beings have had to pay so dearly. The man who had founded one of the greatest democracies existing between the two world wars had this to say on democracy:

> Democracy is a fight for humanly free and unfolding world order with no dictatorial and repressive prerogatives for any.

Can these words be quoted today by those who rule that unfortunate country? It therefore is no surprise to us that the Communists do not claim him. What is more, his works have been criticized by them. His simple room, which even the brutal Nazis respected during the occupation, has been entirely changed by Gottwald, the man who calls himself President of the Czechoslovak Republic. Thomas Masaryk's modesty and simplicity were not only expressed by his teachings, but also through his actions. It followed him throughout his entire life. His humility and modesty were born with him and did not leave him until he died.

Thomas Masaryk was born on this day in 1850, 2 years after the manifesto of socialism was announced in Germany. His father was an ordinary coachman and his mother a former household servant. Yet he received the best education one could get in those days. He spoke German, French, and English very fluently, and was well versed in Latin and Greek. In his early years he had a passion for the theater, and throughout his life he adored poetry. In fact, Preston Warren, Masaryk's biographer recalls that Masaryk, speaking for Paderewski against those who believed the latter should keep to his music rather than to get mixed up in politics said:

> The bearing of poetry upon politics, and to reveal the artist Paderewski as a true political awakener of his people. Poetry educates imagination, a vision of the future, a penetration into the souls of others.

For us Americans, it is important to recall one major aspect of Masaryk's life, which was that he was devoted to the same principles laid down by the Fathers of our Country. I refer here to the wife of Thomas Masaryk, Charlotte Garriague, a young American who had been a pupil of Liszt. She was his whole inspiration, both in his domestic and political life. The love for the American principles, which he imbedded in his own country can only be explained through the wonderful relationship between Thomas Masaryk and his wife.

When Thomas Masaryk died in 1937, it was Eduard Benes, his greatest friend and follower, who spoke these words at the great Czech's grave:

> How can we be other than calm, clear, and firm when we look upon the clear and straight path which that life shows us? How beautiful and how exalting it is to see that this great warrior, who never shirked a fight, leaves us in harmony with himself, with his faith in Divine Providence, in harmony with his environment, with his faith in man, faith in the ultimate triumph of man, in the triumph of justice and truth, in the triumph of humanity here against us, in Europe, and throughout the world.

This was Thomas Masaryk who had gone already into history with the greatest men mankind has known.

Mental Health Study Prepared for Hoover Commission by Dr. Francis J. Braceland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. PERCY PRIEST
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Health and Science of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has been holding hearings for the last 3 days on legislation pending before the committee designed to strengthen the program of the Federal Government in the field of mental health and to assist the States and voluntary groups in their efforts in this field. It has been called to the committee's attention that a study has been prepared by Dr. Francis J. Braceland, chief psychiatrist of the Institute of Living, at Hartford, Conn., for the Hoover Commission Task Force on Federal Medical Services. A summary of Dr. Braceland's findings has been released by the Hoover Commission. The information contained in this release is of great interest to the Members of the House and to the American people in general. The release reads as follows:

COMMISSION ON ORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON, March 7.—With more than half of the hospital beds in this country devoted to care of the mentally ill, about 250,000 new patients will have their first admission to such hospitals this year, according to figures made public today by the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

At the present rate of illness, 1 in every 12 children born in this country will spend some time in a mental institution and the number of prolonged-care patients is steadily increasing at the rate of 10,000 a year.

These figures are contained in a special report on mental illness prepared under the direction of Dr. Francis J. Braceland, of Hartford, Conn., a member of the Commission's Task Force on Medical Services. Dr. Braceland is psychiatrist in chief of the Institute of Living at Hartford, clinical professor of psychiatry at Yale University, and former president of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology.

The report was the basis of the recommendation for additional attention to this phase of health care made to the Congress last week by the Commission through its chairman, former President Herbert Hoover, as part of its recommendations for more efficient medical services in Government.

In line with Dr. Braceland's findings, the Commission urged that the Advisory Council of Health, which it proposed, study means of establishing cooperative planning among Federal agencies providing psychiatric care, and that the military services and the Veterans' Administration give greater emphasis to preventive psychiatric services. It also recommended that the Federal Government, through the Public Health Service, encourage wider research and training of phychiatrists and workers in allied fields.

The growing needs in this field are cited in the special study, and are reported to be largely the result of population growth and the larger proportion of older people rather than any upsurge in the rate of ailments of the mind. The survey stresses the need of recruitment and training of psychiatric specialists to cope with a problem which already is costing the taxpayers $1 billion a year, without counting the incalculable losses in manpower.

It points out that most of the 650,000 prolonged-care psychiatric patients are being treated in State and Federal tax-supported mental institutions. It calls mental illness the greatest single problem in the Nation's health picture.

Although the study explains that exact figures cannot be compiled, it says that medical health surveys suggest that as many as 9 million persons, almost 6 percent of the population, suffer from some form of mental disorder. About 10 percent of these, or slightly less than 900,000, are considered in need of hospital care.

The most serious bottleneck in the way of proper care for all these cases, according to Dr. Braceland and his aides, is the lack of trained personnel—physicians, nurses, and

other properly equipped professional and auxiliary workers.

The study cites a statistical survey by the National Institute of Mental Health which shows that in 1950 the need for full-time physicians in State mental institutions of the country was only "about half met," with one State having no psychiatrists at all. These State institutions, it says, also had fewer than 24 percent of the needed number of graduate nurses, 23 percent of the desired number of psychiatric social workers, and fewer than 74 percent of the required number of attendants.

Although the medical health personnel situation has improved somewhat in recent years, it adds, shortages in this field continue "not only to hamper efforts to improve general conditions, but also to restrict efforts to discover new methods of treatment and even to prevent the wide application of known therapeutic procedures."

It is only within the past quarter of a century that an appreciable number of psychiatrists has entered private practice, the survey says. More than 4,000 now are active in this work privately. The chief need for private practitioners in this specialized field today exists in cities of fewer than 100,000 population.

State care accounts for about 85 percent of the patient load in mental hospitals, and about 70 percent of expenditures nationally. Second largest share of the burden is being carried by the Veterans' Administration, which at the end of the fiscal year 1953 had 35 predominantly psychiatric hospitals with 51,000 operating beds and 5,600 additional beds for psychiatric patients in its general and surgical hospitals.

Dr. Braceland indicates the main reasons for the personnel shortage. Lengthy and expensive training is one of the causes. A physician now must serve 2 years in the armed services, and the addition of 5 years of training and experience for psychiatric practice to his already long general medical preparation delays his advent into practice until he is in his middle thirties. Because of overcrowding in the hospitals, the workload is unusually heavy, he says, the pay often is inadequate, and job location frequently is in an isolated area, and the whole picture is overwhelming.

"Although it is evident that the personnel situation is bad now," his report comments, "it has been kept from becoming even more serious by reason of the farsighted training program of the Veterans' Administration and the training stipends made possible under the National Mental Health Act."

The report notes that gratifying progress has been made, largely through basic and clinical research, in the handling of certain types of mental disease. Paresis, an organic disease of the brain due to syphilis, is being conquered. Formerly, 10 percent of all persons with syphilis became victims of paresis; today, as a result of new therapeutic methods, fewer than 3 percent of patients who are adequately treated develop this illness, and the investigators make the happy prediction that it is not unlikely that this disease can be wiped out in this generation.

Research also has conquered pellagra, with its attendant mental ills. At one time it was estimated that 10 percent of patients in mental hospitals in the southern part of the country were there as a result of pellagra. With the discovery that this was a vitamin-deficiency disease caused by lack of nicotinic acid in the diet, it became responsive to treatment and is now readily preventable, the report points out.

Medical gains also are noted in other directions. The agitated depressions of middle life have responded dramatically to electric shock therapy, as have depressive illnesses in general. As late as the 1930's, schizophrenia had a "spontaneous recovery" rate of only 15 to 20 percent; today, 40 to 60 percent of such patients can be helped by modern treatment.

New methods also are bringing epilepsy under control. That illness a few decades ago contributed a number of patients to mental institutions.

The studies give recognition to the fact that senility often is accompanied by mental infirmities and disorders.

"There is an urgent need for research in the prevention and treatment of the mental diseases of elderly persons," the report explains. "It avails us little if the miracles of modern medicine spare the population for a longer life span if we are to end ingloriously with senile psychoses.

"It is becoming increasingly evident that the psychoses of the older-age groups have psychological and social components which may be of as much or even more importance than the physiological and pathological factors.

"Loss of status and position, economic and emotional dependence, lack of useful occupation, and a feeling of being no longer worth while, all take their toll in persons who are dependent in later years.

"Research directed at these various components of the illness, and treatment aimed at the alleviation of distressing conditions will not only bear fruit from a humanitarian standpoint but will salvage a number of people who otherwise would become wards of the Government."

A survey covering resident mental patients in 6 States showed that while in 1939 only 14 percent were 65 years of age, or older, by 1950 the number in this upper-age bracket had risen to 25 percent.

Dr. Braceland's report shows that although there is little difference regionally in the incidence of mental disease, the ratio of mental hospital patients to population varies widely in the States, from about 2 per 1,000 in New Mexico to 6 per 1,000 in New York. Although marked strides have been made, it says, in the rate at which patients are discharged, this gain has been more than offset by the higher number of admissions and the fact that mental cases now have longer life spans.

The rolls of the mental hospitals, the study found, give only a partial picture of the problem. The figures do not include the large number of persons suffering from mental disorders and kept at home or in sanatoria, nursing homes and general hospitals whose patients are not included in the psychiatric hospital statistics.

Research also has brought progress in the field of psychosomatic medicine and has inspired a new recognition of the importance of emotional factors in many diseases formerly considered to be of obscure origin.

Asthma, colitis, gastric and duodenal ulcers, hypertension and other ailments, some of which have become associated with the pace of life today, Dr. Braceland asserts, now are clearly recognized as having emotional components which must be recognized and treated if the illness itself is to be overcome.

The importance of this factor is emphasized by the report, which cites estimates that between 50 and 70 percent of the patients coming to physicians' offices today have sicknesses with emotional angles.

"It is only by means of continued research," Dr. Braceland concludes, "that any one of these serious psychiatric problems will be met, and research requires trained personnel and sufficient funds with which to accomplish it."

Community health services have been found to have a vital responsibility for recognition of mental illness at its inception and by "scientific vigilance" to get or give treatment for the patient "before commitment is necessary or before tragedy occurs."

Hawaiian-Alaskan Statehood?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include my statement before the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee on February 14 in relation to Hawaiian-Alaskan statehood.

The statement follows:

HAWAIIAN-ALASKAN STATEHOOD?

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman, the controversial problem of statehood for the Territories of Hawaii and Alaska continues to challenge the wisdom of this Congress. My remarks shall pertain to bill H. R. 2535, which proposes to grant statehood to both Territories and is now under consideration by this committee.

THE IMPORTANCE AND THE FINALITY OF STATEHOOD

This momentous issue of statehood compels us to give our most serious attention to its consequences. We are confronted with a measure that has vast implications relating to the internal affairs of this Union. We must also concern ourselves with the finality of whatever decision we may make.

No other problem will, as vitally, affect and shape our future as statehood. The seriousness of this subject is transcended only by our struggle to survive the Communist holocaust.

The various domestic and foreign problems of this Congress which relate to finance, defense, health, and foreign aid, are of extreme importance. Yet, if we find ourselves in error, our mistakes can readily be rectified by congressional action or by the flexibility of executive power. With one exception, even our Constitution and its amendments may be amended to conform with changing conditions or attitudes. The most recent example of this change is the repeal of the 18th amendment.

The one exception to the right to change our Constitution applies to the present proposal. Article V of our Constitution provides that no amendment may be made to this clause "and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

The principle that no State can secede from this Union is established. The corollary principle that this Nation cannot divorce any State from this Union or restore it to the status of a Territory is equally accepted. Thus, the grant of statehood becomes an irrevocable act.

The finality of our decision as to statehood gives us cause to approach this matter, not with a lighthearted generosity, but rather with a somber realization and precaution that any mistake will burden us for the life of this Republic.

THE EMOTIONAL, IRRELEVANT, AND MINOR ISSUES

There have been so many issues injected into this debate that it has become difficult to see the forest for the trees. Almost every conceivable argument has been presented pro and con to a degree that has confused and confounded rather than enlightened those who may be interested.

This appears a suitable time to attempt to clarify and place the arguments into their true political perspective. The leading arguments in favor of statehood which are

grouped together here as being either emotional, irrelevant, or of minor consequence are:

(a) Americanism and military service.

(b) The psychological impact of statehood upon the Asiatic peoples.

(c) The references to precedent in favor of statehood.

(d) Partisan political considerations.

THE EMOTIONAL APPEAL OF AMERICANISM AND MILITARY SERVICE

Every informed person will acknowledge the courage and the sacrifices of the Hawaiian veterans in both World War II and the Korean conflict. This Nation is eternally indebted to them and in an equal degree to all other American veterans who fought so gloriously in those wars.

The proponents of statehood have cited individual cases of heroism on the part of Hawaiian soldiers. They have made comparisons of the Hawaiian casualties and the numbers in military service as against the casualties and the number of servicemen from the United States as a whole.

The Alaska Statehood Committee has published this claim:

"In two world wars and in Korea they have fought—in number exceeding the national per capita average—and by so doing have written a war record second to none in the Nation."

The Library of Congress has furnished the following table of inductees for World War II:

State	Population, 1945	Draftees in World War II
New Hampshire	459,000	32,430
Montana	477,000	38,453
Idaho	507,000	38,612
Hawaii	460,000	28,008
Alaska	79,000	3,482

(Hawaii had 8,769 additional enlistees. No figures are available for other States.)

These figures do not substantiate claims of superiority in the number of citizens from Hawaii and Alaska who served in World War II.

The statements regarding casualties and bravery cannot support the inference that these soldiers were more loyal and more brave than the veterans from the other areas of this country. I defend all segments of this country from the innuendo that any group or area of our people have a monopoly upon patriotism or bravery. There is no scientific thermometer that can measure the warmth of devotion for this great country.

The sacrifices on the battlefield do not constitute legitimate political, economic, or social premises for the admission of these territories to statehood. These highly emotional appeals could have been, most properly, left out of this debate.

THE IRRELEVANCE OF FOREIGN PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

The proponents of statehood claim that statehood would create good will for the United States in the Pacific area and would avoid for us the stigma of colonialism.

The question of statehood is solely and wholly a domestic problem of our internal affairs. It is a strange theory that would permit foreign opinion to influence or decide the conduct of our domestic affairs. The Communist line of charging us with colonialism cannot be increased in volume nor will it be softened by any act of compliance.

We should not fear to disappoint those enemies. Our foreign friends need no explanations.

The psychological impact of statehood upon foreign peoples is irrelevant and deserves no consideration here.

The height of irrelevancy was attained by a former governor of one of the Territories. He advanced as an argument in favor of statehood, "the delectation of visitors, the sweetness of Hawaiian music, and the rhythm of its dance." Certainly, the muscular gyrations of the Hula dance is far afield from the crux of the statehood problem. This sentimentality borders upon the frivolous.

THE PRECEDENTS FOR STATEHOOD

The proponents of statehood rely extensively upon the use of precedent to lend validity to their claims.

The Northwest Ordinance was adopted under the Articles of Confederation in 1787. This Act, providing for the admission of that Territory to statehood, is cited as precedent and as the source of the inherent right of every Territory to become a State. This precedent is invalid for the following reasons:

1. The Articles of Confederation has been superseded completely by the Constitutional provisions relating to the admission of new States.

2. The Northwest Ordinance was limited in its application to the Northwest Territory.

3. The framework of the Confederacy, the division of powers and the scheme of representation was totally different from our present constitutional Government.

References by the Supreme Court to incorporate Territories as "inchoate" and "embryo" States are mere dicta and an attempted intrusion into the field of Congressional legislative authority and responsibility.

The admission of other States is referred to as precedent for the admission of Hawaii and Alaska upon the basis of equal representation in the United States Senate. The last State to be admitted was Arizona on February 14, 1912.

Following the admission of this 48th State, the 17th Amendment was adopted by final ratification on April 8, 1913. The mode of selection of Senators was altered from that of choice by the State legislatures to that of election by popular suffrage. This change of election of Senators has resulted in representation by the Senators of the people of the States as individuals in substitution for representation by the Senators of their respective States collectively and in their corporate capacities.

The 17th Amendment created a new concept of Senatorial representation. No State has been admitted under these fundamentally altered conditions.

Thus, the admission of other States furnishes no valid precedent for the admission, today, of Territories upon the same basis of representation in the United States Senate.

PARTISAN POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The Democratic National Party platform contains a plank favoring immediate statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska. The Republican National Party platform favors immediate statehood for Hawaii and statehood for Alaska under an equitable enabling act. However, no responsible Republican Party spokesman has, as yet, given us an adequate detail explanation of the meaning of the term "equitable enabling act."

In the 1952 elections, the Republican Party retained control of the Hawaiian Territorial Legislature by the election of 8 Republican Senators to 7 Democrats. In the House there were 19 Republicans elected to 11 Democrats.

In the same year, Alaskan Republicans won the Alaskan Senate by seating 11 Republicans and 5 Democrats. In the House, there were 20 Republicans elected to 4 Democrats.

Based upon these returns, it was predicted that in the event of statehood, Hawaii would elect 2 Republican Senators and that Alaska would possibly elect 1 or 2 Republican Senators.

Two years ago the Republican administration attempted to pass the bill giving statehood to Hawaii and kill the Alaskan statehood bill. This writer opposed the immediate admission of these States either severally or jointly. The Republican Party subjected itself to the charge of attempting to gain partisan political advantage in its attempt to support the Hawaiian statehood bill alone.

In 1954 the political picture reversed itself. The Hawaiian Legislature was won by the Democratic Party for the first time in the history of that Territory. The Democratic Party swept both Houses overwhelmingly. The Democrats won a 9 to 6 majority in the Senate and a 22 to 8 majority in the House.

A similar sweep was gained by the Democrats in the Alaskan Territorial Legislature. There, the Democrats gained control of the Senate by winning 12 seats to 4, and in the House 21 seats to 3.

Another political factor is the successive drop in the plurality of the Republican Delegate from Hawaii. The Republican pluralities for that office are as follows:

Year:	*Republican plurality*
1948	[1] 52,000
1950	[1] 31,000
1952	[1] 9,000
1954	[2] 890

[1] Approximate.

[2] Official.

Based on the 1954 election returns, it appears that, in the event of statehood, Alaska would surely elect 2 Democrat Senators and Hawaii would be likely to elect 2 Democrat Senators.

It is most obvious that the passage of the joint Hawaiian-Alaskan statehood bill by the Congress would place the Republican Party in a difficult position. The President would be placed in a political dilemma. By approving statehood for both Territories, he would risk the probability that these two Territories would return 4 Democrat Senators. If he vetos statehood, he assumes the political onus of defeating a measure of popular favor.

Partisan politics is a transitory consideration. This issue ought to be decided upon American principles having a true political validity. The solution should pass the test of what will be permanently just for the peoples of both majority and minority parties of the whole Nation.

GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE REJECTS STATEHOOD

At the hearing before this committee on February 4, 1955, the impression was left that the Governor's Conference endorses statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska. This is not so.

Resolutions were adopted by the Governors' Conferences, for 6 years from 1947 to 1952, favoring statehood for Hawaii and Alaska.

On March 2, 1953, the writer addressed communications to each of the 48 governors indicating the prospective loss of voting power for the people of each State in the senatorial and presidential elections upon the grant of statehood to Hawaii and Alaska. No claim is made that the subsequent failure to endorse statehood is due to these communications.

At the 1953 governors' conference, a resolution favoring Hawaiian statehood was presented. This resolution failed to receive a favorable report. No resolution for either Hawaiian or Alaskan statehood was presented at the 1954 conference. The governors, perhaps, perceived the prospective loss of representation to the peoples of their respective States. Failure to approve statehood resolutions, under these circumstances can be fairly construed to constitute rejection.

COMMUNISM, A MAJOR CONSIDERATION IN HAWAIIAN STATEHOOD

The extensive communistic influences in Hawaii continue to present an alarming condition for both Hawaii and the United States. A careful study of the facts does not give

hope that communistic power is on the wane. Communism remains a potent force permeating the economic, political, and social structures of this Territory.

The New York Herald Tribune of June 23, 1953, reported a labor strike by the ILWU on June 22, 1953, in Hawaii. The facts, as reported there, are as follows:

Twenty-four thousand employees on the island went on strike in a mass protest against the conviction of Jack Hall and six other conspirators convicted of plotting to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government.

Two thousand of these employees are stevedores, members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), who refused to load military cargo for Korea. Eighteen thousand out of 19,000 ILWU union workers on the sugar plantations joined in this strike. One thousand of these men refused to strike. Four thousand out of 5,000 pineapple workers also joined the strike. One thousand of these men refused to strike.

Now, these men went on strike, not because of any legitimate labor dispute, but in protest against the conviction of these Communists for the advocacy of treason and revolution.

The fact that 1,000 men in the sugar industry and 1,000 men in the pineapple industry refused to join this strike is proof that it was possible to refuse to join in this dastardly demonstration of Communist close-order drill.

Those who refused, a pitiful minority of 2,000, demonstrated their courage and Americanism. The same cannot be said for the other 24,000. The refusal to load military cargo for Korea borders upon sabotage.

If these men went on strike because of threats or pressures, then a condition exists in Hawaii so dangerous that Hawaii should not be granted statehood at this time. If they went on strike willingly because of their sympathy for the Communist convicts and the Communist movement, then this type of citizen does not deserve statehood. This country can do well without their voice and their vote in Congress.

This same union, ILWU, called another strike as recently as last December 1954, while members of this Territorial subcommittee were attending hearings in Hawaii.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has a membership of 25,000 and dominates unionism in that territory. Its president is Harry Bridges, who is 1 of the top 3 Communist leaders in this country. Jack Hall is the Hawaiian spokesman for Harry Bridges and the leader of that union there.

The unions in Hawaii controlled or infiltrated by Communists have a membership of about 30,000. The names of the Communists and those persons closely related to the Communist Party who occupy positions of power in the unions, union locals and the top organization of the ILWU are contained in the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee for the year 1950.

These hearings regarding Communist activities in Hawaii are contained in three volumes and contain a startling revelation of the infiltration of communism into both the ranks of unionized labor and in the political parties. These volumes are proof that the Communist Party controls the ILWU, lock, stock, and barrel.

By means of union devices such as closed shops, union stewards, and grievance committees, it is possible for the Communists to control the employment, lay-offs, firings, and hiring of labor. This control, and the use of cadres of union officials and Communist stooges to propagandize, persuade, and coerce, gives the Communists a tight control over the ideology and political action of its members. The individual laborer doesn't have a chance to earn a living or to keep from being maimed by a premeditated "industrial accident" unless he complies.

It is a political axiom that each employee can be counted upon to deliver three votes in a political election. If the ILWU can order 24,000 men to go out on a Communist sympathy strike sabotaging United States military transport, can there be any doubt that they can deliver 50,000 votes to their political choice?

The political objectives of the Communist Party are reported in these hearings. They are:

1. Communists support statehood (p. 1559, pt. 2 of the hearings).

2. Development of a following in the Democratic Party to back Communist causes (p 1570, pt. 2 of the hearings).

3. Establish legislative caucus to act as pressure group on Democratic Party for Communists objectives (p. 1570, pt. 2 of the hearings).

The fact that statehood for Hawaii is supported by the Communist Party and the ILWU does not per se make this cause wrong or undesirable. However, one can be sure that their support for statehood is not actuated by the same motives for good government as those who sincerely believe that statehood is a just cause. The support of the Communists is based upon their self-interest in advancing the Communist cause and that cause alone.

Can there be any doubt that the Communist Party and the ILWU would not make an all-powerful drive to elect 2 United States Senators in the event of statehood? And it makes no difference to them whether they bear the Republican or Democratic label. By statehood, we not only open the door for 2 Communist-influenced United States Senators, but we actually invite 2 Soviet agents to take seats in the United States Senate.

On June 19, 1953, Jack Hall, ILWU regional director and Communist Party leader was convicted of violation of the Smith Act along with 6 other defendants. A 1954 publication of the Hawaii Statehood Commission cited these convictions as proof of "unalterable and aggressive opposition" of the people of Hawaii to communism. The record of the 1954 election completely refutes this statement.

In the race for the office of mayor of the city of Honolulu, Frank F. Fasi, the Democratic candidate was opposed by Neal Blaisdell, the Republican candidate. During the campaign Frank Fasi charged that Blaisdell was courting ILWU support.

On October 15, 1954, the leading newspapers carried the charge by Frank Fasi, the Democratic candidate, that "The big issue of this campaign is whether a candidate for mayor can be elected without the support of the Communist leaders in Hawaii."

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin, which is an outstanding newspaper of the highest standards, reported on November 1, 1954:

"He (Fasi) has struck out at Governor King and the ILWU leadership."

On November 3, this same newspaper carried the following front page headline:

"ILWU sample ballot supports Blaisdell."

During this campaign, the Republican candidate did not once deny these charges or repudiate and reject ILWU support. The following legal maxim certainly applies to this situation, "When one owes a duty to speak, silence implies consent."

The electorate of Hawaii answered Mr. Fasi's issue by proving that a mayor cannot be elected without the support of Communist leaders. Perhaps, the ILWU support was unsolicited. However, there can be no question that the ILWU support was given with Mayor Blaisdell's knowledge and was accepted without repudiation by him of the ILWU leaders or the Communist principles.

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin made a survey of the Hawaiian election of November 1954 and reported its findings as follows:

"The ILWU endorsed 71 candidates. Of these, 58 won, a batting average of 81 percent.

"In the Senate, 5 ILWU candidates won out of 6 candidates endorsed in contests for 7 seats. There are a total of 15 seats in the Senate.

"In the House, 22 ILWU supported candidates won out of 28 endorsed. There are 30 seats in the House.

"In the county, 32 ILWU supported candidates won out of 38 contests which includes Neal Blaisdell, Republican mayor of Honolulu."

The 1954 election was a complete victory for the ILWU and the Communist Party. They can now exercise either control or a considerable influence over both Houses of the Legislature and the Mayor of Honolulu. This victory is made more impressive by the fact that the ILWU political influence can be exerted in both Republican and Democratic parties.

Mr. Jack Hall not only directed the ILWU political activities but also claimed full credit for the victories of the Republican Mayor of Honolulu and the Democratic victory in both Houses of the Hawaii Legislature. Mr. Hall even offered his advice for the full use of the political power gained by that election.

The secretary of the former mayor made a practice of greeting Harry Bridges at the Honolulu airport when that distinguished Communist arrived there. He sent the Honolulu municipal band to money-raising affairs held to defray the legal defense of the Communists.

The Hawaii Statehood Commission claims that statehood would enable Hawaii to deal more effectively with Communism and the ILWU. On the contrary, statehood would free the Communists and the ILWU from United States control and jurisdiction. They now have the power and could immediately proceed without Federal interference to Socialize and Communize that State.

The atmosphere in Hawaii is one of tolerance, appeasement and encouragement for communism. The burden of proof that it can eradicate communism properly rests with the people of Hawaii. The proof has not been presented. If there is a reasonable doubt as to an extensive communistic economic and political control in Hawaii, then the party to suffer thereby is the United States. The people of the 48 States are entitled to the benefit of possible doubt. Statehood should be rejected now and deferred for an appropriate time when Communism no longer threatens the well-being of either Hawaii or the United States.

The 1954 election issues, the political maneuverings and the election results serve as a "Stop, Look, and Listen" warning to us.

THE POLITICAL POWERS OF STATEHOOD

Man's struggle for liberty never stops. That goal is gained in the degree of acceptance of the proposition that all sovereign power rests with the people. Constitutional government is an instrumentality for carrying out this concept of freedom.

Under our system of constitutional representative government, sovereign power can be placed into three broad categories. First, the power inherent to the people. This power can be generally described as all sovereign power that remains after constitutionally conferring such political powers to the States and the Nation as are needed for the attainment of their purposes. Second, the power granted to the Federal Government. In a broad sense, this power is limited to the enumerated political powers granted to the Federal Government under our United States Constitution. The third category is the power reserved to the States. This consists of all the residual political power constitutionally conferred by the people and not granted to the Nation.

In the present discussion, we are concerned with the second and third categories of political power. An analysis of statehood reveals a dual concept.

First: Statehood would grant to the territories the same sovereign and political powers as possessed by other States to conduct the affairs of these areas without Federal supervision or control.

Second: Statehood would grant to the proposed States the power of representation in the Federal Government.

THE POLITICAL POWER TO CONDUCT THE AFFAIRS OF THE STATE

Statehood is not essential for the grant of power to the Territories to enact laws relating to its property, affairs, and government. Congress has entire dominion, national and local, over Territories. It may transfer full legislative powers with respect to local affairs to legislatures elected by the Territories.

Both Alaska and Hawaii now possess general legislative power for these purposes. The major exception in Alaska is the power to legislate over public lands, fisheries, and subsurface resources. Although Congress has reserved the right to disapprove territorial legislation, no law passed by either territory has ever been disapproved by Congress.

The executive power could very well be transferred to the Territories. There could be no serious objection to any necessary extension of judicial powers for these Territories.

However, neither of these Territories appears to seriously want these powers. No reasonable proposal or request has been made to Congress for the reorganization or an extension of the jurisdiction of the Territorial courts.

There appears to be no sincere desire upon the part of the Territories to elect their own governors and to assume executive power.

While this committee has, over the course of years, considered many bills relating to the control of fisheries, minerals, and public lands, it has not yet approved any overall proposal to grant such power to Alaska. On the other hand, neither Territory has ever presented to Congress a comprehensive bill of particulars for an extension of legislative power to enable it to govern its own affairs.

The complaints made by these Territories of a lack of power to administer Territorial matters can be interpreted in either of two ways. Either this committee has failed to give adequate consideration to their needs for additional power or the Territories have failed to present and press for a comprehensive program designed to obtain for them the necessary power to govern. This writer believes that the latter alternative prevails.

It would appear that the concern of the proponents of statehood lies not in their desire or need for additional power to conduct the affairs of the Territories but rather in their drive for representation in Congress and in the election of a President.

THE POLITICAL POWER OF REPRESENTATION IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The history of Government is, in essence, a recital of the distributions of power. We are concerned here with an equitable apportionment of legislative and executive power. Statehood would transfer a share of these powers to the proposed States. Their participation in the Federal Government would consist of:

(a) The right to be represented in the United States Senate by two Senators.

(b) The right to participate in the election of a United States President.

(c) The right to be represented in the United States House of Representatives.

ORIGINAL BASIS FOR SENATORIAL REPRESENTATION

The problem of equitable representation in the United States Senate continues to plague this country since May 1787, when the Constitutional Convention convened.

The historical struggle has been between the smaller States desiring representation on a basis of equality for States (as corporate sovereign entities) and the larger States seeking representation in proportion to population. The plan of giving each State two Senators conform to the pattern of a federation of States while representation in proportion to population conforms to the framework of a national government.

We are concerned today with the question of the political justice and wisdom of equality of representation for newly admitted States in the United States Senate. The plan of equality of senatorial representation by States was adopted for the protection of the States from encroachment by the Federal Government. In furtherance of this purpose, the provision that the Members of the United States Senate be chosen by State legislatures was enacted.

I cite the following statement made in the Constitutional Convention by Delegate Wilson of Pennsylvania:

"The leading argument of those who contend for equality of votes among the States is that the States as such being equal, and being represented not as districts of individuals, but in their political and corporate capacities, are entitled to equal suffrage."

Alexander Hamilton, supporting the adoption of the Constitution, stated in the Federalist, Paper No. 62:

"It (referring to appointment of Senators by State legislatures) is recommended by the double advantage: of giving to the State governments such an agency in the formation of the Federal Government as must secure the authority of the former and may form a convenient link between the two systems."

It seems clear that the plan of representation in the United States Senate was implemented by the provision that the States in their corporate capacities as States and as an organic whole be secured in that right of equality by the grant to them as States to choose their Senators by vote of the State legislatures. The provision for election of Senators by the State legislatures was an integral part of the compromise by which two Senators were provided to the States. The convention would never have agreed upon this principle of Senate representation if that right had not been secured by this mode of selection, that of choice by legislatures.

The 17th amendment of our Constitution, ratified on April 8, 1913, destroyed the reason for the provision that each State shall be entitle to 8 seats in the United States Senate.

STATEHOOD BASICALLY SHIFTS SENATORIAL AND PRESIDENTIAL REPRESENTATION FROM THE 48 STATES TO HAWAII AND ALASKA

Reduced to fundamental terms, statehood for Hawaii and Alaska grants representation in the United States Senate and in the election of the President. In the Senate they would be represented by 4 Senators out of a prospective total of 100 Members. In the electoral college they would be represented by 7 votes out of a prospective total of 535 votes.

The representation proposed for these Territories will be taken from the present representation possessed by the people of the 48 States and shifted to the people of these 2 Territories. This transfer of sovereign power seriously and correspondingly reduces the right of suffrage of the peoples of the 48 States in the United States Senate and in the election of the President.

REDUCTION IN THE SENATORIAL REPRESENTATION OF THE 48 STATES

The admission of Hawaii and Alaska under the present constitutional provision will entitle their residents—628,437 combined—to 4 seats in the United States Senate. The average representation would be 1 Senator for each 157,000 inhabitants. The people of the 48 States, having a population of 152,572,000, represented by 96 Senators, today enjoy the average representation of 1 Senator for each 1,589,000 persons. Thus, Hawaii and Alaska would become entitled to representation in the United States Senate 10 times greater than the average representation of the people of the 48 States. Each voter will have approximately 33 times the power of the vote of the people of California in the United States Senate, 27 times the power of the vote of the people of Illinois, 32 times the power of the vote of the people of Pennsylvania, and 47 times the vote of the people of New York.

A comparison of the voting power of the voters of Hawaii and Alaska (combined) with that of the people of the 48 States in the election of United States Senators is contained in schedule A of the accompanying table:

Tables comparing the prospective voting power of the average Hawaiian-Alaskan voter in the election of United States Senators and a United States President with the voting power of the voters of the 48 States

METHOD OF COMPUTATION

Schedule (A): Population of Hawaii and Alaska (combined) is 628,437 with 4 Senators. 1 Senator for 157,000 residents. Population of Alabama is 3,061,000. 1 Senator for 1,537,500 residents. 1,537,500 divided by 157,000 equals 9.8 representing the average voting rights of the residents of Hawaii and Alaska as compared to 1 vote for voter in Alabama in the election of the United States Senate.

Schedule (B): Presidential electors for Hawaii and Alaska (combined) will be 7 or 1 for each 89,700 residents. Presidential electors for Alabama is 11 or 1 for each 278,000 residents. 278,000 divided by 89,700 equals 3.1 representing the average voting rights of residents of Hawaii and Alaska as compared to 1 vote for the voter of Alabama in the election of a United States President.

State and Territory	Population (1950 census)	Number of presidential electors	Voting power of average Hawaiian-Alaskan voter versus 1 vote for voters of other States for—	
			(A) United States Senate	(B) United States President
Alaska	128,643	3		
Alabama	3,061,743	11	9.8	3.1
Arizona	749,587	4	2.4	2.1
Arkansas	1,909,511	8	6.1	2.6
California	10,586,223	32	33.7	3.6
Colorado	1,325,089	6	4.2	2.4
Connecticut	2,007,280	8	6.4	2.8
Delaware	318,085	3	1.0	1.2
Florida	2,771,305	10	8.8	3.0
Georgia	3,444,578	12	10.9	3.2
Hawaii	499,794	4		
Idaho	588,637	* 4	1.9	1.6
Illinois	8,712,176	27	27.8	3.6
Indiana	3,934,224	13	12.5	3.4
Iowa	2,621,073	10	8.3	2.9
Kansas	1,905,299	8	6.1	2.6
Kentucky	2,944,806	10	9.4	3.3
Louisiana	2,683,516	10	8.5	3.0
Maine	913,744	5	2.9	2.0
Maryland	2,343,011	9	7.8	2.9
Massachusetts	4,690,514	16	15.4	3.2
Michigan	6,371,766	20	20.3	3.5
Minnesota	2,982,483	11	9.5	3.0
Mississippi	2,178,914	8	6.6	3.0
Missouri	3,954,653	13	11.3	3.4
Montana	591,024	4	1.9	1.6
Nebraska	1,325,510	6	4.2	2.4
Nevada	160,083	3	.5	.6
New Hampshire	533,242	4	1.1	1.5
New Jersey	4,835,329	16	15.6	3.3
New Mexico	681,187	4	2.2	1.9
New York	14,830,192	45	47.2	3.6
North Carolina	4,061,929	14	12.9	3.2
North Dakota	691,636	4	2.2	1.9
Ohio	7,946,627	25	25.2	3.5
Oklahoma	2,233,351	8	7.1	3.1
Oregon	1,521,341	6	4.9	2.8
Pennsylvania	10,498,012	32	32.8	3.6
Rhode Island	791,896	4	2.5	2.2

Tables comparing the prospective voting power of the average Hawaiian-Alaskan voter in the election of United States Senators and a United States President with the voting power of the voters of the 48 States—Continued

State and Territory	Population (1950 census)	Number of presidential electors	Voting power of average Hawaiian-Alaskan voter versus 1 vote for voters of other States for—	
			(A) United States Senate	(B) United States President
South Carolina	2,117,027	8	6.7	2.9
South Dakota	652,740	4	2.0	1.8
Tennessee	3,291,718	11	10.5	3.3
Texas	7,711,194	24	24.5	3.5
Utah	688,862	4	2.2	1.9
Vermont	377,747	3	1.2	1.4
Virginia	3,318,680	12	10.5	3.0
Washington	2,378,963	9	7.6	2.9
West Virginia	2,005,552	8	6.3	2.8
Wisconsin	3,434,575	12	10.9	3.1
Wyoming	290,529	3	.9	1.1

The representation in the United States Senate for Hawaii and Alaska is acquired by a corresponding reduction of the present power of representation of the people of the 48 States in that body, today. The right of suffrage equal to that of 6,356,000 persons is taken from the 152,572,000 residents of the 48 States in varying percentage amounts and is transferred to the 628,437 residents of Hawaii and Alaska.

Statehood will give Hawaii and Alaska 4 votes in a Senate of 100 Members or one twenty-fifths of the membership. Although their combined population is only one two-hundred-and-forty-two-seconds of the population of the 48 States. This grant of one twenty-fifths of the membership in the United States Senate dilutes and diminishes by that fraction the representation in that body of the people of the 48 States.

POLITICAL POWER IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, A MAJOR CONSIDERATION

The disproportionate advantage of Alaska and Hawaii would also apply in the presidential elections. Upon admission, these States would have a total of 7 electoral votes, an average of 1 electoral vote for each 89,776 inhabitants. The 152,572,000 people of the 48 States, with a total of 531 electoral votes, are entitled to 1 electoral vote each for an average population of 287,300. Thus, the voter in Hawaii and Alaska would have an average voting power in the election of a United States President 3.2 times greater than the average vote of the voter in the 48 States.

The comparison of the voting rights of the voters of Hawaii and Alaska—combined—with that of the people of the 48 States in presidential elections is contained in schedule B of the accompanying table, page 16a.

The electoral vote of 2,011,100—7 electoral x 287,300 average population for 1 electoral vote—persons will be taken from the 152,572,000 residents of the 48 States and transferred to the 628,437 residents of Hawaii and Alaska. The disfranchisement of the residents of the 48 States applies not only to the executive branch but also applies to the judicial branch of our Government because the appointing power to the judiciary lies with the President.

The total electoral vote will be temporarily increased to 538 by the 7 electoral votes of Hawaii and Alaska. After the 1960 census, the House of Representatives would be reapportioned to reduce the temporary membership of 438 to 435. With the Senate increased to 100 Members, the electoral college would be permanently increased to 535 members.

Although the combined population is only one two-hundred-forty-seconds of the population of the 48 States, Hawaii and Alaska (combined) would enjoy one seventy-sixth (or seven five-hundred-thirty-fifths) of the total voting strength of the 48 States in the election of a President. The right of suffrage of the 48 States in this respect is diminished by that fraction.

THE DILEMMA OF STATEHOOD

Congress is confronted with the unpleasant alternatives of continuing to withhold statehood and Federal representation for the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii or to grant statehood under terms that would unduly reduce the Federal representation of the people of the 48 States. Under present provision of the Constitution, a difficult choice must be made between the following alternatives:

A. By the denial of statehood:

1. Shall 499,794 citizens of Hawaii and 128,643 citizens of Alaska continue to be denied representation in the United States Senate and be limited to representation in the United States House of Representatives by a nonvoting delegate? and

2. Shall these citizens continue to be denied representation in the executive and judicial branches of the Federal Government by the lack of suffrage in the election of a President? or

B. By the grant of statehood:

1. Shall the citizens of the 48 States be disfranchised to the extent of one twenty-fifth of their representation in the United States Senate and shall that share of representation (possessed on an average by 6,357,168 citizens of the 48 States) be transferred to the 628,437 citizens of Hawaii and Alaska? and

2. Shall the citizens of the 48 States be disfranchised to the extent of one seventy-sixth of their electoral college voting rights in the election of a President and his appointment of the judiciary and shall that share of representation (possessed on an average by 2,011,100 citizens of the 48 States) be transferred to the 628,437 citizens of Hawaii and Alaska?

It is my conviction that neither alternative can wisely and justly solve this subverting dilemma.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS IN PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

There have been a number of joint resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives proposing constitutional amendments to deal with the problem of statehood.

One group proposes to empower Congress to determine whether the newly admitted State shall have either no representation in the United States Senate, or 1 Senator or 2 Senators. While the intent of this resolution is laudible, the political pressures upon Congress would probably prevent a nonpartisan consideration of this determination.

The second group would provide for the admission of States by the same procedure that is required for an amendment to the United States Constitution. This proposal appears to be a procedural and not a substantive amendment. It would serve to erect an almost insurmountable barrier to statehood. The proposal has the advantage of placing the final decision of statehood in the State legislatures which represent the people affected more closely than either House of Congress. It offers no cure for the weakness of disproportionate representation.

The third, a resolution, House Joint Resolution 208, introduced by this writer, proposes a limitation upon representation in the United States Senate for newly admitted States. It would establish an inflexible standard of representation in the United States Senate on a basis proportionate to population. By its provisions, any State hereafter admitted, upon attaining a population of one-half of the average population represented by each Senator (1950 Census: 794,646), would become entitled to 1 United States Senator. Upon attaining a population of 1½ of the average population represented by each Senator (1950 Census: 2,383,938) it would become entitled to 2 United States Senators.

JUSTIFICATION FOR HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 208, PROPORTIONATE POPULATION REPRESENTATION IN UNITED STATES SENATE FOR NEWLY ADMITTED STATES

The Senate today, in terms of power derivations, accountability, and representation, constitutes another House of Representatives. Since the reason for equality of senatorial representation no longer exists, there is no further need for this constitutional provision. The only other tenable apportionment for the exercise of senatorial power is that of representation proportionate to population.

The proponents for statehood contend that Hawaii has a larger population than a number of States. They contend that it would be unfair to limit their senatorial representation as a condition to statehood. An adequate answer to this contention is that while article V of the Constitution prohibits depriving any State of its equal suffrage in the Senate, this protection does not apply to Hawaii and Alaska since they are not States and cannot be deprived of a power they do not now possess. It has been suggested that the present senatorial representation be rearranged. This is neither practicable nor constitutionally possible, since this protection of Senate suffrage is not amendable.

The farsighted statesmen who drew our Constitution were very careful to make this Constitution flexible enough to allow an amendment for the admission of States without the representation of two Senators.

The clause of article V of the Constitution, "that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate," carries a double connotation.

First: The Constitution cannot be amended to deprive any State of equal suffrage in the Senate without its consent.

Second: The Constitution cannot be amended to deprive a State of its power to consent to be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

The farsighted vision of a possible gross inequality of representation in the Senate is confirmed by a study of the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention. In the considerations of the provisions of article IV, section 3, "new States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union;" the Convention deleted, by a 9-to-2 vote, a proposal to the effect that "new States be admitted on the same terms with the original States."

The Constitution affords ample authority to justify an amendment to equalize, per population, senatorial representation for States to be admitted.

STATEHOOD POSSIBILITIES FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, PUERTO RICO, GUAM, VIRGIN ISLANDS, SAMOA

No one can accurately foretell what lands and peoples may seek statehood in future decades. The holdings of the United States, in addition to the trusteeship of the trust islands in the Pacific, are the incorporated Territories of Hawaii and Alaska, the vague commonwealth status of Puerto Rico, the unincorporated but organized territories of the Virgin Islands and Guam, and the unincorporated and unorganized possession of American Samoa.

The residents of these Territories all enjoy United States citizenship excepting those in Samoa, who are classified as "nationals."

The people of each of these possessions, and the people of the District of Columbia

aspire for statehood. The Virgin Islands hints for a delegate to the House of Representatives. Delegates to both Houses of Congress have been proposed for the District of Columbia.

Each of these political entities are edging toward statehood. In the coming half century, Congress will be called upon to decide their fate without any principle to guide it in relation to representation in the Senate and the electoral college. Certainly, the determination should not rest upon the political expediencies that may exist at that time.

House Joint Resolution 208 would provide Congress with an equitable basis for the consideration of statehood and remove the problem of representation from the strains of party politics. It would establish a just and inflexible standard of equal application to all States hereafter admitted. It would lessen the clamor for statehood where it is sought primarily for the political powers inherent in two seats in the United States Senate.

OTHER ASPECTS OF STATEHOOD: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The proponents of Alaskan statehood claim that statehood would advance the economic development of Alaska. This hope does not conform to historical fact.

Hawaii and Alaska have had territorial status for about the same length of time. Yet, Hawaii has progressed at a far more rapid pace, economically, than has Alaska. Hawaii's economy compares quite favorably with that of the States. It is not the political status that accounts for the differential in the rate of their economic growth. The growth of Hawaii can be principally ascribed to favorable physical characteristics, the temperate climate, and her arable lands.

THE VOTE IN ALASKA

The office of Delegate is the highest elective office in Alaska. The total vote cast for that office in the 1954 election was 26,999. This compares with the latest estimated civilian population of 132,000. No attempt will be made to analyze the reason for the meager ratio of vote to that of population.

When compared to congressional districts which cast from 150,000 to 200,000 votes, the voting differential is startling. This vote sharply and clearly shows up the fantastically excessive disproportionment of allowing 2 Senators to be elected by the choice of 27,000 voters.

LOSS OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES—THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL POLITICAL POWER—THE REDUCTION OF STATES RIGHTS

The past 25 years, can be noted for the vast and alarming growth and concentration of power in the National Government. A parallel concentration continues to take place in the executive branch of our Government. These increasing concentrations of power coincide with a reduction of powers of the States, the loss of sovereign rights and liberties of the people, and the deprivations of the legislative powers and responsibilities of Congress.

Statehood for these Territories would accentuate the inequalities of senatorial representation. It would tend to strengthen the national concept and weaken States rights. It would increase the pace of nationalization of local government services and concentrate power in the Federal Government and in the executive branch.

There is no standard of measurement of political power. There is however a standard for the measurement of the exercise of power. This standard is the percentage of the national product siphoned off by our Government. The following table illustrates the increase in the Federal absorption of our national production:

Government expenditures and gross national product

Calendar year	Gross national product	Government expenditures					
		Amount			As a percentage of gross national product		
		Total expenditures	Federal expenditures	State, local expenditures	Total expenditures	Federal expenditures	State, local expenditures
	Billion	*Billion*	*Billion*	*Billion*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
1929	$104.4	$10.2	$2.6	$7.5	9.8	2.5	7.3
1930	91.1	11.02	2.7	8.2	12.1	3.0	9.1
1940	100.6	18.4	10.08	8.3	18.4	10.0	8.3
1950	285.06	61.2	40.9	20.2	21.5	14.4	7.1
1953	364.8	102.5	78.05	24.4	28.1	21.4	6.7

The above table indicates that Federal spending of our national production increased from 2.5 percent in 1929 to 21.4 percent in 1953. An increase of more than eightfold. In the same period, the spending by States decreased from 7.3 percent to 6.7 percent of our national production.

The founders of our Constitution envisioned a government of limited national power. The residuary power of the States was conceived to be far greater quantitatively that the powers granted to the Federal Government. The grant of two Senators to each State was based upon these assumptions. Appointment by legislatures was devised to safeguard this objective.

The above table proves that the exercise of Federal power, 21.4 percent of production, is more than 3 times the exercise of State power, 6.7 percent. This shift from State power to Federal power coincides with the alteration of our mode of selection of Senators from that of legislatures to that of popular suffrage.

The equitable measure of representation for a dominant national government is that of representation in proportion to population. That is the only possible protection of the majority of the people against the preponderant power of a minority of the people.

Statehood, by increasing the power of the minority, will tend to break down our two party system. It leads to blocs and coalitions based on sectional and popular interests. The function of party organization to compromise between sectional and national interests is bypassed.

Instead of considering legislation in accordance with sound principle, excessive power encourages the consideration of legislation by political expediency and the pressures of the electorate. Theories are evolved afterward to accommodate acts of political expediency.

The senatorial powers to be assigned by H. R. 2535 will not lie dormant. The powers of senatorial representation granted to these two Territories invite their abuse by reason of the fact that these powers are not coupled with corresponding and balancing accountability and responsibility.

For example; Alaska, with 2 Senators, would possess one-fiftieth of the power to determine the expenditure of more than $60 billion per year. That share of power to spend is $1.2 billion. Yet Alaska's responsibility for the collection of the amount to be spent, $60 billion, as represented by her Federal taxes, is only $48 million, or more than 1,000 times less than the total national expenditure. Alaska's 2 Senators would be accountable to a population of 132,000 (27,000 votes) although her 2 Senators would enjoy the senatorial power possessed on the average by about 3 million people of the Nation.

REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

This problem poses a number of unpleasant alternatives. The present bill would increase the Members of the House by three seats allotted to the Territories. The membership of the House is increased from 435 to 438 Members. Although the membership of the House is to be increased, the increase is made not because of any advantages or need to increase the size. In fact, the present limitation of 435 Members was a careful decision as to the maximum desirable membership. The proposed increase by three seats is provided in this bill for the purpose of accommodating the proposed new Members. It is intended to anticipate the necessity for reducing the Representatives from other States if the membership is permanently limited to 435 Members.

Hawaii bases her claim to 2 Representatives upon the United States census population figure of 499,794. The latest estimate of her population would indicate that after 1960 her representation would probably be reduced to one Representative. Yet, the membership of the House is being permanently increased by 2 seats to accommodate Hawaii's proposed Representatives and 1 seat to accommodate Alaska's Representative. Although, as of today, Hawaii is only entitled to one Representative.

If H. R. 2535 is amended so that the increase of membership in the House is temporary and will be reduced to 435 after the 1960 census, then the additional representation from Hawaii and Alaska will be included at the expense of representation from some other State. That reduction will probably be at the expense of those States who have failed to increase their population in pace with the national rate. The States that have shown a loss of population between the 1950 census and the July 1, 1952, estimates are:

Loss in population

State:	
Maine	22,000
New Hampshire	1,000
Vermont	7,000
Iowa	13,000
North Dakota	17,000
West Virginia	36,000
Tennessee	32,000
Mississippi	15,000
Arkansas	65,000
Oklahoma	9,000

If the membership of the House is retained at 435 by an amendment in the House or Senate, then we commit ourselves to reducing the representation of other States by either 2 or 3 seats to be allotted to these Territories.

The Federalist, Paper No. 58, warns us against a multitudinous representative assembly. Excessive numbers lead not to democratic processes but, on the contrary, to government by the few.

The latest United States Census population estimates (1954) for these Territories are:

Alaska:	
Civilian	132,000
Military	50,000
Total	182,000

Hawaii:	
Civilian	467,000
Military	55,000
Total	522,000

Due to our military bases, the ratio of military personnel to the civilian population is far greater in these Territories than exists in the other States. The military personnel consists of citizens and inhabitants of the 48 States. Yet the census makes no differentiation but adds the military population to the civilian in computing their entitlement to representation. This method violates the intent of amendment 14, section 2, of our Constitution.

Article II, section 2 of the proposed Hawaiian constitution provides:

"No person shall be deemed to have gained or lost residence simply because of his presence or absence while employed in the service of the United States."

Thus we find that both Federal civilian and military personnel are excluded from the right of suffrage by this section. Yet, their numbers are added to establish a base for Hawaii's entitlement to representation in the United States House of Representatives.

This section would appear to constitute an abridgement and denial of the right to vote. If so, then amendment 14, section 2 provides that the basis of representation shall be reduced in proportion. This writer suggest the desirability of congressional action to conform the apportionment of representation in Hawaii and Alaska with the requirements of amendment 14, section 2 of the United States Constitution.

The Alaska Statehood Committee reports that Alaska is politically impotent in Washington because it has no voting representative in either House of Congress.

During this writer's short tenure here, both Hawaii and Alaska have had the benefit of the finest, most capable and diligent delegates. They would bring honor to any constituency. They have distinguished themselves by outstanding service to this Nation and to the territories they represent.

Most Representatives are limited to serving on one standing committee of the House. These committees vary considerably in the volume and importance of the legislation referred to them. The distinguished delegates from Hawaii and Alaska enjoy the unique advantage of membership on three major committees: Agriculture, Armed Services and Interior and Insular Affairs. The delegate from Alaska, in addition, serves on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

Their service on these committees gives them the advantage of an association with fellow committee members which no other Representative enjoys. This opportunity enhances their influence and power.

The great mass of decisions made by Congress are made without a vote. The influence upon legislation in Congress can not be measured by the right to vote. It is not a pleasant task to vote in opposition to measures which have adverse political repercussions for a fellow member of the House. It is not conducive to political good-fellowship. This distinguished delegates are saved from this necessity. When balanced out, the disadvantages of the lack of a vote are far outweighed by the advantages accruing to the delegates.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. Chairman, the following conclusions and recommendations are respectfully submitted to this committee as an equitable disposition of this problem:

1. Statehood for Hawaii ought to be deferred until she has unquestionably eliminated communistic influences in her political, economic, and social structures.

2. Statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska should be deferred pending the adoption of an appropriate constitutional amendment to provide for representation in the United States Senate on a basis proportionate to population.

3. If statehood is to be granted upon the basis of equal representation in the Senate, then admission should be approved by three-fourths of the States pursuant to a constitutional amendment providing for the admission of States by the same procedure that is now required to amend our Constitution.

4. Congress should immediately grant to each Territory the autonomy of statehood with full power of self-government in such form as may be recommended by the Territories.

The autonomy would include:

(a) Complete executive power with the right of election of Governor.

(b) Full legislative power over all Territorial affairs, including public lands, fisheries, and subsurface resources.

(c) Exclusive judicial jurisdiction.

5. The enactment into Federal statute of such reasonable restrictions, comparable to limitations in their proposed constitutions, as may be recommended by the Territories to safeguard individual liberties and to insure a republican form of government.

6. The immediate and outright grant to Alaska of specifically described public lands to be selected by the Territory from vacant, unappropriated, and unreserved lands, not to exceed 20 million acres.

7. Grants of $7 million each year for a period of 5 years to defray the cost of governmental services assumed from the Federal Government.

This solution would strengthen and unify this Nation in the years to come. It would help preserve the rights of the States and the liberties of our people. The cause of justice and freedom would be advanced.

JOHN R. PILLION,
Member, United States House of Representatives.

FEBRUARY 14, 1955.

Sol Polk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 9, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in many of the charitable programs conducted in Chicago in recent years, and in activities directed toward achieving better understanding and better feeling among peoples of different national and religious backgrounds, the name of Mr. Sol Polk has appeared. This young man, whose phenomenal success in the retail business has been accomplished by arduous, unremitting labor, has never been too busy to participate in efforts to provide guidance and wholesome recreation for the children and young people of the Chicago area, to aid all groups working toward this end, the small community drives as well as the large, well-publicized efforts.

It is very pleasant and satisfies our sense of justice when one who is so willing to serve selflessly attains material success as well. On Sunday, March 13, 1955, the Chicago Stadium will be the scene of "the world's largest birthday party," the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the opening of the first Polk Bros. store, complete with party favors, hats, refreshments, and so forth. The guests, employees, and friends of Polk Bros., will view the entire performance of the Ice Capades of 1955 and Ed Sullivan's Toast of the Town, which will originate in the Chicago Stadium in honor of the occasion.

A birthday celebration of this magnitude is typical of the way Sol Polk does business. In the past 20 years, he has made merchandising history in Chicago as a retail dealer in home appliances. So outstanding has his success been that his stores were the topic of an address delivered by S. R. Bernstein, editor of Advertising Age, at the 45th annual meeting of the Association of National Advertisers. The address was printed in full in the February 7, 1955, issue of Advertising Age, and I should like to reproduce at this point a portion of Mr. Bernstein's address:

I should like to show you an ad. It is a full page that appeared in the Chicago American.

I want to show it to you because, better than any single example I have run across lately, it demonstrates some of the problems we meet in that little drama entitled "Turmoil in the Marketplace"—or "Who's on Which Side, and What the Hell Kind of a Game Are They Playing, Anyhow?"

Let me explain that this is the introductory ad for a new store—the third in the Polk Bros. chain. Unless you are in the appliance business, or happen to live in Chicago, you probably never heard of this amazingly successful discount house.

For that's what Polk Bros. is—a discount house. Or at least that's what it was a few months ago. In this era of turmoil in the marketplace, it is apparently already changing into something else. Anyhow, to everyone in Chicago, Polk Bros. is a "discount house." It is also far and away the most important retailer of nationally advertised radios, TV sets, and major appliances in the Chicago area.

Think for a minute of great Chicago stores like Marshall Field & Co. and Carson Pirie Scott & Co. Then ponder this startling fact:

Every time Marshall Field sells 1 appliance, Polk Bros. sells 10 appliances. Every time Carson's sells a single appliance, Polk Bros. sells 16. So, in cold, hard terms of moving merchandise, this discount house is worth 10 accounts like Marshall Field, and 16 like Carson's. That's the background for this ad.

What made Polk Bros. decide to open a new store on Chicago's South Side? Here's what the ad says:

"Two things. First there was you (the customer). You and your friends helped us decide. And then there were the people who make the things that we have to offer you. The national manufacturers * * * the people we Polk brothers look on as a family within our family."

And there's more. "After shopping a while you'd tell how you liked what we had for you—the big selection of famous national brands that manufacturers have spent millions developing, our common sensible prices, the way we made it fun to do family shopping. * * *"

And still more:

"What did we bring with us, when we moved in?

"We brought the biggest selection of nationally advertised brands ever sold in one store. By anybody. For example, take television. We offer you not just 1 or 2 famous brands, but more than 15. Take washers,

over 66 different models * * * *" "You see, we believe that when you're spending your hard-earned money you have a right to choose from among the very best brands. Here at Polk Bros. you can compare them. All in one store."

And again:

"The most guaranteed merchandise in America * * * We stand behind it. The famous manufacturers stand behind it."

And finally there is, in the ad, a listing of 91 brands—most of them as well-known as the name of the President of the United States.

Now, let's try to imagine, for a moment that there is a merchandising man from Mars in the audience, with no preconceived notions about how marketing ought to be done on this earth of ours.

If we told this visitor from Mars that we were deeply concerned about the development and growth of discount houses like Polk Bros., I suspect he would think we were crazy.

"It seems to me," he would probably say, "that these discount houses you are talking about personify the ultimate in national advertising success stories. They literally exist on national brands—on brands which have, through the years, built a consumer franchise and done it well. These are the kinds of brands you fellows make. You built an active demand for these national brands of major appliances, and the discount house makes that demand effective by offering these wanted goods at prices that are—or seem to be—lower than they are elsewhere.

"Furthermore, I understand that these discount houses did this without getting any concessions from you manufacturers in the way of price, or terms, or advertising allowances, or anything else. In fact, when they started, many of you wouldn't even sell to them.

"In spite of this, they are apparently selling vast quantities of merchandise, delivering a service which the public seems to want, making money themselves, and saving money for the consumer. So here, I would say, we have the finest flowering of the advertising tree; first the development through advertising of consumer brand acceptance, and then the activation of that acceptance by a type of retailer who is riding the nationally advertised brand's coattails all the way. Why are you worried about them?"

And then you would probably explain that they have caused you a great deal of trouble, because they have "disturbed the retail price structure," and because they have upset your "normal distribution channels."

To which the man from Mars might say: "In my opinion, your job is to move the goods you make, as quickly and as effectively as possible. It is not your job to maintain 'normal distribution channels.' It is not your job to protect lazy or inefficient retailers. And it is certainly not your job to see to it that the consumer pays a higher price for your goods, if he can get them at a lower price, and still have everybody in the distribution chain make a reasonable profit."

Well, I admit that I have oversimplified the situation greatly, and that there is plenty of room for several hours of discussion on this point. I do think it is important, however, to realize that turmoil in the market place is not necessarily and inevitably bad for the manufacturer of branded merchandise.

Mr. Speaker, I think that Sol Polk's story is one which illustrates well the qualities which have brought about the tremendous wealth of this Nation and its fine standard of living. I take pleasure in calling it to the attention of my colleagues.

Discriminatory Practices in Marine Transportation Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include extraneous matter, I offer for the information of Members of this body explanatory material prepared by the world trade division of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, together with a resolution adopted by its board of trustees March 1, 1955, both with regard to discriminatory practices in marine transportation insurance:

In recent years, many foreign governments have adopted discriminatory practices in the field of marine transportation insurance which adversely affect both the American exporter and the American insurance market.

Through the issuance of exchange regulations, restrictive laws and action by governmental purchasing agencies and quasi-governmental corporations, these governments have required marine insurance on their international trade shipments to be placed in their own market. As a result, American exporters and importers are denied the traditional right to secure the best coverage at the most favorable rate obtainable in the highly competitive world market. In many instances, our traders have found it difficult, if not impossible, to obtain adequate insurance necessary for their own protection, and at best, must rely upon the insurance judgment of the foreign purchaser or supplier.

Unfortunately, certain agencies of our own Government, such as the Foreign Operations Administration, which, among other things, is responsible for the foreign economic aid financed exports, has also adopted a policy which allows the recipient nations to dictate that marine insurance on such shipments be placed in their own markets. Condoning such discrimination against the American insurance market unquestionably encourages many countries to adopt similar practices on all their international transactions.

Numerous congressional committees have repeatedly stressed that a strong independent marine insurance institution is necessary for the development of this country's merchant marine and foreign commerce. In a free worldwide competitive insurance market, the American insurance market has been able to achieve this position. However, it must be recognized that when faced with the discriminatory practices of foreign countries as well as those of our own making, the security and further development of our insurance market is seriously periled.

Governmental restrictions in the field of marine transportation insurance has been recognized by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations as a trade barrier hindering international commerce and is contrary to the Council's request that member governments adopt a policy of nondiscrimination in this field.

The Seattle Chamber of Commerce therefore urges our State Department to continue its efforts to include nondiscrimination clauses in all our treaties of commerce, navigation, and friendship, and to vigorously seek the elimination of those discriminatory regulations currently enforced by many foreign governments.

The Seattle Chamber of Commerce urges the United States Department of State to seek elimination of the discriminatory practices of many foreign governments requiring firms engaged in international trade to place marine transport insurance in companies of any particular nation.

Also opposed is the policy of the United States Government which allows foreign nations to dictate that marine transport insurance covering American exports financed by foreign economic aid funds, be placed in the insurance market of the recipient nation.

It is recommended further that the United States Government should continue to make every effort to include a clause in the treaties of commerce, navigation, and friendship, whereby neither nation shall impose any measure of a discriminatory nature which restricts the freedom of choice of the international trader of either country in the placement of marine transport insurance.

The Ohio River Flood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, the Ohio Valley has suffered, and is now suffering from the results of a terrific flood. The damage resulting from these widespread floods can hardly be estimated. Every house in some of the villages has been reached by the flood, and the people have been driven from their homes, leaving their furniture behind them. Likewise, many stores and business houses have been flooded, the water reaching to the ceiling and destroying valuable stocks of goods. Plants have been flooded and many thousands of persons have lost many days employment at their places of employment. I would say that the damage on the Ohio side of the river from Marietta to Cincinnati would amount to tens of millions of dollars.

While these Ohio River floods are terrifically disastrous to properties, it is a very consoling fact to know that very few lives are lost in any of these Ohio River floods. This is due to the fact that the river rises slowly and the people have a chance to get out of the way of the water and they generally have a chance to take with them their livestock and some of their other possessions.

As is generally known, the Federal Government has control over the navigable rivers of the country. This control is exercised through a very competent Government agency known as the Army engineers. In these flood seasons the Army engineers are always busy in their efforts to minimize the effects of the floods where they possibly can.

The Congress of the United States has taken an interest in the destructive floods which affect our country. This is especially true of the Ohio Valley. While it has not been expected that the Government would restore property destroyed in floods, the Government has, through the

Congress on a number of occasions, passed legislation that was greatly to the benefit of those who might suffer from the results of disastrous floods. The two most disastrous floods that afflicted the Ohio Valley occurred in 1913 and 1937. Of these two floods, the 1937 was the most disastrous.

Following the 1937 flood former Congressman William M. Whittington and I decided to attempt to secure the passage of legislation that would relieve against future floods, especially those of gigantic proportions. We were successful in our efforts because the Members of Congress appreciated the destructive effects of big floods. Our legislation provided, in effects, first that the Army engineers should find that the location was such that flood defenses would be practical. If it was found that the construction of a flood wall was feasible, then the community would be required to purchase the rights-of-way that would be necessary upon which to construct the proposed flood walls. If the Army engineers found that the construction of a flood wall would be feasible, then it would be necessary for the city to issue bonds or to find the funds in some other way to purchase the rights-of-way. The law further provided that if and when the rights-of-way had been purchased, the Government would have the power to provide the other funds necessary to construct the walls and would proceed to construct them. This construction would then be done under the direction of the Army engineers and to the full approval of the engineers and the officials of the city or village which was being protected.

Having been familiar with the provisions of the law I naturally proceeded immediately to secure the benefits of the law for my home city of Ironton, Ohio, and for her people. We had no doubt that the Army engineers would find that our beautiful city of about 35,000 population, with many fine dwellings and business houses, and many large factories and mills would qualify for the construction of protective flood walls.

The Army engineers did find Ironton, as a city, meeting the physical qualifications.

It was then up to our people to secure the rights-of-way. They did this, promptly, by voting a bond issue of $750,000, which was used to purchase the rights-of-way. Because of our alertness and our desire to comply with the law and secure flood protection for our city and our people we soon had the Army engineers at work drawing the plans for adequate flood protection. Soon, thereafter, the Government arranged to contribute about $4 million, which was the amount required to do the work and to meet the amount provided by the city of Ironton and her people.

With the financing and the plans all arranged bids were asked for and a contract was soon entered into and in due course our beautiful city of Ironton was secure behind large, adequate walls.

Our city of Ironton was the first city in the whole United States to get a flood wall under the law that Mr. Whittington and I were responsible for its passage. Naturally, we are all proud of this, and still more proud because we are protected against any more destructive floods, that previously put 15 feet of water in the First National Bank Building, and all the downtown buildings in our fair city, and which also put most of our people out of their homes.

While we, the people of Ironton, were getting our flood wall, the people of Huntington, W. Va., which is a large city located about 15 miles up the river from Ironton, were working diligently to secure a flood wall—they were successful and since that time this large city, with a population of at least 100,000 people, is completely protected.

I was glad and proud that while we were all pushing the development of these flood walls, I was able to render some help to the city of Portsmouth, Ohio, which is located about 25 miles from Ironton, and has a population of about 50,000. It was largely through my efforts that we got a million and a half dollars with which the last of six units of the Portsmouth wall was built.

While Ironton, Huntington, and Portsmouth rest complacently behind flood walls which have cost them and the Government millions of dollars, still I am saddened with the thought that thousands of fine citizens on both sides of the majestic Ohio River living in villages and in the rural sections are still subjected to the scourage of these periodical floods. I surely hope that we can develop many water conservation projects similar to the big dam which bears my name, and which impounds a lake 10 miles long above Glouster, Athens County, Ohio; and which holds back a great quantity of water from rushing down to the Ohio to augment the raging floods already pouring down the Ohio. There are a number of conservation projects in the Muskingum River in Ohio which have held back great quantities of water and thereby have reduced the amount of water flowing into the Ohio. I hope we can construct many more of these in our country.

Mr. Speaker, floods are terrific, but ours is a great country and I think we can and will control the floods for the protection of all our people.

Rubber Plant Disposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me before the House Armed Services Committee, Thursday, March 10, 1955, in opposition to proposed disposal of Government-owned synthetic rubber facilities, in pursuance of Public Law 205 of the 83d Congress:

There are some antitrust and small-business facets in the rubber producing facilities disposal program which I should like to comment upon.

When we passed Public Law 205 in the 83d Congress, the development of a free competitive synthetic rubber industry was stressed by section 3 (c) which reads as follows:

SEC. 3 (c). From the time of its appointment and throughout the course of the performance of its duties, the Commission shall consult and advise with the Attorney General in order (1) to secure guidance as to the type of disposal program which would best foster the development of a free competitive synthetic rubber industry, and (2) to supply the Attorney General with such information as he may deem requisite to enable him to provide the advice contemplated by this section and sections 9 (a) (4) and 9 (f) of this act."

Section 17 of the act reads as follows:

"SEC. 17. The following criteria, together with such other criteria as the Commission deems necessary or desirable to best effectuate the purposes of this act, shall be used by the Commission in arriving at its recommendations for disposal:

"(3) That the recommended sales shall provide for the development within the United States of a free, competitive, synthetic rubber industry, and do not permit any person to possess unreasonable control over the manufacture of synthetic rubber or its component materials."

Most of these plants are scheduled for transfer to companies and entities which, to say the least, have a very bad antitrust record. That augurs little if any expectation for free and open competition in the synthetic-rubber industry. The prospective plant purchasers include rubber and oil companies whose records raise serious doubt that their operations will make for a competitive synthetic-rubber industry. Each of the big four rubber companies, Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone, United States Rubber, among the successful bidders, has lost 4 to 6 antitrust suits in this country and Canada since World War II. Several of the other rubber companies and chemical companies participating in the proposed purchase also have been branded as offenders in one or more antitrust suits in recent years. Significantly all but 1 of the oil companies involved in the purchase are even currently defendants in a Federal antitrust suit or a State of Texas antitrust suit or both, and several of the oil companies in addition have lost 1 or 2 other such suits in the past 20 years. In effect, the present disposal program would transfer almost the entire synthetic-rubber industry to corporations which in the past have taken active steps to limit competition, to fix prices, to establish quotas—all to the detriment of a free-enterprise system and to the detriment of small business and with a "consumer be damned" attitude.

One cannot easily swallow the Attorney General's opinion in approval of the disposal program that these companies will best foster the development of a free competitive synthetic-rubber industry.

Let me point out specifically some of the cases brought by our Government against these companies which indicate that they have actively combined and conspired to restrict competition and to fix prices in rubber products and petroleum products and chemicals, and in such minor items as storage batteries, brake lining and peach-pitting machinery. One of the parent companies of the lesser participants stands accused in a pending suit monopolizing air transportation.

Here are some of the cases:

1. In *United States* v. *Rubber Manufacturers Association et al.*, the Big Four, Firestone, Goodrich, Goodyear, and United States Rubber Co., plus Dayton, Selberling, and others, were charged with combination and conspiracy in restraint of trade in tires and

tubes, from 1935 to 1947. They pleaded nolo contendere, and were fined $5,000 each.

2. In *United States* v. *The Metropolitan Leather & Findings Association, Inc.*, in 1948, Goodyear and others were charged with price fixing in rubber heels and soles, and were fined.

3. In *United States* v. *United States Rubber Co. et. al.*, United States Rubber and Dunlop Rubber Co., Ltd., were charged in 1948 with illegal cartel arrangements in latex; they took a consent decree in 1954.

4. In *United States* v. *Sears, Roebuck & Co. et. al.*, filed in 1952, Sears and Goodrich were held to be in violation of the Clayton Act by having a common director; he later resigned from the Board of Sears.

5. In 2 1950 cases, 1 civil, 1 criminal, both known as *United States* v. *Association of American Battery Manufacturers*, Sears, Firestone, Goodrich, Goodyear, and others, were charged with price fixing and exercise of monopoly power to exclude competitors, among other things. They pleaded nolo contendere to one count in the criminal case, and took a consent decree in the civil case.

6. In *United States* v. *National City Lines, Inc., et al.*, also two cases filed in 1947, Firestone, Phillips, Standard Oil of California, and others, were charged with conspiracy, restraint, and monopolization of trade in the sale of buses, petroleum products, and tires and tubes. The charges went back to 1937. In the criminal case, the jury found them guilty on one count in 1949. The civil suit, involving injunctions against future violators, was still unsettled in 1954. Regulation of trade by law suit is sometimes a slow business.

7. Three Canadian antitrust cases are very enlightening. These are *Regina* v. *Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. of Canada, Ltd. et al.* (mechanical goods); *Regina* v. *Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. of Canada, Ltd. et al.* (tires); and *Regina* v. *Dominion Rubber Co., Ltd. et al.* (rubber footwear).

In the first case, Goodyear, Goodrich, Dominion (the Canadian subsidiary of United States Rubber), Dunlop, and one other, pleaded guilty to conspiring to prevent or lessen competition from 1936 to 1952, and were fined $10,000 each. In the tire case, Firestone, Goodrich, Goodyear, Dominion, Dunlop and others, pleaded guilty to charges covering the period 1937 to 1952. They were fined $10,000, the then maximum fine, which the judge noted was wholly inadequate. The prosecutor estimated the companies had "illegally extracted" $1,300,000 a year for the 15 years they admitted operating the tire combine. The companies are reported to have replied that they were forced to band together for mutual protection during the depression. Banding together for mutual protection could be much more profitable in the United States, particularly if they own the GR–S plants which they now seek.

Dominion and Goodrich, and others, pleaded guilty in the footwear case, and were fined $10,000. The charges included identical product specifications and identical prices.

Canada has now removed the top limit on antitrust fines, permitting the court to assess such fines as the cases warrant. This should be a much greater deterrent than our $5,000 maximum fine.

In the *Regina* v. *Firestone* case, the Canadian High Court said as follows:

"Between the 1st day of January 1937, and the 31st day of October 1952, within the jurisdiction of this Honourable Court, they" (the defendants) "did unlawfully conspire, combine, agree or arrange together and with one another to unduly prevent or lessen competition in the production, manufacture, purchase, barter, sale, transportation or supply in * * * the Province of Ontario, * * * and elsewhere in Canada* * * of * * * rubber tires (casings) and rubber tubes for passenger vehicles, trucks and buses, agricultural and road implements and tractors and related products including tire and tube accessories, automotive accessories and tire repair and retread materials, and did thereby commit an indictable offence contrary to the provisions of the Criminal Code, section 498, subsection 1 (d)."

"Each of the accused corporations entered a plea of guilty and thereupon evidence was presented by the Crown to establish in a general way the nature and extent of the operations of these companies which resulted in this prosecution.

"In the view I entertain the maximum penalty of $10,000 provided by the code is wholly inadequate to meet the ends of justice, even as a punishment to the least of these offenders. This law has been in force for over 50 years and its provisions are, or should be, well known to the businessmen of this country. Their actions were cold-blooded, calculated, and deliberate violations of the law of the land and call for as severe a penalty as can be imposed within legal limits, both to mark the court's condemnation of the enormity of the offense from the standpoint of punishment, and for its deterrent effect upon other potential offenders. It is the sentence of this court that each of the accused shall pay a fine of $10,000 and that they be condemned to pay the costs incurred in and about the prosecution and conviction for the offenses of which they have been convicted, forthwith after taxation thereof."

In the case of *Regina* v. *Dominion Rubber Company, Ltd., et al.* the High Court of Ontario said:

"There were countless meetings and agreements among representatives of the accused and their coconspirators at which an elaborate system of classifying their commodities was arranged, identifying them by common number. * * * A casual study of the analysis of common prices which resulted from these agreements, filed as exhibit A–3, will reveal how well they succeeded in maintaining an identical price level."

Now, let us take some of the cases against the oil companies who were successful bidders.

Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), which controls both Esso Standard Oil Co. and Humble, was charged in 1942 with conspiracy with I. G. Farbenindustrie in two cases involving synthetic rubber. They pleaded nolo contendere in one case and took a consent decree in the other.

Several oil companies involved in the bidding for the synthetic rubber plants were also involved in losing two cases filed in 1936. *United States* v. *Standard Oil Co. (Indiana)*, a price-fixing case, was appealed to the Supreme Court under the name of *United States* v. *Socony-Vacuum Oil Co. et al.*, and conviction was sustained as to Phillips, Continental, Shell Petroleum Corp., and Empire (the predecessor of Cities Service). Continental and Cities Service make up Petroleum Chemicals, Inc.

The other 1936 case, also called *United States* v. *Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Inc.*, concerned fixing jobber margins. In 1941 nolo pleas were entered by Cities Service, and an officer each of Empire, Shell, and Continental.

Among the 38 defendants pleading nolo contendere in *United States* v. *General Petroleum Corp. of California et al.*, a 1939 case charging illegal price raising and price maintenance, were Shell Oil Co., Standard Oil Co. of California, and the Texas Co. Fines were $4,000 for Texas, $4,500 for the other two.

Still pending is a suit brought by the present Attorney General, *United States* v. *Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) et al.* Standard, Gulf, the Texas Co., Standard of California, and one other, are charged with attempting to secure and exercise control over foreign production and supplies of petroleum and petroleum products, to regulate imports in order to maintain a level of domestic and world prices agreed upon by the defendants, and to divide world foreign producing and marketing territories.

The State of Texas has an antitrust suit in the State courts against 10 major oil companies, including Cities Service, Continental, Gulf, the Texas Co., Humble, Phillips, and Standard Oil Co. of Texas (a subsidiary of Standard of California). This case was brought by PRICE DANIEL, then attorney general of Texas, now a Member of the Senate.

United States v. *Food Machinery and Chemical Corp. et al.*, involving monopoly of peach-pitting machinery, was settled by a consent decree last August.

Several of the companies which make up American Synthetic Rubber Corp. appear among the antitrust case losers. American Cyanamid Co., the largest stockholder in American Synthetic and scheduled to be its exclusive selling agent, has been in three cases. *United States* v. *Allied Chemical & Dye Corp.*, filed in 1942, and ended by nolo pleas in 1946, charged price fixing at exorbitant levels in dyestuffs. Cyanamid and one of its officers were each fined. A subsidiary, American Cyanamid & Chemical Corp., was a party to some chemical antitrust cases filed in 1942, and settled in 1945, by nolo pleas. The cases all charged price fixing. Cyanamid & Chemical was fined $7,500. In *United States* v. *Standard Ultramarine and Color Co. et al.*, American Cyanamid took a consent decree in October 1954, on charges of fixing and maintaining prices and allocating sales of ultramarine blue and laundry blue.

Anaconda Wire & Cable Co., a stockholder in American Synthetic, is a subsidiary of Anaconda Copper Mining Co. Two other Anaconda subsidiaries, Anaconda Sales Co. and Greene Cananea Copper Co., were named in *United States* v. *Climax Molybdenum Co., et al.*, in 1942, a price-fixing and competition-control case, which ended in a consent decree.

General Cable Co. and Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corp. are stockholders in American Synthetic, and have been together before; they took a consent decree in 1948 in *United States* v. *General Cable Corp., et al.*, a cartel, price-fixing, and development-suppression case.

Dewey & Almy Chemical Co. is a part of American Synthetic, and has recently been acquired by W. R. Grace & Co.; Grace, Pan American World Airways, Inc., and Pan American-Grace Airways, Inc., are defendants in a Sherman Act case filed in 1954, charging combination restricting competition and monopolizing air transportation between the United States and Latin American countries.

Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc., and Thermoid Co., both stockholders in American Synthetic, were also previously associated as nolo-pleaders in 1948 in *United States* v. *Brake Lining Manufacturers Ass'n, Inc.* They were fined $5,000 each on price-fixing charges.

Dunlop Tire & Rubber Co. is in American Synthetic; it is controlled by the British Dunlop, which was involved in the latex cartel case with United States Rubber.

It is only fair to add that some of the stockholders in American Synthetic Rubber Corp. have not been involved in antitrust suits.

The only plant, however, that would be sold to a company with no antitrust history is the Koppers Co. alcohol butadiene plant at Kobuta, Pa. Koppers Co., Inc., apparently didn't want the whole plant, but took it just to get the powerplant and utilities.

The list of antitrust cases is long, and perhaps boring. It could be extended by referring to Federal Trade Commission cease-and-desist orders covering such rubber items as golf balls, rubber soles and heels, canvas and

rubber footwear, bicycle accessories, as well as tires and tubes.

The conclusion to be drawn is that competition in the future is no more likely than in the past. Banding together for mutual protection can be highly profitable in the case of synthetic rubber and its component raw materials.

The Attorney General, in his formal statement approving the pattern of disposal, completely ignored the antitrust history of the successful bidders. This is the more surprising, since he settled 3 and brought 2 of these suits in the past 2 years. With this record in his own files, it is extremely difficult to understand how he can make a positive finding that the proposed sales of the plants "will best foster the development of a free competitive synthetic rubber industry."

Indeed, throughout his statement, the Attorney General stressed the lack of competing bids for the several plants. For 10 out of 11 GR–S plants (GR–S is Government rubber styrene, mainly used for rubber in tires) for both the Butyl plants (rubber used for tubes) for 3 out of the 4 petroleum butadiene plants including the largest, and for the alcohol butadiene plant, only one bid was received. The Attorney General seems to consider this paucity of bids as conducive to future competition. To a Congressman such limited bidding might well suggest a lack of competition, that indeed, competition in the synthetic rubber industry is doomed from the start.

The cases that I have cited are mostly settled and thus legally dead. But for purposes of considering the disposal of these plants these cited cases are not dead, morally. Many of these successful bidders are self-confessed law violators or have been found guilty before a judicial tribunal. They thus come before this tribunal with unclean hands. They are malefactors and should be treated as such. This Congress should not reward them by turning over to them valuable plants, no matter how convenient it might be to the Government or to the members of the Rubber Producing Facilities Disposal Commission. These prospective purchasers have snapped their fingers at the laws we made. They have used inordinate power to ride roughshod over competitors. They even tried to cheat the Government by conspiring to present identical bids in their dealings with the Government. I refer to the case of United States against Cooper Corp., Civil Action No. 2–396, Southern District of New York, complaint filed February 20, 1939. The defendants in the case included the Dayton Rubber Manufacturing Co., the Dunlop Tire & Rubber Corp., the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., the B. F. Goodrich Co., the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., the Seiberling Rubber Co., United States Rubber Products, Inc. This was a triple damage suit for conspiracy, brought by the Government, to fix the prices of tires on sales to the United States Government. The case was dismissed on technical grounds because the United States was not a "person" within the meaning of section 7 of the Sherman Act. The complaint, however, showed identical bids for tires submitted to the United States Government to three decimal points.

One would be naive, if not foolish, to believe that disposal of these plants to these companies would satisfy the sine qua non we laid down in section 3 (c) of the Disposal Act; namely, to secure a program that would best foster the development of a free competitive synthetic-rubber industry.

Have these companies reformed? I see no signs of regeneration. They have habitually repeated their sins not only in the United States but in Canada. A leopard does not change its spots. Suppose you were a businessman and your supplier attempted to cheat you. You caught him redhanded. You'd be rather foolish to deal with him again. Frankly, you would boot him out. Well, these companies were guilty of wrongdoing against the United States. Shall the United States now reward them for their wrongdoing? The sales to any or all of these defendants in these antitrust suits should be canceled out. Otherwise we are guilty of double talk. We speak out of both sides of our mouths if we at one and the same time say we want free, open, competition and at the same time we say turn over these plants to antitrust violators.

Section 17, subsection (1) reads as follows:

"That the disposal program be designed best to afford small-business enterprises and users, other than the purchaser of a facility, the opportunity to obtain a fair share of the end products of the facilities sold and at fair prices."

Does anyone in his right senses say that these companies, if possessed of these plants, will help small-business enterprises? Their record proves to the contrary. Take a look at the list of the successful bidders, on pages 8 and 9 of the report to Congress by the Rubber-Producing Facilities Disposal Commission. With rare exceptions they are all huge companies. They are also huge users of synthetic rubber. They are going to supply themselves. They are not unselfishly going to cater to small-business enterprises; that is, small rubber fabricators. If rubber gets scarce they are going to husband unto themselves all the rubber they can produce. They are going to feather their own nests. All manner and kinds of subterfuges will be used to deprive the small fellows of a fair share of rubber. The little fabricators and manufacturers will die on the vine.

As far as I can see, there is no implementation of the declaration contained in section 17, subdivision (1). It is simply a pontifical declaration, with no sanctions for violation. There is no method of enforcement; it is simply a moral obligation. Antitrust violators do not usually abide by moral declarations. Take another look at the list of prospective purchasers. You will see that KYS Corp. is the only purchaser that really contains small operators. All the others are large or monolithic operators. None of these conditions make for fair dealing with small business and small fabricators of rubber.

For these reasons I think this committee should ponder long and well before granting any approval to the sale of these plants to antitrust-law violators. Conversely, as the law requires, such sales should be balked. In this respect I hope that this committee will negate the action of the Rubber-Producing Facilities Disposal Commisison.

Loyalty and Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the New York Times of March 7 that deals with a subject that is of gravest importance to our country if we are to maintain our tradition and reputation as a land concerned with justice:

LOYALTY AND JUSTICE

The deep and growing disquiet felt by many Americans about the operations of the Federal Government's employee security program has finally impelled the Eisenhower administration to order some badly needed improvements. The latest changes represent a forward step which can be welcomed against the background of all too many public examples in which the security program has worked manifest injustices against loyal and competent Federal workers. This public record of injustices has tended to make Government employment unattractive to able people with alternative opportunities, with the result that at times our security has probably been reduced rather than enhanced.

How serious have been the defects in the security program until now may be realized by taking account of what the situation must have been before the new safeguards now introduced. Federal employees have been suspended without being told of the charges against them, and sometimes the charges have not been "specific enough to be meaningful to the employee." Meticulous care has not always been employed in suspending employees, and there has not always been "a personal interview with the employee prior to suspension. The top legal officers of departments concerned have not always been consulted nor their opinions "secured as to the sufficiency of the information justifying suspension." There has not always been a legal officer present at security hearings. Security board have not always been composed of "persons possessing the highest degree of integrity, ability, and good judgment." Heads of different agencies have not always consulted with each other when one agency proposed to make an adverse judgment on a person previously cleared by another.

The quotations given above are from Attorney General Brownell's statement on the substance of the latest changes. This is a late date, indeed, to introduce such elementary reforms and it is chilling to reflect on what the situation may have been in individual cases up to now.

Does the latest set of changes go far enough and protect both the national security and the rights of the individual Federal worker? The answer would seem to be rather clearly in the negative. Federal employees still may not confront and cross-examine all their accusers when security officials believe that the production of a particular witness may jeopardize the national security. But by what criteria are such determinations made? Are there other misinformers like Harvey Matusow being protected from exposure under the guise of serving national security? This question must inevitably arise against recent history as background. Is our Government not sufficiently ingenious to protect the identity of particular informants while subjecting their testimony to outside check? The problem is not easy, but it would not seem to be insoluble.

There are other serious problems too. What safeguards now exist to prevent such flagrant miscarriage of justice as was suffered by Prof. Val Lorwin? Professor Lorwin was indicted by an officer of the Eisenhower administration in December 1953 on the ground that he had lied in denying that he had ever been a Communist Party member and on two related matters. Six months later an Assistant Attorney General had to go into court and ask that the indictment be quashed because the Department of Justice attorney who secured the indictment had made two gross misstatements of fact to the grand jury. Such an outrage was possible, even though Professor Lorwin had earlier been suspended and cleared by the State Department.

The problem of fairness and justice in security procedures has long since became a major national question. Millions of Americans must have security clearances to

work for the Government directly, or on Government production orders, or on Government-subsidized projects. To be labeled a security risk today is perhaps the most terrible of brands on a person who has been convicted of no crime and tried in no court of law.

There are those who deserve such stigma and such punishment. But none of us can rest easy in our minds or hearts when we know that innocent men and women may be placed in this most terrible of Coventrys because of the spiteful words of a vengeful neighbor or to satisfy the ambition of an unscrupulous security officer or Government attorney. The soundness of the foundations of our national tradition of freedom and justice are at stake. And if these are not sound, we have no security and can have none.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

Military Reserves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, each year since 1948 it has been my pleasure to cooperate with the Reserve Officers' Association of the United States in furtherance of National Defense Week, and, in particular, with the splendid ROA in my own State.

Through the courtesy of Maj. MacArthur H. Manchester, I have prepared annual articles published in the ROA magazine which he capably edits.

This year, my article appeared as usual, in the February issue. I am glad to say that on the front cover of that particular issue is a picture of the President of the United States talking things over with our distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], who is president of the ROA and a brigadier general of the United States Army Reserve. With him was Major Manchester.

I think it is appropriate that this article be reprinted, especially in view of yesterday's most welcome action by the House of Representatives in providing for an annual pay increase for members of the military and related services.

This is but the first step in strengthening the position of those who serve in the honored uniform of our country, and of those who have been so frequently recalled to the colors. Career soldier and citizen soldier, 30-year man and Reservist—all are entitled to fairness and justice.

I may say that our big job affecting the Reserve still lies ahead, however, in order to eliminate numerous unfortunate and almost chronic inequities which have arisen and in order to give our men the best possible training and equipment.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my article in the ROA magazine entitled "America's Future: Great Opportunity, Great Peril," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S FUTURE: GREAT OPPORTUNITY, GREAT PERIL

(By Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, Wisconsin, former chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee)

What does the future hold? Peace or war? A golden age of prosperity for mankind? A nuclear Armageddon—with civilization blasted into radioactive rubble and with mankind plunging back into the Dark Ages?

These are the great question marks of our time.

You, the reader, and your family and friends and associates, along with millions more like you hold, in part, the answer to this great riddle.

Upon you and me and upon our countrymen will depend basically the future course of mankind. Modern science will be our obedient servant or our impersonal destroyer. It is indeed strange irony that this great miracle force of science may jet-propel us into an age of unparalleled high standards of living, of wonderful conveniences and comforts—or it may explode us into an orgy of destruction more frightful than man has ever conceived.

I believe that science will provide man's greater fulfillments.

I believe that we today are but touching the "hem of the garment" of the mysteries of the new age. Man will unlock heretofore-undreamed-of secrets of the tiniest atom and of the vast reaches of starry outer space. I believe that our children and children's children will be a part of the most exciting, most rewarding eras of history. All this is possible. Peace is definitely possible—with honor, but only through vigorous, continuous preparedness. I believe that science will be man's continued servant.

And in this National Defense Week, we are given a precious opportunity to think, to plan, to rededicate ourselves to the goal of entering this golden age—the era of abundance for the common man.

But, to achieve this, we are now called upon to attain and maintain a level of preparedness more complete, more effective than we have ever found it necessary to reach in our history.

Why?

Because you, the sovereign people of the United States, and we, your elected and appointed officials, are living in an age of total peril. It is the age of aggressive, conspiratorial, international communism—a force contrary to its occasional peaceful coexistence lullabies, is aimed at our violent destruction.

Never before in our history have we faced such a terrible danger to our very survival—a danger so vast, so all-present, so hideous in its proven record, a danger so powerful.

THE MANYFOLD PERIL

The peril which it represents is a total peril for two reasons:

1. It is total in its possibility of total annihilation of its enemies through lightning-like nuclear attack. I emphasize "lightning-like;" we will not have months and years to recover from a Pearl Harbor like blow the next time—if we are hit unprepared and unalert.

Listen to the words of 4-star Gen. Edwin W. Rawlings, chief of our Air Materiel Command at Dayton:

"With * * * modern weapons, the next war could be decided in a matter of hours or days. We must never lose sight of this in all our thinking and planning.

"We cannot put a price tag on those hours or days because they are a precious natural resource beyond price."

2. Second, our peril is total in that communism assaults every segment of our society.

The Communist assault on the free world is always a combined operation; military, diplomatic, political, economic, social, and psychological.

As the attack is total, so our defense must be total.

RIGHT CITIZEN THINKING

Thus, never before has it been more important that the average citizen understand and contribute to the overall defense of our beloved country.

He must remember always that the most basic aspect of our defense is, of course, our military defense—by air, ground, and sea. But, it is by no means the only area of defense. Our society within must be strong and healthy. Every American community, every trade union, every factory, business, mine, home, must be a center of strength in American society; a center of reason and understanding, a center in which the peril to our society is recognized and combatted—logically, carefully.

So, the responsibility is great upon every citizen—for right thinking, right action. It is particularly great upon you, my readers, the dedicated men and women who comprise America's reserve officers. You are our minute men and women—ready at all times to spring to arms to lead us in any emergency.

STRONG RESERVE INDISPENSABLE

Your vital role must and could be appreciated by your fellow citizens. Every nonreservist must understand that it is upon our Reserve Forces that we indispensably depend in our eternal vigilance against future dangers. A strong Reserve with deep pride in its traditions, with firm confidence in its future, with undimmed faith in fair dealing by its Government, a Reserve with modern equipment, with streamlined training, with highest morale—these have become not luxuries but absolute necessities for the United States.

Reservists and nonreservists alike must understand that to be adequate against the total Communist peril, we must marshall and strengthen our forces—tangible and intangible—our own and our allies—internal and external—to defend ourselves and our way of life.

NEW PRINCIPLES IN THE AGE OF TOTAL PERIL

Ours is an era of change. From the new factors on the world scene stem new principles which will determine America's survival in the age of total peril.

First, is the vital principle that there must be correct and fearless policy formulation. Why? Because an error in policy may prove irreversible—uncorrectible—fatal. In the past, America's errors in defense, its delay in accepting automatic weapons over the muzzle-loader, mechanized cavalry over the horse, airplane over the dirigible, carrier task force over the battle fleet, resulted in unnecessary military losses but did not jeopardize completely our national survival.

Today, a single failure—for example, failure to accept the obligation for all-out development of an intercontinental guided rocket—a failure which could result in Soviet Russia's prior development of such a missile, might mean utter disaster for us.

Second, closely connected with the new importance of right policy is the principle of policy interdependence. Never before have foreign and domestic policies become so closely intertwined. Our price level, productivity, civil liberties, security practices, road system—these and a hundred other phases interact and vitally affect United States defense.

In the present age, we are conducting a continuous and complex cold war against the continuous and complex pressure of world communism. So, policy weakness or failure

in almost any area of national or international life—may lead to Communist misinterpretation and Communist aggression.

Thus, if America gives the impression of, or if in actuality if it experiences, economic depression, domestic isolation, endless partisan discord, or worst of all, military weakness, then America stands to lose its allies. It thereby encourages piecemeal aggression and its own possible ultimate destruction by its Communist foe.

Hence, it becomes increasingly apparent that America can survive and maintain peace only through maintaining a healthy society and continuous and proven military superiority over world communism. This means adequate forces-in-being, capable of devastating, instantaneous retaliation. This in turn requires optimum weapons research development and appropriate production.

America's military superiority coupled with America's unwillingness to use this superiority, except in self-defense, must be made absolutely clear to the world at large and to the Communist leaders in particular. No short-sighted considerations here at home—penny-pinching or partisanship should be allowed to impair the applying of this fundamental principle of overall preparedness upon which hinges America's survival.

AMERICAN LEADERSHIP VITAL

Finally, in the age of total peril, America must accept the absolute necessity of membership and of leadership for the indefinite future in the global free world coalition.

This free world coalition—a coalition which must be hardened in fact and not merely in lofty words—remains the key to America's future. It is the key for broadening our base of manpower and our mineral resources base; for dispersal of our strategic air forces and increased capability of massive retaliation; for local land forces to halt local aggression and to flank Communist global aggression; for the maintenance of world economic prosperity and well-being. It is the key to American survival no less than to the preservation of the most cherished rights amongst free men of all races and creeds.

Likewise, America itself is an absolute necessity to the global coalition. Without our predominant power base, virtually no other free nation could prove adequate to withstand the continuous pressure of Communist aggression or subversion.

MILITARY STRENGTH OF RUSSIA

Against the background of these principles, it would be well to bear in mind certain facts with regard to the tremendous military capabilities of the Soviet Union. No sensible person reviewing even this brief list of 10 factors which I shall present could fail to appreciate the enormous significance of the Soviet threat.

I will not attempt to compare Soviet with United States and allied military assets. Obviously, a detailed comparison—division compared to division, fleet unit to unit, air wing to wing, atom stockpile to stockpile is a highly technical, classified, and complex matter. And clearly it is within the province of our military leaders rather than of those of us who are concerned primarily with diplomatic policies.

But, here are a few of the ingredients of the Soviet menace, as reported in the public print.

1. First and most obvious are the massive Soviet and satellite armed forces in the West. They consist of a reported 175 Russian and 80 satellite divisions, considerably mechanized and highly standardized. An immense air umbrella of 20,000 operational aircraft could cover a Soviet offensive with 20,000 planes in reserve.

2. In the East there exists the most powerful military force in Asia—the battle-tested, fanatically indoctrinated Chinese Communist Army of 100 divisions comprising 3 million trained men. It is backed by an additional 13 million homeguard of Chinese militia which could step into uniform overnight and also by a reported 7,000 Chinese Red military aircraft.

3. The Soviet sea arm now constitutes the second strongest naval power in the world. It includes a U-boat fleet seven times as large as the number with which Nazi Germany entered World War II. Among them are perhaps 100 oceangoing snorkel-equipped vessels with a radius of action of 20,000 miles. Some of these modern U-boats would be capable of raining a hail of atomic rockets on coastal areas of the United States.

4. Another Red asset is the reported massive Soviet preparation in the field of bacteriological warfare. This includes intensive efforts in the field of nerve gas—GB—an odorless, colorless, inexpensive weapon of mass destruction—regarded as constituting, under the right conditions, almost as great a threat to mass population as the A-bomb.

RED ATOMIC STOCKPILE

(5) Generally regarded as the grimmest threat of all is the mounting stockpile of A-bombs and Russia's intensive development of thermonuclear weapons—wtih all their terrible capacity of obliterating whole areas of an enemy nation.

A noted military observer wrote recently: "The quantitative tally of the world's atomic tests indicates that we have entered the age of atomic plenty and that stockpiles of operational, deliverable weapons are steadily increasing. These stockpiles probably are numbered in a very sizable 4 figures in the United States, in a sizable 3 figures in the Soviet Union, and in 2 figures in Britain.

"But the nuclear race is qualitative as well as quantitative. The meaning of the current Soviet tests is that the Soviet Union is acquiring a whole family of atomic weapons, comparable to (though not yet as varied as or as qualitatively equal to) the family of weapons possessed by the United States."

6. The Kremlin has the capacity to deliver these instruments of mass obliteration. Her modern long-range bombers include the TU-39, with the size and characteristics of America's B-52, but powered by 4 immense-thrust engines instead of our 8. The revelation of these new-type engines and planes was described by our Air Chief of Staff, Nathan Twining, as a more important milestone than the knowledge of the first Soviet atomic-bomb explosion.

7. Another factor is the all-out Soviet effort to develop an intercontinental guided missile—a weapon against which there is no known defense today.

8. Another consideration is that the Soviet Union is graduating three times as many engineers as the United States and is giving other evidences of intensive scientific effort in expansion of her weapons systems.

9. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is constantly expanding its mighty industrial bases, obviously not for civilian production, but for production of the elements of war.

Already the Communist bloc produces around 60 percent as much coal as the rest of the world and around one-third as much pig iron and steel; 20 percent as much electric power, and 11 percent as much petroleum. But these resources are used for military purposes basically, rather than for civilian convertible cars, deep freezes, TV sets, or air conditioners.

MILITARY AND NONMILITARY WEAKNESSES

The basic fact of the matter is that there are enormous stresses and strains within the Soviet slave empire. The world of communism is a vicious jungle in which cannibal devours cannibal, in which leaders and underlings at home and abroad are purged ruthlessly. It is a world in which fear, suspicion is an ever-present factor.

From this side of the Iron Curtain it is hard to assess the degree to which the nonmilitary weaknesses of the Soviet Union impair her admitted military prowess. But the Soviet Union definitely does have grave nonmilitary weaknesses in addition to certain flaws in her military system of which competent military observers are aware.

Nevertheless, neither her nonmilitary nor her military limitations should becloud the fact that she possesses today and will possess increasingly in time to come the capabilities of total annihilation of her enemies.

OTHER RED NONMILITARY ASSETS

For the ledger to be more complete, certain additional nonmilitary Red assets should not be listed. Among them are the following:

1. Outstanding is the economic bait which she is offering in her renewed trade offensive throughout the world. To countries hungry for expanded foreign markets, from England in the West to Japan in the East, the Soviet Union offers the fake but alluring possibility of tremendous exchanging of goods with the Iron Curtain. With the trade emissaries will, of course, come the usual Red spies, propagandists, intriguers to undermine societies.

2. A second key advantage of the Soviet Union is the widespread repugnance among the underdeveloped peoples for the Western so-called imperialist powers. The fact that generally the United States is the ally of Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Holland, for example, has tended to cause the colonial and ex-colonial peoples in their thinking to lump us in with the present and former imperial powers. The colonial and ex-colonial areas forget that the United States itself was once a group of 13 weak colonies, and that no nation in the world has stronger tradition than we of friendship for peoples striving for sovereignty. We are, however, rightly wary lest nonself-governing peoples achieve independence sooner than they are in a position to exercise it soundly: We are wary lest such peoples become easy prey for the Soviets.

3. A third factor is the widespread anti-white feeling which is sweeping the non-white areas of the earth. Eurasian communism is eager to fan the flames of racialism as directed against the white American, Englishman, Frenchman, Belgian, or others. Everything which weakens the Western Powers is regarded as an asset to the Soviet cause.

4. A fourth factor is the worldwide hunger for peace. This is particularly true among the nations which were devastated during World War II, like France and Italy. It is true also of the ex-colonial areas which are confronted by so many domestic problems of widespread illiteracy, disease, malnutrition, that any thought of war or even of costly defense against war is often repugnant.

This hunger for peace blinds many people to the fact that only adequate preparedness will assure peace.

Thus, the Soviet propaganda theme of peaceful coexistence falls on eager ears—war-weary and economy-minded ears—throughout much of the globe.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has tried to smear us from one end of the world to the other as an alleged "warmongering power, recklessly experimenting with A-bomb and H-bomb explosions."

To some extent, we have counteracted this propaganda; nevertheless, wirespread neutralism and pacificism are strings on which the Soviet Union continues effectively to play.

It is odd that the Kremlin, dripping with the blood of its own and its satellite victims and of the Korean and Indochinese people should pretend to be peaceful and should be able even partly to get away with it. It is odd that we who prize peace more than anyone should be vilified as warmongers. But, these are the facts and we must realistically combat these conditions by a

strengthened program of truth dissemination.

WHAT AMERICA MUST DO

We must act now. Time is of the essence. We must strengthen further the Voice of America and our overseas exchange program, our book, release, pamphlet, motion picture and television programs. Citizens must contribute further to Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Asia.

No one perceives more clearly that we are in this battle for men's minds than the great Chief Executive of our country, Dwight D. Eisenhower. Fortunately, we have in this distinguished statesman, too, a military leader of proven genius who is determined that we shall be adequate against whatever future military crises may hold.

President Eisenhower and his distinguished associates know that to counteract the Soviet military threat will take a strengthened program of United States preparedness. We do not want to bankrupt ourselves in the process, but neither do we want to pinch-pennies when the survival of our country is at stake.

Simultaneously, under our able Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, we must and will further strengthen the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We will press for the carrying out of the Western European Union, including the setting up of the new West German Army. We will strengthen our bilateral alliances and such vital groupings as the Organization of American States. We will expand the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, which at present has too few component powers and too little defensive firepower available to it.

We will implement the President's famous "atoms-for-peace" plan—one of the most dramatic and constructive international programs ever offered. We will widen our splendid program of technical point 4 assistance. We will encourage more private investment overseas and will seek a favorable climate for such investment.

And we will continue our efforts everywhere to combat the Communist termites who are at work night and day in subversion, sabotage, sedition, treason, undermining the foundation of our own and other countries.

THREE MORE MILITARY FACTORS

But, we return at last to the ultimate determinant of our fate—our military strength.

We must and will prepare for the war of the future, not the war of yesteryear. The war of the future may be another "brushfire" war like Korea, a so-called limited war. We must be prepared against it.

But, it may be the big war—the intercontinental war—the war of intercontinental ballistic missile.

So, time is important in our development of an intercontinental guided missile. The race for the perfection of this weapon is probably one of the most critical in the world today.

Observers say that the prospect is by 1960, both the United States and the Soviet Union will have guided missles that can carry hydrogen payloads at 10,000 miles per hour with a range of some 5,000 miles.

We of the United States have made great strides in the rocket field. Each of the three branches of the service has contributed important developments.

I am inclined to feel, however, that the needs of our country require that we far more closely approximate the type of more centralized wartime Manhattan district project, which produced the A-bomb on "a crash basis," than the present more leisurely, more scattered basis of our efforts toward an intercontinental guided missle. We all know that there have been strong criticisms of our rocket development—criticisms of division of authority, a certain conservatism in approach, of overly stringent fiscal considerations.

One writeup of the guided missile race recently read:

"For several year, the United States, complacent of its ability to stay ahead of Russia in all things technological, has been daintily fingering missile projects. Its smugness was roughly shattered last year by intelligence reports of a Soviet breakthrough: the development of a rocket engine with a thrust of at least 240,000 pounds which could be used as part of the power plant for a multistage intercontinental missile."

Hand in glove with this missile problem, is the challenge of possible development of a man-made satellite for the earth or even colonization of a nearby planet with a few key experts. These are possibilities opening almost unlimited fields for both civilian and military application.

A second military problem is our continued United States industrial and population overcentralization. I have warned in previous statements in the Reserve Officer that the United States cannot afford the continued overconcentration of prime industrial targets in a few major areas.

Right now, there are 10 areas in the United States, each 25 miles in radius, that account for 77 percent of our coke products; 82 percent of iron production; 73 percent of steel ingot capacity. Over half of America's foreign commerce is carried on in 6 port cities. Our 32 largest metropolitan areas cover only 55 square miles, out of our total 3 million square miles, and in these 55 square miles are jammed 32 million people. These and other statistics underline the importance of far-seeing steps to encourage dispersal and decentralization to the most feasible extent, particularly in view of our admitted vulnerability to enemy attack and the low killrate which we now expect against an attacking enemy force.

Lastly, we turn to our Armed Forces themselves—the men and women and their families. The fact is that the present low-reenlistment rate among specialists in our Armed Forces is a particularly deep cause for national concern. Each year, for example, our country's Air Defense Command suffers a personnel loss—a blow so heavy that it would cost an enemy dearly to inflict it. But, it is a blow which we, ourselves, cause in that we fail to provide conditions attractive enough to stimulate reenlistment by our highly trained officers and enlisted personnel.

In 1954, it was estimated that the Air Force lost a quarter of a million men. One survey showed that only 8½ percent of the eligible Defense Command airmen planned to reenlist when their 4-year period was up.

It is fantastic that we spend near-fortunes to train these men to peak skilled efficiency, and then look on relatively complacently while they resign in disgust and resume their civilian clothes.

The civilian and military chiefs of our Armed Forces are keenly aware of this problem, and fortunately steps are being taken to correct it. But remedial action must come promptly and thoroughly.

CONCLUSION

Let us end on a note of well-justified faith. The future lies, to a great extent, within our own hands for molding. While we are not the complete masters of our destiny, neither is the Soviet Union. Nor, for that matter, is any one power or group of powers.

The possibilities of peace are tremendous, and they are bright. A golden age of peaceful prosperity is attainable. A rough equilibrium—uneasy but continuing—between East and West is achievable.

But, it will never be achieved if we ignore the fact that the nature of communism is conquest. The Communist, by habit, by dogma, by discipline, is a creature geared to attack. He thrives upon assault. He lives for assault. He may die in assault. But by our overwhelming power, military, and spiritual, we can deter him from starting a chain reaction which could lead to disaster for the world.

This must be the key to American thinking, the key to every Reservist's thinking.

World war III is not imminent. It is not probable. It is always possible—by accident or Red design. But, by exercising our God-given ingenuity and imagination, world war III will never come. America will fulfill the great peaceful opportunity which rests before it.

The Rural Electrification Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent address delivered by Congressman H. R. GROSS, of Iowa, at the annual meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association in Atlantic City, N. J., on February 16, 1955. I hope that every Member of the Senate will take time to read this speech. Congressman GROSS is a real friend of the farmer, and knows farm programs.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, members of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, and guests, I am honored to be invited to speak to you who are assembled here today on the eastern seaboard from every nook and corner of our broad and good land. You have come from the South, the Far West, the Pacific Northwest, from New England, and from the heartland of America, of which my own State of Iowa is a part.

Let me say that we in Iowa are mighty proud of our rural electrification program and it is a real pleasure for me to have this opportunity to visit with delegates from the tall corn State, as well as other delegates.

I want to say a few words about Clyde Ellis and his staff in Washington. They have been cooperative at all times and may I say that they are on the job at all times, as you are on the job at this convention at all times. I have never seen harder working conventions than the conventions that you hold.

What brings about these tremendous annual meetings of farm people? The common purpose that brings you together is the advancement of the farmer's standard of living, a better way of life for you, your families; your neighbor and his family. Though your homes may be hundreds of miles apart, you are joined again by thousands upon thousands of miles of cooperative transmission lines that thread their way throughout the land.

And this great organization, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, is the spontaneous outgrowth of your need for unity and public expression on a nationwide level.

A quick look at the past clearly reveals why you have formed together to accomplish your purpose of bringing power to the farms of America, and unfortunately, that quick look reveals it has not been many years ago that you were unable to acquire this

powerful and silent servant of man—electricity.

Less than a quarter of a century ago, only about 1 farmer in 10 had central station service. This meant that most farmers, their wives and children were committed to long and ceaseless hours of toil in doing household and farm tasks that are now accomplished by the flick of a switch. This meant, among other things, that if the youth of rural America wanted a standard of living similar to that of their city cousins, they had to leave the farms.

Permit me to say at this point that Mrs. Gross and I were born and raised on Iowa farms in the days of coal oil lamps and lanterns. Life on the farm in those days was not without its good points, but kerosene lamps and lanterns were not two of them. And by coincidence, although we were raised on farms as distantly separated as the north and south borders of Iowa, we each lived within a stone's throw of a town and had the doubtful pleasure of studying our school lessons and doing our chores by the light of lamp and lantern while less than a mile away twinkled those wonderful electric lights. How we envied those youngsters in town.

And why didn't we on the farms, who needed it most, have this great blessing of electricity that was readily conceded to others? Because what then amounted to a monopoly decreed that our parents must pay an exorbitant price—a price they could not afford—for installation and service. The monopoly was interested only in skimming the cream of profit as represented by service in towns in the rural area.

Well do I remember working a pump handle in a sweltering August sun, when there wasn't enough breeze to turn a windmill, pumping the last 10 feet of water out of a 30-foot dug well for a herd of thirsty cattle—and begrudging them every gulp. That's why I still can't find it in my heart to quite forgive those who made it impossible for us to operate even one small electric motor, although the power transmission line ran along the road and past our front gate.

To overcome these difficulties, to bring electricity to the farms when the power companies said it was not good business to serve most farmers, you joined together and went into the utility business for yourselves—the cooperative way. How the skeptics laughed and gave you but a brief time to bankrupt yourselves. They predicted that in a short time the farms of America would again be dark from sunset to sunrise.

In the first place, the smart boys were wrong, because they failed to understand that the farmer for generations has had to be a practical man—a realist who, although endowed with extreme patience, can be driven, abused, and victimized only so far. Then invoking the law of self-preservation, he can become, individually and collectively, the most resolute and determined of our citizens.

Why is this true? Because he constantly faces the trials and perils of drought, flood, storm, wind, insects, and livestock diseases. He has faced prices so low he could scarcely afford to take his products to market. He has been confronted with discriminatory freight rates, monopoly, and speculation in the marketing of his crops, animals, and dairy products. He has planted with faith, cultivated with hope and sometimes reaped a harvest of charity.

He has been held up to ridicule and worse. Remember the Vice President of the United States who asserted from the public platform that farmers were "too damned dumb to understand"?

Out of the forge of these experiences, the steel of the farmer has been tempered. Not for capricious reasons will the farmers of America now surrender their much improved living conditions and those who may think otherwise will do well to remember that a short quarter of a century ago, peaceful, industrious farmers, driven to despair by forces beyond their control took action that brought the attention of the Nation to their desperate plight. We pray this will never happen again, but let it ever stand as a warnnng to those who may have the notion that American farmers will accept the status of peasants.

Out of the mire of the depression, and in the face of what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles, the farmer went to work to bring electricity to his darkened farmland, and he succeeded.

The second thing the skeptics overlooked was that the farmer would be able to enlist the aid of his Government. But he did—and the REA program was the result. He did not ask for a handout. He asked for a helping hand in the form of loans which he has been repaying with interest and in many, many cases far ahead of schedule.

It is this second aspect, the helping hand of the Government, to which I want to direct some attention today.

The rural electrification program has succeeded because it is basically a partnership relation between you—the farmer-cooperative members—and your Federal Government.

At the outset of our consideration of this partnership I wish to make one thing very clear—this program must be kept above and beyond political considerations. We must especially beware of those elements in both major political parties who would like to make the rural electrification program a rudderless ship to be tossed about upon the stormy seas of political controversy, and eventually wrecked.

Rural electrification has had strong support from both political parties and let it be kept that way. At the same time, you who are in charge of this program must not be driven off course by those who would cry partisan politics simply to dissuade you from raising your voices in protest when you see the ship headed for the rocks.

You must beware of a siren song from either quarter—the one trying to make your every need a partisan issue; the other trying to accuse you of partisanship when speaking out for or against those matters vitally affecting your program.

History shows the power program of this nation has been the result of bipartisan support. President Theodore Roosevelt was one of the early and strong proponents of public resources development. And he made it plain he thought such development should be for the common good. Out of his resources philosophy grew the reclamation program that resulted in development of the West. Out of his philosophy of river development grew the tremendous public power projects of the Tennessee Valley and the Pacific Northwest.

His was a sound view of conservation and utilization of river resources for the common good and, speaking as a Republican, but one who refuses to have a ring in his nose, it would be well for the leaders of the Republican Party to read these pages from our history and consider resources development in the light of Theodore Roosevelt's philosophy.

It was left to such Republican leaders as Senators Norris and McNary, together with their counterparts in the Democrat Party, to bring about a practical working relationship between the Federal Government, public bodies and cooperatives.

The first and most important result of this bipartisan action was the REA program in which the Government became the banker-partner and you, in organizing your cooperatives, became the operating partner. This partnership has paid tremendous tangible and intangible dividends in raising rural standards of living, increasing production and opening new markets. For example, for every dollar that was loaned by the REA to build lines to a farm, the farmer himself has spent some $4 to $5 in the market place for wiring, electrical tools, and appliances.

Another result of this partnership was to make hydroelectric power available on the wholesale level to cooperatives. This cheaper power made it possible and economical to serve widely scattered farms and, in addition, brought an element of competition to the power industry with the result that wholesale rates to cooperatives came down.

Another reason why this partnership paid big dividends was the preference clause. Here again, a page was taken from Theodore Roosevelt's reclamation philosophy and applied in the power field. Preference was written into the law in order that public bodies and nonprofit cooperative organizations would have first call upon Federal power. Without the preference clause, coupled with necessary transmission facilities, Federal power could and would have been put under long-term contracts by private utilities. Even with the preference clause, rural electric cooperatives were obtaining only about 6 percent of all Federal power generated compared to about 18 percent going to private utilities.

In this connection, it will be recalled that not too long ago Assistant Secretary of the Interior Aandahl attempted to change this marketing arrangement. Cooperatives in the Missouri Basin learned that a plan was afoot whereby it would be virtually impossible for them to recapture power flowing from Federal dams on the Missouri River to meet their growing loads once it was sold to the private power companies. We in Congress were amazed at this attempt to change, strictly by administrative procedure, the traditional concept of the preference clause for rural cooperatives. The House Interior Committee immediately investigated. It has always been my position that the preference clause means exactly what it says—that cooperatives shall have the first call upon available Federal power.

As you know, because of prompt committee action and by individual Members of Congress we were able to prevent the proposed knifing of the preference clause and as far as I am concerned, Congress will continue to safeguard this vital policy in the marketing of Federal power, regardless of who sits in the seat of authority in the Department of Interior or anywhere else in Government.

Now a report is current in Washington that a Hoover Commission task force may recommend that the interest rate on REA loans be raised to 4½ percent. Since this is only an unconfirmed report, I will not dwell on the implications of such a move except to say that it would represent the second of a two-pronged insidious attack on the industry of agriculture. With farm income already seriously impaired, and Secretary of Agriculture Benson apparently determined upon a policy of cheap food for consumers, an increased interest rate of 4½ percent would only increase the squeeze now being worked upon farmers.

Secretary Benson ought to know there is no such thing as cheap food unless it is literally taken out of the hides of the farmer producers. And the Hoover Commission task force ought to know that a doubling of interest rates to farmers could only mean dire consequences for the REA program as a whole.

I can assure you that any such move will get a hot reception in Congress.

I would like now to turn to a discussion of the struggle over atomic energy legislation in the last session of Congress. I shall try to be brief, for I am sure Senatore GORE, who is from the area most directly affected and who has been in the forefront of the fight in opposition to the legislation that was enacted, will have much to say on this specific issue.

While this battle centers around TVA, it is of vital importance to everyone here and to every citizen of the land for all of us have a $12-billion-plus investment in the development of this new source of energy and the legislation charts new policy in the field of production and use. Since the people—all of them—have paid the price, the benefits should be shared accordingly.

Under the Cole-Hickenlooper bill, as it passed the House of Representatives, this principle would have been scrapped for all practical purposes. It would have been possible for a few large companies, operating on the inside track, to have effectively gained a monopoly in the field of atomic power for commercial use because of the patent provisions. That was one of the important reasons why I voted against the House version of this legislation, one of the few Republicans to do so.

Fortunately, before final action on the part of the Senate and House, this provision for completely private patents was changed. The Atomic Energy Commission has the authority to declare these patents affected with a public interest, and it is my hope the act will be further amended to provide that rural electric cooperatives may have a fair opportunity in this field. Along with that, the AEC should provide for a power reactor program that is designed to fit the needs of rural cooperatives as well as the large power companies. This we must all work for.

Much of the fight in Congress on the atomic energy bill was precipitated by the now well-published Dixon-Yates amendment. This gave legislative sanction to what had been considered legally questionable up to that time for it legalized the AEC as a power broker—a function entirely beyond its major purpose, which is the production of nuclear military weapons essential to the defense of this Nation. Certainly nothing should be allowed to hinder or delay the AEC from that primary objective.

Its secondary function is to develop the peacetime uses of atomic energy, including power. But what is the result that has been brought about by the so-called Dixon-Yates-AEC agreement? We find the AEC diverted from its primary and secondary functions in order that two power combines in the South can take over TVA's market. In effect, we have here another governmental agency engaged in the field of policymaking—a field and a responsibility that properly belongs to those you elect to office—your Representatives and Senators.

Important as is the fact that the Dixon-Yates-AEC deal is some $100 million more expensive in the life of the contract than if TVA supplied its own needs, it is of equal importance to understand that the Atomic Energy Commission is now cast in a role it is not equipped to carry out, and not intended by Congress.

If there be any doubt that the AEC has become embroiled in issues in which it has no business, the testimony of AEC Commissioner Murray before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy should erase that doubt. Let me quote from Mr. Murray's statement made on January 31, 1955, to the joint committee:

"There is one fact regarding industrial atomic power which I feel should be especially emphasized. Industrial atomic power will come quickly or slowly depending on the importance attached to the program, and on the men assigned responsibility for carrying it out. It also hinges on the teamwork between your committee and the Commission. * * * It is for this reason that I draw your attention to issues that have been giving me special concern.

"One issue, more than any other, in my opinion," continued Commissioner Murray, "has contributed to this unhappy situation. I refer, of course, to the Dixon-Yates controversy. * * * So damaging has been its effect that something must be done to free the Commission from any connection with this cause for so much discord. * * * Unless the Commission is so freed, untold hours will continue to be devoted by the Commissioners and their key staff to a matter which will not contribute one iota to our program for improved weapons, for military and industrial reactors, or to any of the infinite number of tasks needing our attention.

"And, as I have so often said, anything that diverts the attention of the Commission and its staff from the development and production of weapons, along with the gigantic task of bringing into being peacetime applications of atomic energy, is not in the public interest. * * * To the exclusion of all other interests it (the Commission) must focus its attention solely—and in the public interest—on the development and exploitation of atomic energy for defense and for peace."

If for no other reasons than those so recently expressed by AEC Commissioner Murray, it is my opinion that the sooner the Dixon-Yates-AEC contract is given a quiet burial the better it will be for the public interest. And far be it for me to mourn its timely passing.

Another reason why some of us in the House of Representatives found this legislation highly unpalatable was the manner in which it was rammed down our throats. On July 23, 1954, with the Senate still debating the bill and with Congress still nearly a month from final adjournment, the House was called into session at 10 o'clock in the morning and remained in constant session until 3:13 o'clock on the morning of July 24—a total of more than 17 hours, with all action completed except the final vote.

In the first place, it is almost unprecedented that the House should take up legislation, still under debate in the Senate, unless it be of an extreme emergency nature. Not by the wildest flight of the imagination did an emergency exist in connection with this measure. There was nothing pressing in the legislative schedule before the House, and the leadership should have awaited final action by the Senate and then allotted at least 4 days to this complicated and far-reaching legislation. The answer is that the leadership was determined to use the House as a lever.

Interesting, too, is the fact that when debate opened on amendments in the House, sponsors of the bill made a point of order, which was quickly sustained, that opponents could not refer in any way to statements that had been and were being made in the Senate. Rules of the House prohibit the use of a Senator's name but never before, in the 6 years I have spent in the House, had there been strict enforcement of the rule that there could be no reference, even without attribution, to a statement made in the other body. I mention these sidelights to show the lengths to which advocates of the Atomic Energy Act carried their roughshod campaign in the House.

Let me say that there was much in connection with this legislation that had a very peculiar and unhealthy aroma—the kind that lingers in your nostrils.

Turning now to financial assistance for the REA, and speaking as both a Republican and one who has always supported an adequate rural electrification program, I was shocked by President Eisenhower's request last year for only $55 million in new electrification loan funds. However, a Republican Congress recognized that this figure was dangerously low, overrode the President's budget, and made available $135 million for this fiscal year.

Better treatment for the REA is accorded in the President's budget for the next fiscal year with a request for $160 million, almost triple the amount he recommended last year. This represents at least a temporary victory over those interests within the administration which have been attempting to put the rural power program on a starvation diet.

Strange, indeed, is the fact that these same interests in the administration endorsed legislation which victimizes American taxpayers for money to be thrown around all over the world. Approximately $13 billion was made available for giveaway purposes to foreigners in this fiscal year, and it is always interesting to make comparisons in dealing with our own citizens.

For example, let's compare expenditures of American tax dollars for reclamation projects in foreign countries and in the United States. For some strange reason, it is difficult to obtain specific information from the Foreign Operations Administration concerning handouts abroad. Instead of the item-by-item breakdown employed in budgeting and spending for our own Federal reclamation program, FOA officials admitted they have no such information readily available; that to obtain it requires much time, much paperwork, and the circularizing of desks of officials of each of the so-called free countries which participate in the Foreign Operations Administration program.

From various sources, including the Library of Congress, is pieced together the information that for 5 fiscal years only, from July 1, 1948, to July 30, 1953, and for power facilities in Europe only, this country handed out a minimum of $1,084,000,000. This compares with spending for our own public-power program of $2,400,000,000 from 1902 to 1953. Included in this are such dams as Hoover, Shasta, Grand Coulee, and Hungry Horse as well as the Central Valley and Columbia Basin projects.

The Foreign Operations Administration admits that under the heading of "Water Resources and Power Assistance Rendered Foreign Countries, July 1, 1948, to June 30, 1953," there was expended $1,729,123,000 in Europe and the Far East. During the same period, by comparison, Congress appropriated, under the reclamation law, for all Bureau of Reclamation construction in this country, $1,200,000,000—a half billion less than was handed foreigners.

And it should be kept in mind that hundreds of millions of dollars advanced by the Government for power and other projects in this country will be repaid. Is anyone rash enough to predict that we will get back anything on the enormous gifts we have made to foreigners? In every showdown thus far we have been denied even moral support from most of the nations which have been the beneficiaries of our squandering.

It is estimated that since the end of World War II, the total bill for foreign aid is $60 billion. It is estimated that taxpayers of the 17 principal reclamation States contributed $13,300,000,000 of that amount—enough to build 109 Shasta dams, or 77 Hoover dams, or 93 Grand Coulee dams, or 27 each of Shasta, Grand Coulee, Hoover, and Hungry Horse dams.

During 5 years (1948–53) only, and for power and irrigation development in Italy alone, American taxpayers coughed up $63,900,000. This compares with a grand total of $52,700,000 in Federal reclamation funds spent in the 3 States of North Dakota, Kansas, and Oklahoma during the last 50 years—not just 5 years.

France and Greece got $45,800,000 of our money during the same 5-year period for power and irrigation projects. Compare this with Oregon's $49 million for reclamation in 50 years, Utah's $45,100,000 in 50 years, and New Mexico's $43,700,000 in 50 years. To this can be added air-conditioned apartment buildings in the Belgian Congo. And we also sent a cornshucker to Italy to show them how to do it. We sent a track coach to India to teach the Indians to run—when

their legs are the chief source of motor power in that country. We helped build a plush railroad station in Rome that would make Grand Central look like a tank-line facility on a branch line. So all you have to do is change the name of your cooperative to Italy or the Belgian Congo or some place else and you'll get your money.

Thus runs the fantastic story of American handouts to foreigners while our own citizens clamor for Federal assistance in the building of schools, roads, dams, and other necessary public improvements, bitterly protesting at the same time steadily mounting State and local taxes.

We can't continue to strew hundreds of millions and billions of dollars throughout the world each year unless we are prepared to accept further deficits, debt, inflation, and eventual bankruptcy. Foreign spending must be limited to whatever money is available within the limits of a balanced budget and after provision has been made for the economic, educational, and social needs of the people of the United States of America.

You are concerned—and rightly so—in your rural power program, but let me warn you that no issue is more important to you and every citizen of this Nation than what this Government does as a matter of foreign policy and commitment. This is true because the demand for military manpower and money to implement these commitments reach into and become a levy upon the lives and fortunes of those in every home in America.

Inherent in this program of attempting to police and finance the world upon which we are embarked today is increasing centralization of power in Washington. Our great and free institutions—political, economic, religious, social, and cultural—the foundation upon which this form of government and way of life rests, can only be perpetuated under a diffusion of power.

Through all the ages, concentration of governmental authority has eroded and then destroyed free men and free institutions.

Our first President, George Washington, the anniversary of whose birth we will observe next Tuesday, warned that this Nation must remain independent and steer a clear and sure course away from foreign intrigues and quarrels.

In his famous Farewell Address, in which he warned repeatedly of the pitfalls ahead, President Washington said:

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence a free people ought to be constantly awake since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a republican government."

The words of our revered first President are as rich in wisdom today as they were then.

We must readjust our foreign commitments to bring them within the ability of the American people to honor and support. We cannot go on indefinitely policing and financing the world, dissipating our resources, and piling up burdens of debt and taxation which the children of the tomorrows to come cannot possibly discharge or endure.

The hour is late but there is still time to make the light of freedom burn more brightly on our own shores and the shores of the Western Hemisphere.

We not only can but we must reaffirm the wisdom of our forefathers if we are to save this great constitutional Republic as we know it and as we cherish it.

I wish you well in your deliberations during this 13th annual convention of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. You will have my support in every reasonable undertaking.

Withholding Information From the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Behind Ike's Back," published in the Indianapolis Star of March 5, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEHIND IKE'S BACK

Responsibility for the suppression of an official report denying the need for Federal aid to education has been narrowed down by President Eisenhower's answer to a question by the Star's Washington correspondent, Ben Cole. The question cited a report from a subcommittee of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. It said, "We have been unable to find a State which cannot make more money available to its schools or which is economically unable to support an adequate school program." President Eisenhower was asked whether this report had been brought to his attention, and whether, if true, it would change his views on the Federal-aid question.

The President's reply was that he had not heard about the report. He said he doubted that it was true, in detail, in view of information coming to him from many different sources.

This direct statement clarifies a shocking state of affairs in the White House and the top level of the administration. Bear in mind that this report constituted an official finding by one of the President's own advisory groups. It had a direct and significant bearing on a question on which he was known to be preparing a special message to Congress; it contained information which might have caused him to look more searchingly at other information provided to him. But by his own words he had never seen it. Almost a week after the existence and nature of the suppressed report had been disclosed, he still had not heard about it. It still has not been officially released.

Far more than the question of Federal aid to education is involved. This incident has demonstrated that information reaching the President, to provide the basis for his planning and his decisions, is being carefully filtered by subordinates. They prevent him from seeing material which might cause him to veer from the direction in which they want him to go.

This process of filtration effectively prevents the President from actually making his own decisions, based on all available knowledge about a situation or problem. Instead his decisions are guided by a group of aides behind the scenes, by the simple process of censoring his lines of communication, and apparently he does not perceive that it is being done.

President Eisenhower's personal future is at stake, for the course of his administration is being steered by those who decide what he should and should not know. But that is not all. Also at stake is the future of the Republican Party, which could well hinge on the record of this first Republican administration in 20 years. What this administration does may affect the course of the Nation, even of other nations, for a long time to come.

We fervently hope that President Eisenhower will now, for his own sake as well as for the good of the Nation, start asking why all the available report material matter of aid to education was not called to his attention. We hope he will start asking how much pertinent information in other matters has been withheld from him. And we hope he will do something to assure that in the future he gets the full and accurate story on matters of national concern.

A Policy for Skilled Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on numerous occasions I have commented on the floor of the Senate regarding the need for strengthened utilization of the specialized manpower of our country.

We have a civilian working population of 64 million. It consists of 8 or 9 million skilled workers and less than half a million technicians. This great labor force produces half the world's goods.

It is obvious that in the present life and death competitive struggle between the slave world and the free world, it is essential that we voluntarily coordinate our human resources so that free Americans, young and old, can individually and collectively make their fullest contribution to national defense prosperity and well-being.

I read with interest, therefore, a recent comprehensive report by the National Manpower Council entitled "A Policy for Skilled Manpower."

This broad-gaged report, which for the first time integrated many scattered viewpoints, was sent to me by one of America's distinguished citizens, Mr. James D. Zellerbach.

I believe the recommendations by the council will be of deep interest to my colleagues. I send to the desk, therefore, a summary of those recommendations, and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, to be preceded by a list of the noted Americans who serve on the National Manpower Council, and by the text of Mr. Zellerbach's letter to me.

There being no objection, the letter, list of names, and report were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL,
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
New York, N. Y.

The Honorable ALEXANDER WILEY,
The Senate of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: Because you have a special concern as a Member of the Congress with the Nation's most precious resources—its men, women, and youth—I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of the Statement and Recommendations of the National Man-

power Council reprinted from its latest study, A Policy for Skilled Manpower, published December 20, 1954.

This study provides the first full-scale evaluation of the vital role played in our economy by the Nation's skilled workers and technicians. It deals with a range of subjects of key importance to the Federal Government as well as to local and State governments, educational institutions, employers, trade unions, and the individual citizen. Among these subjects are general and vocational secondary education, vocational guidance, Armed Forces training, on-the-job training, apprenticeship, and the opportunities and incentives for and the barriers to the acquisition of skill.

The National Manpower Council was established in 1951 under a Ford Foundation grant by President Eisenhower, when he was president of Columbia University, to study significant manpower problems and to contribute to the improved development and utilization of our human resources. Its previous publications are Student Deferment and National Manpower Policy (1952), A Policy for Scientific and Professional Manpower (1953), and Proceedings of a Conference on the Utilization of Scientific and Professional Manpower (1954).

The members of the council look forward to your reactions to our recommendations in A Policy for Skilled Manpower.

Sincerely,

JAMES D. ZELLERBACH.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL

Chairman: James D. Zellerbach, president, Crown Zellerbach Corp., San Francisco, Calif.

Deputy Chairman: Courtney C. Brown, dean of the Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Hon. Robert B. Anderson,[1] Deputy Secretary of Defense, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Leo Bartemeier, medical director, the Seton Institute, Baltimore, Md.

Erwin D. Canham, editor-in-chief, the Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Mass.

Lee A. DuBridge, president, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Calif.

William H. Harrison, president, International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., New York, N. Y.

A. J. Hayes, president, International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.

Charles S. Johnson, president, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Robert M. MacIver, Lieber professor emeritus of political philosophy and sociology, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Wilbur C. Munnecke, business manager, Chicago Sun-Times, Chicago, Ill.

Frank W. Pierce, former director, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, New York, N. Y.

Jacob S. Potofsky, president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York, N. Y.

Roland R. Renne, president, Montana State College, Bozeman, Mont.

Sara E. Southall, personnel management consultant, Santa Fe, N. Mex.

Charles P. Taft, Headley, Sibbald & Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Director of Research: Eli Ginzberg, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University.

Executive Secretary: Henry David, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL

Our future progress and strength depend upon a conscious and deliberate concern with our manpower resources. Recognition that our most precious single resource consists of the skills, capacities, and creativeness of our people is not enough. For the sake of contributing to the greater well-being of each individual and strengthening the Nation as a whole, it is also necessary for us to assure the further development of our manpower resources and their more effective utilization. To take such action we must view our human resources as a whole, and not only as they now are, but as they can be developed.

In the past we have acted as if each manpower problem exists in isolation—whether it be the waste of potential ability and talent, shortages of teachers and nurses, or the adequacy of a community's facilities for training technicians. Consequently, we are easily diverted from a search for sound solutions for complex and difficult problems and tend to rely upon simple and short-sighted answers.

Five major long-range objectives must be pursued if we are to strengthen the Nation's resources of skilled workers and technicians. These are:

To strengthen the contributions made by secondary education to the acquisition of skill.

To develop a more effective program for vocational guidance.

To provide more equal opportunities for all individuals to acquire skill.

SKILLED MANPOWER

To improve the facilities and methods used to train skilled and technical manpower.

To increase knowledge about our manpower resources.

These objectives can be achieved only through a continuing and many-sided effort sustained by an informed public opinion and requiring the cooperation of the schools, employers, labor organizations, voluntary groups, the armed services, and local, State, and Federal Government.

With respect to strengthening the contributions made by secondary education to the acquisition of skill, the National Manpower Council recommends that:

1. Local and State governments encourage men and women of ability to enter and remain in the teaching profession by establishing more desirable conditions of employment, including salaries commensurate with their training and responsibilities.

2. Boards of education and school officials concentrate on achieving the key purposes of secondary education—to prepare the individual for citizenship, for a worthwhile life and for work—by insuring that all students, excepting the small minority unable to profit from it, pursue a common program at least through the second year of high school which concentrates on teaching them to communicate effectively in writing and speech, to handle elementary mathematical operations, and to apply their knowledge to solving the problems they will encounter in life and work.

3. Boards of education and school officials insure that students are permitted to specialize intensively in vocational subjects only after they have completed 2 years of high school, and that able and interested vocational students also are provided with the opportunity to qualify for college entrance.

4. Local and State educational officials, in cooperation with special advisory committees comprising employer and labor representatives, critically reappraise existing vocational education programs in order to insure their effectiveness in the light of current changes in technology, employment standards, and on-the-job training practices; the growth of junior and community colleges and technical institutes; and the training programs of the armed services.

5. The Congress review existing Federal legislation providing grants-in-aid for vocational-education purposes in order to ascertain whether the objectives, scale, and methods of allocation of funds are enabling the Federal Government to make the most effective contribution to the development of the Nation's resources of skilled manpower.

With respect to developing a more effective program for vocational guidance, the National Manpower Council recommends that:

1. State and local governments and boards of education recognize that the provision of essential educational and vocational guidance services is a major responsibility of secondary education by increasing substantially and rapidly the funds and staff available for guidance and counseling purposes.

2. School officials use their guidance and counseling staff primarily for vocational-guidance purposes and, when expanded resources of staff and funds permit, also for counseling students with personal adjustment problems.

3. School officials make vocational guidance available no later than the 9th year and have it continue throughout the high-school course, and that they assign to the classroom teacher major responsibility for helping the student to make sound educational and occupational decisions.

4. School officials take the lead in their communities to assure a vigorous cooperative effort, in which industry, business, labor, government, the armed services, and civic groups participate, to provide occupational information and other types of assistance essential for effective vocational guidance.

With respect to providing more equal opportunities for all individuals to acquire skill, the National Manpower Council recommends that:

1. All employers hire and promote employees and all unions admit individuals to membership without regard to their race, creed, color, national origin, or sex.

2. Employers and unions and the joint apprenticeship councils and committees eliminate the practice, wherever it exists, of barring individuals from admission to apprenticeship programs because of their race or national origin.

3. The President insure that the heads of Federal departments and agencies eliminate discrimination based on race, creed, color, national origin, or sex wherever it remains in Federal employment, and that the full authority of the Federal Government be used to prevent such discrimination in all work performed for it under contract.

With respect to improving the facilities and methods used to train skilled and technical manpower, the National Manpower Council recommends that:

1. Unions and employers and the joint apprenticeship councils and committees review regularly the content and length of training time of apprenticeship programs in order to insure their efficiency and effectiveness.

2. Employers seek to provide greater opportunities for their employees to acquire increased skills through a planned system of varied job assignments, broader training on and off the job, and increasing the training competence of their supervisory staffs.

3. State and city governments undertake comprehensive surveys to determine whether existing training facilities are adequate to meet the requirements for skilled and technical manpower.

4. The Congress, by adjusting pay and other service benefits, enable the Armed Forces to reduce excessive turnover and to encourage reenlistment so as to retain a larger core group of qualified technicians, specialists, and noncommissioned officers.

5. The Secretary of Defense direct the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force to utilize, wherever appropriate, the facilities and personnel available in the civilian community in meeting the training requirements of the services.

With respect to increasing knowledge about our manpower resources, the National Manpower Council recommends that:

1. The universities and foundations encourage and support research to increase our

---

[1] Currently not participating in the work of the National Manpower Council because of government service.

knowledge about manpower resources with particular reference to the complex process of occupational choice; the types of information essential for effective vocational guidance; the role of skilled and technical manpower in economic development; the impact of governmental policies upon the supply of skilled manpower resources; and the relation between how people are trained and their subsequent work performance.

2. The Secretary of Defense direct the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force to evaluate the varied experiences of the services with training and make their significant findings and their new methods available for civilian use.

3. The President direct the appropriate agencies of the Government to provide periodic and comprehensive appraisals of the country's available resources of skilled and technical workers and to seek improvements in the methods of estimating future manpower requirements.

Ike's Security Rules Changes Don't Go to Root of Trouble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Reading Times of March 8, 1955:

IKE'S SECURITY RULES CHANGES DON'T GO TO ROOT OF TROUBLE

Although President Eisenhower has approved Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.'s seven suggestions for shoring up the Federal Government's internal security program among its own employees, it is highly improbable that Mr. Brownell's remedies will, in the end, be the ones that are applied; and perhaps, in view of the fact that they bear principally upon interdepartmental handling of security cases, it is well that these be not the final answer, for they are all procedural, not substantive, rejiggerings of the old system.

One of the changes Mr. Eisenhower has approved will require departmental heads to consult each other in cases where one department or agency refuses to clear a Federal employee who already has been cleared by another department or agency. This doesn't get to the root of anything at all except the kind of interdepartmental squabbling, with great embarrassment to the administration, that occurred in the case of Wolf Ladejinsky, who worked for the State Department for 20 years as an agriculture expert, was denied clearance when he was shifted to the Department of Agriculture, and finally was cleared—and hired—by the Foreign Operations Administration.

It would also seem to us that a basic flaw in the new regulations lies in the fact that there is no really effective procedure for appeal from the security findings of department and agency heads. The Eisenhower administration jettisoned the Loyalty Review Board which operated effectively under the Truman administration. In our opinion, that board should be revived for the reason that without such final check by nongovernmental people the tendency will be to resolve any doubt against an accused employee, just to play it safe.

There is still another fatal flaw, we believe. We all remember the numbers game that was played for the first 2 years of the present administration. First it was 2,200, then the figure fluctuated back and forth many times. The 2,200—or whatever number you happen to prefer—were all under a cloud of disloyalty, inasmuch as the Federal Government was at no great pains to screen those who were screened—to say how many had subversive information against them and could therefore be classified as truly disloyal and how many were merely blabbermouths or loose-tongued in their cups and therefore might talk out of school. The revised security rules, so far as we have been able to interpret them, would do nothing to ban this little numbers game.

There are other flaws which we need not go into here. They will, however, undoubtedly be gone into in great detail when the Subcommittee on Organization, of the Government Operations Committee, opens hearings today on a resolution by Senators HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, and JOHN C. STENNIS, of Mississippi, which would establish a bipartisan Committee on Government Security. This would be a sort of Hoover Commission with a specific, not a general slant, composed of 6 Republicans and 6 Democrats, 6 from the Government itself, 6 from outside the Government.

Two other groups will have a close look at the internal security picture. The Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee will investigate and so will a nongovernmental group, the Bar Association of the City of New York, which has a $100,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic to conduct an 18-month study of our security regulations—what they aren't and what they should be.

From these three studies should come valuable information which will enable the administration and the Congress to arrive at security rules which not only afford the most complete protection to the Government but which, at the same time, will give individuals involved in security checks the completest protection they are entitled to under the laws and the Constitution. That many Federal employees have not been getting such protection in recent years has been plain to every citizen who wanted to take the trouble to follow such cases as those of Wolf Ladejinsky, Val Lorwin, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, and Dr. John P. Peters, the Yale professor of medicine who, as an occasional medical consultant to the Surgeon General, was discharged without having been informed of the charges against him and without the right to confront his accusers.

The Burley Tobacco Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, subcommittees of the Committees on Agriculture and Forestry of both Houses of Congress are presently engaged in holding joint hearings looking into the problems affecting the burley tobacco industry. In the issue of the Louisville Courier-Journal of Monday, March 7, there was an editorial bearing on this problem which I believe to be of interest and value to all Members of the Congress. Therefore I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RX. FOR TOBACCO QUALITY, NOT QUANTITY

When burley tobacco is in trouble, Kentucky is in trouble. And at the moment burley tobacco is in trouble.

The supply of burley now on hand is equivalent to about a 3½ years' supply. That is not as bad as it may sound. Under the price-support crop-control program which has been in effect for most of the last 20 years, the Federal Government has been performing a storage function for the tobacco trade which ordinarily it would perform itself. But it is true that we do have now a surplus of burley equal to about 1 year's supply.

What is worse, we have on hand a lot of burley that is of low quality. It is high-nicotine tobacco that needs to be blended with much lower-nicotine leaf to make good smoking tobacco.

The situation, however, is not yet so serious that it cannot be improved. The solution to the problem will be costly to Kentuckiana growers and as a result to all of Kentuckiana, but it need not be as costly to the community as many think at the moment.

Because tobacco is held for several years before it is used, it will be possible to work off the surplus of lower-grade burley over the next few years if burley growers are willing to cooperate. What is needed in the next few years is the production of a series of high-quality burley crops. In fact, the need is for production of high-quality burley from now on out.

Burley growers obviously have made a mistake in translating acreage controls into a demand for greater production per acre. For once, at least the philosophy of growing two blades of grass where only one grew before has been proved wrong.

Lower production per acre with increasing attention to quality—low nicotine content and fine leaf—can be equated into higher incomes per acre than high yields from smaller allotments.

The solution to the burley problem lies in the hands of burley growers themselves. The burley control and price-support program grew out of the recognition on the part of burley growers for an orderly method of production and marketing.

The present situation is nowhere near as serious as the one that brought about the program. Surely the common sense that prevailed to provide that program will prevail again to save it.

Constitutionality of Executive Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, there appeared in the New York Times of March 8, 1955, an article by Mr. Arthur Krock. It is most timely and accentuates our need to safeguard our constitutional liberties from any encroachment upon them by the provisions of any treaty or these so-called executive agreements. I congratulate Mr. Krock upon the timeliness of his article, and his clear exposition of the critical situation confronting the Senate whenever it considers the provisions of a treaty and what our courts may do in their con-

struction and the interpretation of them. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE NATION

(By Arthur Krock)

STILL ANOTHER COURT TEST OF EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS

WASHINGTON, March 7.—Unless the Government retreats in the case involving the Army's use in 1945 of the Austrian property of Maria Jeritza Seery, the opera singer, the Supreme Court will be presented with another constitutional issue involving executive agreements. And it could appear in a form which would make it unusually difficult for the high Court to refuse review.

The Supreme Court has full and arbitrary power to ignore constitutional issues created by lower court findings and appeals from these findings. Recently it has twice followed this course. In the Capps potato case the Supreme Court left undecided Circuit Judge Parker's opinion that an involved executive agreement was unconstitutional, and confined itself to passing on a factual issue of breach of contract. In the case of Private First Class Keefe the Supreme Court, by declining to review a lower court decision that the GI's constitutional rights had not been violated by trial and sentence in a French court for a vicious criminal offense against a French citizen, refused directly to pass on the issue whether the treaty was constitutional under which the Army turned him over to the French authorities.

But, if a contention made by the Government in the case of Mme. Jeritza is carried to the Supreme Court on appeal from the court of claims, the high tribunal will squarely have before it an inner conflict between an executive agreement and the fifth amendment. This contention is that a 1947 agreement between an Army commander and the Federal Government of Austria precluded an American citizen—Mme. Jeritza—from suing or recovering from the United States damages for the loss and destruction of property she owned in Austria that was used by the Army for an officers' club.

Terms of the agreement

Under this agreement the United States paid Austria 308,382,509 schillings (valued at 5 cents apiece in 1947) in full settlement for all obligations incurred by our forces from April 9, 1945, to June 30, 1947, including damage to all property by whomsoever owned. In return the Austrian Government agreed to settle all such claims and protect the United States from any of them. One such claim was that of Mme. Jeritza. On visiting her Austrian property in 1948, she testified, she found the realty badly damaged and all her personal possessions—of great value—gone. Vainly she sought compensation from the Army under the guarantees of the fifth amendment that public use of private property must be paid for.

Justice Madden, for a unanimous Court of Claims, rejected the Government's denial of its jurisdiction, also motions for summary judgment made both by the Government and Mme. Jeritza, and ordered a court commissioner to make an inquiry into and report on the facts. After the court evaluates these the Government will have the choice of paying some amount in damages or appealing to the Supreme Court on the contention that the executive agreement with Austria absolves it from payment and sets aside the fifth amendment from the case.

Before, however, turning over the factual inquiry to a commissioner, Judge Madden disposed of the basic constitutional issue insofar as the Court of Claims is concerned. Among the Government's assertions was that, though the executive agreement involved was not ratified by the Senate, it was nevertheless a treaty within the meaning of the Constitution and hence "the supreme law of the land."

The Madden finding

"Whatever may be the true doctrine as to formally ratified treaties which conflict with the Constitution [wrote Judge Madden], we think there can be no doubt that an executive agreement, not being a transaction which is even mentioned in the Constitution, cannot impair constitutional rights. Statements [made by this court hitherto] which point in the opposite direction are hereby overruled. * * * It is probably still the law that Congress could effectively destroy a citizen's constitutional right, such as, for example, * * * to just compensation upon the taking of his property by the Government, by a statute withdrawing the Government's consent to be sued. But Congress has given consent to be sued for such a taking and has conferred jurisdiction on this court to adjudicate such a suit. It would, indeed, be incongruous if the executive department alone, without even the limited participation of Congress which is present when a treaty is ratified, could not only nullify the act of Congress consenting to suit on constitutional claims, but, by nullifying * * * destroy the constitutional right of a citizen."

Should the Government contest this, the constitutional issue would be squarely presented to the Supreme Court. It could escape rendering judgment. But Louis B. Wehle, a New York lawyer, has commented that the "John Marshall formula for escape was evolved almost a century and a quarter ago in the days of the Court's political weakness. * * * Long since, in the days of its strength, the Court should discard the formula, as Chief Justice Hughes did in the Ashwander case involving the constitutionality of the TVA.

Termination of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Stassen Go Home" published in the Indianapolis Star of March 6, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STASSEN GO HOME

The other day a reporter asked President Eisenhower if he planned any big economic aid program for Asia this year. The President answered, "There is evolving a plan soon to be crystallized that will be brought out to the Congress for approval."

So there we go again. The last Congress voted to end the life of the Foreign Operations Administration by next June 30. Now the administration is planning to resurrect it—as has been done before.

Americans who are interested in how their tax money has been spent abroad should get a copy of a book called Billions, Blunders, and Baloney, by Eugene Castle, if they want some help in supplying Congress with ideas for economy. You don't have to agree with all of Mr. Castle's conclusions to realize just from the facts presented that FOA is not only worse than useless, it is harming American policy abroad.

The United States Information Agency, another target of Castle's, has 10,171 employees in Washington and overseas. What do they all do? They duplicate the private press services in supplying news overseas which is rarely used because it is considered propaganda. They make movies that they take out to show people how wonderful America is which often create the reverse impression and which are shown mostly to captive audiences. Yet the private United States film industry has daily audiences abroad of 200 million people. They live in nice homes with nice allowances in nice districts and put up nice exhibits in places where the average citizen rarely goes. They do not mingle with the people or adopt their customs or try to learn their cultural and psychological natures. As a result the USIA has, to date, done more to antagonize our foreign friends than to woo them. The results are obvious, of course. Never has the United States been held in less respect than today. Never have we had less support from our allies. Never have our enemies been able to sneer at us with such impunity. Until we began sending these journalistic gauleiters abroad to sell the United States we were not only respected and admired, we were liked.

We have sent $112 billion abroad in foreign aid in less than 15 years. What good did it do us? Are we more secure than 10 years ago? Are we better liked than 10 years ago? Do we have more loyal allies than 10 years ago? Are our enemies weaker than 10 years ago? Do we have more friends in other countries than 10 years ago? Is our aim of supporting freedom further along than 10 years ago? It is not.

Think what schools and highways that $112 billion could have built in the United States. Think of the military power we could have built with that $112 billion. We could have paid off nearly half of our national debt with it. Which would have done us more good? Which will do us more good in the future?

Last year Congress allocated $5,245,575,795 for FOA. Yet there was already a backlog of $10 billion unspent and $2 billion of this was not even allocated. But when Congressmen objected and tried to slash it, the administration put on the pressure and cried "wolf" once more and they buckled under. If Congress had eliminated FOA last year, as it had planned, we would have a balanced budget now with something left over for tax reduction.

But Mr. Stassen says, "We cannot, nor must we ever trim our aid to needy free nations just for the sake of cutting our own budget." So we owe everybody in the world a living, including those who oppose us, except ourselves.

We have tried to buy allies and we failed. We have tried to buy peace and got 3 wars. We have tried to buy friendship and bought only enmity. The most conspicuous example is India, to which we will have given $378 million by next year. India not only refuses to join us in our peace and security efforts: India joins the other side against us. Yet we keep on. And Stassen's minions keep calling this success.

Mr. Castle cites a conversation with a Turkish newspaperman. "There are no 'Yank go home' signs in Turkey," he said. "Turks like Yanks; Yanks like Turks. The only Yanks the Turks don't like are your propagandists all over our country. If they would go home, it would be still better for Turkish-American relations."

If we want to buy propaganda in foreign countries, we should hire foreign press agents who know something about their own countries and how people think. We have

built huge monuments to our psychological stupidity in our lavish embassies and official residences abroad which excite envy, not admiration, sneers, not praise from local citizens. Our troops abroad are another source of irritation. If the next war is to be fought in the air with atomic weapons, why not bring them home and eliminate this ever-present source of irritation?

But America's chief failure in foreign policy, a failure that still persists stems from trying to do with dollars and propaganda what can only be done with sound policy. The Soviets make successful propaganda only because they have successful diplomatic and military policies. When they win a victory in the Tachen Islands it is worth 1,000 SEATO's. Every Geneva is worth a score of Marshall plans. Every victory in Indochina is worth billions spent on propaganda. Every diplomatic or military retreat by the United States is worth 1 million Harold Stassens. A successful and dynamic foreign policy will automatically bring successful propaganda, more solid alliances, more respect and admiration abroad. Retreats do not excite either confidence or respect.

So Congress should end all foreign aid this year and force the administration to concentrate on building sound policy. By balancing our budget we would be greatly strengthened at home. By bringing home our despised propagandists and resented troops we would be strengthened psychologically abroad. The slogan for this Congress should paraphrase the slogan that our stupidities and naivetes abroad have brought upon us, "Stassen go home"—and stay there.

New Virgin Island Governor Aims To Improve Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, a great many of use here in the Senate, particularly those from the Southeastern States, have been acutely aware for some time of the problems relating to the United States Territories and island possessions which are close to us. We have sought to keep abreast of developments in the governments of Puerto Rico, for instance, where the people have been given self-government under a commonwealth status, and where great progress has been seen under Puerto Rican leaders.

Also of great interest and concern to us is that group of islands off the southern shores of Florida in the Caribbean Sea—the archipelago known as the Virgin Islands.

Recently, one of the Nation's outstanding newspaper correspondents, whom we all know for his sterling worth here in Washington, visited these islands, along with an official party from the Government, headed by Secretary of Interior McKay and Secretary of Agriculture Benson. This reporter made firsthand observations of conditions in the islands, and in his reports to his newspaper put his finger on some of the problems which the Virgin Islands face.

I recommend that all Senators give their attention to the article I am about to present for the RECORD, not only because it is written in a very lucid, precise style, but also because it makes available authoritative, up-to-date information. The author is Mr. Radford Mobley, who is the Washington correspondent for the Knight newspapers, and this article appeared in the Miami Herald and other Knight newspapers on March 3, 1955.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW VIRGIN ISLAND GOVERNOR AIMS TO IMPROVE ECONOMY

(By Radford Mobley)

ST. THOMAS, V. I.—The English-speaking Virgin Islanders, situated between Puerto Rico and Latin America, have a new governor who is asking them to take a sharper look at realities if they want to improve their economy.

Self-made Gov. Archie A. Alexander, who was a millionaire contractor in Washington before he took his present job, was not a popular choice when he was appointed last year.

He was a nonresident Negro and the natives talk increasingly about electing their own resident governor.

Furthermore, he talked very candidly with the local population. He advised them to apply themselves more. This didn't sit too well with a part of the 26,000 population, many of whom have been content since the Roosevelt adminsitration to depend on Washington to take care of these islands, partly wrecked by prohibition and the handout.

The local people hope the governor will lose some of his energy and eventually see things their easy-going way in this delightful tropical climate. But this seems unlikely. Governor Alexander is a determined man and would like to see the islands stand on their own feet.

The reward for such an accomplishment will be more local self-government. This goal is presently aimed at.

Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay and other Federal officials made a recent survey of the islands, particularly to take a look at the Virgin Islands Corporation (VICORP), set up during the former Democratic administration to improve the islands' economy.

VICORP started out on a big scale. Former Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes put it into the rum business, reviving the principal industry under Government sponsorship. It then went into the hotel business and finally into the sugar business.

Today the Corporation, which has dropped rum, hotels, and tourism, leaving power and sugar, is losing $500,000 a year. There is little chance for doing better unless the Virgin Island sugar quota is raised, and local workers get interested in sugar field work now left mainly to imported labor.

Congress soon will consider what to do about VICORP. McKay has been advised to ask that Congress kill it, turning over its operations to the Virgin Islands government under Governor Alexander.

Last year the United States Government stopped direct grants to the Virgin Islands government to meet deficits, and has cut down on grants for welfare purposes.

Now the Treasury turns back to the Virgin Islands tax revenue collected on sale within the United States of Virgin Islands goods. This is mainly rum.

But it seems probable VICORP will be stuck with its sugar business for some time. Chances for a private sale, as was arranged for the rum and hotel businesses, seem slight in view of current losses.

Eventually the local government may be given control, but it is officially recommended this step be delayed until the government demonstrates its ability to manage its own affairs.

The VICORP board is taking steps to clean up what it found when it took over.

It found there was no adequate inventory of corporation equipment. Inventory accounts were adjusted to agree with storekeeper records without reason given for differences. An inventory is now underway.

During the past few years the corporation spent half a million dollars for tractors and other farm equipment. This was left in the fields and villages at the end of the grinding season. Vehicles were open for rains to flood them. Some equipment was almost invisible because of the overgrowth of weeds.

"In these lovely islands we did find a lovely mess," said Dr. K. A. Bartlett, president of the corporation. "We now have top technical aid to make things more efficient. But whether we can make money out of sugar, I can't say. Labor is the chief problem."

Younger Virgin Islanders leave for the States whenever they can. Six of 10 drafted for military service never return home.

Governor Alexander had long sessions with McKay and Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson on needed water projects, more diversified agriculture, forestry development, and other pressing problems.

Some of the natives say they would like to go back to Navy control, where they were from 1917 to the 1930's. The reason: "Because the Navy was always building things."

Governor Alexander is a builder himself and should capture their confidence if he builds a few things, assuming he can find the labor.

Oil Price Regulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article entitled "U. N. and Economics: Global Group Asks Oil Price Regulation To Set Right Rate," published in the Wall Street Journal of February 24, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U. N. AND ECONOMICS: GLOBAL GROUP ASKS OIL PRICE REGULATION TO SET RIGHT RATE—COST IN EUROPE TOO HIGH, TIED TO UNITED STATES LEVELS, SECRET REPORT ARGUES—DULL DOCUMENT PACKS A PUNCH

(By Henry Gemmill and Mitchell Gordon)

GENEVA.—Less than 2 weeks from now, on March 9, delegates to a United Nations committee—including representatives of Russia, Poland, and other Communist countries—will meet here to discuss what has suddenly become the most violently publicized economic issue on the continent.

This is a proposal by the secretariat of the U. N.'s Economic Commission for Europe that governmental machinery be set up to fix what it calls the right prices for crude oil produced in the Middle East—mostly by 5 American companies and 3 European ones—and for petroleum products refined and marketed in Western Europe. The right price

for Middle East crude, the secretariat argues, would be a lot lower than the going rate.

Officially, this proposal is still a secret and every effort has been made to confine circulation of a document in which it is contained, bearing the colorless title "The Price of Oil in Western Europe," to governments of participating countries, including the United States. But newspapers from Britain to Switzerland to Italy have learned much of its contents and are currently headlining it—rather misleadingly—as an assault on monopoly.

PACKS POTENTIAL WALLOP

An examination of the complete text of the document, obtained by the Wall Street Journal, shows it to be at first glance, a scholarly and rather dull dissertation. It contains 3 pages of algebraic equations and 14 pages of tables, charts, and maps in addition to 39 pages of analysis and suggestions. But whatever its merits as an economic study, it does pack a potential political wallop, so its arguments and proposals are perhaps worth attention.

This is not a trustbusting effort of the sort the big American oil companies have become accustomed to at home—though the ECE document does draw on facts and allegations contained in the 1952 report of the Federal Trade Commission entitled "The International Petroleum Cartel" and though it does make reference to "the current civil action against the five major United States oil companies operating abroad for alleged violation of the antitrust laws."

(The Justice Department's antitrust case against the so-called international oil cartel, filed in April of 1953, has come almost to a standstill. Government lawyers have been studying thousands of documents submitted by the five United States oil firms involved, and sometime after mid-March, Federal and company attorneys are expected to get together to discuss ways of getting the case off the district court inactive list.)

Instead, this United Nations staff group recognizes and appears to welcome the power of the five big companies and the governments backing them. But it proposes that this be countered by governmental power and action to be exercised by the consuming nations.

NO SOLID DETAILS

As to the details of what it wants, the Secretriat gives only a number of broad hints. It asserts that "the special circumstances of crude-oil production make it impossible to say, on purely economic grounds, where the right price lies," except within a very wide range. So the decision must be political—"one which represents a compromise generally felt to be fair between the interests of producers and consumers."

The United Nations planners recall with apparent nostalgia "the Anglo-American Oil Treaty of 1945 which explicitly recognized the interests of all governments, consuming as well as producing." This draft treaty "was never ratified and the particular approach which it envisaged may now be no longer appropriate," their report concedes, but adds that "the transition from conditions of scarcity to conditions of plenty in oil poses anew the problems which were already foreseen at that time."

What the Secretariat seeks is stability, through agreed-upon pricing. It denounces the price of Middle East crude as too high today, but it is equally fearful of a price collapse. Says the report: "The danger is that if governments in consuming countries remain so detached from these problems as heretofore they may persist unsolved until the further accumulation of strains produces a disorderly rupture in the present price structure."

MAY PARALLEL WHEAT PACT

At the moment only one major commodity—wheat—has its price controlled by international governmental agreement. The United Nations group does not cite this as a model, though it would seem to fit the definitions of what is desired for oil.

Communist countries might have to be included in any oil price-fixing arrangement, the report indicates. It notes that so far, East Europe's crude-oil exports have been small; at last count in 1953 they came to roughly 1.5 million tons out of total consumption in Western Europe of roughly 70 million tons, and most sales by the Soviet Union and Rumania seem to have been made at prices little different from those charged by the major private companies.

But already East Europe has completely taken over the Icelandic and Finnish petroleum markets, the Secretariat declares, and if oil comes to figure still more prominently in the export efforts of Eastern Europe, the problem of opening up outlets for it without price cutting is likely to become more serious.

The United Nations officials do not hesitate to name the private companies which it would subject to price control, both for crude oil produced in the Middle East and for products refined and distributed in Europe. They are the Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), the Texas Co., Socony-Vacuum, Standard Oil of California, and Gulf Oil Corp., all American, the Royal Dutch Shell group of companies and the British Petroleum Co., formerly called Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. In addition it cites one French Government-backed concern, Compagnie Francaise des Petroles.

DOMINATE REGION'S OIL

Together these firms produce nearly all Middle East oil, largely through joint companies. For instance, in Saudi Arabia the joint enterprise is Arabian American Oil Co., representing the two Standard Oil concerns, Socony-Vacuum and the Texas Co. Iraq Petroleum is a joint venture of Socony-Vacuum, Jersey Standard, British Petroleum, Royal Dutch, Shell, and Compagnie Francaise.

The United Nations theorists seem to feel that the big private petroleum companies may embrace their plan for political price fixing. In this they are very likely wildly overconfident but their sentiment is explained thus:

"Alone and unaided the oil industry may find it impossible to evolve a more rational price structure or pricing mechanism. The development of any new formula by the industry itself, even though it produced a more defensible structure and a lower level of prices in Europe, would doubtless increase the difficulties experienced by the American companies with regard to the administration of United States antitrust laws. And without some ageement reached in advance on an alternative standard of pricing the industry is understandably reluctant to abandon the present one since, given the conditions of supply and the insensitivity of demand to price changes, it is difficult to see where prices will come to rest once they start to move."

INTRICATE ECONOMIC REASONING

The economic reasoning behind the United Nations proposals is intricate but boils down to this:

Oil prices in America are kept high by regulatory agencies of State governments, such as the Texas Railroad Commission, which aim to cover the expenses of the highest cost domestic producers and promote a high rate of oil exploration.

Europe, which before World War II got most of its oil from the Western Hemisphere in the form of refined products, now gets nearly all its imports from the new fields of the Middle East, and it takes it as crude oil because refineries have been built in Europe. About $1 billion is paid annually now for this crude and it is argued that this is far too much.

The Secretariat contends that the cost of production in the rich Middle East fields is amazingly low. It cites figures showing that while "in the United States average output per well in 1950 was only some 11.6 barrels a day, or 31 barrels if stripper (marginal producing) wells are excluded," in the Middle East the average was some 5,000 barrels. The report contends that in 1952 crude oil from Saudi Arabia that sold for $1.75 a barrel returned a net profit in the neighborhood of $1.40.

SAID TIED TO UNITED STATES

The price of Middle East crude is somewhat below the American price, it is conceded, but the United Nations group contends it is nevertheless arbitrarily "tied to that in the United States, with due allowance for freight charges." The planners conclude that "the wide divorce which persists between prices and production costs in the Middle East suggests that if this link were severed the price charged on sales to European countries by the Middle East could be significantly lowered without adverse effects on the further development of its crude oil production."

The present high profitability of Middle Eastern operations is depicted by the Secretariat as a standing invitation to the potentates of the area to increase their demands for a cut of it. "The present position in which royalties and taxes in most Middle East countries amount to about 50 percent of the net profits of crude oil production is the outcome of very recent advances over the last few years," the report says, and "there is no reason to think that the present position is one of permanent stability."

New price-fixing mechanisms must be applied not only to Middle East crude oil but to petroleum products refined in Europe, the economic commission contends. Its charts depict some big companies which dominate the Middle East production as controlling more than 70 percent of Western Europe's refining capacity although they control only a bit more than 40 percent of the refineries in the United States.

PRICE PEGGING CHARGED

It is charged that most of these big companies—and most independent ones, too—peg their prices upon prices of refined products in the Western Hemisphere through a technique known as import parity. In other words prices in Western Europe tend to be equal to the price at which products could be delivered from the Caribbean, except in the eastern Mediterranean which is closer to the Middle East, where the yardstick is delivered prices from the Persian Gulf.

The asserted result is that European refined prices dance to the tune of demand for various products in the United States and the pattern of prices imposed is bound to be inappropriate, especially because the demand for fuel oil relative to that of motor spirit is much higher in Western Europe. Another alleged effect is to make the profitability of refining in most parts of Western Europe vary in erratic fashion with changes in the level of freight rates.

Any new scheme for fixing refined product prices would need to be consistent with two objectives, according to the economic commission. One objective is to kick loose from the American price patterns and establish instead prices which will respond to demand in Western Europe. The second is to insure that the pricing practices adopted are such that efficient nonintegrated refiners, who cannot subsidize refining out of profits made in crude-oil production, transport or distribution, can compete on equal terms with the integrated companies.

SENSATIONAL PUBLICITY

The economic commission secretariat is headed by Gunnar Myrdal, Socialist from

Sweden. While he was still in domestic politics, Mr. Myrdal negotiated soon after the war a big Swedish deal with Russia. He explained to a Wall Street Journal reporter at the time in 1946 that this was not from fondness for the Communists but because the danger of an American depression was imminent and Sweden must diversify its trade interests.

Accounts of the economic commission's oil report have been sensationally publicized even by some newspapers whose economic and political views are conservative. For example, Lord Beaverbrook's London Express this week threw 8-column page 1 headlines on a story proclaiming: "Big Combines Accused of Keeping Up Prices in Britain."

An exception is the London Financial Times which rehearses what it terms the oil industry's answer to the criticism:

"Under the 50–50 profit-sharing arrangement which has been gradually extended throughout the Middle East any attempt to reduce the selling price of crude oil would be bitterly resisted by the governments of that area whose revenues would be reduced in consequence. It is idle to suggest that they would be able to sell much more oil at lower prices. The only big new market that they could hope to capture by offering their oil at prices below the United States gulf level is the United States itself, and there is no doubt about the promptness of the measures that would be taken if the threat of foreign oil 'dumping' of this kind ever materialized."

Stories about the United Nations oil critique have been given spirited play in Swiss newspapers, which have been critical of recent United States antitrust action against their country's watchmakers. The Italian news agency decided to file a story on the issue after worrying whether doing so would supply Italian Communists with political ammunition.

UNITED STATES FIRMS ASSAIL REPORT

Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) assailed a United Nations agency's report on prices of crude oil produced in the Middle East as a "gross misstatement." Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Inc., said it makes no specific recommendations and the Texas Co. noted the paper "has no official status."

A Jersey Standard spokesman said the paper apparently was based "on charges which have been made in the past about the oil industry • • • which have never been tried or proved. Such things can be and are used as propaganda by Communists and others to attack the West. • • • The net received by the oil companies from Middle East crudes have been overstated in the paper by exactly 100 percent."

Socony-Vacuum said in a statement, "Apparently the authors of the report make no specific recommendations. But they seem to suggest that the oil industry has in some way failed to price its products appropriately and that perhaps some form of international governmental control ought to be imposed. • • • We are confident that when the final report of the ECE is officially released such questions as it raises will be readily understandable in the light of accepted economic principles."

The Texas Co. declared, "This working paper, as far as we know, has not been approved and has no official status. The Texas Co. believes in the basic principles of free enterprise and competition. We also believe that these natural economic forces in the long run operate most favorably in the public interest."

How the Right-To-Work Fight Lines Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article which appeared in the February 16, 1955, political memo of Labor's League for Political Education of the American Federation of Labor:

HOW THE RIGHT-TO-WORK FIGHT LINES UP

Passage of a so-called right-to-work law by the Utah Legislature brought into sharp focus the whole dark and bitter history of the corrupt big business fight against men and women who have joined unions to help gain higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions.

It also retold an old, old story. This one: There is not a union security contract in America that cannot be wiped off the books by legislative action.

The postscript to that tale is this: Trade unionists must be active politically in order to protect themselves. If they don't want each individual worker to be forced to plead with his employer for fair treatment, they must learn where candidates for the legislatures and Congress stand on labor issues. And then they must register and vote for those who will support the interests of working people, and the State and country as a whole, because what is good for the country is good for the worker.

THE POLITICAL PARTY LINEUP

In Utah, which, with Governor Lee's signature, became the 18th State to pass the law aimed at destroying trade unions by outlawing all union security agreements, every one of the 33 Republicans in the House and 13 of the 16 GOP Senators voted for the bill. On the other hand, all 27 Democrats in the House and all 7 Democrats in the Senate opposed it.

The Utah voting pattern was cut from the same cloth which has been woven in other right-to-work States. There, without exception, legislatures are controlled by greedy men who sit in the front offices of corporations and the board rooms of banks.

In the 11 Southern States which have passed the union-wrecking legislation, that has meant control by the Dixiecrat battalions commanded by such labor-hating warriors as Talmadge, of Georgia; Shivers, of Texas; and Byrnes, of South Carolina.

But outside the solid South, it has meant that in seven States the Republican regiments have wheeled their artillery into line and cannonaded the Democratic prolabor troops to death.

And yet the generals of the Grand Army of the Republican Party profess to wonder why Labor's League for Political Education so often supports liberal Democrats for legislative offices.

In the words of AFL President George Meany, labor is not wedded to the Democratic Party. Rather it is wedded to the idea that it is a mite smarter to vote for a man who will vote for us rather than for one who will vote to let organized labor be destroyed on the order of big business.

THE PRESSURE GROUP LINEUP

Utah witnessed an organization with a high-sounding and oh-so-respectable label fronting for the reactionary characters behind the scenes in their battle to strip working people of the right to organize. And the citizenry of other States watched phony fronts in their statehouses plot and execute legislative assaults on union members.

In Salt Lake City, it was called the Industrial Relations Council of Utah. That sounds nice. It even sounds fancy. Who in the world would have anything against an outfit that wants to promote better labor-management relations, as the council's name so slyly implies is its intent? Of course, one way to guarantee big-business men of having peaceful relations with unions is to have no unions.

As a matter of brutal fact, the Utah representative who introduced the right-to-work-unions measure is the council's attorney.

One of the earliest front groups to fight the union shop was the high-sounding DeMille Political Freedoms Foundation, run by the movie magnate, Cecil B. DeMille. The foundation deluged Wyoming legislators with propaganda mailed in an envelope carrying the return address of: Labor's Legislative Committee, Casper, Wyo. This gave the impression that the outfit had labor support—which it surely did not.

In North Carolina and Virginia, there were groups solemnly calling themselves right-to-work committees. In reality, they consisted of low-wage manufacturers and should have been known as right-to-work-for-what-we-want-to-pay-you-for-as-long-as-we-want-to-work-you committees.

In Louisiana, there was a ghost group tagged as the Citizens Committee. It paid for reams of newspaper advertisements and endless hours of radio propaganda. Its goal was plainly obvious inasmuch as it was teamed up with such hot-eyed groups as the New Orleans Association of Commerce, the Louisiana Manufacturers Association, and the Farm Bureau.

In other Dixie States, the Southern States Industrial Council played a leading anti-union role.

In Oklahoma, the false face for the reactionary boys who lurked stealthily behind the scenes was a thing known as Jobs, Inc. Fortunately, trade unionists and their friends in the legislature killed the proposed right-to-wreck bill in a bitter, uphill drive.

Then there is the spook group known as the National Economic Council, Inc., a blood brother of the notorious Committee for Constitutional Government. Among those who have contributed money to the NEC are such friends of the workingman as Gulf Oil, Monsanto Chemical, Vick Chemical, Lammont Du Pont, Irénée du Pont, Lone Star Cement, and the Texas Co.

The president of the National Economic Council, Inc., is one Merwin K. Hart, who in 1940 had this to say:

"I wonder sometimes if one of the causes of our trouble today arises from the fact that we have been overdrilled into believing we are a democracy."

It was Hart who told an amazed committee of the United States House of Representatives in 1950 that the Supreme Court should be abolished because it's dedicated to socialism.

Perhaps the most fraudulent label that has been pasted on such phantom forces is the one that trickily implies it is sponsored by church people. These include the Chris-

tian American Association and the Christian Front.

Their names give off an aroma of morality. You might mistakenly infer from them that they are benevolent organizations dedicated to good and prayerful endeavors. But their works give off the noxious odors of assassins of the trade-union movement.

It was the hippity-hoppity Christian American Association which fathered the right-to-wreck law in Texas; which claimed ownership of the law in Louisiana; which cosponsored it with chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations in Georgia; which put over a labor peace act in Colorado (later torpedoed by the State supreme court); and which was so effective in pressuring members of the Tennessee Legislature that a right-to-wreck law sailed through that assembly despite the fact that not a single, solitary supporter of the bill testified before the senate labor committee.

THE REAL CHURCH LINEUP

Most of the leading spokesmen of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish churches who have taken public positions about so-called right-to-work laws have upheld the moral, as well as legal, right of workers and employers to enter into contracts when they see fit.

Among these is the executive committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which said in 1949: "We believe that compulsory union membership should be neither required nor forbidden by law."

The Most Reverend Francis Rummel, Catholic archbishop of New Orleans, told a Louisiana legislative committee in 1954: "Labor no less than management needs reform, but neither should be virtually outlawed."

Rabbi E. J. Lipman, director of the Commission on Social Action of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, stated in 1954: "The right-to-work law is a fraud. * * * Against such attempts to impair the right of labor to organize, the adherents of religious faith—whether Judaism or Christianity—must speak out with candor and courage."

Just the other day, Senator HERBERT LEHMAN inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the 1955 New Year's Day statement of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. One paragraph said:

"It is not the American worker who has been bleating so loudly about a man's right to work. The new expounders of the right-to-work are those who would have the worker stand alone before them in his request to exercise that right—where they can dictate the conditions of that work—conditions which in the past have brought untold misery and hardship to the workingman."

And that, of course, is absolutely true. How many workers, either union or nonunion members, have pleaded for a right-to-work law? How many employees in a union shop have quit their job to work in a nonunion shop because they don't like union security?

The questions answer themselves.

THE HYPOCRITICAL LINEUP

We should not forget one thing. A number of big-business men practice the deepest hypocrisy in their attempts to outlaw the union shop. The union shop—a result of the American principle of majority rule—is more than 150 years old. During that time it became entrenched firmly in many industries.

And some of the leaders in those industries have union agreements right today. But, nothing daunted, they continue to blather about how terrible unionism is.

The prime, 24-carat, gold-plated model of such a man with his feet planted firmly in the air is none other than the president of the National Association of Manufacturers, Henry Riter III. He says "State right-to-work laws are designed to restore to the individual his basic rights to decide for himself whether to join or not to join a union."

It so happens that Mr. Riter is chairman of the board of the Copperweld Steel Co. which has a union-shop contract with the steelworkers.

WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE LINEUP?

Forty-six legislatures meet this year and the jowls of the NAM and the chamber of commerce are quivering with anticipation of more legislative worlds to conquer. Thus it behooves all trade union leaders to generate a very active participation in affairs in their State capitals by organized labor.

Only by practical, hardheaded mobilization of union members will more right-to-work laws be defeated.

Only in that way can they stop antilabor forces who want to remove from the tomb the days of not-so-long-ago, days that have been described by a late Chief Justice of the United States in these words:

"A single employee was helpless in dealing with an employer. He was dependent upon his daily wage for the maintenance of himself and his family. If the employer refused to pay him the wages he thought fair, he was nevertheless unable to leave the employ and to resist arbitrary and unfair treatment."

And then the Chief Justice said: "Union was essential to give laborers opportunity to deal on equality with their employer."

The name of the Chief Justice was William Howard Taft, father of the father of the Taft-Hartley Act.

MR. DOOLEY EXPLAINS THE RIGHT TO WORK

The present right-to-work drive against the union shop recalls a famous piece by Mr. Dooley, a character created by Finley Peter Dunne, noted newspaper writer of years ago. Wage rates and working hours have changed since then, but the fundamental situation he discussed remains the same. Nobody has ever described it better than Dooley, in his Irish brogue, as follows:

"What is the open shop? Sure, 'tis where they kape the doors open to accommodate the constant stream of min comin in to take jobs cheaper than the min that has the jobs.

"'Tis like this, Hinnissey: Suppose wan of these freeborn citizens is workin in an open shop f'r the princely wages av wan large iron dollar a day av tin hours. Along comes anither son av gun and he sez to the boss, Oi think Oi could handle the job nicely f'r 90 cints.'

"'Sure,' sez the boss, an the wan dollar man gets out into the crool wuruld t' exercise his inalienable rights as a freeborn American citizen and scab on some other poor devil.

"And so it goes on, Hinnissey. And who gits the benefit? True, it saves the boss money, but he don't care no more for money thin he does f'r his right eye. It's all a matter of principle with him. He hates to see min robbed av their indepindince."

"'But,' said Mr. Hennessey, 'these openshop min ye menshun say they are f'r unions if properly conducted.'

"'Sure,' said Mr. Dooley, 'if proper conducted. An' there we are: How would they have thim properly conducted? No strikes, no rules, no contracts, no scales, hardly iny wages, and dam few members.'"

Soil Conservation Districts in Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Soil Conservation Districts Expanding," published in the St. Paul Pioneer Press of March 9, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOIL CONSERVATION DISTRICTS EXPANDING

More than three-fourths of Minnesota's good agricultural land lies within the 69 soil conservation districts already organized. Yet in all that area less than a fourth of the farmers are cooperators in the program, following basic soil conservation plans. As M. A. Thorfinnson, extension soil conservationist on the university's farm campus, put it in an article in the Conservation Volunteer, "We are three-fourths organized for the job and have more than three-fourths of the job still to do in the organized area."

The process of expanding the organization framework has been speeded by Mr. Thorfinnson in his position as executive secretary of the State soil conservation committee. Seventeen of sixty-nine districts were organized in the last 3 years and 9 of these in just the past year. Yet research must have continuing impetus, and direct participation in the plan will have to be expanded.

Urging legislative appropriations to carry the program forward, the Conservation Volunteer articles makes this sound statement as to the value of research: "It has been estimated that Minnesota is losing $100 million worth of topsoil annually through soil erosion, in addition to a similar amount in fertility going into crops shipped out of the State. The latter can be largely replaced through use of commercial fertilizer; the former can never be replaced. A few hundred thousand invested annually can go a long way in preventing this loss."

Red Propaganda Against the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "His Master's Voice," prepared by the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, pastor of the Foundry Methodist Church and Chaplain of the United States Senate, which was published in Foundry Facts for Foundry Folks of February 24, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIS MASTER'S VOICE

We have never yet known President Syngman Rhee to be wrong in his reactions and judgments regarding anything that has to do with communism. Few men in the world know better the blackness of the heart—if it has a heart—of this conspiracy of slavery.

It was his deliberate judgment last summer that no representatives of the subservient churches back of the Iron Curtain should be allowed to come to Evanston. It was also the best judgment of the State Department that they ought not to come. But, at last, a milder attitude prevailed, on the basis that, perhaps, they could do no harm, especially if carefully watched, and might

see and hear some things here that would affect their attitudes when they returned.

What these so-called church leaders have said and done since their return, for instance, to Hungary, shows how right Syngman Rhee was.

Dr. Eugene Gonda, a former European journalist, now living in Washington, has these comments, among many others, to make:

"The four Hungarian Protestant bishops took the lead recently in a new kind of Red propaganda aimed at the United States. The 4–2 Lutherans and 2 Calvinists—were members of a Hungarian delegation which attended the Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston last August. The Lutherans were Dezery and Veto; the Calvinists were Bereczky and Peter.

"Bishop Bereczky has been giving well-publicized lectures since his return about his sad American experiences. Bishops Peter, Dezery, and Veto wrote articles about the horrors of American life and the successes of Iron Curtain churches at the Evanston Assembly."

In spite of all the courtesies that were extended them, the bishops agreed that they received "humiliating treatment reserved only for Communists." They didn't receive that sort of treatment; but even if they did they ought not to have been surprised, inasmuch as they represent a gangster government.

Speaking of American cafeterias—into which one need not go unless he wants to—one of these pseudo bishops told his countrymen: "One of the slanders by the western reactionary press about Communist countries is that there people wait in line for food in collective restaurants. The truth is that America is the country of waiting in line in cafeterias."

Another pronouncement by one of these ecclesiastical leaders is: "It is not possible to buy beer in bottles in America. Even this is delivered in canned form. Milk is sold in square paper boxes. American food is tasteless and is permeated with all kinds of unpleasant odors of fish, melted butter, and food oil."

Each one of these leaders described in his own way a cute magazine cover, which all unregimented Americans understand perfectly, as follows: "A father with two loaded guns terrorizing his young son in a sickbed and thus forcing him to take a bitter medicine." The writer succeeded in identifying the picture which so horrified these Hungarian bishops. It was on the cover of American Weekly, and it showed a smiling father kneeling at the bedside of his little boy, who was grimacing over a spoonful of castor oil. The father wore toy holsters and a toy sheriff's hat; and he was terrorizing the youngster with two cap pistols.

Fortunately, the State Department would not let some of these discredited and suspected church representatives go very far out of Evanston. But, even then, they pounced upon an Evanston war memorial. This man Peter (pronounced Pater) devoted an entire article, published in many Hungarian newspapers, to the Evanston memorial, and concluded that "the United States is suffering from war hysteria." Really, the shaft to which these Reds took exception was in memory of men who had fallen in all conflicts since the Civil War.

One of these men, unfortunately announced as representatives of ecumenical Christianity, told the Hungarian people when he got back: "Many people came to see us secretly and shook our hands warmly in the absolute privacy of hotel elevators."

An anonymous Protestant minister was quoted as saying: "President Eisenhower was elected on a program of peace and social progress. This has proved to be an empty illusion. Believe me, the American people have lost their faith in everybody. They are only anxious for their future. While reading a newspaper, the average American can do nothing but turn the chewing gum in his mouth."

Well, we might comment that it would be better to have one's mouth filled with chewing gum than with the lies that these churchmen took back as part of their Red propaganda in Hungary. Their remarks which we have quoted here give just a little sample of the distortions which these men from Hungary (one of whom, instead of being called a bishop, is called a stooge and an informer by the Hungarian Government in exile) took back with them from this land of the free, as they returned to their totalitarian paradise—out of which they never would have been allowed to go had their masters not been sure of their loyalty. It is a case of his master's voice.

All who know really the ecumenical picture of world Christianity cannot help but deeply deplore that at Evanston the voice of this Hungarian Peter was heard, and the voices of such ecumenical Christians as Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee were not heard.

Again, let us say, Syngman Rhee was absolutely right.

Hoover Comes Back Strong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by Thomas L. Stokes, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of March 10, 1955:

HOOVER COMES BACK STRONG—EX-PRESIDENT SEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN MOVE TO RETURN CONTROL OF CREDIT TO NATION'S BANKING INDUSTRY

It is doubtful if the American people understand or properly assess the powerful influence that Herbert Hoover exerts on the Eisenhower administration, which is, as we know, the first Republican administration since Mr. Hoover's own which had to devote itself chiefly to wrestling with the depression that broke only 6 months after it began.

Mr. Hoover had to wait a long time for a Republican administration after his own was repudiated so overwhelmingly at the polls in the 1932 election. But he has come back strong. He offers his advice in many fields to the Eisenhower regime, though his impact is directed through the Commission on Reorganization of the Government, of which he is chairman, and chairman in fact as well as name.

The former President was, as you recall, brought back into public service by ex-President Truman to head the commission. Then, however, the Commission was limited to recommending ways to make the Government more efficient and less wasteful by eliminating duplication of services and functions, overlapping, and such.

In the Eisenhower administration, however, the Hoover Commission was given authority to invade the field of policy in many areas of Government and this Mr. Hoover has set out religiously to accomplish. You can imagine he is directing this with some relish; for the policy chiefly affected is that body of laws and principles passed and established in the 20 and more years since Mr. Hoover left the White House—the New Deal which he so vigorously assails from time to time.

This will become clear with the release shortly of the Hoover Commission report on Federal lending agencies, and some time hence in the report on water resources. If the recommendations of these should be approved by Congress, we would get a revision of the aims of many New Deal reforms, as well as some dating back beyond that, and even beyond Mr. Hoover's ill-starred administration. The forthcoming reports are worth careful public scrutiny; for nothing like the drastic policy revision urged was before the people in the candidacy of General Eisenhower in 1952.

If carried out, the recommendations in the Hoover report on Federal lending agencies would turn back credit control, with a nice profit, to the bankers. That would wipe out the victory, won at much cost and culminating in the Roosevelt administration, which gave the people through their Government control over money and credit. Or, as the late Franklin D. Roosevelt put it, "moved the money capital of the United States from Wall Street to Washington"; or, as he stated his aim more dramatically in his first inaugural, "to drive the money changers from the temple."

More and more this administration is taking on the colors and contours of a bankers' administration. The bankers and big finance have been moving into position, as is manifest in such operations as bonds-for-schools, bonds-for-roads, as well as in the Hoover proposals.

Under the latter, loans for farmers, for veterans, for homeowners, for small business, for rural electric cooperatives and the like, would be removed from Government agencies and institutions and, by one device and another, turned back to private bankers. The result would be higher interest rates and higher fees of all sorts.

It is hard to imagine that the many groups affected would take this lying down, especially farmers, small-business men and veterans. One of the greatest economic battles of our time, and it was bitter, was the struggle of the farmers to free themselves of banker control so they could get reasonable interest rates. It was this battle that William Jennings Bryan led around the turn of the century; that Woodrow Wilson joined in his time and which resulted during his administration in new credit facilities for farmers and small-business men; that flared up again in the Harding administration, with its brief postwar depression, to bring additional credit facilities for farmers, and which finally ended with basic banking and credit reforms in the Franklin D. Roosevent administration.

It is possible that Herbert Hoover finally has handed the Democrats the issue for which they have been seeking.

They have made him an issue ever since 1932; but it had been wearing thin the last couple of elections.

Now he is asking for it.

Bad for Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following portion of Drew Pearson's column which appeared in the Washing-

ton Post and Times Herald of March 9, 1955:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

(By Drew Pearson)

BAD FOR FARMERS

It will be a blow to the little farmers, but the Hoover Commission will soon spring drastic, new recommendations to tighten farm credit. The main effect will be to transfer the benefits of farm price supports, in part, from the farmers to the bankers.

These to-heck-with-the-farmers recommendations aren't supposed to be made public for several weeks, but this column has received a copy of the forthcoming Hoover Commission's report on streamlining the farm financing agencies.

Most jolting to farmers will be a recommendation "that the Commodity Credit Corporation cease to make loans on commodities and that it confine itself to purchase agreements on commodities."

This would revolutionize the whole price-support program, since most farmers draw their price supports in advance in the form of commodity loans. At harvest time, the farmers repay the Government on as much of their crop as they can sell, then forfeit the rest as collateral.

The Hoover Commission's idea is to turn the juicy, $3 billion annual crop-loan business over to private banks. Explains the forthcoming report: "A considerable saving of administrative expenditures could be made if the Corporation abandoned making loans to farmers on commodities and used the method of purchase agreements alone. The farmer could with such a Government contract finance himself by loans on his commodities from private institutions pending his determination as to when he would sell, and thus the private financial machinery could finance the crop at a considerable saving to the Government."

In other words, the farmers would be forced to go to their banks and pay commercial interest rates for their crop loans. The bankers wouldn't risk a nickel since the purchase agreements would be tantamount to a Government guaranty of the loans. What this would amount to is price supports for bankers.

TIGHTER CREDIT

Another Hoover recommendation that will knock the little farmers for a loop calls for tightening credit on farm-home loans. This will make it next to impossible for little farmers to buy their own homes. As it now stands, the Farmers' Home Administration will loan up to 90 percent on the appraised value of a farm. The Hoover Commission, however, wants the FHA to require adequate equities under all its loan programs except disaster and emergency crop and feed loans.

Though vague, this indicates the FHA should, in Hoover's opinion, toughen its loan policy in line with private banks. Yet the whole purpose of FHA is to provide loans to farmers who have been turned down by their local bankers.

The Hoover report further urges "that the Congress require such interest fees, premiums, or other charges as will cover administrative expenses, cost of money to the Treasury, and losses."

The effect of this will be to boost interest rates to the little farmers up to 12 or 13 percent. One of the biggest administrative expenses, for example, is to make sure these small-farm loans are sound. This has resulted in a 99 percent FHA repayment record.

The Hoover proposals would practically knock out the small-farm ownership program on the justification that "this Commission, except in disaster and emergency loans, cannot approve of indirect subsidies to a fraction of the people from the taxpayers at large."

Yet, in the same breath, the Commission proposes what amounts to indirect subsidies to the bankers who, mysteriously, seem to be the beneficiaries of so many Hoover recommendations.

If the Hoover proposals go through, the little farmers can look forward to a new kind of drought—a credit drought.

Through Being a "Paper Tiger"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of the membership of this body the following editorial from the Milwaukee Journal of March 9, entitled "Through Being a 'Paper Tiger.'"

The report of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on his recent visit to southeast Asia should serve as a strong assurance to the free peoples of Asia and of the Pacific that the United States will work with them in every way possible to prevent their enslavement by the Communists.

I have found the Secretary's report very encouraging: In the first place, it has clarified some of the doubts about United States policy with regard to southeast Asia. Secondly, it demonstrated that the free nations of that area are taking unified and positive steps to defend themselves against Communist internal subversion or possible overt aggression.

The progress made to date in this field by the signatories of the Manila pact should hearten all the free peoples of the world who are determined to resist Communist expansion and domination. It proves once again that in unity of purpose and of action there is tremendous strength—strength adequate to preserve our freedoms and our liberty. This should encourage and inspire us in our efforts to further the attainment of just and lasting peace in the world.

THROUGH BEING A "PAPER TIGER"

The United States and the Communists are drawing close to a showdown in the Far East. This was the obvious meaning of Secretary Dulles' calm and measured report to the country Tuesday night.

It was a warning not only to the government of Red China, but to the American people.

We are through being pushed back, he said in effect. We are through yielding free territory to Red China through surrendering more free people to communism. We are through being represented as a "paper tiger."

The decision, of course, is up to the masters of Red China. If they try to carry out their boasts to conquer Formosa, they will be met by American force. If they abandon such plans, the United States stands ready to work for a cease fire in that area and for ultimate peace.

However, Secretary Dulles said, in grimmest tones:

"The Chinese Communists seem to be determined to try to conquer Formosa * * * seem determined to challenge the deterrent power of the United States and our willingness to use that power in response to a military challenge."

Dulles is right in his diagnosis. The Chinese Reds have—both to their own people and to all Asia—represented Korea, Indochina, and the evacuation of the Tachens as great victories over the United States. They have boasted that the United States will always fall back when faced by brutal and uncompromising force. The Chinese Reds dishearten the free nations along the rim of China with the charge that American love of peace means peace at any price.

In view of this, Dulles said:

"We must, if occasion offers, make it clear that we are prepared to stand firm and, if necessary, meet hostile force with the greater force that we possess."

This was a frank speech, with grave warning.

Safety on the Pennsylvania Turnpike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Fine Safety Achievement," which appeared in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of March 10. I make this request at this time because the editorial relates to the safety work which has been done on the Pennsylvania Turnpike, and as there is now under consideration a road program, I thought this editorial would be of interest to my colleagues.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FINE SAFETY ACHIEVEMENT

Despite increased use by passenger cars, the Pennsylvania Turnpike last year recorded the best safety record in its 14-year history. This fine achievement reflects a police and educational effort for which the turnpike commission deserves a great deal of credit.

The reduction in the number of fatalities is particularly impressive. In 1953, 91 persons lost their lives in turnpike accidents, for a fatality rate of 7.5 per hundred million vehicle miles. But last year there were only 51 fatalities, for a rate of only 4.2. Similarly, only 899 persons were injured in turnpike accidents last year, a decline of 17.5 percent from the 1,090 in 1953.

In obtaining this improvement, the turnpike commission has expended much money, thought and effort. Last year it spent a record $726,207 on enforcement. That included the salaries of 115 State policemen assigned exclusively to turnpike duty, the greatest number ever employed by the commission. In 1953, only 66 policemen were employed and the enforcement effort cost only $502,541.

While the amount spent on enforcement seems high, actually it constituted only 3⅓ percent of last year's turnpike revenues, which totaled $23,093,393. It represented a sound investment in public safety.

When the turnpike was opened in 1940, it extended for only 160 miles. Fifty-nine State troopers were assigned to police it. But when the war came and highway use was sharply curtailed by fuel rationing, the num-

ber of police dropped by 1944 to a low of 12.

After the war, turnpike usage jumped tremendously, but there were only 24 officers policing it as recently as 1950. The number was increased to 50 in 1952, when the Philadelphia extension had been opened; to 66 in 1953, following the opening of the western extension, and to 115 last year when the Delaware River extension went into service. Today, 118 highly trained officers police the completed 360-mile turnpike.

While numbers in themselves are an important phase of effective policing, they do not tell the whole turnpike safety story. Methods mean as much as manpower. The officers assigned to this pioneer toll expressway combine education with policing. They don't just pinch offending motorists; they also instruct them. Last year, for example, the troopers issued 22,009 warning tickets while making only 16,965 arrests. They also banned from the road more than 4,400 defective vehicles.

The turnpike commission has enough money not only to retire bonds ahead of schedule but to provide effective policing. We are glad to see it do just that.

The Great Lakes Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there appeared on March 9, 1955, in the St. Paul Pioneer Press, an editorial entitled "Seaway No Longer Frightens the East." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEAWAY NO LONGER FRIGHTENS THE EAST

Before Congress finally authorized the Great Lakes seaway, public officials in the East habitually used crying towels whenever discussing this project. It would just about ruin the big eastern seaports, was the story. Now the attitude has changed. The East has decided it is going to get along all right.

In a current magazine interview with Mayor Robert F. Wagner, of New York, on the problems and prospects of that metropolis are these questions and answers:

"Question. What about the St. Lawrence seaway? It is said that might take away business——

"Answer. Well, I'm peculiar in this, because most mayors have been opposed to the seaway. I've always been for it. I've tried to look at it as a little bigger than just New York City. I think it would be a great boon to the northern part of our State and be a boon to areas in the Midwest. I have never felt that it would hurt us to any degree, given the proper facilities and if we have peace here in our labor.

"Question. It has been testified that it might take away 19 percent of the port of New York's business.

"Answer. Yes. Well, I think you can find testimony on both sides on that. The more facilities we can have in this whole area, the more it will help. We've got to realize that we've had competition from Philadelphia, from Houston and from all of the other ports all along the line. We've got to fight our own problems here. We can't stand in the way of progress of any other ports."

The interview appears in a copyrighted article in U. S. News & World Report, a weekly news magazine published at Washington.

The United States Oil Industry and the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 11, 1955

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The U. N. and the United States Oil Industry," written by Raymond Moley, and published in Newsweek magazine of March 14, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U. N. AND THE UNITED STATES OIL INDUSTRY
(By Raymond Moley)

The proposal of a commission of the United Nations for fixing the prices of oil produced in the Middle East is now under discussion in Geneva and is attracting wide interest in the European press. It may well provide a valuable lesson in international economics and politics for American oil companies and, in fact, for all of us.

This oil issue has been crystallized in a report of a commission operating under the vague auspices of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). It is the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE). There is also a commission for Latin America (ECLA) and another for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE). Our representatives on these are very loosely responsible to our representative on the ECOSOC. Preston Hotchkiss, an Eisenhower appointee.

This ECE report has been top secret for a long time over here but it has been plentifully leaked to the European press. It is hailed there as a body blow to the monopolistic practices of the American oil companies. A copy was obtained by the Wall Street Journal 2 weeks ago in Geneva and another was used to prepare this article. It bears the title "The Price of Oil in Western Europe." It says that the oil companies are getting oil in the Middle East at a very low price and are selling it at an excessively high price. It is suggested that there should be price-fixing by international governmental machinery. This control is veiled by the innocent word stability. Pains were taken to include in the report details of actions by the United States Government against the American oil companies involved. There is also an attack upon the companies in a 1952 report of the Federal Trade Commission.

The ECE report is aimed at 5 American and 3 European companies. They are Standard of New Jersey, Standard of California, Socony-Vacuum, Texas, and Gulf. Also Royal Dutch-Shell, the British Petroleum, and Compagnie Française.

It is alleged that most of these companies tend to peg their European prices to the prices in the Western Hemisphere.

The allegations of fact in this ECE report are violently denied by the American companies. One of them says that the report overstates the net received by the various companies from Middle Eastern crude by 100 percent.

These regional commissions—the ECE, ECLA, and ECAFE—go it pretty much as they choose. The ECAFE, for example, organized studies of the marketing of hides in Pakistan, the relative advantages of electric or hydraulic transmission in diesel locomotives, and the planning of waiting rooms at Indian railway stations.

The oil proposal is not on a par with these trivia. It would provide an opportunity for the Soviet not only to use an international commission to smear American companies but to get its paw into the Middle Eastern oil situation. For since the Soviet is on the ECE, it would in fact be playing an important part in regulating the industry there and in fixing the prices of American oil companies.

The United States is represented, too, but would be hopelessly outnumbered by Communist and Socialist countries.

This oil proposal is only the latest of many plans which have been made through the U. N. to fuse our economy with those of other nations. And in every case our tradition of freedom was imperiled by the presence among the collaborators of a heavy majority of nations in which communism or socialism is firmly established, or in which economic liberty has never existed or has become only a faded memory, or in which cartels and other restrictions on enterprise have been traditional. Moreover, the Foreign Service officers and professors who have represented us on the many groups for the most part have believed that our freedom and independence must be yielded for international friendship.

Most of this goes back to the commitment of the United States in article 55 of the U. N. Charter adopted in 1945 which somewhat vaguely pledged us to a large number of international experiments in social and economic affairs. To implement this, the ECOSOC busied itself early in 1946. It had as a guide a document of our State Department entitled "Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment." There was created a preparatory committee to make plans. Then there ensued 4 years of naïveté when compromise with Marxism seemed not only inevitable but desirable.

The Habana Charter of 1948 would have committed us to international price fixing of basic commodities, tariffs, and trade controls, measures for full employment, and, strangely enough, trustbusting. President Truman sent the Habana Charter to Congress which refused to do anything more than to hold some hearings. But in 1949 we entered the International Wheat Agreement and through the State Department actively participated in many international economic committees and commissions. Prime Minister Attlee came here in December 1950 to plead for international control and allocation of raw materials so that his country could get the things it needed at the right price. Our State Department complied the next month and created what was known as the International Materials Conference. This had no legal standing but set out to allocate strategic materials and fix prices. This brought forth plans for agreements covering cotton, wool, copper, lead, zinc, sulfur, and other materials.

In 1952 the Paley Commission (President's Materials Policy Commission) made the statement that, regardless of the failure of Congress to act, the United States was bound under a resolution of the ECOSOC to "recognize chapter VI [of the Habana Charter] as a general guide." Despite violent protests in Congress, the collaboration went on in one form or another. In 1953 we entered the International Sugar Agreement and extended the International Wheat Agreement for 3 years.

Thus encouraged, the State Department proposed a tin agreement last year. It was given up by the administration after a hard fight between the State Department on one side and the Interior and Commerce Departments on the other. Meanwhile, the Randall Commission roundly condemned participation by the United States in international commodity agreements and Preston Hotchkiss, of ECOSOC, has vigorously opposed them. The ECE seems to assume that these objections can be avoided.

It is significant that the current oil report is the product of the secretariat of the ECE at the head of which is Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish Socialist. He first appears in Amer-

ican annals as a beneficiary of a Rockefeller fellowship. Next he was employed by the Carnegie Corp. to make a $250,000 survey of the Negro problem in our South. This report in 1944 had some strong things to say about the United States. Our Constitution was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people." We had "a low degree of respect for law and order" although we "desire to regulate human behavior tyrannically." Our legal culture, moreover, was "anarchistic."

Myrdal in 1946 told a Wall Street Journal reporter that in behalf of Sweden he had made a big deal with Soviet Russia because he believed that the United States was going into a depression. In 1949, as executive secretary of the ECE, he received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for scholarships for European students. Last year Columbia University selected Myrdal as one of those to be highly honored at its bicentennial. He was given a degree of doctor of humane letters as one who had made "the world his classroom."

In any event, these many benefits and honors for Myrdal, coupled with the present attack upon the American oil companies, can prove to Americans not only that they are a very generous people but that when oil money is given for cultural purposes it has no strings. This at least can give our oil companies some melancholy comfort.

National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on February 12, 1955, I was privileged to participate with Mr. Quincy Howe, news analyst and author, in the panel session at the annual conference of the New York Civil Liberties Union at the Hotel Roosevelt.

I am pleased to set forth Mr. Howe's remarks as follows:

REMARKS OF QUINCY HOWE, NEWS ANALYST AND AUTHOR, AT THE PANEL SESSION OF THE ANNUAL LUNCHEON AND CONFERENCE OF THE NEW YORK CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1955, AT THE HOTEL ROOSEVELT

One of Bernard Shaw's epigrams illuminates the subject we are discussing this afternoon. If a people, said Shaw, do not take the trouble to get what they like, they will wind up liking what they get. Shaw spoke here of a popular taste in the popular arts. But his words apply to other fields and are a kind of variation on the theme that a people get the Government—or the security program—that they deserve. Of course politicians and pressure groups wield influence, too. But how can politicians or pressure groups lead the people unless they know where the people want to go? And where the people want to go is determined, among other things, by the trend of events, by the climate of the times. Today, for instance, fear of the hydrogen bomb, of communism, of war with Russia or China or both, give us the jitters. On the other hand, our prosperity encourages complacency and lethargy. From President Eisenhower, with his experience in military affairs plus his progressively moderate personality, the American people are getting the kind of leadership they seem to like. But unless they exert more pressure on the White House, they may end up having to like the kind of leadership they are going to get.

If that leadership, in respect to national security, does not seem good enough, don't blame the man in the White House, or Senator MCCARTHY either. Blame yourself. I am not saying that the American people are wholly and solely to blame if our security program has proved more and more self-defeating. I am saying that it is unfair and untrue to lay all the blame for the failure of that program on politicians or pressure groups. More than 5 years ago, industry and the advertising agencies let themselves be pressured by a book called Red Channels into denying employment to actors and writers merely on the ground that they had become controversial. There was never enough popular clamor to persuade the moguls of Madison Avenue, who make it their business to give the public what it wants, to cause them to throw their copies of Red Channels in the ashcan. Instead, they hired their own security officers, and presently speakers were being dropped from controversial debate programs because—God save the mark—they were controversial. The Madison Avenue moguls knocked controversy out of their television debate programs for the same reason John Foster Dulles knocked John Paton Davies, Jr., out of the State Department. They lacked the guts to buck public opinion. Or, as they preferred to put it themselves, they heeded the ancient saying that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

Although the recent elections suggest that the market for hearing aids is not yet completely saturated, there is also every evidence that the sovereign people continued to like Ike in November as much as they did in May. Many of them respond to the noble aspirations he expresses with such manifest sincerity. Others like still better the inaction that usually follows. But can the American people live forever on a diet of wall mottoes? Do they want as their President a kind of glorified sandwich man? Is that the President's own conception of his function? Of course not. But human nature, inside the White House and out, is such that it requires constant needling to bring out its better side. And here we come to one of the root causes for some of our present discontents, including our discontent with our national security program. Not enough of us dare to take chances. The young college instructor, the journalist just beginning his career in radio or television cannot be expected to risk his future security for principle's sake. These young men have marked, learned, and inwardly disgested the recent advice of a pamphlet issued by the Socony Vacuum Oil Co. informing them that, "Personal views can cause a lot of trouble. The 'isms' are out. Business, being what it is, it naturally looks with disfavor on the wild-eyed radical or even the moderate pink." But note this. Such is the force of public opinion that when some men of courage, like Ed Murrow in radio and television, like Senator FULBRIGHT in politics, like Prof. Henry Steele Commager, of Columbia University, here today stand up on their hind legs and challenge this kind of talk, the voices of caution sing a new tune and Socony Vacuum has since issued a new version of its advice to young men, commending those who dare to uphold and proclaim their own views.

So it may be that the pendulum has begun to swing in the other direction and that a reaction against reaction has already set in. But it may also be that our basic trouble is not that our professors or our commentators, our businessmen, or our housewives lack the courage of their political convictions. The trouble may be that they lack the convictions in the first place. This applies especially to convictions relating to politics and economics. Perhaps the American people have accepted and applied so many new political and economic ideas during these past 22 years of treason—treason, that is, to the spotless memory of President Harding—that it would be idle to expect any administration to sponsor further innovations. If this be true, then the most that can be expected of the Eisenhower administration is that it gain bipartisan acceptance for the welfare state at home and for a foreign policy based on solidarity with other democratic nations. In other words, this is no time for political and economic innovation. But is it not, for that very reason, the time to apply some tried and tested ideas and, if you will pardon the expression, ideals to the new situation in which we find ourselves? The first 10 amendments to the Constitution, usually known as the Bill of Rights, set forth most of these ideas and ideals. An older decalog from a higher authority sets forth others, notably the injunction not to bear false witness. And that man in the White House told the faculty and students of Dartmouth College, almost 2 years ago: "Don't join the book burners. Don't think you're going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed." Another of President Eisenhower's favorite wall mottoes also has applicability under present conditions: "Nothing is lost by magnanimity." In responding to President Eisenhower's words, the American people have shown their hearts are in the right place. If they will now see to it that he carries these words into action, they will prove that they also know how to keep and use their heads.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

Tribute to Senator George

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a remarkably fine article on the career of the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], written by William S. White and published in the New York Times magazine of March 13, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR GEORGE: MONUMENTAL, DETERMINED

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—"Monumental" is the word for WALTER FRANKLIN GEORGE, the organ-voiced patriarch of the Senate and the third most powerful man in the United States in foreign policy. For "Mister GEORGE"—this is what his wife "Miss Lucy" calls him in the way of the old-fashioned southern gentlewoman in speaking to others of her husband—is for the Eisenhower administration in these tense days both a rock and an adornment.

He is a Democrat but in any ways, and especially in world affairs, a very unpartisan one, indeed. He has now resumed, after what to him in his long Senate career is a short hiatus of 14 years, the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He is hand in glove with Secretary of State Dulles and with the President himself, though sometimes his is the hand and theirs is the glove. And though the George hand is seemingly gentle, it can be steely.

It is obvious to those in position to observe these matters closely that Mr. GEORGE is in the confidence of the Secretary of State to a degree that no other Senator has ever been during Mr. Dulles' tenure. This does not exclude Senators of Mr. Dulles' own Republican Party, no matter who they may be.

Senator GEORGE keeps up with the highest affairs of the State Department—the crises, the burgeoning new policies, and all the rest that matters—in a very personal way. He does not do this by going to the State Department. Every Thursday, barring his absence from the country, Mr. Dulles comes by at breakfasttime to Mr. GEORGE's apartment in the Mayflower Hotel to put the whole burden of the moment on the breakfast table.

Senator GEORGE, in his discretion, passes on to his colleagues of the Foreign Relations Committee such of these matters as he may think fit as the dean of the Senate as well as the chairman of that committee. He is not merely a partner in bipartisanship but its ambulant embodiment. An irreverent junior Democrat—the word "irreverent" is used because, while Mr. GEORGE is in no sense stuffy, he is profoundly impressive—observes of the arrangement: "GEORGE is the rich man's Arthur Vandenberg."

This irresistibly apt comparison to the last great Senate exemplar of bipartisanship—the late Republican Senator from Michigan in the days when the White House was in Democratic hands—is unconsciously revealing. No one on the Democratic side, and not many on the Republican side, if it comes to that, would think of comparing Mr. GEORGE to any other Senator in any way that did not clearly put him in the senior position.

This position he occupies, not simply in the committee but in the whole of the Senate, for a variety of reasons. First of all, to all there present he is senior; he has been 30 years in that body, and that is a very long time. Then, he not only runs the Foreign Relations Committee but also is the voluntary ex-chairman and still senior Democratic member of another body that in some ways is even more puissant, the Committee on Finance.

He is, therefore, in a position with one hand to help shape the great affairs of the world—not excluding such affairs as peace and war—and with the other to assist in adding to, or relieving, the tax burden of everybody in the United States. He is also the President pro tempore of the Senate, its Presiding Officer in the Vice President's absence.

But all this indicates only a small part of the story of the prestige of GEORGE. (The monosyllable "GEORGE," by the way, is the most common way of speaking of him in Washington, even though now and then one hears him referred to as "WALTER." When a man in the Senate is called almost habitually by his last name, it implies an unconscious concession by the speaker that here is a personage who does not need even the grand, rolling title of "Senator.")

WALTER FRANKLIN GEORGE, in his front-row seat just next to the chair of the majority leader, Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON of Texas, is an institution. Stocky rather than tall, his eyes cavernous behind thick spectacles, his small hand wearily smoothing his shock of white hair, he is for all the world like a proctor or monitor in a school for boys. Very grown men dread his frown and fear his displeasure, the one because it is so forbidding, the other because of the magnificent basso-profundo of his admonishing voice.

When he feels aggrieved he puts the case with the air of a patient man long, long put upon—intolerably and endlessly put upon—and now at last compelled to utter, as politely as may be remotely possible, some slight suggestion of the incredible travail that he has had to endure. Clearly, he honestly considers his capacity for endurance to be extraordinary.

Thus when he indicates that even this capacity has now been exceeded, the whole Chamber comes to a most respectful halt. The air is thereupon filled with Jovian bolts and rolls of thunder, and Members not remotely involved in the cause of his distress will nevertheless look a bit guilty and apologetic that matters have come to such a sorry point.

These incidents rarely occur—Mr. GEORGE is as far as possible from being a quarrelsome man—but when they do, they are memorable. One such occurred last year.

Senator GEORGE was determined to break a proposed constitutional amendment to limit the President's treatymaking power that had been put in by Senator JOHN W. BRICKER, Republican, of Ohio. He was equally resolved upon the adoption of an amendment of his own, and this George paper, along with the Bricker paper, met the opposition of Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.

Mr. Brownell had sent to the Senate a memorandum disapproving some aspects of Mr. GEORGE's project, and it became the duty of the unfortunate Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of California, the Republican Senate leader and a respectful disciple of WALTER F. GEORGE, to read the Attorney General's caveats on the floor.

Senator GEORGE arose in all his splendid fury to dispose of the luckless Mr. Brownell, who, had he been present, would hardly have known what had hit him until it was all over.

The Senator recalled with a mixture of sorrow and anger that he had undertaken to listen to the proposals of the administration, which he need not have done at all. But now, he said, with an incredulous scorn, look what had happened.

Someone in the Justice Department, GEORGE quickly concluded that it was "some kloik" (clerk), as he put it—had sent up a document that was both ridiculous and impertinent. This, he indicated, was about all that could have been expected of an agency in the hands of Mr. Brownell. For this, the Senator loudly suggested several times, was "a very odd little Attorney General."

His curiously wounding description, the nearest thing to an epithet that this correspondent ever heard GEORGE employ in debate, for good or ill, all but swept Brownell's influence from the Senate floor. The small incident is a key to much of the Senator's operating power.

His most admiring friends (and they are very many) could hardly have maintained that GEORGE really dealt with the Brownell memorandum on its merits. Nevertheless, he destroyed it in a single phrase; it is his gift—and now a gift unique in all the Senate—to be senatorial in the grand manner. Senators do not always and necessarily require of a George that precision of logic, or that information as to details that they require of younger and lesser men.

Who expects a great prima donna to parse the sentences of her lyrics? It is enough that she sings. It is thus with GEORGE when with matchless effectiveness he takes the lead on the floor for an Eisenhower foreign policy. Like many of the great politicians of the old school, he will not be bound by the details, nor will he haggle over the fine print.

Those who seek to engage him in these areas are wasting their time; he will peer at them in morose, lofty indifference, as not long ago he peered at those who wanted to put reservations into our defense treaty with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

He looks upon all high policy as a traveler sees a distant landscape. It is the panorama in which he is interested; it is not his habit of mind to be concerned with the situation of the hills and valleys. A traditionalist in these matters, he has the deep conviction that the conduct of foreign policy belongs in the hands of the President and, all in all, he will, before he is through, return to the White House a measure of control over world affairs that it has not had since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

He will do this, that is to say, so long as he remains convinced that the White House itself is acting with proper responsibility—and with due deference to the Senate. He is perhaps the only man who could make so difficult a rationale—that is, both a rendering unto Caesar and a retention of the Senate's own proper place in the scheme of things.

His own views are internationalist, as is fit and apt for a southern politician of his generation. They are oriented more toward Europe than toward Asia, in the typical fashion of Democrats who find it very hard to understand the passionate intensity of the old Republican preoccupation with Asia.

But these views could not fairly be called, even by the most vehement America Firster, hospitable to give-away. Mr. GEORGE in his time has helped to open the treasury to many foreign enterprises, and will do so many times again. For all of that, he does not gladly fling public money about. Few public men feel, in principle, a deeper pain at the size of the public debt. In a word, he is suitably safe in the fiscal sense—a circumstance that greatly forwards his influence in the Senate.

He is, moreover, the only man in the Senate who can visibly, undoubtedly, and repeatedly change votes simply by his incomparable rhetoric on the floor. Other men are much more effective in gathering votes in the lounges and corridors—Mr. GEORGE's junior colleague, Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, for one. GEORGE, for his part, scorns the practical kind of operation, the man-to-man discussion in which Mr. RUSSELL so excels.

It is, nevertheless, the judgment of some of the most open-eyed and informed men in the Senate that GEORGE of Georgia, given ideal circumstances, can come close on the floor to controlling as many as 25 votes on certain issues at certain times. These issues will for the most part be issues of foreign policy; whatever GEORGE decides in this field is very nearly final with nearly all the Democratic rank and file and with a good number of Republicans as well.

Why this is so it is very nearly impossible to explain, though some suggestive considerations may be offered. There is the fact that the Senate is basically a hierarchal body; and GEORGE is the great hierarch. There is the fact that GEORGE is an authentic and profoundly safe conservative; no man supposes for a moment that GEORGE will lead him onto any terrain of sticky innovation.

One seeks to avoid exaggeration here. It is, nevertheless, for all practical purposes, a fact that when GEORGE takes a position it has, for many in the Senate, much of the political force that the proclaimed dogmas of the established churches may in the spiritual realm have for the faithful. The Senate feeling is that in GEORGE there is safety, there is continuity, there is dignity, there is a kind of indescribable stability as the years go by and he goes on.

It is so secret that when the Democratic leadership of the Senate senses trouble one of the regency is likely to mutter to another: "Shouldn't we ask GEORGE to go in now?"—meaning to go on the floor and do his stuff. GEORGE, of course, will go in or not, as he pleases. He is not the sort of man to be assigned to do anything, indeed the very suggestion of attempting to direct him in any way would be regarded as appalling heresy.

Like most artists, essentially he goes his own way. For example, in spite of his incredible seniority he is not a member of the Senate Democratic policy committee—though this is not to say that his views are not sonorously heard there from time to time.

The chief of the Democratic high command, Senator JOHNSON of Texas, is 30 years junior to his seat mate; Mr. GEORGE needs no membership on any committee to transfer his views to LYNDON. LYNDON, for his part, looks with an affectionate fascination on his senior and would no more think of interfering with that senior in his sphere—foreign policy—than he would propose to try to tell a Texas uncle how to run a ranch.

Some of the rank and filers occasionally will attempt to challenge "the Old Man," but these youngsters most often are put in their place by the leaders even before they go so far as to provoke the Olympian frowns of GEORGE himself.

The Senator, more than any man who sits with him, embodies the powerful quality of long success. He was, for example, one of the triumphant survivors of 1938, the year that Franklin Roosevelt undertook to purge Congress of certain rightwing Democrats who were, the President felt, getting in the way of the New Deal.

Today, Mr. GEORGE recalls that episode with what can only be called a splendid, and somewhat absent, detachment. Mr. Roosevelt came to a political meeting in Barnesville, Ga., and sat on the platform with Senator GEORGE himself, among others. The President told the crowd that the Senator was both a scholar and a gentleman; but then he went on to say in substance that Mr. GEORGE, for all that, just wouldn't do in the Senate. As the President finished his speech, he turned to the Senator, said quietly, "God bless you, WALTER," and went away.

Mr. GEORGE was returned to the Senate in a great outpouring of votes. Later, in the 6 months that he served in 1941 as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, he became indispensable to Mr. Roosevelt's great foreign-policy designs; there was, for example, the little matter of passing the lend-lease bill.

The President never afterward referred directly to the contretemps of 1938. Once, however, in the crowded and anxious war years he sought a certain tax program of Mr. GEORGE, who then had on his other hat as chairman of the Finance Committee. Pressing this program as one likely to be popular with the voters, Mr. Roosevelt said urgently:

"WALTER, if I know anything at all about Georgia politics * * *." At this point GEORGE caught the Presidential eye. " * * * and certainly I don't," Mr. Roosevelt finished with a laugh.

"Mr. Roosevelt," says Mr. GEORGE now, in a soft, forgiving rumble of a voice, "had a quite genuine gift for separating his personal feelings from his political feelings. He never mixed the two."

Senator GEORGE, on his side, has an equally decisive way of separating the personal from the official. Just before this Democratic Congress met, the administration was most anxious for him to leave the chairmanship of the Finance Committee and return to the chair of the Foreign Relations Committee.

At length he was requested by the President and Secretary of State Dulles to come to the White House. They put their hopes before the Senator. He agreed to go along. But, as he says, "I told them that I could not undertake the social part of this job. I do not much care to go out in the evening. I said I might feel obliged to come once a year to some official entertainment at the White House, but nothing beyond that. It was agreed."

What has happened in practice is that the unofficial stand-in for Mr. GEORGE at diplomatic affairs is his tireless and convivial junior on the Foreign Relations Committee, the 87-year-old Senator THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, of Rhode Island. By custom Mr. GEORGE, who is only 77, is still invited everywhere; by general understanding he will now and then accept an invitation, but more or less at the last minute it will somehow turn out that he cannot go after all.

Determined is also the word for WALTER FRANKLIN GEORGE.

Natural Gas Regulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on February 26, 1955, I issued a statement commenting upon the action of the White House Committee on National Fuel Policy with particular reference to their recommendation that the Federal Government remove itself from all regulation of field producers of gas. I would like to place a copy of my statement in the RECORD, and also a letter from Mr. Thomas W. Goodloe, president of Tennessee Natural Gas Lines, Inc., with tabulation showing weighted average price of producers for gas purchased in southwestern fields by 10 major pipeline companies from 1948 to 1953. Mr. Goodloe's letter and tables show that the price to field producers has increased 300 percent during that 6-year period. Further relaxation of regulations would be disastrous to the consumer.

There being no objection, the statement, letter, and tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR KEFAUVER

The White House Report on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy, released today, is bad medicine for consumers.

The weasel-worded section on natural-gas regulation means that the White House is giving administration backing to what amounts to a repeal of the Supreme Court decision in the Phillips case. This means consumers had better get ready for more millions on their gas bills.

The policy enunciated in this section is much worse than proposals to exempt the so-called independent producers of gas from interstate regulation—the so-called Kerr bill.

It harks back instead to proposals of some years ago which would exempt all field producers from Federal regulation. Integrated companies, which own both pipelines and field production, serve as an illustration. Under this policy, such an integrated company produces its own gas in the field and could charge whatever it wishes to its pipeline company. The pipeline company then would be subject to regulation only in transmission costs. At the other end, the distribution end, local regulation would be powerless to deal with anything that has gone before.

The White House policy statement simply sacrifices the interests of some 60 million consumers who depend on natural gas to the profits of a comparative handful of oil companies who produce it.

TENNESSEE NATURAL GAS LINES, INC.,
Nashville, Tenn., March 1, 1955.

Re Regulation of gas field prices.

The Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR ESTES: Tennessee Gas Transmission Co. supplies most of middle and east Tennessee. This company's weighted-average cost of gas in 1948 was 4.28 cents per mcf and at present that company's weighted average cost of gas in the field is more than 12 cents per mcf, or approximately 300 percent of the 1948 field-price cost.

Attached is a tabulation showing the weighted-average price of producers for gas purchased in Southwestern fields by 10 ma-

for pipeline companies in the years 1948 to 1953. This tabulation is an excerpt from an exhibit introduced by United Gas Pipe Line Co. in FPC Docket No. G-1142. In most cases prices have further increased substantially since 1953. It appears that the increase in field prices over this very short period has been tremendous and such prices should certainly now be approaching fair prices to producers, if indeed they have not already arrived.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS W. GOODLOE,
President.

Weighted average prices paid to producers for gas purchased in the field by 10 major pipeline companies (includes 745.11 field purchases and 745.12 gasoline plant outlet purchases)

[14.9 p. s. i. a.]

	Cents per thousand cubic feet					
	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Arkansas Louisiana Gas Co	3.37	3.65	4.39	6.41	7.85	9.01
Mississippi River Fuel Corp			10.03	11.07	11.30	11.96
Southern Natural Gas Co	5.77	6.04	6.36	6.29	7.15	8.08
Tennessee Gas Transmission Co	4.28	4.57	5.11	5.54	6.53	9.37
Texas Eastern Transmission Corp	6.69	6.50	6.48	6.53	7.51	12.05
Texas Gas Transmission Corp		6.89	6.77	7.34	7.26	9.79
Texas Illinois Natural Gas Pipeline Co				8.70	8.54	8.89
Transcontinental Gas Pipe Line Corp			8.41	7.20	7.53	7.83
Trunkline Gas Co				7.74	7.76	8.04
United Gas Pipe Line Co	3.67	4.29	5.03	5.86	7.37	8.04
Total (weighted average)	4.23	4.79	5.43	6.25	7.42	8.82

NOTE.—Gas purchased in the field by the above companies is produced primarily in Louisiana and Texas. Some purchases are also made in Arkansas and Mississippi fields.
Source: FPC annual reports.

Resignation of Robert Cutler as the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Mr. Cutler's Contribution," published in the Washington Star of March 11, 1955. Mr. Cutler, a very distinguished citizen of Massachusetts, has been doing one of the most sensitive Federal jobs as the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs. He has been the operating executive of the National Security Council. He retired from that position as of Saturday last. The editorial is a commendatory one, which he well deserves.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. CUTLER'S CONTRIBUTION

As the President's special assistant for national security affairs, Robert Cutler has rendered distinguished service in one of the most sensitive of all Federal jobs. And now that he has resigned from the post, to return to private life and his native Boston, it may rightly be said that the country at large is indebted to him for important labors that cannot be publicized in detail because they have had to do with top-secret matters of defense and foreign policy.

For Mr. Cutler has been the operating executive of the National Security Council. As such, in addition to having played a major role in reinvigorating the NSC as the Government's highest policymaking agency, he has participated in procedures that have resulted in decisions of the greatest import to the United States and the free world in general. Further, besides having served as a key administrator privy to secrets of the most vital sort, he has been perhaps the closest of the President's confidants and personal advisers—a man who because of the unique sensitivity of his duties, and not because of any lack of natural gregariousness, has kept himself out of the limelight and carried on his work with the utmost discretion and a real passion for anonymity.

It is because of this that relatively very few Americans know anything about Mr. Cutler. But the Nation, even though it has seldom seen his name in the headlines, owes him thanks noné the less for what he has contributed to it since President Eisenhower called him to the White House. He is leaving his post in excellent shape for Dillon Anderson, his successor, and he has every reason to take proper pride in the fine example he has set as a public servant.

Norway and the Viking Spirit in the Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on last Saturday night it was my pleasure to address the 60th anniversary banquet of the Sons of Norway, meeting in New York.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my address on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORWAY AND THE VIKING SPIRIT IN THE ATOMIC AGE

It is a pleasure to participate in observing this 60th anniversary of your outstanding organization—the Sons of Norway.

It is a privilege for me from many standpoints.

First, as a United States Senator, I am pleased to pay tribute to a great ally of our country—Norway; an ally which has proven its staunch mettle in war and in peace.

Secondly, as an American, I am pleased to pay this tribute to a freedom-loving land, a land whose people share the values which we do.

Norway, like ourselves has always been deeply dedicated to the cause of liberty. Her people have always been a living demonstration of the principles of human brotherhood. Norway, like our own, is a devout nation, with a reverence for the Lord.

And, then, there is a third reason: It is because like many in this audience tonight, I am proud to be a descendant of Norwegian parents and grandparents. We share, therefore, a common admiration for the land from which our forefathers came, a land which has always been truly worthy of that admiration.

MY VISIT TO NORWAY

May I say that it was our good fortune to spend a few days in Norway last summer.

Our good friend Trygve Gottas arranged for a car, and we set out on a journey to my father's old home in Numedal.

We stopped at Dramen and met some of the distinguished folks of that city.

From there, we journeyed to Kongsberg where our friend Trygve had assembled some 30-odd relatives of mine; we were treated there to a wonderful dinner.

We had rommegrout; we had gjeost and mountain trout and many other tasty dishes that spoke of Norway.

Of course, there were exchanges of toasts and much that was spoken, brought up memories of days that are gone.

We then journeyed by car into Numedal to my father's old home. Of course, here again we had to eat before we left.

In one of the rooms we found an old album with pictures of my parents and of us children when we were youngsters. There were pictures of the family taken in various periods.

This visit recalled another visit I had made back in 1939 before the Second World War.

I was attending the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference in Oslo, and took a day off to get down to my father's old home. I also took a day off to go to Gudbransdalen and located the house in which my mother was born.

She came to America as a little child with her folks before the Civil War.

My father emigrated when he was about 21, right after the Civil War.

While in Norway, I visited with the Crown Prince and a number of the Norwegian officials. We were the guests of our Ambassador and his wife.

NORWAY'S BRIGHT BUT CHALLENGING OUTLOOK

Our general impressions of Norway last summer were that here were a people that were going ahead, that realized they belong completely to the West and are taking a strong position in that regard.

But the legacy of World War II's hardships, when 20 percent of Norway's national wealth was destroyed, are still with her.

Norway has serious domestic problems, for her's is basically a country poorly endowed with national resources. She has a $400 million yearly deficit. Her taxes are high. Controls are strict on many phases of economic life.

Yet her production is booming. Her modest agriculture is expanding. Her great shipbuilding industry reached one-half million tons last year. Her shipping fleet—third largest in the world—flies her respected banner on the seas. In 1954, she had the biggest herring catch in history.

Norway, in spite of the damage of war and occupation, in spite of considerable defense burdens, stands stanchly with the free world.

NORWEGIAN-AMERICANS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNITED STATES

And now friends, I want just briefly to turn back a few pages of history here in our own land.

From the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, approximately 850,000 persons of Norwegian birth settled in the United States. Unlike other immigrant groups (who gravitated to the cities) Norwegians settled principally in the rural areas of America where they became among the sturdiest American farmers.

Their assimilation into the American scene was rapid. They took up our language promptly. Their ways and customs from the old country were not too dissimilar from the ways and customs of the new land.

The first Norwegian pioneers in my own State established a colony at Muskego, near Milwaukee, in 1839. Prior to the middle of the 19th century most Norwegian immigrants headed for Wisconsin.

As the years went on, Norwegians, as you know, settled elsewhere in the Middle West. By 1914, there were more Norwegians in my neighboring State of Minnesota than in any other State. Then, North and South Dakota, Montana, Washington, and Oregon attracted great numbers.

Norwegians brought to the new land their deep devotion to religion, and their deep interest in schooling for the young. Luther College, in Decorah, Iowa, was established in 1861, and St. Olaf College, in Northfield, Minn., in 1874. They established Concordia College in Moorhead, Minn.; Augustana College in Sioux Falls, S. Dak.; and Pacific Lutheran College in Parkland, Wash. They set up many newspapers, many singing societies and bands.

From the ranks of Norwegian Americans have come Knut Nelson, Governor of Minnesota and United States Senator for more than quarter of a century; O. E. Rolvaag, author of the epic of adjustment to the American scene, Giants in the Earth; Thorsten Veblen who is regarded universally as one of the greatest economists so far produced in our land; Victor Lawson, journalist and financier; and Eric Severeid, one of our most prominent radio-TV commentators, a man who, like his Viking ancestors, does not run from a fight.

NORWAY'S OWN CONTRIBUTIONS

From Norway itself to the world came Henrik Ibsen, in literature; Magnus Olsen, in science; Edvard Greig, in music; Kirsten Flagstad, in opera; Gustav Vigeland, in sculpture; and in discovery and exploration in centuries gone by, Leif Ericson; and in more latter days, Friedtjof Nansen and Roald Amundsen.

Yes; here is a country with a population only approximately that of my own State of the Union. Here is a country of meager resources, of often difficult weather conditions. Here is a country which has to live principally by the sea, which is often a hard master.

Yet, here is a country where culture has flowered, where freedom has thrived, where her sons and daughters, both those who have remained at home and those who have journeyed beyond the seas, have made important contributions to mankind.

Here is seen the triumph of courage, of resourcefulness, of industry over all obstacles.

And these are precisely the qualities needed in today's troubled world.

THE BIG ISSUE: NEUTRALISM OR DEFENSE

But now I should like to turn at this point to the major issue of our times: whether the nations will prove adequate to defend themselves against international Communist aggression or whether they will succumb one by one to that dreadful conspiracy?

Throughout the world today, there are hundreds of millions of individuals in many free lands whose leaders unfortunately have chosen thus far blindly to turn their backs to and ignore the Communist international menace.

The neutralist leaders seem to prefer to make believe that it does not exist.

Many of these leaders recognize that communism is a threat at home. Some of them have adopted stern measures against internal subversion. But they seem to prefer to deceive themselves and to deceive their own people into believing, on the international front, that the Peiking Government and the Moscow Government do not really represent a direct and immediate threat to the peace and security of mankind.

Indeed, many of these neutralist leaders seem to act as if it were the United States which is the principal threat to world peace and security.

Nothing could, of course, be further from the truth. No land in the world more dearly desires peace than our own. No land more dearly desires to devote its major energies to constantly raising living standards and improving the peaceful way of life for its people.

But no land more clearly recognizes than ourselves that in this dangerous atomic age, to be weak is to "commit suicide on the installment plan."

NORWAY: SYMBOL OF DEFENSE

But, I am pleased to say that there are many lands which are in far closer proximity than ours to the Communist threat which definitely recognize as we do the grim danger to the free world.

Here is a land, like Norway, which is within but minutes of Soviet jet bomber bases, at modern supersonic speeds. Yet, Norway has bravely and completely cast her lot with the free world in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

She is contributing to the sinews of defense in terms of manpower, installations, military production, maritime strength, and vigilance.

Here is a wonderful symbol for all the world to observe and admire.

Brave Norway stands practically at the jaws of the Soviet bear. Yet, unafraid, undismayed she calmly, coolly signifies that she will take her stand in defense of her own independence. And by her very act of courage, she thereby deters the danger of war to herself and to all the free world.

Now, let me say that there are many reasons why some lands have preferred neutralism thus far: Historical reasons, cultural reasons, military, religious, economic, and political reasons.

We must understand why various lands have chosen neutralism. We must see the problem through their eyes. We must not be overly quick to criticize, although we must be frank and objective.

At the same time, we should take off our hats in salute to a country which has known what war can mean, what dreadful occupation can mean, and yet is willing to risk its all, knowing how close it is to the deadly peril.

This is the spirit which we need in our time.

LET'S NOT BE PANICKED BY WAR DANGER

Here, in our own country, we read every day alarming stories of what a thermonuclear war could mean.

We read about how many casualties could occur in our major cities.

We read about the danger of radioactive fallout, potentially contaminating areas of 7,000 square miles.

There are some who allow these admittedly grim stores virtually to paralyze themselves. They throw up their hands in dismay as if nothing constructively can be done or should be done.

That, however, is definitely not the attitude to adopt.

And Norway is the living proof that there is a more positive attitude to adopt, an attitude of courage, or forthrightness, an attitude which recognizes the peril, which recognizes all the horror that a third world war could mean.

But Norway knows that if there is anything worse than war, it is slavery.

Norway knows that hysteria concerning the danger of war can only bring war closer, that it is one thing to try all-out to prevent war; as we are, indeed, trying; it is another thing to become so panic-stricken about the danger of war that you try to appease; you forget that there is something worse in this world than to fight on your feet. It is to crawl eternally on your knees before a Red dictator.

PROBLEM OF QUEMOY AND MATSU

What we can use in this country today is more of the Viking spirit. It is a fearless spirit which is willing to brave the unknown and to take calculated risks.

Nowhere, perhaps, on the international scene today do we more need this spirit than in troubled Asia, particularly in the western Pacific, in connection with our problem of defending Formosa, the Pescadores, and the related areas.

There are those in America who still would have us shrink back from this mission. They seem to say, "Let us not venture into this dangerous unknown affecting a few offshore islands 6,000 miles from the California mainland. Who knows where the uncertainty affecting Matsu and Quemoy may lead us?"

Well, the answer is: No one can accurately predict what will happen tomorrow morning, much less, next month or next year.

But we know quite well what would have happened or would happen were we to eliminate uncertainty and openly to exclude Matsu and Quemoy from our commitments.

Some of our good friends in the United Kingdom keep repeating, "Abandon outright Matsu and Quemoy."

But we have rightly refused to do so, preferring instead to leave the ultimate decision as to whether those islands will be defended under the varying circumstances of the future, to the great man who now occupies the White House, aided by his most expert advisers.

The burden of that decision will be a heavy one, a fateful one, a prayerful one. But you can be sure that when it is made, it will be objective, not emotional. It will be on the basis of all of the factors in the situation. It will not be based on just one factor, one geographic area; it will not just be on the basis of the problem of Formosa and the Pescadores, it will take into consideration our position in Korea, in Japan, in southeast Asia, and elsewhere in the world.

BOTH MILITARY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS CRUCIAL

And if I may say just a few more words about that particular critical situation, let me say this: There is entirely too much piecemeal thinking in our country today.

Some individuals seem to say, "there is no important factor but the military factor with regard to Formosa, the Pescadores and related areas."

But that concept is nonsense. The principal Communist victories in Asia have been scored, not by traditional techniques of military warfare, but rather by the revolutionary new application of psychological warfare, by skilled propaganda techniques, by the eroding of morale among its foes.

So, a key question is, "What would be the psychological effect of possible loss of Matsu and Quemoy on the Chinese Nationalist

forces on Formosa, on our allies and friends in southeast Asia and elsewhere, on our enemies in Peking and in Moscow?"

But then, there are those who swing to the opposite extreme and say, "The only factor is the psychological factor."

That concept, too, is false.

The Peking regime consists of shrewd military (and political chess players). It tries to ridicule us as a paper tiger, but it knows we have sharp military claws.

As for ourselves, the decision as to when and how we will use our strength is not a simple one.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States must determine whether Matsu and Quemoy are (a) defensible in view of their proximity to the Chinese mainland, and (b) are worth the price of defense. The Joint Chiefs will weigh the effect of the possible rain of artillery fire from the mainland which may soon fall unceasingly on those offshore islands. The Joint Chiefs will consider the availability of Red jet fields and of Red jet fuel and Red sampans and Red paratroops. The Joint Chiefs will weigh the commitments of our Armed Forces in the Pacific and elsewhere. So, their military decision will be an immensely complicated one; let no armchair general or amateur admiral attempt to assert dogmatically what should be our military course under any and all circumstances. We have competent Chiefs of our Armed Forces; let us retain our confidence in their military judgment.

Let us maintain our well-placed faith, too, in our Chief Executive who obviously has so broad a background in military science that he is in a position personally to weigh the judgment of his own highest military advisers.

DANGER IN PUBLICIZING ALL PLANS

Another example of piecemeal thinking is that very often people here in the United States seem to want to insist on publicizing virtually all the facts and plans—which we may want for our public, but which our enemies may want still more.

The President and the Secretary of State—a marvelous team—have been absolutely sound in resisting unwise efforts to have us give away completely our hand.

They have perceived very clearly that, while from some standpoints it might be advantageous to outline very clearly and precisely what specific areas we actually propose to defend and those we do not propose to defend—that there are obviously grave disadvantages to that procedure.

We all remember the unfortunate consequences which flowed from the decision openly to exclude Korea from the United States perimeter of defense.

So, we do not intend to engrave any more invitations to Peking to swallow up more territory with impunity.

But the piecemeal thinkers are still not satisfied, all they can see is one segment of the problem—the matter of informing our own people, but they ignore the consequences of "spilling the beans" to the enemy.

RED CHINA WILL PROBABLY NOT CHOOSE WAR

We can be sure, Peking and Moscow will try to guess or plans by all sorts of little or big experiments. They will probe, they will jab here or there.

Let's not make their guesswork any easier. They have enough spies without our giving away our intelligence secrets on a silver platter.

Our splendid Secretary of State—one of the greatest to ever occupy that high office—has told Red China exactly what we want her to know and nothing more. John Foster Dulles has spoken with vigor and clarity and substance. We will defend Formosa, the Pescadores, and related areas with force of immense power. But the decision as to war rests squarely in Peking. She will stand self-indicted before the world if she chooses the course of war.

I do not believe she will choose war. For all its admitted strength, the Red dragon's fire for the present may be so much hot air. Clearly, she burningly covets Formosa and all the islands. But her ambition outreaches her limited capabilities. Mao-Tse-Tung and company are hard realists, not idle daydreamers.

KREMLIN WATCHING OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

And before I conclude my references to the current situation, let me say this: The crisis in the Formosa Straits is being judged by Mr. Khrushchev and his cohorts in the Kremlin and Peking on the basis of many other facts elsewhere in the world.

Mr. Khrushchev is watching what the United States does in relation to strengthening its Armed Forces. This is not merely a matter of quantity, but rather, of quality, particularly the quality of our nuclear weapons and our strategic air programs which are definitely progressing.

He is watching what we do to the vital appropriations request of the United States Information Agency. If the USIA funds are slashed, Mr. Khrushchev could declare a few hours holiday in Moscow. If Congress were to be pennywise and pound foolish and to reduce the ability of the United States Information Agency to get across the facts to the peoples of the world, particularly to the people of southeast Asia, it would be a sad day for the cause of the free world.

KHRUSHCHEV HOPES FOR AID SLASH TO SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. Khrushchev is watching even more closely the nature of our future economic aid program to southeast Asia. He is hoping we will pinch our pennies so tightly that he can easily pick up such valuable but vulnerable population, real estate, and resources as South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand—all of which vitally need United States aid. Giving them aid with an eye-dropper won't be of any more help than giving them more aid than they can reasonably absorb.

Mostly, Khrushchev is hoping that America's almost universal and completely understandable desire for a balanced budget will lead us to miserly errors of ommission. Those errors would make for a further unbalanced world; a world in which a balanced United States budget would become absolutely impossible thereafter.

And—in our own land, Mr. Khrushchev is watching, too, what happens to civil-defense appropriations. He will want to see whether we regard seriously the problem of defending the lives of 165 million Americans, in a small Nation which has now been crossed by a jet plane in 3 hours, 46 minutes, or whether by slashing civil defense, Congress were to indicate that it doesn't take too seriously this grim problem of defense in this superspeed age.

Most of all, Mr. Khrushchev and his cohorts will be watching the American spirit, the United States backbone.

Do we cringe, and shrink, and waiver, or do we stand firm and resolute and brave?

The latter course is the only true American course, and it is the one course which we will indeed follow.

CONCLUSION

It has been a great privilege to address the Sons of Norway tonight.

As we blow out these 60 warm candles in this fine organization's birthday cake, we look forward to its innumerable anniversaries to come.

We now that in the years up ahead, its members and their families will continue to contribute not only to America, not only to friendship with Norway, but to te cause of the free world.

Financing of Production of Electric Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "In Kansas and New York," which appeared in the Topeka Daily Capital, issue of Friday, March 4.

During the past few years the private utility companies in Kansas have been expanding their production of electric energy at a rate that is in keeping with the demands of our State. They have done this without financial aid from the Federal Government and in keeping with the true traditions and policies of the free enterprise system that has made our State outstanding.

Not only have they built a capacity to take care of the needs of our people but they have supplied this electric energy at rates that are competitive with electricity produced in other States and rates that our people can pay.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordere to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN KANSAS AND NEW YORK

The socialistic virus that seems to have gripped certain elements in various parts of the country has not taken much hold here in Kansas. Two electric power projects provide the contrast between New York and the Sunflower State.

The Kansas Power & Light Co. this week announced a $16 million construction plan, to be paid for out of its operating revenues, without asking the Federal or State government for subsidies or help of any kind. This strong public utility serves about one-third of the State, does it satisfactorily and at rates the public can afford to pay. And pays over $8 million a year in taxes.

Look at what's happening in New York. Some of the Empire State's top officials are trying to get Congress to pass a bill to enable the State to finance, build and operate a $300 million hydroelectric power project on the Niagara River near the falls. In one way or another, the taxpayers of New York would have to put up the money. They would also lose the millions that would be paid in taxes if private enterprise undertook the project.

The inconsistency of the New York proposal is emphasized by the fact that the State government already is hard-pressed for finances. And by the further fact that 5 private utility companies, with a splendid record of experience and achievement behind them, want to carry out the program the socialists in the New York legislature and elsewhere insist upon doing at public expense. These companies would have started installation long ago, with private capital, but Congress has not yet given them authority.

The same public power advocates who raised their voices in protest when the Atomic Energy Commission signed with Dixon-Yates for a powerplant, now are baying at the doors of Congress for approval of the New York scheme. These socialistic people are clamoring for the United States Government to spend $1 billion for dams on

the Snake River in the Northwest. And other billions for the Colorado River project, which is about as fantastic a proposal as any New Dealer ever dreamed.

It is fortunate that the people of Kansas have their feet on the ground, instead of keeping their heads in the clouds. The Kansas Power & Light Co., under the management of president Deane E. Ackers and his board of directors, asks no help from the government when improvements are needed to provide the necessary power for its customers. The virus of socialism has not struck the Kansas public utilities.

Industrial Dispersal Needs in Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Starting Civil Defense," published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 12, 1955. The editorial deals with industrial dispersal needs in civil defense.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STARTING CIVIL DEFENSE

Defense Mobilizer Arthur Flemming recently suggested the establishment of a legislative-executive body similar to the Hoover Commission to report on industrial dispersal needs in civil defense. Such a commission might have some merit as a means of calling public attention to what is necessary and as a means of compelling more vigorous action by the Executive and by Congress. But the basic trouble is not that the dimensions of the problem and the necessary precautions are unknown. It is that the administration has lagged in supplying the facts necessary for public judgment and the leadership to go with them.

More scrutiny in Congress of the sort being given by the Kefauver subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee certainly will help. We doubt, however, whether the creation of a joint committee on civil defense, as suggested by Senator HUMPHREY, is necessary. The need is not for a proliferation of committees. There is and has been every reason for confidence that Congress would respond sensibly and sympathetically if it were presented with a realistic administration program. Leadership in this field is basically an administration responsibility.

It is shocking that the Federal Civil Defense Administration has been so hamstrung by secrecy, according to testimony by Val Peterson, that it could not inform subordinates about the consequences of radioactive fallout, let alone plan effectively, until the Atomic Energy Commission released the data last month—even though the existence of the danger has been known for many months. It is obvious that the move of the civil defense headquarters to Battle Creek, Mich., whatever the reason for it, has handicapped the agency enormously at a time when the major activity on the Federal level needs to be in Washington.

Even the facts the agency has had have not always been publicized. Two and a half years ago the Associated Universities prepared for the Federal Government an exhaustive study of civil defense problems known as Project East River. Perhaps some of the recommendations are now outmoded by the magnitude of the hydrogen bomb and the fallout problem, but wide understanding of the report would have been of enormous help in persuading the public that civil defense is not futile and that something can be done. Although most portions of the report were not classified, they have never been disseminated.

Considerable progress has been made in dispersal of new industry, and though some plans and assumptions will have to be revised in light of the fallout, the efforts have by no means been meaningless. The worst lag has been in the planning for safety of individuals. The early warning lines across Canada, very late in getting started, are now being pushed ahead rapidly and personnel safety measures will have to be speeded up to keep abreast of the warning system. What is lacking is authoritative shelter and evacuation planning done at the Federal level, with followthrough to see that States and cities apply it to their own situations.

Sir Winston Churchill and Field Marshal Montgomery recently have dramatized the importance Britain attaches to civil defense. The same sort of top-level attention and leadership is needed here. Assuredly, the initial responsibility for adequate civil defense must remain with States and communities throughout the country. But it is questionable whether defense at the local level can be made meaningful until the administrative revises its own concepts to take a more active role in seeing that local measures are effective.

Farm Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the GTA Daily Radio Roundup of March 9 and March 10, 1955.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP
FARMERS UNION GRAIN TERMINAL ASSOCIATION,
St. Paul, Minn., March 9, 1955.

Last night Minnesota legislators and other officials of State government were the guests of Northwest farmers at a dinner in the GTA office building. The affair honored these public servants for the service they give. And it was also an appropriate time in the headquarters of this region's co-op grain marketing organization for leaders in a farm State like Minnesota to do some serious thinking about the status of agriculture and the welfare of the farm family.

M. W. Thatcher, general manager of GTA, told the crowd that, in his opinion, there would be no change in price-support legislation in Washington before 1956, despite the fact that farmers will feel the economic pinch more and more this year and next. He also gave legislators and others present some of the facts from the GTA family farm survey, obtained in the first county to be surveyed. It's a west-central county of Minnesota.

Thatcher said first tabulated returns, based on a study of 220 farms in that county, showed that "farm income averaged 31 cents an hour in 1954." He pointed out that their income was "less than they would have realized if they had sold their farms and invested the money at 5-percent interest." The average net income of the farm families surveyed was $1,739. They had an average capital investment of $37,905. Say they had invested that money and gotten a 5-percent return on it. They'd have received an average income of $1,895 off that. And that would be deemed quite reasonable, you can be sure, by the investment experts today.

But these farm families didn't do that. They worked—worked long, hard hours. And when you figure up how they made out, it looks like this: Even by allowing them absolutely nothing for that labor, they still didn't come out with a modest 5-percent return on investment.

Another key fact that the first surveys show, Mr. Thatcher pointed out, is that the farmer's gross income was higher in 1954 than the average for the 5-year period studied. But, net income, that's what's left after paying expenses, was less. The reason? The farmer's costs went higher and ate up more and more of that gross income.

Mr. Thatcher also had some conclusions that particularly ought to interest businessmen. He showed that "Main Street's prosperity is linked with farm income. It becomes very apparent from the survey reports that the farmers will spend money if given an adequate return so he has the cash with which to get the goods he needs and wants," Mr. Thatcher stressed.

The figures from the survey make this clear. The average gross income per farmer for the 5-year period was $8,337, of which 75 to 80 percent goes right back to the community as operating expense. And most, or all, of the other 20 or 25 percent goes back, too, because the farm family spends that for living, for clothes and food, for the dentist and the doctor, for schools and churches. As Mr. Thatcher pointed out, "The operating costs are pretty much fixed so the squeeze takes place on family living."

Another fact for business people to mull over is this. The survey shows a pent-up market on farm buying that averaged $3,843 per farmer just for repairs, things like painting, and fencing, and additions or replacements to buildings. There is a great market there if farmers can get the income. And, of those surveyed, 98 percent have radios, 97 percent have refrigerators, 77 percent have running water, and 38 percent have already television. Most of this they bought when income was higher. And many farmers expressed doubt that they could replace such items at present income. That's something for business to think about.

The farmer is a great customer when he's got the income. It's sound business for Main Street to pitch in and work with the farmers of GTA, the co-op way, for a sound farm program to bring that kind of income.

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP
FARMERS UNION GRAIN TERMINAL ASSOCIATION,
St. Paul, Minn., March 10, 1955.

Congress is getting deeper and deeper into the problems of agriculture and considering proposals that concern farmers. Two days ago, the House Agriculture Committee approved by a vote of 23 to 11, a bill that calls for a return to mandatory, firm price supports at 90 percent of parity on basic crops, like wheat and corn, for this year and 1956 and 1957.

Farm writers have called attention to the fact that when the House committee voted on the same question last year, it was much more one-sided in favor of firm supports. So, there's a shift—a closer division of opinion. Why? One reason is that the idea is being pushed in Washington that price-fixing ought to be given a trial, and it's only

been in effect for a couple of months at this date. And, then, of course, the other factor is the knowledge that the President holds in his hands the power of the vote. And, it's pretty clearly understood that he would use it to stop any bill that would upset the flexible price-support law.

But there has been a host of other bills in addition to the House farm committee bill. Over on the Senate side, for example, the news today tells us that Senator HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, is developing a plan to set supports higher for the family-type farmer and lower for the bigger farms. The plan would give growers 90 percent of parity on gross sales up to $25,000 a year. And this would apply to a list of storable and perishable crops ranging from meat, milk, and eggs to wheat and cotton. Then a larger grower would get 75 percent of parity for sales between $25,000 and $50,000. And there'd be no price supports at all on sales above the $50,000 limit. This bill aims to give protection to the smaller—the family-type farmer under the price-support program.

That plan is in the developing stage. Another type of bill of interest has been introduced by 23 Senators. They include LANGER and YOUNG, of North Dakota; MANSFIELD, of Montana, and HUMPHREY. This bill is a food-stamp bill. It would work like this: The Secretary of Agriculture would determine the amount of surplus of perishables like dairy and poultry products, meat, fruits, and other commodities. Then certificates would be issued to old-age pensioners and low-income people. They would take the certificates to a store and exchange them for the surplus food commodities.

This is the time of the year to keep your eyes on Washington, where farm prices are being made through legislation. And it's a time to do more than get ready for spring planting. It's also time to let Congressmen know what your problems are, and what you think of the bills that Congress has before it. The views you give will go a long ways toward helping your Representatives and Senators in considering legislation that affects you and the economic welfare of your family. Don't worry for a minute that they won't pay attention to your letter. They will, because they know farmers don't write letters to while away the time. They know you're concerned or you wouldn't have bothered to write.

And join with your fellow farmers of the Northwest in marketing your grain through GTA, the co-op way—working for better farm prices and a better future for the families on the land.

Gentle People of Prejudice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent sermon by Rev. Paul Covey Johnston, D. D., of the First Presbyterian Church, of Wichita, Kans. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the text of the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENTLE PEOPLE OF PREJUDICE

(By Rev. Paul Covey Johnston, D. D., First Presbyterian Church, Wichita, Kans.)

Matthew 5: 47: "If ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others?"

(Scripture: Luke 15: 11 to the end.)

Senator FULBRIGHT, a Rhodes scholar with an Oxford degree, recently "spoke his piece" on January 25 at the National Book Awards dinner in New York City. His theme was the pressure to conform, which is a Machiavellian monster of our time. He pointed to the monopoly control of what people hear, see, read, and listen to; to the only 100 cities left in the United States where there is more than 1 newspaper competing for the thinking of the people; to the 4 "lords of radio" who dominate the networks and for 50 percent of whose products less than 2 dozen advertisers pay; and to the 5 big film companies which command most of the picture industry. This concentration of communication power is stereotyping our people—which is to say: rapidly eliminating individual judgments and flattening out individual opinions. It works adversely for the politician, who, however earnest, may come to believe he can retain his seat and exert influence only by parroting the sterile dogmas of the street. He will risk no bold scouting for what lies ahead for the Nation, nor utter prophecies of what ought to be. Business sometimes insists on what powerful Socony-Vacuum said to Princetonians, that "personal views can cause a lot of trouble, the 'isms' are out"; and warned undergraduates to watch their step while in college if they expect to get good jobs after their degrees. Gagging the breath of student curiosity, it dangled bread before their mouths as a reward for silence and the absence of thinking. Some businesses have presumed to reach beyond the employee and attempt to control the kind of mate he will marry, and to set up rules for the conduct of his home. This is done in the name of "efficiency": it is really an attempt to impose a conformity which will make a slave out of the worker, devoted to the behests of the managers. Education has no comfort, either; and brave indeed are its leaders who, midst loyalty oaths, kangaroo courts, and public suspicions, dare to imagine their job to be to admit their pupils to all relevant knowledge, and then to encourage their imprisoned splendor to escape. But the confession which tears the veil from these confusions, and which may become most celebrated for its candor, was contained in the report recently issued by the Reece committee of the House of Representatives. This report said that "the trustees of the tax-exempt foundations should be very chary of promoting ideas, concepts, and opinion-forming materials which run contrary to what the public currently wishes, approves, and likes." So, we are to have no prophets. "The voice of the people is the voice of God"—whatever the level of their timidity, ignorance, or coarse notions. These great research institutions are to be merely numb and neutral; and if the people are currently galvanized by soap operas and their equal, let the foundations rest content to underscore the wisdom of such execrable taste. Senato FULBRIGHT asks what the end result of all this can be? "It can be a society shaped in imitation of an Egyptian mummy; a society where the embalmer holds the highest place of honor; a society of fixed, painted, and hard shells; a society feeding on its dry rot, until the fateful hour when a probing finger striking the shell from without makes it collapse on the empty center." You ask whether the Senator is a Democrat or a Republican; I say that in such comments he is greater than either, and exhibits qualities of a statesman.

I. This statement, which joins with so many others that warn us of the dangers of herd mentality, the suffocation of individual initiative, and the insidious dressing-down of ideals to an acceptable lowest common denominator, is a grave indictment of the cultural drift in our day. It admits a passion for mediocrity, and encourages the cowardice of having no opinion and preferring the security of being faceless in the mass rather than asserting one. If this is not anti-American, and antithetical to the traditions of our country, and to the incentives which have characterized and made us a distinguished people, I do not know what is the glory of the United States. There is nothing more lack luster than the willingness to be regimented into a common mold, yet that the phenomenon is not only a creeping lethargy but a galloping threat is undebatable. Scared into silence by public witch hunts and frightened into ananymity by the rotting suspicion of one another we have allowed to pervade our society, our boasted freedoms are largely a wistful memory. They will surge back, I believe, but not until we have taken the wraps off the individual, given the person, his ideas and acts, the respect of the dignity they are due; isolated the peril of coerced sameness for what it is; returned to the grand doctrine that a man is always right until he has been proven wrong; and made large place for the variable talents and even diverse opinions of some people. The latter can always be handled in the light and free air of open debates; for then they stand or fall according to their verity; repressed, they fester, and spread whatever poison they promote through the whole body politic, social, educational, and economic. Hence I believe that the current habit of boisterous suspicion and suppression is democratically destructive, and the clear enemy of the very system it professes to conserve. It is blighting our politics, substituting expedience for stamina, pruning ambition from the tree of achievement and denying us our natural leaders.

What comes out of the crowd into which people lose their particularities is of great concern to us all; and, I believe, to the integrity of our Nation, its own future, and its mission in the world. We have come as far as we have because the American Constitution and the American tradition have not only protected the individual's rights, they have just as importantly placed a premium on his ideas, and their possibilities. We have been willing to listen to anyone with a notion—be he statesman or crackpot—leaving to time and the consensus the reward of judgment as to its soundness. We have expected our leaders to rise from the ranks, and to be people who can see farther than the drudging ones can look. But if we are to be compelled to conformity; if the vast intangible forces which possess congregates of people are moving in this direction, and are abetted by short-minded purveyors of short-minded wisdom; then we face a complete revolution in our culture, and a whole new set of axioms as to how life is and gets along. For myself, I do not believe that individual initiative is passé; against regimentation—even for a supposedly good cause—my soul revolts; I believe we are in an historical interim period, until the human creature learns, through pain and thwarting, that monopoly of any kind will reduce him to a zero; meantime I have to admit that the spark of genius glows but fitfully against the glacier-like mountain of impersonality which would fain cover it and snuff it out. The tragedy is that so many of our people are as yet unaware of the peril.

But, compressed into the crowd, what comes out of the crowd is, I repeat, of enormous importance. The question is larger than the one natural to this Race Relations

Sunday, yet our immediate theme of prejudice and how to deal with it rationally and as Christians is a sector of it. For a crowd is not as the persons who compose it. It has its own psychology. Its actions are swayed and determined not by reason, ordinarily, but by emotions. Explosions will occur in a group which would never burst in the persons of it. A crowd is notoriously cruel and captious, whereas the individuals thereof can be, each of them, gentle and considerate.

So it comes about that everything depends on the level on which a crowd is integrated. Have it the fashion that it is good and right and beautiful to knock an inoffensive old man down, to kick and defile him and you are in the presence of the mentality of the Nazi, and what any well-disciplined disciple of Hitler and his god, Woden, would do to any Jew just because he is a Jew. Or contrariwise, listen to the president of Swarthmore College trying to define the living spirit of that institution of Quaker origin and tradition and unable to lay his finger on its intangibles save to say that it inheres in a code of life and conduct which believes in God and cares very much for people; and you are in the presence of what is best and most admired in American thought and behavior.

Recognition of the corporate power of groups does not absolve us of personal responsibility, for a crowd moves in the direction in which its most earnest or flamboyant individuals aggressively take it. The attitudes which you and I bring to the group, and the contributions we make, are of crucial moment. And I take it that none of us—in this hearing, at least—devise to demit our responsibility, nor hide in the namelessness of the company. But we do well to appreciate the immense potential of any crowd for woe or weal.

II. The woe I can illustrate from the story of José Morales, a Mexican war worker in Los Angeles. Dorothy Baruch tells it in her book Glass Mouse of Prejudice. José was proud of his war job. He had written his brother, who taught in the University of Mexico, that at last he had work in which he could use his knowledge and skill. One day, after finishing his shift, José took the bus home. When he got off at his street corner, he saw some men standing, waiting. They were strangers to him. He had never seen them before, nor they him. But they looked hard at him and saw under the light of a street lamp that he was slim and dark. One of them cried "dirty Mexican." And then they were on him. They tore off his clothes. They beat him with chains and pipes. They left him naked and bleeding. His back was broken. The next morning José died.

Such a story leaves one bewildered. How could human beings be such brutal cowards? They had never seen him before, but from their actions you would think he had been some form of incarnate evil. But the horrible event, not infrequent in modern American history, was within the pattern of a false white supremacy which some crowds will enforce on just that dastardly level. It was blood brother to all manner of devices which we whitefaces will use to maintain our economic superiority—which we fear to share or lose—and a social caste system from whose disintegration we angrily dissent. The ticket agent in a railway station may deliberately keep Negroes waiting until the last minute before train time, while he first serves the whites and then sits on a desk, chatting leisurely with a pal. He intends to be infuriating. He enjoys keeping the Negroes waiting. He knows they are bitter and he relishes their bitterness. He feels big. He is a white man. "Let the damn niggers wait." A woman with rooms to rent slams the door in the face of an inquiring couple. "I don't take any Jews here." She knows her words are an insult. She intends them to be. She feels important, even righteous.

The terrifying thing about prejudices of this kind is that it justifies itself to itself. It does it by the assumption of an unearned right. The white man eats where he pleases, lives where he pleases, dances and works where he pleases. He takes that right as his—as absolute, and unrelated to his own merit or demerit. He does not believe he needs to give a thought to the fact that dark-skinned people do not have these rights, nor to the fact that they are denied them not because they are worse people but because they do not belong to the dominant group. They may even be better people—more intelligent, more reliable, and more gracious and pleasant to have around. Is it any wonder that one-half of the people of the globe, being dark-skinned, and having had a taste of these rights and liberties, have risen and are rising in gigantic rebellion against the retreating white man? The white man retreats before the ferocity of the one-time colonials, and his own shame. Can it be other than expected that whenever the conditions I am describing appear or are continued, we Westerners are held up before the censure and disgust of the very Asians with whom we are trying so desperately to politically cooperate, to the point of saving our own skins? And can you imagine anything else but the doggondest racial explosion building up in South Africa at this hour, where the stubborn Dutch Afrikaner still seeks to maintain "apartheid" and keep the surging millions of black slaves under heel?

The way down to Avernus for racial prejudice is easy, and it is charted. Recent history is all one needs to observe the quick descent. A culture is slipping when it grants special privileges, or denies them, on grounds which have nothing to do with individual desert. The Nazis, herding luckless Jews into freight cars, and then into the ovens, showed us how. All human and humane distinctions were lost under the Hitlerian code. "In the night," wrote Hegel, "all cows are grey"; and in the night of racial prejudice, all despised persons are alike.

Then there must be scapegoats, that guilt and remorse may not rest on the aggressor but be transferred to the luckless. Follows the necessity for lies to support the hate. The Negro is, of course, shiftless, lazy, mentally inferior, and sexually unsafe to have around—which, of course again, is no more true than that there are thousands of whites as disappointing and as dangerous. The last step down is to make self-importance out of cruelty, and to be happy in hurting.

Oh, but you say, don't get so excited, Mr. Preacher! These things you describe do happen, and we deplore them; but none of us would dream of beating up an innocent Mexican, or even of making the "niggers" wait at the ticket window. I am not so certain of the latter, for I've lived in cities with their restrictive residential covenants, and I know something of our social complexes and irritations.

But granted the benefit of the doubt about our attitudes, we are again not excused from responsibility concerning the level on which our cultural mentality is integrated. I have taken much of my material, from the José Morales story on, from the tested pen of the trusted psychologist, Harry Overstreet. I have even adopted his theme as the title of this sermon. He calls us the gentle people of prejudice. The title is ironical. We are gentle in our prejudices because we do so little to overcome and replace them, either in ourselves or in others. Most of us do have a streak of antifeeling toward the Jew, or the Negro, or whoever, but it does not alarm us since we intend no violence. Yet while we go along with our indifferent and admittedly un-Christian prejudices, we are helping to create a pattern that is fraught with profoundest evil. What we seemingly harmless people do is to permit the immoral principle of condemning people in the mass to take root in society. Once that principle is established, other things inevitably follow: Such as the permission to look down on certain groups of people; then to partially despise them and allow them to be objects of insult and humiliation. The way is then open for the more violent to project their frustrations upon the innocent. Of course, we do not intend such extremes. But he who permits evil, commits evil: And we who share in creating such social sanctions must share the guilt they subsidize.

The psychologist faces us with the cause of the inertia which characterizes so many Christian and church people. He takes off the covers and tells us that, deep down, we actually do not believe in the God-given equality of human beings and their rights to the respects of human dignity. We still prefer preferments, and we continue to regard ourselves as superior. Yet we profess the magnanimous position, both in our Constitution and our religious creeds. Caught, therefore, between ideals we cannot give up and practices equally entrenched, we develop a protective unresponsiveness to events and conditions which should properly fill us with horror and drive us to remedial action. This is a sickness of the soul. The religionist will say that it is evidence we are not thoroughly converted to the mind and way of Christ. And irrespective of what it does to the segregated, it returns in a corruption of the person prejudiced. The gentle people of prejudice are intellectually and morally sick; and what is worse, they are sick people who try to make their own sickness the measure of their society's health.

Not very pleasant, is it? We did not realize that we are so profoundly guilty, and that our evasions are so directly tied with the overt chair of degradation we take such pleasure in denouncing. But if we give ear to the psychologist's charge, let us also hear the Master's challenge. Jesus loved and suffered for everyone, as children of the Heavenly Father; and He made it clear that He expected all His followerers to honestly adopt the same attitude. We are to be distinctive in this matter; and if we Christians fall back into the strife and contentions of the struggle for existence and positions of power which describe the non-Christian ethic of life, we have failed our commission and betrayed our Lord. Quite the opposite thinking and behavior is demanded of us. "What do ye more than others?"—Jesus turned one day to say to His disciples. He startled them immeasurably. They were saluting this person and that, and performing the customary courtesies. "Is that all?" cried Jesus. "Are you content to go along, conforming to the fashions and the rules, and not breaking through their deadening shell to achieve some great social thrust and advance for the people?"

What do we more than others? I do not see how any of use can rest, or ride along with the great disparities of our day, and proclaim ourselves neutral or indifferent to its accusations. In such a case, I believe we cannot escape being the "sick souls" of Dr. Overstreet's definition, or from carrying the deep guilt and defeat complexes of those who refuse to measure to what we profess.

Moreover, I believe we, as Christians, must take fresh and forgiven souls into the deliberate reformation of the crowds to which we belong or to which we have access. The point, again, is the integration of the group at its highest possible level. We must make it the fashion, as well as the intent, that every living soul is reckoned on the basis of the merit and quality of his life, and not on the basis of any arbitrary, historical, or unavoidable personal characteristics.

We are on the way to this desired social ideal in America. Anyone with eyes he himself does not blind can see what is happening. Education, the courts, and a thousand human amenities grow in grace and concert to progressively eliminate segregation. They, more than the churches, lead the way. They are teaching us how to handle, and to finally erase, our prejudices. The movement is universal, deep-flowing, and determined. It is of the will of God.

"Though the mills of God grind slowly,
They grind exceeding fine."

What makes any loyal churchman wince is that we are so far behind. I bow my head and confess the charge when Dr. McCracken, minister of Riverside Church in New York, stands up and preaches on the theme: "Discrimination, the Sunday morning American shame."

"What do ye more than others?" Tilt justice's scales; and load the balance, not with mere equity, but with love's gracious companionship and concern. This is the Christian way, the healthy and the healing way; and the root requirement of all Christ's pledged people as they meet their brothers.

Difficult Problems of Guatemala

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, for many years I have been following closely the situation in our sister Republic of Guatemala.

I was one of the first Members of Congress to point out what was then the rising Communist crisis in the hemisphere, as the former Arbenz regime evolved more and more into a complete Soviet-style dictatorship. At that time I urged strong action to curb what was then the mounting threat to the Panama Canal and to the hemisphere as a whole.

Then, with the fortunate overthrow of the Arbenz regime by the liberation forces to Col. Castilo Armas, I pointed out that the hemisphere had secured an historic opportunity to help a sister republic show how the ruin and slavery of communism could be replaced by the prosperity and good life of freedom.

Although, since the liberation, Colonel Armas and his associates have taken many sound administrative actions, and authough the United States Government has been deeply sympathetic with the problems of the new government, unfortunately, the situation in that country remains exceedingly troubled.

I frankly believe that our own Government could and should do far more to be of assistance to the Government of Guatemala, to help make of it a showcase for the Western Hemisphere.

This does not relieve Guatemala itself of its own basic responsibilities. On the contrary, I believe that the Guatemalan Government and people are, fortunately, determined to rely upon themselves to the fullest possible extent. But they realistically recognize, as we should, that the Communist legacy of ruin cannot be overcome overnight.

The tens of millions of dollars which the Communists stole from the now bankrupt Treasury; the heritage of an agrarian and labor discontent which the Reds promoted; the shortage of corn; the problem of unemployment—these are but a few of the serious aspects of the current situation, coupled with the disturbed coffee market.

Surely, I say, in the instance of at least the corn shortage, American official resourcefulness is capable of helping our friends promptly to meet this problem. And surely, we can be of other assistance, consistent with our commitments elsewhere in the hemisphere.

I have a high regard for State Department and FOA intentions to be of genuine assistance to Guatemala. But my earnest hope is that the programs already announced will definitely be implemented in full as speedily as possible; and, more important, that they will be supplemented as needs require. I urge this in the interest of Pan-American unity and freedom.

Mr. President, I send to the desk two hard-hitting newspaper articles published last week under the theme Whither Guatemala. They were written by Mr. Daniel James, and were released by the Spadea syndicate. I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHITHER GUATEMALA?

ECONOMIC CRISIS LOOMS—RED REVIVAL FEARED

(By Daniel James)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Daniel James is author of the new book Red Design for the Americas: Guatemalan Prelude. He is an authority on Central America, and has just returned from the Caribbean.)

Guatemala is on the verge of an economic crisis. The crisis could topple her new anti-Red government, revive communism, and wreck United States policy.

Americans seem totally unaware of these grim prospects. They have been fed too much ballyhoo and too few facts about anti-Communist Guatemala. Yet fact No. 1 is that President Carlos Castillo Armas' regime, after 6 months in power, faces bankruptcy.

And so does our policy in Guatemala.

Two-thirds of Guatemala's 120-million-pound coffee crop is unsold. Her notoriously tight-fisted, short-sighted coffee growers have been holding out for high prices while the market has been falling. Since coffee accounts for 80 percent of national revenues, the Government is at this moment virtually without an income.

It scraped through January and February thanks to incoming corporation and land-tax payments then due, and to bumper cotton exports. But no more money is due from those sources, and other expected revenue is piddling. With coffee still unsold, Castillo Armas may find it difficult or impossible to pay his obligations this month.

At best, if all the coffee were sold, the Government would lose $6 million in taxes owing to unexpected low prices. Unless new sources of revenue are developed, Castillo Armas faces a rough year even if he rides out the impending crisis.

Unfortunately, there is no Guatemalan money in sight to help the Government. It can be authoritatively stated that some $50 million fled Guatemala between 1952 and 1954, when the Reds were in power. Of that sum, $24 million was deposited in foreign, mostly United States banks. Another $6 million was invested in foreign enterprises. The rest, $20 million, is reckoned to be in Red hands.

Some flight capital has returned, but not enough to start a trend.

Added to these woes is a shortage of corn. Potentially, this may be the most explosive element of all. Corn is the basis of the national diet. It is worshiped almost as a deity by the Indians and thus possesses profound psychological meaning. A scarcity of corn could be calamitous.

Communism, hoarding, or both, may be responsible for the corn shortage. Prices are up to 6 cents a pound whereas normally they range between 4 and 5. Plantings were disrupted last year by the Red agrarian reform, and corn already planted was damaged by fall storms. However, peasants may be withholding corn in anticipation of higher prices.

Guatemala's progressive young Minister of Economy and Labor, Jorge Arenales, has authorized the private importation of 80 million pounds of corn. This, when put on the market, is expected to drive prices down and force hoarders to sell. By April, Arenales expects to know whether hoarding or a bad crop caused the scarcity.

If it is a bad crop, as many think, Guatemala will have to beg, borrow, or steal enough corn from somewhere to prevent starvation this year.

Still another serious economic problem is unemployment.

Around 20,000 workers, most of them in the capital, are believed to be unemployed. They present a political, as well as economic, headache. Some were lopped off Government payrolls for economy reasons. Others were fired by antilabor employers. Still others were laid off unfinished public works.

Officials say most of the jobless will be absorbed within 3 months on new highway projects, but by then the situation could be out of hand.

Behind the unemployed lies a discontended urban working population. The workers feel they are losing under Castillo Armas the rights they enjoyed under his Marxist predecessor, Arbenz. They begin to long for the days when their unions were a power in the land, ignoring the fact that they were Red controlled.

Specifically, the workers disapprove the abolition of the old unions. Castillo Armas is giving the unions every chance to purge themselves of Red influences, but that has been done in very few cases and so there is really no labor movement in Guatemala.

Also resented is a decree issued in January which gives employers the right to fire employees for union activity and virtually prohibits peasant unions. The latter, however, is directly attributable to the fact that the illiterate peasantry is a prey to Red demagogy and only last January 20 Red-led peasants joined a conspiracy to overthrow Castillo Armas.

Trade-union leaders blame everything on the antilabor atmosphere they say prevails among leading politicians. There is some truth to the charge. At best, the Government itself has been barely lukewarm to labor. On the other hand, labor has thrown up no really able men to replace its old Red bosses, and that is perhaps a primary reason why no labor movement exists.

Whatever the pros and cons of labor, this much is true: worker discontent is on the rise and there is a developing nostalgia for the past. In an acute economic crisis, this could be turned by clever Communist agitators into a strong leftist current.

Confronted by the prospect of an economic crisis accompanied by a political one, Castillo Armas can pull through only with the aid of the United States.

WHITHER GUATEMALA?

TOO LITTLE GUATEMALA AID THREATENS UNITED STATES POLICY

(By Daniel James)

United States policy in Guatemala is failing. That is the sad conclusion this reporter has reluctantly reached after a 4-week, on-the-spot survey.

The consequences, if we fail in Guatemala, will be disastrous. Our prestige in Latin America will practically vanish. Our programs in Asia will be compromised. Communists everywhere will have a field day as we argue over who lost Guatemala.

When Guatemala's Reds were overthrown last June, United States leaders from President Eisenhower on down swore to make the Central American Republic an anti-Communist showcase. They were solidly backed by both political parties and the public. Rarely has there been such unanimity as on the need for all-out aid to Red ravaged Guatemala.

Now, 8 months later, how much aid have we given?

On paper, $6,425,000. In fact, less than half that amount. Money is being doled out for certain projects only as, if, and when, they start.

Of the total aid authorized, $4,425,000 will eventually go into roads—if Guatemala can match it with $1.5 million of her own. Another $500,000 will go to finish a hospital—if Guatemala can match it with $500,000. Health, agricultural, and other projects likewise depend on Guatemala's ability to match funds.

So far, then, our aid largely consists of putting up dollar for dollar in a situation where the matching party sorely lacks dollars.

But even if we donated the entire $6.5 million outright, that would be about as helpful as feeding aspirin to a man with appendicitis.

That sum, Guatemalans point out, represents exactly what their Government paid its employees in back wages last December.

It about equals what the Government expects to lose in coffee taxes this year.

It is less than one-third of what the Reds are known to have stolen.

"A fraud" is how one Guatemalan bitterly described our aid to me. He was echoed by others. Already, our policy of too little is breeding disillusionment in us.

Washington is relying upon United States Private capital to give Guatemala what she needs. That is sound general theory. The trouble is, it does not apply to Guatemala's immediate problems.

United States businessmen are swarming into Guatemala seeking investment opportunities. Some are already building roads, exploring for oil, selling machinery, making lumber.

The Electric Co. of Guatemala, a United States subsidiary, is putting $17 million into new hydroelectric facilities to increase the capital city's power capacity. Pan American World Airways is about to join with local money to erect a big hotel. United Fruit reportedly awaits disposition of a United States antitrust suit before investing $25 million.

Tourists are beginning to return, realizing no Red problem now beclouds enjoyment of Guatemala's unparalleled scenic beauty.

President Carlos Castillo Armas deserves great credit for the improving business picture. His personal popularity, general policies, and practical measures—such as a progressive petroleum code—have combined to assure United States business a warm welcome and fair treatment in Guatemala.

Backing up Castillo Armas is the most talented and dedicated team of United States officials this reporter has ever seen abroad. United States Embassy, Information Agency, and Foreign Operations Administration personnel deserve medals for their handling of a delicate task.

Owing to all these factors, Guatemala is acquiring a new look. Guatemala City streets, once deserted, are filled with busy and happy people. Stores are brimming with new merchandise. Hotels are full. New buildings are going up.

But overshadowing this bright picture is the dark legacy communism left behind. A looted treasury, a corn shortage, a jobless problem, and a falling coffee market (for which the Reds cannot be blamed) all spell a major crisis. Neither the Guatemalan Government nor United States investors are equipped to tackle it.

An economic crisis in Guatemala just now would, as a matter of fact, slow down the flow of investment. It would destroy confidence in Castillo Armas, and perhaps cause his downfall. It would wreck United States plans for Guatemala and United States policy nearly everywhere in Latin America. We must awaken to these dangers at once and realize that only swift and unstinting United States aid can ward them off.

The primary immediate job is to help Castillo Armas acquire sufficient funds to carry on the task of governing. Second, Guatemala may need emergency food and grain supplies. Third, we must expand and accelerate our technical assistance—and without requiring Guatemala to match funds. Fourth, coffee prices must be adjusted.

Further, we should announce a long-term program. Guatemala needs about $50 million to build a decent road network—one of the keys to an expanding economy. She needs perhaps another $50 million for such basic projects as modernizing her agriculture. For about $20 million yearly spent over the next 5 years, Castillo Armas' chances of finishing his term in 1960 would be immeasurably enhanced and Guatemala's stability and prosperity practically underwritten.

Vice President NIXON, just back from the Caribbean and keenly aware of Guatemala's problems in particular, might well suggest that President Eisenhower ask Congress to enact a $100 million, 5-year program for Guatemala. Only such a program will demonstrate that we are really trying to make the world's first anti-Communist revolution a success.

Atlantic Union: Let's Meet the Challenge of Our Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered before the Greater New York Branch of the Atlantic Union Committee last Friday.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER, OF TENNESSEE, AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE GREATER NEW YORK BRANCH OF THE ATLANTIC UNION COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 18, 1955.

Judging from the experience of the past few years—and indeed, from the long history of military alliances—the longer we delay exploring better means of uniting the free peoples, the worse emergencies we shall face in the coming months and years.

Along with some 29 of my colleagues in the Senate and House, I have again introduced the Atlantic Union resolution to make that exploration possible.

Many of you will recall a day 4 years ago when President Eisenhower, at that time NATO Supreme Commander, addressed the Congress. In his speech he asked this question: "Why, then, are we frightened of dictatorial government?" And he gave this answer: "Only for one reason, because they have a unity of purpose. What we have to do—the only thing we have to do—is to meet that unity with a higher type, the unity of free men that will not be defeated."

Since that day, the Atlantic democracies have increased their collective military strength and the military effectiveness of the North Atlantic Alliance. Let us not forget, however, that during this same period the rulers of Russia and Red China have increased their military strength and effectiveness and that Soviet Russia is now building hydrogen bombs and transoceanic planes which can drop them on the United States.

During these 4 years, the Atlantic democracies as a group, and notably some of the nations of Western Europe, have increased their economic strength. Let us not forget, however, that Soviet Russia and Red China have also increased their economic strength even more rapidly under the lash of dictatorial power.

But in these 4 years the Atlantic democracies have not made comparable progress in increasing their political unity. Indeed, conflicts of policy between them concerning relations with areas of Asia and attitudes toward Communist propaganda offensives suggest that they are less united in some respects than they were 4 years ago. Our need for such unity, emphasized then so clearly by our present President, remains both critical and urgent. Threatened by a Communist bloc which can maneuver and strike with dazzling speed, we must still negotiate before we can act jointly.

This contrast between our respective accomplishments in the military field and in the political field is the more striking when our potential capabilities in those two fields are recalled. For our military capabilities are clearly subject to strict limitations for the long-haul limitations set by the need to maintain a free and prosperous economy.

But there is no limitation on our political capabilities except ourselves. As free men, nothing except our own intelligence, our own will, and our own attitudes can bar us from doing anything which our security and welfare demand.

I am convinced that the introduction of this resolution will contribute directly to early ratification of the Paris Agreements. It will be regarded in France, in the German Federal Republic and in all other nations which must still ratify these agreements as a proof that there is powerful support in the Congress of the United States for further development of the Atlantic community. They also recognize that the failure of EDC and the inclusion of the German Federal Republic directly in NATO have made further development of the Atlantic community imperative. Knowledge that this impressive support exists in the Congress for a resolution proposing a convention which would explore on the broadest basis the possibilities of achieving this objective will give them new hope and confidence that ratification of the Paris agreements will not lead up a dead end street, but will contribute towards the Atlantic development which these agreements themselves and the time in which we live have made urgent and necessary.

The history of the last few years has shown that progress on an Atlantic basis and progress in Europe are closely interrelated. When we have taken the lead in

developing NATO and have emphasized the importance of increasing the solidarity of the Atlantic Community, which includes our country, Canada, and Britain as well as the countries of Western Europe, we have seen progress toward unity in Europe. But when we have refrained from mentioning the word "Atlantic," have called only for unity in Europe and have exerted pressure to persuade Europeans to take steps in which we were to have no part, the result has been failure.

We recognized in 1949 by becoming a party to the North Atlantic Treaty that our defense and theirs were inseparable. Surely, there is every reason why we should explore together in common, in a convention comprising our best minds and theirs, how our common defense might be made more effective and less costly and how we might attain that greater unity for which President Eisenhower has so consistently called.

This resolution opens to the democracies a new and broad road toward the attainment of this objective. At the same time, it provides the free nations with a means of taking the intiative in the war of ideas which forms a central part of the cold war. We cannot win the war of ideas if we remain on the defensive. To move forward toward ultimate victory in this ideological struggle, to make possible an expansion of the frontiers of freedom which have receded so far in the last decade, we must take the offensive.

Our forefathers demonstrated unsurpassed political capacity throughout our history as a nation, first in creating our American Union and afterward in expanding that Union from a fringe of 13 States along the Atlantic seaboard into a continental area containing 50 times as many people and constituting the freest and the most powerful and productive Nation in the world. They met the challenge of their time. Shall we fail to meet ours?

This Is Your Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an article written by my esteemed constituent and friend of many Members of this Congress, Louis Bromfield. I believe that this article, like the writings of Mr. Bromfield, is well worth the reading by the Members.

The article follows:

THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY

(By Louis Bromfield)

In some ways the present Congress is well started on its way to be the shabbiest Congress in our history. It is a Democratic Congress and for its record the Democrats must take the blame, especially since they initiated most of the shabby goings-on.

The proposed $20 a year per person tax reduction has about it something actually childish, and, so far as the Democrats are concerned, something desperate—the seeking for some kind of issue where issues seem to be few and far between. The size of the reduction is childish for, while $20 is $20, it will not make or break any family in the whole United States and certainly not have any world-shaking general benefits under the present conditions of high wages, general employment, unemployment, reinsurance, social security, etc. Indeed the people to whom it might conceivably mean something are in the brackets which do not pay taxes in any case. And it is true that the inflationary effect of such actions may well cost the taxpayer far more than $20 a year in rising living costs before he is through.

Presumably the Members of Congress or at least the House of Representatives should understand these things. If they do not they are ignorant; if they do they are shabby, mischevious, and even dishonest. In either case, they are unworthy of their jobs and poor representatives indeed of the American people, who are not fools despite the low opinion of them expressed by the late Harry Hopkins.

While the $20 reduction means comparatively little in these times to the average citizen, it means a vast amount to the Government and the general overall welfare of a people who already have a burden of nearly $300 billions of debt, with what is still one of the most extravagant governments in the world in terms of waste in the field of bureaucracy and the operations of the Armed Forces. Congress, or those Congressmen who have proposed and supported this iniquitous measure, are merely repeating the cheap political trick of passing on the burden of this debt to their children and grandchildren. At the same time they are enthusiastically voting to double their own salaries.

The men who proposed and support this reduction might well have applied their time to getting to work on a bill to put into action the economies and reforms set forth in the Hoover report of reducing and disciplining bureaucracy, on creating further economies while raising the efficiency of our defense forces, in modifying or creating a bill for the extension of the draft which makes some sense in view of changed conditions. It it astonishing that Democrats of the honor and dignity of Speaker RAYBURN, Senators GEORGE and RUSSELL should lend even lip service to this absurd reduction in taxes.

The irresponsible action of the House in voting to extend the draft for 4 years without hearings or consideration is still another demonstration of irresponsibility. Presumably the extension bill was passed hastily to demonstrate to the world that the people were behind the foreign policy of the administration. If this is so, there was some justification, although not much. Otherwise the action is ill-considered or not considered at all. The mere extension of the draft for a perid of 4 years, when 2 years would certainly be adequate, is certain to produce enormous expenditures of taxpayers' money and to produce utter confusion in a situation where there will be at least three times as many eligible draftees as can be accepted in the Armed Forces. Nothing is more expensive than the military training of a draftee, especially when, as many of them feel, there is no real necessity for a draft if the Congress and the Armed Forces would completely modernize the Army, raise pay and make a military career attractive to young men.

There is an immense amount for Congress to do that would cut hundreds of millions, perhaps billions, from the expense of government and defense, and so justify in honest terms a genuine tax reduction without inviting inflation and without cheating our children and grandchildren. Congress, and especially the House of Representatives, has certainly started off on the wrong foot. If their actions to date are a sample of considered Democratic Party tactics, they are shabby indeed and will convince few people. The dragging out of the old New Deal stuff about helping the common man doesn't stand up. The proposed tax reduction is in reality helping no one and is harming the Nation as a whole. Surely the Democratic Party cannot be as bankrupt as its present actions and policies indicate.

Chinese Reds Ignore United States Warning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include Drew Pearson's column titled "Chinese Reds Ignore United States Warnings," which appeared in the March 12, 1955, issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald:

CHINESE REDS IGNORE UNITED STATES WARNING

(By Drew Pearson)

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles informed the American ambassadors to 15 Asiatic countries last week that the time had come for the United States to stand firm against Asiatic communism. Reporting to the Nation by radio and television this week, Dulles reaffirmed that position.

He did not, however, outline the means and methods, by which we are to stand firm.

Earlier this week, I took the liberty of suggesting the means by which we should stand firm in the Orient, namely, by adopting the same method the orientals have used against us—the boycott-blockade.

The Chinese have used the boycott time after time against the Westerner in the Far East. The Indians used it to help win their independence from the British. And whereas a battle to defend the small islands of Quemoy and Matsu would bring misunderstanding, bitterness and probable defeat, a boycott could be enforced—and be far more effective—without war.

Without arguing the pros and cons of the boycott weapon for the moment, however, let's take a look at Dulles' stern words of warning and see what they will mean to the Chinese Communists whom he is hoping to stop dead in their tracks.

Unfortunately, Dulles' warnings, stern, forbidding, and frequent as they have been in the past, have too often been reversed, either by his own Chief in the White House or by Dulles' own policies or by the policies of his administration in curtailing the military budget. Naturally the Chinese Reds listen to the radio and read the newspapers. And here is the record of Eisenhower administration statements they have read in the past:

Dulles to American Legion, St. Louis, September 2, 1953: "There is a risk that as in Korea Red China might send its own army into Indochina. The Chinese regime should realize that such a second aggression could not be confined to Indochina. The Chinese regime should realize that such a second aggression could not occur without grave consequences. I say this soberly in the interest of peace and in the hope of preventing another aggression miscalculation."

"Grave consequences" in diplomatic language means a threat of war. But the Chinese Reds ignored the threat. They went right ahead with the invasion of Indochina.

MASSIVE RETALIATION

On January 12, 1954, Dulles announced that the United States of America was prepared to meet aggression with instant retalia-

tion by "means and places of our own choosing." We would depend primarily upon "a great capacity to retaliate instantly," he said, referring to the atom bomb. The Chinese, however, blissfully proceeded to take over more areas of Indochina.

EISENHOWER'S WARNING

At Seattle, August 1953, Mr. Eisenhower told the Governors' Conference: "If Indochina goes, several things happen right away. The tin and tungsten that we so value from that area would cease coming. All India would be outflanked. Burma would be in no position for defense." His warning fell on deaf ears and the United States did nothing to back up the warning.

ANOTHER WARNING

Speaking to the newspaper editors on April 16, 1953, Mr. Eisenhower said that a truce in Indochina must not mean more attacks on Indochina. "It (a truce) should mean an end to the direct and indirect attacks upon the security of Indochina and Malaya. For any armistice in Korea, that merely released aggressive armies to attack elsewhere would be a fraud." But the Chinese did exactly that. They made the Korean peace a fraud. The United States, however, did nothing about it.

NIXON WARNS

Addressing the American Society of Newspaper Editors in April 1954, Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON warned the United States was ready to send land troops to Indochina. This did not seem to scare the Reds at all.

NIXON WARNS AGAIN

Speaking in Cincinnati a week later, however, NIXON claimed the Reds have been scared. "We warned the Chinese Communists that if they make overt moves across into Indochina as they did in Korea that they would run the risk of retaliation of the United States against China. Result: The possibility of that overt move by the Chinese Communists has been reduced very, very definitely." The Chinese, meanwhile, kept moving into Indochina.

IKE UNWARNS

Perhaps the Reds remembered an exactly contrary statement made by Mr. Eisenhower on February 10, 2 months before NIXON'S warning. "No one could be more bitterly opposed to getting the United States involved in a hot war in that region than I am," said the Preisdent.

IKE REFUTES NIXON

At any rate, the Communists hadn't long to wait before the President cut the ground out from under his Vice President. It was on April 20 that Nixon threatened stern measures against the Reds. It was on April 29 that Mr. Eisenhower told a press conference: "We certainly could not hope for a completely satisfactory answer from the Communists. The most you can work out is a practical way of getting along"—something, he added, that would stop "bloodletting."

Thus the Chinese Communists have heard brave words from one quarter and compromising words from another. They have listened to threats of both massive retaliation and land troops. They have listened to the demands of the China lobby and also watched us cut our military budget.

No wonder they have marched right ahead, first in Indochina and more recently opposite the islands of Matsu, Quemoy, and Formosa. So it's highly doubtful that Secretary Dulles' stern words of warning last Tuesday will have much effect on the men in Peiping.

What the United States faces, therefore, when you get down to cold facts, is either another retreat, or a shooting war, or a third alternative—the weapon which orientals have used against us—the boycott-blockade.

Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be invited to speak at the seventh annual banquet meeting of the convention of the Ohio Conservation Congress on Saturday evening, March 12. This important subject of conservation is so very important that, under unanimous consent, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The address follows:

As an introduction to this particular talk, I feel that it is fitting that I quote President Eisenhower on the subject of conservation: "Vitally important are the water and minerals, public lands and standing timber, forage and wildlife of this country. A vast growing population will have vast future needs in these resources. We must more than match the substantial achievements in the half century since President Theodore Roosevelt awakened the Nation to the problem of conservation."

President Eisenhower then calls for a strong Federal program in the field of resource development and I again quote from the President: "The best natural resource program for America will not result from exclusive dependence on Federal bureaucracy. It will involve a partnership of the States and local communities, private citizens and the Federal Government, all working together."

My personal interest in conservation is that of one as a farmer, as a conservationist, and as a legislator. For this reason, my approach to this particular subject on this occasion will be from this three-armed point of view.

This past winter I had the opportunity with my congressional committee to visit briefly in Spain. This is a country with more than 2,000 years of history. The guide and informant that accompanied us on a portion of this journey stated that the population of Spain at the present time is some 29 million people. However, it was told that an estimate of some 43 million was made for the number of people living in this area at the time of the occupation of the Iberian Peninsula by the Romans. It also is recorded and reported that Spain was one of the most prosperous and industrious countries that the Romans occupied at that time. There were vast timber resources and forests that were standing. It also was a place where ships were reprovisioned with food and fiber products from a very rich soil.

We noticed that many of the farmers still used the old wooden plows drawn by oxen, and that the soil seemed to be very thin and of low productivity. In fact, the average production of grain products has dropped so low that in our country it would be considered a failure if our farms produced in the same manner that theirs are producing. The vast timberlands have been depleted, and the country today has a shortage of water. In fact, the hotel at which we stayed in Madrid shut off the electricity from 4 to 6 each afternoon, because they stated that the hydroelectric plants did not have sufficient water to supply them with the energy required. At the same time, they have no coal resources and, since imported coal is expensive, very few steam-generating plants can be or have been built.

It then occurred to some of us that the timbers had been exhausted in the construction of vast fleets of ships that were used in fighting their neighbors and even among themselves. The Spanish nation has been ravaged by wars with other countries and even with civil wars in its own boundaries. The last civil war cost more than 1 million lives and billions of dollars of loss in property damage. Thus it is seen that a once rich country now has wasted its resources in wars and in the lack of conservation practices. Spain has a recorded history of more than 2,000 years, and the United States has a history of less than 200 years. Is there a comparison to be drawn and can a lesson be taught to those of us who are interested in the conservation program?

An eminent agronomist in this country not too long ago asserted that if any foreign power really has imperialistic designs on our country that she would be wise to delay action for perhaps another 100 years. By that time, this authority stated, we shall have used and wasted so much of our natural resources and especially our topsoil that our people will be so starved that they will not be able to resist.

Not long ago, I had the privilege of visiting in Nevada and witnessing the explosion of one of the atomic bombs. Our committee also saw the immense destruction that is possible with the use of this new type of nuclear energy. It has been pointed out by prominent conservationists that every day the amount of waste of certain natural resources is greater than the explosion of many of these same hydrogen and atomic bombs. For example, it has been discovered that at a certain spot in Indiana on the Ohio River that every minute a 40-acre farm passes by in the form of silt. I am going to estimate that this farm is worth at least $300 per acre and, in our section of Indiana, it is worth much more than that. This then means that every minute $12,000 worth of good rich topsoil is floating down the Ohio River eventually to be deposited in the ocean where it is lost forever. This amounts to more than $17 million per year for this one given spot and think of the many, many other rivers that are carrying silt from the topsoil of so many of our farms throughout this country.

In the last 40 years, the United States has spent more than $586 billion on wars of various kinds. This is a staggering figure and it is done in the hope that the world can be made a more peaceful place in which our children and children's children will live. However, are we saving for our children and our children's children the God-given resources that we inherited or are we returning these to the ocean to be deposited where they will be lost.

Reference was made to the age of Spain and the age of the United States. In less than the 200 years, in fact only approximately 180 years, we have made approximately one-third of our soil incapable of producing a crop. At that same rate, more than one-half of our soil will be destroyed in 100 years. Perhaps the agronomist that gave the dire suggestion of a foreign power waiting 100 years was not too far from wrong. For this reason it behooves all of us to pay a tribute to the defenders of soil, woods, water, and wildlife, and to all conservationists. It is for this reason that I consider your invitation to meet with you a distinct privilege.

In this talk I almost feel that the subject of water should be the one to be emphasized. Man's earliest recorded history was on shores where streams of sweet water flowed to the sea. Even as man pushed back from the seashore to the uplands, he recognized a good land as one "of brooks of water, of fountains and springs flowing forth in valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, of vines and fig trees and pomegranates, a land of olive trees and honey, a land in which you will eat bread without scarcity,

in which you will lack nothing, a land whose stones are iron and out of whose hills you can dig copper." The author of this portion of Deuteronomy recognized the value of water whether it comes in the form of rain or snow or fog or dew or in any form of precipitation. Sea water is too salty to meet most of man's needs and thus he depends largely upon fresh water.

The need to conserve water reaches to one of the most basic points in life. Water is needed to quench the thirst and for many personal needs not only of man but of livestock and to keep crops alive and growing. Modern industry uses water for steam generation, for washing, cooling, conveying, and for a multitude of other processes today. Not counting the stream flow that is used mecanically to generate hydroelectric power, industries in the United States in 1950 used approximately 120 billion tons of water—almost 50 times the weight of all other industrial materials.

This took a flow of about 80 billion gallons per day which is 8 times as much as that which was used in 1900. The expectation by 1975 is that industry will require 2½ times as much or 200 billion gallons of water per day. In this connection, most of the States in our Union can double the present withdrawals of water at relatively low costs and a few States could increase them 10 or 20 times.

Before proceeding to a further discussion of conservation, it is necessary to stop and realize that whenever a quart of crude oil, or a ven of coal, copper, lead, stone, iron or gravel is mined and taken from this earth that it is gone forever. It also must be remembered that it never can be replaced. This fact alone should make us stop and remember what a tremendous role these resources play in our everyday living.

It was for this reason and for many other similar motivating factors that the 83d Congress passed the Watershed Protection and Control Act of August 4, 1954, which now is Public Law 566. This is an outstanding and historical accomplishment in the field of water conservation. It sets up the regular procedures for aiding local groups within a single watershed whereby they may have assistance in carrying out watershed protection works. It applies to the entire country and provides for cooperation from the Department of the Army and the Department of the Interior. It expands and gives impetus to the watershed phase of the Nation's flood control program which the Department of Agriculture has been carrying on since 1936. Thus, it reflects the growing sentiment for nationwide action on upstream watershed protection and tributary flood control.

"In the Department of Agriculture" according to Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, "we are determined to assist farmers to carry out a more effective program of soil and water development and wise utilization on a nationwide basis. This naturally includes protection and development of soil and water resources on individual farms and ranches and also in the small watersheds of subwatersheds."

Secretary Benson very wisely has pointed out that this program is very well the lifeblood of the West both for irrigated and dryland farming, and in the East where many farmers today are using supplementary irrigation at some time during the growing season. Businessmen, bankers, and residents of small towns and communities that are harmed by floods and small tributaries of rivers, likewise are very much concerned and will be benefited by the eventual work and development of this watershed program.

Watershed development should be comprehensive and include flood control, power, irrigation, and navigation. It should also keep all natural resources in proper balance and in proper priority in relation to need. Some of these several points have been listed by the Department of Agriculture:

1. Sustained and improved agriculture production without waste.
2. Protection and sustained yield management of forest lands.
3. Prevention of erosion, protection of streams from excessive siltation, and flood control.
4. Protection of community and industrial water supply.
5. Maintenance of underground water sources.
6. Irrigation and drainage on sound land use basis.
7. Maintenance of fish and wildlife resources.
8. Areas for recreation and various studies—esthetic, cultural, and ecological.
9. Protection of grasslands suited to range utilization.

Those of you who have traveled across our vast country and even in other lands undoubtedly have wondered whether or not their barren ground had some use to which it could be placed. Even the wastelands of Nevada which I visited at the time of the bomb tests only recently are serving a valuable purpose at the present time in the advancement of science and, we hope, in the protection of the human race. In hills and mountains nearby they are finding new sources and supplies of uranium which is one of the important factors in the development of this new science.

Thus, it is evident that the problem of water reaches into every particular phase of human endeavor. One of the important considerations in certain portions of Ohio and Indiana and, for that matter, in many areas is that of the pollution of water. Pollution of water supplies is characteristic of nearly all of the heavily inhabited watersheds, but it is most serious in the manufacturing belt from St. Louis and eastward to the Atlantic coast. Pollution of the Ohio River became so objectionable that Congress by special resolution gave the affected States authority in 1936 to form an interstate compact to deal with the problem.

Withdrawals of water for cooling purposes are so heavy in some areas that river water sometimes becomes too hot to act as an effective cooling agent and increases pollution because some forms of waste matter dissolve more readily in warm water. The United States has reached a point where the costs imposed upon its economy by using streams and rivers as open sewers exceed the apparent savings. Many downstream communities are forced to pay large sums to purify water or to develop alternative supplies sometimes from distant sources. Valuable wildlife and recreational assets are destroyed and public health is menaced. Industries that require relatively clean water are discouraged from locating along heavily polluted rivers even though good plant sites, labor supply, and other attractions exist. Some plants whose water supplies have deteriorated have moved to other localities rather than incur high costs of purification.

Some of the above information was secured from Resources for Freedom, which points out the necessity for the Water Pollution Control Act of 1948 which was passed by the 80th Congress. This Water Pollution Control Act provided the beginnings of a program of Federal cooperation with States and interstate bodies. It authorizes the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, in cooperation with other interested agencies and bodies, to prepare comprehensive programs for interstate streams and underground water and, at the request of State or interstate agencies, to undertake research on specific problems. There are many other provisions in this worthwhile act, but I merely point it out as one of the steps taken by the Federal Government in the protection of this natural resource—water. The entire program is designed to give impetus to the local communities and to the States to first undertake the correction of this pollution problem. However, the Federal Government is ready at all times to step in and assist if the States and local communities have failed to act.

This bring up the study and consideration of pollution from coal mines. Seepage from abandoned coal mines is a source of sulfur water and acid that has ruined many good fishing streams and made the water unfit for many other purposes. Generally speaking this has been recognized as a State responsibility but insofar as the pollution affects streams that flow from one State into another, it can be said to enter the Federal domain. Previous sessions of Congress have considered bills which would require owners of abandoned coal mines to stop them against leakage. Otherwise, the Federal Government, through the Secretary of the Interior, would be directed to enter such mines and construct stoppings such as will prevent the formation and escape of polluting materials. A bill of this nature was introduced in the 83d Congress. However, within my knowledge no such legislation has been introduced in this 84th Congress. Several Members from Pennsylvania have introduced other bills which would authorize cooperation with that State for flood control and drainage in anthracite mines.

Incidentally, it has been estimated that the Ohio River and its tributaries receive daily some 25 million pounds of sulfuric acid derived from active and abandoned coal mines of which some 60 percent reaches the water courses above Pittsburgh.

Public Works Administration funds were used to steal up more than 40 percent of the abandoned coal mines in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and other coal-producing States during the depression period from 1933 to 1938. At that time, the cost of sealing each opening ranged from $365 to $467. The higher prevailing present-day cost was cited by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior as one reason for advising against enactment of certain types of legislation.

The Secretary of the Interior has expressed the opinion that the cost of sealing the mines should be assumed by the people of the States in which the mines are located and not by the country as a whole. The State of Pennsylvania, for example, during the past 15 or 20 years has followed some such extensive mine-sealing program.

Since I am a farmer, as I indicated earlier in this discussion, soil conservation is of special interest. Perhaps a report on Indiana alone would give an illustration of the work of this agency. There are 65 soil-conservation districts in my home State. These districts comprise 15,850,827 acres or 68 percent of the total area of the State. This area also comprises or consists of 109,367 farms which is 66 percent of the total number of farms in the State. These 65 soil-conservation districts are on a county basis and there are 92 counties in the State. Thus, it is seen that the big majority of the State of Indiana has adopted the soil-conservation program.

Until January 1, 1955, soil surveys completed a total of 4,920,317 acres, including practices on contour farming, cover cropping, strip cropping, seeding of pasture, wildlife area improvement, tree planting (which includes windbreaks), pond construction, terracing, diversions, and farm drainage.

On the national level, more than four-fifths of the country's farms and ranches and nearly 90 percent of farmland now are within the boundaries of the soil-conservation districts. More conservation planning and treatment is being done each year.

The policy of the Department of Agriculture, or the keynote of our national action

program of soil and water conservation can be stated by saying it is one to encourage and aid the farmers to plan and apply conservation farming measures, and to do for them only those things which need to be done in the public interest and which local people cannot do for themselves.

The basic Soil Conservation Act of 1935 established this principle and designated the United States Department of Agriculture through Soil Conservation Service to provide technical and certain other assistance to accomplish that end.

The 83d Congress passed several laws of far-reaching effect in this conservation program. The first was the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act to which reference previously was made. The second was the amended Water Facilities Act which will make loans available for this particular purpose. The third is a new provision in the internal-revenue law that enables farmers to treat expenditures for various soil and water conservation measures as current expenses that may be deducted from farm income for tax purposes.

With this Federal recognition of conservation, especially through the watershed program, the success of this program is going to depend on public understanding of the problems and objectives and upon local participation all of the time. The program is purely local and Federal Government merely becomes a partner by providing technical and cost-sharing assistance. To be successful, the program must be advertised and encouraged and public acceptance must be developed.

May I return to the farming problem to illustrate the importance of the conservation program. From 1919 to 1927, the number of persons engaged in farming dropped 4 million; 19 million acres were withdrawn from cultivation and 76,000 farms were abandoned. However, the farm income for fiber and food products during that same period increased 15 percent.

During World War II, high rigid price supports were used as incentives to increase production. Unfortunately, these supports were continued at great cost to the taxpayers and as an illusion to the farmer. At the same time, lower prices can tend to force the producer to reduce costs and become more efficient and perhaps even increase production.

For example, in the last 15 years yields per acre have risen 20 percent. In cotton, for example, the gain has been more than a third. In tobacco the gain has been as much as one-half and in corn the gain in production has more than doubled. This illustrates the advancement of technological research in farming and in agriculture in general. Since the farmer can produce more from his soil with modern fertilizers and modern farming methods and since one man can farm a larger acreage than previously with modern machinery, it means that there is a terrific strain placed upon the soil and the farmer wants to keep it for future generations.

However, there are many other considerations which I know will be of interest to you and to all other people interested in conservation practices. Polluted streams and waters are contrary to the public interest for another reason and it is because they reduce opportunities for fish and wildlife to exist. Polluted streams also make the neighboring areas repulsive to all who would use them. Each species of fish has its own temperature needs but all fish demand reasonably pure water. Some are more tolerant of impurities than others but the best sports fish are those which thrive in clean water. Trout want cold water. Small-mouth bass want cool water. Large-mouth bass want warm water. If the temperature is too low, the fish become sluggish, they don't eat enough food to grow on and if the temperature is too high, the fish die.

Thus, good watershed protection, whether for lands under farm management or in forests, tends to encourage the maintenance of cool springs of water with a fairly even temperature. Conditions which reduce the flow of springs tend also to raise the summer temperature of these springs. This, in turn, can have a bad effect upon the streams that normally support trout and small-mouth bass. The water becomes too warm to support such fish.

Watershed management is vital to good fishing also because, except during periods of rain or fact-melting snow, most streams receive their flow from what might be called leaks in the ground water reservoir. These are the free-flowing springs. If they go dry, the stream goes dry. Then, sooner or later, the fish will disappear and so will their sources of food. Neither fish nor fish food can live in a dry stream bed. Good watershed management maintains soil conditions that encourage water to seep into the lower soil levels.

The recommendation given by President Eisenhower in his budget message on January 17 of this year makes the following important statement: "Under the recommendations for the fiscal year 1956, the Federal Government will spent $673 million for development of land and water resources. A large share of this total—$430 million—is for continuation of work on 152 river basin development projects and units under construction by the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers. Much of this work is multiple purpose development for irrigation, flood control, navigation, and hydroelectric power."

It was pointed out that there are under construction 37 of these projects which virtually will be completed in 1956. The budget message further included recommendations that would intend to encourage States and local public and private groups to take the initiative in developing the valuable water resources with Federal cooperation where national interests are involved. In fact, the budget includes $20 million under proposed legislation to enable the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers to participate in 1950 in partnership water developments.

We finally come to the conclusion, and it certainly is clear that clear water and plenty of it in a continuous flow is necessary for the life of man, for the industries upon which he depends, and for the wildlife to which he looks for much of his recreation. To provide the clear water requires effective management of all watersheds coupled with such controls that sources of pollution may be kept down to the amounts to which nature can adjust. The Watershed Protection and Flood Control Act of August 4, 1954, is a major step toward this goal of achieving clean waters. To a great extent it supplements the Pollution Control Act of 1948. Acid seepage from abandoned coal mines continues to be a source of much damage to many fishing streams but the programs now underway in some of the States promise to fit in with the Federal program and reduce even this danger to the extent that it may be met by natural processes.

The laws whether Federal or State are merely tools available to be used. Without vigilance and citizen leadership of such conservation organizations as are represented here, such laws may be so neglected as to be no more than clanging gongs. As with the maintenance of freedom, we must fight to maintain conditions which will assure the continuous flow of clear, uncontaminated water.

Some time ago I read the story about Daniel Webster who scornfully described the western half of the United States as a formidable home of savages and beasts and an expanse of wasteland and brooding mountains. This was just a little more than 100 years ago. Webster even made the significant statement that he would not vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific Ocean one inch nearer to Boston than it is. He could not see any use to which the great deserts and endless mountain ranges ever could be put. The comment on this statement is the fact that few men so illustrious have ever proved so wrong on such a tremendous scale so soon. As a result, would it not be well for us to look 100 years ahead and try to determine not only the number of people who will be living off of the soil and will be dependent upon the products of the soil, but also to know in advance whether or not this same topsoil still will be with us to produce the necessities of life. Reclamation, of course, is important, but conservation is a first-line defense to avoid the necessity of reclamation in the future.

We have enough good land left in these United States to keep us prosperous and well fed if we conserve and improve it. It can be done and with the assistance of conservation groups such as yours and others throughout the United States, the people will learn and know how to do it. We can make most of our land produce more and more year after year. We also can save that same land but will we do it in time?

No Free Enterprise for the Gold Miner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, every producer has the right to sell his product in the best market which bidding under conditions of freedom and full information provide. This proposition is incontrovertible.

The producer of gold is the only producer who must sell his product at a fixed price and is compelled by law to sell it to a single buyer, the United States Government.

This constitutes an unjust combination of economic servitude and reprehensible monopoly.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL

It is repugnant to the American principles of free enterprise and contravenes the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

It is a denial of the right to sell and the correlative right to buy.

It forces the gold miner to surrender the fruit of his labor at an arbitrary price to a single buyer.

NOT LEGAL

Denying the gold producer the greater value which a free market would afford is a deprivation of property without due process of law.

The law compels the Interstate Commerce Commission to establish rates which permit a reasonable return on a fair value of the property. Under this statutory duty railroad rates have been raised 5 times since V-J day for a total of 52 percent.

LIVING RETURN DENIED GOLD PRODUCERS

This right to a living return does not extend to gold producers.

The law enjoins the Federal Power Commission to set a rate structure on gas which permits a fair return on property. The FPC has construed such a fair return at 6½ percent.

No such consideration applies to the gold producer.

The Civil Aeronautics Board is admonished by law to maintain a rate structure which will permit a fair return on capital and promote the further investment of capital in air transportation.

No such duty has ever been imposed upon the Treasury in the purchase of gold.

Every State utility commission is compelled by law to set rates which will permit a fair return on property and promote the flow of capital into the electric utility industry.

No State, by law or in any other way, has displayed any genuine solicitude for the gold producer.

PARITY PRINCIPLE IN LAW

The Federal Government, recognizing the elementary and imperative duty to survive, incorporated the parity principle in law to assure a fair return to the farmer. At substantial cost to the taxpayer minimum prices are guaranteed for every important farm crop.

There is no price parity for the gold producer.

MINIMUM WAGE FOR WORKERS

The Federal Government enforces a minimum wage for workers. It encourages the organization of workers in order to enable them by collective bargaining to get the best price for their services which the market can afford.

There is no minimum wage for the gold producer. Collective bargaining is impossible.

The tailor and the shoemaker can sell their product in the best market. The gold producer has a tightly bound, dictated market.

HAS BUT ONE CONSUMER

The gold producer has a single consumer totally indifferent to his losses, although eager to share in his profits, if any.

The owner of a security has well-organized free markets in which he can offer his shares to the highest bidder.

The producer of gold is not permitted to search for bidders.

Freedom of choice is one of the basic human rights in a democracy. In the United States this is denied only to the gold producer. The law treats him as a pariah. He is an economic untouchable.

This malevolent discrimination has brought great hardship to the gold producer. The price of his products was fixed in January 1934. His costs were not fixed.

WAGES UP 189 PERCENT—GOLD REMAINS SAME

Since January 1934, wages have gone up 189.3 percent. Wholesale prices have mounted 130.7 percent. Fuel is 64.2 percent higher. The cost of living has risen 83.4 percent.

The United States Treasury still pays $35 an ounce for gold. Since the price was fixed in January 1934, the value of the money which the Treasury uses has dropped 43 percent. The ounce of gold which the producer must deliver is still 100 percent pure. There has been no addition of base alloy to compensate for the decline in the value of the dollar. The cheating has been strictly unilateral.

When the United States abandoned the gold standard in 1933, it was believed to be a temporary expedient justified by an urgent crisis. It left the control of the currency in the hands of a bureaucracy neither elected by nor directly responsible to the people.

CONSPIRACY BEHIND NO GOLD STANDARD

Under the influence of imported English monetary dogma and totalitarian ideology the country has never returned to gold. A sinister conspiracy of silence shrouds the question.

The Federal Reserve Board and the International Monetary Fund both have a vested interest in managed currency. They constitute a mischievous cabal opposing the return of an honest currency. The lack of a common currency denominator, which only gold can provide, has maintained artificial currency values completely out of touch with the realities of fair value.

PREVENTS INTERNATIONAL TRADE

False currency values soothing to the pride of alien ministries have prevented the revival of wholesome international trade.

The stubborn refusal to permit gold to exercise its historic function as a currency has retarded world recovery and placed an intolerable burden on the American economy.

TREASURY PRACTICE UNJUST

Who would say that the $35 of 1934 could be any stretch of imagination be construed as $35 today. If that was a pledge of value to us by our Government they owe us now at least $70 an ounce for gold, but as the Treasury Department is now administering the Gold Act the industry is only allowed to receive value of about $17 an ounce. And remember, we are not allowed to seek other markets and sell our products to higher bidders.

The gold-mining industry has thus been picked out as the sole victim of a particularly vicious swindle, perpetrated upon it under the power and majesty of the Government which controls our money and presumably stands on the pinnacle of integrity.

The Anthracite Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following copy of a resolution by the Lions international district governor's cabinet in Pennsylvania, Lions district 14–H:

Whereas Pennsylvania district 14–H of Lions International is composed of 66 clubs in the anthracite coal-producing area of Pennsylvania, including the cities of Carbondale, Scranton, Pittston, Wilkes-Barre, Nanticoke, and Hazleton, and many important boroughs and towns, having a membership of about 3,500 members; and

Whereas the anthracite coal-producing area with its mining industry and other important industries located therein is important to the security and welfare of the great Keystone State of Pennsylvania, and our Nation; and

Whereas the said area is presently suffering from unemployment and the coal industry is not very prosperous for many reasons, among which are competition from oil and gas, and the importation of cheap residual oil from abroad, the tremendous problem of dewatering and drainage of the mines; and

Whereas the said anthracite area is in dire need of help and assistance from both the State and Federal Governments in the rehabilitation of the said industry; and

Whereas both the said State and Federal Governments should exercise the power and authority vested in them for the purpose of enacting legislation in aid of the said industry and area and making the necessary appropriation of funds for the purpose of helping the said industry: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the district governor's cabinet in Pennsylvania Lions district 14-H, in regular meeting assembled, That this appeal be forwarded to the President of the United States, our United States Senators, our Representatives in Congress, the Governor of Pennsylvania, our State senators and our representatives in the assembly, our Lions Clubs in this district and other interested bodies and persons for the purpose of supporting this appeal so that proper action may be taken by those in authority in behalf of the welfare and security of our great anthracite area and industry, our State and our Nation; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the press in the district for their valuable support and aid herein.

Importation of Hams and Other Pork Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD a newsletter report, dated March 4, 1955, published by the St. Louis Livestock Exchange at the National Stockyards.

This article discusses the depressing effect of excess imports of Polish hams, and other pork products, in helping to drive down the price of hogs and pork products in the United States, and gives facts that are worthy of the attention of the Members of Congress at the present time:

THE LIVESTOCK SITUATION

The hog and pork market worked lower again, almost daily declines in wholesale pork winding up the week with loins down as much as $5. Increased meat tonnage apparently cannot be blamed for the current weakness, since the February meat output was at the lowest point of several months. In fact, hog slaughter last month was off nearly a million head from the January kill; the 4,600,000-head hog butchering of February could even be considered moderate

when compared with the peak winter slaughter (in December) of 6,119,109 hogs.

We are indebted again to the American Meat Institute for giving wide publicity to the unusually large imports of canned hams and other pork from Communist Poland. As was pointed out several weeks ago, these Polish imports last year (almost 20 million pounds) increased 39 percent over 1953 imports; to put it mildly, it is discouraging to learn that the imports from Poland during January jumped a whopping 55 percent over the canned ham and other pork imports during January 1954. In 1955 the January imports totaled 3,627,000 pounds against 2,339,000 in the same month of 1954. Total imports have been running about half of the American canned ham production figure. And the Meat Institute says, "United States tariff cuts on canned hams are under consideration." Now, canned ham carries a 3¼-cent per pound import rate. A cut-rate duty could bring in a veritable flood of foreign pork.

January 1955 combined imports from all countries increased 18 percent over a year earlier but other European countries (Germany, Denmark, Holland) reciprocate by buying a lot of American products with the dollars they get from selling their canned hams here (such as lard, tallows, hides, variety meats, etc. Poland doesn't buy any pork products here to make it worse, but could be using dollars gained through the sale of hams thrown on the American market in competition with domestic products, to buy the strategic materials anywhere else in the world which the United States does not permit any Communist country to export from the United States.

With the serious decline of the price of hogs, it would appear, Congress and the administration ought to take a serious look at this situation and make some move to protect our own economy which is evidently being depressed by excessive imports from Communist Poland.

Handling the Government's Share of the Cost of the Civil Service Retirement Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARDNER R. WITHROW
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a study called the Budget in Transition, by the National Planning Association:

HANDLING THE GOVERNMENT'S SHARE OF THE COST OF THE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT FUND

For many years, Federal Government employees and the United States Government have shared the cost of a retirement and disability plan operated through the civil service retirement fund. From 1929 through 1953 the budget included an allowance for the Government's contribution to the cost of the system, appropriations were made, and the amounts involved were recorded as a Government expenditure. They were added to the total deficit as reported on the administrative basis.

The amount appropriated for many years was a compromise figure—below true actuarial cost and above the cost of current benefits and payments and for this reason and others, the liability of the Government not represented by appropriations has grown to a figure in excess of $10 billion. This led to proposals for a reconsideration of the policy of financing the retirement fund, and studies of various possibilities have been going on for some time. Because a policy had not been worked out, Congress has refused to make appropriations for the fiscal years 1954 and 1955 in line with the pattern established during the previous 30 years of the system's life. The appropriation would have been $368 million in fiscal 1954 (President's Budget Message for 1954, p. M52) and a somewhat greater amount in fiscal 1955, roughly about $390 million. For fiscal year 1956, on the old basis, the figure would have been still greater, roughly about $416 million, but the President suggested (message for 1956, p. M82) only $216 million. These figures exclude certain cost-of-living increases for workers who have already retired, which have continued to be appropriated each year.

The failure of Congress to appropriate the amounts involved reduced the accounting totals of expenditures and the deficit. It has no effect on payments to retired employees but it allows the Government's unfunded liability figure to grow faster than would have been the case.

Highlights of changing policy with regard to the appropriation for the civil service retirement fund appear in the budget messages sent by the President to the Congress during the past few years. In the message on the 1953 budget, the President said (p. M75):

"The cost of civilian employee's retirement benefits is financed by contributions from the employees and the Government. By law, Federal employees covered under the system are required to contribute to a trust fund 6 percent of their salaries, and the Government is required to contribute an amount sufficient to cover the remaining cost of benefits. The Government contribution for the fiscal year 1953 consists of a normal contribution of 2.78 percent of payroll to pay currently accruing costs, and a deficiency contribution to pay interest on and provide for amortization of the Government's accrued liability to the fund. This liability results from employees' services rendered prior to the effective date of the system, credits for military service, and insufficient appropriations for the Government contribution in some years. This budget includes $458 million for the annual contribution of the Government for the fisctl year 1953 to the civil-service retirement and disability trust fund, $148 million more than in the current fiscal year. This estimate takes into account the higher benefits future annuitants which will result from a recent advance in the pay rates for Government employees. It also provides for the first of 30 annual payments to amortize the Government's accrued liability to the fund so that the retirement system eventually will be financed on a full reserve basis, as is contemplated by the Retirement Act."

Congress questioned the program suggested by the President and established a committee to report on the problem. It appropriated $324 million for 1953, however, which represented a continuation of past Government policy.

In the message of the 1954 budget, the President said (p. M52):

"I am recommending appropriations of $427 million to cover the Government's obligations to the civil-service retirement and disability fund and $3 million to pay annuities under special laws. The Government's obligations to the civil-service retirement and disability fund includes $59 million to cover the cost for 1953 and 1954 of the temporary increase in benefits voted last summer for persons then receiving annuities from the civil service retirement system, and $368 million for its contribution as employed for the fiscal year 1954. The amounts I am recommending do not provide for payments on the Government's outstanding liability to the fund, since this is one of the problems to be studied by the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel recently established by the Congress."

Congress failed to appropriate the amount requested by the President, waiting instead for the report of the committee that it had established.

In the message on the 1955 budget, the President said (p. M101):

"An appropriation of $30 million is recommended to permit the continued payment to retired Federal workers of temporary cost-of-living increases as authorized by the Congress in 1952. The budget also includes $2 million to pay annuities under special laws.

"The civil-service retirement system is financed jointly by employee contributions and appropriations by the Government. The Congress, at its last session, however, did not appropriate for the Government's payments to the fund. The resumption of these payments is not included in this budget. Recommendations for financing this system as well as other retirement programs for Federal personnel will be determined after the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel completes its study and reports to the Congress on or before June 30, 1954."

No appropriation was requested for the fiscal year 1955 and none was made.

In the message on the 1956 budget, the President said (p. M82):

"The civil-service retirement and disability system should be financed on a more satisfactory basis. Employees now contribute 6 percent of pay, covering about one-half the currently accruing cost, and the Government is responsible for the rest of the cost. In the past the Government's share of payments to this fund has not been provided on a consistent basis and in the last 2 years appropriations have been deferred pending the report of the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal personnel. The Committee's report to the 83d Congress establishes the necessity for a sound and lasting financial basis for the civil-service retirement system. Financing of the civil-service system is a problem requiring careful consideration because of its importance to the Federal career service. For 1956 I am recommending a Government contribution of $216 million, which is estimated to be the difference in that year between the Government's share of current benefit disbursements and the interest earned on its part of the fund. This will serve to maintain at its present level the equity the Government already has built up in the fund through its past contributions."

A table showing the figures on appropriations to the civil-service retirement fund by the Government on the basis of policy decisions existing in 1953 and prior years, compared with actual and proposed appropriations, is set forth below:

[In millions of dollars]

Year	Old basis	Actual and proposed	Difference
1952	310	310	0
1954	368	0	368
1955	[1] 390	0	390
1956	[1] 416	216	200

[1] Estimate.

The estimates for 1955 and 1956 are rough projections based on the figures used in 1953 and prior years. They are lower than the estimated $794 million level premium cost to the Government, carried in the tables of the report of the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel which was submitted to the 83d Congress on June 29, 1954. Included in the level premium cost are amounts necessary to put the system on a self-sustaining basis.

Majority of Security Risks Hired by Eisenhower Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by John Cramer entitled "Air Force Aide Says the Big Majority of Security Risks Were Hired by Ike." The article appeared in the March 11, 1955, issue of the Washington Daily News and follows:

AIR FORCE AIDE SAYS THE BIG MAJORITY OF SECURITY RISKS WERE HIRED BY IKE

(By John Cramer)

Somewhere between 75 and 95 percent of all Federal employees "separated" from the Air Force under the Eisenhower administration's security program were employees hired by the Eisenhower administration.

That, in case you missed it, was the meaning of testimony given a Senate Government Operations subcommittee this week by Fred Ayer, an Air Force intelligence representative. In effect, it confirmed this column's estimate of last October 15 that "up to 75 percent" of all Eisenhower administration security risk separations involved employees hired by the administration itself.

It confirmed it—but strongly indicated the estimate may have been on the conservative side.

And it cut new ground from under Republican politicians who have given the public the completely misleading impression that virtually all of the administration's security risk separations involved employees appointed by previous administrations.

That couldn't possibly be true.

But, as politicians will, the GOP politicians have done their best to convince the public it is true.

Last October 15, this column said:

"Up to 75 percent of the 6,926 Federal employees the Eisenhower administration claims to have separated from the Government payroll as security risks may have been hired by the administration itself.

"That is this reporter's estimate based on an analysis of past and present Government hiring and investigative practices."

The column went on to explain:

That the great bulk of Federal employes are hired on a subject-to-investigation basis.

That these investigations inevitably turn up many employees who have falsified their job application forms * * * who had police records as criminals, or drunks, or sex perverts.

That most of these employees ordinarily are dismissed before the end of their 1-year probationary period and generally within a few months.

That previous administrations separated them under an unsuitable label.

That the Eisenhower administration has been separating many under a security risk label.

That these separations, mostly within the first month (or probationary) employment, undoubtedly had removed a great many Eisenhower appointees—and undoubtedly accounted for a high proportion of the administration's security risk totals.

After the story in this column appeared, there were several attempts to minimize it.

NOT FULL STORY

For example, Vice President RICHARD NIXON, who made much of the security risk issue in his campaigning in the West, cited previously unpublished figures which showed that the vast majority of all State Department risk separations involved employees appined by previous administrations.

There is no reason whatever to question his figures.

But State Department, for a number of reasons, is not a typical Federal agency.

Air Force is far more typical.

And the Air Force's Mr. Ayers told the Senate subcommittee that "95 percent of the Air Force statistics" published as security risk cases "would be probationary employees"—meaning those who had been on the payroll less than a year.

That doesn't quite mean that 95 percent of all Air Force security risk separations were Eisenhower appointees.

What it does mean is this:

That an absolute minimum of nine-sixteenths of the Air Force risks must have been Eisenhower appointees.

That the actual proportion almost certainly was much higher.

Until very recently, the administration defined security risk separations as including all employees who were fired as security risks—all who were fired for other reasons, under regular civil service procedures, and who subsequently were listed as security risks—and all who resigned before a final decision on charges—even though they didn't know about the charges.

These standards were modified in December to exclude employees fired under regular civil service procedures—and to make a distinction between resigned employees who knew about the charges against them, and those who didn't know.

But the original standards were the ones in effect last October when this column presented its "up to 75 percent estimate."

They also were in effect last September 30—the last date for which administration security risk totals are available.

According to Civil Service Commission, Air Force security risk separations totaled 680 between May 28, 1953, the starting date of the security program, and September 30, 1954.

According to the Air Force's Mr. Ayers, "95 percent" of the separations in this 16-month period involved probationary employees—those who had served less than a year.

Five months elapsed between January 1953, when the Eisenhower administration took office, and May 28, 1953, when its security program went into effect.

This period undoubtedly brought the removal of the vast majority of all remaining Truman probationary employees who had failed to stand up under investigation.

In fact, the proportion of Truman appointees in the Air Force risk separation could equal seven-sixteenths only if no Truman risk appointed after May 28, 1952, had been separated until May 28, 1953.

A much better guess is that at least 90 percent were separated within the first 5 months after appointment.

In other words, before the Eisenhower administration program started.

H. R. 4720

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, March 10, this Congress passed H. R. 4720—what might be called the career incentive bill. In my opinion this legislation will have a tremendous effect upon the morale of our people as well as upon the military and economic condition of our country.

This bill will increase the base pay of the active, retired, and Reserve forces of our military units and certainly it will be an incentive for young people to make a career of the armed services. I have always advocated, and last year introduced House Resolution 521, requesting that a study be made to make the Armed Forces more attractive, giving those who volunteer their services, compensation, and benefits comparable to what could be earned in civilian life. I want to thank the military, administration leaders, and especially the Armed Services Committee for their cooperation in considering my resolution.

I firmly believe that the intent of my resolution, at least a portion thereof, has been put into effect by the passing of H. R. 4720.

I am sure all of us recognize that we must have an adequate defense and I am certain that this legislation will go a long way to help this Nation protect the freedoms that we all enjoy.

I am one who does not like the word compulsion and one who firmly believes that the least Federal controls we have the better off we are. I hope and pray that this increased incentive will so attract the younger people into military service that we will soon be able to do away with the draft and other forms of compulsory military training.

Textile Tariff Cuts Hurt Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial which recently appeared in the Charlotte Observer, the outstanding evening newspaper published in Charlotte, N. C.

This editorial makes it clear that the textile worker in the United States is the one who will suffer most from a further reduction in our already low tariff on textiles. The editorial follows:

The 24 trade groups associated with the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute were a little sweeping in their criticism of reciprocal trade agreements, but their advice against "hastily enacted" legislation was sound.

Their warning is particularly applicable to the textile industry, which is especially vulnerable to ill-advised reductions in tariffs on its products. These cuts have already averaged 37 percent and have affected 91 percent of the industry's products. In some individual cases, the tariff has been reduced by 50 to 75 percent.

In the cotton textile industry labor costs comprise 67 percent of the total value added to the raw material by manufacture. Since the cost of cotton to foreign manufacturers is just as low as it is to American firms, and in many cases lower, any further cuts in the

tariff would probably have to be taken out of the 67 percent that goes to wages.

A comparison of wages in the United States and in other leading textile manufacturing countries will show why this is so. The average hourly wage in the American textile industry is $1.30. In Switzerland it is 43 cents, in Britain 45 cents, in France 39 cents, in Germany 31 cents, in Japan 13 cents, and in India 9.5 cents.

The Japanese industry, where the wage is one-tenth of the American wage, is rapidly returning to its prewar production, but many of its former markets have been cut off. If the tariff were lowered so that Japanese textiles could enter this country at a profitable rate, the American textile worker with his $1.30 an hour would be competing with the Japanese worker at 13 cents an hour.

In that case the competition would not be between the American and the Japanese manufacturer, but between the American and the Japanese workers.

The argument of the free-trade group is that American business could make up for the difference in wages with greater efficiency. That is not true. The Japanese industry was almost destroyed during the war. It has been replaced by the most modern machinery, fully as efficient as ours.

The same is true of the industry in France and Germany, where wages are about one-fourth of the American wage. India likewise is installing modern machinery with American foreign aid money, but the people operating the machines get only 9½ cents an hour.

The American textile worker is the one who would be hurt by that kind of competition. The free traders ought to think about that.

What Should Be the Government's Farm Policy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing an essay written by a young man, James J. Tarrou, of the Ashland High School, Ashland, Ohio. I recommend this reading to my colleagues:

WHAT SHOULD BE THE GOVERNMENT'S FARM POLICY?

Different ideas and proposals on various aspects of the Government's farm policy have been top political questions for years. Now it is even more important than ever that we take an objective look at our present agricultural policies. Our program should be one that will promote reasonable farm prices, give farm control back to the farmer, and provide for an expanding and changing economy.

The present piecemeal program under which we are now operating is totally ineffective because it provides for none of these things. But in fact it has forced unnaturally high consumer prices, resulted in unmanageable surpluses, priced us right out of the foreign markets, forced socialistic production and marketing controls on American farmers, and allowed farm prices to drop for 5 of the last 6 years.

It is time that we had a long-range farm program, geared to the future. Agriculture is not a piecemeal business; it cannot have a piecemeal program. As a long-rang policy the theory that we are over-producing is not true. The real trouble is that we are underconsuming. It is true that for several years, we have been producing an over-abundance of certain commodities, but this is due to unrealistically high price supports which encourage unusually high production of these items.

We need a sliding price-support system that will allow farm commodities to sell at a normal level as long as that level does not threaten disaster to the farmer.

United States Department of Agriculture statistics show that price supports are on less than 25 percent of all the farmer's crops, and that for the last 20 years the prices of nonsupported crops have averaged slightly higher in relation to parity than the prices of those supported.

It must also be remembered that profit is not price alone; it is price times volume minus expense. It would do no one any good to receive $10 a bushel for wheat if he had no wheat to market. But in many areas farmers are faced with the serious problem of not having enough cash crops to sell because of strict acreage allotments.

American agriculture naturally will produce more food than can be consumed in the United States. At the same time many countries have minerals and raw materials which we need, but which cannot or will not produce enough food for their people.

If our agriculture is to be prosperous, as it can truly be only when it is producing at full capacity, and if we are to obtain the much-needed raw materials, we must be able and willing to trade with other countries.

As long as we have the food we have a moral and political obligation to get it where it is needed. Whether communism or freedom wins the battle for world dominance depends on which one can get the most goods to the most people.

The last, but an equally important, factor in a successful farm program is expansion of education and research. It is estimated by leading economists that within a little more than 10 years our population increase will require 20 percent more food. American agriculture can and will meet these increased demands, but that is only for 10 years. What about 25, 40, or even 50 years? Again agriculture will respond, but it becomes obvious that the solution to our farm problem is through plenty, not scarcity.

No matter what the unforeseeable demands on American agriculture may be, they can be met through research. Research is the key to the future and to prosperity.

If we continue research and develop ways to market our surpluses where there is a demand, we will have a prosperous agriculture. Prosperity can come only through production.

If we follow this plan of sliding price supports, an opening of foreign markets, and increased education and research, we can expect to have an agricultural economy which will meet the needs of the Nation and the world for years to come.

BILL VAN TIEBURG.

He Bit Off Too Much

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an article from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Monday, March 7, 1955, by George Sokolsky entitled "He Bit Off Too Much."

The article is as follows:

THESE DAYS
(By George Sokolsky)
HE BIT OFF TOO MUCH

You never know what you are liable to get into when you act as a plain citizen who helps to pay the civic bills as a taxpayer, and you begin to question the experts. The new rule seems to be that those who call themselves experts having spoken, it is for the rest of us to tremble and obey.

I got into a thing called fluoridation because I read an article in the Scientific American about this stunt. I did not like the authors' approach to the problem, since, in effect, they started out by telling those who might disagree with them that they were swinish antiintellectuals. As I read their profluoridation article my hackles rose and I said to myself that apparently nobody knows whether this thing is really good or bad except for small children and why not buy it in a drugstore. I have since discovered that I have paid cash money to a dentist to do it on my children out of a bottle. In fact, a study on the use of a stannous fluoride dentifrice appears in the Journal of the American Dental Society for February.

Having said such things to myself, I thought that maybe I would share my thoughts with my gentle readers, when lo and behold, upon my head fell a mountain of literature, pro and con, articles signed by physicians and dentists who favored and opposed fluoridation and even more material from those who join movements and become fanatical about them, no matter on which side.

I have now gone through this accumulation of literature, first having thrown away all the duplicates. What I discover is this:

1. Fluoridation is good for children up to their 8th year;

2. It can be done out of a bottle bought in a drugstore by dentists and is being done;

3. It does not help adults much, if at all;

4. The dental profession is not 100 percent in favor of fluoridating drinking water to lessen the danger of caries, which is fancy talk for a cavity; some dentists say that the arguments for it are nonconclusive; others say, "What do you know about it, you aren't a dentist?"

5. Nobody denies that fluorides in water, even in small quantities, can affect the kidneys adversely and can later in life show up in kidney stones; the pros take the position that the quantity used in drinking water is so small that the danger is not worthy of consideration. Still, if you get a kidney stone, you would know that it hurts and can cause great damage;

6. Nobody bothers about the citizen who is alergic to the stuff; perhaps he will drink bottled water or gin. When I go to Chicago, for instance, I order bottled water from Wisconsin because the taste of Chicago water upsets my digestion. But what does the fellow do who has no expense account?

7. Fluoridation at the reservoir does not control the dosage; a child who drinks 10 glasses of water a day, gets 5 times the dosage of one who drinks 2 glasses a day.

This about sums it up. I have talked to a number of distinguished dentists about fluoridation. What impressed me most is that they object to being quoted pro or con. They say it is unethical for them to express an honest opinion as citizens about a matter which involves the taxpayers' money, because they may only ethically express themselves through learned journals.

Nevertheless, I get the impression that there is division in the ranks and when doctors do not agree, what should we laymen think? Maybe fluoridation is a boon, but I remember a whole skinful of boons which in short order were silently discarded and forgotten.

Death of Thomas B. Fitzhugh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appears in the February 1955 issue of Rural Electrification, regarding the death of Thomas B. Fitzhugh, of Little Rock, Ark. Mr. Fitzhugh was a leader in the rural electrification program, and I know that many Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who have worked with him in behalf of the REA will regret the loss of this able and public spirited citizen.

I knew Tom Fitzhugh for many years. Not only am I saddened by the loss of a close friend, but I also realize that my State has lost an influential and progressive leader, a gentleman in business and association.

Tom Fitzhugh, perhaps as much as any other person, is responsible for the development of rural electrification in Arkansas. He served his State unselfishly and at a great personal financial sacrifice. I know, however, that the rural electrification program, which he pioneered, will serve as a living memorial to his memory and to his tireless work in behalf of Arkansas farmers.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEATH OF THOMAS B. FITZHUGH IS LOSS TO RURAL ELECTRIC PROGRAM

(By Ed H. Thomas, editor, Rural Arkansas magazine)

Thomas B. Fitzhugh, a rural electric cooperative leader of national prominence who wrote the law enabling farmers in Arkansas to organize their own power systems, died at Little Rock on December 29 at the age of 46, after an illness of several months. He had served as attorney for NRECA in 1943 and again in 1946.

Fitzhugh was attorney for Arkansas State Electric Cooperative at the time of his death, as well as attorney for Ark-La and Arkansas Electric Power Cooperatives. He also was legal counsel for Central Telephone Cooperative.

"The rural electric cooperatives have suffered a severe loss in the death of Tom Fitzhugh," Harry L. Oswald, executive manager of the Statewide, said. "His service to the farmers in the State has extended over nearly 20 years. He distinguished himself in public affairs as well as in the activities of the rural electric cooperatives."

Fitzhugh was on the publications committee which launched Rural Arkansas magazine in 1946 as the official publication of the State co-op and worked with Oswald (at that time field representative of REA) in starting the series of local co-op annual meetings on a rotational basis since copied by many statewide associations. In the realm of power supply, Fitzhugh took the lead in obtaining approval for engineering surveys which resulted in a loan of $10½ million to build a co-op steam generating plant and transmission system in northwest Arkansas—a proposal blocked by lawsuits filed by the commercial utility companies in the area.

Tom Fitzhugh started his public career in 1932 when he was elected city attorney at Augusta and graduted to State politics in 1936 when he managed the successful campaign of the late Carl E. Bailey for attorney general, then becoming assistant attorney general. Two years later Fitzhugh managed the campaign which made Bailey governor.

The man who later was to become a leader in the rural electrification drive by the cooperatives which boosted the number of electrified farms from less than 2 percent to more than 85 percent in the State in less than 20 years was appointed by Governor Bailey as chairman of public-utilities division, which now is the public-service commission. Early difficulties in getting the commercial utilities to even quote a rate to the cooperatives spurred Fitzhugh's interest in helping farmers obtain their own rural power systems. This interest in welfare of farm people was reflected in other activities. He helped organize the Arkansas Plant Food Co. and was its attorney as well as counsel for the Arkansas Farmers Association.

Fitzhugh helped organize many of the REA-financed co-ops, teaming up with Waldo Frazier, of the Farm Bureau, and E. E. Karns, then with the Extension Service, in holding meetings of farmers at many communities. While he was on the utility regulatory agency, Arkansas took the lead in adopting the area allocation plan, under which service territory was assigned to the utility best able to serve it, whether the power supplier was a commercial company or a cooperative. This policy helped to hold the building of so-called spite lines to a minimum in Arkansas, enabling the State to escape expensive duplication of utility lines. Sixty percent of the area of the State is allocated to the co-ops, practically all of it rural because the law prohibits a cooperative from serving in a town of more than 2,500.

His first visit to Washington, in the interests of rural electrification, took Tom Fitzhugh and Governor Bailey in 1937 to the office of REA Administrator Morris L. Cooke to inquire what was needed to give Arkansas farmers adequate electric service at a reasonable rate. Decision to write an enabling act to permit organization of REA-financed co-ops grew out of this meeting.

Serving on the Public Service Commission until Homer M. Adkins became governor in 1941, Fitzhugh went into private law practice in Little Rock, becoming legal counsel for Arkansas State Electric Cooperative when it was organized by the 18 rural electric co-ops in the State. He was in the Navy in World War II assigned as an armed guard officer on merchant ships facing danger of submarine attack. Returning late in 1945 he resumed his leadership in the rural-electric program.

He studied in the school of business administration at Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Va., for 3 years and received a law degree there after 3 years of additional study. Opening a law office at Augusta, he spent much of his time in management of the family's farm interests which included more than 3,000 acres along White River in Woodruff County. He was president of Fitzhugh, Snapp & Co., a general merchandising firm in the town of Fitzhugh, 7 miles north of Augusta, and of Fitzhugh Gin Co., in Woodruff County.

At the time of his death he was a partner in a legal firm with Howard Cockrill at Little Rock. He was a member of Christ Episcopal Church at Little Rock, the Little Rock Country Club, and the Arkansas and American Bar Associations.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Camille Waldron Fitzhugh, formerly of Walnut Ridge, and four sons, Thomas, Edward, James, and David, also a brother, Davis Fitzhugh, of Augusta.

Slovak Independence Day, March 14

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 14, 1939, the Slovak Parliament, perhaps under unusual circumstances, but nevertheless, declared the independence of Slovakia. I say under unusual circumstances, because the Slovaks would not have chosen that particular time to declare publicly what we and the whole world consider as their God-given and inalienable right to do. But were it not for the pressure exercised by Germany the yearning of the Slovaks for their national home would have been delayed much longer. As it happened, March 14 became the day of the fulfillment of Slovak national aspirations.

At the commemoration of this historical day of Slovaks throughout the world, I wish to remind the Members of the House that it was our own President Wilson who was intimately acquainted with the situation of the Slovaks in the newly born Republic of Czechoslovakia and that it was exactly this President who, after witnessing the plight of the Slovaks in that new state, proposed that the right of self-determination of the Slovak Nation should be brought to the attention of the League of Nations at one of its first meetings.

That this was so, is testified by no one less authoritative on this subject, than was the eminent American journalist and aide to President Wilson during the Versailles negotiations following World War I, Colonel Stefan Bonsal, who as a close friend of the foremost Slovak Patriot General Milan R. Stefanik witnessed the interview of President Wilson with General Stefanik at Paris in 1919, and who later was to learn about the Slovak national aspirations from other sources.

As it appears to us Americans, we may object to the Slovaks that they seized the opportunity to declare their independence on March 14, 1939, when Germany seemed to dominate the fate of the whole area of central Europe, a Germany which at that time was or was about to become our enemy. But, as we cannot blame the sick for accepting medical treatment at the first opportunity of seeing a doctor instead of waiting in agony for their own doctor, so we cannot reproach the Slovaks for the very fact of having declared their independence in 1939 instead of waiting for our own encouragement.

No, we cannot reproach them for having used their God-given right for freedom; on the contrary, we join our Slovak friends throughout the world in their joy of the glorious past of their nation and in their hope that soon again the chimes of victory of the good over the evil will ring in Bratislava and Kosice the hymn of freedom and liberty denied to them now under the Communist domination.

To make this possible, however, we cannot just stand by. We have to en-

courage all such brave and democratically minded Slovaks throughout the world, and their organizations that we are willing to help them if they also will help themselves. In this respect, I mean not only the organizations of those Slovak exiles who before all are responsible for the liberation of Communist-dominated Slovakia, such as the National Committee for Liberation of Slovakia, but also organizations, clubs and lodges of Americans of Slovak descent, who are inspired by the plight of so many of their countrymen in Slovakia. Only recently one such organization was founded in the Luzerne County district under the guidance of some of my friends such as John T. Kmetz, Andrew Kosik, Stephen Farris, John J. Baloga, John Adamchak, and others in order to seek ways and means for a better understanding of the Slovak problems.

As for me, I have already expressed my views about the Slovak problem when on July 3, 1952, I introduced House Concurrent Resolution No. 238, in which I have not only stressed the traditional friendship of the American people with the people of Slovakia, and reaffirmed the firm conviction of the American people that the Slovak people have the right of self-determination and the right to be governed by their own consent, but, ever since, I have convinced myself by closely studying this same problem, that only then when Slovakia will become an equal member of the family of free nations, peace will prevail in that area of central Europe.

Backward Farm Step

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the March 10, 1955, edition of the Washington (D. C.) Evening Star:

BACKWARD FARM STEP

The House Committee on Agriculture has taken a predicted step backward in approving legislation which would restore the mandatory 90 percent of parity price supports for five basic crops—corn, wheat, cotton, peanuts, and rice. The same legislation would raise the discretionary minimum on dairy supports from 75 to 80 percent. It is legislation which should be defeated in the Senate if it passes the House.

The high, rigid price-support program, adopted originally as a temporary wartime formula, was set aside last year by legislation authorizing flexible supports for the 5 commodities within a range of 82½ to 90 percent of parity. Actually, the authority to lower the supports does not become operative until the 1955 crops come in, so this formula for Government aid has not been tested and is not, of course, responsible for the declining trend in farm prices which has been noted since 1951. Meanwhile, however, the high support program has resulted in Government purchase of billions of dollars of commodities—products that were destined to be surplus even before they were planted or harvested. Furthermore, the chief beneficiaries of this wasteful program, as President Eisenhower pointed out last year, have been about 2 million owners of large and highly mechanized farming units. Little or no benefit has gone to about 3.5 million small farmers. At the same time, the consumer-taxpayer has footed the bill for unneeded purchases and storage, as well as in higher prices for the commodities being held off the markets.

Under other legislation enacted last year, the Government is authorized to dispose of some of the huge commodity stocks in return for foreign currencies, goods or services, and, within limitations, to give away some for famine relief. The Department of Agriculture has reported substantial progress on this program. In addition, expansion in research and educational work in agriculture is under way and a special study is near completion on the problems of the low-income farmer. Last November's farm area voting in the congressional elections did not indicate any pronounced displeasure with the administration's approach to the agricultural problem. Certainly it warants a fair trial, and there should be no retreat to a system that failed because it was not designed for normal peacetime periods.

Hon. William H. Ayres, of Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial written by a personal friend of mine, Mr. G. J. Kochenderfer, who has been an editorial writer for the Mansfield News-Journal many years. This editorial is of particular interest as it refers to my friend and distinguished colleague and very capable Congressman from Ohio, WILLIAM H. AYRES. Congressman AYRES is doing an outstanding job for his constituents as well as the people of the country. I am sure the editorial will be read with a great deal of interest by his friends:

A CLASS PROPHECY THAT CLICKED—GRADUATE OF WELLER TOWNSHIP SCHOOL, NOW CONGRESSMAN, AS PREDICTED

(By C. J. Kochenderfer)

Remember that class prophecy which was put forth when you were graduated from high school? Think back for a moment on how it happened, and then you may be surprised at the accuracy of one such prophecy that took a forward look of 18 years.

This reference is being made to a graduate in the class of 1932 from Weller Township High School, who, according to the prophecy, was to be a Member of Congress in 1950—and it was in exactly that year that he was first elected to Congress from Ohio's 14th district, which includes Summit County, with Akron as its chief city.

This is another of the instances in which the placement of a Methodist minister was instrumental in bringing to Richland County a boy who, without his guessing it at the time, was destined to succeed beyond the ordinary, and it is to a Mansfield teacher that he gives much credit for the upward start.

The name is WILLIAM H. AYRES, now serving his third term in Congress, having been re-elected in 1952 and 1954 as a Republican in what is thought of as a Democratic district.

Born in Eagle Rock, Va., February 5, 1910, the son of Rev. and Mrs. William H. Ayres, WILLIAM, Jr., was subject to the changes to which Methodist preachers of that period became accustomed, and it was in 1927 that his father's transfer from Brighton, Ohio, to the Pavonia Church, with inclusion of the Franklin and Olivesburg churches in his circuit.

So it came about that five of WILLIAM's youthful years were spent in this country; years which concluded with his graduation from Weller-Union High School, as it was known then.

Now comes the name of a Mansfield teacher into the story—Miss Pearl Danback, 223 South Franklin Avenue—who teaches mathematics (geometry) in MHS, but who was then principal of Weller-Union School.

It was Miss Danback who recognized WILLIAM's above average potentialities and it was at her insistence that he became active in debating. She also encouraged him to apply for a scholarship at Western Reserve University, which he received and was among the graduates from WRU in the class of 1936, with an A. B. degree.

First employment after college graduation was as a salesman of heating equipment in Akron, interrupted by service as a private in the United States Army during 1945 and 1946. After discharge from the Army WILLIAM established his own heating and insulation business in Akron, which continues under the name William H. Ayres, Inc., of which he is president.

Difficulties encountered in a suit against the East Ohio Gas Co., including governmental interference, stimulated WILLIAM's interest in politics, in which his first venture was to run for Congress at a time when he admits having been naive enough to think that one man could correct a lot of evils quickly. Anyhow, WILLIAM is now serving in this third consecutive term, which may be taken to indicate that he is doing right well in pleasing his constituents.

Recollections of occurrrences of school days in Weller township remain fresh in WILLIAM's memory with eighth grade attendance in the one-room school in Pavonia.

It was while in the eighth grade that WILLIAM accumulated enough savings, from trapping muskrats and skunks, to buy a Model T runabout, which provided transportation to high school for himself and some neighborhood children. Remembering that he was a 12-year-old at that time, WILLIAM now wonders how the parents of the children who rode with him to school ever consented for them to do so. However, he was paid $1 a week by each of those he provided with this transportation service—which seems fair enough.

It was while a high-school senior—at the age of 16—that a painful experience came about. WILLIAM had been chosen valedictorian of the class and had prepared what he felt sure would be a terrific speech.

But fate intervened, and on the morning of Friday, May 13, 1932 (note the Friday the 13th), a baseball bat slipped from the hands of Perry Phelps, a classmate (also a riding passenger), and struck WILLIAM on the mouth, knocking out seven teeth and breaking his jaw.

Thus, instead of declaiming his carefully prepared speech, WILLIAM could do no more than sit on the platform, with his remaining teeth wired together and his jaw supported by a contraption that resembled a birdcage, while Miss Danback read his speech.

Also remembered is an episode of the summer of 1931 with unpleasant consequences. It was while WILLIAM was engaged in a tussle with Wendell Oswalt, who now conducts an office equipment business at 187 Marion Avenue, that Wendell's collarbone was broken

and WILLIAM was required to do all of the heavy work on the Oswalt farm that would have otherwise fallen to Wendell, who did no more than lead the horse that pulled the hay up to the mow while WILLIAM (or BILL, as he was then known), was already in the mow doing the real work.

There was also a time when WILLIAM, as a schoolboy, played on the McVey Post American Legion junior baseball team, of which Ralph Hughes, now court bailiff and probation officer, served as director for 10 years, and the friendship of WILLIAM and Ralph has extended through the years.

By the way, it was Miss Leota Pittinger (now Mrs. Arthur Boyce, of Shelby) who prepared the class prophecy which, in its forecast if WILLIAM'S later career, proved amazingly accurate.

It was the first girl with whom he became acquainted after entering Western Reserve—Miss Mary Helen Coventry, then at the age of 16—who became WILLIAM'S bride on April 1, 1937. Their home is at 804 Sunnyside Avenue, Akron 3, and they have three children: Virginia, 16; Frank, 14; and July, 10.

WILLIAM'S office is 227 West Exchange Street, Akron, and during the time he is required to be in Washington as a Member of Congress he can be addressed at the House Office Building.

Information from the current issue of Who's Who is to the effect that he holds membership in the American Legion, Amvets, Eagles, and Moose, also that he is a Methodist.

Appreciation of his father and mother is expressed in WILLIAM'S realization that they were "very understanding parents," and he comments: "Being raised in a Christian home is a wonderful experience." His mother had been a missionary and had always seemed to consider her son a likely prospect for that field of activity, but circumstances directed otherwise.

WILLIAM'S father has now retired from the more arduous tasks of the ministry but continues to serve as pastor of the Brokensword Methodist Church, north of Bucyrus.

Defense of Quemoy and Matsu Islands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a letter from Mrs. Robert V. (Gertrude S.) Cram, Minneapolis, Minn., with resolution adopted by the members of the Second Ward DFL Club, recommending that the United States not defend the Quemoy and Matsu Islands against Communist China. Also, that our foreign policy should make Formosa a United Nations protectorate, preliminary to self-determination.

The letter and resolution follow:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *March 7, 1955.*
Hon. ROY WIER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WIER: I have been instructed to send you the enclosed copy of a resolution adopted by the DFL Club, of the second ward, at a recent meeting. We hope it will help your thinking on this important question.

Sincerely yours,
GERTRUDE S. CRAM
Mrs. Robert V. Cram,
Secretary, Second Ward,
DFL Club.

Whereas there is great uncertainty about United States responsibilities in the Formosa areas; and

Whereas this uncertainty may be less of a deterrent than a provoker of war: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Second Ward DFL Club considers it sound United States policy not to defend Quemoy and Matsu Islands. Also, it should be United States policy to take steps to make Formosa a United Nations protectorate, preliminary to a self-determining status.

Textiles and Tariff: New Approach to the Revolution in World Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a thoughtful editorial which appeared recently in the Charlotte News, an outstanding afternoon newspaper published in Charlotte, N. C.

The Charlotte News has been outspoken in its advocacy of a liberal trade policy for our country. The editorial makes it clear that the News has not shifted its position but points out that one country cannot, by itself, bring about a revolution in trade and urges a realistic approach to the problem. The editorial follows:

The administration's new reciprocal trade bill (H. R. 1) is no tempest in a tariffpot. It is a genuine, full-blown threat to Dixie's multi-million-dollar textile industry and to the economic security of armies of southerners.

The effects would be felt right here in Mecklenburg if the textile industry—or any significant portion of it—should be sacrificed to foreign competitors.

The measure—which would extend the 20-year-old reciprocal trade law 3 years and give the President additional powers to reduce tariffs 5 percent a year during the period—is dangerous in its present form. It would be folly to extend the law without adjusting it to the realities of the age.

These sentiments do not represent a major shift in the basic beliefs of the News. In the past, our editorial policy on trade has been based on two cardinal points: (1) The more trade the better; (2) the freer it is the better.

We have not changed but conditions have altered the timetables of progress. We still believe in the free movement of goods throughout the world. We still maintain that it is a goal toward which the nations of the world must work. But one country cannot, by itself, bring about a revolution in trade. If it tries today, it will be caught in a whirlwind of conflicting economic and strategic currents.

While nodding heads in unison about the necessity to reduce tariffs and stimulate a liberal trade policy, too many foreign nations have been silently erecting sky-high barriers to free trade. Import quotas, currency-control straitjackets, import licenses and every other conceivable protectionist device are being put into effect. A whole new arsenal of economic weapons has been developed. They make tariffs seem like horse-drawn artillery in a world of atomic armament.

But there are other new ingredients in the international trade stew as well.

For one thing, the ever-quickening technological and scientific revolution, which is undercutting the advantages of international specialization, is making the world even more fiercely competitive. Adequate mechanisms of adjustment have not yet been forged.

Under ideal free-trade conditions, one area might be watchmaker for the world—because it might have a corner on the raw materials, skilled labor, efficient machinery, etc. In exchange for its watches it could receive other items from other specialized areas that produce them—on a stuff-for-stuff basis. The theory is that if a nation wants to sell, it must also buy. Every country has something to sell, something else to buy.

But look at textiles. They are produced all over the world. Techniques are about the same. Equipment is almost identical. There's not a great deal of difference in efficiency—although Americans have a particularly high rating.

There is, however, a difference. It is in wages paid labor. The average Japanese textile worker makes 13.6 cents an hour. The average United States textile worker makes about $1.30 an hour. This is a ratio of about 10 to 1. When you consider that, in textiles, labor costs make up 49 percent of the value added by manufacture, the importance of this difference is clear. (Wages are not the only cost differential; there is also a disparity in the cost of cotton, equipment, and transportation.)

Japan is one of the world's principal manufacturers of textiles. United States foreign aid helped put the industry on its feet after World War II. Even under present tariff schedules, it is flooding the United States with cotton goods. In December alone, 85,300 dozen woven cotton shirts entered this country from Japan. Prices are considerably below general United States levels. Quality is not always sleazy.

This competition has already injured United States producers. In the third quarter of 1954 (latest available figures), profits on sales after taxes amounted to only .56 of 1 percent—lowest level since 1938. Last year the United States lost 600,000 spindles while Japan was adding more.

The South—and particularly this immediate area—is, for better or worse, built upon a cotton economy. This is not a happy or particularly healthy situation. But it is a fact. Any sudden jolt to the textile industry will run like an earthquake through the region's entire economic terrain.

Slowly, new industry is being established. Slowly, Dixie's economic base is being strengthened and broadened. But the region is not yet ready to exile King Cotton. Human factors are involved. Too many lives are wrapped up in the prosperity of thousands of individual mills and supporting institutions and businesses. The textile South must not slash its own throat or stand idly by while someone elses wields the razor.

This does not mean, however, that the goal of a liberal trade policy should be junked. It simply means that before the United States liberalizes its trade program further, it should take stock of what the total world situation is and act accordingly. It should decide what its long-range strategic and economic interests are.

It may take a 2- to 3-year trade truce to provide a breathing spell for competitive relations to shake themselves down.

It will certainly mean that America will have to develop a clearcut understanding with its world neighbors about mutual responsibilities in international trade.

It will probably mean some additional investments abroad to open up new markets—for the United States and even for pesky rivals like the Japanese.

The Nation's first concern must be to maintain a high level of production and employment in a solvent and expanding American economy. Next, from that sound economic base, the Nation must work aggressively to

strengthen the free world through the expansion of world trade. In the long run, both of these responsibilities can be discharged—if Americans have the patience, the wisdom, and the commonsense to do the job.

The Inquiry Into the Stock Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Don't Brush Off Wall Street As None of Your Business," published in the Courier Journal of Louisville, Ky., of March 4, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON'T BRUSH OFF WALL STREET AS NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS

Senator FULBRIGHT is taking great pains to calm any fears that may be stirred by the prospect of his inquiry into the stock market. Obviously he does not want anybody to think that he and his colleagues on the Senate Banking Committee suspect any funny business, any unwholesomeness, any danger. He doesn't want to shake anybody's confidence or start a selling spree. He is not investigating, he insists, but only studying.

This caution on the Senator's part is a good thing. But there is no call for any apologies as to the inquiry. It too is a good thing. It can very well become a means of creating a better general understanding of great developments in our economic life. It could, in short, be highly educational, bringing more confidence rather than less.

There never was a time when such a study was more appropriate. The stock market has come to be a vital interest to more and more people. As the national product grows, incomes grow and savings, too. Last year the people of this country made more money than ever before, spent more—and still saved around $20 billion. Here is a potential stake for investment in the essential America of production. The assurances of health and protection that a competent and sympathetic study should give might make things really move.

More and more people are buying stocks. In the United States are around 20 million individual shareholders. There are more women than men. Activity and interest have grown in the last year phenomenally. Sales on registered exchanges in December 1953 totaled around 65 million shares, of value around $1.5 billion. In December 1954 the total was 135 million shares, of value nearly $3.2 billion.

Is this unhealthy? Not so long as prices and the essential elements of value keep in proper proportion. Is this the case? That is what the Fulbright committee could and should find out.

Is the vast amount of trading and the dramatic increase in prices due to a competition among investors—the institutional investors (pension trusts, foundations, etc.) versus the personal investors—which might bring about an inflation and distortion of values by the old pressures of supply and demand? This is for the committee to find out and if necessary to give advice, utter warning, or propose regulation.

We can't think of a healthier sign than the entrance of these millions of individual stock buyers into the market. Responsible corporations and stock sellers seem to have the same idea. There are more and more appeals to the little fellow—pay-as-you-go plans, solicitation of popular interest in the movement of stocks. So long as these are backed up by proper scrutiny of issues, for which we have the machinery and proper insistence on equities (solid margins), the stimulation helps all. With some 10 billions in new issues of stocks and bonds taken to market last year, it is desirable to have as many investors as possible. Otherwise the capital for new and larger enterprises might dry up.

There may be a value in the Fulbright inquiry also for guiding Government money policy. Are public agencies too likely to be as skittish as investors? Is there a danger of making credit for general business purposes too tight simply because restrictions are deemed necessary to discourage stock speculation? This question from the National City Bank's letter is repeated here by way of showing that there is more than one legitimate and timely point to the Fulbright inquiry. The thing is not necessarily to be feared. On the other hand, the country might get some valuable enlightenment from it, not to say encouragement.

Mine Drainage Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to inform the House that on March 7, 1955, a hearing on the mine drainage bills, one of which I introduced—H. R. 2931—was held before the Mine and Mining Subcommittee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House. At this hearing a number of officials of the mining industry appeared in behalf of this proposed legislation and, although it affects several districts, it also directly affects the coal industry of my congressional district in Pennsylvania. I had the privilege of testifying at this hearing and herewith insert the following resolution that has been adopted by Loomis 2444, UMW, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., expressing interest and urging Congress not to delay the mine drainage legislation:

Whereas the Honorable Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD has always taken a keen interest in the problems of the mine workers; and

Whereas he has introduced the mine drainage bill, which will boost production and provide work for thousands of unemployed through production and pumping work time: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the mine workers of the Loomis local go on record to sing high the praises of a great Congressman and a real friend of the miners and laboring class of people; be it further

Resolved, Congressman FLOOD insist on no further delay by any unfounded local opposition.

Adopted by the officers and members of the Loomis Local, No. 2444, United Mine Workers of America.

FELIX THOMASHEFSKI,
President.
ALBERT STATKEWICZ,
Recording Secretary.
MICHAEL SALKO.

Adenauer Sees End to Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very enlightening article entitled "Adenauer Sees End to Cold War," written by May Craig and published in the Portland (Maine) Press-Herald of March 10, 1955. May Craig is the Washington Correspondent of this newspaper.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADENAUER SEES END TO COLD WAR

(By May Craig)

BONN.—Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the German Federal Republic (West), looked tired and white when he came into the small drawing room of the Palais Schaumburg to greet the group of editors and publishers with whom I am traveling. He is a tall, lean man, straight, though nearly 80 years old. He has great dignity, quiet power, is indomitable.

He was tired after the battle in the Bundestag about the London-Paris accords, the agreements about Germany in NATO, German rearmament, allowing the German Saar Valley to remain temporarily in French administration, Germany joining the Western Union of free Europe. He won all but the Saar agreement by a two-thirds vote; he won the Saar bigger than had been thought. But it was a battle, with no holds barred. An American correspondent who stayed with the battle all the time, said he thought it was the most healthful demonstration of democracy he had seen in Germany—everybody said whatever he wanted to—all the points of view, all the bitter differences were laid out, just like in our Congress.

The Chancellor came quietly into the drawing room, with several members of his cabinet. Tall windows had thin glass, curtains, and yellow damask draperies; there was a bowl of red tulips on a table, though the ground outside was covered with snow; large portrait of the wife of King Charles the Fifth looked down on us, regal in red velvet.

Adenauer wore formal morning dress, and sat comfortably on a sofa facing us. An interpreter translated what Adenauer said, a few sentences at a time.

The Chancellor said that the defeat of the European Defense Community (EDC) in the French Assembly last September had been a hard blow, but the Bundestag had voted on the next best thing and adopted it with a comfortable vote. There is no trend toward isolationism in West Germany, nor towards "anschluss," which means reunion, with the East, in that vote; it shows the desire to cooperate with the West.

He said he believed a few weeks would complete German approval and that this time France would not lag behind. For 4 years, he said, his government had told the West Germans that this was the way for Germany to go, toward unity with Europe for its defense against communism, but that this could not go on forever.

If these agreements are ratified, he said, then we enter "a new phase," in world politics.

After complete ratification, he said he believes the Communist cold war will end because they will see it serves no purpose. In that I do not agree—I don't think the Communists ever give up. There remains, Adenauer said, Asia, and the Middle East,

with turmoil, but he trusts to the diplomacy of the United States to win a measure of success there too.

He hopes to open negotiations with Russia for relaxation of East-West tension. He hopes for decision on control of the H-bomb, which, he said, he believes is an instrument for peace because of its awfulness.

I asked him whether, if Russia makes German neutrality a condition for reunification of East-West Germany, the West Germans would consent, however reluctantly. He replied sternly and firmly that they would not. "We are firmly convinced that a reunified Germany cannot exist neutralized," he said. "We saw the fate of Poland. Ninety percent, at least, of the East Germans want reunification, but in freedom, not in slavery."

He is not for talks with Russia on reunification unless there is some good chance of tolerable agreements for our side. We had just come from a talk with Erich Ollenhauer, head of the Social Democratic Party, the second largest political party, after Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party. Ollenhauer had used mealy words about Germany reunited which would be a menace neither to east or west. The Ollenhauer party is for talks with Russia now. His party does not want reunited Germany to ally with any of the occupying powers, which means—the neutrality that Adenauer condemns firmly. Adenauer wants to begin at once on the steps toward rearmament. "The world must be shown that the accords are not just a piece of paper. I believe this will show the Communists they must think again—review their plans. We need heavy equipment from the United States. We should think of steps to peace, not how many regiments. We want to be on the free European side."

Advance of the Churches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the spiritual strength of America is the bulwark of our national security. It is the most powerful barrier against the spread of communism and other un-American ideologies among our people.

It is, therefore, most gratifying to have placed before us information showing how much the churches have advanced in recent years.

The data, published by the information service of the National Council of Churches is of great interest. I ask unanimous consent to have the article inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHURCHES ADVANCE

The following data gleaned from Information Service published by the National Council of Churches (research and survey department) strengthens faith in the progress of religion.

"More than 94 million of the people of our Nation are members of churches or synagogues. More than 30 millions of new members have been added in the past 14 years. A century ago, 1 out of every 6 Americans was a church member. Today the ratio is better than 1 out of 2—more accurately, 6 out of 10. Since 1920, church membership has increased twice as fast as the population; it has doubled while the population increased by 50 percent. In 1940 less than one-half the people were church members; today 60 percent."

The World Almanac, 1955, reports 250 religious bodies with an estimated 294,359 churches and an inclusive membership of 95,681,604. The Roman Catholics have 31,648,424 in 15,914 parishes. Protestantism enrolls 56,138,335. Jewish congregations have 5,000,000 in 3,990 synagogues. Most of the Protestants are enrolled in a few major denominations. The Yearbook of American Churches reports that there are 77 religious bodies with over 50,000 members each, and these reported 98.2 percent of all church members.

Detroit Speed Track

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the lead editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Monday, March 14, 1955, which points out that "Assuming that strikes will be averted, the auto industry by its own calculations will run into serious trouble after the middle of the year."

Government officials in high places have severely criticized those who urge the auto industry to take heed before it is too late. I hope that the Washington Post editorial may help to impress these Government officials with the importance of the situation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DETROIT SPEED TRACK

The hot dispute between Ford and Chevrolet over which company won the race for auto leadership last year approaches the competitive spirit of a contrast between the Giants and Dodgers. Ford says it sold more and Chevrolet says it produced more cars last year. This year the race is equally furious, with both producing at a faster rate. What the onlookers will want to know is not who will win but whether the auto industry is engaged in such a furious drive for sales in the first half of the year that it is headed for serious trouble in the second half.

An outsider cannot make decisions for the industry. One of the inviolate rules of free enterprise is that Government may not tell an industry how much to produce or how much to charge for its product. Those are necessary responsibilities of management. The managers may make unwise decisions, but once Government attempts to set the price or fix the rate of production it becomes in fact the master.

The auto industry has introduced new designs that are making a hit with the buyer, who is in a buying mood. Thus, the auto companies are making an all-out drive for the consumer's dollar. Competition has seldom been more intense. By March 5 this hustling industry had produced 1,481,248 new cars during 1955; the figure at the same point last year was 998,557. In other words, production so far this year is 48 percent higher than in 1954. Besides capitalizing on the popularity of the new models and the buying mood of the public, the industry is preparing for a possible summer strike by the auto workers. If the manufacturer has a large supply of new cars on hand, he can face labor's demands with a certain calm and be in a position to sit out a long strike. General Motors' contract with the CIO United Automobile Workers expires May 29 and Ford's contract expires June 1.

Assuming, however, that strikes will be averted, the auto industry by its own calculations will run into serious trouble after the middle of the year. One estimate is that the industry will produce about 4 million cars in the first half of 1955 and about 2.6 million in the last half. This decline could have unpleasant consequences throughout the economy. Many important industries are dependent upon the automobile industry for a large part of their business. Such a cutback in auto production could hurt the steel and rubber industries particularly, and have serious political effects. The major question, then, is whether the producers are paying enough attention to their very real though undefined social responsibility.

Army Pay Rate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Quit Kidding the Troops," published in the Army Times of March 5, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

QUIT KIDDING THE TROOPS

We had a rather pitiful little note the other day from a unit commander in the field. "For Pete's sake, help," he cried in typescript. "Stop those people at the Pentagon before they tear the already frayed morale of my men into tatters. We can't take much more of this." Or words to that effect.

His complaint, briefly, was first based upon those two words prominent on every reenlistment poster being sent to him for display. They were: "Regular promotions." In his unit, he said, were three key noncoms. He called them his "unfortunates." All SFC's they had dates of rank going back to March 1945. None were foul balls, he said, but they had never been in the right place at the right time for upgrading. Though they had all but lost hope, they had not lost their sense of humor. So they could ignore the posters with no more than a passing shrug, but he could not.

He could not help but contrast the scarcity of top grade promotions among enlisted people with the officer promotion system. He pointed out that most of his fellows, up to the grade of colonel, had at least a chance to move up every 4 or 5 years. Upgrades depended simply on seniority and efficiency—and had no regard for TO & E vacancies. No such rewarding "step up the ladder" is in the offing for most noncoms today. He wanted to know—in view of the Womble report and such—why not.

Well, this paper has tried to report "why not." The Army's official explanation has always been that grade limits are fixed by the amount of money allowed for pay, and

service requirements (time in position or grade set as minimums for promotion, etc.). Some of these limits are the work of the Budget Bureau or of Congress. But others are caused by the need to conform to the troop program and the TO & E. As long as these boundaries exist, there will always be a shortage of ratings. (See our story of last week on NCO "spots.")

So—to get back to our officer and his "unfortunates"—the Army would probably do well to treat the subject frankly and honestly when it brings the matter up among soldiers at reup time. For instance it should not make wild statements in some of the pamphlets it puts out, like "You and the Army." Much of this little booklet makes sense, but we doubt that anything is gained by telling service people that—

"Actually, your chances for promotion in the present-day Army are unlimited."

"Under its new policy of officer procurement, the grade of master sergeant is only the first step." (But that first step is a "when and if" proposition, isn't it?)

"A warrant or commission is within your reach." (Possibly, but only if a warrant or commission is within an enlisted man's chosen field.)

The booklet then goes on to say: "The pay of the first four (warrant officer) grades corresponding to the pay of major, captain, first and second lieutenants is as follows:" and prints the following corresponding (or "matching," according to Webster) table:

WO basic pay

[After 14 years]

W-4	$408.56
W-3	340.48
W-2	295.08
W-1	257.24

Officer basic pay

[After 14 years]

Major	$459.52
Captain	414.96
First lieutenant	363.10
Second lieutenant	326.04

If we assume that the author of the pamphlet was thinking of "corresponding" as meaning "matching" in its use here, then this, indeed, is some match. If he wasn't thinking of it in this way, then he should have made himself clear.

In our view, this is no way to make the warrant officer happy with his lot. It's no way, either, to encourage enlisted men to try for a warrant officer's bar. It's a good way, however, to instill a feeling of cynicism and bitterness in a soldier's breast.

The moral of all this: Quit kidding the troops.

The Inquiry Into the Stock Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article by Miss Sylvia F. Porter appearing in the New York Post of March 10. This article reveals a keen insight into and understanding of the hearings being conducted by the Banking and Currency Committee.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AIM: TO AVERT TROUBLE

(By Sylvia F. Porter)

There never has been anything to parallel it—a full-dress Government investigation into a boom while it is still roaring along just to find out if there is anything wrong that could turn the boom into a bust.

Always before in our country, we have begun the probes after trouble has happened. That's normal procedure. First the disaster strikes, then we look for the culprits to blame, then we try to write new laws or curbs to deal with the situation.

But in Washington today an entirely new spectacle is taking place. For the Senate Banking Committee, under the brilliant direction of Senator FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, is spending the month of March investigating the stock market, not because there is trouble.

(There isn't anything wrong with the stock market today. It simply has been going up and up and making whopping paper profits for people with the cash, know-how, and luck to be in the advancing stocks.)

The Senate is investigating Wall Street only because it wants to make sure the boom remains sound and doesn't blow up in our faces.

And that, I submit, is a fact that in itself is of deepest bread-and-butter meaning to all of us.

What are the Senators finding out that's good and that's bad as they question some of the top financiers, bankers, industrialists, and economists of our Nation?

They're finding out plenty that's good.

For instance, there is no doubt that the great stock boom of the last 18 months represents a belated catching up with our spectacular economic growth since the 1930's • • • that it reflects investors' relief over the mildness of the 1953–54 recession and their optimism over our long-term future • • • that it mirrors the Government's easy credit policies and the changes in our tax laws last year.

Just by stressing these points, the committee is doing the Nation a service. Confidence is essential to our continued prosperity. As the committee encourages justified confidence in our bright future, it will help make that bright future a reality.

But the Senators also are finding out things that are bad.

Only a thoroughly biased person would deny that speculation in stocks recently has been climbing at an alarming pace and that reckless gambling on tips and rumors is spreading through the Nation.

Only a blind optimist would argue that the economic road ahead is entirely clear and we need not fear any bumps or detours. The road is good but not that good. For the fact is we are not expanding at a rapid enough rate to absorb all our new workers or to offset the increase in the efficiency of men and machines. The fact is that the key industries sparking our revival now are building and automobiles and you may properly shudder at what might happen to our economy if these industries suddenly slow down or decline.

Just by stressing these points, the committee is doing the Nation a service. Awareness of possible dangers also is essential to our continued prosperity. We'll be in a much healthier condition if the committee's findings do help control speculative excesses and alert us to the fact that maintenance of stability is an ever-present challenge.

Day after day, the witnesses are emphasizing to the committee the many distinctions between 1929 and today.

But to me, one distinction which hasn't even been mentioned is among the most significant. This is it:

In 1929, our Government didn't have the slightest thought of acting in advance to prevent economic catastrophe. Even if our Senators had thought of it, they wouldn't have known what to do or how to do it.

Today, a prime search is for preventives so we won't need any cures. This investigation symbolizes the search and shows how far we have moved toward true economic statesmanship in our land. And this alone makes the jobs, paychecks and savings of all of us more secure.

Achievement of Citizens of Seymour, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, the fine citizens of Seymour, Ind., have done it again.

You may recall that Seymour gained nationwide publicity some time ago when its 9,629 inhabitants, together with their neighbors in nearby Jackson and Jennings County areas, oversubscribed an $850,000 fund to build a new hospital without assistance, Federal or otherwise.

Now, in typically American fashion, this same group of citizens has just completed a fine new building to house the Seymour Boys Club as the culmination of a civic effort which they appropriately have called Seymour's rebuttal to the alleged appeal of foreign ideologies.

The story of that civic effort is a fascinating one. So, just a few days before the scheduled dedication of the new building next Wednesday, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a history of the project sent to me by the committee in charge.

There being no objection, the history was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEYMOUR'S REBUTTAL TO THE ALLEGED APPEAL OF FOREIGN IDEOLOGIES

Mr. Wilbur Pfaffenberger, a successful shoe merchant and respected citizen of Seymour, passed away on February 14, 1939. His will generously stipulated that his home, his place of business, and other property or the proceeds of their sale should be used for the benefit and betterment of the boys and girls of Seymour.

For the past 13 years the Seymour Girls' Club has occupied the residence of the late Mr. Pfaffenberger. The other properties were sold and the proceeds have been held in trust awaiting an opportunity to use them to advantage in accordance with Mr. Pfaffenberger's wishes.

Prominent citizens of Seymour, who have served as trustees for 15 years and are currently entrusted with the management of this fund include Mr. Donald L. Coy; Mr. Burton F. Swain; Mrs. George Laupus, Jr.; Mr. Ernest N. Birge; Mr. Norman Lasher.

The Seymour Boys' Club was organized in 1940, as the result of joint efforts of a group sparkplugged by Mr. Ernest N. Birge and Mr. Walter L. Surface, to provide a wholesome center of recreation and character building for the male juveniles of our community. Through the cooperation and generosity of Mr. Arthur Kaufman the second and third floors of the Kaufman Building on Chestnut Street were made available to the club.

The club membership grew steadily under the direction of past President William Reetz

until by the summer of 1953 it had passed the 500 mark and bulged the seams of its quarters to a near-bursting point.

Something surely had to be done to provide adequate room for the enthusiastic crowds of Seymour youth which came in ever-increasing numbers to participate in the activities so successfully conceived and administered by our popular director, Mike Kreshka.

The board of directors of the Seymour Boys Club, composed of a group of leading Seymour business men acted to meet the situation. An equally energetic trio of directors was given the task of meeting the housing problem by raising funds to build a new boys club.

The first move of this committee: F. Walter Voss, George Graessle, and Edward F. Scherer, was to obtain a commitment from the trustees of the Pfaffenberger fund of $24,000. They then begged, borrowed and just plain sandbagged every available source for donations. These modern buccaneers sailed the high seas of Seymour until the count of their pieces of 8 reached the undreamed of total of $23,000. With the Pfaffenberger money, their loot now totaled $47,000. All that was necessary to complete the dream of shiny new quarters for our boys club was what then seemed the simple procedure of locating a building site, preparing plans, and erecting the structure. However, many months of struggle and hard work lay ahead. Unfortunately land and building construction come high these days and the job had to be done within a limitation of $47,000 on hand and in the bank.

Efforts were first directed to purchasing a site for the building. All concerned agreed that a square city block of vacant land on South Broadway owned by the B & O Railroad, would be an ideal location. Attempts to obtain an offer at any price within reach were unsuccessful until Edwin Blish, President of the Seymour Boys Club and chairman of the Hoosier Area Council, appealed directly to Mr. R. B. White, president of the B & O Railroad, with an explanation of the purpose for which the land would be devoted. At one time Mr. White had lived in Seymour. Mr. Blish received an immediate favorable reply from Mr. White and a few days later the boys club was proud owner of a city block of land for a purchase price of $4,000. After spending this sum there remained but $43,000 in the building fund.

The winter of 1953–54 was devoted to conferences with architects and builders over plans and specifications, having in mind the fiscal limitation, but also keeping an equally alert eye on the climbing membership total which by the spring of 1954 had passed the 600 mark.

The architect completed final plans in April 1954 and bids were requested from contractors to be opened in May.

The fateful day arrived and the following board members met to consider the various proposals submitted: Harold C. Ahlbrand, president, A. H. Ahlbrand Co.; Edwin Blish, proprietor, Blish Feed & Chick store; E. S. Cummins, vice president, National Veneer & Lumber Co.; C. H. Englehardt, principal, Shields Junior High School; George Graessle, vice president, Graessle-Mercer Co.; Harold S. Hobson, vice president and general manager, Seymour Manufacturing Co.; Taylor T. Hoffar, attorney at law; Edwin F. Scherer, partner, the Hobby Shop; Paul Scully, plant manager, the Grote Manufacturing Co.; Glenn Seward, personnel manager, Seymour Plant Arvin Industries; Alfred Snyder, proprietor, Snyder's dairy; Walter L. Surface, district manager, American United Life Insurance Co.; Burton P. Swain, president, National Veneer & Lumber Co.; James T. Thompson, vice president, Thompson Dairy Co.; Wagn Trautner, chief engineer, Grote Manufacturing Co.; F. Walter Voss, Voss & Sons, morticians.

Gloom descended upon the group when the figures were added and it was finally clear that $43,000 would not construct a building large enough to house the club membership.

At this point Mr. Blish said: "Boys, we can't obtain additional money and obviously our funds will not buy what we need. We can build it ourselves with the aid and assistance of the community as a whole. Let's go."

Mr. Blish's temerity in suggesting such a course was based largely on his confidence that Seymour was a typical American community and as such was blessed with a goodly supply of citizens willing to put their shoulders to the wheel in a common effort for the good of all. Mr. Blish's faith that Seymour would be equal to the task had recently been reinforced by his knowledge that another group of his fellow citizens had successfully scaled a seemingly unclimbable mountain. From the inhabitants of this city of 9,629 and the surrounding area in Jackson and Jennings Counties, the Jackson County Schneck Memorial Hospital Foundation had sought to raise by popular subscription the entire cost of a new hospital for Seymour without Federal or other aid. The goal of $850,000 was oversubscribed.

With this assurance, his trust in God and his fingers crossed, Blish obtained the approval of the board to proceed with no definite assurance the job could be completed. He gave Harold S. Hobson the task of heading a building committee. Mr. Hobson soon found that he suddenly had been converted from a full time manufacturer of hand agricultural implements without professional construction experience into a part time do-it-yourself builder of a boys club.

Blish and Hobson ably assisted by Director Mike Kreshka adopted the tactics of Messrs. Voss, Graessle and Scherer with innovations of their own in transforming the $43,000 fund into as big and fine a building as could be provided within the means at hand.

Suppliers of materials were contacted and in every instance the response was a positive and affirmative reply to a request for their cooperation: "For the boys of Seymour? You bet, count us in; we will go along with you 100 percent."

Arrangements were made with Paul Stuckwisch to be a working foreman and superintendent of construction on an hourly basis. Paul laid out the foundation on July 5, 1954, and he and his two brothers Noble and Glen went to work with a vengeance. As construction proceeded Richard Darlage, Pete Willman, and Leon Pollert were added to the working force.

Nothwithstanding the fact that the original size of the building had been enlarged after it was decided to go ahead with construction, the major concern of all was that the building would not adequately house all the boys who were club members. As a matter of fact, consideration was being given to the necessity of restricting the membership to younger boys which would have made no provision for high-school boys.

In August as the walls were rapidly rising, the Seymour Optimists Club became interested in the project because they felt it was absolutely necessary to provide proper recreational facilities for boys through high-school age. The Optimists raised $4,000 among their membership and through a club-sponsored appeal for donations. With this increase in the available funds, 25 feet were added to the length of the building, which area was to be earmarked for use by older boys. Thus, the senior lounge became a part of the project. High-school boys may hang out or play pool in the lounge or they may bring a girl, sip a coke, and dance to jukebox music.

With the Optimists' contribution the sum of $47,000 became the final amount available for construction of a club building containing a floor area in excess of 8,000 square feet, including a gymnasium with basketball floor. Every penny of this sum spent for materials and labor was stretched to the limit. The only extravagance permitted was a rigid insistence that only the best of materials be used and that no detail be slighted. The savings made by Scottsmen Blish and Hobson, combined with many truly generous responses to appeals for gratis materials and voluntary labor have made it possible for us to present this beautiful club to the boys of Seymour.

Thus, the acorn planted by the late Mr. Pfaffenberger 16 years ago sprouted and took root in the custody of the fund trustees. Messrs. Voss, Graessle, and Scherer, with the help of the Optimists, nursed the sapling on its way to maturity and Messrs. Blish, Hobson, and Kreshka have harvested a mighty oak with the aid and assistance of the entire community. Seymour accordingly has proved the fundamental soundness of the American system of free enterprise. Communism can never extinguish the beacon light of democracy which burns so brilliantly in Seymour. We have shown that in the United States we need no politically inspired and sponsored youth movements to regiment our sons. We have done our job of providing a place of recreation and guidance for the boys of our community with the pioneer spirit which built America and we have had a peck of fun doing it.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Education and Labor has been holding hearings on Federal aid for school construction. Members of Congress who have introduced legislation on this subject and who have a special interest have been heard and have made worthwhile contributions to the general information on this important question.

It was no surprise that one of the outstanding presentations was made by our very able colleague the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL]. His analysis of the questions confronting the committee provided the answers to many of the objections raised against the school-construction proposals. His statement before the committee is worthy of study by every Member. The statement follows:

STATEMENT ON BILLS TO PROVIDE FEDERAL ASSISTANCE FOR CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, MARCH 9, 1955, BY REPRESENTATIVE STEWART L. UDALL, SECOND DISTRICT OF ARIZONA

I am appearing today before my own committee, not merely as another Congressman urging positive action, but as a grassroots witness—a former school board member in a typical "problem" district faced with an oppressive tax rate and a shortage of classroom space.

There is an old saying that in our preoccupation with the forest we sometimes lose sight of the trees. My focus will be on the "trees" in this presentation. I would like to point out some elementary facts which might help to point the way around the two stumbling blocks which seem to lie across the path

of full-scale Federal participation in a national school-building program. I refer to: (1) the argument that large-scale Federal participation necessarily means Federal control of education, and (2) the argument that the size of the national debt prohibits such Federal action.

THE FEDERAL CONTROL OBJECTION

This objection was squarely posed by the President in his school message in these terms: "Federal aid in a form that tends to lead to Federal control of our schools could cripple education for freedom." I daresay no one here will quarrel with this assertion as a general statement. However, when we attempt to determine whether the Hill-Bailey-Kearns type legislation is, or is not, "aid in a form that tends to lead to Federal control" our quarreling grounds are quickly staked out. Apparently the administration feels that all of these bills "tend to lead to Federal control," otherwise the President's proposals would have adopted the grant-in-aid technique as a major premise.

Before exploring this subject further, I would like to take a moment to examine one of the "trees"—the organization and functioning of a typical school district. We all know that the governing body of a school district is a board of education. However, it was my experience that the people take a keen interest in school government, and in many respects the conduct of school affairs represents democratic self-government at its best. I might say, too, that a wise school board is always closely attuned to the mind of the community, and consults freely with parents of school children and makes frequent use of citizens' advisory boards.

As a community project school operation might be roughly divided into three general areas—educational management, fiscal management, and plant management. Let us attempt to list the main initiative and responsibility exercised under each of these management areas.

A. Educational management includes these functions:

1. Hiring and firing of administrators and teachers;

2. Determination of basic educational policies (e. g., whether teaching shall be "traditional," "progressive," etc.);

3. Human relations policies—parent-teacher and pupil-teacher relationships; and

4. Curriculum policies, classroom procedures, use of school facilities, extracurricular activities, etc.

(Obviously educational management is the most important function of a board of education, and is an area where communities traditionally stand guard against any outside intrusion. I would venture to say that there are few, if any, fields of government where local prerogatives are so jealously guarded and outside pressures so intensely repelled.)

B. Fiscal management includes these functions:

1. Determination of annual school budget outlays;

2. Fixing salaries and wages; and

3. Financing capital improvements by bond issues, special levies, etc.

C. Plant management includes these functions:

1. Selection of school sites;

2. Design and construction of school buildings;

3. Maintenance and operation of school facilities and grounds;

4. Purchase of equipment and furnishings; and

5. Hiring and supervision of maintenance force (busdrivers, groundskeepers, etc.).

Any discussion of Federal control of a school system takes place in a vacuum unless the usurpation of control relates directly to the management duties outlined above. It must be, to use the President's words, a type of encroachment that would "take away the responsibility of communities and States in educating our children."

Let us look then, for a moment, at the type of Federal controls created by the Hill-Bailey-Kearns legislation. As I read these bills they require State agencies to qualify to administer the disbursement of funds. These agencies would devise federally approved plans designed to guarantee that the Federal funds will be properly matched and channeled where the need exists. Field administration to ensure compliance by local districts would be the function of the State agency.

Now I do not think the average school board member would consider that his governing power or the right of local determination would be seriously threatened by this type of legislation. Such supervision as might be asserted over him would touch on 1 or 2 functions of fiscal and plant management, and then only to assure compliance with minimum State standards. I venture to predict, too, that State administrators would exercise their powers with restraint and due regard for local prerogatives.

EXPERIENCE UNDER PUBLIC LAW 815

I would like to comment briefly on the experience of my district under the old program—Public Law 815. This is a plan, mind you, where a Federal agency deals directly with local districts, determines eligibility, and exercises the necessary supervision to ascertain that the Federal moneys are actually used economically to build classrooms. Our school board received three Federal grants totaling $737,818.99 during my tenure. We selected the architects. We had buildings designed to suit our special requirements. And these structures were erected by local contractors on sites chosen by a citizens committee. I met a Federal official only once during the entire process, to discuss clearing title to a school site. As far as I recall, our vital management prerogatives were preserved from all except nominal encroachment. * * *

Unless the Hill-Bailey-Kearns bills have hidden controls not apparent on their face, it would be my opinion that the amount of Federal control under these laws would be considerably less than under Public Law 815. I can only conclude that Federal regulation of local school boards would be minimal, and local management of the school systems would be kept 99 percent intact. Sincere people may well argue that the limited controls proposed by these bills are the opening wedge and that more encroachments will follow. This may be a sound argument. But if we are to proceed on the basis of past experience and take actual controls inherent in the legislation before us, pernicious Federal control is largely a myth.

THE NATIONAL DEBT OBJECTION

It seems to me that the other chief stumbling block is the budgetary fear which has caused the administration to hang back when massive Federal participation is proposed. A day or so after the President sent his school message to Congress, he was asked at his press conference to comment on criticism from congressional quarters that his program merely loaded more debts on overburdened States and school districts, and it was reported that he replied: "Did they [the critics] mention the national debt?" Perhaps this is the nub of the administration's opposition. If so, I think the President might well be persuaded away from this objection if he would listen to the schoolmen of the country for a moment—and turn a deaf ear to Secretary Humphrey.

Thirty years ago most public schools were wholly operated and maintained from taxes levied against the real property located within the particular school district. As that burden became more oppressive a movement was set afoot in the State legislatures to shift some of it to the counties and the States. This has been done on the theory that providing an education for the children of the State is a statewide problem and should properly be met, in part at least, by mustering the full taxing power of the State. We are now confronted with a nationwide classroom shortage of sufficient magnitude to constitute a serious national problem. Acting on much the same theory as that embraced by the citizens of the States, many of us here have concluded that Federal responsibility is involved, and that the whole national wealth should be marshaled to help hard-pressed communities cope with this situation.

Practically everyone is agreed that the shortage exists. And I believe that everyone (including the President) is also agreed that the funds must be provided to overcome this educational "deficit," we disagree only in regard to where the burden shall fall.

In short, our diagnosis is the same, we are agreed on the cure, and the only dispute concerns how the doctor shall be paid; the administration says the patient should pay; Hill-Bailey-Kearns says the whole family (i. e., local districts, States, and the Federal Government) should share the load.

I'm afraid the President's advisers have confused the Federal debt with the national debt. The Federal debt, as we well know, is some $278 billion; the national debt is the sum of the debts of Federal, State, county, city, and school district governments. Once we have agreed that the classrooms must be built, the Rubicon is crossed, and the only question that remains is where the funds shall be raised to accomplish the agreed purpose.

Mr. Chairman, having participated intensively in school education at the local—one might say the child—level, and holding strong convictions as to the vital place it occupies in our national life, I would like to say today that if we are forced to place priorities and choose this year between a national highway program and a national classroom construction program, I shall cast my lot with the schools.

Mr. Speaker, I also call attention to the following editorial from the Washington Post on March 13 commenting on Mr. UDALL's testimony:

WHOSE MONEY IS IT?

Representative STEWART L. UDALL thoroughly deserved the general acclaim he received from his fellow-members on the House Committee on Education and Labor the other day for his striking analysis of the school-aid problem. He provided some much needed perspective on the issue which constitutes the essential difference between President Eisenhower's school-aid proposal and the formula sponsored by Senator HILL and Representatives BAILEY and KEARNS—whether the principal additional financial burden should be borne locally or by the Federal Government.

Mr. UDALL put his finger on what is apparently the nub of the President's objections to direct Federal grants-in-aid to the States—the fact that this will tend further to unbalance the Federal budget. "Did they ever mention the national debt?" Mr. Eisenhower retorted to critics who objected that his program placed increased indebtedness on already overburdened States and school districts. "I'm afraid," commented Mr. UDALL, that "the President's advisers have confused the Federal debt with the national debt. The Federal debt, as we well know, is some $278 billion; the national debt is the sum of the debts of Federal, State, county, city, and school district governments. Once we have agreed that the classrooms must be built, the Rubicon is crossed and the only question that remains is where the funds shall be raised to accomplish the agreed purpose."

Thus the problem, as this newspaper has suggested from the beginning of the controversy, is basically a bookkeeping one. We share Mr. UDALL's view that just as the burden of financing schools was originally shifted from local districts to counties and State governments, it needs now to be shifted, in part at least, to the Federal Government. The reason is that the Federal Government has the revenue resources, while the States and the localities have not. And the problem has become a national one with a disastrous impact on the whole Nation.

Publisher Williams Honored at Chamber of Commerce Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article paying tribute to Hon. Jack Williams, Sr., editor and publisher of the Waycross (Ga.) Journal-Herald, who was recently honored by being elected to the "South's Hall of Fame for the Living":

LIFE OF SERVICE: PUBLISHER WILLIAMS HONORED AT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER

(By Jim Pinson)

Georgia newspaper publishers joined the people of his hometown last night in paying tribute to Jack Williams, editor and publisher of the Journal-Herald.

"Mr. Jack," who came to the annual chamber of commerce dinner to introduce Pogo's creator, Walt Kelly, was taken by surprise.

The tribute was threefold. First, Hubert Lee, editor of the magazine Dixie Business, presented Editor Williams with a scroll naming him to the "South's Hall of Fame for the Living."

He said Mr. Williams was respected as much as any editor in the Nation. "He possesses a great love for people. In transmitting the news he has come to know all their little joys and heartaches, their life stories."

The South's Hall of Fame for the Living is composed of 200 southern leaders from whose ranks the magazine selects "the man of the South" each year.

Jere Moore, publisher of the Milledgeville Union-Record and a longtime friend, presented to editor Williams a bound volume of letters from editors and publishers from all over Georgia, testimonials to his service to his profession and to the people of the State.

He said the Journal-Herald publisher had contributed much to the progress of the State in such fields as health, conservation, and growth of the pulpwood industry.

The testimonials, editor Moore told Mr. Williams, "show what Georgia newspaper publishers think of you. They are precious memories of many old friends."

"Mister Jack" arose to reply to the tribute only to be told that still another honor was to be accorded him.

Said Cecil Herrin, president of the chamber of commerce:

"He has been one of the most stable and constant supporters of the chamber. He has never waivered in his faith."

In behalf of the chamber he presented to Mr. Williams a replica of the Jack Williams cup inscribed as follows:

"For a lifetime of faithful, unselfish, and loving service to his fellowman."

President Herrin said the "overflowing loving cup" was the chamber's expression of love and appreciation for a fine life of service.

Misty-eyed and his voice filled with emotion, publisher Williams accepted the honor with "great humility and deep emotion." He said it was one of the greatest honors of his life.

A newspaperman for 40 years, Mr. Williams has been editor and publisher of the Journal-Herald since 1915. Awards received by the editor and his paper have included the Baynard Knight cup for community service, the Sutlive trophy and the Miller medal.

Packers and Stockyards Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SID SIMPSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, to prevent sudden and unreasonable decreases in the price of hogs and cattle which are sold at stockyards and subject to that act.

In the year 1952, hogs had reached a $15 price from the high in 1947 of $31. About a year ago hogs had rebounded to around $26. They have been dropping back in price since that time until they have virtually reached the 1952 price of $15 to $16.

In 1947 and 1948 the top price on cattle was around $41 to $42. Since that time they have gradually gone down in price to the low of probably $22, and now the same grade around $26.

During these fluctuations of hogs, they have dropped on some days as much as 75 cents per hundredweight. While this severe drop per day was going on, in my opinion, a corresponding decrease of meat over the counter was not brought about. A hog raiser or cattle feeder would naturally try to guess when he thought there would be a light run of these animals at the stockyards and send in some of his animals accordingly. The legislation which I have introduced to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act would not permit the price paid at a stockyard for swine of any grade to fluctuation more than 15 cents a hundredweight less than the average price paid at such stockyards for swine of the same grade on the preceding day. The price paid at a stockyard for cattle of any grade will only be within the permissible range of fluctuation only if it is not more than 25 cents a hundredweight less than the average price paid at which stockyards for cattle of the same grade on the preceding business day.

This fluctuation limitations should, if it becomes public law, not cause a hog raiser or cattle feeder to try to hit the market when there are short runs. Regardless of any day the markets are open, a hog raiser or cattle feeder would know that there would only be a certain fluctuation downward and no more in his price. It seems that this should help stabilize the market. If hog prices especially continue their downward trend, it only means that the hog raiser will sell his brood sows and market his corn at the Government price. If this is done, and I believe it will be, there will then, within 6 months to a year's time, be a shortage of pork, and the same vicious cycle will proceed over again.

The same thing, I think, is true with cattle. Fifteen to sixteen dollars per 100 weight for hogs at the stockyards with the price of concentrates today is not a very profitable one.

This office has not consulted with the Department of Agriculture relative to this legislation or with the packers. It is my hope that the Agriculture Committee will call an early hearing on the bill that I have introduced. At this time, anyone interested, the Department of Agriculture, the packers, hog raisers and cattle feeders, and the agriculture associations, would be allowed to express their views. I have no pride in the authorship of this offered legislation. If during the hearings a better solution is forthcoming, I will be the first to welcome it. I sincerely feel that someone should come up with some kind of a solution and soon. I feel that a packer would rather have a stabilized livestock market than one with violent fluctuations. If a hog is worth $16 today to the packers to slaughter, it should be worth a minimum of $15.85 the next day and not $15 or $15.25. Again, I think the same is exactly true about cattle.

I believe the hog raiser and the cattle feeder would welcome some attempt at stabilization.

That Old House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article written by Helen F. Bate, which appeared in the Corson County News, a weekly newspaper in my home county. Mrs. Bate has so uniquely painted life and human nature on the Western prairies, that I felt her word picture should be preserved:

Like the spokes on a wheel converge toward the hub, so the paths around our place have for numerous years moved to and from the center of our activities, namely, our home. But starting just lately the paths have all led to the wrong place. In short, we moved from our home into our new house, and now though we are partially settled, we are constantly beset with the idea that "it's been fun fooling around in here but now let's go home."

As soon as we moved in we invited the cats in to make things seem more homelike. They looked things over and then picked out the bed with the newest blanket and pounced on it. We promptly raked them off and showed them a rug near a register. They stalked out, highly offended, and headed

back for home. Next we asked Laddie inside. He came in reluctantly, his toenails slipped on the new linoleum, he shuddered, looked horrified, and backed out. Then he also went back home to sit on the doorstep as he has so often done during his 12 years, to peer through the screen glass storm door to see what was going on inside.

The next morning we returned to the old house for some things we'd forgotten. The cats forced their way in and leaped joyously on the old couch in the dining room and stretched out.

As the cats purred and the range gave out its careful warmth, we moved among a lifetime of memories in picking up the articles for which we had come. Memories of threshing crews cooked for on a two-burner oilstove, of very young calves flexing their damp, new legs on an old blanket by the heater during the late winter blizzards. Or of baby chicks having coming-out parties in an old cracker box on a lukewarm oven door.

Recollections of golden lamplight on pine rafters, of dusky Christmas mornings and the frosty fragrance of a cedar Christmas tree. Memories of the first spring rain on the claim-shack roof, or of standing on the porch on early spring evenings listening to a creek cutting foamy channels through the drift-filled draws after a long, deep winter.

Memories of cool summer evenings after hot August days and the night wind moving in through the screen door under a canopy of grape vines. Or of old snapshots and letters, of young tomato plants growing lustily in sunny south windows in March or of evenings spent with a seed catalog.

After a time, loaded up with various articles, including the cats, we returned to our new house to gaze at spotless walls and shiny woodwork and wonder why we were living there since it didn't seem to be home.

In time, no doubt, we'll become accustomed to living in this new house, but, as Edgar Guest said, "It takes a heap of living in a house to make it home."

Blocked Currencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter from Mr. Alfred W. Barth, vice president of the Chase National Bank, offers what I believe is a sound and businesslike approach to the problem of blocked currencies. In this instance, reference is made specifically to the Spanish peseta.

It is refreshing to hear a man of Mr. Barth's standing in the financial world praise the Report on Economic Assistance to Spain by the International Operations Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, under the able chairmanship of Mr. CHARLES B. BROWNSON, of Indiana. Having had the honor of serving on the Brownson subcommittee in the last Congress, I am happy that we were able to contribute something tangible and constructive to the great problem of blocked currency and exchange generally.

Without free exchange of currencies, international trade is difficult, and it is hoped that this study will help us and our Spanish friends to ease any tension in this field that may still exist.

A distinct gain to the United States would be possible if Mr. Barth's suggestion could be followed of having the United States take title to the blocked pesetas in Spain and use them for its purposes. What this would amount to, of course, would be that aid goods to the amount of the value of the pesetas would not be sent into Spain. The Spanish Government would turn pesetas over to the United States, receiving nothing in return. Ethically, this would be quite proper, since the pesetas are owed to American nationals anyway and would be spent in Spain. The actual negotiation for using blocked pesetas is a responsibility presently of the United States Operations Mission in Spain. This problem is currently being worked on, since rather difficult negotiations about the total aid level have just been completed and now that that is out of the way, attention is being turned to the area of blocked pesetas. There are no controversial matters involved in the nature of the indebtedness.

Mr. Barth's letter follows:

THE CHASE NATIONAL BANK,
New York, March 4, 1955.

The Honorable KATHARINE ST. GEORGE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ST. GEORGE: Through the courtesy of Mr. Coster Schermerhorn I have just received a copy of the Report on Economic Assistance to Spain made by the International Operations Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations.

The report has had my most careful attention and I find it to be outstanding in that it is an unbiased study of a highly controversial and difficult subject. Not only does it reflect a tremendous amount of understanding of the problems but it gives praise where praise is due and is not afraid to criticize when criticism is in order. I take this opportunity to ask you to be good enough to convey my heartiest congratulations to your entire committee.

Your committee seems to be unanimous in the following conclusions:

1. "The defense support assistance program is essentially economic aid to bolster its (Spanish) economy to a point where it can support sizable increases in military expenditures and to improve the logistic capabilities of the economy in relation to bases for joint use with the United States."

2. "Testimony of United States officials indicates that the Spanish Government has frequently gone beyond the letter of existing agreements in cooperating with United States authorities."

3. "That further efforts be made in accordance with the terms of the economic aid agreement with Spain to discourage cartel and monopolistic business practices * * * and that this would result in the establishment of conditions under which private foreign investors could supply a substantial portion of the outside capital for capital expansion."

4. "Since Spain's future economic ability to finance its share of the cooperative military program without defense-support grants may be expected to vary with crop levels and hydroelectric power production, both dependent on weather conditions, the existing time lag between authorization and use of funds may well result in unnecessary expenditures."

5. "To obtain necessary imports Spain must expend its slim holdings in foreign exchange."

6. "At present, it is definitely contemplated that at least $250 to $300 million will be spent by the United States on airfield and naval base construction over a period of several years. Approximately 70 percent of this will be spent in Spain."

7. "One of the great hazards of any effort to help any nation to modernize or enlarge its national economy under forced draft, as was brought home to the subcommittee in its study of the United States aid program for Korea, is the danger of inflation."

8. "The subcommittee was impressed with the evidence on every hand that the sincerity and good faith of the United States in this cooperative endeavor were matched by equivalent contributions and efforts on the part of Spain."

9. "That defense support assistance for Spain be continued but that further authorizations take due notice of the fact that less than half of the funds authorized in 1953 has actually been used to date."

I hasten to state that I agree completely with the above conclusions, but may I take the liberty of suggesting that the Economic Aid Agreement dated September 26, 1953, spells out the obligations of the United States Government as well as those of the Spanish Government and I would like to refer in particular to subparagraph F of section 1 of article 2 of this agreement which reads as follows:

"The Government of Spain will use its best endeavors * * * to make as promptly as possible in agreement with the Government of the United States of America in which will be established for United States nationals and companies a system of payments and international transfers, including the progressive conversion of their accumulated peseta balances."

It would be of prime interest to learn what our Government contemplates doing for the relief of the many American holders of blocked peseta balances which are variously estimated to amount to considerably more than one-half billion pesetas and which resulted from financial rather than commercial transactions and also includes an important item which is often overlooked, namely money, securities, and real-estate inheritances which are due to American heirs from Spanish decedents.

If it is the desire of our Government to aid Spain improve her financial and economic situation, and this I believe to be so, then I am of the opinion that the suggestions which I made to Mr. Clarence S. Gulich, Chief of the Iberian Division of the Foreign Operations Administration, in correspondence which I exchanged with him in the early part of 1954 should receive renewed and serious consideration.

In connection with inheritances you may be aware of the fact that at the present time Spanish nationals may receive inheritances to which they are entitled in the United States, with free right of transfer, without any undue complications. However, in the reverse situation when United States nationals are the legatees they cannot receive inheritances due them because of transfer restrictions and thus the funds due to American legatees remain blocked in Spain and are possibly subject to depreciation if the inflationary trend, which you so correctly analyzed in your excellent report, continues.

May I reiterate what I have told Mr. Clarence S. Gulich, namely, that in order to assist Spain improve her financial and economic situation and at the same time help United States individuals and corporations, most serious consideration should be given to the development of a plan whereby American nationals be permitted to liquidate their holdings of blocked pesetas, as seems to be envisaged in subparagraph F of section 1 of article 2 of the Economic Aid Agreement signed on September 26, 1953. Not only would this prove of great benefit to the United States nationals but just as important—the economy of Spain would profit. The plan which I suggested to Mr. Gulich

envisaged that these holdings of blocked pesetas be acquired by the United States Government and then utilized in connection with the base construction program. While I was finance officer of the United States in Spain during 1943 and 1944 I concluded a similar operation, acquiring a very substantial amount of blocked pesetas from American nationals for the purpose of paying taxes which the Government owed the Spanish Government.

I feel convinced that American holders of blocked pesetas would be glad to sell them to our Government at the rate of 50 pesetas to the dollar and, also, that the competent authorities in Spain would be agreeable to such a proposal.

The benefits which such a program would have are legion, but the most important are:

1. A large foreign indebtedness now on the books of Spain would be eliminated—without causing a strain on the limited foreign exchange holdings of Spain.

2. The American taxpayer would be saved a large sum of money due to the reduction of the cost of the base program by reason of the favorable rate of exchange.

3. American nationals—taxpayers—would be enabled to repatriate holdings now blocked in Spain.

After the United States Government has utilized all of the blocked pesetas owing to American nationals, it would seem to me that, if it is the desire of the United States Government to really assist Spain, then I believe that our Government should purchase pesetas directly from the Instituto de Moneda Extranjero, at a rate of exchange to be agreed upon, thus increasing the dollar holdings of Spain. It goes without saying that, prior to this proposition becoming an actual fact, an intergovernmental agreement would have to be drawn up to insure that all future American earnings, as well as all future inheritances due to American legatees in Spain, would be freely transferable in United States dollars.

As above stated, Spain would not only build up her dollar balances but she would be enabled to purchase in this country many of her badly needed consumer goods, including foodstuffs, etc.

I believe that the late Senator McCarran saw the importance of the foregoing when he suggested his amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1954, section 109 of Public Law 778, to wit: *"Provided,* That 80 percent of the foreign currencies generated hereunder shall be used to strengthen and improve the civilian economy of Spain," the balance to be available for use of the United States.

In other words, he must have realized that if counterpart funds were used in their entirety on the base construction program, then the purpose of the Economic Aid Agreement would be defeated.

Perhaps also the authors of section 104, subparagraph G of Public Law 480 were of the same opinion when they suggested the use of funds resulting from surplus sales for "loans to promote multilateral trade and economic development, made through established banking facilities of the friendly nation from which the currency was obtained, or in any other manner which the President may deem to be appropriate." In other words, if a substantial portion of counterpart funds—no matter how they were created—were used for such long-term loans to private industry in Spain for work on badly needed local programs, such as the modernization and extension of electric power, the rehabilitation of transport facilities (including highways and railroad tracks), the rationalization of industrial undertakings and providing, of course, that such loans would thereby increase employment, efficiency in industry, and consequently the exports of Spain, then some real headway would be made to "improve Spain's financial and economic situation." This statement is important because, as your report clearly indicates, in Spain particularly, either due to a lack of a capital market or for other reasons private industry has found it very difficult to obtain the necessary funds in a private market and it is for this very reason why the INI is encroaching more and more on private industry, thus reducing their independence.

Pardon the length of this letter, but I felt that your report was of such worth that you might like to hear the views of a banker whose interests lie in the same direction and who—due to the nature of his work—appreciates the complexity of the problems which confront Spain.

Yours sincerely,

ALFRED W. BARTH,
Vice President.

Red Cross Stands as Symbol of Helpfulness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Red Cross Stands as Symbol of Helpfulness," which appeared in the March 7, 1955, issue of the Park City Daily News, of Bowling Green, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

RED CROSS STANDS AS SYMBOL OF HELPFULNESS

All over the world, the Red Cross stands as the symbol of helpfulness in time of trouble. In this country, people have a chance once a year to show by their dollars that they are grateful for the work of this remarkable agency. That time is now at hand.

Hardly an American lives who does not know the great and continuing humanitarian record of the Red Cross in disaster relief all around the globe. Since 1953 it has responded to 19 international appeals, and, of course, many similar calls at home.

What is perhaps less fully appreciated is the present extent of Red Cross services to the American Armed Forces at home and abroad. Forty percent of its estimated 1955–56 budget of $85 million, which it hopes to raise in this March campaign, will go for such services.

Never in our history has the Red Cross served longer overseas than in the period during and since World War II. Workers can be found at snowbound bases in Alaska, Greenland, and Newfoundland, in the dusty desert of north Africa, in half a dozen European lands, and in the Philippines, Korea, and Japan.

President Eisenhower once said an army doing peacetime duty in a foreign country needs the Red Cross more than does a shooting army. Personal problems, other than his physical safety, loom larger to an inactive soldier than a man in combat.

Red Cross people provide service personnel with financial aid, counsel them on a wide range of matters, help them communicate with their families, and perform many tasks in military hospitals. Some 100 Red Cross girls take lively recreational programs into remote spots occupied by our soldiers.

Altogether the Red Cross has 2,200 workers placed in 270 military installations and 140 hospitals here and abroad.

Most of us are pretty familiar with the immense blood program, which the Red Cross expects will cost more than $14 million in the year ahead. This is big business—business whose objective is the saving thousands of lives. And the agency also has a number of other programs of unmistakable value.

The Red Cross naturally deals with emergencies of many sorts as part of its routine. But there is one emergency it does not plan for financially: war. If trouble should break out in the Formosa area, all its present estimates would be outmoded. Understandably, the agency would welcome a little cushion of money to hedge against that danger.

The Red Cross does not need to be sold to the American people. It should be enough to note that this is the moment for them to make another investment in the helpfulness it symbolizes.

Need Gulf Weather Ship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following articles from the New Orleans Times-Picayune and the New Orleans States:

[From the New Orleans Times-Picayune of March 11, 1955]

NEED GULF WEATHER SHIP

Bills have been introduced by Senator EASTLAND and by Representatives THOMPSON and BOYKIN expressing a united desire by gulf coast interests for establishment of a Government weather ship, or floating ocean station, for continuous meteorological broadcasts from the gulf.

The necessity of more reliable warnings as to gulf-bred hurricanes and line squalls, plus data helpful to path forecasting, has impressed itself particularly since resumption of offshore oil development and the revelation of potentials for fisheries expansion. Even were the coast spotted with radar stations, there would remain a vast blank area from which ship and aircraft reports are few, and difficult to correlate.

In a comparable land area, stretching southward from the line formed by Oklahoma, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, no less than 146 United States weather stations aid the public with timely, reliable forecasts of changing weather. The density can be no less in other continental sections. Surely one station could be provided to bring the mystic gulf (its western half, at any rate) into the analytic picture.

Ever since weather service began the coast forecasters have sat upon a fence, having plenty of information from north and northwest, but very little from the southward to fit into calculations. A sort of meteorological battle line exists along this frontier in the form of conflicting air masses and movements; but the forecasters really know only what one of the antagonists is up to. Add to this situation the hurricane menace; add the new coastal and offshore developments (in which the United States has a tremendous stake), and the need for doing something about it becomes obvious.

[From the New Orleans States of February 13, 1955]

NEED FOR WEATHER SHIP IN GULF STRESSED—FORECAST DATA SCARCE IN AREA

(By Gordon Gisell)

The safety and prosperity of many multimillion-dollar industries along the coast of

the Gulf of Mexico depend on timely and accurate weather forecasts.

But to the forecaster, that vast body of about 716,000 square miles of water is almost a complete void. He must depend on sporadic, and many times unreliable, ship and aircraft reports.

Meteorologists for many years have been unanimous in their pleas for the location of at least one Coast Guard weathed ship in the gulf. But only since the development of the great offshore oil industry and the postwar expansion of the fishing fleets has the need for such a ship come into sharp focus.

Bills are before Congress to establish one such ship in the gulf, and opinion in favor of the plan mounts as the public becomes more weather conscious.

A leader in the fight for the weather ship is Representative T. A. THOMPSON, of Louisiana's Seventh District, who introduced a bill in the 1954 session of Congress but which was not acted upon. He has offered another at the current session and identical measures are being prepared by Representatives FRANK M. BOYKIN, of Alabama; WILLIAM COLMER, of Mississippia; and JACK BROOKS, of Texas.

KEEP CLOSE TAB

If an outline of the Gulf of Mexico were moved north and superimposed on a map of the continental United States, the gulf area would cover Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgie, South Carolina, and Florida, with enough left over to make several New England States.

And in this area of the continental United States there are 146 reporting weather stations which transmit surface as well as upper air observations several times a day. Forecasters can keep close tab on air masses which move south and eastward.

But to the south of the gulf coast the only reports to be had are from ships which take part in a cooperative program with the Weather Bureau, and aircraft. The ship reports are limited mainly to the route between New Orleans and the Florida Straits. Reports from the west gulf are almost nonexistent.

Meteorologists ask this question:

Would anyone in this day of expanding science think of basing the weather service for those nine important States on cooperative reports from motorists who happen to be driving from Miami to Little Rock?

Yet, they point out, it is analogous to the manner in which weather information for the Gulf of Mexico is obtained.

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY MILES OUT

Archie N. Kahan, executive director of the Texas A. and M. Research Foundation, an organization which has endorsed the proposal for a weather ship, points out, "If the Gulf of Mexico were an area of persistent high pressure and infrequent storminess bordered by slightly populated wastelands, such an incomplete weather service would be acceptable. In the light of increasing industrialization of the gulf coast and the known frequency of gulf-bred storms, a need for weather service improvement by all possible means is apparent."

A proposed location for the weather ship, advanced by Nash C. Roberts, Jr., a private meteorologist, and Charles Murphy, chief of industrial services for the Louisiana department of wildlife and fisheries, is about latitude 26 degrees north, longitude 90 degrees west, or about 180 nautical miles south of the mouth of the Mississippi.

Roberts points out that, contrary to popular belief, hurricane warning service would be only a small part of the weather ship's contribution to forecasting. At such a location, he says, it would be of great value during the winter months when vicious storms breed on the edges of cold fronts which lose their push and stall along the coast.

With a weather ship about 180 miles out in the gulf forecasters would be able to tell just how far south of the coast the cold fronts moved, he says. The ship would also be close enough to the coast so that nothing in the form of a disturbance could form between it and the coast without being detected by the ship's radar.

AID RESCUES

The meteorologist stresses the fact that the installation of radar stations along the coast could never be a substitute for a weather ship, since in addition to having radar devices, the ship would also take surface and upper air observations, and it is the so-called steering winds at the very high levels which govern the path of a storm.

Such a ship could also serve as a rescue craft, Roberts explained. It would be equipped with radio homing devices and aircraft in distress could be guided to it in emergencies. Fishing boats which operate deep in gulf waters would also be able to get valuable weather information from the ship.

If legislation is passed authorizing the station, it would be maintained by two cutters fully equipped with the latest observation equipment. One cutter would be on station at all times, with the other used as relief.

Dissent and Separate Statement of Commissioner Holifield on Commission Report on Lending Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Commission report is so faulty in concept and method that I must object to it even though a few recommendations, standing alone, may have merit.

By and large the recommendations in the report, if fully carried out, would make it harder for American citizens to buy homes or to get loans for their farms or businesses.

The recommendations point in the direction of tighter agricultural credit, a slowing down of housing construction, restrictions on the rural electrification program, and limitations on other direct or indirect aids provided by the Federal Government.

Persons will differ as to the wisdom of these programs. There is no doubt, however, that they concern intimately the affairs and well being of millions of Americans and the health and strength of the national economy.

The Congress recreated the Hoover Commission to study the present organization and operations of the executive department and agencies, with a view to better management and economy. I do not believe that the Congress wanted advice from the Commission on public policies of every sort.

The Commission has construed its congressional mandate otherwise. This report indicates that the Commission is willing to roam far and wide in the field of public policy.

No matter how wise and well informed, the 12 Commission members cannot be expected to have more than a casual acquaintance with many of the complex issues posed by this report. The task force study contributed little, in my opinion, to the deliberations of the Commission.

It is unfortunate that the present Commission did not benefit from the experience of the first Hoover Commission along this line.

The previous Commission engaged Price, Waterhouse & Co., a firm of certified public accountants, as a task force to study Government lending activities. The previous Commission's report, based on that study, was criticized by three Commission members—Acheson, Pollock, and Rowe—as being wholly wrong in its organizational approach and as reflecting a narrow accounting view on broad public policies.

Senator AIKEN, in a separate dissent, stated at the time that the Price-Waterhouse report on lending agencies "does not adequately represent the broad public-interest viewpoint which motivated the establishment of these agencies"—Report on Federal Business Enterprises, 1949, pages 113–114.

Nevertheless, Price, Waterhouse & Co. were engaged a second time to make a study for this Commission. Their present report is a rehash of the old report, with some additions to bring it up to date and with some modifications in the light of recent developments. Many paragraphs are taken verbatim from the earlier report. Senator AIKEN's comment is equally applicable today.

Neither the Price-Waterhouse report nor the Commission's own report represents an adequate study of Government organization and management. Numerous agencies are strung together on a common thread of lending, guaranteeing, or insuring activities, however diverse the Government purposes served thereby. The activities range all the way from housing loans to Eskimos in Alaska to American participation in the International Monetary Fund.

Instead of studying Government agencies and functions and then deciding what reorganizations should be effected, the report attempts a wholesale rearrangement and curtailment of these agencies and functions to fit an oversimplified pattern.

Thus, starting with the assumption that Government lending is generally a bad thing, the report then easily disposes of a variety of important Government functions. Recommended for termination are the following:

Crop loans to farmers made by the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Loans to American firms in foreign trade made by the Export-Import Bank.

Loans to colleges for student and faculty housing made by the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Loans to veterans for home and farm improvements made by the Veterans Administration.

Loans to public housing authorities for low-rent projects made by the Public Housing Administration.

Loans to rural electric cooperatives and other groups made by the Rural Electrification Administration.

Loans to communities for planning and construction of public works made by the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Where lending or related activities are not to be terminated outright, the report proposes that these be restricted by the imposition of higher interest rates or extra fees.

Thus the Federal intermediate credit banks are to add a premium charge on their loans to borrowers.

The Farmers Home Administration is to do likewise and to require greater equities from prospective farm owners.

The Federal Crop Insurance Corporation is to increase its premiums to farmer participants in the crop insurance program.

The Small Business Administration is to increase its interest rates on loans and is given a grace period of 2 years to operate.

The Federal Housing Administration is to require larger equities from prospective home owners and to reduce its insurance coverage by sharing risks with mortgage lenders.

In place of the Government loan program for rural electrification, the Rural Electrification Administration is to be reorganized and required to obtain its financing from private sources. Likewise, the Federal Housing Administration is to be made a privately financed institution.

Reviving a concept of "mutualization" advanced by the first Hoover Commission report—Report on Federal Business Enterprises, 1949, page 36—the present report proposes that the Federal intermediate credit banks liquidate Federal ownership of their capital stock and that liquidation of the Federal investment be accelerated with respect to the banks for cooperatives, production credit associations, and the Federal savings and loan insurance corporations.

Reviving other proposals of the first Hoover Commission—ibidem, pages 12 and 15—the report recommends that those Government agencies which hold Government securities return them to the Treasury for non-interest-bearing credit; and that all agencies which lend funds or guarantee loans charge such interest rates or fees as will cover their administrative expenses and the cost of money to the Treasury.

These proposals are made without regard to the effect of the actions on established programs or objectives sought by the Congress.

The justifications advanced in both the first and second Hoover Commission reports are that the agencies involved should not be subsidized by public contributions to their administrative expenses or to their income in the form of interest on investments in Government securities. And, further, that such agencies should become privately owned and managed as rapidly as possible by retirement of Government stock or by obtaining their financing from private sources.

Again, these positions are taken without regard to the impact on authorized programs and without a careful evaluation of the consequences for the national economy.

The "mutualization" concept in the report is ill-defined; it does not indicate Government equity once the capital stock of the Government is retired.

Whatever the advantages of "mutualization," the result is the creation of hybrid Government agencies which are, in most cases, privately owned and privately managed, subject to a limited amount of Government regulation, but remote from congressional, Presidential, or General Accounting Office audit control.

At the same time the "mutualized" agencies enjoy many Government privileges. Among these are tax exemptions, free use of Government mails, free use of Government buildings and property, Government annuity contributions to the employees, access to Government funds, and reliance upon Government insurance or other commitments.

Even if these privileges are removed in whole or in part, the agencies are still Federal instrumentalities in some sense, and the conflict of interest between private and public management and policy remains.

Although the report recommends that certain agencies be brought under the Government Corporation Control Act, it fails to point out that withdrawal of Federal stock ownership from "mutualized" agencies ordinarily is accompanied by withdrawal of General Accounting Office audit.

In a few cases, such as that of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Congress enacted special legislation to permit GAO access to the Corporation's books. However, the status of this agency is still a matter of debate. It is publicly managed and privately financed. Technically the Corporation has no owner since the Government stock was retired. The Commission does not consider this phase of the problem.

Government subsidies so vehemently criticized in this report, are means of achieving public purposes deemed worthy by the Congress. I may note that the report hardly begins to identify all the subsidies involved in Government activities.

Merely to cite one example, the hundreds of millions of dollars obtained by large companies as interest-free loans through the device of accelerated tax amortization gets no mention in this report.

The subsidies involved in the administration of Government programs which help home owners, farmers, small-business men, veterans, and others of modest means pale into significance when compared with the subsidies that are doled out to big manufacturers, publishing firms, ship operators, airline companies, and the like.

The Congress has authorized subsidies of many kinds throughout our history to develop the Nation and to keep it strong. The Commission made no systematic study on the whole subject of subsidies, nor does it recommend their elimination in all fields. The ones complained of in this report appear to be, in the main, those which bring widespread benefits to the whole population.

Defense, Economic, and Political Union of Western Democracies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a splendid editorial entitled "How Far Federal Union?" written by the distinguished editor, Mr. Carroll Binder, and published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of February 15, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW FAR FEDERAL UNION?

Recent developments on both sides of the Iron Curtain point up the desirability of a convention to explore the possibilities of a defense, economic and political union of the Western democracies.

Fourteen Members of the Senate and sixteen Members of the House have joined Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, in introducing a concurrent resolution requesting President Eisenhower to invite the other democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates to meet in a convention with similarly appointed delegates from the United States.

The purpose of the convention would be "to explore and to report to what extent their peoples might further unite within the framework of the United Nations, and agree to form, federally or otherwise, a defense, economic, and political union."

The object would be to see whether the United States and other nations long experienced in the practice of freedom can find a basis of cooperation which would enable them to more effectively maintain their free institutions during the crtical era ahead.

The changes in Russian leadership and policy clearly foreshadow more aggressive efforts to extend Communist power at the expense of non-Communist countries. Russia is taking steps to increase its military and industrial potential. It is coordinating its policies with those of Communist China and the satellite countries in order to function monolithically against the democracies.

While the Soviet bloc is being welded more closely together it is trying to foster divisions within the democratic camp so that they will act separately rather than unitedly. The Communists hope to create conditions in which the United States and its allies will be economically and militarily weakened and at cross purposes politically.

A military alliance such as NATO is historically difficult to maintain over a long period, particularly during intervals in which the common danger is not as apparent as it is at this particular time.

Clarence Streit and other advocates of the principle of Federal union, as distinguished from traditional type of alliance, have been trying to interest the Atlantic democracies in the idea of closer cooperation for the past 16 years.

The Kefauver resolution provides for an exploration of the possibilities of such a union. Adoption by Congress and participation in an exploratory convention would not commit the United States to such a political relationship. It would merely acquaint the American people and the people of other Atlantic nations with the possibilities of uniting for their security and economic well-being in freedom.

We are glad to see Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY and Representative JUDD among the sponsors of the resolution. We hope the resolution is adopted and that the President will send representative members of both political parties to such an exploratory convention.

Tribute to Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Dr. Khan, who is prominent in Pakistani circles in the West, complimenting Abraham Lincoln's great soul.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK PAKISTANIS HONOR ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S MEMORY ON HIS BIRTHDAY

New York's Pakistanis paid tribute to the memory of the Great Emancipator at a Lincoln's Birthday celebration held at the Pakistan League's headquarters, 80–82 Clinton Street, New York City, on the 12th of February 1955. More than 200 Pakistanis and American friends present heard Ibrahim Chowdry, president of the Pakistan League of America which is a member of the Moslem Council pay tribute to the great spirit of Abraham Lincoln describing Lincoln's keen interest in India and the East and Dr. Mubarek Ali Khan, pioneer in the citizenship fight for immigration bill for India quota and organizer and national president of India Welfare League from coast to coast which became in 1947 the Pakistan League of America and is now national welfare chairman of New York, Arizona, and California. Dr. Khan, prominent in Pakistani circles in the West complimented Lincoln's great soul. "Mr. Lincoln's spirit," said Dr. Khan, "was fundamentally Islamic in character and practice as is proven by all of his speeches, writings, and deeds. In these days it is increasingly necessary that we pause and consider the contributions of this man to our times and period. We need these good, clean views of this God-sent man."

Dr. Khan quoted President Lincoln's speech given April 19, 1864, in Baltimore on the anniversary of the blood shed in 1861 by loyal soldiers marching to protect the Capitol and for the occasion of the opening of a fair held for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission:

"Mr. LINCOLN. So true it is that man proposed and God disposes.

"But we can see the past, though we may claim to have directed it; and seeing it, in this case, we feel more hopeful and confident for the future.

"The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of these things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny.

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as the liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. [Applause.] Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures, and all professing to love liberty."

Mr. Ibrahim Chowdry concluded the meeting with an earnest prayer that the United States might be guided by the spirit and noble thinking of the Great Emancipator. Both Mr. Chowdry and Dr. Khan likewise spoke in high esteem of United States Senator WILLIAM LANGER, of North Dakota, and Congressman EMMANUEL CELLER, of New York, and Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, who are among the first to champion the cause of India and people of Pakistan who were barred from citizenship until 1946 under the Oriental exclusion laws. As both Mr. Chowdry and Dr. Khan stressed: "They are the ones whose heart and conscience struggled for citizenship rights for India and Pakistanis to be able to become Americans since July 2, 1946. Thank you sincerely and kindly, ladies and gentlemen."

Hungarian Freedom Day, March 15

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the revolutionary movements of mid-19th century Europe are probably not as well known as they deserve to be. Those movements, especially the revolution of 1848, are of particular significance in the political evolution of various European peoples toward national freedom. Even though the movement of that year did not result in definitive freedom for subject peoples, yet the seeds of liberty and independence took root firmly in many lands. Hungary was one of them.

The Hungarians were restless under Austrian rule and were clamoring for their ancient liberties. Early in 1848 they saw their chance, and under the leadership of Louis Kossuth they secured a number of political rights. On March 15 of that year they adopted a charter by which freedom of the press was guaranteed, a Hungarian national guard was established, feudal servitude as well as heavy taxes on the peasantry were abolished, and a general tax system was introduced extending to all classes. The Hapsburg Emperor agreed to this charter and appointed a Hungarian ministry responsible to the Hungarian Parliament. The country thus became practically independent.

As we all know those days of virtual independence did not last long. By the middle of the following year the gains registered in the freedom-day charter were lost and the Hungarians once more were brought under a form of government they did not desire.

Ever since 1848 the memory of freedom day has been revered by the Hungarians and they have celebrated it as a national holiday. It is indeed a memorable event in the long history of man's struggle to attain free and democratic government and I am happy to join in its celebration.

Perry Meloan, 1881–1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include herewith an article entitled "Perry Meloan, 1881–1955," which appeared in the March 10, 1955, issue of the Edmonson News, of Brownsville, Ky.

It was with deep regret that I learned of the death of my friend Perry Meloan, one of Kentucky's finest newspapermen. The editor and publisher of a small weekly, but often quoted in papers many times its size, Mr. Meloan's life was dedicated to the theory that a newspaper existed in order to dispense news with sincerity and truth; to make the community a finer place in which to live and to serve as a forum for public debate and expression.

There was never any doubt in anyone's mind about how Mr. Meloan felt on any subject but fairness of mind always left the columns of the Edmonson News open to the other side—thus often leading to hot debate but always working for a better community particularly for the young people. Any community feels keenly the loss of such a man, and though Kentucky will feel this loss deeply it is fortunate in having his son, Jack Meloan, to carry on the traditions of integrity and high principle which were established by his father.

The article is as follows:

PERRY MELOAN, 1881–1955

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following is the text of remarks made by Charles E. Whittle at the funeral of Perry Meloan at Brownsville Missionary Baptist Church last Sunday morning.)

Perry Meloan, son of the late John Z. and Altha Jane Clayton Meloan, was born at Murray, January 6, 1881, and died at his home in Brownsville, March 5, 1955.

In 1900 he was married to Julia Utterback and they shared together the beauty and bliss of mutual marital devotion until she passed away in 1918. He never remarried and his mention of her always exemplified memories of tenderest love and affection.

To them were born 2 sons: Jack, of Brownsville, and Pat, of Nashville; and 2 daughters, Mrs. John Sangston, of Red Bank, N. J., and Mrs. Hazel Gentry, of Bowling Green. These and his 7 grandchildren and 1 brother, R. R. Meloan, of Murray, survive him.

The deep family devotion which existed between him and them throughout his entire life undoubtedly succored him in his

days of adversity and will sustain them in the grief they bear at his loss.

In recent years he and the family of his son, Jack, have shared together their home here; and his daughter-in-law, Louise, and her little son, Billy, have joyed in his affection, and have returned it, as if they were his own.

Early in life he became a devout member of the Christian Church and for many years was an active church leader in that denomination. Always he continued to be proud that his grandfather traveled almost all the way across Kentucky in pioneer times to be baptized by Alexander Campbell himself, and was an eminent minister of that faith. In later years, Mr. Meloan did not assume an active role in church affairs, but he was always zealous in his personal practice of Christian charity toward his neighbors, and in opening the columns of his press gratuitously for church purposes without prejudice toward dogma, creed, or denomination.

In business and by profession Perry Meloan was a newspaperman; and his ambitions in this field were richly realized.

Over a period covering several years he was editor of such outstanding newspapers in Kentucky as the Paducah News-Democrat, the Paducah Evening Sun, the Owensboro Inquirer and Messenger, the Lexington Herald, the Clinton Gazette, and the Murray Ledger, and of a number of newspapers in other States, including the Birmingham Age-Herald (in Alabama), the Fort Myers Press (in Florida), the Advance (in New York City), the Beckley News (in West Virginia), and the Paris Post-Intelligencer (in Tennessee).

For a considerable period of time he also held a position in the editorial department of the Courier-Journal in Louisville.

But he was never happy with the metropolitan press. Essentially he always yearned for a small-town country weekly of his own, in which he could say what he pleased in his own inimitable way.

It was this yearning which led him, with his son, Jack—then still in his teens—to Brownsville in 1927. With no capital assets except their native ability and their faith in our people, they established the Edmonson News, affectionately known to all of us since its lowly first editions as "the Gimlet."

In the intervening years he has served continuously as its editor and joint owner, and has undoubtedly wielded a greater influence upon the destiny of affairs here than any other citizen of our county.

His loyalty to our people and his willingness always to wage battle for the commonplace citizen has been characterized by an able pen and an utter disregard for his material gain. Who of our people of this generation does not remember his crusade for the rights of the residents of the Mammoth Cave National Park while they were being ousted from their homes; his championship of candidates from this county when pitted in their fights for public office against candidates from other counties, without any regard for political affiliation or any hope of material reward; his recent campaign for better pay and better treatment of our school teachers after they were deprived of benefits from Frankfort to which he felt that they were entitled; and above all, perhaps, the long hours of sweat and toil and the considerable sum of money he sacrificed in mailing out the Gimlet regularly each week without charge during World War II to every member of the armed services who went from Edmonson County, wherever he might be stationed within the States or in the remotest corners of the globe. Other like crusades of his will undoubtedly recur to all of you. But always his onslaughts were based upon high principle in behalf of his friends and fellow citizens. Personal venom or spleen—if he ever felt any—were never exhibited by him, either in the Gimlet or in his private conduct.

He was no ordinary man—no ordinary newspaperman. He was truly one of the great country newspaper editors of all time, and in his passing the profession has lost one of the giants of the fast-vanishing type.

Somewhere within the bosom of this man was an extraordinary power which sustained him in his work, gave his pen a might, and endeared him to us all. Was it not the boundlessness of his love—his love for the simple, the beautiful, the lowly things of this world—a love so all pervading that it left no room for envy, ambition, avarice, greed, or hate?

Few of us knew of his love for music, and the rhythm of the spheres it reverberates. Yet he was an accomplished pianist, and his first sojourn in Edmonson County was half a century ago when as a bugler in the State militia he encamped with his regiment for maneuvers at Mammoth Cave.

He loved flowers. Yet when his physician some years ago advised him to relax from his work by cultivating a flower garden, he went to the woods rather than the florists for his plants; and right soon his garden was all abloom with a riot of beauty reflected by the commonplace flowers most of us had but despised. Because he loved them all the more for their lowliness they unfolded for him a delicacy within their petals unseen by selfish souls.

He loved pets—dogs, in particular; and no stray was too mongrel or mottled to become an object of his affection. They returned his devotion and trailed him at his heels in his shop and in his home.

He loved and was beloved by children. Although still in his midforties when he came to Brownsville, he immediately became "Uncle Perry" to all of the children here. How happy it made him.

Once he suggested that it be said of him at his funeral:

"Here lies a man beloved by all the dogs and all the children in Brownsville."

To him that was praise and panegyric enough.

Yet his love and his bigheartedness encompassed the old and the young alike so abundantly that he soon became the beloved "Uncle Perry" to all of us. But mostly he lavished his love upon the lowly. To him a pound of sausage or a peck of sweet potatoes tendered by some impoverished farmer or penniless widow for a subscription to the Gimlet was greater payment than all of the gold envaulted at Fort Knox.

"Uncle Perry" was conversant with the Scriptures. One of his favorite passages was 1 Kings, 20: 25, in which is so glowingly described the richness and glory of the reign of Solomon and the extent of his dominion over the peoples of Judah and Israel; but the verse he always quoted was the 25th:

"And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig tree from Dan to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon."

"Safely, every man under his vine and his fig tree"—emblematic of joy and plenty.

After all, that is the thing "Uncle Perry" sought for our people—all people—that all might dwell safely in peace and joy and plenty. What an ideal for Christian living. No wonder we loved him so.

Back to the sod which enbosoms his forbears at Murray we consign his ashes; his passionate love for his fellowman flowed back yesterday morning into the boundless bosom of the God who is love; but our memories of him we shall treasure as priceless jewels to sustain us in our quest for the better, the lovelier things of everyday living, and to be handed down to our children as a beautiful tradition, the tradition of our beloved "Uncle Perry."

Still Mainly Political

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Friday, March 11, 1955:

STILL MAINLY POLITICAL

Politically clever the Senate Democrats' compromise tax plan may be, but there are strong reasons why it should be defeated just as the House bill should have been defeated.

The first reason is that nobody now knows whether the economic and budgetary circumstances that will exist next year will justify a tax cut next year. The Democrats in effect admit that their proposal is unwise at the moment by delaying its effect until next January.

But how do they know that it would be wise as of that date? They do not know, of course, and neither does anybody else. The only reason for adopting a postdated tax cut now is a political reason.

Likewise politics provides the only reason for linking a cut in individual income taxes with revision of last year's tax benefits to corporations and stockholders. If the Democrats want to reopen consideration of these issues, let them offer a separate bill and debate it on its merits.

Actually a majority of Senate Democrats last year supported the accelerated depreciation plan which it is now proposed to repeal as an offset to the personal tax cut. As for the tax credit on dividends, this newspaper opposed it at the time and we still oppose it, but we do not believe it should be repealed as part of an omnibus exercise in demagoguery designed to prove that somebody in Washington loves the "little fellow" with a tender passion.

Under the Senate Democrats' plan, as under the House bill, a good many "little fellows" would be taken off the tax rolls altogether, and that is another reason to defeat this measure.

Progressive tax rates which give recognition to the principle of ability to pay are and should remain the heart of our income tax system, but those rates should be applied in such a way that some income tax, however small, is paid by virtually every employed person.

At present a single person begins paying income tax at an income of around $13 a week. A married person has a tax liability if his income is over $29 a week. The head of a family of four begins paying taxes at around $50 a week. In each case, the tax liability amounts to 1 or 2 percent. It amounts to 12 cents a week for the unmarried person, 60 cents a week for the married person, and about $1 a week for the head of a family of four.

Are such taxes so onerous that they should be eliminated altogether at the lower income levels? We cannot believe so. Perhaps a case can be made for adjusting this rate or that, but surely the principle that some income tax should be collected from most employed persons is sound.

As a matter of fact, we suspect that most such persons would themselves prefer to pay some tax, as a recognition of the obligation which they and all others owe to a Government whose services range from national security to many fields of social welfare.

When the time comes to cut individual income taxes, they should be cut in such a way as to avoid relieving large groups of any liability.

Confiscation by Default

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, for many months now, I have been pressing the International Joint Commission to establish administrative machinery to adjudicate claims arising from the power and navigation projects it has authorized on the United States-Canadian border, particularly those affecting Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River.

Shorefront residents of Lake Ontario find themselves faced with potentially severe damages if the lake level is raised and maintained at high levels. Yet the causes of these damages may well be diffused among a number of entities, national and international, with the result that litigants seeking redress or protection will find themselves lost in a legal jungle.

Up to this time, the International Joint Commission and the Department of State have insisted that there is ample protection for these individuals under the Constitution and laws of the United States and the laws of Canada.

In order to determine whether this is accurate, I recently asked the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to make an analysis of the relevant provisions of the Constitution and statutes.

That analysis has now been completed, and under leave to extend my remarks, I append a copy hereto.

It concludes "categorically" that the "extant treaty, statutory and administrative provisions—affecting shorefront property owners—afford no definitive protection," and that "the constitutional protection is more theoretical than substantive."

In other water resources development projects on the United States-Canadian border, the Commission has recognized the total inadequacy of normal legal procedures and remedies, and has itself assumed responsibility for the establishment of formal administrative machinery to adjudicate claims arising from such projects.

The Library of Congress study confirms, if confirmation is necessary, that such machinery should be established in connection with the St. Lawrence projects if the statutory and constitutional protection of the rights of United States citizens are to be safeguarded. Failure to do this will result in the virtual confiscation of their property by default.

The analysis of their legal remedies under our present laws, made by James P. Radigan, Senior Specialists Division of the Library of Congress, follows:

[The Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, Washington, D. C.]

ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS WHICH EXIST AND CAN BE INVOKED TO PROTECT AND INDEMNIFY RESIDENTS OF NEW YORK LIVING ALONG THE SHORES OF LAKE ONTARIO FOR DAMAGES RESULTING FROM THE PENDING ST. LAWRENCE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

That there are constitutional, treaty, statutory, and administrative provisions that could conceivably be used, either singly or jointly, as a base upon which to erect a claim for damages resulting from a raising of the level of Lake Ontario in connection with the St. Lawrence development is not denied. These provisions are: Constitutional—the just compensation provision of the 5th amendment and the due-process provision of the 14th amendment of the United States Constitution; treaty—article VIII of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909; statutory—section 10 (c) of the Federal Power Act (16 U. S. C. 803 (c)), Public Law 358, 83d Congress, McKinney's Consolidated Laws of New York, book 42, article 5, title I; and administrative—the order of approval issued October 29, 1952, Document 68, by the International Joint Commission and article 19 of the Federal Power Commission's order issued July 15, 1953.

Practically, however, none of these has the solid foundation it appears to have.

I

The constitutional protection afforded by the just compensation provision of the 5th amendment which would be available if the damages of the lakeshore property could be attributed to the activities of the St. Lawrence Seaway Corporation and the constitutional protection afforded by the due process provision of the 14th amendment which would be available if the damages to the lakeshore property could be attributed to the activities of the Power Authority of the State of New York (the designee of the Government of the United States, under sec. 1 of Executive Order 10500 signed by President Eisenhower on October 4, 1953) would not come into play in either instance unless the damages sustained were found to be in effect the taking of private property for public use. See *U. S.* v. *Lynah* ((1903) 188 U. S. 445); *U. S.* v. *Cress* ((1917) 243 U. S. 316); *U. S.* v. *Dickerson* ((1947) 331 U. S. 745); and *U. S.* v. *Kansas City Insurance Co.* ((1950) 339 U. S. 799).

It is possible and even probable that the damages suffered by these residents would not be considered a taking of private property for public use but would be considered a remote or consequential damage resulting from the exercise of the plenary power of the Government to make improvements in navigation. Such damages create no liability. See *Jackson* v. *U. S.* ((1913) 230 U. S. 1); *U. S.* v. *Chicago M., St. P. and R. Co.* ((1941) 312 U. S. 592).

Admitting for the sake of argument that the increased height of Lake Ontario resulting from the proposed project, in and of itself, is a servitude imposed upon the land for which there may be no just legal or equitable claim for compensation, there is a substantial equitable claim for relief for storm damages which would not be suffered by these residents were it not for the increased water height.

As stated by Melissa E. Bingeman, Fras, in a reprint from the proceedings of the Rochester Academy of Science, December 1953, page 18:

"The question arises: How much is destruction of shores increased by reason of high lake levels? Obviously a 3-foot wave that might be innocuous with the lake at a 245-foot level could be destructive in certain areas with the lake at a 247-foot level. Or, if a wind of a given force raises the cutting edge of a wave 5 feet, from 245 to 250 feet above sea level, then a lesser wind which will raise it 4 feet will raise it from 246 to 250 feet, and a wind which will raise it 3 feet will raise it from 247 to 250 feet. Manifestly, therefore, the higher the level of the lake, the less wind force is required to work damage upon the shore. The significance of this principle lies in the fact that the number of winds increases as their velocity decreases. There are more winds of 60 miles per hour than of 70 miles per hour, more of 50 than of 60, and so on progressively, in this area—which is in the zone of the great westerlies."

Even if liability is conceded, the proof these residents would be required to produce in sustaining their contention would be almost impossible to supply. If we consider the liability as analogous to the liability of a tort feasor, the rule of decision that the last efficient one (in this case the wind) of several successive causes (in this case increased height of water and wind) is regarded as the approximate cause or the rule of decision that where several causes are concurrent, the predominant efficient one (the wind) is regarded as the proximate cause where the damage done by each cannot be distinguished, might foreclose recovery. See *Howard Fire Insurance Co.* v. *Norwich & New York Transportation Co.* ((1870) 12 Wall. 194).

II

The treaty protection, if any, emanates from article VIII of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, the pertinent part of which reads: "The Commission (International Joint Commission, United States and Canada) in its discretion may make its approval in any case conditional upon the construction of remedial or protective works. * * * and * * * may require that suitable and adequate provision * * * be made for the protection and indemnity against injury of any interest on either side of the boundary."

III

The statutory provision afforded stems primarily from section 10 (c) of the Federal Power Act, the pertinent part of which reads "each licensee shall be liable for all damages occasioned to the property of others by construction, maintenance, or operation of the project works pertinent or accessory thereto, constructed under the license, and in no event shall the United States be liable therefor." This provision, as is readily seen, does not create a new liability on the part of the licensee but merely provides that if there is a liability arising from the operation of the project the licensee and not the Federal Government is liable. See *Hope Plantation* v. *South Carolina Public Service Authority* ((1950) 59 S. E. 2d 132).

Granting argumento, that sufficient proof might be furnished to establish liability and to obtain a judgment against the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation or the Power Authority of the State of New York, the problem of collecting might arise. Even though the acts creating government corporations authorize them to sue and be sued, it does not necessarily follow that the property and funds of such corporation are attachable. See *Federal Housing Administration* v. *Burr* ((1940) 309 U. S. 242) and *Inland Waterways Corporation* v. *Young* ((1940) 309 U. S. 517).

IV

The administrative protection, if any, afforded by section (a) of the order of approval of the International Joint Commission which reads: "(a) All interests on either side of the international boundary which are injured by reason of the construction, maintenance, and operation of the works shall be given suitable and adequate protection and indemnity in accordance with the laws in Canada or the Constitution and laws in the United States, respectively, and in accordance with the requirements of article VIII of the treaty," is nothing more than a notice to the applicants that the Commis-

sion expects them to recognize any liability which is found owing by the Court. It certainly does not go as far as the Commission could or as far as is implicitly possible under the provision of the treaty. The administrative protection, if any, afforded by article 19 of the Federal Power Commission license which reads: "ARTICLE 19. In the design, construction, maintenance, and operation of the project covered by this license, the licensee shall comply with all applicable provisions, and requirements of the order of approval (International Joint Commission Docket 68) issued October 29, 1952, by the International Joint Commission to the Governments of the United States and Canada for the construction of certain works for the development of power in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River," is nothing more than a requirement that the licensee comply with the order of approval, which unfortunately does not cover liability for the contemplated damages.

Neither sets up any administrative procedure for determining damages resulting from the development of the St. Lawrence, although such procedure could be set up under the terms of the treaty and the licensing provisions of the Federal Power Act.

CONCLUSION

In summary, it may be stated categorically, that the extant treaty, statutory, and administrative provisions afford no definitive protection and that the constitutional protection is more theoretical than substantive. Therefore justice demands that the Governments of the United States and Canada afford these residents practical remedial aid.

Walter Winchell's American Broadcasting Co. Simulcast of March 13, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the opening statement I made on Walter Winchell's American Broadcasting Co. simulcast in New York at 9 p. m., Sunday, March 13, 1955, together with the questions I asked Mr. Winchell about his stock market references.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR HOMER E. CAPEHART ON WALTER WINCHELL SIMULCAST IN NEW YORK CITY OVER ABC NETWORK AT 9 P. M., MARCH 13, 1955

Mr. Winchell, at your invitation, I am happy to appear on your program tonight.

I accepted your invitation because you said you would be willing to answer any questions I chose to ask.

There are several questions I will ask you which are intended to bring out the facts for your listening audience with respect to reference to stocks you made in previous broadcasts.

However, in the event time does not permit you to answer on this program all the questions I have here, I will release the unanswered questions to the press and you may answer them later.

QUESTIONS BY SENATOR HOMER E. CAPEHART TO WALTER WINCHELL SIMULCAST, NEW YORK, MARCH 13, 1955

1. Why should you, or any radio or television commenator, ever refer to a stock as a bad or good investment?
2. How many specific stocks have you mentioned on your broadcasts or telecasts?
3. Have you or any member of your family ever been paid, or received anything of value for mentioning any of these stocks?
4. Have you ever recommended to your listeners that they either purchase or sell any particular stock or stocks?
5. What stocks have you or the members of your family purchased in the last 2 years, and did you purchase any of the stocks you mentioned on the air?
6. Did you ever suggest or infer to your listeners that a specific stock would go up or down?
7. Has any officer, director, employee, or stockholder of any corporation ever asked you to mention, or plug, any stock in which they were interested?
8. Has any individual ever given you any stock tips, either orally or in writing?
9. Has any statement about a stock that you ever made turned out to be false?
10. If asked, would you go to Washington and answer these questions under oath, and if so, will your answers be the same?

Nation's Business Is Definitely on Upbeat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO E. ALLEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, we see daily increasing indications that our Nation's business is advancing. It is gratifying, therefore, to see that an Illinois newspaper has taken editorial note of the country's progress and I commend your attention to the editorial taken from the March 7 edition of the Sterling Gazette, Sterling, Ill.:

NATION'S BUSINESS IS DEFINITELY ON UPBEAT

Perhaps you may be one of those individuals who do not believe in signs, such as "fresh paint," and feel the urge to touch the articles to which the sign refers to find out for yourself.

Then again, you might be one of those who don't believe the news stories that are constantly reminding us that things are getting better because there may not be any sign that you can touch to make sure it is true.

Be that as it may, regardless of how you feel about it, things were definitely on the upbeat last week in key areas of the Nation's business.

Here's where you could spot the most impressive gains:

Consumer spending at retail, 4 to 6 percent higher than a year ago.

Automobile production, significantly higher than the week before and just below the all-time peak.

Contracts awarded for heavy construction jobs, 58 percent ahead of the year-ago rate.

Production and refining of crude oil—highest ever recorded.

Brisk demand for unfinished steel indicated a renewal of inventory building by major steel consumers. Output of the Nation's steel mills hit 90 percent of capacity for the second week in a row. Prices of iron ore moved up.

Proposal for Joint Committee on Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated February 28, 1955, which I received from Dr. Harold S. Diehl, chairman of the Council on National Defense of the American Medical Association, together with a report of a national survey which the council conducted to determine the status of American civil-defense preparedness.

This report appeared in the Journal of the American Medical Association on October 9, 1954. I commend it to the attention of the Senate, together with a renewed plea to the Senate for increased awareness and alertness to the immediate needs for enlarging our program of civil defense and preparing on a more realistic level of priority.

There being no objection, the letter and report were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill., February 28, 1955.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HUMPHREY: It was with considerable interest that I read Senate Concurrent Resolution 11, which you jointly submitted with Senator SYMINGTON to the Senate on February 4, 1955. That resolution, which calls for the establishment of a Joint Committee on Civil Defense composed of seven Members from the Senate and a like number from the House, is most timely and merits careful consideration.

Recent public pronouncements of the widespread devastation that can be expected from the use of hydrogen bombs in the event of an enemy attack make it not only apparent but absolutely essential and vital that the Federal Government assume its proper role in civil-defense preparedness. It is necessary that the Federal Government take such steps as to assure that adequate plans, preparation, and financial support are provided for the best possible defense of our civilian population and facilities. You are commended for the forthright speech you made in support of the resolution. It clearly pointed up the necessity for active leadership on the part of the Federal Government if we are to have an effective civil-defense program.

As you know, the medical profession has, for a number of years, been keenly aware of the necessity for intelligent medical civil defense planning. Our Council on National Defense has attempted to stimulate interest and to educate our membership to its responsibilities in civil defense. In addition, we have cooperated with all echelons of the Government in preparing and implementing plans for medical care in time of national emergency.

Last year, the council conducted a national survey to determine the status of medical civil-defense preparedness, by State, for both wartime and natural disasters. I am enclosing a copy of the results of this survey as I am sure you will be interested in this tabulation.

If at all possible I would appreciate about 25 copies or reprints of the resolution and your speech together with the other material as it appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I plan to distribute this material to members of our council as well as other interested persons.

We shall be most happy to assist in any way possible and I invite you to call upon us in such capacity as you deem appropriate.

Cordially, yours,

HAROLD S. DIEHL, M. D.,
Chairman.

STATUS OF MEDICAL CIVIL DEFENSE PLANNING IN STATES

The council of national defense of the American Medical Association recently completed a survey of the status of medical civil defense planning in the States and Territories. In conducting the survey a series of 30 questions were used. Questionnaires were sent during April to directors of State civil defense departments and to chairmen of emergency medical service committees of all State and Territorial medical societies. A copy of the questionnaire was also forwarded to the executive secretaries of all State medical societies for their general information and for such additional comments as they might consider appropriate. The questionnaires were returned either by the Director of Civil Defense or by the chairman of the emergency medical service committee from all but six of the States. Following is a summary of the results of the survey. Complete results will be made available to interested persons by the council on national defense upon request. The results of the survey are intentionally summarized in terms of those things that the States have not done rather than what they have done. The adoption of this procedure does not represent a failure on the part of the council to recognize and appreciate the outstanding and tireless work done by many individual physicians in the field of medical civil defense, but rather is an effort to present factually the lack of real preparedness in some areas.

STATUTES AND LEGISLATION

Prior to the survey, the council had on file a considerable amount of general information about civil defense legislation in the 48 States, including citations and dates of enactment. The information received in the 1954 survey enabled the council to bring this material up to date. The survey revealed that there is a civil defense law of one kind or another in every State from which information was received. It may or may not be significant that in at least 13 States no amendments have been made to the State Civil Defense Act within the last year. This may well be due to the fact that some State legislatures meet biannually and therefore were not in session in 1954. However, it definitely is of concern to note that in at least 10 of the States the basic legislation does not appear to be applicable to natural disasters.

APPROPRIATIONS AND STAFFING

It is difficult to make general statements about requirements in appropriations or staffing in civil defense that are applicable to all the States, owing to the great diversity in population, resources, strategic location, and many other factors. The survey revealed that the total paid civil defense staff ranged from 1 person in Idaho to 116 persons in California. The total number of persons on the medical staff ranged from none in several States to 43 in New York. It is obvious from the survey that many of the States have small civil defense staffs. Information also indicates that in many States the State health officials are also serving in civil defense medical capacities.

The State with the largest appropriation for fiscal year 1954 is New York, with $1,494,000; the second largest is California, with $1,191,894; the third largest is Connecticut, with $375,201; and the fourth in rank is Virginia, with $316,270. The 4 highest ranking States in terms of amounts appropriated for medical civil-defense purposes for fiscal year 1954 are: New York, $438,000; Massachusetts, $75,000; Connecticut, $62,550; and California, $51,048. In at least 18 States the total amount appropriated for civil defense for fiscal year 1954 was smaller than that appropriated for fiscal year 1953. In about 19 States the amount for fiscal year 1954 is the same as for fiscal year 1953, and in only about 5 States is the amount for fiscal year 1954 larger than for fiscal year 1953.

It should be observed that some States have a conditional appropriation authorization for use in case of emergency, such as that of Alabama, $250,000 for fiscal year 1954. In some States the amount appropriated for medical civil defense is designated for specific things, such as supplies, or a specific amount is allotted for administration. Some appropriation acts do not specify when the money is to be spent; further, it appears that in a number of States no specific sum for medical activities is specified in the appropriation act itself.

MEDICAL PLANNING AND HOSPITALS

The information received disclosed that at least 7 States still do not have a written civil-defense plan and that 6 of the States that do have a written plan do not include natural disasters in the plan. Of considerable concern is the fact that in 7 States it was indicated that no specific assignments had been made to physicians in case of emergency; in 9 States no specific assignments had been made to dentists; in 9 States, no specific assignments to veterinarians; in 9 States, no specific assignments to pharmacists; in 8 States, no specific assignments to nurses; and in 8 States, no specific assignments to other allied health personnel. It was also revealed that assignment lists in 10 of the States apparently are not kept on a current, or up-to-date, basis.

According to the survey, in about 21 States there appeared to have been no civil-defense committees established on a regional basis; in 18 States, no civil-defense committees established on a district basis; in 9 States, no civil-defense committees established on a county basis; and in 9 States, none established for large cities.

The participation of hospital administrators and officials in drafting civil-defense plans is considered to be important for a number of reasons. The survey revealed, however, that in at least 8 States hospital administrators did not participate in formulating the civil-defense medical plan. In 9 States no plans have been made for improvised hospitals, and in 9 States no plans have been made for mobile first-aid stations.

TRAINING

A variety of information was requested in the section of the questionnaire devoted to civil-defense training. Some of this information is of considerable importance in presenting an overall picture, while some of the questions were asked primarily for education purposes.

In at least 15 States no manuals have been issued for training purposes, and about 14 States have not been divided into regions for training or other purposes. It appears that 10 States, as of the time of the completion of the questionnaire, had had no civil-defense drills; in 16 States no drills had been conducted in metropolitan districts; in 16 States no drills had been conducted in counties; in 18 States no drills had been conducted on a regional basis; and in 16 States no drills had been conducted on a statewide basis. It should be observed here, however, that these questionnaires were completed and returned to the council prior to the nationwide civil-defense alert that was held under the auspices of the Federal Civil Defense Administration in the middle of June 1954.

Information received indicates that in 16 States no staging areas have been designated, at least for medical personnel. In at least 3 States there has not been any specific coordination of the various civil-defense divisions and activities within the State.

With reference to civil-defense health instruction in the schools and colleges, the survey disclosed that in 17 States no civil-defense courses of any kind are given in the high schools; in 18 States no civil-defense courses are given in professional schools; and in 21 States no civil-defense courses are given in medical postgraduate schools.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS BY OFFICIALS

The final item on the questionnaire requested comments, suggestions, and recommendations as to how the Council on National Defense could be of most assistance to State officials and medical society officials in medical civil defense planning and operations. A wide variety of helpful suggestions was made. They will be presented for the consideration of the Council at its next meeting in October.

SUMMARY OF SUGGESTIONS MADE ON QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Encourage interest, and make officers of State medical societies, as well as individual physicians, more aware of the need for civil defense.
2. Encourage State legislatures to appropriate more money for civil defense.
3. Encourage more interest on part of State health departments.
4. Supply specific information about extent of need for mobile first aid stations.
5. Supply specific instructor training manuals—material on hand is too general.
6. Expedite assignments of improvised hospitals to regions and target areas.
7. Provide more civil defense conferences and information.
8. Sponsor biological warfare courses on a high level for State officials.
9. Sponsor gas-warfare defense courses for high-level officials.
10. Survey total hospital liabilities, etc.
11. Impress on physicians the fact that they may have to treat 100 times more persons in a given period than they now think they will.
12. Encourage standardized procedures in treatment and other fields.

Ralph R. Roberts, Clerk of the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following article on our efficient Clerk of the House, Ralph Roberts, was in the magazine section of the Indianapolis Star of March 6, 1955:

THE CALM MR. ROBERTS

(By Ben Cole)

The election last November returned to a powerful office a Hoosier whose name appeared on no ballot and who made no campaign in his own behalf.

When the Nation returned the House of Representatives to control of the Democratic Party, it followed that Ralph L. Roberts of Rockport would be the Clerk of the House.

A man seemingly without nerves, Roberts filled the vastly complicated job from 1949 through 1952. He turned over the office to

Lyle Snader of Illinois when the Republicans marched victoriously into the Chamber after the election of 1952.

That GOP triumph meant that Roberts would have to step down a notch and become minority clerk.

There have been fewer Clerks of the House than there have been Presidents. He is the 26th. Since the Civil War, there have been only 4 or 5 Clerks, at most.

The Clerk is a constitutional officer of the House. His duties are judicial and executive. Some of his responsibilities were created by law. Some are traditions whose origins are lost in history.

For instance, the Clerk must subscribe to the newspapers in every district. These are available daily to the lawmakers in the Speaker's lobby. Nobody knows when it started; there's no authority for it; but Roberts had better have those papers on file every day.

Roberts' signature goes on every bill, as important a part of its validity as any signature that appears there. He is the paymaster for the House, laying out some $2 million in checks every month to Members and attachés.

Under Roberts is a corps of nearly 200 employees, file clerks, bill clerks, stationery clerks, librarians, disbursing clerk, enrolling clerk, and others. Each is a department head with a sizable staff of his own.

Roberts came by the job in an unorthodox manner. He jumped from a lifetime job as a doorkeeper to the equally long-lived job of Clerk. The jump, though, could have been fatal.

Born to politics, however, Roberts knew what he was doing. Part of his secret was never having backed a loser for speaker or for majority leader.

Roberts, however, guessed wrong on his own chances in 1946 when he tried to capture the Democratic congressional nomination in the Eighth Indiana District. He lost to WINFIELD K. DENTON.

Roberts was born in Rockport, a town of some 6,000 Hoosiers along the gentle sweep of the Ohio River, just above Evansville. His father, Ralph E. Roberts, still resides there, an 88-year-old veteran of many political campaigns. The elder Roberts served in many political offices, finally became Spencer circuit court judge when his son was in the eighth grade.

Young Roberts took politics to his heart at an early age. And he hurried to it as soon as his education was complete.

There was an interruption. World War I came along, and he joined the Marine Corps and went hustling off to the trenches in France. "I was in the Marines," is the way Roberts sums up his service record. For the Marines, World War I was no picnic.

Waiting to come home after the armistice, Roberts took a competitive examination for West Point and was 1 of 40, out of nearly 500, who passed. He entered the military academy, blanched at the idea of spending 4 years learning a science he might never use. Home he went to Indiana and courses at Indiana University and Northwestern University.

It was 1923 when Roberts came to Washington, secretary to the Congressman from his home district, remained to make service in the House his career.

In 1925, he got a taste of national politics as secretary of the Democratic congressional campaign committee, and he joined in the Al Smith campaign of 1928.

But in his entire Washington career he has never missed going home to Rockport for every primary and general election, a record he doubts anybody else can match.

In 1943, he was serving as an assistant doorkeeper in the House of Representatives. The chief doorkeeper died unexpectedly, and the House elected Roberts to the post.

Three years later, the Republicans had captured the House and Roberts learned the minority clerkship would be vacant. He started a quiet campaign for election, and won.

As Clerk, Roberts is the social peer of the Secretary of the Senate. The latter, however, gets more notoriety as a social figure because a private dining rooom goes with the Senate job and the Secretary is often host to the biggest names.

Roberts has no official host duties to clutter up his day. In the House, it is the Speaker who has the private dining room.

However, Roberts' duties have brought him into contact with many luminaries, including the late King George VI who would not enter the House Chamber on grounds that he was denied entry to the Commons and could not break the rule in America.

Roberts is known as one of the Capital's most prodigious walkers. Whenever the weather is even slightly acceptable, he will leave his office in the late afternoon and walk half a dozen miles to the University Club where he is a devoted member.

After a brief pause at his club, Roberts then may proceed on foot another 5 or 6 miles to the Sheraton Park Hotel where he and Mrs. Roberts have their home.

In his office at the Capitol, Roberts has custody of one of the cherished relics of the House: the Adams couch. It is a mohair-covered couch upon which John Quincy Adams died.

After his term as President, Adams returned to the House as a Member. He was stricken fatally while on the House floor, carried to an anteroom and placed on the couch where he remained 3 days until his death.

Another of Roberts' office relics is a chandelier taken from the White House when President Theodore Rooosevelt remodeled the Mansion, its last improvement until 1950–52.

A man of middle years, Roberts has a quiet manner, polished appearance and singularly youthful features. His dark, straight hair is always brushed to perfection and he frequently puffs contentedly on a good quality cigar.

With every Congressman in Washington screaming frantically for gallery tickets on an important day in the House, Roberts can calmly stroll into his office and pass the time of day with a fellow Hoosier and never bat an eyelash when the angriest lawmaker bursts in and demands justice.

You've got to stay calm if you are going to be clerk of the House.

Resolutions From Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith five resolutions adopted by the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association and of pertinence to the administration's policy in respect to public power:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE OREGON RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION DECEMBER 14, 1954

Be it resolved, That the legislative program of the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association be supplemented by the following policy statement:

"Resolution No. 3

"That we are opposed to the principles and implications of the Dixon-Yates contract."

Resolution adopted.

Be it resolved, That the legislative program of the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association be supplemented by the following policy statement:

"Resolution No. 4

"That we urge early enactment of legislation to authorize construction of Hells Canyon Dam."

Resolution adopted.

Be it resolved, That the legislative program of the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association be supplemented by the following policy statement:

"Resolution No. 5

"That we strongly urge Congress to appropriate funds for a new Federal start in the Pacific Northwest, preferably John Day Dam."

Resolution adopted.

Be it resolved, That the legislative program of the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association be supplemented by the following policy statement:

"Resolution No. 6

"That we express our lack of confidence in the so-called power partnership policy, and instead we urge a return to the letter and spirit of Federal legislation providing for the preference clause and maximum comprehensive development of our waterpower resources."

Resolution adopted.

Be it resolved, That the legislative program of the Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association be supplemented by the following policy statement:

"Resolution No. 8

"That we deplore the policy of Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay in opposition to public power."

Resolution adopted.

B. R. LITTLE,
Secretary-Treasurer, Oregon Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

City Council of Chicago Opposes Change in Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 3, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include a letter from the Honorable Joseph F. Grossman, special assistant corporation counsel of the city of Chicago, and approved by the Honorable John J. Mortimer, corporation counsel, together with a resolution adopted by the city council of Chicago on January 26, 1955, as follows:

FEBRUARY 28, 1955.

Hon. BARRATT O'HARA,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Your attention is respectfully solicited to proposed amendments of the Natural Gas Act to exclude so-called independent producers of natural gas from the category of natural gas companies subject to regulation. It was strenuously argued in the case of *Phillips Petroleum Co.* v. *Wisconsin* before the Supreme Court of

the United States that the Natural Gas Act was not intended to apply to producers of gas who sold their product in the State in which the gas was produced even though delivery was made to a pipeline for transportation and sale in interstate commerce. The Supreme Court held that such sales by producers are sales in interstate commerce and that such producers are natural gas companies within the purview of the Natural Gas Act and subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

It is now urged that natural gas when produced is a commodity similar to wheat and other produce and to timber, coal, ore, and oil which are sold in the open market free from price regulation; that natural gas in the field should likewise be free from regulation. The forests and produce of the land must be differentiated from the mineral resources which cannot be replenished or restored when consumed. These mineral reserves constitute the primary wealth of the Nation and the public has such vital interest in their products that they are inherently subject to Government regulation for conservation and necessary use. The necessity for regulation of traffic in such products depends upon the degree of freedom of the channels through which they can be brought to the market for ultimate consumption, as well as upon the balance of supply and demand.

Under our pattern of dual Government jurisdiction, and in accordance with long established tradition, the States have assumed control of production of natural gas to prevent waste and rapid depletion of the resources within their respective boundaries and the local distribution of gas for consumption. The United States Congress has undertaken to regulate the production and transmission of natural gas for interstate commerce to protect the ultimate consumers from economic pressure incident to virtual monopoly of the interstate channels for distribution of the gas.

The producers of gas are primarily engaged in the production of oil. They explore the country for oil and may discover gas, which, but for the demand of distant consumers developed by investors in interstate transmission facilities, would be burned up or carried away by the winds. They are not interested in the security, comfort, or convenience of posterity, or, for that matter, in the welfare of the present generation. They are bent upon immediate exploitation of all the oil and gas which they can sell in the present advantageous market with preferential taxwise consideration for depletion. Since oil and gas are competitive fuels the producers can control the price of both if the gas can be sold without regulation. Hence, they have organized an unprecedented lobby for exemption from regulation of the price of natural gas produced for sale in interstate commerce, advancing incompatible arguments, in support of their right to a free competitive market price, that it will stimulate exploration for gas to supply the demand and encourage conservation of the resources in the natural-gas fields.

The corporate authorities of the city of Chicago, in behalf of its million consumers of natural gas, having evaluated the special interest of the producers, who are now subject to regulation under the Natural Gas Act, their incompatible interest in the sale of both oil and natural gas and their spurious and inconsistent arguments against the interest of the consumers, as well as the interest of investors in other natural-gas companies, which the Natural Gas Act is designed to protect, passed a resolution opposing any action of Congress to nullify the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that independent producers of natural gas for sale in interstate commerce are subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

A certified copy of the resolution of the City Council of Chicago is herewith transmitted.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH F. GROSSMAN,
Special Assistant Corporation Counsel.

RESOLUTION ON EXEMPTION OF INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS OF NATURAL GAS FROM REGULATION BY FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Whereas more than 1 million homes in Chicago are dependent upon a supply of natural gas from the Peoples Gas System for cooking, and many of them for other domestic uses, such as water heating, refrigeration and space heating; and

Whereas the Peoples Gas System is an integrated system of interstate natural gas companies and the People Gas Light & Coke Co. the sole distributor of gas in the city of Chicago and said system is dependent in great measure upon a supply of gas purchased from so-called independent natural gas producers who have heretofore been free to sell their gas at prices affected by competition between natural gas pipeline companies seeking a supply of natural gas to satisfy their respective customer demands; and

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has recently determined in the case of *Phillips Petroleum Co.* v. *Wisconsin*, that independent producers are natural gas companies within the purview of the Natural Gas Act and are subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission to prevent unjust, unreasonable and discriminatory prices for natural gas produced and sold in interstate commerce; and

Whereas the oil and gas interests in the United States have initiated a nationwide campaign through the press and other media for enactment of legislation by the Congress of the United States to exempt producers of natural gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission so that they may exact from those who supply gas for ultimate consumption in the homes of Chicago and elsewhere the highest price obtainable by the incidence of competition among the pipelines for their sources of supply; and

Whereas such competition and competitive prices will rapidly increase the cost of gas for domestic uses in Chicago and elsewhere and will inevitably increase such cost as to restrict the normal use of gas necessary for the health and comfort of residents of Chicago: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States be fully informed of the consequences of such legislation and that the corporation counsel be and he is hereby directed to use all proper means, and to make such representations to the Congress of the United States, to prevent the enactment of legislation exempting producers of natural gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
County of Cook, ss:

I, Ludwig D. Schreiber, city clerk of the city of Chicago, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of that certain resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Chicago at a regular meeting held Wednesday, the 26th day of January, A. D. 1955.

Witness my hand and the corporate seal of the said city of Chicago this 16th day of February A. D. 1955.

LUDWIG D. SCHREIBER, *City Clerk.*

Another Attempt To Grant the "Item Veto"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I believe the time has come for the Congress to act with regard to giving the President "item veto" power and for that reason I have reintroduced my bill, H. R. 561, on the subject in this Congress.

The following article written by Arthur Krock, which appeared in the New York Times of March 4, 1955, is deserving of our attention:

IN THE NATION—ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO GRANT THE ITEM VETO

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, March 3.—Senator BYRD, of Virginia, has revived the old effort to give authority to the President to disapprove particular items in revenue bills instead of, as now, being obliged to veto or approve them in toto. He has proposed an entirely new formula which may find favor for the general objective which hitherto it has lacked.

Previously the plan advanced was to write into the Constitution unrestricted item veto power for the President. Under the BYRD proposal Congress is authorized to grant or withhold it in any appropriation bill it passes. Congress could specify the sections open to separate veto, maintaining the same right to override a Presidential veto of items as it now has with respect to measures as a whole. If the BYRD amendment were now a part of the Constitution such riders as the RAYBURN $20-per-head tax deduction on the bill to extend corporate and excise tax rates would be within the President's veto power. So would be the more frequent type of riders that, in contrast to the RAYBURN proposal passed by the House, are not even faintly germane.

The item veto authority over appropriation bills is already possessed by the Governors of three-fourths of the States. Several Governors have the alternative power of reducing an item. In some States they can veto items in legislation of any kind. To Senator Vandenberg, who was an advocate of this Federal reform, President Roosevelt wrote, September 24, 1937: "During my 4 years as Governor of New York I came to the conclusion that the right to veto items in general appropriation acts met with general favor on the part of the legislature and the public."

TWO ROOSEVELTS AND DOUGLAS

He was replying to a letter in which Vandenberg made this observation:

"Legislative riders on tax and appropriation bills * * * rob the Executive of legitimate and essential freedom of action in dealing with this legislation. * * * I do not see how there can be effective Executive action upon an appropriation bill unless it can be considered by the President in its separate factors."

President Roosevelt replied that Congress already had the machinery to suppress "the evil of intermingling wise and unwise expenditures, or tax provisions * * * like that of riders," and "if there were a public opinion * * * strong enough to carry a constitu-

tional amendment [to the purpose] it ought to be reflected in the action of Congress." But in 1953 his son, Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., came out for direct action. On May 14 he served notice that, each time an appropriation bill was before the House, he would propose item veto authority for the President. He quoted Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, as estimating that the lack of this authority costs "about $4 billion a year of the taxpayers' money."

The Roosevelt, Jr., motion was ruled out of order by the Chair on the ground that it sought to impose legislation on an appropriation bill. That ruling made it additionally clear that an amendment to the Constitution was required for the purpose. But all amendment texts proved vulnerable to the charge that they would dangerously expand the Executive province, enable him to reward and punish areas and individuals politically, and remove from Congress one of the vital checks and balances derived from the Constitution. By his new formula Senator BYRD hopes to blunt the edge of that point by minimizing its cause.

THE CRITICS ANSWERED

Other objections have been raised which, with BYRD's answers, follow:

A constitutional amendment is dangerous because, if a President abused the perogative granted, the harm would be done before the amendment could be repealed. (Answer) Since the item veto authority under the Byrd amendment would be granted by statute, it could be as quickly suspended or repealed, and by joint resolution, which is not subject to Presidential veto.

An amendment text, even with the above safeguard, could probably not be made acceptable to Congress. This is because amendments must be brief, and that precludes the essential definitions of terms like "items" and "provisions." (Answer) The Byrd text leaves all these definitions to Congress; also the occasions when they are to be applied.

"The Federal budget has been in the red 29 out of 26 years," said BYRD in support of his plan. "The Federal debt is at its peacetime peak of $280 billions. Contingent debt of the Federal Government is approximately $250 billions. * * * A balanced budget is not in sight. This is a device to attain constructive and responsible economy * * * and I believe it to be properly safeguarded in the form I have presented."

Constitutional amendments must travel a rugged, uphill path before they can be obtain the two-thirds of Congress required to submit them to the States and the subsequent approval of two-thirds legislative majorities in three-fourths of the States. But not many of Democratic origin can claim the support of so rare a party alliance as that of Byrd, Douglas, and Roosevelt, Jr.

Resolution of the General Assembly of North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of a joint resolution recently adopted by the General Assembly of North Carolina, as certified to me by the Honorable Thad Eure, secretary of state for North Carolina.

The joint resolution follows:

Joint resolution petitioning the President and the Congress of the United States not to adopt tariff policies destructive of the domestic textile industry by failure to recognize difference in cost of manufacture by foreign industry compared with American industry

Whereas the present conditions of uncertainty in world affairs demand that in the interest of self-preservation our Nation maintain all of its potential capacity; and

Whereas the low living standards of certain foreign countries provide textile manufacturers in those countries with an unfair advantage which may be destructive of that part of this Nation's industrial capacity now made up of textile industries unless there is a tariff structure which acts to offset this unfair advantage; and

Whereas more than one-fourth of the Nation's spindles are operated in North Carolina to process 28 percent of the Nation's cotton consumption; and

Whereas, of the 450,000 industrial workers in the State, more than one-half, or 228,000, find employment in textile plants, the industry's annual wage bill in North Carolina ranging between $550 million and $600 million; and

Whereas the welfare of such industrial workers and their families would be adversely affected if tariffs on textile goods should be further reduced; and

Whereas, in the interest of protecting the Nation's total industrial capacity, North Carolina's textile industry should not be weakened or forced to lower its manufacturing potential; and

Whereas the lower tariffs on textiles become, the easier it is for foreign countries to ship their products to this country and with each increase in the textile production of foreign countries a part of the American industry's foreign market is destroyed: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives, the senate concurring—

SECTION 1. That in the administration of tariff policy and in the enactment of legislation relating thereto, procedures be established which will provide protection for the American textile industry.

SEC. 2. Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the two Members of the United States Senate and to each of the Members of the House of Representatives from North Carolina.

SEC. 3. That this resolution shall be in force from and after its ratification.

In the general assembly read three times and ratified, this the 2d day of March 1955.

L. E. BARNHARDT,
President of the Senate.
LARRY I. MOORE, Jr.,
Speaker of the House of Representtives.

Imports of Residual Fuel Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to include for the information of my colleagues a resolution recently approved by the West Virginia State Legislature dealing with our proposed new and enlarged trade program.

The unrestricted imports of residual fuel oil has so raided our coal markets that the economy of our State is in a very sad plight. Approval of H. R. 1, now before the Congress will complete the devastation of our once stable economy.

The resolution follows:

House Resolution 25

Memoralizing Congress to protect the coal industry and the economic status of the employees therein by restricting the importation of foreign residual oil

Whereas the importation of foreign residual oil has stifled the market for the sale of coal; and

Whereas the curtailment of the sale of coal, resulting directly from the unrestricted importation of foreign residual oil, has, and is reducing the living standards of the people of the State of West Virginia and is resulting in untold hardships and needless unemployment to the coal miners in the State of West Virginia; and

Whereas this importation of foreign residual oil has resulted in a tremendous loss of State revenues to the extent that the State government has been hampered in providing essential services to the people of West Virginia: Therefore be it

Resolved by the house of delegates, That the Members of West Virginia serving in Congress exert their best efforts in opposing the importation of foreign residual oil into the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That the clerk of the house of delegates forward attested copies of this resolution to the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Members of Congress now serving from West Virginia.

I, C. A. Blankenship, clerk of the house of delegates, hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted by the said house of delegates on the 7th day of March 1955.

Given under my hand this the 8th day of March 1955.

C. A. BLANKENSHIP,
Clerk, House of Delegates.

Foreign Traders Association of Philadelphia Favors Deepening of Delaware River Channel and Opposes Recommendation That Local Interests Contribute to the Cost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, there is widespread interest in the deepening of the Delaware River as an international highway for commerce. However, the opposition to the recommendation that local interests contribute to the cost of deepening the channel is equally great.

As part of my remarks I herewith include a copy of a resolution adopted by the Foreign Traders Association of Philadelphia, Inc. This resolution was adopted unanimously by its members at a meeting held on February 28. The association now has 434 members who are actively engaged in international com-

merce and, therefore, are vitally concerned with the adequacy of shipping. The resolution to which I have referred reads as follows:

In consideration of the importance of the Delaware River as a vital factor in the national security and mainenance of a strong economy, the Foreign Traders Association of Philadelphia, Inc. hereby puts itself on record as opposing the recommendation that local interests contribute to the construction and recommended improvements of the channel in the Delaware River between the Philadelphia Naval Base and Newbold Island.

Brownell Alibis Grain Scandal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am directing the attention of our colleagues to the following article by Drew Pearson which appeared in his column The Washington Merry-Go-Round in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 10, 1955:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND—BROWNELL ALIBIS GRAIN SCANDAL

(By Drew Pearson)

Attorney General Brownell went out of his way at a press conference last week to try to alibi the dismissal of five Galveston grain scandal indictments just before they were to go to trial and shortly after Governor Shivers, of Texas, had lunched with President Eisenhower.

Brownell even brought his chief of the criminal division, Warren Olney, a competent public servant who did a good job as counsel of the California Crime Commission, to the conference. Together they claimed they were short of evidence and that one Government witness had reversed himself.

This did not, however, satisfy some of the Senators, most of them Republican, who investigated the shocking Galveston grain scandal 2 years ago and who gathered enough evidence to indict several of the grain dealers plus E. H. Thornton, Sr., the father of Gov. Allan Shivers' commissioner of highways who was Shivers' roommate in college and manager of his reelection campaign last summer.

"I would have thought it was a matter for the jury to decide," commented Senator ED THYE, Minnesota Republican. "The dismissal just doesn't look good."

Senator MILTON YOUNG, North Dakota Republican, also expressed dissatisfaction.

"How can American wheat farmers expect to sell abroad in competition with Canada," he said, "when Canada maintains strict inspection of its wheat exports while American wheat is sent to ports like Galveston where it's mixed with hog feed and milo maize, then sent abroad as supposedly top-grade American wheat?

"The American farmer does not know his wheat is being mixed with hog feed and he's the one in the long run who suffers."

SWISS REFUSE DELIVERY

Senator YOUNG referred to the fact that two shiploads of the impure Galveston wheat had been sold to the Swiss who refused to take delivery. Several shiploads were also sent to the West German Republic, a country we are trying to keep friendly to the West. They, however, accepted the wheat and used it even though later found to be "unfit for human consumption."

"That's the kind of reputation our wheat is getting abroad," Senator YOUNG commented.

He also referred to the fact that the Bunge Corp., an Argentine firm, made it a regular practice to ship its wheat to Galveston where it had a friendly arrangement with the Galveston City grain elevators, of which E. H. Thornton was manager, to mix its poor wheat with good-grade United States Government wheat right under the eyes of the United States inspector.

Thornton brazenly admitted to investigating Senators that he gave orders to slug the ships as much as possible, that is, mix offgrade wheat with the good. He told how ships selected to be slugged were loaded at night when it was difficult for the inspector and the sampler to see what was happening.

"It's 100 feet from one hatch to another," Thornton testified. "He has to walk that 100 feet, and these ships we might have selected to slug would start at night, and he can't walk from one hatch to another in 10 minutes. He went on to explain that the sampler had to climb up and down hatches.

THE AMAZING BROWNELL

The most amazing thing about Attorney General Brownell's alibi for dismissing these indictments was that the Senate Agricultural Subcommittee had already developed all the evidence a prosecuting attorney would appear to need to take the case to court.

In page after page of the Senate hearings are frank statements of graft and wrongdoing—how the damaged Canadian wheat was imported through Duluth at less than regular duty because it was supposed to be hog feed, how it was carefully shipped to the friendly and cooperative Galveston docks, how it was mixed with good Government wheat and how the Bunge Corp. then collected subsidy payments from Uncle Sam. It's all spelled out in the Senate hearings.

Furthermore, though the Justice Department alibied that there was no evidence any Galveston dock officials profited from the transaction, this is directly contrary to the facts.

At Galveston, bribes were paid to D. J. Sweeney, assistant superintendent of Elevator B, totaling $5,500 during the same 3 years that the Canadian hog feed was secretly mixed and loaded. The bribes were paid by S. P. Perich, vice president of the Stone Forwarding Co., which handled all shipments for the Bunge Corp.

BRIBERY IS COMMON

Senator YOUNG unearthed the fact that bribery—called "Christmas presents"—was a common custom in loading grain.

"You wouldn't call $5,500 a bribe?" asked the incredulous Senator YOUNG of Mr. Perich.

"No, sir," replied Perich, "not compared to what we paid our other employees."

"But he was an employee in a public warehouse," remonstrated YOUNG.

"He was harbor master, employed by Galveston wharves," Perich admitted.

"But they are a public institution, aren't they?"

"I guess so."

"When you pay a public official $1,000 or $2,000, you think it's not bribery?" pursued Senator YOUNG.

"I don't think to give a man a Christmas present is bribery."

"I would say it's bribery, pure and simple," concluded the Senator.

However, the Justice Department apparently agreed with Perich, not with the Senator from North Dakota. They dismissed the indictments.

In Houston, however, they did not dismiss. There, the same agents for the Bunge Corp. bribed William Fellrath, superintendent of the Houston public elevator, a total of $15,299. In this case, the Justice Department went to trial and secured convictions.

Democratic Support for Ike a Myth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of political capital has been claimed by both parties regarding support or nonsupport of President Eisenhower and his program. The following article recently appeared in the Los Angeles Times in which columnist Holmes Alexander details his belief that congressional support of President Eisenhower by the Democratic Party, as distinguished from members of one wing of the party, and, of course, millions of individual Democrats not in Congress, is a myth:

DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT FOR IKE SEEMS ILLUSORY

(By Holmes Alexander)

President Eisenhower's vocabulary as an old soldier is coming in handy again—especially the big, big D. He finds it most expressive in discussing double-dealing Democrats.

One White House visitor describes the President's peeve over the Democratic $20 kickback tax as a trigger which has set off a long-delayed chain reaction.

Today when Mr. Eisenhower mentions the rabble-rousing tax tease, authored by his beloved friend, Speaker RAYBURN, the subject leads to deep-buried resentment on other matters.

One of these is the Democratic Party line concerning the proposed cutback in military personnel. Standard criticism by Democrats is that the President is risking his country's life in order to save money.

This charge is a flagrant slur upon something Dwight Eisenhower holds dear—his love of country, as well as upon the only capacity in which he ever claims expert knowledge—his military judgment.

Another smoldering resentment now nearing its blow-up temperature has to do with the sneer campaign against the Dixon-Yates agreement. This contract with a group of private companies to produce electricity for the Atomic Energy Commission has been debated and examined in Congress, by the Securities and Exchange Commission, by numerous public and private fiscal groups.

Every examination without exception has ended in a clean bill of health. But the contract is admittedly and necessarily complicated. The average citizen cannot follow it despite many open-forum discussions by AEC officials and by Messrs. Dixon and Yates themselves.

Democratic mischiefmakers continue to exploit this confusion. They insinuate against President Eisenhower's personal honesty in the matter. Ike is burned up.

The old infantryman's sulfurous anger is not without some political reaction that is just becoming discernible.

It is a reaction which seems to be moving the President from the periphery toward the center of his own party. One GOP leader who has perceived this shift is Senator STYLES BRIDGES, chairman of the GOP policy committee.

For the first time since the death of Senator Taft, Mr. Eisenhower is in a position where he must turn to the Old Guard Republicans for support of his program.

This is conspicuously true on the Armed Forces cutback proposal with its touch upon Ike's emotions as well as his self-respect as a professional soldier.

Without votes of confidence from Old Guard Senators, and specifically without

the active aid of Senator BRIDGES in the policy committee and elsewhere, the President's military bill will be trampled down by Democrats claiming to save the country.

It hasn't been—and can't be—explained how they expect to do so with an additional 500,000 men under arms against an estimated 60 million Russo-Chinese Reds. Only H-bomb supremacy can win or prevent world war III.

One of the day's persistent fallacies is the theory that President Eisenhower's program owes its life to Democratic support. Actually, Democrats in Congress vote for Ike when he offers Democratic measures and against him when he offers Republican measures.

It's as simple as that if you're watching it happen. But the claim that Ike's middle-road program has been mainly supported by Democrats can also be statistically disproved.

Last year the Citizens for Eisenhower, a multipartisan outfit, surveyed the 83d Congress for Ike backers. Taking the Senate and House committee chairmen and the ranking minority members, the citizens made an Eisenhower who's who. It contains percentages of Presidential support in the last Congress. Here are some pertinent samples:

On the Agriculture Committees, Republicans AIKEN (94 percent) and HOPE (87 percent) outshone Democrats ELLENDER (40 percent) and COOLEY (41 percent). On the Armed Services Committees, Republicans SALTONSTALL (94 percent) and SHORT (48 percent) gave Ike better support than Democrats RUSSELL (20 percent) and VINSON (43 percent).

On the money-raising committees, Republicans MILLIKIN (94 percent) and REED (71 percent) succeeded in helping Ike over the opposition of Democrats BYRD (45 percent) and COOPER (51 percent).

Even Senator MCCARTHY (45 percent) was a better Ike backer than his opposite number, Senator MCCLELLAN (21 percent).

And Senator BRIDGES, GOP policy chairman, was an 85-percent Ike backer, while Senator HAYDEN, holding the same post in the other party, was a 60-percent Ike backer.

It may be news, even to Mr. Eisenhower, that his own party is much closer to the middle road than the Democrats. And certainly it's good news now that the President needs to know where his friends are.

The American-Flag Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include a letter I have received from the national merchant marine committee of the national security commission, the American Legion, and an editorial regarding the American-flag merchant marine:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
NATIONAL MERCHANT MARINE COMMITTEE.
Hon. MELVIN PRICE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRICE: The American Legion, as you may know, has actively lent its support for many yearrs to a strong American-flag merchant marine. In line with this policy we backed the Butler-Tollefson Cargo Preference Act to the limit of our ability. Therefore, we consider that it is appropriate to call your attention to the attached editorial from the New York Journal-American which describes a current and serious attack on our merchant marine from a foreign source.

In commending the Congress of the United States for putting the 50–50 act on our statute books we wish to restate our opinion that the act is important to our Nation's security and a keystone of a strong American merchant marine policy.

Sincerely,

HENRY PARKE,
Chairman.

[From the New York Journal-American of February 4, 1955]

PROPAGANDA

Since 1936 this country has paid subsidies to American shipping interests in order to have an American merchant marine to carry a fair portion of our maritime commerce and to serve as an auxiliary to the Armed Forces in time of war.

In World War I, we had to spend billions of dollars to build ships. Then the costly process had to be repeated in World War II because of our own negligence. Experience has plainly demonstrated that the ship-subsidy plan is both cheaper and safer.

Now, it appears, Great Britain has a scheme to divert American subsidies to the support of the British merchant marine, which competes with ours.

Under the foreign-aid program, Congress requires that part of the goods we give away be carried overseas in American vessels. Our Government, of course, pays the cargo charges as well as the cost of the goods. And lately the Government has been giving away $700 million worth of farm products as a means of reducing $7 billion worth of surpluses accumulated through the agricultural price-subsidy plan.

We read, however, in the London Sunday Despatch that the British Government is refusing large quantities of these free goods because the United States has laid it down that half the goods must be moved in United States ships.

"The United States Government has been told," the report continues, "that unless the rule is altered, the United States economic-aid plan is in danger of breaking down."

Perhaps, in the circumstances indicated, the sensible course would be to let the aid plan break down and save our money. We certainly cannot afford to let our merchant marine be broken down by subsidized foreign competition—much less ourselves pay part of the foreign subsidy.

Slovak Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today is the national independence day celebrated by the Slovak people throughout the world. For 10 years their traditions and ideals, firmly dedicated to a heritage very like our own, have been kept alive beneath the cruel oppression of Soviet occupation. Let us joint in acknowledging their brave resistance. Let us send them words of hope and cheer. And let us reaffirm our high resolve to help them win freedom and independence once again.

International Air Carriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, problems confronting our United States flag international air carriers become more complex day by day. We who are fortunate enough to be members of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee have historically concerned ourselves with keeping our international carriers in a fairly competitive position.

Apparently there is now great concern over our route to the Orient trade centers out of Seattle.

Apparently, also, there has developed a great controversy over whether Northwest Airlines should enjoy an exclusive operation to Japan and beyond via the Great Circle route or whether, in the interest of free enterprise, Pan American World Airways should not be allowed to compete with Northwest over this increasingly important route.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial from the Chicago Daily News of February 22, 1955, covering this vital issue:

MUDDLED AIRLINE PICTURE

When the railroads were built, their routes were fixed and the tracks laid, and that was that. It is not so with the air carriers. Competition between the great airline systems for routes and markets is intense. The taxpayers have a considerable stake in this contest, because of the subsidies paid to the airlines in consideration of the fact that they may become overnight an arm of our national defense.

President Eisenhower himself intervened recently in one of these disputes that carried some special interest to Chicago. After first ruling otherwise, he ordered that Northwest Airlines be permitted to continue flying a Seattle-to-Hawaii route, although Hawaii is served by United and by Pan American World Airways.

In his explanation, Mr. Eisenhower said his intention had been to reduce subsidy payments by assigning the route to the carrier requiring the least aid. He found, however, that it was expected that both Pacific runs would be able to operate without subsidy within 2 years.

Since Northwest and United enter Chicago, the decision means that the present services to Honolulu from this city will continue. The President said he desired to give both Pan American and Northwest "equal opportunity to demonstrate their capacity to develop adequate traffic to operate without subsidy."

That sounds fair enough. But, curiously, the same reasoning does not seem to be applied to Pan American's request to be allowed to operate the great circle route between the west coast and the Orient. This is the north to the Orient route that General Lindbergh surveyed in 1931, but which could not be used until after the war because the Japanese were unwilling to permit American craft over their cities.

Pan American is confined to the mid-Pacific route, stopping at Hawaii, Wake, and Guam. This adds 1,847 miles to the flight from Chicago to the Orient, which is the direct destination of 80 percent of Pan Am's passengers. It also costs the Government

an extra million a year for GI mail allocated to Pan American to take this circuitous route.

Northwest and Canadian Pacific fly the shorter great circle route; a Japanese and a Scandinavian line are preparing to do the same. It seems strange that the pioneer Pacific carrier should be handicapped in violation of the principle of equal opportunity laid down in the Seattle-Hawaii case.

Importance of Small Mines in Supplying Critical Metals for National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN WELKER
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, further in support of the contention of many Senators that the continued operation of small mines is vital to our defense and our economy, I have before me an article published in the March 3, 1955, issue of the Idaho Voter, which is a reprint of an article written by Betty Butler and published in the Sunday magazine section of the Spokane (Wash.) Spokesman-Review of recent date. The article is entitled "Idaho Cobalt Mine Gives United States Assurance of Critical Metal." I think it is deserving of the attention of my colleagues in the Senate. All too often we forget the importance of the mining industry in our national defense program. A great deal has been said about our dependence on other countries for strategic metals. In view of those statements it is interesting to note that a small town, population 800, in my State of Idaho, 40 miles from the highway, and 107 miles from the nearest railroad, is the leading and very nearly the only hope the United States has of ever becoming self-sufficient in the production of cobalt.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IDAHO COBALT MINE GIVES UNITED STATES ASSURANCE OF CRITICAL METAL—BLACKBIRD MINE HAS LONG AND EVENTFUL HISTORY PRIOR TO ITS PRESENT IMPORTANT PLACE IN MAKING NATION SELF-SUFFICIENT IN STRATEGIC REQUIREMENTS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following is a condensation of an article by Betty Butler, from the Sunday magazine section of the Spokane Spokesman-Review.)

The leading, and very nearly the only, hope the United States possesses of ever becoming self-sufficient in 1 of the world's most strategic metals lies in a little community of about 800 persons, 107 miles from the nearest railroad and nearly 40 miles from a surfaced highway, in the rugged wilderness of the Salmon River Mountains in central Idaho.

The community, and the mine and mill which brought it into existence, aren't even on many road maps of Idaho. But the name of the town—Cobalt—tells the story of why it figures so largely in the plans of American scientists, industrialists and military planners.

Cobalt as a mineral has been known and used in limited amounts ever since the Egyptians colored their pottery with it centuries ago. But it was technological developments of the 20th century that made the element necessary to an adequate defense program and in many phases of industrial progress.

As an alloy, cobalt helps give jet engines the toughness to withstand the terrific heat developed in flight. The material made from tungsten carbide with cobalt as the binder is so hard it is referred to as a diamond substitute, used for high-speed cutting tools and mining drills.

The Belgian Congo produces three-fourths of the world's supply of cobalt, and Canada produces about 15 percent as a byproduct from a number of complex ores. Idaho's Blackbird mine near Cobalt, owned and operated by the Calera Mining Co., is the leading known source of cobalt in the United States.

BLACKBIRD MINE OLD

Though its national importance is new, the Blackbird is not a new mine. In its miles of tunnels and shafts lie 60 years of frustration, broken hopes, and tragedy. The mineral deposits of the district have been known since the days of Leesburg, where discovery of gold in 1866 brought the first permanent settlers into Lemhi County. Well over $16 million in gold was taken from Leesburg before it was left a crumbling ghost town, but the Blackbird, only a few miles away, yielded little in free gold and was bypassed in the placer-mining rush.

The presence of cobalt was known to these early operators, but there was little demand for it then and it was considered a detriment to the smelting process. But in 1915 Elwood Haynes, one of the founders of America's automobile industry, became interested in the mine as a source of cobalt for an alloy to be used in machining engine blocks. The Haynes Stellite Co. mined in the district between 1917 and 1920, milling about 4,000 tons of ore, but milling difficulties and high transportation costs finally closed the operation.

SIMS BUY MINE

The Uncle Sam Mining Co., principally interested in producing copper and gold, had a try at the Blackbird in 1938. The company leased property from James G. and J. Howard Sims of Salmon, who had picked up the claims at a tax sale, and erected a 75-ton flotation mill. (J. Howard Sims is presently Idaho State senator from Lemhi County.) But the 8,000-foot-high passes, deep canyons, and precipitous cliffs of the Salmon River mountains for the third time won the battle, and the Uncle Sam Co. gave up in defeat.

In 1942 the United States Geological Survey and the United States Bureau of Mines started investigation of the district in a wartime search for strategic minerals. The Calera Mining Co., a subsidiary of Howe Sound Co. of New York, took an option on the Sims property in August 1943 and began underground exploratory work in 1945. Extensive exploratory work since has revealed a large deposit of cobalt, occurring in a 30-square-mile area, which is expected to yield cobalt and copper profitably for many years.

Work on the flotation mill, which sprawls halfway up a steep ridge on the south side of Blackbird Creek, began in 1951, but was hardly well under way when the Government requested Calera to increase it from the planned 600-ton capacity to 1,000 tons. Cobalt was vitally needed in the defense buildup.

MODERN MINING CAMP

Now, with the milling process completed, one of the difficulties that doomed earlier cobalt operations has been overcome—but the other still remains. Forty-seven miles of twisting, narrow, graveled mountain road across Morgan Creek Pass lie between the Blackbird and the oiled highway (U. S. 93) north of Challis.

Most supplies for the mine and mill and for the town of Cobalt are trucked in from Salmon, 42 miles away, over a 1-way road hacked out of the mountainsides, full of chuck holes and rocks.

But Cobalt people suffer little from isolation. The town's 800 citizens, including about 200 families with 300 children, live in 55 privately built homes, 75 Government housing units, 25 houses and apartments for staff members, and 3 55-unit dormitories for single men. There is also a trailer camp and a hotel.

What the Bill of Rights Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I call to the attention of the House the fact that a 17-year-old girl from my home city of Richmond, Va., recently won first prize in a national essay contest on What the Bill of Rights Means to Me, sponsored by the National Association of Real Estate Boards. This fine high-school student, who has brought such honor to our city and State, is Miss Ann Turner. Her essay, judged the best from over 10,000 submitted by high-school students from all over the United States, was translated into 30 languages for international broadcasts, and the Voice of America beamed a recording of her voice, reading her own essay, all over the world on 6 English language programs. I think her inspiring words will grace the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I commend the attention of the Members of the House to her fine essay, which I here present:

WHAT THE BILL OF RIGHTS MEANS TO ME

I am the Bill of Rights. I represent America. I dwell in her churches, her courts, her newspapers. I protect her people. Long ago my way was paved, my destiny established. I hold the rights of all Americans. I am their watchword, their beliefs, their stronghold. So long as I may ring the words of freedom, I am the basis of their lives, and in me rests the law of a Nation.

A gray, towering spire juts into the sky. Chimes ring through the dusk. From all walks of life come peoples to this sanctuary. Therein dwells their God. Hymns fill the world as their voices echo the truths of peace—voices of youth, of the aged, voices of America. I protect them in this sanctuary. Through me they may choose their religion—worship as they please. They may join their fellowman in prayer, and I pray with them, for I am the soul of America.

Before the hushed courtroom sits the judge, the jury. It is their job to decide the fate of a man. Their wisdom and judgment will determine his guilt or innocence. Once a man was not given this chance. Once he was thrust into the dark cells of injustice. No one would hear his plea; no one would believe in him. He became an outcast of humanity. To a man such as this I have brought justice. I have given him the right of trial by jury. He may stand before the world and be heard. He will be judged in all fairness, guilty or not, and I will stand

in his judgment, for I am the justice of America.

On the street corners, in newspaper stands, on doorsteps, lies the truth of a nation. Gigantic presses work continually to publish the word of the people. There is no one who may say what is to be printed and what is not to be. No one may buy the opinion of America, may bargain with her integrity. Daily, thin lines of clear black type bring to every section of this country the news of the world, unbiased. I am a part of every published article and protector of the people's interests. I am their thoughts, for I am the truth of America.

A friend stops his neighbor on the street. An uncensored conversation follows. It may be a discussion of politics, of government, of religion. They talk freely, unafraid of sudden arrest. In many countries of the world a man's speech is not his own. He may not say what he pleases. He may be incriminated for even the slightest word against his government. Consequently he lives in constant fear. His words are locked behind barred doors and whispered only in the most secluded of places. This is not so in our land. I give to each man his right of freedom of speech, for I am the voice of America.

In courts, in churches, in the mouths and minds of America I dwell. My job is the protection of her people. I am their beliefs, their freedom, their future, for I am the Bill of Rights.

Value of Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, in an address he delivered to members of the Alabama Press Association at their annual convention in Huntsville, Ala., January 20–22, 1955, Prof. C. E. Bounds, head of the department of journalism of the University of Alabama, pointed out the relationship of formal education to the earning power of an individual in the United States today.

Now when we are considering Federal aid for schoolhouse construction, I think the contents of Professor Bounds' speech are especially significant.

A portion of his speech follows:

You've heard other speakers on this program speak of the future for this State; of its resources and of its recent industrial attainments and future potential. This hoped-for growth of Alabama depends in great measure on the high quality of our local and State government, and on the high degree of intelligence of our supply of workers to be the personnel in this industrial expansion on the good standard of living which Alabama can offer its people, on the quality of its schools and educational institutions, on all the factors which go to insure good citizenship.

I want to offer you editors one course of action you can follow which will help bring about this brighter and happier Alabama. I suppose I would be a traitor to my two professions—newspapering and teaching—if I didn't categorically state that I believe that the partnership of public information and public education is the greatest single force to bring about a better future for this State. From the very beginning of public education in this country, good citizenship has been its primary aim. As one result of good instruction in his schools, the young citizen is expected to make informed judgments and decisions on the countless questions—political, social, economic—later to confront him, but he must make these decisions and temper his judgment in the realistic light of the current events and situations which make the day's news. And he must gain his knowledge of the news from his newspaper, and thus the newspaper and public education are hand-in-glove partners in forming the pattern of thinking which affects our lives and which will determine our future.

We know, from all economic studies and reports, that higher levels of education always lead to higher standards of living and greater demands for consumer goods. We know that industry expands in areas where an intelligent supply of labor is available. That means higher per-capita retail sales—which means more retail and national advertising. We know, furthermore, that higher educational levels mean a greater demand for current information—which means greater circulation for newspapers. So its money in the cash register for newspaper publishers to have a good public school system in their community, and a high level of educational attainment and school completion.

Let me show you exactly what it means in hard money to you and to your community when we measure income in comparison with schooling. Just last month, December 10, to be exact, the Department of Commerce issued a study of the earning records of three classes of average Americans—those who had a grade school education, but no high schooling; those who stopped their education at the high school level, and those who had a college-level education. The difference in average earnings over the 45 years between ages 20 and 65 is amazing.

The fellow who quits in grade school or immediately thereafter earns less than $1,800 a year average. The high-school graduate doubles this—to $3,600 per year average. The college graduate skyrockets—his average is $6,000. Project these figures to make total earnings and you get the picture of what higher educational levels in your community can mean to the economy of your community—and to the financial success of your own newspaper. The grade schooler has a potential earning power of about $80,000 for 45 years of work; the high schooler earns $165,000; the college graduate earns $268,000.

You can see that it's money in your pocket to have better education in Alabama, yet more than 50 percent of all Alabama children who start the first grade drop out of school before they complete the eighth grade. This year in Alabama we have approximately 450,000 kids in the first 6 grades, about 185,000 in the junior-high level, and only about 75,000 in our high schools. Our college enrollment for the entire State is less than 35,000 and, tragically enough, we spend 14 times as much per capita in the State liquor stores than we pay per capita for higher education.

Put it this way: If you and your newspapers, by forcing local authorities to enforce the State compulsory school-attendance laws, by editorially forcing parents to the realization that their kids should go to school, by instilling in your community the appreciation of the advantages of a better education, by being the leader in any program to build more and better schools—if by these and any other means you can boost the educational level of attainment in your communities by as much as a couple of years additional on the average, you'll come close to doubling the potential per capita income of your community 10 years from now; and if you do that, you'll sell more newspapers, you'll sell more advertising, you'll sell more printing, and you'll make more money. As a dividend to the money, however, you'll gain the satisfaction and the pride of knowing you've made a genuine contribution to the future of your town and your State, and you can't measure that in terms of dollars and cents. You'll know you've lived up to the highest demands of a noble profession; you've given leadership to your public; you've helped make a better future for your fellowman.

God Bless America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, in November of last year, I had the opportunity of attending a veterans' day service at the Jasper, Ala., First Church of the Nazarene. At that time, I heard Rev. Paul J. Stewart, pastor of the church deliver a message on God Bless America, which I thought contained some fundamental truths for our times. I commend the reading of it to the Members of the House. Reverend Stewart's message follows:

GOD BLESS AMERICA

(By Rev. Paul J. Stewart)

"God Bless America" was one of the most popular slogans, mottoes and songs of the Second World War. It swung in our churches, towered from our skyscrapers, decked our college chapels, and adorned our senate houses. It was stamped on emblems and woven into banners, it swept the highways on automobile windshields, soared through the trackless blue on airline transports and plied the seven seas with our merchant marines. "God Bless America," was the most popular song, the most popular slogan, and the most popular prayer of the war.

APPLICABLE TODAY

Today we must pray "God Bless America" to win the peace as much, or more, than we prayed "God Bless America," to win the war. Even though we won the war, if we lose the peace, we will be of most men the most miserable.

It is an indelible and undeniable fact that God has blessed America. The God of eternity, the God of history, the God of infinity holds the destiny of nations in the palm of his hand. The intelligent and benevolent providence of God is clearly and plainly revealed and manifested in that He reserved and preserved a magnificent continent of immeasureable and inexhaustible resources down across the ages until He had a prepared people to possess and populate it.

While Homer sang, Hannibal fought; Rome rose and fell; the mighty Mississippi rolled majestically toward the Gulf of Mexico unseen by civilized and Christianized man. The great Rocky Mountains towered to the sky unknown and unsung. The broad acres of the western prairies were uncultivated and unharvested.

ALABAMA'S COTTONFIELDS

The cottonfields of Alabama, the wheatfields of Kansas, the gold mines of Colorado, the coalfields of Pennsylvania, and the oil wells of Texas were undiscovered and unutilized. This vast, unlimited reservoir of resources was the sole possession of a few

uncouth and untutored savages. This miracle of preservation is nothing short of the gracious purpose of God in reserving an adequate place for God to build a final and ultimate civilization.

At last a prepared people landed on the eastern shores of America. The clock of history on the walls of eternity struck the hour of destiny and a new civilization climbed above the western horizon.

FOUNDATION LAID

From the smouldering empires of Europe across the watery wastes of the trackless deep in 1620 came our Puritan fathers, who believed in an open Bible. They landed in their Mayflower at Plymouth Rock, and there along New England's rockbound shore laid the foundations of the greatest Nation beneath the gleaming sun of day and the glinting stars of night.

American history reads like a romance, sounds like a doxology, and looks like a panorama of bewitching and bewildering glory. What Canaan was to the old world, America is to the new world. The God who led the children of Israel with the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night, has guided and guarded America with His unerring eye and untiring hand. There have been tense and crucial moments in our history—but God has blessed us.

DUAL RELATIONSHIP

In the past America has honored God and God has honored America. The infant Republic was born in prayer. The Constitution was founded in prayer. The Declaration of Independence was signed in prayer. The Ship of State was launched in prayer. "The Bible is the basis of our Constitution, the foundation of our Government, the source of our laws, and the sheet anchor of our liberties." Throughout the length and breadth of the land we find the signature and handwriting of God. His words are written into our state papers, quoted by our statesmen, imprinted on our money, and echo in the songs we sing, the literature we read, and in the aspirations of our people. It is this in the past that has put character into our statesmen, courage into our soldiers, justice into our Government, and conscience into our people. Yes; in the past we honored God and God has honored us.

GOD STILL WITH US

Today God is still blessing and honoring America. America has sinned but the God of compassionate mercy and abounding grace is still protecting and preserving America. One would have to be so blind that he could not see lightning, so deaf that he could not hear thunder and so paralyzed that he could not feel an earthquake to not recognize the blessings of God upon America today.

America is the flour barrel of the economical world, the arsenal of democracy, the greatest military power in the assembly of nations, and the lighthouse of spiritual illumination and salvation for the whole world.

Prior to Pearl Harbor we were smug, complacent, self-satisfied isolationists. We had less than one-half million men in uniform. We were unarmed, unequipped, and unprepared. But Pearl Harbor stabbed us awake. Our easy-going people became the hardest-driving, fastest-moving, and biggest-producing nation in the world.

Twenty-four hours a day, 7 days a week, and 52 weeks a year we had our factories in high gear putting out a streamline production that threw everything the Axis nations ever contemplated into total eclipse. In a matter of months our factories were converted from the production of peacetime commodities to turning out weapons of defense and warfare.

A short time before we were unequipped and unprepared but soon we became the arsenal of democracy, the flour barrel of the economical world and the most efficient, victorious, and invincible Army, Navy, Marines, and Air Force in all the world. We had accomplished in 2 years and less what other nations took 20 years to do.

GOSPEL PROCLAIMED

Before the war, during the war, and after the war, the Gospel of Jesus Christ was proclaimed in our churches throughout the land, to our men in the Armed Forces by chaplains and from battlefront to the fireside American was the lighthouse of illumination and salvation for the whole world.

America is the richest country in all the world. We have enough wood to house the world, enough coal to heat the world, enough corn to feed the world, enough cotton to clothe the world, and enough sugar to sweeten the world.

Thank God for the United States of America.

Benjamin Franklin was dining with a small party of distinguished gentlemen in Paris. One of the group said, "There are three nationalities represented here this evening. I am French, my friend is English, and Mr. Franklin is an American. Let each of us propose a toast." It was agreed to and the Englishman, who was accorded first honors, arose, and in the tone of a Briton bold, said, "Here's to Great Britain, the sun that gives light to all nations of the earth."

The Frenchman was rather taken back at this, but he proposed: "Here's to France, the moon whose magic rays move the tides of the world."

Franklin then arose with the air of quaint modesty, and said: "Here's to our beloved George Washington, the Joshua of America, who commanded the sun and moon to stand still—and they obeyed."

AMERICA IS HOME

The story is told that a soldier boy, battle scarred and homesick, was on a ship returning to America. As the ship glided in he looked up and saw the Statue of Liberty. "Old gal," he said, "I am mighty proud to see you again. But, sister, if you ever expect to see me again you will have to turn around for I never want to leave America one more time."

From our humble, inconspicuous and unpretentious beginnings of 13 struggling colonies today we have the greatest Nation in all the world composed of 48 States, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. All this is beautifully and artistically revealed in the emblem, the symbol, the banner of our Nation—the Star-Spangled Banner—Old Glory as she waves over the land of the free and the home of the brave.

The flag is the one and only symbol that holds this great Republic together. In it every one of the 48 States can see itself in its own particular star. And in the 13 stripes of red and white they all may see the 13 struggling and hard-pressed colonies out of which this mighty Nation came. The starry flag eloquently proclaims the birth, the life and the progress of this, the greatest Republic of all time and of all history.

Betsy Ross, out of a heart of love, liberty, and loyalty stitched and sewed the first American flag. The Stars and Stripes became the symbol of our unity, our honor, our ideals, our aspirations as a nation, a banner of victory, the sum and substance of everything that America stands for.

Thank God for the Stars and Stripes. Sleep on, Betsy Ross, and may your ashes rest in peace beneath the pure, white, gleaming stars that your weary fingers first stitched into the flag.

And you, generals, admirals, captains, lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, sailors, soldiers, marines pilots and gunners who in nearly every land and in all the seven seas have paid the supreme sacrifice of love and devotion to God and country—many of you buried on foreign lands and in foreign seas—we cannot place a flower upon your graves today but we can salute this glorious flag for which you gave your all—for which you fought and bled on land and sea to keep this banner flying.

Let Egypt have its standard; Rome its emblem; England its Union Jack, and Russia its hammer and sickle but for these United States—the Stars and Stripes forever. Let it flat, not only from arsenal and masthead but from tower and steeple, from public edifice, temples of science, private dwellings, and places of worship.

STAND BY OUR FLAG

Let us twine each thread of the glorious tissue of our country's flag about our heart-strings and let us resolve, come weal or woe, we will, in life or in death, now and forever stand by the Stars and Stripes. They have been unfurled from the snows of Canada to the sunkissed plains of New Orleans, from Alaskan Gulf to the Great Lakes; from Mexico to the Canadian border, from the Golden Gate, where the sun retires to bid the world goodnight, to the ice capped mountains of the North, where the northern lights unfold in rainbow flames across the polar skies and kindle bonfires among the clouds.

From sea to shining sea it flings out the starry banner, the flag of hope, the flag of home, the flag of religious freedom, conceived in the womb of a freedom-loving Nation, cradled to the tune of a free democracy, and wedded to the principles and purposes of justice and equity for all.

America, no land in all the world is like thee. No government is built on greater fundamentals, no people born to greater liberty and freedom and no flag in all the earth more glorious.

America was not built upon policy, expediency, and compromise. America was built upon fundamental and imperishable convictions, standards, and principles. As we associate beauty with the Greeks, civil law with the Roman, and ritualism with the Jews, so we associate liberty and freedom with the United States of America.

In 1620 it was a free soul; in 1776 it was a free soil; in 1812 it was a free sea; in 1863 it was a free people; in 1896 it was a free hemisphere; in 1918 it was a free democracy and God grant that it shall forever be the land of the free and the home of the brave.

GUARANTEES LIBERTY

When we think of the millions today in Europe and behind the Iron Curtain, under the tyrannical heel of a cruel dictatorship, we ought to thank God for the American flag and the liberty it guarantees to all the citizens of the United States. We still enjoy in this country the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness.

We still have the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, freedom of press, the priceless privilege of peaceful assembly, and petition for redress of grievances. We have the inestimable right to vote for God, home, and native land. We have religious freedom. We can worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience and no man dare to molest or to make afraid.

If any alien nation should ever capture the United States, it would take away the natural God-given and constitutional rights and privileges of the people. How earnestly all should pray, "Long may our land be bright with freedoms holy light; protect us by thy might, Great God, our King."

America has the greatest system of government in the world. A government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Most places today the accused are guilty until they are proven innocent but the convictions, standards, and principles that make America great emphasize that man is innocent until he is proven guilty.

LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

America is known around the world today as the land of unlimited opportunity. No child in this Nation, who has the ambition is deprived of even a college education. The humblest citizen may rise to the highest position and the poorest man may climb to the highest pinnacle of financial, industrial, and economical success.

Where else in all the world do the doors of the church swing wide open as they do here in the United States of America? Old Rome believed in the church ruling over the state. The figure of speech is that of a big, bossy woman ruling over a little, hen-pecked husband. England swung to the other extreme, the state ruling over the church.

The figure of speech is that of a big, blustering husband towering over a little, frail, nervous wife who is afraid of her shadow. But America has taken the correct middle of the road position on the subject—the separation of church and state, or making the two different institutions friendly next-door neighbors. God never meant for the church and the state to be wedded together in matrimony, and those whom God hath put asunder let no man put together.

God meant for the church and the state to be good next-door neighbors and cooperate together as good neighbors always do. Today in America we can worship God according to the dictates of our conscience without interference, disturbance, or molestation.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

In other lands, if preachers preach the truth, they are thrown in concentration camps or face a firing squad. In the United States, while we preach the truth we have the protection and preservation of the police force and the Government on our side.

Thank God for America.

Many years ago a wise philosopher came to our country seeking the secret of the greatness and genius of America. This was his answer:

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her commodious harbors and her ample rivers, and it was not there.

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her fertile fields and boundless forests, and it was not there.

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her rich mines and her vast world commerce, and it was not there.

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her democratic Congress and her matchless constitution, and it was not there.

"Not until I went into the churches of America and heard her pulpits flame with righteousness did I understand the secret of her genius and power.

"America is great because America is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

ABIDE BY PRINCIPLES

Daniel Webster once declared, "If we abide by the principles taught in the Bible, our country will go on prospering and continue to prosper; but if we and our posterity neglect its instructions and authority, no man can tell how sudden a catastrophe may overwhelm and bury our glory in profound obscurity."

Roger Babson said, "It is the church which has created America, developed our schools, created our homes, built our cities, done everything that is worthwhile in America."

A South American statesman was asked by a citizen of North America for an explanation of the difference between the progress and civilization of North America and that of our neighbor to the south of us. His reply was a classic. "I suppose it is because North America was settled by pilgrims in search of God, while South America was settled by soldiers in search of gold."

OUR ENEMY TODAY

Today we face Red, communistic, bolshevik, anti-God Russia. In the early days of America we were confronted with enemies remarkably similar in principle to those whom we face today. Our ships were attacked by the French fleets; our commerce was virtually cut off; our liberties were threatened by European dictatorship; our peace and security were menaced.

In that emergency President John Adams, second President of the United States, did what we have always done in times of emergency. He enlarged the Army, created a strong Navy, and instituted a firm defense program. But he also went further. He issued a Presidential proclamation requesting "A day of solemn humiliation, fasting, and prayer, that the citizens of these United States, abstaining from their customary worldly occupations, offer their devout addresses to the Father of Mercies."

The Nation fell on its knees and confessed its sins, both national and individual. The record is that war was averted, peace was established, and a long period of prosperity began.

OUR NEEDS TODAY

Today we need guns but we need God more than we need guns; we need cannons but we need Christ more than cannons; we need bombs but we need the Bible more than we need bombs; we need powder but we need prayer more than we need powder; we need tanks but we need truth more than we need tanks; we need grenades but we need the Gospel more than we need grenades; we need atomic bombs but we need the atoning blood of Christ more than we need atomic bombs; we need cash but we need character more than we need cash.

May we so honor God in America today that God will continue to bless America so that our children and grandchildren and their posterity might live in the same kind of an America that we enjoy and appreciate today.

Great Spirit of the Slovak People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the 16th anniversary of Slovakia's independence—a date which Slovaks the world over are observing in their hearts and minds—occurs today. It is fitting that we, in America, pause and reflect on the present plight of Slovaks in their homeland and send a word of encouragement to them to keep alive their yearning for independence and freedom.

Slovakia has lived through many infamous partitions and has endured under the repressive yoke of more than one conqueror through the years. The present illegal occupation of this nation—no matter how severe, inhuman, and diabolically anti-Christ we know it to be—cannot snuff out forever the great national spirit of the Slovak people.

From the early 6th century to this very moment, history has recorded the glorious story of this heroic and principled nation. The integrity and courage of the people of Slovakia shall win for them, in time, that independent existence now denied them. May their stanch hearts live for the day when their beloved nation joins, again, the free nations of the world.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Preparations for Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Robert B. Anderson, Deputy Secretary of Defense, in Oklahoma City, Okla., on the occasion of the 50th or golden anniversary of the Oklahoma City Rotary Club. It is an address that is worthy of careful attention, since it spells out our defense needs and our policy for keeping America in readiness to combat Communist aggression.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am happy and, indeed, proud to be with you as you celebrate Rotary International's golden anniversary. You have a great deal to celebrate. In 50 years you have grown from meager beginnings to a membership of 402,000 in 8,500 clubs the world over. You count some of the most illustrious persons now living among your number—kings and statesmen, scientists and industrialists, artists and explorers, bankers and educators, agriculturalists and oilmen, our neighbor, and the man across town.

Your presence in 89 countries throughout the world is a living testament to the unity of the human brotherhood and the essential alikeness of human beings everywhere. The high standard of ethics which is traditional with Rotary and Rotarians is a shining example of what can be done when men are serious about extending their religious principles into their business affairs. You have done a great deal to make the world a better place to live in these past 50 years and you may look forward during the next half century to the opportunity of doing a great deal more, for the world needs Rotary and what it represents—the gentle civilizing action of moral goodness at the level of business and politics and the continuing demonstration that there are everywhere forces which tend to draw men together, uniting them in brotherhood and fellowship regardless of language or color or nation or creed. So I say to you, in the fullness of my heart, "Congratulations on 50 wonderful years of progress and achievement. May you prosper and grow in the service of our country and of all mankind."

The span of your 50 years has covered one of the most momentous periods in human history. It has been a period which recorded some of the most profound changes in our world, and in America's position in it. It is no longer the comfortable secure old world of the century's dawning—the gay splendid world of the Edwardians, the confident world of Edison and Carnegie, of Theodore Roosevelt and the elder Morgan. It is a more mature world, and we may hope, a wiser one. In many ways it is a better world.

But most importantly to Americans, it is a world in which our Nation has succeeded to a central role in international affairs. We are affected, closely or remotely, by almost every significant event which occurs anywhere in the earth. The "annihilation of distance" as Toynbee expresses it, has sharply narrowed the wide spaces which once separated us from the rest of the world. The monopoly of power once held by Western Europe has been destroyed, and with it many of the relationships which meant political stability to the world's people.

A billion people have been added to the earth in the past 50 years, and perhaps twice that number may be added in the next 50. An advanced technology, available both to the evil and to the good, makes it very nearly possible for man to destroy the culture which he has so laboriously extracted from 15,000 years of experience. And through all these massive changes and upheavals in human affairs there runs the sinister counterpoint of the Communist philosophy and program—a missionary secular doctrine, dedicated to our destruction.

As a result, we in America find ourselves intimately concerned not merely with the physical and military defense of our territory, but also with the defense of the political, economic, and social institutions which are the very stuff of our democracy. The menace is about as near to being total as we have ever seen. It is physical, it is moral. It is military, political, economic, and psychological. It is external and it is internal. It is immediate, and it is continuous.

The dilemma of our times lies in the fact that in order to preserve the essential elements of our society, we must stand ready to meet a military threat, and we must do it in a way which will assure the survival of the values we have moved to defend. It is small consolation to us if our military efforts are so great as to bring down upon us some odious form or police state; yet unless our military preparations are reasonably adequate, nothing else we do may count for anything.

Militarily, we must maintain a capability for several kinds of separate, but related action. We must maintain a powerful retaliatory force, primarily to prevent the outbreak of war, but capable of overwhelming an enemy should he strike. We must have an effective continental defense system.

We must have flexible, mobile ground, sea, and air forces which can be used in a variety of situations and a variety of places in potential trouble spots in many parts of the world while free people are endangered by Communist aggression. We must maintain a powerful Reserve and an adequate production base capable of being mobilized rapidly to whatever degree may be required by the circumstances of any future emergency.

In the nature of the case we have to maintain these capabilities without the advantage of knowing precisely when, how, or in what measure they may be required, if at all. The time, place, and circumstances of physical aggression are largely matters of choice for the aggressor, not the peaceable nation. Since we are thus limited, it means that we must undertake the discharge of our responsibilities for defense within certain limits of what it is possible for our Nation to sustain on a continuing basis—politically, economically, and above all morally.

We cannot expect to run the mile as if it were a hundred-yard dash. What we are capable of devoting to our military effort on a sustaining basis is bound to be measurably less than what we might be capable of putting worth over a very few years of all-out effort as the price of immediate physical survival. No nation, not even a dictatorship, can afford to keep itself fully mobilized all the time.

What we are undertaking is a state of partial mobilization, adequate to give a reasonable assurance against the outbreak of both total and limited war, sufficiently advanced to enable us to proceed quickly to whatever mobilization level is justified by the nature of the hostilities we may fail to prevent, and which in the long run will prove tolerable to the institutions of our democratic society.

The nature of this responsibility for our defense is so pervasive and appears in prospect of such long duration, that it must be accepted by all of us as an elementary fact of our contemporary national life. It is an enterprise in which all of us have a part, and in which all bear a certain responsibility.

The processes of war and national defense have ceased to be the concern solely of the small coterie which use to make and prosecute foreign policy—the sovereigns, their diplomats, and their small professional Armed Forces. The past 150 years have witnessed an ever-growing preoccupation with the military means of war to the extent that in times of active hostilities there is scarcely a facet of national life that is not in some way affected. Even now, in a period of nominal peace, 13 percent of our gross national product and 7 percent of our labor force are allocated directly to purposes of national security.

Within the past 5 years we have authorized the expenditure of over $220 billions by the Department of Defense—more than the total expenditures of our Federal Government from the beginning of our Republic until 1943. Last year the Armed Forces consumed 500 million pounds of beef, 250 million pounds of flour, and purchased $1 billion in petroleum products. Throughout the length and breadth of America, our farms, ranches, mines, oil fields, forests, factories, and mills poured out their products in an enormous stream to build the strength we must have if we are to live unmolested in a troubled world.

The roots of our military might are thus deeply imbedded in our national life, and because this is so, we cannot limit our concern with things military merely to the end results of the productive process.

We are concerned that there be adequate funds available for national defense; yet we are also concerned with the long-term effect of heavy taxation and expenditures upon your capacity to undertake new business ventures, your ability to replace and expand your capital assets, the ultimate value of your pension plans and life-insurance benefits, the soundness and solvency of your banks and savings companies.

We want to have powerful and effective standing forces; supplemented by trained and readily available reserves; yet we cannot ignore their profound implications for the lives of your sons and daughters, brothers and sisters. We need great quantities of weapons and equipment, constantly to be replaced by newer and more effective models. Yet every substantial change of pace

in our procurement programs means the hiring and firing of men, the opening and closing of plants, the quickening or slackening of business in the affected communities. These are but a few, but they are typical of the manifold considerations which are constantly before those who bear responsibility for the direction of our defense effort.

Thus it is that we endeavor to avoid a policy of feast or famine in the development of military strength and seek instead a more nearly stabilized problem of ever-increasing strength that we can and will maintain for an unknowable period of time.

Let me assure you that the decisions which are made, and the programs which are adopted to acarry out those decisions, reflect the full consideration of all these factors by some of the wisest and most dedicated people I know, military and civilian. And in all America, there is no man whose experience in these matters is greater, whose judgment is sounder, whose solicitude for the people's welfare is more abiding, than the magnificent soldier-statesman-patriot whose leadership it is our great good fortune to enjoy in these uncertain days—Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Of great importance is the endless march of technology which renders obsolescent the best weapons of a few years before. It is this fact, more than any other, which warns us against procurement programs which overcommit us to the weapons of a particular vintage.

The desperate race for weapons superiority goes on, and sometimes the issue of victory or defeat is decided by the narrowest of margins. One may well speculate upon what our own fortunes in the European theater might have been had the Germans gotten their V-weapons into action 6 months earlier than they did, or had they gotten the Focke-Wulfe jet fighter operationally integrated into the Luftwaffe before our air offensive smothered it by sheer weight of bombs and numbers, or had the snorkel submarine made its appearance in 1943 instead of 1945.

No one need be reminded of the implication of these events for our own day. The appalling consequences of losing the technological race in even a single major weapons system cannot be overestimated, and they argue insistently for the closest kind of attention, not alone of a comparatively few scientists, engineers, factory executives, and military officers, but by all of us.

For it is out of our great commonwealth of skills, knowledge, and understanding in our school, colleges, libraries, laboratories, and factories that all specific applications must be drawn. All of us have a stake in the vitality of that fund. All of us have a responsibility for increasing it, widening its scope, making it more readily accessible to those who would draw upon it and contribute to it. Our success, both in the arts of peace and the arts of war, will be directly proportional to the success with which we are able, through the educational system and process, to provide the most intimate and productive association between this fund of knowledge and those who seek it.

Another area of responsibility in which many of our people are involved directly, is that of military service.

The President and many others of our leaders have stressed the urgent necessity of having a program which would produce a large, well-trained, readily available reserve. Such a program should try to achieve at least five things.

First, since both the active and the reserve forces have their roots in the common ground of the Nation's manpower pool, any Reserve plan must provide sufficient manpower to staff the active forces.

Second, there was the requirement that we build a reserve force that will be effective if and when mobilized.

Third, we should maintain reasonable stability in such matters as induction age levels so as to minimize the difficulties of our young men in planning their lives and their service obligations.

Fourth, we should provide a pool of militarily eligible men so that the program would operate efficiently.

Fifth, we should in some way insure a reasonable equity of service in the defense of our country.

The national Reserve plan presently before the Congress obtains, in my judgment, an effective reconciliation of these factors. It is designed to be practicable, flexible, and equitable, and will provide over the next few years a trained, vital, Ready Reserve of almost 3 million men, and a Standby Reserve of 2 million more. Because as a democracy we depend heavily on citizen soldiers, it is essential that we have an awareness and understanding of the importance of this program to our Nation and particularly to those young men whose lives are so vitally concerned.

This is true of every other aspect of our national defense effort. There is an insistent need for each of us to develop a continuing awareness of his own position in the world, to see how his problems and efforts relate to those of his neighbors, his city, his State, and his Nation. We need to perceive the implications for each of us in the general truth that we can best defend our country by the maximum development of our individual capabilities for useful, productive work.

The engineer, the mechanic, the farmer, the shopkeeper, the lawyer, the teacher—all those who contribute to the success of this marvelous organism called the United States, are each in their own way, helping to advance the cause of freedom in the world. It is of critical importance that each brings to his task the very best of his heart, mind, and hand.

And here, it seems to me, we are getting back to Rotary's motto of "service above self," and to the abiding truth that a free community must be built upon something more substantial than the self-love of its citizens. For the very practical meaning of service above self lies in the fact as each individual voluntarily gives up a portion of his time, his substance, his rights and privileges to his fellow men, the happiness and well-being of all, including his own, are increased thereby.

The key lies in the word "voluntarily." Any form of community life requires a certain amount of order; and to the extent that order is not achieved voluntarily by the self-discipline of its members it will be achieved by the enforced discipline of a central authority. In a responsible free society, there is a minimum of central authority, which means a maximum latitude for the natural creativeness of its individuals to assert itself in making productive and useful things.

Thus in our free society there are these strong motivations of competition, the natural desire to excel, the sense of satisfaction in a job well done, the joy of discovery and creation and constructive effort. In the economic field this has produced a situation in America in which the natural ambitions of people tend to create surpluses, and our problem is how better to utilize and distribute what we have so bountifully produced.

Where the stifling influence of a powerful central authority blights the initiative and creativeness of the people we have not abundance but scarcity. Lacking the stimulus of natural incentives, the bored and spiritless people simply go through the motions of the social and economic processes of community life.

We have recently had the novel experience of seeing the Soviet regime admit to failure—the colossal failure of its agricultural program. Here we have the incredible spectacle of a predominately agricultural nation, with a great expanse of some of the richest soil in the world, being actually unable adequately to feed itself.

Despite all its plans and quotas and exhortations Soviet agriculture remains at about the level it was 25 years ago. Its cattle population is 10 million below what it was in 1928; its pork production has dropped 5 million tons since 1940, and by its own admission the supply of meat, potatoes, and vegetables is unsatisfactory. Throughout the world one can see everywhere the results of the two systems: the success and prosperity of the free nations and the poverty and failure of the Communist bureaucracy.

To a greater or lesser degree these differences are evident in every other field of human endeavor, and they underscore the basic principle that the answers to the common problems of human association should be sought at the most elementary administrative level which permits of a satisfactory solution for all concerned: the town, the precinct, the county, the school district. Still more do they argue the need for the fullest kind of participation of the individual in the everyday process of community life, for the thesis of democracy is that its citizens have the capacity to solve their own problems and to do it better than any paternalistic government could possibly do it for them.

This means that the focus of effort upon a great many things which intimately and directly affect our lives—our moral and religious outlook, the state of our basic education, the competence of our citizenship—must come at the local and individual level: the level at which one person sees and embraces his ultimate responsibility toward his nation, his fellow men, and his God. It is at this level that Rotary has for 50 years concentrated its attention with such great success, and it is at this level that we must continue to work for a world of free and responsible individuals whose useful, happy, abundant lives give increasing proof that "he profits most who serves the best."

Tribute to the Portuguese

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Portuguese Have Added Much Color and Interest to Saga of Cape," and an editorial entitled "Tribute to the Portuguese," both of these having been published in the Provincetown Advocate, of Provincetown, Mass., on March 10.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PORTUGUESE HAVE ADDED MUCH COLOR AND INTEREST TO SAGA OF CAPE

It is hard to find a part of the United States more interesting or more widely known than the sandy fishhook that projects from the Massachusetts coast and is called Cape Cod, writes Raleigh Costa in the Falmouth Enterprise.

Falmouth, like many other towns on the cape is well represented in books such as

Cape Cod, by Kittridge, Old Cape Cod, by Mary Rogers Bangs, and Cape Cod Pilot, by Digges. For the most part, the townspeople as a whole are well informed of Falmouth's past and of early inhabitants of our town. The names Isaac Robbins, Elijah Swift, Weston Jenkins, Ichabod Hatch, Bradford Dimmock, Jonathan Hatch, and Thomas Bowerman are all familiar as early settlers of the town.

There also was another group of settlers, not quite so early as our first, but who now make up quite a large percentage of our townspeople. To the majority little, if any, is known about these people. They are the Portuguese people of the town who inhabit the villages of Teaticket and East Falmouth.

DILIGENCE AND INDUSTRY

Through their diligence and industry they have won for themselves the praise of those who know them. Where today extend in ever increasing dimensions whole fields given over to strawberries and turnips, there existed only a few years ago waste of scrub pine and oak.

Due also to the industry of the Portuguese, Falmouth has taken place as one of the foremost strawberry-growing centers in the entire country, since the production in the last few years has approximated a yield of 1½ million to 2 million quarts of berries each year.

The fields that extend to each side of the State road through the East Falmouth district are models of well cultivated farms. Row after row of plants is seen, yet a tract of land as large so free from weeds would be difficult to find elsewhere.

Most of the people of Portuguese descent feel that the townspeople should at least have a vague idea and understanding of the origin, race, and language of their fellow townsmen.

MIXTURE OF OLD RACES

The Portuguese are a mixed race originally Iberian or Basque with late Celtic admixture. Galician (derived from the ancient Gallaic, presumably Gallic invaders). Jewish and Arabic blood are also strongly present. They are generally sober, good natured, obliging, and patriotic, but shiftless. The Portuguese people are of the white race and their language one of the Romance, formed by the junction of the Latin-speaking Celts with the Teutonic races. Words of Greek, Phoenician, Iberian, Celtic, and Carthaginian origin are found in Portuguese as in Spanish, indicating the relations into which commerce or conquest brought the early inhabitants of the country.

The Portuguese language, by means of colonization and emigration, has been widely spread. It is spoken in Portugal, Azores, and Madeira, which are regarded as integral parts of the republic; Brazil and the Portuguese colonies in Asia, Africa, and in the United States, and among the Portuguese Jews scattered over Europe, particularly in Hamburg and Amsterdam. The Portuguese possess the richness and conciseness of the dialects founded on the Latin tongue.

LANGUAGE

The lingoa geral spoken on the eastern and western coasts of Africa, as well as in some parts of India and Ceylon, which bears an analogy to the lingua-franca of the Mediterranean, may be regarded as a dialect founded on the Portuguese and as containing reminiscences of the ancient maritime power of the Portuguese people.

It might be quite confusing to some who have heard people of the black race speak and say they were Portuguese. True, they speak Portuguese, but of a different dialect, and call themselves Portuguese because they were Portuguese subjects, much the same as the French Moroccan speaks French and says he is a Frenchman. To be more specific, Portugal has possessions in Africa and solely owns the Cape Verde Islands, of which the inhabitants are for the most part Negroes, except for a few thousand Europeans who are engaged in business there.

This is but a short account, but should be basis for a vivid and closer understanding of the fellow citizens of our town.

March 10, 1955

TRIBUTE TO THE PORTUGUESE

Elsewhere in this issue is an article which points up contributions made to Cape Cod by its Portuguese people, telling something of their ancient origin and development.

This is timely because next Tuesday has been designated by Gov. Christian A. Herter as Peter Francisco Day to honor "a truly great American of Portuguese origin, a patriot whom our historians will always underscore."

The Governor's proclamation has this to say:

"To Peter Francisco, a giant in structure, might, and courage, who slew in this engagement 11 of the enemy with his own broadsword, rendering himself, thereby, perhaps the most famous private soldier of the Revolutionary War."

These stirring words are found on a monument at the battlegrounds of Guilford Courthouse, N. C. They will tell tersely of the climatic event in the life of a heroic young man, who did much to assure the future of the newly born American Republic.

Of Portuguese origin, Peter Francisco came to Virginia at an early age. When the Revolution came, Francisco was 16 years of age. He joined the 10th Virginia Regiment of Continental troops and was engaged in some of the war's most sanguinary conflicts until victory was achieved. In his complete dedication to the ideals of freedom and democracy, the youthful soldier performed feats of heroism and daring that have rarely been equalled by any soldier in the annals of American history. As a result, he was severely wounded several times. Truthfully, it can be said that by the arms of such men the liberty of our country was achieved.

Later in life, Peter Francisco, who was industrious, temperate and always devoted to the cause of the weak and unprotected, became sergeant at arms of the house of delegates in Virginia. He died in this public service on January 16, 1836, and received burial with military honors.

Citation of Elgin Watch Co. for Refund of Savings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, some of the people who have been critical of the President's decision to raise the tariff on imported watches have claimed that the American watch industry is inefficient. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an official Navy Department press release citing the Elgin Watch Co., of Elgin, Ill., for voluntarily making a refund of savings effected through economical operation even before the price renegotiations have been mediated.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE,
OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION,
Washington, D. C., February 28, 1955.

George W. Fraker, general manager of the ordnance division of the Elgin National Watch Co., Elgin, Ill., today presented Rear Adm. F. S. Withington, United States Navy, Chief of the Navy's Bureau of Ordnance, with a refund in the amount of $2,725,000. The Elgin Co. is producing precision ammunition components for the Navy.

The refund applies to four of the current contracts the company has with the Bureau of Ordnance. These contracts contain provisions which enable the Government to establish final prices for the material under production, after completion of approximately 50 percent of the production. Although Elgin would not have been required to make this refund until the price-revision negotiation had been completed, it has done so in advance voluntarily.

According to representatives of the Bureau of Ordnance, production efficiencies developed by Elgin have contributed to a portion of the savings to the Government represented by this refund.

This action on the part of the Elgin National Watch Co. is a fine example of Navy-industry cooperation in obtaining necessary defense material in the most economical manner.

Impact of St. Lawrence Seaway on State and Municipal Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, all along the 2,300-mile lifeline into the heart of the North American Continent, there is a tremendous burst of activity at State, county, and city levels, as the Midwest prepares for the 1958–59 opening of the deepwater Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway frontier, as made possible under the Wiley seaway law, Public Law 358, of the 83d Congress.

I was pleased to see in the March 8 issue of the Wall Street Journal a round-up article by Ray Vicker, staff reporter, regarding the tremendous variety of local projects which are now underway for the purpose of making the various States and communities adequate to reap the fullest possible benefits from the seaway.

These benefits will not drop into people's laps automatically. They must be worked for, planned for, built for—carefully and soundly.

The Wall Street Journal, I may say parenthetically, in recent days has not been carrying very encouraging news to its readers because of the downward fluctuations of the stock exchanges. But at least in this article, as in many other articles, depicting the continuing growth of the American economy, every reader—in Wall Street or Main Street—could feel encouraged and enthused.

As this noted publication knows and as we all should know, the basic fact of the matter is that the economy of the United States is fundamentally sound. It is not only sound, it is booming. Provided the Government continues to provide a sensible framework of encourage-

ment and, provided the American people maintain sound, reasonable confidence in themselves and in their country, there is no reason why we cannot enjoy continued and ever-increased prosperity.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the fine Wall Street Journal article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEAWAY SPURS PORT IMPROVEMENT PLANS—CITIES ALONG GREAT LAKES PUT UP MILLIONS TO PREPARE HARBORS FOR DEEPER DRAFT VESSELS EXPECTED IN 1959—MILWAUKEE BEST EQUIPPED

(By Ray Vicker)

CHICAGO, ILL.—Icebound, 2,200-acre Lake Calumet in the heart of this city's industrial south side isn't much to look at with its swamps, garbage dump and backdrop of smoky factories. But civic and industrial officials have been looking at it intently of late. In the office of the Chicago Regional Port authority, two drawings show how the lake will look in 1959. Big oceangoing freighters are moving from a Lake Michigan connecting channel and nosing into docks. Long piers jut into a man-made harbor; warehouses and terminal facilities hug the shore. Around June 1, construction crews will begin the $22½ million job of transforming the drawings into reality.

Lake Calumet's conversion is one phase of a chain reaction set off by the decision to go ahead at last with construction of the St. Lawrence seaway, to open the way for deep draft ocean vessels to sail from the Atlantic into the heart of the Midwest.

MILWAUKEE TO SPEND $4.7 MILLION

Among the many projects planned or under way in other harbor conscious cities are: A $4.7 million harbor improvement program at Milwaukee; a rough plan for a $20.6 million docking facility at Toledo; a new $1 million terminal at Toronto; $109 million worth of Federal channel improvements on the upper Great Lakes; a $2.3 million harbor deepening project at Buffalo; a $5 million plus harbor at Ashtabula, Ohio. Even smaller cities such as Manitowoc, Wis., and Erie, Pa., are talking port development.

One United States Army engineer estimates at least $500 million may be invested in the Great Lakes area in the next 10 years by Federal, State, city and private agencies for harbor and channel improvements.

Experts disagree only on the extent to which lake shore cities will be affected by the seaway. All expect heavy gains in commerce. Iron ore from Labrador will flow in big quantities to midwest steel mills, grain will flow from Great Lakes elevators directly to foreign shores, and Milwaukee machinery, Chicago metal products, Detroit autos, and other manufactured goods from the heartland of America will move on water to the rest of the world.

EQUAL TO PANAMA CANAL

The Federal Government's St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation estimates 36 million tons of cargo will flow through the seaway the first year it opens. This approximates the current annual volume through the Panama Canal. Higher estimates of the United States Department of Commerce, the Army engineers, and the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association range up to 57 million tons annually.

The railroads, which fought the seaway tooth and nail as uneconomic, figure they'll gain as well as lose. A. E. Perlman, New York Central's president, speculates that expansion of the lake ports may step up north-south traffic, although it might "affect us adversely east and west."

Right now, most Great Lakes cities don't have much more than a brass band to meet any big ocean freighters which might ride empty into their ports.

CHICAGO EXPECTS 800 SAILINGS FIRST YEAR

That's why you find so much activity along water fronts, Maxim M. Cohen, general manager of Chicago's port authority, says: "We plan to construct 8,000 linear feet of dock, 4 transit sheds of 60,00 square feet each, 2 grain elevators each of 6.5 million bushels' capacity, 2 railroad classification yards, and 100-acre site for liquid tanks. Completion of this initial project is scheduled for 18 months after the first dirt is turned this June.

But that's only a start. Eventually, the port is expected to consist of 14 miles of docks, with facilities for handling barges from New Orleans, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other river ports, alongside big ocean freighters from the four corners of the globe. To build that port will require upward of $100 million.

A second major project here—the $182 million dollar Calumet-Sag Channel project—is aimed at widening the present link between the upper reaches of the Illinois waterway and Lake Michigan. Completion would allow the biggest towboats on the inland rivers to dock at Chicago, transferring cargoes directly to ocean freighters at the new harbor.

President Eisenhower's budget message to Congress in January called for funds to help get that project rolling. And the Chicago city council already has deeded the Lake Calumet area to the port authority, with legislative action anticipated soon to clear the way for a bond issue this spring. Says Cohen: "We are planning for 800 to 1,000 sailings here the first year that the seaway is opened."

MILWAUKEE PORT NOW BEST

Chicago's present facilities are inadequate even for the tiny freighters which now can navigate the St. Lawrence. When Norwegian marble was imported via the Great Lakes for the new Prudential Insurance Co. building here, the cargo was unloaded at Milwaukee, not Chicago. Milwaukee was the only nearby port with a crane large enough to handle the job. Chicago machinery exporters frequently bypass their own port to ship via Milwaukee.

"Right now we have the best equipped port on the Great Lakes for handling foreign cargoes," says Harry C. Brockel, Milwaukee's municipal port director. "Present port facilities will require only dredging to seaway draft to qualify them as facilities to accommodate seaway traffic." Seaway draft is 27 feet, compared with the present 14 foot St. Lawrence bottleneck.

But Milwaukee officials aren't sitting on their hands. Today, the skeleton of a new 20,000-square foot warehouse stands at the north end of Jones island in the harbor. Welders work on orange-painted beams overlooking the frozen bay. Steel walls will be in place soon. "This warehouse," says Mr. Brockel, "might be called the first step in our expansion for the St. Lawrence seaway."

Recently, the city's board of harbor commissioners presented a further four and seven-tenths million dollar development program to the city council. Biggest project in the program is a new three and four-tenths million dollar general cargo terminal. Others include a new highway to provide better truck access, expansion of rail trackage, purchase of new cranes, and dredging of harbor slips to seaway draft.

DULUTH REVIVES ITS PORT AUTHORITY

The board estimates it has room for 8 new major piers on the south side of the ice-crusted harbor entrance, and 6 on the north side. Currently it has 6 marine terminals which were served by 10 ship lines, in 1954. Foreign sailings totaled 188, compared with 10 in 1946. An estimated 225 are expected for 1955.

At the head of the lakes, wintry blasts aren't cooling Duluth-Superior's enthusiasm for the seaway. This hill-rimmed port, 1,340 miles west of Montreal, would be the end of navigation for big ocean vessels.

To get its harbor development program going, Duluth has reactivated its long-dormant port authority. Pending before the Minnesota legislature is a proposal to grant the authority an initial $73,000 to plan for development of the harbor. Duluth-Superior visualizes itself as the country's biggest grain-exporting port, while also serving as a medium for exports of farm implements and machinery.

Superior, Wis., also is considering reorganization of its inactive harbor commission and setting up a joint port authority with Duluth, and is studying budgetary problems of port development.

Before any of the lake ports above Monroe, Mich., can benefit from the seaway, the Detroit river, one of the connecting links between Lakes Erie and Huron, must be deepened, as must other channels between the upper lakes. A bill is pending in Congress to eliminate such bottlenecks through a $109 million United States Army Engineers dredging program.

In Toledo, Ohio, civic fathers dream of making the muddy Maumee River into a world-cargo port. The river splits the city, offering 7½ miles of waterfront lined with industrial plants and properties open for marine development.

At the mouth of the harbor, lean lake freighters are moored beside two huge coal docks which handled 20.9 million tons in 1954. But Toledo hopes to become more than a big coal port.

CLEVELAND STUDIES NEW PORT NEEDS

A tentative plan for a new $20.6 million general-cargo harbor facility has been drawn by Harland Bartholomew & Associates, St. Louis engineering firm. Proposed location is at the mouth of the Maumee on a 175-acre site. Facilities for 10 large cargo ships would be provided at 5 cargo slips and at open wharves.

In a room of Cleveland's city hall overlooking the lake front, engineers are leaning over blueprints of a proposed port of Cleveland.

Currently, the engineering firm of James C. Buckley, Inc., New York, is making a traffic survey of 1,500 manufacturers in a 6-State area to see who might use a port at Cleveland. This information is expected to provide a foundation for port improvements.

Sixty miles east of Cleveland, at Ashtabula, 2 new piers jut 2,000 feet into the harbor, the core of the city's seaway port. The N. J. Pinney & Associates Dock Co. is scheduled to complete two 2,000 by 500 foot bulk cargo terminals with 8,000 linear feet of ship dock within 2 years. On drawing boards, is a third 2,000-foot dock. This $5 million plus project is a private Pinney venture aimed at transforming Ashtabula into a chemical shipping port.

The Buffalo, N. Y., city administration currently is pressing the State legislature to authorize a Buffalo area port authority.

"We anticipate the greatest value of the seaway to Buffalo will come from the movement of iron ore from Labrador," says Charles C. Fichtner, executive vice president, Buffalo Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, with reference to the article in the Wall Street Journal to which the Senator from Wisconsin has made reference, I am entirely satisfied that that article is not correct. The seaway should extend a number of miles inside my State. In my lifetime, there was navigation all the way up to

Montana. I remember that when Teddy Roosevelt was in North Dakota he went on a big ship all the way to Custer and brought back the dead and the wounded from that point.

I wish to serve notice that I intend to introduce a bill providing for a survey to be made which has for its purpose ascertaining from the Army engineers or the Bureau of Reclamation the facts as to whether the seaway can be extended into the Missouri River.

Mr. WILEY. I certainly would not have any objection to that. I am sure the article speaks, at least, the honest conclusions of the writer. There is a great deal of discussion when we disagree on the floor of the Senate. This is just another example of the Senator from North Dakota disagreeing with the Wall Street Journal.

Mr. LANGER. I agree, on general principles, with the Senator from Wisconsin. All I am trying to do is to have another survey made to see whether we can have navigation to the Missouri River.

Maritime Training and Federal Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, Just as capable leadership is a prerequisite to the successful operation of government and of business and industry, so must our American Merchant Marine be assured a continuing complement of well-trained, capable ships officers if it is to carry on its function of serving the country's commerce and security.

The recent issue of the Merchant Marine Bulletin of the American Legion, published by the National Security Commission, editorializes most reasonably along this line, in an expression of views entitled "Maritime Training and Federal Funds."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARITIME TRAINING AND FEDERAL FUNDS

The tradition of safe and efficient operation for American-flag vessels at sea is due, in large part, to the expert training many merchant marine officers have been receiving at the State maritime schools and at the Federal school at Kings Point. Such training has safeguarded life and property; hence, in the common interest, it should be continued and encouraged.

It is with distress that we learn of the recommendation in President Eisenhower's recent budget message that martime training be continued at Kings Point at Federal expense, but that no funds be allocated to the State schools, as in former years. This is patently false economy, which will be a disservice to the industry and damagingly unfair to the State schools that have served so long and well.

Graduates of the State maritime schools of New York, Massachusetts, Maine, and California have the same moral commitment to the merchant marine as have graduates of Kings Point. The maritime industry, as we all know, has no holdover either. Furthermore, the Federal school naval reservist, and the State school naval reservist have identical obligations to the United States Navy. In short, both groups of students provide equal service to the merchant marine and the Navy. Both should receive Federal support. The appropriation heretofore granted the State schools, some $660,000, should certainly be restored.

The maritime industry needs competent officers. So does the Naval Reserve. To let the State schools languish when an appropriation which is a very tiny drop in a very big bucket can give them vigor to continue to serve is very poor policy indeed. Let us hope that this Congress will act to restore to the State maritime schools the money they deserve to have.

The Defense Program and New England: Research for Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I aks unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Defense Program and New England: Research for Defense," which was published in the Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston for February 1955. The article is an excellent one.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEFENSE PROGRAM AND NEW ENGLAND: RESEARCH FOR DEFENSE

The interest of the Armed Forces in both basic and applied research has brought to New England many contracts for important research work. The three service departments, Air Force, Army, and Navy, share about equally in the $2.6 billion of funds for research and development shown in the current fiscal year Federal budget. It is impossible to determine how much of that sum will be received by New England research organizations. Nevertheless, some picture of New England's contributions can be pieced together from the published information about individual programs.

Most research for defense is carried on under contracts developed by the service branches, such as the Office of Naval Research or the Office of Ordnance Research. Virtually all basic research is accomplished under such arrangements. Basic or fundamental research is directed toward no specific end product except the increase of knowledge concerning the subject of research. Applied research on the other hand is directed toward improvement in specific commodities, in weapon design, and the like. Each of the service branches has special interests in both basic and applied research, and both types have found acceptance among New England's technicians.

DEFENSE FUNDS SUPPORT RESEARCH

Since its opening in October 1954, the Quartermaster Research and Development Center at Natick, Mass., has awarded 23 research contracts to New England individuals and research agencies. The corps has committed nearly $600,000 under these contracts which total nearly 10 percent of those placed with all United States agencies since July 1, 1953. These contracts are in addition to the research activities carried on at the center.

The Boston Ordnance District Research and Development Branch estimates its 1954 payments at more than $6 million to New England research firms and institutions. At the end of the year the branch maintained 160 such contracts worth $18 million. Comparable data for the United States were $220 million of contracts under which $175 million was paid out in 1954. About 400 research contracts averaging $10,000 in value have been negotiated with 126 universities and colleges in 40 States. Among the New England institutions engaged in this program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology received 16 contracts, Brown University received 6, Harvard 4, while Boston University, Tufts College, and the Universities of New Hampshire and Rhode Island received 2 each. The remainder were with Boston College, Clark University, Holy Cross College, and the University of Maine.

The Air Force supports research in New England through several different agencies. On June 30, 1954, the Air Force Cambridge Research Center maintained with New England agencies 70 research contracts valued at more than $60 million. In addition, a small research project on effects of Arctic weather on types of building construction was being carried on in Boston by the Army Corps of Engineers for the Air Materiel Command. While the project employed only 45 persons and spent less than $350,000 in 1954, it is 1 of but 2 such establishments in the United States. Another unique project is the Lincoln Laboratory near Bedford, Mass., a multimillion dollar research project on the air defense of North America, operated by Massachusetts Institute of Technology for the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

In addition to several projects of applied research carried on by service personnel, the Navy, through its Office of Naval Research, contracts for a large quantity of basic research in its first (Boston) district. The first district includes all of New England except Connecticut. Of some 1,500 Office of Naval Research contracts in the United States providing for about $20 million per year in payments to contractors, 180 are with New England agencies—principally colleges and universities. The New England contracts account for about $6 million of payments annually.

TYPES OF RESEARCH

Armed Forces research, in addition to being either fundamental or applied, varies from one service to another. Research for the Quartermaster Corps is concerned with the adaptation of troops and equipment and the maintenance of both under a variety of environmental conditions. This involves problems ranging from fit of clothing to psychological adjustment. At the Natick center, functions are suggested by division titles: Chemicals and plastics, environmental protection, mechanical engineering, textile, clothing and footwear, dispensing and handling equipment, and pioneer research. Examples are the development of an 8-pound armored vest that protects the modern soldier. The use of ultra-sonic waves for dishwashing and soil removal is being perfected, and studies in service equipment are carried forward.

Some of the contract research program of the Office of Naval Research is done by the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution where a new building was dedicated by the Navy June 16, 1954. Nuclear science, electronics, and other laboratories at Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology

also carry on contract research for the Armed Forces. Some of the projects operate under contracts jointly with Navy and Army or the Atomic Energy Commission. Some large Navy contracts for basic research are with Brown University where projects in both chemistry and physics are going forward.

In these many ways New England's scientific resources are being utilized by the Armed Forces to improve our Nations defenses. At the same time, these laboratories are training scientists and developing new products and processes, all of which may play an important role in New England's industrial future.

Troop Ships of the North African Invasion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, in asking for unanimous consent for the insertion in the RECORD of an article from the January-February Merchant Marine Bulletin of the American Legion, issued by the national security commission, I should like to pay well-merited tribute to the two organizations involved.

First, I believe the American Legion is performing a function of utmost value to all our people in its self-delegated task of publicizing the achievements and the problems of the American merchant marine.

Secondly, I welcome the opportunity to extend congratulations to the officials and the men and women employees of the Grace Line, one of our country's great shipping organizations, for the exploits of its vessels in World War II, as well as for the splendid contribution it is making to Western Hemisphere solidarity, through the operation of its four luxury liners and other vessels between the United States and ports in the Americas.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SISTER TROOPERS VETERANS OF NORTH AFRICAN INVASION

The *Santa Paula*, 1 of 4 Grace Line luxury liners, was one of America's most active transports of the last great war, according to Roland W. Charles' excellent book Troopships of World War II.

She made 28 overseas voyages from the east coast of America, including 3 trips to India, 2 of which were of over 3 months' duration. A 9,135-gross ton vessel, she was built in 1932 at Kearny, N. J., for passenger service to the Caribbean. As a peacetime liner she could carry some 200 passengers. As a trooper she lifted 2,209 men. Her 19-knot speed and 12,000-mile cruising radius made her one of the most useful of Uncle Sam's auxiliaries.

The *Santa Paula's* raked bow, twin streamlined funnels, and cruiser stern gave her an appearance of speed and strength. It doubtless impressed the Australians when she made her first voyage down under early in 1942. Her next trip took her to South Africa and India, and on November 2, 1942, she sailed from New York to participate in the historic invasion of north Africa.

By some strange coincidence her three sisterships sailed with her in this vast armada. It would have been a thrilling moment for Grace Line shoreside executives and personnel had they been able to see their four bravest and finest ships heading out to sea past the Statue of Liberty in defense of their homeland.

It would have been a sad moment, as well, had the onlookers been gifted with an awareness of the future, for two of these sleek beauties were not to return. The *Santa Elena* and *Santa Lucia* were lost, the former off Algeria and the latter at Casablanca during the landings. The fourth, named *Santa Rosa*, survived and serves today in glistening peacetime colors with the *Santa Paula* between New York and Caribbean and South American ports.

Tribute to Alison Wysong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the showing by the Democrats in the 1954 Oregon election was due to the fine support received by the party throughout the State. Alison Wysong, Democratic chairman for Lane County, Oregon's second county in population, played a leading role in Democratic Party successes. I regret to learn that Mr. Wysong has resigned as chairman, and I am pleased to place in the RECORD a tribute to him from the editorial columns of the Eugene Register-Guard.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Eugene Register-Guard of March 9, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEMOCRATS' LOSS

Lane County Democrats suffered a real loss this week in the resignation of their county chairman, Alison Wysong. Although he was chairman only a year and a half, his influence on the local party organization was tremendous. Under his leadership the party, for the first time in many years, became something to be reckoned with. Lane became a "two-party county."

He was elected chairman after a behind-the-scenes scrap between the younger, more aggressive Democrats and the old "war horses" who bore so many scars that they could think in no terms save those of always being the "loyal opposition." He changed that line of thinking. Lane County Democrats in 1954 were out to win.

Probably his most significant contribution was the setting up of district committees, groups of friends and neighbors who met in all parts of the county to talk politics and generate enthusiasm for the Democratic cause. From these groups came that large pool of volunteer workers who played so important a role in last fall's election.

Some of the internal strife remains. But if the Democrats can get together and pick another chairman of Mr. Wysong's ability and character, they'll keep the Republicans scared to death and thus on the ball. They may become the first party in the county instead of the "loyal opposition." And the public interest is served when both parties are active and vigorous. It is not served when either becomes moribund, tradition bound, or resigned to defeat.

Compulsory Medical Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, an excellent article on Sweden's new comprehensive health insurance plan, written by Waldemar Kaempffert, science editor of the New York Times, appeared Sunday, March 13, in the New York Times magazine. The author points up some parts of the plan that could be adapted to the United States, and he cogently discusses the American, Swedish, and British medical philosophies. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEW EXPERIMENT IN STATE MEDICINE

(By Waldemar Kaempffert)

Since the beginning of this year, everybody in Sweden, including resident foreigners, is guaranteed medical care against illness under a new compulsory health insurance law. It is one of the most comprehensive social medical systems ever introduced anywhere.

The operation of this plan undoubtedly will have repercussions in the United States. Our own medical situation will be resurveyed in the light of Sweden's experiment. Some of the basic questions that have been the subject of debate in this country—such as the benefits or defects of compulsory health insurance, which organized medicine here opposes—will again be argued. Therefore, it is useful to examine the Swedish plan and to consider whether any of its principles can be applied in the United States.

In Sweden, there are few doubts that the plan, despite its detailed nature, is working smoothly. Although doctors, drug stores, and the staffs of health organizations have felt pressure under the initial rush of the "free" medical care, reports on the early operation of the system indicate that everything in connection with it is going more or less in accordance with expectations.

This is due primarily to the traditional Swedish attitude toward what in America is called socialized medicine. "Compulsory," for example, expresses the American concept of the Swedish plan but not the Swedes.

For the Swedes, the new type of care represents an inclusion of everyone in "sickness societies" or "funds"—independent groups that have been heavily subsidized by the Government. Through them, about 70 percent of Sweden's population has long insured itself against illness. Under the new law, these societies or funds are retained and new ones will be established as the need arises. Members pay 44 percent of the cost, employers 27 percent, and the Government 29 percent.

The Swedes have none of the squeamishness about public medical care that many Americans have. Even before the new plan went into effect, no Swede, for example, hesitated to go to a public hospital. Indeed, he did so as a taxpayer exercising his right, just as he felt free to call on the fire department to save his house. He did not think of the public hospital as a place of last resort, an institution maintained chiefly for the benefit of the indigent sick. Rather, no matter what his social position or his financial circumstances, he went because he knew that the medical and surgical skill there is

so high, the diagnosis and therapeutic services so expert that he could find no better care anywhere.

Nine out of ten Swedish babies are delivered in public hospitals or clincs. Most infants receive care at free clinics. Swedish schoolchildren, regardless of their parents' ability to pay, have long been examined regularly free of charge by physicians. Free dental care and free lunches are also common in Swedish schools.

If a family cannot afford to send a child under 15 to the country once a year, the State pays the railway fare or the fraction thereof beyond the family's means to get the youngster into fresh air. If the child is under 10, it is accompanied by its mother at state expense. Housewives in lower income brackets are entitled to virtually free vacation trips. No matter what the circumstances of the family, every mother is paid $58 annually for every child under 16. Sweden prefers this method to allowing exemptions from income taxes for dependent children.

Why is the quality of medical care, whether rendered in a physician's office, at home, or in a hospital, so high—as high as and possibly higher on the average than ours? The reason is to be found in the Swedish system of medical education and in the insistence of the Royal Medical Board and the Swedish Medical Association (a counterpart of the American Medical Association) on the maintenance of rigorous standards.

The majority of physicians in Sweden serve as either full-time or part-time salaried public-health officials but are permitted to practice privately if they are on half-time. Few of the doctors derive their entire income from private practice. Their income averages $5,000 to $6,000 a year and they get Government pensions.

The new system, like the old one, considers need rather than ability to pay, though income is not ignored as a factor. Everybody who is older than 16 and who has a taxable income of at least $250 a year comes under the new law and pays a basic or minimum premium of somewhat less than $5 a year for medical care. Another $5 must be paid for basic or minimum sickness benefits that amount to 60 cents a day. Thus, for $10 a year virtually everybody in Sweden is entitled to medical care plus a sickness benefit of 60 cents a day. Those who earn less than $250 a year are public charges, yet receive exactly the same medical care as if they had been taxed for it.

Everyone is cared for up to 2 years in a hospital ward, and care will continue after 2 years on the basis of social relief. Vitally essential drugs, such as insulin, are free; prescriptions that cost more than 80 cents are filled at half the regular price.

A patient is transported to and from a physician's office or hospital wholly or partly at public expense. If medical care is given by a private physician, three-fourths of the official fee is paid by the local or Federal Government. Anybody who wants a private room can have it for a few dollars a day—at less than one-third to one-half the actual cost.

Among the most important provisions of the new law are the benefits paid for lost earnings and for the extra expenses usually incurred in sickness. Every employed person who earns more than the almost trifling minimum of $360 a year must pay insurance for supplementary sickness benefits, in addition to what he pays for the basic benefit of 60 cents a day. Housewives who are not employed are included. These extra benefits run from 21 cents to $3.40 a day, depending on earned income.

Though maternal care is not specifically provided for in the compulsory health insurance plan, expectant mothers get it under a separate law on the same terms as those who carry medical care and benefit insurance, but with some extras. That is, there is free prenatal and postnatal hospital care, daily basic and supplementary cash benefits, allowances for medicines, and for the fees of private physicians.

A working expectant mother receives from 65 to 70 percent of her normal earnings and a bonus of $52.38 at childbirth—the equivalent of the basic sickness benefit (3 kroner daily) for a period of 3 months. If the expectant mother does not want obstetrical and other care in a hospital she can stay at home and engage a midwife at Government expense.

Sweden's population of 7 million, which is a little less than that of New York City, is served by some 5,500 physicians, or 7 for every 10,000 persons—about half of the prevailing ratio in the United States. On the other hand, the number of hospital beds per 10,000 population is about what it is in this country. Because compulsory health insurance includes the entire population with very few exceptions, it is estimated that by 1960 probably 8,000 physicians will be needed. There may have to be more hospitals, too, because on them much of the burden of medical care will fall.

The working of the Swedish health plan will, of course, be followed closely abroad, and it will inevitably be compared with the British system of compulsory health insurance. There are close resemblances and marked differences between the Swedish and the British plans. Under both, patients may choose their physicians freely. Approximately 18,500 British physicians have joined the National Health Service, leaving only about 500 in private practice. Some 47 million in the United Kingdom—97 percent of the population—consult Health Service physicians when they are sick. A Health Service physician is paid 16 shillings a year for each patient on his list, but he is not regarded as a public health officer, as he would be in Sweden, if part of his income came from the state or the community.

The cost of Britain's Health Service is met mainly by taxes, plus a weekly levy of 10 pence (about 12 cents) on employees and employers. There are small charges for prescriptions, dental care, surgical appliances, false teeth, and spectacles.

American physicians who have studied the British system say that examinations are hurried and that the number of patients on a subsidized physician's panel is much too large. On a busy day a health-service physician will examine 30 or 40 patients and call on 20 more. The average health-service physician makes £2,240 ($6,272) a year, which is more than he made in the old days.

Would the Swedish plan work in the United States? Given present conditions and our present medical philosophy, it is highly improbable that it would.

In the first place, Sweden is a small country with a small homogeneous population. The United States sprawls over half a continent and its population is composed of many different ethnic stocks. The conditions that prevail in the arid Southwest and West are vastly different from those in the Middle West or New England. With 48 autonomous States and a heterogeneous population engaged in many different kinds of activities, we must work out our own formula for the integration of low-cost medical care with social security. This, however, does not rule out the adoption of features of the Swedish plan that could meet our needs.

Our medical philosophy stems from several basic concepts. One is that we do not want any further socialization—which we identify with Government-guaranteed medical care and compulsory health insurance. Another is that the patient must be free to choose his own doctor. A third is that we should heed the views of the medical profession on this matter, just as we take the medicines it prescribes. Let us examine each of these concepts.

As to socialization, it is likely that one either believes the Government should take more part in public welfare activities or one does not. But in the field of public health it is not quite that simple. It is possible that some supervision of medical care by the Government or some further participation by the Government in health measures is justifiable on the ground of public good.

This need not interfere with free enterprise; nor would it abolish the private practice of medicine. We did not become Socialists when we provided free education in public schools, taxed income on a sliding scale, and established hospitals where at least some of the medically indigent can be cared for either free or at low cost to themselves. Further Government participation in certain areas of the medical and health fields could win acceptance, just as there has been acceptance of the basic principles of social security, which in their way contain an element of socialism.

When we examine the second concept, it should be noted, first, that under neither the Swedish nor the British plan is the patient deprived of the privilege of choosing his own physician. Even in Sweden political parties could not overcome the opposition to any system that would abolish that privilege. In the United States the opposition of organized medicine would be still more powerful.

There is, nevertheless, reason to question the necessity of free choice in the practice of medicine. How valid is this idea? The right of a patient to choose his own physician is based on the assumption that he knows how to weigh a physician's education, hospital connections, and standing in his profession. Any physician who has a license and who is a member in good standing of the county medical society is supposed to be a qualified practitioner, though he may be a medical mediocrity or hopelessly antiquated in his diagnostic and therapeutic procedures. Actually, the physician chosen is usually one recommended to the patient by a friend.

There is no free choice of physicians in the Army or Navy, yet we were assured during and after the war that never in history were armed forces so well cared for medically and surgically as were ours. There is no free choice in the outpatient departments or free wards of our great voluntary hospitals; nor is there free choice when a patient goes to such an outstanding medical center as the Mayo Clinic. There he is assigned by the clinic authorities to the doctor they consider best qualified to handle whatever disease he may have or whatever surgery he may require. There is no hit or miss about it; he gets the specialist whose records show his knowledge and skill.

The third concept—that the views of the medical profession should prevail—is perhaps the root of the matter. Conceding the great good that the American Medical Association has done in exposing charlatans, raising medical standards and improving medical education, questions nevertheless have been raised about its opposition to efforts to improve medical and health conditions through Government participation and compulsory insurance.

The best that organized medicine now offers is voluntary insurance, which does nothing more than provide money to pay, or help pay, the doctors' bills and hospital bills for the period of illness. According to the deep-rooted fee-for-service principle a surgeon may charge a wealthy man many times more for an operation than he would charge a poor man. This may seem equitable in theory, but in practice it often works hardship on the salaried or middle-income patient who may not have the reserves to meet a sudden crisis.

Sweden made no leap into the dark when it adopted compulsory health insurance. The country had behind it an excellent system of voluntary health insurance that could easily be made compulsory without in the slightest changing the pattern of medical care and sickness benefits. It has devised a formula which shows that a democratic federated state can have compulsory health insurance, combined with sickness benefits, yet guarantee the best kind of medical care.

We need not copy Sweden's formula, but in the light of the Swedish experience and the British experience questions are increasingly going to be raised about the American medical profession's attitude on this matter. For the sake of the profession itself and the attitudes of the public toward it, it might be useful to reconsider the questions.

The Plight of Guatemala

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the New York Herald Tribune of March 10, 1955, entitled "The Plight of Guatemala," written by Daniel James.

It is to be hoped that the appropriate committees of the Senate will survey this question and determine what steps should be taken to prevent the newly threatened loss of this American Republic. Mr. James' article brings into focus the apprehension many of us have felt for some time, that after seeing the freedom-loving Guatemalans wrest their Government from control of the Communists, there may be some disposition on the part of some people in our own Government, which admittedly had such a stake in the outcome of the 1954 revolution in Guatemala, now to maintain a hands-off attitude.

Mr. President, I heard with a great deal of interest, as well as personal pleasure, last night the report of the Vice President on his findings in the Caribbean areas of Latin America on his recent tour. It was especially encouraging to hear the Vice President voice the opinion that Guatemala is a monument to Communist failure in Latin America.

It may be well, if this is an official Government finding, to look further into this matter to determine the basis for reports that the situation is bad in Guatemala, and that great dangers of communism persist.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PLIGHT OF GUATEMALA
(By Daniel James)

United States policy in Guatemala is failing. That is the sad conclusion this reporter has reluctantly reached after a 4-week, on-the-spot survey.

The consequences, if we fail in Guatemala, will be disastrous. Our prestige in Latin America will practically vanish. Our programs in Asia will be compromised. Communists everywhere will have a field day as we argue over who lost Guatemala.

When Guatemala's Reds were overthrown last June, United States leaders from President Eisenhower on down swore to make the Central American Republic an anti-Communist showcase. They were solidly backed by both political parties and the public. Rarely has there been such unanimity as on the need for all-out aid to Red-ravaged Guatemala.

Now, 8 months later, how much aid have we given?

On paper, $6,425,000. In fact, less than half that amount. Money is being doled out for certain projects only as, if, and when they start.

Of the total aid authorized, $4,425,000 will eventually go into roads—if Guatemala can match it with $1.5 million of her own. Another $500,000 will go to finish a hospital—if Guatemala can match it with $500,000. Health, agricultural, and other projects likewise depend on Guatemala's ability to match funds.

So far, then, our aid largely consists of putting up dollar for dollar in a situation where the matching party sorely lacks dollars.

But even if we donated the entire $6.5 million outright, that would be about as helpful as feeding aspirin to a man with appendicitis.

That sum, Guatemalans point out, represents exactly what their Government paid its employees in back wages last December.

It about equals what the Government expects to lose in coffee taxes this year.

It is less than one-third of what the Reds are known to have stolen.

"A fraud," is how one Guatemalan bitterly described our aid to me. He was echoed by others. Already, our policy of too little is breeding disillusionment in us.

Washington is relying upon United States private capital to give Guatemala what she needs. This is sound general theory. The trouble is, it does not apply to Guatemala's immediate problems.

United States businessmen are swarming into Guatemala seeking investment opportunities. Some are already building roads, exploring for oil, selling machinery, making lumber.

The Electric Co. of Guatamala, a United States subsidiary, is putting $17 million into new hydroelectric facilities to increase the capital city's power capacity. Pan American World Airways is about to join with local money to erect a big hotel. United Fruit reportedly awaits dispositions of a United States antitrust suit before investing $25 million.

President Carlos Castillo Armas deserves great credit for the improving business picture. His personal popularity, general policies, and practical measures—such as a progressive petroleum code—have combined to assure United States business a warm welcome and fair treatment in Guatemala.

Backing up Castillo Armas is the most talented and dedicated team of United States officials this reporter has ever seen abroad. United States Embassy, Information Agency, and Foreign Operations Administration personnel deserve medals for their handling of a delicate task.

Owing to all these factors, Guatemala is acquiring a new look. Guatemala City streets, once deserted, are filled with busy and happy people. Stores are brimming with new merchandise. Hotels are full. New buildings are going up.

But overshadowing this bright picture is the dark legacy communism left behind. A looted treasury, a corn shortage, a jobless problem and a failing coffee market (for which the Reds cannot be blamed), all spell a major crisis. Neither the Guatemalan Government nor United States investors are equipped to tackle it.

An economic crisis in Guatemala just now would, as a matter of fact, slow down the flow of investment. It would destroy confidence in Castillo Armas, and perhaps cause his downfall. It would wreck United States plans for Guatemala and United States policy nearly everywhere in Latin America. We must awaken to these dangers at once and realize that only swift and unstinting United States aid can ward them off.

The primary immediate job is to help Castillo Armas acquire sufficient funds to carry on the task of governing. Second, Guatemala may need emergency food and grain supplies. Third, we must expand and accelerate our technical assistance—and without requiring Guatemala to match funds. Fourth, coffee prices must be adjusted.

Further, we should announce a long-term program. Guatemala needs about $50 million to build a decent road network—one of the keys to an expanding economy. She needs perhaps another $50 million for such basic projects as modernizing her agriculture.

For about $20 million yearly spent over the next 5 years, Castillo Armas' chances of finishing his term in 1960 would be immeasurably enhanced and Guatemala's stability and prosperity practically underwritten.

Vice President NIXON, just back from the Caribbean and keenly aware of Guatemala's problems in particular, might well suggest that President Eisenhower ask Congress to enact a $100 million, 5-year program for Guatemala. Only such a program will demonstrate that we are really trying to make the world's first anti-Communist revolution a success.

Inadequacy of the President's School Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, a further indication of the inadequacy of the President's school proposals is given by the views expressed by the Republican-controlled House Education Committee of the Oregon State Legislature. The President's proposals, the legislators agreed, meant little money for Oregon and high interest rates on Federal money loaned. Oregon's need is pressing—namely, $100 million worth of new schools in 5 years. The administration's answer provides little or nothing.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by the Associated Press, which appeared in the Eugene Register-Guard of March 8, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LITTLE FEDERAL AID FOR OREGON SCHOOLS SEEN

SALEM, OREG.—The House Education Committee of the Oregon Legislature doesn't think President Eisenhower's school building program would be of much help in solving Oregon's critical need for new schools.

So the committee will work out its own solution to the problem—Oregon's need for $100 million worth of new school facilities in the next 5 years.

The committee, at a meeting Monday night, outlined 5 possible solutions aimed

at solving the problems of the 34 school districts which can't take care of their needs because they would have to exceed the legal bonding limits.

The building needs in these 34 districts are $6 million more than their bonding limits. The rest of the new schoolhouses could be built by districts able to bond within the existing limit, which is 9 percent of true cash value.

The five possible solutions to be studied by the committee are: Increase the bonding limits of school districts, give more basic school support to the distressed districts, issue State bonds, provide money from State bonds, provide money from the State's general fund or finance on the county level.

The committee decided to make its decision after the House Taxation Committee makes up its mind on a bill to limit bonding powers of counties, cities, and school districts.

The committee agreed that the President's plan would provide little money for Oregon. Members objected to what they called high interest rates on Federal money loaned to the States. But they agreed that if some Federal money happened to come along as outright grants, they would accept it.

DOUBLE SHIFTS

Committee members also suggested that districts might operate 2 daily school shifts, or might run 12 months a year. But these ideas were advanced only in case the people in the districts refused to vote new bonds.

J. L. Turnbull, assistant superintendent of public instruction, suggested an increase in the district bonding limits, which he admitted "would just make it possible for a poor district to go further into debt." He advocated State grants to the districts.

Turnbull said that of the total needs of the 34 districts, 65 percent of the money is needed in Portland's "bedroom" areas within 25 miles of the city.

This prompted Representative William Bradeen, Burns, to suggest that the people of Portland pay part of the cost of education in these areas.

CONSOLIDATION URGED

Representative W. R. Giesy, Monroe, said some districts should be forced to consolidate with other districts in order to cut down school costs.

The committee pointed out that since most of the $100 million would be used for classrooms for the first 8 grades, another crisis would develop in 5 years, when high schools become overcrowded.

Cecil Posey, secretary of the Oregon Education Association, advocated increasing the local bonding limits and also giving the districts more State aid.

TWO LOCAL SCHOOLS

Among the 34 school districts which the House Education Committee says are in critical need of new buildings are Elmira Union High and Creswell Union High in Lane County.

A Tribute to the Hungarian People on Their Day of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the year 1848 was a year of revolution on the European Continent. Europe was in ferment. The forces of liberalism and nationalism, turned loose by the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789 and repressed in Europe during the post-Napoleonic period, burst forth with renewed vigor to shake the foundations of the European system. Hungary was one storm center in the struggle for national independence.

America has her Washington; Hungary has her Kossuth. In our War of Independence Washington came to the fore, and leading the forces of the Revolution carried the cause of American independence to final fulfillment. We are the beneficiaries of the efforts of this great man; we are the beneficiaries of the efforts of his hercic soldiers.

In the Hungarian revolution of 1848 Louis Kossuth, like Washington, came to the fore and led the forces of Hungarian independence. Unfortunately, Kossuth and his compatriots failed in their attempt to establish freedom and democracy in Hungary. Imperial Russia intervened in the war of independence, and joining the forces of the Hapsburg Empire, succeeded in destroying the independence that the Hungarian people had proclaimed.

The Hungarian cause was lost. But, even from failure there arises many wholesome things and from this great attempt at establishing independence in Hungary there emerged a great leader of Hungarian democracy: Louis Kossuth. A leader of inestimable quality and ability Louis Kossuth has rightly taken a place alongside of the world's great leaders of democracy and independence, men like Washington, Jefferson, O'Connell and Bolivar.

Probably one of the most galling aspects of the present regime in Hungary is the attitude it has taken toward Kossuth. Deceitfully, the Communists have attempted in their propaganda to depict Louis Kossuth as a precursor of their own so-called liberation regime. The Communists have used every propagandistic contrivance to make this great Hungarian leader appear as one of them. Indeed, this treacherous tactic is a prime example of the manner in which the Communists have used the good name of a great democratic leader to cloak their own tyranny and injustices. Thus, they have sought to create the impression that the Communist movement in Hungary is really a Hungarian nationalist movement, entirely unrelated to the Soviet Union and the international Communist conspiracy. Indeed, this is a vicious fraud that is being attempted upon the Hungarian people, for Louis Kossuth and his patriots of 1848 were motivated by the highest democratic ideals; they were men grounded firmly in the Christian tradition; they were above all else Hungarians loyal to the cause of their nation. In a word, these men represent everything that we profess to be, great and pure, everything that is fundamentally hostile to the concept of communism.

Today as Hungary lies enchained in a new tyranny, all Hungarians can look to Louis Kossuth and the patriots of 1848 for inspiration in their struggle for freedom. For them we in America pray, as indeed Kossuth himself had prayed, that Hungary will one day be free.

Tennessee Joint Resolution and United States Department of Agriculture's Response Thereto—Re Cotton, Tobacco Acreage Allotments Under Drought Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, recently I was pleased to submit to the Department of Agriculture a certified copy of the Tennessee Legislature house joint resolution relative to acreage allotments for drought-stricken counties in Tennessee. In response to this resolution, the Department of Agriculture has prepared an extended response. Under unanimous consent, I include both the resolution and the Department's reply in the Appendix of the RECORD. The resolution and the letter from the Department follow:

House Joint Resolution 13

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the 79th General Assembly of the State of Tennessee (the Senate concurring), That the Department of Agriculture of the United States of America is hereby memorialized and requested to cut the allotment of no individual engaged in farming in counties classified as drought-stricken counties in this State by the Department during the year 1954, below the allotment which was made to such individual for the year 1954 upon any crop, allotment of acreage of which is made by said Department; be it further

Resolved, That upon the passage of this resolution and its signature by the chief executive, a copy thereof be duly certified and forwarded to the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, and to each Member of Congress from Tennessee, and that this resolution be spread on the Journal of the House of Representatives and Senate.

Adopted January 25, 1955.

JAMES L. EOMAR,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
JARED MADEUX,
Speaker of the Senate.
FRANK G. CLEMENT,
Governor.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., March 3, 1955.

Hon. JOE L. EVINS,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EVINS: This is in reference to your letter of February 21, together with Resolution No. 13 adopted by the House of Representatives of the State of Tennessee, the Tennessee State Senate concurring, on January 25, 1955, in regard to establishing certain minimum acreage allotments in counties classified as drought-stricken counties during 1954.

In regard to cotton acreage allotments, the enclosed statement sets forth the size of the 1955 national cotton allotment and the provisions governing the determination of State, county, and farm cotton acreage allotments. The law provides specific formulas for establishing the national allotment and its apportionment to States, and for apportioning the State allotment (less reserve) to counties. When the county committee has made its choice on the method for establishing farm allotments, the committee is required to use a specific formula for apportioning the county allotment (less re-

serve) to farms. The law and regulations prescribe the uses of State and county reserves in accordance with certain factors as set forth in the statement.

The act does not authorize the Secretary to withhold any of the national allotment to allocate at his discretion. All of the national acreage allotment of 18,113,208 acres has been distributed to the States pursuant to the formula provided in the act.

The economic effect on farmers in the drought areas is recognized and their difficulties are sympathetically understood. It is the desire of this Department to alleviate, insofar as possible under applicable provisions of law, the conditions caused by drought and other adverse weather conditions in the areas affected. The law governing the determination of State, county, and farm cotton allotments is very specific. The law and the regulations permit adjustment in State and county history acreages where it can be definitely established that plantings were reduced by abnormal weather conditions. This authority, however, is applicable only where plantings are prevented by abnormal weather conditions, and is not applicable in cases where normal plantings are made but production is reduced by abnormal weather conditions. We do not feel that the acreage allotment and marketing quota legislation is designed to accomplish such relief through increased farm allotments in subsequent years except where the weather condition adversely affected plantings.

We recognize that cotton farmers are being called on to make substantial adjustments in cotton acreage from plantings in recent years. This adjustment results from the very large stocks of cotton on hand. In October, when the 1955 national allotment was proclaimed, the 1954 cotton crop was estimated at 12,511,000 bales. The December report estimated the 1954 crop at 13,569,000 bales, or an increase of 1,058,000 bales over the October report. It now appears that our carryover of cotton on August 1, 1955, will at least equal, and may well exceed, the carryover on August 1, 1954. In view of our cotton supply and demand outlook situation, there is no apparent basis for increasing cotton allotments for 1955 above those now in effect.

The carryover of burley tobacco as of October 1, 1954, the beginning of the current marketing year, was 1,198,200,000 pounds, the largest on record. It appears now that the 1954 crop, which has just been marketed, was approximately 670,000,000 pounds, the largest crop ever grown. Thus, supplies of burley tobacco have reached an all-time high. Likewise, supplies of fire-cured and dark air-cured tobacco are excessive in relation to current disappearance.

There were no rice allotments in 1954, so Resolution 13 would not be applicable to that commodity.

Federal legislation pertaining to establishment of farm wheat and corn allotments does not provide for any minimum amount below which an allotment my not be reduced due to drought. It contemplates that the county allotment each year will be apportioned pro rata to all eligible farms according to their crop-rotation practices, tillable acres, type of soil and topography; and also past history in the case of wheat.

Corn allotments have been dropped altogether in six Tennessee counties for 1955. In the remaining nine corn-allotment counties, corn allotments will be larger than in 1954 on most farms. There are no marketing quotas on corn. The corn allotment is used to determine eligibility for corn-price support and agricultural conservation program assistance.

Wheat allotments are used for similar purposes and, in addition, marketing quotas are in effect, but they apply only to farms having more than 15 acres of wheat. Normally, only about 17 percent of the wheat farms in Tennessee produce wheat above the 15-acre level. Of course the wheat for 1955 has already been seeded, but any operator may comply with his allotment by using his excess wheat acreage while still green and prior to a date set by the State committee for hay, pasture, silage, or green manure.

Allotments and marketing quotas are primarily designed to adjust supplies to market demands. To make exceptions by establishing minimum farm allotments for any specific reason tends to defeat the intent and purposes of acreage allotment and marketing quota legislation.

Sincerely yours,

J. A. McCONNELL,
Assistant Secretary.

Impressions of Thailand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of the House membership I am today placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD one of the most interesting letters I have ever received on an area of the Far East.

The letter I make reference to, Mr. Speaker, was written by Mrs. Edna Cohen, of Waterbury, Conn. Presently Mrs. Cohen is doing a TV show as a public service telecast. A combination of her travel experiences and natural ability as author and artist makes her show both educational and entertaining and one I highly recommended for both adults and children.

Mrs. Cohen, as author, is currently writing a book which will be both fictional and factual and surely of interest to those anticipating a world tour or specifically for educational purposes and good reading.

The letter follows:

WATERBURY, CONN., *March 11, 1955.*
Hon. JAMES T. PATTERSON,
Member of Congress,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D .C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The return of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles from the Far East, will undoubtedly motivate many conferences, bringing into focus the political, economic, and strategic viewpoints of the countries he visited.

As a Member of Congress the news, views, and information amassed by Mr. Dulles will be presented to you from the standpoint of a statesman, and rightfully so.

It would seem to me to be apropos at this time to also get the reaction of Mr. and Mrs. Average American Tourist.

Last year, in our trip around the world, we visited Bangkok, Thailand. Our first favorable impression was the ingenuity of the Thai. No loud speaker was necessary to announce our arrival to our assigned guide. She stood behind the Immigration Official and when we presented our passports, she introduced herself. A car being unavailable, she commandeered a bus to provide us with the private transportation to which we were entitled.

Further proof of their ingenuity is evidenced in the unique construction and decoration of their many temples, the shiny roofs of which are common, ordinary pieces of colored glass and mirrors, set in a manner to catch the rays of the sun and reflect its brilliancy. On close examination we found the decorations of another temple to be of ordinary broken china and crockery, the pieces of which were set to form exquisite floral designs. The gay tinkling we heard at the approach of still another temple was caused by narrow slats of glass attached to bright colored ribbons, hung from the roofs of the temple, which gently bumped each other in the breeze, causing the pleasant bell-like tinkling.

The houses along the canals, which they call klongs, were crudely built and thickly populated by people in very scant clothes but very large hearts. Not one man, woman, or child failed to call out friendly greetings to the "foreigners" as we traversed the klongs.

The hand that was extended to us on the street was in welcome, not in alms. We saw no beggars.

The numerous Buddhist priests we encountered were friendly and eager to converse. Giving them money would be considered an insult, our guide informed us.

Thailanders, our guide also said, resented the implication that they worshipped idols. They worship One Infinite Being, she said, the numerous Buddhas representing varicus phases and emotions in their tangible manner.

Thai culture is manifest in their dancing, which is a syncronization of grace and beauty; in their nielloware jewelry, which embodies exquisite patterns with intricate etchings; in their production of bronze tableware, though manufactured under the crudest of methods by our standards, combine a delicate blending of caribou with bronze, patterned in a manner symbolic of their land.

Despite the lack of our type of good roads, automotive and other vehicles are plentiful and the traffic is heavy but controlled. Sidewalks are sorely in need of paving and repairs. The city at night is very poorly illuminated. This, we were informed, was due to the fact that Japan, after its occupation of Thailand, removed and took with them power equipment, and which so many years later they have still been unable to fully replace and extend.

The sight of a shiny white truck, displaying a familiar seal in red, white, and blue, bearing the words United States Information Service, Mobile Film Unit brought tears to our eyes, lumps to our throats, and a prayer to our lips: "God Bless America!"

A country whose people are poor but clean, humble and friendly; whose ingenuity is used to best advantages; whole religious endeavors are manifest in their beautiful temples; whose placidity is evidenced by their even tempers and lack of haste; and whose strength is in their civic pride and national unity, is truly deserving of respect and consideration in the eyes of Mr. and Mrs. Average American Tourist.

Cordially yours,

EDNA L. COHEN
Mrs. Edward Cohen.

The Revision of U. N. Charter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the One Worlders are getting more bold and daring. Through a revision of the Charter of the United Nations proposed for sometime this year, the One Worlders or the World Association of Parlia-

mentarians for World Government and the United World Federalists propose to make a start in taking this country over, lock, stock, and barrel.

The United States is to be divided into four regions. The eastern section will include all of the United States from Maine to the Mississippi River and from the Mason and Dixon's line to Canada. The second section will include all the southern States from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. The third section will take in the States of the Middle West from Canada to the Mason and Dixon's line and from the Mississippi River to the Rockies. The fourth section will include the extreme west coast. These sections will be governed by the office of a director or commissar appointed by the World Government and he will administer laws given him by the same one world organization. These laws will be enforced by a corps of One World police, drawn from every country in the organization. There is no provision for the election of these directors or commissars and neither they nor the policemen used to enforce the laws can be residents of the district they control.

The resources of the world will be pooled and the rich, natural resources of the United States will be distributed throughout the world to bring every class of person up to a common standard of living. Individual efforts and industry count for nothing—the same identical setup the Soviets have. The One Worlders see a golden opportunity to get their clutches on the immense natural resources of this republic and distribute it to do two things:

First. To build up the potential enemies of this country.

Second. To so deplete the United States that it will be an easy victim of the World Government.

Not enough people in the United States are aware of this One World movement, which was once carried on secretly but is now promoted openly. Churches have joined in demanding this surrender on our part. These churches have been misled by thinking that world peace can be obtained if the United States will give up a part of its sovereignty. This is confused reasoning, because if we give up a part of our sovereignty it means that eventually we will be asked to give it all up if world peace cannot be established without it.

It is as impossible to subscribe to world peace with the Russian government, whose motive force is the destruction of capitalism, as it is to mix oil and water. We are not out to destroy communism, but Russia and China are out to utterly destroy capitalism. All we seek is to arrest communism and keep it from spreading ever outward as a threat to our own Government.

Since it is impossible to have perpetual peace with the Soviets, what faulty reasoning is it to suggest we give up our own sovereignty, thereby making the world conquest of capitalism more certain. The Soviets and Red China will sign any world peace document, but will not keep a word of their promises. How much more evidence do these peacemakers need to convince them that the signature of the Reds to a treaty is no more valuable than a page out of a Sears and Roebuck catalog?

These international One Worlders are heading this country into a lot of trouble here in the United States. Their plans include world citizenship, world legislation, world military control, world distribution of wealth and world management of economic and living conditions of all citizens, including the United States. We fought for our independence and freedom once, and will do it again. I do not believe the people of the United States want to give up, or will give up, any part of the sovereign rights of this republic. I think there are millions in this country who will, when the facts reach them, resist this One World Government, and brand its agitators for just what they are.

Although the Senate was asleep when the Charter of the United Nations was approved, the Congress is now alive to the menace of the One Worlders' efforts to sabotage the Constitution of the United States. House Joint Resolution 184 was passed unanimously by the Judiciary Committee of the House on March 8th, and reads as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the 1st day of May 1955 is hereby designated as Loyalty Day and is set aside as a special day for the reaffirmation of loyalty to the United States of America and for the recognition of the heritage of American freedom; and the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon officials of the Government to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on such day and inviting the people of the United States to observe such day, in schools and other suitable places, with appropriate ceremonies.

While the UNESCO of the United Nations seeks to tear down loyalty to this Nation and destroy patriotic national spirit, the Judiciary Committee expressed the opposite view in no uncertain terms. Gradually, day by day, the people are finding out about the purposes and objects of this sinister organization. The bolder UNESCO becomes, the more its purposes will be disclosed, and the Judiciary Committee of the House is to be congratulated for meeting its pernicious aims head on.

Edward J. McGettigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call of March 10, 1955:

A GOOD LIFE IS CLOSED

There hasn't been an hour like it in more than half a century of the Morning Call to match the grief of her people upon the death of a fellow employee as when news of the death of Edward J. McGettigan reached us. In an instant the ties that had bound us with this paper's city editor for almost 30 years were severed. One satisfaction did remain with us: He had been with us and was active as a newspaperman almost until the hour of his death.

There haven't been such distressing weeks as the staff of the Morning Call has passed through recently. The physical decline of Mr. McGettigan was noted with sadness by all. But all efforts on the part of his colleagues to have him take needed rest were unavailing with the man whose last 45 years had been devoted almost exclusively to newspaperdom. He just refused to quit. It seemed he desired to die "in the saddle."

Today our hearts are sad at the passing of a tried and a true friend, for that in the final analysis was his finest relationship with us. However, in our grief we realize that all on the staffs of the Call-Chronicle newspapers share our sorrow. Upstairs and downstairs, in the front office, as well as in the newsroom of the Call, which Mr. McGettigan dominated every night for almost 35 years, there was universally high regard for this admirable newsman, this excellent citizen and this near and sincere friend of so very many persons both within and outside the profession to which he brought lustre and honor during all his newspaper years.

Humbly and haltingly any local newspaperman who knew Ned McGettigan would attempt to reach even partial appraisal of his virtues and determine his stature, first as a newspaperman and then as a man among men.

His formal education, by modern standards, was brief but thorough. His informal education, achieved almost exclusively from his reading of the best newspapers and magazines, was amazingly extensive. He was the best demonstration of the educational potentialities of American newspapers. Possessed of an unusually keen intellect and highly retentive memory, he brought the great asset—calm and ripe judgment—to the marshaling of dates, facts, and figures in an appreciation and presentation of news, especially that of the local field. A diamond in the rough had been brought to the highest polish and brilliancy by the public schools of the sixth ward and the inspiration that the very good teachers of his day had given to young men to read widely and wisely. If he was not entirely, he certainly closely approached the ideal of newspapermen as to what a good reporter should be and what a good city editor should be.

The spirit of the newsroom which he oversaw for so many years was the very antithesis of what the American public has been led to believe a newsroom is like. The Hollywood version furnished no parallel for an organization that had Ned McGettigan as its cool and calm leader and director.

A stickler for facts and for getting to the gist of a story, he imbued his colleagues with the desirability of stripping the husks from the grain, and getting down to facts in dispassionate and logical approach to the truth in the news. He demanded sound reporting. And he got it from men who today bespeak his praise for the practical training that they received while working with him.

It must not be assumed from the above that Mr. McGettigan lacked imagination or emotion. On the contrary he was a man of the most delicate sympathies. This fineness in his nature was a quality that was recognized by all who knew him. Though a city boy, born and bred, he loved nature in all its phases. Photographs of pastoral scenes, of birds and animals—particularly if wild—appealed to him especially as items for the dolling up of news pages. Pictures of little children, if they told a story, were irresistible to him. In further exhibition of that trait, Mr. McGettigan's interest in children amounted almost to reverence for little people. Nothing brought greater brightness

to his eye and softness to his voice than the arrival in the city room of some child. It might be the shoeshine boy, or an errand boy from some place of business or the child of a visitor to the office. Nothing seemed to cheer his heart and to gladden his soul so deeply as little children. Any story concerning children was likely to receive his closest attention and get the most-favored position possible in the paper.

But Mr. McGettigan's colleagues and associates are going to remember him more for other qualities for it can be said that he was a paragon of virtue.

People who came to know the Morning Call's staff invariably were impressed with the high regard which unreservedly was manifested by all for a man who was in a position that has brought dislike and disregard and even stronger feeling against many men in corresponding position on other papers.

His associates knew him as a patient, humble, and serene person. He was quiet and more inclined to listen than to talk. He was friendly, cooperative, and generous to a fault. He could disagree without being disagreeable. He loved to note the little ironies in life and in the lives and activities of man. But he was generous and sympathetic in all his dealings.

Never lusty, he had indomitable courage. As a young man he engaged in sports where his courage had to substitute for weight and strength. And in his newspaper work his mild manner and soft voice concealed the strength of character that defied the bullies who, both from high and low position in life, frequently challenge the press and its publication of the news.

The mildness of his manner deceived those who did not guess the iron of his character. He had the highest principles and he adhered to them unflinchingly, although often required to employ the wisdom of ages that "a soft answer turneth away wrath."

He was a gentle man in that he did gentle deeds. More than any one can know, he aided friends and associates in difficult hours. He never permitted his left hand to know what his right hand was doing but the objects of his beneficences never can nor will forget his unsolicited aid, cheer, and sympathy in various ways in the hours when they most stood in need.

A brave and a generous man, a noble man, a gentleman in every sense of that term has closed his eyes and his abundant years have come to an end. There is sadness for all who knew him. But there is joy that favorable memory of him has no reservations.

Heaven will be the better for Ned McGettigan. May God receive his soul.

Congress Must Do Something Immediately to Alleviate the Unemployment Problem in Labor Surplus Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 14, 1955, I appeared before the so-called Neely subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in connection with the unemployment problem in the coal, railroad, and related industries and which exists in my congressional district. My statement follows:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, MARCH 14, 1955, BEFORE THE NEELY SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate you and the members of this committee for making possible the appearance here of those of us in Congress who represent areas of the Nation with a substantial labor surplus.

These hearings are timely and of utmost importance because they focus the attention of Congress and the Nation on the evils of unemployment.

Furthermore, these hearings will reveal that thousands of good Americans are living today on unemployment insurance benefits, public assistance, and surplus commodities.

Mr. Chairman, I want it definitely understood that I am not opposed to the principle of reciprocal trade. My votes on that subject since becoming a Member of Congress support that statement.

However, when it became apparent that reciprocal trade agreements were permitting cheaply manufactured foreign goods to destroy the jobs of American workmen I could not conscientiously continue my support of such a program.

Mr. Chairman, I supported the peril-point and the escape-clause amendments which were written into the reciprocal-trade laws and which we were told would safeguard the jobs of American wage earners.

In addition, I looked upon the creation of the Randall committee with high hope that it would provide relief to certain American industries from unfair competition resulting from a flood of cheaply manufactured foreign goods.

Regardless of the peril point, the escape clause, or the recommendations of the Randall committee, no checkrein has been placed on foreign imports and especially the flood of foreign residual oil which has just about wrecked the economy of coal-producing areas in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Maryland.

Because of the geographical location of the coal-producing areas in these three States, for years and years their mines supplied the eastern seaboard with coal.

However, since 1946 foreign residual oil from Venezuela began to flood the eastern seaboard with the result that it has displaced coal from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Maryland, thus destroying the jobs of thousands of coal miners, railroaders, and others in related industries.

The following chart fully describes the economic losses to American industry and labor from the importation of foreign residual oil for the period from 1946 through 1954:

Item	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Economic losses to American industry and labor occasioned by United States imports of residual oil 1946-54, inclusive:									
1. United States imports of residual fuel oil ..... millions of barrels..	45	54	53	75	120	119	129	136	132
2. Coal equivalent tons of item No. 1 (above) ..... millions of tons..	11	13	13	18	29	29	31	33	33
Estimated economic losses to American industry and labor resulting from United States imports of residual fuel oil:									
3. Coal producers ..... millions of dollars..	$37	$54	$64	$87	$139	$141	$151	$160	$153
4. Railroad revenue ..... do....	$21	$28	$30	$45	$74	$75	$86	$92	$84
5. Coal miners—wages ..... do....	$19	$27	$31	$43	$68	$72	$77	$81	$74
6. Railroad labor—wages ..... do....	$12	$14	$15	$23	$36	$38	$43	$46	$44
7. Taxes (Federal, State, and local—direct) ..do....	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	$41	$40

[1] Not available.

Mr. Chairman, this chart speaks for itself because it reveals the tremendous increase annually since 1946 in the importation of foreign residual oil.

In addition, it also discloses the millions of tons of coal displaced annually; the revenue lost to coal producers and the railroads; the loss in taxes to local, State, and the Federal Government; and more important than anything else the wages lost by coal miners and railroaders.

Mr. Chairman, I am not attempting to tell you or this committee that the unemployment in the coal, railroad, and related industries is wholly chargeable to foreign residual oil. It is, however, a powerful factor.

The following chart shows the decreased use of coal by the railroads of the Nation and by other domestic users:

Consumption of bituminous coal
[Thousands of net tons]

Year	Railroads (class I)	Retail dealer deliveries	Total
1946	110,166	100,586	500,386
1947	109,296	99,163	545,891
1948	94,838	89,747	519,909
1949	68,423	90,299	445,538
1950	60,969	86,604	454,202
1951	54,005	76,531	468,904
1952	37,962	68,393	418,757
1953	27,735	61,295	420,285
1954	17,370	62,616	362,980

Source: U. S. Bureau of Mines.

You will observe the drastic decrease in the amount of coal used by the railroads which is the result of the dieselization of their motive power.

The loss in domestic use or in retail deliveries is chargeable to the use of substitute fuels.

Mr. Chairman, from the information furnished in my testimony you have evidence as to the basis for the unemployment in the coal, railroad and related industries.

As you know, those of us in Congress from coal-producing areas have advocated a quota limitation on the importation of foreign residual oil, because we feel it is justified and the only way we can get relief.

Mr. Chairman, you have heard from spokesmen for the coal industry for the past week and there is nothing more I can add to their expert testimony.

For that reason, I want to talk about the unemployment situation in my own congressional district which comprises the counties of Blair, Centre, and Clearfield in central Pennsylvania.

When I first came to Congress in 1939 I opposed reciprocal trade agreements on the grounds that they were destroying the jobs of coal miners in my congressional district in Pennsylvania. At that time, imported Russian coal had captured some of the eastern seaboard coal markets from coal producers in my congressional district.

In voicing my opposition to the importation of slave-minded Russian coal and other cheaply manufactured foreign products, I predicted that such a reckless policy would create ghost towns out of many communities in my congressional district and throughout the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, my prediction in 1939 has become a reality.

Practically all of our deep mines in central Pennsylvania are closed and thousands of miners have been out of work for several years.

In fact, many mining towns have been abandoned and their empty and dilapidated rows of houses stand as a ghastly monument to the destructive effects of the importation of foreign residual oil.

Because they have nowhere to go, only a few of the unemployed in the coalfields of central Pennsylvania have left the area.

The result is that today, according to the United States Department of Labor, my congressional district is classified as a critical area because of a very substantial labor surplus.

In fact, over 18 percent of the civilian labor force is unemployed.

This unemployment is not confined to coal miners and railroaders but includes those employed in affected related industries.

The three countries that comprise my congressional district represent one of the most acute unemployment areas in the United States.

This unemployment problem that exists in my congressional district did not happen overnight. As I mentioned a moment ago, it started back in 1939 and were it not for World War II and the Korean war which stepped up the demand for coal the unemployment problem we have today would have been acute in the intervening years.

In a few words, World War II and the Korean war simply delayed the day of reckoning.

Mr. Chairman, these unemployed people in my congressional district have exhausted their rights to unemployment insurance, liquidated their savings accounts, borrowed on or have taken the cash value of their insurance policies and today are living on public assistance and surplus commodities.

In order to become eligible for public assistance many of these good Americans were required to permit the State to place a lien against their home for the amount they receive in public assistance benefits.

To give you some idea of the overall picture of unemployment in my congressional district let me call your attention to the following chart that describes the number of families and persons receiving surplus commodities:

Surplus commodities

County	Number of families	Percentage of all families	Total number of persons	Percentage of county population
Blair	10,801	26.8	32,561	23.3
Centre	2,939	15.9	9,362	14.2
Clearfield	9,988	42.2	37,179	43.3
Total	23,728	28.8	79,402	27.1
Entire State of Pennsylvania			1,020,963	[1] 9.7

[1] Of State population of 10,498,012.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, before you receive coupons for surplus commodities you have to be certified as eligible by a local welfare agency.

Therefore, these figures are official and have been verified not only by the State of Pennsylvania but also by the county commissioners in each of the three counties in my congressional district.

Surplus commodities by carload lots to Mar. 1, 1955

County	Beans	Beef	Butter	Cheese	Dried milk	Rice	Shortening
Blair	2	16	21	19	18	1	16
Centre	½	4	3	5	5	½	4
Clearfield	4	5	16	14	16	1	13
Total number of carloads	6½	25	40	38	39	2½	33
Grand total, 184 carload lots.							

Mr. Chairman, there is no denial of the fact that these figures are startling and are an answer to those who smugly insist that there is no acute unemployment problem in the labor surplus areas of the Nation.

Think of it, Mr. Chairman, in the great industrial State of Pennsylvania out of its 10½ million residents, nearly 10 percent, or 1,020,963, are living on surplus commodities.

In my congressional district out of a population of 292,000 nearly 28 percent, or 79,402 persons, are receiving surplus commodities.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, these figures are startling for they truly portary the extent of unemployment in Pennsylvania and in my congressional district.

To be more specific, in my home city of Altoona, Pa., out of a metropolitan area population of a little better than 100,000 nearly 10,000 persons are unemployed, 6,000 of whom are railroad employees, with 4,100 of them having exhausted their rights to railroad unemployment insurance benefits on January 10, 1955.

I regret that every member of this committee is unable to visit Altoona, Pa., and talk to these unemployed Americans as they stand in line to pick up their surplus food coupons.

If it were possible for you to talk to them, you would hear the tragic story of their plight as citizens of a nation that boasts of its high standard of living.

Mr. Chairman, the residents of my congressional district faced with this acute unemployment problem are not sitting idly by and doing nothing to help themselves. Almost every community has an active industrial committee, and thousands of dollars have been raised by public subscription in an all-out and long-range program of rehabilitating the industrial economy of the area by attracting new industries.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, in the effort to attract new industries to a community the competition is really keen.

While these various community industrial groups exert every possible effort to attract new industries, no stone is being left unturned to assist the unemployed in finding jobs. In this effort we have the cooperation of Federal and State employment services as well as the Railroad Retirement Board.

Regardless of this determined effort to relieve the unemployment situation, we are faced with the fact that only a handful have found employment elsewhere in central Pennsylvania; while several hundred having despaired of getting employment in Altoona have migrated to other States. The bulk of the unemployed are still in central Pennsylvania and especially in the Altoona area where they are living in hope that employment conditions will improve.

Mr. Chairman, these unemployed who have remained in central Pennsylvania should not be criticized, for let us remember they represent the second and third generation of families that settled in the central Pennsylvania area years and years ago.

They have their family roots in central Pennsylvania, many owning their own homes or having nearly completed the purchase of them.

In plain words, these good American citizens who have helped build their community, State, and Nation through toil and taxes, should not be expected to leave the great industrial State of Pennsylvania and roam over the United States in gypsylike fashion seeking their daily bread.

To those who would suggest that these families be relocated at Government expense, I say to you that you are advocating the principles of state socialism which dictates when and where you may sow and reap.

Mr. Chairman, as the Representative of these people in the Congress of the United States, I have introduced a series of bills in this Congress designed to provide relief for the unemployment situation, not only in my congressional district but also in other labor surplus areas of the Nation.

There are two bills in particular in my series of legislative proposals that I would like to call to this committee's attention.

First is H. R. 860, a bill to provide for programs of public facilities construction which will stimulate employment in areas having a substantial labor surplus.

The other bill is H. R. 4628 which will authorize the Small Busines Administration to make loans to municipalities having a substantial labor surplus to assist them in their efforts to promote the establishment and location of new industries or to aid in expanding existing plants.

These two bills are pending before House committees and if approved by this Congress would help considerably to alleviate the unemployment problem and bolster the sagging economy of many areas of the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, while we attack this unemployment problem on all fronts almost daily the situation becomes more acute as our unemployment rolls increase because of the fact that as the day go by more of our deep shaft mines are being closed with the result that more miners, railroaders, and employees in related industries are thrown out of work.

The closing of our mines, Mr. Chairman, is traceable to the ever increasing imports of residual oil from Venezuela which started in 1946 with 45 million barrels and reached a total of nearly 132 million barrels in 1954.

In fact, from 1946 through 1954, inclusive, a total of 863 million barrels of foreign residual oil flooded the eastern seaboard of the United States displacing 209 million tons of bituminous coal resulting in the loss of $492 million in miners' wages and $271 million in railroader's wages.

We should add to this loss in income the loss in taxes to Federal, State, and local political subdivisions.

Mr. Chairman, you will remember that earlier in my discussion I talked of ghost towns and all through my remarks I have stressed the unemployment of thousands of good Americans who have exhausted their rights to unemployment-insurance benefits and are existing on public assistance and surplus commodities.

I repeat, this condition prevails in the United States where we boast of our high standard of living.

Mr. Chairman, the principal benefactor from the flood of foreign residual oil is Venezuela whose residents are enjoying unbridled prosperity.

Let me read to you Hal Boyle's syndicated column of January 14, 1955, titled "Venezuela Seen as the Texas of South America."

"VENEZUELA SEEN AS TEXAS OF SOUTH AMERICA

"(By Hal Boyle)

"CARACAS, VENEZUELA.—Leaves from a cruising notebook: Venezuela today is the Texas of South America.

"So much money is being made here that visiting Texans actually get an inferiority complex, and the United States dollar feels like 50 cents.

"Just to be sure he wouldn't be mistaken for an ordinary bum, one new millionaire from the interior of the country came to town with calling cards that bore this message printed after his name: 'Capital: 6 million bolivars.' That's nearly $2 million.

"There is so much wealth flowing around that even tourists get a break. If you kick a diamond out of a rock here, the Government lets you keep it tax free unless it is worth more than $1,700. You can also go pearl diving and keep any pearls you find.

"The visitor has a dazed sensation he is caught in a midcentury Klondike gold rush. The atmosphere of quick money is overwhelming, and tales of riches made overnight are a bolivar a dozen.

"Venezuela is bigger than Texas and Oklahoma combined and larger than any European country except Germany. Its chief income is from oil—no land except the United States produces more—but it also has iron ore deposits rivaling the famed Minnesota Mesabi Range. It also has cowboys and Indians, 16,000-foot-tall mountains, jungles, beach resorts, and the world's highest waterfalls.

"Although the nation has a population of 5½ million, the government spent half a billion dollars in 1954 on vast public-works projects and still ended up with $80 million left in the till. Its huge modernization program calls for the future expenditure of $800 million alone for a new 2,640-mile railway network to open inland mineral and agricultural areas for further development.

"Foreign investors from the United States and Europe are pouring untold more millions into the industrialization of the country. It has taken in more than 100,000 immigrants from Europe the last 10 years.

"Caracas, the 388-year-old capital, is now one of the world's greatest boom cities. Fifty years ago milkmen herded cows through its ancient streets. Today they are jammed by thousands of new high-priced motor cars.

"You reach the city from the nearby port along recently completed 11-mile highway that cost $71 million, which Caraquenos proudly boast is, mile for mile, the most expensive ever built.

"Nearly a million people live in the metropolitan area, and so many new buildings are going up construction workers have no time even to take Sundays off to go to the bull fights.

"Dominating the heart of the city is Centro Bolivar, Venezuela's 'Rockefeller Center,' which will cost $300 million. Its twin 300-foot towers, housing government offices, have four traffic levels beneath them.

"Caracas also has a baseball park the size of Yankee Stadium, the new $8 million Hotel Tamanaco, a technicolored $30 million polyclinic hospital, and a university as modern as any in the world.

"But the city has abysmal poverty as well as tremendous wealth. The shanties of the poor still crowd many of the raw red hills that stud Caracas. The government has torn down thousands of these eyesores and replaces them with forty 15-story apartment buildings at a cost of $24 million. Workmen can rent the apartments for $6 to $30 a month, own them after a period of 20 years.

"In 1955 the government plans to tear down 6,500 more shacks, spend $2 million more on apartment projects for low-income workers.

"Oddly, many uprooted workmen's families are unhappy in their fine new apartments.

"'The old shacks had a small yard in which families could raise a pig and a few chickens, explained our guide. 'It is all but impossible, of course, to raise a pig in an apartment, and many of the old people in particular get lonesome for their old way of life. They don't feel as free as they did.'

"Progress always has its price, and to some the price doesn't seem worth it."

Mr. Chairman, what a contrast it is to compare living conditions in Venezuela with the coal fields of Pennsylvania.

May I add that the prosperity enjoyed in Venezuela is to a great extent at the expense of the misery and suffering of residents of the coal-producing States of our Nation and especially of my congressional district.

At this very minute a quarter of a million ton tanker ship is tied up at an east coast dock carrying disaster to the coal, railroad, and related industries of this Nation, in much the same manner as rat-infested vessels brought disease into our port cities in years gone by.

This foreign tanker with its bunker space filled with residual oil is dumping it in violation of every American concept of fair competition.

As a matter of fact, even if the miners of our Nation would work for nothing and the railroads transported the coal for practically nothing, the coal industry could not compete with this unfair competition from foreign residual oil because its price is continually manipulated downward in order to capture the eastern seaboard coal market.

Mr. Chairman, it is being said in defense of residual oil that the oil companies have been requested to restrict voluntarily the amount of residual oil imported quarterly. Those who have considered the possibility of voluntary cutbacks on imports of foreign residual oil insist that it is impractical and that the idea has been abandoned.

They further state that such voluntary control may be in violation of antitrust laws and thus the proposal presents a complicated legal problem.

It has also been said that if any restrictions are placed on the importation of foreign residual oil we will offend Venezuela.

Let me state, Mr. Chairman, that every time a coal miner loses his job because of unfair competition from foreign residual oil a railroader has also been added to the list of the unemployed.

As far as I am concerned, it is about time we start adopting some of the policies foreign nations apply against us in protecting the jobs of their industrial workers.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity accorded me this morning to appear before this committee and to tell you of the plight of the unemployed in my congressional district.

Your willingness to listen to an analysis of our problem renews our faith and confidence in our representative form of government.

I sincerely hope that as a result of these hearings remedial legislation will be enacted at the earliest possible date.

Another Freeze?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on Sunday, March 13, 1955, I appeared on a nationwide television program Face the Nation, to discuss the study and inquiry into the radio and television field currently being considered by the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

One of the panel members of this program was Mr. Sol Taishoff, keen observer, and publisher of the authoritative magazine Broadcasting-Telecasting, who raised various questions concerning the so-called television freeze.

Because of the importance of this matter and the long experience Mr. Taishoff has had in this field, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Another Freeze?" which appeared in the March 14, 1955, issue of Broadcasting-Telecasting.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER FREEZE?

If the FCC falls for the scheme of its staff department heads for the imposition of a new freeze (called chill) on VHF authorizations, the individual members might as well head for the hills. They would never be able to withstand the wrath of an outraged public in the areas that would be "chilled," as expressed through their duly elected representatives in Congress.

The scheme, reported in this issue, is harebrained. Its proclaimed purpose is to maintain the status quo of the UHF situation during the interim period when the Commission is considering possible remedial action. And what is that action?

Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock proposes, and the staff supports, an eventual move of all TV to the UHF band. At the FCC session last Tuesday, when the staff proposal was smuggled in, the discussion covered a possible 10-year transition from VHF to UHF, with stations operating on both bands during this transition period.

The discussion also covered possible "selective deintermixture", but obviously this would be from VHF to UHF, since the long-range plan contemplates giving VHF—the established service that got there first—back to the Government to allocate to other services. The FCC probably has the legal authority to deintermix, but it would find itself embroiled in the courts at the very outset by applicants who in good faith had applied for available assignments, spent their funds for hearings, only to have the allocations rug jerked from under them.

Five years ago—before the end of the great freeze, and when there were only 100-odd stations on the air—the then FCC Chairman Wayne Coy sent up a trial balloon on a move of all TV to UHF. There were then about 3 million TV receivers in use. The project got nowhere. Even in those days it involved too great an upheaval to warrant serious consideration.

The FCC is under pressure from Congress to do something for UHF. But it can't pass miracles. It should be evident that neither UHF nor VHF, standing alone, can provide optimum, saturation service. VHF has the greater coverage, and can provide service to rural and remote areas which could not be served economically by UHF's situated in the larger cities. A transition to UHF would mean the loss of even fringe service to those who seek it most—the remote dweller.

The FCC should forget about schemes that would artificially curtail or eliminate service. The "public interest" yardstick should be reason enough. The FCC can't ordain an equitable allocation so that one or more services will be provided everywhere. There are many VHF assignments that are going begging. More than 2 dozen previously authorized have been turned back. The reasons are economic.

And so it is with UHF. There are quite a few UHF stations that not only are not complaining, but wish the breast-beating would cease. They are doing well, even with VHF competition. First Storer, and now NBC acquires its second UHF station, while CBS is surveying the field for its second. This certainly supports the view that UHF is technically adequate.

UHF could be helped substantially if manufacturers would produce all-band receivers. Chairman MAGNUSON of the Senate Commerce Committee, proposes to call in the leading manufacturers in the hope of working this out. We hope he does it soon.

Meanwhile, the FCC would be well-advised to stick to its assigned task of allocating channels, both VHF and UHF, consistent with the demad and with its rules. It is not the function of Government to wet-nurse citizens who venture into unfamiliar fields unprepared to weather the red-ink stretch, as did all of the pioneer VHF's. Broadcasting epitomizes free competitive enterprise and the risks it entails.

Sixteenth Anniversary of the Independence of Slovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, today, March 14, is the 16th anniversary of the independence of Slovakia. Throughout the world this anniversary will be celebrated by the Slovak people. On March 14, 1939, the Slovak Parliament in Bratislava proclaimed Slovakia an independent state. It was the climax to feelings of national consciousness which had their beginnings as early as the 16th century. Although for long centuries generations of Slovaks lived on their own land under foreign rule, they cherished the deep faith that the time would come when Slovakia would become an independent country and Slovaks might rule themselves.

The solemnity with which Slovaks everywhere greet this 16th anniversary of their independence springs from the fact that it must denote still another year during which the people of Slovakia have endured the material enslavement of their land under the mockery called by the Communists the people's democracy. However, that the years of independence were so few has only strengthened the age-old determination of this proud people to resist to the end the forces which now aim to stifle the very moral principles upon which democracy and freedom are based.

I know that I speak for the American people when I say that the people of Slovakia have our deepest sympathy and admiration in their heroic resistance to the regime of physical exploitation and the amoral ideology which the Soviet Union has attempted to force upon them. We join them on this anniversary of their independence in the fervent hope that their opposition will prevail, and achieve once again the establishment of a free and democratic nation.

Family of Lt. John Buck, of Armathwaite, Tenn., Imprisoned Airman, Hopefully Await Return of Son Now in the Hands of Reds—Neighbor of Cordell Hull and Sgt. Alvin C. York, Lieutenant Buck Is Heir to Heroic Tennessee Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the hearts of the Nation are with the American boys who are being illegally held and imprisoned by the Chinese Reds—and with the families of these men, with whom our Nation prays and hopes that the happy moment of reunion will come soon.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, there recently appeared in the Sunday magazine of the Nashville Tennessean an excellent article by Mr. H. B. Teeter about the family of Lt. John W. Buck, of Armathwaite, Tenn., who is one of the American boys imprisoned by the Reds. Mr. and Mrs. Noah Buck, the parents of Lieutenant Buck, as this article states, have every faith that their son will return and that his fine character and American outlook will be unchanged. We believe with them that such will be the case, because Lieutenant Buck represents the finest in American manhood.

Under unanimous consent, I insert this article by Mr. Teeter, Family Prays and Hopes for Son, Prisoner of the Reds, along with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

TENNESSEE FAMILY PRAYS AND HOPES FOR SON
(By H. B. Teeter)

Many times each day, an elderly man and woman glance down a winding road which disappears around the shoulder of an apple orchard in Fentress County.

Noah Buck and his wife believe their son will come walking down the road again, some day, back to his home in Armathwaite.

They will see him walking, head erect, chest thrown back—the way they remember him in boyhood and young manhood. Their confidence has not wavered since their son, Lt. John W. Buck, disappeared behind the bamboo curtain in January 1953. They remain confident today, even in face of knowledge he is held prisoner by the Chinese Reds.

"If we did not believe that, if it had not been for our prayers, we could not have lived through the past two years," said Mrs. Buck, now 73, a sweet-faced, smiling woman whose pioneer parents helped settle this rugged mountain country.

"He will be the same Woodie Buck he always was," said the father, now 77, who swears by the American principles his son learned as a boy.

Lieutenant Buck is heir to an heroic tradition, neighbor and friend of the great Sgt. Alvin C. York, relative of Tennessee's stalwart Cordell Hull. He is also from the line of famed Sam Houston.

He has been held prisoner of the Chinese Reds since his American B–29 was shot down near the Yalu River in North Korea. The Tennessean was 1 of 14 men aboard the plane. Three died.

He was not heard of for 18 months. Then last August the Chinese revealed he and the others were alive and being held as political prisoners. He received a 4-year sentence from a Red tribunal which recently sentenced 13 American airmen on espionage charges. Thus the Chinese play their cruel and patient game.

It has been 15 years since Buck enlisted in the Air Force. As a bombardier during World War II, he is credited with sinking two Nazi submarines. His mission over North Korea in January 1953 was to drop pamphlets—not bombs.

At their comfortable home in Armathwaite, Mr. and Mrs. Buck the other day told how their son grew straight as a pine tree on their farm.

"When he was no more than 3 years old, he liked to be out in the fields with me," the father said. "By the time he started to school, his ambition was to run faster, fight harder and play better than the other kids."

The Buck home was and is a religious home, neighbors told this reporter.

"Woodie Buck grew up with more stuff in him than anybody I know," said Junior Hicks of Armathwaite. "He was a fighter. I was afraid he had been killed by the Chinese after he was shot down. If he had anything to fight with, he'd have fought to the finish."

"He wanted to be big and strong," Noah Buck said. "He put up a sack full of sand and used it as a boxing bag. He was a fine swimmer, too."

Although Buck has been gone from Armathwaite for most of 15 years, his boyhood friends recall that he was an excellent pistol shot and probably the best amateur boxer in the section. He was a good student and a better-than-average baseball player, they say.

"He was as good a boy as there ever was," the mother said.

"And a good farmer, too," the father added. "Why, I kept a mule just so Woodie would have something to plow with."

What may have happened to Buck during his long months of imprisonment by the Chinese is anybody's guess. Have the Chinese changed him from the clean-cut, friendly mountain boy whose main ambition in life was to serve his country?

Not according to Sgt. Alvin C. York, America's hero of World War I. York knew Buck when he attended the Alvin C. York Institute at nearby Jamestown, and he has known the Buck family all of his life.

"He was one of the finest boys in this part of the country," York said.

Mrs. Buck is a cousin of Cordell Hull, Tennessee's great Secretary of State. Noah Buck's grandmother was a niece of Sam Houston. John Buck grew up with 4 sisters and 1 brother. The brother, Clyde, is postmaster at Armathwaite. The sisters are Mrs. Ray Dunford of Armathwaite, Mrs. Lula Richardson of Morristown, Tenn., Mrs. Edna Range, and Mrs. Ann Berry of Dayton, Ohio.

Mr. and Mrs. Buck received the first letter from their son last September, after long months of anxious waiting and uncertainty. They had no way of knowing what he was enduring at the hands of the Chinese Reds, or even if he were alive.

Perhaps there were weeks on end when John Buck was put to severe tests by his captors. American prisoners who have returned tell terrifying tales of brainwashing by the Chinese Reds bent on obtaining false confessions.

The letters Mr. and Mrs. Noah Buck receive from their son are not in the language of the Chinese. They sound like an American boy who hasn't changed.

These letters do much to bolster their hope.

In his first letter, received last September, Buck told his parents that he now weighs 190 pounds and is in good health.

"Ma, I want you and dad to live to a ripe old age. You are both in your 70's and shouldn't be working.

"Hire two good men to clean up the place. Clean up and reseed the pasture fields. Might want to raise cattle when I get home.

"Put a new lawn around the house. Clean out the fence rows and repair the fences. • • • Don't worry about me for I will be all right."

Sounds just like the Woodie Buck we knew, the neighbors say. The old folks are confident it will be the same Woodie coming down that lane one day again.

Iowa State College—The First Educational Institution To Benefit From the Land-Grant College Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that this subject matter concerns an important educational institution in Iowa and, because of the national significance of this subject, the entire Iowa delegation—Representatives CUNNINGHAM, DOLLIVER, GROSS, HOEVEN, JENSEN, LECOMPTE, and TALLE—joins me in extending these remarks in the RECORD.

I wish to call the attention of the Congress to a very important fact of history which has been distorted recently. This misinterpretation is of particular concern to this body because it involves an act of Congress, the Morrill Act of 1862, popularly referred to as the Land-Grant College Act. This important legislation was initiated and implemented by the Congress of the United States and signed by President Lincoln on July 2, 1862.

On February 12, 1955, the Postmaster General of the United States issued a commemorative postage stamp bearing the names of Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University and the dates of their founding, 1855 to 1955. I salute these two institutions on the occasion of their centennial celebrations and hope that their next hundred years will be as successful and as resourceful as the first hundred.

It also seems to me that the Postmaster General has established a fine precedent in issuing this 100th anniversary stamp for two of our outstanding institutions of higher education. Each of our State universities, in fact, should be so honored. This, I think, should be called to the attention of the great and noble State universities in order that they too can celebrate their 100th year with the issuance of a commemorative United States postage stamp.

There was a grave error and a distortion of historical fact, however, on this Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University stamp. Across the top of this stamp runs the statement "First of the Land Grant Colleges," but this is not true.

These two institutions were not first of the land-grant colleges. Iowa State College was the first educational institution to become an official land-grant college.

First, there was no such thing as a land-grant college in 1855 since the national legislation creating them was not enacted until 1862. Granted there were agricultural colleges which later were designated for the functions of the Morrill Act, but they were not land-grant colleges until the several State legislatures accepted the terms of the Morrill Act and officially specified which State educational institution was to be the agricultural and mechanical arts college.

Second, as you can verify by the accompanying documented table, the Iowa State Legislature accepted the terms of the 1862 act on September 11, 1862, and by this action became the first State to accept it. At the same time, Iowa State was designated as the State's land-grant institution, thereby becoming the first educational institution to benefit from the Morrill Act of 1862 which provided for the creation of our land-grant colleges.

If these institutions, which had the greatest democratizing influence on higher education in this country, are to be honored as they should be, this gross error of historical fact that appears at the top of the Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University commemorative stamp must be corrected.

I have pointed out that Iowa State College was the first educational institution to be a land-grant college because the State legislature accepted the 1862 act on September 11, 1862. When you study the accompanying documented table, you will also discover that Kansas State accepted the act on February 3, 1863, and created and designated Kansas State Agricultural College on February 16, 1863, to be its land-grant college. This was 10 days before the Michigan Legislature accepted the act and designated Michigan Agricultural College as its land-grant institution.

Also, you will notice that six State legislatures preceded the Pennsylvania State Legislature in designating their official land-grant colleges. Although Pennsylvania accepted the Morrill Act on April 1, 1863, Pennsylvania State College was not designated as the official land-grant college to receive the State's funds until February 19, 1867.

These are the facts of history and I ask that the Congress of the United States officially set the record straight and advise the Postmaster General of the inaccuracy that appears on the commemorative stamp issue of February 12, 1955.

See attached documented statement confirming above subject matter.

Land grant institutions—Selected group

Institution	Date of organization	Date of opening for students	Date of receipt of 1862 land-grant fund	Date of acceptance of 1862 act by legislature
Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.	Mar. 22, 1858	School opened 1859; college, Mar. 17, 1869.	Sept. 11, 1862	Sept. 11, 1862
Kansas State Agricultural College	Feb. 16, 1863	February 1863 (16)	Feb. 16, 1863	Feb. 3, 1863
Michigan Agricultural College	Feb. 12, 1855	May 13, 1857	Feb. 25, 1863	Feb. 25, 1863
University of Missouri	Feb. 11, 1839	Apr. 14, 1841	Feb. 24, 1870	Mar. 10, 1863
Rutgers University, N. J.	Nov. 10, 1766	1771	Mar. 21, 1863	
Pennsylvania State College	Feb. 22, 1855	Feb. 20, 1859; college, May 1, 1862.	Feb. 19, 1867	Apr. 1, 1863
University of Vermont	Nov. 2, 1791	1801	Nov. 9, 1865	Oct. 29, 1862
University of Wisconsin	July 26, 1848	February 1849	Apr. 12, 1866	Apr. 2, 1863

Source: Benjamin F. The Land-Grant of 1862 and the Land-Grant Colleges. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1918, 62-63 p. Bureau of Education Bulletin 1918, No. 13. True, Alfred Charles. A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1929. 436 p. U. S. Department of Agriculture. Miscellaneous Publication No. 36.

Let's Stop Kidding About Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial that appeared in the Newark (N. J.) Star-Ledger under date of March 13, 1955, entitled "Let's Stop Kidding About Civilian Defense":

Last month, the Atomic Energy Commission revealed the H-bomb's awesome capacity for destruction. One bomb can kill just about everybody in a 7,000-mile-square area, roughly the size of New Jersey—unless they are prepared for it.

What kind of preparation is the right kind?

Nobody's answered that question yet. And the answer must be detailed, definitive, and decisive.

President Eisenhower the other day suggested more and more realism in our CD tests. But how are we going to be realistic if we don't know what to do?

Val Peterson, the national CD boss, suggests that it might be a good idea for homeowners to dig shelters. What kind of shelters? Where? In the basement or in the yard? How big? What supplies should be stored in them?

Just think of a new homeowner. Should he incorporate shelter plans right in the blueprint? If it's really vital, the Government should encourage it. It might even offer a tax inducement to people who build shelters the way it offered a tax inducement to people who built factories during the war.

Remember, civil defense is not merely passive defense. Our entire military concept is based upon massive retaliation. We are going along on the assumption that no enemy will dare attack us, because our retaliation will be fearful and complete.

But retaliation is based on the idea that an enemy attack will not destroy us. We must be able to rise from the first attack and strike back.

We will not be able to do this without adequate civil defense.

If the Government wants the public to stop joking about CD, then it better get serious itself. Not just the people in the street are confused. The Governor of Massachusetts says that the States don't even know what to do with their National Guard units in case of attack.

Let's get going in Washington.

A Proposed Tax Credit Plan To Aid Students in Institutions of Higher Learning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD a very informative article dealing with a proposed tax credit plan to aid students in institutions of higher learning. Legislation in support of this proposal has been introduced by my colleagues, the Honorable DONALD L. JACKSON, of California, and the Hon. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR., of New Jersey, and I want to associate myself with them in this proposed plan.

The article which I refer to was issued by the American Council on Education and contains facts and statistics which certainly should alert the members of the Congress to this very important problem with which many of us today are confronted:

A PROPOSED TAX CREDIT PLAN TO AID STUDENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

The one fact concerning American manpower on which everybody agrees is that serious shortages exist in professions and vocations for which a college education is essential. The most comprehensive recent study, made by Dael Wolfle for the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training, shows that the supply of college graduates to meet immediate needs is insufficient in the natural sciences, engineering, home economics, dentistry, medicine, nursing, school teaching, and college teaching, and that demands are increasing in social science and the humanities. Furthermore, it is noted that as the population increases the demand for professional workers increases at double the rate.

With national security resting in the balance, the United States is less strong than it might be, because, as Dr. Wolfle says, "it wastes the abilities of many of its most capable sons and daughters." His investigations show that of the students in the upper two-fifths of high-school graduating classes—a group of approximately 342,000 a year—only 51 percent enroll in college. He cites evidence indicating that of the remaining 49 percent, half are probably prohibited from continuing their education by lack of funds.

THE INCREASING COST OF COLLEGE EDUCATION

The financial hurdle to a college education grows higher each year, as colleges and universities, both publicly and privately supported, increase tuition and fees in a determined but usually unsuccessful effort to keep pace with the rising costs of instruction in the face of decreasing proportionate income from other sources. One recent study reported by Francis J. Brown in Educational Sociology shows an increase, in the decade 1942–43 to 1952–53, of 65 percent in tuition and fees of publicly supported institutions and 78 percent in privately supported institutions. Substantial further increases have been put into effect in many institutions since 1953.

It can easily be demonstrated that the added income from students has not permitted colleges and universities to be lavish in the expenditure of funds. A recent study by the National Education Association based on data for 1952–53 cites the average salary for beginning college teachers as $3,000 a year and the average for full professors as approximately $7,000. One of the reasons for the low salaries is that colleges and universities are still doing their utmost to assist needy students. A recent survey of 25 colleges with enrollments under 3,000, made by Treasurer John M. Schlegel, of Lafayette College, reports that total student aid increased from $1,730,000 in 1948–49 to $4 million in 1952–53. Only 36 percent of the aid was endowed. "This means," he says, "that these 25 institutions poured into student aid in 1952–53 from operating funds an average of $102,000 per college." That money could have been used for faculty salaries or other purposes if those colleges had been content to serve only the children of those financially able to pay the full tuition fee.

THE EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSE TO FAMILIES DURING COLLEGE YEARS

In other words, through circumstances which the colleges and universities cannot control, the cost of their services to the youth of America has risen to a point where it is beyond the reach of many families and an extreme financial sacrifice to many others. The plight of thousands is described by Robert W. Murphy, general counsel of the Borg-Warner Corp., in an article in the March 1953 issue of College and University Business:

"If one heeds the voice of experience, he should consult the father of a boy or girl in college. * * * Multiply even $1,500 by 4 years, and $6,000 by 4 children (or select any number from 1 to 12), and it is obvious that a sizable minimum is required. This amount must be set aside after taxes.

"For example, with four children, assuming the minimum amount required is $24,000, if the taxpayer should be in a 30-percent tax bracket (which is certainly not unusual for a middle-income family), this would mean that in order to save $24,000 for educational expenses, he must earn $35,000; if he is in the 50-percent tax bracket, he must earn $48,000—all in addition to his regular day-to-day living expenses. These amounts provide only the basic education leading to a bachelor's degree; the sum that a parent must set aside if he contemplates educating his children in the professions becomes astronomical."

Addison B. Clohosey, testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee in June 1953, on behalf of the Research Institute of America, stated:

"Unless something is done to give relief in the way of allowable deductions for college and educational expenses for children, we will surely kill the educational program in this country

"It costs between $2,000 and $2,500 per year to maintain a child at college away from home. You don't have to have a large income for this to mean that you must earn $4,000 or $5,000 per year for each child whom you want to give a college education.

"I firmly believe in balanced budgets, but I don't believe that you can unbalance the budgets of the private citizens for as long a period as we have without killing incentives and destroying the very structure we are fighting to save."

Gerald W. Harrington, attorney, from Providence, R. I., testifying at the same hearing, stated:

"If we are interested as a community, as a government, as a society in preserving college education as we have known it, in preserving it as an opportunity for anybody to have an education no matter what strata of society he may come from, if we are interested in preserving college revenues, then we are interested in increasing the ability of the individuals to pay tuition. By the individuals I mean principally the parents of children who are going through the process of college education.

"One way that we could at least help the individual parents to meet these tuition costs, it seems to me, is by granting a deduction to the individual parents for moneys expended on tuition for the education of their children."

The Honorable CARL ELLIOTT, Member of Congress from Alabama, testified at the hearing in support of his bill providing for the deductibility of tuition as follows:

"It is necessary for parents to begin saving at an early date if they are to be able to send their children to college. As costs skyrocket, it becomes increasingly difficult to save money. The small margin between that which is earned and that which is needed to meet the essentials in the average household today is approaching the vanishing point. The greatest portion of this margin evaporates in taxes."

GENERAL ADVANTAGES OF THE TAX CREDIT PROPOSAL

If substantial tax relief were given for student fees paid to tax-exempt public and private educational institutions, many parents would reappraise their financial ability to pay the costs of a child's education and more children would have the advantage of the opportunities which our country is dedicated to keep open. Parents in the $8,000, $10,000 and $12,000 a year brackets, who now require partial scholarships to keep their children in college, would be able to forego these scholarship funds, thus making them available for those children coming from homes of lesser financial ability. Some institutions, without curtailing the support given to superior students from low-income homes, could conserve some of the operational funds now used for scholarships and make them available for faculty salaries and maintenance of plants, thus improving the quality of instruction.

The plan proposed, which has been studied, in several different forms, by numerous educational groups for more than a year, is based on a formula suggested by the resolutions committee of the taxation section of the American Bar Association at its 1954 convention. Briefly, the plan provides that 30 percent of student tuition and fees actually paid by the taxpayer be applied as a tax credit on the amount of income taxes otherwise payable. This means that all taxpayers who pay a given amount of tuition and fees would receive the same tax benefit in dollars, regardless of their income tax bracket.

There is now general agreement among those who have been involved in the study that this tax credit method is much superior to the previously suggested plan of making the cost of tuition and fees deductible from income. The tangible advantage to those in low-income brackets is evident.

The following will illustrate the relative effects of the two methods. If we assume a $500 tuition, and such tuition were made deductible, then the taxpayer in the 20-percent bracket would save $100 of taxes, while the taxpayer in the 50-percent bracket would have $250 of taxes. If, on the other hand, 30 percent of the tuition were allowed as a tax credit, then both the parent in the 20-percent bracket and the parent in the

50-percent bracket would deduct $150 (30 percent of $500) from his Federal tax bill.

The idea that the Federal income-tax laws should be amended to permit some tax relief for the cost of higher education is not new. In the 83d Congress alone, 10 bills were introduced by Members of the House and Senate, some of one political party and some of the other, from Alabama, Illinois, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island, all advocating some form of such an amendment. The Ways and Means Committee named the subject, College and Educational Expenses, as 1 of the 40 topics included for formal presentation in its hearings during the summer of 1953 on the 1954 Revenue Act.

There is no uniformity to the bills heretofore introduced in Congress. Some proposals call for a deduction of all expenditures involved in education, including travel and subsistence. Others are limited to tuition, laboratory fees, and other direct university charges. Some permit the deduction without limit, others only that of expenditures in excess of the $600 dependency exemption, and still others use a ceiling of $2,000 per student. Some are limited to college and university education. Others would apply also to secondary schools. Some would be limited to professional or graduate schools, and still others to refresher courses and other postgraduate schooling for those already engaged in professions. All are in the form of deductions from income rather than in the leveling form of a partial tax credit.

SPECIFIC OUTLINE OF THE PLAN

An attempt has been made to analyze the problem afresh and to draft a bill which will be sound in principle and detail. The proposed bill would have the following features:

(a) It would be limited to payments made to the institutions themselves for educational services and facilities, and would avoid the complication and confusion of attempting to cover payments for travel, housing, and meals, even though these may be indirectly involved in education. These latter items are partially covered by the $600 deduction already allowed for a dependent.

(b) The payments involved would be only those made to educational institutions which meet the tests for special tax treatment under the present income-tax laws. These are set out in section 151 (e) (4) and section 170 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 defining tax-free educational institutions.

(c) The bill would apply only to higher education—that above the 12th grade—including colleges, graduate schools, professional schools, junior colleges, technical institutes, teachers' summer courses, and the like.

(d) In order to eliminate any possible feeling that the bill would discriminate in favor of taxpayers in higher brackets, it would provide that 30 percent of the student fees would be taken as a tax credit on the tax bill. Thereby the cost to the Government would be approximately the same as if the student fees were made deductible, but the relief to all taxpayers would be the same regardless of their tax bracket.

(e) A ceiling of $450 for each student would be placed on the amount of the tax credit. This would mean that that portion of any tuition above $1,500 per year would not result in any further tax credit. It would be hoped that this ceiling would be sufficient to cover the tuition charges for graduate and professional education as well as those at the college level.

(f) There would appear to be no occasion for limiting the taxpayer entitled to receive the tax credit to any particular relationships with the student. The neighbor or employer of a promising but financially poor boy or girl frequently proposes to pay his or her tuition to make higher education possible, provided the tax payment can be made deductible, but this is difficult under present laws. It would be expected that the tax credit plan would bring out more funds in the nature of scholarships to those unrelated to the taxpayer but in whom the taxpayer has some philanthropic interest.

(g) No tax credit would be allowed on amounts for tuition and fees supplied in the form of scholarships, fellowships, or grants from sources other than than the taxpayer himself. It would be assumed that payment of tuition and fees would be the first charge against such a scholarship, fellowship, or grant.

ESTIMATED LOSS OF REVENUE

The loss of revenue to the Treasury cannot be estimated with accuracy, partly because the statistics on which an up-to-date analysis must rest are unavailable. A rough approximation may be suggested, however, using as a base complete statistics for the academic year 1951–52, the latest compiled by the United States Office of Education. The plan, as explained above, would not permit credit to be taken by the taxpayer on any amount supplied by the Federal Government or any other outside agency. In other words, if part or all of a student's tuition and fees is paid in effect by the Federal Government, a State, an industrial concern, a foundation, or an educational institution itself, no tax credit would accrue to the taxpayer on the amount of such a payment. Hence a number of substantial deductions, some of which defy refined estimates, must be made from the gross income of the institutions from tuition and fees.

In 1951–52 the total amount received by 1,851 institutions of higher education for tuition and fees was $593,491,000. Of this, $146,900,000 was received from the Federal Government on behalf of veterans. In the same year the institutions made cash contributions to students for scholarships, fellowships, and prizes of approximately $39 million, of which at least 90 percent was probably applied toward tuition. A survey of industrial scholarships made in 1952 for the college entrance examination board, admittedly incomplete, gave a total of approximately $5,500,000. The State of New York alone grants $4,500,000 in scholarships annually. In addition, the Federal Government annually pays tuition and fees for up to 14,000 students in the Naval ROTC, offers fellowships through the National Science Foundation and other agencies, and so forth. Significant programs of scholarships and fellowships are also supported by philanthropic foundations. When all these deductions are made, it can confidently be estimated that in 1952 the total of tuition payments against which the 30-percent tax credit would be computed would have been less than $400 million, making the revenue loss less than $120 million as of that year, assuming that all families that paid tuition had net incomes sufficient to make them subject to income tax.

Several of the factors involved in the above computation have changed substantially since 1952. On the one hand, the number of veterans in college with support from the Federal Government has decreased; on the other, the amount of scholarship aid given by the colleges themselves and by industry has greatly increased. The idea that these opposing factors may not be far out of balance is supported by an increase in college enrollment this year roughly approximating that anticipated on the basis of college-age population studies.

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER STUDENT-AID PLANS

In the future the proposed plan will afford partial assistance to thousands of veterans who, in accordance with President Eisenhower's recent proclamation, will be denied the educational benefits of Public Law 550.

It is not claimed that the proposed tax relief will entirely solve the problem of opening the door of higher education to all qualified youth. Very special attention, for example, needs to be given to the children of families with incomes below the Federal income-tax brackets. The plan would, however, give immediate encouragement to thousands of families now doubtful of their ability to send their children to college, and would permit them to plan confidently for the future. Furthermore, it would make it possible for thousands of students now in college, who may be expected, under present circumstances, to drop out for financial reasons, to continue to graduation. The plan is so drawn that if a Federal scholarship program should be approved, to take effect 2 or 3 years hence, there would be an automatic adjustment to restore, in corresponding amounts, the income-tax liability of all affected taxpayers.

ENDORSEMENT BY EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

One obvious effect of the proposed student-aid plan is that the taxpayer supporting a student in a high-tuition institution would receive a larger tax credit than one supporting a student in a low-tuition institution. The result, encouragement of increased student enrollment in all types of institutions, is considered to be in the public interest. It helps to preserve the balance between private and public colleges and universities, and thus to continue to call on private sources to supply funds for endowment and current operations of private institutions. It is clearly desirable in the interests of American democracy that children of low- and middle-income families, as well as children of the well to do, have the opportunity to attend both private and public colleges and universities. For that reason, as well as for others advanced above, the plan here proposed is supported in principle by the Association of State Universities, the Association of American Colleges, the American Alumni Council, and other educational groups; and it has been specifically endorsed in detail by three committees of the American Council on Education, which represents the entire range of public and private, low-tuition and high-tuition institutions existent in this country.

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE

The following amendment to the Internal Revenue Code has been recommended for adoption by the 84th Congress:

"STUDENT AID BILL

"To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a partial tax credit for certain payments made to a public or private educational institution of higher education

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"SECTION 1. Findings and policy: The cost of higher education has greatly increased because of inflation and other economic forces. As a result the charges to students have increased, and will of necessity continue to increase, since educational institutions in general find themselves in financial difficulties which have led to low faculty salaries, neglect of maintenance of plant, and curtailment of funds for other essential purposes. Under these circumstances it is in the national interest to accord income-tax relief to student charges for education. This would help open the opportunities for higher education for many students who would otherwise be financially unable to afford it; encourage teachers, members of the learned professions, and others, to refresh and improve their education for the greater service of the public; and facilitate the efforts of institutions of higher education to meet the growing demands made upon them.

"SEC. 2. The Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is hereby amended by the addition thereto of the following new section:

"'SEC. 39. Educational expenses for higher education

"'(a) General rule: There shall be allowed to an individual, as a credit against the tax imposed by this subtitle for the taxable year, 30 percent of payments by the taxpayer to one or more educational institutions during the taxable year for the cost of education above the 12th grade of the taxpayer and of any other person or persons.

"'(b) Limitation on amount of credit:

"'(1) The credit allowed by subsection (a) shall not exceed $450 on account of such cost of education paid by the taxpayer for the education of any one person, but the total credit allowed shall be the sum of the credits on account of the payments made by the taxpayer for the education of himself and for the education of other persons.

"'(2) For the purpose of calculating the credit allowed by subsection (a), the payments referred to therein made by the taxpayer for the education of each person shall be reduced by the amount of any scholarship or fellowship grant, as defined in section 117 (a) (1), which is received by such person during the taxable year and which is not includible as gross income of such person under section 117, and by the amount of any education and training allowance, as defined in part IV of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, which is received by such person during the taxable year: *Provided, however*, That if such scholarship, fellowship grant, or education and training allowance is applied in whole or in part to the payment of the cost of education of such person, the payment by the taxpayer of the remaining cost of education of such person shall not be reduced pursuant hereto by reason of that portion of such scholarship, fellowship grant, or education and training allowance so applied.

"'(c) Definitions—for purposes of this section:

"'(1) The term "cost of education" means amounts paid to an educational institution for educational services and educational facilities (expressly excluding board and housing) furnished by such institution.

"'(2) The term "educational institution" means an institution as defined in section 151 (e) (4), contributions or gifts to or for the use of which are deductible under the provisions of section 170.'

"SEC. 3. The amendments made by this act shall apply only with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1954."

Americanization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Daily Mirror of Tuesday, March 15, 1955, which is a fine statement on a continuously reoccurring subject of discussion:

AMERICANIZATION

New York City's population represents the fertilization of our people by wave upon wave of immigrants—pioneers who came into it bewildered, not a little frightened, not knowing the language, the customs, or the traditions of the place.

First came the Dutch, then the English, the Irish, the Germans, the Scandinavians, the Jews, the Italians, the Slavs, the Chinese—every race, color, religion, and nationality of man has found a home here, has created a family here that has enriched our city and has helped it to grow.

Each second and third generation became distinctively American. Some foreign languages ceased to be the mother tongue of the family and, if known at all, became a secondary language.

The principal instrument for Americanization is the public school.

This truism in no way detracts from the Catholic, Episcopalian, Lutheran, or Jewish public schools which are numerous hereabouts, nor the many independent schools which are special and comparatively costly institutions.

That the school system in New York achieves excellent results can be measured by the college entrance scholastic aptitude tests, but even more by the fact that second and third generation Americans are so productive in business and professional activities and in public service.

Second generation Americans have done well in this city.

New York has, in recent years, been inundated by another wave of immigrants, the Puerto Ricans. These differ from previous newcomers in one respect: They are already American citizens; they come from American territory. They are a Spanish-speaking folk, of a generally lower economic standard than is current in New York but not lower than other immigrants at other periods.

Culturally they are not different from other immigrants; in fact, they might be regarded favorably in this respect because their literacy is higher than that of many of their predecessors.

Here enter the public schools. This huge population of Puerto Rican children needs to be educated as American children, as New York children. They are going to live and work here and they need to speak English. Their home conversation will be in English. In time, the second and third generations will adjust to our ways and contribute valuably to the life of our city and its growth. There is no reason to assume that their history will be different from any other immigrant group, if they are given a square deal.

This is no subject for petty politics or for partisan nonsense. It is a sociological question of mass absorption which has been well-handled in the past, as the judges of our courts, many of them descendants of recent immigrants, attest. It should be well-handled now and the board of education is the best available public agency to do this job.

Pinchpenny policies of Albany, legislators who know little or nothing of our city, its special conditions and problems, can be very costly to the generations to come.

To avoid ambiguity, we have put this discussion not on humanitarian grounds but on the basis of practical, common sense and past experience—which is where it belongs.

Disposal of Synthetic Rubber Plants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by me before the House Armed Services Committee, March 11, 1955:

Mr. Chairman and gentleman of the committee, I want to express my appreciation to the chairman and to the members of this committee for the opportunity to testify here today on this very important matter. I would not ordinarily presume to take up the time of this great committee if the matter under consideration were not so vital to the small-business community of the country and if I were not a member of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House. And lest there be any misapprehension as to why I have been selected to testify on behalf of the committee, let me say it is not because of any particular or even general expertness with the intricate problem you are considering, but rather it is because I happen to be chairman of the subcommittee of the Small Business Committee which has jurisdiction over the supply of raw materials, such as rubber.

I listened to Mr. VINSON'S splendid statement yesterday, in which he so ably recalled the history of the event's leading to the construction of the synthetic rubber plants and of the efforts to effect their disposition. There are very few Members of the House of Representatives who have the vast experience, background, and knowledge of the gentleman from Georgia, not only with respect to matters within the particular sphere of the Committee on Armed Services, but on almost all of the complex problems with which Members of the Congress must deal. It is difficult, therefore, to take issue with him on any subject, and it is with much trepidation that I face the task of having to do so in this complicated field. I am sure that if there is any disagreement between us, it is attributable to the difference in information furnished us or more probably to the unavailability of essential information.

Essentially, it was the lack of necessary information which troubled our committee, and which in great measure led to the action by our chairman, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, in filing the resolution to disapprove the sales. There are many questions which have not yet been answered and which must be answered before we can say that the Commission has complied with the safeguards established by the basic law.

I should like to make it clear at the outset that our committee does not disapprove of the fundamental policy requiring the sale of the rubber facilities. We favor their disposal to private ownership, but under such terms and conditions as will assure the use of the facilities for the continued security of our Nation, the reimbursement of our taxpayers for their investment in the rubber facilities, the protection of all segments of our free enterprise economy, including the small-business men, and resistance to further enhancing the dominating position in their industries of giant corporations who have regarded the antitrust laws of the United States as trifling obstacles in their economic progress. In short, Mr. Chairman, we believe that the guaranties and safeguards established by the criteria set forth in the basic legislation have not been adequately observed by the Rubber Disposal Commission. It is for that reason that we voice our objection to approval of the sales.

The chairman yesterday listed the standards imposed by the law on page 7 of his report. Determination of the question as to whether the disposal of the facilities is consistent with the national security is within the province of this committee and will receive your very capable consideration. There is no need, therefore, for our committee to touch on this point.

And while the attention of our committee technically should not be devoted to the criterion as to whether the full fair value for

the facilities has been received, our grave doubt that the sales prices approved by the Commission reflects the fair value of the facilities compels us to ask you to give that matter your particular consideration. Ask yourselves this question: If the companies buying the facilities were the owners and wanted to sell the plants, would they accept for those plants the same price they are offering the Government? We doubt it. We think that rather than checking book value or reproduction cost as good, hardheaded businessmen, the companies would look first to the earnings of the facilities. What is the profit-making potential of the business? What will it earn? As a matter of fact, that is exactly what Congress intended should be done. This was emphasized in the Senate hearings (p. 179–181) and in the report of the Disposal Commission. Presumably, this is what the Commission said it was going to do. On page 15 of their report they say: "A fundamental precept of the disposal program was that the sale of the facilities should return to the Government a price that would truly reflect the value of the facilities as a going industry."

Again, on page 17, the Commission says: "While other standards, such as original cost, replacement cost, depreciated values, and the precedent of previous Government surplus property sales were considered, it was the decision of the Commission that because the disposal program made possible the purchase of a going profitable business, for negotiating purposes potential earning power should be the prime factor in the establishment of an appropriate price. In its earning power studies, the Commission did not give usual weight to the past earnings of the facilities. These plants had been operated as one integrated program. For example, for reasons of economy and efficiency, many costs were averaged and production was scheduled, for program reasons, in a manner different from that a private owner will follow."

Why didn't the Commission discuss earnings? If earnings were the primary basis for the Commission's evaluation of the worth of the facilities, why did not the Commission furnish the Congress with the underlying data showing the earning potential of the facilities, rather than actual and reproduction costs?

Our committee had to make a special effort to obtain this information and received it only in part. I have attached to my statement as exhibit A, the Disposal Commission's estimates of the rates of return which the facilities' purchasers can expect, based upon the negotiated sales prices. We do not know what assumptions were taken by the Commission as to volume of production, sales prices of end products, the costs of production and distribution, the amortization of investment for tax purposes, the amount of the Federal income tax, and other factors significant to the estimated rate of return. Moreover, the Commission has not divulged the rate of depreciation which it used in reaching the percentage of return the companies would earn upon their purchase price. Under the new tax law the purchasers have the right to accelerate depreciation. For example, if the Commission used a 20-year depreciation base, it is obvious that the 10.44-percent return to Petroleum Chemicals, Inc., the first company on the list, for the puchase of butadiene plant 706 will be increased substantially if a 10-year depreciation base or even a 5-year depreciation base is used. This is true, as well, of all the purchasers. Furthermore, if the companies increase the selling price of rubber from 23 cents to a competitive position with natural rubber around 30 cents a pound, the number of years for recovering their investment will again be substantially reduced. Mr. Chairman, isn't it optimistic to say the least, to assume as the Commission did that the purchasers will be satisfied to maintain the price of rubber at 23 cents?

Thus, the companies have not only 1 means of leverage to increase their profits, but 2: the depreciation base and the price of rubber. The Commission's reports are singularly silent with respect to the value of the facilities if the purchasers begin to vary these two factors from the levels assumed by the Commission. Mr. Chairman, the data showing such variations are perhaps the most vital and essential facts the Congress needs in order to determine whether the full fair value of the Government's rubber facilities has been received.

There are other questions about full fair value which may properly be asked by this committee for answers by the Commission:

1. Copolymer plant 1056 has the same capacity as copolymer 956; why did 1056 sell for $239,000 less than 956, particularly when the book value of 956 is less than that of 1056 in both gross and net value?

2. Why did copolymer plant 983a sell for $1.5 million less than copolymer plant 983, although both have approximately the same capacity?

3. Why did copolymer plant 127 sell for approximately two-thirds of the sales price of copolymer plant 129, although 127 has approximately 130 percent of the capacity of 129?

4. Why did copolymer plant 1278 sell for approximately two-thirds of the sales price of copolymer plant 129, although 1278 has approximately 200 percent of the capacity of 129. Parenthetically, in this comparison it will be noted that the higher price was paid by one of the big four rubber companies. Was there an agreement between them not to bid on copolymer plant 1278?

5. Why were the initial bids on copolymer plants 129, 983, and 1278 acceptable as full fair value whereas the initial bids for other copolymer plants were considered to be too low? Why did the Commission establish acceptable bids of varying prices without regard to the capacities of the plants?

6. Why did copolymer plant 1278 sell for approximately the same price as copolymer plant 127, although 1278 has 150 percent of the capacity of 127?

7. Why did butadiene plant 1593 sell for approximately 17 percent of the price of butadiene plant 485, although the capacity of 1593 is slightly higher than 485?

8. Did greater competition for butadiene plant 1063 raise the sales price by $9 million over the initial high bid? If so, did lack of competition for other plants depress their sales prices?

9. Why did butyl rubber plants 572 and 1032 sell for exactly the amounts of the initial bids by the only bidder, since the other facility (butadiene plant 485) purchased by this bidder was sold after competition and resulted in a sales price 12 percent higher than the initial bid?

These are questions which in the opinion of the Committee on Small Business should be answered. Answers are not obtainable from the Commission's report.

So much for the question of fair value. Turning now to other criteria of the law with which the Committee on Small Business is more directly concerned, let us consider the safeguards in points 1 and 3 of Chairman VINSON'S statement:

"1. The program had to be designed to best afford small-business enterprises and users, other than the purchaser of a facility, the opportunity to obtain a fair share of the end products of the facilities sold and at fair prices.

"3. The recommended sales must provide for the development within United States of a free, competitive synthetic rubber industry and not permit any person to possess unreasonable control over the manufacture of synthetic rubber or its component materials."

The Commission expresses confidence that a fair share of synthetic rubber will be made available to small business. The report says (p. 14): "First, a large segment of GR–S capacity has been placed in the hands of Shell Chemical Corp. and Phillips Chemical Co., neither of which is a rubber fabricator. Consequently, they have no need for their GR–S output, and must sell to the market generally. Secondly, in each contract of sale for a copolymer plant, the Commission has required of the purchaser a commitment that he will make available to small-business enterprise a certain specified amount of his production."

On its surface, Mr. Chairman, this would appear to be a satisfactory assurance that GR–S would be supplied to small-business enterprises in even greater quantities than under present operation by the Government. The Commission apparently assumes that the total maximum capacity of Shell and Phillips, 152,000 long tons, would, because of the non-rubber-fabricating nature of these companies, be made available to an open market. Add to this the 90,000 long tons to be put on the open market by other prospective purchasers under contract commitments, and one arrives at a figure of 242,000 long tons annually to be sold in an open market under maximum capacity conditions, and presumably available for purchase by small business. The 242,000 long tons is approximately 35 percent of the total annual maximum capacity of 689,000 long tons for all the facilities proposed for sale.

It takes only a brief glance at the facts to cast serious doubt upon the validity of the Commission's conclusions.

The first assumption is that of maximum-capacity operation, on the basis of which 35 percent of GR–S production is to be sold on the open market. What is maximum capacity, Mr. Chairman, and how is it determined? It has been alleged that the theoretical technical rating of several of the plants concerned is unattainable in practice. If this be so, the maximum-capacity concept is to that extent a fictitious measurement device. Moreover, while maximum-capacity production is estimated at 689,000 long tons annually, the plants in question actually produced only about 478,335 long tons during 1954. In estimating the amount to be sold on the open market after sale, is it not therefore more realistic to use 1954 production figures, rather than so-called maximum capacity as a base for calculation? Should we not have reasonably expected the Disposal Commission at the very least to attempt to forecast probable production and demand levels for the near future, rather than resorting to an ideal-type model which could have only theoretical significance to justify its position?

The second assumption of the Commission—that Shell and Phillips, both non-rubber fabricators, will place their entire output on sale in the open market, for purchase by small or large companies—takes on meaning only if viewed in terms of the probable marketing pattern which such open-market sales will produce. Here one can prognosticate, to some extent, on the basis of previous experience. This experience shows that for the California plants proposed to be sold to Shell, there has in the past been a 90–10 division of total production—90 percent of sale to the Big Four fabricators, and 10 percent to other users. A similar situation has prevailed at the facilities to be purchased by Phillips. How, then, can the Commission have us believe that these distribution patterns will not persist after sale is made? And how, given the likelihood that they will persist, can it be said that the full production of these two companies will be placed on an open market?

To complete this phase of the argument, Mr. Chairman, let me share with you what is certainly one of the most curious aspects of this whole question. Let us assume that sale of the plants is to be consummated on March 25. Assume further that production for the next year continues at approximately

the level of 1954, that the distribution pattern of the Shell plants is a 90–10 between Big Four and other users, and that Phillips' production is divided 40–60 based on that company's statement that a "major portion" of its production will be made available to small business. It can then be shown, Mr. Chairman, that small business during the coming year, even in the expectation of a competitive situation, will have available for purchase less of the total market than in previous years. This may sound incredible, but if you will follow these calculations the point may become clear.

Under a condition of maximum capacity, there would be approximately 242,000 long tons available to all purchasers in the open market. Of this total, based on present distribution data, about 110,000 tons would be purchased from Shell and Phillips by the Big Four. This would leave a total of 132,000 available for all other users. But these conclusions are based upon operation at maximum capacity, a condition which has rarely existed—if ever—and certainly did not exist during 1954, the year to which the Commission should properly have turned for a realistic appraisal. However, if we take 19 percent of actual capacity during 1954, rather than of the maximum capacity concept of the Commission, we find that there will be available for the use of small-business enterprises only 88,000 tons. Thus we see that the rubber available for purchase by small business under the proposed sale would seem to be approximately a third less than was available during 1954 under Government operation. If these calculations be correct—and they were made on the basis of the Commission's report—small business has indeed cause to fear the proposed sales.

The Commission makes a second basic assumption, which our committee is unwilling to accept. It states that the big oil purchasers will compete with the Big Four rubber purchasers. It says (p. 20) that its plan places "rubber-producing capacity in the hands of nonrubber fabricators—corporations with no captive demand which will have to look to the general market for the sale of their product." It cites both Shell and Phillips as examples. Yet, in the report of the Commission itself on page 158 of the supplement, Shell states that it "has contracts with the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. and with the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Inc., which provide for the payment of a commission to Shell Oil Co. as compensation for Shell's assistance in promoting the sale of their products to Shell dealers, commission distributors, and jobbers."

Does not the pattern of manufacture of synthetic rubber and its distribution as an end product under the disposal plan become clear in the light of the above statement by Shell Oil Co.? Shell will manufacture synthetic rubber which will be supplied to both Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. and the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. for manufacture into tires and inner tubes. Shell will then distribute through its retail gas stations and outlets the same Firestone and Goodyear tires. Shell, therefore, will have complete integration from the point of manufacture of styrene to the final point of sale to the consumer. Shell will have a captive demand and a captive market. Firestone and Goodyear, instead of competing with Shell, as is assumed by the Commission, are a part of this integrated unit.

The effect upon small business is twofold: The Shell dealer, commission distributor, and jobber will be policed by Shell to see that they sell no brands in competition to Firestone and Goodyear. For this Shell will receive a promotional fee. This means a squeeze at the point of distribution upon both the small manufacturer of rubber tires and the small distributor whose brands will not be handled. It also means a squeeze upon the so-called independent Shell leader. If such a dealer were to attempt to exercise his true rights as an independent businessman to receive and sell whatever products he believed would bring him the most security and the best profits, his 1-year lease with Shell would be canceled and he would be driven out of business. Complaints of this nature have been persistent and voluminous before our House Select Committee on Small Business, and are now currently the subject matter of an investigation.

The pattern of integration and monopoly which has led to these complaints will be immeasurably strengthened if the present disposal plan is adopted without providing adequate safeguards to small business.

Under the Commission's program, as is so graphically shown in the case of the Shell Chemical Co., this pattern can be used for many other types of monopolistic and discriminatory practices aimed at the destruction of small business. First of all, the promotional fee which Shell receives from Firestone and Goodyear, is in the nature of a direct discriminatory rebate. With Shell as both the supplier of synthetic rubber and distributor of the tire manufactured from that rubber, the opportunities for such discriminatory rebate and discounts is increased many fold. Secondly, since there is a completely integrated unit from the time of the production of styrene to the distribution of the tire, there is no possibility that factors of free competition will have an effect upon the setting of prices. Instead both the price for, and the production of synthetic rubber and tires, is subject only to the will and whims of Shell, Firestone, and Goodyear.

The situation is strikingly similar to that found to exist by the Department of Justice in the ownership of petroleum pipelines by major oil companies. Independent oil companies by law were of course allowed to use the pipelines to distribute oil to their refineries or retail outlets. But, at the same time, through control of the pipelines, the major oil companies were able to charge exorbitant prices. The effect of such prices was twofold. First the independents were forced to increase their own cost through such high prices and thereby lower their margin of profit to virtually a nonexistent level. At the same time, although the oil company owners of the pipeline paid the same high price for rates, they received back as dividends or income from their ownership not only their own money paid for rates, but also the money paid by the independents. The Department of Justice, branding this practice a system of discriminatory rebates, filed suit. In the case of *United States* v. *Atlantic Refining Company*, the district court entered judgment enjoining the owners of the pipelines from receiving a return in excess of 7 percent of the valuation of the pipeline.

A similar discriminatory practice is possible if not inevitable under the Commission's disposal plan. The small rubber fabricator or user may be said to be free to purchase synthetic rubber from the large integrated companies. But such large integrated companies are likewise free to charge as high a price as they desire. A high price will have no effect upon them since they will receive it back in dividends or income. But the high price may very well drive out of competition those small fabricators and users who today are so desperately trying to survive.

This situation is not confined to Shell. Instead it is a general rule throughout the Disposal Commission's plan. The Commission points with pride, if without facts, to its statement that the Copolymer Corp. is representative of small business which will promote free competition in the rubber industry. Copolymer Corp. consists of Sears Roebuck, Armstrong Rubber Co., Armstrong Rubber & Manufacturing Co., Dayton Rubber Co., Gates Rubber Co., Mansfield Tire & Rubber, Sieberling Rubber Co. The Armstrong Tire & Rubber Co. is owned 50 percent by Sears, Roebuck & Co. and 50 percent by the Armstrong Rubber Co. and is under contract to produce tires for Sears Roebuck. Dayton Rubber Co. is also under contract to produce tires for Sears Roebuck. Thus, again, the Copolymer Corp. brings into one integrated unit the manufacturers of synthetic rubber, the manufacturers of tires made from that synthetic rubber, and the distributor of the tires.

In the past discounts given to and demanded by Sears Roebuck & Co. have been declared illegal. Under the disposal plan, however, identical discount and rebate practices could be carried on which undoubtedly would be immune from law. It is not only small business but also the consumer who would suffer from such practices.

Similar conditions are found among the participating companies in the American Synthetic Rubber Corp. The great majority of such participating companies are representative of big, not small business; the great majority have a lengthy background of antitrust and FTC violations, as was pointed out by Congressman CELLER yesterday. The great majority under the disposal plan will not only be the manufacturers of synthetic rubber but also the purchasers and distributors of the manufactured product.

There is again the likelihood that these integrated companies may discriminate against their competitors who must purchase the synthetic rubber at high prices and who will not receive back any of that price in the form of income or dividends.

The most naked combination between and integration of the oil distributors and the tire manufacturers are found in the proposed purchases of the copolymer plants by Goodrich-Gulf Chemicals, Inc., and Texas-United States Chemicals, Inc. Goodrich and Gulf together will manufacture synthetic rubber. The synthetic rubber will then be sold to Goodrich to manufacture tires. Under past contracts, Gulf will distribute the tires for Goodrich to the ultimate consumer at Gulf's service station outlets. Goodrich and Gulf are therefore fully combined and integrated in the manufacture of synthetic rubber to the final point of distribution at the Gulf service station. Gulf will of course allow its dealers to handle only tires approved by Gulf. The vicious price squeeze and discriminatory practices which have already been mentioned in connection with the integration of Shell Chemical Co. through Firestone and Goodyear are readily apparent.

The Commission's disposal program also allows United States Rubber and the Texas Co. to combine as a purchaser. Texas-United States Chemicals, Inc., the purchaser of the copolymer plant at Fort Neches, Tex., is 50 percent owned by the Texas Co., and 50 percent by the United States Rubber. United States Rubber in turn is owned and controlled, together with General Motors, by the Du Pont Corp. The Du Pont Corp. owns the Ethyl Corp. in equal shares with Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey). In the past Standard and Du Pont, through the Ethyl Corp., maintained a system of nationwide price fixing of retail gasoline until stopped, at least temporarily, by the United States Government. The United States Rubber Corp. has in the past, and also still does, sell its tires to all of the Standard companies through the Atlas Supply Co.

Finally and almost unbelievably, the Disposal Commission's plan allows Goodrich, Gulf, the Texas Co., and United States Rubber to combine together to purchase and operate the largest and most efficient Government-owned butadiene plant.

With these sales, the Government is turning over an entire industry to a few select companies. Can we say it will be a free, competitive, synthetic-rubber industry as the law requires? I don't believe so. With

such interlocking and integrated patterns it is rather silly to talk about free competition. It is even more ridiculous to talk blandly about the protection of small business. The Commission's report makes crystal clear that no serious study or attention has been given to the problems of small business. One wonders whether by the bestowal of its blessing upon this merger movement the Congress will not participate in the economic demise of many small, now thriving, rubber fabricators. I have attached as exhibit B to this statement the letter I recently received from a small fabricator in Connecticut which reflects his fears about the proposed sales.

The small-business producers need protection in their procurement of rubber was graphically shown in hearings held by the Senate Select Small Business Committee in March and April of 1951. Because of the condition of short supply in that year, and because of an inequitable allocation formula by the United States Government, the plight of the small-rubber-business man became desperate. The chairman of the subcommittee issued a statement, reading in part:

"There are grounds for grave doubt that available supplies of rubber are being allocated equitably among small and large manufacturers of rubber products. I have personal knowledge of several small companies which are on the brink of bankruptcy because they cannot obtain sufficient rubber to operate at a mere break-even point. The larger companies, on the other hand, seem to be experiencing little difficulty in continuing operations. We intend to explore this situation fully."

The hardships suffered by small rubber users in 1951 because of the condition of short supply indicate the difficulties that small business may suffer in the future because of the predicted conditions of the long-range short supply of both natural and synthetic rubber. It is of great importance at this time, therefore, to provide adequate safeguards for the small rubber users in the event our supplies of rubber become scarce. The only protections given under the present disposal program are the general statements by the proposed purchasers that they intend to give small users certain percentages of their total production. Such statements, even if made with the best of intentions, are entirely inadequate. As a matter of simple contract law they provide no effective remedy whatsoever for the small-business man in the event he fails to get his fair share of synthetic rubber in the future. He cannot sue the synthetic-rubber producers and even if he could, he would undoubtedly be out of business before a final determination was ever made. He can complain to the Government, but it is open to question whether under the proposed contracts the Government will be able to help him.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion let me again express my appreciation for your patience and graciousness in listening to my long statement. Obviously, this is a most important matter and deserves our most serious consideration. In determining what we shall do, we are called upon to balance two desirable public policies: the first is that the Federal Government should not engage in this type of business; the second is that while we favor the disposal of such facilities to private ownership, we must be sure that the facilities will be operated under such terms and conditions as will enhance the security of our Nation, will reimburse our taxpayers for their investment, and protect all segments of our free enterprise economy, including small business.

These principles of public policy are not necessarily in conflict with each other. Both are desirable and can be achieved. As a matter of fact, the Disposal Act requires that both be observed. The Commission's plan, however, gives only token observance to the vital safeguards implicit in the second principle.

While it is true that the plan provides for a sale of the Federal Government's rubber facilities, it is equally true that it does so in a way which will not strengthen our free enterprise system but will actually place it in jeopardy. If we approve the proposed sales, we will be hurting our competitive free enterprise system, not helping it—and hurting it irretrievably, I fear.

There must be a better solution than that proposed by the Commission, one which will make possible the effective operation of both principles. Although this matter has been pending for some time there are too many unknowns—the risk is too great to dismiss it by saying: "This is the best we can get; let's take it." It is not the best we can get.

If the sales were not approved pending the determination of a more appropriate proposal, the Nation would not suffer and the industry would not suffer. The Government is now making a profit of $50 million a year from the rubber plants. They are being operated by private enterprise for a fee, for the most part by their prospective purchasers, under what the Commission describes as "a partnership of industry and Government." Nobody would be hurt during the relatively brief period in which another plan could be formulated.

There is much more involved than the sale of a one-half-billion-dollar Government investment. We are dealing with the more pertinent question of protecting the freedom of our entire business community by preventing its economic strangulation through an undesirable concentration of industrial power and wealth. We must keep our free enterprise system free.

Mr. Chairman, the Select Committee on Small Business, for whom I have been designated to make this statement, recommends that this committee report the Patman resolution favorably to the House.

Thank you.

EXHIBIT A

Disposal commission's estimates of return based on proposed sales prices

Plancor No.	Location	Purchaser	Purchase price	Percent return	Amount of return
Butadiene plants:					
706	Lake Charles, La.	Petroleum Chemicals, Inc.	$16,000,000	10.44	$1,670,400
485	Baytown, Tex.	Humble Oil & Refining Co.	8,886,000	7.37	654,898
933	Port Neches, Tex.	Goodrich-Gulf Chemicals, Inc. / Texas-U. S. Chemical Co.	53,000,000	8.68	4,600,400
1063	Houston, Tex.	Food Machinery & Chemical Corp.	24,187,000	9.47	2,290,508
GR-S plants:					
1278	Louisville, Ky.	American Synthetic Rubber Co.	2,340,000	10.46	245,364
127	Akron, Ohio	Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.	2,250,000	14.97	336,825
1056	Lake Charles, La.	do	11,650,000	11.90	1,386,350
983	Port Neches, Tex.	Goodrich-Gulf Chemicals, Inc.	13,000,000	9.10	1,183,000
126	Akron, Ohio	Goodyear Synthetic Rubber Corp.	2,075,000	14.97	310,627
956	Houston, Tex.	do	11,889,000	10.11	1,201,977
983-A	Port Neches, Tex.	Texas-United States Chemical Co.	11,500,000	10.00	1,150,000
129	Naugatuck, Conn.	United States Rubber Co.	3,200,050	7.67	245,440
Butyl plants:					
572	Baton Rouge, La.	Esso Standard Oil Co.	14,857,000	6.69	993,933
1082	Baytown, Tex.	Humble Oil & Refining Co.	17,500,000	10.77	1,854,750
Integrated plants:					
152 (butadiene) / 876 (GR-S)	Baton Rouge, La.	Copolymer Corp.	10,000,000	9.35	935,000
484 (butadiene) / 982 (GR-S)	Borger, Tex.	Phillips Chemical Co.	22,625,000	13.16	3,109,050
963 (butadiene) / 929 (styrene) / 611 (GR-S)	Los Angeles, Calif.	Shell Chemical Corp.	30,000,000	8.76	2,628,000
Total			255,959,000		24,826,519

EXHIBIT B

FAIRFIELD RUBBER CO., INC.,
Norwalk, Conn., March 7, 1955.

Representative SIDNEY YATES,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. YATES: I had the pleasure of talking with your Mr. Gibbons this morning and asked him to convey to you my opposition to the sale of the rubber plants to the large rubber manufacturers. The small rubber manufacturer has built his business on the fact that he could purchase his rubber just as cheap as the large manufacturer—for there was a free rubber market for natural rubber and a fixed price to all by the Government for synthetic rubber. Now the several hundred small manufacturers will be at the mercy of a very few large manufacturers.

The small manufacturer must now purchase his rubber in a market where the price is set by his large competitor. If the latter chooses to raise the price of rubber and then take only a profit on the rubber and not on the finished product he forces the little fellow out of business—for the little fellow must necessarily raise his prices when rubber price is raised in order to maintain his profit. But the large manufacturer is making his profit on the rubber and need not raise the price on his finished product.

The fact that 20 percent of the rubber manufactured will be in the hands of other than large rubber manufacturers has little bearing on the matter for this 20 percent would doubtless go along with any raise in

rubber price for it would mean more profit to them.

We are utterly opposed to the sale of these plans to rubber manufacturers. Your assistance would be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

FAIRFIELD RUBBER CO., INC.,
GEO W. WINCHESTER, SR.,
President.

Resolution on Postal Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith a resolution unanimously endorsed by 2,000 postal employees, at a public meeting held on March 13, 1955, at the Central Commercial High School in New York City, sponsored by the joint conference of Affiliated Postal Employees:

Whereas there has been introduced in the United States Senate, S. 1 by Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, and in the House of Representatives, H. R. 1592 by Representative JAMES H. MORRISON, bills which provide for a 10 percent increase for postal employees with a minimum of $430, retroactive to August 23, 1954; and

Whereas S. 1 with amendments has been reported favorably by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee; and

Whereas the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee has reported H. R. 4644 which provides for a 6 percent increase together with a job reclassification schedule to which we are strongly opposed; and

Whereas the New York Joint Conference has clearly stated that it will not support any increase less than the 10 percent-$430 figure and is opposed to the job reclassification plan contained in the bill reported out by the House committee; and

Whereas it is of the utmost importance at this time to rally the strongest support in both Houses of Congress for the 10 percent $430 bills and against job reclassification: Be it therefore

Resolved, That 2,000 postal employees assembled at a public meeting sponsored by the joint conference of Affiliated Postal Employees of Great New York and northern New Jersey at the Central Commercial High School, 214 East 42d Street, New York City, on Sunday, March 13, do pledge their active support for the enactment of S. 1 and H. R. 1592, and determined opposition to H. R. 4644; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon our United States Senators to pass S. 1 as reported out by the committee without further amendment, and we call upon our Representatives to substitute H. R. 1592 or S. 1 for the report of the House committee; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the Government Employees Council and the national officers of the various affiliated postal unions to work for the enactment of this program; and be it further

Resolved, That we endorse and support the legislative conferences called in Washington by the affiliated groups; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the United States Senators representing the States of New Jersey and New York, to the Congressmen of the Greater New York and northern New Jersey area, to the president of the American Federation of Labor, to the Government Employees Council (AFL), to the national officers of all affiliated postal unions, and to the public press.

Lake Diversion as an Irrigation Measure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, proponents of increased lake diversion from Lake Michigan are noticing that the drive for passage of H. R. 3210 is rapidly picking up momentum. This measure, introduced by Congressman THOMAS O'BRIEN, of Chicago, proposes an additional diversion of 2,500 cubic feet per second of water from Lake Michigan down through the Chicago Sanitary District Canal. It is supported by like bills introduced by all the Republican and Democrat Members of Congress from the Cook County area.

For many years there has been opposition on the part of certain groups to diversion of water from Lake Michigan by the city of Chicago for sanitary purposes. Yet, it was readily brought out in hearings held over the past several years on proposals for additional diversion, that the high levels of Lake Michigan, coupled with the reversal of the flow of several Canadian rivers, has flooded Great Lakes shore areas and caused serious property damage.

Recently, new factors have given strength to the cause of increased diversion as proposed in the O'Brien bill, not the least of which is the growing interest of other people in the use of Great Lakes water.

The following article written by Chester Manly, which appeared in the Chicago Tribune for March 6, clearly points up the new look which is being given the potentialities of Great Lakes diversion, one of which is the use of this excess water for crop irrigation. The article is as follows:

URGE DIVERSION FROM LAKES TO IRRIGATE CROPS—EXPERTS CITE BENEFITS IN DRY PERIODS

(By Chesly Manly)

Leading agriculturalists and water conservationists of the Great Lakes region, one of the world's richest farming areas, are advocating the diversion of water from the lakes for supplemental irrigation in dry periods when crop yields are reduced.

Industrial development and population growth in this region, already the most productive on earth, will be accelerated when the St. Lawrence seaway opens the Great Lakes ports to the world's ocean commerce. This in turn will increase demands for water, not only along the lake shores, but in inland areas where the ground water supply already is inadequate.

RELY ON IRRIGATION

Although the normal rainfall in the middle west varies from about 30 to 48 inches a year, 8 years out of 10 have one or more periods of moisture deficiency affecting crop yields. Many farmers rely upon irrigation to increase yields in normal years and to prevent failures in time of drought.

In doing this the farmers of the Great Lakes region are resorting to a practice as old as agriculture itself.

Concern about means of increasing crop production may seem paradoxical at a time when the United States has $7 billion invested in agricultural surpluses, but there is no assurance this country will always produce more food than it needs.

WEAPONS OF WAR

Moreover, in its struggle for supremacy with world communism, the United States will be fortunate if it continues to produce a surplus of food, which the Communists use as a weapon of war. The population of the world, now estimated at 2.5 billion and expected to reach 4 billion by 1980, is increasing far more rapidly than the food supply.

With a total land area of 5.5 billion acres, Russia harvested from 386 million acres in 1952. This is only a little more than the acreage harvested in the United States, which has a smaller population and a much larger yield per acre. The United States has about 20 percent of its land area in cultivation.

When Georgi Malenkov toppled from the seat of power in Moscow, he confessed guilt and responsibility for the unsatisfactory state of affairs that has arisen in agriculture. Nikita Khrushchev, who appears to be the new No. 1 man in the Soviet hierarchy, recently acknowledged that Communist Russia, in 1953, had fewer cattle than czarist Russia in 1916, despite an increase of 50 million in the number of mouths to feed.

These basic facts of the world situation emphasize the importance of irrigation, not only in the Far West, where it is necessary to produce anything at all, but also in the Middle West, where artificial watering when needed during the growing season greatly increases yields.

WATER IS ABUNDANT

H. B. Tukey, head of the department of horticulture at Michigan State College, told a water conference at Elyria, Ohio, last November that the possibility of an abundant water supply exists throughout the Great Lakes region. "We need only imagination, coupled with ability and energy, to develop a population center and civilization unlike anything the world has yet seen," Tukey said.

He advocated construction of a canal across northern Michigan, to connect Lake Michigan and Lake Huron and tap their waters for distribution to most of the State. "No strawberry grower would embark in growing strawberries in southwestern Michigan without first arranging for supplemental irrigation," he said.

R. E. Weingert, who grows 200 acres of sweet corn and 100 acres of potatoes near Kent, Ohio, in Portage County, told the Elyria conference supplemental irrigation last season increased his gross income $70,000. "To accomplish this, it took an investment of $20,000 in equipment, plus $7,500 in operating expense, including fuel and depreciation," Weingert said.

Weingert obtains part of his water from a 12-inch well 70 feet deep and part from the Cuyahoga River. He applied the equivalent of 3 inches of rainfall last season. Many other farmers would like to install irrigation systems, but are handicapped by a lack of water, he said.

CITES SEWAGE VALUE

Strawberries as large as tomatoes and tomatoes the size of grapefruit could be raised on farms near the Chicago drainage canal in Cook, Du Page, and Will Counties if the effluent of the sanitary district's sewage-treatment plants were used for supplemental irrigation and fertilizer.

This treated effluent, averaging 1.1 billion gallons a day, is rich in nitrogen, an essential ingredient of plant life. It would provide supplemental irrigation equal to 3 inches of rainfall, as well as growth-stimulating nitrogen, for 13,503 acres a day.

NATURAL AQUEDUCT

The drainage canal and Illinois River, running diagonally across the State to the Mississippi River, would be a ready-made aqueduct from which water could be widely distributed in Illinois if the Great Lakes States and Canada should agree upon a controlled diversion program for supplemental irrigation and other water uses.

The diversion of water for irrigation in downstate Illinois, outside the Great Lakes watershed, would be opposed by Canada and the other Lake States now, but this opposition might be overcome under a regional control system for the maximum use of Great Lakes water.

The lake levels could be permanently regulated, within a range of about 2.5 feet between high and low stages, if their outlet capacities were increased and control works were installed, at a cost of $75 million to $100 million, as part of the St. Lawrence seaway program.

LARGE LAKE AREA

The surface area of the lakes, approximately 95,000 square miles, is 32 percent of their total drainage area of 298,000 square miles. If the entire land area of 202,900 square miles in the watershed should be supplied with 3 inches of water from the lakes it would be equal to about 6 inches from their surface. Thus, there is no question about the adequacy of the water supply.

Irrigation is far less extensive in Illinois than in Michigan and Ohio. A survey made by W. J. Roberts, of the State water survey division, in 1951 indicated that the land receiving supplemental irrigation in Illinois, estimated at 9,000 acres, was not more than 5 percent of the acreage artificially watered in the Midwest.

Roberts found that 164 systems, with a total pumping capacity of 25,000 gallons a minute, were in operation, and further information indicated that 40 additional systems were operated. Ground water supplied 45 percent of the pumpage, the remainder coming from rivers, ditches, lakes, and ponds.

USE WELL WATER

Forty-five percent of the irrigated acreage was in Cook and Kankakee Counties. Gladioli growers in eastern Kankakee County have been supplementing rainfall with well water since 1923.

There are more than 30 irrigation systems in the area east and north of Chicago Heights, where onion and potato growers have invested heavily in sprinkler systems. They depend upon drainage ditches and ponds for their water supply, which is insufficient in dry spells. Some Illinois hybrid seed corn producers have found irrigation profitable.

According to the Roberts report, a manufacturer's representative estimated the average cost of an irrigation system in 1951 was $72 an acre, although some elaborate installations cost much more.

PROFITABLE INVESTMENT

"Use of irrigation systems in Illinois has been limited to farmers who have seen that supplemental moisture would materially increase the cash return from their land," the report stated. "They look upon irrigation systems as instruments for increasing their yields rather than insuring them.

"Obviously a farmer growing hybrid seed corn at $7 to $12 per bushel can afford to invest several thousand dollars per field in a modern sprinkling system. With care he may double his yield and pay off his investment in 1 or 2 normal years.

"Truck farmers show a great appreciation for supplemental irrigation. Critical deficiencies in rainfall can arise at any time during the growing season, and the application of one-half inch of moisture at a critical point during the growing season may forestall a complete crop loss."

Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business before Subcommittee No. 2—Small Business Administration and Problems Related to Procurement, Loans, Disposal—of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives on March 8, 1955.

I have served as a member of the Small Business Committee during my entire tenure in the Congress, and I have known Mr. Burger to be an effective and sincere spokesman for many of our small-business men in the United States over these years.

Without either concurring in or dissenting from the substantive views expressed by Mr. Burger on behalf of the National Federation of Independent Business, I submit for the information of the Members these most interesting and constructive remarks:

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

I am George J. Burger, vice president in charge of legislative activities, National Federation of Independent Business, 740 Washington Building, Washington, D. C. Our national headquarters are located in Burlingame, Calif. We also maintain division offices at New York City, Cincinnati, and Chicago.

It must be understood by Members of Congress that no officer or group of officers is permitted to speak for the federation as to its position on any legislative or economic problems unless so directed by a nationwide poll of our members. The entire membership is polled and the results of these polls give the executive officers the authority to act in behalf of the members.

The federation has a vital stake in the successful administration of the Small Business Administration Act. It will be found from the record of the hearings before the House and Senate Banking and Currency Committees in May 1953, that the federation's position was in full support of the proposed legislation with only one exception. We recommend that full control of the agency rest with the Administrator and that he be subject only to control of the Congress of the United States. Our position today, through nationwide vote, remains the same as it was in May 1953.

The federation has in its employ approximately 200 field representatives who are calling on small-business men every day of the business week and they are in a position to get first-hand information on the success or failure of the Small Business Administration in carrying out the will of Congress. Further, the federation, through its head offices at Burlingame, Calif., and its Washington office, reecives considerable numbers of requests for information from our membership as to procedure under the Small Business Admiinstration Act as to loans. In fact it can be safely said that better than 80 percent of the inquiries as they apply to SBA from all sections of the Nation rest on the needs for financial assistance. The Washington office alone, during the life of the act, has assisted many hundreds in giving them the necessary information on procedure to follow in their contacts with SBA. At the same time, we have kept the Members of Congress acquainted with information coming from their districts on such inquiries.

We have a very vital stake in the success of the Small Business Administration Act. We are not unmindful of the fact that if there are deficiencies in the administration of the Act, it would act as a boomerang to the federation. Consequently, we are watching developments to bring about a successful administration of the Act, and let it be understood for the record that the closest liaison and cooperation has existed between our office and the head office of SBA for a year or more.

Our interest in the act itself began shortly after its approval by Congress. As is my custom every year, I visited the head office at Burlingame, Calif., in September 1953, and made it my business to confer with the regional director of SBA in Los Angeles, and in October 1953, with the regional office at Kansas City, Mo. In both of these visits, to be certain we had the story correct, I insisted that a third party be present at the conferences. At the completion of the conference, I directed the third party to make his report on the conference and then I made my own individual report. The comparison was then made. We found a wretched situation existing in the administration of the act which we believed was far from the intent of the Congress.

Upon my return to Washington, I immediately contacted the Administrator, Mr. Mitchell, and arranged for a conference, which took place in his office on October 23, 1953. His various assistants were present during the 2-hour conference and I believe the present Administrator, Mr. Barnes, who was then general counsel, was also there.

I advised Mr. Mitchell of our findings, namely that the great majority of small-business institutions could not qualify for loans due to the regulations instituted by the Policy Board. The regulations provided for loans only for those institutions in essential war work or essential industries. We found that the formal application which was presented to the applicant for completion brought about a situation where the applicant would attempt to answer the questions in the form and would finally throw it up in disgust.

At the conference I put the question to Mr. Mitchell as to who was setting the loan policy and was any policy he proposed vetoed by Treasury or Commerce Department heads. He asked me to give him the privilege of reserving an answer until a later date.

His assistants urged, because of the importance of my findings, that a joint conference be arranged for with Treasury and Commerce officials and the SBA, at which time I could relate again the story I had told on October 23, 1953. This conference took place on the afternoon of October 26, 1953, in the office of Mr. Randolph Burgess, who, I believe, is Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury. I also believe that Mr. Lothair Teetor, of the Department of Commerce, was present at this conference. I brought out in this conference two particular cases, one of a small battery manufacturer in the State of Minnesota and the other, a small furniture producer in the State of Georgia. In

the first instance, applications for loans were denied because it was ruled they were not in essential business.

The outcome of these joint conferences was that a few days later a change was made in the management of SBA and then on November 16, 1953, the entire policy was changed to permit all small business to participate in financial aid through the Small Business Administration Act.

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Wendell Barnes was appointed administrator and up to this very moment, we have had no reason to register any objections to the present policy being carried out by the Small Business Administration insofar as financial aid to small business is concerned. The federation makes no recommendations one way or the other on any application for a loan. The application must stand on its own merits.

I believe it was just about a year ago that the present chairman of the subcommittee, as a members of the Subcommittee on Small Business, held hearings on the west coast, one in San Francisco and another in Los Angeles. In both instances, federation officials appeared and gave testimony, and at one of these hearings the committee questioned the federation witness on the advisability of raising the SBA loan ceiling to a higher bracket than the $150,000 limit. Following up the committee's suggestion, we polled our nationwide membership and the vote was in the negative. Knowing of our obligation to our members as to a successful administration of the act, again in one of my annual visits to the head office, in 1954, I held conferences with the directors of the regional offices in Los Angeles and San Francisco. At the conferences in these areas, federation president, C. Wilson Harder, accompanied me. I also conferred later with the regional director in Portland, Oreg. At that time, a federation man was also with me. Then again, before returning to Washington, I conferred with the regional office in Minneapolis.

In these recent conferences, not alone with the regional directors of SBA but also with small-business people en route, we found two serious situations we hope have since been corrected. One was the reluctance of banks in certain areas to look with favor on the Small Business Administration Act. In some areas it was reported that correspondent banks were afraid to step in because they were fearful of antagonizing the larger banking institutions. The second was the failure of the regional offices of SBA to have enough available material such as Government specifications or blueprints of specifications. There was a limited number available and when they were gone, that was the end of it. In some areas, arrangements were made with the public libraries where these documents were available. However, it was most difficult sometimes for a small-business institution to have to go down and look up copies and make analyses of them, etc.

It is our hope that the committee will make certain that all available information as to Government bids, forms, specifications, blueprints, and so on are available at all regional offices so that those small-business institutions who are interested in participating in Government contracts may have such information in advance to permit them to qualify.

I have been present at all the hearings of this subcommittee and the subcommittee is to be commended for the careful study it is making of the proposition so that the act will deliver to small business what Congress intended.

We are not satisfied with the share that small business is receiving from the Defense Department. It is our belief that the administration should take a more aggressive stand in its demand for an equal share—and we mean equal—to be allocated to small business of this Nation. During the present hearing, we particularly noted the splendid statement of Congressman RIEHLMAN, where he warned the Defense Department of the advisability of recognizing small business and giving it the necessary share of business. As he put it, this important segment of our economy should be maintained from the standpoint of security. I recall a similar warning issued by the late William Jeffers in 1943, when he was Rubber Administrator. He made the suggestion before a Senate committee, that from a security standpoint, there was an increasing need to keep small business functioning in that industry. I am glad to note also that Mr. RIEHLMAN made the comment that all members of the committee concurred in his observation.

I was more than pleased to note the statement presented by Mr. Robbins, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in which he said: "The Treasury believes that under the provision of the act, and under existing policies, SBA has established an excellent record since its lending machinery went into operation. The Treasury believes that in the light of that record, the life of the agency should be extended for a further period of 2 years."

It is also to be noted in the statement made by Mr. Hamlin, Small Business Adviser for the Department of Defense, that he stated: "It is our view that the Small Business Administration is presently serving the best interests of the Nation in this way and that it can continue to do so. For these reasons, we recommend the continuation of the Small Business Administration beyond June 30, 1955."

We also note with considerable interest the statement of Mr. Teetor of the Commerce Department before the committee, taking no position on the agency except, as he stated: "The ultimate responsibility for the execution of this program rests with the President. Congressional investigations of the RFC make clear the potential danger of abuse of discretion and authority inherent in a governmental-loan program. The establishment of policy to govern the agency's action by the Administrator and two officials of Cabinet rank provides a workable and effective channel to keep the President informed and a safeguard to assure that the general program reflects the views of the Executive, always, of course, within the framework set by Congress in the enabling legislation." Does this mean that the Department of Commerce believes the SBA is a good agency just so long as the Department can keep its fingers in the pie? In our opinion this would be no good for a successful administration of the act. Control should rest with the Administrator and the Congress itself.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, the federation makes certain recommendations for the committee's consideration:

1. We believe that any and all top employees of SBA should have full and thorough knowledge of the basic problems of small business. They should have a human feeling for the problems facing small business. This should be a requisite before they go into a position.

2. The regional advisory boards appointed by the agency should meet more often with the regional directors so that the directors will have more direct information on what is going on in their areas.

3. We believe the committee should reexamine the appointments made to the national advisory board as it may be found that some of the members of that board are a long way from an understanding of small business or being representative of small business.

4. A more aggressive action on the part of SBA to secure a greater share of Government business, and particularly to exercise its right to take prime contracts where same can be channelled through groups of small business in the respective industries. We found in many areas that competent small engineering firms, for example, would be able to handle effectively prime contracts, singly or in groups, and possibly at lower cost to the Government. We urge special action by the committee in its direction to the agency on this.

5. We believe that the committee should explore the privilege extended to the regional offices in making loans up to $50,000 without consulting Washington. We would like to have the committee satisfy itself that in this permission there are no impediments and that it means just what it says.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, on a recent nationwide poll of our membership presenting the question pro and con on the continuance of the Small Business Administration, the results of the poll were 76 percent for, 22 percent against, and 2 percent no vote. This poll further disclosed that the membership wanted the agency's control to rest entirely in the hands of the Administrator with no control being exercised by the Treasury or Commerce Departments.

Thank you for the opportunity, Mr. Chairman, to appear before your committee and express our views in behalf of small business of this Nation.

Federal Aid for Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of March 14, 1955:

FEDERAL AID FOR HOUSING

As required by the Federal Housing Act of 1954 Mayor Wagner, in a detailed presentation forwarded to Washington and made public here yesterday, has documented New York City's need of further assistance on slum-clearance, its proof of having a "workable" program, and its competence to advance such a program.

We support this argument, as presented by Mr. Wagner. We shall go beyond it: We believe that, because New York is the favorite port of entry and residence of the large Puerto Rican migration—which, as the mayor says, has "sorely emphasized and accentuated our acute shortage of adequate low-rent housing"—this city has a special claim on the Federal Government for help.

Mr. Wagner states as the record of Federal, State-, and city-helped housing since 1946 the provision of decent apartment units for 60,000 families in public-housing projects and 24,000 families in quasi-public projects. Now under construction or scheduled under approved programs are 34,600 public-housing apartments and 18,900 quasi-public, mostly under title I of the Housing Act, the redevelopment projects for which Government-purchased land can be written down in price for private-enterprise housing and business use after clearance. But the end of need is not in sight. A rock-bottom estimate, by the mayor's report, is about 440,000 apartment units.

While there has been, as the mayor admits, considerable criticism of various phases of the city's handling of the housing problem from local sources, it must be admitted too, we believe, that a better-rounded, more competent, more forceful attack within the areas criticized is being made or is taking

form. The relocation of tenants displaced by new building and the overcrowding permitted in old buildings are among these areas subject to criticism. The mayor's estimate that more than 250,000 families face future displacement from stepped-up enforcement of existing and proposed housing codes gives a clue not only to the wretched conditions in which thousands of families are living here but also to the grave, baffling question that lies ahead, of where these families will go.

Consolidation and Improvement in Post Office Department Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, a bulletin prepared by Mr. Paul O. Peters, a well-known economist and research consultant, should be of interest to the Members of Congress and to the Nation at large. This bulletin points up the fact that the Post Office Department has been losing millions of dollars each year by operating post offices that serve no real need—post offices that can and should be abolished entirely, and the mail delivered by extending present rural mail delivery routes.

The Post Office Department is now in the process of making surveys looking toward the abolishment of unnecessary post offices scattered all over the United States in order to provide mail service both efficiently and economically. This should have been done years ago.

Mr. Peter's bulletin of Monday, March 14, 1955, follows:

IMPENDING PAY RAISES FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES RECALLS SALARIES PAID IN 1822 AND STRANGE PHILOSOPHIES THAT HAVE ARISEN—MANY POST OFFICES DO LESS THAN $100 VOLUME A YEAR

With general agreement on the part of the Eisenhower administration and the Congress that postal employees are entitled to some salary adjustment at this time it is interesting to recall that back in the year 1822, the official register of the United States listed the salaries of deputy postmasters, which was the title of local postmasters at that time.

In New York City the salary and compensation was $2,000 a year. At present the New York City postmaster draws $13,770 which is very moderate considering the business of the New York office reached a volume of $194,092,577 in postal receipts in fiscal 1953.

While there are more than 40,000 post offices in the United States and the Territories and island possessions there are many fourth-class offices in which the postal receipts total less than $100 a year.

Efforts to close such offices usually run into trouble because the Congress back in 1851 enacted legislation stating: "No post office now in existence shall be discontinued, nor shall the mail service on any mail route in any of the States or Territories be discontinued or diminished in consequence of any diminution of the revenue that may result from this act and it shall be the duty of the Postmaster General to establish new offices and place the mail service on any new mail routes, established, or that may hereafter be established, in the same manner as though this act had not passed." The act, which sponsored a reduction in postal rates, was thereafter taken as a policy declaration by Congress.

Of the 40,000 post offices in the United States about 400 take in less than $100 a year. In Kentucky there were 98 offices with receipts of less than $100 in 1953; two other offices at Omaha and Tygarts Valley had receipts of $100 even, and Portersburg and Rexville took in $101 each.

The Postmaster at Barrys Lick, Ky., deserves a medal from Congress because he is easily the most honest postmaster in the United States, or the most stupid, whichever way the facts are considered.

In 1953 this particular postmaster reported total receipts from his office of $99. At that figure his salary was $326.40. By buying and destroying just $1 in postage stamps, this particular postmaster could have raised his salary from $326.40 to $522.24, a gain in salary of $195.84 for a $1 investment, which could be interpreted as a minor swindle. But what of that. Bigger men than small fourth-class postmasters have been known to do much worse things to Uncle Sam's Treasury.

PAUL O. PETERS.

Bonner Plan for FMB to Have Regulation of Domestic Shipping Deserves Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the Marine Digest, a weekly magazine with a wide circulation in maritime circles of the Pacific Northwest, supports the position of our distinguished colleague from North Carolina, Mr. BONNER, that regulation of coastwise and intercoastal shipping properly should be under the legal jurisdiction of the Federal Maritime Board:

BONNER PLAN FOR FMB TO HAVE REGULATION OF DOMESTIC SHIPPING DESERVES SUPPORT

Waterborne commerce officials from coast to coast will hail with enthusiasm, Representative HERBERT C. BONNER's recommendations that the regulations of coastwise and intercoastal shipping be transferred from the Interstate Commerce Commission back to the Federal Maritime Board, Congressman BONNER should be given the support of the entire shipping industry.

Under the dominance of railroad interests, the Interstate Commerce Commission has, either purposely or unintentionally, succeeded in wrecking the coastwise and intercoastal shipping industry.

As chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, Congressman BONNER is in a position to put his recommendation into action. From the standpoint of waterborne commerce, the sooner this is done the better.

Fourteen years of Interstate Commerce Commission regulation of intercoastal and coastwise shipping has produced a record that speaks for itself and certainly paved the way to again give the Federal Maritime Board jurisdiction over this important phase of American shipping.

No doubt there are many factors which have contributed to the sorry condition of our domestic shipping industry. As chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, the gentleman from North Caroline, Mr. BONNER, is to be commended for urging a change which would seem to me to be the first step toward the solution of a most complicated and difficult problem.

Playing Politics With the Tax Structure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Times-Union, of Rochester, N. Y., for March 11, entitled "Playing Politics With the Tax Structure." Carefully pinpointing the flaws and booby traps in the tax-cut proposal now before the other body, it describes succinctly the difference between constructive and reckless tax legislation. Lincoln once said that you cannot fool all of the people all of the time, but the pending tax cut proposal has not fooled anyone any of the time. It is plain, unadulterated politics of a kind this great Nation cannot afford and should not indulge.

The editorial follows:

PLAYING POLITICS WITH THE TAX STRUCTURE

Some day Democratic leaders are going to have to take a look at two of their prime subjects for partisan oratory and see if they hang together.

One theme is an ever-expanding, ever-growing, ever-buoyant economy to provide jobs and goods for an ever-growing population.

The other is that every tax bill must soak the big fellow and let the little fellow off as nearly scot free as the coming election—and there's always a coming election—permits.

The two things just simply don't hang together. Either the tax structure will be such as to permit and encourage an ever-expanding economy, or we're all in trouble, big and little.

There are some who play the little fellow for a sucker by ignoring what the experts call the incidence of taxation; that is, legislators may levy a tax at a certain point—say, on corporations—but if the tax can be passed along, as it usually can in prices, it falls on the little fellow anyway. But the soak-the-big-fellow taxers go on hoping they can continue to fool the little fellow by cutting his personal tax.

The new Democratic compromise tax-cut plan is a case in point. It appears to grant a personal income tax cut while raising more total revenue through repealing two items in last year's tax-revision bill.

The word "appears" is used advisedly. It would allow family heads to pay $20 less for themselves and $10 for each dependent except the wife (or husband). But the catch is that to claim the allowance the family head would have to renounce the existing split-income provision under which a husband and wife file a joint return, putting each in a lower bracket.

To get more income, the plan repeals the new depreciation allowance for plant owners and the exemption from double taxation of the first $50 of a shareholder's income from dividends.

Both these provisions relate directly to the economy's ability to expand. The depreciation rate is a direct aid to plant expansion and modernization. Last year's formula was not pulled out of a hat. It was the consensus in a 20-year study of the influence of this tax factor on economic growth.

Double taxation on dividends implies that investment should be penalized. On the contrary, the staff of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report estimates that in 10 years investment in plant and equipment must increase to $60 billion a year to keep pace with population growth. Keith Funston says that to finance this new stock issues at a rate of five to six billion dollars a year will be required.

Rather than penalize investment, the tax structure should encourage doubling the 20 million Americans who now own shares in their country's productive enterprises.

The times comes when a choice has to be made between economic health and playing politics with the tax structure.

Income-Tax Exemption to Taxpayers Who Support Aged Dependents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. MURRAY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MURRAY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to bring to the attention of the House the need for an amendment to the dependency provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide taxpayers who support aged dependents with the same treatment as taxpayers who presently support children under the age of 19 years of age or children who are students. I have introduced bill H. R. 4816, which will effectuate this end.

Under the present dependency provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, dependents must receive over one-half of their support in the calendar year from the taxpayer before they may be counted in computing the taxpayer's exemption from income tax. Additional tests, beyond that of half of their support, also are provided. The tests are, that the dependent receive less than $600 per year gross income, or that, no matter what his income, he is less than 19 years of age or is a student—with no age limit specified.

The amendment which I have proposed would allow a taxpayer to claim a dependency deduction for an aged or blind or disabled parent, without regard to the parent's income, if the taxpayer contributed over one-half of the parent's support for the year. The amendment also would allow the same treatment for the blind, without regard to age. The treatment of children and students as dependents would be paralleled by treatment of the aged, the blind, and the disabled.

In computing their own income tax, the aged and the blind are given larger exemptions under present law than are allowed to children or students on their earnings.

But, in turn, students who hold scholarships which in fact provide support are allowed to exclude the amount of that support in determining their dependency status. It is only reasonable that the additional living costs of the aged, the blind, and the restricted market for their services which they face, be recognized as it is now in the tax law in determining the exemption allowed to them on their own income. With respect to their own income, they ought to be treated, as they are, more liberally than children and students who are in preparation for entry into their years of broad opportunity for earning. The more liberal tax treatment of the income of the aged and the blind ought not stand in the way of giving those who support them as good treatment as that given to taxpayers who support their children.

If a taxpayer now is supporting an aged parent who receives OASI payments of, say, $700 per year, he may claim the parent as an exemption because OASI benefits are not gross income for tax purposes. Similarly, if the income is from railroad retirement, from certain military pensions, or from tax-exempt securities, it is not included in gross income. It can be received in amounts above $600 by the parent and the parent can continue to be counted as a dependent of the taxpayer. But, if the income is from work, from rentals of property, or from interest on savings bonds or corporate bonds, or dividends, or a civil-service annuity, and amounts to $600 or more, the taxpayer under present law cannot claim as a dependent the parent who receives the income. The results to which the present law leads may be seen in the following instance. A parent begins at age 65 to receive an annuity to which he and his employer have contributed. The annuity is, say $600 per year. During a period of, say, 3 years, the annuity is a return of capital and is not included in the parent's gross income. At the end of the 3 years the annuity continues in the same amount as before, but now becomes entirely income, since all capital has been returned. The recipient is not taxable by reason of his $1,200 personal exemption at age 65 or older. But the son who is supporting him loses an exemption of $600, and his taxes are potentially increased by at least $120.

The proposed amendment would correct this situation, so that the taxpayer who supports his parents who have no income, or whose income is from wages, dividends, rents, taxable interest, and so on, will be given the same treatment as the taxpayers whose parents have OASI benefits, tax-exempt interest, or other sources of income which the tax law excludes from gross income. And it will make the income tax of the taxpayer who supports his aged parents no heavier than the tax of the taxpayer whose children work or go to school.

The revenue loss resulting from this amendment probably would be some millions of dollars each year. No estimate of the amount is attempted because we lack information about the number of persons who support their parents as well as information about the sources of income of the aged.

The loss of revenue is justified because it is a result of allowing taxpayers to keep money which they use for a public purpose. The Government considers the support of the aged to be a purpose of such high rank that it has established both a tax and trust fund arrangement—the OASI—and a contractual arrangement with the States—the old-age assistance program—to seek this purpose. The extension of Government programs to help the aged will be somewhat less urgent as a result of this amendment. The expense of collecting taxes and paying them out to the aged will be somewhat reduced by exempting from tax those who are using their own resources to meet the problem directly.

This amendment will ease the problem of supporting dependents when that support becomes most costly, and when it is more essential that financial worries be minimized. It will also remove the conflicts about working that arise when a few dollars additional from occasional work will cost the person providing the support as much as $120 per parent.

The proposed amendment is less liberal than many would desire. What reason is there for making it applicable at age 65 rather than 64, or 60? A more liberal—lower—age limit could be justified, because the possibilities of staying in the labor force and being independent taper off sharply long before age 65. The age 65 is chosen only because it is commonly used in other sections of the Internal Revenue Code, the retirement income credit, for example; and in OASI and civil-service retirement legislation.

I hope that this body will give serious consideration either to the amendment that I have proposed or some other legislation which will correct this patent inequity in our income-tax structure.

Banking Legislation in Albany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 14, 1955, is deserving of the attention of the Congress:

BANKING LEGISLATION IN ALBANY

For the third consecutive year, the senate and assembly at Albany have before them bills which would permit savings banks to open branches in the growing suburban areas of cities in New York State. This year, both the New York State Federation of Labor and the New York Home Builders Association favor the proposed legislation.

The New York State Banking Department has supported the measure in the past and there is no indication of any change from that direction. More than 11,000 individuals in Nassau County responded in favor of the spirit of the proposal as a result of one bank's public information campaign.

Opposition to the bill this year, as in preceding ones, has come from the smaller commercial banks upstate which are apprehensive of losing deposits if savings banks were able to compete in their areas. There is also the difference of taxation between commercial and savings banks which has kept the controversy alive for so long.

The question of public interest would seem to be the overriding consideration of the legislators concerned with this issue. It hardly seems fair to deny savings banks the right to take part of the business which may be had in the ever-growing suburbs, while supermarkets, department stores, and an innumerable array of merchandising and service organizations may cash in on the bonanza.

Historical Pageant Proposed for Trenton, N. J., Rich in History and in Knowledge of Its History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the city of Trenton, N. J., and the area surrounding it was the site of many stirring happenings in connection with the American Revolution and the Hessian barracks are maintained today on their original location just a short block from the State House. I have often thought that this area would surely provide as fine and moving a historical drama as that carried on at the national park at Roanoke Island, or the Paul Green drama Faith of Our Fathers, which marked the sesquicentennial of the Nation's Capital, both of which were arranged and sponsored by the National Park Service. National interest has been aroused by St. John Terrell in the Trenton area through his yearly reenactment of the drama of Washington Crossing the Delaware.

Conrad L. Wirth, director, of the National Park Service, in response to my inquiry on the matter replied in part as follows:

I am pleased to learn of your interest, that of the city of Trenton and of the State, in the possibilities of producing a community patriotic pageant in this area which would be similar to other such pageants being presented with success in the East and other parts of the Nation. It has been the experience of the National Park Service that these outstanding dramas have been sponsored and presented by communities and local patriotic organizations, which have frequently received State support. The Lost Colony is given within the boundaries of Fort Raleigh National Historic Site by the Roanoke Island Historical Association, formed primarily to present this pageant, and under a cooperative agreement with this service. The other Paul Green dream which you mentioned, Faith of Our Fathers, was presented by the National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission by agreement with National Capital Parks. In another instance, an interesting historical pageant is being presented by a local organization on a permit basis at Kings Mountain National Military Park, in South Carolina.

Mr. Wirth goes on to advise me as follows:

In the case of the Revolutionary pageant which you propose for the city of Trenton, the Service would like to suggest that, since the proposed site at the old Hessian barracks appears to be in State ownership, the city and State would undoubtedly be interested in acting as joint sponsors of the undertaking. We shall be glad to send them the names of officials sponsoring pageants in Service areas. Should the city and State officials wish to explore this project further, I suggest that they communicate with Mr. Elbert Cox, regional director, of our region one office, 900 North Lombary Street, Richmond, Va., and arrange a meeting. Your interest in writing me about this proposal is appreciated.

I include here an article from the Trentonian by that newspaper's very capable Washington correspondent, Cyril J. O'Brien, as well as a letter from a constituent, Mrs. M. P. Shuman, a teacher of history and social science in the Trenton Public Schools:

TRENTON GOES TO WASHINGTON—THOMPY PLUGS THIS AREA FOR HISTORICAL PAGEANT

(By Cyril J. O'Brien)

WASHINGTON, March 2.—The historic light that promises untold opportunity for Trenton peeked brightly this week from under the bushel that has been clamped tightly over it by more than a hundred years of indifference.

The break in the bushel was a letter from Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, of New Jersey, to the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior.

At Roanoke Island, Va., a pageant, Lost Colony, is attracting thousands upon thousands of visitors each year, and at Williamsburg, Va., the historic pageant has become so nationally famous it is now a must for any sightseer in the east.

But Trentonians who sit on the powder keg of all pageants continue to sit, or go to Williamsburg to watch a pageant. Even their own Hessian Barracks—site of the very turning point of the War of Independence—draws a pitiful handful of visitors each month, who look, chat, go home, and perhaps forget it. And around Trenton, there are names like Monmouth, Princeton, Molly Pitcher's Well, the Iwo Jimas and Normandies of the Revolution. There is enough history, legend, romance a few minutes from the statehouse to arouse as much patriotic fervor as a Russian bomber.

CITES AREA'S HISTORICAL ASPECTS

"The city of Trenton, N. J." Representative THOMPSON wrote the Interior Department, "and the area surrounding it was the site of many stirring happenings in connection with the American Revolution, and the Hessian Barracks are maintained today on their original location just a short block from the statehouse. I have often thought that this area would surely provide as fine and moving a historical drama as that carried on at the national park at Roanoke Island, or the Paul Green drama, Faith of Our Fathers, which marked the sesquicentennial of the city of Washington.

"National interest has been aroused by St. John Terrell through his yearly reenactment of the drama of Washington crossing the Delaware. Another important factor to be considered is the heavily populated metropolitan areas of Trenton, Philadelphia, and New York, which would undoubtedly be a strong financial basis on which to base an undertaking of this kind."

The Congressman asked for assistance in the form of studies which would be a real help in planning a pageant and a program for the Trenton area.

Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service, made it clear that his service could not sponsor such a program, but it was ready to give some help, and to advise sponsors. Wirth also suggested that this might well be a joint State-city undertaking.

The query of the Congressman made it clear that the help and the opportunities are there for opening to the world a pageant of history, romance, legend, and reality unmatched in the Nation. The people of Trenton would reap the harvest, but it will be up to someone or some group in Trenton to pick up the ball and carry it.

HIGHTSTOWN, N. J., *March 3, 1955.*
Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, JR.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRANK: I started out to write to tell you that the entry in the Freedom's Foundation contest that won our school (Junior One) the recent prize (George Washington gold medal) at Valley Forge on February 22 contained your voice on a record that was made from our Story of Trenton broadcasts last spring. I wanted to thank you again for your help and interest.

This morning, in the Trentonian I noticed in Cyril O'Brien's column an article about your interest in renewing interest in historical—particularly Revolutionary—Trenton.

Because I have been cochairman of the Committee on Historic Sites in Trenton, I have become well acquainted with an active committee that is interested not only in erecting historic markers but in preserving our history in general. It occurred to me that this committee might be very helpful to you in the development of your pageant idea.

I think we should go farther than having the pageant. I think we should erect an historical museum for the city in Stacy Park near the Douglass House and get a group of industrialists to finance it and use it as a resource for study, guide service, and coordinated classroom activity.

My book on the history of Trenton is being printed at the Rutgers Press at present and may help us considerably.

Sincerely,

ELEANORE NOLAN SHUMIAN
Mrs. M. P. Shuman.

Slovak Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was celebrated throughout the world as Slovak Independence Day. On this day it is fitting and proper that we Americans pay due tribute to the gallant Slovak people for their brave resistance to godless communism and their loyalty to traditions of true democracy and freedom. On this day we also express our words of hope and faith that their desperate struggle for liberty and national independence will ultimately bring victory and that justice will prevail for that oppressed nation.

At the conclusion of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson announced the principle of the right of self-determination of every nation. The preamble of the Charter of the United Nations restates that principle by reaffirming faith in "the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small."

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Committee on Communist Aggression I have had occasion to hear shocking testimony of the betrayal of the Slovak nation by the Communists. I have heard evidence of the brutality of the Soviet bolshevization of Slovakia. Tens of thousands of Slovaks were deported to Siberia and died there, innumerable Slovaks perished in prisons and concentration camps or while in forced labor in the uranium mines of Joachimstal. Four bishops and some 800 priests, nearly 30 percent of their total number in Slovakia, have been placed in prisons and forced labor camps, many without even a trial or sentence. Freedom and human rights have been almost completely abolished, and most of the living population are being gradually starved to death.

The Slovak people have earned a better and a more just fate. They look today with confidence to the great American Nation, in whom they see their greatest hope as well as the guaranty that international communism will be defeated and that the Slovaks will regain freedom and national independence with a free democratic and unified Europe.

On this Slovak Independence Day I express the hope and prayer that the day of freedom and justice for the Slovak people may be near at hand.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the terrific fight made in the House against extension of the reciprocal-trade agreements is bearing much fruit throughout the country. The people are beginning to see as never before the fraud that has been pulled off on the American people under the high-sounding phrase "reciprocal trade." Under the administration of reciprocal trade, farm exports have fallen off. Our farmers are no longer fooled by this hoax.

I received a letter this morning which I quote in part:

Surely, we have made the Congressmen understand that the wage differential between the American mills and foreign mills is so great that we cannot exist under the American standards and have to compete with foreign standards, particularly with Japan.

The thing that does not seem to have penetrated, however, is the fact that the cotton farmer does not have to rely on a tariff but can sell his cotton to the American mills behind an embargo wall which is 100 percent tariff, with the exception of a limited amount of special cotton that comes in. It is only just and right that the American mills should use American cotton to produce goods; and as you say in your statement, the American mills use about 70 percent of the American raw cotton. How the farmer fails to understand that if foreign goods come in he is breaking down his quota or embargo on raw cotton, because every bale of goods that comes in is the same thing as a bale of cotton coming in, I do not know.

Some internationalists and shippers who cater to the foreign trade try to blind the farmer with the idea that he will get a bigger export market. The truth of the matter is that the foreign mills usually buy 25 percent American cotton. If we accept foreign goods, we are accepting 75 percent of cotton grown outside of the United States which comes in here and competes not only with the cotton textile employee but with the cotton farmer, ginner, American shipper, etc.

I am genuinely alarmed at the prospects of the GATT and reciprocal-trade results if they go through as it now looks they will.

Mr. Speaker, as further indication of dissatisfaction among our people, both workers and farmers, I commend to the House the following editorial from the Edgefield Advertiser, of Edgefield, S. C. Edgefield is the county seat of Edgefield County, a great cotton-producing region for over 150 years:

FOREIGN INFLUENCES COMING CLOSER HOME

The steadily growing influence of foreign countries over the affairs of American people is to be seen in far too much of our national legislation, court rulings, and trends that reach into every American community. It is almost startling how much the States and the people in the communities have given up in way of governing their own destiny.

Of late we note the United States foreign trade and tariff program steadily shaping up according to the demands of foreign countries.

It should be remembered that continued lowering of the tariffs, for example, will have far-reaching effects on local industries operating here in South Carolina and in Edgefield County. Textiles imported into the United States at low prices, textiles that are produced under sweatshop conditions in foreign industrial plants, will of course gain a ready market here because of their lower prices. The consequence will be a drying up of the American domestic market. Cotton and other textiles produced here in South Carolina and in Edgefield County will face such competition as to cause the lowering of wages and a depression in the raw-materials market, including cotton.

The United States tariff is the basic protection of American textile wages and largely of our standard of living; for here in South Carolina all of us are now largely dependent on our manufacturing plants. The farm families, in many cases, have members working in these plants; town people working in textile plants, and business depend heavily on the payrolls of these industries.

The American Legion Post, No. 77, brought this issue to the fore last week when it passed resolutions calling everyone in this textile-industry area to contact Members of Congress in an endeavor to hold the line against the flooding of American markets with foreign-produced textiles.

Alaska Air Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Schulze, aviation writer for the Seattle (Wash.) Post-Intelligencer, had some questions to ask in his February 23 column which are very pertinent to the States-Alaska case now pending before the Civil Aeronauitcs Board. Here is what Mr. Schulze wrote:

Believe it or not, one branch of the Federal Government is preparing to increase States-Alaska air service, while another branch of the same Government is reported about to decrease it.

Reports from Washington, D. C., continue to indicate that the Civil Aeronautics Board will order elimination of 1 or 2 of the 4 commercial scheduled airline services between Seattle and Alaskan cities. But the Air Force finds air transportation so vital to defense that it will launch new military air-freight service to Alaska on or about March 1.

I was tipped off at Ladd Air Force Base, Fairbanks, a week ago that the Military Air Transport Service will begin daily freight-only flights north from McChord Air Force Base, Washington State.

SERVICE NECESSARY

It was indicated to me that the Air Force finds necessary this new air-freight service, in addition to that provided by the four scheduled airlines. We can't believe that the Eisenhower administration really wants to increase Government competition with private industry, but. • • • Well, you figure it out.

Too Much War Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I agree with an editorial that appeared in the Janesville (Wis.) Gazette under date of March 11, in which the writer stated that there is too much war talk in high places. Certainly our people are being frightened by the constant reference to the possibility of war. To me this is a strange coincidence and comes at a time of the year when the Congress is considering appropriations for defense purposes. If these reports are designed to scare our people and Congress into appropriating vast sums for military purposes, a good job is being done. However, I do not believe it is in the national interest to do so.

Mr. Speaker, I am including as part of my remarks, the editorial in question and I commend it to all Members of the House:

TOO MUCH WAR TALK IN HIGH PLACES

For the past several weeks it has been apparent that the United States is headed toward a showdown with Red China because of the strong position taken on protection of Formosa. Even that stand is well understood in the light of the broader policy of resisting any expansion of Communist influence into new areas.

In his nationwide broadcast this week, Secretary of State Dulles made it clear that armed conflict with the Chinese may not be far off. The situation could be saved if the Reds refrain from making military movements against the Nationalists. Otherwise, it is quite plain, invaders will run head-on into American military forces.

Dulles went a step further, however, and told the Chinese that air and sea forces of the United States are ready and waiting "with weapons of precision which can utterly destroy military targets."

Such warnings to a potential enemy may have an influence, or be a part of a grand strategy. Apparently Dulles and the administration believe that they may have an effect. As citizens, however, there is some feeling that too much "big talk" by officials in high places is unlikely to produce any such result. There is fairly good reason to believe that the Red Chinese have some information along the lines contained in Dulles' warning. If their own intelligence services fail to back up these warnings, they are unlikely to be influenced, even though they are making a wrong guess.

Most Americans are fully aware of the war dangers, and accept the claims of Dulles and others that we have at hand the means to carry out the defense policies which we have set out for ourselves. These same claims, however, seem likely to scare potential enemies who may be determined to put them to the test. Meanwhile, it serves little to plug the war theme to the extent that it leaves neither side any choice but conflict.

If we are prepared for any emergency, the Chinese probably know it, and if they don't, oral claims from Washington are unlikely to convince them. It is one thing to be ready at the trigger and another to repeat threats about shooting. The question now is whether we can avoid shooting by talking, or by talking make sure that we shall be shooting. We may be firm today, but certainly we are not quiet. Our intentions are fully known, and we can only wait to know what we must do. Meanwhile perhaps the less fussing and threatening the better the chances for peace.

Four Hundred and Fifty Colleges and Universities Operating at a Deficit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Wilson Compton, president of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, recently reported that just about half of the Nation's 900 private colleges and universities are operating in the red. Some 200 of them are "wobbly" and are afraid that unless they obtain substantial and immediate financial help, they will be in serious trouble. Inflation has doubled and even tripled the expenses that the educational institutions must meet.

Today it costs the student from $2,000 to $3,000 a year to go to some of the better private institutions. Some 200,000 of the superior high-school students, in the upper half of their graduating classes, do not go to college. Half of these, it has been estimated, do not attend because they are unable to meet the high costs of education.

Fortunately, private sources, such as business and industrial concerns, are now giving more to the colleges. General Foods, General Electric, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Westinghouse, are giving generously. The Ford Foundation's grant of $50 million will help greatly.

I have introduced in the Congress a bill, H. R. 2211, developed about 2 years ago by the United States Office of Education in cooperation with some 30 leading national organizations in the field of education to establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education. I have sponsored this bill because of my conviction that the minimum need for this Nation in the world of today is to hold its own in all ways against Russian communism and to attempt to win friends in other countries. It is very important that we develop ways and means to bring to the hundreds of millions of people who are still free and who look to us for leadership a true picture of our form of government so that in the struggle that is going on for the loyalty, the minds, the hearts, and the souls of men throughout the world they will turn to us rather than to the Russians. Strong and courageous leadership is needed. My bill will assist in the development of the kind of leadership without which we may well lose the cold war.

I include here an article by Dr. Benjamin Fine, education editor of the New York Times, entitled "Financial Problems of Private Colleges Are Pointed Up by Ford Foundation Grant." In this article Dr. Fine ably discusses some of the problems our private colleges and universities are facing today:

EDUCATION IN REVIEW—FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF PRIVATE COLLEGES ARE POINTED UP BY FORD FOUNDATION GRANT

(By Benjamin Fine)

The Ford Foundation's grant of $50 million to raise college teachers' salaries again has focused attention on the financial plight of our colleges and universities.

The Ford plan is to operate on a contingent basis; that is, each college will be expected at least to match the money that the Ford Foundation is to give. Some colleges will put up 2 or 3 times as much as their Ford grant. It is expected that between 50 and 100 colleges and universities will be in the program at the start.

College and university presidents last week were greatly heartened by the Ford announcement. They suggested that this action would stimulate the institutions to seek more funds from other sources, would help maintain academic standards, and improve morale on the campus.

LIBERAL ARTS GROUP PRESSED

For several years the colleges and universities, particularly the independent liberal arts institutions, have been hard hit financially. Some 40 to 50 percent of them are operating at a deficit.

The colleges recognize that their financial problems are tied in rather closely with factors beyond their own campuses. There is general agreement on the major causes behind the plight of the colleges. These include:

1. The cost of everything has gone up. The colleges need more buildings, laboratories, classrooms, libraries, administration facilities. Inflation has doubled and even tripled the expenses that the colleges must meet.

The colleges estimate that it would cost $6 billion to construct the buildings that will be needed in the next half dozen years. That kind of money simply is not available.

2. Fewer veterans are now going to college. After World War II the veterans flocked to the campuses, literally swamping the classrooms and almost driving out the civilian students. But that has not taken place after the release of the Korean veterans. To begin with, the numbers were much smaller. Then, many Korean veterans had completed their college work before being drafted. The draft law permitted the superior students to postpone their service until after college graduation. Also, the method of financing the veterans has been changed. Instead of giving the tuition fees to the colleges, the Government, under the GI bill, makes monthly grants directly to the student-veterans. Some educators believe that this favors the public colleges that do not charge high tuition fees.

3. More students are looking for scholarships. Because the cost of going to college has jumped so drastically—by more than 100 percent in the last 15 years—many students need financial help. Some colleges report that from 30 to 50 percent of their students receive scholarship aid.

4. Research projects are becoming more numerous and more costly. Although the Federal Government or private industrial concerns give money for research, too often the grants do not cover the cost of operating these projects. While the colleges are ready to continue with the many research contracts that they carry, they are now worried lest the projects eat away some of the money that is so badly needed for operating expenses. In some instances the concerns that award research grants to the colleges now also make additional allowances for the adequate maintenance of these programs.

WHAT RELIEF IS SOUGHT?

What is being done to ease these problems? Many things. Colleges are increasing tuition fees. The Ivy League colleges have jumped their fees during the year, and now charge from $800 to $1,000 for tuition alone. When room, board, incidentals, and general fees are added it will cost the student from $2,000 to $3,000 a year to go to some of the better private institutions.

Educators fear that if tuition rates go up any higher many college-caliber students will simply be priced out of the college market.

We know that now 200,000 of the superior high-school students, in the upper half of their graduating classes, do not go to college. Half of these, it has been reliably estimated, do not attend because they are unable to meet the high costs.

In addition to raising their fees, colleges have been looking to industry and to the foundations for help.

The Council for Financial Aid to Education was set up not long ago to help coordinate the efforts of the colleges to raise money. Headed by Frank W. Abrams, former chairman of the board, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, the council has taken an active part in focusing attention to the financial problems that beset the colleges.

In more than 30 States the private colleges have banded together to seek funds from corporations and foundations. This joint effort, unique in educational circles, is now in full stride. Although the total sums raised to date have not been large, the 500 or so colleges in these groups have learned to work together in the raising of funds.

Dr. Wilson Compton, president of the council for financial aid to education, in a recent survey, reported that just about half of the Nation's 900 private colleges and universities are operating in the red. Some 200 of them, according to recent reports, are wobbly and are afraid that unless they obtain substantial and immediate financial help, they will be in serious trouble.

MILLIONS NEEDED NOW

The council president pointed out that at least $30 million is needed right now to overcome the operating deficits of the private colleges in financial trouble. The head of

the Rockefeller Foundation, Dean Rusk, said further that colleges and universities need a minimum of $300 million to $400 million of new money, if they are to keep going and maintain adequate teaching standards.

More and more colleges have been turning toward their own alumni for financial assistance. Dr. Compton pointed to the need of self-help when he told the colleges: "The success of our common effort to strengthen and fortify our American higher education will depend substantially on what the colleges and universities do for themselves. What they do for themselves depends substantially on what their alumni do."

The 1953 Fund Survey of the American Alumni Council showed 685,263 alumni giving to their colleges and universities. These alumni contributed a total of $16,443,756 to the 302 college funds reached in a survey by the council. Nevertheless, college officials feel that still more help can come from the alumni.

Private sources, such as business and industrial concerns, are now giving more to the colleges than ever before. For example, General Foods Fund has given $270,000 to higher education. The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey gave $450,000 to 138 private institutions. General Electric is providing funds, matching the money given by its employees to the colleges. It is estimated that last year business concerns and corporations gave $350 million to higher education, compared with $250 million in 1950. In 1936 business gave about $30 million.

THE OUTLOOK AT A GLANCE

What is the outlook? The colleges and universities believe that they will get the support to continue to function adequately. They are worried by what may happen if the enrollment doubles by 1970. Will the public colleges and universities become the dominant force in higher education? Already the swing is in that direction. More students are entering public institutions, proportionately, than ever before. A dozen years ago the ratio was 48 to 52 percent in favor of the private colleges.

Today it is just the opposite. Significantly, of the entering students last year, about 65 percent went to public colleges, 35 percent to private. In the long run that trend may be the most important development in the field of higher education in this country.

Tribute to Miss Margaret L. Keefe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article which appeared in the Dial, a newspaper published by the Hamden High School, Hamden, Conn. It pays tribute to an outstanding superintendent of schools, Miss Margaret L. Keefe, and truly exemplifies her tireless efforts and devotion to the Hamden school system, as well as her contribution to many other civic and educational organizations.

Miss Keefe, in her 42 years of service to her community, has played a magnificent part in the progress, pride and public spirit of Hamden. Her contribution will remain as a monument to her tireless efforts. She has been an inspiration to the youth of that town and if the country was privileged to have more like her, I am sure we would have a better America.

I am indeed pleased to submit this article and add my respects to those of her many friends of Hamden, Conn., one of the outstanding towns of my district:

MISS KEEFE ENDS 42 YEARS' SERVICE

Margaret L. Keefe, superintendent of schools in Hamden for 42 years, handed in her resignation on Tuesday night, December 7, 1954, to the board of education. David Wyllie, Jr., who is a veteran of some 19 years in the Hamden school system, was named her successor. Miss Keefe's resignation became effective on January 15. She has been ill since the start of the current school year in September. Her failing health was given as the reason for her resignation.

To give you some idea of the progress that has been made in the Hamden school system under the able direction of Miss Keefe, at the time she came into office, Hamden had 13 small schoolhouses, a total of 23 classrooms, and an enrollment of 116 students. Since that time 10 new grade schools were opened, additions to several were made, Hamden High was constructed, and plans for the adoption of the junior high-school program are well under way.

Today, as she steps down as head of the school system, Hamden has 170 school classrooms, nearly 6,500 students, and almost 250 teachers. Mr. Wyllie, our new superintendent, has played an important role in the planning and adoption of the K–6–3–3 plan of education set down for September of 1956.

Miss Keefe, a graduate of New Britain Normal School, taught at Berlin Junction for a year before her appointment as principal of Centerville School in 1911. The following year, when Tobin accepted a position in Derby, she became superintendent of schools.

Miss Keefe did postgraduate work at Yale, Trinity, and Rhode Island College of Education. She received an honorary degree in 1936 from Albertus Magnus. Both Miss Keefe and Mr. Wyllie have been active in civic affairs. Miss Keefe is an ex-officio member of the board of directors of the Visiting Nurse Public Health Association, an honorary member of the Teachers' League, a member of the advisory council of PTA, of the chamber of commerce, Connecticut Education Association, National Education Association, Connecticut Association of School Superintendents, Civil Defense Committee, Albertus Magnus Circle, director of American Red Cross, Hamden Chapter, Delta Gamma Kappa (honor society of women who are recognized leaders in the profession of teaching), and in 1953 she received an award from the Exchange Club for crime prevention.

Immigration and Nationality Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the transcript of Mr. Edward R. Murrow's television show of March 8, 1955, See It Now:

Mr. MURROW. Good evening, this is See It Now produced by the partnership of Friendly and Murrow, and presented each week at this time by Alcoa, the Aluminum Co., of America.

This 120-page document is called Public Law 414. It was passed by the 82d Congress over President Truman's veto. Legally, it is called the Immigration and Nationality Act. It is generally referred to as the McCarran-Walter Act because it was sponsored by the late Senator Pat McCarran and Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania. This act determines who can and who cannot enter this country and also who can be deported. It is complex and controversial and this is an attempt to illuminate it a little bit. Representative WALTER is watching in Washington and he will respond at the close of this report. This was candidate Eisenhower on October 31, 1952.

Mr. EISENHOWER. I believe also that we need to rewrite the unfair provisions of the McCarran Immigration Act to get the bigotry out of it, and don't forget that a vote for my opponent is a vote to continue the Democrat author of that bill as chairman of the Senate Immigration Subcommittee and also chairman of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee.

Mr. MURROW. And after the candidate became the President, he continued his opposition to the McCarran-Walter Act in his first state of the Union message.

President EISENHOWER. We are one and all immigrants or the sons and daughters of immigrants. Existing legislation contains injustices. It does, in fact, discriminate. I am informed by Members of the Congress that it was realized at the time of its enactment that future study of the proper basis of determining quotas would be necessary. I am, therefore, requesting the Congress to review this legislation and to enact a statute which will at one and the same time guard our legitimate national interest and be faithful to our basic ideas of freedom and fairness to all.

Mr. MURROW. Again, in this year's state of the Union message, President Eisenhower called for revision of the McCarran-Walter Act. Now, as chairman of the House Immigration and Nationality Subcommittee, Representative WALTER continues as its staunchest defender. CBS reporter Dan Schorr interviewed him in his office.

Mr. SCHORR. Congressman WALTER, you and Senator McCarran are the authors of our current Immigration Act. Senator MCCARRAN is now dead. You survive as a spokesman for Congress on this act. Has it accomplished what you expected it to?

Congressman WALTER. It has accomplished much that we hoped would be accomplished, but Dan, remember this. This code came as the result of nearly 5 years of work. There was expended on it over a half a million dollars. The joint committee—and the code was prepared by a joint committee of Representatives and Senators and the technicians that worked on it were the best people we could find and the best people anybody could recommend. It wasn't lightly considered, and I am quite certain that when recommendations for changes are made, if they are, and usually most of the criticism comes around election time, but if there are any criticisms of the law, I am quite certain that they will be of things that we have considered—that is, a joint committee has considered and rejected. Interestingly enough, I'll give you a beat, Dan. There was submitted to me this morning the galley proofs of a staff report just completed by our experts on the operation of this act and it's quite revealing.

It contradicts many of the statements made about this much maligned law. For example, we were told that the enactment of the McCarran-Walter Act would result in the drying up of all immigration. Well, interestingly enough, that did not happen but just the contrary is the fact. The over-all number of immigrants admitted to the United States exceeds by 22 percent the numbers admitted previously under general law.

Mr. SCHORR. And yet, President Eisenhower, in both of his state of the Union messages, referred to inequities and injustices in this act. How can you explain that?

Congressman WALTER. Well, I am certain that when the President made that statement, if there was any basis for it, he would have made concrete recommendations for changes. I've heard a great deal of name-calling and actually that's the sum total of the criticism of the law. I would like to have somebody point out to me what the inequities are. I am sure that if the President is sincere in his charges, he will have the Attorney General of the United States submit specific legislation.

Mr. SCHORR. Congressman, you said at one time that you favor the present act because it tends to arrest the tendency toward a change in the composition of the American stock. What did you mean by that and how would you justify that?

Congressman WALTER. No; that is not entirely my view. What I was saying at that time—I think it was a speech I made in Philadelphia a couple of years ago—what I was saying was this—that when this formula of national origins was devised, the men who agreed on it felt that the thing to do, in order to reduce conflicts to a minimum, was to bring into this country people who might become more easily assimilated.

After all, it's been intended that this be a great melting pot. I don't know how well that theory has succeeded because I do see evidence on all hands of hyphenated Americanism. There is no place in America for hyphenated Americanism, and all I was saying was that if people of one racial group were given preferences they would become quicker assimilated according to the size of that group.

Mr. SCHORR. Then your act does, in fact, tend to prefer people of one racial group over another?

Congressman WALTER. No; it doesn't prefer one group over another. It merely states that according to the percentages, the Anglo-Saxons were given a larger percentage because there was a larger percentage of the type of people who came during that time, and that is only accidental. It is not—the formula is not rigged but it just happens that when the law was enacted in 1924, there was the predominance of these particular groups.

Mr. SCHORR. But one criticism of the act has been that while it is very effective in excluding Communists, it is not equally effective in excluding those of other totalitarian beliefs such as Nazis and Fascists.

Congressman WALTER. Well, that, of course is not true. If they have been a member of any proscribed organization, then of course they are excludable, and it applies to Nazis and Fascists just as it does to Communists. Of course, there is a big difference, too, between the two forms of totalitarianism. I never heard of the Fascists trying to overthrow the Government of the United States through force and violence. There has never been a movement in the United States except a very inept movement by some German groups before the war to accomplish that.

Mr. SCHORR. May I point out that leaders of the three major denominations in this country—Catholics, Protestants, and Jews—have criticized and attacked your act as being unfair. On what grounds do you think?

Congressman WALTER. I don't know what religious leaders are criticizing this law who know anything about it. However, a lot of the old pros, the old immigrant movers whose job it is to move people, and of course they don't like to see any limit placed on their work, find that it isn't as easy to bring people into the United States as they would like it to be. Now, there was a charge made that the law was anti-Semitic. At a hearing on another act, Congressman Javits, the present attorney general of the State of New York, a great American and a distinguished man, who is in my judgment as well qualified to speak for any group of people as anybody who could be selected, because he is not only fair and honest but he knows the problem, when I asked him wherein this law was anti-Semitic, he laughed and said, "Nowhere is there anything in the law that is anti-Semitic."

Attorney General JACOB K. JAVITS. As I recall it, Congressman WALTER asked me this question at a hearing upon the proposition of moving to liberalize the immigration policy of the United States which I have advocated for a very long time.

At that time I said obviously there was nothing in the law which was specifically anti-Semitic, but I hastened to add that the law, in my opinion, discriminated against minorities like Negroes and those with Asiatic blood in their veins, and also perpetuated the quota system which discriminates against those who were born in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and in that respect the law is anti-all people who come from those areas, which have traditionally included a good many Jewish people as well as a very great many people of Italian extraction, Greek extraction, Polish and Russian extraction, regardless of where—where they may be living now, and in that sense I have been opposed to the McCarran-Walter Act, and I still am opposed to it. We are anxious to attract good people from behind the Iron Curtain into the free world. There is an enormous influx of those people which comes into western areas like West Berlin. The great attraction to coming into those areas is that they can find a new life in the free world, and if the great leader of the free world, the United States, keeps them out of its own country, obviously it is a disastrous setback to what we hope will be the magnetic attraction to bring them out. And finally, there are very heavy disabilities in the law against citizens who are naturalized as contrasted with citizens who were born in the United States.

This is very much contrary to the whole spirit of this country, and yet it exists and we have the strange situation of where a person might be picked up 20 and 30 years after he is legally immigrated into the United States and shipped out because there is no limitation upon the fact that if he was found to have been guilty of—of some small crime before he came here, which somehow or other didn't get disclosed, or under some summary procedures get into difficulty about having joined some organization quite unwittingly which then turns up on the Attorney General's subversive list. We're not talking about Communists and even fellow travelers. We're just talking about ordinary people who have no intention to do anything but be loyal Americans who get themselves in some small scrape and find after building a life here for years that under the McCarran-Walter Act they have to be sent back now. I don't think that's fair and I don't think it's consistent with the spirit of our country.

Mr. MURROW. One of the religious leaders who oppose the McCarran-Walter Act is Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, of Boston.

Archbishop RICHARD J. CUSHING. I feel that our present restrictive immigration policy as reflected in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 is outmoded and out of harmony with the humanitarian, democratic aim of our current domestic and foreign policies. It is an immigration policy based on fear, insecurity, and I also believe on racial prejudice. It is a denial and a reversal of the policy which brought about the creation, growth, and strength of our great democratic country. Most everyone agrees that the most detrimental feature of our present law and the one that is of paramount importance as far as revision is concerned, is the so-called national origins quota system. It is this system which says in effect that one race is superior to another and that we must therefore limit the admission of the inferior regardless of their individual qualifications or interests or needs, regardless of their refugee or surplus situation, and regardless of any family relationships which may be involved. We can and should establish a higher annual quota of admission to somewhere around 250,000, and an equitable substitute for the national origins quota system can be created for the allocation of these numbers. This new policy would eliminate, I believe, all discriminations and be flexible enough to take care of special problems and to insure that in any one year the entire quota will be utilized. This problem, like many others as I see it, is identified with the United States of America as the hope of a bewildered world.

Mr. MURROW. From Bishop Cushing, we move to Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress.

Rabbi ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN. I might say, in passing, that the Jewish stake, numerically speaking, is not very large in this particular matter owing to the unfortunate fact that 6 million Jews have been exterminated by Hitler and 2½ million Jews are now sealed off in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, and owing to the fortunate fact that hundreds of thousands of Jews have come from European countries into Israel where they have found their homes and their freedom. But, nevertheless, our opposition to the McCarran-Walter Act is just as strong and just as vehement as that of any other group, because we condemn the grounds on which it is based. The whole approach to immigration is sort of hostile and the slogan seems to be: "Nothing that is alien is human to me." The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, moreover, is hypocritical because while purporting to rectify the exclusion of Asians it actually puts a ceiling of 100 immigrants per year for countries such as Japan, with its 70 millions of population, or India with its 300 millions, and it adds injury to insult by counting against these absurd quotas, someone let us say, born in England of half-Asian parentage, who is not given the privilege of being counted for the English quota but is counted for the Asian quota. If that isn't racist, I don't know what is.

Mr. MURROW. Senator HERBERT LEHMAN was one of the 26 Senators who voted against the bill in 1952. We asked him to comment on Representative WALTER's statement that immigration was up 22 percent since the McCarran-Walter Act.

Senator LEHMAN. Well, Mr. Schorr, in claiming that immigration under the McCarran-Walter Act increased by 22 percent, Congressman WALTER is playing with figures—a very dangerous game. The fact is that the total legal immigration in the fiscal year 1954 was lower than in any preceding year since 1947 with the sole exception of fiscal year 1953, the year Congressman WALTER used as his only basis of comparison. In the 2-year period during which the McCarran-Walter Act has been on our statute books, fiscal year 1953 and fiscal year 1954; total legal immigration was 378,000, but during the 2 years preceding the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act, fiscal years 1951 and 1952, total immigration was 471,000. In other words, total immigration was 25 percent greater during the 2 years before the McCarran Act than after. Moreover, over half of the so-called increase in immigration in 1954 over 1953 is accounted for by the increased immigration from Mexico which is not under the quota system at all. I think actually this bill which is claimed to be an immigration and naturalization law is not that at all, but an exclusion, a denaturalization and a deportation law.

You know the McCarran-Walter Act is based on the so-called national origins quota which goes back to 1924. At that time, they drafted a law which permitted a certain percentage of the people in this country who were of certain national origins to come in, and that, in turn, was based on the population, on the census of 1920, where there were thirty or forty million fewer people than there are today. Now, under that—under that quota system which I am very much opposed to, the national origins quota, a certain number of people were given to England and Italy and Poland and Greece, and the other countries. England and Northern Ireland were given 65,000. Only a very small percentage of those people come in here because the English don't immigrate. They want to stay at home to a great extent, so that these—they're unused quotas which cannot be used by any other country under the present law. On the other hand, a country like Greece has a quota of only 308, most of which are already mortgaged under provisions of the McCarran Act. Italy has a quota of less than 4,000. Poland has a small quota. All the—all the countries of southern and eastern Europe were very greatly discriminated against, and that's one of my very real strong objections to the present act, and why I am proposing to change that in the bill which I've introduced.

Mr. MURROW. Congressman FRANCIS WALTER has been watching in Washington. He will make certain concluding comments immediately after this word from Alcoa, the Aluminum Co. of America.

Congressman WALTER opened this discussion of the McCarran-Walter Act and he has now agreed to make some comments upon what some of its critics have said. Will you go ahead, sir, please?

Congressman WALTER. In the very brief time allotted to me to reply to the statements made by Mr. Javits and the others who spoke this evening, I shall attempt to take the statements each made and look at the notes that I prepared as they were making them. Now, Mr. Javits was fair in his statement but he is entirely incorrect when he states that a person could be deported for a trivial offense. Actually, a person can be denaturalized only after a verdict of a Federal court. An alien can be deported only for the commission of a felony within 5 years after the alien had been in the United States, or two felonies committed after this alien has come to the United States. As a matter of fact, there are two important cases now in the Supreme Court of the United States that go into this question of the procedures on denaturalization—one from Attorney General Javits' own State of New York. On an opinion handed down by Judge Harold Medina, who knows as much about communism as anybody, he stated, "It's worthy of note that the act of 1952 was not hastily thrown together. On the contrary, it's a result of years of patient study," and so on. Now, then, we get to the statements made by Archbishop Cushing.

He said that the act is discriminatory and the national origins system is antiquated, and there is nothing in the law that will enable us to deal with surplus populations. After all, when the Congress of the United States enacted the Immigration and Nationality Act, it was legislating in the interest of the United States and not in the interest of other nations. As far as family ties are concerned, it has been the policy of the Committee on the Judiciary, ever since I have been a member of it, to endeavor to reunite families, and I am sure that the record will show that. Rabbi Goldstein seemed to stress the fact that there were nations with large populations who want to send immigrants to the United States. Well, that demonstrates the fallacy of attempting to depart from the national origins system. I certainly don't believe that it would be in the best interest of the United States to fix quotas according to the size of populations of other countries. Rabbi Goldstein talked about the population of Japan being but 70 million, and they had only a hundred quota—they actually have 185; India, population of 300 million, and only a hundred quota. Well, what about China with a much greater population than either of those countries? Getting to Senator LEHMAN'S statement about juggling figures. He is entirely wrong, because he omitted to say that the years of 1949 to 1952 were the years when the displaced persons program was in effect. Of course immigration was high then under special emergency legislation. The last charge I think that ought to be answered and was not made tonight is with respect to permitting visitors to come to this country.

On tomorrow I am sure an announcement will be made that these Soviet school newspaper editors will be able to come to the United States under the very generous and liberal discretionary provisions of the present law—something that was impossible under the old law.

Mr. MURROW. Thank you very much, indeed, Congressman WALTER, for contributing to a degree to the clarification of this complex and controversial issue. Thank you, sir, very much indeed. Good night and good luck.

Buy It Back?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under the above title the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, the farthest north daily newspaper in the United States, printed on February 12 an editorial which I am very pleased to share here:

A suggestion has been made in Juneau that the Alaska Legislature appropriate $7 million and offer to "buy back" our Territory from the United States. Of course, this suggestion is made with tongue in cheek. Actually, it is only designed to call further attention to the plight of Alaska with regard to the rights of citizenship which residents here do not possess.

We feel that this suggestion has merits. We do not take it seriously, but, it certainly illustrates the feelings of many Alaskans who are dismayed with the neglect our Nation is showing the people of Alaska.

We suggest that the legislature go right ahead and make an offer to "buy back" Alaska. Offer the United States 7 million and ask for our freedom. At the same time, point out that we would be a much more prosperous land if we existed as a sovereign nation.

First of all, no one can say that our defense spending income would be cut off, because the United States must defend Alaska to defend itself.

Furthermore, we would enjoy these immediate gains:

1. As a sovereign nation we would be eligible to obtain money under the "foreign aid" program. No doubt, if we weren't a Territory, the United States would be more willing to finance highways, new schools, and a quart of milk per day for each citizen. We are strategically located here in Alaska, and the United States would be forced to seek our friendship.

2. As a foreign nation, we could send an ambassador to the United States. If he issued a protest, no doubt it would arouse much more interest in Washington than anything our delegate to Congress can say or do. Our delegate to Congress hasn't got a vote to cast or trade, but in this day and age, an ambassador is a real important person.

3. As a foreign nation, no doubt we would be eligible for special assistance to build our badly needed roads. The United States has enacted a law which extends to South American nations financial assistance in constructing highways. However, Congress has been steadily reducing the funds that are appropriated to enable Alaska to expand its road system. We'd like to have some of those super highways that South American nations are building with United States funds.

These are the advantages that would accrue to Alaska if we became independent of the United States. Of course, the move would have certain drawbacks. We would have to go through immigration to get into the United States, we wouldn't be able to vote for the President, we wouldn't have a vote in Congress, and we would have no voice in the affairs of our Nation.

But, wait a minute. We have to go through an immigration inspector right now, when entering the United States from Alaska. We can't vote for our President, and we do not have a vote in Congress. Naturally, under such conditions, we have no voice in the affairs of the United States.

So, Alaska has everything to gain and very little to lose by becoming a sovereign nation. Obviously, our Government is so busy taking care of the underprivileged people all over this world that America has forgotten about our own loyal citizens in Alaska.

The legislature should pass a bill offering the United States $7 million for a clear title to our own homeland. This move would be advantageous to Alaska and to the Nation. After we were a sovereign nation for a few years and industry has sprung up here because it was not taxed on a frontier at crushing levels designed for America proper, and after we'd had a little assistance in building highways to tap our rich resources, and after we'd run our own "show" for a few years and took steps to correct the Interior Department's mistakes, and after we'd elected our own governor and all our public officials, we could rejoin the United States.

Then Alaska would be a prosperous, productive adjunct to America, and no doubt we would be completely ready for statehood.

We feel the legislature should appropriate that money. It might be the most valuable $7 million Alaska ever spent.

New Insight Given as Death Approaches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, so much has been said lately about heartless business and the exploitation of the workingman, I felt my colleagues would find interest in a recent letter written by a dying workman about his company. This appeared in a Letters to the Editor column in the San Diego Union last week. It was written by a young man named William Neary, an Army veteran, with a wife whom he had met in Italy, and two small daughters.

Bill Neary wrote this as a sort of last service to labor-management relations. In the past, he had served on a union negotiations committee at his plant, the Kelco Co., which processes seaweed into gelatin and other products.

Bill showed his typically American courage and frankness in discussing his problem. He wrote the letter to set things straight, not to get publicity. He even asked that his name not be printed. The world deserves to know Bill's story. Under unanimous consent, I include his letter as a portion of these remarks:

NEW INSIGHT GIVEN AS DEATH APPROACHES

EDITOR, THE UNION.

A few weeks ago my family and I received the shattering news that I had 2 months to live. The doctors advised me to stop working and conserve my strength, in order to last a little longer maybe.

But, being the bread-winner for a lovely, wonderful wife, and two small children, my problem was now to keep winning that bread and still conserve my strength.

Now comes the reason for my story.

For the last 5 years I have worked for a local company which has always treated me very well and with respect. I didn't know whether to keep my sad news a secret from the company or to be fair and square as it had always been with me in the past.

Well, I told the company my complete problem.

It came through true blue. I was put on 3-weeks sick leave, with pay, and was told that if I wanted to come back to work, there would be a position for me which would require no expending of energy but would keep my mind off my worries. I would be paid top wages.

Companies are accused of many things, sometimes rightly but all too often unjustly. My company has been called cold-blooded and has been wrongly accused of spreading kelp along the beaches.

But the point I have tried to bring out is this: My experience convinces me that companies are not run by cold-blooded capitalists squeezing every drop of energy out of us for their dollar paid. I think that if we looked fairly we would find usually that we are working for honest, warm-hearted people, who are willing to pay an honest dollar for an honest effort.

Don't let my experience influence you. Think it over. I can only say thank God for putting a big heart in a local company.

W. NEARY.

NATIONAL CITY.

Security Council Sparkplug

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, a dinner was held at the White House last Saturday, March 12, in honor of Gen. Robert Cutler, who recently resigned as President Eisenhower's special assistant for national security affairs. Although not a well-known public figure, General Cutler has held a highly sensitive and important position. All who worked with him will agree, I feel sure, that he has discharged his heavy responsibilities in a most capable and highly commendable way. Our congratulations go to him for a job well done.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like also to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial regarding General Cutler which appeared in the Washington Post on March 11, 1955:

SECURITY COUNCIL SPARKPLUG

Robert Cutler has been one of the most important and least-known men in Washington. As Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, he has had a preeminent part in giving the National Security Council the new meaning and prestige which Mr. Eisenhower has sought for it. The Security Council has all but eclipsed the Cabinet on questions of broad strategy. This shy, witty Boston banker has been the ideal staff agent for the President—quiet, unobtrusive, and completely dedicated, and with a singular ability to cut through nonessentials in keeping attention focused on the major problems and in following through on decisions. Through his own choice he has led a virtually monastic existence in the capital, shunning social engagements and contacts even though previously in private life he had been known as the life of the party. Whether this self-enforced seclusion has helped build proper appreciation of the work of the Security Council is debatable, but it certainly has served to keep the Council staff out of embarrassing controversy. Even less is known here publicly of Mr. Cutler's successor, Dillon Anderson, a Houston attorney who has served as a consultant to the Security Council since 1953. We wish him well—and for Mr. Cutler a well-deserved release when he returns to his post as chairman of the board of Boston's Old Colony Trust Co.

The Good Old Hoover Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to do so I include herewith an editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald:

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

Former President Hoover's passion for criticizing the programs of his successors has carried him to such an extreme in the report on governmental lending activities that it is difficult to escape Representative HOLIFIELD's conclusion that the report is faulty in concept and method. Mr. HOLIFIELD is a Democrat and a member of the Hoover Commission. But two Republican members—Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., and Mobilization Director Arthur S. Flemming—also dissented, as did Joseph P. Kennedy, former Ambassador to Great Britain, and James A. Farley, former Postmaster General. Mr. Hoover and the Commission majority, in their laudable zest to save the Government money, apparently forgot that one of the reasons for government is to protect the health and welfare of the people who support it. Many of the lending agencies which the Hoover Commission would liquidate are performing valuable services for the people without injury to private enterprise.

Considerable money could be saved if the Government ceased making crop loans to farmers, rural electrification loans, Export-Import Bank loans, and housing loans. Money also could be saved if the Government raised the interest rate on loans it continued to underwrite. There may be an argument that this should be done selectively. But a sweeping curtailment such as the Commission advocates would not serve the national interest, the business interests of the country, or the groups that have helped expand the economy through use of such loans. Unquestionably there are subsidies in governmental lending activities, but they need to be related to the whole complex of indirect subsidies in which the Government is engaged. The Hoover Commission seems merely to consider the overall cost of Government and conclude that it is prohibitive.

When the Hoover Commission makes such extreme proposals it does damage to its own reputation and to the proposals it has made on other governmental problems. No Congress, whether Democratic or Republican, would ever seriously consider the proposal to abolish the agencies which the Commission criticizes. The report, therefore, can be put down as an unfortunate academic exercise. It strays too far from reality to be of any real value to Congress or the administration.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include copy of my weekly column Keenotes of March 11, 1955, which refers to the recommendations of the Hoover Commission dealing with veterans' hospitalization and disability benefits:

KEENOTES

(By Hon. ELIZABETH KEE, of West Virginia)

In this fast-moving civilization of ours, yesterday is sometimes so very, very long ago. And so easy to forget.

It is particularly easy, it seems to me, to forget "yesterday's hero"—our war veterans—especially when, as right now, we are not engaged in a shooting war. The upsurge of gratitude felt by a whole nation for the sacrifices these boys made for us—the solemn pledges we in turn made them in those yesterdays—all of these can become so cloudy in memory, so easily forgotten now.

As one of the ranking members of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs of the House of Representatives, I have seen this forgetfulness of the veteran show itself many times in many different ways. Whenever it happens, I think of Lear's classic characterization of ingratitude as "how sharper than a serpent's tooth."

Lear was berating a thankless child. But nations can be ungrateful, too.

This Nation certainly would be ungrateful, I feel, if it were to adopt some of the latest recommendations of the Hoover Commission dealing with veterans' hospitalization and disability benefits.

The new Hoover group, officially known as the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, put a task force to work surveying all of the Government's $4 billion a year health activities, of which veterans' care is only a part. The group indicated a possibility of saving up to $400 million a year through reorganization of the Government's various health functions, including modification of some and elimination or drastic curtailment of others.

Significantly, however, more than three-fourths of all of these estimated—or hoped-for—savings would come out of curtailment of hospitalization benefits and tightening of disability-allowance procedures for veterans, including the closing of some veterans' hospitals.

On their face, some of the Commission statements on veterans' hospitalization benefits sound somewhat reasonable until a more thorough analysis shows that they are based on what appears to be an implication not merely of widespread but of wholesale and one would almost say general cheating by our war veterans in exercising their rights to hospitalization for non-service-connected cases.

I cannot subscribe to any such blanket charge or wholesale condemnation of the men who fought to keep freedom alive in this world.

Perhaps there is one bright side to this newest attack on veterans' rights.

When the winds blow with freezing fury and life is grim and we are cold and miserable and full of winter weariness, and then, suddenly, we see an undaunted crocus has pushed its way right through the hard-crusted ground, doesn't the heart warm quickly in the happy knowledge that spring is soon at hand? The crocus is always a sure sign.

Similarly, when I saw this official report from the Hoover Commission on veterans' benefits, I suddenly felt as if it was an omen of peace. Even though the experimental nuclear explosions, both here and behind the Iron Curtain, are getting bigger and more awesome day by day, and the situation off Formosa is looking quite menacing, it suddenly struck me: wasn't it a sign of an upswing in the prospects for peace when influential groups in this country start looking with outright hostility at the tremendous cost of veterans' hospitalization and disability benefits?

Nevertheless, we dare not repudiate the promises we have made to our veterans.

Professional Soldiers Plus Incentives Equal Top Morale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States depend upon professional soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen to protect and defend our Nation.

The officers and noncoms are the backbone of our Military Establishment.

They have the special knowledge and experience and steadiness that cannot be drafted suddenly from civilian life in time of emergency.

We need them every day and every hour to handle complex equipment in farflung stations.

Devoted to honor, duty, country. Always faithful. Ready to give their lives if need be, and asking so little in return. Only respect and consideration.

The disciplined pride of a military man suffers severely when he and his dependents are not reimbursed for the sacrifices that they make by volunteering to serve their country.

At a time when pay and fringe benefits are increasing for civilians, we have seen the status of our service personnel slip farther and farther behind the average standard of living.

Before this pay-raise bill was passed, a master sergeant with over 18 years of service, received only $275.18 per month.

Only $3,300 a year for the highest noncom.

Short rations, at best.

Small wonder that the military service has ceased to be attractive.

We have made it so because of our neglect—our failure to consider the human factors.

The most effective and costly military equipment in the world will not buy us protection if the men to operate the equipment are amateurs, or if their hearts are not in their jobs.

A military pay increase bill will serve to keep the best-trained men in uniform. That is, if it is supplemented by further legislation to increase dependent medical care, survivors' benefits, and to provide for adequate housing.

The wives and children of professional military men also serve their country in ways that merit our understanding and our gratitude.

The vote in the House—399 for and only 1 against—reflects the overwhelming opinion in Congress that our career men in uniform are deserving of much better treatment than we have accorded them in the past.

We take this action not only for compelling economic reasons, but as a means of expressing to the men and women who have sacrificed the freedoms, the comforts, and the moneymaking opportunities of civilian life in order to dedicate themselves to the protection of all—our admiration and our deep respect.

Those who serve their country before themselves earn the highest honor and consideration.

It is a privilege for Congress to pass—with flying colors—the Career Incentive Act of 1955.

Forty-seventh Annual Order Day Dinner of B'nai Zion in Honor of Hon. Abraham J. Multer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, on March 6, 1955, on the occasion of the 47th annual order day dinner of B'nai Zion in honor of our colleague, the Honorable ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York, there were many outstanding speakers. A citation was awarded to Congressman MULTER by the Honorable Arthur Markewich, a justice of the supreme court of the State of New York, and nassi-grandmaster of B'nai Zion.

Among the outstanding personalities present to do honor to our colleague were the Honorable HENRY M. JACKSON, United States Senator from the State of Washington, and the Honorable Carmine G. De Sapio, secretary of state of the State of New York and Democratic national committeeman from New York. Their addresses to the dinner guests and Congressman MULTER'S acceptance speech were so outstanding and interesting that under unanimous consent I include them herewith. Also included is a copy of the citation presented to Congressman MULTER:

CITATION TO CONGRESSMAN ABRAHAM J. MULTER: LAWYER, LEGISLATOR, STATESMAN

In grateful recognition of the manifold historic services he has rendered to the American people in their fight for freedom.

In high appreciation of the unflinching loyalty and devotion he has brought to the cause of the State of Israel and his great efforts on behalf of the redemption of the land of Israel and the Jewish National Fund, exemplifying the high ideals of social justice set forth in the Bible by the prophets of Israel.

Presented on the occasion of the 47th annual B'nai Zion order day dinner, marking the tercentenary of Jewish settlement in the United States, Sunday, March 6, Hotel Commodore, New York.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA,
HARRIS J. LEVINE, *President.*
MENDEL N. FISHER,
Executive Director.
B'NAI ZION,
ARTHUR MARKEWICH, *Nassi.*
HERMAN Z. QUITTMAN, *Maskir.*
NATHANIEL S. ROTHENBERG,
Chairman, Order Day Dinner Committee.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR JACKSON

It is highly appropriate that this B'nai Zion dinner is designed both to mark the tercentenary of Jewish settlement in America and to honor Congressman ABRAHAM MULTER for his impressive service to the American people. I do not know if ABE MULTER can trace his ancestry back to these 23 pioneer settlers but I do know that his record in Congress, where I had the privilege of serving with him for 6 years in the House, has been in the finest tradition of American Jewry.

B'nai Zion, through its great contributions to the Jewish National Fund, has fostered the pioneer point 4 program in the Middle East. As stockholders, so to speak, in the thriving young State of Israel, you may be proud of the record your investment has helped to make. In land reclamation, reforestation, and agricultural settlement Israel has made tremendous progress through your efforts.

I wish I could be as optimistic about other areas of the Middle East.

Ironically enough, it is just this phenomenal political and economic growth of Israel that has contributed to the present unrest and tension in the Middle East. There is no question in my mind but that the success of Israel has been a thorn in the side of the Arab States. Jealous of the progress of their youthful neighbor, the Arab leaders have sought to divert attention from their own shortcomings by the fanning of ancient religious hostilities.

We have seen just last week an unfortunate renewal of this conflict. I want to digress for a moment now and go back a few years to a time when Israel's future was far less certain, to tell you of an incident involving our guest of honor tonight.

You will recall that, following the assassination of Count Bernadotte, certain forces within and outside our State Department took that opportunity to press for a withdrawal of recognition of the new state. A critical situation resulted. Congressman

MULTER was in Israel at the time and, at the request of our Ambassador there, flew home to deliver a message to the President which the Ambassador did not feel would reach the White House through normal channels. Without fanfare, ABE MULTER returned to the States and flew to Oklahoma City for a midnight conference with Mr. Truman on the latter's campaign train. His firsthand report resulted in a strengthening of American support for Israel at a time when Israeli morale was at a low ebb.

Economically and politically Israel is far more ready to weather this latest crisis than she was in 1948.

Having spoken of the attitude of the Arab leaders, I want to emphasize my belief that the Arab peoples have much the same hopes, needs, and aspirations as the people of Israel. As long as these hopes are unfulfilled, the Arab leaders will turn to Israel as a scapegoat and diversion.

For this reason, it is just as important for Israel to realize that her stability and security depend on the realization of national economic and social needs by the Arabs as it is for the Arabs, in their turn, to understand that poverty, inequality, and backwardness—not Israel—comprise their greatest enemy.

The nations of the Middle East, many of whom have recently acquired independence, must come to realize that their new-found freedoms are at stake in the struggle between communism and the free world. Perhaps they cannot be united on a positive basis at the present. But they may at least join together in opposition to the threat of Soviet domination. I think that the defense pact between Iraq and Turkey, ratified late last month, is the first evidence of this awareness on their part. I hope this may represent a chink in the armor of the Arab League, the influence of which has hardly helped the growth of the Middle East in recent years.

In our preoccupation with the Far East and Europe, we are only beginning to awake to the needs of the Middle East. There is a very real danger, however, in our approaching this area on a purely military basis. We cannot judge the Middle East on the same basis as Western Europe when seeking means to strengthen individual nations against Communist aggression. We are operating on two different levels of economic and social development and must act accordingly.

In short, if we attempt to build a Middle Eastern military fortress without first meeting the economic and social issues, we will create a dangerous sense of false security—like building a fort with walls but no insides.

Our primary aim, before we can consider a serious military buildup, must be to achieve political and social stability. To place arms in the hands of people who are badly housed, underfed, and badly governed is to invite disaster. If communism moves into these areas, it will be primarily because of unhealthy social and economic conditions—not for any lack of guns or grenades. Only through the building of strong economic and social foundations can we develop the will to resist.

The most obvious way to implement this approach is through economic and technical-aid programs. I regret to say that our programs of this kind have been diminishing in recent months—a reduction that is closely linked to our increased emphasis on military aims.

As a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I am particularly well acquainted with the tremendous possibilities of peacetime atomic energy for the future growth and security of the Middle East.

I believe that the construction of nuclear reactors in the Middle East will do more for the progress and stability of this region than shiploads of military hardware.

A nuclear reactor is nothing more than an atomic furnace, using uranium as a fuel to produce heat, energy, and ultimately electricity. It does not depend on vast stores of natural resources or extensive supply lines for its successful operation. You will understand why when I tell you that 1 pound of uranium has the energy equivalent of 3,600,000 pounds of coal.

We cannot, of course, work economic and social miracles overnight but the peacetime reactor can come as close to a miracle as anything ever devised by man. These atomic furnaces will produce overnight energy to pump water over arid fields, turn the wheels of new industry, and lay the groundwork for increased productivity in areas where dire want is a round-the-clock reality.

I am not speaking of any dream for the future. We have already built at Oak Ridge an experimental reactor powerplant that has generated roughly 200 kilowatts of electric power—enough to satisfy the needs of a good-sized commercial building. The task from here on out is essentially an engineering and industrial undertaking. With our tremendously superior industrial system, I am convinced we can soon overcome the problems that block the road to commercial feasibility.

In short, while there is little doubt that our military atomic race with the Russians is a neck-and-neck affair, I firmly believe that we have the present capability of instituting an overwhelming lead in the development and exploitation of the peaceful atom. If we give this effort the all-out crash priority we gave the hydrogen bomb, we will give the lie to the charge that we have given lip service to the peaceful atom. Not only would such a program prove our peaceful intentions, it would also provide a great economic shot in the arm for areas such as the Middle East.

Each American-built atomic reactor shipped overseas will be packaged progress carrying with it the seeds of productivity for an increased standard of living to areas where even the slightest increase in living standards is revolutionary.

I sincerely hope that the administration will consider making this effort on nuclear reactors the keystone of an increased program of technical aid in the Middle East and elsewhere.

The brightest future of this region lies in growing together rather than fighting each other. As you carry on your valuable work in Israel, I hope you will keep this general principle in mind: With the proper moderation, commonsense, and perspective, the Middle East can become the most dynamic region of our time rather than, as it is now, one of the most serious trouble spots of our time.

ADDRESS OF HON. CARMINE DE SAPIO, SECRETARY OF STATE OF NEW YORK

Chairman, Your Excellency, Congressman, Senator JACKSON, Judge Markewich, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen; Senator JACKSON stated that it was difficult for him to land here this evening due to the fog over New York City; but that there is no fog in this hall this evening. I agree with you, Senator. There is indeed no fog here tonight; and this is due in great measure to ABE MULTER and the thousands of ABE MULTERS who spread sunshine and hope for their fellow men. In fact, Senator, since January 1 of this year, our Democratic weather bureau has dispelled a great deal of fog after 12 years of density.

I am very happy to be here tonight to join with you in paying tribute to a great American and a great son of Israel—my very good friend, Congressman ABRAHAM J. MULTER.

I do not think it necessary for me to remind you, his coworkers and associates in B'nai Zion, of his zeal and dedication in seeking to strengthen Israel and the cause of Jewry in America and throughout the world.

It is fitting that this celebration of the tercentenary of Jewish settlement in the United States should be in honor of this distinguished leader of our community.

Congressman MULTER'S career has been marked by achievement and success, and yet you know as well as I, that he will never content himself to sit back on his laurels, piously proclaim that he has done enough, and elect to take it easy from here on in.

His vigor, his vision, and his determination keep him going all the time—always driving for new service; for new help to render to those persons and movements which he considers deserving.

In every sense ABE MULTER typifies the highest ideals of American citizenship and of the fraternal spirit which Bnai Zion represents. His devotion to Israel is founded upon his firm belief that that republic represents not only a haven for the oppressed, but also a bulwark for freedom in the Middle East. His devotion to our country is clearly evidenced by his dedicated public service and by his untiring efforts—both in Congress and in the community—in the causes of justice and right.

ABE MULTER is held in the highest esteem by people of all faiths who recognize in him those qualities of leadership which make our country and the world a better place in which to live. He epitomizes the best in Judaism and the best in Americanism because he works unselfishly for both, always in the cause of his fellow man.

I am proud to join with you on this occasion and to congratulate you on your noble work and your guest of honor on his high character and great achievements.

Thank you very much.

REMARKS OF HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER AT THE DINNER TENDERED TO HIM BY B'NAI ZION AT THE HOTEL COMMODORE IN NEW YORK CITY ON SUNDAY, MARCH 6, 1955

Mr. Toastmaster, distinguished guests, and friends, I am grateful beyond the expression of words for the honor you have bestowed upon me this evening. That so many of you should give up a Sunday night for me is indeed a grand tribute. The fact that these very busy public officials and other distinguished members of our community take the time to grace this dais tonight, makes it more difficult for me to express my appreciation. I owe a special word of thanks to Miss Esther Herlitz, Consul of Israel in New York, to the Honorable Henry M. Jackson, United States Senator from the State of Washington, to our Secretary of State, the Honorable Carmine De Sapio, to the Honorable Arthur Markewich, New York State Supreme Court Justice, to the Honorable Emanuel Celler, Member of Congress who spoke not only for himself but for each of my other distinguished colleagues from the House of Representatives who joined us here this evening, to your genial chairman Nathaniel S. Rothenberg, to Dr. Harris J. Levine, president of the Jewish national fund, to our good friend Harry Hershfield, and to Rabbi I. Usher Kirshblum.

This lovely bible which you presented to me this evening will be a constant reminder of this event, and I can assure you that modesty will not prevent me from many times reading the beautiful inscription which you have placed therein.

To the many nice things you have said about me this evening may I respond with an old quotation from an unknown author: "There is no limit to what can be accomplished if it doesn't matter who gets the credit."

None of the things ascribed to me could have been accomplished except for the inspiration and the cooperation of you who

are assembled here tonight and of thousands of others who are not with us tonight. The hardest tasks become easy of accomplishment when many willing workers cheerfully lend their help. Any small measure of success that has been mine as a leader is due to the many willing followers.

I am particularly touched by the fact that this dinner in my honor is dedicated to the tercentenary of Jewish settlement on this continent.

Most people overlook the true significance of the settlement of the Jews in this country in September of 1654. It would probably have been of no great historical importance if that small band of Jews had arrived on this continent to settle down unmolested and pursue their occupations and to worship freely. What makes the event important to our country and to the world is the fact that the then Governor of New Amsterdam refused to allow them to stay, solely because of their religious persuasions, coupled with the fact that the Dutch Government promptly overruled him, and directed that they were to be permitted to remain and to worship their God in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. That was the beginning of the writing of our Declaration of Independence and of our Constitution, which guaranteed religious freedom to all.

I am sure that you will all agree that without freedom of worship there could be no freedom of speech, there could be no freedom of press, there could be no freedom of assembly, and what we too often overlook today is the fact that there can be no freedom of thought without freedom of worship. The danger of conformity is that it necessarily destroys all of these freedoms.

If we agree that an attack upon the liberties of free people anywhere is an attack upon the liberties of free people everywhere then we must of necessity in these trying days turn our thoughts to what is happening in the Middle East.

We wonder why the ceaseless efforts on the part of Israel to bring about peace in that area have thus far been frustrated.

Despite the fact that the initial attack was by the Arab States, and all of the fighting that has continued down through the years has been instigated by the Arabs, Israel has constantly not only offered to negotiate peace directly and offered to permit others to negotiate the peace, but she has continually done things against her own best interest in order to promote better feeling between the Arabs and the Israelis. First she allowed Arabs to return to rejoin their families within her boundaries. Then she allowed Arab infiltrators who had no right to enter the country, to remain there. Then she released to Arabs moneys and properties which Israel had a right to hold as indemnity against the damages caused by Arabs. She has continually offered to cooperate economically with her Arab neighbors.

The Arabs have repeatedly answered by more killings and more robberies, by armed invasion, by guerrilla warfare.

There is only one way to stop the fighting in the Middle East, and it is not by sending arms to any of the Arab States. The attacks by Egyptians on the United Nations, and the destruction by the Egyptians of United Nations supplies intended for their own use, clearly show that even if the Arab leaders want to prevent violence they cannot control their own people.

The time has come when the United Nations not only must protect itself by the use of force, but it must send armed troops into that area to keep the peace. It will have no difficulty in the State of Israel, or from the Israelis. I am inclined to think, although I have not discussed this matter with any Israeli official, that Israel would welcome such armed intervention by the United Nations. It certainly would relieve her of the tremendous burden of constant military preparedness.

Such armed intervention by the United Nations forces will keep the Arabs away from Israeli borders and out of the State of Israel.

Met with such a situation the Arabs will have nowhere to go except to the peace table.

The last few days the papers have given considerable space to the Gaza incident coupled with some condemnation of an attack by Israel upon an Egyptian military installation within Egypt's borders.

Let me briefly review the situation leading up to this incident. Between August 1954 and February 1955, Egypt invaded Israel's borders with military units resulting in 34 armed clashes. As to 7 of these the United Nations officials said there was insufficient evidence on which to base a finding.

As to 27 of them the Mixed Armistice Commission found that Egypt violated the armistice agreement and each time warned Egypt to cease and desist from future violations. Every warning was ignored.

On January 13, 1955, our United States delegate to the United Nations, Ambassador Lodge, said: "These acts are inconsistent with the spirit and intent of the Egyptian-Israeli general armistice agreement, contrary to the Security Council resolution and a retrogression from the stated objectives to which both sides committed themselves."

This was said immediately after the illegal and wholly unwarranted seizure of the Israeli ship, *Bat Galim*. The ship has not yet been released.

On January 24, 1955, the Mixed Armistice Commission said of the conduct of Egypt: "This aggressive action carried out by a unit of the Egyptian Army is in flagrant violation of the general armistice agreement with Egypt" and "notes with extremely grave concern this aggressive action and calls upon the Egyptian authorities to terminate these aggressive acts against Israel."

Egypt, as one would expect of a civilized nation, bent upon peace, immediately responded. That very night armed Egyptians crossed the Israeli border to Haslosha, 3 miles within Israel, and attacked and pillaged the village and committed wanton murder.

On January 27, 1955, Egypt was again condemned by the Commission, saying that it "notes with grave concern the serious situation resulting from repeated attacks" and "notes once again with extremely grave concern, that despite obligations imposed upon Egypt by the general armistice agreement and a number of mixed armistice commission resolutions, these penetrations and killings of Israel citizens have not terminated" and "calls upon the Egyptian authorities to put an immediate end to such aggressive acts."

Of course, Egypt complied. Less than a week later she attacked with an armed force Rehovot, 18 miles inside Israel and continued the onslaught for several days.

But Egypt had ample explanation and excuse for these deliberate and well planned incursions and killings. Let me read a few brief excerpts: December 27, 1954, Maj. Saleh Salem, Egyptian Minister of National Guidance, said: "Egypt's policy has not ceased to rest on the principle of 'no peace with Israel' in any form and at any time. Egypt will not make peace with Israel, even if Israel were to implement the United Nations resolutions on Palestine." January 9, 1955, he said: "Egypt will strive to erase the shame of the Palestine war even if Israel should fulfill the United Nations resolutions. It will not sign a peace with her. Even if Israel should consist only of Tel Aviv, we should never put up with that."

An interesting sidelight is that the major's name translates from the Arabic to the English as Prince of Peace.

Two other answers came from the Egyptian press, as follows:

From Al Gomhouri (an official publication): "Egypt and the Arabs must turn, in the name of humanity and its culture, to all nations of the world who will aid in wiping Israel off the face of the map." And from Saut El-Arab (the Voice of the Arabs): "Egypt sees Israel as a cancer endangering the Arab people. Egypt is the physician who can uproot this cancer. Egypt does not forget that it is her obligation to take revenge, and she is mobilizing all her forces in anticipation of the hoped-for day."

Statesmen can sit calmly in their secluded debating chambers and say they condemn Israel's massive retaliation or her hot pursuit. Sitting with them, you and I might do likewise.

But transplant any of us to Israel's soil and under similar trying circumstances not a man, nor even a woman, would sit idly by and watch our neighbors, even less our families, set upon by barbarians attempting their annihilation.

You can't stop that kind of dreadful business by arming the Arabs.

Words, warnings, and condemnations have not done so.

Only a strong police force can do so.

I apologize for striking so serious a note this evening, but I am genuinely alarmed.

Wherever the Jews have been driven, wherever they have wandered, they have carried in their hearts and on their lips—they have taught by word and by deed—the key word of their Torah, their Bible: Sholom—peace.

They are being answered again by fire and by sword.

Unless the free world does something about it, and at once, our entire civilization will come tumbling down around us like the Temple of old around Samson.

Thank you for listening to me, and, again, thanks from the bottom of my heart for the great honor you have bestowed upon me tonight.

The Right To Work Versus the Closed Shop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of comment in the last month in regard to the merging of the AFL and CIO. There is also underway in many States legislation with regard to the so-called right-to-work bill.

Labor bosses have been loud in their abuse of these laws. Many advertisements have been circulated in many papers over this highly controversial issue. Much pressure is being exerted on Congress to repeal that section of the Taft-Hartley law which permits the States to pass right-to-work laws.

There recently appeared in the Christian Democrat, a monthly which is published by the Catholic Social Guild of Oxford, England, an article about the Right To Work Versus the Closed Shop.

I deem that it is most timely to present this point of view. This article is reprinted from a report by the National Economic Council, of New York, and reads as follows:

The thorny question of the closed shop or union shop is again to the fore. Father

Charles Pridgeon, S. J., dealing with the closed shop in his book Opportunity for Trade Unionists, says that a moral issue of first importance is raised, namely, the freedom of the individual, which is intimately bound up with his freedom to join or not to join a particular trade union.

One is struck at the very outset by the fact that, though the unions, like the Catholic Church, desire 100 percent membership, the church would never try to force people to become Christians; yet the unions themselves, by following a closed-shop policy in certain areas, are doing exactly that—forcing people who do not wish to be trade unionists into a position of having to become so if they want employment.

One of the arguments put forward in support of the closed shop is that, since all workers benefit from union activities, therefore it is only right and proper that all should pay union contributions.

This argument, however, is fallacious for only union membership can provide full union benefits; those who are not union members do not in fact receive these benefits.

Moreover, the argument in favor of the closed shop, flowing from the fact that nonunion members receive increases of pay and better working conditions as a result of union activity, is of purely secondary importance.

The job of the union is the welfare of its members and if, in the process of improving pay and conditions for its members, others benefit as well, then that is quite incidental to the aims of the union. Many people benefit from the activities of the various political parties, but who would support compulsory membership of a political party?

Further, we all benefit from the Armed Forces in peace and war, yet many trade unionists firmly believe conscription to be wrong and unnecessary today, whilst agreeing to its need in time of war.

The same argument can be used with regard to the closed shop. In some areas and on some occasions its enforcement may be necessary and justifiable, but, surely, the taking away of the liberty of the individual which this implies is a very serious matter and, therefore, a particular situation must be urgent and grave to warrant such a demand. It may indeed be warranted in a particular industry or area at a particular time; but as a general rule binding all workers irrespective of circumstances, the closed shop would seem to be quite uncalled for.

And who can say that conditions today in this country justify the existence of the closed shop? Unions have greater prestige and strength today than ever before in their history. Agreements between unions and employers are honored on the whole and, if some small firm fails to do so, both sides of industry can now bring pressure to bear on the delinquent.

The main danger of the closed shop is not so much the added power it places in the hands of the union, but, rather, that which is given thereby to the shop steward; for, in a factory, it is the shop steward, not the branch official of the union, who is the holder of real power. Under such circumstances, once the closed shop is enforced, the union member is left with little safeguard against shop steward victimization.

This can be illustrated from many occurrences in closed-shop factories in this country today. In one such factory a man started work at 7:30; at 10 o'clock a shop steward discovered that he was a branch secretary of another union; at 11 o'clock he was informed he as unsuitable and given a week's pay in lieu of notice.

At another factory a man was discovered in possession of propaganda leaflets for another union. He "left" the factory next day.

Again, a man who had been in a department of a factory longer than anyone else felt he was not getting his fair share of piecework and complained to his shop steward and foreman about it. As nothing was done, he exceeded the unofficial union level of earnings when on piecework in order to maintain his own earnings. His shop then refused to work with him and pressure was successfully brought against the management for his transfer. Within a fortnight he had left the factory.

Undermining the authority of the convenor or shop steward, which can be interpreted in many ways, has resulted in at least two men being "branched" (that is expelled from the union) and then as nonunion members being forced to leave their place of employment. It might be argued that these men could always appeal to the branch meeting, but what chance of a fair hearing have they when so few turn up to it in view of the fact the shop steward or convenor has so much influence with union district officials and, moreover, is able to pack a branch meeting with his supporters.

Those who are so ready to advocate a closed-shop policy should realize that they are putting into the hands of men, untrained and ill-equipped, the power to deny to another the right of employment.

Neither the unions nor the shop stewards are part of this country's judiciary, yet they have given to them, once the closed shop is enforced, the equivalent of great judicial power.

It is a power which, in the hands of unscrupulous men, can be abused most easily to the point of tyranny.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1933).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

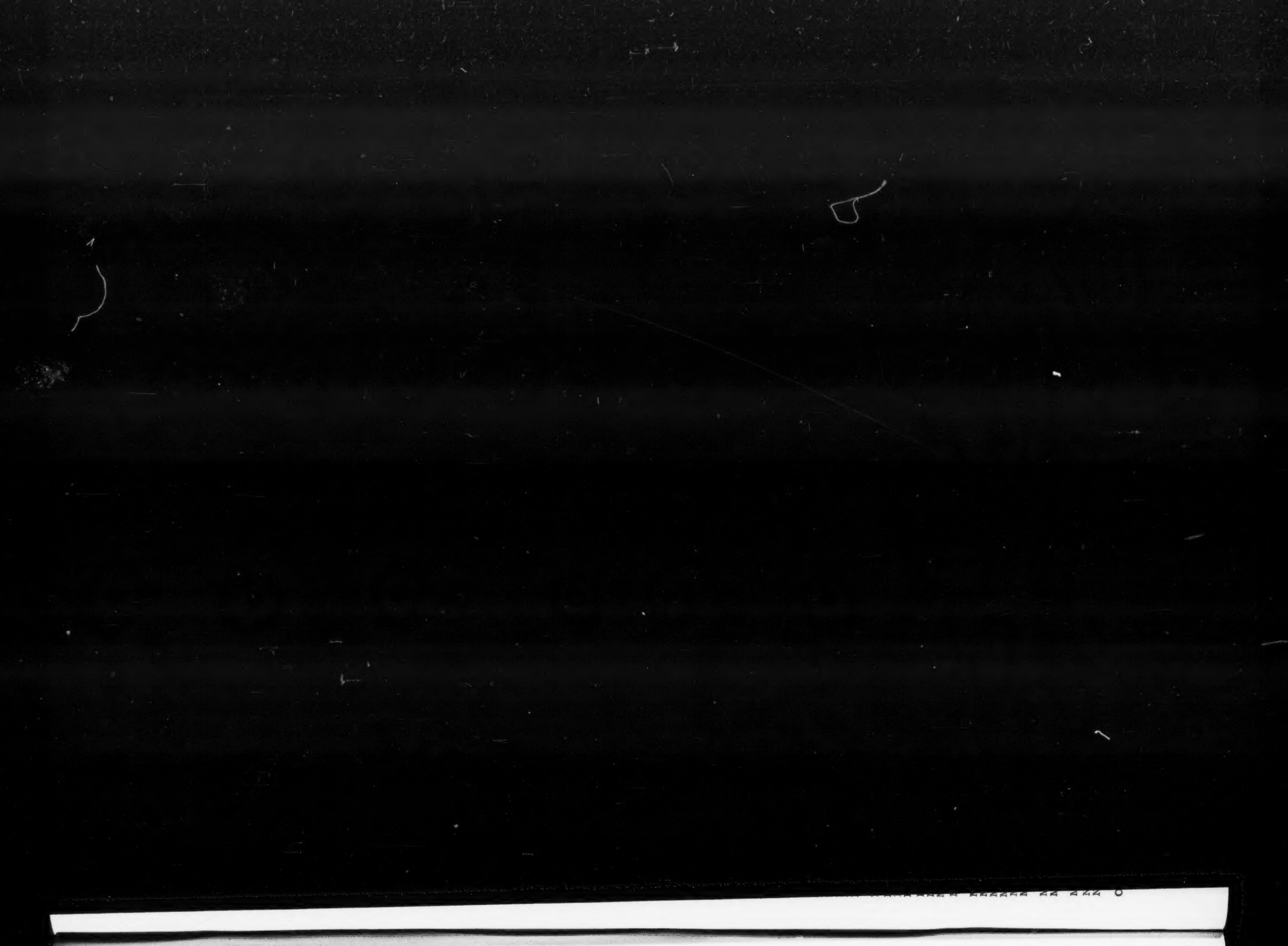

Appendix

Centennial Founders' Day Dinner, Michigan State College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address on the occasion of the centennial founders' day awards dinner of Michigan State College, February 12, 1955. The address was delivered by the Honorable John A. Hannah, president of the college, and formerly Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel. Dr. Hannah is one of our Nation's leading educators.

I have been informed by the Public Printer that the cost of printing the speech will be $180. Notwithstanding this fact, I ask unanimous consent that the speech be printed.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNFINISHED WORK

Let me begin by expressing the appreciation of all of us at Michigan State College to those who have helped us celebrate the most important anniversary in the history of our university. We extend our grateful thanks to all of you—to our convocation speaker and his charming wife, who have come so far to be with us; to those who have done us the honor of accepting degrees; to those who are to receive awards here this evening; to the representatives of our sister universities and colleges and the learned societies; to our other honored guests from government, business, industry, agriculture, education, the press and radio; and to those of our own staff and faculty who have worked and planned to make this a memorable occasion for everyone.

The gathering of this large group of distinguished persons is bound to have a stimulating effect upon those of us who have participated in these ceremonies honoring the man who originated and the men who have perpetuated a great new force for good in American society.

This event has an importance far transcending that normally attached to the celebration of a university's centennial. Despite our pride in our institution, and much significance as we attach to this date we recognize that many of you were impelled to come to East Lansing and take part in today's events by emotions besides your respect for Michigan State College. We are trying to make this whole centennial year more than a prolonged celebration of an institutional centenary; we recognize that we are observing, not the 100th birthday of Michigan State alone, but the centennial of putting into practice of a great, a new, a revolutionary idea in higher education. We honor the pioneers of Michigan who conceived the idea of a new kind of education and founded this college in the woods near the State capitol, but at that time 27 miles from the nearest railroad as the working embodiment of their hopes and ambitions for a better tomorrow and a better world. We recognize that they were but the intellectual and spiritual heirs of hundreds and thousands of men and women who had been thinking and working over many decades to devise an effective educational instrument with which to accomplish widespread and increasing good for mankind.

We revere men like John C. Holmes, and Bela Hubbard, and Joseph Williams, and Kinsley S. Bingham, and the other stalwarts of early Michigan. An eternal debt of gratitude is owed to them for their courage and foresight in establishing the Michigan Agricultural College as the first of the people's colleges. But on this Founders' Day we honor a much larger company, including both men with names distinguished in English and American history, and men whose names are now forgotten.

Fortune chanced to favor Michigan as the place in which the seeds scattered so widely in the years before 1855 were to germinate and to take root first. Conditions were favorable in many other places as witness the number of basically similar colleges established elsewhere within a few short years. The best evidence is in the fact that only 7 years after the Michigan experiment has been undertaken, the Morrill Act creating the national system of land-grant colleges was passed by a Congress preoccupied with the problems of a terrible civil war, and signed by a President weighed down by burdens such as no other President has ever been called upon to bear.

On this occasion it seems appropriate to cite a few of those from whom our Michigan pioneers must certainly have acquired inspiration and encouragement, men like John Milton who, writing about education more than 3 centuries ago, gave a definition of education which remains one of the best ever proposed. His definition, you will recall, was this:

"I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."

Modern educators—or some of them—might criticize education as Milton conceived of it because it would not be pupil-centered, but I think we must give credit to Milton as one of the founders because he was interested in preparing men for full participation in the society in which they lived, which certainly is a traditional objective of education at the land-grant colleges and universities.

There are many others deserving of mention: The leaders of the dissident religious sects in colonial days which looked upon widespread literacy as a barrier against retreat into narrow dogmatism; the founders of Harvard and other early universities with their concern that the colonies have an educated clergy; Jefferson with his broad liberal ideas of education, and his labor of love in establishing the University of Virginia as an institution far advanced for its day; the unrecorded thinkers and doers who brought William E. Channing, an outstanding pulpit orator of his day, to declare in a sermon:

"The grand doctrine, that every human being should have the means of self-culture, of progress in knowledge and virtue, of health, of comfort, and happiness, of exercising the powers and affections of a man, this is slowly taking place as the highest social truth."

Men such as these deserve to be honored as Founders of the new kind of education which became practically available just a century ago. There are many others, including Justin Morrill, the son of a Vermont blacksmith who was determined to make available to the children of other poor men the education he had been denied; Abraham Lincoln, the son of a restless backwoods farmer, who knew from his own bitter experience the shortcomings of our educational system from the viewpoint of the common people; these and many more deserve their place on the list of Founders to whom we pay tribute tonight.

I am sure you agree that it is by the happiest of coincidences that the day of this celebration should fall upon the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, the man of the people, who must have taken deep personal satisfaction in setting his pen to the Morrill Act, knowing full well that he was performing a great act of emancipation for the common people from which he had come.

It is one of the strengths, and one of the glories, of the land-grant college tradition that this new kind of education was developed and made available in response to a persistent public demand. We have in history no comparable example of an educational agency deliberately designed, created, and put into use specifically to do the will of the American people, to serve them as they wanted to be served. We in the land-grant colleges and universities would do well to remember that our institutions are the creatures of the people in the most specific sense, and I believe that history records that they have prospered and retained the affection of the people in direct proportion to their success interpreting the changing needs of the common people of America, and in serving those needs as the people themselves want them to be served.

The temptation on an occasion such as this is to recount the achievements of the century now passed into history, and to revel in the satisfaction which comes from association with a successful enterprise. But a prolonged review would be out of place to this audience which knows as well as, or better than I, the many magnificent accomplishments of higher education in America. But perhaps it would not be out of place to mention briefly some of the accomplishments of our society toward which higher education in general, and the land-grant colleges in particular, have contributed heavily in the century since 1855. We would not all agree in every particular in preparing such a list but I think we could single out at least three achievements upon which we would agree.

I am sure no one would quarrel with the first, which is the achievement of spectacular material gains, a higher standard of living than man has ever known. We would all agree that these sectacular gains came within our grasp as a people only when we decided to make the advantages of education available on the broadest possible scale. Thereby, we multiplied the native skills of the American people and made possible the miracles of invention and mass production with which we constantly astound the rest of the world. We could not have achieved

these every-day miracles had we not opened the doors of educational opoprtunity wide, thereby creating not alone the trained working force required, but also the desire for the goods and services produced. This we have done by broadening perspectives and stimulating the ambitions of millions of people.

The application of science to the art of agriculture has been an underlying factor in our industrial growth. As long as the great majority of our people had to be employed in the production of food and fiber we could spare few hands for the mills and shops. A century ago, something like 85 out of every 100 workers were necessarily engaged in agriculture, leaving only 15 to do the rest of the Nation's work. Today, thanks to the application of science, only 12 workers out of each 100 are needed on the farms to grow the food and fiber for the rest of our people. The other 88 are free to man the machine and sell the goods and provide the services which spell prosperity, comfort, and even luxury by standards elsewhere, for the people of the United States.

How great has been the contribution of the land-grant colleges I leave to your own estimation. Certainly they deserve the bulk of the credit in the field of agriculture, and a good share in the field of engineering and the associated industrial arts.

A second achievement to be claimed for the century just ended is the achievement of a high degree of social mobility. In appraising this contribution of education, we must remember that, as President Conant pointed out this afternoon, an outstanding feature of the American system has been its insistence upon equality of opportunity. It was to achieve that equality that the founders established here the revolutionary college which was to grow into this university. They, and others of like mind, were determined that the sons and daughters of the well-to-do were not to have the advantages of higher education to themselves alone; they established as a major goal the affording of equal opportunities to the children of the industrial worker and the farmer as well.

As a result, for decade after decade, the children of the poor and the well-to-do have attended primary schools, secondary schools, and colleges and universities together; they have studied together, recited together, played together. Day after day, they have participated in repeated demonstrations that good marks and diplomas do not depend on wealth or social position, but depend upon the ability and the ambition of the individual. Generation after generation of young Americans have grown up with the certain knowledge that they need not remain in the economic or social classes to which they were born; they could climb upward as far as their intelligence and initiative could carry them, and by the same token could fall as far as their sloth and irresponsibility allowed. There has been no artificial traditional limit upon opportunity; the transition from rags to riches has long been commonplace in America.

In this healthy climate we Americans have nurtured and developed a unique way of life. Almost unnoticed either here or abroad, we have come closer to achieving the classless society of broad equality among people than have those nations which have sought to build such a society by law and dictatorial decree. For this magnificent achievement, the American system of education deserves much credit.

A companion achievement, closely associated with that of social mobility but deserving mention as the third to be singled out this evening, is that of political stability. We have demonstrated, by millions of examples, that our political and social system does make it possible for a man or woman to achieve a full and happy life. We have examples by the millions that caste and class and sect are meaningless terms for those with intelligence and ambition, and in the fullness of time, we will be able to say with equal pride that color, too, has ceased to be an unfair handicap for the able man. This has kept us remarkably loyal to our basic political and economic system.

Here in these facts we have our strongest defense against the subversives of either extreme who would pervert our system of living together to suit their twisted minds and unholy desires.

We dare not claim that more and more education is the only cure for the ills of the world. We can, however, say with pride that by our consistent efforts to insure equality through education, we have woven unequaled strength and stability into the fabric of American society.

But enough of looking to the past. It is all too easy to take too seriously the flattering things we say about ourselves, and about the accomplishments of education in general, and the land-grant philosophy in particular. The coins of yesterday will not pay the bills of tomorrow; indeed, we need to find out whether they will still be legal tender. It is in the future that we must do the unfinished work to which our centennial theme dedicates our efforts.

Peering as best we can into the cloudy future, what are likely to be the needs of the society which education is pledged to serve? Does the fundamental philosophy of the past as it has been molded and reshaped by events of a century still qualify as the rule by which to guide our actions?

In assaying the ability of our fundamental philosophy to meet the needs of the future, let us apply the tests suggested by the three major achievements we have claimed for higher education in America.

First, will we continue to need trained people, and an ever-increasing proportion of trained people in our population? The answer is most assuredly "Yes." We are in a bitter struggle for survival with a political-economic system which has placed high stakes on education as a major device with which to gain its nefarious ends. We have been warned repeatedly that Communist Russia is training more scientists than we in the hope of eventually reversing our relative positions in the scientific fields, and thus gaining mastery over us through utilization of horrible engines of war. Our very will to survive dictates that we keep the lead in this nightmarish race until such time as mankind's good sense works out a scheme to outlaw aggression, war, and this constant flirting with mass destruction.

Moreover, our society grows steadily more complex and complicated. There have never been too many educated people; now we face the challenge to train enough merely to keep this ponderous and complicated machine moving efficiently. Certainly our expanding economy, judging from past experience, will impose a demand for increasing numbers of young people trained in the traditional professions and vocations, and in many of which we do not even dream today.

Yes; we certainly can expect that the future will find use for the young people trained by our colleges and universities to serve in a wide variety of fields; here we are on sure ground.

Next, will we need to continue to strengthen our social structure to give it still more mobility and adaptability to meet changing conditions? Here there is much to be done; not yet have we achieved all that we should achieve, not so long as we have a single person in need of medical care beyond his resources, a single mistreated child, a single family deprived the the heritage of hope. As yet, equality of opportunity is still no more than the goal toward which we have taken tremendous strides. As yet, too many qualified young men and women find educations and the choice of life work beyond the possibility of realization; too many barriers of race and creed remain; intolerance and bigotry have not been banished from the land. Here, there is much for education to do; it is for us to hope that the record of the past will persuade the future to entrust to our institutions the responsibility of completing the work thus far advanced.

It is essential that the movement go forward, for now not our eyes alone are focused on our work; throughout the world, eyes are turned upon America to see if she is qualified for the role of leadership to which she has fallen heir. Alien eyes watch closely to see whether we make steady progress in solving our own social problems. What other nations see will go far in determining whether they finally accept our leadership, or reject the philosophy of freedom and opportunity we offer to them, and turn elsewhere for leadership. Only people with an educated understanding of our strengths and weaknesses and with a will to make the improvements we need, can guide America through this critical period. I am sure you agree that such people can best be produced in large numbers in our colleges and universities; the question for us is whether we can produce them in the numbers required.

In the area of political stability, we are not as sure of our position. We must honestly face up to the fact that there has been some loss of confidence in colleges and universities in recent years. I feel that this results in part from our colleges and universities losing confidence in themselves, in their fundamental aims and purposes. If this were not true, we would not hear so much talk about the "climate of fear" in which some faculty members profess to find themselves. From my observation, this condition about which they complain has been grossly exaggerated. True, there have been attempts at political intimidation. But on the other hand, there have been some embarrassing examples of bad judgment and headstrong insistence on academic rights without much thought about academic responsibility, and the two have just about balanced each other, the only net result being that there has been planted in the public mind some suspicion about the essential integrity of colleges and universities.

Actually, this suspicion, if it does exist, might be attributed in part to a misguided attempt to blame someone for the feeling of insecurity which seems to be widely prevalent. The psychologists may not agree, but it appears to me that American people have been caught up in a net of frustration out of which they cannot find their way easily. Perhaps hurt bewilderment would be a more accurate description of their emotional condition. At any rate, they look at the tremendous expenditures in blood and treasure in two world wars and a localized but bitter war in Korea, at the billions they have sent overseas to help friendly and erstwhile enemy countries alike restore their economies, at the experts they have commissioned to help other countries move a little faster along the road to the good society, and what do they have to show for their efforts?

After making all of these expenditures, what do they see in return? The avowed enmity of a large portion of the world, the reluctant friendship of a much smaller portion, the close alliance of a still smaller portion, and the true understanding friendship of only a very few of the world's people. Knowing their own motives to be primarily altruistic, no wonder the American people are frustrated or bewildered. To be hated, pitied, tolerated—this, for Americans, is poor return on a colossal investment.

They have found, in short, that our wonderful shiny machines have not won for us the respect and affection of the world. They have learned that all of our wealth cannot buy us the peace and security we crave. Having devoted so much of our time and

energy to the development of our great industrial system and the improvement of our standard of living, it is no wonder that we feel insecure when we find that we cannot depend on material possessions alone to give us our hearts fondest desires.

Who is to blame if Americans have been led to place too much importance on material possessions, to depend too much upon science to solve all the problems of the world? This is not the time or place to assess blame, except to say that colleges and universities, as the source of many of our scientific miracles, and as pretenders to intellectual leadership, must accept their share. It is axiomatic that he who claims the credit for a particular plan or process is liable for blame if the plan fails or the process goes awry. It should not surprise us when those who sang the praises of the scientists for making all of our industrial and agricultural wonders possible are quick to say that those same scientists are to blame when they find that with all our worldly goods, we are still discontented and insecure.

The national malady of insecurity should be a matter of concern for our colleges and universities. We have as our responsibility the training of the leaders of this country; it is we who have encouraged them to take the materialistic view of life. As an example, it is we who have countenanced the stripping of the cultural subjects from the scientific curricula and graduated engineers who knew engineering and little else, biologists who knew biology and little else, chemists who knew chemistry and little else, and narrow specialists in many fields. The land-grant colleges, with their strong technological traditions, have been as guilty as any in this distortion of education.

If our national feeling of insecurity can be attributed to a slackening of national reliance upon material things, then there is great hope for America, because our churches and our educational system can do something to remedy the situation. In these times when we find that material advantages do not automatically bring peace and security in their wake, perhaps we can bring the American people to agree with Emerson that "a rush of thoughts is the only conceivable prosperity that can come to us."

In view of the conditions of the day and the prospects for the future we are forced to the conclusion that a considerable revamping of our educational machinery and a revision of our attitudes are desirable if we are to meet successfully the challenges that press upon us. We must come back to the realization that colleges and universities, public and private alike, are operated and supported, not alone for the benefit of the students, as individuals, but for the good society will reap from having those students trained for lives of greater usefulness.

To accomplish this end, it is essential that the devotees of the liberal arts tradition and the protagonists of the practical compose their differences once and for all, each conceding that the other has something good to offer, and that education cannot be complete without both.

My plea is for a definition of education to fit the times. Let me suggest that an educated man in today's world is one who is trained and conditioned to be an effective citizen. He need not necessarily be a man who has attained wealth, or outstanding professional distinction, or high public office. Indeed, he may not be known beyond the borders of his own community.

But he will have been educated to contribute to the economic well-being to the limit of his creative and productive skills; he will have been educated to contribute to social stability by his understanding of the world around him and by his tolerance for the rights and opinions of others; he will have been educated to contribute to the moral stability of his Nation by his acceptance and practice of such fundamental principles as personal honor and integrity, belief in a good God, and government by law instead of by men; and he will have been educated to contribute to the political stability by his reasoned, thinking approach to public issues, his rejection of demagogic appeals, and his ability to lead or to follow with equal intelligence.

If we keep some such definition in mind, we as educators will not think so much in terms of graduating engineers, or accountants, or doctors, or agriculturists, or lawyers, or teachers, as of graduating educated men and women, trained to be effective citizens of our democracy and of the world, men and women ready and willing to assume leadership in a Nation crying for more intelligent direction and guidance in a world full of confusion, insecurity, and doubt.

It is both disconcerting and humbling to realize that the founders we honor on this occasion saw clearly the need for education of this kind, and spoke plainly to those who would heed. From the numberless pages of reference I draw but three abbreviated examples of their wisdom in charting the course of American education.

The first is the familiar injunction from the Ordinance of 1787 establishing the Northwest Territory, of which Michigan was once a part:

"Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged as a means of preserving the lasting values on which successful popular government are built."

The second is the equally familiar statement from the Morrill Act providing for the liberal and practical education of the common people in the several pursuits and professions of life.

The third is from a source less familiar to most of you. It comes from the writings of Bela Hubbard, one of the Michigan farmers who worked successfully to establish the first agricultural college here just 100 years ago. After describing the technical courses which should be offered in this new kind of college, that backwoods farmer added this significant word of caution: "Nor should the claims of literature and the fine arts be wholly neglected, as tending to polish the mind and manner, and add greater luster and dignity to life."

How wisely they thought. How plainly they spoke. How well advised we of this sophisticated modern age would be to take their counsel as we move into the second century of service to the American people. We could pay these Founding Fathers no greater honor than to acknowledge the wisdom of their words and the clarity of their vision. Armed with such wisdom, warmed by such understanding, we can march unafraid to meet the challenges of the unknown future, sustained by the faith that as we serve God's children we perform the will of God.

Civil Trials for Soldier Crimes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on February 12, 1955, there appeared in the Christian Science Monitor an article entitled "Civil Trials for Soldier Crimes," written by Neal Stanford. It is an enlightening article, especially in view of widespread misrepresentations which have been made regarding the status of forces agreement. This article might well be read by all of us with profit.

Also, there was published an article entitled "Pity the Poor Facts," written by Roscoe Drummond, in the New York Herald Tribune of March 6, 1955, in which he discusses clearly the misrepresentations in relation to the case of Pvt. Richard T. Keefe, which has been heralded all over the country. The facts about the case are clearly stated in the article. I say again both of these articles can be read with profit by those who want the truth and the facts.

I ask unanimous consent that both articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor]

CIVIL TRIALS FOR SOLDIER CRIMES

(By Neal Stanford)

WASHINGTON.—This is a report on the Status of Forces Agreement and the most celebrated case to arise from it—the Richard T. Keefe trial. It comes from the judge advocate's office of the Army and is essentially a verbatim report of the trial. It is reported in detail because of the considerable publicity of this particular case and frequent charges that the treaty legislates away the rights of American citizens.

The treaty is a product of the cold war, of a situation that calls for the stationing of American military personnel abroad in so-called peacetime. One article of the agreement covers the question of criminal jurisdiction over troops. In substance it provides that when a soldier commits a crime in the performance of duty, he is triable by the courts-martial of his own country, but that for any crimes committed when off duty he is subject to the jurisdiction of the courts of the country where he is stationed.

This agreement is reciprocal—that is, the rights which one of the NATO nations secures for its troops abroad, it must give to foreign troops on its own soil.

The Keefe case came before the Assize court in Orleans, France. The substance of the case, which Private Keefe admitted as true, follows:

"Private Keefe and Private Scaletti arrived in Orleans together, coming from a period of confinement in a United States guardhouse in Germany. They went to the center of Orleans without permission. After drinking various alcoholic beverages, Keefe lost all but 2,000 francs of his money in a dice game. It was then after dark, and both decided to go to Paris.

"They entered a taxicab with the purpose of getting out on the main highways to hitchhike a ride to Paris. About 1 mile out they had the cabdriver, Fernand Henault, stop the cab. Scaletti then got in the back seat and removed two shirts from their baggage. Scaletti placed his shirt around the driver's neck and Keefe placed his in the driver's mouth. Keefe struck the cab driver. Keefe and the driver rolled out onto the ground.

"Scaletti started the cab and both got away. They then drove to Paris where they abandoned the taxi. After several days in Paris they started hitchhiking south. They were arrested at Nogent-le-Rotrou by the French police.

"The victim, a 65-year-old taxicab driver, was incapacitated from work for 30 days. He had an injured nose, his false teeth were broken, and he had numerous cuts and bruises.

"The jurors deliberated for an hour. Under the French penal code the important ques-

tions were: Was the crime committed at night? On a public highway with violence? With violence that left injuries? The answers to all the questions were in the affirmative. The penalty was set at 5 years' seclusion—the minimum sentence for such a crime. The maximum could have been life imprisonment."

This is the case that is being widely advertised as an example of the American Government's sacrificing the constitutional rights of its soldiers abroad by treaty. The fact, however, is that, if there were no treaty, American troops abroad would be subject to foreign courts for crimes committed when on duty as well as when off duty.

Actually what has happened even under this Status of Forces Treaty is that nearly 9 times out of 10, even in cases of American service personnel abroad committing crimes when off duty or AWOL, the local authorities have turned the accused over to American military authorities for trial.

During the first year of the treaty there were roughly some 2,000 American soldiers accused of crimes over which local courts in NATO countries had jurisdiction. Of these nearly 1,800 were surrendered to United States jurisdiction. Of the remaining 200 only 42 were sentenced to imprisonment. Of those 42 sentenced 33 got suspended sentences. Thus only 9 American soldiers out of some 2,000 were actually imprisoned abroad after trial by local courts—and none for more than 5 years—which was the sentence in the Keefe case.

The Status of Forces Treaty passed the Senate 72 to 15. It was supported by President Eisenhower, Gen. Omar Bradley, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, by Adm. Arthur W. Radford, current Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and by such Senators as WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, Republican, of California; ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin; LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican, of Massachusetts. But it was attacked then, and also during the Keefe case, as a miscarriage of justice, a denial to American soldiers of their constitutional rights.

Generally it can be said that the local foreign courts are more lenient in their sentences of American service personnel than a United States court-martial would be. In the Keefe case, the 5-year sentence was less severe than usually handed down by United States courts-martial for comparable offenses.

[From the New York Herald Tribune]

PITY THE POOR FACTS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The Supreme Court decision in the case of Pvt. Richard T. Keefe, an AWOL soldier convicted in a French court of assault and theft, will probably not silence the extremist advocates of the Bricker amendment to restrict the treatymaking powers of the President and the Senate.

For several months these advocates have been recklessly using the Keefe affair to try to whip up public opinion to believe that the Government has given away through treaty, personal rights guaranteed by the Constitution. A typical Bricker-amendment argument went this way:

"The question is: Can a foreign government—in this case France—arrest an American GI, try him before a French court and give him the works (solitary confinement, 5 years of hard labor and possible exile to a French penal colony) for what would be a minor offense under American law?"

Actually the French court did none of these things.

A facet of this case reached the Supreme Court because Mrs. Gladys Keefe appealed to the American courts to hold that the Status of Forces Treaty, recognizing the right of France to try in peacetime an American soldier for a crime committed against French law, deprived her husband of his constitutional protection. The Federal court of appeals ruled that Private Keefe's constitutional rights had not been infringed, and the Supreme Court has now upheld this verdict.

The purpose of this column is to try to set out, as faithfully as possible, the facts which have been distorted with such abandon by those who use the case to bolster their argument that the Senate cannot be trusted to use its treatymaking powers wisely.

The offense: The assertion is repeatedly made that Private Keefe committed only a minor crime; that he simply purloined a French taxicab; that, as one writer put it, he was engaged in a bit of "high jinks." The evidence, which the soldier admitted in court, was that Keefe and another American soldier entered Orleans after completing a period of confinement in an American guardhouse in Germany. They got drunk and lost most of their money in a dice game. At about midnight they went to a railroad station, hired a taxi driven by a 65-year-old Frenchman, and when they were several miles from town, they attacked the driver, beat him until he was unconscious, dumped him on the road, and drove to Paris, where they left the cab.

The trial was observed by a representative of the United States Army, who reported that the accused "enjoyed every safeguard of a fair trial."

The sentence: The French criminal code provides that if a theft is committed (1) at night, (2) by more than one person, (3) on a public highway, and (4) with violence that leaves injuries (the French taxi driver sustained a badly damaged nose, broken false teeth, cuts, and bruises requiring hospitalization and was incapacitated 30 days), the minimum penalty is 5 years, the maximum life imprisonment. Private Keefe and his colleague were given the minimum sentence. Recent sentences against French persons for similar offenses have ranged from 10 years to life.

The treaty: When NATO was created the 14 member nations had to determine the status of foreign military forces in friendly territory in time of peace. The United States agreed that if an American soldier commits a crime in the performance of duty, he is tryable by his own courts-martial, but that for crimes committed off duty and off post, he is subject to the courts of the country in which he is stationed. The same applies to foreign troops in the United States.

The NATO countries have applied this provision of the Status of Forces Treaty with great tact and restraint. In a recent 6-month period there were 1,987 American soldiers accused of crimes over which the local courts in NATO countries had jurisdiction. Of these, 1,787 were surrendered to United States military jurisdiction. Only 200 were retained in the local courts and, of these, only 42 were sentenced to imprisonment, sentences on 33 of the 42 were suspended, and only 9 American soldiers were actually imprisoned.

These are the facts. They do not seem to me to support the proposition that the Constitution needs to be changed to keep the President and the Senate from giving away American rights.

Red Indoctrination of American Troops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, there was published in the Saturday Evening Post of February 26, 1955, an article entitled "This Was Queer Stuff To Give the Troops." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS WAS QUEER STUFF TO GIVE THE TROOPS

It is a grimly ironical fact that many of the Communist Party's members, fellow travelers, and sympathizers were led toward communism by their own Government during the Second World War. They fell victims to indoctrination by Reds who infiltrated the Army's Information and Education Division and then dosed the troops with pro-Communist pamphlets and lectures.

The Information and Education Division was meant to enlighten the GI's and bolster their morale. But Communists could not be kept out of the I. and E., despite the efforts of some of its personnel who tried to check the danger. The White House insisted that Reds were harmless and must be treated by the Armed Forces as if they were liberals. As a result, some of the weekly Fact Sheets or Army Talks, issued to discussion leaders, were dripping with propaganda in praise of Stalin and the Chinese Communists.

Is it any wonder that many of our soldiers, having been sold this bill of goods, found it hard later on to get unsold? Most of the harm was done to the troops who were guided by discussion leaders in the weekly orientation sessions. But some noncommunist discussion leaders were themselves victimized. one of them, Benjamin H. Haddock, now an ex-communist, has testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee: "I became interested in the Communist Party through men who were in the Information and Education Section of the Army."

Haddock, a college graduate, took part in the invasion of the Gilbert Islands, and afterward volunteered to do I. and E. work because life there was so boring. Other I. and E. men there and later in Hawaii converted him to communism. So, on the day after his discharge from the Army, Haddock "walked into the (Communist) party office in San Diego and asked for an application form and signed it." Later he woke up and quit the Reds.

At Camp Upton, N. Y., a prominent Communist Party official, Simon W. Gerson, came back from overseas service and was made the "administrative noncom" in charge of I. and E. work. Mind you, this wasn't a case of concealment. The Army knew that Gerson was a Communist leader. He had been arrested repeatedly in the previous 17 years. He had been city hall reporter for the Daily Worker and later had become the center of a long dispute in New York, when the president of the Borough of Manhattan—Stanley M. Isaacs, a Republican—appointed him his confidential assistant and press secretary. Yet after all this notoriety, the responsible officers at Camp Upton picked Gerson as their boy.

In Washington a psychiatrist, Lt. Col. Julius Schreiber, was Chief of the Programs Section of the I. and E.'s Orientation Branch. He had charge of planning orientation programs for camps, ports of embarkation, transports, and overseas Army installations.

From 1933 till the war, Dr. Schreiber was a medical officer in the Army Reserve. Besides, from 1933 to 1936 he was the doctor at a Civilian Conservation Corps camp. Yet he refuses to say whether he was a Communist Party member from 1933 to 1941. He says he has not been a member since 1941, but as Chief of the Programs Section in I and E, he lectured weekly to 93 officers.

Among the officers whom Lieutenant Colonel Schrieber personally brought into I. and E. was Stephen M. Fischer, a San Francisco

newspaperman. Fischer told the Jenner committee that he joined the Communist Party in 1940, but left it in the fall of 1941. The Army described Fischer's duties as follows: "He recommends and initiates subject matter, directs and conducts research work, and does actual writing of weekly Army Talk fact sheets and orientation discussion guides for distribution to all Army units in continental United States and to all overseas theaters, • • • This officer's duties carry great responsibility because of the global use to which the materials are put." And this great responsibility was entrusted to a former Communist.

Despite the official excuse that the Kremlin was our ally, there could never have been such a flow of poison from the I. and E. if the Reds had not had a large hand in preparing the stuff and distributing it to the GI's.

Restriction of Imports of Certain Commodities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on the 2d of March 1955, I joined with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY], and other Senators in offering an amendment to House Resolution 1. The Governor of Illinois addressed a letter to me on the subject, and I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., *March 10, 1955.*
The Honorable EVERETT M. DIRKSEN,
The United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: It has come to my attention that you have joined with Senator NEELY, of West Virginia, and others in offering, under date of March 2, 1955, an amendment to House Resolution 1, having as its purpose the restriction of imports of commodities whenever such imports threaten to retard the domestic development and expansion or maintenance of domestic production of natural resource commodities or other commodities which the President shall determine to be essential to the national security, and also to establish specific limitations upon the importation of crude petroleum and petroleum products and residual fuel oil.

The people of the State of Illinois are vitally concerned by the subject matter of this proposed amendment, inasmuch as large segments of our population and industrial areas are vitally interested in the production of oil, coal, and fluorspar. It cannot be questioned that the production of each of these resources is essential to the national security.

At the December 1954 meeting of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, held in Chicago, December 2, 3, and 4, I made this statement, which I desire to quote:

"It is further in the public interest that we consider at least two of the vital problems now confronting the oil-and-gas industry in the United States. I say it is in the public interest because I know of no other industry which is more vital to our national security and constantly expanding economy. Further, I know of no industry which, in the past, has surpassed this industry in discharging its duties and obligations in supplying the requirements of our Nation, both in times of peace and in war. Yes; even to the extent of providing adequate producible reserves to meet any foreseeable emergency. All of this has been accomplished by a competitive industry, under a free economy and subject only to reasonable regulation under the provisions of the conservation laws of the several States. This great accomplishment has been realized by a financially sound industry, sufficient in itself to absorb the tremendous risks incident to discovery and development of additional reserves. Two fundamental premises underlying the success of the oil-and-gas industry in discharging its duties and obligations in the public interest are now threatened.

"In order that the industry continue to find, develop, and place in production reserves adequate to meet the requirements for our national security and our growing civilian economy, it must be able to sell the petroleum which it discovers and is able to produce.

"It has only been a few years since the United States was a net exporter of petroleum and its products. Today we are importing over a million barrels of crude oil and its products daily. To meet this tremendous dumping of petroleum and its products on our markets, those States having market demand pro ration laws have been forced to repeatedly reduce their allowables and in other States, such as our own, we have been subjected to pipeline pro rationing.

"The Independent Petroleum Association of America and the National Petroleum Council have gone on record in establishing a national policy that importation of oil shall only supplement and not supplant our domestic production. With a shut-in capacity in the United States exceeding the amount of current importation of petroleum and its products I cannot come to any other conclusion than that importation is supplanting domestic production. There are many evidences within the industry that this conclusion can only be true."

Development in Illinois is being retarded by excessive oil imports and tremendous secondary recovery programs are being indefinitely postponed pending proper stabilization of adequate markets for domestically produced oil.

Likewise there are many evidences within the great coal industry of the State of Illinois that this industry has suffered greatly from policies in force in the past.

Without burdening you with a great deal of available statistical information, I would like to point out that from the year 1945, with a total of 73,446,930 tons of coal mined within our State, we have from year to year progressively declined to the point that in 1954 our production only amounted to the total of 41,775,752 tons. During the same period the number of employees in this industry has progressively declined from a total of 31,109 to 16,665.

Coal is produced in 37 counties in the State of Illinois. During the years 1951 to 1954, both inclusive, a total of 33 strip mines employing 381 persons were abandoned. During this same period of time 77 underground mines, with a total of 11,649 employees, were abandoned.

There have been many indirect impacts from this on the general economy. To illustrate: in 1953, 38,544,560 tons of coal were shipped by railroad. In 1954 only 34,805,136 tons were handled by the railroads. Formerly prosperous mining towns are now ghost towns with consequent repercussions upon general business in the mining areas.

Two counties in southern Illinois, namely, Hardin and Pope Counties, are almost solely dependent, industrywise, upon the production of fluorspar. These two counties heretofore have accounted for 55.2 percent of the domestic production of this important ore. Heretofore approximately 90 percent of the total available workers in Hardin County were directly employed in the fluorspar industry, and recent figures disclose that over 50 percent of the fluorspar miners in this county are now unemployed. There are only 35 to 40 mines of all types operating in Hardin and Pope Counties.

Fluorspar is an essential raw material in the metallurgical, ceramic, and chemical industries, and I am advised that it is an important factor in the manufacture of atomic bombs. Such critical materials must be adequately protected so that this important industry shall not be destroyed.

I want to assure you of my deep appreciation of your interest and effort in this matter and sincerely trust you and your associates will be most successful in your endeavor.

Sincerely,
WILLIAM G. STRATTON,
Governor.

Reclamation Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON ALLOTT
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the following news items and editorial comment from the Rocky Mountain News, of Denver, Colo., a daily newspaper which is widely circulated. It is edited by Mr. Jack Foster, who has distinguished himself in the field of journalism.

The items are:

First. A Black Day for Reclamation, which is made up of two parts: (A) The Colorado Story, by Mr. James Daniel, Washington correspondent for the Rocky Mountain News, and other Scripps-Howard papers, and formerly city editor of the Washington Daily News; (B) the California Story, which is a United Press dispatch that does not carry a byline. Both items datelined Washington, March 10.

Second. An Associated Press dispatch, datelined Washington, March 10, headlined "Let's Not Be Stiff-Necked," and expresses a statement attributed to California's attorney general, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown.

Third. An editorial entitled "Hysterical Sharpshooting: It Can Kill Reclamation," from the Rocky Mountain News of March 12, written by Mr. Foster.

I commend the reading of these items to my colleagues in the Congress.

While I cannot endorse all that former Commissioner Straus is reported to have said, he does furnish material for serious reflection. I challenge immediately any inference that the Republicans are out to destroy reclamation, and I point out that, as these items show, reclamation projects proposed by the Administration have been stopped not by party rivalry, but by sectional disagreements and misunderstanding.

It might be pointed out to Mr. Straus that perhaps much of the unwillingness

on the part of the Congress to embark on further reclamation projects now is caused by suspicion created in many minds by the past handling of projects already authorized. Congress should not, and will not, in my opinion, vote a blank check for any purpose.

But the record of the Congress is clear as to their intention to further reclamation projects found necessary to the utilization of natural resources and the creating of necessary power for development. There are many of us here today, and there have been many Members in past sessions of the Congress, who believe and have fought for the principle that it is not a governmental sin for the United States to sell power to tax-paying entities, individual or corporate, so that legitimate business enterprises might merchandise the energy to the consumer, as well as bear the cost of distribution and services.

The President made it very clear in his state of the Union message, on January 6 of this year, when he elaborated on the principle of partnership when he said:

This policy of partnership and cooperation is producing good results ,most immediately noticeable in respect to water resources. First, it has encouraged local public bodies and private citizens to plan their own power sources. Increasing numbers of applications to the Federal Power Commission to conduct surveys and prepare plans for power development, notably in the Columbia River Basin, are evidence of local response.

Second, the Federal Government and local and private organizations have been encouraged to coordinate their developments. This is important because Federal hydroelectric developments supply but a small fraction of the Nation's power needs. Such partnership projects as Priest Rapids in Washington, the Coosa River development in Alabama, and Markham Ferry in Oklahoma already have the approval of the Congress. This year justifiable projects of a similar nature will again have administration support.

Third, the Federal Government must shoulder its own partnership obligations by undertaking projects of such complexity and size that their success requires Federal development. In keeping with this principle, I again urge the Congress to approve the development of the upper Colorado River Basin to conserve and assure better use of precious water essential to the future of the West.

The budget recommends funds for the Bureau of Reclamation to start five irrigation and water-supply projects.

There being no objection, the news comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BLACK DAY FOR RECLAMATION—QUARRELING MAY WRECK ALL RIVER PROJECTS

(By James Daniel)

THE COLORADO STORY

WASHINGTON, March 10.—Michael W. Straus, the Democrats controversial Reclamation Commissioner, Thursday pleaded for unity of the eastern and western slopes of Colorado and of the upper and lower basins of the Colorado River.

Mike Straus, a storm center in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, who was often accused of trying to build a Federal empire with his reclamation projects, said present disunity is destroying the West.

"The reclamation program is being liquidated," he said.

"Reclamation has never gone forward as a whole except with a united West supporting it.

"When you engage in hysterical sharpshooting, as the eastern and western slopes and the upper and lower basin States are doing, reclamation stops.

"The upper States and California, too, have not got a single new project, and they won't get one as long as they engage in political war under the disguise of talking about confused water rights."

Mike was interviewed outside the House Interior Committee hearings on the upper basin bill project, at which he has been an occasional, unhappy spectator.

Digs at Ike

"I recommend the upper basin project," he said.

Good Democrat that he is, Mike put in his digs aplenty at the Eisenhower administration.

He said that the White House is for the upper basin bill only because it senses that a day of reckoning is at hand. The West, he said, is waking up to the fact that no new starts have been made in reclamation under the Republicans.

"They're just carrying forward what they found started when they came in. In the 8 years before 1953 the average national expenditure for reclamation was $300 million a year. Since then it has been around $150 million a year.

Getting backlash

"The Republicans are now getting the political backlash of this from the West, which believes in and to my way of thinking must have these resources development projects.

"Half a century of reclamation experience is being liquidated."

To the private power industry, Mike Straus was a particular affliction. Thursday in discussing the gloomy prospects for the $1.5 billion upper basin development plan on account of sectional quarrels, Mike gave the private power group another twist.

Law is nullified

"The reclamation law is a public power law. That is written into it. Everybody knows that it is a public power law and has to be.

"The present administration disbelieves in public power and considers it creeping socialism and has so said in many instances.

"The law isn't being repealed. It is just being nullified."

As long as those in the West who realize the harm disunity is doing "sit on their can and do nothing," Mike said, "you can't blame Congress for not passing anything."

THE CALIFORNIA STORY

WASHINGTON, March 10.—Chairman CLAIR ENGLE, of the House Interior Committee, Thursday warned opponents of the upper Colorado River project their tactics could bring to an end all reclamation in the West.

The California Democrat spoke out during subcommittee hearings on the proposed billion-dollar power and irrigation project in five Western States.

He objected particularly to a leaflet—Representative WILLIAM A. DAWSON, Republican, of Utah, called it a propaganda sheet—claiming taxpayers will have to put up $5,000 for each acre of land to be irrigated by the project.

Told by DAWSON that the leaflet was prepared and distributed by the Colorado River Association of Los Angeles, ENGLE replied:

"As a Californian, I vigorously disapprove of it."

Unity progress

Meanwhile Attorney General Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, of California, said he had made progress in his efforts to unify the fight against the upper Colorado project. He ended a 4-day visit after conferring with the California congressional delegation and Government officials.

Dawson produced the leaflet during cross-examination of Wilbur A. Dexheimer, United States Commissioner of Reclamation, and O. E. Larson, regional commissioner from Denver.

Dawson called the $5,000 figure fantastic. He asked if Dexheimer had any idea how the association arrived at the figure.

The Commissioner said he could not understand either the association's method or logic.

The leaflet, printed in red and white, noted in big red type:

"See what this will cost. It's your money."

Typical propaganda

Representative A. L. MILLER (Republican, Nebraska) said it was "typical of the propaganda being put out that reclamation is bleeding the country white."

Turning to Representative JOHN P. SAYLOR (Republican, Pennsylvania), a leader in the fight against the Colorado project, MILLER added:

"We spent $7,245,000,000 on flood control up to 1952 and flood control doesn't pay back one cent of interest, even in Pennsylvania * * * without the reclamation projects in the West, many easterners would be starving to death because we could not have produced the food."

ENGLE said he thought MILLER's remarks were excellent, and added some of his own.

In the past 5 years, he said, the Nation has spent as much in Europe under the Marshall plan as has been invested in reclamation in the last half century.

No returns

In contrast to the reclamation projects which returned money from their power features, he said, the Treasury did not get back "one plugged nickel" from the money it poured into Europe.

Waving an arm in the direction of Dawson and the leaflet, ENGLE said people who sponsor that kind of thinking are endangering the whole reclamation program and could bring an end to all reclamation in the West.

LET'S NOT BE STIFF-NECKED

WASHINGTON, March 10.—California's Attorney General, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown expressed apprehension over the opposition of southern California interests to the upper Colorado project.

Brown told a news conference he is a little afraid if we take too stiff-necked attitude it may prejudice our own projects.

The attorney general came to Washington to discuss water development problems with Members of Congress.

Brown said he was told by Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mexico, that if California continues opposition to the upper Colorado development there will not be another project started in California so long as he remains chairman of the Senate Reclamation Subcommittee.

Brown said he plans to discuss the matter with Gov. Goodwin J. Knight upon his return to California.

He said he plans to review the status of Northcutt Ely, Washington attorney who is acting as a special assistant California attorney general and attorney for the Colorado River Board, a southern California group.

The attorney general said there has been a question as to whether Ely, who is opposing the upper Colorado project before congressional committees, should be speaking for the whole State or for the Colorado River Board only.

Brown also said he will press for early decision by the Supreme Court in the

Arizona-California dispute over Colorado River water rights.

HYSTERICAL SHARPSHOOTING: IT CAN KILL RECLAMATION

The future of Federal reclamation—and with it development of the West—hangs in the balance.

Immediately at issue is the great upper Colorado Basin development project, logical and orderly outgrowth of the river development which began with the Colorado River Compact more than 30 years ago.

Disunity in the West itself is giving opponents of reclamation a field day.

Hysterical sharpshooting, Michael Straus, former reclamation Commissioner, had called it.

Disunity in Colorado, pitting western slope against eastern slope in a senseless quarrel over division of water resources, is a factor.

Disunity in the river basin, pitting upper basin against lower basin in a senseless quarrel over water resources, is another factor.

Opponents of reclamation and of development of the West, especially with Federal assistance, leap with unconcealed glee into the fracases built on these disunities.

And the blunt truth is that they fly at any details—major or minor—by which they hope to throw a block against such developments as those contemplated in the life-saving upper Colorado project.

It must be remembered that the water resources in the Colorado River rise in large measure right here in Colorado, even as the reclamation works by which these and other waters are harnessed in the service of mankind are born and nurtured in the reclamation headquarters right here in Denver.

It was only logical and proper that the massive Hoover Dam and other important projects should be built in the lower basin and put to vital uses the waters allocated to that area.

There never could have been a Hoover Dam had Colorado and Wyoming and Utah and New Mexico undermined and undercut the whole idea in a rage of disunity such as has been marking the upper basin proposals.

It is crystal clear at this moment that only in unity and common purpose can the West continue to march forward.

"When you engage in hysterical sharpshooting, as the eastern and western slopes and the upper and lower basin States are doing, reclamation stops," Straus warned.

"We spent $7.245 million on flood control up to 1952 and flood control doesn't pay back 1 cent of interest—even in Pennsylvania," said Representative A. L. MILLER, Republican, Nebraska, in a barb obviously intended for Representative JOHN P. SAYLOR, Republican, Pennsylvania, who has been a leader in the fight against the Colorado projects.

Even to California—bitter opponent of upper basin hopes and aspirations—the future is becoming clear.

Attorney General Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, of that State, put his finger squarely on the issue when he told a news conference in Washington this week that a "too-stiff-necked attitude" on the part of his own State may well sound the doom of further projects for California.

There is no question about that.

The mere fact that Federal assistance is necessary to carry out the gigantic reclamation projects is evidence enough that they are too big for any State—too big for any region.

The upper Colorado River Basin development is vital to the future of Colorado and the other upper basin States.

But this is just as clearly on the record: The principle involved is every bit as important to California, to Pennsylvania, and to the rest of the Nation, which also must look to flood control and to development.

The President's Proposed Road Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein the following statement made by me on America's Town Meeting of the Air on a national broadcast at Wilmington, N. C., March 13, 1955:

The United States has the world's finest road system. It consists of approximately 8 million miles of roads and streets, on which more than 58 million motor vehicles are operated. This means that we have 1 motor vehicle for every 700 feet of roadway. We have practically the same road system today that we had in 1930, when we had only half the number of vehicles on our highways. At present, we are adding 3 million cars to the highways each year. Automobiles are no longer a luxury but an absolute necessity; therefore, better roads on which the cars must travel are also an absolute necessity. Because of present congestion, it is estimated that 25 percent of the gasoline consumed in metropolitan areas is burned waiting for traffic to move.

I come from the Detroit, Mich., area—the automobile capital of the world. Naturally, the growth, use, and dependence of the American people on the motor vehicle is well known to me. Today our entire economy and way of life is patterned around our automobile.

The motor and allied industries now furnish one-seventh of our gross national product. We must find a way to finance additional adequate highways to accommodate the increased use of motor vehicles and increase in population, or this one-seventh contribution will decrease.

The all-important question is how to finance a greatly expanded highway program. The highway user now pays the bill. That the American people are willing to pay the extra expense for a good road and an adequate road is evidenced by the fact that people are using toll roads in ever-increasing number. Road building is expensive. There are two ways in which we can pay for roads. First, pay as you go—that is the method we are now using. The other—to use credit financing. The latter method is simply buying something we need and paying for it on the installment plan. This applies in large measure to the sale of automobiles, of which 1 in every 3 Americans is now the owner.

One of the methods of credit financing can be illustrated by the toll roads. The other is for some level of Government to use the income from the use of highways to secure service borrowings to build the needed improvement for highways and pay for it as it is being used. Such income is the tax on gasoline, oil, and excise taxes. A bill, H. R. 4261, introduced by me, proposes to make use of the latter type of financing at the Federal level. This will encourage and speed the construction of the interstate highway system, estimated to cost $27 billion, and which system is proposed to become the sole responsibility of the Federal Government. This system of nearly 40,000 miles of roads represents only 1.2 percent of the total roads and streets of the Nation, but carries 20 percent of all rural traffic and connects 90 percent of our cities having a population of 50,000 or more. The proposal is to build this interstate system over a period of 10 years, and to make such system adequate for traffic over the next 30 years.

The proposal to borrow $21 to $27 billion to construct the interstate system and to issue bonds to run 30 years has caused some concern as to whether or not such a program is feasible and practical. However, we are now paying more car insurance than we are paying for construction of highways, and it should be noted that 38,000 people lost their lives in traffic accidents last year and nearly $4 billion was lost in property damage through accidents on our highways. When these facts are taken into consideration, I believe we could well save, in the long run, in addition to the excessive operating costs occasioned by present conditions, by going into debt for improved and safer highways.

The $11 or $12 billion in interest which would accumulate over the 30-year period amounts to less than one-fourth of a cent per mile of travel by the average vehicle, and the savings in having this new type of road system would amount to at least 1 cent a mile in operating costs alone. When we understand this situation, I think it can be plainly seen that the American people would gain by financing our much-needed highway system.

The balance of the $101 billion estimate of highway needs set forth in the Clay report is for financing accumulated and accruing deficiencies on our other roads and streets during the next 10 years, and represents the type of construction expenditure which should be paid for as we go.

In my bill, H. R. 4261, Federal funds are provided to those systems at the same level as provided in the Federal Highway Act of 1954, and the bill provides for paying the Federal share of these classes of roads from current revenues on a pay-as-you-go basis. In my opinion, this is the only way by which this Nation will ever connect its population centers by a modern and safe nationwide system of highways and have it done within a reasonable period of time. I am certain that when our people understand this program, which is designed for their convenience, their comfort, and their safety, and when they realize the savings on these modern highways, they will decide to provide for these roads and this highway system, and we will all enjoy the satisfaction of seeing a new era in road building in this Nation, which will be the greatest since the invention of the automobile.

"The easy conveyance of men and goods from place to place" has always been and always will be one of the three essentials "which make a nation great and strong."

Tobacco Allotments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. BURNSIDE
OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks into the RECORD, I should like to include the following letter from Mr. R. F. Forth, publisher of the Hurricane Breeze, Hurricane, W. Va.:

MARCH 15, 1955.

DEAR DR. BURNSIDE: The people of this community seem to be greatly pleased with what you are doing to help them to increase their meager tobacco allotments. This action of yours will help the farmers of the Fourth Congressional District, as all of the

counties in this district are mainly tobacco-producing counties.

Your words concerning the desperate straits most farmers are in certainly were true. We know of hundreds of farmers who have to depend entirely upon their tobacco money for clothing, medical expenses, and the education of their children. In fact, we would say conservatively that 95 percent of the farmers in this and surrounding communities have no other cash crop, and are practically reduced to a state of poverty already, because of their small incomes, and we do not know what they will do if their tobacco crops are further lessened. There is nowhere else they can turn, because, as you know, there is no great field of other employment they can seek in this State.

On January 21, 1955, after the tobacco allotments had been sent to the farmers by our county committee, we published a pretty strong article against same. * * *

We feel so strongly about this matter because we know that the economy of this whole section of the State is affected by the farmers' incomes. When the farmers suffer, all other business suffers. We also are in a position to know practically all the farmers in this county, and honestly feel that everything humanly possible should be done for them, instead of against them.

We sincerely appreciate your efforts in this matter and know that you will work diligently to help better this deplorable condition. We know that 100 percent of the farmers are standing squarely behind you.

Respectfully,

THE HURRICANE BREEZE,
R. F. FORTH.

Colorado River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from the Railroad Brotherhoods California legislative board and an editorial from the newspaper, the Sacramento Union, in opposition to any diversion of the flow of the Colorado River which would adversely affect the flow of that river to the State of California:

RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS
CALIFORNIA LEGISLATIVE BOARD,
March 7, 1955.

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROOSEVELT: This will advise that the officers and members of the brotherhoods throughout the State are concerned with the threat to California water rights as contained in the so-called Federal Colorado River storage project bills, H. R. 270 and S. 500, and the Frying Pan-Arkansas project bills, H. R. 412 and S. 300.

We understand that hearings are now in progress on these bills and that, further, they will require the unified opposition of all of our congressional delegation in order to defeat the efforts of those who seek to take away some of California's legal share of Colorado River water, reduce the power output of Hoover Dam, destroy the honest and legal intent of the Colorado River compact, while at the same time seeking to saddle California taxpayers with an additional tax burden for so doing.

We have full confidence that our legislature will move toward solving our non-Federal and immediate water problems this session. In the meantime, we must cooperate and safeguard all of our most valuable water resources on which our economy depends.

It is hoped that you will do your utmost in opposing the measures above referred to and that you will consider them as dangerous to our welfare as we do. Our members throughout the State will be grateful to you for your efforts.

Very truly yours,

G. W. BALLARD, *Chairman.*
WILLIAM V. ELLIS, *Secretary.*

[From the Sacramento Union of March 7, 1955]

COLORADO WATER

We are asked by the editor of the editorial page of the Deseret News of Salt Lake City to support the Colorado River storage project, which citizens of Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Utah regard as their "last water hole." We're opposed to the project. It would cost a billion and a half dollars, half of which would be spent on a dozen irrigation projects, at an average cost of $1,000 per acre, and half to build 6 large reservoirs which would store 48 million acre-feet, or over 3 years' flow of the river.

DISASTER FOR ALL OF CALIFORNIA

The novel feature of this scheme, aside from its cost (twice that of TVA and 8 times that of the Boulder Canyon project), is that, unlike any other project, the 6 power reservoirs are to be built below, not above, the irrigation projects, and none of the stored water will be used in the upper basin for irrigation. They are power dams.

This is a serious challenge to California, whose people have invested $750 million in works which are dependent upon the waters of the Colorado River system. These include the Hoover Dam, Parker Dam, the Colorado River aqueduct; the Palo Verde Irrigation District, and the All-American Canal.

More than 5 million people live within the areas served by the Colorado River in California. The assessed valuation exceeds $12 billion. Two and a half million acres are under irrigation. The economy of southern California is dependent on the permanent availability of those waters.

The Metropolitan Water District will outgrow its present Colorado River supply, which is 1,212,000 acre-feet per year, in about 25 years on present forecasts, and must look to the Feather River or elsewhere for additional water.

The proposed Colorado River storage project implies the destruction of about a third of the value of the Boulder Canyon project, to enable construction of a new project in the upper basin which will generate power at twice the cost and irrigate lands at many times the cost of the power and irrigation furnished by Boulder Dam.

Our Strength for Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, Adm. Arthur Radford, United States Navy, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, delivered the following address, March 15, 1955, before the Committee of One Hundred, Miami Beach, Fla.:

OUR STRENGTH FOR DEFENSE

In spite of widespread gloomy forebodings which have been expressed so often, I believe that world events have been steadily forcing America into a position of greater strength. Our defensive capabilities now are greater than ever before.

One matter of greatest importance, forcing us into this stronger position of which I speak, is the nature of the Communist threat against us. That there is need for continuing vigilance and military readiness on our part is readily apparent from a glance at the world situation. Almost every week there is fresh evidence of the unchanged fundamental objective of the Kremlin.

From the military viewpoint, there seems little reason to doubt the magnitude of Communist military capabilities in terms of manpower, weapons, and fighting qualities. Particularly have they been making great strides in the development of their air forces and nuclear weapons.

This in no way, however, describes the full scope of the Communist threat. The struggle is not one of military power only. In many respects, the other more sinister and devious techniques in the political, economic, scientific, and psychological fields of human endeavor are more dangerous. Such techniques include war by propaganda and subversion, by proxy, and by infiltration.

And, those techniques have been supported by the largest, most callous military power in the world. Communist military strength has given impact to infiltration and subversion, terrifying into submission those who lacked the strength and the will to resist. The capture of satellite countries, the dragging of whole nations behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, the maintenance of puppet regimes, and the high degree of Soviet influence in world affairs—all have been made possible in great measure by Soviet military power.

Usually down through history, we have had a reasonably clear understanding of an enemy's capabilities, but a less clear understanding of his intentions.

Today the easiest question to answer concerns Soviet long-range intentions. Here it is abundantly clear that Moscow schemes to create one Communist world with all that it means—one giant Red World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is a clear and flat assessment of Communist intentions. It is a total menace.

And with Red China, there is a parallel. Red China wants one completely Red Asia—one which includes Formosa and the Pescadores. They have so stated—not once, but many times. This, too, is a clear statement of Communists intentions.

But Communist short-range intentions are not always so clear. In fact, they are subject to quite a bit of change. They are flexible and often fitted to the particular opposition they expect to encounter.

Right now, our eyes are focused a good deal of the time on the tensions around Formosa and off the China coast. But this is an old familiar pattern. In the past, in similar fashion, our eyes have been focused on other sensitive areas—areas like Czechoslovakia, Greece, Berlin, Iran, Korea, and Indochina—usually quite cleverly—first one and then another.

The result is that, today, the creeping expansion of communism backed by guns and bombs and several millions of troops—unrestrained by solemn agreement, or moral restraint—is a long-term challenge to everyone of us.

Accordingly, the bonds with our allies are being strengthened—in NATO, in the London and Paris Accords, in the Manila and Rio Pacts, and in our mutual defense treaties. These bonds reflect our concern for Soviet military capabilities. More than 40 free nations, including our own, have

allied themselves in regional defense arrangements.

I think we all know the basic policy of the United States. Our object is peace, not war. We want a real and lasting peace, and we are working for it. No country has demonstrated more restraint or more sincere willingness to explore, discuss, and study possible courses of action to prevent war from starting than has the United States.

Until the Communists emphasize by deeds and actions, and not just by words and promises, that they really believe in peace, too, then we have no alternative but to keep ourselves strong and in a high state of preparedness.

Now, I do not hold with those persons who contend war is inevitable, or that it is instinctive to mankind. If we despair in the hope of averting war, we could become accessories in the events that lead to another.

Nor do I hold with those who think war can be prevented simply by the renunciation of war on the part of those of us who hate it.

In fact, there is little to choose between those who would transform the world into warlike garrison states and those who would put all their trust in the semantics of peace. Both are unwitting apostles of war. Historically their divergent paths have led again and again to disaster.

Our best assurance against the inevitability of another war being forced upon us lies in the collective combination of free nations always working for peace, but maintaining constantly a strong defensive posture. That calls for allied unity, firm resolution, and a willingness to make sacrifices and share in the risks.

So there may be no misunderstanding I want to make it clear that while the Joint Chiefs of Staff are charged with giving military advice on national security matters, and for preparing plans for war in whatever form it might take, our fundamental objective is to discourage war and to maintain national security. Our efforts are aimed at making military aggression so prohibitive that no one logically can choose it as a course of action.

Reality requires us to face the Communist threat. There are no real grounds for believing that the threat has materially diminished. War could come almost any place any time. It could be a big war or a limited war. It could be initiated secretly by a small handful of men whose only allegiance is to themselves—men who are contemptuous of religion and who owe no accounting to world opinion.

Under such circumstances, it is my earnest conviction that the President has asked for the proper security program, one in which the dangers we face are reduced to an acceptable degree.

In general terms, the President has recommended a defense structure which will serve the needs of national security over an indefinite period. He has suggested an Armed Forces strength on the order of 2,850,000 at an annual budget cost of approximately $34 billion. Within this framework, he has put emphasis on the development and maintenance of those forces and facilities for which the United States, uniquely among free nations, is best suited.

The proposed strength levels are based upon world conditions as they are now. They are based on the improved military preparedness of other free countries of the world, the end of active fighting in Korea and Indochina, improved weapons systems, better utilization of manpower, expected improvements in the future, the continuing Communist threat, and a whole host of other factors.

At this point I would like to interpose a few words about figures. In determining our required force levels, there are naturally a number of intangibles with which planners must reckon. One of the greatest intangibles is just exactly where, when, or how the next shooting war might be forced upon us.

If we knew we were going to face a major onslaught in the next 6 months, then we would need additional manpower and appropriations.

On the other hand, if we were guaranteed that we were not going to be forced into a war for the next 20–25 years, then I would say our force levels could be reduced.

But, of course, we cannot guarantee such a course of events and therefore must be prepared for the possibility of war. Of one thing we can be certain: The provision of adequate military strength is indispensable to our future safety.

Moreover, it is imperative that from here on out, our country have a defense program that is reasonably stable—one that is not materially disturbed by every hot and cold effort of an unfriendly nation, or wishful thinking on the part of ourselves or a friendly nation.

Large upswings or downswings in force levels have disastrous effects upon our defense planning, just as they do on business. The services have been plagued over the years by sharp inclines and declines where we increase in size rapidly and tremendously, and then decrease even more rapidly. Not only has it been wasteful but it also has involved serious risks which militarily, I do not believe we can afford to take at this time.

The stability in overall numbers is, of course, only the first step. Our next step must be to achieve stability of personnel within these numbers. It is not good enough to level off at 2,850,000 if we continue to have an inordinate personnel turnover rate. For this reason, several measures now before the Congress—measures like the proposed Career Incentive Act—are designed to induce larger numbers of qualified officers and men to accept and want the service as a career.

As a matter of fact, the stability in all the Armed Forces—stability which is being made possible by the President's program—is probably the most important single defense policy we want to see adopted. It will permit planning, orderly procurement, and efficient operation. It will give us a defensive posture which will be readily appreciated and understood by the rest of the world.

And, should important changes in the world situation make it necessary, the Joint Chiefs of Staff would step forward with recommended changes in our force levels. You can count on that.

Let me list for you just a few of the key strengths which go into the makeup of our defense program.

First. We have a strong retaliatory capability, and we are going to keep it strong. We have a long-range Strategic Air Command without peer in the world, and carrier task forces unmatched by any other nation. Our country is particularly well suited for providing these two vital elements of the free world's capacity to counter an aggression.

Second. We have strong land, sea, and air forces which can be used in a variey of situations whenever and wherever required.

I have often pointed out that we are not placing undue reliance upon any one weapon, or one service, nor are we anticipating just one kind of war. We have modern jet tactical air forces which can carry either high explosives or atomic bombs, depending upon what the target requires. We have naval forces which can clear the sea lanes, and Army forces which can do their part toward the accomplishment of military decisions when and where required. We have armored, airborne, amphibious, and other modern forces, all of which are important to our national defense.

In fact, the United States forces we plan to maintain are the most powerful—the most potent—forces, individually by service and collectively as a team, that our Nation has ever undertaken to maintain during a period when we were not actually engaged in a shooting war.

In this connection, the proposed National Reserve plan will go a long way toward helping to provide the right structure for building an adequate Reserve strength to complement and reinforce our forces in being.

Third. We have allies. Collectively, our allies are stronger than ever. United States Armed Forces are a part of the allied team. It is not easy for any single nation to match the power that can be marshaled by Communists and their resources. Therefore, we have to think of using our power in a way and in the place which will provide maximum safety to free nations as a whole.

To meet local aggressions, a growing reliance can be placed on those allied forces now being strengthened in many areas of the world. At the same time, we stand ready with our forces to continue military assistance and cooperation with our friends. Thus, within limits, the pattern of our own forces conforms to that of a member in several great alliances.

Fourth. We are continuing to improve our continental defense system. Due to the nature of the Communist beast, and due to the destructiveness of modern weapons now available to the Communist bloc, the United States could be seriously damaged by sudden attacks upon us.

Therefore, we have been hard at work, in conjunction with our Canadian friends to the north, pushing the program with all practicable sped at a rate consistent with our developing technology. We will continue to improve our air defenses, and our radar, communications, and computing systems which will provide increased effectiveness against attack. Both Canada and the United States are making invaluable contributions to this important undertaking.

Fifth. We have an industry-science-military team which, in my opinion, presents an unbeatable combination. In my present position, I derive a great personal satisfaction from this teamwork, and the national strength which it builds.

The threat of modern war calls for constant modernization. Because of their compexity, the time taken to put newer weapons systems through the various stages of research and development into production tends to be longer than in the past. Here science and industry give us a big hand.

Today, the services are organized to utilize our national scientific, technological, and productive abilities. Science helps us to devise new weapons and new techniques. Industry helps us to get them. In this endeavor, we are very much in need of your continued teamwork.

With all that we have, we cannot let ourselves become complacement, or tend to rest upon past laurels. We need to remain steadfast and determined that our weapons systems will be kept ahead of our competitors. It is vital to our seceurity and world peace that we do so.

In this, you and I are partners in defense. Our product is national security.

Gentlemen, those are some of our more important military strengths. We can review this defensive power we have with mixed feelings. We can derive satisfaction and confidence from its built-in strengths to protect our way of life. We can also be sobered by the contemplation of modern weapons systems in the hands of callous and ruthless enemy in the years which lie ahead.

Yes, there are inescapable difficulties and dangers posed by Communist powers whose aims and policies are so diametrically opposed to our own. In a lawless world, we must be prepared for a fight at any time—and we must be prepared with weapons and

other means better than those which are likely to be used against us.

Thus, our Armed Forces today are situated in many parts of the world, representing the strength of this Nation in defense of human justice and freedom. Our capabilities serve to prevent war through their deterrent effect. They are also the foundations of an effective defense if the aggressors should strike.

In essence our Armed Forces are geared to the preservation of our way of life. We must never forget that our most precious possessions are the lives of our citizens and the principles for which they stand.

In my judgment we have an adequate, properly proportioned defense program—one in which you can place your confidence. We have a good strong defense team. We can and will continue to improve it. And in all cases you can count on our Armed Forces team to carry out their tasks and missions with skill, determination, and a complete loyalty to the American people.

Will Congress Repudiate Forced Repatriation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, on February 8, 1955, I introduced House Resolution 137 calling for the creation of a select committee to investigate the forced repatriation of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians by American military and civilian authorities from 1945 to 1947. I have been very gratified at the response I have received as a result of this action.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article by Julius Epstein, entitled "Will Congress Repudiate Forced Repatriation?" which appeared in the Tablet, Brooklyn, N. Y., March 12, 1955:

WILL CONGRESS REPUDIATE FORCED REPATRIATION?

(By Julius Epstein)

Ten years after the conclusion of the Yalta agrement—almost to the day—on February 8, 1955, Congressman ALBERT H. BOSCH, of New York, introduced House Resolution 137, calling for the creation of a select committee to investigate the forced repatriation of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians by American military and civilian authorities.

There can be no doubt that—from an ethical point of view—House Resolution 137 should be considered as one of the most important resolutions ever introduced in the American Congress.

Our Government vigorously fought against the principle of forced repatriation of prisoners of war in Korea. Together with its allies, it won this battle after both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations had declared forced repatriation to be "a crime against humanity" and a "violation of international law and custom."

But we have never purged ourselves of the very same crime, committed by our own military and civilian (UNRRA and IRO) authorities right after the war in Germany, Austria, and even on our own soil. Hardly one of those forced back by our authorities to Soviet-controlled countries escaped death or the slave-labor camp.

CARDINAL FIRST TO PROTEST

It is to the everlasting credit of Eugene Cardinal Tisserant that he was the first to protest forced repatriation. He did it as early as March 5, 1946, in an interview granted the Rome correspondent of the New York Times. Cardinal Tisserant also protested against the UNRRA practice of refusing aid to those anti-Communist displaced persons who violently refused to be forcibly repatriated.

Cardinal Tisserant's protests—as those of other prominent people—were in vain.

To give one more example of those unsucessful protests: On January 31, 1946, Gen. A. Denikin, former commander in chief of the Russian armies (1917–20) wrote a six-page letter to the then General Eisenhower, a historical document, the last two paragraphs of which read as follows:

"General, there are the provisions and paragraphs of the Yalta Treaty, but there are the traditions of free and democratic people—the right of asylum—there are military ethics, which prohibit the use of violence even on the defeated enemy, and finally there exist the Christian morals which call for justice and pity.

"I take the liberty to address myself to you, General, as a soldier to a soldier, with the hope that my voice will be heard."

Neither Cardinal Tisserant's nor General Denikin's voice was heard. Forced repatriation went on for another year and a half.

Thousands preferred death to forced repatriation. A wave of suicides accompanied the shameful policy of our military and civilian authorities who insisted on forced repatriation of those who had only to expect death or slave-labor camps behind the Iron Curtain.

SEES ETHICAL OBLIGATION

Now, at last, Congressman BOSCH, a man of great moral courage, undertook to carry out an ethical obligation of the first order: To purge ourselves of a genocidal crime and therefore to reestablish new spiritual and moral relations to all the anti-Communist peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

In the remarks Congressman BOSCH made on the floor of the House before he introduced his resolution, he said:

"Recently there appeared in the December 14, 1954, issue of the American Legion magazine an article entitled 'How We Served as Partners in a Purge,' which appears in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 10, 1955, at page A83, inserted by my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, Hon. TIMOTHY SHEEHAN. This article clearly demonstrates the need for a clarification of the wherefor of such a program.

"Repatriation, in and of itself, is a question of deep concern and distress. It is in the interest of our Nation that we determine this issue and cleanse the national record for all time.

"It is for that reason that I am today introducing a resolution for the creation of a committee of the Congress to conduct an investigation and study of the forced repatriation program carried out by our military and civilian authorities in the years 1945–47. I sincerely trust that this resolution will be favorably reported and a committee appointed at the earliest possible moment in the interest of justice."

QUOTES RESOLUTION

Among the reasons for the creation of a select committee to investigate forced repatriation, as listed in the preamble of Congressman BOSCH's resolution, are the following:

"Whereas the forced repatriation to Soviet-controlled countries of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians by American military and civilian authorities in the years 1945–47 in Germany, and in other countries, brought death and misery to untold thousands of these anti-Communists before Soviet firing squads, on Soviet gallows, and in the Siberian slave-labor camps; and

"Whereas this forced repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians cannot be justified by the agreement on prisoners of war signed at Yalta on February 11, 1945; and

"Whereas this forced repatriation was in violation of the rulings in implementation of the Yalta agreement on prisoners of war, made public by the Department of State on March 8, 1946; and

"Whereas the forced repatriation of prisoners of war who had enlisted in the enemy's army was in contradiction to the opinions of The Judge Advocate General of the Army, as expressed during the last 40 years; and

"Whereas the forced repatriation of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians represents an indelible blot on the American tradition of ready asylum for political exiles; and

"Whereas the forced repatriation and annihilation of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians of Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, Baltic, and other origin is still poisoning our spiritual relations with the vigorously anti-Communist peoples behind the Iron Curtain, and is therefore impeding our foreign policy: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That there is hereby created a select committee * * *."

URGES POPULAR SUPPORT

There can be no doubt that millions of former and present displaced persons in this country as well as all over the world will enthusiastically welcome such investigation as proposed by Congressman BOSCH.

That goes especially for those 20,000 to 30,000 former displaced persons, now living under false identities and documents in this country, who are still threatened by deportation. These displaced persons had to change their documents, especially their names and places of birth while in German and Austrian displaced-persons camps in order to avoid forced repatriation to Soviet-controlled countries where only death or deportation to slave-labor camps would have been their fate. Only a new law or an amendment to the McCarran-Walter bill could clear them and make their entry into the United States legal. They now hope that an investigation of the forced-repatriation program will also lead to such legislation.

A mysterious conspiracy of silence has so far prevented the American press from taking any notice of the momentous Bosch resolution.

It is all the more important that those readers of this article who are in favor of the Bosch resolution express their opinion in wires and letters to Congressman BOSCH and to their own Congressmen.

Among the Members of Congress who have already expressed, in different degrees, their interest in an investigation of the forced-repatriation program are Congressmen MADDEN, SHEEHAN, FLOOD, DONDERO, GWINN, FEIGHAN, MACHROWICZ, KLUCZYNSKI, and BENTLEY, as well as Senators WILEY, EASTLAND, KILGORE, and HRUSKA.

The Secretary of Everything

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me I offer for printing in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, an

article written by Thomas L. Stokes that appeared in the Washington, D. C., Sunday Star of March 13, 1955. The article follows:

THE SECRETARY OF EVERYTHING: TREASURY CHIEF HUMPHREY HAS BECOME DEMOCRATS' NO. 1 TARGET IN EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION

It was coincidence that the Democratic Digest appeared on the stands with the cover of its new number a picture of Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, labeled "Secretary of Everything" at the time that the same Secretary Humphrey was exchanging blows with Democrats in Congress over their bills to grant tax relief to persons of small income.

For this issue of the Democratic National Committee's pocket-sized magazine had been planned before Speaker of the House RAYBURN sprang his 20-bucks-a-head tax cut scheme and before Mr. Humphrey had accepted the gage of battle with his countercharge of fiscal irresponsibility.

But it all added up to this:

Democrats have singled out the Treasury Secretary as their No. 1 target in the Eisenhower administration. This is for the very practical political reason that, being a big-business man himself and being active in so many areas of this administration that he deserves the "Secretary of Everything" title, he lends himself to the big-business background that Democrats are trying to paint in for this administration.

As for the Secretary, he has accepted the role of chief administration gladiator and seems to enjoy it.

From experience with him in the tax battle, during which he has appeared before both House and Senate tax committees, Democrats have discovered something in his personality which they hope to exploit to their advantage. This is the Secretary's somewhat elevated, schoolteacher, doctrinaire attitude toward Members of Congress which is coupled with a twin propensity to belittle the ideas of others as "silly," "foolish," "irresponsible," "political," and such, as he did in appearing before the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee.

Anybody who knows Congress well knows that its Members don't appreciate lecturers, nor do they like to be looked down the nose at. This was illustrated by the gleeful way an aide of Senate Democratic Leader LYNDON JOHNSON was dashing about the Senate showing an account of Secretary Humphrey's latest "silly-political-irresponsible" outburst. This he had sputtered angrily when, during his appearance before the House Ways and Means Committee to testify about an error in last year's revision of the tax laws, he had been asked about a compromise on the Rayburn $20-a-head tax cut that had been worked out by Senator JOHNSON and other Senate Democratic leaders. Democratic needlers on the House committee had angled for just that reaction.

"That blowup by the Secretary ought to stiffen Democratic ranks in the Senate and make some votes for the compromise," was the comment among Senate Democratic promoters of the Johnson proposal. The latter, along with providing modified tax cuts for small taxpayers, would repeal two provisions in last year's law sponsored by the Eisenhower administration to help wealthy stockowners and business. Thus Democrats would make up revenue lost by tax cuts on small incomes. It is these provisions, one a tax credit for dividends and the other embodying more liberal depreciation allowances, which Democrats have harped on constantly in their claims that the administration's 1954 tax law was chiefly to aid the big taxpayers.

However, Secretary Humphrey stood stanchly by them, saying they were responsible for providing jobs and bringing about business improvement.

When the Treasury head was before the House Ways and Means Committee, which was the occasion of his second silly-irresponsible political outcry, he was on the defensive from the moment he sat down before the committee. He had come to confess a serious mistake by his Treasury experts in a section they recommended for last year's comprehensive overhaul of our revenue laws, which Congress had adopted, by which businesses could get a windfall that he conceded would amount to a sizable loss in revenue. Representative MILLS, Democrat, of Arkansas, quoted tax-expert estimates of losses up to a billion dollars. The Secretary also had to admit that he did not know of this windfall loophole until Mr. MILLS had told him about it a few days ago, though his own Treasury aids had found it some time before and were checking to see what its effect might be. The Secretary also admitted that there were 40 other loopholes in which revenue might be lost. He will submit an explanation of them in a few days so the committee can correct them as it is correcting the other two.

Nor did it help the Secretary's state of mind to be reminded by Democratic committee members that they had warned in a statement last year about the haste with which the committee, then Republican-controlled, was rushing through highly technical changes. Their statement said: "We fear that, in the hasty manner in which this most complicated legislation has been handled, we will have to spend many weeks straightening out the law in the future, if the bill becomes law."

That is exactly what the committee has got to do now.

After FOA What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, as the Foreign Operations Administration is scheduled to go out of existence this coming June 30, the question of how its functions are to be carried on will receive increasing attention from the Congress. In studying this question, I have found an article by Mr. Marquis Childs in the Washington Post of March 15 to be a cogent analysis of the many factors involved. I think it is appropriate to call the attention of the Congress to Mr. Childs' excellent discussion:

WASHINGTON CALLING

(By Marquis Childs)

AFTER FOA WHAT?

At a closed session of the recent SEATO conference in Thailand, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles held forth on the scope of America's military strength in the Pacific. Given the potential of modern weapons—that is to say nuclear weapons—the United States has in the area today, according to Dulles, greater armed might than at the peak of the Pacific buildup in World War II.

The question, which he did not go into, is: How much of this potential strength can be brought to focus for purposes short of all-out war? In the field of economic aid and cooperation the same question is pertinent.

The United States has the greatest industrial plant, technology, and know-how in the world. But how to share this development on any meaningful scale is a problem that has not yet been met except in the most limited fashion. Dulles could talk about economic assistance for Asia at the SEATO Conference only in general terms, since on that front in the cold war there is a new upheaval, with all plans temporarily in abeyance.

This is another illustration of the stop-and-start approach which not only wastes money and effort but raises doubts about America's determination to stay the course to the end. The Foreign Operations Administration, which has charge of technical assistance, refugee aid, and other obligations, is due to go out of business on June 30.

Since economic aid is to continue, FOA's functions will have to be put somewhere else in Government. Unless, it should be added, Congress votes to keep the agency in business. It was created by the Eisenhower administration. Although time is running out, not even a tentative plan seems as yet to have been worked out. It will not be easy, since FOA has a total of 6,731 employees—1,657 in Washington and the balance, 2,770 Americans, and 2,304 foreign nationals, in offices overseas.

Dark congressional suspicions center on FOA. There is a general distrust of economic aid among conservative Republicans and Democrats alike. Congress always suspects a new agency of seeking to perpetuate itself. And FOA's Administrator, Harold Stassen, is not exactly popular on Capitol Hill.

But it is not merely a bureaucratic snafu that cuts across the aid program. Both Dulles and Stassen last fall projected a greatly expanded program for Asia which got oversimplified in the headlines as an Asian Marshall plan. This was repudiated on the insistence of Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, who is firmly opposed to giving away American dollars on any sizable scale and thereby throwing the budget further out of balance. Thus the impression was of marching up the hill and then marching right back down again.

American motives and intentions are also at issue in the aid program, as an analysis of current and proposed expenditures makes plain. In the budget for the next fiscal year is $3.5 billion for "mutual security." Of this sum, $1.4 billion is for direct military assistance—guns and planes for America's military partners—administered by the Defense Department. Six hundred million dollars is for direct-forces support which FOA administers.

The remaining $1.5 billion is for economic aid in various forms. Included are the relatively small sums that the United States contributes to several United Nations agencies in the assistance field. The balance goes for various forms of economic help, and it is here that Congress is likely to cut.

More and more the stress has been on giving our military allies what they need to fight communism at America's side. Dulles put this frankly in his recent speech on returning from Asia. It is reflected, too, in the allocations of aid for the current Government year.

To Members of Congress increasingly reluctant to vote big sums for foreign outlay it seems perfectly logical to help those who are standing with us. But to Asians in the uncommitted countries—India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, who take literally what we say about wanting to help all free countries—this has the look of rank discrimination. Is your aid really to help underdeveloped peoples raise their standard of living, they ask, or is it a carrot held out to persuade us to go along with your system of alliances?

To most Asians, America is a land of incredible power and prosperity; a power that sometimes seems menacing and sometimes beneficent. We live, in Asian eyes, on a lofty plateau. It is a lonely plateau, too,

and that is the root of the matter, since it is a peril to live so far above the rest of the world. Some far more imaginative means of sharing—perhaps through a combination of private investment and Government cooperation—must be found and soon.

It's 10 Years Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, it has been 10 years since the Sudetan Germans were expelled from their homeland, but they have not given up the desire and hope to return. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article entitled "It's 10 Years Today," taken from the January 17, 1955, Sudetanland issue of the Suedost-Echo, newspaper of the Germans from southeast Europe. This article was translated from the German language by the Library of Congress:

IT'S 10 YEARS TODAY

(H. H.) This year marks the decennium of our expulsion. Millions of East and Southeast Germans who, robbed of everything but the shirt on their backs, were expelled from their homeland and who suffered the most outrageous injustice and deepest humiliation of our century, will again raise their voices to demand the return to them of the homeland of which they were robbed. They will be joined by the many hundreds of thousands of refugees and emigrants who fled to safety in the west for fear of physical destruction.

Ten years is along time. They have alleviated pain and closed many wounds. They have also buried many a hope. But they have not rendered void the crimes committed against innocent human beings, nor have they been able to shake their right to restitution and return to them of their homeland, which is an inalienable and inviolable right. The expellees will stand by it, even if they have to wait another 10 or 20 years. They will pass it on by way of heritage to their children and children's children if they themselves should die before justice is done.

Those who see evidence of lust for revenge in this determination to maintain a legal claim and who imply the existence of aggressive intentions, on the part of the expellees, distort or simply don't know the facts. For at stake are not plans for reconquest or nationalist intransigence, but elemental human rights. And lack of respect for human rights, one of which—probably the most sacred—is the right to a person's homeland, would mean corruption of the moral conscience of the world.

The horrors of war were visited upon the expellees in their most terrifying form. The expellees don't want another war; they know that such a war would cause uncontrollable disaster. However, this does not make them pacifists in the sense of spiritual and political capitulation of the West to Soviet imperialism. When they were driven from their homeland in 1945 and squeezed into the war-ravaged and impoverished territory of Western Germany, the expellees did not fulfill the expectations of the Kremlin: They did not become Communists, in spite of the despair which filled their hearts. The fact that Western Germany and the rest of Western Europe have not succumbed to communism is partly due to the expellees.

The full significance of this fact as concerns the free world must be duly recognized, as it involves the moral and political right of millions of refugees to the restoration of their former legal status, and as it encourages the expellees to demand the return of their homeland. The free world is confronted with a responsibility which must be met: It is up to the free world to support the cause of the expellees—not by unleashing another war, but by becoming strong enough in order to prevent it and, by virtue of such strength, forcing the restoration of the former legal status. Coexistence of the free world with the Soviet Union should not become a principle underlying the foreign policy of the free world, until and unless the oppressed peoples have had their freedom restored to them. Otherwise, coexistence would mean the approval and perpetuation of gross violations of the law.

Ten years have passed since that dark year of 1945. No wonder that people here and there lose heart. How long should they wait? Isn't their hope of returning to their own country a mirage, which confuses their thoughts and keeps the pain alive, without anything being done toward removing the cause, once and for all, by fulfilling their desire? Wouldn't it be better if, in order to find inner peace, they were to turn their backs to and forget their homeland?

Nobody denies that similar thoughts are alive also in the minds of the refugees and expellees. For it is not easy to lead two lives: one in the present, with all its mental and physical demands; and the other, an imaginary one, in the past and future. The post is still aglow; the memories are still alive; home and farm, scenery, towns and cities, and the peaceful world of our homeland—those are things we can still see it with our mind's eye. But we do not see the future of our homeland, nor do we see the road which will lead us back—when?—to it. It is hard to be patient and not to lose hope; the more so because the 10 years—now lying behind us—have not brought us closer to our goal.

Everyone of us is tempted to give up, at one time or another. But it is also the duty of everyone of us to fight that temptation. Duty—in the sense of inner responsibility, and in the sense of a right which we must not give up because, by doing so, we would be giving our approval to an act of enormous injustice. Unless we insist on the recognition of our legal claim, and unless we constantly remind the world of it—who else would be doing so?

It is even more difficult for us southeast Germans to keep our hopes up than for the large numbers of East Germans whose claim for their homeland is identical with Germany's right to restoration of its Eastern frontiers which were crippled by force. The Soviet masters have wrought extensive structural changes in our countries of origin. Economic, agricultural and sociological revamping has taken place which has radically changed the areas in which we used to live—changes which may not be possible of correction. Will it be possible to restore the southeast German (language) island groups and to assure them an existence in the future as organic "tribal" communities?

We don't know. But that does not release us from the obligation to search for solutions, and the law is on our side in this respect. This right to return to our homeland has not been jeopardized by our becoming citizens of Germany. No committee-in-exile has the right to berate us for accepting German citizenship on the basis of legislation enacted by Bonn. We are finding ourselves in an emergency which calls for our acceptance of German citizenship. Nobody, not even a committee-in-exile, can tell us how long the emergency of our homelessness will last; in order to overcome this period of homelessness we have a right to avail ourselves of the legal relief offered us by Germany. The point was made, explicitly, that this (German citizenship) does not jeopardize our right to return to our homeland. We were expelled from our homeland against our will—which is and remains the deciding factor.

We are sticking to our claim to our homeland. And, together with millions of other refugees and expellees, we shall not abandon hope. No matter how long we'll have to wait.

Reaffirmation by Michigan State College of Its Historical Heritage as First Agricultural College in the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a press release dated March 11, 1955, issued by the department of information services, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., reaffirming the historical heritage of Michigan State College as the first agricultural college in the Nation and pioneer for the entire land-grant college system established under the Morrill Act of 1862.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Michigan State College Friday issued an official statement reaffirming its historical heritage as the first agricultural college in the Nation and pioneer for the entire land-grant college system established under the Morrill Act of 1862.

The statement was in answer to charges by Representative SCHWENGEL, Republican, of Iowa, that the United States Post Office Department had made "a gross error of historical fact" in issuing a commemorative stamp honoring Michigan State and Pennsylvania State University as "first of the land-grant colleges." Both institutions are celebrating their centennials this year.

Alvie L. Smith, centennial director at Michigan State, expressed surprise at the statement by Representative SCHWENGEL, and termed it "regrettable." It is unfortunate, he added, that Iowa State questions could not have been raised in October 1954, when the issuance of this stamp was first announced.

Michigan Agricultural College was founded February 12, 1855, as the first agricultural college in America, and the pattern for the land-grant college system established 7 years later under the Morrill Act. Not only was MAC the first agricultural college founded in the United States, but as other States created land-grant colleges from 1862 on in the image of the East Lansing institution, they drew heavily on the faculty and graduates of Michigan Agricultural College for their teachers and presidents. These are historical facts, not claims, Smith said.

Iowa State claims to have been the "first land-grant college" because they were the first to accept the provisions of the Morrill Act in September 1862, even though they did not open their doors until 1869.

The commemorative stamp was issued by the United States Post Office Department to honor the founders of the new concept of higher education, Smith pointed out, even though the later institutions made signifi-

cant contributions in the development of this educational philosophy.

The clearest and most authoritative statement on this matter was given in 1950 by Russell I. Thackrey, long-time executive secretary of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities. Here are pertinent excerpts from his statement:

"The question of the oldest land-grant college might be debatable in a strict sense, but here are the facts: Michigan State College, established in 1855, is unquestionably the oldest agricultural college, and thus was the prototype of the land-grant institutions. It was closely followed by the Maryland Agricultural College (now the University of Maryland) which was chartered in 1856 and Iowa Agricultural College (Iowa State College) in 1858. * * *

"The picture is complicated a little by the fact that six State legislatures acted to accept the provisions of the Land Grant Act before Michigan did, the first being Iowa in September 1862. Thus, Iowa State was the first to be designated by its legislature as a land-grant institution but I think it is generally recognized that Michigan State as the first agricultural college of its type actually in operation deserves the distinction of being called the first land-grant institution."

Michigan State takes great pride not only in its pioneering role with respect to the entire land-grant college system but in its equally important role in the establishment of Iowa Agricultural College.

When Iowa Agricultural College began its classes in 1869, it was on the pattern of Michigan Agricultural College and with a president imported directly from the East Lansing campus, according to Dr. Madison Kuhn, Michigan State College historian and author of the forthcoming book Michigan State: The First Hundred Years.

In 1868, Kuhn points out, the governing board of Iowa Agricultural College sent a committee to visit several of the then operating land-grant colleges. The published report of this group, as quoted in E. A. Ross' A History of Iowa State College, 1942, read: "Of these, the Michigan exhibit was found to be the agricultural college par excellence—in aim, organization, course of study, and apparent results. A large portion of the report was devoted to this institution."

First president of Iowa Agricultural College was A. S. Welch, member of the governing board of Michigan Agricultural College for several years, and who was recommended for the post by Dr. T. C. Abbot, third president of the East Lansing college.

Kuhn adds another interesting footnote to this discussion by pointing out that the Michigan legislature actually accepted the provisions of the Morrill Act in 1859 when it was approved for the first time by the United States Congress but vetoed by President Buchanan. In effect, then, the State of Michigan was the first to approve the provisions of the Morrill Act—even though it repeated its action in 1863 to make it completely official.

On Second Look, It Isn't a Bogey Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested to insert the following editorial from the Palo Alto Times in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I am happy to comply:

ON SECOND LOOK, IT ISN'T A BOGEY MAN

A flurry of alarm has been stirred up by the move to get representatives of North Atlantic Treaty nations together to talk about how they can collaborate more closely for the good of all.

The alarm is not justified. No "one world" organization can be forced on us by this meeting. No trick can be brought out of the bag to reduce the sovereignty of the United States.

The resolution introduced in Congress last month by Senator KEFAUVER calls merely for a meeting "to explore and to report" on ways in which nations now bound by the North Atlantic Treaty might further unite—"federally or otherwise"—against common dangers.

Common dangers include the resurgence of Germany as a military power, Communist aggression, and distrust in many parts of the world. The democratic nations are capable of meeting the world situation effectively.

If we are afraid to apply the democratic process to the search for more efficient methods of working with our free North Atlantic neighbors, we seem to justify this distrust.

That the proposed exploratory convention will be democratic there can be no doubt. The delegates are not to be diplomats directed by governments, but citizens. These citizens will explore, come to conclusions, make recommendations, and report to their own people and the parliamentary bodies of their own countries.

These duly elected bodies and the people will make the decisions.

The New Orleans Conference on Inter-American Investment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have in my hand the text of a notable address which was delivered by Dr. Milton Eisenhower at the recent historic Conference on Inter-American Investment at New Orleans. I had previously referred to this very important conference on the floor of the Senate on February 9 as recorded on pages 1161–1163 of the RECORD. I also have in hand several splendid editorials on the Conference's work.

As regards this particular New Orleans speech, may I mention that Dr. Eisenhower has rendered important services to our Nation in many fields, not the least of which is his worthy contributions to the strengthening of inter-American relations. His memorable mission throughout the hemisphere was an impressive aid to Pan-American solidarity and understanding. As senior Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, may I say that naturally it is Dr. Eisenhower's Inter-American work which has come particularly to my attention, but I have observed with interest his significant efforts in education and other areas.

The Eisenhower family is a great family—and it was great even before its most famous son came to occupy the highest office in our land. All America wishes it well—wishes well of all the dear ones of the President of the United States and of course our Chief Executive himself.

Each of the Eisenhowers and the relatives of the Eisenhowers have stood on their own feet independently making their own fine careers, and America is deeply aware of that fact.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Dr. Eisenhower's splendid and forthright New Orleans address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, to be followed by the text of editorials from the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor, which were carried while the New Orleans conference was underway.

There being no objection, the address and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY DR. MILTON S. EISENHOWER AT INTER-AMERICAN INVESTMENT CONFERENCE, NEW ORLEANS, FEBRUARY 28, 1955

On one thing all participants in this conference must be agreed: Good relations between the United States and the nations of Latin America are imperative as we seek to build a cooperative peace characterized by freedom and rising levels of well-being.

Most of us would agree, too, that in this hemisphere economic cooperation is the key to better relations.

Fortunately, we are making considerable progress in this regard. But in my judgment more individuals and agencies, both public and private, must be made aware of the problems involved, the pace of progress must be accelerated, and the rules of the game must be made more stable and certain.

The trade of the United States with the Republics of Latin America is now about $3.5 billion in each direction each year. As a market for our exports, Latin America is as important to us as all of Europe, and more important than Asia, Africa, and Oceania combined. As a source of our imports, the other American Republics have greater importance than Europe or the other continents. And of course the United States is just as essential to the Latin American States as a market for their products, and as a source of their imports.

Such trade is mutually advantageous. All gain by it.

Almost 30 percent of all United States private, long-term investment is in Latin America. This investment of some $6 billion is larger than the amount invested in any other part of the world except Canada.

Loans to Latin American nations by the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank total about $1.5 billion.

These investments are also mutually advantageous. While one can cite instances in which such capital has been mistreated, on the whole it has earned a good return. At the same time it has helped develop the jungle and the desert, provided work at good wages, carried with it technical and managerial skills and, by increasing the output of minerals, foods, and manufactured goods, helped build prosperity in our sister republics.

If these facts are as obvious as I assert them to be, why aren't economic relations essentially perfect? Why must we meet to discuss possible methods of improvement?

One might as well ask why all citizens within a single country are not wholly agreed on the basic elements of an on-going economic program. Whenever human beings work together, and particularly when the elements involved are as manifold and complex as they are in hemispheric economic relations, there are bound to be differences and difficulties.

Thus, in the United States there is little knowledge of Latin American needs, attitudes, and capabilities, and in Latin America serious misunderstandings of the eco-

nomic policy and capacity of the United States.

Some of this later misunderstanding is a natural consequence of our assistance programs in Europe and other parts of the world. While leaders in Latin America understand that much of our aid to other areas has been to help rebuild resources which were destroyed at the very time that Latin American nations were enjoying an unprecedented prosperity; that our economic and military aid to other areas has benefited Latin America as much as it has the United States; and that the American people during the past 15 years have made unprecedented sacrifices for the welfare of all free nations—while these facts are usually recognized, nonetheless our assistance to other areas has coincided with the need for tremendous sums of new capital in Latin America, and loans to them, though substantial, have not satisfied their aspirations. Unsatisfied aspirations can cause many persons to be critical, even though the facts do not justify that criticism.

A tremendous social ferment exists today throughout Latin America. The population is increasing at a rate double that of the world increase. Productivity is also increasing. The net situation is that production per person is increasing about 2.5 percent a year. That, too, is a world record.

But this praiseworthy rate of improvement is beginning at a low level. It is therefore understandable that the peoples of Latin America want to make still more rapid progress.

They want to overcome illiteracy, to improve and expand their agriculture, to industrialize, to diversify their export trade and thus become less dependent on the sale abroad of 1 or 2 commodities. The need for highway, rail, water, and air transportation is critical in many regions. Insufficient productive energy is a serious impediment.

A high share of the essential improvements calls for capital—great quantities of it. It is difficult to exaggerate the need for investment funds.

Much of the capital must come from local savings. A good deal must come from the United States.

Unhappily, the need for foreign capital is accompanied in some areas by a rising tide of nationalism.

In some respects, this surge of nationalism is commendable, for it indicates a growing pride in achievement and an impatient desire to raise standards of living dramatically and immediately.

But ultranationalism, with its blindness to true long-time interests, is a major retrogressive influence in some countries, often closing the door to the very help and cooperation which are so desperately needed. It leads to laws and practices which prevent the entrance of foreign capital so essential to development.

Ultranationalism is being fostered by Communist agitators. These conspirators persistently chant the theme that foreign investment, private or public, is in reality a form of imperialism.

The situation in Latin America is uneven: In some countries the attitude toward investment of United States capital is wholly favorable. In a few, there is mild resentment with respect to the withdrawal of earnings or original capital. In other areas, Communist propaganda has convinced a good many persons that the use of foreign capital for productive purposes somehow impinges upon the sovereignty of the nation in which the capital is invested.

But in all this there is a great inconsistency: While some condemn foreign investment as an actual or potential evil, while others adopt practices and legislation that frighten or make almost impossible the entrance of foreign capital, and while still others want capital but only on unattractively restrictive terms, nearly all but the avowed Communists insist that an incoming flood of private and public capital is essential if they are to meet their just aspirations.

Two things are abundantly clear:

First, foreign capital, properly handled, does not compromise the sovereignty of the host country. The United States used unbelievable quantities of European capital from its founding to about 1918. That capital did not impinge upon our sovereignty. And we repaid it all, with interest.

Second, foreign private capital cannot be driven. It must be attracted by conditions conducive to private investment.

Attracting foreign private investment does not mean the granting of special privileges—that is, privileges not extended to domestic investors (other than those pertaining to remittance of earnings from countries having exchange controls). Rather, attracting foreign investment involves primarily the avoidance of unnecessary restraints or discriminations which have the effect of repelling investment, and the establishment of stable financial and political climates which permit, if not encourage, both domestic and foreign investment under conditions of normal business risk.

Each country in Latin America must compete for foreign private capital with applicants from all over the world, including applicants within the United States. Success in such a highly competitive field requires adequate assurances of fair treatment, security, and a reasonable return in relation to alternative investment opportunities.

With multiple opportunities open to them, investors naturally give attention to such factors as unstable financial policies. In several countries, such policies have resulted in serious inflation, severe exchange restrictions, currency devaluations, and even the peacetime imposition of price ceilings—all of which have hindered balanced economic growth.

Inflationary policies not only discourage private investment from abroad; they also greatly affect the management of local funds—encouraging speculation in real estate and in inventories as a hedge against further declines in the purchasing power of money, and thus dissipating resources which otherwise might be used for productive development.

Internal financial stability is basic to a solution of exchange problems and to the maintenance of conditions which are conducive to economic growth.

There is now a strong trend toward financial stability in many other areas of the world. Hence, a renewed emphasis on achieving stability in the Latin American countries appears to be imperative if capital, competitively sought, is going to flow in the desired direction.

Because conditions vary so widely country by country, many thoughtful persons have reasoned that a bilateral treaty between the United States and each government of Latin America is the best approach to establishing conditions conducive to investment. They feel this is true because, first, each treaty can deal with the uniquely individual problems of a particular country; second, the treaty can be in force for a long period of time and thus can reduce the risks of changing political policies; third, the country desiring to obtain private funds may be willing to give assurances or preferences to the United States that it might not be willing to grant to other countries, such as Russia; fourth, the foreign country can retain control over such local problems as partnership interest in the enterprise, and, fifth, the United States could, if it seemed wise to do so, grant preferential treatment to a particular country.

These arguments seem compelling, and yet only two Latin American countries now have treaties of this type with the United States.

Many contend that if a treaty is to encourage the flow of private capital, it must, as a minimum, provide for nondiscrimination against United States investors, and for just compensation in case of expropriation or confiscation. They realize that several countries have constitutional provisions which those countries believe make it impossible for them to enter into agreements without such serious qualifications as actually to nullify the compensation provisions of treaties, but contend that this legal point has been overemphasized. They also feel that some nations wish to restrict unduly, by treaty, the fields into which United States capital may enter, or want to limit too greatly the manner in which United States companies may conduct their operations.

Other individuals who are also intimately familiar with the sweep of problems involved in the economic relations of the American nations, argue that too much attention has been given to such things as treaty assurances against confiscation. They argue persuasively that the one thing which would help most to stimulate the flow of capital would be a mechanism for guaranteeing the convertibility of currencies—that the fear of not being able to withdraw capital or earnings because of nonconvertibility is the great impediment.

All these ideas merit exploration. Certainly, I would like to see several additional Latin American nations open negotiations with the United States in the immediate future with the avowed purpose of finding sufficient areas of agreement as to make bilateral treaties truly valuable.

But the further exploration of the efficacy of bilateral treaties should not detract from what the nations desiring capital must generally do to attract capital, or from what the United States might generally do to encourage investment in Latin America.

During the past year, the United States has in manifold ways recognized that both private and public lending for sound development projects in Latin America should go forward on a substantial scale. Thus the Government announced new policies designed to encourage more activity by private investors, and to make possible an expanded program of Government lending.

Primary emphasis has been placed, as it should be, on measures to encourage private investment. Of course, the best incentive the United States can give to private investment in Latin America is the maintenance of stable trade relations and a high level of economic activity in our own country, thus helping to assure similar conditions in those countries—and in a moment I shall return to this point. Another opportunity to encourage private investment has to do with tax policies. * * *

But we cannot be content with encouraging an increased flow of United States private capital. Public loans should finance those sound projects for which private financing is not available.

In a report of November 1953 to the President I recommended that lending by the Export-Import Bank be intensified. That has been done. Our Government has assured the nations of Latin America that we will do our utmost to satisfy all applications for sound economic development loans for which capital is not reasonably available from private sources or from the International Bank.

This change in policy is more important than most seem to realize. Public lending, intelligently managed, can stimulate the development of certain key enterprises—such as transportaion—which will make possible the growth of private industries and businesses, and for those private capital should be found. In such situations, public lending can initiate chain reactions.

The new Export-Import Bank policy was announced in the middle of 1954. Since then, the bank has authorized 22 loans in 10 Latin American countries, for a total of more than $158 million. These included loans to private, governmental, and mixed borrowers. They involved agriculture, aviation, railways, highways, power production, municipal water systems, mining, steel production and a variety of industrial enterprises.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, also active during the past year, authorized loans to 6 countries, totaling more than $111 million.

These figures show that substantial public credits are now being extended. At present, interestingly enough, both the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank, with ample funds to lend, are prepared to process applications greatly in excess of those now on hand.

The President has announced that, as agreed at the Rio Conference, the administration will support the creation of a new international financing agency. He has asked approval of Congress for the United States to participate in an International Finance Corporation, as an affiliate to the International Bank. The new corporation will stimulate private investment abroad by making loans without governmental guaranties. Its proposed capital of $100 million will enable it to undertake operations greatly exceeding that amount by participating with private capital in jointly financing productive enterprises.

I said a moment ago that no other single thing would contribute so much to economic stability in Latin America and thus to the flow of private capital for new enterprises as stable trade relations with the United States. In my report to the President on this whole problem, I recommended as strongly as I could that the United States adopt and adhere to trade policies with Latin America which possess stability and a minimum of mechanisms permitting the imposition of increased tariffs or quotas.

* * * * *

A policy of reduced tariff barriers and expanded trade will contribute more toward the strengthening of the economies of all American Republics than any other single measure which could be adopted. Assurance of access to the great market of the United States is the most effective guaranty of economic stability in Latin America. Similar assurance that the other nations of this hemisphere can continue to buy much of our surplus production is one essential of economic prosperity in the United States.

Economic development is just as dependent upon access to technical knowledge and experience as it is upon access to capital and markets. Our technical-cooperation programs have been effective in Latin America. This is true of the programs we have undertaken directly with many Latin American governments, and of those conducted by the Organization of American States and the United Nations.

In 1953 I urged that United States participation in these programs be expanded. I am happy to say that United States funds for direct help in Latin America were increased from $20.4 million last year to $26 million this year and will likely be increased still more next year. Our contribution to the technical program of the Organization of American States has been increased from $1 million to $1.5 million annually.

The United States has recently gone to the aid of several Latin American neighbors when they faced economic emergencies. * * *

Frankly, I think we can take considerable satisfaction in the steps our Government has taken during the past year to help our sister republics and to improve permanently the economic relations among the nations of this hemisphere.

These steps have made the investment of private and public funds in Latin America more attractive.

And these steps have been exhaustively analyzed in two historic inter-American conferences. They appear to be acceptable to the overwhelming majority of Latin American leaders. At the conclusion of the Rio Economic Conference, a statement, unanimously issued by the heads of the 21 delegations, said:

"We leave this Conference with the satisfaction of having proved that the American nations here represented are in complete agreement as regards their great objectives in the economic field. These may be summarized as a determination to speed up the progress of each and every one of them within framework of freedom and justice, through substantial intensification of our inter-American economic, financial and technical cooperation."

Finally, may I say that the new United States policies have the enthusiastic, bipartisan support of all our people. The things we have said we will do are being done.

Let no man, no leader, here or anywhere in the hemisphere doubt the sincerity, the intention, the determination of our Government and our people to do all that is feasible to promote good economic relations and thus build a stronger family of nations in this hemisphere.

The President has underscored this determination. In his message to the delegates of the Rio Conference he said that, in the American family of nations, the United States will seek to be more than a good neighbor. It will be a good partner.

This signifies more than a difference of words. It emphasizes a new approach to the problems with which we and our friends in the hemisphere are wrestling. This new approach is a logical evolution of the good neighbor relationship. As good neighbors each American republic tried in the economic field to adopt policies and pursue courses which would not prejudice the interests of the other members of the total community. Each sought in good faith to respond constructively to requests for cooperation and assistance from the others. In our own country this bipartisan policy gave meaningful direction to our hemispheric relations.

That policy has logically carried us to the relationship that exists between us today, one which is so close that it can no longer accurately be described as that of neighbors. So interdependent are our destinies today that each American republic must recognize its direct, continuing and even selfish interest in the solution of the critical problems of every other member of the family. We must now be dependable partners in a great and lasting enterprise—the peaceful independence, the prosperity, and the happiness of all our peoples—peoples with great cultural diversity but with interdependent common goals.

This partnership concept is, I believe, shared by our neighbors. It found expression last year at two conferences involving all members of the Organization of American States, and also in regional conferences in which interdependence and mutuality were the keynotes.

It was almost historic accident, so far as I personally am concerned, that less than 2 years ago I should have represented the Government and people of the United States on a mission designed to improve relations, and especially cooperative economic relations, among some 20 interdependent nations. I knew upon my return that whether mutually helpful cooperation perceptibly improved would depend upon attitudes yet to be formed, actions yet to be taken. Fortunately, most developments since my trip and report have exceeded my fondest hopes.

As I said in concluding my 1953 report, "Working together, the nations of this hemisphere can, if history should so decree, stand firmly against any enemy in war, and prosper mightily together in times of peace."

[From the New York Times of March 2, 1955]

STAKES IN LATIN AMERICA

The Inter-American Investment Conference now being held in New Orleans has importance far beyond the business deals it stimulates. It will help assuage the feelings of Latin Americans from the Rio Grande to Patagonia who think their self-appointed good neighbor is neglecting them for nations both more favored and more remote. The conference also marks a refreshing departure from the usual conference procedure. Instead of generating high-sounding official programs and pronouncements which, fettered with redtape, bog down in budgets and appropriations, this conference aims at specific agreements between practical businessmen free to act without political by-your-leaves and consequent delays.

Political instability, of course, has been one of the main deterrents to United States investment in Latin American countries. But much can be—and is being done already—by enlightened United States concerns to insulate their investments from the shocks of such disturbances. Most effective is a policy aimed not to compete with local interests in a preempted static market but to expand the existing market by creating new demands—and, through increased native employment; creating the wherewithal to satisfy those needs.

Such a program may neglect the quick gain, but it makes for a continuing, even though smaller, rate of profit and one that is guaranteed by local gratitude for local benefits received. Furthermore, a demonstration of the fruitful North American formula for economic progress—high productivity through more efficient methods, lower unit costs and higher wages—stimulates native interests to follow suit, thus widening the circle of local prosperity and trade with us.

[From the Christian Science Monitor of March 2, 1955]

INVESTING IN LATIN AMERICA

When 400 businessmen with capital to invest meet 400 others with projects needing financial sponsorship, something constructive is bound to happen. Such is the theory behind a 4-day meeting now taking place in New Orleans. In that trade-wise city businessmen from the United States are joining some of their opposite numbers from Latin America in an attempt to bring demand and supply together. Both groups have given evidence of being aware of the large political and social significance of the gap that exists between Latin America's need for fresh capital and the volume of it that she has been able to muster or attract. Their present task is to start trying to close that gap by concentrated bargaining on specific projects.

The United States Government is giving the conferees strong support. Their efforts conform to the Eisenhower administration's policy of encouraging private capital to carry as much as possible of the international work of country-by-country development. In a special message to the conferees, President Eisenhower has stressed this Nation's intention to maintain a program of direct and indirect governmental help, while emphasizing that one of its greatest aims is to create an atmosphere conducive to self-help and private development.

The countries seeking capital will gain by making their own contributions to an atmosphere friendly to private investment. Private capital will voluntarily leave the United States in increased volume when

foreign opportunities seem relatively more profitable than domestic opportunities. Domestic projects enjoy many advantages in attracting capital. Capital invested at home does not face the risks of expropriation, of tax discrimination, of being frozen into illiquidity by government fiat or of inadequate legal protection that capital invested abroad has often confronted. Foreign projects have to offer advantages correspondingly great.

Among the most beneficial results of the New Orleans conference may well be a demonstration to our own businessmen that discouragements to private capital have been eliminated in more cases than is generally understood and a demonstration to Latin-American businessmen that more work needs to be done to abate the discouragements that remain.

Statement of AMVETS' National Commander Rufus H. Wilson, Regarding Hoover Commission's Recommendations Concerning Veterans' Administration's Medical Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following interesting letter from the pen of Rufus H. Wilson, national commander of the AMVETS, appeared in the March 10, 1955, issue of the Washington Evening Star, Washington, D. C., concerning the so-called Hoover Commission's recommendations on Veterans' Administrations medical activities.

National Commander Wilson speaking as he does, for the veterans of World War II, reveals some interesting discrepancies in the findings of the Hoover Commission.

The letter follows:

RETORT TO HOOVER REPORT

Neither the cartoon nor the editorial in the Star of March 2 relating to the "hot off the press" Hoover Commission recommendations concerning Veterans' Administration medical activities add to your historic policy of fair play and commonsense.

Never in history has so important a commission said so much with so few facts to back it up, and all in the name of economy. Of course, I realize it isn't important that I, as the national commander of one veterans' organization, feel this way. But I suggest that it is important that my view is shared by some pretty fairminded people, including the executive and legislative personnel in Government whose objections will come to light in the very near future.

The Hoover Commission's recommendations on VA medicine are, in our opinion, doomed to failure—a deserving fate. They are doomed because they fail to tell the whole truth. When you consider the following, we hope you will agree:

1. The Hoover Commission distorts the truth when it implies that disability compensation is a $2 billion part of the cost of Federal medical care. Disability compensation is paid as a result of impaired earning power caused by disability incurred in military service. Thousands of recipients of disability compensation have never even seen a Veterans' Administration hospital, let alone having been a patient in one.

2. The Hoover Commission falsely alleges that there is gross abuse of the VA medical system. The House Veterans' Affairs Committee and the Veterans' Administration itself have definite proof as a result of exhaustive surveys and studies that present regulations have almost eliminated abuse.

3. The Hoover Commission implies half truths when it talks about 20 million veterans who are entitled to hospitalization in VA hospitals. It conveniently glosses over the fact that only 109,000 VA beds were available last year. And it doesn't explain how all of those 20 million veterans who they say were so grossly abusing this program could have possibly squeezed into those 109,000 beds.

4. The Hoover Commission either deliberately, or with ignorance, indicates that only nonmedical VA personnel determine how much compensation or pension a veteran is entitled to. The basic truth known to every one interested in veterans' affairs is that doctors are an integral part of every Veterans' Administration disability determination.

5. The Hoover Commission blandly recommends investigation of every non-service-connected hospitalization case to see if the veteran applying for such hospitalization can afford to pay for it. It purposely, or with ignorance, overlooks a 2-year old policy of the Veterans' Administration that has almost entirely done the very thing it recommends. And this policy, incidentally, was recommended by AMVETS over 3 years ago.

6. The Hoover Commission inhumanely ignores the fact that of the 65,000 non-service-connected cases in VA hospitals, 40,000 are neuropsychiatric cases, 13,000 are TB cases, and the vast majority of others are chronic cases such as cancer, heart trouble, sugar diabetes, etc. And the Hoover Commission had this information right before it when it wrote its report.

7. The Hoover Commission extensively refers to isolated quotes from a General Accounting Office report of 1952 which is detrimental to the VA medical program. It then deliberately fails to quote likewise from a more recent report of the House Veterans Affairs Committee which showed the GAO report to be fallacious in almost every extent.

8. The Hoover Commission says that national veterans' organizations are opposed to goldbricking. It fails to say that extensive surveys by those same organizations conclusively proved that goldbricking is almost nonexistent in VA hospitals.

9. The Hoover Commission recommends periodic review of veterans' disability compensation claims, leaving the erroneous impression that such reviews are not now made.

10. The Hoover Commission recommends the closing of some Veterans' Administration hospitals. It also recommends no new construction. It fails to even humanely indicate where this Nation should place the veteran patients, service connected and nonservice connected alike, presently in those hospitals.

RUFUS H. WILSON,
National Commander, AMVETS.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Star has confidence in the findings of two Hoover Commissions and their task forces regarding needed reforms in the veterans' health and hospitalization programs. Its editorial and cartoon were based largely on those findings. After further inquiry as to points raised in Mr. Wilson's letter, the Star stands on its editorial position that the Hoover Commission has revealed "much that needs correction" in the field of Federal health and medical services.)

A Highly Successful Kansas Farm Family

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an article published in the Sunday, March 13, Kansas City Star.

The Kansas delegation had the privilege the fore part of this week of entertaining their 10 master farmers selected by the Kansas Farm Bureau. I wish to call attention to the accomplishments of Roy Neher, Oswego, Kans., and his family. They typify the high standard of farm families with which Kansas is blessed. This story from the Star briefly outlines some of the accomplishments of this highly successful family:

JOINS SONS AS WINNER—OSWEGO, KANS. MAN TAKES SHARE OF HONOR AS FARM EXPERT—AS RESULT, ROY NEHER, WHO HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL LEADER OF YOUNG PEOPLE, GETS TRIP TO CAPITAL

OSWEGO, KANS., March 12.—Because he had helped his four sons and many neighbor boys win outstanding recognition for themselves, Roy Neher of Oswego is enjoying a prize—a trip to Washington.

It began 13 years ago when Mr. Neher's oldest son, Dean, brought home a pure bred Guernsey heifer as a 4–H project. Soon Roy Neher had stocked his farm with pure bred Guernsey cattle, and had become an active 4–H club leader. His wife was a coleader and the four sons active members.

ALL TO M'PHERSON

Mr. and Mrs. Neher had become acquainted as students at McPherson college, so the sons attended there. Dean graduated, spent 1 year in Europe as an agricultural adviser, and now is working toward a Ph. D. degree in physics at the University of Chicago on a Danforth Foundation fellowship.

Gerald, the Neher's second son, graduated from McPherson, did advanced work in agriculture at Cornell, and in Bible at the seminary of the Church of the Brethren in Chicago. He is now serving as a missionary in Nigeria, Africa. Both Dean and Gerald are licensed ministers.

THIRD SON IN TURKEY

Lyle completed 2 years at McPherson, and is now spending a year as an agricultural adviser in Turkey. He has won local honors as a cattle judge and is recognized as an authority on Guernsey cattle.

Doyle will graduate from the Oswego high school this spring and will enter McPherson next fall. He, too, is an expert cattle judge.

While his sons were getting advanced training and winning honors for themselves, Mr. Neher was getting more training and winning honors for himself, such as Labette County dairyman of the year; president of the Kansas Guernsey Breeders Association, 1953 and 1954; member of the Labette County extension board; and owner of the cow ranking first in dairy production in Kansas.

THREE PHASES OF HONOR

Mr. Neher's trip was won on three units of work: family life, community activities, and farm management. His community work included 4-H club leadership, member of the Oswego school board, and an elder in

the Church of the Brethren at McCune, Kans.

His farm accomplishments were soil improvement, livestock improvement in quality and production, improvement in poultry, improved buildings and work in artificial insemination of dairy cattle.

During his trip to Washington, Neher will visit with his Congressmen and hopes to visit with President Eisenhower.

Those U. N. Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the question was raised in this body earlier this week as to what funds were used by the United Nations to pay indemnities, amounting to approximately $180,000, to a group of former American employees of the U. N. who were fired after they invoked the fifth amendment on questions concerning their loyalty to the United States.

I have made a rather extensive investigation of this matter, Mr. Speaker, not only to determine how and why these awards were made, but also to determine how they were paid and whether the indemnities would be regarded by the Internal Revenue Service as damages, in which case they would be tax free, or as income, in which case they would be taxable. Finally, I made inquiries to determine whether, if the indemnities were regarded as income, the United Nations would then pay the State and Federal taxes due on them. As members of this body know, United States employees of the U. N. are reimbursed for all income taxes they pay to the United States Government, and to the New York State government, so that, for all practical purposes, their salaries are tax free. In lieu of taxes to our own Government, however, they contribute to the U. N. Staff Assessment Fund, and it was from this fund that these awards were paid. Since the awards range from $6,000 to $40,000, the State and Federal taxes on them would be substantial. My inquiries have established, in brief, that first, the Internal Revenue Service has held that the awards are income, and therefore taxable; and secondly, that the United Nations will not pay the taxes thereon.

I should like to add this further word, Mr. Speaker. In my judgment, the disposition of these loyalty cases constitutes a shabby blot on the U. N. escutcheon. In firing, and then rewarding these individuals, the U. N. pursued completely contradictory courses. It could not have been right on both counts. Either these people were loyal, in which case a great injustice has been done to them; or they were disloyal, in which case they should never have received these handsome indemnities.

The size of the awards is, of course, unimportant. The principles involved go to the very foundations of our concepts of equity and justice.

I am certain the Members of this body will be interested in the exchange of correspondence I have had on this matter with our Ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and with Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews, of the Internal Revenue Service. It is appended herewith:

DECEMBER 6, 1954.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr.,
United States Ambassador to the United Nations, New York, N. Y.

DEAR CABOT: I note in the press that our Government has agreed to pay the awards made by the United Nations Administrative Tribunal to 11 United States citizens who were former employees, and that the awards will be paid from the staff assessment fund. This letter is to request further data with respect to this matter; namely, (1) a copy of the statement made by Senator FULBRIGHT agreeing to the awards; (2) a copy of the resolution jointly sponsored by the United States and Argentina with respect to the creation of a board of judicial review, with, presumably, appellate jurisdiction over the Administrative Tribunal; (3) a report on the status of the resolution and the steps through which it will have to pass before such a board is actually established; (4) data about the staff assessment fund—what it is; who contributes to it; how contributions are made; is it voluntary or compulsory; and what the fund is used for. The press reports that the fund is a United Nations tax levied on all employees' salaries in lieu of the national income taxes, and that the special indemnity fund is to be carved out of this, and maintained at a level of $250,000. Have the U. N. employees agreed to this, and if so, what contingencies other than the dismissal of the 11 Americans have persuaded them to the creation and maintenance of such a fund? Finally, I should be grateful for a clarification of the tax status of U. N. employees, vis-a-vis their respective countries. It was my understanding that their income taxes were remitted to them by the U. N., but the press reference to U. N. taxes in lieu of national income taxes raises some question in my mind about the status of these employees.

This is rather a large order, but I know you agree that the matter is rather far-reaching in its implications, and I am therefore anxious to secure as much data as possible with respect to it.

With kindest personal regards to your good self, I am

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
Member of Congress.

NEW YORK, N. Y., *December 22, 1954.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
United States House of Representatives.

DEAR HAROLD: This is in further reply to your letter of December 6 concerning the United Nations Administrative Tribunal awards question which was before the United Nations General Assembly.

Final action on the matter was completed by the General Assembly at its closing plenary session on December 17, and I am now in a position to give you a full report on it.

The resolution passed by the Assembly on this matter on December 17 (copy enclosed) represents the culmination of vigorous efforts made in compliance with House Concurrent Resolution 262, which (a) called upon the United States delegation to "take all possible steps to prevent the General Assembly of the United Nations from authorizing or approving the payment" of awards made 2 years ago to 11 Americans, and (b) provided that the United States "should not be compelled to contribute any of its funds" in payment of these awards and "that no part of the funds heretofore appropriated, or hereafter appropriated by the Congress for the United Nations shall be used for the payment of such awards."

The record is clear that all possible steps were taken within existing legal procedures to prevent the payment of these awards. These steps commenced, of course, long before the passage of the House concurrent resolution. The United States delegation fought against the payment of the awards throughout the eighth session of the General Assembly. The State Department's Legal Adviser fought before the International Court of Justice to establish the legal right of the Assembly to refuse to pay the awards. Finally, after the International Court denied that right in its opinion of July 13, 1954, so that payment became inevitable, the United States delegation to the ninth session of the Assembly continued to maintain the position that the awards were unjust and indeed outrageous and that the opinion of the International Court of Justice, though it should be respected, was erroneous.

Thus, all possible means of opposition to the awards—except outright defiance of the opinion of the International Court—were used in a fight carried on over 2 years. Outright defiance of the opinion of the International Court would clearly have left the United States standing almost alone on the issue and would have resulted in the payment of the awards from appropriated funds contrary to the intent of the House concurrent resolution.

With reference to that intent, the majority leader of the Senate speaking on August 20, 1954, said that the resolution "does not go to the point that United Nations funds from other sources should not be used for such payment of damages, but that funds appropriated by the American Congress, from the American taxpayers, should not be used in this particular type of situation."

Accordingly, the United States delegation, having exhausted all efforts to defeat payment of the awards completely, made certain that the awards would not be financed from funds heretofore or hereafter appropriated by the Congress. It saw to it that a special fund was set up financed from staff assessment—the internal United Nations tax on its employees—from which past and future awards would be paid. The creation of this fund was bitterly attacked by the Soviet bloc, which alone opposed it in the plenary session.

The United States delegation then went further—beyond the directive of the House resolution—to assure that in the future the administrative tribunal would not have the last word in making awards such as those made to the 11 Americans. It carried on a long and difficult, but finally successful, fight to establish the principle that awards of the tribunal should be subject to judicial review. Though this principle was defeated in committee, it finally won acceptance in the plenary, and action to establish the review procedure will be taken by the next session of the Assembly after thorough study is given to the matter by a special committee. Of course, the United States will be represented on this committee.

The General Assembly resolution of December 17 as a whole—including the establishment of the special fund and the provisions for judicial review—represents a real victory for the United States and a defeat for the Soviet bloc. The resolution as a whole was approved 52 to 5, with only the Soviet bloc opposed.

An important element in this victory was the fact that the United States was able to make clear its opposition to the opinion of the International Court of Justice and at the same time avoid the necessity of insisting that the Assembly disregard it. As you know, one of our strongest weapons in exploiting Soviet propaganda and motives is,

from time to time, to challenge them to submit specific issues to the International Court for decision. Their inability to accept such a challenge constantly exposes to the world the true nature of their charges and actions. Had we not been able to secure the adoption of the resolution of December 17 and had we found it necessary to insist that the Assembly refuse to comply with the opinion of the Court, we would have lost this very important weapon against the Soviets.

Now, let me reply to your requests for specific data:

(1) I am enclosing copies of three statements made by Senator FULBRIGHT on this matter. The first was made in committee on December 3, when the original United States-Argentine resolution was introduced. The second was made in committee on December 9 after the committee voted to accept an amendment to the United States cosponsored resolution which struck out the acceptance of the principle of judicial review. The third was made in the plenary on December 17 in support of the United States cosponsored amendment to restore the judicial review principle. This amendment carried and is embodied in the final resolution.

Also enclosed is a copy of the statement made by Senator SMITH on December 9 in support of the United States cosponsored resolution.

(2) I am enclosing copies of the original United States-Argentine proposal (A/C.5/L. 317), the resolution adopted by the committee on December 16, and the resolution voted by the plenary on December 17.

(3) I have already covered the question of the status of the resolution. The steps provided for the creation of the judicial review machinery are spelled out in the resolution of December 17.

(4) The provisions for the creation of a new special indemnity fund from staff assessment proceeds are contained in part "C" of the enclosed resolution of December 17.

The staff assessment fund is derived from an internal income tax levied by the United Nations on its employees. Payment of the assessment is compulsory. The plan was adopted some years ago by the Assembly for two reasons. The first was to avoid the inequality of take-home pay of Secretariat employees which would result if they were subject to varying systems of national income taxation. To meet this situation, it was recommonded to governments that they exempt their citizens employed by the United Nations from national taxation; and, in anticipation that this would be done, it was provided that there be substituted an internal income tax applying equally to all Secretariat employees. The second reason for the establishment of a staff assessment plan was the recognition that it was undesirable for United Nations employees to be a tax-free group of individuals, a situation which would result if they were exempted from national taxation.

The proceeds of staff assessment have been treated as miscellaneous income of the Organization and are at the disposal of the General Assembly to meet expenses of the Organization. Thus, the consent of the staff is not required. The Secretary General has proposed for study by member governments a plan whereby staff assessment proceeds would be placed in a special fund from which credits would be given only to those governments which have exempted their citizens from national taxation.

Of the governments whose nationals are employed by the United Nations within the boundaries of their home countries, the United States is the only one which has failed to provide exemption from national taxation. To avoid a situation in which Americans employed by the United Nations would be subject to double taxation—staff assessment plus United States income tax—the United Nations has each year reimbursed to these Americans the income tax paid by them to the United States. Other member governments have, of course, been most unhappy about this situation because it has resulted in their contributing to the payment of United States income taxes. It is for this reason that the Secretary General has made the proposal mentioned above concerning the handling of staff assessment proceeds in the future.

I hope I have covered all the various questions you had in mind. If not, please do not hesitate to call upon me for further information.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr.,
United States Representative to the United Nations.

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., February 8, 1955.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: This is in reply to your letter of January 5, 1955, in which you request information concerning the treatment, for Federal income tax purposes, of amounts approved by the United Nations General Assembly for payment to a group of 11 Americans whose employment with the United Nations was terminated after they refused to answer questions concerning their loyalty.

Information available to us indicates that in each case a claim was presented for salary, remedial relief, and reimbursement of legal costs. In making the awards consideration was given to the extent to which each applicant had expectation of continued employment by taking into account the terms and nature of the contract of employment and evaluating the applicant's chances of earning a livelihood after separation from the United Nations.

Section 61 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 provides a general definition of gross income which states that except as otherwise provided in the Internal Revenue Code, gross income means all income from whatever source derived, including, but not limited to, compensation for services, fees, commissions, and similar items. Section 22 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939 was to the same effect.

It is our opinion that the awards are compensatory in nature and that the amount thereof, in each case, is includible in the gross income of the recipient for the year in which such amount was received.

The legal fees expended by each of the individuals concerned are deductible in the year in which such fees are paid in accordance with the provisions of section 212 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and section 23 (a) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939.

Very truly yours,

T. COLEMAN ANDREWS,
Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

NEW YORK, N. Y., *February 14, 1955.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives.

DEAR HAROLD: Thank you for your letter of February 9 and the enclosure.

I have looked into the question which you raise and can assure you that the United Nations will not pay the Federal income tax on the awards.

With best wishes and kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr.,
United States Representative to the United Nations.

Pan Americanism and Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include the following address by Arthur E. Tarantino, Esq., at American Legion Club, Seat Pleasant, Md., February 21, 1955:

PAN AMERICANISM AND THE PART PLAYED BY THE MERCHANT MARINE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF IT

(Address by Arthur E. Tarantino, counsel in the Office of General Counsel, U. S. Maritime Administration, Washington, D. C.)

When the invitation to talk before you was extended to me by Mrs. Plumley, I accepted it gratefully, because I could see no better way to thank the American Legion for the public support it has given to the American merchant marine than to come here before you and acknowledge it publicly.

No other group of citizens who have been so closely tied by experience to the national defense demands of the Nation has ever appreciated and acknowledged the dependence of the Armed Forces of the United States upon the American merchant marine as has the Amercan Legion. To my mind and recollection, the American Legion has been most vocal and articulate in bringing before the American public the complete dependence of our armed services upon the merchant marine. After all, who is more qualified to express an opinion in this regard than the men of the American Legion; we fought two major wars on foreign soil and you know how our men and supplies got there.

The topic selected for my talk this evening is pan Americanism and the part played by the merchant marine in the development of it. This might well have been changed to the American merchant marine and the part played by pan Americanism in the development of it, since more than 90 percent of the foreign commerce of the Americas is carried by sea.

With every step in the advancement of pan Americanism there has been corresponding progress in the solution of the problems concerning marine transportation between the countries involved.

The first efforts toward setting up an understanding among the American Republics were made by Simón Bolívar. The first conference of independent American countries was held in 1826. Originally, the most important concern of the countries taking part was to find some kind of common defense in case of war. The first practical application of the theory of western hemispherical integrity of international consequence was issued by President Monroe when he uttered the theory of the Monroe Doctrine and proclaimed that the American Continents were "henceforth not to be considered as subject for future colonization by European powers."

After the 1864 conference, members devoted most of their efforts to simplifying the rules of international law. However, it wasn't until 1889 that real progress commenced to be made. At that time, the first conference to include all the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere was held in Washington, D. C.

One of the chief accomplishments of the 1889 conference was the creation of the Pan American Union. From that time on, most

of the discussions were about trade and commerce.

The Pan American Union is the permanent body of the International Conferences of the American States. As such, it prepares the program and regulations of conferences, helps to get treaties and other agreements ratified, and carries out resolutions passed by the conferences.

The Pan American Conferences have done a great deal toward promoting understanding and cooperation among the American Republics. For quite some time, the South American countries had looked upon Uncle Sam with suspicion. They felt that the "giant from the north" wanted only to win profits and economic advantages from the countries of the south.

However, in 1933, with the announcement of the good-neighbor policy, this attitude was changed considerably and events subsequent to that showed that the United States really believed in the good-neighbor policy.

The first Inter-American Maritime Conference was held in the Pan American Union, in the city of Washington, in 1940 for the purpose of bringing about a better understanding on the part of all the delegates concerning the nature and scope of the maritime and related problems of the Western Hemisphere, and the factual considerations underlying such problems. That conference was not only successful in bringing about such an understanding but it also succeeded in promulgating practical proposals for continued cooperative study of the existing and future problems of the maritime industry.

Recommendations coming out of the Inter-American Conferences not only advanced the interest of international relations but also promoted the cause of maritime transportation.

For example, with respect to tourist travel—it was the manifest feeling on the part of many of the delegates that, in the interest of international relations, everything practicable should be done by the various Governments to bring about a more widespread acquaintance of the peoples of the various nations with each other, especially by promoting tourist travel. How better can tourist travel be promoted than by encouraging the construction and operation of more passenger vessels in such quantities and at such cost as would make ocean travel available to all citizens?

With respect to ocean freight rates—proposals submitted by the delegates, in the main, had as their objective the bringing about a reduction of rates on particular routes or in particular areas, the fixation of rates on prescribed bases, or the regulation of rates by national or international governmental agencies.

Although it is recognized that any commission on maritime services of an international character could possess no direct authority over rates and fares, how better could the United States accept the proposals than to give impetus to the maritime conference systems as approved by the Shipping Act of 1916, as amended? This act did not bar maritime conferences; it affirmatively established their legality and gave to the then Shipping Board the power to exempt such conferences from the antitrust laws of the United States. Steamship agreements and conferences are not confined to the lines engaging in the foreign trade of the United States. They are as universally used in the foreign trade of other countries as in our own.

Maritime conferences were conceived not for the purpose of enabling a group of lines to dominate a trade but in order that steamship lines might not destroy each other.

Conferences are not solely for the benefit of the shipowner. To the merchant the conference means stability of rates and assurance of regular, frequent, and dependable service; it also means equality of treatment for all shippers, large and small, to a degree which could not be accomplished by legislation.

Conferences undeniably act as a brake upon rates. However, it must be borne in mind that this brake acts not only to prevent the decline of rates to ruinous levels during times of shipping depressions but also checks the rise of freight rates during emergency periods. A review of the freight rates shows that nonconference carriers who previous to the war were cutting the rates of conference lines charged rates much higher than the conference shipowners at the first available opportunity. Further, charter rates which were not subject to conference control were advance proportionately many times greater than the conference rates.

Experience since World War II, immediately before the Korean War, and immediately after the Korean War, had indicated that it is the nonconference carrier who is the cause for high and low fluctuations in ocean-freight rates.

The principle of the conference system as it exists in the United States foreign trade, briefly, is that through conferences shipowners of many nationalities are permitted to take common or join action in order to prevent destructive competition which would destroy their services and stability of rates which are so essential to the orderly conduct of trade. This principle is not applicable to nonconference members and as a result they are exposed to destructive competition which cannot be prevented. The Federal Maritime Board, as successor to the United States Shipping Board, supervises the activities of the conferences to see that the powers which they are permitted to use are not abused, and as a result the public interest is protected.

Ocean shipping is an integral part of foreign relations, since it is essential to the international exchange of goods. The desirability of maintaining adequate ocean transportation facilities for the implementation of the cultural, economic, and political contacts between the American Republics is axiomatic.

The impact of the use of the mercantile marine as a means of carrying American prestige abroad was brought home to the United States in 1936 when President Roosevelt, in the midst of his good-neighbor policy, attended an inter-American conference in Buenos Aires and was literally shocked to see the poor quality of United States flagships serving South America's east coast, and on his return to Washington he ordered the then Maritime Commission to place at the head of its program the establishment of a first-class liner service between our Atlantic coast and South America's east coast. The President realized the meaning of United States prestige as reflected in its ocean shipping. We were trying to impress our Latin-American friends, yet we were showing ships far behind those of other nations. Our ships are our ambassadors and throughout the world, not only in South America, we impress, or we fail to impress, as we show ourselves.

The result of President Roosevelt's order was the establishment of our good-neighbor fleet in 1938, and it was fortunate we started that service because the war came and the need of the solidifying action of the Americas was tremendous. We should have been in a sorry position if we had not had good friends south of the border. Europe was cut off as a travel center, so our South American ships carried thousands of travelers to Latin America.

Residents of the United States travel extensively, and through travel gain much from the contacts they make with the people of other nations. Travel, like trade, is based upon mutual gain, whether the gain is material or cultural in essence. Travel brings people together, permitting the interchange of ideas, and helps promote understanding between different cultures. It enables the residents of one nation to appreciate much more fully and to understand more completely the psychological factors that tend to differentiate the ideas and the customs of other people as compared with their own.

The main artery to the pan-American trade and travel lies in the Republic of Panama, to whom we are indebted for that strip of land 10 miles wide in which we have built the Panama Canal.

Panama is the youngest republic in the Western Hemisphere. It is the Isthmus of Panama which joins the Americas. Panama has been a thoroughfare for many hundreds of years. It is not only the crossroad of ocean traffic, but is a center of air travel as well. Although it is about the size of the State of Maine, it contains the greatest canal ever built by man.

The Panama Canal is the great factor in the economic life of Panama. It brings substantial revenue to the republic through purchases made by people connected with the canal, and it draws tourists from all parts of the world. It saves every ship going from the Atlantic to the Pacific at least the 7,873 extra miles which it would have to sail if it went from ocean to ocean by the usual route around the Strait of Magellan.

Some interesting statements concerning the Panama Canal are as follows:

1. The canal runs from a northwesterly to a southeasterly direction. Ships leave the canal and enter the Pacific at a point about 20 miles east of where they enter on the Atlantic side.

2. Two hundred and forty million cubic yards of earth were excavated to build the canal. A wall 5 feet thick and 10 feet high could be built around the world with all this dirt.

3. More than 5 million cubic yards of mud is dredged from the canal each year to keep the channels clear.

4. A hyacinth patrol is maintained every year which pulls out and destroys over 25 million water hyacinths yearly to keep the channels open.

5. The width of the locks is the determining factor in deciding the breadth of certain vessels which when constructed will have occasion to be used in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The Panama Canal is the cord which ties Pan Americanism together, north, south, east, and west. It is the instrument which has made it possible for our mercantile houses to contribute substantially and permanently, to the economy of the South American countries. The resultant growth of South American industry has increased the demands for American products—all available for delivery by our mercantile marine. In this matter the United States faces the competition of Europe. However, to the extent that our shipping handles the cargoes and other commercial traffic, this Nation stands to strengthen its Pan American ties. Our national defense as well as our commercial well-being depends upon our success in this.

As confirmation of this, the last Economic Conference held by the 21 member nations of the Pan American Union near Rio de Janeiro, November 22–December 2, 1954, after realizing that the Americas have not fully utilized the great potential of maritime transportation available to it, demonstrated its great interest in, and appreciation of, the importance of maritime transportation to their economies by urging the American Republics, as a matter of inter-American policy, to cooperate in the improvement, development, and most efficient operation of their transportation facilities.

In addition, the conference uttered a declaration of maritime policy to the effect "that it is the policy of the American Repub-

lics that their national merchant marines, composed of vessels flying their flags, transport a substantial part of their foreign trade."

The members of the Pan American Union, like the American Legion, were fully aware of their dependence on the merchant marine in time of emergency and in testimonial thereof has asked that a study by the member nations be undertaken to determine the greatest possible coordination of the transportation facilities of the Americas in time of war.

Thank you for your interest, and good night.

Perilous Tax Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article entitled "Perilous Tax Plan," which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on Monday, March 14, 1955:

PERILOUS TAX PLAN

If the Senate approves this week the Democratic compromise tax cut plan it will be making a moral decision that is a good deal more important than the revenue involved. It will be saying in effect there need be no limit whatever on capricious politics-playing. It will be saying broken promises or damage to the business economy need never inhibit the lawmakers' bare-faced scramble for votes.

No observer misses the fact the proposed $20 or $10 individual cuts are aimed primarily at freeing up to 5 million low-income persons of all Federal income taxes. The compromise version would recoup the Treasury's revenue loss by repealing last year's slight reduction in corporate and dividend taxes and a new corporate depreciation allowance schedule.

Consider these points: What becomes of the ability-to-pay and broad-base theories of taxation if it is fair to excuse several million from paying any taxes whatever? Even if the lowest brackets pay no more than $5 each, is it wise in the long run to create a group of voters who are totally indifferent to the mounting cost of Government?

The 1954 tax overhaul bill was the result of years of study. Is it to be immediately hacked to pieces by political whimsey and vote-grabbing?

The new depreciation law led many firms to plan plant expansions, to borrow money, to undertake long-range programs. What of the injury done these job-providers when Congress reverses itself. The day business and investors become too dubious of Congress' tax law integrity to expand, on that day will unemployment and an economic downslide begin to mushroom. The proposal for a longer extension of corporate and excise rates increases those doubts.

The dividend reversal completes the picture of tax-law venality. Though that change, last year, primarily favored thousands of little stockholders and pensioners, it had to go too—else how could the Democrats recreate the hoary political myth that "evil big business" and "bloated stockholders" can and should pay the cost of free-handed government?

It is to be hoped there is enough real statesmenship in Congress to squelch this trend toward unabashed political tinkering with the basic tax laws on whose dependability a health economic system must be able to rely.

Dixon-Yates: Now You See It, Now You Don't—Misrepresentation of Newspapers' Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, for a long time now, interested parties behind the nefarious Dixon-Yates contract have been attempting to purify it in the minds of the public. The most recent attempt has been a brochure prepared by a high-powered New York public relations firm, which contains numerous editorials and reports from news columnists purporting to be in defense of the contract. I am not able to say just how many of these carefully selected editorials definitely state the final opinions and views of either the newspapers or the news writers, but I can point out at least one definite misrepresentation of a newspaper's position. To do this, I include herewith an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Saturday, March 12, 1955.

If the sponsors of the Dixon-Yates contract had desired to be fair in the presentation of their case, the brochure should have contained a sampling of editorial opinion not all weighted in favor of Dixon-Yates. In taking the Post-Dispatch as an example, the public-relations experts chose one editorial which complimented the mechanics of Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates in a presentation on a TV program Meet the Press, but which expressed no opinion of the Dixon-Yates contract. The public relations experts made no mention in their elaborate 23-page brochure of the very frequent editorials in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch criticizing the many defects in the Dixon-Yates contract and expressing the opinion of the newspaper on the manner of execution of this contract.

The editorial from the Post-Dispatch follows:

NOW YOU SEE IT, NOW YOU DON'T

We are in receipt of a 23-page brochure from the public relations firm of Hill & Knowlton, in New York City, headed "Editorial Views on the Atomic Energy Commission's Contract for Electric Power with the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. (Dixon-Yates)." The brochure contains editorials from 29 newspapers, columns by Roscoe Drummond and Dorothy Thompson, and a news story from Time magazine.

One of the 29 newspapers represented in the brochure is the Post-Dispatch. The editorial which Messrs. Hill & Knowlton have chosen to represent the Post-Dispatch's views is entitled "Meet the Dixon-Yates" and was printed last December 6.

In this editorial we said that Edgar H. Dixon and Eugene A. Yates turned in a good performance in their appearance on the TV program Meet the Press. We expressed no opinion of the Dixon-Yates contract.

In some 40 other editorials this newspaper has dealt with that contract point by point as the controversy has developed. We have criticized its execution by Presidential fiat, its negotiation in secrecy, its lack of competitive bidding, its extravagant cost, its intrusion of the executive branch of government upon the legislative branch, its ill effects upon independent agencies (principally AEC and TVA), its threat to the entire public power program nationally, etc.

Not a word from any one of these two-score editorials was chosen by Dixon-Yate's public relations firm to represent the Post-Dispatch's editorial views on the contract.

Sweet are the uses of public relations.

The Spirit of St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. DONOVAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DONOVAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial by Harry H. Schlacht entitled "The Spirit of St. Patrick," published in the East Side News in New York City on Saturday, March 12, 1955:

THE SPIRIT OF ST. PATRICK

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

Next Thursday, March 17, is St. Patrick's Day.

It will be a great day for the Irish.

All honor and glory to them.

For on that day we shall weave the Shamrock into a garland of glory for Emerald Isle.

It is the land with the heart of a child and the smile of a god.

It is the country of scholars, the abode of poetry, and the nursery of liberty.

It is the cradle of heroes, the home of martyrs, and the isle of the immortal saint.

Scattered o'er the world are the children of Erin—

Who will dwell upon the charms of Killarney's lakes and falls,

Who will speak of the refreshing waters of Shannon,

Who will hear the melody of the harp ring through Tara's hall,

Who will recall the music of the pipers in the hush of twilight,

Who will feel the warmth of the crackling fire on a winter's night.

St. Patrick wrote the narrative of his life on the tablets of human hearts.

The touch of nature made him akin to all the world.

He preached the gospel of Christianity and taught among the hills and dales.

He made the highways and byways his pulpit.

He would illustrate the principles of the Trinity by plucking a shamrock from the roadside and using the three leaves on the one stem to symbolize his religious concepts.

For the shamrock is the symbol of unity, and marks the union of one God and the three divine persons.

For more than 1,400 years the Irish people have held aloft for all the world to see the torch of liberty and spiritual freedom lit by the illustrious St. Patrick.

The Irish are ardent believers in tolerance.

They typify such virtues as faith, hope, and charity.

They bring everywhere love of and belief in God.

They are the stalwart champions of the democratic way of life.

They spurn every form of human enslavement.

They give strength and vitality to our Nation.

They have made the principles enunciated in our Declaration of Independence living and vibrant things.

Conspicuous are the pages of our country's history with their deeds and courage.

They have fought through the centuries on a thousand blood-bought battlefields and have crimsoned the seven seas.

The Bible says: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Let us with pride and joy call the roll of honor.

The Irish fought gallantly under Gen. George Washington in the War for Independence.

They fought, too, for the preservation of the Union under General Meagher at the battle of Fredericksburg.

They were at the Alamo in Texas and at Custer's last stand at Little Bighorn in Montana.

And our casualty lists have been sprinkled with her martyred sons.

Yes, the fighting Irish have added new glory to Old Glory as fighters for freedom on the flaming fighting frontiers.

While we applaud the achievements of the Irish in war, in diplomacy, in commerce, in the arts and letters, yet none has been more glorious than the accomplishments of the Irish women in the gentle virtues of mercy, love, and motherhood.

May God bless them for their loveliness, their radiant charm, beneath which lies the steadfastness of the oak caressed by the beauty of a budding flower whose fragrance rises to greet the morning sun.

Who has not been thrilled by the Irish lullaby or the stirring tunes of When Irish Eyes Are Smiling, My Wild Irish Rose, and Mother Machree?

The greatest gift that ever came to the Irish people was the lovely spiritual mother.

There is no figure in all Irish annals which exemplifies so majestically, and yet so serenely, her love, her faith, and her patience.

Generations of her children have gone forth from the land of their birth under the benediction of her benign gaze.

For in her eyes was the light of the day and the warmth of the sun.

She was the gold of all smiles and the salt of all tears.

From her the Irish has imbibed the richness of soul that has made them equal to the tasks of the world.

May she ever remain enthroned in the hearts of her children.

So long as history shall record the story of St. Patrick's mission;

So long as the waters of the lovely Shannon shall gently flow to the sea;

So long as the beautiful lakes of the Killarney shall reflect upon their bosoms the blue vault of the heavens—

So long will men and women of the Irish race love their ancient isle, revere their saint, cherish the shamrock, and uphold the principles of national freedom and individual liberty.

Radio Station KSCO, Santa Cruz, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, in the early morning hours of Tuesday, March 8, fire completely destroyed the transmitting equipment of radio station KSCO in Santa Cruz, Calif. Every electrical circuit was rendered useless. Control panels, transformers, tubes, indeed, the entire complicated technical apparatus was burned to charred junk. Yet, within little more than 48 hours—in spite of the remoteness of this station from normal replacement supply sources—KSCO was back on the air to serve the public.

I believe that this is gratifying proof of the individual recovery potential in the face of sudden disaster. KSCO happens to be a regional key station in the CONELRAD setup, which is needed in times of war emergency. In spite of almost total destruction, the station managed to get back on the air with makeshift equipment, some of it flown in from as far as 3,000 miles away, in just 2 days.

Manager C. V. Berlin and his staff should be congratulated for proving that even grave disaster cannot for long keep us down, as long as the will is there to overcome it with all we have.

Local Service Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "North Central's Record," from Aviation Week magazine, issue of March 7, 1955:

NORTH CENTRAL'S RECORD BOOSTS FEEDER CAUSE

At a time when Congress is carefully studying the case for permanent certification of local-service airlines, the 1954 record of North Central Airlines under the leadership of Hal N. Carr should provide potent ammunition for champions of this type of air transport.

North Central, with headquarters in Minneapolis, serves a network of prosperous manufacturing cities and trading centers in Minnesota, Illinois, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Michigan with a fleet of 18 DC-3's. During 1953 it operated with a loss of $114,588 and continued through the first third of 1934 with monthly losses ranging from $50,000 to $70,000 and drastic warnings from Civil Aeronautics Board ringing in its ears. Hal N. Carr, formerly executive vice president and director, assumed the presidency on April 15, 1954, and in the remaining 8 months of 1954 organized a cost-cutting and revenue-boosting program that put North Central in the black with a $170,653 operating profit for the year.

During 1954 North Central increased revenue passenger total by 30 percent; air mail by 12 percent; express by 20 percent; and doubled its charter business. During the first 2 months of Carr's regime, cost per plane mile dropped from $1.24 to 96 cents. North Central flew 283,571 passengers during 1954 including a record December total of 22,929 in a season when only 10 years ago the midwestern weather used to discourage all but a few hardy air travelers.

COMMUTER SERVICE

North Central's record during 1954 proves there is a definite market for local service air transport when it is properly exploited. A good example is the Chicago-Milwaukee run where these 2 large midwestern cities lay less than 100 miles apart, linked for years by only a scant half-dozen flights daily when they were dependent solely on trunk airline service. Now, North Central operates 32 flights daily between Milwaukee and Chicago. If the 18 passengers who were aboard on an early morning flight through a typical midwestern snowstorm when we used the service recently are typical examples, this is where a good chunk of Hal Carr's new revenue is derived—from a market in which the trunk airlines were never really interested.

Addition of the Chicago-Detroit route to North Central's system should give Carr another opportunity to exploit commuter-type air service between two major midwestern cities and their business satellites in the southern Michigan-northern Indiana area. It will be interesting to watch North Central tackle this new problem.

Congressmen, members of CAB, and others interested in the future prospects of local service airlines should study carefully the 1954 record of North Central Airlines as an example of what can be done.

Overseas Air Cargoes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial, appearing in the March 14, 1955, issue of the New York Times on the operation of the Seaboard & Western Airlines. Mr. Raymond A Norden, the president of this airline, is a constituent of mine living in Jericho, N. Y.:

AIR POLICY DECISIONS

The transportation of overseas cargo by air is steadily increasing. The many American-flag and foreign-flag airlines that carry both passengers and cargo between New York and foreign airports welcomed a newcomer at Idlewild last week. It was the British-flag, all-cargo carrier, *Airwork Atlantic*.

This country's aviation industry hopes that the inauguration of this regular service, welcome as it is, may serve as a reminder to the White House staff that there are a number of crucial air-route questions awaiting Presidential action. One of the oldest cases still undecided is the Trans-Atlantic Cargo case which has been under consideration for more than 7 years and which has been at the White House since last summer.

Seaboard and Western Airlines filed its application for certification as an unsubsidized all-cargo carrier. It was denied once, and then reopened. Finally, with seventy-odd full days of hearings and a massive printed record of 8,600 pages behind it in this one case, the Civil Aeronautics Board last year accepted a trial examiner's recommendation for the certificate. The Board's recommendation was sent to the White House, where the President has the final word on air-route matters involving foreign services.

The airline meanwhile has been carrying on, under temporary authorization, its irregular but impressive services as an all-freight carrier across the Atlantic. But its operation must remain inadequate and its long-range planning must be held in abeyance so long as its right to fly is limited.

The long record in the case suffers by comparison with the speed with which the *Airwork* proposal was approved by United States authorities and was put into operation—all in 9 months, from the date of the initial application here to the moment the first plane touched the runway at Idlewild.

Rubber Plants Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the rubber tycoons of the Nation are smacking their lips over a juicy melon they anticipate on securing from the Government for a song.

Drew Pearson, nationally known columnist, has drawn attention to this melon-patch raid in a series of Washington Merry-Go-Round articles released on March 6 and 16. Under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to insert Mr. Pearson's articles in the RECORD for my colleagues' attention as follows:

The first article on March 6 reads in part:

WASHINGTON.—It has been ignored in the congressional hoopla over pay raises and tax cuts, but the Nation's rubber tycoons are quietly waiting for another type of windfall from Uncle Sam—all wrapped up and ready for delivery in exactly 21 days.

The prize is 11 synthetic rubber plants, built by the Government at tremendous expense during World War II, but now about to be sold to private industry for a song.

For some time the rubber companies have cast a covetous eye on these profitable plants owned by the taxpayers. But now they won't have to wait much longer—due to a quirk of law and the anxiety of the Eisenhower administration to "get the Government out of business."

In exactly 3 weeks—on March 27—the synthetic plants will be sold at bargain prices to a group of private companies unless Congress intervenes to stop the transaction in the next 21 days. Strangest aspect of the deal is that a great majority of Senators and Representatives, busily occupied with the tax and pay-raise battles, are completely unaware of what is going on.

However, here are the facts:

The Rubber-Producing Facilities Disposal Commission, appointed by President Eisenhower to sell the Government's synthetic-rubber plants, sent a letter to Congress on January 27 outlining the bill of sale to Firestone, Goodyear, United States Rubber Co. (subsidiary of General Motors), Goodrich, Shell Oil, Phillips Petroleum, and others.

PROFITS FOR UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Under the law, the deal goes through 60 days later, or on March 27, unless either House of Congress adopts a disapproving resolution before the deadline. The proposed sale price for the 11 synthetic plants—about $260 million—is far out of line with either their original cost or their current worth.

These factories made a profit of $73 million for Uncle Sam a year ago. And with the Communists now in virtual control of Indochina and inching rapidly down toward the vital rubber areas of southeast Asia, many military men feel this is no time for the Government to abandon its rubber factories.

Incidentally, not one single small-business concern is among the preferred purchasers selected by the Rubber-Producing Facilities Disposal Commission to take over these plants. Besides the big rubber companies, the list includes Sears, Roebuck; Texas Oil, Armstrong Rubber, Anaconda Copper, Endicott Johnson, and the American subsidiary of Dunlop Tires, Ltd., of Great Britain.

NOTE.—Congressman SID YATES, of Illinois, a member of the House Small Business Committee, is making last-minute moves to stop the sale.

On March 11 Mr. Pearson wrote as follows:

WASHINGTON.—Some of the facts lurking in the background of our synthetic rubber situation don't look good.

Despite this, the Eisenhower administration continues determined to turn the rubber factories, built at enormous expense to the taxpayer, over to the big rubber and oil companies. In fact, if Congress doesn't act, they automatically are sold on March 26.

Here are some of the disturbing facts which Congress ought to take a careful look at:

Low stockpile: All Government press releases regarding synthetic rubber reserves have suddenly stopped. They used to be published once a month but none since January 20. Reason: The synthetic rubber reserve has dropped alarmingly. Though we're supposed to keep 60,000 tons on hand, today we have only 38,000 tons, which will drop to 28,000 by April 26. (The synthetic factories are to be sold on March 26, delivered April 26.)

Little companies squeezed: The rubber companies ordered a total of 61,000 tons of Government synthetic rubber for March, have other orders of 69,000 tons for April. Yet the factories will produce only 61,000 in March and 59,000 in April. On top of this, production will drop another 45,000 tons yearly after the factories are sold, because General Tire & Rubber hasn't made a deal with the Government to buy the Baytown, Tex., synthetic plant. This certain shortage means that little companies won't be able to buy after April.

Only 22 tire companies consume 72 percent of all synthetic rubber. Of these, the Big Four alone consume 60 percent. But there are scores of other companies needing rubber for other purposes which may not be able to buy it after April 26.

Bonanza for big business: Under the terms of the sale, private companies pay Uncle Sam $260 million for the rubber factories. Meanwhile the factories are making an annual profit averaging about $64 million. This means that if the United States Government kept the plants and ran them for 4 years, it would make as much profit as the purchase price.

Another way of putting it: The big boys who are buying the factories pay for them out of profits. In the end the factories cost nothing. It's a good deal if you can get it, and the companies will have it on March 26—unless Congress acts.

"Uncle Sap": Though the best rubber factories are being sold, "Uncle Sap" is keeping the most expensive to operate—at Institute, W. Va. This will be kept on a standby basis, because private industry won't buy it. In other words, the big boys are skimming the cream while "Uncle Sap" takes the curds.

Reds march on: Meanwhile the march of communism into southeast Asia, chief world source of natural rubber, continues.

The Formosa Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Must We Back Up Into a Corner?" which was published in the Charlotte (N. C.) Observer of Thursday, March 10, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MUST WE BACK UP INTO A CORNER?

Theoretically Anthony Eden might be right in his contention that tension in the Far East would be eased if Chiang Kai-shek would give up the islands off the shore of China. In the words of a very wise man, however, we face a condition and not a theory. Looking at the cold, hard condition we find it impossible to agree with Mr. Eden.

Every retreat the West has made before Communist advances was going to ease tensions, but not one of them had that result. All such retreats have brought more tension, not less. We were going to ease tension by giving up the Tachens, but no sooner had those islands been evacuated than the attacks on Quemoy and Matsu began.

What is the publicly announced Communist objective? Not Quemoy, not Matsu, not any of the offshore islands, but Formosa. The smaller islands are just steppingstones to Formosa. If we delude ourselves that by giving up the outposts we assure the safety of the main bastion, then we have learned nothing about Communists in all of our dealings with them. We have learned nothing about strategy, and nothing about human nature.

Would President Eisenhower, as a military strategist, try to tell us that by surrendering Hawaii to an enemy we could assure the safety of the west coast?

But another issue is involved here, far more important than the immediate defense of Formosa. The reason for the change of leadership in Russia, the reason for suddenly dropping the coexistence line and adopting an aggressive policy was simply this: the West had retreated so many times before the Communist advance that they thought they had us on the run and now was the time to press that advantage.

Formosa was selected to test that theory. We have drawn back once from the Tachens. If we draw back again, the Reds will be convinced that they are right, that we are on the run, and hot pursuit will finish us.

Now, of all times, is the time to stand our ground. If we do stand, the Reds can't take Quemoy or Matsu or Formosa, and they know it. They will not risk their own destruction to prove it, for no proof is needed.

If we keep backing off, sooner or later we shall find ourselves in a corner.

Farmers and Small Business Would Be Hurt Under New Hoover Commission Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I take the floor this afternoon to commend and congratulate the gentleman from California, Mr. CHET HOLIFIELD, for the splendid work he has performed as a member of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, generally known as the Hoover Commission.

Mr. HOLIFIELD has contributed much to the public good by his alertness as a member of this Commission. I am confident that many of the reports from the Commission are in better form today as a result of the work of Mr. Hoover. I am certain that the public has been served well by Mr. HOLIFIELD's determination to keep them informed as to the contents of the reports and as to their effect on the various segments of our economy.

The farmers of America and small business of America owe to Congressman HOLIFIELD a great debt of gratitude for his efforts in the past few days to make public, through his dissenting report, on the most recent of the Commission's activity calling for the reorganization of Government lending agencies. Congressman HOLIFIELD points out, effectively, how many of these recommendations will hurt the farmers and small businesses throughout the country. He has been consistent in calling to the attention of the American public the fact that the new Hoover Commission has gone beyond the scope intended by Congress and has taken to itself the role of policymaker, usurping the power of Congress. Congressman HOLIFIELD points out that if Congress should accept the Hoover Commission's recommendations on Government lending agencies we would, in effect, approve a new policy to enforce tighter agricultural credit, tighter credits on housing loans and small-business loans, and enforce restrictions on the rural-electrification program.

All of these seem to me to be a backdoor approach toward eliminating Government cooperation in programs assisting farmers, small business, and home owners. Add to these, thousands of veterans who would be unfavorably affected by other reports from the Hoover Commission.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include, herewith, an article on this subject, written by Thomas L. Stokes, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star March 15, 1955:

THE NEW HOOVER COMMISSION: HOLIFIELD POINTS OUT THAT REPORT CRITICAL OF AID TO FARMERS, SMALL BUSINESSMEN DIDN'T NOTE SUBSIDIES TO INDUSTRY

An open secret around here is the way ex-President Herbert Hoover is seeking to change basic and long-established Government policies through the medium of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, of which he is chairman.

To any one familiar with Government agencies and their operations, this is made clear enough in the Commission's latest report to Congress this week which contains 48 recommendations affecting Federal lending agencies. But, to make it doubly sure that the public gets the story, it is explained at long last by a Democratic member of the Hoover Commission who also is a Member of Congress, Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, of California.

He takes occasion to reveal what he considers a distortion of the Commission's job as laid down by Congress, about which he long has been disturbed, in the course of a minority report on Federal lending agencies in which he dissents from most of the recommendations. As he sees it, the recommendations which are designed to turn over financing now handled by many Government lending agencies to private banks, point in the direction of tighter agricultural credit, a slowing down of housing construction, restrictions on the rural electrification program and limitation on other direct or indirect aids provided by the Federal Government.

In the Truman administration, when the Commission was created and Mr. Hoover was delegated to head it, the Commission limited itself to recommendations on ways of making the Government more efficient and its operations more economical—a mechanical, reorganizing job. Mr. HOLIFIELD thus tells the story of what has happened now:

"The Congress re-created the Hoover Commission to study the present organization and operation of the executive departments and agencies, with a view to better management and economy. I do not believe that the Congress wanted advice from the Commission on public policies of every sort.

"The Commission has construed its congressional mandate otherwise. This report indicates that the Commission is willing to roam far and wide in the field of public policy.

"No matter how wise and well-informed, the 12 Commission members cannot be expected to have more than a casual acquaintance with many of the complex issues posed by this report. The task-force study contributed little, in my opinion, to the deliberations of the Commission."

It is regarded of some significance that James A. Farley, another Commission member, issued a broad, if brief, statement of dissent to proposed policy changes. Though a member of the Roosevelt cabinet, which he left when he broke with President Roosevelt over a third term, Jim Farley never was regarded as a New Dealer, but conservative of viewpoint. He said:

"It is my opinion that this report fails to give adequate reasons for recommending changes in certain Government organizations, functions, and policies which have served a good purpose, especially in fields where private enterprise has failed to meet the needs. I refer particularly to the Farmers' Home Administration, the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the Export-Import Bank, although there are other agencies which this report has dealt with in a similar manner."

Dissents also came from two officials high in the administration and in the President's confidence. Attorney General Brownell objected to turning over REA to private bank financing. He and Arthur S. Flemming, Director of Defense Mobilization, could not go along with cutting off normal short-term export-import loans by the Export-Import Bank, or for reducing or abandoning urban planning and reserve of planned public works by the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

The 10-member task force on Federal lending agencies included four bankers, and its chairman was a partner in Price Waterhouse & Co., certified public accountants—Paul Grady. Mr. HOLIFIELD thought it unfortunate that the Commission again used in the present study a "re-hash" of a report by Price Waterhouse for the first Hoover Commission that was severely criticized by important members of the previous Commission as reflecting a narrow accounting view of broad public policies.

The California Congressman also pointed out that while the Commission criticized subsidies in Government programs for farmers, homeowners, small businessmen and veterans, it said nothing about much more lavish subsidies to big manufacturers, publishing firms, ship operators, airline companies, and the like, or about "the hundreds of millions of dollars obtained by large companies as interest-free loans through the device of accelerated tax amortization." Compared with the latter, the former, he said, "pale into insignificance."

The Synthetic Rubber Industry Should Not Be Sold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, Mr. E. Wayles Browne, Jr., appeared before the Armed Services Committee in opposition to the proposed sale of the synthetic rubber plants. Mr. Browne is not only a trained economist, but he has made a special study of our national rubber policy and his testimony is especially authoritative. His statement follows:

THE SYNTHETIC RUBBER INDUSTRY SHOULD NOT BE SOLD

My name is E. Wayles Browne, Jr.; my address is Bethesda, Md. I am an economist, and have been employed by the Federal Government as statistician or economist in the National Security Resources Board, the President's Materials Policy Commission, and other agencies. I have not been in the Government service for the past year. I speak as an individual, representing no one.

Recently I prepared an economic study of the national rubber policy. My conclusions are that the disposal program does not meet major criteria in the Disposal Act, and that it is not in the public interest to sell the synthetic rubber industry to the present prospective purchasers at this time for the proposed price of $260 million.

The industry should not be sold, for four major reasons:

First. The combined price of $260 million for the plants does not represent full fair value, as required by the act. The Government could confidently expect to recover more than $260 million in the next 4 or 5 years through continued operation, at no increase in the price per pound of synthetic rubber.

The annual reports of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have shown the following figures for profits and depreciation:

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Profits	Depreciation	Total
1951	11.9	33.4	45.3
1952	16.1	40.6	56.7
1953	59.9	31.4	91.3
1954	42.1	29.7	71.8
4-year total	130.0	135.1	265.1

It should be stressd that the RFC was not actively seeking to make profits in 1951 and 1952, and was forced to incur extraordinary expenses for reopening the alcohol butadiene and the Institute GR–S plant, and later placing the alcohol plants in standby, as well as using large quantities of high-cost alcohol butadiene.

The 1956 budget gives the following estimates for the present fiscal year, covering only 10 or 11 months prior to transfer.

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Profits	Depreciation	Total
1955	36.0	23.0	59.0

The present high level of GR–S output suggests that 1955 profits may be somewhat above the estimate of $36 million.

Thus, in 4 years, the Government has received in profits and in recovery of capital

through depreciation charges more money from operations than sale would bring in total. Continued Government operation over the next 4 or 5 years (assuming no major depression) can be expected to bring in more than $260 million, at no higher price for the product than the present level of 23 cents per pound.

Against this, the disposal program would take 10 years to collect the purchase price. The financial plan recommended by the Disposal Commission calls for a total downpayment of $128.5 million, slightly less than half the total price, with the balance payable in fairly equal installments until 1965.

The Disposal Commission, in its report to the Congress, stated that the sale price amounted to 99.2 percent of the appraised value of the plants (as adjusted), and 96.6 percent of "the unrecovered investment of the American people." These two comparisons are quite irrelevant. The going value of a profitable industry is certainly greater than the depreciated replacement value of the separate plants. The Commissioners, two bankers and a cotton broker, are reported to be sound, conservative businessmen. It seems highly doubtful that they would recommend selling a profitable private enterprise at a slight loss.

The valuation of an industry, as distinct from the valuation of a single plant, cannot be done solely on an engineering basis. The profitability of an industry depends upon the prices of the product, as well as the costs of production. The Disposal Commission has stated that it considered profitability, but it assumed continuation of the present prices. The Chairman of the Disposal Commission has admitted, however, in testimony this week, that the Commission has no assurance from the proposed purchasers that the prices will remain constant at present levels. The higher the price the greater the profitability and the greater the full fair value of the industry.

Second. The taxpayers would not benefit from the sale, because they could expect to repay to the plant buyers the entire purchase price through higher prices for tires and other rubber products in the next few years. The demand for rubber, in economic terminology, is highly inelastic. In ordinary language, the customers continue to buy tires, baby nipples, rubber footwear, and other rubber products, in about the same quantity whether the prices go up or down. This is because such products are considered necessities, and have no close substitutes. If the industry is sold, the private owners could, and I believe would, raise the price of synthetic rubber. Natural rubber is now selling at about 30 cents per pound, 7 cents higher than the Government's price of 23 cents for both GR–S and butyl. Rubber products are so widely used and are so essential that the consumers and the taxpayers can be considered to be the same people. Public policy, therefore, requires that full consideration be given to the effect of disposal on the taxpayers as consumers; consideration cannot properly be limited to the direct effect upon the Treasury.

The demand for rubber products is well known to the industry to be inelastic. Prices for raw natural rubber have fluctuated violently in this century, from a peak of $3 to a low of 3 cents per pound. Prices of rubber products have reflected these fluctuations in the price of the raw material, while consumption has been affected very slightly by such price changes. The consumption of rubber from 1919 to date has varied closely with the level of industrial production, with almost no regard for price.

An inelastic demand is the perfect setup for monopoly, or for monopolistic practices by a few large competitors who dominate an industry. The economic term for such competition among the few is "oligopoly." For an oligopoly dealing with an inelastic demand, the incentive to raise prices is almost irresistible.

In rubber, the situation at present is even better for the industry, and worse for the consumer. The present price of natural rubber is above 30 cents per pound. The gap between the Government's price of 23 cents for synthetic and the spot market for natural can be quickly closed—by raising the price of synthetic.

The outlook is for continued high demand for synthetic. The rubber industry has estimated 1955 consumption of natural and synthetic to be 1,330,000 long tons, just a fraction below the record of 1,338,000 tons in 1953. With manufacturers' preferences running more to synthetic than to natural, heavy consumption can easily result in higher prices for synthetic.

The Government's profit per pound of rubber sold, after all costs including research and standby maintenance, was 3.34 cents in fiscal year 1954, and 3.62 cents in 1953. The price of GR-S throughout fiscal 1953 and 1954 was 23 cents; the price of butyl was 20¾ cents in 1953, and 22 cents for almost all 1954. Butyl was raised to 23 cents at the beginning of the present fiscal year.

Assuming an average cost of 19½ cents, and a profit of 3½ cents per pound, at a price of 23 cents, and sales (including captive consumption) of no more than 650,000 tons, profits before taxes in private hands would amount to $50 million. At an average price of 25 cents, profits would increase to $80 million; at a price of 30 cents, profits in a single year would exceed $150 million. While the distribution of costs under private ownership might differ from the present pattern, Government costs have included management fees to the operators equivalent to about three-fourths of a cent per pound. In private hands, these fees would be profits instead of costs amounting to another $10 million or more.

It has been reported that two of the prospective GR–S plant purchasers have offered sales contracts at 23 cents, and a third has offered to sell at 25 cents. These reports would be fairly good news for the consumers if they could be taken as firm, long-term prices. The papers have not reported all the terms and other fine print in these contracts, however, and the suspicion arises that they be partly designed to facilitate obtaining the approval of the Congress in the present 60-day period. While the outsider can only speculate on price policy, I would not expect to see prices for synthetic rubber maintained at this level in the face of rising demand and a natural rubber price level of 30 cents or higher.

Third. Disposal would leave the Government with continuing expenses for maintenance of unsold plants and for fundamental research, without operating income to cover them. Maintenance on the Institute, W. Va., GR–S plant, and on the Louisville alcohol butadiene plant, is clearly essential as partial insurance against a future emergency. Such maintenance costs have not been published, but would probably exceed $1 million per year for these two plants.

A report on rubber research was prepared for the Department of Defense early this year by the National Academy of Sciences. The report stated that some $40 million worth of fundamental and applied research will be required over the first 5 years after disposal. The panel estimated that private industry would carry about half this sum, in applied research, but probably would do almost no fundamental research. The report noted that fundamental research in synthetic rubber is urgently needed, and recommended that the Government finance it for about $20 million. The RFC and the Federal Facilities Corporation have been supporting a research program at the rate of $4 to $5 million per year. The effect of disposal on the Government's research program, then, would be merely to remove the source of income to support it. Competitive research, sometimes mentioned as a major virtue of disposal, would seem to be valuable only to the private companies, but not to the Government and the taxpayers.

Fourth. Almost all of the major buyers of the plants, and a number of the lesser participants, have very unsatisfactory antitrust records. They have not been content to rely upon the economics of oligopolies. Instead, in their own words, according to a report on the Canadian 1953 antitrust case on tires "• • • the companies replied that they were forced to band together for mutual protection during the depression."

From January 1937 to October 1952, the period covered by the charges in the case (to which they pleaded guilty), was an extremely long depression. This case involved the Canadian subsidiaries of the Big Four rubber companies plus subsidiaries and an affiliate of three other tire companies in the United States.

Congressman CELLER'S statement before the House Armed Services Committee covered in some detail the antitrust record of many of the proposed purchasers. Senator DOUGLAS of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, requested Assistant Attorney General Barnes to have the Department of Justice submit for the Senate subcommittee record a similar statement. I will not, therefore, burden the record by referring to these cases individually.

I have examined these cases for their implications for the future economic conditions in the synthetic rubber industry, if the industry is sold under the present disposal plan. It is my conclusion that the disposal plan will not in fact "best foster the development of a free competitive synthetic industry."

The attention of the committee is invited to the Canadian experience with their Government-owned synthetic rubber industry. Their industry was built with Government money in 1942 and 1943, just as ours was, and the plants were operated under contract by the Canadian subsidiaries of much the same companies that have operated the plants in this country. After World War II, Canada invited bids for disposal of their plans, but found the bids unsatisfactorily low.

Polymer Corp. Ltd. (a Crown corporation similar to our Reconstruction Finance Corporation) gradually took over the actual operation of the plants, staffing them with Government employees, and ran the industry on a straight commercial basis. Manufacturers of rubber products in Canada were free to buy synthetics from Polymer Corp., or to use all natural rubber. (The Canadian Government did not continue wartime controls over rubber usage, as we did). Polymer Corp. pays income taxes and all other taxes any privately owned company would pay. It has been prospering; it has expanded capacity, repaid capital advances ahead of schedule, and paid dividends into the Canadian Treasury. It has also shipped 10,000 to 20,000 tons of synthetic rubber per year to the United States for the past several years, in spite of our 10 percent ad valorem tariff on synthetic (but not natural) rubber.

The cry of socialism has been raised against those who object to the disposal of the Government-owned synthetic rubber industry. It is significant that no such cry was raised when the rubber and oil companies were importuning the Government to build this industry in 1939 and 1940 and 1941 and 1942. No such cry was raised when the Government was running this industry at a loss during World War II. Apparently it is socialistic only for the Government to make a profit.

If the Canadians can run a government corporation on a full commercial basis in a competitive market, pay full taxes, and still

earn net profits equal to 10 percent on sales and about 7 percent on gross investment as they did in 1953, then certainly the United States could do as well, provided we are not deterred by scare words.

If it is not possible to fashion an actively competitive synthetic rubber industry, as the report of the Disposal Commission clearly indicates, another solution must be found. There are technical problems which arise from the physical inter-connections from the oil refineries to the butadiene plants to the GR–S plants. The inelastic demand for rubber certainly renders competition, in the economic sense, unlikely. In such a case the synthetic rubber industry under historical American policy is affected and imbued with the public interest, and if sold, must be regulated like any other public utility. The only other alternative is continued Government ownership. To forestall future cries of "tax subsidy", we might seriously consider setting up the industry on the Canadian pattern.

In the event, however, the Congress does not disapprove the disposal plan, another problem arises. This is the question of the Baytown GR–S plant and possibly the three plants in California bid upon by Shell Chemical Co. The Congress should provide that all these plants be kept in operation and not be permitted to shut down, as required by the Disposal Act. I understand that all GR–S plants (except the one at Institute, West Virginia, which is shut down), all petroleum butadiene plants and the styrene plants, are operating at full capacity. Consumption of GR–S is running equal to, or above production. The loss of any of these plants to shut-down could result in a very tight market this year and over the next 3 years, leading to even greater upward pressure on prices. These plants should not be frozen.

Finally, if the disposal plan is permitted to go into effect some action should be taken regarding the 180-day period in the national security clause. This provision is too weak. In a real emergency, such as a second loss of access to the natural rubber supply of Southeast Asia, 6 months is much too long to permit any of these plants to remain out of full production. Yet, there is a loophole even in that period, since the purchasers would be excused from reconverting if they were unable to obtain materials and equipment with which to reconvert. I suggest that all purchasers of plants be required to maintain intact at all times whatever materials and equipment would be required to permit complete and expeditious reconversion.

Mental Health Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in October of 1953, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce launched an investigation of the toll of all the major diseases confronting the Nation in order to determine what steps were necessary to combat them. Among the diseases studied were heart disease, cancer, infantile paralysis, tuberculosis, mental illness, and several others. Submitting its findings to Congress in March of 1954, the committee declared in its report that "there is probably no more serious problem in the health field today than that of mental illness." Permit me to cite you some of the evidence in support of this conclusion:

During the past year, some 2½ million men, women, and children were treated for some form of mental disorder in mental hospitals, at psychiatric clinics or in the offices of private psychiatrists.

On any day during the year, nearly three-fourths of a million people were under the care of mental hospitals alone—constituting more than 50 percent of the 1,400,000 patients in all the hospitals for all diseases in the entire country. This figure for hospitalization of the mentally ill is an alltime high. It represents an increase of 60 percent in the past 20 years.

Another 5 million who went to general hospitals to get treatment for physical ailments or injuries were found to be suffering from some mental or emotional disturbance as well.

The year also saw more crimes and acts of delinquency committed than ever before—over 2 million major crimes and more than 400,000 juvenile delinquency cases.

Federal, State, and city government expenditures in connection with mental illness were over the billion mark—or about $3 million every day of the year.

The cost in human misery, wasted, and destroyed lives, cannot be estimated, nor is it possible to compute the secondary financial costs to the individual victims, their families and to the local, State, and Federal governments.

This array of shocking facts leads to the inescaptable conclusion that mental illness is taking a greater toll than ever before in our history and that it is, with very little doubt, the most serious of all the health problems confronting the Nation today. The shocking nature of the picture which I have just painted for you is compounded further when we consider that the situation is the result not of inevitability but of neglect.

I would like to read to you excerpts from a statement made recently by Dr. William C. Menninger in behalf of the National Association for Mental Health. I quote:

It may come as surprise to many that mental illness has probably the highest recovery rate of any group of illnesses today. In my own State of Kansas, for example, where citizens and politicians have developed active treatment centers from what had once been merely custodial institutions, 4 of every 5 patients admitted to a mental hospital for the first time goes home within a year of his admission.

The basis for the erroneous impression that the majority of mentally ill patients do not get well is probably the fact that in many of our large mental institutions 60 percent of the patients who enter them never leave. How can this be so? Because Kansas and other States which are rehabilitating their mentally ill patients have invested money in trained people primarily, and buildings only secondly.

This past election American citizens voted more than $750 million to put up new mental hospital buildings to house patients who in many cases will not receive treatment because there will be no trained personnel to treat them. Each year, we build buildings and when these buildings are filled up, we build new ones. In 1903 there were 150,000 patients in our mental hospitals today there are 700,000. As long as we continue to spend our money for buildings instead of doing research and training professional personnel to cure these patients, this trend will continue.

But, look at Kansas, as an example of the other side of the coin. In 1946, Kansas had 5,172 mental hospital beds and the United States Public Health Service estimated that it needed nearly 4,000 more. Today, the average population of Kansas' State hospitals has dropped from over 5,000 to 4,551. Yet Kansas actually admitted 75 percent more patients in 1954 than in 1946.

The buildings Kansas didn't have to build would have cost 25 to 40 million dollars, to say nothing of the cost of caring for 4,000 additional patients each year.

There is no reason that every State cannot do this. I don't mean to minimize the size of the problem. Mental illness is still the most expensive, most prevalent, and most neglected health problem in the world. But, given trained personnel and the knowledge that proceeds from research, most mental illness can be cured and, ultimately, can be prevented.

We don't have a fourth of these trained people. We spend less for research in mental illnes than we leave in tips on restaurant tables. Until all of us, as citizens, do something about this—research and the training of professional people—we will continue to build buildings to house patients we could be making well.

Dr. Menninger puts the case simply, sharply and eloquently, and he refutes once and for all any notion that may still exist to the effect that mental illness is hopeless, that nothing can or should be done about it. He places the emphasis correctly on the need for widespread public support of the organizations which are carrying on the fight against mental illness. He concludes with a plea in behalf of the National Association for Mental Health, the national citizens' organization which, together with its 400 affiliates, is leading the crusade against mental illness.

On May 1 to 7, Mental Health Week will be observed in thousands of communities throughout the country under the direction of the National Association for Mental Health and in cosponsorship with the National Institute of Mental Health of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. During Mental Health Week an attempt will be made to rally millions of Americans to the campaign against mental illness. During the balance of that month the National Association for Mental Health and its affiliates will conduct a nationwide fund-raising drive—the Mental Health Fund campaign—to raise money for research, training, improved treatment of the mentally ill, and education. To help provide the maximum success for these events—Mental Health Week and the Mental Health Fund campaign—it is my honor and pleasure to submit to this body a joint resolution calling upon the President to proclaim May 1 to 7 as Mental Health Week, to urge widespread participation in this observance, and to encourage enthusiastic financial support for the Mental Health Fund campaign. The joint resolution reads as follows:

Whereas there is presently a great need for nationwide action for the prevention, treatment, and cure of mental illness; and

Whereas the National Association for Mental Health and the State and local mental health organizations associated therewith are

working diligently in the fight against mental illness; and

Whereas the Mental Health Fund is in dire need of public support in order to carry on research in the field of prevention, treatment, and cure of mental illness; sponsor training of expert personnel to staff the mental hospitals and the community mental health services; provide more adequate treatment for the mentally ill, and promote mental health education: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the week beginning May 1 and ending May 7, 1955, as National Mental Health Week, and urging the people throughout the Nation to cooperate in the fight for the prevention, treatment, and cure of mental illness, inviting the communities of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and calling upon the public to support the Mental Health Fund.

The Navy's Career Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address delivered by the Honorable Charles S. Thomas, Secretary of the Navy, before the Navy League, at Detroit, Mich., on December 3, 1954. I believe that the Members of the Congress will find this address well worth their perusal.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NAVY'S CAREER DILEMMA

Mr. President, national officers of the Navy League, ladies, and gentlemen:

I am really glad to be here tonight. As you perhaps know, I have taken an active interest in the Navy League for many, many years, so I am personally acquainted with its officials, its program, its objectives, and its achievements. The Navy League has done a tremendous job over the past 52 years to assist and help the Navy and I can assure you that help has been appreciated.

I was particularly pleased to see the new 1954 four-way program Mr. Richards and his able program chairmen have inaugurated. This represents, I believe, the league's revitalized intention to take a more active, dynamic role in assisting the Navy and the Nation it serves. I am glad that this is so, because seldom in the league's history has there been a greater need or a greater opportunity to help the Navy than there is right now.

Several times, when I was active in Navy League affairs, the thought came to me that the Navy was sometimes remiss with regard to the potential of the Navy League, that it could and should give more guidance and encouragement to the league. So when I became Secretary of the Navy, one of my private resolves was not to neglect this vital task.

It is for this reason that I particularly welcome the chance of speaking to you tonight, and to lay before you a very important problem wherein you can do a tremendous job to help the Navy.

To begin, I'd like to read to you a letter I received just a couple of weeks ago, from the wife of one of our young bluejackets. She wrote as follows:

"SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Department of the Navy,
Washington, D. C.

"DEAR SIR: Thank you and the members of the United States Navy who are responsible for keeping my husband away from his family for the second year in succession. The morale of this young man could not get any lower.

"I hope you all have a very Merry Christmas.

"Very sincerely yours,
"_____ _____."

Whether she knew it or not, the young mother who wrote me this greeting hit right at the heart of a problem vital to every citizen of this country, particularly to members of the Navy League. The problem is our reducing ability at the present time to attract enough young men of the country to a career of naval service.

I wish to make it clear that this problem is common to all the services * * * Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps. All are confronted with the same dilemma: Too few present-day young Americans appear to believe that either the patriotic need or material reward is sufficient to make them willing to make military service a career.

The man of whom this young woman has written is 28 years of age, and has been in the service for 9 years. In that time, at the cost of some $9,000, the Navy has trained him to be an aviation ordnance technician with guided missile experience. His total salary is $250 a month, about $55 a week; a day laborer gets that much or more. In the last 4 years, that young sailor has seen combat duty in Korea aboard an aircraft carrier; he has served with a specialized development squadron in California; with a jet fighter squadron in various areas of the Pacific; for the past 6 months he has been attached to an aviation support squadron in the Hawaiian Islands. He has been married for 4 years, he has 1 child, and this will be his third Christmas away from his family. Are you surprised, as his wife states, that his morale is low? The important point is that when this man's contract with the Navy expires, and he is requested to reenlist for additional service, he will probably refuse to do so, as increasing thousands are doing. Instead, he will choose a civilian career and probably be paid twice as much and be able to stay at home with his young family, and the Navy will have lost another valuable, trained technician, a man we very badly want to keep, a man our country needs in uniform, a man in whom the taxpayers have invested heavily for the Nation's readiness and security.

The man represents the career dilemma that we would like for you to try and help us solve. In so doing, you will ask, why must the Navy keep this young man away from his family for 2 successive years? Why is it necessary to keep him on sea duty for such prolonged periods? Why will he probably not reenlist? What have we done and what are we doing? And finally, what else must be done about it?

To help you understand the background, you will recall that the Navy had a pre-Korean strength of 315,000 enlisted men. Three years later when the truce was signed, we had expanded this to over 700,000 men. During the past year, we have been reducing to reach an authorized strength of 608,000. This represents a 14 percent overall reduction, but will still leave us with a Navy almost twice the size of what it was before the Korean war started.

With this 14 percent reduction in numbers of men, however, there has been very little commensurate reduction in our commitments. We still have almost as many ships and squadrons in commission and deployed overseas as during the Korean campaign. In these perilous days, we must keep a fleet in the Far East, a division of Marines in Korea and one in Japan. We must keep a fleet in the Mediterranean, a force in the Persian Gulf. While these units are not actively engaged in fighting, they and all our ships must maintain a heavy training schedule in order to insure the instant readiness and vigilance which the world situation has dictated.

Complicating this reduction in strength without a concurrent reduction in operational commitments is the fact that 60 percent of the men in the Navy today have enlistment contracts which expire in the next 2 years. These personnel can be divided roughly into two groups—the so-called career people who are on their second or subsequent enlistment and the noncareer people serving on their first enlistment. Among our career personnel, only 48 percent are signing up for additional service. This 48 percent today compares with 90 percent only 1 year ago. For the noncareer people, less than 3 percent are signing up. In summary, it is alarming to note that the overall reenlistment rate has fallen from 46 percent in October 1953 to only 7 percent in October 1954.

Therefore, because an increasing number of short-term and career-type contracts are expiring and are not being renewed, plus the inevitable losses due to sickness, disability retirement, etc., the Navy estimates it will lose about 375,000 men—or 60 percent of our total strength—during the next 2 fiscal years.

The critical part of this is that not all of these losses are the apprentices and the unskilled. Many are highly trained technicians, specialists in electronics repair, aviation mechanics, submarines, and atomic weapons, as well as the many other technical trades of the Navy. Many are our key people—our supervisors, our petty officers. Visualize the effect on a major civilian industry—Detroit's automobile industry would be a good example—if it were faced with the prospect of a 60-percent turnover of its personnel in only 2 years, many of them key personnel and potential supervisors for future years. This is the problem the Navy—and indeed, all of the services—faces today.

To replace these losses, we have only two sources; first to call the Reserves to active duty—obviously impractical in peacetime. Second, to enlist and train new recruits. We are meeting increasing difficulty in doing the latter despite vigorous and increased efforts. To compensate for those leaving the service this year, we will require a total of 145,000 new recruits, or about 12,000 every month. The quota for September was 12,500, and we failed to meet it by 1,700. The quota for October was again 12,500 and we failed to meet that by 4,000. Some of this fall-off is seasonal, but it indicated our increased difficulty of replacing our losses.

Again, I would like to point out that the twin problem of enlistment and reenlistment is common to all the services. Accepting 2-year draftees in the Navy is certainly not the total or satisfactory answer, for it takes almost 3 months to put a man through basic recruit training, about 4 months more through a technical school if required. Add to this the administrative time of travel, leave, etc.; many a recruit does not reach his first duty station for about 8 to 9 months. He has had some training and indoctrination but he is still inexperienced and unfamiliar with general Navy life. This takes several months more to learn. Just as he reaches the point of becoming experienced and valuable, his 2-year draft term is completed, he leaves the service, and the process must start all over again. It is for this reason that the Navy cannot survive as a first-class fighting service if it becomes a conscript Navy. There must be a base of between 50 to 60 percent of career people. To maintain this

base, not less than 25 percent of those completing their first enlistment and 75 percent of the career people must reenlist.

And what of the quality of the young men who are enlisting? Remember that our naval equipment is becoming increasingly complex and specialized, and demands high caliber personnel with special training to maintain and operate it. All of the armed services need their share of the top talent of the country, and this need becomes more pressing as our naval equipment becomes more complex. Yet of the 8,500 naval recruits who enlisted in October, 35 percent were in the lower quarter mental group. A year ago, we were taking only the required 27 percent of that low mental group. This percentage was established by the Department of Defense to fairly distribute among all the services a fair proportion of both upper and lower groups of mental talents. Now, however, instead of taking only its share of the lower mental group, the Navy is taking 8 percent more than required and is still unable to recruit numbers needed. Thus, at a time when the complexity of our modern atomic Navy is demanding increased performance and skill from the individual, the Navy is being forced to reduce its quality standards.

These facts summarize the problem today. But for the future, the prospects are even more serious as our senior supervisors—those who came into the Navy during World War II—complete their 20 years of service in 1960–65 and become eligible for retirement.

What has the Navy done and what is the Navy doing about this problem? Frankly, we have done a great many things. First of all, Admiral Carney and I are both committed to the internal improvement of the Navy—its morals, its leadership, its appearance, its discipline. Over the long pull, we know this will make the service more attractive by giving it greater esprit, which in turn will give to each individual the sense of belonging to a fine and an important organization.

Secondly, we are taking every measure to solve the problem of overcommitment—which keeps our fleets almost continuously at sea—by trying to increase the numbers of operating ships, so that each individual ship can spend more time in its home port. Take our Pacific Fleet as an example of how our far eastern commitments adversely affect the career problem. Roughly one-half of the fleet is on station in the Orient at all times, where it is obvious that around the troubled water of Korea, Indochina, and Formosa, we must keep a strong 7th Fleet. A ship in the 7th Fleet spends 6 months in the forward area, plus 1 month of turnover and transit time. So the ship can expect 7 months out of every 12 in the Orient. But even the other 5 months can't be spent in the home port area. Every time a ship returns from overseas duty, there are large numbers of men scheduled for release or for shore duty. New people must be assimilated and trained. In effect, then, much of the remaining 5 months is spent at sea getting ready to go back again.

One way to alleviate this is, of course, to have a few more ships, so that the 7-month period in the Far East could be reduced. More ships, however, mean more men and more money and neither are easy to come by. However, Admiral Carney and I are doing our utmost to solve this one. If we can, it would do a great deal toward attracting more career people.

As for the personnel situation itself, our Chief of Naval Personnel, Admiral Holloway, is working overtime to alleviate and solve this problem. He has introduced extraordinary methods giving more attention to the individual man and his problems, to reinstate some of the traditional benefits that have been taken away since World War II. He has taken drastic steps to try and maintain dependent medical care—such things as requiring shipboard doctors when they are in port to serve at the local dispensaries to provide better care for the dependents of our men at sea. He is trying to see that living conditions and housing conditions around our major bases are improved. And he has increased the size of our recruiting staffs and reemphasized our recruiting program to help sell the Navy to the youth of the country.

But all of these actions are still not solving the basic problem—of attracting more young men to make the Navy a career. The civilians and military leaders of our Navy appreciate that with peacetime military forces of over 3 million people we cannot expect all of our personnel to be career people. We realize that a great proportion of our Navy's future enlisted strength must be noncareer, short-term personnel. But it is also true that if the Navy is to remain a first-class organization, it must have a cadre, a base, a foundation of career people.

To provide this strong base of career people, both in talent and numbers, there must be two fundamentals: Motivation by the individual and recognition by the public.

For the individual who is thinking about making the Navy a career, there must be two prime attractions—the opportunity to do something useful and worthwhile; the opportunity to improve himself and his fortunes.

For the public, there must be general and genuine recognition of the individual's worth, of his importance, of his tasks, and of his accomplishments.

Why are the Navy and the other services finding it increasingly difficult to attract young men of the country to a career in the Navy?

In the first place, military service is not sufficiently attractive, not only in the material sense, but in the sense of duty to country. Presently, the personal advantages of civilian life so outweigh those of present day military service that fewer and fewer men care to make the sacrifice. Furthermore, the material inducements which await him as a civilian veteran—education, veteran's benefits—exceed the material attractions of making the Navy a career. When you ask a man to make a career of the service today, you are asking him to spend a large share of his life away from home and family, and not always in the most desirable spots in the world. The Aleutians, the Straits of Formosa, the Persian Gulf, all may have the poster appeal of romance and adventure to an enlistee, but to an American sailor who has seen some of the world and has matured to the point of decision about his life's work, it doesn't compare with Carthage, Ill.—especially when the wife and kids are back in Carthage. This family angle is increasingly important, for more and more of our men are married, and they are getting married younger all the time. A naval career these days means many long periods at sea of intense work maintaining the readiness of our fleets. It means a change of duty station at least every 2 years with the constant turmoil of moving family and household possessions. It means low pay.

In the second place, more people are not making the Navy a career because of the apathy of the public to the value and need of the career man to the country.

Today, the one really valid argument that can be presented to our people and to the young men in the country is simply but most importantly that they are needed by the service, needed by the country.

As I see it, the problem is to create once again within the country an attitude that a career in the military service is one of the most honorable professions, worthy of the best men in the country, and vital to the peace and prosperity of the Nation. Pride in our military men, pride in the uniform they wear, pride in the service—must once again be common to every American. Service in the Navy in peacetime must be as warmly and as generally recognized as in wartime. This atmosphere must permeate the general public and be reflected in their attitude toward the serviceman and his problems, in order that the services will attract the best men. If this can be done, more of our best young men will become convinced that the country needs them, and will choose the service as a career.

If this public recognition and appreciation can be brought about, then the American people will automatically take greater care of career men and their families. If international commitments are going to demand that we keep large numbers of men overseas for long periods of time, then the answer may be to give them a little bit of America in the overseas area. This may mean housing, schools, medical care, all of which are expensive. It may mean schooling to provide the technical know-how necessary to maintain and operate our equipment. It may mean more ships in service. In short, whatever the price, we've got to pay that price to gain the caliber and numbers of career talent necessary to keep the Navy strong. Failure to do so can only result in a second-rate Navy.

Now what can the Navy League do to help us? First of all, the league can promote a continuing nationwide program of public education to inform the American people of the gravity of this problem, which as I said, is common to all the services. Second, as part of that same program, the league can initiate a campaign to sell the naval service to our patriotic young citizens as a career—a career which in truth is vital to the security and welfare of the country. That campaign must be long range, vigorously pressed through all the public media, and it must not appeal just to materialism but to service and devotion to country. If there were more appreciation and esteem by the American public for military service, more of our young people would understand our country's need of their services and would choose it as a career. As part of that campaign, I think the league should try and sell the American public that if they want a first-class Army, a first-class Navy, a first-class Air Force, and a first-class Marine Corps, they must pay the price for it.

But most of all, by that program, the league will be helping to create an atmosphere of renewed public pride in peacetime military service.

This is the challenge that I offer to you.

Secretary of Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, the Triangle Farmers Union local of Beltrami County passed a resolution February 5, 1955. Under leave to extend my remarks I include this resolution:

Be it resolved, That Congress be petitioned to the effect that they (Congress) use every legal means at their disposal to obtain the immediate removal of the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson; and be it further

Resolved, That a petition tentatively entitled "Secretary Benson Must Go" be circulated in such a manner as to obtain the

most possible signatures of all farmers both union and nonunion members who share this sentiment, through all the facilities at the disposal of the local, State, and National Farmers Union.

Right to Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, in the official publication, the Washington Teamster, of February 25, 1955, there is found an excellent article on the so-called right to work laws, written by the Reverend Jerome L. Toner, OSB, industrial relations dean, St. Martin's College, Olympia, Wash.

Dean Toner is a profound student of labor legislation and has written extensively on the subject. In his article in the Washington Teamster, the so-called right to work laws are branded as unsound, schizophrenic, indefensible, and immoral.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Father Toner's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

When Chief Justice Howard Taft, former President of the United States, solemnly stated in the American Steel Foundries case of 1921 that "a single employee was helpless in dealing with an employer * * * (and that) labor unions (born) out of the necessities of the situation, were essential to give laborers an opportunity to deal on equality with their employer * * * (to obtain) his daily wages for the maintenance of himself and his family," he was stating an economic, social, legal and moral principle categorically contrary to that proposed by the promoters of the right to work laws.

President Herbert Hoover made Chief Justice Taft's policy the law of the land in 1932 when he signed the bill which said that "* * * the public policy of the United States is hereby declared (to be) and that the individual unorganized worker is commonly helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and protect his freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms and conditions of employment. (Therefore) it is necessary that he have full freedom of association, self-organization and designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment (through) concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."

In the light of these principles and the realities of our times where crimes against men, society, and God are increasingly committed in the name of liberty and freedom of the individual to do absolutely what he chooses whether it be in speed for communism, through actions which bring forth the terrorizing tide of juvenile delinquency, the selection of new spouses at a rate that will ultimately be self-destructive of our civilization, would it not be much wiser for this State and every State in the Nation as well as the Federal Government to turn their attention to the responsibilities and duties of men toward their fellow men, society, and God than to strive to establish liberties which are actually licenses?

The right to work laws, which are actually right to shirk laws are (1) economically unsound, (2) socially schizophrenic, (3) legally defenseless, and (4) doubly immoral.

ECONOMICALLY UNSOUND

The right-to-work laws are economically unsound because they deprive the stockholders and management, employees and union of their individual and collective rights of choosing the most mutually efficient means of profitably operating their business according to the time-tested traditional and legal principles of our free enterprise democratic capitalistic system. The God-given duty and constitutional right to work for a family-living-saving-wage, which is far more fundamentally important than the "right to work without belonging to a union," is nowhere proposed or held as a bar to the collective-bargaining contract which does not provide for the family-living-saving-wage.

SOCIALLY SCHIZOPHRENIC

(Gr. schizein—to cleave, split; phren-mind, heart. A type of psychosis or mental disease characterized by loss of contact with environment and by disintegration of personality.)

The right-to-work laws are socially schizophrenic because they have lost contact with any realistic understanding of the nature and environment of the legal collective-bargaining realities which force and compel the stockholders, management, all employees, and the union to obey each and every clause and condition of the collective-bargaining contract mutually agreed to by everyone coming under the contract. The right-to-work laws have disintegrated the employees into the frustrating duality of an isolated eonomic individual, absolutely free to do his own will, while, at the same time, his legal and moral personality is absolutely bound by all the terms and conditions of the legal collective-bargaining contract.

LEGALLY DEFENSELESS

The right-to-work laws are legally defenseless because:

(1) They are contrary to the public policy of the United States expressed by Chief Justice Howard Taft, formulated into law by President Hoover, and found in the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts "of encouraging the practice and procedures of collective-bargaining" as an effective process of increasing industrial production and peace.

(2) As the Supreme Court of the United States said in the Hitchman Coal Co. case, "The cardinal error of the ("right-to-work laws) lies in the assumption that the right (to work without belonging to a union) is so absolute that it may be exercised under any circumstances and without any qualifications; whereas in truth, like other rights that exist in civilized society, it must always be exercised with reasonable regard for the conflicting rights of others."

(3) The right-to-work laws unreasonably and arbitrarily make the right of the individual nonunion worker absolute and paramount to the equally basic and fundamental rights of possibly more than a million stockholders (sic A. T. & T.), their management, more than half a million (A. T. & T.) employees, and their govermentally certified union to make the type of contract which they mutually agree will be the test to preserve the profitable operation of the firm for them, the public welfare, and the common good.

DOUBLY IMMORAL

The right-to-work laws are doubly immoral because, under a mutually agreeable legal collective-bargaining contract—the only kind under which compulsion of a union-security contract may legally exist—the nonunion employee offend against both commutative and social justice.

Commutative justice:

The nonunion employee under a legal collective-bargaining contract offends against commutative justice by refusing to tender his proportional share of the expenses of the collective-bargaining agent—the union—which he legally elected and hired to improve his wages, hours, and conditions of work.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

The nonunion employee offends against social justice, the essence of which is to demand from each individual all that is necessary for the common good, by refusing to affirmatively participate in the legal processes of industrial democracy through collective bargaining by which, for good or evil, the wages, hours, and conditions of work for himself as well as the rest of the employees are determined. Since the nonunion employees cannot affirmatively vote in the industrial democracy, their nonparticipation may be the means by which substantial harm may come to the firm, public welfare, and common good.

The right-to-work laws logically deceive the American public into believing that these right-to-work laws protect the American workers' constitutional right to work, where, when, and at any terms mutually agreeable to him and to his employer. Such "thorough competition in the goods market," says the chamber of commerce's Economic Intelligence No. 76. for November of 1954, "is indispensable for the survival of capitalism, and probably of democracy. * * * The purpose of collective bargaining is to destroy individual bargaining, to create a labor monopoly."

The Supreme Court of the United States, along with Congress and other Federal courts, consistently condemn such a philosophy. In the 1944 J. I. Case decision, the Supreme Court of the United States said that "The very purpose of providing by (the National Labor Relations) statute for the collective agreement is to supersede the terms of separate agreements with terms which reflect the strength and bargaining power and serve the welfare of the group. * * * The workman is free, if he values his own bargaining position more than that of the group, to vote against representation; but the majority rules, and if it collectivizes the employment bargain, individual advantages or favors will generally in practice go in as a contribution to the collective result."

Such a labor monopoly of collective bargaining, which necessarily destroys individual bargaining, come from the Taft-Hartley law, which specifically states that the "Representatives designated or selected for the purposes of collective bargaining by the majority of employees, shall be the exclusive representative for all the employees in such a unit for the purpose of collective bargaining in respect to rates of pay, wages, the hours of employment, or other conditions of employment." The Supreme Court, in effect, made the collective-bargaining monopoly a duty of the certified union in the 1944 Draper case when it said that the union had "* * * the duty to protect equally the interests of the members of the craft (who are not members of the union) as the Constitution imposes upon the legislature to give equal protection to the interest of those for whom it legislates."

The absolute right of the individual worker to do as he pleases and to be free from the monopoly of the collective-bargaining agreement has no Federal bases. In the 1948 National Maritime Union case the United States District said that "This (monopoly of the majority) to be sure, was an abridgement of the minority's fundamental rights, as well as those of the employers, but the importance of the broad public purpose sought to be served (by the NLRA) justified the means employed." "The purpose of the R-L Act" said the circuit court of appeals in the Steel case, "was not to guarantee to employees the right to do as they pleased but to guarantee to them the right of collective bargaining for the purpose of preserving industrial peace."

This absolute right-to-work liberty of the employee to have freedom of choice and to do as he pleases with utter disregard of the will of the majority was clearly condemned by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Draper case when it said that "Congress has seen fit to clothe the bargaining representative with powers comparable to those possessed by a legislative body to create and restrict the rights of those whom it represents."

Since there is no Federal legal defense for the philosophy of absolute freedom of the individual worker, which the right-to-work defenders are trying to sell to the American public, it is logical to establish the basic motive behind the right-to-work employers. W. R. Brown, research director of the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce, writing in the Labor Law Journal of January 1953 said that "right-to-work laws are well worth considering in the search * * * for means of curbing the excessive powers of unions over individual workers."

Probably a franker statement was made by J. R. Morris in his Southern Economic Journal article, Compulsory Union Membership and Public Policy, copies of which are widely distributed by the Commerce & Industry Association of New York, Inc., in which he said, "The employer's basic motive in opposing compulsory union membership (and therefore advocating right-to-work laws) is, in essence, that most employers fear a strong union. Specifically, employers are concerned with efficiency, and they fear the closed shop union security will derogate from this because of union control over the work force. Finally, most employers honestly seem to believe that compulsory union membership is undemocratic. Judging from past performance, however, a few management officials probably would regard this as convenient rhetoric."

The bitter battle fought for the destruction of unions waged in the name of the "right to work without belonging to a union" in the 1900–10 "open shop" and the 1919–29 "American plan" wars make the undemocratic charges of the right to work campaigners more than convenient rhetoric. Democracy, be it political or industrial, said Lincoln, is government under God of, for, and by the people and not government by an irresponsible minority of nonunion, nonstockholder, nonvoting citizens or people. The right to work laws, which deprive the stockholders and their management employees and their union from jointly ruling their business, are contrary to the age-old principle of free men, which is that government, political or industrial, derive their just powers to govern from the consent of the governed.

LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY

In Detroit during the holidays I asked an employer the following question: Is it not a denial of liberty and democracy to compel and force a worker to join a union as a condition of exercising his constitutional and God-given right to work—to earn a family living saving wage?

Here is his humorous and astonishing answer. He said: "It would be just as humorous for me to claim that a union-security contract was a denial of liberty and democracy to a nonunion worker as it is for the Russian Communists to claim that their form of government is the only real free peoples democratic government in the world."

I asked him to explain. He said:

"In the United States under the Taft-Hartley law, once the stockholders through management and the employees through their governmentally certified union enter into a legally binding collective-bargaining contract, the employer and all of his employees coming under the contract are bound to each and every term, condition, and clause in that contract."

Continuing he said: "It is no more unreasonable for the union to request that management include a union-security clause in the contract so that all employees who receive the direct and primary benefits of the contract will, within 30 days, become legal members of the union than it is for management to demand that all persons who wish to receive the direct and primary profit-income of the firm must join the stockholders organization. Such contracts, he said, are the very essence of liberty and freedom. They provide absolute freedom of choice. True to our national free enterprise heritage they provide a realistic opportunity for an individual to think for himself and to exercise his ability and responsibility to choose between alternatives of a wage or a profit income. No one, he said, is compelled or forced to become either an employee or a stockholder, but if anyone chooses to receive an income from wages or profits, or both, that person must also bind himself by all the legal terms offered by the collective-bargaining of the stockholders contract."

"Democracy," he said, "be it political or industrial is government under God, of, for, and by the people and not government by an irresponsible minority of nonunion, nonstockholding, or nonvoting citizens or people."

A Message to Congress From the Grassroots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the American Press, an independent magazine for hometown newspapers, has recently conducted an exhaustive survey on current legislative problems. One thousand and fifty editors, 12 percent of all the country and suburban newspaper editors of the Nation, have answered the questions, answers which should prove of great interest to the Members of Congress.

This magazine should be commended in seeking to correlate the views of grassroots editors and in performing a service of inestimable value toward the cause of responsible government.

The survey is included under leave to extend my remarks:

A MESSAGE TO CONGRESS FROM THE GRASSROOTS

"Don't cut taxes yet. Reduce expenditures for foreign aid. Keep the flexible farm program. Don't start new social projects."

This advice, Mr. Congressman, comes from the country editors of the Nation. They have advice to give on a lot of other subjects, too, which the American Press has summarized in this special issue.

To help clarify grassroots opinion, the American Press has just completed the most thorough survey ever made of the attitude of these influential editors on subjects which face Congress.

A total of 1,050 newspaper editors—12 percent of all of the country and suburban newspaper editors of the Nation—have given time and thought to answering 18 questions asked of them by the American Press. All of their replies have been tabulated and typical comments, showing the reasoning behind their thinking, are presented here.

This survey was made to help make the voice of rural America more articulate in Washington. The American Press made this survey, not just to give the editors an opportunity to have their say but also to help Congress, in dealing with the many debatable issues ahead, to be given this checkup on the pulse of the people.

It is our opinion—and an opinion shared by many Congressmen—that a closer relationship between these editors and the Members of Congress—can be of real value to the country.

Below we give our questions and a summary of the answers:

1. Corporation taxes: Present law calls for reduction of corporation taxes from 52 percent to 47 percent on April 1. The President has asked that this reduction be postponed for another year. Do you think this reduction should be postponed?

Answers: Yes, 70.4 percent; no, 24.9 percent; undecided, 1.4 percent; no answer, 3.3 percent.

2. Tax on dividends: Taxes on dividends have been called "double taxation" because corporations pay 52 percent taxes on profits, and then stockholders pay additional taxes on remaining profits distributed as dividends. Do you think taxes on dividends should be reduced, eliminated or left as is?

Answers: Reduced, 24.1 percent; eliminated, 28.9 percent; left as is, 41.2 percent; increased, 0.2 percent; undecided, 1.8 percent; no answer, 3.8 percent.

3. Excise taxes: The President has asked that excise taxes on liquor, tobacco, gasoline, and automobiles should be continued for another year. Please give below what action you think should be taken on each of these taxes.

Answers:

Liquor: continue, 86.8 percent; discontinue, 3.5 percent; lower, 3.8 percent; increase, 4.2 percent; no answer, 1.7 percent.

Tobacco: continue, 87.9 percent; discontinue, 3.5 percent; lower, 2.5 percent; increase, 3.9 percent; no answer, 1.7 percent.

Gasoline: continue, 66.3 percent; discontinue, 20.6 percent; lower, 10.5 percent; increase, 0.6 percent. (A few of those who thought a tax should continue specified that the money be used for roads only; a few others recommended that the States, rather than the Federal Government get the tax money.)

Automobiles: continued, 60 percent; discontinued, 24.5 percent; lower, 13.5 percent; increase, 0.3 percent; no answer, 1.7 percent.

4. Trade agreements: The President has proposed a 3-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, with additional authority to the President to lower tariffs 5 percent each year. Do you favor this proposal?

Answers: Yes, 74.7 percent; no, 16.8 percent; continue without lowering, 2.3 percent; undecided, 3.9 percent; no answer, 2.3 percent.

5. Foreign investments: To encourage foreign investments, the President has proposed that corporation income from foreign investments be taxed at a 38-percent rate instead of the 52-percent tax charged on income of domestic corporations. Do you approve this idea?

Answers: Yes, 38.6 percent; no, 53 percent; undecided, 6.4 percent; no answer, 2 percent.

6. Foreign aid: Current law provides for the end of economic aid and of Foreign Operations Administration on June 30. The Administration has asked for their continuation and expansion. How would you vote?

Answers: Continue, 42.2 percent; discontinue, 38.1 percent; limit or reduce, 11 percent; shift to Asia, 0.5 percent; continue without expansion, 3.1 percent; undecided, 3.5 percent; no answer, 1.6 percent.

7. Congressmen's salaries: The President has requested that pay of Congressmen be

increased from $12,500 to $22,500. Do you approve this increase?

Answers: Yes, 46.2 percent; no, 32.4 percent; compromise, 18.9 percent; more than $25,000, 0.1 percent; less than $12,500, 0.1 percent; undecided, 1.3 percent; no answer, 1 percent.

8. Federal employees' pay: The President has requested that Federal employees have their pay increased by an average of 5 percent—a total increase estimated at $30 million. Do you favor this increase?

Answers: Yes, 43 percent; no, 44.7 percent; selective raise, 5.5 percent; reduce staff to get funds, 1.6 percent; partial increase, 0.7 percent; undecided, 2.9 percent; no answer, 1.6 percent.

9. Farm program: The administration's price-support program went into effect at the first of the year. It calls for supports from 82.5 percent to 90 percent of parity for wheat, cotton, corn, rice, and peanuts. Legislation will be introduced at this session to return to rigid support of 90 percent of parity. Do you favor the new flexible support or return to the 90 percent program?

Answers: Flexible, 67.7 percent; 90-percent support, 18.4 percent; no support, 7.8 percent; lower than 82.5 percent, 0.4 percent; undecided, 3 percent; no answer, 2.7 percent.

10. Health reinsurance: The President has requested legislation for health reinsurance in order to encourage private insurance companies to write broader policies. Under the plan the Government would insure the private companies against heavy losses if they would write health insurance policies they now consider too risky. Do you favor such a program?

Answers: Yes, 39.9 percent; no, 51.1 percent; in limited form, 0.4 percent; undecided, 5.9 percent; no answer, 2.7 percent.

11. Public housing: Public housing authorization expires June 30. The President has asked that Congress authorize 35,000 more public housing units in each of the next 2 fiscal years. Do you favor this program?

Answers: Yes, 54.6 percent; no, 39.1 percent; undecided, 2.8 percent; no answer, 3.5 percent.

12. Taft-Hartley: Seventeen States now have laws forbidding compulsory union membership even in union shops, thus permitting employers to hire nonunion men to fill vacancies. The unions are seeking a revision of the Taft-Hartley law to take away from the States the power to pass such laws. Do you think the Taft-Hartley law should be amended in this manner?

Answers: Yes, 10.6 percent; no, 86.1 percent; undecided, 1.4 percent; no answer, 1.9 percent.

13. Guaranteed wage: Labor leaders are planning, during 1955, to push the guaranteed wage idea whereby workers would be paid during layoffs as well as when they are working. Do you approve of the guaranteed wage idea?

Answers: Yes, 12.7 percent; no, 80.5 percent; with reservations, 1 percent; undecided, 4.7 percent; no answer, 1.1 percent.

14. Minimum wage: The hourly wage minimum is now 75 cents per hour. President Eisenhower has proposed that it be increased to 90 cents. Labor union leaders say it should be $1.25. Which would you vote for?

Answers: Keep at 75 cents, 37.9 percent; 90 cents, 53.5 percent; $1.25, 4.1 percent; no minimum, 3.0 percent; compromise, 0.6 percent; no answer, 0.9 percent.

15. Bricker amendment: The Bricker proposal to limit the treaty powers of the President, which lost out last year by one vote, is expected to be introduced again. How would you vote on it?

Answers: For, 47.0 percent; against, 44.8 percent; undecided, 4.5 percent; no answer, 3.7 percent.

16. 18-year-old vote: The President has again asked that the voting age be lowered to 18. Do you favor this?

Answers: Yes, 42.8 percent; no, 53.2 percent; for Armed Forces only, 0.9 percent; undecided, 2.4 percent; no answer, 0.7 percent.

17. Stock market: The Senate Banking Committee is making plans to investigate the stock market to try to find out why stock prices advanced so rapidly during 1954. Do you think such an investigation is needed?

Answers: Yes, 39.2 percent; no, 50.0 percent; undecided, 7.7 percent; no answer, 3.1 percent.

18. Fair trade: Do you favor State laws which make it possible for manufacturers to set the price at which his product is sold at retail?

Answers: Yes, 17.3 percent; No, 76.8 percent; with limitations, 0.3 percent; undecided, 3.9 percent; no answer, 1.7 percent.

United States Air Force Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, a great national institution, authorized in 1954, is now in its formative stage, under the overall direction of its first superintendent, Lt. Gen. Hubert R. Harmon, United States Air Force. Located at Colorado Springs, in my district in Colorado, it is destined to great fame as the center of education in the training of future Air Force leaders. I refer to the United States Air Force Academy.

On the evening of March 14, 1955, I had the pleasure of hearing its first dean of faculty, Brig. Gen. Don Z. Zimmerman, United States Air Force, give a most instructive presentation on the new academy before a distinguished gathering at the Cosmos Club of Washington. I am sure his address will be of great interest to every Member of the House.

The Cosmos Club is an association of men who are distinguished in science, literature or the fine arts; in a learned profession or public service. It is nonpolitical in character and takes no position with respect to the subjects presented in its lecture series. Its sole purpose is the advancement of knowledge.

I would like to include the opening remarks of Capt. Miles P. DuVal, United States Navy, retired, who introduced General Zimmerman as follows:

Fellow members of the Cosmos Club, ladies, and gentlemen, much United States history traces back to the leaders trained at our great service Academies. West Point was founded in 1802; the Naval Academy in 1845. The third school—the Air Force Academy—was established in 1954.

Though the stories of the first two have been recorded in histories of those institutions, we do not have comprehensive statements by their founders made during the periods of creation. Tonight we are greatly privileged to have as our speaker one of the founders of the youngest service Academy—its first dean of faculty.

A graduate of the University of Oregon, where he was a member of the ROTC, he was offered a commission in the Regular Army. He did the unusual. He did not accept, was appointed a second lieutenant in the Reserve, and sought and obtained an appointment as a cadet at West Point—a procedure that lost him 4 years seniority.

Graduating from the Military Academy in 1929, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers, started flight training on the Pacific coast, and qualified for the degree of master of arts at the University of Oregon, all in the same year.

Rated pilot in 1930, he transferred to the Air Corps, and early became interested in the fields of operational planning and meteorology. In the latter, he took postgraduate training at the California Institute of Technology, where in 1936 he was awarded the degree of master of science, and was designated as an instructor at the Air Corps Primary Flying School. Among his contributions there were the introduction of the study of air-mass analysis in the Army and the preparation of the first Weather Manual for Pilots. He later served as an instructor in mathematics at West Point.

During World War II, as the first Director of Weather of the Army Air Forces, he supervised the establishment of a worldwide weather service, served on the planning staff of amphibious forces of the Pacific Fleet and in the Operations Division of the General Staff in Washington. Between war assignments he attended the Command and General Staff School at Leavenworth, the Army and Navy Staff College, and the Naval War College.

After hostilities he became assistant air attaché in London, during which period he attended the Imperial Defense College. When the Korean war started he was sent to Tokyo as director of operational planning for the Far East Air Forces, and made frequent visits to the battlefront.

Thus, in our speaker there are combined the qualities of the soldier and aviator, the student and educator, and the engineer and administrator.

May I present the dean of faculty of the United States Air Force Academy, Brig. Gen. Don Z. Zimmerman.

ADDRESS OF BRIG. GEN. DON Z. ZIMMERMAN BEFORE THE COSMOS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 14, 1955

Members of the Cosmos Club and guests, ever since April 1, 1954, when President Eisenhower signed the bill authorizing the establishment of a United States Air Force Academy, there has been considerable interest throughout the Nation in the activities connected with that project. We participants are finding it a stimulating experience to help establish a school in which our country is showing such keen national interest. To me, personally, it is equally stimulating to be invited to talk to you on my favorite subject—the United States Air Force Academy.

The Headquarters, United States Air Force Academy, are now located temporarily at Lowry Air Force Base in Denver, Colo., where we are getting ready to receive our first class of 300 cadets next July. We plan to remain at our Denver site until the summer of 1957, at which time we are scheduled to move to our permanent location near Colorado Springs.

During the time allocated to me here, I want to give you a few highlights on your Air Force Academy. I propose to organize my presentation in this way. First, I will give you some idea of the course of study which we are planning; since this particular subject is both complex and important, I will spend most of my time on it. Secondly, I will talk briefly about the faculty we have selected. And lastly I will say a few words about our procedures for choosing the cadets who will come to the Academy.

Let us begin with an examination of the course of study which we have planned for our cadets.

The Air Force Academy is indebted to a number of leading civilian educators, together with the staff and faculty of both West Point and Annapolis, for their generous assistance in the development of our

program of instruction. Approximately 60 distinguished civilian educators have acted as consultants since the beginning of the development of plans for the Academy in 1948.

In developing our program, a great deal of consideration was given to the diversified attributes required of an Air Force officer today. Most of these attributes are readily discernible. You are aware that unimpeachable character, an unflagging sense of duty, and devotion to the best interests of our country are absolute requisites of all officers in any of the services. You are equally aware that warfare may be either on a global scale or geographically restricted, that both its technical and nontechnical aspects have become more complex, and that Air Force operations call for a high degree of skill, knowledge, and judgment. These operations are dictated by military policy and objectives which are based on national policy and objectives. Knowledge of our country and its relations and interactions with foreign countries is essential to effective military action. For these reasons, we cannot afford to produce men with a good grasp of strategy and tactics but with no clear concept of the political, social, and economic factors which underlie the great problems of our time. We must produce men trained for the conduct of war in the broadest sense because today there is not a facet of governmental structure or economic and social organization which remains untouched in war.

For these reasons, the program which we will offer is unique to the Air Force Academy. No civilian institution offers such a program, and although our program is similar to that of the other two Service Academies, it differs considerably in its emphasis on professional air requirements, as contrasted with land and sea requirements, and in its greater emphasis on the humanities and social sciences. The course of academic study is almost equally balanced between the natural and physical sciences on one hand and the humanities and social sciences on the other.

Our entire program is divided into two major phases; the airmanship program which comes under the direction of the Commandant of Cadets, and the academic program which falls under my supervision as Dean of Faculty. I should like first to describe the airmanship program, which may be summed up as that part of the curriculum dealing directly with military training. Our catalogue defines the airmanship program in this way: "The purpose of the airmanship program is to train and condition the cadet for his destined role of leadership in the field of aviation. Toward this end he will be trained to full qualification as a rated aerial navigator; he will be given indoctrination training in piloting aircraft; he will be instructed in the composition, administraton, and control of military forces; he will be given thorough training in the art of leadership; and he will be developed physically to such condition as will permit him most successfully to employ the skills he acquires." Let me now take up each of these phases in turn.

The navigation training program will continue throughout the cadet's 4 years at the Academy and will include navigation instruction both on the ground and in the air. Ground instruction is comprised of such subjects as physiological training, equipment orientation, weather, instruments, celestial and polar navigation, and radar. Actual flights will make it possible to supplement the ground instruction with practical navigation problems in the air.

Navigation training will also be integrated with academic courses which are closely associated with navigation. For example, map reading will be taught in graphics; the geography course will give additional instruction in the use of maps; and the mathematics course will deal with the application of mathematics to navigation.

All cadets will be given pilot indoctrination in light aircraft. Those who qualify for further instruction as pilots will enter the Air Training Command pilot training program following their graduation from the Academy.

The military training phase of the airmanship program starts immediately upon the cadet's arrival at the Academy. Its objective is the development of character and leadership, as well as the provision of a broad military education. Part of this program is in effect 24 hours a day as a product of the rigimen of cadet life. Other parts are specifically scheduled courses of instruction. These latter include basic military training, weapons and equipment familiarization, basic infantry drill and tactics, military organization, duties and responsibilities of officers and noncommissioned officers, and practical exercises in leadership. Military training will continue throughout the summer training period, and in the summer months will include appropriate participation in activities at selected Air Force, Army, and Navy installations.

The problem of developing leadership is not one which can be delegated solely to the airmanship program. It is a process which much go on 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, in class and out. Our academic instructors, whether they be teaching physics, English, or economics, will always bear responsibility for aiding in the development of leadership and the nurturing of a high sense of duty. For this reason, all of our instructors in both the airmanship and academic programs must be officers who, in addition to meeting a high standard of qualification in their subjects, have demonstrated marked qualities of leadership. I want to say more about our faculty in a few moments.

Physical training is a medium for much more than muscular development and conditioning. It must also serve as a device for developing leadership, teamwork, good sportsmanship, and competitive spirit. A full program of intramural and varsity athletics will be scheduled, with the upper classmen acting as coaches and instructors in the intramural phase as part of their practical work in leadership and instructor training.

You are doubtless all wondering what part intercollegiate athletics will play at the Academy. We expect to field winning teams in all major sports. It would be difficult to conceive of an effective officer or an effective military force as not being deeply imbued with the desire to win. That spirit is traditional at the two senior service academies. All of you who have seen the cadets and midshipmen play football have likely been impressed by their will to win and at the same time by their sportsmanlike conduct on the field. No potential all-American will be turned away from our door, provided he has the intellectual and moral qualities required of a future Air Force leader and can meet our requirements the same as other cadets.

Now I would like to turn to a consideration of our academic program.

We believe, and I think most of you will agree, that it is not very profitable to teach a large number of courses, each insulated from the others and each constituting an end in itself. One of the knottiest problems facing all educational institutions is that of integrating course materials in such a manner as to impress upon the student that he is studying a generous slice of the total experience of mankind, and that human experience is indeed a totality rather than a group of unrelated experiences. We are neither so vain nor so foolish as to believe that we can succeed completely in integrating our courses; however, throughout the early planning phase and in the present phase of course preparation, constant attention has been given to both vertical and horizontal integration and to relating course material to the cadet's past experience and future activities. I shall try to point out some of the areas of integration as I describe the courses which make up our academic curriculum. Obviously, this is not the time and place to discuss these courses in detail. By and large, they are similar to standard college courses, except that all of our courses will be oriented toward Air Force application. Where one of our courses differs materially from its civilian college counterpart, I shall point out the areas of difference. For those of you who would like to examine course content in greater detail, a supply of catalogs will be available this spring.

I shall start with the scientific aspect of our academic program, since the application of scientific courses to military use is perhaps more obvious—at any rate more traditional. Our scientific courses are designed to provide the future Air Force officer with a fundamental knowledge of the aeronautical sciences. All courses will be functional in nature—that is, related to aircraft equipment and aviation problems rather than to purely theoretical situations. The majority of these courses will be offered 3 periods a week, each period 1½ hours long. In some courses—mathematics, for instance—one-third of each period will be devoted to supervised study; in other courses, a portion of each academic week will be spent in the laboratory. Integration of courses within this area presents no serious problems, for they are all closely related.

The School of Basic Sciences includes mathematics, chemistry, and physics. A 2-year foundation in mathematics is, of course, basic to all of our science work. Here cadets will be given a broad but thorough knowledge of fundamental mathematical principles, a working knowledge of mathematical processes and their practical application, and an ability to apply mathematical concepts in aerial warfare.

Our work in chemistry is very similar to any college level basic chemistry course. Since chemistry is the first of the science courses to be taught, emphasis will be placed on scientific methodology. The course will have particular application to problems related to rockets, fuels, gas turbines, turbojet engines, and atomic and thermonuclear weapons. In the latter phase of the course, introductory instruction will be given in the physiological problems of high speed and high altitude flight.

Physics, which will be presented in the sophomore year, will cover principles of mechanics, hydrodynamics, heat and basic thermodynamics, kinetic theory, electricity and magnetism, sound, light and optics, atomic and nuclear physics, meteorology and climatology. This subject is basic to all the scientific courses which will follow in the junior and senior years.

The School of Engineering Sciences includes electrical engineering, mechanics, and thermodynamics. The last named course will have particular reference to gas turbines and rocket motors.

The School of Aeronautical Sciences includes the study of aerographics, aerodynamics, and aircraft design. Aerographics, to be given in the freshman year, is divided into two parts: (1) maps and charts, and (2) engineering drawing. The portion devoted to maps and charts is designed to train the cadet to read and understand the wealth of information available on aerial photographs, topographic maps and aeronautical charts. Cadets will also be given instruction in plotting and computing problems in aerial navigation. The engineering drawing portion of the course is designed to provide the cadet with the ability to read and understand engineering drawings with facility. Particular emphasis will be placed upon aircraft drawings, including Air Force specifications and nomenclature.

Aerodynamics, presented in the senior year, is designed to give the cadet a knowledge of

the behavior of forces that act on the component parts of an aircraft and how these forces affect aircraft design. Closely related is the course in aircraft design, also to be given to some of the cadets in the senior year. Those cadets who have not demonstrated a marked aptitude for foreign languages, or who have done outstanding work in their scientific courses, will be given this aircraft design course in lieu of a foreign language. In this course, the class will be divided into teams, each of which will be required to design an aircraft. Each member of the team will act as a specialist in one particular area of the total problem.

Although our curriculum embodies a lesser emphasis on scientific and engineering subjects than does the curriculum of the Military Academy, we have been assured that a graduate of the Air Force Academy can earn a degree in aeronautical engineering at one of the best civilian institutions in one summer and one academic year. The scientific program also provides sufficient background for graduate study in scientific fields other than aeronautical engineering.

So much for the block of scientific subjects. Let us move on now to the other major block of subjects in our academic program—the social studies and humanities, business management and administration. This field of studies is designed to give to the cadet a knowledge of the world about him, an understanding of the people in that world, and skill in dealing with those people. The courses in this area have been coordinated to present related courses and continuous learning rather than separate and unrelated segments of knowledge.

The School of Languages includes English and foreign languages. A great deal of emphasis will be placed on English, especially in the first 3 years. It is essential to his future career that each cadet learn to speak and write effectively. It is equally essential that he learn to appreciate his heritage through a knowledge of great literature. The freshman English course deals largely with the fundamental communication skills, while the sophomore and junior courses are more concerned with American and World Literature. However, the threads of literature study and the communication skills of reading, writing, speaking, and listening run throughout each of the 3 years of English. Of course cadets will be judged on their ability to express themselves orally and in writing throughout all of their 4 years at the Academy.

Foreign languages will be taught in the senior year. In this way when the cadet graduates, his knowledge of a foreign language will be fresh and his interest keen. Language instruction will not be given to every cadet. Only those cadets who have done well in the language aptitude test and in the social-humanities area will study languages. As I pointed out earlier, those cadets who lack language aptitude or who have done outstanding work in scientific studies will take Aircraft Design rather than a foreign language. Language courses will be presented in highly concentrated form with emphasis on conversational use and reading comprehension. Such language facility will be developed by intensive practice in approximately 7 hours of classroom work each week. The courses will be similar to those developed in the Air Force Language School at Syracuse University. The languages offered will depend upon the needs of the Air Force at any given time.

Our courses in the School of Human Relations include philosophy, psychology and law. The philosophy course, which will be presented in the freshman year, is a one semester course designed to develop effective thinking. It is, in fact, a course in logic, and will teach the cadet to express himself clearly, to distinguish valid reasoning, and to apply the tests of logic to any situation.

Psychology, which will be presented in the sophomore year, includes a study of the principles of human behavior and their application to problems of leadership and command within the Air Force. Personnel management will be a feature of the course.

The course in law, which is also a part of the sophomore curriculum, deals with military, civil, and international law in their application to the Air Force and its personnel.

The School of History includes the usual history courses, as well as a course in military history. History will be offered during the freshman, sophomore and junior years. These courses will be closely integrated with the cadet's study of literature. Insofar as possible, history and English scheduling will be coordinated in such a way that the cadet is studying the literature of a period concurrently with its history. The history courses will place major emphasis on an understanding of the evolution of ideas and institutions rather than on a mere accumulation of historical facts. In all courses, supplementary readings will be used in conjunction with a text.

The freshman history course deals with world civilization, the sophomore course with American history, and the junior course with 20th century world history. We hope to devote the second semester of the course in 20th century world history to a study of some of the great issues of our day.

The course in military history, which will be presented in the senior year, is still under study and will continue in a stage of development for several years to come. As I now envisage the course, it will include a study of unified action in Army, Navy and Air Force campaigns which illustrate the principles of employing the three services in preparing for war, fighting a war, and making postwar adjustments. A careful analysis will be made of military mistakes in history. The course will be closely related to both history and international relations.

The School of Social Sciences includes courses in geography, comparative government, economics, and international relations. The geography course is to be presented in the freshman year and will be closely coordinated with the freshman history course and with navigation training. Physical, economic and demographic factors will be studied in their relationship to military—and particularly to Air Force—operations.

During their junior year, the cadets will study comparative governments and economics. The first semester of the government course will be devoted to a study of our own Government, while the second semester will deal with the governments of the major powers. This course is closely related to the economics course. The first semester of economics will include principles of business administration and management, while the second semester will involve a study of the major economic systems existing in the world today.

International relations, to be presented the senior year, will synthesize the knowledge which the cadet has gathered from his other courses in both scientific and nonscientific fields. All phases of international relations will be considered. The latter part of the course will be devoted to the study of the national security of the United States.

Throughout the courses in the humanities and social sciences, instruction and practice will be given in research methods and the preparation of reports and studies.

We believe that the curriculum which I have described is both sound and practical. However, I wish to emphasize that our curriculum is still in the exploratory stage and that it will remain under constant review. None of us can say with conviction that our present program meets perfectly the ideal requirements of an Air Force officer's education, and surely none may believe that these requirements will remain static. For the next few years, of course, change will come quite readily, but with the passage of time, departmental interests tend to become sacred, and change becomes a matter of moving mountains. We are resolved to guard against this tendency; we are determined to maintain an inquiring and openminded attitude.

An essential part of the Air Force Academy will be its library. It will contain over 200,000 volumes selected to support our training program and will be used as an integral part of our academic program. At least initially, the beginnings of our museum and art collection will be connected with the library.

I have told you, then, what we are going to teach. Now I want to say a few words about how we propose to teach our subjects.

We realize, as all of you do, that no matter how well a subject is taught, much of it will be lost to the student unless it is put to immediate and sustained used. This is particularly true of factual information. We will, therefore, handle detailed facts only to the extent necessary to provide the cadet with a frame of reference. Our primary concern is to provide him with an understanding of principles, endow him with the ability to apply these principles to real life situations, and encourage him to think for himself.

These objectives cannot be reached through reliance on a rote system of learning. Thus we wish to teach by discussion, demonstration, and student performance—supplemented, of course, with occasional lectures. Our academic sections will be small—about 12 cadets to a section—which allows for free interchange of ideas and a great deal of individual attention on the part of the instructor to the learning problems of each cadet.

We propose to arrange our cadets in sections according to their academic standing in each subject. This will give our instructors an opportunity to set a pace consistent with the abilities of each group. The more advanced students will thus be given additional work, while those who have made less rapid progress will receive concentrated instruction in course fundamentals.

So much for our course of study. Now let me tell you about our faculty, the people who will actually teach this course of study.

We are not now in a position to consider civilian educators in other than an advisory capacity or to recall Reserve officers to active duty to instruct at the Academy. Our present faculty has come from Air Force officers now on active duty. For them, we established as prerequisites for instructional duty at the Air Force Academy high teaching qualifications and a superior or outstanding record as an officer in the United States Air Force. We also believe that since all of our graduates will wear wings as navigators, a high proportion of academic instructors should also wear wings. The Air Force has today a considerable resource of officers who meet these requirements. Some received their graduate training under Air Force auspices; many are former civilian college instructors who were recalled to duty during the Korean engagement; and many more have earned advanced degrees in their off-duty hours. We are also fortunate in having a pool of officers who have instructed at either West Point or Annapolis, who are familiar with Service Academy methods, and who will be available to us for several years to come.

Let me take, as an example of how our faculty is shaping up, our department of history. Of the 8 instructors who will teach the freshman course in world civilization, 4 hold doctors' degrees, and 4 hold masters' degrees. All of the M. A.'s have completed at least a year's work toward their doctorates. Five of these instructors are pilots, all with combat experience. All have served at least 1 tour in an overseas theater, and all have at least 3 years' college teaching experience.

While none of these men approaches the academic distinction of being a national figure in the field of history, I believe each one is equipped to do a very creditable job. Moreover, I believe that the department of history is typical of our several departments.

We have seen something of our course of study and our faculty. Now let us examine briefly the most important thing in any educational institution—our students. Let's see how our cadets are appointed, where they come from, and how the best qualified are selected from the mass of applicants.

Any unmarried male citizen, between the ages of 17 and 22, who is of good character and who meets the prescribed standards of height and weight, is eligible to compete for an appointment to the Academy. In order to secure proper geographic representation, specific numbers of vacancies have been allocated to each State. For example, out of our first class of 300 cadets, the State of Oregon has been allocated 3 vacancies; this number was determined by Oregon's proportional representation in Congress. Each Senator and each Representative is authorized to nominate 10 candidates to compete statewide for the vacancies allocated to his State. About 85 percent of all vacancies will be filled by these congressional nominees. The remaining 15 percent will be filled by nominations from such authorities as the President, Vice President, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, District of Columbia, and Canal Zone, as well as by selection from Regular and Reserve members of the United States Air Force and Army, and sons of deceased veterans. Presidential nominations are reserved for sons of members of the United States Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard. Qualified sons of Medal of Honor winners are admitted without limit.[1]

After the prospective candidates receive their nominations from the sources just described, they will compete with each other throughout a comprehensive battery of examinations. Competition will be based on the Air Force medical examination for flying training, the Air Force pilot aptitude and officer quality test, and the college entrance examination board tests. These college board tests will include verbal and mathematical scholastic aptitude tests, together with achievement tests in intermediate mathematics, English composition, and social studies. Forty Air Force Academy examining centers have been established throughout the world to administer these tests.

As I mentioned earlier, on July 11 we will open our doors to the first class of 300 cadets who have survived the rigid competition, which I have just described. Until the permanent installation is completed at Colorado Springs, it will be necessary to limit the size of our classes. In order to provide a gradual build-up in cadet strength, the Secretary of the Air Force is authorized to limit the size of the first four classes. The second class will be 400 strong with the third and fourth classes entering at 624 each. After that, we shall grow to our statutory limit of 2,496 cadets, plus foreign students and sons of Medal of Honor winners. Of course, as we increase the size and number of our classes, a corresponding increase will be made in the cadetships allocated to each source for cadets.

Public reception of the Air Force Academy has been wonderful from the beginning. It was good of you to come here today, and although my presentation has been rather long, I expect it leaves you with a great many unanswered questions. We would be delighted to answer your questions by having you visit us in Denver, either now during our preparatory phase, perhaps better from your point of view, after we open our doors in July.

I want now to leave you with this final thought about the Air Force Academy. In its location and facilities, in its course of study, in its faculty, and in its students—in all of these things, we believe that we are building an institution destined to play a distinguished role in the history of our country. You may be assured that those of us who have been honored with appointment to help create this institution are doing everything we possibly can to prove ourselves worthy of our affiliation with your United States Air Force Academy.

[1] This system of nomination and selection applies to the first four classes to enter the Air Force Academy. After that, barring changes in the law, the system will revert to that used for the other two service academies.

Investigation of Monopolistic Mergers in the Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following material I have received from Mr. Solomon Barkin, director of research, Textile Workers Union of America, in support of the resolution I have filed to authorize the Committee on the Judiciary to investigate and study monopolistic mergers in the textile industry. There is a listing of such mergers and I am confident a study of the same by the Members of Congress is a necessary step to provide understanding of the extent of the merger movement and need of thorough examination of such mergers and consolidations in the textile industry during the last 2 years.

The material follows:

STATEMENT OF TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, NEW YORK, N. Y.

TEXTILE MERGERS

The current merger movement represents the second wave of counsolidations in the textile industry. The first—the major one—occurred during the period from 1944 through 1948. It converted an industry of individual small units into one of giant corporations. During this period most current big textile organizations were created. We have since witnessed further consolidation of these organizations which have acquired competitive mills and have become more significant as other mills have been eliminated through liquidations—approximately 700 individual plants employing close to 200,000 persons since the end of the war.

The first movement of consolidations was induced by several factors. Corporations enjoyed large profits and employed them for extending control. The excess-profits tax law encouraged sales of mills by older owners or estates which wanted to leave the business. The low capitalization of the mills made them targets for high tax levies. Through sales, the owners could convert their profits into capital gains which were taxed at lower rates. The buyers acquired a favorable high tax base for their new properties and were able to pay off the former owners from the surpluses accumulated in the acquired companies. Others bought mills to acquire fabric sources at a time when textile materials were scarce. Selling agents and houses bought mills to assure supplies. Mills bought selling houses to guide their own sales. The huge profits during the war and immediate postwar periods favored these mergers.

The new wave beginning in 1953 has already gained tremendous sweep. In 1953, 35 companies were bought, involving 70 plants with some 24,000 workers. In 1954, 46 companies involving some 136 plants and employing 42,000 workers were bought up or consolidated. Already in 1955 we have records of 18 companies with 27 mills employing 9,000 persons which have been consolidated and the trade press daily carries stories of additional impending mergers.

The current mergers are being encouraged by our tax laws. Mills which have incurred losses have been bought by profitable corporations in order to use these losses to offset their own profits and therefore escape substantial Federal taxes. Already several companies boast of substantial tax savings through such acquisitions. Other companies have been acquired because of the desire to diversify operations. More and more mill organizations have undertaken to produce fabrics of diverse fibers. The shaky financial position of many woolen and worsted organizations made them attractive targets for such mergers. Other companies have undertaken to diversify their operations by acquiring factoring organizations so that their integration extends from the manufacture of yarn to weaving cloth, to finishing, to converting, to selling and financing of their sales. In some instances the companies actually produce and sell finished consumer articles. The diversification has extended beyond the acquisition of woolen plants as companies have purchased finishing operations or competitive units. Several mills with selling houses have bought organizations to broaden the range of goods sold by their selling houses. Other mills have been purchased to acquire the prestige of one or another label.

The influence of the giant corporations has also been extended as many of them are now selling not only for their own mills but also for independent manufacturing organizations. These giant organizations now dominate very large segments of the textile industry. Many cover the broadest range of goods, produce fabrics of many different fibers and perform all the services from yarn manufacture through product selling and financing of customers.

These large corporations are beginning to consolidate their controls. They are setting up their own internal organizations and systems. Their preoccupation with the financial aspects of their organizations has absorbed their leadership. One consequence of these consolidations has been the liquidation of many newly acquired plants in their determination to integrate their operations. Similarly their power to coerce and resist union organization has been heightened. They present a more formidable tower of strength with which to combat unionism. Individual textile workers, brought up to know their employers on a face-to-face basis, are now widely separated from the site of the corporation's economic and policy controls. Production schedules and price levels are centrally determined.

The textile industry is now dominated in the basic spinning and weaving and finishing industries by a group of 43 interests who provide employment to approximately 350,000 workers out of the 685,000 workers in the basic textile industry (spinning, weaving, and finishing). It can no longer be presented as an illustration of the traditional competitive industry. Despite its multiplicity of products and special markets, it is now pervaded by giant corporations and taking on the characteristics of other oligopolist industries.

The process of industrial contraction and merger has resulted in the liquidation of mills, the displacement of some 200,000 workers, and the stranding of many impor-

tant communities dependent upon the textile industry. The needs of the people and the communities have seldom been considered in these financial adventures. The tax gains secured from the Federal Treasury have been pocketed by the financial engineers of these moves. The United States Treasury, the community, and the workers have lost, but the financial manipulators have enriched themselves. The practices, their unfortunate effects and serious dislocations should be investigated by the Congress.

Textile Workers Union of America, Research Department, New York, N. Y.

SIGNIFICANT TEXTILE MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY 1953-JULY 1954

Purchasing company or interest	Company acquired	Plant locations	Product	Date	Number of plants involved	Number of employees involved
1953						
Abney Mills	Erwin Mills, Inc	North Carolina and Mississippi	Cotton	June 1953	8	6,000
Acclaim Hosiery Co	Colonial Hosiery Co	High Point, N. C	Hosiery	May 1953	1	
Bemis Bro. Bag Co	Flexible Package Co	Chicago, Ill	Plastic bags	November 1953	1	
Berlon-Levine Interests	Interchemical Corp. plant	Buchanan, N. Y	Coated fabric	April 1953	1	375
	Blackburn Products, Inc	Newark, N. J	do	December 1953	1	50
Berkshire Fine Spinning Associates, Inc.	Lincoln Bleachery	Lonsdale, R. I	Dyeing, bleaching, and finishing.	March 1953		300
Cannon Mills Co	Hoover Hosiery Co	Concord, N. C	Hosiery	December 1953	1	250
Carlton Yarn Mills (Ben Rudisell Interests).	Beaunit Mills (Frieda) plant	Kings Mountain, N. C	Cotton	November 1953	1	190
Cavedon Interests	Belmont Woolen Yarn Mills	Woonsocket, R. I	Woolen	August 1953	1	100
Chatham Manufacturing Co	Leakeville Woolen Co	Charlotte and Spray, N. C	do	March 1953	2	500
Empress Hosiery Mills	Prestige, Inc., plant	Pottstown, Pa	Hosiery	August 1953	1	
Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills	Mente & Co. plant	Savannah, Ga	Bags	do	1	
Goldfine Interests	George E. Mabbet & Sons Co	Plymouth, Mass	Worsted	September 1953	1	200
Hampton Mills	American Thread Co. plant	Easthampton, Mass	Dye thread	1953	1	
Hess, Goldsmith & Co., Inc	Goodman & Thiese Co. plant	Taylor, Pa	Glass and Nylon fabric.	October 1953	1	
Horvath Interests	Profile Cotton Mills	Jacksonville, Ala	Cotton	September 1953	1	600
	West Textile Mills, Inc	West, Tex	do	do	1	200
La France Automotive Fabrics, Inc. (Gerli Interests).	Woodside Mills plant	Anderson, S. C	Auto fabric	May 1953	1	
Linen Thread Co	R. J. Ederer Co	Chicago, Ill	Fish netting	December 1953	1	250
	Ederer, Inc	Philadelphia, Pa			1	
	Paul's Fish Net Co	Chicago, Ill			1	
	Adams Net & Twine Co	St. Louis, Mo				
MacKintosh Spg. Mills, Inc	Yarn Specialties, Inc	Clover, S. C	Cotton	April 1953	1	90
Maguire (John P.) Co. and Amoskeag Co.	Fieldcrest Mills	North Carolina and Virginia	Cotton, woolen, hosiery.	September 1953	9	3,740
Mohawk Carpet Mills, Inc	Scotland Mills	Laurinburg, N. C	Cotton carpet	May 1953	1	
National Automotive Fibers, Inc	Beaunit Mills plant	Cohoes, N. Y		October 1953		400
Pepperell Manufacturing Co	Dunson Mills	La Grange, Ga	Cotton	March 1953	1	1,200
Reeves Bros., Inc	Vulcan Rubber Products Co	Brooklyn, N. Y	Coated fabric	September 1953	1	525
	Durofler, Inc	Buena Vista, Va	Rubberized fabric	October 1953	1	125
Russell-Harvelle Hosiery Mills	Crystal Hosiery Mill	Stanfield, N. C	Hosiery	November 1953	1	
Smith (Alexander), Inc	C. H. Masland & Sons Co. plant	Philadelphia, Pa	Wilton rugs	Spring 1953	1	
Textron, Inc	F. Burkart Mfg. Co	Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Louisiana.	Batts, pads	September 1953	6	1,600
United Merchants & Manufacturers, Inc.	A. D. Juilliard & Co., Inc	Brookford, N. C	Cotton	August 1953	4	2,000
		Aragon, Ga	do			
		Stottville, N. Y	Woolen			
		New York Mills, N. Y	Dyeing and finishing.			
U. S. Finishing Co	Aspinook Corp	Adams, Mass	do	November 1953	2	1,300
		Jewett City, Conn				
	Gera Mills, Inc	Passaic, N. J	Woolen			
Wamsutta Mills	Somerset Mills, Inc	Roxboro, N. C	Cotton	June 1953	1	120
1954						
Altmann Interests	High Rock Mills plant	Philmont, N. Y	Woolen	January 1954	1	100
Bartmann & Bixer Co	Powdrell & Alexander, Inc	Charlotte, N. C	Curtain	July 1954	1	
Barwick (E. T.) Mills	Morrill Manufacturing Co	Dalton, Ga	Cotton rug	February 1954	1	
	Monarch Rug Mills	do	do	Spring 1954	1	
Burlington Mills Corp. [3]	Interstate Hosiery Co	Elkton, Md	Hosiery, nets	January 1954	1	
	Pacific Mills	Massachusetts, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.	Woolen and worsted, cotton, and rayon.	July 1954	14	7,900
	Goodall-Sanford, Inc	Maine, Massachusetts, and North Carolina.	Wool mohair	do	[4]	5,150
Collins & Aikman Corp	Klopman Mills plant	Siler City, N. C	Synthetic	May 1954	1	
General Tire & Rubber Co	Textileather Corp	Toledo, Ohio	Coating, plastic	April 1954	1	550
	Bolta Corp	Lawrence, Mass	Plastic sheet	do	1	
Goldsmith, Feinberg, Heinerfeld Interests.	Julius Kayser & Co	New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Quebec.	Hosiery and knitwear.	May 1954	25	2,500
H. & B. American Machine Co [5]	Susquehanna Mills	Sunbury, Pa	Synthetic, rayon, woolen.	March 1954	1	500
Little (C. L.) Interests	Hill Spg. Co	Roxboro, N. C	Cotton	May 1954	1	
Mack Kahn Interests	Geltman Sponging Co	Rhode Island	Sponges	February 1954	1	
Pilot International Corp	Patchogue Plymouth Mills Corp	New York, Massachusetts, Georgia.	Curtain, fiber rugs, etc.	July 1954	4	1,000
Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co	Tilo Roofing Co., Glasfloss division	Hicksville, N. Y	Glass fiber	May 1954		
Stevens (J. P.) & Co., Inc	Robbins Mills	North Carolina and Virginia	Synthetic, rayon	do	5	4,500
Textron, Inc	Dalmo Victor Co	San Carlos, Calif	Radio antennas	January 1954	1	
	M. B. Manufacturing Co	New Haven, Conn	Aircraft equipment	March 1954	1	
	Newmarket Manufacturing Co	Lowell, Mass.; Newmarket, N. H.; Machias, Maine.	Synthetic, rayon	July 1954	3	850
	American Woolen Co. [4]	Maine, New Hamsphire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Kentucky, North Carolina, Georgia.		do	15	5,000
Wyandotte Worsted Co	Blackinton Mills, Inc	Conestee, S. C	Woolen	March 1954	1	200

Footnotes at end of table.

Textile Workers Union of America, Research Department, New York, N. Y.—Continued

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING OF SIGNIFICANT TEXTILE MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY 1953–FEBRUARY 1955

Purchasing company or interest	Company acquired	Plant locations	Product	Date	Number of plants involved	Number of employees involved
1953						
Borg (G. W.) Corp.	C. J. Seifert Co.	Jefferson, Wis.	Wool carding	March 1953	1	
Campus Sweater & Sportswear Co.	La Crosse Knitwear Co.	La Crosse, Va.	Knitwear	September 1953	1	
Daughdrill (J. Hal)	Kingston Mills	Cartersville, Ga.	Cotton	April 1953	1	50
Celanese Corp. of America	Marco Chemicals, Inc.	Linden, N. J.	Polyester resins	May 1953	1	
J. Eugenie of Empress Hosiery Mills	Prestige, Inc., plant	Pottstown, Pa.	Hosiery	August 1953	1	
Edward G. Jones of Jones, Gardner & Beal.	Howard-Arthur Manufacturing Co.	Fall River, Mass.	Cotton	October 1953	1	500
Millville Manufacturing Co.	Selma Cotton Mill	Selma, N. C.	do	January 1953	1	
Pipkin (W. B.)	Millhiser Bag Co., Inc.	Richmond, Va.	Bags	April 1953		
Power Loom Rug Co.	D. L. Rug Co., plant	Dunmore, Pa.	Mats	February 1953	1	
Sparks (W. H.)	Mayfair Candlewick, Inc., and Mayfair Tifters, Inc.	Calhoun, Ga.	Cotton	March 1953	2	
1954						
American Fabrics Co.	United Lace & Nets, Inc.	Central Falls, R. I.	Laces	August 1954	1	150
Ames Harris Neville Co.	Noon Bag Co.	Portland, Oreg.	Bags	December 1954	1	
Andrew Worsted Mills, Inc.	Clear River Woolen Co.	Chepacket (Bridgeton), R. I.	Woolens	September 1954	1	30
Armstrong Cork Co.	Deltox Rug Co.	Oshkosh, Wis.	Fiber carpets	October 1954	1	250
Ballston Novelty Yarn Co.	Rayerest Mills, Inc., Yarn Department.[5]	Pawtucket, R. I.	Rayons	Early 1954		
Beatty (Carroll) & Amburn (John)	Mooresville Mills, plant No. 1	Mooresville, N. C.	Cotton and rayon	May 1954	1	
Bell Textile Co.	Dalton Carpet Mills	Dalton, Ga.	Cotton	do	1	
	Dalton Rug Mills	do	do	do	1	
Carleton Woolen Mills	Wilton Woolen Co., plant	Winthrop, Maine	Woolen auto fabrics	November 1954	1	200
Clayton Carpet Mills	Anchor Rug Mills	York, S. C.	Cotton rugs	March 1954	1	
Combat Uniform Corp.	Cashmere-Wool, Ltd.	Brooklyn, N. Y.	Blankets	July 1954	1	
H. Daroff & Sons	Botany Mills, Inc.[6]	Passaic, N. J.	Woolens and worsteds.	August 1954	1	2,000
W. J. Dickey & Sons, Inc.	C. R. Daniels, Inc., plant	Dickeyville (Daniels), Md.	Cottons	do	1	200
Dillon Sales Co.	Fonda Glove Lining Co.	Fonda, N. Y.	Knit goods	do	1	125
Exeter Hosiery Mills	Wilmington Hosiery Mills	Wilmington, Del.	Hosiery	Fall 1954	1	225
Faulkner Textile Associates (McKitterick, Morrill et al.).	North Billerica Co.	North Billerica, Mass.	Woolens	October 1954	1	180
Flamberg (Irving) and Haithwaite (Albert).	Brown Knitting Co.	Warsaw, N. Y.	Knit goods	February 1954	1	175
Glasgo, Inc.	Century Beverly Corp.	Pottstown, Pa.	do	do	1	
Gotham Hosiery, Inc.	Interstate Hosiery Co., plant[7]	Lansdale, Pa.	Hosiery	August 1954	1	
Hakeo Corp.	Meridian Industries	Meridian, Miss.	do	November 1954	1	
Hanes Hosiery Mills Co.	Prestige, Inc., plant	Tamaqua, Pa.	do	January 1954	1	
Hargo Woolen Mills	Wilkes Hosiery Mills	North Wilkesboro, N. C.	do	December 1954	1	
Hesslein & Co., Inc.	Textron, Inc., plant	Keene, N. H.	Woolen	July 1954	1	150
Kayser (Julius) & Co., Inc.	Catalina, Inc.	Williamstown, S. C.	Cotton print cloth	November 1954	1	800
Liberty Fabrics of New York, Inc.	Davis Mills, Inc.	Los Angeles, Calif.	Knit goods	do	1	
Lowenstein (M.) & Sons, Inc.	Wamsutta Mills	Englewood, N. J.	Net laces	July 1954	1	
	Somerset Mills	New Bedford, Mass.	Cottons	August 1954	1	1,500
Manchester Engraving Corp.	Cheney Bros. (engraving department)	Roxboro, N. C.	Cotton towels	do	1	100
Medoff (Israel & Sam)	S. Blumenthal & Co., plant	Manchester, Conn.	Engraving	September 1954		
Moskow (Jacob) & Associates	Union Asbestos & Rubber Co., plant	Woonsocket, R. I.	Worsteds	August 1954	1	50
Nashua Finishing Co. (Coleport Fab.)	Indian Head Mills plant	Paterson, N. J.	Asbestos felts	September 1954	1	175
Nichols & Co.	Paul A. Waters Co. (Bellingham Combing Co.).	Nashua, N. H.	Dye and finish	November 1954	1	250
		Bellingham, Mass.	Worsted tops	do		
Overseas Discount Corp.	Boott Mills[8]	Lowell, Mas.	Cottons	December 1954	1	500
Penwood Mills, Inc.	Fine Spun Mills[9]	New Jersey and Pennsylvania	Knit goods	June 1954	5	
Printed Fabrics Corp.	Mandeville Mill No. 2	Carollton, Ga.	Print cottons	January 1954		300
Roxbury Carpet Co.	Heritage Carpet Mills, Inc.	Chattanooga, Tenn.	Tufted carpet	September 1954	1	
Russell Manufacturing Co. (Connecticut).	Maine Belting Co.		Elevator and conveyor belting.	May 1954		
See Ling Mills Corp. (subsidiary of Prestige, Inc.).	H. R. H. Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc.	Quincy, Ill., and Moberly, Mo.	Hosiery	October 1954	2	
Smith (Alexander), Inc.	Julius Kayser & Co. plant	Liberty, S. C.	For carpets	September 1954	1	
Souhan Interests	Seneca Knitting Mills	Seneca Falls, N. Y.	Hosiery	June 1954	1	350
Seamloc Carpet Co.	Goodall-Sanford, Inc., mill C	Sanford, Maine	Carpet	December 1954	1	15
Standard Hosiery Mills	Burlington Mills Corp. plant (Oneita plant).	Burlington, N. C.	Hosiery	1954	1	75
Stevens (J. P.) & Co., Inc.	John P. Maguire & Co., Inc.[10]	John P. Maguire & Co. and its affiliate Amoskeag Co. each own 50 percent control of Fieldcrest Mills, Inc.	Factor[10]	August 1954	(10)	(10)
Strutwear, Inc.	Hayward Hosiery Co.	Ipswich, Mass.	Hosiery	September 1954	1	100
Textron, Inc.	Robbins Mills[11]	North Carolina and Virginia	Synthetics and blends.	August 1954	5	4,500
Traum, David Co., Inc.	Jas. Lees & Sons Co., Columbia & Minerva Yarn Division.	Carlisle, Pa.	Woolen yarns	December 1954	1	200
United Industrial Syndicate, Inc.	Louisville Textiles, Inc.	Louisville, Ky.	Cotton and rayon	September 1954	1	400
Wall Rope Works	Delaware River Jute Mills (branch of American Manufacturing Co.).	Philadelphia, Pa.	Cordage	do	1	200
Wehadkee Yarn Mills	Quitman Mills of Alexander Smith, Inc.	Quitman, Ga.	Cotton carpet yarns	August 1954	1	225
West (William H., Jr.)	Winchester Knitting Mills	Winchester, Va.	Knit goods	do	1	75
1955						
Alredale Worsted Mills, Inc. (Axelrod).	Bachmann Uxbridge Worsted plant (Killingley Worsted Mill).	Stoney Point, N. C.	Worsteds	January 1955	1	200
Arms Textile Manufacturing Co.	Crown Manufacturing Co.[12]	Attleboro, Mass. (Pawtucket, R. I.).	Blends	do	1	
Berkowitz (Leonard) & Squire (David).	Ansonia Mills, Inc.[13]	East Taunton, Mass.	Cottons	do	1	250
Berkshire Fine Spinning Associates, Inc.	Hathaway Manufacturing Co.[14]	New Bedford Mass.	Cottons and synthetics.	March 1955	1	1,800
Budd Co.	Continental-Diamond Fibre Co.[15]	Delaware, Indiana, Pennsylvania, South Carolina.	Vulcanized fiber, plastic.	February 1955	5	2,000
Chandler Manufacturing Co.	H. B. Wiggin's Sons Co.	Bloomfield, N. J.	Coating of fabrics	January 1955	1	20
Dixie Mercerizing Co. (Dalton Candlewick, Inc.).	Royston Mills, Inc.	Royston, Ga.	Cottons	do	1	300
Gottlieb (Abe) & Associates	Liberty Fabrics of New York, Inc.	New York and New Jersey	Laces	March 1955	2	450
Hazel Knitting Mills, Inc.	Robbins Knitting Co.[16]	Spruce Pine, N. C.	Hosiery	January 1955	1	325
Indian Head Mills	Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co.	Whitney, S. C.	Cottons	February 1955	1	700

Footnotes at end of table.

Textile Workers Union of America, Research Department, New York, N. Y.—Continued

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING OF SIGNIFICANT TEXTILE MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY 1953-FEBRUARY 1955—Continued

Purchasing company or interest	Company acquired	Plant locations	Product	Date	Number of plants involved	Number of employees involved
1955						
Javian (Martin)	Richard Borden Mills Corp., Shawmut Division.	Fall River, Mass	Cotton and blended yarns.	January 1955		200
Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Co	Glass Fibres, Inc.[17]	Ohio, California	Glass fiber	March 1955	4	1,150
Malina Co	Atlantic Rayon Corp	Providence, R. I	Dye synthetic fabrics.	February 1955	1	300
Merrimack Textile Fibers, Inc	Newmarket Manufacturing Co., mill No. 2.	Lowell, Mass	Rayons	do		
Picturesque Hosiery Co. (subsidiary of S. J. Kreiss, Inc.).	Sanson hosiery plant	Allentown, Pa	Hosiery dyeing	January 1955	1	
Princeton Rayon Corp. (Tanbro Factors Corp., Alfred Martin and Stanley Tannenbaum).	Century Ribbon Mills, Inc	Pennsylvania and Virginia	Ribbons	do	4	650
Rhodes Rhyme Manufacturing Co	Summitt Textile Mills [18]	Lincolnton, N. C	Cottons	February 1955	1	
United Merchants & Manufacturers, Inc.	Julius Kayser & Co. plant	Westminster, S. C	do	January 1955	1	

[1] Textile.
[2] Acquisition in progress.
[3] Plant sold to Sunbury Textiles.
[4] Form of new organization undetermined.
[5] Facilities leased.
[6] Working control purchased from Bankers Security Corp.
[7] Purchased from Burlington Mills Corp. through Windrim Corp.
[8] Plant operations will be reduced in scope.
[9] Merged into Chester Tricot Mills.
[10] Fielderest Mills, Inc., has 9 mills (producing cotton and wool textiles and hosiery) which employ a total of 3,740 employees.
[11] Purchased from J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc
[12] All yarn dyeing unit employing 15.
[13] Purchased from Ziskind estate.
[14] To form Berkshire Hathaway, Inc. Merger virtually completed.
[15] Purchase virtually consummated.
[16] Purchase through Johnstom Mills Co.
[17] New merged company to be called L-O-F Glass Fibers Corp.; will be result of merger of Glass Fibers, Inc., and 2 fiberglas divisions of L-O-F. L-O-F to own 53 percent of the stock.
[18] Name changed to Bonview Mills, Inc. Purchase from J & J Spinning Mill.

Aid-for-Asia Program Now Up for Decision—Big Question Is How Much Money Congress Will Allot Critical Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, we have heard many conflicting statements on the question of how, and to what extent, we should continue our aid to underdeveloped countries of Asia. There have been many pronouncements, but I believe we are entitled to know a good many more basic facts about our aid program, about its financial and organizations requirements. I would like to draw the attention of the Congress to the article by Mr. Dana Adams Schmidt in the New York Times of March 6, which presents some of the information necessary to our study of this grave problem.

AID-FOR-ASIA PROGRAM NOW UP FOR DECISION—BIG QUESTION IS HOW MUCH MONEY CONGRESS WILL ALLOT CRITICAL AREA

(By Dana Adams Schmidt)

WASHINGTON, March 5.—The United States is moving into a period of intense economic competition with the Soviet Union and Communist China. And the most crucial competition is now developing in the area of free Asia stretching from Afghanistan and Pakistan to Korea and Japan. On this much, almost everyone is agreed, certainly in the administration, and probably in Congress.

But a pall of frustrating obscurity hangs over the future of United States foreign aid, for two reasons:

1. There is some doubt whether Congress is in a mood to appropriate the money needed.

2. There is a great deal of doubt whether the administration will call for and Congress provide an organization adequate to the task, for the existing Foreign Operations Administration goes out of existence June 30, as directed by Congress.

This obscurity is particularly frustrating at this time because the Bangkok conference last week and the Afro-Asian meeting at Bandung, Indonesia, scheduled for April, are focusing the attention of the critical area on what the United States, the free world, and democracy are doing and intend to do for Asia.

The center of gravity of United States aid has shifted heavily from Europe to the Far East. Thus in fiscal 1952 Europe got 75 percent of all aid funds, military and economic. This fiscal year Europe's share was down to 25 percent and the Far East was assigned 55 percent. And now, in fiscal 1956, it is expertly estimated that some 75 percent of all aid funds (and about 60 percent of the nonmilitary funds) will go to the countries of Asia that lie in an enormous arc around Communist China from the Himalayas to the China Sea.

FIGURES TO COME

What this may mean in absolute figures for each of the countries involved will not be made public until the administration presents figures to Congress in April.

In the meantime, some authoritative estimates have become available of the programs for the fiscal year ending June 30. After innumerable modifications dictated by changing needs, the program estimates look like this:

Indochina	$100,000,000
South Korea	280,000,000
Formosa	100,000,000
Japan	100,000,000
Philippines	20,000,000
Thailand	36,000,000
Indonesia	7,000,000
India	85,000,000
Pakistan	70,000,000
Afghanistan	1,600,000
Total	799,600,000

Next year's programs or obligational authority requested from Congress will total about $1 billion, as might be guessed from Secretary of the Treasur George M. Humphrey's statement in Chicago a week ago. He said actual expenditures in fiscal 1956 were budgeted at $585 million. The meaningful figure in foreign-aid programs is the one for obligational authority.

Most of the quantitative difference between this year's and next year's programs will be accounted for by creation of a special fund, probably $200 million, to be used for regional purposes in the arc of Asia in question. The fund would thus be outside of the individual-country programs, for projects transcending national borders.

Except in Japan, whose prosperity depends on that of all free Asia, the response of Asian countries to the whole idea of a special Asian-aid program has hitherto been slow, suspicious and altogether disappointing.

Existence of the fund, the FOA planners hope, may induce the Asians to take the initiative in forming some kind of regional organization.

HOPE FOR COOPERATION

The FOA has no illusions about conjuring up an Asian equivalent of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. But it modestly ventures that the Colombo plan group, which includes nearly all the Asian countries concerned in the Asian-aid scheme, might see fit to establish a secretariat general of the Colombo plan.

The Colombo plan group was founded in 1950 for purposes of mutual aid. It now includes all the arc of Asia countries—except Afghanistan, Formosa, and South Korea—as well as Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. It is an economic grouping, not to be confused with the Colombo powers—Pakistan, India, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia—now organizing the Afro-Asian conference in Indonesia.

Some of Washington's best economists think a billion-dollar United States aid program could be adequate in fiscal 1956—if it is supplemented by more private capital, if some additional funds are obtained from Europe, if the share allocated to Korea and Formosa is not thrown out of all proportion

by the burden on civilian economies of overlarge military establishments.

Congressional hearings indicate that many Members want to blast FOA to pieces, redistributing technical aid to the State Department, economic aid to Commerce, defense support and military equipment to the Pentagon, and distribution of surplus goods to the Department of Agriculture.

POLITICS AND STASSEN

These Members of Congress appear motivated by their dislike of "giveaway" programs and, sometimes, politically by dislike of the smooth-spoken FOA Director, Harold Stassen.

The astonishing fact is that no voice of any prominence has come to defend the integrity of the present FOA organization, which was formed after much study by the President's Reorganization Order No. 7 in August 1953.

Mr. Stassen, for fear that he will appear to be trying to keep himself in a job, has not yet pointed out in this context that unification of aid activities under one roof saved money and personnel; that, by again scattering this work around Washington, Congress may defeat its own ends; that administration of the program may be delayed 6 months by the proposed reorganization; that this may prevent the United States from repelling the Communist economic challenge.

The President must make up his mind about the aid program by the end of this month or early April at the latest. Then Congress will decide.

In the meantime, the American public has heard very little about the issues involved. The foreign-aid debate has gone on in private, mainly between Mr. Stassen and Mr. Humphrey. From these two men the public is entitled very soon to hear a great deal more about the financial and organizational requirements of foreign aid.

Citizen and Nation Need Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a splendid article, Citizen and Nation Need Security, written by John Harris, and appearing in the Boston Sunday Globe of March 13, 1955:

CITIZEN AND NATION NEED SECURITY—NEW LOYALTY REGULATIONS GIVE ONLY LITTLE MORE ASSURANCE THAN THE OLD RULES—NEITHER WILL INTRADEPARTMENTAL CONFUSION BE PREVENTED

(By John Harris)

WASHINGTON, March 12.—Two psychiatrists recently told a group of fellow experts gathered in Chicago a tale as shocking as any that ever emerged from that city.

They spoke of intensified anxiety, panic, paranoid trends and incipient mental collapse among 30 of their patients in the Washington area who had come in contact with the Government's security program.

This could create an impression as exaggerated as it is distressful. Or it might be considered as just one of the hazards of government employment in an age made jittery by the very atomic weapons devised to protect its security.

However, we look upon it, and its import cannot be casually dismissed. It emphasizes aspects of our loyalty-security system—unspecified charges, faceless accusers—that are not of concern alone to our Federal workers. They are of undeniable importance to all who inherited a birthright of liberties with the declaration of this Nation's independence from alien tyranny. Who, if his loyalty and character were placed in doubt, would want to find himself stripped of any of his rights of self-defense?

DEFENSE OR DESTRUCTION

The chief dangers demanding thorough examination can be expressed most briefly in two questions:

The right to confront and cross-examine an accused is inalienable it is a natural, human right brutally suppressed by totalitarian powers. It has been vigorously upheld by President Eisenhower on his speech at Abilene. Is this right to become a casualty of the cold war?

Denouncing men on loosely drawn charges, dismissal without hearings or judgments by loyalty boards which themselves may not notice the identity of the accuser—must such star chamber proceedings return in the 20th century in the guise of a lifeguard of the Republic?

Fortunately, direct answers to these vital questions are now being sought in the Congress and before the Supreme Court.

An interested onlooker has to be certain just where to direct his attention. As so often in Washington, there is a bewildering number of related activities going on at the same time. The whirling dervish act of turnabout witnesses, indictment of recanters, disclosure that a Treasury security officer was himself a security risk. One committee is about ready to track down who promoted Peress, another committee is exploring the numbers game in which the administration has been charged with lumping together all sorts of security risks to obtain a bigger figure of dismissals than was reached under the old Truman loyalty program.

BASIC SHORTCOMINGS

The really basic shortcomings of the security system are currently under examination in the Peters case before the Supreme Court to which Attorney General Brownell has just addressed a 120-page brief, and at hearings which opened this past week before the Senate subcommittee headed by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota. HUMPHREY is seeking creation of a bipartisan blue-ribbon commission to review our Federal loyalty-security programs.

These, most rapidly since the time of the Hiss case, have developed helter-skelter while the major parties busily produced a welter of confusion with their rival claims to be chief exposer of subversives.

The Attorney General has promulgated a new set of rules to meet some of the criticism directed at the security setup.

He has sought commendably to make its operation uniform among the various departments and equally fair and impartial to all Federal employees. The timing of this endeavor does seem to be a direct response to last December's embarrassing interdepartmental tragic comedy that saw Wolf Ladejinsky cleared by the State Department, rejected by the Agriculture Department, and hired by the Foreign Operations Administration.

CONFUSION AMONG DEPARTMENTS

Brownell's answer was a rule that Government agencies act "to avoid conflicting evaluations," a stricture which must be viewed in the light of executive orders that department heads clear their speeches to avoid confusion—and yet over the years these spokesmen have on occasion talked as though they represented different governments.

The new rules of the Attorney General, in general, have been criticized as little more than a rewording of protective rights presumably in existence since the start of the loyalty-security program.

There is, indeed, little more assurance under the new rule that charges will be any more specifically delineated than under the old rule.

There is still to be no central, supervising, coordinating, ultimate appeal agency such as seems to be an objective of the Humphrey inquiry.

Critics stress that the Attorney General, in drafting these rules, did not touch upon the fundamental issue of an accused man's right to face his accuser and challenge his veracity.

HELP OR HAMPER FBI?

This criticism ignores the fact that Brownell expressed himself explicitly on that identical point in the brief he submitted in the Peters case almost immediately before making public his new rules. In this brief, the Attorney General contended, as have his predecessors, that it would endanger national security to disclose the identity of confidential informants.

Three years ago, in the Bailey case, the Supreme Court split 4 to 4 on this issue of accusers being required under due process to face the accused. The Peters case is an effort to resolve this question.

On the opening day of his public hearings, HUMPHREY declared he did not want to see the FBI hampered in its work through the public identification of "informants placed within the Communist Party by the FBI." Our national security must at all times be paramount.

The difficulty still confronting the Justice Department, which organized our security system, is to find a procedure that protects both the Nation and the full rights of individuals. The disgraceful performances of face-about witnesses underscores the necessity, as a minimum essential, that a genuine test of veracity be established in any absence of cross examination. There is urgency.

Our Republic's dedication to the rights of free men, the very keystone of our liberties, is our proudest stand before the admiring world.

The Economic Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a surprising and rather wonderful thing when a congressional committee composed of both New Dealers and Old Dealers—liberals, conservatives, and ultra-conservatives—can get together unanimously on a report on the status of our economy and on the President's economic proposals.

Yet that is what happened this week when the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, composed of 7 Senators and 7 Representatives—with 4 Democrats and 3 Republicans in each group—made its annual report to Congress as required under the Employment Act of 1946, the Full Employment Act.

But before the editorialists begin to write rapturous pieces about the new atmosphere of economic unity on Capitol Hill, it might be useful to see just how we 14 committee members of such diverse personal views really managed to get together on a unanimous report on

so explosive and controversial an area of national debate as economic policy.

We could agree, of course, on a wide number of fundamentals, such as all-out defense against Communist expansion, maintenance of a strong free-enterprise system, the fact that we had a recession last year but want to have prosperity from now on, and so on. As a matter of fact, there are broad areas of agreement among Democrats and Republicans on a great number of things, including virtually all basic American principles, and I think we sometimes tend to underestimate this unity on the really big things while we pay much more attention to the political fights over details.

Nevertheless, in order to achieve the goal of a unanimous report, the joint committee had to narrow down quite a bit the scope of the report, and then start refining the language. Thus, although the Democrats were inclined to say things were not nearly good enough, the Republicans wanted to point out, instead, how much better they are than they were a year ago.

The result was compromise on both sides with such language as this:

> Employment and production have regained about one-half of the ground lost, and unemployment has receded about one-third. Most indices in recent weeks have been up.

While this sort of compromise gave some substance to the idea that there is broad general agreement on many aspects of the economy, it was not satisfying to either group on the committee. So the result was that after our unanimous committee report, we then added a bunch of supplementary reports in which Democrats took a critical look at the present economy and of the President's economic proposals, while the Republicans took the opposite view—that things were pretty fine. And, of course, that was to be expected. For these divergent views are not just politics—they represent basic and fundamental differences of approach of the two political parties.

CAUTION

Throughout the report there is evidence that a good part of the present steam behind the economy comes from unusually high-volume, bunched-up automobile production. The question is asked: What happens if auto production begins to slacken later in the year, as it apparently will have to? What happens to steel, glass, rubber, and other related industries, and how do we take up the slack? In this connection, the approach taken by my public-works bill received broad support among members of the Joint Economic Committee, particularly on the Democratic side. But even the Republican members saw a need for more public-works activity, particularly in the distressed areas.

CONTRAST

While both Democrats and Republicans on the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress were agreeing in principle that the Government must be prepared to take a strong hand in meeting any basic economic dislocation before it causes deep distress to the whole country, the reactivated Hoover Commission, heavily loaded with ultraconservatives, came out with a report urging elimination of many of the Government's best weapons in the economic arsenal against depression. It wants to get Government out of business so much and so badly that, if we were to follow the Hoover approach, I am afraid we would end up all over again, as we did once before under his direction, having no business at all.

Tariffs and Textiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENDERSON L. LANHAM

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I am including a letter published in the Christian Science Monitor for March 15, by Ernest H. Gaunt, of Orlando, Fla., entitled "Tariffs and Textiles."

This letter very lucidly and forcefully sets forth the true facts with reference to what has happened in our so-called reciprocal trade agreements program.

It is truly a most telling argument in favor of the position friends of the American textile industry took on the floor of the House recently when H. R. 1 was being considered.

Our position has been grossly misconstrued and exaggerated. We insisted first of all that if we were to have reciprocal trade agreements they really be "two-way streets" with the tariff barriers of other countries lowered in exchange for the lowering of our own tariff rates. As Mr. Gaunt forcefully points out, this has not been true of such reciprocal trade agreements in the past.

In the next place, the friends of the textile and other industries threatened with extinction or severe crippling by the further lowering of our tariffs indicated should have more adequate protection against competition from the importation of products made by low paid wage earners in other countries. In other words, we were trying not to block the passage of H. R. 1, or to oppose the principle of expanded foreign trade. We were trying simply to strengthen and make really effective the escape clause and peril point provisions now in the act but really almost wholly ineffective.

The letter follows:

TARIFFS AND TEXTILES

To the Christian Science Monitor:

One should not lightly undertake to cross pens with George Ericson. However, it appears to me that in his column of January 29 there are flaws in his definitions and assumptions, important enough to negate his reasoning on behalf of still lower tariffs than we now have.

Free competitive enterprise in American tradition and practice means antimonopoly and fair competition. Unless that American concept is effectively introduced into world trade and sincerely accepted, there cannot be free and fair competitive enterprise in imports and exports.

The United States is the only great manufacturing country that has laws against monopoly, cartels, and unfair competition. All others either permit or encourage domestic and exporting cartels; and many subsidize exports with State funds, guaranteeing a profit to their manufacturers. This is neither free nor fair international competition.

Tariffs are not the only barriers to international trade, but quotas and currency restrictions may limit it more than our tariffs. Our import barriers are as nothing compared with the barriers to trade employed by Britain; and compared with the import barriers of all the countries that have currency and exchange control. American tariffs average about 5 percent of the value of all our imports; and on the same basis British tariffs average more than 25 percent.

Foreign inconvertible currencies are implements of world trade manipulation; and in most countries outside of North America, exchange rates are not related to economic value or actual purchasing power, but instead they bob up and down unpredictably according to the whims of their respective governments. And our tariffs are based on these often rigged foreign values, not on American values as they should be.

Outside of North America at the end of 1953, there appeared to be no country whose tariffs or trade restrictions against American goods generally were not more severe than 5 years earlier. American cotton goods today are virtually excluded from the domestic markets of the foreign textile manufacturing countries.

"Gradual" reductions of the tariff beyond the major reductions of the 1930's and 1940's are not logical when the present level of tariffs is already permitting a heavy and ungradual inflow of goods from low-wage, subsidized exporting countries.

India's average hourly wage of its 700,000 cotton and jute workers is 9½ cents; Japan's 13½; American southern cotton-rayon mills $1.30; New England cotton mills $1.41. Worsted mill average hourly wages in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania are about $1.50.

"Benefits the consumer" is the classic argument made for years by free-trade and low-tariff proponents. But this contention completely overlooks the long-range damages to consumers when a foreign monopoly of our market is obtained—as happened in world wars in silk and rubber.

Thoughtful American consumers can understand that if the vital textile industry, normally employing so many thousands at good wages, is sacrificed now when there is no fighting war, there would not, in time of great wars, be anywhere near enough producing capacity to give our fighting men or our civilian consumers the necessary continuity of supply, or fair prices, or sufficient volume.

Textile manufacturing requires highly skilled labor, a higher proportion of total cost of finished unit than automobiles, and cannot be used in a moving belt technique.

Prudent consumers with a long-range interest do not want foreign "bargains" based on foreign low wages and unfair competitive actions. Nor will our American consumers, if they are given a chance to know the facts, want American jobs exported to foreign countries—the foreign factories running full or overtime, at a profit, while our same lines of manufacturing are gradually destroyed. This has happened in 1953 and 1954.

As to helping Japan or other unfortunate or backward countries to keep out of the Communist orbit—there are better ways to strengthen them than by seriously weakening our home industries.

ERNEST H. GAUNT.

ORLANDO, FLA.

Congressional Salary Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Dr. Ernest R. Bartley, associate professor of political science, University of Florida, Gainesville, is at the present time on leave from his duties at the University of Florida and is doing some research here in the Nation's Capital. I have read two of Dr. Bartley's textbooks on American National Government, and I consider him an eminent authority in that field. I have been closely associated with Dr. Bartley during the past several weeks, as his research takes him into the everyday work of a Congressman, and I believe he already has a knowledge of the problems of Congressmen that is second to no man in the country.

I was particularly grateful to receive an unsolicited letter from Dr. Bartley concerning the matter of the pay raises for members of the Federal judiciary and of the Congress of the United States. I have asked Dr. Bartley for permission to include this good letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and he has granted me that permission. I take great pleasure in presenting this very thought-provoking letter of Dr. Bartley:

ROCKVILLE, MD., *March 9, 1955.*

Hon. D. R. MATTHEWS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR BILLY: Necessary upward revisions of the pay scales for members of the Federal judiciary and of the Congress of the United States have now been made. I should like to take this opportunity of stating how much I admired your courageous stand in support of this measure.

As you know, my profession is that of college teacher of political science, with particular reference to American National Government and American constitutional and administrative law. I am coauthor of 2 college-level textbooks in American National Government, both of which have received fairly wide acceptance by my professional colleagues. I am the author, too, of books, monographs, and articles in the field of public law. While I speak only for myself, and certainly not for the institution from which I am presently on leave, it has long been my opinion as a student of American Government that one measure necessary to the maintenance of a high order of judicial and congressional operations was the adoption of a pay scale somewhat commensurate with the important obligations assumed by the members of these two branches.

There should be little quarrel with the pay raise for Federal judges, for the National Government was in the ridiculous position of paying to its judges lesser salaries than those received by the State court judges of a number of States. Some Federal district court judges had resigned in recent years because they were no longer able to meet their personal needs from their salaries. And it should be remembered that Federal judges cannot engage in lucrative outside activities.

There has always been an understandable reluctance on the part of Congress toward raising its own salaries. For that reason congressional compensation has never, at any period of our national history, correctly reflected the responsibility imposed on the Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. Congress has been reluctant to vote to its Members even the necessary amounts to run their offices effectively, with the net result that individual Members have had to secure from other sources, in many cases, the wherewithal to operate.

Some Members engaged in outside business activities, activities which interfered on more than one occasion with their congressional duties. They retained law practices, farms, or businesses, and actively participated in the management and functions of those enterprises. Some of the more adept speakers made the rounds of the lecture circuits, supplementing their income from this source. Some fortunate Members were and are independently wealthy, their congressional compensation amounting almost to peanuts. Some Members made up annual deficits from savings, borrowed money, or placed relatives on the office payrolls. And some, a very few to the great credit of Congress, made up their losses in salary from sources which, if not strictly illegal, hardly could be considered moral.

The reluctance to raise salary arose from the understandable desire of most Members to be reelected. History shows that the numbers of Members failing of reelection after each pay raise has been somewhat higher than the normal attrition rate. While it would be difficult to say categorically that the pay raise issue alone contributed to the defeat of any given Member, there can be no doubt that the question was a contributing factor in many instances. This has been particularly true where the defeated solon represented a primarily rural district. Even the great Henry Clay was reelected by the narrowest margin of his long career following a congressional pay raise. So great were the repercussions following the congressional pay raise in 1873 from $5,000 to $7,500, that in 1874 the act was repealed and the salary went back to $5,000.

It may be of interest to note, however, that the electorate has not differentiated, in deciding the issue at the polls, between those who favored and those who voted against such an increase. Any Member of Congress who has voted against a pay raise has found that his acceptance of the increase has been sufficient to place him among the group for whom some voters at least have asked political retribution.

The duties of a Member of Congress in this complex age are far more exacting and time-consuming than they were in less hurried days years ago. Members of the present Congress who have served for long periods of time have spoken on many occasions of the greatly increased periods of residence necessary in Washington nowadays as compared with much lesser periods even as little as 25 years ago. Being a Congressman today is a full-time job. Where congressional sessions in the very early days of the Republic lasted but 2 or 3 months, sessions now drag, in most instances, from January into August. And the period after August till the first of the year must be spent with the Member's constituents. No longer is much time available for handling outside businesses unless that time is taken (one might say stolen) from congressional responsibilities. The cold, hard fact of the matter was that, prior to the 1955 pay-raise action, the people were paying part-time salaries and expecting Congressmen to discharge full-time responsibilities.

The $15,000-a-year compensation ($12,500 plus a $2,500 taxable expense account) in effect on January 1, 1955, could not begin to meet even the personal needs of most Members of Congress. The maintenance of two homes was necessary in most cases. Congressmen with children were faced with the necessity of bringing those children with them and enrolling them in school in September, or else not having their families with them in Washington. Necessary trips back to one's district became a financial drain, especially for those Members representing areas geographically distant from Washington. Most voters did not and do not understand that a Congressman is reimbursed for but one round trip to his home State during each session, regular and special, of the Congress.

Contrary to popular belief, the average Member of Congress is not engaged in riotous and profligate living. Rents are high in the District of Columbia and surrounding area. A $250 per month furnished apartment is not, as some might think, a lavish establishment. Further, there are many expenses of a social nature which are not incurred by persons in the ordinary course of living. I have observed, for example, the spectacle of persons visiting Washington practically demanding that their Congressman take them to lunch or dinner—and that he pick up the check. (Many of the persons are frequently more wealthy than the Congressman.) A number of Members of Congress have told me that they average $10–15 per week buying lunches for other persons. The instance is small but illustrative of the special type of financial demands made on our Members of Congress.

Office expense, too, is a drain in many cases. Some of the independently wealthy Members have set up extra offices and hired personnel out of their own pockets. The purpose of the additional help is not altogether, as cynics might allege, to insure the reelection of the Member involved. Rather, so I have observed, the out-of-pocket expenditures have resulted in better service to the constituents concerned. Not so fortunate are the Member of Congress and his constituents where that Member is not independently wealthy. There is little excuse for inadequate compensation where the essential work of Congress is concerned. Such niggardliness is nothing but the falsest sort of economy.

The fact of the matter is, of course, that the pay raise voted at this session of Congress still does no more than bring the present Member up to slightly less than the buying power of compensation that existed in 1939 when the salary was but $10,000 a year. Such a statement may sound unbelievable, yet with the decline in purchasing power of the dollar and the increase in Federal income taxation, such is the case. It may well be argued that the 1955 judicial-congressional pay raise legislation still does not provide anywhere near adequate compensation.

It is a fact, also, that persons of comparable ability and in positions of trust in private industry with no greater responsibility (or less responsibility) receive far greater compensation than even that set in the present act. The majority of Members of Congress could earn far greater sums in private undertakings than they ever will as Members of Congress.

It is no argument to say that Members of the present Congress were elected knowing what the compensation was and that therefore they had a sort of unwritten "contract" not to change the rate. Such an argument applied down through the years would mean that present Congressmen would be receiving but the $6 per day of the Members of the First Congress. Nor is it any argument to say that persons entering political life must expect low or inadequate compensation. Such an argument dooms the Nation to government by those persons of wealth who can afford to enter Government service; such an argument is antithetical to all the basic principles of American democracy which we have so long loved and cherished.

Some opposition to the congressional pay raise has been voiced on the ground that the percentage involved, 50 percent, is too great. These arguments are advanced even in the face of the fact that the level is still but a 1939 level in buying power. The theory is that the congressional raise in salaries will set off a chain reaction which will result in exorbitant demands by civilian Government employees and members of the military for salary increases. Some persons even argue that the congressional hike will result in demand for raises in private industry.

Sober reflection forces a number of conclusions on this argument. In the first place, salaries of Federal employees have been hiked on five different occasions since 1945. In 1945 the pay increase was an average 15.9 percent; in 1946 it was 14.2 percent; in 1948, 11 percent; in 1949, 4.1 percent; and in 1951, roughly 10 percent. These increases total roughly 51 or 52 percent. Further, a pay hike for Government employees will undoubtedly pass at this session of Congress—and would have passed even without the congressional pay raise. A pay hike for the military, too, will undoubtedly come out of the present Congress.

There is another, and in many ways more serious, aspect to this argument against the congressional pay raise. So long as the salaries of the Congress remained at the $15,000 level, there was a reluctance to effect the necessary salary increase in the higher ranks of the executive branch of the Government. Serious losses of high caliber men have been occurring with frightening regularity in the past few years. Private industry has been hiring upper bracket Government employees at salaries far in excess of those paid by Government. And if the congressional pay raise means that an increase for the higher echelons of the executive branch can be obtained, then the congressional hike will have saved many valuable men to the Federal service—at a total negligible cost.

I recognize that money alone is not sufficient inducement to cause a high class individual to enter Government service, either as an elective or executive official, or to influence him to remain there. Government salaries in the higher brackets can never be great enough to compete with private industry on a pure money basis. For Government employees and Congressmen there must be, and is in the majority of cases as I can testify from personal observation, a genuine desire to serve ones fellow man. This sense of dedication is not altogether unlike that felt by educators, clerics, doctors, and others. Cynics may sneer but such is the case. Yet there is no reason why salaries in the upper echelons of Government service and for Members of Congress cannot reflect something of the responsibility involved.

The cost of the congressional pay hike itself is very negligible indeed. In your district, Billy, the cost to the voters of your increase in salary is approximately 1¾ cents per capita. Further, the overall cost of the judicial-congressional pay raise bill is only approximately $4,500,000 per year—about one one-hundreth of 1 percent of the total Federal budget.

I am one of those political conservatives who is very much in favor of balancing the Federal budget. Deficit financing has always been anathema to me. I opposed the tax-reduction bill passed over President Truman's veto by the 80th Congress. I opposed the tax reduction voted by the 83d Congress, and I oppose tax reduction in any form by the 84th Congress until such time as the budget is in balance. I do not believe, however, that the fact that the budget is in a state of imbalance argues against the judicial-congressional pay raise legislation. If the Federal budget is carefully examined, an action which the majority of the electorate fail to take, it will be found that salaries, contrary to popular belief, do not constitute the majority of expenditures by Government. Real cuts in the Federal budget can be effected only by slashing programs—national defense, dams and river development, veterans aid, highway programs, welfare, etc. It is poor economy in this day of specialization to economize on salaries; good men in all three branches of the Government save the costs of their increased salaries in increased efficiency of operation. The argument holds true as much for Congress as it does for the other two branches. It is high time that the Members of Congress understand somewhat the value of their own services; and it may be hoped that the electorate will also grow more willing, in time, to understand the value of an independent and high-minded Congressman representing them in the District of Columbia.

Congress did not enter lightly upon the course it has just taken. In the 83d Congress, the President's Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries was established by Public Law 220. Composed of 18 voting members (6 designated by the President, 6 by the Chief Justice, and 3 each by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives) the Commission represented the best available thought and reputation of business, agriculture, labor, and the professions. The Commission was an able, intelligent, diligent, and conscientious group; it held public hearings, took testimony, did extensive research, and generally exhausted every angle in order to assure that final recommendations were based on the soundest possible factual information. Interestingly enough, in no case does the judicial-congressional pay raise legislation just passed carry out the exact recommendation for salary increase made by this nonpartisan Commission. For example, the Commission recommended that Congressmen be paid $27,500; the present legislation is $5,000 short of this recommendation. Somewhat similar differences can be noted in all the other positions affected by the legislation.

I am certain that each Member of Congress searched his soul carefully before casting his vote on the issue. There were a few, a very few, who may have voted from the standpoint of immediate personal advantage. The majority, I am certain, voted as they did because of a firm belief that their vote was in the best interests of the Nation. As a member of your district, as your personal friend, I admire your forthrightness on the issue and the stand that you took. You could not, it seems to me, have voted in good conscience against the pay raise and then have taken advantage of the increased amount. But of more importance is the fact that you had the courage to recognize that the low level of congressional salaries constituted a substantial barrier to efficient and ethical congressional activity.

With best personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

ERNEST R. BARTLEY.

Big Fuss Over Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article by Drew Pearson which appeared in his column, Washington Merry-Go-Round in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 16, 1955:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND—BIG FUSS OVER SMALL BUSINESS

(By Drew Pearson)

Democrats took a long step toward throwing away two of their chief campaign issues—giveaways, and helping small business—when a top Democrat, Congressman CARL VINSON, of Georgia, bucked and bristled over giving a hearing to the Small Business Committee regarding the sale of 11 Government-owned synthetic rubber factories.

VINSON was all set to join with the Republicans in handing the synthetic-rubber factories over to the big tire and oil companies when his fellow Democrat, WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, blew the whistle.

PATMAN, as chairman of the House Small Business Committee, had prepared a resolution with his colleague, SID YATES, of Illinois, pointing to the unfairness of the synthetic-rubber giveaway. But Chairman VINSON of the Armed Services Committee didn't want to listen. He even challenged PATMAN's veracity, which to a Texan of integrity is tantamount to high treason.

"Mr. PATMAN, we are delighted to have you here this morning," the Georgian gushed as the hearings opened.

"Thank you, Mr. Chairman," replied PATMAN, "I shall make——

"Wait a minute," cut in VINSON. "Before you start, for the record, I want to find out—are you speaking in behalf of the Small Business Committee, and by direction of that committee, or are you speaking in your individual capacity as a Member of Congress?"

"My committee has had no time to call a meeting," replied PATMAN. "But I was assured by a majority of members of my committee that I could speak for them. In addition, I conferred with the ranking Republican member of my committee."

INSULTING A TEXAN

"I suggest that the names of the members who have authorized Mr. PATMAN to speak for them be inserted in the record," broke in Republican Congressman BATES of Massachusetts.

"Don't you think that is going very far, Mr. Chairman?" inquired PATMAN, angrily.

The meeting almost blew up at this point as several members, including Democrats PAUL KILDAY and MEL PRICE of Illinois, tried to be recognized by the chair.

"We will get along very well if everybody will be quiet," thundered VINSON.

"Do I understand that you are going to question the right of Mr. PATMAN to appear before this committee?" demanded KILDAY.

"No, sir," sputtered VINSON. "Not at all. That wasn't even intimated by any question of mine."

"I am not too sure that it wasn't," rejoined KILDAY of Texas. "What was the purpose of your question about his appearing for a majority of the Small Business Committee"?

"I just wanted the record to show that he is not appearing by direction of the committee, but rather in behalf of a majority of the committee," explained VINSON.

"Are you going to require him to corroborate himself by placing in the record the names of Small Business Committee members he is speaking for?" insisted KILDAY.

"No," back-tracked VINSON.

GAS STATION MONOPOLIES

PATMAN then explained how his resolution, prepared by the Small Business Committee, would stop the sale of the rubber factories on March 26 as now scheduled by President Eisenhower. Supporting him, Congressman YATES presented a masterful report which impressed even hostile committee members.

YATES showed that under the Eisenhower rubber sale 87½ percent of all rubber production would be in the hands of the big

four tire companies, who worked together to control the sale of tires.

Shell Oil, for instance, which takes over the Government rubber factory in Los Angeles, has a contract with Goodyear and Firestone to sell them rubber; then Goodyear and Firestone turn around and sell Shell tires. These tires are distributed to the public through Shell gasoline stations.

And Congressman YATES showed how any Shell dealer who tries to stock any other tire competing with Goodyear or Firestone loses his Shell franchise.

The Standard Oil companies also have a deal with United States Rubber to make Atlas tires, sold exclusively through Standard Oil filling stations. No other tire can be sold by Standard Oil stations except Atlas.

Thus, the Eisenhower rubber sale plan, Congressman YATES said, would tighten this monopoly by putting all the Government rubber factories in the hands of Shell, Goodyear, United States Rubber, Goodrich, Firestone, Phillips Petroleum, Texas Oil, Sears Roebuck, Anaconda Copper, Endicott Johnson, and Dunlop Tires, of England.

CREDIT FOR ARGENTINA

PATMAN suggested that the House Armed Services Committee and the Senate Banking Committee get together and negotiate for the disposal of the synthetic plants—"so the little fellow won't be crowded out."

"It takes a pretty good-sized corporation to run one of these plants," interjected VINSON. "As I visualize it, it is not in the sphere of small business. This is big business."

When PATMAN explained that small business had no way of getting bank credit to buy the synthetic plants, without some help from the Government, VINSON yawned: "Oh, well."

"We find an agency of this Government (Export-Import Bank) with $1 billion of capital stock, provided by the taxpayers," continued PATMAN, "that is making a loan for a steel mill in Argentina of $60 million, plus other advances for equipment that will bring the taxpayers' outlay up to close to $100 million for that 1 plant in Argentina.

"If we are able to spend so much money to help other countries like Argentina build a steel mill, why shouldn't we be able to help our own small business to buy some of these synthetic-rubber plants in order to have a competitive rubber market in the United States?"

Georgia's VINSON came back with the stock query: "Why, then, shouldn't we do that in every other enterprise?"

"The difference is," replied PATMAN, "that in this case you are delivering lock, stock, and barrel to the rubber industry, facilities that will be used against the taxpayers as a monopoly."

Marguerite Kozen, Julius Chajes—Goodwill Ambassadors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the 13th Congressional District of Michigan is proud of the singular achievements made by so many of its citizens. Mr. and Mrs. Julius Chajes, of 610 Blaine Street, Detroit, Mich., are two such persons who have added particular luster to the district through their accomplishments. Through the use of their talents, the Chajes have performed an outstanding service of goodwill for their adopted country, the United States of America—Mrs. Chajes, as an established operatic soprano, who sings under the name of Marguerite Kozen; Mr, Chajes. as a composer and concert pianist.

Our Nation is justly proud of such of its citizenry who, without the honor of presidential appointment, voluntarily serve as ambassadors of goodwill, establishing and solidifying vital friendships with neighbor countries. In appreciation of these services, I ask the permission of Congress to spread upon the RECORD a résumé of the accomplishments of the Chajes that it may serve to inspire all Americans to use the talents they have in goodwill service to our country.

Each year, Mr. and Mrs. Chajes, who were born in Europe but came to America to flee nazism, make regular trips through Central Europe and Israel for personal appearances and radio broadcasts. It is my understanding that on such trips, they also make contributions to printed publications as a means of expressing their support of our Government's efforts to convey information and to express its goodwill to those areas which, for political reasons, have been blocked off from our part of the world.

Mrs. Chajes made her American debut as soloist with the New York Philharmonic in Carnegie Hall. She has sung leading roles with opera companies in the United States and abroad. During the past 7 years, she has been on 8 consecutive concert tours in London, Paris, Lausanne, Vienna, Salzburg, Rome, and Jerusalem. With her husband, she has been presented in more than 300 concerts in the United States, coast to coast, and Canada.

Julius Chajes, while best known to the world as a composer and concert pianist, is known also in the city of Detroit as a conductor and teacher. Hailed as a "wonder child," he made his debut at the age of 9 in a piano concert in Lemberg, Poland. His first string quartet was played in Vienna, when, as a 12-year-old, he appeared as composer and pianist. A student under several famous teachers, including Moritz Rosenthal, once a pupil of Liszt, Mr. Chajes also studied conducting and composition in Austria.

From 1934 to 1936, Chajes headed the piano department of the Music College of Tel Aviv, Palestine. In this country, he became a teacher of composition at the New York College of Music. In 1937, he played the premier of his second piano concerto first with the Vienna Symphony, and the following season, as soloist with the Detroit Symphony Orchestra.

On a recent trip to New York, Mr. Chajes learned that his 142d Psalm has gone into its sixth printing—said to be an almost unprecedented achievement in choral work. The setting of the psalm has been recommended by David Williams, noted organist and choral director, to a conference of 300 Protestant choir directors as one of the most significant contributions of modern times to liturgical music.

The Robert Shaw Chorale and Fred Waring singers have made extensive use of Chajes choral works in concert and on television.

In Detroit, Mr. Chajes has been director of music at the Jewish Community Center since 1940. He was cofounder and artistic director of the Detroit Friends of Opera, Inc. He is also music cochairman of the Detroit Round Table of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.

We salute in gratitude Mr. and Mrs. Chajes and the many other American citizens who are using their talents to perform a vital service for their fellowmen as well as to give pleasure to them.

True Economy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in this week's edition of the Army-Navy-Air Force Register illustrates the frustration which the editor of that publication has had in attempting to learn from the Secretary of Defense the relative cost and capability of land-based and carrier-based aircraft in the performance of strategic bombing missions.

What every unbiased person wants to know, what every citizen has a right to know is, "Have the Joint Chiefs of Staff or the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group made a comparative or relative evaluation of the apparent capability of land-based aircraft and carrier task forces to carry out strategic bombing missions? If either can carry out such missions, why do we need both? And is it economical to have both, rather than the one system that can carry out the mision most effectively?" To date Secretary Wilson has ignored these and similar questions.

I worked long and hard for the Unification Act which passed this Congress in 1947. My only purpose in working for the passage of that bill was in the interest of the security of the United States at the least possible cost to the already overburdened taxpayer. Those of us on the Expenditures Committee at that time listened for days and weeks to the testimony of the best military minds in the world including General Eisenhower who testified for the bill.

We were striving to eliminate duplication, waste, and extravagance by bringing our services closer together. I think Congress today should determine whether or not the Unification Act is functioning as it should. We should find out if there is any duplication of strategic bombing assignments within the Defense Department. It was my understanding that the first supercarrier was for testing and evaluation purposes. Before we embark on an expanded carrier program I think we should have the

results of this experiment in the first instance.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent of my colleagues to extend my remarks and insert the editorial called "True Economy?" from the Army-Navy-Air Force Register in today's issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I would point out to my colleagues and emphasize to the printer that the title includes a question mark. Are we getting economy, as a result of unification, or are we building up three services, with no consideration at all for duplication, overlapping, and waste? The editorial, with questions as yet unanswered, follows:

TRUE ECONOMY?

Elsewhere in this issue, the Register prints two letters—one addressed to Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson by the editor of the Register on November 30, 1954; the other, a reply, dated February 9, 1955, and signed by D. Walter Swan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Information.

It is, perhaps, significant that an inquiry concerning matters of basic policy and true economy in the military establishment was referred to a public relations assistant to answer—perhaps not. It might be significant, also, that the somewhat lengthy reply signed by Mr. Swan discusses at length what he assumed, erroneously, to be the premise of our letter, and then proceeds to a pep talk about defense programs which carefully avoids answering the questions asked. (At his news conference this week, Secretary Wilson, asked about Joint Chiefs' approval of the supercarrier, also used this technique of answering a question which had not been asked.)

On the score of Mr. Swan's apparent assumption concerning our premise, let it be said merely that responsible public officials can be "forced" to adopt a program by other means than arbitrary fiat—they not only can be, they usually are.

All of the factors cited by Mr. Swan as bearing on the maintenance of a military establishment of any given type and size are so obvious that they can be assumed to be factors considered by the responsible officials—as they were, in fact, assumed by us to be. But this by no means answers our question as to whether or not "consideration has been given to any factors other than the application of monetary limitations, to the present structure and assigned missions of the forces."

Nor does the balance of Mr. Swan's letter answer the more specific questions any more satisfactorily. Since he failed to answer them, we will: In every case in which we asked specifically whether the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group has made a comparative or relative evaluation, the answer is a flat, "No."

WSEG has not examined weapons systems, existing or planned in the separate services, in which there is apparent overlap of function or of capability. WSEG has not made a comparative analysis of the cost or effectiveness of Army as against Air Force control of Army-type aviation. WSEG has not done an evaluation of land-based as against carrier-based long-range strategic bombardment systems. WSEG has not conducted any study to determine whether, in the light of current and expected aircraft developments, the old separation of Strategic and Tactical missions within the Air Force still makes sense. And so forth, and so forth.

The Register does not pretend to know the answers to these questions. It does assert, with complete confidence, that the answers are equally unknown to Secretary Wilson, his Deputy Secretary, and all his Assistant Secretaries. We concur heartily with Mr. Swan when he congratulates the country on having both strategic air forces and carrier task forces. But we didn't ask Mr. Wilson about "carrier task forces"—we asked him specifically about the relative cost and capability of land-based and carrier-based aircraft in the performance of those air missions which, in military parlance, are termed "strategic"; and we asked him, specifically, whether WSEG or any other Defense Department (not Navy or Air Force) agency had tried to find out whether, as regards the carrier task force, "the addition to it of strategic bombardment capabilities increases its size and cost beyond those which would be required for naval forces not concerned with strategic bombardment."

The answer, of course, is "No"—neither WSEG nor any other group has made such an evaluation above the single-service level.

In our issue of February 5, we printed an account of significant changes now in process to give the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group the scope that the late Secretary of Defense James Forrestal intended it to have when he set it up 6 years ago. That account contained many of the answers which did not get into the letter signed by Mr. Swan.

With the House Armed Services Committee endorsing the Navy's request for a fifth Forrestal-class carrier, and other Members of the House questioning its wisdom, it might be wise for Mr. Swan and his superiors in the Pentagon to take another look at our letter of last November and realize that what we raised in that letter was no mere problem in public relations. We asked serious questions about matters of grave public policy, and they are not answered by a polite brush-off from a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Mr. Swan says that "missions and requirements stem from national policy decisions and broad basic guidelines for planning."

Precisely. Our point is that, so far, these "broad basic guidelines" seem to be laid more up from the services to the Defense Department, than down from the Secretary of Defense on the basis of the independent evaluation, for him, of service projects and programs.

There may be no duplication, therefore, no waste, therefore no opportunity for true economy on the apparent overlap of Strategic Air Command and the employment intended for the supercarriers of the Forrestal class. There may be no duplication or overlap in the missiles systems being developed and even standardized by the three services, and so no opportunity for true economy there.

Our point is not that we don't know the answers but that the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff don't know the answers, because no qualified agency has yet conducted a scientific and objective evaluation of these and other equally important "weapons systems."

Until the Secretary knows the answers, he cannot be certain that his is a program of true economy.

Scholars Fear United States Will Return Nazi Archives Before Full Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following news story by the Washington correspondent of the New York Times which appeared in that newspaper on March 7. I am, frankly, very much concerned with the subject with which that story deals. It seems to me that, if what it reports is accurate, it will mean that the United States will give up an invaluable resource in our knowledge of totalitarian conquest. If so, our present efforts to combat another version of totalitarianism, that of international communism, will be seriously handicapped and our intentions thwarted.

The German archives contain, no doubt, material that can shed a powerful light on the goals, methods, and processes of the Nazi conquest of one country, Germany; material about the unutterable plans for the destruction of what they called inferior people, first in their own land and then in neighboring countries. It, no doubt, sheds light on their Machiavellian propaganda techniques, including those by which they contemplated the division of our own country and the weakening of our material and moral strength to resist totalitarianism. Such material is of incalculable historical importance. It must not be jeopardized or lost to us by its casual return to a country where its nationalist forces may be disposed to destroy the full record or to conceal it forever from the scrutiny of the civilized world.

This record must be kept and, in due course, be made available to American scholarship as the all-important source material by which we can learn from the dread recent past and be strengthened by that knowledge to deal with problems that we may well have to meet in the imminent or far future.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this subject is one that ought to be of great concern to all of us. I for one mean to explore it fully so that no step will be taken that will prevent American scholars and historians, the American universities, and the American people as a whole from having access to data that is so important for our understanding of recent world events, and so essential for our own strength in any trials that may lie ahead.

The article follows:

SCHOLARS FEAR UNITED STATES WILL RETURN NAZI ARCHIVES BEFORE FULL STUDY

(By Anthony Leviero)

WASHINGTON, March 6.—The return of a rich store of captured German archives will soon become the subject of negotiation with West Germany.

Talks with Britain about the return of documents are fairly well advanced. Only casual preliminary talks have been held with German representatives.

The State Department is inclined to be liberal in returning to Bonn the documents of many departments of the Weimar Republic and the Hitler regime. Scholars and some officials are concerned, however, that they may be handed back before they have been fully exploited for intelligence purposes.

The archives are neatly stored in a former naval torpedo factory near here. On the steel cabinets, rising almost ceiling high, are labels that bracket the rise and fall of the Nazi empire: "Haushofer Collection—H. C. 945 through H. C. 955."

Karl Haushofer was a German geopolitician whose theories set Hitler's brain afire with a dream of Lebensraum and world conquest. Many acts of Nazi policy, including the attack on the Soviet Union, have been

traced to Haushofer's concept that Germany, occupying the central position of the European-Asian "world island," was destined for expansion.

Haushofer committed suicide March 13, 1946. A great stack of material from his library is on file.

Near by is the label: "Hitler's Minutes—Mussolini File—Fragments 1 through 53."

From another section of the Hitler minutes a German-speaking United States Army sergeant picks at random some charred shorthand notes salvaged from the ruins of Hitler's bunker. After the war the Army had searched out the shorthand secretaries. From their transcriptions the sergeant read: "Conference of Hitler with General-oberst Zeitzler 29 December 1943."

On this occasion the topic was "capabilities of German railroads in case of retreat, especially of the Eastern Front." The Russians had begun their counter-offenses and the Germans were beginning to yield.

Later Gen. Kurt Zeitzler was to fall from his high position as Chief of the Army General Staff. He was imprisoned as chief organizer of the unsuccessful plot to kill Hitler.

Documents in the captured records section of the Government's departmental records branch in the old torpedo factory fill file cabinets that have a total length of 26,000 feet. The concrete structure is closely guarded.

The Government has files totaling 7,000 feet filled with captured Japanese documents, but by some quirk of administration they are under the National Archives rather than the Army.

Of the vast mine of material here, 22,500 feet of files are German, under the categories of "Military and Occupation," "Ministries," "Economic" and "Nazi Party." Part of this German hoard will be at stake in the peace settlements.

There are 500 feet of Italian records, about 2,000 feet of Soviet, and 1,000 of Korean. One of the most vital segments of these German records are the 2,000 feet of files under the heading "Russian" and subdivided as "Communist Party, economics, reparations." This is material about the Soviet Army captured or prepared by German eastern front units that fought the Russians.

This body of material at the time it was obtained gave the United States vastly more information about the Soviet Army than it was able to get as the temporary ally of the Soviet in World War II. In the "diaries" of the German units—equivalent of the United States Army's "after-action reports"—are data on order of battle, weapons, tactics, techniques of the Soviet Army, as well as information on the Communist Party, economic data and the reparations policies of the Russians.

Under a wartime sharing agreement, the documentary spoils of war were divided as follows:

The United States retained the great bulk of material on the German ground forces, including the archives of the German High Command and the Hitler papers.

The British retained the largest part of the records of the Luftwaffe, the German Foreign Office and the German Navy.

SIX VOLUMES PUBLISHED

The German Foreign Office archives have been receiving particular attention. The United States, France, and Britain have joined in publishing six volumes of the papers of the period from 1937 to the outbreak of World War II.

In exploiting the Foreign Office papers the archivists have been working backward to cover the World War era first. It is estimated that they will require 2 or 3 years before completing work on the Weimar Republic period, 1919–33.

Hence it may be a long time before West Germany persuades Britain and the United States to return some of the papers.

It is a question whether this country will ever hand back the files of the German Nationalist Socialist (Nazi) Party.

The United States has already returned some material deemed to be almost exclusively cultural or historical. But this country will not easily part with the German records of the Soviet Army.

In considering its ultimate, disposition, intelligence officials are not overlooking the value of the material, nor how difficult it was to come by much of it. Just before and in the early stages of World War II the United States had a small intelligence organization and relied on Britain for about 95 percent of its material until United States combat forces began smashing the enemy.

Security considerations make it difficult to determine whether the Government has allotted sufficient funds and personnel to make a maximum exploitation of the material before it is returned. Some scholars say that much of what they regard as a great intelligence treasure remains unevaluated. They fear it will slip out of this country's hands before the best use is made of it.

In all the years the material has been in this country's possession only 5,000 or 6,000 feet of it has been removed from the confidential category. And only about 300 or 400 translations of the German documents are available here.

Logistics: The Answer to Successful Warfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, at the request of friends and constituents, it is a pleasure to insert an address by a distinguished naval officer, Adm. Oscar Charles Badger, United States Navy, retired:

LOGISTICS: THE ANSWER TO SUCCESSFUL WARFARE

(Address by Adm. Oscar Charles Badger, U. S. Navy, retired, Congressional Medal of Honor, before the Naval Order of the United States 64th annual dinner at the New York Yacht Club, New York City, December 9, 1954)

Commander Hann and fellow members of the Naval Order of the United States, as we gather together on occasions such as this, we may recall with satisfaction our participation in World War II. We recollect that as we entered that war on two fronts against such major powers as Germany and Japan, that we were dangerously short of manpower and material. We remember that the Axis Powers had already extended their military control to vast areas of land and sea, and that our allies had already suffered major defeat, and, in fact, military occupation. These circumstances, of course, emphasized, and multiplied, the demand for our military forces and our material support. But, in spite of these factors, we can now recall with satisfaction, our decisive victory over our enemies of that day.

The cold war came shortly after, at a time when we were at the height of our power, and when we were held in the highest regard by the world for our overall capabilities. The Soviet Union quickly demonstrated, by action and attitude, its ambitions toward subjection of the world under Communist control. In quick response, the national policy of the United States was rapidly brought to express a definite determination to prevent, by all possible means, short of war, the spread of communism. Again, we were engaged in a world war, this time primarily economic and political, by nature, instead of military.

Eight years have passed and yet our position in wide parts of the world is still unfavorable. In important areas we and our allies have been driven back to a critical extent, sufficient to justify the statement that the cold war has gone against us.

It is my opinion that an important difference in the manner of our conduct of World War II and in the manner of conduct of the cold war, has been sufficient to bring about the difference between success and failure. Let me attempt to outline this difference and, at the same time, justify my reasons for optimism regarding the future outlook of today.

At the beginning of World War II, the Joint Chiefs of Staff were in existence and were charged with much the same responsibilities as they are at present. But at that time their staff consisted primarily of strategic planners, whereas the logistics elements were secondary and elementary in recognition and effectiveness. Therefore decisions in those early days were based on strategic studies and considerations, whereas logistics, or support of the operations, was often a matter of opinion or of hopeful estimation.

Confronted as we were with a major war on both fronts, our known shortages were frightening when it came to the prospect of engaging, simultaneously, enemies of the strength and potentialities of Germany and Japan in combination. This knowledge of our weakness with respect to military forces, equipment, and supporting facilities, occasioned a general tendency among our responsible officials to concentrate such strength as we had against Germany with a minimum of defensive effort against Japan. We became definitely oriented toward Europe.

We of the Navy have every reason to hold in the highest respect and appreciation the skill, fortitude, judgment, and offensive spirit of our war-time leader, Adm. E. J. King. One of his greatest contributions to our wartime success resulted from his determination to establish and maintain the offensive in all theaters, including the Pacific. Although he recognized the validity of a plan which brought about the defeat of Germany in the first instance and later, the final conquest of Japan, he believed that we could, and should, conduct ourselves so as to keep the Japanese constantly off balance, unable to consolidate themselves securely within the wide areas of their early conquests and to drive them back toward the homeland on every possible occasion.

Therefore, he initiated, and, I believe, was primarily responsible for, the system of high-level planning that reduced considerations of logistics to facts rather than opinions, to economies and efficient distributions instead of wastages and oversupply, to meticulous support of the needs of our military commanders instead of approximations, and to the approval of wide-spread operations with confidence rather than to restrictions in the direction of effort due to doubtful knowledge and fear of shortage.

Thus, we conducted the hot war through a system of planning, approvals, and control that assured superiority of support for each approved operation—strictly in accordance with the quantities, types, and timing requested in each plan of each area comman-

der. This resulted in placing the allies on the offensive in every theater of the war, and assured success in the execution and implementation of each approved plan.

Under this styem we achieved success.

When the cold war came into being, the motives and objectives became primarily economic and political in character but again our allies required a generous amount of material and technical aid to stage recovery from the war and to offer effective resistance to the Communist inroads. Again, it is my opinion that we became politically and otherwise oriented toward Europe, but this time there was no Joint Chiefs of Staff in control, and no Admiral King with his skill, judgment, and determination toward effective action in all theaters. There was no comparable logistics organization to work with the strategic groups. To this cause I lay our complete logistics failure in China and the Far East which permitted a Communist minority, enjoying better support, to overwhelm millions of our friends and former allies and to overrun and threaten a gigantic share of the earth's surface.

Had we not abandoned the basic organizations and principles so effectively employed during World War II, we would not have had divided action based on divided opinion among our controlling agencies as to whether the Chinese Communists were Red Communists or some sort of agrarian reformers. It made the difference between implementing the policy of preventing further spread of communism or doing it indifferently and ineffectively.

We would not have granted loans of 2 or 3 hundred millions to the Chinese Government without some safeguard as to its accounting, some predetermined plan for its use, and some technical advice or control regarding its administration. Any logistics planner would have found it impossible to expect satisfactory results from a government without any national banking laws, any national system of taxation, any national public works organization, any acceptable war plan, or any national organization for the obtaining, distributing, or accounting of essential supplies. The logistics planner would undoubtedly have insisted on some effective form of technical control and guidance of such a government.

We would not have expected any real results from the thousands of tons of nondescript and largely damaged, uninventoried, and unidentified material picked up from the Pacific islands and sold to the Chinese for $300 million to $400 million, which the cancellation of our then existing indebtedness to China involved. Any logistics planner would have maintained properly that this gear shipped haphazardly, many items unmarked and unidentified, much of it damaged or incomplete, all of it without any specific relationship to planned use or timing, could not have beneficial results in an area without trained repair, maintenance, storekeeping, and operational personnel or without repair and maintenance shops and facilities and in the face of existing or later embargoes on such essentials as spare parts, gasoline, and ammunition.

We would not have permitted, under the systems employed during World War II, the Berlin blockade to react to such a drastic degree in diverting the national interest and support from our vital commitments in the Far East. The introduction of similar diversionary pressures during World War II might have resulted in a reduction in the intensity of effort and some delays in other areas for logistics reasons, but not in loss of efficiency, control, or the abandonment of the controlling objectives.

And, finally, and possibly of greatest importance to our best efforts in the Far East, we would not have repeatedly failed to utilize, in timely and effective fashion, and by such inefficiency, to waste the funds and authority granted by Congress and which were generally adequate for all essential purposes. Any strategic or logistics planner would have identified such action as surely leading to ultimate failure, as well as progressive loss of confidence and morale among the responsible operational Allied commands or agencies in the field.

Although, I might go on for hours bringing to your attention instances of failure due to abandonment, or even loyal support, of sound logistics principles, I think my point has been made. Our logistics effort in support of the Far East would have lost any war, hot or cold, by the manner in which it was conducted rather than by an unwillingness on the part of our Congress or our people to provide adequate funds and authority or effort.

I do not offer these statements as a basis for belief that our situation in the Far East must continue to deteriorate although we have failed for 7 years to resist the efforts of the Communists in accordance with our national policy "to resist by all means short of war the expansion of communism." On the contrary, I point to these defects in organization and in the principles of operation as easily identifiable, and, therefore, correctable by means already fully tested and proven effective.

For these reasons I am most optimistic regarding the future. I am hopeful and confident that we can, and will, reestablish proper organizations for the most effective and economical coordination between the strategists and logisticians of our own and allied nations in meeting the economic, social, and military demands of the cold war and for insuring the expansion and security of the free world. I will always believe that it was Admiral King who led the way under other and equally serious circumstances, and we could do no better now than to revive the organizations, the coordination and the procedures of implementation which he so effectively laid out for us and which, I believe to be essential to success in any world conflict—hot or cold.

Fair Play in Pacific Air Travel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called, on numerous occasions, to the controversy raging over the short airline route to the Orient by way of Seattle.

I believe that the Cincinnati Times-Star, in its editorial of February 28, most graphically illustrated the need to include Pan American World Airways on this route.

As you know, I have long indicated my belief that the success of this great country is based on free enterprise and competition. It seems contradictory to me that one air carrier should fly the shorter route that another surveyed while the surveyor must operate over a route infinitely longer and, ultimately, more expensive to the United States taxpayers.

I offer for the consideration of the Members of the House the Cincinnati Times-Star editorial of February 28, 1955:

FAIR PLAY IN PACIFIC AIR TRAVEL

Ability to go direct from one place to another is one of the great advantages of air transportation. As planes were developed to fly faster and farther, they have been routed on longer and more direct individual flights. The shorter flights have been assigned to smaller transports designed to provide the interim service.

Pan American World Airways pioneered the flying in the Pacific Ocean in the early days, using the Hawaiian Islands, Midway, and Wake as steppingstones. As the range of planes was extended, Pan American secured the services of Charles A. Lindbergh to survey the great circle route between the west coast and Tokyo. Finding it practical, Pan American then commenced an operation and actually flew some 25 trips, carrying cargo for United Nations Relief Association. It then applied for a certificate to route through flights direct from Seattle over the Aleutians.

The then President Truman, however, turned down Pan American and gave Northwest Airlines, a newcomer in the field of ocean flying, a temporary certificate on the direct route. The alleged purpose was to provide competition for Pan American.

Since the distance via Honolulu to Tokyo from the west coast is 6,970 miles and the distance by direct route is only 4,770 miles, this is unfair competition. It is as though one airline were given a route direct from New York to Seattle, and another was required to fly all the way down to Atlanta, then up to Seattle. If competition is the measuring stick, both lines should compete on the same route.

But this is not all. For Northwest carries only one-fourth of these through passengers. Three-fourths of them go on the longer Pan American trips, with resulting loss of time. Since both airlines operate on a subsidy basis, we taxpayers have to pay the additional cost to Pan American, resulting from flying 2,200 unnecessary miles.

Incidentally, the Hawaiian Islands would be adequately served if Pan American flights for Tokyo bypassed them. United, Northwest, and Pan American all operate heavy schedules to and from the mainland. And if there were any traffic originating in the islands for Tokyo, Pan American could readily operate an occasional schedule over the old island route.

The President has just renewed the Northwest certificate over the direct route. He has before him the renewed application of Pan American. It should be approved.

State of the Nations: Paper Tiger?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENDERSON L. LANHAM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, with leave obtained to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am including an article by Joseph C. Harsch, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, which said article appeared in the March 15 issue of that splendid newspaper. The title of the article is "State of the Nations" and the subtitle is "Paper Tiger."

My own comment is unnecessary since this article speaks most eloquently for itself:

STATE OF THE NATIONS: PAPER TIGER?

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—It becomes desirable, it seems to me, to examine most carefully why Secretary of State John Foster Dulles feels that it may become necessary to prove to Communist China that the United States is "prepared to stand firm and, if necessary, meet hostile force with the greater force that we possess."

According to Mr. Dulles the Chinese "are persistently trying to belittle our power and to throw doubt on our resolution." He says that Chinese Communist propaganda "portrays the United States as being merely a 'paper tiger'." This, he says, "suggests to small peoples whom they threaten that the United States will always find reasons to fall back."

Mr. Dulles cites three events in recent history as being used by the Chinese propaganda to support their claim that the United States is a "paper tiger"—the retreat from the Yalu in 1950, nonparticipation in Indochina in 1954, and the evacuation of the Tachens in 1955.

The real question at issue is whether these three events actually make a reason why Communist China, or anyone else, could believe that the United States will always find a reason to "fall back"; whether they do add up to evidence of irresolution in Washington.

The answer is unavoidable, no matter how painful, that in each of these episodes in history there was evidence of irresolution, and even of vacillation, in Washington. In each case there was a moment when Washington talked as though it would do more than it actually was prepared to do when the test came.

In 1950 Washington changed the definition of its purposes in midstream. The original statement of purpose at the time of the intervention in Korea was "to repel the aggression and punish the aggressor." When a chance seemed to present itself to "drive to the Yalu", the purpose was enlarged to encompass the reunification of Korea. This larger purpose was not achieved.

In 1954 the act of nonintervention in Indochina was preceded by an assertion that Vietnam was of "paramount importance" to the security of southeast Asia. And Vietnam was likened to the cork in the neck of the bottle of the Malayan Peninsula. Those characterizations of the importance of Vietnam indicated an intentiton to intervene to save it from a Communist victory. The purpose implied in the characterization was not achieved.

In 1955 the withdrawal from the Tachens was accompanied and surrounded by words and interpretations which appeared to imply a forward movement, when actually they covered a regressive movement.

If we consider these three cases carefully we can, I submit, see why actions which need not have implied irresolution did come to seem irresolute. There would have been no irresolution in Korea had Washington and its allies adhered rigidly to their first definition of purpose in the Korean intervention. When the 38th parallel was crossed the aggression had been repelled, and in the process the aggressor had been severely punished. It was when the original purpose was expanded that an unachieved goal was created.

There would have been no evidence of irresolution in Indochina had words been avoided which implied an intention to do something which subsequently was not done.

There would have been no evidence of irresolution in the Tachens withdrawal had it been labeled publicly precisely what it was, a military withdrawal.

In each case there was no need of causing an impression of irresolution. Had Washington estimated accurately what it would do and limited its declared or implied purposes to its actual intentions, there would have been no basis for a belief anywhere in the world that Washington was irresolute. The damage arose out of appearing to be ready to do more than was actually done.

In the same speech in which Mr. Dulles faces up to the dangers which arise out of the appearance of irresolution in Washington he presents a theory that if the Chinese Communists aggress on any one of their fronts they would be confronted "with tasks at the south, center, and north." This is his theory of the "three-front war." It implies that a Chinese advance on any one front would automatically release war on all three fronts. He doesn't forecast it or say that it will necessarily happen. He does imply that it would happen.

But if the treaty commitments which cover these "three fronts" are examined, grave doubt emerges that they would or could be joined. To reopen the Korean front would require an act of the United Nations. To reopen the Formost front would require, according to Mr. Dulles' own previous assertions, the "constitutional process" in Washington. American intervention on the southern front, in the event of aggression, would also require the "constitutional process." As Mr. Dulles has pointed out himself, none of the United States commitments in Asia involves the automatic feature of the NATO alliance.

It would seem to me that Washington once more has laid itself open unnecessarily to an appearance of irresolution by using words which sound stronger than they really are. The man who understates his intentions is never open to the charge of irresolution, is never mistaken for a "paper tiger."

A Bill To Amend Title 28, United States Code

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to which I would like to call particular attention because of the economy involved as well as the important bearing it has upon the administration of justice in the courts of the land. My bill raises no complex questions and is short and simple and easy to understand. It reads as follows:

A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to provide that the district courts shall have jurisdiction of certain civil actions only if the amount in controversy exceeds $10,000, and to provide that their jurisdiction based on diversity of citizenship shall not extend to actions in which corporations are parties

Be it enacted, etc., That sections 1331 and 1332 of title 28, United States Code, are amended to read as follows:

"§ 1331. Federal question; amount in controversy

"The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of all civil actions wherein the matter in controversy exceeds the sum or value of $10,000, exclusive of interest and costs, and arices under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States.

"§ 1332. Diversity of citizenship; amount in controversy

"(a) The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of all civil actions where the matter in controversy exceeds the sum or value of $10,000, exclusive of interest and costs, and is between—

"(1) individuals who are citizens of different States;

"(2) individuals who are citizens of a State, and foreign states or citizens or subjects thereof;

"(3) individuals who are citizens of different States and in which foreign states or citizens or subjects thereof are additional parties.

"(b) The word 'States,' as used in this section, includes the Territories and the District of Columbia."

The effect of this proposal, if enacted into law, is to increase the original jurisdictional amount in United States district courts from $3,000 to $10,000, exclusive of interest and costs, in matters of controversy arising under the Constitution, laws and treaties of the United States, and in controversy between persons of diverse citizenship, and to confine jurisdiction in such cases to individuals who are citizens and to the exclusion of corporations except where Federal questions are raised.

This measure is designed to relieve the Federal courts of litigation of a trifling or less substantial nature and to confer jurisdiction in such cases upon the State courts where it belongs. Under the Constitution of the United States the Congress has the power within certain limitations to fix and determine the jurisdiction of the United States courts. It is my information that the jurisdictional amount was fixed originally in 1780 at $500. In 1801 it was reduced to $400, then in 1802 it was again fixed at $500. In 1887 the amount was increased to $2,000, and in 1911 it was increased to $3,000.

Since 1911 when the jurisdictional amount in controversy was last increased the value of the dollar has steadily declined and litigation has considerably multiplied, particularly in the field of damage suits. Few such suits are now brought for as small an amount as $3,000. Moreover, a greedy and Gargantuan Central Government in the last few years has usurped the powers of the States by expanding its activities into almost every phase of our existence and we can feel its tentacles in all walks of life.

This unwarranted invasion of the governmental functions and responsibilities of the States has been carried on under the guise of beneficence but if continued unchecked will finally leave the Government of the States and localities nothing more than the hollow shells of a lost liberty. Some of the States have succumbed to these spurious doctrines and have yielded to this usurpation of their powers either through a failure to understand the fundamental principles upon which our Government was established and is based, or have surrendered in the hope of receiving a liberal abundance and share of the governmental largess made available to them under many of these socialistic schemes.

My thoughts in respect to the increase in the jurisdictional amounts are not

original with me for it is my understanding that a committee of judges comprising the senior United States circuit judges has recognized the desirability of making this change, and several bills have been introduced in the House of Representatives in recent years to this effect, and at least one bill has passed this body raising the jurisdictional amount from $3,000 to $7,500.

I want it distinctly understood now that I have unbounded confidence in the Federal judges presiding over the courts in which I have practiced. I am well acquainted with the United States district judges now in service in Virginia. I have the highest respect for all of them and they are, I believe, my warm personal friends. I have not discussed this subject with any of them. Hence, I have no authority and do not undertake to speak for them. Knowing them as I do, I believe that they would welcome the changes herein proposed in the interest of economy and in the administration of justice by relieving them from the burden of hearing and trying cases of a frivolous or less substantial nature, thus enabling them to devote more of their valuable time to cases of greater importance. I do know that they are all men of the highest qualifications, fitness, and character, and who would not under any conditions covet influence or power. It is my desire to enhance, if practicable, the usefulness and the already high standing of these honorable courts.

Under the diversity of citizenship clause of the Constitution, the courts have from time to time over a period of some 70 or 80 years construed the word "citizen" or "citizens," as used in article III of the Constitution, to embrace corporations also. Having enunciated this doctrine they have found and held that the persons composing the corporation are presumed to be citizens of the State where the corporation was chartered, and the courts have held that this presumption is irrebuttable. While there may be substantial basis for this theory and line of reasoning, I do think the time has come to curtail the jurisdiction of Federal courts based on the citizenship of corporations. This view, likewise, is not new or original with me for attempts have been made repeatedly for the last 75 years to negate these rulings by congressional action. The House of Representatives as far back as 1880 passed a bill, H. R. 4219, 46th Congress, one paragraph of which deprives Federal courts of jurisdiction based on diversity of citizenship in cases between a corporation and citizens of any State in which it does business other than patent and copyright cases. Other measures of a similar nature passed the House of Representatives from time to time thereafter but were lost in the Senate.

As late as 1932 President Hoover in a special message to Congress on strengthening the judiciary system of the country recommended that jurisdiction of Federal courts be modified by "providing that where a corporation, organized under the laws of one State, carries on business in another State, it shall be treated as a citizen of the State wherein it carries on business as respects suits brought within that State between it and residents thereof and arising out of the business carried on in such State." The effect of the Supreme Court decisions hereinabove generally referred to construing the word citizen in article III, is to confer fictitious citizenship upon corporations. The bill which I have introduced will, if passed, nullify these decisions and limit the jurisdiction to individual citizens and exclude jurisdiction where the citizens are corporate or fictitious.

Mr. Speaker, I am a firm believer in the principles of States rights, and particularly where these principles apply to litigation. These matters in dispute can be settled more expeditiously and with a closer approach to public justice in the localities where the cause of action has arisen. Our State judges as a whole are learned men. They are fair, impartial, and highly fitted to wear the judicial robes. For the most part they rank in fitness and ability on a plane equally as high as our United States district judges. Under the aegis of such a judicial system and with expansion and improvement of communications such as automobiles, airplanes, the press—including radio and television—as well as our modern and improved educational programs, I cannot believe that the people of the respective States would be so provincial in this enlightened era that they would refuse a fair trial because one of the litigants was a citizen of another State. More often than not cases are moved from the State to the Federal courts for no purpose other than to delay the trial and administration of justice, and as we all know a delay in the trial of a case often thwarts public justice.

The Congress is called upon repeatedly to create additional Federal judgeships to relieve the present judges of the existing workload which in some Federal jurisdictions is unbearable. These additional courts are created and established at great expense to the already overburdened American taxpayer and the principal parties continue to be subjected to the harassment, the inconvenience, the delay, and the expense of having their cases heard and tried in some instances at least hundreds of miles away from the scene where the cause of action arose and where the litigants, attorneys, and witnesses reside.

Briefly, the above are a few, among many other good reasons, why the original jurisdictional amount in controversy should be changed so as to curtail the jurisdiction of the United States district courts, thus leaving important legal rights of our citizens to be determined in a forum where public justice will be promoted—not retarded or denied.

It is my fervent hope that the bill which I have introduced may have the active aid and support of the members of the Judiciary Committee not only, but of all those who are interested in economy at the Federal level where it is so sorely needed, and who are interested in the preservation of the rights of the citizens of our sovereign States as well as in the fair, impartial, and speedy administration of public justice.

The Poor Man's Tax Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, the big tax-revision bill of the 83d Congress, completely rewriting the tax code, which after a desperate fight became Public Law 591, is, in effect, a poor man's bill.

Those who would make political capital for purely political purposes by attacks upon this magnificent measure have called it a rich man's bill. The exact opposite is true. It's a poor man's relief law.

Now we have an abortive attempt to kill several of the most important parts of the 1954 tax legislation, all of which favored the lower income groups; but the attack on these favoring measures is being made by those who assert they are fighting the battle for the little man. Actually, they would hurt the little man, the average wage-earner, and the millions of people on small fixed incomes, small pensions, and especially the white collar workers.

Opponents of the administration would extend the excise tax law 2½ years instead of just 1; therefore, they would be guilty of taxing the little man, the poor man, the fixed income people, and the pensioners, an extra year and a half on such necessities as light bulbs, telephone calls, transportation, handbags, cosmetics, gasoline and many other everyday needs, of some of which we had hoped to unburden them at the end of the year. Does this proposed measure sound like relieving the little man?

They would again soak the little man, the poor man, and the pensioner by again double-taxing him on his meager dividend income. The vast majority of millions of stockholders are little people whose income is the result of hard work and lifetime savings, invested in a few shares of corporate stocks. To millions of these people, this is their only income. The law written last year gives 100 percent relief to those in the lowest income bracket, 67 percent in the next group, 52½ percent in the next group, and tapers down to only 11 percent to the wealthy, who are relatively few in number. Why soak these millions of little people and claim you are soaking only the rich? Isn't that the height of deception? Does that sound like relieving the little man?

Now most of you are not kidded about this corporation tax measure. Only people pay taxes. Corporations, actually being groups of people, cannot exist unless they pass along taxes in the prices of their production. If they do not, they go broke and throw thousands of people out of work. So if you extend, as the opponents of the administration are now proposing, the 52 percent corporation earnings tax to 2½ years instead of 1, you are again taxing millions and millions of the people that pay for the goods and services produced by the corpora-

tion. Does that sound like relieving the little man?

And then this politically inspired $20 and $10 tax cut amounts to 40 cents a week or 20 cents a week per individual. How much relief is that going to give the average individual? And yet it will cost your Treasury over a thousand million dollars, which added cost must be raised by deficit financing, which means bank borrowing, which is tantamount to the printing of that much new money, which in turn causes inflation and penalizes most deeply the people in the lower income bracket. The rich man can afford $100 per year increased cost of living from inflation, but the little man—those on fixed incomes and pensions—would be cruelly hurt every time we allow inflation to creep in. Does this sound like relieving the little man?

It is hard to conceive this poorly disguised attempt at cheap politics which so obviously hurts the lower income people by repealing tax relief given them by last year's Congress. It was bad enough to call that great tax revision measure a rich man's bill, but to attempt to repeal some of the parts of it most important to poor people, seems the height of hypocrisy.

March 15: Hungarian Freedom Day—Statement by Congressman John Lesinski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was the 107th anniversary of an event which brought joy and virtual independence to the people of Hungary. This was a very important event in Hungarian history, for on that day over a century ago the Hungarians regained some of the freedoms which were denied to them by their Hapsburg overlords. In the charter of freedom which the Hungarian House of Deputies approved on March 15, 1848, a number of reforms were introduced which were approved by the Austrian emperor. Among them freedom of the press was established, feudal servitude and heavy taxes on the peasantry were abolished, and the Hungarians were allowed to form their own national government. Louis Kossuth was made president. In short, by the Freedom Day Charter the Hungarians secured national autonomy, or for all practical purposes, independence.

The freedom gained in 1848 was soon lost, and it was not until the end of World War I that Hungary became a completely independent country. The Hungarians enjoyed the blessings of national independence for about two decades, but then came the dark years of World War II. Toward the end of the war Hungary was invaded by the Red army, and since then the Hungarians have been struggling, insofar as they are able, to free themselves from the clutches of their Communist rulers. The fight they are waging against the ungodly Communists is an uphill fight, one in which many brave Hungarians have been placed under arrest and are serving prison terms in convict labor camps. Even the Roman Catholic primate of Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty, the most outspoken foe of communism in Hungary, is not free.

This prelate of the church was arrested and imprisoned by the Communist government on some trumped-up charges and has been in prison since December of 1948. The whole free world, and specially our own country, sincerely hopes to have the cardinal released from prison, and we are doing everything practicable to support the Hungarians during these painful times. We are seeking to keep up the Hungarian spirit of independence by means of messages broadcast through the Voice of America. This is one of the ways that we hope will strengthen resistance to the Communist regime and thereby keep alive the Hungarians' faith in the cause of liberty.

In the celebration of this significant day, the Hungarian freedom day, all of us ardently hope that the rebirth of a new freedom for Hungary may not be too far off.

I intend to introduce shortly a concurrent resolution whereby Congress can focus the attention of the free world upon the violations of the Yalta Agreement committed by the Soviet Union. With the weight of Congress in back of such a resolution we can provide an effective way of puncturing the hypocrisy of Soviet propaganda.

Polish Exile To Make Movies for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article that appeared in the Polish American Journal at Scranton, Pa., entitled "Polish Exile To Make Movies for Freedom":

POLISH EXILE TO MAKE MOVIES FOR FREEDOM

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—Fighting communism through appropriate moving pictures is the aim of John Muc, former counterintelligence officer in the Polish Army, who recently organized the American Motion Pictures for Freedom here and is now looking for funds to carry on his enterprise.

PRISONER OF REDS

Muc told the press here that he was captured when the Red army invaded Poland and sentenced to death, later commuted to 25 years of forced labor. He made the rounds of several labor camps and still bears on his wrist the scars of Russian shackles.

He endured a death march of hundreds of miles in the northernmost part of Russia, followed by torture and hunger. He says that for 2 years he never took off his clothes or washed.

After the signing of the Sikorski-Stalin pact, Muc was 1 of 300 survivors of the 7,000 Polish war prisoners employed in the mines at Novaya Zemlya Island, near the Arctic Ocean.

IN ANDERS' ARMY

Upon regaining freedom, Muc reached the Polish Embassy in Kuybishew where he was assigned the task of supervising the liberation of other Polish citizens from Soviet prisons and labor camps.

He left Russia with the Polish Army of General Anders.

WORKS FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

After leaving Russia, Muc worked with the American and British intelligence groups studying the methods of Communist propaganda.

For the past 3 years Muc worked for the United States Government. Although most of his work is classified top secret, Muc has been granted permission by the Government to prepare 26 documentary television scripts from its files. Work is soon to begin on the project, said Muc, with movie scripts to follow.

STALIN IS YOUR GOD

At present Muc is in the process of recruiting a score of Hollywood's best writers, actors, technical men, and directors to amalgamate their talents through his American Motion Pictures for Freedom organization.

Muc claims that his movement has already received support from highest Government officials, Senators, and Congressmen.

Among revealing and documentary stories from Government files to be scripted for filming by Muc's group are Stalin Is Your God, on atheism in Soviet schools; Friends or Foes, regarding lend-lease articles falsely labeled as products of the Russians at Archangel in 1942; exposé of the Russian espionage machine, etc.

The Muc's group has its headquarters at 1163 North Genesee Avenue, Hollywood.

A Wish for All American Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the problem of juvenile delinquency has always been of great interest to me as a parent, as a former judge in the city of New York, and now as a legislator. I have given much thought to this problem and have introduced several measures in the 84th Congress to study the causes of juvenile delinquency and to seek effective means to curb this evil which is undermining the morals of our youth.

In the March issue of the magazine Ladies' Home Journal there is published a very interesting and thought provoking, yet succinct, summary of commonsense rules for all parents troubled about the future of their children. It is written by my good friend Judge George W. Smyth, of the children's court, of Westchester County, N. Y.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to insert this brief article, entitled "Freedom Yet Discipline," in the RECORD in order to bring it to the attention of all my colleagues and to the Nation as a whole. It reads as follows:

FREEDOM YET DISCIPLINE

I would wish for a child from the moment of its birth:

1. Regular hours of rest and sleep, plenty of fresh air and sunshine, good ventilation and wholesome food.

2. A mother with a good knowledge of sound habit training; one who is consistent in her handling of the child; who is loving yet firm; who will take the time to explain; who is willing and anxious to make the child her first and most important responsibility.

3. A home in which religion is the cornerstone, not merely lip service.

4. Parents who truly love each other and live together in mutual respect.

5. A father who feels his responsibility to participate in the training of the child—not just the one who supplies the cash, and leaves all the responsibility to the mother.

6. Parents who are themselves well disciplined. No greater mistake can be made than to try to discipline children in temper, yelling and screaming at them or pushing them around.

7. Parents who actually set the example through their own personal conduct of the standards they profess to want for their children—not parents who preach one thing and do another.

8. Parents who are interested in their children's activities; who try to find out what their natural interests and activities are; who try to help them to find opportunities for developing those aptitudes; who encourage the children to discuss their problem with them.

9. Parents who will encourage children to accept responsibility and allow them to share in family planning with the family group.

Schools of Blaj, Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an address I delivered at a banquet in Cleveland on October 17, 1954, sponsored by the Association of Rumanian Catholics of America, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary commemoration of the inauguration of the schools of Blaj, Rumania:

It is with pleasure that I join in this commemoration of great import for the culture and spiritual life of Rumania. The deep appreciation I hold for my many Rumanian friends and acquaintances, as well as my long interest in the Rumanian cause, have brought closer to me many events of Rumanian history and various aspects of Rumanian national life.

I know well the illustrious place which Blaj holds in the history of Rumania. I was impressed especially by the fact that the spiritual rebirth that is indissolubly associated with the name of Blaj has been fundamentally an expression of Rumanian nationalism. The religious union with Rome came as a manifestation both of Catholic allegiance and of a strong national reaffirmation. For those pious and fiery ancestors of yours, who forged the history of Blaj, Rome was the true symbol of Christianity, but at the same time it stood as the living reminder of the origins of their people, a people who could never renounce their national freedom and independence.

The great scholars and patriots of Blaj made their pilgrimage to Rome, both to the Vatican and to the Column of Emperor Trajan, the founder of Dacia Felix, their ancient land. The students sent from Blaj to acquire knowledge and wisdom at the "De Propaganda Fide," were driven also by that urge, which led Badea Cartan, to walk from his abode in Transylvania, with his desagi on his back to Rome, in order to give a fresh impetus to those national aspirations.

The consciousness of a heroic national past was strengthened and deepened by this contact with Rome. The Rumanian saga of eternal resistance against the barbaric invasions, their outstanding contribution in the fight to defend Christendom against the Ottoman penetration into the heart of Europe, were thus again brought to the fore in the minds of your fellow countrymen. The epic figures of Stephen the Great and Michael the Brave reminded them again of the days of national pride and independence. It was Michael the Brave, who coming to the "land beyond the forests," at Alba Julia, embodied for an historic moment the unity of all Rumanians.

The Catholic tie thus decisively helped the Rumanian cultural and national revival. This is only natural because Christianity stands for the freedom of all people. So Blaj, through its schools and religious institutions, through the spirit which gave them inspiration, became one of the most revered centers of your nation. The cultural climate of Blaj gave birth to the Latinist current which strongly nourished the national consciousness of your ancestors. In those periods of darkness, when Rumania was under a foreign rule, Blaj stood as a guiding light. It was therefore natural that the national revolutionary movement which swept over the whole of Europe in 1848, found a quick response in Blaj. This famous seat of Rumanian spiritual and intellectual life, which we are honoring today, on the 200th anniversary of the inauguration of its renowned schools, was the rallying point of the Transylvania patriots.

On the Blaj Field of Liberty, as it has been so aptly called, through the voice of Simeon Marnutiu and other patriotic leaders, the human, Christian and national aspirations of a people under foreign rule were forcefully and dramatically expressed. The great national poet, Andrei Muresanu, voiced the significance of this movement in what might be considered as the "Marseilleaise" of the Rumanian people, "Wake thou, Rumanian";

"Wake thou, Rumanian, from your sleep of death
In which you have been engulfed by barbaric tyrants."

More than a hundred years have elapsed since this call was heard for the national resurrection of an oppressed people. And now the valiant Rumanian people, who had at long last regained their freedom, are now crushed as never before by the most ruthless and Godless despotism ever known to mankind. Among the victims of Russian Communist aggression, Blaj, the stronghold of the Rumanian Uniate Church, so closely bound to Rome, of national culture and learning and of the consciousness of Rumania's Latin heritage, stands as a martyr of the Godless tyranny of communism.

The Russian invaders and their agents do everything, from intimidation to assassination, in order to eradicate all the pillars of Rumanian nationalism. Nevertheless, in spite of all their ruthless killings and inhumanities, the Russians have been unable to destroy in the heart of every Rumanian, those lasting forces which Blaj and its Field of Liberty symbolizes.

It is an incontrovertible historical fact that the most powerful and persistent driving force of the ages is that of national consciousness. This has been well demonstrated today by the resistance of the subjugated peoples against the new Red Russian colonialism. It is all the more evident that enlightened nationalism is one of the strongest barriers against communism and a necessary foundation for the establishment of a free and peaceful world. National freedom and independence expresses on the international plane what the dignity and liberty of the individual signifies in a free community. Independent and sovereign nations, however small, are thus the strongest assets for a free and democratic world. Conversely, it is well established that the sacrificing of national entities to autocratic empires constitutes the major cause of internal strife, international restlessness and, eventually, a major war.

If we look with confidence to the immense and invincible forces of the human soul, we who are enjoying freedom and its God-given benefits, we must squarely face up to our own responsibilities for the tragedy of the enslaved peoples. The errors on our part which have been and are being made, either through direct support of the Godless tyranny, or through our lack of support for the victims of that tyranny, throw a dubious light on our own future as a free nation. There is no doubt in my mind that if we persist in ignoring our moral duty toward the subjugated nations, the consequences of such a course will work against our own security and freedom. Those of us who have made a careful study of the problem are keenly conscious of the gravity of the present situation, the fruit of past errors. The hundreds of millions of human souls forced under the tyranny of the Red yoke, if completely abandoned by us, as the so-called policy of coexistence requires, would eventually be reduced to the role of unwitting instruments in the advancement of the objectives of our enemies. Those objectives lead to world domination. On the other hand, we know these peoples are our true allies and that when we recognize and support their moral rights to national freedom and independence, we give fresh encouragement to their will to resist and strengthen their fortitude to struggle on until the day when the foreign occupier of Rumania and all the other non-Russian nations held captive within the Red colonial empire are once again free and independent.

Whether Reclamation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee is now holding hearings on the authorization of the upper Colorado River storage project. This project was supported by President Eisenhower and has had the support of the Department of the Interior under both President Eisenhower and President Truman. However, it has been subjected to one of the most concentrated campaigns of opposition in the history of any reclamation project.

For the information of the Members, I am submitting a copy of an editorial from the Salt Lake Deseret News-Telegram of Saturday, March 12, 1955. The editorial follows:

WHETHER RECLAMATION?

Now we're getting down to basics regarding the upper Colorado River storage project.

In Sacramento, Northcut Ely, California's special antiproject lobbyist, is quoted by the Los Angeles Times as urging hundreds of thousands of Californians to write their friends and relatives to help save California's share of the Colorado River water.

And in Washington, California's Attorney General Pat Brown (who, by the way, wonders out loud whether Mr. Ely is worth the $35,000 California is paying him) says unless California softens its opposition, there will be no more reclamation projects for that State either.

That about sums up the state of the opposition.

Note that Mr. Ely in his own State wasn't talking about the damage to Dinosaur National Monument or cost figures or any of the other arguments that have been used and misused in the debate before Congress. He was talking about the real reason for California's opposition—California wants the water. She wants more water than the 1922 compact entitles her to, and the only way to get it is to keep the upper basin States from using their own share. Congress could spare itself a lot of confusion in its hearings and debates by concentrating on this issue and forgetting all the diversionary attacks.

But there is another side to this coin, too. Further use of water in California or anywhere else in the West requires more reclamation projects. CLINTON ANDERSON, the former Secretary of Agriculture who is now chairman of the Senate Irrigation Subcommittee, made it clear this week that there will be no more projects for California as long as that State continues its present attitude toward the Colorado. So did California's own CLAIR ENGEL, chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, in expressing particular shame for the tactics his State is using.

All this doesn't represent a change of heart that ensures success of the project. The opposition remains deeply entrenched and powerful. Just this week the California Assembly ways and means committee voted an "extra" $200,000 to continue and enlarge the fight. Still, it is encouraging that there are men fairminded enough and broad-visioned enough to speak up for what is right, even from the midst of the opposition camp. The statements of Mr. Brown and Congressman ENGLE have served well the public and national interest.

Appeal to Secretary Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, March 8, the House of Representatives of the Missouri General Assembly, in session at Jefferson City, Mo., passed by a unanimous vote a resolution requesting the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. Ezra Taft Benson, to exercise the authority vested in him by statute to alleviate conditions in drouth areas in Missouri, and elsewhere in the United States, by permitting farmers to harvest mixed wheat and other small grains for feed purposes, as follows:

House Resolution 71

Whereas Missouri farmers should be permitted to harvest unlimited acreage of mixed wheat and other small grain without penalty; and

Whereas a majority of Missouri counties have been officially recognized as drought disaster areas by the United States Department of Agriculture; and

Whereas, 3 years of drought has put many farmers in serious financial condition and restrictions on producing extra feed grain in the form of small grains mixed with wheat is placing restrictions on the farmer, so he cannot help himself; and

Whereas wheat has the highest feeding value of all small grains and makes excellent livestock feed in mixtures with other grains such as oats and rye; and

Whereas the past 3 years have disrupted many rotations, reduced the supply of feed grains and decreased the new and old acreage of grasses and legumes so important in land improvement and livestock production; and

Whereas there was a large acreage of wheat seeded in the fall of 1954 to help fill the need for pasture; and

Whereas if the Secretary of Agriculture will exercise his existing powers and permit drought area farmers to seed oats and grass mixtures in this large wheat acreage seeded for pasture and harvest the mixed grain for livestock feed, a substantial contribution will have been made in helping the farmer help himself in this period of economic stress. This additional mixed feed will be fed on the many Missouri farms suffering from a prolonged grain shortage and will not add in any way to the national supply of commercial wheat: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri request the Secretary of Agriculture to use the authority which Congress has given him to alleviate conditions in drought areas by permitting farmers to harvest mixed wheat and other small grains for feed purposes only; and furthermore be it

Resolved, That a committee of not over 10 members of the house be appointed by the speaker of the house to call upon the Secretary of Agriculture and Members of Congress, asking that the Secretary of Agriculture use the authority granted him by Congress to alleviate this serious situation in the State of Missouri; and be it further

Resolved, That the travel and sustenance expense of the members of the committee be paid from the contingent fund of the house.

EARL A. BAER.
RALPH WIGFIELD.

Mr. Speaker the resolution speaks for itself. Due to 3 years of unprecedented drouth the farmers are desperately in need of feed. The wheat to which the resolution refers was sown last fall before the announcement of their wheat quotas. Now that the quotas have been imposed they find themselves in a position where in order to comply with the program they must plow up a portion of the crop sown last fall. It involves loss of the seed and of the labor and investment expended in ordering the land and putting in the wheat and also the additional cost of plowing up the acreage in excess of their quota. The loss is particularly heavy at this time as they are faced in many instances with the alternative of sacrificing basic livestock if food can not be provided to carry it through.

If permitted to sow other small grains with the wheat thereby rendering it ineligible to commerce, and restricting it to use as stock feed by the farmer producing it, it cannot add to the national supply of commercial wheat and will in no wise interfere with the farm program as originally announced.

It is significant that this sensible and practical exemption is approved by the unanimous vote of the Missouri House of Representatives, of both parties and of both urban and rural representatives.

In response to the resolution, Speaker Hamlin appointed as members of the delegation to call on Secretary Benson, Representatives Earl A. Baer, Ralph Wigfield, I. Willis Henson, Luna E. Butler, John T. Campbell, Helen C. Hardy, Jennie Chinn, Charles J. Burns, James S. Lincoln, and George D. Young. The delegation will reach Washington by plane tonight and will be accompanied by Commissioner of Agriculture, Hon. L. C. Carpenter, and Hon. Arch V. McRoberts, an official of the House.

Arrangements have been made for them to call on Secretary Benson on Wednesday afternoon and it is to be hoped that agreements can be reached which will solve this difficult problem and meet the approval of Secretary Benson and the delegation and especially the farmers in the drouth areas and at the same time interfere in no way with the farm program so recently promulgated by the Department.

Mr. Humphrey's "Blooper"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, entitled "Mr. Humphrey's 'Blooper'," together with a communication which I addressed to the editors of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on this editorial pointing out that it was an extreme case of quoting a public official out of context.

MR. HUMPHREY'S "BLOOPER"

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, we regret to note, appears to have contracted a case of the affliction that has bothered some other officeholders before him. It is a peculiar infirmity, for which the only known specific is a dose of realism mixed with humility.

Under the spell of this strange virus, the officeholder becomes obsessed with the idea that he cannot afford to admit having made a mistake.

Secretary Humphrey seemed to have been bitten by that bug when he testified before a House committee on what some Democrats have been unkind enough to call Humphrey's "billion-dollar 'blooper'." This is a freshly discovered loophole in the administration's 1954 tax law, under which corporations can reduce their tax liability

substantially by taking double deductions for certain business expenses.

The Secretary admits that the loophole exists, and he favors amendment of the law to remove it. But, like other officeholders before him, he is going through strange contortions in an effort to disclaim responsibility for the error.

"You gentlemen passed the law, we didn't," Mr. Humphrey told the Congressmen. "If you made a mistake, I'm sorry."

That was a rather ungracious remark coming from a Cabinet member who has never been modest about hailing the administration's 1954 tax law as just about the greatest work of tax architecture in history. Mr. Humphrey's experts labored for months over that tax bill. They should have been aware of any billion-dollar "bloopers" that were in it.

The congressional committees have tax experts, too. These experts also should have detected the loophole which is now belatedly discovered. But their failure does not by any means excuse the Treasury's.

Mr. Humphrey would simplify everything if he would just frankly admit that his department can make mistakes and in this case did.

MARCH 15, 1955.

EDITORS, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH,
St. Louis, Mo.

GENTLEMEN: Your editorial in Sunday, March 13, 1955, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, entitled "Mr. Humphrey's 'Blooper'," is an extreme case of quoting a public official out of context to make him appear to say the exact opposite of what he did say.

I was present and participated in the hearings of the Ways and Means Committee where Secretary Humphrey testified.

The full unrevised statement of the Secretary occurred in the following colloquy, page 18 of the unrevised transcript:

"Secretary HUMPHREY. Well, Mr. MILLS, I don't know what it is you are trying to drive at. You gentlemen passed the law. We did not.

"Mr. MILLS. That is the point I am driving at, Mr Secretary.

"Secretary HUMPHREY. If you made a bad error, I am just sorry. For our participation in it, I am sorry. I regret that it happened, and I am trying to correct it as quickly as possible. And I am not trying to pin it on you.

"Mr. MILLS. Mr. Secretary, my point is this, exactly the point you make. You attempt to lay the blame and the responsibility on this committee.

"Secretary HUMPHREY. No; I am not."

Prior to this point in the testimony, Secretary Humphrey had repeatedly stated that the Treasury Department had made a mistake and were partly responsible.

On page 11 of the uncorrected transcript, he stated:

"I think that it was a mistake. I think that it was a mistake that we made in the Treasury in the first instance in suggesting the matter. I think it was a mistake that you gentlemen and all of us participated in as we went along. It is one of those things that can happen, as I have said, when you are doing a job as big as this.

"We thought, and I am sure that you gentlemen thought, that all you were doing was a constructive job, as represented to us, to make the tax accounting and the business accounting coincide, which is a desirable thing if you just say it quickly."

On page 12, Secretary Humphrey further stated:

"So that is why I am here; because I think we made an error. I do not think we appreciated the results of what we said in the law. I don't think we appreciated the results of the advice that we gave you gentlemen. And I think that you gentlemen, on our advice and on your own hearings and on your own determinations, joined with us; and we just all made a mistake which ought to be corrected.

"Mr. MILLS. The error, if is was made at all, was made in the acceptance of the proposition by the Treasury and the suggestion by the Treasury that this provision be included in H. R. 8300.

"Secretary HUMPHREY. We will take our full share of responsibility for it. I think we are all involved."

It was only after Mr. MILLS of Arkansas kept trying to put the entire blame upon the Treasury Department that Mr. Humphrey made the remark you quoted out of context. The questioning and statement of Mr. MILLS were so extreme, and I thought, in error, in trying to take all blame away from the Ways and Means Committee that I entered the colloquy, page 38, to make this statement:

"Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I mainly wanted to clear the record, because I want to disassociate myself from the views of Mr. MILLS, in particular his defense of the committee. I personally am willing, as a member, to assume the responsibility, as a member of this committee, for what we did in H. R. 8300, and I would hate to see the time come when we did not, as a committee, assume responsibility for our actions.

"It is very good to inquire as to why we did certain things, to find out the course, to see where an error was made. But I, personally, think in order to assume any credit for what we did in H. R. 8300, we likewise must assume a responsibility for the harm that we have done. And I am not yet willing to say that this committee is a creature of either the executive department or political caucuses, even though there are members of the committee who seem willing not only to say it but by their actions make it a reality."

On page 92 of the transcript occurs this final colloquy, in point:

"Secretary HUMPHREY. I don't think that anybody had any idea; and I think if we had studied this provision for another year, we would still have put it in without knowing what has happened to date. It took actual application to find out.

"The CHAIRMAN (Hon. JERE COOPER, of Tennessee). I understand that. And I think you very appropriately stated here that the Treasury and you assume your part of the responsibility for the mistake that was made.

"Secretary HUMPHREY. That is right."

On Saturday, March 12, 1955, you have an editorial headed: "Now you see it, now you don't". You complain bitterly about a public relations firm quoting one of your editorials on the Dixon-Yates controversy out of context in relation to the other editorials you have printed on the subject. You conclude the editorial with the sentence, "Sweet are the uses of public relations."

Gentlemen, I think your complaint of being quoted out of context was justified. I suggest that you fight the cause of quoting out of context whenever and wherever it occurs. Also you might occasionally print the arguments on the other side of the Dixon-Yates controversy. This one-sided reporting your paper has indulged in on the Dixon-Yates and other public issues is just as reprehensible as quoting out of context and just as damaging to honest public discussion.

Yours truly,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

Loyalty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following letter from representatives of a great national organization that appeared in the New Times of March 14. It deals with our present loyalty program, reports on a survey conducted on that program, and indicates weaknesses in that program to which we ought to give our most earnest consideration if we are to sustain our standards of equity and justice.

The letter follows:

TO REVISE LOYALTY PROGRAM—RESULTS OF SURVEY PRESENTED AND RECOMMENDATIONS OFFERED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your March 7 editorial, Loyalty and Justice, makes a trenchant and significant contribution to the reexamination and reform of the Federal employee's security program.

On the basis of a survey recently concluded by the Antidefamation League of B'nai B'rith of the operation of the Federal employee security program in the Nation's Capital we heartily agree that further improvements in the program are indicated. We interviewed 8 Washington law arms which have handled a total of more than 450 security cases under the Truman and Eisenhower directives.

The most striking finding developed by the survey is that these lawyers won more than 90 percent of the cases. In other words, in 9 cases out of 10 the formal charges brought by the Government against an employee proved to be groundless.

UNNECESSARY DIFFICULTY

This arithmetic reveals some of the unnecessary hardship and heartache of the security program—because the present policy and practice are that the employee against whom charges are filed must first be suspended. In the overwhelming majority of cases, if past experience is a guide, he will ultimately be reinstated with back pay. But that will take an average of 6 months. Meanwhile, the employee will have been severed from his job. Demoralization will have set in. Reinstatement with back pay cannot completely undo the damage wrought.

It seems clear that security officers have failed to stop a thin or hollow case in its tracks, but have preferred to let the issue go to a hearing board for determination. An indicated reform in the program would be to hold security officers responsible for sending along untenable charges that conscientious preliminary examination or a face-to-face meeting with the employee would have exploded.

All the lawyers consulted agreed on the need to revise the security program so that it will no longer be mandatory to suspend an employee against whom formal charges are filed, before final adjudication. Suspension before hearing may be reserved as a discretionary power in those cases where the employee holds an especially sensitive position and where the evidence against him is especially grave.

INSURING FAIRNESS

The lawyers all testified to the conscientious efforts on the part of present hearing board members to rule out prejudice and insure fair judgment. The few instances of malice or bigotry that cropped up were confined to informants, and the board members were alert to repudiate them when their motivation was revealed during the formal hearing. The extent to which other accusers may have been improperly motivated was, of course, impossible to determine while they remained anonymous.

In several cases superficially serious charges of pro-Communist activity were quickly evaporated when the accuser was cross-examined. Another reform they recommend would provide that an accused employee should have the right to confront his accusers, at least in those cases where the accuser is not an undercover FBI informant.

A third finding and recommendation relate to the need for stricter training and qualifications for security officials. Former Senator Cain raised this point in his recent address when he called for security officials who understand both the Constitution and the history of the United States—especially, the lawyers would add, the history of the complex social forces of the Thirties and early Forties and the movements that mobilized and enlisted honest as well as disloyal dissent.

DIFFERENT MOTIVES

It appeared that employees who showed a special sensitivity to the dangers of nazism in the Thirties or to the need for achieving equal opportunity for America's minority groups have suffered disproportionately in the program. Security officials, whether because of timidity or lack of sophistication, have too frequently failed to distinguish between the employee who joined an organization because he hated Hitler and the employee who joined because he admired Stalin, between the employee who wanted civil rights as an end in itself and the employee who used it merely as a propaganda tactic for communist aims.

One of the virtues of these recommendations in our view is that they do not prejudice the legitimate vital interests of national security, while they strengthen traditional American guaranties of fair play. Indeed, we would argue that they would promote national security by strengthening morale and enhancing confidence in the fairness and humaneness of government.

We are glad to note that the administration has made some improvements which relate to some of the recommendations mentioned above, and that it will continue its review of the operation of the security program.

DAVID A. ROSE,
Chairman, National Civil Rights Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

JACOB GRUMET,
Associate Chairman.

NEW YORK, *March 10, 1955.*

Rice Farming Has Golden Anniversary in Cross County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, as the Nation celebrates National Rice Week, it is interesting to note that Cross County, Ark., is celebrating the golden anniversary of rice farming in that county.

In the March 10 issue of the Wynne Progress, which has been one of the outstanding advocates of a better agricultural economy in Arkansas, there appears a fine article written by Mr. R. A. "Bob" Fisher, which tells the fascinating story of rice farming not only in Cross County but also in America.

Keeping in mind that rice is the biggest "money crop" in world agriculture, the Members should find this article most interesting:

This year, 1955, marks the golden anniversary of rice production in Cross County, although there is no documentary evidence of the fact. According to oldtimers in the county, rice production was first brought to this county by the Evans brothers, of Hickory Ridge, in 1905, but no written record of the first crop is available.

However, golden is a good descriptive word for rice in the country for it has increased in importance until it is now 1 of the 2 great crops in this area.

By 1910 rice farming had started its spread throughout the county. One of the first producers was the late Rush Wright, who planted his first crop in Poinsett County, near the Cross County line, in 1910. He got his seed from the Evans brothers. It was of the Honduras variety and produced very well. Other rice types of this period were the short-grain Pearl rice and Blue Rose.

After 1915 several long-grain varieties were introduced, including Nira, Bluebonnet, Rexark, Fortuna, and others. The most popular of today are Zenith medium grain, Bluebonnet, and Century Patna long grain, and Pearl varieties of short grain.

From the small beginning in 1905, Cross County rice production increased to a total of 63,795 reported acres in 1954, with a crop of more than 3,000,000 bushels of milling rice. The 1955 acreage allotment for the county is slightly above 36,000 acres.

In addition to the milling rice, Cross County produced several thousand bushels of top-quality seed rice. As a money crop, rice is now second only to cotton in the county.

There are now 5 large dryers and 1 rice mill in the county, and several growers have their own dryers. Due to curtailment of production by acreage controls the expansion of drying and milling facilities will probably be at a standstill until controls are lifted or acreage is greatly increased.

RICE IN THE NATION

The first successful introduction of rice culture into the United States was made in 1685. Legend has it that a brigantine sailing from the island of Madagascar suffered heavy damage in a south Atlantic storm and took refuge in the port of Charleston, S. C. While at the port making repairs, the captain of the ship gave a small quantity of rice to a Dr. Henry Woodward, who planted some of it and gave some to a few of his friends. From this seed came the Carolina gold rice which later became the standard of high-quality rice throughout the world.

After introduction of rice into the Carolina colonies production spread rapidly and in 1698 there were 60 tons of rough rice shipped to England from this area. In 1800 the total production in the United States amounted to 65 million pounds.

RICE WAS MONEY

The economic importance of rice in the early colonial period is indicated by the fact that it was once used as a medium of exchange. At one time rice bills were issued in North Carolina redeemable by a tax payable in rice at the rate of 30 shillings ($7.19) for each hundred pounds.

It was full legal tender, or as it was then called, a rated commodity, worth 1 pound, 5 shillings ($5.97) per 100 pounds, cleaned and fit for transportation. It was receivable for all private debt and even for the payment of taxes.

RICE MOVES WEST

Rice was first introduced into Louisiana in 1718 by a group of Frenchmen led by Bienville. For about 50 years thereafter, however, it was not a major staple crop but was grown mostly in small plots as food for laborers and low-income farmers.

After the Civil War rice production increased rapidly in Louisiana and in 1864 total production was 1,600,000 pounds. Within 10 years after the end of the war production reach 22 million pounds and in the 3 years from 1874 to 1877 the figure was doubled.

This unusual increase was due to depressed prices of sugar and cotton following the war and the development of cheap methods of production in the flat lands near the river.

THE CIRCLE WIDENS

The major expansion of rice production in the southwestern area, however, came as the result of a discovery by a visiting Iowa farmer in 1884 that rice could be produced on the broad level prairie lands of southwestern Louisiana by mechanized methods then in use for production of wheat in the upper Mississippi Valley. A single wheat binder was brought in from the midwest to harvest rice mechanically in 1884. Five were used in 1885, 50 in 1886, 200 in 1887, 400 in 1888 and more than 1,000 in 1890.

Upland or nonirrigated rice was grown to a small extent in Texas as early as 1863. The crop did not become of commercial importance until after developments in mechanization in Louisiana. In 1889 there were 8,500 acres being grown on an experimental basis in the Beaumont area in Texas. The test was successful and rice production expanded throughout the east Texas prairie area.

INTO ARKANSAS

In 1902 rice was grown on a limited scale on the Grand Prairie of Arkansas near Lonoke under similar production methods to those in use in Louisiana and Texas. In 1904, there were 400 acres in the Lonoke district and by 1910 Arkansas had become the third most important rice State in the Union.

THE RICE AREAS

There are now three important rice producing sections in the United States. They are the Gulf Coast area of southwestern Louisiana and southeastern Texas. About 60 percent of the United States crop is produced in this region which extends along the Gulf of Mexico inland for 50 to 75 miles from a point near Lafayette in southwestern Louisiana westward to El Campo in southeastern Texas.

The remainder of the production is divided along the Grand Prairie section of eastern Arkansas and tablelands west of Crowley's Ridge from the Missouri to the Louisiana lines, and the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valley of California.

The original rice center, which was the Carolinas and Georgia, is no longer of any great importance in the rice trade.

Future expansion of the region of rice culture is likely to be limited. This is because of the rigid requirements of abundant water, level land, impervious subsoil, and relatively cheap agricultural land.

Four Hundred and Thirty-fourth Anniversary of Magellan's Voyage to the Philippines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, this is the 434th anniversary of a great historic event that I think it fitting should be noted in the Congress of the United States. At the suggestion of my good friend of many years, Dr. John Vdan, long a leader in the Philippine-American group, I am extending my remarks to include an article by Maximiano Marmito Villareal, a Philippine world traveler and author in Esperanto of The Philippine Flag Stands As a Monument in American Democracy.

The article follows:

THE PHILIPPINES FROM MAGELLAN TO MAGSAYSAY

March 16, 1955, is the 434th anniversary of the epic and most brilliant voyage ever attempted by man in the annals of history, which saw Ferdinand Magellan and his wooden Spanish fleet land in the Philippines trodden by a crew of brave Spanish and Portuguese sailors.

This most important highlight and energetic contribution to world history epitomizes the introduction of Christianity into and the immediate opening of that part of the world to western man. It also confirmed the fact touching on the shape of the globe. Christopher Columbus up to the time of his death believed that he had reached and found the border of the mainland of Asia. Magellan, by virtue of his round-the-world journey saw a part of the world which Columbus had missed, yet proved his outstanding theory of the roundness of the globe correct.

On Cebu Island Magellan baptized the native king and his subjects. Then he negotiated a treaty of alliance with the native king in behalf of the Kingdom of Spain which had sponsored this adventurous voyage. This signalized the first treaty ever made in that part of the world between the Orient and the Occident.

Unfortunately Magellan himself was unable to return with his fleet when it made a return voyage back to Seville, Spain, in the capacity of captain general, because he was killed in a battle in Mactan Island where native defending forces gained the upper hand, led by Chief Lapulapu. The victorious side refused to return the corpse of Magellan despite offers of payment of a ransom made by the Spainards.

The courage and heroism of the invasion-repelling natives penetrated so deeply into the patriotic consciousness of the Philippine people that it strongly impressed generation after generation of worthy citizens, eventually steeling them to establish the present Philippine Republic.

Since the visit of Magellan, the Philippines became the connecting, powerful link between all nations of the world in regards to crossing of the high seas for intercontinental promotions of shipping and commerce. This circumstance, considered in its relation to the promptings of able Philippine leaders, serves to aggrandize native approaches toward making contacts on a friendly basis of cooperation—hence the Philippines is virtually a brilliant star in the firmament of international good will, shedding a beacon light in that region of the world for guiding the theoretical and literary navigators in the changing panorama of a progressive world. Such a spirit is ever effectual to diffuse a knowledge of science, invention, geography, history, politics, government, diplomacy, and economics, also commerce and navigation.

Friendly cooperation between the Philippines and the United States which started flourishing immediately after the Battle of Manila Bay, alluding to events which transpired more than a half century ago, contributes notable chapters demonstrating the right road to take in solving complicated world problems and issues. The membership of both countries in the United Nations manifested the greatness of conjoint effort in shapingly influencing international attitudes.

Today the lines of effectual confluent pacification are sharply drawn—conspicuously indicated. Absence of friendly intercourse between alert nations due to nonuse of an international auxiliary idiom whereby the rank and file of all peoples themselves can expressly make known honest, holy aspirations, is truly in our atomic age a barrier of acutely ubiquitous and formidable proportions.

The various peoples must sense the need for participating in the labor, in the fulfillment of undertakings to bring about lasting amicable relations between all nations. By press disclosures, conferences, travel, and through correspondence, publicity concerning the impressions of all peoples is stimulated inculcating assurances of the noble aims of the masses everywhere. Especially by aid of Esperanto, the epochal linguistic veteran of international communication, serving as a neutral, second, easy interlanguage, is this high ideal of interfraternization made possible. As a definite result of its usage people in all parts of continental regions react as though they are neighbors, next-door friends.

The Philippine Republic which is headed by President Ramon Magsaysay and Vice President Carlos P. Garcia, can help considerably by getting in back of UNESCO and its parent United Nations which recently in conference held at Montevideo, Uruguay, passed a resolution favoring Esperanto in token, and in commendation to encourage its role as a neutral auxiliary idiom, and so likewise should President Dwight Eisenhower and Vice President RICHARD NIXON of the United States display the same attitude which serves to instill in the hearts of the multitudes a desire to employ Esperanto as a fitting vehicle of intercontinental communication.

It would certainly be a high-minded accomplishment were the heads, also the elite of all nations engaged in a supreme effort aiming to implement the work of UNESCO by encouraging their several populations to join an enlightened movement for promotion of good will, friendship, and mutual understanding. This is bound to come about where there is an amicable, an earnest exchange of correspondence on the part of citizens of diverse nations who find themselves able to make use of an interlanguage as a neutral medium of intercommunication between language-divided nations.

This would assuredly be directly in line with the main purpose and objectives of the proponents and users of the international interlanguage Esperanto, which is put forward as being a second language for all peoples of the world to employ. The resultant gain in universal benevolence, sustained peace, incessant security, and unalloyed harmony in the international horizon will redound with augmented credit to the benefit and glory, noble traditions and gestures of all countries, thereby ameliorating at long last the chaotic political and economic conditions obtaining nowadays throughout the world, thereby giving voice to still more powerfully, effectively, adequately sustained cooperation that have entered into the thoughts, into the hearts of the Philippine and American peoples.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

Appendix

Natural Gas—What Has Happened

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, what a whale of a difference a few decades make. Only 50 years ago the oil prospector who found some gas wells or—even worse—a gas field, manfully strove to keep from blubbering at his bad luck. For gas was not worth the match that turned it into a fiery monument to waste. Nobody wanted it. There was no way to haul it as you hauled the coal, oil, wood, that stoked the Nation's industrial fires and cooked its meals.

Nor is this all. If someone had then asked any of us to invest in gas, we would have ranked him with the slickers who were "selling" New York's Flatiron Building at bargain-basement prices to honest country folk visiting the metropolis. And that is where we would have made fools of ourselves.

The stone the builders rejected has become a chief cornerstone. Today natural gas is the Nation's sixth largest industry.

Today upward of $12 billion is invested in the gas business. That is a lot of money even in a country where a quarter interest in a champion breed bull brings more than a king's ransom used to bring. And nearly every day someone in this dynamic industry is going to the public for more money to build more facilities to supply more gas to more people. How come? You may ask. What has swiftly transformed natural gas from a blooming nuisance itno a spectacular success?

The chief thing is this. If you produce something—in this case natural gas—that people universally like because it best serves their needs, price it right so that everybody can use it, service it in "the show's the thing" tradition of the trouper who goes onstage even if it kills him, then you are almost sure to become successful. Then you can nail down your success if you do not get too big for your britches and you remember that you are not God's gift to mankind but are just a businessman competing honorably with others who also have good products to sell.

In general, I believe the gas industry has had enough mother wit to abide by these principles. And whenever it forgets them it ought to be—and will be—soundly spanked. As for natural gas itself, evidently there is nothing wrong with it even if—as they are the first to admit with crimson brow—not all gasmen wear fledgling wings. Now I do not like statistics any more than you do, but just as the doctor cannot examine your throat unless you say "ah" through a spoon, so the case cannot be made clear without using a few figures. Here they are:

Thirty-three million families cook with gas.

Eighteen million families heat water with gas.

Four million families use gas refrigerators.

Fourteen million families heat their houses with gas.

It would seem, then, that, next to children, gas is the favorite household pet of them all, for nearly three-fourths of all American families depend upon it in their daily living.

The figures show this but they do not give us the why of it. Why did gas become a household favorite of the American woman who is wife, mother, cook, maid, companion to husband and children, and often helps support the family to boot? Because gas is clean; gas need not be stored as coal and oil are stored; gas contains no built-in waste; gas, if it could sing, could sing Ethel Merman's old favorite to its oil and coal competitors around the house, Anything You Can Do I Can Do Better; gas is priced right.

That last line, as it stands, is idiotic. It is like the advertising that reads: "Joe's pies are better." Better than what? Joe does not tell us. He tries to make us believe that his pies are better than the best pies available even if that is as far from the truth as a pig is from an understanding of Easter.

When I say that "gas is priced right," I mean that it is priced right in relation to its great competitors: coal and oil. Actually I believe that millions of American housewives, because of what one might call the housewifely qualities of natural gas, would willingly pay more for it than for competing fuels. But gas has made its way in the American home against the hard competition of oil and coal not only because of qualities that endear it to the housewife, but also because she could buy it nearly always for less, and certainly not more, than she would have to pay for coal or oil.

Yet—and this is as it should be—the very presence of coal and oil to which the housewife could turn if gasmen had been so stupid as to try to gouge her on prices helped keep the price of gas on the sunny side.

Those who produce gas are proud to have a secure place on the American hearth. It is cozy there and occasionally you can scent the homey aromas of cinnamon and apples coming from the kitchen. But no less proud to have an important place in the American factory. In fact, industry is the biggest customer.

Now, industry, as you know, buys what it needs to buy on one basis only: "Will this article give us better service for a lower price than any competing article on the market?" And that works just fine. Because this basis has produced so much business that gas folks are nearly driven frantic to produce enough gas and build enough pipelines to deliver it to industrial customers whose appetite for gas seems to grow by what they feed upon.

But here again a salutary competition exists for those in the gas business, and if they should ever be foolish enough to forget it, they would deservedly lose their silly little heads. This competition lies in the fact that industry does not have to use natural gas. Gasmen have no monopoly. If, therefore, the gas industry should ever get "above its raisin'," it would price itself out of the market because industry and the housewife can always turn to coal and oil.

What has happened, then, is this: When gas producing was growing from a nuisance to the condition of spectacular success, gasmen sold their product at prices so competitive with other sources of fuel energy that gas won a secure place in American families and industrial life. During this period there was no regulation of gas producers—men who spend their lives hunting for gas—by the Government. But last year the Supreme Court, as you perhaps know, changed all that. It held that producers of natural gas were subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

This is the law. It will remain the law unless Congress should step in and say plainly by statute that it is not in the public interest that producers of natural gas should be subject to Federal regulation and so return to the happy state of yesterday when gas met all comers in the field of competition and made its way to great estate in American life. I have the highest respect for the Supreme Court, but as its own record of reversals of opinions shows, it is not infallible and—praise the Lord—it does not think it is infallible. And fortunately for us free Americans, as a cat may look at a queen, so the humblest layman among us may question the wisdom of the highest legal authority among us. Hence the following observations that simply make sense:

First. Will the regulation of gas producers create greater and greater quantities of gas needed by Americans? I do not think so. Gas producing is risky. It is an enterprise that is neither all adventure nor all business but is always risky. If you hit it right, you may make a lot of money; that is, if you are permitted to bargain in your own way for the sale of your treasure trove. If you do not hit it, you will lose your shirt and there is no Marshall plan for shirtless gas producers. The chances are that you will not hit it, but that has never restrained Americans who have always

been willing to take high risks for the sake of high rewards. But just as there is a big difference between courage and foolhardiness, so there is a big difference between the man who will risk a lot for a hefty reward and the fellow who will risk a lot for a small reward or nothing. The latter does not last long and, while he does, his standing in the community is not enviable.

Second. Federal regulation of utilities has hitherto affected a relatively few firms—railroads, pipelines, and so forth. They are easy to regulate. They are not only few but are remarkably alike in structure and function. And—in return for regulation—the Government often grants them semimonopolistic status and clothes them with awesome rights such as the right of eminent domain—which means that they can confiscate your property, no matter how loud you howl, and pay you a fair price for it.

Yet, how are you going to apply these principles to gas producers? There are thousands of them. They are big, little, and runts. No two are identical. No two have an identical history. They are all bewilderingly different and each—to be fair—would have to be regulated, not on the basis of similarity, but upon the basis of dissimilarity. Yet, no regulatory body can regulate on the basis of dissimilarity for this would introduce into the regulations, not uniformity, but anarchy. But that is what the FPC faces if it is going to regulate fairly thousands of gas producers.

The gas industry is enormously complex, and Mr. Justice Douglas, dissenting from his brethren of the Court who held gas producers to be subject to regulation, said that it was perhaps too complex for the Court to understand upon its own. And it was just here that 50 years ago, Mr. Justice Holmes, one of the most brilliant minds that ever sat on the Supreme Court, said:

> But legislatures and courts generally have recognized that the natural evolutions of a complex society are to be touched only with a very cautious hand.

Everybody agrees it is in the public interest that railroads, say, and some transportation gas and oil pipelines should be federally regulated to guard the public against possible abuse by them. These utilities are, with some exceptions, not producers. They sell a service: transportation. But it is recognized that while Government may regulate railroad rates, it may not regulate the prices of commodities hauled by railroads. Government may say that a railroad may not charge more than $2 a ton to haul coal from Albany to Ashland. But it may not regulate the price of coal.

Some great companies of the gas industry produce gas themselves and transport it through their own pipelines. Sellers of both a commodity—gas—and a service—transportation—they constitute a separate category in the industry whose potential regulation must be considered in the light of their two-way function if great injury is not to result to all concerned.

This enormous distinction has always prevailed between the price of gas in the pipeline and the price of gas at the wellhead—that is, before it has got into the pipeline. At this point it is a commodity. Its price is one between seller, buyer, and the market. No one has ever believed that the price of such a commodity is any more subject to Federal regulation than other commodities are subject to it. Logically, if government is going to regulate the price of gas at the wellhead, it will eventually have to regulate the price of coal at the pithead and the price of oil in the well. This would mean Federal regulation of the great sources of fuel energy. And since America is what one might call combusion on wheels, the day would then be at hand when government, through control of our fuel energy sources, could control every business in this land from the greatest steel company to the smallest peanut roaster. I do not believe that is what Congress intended when it wrote the Natural Gas Act in 1938. I do not believe that that is what the overwhelming majority of the American people want either. And I do not think it is what you want. Hence, I think this is a matter of concern to all who want to go on in the future as a free-enterprise nation.

I hope, therefore, that Congress will declare that the regulation of natural-gas producers is not in the public interest. But pending its action, and regardless of what action it takes, I want to say this:

The gas people are loyal American citizens just as you are. They shall abide by the Supreme Court's decision so long as it is the law. They will do their best to find more gas to supply more people even if it must be done with one hand tied. They believe they can do an even greater job in the future than they have in the past if given the chance to do it. In the meanwhile, they are trying to tell people what is happening, serene in the belief that if they are right—and I profoundly believe they are—the people of this Nation will see to it that right prevails.

The New Concept of Education Embodied in the Land-Grant College Movement Not Limited to Two Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert into the RECORD my reply to a news release from Michigan State College concerning my statement to the press about the Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University commemorative-stamp issue of February 12, 1955, a copy of which was filed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 16, by Hon. CHARLES E. POTTER, Senator from Michigan. My original statement appeared in the RECORD of March 15, 1955.

This commemorative stamp honoring the centennial of the founding of Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University is referred to in the Michigan State College release as a stamp "to honor the founders of the new concept of higher education." The new concept of education in agriculture and mechanical arts in institutions of higher learning had been started in other colleges and universities throughout the Nation. It was a part of the productive growth of this country, and the tremendous westward expansion, and the need felt for practical education and wider educational advantages for more Americans. To single out only two State institutions to honor for this new concept of higher education is to deny the significant contemporary movements, in other States, to establish a broader base in higher education. Senator Justin Morrill, author of the Land-Grant College Act named for him, emphasized this in a speech before the Vermont Legislature at Montpelier in 1888, when he said:

> The fundamental idea was to offer an opportunity in every State for a liberal and larger education to larger numbers, not merely to those destined to sedentary professions but to those much needing higher instruction for the world's business, for the industrial pursuits and professions of life.[1]

In Iowa, for example, in 1848—

> The legislature asked Congress to grant to the State the site and buildings of Fort Atkinson in Winneshiek County, with two sections of land, for an agriculture college. Nothing came of this movement, but on December 28, 1853, the State agriculture society was organized by people interested in agricultural education. * * * Petitions for an agricultural college multiplied and finally on March 22, 1858, Governor Lowe approved a bill for a State agricultural college and farm.[2]

This is only one example of the movement which was evolving in many States at that time. In fact, Iowa was also active during the consideration of the Morrill Act of 1859 which was vetoed by President Buchanan. Earle Ross in his History of Iowa State College points this out in the following description:

> Iowa legislators authorized the establishment of an agricultural college with the definite expectation of Federal aid for their project, either through general grants to the States such as that proposed in the first Morrill bill then pending or by a special subsidy. * * *
>
> On March 3, 1858, the legislature approved a memorial to Congress asking "a donation of 50,000 acres of land, to be taken from public lands in this State, for the purpose of establishing scientific agricultural schools." The memorial urged that "the farmers of the State of Iowa are exceedingly desirous to establish a scientific agricultural college and schools for the purpose of giving freely to all a profound knowledge of the great truths and fundamental principles of nature."[3]

The Michigan State College release contains a quotation from Dr. Russell I. Thackery, president of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities. This, in my opinion, cannot be taken as a definitive answer to the question. I

---

[1] True, Alfred Charles. A history of agricultural education in the United States. 1785–1925. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1929. P. 109.

[2] Ibid., p. 152.

[3] Ross, Earle D. A history of Iowa State College. Ames, the Iowa State College Press, 1942. P. 35.

call to your attention that he is quoted as having said:

I think it is generally recognized that Michigan State is the first agricultural college of its type actually in operation deserves the distinction of being called the first land-grant institution.

You cannot build historical fact on what people think. Where does this place Pennsylvania State Agricultural College which, according to the stamp issue, is also celebrating its 100th anniversary and is designated by this as first of the land-grant colleges?

An additional error in fact, I would like to point out, occurs in the Michigan State College news release. They would have us believe that Dr. Adonijah Strong Welch was, and I quote:

A president imported directly from the East Lansing campus, according to Dr. Madison Kuhn, Michigan State College historian and author of the forthcoming book Michigan State—The First Hundred Years.

According to Earle D. Ross in his History of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Dr. Welch was head of Michigan State Normal College at Ypsilanti, Mich., in 1852 and "he served general education by the promotion to teachers' institutes and of a State teachers' association and aided technical training by service on the board of the agricultural college."[4] He was not "imported directly from the East Lansing campus," as the Michigan State College press release says because, according to Earle Ross:

In 1865, failing health caused him to seek a milder climate, and he went to Florida, where he engaged in lumbering and fruit growing near Jacksonville. * * * His leadership in reconstruction politics had been felt among northern residents of Florida, and he was offered one of the senatorships of the restored State government. * * * On June 17, 1868, he was chosen by the Florida Legislature for the short senatorial term ending March 3, 1869, took his seat on July 2, and served the remaining 25 days of the long session before assuming his academic duties in Iowa.[5]

In addition to this, I have also noted that in its centennial pamphlet, The First 100 Years of a New Educational Concept, Michigan State College states that it "and most of the the 53 land-grant colleges rank among the largest and best-known universities of the world." Their reputation is not disputable. Their contribution to American higher education deserves recognition, but there are not 53 land-grant institutions, there are 69.

There are two more points from my original statement I wish to reemphasize today. First, I salute those two great institutions—Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University—on the occasion of their centennial celebrations and hope that their next hundred years will be as successfull and as resourceful as the first hundred.

Secondly, there was no such thing as a land-grant college under the Morrill Act in 1855 since the national legislation creating them was not enacted until 1862. Granted there were agricultural colleges which later were designated for the functions of the Morrill Act, but they were not land-grant colleges until the several State legislatures accepted the terms of the Morrill Act and officially specified which State educational institution was to be the agricultural and mechanical arts college.

I call upon the presidents of these two fine institutions to review the documented facts as outlined here, as well as others which further study will reveal, in order that the reputations for truth and honesty which they have earned through their outstanding records will not be questioned in a situation like this where they seem to be taking advantage of others who should at least share in the honors.

The Post Office Department should be absolved of blame because it was led to believe that the picture as presented by these institutions represented the whole truth when it seems evident that this is not the case.

[4] Ibid., p. 60.
[5] Loc. cit.

The Need for Improvement in the Social-Security System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to amend the Social Security Act in order to provide for greater economic security for our senior citizens over the age of 60 when they reach the evening of their life.

Because of the increasing number of older people in our population, there is a growing interest in the economic and social problems which have arisen as a result of this change in the makeup of this country's population. I believe we should give more serious thought to these problems so that we can deal more adequately with the growing number of elderly people and afford them the opportunity to spend their declining years in greater comfort and fewer economic worries.

In the last few years there have been some changes in the structure of our social-security system, which has been expanded to include greater numbers of our citizens, and the benefits have been somewhat liberalized. It is my conviction, however, that we have not gone far enough. There are still some serious deficiencies which should be corrected. In many instances the benefits are far from adequate and provide only a minor part of the needed security. In other instances the age limitation is too rigid, so that many people who are in dire need of this security cannot obtain it.

My bill aims to correct some of these deficiencies by improving and increasing the social-security benefits and by decreasing the age limit so that more people would be entitled to these benefits at a time when they are most urgently in need of this assistance.

The bill which I am introducing seeks to amend title II of the Social Security Act in four major respects, namely, to increase the minimum benefits, to increase the amount of outside earnings, to reduce the retirement age at which such benefits become payable, and to extend coverage to include self-employed professionals. Let us examine these four amendments more closely.

First. Increase in minimum benefits: The minimum monthly benefits payable under the social-security system at the present is $30. This is a most inadequate sum for an elderly person to be able to subsist on for an entire month at the current cost of living rate, especially where these people are no longer physically able to earn the limited outside income permissible under the law. Talk to any of our older citizens receiving this minimum and you will find that they are quite bitter and resentful over it. They feel that they are the forgotten people.

Consequently, I am proposing to raise the minimum monthly payments to $40, which averages at about $1.30 per day over the month—not a very large sum to cover even the most elementary needs. Nevertheless, I am certain that this small increase will be greatly appreciated by many elderly people throughout the country.

Second. Increase in the amount of outside earnings: Under our present law, those entitled to receive social-security payments are allowed to earn up to $100 per month without deduction or loss of such benefits. There are still many among our older citizens who are able to work and they desire to do so in order to maintain a greater degree of economic independence and to keep themselves productively occupied. They can still render good services for their community and for the country as a whole, and we need not deprive them of this opportunity prematurely.

Therefore, I urge that the so-called work clause in the Social Security Act be amended to allow these people to supplement their income through part-time work whereby they can earn up to $125 per month or a total of $1,500 per year, instead of $1,200 per year as at present.

Third. Lowering of retirement age: I consider this as the most important amendment proposed in my bill. A lowering in the eligibility age for entitlement to retirement benefits under social security is long overdue. Somehow, in the changes and improvements made in the law in recent years, this badly needed change was overlooked. Today, the age limit for eligibility to social-security benefits still remains at 65, and this age has become a yardstick of retirement. This causes a great hardship on many persons between the ages of 60 and 65 who are suffering from ill health and are no longer able to work and earn a livelihood.

It is particularly causing a great hardship for widows in this age group, who must wait until they reach the age of 65 before they can qualify for survivor's insurance. At the age of 60 or more women have almost no chances of ob-

taining any kind of employment. In most instances they have no income on which they could fall back, and unless they have children to aid them they must turn to public relief in order to maintain themselves. I believe they should be taken off the relief rolls and provided for in a dignified manner the same as other elderly people.

It is estimated that there are some 6 million people, men and women, between the ages of 60 and 65. Fortunately, the overwhelming majority of these people still work and prefer to continue to work. But the few hundred thousand among them who have become ill and disabled cannot receive any benefits until they reach 65 and they face the alternatives of either becoming public charges or starving. Surely, this is no way to treat our senior citizens who have a right to expect at least a minimum of economic security from their country at a time when they can no longer be productive.

I am suggesting in my bill to lower the retirement age for entitlement to social-security benefits from 65 to 60 years. I am familiar with the argument that this will cost us a large sum of money, but at this time I do not wish to go into a full discussion on this point. Suffice it to say, that the same arguments were made when social security was first enacted and they are being made each time an amendment liberalizing the system comes before the Congress. Yet, our social-security fund is growing from year to year. If it is a question of a choice between saving a few hundred million dollars annually or providing economic security to people between 60 and 65 who are dependent on such aid for their daily sustenance, I shall gladly choose the latter. Furthermore, this money will be used by the beneficiaries for food, clothing, rent, and other necessities of life and it will thus go right back into our economy.

Fourth. Extension of coverage: The fourth and last amendment of my bill calls for the extension of coverage to certain professional groups which are not now included in our social-security system. I refer specifically to self-employed lawyers, doctors, dentists, osteopaths, veterinarians, and optometrists. They should be afforded proper coverage under the law the same as other self-employed persons. There is no reason why these people should be discriminated against in enjoying the same degree of economic security as other American citizens.

Mr. Speaker, we must begin to look upon the problem of our aging population in a more realistic and more humane way. To ignore this problem as if it did not exist means that we are committing a grave injustice to millions of our elderly citizens, who deserve better treatment. By enacting the changes proposed in my bill, we shall take a decided step forward toward providing greater economic security for the American people. The provisions suggested in this bill will help to remove some of the more glaring deficiencies of the social-security system.

These amendments are neither unreasonable nor impracticable. It is a sincere effort to improve our social-security system in such a way that existing discriminations are eliminated and the greatest number of our people would be able to look forward in their old age to receiving adequate economic protection. They have earned this protection and they deserve to receive it when they most need it.

Republicans and Democrats Beware

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Fairmont Daily Sentinel of March 1, 1955, entitled "Republicans and Democrats Beware":

The more than $3 billion thrown out the window in foreign aid by one man alone—Harold E. Stassen, repudiated Minnesota politician—about equals the deficit the American taxpayers must make up in our national budget. It has bought us no good will, no loyalty, accomplished nothing toward promoting the security of our Nation. The FOA, which Stassen heads, was supposed to have been liquidated in June 1955, but already Minnesota's "wonder boy" has his target set for saving Asia through continuous giveaways through the Foreign Operations Administration.

The FOA is only one of the countless agencies set up under the New and Fair Deal administrations and perpetuated under the Eisenhower administration. The agencies are neither Republican nor Democrat in concept; rather, they are an entirely new breed of political hybrid spawned within the ranks of both parties. They have taken over and, through propaganda agencies supported by money exacted from American taxpayers, have formulated and sold the world on a new concept of Americanism that has left us largely without friends, even among those who naturally should be our allies.

The $3 billion spent by Stassen in the FOA, the $112 billion dug up by American taxpayers since 1940, would have built a lot of schools, hospitals and roads in the United States. (He is asking more than $5 billion for 1955.)

We couldn't afford the $3 billion plan which, in 7 years, would have reclaimed enough land to have provided more than 20,000 farms from wastelands in the United States. But, under the guidance, the propaganda and efforts of the do-gooders and one-worlders, the American taxpayers dug up five times that amount, in the same period for the ECA and MSA, to be spent in foreign lands.

We stage drives to raise a pitifully few dollars for our own homes for crippled and underprivileged children, but the American taxpayer is stripped—without so much as "by your leave"—of almost $100 million for the United Nations Children's Fund for child health overseas.

The American taxpayer, under programs devised by the political hybrids of both major parties during the past 14 years, have played nursemaid to 40-odd nations who have stripped them to the extent of more than $112 billion; yet, we have made no new friends. We have lost many of the old ones. We are viewed with suspicion by those who should be our allies.

It is high time that Republicans and Democrats alike take an inventory. Even this rich nation, with only 7 percent of the world's population, cannot continue indefinitely, to be saddled with the burden of carrying 97 percent of the world's inhabitants. The American taxpayer is hardy, but not that hardy.

We have been on the programs long enough to know by now that "throwing" the money at them has won us no new friends, no new allies. In case of actual need, let them come and ask for it. They'd have a lot more respect for us if they did.

Regulation of the Water Levels of Lake Ontario

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a press release issued yesterday by the International Joint Commission with respect to regulation of the water levels of Lake Ontario.

The Commission, following a meeting earlier this week in Montreal, arrived at the tentative conclusion that the water levels of the lake can be regulated in accordance with the interests of all the users of the lake. Under its proposals, the normal fluctuations of the lake, which have ranged through 6.6 feet, will be reduced by as much as 2.6 feet, while the outflow will be maintained at a level which will benefit lakeshore property owners as well as navigation and power interests.

In my judgment, Mr. Speaker, the Commission deserves warm commendation for this constructive proposal. With the seaway and power developments taking place on the St. Lawrence River, residents of the lakeshore have feared, and not without reason, that their properties could be flooded and destroyed, and that they would be without legal remedies. The proposals of the International Joint Commission should, if approved, go far to assure them, as well as the power and navigation interests, that the interests of all can be protected. This is indeed a welcome step on the part of the Commission.

The release follows:

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION,
UNITED STATES AND CANADA,
Washington, D. C., March 16, 1955.

Following is text of press release for simultaneous release in Montreal and Washington:

"At its meeting held in Montreal on March 14, 15, and 16, 1955, the International Joint Commission examined with its technical advisers the feasibility of reducing the wide fluctuations of levels (up to 6.6 feet) which have prevailed on Lake Ontario in the past. The Commission came to the tentative conclusion that, having due regard to all the interests concerned, both upstream and downstream from the International Rapids Section, it would be technically feasible to operate the St. Lawrence power project so

as to reduce the wide range of fluctuations of levels on Lake Ontario.

"In order to achieve this desirable result, the Commission's tentative view is that a new method of regulation for the waters used in the project must be substituted for the method of regulation No. 5 referred to in the Commission's order of approval of October 29, 1952. The new method of regulation would fulfill the basic requirements of that order and would comply with the detailed criteria attached hereto. These criteria are designed to result in benefit to all interested parties. They will afford protection for downstream interests and, in fact, would improve conditions on Lake St. Louis. The lakeshore property owners on Lake Ontario will find substantial relief from the high water levels which reached a recorded peak of 249.3 feet. The maximum level under historical supply conditions, would under the regulation proposed not exceed 248 feet. Navigation interests will gain the advantage of 1.3 feet in depth, which is important under low water conditions, by virtue of raising the extreme low Lake Ontario stage of record from 242.7 feet to to 244 feet. Water supply, sanitation, recreational, municipal, and other lakeshore interests will also benefit from this substantial improvement in low water conditions. Finally, the power interests will obtain, under the new method of regulation, a regulated flow of water which will represent an improvement over benefits which might have been calculated under the method contemplated in 1952.

"The International Joint Commission has scheduled public hearings to be held in Rochester, N. Y., on April 12 and in Toronto, Ontario, on April 14 to hear the views of all interested parties on these tentative conclusions."

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION—PROPOSED CRITERIA FOR A METHOD OF REGULATION OF OUTFLOWS AND LEVELS OF LAKE ONTARIO APPLICABLE TO THE WORKS IN THE INTERNATIONAL RAPIDS SECTION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

(a) The regulated outflow from Lake Ontario from April 1 to December 15 shall be such as not to reduce the minimum level of Montreal Harbor below that which would have occurred in the past with the supplies to Lake Ontario since 1860 adjusted to a condition assuming a continuous diversion out of the Great Lakes Basin of 3,100 cubic feet per second at Chicago, and a continuous diversion into the Great Lakes Basin of 5,000 cubic feet per second from the Albany River Basin (hereinafter called the "supplies of the past as adjusted").

(b) The regulated winter outflows from Lake Ontario from December 15 to March 31 shall be as large as feasible and shall be maintained so that the difficulties of winter power operation are minimized.

(c) The regulated outflow from Lake Ontario during the annual spring breakup in Montreal Harbor and in the river downstream shall not be greater than would have occurred assuming supplies of the past as adjusted.

(d) The regulated outflow from Lake Ontario during the annual flood discharge from the Ottawa River shall not be greater than would have occurred assuming supplies of the past as adjusted.

(e) Consistent with other requirements, the minimum regulated monthly outflow from Lake Ontario shall be such as to secure the maximum dependable flow for power.

(f) Consistent with other requirements, the maximum regulated outflow from Lake Ontario shall be maintained as low as possible to reduce channel excavations to a minimum.

(g) Consistent with other requirements, the levels of Lake Ontario shall be regulated for the benefit of property owners on the shores of Lake Ontario in the United States and Canada so as to reduce the extremes of stage which have been experienced.

(h) The regulated monthly mean level of Lake Ontario shall not exceed elevation 248.0 with the supplies of the past as adjusted.

(i) Under regulation, the frequencies of occurrences of monthly mean elevations of approximately 247 and higher on Lake Ontario shall be less than would have occurred in the past with the supplies of the past as adjusted and with present channel conditions in the Galops Rapids section of the Saint Lawrence River.

(j) The regulated level of Lake Ontario on April 1 shall not be lower than elevation 244. The regulated monthly mean level of the lake from April 1 to November 30 shall be maintained at or above elevation 244.

(k) In the event of supplies in excess of the supplies of the past as adjusted, the works in the International Rapids section shall be operated to provide all possible relief to the riparian owners upstream and downstream. In the event of supplies less than the supplies of the past as adjusted, the works in the International Rapids section shall be operated to provide all possible relief to navigation and power interests.

Statement of Dean K. Webster, Jr., Before House Committee on Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement of Dean K. Webster, Jr., president of the H. K. Webster Co., of Lawrence, Mass., before the House Committee on Agriculture on H. R. 694, H. R. 1831, H. R. 2007, and H. R. 2137:

My name is Dean K. Webster, Jr., and I am president of the H. K. Webster Co., a Massachusetts corporation engaged in livestock feed manufacturing, with principal offices at Lawrence, Mass., and a sizeable feed-manufacturing plant located at Richford, Vt. I also have the honor to occupy at the present time the office of chairman of the board of directors of the American Feed Manufacturers Association, headquarters Chicago, Ill., which is a national association of feed manufacturers with present membership of 317 active and 375 associate members. I am asked to represent this association whose members small and large account for the majority tonnage of the manufacture and distribution of some 35,000,000 tons of livestock feed annually within the United States. We do urge the enactment of legislation in principle as described in the above-named bills, to afford an effective means of protection of an innocent purchaser of Commodity Credit Corporation stocks of fungible goods from inequitable recovery suits by Commodity Credit, provided he as a defendant in such suit can prove his purchase made in good faith, for full value, and without knowledge of improper conversion of such goods by the storing warehousemen.

1. In order to make clear how our members are very seriously affected in the matter under consideration, we would like to explain briefly the basis of manufacture of our products and the method by which we acquire the grains and byproduct materials used in our processing. Carloads of grains, such as corn, oats, barley, sorghums, are brought into our elevators, together with numerous byproduct materials, such as bran, middlings, gluten feed, distillers grains, soybean meal, linseed meal, hominy feed, etc., minerals, such as salt, phosphate, and calcium, and various vitamins and antibiotics materials, all of which are ground and blended together into finished poultry and livestock feeds scientifically formulated according to the nutritional requirements of the several types of livestock. These finished feeds are packaged, properly labeled under State regulations and control, and reshipped by rail or by truck to the thousands of retail grain stores for distribution to the hundreds of thousands, yes millions, of actual feeders, poultrymen, dairymen, cattle and hog raisers, etc. in the various sections of the country.

2. Of the 35 million tons production of livestock feeds, the largest proportion of ingredients, perhaps half, consist of grains, corn, oats, barley, sorghums, and wheat, in about this order of importance, with corn by far the most important. This huge tonnage of grains runs to many hundreds of millions of bushels, many hundreds of thousands of carloads. The great bulk of these grains are purchased on Federal grading standards, such as No. 2 yellow corn, 40-lb. No. 2 white oats, etc., with smaller proportions on lot samples, and direct from producing farms. The marketing of these grains from the producers in the grain surplus producing areas, through the country elevators, to the great terminal elevators in Chicago, Kansas City, Toledo, Buffalo, and many lesser centers, thence to the feed manufacturers, processors and others who finally receive them for consumption in manufacturing feed or other purposes, is a marvel of efficiency gained from many years experience, in which the so-called grain trade has achieved the highest degree of integrity and reliability. The typical feed manufacturer is purchasing almost daily a number of carloads of these grains. His buyer, for example, on the trading floor of the Boston Grain and Flour Exchange during trading hours receives through brokers quotations from many grain houses large and small in grain marketing centers, practically minute by minute, and on decision to purchase, an order is confirmed by word of mouth, by wire or telephone, and subsequently in writing, for a specific quantity of a specific grain, such as No. 2 yellow corn. The seller is bound by the trade rules to deliver the specific grade of grain in carload lots, with invoices and drafts accompanied by Federal inspection certificates and official weight certificates. In a given contract shipment, say from Chicago, no question of which elevator or which bin of a warehouse concerns the buyer, he depends wholly on the certificates of Federal inpection and weights. The grains are fungible goods, the unit is the carload and it is an impossibility to identify from what bins the individual car has been drawn—the individual car shipped carries its own new identity as determined by the Federal inspector who issues his official certificate. It would be an unnecessary burden upon the time of the committee to go into further detail as to the procedures of the regular channels of trade through which the typical feed manufacturer purchases his supplies of grains. The particular point here is that the feed manufacturer through long years of trading with well established reputable grain houses in the principal grain marketing centers, has been fully warranted in relying completely on the dependability and integrity of his shippers, supported by the usual Federal inspection and weight certificates furnished with each carload shipped. The idea that somewhere in the flow of grain from producing farms through the trade channels some illegally acquired grain would come to light

among his purchases is entirely foreign to his experience.

3. Now comes into the picture a series of claims and suits by Commodity Credit Corporation against purchasers of grains alleged to have been illegally withdrawn from CCC warehouse stocks, many of which purchasers are feed manufacturers totally innocent of any complicity in the conversion of the grain and without any possible means of guarding themselves against involvement at time of purchase. The enormity of the problem facing the Commodity Credit Corporation in carrying out price-support programs involving adequate and proper storage for the tremendous volume of commodities which have come into its hands, we fully recognize, and it is probably inevitable that despite the most elaborate and painstaking procedures for supervision and policing of these huge stocks, some incidents of conversion losses would occur. It is entirely the duty of Commodity Credit Corporation to seek out these cases and recover so far as possible from guilty parties. Certainly in those cases in which a purchaser knowingly participated in any manner in the conversion, full recovery should be had through every legal resort, but we submit that in most of the cases now instituted by CCC the purchasers acted in complete good faith without knowledge or warning that the seller was passing on converted Commodity-owned goods, and were, therefore, completely innocent of any complicity in such conversion. We believe that most of the original purchasers, and subsequent repurchasers from the original purchasers, were innocent buyers in good faith for full value. If Commodity should recover these losses from innocent purchasers in a substantial number of these suits, many innocent feed manufacturers and other purchasers will be seriously, even disastrously, injured, and the continuance of such actions in the future would undoubtedly have a most harmful and far-reaching impact on the free movement of fungible goods all the way from warehousemen to the ultimate consumer. The serious nature of the problem has been stated by officials of the Department of Agriculture who recognize that it is impossible for a purchaser to check the seller's title to fungibles at the moment of purchase. Purchase and sale of fungibles between country elevators, commission firms, terminal elevators, and feed manufacturers and other ultimate consumers are usually handled by telephone or wire, and are consummated almost instantaneously. The highest degree of faith in such transactions is well known and is necessary for the facility of trading in the free and competitive movement of these grains to market.

4. It would seem to be of paramount interest not only to the purchasers of these fungible goods but to the original producers of the commodities and the public generally, that this situation be clarified by legislation at the earliest possible moment to prevent further more serious disruption of the free competitive markets which accomplish the move of these commodities, let alone the unfair direct losses to the innocent purchasers. The committee is aware that a bill, H. R. 6878, similar to the present bills under consideration was presented to the 83d Congress, was favorably reported out of the House Committee on Agriculture, but failed of adoption before adjournment. We respectfully refer to the Report No. 2655 to the 83d Congress, 2d session, by Congressman HOPE, on that bill, H. R. 6878, as well as the hearings of the House Agriculture Committee of July 14, 1954, on this same bill. Several new bills now before this committee are designed for the same intent. We, representing the feed manufacturers of the United States, respectfully urge the most careful scrutiny and consideration of these bills by your committee and pray your favorable report on same to the Congress with such possible changes as deemed proper, not changing the intent. Without a proper correction of the existing situation, the proverbial sword of Damocles hangs over our head, and, indeed, the continuance of the efficient marketing of the grains and commodities developed through long years of experience is seriously threatened.

How Can America Sell Democracy Abroad?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, very recently, Helen L. Calvert, a pupil at Valley Local High School in Buffalo, Guernsey County, Ohio, was selected by Our Times, a national senior high-school paper, as one of the top winners in a current affairs awards competition. She has received a modest scholarship award on the basis of her scholastic record, a 650-word essay dealing with current affairs and other criteria. She competed with hundreds of other top students from 39 States, Alaska, and Hawaii. It is significant that she was a winner, but it is more significant that her essay is a thoughtful, considered approach to a problem which confronts our Nation which may be food for thought for the Americans of today. I am pleased to present the prizewinning essay by Helen L. Calvert entitled "How Can America Sell Democracy Abroad?":

HOW CAN AMERICA SELL DEMOCRACY ABROAD?

Not long after the formation of the United States, our statesmen began striving to establish this country as a competent and independent nation in the eyes of the older and more powerful European countries. Since then we have developed our natural resources, industries, and our unique form of government, until we, ourselves became a world power. Americans, down through the years have transformed our beloved country from a vast wilderness to a modern, well-developed, and powerful United States that we know today, armed with abundant initiative, energy, and enterprise.

The democratic view holds that every citizen is a creator of values, and that each man may make his own decisions. Far from seeking to set up a single standard for what is right and good, democracy values and cherishes the differences among people.

We have been trying for years to sell democracy abroad. It hasn't always been referred to in exactly these terms, but still the goal was the same. Many different methods have been tested, then discarded, in a long struggle to initiate a democratic form of government into the so-called backward countries. These countries are somewhat wary of accepting us or our standards. Why is this?

In earlier American history, we find that our Nation was aloofly regarded by Latin-American countries as the great colossus of the north when we tried to protect them by playing the part of the big brother. The Latin Americans felt they were being looked down upon. Similarly, we find that many Europeans are injured by the Americans' unintentional air of superiority toward them.

A recent article, stated that visitors are frequently so confused by a maze of restriction as they enter our country that they return home to complain to their government or newspaper about American bureaucratic injustice and to say that we are shutting the United States behind a legal curtain.

This practice cannot aid us in our battle to win countries over to the democratic way of life. Nor do the Americans help who go to Europe and act as if they own the world—continually belittling others. Also working against us is the fact that counterfeiters have been using famous American trademarks to sell cheap substitutes. These counterfeiters, both Americans and foreigners, are at work on practically every continent, fraudulently claiming to represent reliable products ranging from Parker and Sheaffer pens to Auto-Lite parts and from Quaker Oats to Squibb's penicillin.

America's greatness and riches have been flaunted before the eyes of Europeans for so long that certain countries have made a practice of inventing imaginary "pains" or "trouble spots," then "borrowing" several billion dollars from Uncle Sam. As a result, we have come to be regarded as the rich uncle whom no one bothers to repay.

I cannot help but feel that by complying with the wishes of the spendthrifts and by unloading commodities on nations which are not ready for them, we are hindering rather than helping them. Louis Bromfield says that democracy is a luxury, compounded of many things. It must be earned by the people who enjoy it. It is the product of literacy, intelligence, and education; but it is also the product of prosperity and well-being. We have been fortunate in being still underpopulated and in possessing vast internal wealth in the form of natural resources. Countries lacking in these advantages must manufacture and trade in order to maintain good living standards. Where there is not enough, true democracy has small chance. A prosperous Russia, a prosperous China and Japan, a prosperous Europe are the best guarantors of peace.

We must show the world what we really are—not just as a Nation—but as individuals.

How can we sell democracy? We can, first, acknowledge our faults, and strive to overcome them. We know we aren't perfect—so let's admit it. Then when it comes right down to foreign aid we can show others new methods, not in the manner of a patient teacher with a group of first graders, but as one neighbor to another. We can continue sponsoring student-exchange groups which acquaint foreign students with Americans and American methods. But at the same time we can back our American corporations which are engaged in private foreign-aid programs that will create industries and higher standards of living all over the world. These programs help to give the people the will—and show them the means—by which they may help themselves. The ability and the incentive of a people to better themselves is a positive steppingstone to democracy.

White House Guests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I

include the following editorial from the Jackson (Miss.) State-Times:

WHITE HOUSE GUESTS

Among the 525 men who have been guests at 38 White House stag dinners, there have been 294 businessmen, 81 administration officials, 51 publishers or editors, 23 Republican Party leaders, and lesser numbers in other categories. It would be unfair to Mr. Eisenhower and to his guests to draw any specific inferences from the size of the various groups, but we can't escape the conclusion that the character of the Eisenhower administration is largely reflected in his choice of dinner companions.

You Can't Fool All of the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by David Lawrence, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on March 16, 1955, outlines the reaction of our citizens to some of the policies of the Democrat Party:

DEMOCRATS' MONEY POLICY IS SEEN ALIENATING VOTERS

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, March 15.—Maybe the Republican Party is as weak, on account of internal friction as Vice President NIXON says it is, but even so he may be proved wrong about the ability of the party to win in 1956 should President Eisenhower decide not to run.

For the truth is the Democrats are unwittingly engaged in building up such a nationwide fear of their party that almost any Republican nominee may be able to poll a victory next year.

The Democrats are giving about the worst possible example of public relations from their own viewpoint—how to alienate the very group of voters most needed by them to win a presidential election.

The so-called low-income groups have always, for the most part, been registered on the Democratic side. Elections are won in America today by mobilizing the maximum number of independent voters who are concerned with the conservation of their savings and their jobs.

While the demagogs on the radical Democratic side spend their time trying to undermine confidence in the stock market and crying out about the removal of double taxes on dividends, they overlook the vast number of voters who have invested their money and now see their savings hurt in value by the Democratic propaganda campaign.

THE DEMOCRATS' MISTAKE

Home owners and car owners of today are deeply interested in property rights. They have far more sense than the Democratic orators credit them with having. The idea that a $20 tax cut, for example, would win all the low- and middle-income groups is fallacious, as there are other factors far more important to them at work. To assume that the large body of independent voters who swing the balance of power would be ensnared by any such obvious bait is to underestimate the intelligence of a large segment of voters.

The mistake which the Democrats are making is to give the impression that, if they get in power, they will destroy American business initiative and that they will favor tax legislation virtually sabotaging the American industrial structure.

The nature of the speeches of attack made in Congress by the Democrats is well understood by the independent voters, who know that the derisive talk about the favor to "dividend boys" happens to strike hard at many millions of men and women who have invested a small amount of savings in stocks and who depend on dividends, directly and indirectly.

The Democratic spokesmen have set out to discourage the creation of jobs—at least that's the impact their remarks make on businessmen. The Democrats are back to the "leaf raking" days of the 1930's, when they talked about the Government doles to "increase purchasing power." Fortunately, the American people today are more investment-minded than this and will not accept the idea that prosperity can be achieved by bigger and bigger deficits in the Treasury.

"SOUND MONEY" ISSUE

If the Democratic Party keeps on frightening the property owners of the country, it will be a long time before the Democrats will win another national election. Back in 1893, when the panic came, the voters made up their minds that the Democratic Party was unsound on money matters, and from 1896 to 1912 the Republicans won every presidential election on a platform of "sound money." The Democrats will have to meet such attacks again, because the purchasing power of the dollar diminished considerably when they were in office. Here is what Senator BYRD, conservative Democrat, says on this point:

"When public debt is not paid off in taxes, liquidation takes the form of disastrous inflation or national repudiation. Our form of government cannot survive either.

"The continuing toboggan of the purchasing power of our dollar which, through the year just ended, has dropped more than 25 percent since the end of World War II, demonstrates our progress along this primrose path * * * our taxes are burdensome, but we would merely increase the burden by borrowing money to reduce them."

The conservative Democrats unfortunately are few in number, as is shown by the latest vote in the Senate rejecting the $20 tax cut. The radical leadership in both Houses on the Democratic side has accepted the same unsound doctrines which made the words "Democratic Party" a bogyman among voters for many generations of American history.

Mr. NIXON needn't be so pessimistic. Just as Harry Truman helped elect the Republicans in 1952, so, according to present indications, will the Democratic majority in Congress help the Republicans win in 1956. For when any political party generates fear and begins to tinker with the delicate mechanism of the dollar, it takes a risk of defeat at the polls.

An Irish Blessing on St. Patrick's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article entitled "An Irish Blessing," which I received in the mail this St. Patrick's Day from the Honorable John J. Griffin, vice president of the United Bank and Trust Co., St. Louis, Mo.:

AN IRISH BLESSING

May the blessed light be on you, light without and light within. May the blessed sunlight shine on you and warm your heart until it glows like a great fire, so that the stranger may come and warm himself at it, and also a friend.

And may the light shine out of the two eyes of you like a candle set in two windows of a house, bidding the wanderer to come in from out of the storm.

And may the blessing of the rain be on you—the soft, sweet rain. May it fall upon your spirit so that all the little flowers may spring up, and shed their sweetness on the air.

And may the blessing of the great rains be on you; may they beat upon your spirit and wash it fair and clean, and leave there a shining pool where the blue of heaven shines reflected, and sometimes a star.

And may the blessing of the earth be on you—the great and round earth; and may you ever have a kindly greeting for them you pass as you're going along the roads. May the earth be soft under you when you lie upon it, tired at the end of the day, and may it rest easy over you, when, at the last, you lie under it; may it rest so lightly over you that your soul may be quickly through it, and up, and off, and on its way to God.

May God always bless you, love you, and keep you.

Communist Government Encourages Dope Evil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in history the production and distribution of opium and all its murderous narcotic derivatives has become an organized government business in Communist China. Pressed by Moscow for foreign exchange funds, the Peiping Government has undertaken the systematic cultivation of opium as a principal source of revenue. This review of the growing dope traffic out of Red China is based on recent testimony before the House Appropriations Committee by Harry J. Anslinger, Commissioner of Narcotics, in the Treasury Department.

Opium is Peiping's newest secret weapon. Dope is being delivered systematically in the Pacific and Southeast area, with special emphasis on infiltrating the military camps of the Western Powers particularly in Japan. There is no more deadly way to undermine morale than to spread the dope traffic amongst youngsters in the military services. That is Peiping's program today.

China's systematic development of the narcotics traffic as a state-approved and state-supported business began in 1950 when Communist street girls were infiltrated as dope peddlers around the United States military bases in South Korea.

Only trusted Communists handle the processing of the opium after it reaches the central harvesting stations in China.

The Communist Peoples' Bank of China handles the illicit financing through special agents assigned to the tobacco monopoly. Incoming shipments of opium from the remote provinces are analyzed for grade and quality by the Shanghai Hygienic Department.

The growing narcotics trade serves Peiping two ways; first, it provides tremendous dollar and sterling exchange; second, it is a weapon of sabotage against the entire free world, for every narcotic addict impairs the productive power of the victim nation. In May 1953 British customs agents in Singapore seized a consignment of 3,000 pounds of raw opium, described as the biggest seizure ever made anywhere in the world. The shipment was being offered at $90 per pound. Refined to heroin, it sells for about $20 per gram or roughly $9,000 a pound.

During the past 3 years Chinese farmers have been encouraged to expand their planting of opium poppies. The Communist Government participates in the lucrative business of imposing heavy taxes on the sale of poppies at the farm. Government loans are available to farmers who wish to expand poppy acreage.

One factory in western China is known to produce for export more than 300 pounds of heroin a day. Revenues obtained from narcotics sales abroad for the fiscal year 1953 reached approximately $70 million, out of which $30 million went back to the Communist Government of China, and the remaining $40 million was spent in the victim countries for Communist Party activities, sabotage, espionage, and the purchase of military and industrial secrets.

Never before has there been found so dark a page in the record of Godless communism. Truly, communism is the evil wrecker of all humanity, of all government, of all morality. Wherever we find it, communism is always the same—the frightful, demonic destroyer, the brigand, outlaw, and killer.

People of Illinois Entitled to Details of Manipulations by State Officials of Dunbar Contract for Handling and Distributing Surplus Foods to Schools and Institutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following editorial entitled "Investigate," which appeared in the March 14, 1955, issue of the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal:

INVESTIGATE

A full investigation of the Dunbar contract is imperative.

And, if last week's news dispatches from Washington are correct, the people of Illinois are going to get, at last, all the details of the disputed contract for handling and distributing surplus foods to schools and institutions in Illinois.

Up to now, Vernon L. Nickell, State superintendent of public instruction and the man who awarded the contract, has been vague in answering questions raised by critics of the arrangement.

So has James W. Dunbar, clerk of the Sangamon County probate court and Nickell's good political and personal friend, with whom the superintendent of instruction negotiated the contract in 1952.

The United States Department of Agriculture believes that Dunbar & Co., the firm Dunbar formed to handle and distribute the surplus food, has made from $800,000 to $900,000 in excessive profits on the arrangement.

The Department forced Nickell to cancel the contract. He has announced that he will find a successor through competitive bidding—a precaution he did not exercise when he awarded the contract to Dunbar in 1952.

Despite these charges and developments, Nickell insists that the contract is a good one and that the Department of Agriculture's figures are wrong. Dunbar has called his services the best in the United States.

Congressman FOUNTAIN, Democrat, North Carolina, chairman of the House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, revealed the details of the Department of Agriculture's report on the Dunbar contract Friday. He promised "to go into the matter very thoroughly."

That is good. There are many questions which need answering—questions like these:

Why did Nickell fail to call for competitive bids on the contract?

Has Dunbar been "a heavy • • • contributor" to Nickell's campaign, as Congressman FOUNTAIN alleges?

What qualifications did Dunbar have for undertaking the contract?

On what basis did Nickell award the contract to Dunbar?

Full disclosure of the operations of Dunbar & Co. cannot come too soon.

Best for Little Fellow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, and in line with my remarks yesterday, March 16, 1955, to the effect that the great tax-revision bill of 1954 is, in effect, a poor man's bill—a bill favoring the small individual—may I add the following letter of my distinguished colleague, the Honorable CRAIG HOSMER, of California, to the Christian Science Monitor on the same subject:

BEST FOR LITTLE FELLOW

To the Christian Science Monitor:

In your March 7 column a reader attempted to discredit what he called the seep-down-tax theory, which is more commonly referred to as the trickle-down theory by demagoging politicians in attacking the Eisenhower tax-revision bill enacted last year to correct countless inequities in the old law and to remove discouragements to job-producing economic development.

In the process everybody got a 10-percent tax reduction and such "little fellows" as retired people, working mothers, those inflicted with medical disasters, and others got special attention.

Some relief also went to business, and some people claim that was bad.

But let us take a look at what business is. Farmers are businessmen, so are small proprietors. In fact, business in the broad sense is the organized economic life of the people. It is the direct provider of all income, public and private, large and small. Aside from the small output of amateurs, everything that is consumed by anyone must first be produced by business.

The mainspring that energizes this mechanism is the incenive of profit. In the drive for profit, business creates jobs, absorbs savings, pays wages, interest, and taxes to support the Government.

When the opportunity for profit is restricted by inequitable taxation, this mechanism slows down, all forms of income tend to shrink, and jobs are lost.

It is inaccurate and misleading to call this basic principle a trickle-down theory.

In the first place, it is not a theory but a constantly demonstrated fact. It is, in short, the free-enterprise American economic system which has given Americans the highest standard of living of any people in the history of the world.

In the second place, the flow of incomes originated in and radiating from business is, when conditions are right, not a trickle or a seep but a torrent.

In the third place, the flow is no more down than it is up. It is best described as an emanation or spontaneous distribution of the goods and services produced by the people for their own use, under the spur of profit and subject to the regulatory action of price and competition.

America's economic system has proved itself the best ever devised by the mind of man to take care of the "little fellow."

That is why I feel impelled to answer another reader's attack on it.

State Marine Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the Knickerbocker News, of Albany, dated February 26, 1955, which, to my mind, states a clear case for continued Federal aid to the State maritime schools.

I am sure every Member of Congress would find this article not only interesting but factually effective.

The editorial follows:

STATE MARINE SCHOOLS

Assurance from Washington that United States Senators IVES and LEHMAN, together with various Congressmen, including LEO W. O'BRIEN, will vigorously support an effort to include an appropriation of Federal funds in the budget for the support of the State merchant marine schools comes as welcome news to the many Albany and capital district friends of the New York State University Maritime College at Fort Schuyler—one of the schools involved.

President Eisenhower's recommendation in his recent budget message that no further Federal funds be given to these State schools seems to be false economy and predicated on an inconsistent premise. In the first

place service in the merchant marine means employment in private industry and not Government service in the sense required of graduates of Annapolis and the Military Academy. The President himself has declared that education of this sort is a State and local responsibility and yet would deny relatively small financial assistance to these State schools which, at very low cost, are providing trained leaders for this industry which is so important to our economy and, in time of war, to our national defense.

It must be remembered by a grateful Nation that these State schools have been training officers for our merchant marine and Naval Reserve for many years and in the case of the New York school for three-quarters of a century. From this fine old institution have come such men as Commodore Harry Manning, hero of many a rescue at sea and first skipper of the giant *United States*, as well as his successor Capt. John W. Anderson; Commodore John S. Baylis, of the Coast Guard; the widely known sailor-author, Felix Riesenberg, and many others who have risen high in the Navy, Coast Guard, and Merchant Marine.

The modest sum of $660,000, of which $204,300 would be New York State's share, seems little enough to ask when projected against the background of future necessity and the proven record of the past.

Water Development Projects in Western Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to place in the RECORD a statement of Mr. John B. Barnard, of Granby, Colo., This statement deals with the values to be obtained from water development projects in the high elevations of western Colorado.

These headwater development projects are a part of the overall Colorado River Storage and Development Act on which the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee is now holding hearings. I think it is worthwhile for this information to be brought to the general attention of the Congress, and I take this opportunity to do so.

I have previously made available testimony by Mr. Barnard on the general parts of this development and this statement sheds additional light on the actual measureable benefit of the component parts of the overall development.

The statement follows:

What I have to say relates primarily to the participating projects in Colorado. Without them the Colorado River storage project would, as we in Colorado view it, serve less than half of its ultimate purpose, insofar as the beneficial use of Colorado River water in our State is concerned. Construction and operation of the holdover storage reservoirs must be supplemented by construction and operation of headwater storage reservoirs and distribution facilities, participating projects, if the water is to be put to its fullest use.

In dealing with the subject of participating projects, I think it would be more helpful to you if I analyze the one with which I am familiar. What I say concerning it can be applied, with variations indicated by geological, geographical, climatic, and other elements, to all of the units which go to make up the general class of participating projects in Colorado.

Generally, these participating projects consist of systems devised and planned to divert, impound, distribute, and use the water of the Colorado near the source of the main stream and its tributaries. Specifically, the one which I shall discuss is known as the Parshall unit, which is located on the Williams River in Grand County, Colo. This tributary enters the main stream at Parshall, Colo., hence the name Parshall unit.

The project includes, as its principal and essential unit, Ute Park Reservoir, to be constructed on the Williams River, 20 miles above its confluence with the Colorado, at an elevation of approximately 8,000 feet. Water stored in that reservoir, with very small evaporation loss at that high altitude is to be conveyed, by two principal canals, and distributed on both sides of the stream, providing water for approximately 24,000 acres of new land, and supplemental water for approximately 3,000 acres of land, presently but inadequately irrigated with a growing season of about 85 days.

These questions immediately arise: If there is enough water to fill these reservoirs and to perform these functions, why is it necessary to impound it? Why not apply it by direct-flow irrigation and avoid the cost of the construction of the reservoirs and distribution systems?

Ute Park Reservoir is located in the high country, where, in deep snow, nature stores water for springtime and early summer runoff.

Stream-flow records in Colorado show that 70 percent of the entire annual flow of these high streams is delivered in a period of from 6 to 10 weeks. On the Williams River, because of its elevation, this period, in my opinion, is not longer than 6 weeks. The high flow ends by June 25, sometimes earlier and sometimes, perhaps, a few days later. On the other hand, the irrigation season does not end until approximately August 1. The need for irrigation water during July is greater, per acre, than it is in the earlier part of the irrigating season. Because of various factors, such as an accumulation of snow in our ditches, we cannot, as a rule, start to irrigate until about May 15. Thus, during the first half of the irrigating season we have much more water than we can use, and, during the latter half, not nearly enough.

It is a discouraging thing to stand on the margin of the Williams River in June and see a tremendous flow of water passing by which we cannot then use, but later so desperately needed, and to contemplate the thousands of acres of fertile land which could be made productive, if the then existing surplus of water could be impounded for use when the stream again runs low. Here the ingenuity of man and the forward and progressive planning and thinking which have made America great, apply themselves to the problem; and the answer is the Ute Park Reservoir and the Parshall unit of the Cliffs-Divide project.

But this project will do vastly more than make productive a large area devoted primarily, productively, and profitably to the raising of hay, grain, and pasture for feeding cattle in winter. By that statement I mean this:

Because of the altitude, temperatures prevailing, geological and soil formations in the Williams River area, only about 20 percent of the water applied to the land is consumed by evaporation, transpiration, etc. Of the 68,700 acre-feet proposed to be impounded in Ute Park Reservoir and used for the irrigation of lands immediately adjacent to the stream, perhaps 80 percent, or 53,960 acre-feet will return to the river within a very few miles below the point of original application of the water, at such a later time that reuse of it may be made downstream when water is badly needed.

Between the lowest point of return of water stored in Ute Park Reservoir and the area around Glenwood Springs, on the main Colorado River, additional use of the return flow can and will be made, with an estimated further dimunition, by consumptive use, of 7 percent, or 3,780 acre-feet, leaving, at Glenwood Springs, a net of return flow of Ute Park water of 40,180 acre-feet.

Between Glenwood Springs and the eastern Utah line lies a vast area of fertile land yet unproductive, or less productive than an adequate water supply would make it. Here is raised and can be raised a great variety of crops, such as fruits, including the justly famed Palisade peaches, vegetables, grain, hay—almost any crop which can be produced in a temperate climate with a growing season of 190 days. Here the 40,000 acre-feet of Ute Park Reservoir can again be used. Here it can be applied to and will adequately irrigate at least 10,000 acres of land. From that irrigation there will be a return flow to the Colorado River of approximately 60 percent, or 24,000 acre-feet. This amount, less evaporation and other transmission losses, and perhaps some slight dimunition resulting from further consumptive use, will find its way to Lake Meade, there again to be impounded and eventually to supply the thirsty acres of the Imperial Valley in California, at a time when the snow mantle, which will provide the next year's supply of water, has again cloaked the high country whence the Ute Park water originally came.

Thus the ingenuity of man has put to use and repeated reuse, with results beneficial to those who use it and to the Nation's economy, water which now, in the short space of 6 weeks, flows, unimpeded and with benefit to but few, to the sea. Neither my time here nor my information nor my ability permits an analysis and setting forth herein, in dollars and cents, the benefits to individuals and to the national welfare and Treasury which will follow the construction and operation of Ute Park Reservoir. Such a study should be made; and I only regret that I could not make it.

The American Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most disturbing elements in our domestic economy has been the course of the American dollar. The public has witnessed a decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar, amounting to almost one-half of it. There have been compensating factors to the workingman through increases in salary, but at the same time, life-insurance policies of long standing have been cut in half of their former value. Saving deposits, bonds, pensions, and social-security payments have been depleted to a similar extent.

The administration which is now in power promised, before the election in 1952, a sound dollar. Let us see whether this promise has been fulfilled. In order not to become involved too extensively in statistics, decreases in the value of

the dollar since 1939 are quoted for certain periods, rather than for month-by-month, down to the present time. A résumé of this situation is as follows:

[1935–39 consumer prices = 100]

Date:	Value of the dollar
1939	101.4
1946	75.0
1950	58.8
1952	52.7
1953 (January)	52.0
1954 (January)	52.0
1955 (January)	52.0

From the above table, it does seem that the promise of the administration with regard to a sound dollar has been kept. The period, beginning in January 1953, has been given because that marks the event when the Eisenhower administration took office, and there has been no downward drift of the dollar since that date. The figures quoted may be verified by the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C., the most impartial and authentic source of information to which we have access.

It is possible that the American people do not realize fully the meaning of this accomplishment because not everyone is aware of the fact that in France today, approximately 400 francs can be purchased for an American dollar, as contrasted to the time when only 5 francs were available for the same amount of money. The development in France has been duplicated in most of the countries in Europe. We have seen an inflationary spiral destroy the currency of those countries one after another. There was a time, after the severe inflation in Germany, when a billion marks could be purchased for $1.50, notwithstanding the fact that at one time, only 4 of those marks represented the same value as the American dollar.

With the stabilization of the American dollar, there has been a stabilization of most of the elements in the American economy. There may be other accomplishments to which we may point with pride, but there is not one which means more to the great mass of the American people than the stability of the purchasing power of our currency.

Colorado River Storage Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is currently holding hearings on the proposed Colorado River Storage and Development Act. Extensive hearings were held on this subject last year, but additional testimony is being taken this year so that the information will be up to date and available to the Members this session.

Unfortunately, certain elements of opposition to this proposed development for a vast and rich area have burdened the record with commentary that has served more to confuse than enlighten. Fundamental points of opposition actually are few, but opponents of this program have branched into every conceivable tangent that appeared to discredit this sound and beneficial development.

Accordingly, I should like to include, as an extension of my remarks, testimony on this program given by Mr. John B. Barnard, of Granby, Colo. Mr. Barnard states his own qualifications in his testimony, but I should like to add the statement that he is recognized in Colorado as a true expert on water matters and water development. His testimony is concise, yet it covers the subject completely and answers well the major arguments which have been made against this development for the upper area of the Colorado River watershed embracing parts of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. I urge those who have an interest in obtaining a factual and solid accounting of the major reasons for this development to take the few minutes required to read through this testimony. We are prepared to rest our case on such unemotional and broad-gaged testimony.

The statement follows:

COLORADO RIVER STORAGE PROJECT

(Statement of John B. Barnard, of Granby, Colo., before the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, in hearing on H. R. 3383 and H. R. 3384, March 9, 1955, and succeeding days)

My name is John B. Barnard of Granby, Grand County, Colo. I have practiced law since 1920 to the present time, and in addition thereto have owned and operated an irrigated ranch in Grand County, since 1921. I am attorney for the Middle Park Water Conservancy District, comprising the area embraced within the geographical limits of Grand and Summit Counties, Colo., at the headwaters of the Colorado River and one of its principle tributaries, the Blue River.

As has been or will be explained by other witnesses, the holdover storage reservoirs, which form a part of the Colorado River Storage Project, will make available to the four Upper Basin States, a portion of the water of the river which is apportioned to these States by the 1922 compact, and divided among them by the 1948 compact, which could not, otherwise, be put to use by them. The headwater diversion, storage, and distribution systems, which are the participating projects, will enable these four States to put to use the Colorado River water which will be made available to them by the operation of the large reservoirs. Both the large dams and the smaller units are necessary if the end result is to be accomplished—the development of the immense area of the West which is the upper Colorado River Basin. Neither will be sufficient to that end without the other. Together they comprehend and represent a program of progress and development which has been the very essence of American history, from Colonial days to now. Ultimate defeat of the project would mark the end of that program, so far as the upper Colorado Basin is concerned.

Is there economic and historical justification for this project? First let us consider the economic phase, which inevitably prompts the question: What will be the cost to the United States—to the taxpayers who will foot the bill? I do not mean the total investment by the Government in the project; I mean the amount which we taxpayers will pay for it, which will not be repaid to the Treasury.

Detailed figures are not available to us at this time, relating to the storage project as comprehended in H. R. 3384 or any of the bills presently before the House or Senate; but we do have at hand the figures which are applicable to the bill inroduced in the House of Representatives of the 83d Congress, 2d session, which included four storage-project units and 16 participating projects. For the purposes of this discussion, which properly should be termed a consideration of policies and principles, those figures will suffice. Already they have been presented to and considered by you; and I wish merely to reanalyze and to reappraise them.

The total estimated cost of construction was $1,518,096,000. Of this total, the sum of $712,762,000 was allocated to power purposes, all reimbursable with interest, $100,874,000 to municipal water purposes, all reimbursable with interest, $691,245,600 to irrigation, all reimbursable without interest, and $7,714,700 to flood control, recreational development, Forest Service resource development, etc., all nonreimbursable. From these figures emerges the conclusion that the actual cost to the taxpayers would be $7,714,700 plus interest on the unpaid balance of the sum of $691,245,600 allocated to irrigation, as that amount is expended and during the period of its repayment.

A moment ago I said that authorization of this project will carry forward the historical program of progress and development which has become an accepted part of the policies and traditions which have made America great. Are there other similar programs, involving the expenditure of substantial amounts of the taxpayers' money, with which to make pertinent comparison? Yes. I refer specifically to the civil works activities of the United States Corps of Engineers. The progress of our Nation has always demanded and still demands that flood-control works be constructed, for the protection of human lives as well as property, and that commercial intercourse be facilitated, between and among States and with foreign nations, by dredging otherwise nonnavigable streams and by harbor improvements. Congress has long recognized the necessity for those works, has repeatedly authorized projects directed to that end, and has consistently appropriated taxpayers' money for their construction. But when we propose national progress by means of the storage, distribution, and beneficial use of water for irrigation and other purposes, we are met with the contention that the cost to the taxpayers is too great to be considered.

The justification for the expenditure of Federal funds in the planning and construction of civil works by the Army engineers is found in the fact that the cost of such works is beyond the ability of private capital to meet, plus the fact that the national economy requires that the projects be constructed. Without them the affected areas and communities find themselves unable to carry on their agricultural and industrial activities with efficiency. Quite possibly we can say that the underlying theory of these works is that what is good for the economy and way of life of the people of New Jersey, for example, is good for America. We simply ask that that same theory be applied to the project we here propose.

The Colorado River storage project will primarily benefit four States—Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico. To appraise and measure the economic justification for the expenditure of the amount of Federal funds required to produce that benefit, let us compare the cost thereof with the cost of civil works projects in four Eastern States, chosen at random—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Massachusetts.

These are the figures showing the expenditure of Federal funds made in the construction of works involved in flood prevention and river and harbor improvement in those States, made available to us by the Corps of

Engineers, each amount representing the cost to the United States and not including contributions from local interests:

Pennsylania, 1948 to 1954, inclusive	$354,749,000
New Jersey, 1824 to 1954, inclusive	131,544,000
Maryland, 1824 to 1954, inclusive	66,111,000
Massachusetts, 1824 to 1954, inclusive	109,365,000
Total	661,769,000

It will, of course, be noted that, in the case of Pennsylvania, expenditures for the years 1824 through 1947 were not supplied us and are omitted from the above tabulation. We are informed that no part of the total has been or will be repaid to the Federal Government.

The above total is, then, to be compared with the sum of $7,714,000, that being the nonreimbursable investment of the United States in the 1954 version of the Colorado River storage project. I did not calculate the interest on the money allocated to irrigation, in the storage project, as the same is advanced, nor upon the expenditures made by the United States for the above civil works activities. The amounts are closely comparable, $691,245,000 for irrigation and $661,768,000 for civil works. The interest charge to be added to the latter would be far greater than that involved in the former, the obvious reason being that, upon the portion of the investment of Federal funds allocated to irrigation in connection with the storage project, interest charges would end with repayment, whereas computation of interest on civil works investment must be a continuing process forever.

What, I ask you in all sincerity, is the fundamental distinction to be drawn between the construction of dams, levees, and other works to prevent water from spreading over land, thus rendering the affected lands unproductive, and building dams and canals to cause water to spread over lands, thus rendering them productive? Is there any reason why the one endeavor should be approached from the standpoint of an indulgent and generous father, and the other should be viewed through the cold, unsympathetic eyes of a moneylender?

There is opposition to this project. It was expected. We do not disregard it nor do we minimize it. We do not question, much less impugn, the integrity or sincerity of those whose views do not coincide with ours. We respect their opinions, even though we disagree with them. They and the whole people of the United States are entitled to know why we say, as we do with appropriate emphasis, that they are wrong.

Withholding approval of the Colorado River storage project would be tantamount to characterizing the vast area of the West which it would serve as economically or otherwise unfit for agricultural or industrial development. That portion of our Nation would forever be inhabited by the fortunate few whose hardy pioneer ancestors foresaw the necessity for early appropriation of water for various human uses, and made such appropriations; by the little towns which serve that few; by tourists who want to take a fleeting look at the grandeurs of nature; by the people who gain a meager and precarious livelihood from catering to the unpredictable needs and demands of the tourists; and by coyotes and jackrabbits.

Many reasons are advanced for withholding such approval. Many more undoubtedly will be conceived and voiced. Time obviously will not permit us to answer them all. The fact that we do not attempt to do so is not to be taken as an admission that there are no adequate answers, merely that time will not permit us to voice them.

Among others it is the freely expressed opinion that America now produces a surplus of everything that will be produced in this area. This contention is based upon the premise that three-fourths of the world's population is forever doomed to semi or complete starvation, while the other one-fourth produces more than it needs. We cannot accept that premise as a postulate. We believe that our leaders, working as they are now laboring, with the leaders of other free nations, will, without recourse to armed conflict, and in the not too far distant future, rid the body of the world of the cancer of communistic dictatorship which places a higher value on sustenance for the dogs of war than food for human beings. We have such faith in our Nation's present and future leaders that we look forward to the day when our food products will find their way to foreign markets now closed to them, with utmost confidence that that day will come.

On the same subject, it occurs to us that those who oppose the authorization of this project for the reason that we now have enough of everything anyway, subscribe to the proposition that America's production capacity should remain static while her population and consequent demands on that production are increasing by leaps and bounds. Should we follow the policy of restricting our production of foodstuffs, for example, to present demands, the time will inevitably come, and that soon, when the expanding demands of an increasing population will face America with the emergency problem of increasing that production. Our proposal is that production be permitted to keep pace with the demands made upon it. What is sufficient for our needs today may be only half enough 25 years from now. We cannot close our eyes to the welfare of our children and our children's children, with safety to them or the future generations of our country.

Let us then reexamine our Nation's history and seek therein our answer to the question now before your committee and our Congress, and to the objections now made to this proposal of ours. History is written and learned in order that, in the future, we may avoid mistakes made in the past, however honest those mistakes were, and that we may follow through such plans, programs, and policies as have pointed to ultimate success, happiness, welfare. Neither the mistakes nor the successes which our history reveals to us can, with safety, be ignored.

Our Nation was young when President Thomas Jefferson proposed and insisted upon the Louisiana Purchase. This brought into early being America's program of progress and development. There was violent opposition to the Louisiana Purchase, voiced by sincere, well-meaning men of substance and stature. They said, as is now said, "we have no need for this area. We already produce more than our people can consume. Why add territory to that we already have, at the cost of overburdened taxpayers?"

So intense was the opposition that the Massachusetts Legislative Assembly, seeing its young people leaving the commonwealth to seek new horizons in the West, adopted a resolution denouncing the President's proposal, and proclaiming that, if Jefferson succeeded in his mad plan, Massachusetts would no longer be bound to adhere to the Union. Today, the people of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Texas, Colorado live and prosper, and, if they have reason to think about it, bless the President who conceived and fought for, and the Congress which authorized the Louisiana Purchase.

After the Mexican conflict in 1848 came the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Mexican cession. With acquisition of the area encompassed within the boundaries of that cession, the problem of developing the water resources of the Colorado River became important. That development has progressed until today, by means of Lake Mead, the All-American Canal, and other works, the southern part of California is now putting to commendable and beneficial use practically all of the water apportioned to that State by the 1922 compact. We want to develop the rest of it; and we confess to an utter inability to understand why California should now say that, although she has been the beneficiary of the expenditure of tremendous amounts of Federal funds in developing her economy by means of Colorado River water, we in the upper basin, which is a part of the same acquisition by the United States which brought California into the Union, should be forever barred from developing our country.

The acquisition and development of the territory included in the cession were opposed in the halls of Congress and elsewhere. The opposition found typical vocal expression in the words of a great American, which words I desire to quote as I found them in a work on America's possessions by Murat Halstead, published in 1899:

"I say, sir, that, according to conscientious conviction, we are now fixing on the Constitution of the United States and its frame of government a monstrosity, a disfiguration, an enormity."

Again this same statesman said:

"On other occasions in debate here I have expressed my determination to vote for no acquisition or cession or annexation north or south, east or west. My opinion has been that we have territory enough, and that we should follow the spartan maxim, 'Improve, adorn what you have;' seek no further * * *. There may be in California, and no doubt there are, some tracts of valuable land, but it is not so in New Mexico * * *. There are some strips of tillable land on the borders of the rivers, but the rivers themselves dry up before midsummer is gone. All that the people can do in that region is to raise some little articles, some little wheat for their tortillas, and that by irrigation."

The great American who made those statements was Daniel Webster, than whom no more able, honest, and conscientious man ever served in the United States Senate.

Of this policy of Webster, the Honorable James R. Mann, later a Member of Congress from the State of Illinois, wrote:

"The Senator from Massachusetts has been reversed by history. He did not see aright the signs of the times as to expansion. If Daniel Webster were now alive, he would be the last man in the Republic to admit that this country could afford to lose a single foot of the territory embraced in the cession from Mexico in 1848. He would be quick to admit that the acquisition of that territory has done much to cement the Union into closer unity; has done much to knit more tightly the bonds which hold our country together; that the sunny land on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, which was so far away in 1848, and which, through the genius of our citizenship, has been brought into close and quick touch with the rest of the Union, has made our whole country feel that distance no longer separates the utmost parts from quick communication with the Central Government, which responds constantly to every feeling of danger or joy, of poverty or prosperity, in every part of our domain."

Webster, despite the honesty of his motives and the sincerity of his purpose, was proved wrong by history. Had he prevailed and accomplished the withholding of congressional approval from the acquisition of the Mexican cession, southern California, which now opposes the development of our portion of the territory included therein by the construction of this project, would no doubt have flourished; but it would have been under a different flag than ours, and at the cost of a government other than ours.

Southern California now objects to the Colorado River project, saying that its construction and operation would infringe upon her use of Colorado River water. At the time the Legislature of California approved the 1922 compact, the legislators knew, and the Representatives of southern California knew, that the apportionment to the upper basin

States of a theoretical one-half of the Colorado River water would inevitably be followed by the beneficial use of that water in those States. The time for southern California to have objected to any development except her own, as she does now, was when the compact was signed, and not now when we in the upper basin States are attempting to do exactly what southern California has already done, by exactly the same means and in exactly the same manner she accomplished hers. Southern California's position on this project is comparable to that of a senior appropriator on a stream who perfects his own rights, and then seeks to prevent another from making an appropriation from the same source, saying:

"I do not know how or when or in what manner you may do it, but some day you may infringe upon my rights. I may some day want to use the whole stream, and if I do, that should be my right and privilege. Your rights to use water which some day I may want to use myself, although I do not know when or why or by what means, and although the law which I helped frame specifically denies me that right, should be denied you forever."

Again, following the War Between the States, Secretary of State William H. Seward proposed to purchase Alaska Territory from Russia. This proposal was bitterly opposed. Men termed the plan "Seward's Folly." Congressmen who considered the land barren and worthless argued that the cost of Alaska and its consequent development should not be imposed upon the already overburdened taxpayers. Today, when our lookouts scan the northern skies alert for air attack from over the top of the world, they and we realize the importance of Alaska to our very existence. They and we shudder when we contemplate our strategic position if Alaska were still in unfriendly hands. Are there those among us now who world term Alaska "Seward's Folly?"

Is there not a lesson to be learned from Alaska, when we know that within the boundaries of the upper Colorado River Basin lie one of the world's greatest known stores of uranium, and one of the world's largest deposits and reserves of oil, both vital to our defense and fully available only if the water of the Colorado River be developed?

Again I say, the lessons of history are not to be read and then ignored or disregarded. America's history is one of forward-looking progress. Such progress has been resisted; but those who advocated a policy of development of the resources of our great land have always prevailed. Because that has been true, we now may enjoy our way of life, and look forward to a fuller life for those who will follow us.

If the time shall ever come when new horizons do not beckon us, when we see no need for further progress or development, when we, as we are, and not as we could be, consider ourselves entirely self-sufficient, then will America stagnate and wither and die as a great nation.

Ike's Economic Report Is a Tribute to the New Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith insert an article originally appearing in the Toledo Blade, entitled "Ike's Economic Report Is a Tribute to the New Deal," by columnist Thomas L. Stokes, which appeared in condensed form in the April 1955 issue of the Democratic Digest:

IKE'S ECONOMIC REPORT IS A TRIBUTE TO THE NEW DEAL

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

It often takes time, sometimes adversity, to put past events in just and proper perspective. Take, for example, that era of reform known as the Roosevelt New Deal back in the middle and early 1930's which has been slammed and pilloried, even down to the last congressional election campaign.

It is worthy of note that it now is paid high tribute at long last—and significantly by the first Republican administration since then. You will find this scattered throughout President Eisenhower's Economic Report to Congress. That gives repeated credit to antidepression measures put on the statute books by the Roosevelt New Deal in helping to keep the recession of last year from snowballing into a real depression.

Naturally the Eisenhower report does not identify those as Roosevelt New Deal measures, which would be too much to ask of any political party, whether Republican or Democratic. It just tells how the administration utilized them, with effusive praise for that operation.

Nowhere in the comprehensive report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers submitted to Congress will you find the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Nor, for another, that of the late Senator Carter Glass, a Virginia Democrat, who put through the banking laws which gave the Federal Government more of a free hand to devise flexible policies to check downward swings in the economy. Nor the name of Marriner S. Eccles, Governor of the Federal Reserve System for many years, who directed recovery efforts possible through credit policies. Nor the late Senator Robert F. Wagner, New York Democrat, sponsor of unemployment insurance and old-age pension laws. Nor any other in the galaxy of New Deal reform figures.

Natural-Gas Issue Flares

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the Evening Star of Saturday, March 5, 1955, entitled "Natural-Gas Issue Flares," which I think is one of the most fair and logical discussions of a highly controversial issue that I have seen. I want to commend the Evening Star of Washington, D. C., for its reasonable approach to this problem:

NATURAL-GAS ISSUE FLARES

A highly controversial recommendation was laid before President Eisenhower—and indirectly before Congress—when the Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy expressed its belief that "the Federal Government should not control the production, gathering, processing, or sale of natural gas prior to its entry into an interstate transmission line."

It is an issue that has a long and complex politico-economic background. In 1938, Congress passed the Natural Gas Act giving to the Federal Power Commission regulatory authority over transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce and over sales of gas in interstate commerce for resale. The jurisdictional section of the act specifies, however, that it does not apply "to the production or gathering of natural gas." The authority over interstate pipeline rates and sales has been exercised by the FPC in the intervening years and has not been questioned. In turn, rates to consumers have been regulated by local public utility bodies. But on the question of sales by independent producers—those not engaged in interstate transmission even though they are selling to interstate carriers—the commission has repeatedly ruled that it does not have regulatory jurisdiction, that such initial sales are a natural part of the exempted "production or gathering." Legislation to clarify and support this point of view was passed in 1950 but was vetoed by President Truman. In June 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in a 5–3 decision that the FPC does have jurisdiction over independent producers' sales to interstate carriers and the Power Commission has initiated action to regulate such prices. New legislation to exempt independent producers from Federal regulation already has been introduced.

Consumer interest groups have been the principal advocates of Federal regulation on grounds it would result in lower retail prices. But the producers argue that field prices represent only about 10 percent of the final retail price and that competition among an estimated 5,000 competitors in the industry will preclude unreasonably high prices. They argue, further, that Federal regulation would result in a relatively low and rigid price structure that would make it uneconomic for the industry to risk the costs of exploration and development needed to keep gas production rising in response to the tremendous demand. Consequently, they say, developed gas supplies actually would decrease and prices to consumers eventually would go up.

There is involved a basic question of whether competitive private enterprise or a federally regulated economy is to prevail. Natural gas producers are competing not only with each other, but their product is competing with coal and oil. If Federal price fixing is to apply to one, it may be argued seriously that it should be applied to all. Congress is facing more than a narrow question of whether Federal regulation, admittedly difficult, should be attempted in a single industry. If it accepts the status quo it may mark the first step toward a much broader and potentially repressive control of other parts of the national economy.

John T. Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker—

Leaves have their time to fall
And flowers to wither
At the north wind's breath; but all
Thou hast all seasons for thine own
O death.

The organized-labor movement suffered a great loss on March 3, 1955, in the death of Mr. John T. Jones, nationally known director of Labor's Nonpartisan League and the possessor of many

fine qualities that endeared him to those who were privileged to number him among their friends and associates.

It was my good fortune to know John T. Jones and because of my knowledge of his many admirable traits of character and the cordial relations that existed between us his passing has been a source of deep sorrow to me.

CALIBAN IN THE COAL MINES

(By Louis Untermeyer)

God, we don't like to complain,
We know that the mine is no lark,
But there's the pools from the rain,
But there's the cold and the dark.

God, You don't know what it is
You in Your well-lighted sky,
Watch the meteors whiz,
Warm with the sun always by.

God, if You had but the moon
Stuck in Your cap for a lamp
Even You'd tire of it, too,
Down in the dark and the damp.

Nothing but blackness above
And nothing that moves, but the cars,
God, if You wish for our love
Fling us a handful of stars.

John T. Jones had a mission to perform in life for those with whom he worked in his early years in the coal mines of the Nation. That he was successful in his efforts to improve their lot in life is attested to by the fact that he spent many years in active and successful pursuit of the objectives of the United Mine Workers of America.

Mr. Speaker, I should like at this point in my remarks to have inserted the following article from the March 15, 1955, issue of the United Mine Workers Journal titled "John T. Jones—'In Whom There Was No Guile'."

The article contains references to the beautiful eulogy delivered at the funeral services on March 5, 1955, by the Reverend Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, pastor of Foundry Methodist Church, Washington, D. C., and Chaplain of the United States Senate.

The article follows:

JOHN T. JONES—"IN WHOM THERE WAS NO GUILE"

Probably no more fitting words may be found to honor the memory of John T. Jones, director of Labor's Nonpartisan League, close associate of President John L. Lewis of the UMWA, and a veteran of 53 years of toil in behalf of his fellow coal miners, than those of the Reverend Dr. Frederick Brown Harris. Dr. Harris, minister of Washington's Foundry Methodist Church and chaplain of the United States Senate, was a close personal friend of Mr. Jones whose untimely death on March 3 shocked and sorrowed all who knew him.

These are the words of Dr. Harris, spoken in final tribute to Mr. Jones at the funeral service on March 5:

"The brief working day of a valiant servant of God and of humanity, on this mortal stage, is ended. His sun has gone down while it is yet day. Our eyes are staring, stunned, bewildered and strangely moved, at a vacant place against the sky of our choicest friendship, our church, and our Nation.

"By dint of his own energy and effort, John T. Jones, climbing from the penury and darkness of his childhood and youth, never forgot the pit from which he was digged. The ruling passion of his life became to light that darkness for others who bent their backs to its heavy tasks.

"His own spirit was as the candle of the Lord, not just to shine in places of plenty and comfort—to which his indefatigable toil, his devotion and his ability lifted him—but to bring justice and safety and more abundant home life to those hardy servants of the public good, his brother miners, whose contribution to the gadgets and glitter of an industrial day sentenced them to arduous labors, with light of day denied.

"We are vividly conscious in this hour, now that his lips are silent, that with righteous indignation against selfish powers which sought to exploit those whom he always regarded as his comrades in toil he cried out again and again to exploiters in high places of privilege, 'Let my people go.'

"We remember today the wistful appreciation with which in memory he turned often to that long-suffering Christian mother, whose face and form were ever with him and who, amid conditions which might have stifled spiritual aspirations, lighted the candles of faith and reverence on the altar of his boyish heart, a flame that no winds of adversity could ever blow out.

"As we survey the record of this useful life, we are thankful, as was his own grateful heart, that when as a young man his face turned from across the sea to this land of hope and glory, our America, this 'blessed land of room enough' gave him his chance to unlock native talents for leadership and for wide service which struggled for expression in the heart of this Welsh lad whose life, until that emancipating day, had been so cabined and confined. In these latter years, as with disciplined powers he moved on levels of great influence, all his days were as a paean of devotion to the great Republic which had become so truly his as it molded his life to ampler patterns of service to man and his Maker.

"We think of the great causes which claimed his loyalty and the full measure of his devotion. We bear witness to his love for the church of the living God and his belief in her mission. John T. Jones was not just a hearer, but a doer of the word. The message of the church and the kingdom to him was literally expressed in the program as announced by the great head of the church: 'I am come to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and to set at liberty them that are bruised.' In this triumphal hour we testify that here was a Christian indeed, in whom there was no guile. In a time of sophisticated artificiality he loved and clung to the genuine and true. He hated sham and cant, and knew both when his honest eyes looked upon them with scorn, in high places and low.

"We rejoice in the heritage of the moving words he recently wrote, blazing with holy wrath against the sophistries of those who, in the titanic global struggle now raging, blaspheme and deny the paramount dignity of the individual and the rights of the common man.

"Our hearts are warmed as we remember his genius for friendship and how his life was bound as with bands of steel to the very souls of those he loved and trusted. As we think of his devotion to the Master of all good workmen, it will be to us evermore who ministered to him in holy things a blessed memory that on his last earthly Sabbath, listening, by his own earnest request, to the ancient words of contrition and consecration, his hands, so still now, reached out reverently for the bread and the wine in remembrance of the Lord and Master who was the strength of his life.

"Ringing in our ears will ever be his clear witness, just before the human skill of surgeons did their best; his confident words will light us to the end of our own way as we count the rosary of his assurance: 'I am not afraid, if this is the end of this life for me, for I know that the next room is a place of beauty and brightness beyond compare.' Inspired by his undimmed trust as he walked through the valley of the shadow and feared no evil, now that he has gone into the bliss of that larger room our hearts cry out:

" 'Servant of God, well done!
Thy glorious warfare past;
The battle's fought, the crown is won
And thou art crowned at last.'

"And so we give thanks that there was a man sent from God whose name was John. And we give him back, with clean hands and pure heart, knowing where we shall find him again and in what company we shall see him when the long night is past and the eternal morning breaks.

" 'A friend has passed across the bay,
So wide and vast, and put away
The mortal form that held his breath;
But through the storm that men call death,
Erect and straight, unstained by years,
At heaven's gate a man appears!' "

Caribbean Coalition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 16, 1955

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial from the New York Herald Tribune. Vice President NIXON's tour of Central America and the Caribbean islands is an example of the best way to personally promote mutual respect and understanding in the countries of the world:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of March 6, 1955]

CARIBBEAN COALITION

Vice President NIXON's tour of Central America and the Caribbean islands has paid rich dividends in general good will. It also has been specifically valuable in lessening tensions between Costa Rica and Nicaragua. The most lasting and beneficial results of the journey, however, would spring from a new orientation of policy by all the states of the Caribbean basin along the lines which the Vice President has suggested—a strong regional coalition to insure political stability and economic prosperity.

Britain has already embarked on a program looking to the federation of its Caribbean territories. The independent states of the area are in equal need of closer ties. Many of them have specialized in single crops, such as sugar, coffee, or bananas, which is likely to create acute economic strains. Capital and cooperation for a more diversified economic base would aid them all. Politically, the rivalry of the different Caribbean countries has produced tensions that hamper the improvement of living standards of the people and foster the kind of unrest by which communism profits.

From its beginnings as a Republic, the United States has had the closest ties with Central America and the islands. The building of the Panama Canal intensified a strategic interest of long standing; trade and travel have made many links between the Caribbean and the Nation to the north. At various times the United States has policed parts of the region under a concept of stewardship that is now outmoded, although the sense of responsibility and common interest that inspired it remains. To promote a Caribbean coalition of the kind which Mr. NIXON advocates, and which could find its nucleus in the new Organization of Central American States, should be a major goal of American policy.

The task will not be easy. Animosities among the potential members of the coalition are keen; differences in social and political structure are great. Economic reforms will require the kind of vigor which Puerto Rico is applying to its problems, extended to the whole region. Nevertheless, the advantages of unity, in terms of prosperity, stability, and protection against the Red threat, would be incalculable. This is a challenge to the statesmanship of the Americas, one in which the hemisphere can find a common goal and a common gain. The Vice President is to be congratulated on his initiative.

Postmaster General Speeds Clean-Up-the-Mails Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am sure decent citizens of our country will applaud the efforts of the Post Office Department, under Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield, to eliminate the obscene and indecent trash that has been finding its way into postal channels in increasing amounts recently. As the result of this drive the money-hungry purveyors of pornographic publications are going to have greater difficulty getting their lewd materials into the hands of their customers.

While the Post Office Department is without authority to prosecute the mailers of this material, it does have authority to refuse to carry it through the mail. That it is doing as rapidly as the source of the material is learned.

Postmaster General Summerfield recently made a very fine statement on this clean-up-the-mails drive, pointing out it does not involve an abridgement of freedom of speech or press nor sets up a censorship of works of art. This is a sincere effort to keep this unwanted pornographic material from being offered through the mail for delivery into American homes.

The statement of Postmaster General Summerfield follows:

CLEAN-UP-THE-MAILS CAMPAIGN

A growing volume of unwanted lewd and obscene matter is being sent through the mails into American homes, and the Post Office Department is intensifying its clean-up-the-mails efforts to stop this offense against common decency.

Risque snapshots, pornographic magazines and books, and lascivious slides, party films, and records are being widely offered for sale as shown by a 73-percent increase in the last 6 months in cases dealing with indecent materials sent through the mails.

This is a serious and nationwide problem of public morality which affects all our citizens. In our common interest this misuse and prostitution of the mails should be stopped by a sensible preventative program of the Post Office Department, acting for the people as directed by the law enacted by Congress.

We know from experience that any enlightened effort of this kind—no matter how intelligently administered—is occasionally open to attack and ridicule which is frequently deliberately inspired by those who make money from the sale of lewd materials. Sometimes we are criticized because our purposes are not fully understood by the very people we are seeking to protect from pornographic material.

CENSORSHIP NOT INVOLVED

In other instances our efforts to keep the mails clean produce an almost inevitable cry of censorship by certain groups who confuse license with liberty. Their viewpoint, while sincere, seems to suggest an abysmal ignorance of the nature of the problem and the threat it imposes to the moral fiber of the Nation.

We are not concerned with bureaucratic snooping. No issues of abridgments of the freedom of speech or of the press are involved.

We are not arbitrary censors of literary efforts nor of works of art, either ancient or modern.

What we are vitally concerned about is the great mass of unwanted pornographic material being offered for delivery through the mails into the homes of American citizens.

MENACE TO MORAL OF YOUTH

We know the great majority of adult Americans want this obscene material—which they have not asked for—kept out of their homes and away from their children, whether it is generated at home or mailed into this country from abroad. This vile stream of commercialized obscenity persists because there is money in it and we must be alert lest the greed of the individuals and sham publishing concerns who sell it damage the moral standards of our young people.

Many criminal, educational, and religious authorities see a definite connection between this disgraceful upsurge in obscenity and the startling growth of juvenile delinquency in the Nation.

Other experts believe this increase in lewd and lascivious material is reflected in the sickening growth of criminal assaults on girls and women.

While the Post Office Department has no authority to prosecute mailers who offend against common decency, we are required, by law, to refuse to carry obscene material through the mails.

Fortunately the power to exclude pornographic material from the mails is a highly effective preventive measure in that it usually shuts down the most practical and economical distribution method available.

The criterion used in ruling on mailability is the ordinary standard of common decency of average representative citizens. Let me quote a recent ruling on obscene books which illustrates the reasoning used:

"The word 'obscene' is not uncommon and is used in English and American speech and writings as the symbol of indecent, smutty, lewd, or salacious reference to the parts of the human or animal body, or to their functions, or to the excrement therefrom.

"It is, of course, true that the ears of some may be so accustomed to words which are ordinarily regarded as obscene that they take no offense at them, but the law is not tempered to the hardened minority of society.

"The statue forbidding the importation of obscene books is not designed to fit the concept of morality throughout the world, nor for all time past and all the future, but it is designed to fit the normal American concept in the age in which we live.

"It is no legitimate argument that because there are social groups composed of moral delinquents in this or other countries that their language shall be received as legal tender along with the speech of the great masses who trade ideas and information in the honest money of decency."

OUR CITIZENS CAN HELP

Citizens who wish to help the Post Office Department in its clean-up-the-mails campaign can do so by delivering, to their local postmaster, any material received through the mails which they consider obscene. Postmasters throughout the country are being instructed to forward such material here to Washington to the Office of the Solicitor, the chief legal officer of the Post Office Department, for proper action.

Employment of Handicapped—An Essay by Miss Jane Wink, a Student at Governor Mifflin High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important tasks before the Congress is to take adequate steps toward improving the opportunities of handicapped citizens. We should make it possible for them to more fully participate in the Nation's productive effort. To help our handicapped citizens toward the independence of self-support is to help them to share more fully in the bounties of our rich land and in all those things which make life worthwhile. The rights, the dignity, and worth of the individual give strength to America as a nation.

Since I have been a Member of the Congress I have been keenly interested in having the Congress adopt a more realistic program for our 38 million handicapped citizens.

In the last Congress I, along with several of my colleagues, introduced a bill which calls for the establishment of a Federal agency for handicapped. This I feel was the most comprehensive approach to the handicapped program ever laid before the Congress. It provides for maximum extension of medical services, vocational guidance and counseling, education and training, and full employment opportunities to citizens handicapped by physical and mental disabilities.

It is my intention to introduce such legislation in this session of Congress as soon as I have completed study on my new proposal.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to include with my statement a prize-winning essay on the topic of A Decade of Progress in Employing the Handicapped, by Miss Nancy Jane Wink, a student at the Governor Mifflin Joint High School, in my congressional district. Miss Wink is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John R. Wink, 303 Wheatland Avenue, Shillington, Pa. Following herewith is the theme which won for Miss Wink first prize in the county contest and fifth prize in the statewide contest:

MIFFLIN HIGH GIRL WINS STATE, COUNTY HONORS WITH ESSAY ON EMPLOYMENT OF HANDICAPPED

(By Nancy Jane Wink, Governor Mifflin Joint High School)

This is your life, Philip Yerger, your new life. You were just like any other man, Philip Yerger, until 1944 when you were in

an automobile accident. This is the genesis of your new life, a life into which you are afraid to go.

You are in the dark now, blind, never to see God's glorious sunsets, a drop of dew on a new leaf, the smiling faces of your two children and wife, or the clear, blue sky above the fields of corn.

As you lie in bed in the clean, neat hospital room, you ask yourself, "What next, Philip Yerger? What is left for me in life?" This question, runs through your head; it keeps you awake at night. You will soon find the answer, Philip Yerger, very soon.

"I first met Phil after he had been in the hospital for 3 weeks. He was on the terrace brooding over his loss." Do you recall the voice of Fred Hensel? Do you remember that day on the terrace when he came up to you and spoke to you? He, too, was handicapped, for he had no arms or legs.

It is now you get your answer to your question. Your life will be what you make it, Philip Yerger, and you are going to make it as normal and happy as possible. "I wept because I had no shoes, and then I met a man who had no feet." This old Arabic proverb will help you, Philip; it will give you the courage you will need.

As soon as you are discharged from the hospital, you start looking for a job. You need that courage now, because everywhere you go you get the same answer: "What do we want with a blind man? He will just be a burden."

You go to factories, department stores, and finally employment agencies. No one wants a blind man working for him. Before your accident you were a commercial artist. You cannot do that now; you have no sight. Maybe they would let you answer the telephone or run the elevator. "Sorry, Phil, we can't use you," is the answer you get.

After weeks and months of nothing a friend suggests that you go to the rehabilitation center of Larkin, Ohio. You did not even know Larkin had one. Now, Philip Yerger, things look better for you.

"Philip Yerger was an efficient and congenial worker. I am glad I was able to help him." Remember that voice, Philip Yerger? He is the man who gave you your first job. It was not a very big or important job; but to you it was big; and it was important. This job which you would have for only a short time was weaving the seats for porch chairs out of reeds.

You were not satisfied with this though. You wanted to get ahead. You did not want to make your blindness a liability, an impediment in your future.

In August of 1945 the 79th Congress declared that the first week in October will be set aside as National Employ the Physically-Handicapped Week. The objectives of this plan are as follows:

1. More organization participation in year round program.
2. Better understanding of the problem and the facts.
3. Increased employment of handicapped workers.
4. Improved methods of teaching handicapped workers.
5. Encouragement of retention and advancement of handicapped workers.
6. More comprehension by handicapped of services offered.
7. Expansion of facilities for increasing work capacity of qualified workers.
8. Greater use by the disabled of services offered.
9. More general employers' recognition of good business in hiring handicapped.
10. Effective publicity.

These were sent to all places of employment. As a result of this, Philip Yerger, many of your fellows were given jobs. People who had never been accepted as equals in the field of labor were given the chance to develop skills and trades.

By 1948 a total of 53,131 disabled persons were employed in skilled and unskilled professional and semiprofessional, clerical, and agricultural jobs. This makes you feel good, Philip Yerger.

At last your associates are climbing the ladder of success to the top, not just hanging on to the first rung. Why, last year in the one month of October 28,000 individuals were placed in jobs, whereas in 1940 that was the total sum for the whole year.

You, too, have a new job. You are the head trainer for seeing-eye dogs at the rehabilitation center of Larkin. You and your assistant make sure the dogs are properly schooled, and each week you give every dog an examination.

By working so closely with the blind, Philip Yerger, you are aware of the feeling the employer has for the afflicted person and that individual for his boss. You sense how willing businessmen are to employ these folks, not like when you first wanted a job.

Last week you and Henry Thomas, head of the rehabilitation center, went on a tour of the Larkin Bottling Works. How gratifying it was to see that 4 afflicted or crippled persons could get jobs out of every 10 positions open.

Everywhere are signs saying Employ the Handicapped. Every day thousands of pieces of mail pass from hand to hand and each one is stamped Hire the Handicapped: It Is Good Business.

Yes, Philip Yerger, the Nation is awakening to reality. Life is becoming something real, not just a dream. You are offered a different and new job, your utopia. You, Philip Yerger, are put in charge of placing all the handicapped persons at the center into jobs most suited for them.

You can feel their emotions, their fears, and ambitions better any anyone else. You know the relief, the joy that floods over you when you hear the words "we would love to have you with us." Yes, this the job long awaited and hoped for. Now you can help your similarly afflicted associates find happiness and a feeling of belonging in the world.

As you sit at your desk, you come into contact with facts and figures that tell a story, a story of progress. For instance, Dr. Edward Conner of Meadville, Pa., a victim of multiple sclerosis, which attacks the nerves and nerve endings, he established a clinic—his dream for years—to care for and instruct handicapped children.

In the year 1952, 64,000 persons in the United States were rehabilitated. That is greatly enlarged over the number when you, Philip Yerger, first looked for a job.

Yes, Philip Yerger, this is your life. You signify the progress made by individuals over a period of years; the progress that fought its way through heartbreaks and disappointment, gains and losses, laughter and tears. Yours is a victory from which only you can get the fullest satisfaction.

"Nothing is too late till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate" was your motto. You proved it to be true.

This is your life, Philip Yerger, and may God bless you for it.

Ruby Red Grapefruit From the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 9155

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the Speaker and all of the Texas delegation and the citrus growers who gave us the most delicious ruby red grapefruit that were in the House dining room today. I enjoyed them very much. This is another reason for my liking Texas. The card that came with the grapefruit read:

RUBY RED GRAPEFRUIT

Tree-ripened ruby red grapefruit from the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, served to you today with the compliments of the Texas Citrus and Vegetable Growers and Shippers Association, of Harlingen, Tex., and the Texas delegation in the House of Representatives.

New Hoover Commission Favors Abolishing REA—"Operation Bankruptcy" for Great Program for Rural America Recommended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, some years back when President Truman created the so-called Hoover Commission on Government Operations his action was commended by many because it was hoped that through its studies and recommendations the vast operation of the Federal Government might be simplified and sound economy and efficiency in Government promoted.

We know now, Mr. Speaker, that the sound principles of the Hoover Commission, as originally intended, have not been fulfilled and the new or second edition of the Hoover Commission has gone far afield in its policy recommendations. In fact, many report that the Hoover Commission, prejudiced and packed in its membership and judgments, is in a large measure attempting to take over the work and job of the Congress itself.

The new Hoover Commission task force on Federal power programs has recommended abolishing the rural electrification program—a great and worthwhile agency of our Government which has meant so much to the rural citizens of our Nation. This recommendation and proposal of the new Hoover Commission should be killed in its infancy.

In this connection, the Rural Electrification magazine, in its March 1955 issue, in an editorial has termed this proposal as "Operation Bankruptcy."

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be reproduced with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, together with a copy of a resolution adopted by the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association at its 13th annual meeting on February 17 last, in Atlantic City, N. J.

The editorial and resolution follow:

[From Rural Electrification for March 1955]

OPERATION BANKRUPTCY

For 2 years all of us have been concerned about the new Hoover Commission which was established to study, among other things, the Rural Electrification Administration and

the Federal power programs and make recommendations to the Congress. This new Hoover Commission was authorized not only to study ways of making agencies more efficient but to make recommendations for altering or abolishing Federal functions and to prepare bills to be introduced in Congress to carry out its recommendations.

The Hoover Commission then set up a separate task force to study each of the several divisions and functions of the United States Government. It set up a task force to study rural electrification and other Government lending agencies. It set up a task force on water and power to study, among other things, the Federal power program. Former President Herbert Hoover personally named the membes of the various task-force groups.

We have known from the beginning that the report of the task force on Federal lending agencies would be unfriendly to the Rural Electrification Administration because the members of the task force had obviously been selected for that purpose. Immediately after this lending task force was set up, we tried to get them to hold public hearings so that all of us, we in the national office and you in the field, could be heard in support of REA. The task force flatly refused to hold such hearings despite the fact that the task force on water and power had already agreed to hold public hearings. While still denying us the right to appear before them, the lending task force finally agreed to permit us to mail to them a written statement of our views, which we did. We had that statement printed and distributed to all of the rural-electric systems. It is entitled "Financing the Rural Electrification Program in the United States."

Now we find that our original fears are confirmed. The lending agencies task force has submitted a report to the Hoover Commission which was adopted by the Commission with only one change.

We have seen a copy of the part of this report which deals with REA. It bristles with unfair propaganda charges about the rural electrification program and recommends the abolition of REA.

The report charges that the rural electrification program is subsidized in four ways: (1) The 5-year deferment period on repayment of loans, (2) alleged Federal income-tax exemption, (3) the 2-percent interest rate, and (4) the administrative expenses of REA. After making these and other accusations, the report makes the following recommendations:

TASK FORCE RECOMMENDATIONS ON RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

1. The REA be abolished and that a new Federal corporation be organized under the name "Rural Electrification Corporation."

2. That the rural electric systems be compelled to raise their rates high enough to provide funds for their own expansion.

3. That Congress provide no more loan or administrative funds for either electrification or telephone purposes.

4. That the new corporation be compelled to raise new funds in the private money markets and pay whatever rate of interest necessary to get the needed funds.

5. That all new loans carry a sufficiently high rate of interest to cover the cost of borrowing money in the banker's market, plus enough to pay all administrative costs of the new corporation.

6. That the new corporation be prohibited from lending money to construct any telephone or electric facility which private utilities are willing to build.

There are more recommendations, but the foregoing are the ones of major importance. You can see by just looking over this list that what the Hoover Commission is asking the Congress to do is abolish the rural electrification program and force the sale of the rural electric systems to the private power companies.

If REA is abolished and the new corporation set up, interest rates will no doubt be increased to at least 4½ percent. Existing services would be slashed to the vanishing point. Promotion of the telephone program would be killed. And point No. 6 is obviously intended to utterly destroy the generation and transmission program which would automatically destroy our bargaining power with private power suppliers and result in increased wholesale power rates.

This report, put simply, should, as our Atlantic City annual meeting resolution says, be labeled "operation bankruptcy" for the whole rural-electrification program. Continuation of the rapidly growing rural-electrification program would simply not be possible in rural America—all of which is relatively thinly settled in comparison with the cities—under such a program.

This report is one part of the emerging pattern here in Washington, a pattern of big-business socialism or corporate collectivism, or corporatism. Accelerated tax amortization, the administration's partnership program on resource development, this report on REA, and many, many other things all add up to one thing: A drive by the great corporations for complete domination of the American economy. They intend to encircle, swallow, or destroy every economic activity they do not presently own. And this is even more true of the big power companies and their allies than of any other group.

It is up to us and our allies to block them wherever possible, and we can if we will face up to what they are doing, tell our people about it, and insist that the Congress take action when necessary.

The first and most important thing we must do is to get the Power Trust monopoly investigation underway again and root out the sources of the influences brought to bear on the Hoover Commission. Every member of a rural-electric system in the country should pick up his pencil and let his Congressman and his two Senators know how he feels about this matter. You can get copies of the Task Force Report on REA beginning Monday, March 14. Your Congressman should be able to get you a copy.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE 13TH ANNUAL MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., FEBRUARY 17, 1955

It has come to our attention that the task force on Federal lending agencies of the new Hoover Commission has prepared a report for the Commission, wherein this task force in reporting on REA recommends:

1. That the Rural Electrification Administration be abolished and a Federal corporation to be called the rural electrification corporation be established in its place, thereby separating the farmers' electric cooperative banker from the farmers and the Congress through the appointment of directors by the President of the United States.

2. That the new corporation be compelled to raise funds for the rural electrics from private money sources by floating debenture bonds at whatever rate of interest the private moneylenders demand.

3. That the new corporation be required to charge interest rates high enough to cover the much greater cost of private borrowing plus the cost of administration.

4. That the new corporation cannot lend money for any project which private industry is prepared to construct.

The results of these recommendations, if adopted by the full Commission and the Congress would be utterly disastrous to the rural electric systems.

(a) The corporate form of operation would rob the Congress and rural people of their control over the banker of the rural electric systems by placing an appointive board of directors between the people and the Congress. Our experience with such appointive groups has not been good in the face of the manner in which the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Power Commission have ceased to serve the people but serve, instead, the vested interests they were created to control in the public interest. We consider this recommendation on incorporation a part of a clear design to place REA funds and services under the control of the enemies of rural electrification.

(b) Forcing the new corporation into the arms of the bankers, investment houses and insurance companies plus the requirement that the interest rates charged the rural electric systems be high enough to cover all administrative costs would undoubtedly result in interest rates of 4.5 to 6 percent per annum, an intolerable burden on the rural systems and a burden designed to bankrupt said systems.

(c) The restriction against lending for any project which private industry is willing to carry out is trick phrasing designed to destroy the generation and transmission phases of the program and thereby our bargaining power.

This task force report, prepared by the power company accounting firm of Price, Waterhouse, the firm which audits the books of Purcell Smith's power trust lobby, was not prepared as a legitimate effort to improve Government lending functions but was deliberately prepared for the purpose of scuttling the rural electrification program and destroying competition in the electric industry. This same task force refused to hold public hearings and NRECA was forced to submit a written statement regarding the Rural Electrification Administration, a statement which was utterly disregarded by the task force.

The report of the task force is full of misstatements and half truths. It is not a report in any true sense, but a propaganda document as vicious as we have ever examined: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge the Congress to label the REA section of this task force report, unofficially, as "Operation Bankruptcy for Rural Electrification" and that the Congress not only reject this report in its entirety, but that it also conduct an investigation into the sources of the ideas in this report and expose the authors to the public eye for what they are, tools of the money lenders and the power monopoly; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Members of the Congress and to President Eisenhower who appointed the Hoover Commission which, in turn, selected the task force.

Why Allow Gas Imports When We Are Flaring This Fuel in North Dakota?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to submit a resolution of the North Dakota Legislature against the importation of natural gas when a surplus of this fuel exists in North Dakota. The countryside in our oilfields is lit at night by scores of flaring torches, natural gas that is burned because there is no available market.

The resolution follows:

House Concurrent Resolution V-1

Concurrent resolution urging the Federal Power Commission to deny applications for the importation of foreign natural gas into the north central area while a surplus of gas exists in this area

Whereas applications are now pending before the Federal Power Commission for the importation of foreign natural gas into North Dakota and other States of the north central area of the United States; and

Whereas the importation of natural gas from foreign sources will retard and handicap the development of the natural resources of North Dakota and the north central area; and

Whereas it is in the interest of the prosperity and development of the State of North Dakota that the natural resources of this State be used in an efficient and useful manner without unfair competition from foreign sources: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota (the Senate concurring therein), That this legislative assembly expresses its continuing concern over the granting of any applications for the importation into North Dakota of supplies of natural gas from foreign sources until such time as existing supplies of such products within the State of North Dakota and the north central area of the United States are being fully, safely, and adequately utilized as determined by the North Dakota Public Service Commission; and that this legislative assembly hereby urges and requests the Federal Power Commission to allow such importations only when the above conditions are met; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the chief clerk of the house of representatives to the Federal Power Commission, and to each Member of the North Dakota congressional delegation, and to the North Dakota Public Service Commission.

K. A. FITCH,
Speaker of the House.
KENNETH L. MORGAN,
Chief Clerk of the House.
C. P. DAHL,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD LENO,
Secretary of the Senate.

St. Patrick's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, this morning's, March 17, issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald features an article on the character of St. Patrick. It was authored by the Reverend Dr. John Tracy Ellis, professor of church history at the Catholic University of America. In my opinion, it portrays an excellent analysis of the success that St. Patrick enjoyed in the conversion of pagan Ireland. The answer, of course, lies in the character of St. Patrick himself.

Mr. Speaker, I understand that my colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] has secured unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD and to include Father Ellis' article. I congratulate the author on the article and commend the Washington Post on presenting it on today's St. Patrick's Day.

How To Get Along With Yourself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting an article written by Dr. Abraham Shusterman, rabbi of the Har Sinai Congregation, of Baltimore, which appeared in the Baltimore Sunday American, Sunday, February 27, during the annual observance of Brotherhood Week.

I look forward to reading Rabbi Shusterman's column each Sunday and felt this particular article so inspiring I would like to bring it to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

HOW TO GET ALONG WITH YOURSELF

(By Rabbi Abraham Shusterman)

The recurrence of religious holidays awaken many wonderful memories. These are memories of shared experiences.

It is true that my next-door neighbor, Vincent, and his family were Catholic, while Charles and his family, who lived across the street, were Protestant. Their religious devotion was matched by our family's loyalty to the Jewish faith. Yuletide for them meant Channukahtime for us. Our mother was smart.

When the Channukah candles were kindled and blessed in our home, there were presents for the children in our family and for Vincent and Charles, as well. The parents of Vincent and Charles were equally universal in their outlook. We Jewish children received Christmas presents from them.

These memories are awakened by the beginning of Lent. We hadn't the slightest knowledge of the deeper meaning of the smudge on the foreheads of our Catholic neighbors on Ash Wednesday.

It did not occur to us that the true signficance of this sectarian rite was not too foreign to us as Jews. We had not been told that the ashes on their heads were signs of the shortness of human life, of man's accountability to God, and of the need for repentance.

If someone had told us the facts Ash Wednesday and Lent might remind us of our own month of Ellul which leads to the Hebrew New Year, the Day of Atonement and the penitential season. It would have been easier to understand fasting during Lent, if we had been able to compare it with our fasting on Yom Kippur.

Perhaps these are mature reflections. It may have been too much to expect it of children who are more concerned with happy experiences.

When our neighbors started Lent, with the dramatic use of ashes to symbolize mortality and the coming of judgment, we knew that Easter and Passover were not far away. Once again there was sharing in our little American neighborhood.

The families of other faiths seemed to love matzos and my mother took gifts of these unleavened cakes to their homes.

We always received from our neighbors little baskets of Easter eggs, both of the chocolate and hard-boiled varieties. Again, it must be confessed that the spiritual meaning of the holy season was not impressed upon our minds.

We were not given lectures in comparative religion and, if we Jewish boys and girls had been asked to interpret the spirit of Easter, few of us could have given a satisfactory answer.

But there is one thing that stands out in my memory. We were reverent. We sensed that there was something holy about ashes; something holy about our neighbors' disciplined life during the Lenten season.

We knew that the Easter baskets came at the end of a period of earnest prayer and self-scrutiny. From earliest childhood we respect it and our parents insisted that we regard it with reverence. It was as if our fathers and mothers had said to us, "This is not your holy season, but it is holy to Vincent and Charles. You must honor them for their devotion to their religion."

It seems to me that Vincent and Charles had the same attitude toward us.

They and their families accepted our gift of matzos; their acceptance of it had a special reverence about it, as if they felt that this unleavened bread was holy.

Yes, these are sweet memories of an unforgettable American childhood in which families differed in theological ideas but were united by mutual respect and affection.

Champions in Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call to the attention of the House the splendid work now being done by the American Forestry Association in cooperation with the various States in the promotion of the conservation of our forest resources.

For many years I have been interested in the conservation of our renewable resources. I believe that this is one of the most important problems facing our Nation today, that of conserving wherever possible the vast resources with which we have been entrusted.

Our country has been singularly blessed with an abundance of most of the raw materials and natural resources for the development of a modern productive society.

We should not, however, overlook the very distinct possibility that if we continue to use our resources at the present rate and do nothing to replenish them we shall soon begin to face the problem of supply.

For the last 6 years, I have had the privilege of serving on the awards committee of the American Forestry Association, which has the responsibility of selecting outstanding Americans who have contributed to the promotion of conservation.

Each year, this committee chooses five Americans in fields of public information, public service, business and industry, education, and general service, for recognition of their contribution to a sound program of conservation. A number of outstanding citizens have been so honored by the association.

Within a few months this committee will again be charged with the responsibility of making additional selections for these awards. In connection with this, I would like to call the attention of the House to an article written by Mr. James B. Craig, editor of the American Forests, the publication of the American Forestry

Association. This article, entitled "Champions in Conservation," has been written for the April issue of this magazine, and I believe it sets forth in a splendid manner the work of this organization.

The article follows:

CHAMPIONS IN CONSERVATION

(By James B. Craig)

When the American Forestry Association adopted its first program for American forestry over a decade ago, there were many leaders in the whole field of renewable natural resources who made notable contributions to this effort. These men and women—they included scientists, public servants, educators, foresters, and journalists—were the pacesetters in this program of accomplishment. They were the people who moved out in front by virtue of that indescribable spirit—a form of selflessness in service—that stamps the leader in any form of endeavor.

That these champions of conservation should be recognized for their signal achievements was readily recognized by the American Forestry Association. Accordingly, 8 years ago, the association established its own hall of fame for resources leaders in the form of its annual conservation awards program for distinguished service. These awards, AFA decided, should be presented annually to those individuals who have rendered outstanding service beyond the call of duty in conserving and managing our renewable resources of forests, soil, water, and wildlife. Five awards are made annually in five categories. These are: (1) Public information; (2) business and industry; (3) public servants; (4) education; (5) general service.

So successful were these initial efforts to acquaint the public with sterling contributions to sound resources development that the Sears, Roebuck Foundation joined the AFA in its program. Consequently, the project has continued to expand with every passing year. Today the awards have come to be regarded as an honor without parallel to those who work in conservation.

Last year the awards committee, headed by Chairman Robert N. Hoskins, screened 57 topflight nominations representing the widest bracket of resources activity in the history of the program. The nominations included those of foresters, city planners, business leaders, scientists, biologists, research specialists, writers, and people in many other lines. In some cases as many as 60 to 70 endorsing letters accompanied individual nominations. The five awards made at Portland, Oreg., last September 6, went to Frederick Paul Keen, Forest Service research specialist, of California; Dr. Olaus J. Murie, biologist, of Wyoming; Reuben Buck Robertson, paper-company board chairman, of North Carolina; Palmer Hoyt, newspaper publisher, of Colorado; and Dr. Samuel T. Dana, forester and educator, of Michigan.

This year's distinguished-service awards, for which nominations are now being received, will be made October 5 in connection with the all-South annual meeting of the American Forestry Association, October 3 to 6, at Jacksonville, Fla. With the Governors of many Southern States scheduled to attend, this promises to be one of the most significant resources meetings in the history of the South. President Eisenhower has been invited to address the conclave. Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia, has been invited to make the keynote address on the conference theme, Southern Forestry: An Industrial Revolution With Roots. General chairman of the affair will be X. L. Pellicer, president, St. Augustine National Bank, of Florida. Recipients of the 1955 distinguished-service awards will be honored at the annual banquet of this annual meeting On October 5. The awards include a plaque designating them as leaders in their particular fields and a life membership in the American Forestry Association.

Last month the American Forestry Association began accepting nominations for the 1955 awards. Because a nominations deadline of June 15 has been established, the awards committee is urging that AFA members and others nominate their candidates at the earliest possible date. Chairman Hoskins, industrial forester for the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, emphasized that eligibility for nominations is not limited to persons actually working in the field of renewable natural resources. He explained that the awards are intended to recognize and reward individuals whose contributions to conservation have been beyond the demands of their regular means of livelihood, adding that in previous years there has been some confusion as to who could be nominated and how awards winners were chosen.

Chairman Hoskins further explained that this year five winners will be selected from as many categories, and that for judging purposes nominations will be categorized on the basis of employment rather than on the phase of conservation in which they have been active. The categories are public servants, business and industry, education, public information, and a fifth grouping, which includes persons not definitely embraced by any of the other classifications. This means, Hoskins said, that even though a nominee—a teacher, for instance—may have made an outstanding contribution in the field of public information, the awards committee would classify him in the "education" category, because that is his primary employment field. Likewise, he elaborated, an industrialist or a businessman could conceivably be nominated for activities in education, but for judging purposes both would be classified as "business and industry." Hoskins also stressed the importance of including all pertinent information on the nominations blank, and added that many nominations in recent years have been bolstered by accompanying letters of endorsement from as many as 70 different people.

Awards committee members who will work with Mr. Hoskins in screening this year's candidates will be: Congressman Watkins M. Abbitt, of Richmond, Va.; Bryce C. Browning, secretary-treasurer, Muskingum Watershed Conservancy District, New Philadelphia, Ohio; Dr. M. D. Mobley, executive secretary, American Vocational Association, Inc., Washington, D. C.; Arthur R. Spillers, Chief, Division of Cooperative Forest Management, United States Forest Service, Washington, D. C.; and Louis H. Wilson, director of information, American Plant Food Council, Washington, D. C.

Many fine leaders have been honored by the American Forestry Association for their achievements since the inauguration of AFA's first program for American forestry of a decade ago, Mr. Hoskins stressed. With a new program for forestry and related resources approved by the association only last year, many new leaders are appearing on the scene today—people who are working to achieve the three big goals of this program which are: (1) To meet the essentials of forest protection; (2) to improve the national timber crop in volume and quality to a degree sufficient to wipe out all deficits and build up a reserve; (3) to obtain the maximum of economic and social services from our forests by realistic application of the principle of multiple use in their management.

"The whole Nation is being invited and urged to take part in the activation of this program pointing toward resources abundance," Mr. Hoskins said. "As always, however, there are and will be the few who will stand out above all others for their unselfish dedication to a great cause. It is the membership in this choice group—the few who contribute so much to so many—that AFA seeks to honor with its awards program for distinguished service."

Don't Seem To Be Getting Through

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Ulm Daily Journal, New Ulm, Minn., of March 4, 1955, entitled "Don't Seem To Be Getting Through":

In the past 14 years the United States has poured more than $112 billion of the taxpayers' money into Europe and Asia in an effort to buy loyalty and support. But there is something wrong somewhere.

Instead of winning goodwill and loyalty, we are viewed with distrust, suspicion, and hatred. In some instances with fear.

Perhaps it can be attributed to the methods we use.

Whatever is wrong, the entire blame cannot attach to the New and Fair Deals. Nor to the liberals and the conservatives in our Government. The blame does not attach solely to the Democrats as a party, nor to the Republicans as such. The blame must attach to the visionaries, the do-gooders and theorists that have taken over all parties in a grandiose move to have the world sleep in one bed.

Our capitalistic, altruistic plans to save the world have been attuned to the aristocracy of foreign lands, with little attention, if any, given to the bourgeoise, the proletariat, the hoi polloi.

The Communists, on the other hand, indulge in no such costly programs calculated to dazzle and impress the populace.

We spend millions on the Voice of America to indoctrinate our allies, as well as attempting to sell Russia and Communist satellite countries on our program. Imagine what we would do about such radio programs if Russia beamed them at us.

We build million-dollar office buildings in impoverished lands, staff them with well-paid American help; we take over huge hotels, even palaces, staff them with men paid more per day than the natives earn in a month. Does that win friends and influence people?

We tell the world we can loose an atom bomb here that, within 30 minutes, will level Moscow. Does that create goodwill, especially among the common people whose goodwill we need?

We have moved in on countless foreign lands, set up offices in luxury and splendor. Our overseas staffs have their families, a society of their own. Whatever mingling they do with the natives, is with the upper crust, not with the common people whose goodwill we need.

We have given billions to restore industry in foreign lands and have won friendship of doubtful quality from the industrialists. But have we included a proviso that the industrialists, over a reasonable period of time, should see to it that these billions should eventually be added to the meager pay of their employees, so the common people may benefit? If we have, there is no public knowledge of it.

We have, at the cost of millions of dollars, set up an "information" service in Europe,

stuffed by more than 10,000 well-paid Americans, living in luxury. That is more employees than the combined majority of our great American newspapers have.

We have given fat assignments to repudiated politicians, turned over millions of dollars to them to dump on foreign lands (as witness Harold Stassen of the FOA), solely on their judgment. Has it brought us goodwill, loyalty or support? Or has it served to increase suspicion, distrust, and fear? Has Stassen ever condescended to speak to, or mingle with the common people? Or has he appeared at the cocktail parties, the swank social affairs of the upper crust?

Far better that we send a skeleton staff to foreign lands, let them live with and under the conditions of the common people; hire local people, pay them what we pay our own employees and let them do the job of selling.

We never know. At the moment, military strategists are considering turning over 20 bombers to each of our allies, each of them capable of dropping an atom bomb. A good idea—provided of course—we have irrevocable assurance they will remain allies. Which, of course, no one is able to give, even in the nation regarded today as our strongest most dependable ally.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

Analysis of the Post Office Department, January 1953 Through December 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I take pleasure in inserting the following analysis of the Post Office Department, January 1953 through December 1954, which has been prepared by the citizens committee for the Hoover Report:

The original Hoover Commission's Report on the Post Office Department, submitted to the Congress on February 21, 1949, contained two principal sections.

Under the heading "What Is Wrong With the Post Office?" the Commission listed eight major deficiencies. In a subsequent section, nine specific recommendations were made which were designed to correct those deficiencies. It is the purpose of this memorandum to show the extensive measures already taken to accomplish the objective of the Commission.

It is not possible to portray adequately the accomplishments of the Department solely by a numerical comparison with specific findings and recommendations. In every area definite progress is evident. In certain areas the Department has gone beyond the initial objectives indicated by the statements of the Commission. This is, in fact, illustrative of the determination of the present management to rehabilitate the postal service.

Prior to January 1953, several of the Commission's nine recommendations were acted upon:

1. A Deputy Postmaster General had been appointed as the operating head of the Department.

2. An Advisory Board had been appointed to represent the different elements of the public in formulating postal policies and methods.

3. The 58 separate appropriations under which the Department operated had been consolidated into 6, and postal accounting responsibility had been returned by the General Accounting Office.

To those familiar with the Department, it was apparent, however, that the basic structure and tempo of the Postal Establishment had not been changed. The fundamental causes of its mounting deficits and deteriorating service had not been attacked. The question of "What Is Wrong With the Post Office?" posed by the Hoover Commission in 1949, was still being asked. The findings of the Commission in 1949 still applied as the new Postmaster General took office in January 1953.

1. The administrative structure was obsolete and overcentralized.

2. A maze of out-moded laws, regulations, and traditions stifled progress and proper administration.

3. The Department lacked many of the essentials to good business operation.

4. The postal rate structure had not kept pace with rising wages and other costs, and rate-making machinery was inadequate.

5. The postal budget was used to hide subsidies wholly outside the Department's control or responsibility.

6. Political appointments and promotions produced inefficiency and militated against incentives to do a better job.

7. Accounting methods were inadequate and did not produce timely control information useful to management.

8. The annual postal deficit had continued to increase each year, from $263 million in 1947 to an estimated $668 million for 1954.

The challenge had not been met. In 1953, however, it was met.

The Postmaster General became familiar with the report of the Hoover Commission and that of its post office task force, Robert Heller & Associates, and based his program on the letter and spirit of these reports. He also sought and found men in both private business and in Government qualified by experience to carry out this program.

As work progressed and the magnitude of the undertaking became more apparent, additional help was recruited. A nationally recognized firm of certified public accountants was retained to plan and assist in the modernization of the Department's financial and accounting policies and procedures. Other specialists were brought in to accelerate work on equipment development, records management, and job classification. Technicians were borrowed, without cost, from private industry to give temporary assistance in other specialized fields.

Rehabilitation of the postal establishment has gone forward, and can be best summarized in five broad areas: (1) Organization structure; (2) personnel relations; (3) finance and accounting; (4) operating regulations, practices, and equipment; (5) service to the public.

The full record of accomplishment in each area is impressive and is made up of a large number of separate programs and projects. In certain instances the work is completed and the results are in. In others, work is still in progress and the long-range goals are not fully attained. In still others, the Department has developed and recommended programs of action and is seeking the required legislative support and approval.

The scope and degree of accomplishment are summarized as follows:

ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE

1. Reorganization of headquarters: (a) Duties and responsibilities of the several bureaus were regrouped to eliminate duplication, overlapping, unnecessary layers of supervision, and nonessential work.

2. Decentralization of management of postal operations:

(a) A regional plan was developed to bring together and coordinate in the field the management functions already decentralized and those still carried on in Washington which could be better accomplished closer to the scene of action.

(b) Ten of the fifteen regions projected are now in operation. The postal service will be fully regionalized by June 30, 1955.

(c) Plans have been developed to maintain, through the regional plan, management of the postal network in the event of a war emergency. This vital factor was not contemplated in the Hoover Commission recommendations of 1949.

PERSONNEL RELATIONS

1. Establishment of the new bureau of personnel: (a) This move, recommended by numerous commissions and committees over the years, was accomplished with congressional approval in 1953. This bureau has been the focal point for development of modern personnel policies and practices affecting over a half-million postal workers.

2. Development of an equitable system of employee compensation: (a) The Department has developed and recommended to the Congress a comprehensive plan for evaluating and classifying postal jobs as the basis for a modern and equitable schedule of salary ranges. It is anticipated that favorable action will be taken by the Congress during its present session.

3. Inauguration of new and improved personnel practices: (a) Under the direction of the bureau of personnel, a number of improvements have been made. Competitive examinations have been introduced for postal workers seeking promotion to supervisory positions. Training programs have been developed to improve the productivity of postal workers. The Department's safety program has been expanded to reduce accidents and injuries and its suggestion system has been revitalized to encourage broader participation.

FINANCE AND ACCOUNTING

1. Establishment of the Postmaster General's reserve:

(a) A reserve account was established in 1953 to capture savings resulting from reorganization and improved procedures.

(b) On June 30, 1954, this reserve showed a balance in excess of $100 million representing funds appropriated but unspent. This amount was in addition to the voluntary reduction of $74 million in appropriations made prior to the start of fiscal year 1954.

2. Elimination of the burden of subsidies and free postal service:

(a) Subsidies to the airlines, approximating $80 million annually, were transferred in 1954 from the postal budget to that of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

(b) Arrangements were made for reimbursing the Post Office Department for postal service performed for the Congress and for other departments of the Government, formerly provided without charge. Postal revenues were thus increased approximately $35 million in fiscal year 1954.

3. Reorganization and modernization of budgeting and accounting:

(a) The Department's budget was reorganized to conform with the organization structure as a means of clarifying management responsibility for expenditures.

(b) The entire postal accounting system is being revised to provide for modern methods of recording transactions, timely and meaningful financial statements and control reports, availability of cost breakdowns, and adequate internal auditing procedures.

4. Development of a realistic schedule of postal rates and fees:

(a) Thorough and independent analysis of the causes of the postal deficit demonstrated the need and justification for additional revenues.

(b) Rates and fees under his jurisdiction were revised upward by the Postmaster General. This resulted in approximately $23 million of additional revenue in fiscal year 1954.

(c) A new schedule of rates for first-, second-, and third-class mail, in line with past increases in postal wages and transportation costs, was proposed to the Congress, together with a plan for future rate revision by an independent commission. It is hoped that favorable action on these proposals will be taken during the present session.

5. Simplification of financial transactions: (a) Procedures relating to remittance of cash receipts by postmasters, processing of money orders, and administration of postal-savings accounts have been revised to reduce costs and speed the accounting for funds.

OPERATING REGULATIONS, PRACTICES, AND EQUIPMENT

1. Elimination of unnecessary or obsolete procedures:

(a) Many traditional but unnecessarily burdensome regulations and practices have been modified or abolished. These include costly procedures in handling second-class mail, metered mail, registered, insured, and c. o. d. mail, change-of-address notifications, and similar activities.

(b) Records retention policies were reviewed and revised with the result that 820 tons of records, receipts, and files have been destroyed or removed from Washington, thus freeing filing cabinets, manpower, and much valuable space formerly devoted to such files.

2. Revision and consolidation of postal manuals: (a) On December 1, 1954, a consolidated and revised manual of postal regulations was issued to employees and patrons. This was the first successful attempt in the Department's history to thus revise its regulations. It brought together in 1 manual of less than 300 pages the material formerly distributed throughout 4,000 pages of a number of publications.

3. Reorganization of the postal supply system: (a) Procedures and facilities used in procuring, storing, transporting, and controling post-office supplies, postage stamps, envelopes, and mail sacks have been examined and reorganized to reduce cost, minimize waste, and insure proper control of stocks.

4. Improvement in mail transportation: (a) Intensive research and experimentation in mail transportation has resulted in more economic use of rail transportation, extension of the use of short-haul trucks and buses, and transportation of regular first-class mail by air on a trial basis.

5. Reorganization of real-estate management:

(a) Application of commercial and industrial real-estate practices has resulted in steadily decreasing the average cost of rented facilities and more efficient operation of Federal buildings managed by the Post Office Department.

(b) New lease-purchase legislation will provide an opportunity to acquire improved postal facilities through a long-range program based on anticipated and planned needs.

6. Development of work performance standards: (a) Standards of productivity applicable to mail sorting and handling operations have been installed in large post offices and terminals. Resulting comparative reports of efficiency have guided management in the installation of training programs, methods studies, and other aids to supervision.

7. Development of new labor-saving equipment and methods: (a) Under the direction of the new Industrial Engineering Department, an accelerated program of equipment development has made important advances. Bulk-mail handling and conveying equipment, stamp-vending machines, improved lighting, and similar innovations have been made in many locations. Especially designed light-weight vehicles are being tested on all types of city delivery routes. The first electronically controlled facing and canceling machine is undergoing service tests in the Washington post office. Voluntary separation of local and out-of-town mail by patrons has been successfully promoted in many large cities and has produced substantial savings.

SERVICE TO THE PUBLIC

1. Elimination of outmoded fourth-class offices: (a) In rural areas of the country over 1,800 fourth-class offices have been replaced by extending rural delivery routes. Patrons who used to walk or drive several miles to a fourth-class office are now receiving mail service at their doors.

2. Establishment of Delayed Mail Unit: (a) Through the medium of 5,000 test mailins a week at large post offices handling 60 percent of the country's mail, the causes for delayed mail have been determined and steps taken to eliminate them. Delays thus recorded have been reduced so far by 36 percent.

3. Extension of carrier routes in growing communities: (a) Expanding suburban communities are receiving prompt consideration to assure adequate extensions of city delivery routes where warranted. Approximately $11 million a year is now being spent for this purpose.

4. Later window hours and mail collections: (a) Successful tests in several large cities showed the feasibility of extending post-office window hours and mail collections, usually with little or no additional expense. This program has been adopted in over 300 large cities and has resulted in earlier delivery of a substantial volume of mail.

5. Effect on service of other operational improvements: (a) Each change in operating policy has been considered as to its effect on both cost and service. Thus improvements in transportation methods, facilities, equipment, and procedures have all contributed to improved service.

It should be apparent that many important and lasting improvements in the organization and operation of the Post Office Department have been made in the past 2 years. The task has been great, however, and the job is far from completed.

Some important projects will require many more months to complete. In such examples as regionalization, improved personnel practices, expansion of facilities, and development of new and modern equipment, the full result in terms of cost reduction may not be known for several years.

No matter how successful they may ultimately prove to be, these measures alone cannot hope to wipe out the postal deficit.

In fiscal year 1954 voluntary reductions in the bulget, transfer of subsidies, additional revenues from actions taken by the Postmaster General, and substantial additional havings succeeded in reducing the deficit from an anticipated $668 million to an actual $399 million. Unfortunately increases in transportation rates recently granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission and proposed increases in rates of pay now before the Congress will almost offset these gains.

The understanding and support of postal employees, the Congress, and the public have contributed much to the success of the rehabilitation of the Department thus far. Their continuing support is vital to the completion of the job.

Yalta: Was It Worth It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Yalta: Was It Worth It?" published in the Washington Post of this morning.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YALTA: WAS IT WORTH IT?

Publication of the Yalta papers reopens old wounds and opens a lot of new ones. The papers show no secret engagements whatsoever. Alger Hiss is revealed not as a "principal architect" of anything, but as a technician working among other technicians by the side of the American member of the Big Three. The main addition to what has long been known is a series of verbal indiscretions by the Yalta principals. The curious thing is that the historians who previously examined the papers showed more awareness of the national interest than did the Department of State.

Have the disclosures eliminated the aura of treason which the "feudin' and the fightin'" in the party game has left hanging over the February 1945 parley in the Crimea? Not at all. The "I told you so" comments of sundry Republican figures with a vested interest in the "plot" at Yalta testify to no slate cleaning. That was inevitable. The commentators were precisely the same politicos who continued to yell in the hustings for the Wedemeyer Report on China long after that report had been published. It is doubtful whether they have even read the mountainous memoranda about Yalta for the publication of which they have been yammering.

Secretary Dulles on his departure for Canada acknowledged there would be no domestic healing as a result of the Yalta publication. He, of course, knew that before he decided upon the release. It is not in the nature of the political animal to swallow words and charges which have already yielded dividends in votes and which still could be made serviceable in "tickling the ears of the groundlings." Why, then, did he release this 500,000-word dossier to world attention at this critical moment?

The answer seems to be clear. He was acquitting himself of a GOP obligation incurred in the heat of the 1952 electioneering to pry open the State Department files so that the Yalta transaction could be bared to the public gaze. That is not all. Secretary Dulles did the job in his own peculiar way—so as to fulfill the pledge and at the same time to appear not to injure our diplomatic standing with the world. Having run off heaven knows how many copies for the confidential information of all persons in any authority, he let nature take its course, and that course was bound to lead to a newspaper office. Secretary Dulles is not so naive as to have failed to envisage this eventuality.

Here, however is an instance of where the cake could not be had and eaten at the same time. Our diplomacy in the world has suffered a damaging blow. That is the prime mischief of the disclosures. It is a common courtesy that when parties engage in a negotiation, the consent of the parties concerned must be obtained prior to any publicity. Sir

Winston Churchill is reported as having withheld his consent—until it was virtually forced from him at the 11th hour. London is today rumbling with perturbation and even anger. It would be silly to expect that we shall be forgiven on the ground that publication was unavoidable because of a leak. What must we now face? The diplomacy of Britain—and, indeed, of other countries—will now tend to keep its fingers crossed and a bridle on its tongue when it enters into conversation with ours. In other words, it will be inhibited in future relations with America. The loss to the confidence that should subsist between allies could be incalculable.

This does not mean that diplomatic undertakings of the momentous character of the Yalta Conference should be kept in darkness. Far from it. Wherever engagements are entered into, even if they are executive in nature and do not involve the treatymaking power, they should be made public. Furthermore, our Government should not bind itself beforehand to secret commitments. Covenants in our kind of world should be open; but we have now had enough experience since President Wilson's day to realize the disastrous consequences of arriving at those covenants openly, let alone of publishing all the memoranda of conversations without the common consent.

In respect of Yalta, it now turns out that the public had been acquainted with all the agreements which the Big Three made long before the half-million-word deluge broke over the world's head. In short, the publication itself—insofar as it was supposed to reveal a conspiracy—has proved a dud; but the effects of publication are proving explosive the world over. We may reflect today on what the ablest diplomat of the last generation, Jules Cambon, said on this general subject: "The day secrecy is abolished, negotiation of any kind will become impossible."

Slovak Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 24, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, on this day, I am anxious to extend my congratulations to the Slovak people upon the birthday of their free nation and also to compliment them for the heroic battle they are waging against ruthless communism.

The oppression of Slovakia follows more or less the same outlines which characterize the various oppressions against other free peoples perpetrated by the Soviet and its puppets. Every form of tyranny and brutality is practiced by the Reds to break down the resistance and insure the complete submission of the native populations. Persecution of organized religion is a cardinal point and unceasing activity of the Soviet campaign.

Although the Slovak people are in virtual slavery, their brutal masters have not been able to break their spirit or destroy their will to be free. These people are God-fearing and liberty-loving and they will never bow to the tyrants even though the yoke of subjugation is fastened tightly about their necks. They prefer torture and death to slavery.

I think it is appropriate for Members of Congress and leaders of American opinion to send them messages of encouragement on this day, which marks their national independence, and I am proud to salute this brave people and to assure them that our great American nation extends them sympathy, encouragement and sincere hopes for their early liberation.

In some way our kind words will be communicated to them and will break through the shadows of despair and grief to bring fresh inspiration and fresh resolve to continue the fight. With courage and tenacity, in time, they will be free.

The knowledge of our interest and willingness to help in every way we can will inestimably strengthen these unfortunate oppressed peoples to endure their sorry plight until deliverance is at hand. To all the Slovak people I humbly tender my most earnest hopes and prayers that they will persist in their unflinching devotion to democracy and self-determination and find early release from the shackles that bind them and be restored soon once again to the free way of life which they have so nobly chosen for their own.

Republican Politicians in Illinois Made $168,000 Profit Off Surplus Food for School Lunches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a news story on profits made off surplus food for school lunches in Illinois, which appeared in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald:

PROFITS ON SCHOOL LUNCHES CITED

Dunbar & Co. made a 13-percent profit on hauling surplus food for school lunches and institutions in Illinois, Vernon L. Nickell, State superintendent of public instruction, told congressional investigators, yesterday.

Testifying before a House Government Operations Subcommittee checking into reports of excessive charges by Dunbar, Nickell said:

"Just before leaving Springfield I called the auditors working on Dunbar & Co. books. They gave me the following information:

"Total revenue received by Dunbar * * * amounted to $1,288,000 over a period of 27 months.

"The net profit from this operation during the 27 months, after payment of Federal income taxes, amounted to approximately $168,000, or 13 percent of income."

Nickell apparently was referring to independent auditors who have been studying Dunbar's records. James W. Dunbar, head of the concern, had refused to permit Government auditors to examine his books.

Chairman L. H. FOUNTAIN, Democrat, of North Carolina, of the subcommittee has said an Agricultural Department survey indicated Dunbar & Co. made a 310-percent profit under a contract awarded by Nickell in 1952.

Dunbar, clerk of the Sangmon (Ill.) circuit court, is a reputed contributor to Nickell's political campaigns, FOUNTAIN said.

Secretary Benson Urged To Move Surplus Cotton Into Export Channels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, cotton farmers of the country facing a severe hardship of limited production are concerned about the lack of a concerted program to reduce the present cotton surplus.

At a time like this emergency action is needed in the overall interest of our economy.

As an expression of the views of many members of the House of Representatives from throughout the United States, a letter requesting early action has been submitted to Secretary of Agriculture Benson, signed by 129 Members of the House of Representatives. A similar letter was signed by 54 Senators.

Under unanimous consent, I include a copy of the letter:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., March 17, 1955.

Hon. EZRA TAFT BENSON,
Secretary, Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We urge that you use existing authority under the Commodity Credit Corporation charter and other legislation to move accumulated stocks of cotton primarily into export channels.

This cotton could be sold with a minimum of disruption here at home and in world markets if a judicious job of merchandising is conducted.

As you know, other authorizations provide opportunities to barter such excess stock for supplemental reserves of strategic materials. We need these materials more than we need the cotton.

There is a need also for us to regain our fair share of the world market.

We share your concern for the fact that present cotton-acreage levels are about to ruin the economies in many of the cotton States. As you know, the income on cotton farms is far below the farm income averages in many other areas. Relief is greatly needed from the standpoint of our entire economy.

We jointly ask your personal attention to the situation which is of such consequence in cotton growing and manufacturing States.

Sincerely,

HAROLD D. COOLEY, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, JOHN L. MCMILLAN, THOMAS G. ABERNETHY, E. C. GATHINGS, PAUL JONES, JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, JAMIE L. WHITTEN, WILBUR D. MILLS, ALBERT RAINS, A. S. HERLONG, JR., CARL T. DURHAM, NOBLE J. GREGORY, CLIFFORD DAVIS, HENDERSON LANHAM, ROSS BASS, JOHN J. FLYNT, JR., CARL VINSON, PHIL M. LANDRUM, CARL ELLIOTT, HERBERT C. BONNER, J. PERCY PRIEST, ED EDMUNDSON, W. F. NORRELL, JOE L. EVINS, GEORGE W. ANDREWS III, OMAR BURLESON, W. R. HULL, JR., LEE METCALF, GRACIE PFOST, ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR., MARTIN DIES, ROBERT T. ASHMORE, FRED MARSHALL, MELVIN PRICE, CLIFFORD R. HOPE, B. F. SISK, TOM STEED, GEORGE S. LONG, JOHN J. DEMPSEY, FRANK W. BOYKIN, OTTO E. PASSMAN, DON MAGNUSON, ROBERT C. BYRD, CLEVELAND M. BAILEY, ROY W. WIER, JAMES B. BOWLER, EDWIN E. WILLIS,

JOHN JARMAN, JAMES P. RICHARDS, W. R. POAGE, JAMES POLK, JOHN C. WATTS, CARL ALBERT, HARLAN HAGEN, CLARK W. THOMPSON, FRANK E. SMITH, WILLIAM M. COLMER, JERE COOPER, GEORGE M. GRANT, O. C. FISHER, D. R. MATTHEWS, ARTHUR WINSTEAD, OREN HARRIS, OLIN E. TEAGUE, JAMES W. TRIMBLE, JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR., PORTER HARDY, HOMER THORNBERRY, ROBERT E. JONES, J. L. PILCHER, E. L. FORRESTER, WRIGHT PATMAN, PAUL BROWN, WALTER ROGERS, GRAHAM A. BARDEN, BRADY GENTRY, WILLIAM H. NATCHER, KENNETH A. ROBERTS, JAMES A. HALEY, JOHN DOWDY, LESTER JOHNSON, JIM WRIGHT, J. VAUGHAN GARY, FRANK IKARD, OVERTON BROOKS, JOE M. KILGORE, EDWARD J. ROBESON, JR., GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR., WATKINS M. ABBITT, PRINCE H. PRESTON, JR., CHARLES B. DEANE, PAT JENNINGS, JAMES ROOSEVELT, CHET HOLIFIELD, JOHN J. ROONEY, JAMES H. MORRISON, H. R. GROSS, BROOKS HAYS, F. ERTEL CARLYLE, STEWART UDALL, WAYNE N. ASPINALL, PAUL G. ROGERS, JOHN A. BLATNIK, JOHN E. MOSS, JR., SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, BYRON G. ROGERS, ABRAHAM J. MULTER, COYA KNUTSON, PAGE BELCHER, VICTOR L. ANFUSO, A. S. J. CARNAHAN, CHARLES E. BENNETT, T. JAMES TUMULTY, JOHN M. PHILLIPS, T. P. O'NEILL, JR., HAROLD O. LOVRE, EDWARD P. BOLAND, MYRON V. GEORGE, THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, WILLIAM S. HILL, H. CARL ANDERSEN, BEN F. JENSEN, CLAIR ENGLE, T. A. THOMPSON, F. EDWARD HÉBERT, J. T. RUTHERFORD, VICTOR WICKERSHAM, TOM MURRAY.

Strike on the L. & N., N. C. & St. L., and the Clinchfield Railroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. T. C. Carroll, president of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, who is, by the way, himself an L. & N. employee on leave and an outstanding leader of labor, has recently made a very informative and very incisive speech here in Washington wherein he summarizes the issues at stake in this most serious strike. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I desire to include the speech of Mr. Carroll given before a group of interested public officials here in Washington.

The speech follows:

REMARKS BY T. C. CARROLL, PRESIDENT, BROTHERHOOD OF MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES, AT WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 16, 1955, WITH RESPECT TO STRIKE ON THE L. & N., N. C. & St. L., AND THE CLINCHFIELD RAILROADS

Three railroads operating extensively in the Southeastern States are tied up by a strike of their nonoperating employees. This is apparently the most extensive strike of nonoperating employees that has occurred since the so-called shopmen's strike of 1922.

Naturally the people in the States affected are concerned about this interruption of transportation services in their communities.

Why has this happened? Why did not the procedures of the Railway Labor Act operate to bring about a settlement of the dispute before it eventuated in a strike? My experiences in this matter convince me that this far-reaching strike is a shocking reflection upon the way these railroads attempt to conduct their labor relations.

The nonoperating organizations on May 22, 1953, served notices, pursuant to section 6 of the Railway Labor Act, of proposed changes in agreements so as to provide a number of improvements in working conditions. We asked for better vacations, paid holidays, premium pay for work on Sundays, group life insurance, and hospital, surgical, and medical protection for the employees and their families to be paid for by the railroads and for liberalized pass privileges.

These requests were patiently progressed through all of the procedures of the Railway Labor Act, namely, conferences, mediation by the National Mediation Board, and finally, beginning in January of last year, extensive hearings before a Presidential Emergency Board appointed by President Eisenhower under section 10 of the Railway Labor Act.

The Board made its report and recommendations on May 15, 1954. What it recommended fell far short of what the organizations had requested and what they felt they were justly entitled to have. Thirty days after that Board made its recommendations the organizations were legally free to call a strike in support of their proposals on any of the railroads throughout the country on which the notices were served.

We did not do that. Instead, we sat down day after day through long and tedious negotiations to work out an agreement with conference committees representing the railroad companies and finally on August 21, 1954, an agreement was reached between the unions and committees of railroad managers putting into effect substantially what the President's Emergency Board had recommended.

However, the 3 railroads now involved in this strike, together with several other southeastern railroads, withdrew from the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committee, about 10 days before the agreement was reached, any authority to make an agreement on their behalf with respect to a health and welfare plan.

What the Emergency Board had recommended with respect to health and welfare fell very far short of what the employees had requested. The employees had requested that the entire program—group life insurance and complete hospital, surgical and medical protection for employees and their families—be provided at the expense of the carriers. The Emergency Board recommended no group life insurance and no contribution by the carriers toward health and welfare protection for the families, but only that hospital, surgical and medical insurance be provided for the employees with half the cost being borne by the employees and the other half by the carriers. The unions agreed to such a plan only because the Board appointed by President Eisenhower had recommended that the dispute on that issue be disposed of on that basis.

After the agreement of August 21, 1954, had been made with all the major railroads of the country settling the dispute not only with respect to health and welfare, but with respect to all the other items involved in the employees' proposals and with respect to rules changes that the carriers had demanded by way of counterproposals, the railroads now involved in the strike were offered the opportunity to settle on the same basis. Repeated efforts were made by the National Mediation Board and by the organizations to obtain a settlement on those terms.

Why is it that these railroads are unwilling to accept terms of settlement that are in effect on over 90 percent of the railroad mileage of this country They make the pious pretense that they are unwilling to compel their employees to participate in a health and welfare plan, through a payroll deduction of $3.40 per month without the individual authorization of each employee. This is a basic attack on collective bargaining as provided for by the Railway Labor Act. It has been held numbers of times by the Supreme Court that the collective bargaining agent chosen by the majority of employees in a craft or class of employees has not only the exclusive authority but also the legal responsibility to represent everyone in the craft or class equally, fairly, and without discrimination. It has been held by the Supreme Court that under the Railway Labor Act only this collective bargaining representative has power to agree upon the rates of pay and the terms and conditions of employment. Individual agreements, even though expressly made between the individual and the carrier, are void. The act contemplates that all the conditions of employment will be fixed through collective bargaining agreements. It is through such agreements that rates of pay may be increased or decreased, that hours may be shortened or lengthened, that seniority rights are established and that any of the other many terms of the contract of employment are made. Yet these railroads are pretending that they need the individual consent of the employee in order to establish a health and welfare plan in which he participates.

The insurance plan that has been worked out on the other railroads pusuant to the August 21, 1954, agreement is based on 100 percent participation of all employees represented on all railroads to whom the agreement applies. The premium rates are predicated on that basis. If a minority were permitted to abstain from participation, their abstention would deny to the majority the opportunity to get the best plan for the least cost.

These are the reasons why the unions have insisted, so far as health and welfare is concerned, that there be 100 percent participation by the employees they represent. This does not mean, however, that they have insisted that the railroad companies make deductions from the wages of the employees. The original proposals of the unions sought payment of the entire cost by the railroads. They agreed on most of the railroads to a plan involving deductions from employee wages only because President Eisenhower's Emergency Board had recommended that they do this. They would still be very happy to have the companies pay the entire cost.

So far as the railroads involved in the strike are concerned, it is clear under the Railway Labor Act that the unsettled dispute is that arising from the organizations' proposals of May 22, 1953, and the carrier counterproposals. With these railroads there has been no agreement upon any of the issues raised by the original proposals or the carrier counterproposals. The strike ballot was taken on these issues and the strike call makes it clear that those are the issues and that the strike has been called because the dispute over those issues in their entirety remains unsettled.

Nevertheless, these railroads involved in the strike have gone into the courts of Kentucky and Tennessee and have sought injunctions against a strike that the organizations have been legally free to call at any time since the elapse of 30 days after the report of the Emergency Board on May 15, 1954. The basis on which they have sought these injunctions is the false claim that the sole purpose of the strike is to coerce the carriers into making agreements providing for deductions from employees' wages for a health and welfare plan, and this, they say, violates the laws of the States. Obviously, even if this were the object of the strike, the strike would still be lawful. State law cannot deny to the representatives authorized by the Federal Railway Labor Act the authority to contract for such deductions. Under Federal law, which under our Con-

stitution is the supreme law of the land, these organizations are the sole contracting agents for the employees and when they make a contract providing for those deductions they have spoken for the employee and no State law can deny the validity of that agreement.

As a result of these injunction suits, the organizations now find themselves in the fantastic position of being accused of unlawfully seeking agreements to carrying out the recommendations of a Presidential Emergency Board.

But as I have said, the claim that the sole purpose of the strike is to compel participation of these carriers in a contributory health and welfare system is false. The strike involves all of the issues in the employees' original proposals and the carrier counterproposals. None of them have been settled. In the only courts that have granted the organizations a hearing on these injunction suits, these facts have been clearly established. In the Jefferson Circuit Court at Louisville, Ky., the L. & N. Railroad sought an injunction against the strike. The court refused to issue it without a hearing. The suit was filed March 9 and the court set it down for hearing on March 10. It heard evidence in argument on March 10 and 11 and on March 11 rendered its opinion, fully discussing all the facts and the law, and denying the injunction. An appeal was immediately taken to the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, the highest court of the State, and the action of the circuit court was affirmed Saturday afternoon, March 12.

I regret to say that in Tennessee, however, both in Nashville and in Erwin, our courts issued restraining orders without hearing. These restraining orders did not define what was restrained. They are simple notations by the judge to issue the restraining order prayed for on the complaint of the railroad.

By this arbitrary process tremendous and irreparable harm might have been done to the railroad unions and the some twenty-four-thousand-odd employees whom they represent on the railroads involved in the strike.

Fortunately for the employees, however, the railroads were in a legal dilemma. In order to make even a plausible claim that there was anything unlawful about the strike, the railroads had to make the false claim that the threatened strike was for the purpose of coercing an agreement requiring deduction from the pay of the employees. Since the claim of illegality is predicated on this false factual claim, it is only a strike for such a purpose that is restrained. Because the strike ballot and the strike call have made clear beyond doubt that the strike is for other purposes, the unions and the workers have processed with the strike notwithstanding the issuance of these restraining orders.

I am confident that if the courts of Tennesee had held hearings on the request for temporary restraining orders, even on short notice, as the Kentucky courts did, the restraining orders would not have been issued. What has happened here has illustrated again the vicious consequences of the use of injunctions to regulate labor relations.

I have said that this is the most extensive strike of nonoperating employees since the so-called shopmen's strike of more than 30 years ago. Many of you will recall that that strike was broken by the infamous Wilkerson injunction issued by a Federal judge at the request of the Attorney General. Although that injunction has been held up all through the years as the horrible example of what courts should not do, it operated to break the strike and initiated an era of company unionism and "yellow dog" contracts from which many crafts on many railroads did not recover until recent years. Because of this abuse of judicial power in the shopmen's strike and other cases, Congress passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act depriving Federal courts of the power to issue injunctions in labor disputes except in very restricted circumstances involving clearly lawless strikes attended by violence which the police are unable to control and after showing that the employer has made every reasonable effort to dispose of the dispute amicably.

A number of States passed similar laws with respect to their own courts but others did not. The abuse of judicial power has continued in the courts in those States that do not restrict the power of their courts in injunctions in labor disputes. And under the impetus of the revived legalization of injunctions in labor disputes utilized in the Taft-Hartley Act, even the Federal courts and the courts in States having so-called little Norris-LaGuardia Acts have come more and more again to abuse their power and to throttle the legitimate exercise of collective bargaining rights.

What has happened in Tennessee within the last few days is no isolated example of this abuse in the railroad industry. In 1951 Congress after thorough deliberation and after giving full consideration to issues of national policy, amended the Railway Labor Act to authorize union shop agreements. The same nonoperating organizations involved in the current strikes on the three railroads thereafter initiated a movement to secure union shop agreements. Their proposals in that respect too were progressed through all the procedures of the Railway Labor Act including recommendations of a Presidential Emergency Board. They made agreements with most railroads carrying out the recommendations of that Board. But suddenly, about 2 years ago, through obviously well organized, concerted, and well financed activities of interests hostile to organized labor in general and union shop agreements in particular, they were hit with a wave of injunction suits. Through temporary injunction and restraining orders the union shop movement was brought to a firm and abrupt standstill. Now, 2 years later, that litigation is still wending its weary way through the courts. Nothing short of a decision by the Supreme Court of the United States will again enable these railroad unions to resume pursuit of an objective that Congress expressly authorized them to pursue 3 years ago—and no case has yet even reached the Supreme Court.

We have seen a repetition of this process with respect to the provisions for health and welfare contained in the agreement of August 21, 1954. Here again there is an apparently well organized, concerted, and well financed drive to stop the carrying out of the most comprehensive plan for hospital, surgical, and medical insurance that has ever been negotiated in this country. Although some 7 or 8 injunction suits have been filed, aside from the strike injunction suits I have already discussed, so far at least this drive has not succeeded in interfering with the operation of the plan. The courts have either refused to issue temporary restraining orders or temporary injunctions without notice, or where they have issued them, they have immediately vacated them after hearing.

Nevertheless, what has happened and is happening in the railroad industry both with respect to the union shop and with respect to the subject of health and welfare is a potent warning that we are witnessing a most dangerous revival of the abuse of judicial power in the handling of labor relations. The labor unions involved have shown great restraint in submitting to this abuse and have manifested a commendable respect for legal processes, even when abused. They cannot be expected to continue to do so indefinitely. We must take heed that if this abuse is not stopped the time is bound to come when respect for the processes of law is lost.

I mentioned that the courts of Tennessee have issued temporary restraining orders against the strike without giving our organizations an opportunity to be heard, but that because of the misrepresentations by the railroads involved these restraining orders prohibit the unions from striking to obtain agreements other than those they are seeking in their strike. Nevertheless, the courts that have issued these temporary restraining orders are still acting on the basis of the statements made by these railroads and have issued contempt citations against union officials for violating the restraining orders which prohibited them from engaging in conduct they have not engaged in.

This is the situation with which the railway labor organizations are now confronted on the three roads in question, the L. & N., the N. C. & St. L., and the Clinchfield Railroad. Developments in a strike are, of course, subject to change on a moment's notice, but the serious result of this flagrant disregard of due process by the L. & N. Railroad and its minions reemphasizes the need for serious reexamination of our processes with respect to labor disputes in the railroad industry.

Most Holy Trinity Church, Detroit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's observance of St. Patrick's Day had an extra significance for Most Holy Trinity Church located at Sixth and Porter Streets in the 13th Congresional District of Detroit, for the 100th anniversary of its edifice was celebrated. Few parishes in the United States have such a long colorful history in the service of the community and God Almighty. Many priests and sisters formly connected with the parish returned for the anniversary. Descendants of those who built the church returned from all parts of Detroit. They were greeted by Mexicans, Maltese, Chinese, and other newcomers—today's parishioners of the mother church of Detroit's Irish.

When Bishop Frederic Rese arrived here in 1333 to direct the newly established Detroit diocese, he received a petition from Irish Catholics for a parish and priest of their own. They were then attending St. Anne's Church, where sermons in English were preached for them.

Granting the request of the Irish here, Bishop Rese bought from the First Protestant Society its church, then located on Woodward Avenue between Larned and Congress. He had the frame building moved to Cadillac Square where now stands the Barlum Tower.

Before the building could be remodeled for Catholic services, the dreaded Asiatic cholera broke out and took a heavy toll. There were no hospitals or pesthouses. Bishop Rese ordered the proposed Holy Trinity Church turned into a temporary hospital and put it in charge of Father Martin Kundig. It was the first hospital in this part of the country.

After the plague had abated, on Trinity Sunday in 1835, the first church for

the Irish of Detroit was dedicated. In 1849 it was moved to Sixth and Porter in Corktown, the area bounded east and west by Third and Eighth Streets, and south and north by the river and Vernor Highway. In 1855 the early church was razed to make room for the present structure.

The new church cost $30,000, a great sum for those days. When it was built Detroit had fewer than 25,000 inhabitants, there was no streetcar line, gas lighting was unknown, the eastern boundary of the city was Dequindre Street and the western limits were at Trumbull Avenue.

In the old brick building, thousands of Detroiters, now prominent in civic and religious life, received baptism. Before its main altar hundreds of couples spoke their matrimonial vows and later moved into other parishes. Thousands of Detroiters received their religious and secular education in Holy Trinity Parochial School.

First pastor of Holy Trinity Parish was Father Bernard O'Cavanagh. In a short time he was succeeded by Father Kundig, who had charge a few months. One of the pastors of Old Trinity was the first priest ordained for this diocese, Father Lawrence Kilroy. Msgr. James Savage, known as the dean, served the parish 50 years, 10 years as assistant and 40 years as pastor. He died in 1927.

Successive pastors down through the years, including the present spiritual leader, Father Clement Kern, have been dedicated men whose conception of their responsibility encompassed all facets of community life. Under this conception by its leaders, parish members of Most Holy Trinity Church throughout the years have been principal factors in the growth and changing tone not only of our city of Detroit but, in the far-reaching effect of progressive community interest sensitive to the needs of humanity, they have heavily contributed to national welfare. America's position of world leadership, land of freedom and opportunity and riches, has been the attainment of such rightful conceptions of life and conscientious labors in making them a reality as represented in the efforts of the people of Most Holy Trinity.

It is fitting, therefore, that we here in the Congress of the United States, who recognize and appreciate the major role played by our great churches in fostering these ideals, in establishing these ideals as a bulwark in the struggle against godless international communism, pause and pay special tribute to the people of Most Holy Trinity Church of Detroit.

New Tariff Issue Puts Ike on Spot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Wednesday, March 16, 1955:

NEW TARIFF ISSUE PUTS IKE ON SPOT

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

The Tariff Commission has sent to President Eisenhower a recommendation for higher tariffs, or possibly import quotas, on foreign bicycles, in the most explosive escape-clause case since the Swiss watch case last year.

The President must act on the recommendation, which is still not public, within 60 days of Monday, when the report of the Commission went to the White House.

Bicycles are a leading export of both England and Austria. Their volume is important, unlike many of the other escape-clause cases involving such items as briar pipes and clothespins.

Under the escape clause of the reciprocal trade agreements law, the Commission must recommend that a tariff lowered under the law be rated again if injury to domestic producers results. So far, out of more than 50 applications for relief, the Commission has found injury in only 15, and of those 15 Presidents Eisenhower and Truman rejected the recommendation in 10.

The present case takes on added importance because the President's decision may come just when the Senate is considering his reciprocal trade bill. Probably the major threat to the bill, which the President considers 1 of the 2 or 3 most important items in his program, is an amendment to remove most or all of his discretion in rejecting Tariff Commission recommendations.

Such an amendment, which raises a threat to all past tariff cuts negotiated in the 20 years of reciprocal trade, was rejected in the House by the narrow margin of 206–199. There is strong support for it in the Senate Finance Committee, which now has the bill before it.

If the President rejects the Commission recommendation, he will strengthen the hand of those in the Senate who want to remove his discretion. If he accepts it, then he will badly injure relations with both Britain and Austria and will raise the general question of which way American tariff policy is moving.

Should a tightening of the escape clause pass Congress, then the number of applications for relief can be expected to increase sharply. Recently the Commission has been approving a much greater portion of the applications, but President Eisenhower has rejected 8 of the 10 that have come before him.

Unemployment in West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House the timely statement presented by the very able Governor of West Virginia, William C. Marland, March 16, before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare, which is investigating the causes of unemployment at this time.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that employment in West Virginia during the month of January 1955, marks the lowest level of employment reached in our State since January 1941. Governor Marland is to be complimented for recognizing this critical situation and presenting so ably the grave picture which faces West Virginia today.

The people are looking to the Congress for help in solving a problem that is beyond the limit of local resources. I invite your attention to Governor Marland's statement:

Mr. Chairman, I am William C. Marland, Governor of West Virginia. The barometer of prosperity is falling in West Virginia, and the ensuing storm of unemployment is posing a crisis surpassed only by the years of the past depression. Hardest hit have been the State's vast bituminous coalfields, but the devastation of unemployment has not stopped there. Already it has made many inroads into related industrial employment and has shaken the economic structure of our State.

Remedial measures are being taken by West Virginia. An industrial survey has been made to determine our future industrial potential. Efforts to attract more and diversified industry into the State have been intensified. Small new avenues of employment have been opened to relieve some of the growing pressure of unemployment. These measures largely pertain to the future prosperity of the State, however, and do not answer completely the present plight of West Virginia's unemployed.

During 8 of the 12 months of 1954, West Virginia had the highest ratio of insured unemployment to covered work force in the Nation. The rate of insured unemployment reached a peak of 13 percent in May and averaged around 11 percent per month for 1954. At the end of May, 61,200 unemployed workers had applications on file with the State employment service offices, and averaged 52,500 applications on file per month for 1954. Estimated insured and noninsured unemployment rose to 70,000 at the peak in May and remained around 60,000 for the rest of the year. Unemployment turned up slightly in January this year, principally from seasonal factors, and is now estimated at 63,000.

The high level of unemployment resulting from the loss of employment opportunities in our State was augmented by the contraction of employment opportunities elsewhere. The number of workers who lost their jobs in other States and who filed claims for unemployment insurance in West Virginia more than doubled, increasing from 11,284 in 1953 to 25,921 in 1954. Migration has ceased to be a factor in alleviating our unemployment problem. Rather, the return of many of these former outmigrants has intensified our problem.

To further indicate the large amount of unemployment existing in West Virginia, 15 of the 16 labor market areas in the State are currently classified by the United States Bureau of Employment security as group IV since these areas either have substantial or very substantial unemployment. These labor market areas embrace 29 counties that have 75 percent of the population and 80 percent of the labor force of the State. The rate of unemployment is currently ranging from 6.7 percent of the labor force in the Wheeling-Steubenville metropolitan area to 22.3 percent in the Beckley labor market area. The median rate of unemployment for all of these areas is 13 percent.

The 26 counties, mostly rural, out of the 55 in the State which are not included in any labor market area, are also suffering because of inadequate employment opportunities. Farms in the State are, for the most part, too small to provide the farm family with satisfactory income. Many farm families, therefore, are necessarily dependent on some off-farm employment.

The trend of employment in West Virginia is not following that of the Nation. For ex-

ample, when employment was rising 4.1 percent in 1952 and 2.8 percent in 1953 in the Nation, employment was declining 2.1 percent in 1952 and 2.6 percent in 1953 in our State. In 1954, employment was off 2.8 percent in the Nation, but employment in West Virginia was off a substantial 8.2 percent.

Nonfarm employment fell to 447,100 this January to the lowest January level since 1941. Employment this January was 93,400 or 17.3 percent below the January 1949 high of 540,500. Employment was off 33,600 or 7 percent from January a year ago. Over half (17,400) of the year's loss was in bituminous coal mining. West Virginia's manufacturing industries also suffered considerable work force retrenchment in 1954 with the decline amounting to 7,700 or 5.9 percent from January 1954 to January 1955. Cutbacks affected most major industry groups but were not severe in the durable goods groups of stone, clay, glass, and primary metals.

The 65,500 workers employed this January in the bituminous mining industry was only half the number employed in the industry in January 1948. Employment in coal was off 37,000 or 36 percent since January 1953 for an average monthly loss of 1,540 for this period of 24 months. In contrast to this steep rate of decline, the monthly loss was 458 for the period of 60 months from January 1948 to January 1953. In 1954, mining (traditionally the major industry of the State) for the first time fell below trade as the largest single nonfactory user of manpower.

The 25-percent drop in bituminous coal mining wages during the first 9 months of 1954 from the first 9 months of 1953 is most indicative of the distressed economic conditions in our coal-mining areas, mining payrolls were $77 million less than the $300 million payrolls for the first 9 months of 1953. Some of this lost purchasing power was sustained by unemployment compensation. During 1954, benefits paid to some 44,000 unemployed mineworkers amounted to $17,894,487. This was 51.3 percent of all unemployment compensation benefit payments in 1954. However, 18,179 of the mineworkers or approximately 40 percent of those drawing benefits exhausted their benefits. A survey showed that 60 percent of those who exhausted their benefits had not been able to find work since drawing their last benefit check. The survey further showed that the majority of these workers who had exhausted their benefits had to depend on their relatives and surplus commodities for their subsistence.

In certain areas, the unemployment problem has been aggravated by the fact that glassware and pottery industries, which are concentrated in a relatively small number of cities, are suffering from the effects of foreign competition. Recently imports of glassware from Germany and Japan have increased in volume and threaten to cause further reductions in employment this year.

Average weekly hours in the pottery industry dropped from an already low of 34 hours in 1953 to 31.8 in 1954 for a loss of 2.2 hours. Average annual employment in the pottery industry was down from 6,800 in 1952 to 5,400 in 1954 for a loss of 1,400 or 20.4 percent. Since 1948, employment in pottery has declined 3,700 or 40.5 percent. Employment in glass products has likewise suffered, employment dropped from 15,300 in 1952 to 14,500 in 1954 for a 5.2 percent decline. Since 1948, employment in glass products has declined 3,200 or 18 percent. Wages paid in the pottery industry during the first 9 months of 1954 were 16.3 percent below the amount paid the first 9 months of 1953. Wages paid in the glass-products industry during the first 9 months of 1954 were 5.4 percent below the amount paid the first 9 months of 1953.

The seriousness of the unemployment problem in West Virginia can be illustrated by the fact that 107,568 individuals received one or more unemployment compensation payments during 1954. Benefits paid amounted to $34,872,329 for 1,549,031 weeks of unemployment. This loss of manpower in unemployment is equivalent to 29,790 man-years. In addition to State unemployment compensation benefits, $4,711,310 was paid to veterans under title IV of the VRA Act of 1952 to bring the total amount of benefits paid in 1954 to $39,583,639.

To alleviate the unemployment problem in West Virginia, much can be done nationally. For example:

1. Encourage industry to locate in the State, particularly industry vital to the defense of the Nation since our geographic location is most favorable for such industries.

2. Open up Government plants which have been closed, such as the naval ordnance plant in South Charleston and rubber plant at Institute.

3. Encourage expansion of those plants already in the State which are capable of producing defense materials by directing more governmental contracts into the State.

4. Make the operation of the Small Business Administration more flexible so that it can assist employers in obtaining contracts, and to make loans for expansion and working capital. The present system under which the Small Business Administration is operating is too limited to assist those employers who need assistance.

5. Eliminate those laws which permit residual oil to destroy the markets for coal and which permit the products of cheap foreign labor to undersell our products, such as glassware and pottery.

6. Further improvement of our natural resources, such as planned flood and watershed control.

These measures, if encouraged and initiated from a national level, will do much to calm the blowing storm of unemployment in West Virginia. Though not the complete answer to the unemployment problem, it will provide much of the needed time for projected State planning to become functional.

The General Accounting Office and the American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an excellent speech by Mr. Ralph E. Casey, Associate General Counsel, General Accounting Office, at the national convention of the Propeller Club, 1954, on the subject of the General Accounting Office and the American Merchant Marine.

Mr. Casey's comments on the work of the General Accounting Office generally, and its connection with merchant-marine matters in particular, is most illuminating and informative as well as very ably presented. It is reassuring to all of us, I am sure, to realize that the important functions of the General Accounting Office of standing guard over the Public Treasury and checking the fiscal affairs of the Government are being so capably conducted.

In addition, of course, it is a great source of pride for me to realize that my friend, Mr. Casey, whom I so greatly respect and admire, is making such a substantial and praiseworthy contribution.

The speech follows:

THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE AND THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

(Remarks of Ralph E. Casey, Associate General Counsel, General Accounting Office, at the national convention of the Propeller Club, 1954)

I suppose that to many of you associated with the American merchant marine the General Accounting Office is known only as a place to stay away from. In reading the printed record of the proceedings at your last convention, I note one of the speakers said that some parts of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 should be clarified so that its objectives could not be frustrated and defeated by antagonistic agencies. It is not too difficult to guess the identity of at least one of the agencies to which he was referring. It is my fervent hope that I may be able to dispel some of the doubts and fears which you of the industry may have concerning the General Accounting Office by explaining some of the purposes and functions of our Office and its relationship to the American merchant marine.

The General Accounting Office is an independent, nonpolitical agency in the legislative branch of the Government. It is headed by the Comptroller General of the United States who is appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for a term of 15 years. He is not eligible for reappointment and may not be removed from office except by the Congress itself.

Under the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, the Office is responsible for auditing all public accounts, settling all claims by and against the Government, and for prescribing accounting requirements. The Comptroller General is also authorized to render decisions upon the request of department heads or disbursing officers as to the legality of a proposed expenditure of public funds. Finally, the Office is directed by law to investigate all matters relating to the receipt, disbursement, and application of public funds and to report to the Congress and its committees on fiscal matters. In addition to the general authority and direction to perform these functions insofar as concerns departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Government, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 specifically directs that all financial transactions of the Maritime Board and Maritime Administration shall be audited in the GAO and that any departures by the Board from the provisions of the act shall be reported to the Congress by the Comptroller General.

These powers are broad; and the responsibility placed upon those of us who are called upon to exercise them is great. Naturally we strive always to be right—but I think I am safe in saying that if we err—as we do, of course—we tend to err on the side of the public treasury. This is not as one-sided as it may sound because our decisions can be reversed in the courts by private individuals whose rights are affected and by the Congress upon the petition of department heads whose operations may be affected.

The history of the relationship between the General Accounting Office and the former Maritime Commission was an extremely unhappy one. For one thing, there was an ever-continuing disagreement as to jurisdiction. Then there was almost a feeling of resentment every time they were told they could not do, under the law, what they wanted to do. This situation, I am pleased to say, has entirely changed.

The change began under Admiral Cochrane as chairman though it received a setback with the final subsidy determination for the American Export vessels *Independence* and *Constitution*. Even there, however, the case was one where the trouble had started under the old Commission and the problems facing the board were tough ones to solve. But, under the relationship between the two agencies as it exists today, there is not, in my judgment, even a remote possibility of a recurrence of the extremely unfortunate situation which developed by reason of the old Commission's action on the construction subsidies for the United States Lines and American Export.

I do not wish to leave the impression that there never again will be areas of disagreement between our agencies. While the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 are, in my judgment, fundamentally sound, they are far from simple. There will always be problems arising under it and some of them involve situations which the Congress obviously never could have envisioned at the time of its enactment. The expenditure of millions of dollars may rest upon the construction of a single word or phrase. Every time the answer is "No," someone will be hurt. However, as former Comptroller General Lindsay Warren often said, "We in the General Accounting Office are in no popularity contest. Just be sure you have all the facts; do your best to decide the case the way Congress intended it to be decided; then let the chips fall where they may." I do wish to emphasize that so long as there continues to exist the present spirit of cooperation, the present respect for each other's views and responsibilities, and above all a proper regard for the fact that the Congress alone decides the extent of aid and support for the American merchant marine, the industry can expect and enjoy a sound administration of maritime laws and a willingness on the part of Congress to enact necessary legislation. As unfortunate as the past has been, let us hope it has taught lessons that will not soon be forgotten.

Let me relate a recent experience to show how GAO can help in the resolution of maritime problems. It seems that few people ever hear of these instances—and they happen almost daily—whereas the whole world seems to hear when we clamp down. The American President Lines expressed a desire sometime in 1953 to buy the steamships *President Cleveland* and *President Wilson*, two war-built vessels then under charter from the Government. After some negotiation with the staff of the Maritime Administration, a bill was drawn proposing to sell the vessels to the company for $5,300,000 each. This bill was approved by the Maritime Administration and passed on to the Bureau of the Budget by the Secretary of Commerce.

As is customary with most bills, Budget requested the views of the Comptroller General before sending the proposal to Capitol Hill. I became convinced that the price fixed in the bill was too low and did not represent a fair return to the Government for the vessels. However, rather than return the bill to Budget, I made known my personal views informally to the American President Lines, to the staff of the Maritime Administration, and finally to the Administrator himself. I have a pretty good idea of what happened after my discussion with Mr. Rothschild.

At any rate, we sat down at a conference table, Maritime, GAO, and APL, and agreed upon a new price of $6,500,000 for each vessel. Of course, it was not done quite as simply or as quickly as that, but the result was that the bill went through the congressional committees and became law without a whisper of opposition.

During the 83d Congress Public Law 574 was enacted authorizing a tanker trade-in and build program. It is my understanding that the tanker industry has insisted that each transaction under this law be approved in advance by the Comptroller General. From our standpoint, that is not really necessary; but we are prepared to cooperate as the occasions arise. At the same time, we recognize that primary authority and responsibility for administering the maritime laws has been delegated by the Congress to the Federal Maritime Board and to the Maritime Administrator. We in the General Accounting Office have no thought or desire to usurp any part of that authority or share any part of that responsibility. We do have an obligation to the Congress (our boss, so to speak) to take action where administrative officials fail to administer the law properly. But in appraising the administration, it has always been our policy to resolve reasonable doubts in favor of the position taken by the agency itself.

Of course, experience has shown that the best way to work out these problems is to forget about jurisdiction and discuss the questions frankly and openly as they arise. For example, in connection with this tanker program, we have already had discussions as to the amount of the credit allowances for the old tankers, the treatment of speed as a national-defense feature, and many other facets. In the case of one company, we worked out an arrangement whereby two new tankers could be constructed now, with a third to be constructed later on, and yet permit the company to realize the advantages of a three-ship construction contract.

In conclusion, I believe that, though born of uncertainty and reared through turmoil, the existing relationship between the General Accounting Office and the Maritime Administration will help, rather than impede or restrain, the development of a strong privately owned American merchant marine. If there is any one thing that is more essential to the merchant marine today than anything else it is the creation in the public mind of a conviction that every financial transaction between the industry and the Federal Government is as clean as the driven snow. That is the area where the GAO, as the agent of the Congress, stands to make its most valuable contribution.

Religion in American Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD a Lenten message from our good Chaplain, the Reverend Dr. Bernard Braskamp. Recently I had the pleasure of having Dr. Braskamp as my guest on a radio program broadcast in my district. Dr. Braskamp commented on the subject of religion in American life, a subject to which millions of Americans today are giving renewed thought and meditation. With a view to making his views available to a wider audience, I include them herewith:

RELIGION IN AMERICAN LIFE

(A statement by the Reverend Dr. Bernard Braskamp, Chaplain of the House of Representatives)

I believe that a resurgence of faith in God, reverence for God's moral order, and obedience to God's will would be the noblest victory in the annals of American history, for our national greatness cannot survive if we allow it to become eclipsed by a decline in spiritual idealism.

Materialism, as a philosophy, has well nigh run its course, but as a habit and way of life it still seems to have a very strong hold on many. The dream of an economic Garden of Eden is a very old one and there are those who feel that all that mankind needs is an abundance of food and drink and clothing and then all will be well. To be sure these are among the necessities of life and everything should be done to improve mankind's temporal conditions.

Man, however, is too great to be content with these, for man cannot live by bread alone. What we need to do is to help America cultivate the religious sentiment with the lofty idealisms, for then only can our Nation make a distinct contribution to the wealth of human aspirations and achievements and fulfill its responsibility for the welfare and happiness of all mankind.

It seems to me that the logic of the American way of life and the religious spirit of our Republic find their noblest expression when as citizens we seek to blend a virile and wholesome type of materialism with a noble and lofty idealism.

Our national spirit, at its best, embraces this dual aspect and these two must always be kept in close and cordial agreement so that our materialism shall incarnate our idealism and the great spiritual realities and sentiments shall pervade and permeate our materialism.

I believe that one of the most encouraging and hopeful signs of our time is just this, that there is a new feeling of God-consciousness among our leaders in public life. I frequently talk with the men in Congress about the place of religion in our national life and I find them very responsive and ready to admit that our national problems cannot be solved on a purely economic basis and that God must be brought into the picture. We are beginning to see that the weakness of our plans and programs for a finer social order has been just this, that we are working on the stupid assumption that an abundance of material things for struggling humanity is the universal cure-all.

The manmade economic order needs to be coordinated with the God-made moral and spiritual order; otherwise there will be chaos and confusion, damnation and doom. Let no one say that the principles of Christianity have failed. The truth of the matter is that neither as a nation or as individuals have we ever given them an honest-to-goodness trial.

The time has come to put first things first. This is what Jesus said, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." Roger Babson said many years ago, "The solution of the labor problem is wholly a question of religion." A leading commercial journal has said, "Above all else this country needs a nationwide revival of old-fashioned prayer-meeting religion."

Delays in Reaching the Goals of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, from lawyers in Chicago I have been receiving enthusiastic comments on the address to the Chicago chapter of the

Federal Bar Association of the Honorable Bolitha J. Laws, chief judge of the United States district court for the District of Columbia.

The Chicago chapter of the Federal Bar Association prides itself on the quality of the speakers at its gatherings. It is interesting to recall in this connection that the first public address in Chicago of former President Harry Truman was made at an annual banquet of the Chicago chapter of the Federal Bar Association, my son and namesake at that time being the president of the chapter, and the present Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, the Honorable Thomas Clark, the national president of the Federal Bar Association.

Former President Truman was the Senator from the State of Missouri, the chairman of a committee that had aroused wide public interest. The Honorable Edward J. Kelly then was mayor of Chicago. The visit of Senator Truman to Chicago to make his first public address in that city as the guest speaker of the Chicago chapter of the Federal Bar Association brought Senator Truman and Mayor Kelly again into association. This circumstance may have been a contributing factor to historic events quickly to follow. In any event, Mayor Kelly not long afterward was a a vital factor in swinging the vice presidential nomination to Mr. Truman. That nomination eventually led to the Presidency and the brilliant era of Truman's administration of the high office of the Chief Executive. It was President Truman who placed Associate Justice Clark first in the office of the Attorney General of the United States and then on the Supreme Court.

The theme of Judge Laws' address was a trend which he thinks presents a serious threat not only to the cause of justice but to the very existence of the courts themselves. This is the trend to long-drawn-out trials both in courts of law and before administrative agencies and tribunals. He directed attention to a few typical cases:

First. Within the past 5 years a suit in the Boston United States court included 4,600 exhibits one of them containing over 1,000 pages. Objections were filed on 2,000 of the exhibits and the hearings then took months, lengthening the trial case to well over a year.

Second. The New York Medina case took more than 2 years and although Judge Laws forgot the number of exhibits he recalled $1 million was spent to transcribe the records alone.

Third. In the District of Columbia a case required approximately 3½ months to hear a motion to dismiss. There were 976 exhibits and 3 judges studied the motion for over a year. The Supreme Court reversed the decision.

Fourth. A case in the District of Columbia in which Judge Laws had a part contained thousands of exhibits in the preliminary stages. Judge Laws understands that the exhibits at the trial may reach between five and ten thousand and the lawyers estimate the actual trial will last from 10 months to a year.

Fifth. In the district court for the District of Columbia if all long cases now on the calendar were tried promptly it would occupy no less than full time for four judges for a year.

Sixth. In studying the calendar in Chicago several months ago a judge told Judge Laws that there were approximately 85 lengthy trials scheduled most of which were antitrust. If all of these were tried it would take the time of 6 judges for 47 months to try them.

Some criminal trials cited:

First. The Bridges case took over 82 trial days and ultimately over 4 months.

Second. Communist cases—Foster, et al.—took 35 trial days, over 2 months, and time used in selecting jury requiring 105 trial days—over 5 months.

Third. A sedition case in the District of Columbia took over 108 days for trial—6½ months—and then the judge died. The prosecution case was not closed.

Fourth. The Judith Coplon case in the District of Columbia was estimated to take a week but took 48 days—2½ months. The New York trial took 50 days for motions, 30 days for trial, a total of over 4 months.

It is a waste of time, expense, and effort.

Judge Laws said—

Many times as I have gone through tedious trials I have thought of the words of the great Teacher: "Use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do; for they think they will be heard for their much speaking." I think of the Lord's Prayer, a petition of man to his Creator for guidance; a prayer of 66 words. I also think of our amazing Constitution, with its amendments. This instrument has withstood assaults of more than 160 years of crises, through war and peace, prosperity and depression. This mighty document, simple, concise, definite, with reading time of 18 brief minutes.

We of the law today must combine to find a way to the goal of justice that is shorter, less expensive, and simpler.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald.

Juvenile delinquency has been described as a sort of bone that the reformers chew on when other issues grow stale. Nevertheless it has its serious aspects and can undoubtedly breed vice and crime in any community with certainty comparable only with death and taxes. It appears that the District of Columbia is no exception to the rule.

When many of us came to Washington we anticipated a sort of model city but our hopes may have been dashed before we even reached the Capitol Building by the absence of arterial highways, parking facilities, and of congested traffic conditions in general. Further observation convinced us that the responsibility for these conditions does not rest with the city fathers who number some of the most capable men in the country in their particular fields. They have done a remarkable job with the tools at hand, handicapped as they are by congressional and diplomatic immunity and a liberal sprinkling of codfish aristocracy, influential and otherwise. It is not likely that the Nation's Capital will soon be able to rid itself of these hazards to the path of progress.

There is no immunity however, from the neglect of Washington's youthful offenders nor from the circumstances that lead up to their classification as such in the first place. Our schools and our churches are undoubtedly doing the best they can under the circumstances and deserve much credit, but the fact remains that the foundation of good citizenship must be laid in the home. This is where the juvenile court and the social worker do their most effective work. They spend most of their time with preventative measures and punishment is incidental.

I was astounded to learn that Washington's juvenile court is presided over by a single judge and the magnitude of her duties and the responsibilities of her office are difficult for a layman to comprehend. I commend the following article from this morning's local paper for the study and serious consideration of my colleagues who may be justly concerned over the problem of juvenile delinquency and its influence on the community's crime and immorality:

TWO MENTALLY ILL BOYS KEPT 3 MONTHS IN RECEIVING HOME FOR SAFEKEEPING

Two mentally ill 10-year-old boys have spent almost 3 months at the Receiving Home awaiting placement in another District institution which also lacks facilities to care for them.

One was found to be too emotionally and materially deprived to respond to outpatient mental health services offered to him prior to court commitment to the Welfare Department.

The other goes beserk, couldn't be restrained in school, once tried to attack a police officer with a paring knife.

Yet these boys are slated for placement at Junior Village, an institution for homeless, neglected children. When and if a bed becomes vacant at Junior Village they will go there simply because the District has not a single residential treatment center for them.

One of the boys has been held at the Receiving Home by the Welfare Department for 81 days. This will be the longest stay of any child in the institution after today, when a District court hearing is scheduled on the commitment of a feebleminded teen-age mother to the District Training School.

A bed finally became available for her at the school, so she will be able to vacate the bed she has slept in for 165 days at the Receiving Home.

The boy, who has been at the home for 81 days, was committed on a dependency complaint because his mother did not understand the degree of his disturbance and emotional limitations. Police found him riding streetcars late at night.

He received treatment at Freedmen's Hospital but the institution was unable to continue to help him. The Welfare Department placed him in the Merriweather Home for Children but they were unable to cope with him.

The Welfare Department asks: "What other institution does the District provide for this boy?"

I Speak for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRENT SPENCE
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following speech given by Miss Beverly Kunkel, a senior at the Simon Kenton High School, Independence, Ky., which won first place in the I Speak for Democracy contest in Kenton County, Ky.:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY
(By Beverly Kunkel)

"Democracy." What does that word mean to you and your friends? Yes; even to your foe and to me?

Democracy may be understood as an abstract concept, namely, power of the people. It immediately adverts to idealism in a broad sense and it signifies the what-is-itness of American freedom and pursuit of happiness.

American democracy affects the individual to accept or reject freedoms of religion, thought, race, press, and felicity.

Since this kind of abstract conception influences the American way of living, we wholeheartedly enjoy its basic principles.

To me the greatest freedom in the world is the freedom to worship God; when, where, and in the manner I choose. Only through God can any man achieve what he really wants. If it had not been for their abiding faith in God, our ancestors could never have withstood the trials and perils of the wilderness; therefore, you and I would not be living in this democracy of modern conveniences today.

If the framers of our Constitution could visit us today, they might wonder how the Constitution had survived at all. They could hardly have foreseen that their weak, little Nation of 4 million people on about a million square miles of territory would become one of the world's greatest powers. Nor could they have guessed how the commerce, industry, and science which they had encouraged would change the Nation's ways of living and thinking. Nor how the change would necessitate innumerable laws of assistance and regulations to keep our complex civilization balanced and healthy even in ordinary times.

Our Constitution had drawn the States together into a Nation and at the same time preserved and extended the spirit of democracy through the years.

I think our forefathers would find civil liberties better observed today. They would find that the United States for all its upheavals is still a Government of laws made by free people.

This would please our forefathers because they did their best to guard the Nation from the tyranny of dictatorship.

To me it is a priceless privilege to be able to discuss with others, the problems, plans, and our already established great traditions which have laid the foundation for our democracy.

The right to learn facts is a basic right in democracy.

In order to keep democracy alive it should live in the hearts of the 160 million free people in America.

As we realize our blessings under our Constitution, we will agree, I am sure, on these points—that is, beware of how you allow any man or group of men to lay their hands upon the great instrument—democracy. Do not let it be torn down—for if you do all the great advance in freedom which it represents will perish and we shall return to primitive forms of government which in ancient and in modern times as well have oscillated between anarchy and despotism, with at best, only brief intermissions of true and ordered liberty. In order to preserve our great democracy we must always exercise our freedom and duty to vote.

After observing the facts of almost two centuries one may therefore say of the American democracy that it has contracted public debt with moderation; paid it with unexampled promptness; acquired as good a public credit as the world has ever known; made private property secure; and shown no tendency to attach riches or to subsidize poverty, or in either direction to violate the fundamental principle of democracy—that all men are equal before the law.

We, the Americans of today, must never forget that we are the inheritors and guardians of our democracy.

It is my humble prayer that I may, in my small way, help to keep America a great democracy.

A Tribute to the Late Senator Maybank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RILEY
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. RILEY. Mr. Speaker, early on the morning of September 1, 1954, I turned on my radio to get the headline news which is given at that time. I was shocked and distressed to hear that my distinguished senior Senator and beloved friend, Burnet Maybank, had passed away during the night. I felt very deeply that my State and Nation had suffered one of its heaviest losses in years, in the passing of this very able and distinguished representative in the prime of his life. I felt very deeply, too, the great personal loss which had come to me.

While Senator Maybank had been active in the political life of my State and in the leadership of the Democratic Party in South Carolina, I did not know him intimately until I came to Congress during the dark days of World War II. Senator Maybank was even then a leader in the United States Senate, although he had been a Member of that great body less than a term at that time. He was most cooperative in assisting me with matters that came before me and most generous in the giving of his time and counsel in matters in which we were jointly interested. I learned to know him well, and he and I became fast friends working together on legislation affecting our State. We had many joint problems since I had the honor of serving on the Banking and Currency Committee in the House and later on the Appropriations Committee in the House, while Senator Maybank was chairman of the great Banking and Currency Committee in the Senate and served on the Appropriations Committee in the Senate. I can say, with all sincerity, that Senator Maybank gave, without reservation, of his great ability and unbounded energy in the service of his State and Nation. I firmly believe that his life was shortened through his extremely conscientious efforts to cope with the many problems of his responsible position. Beyond a doubt, he was one of the ablest and most influential representatives from South Carolina to serve in the national Congress.

He had a rich background of culture, splendid educational advantages, rare ability, and a personality that won him friends, not only among his Democratic colleagues, but among those who served on the Republican side. He had the confidence of all of his associates.

He had the confidence and esteem of the people of South Carolina, for he had filled with distinction the many responsible assignments which the citizens of his home city of Charleston and his beloved State had given him. The affection, confidence, and esteem in which he was held is attested by the fact that he was never defeated for any office for which he offered, and by the fact that in his last race for reelection as United States Senator he was unopposed, a tribute accorded to no other candidate for the national Senate by the people of the Palmetto State.

He loved his family, and nothing gave him greater pleasure than to have his friends visit with him and his family. My deepest sympathy goes to these loved ones of his. They have suffered an irreparable loss, but they have the great heritage of a noble husband and father to comfort them in the passing of this true southern gentleman and outstanding statesman. Those of us who are left can but try to emulate the high ideals and principles which guided the life of Burnet Rhett Maybank.

Sale of Surplus Commodities for Foreign Currencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from the Associated Students of the University of California at Los Angeles relative to the authorization of the sale of surplus commodities for foreign currencies. It is stimulating to find the young people of this country coming up with such ideas. I sincerely hope my colleagues will take the time to read this letter:

ASSOCIATED STUDENTS,
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES,
Los Angeles, Calif., March 7, 1955.

The Honorable JAMES ROOSEVELT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ROOSEVELT: Last fall the President authorized the sale of surplus commodities for foreign currencies. This program resulted in the accumulation of a large sum of money abroad that cannot be utilized at the present time. I would like to

suggest a plan that was drawn up by a group of UCLA students to put those moneys to use; meanwhile, aiding the American world-partnership idea.

The UCLA plan calls for the setting aside of a portion of these currencies to finance research groups and field teams of American and foreign college students to compile data in regard to:

1. Opportunities for private investment in underdeveloped areas.

2. Extent of need for economic and sociological development necessary for a stable economy.

3. Ability of ERP recipients to contribute to this program.

The students who discussed this plan feel that the assignment of the field teams would be to travel in underdeveloped areas investigating resources and methods of development, and to make recommendations for educational, health, and administrative improvements. The research units in the United States and the field teams in the foreign countries will work in close liaison with foreign universities and the United States technical-assistance organizations. These studies, evaluated, could be made available to Government agencies, educational institutions, and business organizations for implementation.

The student legislative council of UCLA would appreciate your evaluation of this plan and opinion as to whether it would be possible to secure funds to implement this program. Please inform us of the outcome of your judgment at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

GEOFFREY STORMSON,
Research Group Chairman.

St. Patrick's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN LESINSKI, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker—

We invoke holy Patrick, Ireland's chief apostle.
Glorious is his wondrous name, a flame that baptized heathen;
He warned against hard-hearted wizards.
He thrust down the proud with the help of our Lord of fair Heaven.
He purified Ireland's meadow-lands, a mighty birth.
We pray to Patrick chief apostle; his judgment hath delivered us in doom from the malevolence of dark devils.
God be with us, together with the prayer of Patrick, chief apostle.

So prayed Ninine, Irish poet of the eighth century or earlier, and so we pray today. There is a green-and-gold glory about the world today, the sunshine on the grass reminding us of the dearly loved flag of ancient Ireland—the golden harp on a green field. All the year round we love the Irish, but this is the day we stand up and tell them so. This is the day when Irish song and Irish poetry mingle with flights of impassioned prose by orators of every race, all over the world. Everyone who feels the springs of courage in him, or claims to have a sense of humor, feels that he has a bit of the Irish in his blood.

All our hearts re-echo today to the music of these lines of William Drennan:

When Eire first rose from the dark-swelling flood,
God blessed the green island, and saw it was good;
The emerald of Europe, it sparkled and shone,
In the ring of the world, the most precious stone.
In her sun, in her soil, in her station thrice blest,
With her back towards Britain, her face to the west,
Eire stands proudly insular, on her steep shore,
And strikes her high harp 'mid the ocean's deep roar.

All over the length and breadth of America people are wearing green—a shamrock, a green necktie, green suits and dresses. I have little doubt that some, in their unrestrained enthusiasm, are leaping this minute into vats of green dye. More power to them. May they live into a green old age.

We of Polish ancestry, you know, have a special feeling of kinship with the Irish. Poland, like Ireland, has a tragic and glorious history of bravery, of war and betrayal, of glorious victories and devastating defeats. But they are alike most of all in the courage that holds on to national identity and patriotism, through years and centuries of foreign rule; and in the faith that no promise of reward or threat of punishment can shake. It is out of defeat that we, Polish and Irish and American, draw our most glorious memories. Warsaw in World War II, with its history of oppression and murder, climaxed by the betrayal of General Bor and his gallant band of partisans, is a name to go down in history with Drogheda, of Cromwell's invasion of Ireland, and with the Alamo. But this background of gallantry and stalwart faith has a sadness about it that is foreign to the enjoyment of this day. Let us think, rather, of the double symbolism of the color green—the color of Ireland and the color of hope. Ireland, under the patronage of St. Patrick, won through to its independent place in the family of nations, after centuries of suffering and hoping, and to the unhampered exercise of the Catholic religion. May the green of hope and of St. Patrick carry today to every Polish heart assurance that Poland, too, will attain freedom and independence.

Today, though, the first thought of every Pole, and of every American, goes out to Ireland, whose sons are brave, whose daughters beautiful. Our hearts dance to the lilt of Irish melody and verse, until we half feel our own fathers and mothers must have been Irish, and we can read, with a feeling almost of nostalgia, lines like these of Father Charles L. O'Donnell:

A ROAD OF IRELAND

From Killybegs to Ardara is seven Irish miles,
'Tis there the blackbirds whistle and the mating cuckoos call,
Beyond the fields the green sea glints, above the heaven smiles
On all the white boreens that thread the glens of Donegal.

Along the roads what feet have passed, could they but tell the story,
Of ancient king and saint and bard, the roads have known them all;
Lough Dergh, Doon Well, Glen Columcille, the names are yet a glory,
'Tis great ghosts in the gloaming remember Donegal.

The harbor ships of Killybegs glistened with Spanish sail
The days Spain ventured round the world and held the half in thrall,
And Ardara has writ her name in the proud books of the Gael,
Though sleep has fallen on them now in dreaming Donegal.

Well, time will have its fling with dust, it is the changeless law,
But this I like to think of whatever may befall:
When she came up from Killybegs and he from Ardara,
My father met my mother on the road, in Donegal.

Report on Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the Right Reverend Monsignor William E. North, Ph. D., editor of the Los Angeles Tidings has reviewed the findings of Mr. Hearst, editor in chief of the Hearst publications, on his recent visit to Russia. Mr. Hearst's comprehensive observation of the Russian people, and especially the leaders of the Politboro, at a time when internal difficulties were at fever heat with the disposing of Malenkov and the seating of Bulganin as the head of the Soviet Union makes this review especially interesting.

I am including the following editorial by Father North as part of my remarks:

REPORT ON RUSSIA

There will be some kind of prize, Pulitzer or otherwise, for the remarkable series of articles on Russia, written by the newly appointed editor in chief of the Hearst publications. To be in Russia not only at an acute stage in East-West relations but at a crucial time of internal upheaval is one of those fortuitous circumstances that happen rarely in the field of journalism.

That Mr. Hearst and his party made the most of their interviews and observations is evident from the conclusions in this scintillating and detailed reporting. Here is no hysteria, no cry of alarm with Russia imminently on rampage if we do not appease on all fronts. Here is sober, matter-of-fact appraisal of serious weaknesses that bluff and bravado could not conceal.

The conclusions parallel the findings of other serious students of the Russian scene and render untenable further timorous temporizing in the face of newer aggression and aggrandizement. The masters in the Kremlin may be cruel but they are cold, hard realists. They have lost none of the fervor for worldwide domination but they are free of the complexes that could only invite destruction in the hideous halo of hydrogen that rings them round.

Russia needs the peace for which we gird. We but need strength to keep the peace. Our policy of firmness, howsoever uncertain and sporadic, has given both Russia and China pause. Let but our resolution steel and there will be a turning of the tide. There is disaffection among the people so widespread and disagreement among the leaders so deep seated as to make conflict unthinkable. What communism needs more than ever now is a prolonged spell of hypocritical coexistence.

The one hope that remains for piecemeal nibbling at the perimeters lies in the falling out of friends on matters of policy. The only thing the Kremlin cannot brook is the unanimity of the free world. The hesitation of allies was its opportunity in Korea and their confusion its victory in Vietnam. Now Mr. Eden, Foreign Minister of a nation that holds Hong Kong, an island off the mainland of China, blandly demands the return of the offshore islands of Matsu and Quemoy to the Reds. This narrow and selfish stand ill serves the hope that we had finally halted the enemy's march to power.

Religion in Russia is a topic given the full treatment in the current series. It comes as no surprise to read that religion is still rife in Holy Russia. Neither the sword nor the word has yet been able to root God from the hearts of men. Communism's is a long-range program of religious alienation. It is content to wait generations if necessary to "erase the infamy." Not persecution but propaganda will do the work. Persecution martyrs religion, propaganda atrophies it. These must be letups even in propaganda when weaknesses manifest themselves within and dangers loom from without. So there is presently a brave show of bourgeois respectability in the matter of religion which beguiles the unwary into thinking all is well.

Mr. Hearst's positive proposals for cabining the threat are less happy than his straight reporting. He calls for a board of experts to frame a show-off program to sell our way of life to the world—our hockey players can beat theirs, our ballerinas are more nimble, our artists more creative, our industry more productive, our gadgets more widespread. The Voice of America has been spending millions doing this and we have won but envy and neutralism. The Russians have proved better propagandists finding falsity as easy to peddle as truth.

Our marshaled might is not without its impress on the realists in the Kremlin. From strength and resolve will come the high tide and the turn in the fortunes of freedom.

H. R. 3232

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include a letter from Andrew E. Danish, president, Northeastern Poultry Producers Council.

NORTHEASTERN POULTRY
PRODUCERS COUNCIL, INC.,
Trenton, N. J., March 17, 1955.

Re H. R. 3232.
Hon. JAMES M. QUIGLEY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN QUIGLEY: We are very pleased to learn that you have introduced bill H. R. 3232 to the House of Representatives, to amend section 335 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 so as to exempt poultrymen and others who grow wheat as feed on their own acres for their own livestock. We are notifying the poultrymen of the State of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania State Poultry Federation, who are members of this council, of your praiseworthy action.

The Northeastern Poultry Producers Council represents poultry producers from the 14 Northeastern States and we are very much in accord with the intent of your proposed legislation. We sincerely hope it will receive favorable consideration when it reaches the House floor. The approval of this legislation will materially aid the responsible poultry industry to continue its position to stand on its own feet and not ask for Government aid in the form of subsidiaries and other handouts.

If there is anything which we, as an organization of poultry producers can do to help you further this legislation, please do not resitate to let us know.

Our sincerest thanks, Congressman QUIGLEY, for your helpful support in attempting to solve this burdensome problem of the poultry industry.

Sincerely yours,
ANDREW E. DANISH,
President.

The Postal Field Service Compensation Act of 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, on Monday the House will consider, under suspension of the rules, the bill H. R. 4644, the Postal Field Service Compensation Act of 1955.

Because of the limited time, under such procedure, I am presenting here for the information of the Members a few facts concerning this legislation.

Our committee has worked diligently to develop legislation which would not only be fair and equitable to postal employees, but would also come reasonably within the bounds of the President's request for this legislation.

Our committee has recommended a good bill. I am sure the Members when in possession of all the facts will agree. The members of the committee are to be commended for the effort they have put forth and the results obtained. This extends not only to those who voted with the large majority of the committee, but also to those who have some slight reservations with respect to the ultimate product.

Basically, the bill provides a minimum of 6-percent salary increase, and, at the same time, will bring about a reclassification of postal employees' salaries through the establishment of a new salary plan for the postal field service.

Under the bill, 90 percent of the employees are covered by position specifically defined in the bill and are assigned to appropriate salary levels. Only 10 percent will be assigned by the Postmaster General, and these must be assigned in accordance with strict standards and subject to an appeal to the Civil Service Commission by the employee concerned.

Many Members have received letters expressing concern about certain provisions or lack of them in the bill as originally recommended by the Postmaster General, H. R. 2987. The committee, by its action, has eliminated virtually everyone of these objections. Even the views of the minority are only one-half of 1 percent apart on total amount of the increase. For the benefit of the Members there follows a discussion of the most frequently raised objections to the bill, coupled with corrective action taken by the committee. For the convenience of the Members, I have referred to appropriate section numbers in H. R. 4644.

1. THE POSTMASTER GENERAL HAS TOO MUCH AUTHORITY TO GRADE JOBS

While this was not entirely true, the committee recognized the concern of the employees and struck out references to Postmaster General and rephrased the language to make the provisions of the bill a matter of law rather than to be dependent on actions required of the Postmaster General.

The descriptions of duties, responsibilities, and relationships of 50 positions, covering more than 90 percent of the postal employees, and the establishment of salary levels, are made a matter of law by section 203 of the bill.

The detailed procedure for the establishment of salary levels for the remaining less than 10 percent are made a matter of law by section 201 of the bill.

Section 202 authorizes the employee to appeal to the Civil Service Commission any action taken by the Post Office Department in the assignment of a job to a key position or to a salary level. It also makes the decisions of the Civil Service Commission mandatory on the Postmaster General.

2. THE SALARY OF AN EMPLOYEE CAN BE REDUCED MERELY BY ASSIGNMENT TO LOWER DUTIES

The committee, in the language of section 204, allows the assignment of employees to other duties but provides (a) that the salary of no employee be reduced as a result of such action, and (b) that assignment of an employee to higher duties for more than 30 days in a calendar year shall be paid for at the higher rate of pay.

3. ALLOWS THE POSTMASTER GENERAL TO MAKE UNLIMITED APPOINTMENTS TO SUPERVISORY POSITIONS FROM OUTSIDE THE POSTAL FIELD SERVICE

Section 501 limits this authority to appointment of persons who have been civilian employees in any branch of the Government and to positions in the regional and district offices and positions in the professional and scientific fields.

4. PERMITS THE APPOINTMENT OF AN UNLIMITED NUMBER OF SUBSTITUTES

The committee recognized that there was some desirability of eliminating the regular-substitute ratio in the interest of flexibility of administration. However, it also felt that the claims that no ratio would lead to abuses had merit. Section 606 (c) retains a ratio but

changes it from 6 regulars to 1 substitute to 5 to 1. This overcomes the objections of the employees. It also allows additional administrative flexibility.

5. THE PROPOSAL OF THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD ALLOW THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT TO DOWNGRADE ALL POSITIONS

Sections 201, 202, 203, 301, 302, 303, and 504 of H. R. 4644 establishes by law the grade and salary of over 90 percent of the positions and provides a mandatory procedure for establishing the salary level of all others.

6. PROVIDES GREATEST INCREASES FOR HIGHER PAID WORKERS

This statement would be true, if the principle of equal pay for substantially equal work and responsibility is to be ignored. The ranking of positions and salary levels as set forth in title II and III of the bill, H. R. 4644, recognizes this principle. There are some 1,100 employees in positions such as assistant postmasters, superintendents of mails, superintendent of transportation, and a few others who for some 10 years have been grossly underpaid. For instance, the Postmaster at New York is paid $13,770 while the Assistant Postmaster is paid only $8,470. This is a difference of $5,300 between the postmaster and his first deputy. The provisions of H. R. 4644 will bring these salary rates into more reasonable alinement and will, for the first time, recognize the duties and responsibilities of the assistant postmaster.

The committee also recognized that the clerks and carriers in post offices in the first and second class have greater responsibilities than reflected in the salary level proposal by the administration. A new salary level 5—section 301—which provides higher salaries for these groups of employees was approved by the committee. The additional cost resulting from the insertion of this new level is estimated at over $20 million.

7. THE PROPOSED EFFECTIVE DATES DELAY THE INCREASES FOR 6 MONTHS

Section 710 (c) of H. R. 4644 establishes the first pay period after date of enactment as the effective date of both the 6-percent minimum pay increase and that resulting from reclassification. The bill allows a maximum of 180 days in which to effect the assignment of all positions to salary levels. Once the assignment is made, the employee will receive a retroactive payment for the amount of his gross increase as of the first pay period after date of enactment of this bill.

Stability for the Pear-Canning Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, since his retirement from Congress, my predecessor, the Honorable Jack Z. Anderson, has done a most effective job in organizing the California Canning Pear Association. Thinking it might be of interest to his former colleagues, I am inserting herewith in the RECORD his annual report to that association:

STABILITY FOR THE PEAR-CANNING INDUSTRY
(By Jack Z. Anderson, president, California Canning Pear Association)

The California Canning Pear Association looks back with no small degree of pride on 2 years of accomplishment and looks ahead to a period of economic security for its growers. Almost every producer of canning pears in California will recall with many mixed emotions the spring and summer of 1953, when our association was trying desperately to get off the ground. The fact that the organization efforts were successful and that we now have a going concern is due almost entirely to the faith and cooperation of our grower-members.

No association of any commodity group can be a success unless the producers themselves make it so. The California Canning Pear Association has had a higher degree of cooperation from its members than any other farm group I can think of. New, untried, and almost unknown, our association survived its trial by fire in 1953 (during the cannery strike) and emerged as a determined group of pear producers who had decided that in order to insure their future security they must hang together or hang separately.

If 1953 was a year of trial and error, certainly 1954 proved to be a year of real accomplishment. Many growers felt that they received too low a price for their 1953 crop of canning pears (California canners processed 186,000 tons), but with the all-time record crop of 1954 (canners processed 269,000 tons) these same growers realized that without the assistance of the association they might have seen a repetition of the 1948–49 debacle. In those 2 years, when the pear growers were entirely unorganized, the average returns to producers were: 1948, $120 per ton; 1949, $31 per ton. And the amazing fact about those 2 years was that the canners processed almost the same amount of tonnage in both years.

It becomes increasingly more apparent that the members of the California Canning Pear Association are primarily interested in stability. Stabilization of the canning pear industry, not only in California but on the entire Pacific coast, has been our slogan since the original meeting of California pear growers in Sacramento in September 1952. Furthermore, it is well to remember that when we speak of stability we are not talking about stability just for the grower. To be sure, the grower is always entitled to his cost of production plus a reasonable profit, but the average intelligent grower knows that he must sell his fruit at a price that the canner can afford to pay and still place that canned product on the grocers' shelves at a price that will attract the average housewife.

The stabilizing effect of our efforts for the past 2 years has attracted many favorable comments from the trade. The brokers, wholesalers, retailers, and consumers now know that they can buy canned pears and canned pear products without having to fear the wild fluctuations in price that have been so evident heretofore. Furthermore, our association keeps in constant touch with all industry advertising and sales promotion programs and assists in every way that it can to encourage the increased consumption of our processed fruit.

It is well to remember that the annual per capita consumption of canned pears at present is approximately two-thirds of a 2½ can. If this can be increased to one full can per capita, our so-called surplus problems will have been solved and we might find it difficult to supply the demand. Moreover, even a partial return of the historic export outlets which we enjoyed before World War II would place every pear producer on the Pacific coast in a most enviable position.

Complete cooperation from the Bartlett pear growers in the Northwest now seems assured. A Washington State Canning Pear Association was organized in that State last summer in time to bargain for the sale of its members' 1954 crop. A price was set at $77.50 per ton, $2.50 over the Sacramento River price, and this was paid by the canners for Washington and Hood River, Oreg., canning Bartletts. Representatives from California, Oregon, and Washington are meeting from time to time in an effort to work out the type of program that will best meet the needs of the canning pear producers in all three States. Considerable progress has already been made and the ultimate completion of this task now appears to be only a matter of time.

December 1954 marked the first month when grower-members could withdraw from our association under the terms of their membership agreement. It is indeed gratifying to note that there were only three bona fide withdrawals representing only a nominal amount of tonnage. Our drive for new members is progressing satisfactorily and we now represent almost 60 percent of the free tonnage of canning pears produced in our State. The board of directors of the California Canning Pear Association is grateful for the fine support and cooperation of its grower-members. As long as we maintain our equilibrium and continue to operate on the theory that it can be done we will be an effective organization dedicated to the economic security of the canning pear producers in California.

New Jersey's Modern Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. MILLET HAND
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, those of us in the legislative branch of the Government are sometimes inclined to overlook the coequal branch, the judiciary, in building the kind of society we hope for in America. The importance of a timely, effective, and just procedure in our courts cannot be exaggerated.

No man is laboring harder toward this end than the chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, the Honorable Arthur T. Vanderbilt.

A very interesting article regarding his efforts in New Jersey appeared in a recent issue of Time magazine, which is herewith appended for the information of the House:

COURT SYSTEM REFORM A PRESSING PROBLEM

"Justice," said Daniel Webster, "is the great interest of man on earth." But the focus of interest shifts. In Webster's day it centered on the courts; trials were closely watched, judges were appraised, lawyers had their bands of knowing followers. The present interest in justice is spotty. It concentrates on the detection of criminals, on new statutes, and on the public-welfare services encompassed by the phrase "social justice." The courts are so neglected by the educators, the press, and the public that reporters covering a rare sensation, such as the Sheppard trial, find that they have to pause for parenthetical explanation of the simplest procedures and the oldest rules of evidence. But no government will ever be much better than its courts. No system of welfare serv-

ices, no multiplication of statutes or policemen can ever substitute for the ancient function in which society reflects the cosmic order, however dimly, by the dispensation of justice between man and man.

While the public's back has been turned, a handful of lawyers and laymen have been trying to improve the courts of the United States. A leader in this fight is Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt, of the New Jersey Supreme Court, a distinguished jurist and the head of a State court system that has risen from one of the Nation's worst to one of the best in 10 years. Judge Vanderbilt notes that although some jurisdictions have made great improvements in the last two decades, in others the judges are substandard, procedures are unnecessarily complex, and court administration is inefficient. In a brilliant series of lectures at the University of Virginia, to be published in book form later this year, Judge Vanderbilt says: "It is in the courts and not in the legislature that our citizens primarily feel the keen, cutting edge of the law. If they have respect for the work of the courts as it affects them, their respect for law will survive the shortcomings of every other branch of government; but if they lose their respect for the work of the courts, their respect for law and order will vanish with it, to the great detriment of society."

To achieve and maintain this respect, Vanderbilt urges action on three fronts:

1. Improving the quality of judges.
2. Simplifying court procedures.
3. Cutting delay by better management.

THE MEN OF THE COURTS

The history of the English Constitution is largely one of struggle toward an independent, qualified judiciary (in the Magna Carta, King John covenanted that "we will appoint as justices * * * only such as know the law of the realm and mean to observe it well"). The men who shaped the Governments of the United States and its States were acutely conscious of the importance of a judiciary free to act without fear or favor toward the executive and legislative branches. In the postrevolutionary period nearly all judges—State as well as Federal—were named by appointment and got life tenure "during good behavior."

In the mid-19th century a change occurred that Vanderbilt ascribes to the Jacksonian revolution, with its premise that all men are not only created equal but remain equal throughout life. While Andrew Jackson, once a judge himself, conceded that judges needed special qualifications, his followers took a more liberal view: jurors, lawyers, and judges, all being men, all were considered equal. As a result of this thesis, the trial judge in Maryland and Indiana to this day must instruct the jurors in criminal cases that they are judges not only of the facts but of the law. An outgrowth of the equalitarian theory was a quantum jump in the number of men considered qualified for the bench, and pressures built up to rotate judicial offices. The result: popular election of judges for short terms.

The full effect of the Jacksonian idea was felt in 1846, when New York State switched to an elective judiciary—and paved the way for the reign of Boss Tweed. Other States followed suit, and as Judge Vanderbilt says, the "judges campaigned for judicial office in the hustings with the other candidates of the political parties from sheriff to hog reeve." Today all the judges of 36 States are elected political officers.

A knowledge of politics is by no means a disqualification for the bench. Said Justice Henry T. Lummus, of the Masachusetts Supreme Court: "There is no certain harm in turning a politician into a judge. He may be or become a good judge. The curse of the elective system is the converse: that it turns almost every judge into a politician." The elected judge, if he wants to be reelected, must make all the commitments of a politician.

* * * * * *

Arthur Vanderbilt eloquently describes the qualities that judges should have: "Judges learned in the law, not merely the law in books, but, something far more difficult to acquire, the law as applied in action in the courtroom; judges deeply versed in the mysteries of human nature and adept in the discovery of the truth in the discordant testimony of fallible human beings; judges beholden to no man, independent and honest and—equally important—believed by all men to be independent and honest; judges, above all, fired with consuming zeal to mete out justice according to law to every man, woman, and child that may come before them, and to preserve individual freedom against any aggression of government; judges with the humility born of wisdom, patient and untiring in the search for truth, and keenly conscious of the evils arising in a workaday world from any unnecessary delay—judges with all these attributes are not easy to find, but which of these traits dare we eliminate if we are to hope to attain even-handed justice?"

Vanderbilt urges that formal standards be set up stating the necessary qualifications for judges and that candidates for judicial office be selected by bar and lay leaders, none of whom hold public office. A list of qualified men can be drawn up, and the executive or the legislature required to choose from that list. After being appointed, judges would run for election only against their records on the bench, i. e., no other candidates would appear on the ballots, which would be simply phrased: "Shall Judge Blank be retained in office?" This system has been recommended by the American Bar Association, but so far almost all the States have ignored it.

ENDING THE SPORTING THEORY

Vanderbilt is in complete agreement with the late John Wigmore, dean of the Northwestern University Law School, who criticized and denied what he called "the sporting theory of law." Scoffed Wigmore: "To require the disclosure to an adversary of the evidence that is to be produced would be repugnant to all sportsmanlike instincts. Rather permit you to preserve the secret of your tactics, to lock up your documents in the vault, to send your witness to board in some obscure village, and then, reserving your evidential resources until the final moment, to marshal them at the trial before your surprised and dismayed antagonist, and thus overwhelm him."

But surprise is only one ploy under the sporting theory. Another is to take advantage of technical rules of pleading, many of which grew out of historical situations that have no counterparts in modern life.

After a long and little-reported fight, great strides were made in improving procedures in the United States Federal courts. Judge Vanderbilt says that the 1938 Federal Rules of Civil Procedure are models of simplicity and flexibility. So far seven States have almost entirely adopted the Federal rules, while 12 have followed to a lesser extent.

Under the new Federal rules a trial becomes more an orderly search for truth, less a tournament of wits. Key to the new system is the pretrial setup, which permits the free use of depositions, interrogatories, inspections and examinations, all aimed at finding the facts on which the litigants are agreed and at defining the areas of disagreement. At the pretrial conference both plaintiff and defendant state what they expect to prove in the trial, thus eliminating tricky surprise. The judge dictates a pretrial order that supersedes the original pleadings and defines the questions at issue between the parties. Says Vanderbilt: "No longer does the trial judge have to fumble through the pleadings at the trial to find out what the case is all about. * * * He has before him in a pretrial-conference order a complete outline of the course that the trial will take; he is master of the situation from the outset to the conclusion of the trial."

As used in Judge Vanderbilt's New Jersey case, the pretrial conference has shortened trials by from a third to a half. Vanderbilt notes—and condemns—the tendency of judges in some jurisdictions to use the conference to force settlements, but he contends that even without such coercion 3 out of 4 cases are settled soon after the pretrial conferences. Reason: the conference gives each litigant knowledge of his own weakness and his adversary's strength.

Vanderbilt says that with the various pretrial procedures at a judge's disposal there is no reason why, having also heard the evidence and the arguments at the trial, he cannot make his decision at once in cases without a jury. Says Vanderbilt: "He will never know more about it than he does at that time. The moment for decision has arrived, before other cases intervene to dull and blur his grasp of the pending case."

Then Vanderbilt adds: "How often have you and I known judges burdened with so many undecided matters that they were exhausting their intellectual effort in determining which case to dispose of first and devoting what little strength they had left to telling all and sundry how overworked they were?"

DELAYS THROUGH MISMANAGEMENT

"So far as I know," says Vanderbilt, "the courts are the only nationwide or statewide businesses that have ever attempted to function without any administrative machinery." The Federal judiciary was dependent on the chief litigant in its courts—the Justice Department—for the conduct of all its business affairs, from buying pencils to presenting the judicial budget to Congress, until a 1939 law improved efficiency in the Federal courts by setting up an administrative office.

Mismanagement, or rather nonmanagement, of the States' judicial systems is the main reason for delay in the courts. In Queens County, N. Y., for example, it now takes 49 months for a jury case to come to trial in the State courts. Justice so long delayed can mean justice denied, as litigants die and witnesses disappear.

One chance for administrative improvement lies in the assignment of judges. Explains Vanderbilt: "It is intolerably bad business administration to have some judges overworked while others sit by half idle * * *. This means that someone must be given the power to assign the trial judges to those courts where they are most needed." The obvious person to be given this administrative power, says Vanderbilt, is the top judicial officer in each State (in most cases, the chief justice).

If the chief justice is to have administrative responsibility in addition to his judicial duties, he must have full-time professional help. Only 13 States (plus Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia) now have such offices of judicial administration. An example of their work is seen in the weekly summary of reports from every New Jersey judge, listing hours spent on the bench, cases and motions heard, and decisions reserved. These reports on individual performance are distributed to all judges. The effect on indolent judges when their laziness is thus exposed has, Arthur Vanderbilt says tersely, been "truly remarkable."

The fight for improved court systems is not one that can be—or should be—confined to the legal profession. Judge Vanderbilt candidly says that "where cures have occurred they have generally been effected under the impetus of a popular revolt of laymen against the quaint professional notion that the courts exist primarily for the benefit of judges and lawyers and only incidentally for

the benefit of the litigants and the State." Against the members of the bar and the bench who stand in the way of reform, Vanderbilt issues a scathing indictment: "I am convinced that the criminals, the gangsters, the corrupt local officials, and communistic subversives who would undermine and overthrow our Government with bloodshed and terror such as we have seen abroad • • • are no more dangerous to the country at large than the judges [and lawyers], many of the amiable gentlemen, who oppose either openly or covertly every change in procedural law and administration that would serve to eliminate technicalities, surprise, and undue delay in the law simply because they would be called upon to learn new rules of procedure or new and more effective methods of work."

Shotgun Shell Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Associated Press has circulated an article by Dion Henderson which reports that sportsmen throughout America are alarmed by the rise in shotgun shells.

This AP dispatch apeared in the Milwaukee Journal for Sunday, March 13, under the heading "Shell Prices Stir National Furor."

Following publication of my letter to Federal Trade Commissioner Edward F. Howrey, asking for an immediate investigation into price-fixing and monopoly in the shotgun shell business, I have received many protests urging that this investigation take place.

Many Congressmen, whose districts have as avid sportsmen as the Fifth District of Wisconsin, will be interested in the nationwide indignation which these frequent price increases have elicited:

SHELL PRICES STIR NATIONAL FUROR—INCREASES ARE PUTTING THE COST OF TRAPSHOOTING BEYOND REACH OF MANY ENTHUSIASTS, IS COMPLAINT

(By Dion Henderson)

Are increases in the price of shotgun shells—hit by 15 separate boosts since 1946—putting the cost of America's grand old sport of wing shooting beyond the reach of many shotgun enthusiasts "Yes," say spokesmen for 9 of 11 major gun clubs around the country, queried in a random sampling by the Associated Press.

Their comment came as Representative REUSS, Democrat, of Wisconsin, said in Washington that Fair Trade Commission Chairman Edward F. Howrey had advised him FTC would undertake the investigation into the shell-pricing situation as requested by REUSS.

These were some of the comments from important trap-and-skeet clubs.

W. R. Beamish, president of the Twin City-Hopkins Gun Club at Minneapolis said, "Shotgun-shell manufacturers are pricing both professional and amateur shooters out of the target sport. High prices have caused the number of shooters to dwindle to near nothing. Youngsters can't afford to use established facilities to learn intelligent use of firearms."

Beamish said that many members of his club had taken up reloading used shotgun hulls with newly marketed devices similar in use to those used by rifle hobbyists for years in hand loading.

PRICE IS TOO HIGH

At Seattle, custodian Al Bonner, of the Seattle Gun Club, said that some members there also have taken up reloading, but that the average shooter has quit club activity because of the cost of shells.

A spokesman at Chicago's Lincoln Park Gun Club said many members were pretty sore at recent increases and favored the FTC inquiry. Club members who have taken up reloading there report savings of $1 a box.

Stewart Nevius, president of the Aqua Sierra Sportman's Club in Los Angeles, which he described as the largest private trap-and-skeet club in southern California with 200 members and 10 shooting layouts, declared, "They're just pricing shells right out of existence."

On the other hand, B. B. Lotspeich, director of the Miami Trap and Skeet Club, said "everything else has gone up" and he sees no reason why shell prices shouldn't go up too. "Miami club members," he added, "are finicky about shells and wouldn't use reloads."

Eugene McLain, general manager of Nevada's Las Vegas Gun Club, repeated the opinion that prices were driving many trapshooters out of the sport and "working a hardship on smaller gun clubs all over the country." He suggested that manufacturers be allowed to cut some of the trimmings off shells—waterproofing, fancy boxes and such—to reduce costs.

HALF CAN'T SHOOT

Again in the Midwest, Norbert Nielson, financial secretary of the Maywood Sportsman's Club at Elmhurst, Ill., said some of the club's 300 active members are "doing a respectable job" of reloading, with a substantial saving.

Fifty percent of the trap and skeet fans of the Long Beach-Dominguez Gun Club in California are unable to shoot now "because they can't afford it," owner-manager William Ruth said.

Another dissent to the majority opinions in the sample came from Edwin L. Cozier of Springfield, Ohio, secretary of the Southern Ohio Trapshooters League. Cozier said that the most recent increase—10 cents a box—would mean only $8 more a year for the trapshooter who fires 2,000 shells in that time. "He may not like it," Cozier said, "but I don't think that's going to stop him."

But Robert E. Clyne, owner of the Troy Gun Club at Troy, Ohio, said he favors the FTC study because shell prices are ridiculously high. He said he's rigging a machine at his commercially run club to reload shells.

Use of Draft To Force Compliance With Farm Programs Is Unethical, Un-American, and Probably Illegal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, recently the House of Representatives repealed the so-called tie-in provision of the 1953 agriculture law, under which farmers who failed to comply with crop controls were ineligible to participate in the ACP program.

This was a wise move, for the Congress obviously felt that programs having separate and distinct goals should not be tied together.

It has come to my attention, however, that local selective-service boards are being advised to base agricultural deferments on compliance with crop controls established by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson.

Memoranda have been circulated among local boards in Pennsylvania setting forth benchmarks for use in reducing farm deferments. I quote two of these benchmarks:

3. Attention should be centered on the kind of farm produce and whether or not the farm in question is adhering to acreage quota of crops demanded by the Department of Agriculture.

And then the following:

Credit should be given only for farm commodities marketed. Therefore, for example, if a farmer is feeding 100 percent of his field crops or other produce to his stock he should be given credit for the milk or stock sold and not for the crops fed to produce that milk or other livestock. Further, any percentage of crops fed should be deducted from the unit value of crops sold.

Mr. Speaker, we recognize selective service as a necessary evil at best; a burden we Americans must reluctantly assume because of the existing world tensions. No one in this body who supported the extension voted earlier this year did so, I am confident, with the intent that it should be used to help Secretary Benson enforce compliance with his crop-control program.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include a portion of a memorandum dated February 1, which has been forwarded to local boards in Pennsylvania.

This purports to provide answers to frequently asked questions. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that it is a most flippant, a most sophomoric approach to an extremely serious problem. Seldom have I had the opportunity of reading anything more ridiculous than this memorandum.

The memorandum follows:

PENNSYLVANIA STATE
HEADQUARTERS,
SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM,
Harrisburg, Pa., February 1, 1955.

MEMORANDUM TO ALL LOCAL BOARDS

Subject: Notes on agriculture

There follows a few answers to excuses given to the question, Can a registrant be replaced? If not, why?

Excuse. It would take years of training.

Answer. He has been liable since he registered and the training should have been started some time ago.

Excuse. Registrant is not replaceable. (Registrant is the son.)

Answer. No son is replaceable. But he is still liable for service.

Excuse. Where can you get hired help to do what the owner will do?

Answer. Nowhere. But owner is keyman and he can train and supervise a replacement.

Excuse. Not dependable.

Answer. A good many people are this way in other pursuits as well as agricultural. No excuse.

Excuse. Cannot pay off debt and wages at same time.

Answer. Neither can the businessman, but he is liable for service.

Excuse. Because it wasn't necessary.

Answer. Wrong. It is necessary.

Excuse. Doing all right this way.

Answer. So were we all until the lightning struck.

Excuse. Who will work on farm from daylight to dark?

Answer. Better wages and living conditions would help to persuade someone to do this.

Excuse. Because I own farm business and tools.

Answer. So does the business and the professional man own his own business and tools.

Federal Grants-in-Aid for Vocational Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I have received an enlightening letter from Wisconsin's State director of vocational and adult education, Mr. C. L. Greiber, of Madison.

This letter explains very clearly how Federal grants-in-aid have benefited vocational education in Wisconsin, without disturbing the independent and autonomous character of the system.

Mr. Greiber is well qualified to discuss this problem, since he is presently president of the National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education:

THE STATE OF WISCONSIN,
STATE BOARD OF VOCATIONAL
AND ADULT EDUCATION,
Madison, Wis., March 4, 1955.

The Honorable H. S. REUSS,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is in answer to your recent request for information regarding the control which Federal Government agencies exercise over funds made available to States and localities through Federal grant-in-aid programs.

The State Board of Vocational and Adult Education in Wisconsin administers the Federal aids appropriated by the Congress for the further development of programs of vocational education and the Federal aids appropriated for the rehabilitation of the handicapped. My experiences with Federal agencies through which grant-in-aid programs are carried on is, therefore, limited to the United States Office of Education and the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Federal aids for the further development of vocational education were originally made available under the Smith-Hughes Act which was passed by the Congress in 1917. This initial act has been supplemented by other Federal aid acts authorizing additional grants in aid for vocational education. The most recent of these passed by the Congress was the George-Barden Act which authorized additional Federal aids for vocational education in 1946. During that year I was President of the American Vocational Association which is a national organization of persons working in and interested in vocational education.

Federal aids for vocational rehabilitation were originally granted in 1920. The original appropriations have been increased by subsequent acts, the most recent of which was passed by the Congress in 1954 upon the recommendation of President Eisenhower.

It is true that certain minimum conditions apply to the expenditure by the States and localities of the Federal aids which are made available for vocational education and rehabilitation of the handicapped. These minimum conditions or standards, however, are essential if the programs shall be productive of the good results which were intended by the Congress when the legislation was enacted into law.

The Federal aids granted to the States under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden laws for purposes of vocational education may be expended only under certain rules and policies which have been adopted by the United States Office of Education. However, in arriving at the determination of these rules and policies, the Office of Education has sought the advice and assistance of the States through advisory committees of administrators on the State and local level. Accordingly, the States have had a part in determining the basic standards which should apply to the expenditure of Federal grant-in-aid funds for vocational education. From time to time these policies are reviewed in order that they may be changed in accordance with changing conditions in the States.

During the present year I am president of the National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education. It is the plan of our association to review both the Federal acts appropriating funds for vocational education and the policies governing the use of the funds at our next meeting.

I am sure that the United States Office of Education will be pleased to review any recommendations we may make and if changes are advisable to more effectively utilize the funds in the States and localities, I am sure that the Federal agency will make policy changes.

The Federal policies for vocational rehabilitation have been determined by the United States Office of Vocational Rehabilitation in a similar manner. The State officials responsible for the administration and supervision of programs of vocational rehabilitation are consulted regularly regarding the effect which existing policies have upon the operation of the program in the States. The Office is most cooperative in adopting recommended changes in rules and policies made by these officials which will result in a more effective functioning of the program in the States.

On the basis of many years of personal experience in the administration of Federal grants for vocational education and vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped on the State level, I feel that the United States Office of Education and the United States Office of Vocational Rehabilitation do not exercise undue control or restraint in the use of Federal grants for vocational education and vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped. Policies which provide for minimum standards in the use of grant-in-aid funds are necessary to safeguard the proper use of these appropriations in the manner which was intended by the Congress when the laws were enacted.

With best wishes, I am,
Sincerely yours,

C. L. GREIBER,
State Director, Vocational and Adult Education.

Red Drive Continues in Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

RED DRIVE CONTINUES IN ITALY

Rome reports that the recent ignominious reversals suffered by the Communists have not induced them to give up the battle. On the contrary their defeats have still further enraged them. Their antinational activity has been intensified and diversified, evidently in the hope that they will be able to find the weakest spot in order to strike the Nation with a fatal stab in the back. They do not overlook the slightest pretext to renew their attacks. They exploit every opportunity, even when they are convinced they will not gain their objective.

A typical deplorable act of bravado was that in the University of Rome used as a sad reprisal against the movement to pillory the infamous tyrant D'Onofrio, officially accused of sadistic outrages against Italian soldiers taken prisoners in Russia during World War II. Gangsters and hooligans of the worst order were recruited from faraway towns and, armed with clubs and iron bars, were integrated with the Communist university cell to treacherously attack the students who were alined against the torturer of Italian prisoners in Russia.

The police promptly intervened and those responsible for the attack were arrested and brought to justice. The Government is quite determined to act and this is a source of satisfaction.

SUPPORT OF ALL CITIZENS

Naturally, the action of the authorities and the determination of the Government and the ruling classes to check Italian bolshevism will not be successful and will not be able to win over the masses and public opinion if they are not strengthened by the conscientious and courageous support of all the citizens who love their country and are ready to fight for its rebirth and to preserve it free and independent.

The password from Moscow to all Communists is to "sabotage the UEO." Sabotage the Western Defense Pact by obstructionist tactics and insurrection. Above all, sabotage the conscience of the people through a vast movement of violent agitation and a capillary action based on pressure and threats.

In his rabble-rousing address at the Adriano Theater, Italy's Commie leader, Palmiro Togliatti, declared: "We shall go from door to door to induce every Italian to reject the military pacts."

The ludicrous battle, launched in the House, and in the Senate, was ignominously lost. The Paris accords have been ratified and Italy has definitely become a part of the Western Defense Organization. Defeated in Parliament, the Kremlin mercenaries now propose to continue their intimidating activities in the public squares, in the factories and in the homes. Squads, formed mostly by women, are making the rounds with petition lists gathering signatures and intimating that he who does not sign is lost because some day soon these lists might become honor rolls and those not present naturally will be blacklisted.

ISOLATE THE TRAITORS

All this is absolutely intolerable and we are sure the Government will take the necessary measures to combat it. Together with the steps already promulgated and those planned by the constituted authorities, all citizens must set the example by showing the door to those who are participating in this insidious attempt at incitement.

Communists and their accomplices must be isolated.

The moment has finally arrived when it becomes necessary to conquer the subjection complex inspired by the Kremlin fifth columnists. Their strength is represented by the fear instilled in others. By conquering this fear bolshevism, which is still a grave threat to the Nation, will be destroyed.

History has proven that when Communists are forced to fight in the open, without allies,

they have always been put to flight. The stupid episode of violence in the D'Onofrio case has shown their confusion when they find themselves isolated. It is therefor up to the honest and .partiotic Italians to definitely quarantine them and leave them alone to face their evil responsibility.

Hoover Commission Proposal Would Kill Rural Electrification Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on March 16, 1955. The editorial entitled "A Proposal To Kill REA" follows:

A PROPOSAL TO KILL REA

"That the Rural Electrification Administration be reorganized on a self-supporting basis and secure its financing from private sources."

This apparently innocent recommendation of the Hoover Commission is one-half deceptive propaganda. The other half is poison for the rural-electrification program which has brought the fruits of the industrial revolution to more than 3 million farm families in the last 20 years.

REA does not have to be reorganized in order to be self-supporting. It is already self-supporting. The loans it makes to cooperative electric distribution systems are being repaid with an exceedingly low rate of default which private banking might envy.

If private sources had had the enterprise and the courage to finance rural electrification in America, and if private utility companies had had the courage, enterprise, and sense of service to carry out the program, REA would never have been required.

The effect of the Hoover Commission's recommendations could be to paralyze REA immediately and kill it off entirely within a few short years. One might think that since more than 1 million miles of transmission lines have been built through the REA program, the systems are going concerns, and more than 90 percent of the Nation's farms are now reached by electricity, the program is safe. This is far from true.

Public-power systems do not stand still in this expanding economy, any more than private businesses do. They must expand to meet the growing needs of their customers, and their customers' demands are doubling every 5 years.

Electricity has only begun to do a few of the many things it can do on the farm. As just one example, two-thirds of the farm homes in this country still lack inside bathrooms dependent on electric home pumping systems.

In order to grow with their customers' requirements, cooperatives and other public power systems must be able to borrow money. In lending the money, the Government makes a safe investment at the same time that it performs a service for the people which no other agency stood ready to perform. Cut off from credit, a growing public power system would suffer the same fate a private power company would suffer under the same circumstances. It would wither, and be forced to sell out on any terms it could get to someone with adequate credit.

Quite likely the Government should get out of some of its lending activities, perhaps including some of those the Hoover Commission mentions. This was clearly true with respect to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, as we said at the time. But it is not true of REA.

There is, in fact, little evidence that the Hoover Commission made these recommendations with the welfare of rural electrification at heart. Former President Herbert Hoover, the chairman of the commission, is hostile to all public powers.

Another objective of the recommendations is to reduce the national debt, since the ceiling set on it by Congress has been a constant plague to the Eisenhower administration. The commission estimates that its overall recommendations, including REA, would reduce the national debt more than $7 billion.

Insofar as REA is concerned, the money returned into the United States Treasury would not be savings or benefits, as the commission is fond of saying. It would be money taken out of productive work in the public's service.

Antarctica Is Strategically Important

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, an article by Walter Sullivan, appearing in the March 9 issue of the New York Times, points up the strategic importance of Antarctica. While other nations of the world are laying claims to portions of this vast continent, the United States, which has done more exploratory work than all the others put together, has failed to make any claim whatsoever. I believe that we are making a serious mistake not to do so. Our Nation ought to take action in the matter before it is too late.

The above-mentioned article follows:

(By Walter Sullivan)

Antarctica is literally at the end of the earth, but it cannot be ignored in looking to the future.

Methods of processing snow that have been developed since World War II enable wheeled planes to operate from atop an icecap. This has given new urgency to the problem of denying the Antarctic to a potential enemy.

The new snow compaction techniques mean that the ice sheet over the continent at the bottom of the world furnishes an airfield larger than Europe. The smooth snow surface is only rarely broken by mountains or crevasses. To a northern power seeking a foothold in the south, Antarctica has certain advantages. It is a continent virtually uninhabited and undefended.

Because landing places are far apart, the first force ashore would be difficult to displace. Modern icebreakers can reach the shore of Antarctica at a number of places, but it is more difficult to find any place to land. Almost the entire coastline consists of sheer ice cliffs. The U. S. S. *Atka*, which has arrived here after having circled half the continent, found only four accessible harbors along thousands of miles of coast.

A NONMILITARY MISSION

The voyage of the *Atka* was nonmilitary in character. The ship sought to find suitable base sites for scientific observations in the International Geophysical Years 1957–58: In this worldwide project nations will coordinate their measurements and observations of the physics of the earth.

Although the strategic importance of the Antarctic does not approach that of the Arctic, the South Polar regions command the waters linking the principal oceans of the world. Unless a ship passes through 1 of 2 vulnerable canals, at Panama or Suez, or unless it fights its way through Arctic ice it cannot go from the Pacific to the Atlantic, or from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean without sailing through sub-Antarctic seas.

There were several battles for control of these waters in World War I. They were finally resolved in favor of the British at the battle of the Falkland Islands. In World War II the Germans sent the pocket battleships *Graf Spee* and *Admiral Scheer* to harass Allied shipping in southern waters.

German mystery ships, whose operations have only recently become fully known, used the Antarctic for sanctuary. Four such vessels operated in the sub-Antarctic. Kerguellen Island was used as a rendezvous, as a watering station, and as a "dressing room" where the ships could change their disguises.

One of these merchant raiders, the *Komet*, had a bow reenforced for ice work. She penetrated the Ross Sea north of Little America to latitude 71°36′ south, longitude 170°44′ west.

NORWEGIAN WHALERS SEIZED

Another, the *Pinguin*, seized almost the entire Norwegian whaling fleet north of Queen Maud Land. Three factory ships and eleven whale catchers were sent back to Germany. The *Pinguin* is described by the Germans as their most successful raider in either world war. She sank more than 84,000 tons of Allied shipping and sent 52,000 tons back to Germany under prize crews, cargo, and all.

With the help of one of her prizes as a Trojan horse she laid mines in the harbor entrances of the Australian ports of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Hobart. She sank what appears to have been the first United States ship to go down in the war, the *City of Bayville*. The latter struck one of her mines between Australia and Tasmania on November 9, 1940.

The raider *Orion* circled the Antarctic continent, preying on Allied shipping. A sister ship, the raider *Kormoran*, sank the Australian light cruiser *Sydney*.

The raiders resembled innocuous cargo ship but carried numerous hidden guns, four torpedo tubes and a seaplane concealed in one hold. Their masts and stocks were rigged like telescopes so they could be hoisted to any desired height. The ships were specially equipped to build "scenery" so they could assume the silhouette of various types. The *Pinguin* began her cruise with her hull emblazoned with the hammer and sickle. She masqueraded as the Soviet ship *Pechora*.

BRITISH WARTIME MOVE

In 1943 the British learned that an Argentine ship had been surveying harbors among the islands off Palmer Peninsula. A base there would give Argentina control of both sides of Drake Passage, linking the Atlantic and Pacific.

London feared that such bases might be made available to the Germans and hence, although Britain was hard pressed at home, Operation Tabarin was initiated. Two small naval forces were established ashore. One was at Deception Island, which had been scouted by the Argentines. The other was at Wiencke Island.

Since the war, with the realinement of great powers, the problems in the Antarctic are considerably altered. Britain, Argentina, and Chile are all established in the Palmer Peninsula area. Their claims of sovereignty there have introduced the element of na-

tional prestige. Yet these quarrels are overshadowed by the cold war.

The United States has good ground for claims in that sector and Washington is certainly aware of the importance of controlling the south side of Drake Passage. But presumably Washington feels that the cold war must come first; that peace and unity in the Western camp is the primary consideration. The Antarctic must be considered as a whole, the task being to deny its use to a potential enemy.

County of Los Angeles Board of Supervisors Resolution Against Upper Colorado River Basin Projects as Proposed in H. R. 270 and H. R. 412

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present to the attention of all the Members of this great legislative body the text of a letter to me dated March 16, 1955, of the action of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, wherein the great 23d District, which I represent, is located.

I also present the text of the resolution which is referred to in said letter.

The letter and resolution follow:

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,
BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
Los Angeles, Calif., March 16, 1955.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
Member, House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: Enclosed is a certified copy of a resolution adopted by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles on March 15, 1955, opposing the upper Colorado River Basin projects as proposed in S. 500 and H. R. 270, and the Fryingpan-Arkansas project as proposed in S. 300 and H. R. 412, now ending in Congress.

Sincerely yours,

RAY E. LEE,
Chief Clerk.

Resolution opposing upper Colorado River Basin projects as proposed in S. 500 and H. R. 270 and the Fryingpan-Arkansas project as proposed in S. 300 and H. R. 412, now pending in Congress

Whereas the county of Los Angeles in the State of California is vitally dependent on a water supply obtained from the Colorado River; and

Whereas California's rightful share of Colorado River water is threatened by the upper Colorado River Basin projects as proposed in S. 500 and H. R. 270, and the Fryingpan-Arkansas project as proposed in S. 300 and H. R. 412, now pending in Congress; and

Whereas the aforementioned projects would inflict on all taxpayers of this county and the Nation an unjustifiable burden of more than $4 billion; and

Whereas these political pump-priming schemes, if authorized, would furnish water to grow more surplus crops already heavily subsidized by the taxpayers; and

Whereas it would cost American taxpayers $5,000 an acre to susidize the proposed irrigation project for farms located in high altitiude country which has a short growing season; and

Whereas the Colorado River Board of California, official State agency charged with the responsibility of safeguarding California's existing contracts for Colorado River water, has gone on record strongly opposing these measures: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the enactment of these bills is against the interest of the county of Los Angeles in particular and the State of California in general and should be opposed; be it further

Resolved, That the county of Los Angeles respectfully requests the Representatives of the State of California in the Congress of the United States to actively oppose the enactment of the above-mentioned bills, or any similar proposals, and that certified copies of this resolution be airmailed to our congressional representatives, and that copies be made available to press and radio news sources.

The Natural Law—The Family: The Basis of All Good Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the basis of all good government for orderly society, for the greatest good for the greatest number springs from the family unit, which springs from the natural law. Any government that overlooks the family or subordinates it to the state—the state which depends upon its very existence because of the family unit, controverts the natural law and thereby becomes a dictatorship, an oligarchy, an oppressive government, against the family and the natural law.

Communism in the Russian Soviet Union and Red China are classic examples of the type of government which denies the family unit and violates the natural law. In these governments the state is supreme and all family units are pawns of and are dominated by the supreme state.

The United States is the direct opposite, we recognize the family unit as the basis of and the reason for the existence of the state and we also recognize that the family unit permits the state to exist and can abolish it, if the state violates the natural law. Here the family unit is supreme, not the state.

The following statement by Dr. William V. Lawlor is a clear and easily understandable expression of the importance of the family unit and its place in and relation to Government. The United States Constitution recognizes the great power and value of the natural law and the family unit in this free and independent Nation:

There is no authority or agency operated by the State that does not spring from the basic unit of society—the family. There is no organization or agency or power within the State or beyond it that has any claim to validity unless it operates in conformity with that natural law that has dictated the very existence of the family.

Just as the parent has the right to delegate his authority to the various segments of society, so has he the right to withdraw it. When the parent sees the State or any of its segments violating that natural law, he has not only the right to withdraw such authority, but he has a duty to withdraw it. * * * The preservation of the family, operating according to the moral code upon which it is founded, is the only fundamental excuse for the very existence of the State.

Robert Cutler, Presidential Assistant, Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Robert Cutler, special assistant to the President, is about to retire after 2 years of distinguished service to the Nation. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include in this connection the following article by Arthur Krock appearing in the New York Times of March 18, 1955, entitled "The NSC's Development Under Cutler."

THE NSC'S DEVELOPMENT UNDER CUTLER
(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, March 17.—The impending departure from Government of Presidential Assistant Robert Cutler makes pertinent a review of the functions, activities, and growth of the National Security Council. In this high advisory group (the President alone makes the decisions) are ground out the policies which could mean the survival or death of the Republic. Cutler is responsible to the President for the processes leading to this policymaking.

Ferdinand Eberstadt, of New York City, under the direction of the late James Forrestal, conceived the NSC, and Congress wrote it in the Military Integration Act of 1947. The group is composed of six statutory members, including the Vice President; and Secretary Humphrey and Budget Director Hughes meet with them regularly.

The following comparative statistics of the Council's activities in the two administrations reveal how they have grown:

From the NSC's first assembling, September 26, 1947, to January 20, 1953, when President Eisenhower was inaugurated—128 meetings and 699 actions. From January 20, 1953, to the same date in 1955—104 meetings and 612 actions. On a 6-month comparative compilation—8 meetings and 43 actions in the previous administration, and 26 and 134 respectively in this one. "(Actions" means positive or negative disposal of topics on the agenda.)

THE PROCEDURE

The progress in the Government toward NSC action is as follows:

Meetings of the Planning Board in which deputies of the Council's members propose subjects for the NSC agenda and explain their reasons for the selections. These reasons are fully discussed at several meetings, after which Cutler chooses the issues to be presented for decision before the NSC. The Council staff (a small group of 38 persons, of whom 18 are secretaries) prepares a draft of the paper to go to the Council. This can be revised by the Board, and eventually is laid before Cutler for such revisions he may wish to make in the final draft.

Before Cutler approves a draft for the Council he insists that every word in it shall mean the same thing to everybody concerned. He also insists that demonstrative pronouns ("This means," etc.) shall have unmistakable ancestry. For the lack of such precautions Government documents often breed confusion.

This paper as approved is composed of a statement of the issue; the reasons why it calls for prompt Council action; a listing of the objectives; proposed courses of the action to be taken; a financial appendix estimating the costs of the action (a Cutler reform to determine "whether we are buying an elephant or a pony"); an appendix of the NSC staff studies on which the paper is based.

THE ADVANCE BRIEFING

On receipt of the paper several days before the NSC is to see it, Planning Board members brief their superiors so they will come to the Council meeting with their homework done. The President is a stickler for that. Cutler briefs him fully the day before each NSC meeting, but reading no more from the paper than he thinks essential. Council members say that in the art of saving the President's time while informing him fully Cutler is a master.

Occasionally differences arise in the Planning Board on the courses of action to recommend. In that event all points of view are included in the paper.

After the Council has at length discussed the agenda—3 hours a week is the average—and the President makes the decision, it is Cutler's task to assure that the final paper reflects any changes the President may order—on his own or in acceptance of new points made in the discussion. Every Saturday morning Cutler lays this ultimate document before the President for approval. When the President approves, and only then, it becomes national security policy.

These labors have occupied Cutler 60 or 70 hours a week steadily since he joined the administration. That will not be as much news to certain of his fellow members in the Somerset Club, of Boston, as they are said to have found the increasing mention of his name in Washington dispatches. "I see," said one, according to the yarn, "that Bobby Cutler is becoming very prominent." "Only nationally," said the other Brahmin.

Article by Robert M. Stewart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, when a newspaper editor, particularly the editor of a weekly newspaper, writes an article like this one by Robert Stewart of the West Bank Herald, of Algiers, La., and a Freedoms' Foundation award winner, there is nothing anybody can say about it except this: "Read it"—

(By Robert M. Stewart)

If we were non-Christians, if we did not have faith in God, and if we were certain that the promise of everlasting life was a myth fabricated to satisfy the insatiable hunger existing in the hearts of all people for something more than we have on this earth, I would still believe that the Sermon on the Mount is the greatest yardstick in human relations ever given to a troubled world.

Unfortunately many professed Christians do not put into practice the philosophy of Christ as expressed in the Sermon on the Mount. Many claim to be Christians, they attend church services and say they have faith in God. They make all kinds of gestures toward belief in Christianity but few put into everyday living—"to do justly, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God."

Many of us knit our faith snugly and conveniently into our own little mean world of hypocrisy, greed, hate, and envy. The cruelties we inflict upon one another is an indictment against our professed Christian beliefs. Our lack of compassion for those in need of friendship, our consuming ambition at the cost of others, our envy toward the success and position of our fellowman is as anti-Christ as the tenets of Karl Marx. We go our merry way piously saying we are Christians while performing acts in our everyday life which Christ deplored, condemned, and despised. From children through adulthood we take our envy and frustrations out on others, and often, in so doing, break the heart of a friend or loved one. Sometimes we relish their discomfort and unhappiness. Many times we inhumanly add to it, enjoying the suffering and anguish of the unfortunates.

Of all the moral crimes of which man is guilty the worst, in our opinion, is that of malicious gossip and intentioned slander. Most of the trouble in the world and in past ages comes from the hypocritical mouthings of pious-frocked fabricators, tattlers, and traducers. Unsubstantiated charges uttered maliciously with the aim to injure the reputation of another, smear, defamation, and tarnishment of character is as vile a crime, in our opinion, as physical murder. The Sermon On the Mount teaches responsibility to ourselves and to others, besides inspiring us to greater heights of decency. How many of us honestly try to assume the responsibility as laid out by Jesus Christ? It is appalling how few.

Every man who has achieved high eminence has been confronted with the malevolence and venom which clearly define the sordid character of insinuators, liars, and hypocrites. Many of our patriots from Washington to Eisenhower have had to endure this lowest of human frailities. Campaigns have been knowingly entered into with a view toward destroying a man with lies. Gossipers and maligners tarnish and impair the characters of decent people. From backfence fabricators and praters to the highly organized destroyers of character this deceit and littleness exemplify the lack of Christian morals.

Most of the greatest and most successful people of our country knew reverses, failure, and poverty. Lincoln failed five times in business, Andrew Jackson and Thomas Jefferson died bankrupts. Yet their contribution to our country cannot be estimated in dollars and cents. It is often amazing to us to find ill will, out and out hatred, desire of evil to others, enmity of heart and an inclination to injure others displayed by people we previously had considered genteel and Christian.

All of us are talked about; many of our intentions are distorted, most of us have been the object of venomous gossip, yet most of us are guilty of the same charges against others. Many of us have heard the truth we've spoken, twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools.

All men who occupy controversial positions through which they deal with all types of people know what we mean. Perhaps that is why a recent quotation made by Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay to his wife struck home. When Mrs. McKay complained of unjust and unfair criticism the Secretary advised: "I just tell her that when she goes to bed, she should just say her prayers, tell everybody to go to hell and then go to sleep."

Nuclear Parity and Diplomacy by Ultimatum—A Prospect of the Immediate Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Cleveland had a grand celebration of the feast of St. Patrick. The toastmaster of the 88th annual dinner was Robert Emmett Sweeney, a tireless worker for the cause of the Ancient Order, who has earned the gratitude of the people of Cleveland for his fine civic spirit.

The principal speaker was the Honorable Edward M. O'Connor, Government official who is well known to many Members of Congress. The title of his stirring address was "Nuclear Parity and Diplomacy by Ultimatum—A Prospect of the Immediate Future." The essence of Mr. O'Connor's penetrating analysis of world tensions is that we may have no more than 5 years of free action left to turn back the tyranny of Russian imperial communism. The prospect of nuclear parity is a real one. The prospect of what the Russians will likely do when they gain nuclear parity is not a happy one. I commend the reading of this address to everyone who believes our way of life is worth fighting for.

NUCLEAR PARITY AND DIPLOMACY BY ULTIMATUM—A PROSPECT OF THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

March 17 of each year has been set aside in the United States to pay tribute to good St. Patrick, patron saint of Ireland and a great inspiration to all the Irish, near-Irish, and Irish by adoption throughout the world.

This great tradition was inaugurated shortly after the American patriots signed the Declaration of Independence and began their historic struggle for freedom. The Irish volunteers in the Revolutionary Army were both numerous and dedicated. Gen. George Washington first paid tribute to the spirit of St. Patrick in a March 17 order of the day to the troops. On still another March 17 St. Patrick was the password of the day.

Since then we have observed the feast day of St. Patrick without interruption, enjoying its great spiritual and patriotic inspiration.

We here in America and the hearty sons of St. Patrick in Ireland by no means enjoy a monopoly on the festivities occasioned by March 17. Every nation on earth which opened its doors to the Irish immigrant pays appropriate tribute to good St. Patrick on this, his day. It has been said that in some distant lands far removed from the routes ordinarily taken by man, it is sufficient to claim that once an Irishman passed that way and good cause is established to vigorously celebrate today.

But wherever these festivities are taking place and regardless of the differences in custom, this is a day dedicated to things of the spirit. It is a day when spirited men rededicate themselves to God and country. It is a day of thanksgiving for the many wonderful blessings bestowed upon us who today enjoy the fruits of personal liberty.

Personal or individual liberty forms the basis for all the freedoms aspired to by man

since the beginning of time. Political liberty, economic liberty, religious liberty, intellectual liberty will fail to exist if we ever lose our personal liberty.

That is the fundamental lesson St. Patrick taught the Irish race. That is the fundamental belief the loyal sons and daughters of Ireland have taken to the four corners of the earth. They planted it deep in the most fertile soil of their adopted lands and fervently nurtured it. They have protected it against the many assaults of those who would degrade mankind including those who in our time argue that man is nothing more than animal, to be used as the state sees fit.

It is quite natural, therefore, that we should associate St. Patrick with the cause of personal liberty and the basic freedoms which spring from that happy state of being. It helps us to understand why almost every struggle engaged in by man to throw off the chains of the despot has had the Irish somehow mixed up in it. This is especially true of movements for national independence and struggles against imperialism.

The Irish know well what the tyrannies of imperialism are, just as they know what life is like in an exploited colony. They also know what it is like to have one's nation divided by unnatural barriers.

The experiences of history accompanied by great suffering and sacrifice have made the Irish implacable foes of imperialism or any other "ism" which preaches race superiority or otherwise advocates the right of one nation to exploit or submerge another.

It is for these same reasons that the Irish have always been stanch fighters for governments based upon moral laws and a social order built upon the recognition of the individual dignity possessed by each and every member of society. These are the fundamentals of the civilization of which we are a part. That is the legacy of St. Patrick.

Yet there is scarcely one of us gathered here this evening who would not agree that our civilization is under the most violent attack in all its glorious history. Not only are the cornerstones being put to the acid test but every grain of sand which comprises the mortar is subjected to severe stress and strain. Nothing that is an essential part of our way of life has been exempt from this warfare.

A new order seeks to take hold of and control even the smallest affairs of man in every hamlet and village of the world. That new order has declared that our way of life is reactionary, that we who believe are weak and timid and that life as we know it must be completely eliminated in order to make way for the new order.

The new order proclaims that all values are measured in material worth, that man is an accident upon this earth and therefore nothing more than one of many tools of production. That new order is militant, atheistic materialism, known more popularly as Russian imperial communism.

Contrary to popular belief, we have been under steady and increasing attack since 1918, the year the Bolsheviks took over the reins of terror in the Russian nation. One frequently hears reference made to the cold war, recalling that we are now in the 8th year of that engagement. The fact is that we as a nation did not awaken until 8 years ago to the fact that we had been the target for almost 30 years of an unorthodox type of warfare.

That unorthodox type of warfare is no less cruel, destructive, exacting, or corruptive than the traditional forms of war most commonly known. In many respects, it is more cruel and exacting, in some respects less costly but more effective.

This type of warfare is new to us. The enemy is expert in this type of warfare, it is his creature and he has a vast, head start on us in both strategy and tactical weapons.

That the enemy is adept at his game of warfare is borne out by a long series of evil events which only recently have been clearly written into the official record. In setting the public record straight with respect to the criminal conspiracy of communism a notable contribution was made by the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression during the 83d Congress.

That bipartisan committee sought out the facts from the most expert witnesses available in the world—those who were themselves the victims of Communist tyranny. The reports of the committee, based upon testimony, documents, and other authoritative evidence taken by it, have filled a huge gap in our knowledge of the enemy. The great city of Cleveland can take justifiable pride in knowing that its own son, the Honorable MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, of the 20th District, was one of the distinguished and hard working members of that committee.

The record of Communist aggression stands as the most reliable index of the progress they have made toward accomplishing their goal of a new world order. It includes the following, among others, startling fact:

1. In the course of 37 years communism has taken over and occupied no less than 25 nations, divided 4 others, and thrown an ominous curtain around 800 million people upon whom it wages a campaign of never-ending terror.

2. Communism has accomplished the destruction of entire nations by mass deportations, systematically carried out in the course of 24 hours. There remains no doubt that the crime of genocide has been perpetrated against at least three nations—the Crimean Tartars, the Chechin-Ingush, and the Kalmyk Nations. These crimes involved more than 1 million people.

3. Manmade famines, carried out in basically agricultural nations at a time when the crops were normal or better, have been used by the Communists to break the national and patriotic spirit of the people. This type of grand crime against humanity caused the death of more than 5 million people in the Ukraine and in Turkestan in the course of 1 year.

4. Communism has brought about the massacre of thousands of people who resisted the tyranny of the new order or otherwise stood in its way. God alone knows the total number of mass graves of such victims hidden through the empire of communism. There is sufficient evidence on hand, however, to indicate that the murder of ten or twenty thousand people, followed by their burial in common mass graves, is an established part of Communist behavior. The Katyn Forest and Vynnytsia massacres are the most commonly known examples of this crime.

5. Communism has demonstrated an ability to use nonaggression pacts, treaties of mutual assistance, and all other solemn covenants to which it becomes a party as instruments to accomplish the goal of world domain. The only difference they see between the victim state and a state contracting by treaty with them is a matter of time. That is, the time when the Kremlin decides it is opportune to take over and occupy the contracting party.

6. The Communists have left no doubt of their intention to destroy civilization as we know it and to replace it with a universal superstate controlled by a small elite class. Immediately upon the takeover of a nation they set into motion a campaign of total terror calculated to utterly destroy all the institutions, customs, beliefs, culture, and aspirations of the people of the victim nation. Their methods may differ slightly in various parts of the world, but the final objectives always remain the same.

That is by no means the complete record. It is no more than a few selected items on which the recorded evidence is overwhelmingly conclusive.

All these things Lenin said must be done if communism was to triumph throughout the world. The evil legacy of Lenin has been diligently nurtured by his successors in the Kremlin.

Now, against that background I would like to review with you some of the issues which now confront our free society.

Let's take the prospect of peaceful coexistence between communism and the free world, an old-fashioned beartrap which the Kremlin recently revived from the archives of Lenin and is now enthusiastically promoting. Most of what now emanates from Moscow is dressed up in garments of sweetness and light. The new master—Krushchev—is described as just a boy from across the railroad tracks who, like Frank Merriwell, has made good and now wants to be accepted by polite society.

Tempting offers of trade, new markets, and lush profits accompany this latest siren song. The Kremlin is even trying to dignify its Iron Curtain by inviting carefully selected groups from the free world to take better-conducted tours of its empire.

Since there has been no change in Communist doctrine and the objectives of Lenin remain as the guideposts of conduct, commonsense dictates that we ask what causes this sudden change in tactics on the part of the Kremlin. From reliable evidence at hand it appears the Communists need time to consolidate their slave empire, to stamp out all forms of resistance, to prepare a new civilization devoid of morality and responsive to the will of the dictator, and to gain nuclear parity with the free world.

The Russian bear has developed a wide assortment of camouflages but his strangling embrace has been the same for centuries.

Are we likely to plunge the world into total war if we dare to take positive and overt action against the Communist conspiracy? This question has been magnified and put to the American people in a wide variety of ways. We have been advised by no less a personality than George Kennan, a Russian expert, and former diplomat, that our best interests would be served: "If we all sit quietly in our little boat and address ourselves to the process of navigation I doubt that it will tip over; but if we all leap up from our seats and go rushing around grabbing ourselves by the lapels and screaming 'Why don't you do something about it?' we will be on the surest way to making it capsize."

What Mr. Kennan fails to understand is that the little boat he speaks about is really not little at all because it holds a great civilization and before any captain of state concerns himself with navigation he makes sure the powerplant to propel the boat through stormy seas is in good working order. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from his advice is that we must follow a do-nothing policy and that by locking ourselves and our moral and political ideals in a vacuum the threat to our civilization will somehow subside.

This same type of expert is always ready with the gratuitous advice that these are days for calmness and unlimited patience and that anyone who suggests positive action is a dangerous firebrand or a hothead. In this connection it is interesting to note that Khrushchev recently branded those who opposed his version of peaceful coexistence as hotheads. Here we have repeated, though in slightly different form, the theory that studious passivity is the formula for survival against the warfare communism has launched against us.

But here, again, the official record is clear that there will not be a hot war until the Russians are convinced they have a 50–50 chance of winning it. Make no mistake, however, once the Russians think they have an even chance of winning they will not hesitate to undertake a sneak, and possibly fatal, attack on the United States.

It has also been said that preventive war was the only alternative course of action to accepting the Russian trap of peaceful coexistence. This dangerous oversimplification has created false assumptions that the people of the United States would no longer stand up for what is right and that our philosophy was peace at any price.

This specious argument is calculated to break our national morale and weaken our will to fight—when fight we must.

Then there are those who shamelessly state that the heroic ideals and dreams of wonderful accomplishments which brought us greatness among the powers of the earth are nothing more than American myths. They subtly tell us that in the America of our day there is no room for ideals or dreams—the substance that real men are made of.

These same spoiled children, products of a hothouse culture, tell us that we stand on the threshold of a breathtaking new era if we will calmly adjust ourselves to the realities of life with communism. They boldly promise that somehow we will emerge from this tryst with evil as a new and better civilization. There is a striking similarity between these politically immature observations and the theoretical writings of Lenin.

Recently Winston Churchill raised a question which the more timid of men have been avoiding for some long time. While we may sharply disagree with him on some matters we consider vital, we must admit there are times when he demonstrates a genius of leadership, such as that expressed in his stirring speech at Fulton, Mo., in 1946.

You will recall that he gave us the phrase "Iron Curtain" in that address, which shocked some people, but which since has been recognized as an accurate description of what the Communists have done to a large segment of mankind.

During the course of a parliamentary challenge a few days ago on nuclear weapons and their possible use, he stated that the free world still had a decisive superiority over the Russians in types, destructive power, and ability to deliver. It was his opinion that this favorable balance was all that prevented the Russians from assaulting the last ramparts of our civilization. He estimated we might be able to keep this superiority for a period of 3 to 5 years, possibly less. Then we would likely enter a new era of nuclear parity in which the Russians would launch an allout campaign of diplomacy by ultimatum. By this brilliant analysis he sought to awaken us—to give us vigor and determination to make the best possible use of the few years of free action we may have left.

Some observers in looking foward to the so-called era of nuclear parity suggest the hope that both sides—the Communist and the free—will be frightened into an era of peace by fear of the terrible destructive power of these new weapons. There is little prospect of realizing this hope because it neglects to take into account that in the era of nuclear parity it is quite possible for the one who strikes first to so impair and demoralize his victim as to make retaliation of little or no consequence. There is nothing in the record of communism to indicate the Kremlin has any respect for human life or fear of destroying an entire civilization.

Lenin once said, "Three-quarters of mankind must die if necessary to ensure the other quarter for communism." Any schoolboy can understand the meaning of that order given by Lenin to those who were to follow him. The inheritors of his legacy have never deviated from the basic doctrines. It would be sheer stupidity for us to believe they would hesitate to use any means to attain their goal of a new world order.

The basic issue confronting all Americans today is how shall we best use those 3 to 5 years, possibly less, which we still have before the Russians acquire nuclear parity? There are many suggestions and plans offered up on this question in addition to what is already being done by the Government, but I believe we must first accomplish these very elementary steps:

1. We must clearly identify the enemy, his objectives, tactics, and operating organs. Know thy enemy is a prime requisite for any successful defense. We must then unmask the enemy.

2. We must recognize that communism is engaged in constant warfare against our civilization, leaving no course open to us but to destroy it or be destroyed by it. This is not our choice but a course forced upon us by the moral duties of our station.

3. We must have the courage to admit we as a Nation have been taken in by Communist tactics, that some of our most sophisticated citizenry have been its unwitting allies and that commonsense impels us to declare a public amnesty for those who knew no better or knowing have since learned what terrible fools they were. Such an amnesty would be aimed at eliminating attitudes which defend communism and causing all future public apologists for its cause to stand alone in their folly. It would not serve as an escape hatch for those who remain the hired hands of the conspiracy.

4. We must rededicate ourselves to the moral and political principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence and establish beyond any doubt in the minds of all people on both sides of the Iron Curtain that these same principles, without exception or reservation, govern our intentions toward all the nations and people of the world. We must reject the reactionary theory which holds that there is no morality or legality in the conduct of relations between nations.

5. We must learn to take better advantage of the means of communicating our ideals and intentions to the people of the world. For some time we have been in agreement that truth is the most powerful weapon in the arsenal of democracy. While we possess this weapon and all the means of communicating it to every quarter of the globe, we have not brought ourselves around to fully using these assets. The enemy disdains the truth but he makes maximum use of all means of communication to spread fear, uncertainty, suspicion, and unrest. The Congress should create a joint committee on United States overseas information programs and thus take the lead in fully utilizing our most powerful weapon.

If we can accomplish these fundamental steps we will have cleared the decks of some ugly debris as well as some excess equipment that has never been tested under fire. We will then be in a position to launch a bipartisan political offensive against the criminal conspiracy of communism and on behalf of the nations and people now enslaved by it.

Such a program could not fail because it would appeal to the most powerful force God has put on this earth—man's right to and desire for personal liberty. Such a program is the only one which gives us reasonable hope of avoiding all-out war.

The few years of free action we still have left might well be regarded as a period of probation imposed upon us by God. It could well be that extra, second chance that he seems to have reserved for us in time of crisis. It may well be our last real chance to prevent the holocaust of nuclear warfare which could destroy civilization as we know it. If we fail to rise up with all our strength to meet this challenge we will have betrayed St. Patrick and all his beloved teachings.

Who among us would want to be guilty of such an unbelievable crime?

Congressional Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I recently had occasion to make some critical remarks concerning a news story which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald under the credit line of the Associated Press.

Following my observation on the "coloring" of the piece I received a letter from Mr. W. J. Beale, Jr., chief of bureau of the Associated Press.

Obviously the Washington Post and Times Herald edited the original of the Associated Press story to its own convenience and, of course, wrote its own headline.

In order to be fair on the subject, I am enclosing the letter which Mr. Beale wrote me as well as the complete text of the story which the Washington Post and Times Herald did not print. They follow:

MARCH 8, 1955.

The Honorable F. EDWARD HÉBERT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HÉBERT: I have noted your extension of remarks in yesterday's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD relating to Bill Abrogast's story about congressional pensions.

A full copy of that story is enclosed. I believe you will find it makes all the points you raised. The ninth paragraph is based on Public Law 303, 83d Congress, making $12,555 the lowest salary for purposes of retirement pay.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

W. L. BEALE, Jr.,
Chief of Bureau, the Associated Press.

CONGRESS PENSIONS

(By William F. Arbogast)

WASHINGTON, March 3.—The $7,500 annual pay raise Congress voted its Members this year adds $5,625 a year to maximum congressional pension benefits.

The maximum payment goes only to those who complete 30 years or more of congressional service. To qualify for the new top pension of $16,875 a year, a Member would have to serve 30 years under the new pay scale.

Pension payments to Congressmen are based on average annual salary during a Member's tenure in office, with a limit of 75 percent of full pay.

President Eisenhower signed into law yesterday a bill raising Congress Members' salaries from $15,000 to $22,500 a year as of March 1.

The top pension any Member could draw under the salary scale in effect when the present Congress convened was $11,250.

Pension payments are at the rate of 2½ percent of average pay multiplied by the number of years of service.

Contributions to the pension fund also will increase as a result of the pay raise, since Members pay 6 percent of their salary into the fund. Participation is voluntary.

Newer Members of Congress stand to benefit most from the pay raise, since their pension base, or salary average, will be computed at the new and larger figure. Older Mem-

bers, however, will receive substantial benefits, since their average salary will be boosted for pension purposes.

The pension law disregards congressional salaries paid prior to 1946, when salary was boosted from $10,000 to $12,500 annually. Subsequently, Congress voted to include a former $2,500 expense allowance as part of the pension base starting in 1953, in effect making the base pay $15,000.

A Congressman who first came to Washington in 1946 will, if he remains in office 30 years, be eligible for a maximum pension payment of approximately $15,000 annually when he retires, if there are no future pay raises. That is 75 percent of his average annual pay of approximately $20,000 during his tenure.

Without the pay boost made effective this week, the same Member would have drawn a pension of approximately $11,000 after 30 years.

Members retiring or defeated before they serve 30 years draw pensions based on their years in office, with a minimum of 6 years of service required.

No pensions are paid below the age of 60 and to receive the maximum benefit participants must wait until age 62.

The pension plan provides for the same survivorship benefits—for widows or other dependents—that have long been a part of the Federal Civil Service retirement system.

For purposes of determining the amount of pension of a retired or defeated Member, all service in the Federal Government, whether continuous or interrupted, is counted. A defeated Congressman may count as part of his service any time he was employed by a Government agency, either before or after coming to Congress. He also receives pension credit for military service up to 5 years, even though his military service was prior to his election to Congress.

Democratic Plea for $20 Tax Cut Seen Helping Cause of GOP in 1956, Winning Many Small Investors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am inserting in the RECORD the following article by David Lawrence, which appeared in the Washington Star on March 16. It makes sense. When any political party attempts to make political capital for itself at the expense of the country's stability, it is certain to suffer at the polls. That political party which follows the course which best serves the interests of the country as a whole, putting country above any group and seeking special favor from none, is certain to win the support of the majority of the American people.

DEMOCRATIC PLEA FOR $20 TAX CUT SEEN HELPING CAUSE OF GOP IN 1956, WINNING MANY SMALL INVESTORS

Maybe the Republican Party is as weak, on account of internal friction, as Vice President NIXON says it is, but even so he may be proved wrong about the ability of the party to win in 1956 should President Eisenhower decide not to run.

For the truth is the Democrats are unwittingly engaged in building up such a nationwide fear of their party that almost any Republican nominee may be able to poll a victory next year.

The Democrats are giving about the worst possible example of public relations from their own viewpoint—how to alienate the very group of voters most needed by them to win a Presidential election.

The so-called low-income groups have always, for the most part, been registered on the Democratic side. Elections are won in America today by mobilizing the maximum number of independent voters who are concerned with the conservation of their savings and their jobs.

While the damagogs on the radical Democratic side spend their time trying to undermine confidence in the stock market and crying out about the removal of double taxes on dividends, they overlook the vast number of voters who have invested their money and now see their savings hurt in value by the Democratic propaganda campaign.

Homeowners and carowners of today are deeply interested in property rights. They have far more sense than the Democratic orators credit them with having. The idea that a $20 tax cut, for example, would win all the low- and middle-income groups is fallacious, as there are other factors far more important to them at work. To assume that the large body of independent voters who swing the balance of power would be ensnared by any such obvious bait is to underestimate the intelligence of a large segment of voters.

The mistake which the Democrats are making is to give the impression that, if they get in power, they will destroy American business initiative and that they will favor tax legislation virtually sabotaging the American industrial structure.

The nature of the speeches of attack made in Congress by the Democrats is well understood by the independent voters, who know that the derisive talk about the favors to "dividend boys" happens to strike hard at many millions of men and women who have invested a small amount of savings in stocks and who depende on dividends, directly and indirectly.

The Democratic spokesmen have set out to discourage the creation of jobs—at least that's the impact their remarks make on businessmen. The Democrats are back to the leaf-raking days of the 1930's, when they talked about the Government doles to increase purchasing power. Fortunately, the American people today are more investment-minded than this and will not accept the idea that prosperity can be achieved by bigger and bigger deficits in the Treasury.

If the Democratic Party keeps on frightening the property owners of the country, it will be a long time before the Democrats will win another natoinal election. Back in 1893, when the panic came, the voters made up their minds that the Democratic Party was unsound on money matters, and from 1896 to 1912 the Republicans won every presidential election on a platform of sound money. The Democrats will have to meet such attacks again, because the purchasing power of the dollar diminished considerably when they were in office. Here is what Senator BYRD, conservative Democrat, says on this point:

"When public debt is not paid off in taxes, liquidation takes the form of disastrous inflation or national repudiation. Our form of Government cannot survive either.

"The continuing toboggan of the purchasing power of our dollar which, through the year just ended, has dropped more than 25 percent since the end of World War II, demonstrates our progress alnog this primrose path. * * * Our taxes are burdensome, but we would merely increase the burden by borrowing money to reduce them."

The conservative Democrats unfortunately are few in number, as is shown by the latest vote in the Senate rejecting the $20 tax cut. The radical leadership in both Houses on the Democratic side has accepted the same unsound doctrines which made the words Democratic Party a bogeyman among voters for many generations of American history.

Mr. NIXON needn't be so pessimistic. Just as Harry Truman helped elect the Republicans in 1952, so, according to present indications, will the Democratic majority in Congress help the Republicans win in 1956. For when any political party generates fear and begins to tinker with the delicate mechanism of the dollar, it takes a risk of defeat at the polls.

Air National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, on Monday last, March 14, I called the attention of the distinguished Members of this House to H. R. 4890, a bill I had introduced to extend to members of the Air National Guard and their survivors certain benefits presently available to members of other Reserve components of the Armed Forces and their survivors. My remarks at that time explaining this legislation were more or less general in nature and were for the purpose of drawing the attention of my colleagues to the existing discrimination against a small group of Reserve fliers. Since the introduction of H. R. 4890, a surprising number of groups and individuals have expressed their interest in this bill and made inquiries which suggest the need for more specific and technical information. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I have asked permission to further extend my remarks in order to include the following comparison which points out the obvious discrepancies in benefits now existent between the Air National Guard and the Air Force Reserve, bearing in mind that the Air National Guard units of our country are, for all practical purposes, an important part of the Air Force Reserve program.

Under existing law, members of the Air National Guard units are eligible for Veterans' Administration benefits only. To make the glaring inequities more apparent, let us take the hypothetical case of a member of the Air Force Reserve with the rank of colonel having accrued 30 years' service. If deceased during wartime, his widow would receive 40 percent of base pay or $290.47 per month, and, in addition, 15 percent for each dependent up to 75 percent of base pay or $544.64 per month. The widow of the same officer, mind you, if a member of an Air National Guard unit and deceased under identical conditions and while in performance of identical duties, would receive only $87 per month with no dependents or $121 per month with

one dependent plus $29 for each additional minor dependent.

It seems only fair and right that since the Air National Guard and the Air Force Reserve are to all intents and purposes the same, that survivor benefits should be the same.

COMPARISON OF BENEFITS

AIR RESERVISTS ON ACTIVE DUTY

Under Federal Employees Compensation Act

Death benefits of basic salary to widow until death or remarriage.

Widow with dependents, 40 percent plus 15 percent each dependent up to 75 percent of salary, dependents' allotment terminates at 18 years of age. Also for totally dependent parents, if only one, 25 percent; if both dependent, 20 percent each.

If disabled and subject has dependents receives up to 75 percent of base salary depending on degree of disability. Final determination is the sole prerogative of the Bureau of Employees Compensation.

AIR NATIONAL GUARD

Under Veterans Administration

If subject deceased during wartime, widow received flat $87 per month if she has no children; $121 per month with one child, plus $29 each additional child. Dependent's allotment ceases at 18 years of age unless totally disabled or attending school, in which case allotment continues until 21 years of age.

If subject deceased during peacetime, widow receives $69.60 per month; with one child, $96.80 per month, plus $23.20 each additional minor dependent. Dependency terminates same as war conditions.

If subject disabled, benefits depend on degree of disability not to exceed death benefit.

All benefits to widow cease in case of remarriage or death.

House Resolution 151

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, I thank you and all the Members of this great legislative body for approving and granting my request for unanimous consent to put in place the following in our daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Herewith is the text of Doyle House Resolution 151, which resolution was several days ago authorized by the House Rules Committee to come to the floor of the House, and I am informed that it will shortly do so.

I insert the text and the following editorials about it for the information of all concerned as it appears to me, for the present, that these editorials are informative and also indicative. I trust the insertion of the resolution text, together with these editorials will prove helpful.

House Resolution 151

Resolved, That rule XI (25) (a) of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended to read:

"25. (a) The Rules of the House are the rules of its committees so far as possible, except that a motion to recess from day to day is a motion of high privilege in committees. Committees may adopt additional rules not inconsistent therewith."

SEC. 2. Rule XI (25) is further amended by adding at the end thereof:

"(h) Each committee may fix the number of its members to constitute a quorum for taking testimony and receiving evidence, which shall be not less than two.

"(i) The chairman at an investigative hearing shall announce in an opening statement the subject of the investigation.

"(j) A copy of the committee rules, if any, and paragraph 25 of rule XI of the House of Representatives shall be made available to the witness.

"(k) Witnesses may be accompanied by their own counsel for the purpose of advising them concerning their constitutional rights.

"(l) The chairman may punish breaches of order and decorum, and of professional ethics on the part of counsel, by censure and exclusion from the hearings; and the committee may cite the offender to the House for contempt.

"(m) If the committee determines that evidence or testimony at an investigative hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall—

"(1) receive such evidence or testimony in executive session;

"(2) afford such person an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness; and

"(3) receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpena additional witnesses.

"(n) Except as provided in paragraph (m), the chairman shall receive and the committee shall dispose of requests to subpena additional witnesses.

"(o) No evidence or testimony taken in executive session may be released or used in public sessions without the consent of the committee.

"(p) In the discretion of the committee, witnesses may submit brief and pertinent sworn statements in writing for inclusion in the record. The committee is the sole judge of the pertinency of testimony and evidence adduced at its hearing.

"(q) Upon payment of the cost thereof, a witness may obtain a transcript copy of his testimony given at a public session or, if given at an executive session, when authorized by the committee."

[From the New York Times of March 9, 1955]

A CODE FOR INVESTIGATIONS

The excesses of some notorious congressional investigating committees have for years made it incumbent on both Houses of Congress to adopt general rules of procedure that would curb the worst of the abuses.

Congress is, in the last analysis, responsible for the conduct of its Members; and there is no doubt at all that the conduct of some of them, acting in their official capacity as investigators—or, more accurately, as inquisitors—has deeply reflected on the prestige and the dignity of the Congress and thereby done injury to our democratic institutions. This feeling took tangible form in a well-merited censure resolution against one Senator last fall. But the problem of establishing in each House a clearly defined minimum standard for congressional investigations remained.

Individual committees of both House and Senate have at various times adopted admirable codes for themselves, but what has been needed is a general expression representing the collective thought of each. The House Rules Committee has at last taken definite action in this regard. The resolution by Representative DOYLE, Democrat, of California, which it approved without dissent yesterday, represents no more than the predicted minimum; but if that minimum is adhered to some of the worst abuses that have tended to give congressional investigations a bad name may be eliminated. The reforms are generally intended to give committee witnesses a little more protection than they have sometimes had in the past. This is doing nothing more sensational than treating them in accordance with our constitutional tradition; but that, too, has not always been adhered to in the past.

Under the Doyle resolution each committee of the House would still have the right to draw up its own rules, but they would have to be not inconsistent with the guide set forth by the Rules Committee. Anyone familiar with congressional practice will realize at once that this code is not going to guarantee fairness to witnesses, because a committee chairman retains great power, and rules can always be ignored or broken. But what it can and probably will do will be to act as a valuable restraint on chairmen and their committees; it will make them think twice about abusing their powers; and it will stand as the conscience of the House, by which their conduct will be judged. This would be a useful innovation.

We hope the resolution is approved by the House and that one certainly no milder will also eventually be accepted by the Senate.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, of March 14, 1955]

AIMED AT INQUISITIONS

The House Rules Committee has made a good start toward curbing irresponsible investigating committees. The proposed code of fair procedure it has recommended to the House is by no means complete, and some of its provisions would be wide open to evasion. But at least it nails down a few simple rules that would be of value in keeping the more reckless investigators in line. Witnesses could stil be mistreated, but they would have better grounds for protest and the House itself would become responsible for enforcement of the rules of fair play.

The Rules Committee did not attempt to bring all House committees into conformity with a single set of regulations. Rather, it set up a few minimum requirements that all committees would have to incorporate in their own rules. Each committee would be free, for example, to fix the number of members required for taking testimony, except that this could not be fewer than two. Thus one-man hearings would be ended. The chairman would have to state the subject of the investigation and provide each witness with a copy of the rules. Witnesses could be accompanied by counsel, although the counsel would be limited to advising the witness as to his constitutional rights.

Several other devices would give at least qualified aid to witnesses under suspicion. Their testimony would be taken first in executive session; they could appear voluntarily as witnesses; they could ask the committee to summon witnesses in their behalf, although this would be solely within the discretion of the committee. Similarly witnesses could submit sworn statements for the record, but these would be included only at the discretion of the committee. No right of cross-examination would be granted; nor would the right of silence be recognized when the committee fished for information beyond the proper scope of its inquiry. Evidence taken behind closed doors would not be released or used in public sessions without the consent of the committee, but nothing is said about leaks.

With all its shortcomings, the proposed code is a valuable contribution to the cause of responsible investigation. We hope the House will adopt it, with improvements on the floor if possible, and that this example will stimulate the Senate into action in the same cause. No rules can change a witch hunter or a smear artist into a scrupulous factfinder, but rules help to make investigators more conscious of the public demand for fair play. Careful selection of investi-

gating chairman, along with stiff rules at both ends of the Capitol, could help bring the disgrace of congressional inquisitions to a timely end.

[From the Washington Sunday Star of March 13, 1955]

BETTER BREAK FOR WITNESSES

The House Rules Committee has done a constructive day's work in reporting out the resolution submitted by Representative DOYLE, Democrat, of California.

This resolution proposes a variety of safeguards for the benefit of witnesses appearing before congressional committees. No set rules or regulations will prevent all abuse of witnesses, for this is a matter which is governed in considerable degree by the attitudes, the taste for fair or unfair play, of individual Congressmen. But Mr. DOYLE'S proposals, if adopted, should curb the worst abuses, especially the one-man inquisitions of recent memory. It is to be hoped that the House will enact the proposals now before it, and that the Senate will take comparable action.

Mr. Speaker, the three foregoing editorials, which I have herein identified are but a few of a goodly number which have appeared in various places in the Nation, I am informed, in support of the objectives of House Resolution 151. I recite this information as it further indicates public interest in, and approval of same.

I desire to also state that the final text thereof is not the "brain child" of only myself. For, some of the distinguished members of this great legislative body who also worked strenuously and consistently with me to conclude a text which it was believed would be sound, reasonable and constructive, and yet not unnecessarily elaborate, or which would in any way interfere with the jurisdiction of each investigative committee, on its own behalf to write its own rules of procedure, were Messrs. WALTER of Pennsylvania, WILLIS of Louisiana, DAWSON of Illinois, and FORRESTER of Georgia. Also, we had the great benefit of counsel with, and material aid, by our distinguished Parliamentarian, Mr. Deschler. As to the final drafting thereof, we were greatly assisted by Mr. Charles J. Zenn, of the House Judiciary Committee.

I think it should be emphasized that a careful reading of the text of the above resolution will make it clear that it only applies to an investigative hearing. In the resolution see section 2, rule 11, subdivision (h), (i), and (m). Also please note, as provided in section 25, as follows: "Committees may adopt additional rules not inconsistent therewith."

On behalf of myself and colleagues herein named, I desire to herein express appreciation to all the members of the House Rules Committee for their most courteous and full consideration of the subject matter of my resolution and of the other similar resolutions which were considered by said committee. I consider my attendance upon the Rules Committee when they were considering the several resolutions dealing with code of procedures and ethics for investigative committees as one of the most pleasant experiences and sources of information which I have experienced during these more than 8 years I have already been a member of this great legislative body.

Federal Inspection Urgently Needed in United States Poultry Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the March 16, 1955, issue of the Belleville (Ill.) News-Democrat, which points to the need for thorough inspection of poultry before it reaches the dinner table.

I have called attention to the deplorable and shocking conditions in a segment of the poultry industry by reading published sworn affidavits by poultry workers into the RECORD. I have introduced a resolution calling for a full-scale congressional investigation.

The editorial "Sick Chicken for Dinner," which follows, supports my resolution. I earnestly appeal to my colleagues for their support and call upon the Rules Committee to approve the investigation so that proper legislation may result to correct the conditions so serious to the consumer.

The editorial from the News-Democrat follows:

SICK CHICKEN FOR DINNER

Pure food for American consumers is a legitimate concern of Government, and the measures it takes to make sure that certain foods are fit for human consumption are well founded. A serious fault of the present program, however, is that it does not reach far enough.

Notable lapses of jurisdiction occur in the butchering industry. Consumers are able to buy with confidence of quality in grade those carcasses of beef, pork, mutton, and other meats and meat products which bear the United States inspector's seal. The inspection begins when the animals are delivered to the stockyards and continue throughout the packing process until the final stage has been completed.

Yet even though poultry is a major food today there is no inspection at all in the poultry-packing business. It is urgently needed. So say the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, A. F. of L., in their new booklet, Congress Should Probe Sick and Diseased Poultry. The butchers union has intimate knowledge of prevailing conditions since 30,000 members are employed in the poultry industry.

Sanitary conditions in some poultry processing plants are absolutely abominable, and the volume of inferior, diseased, filthy, rotten, adulterated poultry unfit for human consumption that gets to market is appaling.

The poultry workers themselves have published sworn affidavits describing conditions in some of these uninspected plants. These affidavits assert that large quantities of poultry in advanced stages of disease and in the most revolting condition are slaughtered and processed—even birds which are already decomposing are packed and shipped out to unsuspecting consumers.

Officials of the United States Public Health Service have stated that "anyone who has observed poultry plant operations from a public health point of view does not have to be convinced of the need for poultry inspection programs."

The March issue of Consumer Reports declares that it is well established by health authorities that certain poultry diseases are transmissible to man. * * * Among these are psitticosis (parrot fever), which has been traced to turkeys, and a virus infection known as Newcastle disease. In addition there are a large number of disease-causing organisms common to man and poultry; of these, the Salmonella group of bacteria, which causes infections similar to paratyphoid or typhoid fever, are of the greatest concern to public health officers.

Every year thousands of cases of food-borne disease can be traced to poultry and poultry dishes.

The situation stinks to high heaven. Obviously, something needs to be done about it, and quickly. Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, and Congressman MELVIN PRICE, of our district, have introduced resolutions in the respective Chambers calling for a full-scale congressional investigation. Thorough airing of the poultry packing business would be wholesome in more ways than one.

Murphy General Hospital, Waltham, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, RESOLUTIONS

Whereas the closing of the Murphy General Hospital in Waltham, Mass., is scheduled at the close of the current fiscal year and no new patients will be admitted whose treatment cannot be completed by April 30, 1955; and

Whereas this is the only general Army hospital in the New England area and is of semipermanent type construction as opposed to the frame structure of the hospitals at most Army installations; and

Whereas needed medical and surgical treatment is available for both reserve and active members of the Army, as well as the Air Force and Navy personnel, and, perhaps even more important, to the dependents of such members of the Armed Forces; and

Whereas the closing of this hospital will work an undue and severe hardship on many such members of the Armed Forces and their dependents from New Hampshire as well as other New England States; and

Whereas operation of this hospital with the possible addition of an organized program of medical research and training could prove most valuable to the armed services and would insure the continuance of these necessary facilities: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the New Hampshire General Court request the members of the New Hampshire congressional delegation to study carefully all factors involved in the proposed closing of the Murphy General Hospital, with special attention to the effect of the addition of the aforementioned research and training program; and be it further

Resolved, That with due regard to ecomony and efficient operation, every reasonable effort be directed toward retaining the vital medical and surgical care now available; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to each Member of the New Hampshire congressional delegation.

CHARLES GRIFFIN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
RICHMOND H. SKINNER,
Representative from Alton.
ROBERT L. STARK,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

The Future Direction of the Refugee Relief Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a transcript of a news analysis given over CBS radio on March 12, 1955, by the noted news commentator, Mr. Daniel Schorr.

Mr. Schorr's comments on the delays and confusion surrounding the administration of the Rufugee Relief Act deserve the attention of every American concerned with our overall immigration policies.

There being no objection, the commentary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We would like now to look at one item of news which is not in today's headlines. While Secretary of State Dulles traveled in Asia and wrestled with the terrifying problem of war or peace in the Far East, a number of minor problems accumulated on his desk. One of these, on which he will have to decide soon, is the future direction of the refugee relief program, so far something less than a brilliant success.

When President Eisenhower appealed to Congress, after the expiration of the Displaced Persons Act, to let him bring in some more refugees, in order to maintain our democratic posture in the world and to give hope of a haven to some of those we have tacitly encouraged to escape from behind the Iron Curtain, Congress responded hesitantly. It authorized a quota of 209,000 until the end of 1956, but laid down so many restrictions, such rigid categories, so much redtape, as to inhibit the program it enacted. And, symbolic of the prevailing mood, Congress directed that the program be administered by the Chief of the State Department Security and Consular Bureau, Scott McLeod. President Eisenhower is reported to have said that if he had to administer such an unworkable program, he would resign. And McLeod himself has said, as a rueful joke, that if he knew who was responsible for assigning the job to him, McLeod would have him assassinated.

The program got off to a halting start. It was difficult to get the necessary advance assurances of jobs and housing for each refugee. Those who escaped from behind the Iron Curtain without their possessions frequently could not furnish the required documents.

And worst of all were the requirements for security clearance which, by McLeod's reckoning, take 42 of the average 126 days needed to get a visa. Relatively few visas have so far been issued, and while the program is speeding up, it is doubtful, the way things are going, that all 209,000 can be issued by the deadline of December 31, 1956. Private refugee-aid agencies—mainly operated by religious organizations—whose cooperation is essential to the program, are dissatisfied, and some have threatened to withdraw their support.

In this situation, Secretary Dulles last January caled in a troubleshooter, former Immigration Commissioner Edward J. Corsi of New York, made him a personal assistant to the Secretary and also deputy administrator to Scott McLeod, a kind of confusing bureaucratic compromise of the sort common in Washington. Corsi soon concluded that if the program was to work, it would have to be detached from the security and consular divisions of the State Department. Security officers are mainly concerned with avoiding risks, not with opening our gates. In short, the issue was whether to keep out all foreigners, except the certified simon pure, or to get refugees in, except the really suspect.

Corsi has now summed up his recommendations in a memorandum to Dulles—a memorandum which, incidentally, went directly to Dulles' desk, with only an informational copy to McLeod.

But now Corsi himself has become a controversial figure—a controversy which, some suspect, has some connection with the issue he personifies. Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, whose restrictive McCarran-Walter Immigration Act Corsi opposed, has accused him of serving in an organization, later listed as subversive, which Corsi has denied. And McLeod, whom Corsi, according to Representative EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, was supposed to be easing out of the refugee post, has asked the FBI for a full field check on Corsi before granting him security clearance for his post.

On January 16, the day he was sworn in, Corsi told an interviewer, "I am very liberal and my record may be a little dangerous at times." He was speaking half-jokingly, but he has since found out that this was no joke. There's a kind of irony in the fact that the man who believes security considerations play too much part in our refugee program is himself now the subject of a security investigation.

But, behind the controversy over Corsi, is the underlying issue of whether the refugee program will be controlled by those intent on bringing 209,000 refugees to our shores, or those more concerned with rigid security considerations. Yesterday, McLeod told a Senate subcommittee, speaking of State Department personnel, that he would not hesitate to hire a security risk if he was the only person available for a necessary job. He said, "Our policy is not to be so secure that we can't get the job done." Whether the same policy—not to be so secure that we don't get the job done—applied also to the refugee program remains to be seen. It may have to be decided by Secretary Dulles.

College and University Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, a few days ago the 10th National Conference on Higher Education, a part of the National Education Association, adopted certain resolutions relating to title IV of the 1950 Housing Act, a title which provides assistance for college housing.

I may say, Mr. President, with some pride, that I was the author of that title of the Housing Act.

In the main, Mr. President, I agree with these resolutions. Particularly do I agree with the disapproval of the recommendation of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government that the college housing loan program be discontinued.

This program is self-liquidating and is serving a vital purpose in helping to provide needed housing for GI's and others who are attempting to obtain college training.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the resolutions and other information supplied by the National Education Association be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution and memorandum were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY 10TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION, CHICAGO, ILL., MARCH 2, 1955

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY HOUSING

Whereas the present housing facilities on college and university campuses are entirely inadequate for present and anticipated enrollments despite the welcome assistance already given by the College Housing Program, title IV of the Housing Act of 1950 (Public Law 475, 81st Cong.); and

Whereas the regulations under which title IV of the Housing Act, 1950, now operates prevent the program from being fully practical for self-liquidating projects: Be it

Resolved, That the 10th National Conference on Higher Education recommend a modification of the regulations governing the use of the funds by providing for the lowest interest rates consistent with the original act; reducing the reserve fund requirement to the lowest reasonable level; and by making available as soon as possible the full amount of the funds provided under the act; and

Whereas the 1953 amendment to title IV of the Housing Act of 1950 gives discretionary power to the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to change the interest rate, thus introducing further elements of uncertainty for the colleges in the effective operation of the law: Be it

Resolved, That the 10th National Conference on Higher Education recommend that title IV of the Housing Act of 1950, as amended, be further amended to withdraw the discretionary power of the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to change the interest rate.

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY FACILITIES FOR AUXILIARY SERVICES OTHER THAN HOUSING

Whereas the existing facilities for auxiliary services other than housing on college and university campuses fall far short of meeting the needs of present and anticipated enrollments; and

Whereas facilities for auxiliary enterprises of colleges and universities may be of a self-liquidating nature: Be it

Resolved, That the 10th National Conference on Higher Education urge amendment of title IV of the Housing Act, 1950, to include financing the construction and equipment of facilities for auxiliary services other than housing on college and university campuses.

HOOVER GROUP DISAGREES WITH EDUCATORS

(Article carried in March 1 and 15, 1955, College and University Bulletin, vol. 7, Nos. 10 and 11, published by Association for Higher Education, National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D. C.)

That the Federal college housing loans should be completely terminated was 1 of

the 48 recommendations made in the report of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, a 12-member body headed by former President Hoover, prepared for Congress.

The report is the fourth in a series of 20 to be prepared for Congress by the Commission. To date this report has brought the greatest difference in opinion from Commission members. As a matter of fact, 5 of the 12 members dissented from the majority report on certain recommendations.

The participants of the AHE's 10th national conference on higher education, however, held in Chicago recently, adopted resolutions in support of the college housing loan program urging: (1) That the full amount of the funds provided under title IV of the Housing Act of 1950 be made available as soon as possible at the lowest interest rates consistent with the original act; and (2) that the act be expanded to include college and university facilities for self-liquidating projects other than housing. (The complete texts of the resolutions will be carried in the April 1 issué of CUB.)

The Hoover report says some puzzling things about loans to colleges for housing.

For example, on page 41, the Hoover Commission states that the interest rates are "only one-fourth percent higher than those of long-term Government bonds." Actually, the rates are substantially higher, following the 1953 amendment which gave discretionary power to raise rates to the Housing and Home Finance Administrator. In fact, a recommendation for the removal of this discretionary power is included in one of the conference resolutions.

Further, the Hoover Commission, in developing the conclusion that "this program is no longer necessary," states that on December 31, 1954, applications for only $16.3 million were pending; whereas inquiries by College and University Bulletin indicate that, at that time, applications for $47.6 million were on file. More requests have been added in 1955.

Within the next few weeks, it may be expected that the President, after receiving comments from all interested parties, including college administrators, will decide whether or not he will ask the Congress to terminate the college housing loan program.

St. Patrick's Day Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me last night at the Hotel Astor, New York, N. Y., before the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, your eminence, Mr. Mayor, distinguished guests, members and guests of the Friendly Sons:

We are here to pay our respects to St. Patrick. In his day, as every wearer of the green will recall and all others should be advised, he drove the snakes out of his beloved Ireland.

He used a stout stick for he understood that in dealing with snakes they would have been unimpressed by the use of either mere talk or discussion backed up with only a feather duster. Even a good stout shillelagh would not work if its value was neutralized by the lack of will to use it to meet the threat at hand.

Today the world faces the serpent of communism which has spread its venom on a worldwide scale.

The age in which St. Patrick lived was one in which ancient institutions were breaking down and confusion reigned in men's minds. The Roman Empire was disintegrating and with it the political structure of the civilized world. Christian civilization in north Africa was wiped out by the vandals. Because of the withdrawal of Roman troops, Britain, which had under Roman protection reached a high degree of civilized life, was left unprotected to the inroads of such marauders as the pagan band which carried Patrick off. Fear and uncertainty were everywhere in that chaotic time.

Into his part of that world Patrick brought two great and related ideas—faith and freedom.

He was first and foremost an apostle of the Christian faith. There were apparently Christians in Ireland before him, but he made the country dominantly Christian, and so throughly that Ireland became for the next 700 years a center of learning and a center of missionary activity. From Ireland missionaries went to Scotland, to northern and central Europe. Ireland was a kind of headquarters of culture and religion for western Europe.

At the time, and quite logically so, Patrick was an apostle of freedom. He had been a captive. Now he endeavored to make people free.

The story of St. Patrick is of peculiar relevance today. Fear and uncertainty reign in various places. Moreover, there is a great, powerful, and concerted attack on just the things for which St. Patrick stood.

Communism, which is stalking over the world today, is the denial of religious faith and at the same time the denial of human freedom. Communism is godless. It is also a system of slavery based on contempt for, and oppression of, the common man.

But there is that which will defeat communism. It is just the twofold vital quality which St. Patrick wielded as his weapon—faith in God and faith in human freedom. These are indestructible and while we cling to them we are indestructible too. This is the lesson of St. Patrick.

At the time of Yalta, just 10 years ago, less than 200 million people were behind the Communist Iron Curtain. Today, over 800 million people are enslaved by the most godless tyranny the world has ever known.

Despite the fact that the Soviet Union has violated its treaties of friendship and nonaggression with Finland, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the Republic of China there are still some simple souls who believe that the way to deal with an international bully is by more appeasement.

At Munich the world should have learned that the road to appeasement is not the road to peace, it is surrender on the installment plan.

The Soviet Union has vetoed the admission of 17 nations into the United Nations, none of which have committed an act of aggression since the formation of that organization 10 years ago. Significantly Ireland, Portugal, and Spain were all "honored" by the Soviet veto. Ireland first applied for membership in 1946 and the Soviet Union has vetoed their application, three different times though more than two-thirds of the General Assembly has voted to approve the membership.

The Soviet Union is an admitted violator of the United Nations charter and the resolutions in support of the Republic of Korea, a victim of Communist aggression on June 25, 1950. Yet now the Soviet Union is supporting the admission of the aggressor, Communist China, into that organization.

Such action would violate the moral foundation upon which the United Nations is supposed to rest. It would be putting a premium on aggression. It would serve notice that the quickest way to membership is by shooting your way in. It would be a betrayal of the 140,000 American casualties including 35,000 of our dead.

The Chinese Communists, in violation of the armistice, admit they hold 15 American airmen; 11 of these have been sentenced to Communist prisons. There is strong reason to believe they hold several hundred other United States and United Nations military prisoners. We know they hold over 30 American civilians who have been in jail for several years.

As long as one American in the armed services or in civilian life is unjustly held I shall not remain silent.

How can our associates even consider compromising principle and honor to that extent? What does the United Nations intend to do about it? What are the American people going to do about it?

Based alone on the Soviet Union's failure to support the United Nations action in Korea and to abide by its charter obligations the Soviet Union should have been expelled from membership.

Have we forgotten St. Paul's injunction in second Corinthians:

"Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion has light with darkness?"

As for me, as long as I have a voice and a vote in the Senate of the United States, I shall oppose the admission of Communist China.

We must always distinguish between the people of Russia and their Communist Kremlin masters. The Russian people were the first victims of the godless Marxian tyranny of Lenin and Stalin.

The struggle for power goes on in the Kremlin. The tactics may change with the faction temporarily in power. The long-term strategy for the destruction of human freedom continues throughout the world by Communist aggression from without or by subversion from within.

There will never be peace in our time in any real sense until the people of Russia and China have thrown out their Communist masters and established justice in their political system, freed their economy from the dead hand of statism concentrated on armament production and, more important than all, reopened their churches so that the guidance of the Father of us all may replace the godless teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin.

The crucifix is a more potent force than the clenched fist of Communism.

When the people of Russia and China gain their freedom from the tyranny which temporarily rules them we should make it known that our friendship and our assistance will be available for the establishment of peace with honor in a truly free world of freemen.

We seek not 1 foot of their territory nor control over a solitary one of their people.

We only want for them the cherished freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience; to have in the hands of a truly free people the right of self-determination on who shall constitute their government and the right to change it by the decision of 200 million people rather than a cabal of less than a dozen power-mad men in the Kremlin who threaten the peace of the world; and to be able to enjoy the

fruits of their labor and a rising standard of living.

We should look upon the people within the Iron Curtain as our friends and allies. Indeed, should their totalitarian masters embark upon further aggression the temporarily enslaved people may turn out to be among our stoutest allies.

Such a policy does not contemplate aggression on the part of the free world. But it does require that we never by word or deed give our moral or legal blessing to the enslavement of the 800 million people behind the Communist Iron Curtain.

Such a policy does contemplate the application of moral, economic, and diplomatic sanctions against the international Communist conspiracy against the free way of life. Human freedom is a God-given right beyond the power of dictatorships to permanently destroy.

It is difficult for me to understand how the British Foreign Minister could urge the turning over of Quemoy and Matsu Islands to the Communists on the grounds they are close to the Communist mainland and be silent about Hong Kong which is closer and would be an even bigger feather in their cap.

It may be clever, but it is not honorable to pay the ransom to the Communists with the other fellows assets. America should have no part of any such deal.

The United States and Ireland learned that people must be prepared to fight for freedom if they are to achieve it.

Another Patrick (Patrick Henry) on March 23, 1775 (about 4 years after the friendly sons was organized), in the Virginia Legislature said:

"Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God: I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

In his day Lincoln understood that this Nation could not continue "half slave and half free." In the age of the airplane and the atomic and hydrogen weapons the world cannot long continue half slave and half free.

In 1865 at his second inaugural Lincoln expanded this doctrine when he said:

"Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history * * * we here have the power and bear the responsibility * * * in giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free. We shall nobly save or we shall meanly lose this last best hope of earth."

This I believe: Under the divine guidance that made us and kept us a free Nation this generation of Americans will not sacrifice principle for expediency; nor cringe in the face of brutal naked aggression and we will not barter friends and allies in the Western Hemisphere, in Europe, Africa or Asia in a dishonorable appeasement at a far eastern Munich or a second Yalta.

Civilian Conservation Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I herewith include a letter I have received from the secretary of the Cahokia Nature League in East St. Louis, Ill. Mr. J. W. Galbreath points out the apprehensions of the Cahokia Nature League, which are shared by all citizens interested in the conservation of our national resources, with regard to the disposition of many of our renewable resources.

The contents of the following letter should be heeded by all Members of Congress, and it is my hope that Congress will recognize the importance of acting to preserve and beautify the millions of acres of land which constitute our national resources:

THE CAHOKIA NATURE LEAGUE,
East St. Louis, Ill.

Hon. MELVIN PRICE,
Congressman, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PRICE: We wish to congratulate you on your recent stand on several bills pertaining to the conservation of our national resources.

We of the Cahokia Nature League are greatly perturbed concerning the disposition of many of our renewable resources; our water, our soils, our forests, and our wildlife. It seems that we have billions for defense from without but only pennies to save our beloved national parks and national forests and other renewable resources at home.

When nearly 48 million people visit these parks and forests every year, to seek mental relaxation, physical rest, and refreshment of the soul, we cannot afford to let them fall into a neglected state of repair and upkeep. Slum-like and unsanitary conditions do exist in some of our most frequented parks.

Why not revive the Civilian Conservation Corps instead of so much idle drilling and marking time in our Armed Forces. Let us plant some trees, dig some lakes, construct some rock dams for trout fishing, build some needed shelters, and lay out hiking trails, etc. There is no limit to the things that need to be done. This would not only save our national recreation areas but save a lot of young juvenile delinquents, idling their time away in all parts of our country. Why not give these young people a chance to do some conservative work, and obtain wholesome exercise in God's great outdoors; this will be the only time some of them will ever be permitted to visit our national parks and forests.

This is surely a cause above partisan politics, which will not only benefit present generations but generations yet unborn. We have a rich American heritage, of which we should be justly proud. Let all of us fight and work to keep it thus, for our sake and the sake of posterity.

Respectfully yours,

J. W. GALBREATH,
Secretary.

We Have a World Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Why Not a Home Bank?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the war, the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development has moved on projects at a brisk and profitable clip.

Here at home, a hitch in a finance formula holds up profitable and modern living when it slows up prompt and rapid redevelopment of outworn sections of our towns.

The below listed editorial on Ike and Jersey City—March 15, 1955, issue of the Jersey Journal—shows that we do not move with quite the speed on local projects that the World Bank does on projects abroad.

The World Bank moves with an ease that suggests it is free of legislative straitjackets.

It is not too flattering for the Congress to be told that the World Bank has been able to cull unto itself more experts with more time to translate more projects abroad into workable laws than the Congress appears to have been able to do for the citizen and the community at home. Perhaps a home bank for reconstruction and development is in the offing.

"Ike and Jersey City" tells a story. It follows:

IKE AND JERSEY CITY

President Eisenhower's housing program had twin objectives:

He wanted to help cities rebuild their outworn sections. He wanted to help private business recapture those phases of public housing in which it can do a satisfactory job.

The program has not gone too well because the men who translated it into law did a hurried job.

As a result Ike's administrators find it difficult to bring his program into reality; they are straitjacketed by legislative shortcomings. To break that straitjacket they must:

1. Find interpretations which will allow them to reach Ike's objectives without violating the law.

2. Find a test area in which they can develop sound amendments to the law.

By a quirk of circumstances, Jersey City—one of the Democratic strongholds of the Nation—may be the very laboratory in which this Republican national program can be refined and made practicable.

Here's why:

1. Jersey City is one of the oldest cities in the country and, therefore, one of those most in need of rebuilding.

2. Few urban spots offer a better opportunity for redevelopment than the space behind Jersey City's city hall (the Gregory project). This area was the heart of old Jersey City. It has everything except modern multiple dwellings. Within easy access are churches, schools, shopping, entertainment, and rapid transit. Redevelopment can give new life to these facilities by bringing in people to use them.

3. Well aware of its needs, Jersey City was one of the first communities to get into the urban-redevelopment program. The Federal Government, after a survey, designated 2 redevelopment areas (Gregory and St. John's) and already has put about $5 million into buying and clearing these sites. All is ready for a private developer and private financing to move in and make the envisioned apartments a reality.

It is with this last step that the hitch comes. The shortcomings in the formulas for financing are such that urban redevelopment moves hesitantly.

Commissioner Donald Spence, representing Jersey City, and Washington officials, representing Housing Administrator Cole, have been working closely for months. Now they are preparing for what may be a key conference in Washington.

If their work is successful, then the President's program for urban redevelopment through the cooperation of public and private agencies, will be on its way in Jersey City.

If that comes to pass, then here will be an example to which the Federal Government can point as a real achievement.

For Jersey City, it would be wonderful to have at last in progress the first phase of rebuilding our town for modern living.

Statement in Support of H. R. 4903, Chapter 7, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Dealing With Additional Payments to School Districts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to commend the Appropriations Committee for its action in including in the second supplemental appropriation bill, 1955, a provision for $20 million as an additional amount for payments to school districts for carrying out the provisions of Public Law 874, and thus for the current year making available 100 percent of entitlements as the result of the suspension, pursuant to Public Law 732, of the 3-percent absorption feature of Public Law 874 as amended by Public Law 248, of the 83d Congress.

This is of tremendous importance to the First District of Florida, as it is to many other areas of the country where federally impacted areas exist, thereby placing a greater responsibility on the local school boards and taxpayers, to provide educational facilities. The existing appropriation of $55 million for payment to school districts for the 1955 fiscal year resulted in the payment of only 65 percent of full entitlement to the school districts qualifying. The $20 million additional appropriation provided in this bill will permit payment of 100 percent entitlement to the eligible school districts.

I received communications from the Honorable J. Crockett Farnell, superintendent of Hillsborough County public schools, which provide a concrete example of the tremendous importance of this supplemental apporpriation, in that it will mean approximately an additional $35,000 to help bear a portion of the additional cost of educating approximately 2,000 federally connected pupils who must be absorbed by the educational system of that one county that has an average total daily attendance of some 50,000 pupils. Of the 2,000 federally connected pupils a sufficient number qualify for only a one-half pupil rating to reduce the number below 1,500, or below 3 percent of the total enrollment.

These figures will, it appears, clearly justify and substantiate the wisdom of the Congress in the last session eliminating the 3 percent absorption feature contained in Public Law 874, amended by Public Law 248, of the 83d Congress, said suspension for 1 fiscal year being contained in Public Law 732. Without this provision this county, which bears a tremendous burden of Federal impact, due to the existence of one of the largest Air Force bases in the country, MacDill Field, would be unable to qualify under the act and would thereby lose a hundred thousand dollars as an average per year as a partial contribution toward the education of these 2,000 federally connected pupils. This contribution pays for only a portion of the educational costs and certainly this participation is justified on the facts involved, and I hope will demonstrate clearly the need for continuing the elimination of this 3-percent-absorption feature.

I am hoping that Congress will, in this session, recognize the tremendous importance of many areas of continued elimination of the 3-percent-absorption provision, and will enact legislation similar to H. R. 850 designed to accomplish this in subsequent fiscal years.

Speech by Hon. Leonard W. Hall, Chairman of the Republican National Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Judge Leonard W. Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, at a dinner given in his honor by the Republican Finance Committee of Florida on March 17, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY LEONARD W. HALL, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, AT A DINNER IN HIS HONOR, GIVEN BY THE REPUBLICAN FINANCE COMMITTEE OF FLORIDA AT THE BISCAYNE TERRACE HOTEL, MIAMI, MARCH 17, 1955

One of the political tragedies of our times has been the departure of many of the leaders of the Democratic Party from the party's fundamental Jeffersonian principles. Of course, I, as a Republican interested in getting votes for Republican candidates, probably shouldn't complain, because it has caused hundreds of thousands of fine Democrats to come over to the Republican Party, partiçularly in the last Presidential campaign. This broadening of our own ranks I welcome, of course.

But the transgressions of the ruling minds of the Democratic Party are more than a mere political matter. They affect the welfare of our country and threaten our basic American system. I do not have to tell this audience what has happened. In the last 20 years we have seen these Democratic leaders in many parts of our country taken over by leftwing advocates of the planned economy, the welfare state—or, to use the correct term and a term they assiduously avoid—socialism. It has been this undeniable trend at the top of the Democratic Party that caused the creation of the States' Right Party in the South. It has been this trend which, along with the great personal appeal of Dwight D. Eisenhower, enabled the Republicans to carry Texas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia, and Florida in the 1952 election. It has been this trend which caused the voters of South Carolina to take the unprecedented step of electing a write-in candidate to the United States Senate in 1954. It has been this trend which enabled Texas and Florida to give us a Republican Congressman, each, in the same election. It is this trend, as much as any other single thing, which has hastened recognition of the need for a strong two-party system in the South.

The philosophy of this group can be described, using basic American terms, as anti-Jeffersonian. It is a philosophy that is the antithesis of Jeffersonian principles. Jefferson believed in decentralized Government and States' rights. Jefferson believed in checks and balances, not only in the three coequal branches of the Federal Government but between the Federal, State, and local governments. Jefferson believed in the fundamental rights of individuals. He was dedicated to individual liberty.

But the anti-Jeffersonians—and I mean the Adlai Stevensons, Walter Reuthers, Hubert Humphreys, Neubergers, Douglases, and all the other ADA apostles—scorn States' rights and advocate an all-powerful centralized Federal Government. They subscribe to more and more powers for the executive branch of our Federal Government. They advocate Government planning on a huge scale for our people.

I have been in Washington almost steadily for the last 17 years. I have watched the tremendous inroads made on our American system, and I have seen Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Republican Party in the last of those 2 years doing everything possible to rectify the damage done in the preceding years. You could not live in the middle of events as I did all those years without seeing the pattern which these disciples of left-wing ventures have set.

The pattern is simple. The Government taxes the citizens more and more, so that the Government, not the citizen, spends for him the money he earns. This is accompanied by heavy Government spending, deficit financing, and Government-planned inflation. Then, to prevent inflation from reaching runaway proportions, controls are placed over prices, wages, and materials. As these controls are installed they unjoint other segments of the free-enterprise economy so additional controls have to be invoked to adjust the damage done by the initial set of controls. Soon, not only the economy but the people as a whole are under the regimented hand of Government, and socialism is upon us.

In short, the whole transformation is accomplished basically by economic moves by Government, not political or social moves by Government.

Now let us examine for a moment the nature of the attack which has been made on the Eisenhower administration since it took office. Let us see who has been one of the leaders behind the attack. Let us see where it is taking him.

The attack has not been made on the political front, on the legislative front, or on the social-progress front—but on the economic front.

Nine days after President Eisenhower took office in January 1955, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, a one-time fund-raising chairman for the Socialist Party candidate for President, began predicting a recession in America.

From that time on, all through 1953, DOUGLAS went up and down the countryside predicting a recession. Finally, on December 23, 1953, the Senator from Illinois formally announced that the country was (and I quote) "in a real recession."

From then on his cry was, I quote, "My concern is that the current recession shall not become cumulative and develop into a depression."

Thus, through 1954—for 21 long months—Senator Douglas, Hubert Humphrey, Walter Reuther, and all the rest of these apostles of gloom and doom did their best to convince America that it was in a recession. The truth was that America was not in a recession and

as big as these voices of gloom and doom were, they could not scare the American people into one. Why? Because of the fundamental soundness of our economy under the administration of President Eisenhower and the Republican Party.

It was pointed out repeatedly that these very gentlemen in the days of President Truman had witnessed unemployment of almost 5 million in February of 1950 without so much as mentioning the words "recession" or "depression." Why didn't they mention them? Because America was headed down the road of their choosing under Harry Truman, but it was not and is not headed down the road of their choosing under Dwight D. Eisenhower.

No; they could not talk America into a recession or depression, and with the arrival of election day and the attendant victories which they scored by the scare campaign which they ran, they ceased fire. Why? Because the facts were slowly catching up with them.

For example, Senator DOUGLAS in the 21 months preceding the 1954 congressional elections filled nearly two-score pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with contentions that we were in a recession. On November 4 he was reelected to Congress. How many pages has he put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD since? I have had the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD searched. The answer is: zero pages.

Now, it has only been a few weeks since one of the best answers to this recession-depression talk was given here in Miami. By whom? By the American Federation of Labor at its executive council's meeting.

The AFL disclosed that wage increases during 1954 represented the greatest gain in real wages of any year since World War II, and they frankly added that these wage increases had been reached with fewer hours and less worktime lost through strikes than any year in that period.

Their report stated that these wage increases, and I quote, "were almost entirely over and beyond the amount needed to compensate for rises in the cost of living." In other words, these were not cost-of-living wage increases that we had during the Truman inflationary period, but real wage increases.

Do you wonder that the gloom-and-doom boys finally had to sign off?

So what now? The attack has failed. The Eisenhower administration has stabilized our economy on a high, prosperous plateau, inflation has been stopped, our workers are now receiving real wage increases instead of cost-of-living increases, and the industrial and business world is most optimistic about the future, as indicated in every major business publication and our daily press.

In the United States Senate we now have an investigation of the stock market. Nobody can quarrel with the right of the Congress to investigate such a vital instrument as the stock market. Whether this investigation is necessary or not I do not profess to know.

But if you will look at the membership of the committee, you will find one of the original instigators of the gloom-and-doom attack that started back in 1953. I refer to Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois. You will also find that Senator DOUGLAS' legislative assistant, Robert Ash Wallace, has been placed in charge of the investigation with the title of staff director.

Now, who was one of the first witnesses called? One Prof. John Galbraith, of Harvard. Who is he?

Galbraith is an oldtime New Dealing, ADA-type of anti-Jeffersonian radical. He was credited with almost wrecking OPA during the war with his drastic ideas for controls. He was the father of the compulsory grade-labeling movement during those days. He flirted around with the customary pink fronts—not very many, 2 or 3. He wrote admiring statements about the Soviet system and the Communist leaders in Western Europe as late as 1949. His radical economic theories caused a well-known economist, Dr. David McCord Wright, to state at the 66th annual meeting of the American Economics Association in December 1953, and I quote, "albeit quite possibly unconsciously, I should judge Dr. Galbraith one of the most effective enemies of both capitalism and democracy."

That was the kind of "expert"—and I use the word advisedly—that was put on the witness stand.

What did he do? He filled the air with dire statements, spread gloom and doom by the yard, and generally pictured a terrible economic plight ahead. What happened?

The stock market immediately fell an average of 5 points. Now, I don't know whether Professor Galbraith caused this or not. Markets are sensitive things. They react to many factors. But the coincidence is certainly interesting.

I know this much: that the market has been uneasy, unstable, and on 1 or 2 days downright jittery since the professor took the stand.

And I know this, as do millions of investors in this country: In the week ending last Saturday, stocks fell a reported total of $7 billion. It was the biggest decline in 15 years.

Now what does this drop mean? Who lost this $7 billion? Just what do investments mean to our American system?

First, let me say that the Eisenhower administration is dedicated to an ever-expanding economy. The President has stated this repeatedly and virtually every move of the Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party has been in this direction. Investing money in our great enterprise system promotes expansion, construction, invention, and, above all else, jobs.

Some people try to foster the idea that in America only a few people hold the stocks which represent investment and which are listed on the stock exchange. I read in the New York Times, Sunday, March 6, an estimate by one of its experts that there are 7.5 million separate owners of corporate stocks in the United States. I fell to wondering who these 7.5 million people could be, what income brackets they might be in. So I asked our research division to give me some figures and they handed me a study made by the Brookings Institution in 1952.

Here's what that study showed:

Nearly one-third—31.6 percent—of all the shareowners of this country are people with incomes of less than $5,000 a year. Forty-four and four-tenths percent of the shareowners are in the $5,000 to $10,000 income bracket. And only 24 percent have incomes exceeding $10,000.

And let me tell you one other significant thing this study showed. A majority of the shareowners—50.6 percent—are women. I wonder if our left-wingers know that!

So I should say that when Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey the other day cautioned the investigators to go slow before they started undermining the confidence of the American people he was on sound ground. I call that speaking for the average American. Believe me, 7.5 million shareowners are a lot of people. I wonder if our left-wingers know that?

I say that the American public had better wake up to the real aims of these advocates of an all-powerful Federal Government, these admirers of socialism.

I think all of us can remember when Florida retired one of these gentlemen a few years back—one Claude Pepper.

I know this much. If these gentlemen of the left keep driving the Democrat Party farther and farther left, we, as Republicans, must make sure that we never close the door to thinking Democrats who want to join us. The American people are never going to let this Nation go socialist if the facts are in front of them. Maybe they could be led into it by deceit, but never by truth. And it is our job to provide the American people with the truth. It is our job to see that the Republican Party enters candidates in every section of the country to give the voters a real opportunity to choose between these conflicting ideologies. In that we must not fail, either as Americans or Republicans.

Now, I said earlier that I have been in Washington almost continuously for 17 years. Like you, during all those years I was disturbed by the trend of the New Deal-Fair Deal administrations toward the establishment of a socialist state. I am going to identify the things that bothered me.

1. The tremendous expansion of the Federal Government.

2. The corresponding colossal increases in expenditures and the ever-growing burden of taxes, whereby the Government was spending the individual's earnings for him.

3. The fetish for more and more Federal controls regulating the daily lives of all of us.

4. The encroachment of the Federal Government into areas properly belonging to the States and local governments under our system.

5. The ceaseless warfare by the executive branch on first the judicial and then the legislative branch, with the idea of increasing the power of the executive branch, while destroying the faith of our people in the other two arms of our Government.

Now, what have the Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party done about these basic paths toward the socialist state? I am going to itemize them one by one:

1. The trend toward big government has been completely reversed, with entire bureaus abolished, 283,000 Federal employees eliminated from unnecessary positions and the process of reduction is still going on.

2. Government expenditures have been drastically reduced each year and the Republican 83d Congress, in cooperation with the executive branch, cut appropriations (meaning future spending) by enormous sums, with the result that last year it was possible to give the American peopl the largest tax reduction in history—$7,400,000,000.

3. Despite cries of alarm from the New Deal-Fair Dealers, the President took off depressive economic controls—the OPA was abolished; price, rent and wage controls eliminated, etc—with the result that the awful spiral of inflation was halted and our economy has at last been stabilized on a highly prosperous plateau. To me, the most significant fact is that during the dangerous inflationary years our dollar dropped in purchusing power from 100 cents in 1939 to 52.2 cents at the end of 1952. The Eisenhower Administration in the 2 years that it has been in power has halted the drop at 52.0 cents, or a decline of only one-fifth of a cent in 2 years.

4. The President and the Republican Congress have reversed the invasion of State and local rights on countless fronts, notably, enactment of legislation returning the Tidelands to the States, development of a power policy called for the States and private industry to develop power, with the Federal Government entering into a partnership with the States only when the States and private industry are unable to act, and finally, the establishment of a commission to study which are the proper areas of government as between Federal, State, and local entities.

5. There has been a complete cessation of attacks by the executive branch on the judicial, and legislative branches, and in its place the President has encouraged, by public utterances and otherwise, the fact that the three branches of our Government are

coordinate coequal and all entitled to the respect of our citizens.

To me, the greatest single political event of the past 20 years has been this fundamental reversal of political trend in government and the credit for it must go to President Eisenhower and the Republican Party. It is overriding because it is so basic to our way of life. It is proof of what the President has said on so many occasions—that with respect to our Government and our physical possessions we must be conservative; in human relations and social matters, progressive.

The Real Alternative of Liberation in American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I am including a very informative article by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, which appeared in the autumn 1954 number of the Ukrainian Quarterly. It deals with a subject of vital concern in our foreign policy and I commend it to the Members of the House who are interested:

THE REAL ALTERNATIVE OF LIBERATION IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

(By Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky)

One of the most serious misconceptions being harbored today is the false notion that the only alternative to peaceful coexistence is preventive war. Aside from the very valid consideration as to whether peaceful coexistence itself can insure peace—i. e., the prevention of a global conflict—it is evident to any careful and critical analyst that this misconception is a glaring product of the haphazard reasoning which accounts also for the pitiful lack of rational discrimination and distinction in regard to the many concepts employed in our characterization of foreign policy. The net result has been confusion, and the administration, in its indiscriminate use of the successive concepts of mass retaliation, peaceful coexistence, and now, in some quarters, competitive coexistence, has contributed in the greatest measure to this unfortunate beclouded condition. When one cuts sharply through these terminological innovations, the same essence of the containment policy, which ostensibly was repudiated in 1952, is found present.

In addition to preventive war, there is a real alternative to peaceful coexistence, or any other verbal brand of containment, and this is the policy of liberation. The spirit of this policy remains as one enunciated by both President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles. "Our determination," declared the President, "must go beyond the negative concept of containment to the positive concept of expanding by peaceful means the areas of freedom. If this is not done, we will once again find ourselves at war. It must be done. It can be done."[1] The Secretary once rightly observed: "But liberation from the yoke of Moscow will not occur for a very long time and courage in neighboring lands will not be sustained unless the United States makes it publicly known that it wants and expects liberation to occur."[2] This spirit has not been present in the policy of the administration since April 1953, at which time a real reversion to the old containment policy took place but with new verbal embroidery. Thus, in examining our current policy in the light of the liberation alternative, it is logically sound to refer to it as containment.

THE CONCRETE MEANING OF LIBERATION

It is perhaps somewhat of an understatement to say that despite the extensive controversy that transpired 2 years ago on the liberation theme much misunderstanding and confusion remains as to the nature of the liberation policy, even among those who profess it. If one carefully reflects on the logically determining aspects of this issue, he cannot but come to recognize the general supportable proposition that any political course on the part of our Government that is not a policy of liberation is essentially a policy of containment. In the complex of contemporary circumstances there is a discernible internal determinism which establishes the complete validity of this proposition and sets the groundwork for our free dynamic action that is something radically different from the drift of uncreative adaptation to altered conditions contrived by enemy initiative. Fundamental in this respect is the fact that the concept of liberation rests on the unqualified rejection of the expedient Soviet theory of coexistence which, significantly, has baited the frequent support of Kennanism and the many now who wishfully impute to its intermittent use the success of containment and transient diplomacy.

This sound rejection rests on three forms of evidence establishing the Russian Communist design for world conquest, namely, abundant theoretic expressions in Russian Communist works, an imposing record of imperialist conquest since 1920, and the vast operation of the world Communist conspiracy directed by Moscow. It is also associated with a vivid awareness that the dynamics of historical movement disallow permanent statical relations, and that for their control they require more than what may prove to be the illusory deterrent of supposedly material power. The containment position depends exclusively on this power deterrent and the naive hope of institutional atrophy within the Red Empire. However, since 1950 it has borne an accruing disutility that with the passage of time can only result in unprecedented losses, not to exclude national disaster itself.

It is patently erroneous and misleading to identify the concept of liberation with the prosaic and hollow verbalism that we earnestly hope the captive nations will one day become free. Wishful verbalism of this sort can be found in abundance in the varied output of those who knowingly or unknowingly espouse different shades of containment. Such verbalisms become meaningless when sober consideration is given to the animus of liberation, which in essence is practical, positive, initiative-bearing, realistic, moral, and, above all, supremely deterrent against a third world war: in short, outstanding policy characteristics that are inevitably obscured by self-defeating avowals of containment, no matter how described. To repeat, any policy that is not essentially and functionally liberationist belongs by nature to the containment species and, consequently, will be found wanting in these preeminent qualities. A quick glance at the confusing and tortuous character of our current policy is sufficient to impress one with the truth of this observation.

The spirit of the liberation policy is thoroughly practical because it is unquestionably in our fundamental national interest to furnish concrete aid to the captive nations in the vast Russian Communist empire. Practicable aid extended to Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Slovak, Hungarian, and other national patriots is a strategically well-placed investment not only in the desired restoration of their national independence and freedom but also—in fact more so—in the very preservation of our own Nation. The full import of this will be appreciated when we shall consider the ultimate variables in the calculus of world conquest below.

Moreover, the liberation animus is positive in that it is oriented toward the strengthening of the forces of freedom everywhere which necessarily entails the expansion of the areas of freedom rather than their mere, negative conservation at the critical cost of the enslaved nations now undergoing genocidal consolidation. In its scale of values freedom precedes peace, for carried to its logical extent, peace can even be bought for total bondage. Where the world remains half free and half slave, the scaled precedence of peace to freedom, as fostered by Communist slogans of peaceful coexistence, creates an illusion concocted to serve as the opiate of the still free nations. In the illusion of peace we have shamelessly acceded to the tyrannical expansion of the Russian Communist empire far beyond the wildest dreams of the past tsars of Muscovy. Many who have succumbed to this illusion overlook the elementary fact that war, essentially a conflict of relationships, commences in the souls of men only to culminate on the battlefields of the world. Our record so far in the contest for the souls of men everywhere points to this disastrous culmination. And the most glaring effect of the opiate of peace over freedom is the insidious sensation that short-run truces add up into a long-run peace.

These qualities in themselves certify to the striking initiative-bearing characteristic of the liberation policy. With the fixed objective of expanded freedom, the imaginative employment of numerous, diverse means and a deep certitude of spirit, we can keep the unalterably self-dedicated enemy on a continuous defensive which alone is capable of exhausting the sources of Moscow's imperialist rule. The policy is realistic in that it is founded on a plain recognition of the mortal enemy and, with principled determination and courage, is formulated accordingly. In its full realism, without being emotionally crusading or sentimental in character, liberation postulates a moral commitment toward the captive nations, and this essential morality of the liberation idea is a primary fact. It is this fact that fundamentally distinguishes it from any form of containment policy which, by reasoned analysis, can only show for itself the tenuous basis of comparative technologic power. In the maze of his countless confused speculations and errors Mr. Kennan at least strikes upon this truth when, in behalf of containment, he admits that "I see the most serious fault of our past policy formulation to lie in something that I might call the legalistic-moralistic approach to international problems."[3]

Logically and by written evidence, containment in whatever form is by nature amoral. It involves no moral commitment because it is not predicated, as Mr. Kennan and other containment theorists well confirm, on determining moral and political principles. Little wonder that the eminent Father Walsh of Georgetown University was quick to score the above and similar statements uttered by Kennan. For an American foreign policy formulated in divorce from the constant guidance of moral principles would enjoy no better rational criteria than those underlying the policy of the Soviet Union. Contrary to Kennan's further error, had our past policy formulation adhered closely to absolute moral and political criteria, the course of contemporary history since 1918, notably with the dissolution of the Russian Empire, in real possibilities would have been by far more favorable for us and the world. Fortunately, numerous current expressions of this moral commitment toward the captive

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

nations may be found in statements by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, but these expressions will remain only verbalistic and hollow unless the commitment is functionalized by the only policy adaptable to it, namely the policy of liberation.

In the light of these outstanding qualities, how then can we define an American policy of liberation? Most succinctly, it is a policy girded to the concept of liberation which is a process of political warfare aimed at the defeat of the enemy and the independence of enslaved nations as a necessary and logical basis for European and Asiatic reconstruction along federative of free lines. Notwithstanding the misconception of many, liberation is not an end in itself, but a peaceable means to a double end, negative and positive in character. It engenders not only the fight against communism and its decisive defeat but also the positive fight for freedom and the independence of nations. It is the first vital link of a policy chain that makes for a rational, coherent and winning American foreign policy. As stated by the brilliant author of the most authoritative book on the subject, "Liberation, independence, federation: the three are links in the same policy chain."[4]

THE LIBERATION CONCEPT IN OPERATIONAL STAGES

When thought through carefully and logically, liberation is an operational concept best fitted for the heavy requirements of the moment and of the desired future. In the present phase, that of the cold war, it provides the best possible insurance against the sudden outbreak of a hot war without appeasement, truce-like concessions and compromise of principle and national integrity. As an unfolding process of political warfare on the enemy's terrain, it affords us the only possible chance of curtailing the genocidal consolidation of the Russian Communist Empire which is the primary variable in the Communist calculus of world conquest. The containment policy in effect today allows the formation of this essential variable which is being executed behind lavish Communist professions of peaceful coexistence, wide Communist participation in international conferences, and timed contributions to an apparent lessening of world tensions, all calculated to generate the illusion of a prolonged peace in order to gain the necessary time for this consolidation.

To contend, as some superficially do, that liberation entails the risk of a hot war is obviously an argument oblivious to the constant presence of this risk. Liberation alone can lessen this risk, for an enemy confronted by an increasing insecurity within his own domain is surely less apt to embark upon world conquest than without this circumstance. To hope, as many in vain do, that, somehow, something might occur in the unaided slave world to precipitate an internal collapse, like the lost hope of a convulsion upon Stalin's death, is plainly indicative of an inadequate understanding of the highly technologized techniques of oppressive Communist rule. Pretty phrases of cultural erosion, territorial indigestion, and the like belong to diplomatic poetry, not to the field of real political action. To maintain, as several do in the very same breath, that the freedom of the enslaved nations cannot be attained without a hot war, arbitrarily rules out all hope founded on the liberating effects of a backed cacophony of unrest, dissension, and calculated opposition reaching into all vulnerable strata of the empire. These planned effects counter the absurd argument of aimless uprisings, and constitute a real possibility which for its very existence in the coming short-run can only be nurtured by liberation.

For the requirements of the ever-impending phase of a hot war it should be evident now that a policy of liberation places us in an infinitely more advantageous position than one of containment and its myopic wait-and-see attitude. Efficiently organized groups of national leadership, thriving in well-supported underground networks with roots deeply implanted in the respective populace, cannot be expected to materialize with a narrow policy of containment no matter how extensive our intelligence and espionage activity may be. We are dealing with enslaved national bodies that in their present grave state of systematic genocide require our complete national effort which, again, can only be expressed through a policy of liberation. Their hope, their courage, their will to exist and fight can only be sustained by our effective moral commitment to the goals of their freedom and independence. Thus in the final inexorable accounting, to the degree that we fail in the concrete preparation and support of these truly natural allies, to that degree and more, in the event of a showdown, we shall be forced to underwrite the undoubtedly heavy losses of open combat in grossly disproportionate amounts of American lives and treasure. The great irony and paradox of our current containment policy reside in the inescapable fact that as we timidly attempt, on the insular bases of brute material power and passive institutional example, to stave off a global conflict marked by vast devastation, we are inadvertently, by the very nature of our present historical dilemma, contributing to this horrible outcome.

Let us honestly face the cruel fact that this is the tremendous responsibility of decision now weighing upon the shoulders of our policymakers whose anticipated pleadings of "we did our best in the cause of peace" could scarcely justify their failure to mold now the available alternative means to a swift, economical and certain victory in the case of a hot war. The simplistic notion that all that is required is the massive capacity to bomb out the enemy, is purely a product of vacuous thinking with a show of arrogance toward all the determining factors of geography, history, economics and sound psychological strategy. The detailed contents of these factors are certainly not the exclusive property of our policymakers to warrant the self-legitimating shroud of secret information upon which policy decisions are presumably formed. In substantial degree they are accessible to anyone given to painstaking research and study, and in many instances are more easily acquired through unofficial channels. Those familiar with these factors inevitably encounter the consummate conclusion that our ineptitude in the strategic utilization of these factors for the current historic struggle might well seal our doom. The plain truth is that despite our past military successes, we can lose: and the ultimate phase of reconstruction, for which the universal principles of liberation prepare us best, may not be of our making.

THE DUAL NATURE OF THE ENEMY

Scholars are well aware of the many myths circulating in this country on the subjects of communism and the Soviet Union. Those who are unwilling or impatient to study the genesis of Russian communism, its genealogy and historical development to the present day, easily succumb to such myths as: (1) that Moscow-centered communism is not a Russian phenomenon and was initially imposed upon the Russian people; (2) that our enemy is merely ideologic communism, so to speak, born in a historical void; and (3) that any thought of dismembering the Soviet Union—the inner sphere of the Russian Communist Empire—would consolidate the Russian masses behind the Kremlin. To what extent these and similar myths are inspired by enemy agents and Russia "first" elements in this country is always a fitting question. Nevertheless, they are media of disinformation blurring the necessary distinctions of thought and fact that must be observed in any realistic program of successful, political action.

From a historical-sociological viewpoint one of the most ridiculous notions entertained is that the Bolshevik Revolution represents an institutional hiatus in the history of ethnic Russia. Fortunately, competent scholarship refutes this politically inspired notion, and has increasingly shown the historic, autocratic Russian qualities of Muscovitic communism. As the learned Father Walsh points out, "Psychologically, the Russian people—upon whom the revolution is based and without whose acquiescence it could not have been launched or so long sustained—have always revealed qualities of frustrated mysticism which inclines them to constant acceptance of contradictions and paradoxes."[5] One of the most outstanding Russian authorities, Nicolas Berdyaev, stresses that "However paradoxical it may sound, still Bolshevism is the third appearance of Russian autocratic imperialism; its first appearance being the Muscovite Czardom and its second the Petrine Empire."[6] Sooner or later, thoughtful Americans, whose minds have not been completely infected by the hatched notions of puny Russia "first" advocates, will come to understand the full import of the warning given by this venerable Russian Christian scholar: "It is particularly important for western minds to understand the national roots of Russian communism and the fact that it was Russian history which determined its limits and shaped its character. A knowledge of Marxism will not help in this."[7]

Indeed, it is important for us to understand this in order to shape our policy accordingly. The enemy is dual in nature. In objective, experiential terms ideologic communism is bankrupt, but although, like the Muscovite and Petrine doctrines of the Third Rome and Pan-Slavism in the past, it serves the purpose of ideologic babbitry in the empire, it functions also as a conspiratorial weapon in the free world, attracting dupes, opportunitst, and traitors. The real substance of the enemy is totalitarian Russian imperialism driven, as one scholar puts it, by the historic Messianic obsession of "expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur, and Messianic ideas of world redemption or world domination."[8] This drive expressed itself at the very inception of Russian communism by the imperialist rape of independent Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Poland, the Baltic countries, Hungary, and the other nations.

THE RUSSIAN CALCULUS OF WORLD CONQUEST

History has cast our role as the savior of nations, more so those genocided behind the Iron Curtain than those threatened in the free world. The plan for their necessary salvation can only commence with the policy of liberation. Except in hollow word, we are today acquiescing to Russian genocidal consolidation and in reality abandoning the captive nations. With millions of beaten robots at its disposal, Moscow will have achieved its psychological basis of reasonable expectation of success in its calculus of world conquest. Given the initial advantage of attack and a sabotaging world conspiratorial network, it does not even have to regard the second essential variable, a quantitative superiority in arms, as a necessary requisite for such expectation; although with concentrated specialization, it may easily attain it both absolutely and relatively as we are forced to dissipate our resources in sideshows. The third basic variable, its fear of retaliation, will be inversely related to its estimated ability to create regionalized Pearl

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Harbors. Allowing the first, and dangerously gambling through unprincipled containment on the second, we are contributing heavily to their lessened fear of the third variable.

Time definitely favors Moscow, not the free world. Behind the Iron Curtain are formidable allies which in a sense are more important than France and England. They are, step-by-step, vanishing under the brutal Communist force and our nebulous foreign policy providing to them no hope of liberation. Are we prepared to sacrifice them by a compromised policy? In two World Wars England and France turned to us for their salvation. Whom can we turn to in the event of a third?

---

[1] New York Times, October 21, 1952.
[2] A Policy of Boldness, May 1952.
[3] American Diplomacy 1900–1950, p. 95.
[4] James Burnham, Containment or Liberation, p. 229.
[5] Total Empire: The Roots and Progress of World Communism, p. 44.
[6] The Origin of Russian Communism, p. 120.
[7] Ibid., p. 7.
[8] Dinko Tomasic, The Impact of Russian Culture on Soviet Communism, p. 75.

The Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following joint resolution from the Utah State Legislature concerning the Natural Gas Act:

Senate Joint Resolution 12

Joint resolution of the 31st Legislature of the State of Utah memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation recognizing that the sale of natural gas by producers or gatherers in interstate commerce for resale are an integral part of the production and gathering of that resource and exempting such sales from any and all regulation by the Federal Government

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Utah (both houses concurring therein):

Whereas the Congress of the United States in 1938 passed the Natural Gas Act which gave the Federal Power Commission regulatory authority over the transportation and sale of natural gas in interstate commerce and provided that the provisions of this act shall not apply to the production and gathering of natural gas; and

Whereas the Federal Power Commission ruled on many occasions between 1938 and 1951 that it had no jurisdiction over sales of natural gas by producers and gatherers, and the United States Congress in 1950 again reiterated its intention that sales by producers or gatherers were exempt from Federal regulation under the Natural Gas Act; and

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States in 1954 held that all sales of natural gas for resale in interstate commerce are subject to regulation by the Federal Power Commission under the Natural Gas Act whether made before, during, or after production and gathering, such decision reversing a precedent of long standing; and

Whereas it is the consensus of opinion of the Legislature of the State of Utah that the resultant subjection of theretofore unregulated activities of producers and gatherers to Federal regulation is not in the best interests of the people of the United States in that it will have a very detrimental effect on the future development and ultimate beneficial utilization of this very valuable natural resource, and will also result in an inevitable clash between the Federal regulating authorities and State regulation with respect to utilization of this resource, and will have the further effect of encouraging extension of crippling Federal controls to many other commodities in the American economy: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we do petition and memorialize the Congress of the United States to propose and enact an amendment to the Natural Gas Act of 1938 which will clearly and positively exempt from Federal regulation the activities of producers or gatherers of natural gas including sale by them of natural gas in interstate commerce for resale; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted forthwith to the President of the United States, United States Senate, House of Representatives, and each congressional delegate from the State of Utah.

National Park Policies Need Revision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, people in the State of Washington believe that our national park policies ought to be revised to permit full development of facilities at Mount Rainier National Park in order that more people might enjoy the scenic wonders and winter sports potential in the area. A resolution adopted last month by the Pierce County Pomona Grange, No. 16, expresses the attitude of not only its own members but that of countless other citizens of our State as well. I insert it herewith in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PIERCE COUNTY POMONA GRANGE, No. 16,
Puyallup, Wash., February 12, 1955.
Hon. THOR C. TOLLEFSON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following resolution was adopted at the last Pomona Grange, No. 16, held February 12, 1955, copies to be sent our legislators:

"Whereas Washington's No. 1 tourist attraction, Mount Rainier, is being denied its fullest development by the National Park Service; and

"Whereas Mount Rainier National Park offers superior skiing terrain, picnic areas, and scenic grandeur; and

"Whereas the park area properly developed would be a wonderful drawing card for national and international meets: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, Congress amend Park Service regulations to stimulate construction of privately operated park facilities, including an aerial tramway; and

"*Resolved*, That Pierce County Pomona Grange urge their Senators and Representatives to introduce and support legislation for the full development of the natural resources of Mount Rainier National Park."

We ask for your cooperation on the above resolution.

Thank you for your time and effort.

Yours truly,
Mrs. LUCILLE A. OCKFEN,
Secretary.

Valuable and Effective Work Performed by Mercy Flights, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, an outstanding and courageous job has been done in Jackson County, Oreg., by Mercy Flights, Inc. This group provides an air ambulance for patients who cannot be treated otherwise, and for whom such emergency service is essential to life or health.

In recognition of the valuable and effective work performed by Mercy Flights, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Medford (Oreg.) Mail-Tribune of March 13, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MERCY FLIGHTS ANNOUNCES PLANS FOR PRICE, OPERATION CHANGES

Mercy Flights, Inc., Jackson County's nonprofit air ambulance organization, Saturday announced plans for administrative changes which will guarantee continuation of its service.

The group's air ambulances last week carried the 334th patient—an average of nearly 1¼ flights per week since service was started just over 5 years ago.

The nonprofit corporation has grown from nothing but an idea to a responsible organization with assets totaling several thousand dollars, including a metal hanger at the Medford airport, a twin-engine Cessna aircraft, a single-engine Stinson aircraft, both converted to ambulance planes by the use of stretchers and big loading doors, and considerable radio, first aid and other equipment.

To maintain its planes in top condition, and to plan for future purchase of replacement planes, the group's board of directors has found it necessary to increase its prepaid subscription charge to $4 per family per year. Subscription will be $2 for individuals.

The income from this higher fee will permit the corporation to set up a fund for the purchase of replacement planes, which will become necessary some time in the future, and will allow continuance of maintenance and operations at the present level.

The prepaid subscription plan "saved" Mercy Flights from going bankrupt when it was first instituted in 1951 about a year and a half after service was first started, and provided it with a regular and reliable source of income. Prior to that, the only income was from flight charges, which were irregular. And since Mercy Flights has never turned down a patient for inability to pay, the corporation once or twice was in debt with no prospects of getting out.

FOUR SERVICE CLASSES

Four classes of service are now offered:

1. For subscribers, emergency ambulance service, certified as necessary by a doctor, within a 400-mile radius (this includes Seattle and San Francisco), is free on both the planes.

2. For subscribers, nonemergency but necessary ambulance service is available at a rate of 25 cents per mile one-way in the Cessna and 17½ cents in the Stinson.

3. For nonsubscribers living in Jackson County, the rate is 35 cents per mile in the Cessna and 25 cents in the Stinson.

4. For nonsubscribers living outside of Jackson County the rate is 50 cents for the Cessna; 35 cents for the Stinson.

Out-of-county flights are made only in medical emergencies, and only when other air transportation is unavailable. As a nonprofit corporation, Mercy Flights does not compete with commercial operators. Its flights are limited strictly to ambulance operations.

PILOTS NET SMALL PAY

When the service began operations, the pilots were unpaid. Since the demand for the service has increased, however, and the calls for pilots are more and more frequent, they are paid at a rate of 3 cents per mile—which in most cases does not compensate them for the time.

All pilots are volunteers, and all observe strict flight safety regulations. All are qualified and experienced in the type of flying done.

Other phases of the operation being changed includes the bonding of company officers who handle funds of the organization; the centralization of record-keeping, and setting up of a new accounting system. Officers believe these steps together with the increase in rates to provide needed income, will insure the stability and safety of the organization.

BILLINGS NOW UP

Billings going out this month will be for the increased amount which is still felt to be a small amount for the type of protection and service offered.

There are 12 directors who are responsible for the operation of the organization. They include George Milligan, who is also founder, chairman and chief pilot of Mercy Flights; Mrs. Jeanette Thatcher Marshall, secretary; Dr. L. Paul Walker, vice chairman, and Eric Allen, Jr., treasurer, and Dr. C. I. Drummond, Seth Bullis, Mrs. Stephen Nye, Frank Perl, Vern Smith, George Flanagan, Harold Frye, and Joseph Burns. Burns was recently elected to the board to succeed Dick Woods, who moved from Medford.

A chief pilot's committee, which assists in the formulation and enforcement of safety flying regulations, consists of Gene Kooser and John Childers, both Mercy Flights pilots. A technical advisory committee, responsible for plane maintenance, includes Milligan, Kooser, Childers, Allen, and Burns. The corporation's executive committee, which makes policy decisions between board meetings, consists of the four officers.

Our Present Currency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an article entitled "Why Our Present Currency Is a Wicked Type of Money," written by Frederick G. Shull and published in the Commercial and Financial Chronicle.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY OUR PRESENT CURRENCY IS A WICKED TYPE OF MONEY

EDITOR, COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL CHRONICLE:

Having devoted considerable time in recent years to a study of the subject, sound money—which quality of money has been denied our citizens ever since we were taken off the gold standard in 1933 and given the "printing press" substitute, with which we are still operating—the seeming lack of interest displayed by bankers and insurance executives toward a return to specie-backed currency has been rather distasteful, to say the least. It should be borne in mind that we started out with a specie-backed currency under Alexander Hamilton, in 1792; and, with minor exceptions, that quality of American dollar was maintained right down to 1933. But there has appeared a ray of sunshine stemming from a recent statement made by the president of a large insurance company, in which he correctly called our present money a wicked type of money. Following are the facts of that statement:

At a meeting in Washington on December 6 and 7, 1954, under the chairmanship of Senator FLANDERS, high officials of Treasury and Federal Reserve, economists, bankers, and others were in attendance, among them Mr. Frazar B. Wilde, president of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., Hartford. Chairman FLANDERS raised the question as to whether the United States should return to gold convertibility—meaning, of course, to the gold standard. Comment by Mr. Wilde was not only forthright, it really hit the nail right on the head. Here are Mr. Wilde's own words:

"I may be biased because of the fect that my business sells money for future delivery, and to me it is a pretty wicked thing to consider the possibility that people will make present sacrifices for future protection, and then get dollars of much lower value." (Reference: U. S. Government Printing Office pamphlet No. 55314, p. 88, dated Dec. 6 and 7, 1954.)

Let's give some thought to Mr. Wilde's statement that his business sells money for future delivery. Is that type of business confined to Connecticut general? It is not; for every insurance company, regardless of type of insurance involved, sells money for future delivery. And is it confined to insurance business? No; it also applies with the same force to the entire banking business of this Nation; for every banker is selling money for future delivery. Let me enlarge upon that point.

When I deposit $100 in a bank, I am paying that bank $100 for, in effect, a guaranty by the bank to deliver $100 to me at some future date. Am I entitled to receive back the same quality of money as I entrusted to that bank? There can be but one answer: Yes. I cannot, of course, hold the bank responsible for fluctuations in purchasing power of those dollars; but I am entitled to demand that since the dollars I deposited carried a value of $35 a fine ounce of gold, the bank shall reimburse me with dollars of the same quality. And the same applies to insurance policies: When I pay an insurance premium with dollars carrying a value of one thirty-fifth of an ounce of gold per dollar, I am entitled to receive the benefits under that policy in dollars of the same quality. In other words, all I am saying is strictly in line with the forthright admission of Frazar B. Wilde—that "it is a pretty wicked thing to consider the possibility that people will make present sacrifices for future protection and then get dollars of much lower value."

And if one were to ask: Why all this worry—why not leave it to the dealers (bankers and insurance companies) in money "for future delivery"?—my answer would be: This isn't just "peanuts"—it involves hundreds of billions of dollars. For example, United States bank deposits as of December 31, 1953, totaled $201 billion; and life insurance in force in 1954, $339 billion—together, $540 billion. Why, that is the equivalent of 528,000 tons of gold, avoirdupois, based on $35 per troy ounce—it is 25 times as much gold as we have buried at Fort Knox and the other repositories. And does that mean that we can't restore the gold standard? No; it doesn't, and for the following reasons:

People want very little gold, and are never likely to want much gold; for possession of gold pays no interest—and it is much more profitable to have money in a bank at interest, or in an insurance policy for future protection, than to have gold hoarded in a bureau drawer or mattress at no interest. People merely want honesty and security—they want assurance that the standard of value, the American dollar, shall not be kicked around by politicians; that it shall be maintained unchangeable in value—maintained, at all times, as good as gold.

And this aim can easily be accomplished if Congress will only take favorable action on one of the gold-standard bills being currently introduced—bills designed to firmly fix the value of the dollar at $35 a fine ounce of gold and restore the age-old sound principle of redeemability, on demand.

Must we continue to accept the theory that the national budget cannot be balanced in terms of honest dollars—that it can only be balanced in terms of "printing press" dollars?

FREDERICK G. SHULL,
Connecticut State Chairman,
Gold Standard League.
NEW HAVEN, CONN., *February 8, 1955.*

United States Needs Compulsory Federal Inspection for Poultry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I have called attention on several occasions to the need for Federal inspection and grading of poultry. I introduced House Resolution 647 in the 83d Congress and House Resolution 57 in this Congress which calls for an investigation of the commercial slaughtering and processing of poultry.

A very graphic article entitled "A Sick Chick Goes to Market" appeared in the March 1955 issue of Consumer Report, and I hope that every Member of Congress will take the time to read it. I believe the housewives of the country will be greatly alarmed to read about some of the conditions existing in a segment of the poultry industry.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the article appearing in this month's Consumer Report:

A SICK CHICK GOES TO MARKET

The average buyer of poultry or poultry products may assume that she is protected by the same Federal laws which dictate the inspection of most beef, pork, lamb, and other meats or meat products. She may take for granted the wholesomeness of the poultry she sets before her family, but she would be wrong. To this date there has never been any compulsory Federal inspection of poultry destined for the consumer market, and only a few States have any compulsory inspection laws of their own. There is a Federal inspection and grading program for poultry, but it is entirely voluntary. It is estimated that less than 20 percent of the poultry which reaches the dinner tables of America is covered by this voluntary inspection program.

Just how bad the situation is, is indicated by a booklet called Congress Should Probe Sick and Diseased Poultry, just published by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL, 30,000 of whose members are employed in the poultry industry.

If the poultry is in interstate commerce, the Government can use its law-enforcement powers to protect the public from filthy, decomposed, or adulterated food. In 1952, inspectors of the Food and Drug Administration seized over 200,000 pounds of poultry unfit for human consumption. But the amount of poultry inspection the Food and Drug Administration can do on its small budget is relatively trivial. Furthermore, a great deal of poultry is produced and sold within State boundaries, and law enforcement here varies with the local or State health departments involved.

Thirty years ago there were very few large poultry slaughtering plants. Poultry for the most part was marketed alive, and often slaughtered at home. The consumer had a chance to see the bird, and would naturally reject a dead bird or one that was severely ill. Today, probably less than one bird in a thousand is seen alive by the urban consumer, and it is difficult, if not impossible to determine illness in a slaughtered bird, however apparent the symptoms were when the fowl was alive. The Food and Drug Administration complains that inferior and diseased poultry frequently appears on the retail market as cut-up pieces; it is obviously hard to tell if a chicken was diseased or well, when all you see of it is a drumstick. Diseased and inferior poultry also finds its way into restaurants and soup factories. When a number of soup manufacturers recently changed their buying policies, sellers of poultry unfit for human consumption complained that their market was seriously hurt.

How bad are conditions in the processing plants, and how widespread is the traffic in diseased poultry? Poultry plants range from pot scalders to assembly line operations where 600,000 pounds of poultry is dressed in a 24-hour day, and conditions vary from excellent to repulsive regardless of size of plant, or type of equipment. It has been stated by officials in the United States Public Health Service that anyone who has observed poultry plant operations from the public health point of view does not have to be convinced of the need for poultry inspection programs. The poultry workers themselves have published sworn affidavits describing conditions in some of these uninspected plants. These affidavits indicate that considerable quantities of poultry in the advanced stages of disease and in the most revolting condition are slaughtered and processesd; even birds which are already decomposing are packed and shipped out to unsuspecting consumers. In dressing, eviscerating, and packing such diseased and unwholesome poultry there is a strong possibility of contaminating the equipment, and thereby the carcasses of birds which were healthy when slaughtered.

A PUBLIC HEALTH MENACE

It is well established by health authorities that certain poultry diseases are transmissible to man. Among these are psittacosis (parrot fever), which has been traced to turkeys, and a virus infection known as Newcastle disease. In addition, there are a large number of disease-causing organisms common to man and poultry; of these, the Salmonella group of bacteria, which cause infections similar to paratyphoid or typhoid fever, are of the greatest concern to public-health officers. In a single year (1948), the United States Public Health Service reports, 2,492 cases of food-borne disease were traced to poultry and poultry dishes. These cases were reported in the 62 outbreaks which reached epidemic proportions; it is probable that there were many thousands of individual or sporadic cases which were unreported. Only a fraction of the States require that cases of food poisoning be reported to the health authorities.

Obviously, the consumer must obtain more protection against diseased or contaminated poultry than he is getting at present. The appearance and odor of a bird that has had its viscera removed, and has been cut up ready to cook are the consumer's only guide to wholesomeness. But it is not an infallible guide, since certainty about the bird's health often requires examination of the live bird as well as the viscera and carcass to determine whether the fowl is diseased. Moreover, in the case of frozen poultry, appearance and odor are even less reliable.

It sems obvious that the consumer can be effectively protected only by effective regulation of the poultry industry. Poultry is a major food, and its consumption has steadily grown to an estimated 35 pounds per capita. Yet the slaughtering, inspection, grading, labeling, packing, processing, canning, sale, and transportation of poultry or poultry products that move in interstate commerce are subject to no Federal control.

The first step toward effective poultry regulation might well be a full-scale investigation of the commercial slaughtering and processing of poultry. Such an investigation was called for last July in resolutions introduced in the Senate by Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, and in the House of Representatives by Congressman MELVIN PRICE, of Illinois. Both measures—Senate Resolution 283 and House Resolution 647—were referred to appropriate committees. CU believes that both resolutions merit the support of consumers who want to be certain that the poultry they buy is wholesome, free of disease, and fit for human consumption.

When You Come to Life's Twilight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article entitled "When You Come to Life's Twilight." The article was written by W. Earl Hall, editor of the Mason City (Iowa) Globe-Gazette, and was published in that newspaper on March 14, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHEN YOU COME TO LIFE'S TWILIGHT

(A radio commentary by W. Earl Hall)

Curiously enough two of the most challenging problems confronting our country today have to do with the two extremes of our population's lifespan. On the one hand we're asking: "What shall we do about our rising number of youngsters?" and on the other we're asking: "What shall we do about our rising number of oldsters?"

The youth problem has a good many facets and I've dealt with most of them, I think, down through the years in these once-a-week visits with you. These include providing classrooms and teachers for nearly twice as many children as we've been accommodating up to now. And there's the matter of a mounting juvenile delinquency.

In this commentary I'd like to talk about what are being referred to as our "senior citizens." And arbitrarily I'm going to consider age 65 as the dividing line although there would be some justification for starting with age 45, or even 40, for that's when a great many employers begin looking askance at job applicants.

"IF GIVEN A CHANCE"

Each passing day thousands of men and women are turned away from jobs they could fill satisfactorily if given a chance. They are experienced, healthy, emotionally stable and eager to work. But employers, for what seems to be good reason, have a preference for somebody younger.

It doesn't take any sociologist to sense that an inestimable sum total of skill, experience and mature judgment is going to waste in our society. And what's bad now is going to be worse 20 years from now because America's population is growing heavy at the top. Life expectancy is increasing every year.

At latest count there were 43 million persons in the United States over 45. That's well over a fourth of the total population. By 1975, it's calculated, there will be 63 million persons past 45 and they will make up nearly half of all Americans past 20. Thus we see it's a great and growing problem. Let there be no doubt of that.

RETIRE—BUT TO WHAT?

Now let's turn to those 65 years of age or older. That's the generally accepted age for retirement. And the question has arisen in stern form: Retire to what?

Two of my warmest friends, caught up in this trend themselves, are giving their best thought and effort to the problem. One of them is Maurice duPont Lee, long identified as a chemical engineer with the Du Pont Co. of Wilmington, Del. The other is R. K. Bliss, probably the Nation's best known authority in the field of agricultural extension work. To thousands he has been almost synonymous with Iowa State College for the past 40 years or so.

It has been my satisfying experience in the past few months to bring these 2 grand people together through the medium of correspondence. Their approach to the problem of geratology has been from somewhat different angles but between them, they'll be making a fine contribution to the science. Of that I feel confident.

CREATIVE WORK BEST MEDICINE

Both, I'm sure, would agree with another friend of mine, now well into his eighties and as keen of mind as when for some 20 years he served with distinction as State health commissioner.

"Occupation," says Dr. Walter Bierring, now head of the Iowa division of gerontology, heart and chronic diseases, "is recognized as the best of medicine. Work, particularly if creative, gives to life its most enduring purpose."

We can go on from there—and I dip first into a letter written by my Wilmington friend to my Iowa State College friend.

"It is my contention," writes Maurice duPont Lee, "that a person who has worked throughout his active career and accumulated a stock of this world's goods has no moral right to go to Florida, sit under a palm tree and wait for the undertaker.

"This man of means is no more independent than the 'senior citizen' who lives on a pension. He relies entirely on the labor which earns the dividends on his securities.

"HE OWES A DEBT TO SOCIETY

"He has no right to accept this labor and not give back something in return. He should work for the community, or the church, for civic affairs—and it is with this in view that I have been pestering them, with some satisfactory results, I might add."

What Maurice duPont Lee has done in carrying out this fundamental philosophy made one of the most interesting articles ever carried by the Saturday Evening Post. I've reproduced it in 2 or 3 of my commentaries, at least in broad outline.

In simple statement, Mr. Lee surrounded himself with some other retired people with a broad business background and made their experience and counsel available to small businesses which were having a rough go of it. Many such ha[illegible] been put on their feet, saved from failure.

Along with this he serves without pay as park commissioner in his hometown of Wilmington. He finds pride in the fact that Wilmington is better served by its park system than any city of comparable size in the world.

HE'S A FRIEND OF HUMANITY

And even this isn't the end of the story. Maurice Lee still finds time to be the friend in need for all who are in distress. From a woman suffering with incurable cancer, I recently received a letter about his work. Let me quote a sentence or two from it:

"Practically every moment of his busy day he is doing something for some unfortunate. • • • I have never once heard him mention what he has done or what he is doing for people."

Turning now to Mr. Bliss, we find what I suppose might be called a more general approach to the problem. In his 10 years of retirement from the extension directorship, he has managed to keep busy in a number of fields. All the while, too, he has been a student of this relatively new science called gerontology. It has to do with the aging.

HERE ARE SOME RULES

From sitting in on conferences and from his own experience and observation, Mr. Bliss has come up with a set of suggestions which he thinks will add zest, and probably years, to the life of those who look out on their setting sun after retirement from their lifework:

1. If at all possible, keep on working at something you like and as your strength will permit.

2. Keep on living among long-time friends if possible. As one grows older, it becomes increasingly difficult to make new friends and the old ones keep dropping away.

3. Be as independent as you can. If one cannot be independent, then accept the situation philosophically. This sometimes requires a good sense of humor.

4. Keep on enjoying life. Dress as others dress. Don't, if you can help it, let yourself be set apart. Be a part of the community in which you live. Powder your nose, put rouge on your cheeks if you want to, wear conventional clothes, nice neckties, be one of the community or group, play suitable games, relax—have fun.

5. Watch your food. Get plenty of protein, calcium (milk is the best source), protective foods, and vitamin B complex group. Take note of your waistline.

6. Have regular physical examinations—at least once a year and oftener if worried about your health.

These are guides which have worked well for Mr. Bliss and he believes they have much to recommend them for others similarly situated.

WHY WOMEN LIVE LONGER

Incidentally, he has an interesting theory about why women live longer than men on the average. It's because the great majority of them keep on working at the tasks to which they were accustomed. But let's have R. K. Bliss tell it in his own words:

"When Dad retires, does Mom retire too? Not on your life. She keeps right on preparing three meals a day. She keeps the house in shape, makes the beds, etc.

"All the while old Dad is reading the papers and worrying about the present state of affairs and speculating on what's going to happen in the future. Mom doesn't have much time to worry.

"Mom generally has some grandchildren to take care of occasionally, to sew for and mother at times. And if she becomes a widow—as a rather surprisingly large number do, she may go to live with one of her children. If so, she keeps on working, taking care of her own room, mending for the grandchildren, etc."

DAD'S LIFE DESCRIBED

Then Mr. Bliss presents this contrast in Dad's life after retirement:

"Somebody else makes his bed, lays out his clothes, sees that he has the easy chair, cautions him about overdoing. (He might hurt his heart, you know.)

"Actually I think the tendency of the retirement system is to make Dad think about himself and his troubles so much that after a few years of it, he gets bored and tired and just drops off.

"No amount of social security that merely provides pork and beans and a good place to sleep will remedy this situation. We were told long ago that 'man cannot live by bread alone.' "

A study conducted and evaluated not so long ago by the University of Illinois lends support to the view held by Mr. Bliss that society is the poorer for not taking advantage of what our senior citizens have to offer. It covered 1,025 workers in 20 companies, all past 60, some past 70.

BAR ON GRANDMA MOSES

In overall performance, in total production, in the quality of product, in cooperative spirit and in absenteeism, the study revealed a highly satisfactory record for the oldsters as compared with their juniors on the job.

Now for a final word of testimony on this point by my Iowa friend:

"If Grandma Moses, the distinguished painter now 94, had been teaching school or college, she would have retired 24 or 29 years ago." She would never have painted even one picture.

In politics, there is no such binding restraint. Churchill is 80, Adenauer is almost as old and we have a group of Congressmen in their seventies and eighties.

It's comforting to know that a problem of such importance is coming more and more into focus in our country.

Russia, China, and the Outlook in the Pacific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on the evening of March 16, 1955, it was my privilege to address the Intelligence Chapter of the Reserve Officers Association. That is composed of the Intelligence Services of the Army, the Navy, and other groups. I spoke on the subject Russia, China, and the Outlook in the Pacific. I ask unanimous consent that my address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUSSIA, CHINA, AND THE OUTLOOK IN THE PACIFIC

As we look out on the world and ponder the problems that confront us, their very magnitude leads us at times to see only the dark side of the picture.

Unless those problems solve themselves, we must continue to seek solutions. And while seeking them, in association with our allies, we must keep up our guard, remain strong, and be prepared to meet any new danger which may threaten our security or that of the free world.

Yet the outlook is far from hopeless. Viewed superficially, or basing our conclusions on day-to-day developments, it might be thought fairly desperate. But if we dig deeper and look at the fundamentals, we can even be fairly cheerful.

There are favorable factors at work that justify an optimistic outlook. The facts of human nature likewise should strengthen our faith in the future.

The facts of history belie the concept that human beings will accept tyrannical rule indefinitely, or that tyrants cannot be overthrown.

The historic relationships of Eurasian peoples—including the Chinese and Russians—disclose more points of conflict, including conflicts of interest, than there are points of agreement.

Communism itself, although assuming malevolent form in its present incarnation, becomes a menace only as it is linked to nationalistic and imperialistic ambitions centering in Moscow and Peiping. In its basic philosophy it did not originate with Karl Marx. It is as old as mankind, and there have been communistic societies, or attempts to set them up, as far back as we can see in our study of human institutions.

To dispose of that subject first, and briefly, it is one of the simple facts of history that from the earliest times down to the present, these communistic communities have died out and either disappeared completely or passed through successive mutations into a pattern more nearly reflecting the competitive nature of life and the aspiration of human beings to pursue happiness and struggle for life's rewards in their own way. Communism has always failed when tried, because it conflicts with the fundamentals of human nature. It will fail in Russia and China for the same basic reason.

But it will fail for another reason also. It will fail because communism itself cannot compete with individualism. It must fail; because slaves and slave states cannot compete with free institutions and with free men living in free countries. It must fail because, under communism, and under dictatorial regimes and tyrannical rule, there is lacking the incentive to achievement which inspires free men to reach the heights they do.

A single illustration points the moral here: Russia and China are both suffering from food shortages. In the United States our problem is not shortages, but surpluses. Elsewhere in the free world the production of wheat, rice, meat, dairy products, and other dietary essentials is increasing constantly. The communist world, experimenting with collectivism, and with orders for food production handed down from above through a Communist bureaucracy, and with production at the source supervised by Communist overseers, suffers from hunger.

If the hungry peoples who are still free can be shown how to increase their own food supplies, and if we can help them to do this (meanwhile sharing our surpluses with them, as we have and will), they too will follow the path of freedom rather than fall into the lockstep of communism.

Now to be specific concerning Russia and China:

Moscow continues to growl and threaten, to abuse the rest of us, and to flood the free

world with lying propaganda designed—though unsuccessfully—to convince it that the Soviet Union is the world's most powerful nation.

Can a nation suffering from food shortages, and which has to choose between guns and butter, consumer goods and the products of heavy industry, be so categorized? Hardly. With all of her progress of the last 25 or 30 years in some directions, Russia still cannot grow enough food for her people, and actually has fewer cattle now than when the Russian peasant was little more than a serf, but still had freedom enough to run his farm in his own way.

What about Russia's relations with China? Does this constitute a true partnership, or is Russia making China pay through the nose for whatever the Red regime gets—meanwhile pushing off on the Peiping government obsolete and surplus war equipment which Russia herself no longer wants?

To a limited extent it pays Russia to help Red China. As China develops economically, it can become a market for Russian products—when Russia has enough of anything to export. As China becomes stronger militarily, the Red regime and the Red Army can be used to threaten China's neighbors. But it also serves Russia's purposes; for by encouraging China to undertake military adventures in the Far East, Russia makes sure that there will be no Chinese thrust to the north or west—into Siberia or Mongolia.

China is kept in a state of subjection as surely as if she were one of the lesser satellites of the Soviet Union. And to the extent that China's resources go into her Army and Air Force, with no real hope that they can be used to enlarge her territory or advance her interests—China is kept weak economically, or at least weaker than if the whole energies of her industrious people were devoted to developing her resources for her own benefit.

Thus, it may be suspected that Russia has a darkly ulterior, as well as a profit motive in giving Red China limited help. Moscow may even encourage Peiping to test our defenses in the Pacific for the double purpose, as they hope, of involving both China and the United States in a military conflict.

But certainly Russia can never afford to allow Red China to become a first-class military power. For whatever else they are, the rulers in the Kremlin are realists. They know their history. And they are not likely to forget that over the historic period the pressure of population on the Eurasian Continent has always come from the East. They will not forget that the Mongol hordes only a few centuries ago, as history is measured, overran Russia repeatedly, burned Moscow at least twice, and that for some 300 years Russia was forced to pay tribute to a Mongol Khan.

So there is a limit to the military and economic assistance Red China can expect from Russia.

Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai might think of themselves as partners of Russia; but sooner or later they will learn—if they have not realized it thus far—that they are not partners.

Russia is using Red China and will use her, so long as it serves Russian purposes, and so long as the Peiping government permits itself to be so used.

The Chinese rulers, for their part, will not be likely to forget the historic record. It is Russia that has hemmed China in. A glance at the map will show this vividly. China cannot move either north or west into sparsely populated areas with presumably substantial resources awaiting development, without coming into conflict with Russia.

What country took over Mongolia at a moment of Chinese weakness? Russia.

What neighbor moved into Manchuria and forced concessions there from China? Russia.

What supposed friend led China into a hopeless war in Korea, draining Chinese resources and costing the lives of a million Chinese? Russia.

What country stripped Manchuria of Japanese industrial equipment after World War II, leaving Communist China with the problem of rebuilding that formerly busy area, as developed during the Japanese occupation? Russia.

Only twice in Chinese history—once during the Mongol period, under the reign of Kublai Khan, in what is known as the Yuan Dynasty, and again under the Manchus—have the people of China gone south into Burma, Cambodia, and beyond, for purposes of military conquest.

These expeditions failed, and there is nothing in the present situation to suggest that any new Chinese military move in that direction would prove more successful, even without our intervention.

And the United States would intervene. Let there be no mistake on that point. And with a suddenness and strength that would open Asian eyes.

The Red rulers of China know this.

As to Formosa, the answer is equally clear: There is no possibility whatever that the men who sit in Peiping could take Formosa against the opposition represented by the Nationalist government on that island, supported by United States naval and air strength. And the Red Chinese know this, too.

The Chinese never have been a maritime people. They could no more reach out into the Pacific over the opposition of the free nations, including the Asian people in countries nearby, and of course including ourselves, than they could march to Moscow against Russia's military might on land. The Chinese know this.

If they feel themselves bottled up in China, they might look at the map again, and see who it is that has bottled them up. The map tells the story. The only territory formerly included in the Chinese empire which has been taken from China was taken from them by Russia.

When China has felt impelled to move into new territory in the past, the people of that country have moved—with the unsuccessful exceptions noted previously—either north or west. There has been trouble on her northern and western frontiers since before the Christian era.

It would not be altogether surprising if, at some future date, there should again be trouble there.

Moreover, the Chinese people, who enjoyed a high degree of culture before the first Russians emerged from the northern forests, certainly cannot enjoy subordinating themselves to the Russians now—or knowing that if Russia can prevent it they can never rise to equality with their neighbor to the west.

The Communists can settle down in China and behave themselves, so far as their conduct concerns others, or they can invite trouble, and undoubtedly find it in whatever direction they move.

And Communist Russia can do the same thing, as of today; for if they should move into Europe, beyond the present boundaries of the Communist bloc, they would invite destruction of all that they have gained, or built, in more than a quarter of a century.

That, then, is the picture.

These are some of the things we too often forget, or overlook, or fail to think about as we pass through this time of trouble.

On the whole, I think we have reason to be encouraged.

In the end, I believe the world will emerge into a better day.

Ultimately, we can hope, the Russian and Chinese people will throw off the tyranny of pseudo-communism, a dialectic screen for totalitarian rule by self-serving dictators—and again join the ranks of the free nations.

For the present, we shall watch, wait, pray, keep our powder dry, our Seventh Fleet in the Formosa Straits, and our airbases around the perimeter of Russia.

And we shall have faith that out of this formula will come, before long, a happier world for all of us.

George Mason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address made by Mr. R. Carter Pittman, a very distinguished member of the Georgia bar, entitled "George Mason, the Architect of American Liberty."

This address was delivered at the fall meeting of the Georgia Society of the Sons of Colonial Wars at Savannah, Ga., on November 17, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Vital Speeches of December 15, 1954]

GEORGE MASON: THE ARCHITECT OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

(By R. Carter Pittman, attorney, Dalton, Ga., delivered at the fall meeting of the Georgia Society of the Sons of Colonial Wars, Savannah, Ga., November 17, 1954)

On Wednesday, June 23, 1779, the flagship *Sensible*, a French frigate of 36 guns, under Captain Chavagnes, was at half sail on a choppy sea 6 days out, en route from France to America. To starboard and to larboard were the *Bonhomme Richard* of 42 guns, under Capt. John Paul Jones, and the *Alliance*, under Captain Landais. In the convoy were three other able ships of the line, well gunned. To complete the convoy were two ill-constructed and aggravating tubs whose sail seemed to ship more water than wind. Five knots in a fair wind was about all they could do. Trailing the convoy since the preceding Saturday were from 2 to 6 English privateers yawning for, yet fearing, the chance to close in for the kill. A few shots across their bows discouraged cordiality. On Tuesday night they had peeled off to be seen no more.

Aboard the *Sensible* was a French Commission deputed to a fledgling nation in the throes of the birth of freedom under the laws of God and man. Aboard also was John Adams and his 12-year-old son, John Quincy. The cargoes of human flesh and sinews of war were the answer of France to the subtle, yet fervent, plea of the Declaration of Independence. Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman had pieced together the Declaration of Independence from the products of American minds and the sentiments of the day and had deposited it in the laps of the gods as a hopeful prayer for aid in the American struggle for life over death.

Something about the sea, the mission, and the great part John Adams had played, and was yet playing, lifted him out of himself. At no hour of life had he felt so near the ideal of independence toward which American patriots had staggered so long, to find always beyond reach. The danger of capture at sea was now past. Something less

Footnotes at end of speech.

than relaxed conversation would have been out of place. Something less than sincerity would have been a travesty on the *Sensible* that day.

M. Marbois, secretary of the French Commission, fell into easy conversation with Adams on deck during the afternoon of that Wednesday. In that conversation John Adams told a few secrets that the world has either overlooked or ignored. After the evening meal, the second future President of the United States put John Quincy, the sixth future President, to bed in his hammock and then retired to his nearby cabin. The conversation of the afternoon was rebounding in his mind. Soliloquy tortured him. Philadelphia haunted him, and drove sleep westward many knots. As the *Sensible* seemed to slumber, John Adams recorded in his diary some of his conversation with Marbois. Here is a part:

"All religions are tolerated in America," said M. Marbois; "and the ambassadors have in all courts a right to a chapel in their own way; but Mr. Franklin never had any." "No," said I laughing, "because Mr. Franklin had no"—I was going to say what I did not say, and will not say here. I stopped short, and laughed. "No," said M. Marbois; "Mr. Franklin adores only great nature, which has interested a great many people of both sexes in his favor." "Yes," said I, laughing, "all the atheists, deists and libertines, as well as the philosophers and ladies, are in his train—another Voltaire, and thence—" "Yes," said Mr. Marbois, "he is celebrated as the great philosopher and the great legislator of America." "He is," said I, "a great philosopher, but as a legislator of America he has done very little. It is universally believed in France, England, and all Europe, that his electric wand has accomplished all this revolution. But nothing is more groundless. He has done very little. It is believed that he made all the American constitutions and their confederation; but he made neither. He did not even make the constitution of Pennsylvania, bad as it is. The Bill of Rights is taken almost verbatim from that of Virginia which was made and published 2 or 3 months before that of Philadelphia was begun; it was made by Mr. Mason."

That of "Philadelphia" (meaning Pennsylvania) "was begun" in late August 1776. The original draft of "that of Virginia—made by Mr. Mason" reached Richard Henry Lee in Philadelphia, in the handwriting of Mason, in late May 1776. It appeared in the June 1 issue of the Virginia Gazette which reached Philadelphia 4 days later. On June 6, it reappeared in the Pennsylvania Evening Post. On the 12th it reappeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette. The first paragraph was:

"That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent natural Rights, of which they cannot, by any Compact, deprive, or divest their Posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property, and pursuing and Obtaining Happiness and Saftey." [3]

Franklin, though a philosopher, was unwilling to deface those lines that firmed for the ages the profound wisdom of the Cato of his country. He copied Mason's words "almost verbatim" into the Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights, as follows: [4]

"That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and inalienable rights, amongst which are, the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

Adams could not remember the first name, "George," so he let it go as "Mr. Mason." Seventy-five years later Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy and grandson of John, could remember neither the first nor the last name. Nevertheless he recorded in the Works of John Adams, vol. 4, page 220, et seq., that his grandfather had no sooner disembarked from the *Sensible* to embrace his wife, grandmother of Charles Francis, than he was called away to write the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights. The grandson disclosed that in August 1779 his grandfather did exactly what Benjamin Franklin did in August 1776. He too copied "almost verbatim" from the Virginia Declaration of Rights. As prepared by John Adams the first paragraph of the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights was as follows: [4]

"All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting their property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness."

It was in the month of June 1776 that John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson were in Philadelphia struggling to compose the Declaration of Independence. It was easy enough to catalog the sins of George III and call him what he was. That had been done by many others many times. The South Carolina Constitution of March 1776 and Judge William Henry Drayton's charge to a grand jury at Charleston, S. C., in April 1776, were certainly used as models. But their combined wisdom was not equal to the task of framing a powerful preamble justifying revolution with an appeal to the hearts, the reason, and the sense of justice of all men. Nothing like that had ever been penned by man. Finally they saw the manuscript in the hands of Richard Henry Lee and later saw it in newspapers. Eureka! Eureka! Eureka! "Where did Mason get it?" No one knew. Richard Henry Lee knew the man of Gunston Hall better than any other in Philadelphia so he was appealed to. Here is the answer reported by Jefferson in a letter to Madison near a half century later:

"Richard Henry Lee charged it as copied from Locke's Treatise on Government." [5]

That was just one other time when Richard guessed wrong. George Mason was a prophet. Like Ezekiel, he had learned the gift of prophecy from the roll of a book, multiplied thousands of times. In his ample library at Gunston Hall he had filtered 5,000 years of history. The principles of the Virginia Declaration of Rights were the distilled essence of history's bitter fruits gathered from her Garden of Gethsemane.

Revealing as the John Adams Diary was, it did not tell all. It did not concede that the preamble to the Declaration of Independence was but a slight variant of the first three paragraphs of Mason's Declaration of Rights. The variance substituted the specious doctrine of equality of birth for the commonsense doctrine of equality of freedom and independence. It also substituted a fruitless pursuit of happiness for the ownership of property and attainment of happiness. The pursuit of happiness is but vain drudgery if it is not to be obtained. Happiness and safety may not be obtained in this world without the means of acquiring and possessing property.

Franklin and Adams consented to deface Mason's words in their appeal to France in the Declaration of Independence, but they were unwilling to deface them as a rule of life for Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. The Declaration of Independence was written as an appeal to the simple-minded peasants and philosophers of France. Those who prepared it knew that it would never breathe the first breath as living law in America—and it never has. The Mason concept became living law in every American Constitution and is now in every world constitution except those of Russia, Mongolia, Ukraine, and Guatemala. Disillusioned France struck the doctrine of unbounded equality from her motto in 1940 and from her Declaration of Rights in 1946. Equality beyond the range of legal rights cannot thrive in free soil. It thrives only in the sewers of Slavic slavery.

Alexander Hamilton expressed the idea well on the floor of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia on June 26, 1787: "Inequality will exist as long as liberty exists. It unavoidably results from that very liberty itself." Equality beyond the range of legal rights is despotic restraint. Liberty wears no chains. Equality homogenizes so that cream no longer rises to the top. It puts the eagle in the henhouse, that he may no longer soar.

Who was the "legislator of America"? His name was "Mr. Mason" aboard the *Sensible* in 1779. John Adams seemed never able to remember even that much of his name again. The biographers of Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson have likewise suffered equal lapse of memory.

George Mason was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. He refused to sign a proposed Constitution that sanctioned human slavery and omitted the rights of men. The first six words of his Objections were heard in every hovel and on every frontier of America: "There is no declaration of rights." He carried his deathless struggle for a Federal Bill of Rights to the people, and lived barely long enough to see his efforts crowned with victory and his name drowned in oblivion because of the bitterness engendered in that struggle.

Something about the man and his story sounds like a play back of a few tragic scenes along the road to the Cross, and to Tower Hill. Liberty must have her martyrs in every age. It is blood drained from their veins and abuse heaped upon them that neutralizes arbitrary power in governments and reasserts man's natural right to be let alone. Martyrs to human liberty and dignity are those who think in terms of ages gone and to come—ancestry and posterity. Mason thought of the ages, while others thought of the hour.

The best minds among the proponents of the Constitution tried in vain to answer Mason's Objections under a variety of pseudonyms. One of the efforts appear in the Virginia Independent Chronicle of January 30, 1788, over the pseudonym Civis Rusticus. This article seems to have never been reprinted or noted elsewhere. It contains one of the most remarkable tributes by one adversary to another to be found in all literature.

Civis Rusticus opened his attempted reply to Mason with an apology, and, as he put it, "with that deference, which is due to this respectable and worthy gentleman; to whose great and eminent talents, profound judgment, and strength of mind, no man gives a larger credit than he who presumes to criticize his objections * * *."

After attempting to answer each of Mason's objections categorically, he then said:

"I have now finished what I proposed to observe on these objections, and trust no person will conclude my design has been to condemn this respectable gentleman for not putting his signature to the Constitution. On the contrary, thinking as he did, I commend him. The man of abilities, firmness, and integrity will dare to think, to judge, and act for himself. His principles have not the pliancy of his gloves, neither has he his mind to make up at every revolution. An hour's authority with him is not the guide to truth, nor does infallibility rest in numbers. He has a surer monitor: his own judgment and the dictates of his conscience. Of such stern matter is the mind of Mr. Mason composed, if I am rightly informed, that it is never yielding itself up, when convinced of its rectitude, at the arbitrium of the

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

popular breath, nor giving in to opinions that are not its own."

That picture, drawn in the heat of bitter controversy by an unknown adversary, aids us to understand why Jefferson regarded Mason the wisest man of his generation; why Madison described him the greatest debater he had ever heard speak, and why Patrick Henry named him the greatest statesman he had ever known.

At the Virginia ratifying convention of 1788 in Richmond, Mason prepared proposed amendments that were sent to New York and which formed the basis of the amendments proposed by the New York ratifying convention. He prepared those proposed by the Virginia Convention. Practically all of those proposed by North Carolina originally flowed from the pen of Mason. The amendments proposed by the committee in the First Congress were taken almost seriatem from those originally drawn by Mason and transmitted from the Virginia ratifying convention. Thus it was that the first 10 amendments to the Federal Constitution, that we cherish as our Bill of Rights, adopted in 1791, was a monumental attempt to satisfy with Mason's own proposed amendments some of Mason's objections to the Constitution. The 11th and 22d amendments were belated attempts to satisfy other Mason objections that time had proved to be otherwise unanswerable. The ill-fated Bricker amendment, defeated in the last Congress, was a proposed answer to another of Mason's objections to the Constitution. Others remain to be answered in ages to come.

As we have said, the Declaration of Independence never breathed its first breath as living law, while the Bill of Rights lives and shields our helpless people from tyrannical government every hour of every day. Since the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence is celebrated annually, it was thought not to be improper to celebrate the anniversary of the Bill of Rights if done once in 150 years. December 15, 1941, was the 150th anniversary of the Federal Bill of Rights. A committee was formed to celebrate the occasion headed by Herbert Bayard Swope as national chairman. Franklin D. Roosevelt was honorary chairman, and it seemed that every living man who had ever been President or who had ever run for President or who had ever aspired to be President was named as honorary vice chairman. Down below in small print the national committee was crowded in. It was an imposing list of people with awesome titles and chronic publicity seekers. This committee published a book entitled "Our Bill of Rights, What It Means To Me." It consists of short essays by so-called leaders of thought at that time. As one might expect, the chairman led off with the essay that set the pattern. In it, he said:

"Jefferson, shocked by the omissions in the Constitution, as promulgated in 1789, while he was United States Minister to France * * * drafted the additions to our great charter. Thus we were given the four freedoms * * *" etc. With all due deference to Mr. Swope, Jefferson drafted no provision of our Bill of Rights or the Constitution to which it was added. In fact, Jefferson never drafted a single liberty-preserving provision of any constitution or bill of rights that has ever been adopted in America. He never attended a constitutional convention in his life. He spent much of his life writing constitutions for Virginia that were all rejected by his contemporaries because they liked the one Mason wrote for them too well. The only connection Jefferson ever had with our Bill of Rights was that he favored it from afar. Why Swope and many other Americans should believe that Jefferson was the author of or had the inspiration for our Bill of Rights is one of the great unsolved mysteries of the New World.

Swope was not the only leader of thought to skin his ignorance on the Bill of Rights. Many of the 59 contributors to that book skinned their ignorance in the same place. Justice Felix Frankfurter paid his usual lipservice to liberty and conceived that the Bill of Rights and Constitution are just convenient vehicles in which the people may ride helter-skelter, and with reckless abandon in a wild pursuit of happiness. He insisted that the "pursuit of happiness" is the one real inalienable right in America. He didn't reveal the obvious truth that happiness may be pursued in prisons or in chains or in the mines of Siberia with even more zeal than in freedom. The liberty to pursue happiness is enjoyed by slaves. It is nothing. Liberty to obtain happiness is everything. Happiness may be pursued in Russia but it is not obtainable there. It may be obtained only in a government in which every unnecessary restraint on the individual is expressly forbidden by stubborn laws, and where laws rule the rulers as well as the ruled with the same force. The difference between pursuing happiness and obtaining it is the difference between the fantastic philosophy of alien doctrinaires and the intelligent realism of Mason.

The late famous journalist William Allen White said his piece in that book. He tells us that "the liberties that are guaranteed to the American people by the Bill of Rights * * * came straight out of the impulse of the Declaration of Independence. * * *"

MIRABILE DICTU

George Mason's pen was the first in all history to elevate freedom of speech and of the press to the dignity of constitutional status, yet Mr. White knew him not.

Those of you the least acquainted with the truths of American history and who have a strange sense of humor will enjoy reading The Bill of Rights, What It Means to Me, by the leaders of thought in America.

Mason's contribution to liberty under law in the solid framework of the Federal Constitution and Bill of Rights and in those of the American states and many nations of the world is a story too long to tell here. He was not only the legislator of America, but may be justly called the legislator of the non-Communist world. He is history's grand champion of the guarded liberty and dignity of men against everencroaching governments, and is also her most forgotten man. As a libertarian he stood at the opposite pole from so-called liberals of our day.

In October 1792, George Mason was buried at the edge of an old field near Gunston Hall 13 miles downstream from Mount Vernon. His body was placed as close to the side of Ann, the wife of his youth and mother of his children, as her tomb would permit. He wanted it that way. Her tomb thus became his own. For 19 years his heart had been there anyway.

On the following day the 5 sons and 4 daughters gathered in the library of Gunston Hall for the reading of his solemn will. It had been written in 1773, just after the death of Ann and before the Revolution had begun. One paragraph of that will mirrored the man:

"I recommend it to my sons from my own experience in life to prefer the happiness of independence and a private station to the troubles and vexation of public business, but if either their own inclinations or the necessity of the times should engage them in public affairs, I charge them on a father's blessing never to let the motives of private interest or ambition to induce them to betray, nor the terrors of poverty and disgrace or the fear of danger or of death, deter them from asserting the liberty of their country and endeavoring to transmit to their posterity those sacred rights to which themselves were born.

Abnegation of self is not a creed. It is not a philosophy. It is a way of life. Narrow is its way and straight is its gate. Those who travel that way find few vistas through which to look down for a glimpse of mundane glory. Their vistas lie straight ahead and up. Straight ahead is in any and all directions unless the course is set by that from whence we came. The first is the way of philosophy. The latter is the way of experience. That is the chief reason why no frame of government has ever survived whose architect was a philosopher. The light of experience is never shed upon utopias. Such are not in the vistas of evolution's pioneers. Such are not in the vistas of the martyrs to human liberty and dignity. The crowns they wear are of thorns. The garlands they bear are crosses. They don't stand in marble on public squares. Had it been tinseled garlands they sought, they would not have traveled the narrow way and entered the straight gate.

---

[1] The introduction to Glimpse of Glory, by Marian Buckley Cox, published on the 10th of this month by Garrett & Massie, Inc., Richmond, Va., contains a part of this talk. Glimpse of Glory tells a story about the home life of the Masons at Gunston Hall. Royalties from the sale of the book are to be used for the benefit of Gunston Hall by the National Society of Colonial Dames, from whose membership the regents of Gunston Hall are selected. Mrs. Cox is a member of the society and the New York representative on the board of regents.

[2] As revised by the Convention, the first paragraph was:

"That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which when they enter into a state of society they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

[3] Thorpe, American Charters and Constitutions, vol. 5, p. 3082.

[4] The Works of John Adams, vol. 4, p. 220. The Convention changed the first line to read: "All men are born free and equal," thus substituting the specious doctrine of equality of men for the original Mason concept of equality of freedom and independence.

[5] The Writings of Jefferson, Ford ed., vol. VII, p. 304.

National Correct Posture Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by him concerning National Correct Posture Week.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR ALLOTT

I wish to call attention to the increasing importance of a vital phase of our national welfare—the general health of all our citizens.

It has long been realized that the stress and strain of modern living have contributed materially toward the present-day afflictions of the American people.

The so-called high-pressure mode of living has brought an increasing awareness of the mental ills which beset the people of this

Nation in disturbing numbers. The formation of many new mental-health associations attest to this fact.

Much work is being done by the National Chiropractic Association, which again this year—from May 1 to May 7—is acting as sponsor for National Correct Posture Week.

This association, through activities in connection with the special week and throughout the year, is bringing a simple, elemental, yet often overlooked basic-health fact to the attention of the Nation, and that is the importance of correct posture.

From the formative years of school age, on through to adulthood, it is vitally important that our people maintain their good posture as a firm foundation for general good health and well being.

The value of this special week is indicated by the fact that many of our mayors and governors have issued special proclamations urging the people to participate in the special educational activities during National Correct Posture Week.

It is significant to note that our Nation's schools are paying special attention to this worthy program of training for our young people.

I attach for the RECORD a statement prepared by Dr. Emmett J. Murphy, of Washington, D. C., who is director of public relations of the National Chiropractic Association.

STATEMENT PREPARED BY DR. EMMETT J. MURPHY

No greater contribution can be made by the chiropractors of America to the Nation than by improving posture and thus increasing the efficiency of all our workers. Poor posture is expensive, and poor posture habits are responsible not only for many days of lost time, but for poor response to job needs, and eventually for a shortened life of top efficiency.

The problem of poor posture and the low efficiency of workers which it brings on can be approached in two ways.

The first is a long, careful, and well-planned program to teach Americans how to walk and stand and sit in ways which will promote health and efficiency. We have such an educational program underway, and it is having its effect.

However, that takes time. Meanwhile, many postural faults can be helped by direct treatment, or the bad effects can be modified or eliminated.

CHIROPRACTORS PLAY DECISIVE ROLE

In both programs individual chiropractors can play a decisive and important role.

They can continue to carry out the program of education. They can explain to their patients how to walk, stand, sit, and lie for the best effect on health. They can give their patients the publications of the National Chiropractic Association on the subject and win their cooperation.

They can also continue to relieve the bad results of poor posture by correcting the misalinements of the spine. Every chiropractor knows that the most minor displacements in the spinal column can bring on sharp pains, often far removed from the spine itself, which disappear under chiropractic treatment.

TEST YOUR POSTURE

Good posture is a result of holding your body in a balanced position. The easiest way to attain it is to think of an imaginary line running (side view) from the tip of the skull through your neck, shoulders, hips, knees, and insteps. When the head is bent forward, the abdomen thrust out, or the back bent, the line of gravity is shifted, and a strain placed on muscles to keep the body from falling.

To test: Stand with back to wall with head, heels, shoulders, and calves of legs touching it, hands by sides. Flatten hollow of back by pressing buttocks down against the wall. Space at back of waist should not be greater than the thickness of your hand.

Stand facing close to wall, palms of hands touching front of thighs. If chest touches wall first, your posture is probably excellent, or at least good; if head touches first it is only fair; if abdomen touches first, your posture is really bad, and you should see a chiropractor.

Standing

When you stand straight your head should be balanced and erect. Your shoulders are relaxed and low; your chest is held high. Your lower back should curve to just a slight degree. Your abdomen should be flat. Have your knees straight but not stiff, and feel your weight in the outer borders of your feet.

Sitting

You should sit with your feet flat on the floor. Do not slump in a chair, but keep your back straight and your abdomen flat. As in standing, your head should be erect and well balanced. When you lean forward, lean from the hips, not from the waist.

Walking

Movement should start at the hips. Your head and upper part of your body should remain at right angles to the ground. Swing your arms freely. Look ahead, never down. Point your toes straight ahead. Knees should be relaxed and free.

SECOND LARGEST HEALING PROFESSION

Chiropractic, as an organized professional body, is 58 years old, and now ranks as the second largest healing profession.

Licensed by law in 44 States, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and 7 Provinces of Canada, there are some 22,000 chiropractors in the United States (against a population of 161 million) and 1,030 in Canada (against a population of 15 million).

Chiropractic is an established but growing and dynamic profession, which has adopted high professional standards and ethics through formal action of the National Chiropractic Association.

Officials of the National Chiropractic Association believe it to be the most democratic professional body in the United States. It employs no sanctions of legal or economic force against nonmembers and strives to achieve its goal of professional unity through education and in a manner discussed and approved by the national membership.

FOUR-YEAR COURSE IS EDUCATION STANDARD

Chiropractic colleges are required to give 4,000 academic hours in a standard 4-year course to obtain accredited ratings from the committee on educational standards of the National Chiropractic Association. A basic course of 4,400 hours is recommended.

The curriculum and hours of study parallel the minimum requirements of the American Medical Association for class A schools.

Up to 2 years of preprofessional (college) education is required by State chiropractic laws of licensure. A large percentage of students entering approved chiropractic colleges today have college degrees.

CHIROPRACTIC COMPARES WELL

In every way chiropractic as a healing profession, compares well with other professions.

Sound chiropractic education is encouraged not only by the national council on education of the National Chiropractic Association but also by the student loan fund and other devices designed to provide aid for gifted students.

Chiropractic education has a lower gross cost than that of other professions, but average incomes for practitioners fall into the median group of all professions.

BASIC CURRICULUM

The following typical or basic curriculum for approved chiropractic colleges is based on the National Chiropractic Association code for a minimum of 4,000 hours in a 4-year course:

Subject:	Hours
Anatomy, including embryology and histology	740
Physiology	240
Biochemistry	180
Pathology and bacteriology	520
Public health, sanitation, hygiene	160
Practice of chiropractic (principles and technique, neurology and psychiatry, pediatrics, dermatology and syphilology, urology, ophthalmology, otolaryngology, first aid and minor surgery, roentgenology)	1,900
Obstetrics and gynecology	200
Total	4,000

Jefferson-Jackson Day Address by Hon. Clinton P. Anderson, of New Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a Jefferson-Jackson Day address delivered by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] at Raleigh, N. C., on February 5, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Toastmaster, Governor Hodges, Senator ERVIN, Senator SCOTT, members of the North Carolina congressional delegation, representatives of the Democratic National Committee, and the North Carolina State Democratic Committee, my fellow Democrats, ladies, and gentlemen, it is not from allegiance to a political party that I visit North Carolina today. I am not here because the Democratic National Committee selected me to speak at this occasion. Instead I come in the name of friendship and long association with men whose lives have touched my own—men whose fine character helped strengthen me in difficult days and whose confidence sustains me and will as long as I may live.

In such a list is your fine Governor. Thirty years ago we sweltered in the June heat of a Dallas hotel room and struggled to bring about the election of a fine citizen of North Carolina to the presidency of the World Rotary movement. We began then a friendship which has lasted through the years.

True friendship, of course, permits an occasional imposition upon it, and I imposed on Luther in an hour of great difficulty. It is a story that I must repeat here tonight.

When I took the oath of office as Secretary of Agriculture, the President made me as well War Food Administrator which led to the added chore of Chairman of the World Food Board. On the first day, I was handed a receipt which I was obliged to sign—a receipt for $1.5 billion worth of garden seeds, cotton, corn, wheat, and potatoes—heavy on the potatoes—owned by Commodity Credit Corporation. I signed it, and then I phoned New York and found that Luther was back in North Carolina.

I notified Luther that we had just bought a business. He asked how much we paid for it and I told him a billion and a half dollars. There was silence on the other end of the

phone line and finally I felt obliged to ask him, "Luther, do you have any questions?"

"Yes," he said, "I would like to know what we bought, where it is, and what shape it's in."

"Good," I told him, "Come to Washington and find out those three things for both of us."

Thus began a distinguished chapter of service to the American people. Luther Hodges sought to find out how the Department of Agriculture which had been required to ship billions of dollars worth of food and fiber to our armed services, both at home and abroad, and to allies across every sea and in every part of the earth, could now account for these enormous shipments and at the same time develop an inventory of the goods then on hand. He brought into the Department of Agriculture experts on physical inventories. He took in pay only an amount which covered a portion of each day's hotel bill; but at the end of his service, the Commodity Credit knew what it had, where it was and what shape it was in. There have been numerous investigations of Government agencies, charges and countercharges about fur coats and deep freezes, but the Department of Agriculture came out of that period without a breath of scandal. For that rare good fortune I owe complete thanks to a handful of men including the present distinguished Governor of North Carolina, Luther Hodges.

When he informed me that the Democrats of North Carolina were having a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner and asked me to make an address to the Democrats, I welcomed the chance because I have long desired to pay public testimony to his work and rejoice again in the privilege of calling Martha and Luther our friends as you delight to call him your governor.

Grant me now the privilege of a few words about some other Carolinians.

North Carolina bows to no State in the excellence of its representation in the United States Senate. I am proud that SAM IRVIN and KERR SCOTT are Democrats.

Few men in my time have so quickly achieved the Senate stature of your senior Senator, SAM ERVIN. Long respected and esteemed here in North Carolina for his great judicial ability and dedication to high principle and purpose, he was little known in the Nation when, last June, he succeeded the beloved, late Senator Clyde Hoey.

Then suddenly he was named to the Senate select committee which handled the McCarthy censure resolution. His distinguished service on that committee was not only a great credit to North Carolina, to the Senate, and to the Nation; it also brought him nationwide attention and acclaim.

Many have predicted that Senator ERVIN'S speech on the censure resolution will rank among the great speeches of the Senate. It was a masterpiece of logic and eloquence. Listen to these words from that famous address:

"The Senate," said he, "Is trying this issue: Was Senator MCCARTHY guilty of disorderly behavior in his senatorial office? The American people are trying another issue. The issue before the American people transcends in importance the issue before the Senate. The issue before the American people is simply this: Does the Senate of the United States have enough manhood to stand up to Senator MCCARTHY? The honor of the Senate is in our keeping. I pray that Senators will not soil it by permitting Senator MCCARTHY to go unwhipped of senatorial justice."

From that day on, the stature of SAM ERVIN in the Senate of the United States was established. His ringing words fell on the consciences of reasonable men. You know the verdict, and we know our colleague!

May I turn now to your junior Senator?

I first had the great pleasure of working with KERR SCOTT when I was Secretary of Agriculture. He was then your Commissioner of Agriculture, and an excellent one.

In 1948 we both left the immediate arena of agriculture. I went to the Senate. KERR SCOTT became your Governor.

Under his vigorous, progressive leadership, North Carolina set a new pace of progress in many fields. Your new rural roads and highways, your hospitals and schools, your expanded electric-power facilities are monuments to an era of action. They are living tributes to the zeal, energy, and high purpose of KERR SCOTT.

I would not want to forget those members of the North Carolina delegation who serve in the House of Representatives. When I came to the House in 1941, I found HERBERT BONNER near me in the Old House Office Building. He had entered the House to take the place of the beloved and highly respected Lindsay Warren. Tonight I congratulate the State of North Carolina on HERBERT'S elevation to chairmanship of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Of course, I have had many opportunities to watch the work and the fidelity to his task of the dean of your delegation, HAROLD COOLEY, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, and one of the top figures of our Congress in importance to his State and to the Nation. While Secretary of Agriculture I had the benefit of his experience and counsel. Now in the Senate I take some interest in agricultural legislation; and while HAROLD COOLEY and I are not always on the same side and frequently are on opposite sides of agricultural questions, nothing has impaired my admiration for him, nor altered my conviction that he is a true friend of the farmers of the United States.

Obviously I must not prolong my praise of your congressional delegation of this remarkable State, but surely I would never forgive myself if I did not mention CARL DURHAM, who is my opposite number on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. When the Democrats control again the House of Representatives in the 1956 elections, CARL DURHAM will become chairman of the joint committee, and a very fine chairman he will be. We all admire him for the quiet, gentlemanly way in which he goes about his tasks. The Nation will be fortunate to have a man of his stature as head of that very important committee.

With GRAHAM BARDEN, a long-time member of your delegation and now the able chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, these are the Congressmen with whom I served when I was a Member of the House of Representatives. You have added other capable and talented men and I would like to consider each one; but I will content myself with saying that this collection of strong men in the House of Representatives is a great political and economic asset for the State of North Carolina, and the Democrats over the Nation rejoice in your good fortune.

This mention of rejoicing seems automatically to bring me into the current economic and political situation. The last time I was moving around the country making Jefferson-Jackson Day speeches in any number was in 1948. That was a period when we were taking a rather vigorous pounding from critics across the Nation, and as a member of the Truman administration, I was allergic to the subject of mink coats and deep freezes, even though I had purchased my own deep freeze and had a legitimate, well documented sales slip to prove it. But in the recent campaign I found that the Republicans have developed a few deep freezes of their own. The most noted one from my standpoint was on display in the 83d Congress when the then junior Senator from Kentucky, John Sherman Cooper, sought to get into the White House to tell the President of the United States the facts of life about the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Dixon-Yates contract. When Senator Cooper got to the desk of Sherman Adams, whether in person or on the phone, he learned what a deep freeze really was (he couldn't talk to the President); and even though he got a momentary Presidential handclasp in the closing days of his campaign, it never succeeded in thawing out from the minds of the people of his State the autumn frostbite given him at the White House, and he went down to defeat by the old warrior, ALBEN BARKLEY.

These and other Republican activities helped in additional Democratic victories in November. They made it possible for our party to redeem the Congress and bring it under Democratic control. We saw what Secretary McKay's partnership in resource development could do to the race of a conservative Senator like Guy Cordon of Oregon. We saw what an unsympathetic attitude on unemployment could do to a vulnerable Senator like Homer Ferguson of Michigan. We saw how vigorous campaigning could win for Senator JOSEPH O'MAHONEY in Wyoming against the heaviest barrage of slush and slime that any western candidate ever faced. But most of all we saw Democratic candidates for governor sweep the Republican strongholds and show by their victories that there was an abundance of popular support for Democratic principles in every part of the Nation, and that the support was so widespread and deep rooted that a Democratic victory in 1956 seemed virtually assured.

Let's take a quick look at the effect of those governorship races. We gained 9 governorships without losing a single one. We made the greatest increase in governorships which was ever made in a 2-year period by either major party since the great Democratic landslide in 1932. Governors were elected in 1953 and 1954 in 36 States and we won 21 of them. Even in the States that we lost, the Democratic percentage of the popular vote improved in every one of them except two—Idaho and Massachusetts—and we think there definitely were local conditions which caused our troubles in those States.

When we count the States that swung into the Democratic column in these elections of 1953 and 1954, we sense that in the 21 States where the Democrats elected governors, there are 284 electoral votes. Now our Republican friends captured 15 States but those States had total electoral votes numbering only 124. As a matter of fact, if you add the 6 States where Democrats have hold-over Democratic governors to the ones we won, we then count 27 States which together have 347 electoral votes—far more than needed to make a Democrat President and about two-thirds of the total. So the future looks bright.

What brought this swing to Democrats? What helped us carry New York and Pennsylvania, and kept Ohio and Michigan heavily in our fold? What won back our governorships in Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona which had become part of the great Democratic desert?

For my part, I want to look at the plight of the American farmer, for I think he may still influence deeply the economics of this Nation and that his distress has been the symbol if not the source of Republican political decay.

So let's talk about farming. Yours is a great agricultural State, and you have as deep an interest in farming as any State in the Union.

One of my hobbies has been checking on farm income, and I have made calculations to show what parity would have produced for the American farmer through the years and contrasted that with what the farmer actu-

ally received. I start with the year 1910 because that was the beginning of the parity base.

We use 1910 through 1914 as the 5 years which are the golden age of American agriculture. Conditions were so ideal during that period that parity on many products and originally on all products was figured on that base.

So I've gone back to the beginning of that period and checked the income of American farmers from 1910 to 1953, and have discovered that farm income depends upon the zeal of the administrator of farm programs and not solely on the text of the current law.

Since 1910 Republicans have held power for 16 years. In that period full 100-percent parity income would have been $103,153,000,000. Actual farm income was $92,030,000,000, a deficit of $11,123,000,000 during Republican control.

The Democrats were in for 28 years, and in that time estimated parity income, full 100-percent parity, was $209,208,000,000. Actual income to farmers was $265,921,000,000, a surplus of $56,713,000,000.

In other words, while the Republicans were in, farmers of this country got $11 billion less than full parity. While the Democrats were in the farmers of this country got $56,713,000,000 more than full parity.

That suggests to me that the party which knows how to do the job of protecting the American farmer is the party which has built the price support program, which set up the machinery, and which understands that no farm program is worth its salt if it doesn't save the farmer from the sheriff.

I'm going to talk about farm income this evening because I see things on the agricultural front that I don't like. Farm debt is getting bigger. There has been a 63-percent increase in farm mortgage debt in 8 years and yet we had 90-percent supports every one of these years and good administration of farm laws during many of them. I'm convinced that we will never do the job by price supports alone; that we have to do it by active markets at home and abroad, and have at the same time Secretaries of Agriculture who are fighting to get the highest possible level of agricultural income in this country. Secretaries who want to get the top dollar—not a part of it—for the farmers of our Nation.

I say that because I realize that the net income to farmers from farming in 1953 was only 4.3 percent of the national income. That was the lowest it has ever been in the history of this country. I look back for comparison at the figures when I was in the Department. In 1946 farm income was 9.4 percent of the national income; in 1947 and 1948 it was an even 9 percent of national income. And yet, the last year for which figures are fully available—1953—the percentage was 4.3 percent, the lowest we have ever known.

But brace yourselves, because 1954 will be found to have been even lower. Even in 1932, which was the year of depression, the farmers received more than 5.5 percent of the national income, but the preliminary figures for 1954 indicate that farmers' net income that year was less than 4.2 percent of national income—an all-time low. The farmer didn't get his share of prosperity but he gets more than his sshare of recession.

That's why I say that in the Department of Agriculture we need not so much a set of rules as a ruling spirit, not so much a program of supports as a Samson who will not tear down but hold erect the pillars of agricultural prices. This Nation has not reached the peak of national income. Statisticians and economists predict that income will reach $500 billion by 1975 and probably earlier than that. If the farm areas of the country then receive a full share, our farm income would be more than double what it now is. But instead of that, the figures reveal that since 1947 national income has increased more than $100 billion; and farm income, instead of following it up and thereby increasing five to seven billion dollars since its 1947 peak of $16¾ billion, has dropped $4¼ billion. It is that tragic trend which must first be stopped and then reversed before farm prosperity is possible in America, and only Democrats will do the job.

I realize that some may comment that I have supported the President's Secretary of Agriculture. What possibly is overlooked is that he recommended an agricultural program which I had presented to the Congress 9 years ago, which incidentally had its beginnings in the flexible support system written into the Agricultural Act of 1938 and advocated with more or less consistency through the years of Democratic administration. Naturally, I was pleased to to find him recognizing the merits of Democratic programs. That wasn't the only Democratic agricultural program which he embraced. He sent us a wool bill which we incorporated into the last agricultural act. It followed the principles of a wool bill submitted to Congress in 1947 but its method of farmer payment was on all fours with the Brannan plan for supporting perishable farm products. On top of that the perplexing dairy situation turned the Department again in the direction of the Brannan proposal to such a degree that the U. S. News & World Report commented that "Republicans, with a farm problem on their hands * * * are even exploring a modified Brannan plan," and the Scripps-Howard newspapers which were and are strong Eisenhower backers, published a headline reading, Brannan Plan Still Very Much Alive.

I predict, of course, that if the Department finally tries to sell butter, cheese and milk powder on the Brannan formula, the Secretary of Agriculture may catch the same sort of heat in his domestic problems that the Republican Senate leader poured on the President in foreign affairs. Of course, if Mr. Benson gets into hot water on the Brannan plan, it will be no novelty to him. No one could watch his handling of the Ladejinsky matter without realizing that he has a passion for hot water and 1 or 2 more plunges into it will be no novelty either for him or for the Republican administration. I wish him no misfortune. I seek only to keep the record straight on the origin of his agricultural programs.

That has been the best part of the Eisenhower administration—the facility with which it has adopted good Democratic doctrine.

In the very first state of the Union message, President Eisenhower announced that he was "unleashing" the forces of Chiang Kai-shek so that they might attack the Chinese mainland from Formosa. Here are his words: "I am issuing instructions that the 7th Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China." But here are his more recent words: "The Nationalist Chinese navy and air force have been ordered to cease attacks on Chinese Communist mainland targets as a result of United States pressure." The experience of 2 years with a difficult Formosa problem has brought him to the point where he now favors an open commitment for all the world to heed and remember that we will prevent Red China from seizing the Pescadore Islands and Formosa—precisely what President Truman proclaimed 5 years ago. All Democrats should be glad that such a good American doctrine has found a new home.

I hear more favorable words these days about the doctrine of mutual aid and the Marshall plan. We find a new feeling of appreciation for trade, not aid; and an occasional comment as to how we may achieve a better balance in world trade by falling back on the wisdom of a great Democrat, Cordell Hull.

Let us talk just a little about Mr. Hull's program of reciprocal trade. It seemed to find a new home when on March 30, 1954, the President sent to the Congress his message on foreign trade. He described as its main provision the continuance of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements for another 3 years.

Those of us who were appreciative of the fact that only by an alert and aggressive foreign trade can we save our farmers were warmed by the President's strong message. We knew that once before he had put off a fight with those old-guard Republicans in Congress who believe in the highest of protective tariffs, but now he seemed in his firmly worded message to be telling them that he was ready to fight it out.

Yet within 2 months he made public a letter revealing that he would not fight for his 3-year tariff-cutting program, but would settle for a simple 1-year extension. We Democrats thought that he shouldn't give up so easily. Senator ALBERT GORE, of Tennessee, led off a 90-minute debate on foreign trade in which the Senate Democrats freely joined, but not a Republican said a word.

Eighteen of us joined with Senator GORE in offering an amendment which would carry out the President's fighting words of only a few months before. We stood ready to make the fight even if the President wouldn't. The roll was called in the Senate, and 84 percent of the Senate Democrats supported the President's trade program, while 100 percent of the Republicans voted for the weak and feeble 1-year bill. Pretty soon we will be at it again, but this time we will be wondering how much help we will have from the followers of the President in putting across the President's program. These Democratic policies could be dusted off and win if we could only get some Republicans to follow the Republican leadership.

We Democrats enjoy comparing the promise with the performance.

The budget? The general in the 1952 campaign said, "We can reduce our budget * * * we can live within our means." But Treasury sources today say the deficit was big in 1953, big in 1954, will be big in 1955, and that will continue to be the story.

The national debt? The 1952 Republican platform said, "Our goal * * * is a reduced national debt." But today the Treasury Department is preparing its annual request for permission to raise the debt limit.

Farm prosperity? The Republican platform of 1952 said, "The Republican Party will create conditions providing for farm prosperity and stability." The figures I have given you already tonight show that farm net income will be the smallest percentage of national income we have ever known, even in the bottom of the depression.

Family quarrels? The general in the 1952 campaign said, "We shall not allow our Government agencies to fight at the expense of the American people." CARL DURHAM and I know something of their family fights. Indeed, I watched Admiral Strauss and Comsioner Murray of the Atomic Energy Commission argue one day face to face before our committee and I knew then that family quarrels were the order of the day.

Of course, I know what the Senator from Wisconsin has said about the man in the White House; what the Secretary of Commerce says to the Secretary of Labor; what the Senator from California has said about Formosa; and when I went home that evening after watching the argument in the Atomic Energy Committee I opened the Bible that lies beside my telephone and my easy chair and, strangely, my eyes fell on the 17th verse in the 4th chapter of Nehemiah: "They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, everyone with one of his hands wrought in

the work, and with the other hand held a weapon." If ever there was a spot where the Commissioners worked with one hand and held a weapon with the other, it was and is the Atomic Energy Commission, and we are promised a replay of that record on Tuesday of this coming week.

Why, the battles of Washington determine even our dreams. One night after a particularly bitter day, my dreams took the pattern of an old-time minstrel show—end men, buck and wing dancers, barbershop quartets, and all the trimmings.

Ed Sullivan had just put on television his tribute to the radio industry and that pageant may have colored my phantasy, for on stage strutted a male chorus, and they sang:

"I wish I were in the land of Dixon
Big deals there are ripe for fixin',
Giveaway, giveaway, giveaway Dixon-Yates."

Then the fade-out and a strong singer with a parody on Gilbert and Sullivan—and the Captain of the King's Navee.

What he sang proved that my dreams were getting better all the time—better and closer to reality. Dr. Lawrence Hafsted, the AEC expert on reactors, had just been hired by the Chase National Bank, the public relations man had joined a New York publicity firm, and the general manager himself had resigned to take a huge salary because he couldn't live on the $20,000 we were paying him. So the singer on my dream stage sang:

"Now friends and pals, wherever you may be
You'll never get rich in the AEC.
If you want to make a mark and a dollar too,
Just take this advice I give to you.
The advice that I give is all for free
Get a new job in industry."

As they left our schooling and went out into the world of more and bigger bucks, they sang in tribute to their training ground and their alma mater:

"There by Mississippi's waters
On a bank of mud
"Sits our generating station
Covered by a flood."

The real target of the Dixon-Yates feud, of course, was the TVA and the salute to TVA came in Clementine:

"In a canyon, in a valley
Generating tax-free juice
"Stands a hydropower project
Socialism on the loose."

Suddenly the male chorus sang again—this time the Notre Dame Victory March:

"Cheer, cheer for old Dixon-Yates,
Cheer while we boldly jack up the rates
Send the bill to AEC
Pray that they keep from bankruptcy
What though our taxes be great or small
Old Uncle Sam will pay for them all.
Here's to those who foot our bills, and
Forward to Solvency."

Yes, in spite of the Gore amendment, Uncle Sam will pay the taxes. Even my dream wasn't wrong on that.

Of course, the Yale men didn't sing the Notre Dame song. They just tip-toed around in the currency singing, "Moola, Moola."

But then the last scene—just Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates alone on the stage for a final number.

What do you suppose they were singing? "My Country 'tis of Thee?" No. "America, the Beautiful?" No. "Carolina in the Morning?" Never that. "Bringing in the Sheaves?" Well, that's close, but they were really singing: "There's a Gold Mine in the Sky."

Now for a few words that I want to say on my own. I have been steadily in Washington for the past 14 years and had spent much time there in the previous ten. The battles over social security, collective bargaining, public resource development, and the like, which agitated us so severely decades ago, seem now about ended.

But we have some new problems: the menace of long-run inflation, the menace of long-run militarization, and the menace of mutual destruction through building our defenses so strong that they give security to none.

Long-run inflation is all about us. Every time the stock market moves up, some trading specialist finds a new formula to explain the phenomenon. But in my book none is needed save the fact of our constant failure to balance the budget and the steady increase in the manufacture of personal and industrial credits.

I stood in 1947 with Jesse Jones in his proud city of Houston while he pointed out to me the rising landscape as he brought his buildings up to a uniform height of 22 stories. I asked him why he did not retrench rather than expand.

"Because," said he, "we will be in an inflation cycle for years to come. We can't afford a depression with our huge national debt. We can't let the dollars shrink." How wise he was.

Long-run militarization we know too well. The powers of destruction gain faster than our ability to control them. Every year the planes fly faster and higher. Every year as their speed increases, the power to resist attack is lessened. But the planes of our enemy likewise improve until no man is safe, even in his own house.

So we come to the menace of mutual destruction—the odd chance that some desperate leader may trigger an atomic or nucleonic war where there can be no victory but only the destruction of all.

A week from tonight many of us will prepare to leave for a proving grounds to see if there is a new and promising crop of fantastic weapons. That is our responsibility and we must certify to the Congress that this Nation is ready.

Ready for what? To blow another people into powder or be decimated ourselves? Ready to loose new forces that we but partly understand, and whose potency surprises even the magicians who make them? I cannot believe that is the best this Nation can contrive.

Rather I would believe that our Senate leader, LYNDON JOHNSON, spoke for all the Democrats in Congress when he declared:

"I shall fight to keep my party on the road of freedom and progress for America. * * * I shall never permit partisan zeal to become the instrument of discord that will tear America apart in the face of a threatening enemy. * * * I should like for the President to think, with justification, that Americans will back him—not as Republicans and not as Democrats—but as Americans who place the salvation of their Nation above all else."

This is a dark and troublesome hour in world affairs, but we can find our way to final peace if the Democrats of this Nation measure up to that leadership and determine that good faith to their Nation is more important than good fortune to their party.

North Carolina can help us to that goal.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Wheat Certificate Plan Provisions of H. R. 12 Are Unsound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, as a farmer, as a consumer, and as a legislator, I am vitally interested in H. R. 12 which deals with price-support programs for basic commodities, wheat, and dairy products.

The 83d Congress enacted legislation which would help to improve the farmers' condition and it does not go into effect until the 1955 crops are marketed. Government price fixing has produced lower returns for the farmers and surely we do not want to have H. R. 12 continued since the results of that type of legislation have been so detrimental to the farmers' interests.

I would like to place special emphasis upon the unsound provisions of the wheat-certificate plan in H. R. 12 as an example of the weakness of that entire piece of legislation.

The certificate plan for wheat is a device for dumping surplus wheat in other people's markets. It calls for supporting a portion of the domestic wheat crop at a high and very profitable level so that wheat producers will be able to produce to capacity and dump their surpluses in the export food and domestic feed markets. As such, it is a proposal to authorize the most vicious, unfair type of subsidized competition imaginable. It would be unfair competition with wheat growers in every other country in the world. It would be unfair competition with every American farmer who grows corn or other feed grains such as oats, barley, and grain sorghums.

Foreign countries would be quick to take retaliatory measures against the adoption of any such scheme by this country. Importing countries, almost all of whom have some domestic wheat producers, would seek to protect these producers by imposing various types of trade barriers against a flood of cheap wheat from the United States. In competing exporting countries retaliatory actions probably would be directed against other American export crops, such as cotton, soybeans, lard, tobacco, fruits, and vegetables. The end result might well be a net reduction in our exports of both wheat and other farm products. Canada now buys 200,000 to 400,000 bales of our cotton and millions of dollars worth of other farm products annually. Do you think that we can maintain our agricultural exports to Canada undiminished if we are going to adopt what Canadians certainly would consider to be an unfair method of competition in the world wheat market? I do not think so.

In view of American agriculture's urgent need for expanded export markets, we cannot afford to antagonize other trading nations, whether they are wheat importers or exporters.

Why would the certificate plan be unfair competition? Let us look at it from the standpoint of the Canadian wheat farmer. Sponsors of this legislation say they only want to compete for the world market at the world price, but they only want to take the world price for the portion of their crop that is not used domestically as human food. The Canadian wheat farmer makes his living by selling wheat at the world price. He does not have a program which gives him a much higher price for half his production.

Let us look at it from the standpoint of our own corn farmers. The wheat farmer obviously has to realize a certain average price for his wheat if he is to pay his expenses and realize a satisfactory income. If he is to be permitted to sell a part of his wheat at a high and very profitable price in a protected domestic food market, he obviously can sell the remainder for a much lower price and still come out with a satisfactory average. In effect, the high price received in the protected market subsidizes cut-rate sales in the unprotected market.

If he got enough for food wheat, the wheat farmer could give away his surplus without any pain. Would he produce a surplus under such condition? He certainly would under the certificate plan as now proposed, for each farmer's right to sell wheat in the protected domestic market would be based on the normal yield of the acreage he planted to wheat in the 3 years immediately preceding each food quota year. Any farmer who reduced his wheat acreage would risk a reduction in his share of the national food allotment. Therefore, he would try to produce to capacity as long as the average amount he received for his total production was satisfactory. This might be partially controlled by supplementary acreage allotments, however, H. R. 12 prohibits the use of acreage allotments when the certificate plan is in effect. If we were to have acreage allotments as well as food allotments, we certainly would compound our administrative problems without doing very much to improve the wheat farmer's plight. With uncontrolled production, the average or blended price of wheat might, and probably would, drop to the level that would prevail on a free market without any program. Under such conditions, the average wheat farmer would get no benefit from the proposed program.

The corn farmer makes his living by feeding corn to livestock or by selling it to others who do so, just as the Canadian farmer makes his living by selling wheat at the world price. If the wheat farmers are going to be allowed to dump hundreds of millions of bushels of surplus wheat into the feed market, the producers of corn and other feed grains certainly are going to be hurt. The inevitable results of subsidizing wheat into the feed market will be increased livestock production, lower livestock and corn prices, and a greatly increased movement of corn and other feed grains into Government bins under the price-support program. What will it profit us as a nation to reduce the wheat surplus by subsidizing the creation of an offsetting surplus of corn and other feed grains?

It will be argued that the amount of wheat that would be fed under the certificate plan would be small in relation to the total feed-grain supply. The facts, however, are that the quantity of wheat that could be fed under this program is neither small nor insignificant. On July 1, 1954, we had a carryover of more than 900 million bushels of wheat. Our 1954 crop under marketing quotas amounted to 970 million bushels, or about 135 million buhsels more than 1953–54 exports and domestic consumption. This adds up to a wheat supply that exceeds our present markets by more than 1 billion bushels. A billion bushels of wheat is the feed equivalent of nearly one-third of a normal year's corn crop.

Laying aside for the moment the difficulties involved in liquidating our accumulated wheat surplus, what would this program mean in terms of a continued annual addition to the feed market? On the basis of the record, we can easily produce 1,250 million bushels of wheat per year. Domestic consumption and exports amounted to only about 835 million bushels in the 1953–54 marketing year. There is no assurance that wheat exports would increase under the plan. If exports did not increase, the plan could throw as much as 400 million bushels of wheat into the feed market in a normal year. This amount of wheat may seem small in comparison with our annual consumption of over 3 billion bushels of corn, but it is the feed equivalent of two-thirds of the corn crop produced in Iowa, the leading corn State, in 1953. Iowa's 1953 corn crop was 592 million bushels.

Furthermore, we already have a more than adequate supply of corn. Acreage allotments were imposed in 1954 to reduce corn production, and are in effect

again this year. Our 1954 corn carryover of approximately 920 million bushels was the largest on record. Despite drouth damage to the 1954 crop, this year's January 1 corn stocks were the highest on record for that date.

Corn farmers are perfectly willing to compete for the feed market provided the power of the Government is not used to stack the rules of the game against them. If the wheat farmers will accept support prices based on the feed value of their product in relation to the support price of corn for their entire crop, corn farmers will share the feed market with them on a competitive basis without complaint.

The argument is made that the certificate plan will make it possible for farmers to feed wheat in areas where little or no corn is grown. This in no way reduces the competitive impact of such a program. The end product of feed is livestock, and the livestock market is a national market. Any livestock that is injected into this market at any point affects the total national supply and the national price picture. If the corn farmers could be guaranteed 100 percent of parity in their major markets, I am sure they would be willing to accept a lower price in other markets. For example, they probably would be willing to absorb freight charges so as to undersell wheat in such areas as the Pacific Northwest. Or, if the corn producers could be assured full parity on all the corn that is fed to cattle and hogs, they undoubtedly would be willing to take a substantially lower price for the corn that is fed to poultry. Would this be fair competition for the hog and cattle producers, or for the producers of other products that are used in poultry feed? Of course not, but if we are going down the road of letting one commodity group charge a monopoly price where it has the least competition, so that it can sell at cut rates in the areas of greater competition, the producers of other commodities have every right to demand that they be allowed to take counter measures.

The end result of this approach could well be a complete system of Government-administered prices and a collateral Government control over every aspect of American agriculture.

It is proposed that the certificate plan be placed in effect only if it should be approved by more than one-half of the wheat farmers voting in a referendum. This departs from the established legislative policy of requiring that control programs must be approved by two-thirds of the farmers voting in a referendum. Furthermore it would exclude from the polls many farmers whose income would be affected by the outcome.

In view of the fact that this is a proposal to subsidize the dumping of cheap wheat into the feed market, the producers of corn and other feed grains should be allowed to vote on the same basis as wheat producers. Wheat producers who grow less than 15 acres also should be allowed to vote.

Under the proposed program wheat producers could be required to comply with acreage allotments, production goals, and marketing practices—excluding marketing quotas—as a condition of eligibility for price support and marketing certificates. This provides a neat device for keeping corn farmers from establishing a base for a food wheat quota, but if we are going to allow wheat farmers to dump their surplus production into the feed market, it would seem that fair play would require that we let the feed producers go into the wheat business and get a pro rata share of the food marketing certificates on the basis of their production of wheat.

A little while ago, I said that there is no assurance that the proposed certificate plan would bring about an increase in wheat exports. In this connection, the Pacific Northwest Cooperative Extension Bulletin "Which Wheat Program"? recently issued by the State Colleges of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon says: "The plan has little effect on quantity offered for export, since wheat at corn support levels probably would be above world wheat prices most of the time."

We currently are paying subsidies that run as high as 76 cents per bushel on wheat exports both under the International Wheat Agreement and outside of it. If the proponents of the certificate plan believe that this plan would increase wheat exports, the burden of proof is on them. What countries would buy more United States wheat under this plan, how much more would they buy, and at what prices?

Let me elaborate on this point. Total world trade in wheat has been declining while wheat supplies have been building up in the major exporting countries. Our present supply of wheat exceeds our domestic needs by enough to supply the entire world market for well over a year. The United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina together have enough wheat available for export and carryover to meet the present world demand for more than 2 full years. Competing export countries, and especially Canada, are prepared to sell wheat and to fight for their respective shares of the world market. We already have had some evidence of this. When we dropped the export price of wheat 10 cents per bushel a few months ago—by increasing our export subsidy—the Canadian Wheat Board promptly cut its export price by 10⅛ cents. There is no doubt that we could break the world price by throwing our surplus wheat onto the world market, as proposed in the certificate plan, but would we sell more wheat? The certificate plan would not increase our quota under the International Wheat Agreement. It would not solve the problems that result from shortages of dollar exchange, and the fact that our wheat is not always competitive in terms of quality.

I recognize that the proposed certificate plan carries authority for the establishment of a price floor for surplus wheat through loans, purchases, or other operations, based on certain considerations, including the support level for corn, provisions of the International Wheat Agreement, and the foreign trade policies of friendly exporting countries. Parenthetically, I would like to say that if we adopt this program, there probably will not be any such thing as a wheat exporting country that is friendly to the United States. The provision in the plan for a floor under surplus wheat prices in no way changes the nature of the proposal. It is still a scheme to get a monopoly price in a protected market, and to use monopoly profits to cut prices in other markets. Corn producers are perfectly willing to accept a support price of less than parity and to have their support price adjusted from time to time to take account of changing supply and demand relationships, in accordance with the principles of the Agricultural Act of 1949, but they don't want surplus wheat used to set a ceiling on corn prices at the support level.

Sponsors of the certificate plan sometimes call it a two-price plan, but it would end up as a multiprice plan. We would have one price for human food—maybe one for bread flour, a second for cake flour, a third for breakfast food wheat, and perhaps a fourth for dog biscuit wheat—then we would have a feed price governed by the support level for corn, and then we would have to have one or more export prices, since other countries could undercut any supported price. The whole program would take us in the direction of complete Government price fixing at home, and state trading abroad.

The certificate plan not only would work an injustice on domestic producers of feed grains and foreign wheat producers, but also would create inequities between domestic wheat growers. Wheat is not a single commodity. Different grades and types have different uses. The surplus problem is much greater for some types than for others, as the attached table I shows. The domestic consumption of hard red spring wheat in the 1952–53 marketing year amounted to more than 100 percent of our 1952 production, while the domestic consumption of white wheat was only 42 percent of the 1952 production.

The following table indicates the percentages of the production of the major classes of wheat that have been used domestically for all purposes in various recent periods:

Percentage of production for marketing period used domestically

Class	1949–53 average	1952–53	1953–54
Hard Red Winter	50.9	37.8	46.3
Soft Red Spring	76.0	68.8	67.1
Hard Red Spring	77.4	100.5	63.0
Durum	90.1	121.7	114.3
White	44.7	42.2	34.5
All classes	60.2	53.4	52.5

Under the proposed certificate plan, food wheat certificates would be distributed to all wheat producers on the basis of past wheat production without any regard to their historical participation in the domestic food market. This means that the growers of durum and hard red spring wheat, most of which is consumed domestically as human food, in effect would be taxed to subsidize

the dumping of surplus wheat of other types into feed and export markets. Further inequities would be created among the producers of the various clauses of wheat, for not all wheat of a given class is equally acceptable for domestic use as human food. Instead of rewarding the producer of high quality milling wheat, this plan might well tax him for the benefit of the producers of low quality wheat.

If the certificate plan were in effect today, a producer or processor of durum wheat could go into court and show, first, that this type of wheat is selling for above parity prices in the market, second, that the certificate plan, therefore, is unnecessary to return parity to the producers of durum wheat, and that as a result; third, the processing of durum wheat is being taxed in an arbitrary and discriminatory manner to provide benefits to the producers of the types of wheat that are in surplus. The same thing is true to a lesser degree in the case of certain qualities of hard red spring wheat. Is it fair to impose a tax on a type of wheat that is selling above parity to provide benefits to the types that are below parity? How do you think a court would decide this question?

Thus far, I have been dealing primarily with probable effects of the proposed certificate plan on foreign trade and on various groups within agriculture. Now let us look at some of the more general considerations involved in this proposal. The requirement that processors buy certificates in proportion to the volume of wheat they mill for domestic human consumption is in effect a processing tax. It might well be called a bread tax, in view of the fact that it ultimately would be passed on to the purchaser of bread and other wheat products. This inevitably would be brought to the conusmer's attention—perhaps in a printed eye-catching notice included with each loaf of bread. How do you think consumers would react to such a development? Is it constitutional to levy such a tax and use it directly for the benefit of a special group without going through the procedure of covering the revenues into the Treasury and then appropriating funds for the program by separate action? I doubt it. Processors historically have opposed processing taxes. They succeeded in getting the processing taxes established under the original Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 declared unconstitutional. They undoubtedly would attack the constitutionality of the current proposal and might well win their case in the courts.

The proposed plan would require a large amount of government administrative and enforcement machinery. The opportunity to make large profits by evading the purchase of certificates for wheat used for domestic human food inevitably would lead to enforcement difficulties. The fact that unscrupulous operators are known to have mixed Canadian feed wheat with higher grade United States wheat, which subsequently was milled or exported under the International Wheat Agreement, is a clear indication that evasions would be attempted. It is quite true that the price of wheat makes little difference to the consumer who buys a loaf of bread at retail, but it is just as true that the price of wheat is very important to a miller or a baker.

The plan would provide a real incentive for research to develop ways of producing wheat products with less wheat. In some cases, this could lead to the discovery of substitutes with the capacity of permanently shrinking demand for wheat as a food. For example, it may prove possible to increase the use of surplus potatoes in bread if we get the price of wheat high enough.

The entire Nation has an interest in the conservation of the soil resources which are the basis of our abundant production. There is no question but what the good wheat prices of recent years have encouraged farmers to expand wheat production in areas where such action was not consistent with good land use. The return of the Dust Bowl problem is the result. The proposed certificate plan would encourage farmers to keep marginal land in wheat production. This in turn would require large appropriations for programs to remedy the damage caused by overcropping marginal land. If by chance we should be able to increase wheat exports under the program, we in effect would be subsidizing the export of our soil fertility.

Is it fair to the wage earners in this country to raise the domestic price of wheat by a tax so that wheat farmers can produce surpluses to sell to competing workers in other countries at a substantially lower price? This sort of program would provide an argument for increasing tariffs on the industrial goods we are going to have to import if we are going to build farm exports.

By proposing a multiple price plan for wheat, the sponsors of the certificate plan are admitting that the present support price of wheat, based on 90 percent of old parity, is too high to serve the long-run interests of the wheatgrower. Economic studies of the cost of producing wheat in efficient areas bear this out. Studies at the Kansas State College indicate that the cost of producing wheat on the basis of 1941–50 yields and farm costs at about the 1952 level runs as low as 71 cents per bushel in efficient producing areas. If, as appears to be true, the present wheat support level is too high, it is up to the sponsors of the certificate plan to prove that a multiple-price plan is the best way to lower the support level. This they cannot do because of the effects such a plan would have on other groups.

Farmers and Members of Congress who are interested in the support programs for other commodities had better take a careful look at this proposal. If it is sound to finance a program for wheat through what amounts to a processing tax, why would it not be sound to put the burden of other price-support programs on the producers, processors, and consumers of the supported product?

Our present wheat situation is admittedly difficult. It will take some time to make the necessary adjustments, but we can work out of this situation by gradually shifting to variable supports, based on a modernized parity, by recognizing wheat quality in the support program, by taking marginal land out of wheat, by selling wheat for foreign currencies, as recently authorized by the Congress, and by working with other countries to expand the total world demand for wheat. As a part of solving the problem, we probably will have to feed some of our surplus wheat. It is one thing to feed a part of our existing surplus as a part of an overall program for solving the wheat problem, and quite another to ask feed producers to take over the burden of absorbing a continuing surplus of wheat at cut-rate prices year after year. We cannot solve any problems by adopting a multiple-price plan designed to give the wheat farmers a monopoly price in the food market so that they can continue to produce surpluses and use them to disrupt the domestic feed and international food markets. The certificate plan should be rejected by the House.

TABLE I.—*Analysis of the production, supply and disappearance of wheat in the 1952–53 and 1953–54 marketing years, and supplies for 1954–55 by classes*

[In millions of bushels]

Class	Stocks, July 1, 1952	Production, 1952–53	1952–53 supply	Domestic consumption, 1952–53	Exports, 1952–53	Added to carryover
Hard Red Winter	97	715	812	270	184	261
Soft Red Winter	16	199	215	137	40	22
Hard Red Spring	117	182	[1] 321	183	17	−18
Durum	15	23	38	28	3	−8
White	11	180	191	76	77	27
All wheat	256	1,299	1,577	694	321	284

Class	Stocks, July 1, 1953	Production 1953–54	1953–54 supply	Domestic consumption, 1953–54	Exports, 1953–54	Added to carryover
Hard Red Winter	358	493	851	228	78	187
Soft Red Winter	38	243	281	163	56	24
Hard Red Spring	121	219	[1] 345	138	11	70
Durum	7	14	21	16	----------	2
White	38	200	238	69	75	56
All wheat	562	1,169	1,736	614	220	335

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE I.—*Analysis of the production, supply and disappearance of wheat in the 1952–53 and 1953–54 marketing years, and supplies for 1954–55 by classes*—Continued

Class	Percent of 1953 production used in 1953–54 for—			July 1, 1954, stocks	1954 production	1954–55 supply
	Domestic consumption	Exports	Addition to carryover			
Hard Red Winter	46.3	15.8	37.9	545	471	1,016
Soft Red Winter	67.1	23.0	9.9	62	200	262
Hard Red Spring	63.0	5.0	32.0	196	144	[1] 344
Durum	114.3	----------	[2] (14.3)	5	6	[3] 12
White	34.5	37.5	28.0	94	149	243
All wheat	52.5	18.8	28.7	902	970	1,877

[1] Stocks and production of Hard Red Spring wheat were supplemented by imports as follows: 1952–53 marketing year, 22 million bushels; 1953–54 marketing year, 5 million bushels; 1954–55 marketing year, 4 million bushels.
[2] Reduction in carryover.
[3] Stocks and production of Durum wheat were supplemented by imports of 1 million bushels in 1954–55.

Source: Basic data from table 11, p. 22, the Wheat Situation, WS-142, Feb. 28, 1955, Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

Congressional Investigating Committees: Their Need, Their Enemies

SPEECH

OF

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, a former very able, patriotic, and experienced member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, Kit Clardy on February 12, 1955, at Chicago, in an instructive talk, made clear the need for congressional committees and the procedure they follow. That talk is as follows:

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES: THEIR NEED, THEIR ENEMIES

(Speech by Kit Clardy at Chicago, Ill., February 12, 1955)

A year ago last November while making a speech at Flint I was summoned to the phone on a Washington call. It was then that I learned that the chairman of my committee, Mr. VELDE, had just subpenaed Harry Truman and Tom Clark. By sheer coincidence I was interrupted in the midst of advocating precisely the course the chairman had followed.

At the chairman's request I boarded the next plane for Washington. The next few days and weeks were indeed hectic and crowded. The left-wing columnists, radio and television commentators and those they could influence poured out their vitriol. We were the subject of abuse from one end of the country to the other. And all because we had dared to suggest that those who had guilty knowledge of how Communists had gotten into and remained in high places in government ought to be compelled to explain their part in the whole dirty business.

I'll come back to the Harry Dexter White case and what it really means but first I shall try to set the stage, so to speak. There are many things we must understand if committee investigations are to have meaning. We must get away from the misleading small talk and the smear campaigns. If the need for congressional investigations is to be really understood. And we must know the real enemies of such committees—we must know why they attack and smear. We must understand that their attacks are not accidental—that they are in fact all part of a planned campaign.

What would you think if I told you that a number of past and present Members of both Senate and House have been either witting or unwitting members of or cooperated with Communist fronts? Yet, as I shall show you later it's literally true that even Members of Congress have been sucked in by the Communists and their friends or dupes.

Now I don't want it thought that I'm calling such folks Communists. I'm merely trying to show you just how effective the Communists have been in putting over their planned program of infiltration. I'm doing it to show you how really necessary congressional investigations are if an informed people are to defeat the Marxist determination to destroy us. I'm doing it to show you the lack of awareness we face in this fight.

Lenin long ago said that it was vitally necessary to Communist plans of conquest to get Soviet politicians into Parliament and that they must then disrupt the Parliament to prepare the ground for the Soviet's forthcoming task of dispersing Parliament. There's much more along this line but it all adds up to the fact that part of the Communist plan of conquest embraces the duping of folks in all levels of society including particularly people in government.

I'd like you to now ask yourselves some questions. What do you think would be the situation today if DICK NIXON and his committee had not gone after Alger Hiss hammer and tongs? What if they had not opened up the Harry Dexter White scandal? What if the Amerasia case had not been investigate? What if Truman's red-herring coverup had been successful? What if the tremendous unmaskings made by MARTIN DIES had been prevented—as Roosevelt tried to do?

And I'd like you to ask yourselves some questions along another line. What would be the world situation today if the early work of MARTIN DIES and those who followed him on my committee had been studied and used in making both foreign and domestic policy? Is it not plainly apparent that if, when DIES gave Roosevelt a list of 2,000 Communists in Government way back in 1941, the executive branch of Government had acted as it should, we would not be in trouble in Asia, in Europe or anywhere else on the globe? Has not there been enough disclosure of facts to show plainly that we were betrayed from within time after time? Not just at Yalta, Teheran, Potsdam or the other formal conferences, but day after day in little decision after decision so that the end result was a policy that surrendered everything the Communists wanted?

The Congress of the United States is not just a lawmaking body. As one of the three branches of Government, it has other functions that our left-wing enemies would have us forget. Congress has the all-important duty of keeping the people informed—of letting them know what's going on behind the scenes in all the other branches. Woodrow Wilson put it most effectively when he said:

"It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of government and to talk much about what it sees. It is meant to be the eyes and voice of its constituents. Unless Congress have and use every means of acquainting itself with the acts and the disposition of the administrative agents of the Government, the country must be helpless to learn how it is being served; and unless Congress both scrutinize these things and sift them by every form of discussion, the country must remain in embarrassing, crippling ignorance of the very affairs which it is most important that it should understand and direct. The informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function."

The history of the past two decades should dispel all doubts about the wisdom of those words. But yet another man said something in 1936 of even more direct application. Hugo Black, now on the Supreme Court has this to say:

"This power of the probe is one of the most powerful weapons to restrain the activities of groups who can defy every other power. Public investigating committees exist always in countries where people rule. They have always been opposed by groups that seek or have special privileges."

And another in the liberal tradition. Senator George Norris, said:

"Whenever you take away from the legislative body of any country the power of investigation, you have taken a step that will eventually lead into absolute monarchy and destroy any government such as ours."

Now ask yourself another question. What would have been the result if the self-serving denials of wrongdoing that issued from the executive department in the Teapot Dome case had been the end of things? What if the Congress had silently accepted these proclamations of virtue and taken the position it was none of the business of Congress?

Of course even the self-styled liberals of today will not agree that Congress should investigate graft and corruption. Why then do they balk at investigating a subject and a field far more important and dangerous? Why do they constantly attack everyone and every committee engaged in exposing and fighting a conspiracy we all know is dedicated to our destruction as a free people?

I think I know the answer. It's a many-sided one. Of course, some of this opposition is honest even if wrong and based on misinformation or misunderstanding of the true situation. But most of it is definitely inspired by the Communists and their dupes. My friend MARTIN DIES, points out that:

"There were some 10 million gullible people who were enmeshed in the Communist conspiracy. * * * When it suddenly dawned on the country that these organizations were under the control of Moscow these people bitterly resented the exposure. Many of them claimed to be intellectual. * * * A great majority of them turned on the committee with great resentment and began to atack the committee in order to defend themselves."

But some of the people and groups are lined up solidly with the Communists because they want to be on that side. Some of them may honestly think they're in the right but the greatest percentage known better. You can put all the Communist fronts in the class of those who know the score. Let's look at a few samples.

The Communist Party put out a pamphlet last year entitled "The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Democracy." You may have seen it. On page 14 they say:

"We urge an end to the witch-hunting, the abolition of all congressional witch-hunting committees, and a halt to the Gestapo-like political activities of the FBI. * * * The atempts to outlaw the Communist Party and to deprive Communists of their citizenship rights must be defeated. The Smith and McCarran Acts should be repealed."

Now, let's look at the published platform of a group that's been the loudest in urging the very things I've just cited for you from the Communist document. Americans for Democratic action is the leftwing outfit I mean. They've written and said a great many things on the subject but a few sentences will tell the story. They say:

"We oppose any legislation outlawing any political party. * * * While we recognize the right of Congress to conduct investigations, the House Un-American Activities Committee has proved itself a threat to freedom of political opinion. We, therefore, call for its abolition."

And on the question of the FBI they said something that ought to be long remembered. They defended Judith Coplon and atacked the FBI with these words:

"It has given the public a chance to see how silly an FBI report can really be."

ADA goes right along with the Communist Party in advocating the claimed right of teachers and pupils to be Communists and to do their work without having to bother with loyalty oaths or tests. They grow quite indignant over attacks on teachers who are shown to be Communists or who teach communism. And they say no one should question the right of a Communist to be on the Government payroll.

ADA has long been promoting the idea of "peaceful coexistence" with Red Russia. And they favor our recognizing Red China—and admitting her to the United Nations. These and many other things openly advocated by the Communists are part of the written platforms of ADA.

Yet this outfit parades before the American people as an anti-Communist organization. They depend on the inability of the people generally to learn of the things I've told you today. And so when they launch an all-out attack on my committee or its members it's almost impossible for the public to properly and accurately evaluate their statements. And in this they're helped by such leftwingers as the Alsops, Childs, Stokes, and others.

And while we're about it we should remind ourselves that the same crowd that runs ADA is the moving force in the outfit calling itself the "Commitee for an Effective Congress." That's the gang that supplied Senator FLANDERS with his dirt last year. Let's look at some of those doing the planning and plotting for ADA and this "committee."

Now I haven't time for more than a thumbnail outline but here goes. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., is probably the most prolific in his writings and propaganda. Well back in 1929 the New York Times published a statement attributed to him in which it is said:

"I happen to believe that the Communist Party should be granted freedom of political action and that Communists should be allowed to teach in universities so long as they do not disqualify themselves by intellectual distortions in the classroom * * *."

There speaks one who either lacks understanding of the Communist or who is deliberately promoting the cause. I can't believe he is naive. Freedom of political action means freedom to destroy us—nothing less. Over and over again from Lenin and Marx down to Malenkov they have told us this. I cannot believe anyone with an eighth-grade education could be mislead, and teachers and professors do not turn their Communist ideas on and off as they enter or leave a classroom.

Earlier Schlesinger was one of those urging that the deportation order of Harry Bridges be canceled. He was sponsor of a civil rights congress appeal for a meeting to be held at Detroit on April 27 and 28, 1946. This is the organization dedicated to the defense of Communists and which was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General. My committee branded it as controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it (September 2, 1947) and he recently rushed to the defense of J. Robert Oppenheimer in a long magazine article.

I could name other groups with which his name has been associated but I think this enough to give you the idea. Perhaps this will give you some insight into how these groups work and why Flanders was used as the front man. And I have checked on some 14 members of the committee for an effective congress as listed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last year by Flanders. I have not had time to run down the records of the balance but I found everyone I checked associated in one way or another with anywhere from 1 to 14 front groups. While one of them, Paul Appleby, has testified before my committee that:

"A man in the employ of the Government has just as much right to be a member of the Communist Party as he has to be a member of the Democratic or Republican Party."

And several others have belonged to Communist fronts, I am not charging them with being Communists. That's something that could only be determined through hearings.

But that's not the point. I'm merely trying to show that people with sympathies of that kind are the ones chiefly responsible for the blatant demand that all investigations into communism be abandoned. These people may honestly believe the stuff they put out but that doesn't change the fact that they are doing for the Communists that which they cannot do themselves. J. Edgar Hoover, whom I admire very much, puts it this way:

"The pseudo liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability invites."

Which brings to mind the name of another bleeding heart—Robert Hutchins—formerly with the University of Chicago. He has recently blown off steam on this subject as he has been doing for years. When in Los Angeles a little more than a year ago he was extensively quoted as being violently opposed to congressional investigations. He said that Cardinal Spellman was all wrong in saying that no one was being hurt in America by such committees. He said that:

"Congressional committees which published lists of subversive Communist and Fascist organizations were run by a bunch of characters. And that the lists should not be published."

He went on to say he didn't believe in loyalty oaths for teachers or professors. And he said:

"I do not feel the Communist Party as dangerous as professed. Some people take it for granted that just because a person is a member of the Communist Party he is dangerous. This is not true."

Is it possible this man is that ignorant? He must know better. But that attitude pretty well sums up the apparent or public thinking of nearly all those who want an end to congressional investigations. It's exactly the same as the Communist Party position. In the pamphlet I mentioned earlier the Communists say:

"Communism is not the issue in this country today or in the near future. * * * American Communists * * * deny that the Soviet Union or any country led and ruled by working people threatens our country, or could threaten our country. * * * But while the issue today is not communism, the true nature of the Communist Party and the role which it plays in American life is very much an issue. The American people must know the truth about this issue lest the monstrous deception now practiced on them lead to the loss of democracy and freedom they prize so dearly."

I presume Hutchins knows these things. Draw your own conclusions as to whether he's promoting the cause of communism when he tries to sell the idea that communism and Communists are really fine and pose no threat to us.

Hutchins and those like him who seek an end to investigations would have us forget the history of the last two decades. No one charges that the whole Democratic Party as such is guilty of condoning all the terrible betrayals that took place. I know many deplore them as strongly as any of us. But I don't see how anyone can avoid agreeing that their leadership did deliberately try to sweep all the dirt under the rug. Surely we have not forgotten that the guilty knowledge about Communists in Government was revealed to both Roosevelt and Truman years before it was brought out into the open by congressional committees.

Let's take the White case as an example, since it's typical. On December 4, 1945, the FBI informed Truman that White was in contact with six persons involved in the Amerasia case. That was some 3 years before our committee hearings. And it was 3 years before our committee exposed Alger Hiss. Yet the FBI had told Truman all about Hiss, Abt, Pressman, Collins, Perlo, Kramer, and others along with White. And about 60 days after the first report the FBI handed up another on the subject.

The first FBI report told of Chambers' statements of 1939. All of this of course long before the famous Pumpkin Papers episode. And Harold Glasser was named. He was an assistant to White. Yet after getting all this information Truman appointed White as United States Director of the International Monetary Fund.

Now observe carefully what this sequence of events means. The FBI did a magnificent job. But it could get no results—except in reverse. When it made known to the President the information it possessed it could go no further. It is part of the executive branch. It has no power to compel action and it is commanded by law to keep its mouth shut. It cannot go to the public as can a congressional committee in an effort to force the President to act. And so in the White case every thing was cozy. Despite the obviously heroic efforts of the FBI to force action the Executive was the boss—and so began the coverup. Nothing happened. The people of the country were entirely in the dark. In the words of Woodrow Wilson, "the country (was) helpless to learn how it (was) being served." The country was in embarrassing, crippling ignorance of the very affairs which it is most important that it should understand.

Is it too much so say that if, instead of covering up, the President had moved swiftly to clean out the nest we could have avoided Korea at the very least? Do you think we would now be debating what we shall do in Asia. Is it not clear that the Nation is now paying the penalty for enforced ignorance of its own affairs? Do you think that Congress would have gone along with the insane things done after these things were privately revealed to the Executive? Rather do you not think that the world would be free of most of the Communist inspired trouble?

But now observe what happened with passage of time and as a result of the energetic work of my committee. Elizabeth Bentley, Whittaker Chambers, and others came before the committee and began to unfold the sordid story we now all know. It was done with difficulty for on March 21, 1947, Truman thought to protect himself by issuing his

now famous order preventing Congress from getting at the records. Nevertheless, the disclosures broke things wide open with the results we now know. Of course there remains much to be done. The files of the Executive Departments, if opened to the Congress, could tell stories that would dwarf all that's been thus far revealed. I've had a glimpse—I know.

Now does anyone really think that the clean-up, reluctant as it has been, would have been started if the committee had not gone ahead regardless of the brickbats? Truman's famous " red herring" remark was far from the worst thing said about the committee and its work. The Washington Post, the Post Dispatch, the Sun Times, the Los Angeles Daily News and the Pittsburgh Post to name a few took out after the committee in hot pursuit. The practically accused the committee of committing a crime in even examining White in hearing Bentley. Completely without foundation the Post Dispatch said the committee "often shows scant respect for civil rights"—referring especially to the examination of White. Tom Stokes went overboard as usual in these things and said that "White has been a victim of a special sort of tyranny." He said the hearing was an, "American-style inquisition." And that prominent lady who is always quick to jump to the defense of anyone called before a congressional committee, Mrs. Roosevelt, pulled out the favorite of the Communists, character assassination, and called Miss Bentley, "this evidently neurotic lady."

Now I hope you will bear these things in mind when you read or hear these papers, columnists, and others bearing down on congressional investagtions. I could cite many more examples of how they operate—and show how they have consistently been wrong. I remind you of just one more example—Alger Hiss.

I think it self-evident that those who constantly cry out, "Let the FBI do it," really mean something far different. The record shows plainly that the FBI can't do it unless those at the top are wholly in sympathy. And even then there is much the FBI cannot do or is prohibited from doing. Above all it is the duty of the legislative branch to exercise its watchdog and informative functions.

Of course its absurd to say that the Executive Department should be depended on to handle its own checkup and inspection. Its grown to such size that no one man can even know the limits of its domain. And you can depend on it that each man looks out for himself and doesn't seek trouble. Its sheer folly to argue that Congress should leave the policing job to those whose house is to be inspected. That's been the policy of the past—and its responsible for the situation we now know about. The FBI and the many other security agencies are all part of the executive branch. That branch must always be suspect if we are to preserve our liberty for that's the only branch where real tyranny can arise.

But now I come to a very real and important reason why congressional committees are to be preferred over the FBI or any of the other executive department agencies. The FBI cannot even touch the thing that's most important of all—the factor of political or other influence on policy and decision. Only a congressional committee can lay bare the facts about an outfit like the Institute of Pacific Relations or any one of the more than 1,200 Communist fronts now operating within our borders. The FBI can act only in criminal matters. Even then it cannot speak out. It cannot subpena witnesses. It can never expose the secret workings and influence of the men and groups that seek to betray us from within.

We're in trouble all over the globe today, because the evil influence of men who could not be prosecuted for a crime, reached into the high councils of government and produced a Yalta, a Potsdam, a Tehran. We're in trouble, because congressional committees were denied access to files and information before and while things were happening. We learn too late something of the baneful influences that sold Chiang down the river and lost China, Korea, Indochina, central Europe, and now threatening even greater losses unless we're prepared to make a last-ditch fight.

And don't make the fatal mistake of thinking it won't ever happen again, so long as the instinct of self-preservation exists, men in government will always cover up. The man at the top will never know; he can't unless Congress moves in. And since the Communists work 24 hours each day, the pressures will never cease. Congress should be on guard every day of the year if we are to be saved.

There has been much said about committee methods and procedure. Practically all of this started with the left-wing ADA crowd after prompting by the Communists. You have only to attend committee hearings to find that witnesses are not abused. All this talk about civil rights started with the Communist Party's handbook. It's been taken up by people who either do not know the facts or are willfully helping the Communist cause. It's the committee that's on the receiving end. The Communist witnesses are instructed on how to use their appearance as a means of putting over the party line. They are told to "bring out the class issues at the trial." And in answering questions they are instructed to "either answer your own way or not at all."

Those who accuse the committees of destroying civil rights never become specific. They cannot. Instead they set up a straw man to demolish. It's too bad they never sit in on our hearings. But then that would ruin their story..

Now, earlier I said something about Members of Congress being taken in by the Communist conspiracy. Let me give you just a few examples. The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born was long ago stamped a Communist front. It is perhaps the oldest and best known of the lot. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has been identified as a front also. These facts have been common knowledge for a long time. Yet despite these well-known facts, several Senators have taken part in or lent their names to the activities of both these groups. Of course, each one can point to the others and use that as an excuse for being duped. But that's no real excuse. A moment's investigation would have revealed the true nature of these groups. The fact that these men did not use the simple precaution of investigating ought to be a warning to others, and certainly argues for the necessity of investigating committees of Congress.

One Senator supported a number of groups, including one of the most important Communist fronts while it lived—the American Youth Congress. That Senator has been listed as a member of the National Advisory Board of the American Friends of the Chinese people and as a sponsor of the American Investors' Union. Both were known Communist fronts. The first of these groups openly espoused the cause of the Chinese Communists. This Senator may say he didn't know these things, but in the face of known facts that would be hard to believe. And his record as an ADA member belies any such defense.

Several others were affiliated in one way or another with the independent citizens' committee of the arts, sciences, and professions. The Communist Party started that outfit. It has now been succeeded by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. Both have been exposed by the committee of which I was a member.

But why go on? This should give you some idea of what I mean when I say that the Communists have reached up into the Congress itself with their influence. I'm not calling these men Communists, but the use of their name and influence with their consent has undoubtedly given aid and comfort to the very ones these men should be fighting. It may have been unconscious, but that does not change things for America. And does it not prove J. Edgar Hoover right when he said:

"The pseudo-liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist, because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability invites."

The really frightening thing about all this is that it evidences a complete lack of understanding of what's going on in the world, and what the Communist conspiracy is doing and how it operates. It's obvious that these men do not yet understand that this Nation has been at war with communism since its birth in Russia in 1917. Of course, the real war against us started in a big way when Roosevelt made the greatest blunder of all—the recognition of Red Russia in 1933. It's been all-out war since that day. These men and many others do not understand that this is a war to the death; that the basic philosophy of the Communist world is that we must be destroyed. And that we must be first softened up from within by the very front method I've discussed.

Over 20 years ago those attending the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow were told:

"War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

Earlier Lenin had outlined the general plan of attack. It's passing strange that more people do not understand. Yet, as we know, Hitler's plans were laid out for all to see, but practically no one read or believed. Well, back in 1922, Lenin had this to say:

"First we will take eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack; it will fall like overripe fruit in our hands. We must secure the good will of teachers and professors in schools and universities, of liberal ministers of religion, and of the pacifists and reformers of the world in order to create a mental barrage in the minds of capitalistic youth, which shall forever bar them from participating in a carnal conflict with the Communist order."

Have not the past two decades brought us proof that these words were not idle ones? Is there anyone so blind as to not see that the Communist timetable has been followed right down to the present. Have they not used the means and methods they so plainly told us they intended using? Is there reason to doubt that they intend plowing straight ahead on the furrow they've been following?

Congressional investigating committees are part of the frontline troops in this very real war between godless communism and those of us who still believe in Christianity and individual freedom. We are the only important organized group combating the subversive influences that seek to lure us to our

doom. It's part of the duty of such committees to see to it that the Nation is not lulled to sleep. It's part of the committee job to see to it that the Communist conspirators are not allowed the luxury of surprising us. I am in complete agreement with Woodrow Wilson when he says that the informative function is to be preferred above the legislative one. I agree with Justice Black and Senator Norris in their appraisal of what can be expected if investigating committees are ended.

Those who would destroy the investigating committees looking into the Communist threat have scant knowledge of history. If our liberty is to be preserved, it will be because the elected representatives of the people make it their business to protect it. The eyes and ears of Congress are its committees. The Communists know this. Events of the last year should warn us that they have sucked in far too many to do their bidding. If Congress should now suddenly decide to call off the hunt for subversives there would be great rejoicing in Moscow, for that's their No. 1 goal at the moment. Let's not be suckers.

I am convinced that the concerted efforts the Communists made against all of us on these committees was but part of their overall plan to put out the eyes of the Nation so that, blinded, we will walk over the cliff into totalitarian slavery. You have their word for it that they're counting on us to do this.

I am now temporarily on the sidelines, so to speak, but my interest has not flagged. So long as the Stevenson, Reuther, ADA, left-wing philosophy retains control of the Democratic Party machinery—so long as they put up candidates who subscribe to the theory that we have nothing to fear from the Communists within our midst—the hope of the Nation must rest on the Republican Party and those real Jeffersonian Democrats who have not forgotten their heritage. God forbid that we go soft. If we do, the cause is lost forever.

Quirk of Photoplay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article written by Lawrence J. Quirk of Lynn, Mass., concerning his uncle, James R. Quirk, who for many years was the publisher and editor of Photoplay magazine:

QUIRK OF PHOTOPLAY—HE EDITED THE BEST OF THE FAN MAGAZINES AND SET THE PATTERN FOR ALL OF THEM

(By Lawrence J. Quirk)

The movie fan magazine of today is largely the creation of a colorful little man named James R. Quirk, who edited Photoplay magazine during its heyday.

A great many of the fan magazine's staple features, including the all important inside personality story, were Quirk innovations. While he himself usually wrote about movies with what Terry Ramsaye called glamorous appreciation, Quirk had his caustic moments. "Assistant producers," he once said, "are mice studying to be rats."

Producers, and even assistant producers, were fond of him. And no wonder, for he helped keep the masses movie conscious. And Quirk was shrewd enough to know he should regularly remind the movie industry of this fact. His reminders were reiterations of the following editorial advice: "Anybody who tries to get $1.50 for a 50-cent movie is trying to pick your pocket."

Quirk was born in Boston—September 4, 1884—and at 18 got a job as a stenographer on a Boston newspaper. He quickly became a reporter, studied law at night, and landed a plum: he became private secretary to John F. Fitzgerald, an ex-mayor of Boston and father-in-law of Joseph P. Kennedy, at a time when Fitzgerald found it convenient to own a paper called New Republic (no; not the liberal weekly).

In 1906 Quirk removed to Washington, D. C., and utilizing the things Fitzgerald had taught him, rose in 3 years from rewrite man to managing editor of the Washington Times. He also got married—to Elizabeth North, by whom he had two daughters, Frances and Jean.

In 1909 Quirk was hired to go to Chicago and get Popular Mechanics out of its circulation doldrums. He succeeded in doing so, largely by enlivening its writing and typography. By 1912 Popular Mechanics was in the black.

Quirk then went to Wyoming to be a land operator. After a disappointing year ridding the State of fraudulent land grabbers, he returned to Chicago and opened an advertising agency. He and his wife and baby lived on crackers and milk.

Two well-to-do executives of the prosperous W. F. Hall Printing Co.—Robert M. Eastman and Edwin Colvin—had acquired, for an unpaid bill, a 3-year-old entertainment leaflet called Photoplay. It had little or no advertising and an uncertain circulation of 13,000. They needed someone to run it and offered Quirk the job. He and his wife were tired of crackers and milk and the starting salary promised an occasional lamb chop. Movies had meant little to Quirk, but since they now meant lamb chops, he boned up at a furious rate. He also set about finding writers—and ideas.

The first writer Quirk acquired was Julian Johnson, a Broadway press agent he heard about from Bob Davis—R. H. D.—who was then editing Munsey's Magazine. Here is Johnson's version—years later—of his first meeting with Quirk:

"Bob Davis called me at my office in the Princess Theater and characteristically delivered himself of the following: 'Kid, quit that press-agent stuff and get back in the real writing game. I'm sending a good guy around to meet you tonight at 8 o'clock—name's Quirk—has some sort of motion-picture publication—new field—great fellow—he'll make it—regular magazine doctor—big chance—get out of this town and make a stake for yourself and be happy—you'll team up nicely—I'm busy—so long.'

"At 8 o'clock that night this fellow Quirk showed up. That was the first and last occasion on which either of us ever thought of keeping an appointment with the other on the minute, or even on the hour.

"We had a program of one-act plays at the Princess Theater and I was busy. Quirk saw the show and afterward we adjourned to the Claridge. He was wearing a tuxedo and all the garniture, from hat to toe, and used quite a lot of big words and told me no funny stories. I got the impression I was going into an Atlantic Monthly sort of atmosphere. I think that was his selling point—from press agent to highbrow in one jump—and it fascinated me.

"The audacity of his project also fascinated me. A magazine, edited by sensible men, and gotten out as a business proposition, devoted to the movies. I knew nothing about 'them.' As a lifelong reporter and dramatic critic my working years had been closely bound to the theater. The Birth of a Nation hadn't yet been produced, and like all theatrical fellows in 1914, I regarded the difference between the nickel, or at most, the dime, one paid to see a movie, and the $2 or $3 one paid to see a play, even by an inferior company, the best yardstick of their respective merits.

"Quirk told me that he and Robert Eastman and Edwin Colvin had acquired a bankrupt little pamphlet called 'Photoplay' which had no standing, no advertising, and represented nothing but an increasing fan interest in the cheapest of amusements. But, oh, the visions of the future he had for it. Two or 3 weeks later I joined him in Chicago and the fun began."

Quirk's next acquisition was a young Irish girl named Kathryn Dougherty who began as office girl and general trouble-shooter and in time became the secretary-treasurer of the corporation, and for a while after Quirk's death, publisher.

Miss Dougherty, who later became known in the film industry as Kay Dee, says that in 1914–15, when Quirk was welding his organization together, soliciting ads, keeping costs down, and worrying his head off in general, his blue eyes would snap and sparkle whenever he sensed her doubts. "Look here," he would say, "this job is pretty nearly as new to me as it is to you, but you're Irish and I'm Irish and the Irish are never licked." She says Quirk believed all is well when we have the courage to face life with a laugh. "One of his favorite stories," she says, "was about a man who fell off a skyscraper and in his downward passage observed, 'I have just passed the 16th story and everything is safe so far.' "

The rest of Quirk's original staff consisted of Margaret Ettinger, cousin of Louella Parsons and now a well-known Hollywood press agent, Al Cohn, Randolph Bartlett, and Delight Evans. They outgrew their first office in Chicago's Hartford Building in a year.

In 1915 Chicago was quite a film center. Hollywood was still in its infancy and the Essanay and other studios were in active production. Film personalities regularly stopped over in Chicago on their way to and from New York and the coast, and Quirk's office became a meeting place. "Jim used to call his office the grand crossing because so many stars, directors, and producers met there," says Martin Quigley, editor of the Motion Picture Herald, and an early friend of Quirk's. "Jim had a gift for winning confidences. The stories that came from his lips and those he set down on paper were but a small part of what he knew about the living, loving, striving communities we call Hollywood and Broadway."

Quirk believed in getting out and meeting people and picked up some of his best story ideas that way. He frequented de Jonge's famous cafe on Monroe Street and was a moving spirit in "The White Paper Club" which met there and included in its membership James Oliver Curwood, Emerson Hough, Bob Munsey, Ray Long, Terry Ramsaye, Edgar Rice Burroughs, Edwin Balmer, and Watterson Rothacker, owner of the Rothacker film laboratories. Ray Long and Rothacker were two of Quirk's closest cronies.

In the nearby projection room of Mutual Pictures some of the "white paperites" began studying Chaplin films seriously. They were perhaps the first to nail down the essentials of Chaplin's art: a pantomimic technique that made the character of a tramp seem alternately pathetic and hilarious and caused audiences to recognize in the tramp's frustrations their own defeats, and in his small triumphs their own resiliency.

Quirk was one of the earliest Chaplin admirers. But when Chaplin tried to go arty, as he did in two pretentious flops released in 1919—Sunnyside and A Day's Pleasure—Quirk pleaded in Photoplay for Chaplin to "come back." Said Quirk: "Sunnyside was anything but sunny; A Day's Pleasure anything but pleasure."

Marshall Neilan, who knew both Chaplin and Quirk intimately, says that Quirk had a strong influence over the great comedian, and that had Quirk lived Chaplin would not be as discredited as he is today. Indeed, Quirk saw Chaplin for what he was—an idealist with the artist's touch of naivete, brilliant, simple, and profound when transposing his inner vision through the art of which he was master, ill-advised and inept when attempting to couple that inner vision with personal or socio-political theories.

Quirk induced some of the "white paperites" to write for Photoplay and one of them, Terry Ramsaye, became the foremost American film historian. Ramsaye was then a reporter on the Chicago Tribune and his first article for Photoplay, signed Terrence Eugene Ramsaye, was a report on how Ida Damon, of St. Louis, received the news that she had won the $10,000 grand prize for her 100-word solution of the Million Dollar Mystery movie serial.

One of Quirk's first circulation gimmicks was refusing all motion-picture school advertising and announcing that "no ads to which the least suspicion is attached shall be allowed in this publication." The resulting publicity attracted the type of advertiser Quirk wanted. He kept this ball rolling by printing letters from leading scenario editors.

Capt. Leslie T. Peacoke, of World Film Corp., wrote that in the 2 years he was a staff writer with Universal no scenario was ever accepted from a pupil of a so-called school. John T. Pribyl, of the Selig Polyscope Co., said "the art of photoplay writing cannot be taught by correspondence." Lawrence McCloskey, of Lubin, declared "the only persons these schools appeal to are of such mental caliber as precludes their writing usable stories, even though they succeed in acquiring the 'hokum technique' the schools dispense." Added Horace Plimton, of Edison: "I have looked into the matter of manuscripts received from people who have taken a course of photoplay instruction, and none has ever been accepted."

Then, in May 1915, Quirk hired Captain Peacocke, who had written 400 produced photoplays, to conduct a new department called Hints on Photoplay Writing.

Quirk also went after promoters who offered stock in wildcat or nonexistent motion-picture-producing companies, and printed an article by Paul H. Davis, an authority on movie finance, who began his exposition of how movies are actually made, sold, and paid for, by saying: "Every great new industry's first tide of success is followed by a phalanx of kid-glove gentlemen and well-meaning but worthless promoters." Added Quirk in a foreword: "It is not the purpose of this article to close and bar the door against any investment in picture companies."

Another of Quirk's early editorial ideas was a questionnaire to 1,000 newspaper editors all over the country: "Do you consider the word 'movie' as applied to a motion-picture theater, or film, a good one, and do you approve of its use in your newspaper?" National discussion in newspapers resulted. "Movie" was approved 511 to 222 and Quirk ran a two-page spread with the head: "The Question Is Now Settled."

Although Quirk printed all the good writers he could find, some of Photoplay's bylines were fictitious, e. g., Cal York, the name over the gossip column containing the news from East to West, was an abbreviated combination of California and New York; Frances Denton and Jean North were the given names of Quirk's daughters. Quirk and Julian Johnson wrote under fictitious names for many years and used to boast they could put out three issues of copy a month if need be.

Photoplay's first Department of Comment and Criticism on Current Photoplays appeared in November 1915, and was edited by Julian Johnson. Said Quirk: "The reviews will be * * * without fear or favor * * * there is not today one authoritative department of screen criticism in any popular periodical."

In 1916 Quirk ran a beauty and brains contest in collaboration with the World Film Corp. The professed idea was to find the 11 most beautiful and intelligent young women in the United States and Canada and give them photographic and dramatic trials at World Film's studios in Fort Lee, N. J. The judges included Lillian Russell, William A. Brady, Lewis J. Selznick (father of David and Myron, and then general manager of World Film Corp.), and Julian Johnson. Those who did not pass the final trials were to be returned to their homes in a first-class manner and without any expense to them whatever.

The response amazed the Photoplay staff, to say nothing of Lewis Selznick. To indignant young males clamoring to know why Photoplay didn't allow men to compete, Quirk replied: "Ladies first, you know, is the law of contests as well as of the sea. Wait, your chance will come later."

Photoplay was soon boasting 250,000 circulation. Articles on how to plot a photoplay; new exposés; 3- and 4-installment articles telling behind-the-scenes stories of Chaplin, Griffith, Pickford, Lillian Gish; summaries of movie plots; rotogravure photos of stars; really discerning reviews; James Montgomery Flagg and Neyas McMein portrait covers—by trial and error the first great fan magazine evolved.

In one of his own byline articles in 1918 Quirk stated his ideas on what makes an authentic movie star: "Principally brains. Next to brains, physical attractiveness. Dramatic talent comes under the general heading of brains. Imitative dramatic talent is nothing by virtuosity. * * * Mary Pickford holds her place by dominating mental force."

Two writers who became celebrated Hollywood figures—Adela Rogers St. Johns and Louella O. Parsons—first appeared in Photoplay in 1918. Mrs. St. Johns, the daughter of Earl Rogers, a well-known California criminal lawyer, had gone into newspaper work at a very early age, had retired briefly to domesticity after marrying her city editor, Ike St. Johns, and returned to writing as Quirk's gal Friday at the California end of Photoplay's news-and-feature lifeline.

As western editor of Photoplay, Mrs. St. Johns contributed scores of byline features. Her widespread personal contacts—she had lived in Hollywood since childhood and had known it as an expanse of open fields—proved invaluable and Quirk regarded her as one of Photoplay's greatest assets. Later her husband also wrote for Quirk.

Scriptwriter Herb Howe once described a typical Adela St. Johns day in the film capital in the early twenties: "Interview of a murderess for a Los Angeles paper in the morning; lunch with a star for a Photoplay story; an afternoon spent partly in Mrs. Wally Reid's pool and partly at her desk banging out a story for Cosmopolitan; partying and nightclubbing at night to pick up feature ideas and tidbits for the Cal York column of Photoplay."

Louella Parsons in her autobiography, the Gay Illiterate (1944), says Quirk gave her a helping hand when she lost a Chicago newspaper film reviewing job because of a change in publishers. "One bright spot in the whole mess was the encouragement James Quirk, editor of Photoplay, gave me. Jimmie was a lovable Irishman with a devastating wit. He had been my friend for many months, so when he telephoned I hastened to keep the appointment. I must have been the picture of woe, for he took one look at me and said, 'Look here, I used to think you were the gayest, brightest girl in this town and the most promising writer. Maybe I was wrong. If you don't believe in yourself how do you expect me or any other editor to believe in you? The place for you is New York. But first, pull yourself together and write me a story on the part the movies are playing in the war effort (World War I) and I'll feature it.'"

"Jimmie paid me $25 for an article he titled 'Propaganda.' It appeared in September 1918 and was, as he promised, featured on the cover. It was a wonderful lift to my morale."

A year after Louella had her first article in Photoplay her 12-year-old daughter Harriet contributed a byline interview with 4-year-old George Beban, Jr., son of the Italian film actor. Quirk billed it: "Daughter of the Press Interviewed a Son of the Screen Until Someone Mentioned Ice Cream."

Quirk's long friendship with Rupert Hughes began in 1919 when Hughes got into a controversy between Channing Pollock and Julian Johnson. Johnson had asked Pollock to discuss the movies from the author's standpoint and Pollock had seized the opportunity to lambaste the movies in toto. Johnson and Quirk took umbrage. Johnson called Pollock "a mad dog," and lashed out at "Prussian writing men." Rupert Hughes, fresh from a major's uniform, rebutted the observations of "the mad dogs" in the August 1919 issue of Photoplay in an article called "The Film and the Child." In a subsequent article, Hughes declared: "Instead of shovelling abuse on the frontiersmen of movie history or making too much ado about the rough ways or easy money of the early settlers, we should pay the proper tribute to their enterprise and appreciate the conditions that they endured rather than made."

In 1920 Burns Mantle, the Broadway dramatic critic, reviewed movies for Photoplay. Mantle's version of how he was hired: "Quirk asked what I knew about pictures. 'I know what I like,' I told him. 'Write it, then,' he replied. 'Write what you know about pictures and what you like.' 'Does that mean,' I asked, 'that I can write about even those I don't like?' 'It does,' Quirk said with a smile, 'and may the fillum Gods be with you.'"

Robert E. Sherwood also wrote for Photoplay. "I first started reviewing motion pictures for the old Life in the fall of 1920," Sherwood says. "Shortly thereafter began a friendly relationship with Jimmy Quirk. In 1921 the Arbuckle case, and the next year the Taylor murder, really put Hollywood on the map as the citadel of sin. Jimmy Quirk decided that we—he, Adela Rogers St. Johns and myself—should write The Mirrors of Hollywood, a la the best-selling The Mirrors of Downing Street. As I remember, Jimmy had discussed the idea with Ray Long, who was very enthusiastic and wanted to buy the serial rights for Cosmopolitan. The project was surrounded by the strictest secrecy for, like the other Mirrors books, ours was to be anonymous. Adela came to New York and we had many discussions in Jimmy's office.

"We drew up a list of principal subjects for dissection. It included all the prominent producers, directors, and stars of that period, with special emphasis on those about whom we could be most candid and unflattering, as the success of the Mirrors books depended largely on their debunking of important people.

"In the winter of 1921–22 I went for the first time to Hollywood, primarily for the purpose of gathering material for this proposed book, although I had a valid ostensible reason for the trip because, as a critic, I naturally wanted to study the processes of production on the west coast. Adela and her husband, Ike St. Johns, showed me great hospitality and facilitated introductions for me all over the place. Adela's brother, Bogart Rogers, was also extremely kind and helpful.

"Nothing ever came of the Mirrors of Hollywood project. I became more and more engrossed with my editorial work at Life and

a couple of years later became editor, and my interest in motion pictures diminished. But I think the main reason for our waning enthusiasm was that exposés of Hollywood became commonplace."

In 1920 Quirk did the thing many regard as his chief claim to fame: Commissioned Terry Ramsaye to write a history of the movies.

"I had grown weary of the making of much film," said Ramsaye, who had been editing newsreels, "and had fled to the pinelands of Long Island to raise a garden and dig clams. Jim and his business associate, Robert Eastman, came along to lure me back to labor to write a history of the motion picture 'to run in Photoplay a chapter a month until it is through.' It was of a piece with Jim's outlook on the industry to believe that a sincere telling of its whole story, shorn of myth and the clutter of falsehood which was deeply coloring all its traditions, would be a contribution to that industry.

"There is a tribute to Jim's professional integrity in the fact that he was willing to wait through almost 2 years of research before a chapter went into type, and that he most generously supported a continuously widening field of inquiry, here and abroad, for 3 years (1922–25), and printed no less than 36 installments of The Romantic History of the Motion Picture.

"About the time I sent him chapter 18, going into the second year, I was fishing a delectable pool in the Canadian wilds where Lake Nipigon starts down the wildnerness stairs to Lake Superior. A courier du bois, a glum Cree Indian, paddled 40 miles upriver from the railway to deliver me a telegram from New York: 'What year in your story will we get to Mary Pickford? Jim.'

It was his encouragement and enthusiasm, too, which helped me pile on more research and do the whole job over again and write A Million and One Nights."

When Burns Mantle withdrew from Photoplay and resumed reviewing stage productions, Quirk worked out the mode of movie reviewing Photoplay used until he died. Quirk called the review section The Shadow Stage. The first pages featured the 5 leading films of the month and contained a still photograph from each film with a 7-line caption review. Nine smaller cuts, attached to capsule reviews, occupied the next two pages, which were devoted to what Quirk called B-grade pictures. Third-raters were reviewed together back in the magazine without cuts. Quirk himself wrote many of the seven-line caption reviews of the better films.

In 1920 Photoplay bestowed its first gold-medal award for the best picture of the preceding year to Humoresque.

By that time Quirk was visiting Hollywood regularly and was much courted, for Photoplay had become one of the instruments by which starlets were transformed into stars, and Quirk was often consulted before a decision was made to give a particular starlet the all-out buildup.

In 1922 Quirk and Samuel Goldwyn cosponsored a contest to find new stars. It was not to be another hunt for girls who looked like Pickford, Talmadge, or Swanson, but a seach for "a real girl—not an ingenue, not a coquette, not a wise girl, not a beauty, but a real American girl." No girl would be considered "regardless of the symmetry of her features, whose facial expression does not possess qualities of understanding, imagination, and feeling. The screen * * * needs personalities capable of portraying mental as well as physical action in an individual way." The winner was to get a year's contract from Goldwyn, who would have a 3-year option on her services.

Quirk had to hire extra help and office space to handle the flood of photographs.

The winner was Jean Haskell, a Seattle society girl. She may have been too much the all-American girl—she did not make movies her career.

Notwithstanding his participation in such ballyhoo, Quirk believed motion pictures had reached a stage of development that entitled them to be considered a contemporary art. He also believed that apathetic audiences were to blame for bad films. "When you see a bad picture, kick," he wrote. "When you see a sex picture foisted on you under the guise of a picture with a moral, kick. Don't just tell your friends. Tell the man who got your money. Hunt for the owner or manager of the theater and tell him that you feel you have been cheated. Tell him the man who sold him the picture cheated him and that he in turn cheated you. Tell him he isn't going to get any more of your money if he shows inferior pictures. Don't be afraid of hurting his feelings. He wants to know what you think. He doesn't want to show pictures you don't want. He's a businessman."

Quirk claimed that Photoplay had 2 million readers and that its movie reviews saved them millions of dollars a year.

When, shortly after World War I, Photoplay moved from Chicago to New York, it roosted in offices at 25 West 45th Street. In 1922 Quirk moved to the top floor of 221 West 57th Street, where he got himself a paneled office in the rear overlooking Central Park. Photoplay was still printed by the Hall Co. in Chicago, and publishing and advertising headquarters remained there, with Kathryn Dougherty in charge. There was a west coast office in Los Angeles' Taft Building.

In 1926 Quirk acquired a controlling interest and became the publisher of Photoplay as well as editor.

Also in 1926 he remarried (his first marriage ended in divorce). The second Mrs. Quirk had been May Allison, the movie actress. They lived in the Buckingham Hotel on 57th Street, a few blocks from Quirk's new office.

Between 1928 and 1930, in addition to running Photoplay, Quirk worked for Hearst trying to put some vitality into the Hearst-owned Smart Set and McClure's. The depression ended his hopeless task. Hearst continued to invite Quirk to San Simeon, however, to get his advice on Marion Davies' screen career.

Quirk also visited at Pickfair and was one of those who advised Mary Pickford to change her type. When her more sophisticated roles in Lubitsch's Rosita and Marshall Neilan's Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall were not appreciated, Miss Pickford asked Quirk to publish in her name an appeal for suggestions as to what she should do. This elicited 20,000 letters. The preponderant majority wanted "America's Sweetheart back."

Photoplay rarely ran pictures of men on its covers, but there was one Hollywood male who fascinated Quirk—Erich von Stroheim. Quirk could never make up his mind about Stroheim and would attack him in one issue and defend him in the next, and his reactions to Greed were typical of this. He said Greed was sordid, brutal, and depressing, but "reeks with good acting and wonderful direction. If only Von Stroheim could get rid of that little mental twist that inspires him to show dead cats instead of morning glories open to the sun, there wouldn't be a director who could surpass him."

Quirk had no such ambivalence about Garbo. He featured her in Photoplay but he eventually said in print that the reason Garbo was silent was she had nothing to say. Whereupon MGM removed its advertising. "If they can afford to keep their advertising out," Quirk said, "Photoplay isn't the magazine I think it is." The advertising was restored. Quirk was equally imperturbable in the face of denunciatory letters from Garbo fans. He believed that "if a magazine doesn't make its readers mad it has no vitality."

Quirk, who had once asked the newspapers of the country if they approved the word "movies," ran a contest in Photoplay to find out what the talkies should be called. He put Harriet Parsons in charge of it—the same Harriet who had written for him at the tender age of 12. The name that won the contest has never been heard since: Phonoplay.

Quirk was generous with writers[1] and one of them, Adele Fletcher, went to him with an idea for an article: Is it beauty, brains, or backbone that makes a star? Quirk told her to expand the idea into three articles for which he would give her $500 apiece. And he gave her a check for $1,000 as an advance. "He sent me to my typewriter," says Miss Fletcher, "with more than the $1,000—with faith in my idea and the desire to live up to his expectations. Today we are more and more aware of the miracles enthusiasm can work. Jim Quirk knew all about that long ago."

Quirk was also generous and loyal to stars he liked. For years after the Fatty Arbuckle scandal he tried to get Arbuckle reestablished as a director. He protected the reputation of Mabel Normand—the first star he had interviewed—during the debacle of her last years. He fretted over the cost to Lon Chaney's health of the extreme lengths to which Chaney went in his make-up for deformed and grotesque roles. When John Gilbert's first talkie was ridiculed because of Gilbert's weak voice, Quirk merely said "in a talkie you miss the vivacity and expressiveness of his eyes," and later praised all of Gilbert's pathetic attempts to regain his public. Quirk supported Valentino in the latter's famous fight with Paramount, and subsequently vainly tried to dissuade Valentino from going "arty." Long after Gloria Swanson ceased to be a boxoffice draw Quirk presented her in Photoplay as a ranking star.

There were others he did not shield. In fact, in the last months of his life Quirk was sued for libel—unsuccessfully—by the mother of Alma Rubens.

Quirk died at 47 in Hollywood on August 1, 1932, from heart failure induced by a stomach disorder. The physician at his deathbed was Louella Parsons' husband, Dr. Harry Martin.

[1] Among other writers who wrote for Photoplay from 1928 to 1932 were Ruth Waterbury, Frances Kish, Ruth Biery, Harry Lang, Katherine Albert, Mark Larkin, Gladys Hall, Sara Hamilton, Leonard Hall, Marquis Busby, Donald Ogden Stewart, Jimmy Fidler, Mark Hellinger, "Sylvia" (the beauty expert), and Rilla Page Palmborg.

Denver Needs Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a statement made by the Honorable Quigg Newton, mayor of the city and county of Denver.

We of the metropolitan area of the city and county of Denver are in desperate need of water. Our future growth and development is limited unless adequate water supply is assured. Adequate relief can be secured if pending legislation is adopted. The situa-

tion is well explained in the statement, which is as follows:

STATEMENT OF QUIGG NEWTON ON BEHALF OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 84TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, MARCH 1955

My name is Quigg Newton. I am the mayor of the city and county of Denver, Colo. Denver owns and operates its own municipal water system upon which over 600,000 people are totally dependent for their water supply. Of that total about 485,000 people reside within its city limits and the additional 115,000 reside in adjacent suburban areas. The population served by Denver's system has grown over 20 percent in the last 5 years; it has fully doubled since 1930.

At the present time Denver gets about two-thirds of the water it uses from the South Platte River. It has not been able to make any substantial increase in the amount of water it gets from that source for the last 15 years because all of the waters of the South Platte have been completely developed for the use of the 825,000 people dependent on it for domestic, agricultural, and industrial water. Denver gets the remaining one-third of its present supply through transmountain tunnels from small tributaries of the Colorado River, such as Fraser and Williams Fork. Denver's total water plant investment is fully $75 million, of which more than one-half represents reservoirs, tunnels, and canals for the diversion and storage of raw water.

Denver has less water than it needs right now. In part, the reason is severe drought for the past 2 years. In part, the shortage comes from our rapid rate of growth. By extension and complete development of its Fraser and Williams Fork collection systems—on which work is presently being pressed—Denver can increase its water supply enough to take care of an urbanized area of just about 800,000 inhabitants. We will have that number within the next 8 years unless within that time regional population trends change radically.

To support our growth beyond that point we have no practicable source of supply other than the Blue River, which is one of the tributaries of the Colorado River within our own State.

Denver has made an appropriation of water from the Blue River and our engineers have designed a tunnel 23 miles in length and 2 large reservoirs to catch this water during flood periods of the year and bring it into our water system. These 3 structures are the things called the Blue River project in section 11 of House bills 2836, 270, and 4488 presently before this committee. Denver has spent to date on this project over $1 million. This has covered detailed plans, rights-of-way, and geological tests and studies. The tunnel part of the project, which will take fully 8 years to complete, is under construction and has been driven over a mile and a half.

The completed project will cost over $75 million, which Denver now expects to finance without Federal contribution. That project is designed to yield in average years, when fully complete, about 175,000 acre-feet of water per year. That amount of water added to our present sources will supply Denver in a continued growth to about 1,600,000 people. We believe that point may be reached in the next 25 to 40 years.

To make that growth possible and even to protect the number of people who will assuredly be dependent upon our water supply within the next 10 years, Denver needs the enactment by the Congress of the provisions embodied in section 11 of Senate bill 500 and House bills 2836, 270, and 4488. The reason we need this legislation is very simple. The date of Denver's Blue River water appropriation has now been finally established by our supreme court as June 24, 1946. That is a date several years junior to the priority date to which the United States is entitled for its Green Mountain Reservoir and powerplant located on the Blue River some 35 miles downstream from the intake point for Denver's tunnel.

That United States powerplant is big enough to take all the water of the Blue River, including what Denver needs for continued growth. Denver believes that under the terms of the Colorado River compact and of the Boulder Canyon Project Act, which followed the compact, the use by the United States of this Blue River water whenever that use is solely for generation of electrical power is subservient to Denver's taking of water for municipal uses and cannot interfere with or prevent diversion of water by Denver, even though Denver's priority date is junior to that of the United States. Final decision of that legal point may take years and no matter how it is decided the need of administrative power clearly to solve all possible problems of conflict will still exist. The United States still owns much of the land on which Denver needs to build the 2 reservoirs for its Blue River project, and at 1 of these sites the United States has withdrawn the land as a Federal power site. Direct authority in the executive branch of the Government to sell, for value, the required areas is needed to facilitate the project. Applications for acquisition of some vital items have been pending for many years under the usual routines of permits and land exchanges.

If Denver is to take any flood water from the Blue River and if concurrently the United States is to make maximum lawful use of its reservoir and powerplant, it is very necessary that there be express power in the appropriate agencies of the United States to negotiate with Denver's engineers a workable modus for operation of both projects with minimum interference, including, if that be necessary, relinquishment by the United States of some water which would otherwise be used solely to generate power. Section 11 makes such negotiation possible. Denver needs it.

I want to make it very clear that in asking legislation to facilitate this adjustment of Federal power uses to Denver's municipal needs, Denver is not seeking, and under section 11 would not get, any right to interfere with the operation of the Colorado-Big Thompson project at its maximum agricultural and municipal possibilities. Neither is Denver asking to impair in any way the efficient functioning of Green Mountain Reservoir as a supplement to the water rights of other users in western Colorado for agricultural or municipal purposes.

There are many water rights in Colorado on the Colorado River system long senior both to Denver's Blue appropriation and to Green Mountain Reservoir. These must continue to be recognized both by the United States and by Denver. We ask no change in that.

Green Mountain Reservoir has two primary storage functions aside from any utility for generating electricity. One is to catch and store replacement water for the Colorado-Big Thompson project. About one-third the capacity of Green Mountain Reservoir accomplishes this purpose, even under extreme conditions. We seek no right to interfere with that. Green Mountain Reservoir also acts as a supplement to the water supply of the group of canals that serve the Grand Junction area. 1954 was a very dry year. Much less than one-third the capacity of Green Mountain Reservoir proved adequate to give those canals the water they needed for agricultural and municipal purposes even in that drought year. We seek no right to interfere with the continuation of that practice.

What we do ask is to be able to negotiate with the United States for the reservoir sites we need and for an operating modus governing our respective projects, which may involve relinquishment by the United States of some of its power water. That power water yields the United States only about $1.35 per acre-foot. Denver expects the cost of development of water for its vital municipal purposes to be so great that every acre-foot it gets from the Blue will represent over $20.

Denver feels a strong sense of obligation to be able to continue its service of water to the many Federal installations dependent on its water system in the Denver area. Requirements arising from Federal installations alone require about a fifth of the total capacity of the Denver water system.

The Denver area represents nearly half the total population of Colorado. Denver needs water from the winter snows of western Colorado for its continued development.

This involves what is commonly called transmountain diversion. Such a diversion is perfectly lawful. It is the same sort of lawful diversion by which Los Angeles, at a considerable distance from the Colorado River, receives over 4 million acre-feet of Colorado River water per year, as shown in the Senate hearings on this legislation.

Denver is not as large as Los Angeles, but it is second only to Los Angeles in size among the cities dependent upon the Colorado River. Denver asks the chance to complete, at its own expense, a project which when fully developed and operated at capacity will not divert more than 180,000 acre-feet of Colorado River water in any year.

The inclusion of Denver's Blue River project in this legislation was expressly approved by the Colorado Water Conservation Board in resolutions adopted January 14, 1954. That board is the official policymaking body of Colorado in all water matters. That support has never been withdrawn or modified.

Denver water system facts and figures

(Population)

Area	1940	1950	1954
Denver city limits (71 square miles)	322,000	416,000	483,000
Area within blue line (114 square miles)	345,000	473,000	580,000
Urbanized area which might be served (185 square miles)	358,000	499,000	622,000
Metropolitan area as defined by United States Census (4-county area, 2,918 square miles)	408,000	564,000	684,000
Persons served by Denver water system	370,000	490,000	600,000

MAJOR FEDERAL INSTALLATIONS SERVED BY DENVER WATER BOARD

Rocky Mountain Arsenal.
Fort Logan Hospital and housing project.
Federal Correctional Institution.
Fitzsimons Army Hospital.
Lowry Air Force Base.
Denver Federal Center.
Rocky Flats Atomic Energy Plant.

FEDERAL PERSONNEL IN DENVER, 1954

Military personnel	16,500
Nonmilitary employees	19,500
Dependents	70,000
Total	106,000

Raw water used

Year	Acre-feet	Persons served
1935 [1]	67,000	340,000
1940	84,000	370,000
1945	94,000	414,000
1950	121,000	490,000
1954 [1]	142,000	600,000

[1] Water use restricted.

Raw water yield

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
South Platte River	64,600	86,500	125,100	71,400	59,200
Moffat Tunnel	29,800	34,000	31,500	35,300	19,600
Williams Fork	9,000	11,200	6,800	7,400	5,500
Total	103,400	131,700	163,400	114,100	84,300

NOTE.—In each of the above tables water distributed by Denver through the city ditch for use of parks, institutional grounds, etc., within its urbanized area (approximately 2,000 acre-feet per year) has been included; all water delivered by Denver for agricultural use outside the urbanized area (approximately 5,000 acre-feet per year which Denver is obligated to supply by contracts under which it acquired certain of its water rights) has been excluded.

Storage

	Acre-feet
Total capacity for storage	220,000
Water in storage:	
Nov. 1, 1952	175,000
Nov. 1, 1954	80,000
Mar. 1, 1955	71,000

EXPANSION POSSIBILITIES OF DENVER WATER SYSTEM

South Platte: Fully appropriated—no expansion feasible except by extinguishing present profitable uses in agricultural areas of permanent value.

Moffat: System now being completed by:

(a) Full extension of collection system as rapidly as possible.

(b) Completion of 42,000 acre-feet reservoir No. 22 by spring, 1955.

(c) Completion of South Boulder Creek Channel improvements. In an average year these improvements will add 40,000 acre-feet; in a dry year 20,000 acre-feet.

Williams Fork: Studies are rapidly being completed to determine the best method of taking Williams Fork water directly into the city distribution system, present use being through exchanges.

In an average year these improvements will add approximately 20,000 acre-feet, and in a dry year 10,000 acre-feet.

Blue River project

Cost:	
Pilot tunnel, 23 miles, 10 by 10 feet, and collection works	$40,000,000
Dillon Reservoir, 50,000 acre-feet	8,000,000
Two Forks Reservoir, 140,000 acre-feet	15,000,000
Total	63,000,000
Average cost per acre-foot per year:	
Amortization, 2 percent (50 years)	1,260,000
Interest, 3 percent on unamortized balance	945,000
Total	2,205,000

Yield: 177,000 acre-feet.

Average cost per acre-foot per year: $12.46.

Summary of revenue and expense

	1950	1951	1952	1953
Revenue	$4,528,770.59	$4,854,501.17	$6,178,704.52	$6,707,860.27
Operating expense	1,510,507.81	1,771,738.32	2,018,259.89	2,173,357.44
Net operating income	3,018,262.78	3,082,762.85	4,160,444.63	4,534,502.83
Interest expense	723,007.81	733,255.18	810,692.39	872,821.04
Net income before depreciation	2,295,254.97	2,349,507.67	3,349,752.24	3,661,681.79
Depreciation expense	659,447.40	675,119.48	744,989.29	785,836.21
Net income	1,635,807.57	1,674,388.19	2,604,762.95	2,875,845.58
Acre-feet used	120,338	119,708	129,084	131,285
Net return per acre-foot	$13.59	$13.99	$20.18	$21.90

Capital invested in Denver water plant as of Sept. 30, 1954 (Blue River excluded)

	Plant investment Dec. 31, 1953	Construction in progress Sept. 30, 1954	Total plant investment Sept. 30, 1954
Raw water development	$23,980,942.39	$11,609,134.56	$35,650,076.95
Filtration and treatment	14,197,318.41		14,654,400.66
Internal distribution	18,954,448.55	1,403,146.51	20,357,595.06
Miscellaneous	3,074,922.37	180,225.50	3,255,147.87
Total	60,207,631.72	13,709,588.82	73,917,220.54

Construction in progress (Blue River excluded), Sept. 30, 1954

Raw water development:	
Reservoir 22	$10,785,777.20
Moffat collection system	883,357.36
Total	11,669,134.56
Filtration and treatment:	
Moffat settling basin	407,579.03
Moffat filter drain line	21,098.58
Miscellaneous	28,404.64
Total	457,579.03
Internal distribution	1,403,146.51
Miscellaneous	180,225.50
Total	13,709,588.82

"SECOND CAPITOL OF UNITED STATES" PROBLEMS

1. Within the political limits of Denver there is located $36,902,000 of tax exempt federally owned property. (1953 city mill levy 39.55 mills; $145,947.41 lost taxes). One-sixth of Metropolitan Denver's population consists of Federal employees or dependents. Denver supplies these people with all municipal services without the benefit of a corresponding industrial tax base, the most prolific source of revenue to meet the cost of government, or for that matter, any other commensurate tax base.

2. Denver has a split water rate, one rate applying to Denver citizens who have invested almost $74 million in their water plant, and the other, a higher rate, for outside users. Most of the Federal installations using Denver water are outside Denver's political limits, but enjoy the lower rates. Subsidy to the Federal Government from this source in 1953 was $82,433.19.

INDIRECT BENEFIT TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FROM DENVER-BUILT BLUE RIVER PROJECT

Diversion of an average of 177,000 acre-feet of water into the Denver water system will result in return flow to the South Platte River through Denver sewers of 140,000 acre-feet of water per year. If additional reservoirs are built to catch and hold this return flow for release during the irrigating season, more than 50,000 acres of what is now dry, unproductive land northeast of Denver can be irrigated. The annual benefits thereby derived, computed in the same manner as those reported for H. R. 236 (Frying Pan-Arkansas project), are as follows:

Direct benefits each year	$1,330,000
Indirect benefits each year	2,296,000
Total	3,626,000

If no additional reservoirs are built, the return flow to the river during the irrigating season, plus some increase in supply for existing reservoirs, could be used beneficially. Under these circumstances, about 21,000 additional acres could be irrigated, and the annual benefits would be:

Direct benefits each year	$558,600
Indirect benefits each year	964,300
Total	1,522,900

Conference of Jewish Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following program of the Conference of Jewish Organizations, March 5–6, 1955, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, MARCH 5 AND 6, 1955, SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Representatives of 20 national Jewish organizations participated in a conference on March 5 and 6 in Washington to consider recent developments in the Near East.

They included representatives of Zionist and non-Zionist organizations, the three major religious bodies—conservative, orthodox, and reform—and the leaders of local Jewish communities in major cities. The organizations were: American Jewish Congress, American Trade Union Council for Labor Israel, American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, American Zionist Council, B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, Hapoel Hamizrachi Organization of America, Jewish Agency, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Labor Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi Organization of America, National Community Relations Advisory Council, Progressive Zionist League, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, United Synagogue of America, United Zionist Labor Party, Zionist Organization of America, and Zionist-Revisionists.

The declaration of policy adopted by the conference follows:

DECLARATION

The representatives of the major American Jewish organizations have gathered in Washington to consult together and recommend action on problems of common interest and mutual concern.

This conference is the first in many years to bring together the representatives of so many organizations of varied viewpoint. The fact of this assembly is in itself a source of gratification, for it is clear evidence of the desire of the vast majority of the Jewish people of the United States to work together in the pursuit of common objectives:

The defense of America and the welfare of its people;

The spread of freedom and the attainment of peace throughout the world; and

The attainment of peace, development, and security for the people of Israel in their ancestral homeland.

We are dedicated to our country's welfare, and to the preservation of individual freedom and to the strengthening of our democratic institutions. We shall defend and maintain and advance our country's high ideals and moral integrity.

In common with all Americans, we are concerned with the security and welfare of the free and democratic world. The deterioration of international morality, which began after World War II and which has continued in the postwar period, shall not deter or deflect us from the purpose which has sustained democracy through this long period of conflict and which has assured and will eventually attain victory over totalitarianism. We shall continue to support all effective measures by our Government, taken by itself or carried on in concert with other freedom-loving democracies through the instrumentality of the United Nations, to combat the threat of Communist aggression throughout the world and to spread freedom to the four corners of the earth.

The American Jewish community has always been concerned with the welfare of Jews in other lands and has been eager to obtain for them the security and freedom with which we have been blessed in our own beloved country. This concept of aiding others to live in human dignity is consistent with American tradition. One of our proudest chapters in 30 decades of history was the contribution of the American Jewish community to the rebuilding of the land of Israel.

We take pride that our Government has championed the cause of Israel's redemption and that both the administration and the Congress have approved generous assistance to Israel to enable her to receive and absorb the refugees who have sought sanctuary on her shores and to develop her economy.

Through the gift of our own resources, we have helped Israel carry out a historic and humanitarian mission, the rescue and resettlement of 750,000 Jews, the survivors of Nazi brutality, Communist persecution, and Arab hostility.

Hundreds of thousands of Jews live behind the Iron Curtain, helpless witnesses to the grinding destruction of their religion, culture, and civilization by Communist totalitarianism. Tensions and civil strife in north Africa and other parts of the world have exposed Jews to new danger, and many thousands more are now on their way to Israel in escape from their mounting peril. It is our task to maintain our support for Israel so that she may receive and integrate those who may win their way to freedom.

Israel's progress has been due, in large measure, to the economic development assistance and the technical assistance given by our own Government. We hope that our Government will maintain this assistance to guarantee continued progress and to speed the day when Israel becomes self-supporting, independent of external aid.

It is a source of deep anxiety that, 7 years after her establishment, Israel has not yet been afforded peace and the opportunity to live as a normal and free people, undisturbed by the continued threat of war.

This conference meets as tensions in the Near East have once again taken a deplorable toll of life on both sides of the Arab-Israel frontiers. The continuation of these incidents makes it manifest that the existing armistice agreements are inadequate to maintain order and emphasizes the need for renewed efforts to transform the armistice agreements into a durable peace.

We trust that our own Government and other democratic nations in the United Nations will take effective steps to bring about peace in the Near East. Such a peace can best be secured by direct and honorable negotiations, carried on by the Arab States and Israel in fidelity to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

An Arab-Israel peace is indispensable to all the peoples of the Near East and to the defense of democracy and the free world, for it would inaugurate a new era of cooperation in which all the states of the region could work together to raise and improve levels of living, strengthen and stabilize democratic institutions, and complete regional arrangements for effective defense against subversion and external aggression.

It is our conviction that the friendship of all the peoples of the Near East may be won for democracy if we help them improve their intolerable economic, social, and cultural conditions and if we help them gain the human rights which are now denied to them. Our country should give them the tools to lengthen life and to help them to proficiency in their use.

We fail to understand how the cause of peace, stability, development, and defense is served by the grant of arms to governments which persist in open hostility toward their neighbor. The grant of arms to Arab countries without the requirement that they end their war against Israel will encourage them to believe that an Arab-Israel peace is not imperative, and, however well-intentioned the grant of these arms, in the absence of such a peace, there are no effective guaranties against their reckless misuse in new aggression against Israel.

We call attention to the fact that while arms are being offered to Arab States which waver in their allegiance to democracy, Israel's request for arms has gone unanswered.

If the system of treaties and alliances now under negotiation in the Near East is to strengthen democracy's resistance to subversion and aggression in this region, this objective is not attained by the palpable exclusion of the most stable democracy most dedicated to the cause of democracy's defense. There has been no indication of how Israel is to be integrated into the defense arrangements for the region. Such an exclusion from the fraternity of our defense and security arrangements—particularly in view of the tangible security advantages accruing to the Arab States from their network of treaties and agreements with the Western Powers—increases Israel's vulnerability to attack and deprives the Western World of an impressive security potential.

We believe it just and in the best interests of democracy that our Government should make it clear that Israel will be included in whatever arrangement will be developed for the defense of freedom in the Near East. Such an undertaking would contribute to stability and peace, for it would discourage aggression, encourage reconciliation, and thus promote true regional cooperation.

In summary:

I. We urge our Government to make a determined effort to bring about direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States, looking toward a peaceful settlement.

II. In the absence of an Arab-Israel peace, we urge the suspension of arms shipments to the Near East, particularly in view of the fact that no arms are being given to Israel.

III. We believe that Israel must be included in any defense arrangements for the region.

IV. We favor continued economic and technical assistance to Israel and the Arab peoples to raise living standards, facilitate the resettlement of refugees, and strengthen and stabilize democratic institutions.

V. We shall continue to promote friendship between our own democracy and the democracy of Israel.

We believe that this program will contribute constructively to the attainment of peace, development, and defense in the Near East, and thus faithfully serve the highest interests of the security and welfare of the peoples of the United States and the free world.

Gas Rates Affecting the Cities of Kentucky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BRENT SPENCE

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following statement issued recently by Hon. John J. Moloney, mayor of Covington, Ky., in regard to the existing controversy as to gas rates affecting the cities of Kentucky:

Utility rates can become involved. Historically, the more involved they become the more they increase. Also the consumers, defense is weakened as the complication of rate structures stretches out into unknown fields.

Oil and gas companies have studied rate structures for many years. They have a wealth of experience behind them. There are few things that they do not know about the subject. Originality is one of their chief assets. While experience is a valuable asset, a monopoly is of far greater value than experience. And the oil and gas producers do have a monopoly.

The dictatorships criticize the democracies because they claim their form of government is more efficient. This is quite true, but the efficiency rests in the fact that there is no opposition; if there is the slightest suspicion that opposition is forming it is quickly liquidated. Monopolies are dictatorships.

The present gas-rate case is one of the most startling examples of how a monopoly works; it is estimated that there are 4,000 gas-producing companies in the United States; but about 2 percent of them supply more than 85 percent of all the gas that is sold. This makes them a close-knit organization, monopolizing the industry and holding, if permitted, a dictatorship over the consumer.

On the consumer's side of the case, such a monopoly is hardly possible. There are 20 million gas consumers in this country, whose interest in the gas rate is only aroused when the rate is increased. He doesn't know why he must pay more and if he inquires, such a deluge of exhibits, figures, and charts are showered upon him that he wishes he had not asked in the first place. This is because rate structures have become involved; the monopoly has made them that way. He usually gives up by saying that he supposes everyone is entitled to protect his investment.

But what of this investment? The 20 million consumers have over $3 billion invested in gas-burning equipment. The gas producing, carrying, and supplying companies, in fact the entire industry, have little more than half of that amount as a total investment. In a democracy it would seem that the greatest number of people, with the greatest amount of money invested, should be protected first. The monopoly is trying to bring about conditions whereby they will be protected and the consumer must pay and pay to satisfy their greed which will never be quite as great 1 year as it will the following year.

And what is the relationship of the protection of the consumer against the producer? The consumer's investment is strictly an out-of-pocket-expense, for which he is guaranteed nothing. He pays for it with his own money and many continue to pay for long periods of time through finance companies. (The finance companies charges are not part of the $3 billion investment.) The producer, on the other hand, is allowed a 27½-percent depletion charge. This means that out of each million dollars he collects he has $275,000 free of taxation. He is also given the same exemption for exploratory expenses.

The theory behind the depletion allowance is that a well will not produce forever. It is quite true they will not go on indefinitely producing large quantities of gas or oil, hence the depletion charge. The owner is given an opportunity to lay a nest egg aside. But it need not be an ostrich egg. If a well will yield a million dollars a year for 5 or 10 years, the owner will have better than a quarter of a million dollars tax free for each year and the remainder subject to no more than normal taxation. The allowance, as it stands, practically says that each company or individual who owns an oil or gas well, must by some unaccountable reasoning become a millionaire because the life of his income from this source is limited. The earning period of an athlete's life as an athlete is also limited but he is given no such depletion allowance.

But the depletion allowance is designed to make a few multimillionaires in the fields of the Southwest; the remainder of the industry has other means of raising their income at the expense of the consumer. This can be done with or without increasing the unit wholesale rate. The complicated maze of pipelines leading to the consumers, under many companies of various names, provides ample opportunity to raise costs at as great a distance from the consumer as possible. To understand this, it is best to trace the gas as it follows its tangled way from the wells in the Southwest to the consumer.

Gas, at the well-head, cost 1⁷⁄₁₀ cents per thousand cubic feet to produce. At the farthest point from the market, the cost to the first pipeline is 8¹⁷⁄₁₀₀ cents per thousand cubic feet. At the wells closest to the consumer the unit price usually rises on the basis of the fact that it would cost to pump from farther points so this is added so the gas producers gets the advantage of geography. The fact that it does not have to be pumped and thus the consumer could be saved this cost does not enter into it. It is strictly a seller's market and his every move is to protect himself against the consumer and avoid regulation as much as possible.

The first pipeline company usually carries the gas to a processing company. It is the function of the processing company to take moisture and other materials from the gas. Some of these other materials, while they do not detract from the burning or heat-producing qualities of the gas are marketable, but not to any great extent. In the overall it does add some expense to the production chain.

It may or may not be significant that the processing companies are not subject to any regulation by either Federal or local regulatory bodies. Their charge is strictly their own business, although they do form a definite function in the production and distribution lines of a vital utility.

From the processing company to the consumer the mystery deepens. There is a maze of pipelines all over the South, moving ever northward and eastward, reaching out to pick up markets in thickly populated centers as they go. Most of these lines are in some way interlocked. Each has a name of an owner company.

The gas itself cannot be identified. It can move over any of these lines to any point beyond a line from any source. There can be little doubt that there are times when the draw on one line is heavier than on other lines. At such times the system proves valuable in that it is flexible. The supply for the lines that are heavily used can be drawn from the lines where the demand is lighter. But there is no way for the consumer, or the retail supplier to know just what lines his gas actually follows.

It is not known how closely the lines are united or the means whereby they are bound together. There does seem to be a very close working agreement between them. One thing is apparent from the beginning: they all follow the same pattern.

There are many things common to all carriers. Facilities are needed that the nature of the industry require. This is not peculiar to any one company but necessary in greater or lesser degrees to all of the lines. Principal among these needs is storage facilities. Much is made of such a requirement and there can be little doubt that such needs are expensive to install and require continuing charges for operation and maintenance. They are usually installed in out-of-way places, where land values are rather low as are taxes, because they are far removed from urban centers. This peculiarity may add some to continuing costs, but certainly reduces installation expense.

Storage is nothing peculiar to the gas industry, but is something necessary to nearly all types of commercial or industrial enterprise. Certainly the retail grocer must be able to carry more than one of each item on his shelves because the convenience of his patrons make it mandatory. He therefore must have ample space for storage which adds to his costs. His wholesaler must have considerable warehouse space, in most cases on ground that is very costly because they are usually located in thickly populated areas subject to high taxation. This also adds to costs but they make no special issue of the fact because it is generally accepted and recognized costs. Both the wholesaler and retailer, in the instance of the grocery business, must expand these storage facilities as their volume of business increases. There should be nothing peculiar about the gas industry being subject to the same commercial axiom.

Yet much is made of these storage facilities in all of the charts and exhibits presented in supporting the tariffs they propose for acceptance by the regulatory bodies of the Nation.

There can be little doubt that such facilities add to the assets of the companies and increase their value. Such values add to the total wealth of the company and on such they are entitled to a fair return on investment. But this is not what they seek, as an analysis of their rate structure will demonstrate.

Returning to the physical structure of the industry and the entire system as it serves this area and the cities to the north and east of us, it becomes apparent that any increase either at the wellheads themselves or any point beyond the wells would necessarily increase cost to carriers and suppliers that follow in natural or unnatural sequence.

A natural sequence would exist if the lines followed each other in direct sequence, but this is not necessarily the case. Conceivably the rate could be raised by a small pipeline in northwest Alabama which, in turn, would increase rates on all of the lines north and east of this point. The gas may even move through this line and, no doubt, in some instances would. But the source of the cost is so far removed from the consumer that it becomes a difficult matter for those representing him to learn just who is increasing his rate. This is what is meant when the cities say that they find themselves confronted with a phantom foe.

By divorcing themselves, either partially or wholly from retail outlets, monopolies can make as much money selling wholesale as they could from both wholesale and retail. This has the added advantage of relieving them of local resentment.

When the Union Light, Heat & Power Co., and the Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. publish notices of their intent to raise these rates they were naturally asked, Why? Their reply was that their supplier, Kentucky Central Fuel Co., had raised their rates; Kentucky Central's reply was that their supplier, United Fuel, had raised their rate. Kentucky Central and United Fuel are both part of the vast Columbia system. Columbia's reply was that their suppliers, Tennessee Pipeline and Gulf Interstate had raised their costs.

And so it continues, through devious ways, to confuse the consumer and make the cities who must represent the consumers strain their every resource in their efforts to keep rates fair and equitable.

But in the quest for the head of the trouble it was discovered that something far more vicious than rate increases had been added to the rate structure. This is the contract-demand clause. It is something new and in this we must recognize all of the experience that the gas monopoly has in rate structures as well as give due credit for originality.

The contract demand brings to American commerce a different type of rate structure as well as a new method of capital financing. Its novelty must be admired but its purpose deserves no plaudits as it certainly contains no designs on public interest or consumers consideration. Because of its viciousness and novelty it deserves a separate study within itself.

Carriers of all types of commodities are entitled to some protection on their investment in their carrying units. Their tariffs usually set up this protection in some form of minimum to assure a profit on the full use of the container. A truck or freight car is designed to carry a given amount of weight. Should a shipper choose to utilize the full capacity of these shipping containers, but load it with a commodity that by its nature is comparatively light, his tariffs will contain a rate that is considered fair for the commodity to be shipped and a minimum weight to be used as the basis for the bill should the commodity weigh less than an amount that would make it economically sound to allow its use for the period of the shipment. When the shipper has no use for the container, the carrier cannot expect to collect from him.

The contract-demand clause is based on the minimum charge commonly allowed carries of all commodities. But it goes far beyond the actual purpose of the minimum allowed carriers to protect investment as to make it more a compulsory investment item in which the investor is not entitled to a return as it is a carrier's protective safeguard.

The basis of the contract demand is that the highest day's use of 1 year provides the minimum use for all days' use of the following year. They have allowed two 5-percent easements under certain conditions,

which in effect means that a retailer in 1 given year must pay the supplying line for at least 90 percent as much gas each day as he paid for when he needed the most gas for 1 day in the previous year.

As gas is used primarily as a heating medium, it is certain that more gas will be consumed in the winter than in the summer months. Summer months use being confined to water heating and cooking while space heating, a considerably larger item, is added in the winter months. It therefore follows that less gas will be consumed in July than the cold days of January or February. Yet under the contract-demand clause the retailer knows that he will have to pay for at least 90 percent of as much gas on any summer day as he did on the coldest day of the previous year.

Under these conditions the rate becomes incidental so far as the amount of money that the wholesaler will collect is concerned because he has established a minimum so high that his income is no longer effected by warm weather, but is set by the coldest weather. The retailer has no choice other than to adjust his rates to meet this increased cost.

Of course, they must in some way try to justify this exorbitant minimum. The gas and oil producers claim that certain storage facilities are necessary to meet demands of cold-weather consumption, and use this as the basis for this unusual minimum.

Storage facilities are necessary and desirable if they are to be able to assure their consumers an ample supply of gas when needed. The installation of these facilities is expensive and certain expenditures are necessary to their maintenance. But this is not peculiar to the gas or oil companies. It has already been established that nearly all commercial enterprises must be provided with storage facilities.

In establishing these facilities they also add to the value of their properties, which is nothing more than raising the capital assets of the company. On the basis of these property or capital assets they are entitled to a fair return on their investment. As the assets increase so should the investment.

Under most such conditions a company would issue more common stock to raise the money, or have bonds or some other form of guaranteed security issued, in which some of the current profits would be sacrificed to pay for the increased assets. The former method would stretch the profits over more shareholders and the latter would assure a greater income per shareholder after the obligations issued against the profits were retired.

But the contract demand immediately strikes for quick amortization; in fact so quick that the consumer, through the increased rates forced on the retailer, pays for the increased storage facilities. The consumer therefore pays for the added assets of the gas-carrying company, and in effect donates it to the carrier so that he (the carrier) can ask for increased rates as a fair return on an investment that he did not make.

The real evil in this procedure is that the consumer makes the investment, but the gas-carrying company receives the return on the investment and the consumer must pay the bill. He not only in this way increases his present bill, but all future charges, because the carrying company will show this as increased investment on which he is entitled to a return.

We must give due credit for originality in this proposal, but we cannot overlook its evils. For it is nothing more than a plan to socialize an investment to form an oligarchy. Historically, we know their method of operation, and in view of proposed legislation to further supplement the plan, it can only result in the most despotic form of dictatorship over a vital utility.

Permanent Peace in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, over a period of the last month I have had a most interesting and informative exchange of correspondence with the Department of State. The matters of principle which are involved and their effects on the possibilities for the development of permanent peace in the Middle East are of such importance that I believe my colleagues will be glad to give it their attention. I am, therefore, inserting under unanimous consent three items—first, my letter to the Secretary of State; second, the reply from the Honorable Thruston B. Morton, Assistant Secretary of State; third, my reply to him. In order to bring them within the limitations of material allowed in the Appendix, I have divided them into two separate insertions on subsequent legislative days—i. e., first, the letter to the Secretary of State; and, second, Mr. Morton's answer and my reply.

FEBRUARY 4, 1955.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: May I venture to write to you in connection with recent developments in the Middle East.

Like many of my colleagues, I am particularly interested in the attainment of a peaceful settlement in that troubled region. Like most Americans, I was very proud that our country was able to play an important part in the establishment and the growth of the State of Israel. It is one of the significant achievements of the last decade. I am fully aware of your deep interest in the difficult problems in this area, and I am familiar not only with your own personal contribution in the establishment of Israel but also with your efforts to strengthen the entire region.

The issue which dictates this letter is the news that we have now sent military equipment to Iraq. I had been pleased to hear several weeks ago that the administration was evaluating its whole policy in the Near East. I had been looking forward, therefore, to the measures which the administration planned to take to reassure both Israel and the Arabs against any renewal of hostilities. Accordingly, it had been my hope that, pending some revision in the attitude of the Arab situation or the development of some positive program to promote an Arab-Israel reconciliation, we would have refrained from sending arms to the Arab countries.

I am sure that it is not necessary for me to review all the arguments against the supply of arms to the Arab countries. But I am firmly convinced that this policy will neither strengthen our defenses in the area nor will it win us new friends. On the contrary, I have felt that the program will weaken our defenses because it will make peace more difficult to attain; it will certainly tend to weaken the one country that is firmly alined with the West; it will raise false hopes among Arab leaders; and, in the end, it will earn us more enemies than friends.

If we give arms without requiring that there is substantial progress toward a real and lasting peace between Iraq and Israel as a condition of our support, we would be failing to utilize one of the few remaining instruments for peace at our disposal. Moreover, if we pour arms into the Arab countries, we shall whet unhealthy appetties. No matter how much we give, we shall reap a harvest of disappointment. In this connection, I call your attention to the interesting dispatch from Baghdad which appeared in the New York Times on January 14. I quote:

"Considerable disappointment was expressed here when the first United States shipment, said to have been composed exclusively of vehicles and engineer equipment, arrived as Basra December 19. Opposition deputies in Parliament wanted to know why heavy weapons had not been delivered and they charged that the United States program had been cut to $25 million a year.

"The Government replied that United States material would be initially devoted to increasing the mobility and improving the communications of Iraq's forces. Negotiations on larger items are now in progress, it was said."

This suggests that our experience may not be dissimilar from that of the British who learned to their bitter disappointment that the gift of their assistance and weapons did not necessarily win them friendship.

I do not imply that our policy indicates any lack of friendship or good will for Israel. But the course we pursue may have the appearance of coolness toward Israel and may be interpreted in the Arab world in a manner opposed to the best interest of peace and cooperation. Under the circumstances, it is my hope that the administration will soon come forward with a clear program which will, without question, clarify that their goal in the Middle East is the friendship and reconciliation of all the peoples there. To attain that goal, it seems to me to be imperative that we suspehd further arms shipments until the Arab States have agreed to the machinery of negotiation with Israel and to call off their present boycotts and blockades. Unhappily, I see no indication of this today. Indeed, the Egyptian reaction to our criticism of the Suez blockade indicates that Egypt remains firm in its hostility toward Israel and has little or no inclination toward a program of peace. (I hasten to add that it was most gratifying to see that our United Nations delegation spoke so definitely on this issue during the recent discussion at the United Nations Security Council.)

I am keenly aware of the strategic importance of Iraq, of their inclination to be friendly with the other objectives of the United States and of the necessity of our development of this friendship. I hope that we are not compelled to go forward with further arms shipments to Iraq, but if we are for some unknown reason to me, I would like to see an expression from the administration to the effect that Israel is being included in our regional defense planning. It is difficult to see how we can justify the exclusion of the Israel fighting forces from our program.

Above all else, however, it seems to me that the time has come for some assurances that none of the arms shipped to any country in the Near East will be used in acts of aggression against any other country with which we have relations, and most certainly we need the assurance that these arms will never be used except for a strictly defensive purpose. To this date I have seen nothing from Baghdad which expressly assures the Western World that our arms will not be used against Israel. On the other hand, I have seen belligerent statements from Premier Faris el Khoury of Syria summoning the Arabs to accept our arms for use against Israel. The alarm thus caused is, therefore, substantial and real.

The kind of guaranties which could be meaningful or feasible under these circumstances can best, of course, come from the studies of the State Department made on this problem. If, however, a positive pro-

gram and statement could be made that any aggressive military action by any country of the Near East to whom we have given military or economic aid and assistance would immediately justify our active intervention to prevent its spread, it would, I believe, receive widespread congressional and nationwide support. I am certain that many of my colleagues, as well as our constituents, share our deep apprehensions on this issue.

I would appreciate hearing from you.

With assurance of my high respect and desire to be of constructive assistance, I am,

Very sincerely,

JAMES ROOSEVELT.

House Resolution 164

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, on March 2 I introduced House Resolution 164, the purpose of which was to have the Weather Bureau to desist from the trivial handling of hurricanes. The policy at present is to name hurricanes after feminine names. I include herewith an editorial entitled "Hurricanes Not Funny," which appeared in the March 18, 1955, issue of the Standard-Times, New Bedford, Mass., which is very much to the point. The editorial follows:

HURRICANES NOT FUNNY

Representative TUMULTY, of New Jersey, along with millions of other eastern-seaboard inhabitants, knows from experience that hurricanes are deadly serious business. TUMULTY is determined to do something about the Weather Bureau's inappropriate use of feminine names to designate tropical storms.

The Congressman will seek House approval of a resolution requesting the Weather Bureau to abandon its present system of naming hurricanes and to replace it with some form of designation which would convey to the public the seriousness of these death-dealing storms. His resolution would not have the force of law, but Mr. TUMULTY believes House adoption of the proposal by a large majority would be sufficiently persuasive to spur the Weather Bureau to remedial action.

The first hurricane of 1955, which formed in the West Indies in January and remained at sea, was named Alice. The next one will be called Brenda, followed by Connie, Diane, Edith, and so on to Zelda, although there seldom are more than 10 hurricanes a year.

As Congressman TUMULTY said, these names tend "to treat a serious matter frivolously and may even add to the deaths, injuries, and destruction" caused by hurricanes by unconsciously encouraging the public to regard them lightly. He attributed the use of feminine names to a "poor sense of humor" on the part of weather officials. "After years of dealing with disasters," TUMULTY said, "the Bureau may think they are funny. But they aren't funny to the people who have to go through them."

New Englanders, recalling the hurricanes of 1954 and previous years, will echo Mr. TUMULTY'S sentiments, as will residents of other States who know firsthand the terror and havoc that result when nature goes on a rampage.

Hurricanes are not to be treated lightly and they should not bear lighthearted names.

It is to be hoped Congressmen from all sections of the country will support Representative TUMULTY'S resolution and the Weather Bureau will take steps promptly to rectify its distasteful practice.

Federal Housing Program—This Is a Serious Charge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the Washington edition of the Afro-American, dated March 18, 1955, which graphically points up how the Federal Government is a party to discrimination against non-whites in the sale and rental of housing. Information is continually being brought to my office which substantiates this claim. No true American can evaluate these facts without becoming alarmed about the inaction of the Veterans' Administration and Federal Housing Administration in developing a policy which will guarantee protection of minority group members in this field. In view of the deep social significance involved, our patience has become threadbare.

The editorial follows:

THIS IS A SERIOUS CHARGE

A serious charge was leveled at the Federal Government and its agencies during the meeting of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing held here on Monday.

Loren Miller, a Los Angeles attorney, an expert on racial segregation in housing, accused the Government and its agencies of sanctioning and giving support to segregated housing.

"Government agencies which are giants in the regulation of everything from interest rates to floor covering become quaking pygmies when they are asked to use their power to curb discriminatory practices," Mr. Miller asserted.

He described the widely heralded 1949 nondiscrimination policy of the Federal Housing Administration as more a myth than fact.

It was pointed out that while borrowers of FHA money are prohibited from practicing racial discrimination, the builders are left free to discriminate in sale and rental of such housing.

As a result, only 2 percent of housing units built with FHA-insured loans were open to nonwhite occupancy as late as 1950.

This undemocratic and unjust practice has exacted a tremendous dollar and cent toll from colored homeseekers.

More important, however, is the fact that racial residential segregation can practically nullify the effect of the Supreme Court's 1954 school decision.

If the Government is serious about the promise of equality for all, FHA must discontinue its sanctioning and support of segregated housing.

It should immediately adopt a policy which would require every applicant for Government loan insurance covenant not to discriminate against minorities in the sale and rental of housing.

It short, the colored homeseeker must no longer be required to "pay the hangman's fee to have his neck broken for a crime he did not commit."

Secretary Humphrey's Blooper—A Billion-Dollar Blunder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch said editorially a few days ago that Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey appears to have contracted a case of the affliction that has bothered some other officeholders before him—a peculiar infirmity or virus under the spell of which Humphrey has become obsessed with the idea that he cannot afford to admit having made a mistake.

That "bug" showed up in the Secretary when he testified before the House Committee on Ways and Means on what some committee members have called Humphrey's billion-dollar blooper.

The committee was concerned about a loophole in the Eisenhower 1954 tax law, under which corporations can reduce their tax liability substantially by taking double deductions for certain business expenses.

Humphrey admitted to the committee that the loophole exists and he now proposes amendment of the law to remove it.

However, the Secretary attempted to pass the buck to Congress in fixing the responsibility for the loophole.

"You gentlemen passed the law, we didn't," Mr. Humphrey told the committee. "If you made a mistake, I'm sorry."

An ungracious remark from an Eisenhower Cabinet member, if I have ever heard one, and especially coming from Mr. Humphrey, who quickly took credit for the Eisenhower administration on excise-tax reductions last year which he and President Eisenhower actually opposed when they were under consideration in committee, after being proposed by Democratic members.

Mr. Humphrey's strange contortions places him in the position of taking all credit for things that turn out well and disclaiming all mistakes. For the past year Humphrey has been hailing the Republican tax law of 1954 as the greatest work of tax architecture in history. His tax experts labored for months over the bill. They should have been aware of the billion-dollar bloopers that were in it.

And, of course, the committee had responsibility. Its tax experts also should have caught the loophole. But need I remind anyone that the Eisenhower tax law was completely in Republican hands, both from the department level to the committee level? From this we can fairly conclude that whether it was Hum-

phrey's billion-dollar blooper, or the committee's billion-dollar blooper, it most certainly was a Republican and an Eisenhower administration billion-dollar blooper.

The billion dollars, of course, went to big business.

A Trinity for St. Patrick's Day; a Laugh, a Tear, and a Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES C. MURRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. MURRAY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an address delivered on March 17, St. Patrick's Day, at the Mayflower Hotel, before the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Washington, D. C., by the Honorable T. JAMES TUMULTY, Representative from New Jersey. Mr. TUMULTY's address was eloquent, thoughtful, and moving. Mr. TUMULTY was with Chief Justice Earl Warren, guests of the Friendly Sons.

The address follows:

St. Patrick's Day is a holy day but a happy day. It is a day which can be described by three words: "A laugh, a tear, and a prayer." Certainly we must laugh when we see how everyone wants to get into the act, a la Durante. The English try to crash the party by claiming that early Christianity in Ireland was the work of the English saints. The French, not just because they have a brandy by the name of Hennessy, claim Patrick was born in France. The Italians claim Patrick was an Italian. The Israelites climbed on the bandwagon by pointing to Douglas Hyde's Literary History of Ireland where they tell the story of Gael Glas who was wandering in Palestine years before the Irish discovered Ireland. Gael, the leader of the Irish, was bitten by a snake and cured by Aaron, the brother of Moses, who predicted the Irish would find their isle of destiny on the rim of the world. When later the Irish did discover and land on Ireland, they gave it among other names the name of Innisfail, the Isle of Destiny. The Chinese—the free Chinese—have a St. Patrick and they erected a pagoda to him, except that their St. Patrick was a soldier of fortune named, "Fighting Pat McCarthy," who used to direct the old empire's armies. The Spanish claim the right to tango on Paddy's Day because the Irish traveled through Spain in their search for Ireland and the armada was wrecked on Irish shores. The Danes, Finns, Norwegians, Normans, etc., etc., all lived at one time or another in Ireland. So it is, indeed, laughable to see the Irish celebrate a day in which they have so little part originally and a day named after saints, neither of whom were Irish.

It's a day when the Irish outboast the Russians in claiming for themselves all the great inventions and discoveries of the world. Sure I had direct from my Irish grandmother that the first one to discover America was an Irishman. In fact, there are two claimants for the honor. The first none other than St. Brendan, the busy voyager, whom I am going to nominate for the patron saint of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries sailed for Greenland, and when he arrived in America, introduced bingo to the North American Indians who played it with beads and later called it wampum—the Gallic word for bingo.

Also, never forget Willie Gallagher from Cork who sailed with Columbus and was the 7th son of a 7th son and so he had preternatural gifts and could see through the dark dead of night better than a cat. Willie was in the prow of the *Santa Maria* on the great voyage of discovery when one night after Columbus had left the bridge to go below and get some sleep, leaving Willie at the prow piercing the dark night with cat's eyes, when sure enough didn't Willie spy land and didn't he "Lep" over the prow, swim ashore and become the first man to set foot on American soil and if you don't believe me there is to this day in the Dublin Museum his salty shorts and sneakers, worn on that historic occasion.

Another historic landmark occurred on the occasion of the settling upon the 17th as the true date for St. Patrick's day. As you know, the day we celebrate is the day of the death of St. Patrick, that is the second St. Patrick (Patrick of Britain). At one time there was an argument over the date. St. Patrick of Britain died near midnight on the 8th or 9th of March according to the old calendar. So when they, in the long ago, started to celebrate, some celebrated the day on the 8th, some on the 9th, and some both days. Things got confusing, not to say exhausting, so a grand meeting was called on the high hill of Tara, as my grandmother told me, to decide whether it was the 8th or 9th. Well, they argued and argued till my great, great, great, great, great aunt Molly Griffin—the first suffragette in history—rose up to say, "Quiet, the whole lot of yez. Add the two dates together and celebrate it on the 17th and all will be right," which they promptly did and it has been so celebrated to this day.

Then we all know, and it can be revealed for the first time, that St. Patrick discovered the secret of the atom and the H-bombs. Patrick discovered the secret and was experimenting with the bomb to see if he could use it for good when it exploded in a remote part of Ireland and scared all the living creatures off the island. St. Patrick was saved by a miracle but the causeway leading to Scotland now known as the Giants Causeway, was destroyed and all the snakes were driven out of Ireland and a hurricane ensued. Thus the date in history has been placed as the year of the big wind or the year when Paddy chased the snakes out of Ireland. St. Patrick, because of the awesome nature of the H-bomb, placed a formula into a bottle and threw it into the sea where it floated for thousands of years until it was picked up by Einstein while walking on the beach at Long Branch, N. J. Since Einstein recognized Gaelic as a relative language to Hebrew he had no difficulty translating the formula and perfecting the H-bomb as we have it today. All the foregoing I have on the authority of my grandmother.

Laugh as we do with these stories of the past, laughter is never very far from tears. The tear we should drop today is for a man who symbolizes the greatness and heroism of the men called to the greatest vocation the world has known, the priesthood or ministry of God. I am not speaking of the Patrick after whom the day we celebrate is named. I now mean the forgotten Patrick whose mission, through no fault of his own, did not succeed. In 431 the Patrick who landed in Ireland was Patricius Palladius. He has been called by some the elder Patrick. He and his companions were of Fallic and Italian origin, and they brought Ireland into direct contact with the Continent. There is some dispute as to how long the forgotten Patrick labored in Ireland.

The Two Patricks, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1942, Thomas F. O'Rahilly declares that he labored for 30 years before he died.

The Review of Politics, July 1948, Ludwig Bieler, however, states that the mission of Patricius Palladius was short lived and says that "Perhaps the truth about his death is contained in a faint and sporadic tradition to the effect that he suffered martyrdom." It is typical of the "Irish luck," as O'Rahilly says, "Ireland has two Patricks, either of whom could be considered its national apostle. The first and forgotten Patrick brought, as did the traditional Patrick, the faith to Ireland, but in addition, the culture of the Continent. Too bad for him, circumstances thwarted his mission and brought it to an end, erasing his name from history. The second Patrick from Britain—Patrick the Great—established for all time Christianity in Ireland.

Although Patricius Palladius was the first bishop of Ireland, nevertheless, "The Lord gave Ireland not to Palladius but to Patrick, because nobody can take from the world that which is not given him from above."

At any rate, the Patrick who failed is the subject of my remarks tonight, because he represents so many thousands of priests and clergymen whose missions are doomed to failure because of the rising tide of atheism. Thousands of modern Patricks like the forgotten Palladius are today being harassed and hunted from place to place all over the world. Clergymen of all sects, like Cardinal Mindszenty and Lutheran Bishop Ordass are languishing in prison. Thousands of them are marked men, and today on the holy day we pause before the tomb of the unknown Patrick, not only to remember him but to think of the persecuted men of God, these fugitive apostles of charity, of the hunted men of heaven, who today in obscurity forgotten by the free world are suffering in Red jails. For them and for the forgotten Patrick let our tears drop and crystalize as they flow and be carried as a rosary of remembrance for the suffering ministers of God of all sects. For them we can but give a prayer which completes the trinity of my talk tonight. You will remember I said St. Patrick's Day could be described with three words—a laugh, a tear, and now a prayer. The prayer I offer tonight is the prayer of the great St. Patrick, the traditional St. Patrick whose mission was successful and who gloriously and miraculously was preserved from all harm.

Patrick made this hymn It was made in the time of Loegaire son of Niall. The cause of its composition, however, was to protect him and his monks against deadly enemies that lay in wait for the clerics. And this is a breastplate of faith for the protection of body and soul against devils, men, and vices. When anyone shall repeat it everyday with diligent intentness on God, devils shall not dare face him, it shall be a protection to him against every poison and envy, it shall be a defense to him against sudden death, it shall be a breastplate to his soul after his death. Patrick sang this hymn when mabuscades were laid against his coming by Loegaire, that he might not go to Tara to sow the faith. And then it happened, it appeared before those lying in ambush that they (Patrick and his monks) were wild deer, with a fawn (Benen) following them, and its name is Deer Cry of Patrick's Breastplate.

"I arise today
Through the strength of Heaven:
Light of sun,
Brilliance of moon,
Splendor of fire,
Speed of light,
Swiftness of wind,
Depth of sea,
Stability of earth,
Firmness of rock.

"I arise today
Through God's strength to pilot me:
God's might to uphold me,

God's wisdom to guide me,
God's eye to look before me,
God's ear to hear for me,
God's word to speak for me,
God's hand to guard me,
God's way to lie before me,
God's shield to protect me,
God's host to secure me—
Against snares of devils,
Against temptations of vices,
Against inclinations (?) of nat...
Against everyone who shall wish me ill
Afar and anear,
Alone and in a crowd.

"I summon today all these powers between me (and these evils)—
Against every cruel and merciless power that may oppose me body and soul,
Against incantations of false prophets,
Against black laws of heathenry,
Against false laws of heretics,
Against craft of idolatry,
Against spells of women and smiths and wizards,
Against every knowledge—that endangers—man's body and soul.

"Christ to protect me today
Against poison, against burning,
Against drowning, against wounding,
So that there may come abundance of reward.
Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me.
Christ in me, Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
Christ on my right, Christ on my left,
Christ where I lie, Christ where I sit, Christ where I arise,
Christ in the heart of every man who thinks of me.
Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks of me.
Christ in every eye that sees me,
Christ in every ear that hears me,

"I arise today
Through a mighty strength, the invocation of the Trinity,
Through belief in the Threeness,,
Through confession of the Oneness
Toward the Creator.

"Salvation is of the Lord,
Salvation is of the Lord,
Salvation is of Christ,
May Thy salvation, O Lord, be ever with us."

So on this holy day we celebrate, I offer you a toast to the suffering and forgotten priests and clergymen of the world now enduring their Gethsemane. Wherever they may be, may God protect them, may God preserve them, and may God bless them.

Imports of Canned Ham From Communist-Dominated Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHIL WEAVER
HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON
HON. JACKSON B. CHASE
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

"Legislative Resolution 14

"Whereas farmers are watching their hogs sink to new price lows; and

"Whereas imports of canned hams imported from Communist Poland increased 55 percent over January 1954, or from 2,339,000 pounds to 3,627,000 pounds; and

"Whereas imports from the Red-dominated country during 1954 ran up to almost 20 million pounds; and

"Whereas it has been revealed that further tariff cuts on canned hams are under consideration: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the members of the Nebraska Legislature in 67th session assembled:

"1. That the Congress of the United States be urged to investigate the importing of canned ham from Communist-dominated countries and take immediate action that such imports be stopped.

"2. That copies of this resolution be transmitted by the clerk of the legislature to the Vice President of the United States as President of the Senate of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member from Nebraska in the Senate of the United States and in the House of Representatives of the United States.

"C. J. MANNER,
"President of the Legislature."

I, Hugo F. Srb, hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of legislative resolution 14, which was passed by the Legislature of Nebraska in 67th regular session on the 17th day of March, 1955.

HUGO F. SRB,
Clerk of the Legislature.

Need for Pay Increase for Classified Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, with your permission, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following statement which I made before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee on Friday morning, March 18, relative to the need for a substantial pay increase for classified Federal employees:

Mr. Chairman, I am appearing before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in behalf of a substantial increase in the pay scales of the classified Federal employees.

In my district in California there are four large Federal installations. These are: Mare Island Naval Yard, with approximately 11,500 Federal employees; Benicia Arsenal, with over 3,000 Federal employees; Travis Air Force Base, with approximately 1,000 Federal civilian employees; and Port Chicago Naval Magazine, with approximately 1,000 Federal civilian employees. In addition, many other Federal workers live in my district who are employed at Federal installations in Alameda County and in San Francisco.

I have discussed the necessity of adequate compensation for Government civilian employees at length with the commanding officers of Mare Island Naval Yard and Benicia Arsenal. These employees have rendered a tremendous service to our Government over the past years. We have called upon them for literally heroic work at times during periods of crisis, such as the urgent days of World War II and the Korean war. They have always responded and done a remarkably effective job. The work of the Federal employees at these military installations has been outstanding.

At the present time, we are in danger of losing our most competent employees because of the fact that their pay scales are not comparable with the pay scales of comparable positions in private industry. This would be a tremendous loss to the efficiency of the Federal service. It also would have an adverse effect on the appeal of the Federal service to new young people who are considering it as a career.

For these reasons, it is most essential, in my opinion, that this session of Congress grant a substantial increase in pay to our Federal classified employees. I believe that this increase should be at least comparable in amount to the increase that has been proposed for Federal Post Office workers. In other words, if the Congress adopts an increase for Federal postal workers of somewhere between 7½ and 10 percent, as now appears likely, it would appear essential that an increase of at least comparable proportions be granted to Federal classified employees.

A New Way To Combat Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. R. D. Russell, of Seattle, Wash. Mr. Russell, in writing of the proposed visit of the Russian farmers to this country, makes a highly interesting comment on the history of high rigid price supports:

Bringing these Russian farmers to our country to inspect our farming program is one of the most constructive steps ever conceived to combat communism.

If the Russians are shown the true picture about our farm program and then institute it into their country, not only will it create overwhelming deficit spending in the Kremlin but it will tie up their boats in such a useless manner that any idea about war would be asinine. Their airplane hangars would be so full of grain the Air Force would be stifled. Guns, tanks, planes, etc., couldn't be built because all their taxes would be exhausted by subsidies. Why, they couldn't even hide from an atomic bomb attack because their caves would be filled with eggs, cheese, butter, and peanuts. Even their warehouses would bulge with meat to such an extent that they would have to invent the phony hoof and mouth disease to shut out imports. Thus, trade with their allies would be so impaired that they, too, would have to give billions in foreign aid.

Just think how many of their soldiers would have to be used in guarding all this storage. At least half of their armies would be necessary as I understand the Russians do not permit graft as we do. The Commies are noted for perverting the truth and this would be a good opportunity to prove that Solomon was wrong when he said in Proverbs II: 26: "He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him; but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it."

Yes, by all means, bring those Russian farmers over here. Let them see for themselves how socialism will destroy communism in their country as socialism has ruined our free enterprise.

Utilization of Surplus Property

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, this bill is a simple one. However, it does have a very important and far-reaching effect on the possible physical facilities throughout the country of universities, colleges, schools, and hospitals. The basic intent of the bill is to improve the administration of the program for the utilization of surplus property of the Federal Government, for schools and hospitals.

A short history of the background of this bill should be stated at this point in the RECORD. The Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 provides that property, both real and personal, which becomes surplus to all Federal requirements may be donated to schools and hospitals. The act also permitted the donation of real property for hospital purposes.

In addition, the Congress has in recent years enacted some 15 pieces of legislation designed to make available to schools and hospitals quantities of property acquired largely for war activities. The Congress has repeatedly decided that the best course of action is to give schools and hospitals this surplus property if useful and needed.

The Congress has been fully aware of the small return to the Treasury from the sales of surplus property made to date. It is my understanding that the average return of the cost of the property has been only 5.7 percent.

The legislation before the House today is necessary because of a decision of the Comptroller of the Department of Defense which practically nullifies previous legislation on the donable property program. To the credit of the Comptroller, may I say that the misunderstanding has been honest and has been pursuant to a regulation drafted by the Army, Navy, Air Force, Bureau of the Budget, and the General Accounting Office. It was their understanding that under one regulation of the Department of Defense—no consideration could be given to the donable program. This bill today clarifies this situation beyond any doubt.

My own State of Illinois has benefited from this donable program of personal and real property to schools and hospitals since 1946 to the extent of $37,834,795. This is no inconsiderable sum. I find on investigation that much of this property has gone to communities and areas which would have been unable to acquire this property in any other manner. That is, due to the local tax situation, it would have been impossible to purchase the property.

Section 2 (a) of the bill clarifies the authority of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enforce compliance with the terms and conditions of the donated property. The committee in bringing in this bill has taken a strong position that any donated property must be put to a maximum continuous use in order to enhance the educational and public-health programs of the Nation.

Another new feature has been added in section 3. The Secretary may now enter into cooperative agreements with State departments of health or education and with other State agencies for the utilization of surplus property for educational and health purposes. This section will greatly implement the program. It will permit voluntary agreements between the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and State agencies with respect to standards of requirement, audit, and inspection.

Sections 4 and 5 are intended to facilitate and reduce administrative costs at both the Federal and State level. In addition, the Secretary will be required to submit quarterly reports as to the amount of both real and personal property donated and, also, who is actually in possession. This will enable the appropriate committees of Congress to determine whether such property is being equitably distributed among the States.

This, in short, is a review of the previous program and the effect of the legislation before the House today. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion this is one of the most appropriate humanitarian proposals that has been brought forward in this session. During the recent war there was a heavy and necessary demand by the military on a major share of our taxes. Both health and education suffered during those years. This, in a small way, is helping to add to those services which were handicapped during all those years that we were engaged in mortal conflict.

Hospitals, universities, and schools will be enabled as a result of this legislation to acquire needed facilities which are made available by our Government.

I have received a number of communications from local school boards and other educational agencies of my district who are struggling to provide adequate education—all strongly in favor of this bill. I am sure that any property made available to the hospitals and schools of my area will be well used.

In my opinion, this bill serves a wholesome and needed purpose and I am pleased to urge and support its enactment. I also support the rule which would allow the bill to be heard.

To Our Irish Neighbors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "To Our Irish Neighbors," which appeared in the Nowy Swiat, of New York, N. Y. As an American of Irish descent I am grateful to the gallant Americans of Polish descent for their greeting on St. Patrick's Day. The Americans of Irish descent in turn pray for the day when the great Polish Nation is again free and independent. The editorial follows:

TO OUR IRISH NEIGHBORS

We shall be watching you today while singing and playing, your banners high, your faces aglow with joy and faith, you will be marching and telling the world.

From Dublin to New York.

And you will be wearing the green, the color of spring and hope—Ireland's color.

Your patron saint fought and died for God and freedom. So do you to this day. So do the Poles.

You have the fight in you against oppression and slavery. You have the faith in you, in justice and victory, and you hate snakes.

No one understands you better, no one has more compassion and admiration for you than have the Poles who, like you, know what oppression and slavery mean. We also hate snakes. Nobody loathes subversion and compromise with evil and power more than the Irish and the Poles.

Know then that on this, your day of joy and hope, we salute you, our good neighbors.

Your faith is our faith. Your hopes are like our hopes.

Top o' the day to you.

Was News of Scandal in Handling Surplus Food for School-Lunch Program Held Back To Protect Republican Candidates in Illinois?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the Collinsville (Ill.) Herald on March 16, 1955. The editorial, entitled "Abusing Freedom by Neglect," follows:

ABUSING FREEDOM BY NEGLECT

Newspapers generally maintain the right of freedom of the press. But those who insist upon it most strongly often are the most guilty of violating it. They exercise the freedom not to print news which they find unpalatable.

Such a situation has arisen in connection with the dealings of Vernon L. Nickell, State superintendent of public instruction, with James W. Dunbar, of Springfield, in the hauling of Government surplus food to the schools of the State.

Some 2 months ago the Chicago Sun-Times broke the story about Nickell awarding a contract to Dunbar, probate clerk of Sangamon County, and a contributor to Nickell's campaign fund, on Dunbar's terms. The other Chicago papers refused to touch the story at that time, and the Chicago Tribune ignored it until a week or so ago when the matter was taken up in the Congress at Washington. Federal investigators have stated that Dunbar has made enormous profits out of the business, estimated at $600,000 to $800,000, or 310 percent. Nickell disputes this percentage of profit, but has announced

cancellation of Dunbar's contract effective April 1.

But the most recreant attitude of the Chicago papers now appears to be the fact that they were told of this contract and its fraudulent possibilities before the election last November. All of them at that time declined to give the affair any publicity, presumably for political reasons—the expose would have hurt Nickell's chances for reelection. David Mallett, candidate for State treasurer, who was defeated by a majority of less than 1 vote for each Illinois precinct, thinks that the expose would have hurt the Republican candidates enough to have assured his election and probably the election of Nickell's Democratic opponent, Mark Peterman. Judging by the present furor about Dunbar, I agree with him. The expose of Governor Green's dealings with coal mine operators and Peoria gamblers in 1948 resulted in his defeat by half a million votes while Governor Dewey was losing Illinois for President by only around 30,000 votes.

Unequal Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. HESS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. HESS. Mr. Speaker, the President now has before him a decision which will have a profound effect upon one of the basic premises for the continued progress of the Republic—free competition and free enterprise. Northwest Airlines now enjoys a monopoly on its traffic to the Orient via the Great Circle Route out of Seattle.

Pan American Airways seeks to fly this route in free competition with Northwest. Since pioneering days into South America in 1929, across the Pacific in 1935, and to Europe in 1939, Pan American has been paralleled over virtually every one of its routes by at least one United States flag carrier. In every instance Pan American has had tremendous competition from foreign-flag lines which, in almost every case, are owned by foreign governments and heavily subsidized by those governments.

Pan American does not enjoy the privilege of flying domestically. Northwest Airlines has direct operations out of Washington and New York to Seattle, giving that carrier a tremendous preliminary advantage.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the significant points of an argument for free competition is best illustrated by an editorial which appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer on March 12. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include the Enquirer editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer of March 12, 1955]

UNEQUAL COMPETITION

Some time ago, Northwest Airlines was given the right to fly from Seattle to Tokyo, on the principle that competition is a good thing. Pan American Airways, already flying the Pacific, should not have a monopoly of American-flag service, it was argued. That was sound logic, except for one thing. Northwest received the privilege of flying the great circle route, which is 4,770 miles. But Pan American was required to continue via Honolulu or Wake Island. By that route, it is 6,970 miles.

That imposes on one airline a handicap of 2,200 miles to the Orient from Seattle, and about 1,000 miles from San Francisco. That is not the way to create competition. Furthermore, it obliges many travelers to make a stop they do not want to make. And in addition, it costs the taxpayers excessively. For as long as overseas airlines are subsidized, as they now are, each weekly round trip by the circuitous route costs the Government $220,000 a year.

There was a good reason for the original requirement of the Hawaii route, for airplanes in earlier years could not fly the Pacific nonstop in any case. Now, however, Pan American is buying DC–7's which will be able to make the Seattle-Tokyo flight nonstop—all the time eastbound and most of the time westbound. An arbitrary rule demanding a midocean stop cancels out the gains achieved by improved aircraft.

We hold no brief for either of these competing airlines over the other. And obviously there is room for both of them on the Pacific route, in competition. But the competition ought to be fair. And it is not fair while one airline is compelled by Government regulation to fly 1,000 to 2,000 miles farther, to take equivalent passenger loads to the same destination.

If the Government wants competition on overseas air routes, for which there is much to be said, it should set up rules to make the competition equitable.

Ninety Percent Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I am inserting in the RECORD the editorial entitled "Ninety Percent Politics," which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of this morning.

The editorial pertains to H. R. 12, reported by the House Committee on Agriculture, to return to 90 percent mandatory price supports of certain farm products.

That is it, Mr. Speaker, just "90 percent politics," and nothing more. By this bill it is proposed that we return to a program that has not proved successful without or even so much as trying the flexible price support program we enacted into law last year but which has not yet gone into effect.

NINETY PERCENT POLITICS

More political mesmerism than economic logic is reflected in the bill approved by the House Agriculture Committee to raise mandatory basic farm price supports to 90 percent of parity. The committee makes a convincing case that farm income has gone down 22 percent since February 1951, that the January parity ratio was the lowest since 1941 and that farm debt is increasing. This is all true. What the committee neglects to point out, however, is that these conditions developed during a period when basic price supports were pegged at 90 percent. The new law permitting flexible supports down to 82½ percent this year had nothing to do with these conditions, because it will not take effect until new crops are harvested.

No one ought to be deluded that flexible supports are a complete answer to the problems in agriculture. The law came too late to prevent the accumulation of $7 billion worth of surpluses; and it may not be flexible enough. We should like to see the Department of Agriculture give more attention to the problems of low-income farmers through retraining and resettlement. But rigid price supports in the main have helped big farmers, not little ones; and it is the little farmer who is hurt the most by the acreage restrictions that inevitably stem from high fixed supports. High income, in other words, does not necessarily accompany high supports.

Rigid supports, moreover, produce other bad consequences. A good example is the bastardization that has taken place in wheat. Only about one-fifth of the present billion-bushel carryover is millable wheat; the remainder is inferior quality fit only for feed—but still eligible for support. So long as this inferior wheat is commingled, it is doubtful how much more wheat the country could expect to export even under the two-price system the committee recommends. The investigation in Texas has amply demonstrated that a racket has developed in the commingling of inferior wheat with quality wheat for export purposes. The committee might well give some attention to curbing such abuses by requiring the Department of Agriculture to recognize quality as a basis for acreage quotas under the price-support system.

But while there is plenty of room for improvement in the price-support operation, it makes no sense to argue that the remedy for today's distress is the same system that helped cause the disease. This is what the House committee is arguing, and we hope that the House will understand the fallacy when it considers the bill this week. Even opponents of flexible supports ought to recognize that the flexible principle cannot be tested until it has a chance to work.

Postal Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COYA KNUTSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Postmark of March 1955:

LEGISLATIVE COMMENTS

As this is written, we are waiting anxiously to learn what action will be taken by those who have the power to improve our marginal status. We have presented the facts honestly and fairly and a just decision should prevail. But never before, has such a determined effort been exerted to prevent enactment of an urgently needed pay adjustment.

Previously, unity of purpose and desire was the firm axis around which the postal service revolved. And it was this service, held in high esteem by the public we serve, that placed the Post Office in the enviable position of being universally trusted and respected by our entire society.

Now, this unity is gone, smothered out by statistics. It was deliberately and ruthlessly destroyed by the Department in an

effort to gain certain objectives which, we are told, will benefit all and greatly improve the service.

The death knell for unity sounded when the Department-sponsored bill was introduced and the tactics being used to gain its enactment into law show the lengths to which the Department will go to force its adoption.

This bill provides large benefits for only the minority groups and has thus gained their support. The clerks and carriers, which are the two largest groups, will get but a pittance. So they are forced to carry the brunt of the battle. The Postmaster General insists on reclassification and has taken the unprecedented action of promising a Presidential veto unless his demands are granted. Is this a change in the democratic method of lawmaking?

We have been taught since birth, or shortly thereafter, that a legislator voted as his conscience dictated; that his conclusions were reached only after careful, unimpeded hearings and investigations. Some of our friends in the Congress who have voted for beneficial postal legislation in the past have now become reluctant to state their views. We have been told that it would be poor policy to vote for something which they knew would be vetoed. Is this a just decision based on facts? Oh, what manner of men are these and what has caused this condition to come about?

Just what is this reclassification that is so vital to the Department? Reporter John Cramer, of the Washington Daily News, has written an article on this subject titled "Job Racket Exposed." The first paragraph reads:

"The often-phony Government job-classification racket got itself caught bare naked yesterday—and just as you suspected, it has bow legs and wears falsies."

The article goes on to expose misrepresentation, doubletalk, and phony job descriptions. Some of the bill was so obviously phony that even its strongest supporters agreed to delete or rewrite many of the provisions it contained. Remember, this is the bill which the Department contends is designed to improve the service.

Imposing statistics have been compiled to justify the Department's claims but statistics per se are worthless; they can be used to prove or disprove anything, and it is indeed unfortunate that the Department seems inclined to maximize statistics and to minimize human values because statistics cannot expedite and deliver mail. Mail is handled by people, men and women who are grossly underpaid.

It seems likely that the Department will be successful in attaining many of its objectives, but is the victory worth the cost? Possibly the service will be improved by uprooting and destroying unity and creating cleavages and maybe the end will justify the means. It is not for us to judge.

We have been misrepresented as greedy, grasping creatures when all we asked for was the chance to earn a decent living. Our needs have been ignored so that the statistics will work out and we are counted religiously every 6 minutes. But, come what may, we are sure of one thing.

If the intransigence of any man, or group of men, prevents us from getting what we need and earn, we will not falter or deviate from principle. We will always strive for the improvement and betterment of the service to the public for whom we work.

We are dedicated toward that end, and it is this dedication which will sustain us in what could well be our most dismal hour.

THOMAS NOLIN,
Legislative Representative.

The Yalta Papers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper editorials:

[From the New York Times of March 20, 1955]

WHAT COUNTS IS THE FUTURE

What happened at Yalta 10 years ago this month is less important than what is going to happen this year and next year and 10 years from now. The Yalta Conference, concerning which readers of this newspaper have had the opportunity to read several hundred thousand words, was the result of forces then in operation. Likewise it released new forces. We may argue as long as we like about the effect of personalities on history and the importance of isolated events. Yalta was not and could not be isolated. It touches all our lives today.

The forces acting in the world during that historic week were already visibly crushing Germany. Japan was as surely defeated as was Germany. The trouble was, as far as the United States and Britain were concerned, that this truth was not fully realized American troops were locked in the bloody battle on Iwo Jima, which was to cost us more than 4,500 dead. They still had to take Okinawa at a loss of more than 12,500 dead or missing. Manila fell on the eve of the Yalta Conference. Wise military men estimated casualties in landings on the main island Japan by the hundreds of thousands. The A-bomb was known to the President and his advisers to be "reasonably certain" to "produce the equivalent of a 10,000-ton TNT explosion."

Still, it was thought necessary to persuade and cajole the Russians to stay in the war in the West and to go into the war in the Far East. The Western Powers accepted a government in Poland which could not be, and was not, free. They accepted unfair Polish boundaries. They gave concessions to Russia in the Far East at Chinese expense—and felt so unhappy about this that the facts were not made public for some 2 years.

As one reads or skims these tragic documents one gets two impressions: first, that the chief participants did not know all the factors with which they were dealing; second, that they were, so far as the Western Powers were concerned, caught in a struggle between two moralities—the morality of the democratic process versus the morality involved in saving lives. Mr. Roosevelt, particularly, was desperately anxious to prevent the shedding of American blood in an unnecessary assault in the Pacific. He could be political when he thought of the Polish vote in this country. He could also be deeply humane.

The Russians suffered from no such handicap. Human life literally means nothing to Premier Stalin if it came in the way of any purpose of his. Respect for promises or respect for truth did not stand in his way, either. There is something sadly naive in the hopes and intentions expressed at Yalta that the future of Europe and of the liberated Axis satellite nations be settled "by democratic means." We know now that Russia never had the slightest intention of settling such problems by what we would call democratic means.

Yalta is in the past. We can learn much from it, including the imperfections of the leaders of men, the limitations on their knowledge, even the desirable course of future top-level meetings. In any future meeting, for example, we might assume that words without effective guarantees would not be accepted as sound currency as they were in 1945, when Russia expended so many such words.

Ten years after Yalta we in this country at least know with some precision where we stand in most parts of the world and on most international questions. We stood for freedom in central and Eastern Europe in 1945. We still stand for freedom there, but we will not go to war in the hope of liberating the satellite countries. We stand for freedom in Korea, but we will not violate the truce to liberate North Korea. We stand for freedom in Indochina, but we will not shed American blood to extend it. We stand for freedom on the mainland of China, but we will not start a war or encourage a war in the hope of restoring it.

We will fight if we or our friends are attacked on certain boundaries. In Europe these boundaries are well known. In the Far East they are not so well known—and they should be made known. They should be made known, not to cause war but to prevent war.

One of the two western heads of state at Yalta had only 2 months to live on the day after the conference closed. The other lives on, has regained the titular power he lost and talks again of high-level conferences. Some parts of the American record of what happened at Yalta seemed to him inaccurate and the revelation of other parts dismays him. But this is no time to judge the living or the dead. It is no time for politics. It is a time to draw from past mistakes and past victories guidance for the months and years to come.

[From the New York Times]

REACTION IN BRITAIN

LONDON, March 19.—The British Government was professionally dismayed at the publication of what it considered the one-sided and tendentious accounts of the Yalta Conference so soon after it took place.

Sir Winston Churchill, the only surviving member of the Big Three, said with restraint, "If this became the established practice, it might hamper the free exchange of views at future conferences."

The public reaction was influenced more by the manner of publication than by the contents of the papers. Secretary Dulles is widely blamed for weakness and clumsiness in letting the documents be forced out by partisans in Congress. The London News Chronicle called this "one of the least glorious (stories) ever told about any foreign office anywhere."

The Times, London, dealt with the motivation of the publication in measured words:

"There can be little doubt," the newspaper wrote, "that the United States administration's motives in publishing * * * are bad. Not one single objective reason can be found for making public the whole mass of papers * * * at the present time. It is an act of domestic political warfare."

The Times said the administration's political leaders "scarcely trouble to deny it. They wish to discredit the late President Roosevelt, and through him, the present leaders of the Democratic Party."

So securely established is Franklin Roosevelt in British hearts that his secret approaches to the Soviet dictator over Hong Kong did not seem to have cut very deeply.

The British Government's basic rule about such documents is that full publication is

permitted only after 50 years. But the rule is flexible and allows interim declassification of masses of relevant material of much more recent date.

[From the New York Times]

REACTION IN GERMANY

BONN, GERMANY, March 19.—The publication of the Yalta documents by the United States rudely awakened the Germans from their pleasant dreams and forced them to look on a moldering cadaver they had been trying to forget.

The Germans became grumpy and irritable. They asked why it was necessary to remind them now that not so long ago they were described as savage. They also wanted to know why it was necessary to remind them of plans to amputate German national territory and destroy Germany as a national state.

They say these events are a part of history and an understandable part of history when the temper of 1945 is taken into account. But to resurrect this bitterness and violence, after the vigorous courting by Washington, is regarded as little short of folly by Germans who are genuinely concerned with the psychological preparation of their people for an active role in the Western alliance.

"This is another unfortunate example of hitching one's wagon to American domestic policy when acting in concert with the States in the field of foreign affairs," one pro-United States deputy said.

Fortunately the disclosure of the Yalta documents came after ratification of the Paris and Saar agreements had been decided.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's government had good cause to refrain from commenting on the publication of the Yalta documents. Most of the coalition leaders, recognizing the peril, took refuge in silence. But this was not the case with the West German press.

The front pages Friday morning were devoted to the publication story.

The newspapers considered the publication of the Yalta documents embarrassing but said the documents contained little that was new to historians. They all underlined one theme—why was it necessary to publish the documents at this time?

[From the Washington Star of March 20, 1955]

ANGRY EUROPEANS DERIDE UNITES STATES FOR RELEASING YALTA PAPERS—MALICE AND STUPIDITY CHARGED—EXPLANATION NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

PARIS, March 19.—Europeans are not buying American explanations as to why the Yalta papers were made public last week. The more they think about it the angrier they get.

Their almost unanimous conclusion is that the motive behind publication was compounded in equal parts of malice and stupidity.

The explanation that the State Department was forced to release the material to prevent premature unofficial disclosure is not taken seriously. Nor is the argument that the Department acted out of pure devotion to historical accuracy in an effort to prevent distortion by setting the record straight.

"DELIBERATE MISCHIEF"

The fact that the papers were published in accordance with a program and an appropriation established by Congress 2 years ago does not help, in European eyes. Regardless of all explanations, most conservative European comments start from the assumption that release of the documents at this particular juncture was a piece of dangerous and deliberate mischief on someone's part.

This is a fact with which Washington must reckon, whatever Secretary of State Dulles' intentions may have been.

From the European viewpoint, the damage done by the Yalta publications is obvious. It is all very well to argue that there is much in the record that is not new. The point is that this is a poor time to reopen even the oldest wounds and to spread bitterness and controversy over the front page of every newspaper in the Western alliance. And this has been the immediate result of the Yalta publications in this part of the world.

BRITAIN MOST AGITATED

In Britain, where election fever is in the air, the outcry against the State Department action is fiercest. Prime Minister Churchill, as one of the leading figures of the Yalta drama, is caught up in a whirlwind of controversy, and there is new talk of his resignation as a direct result.

And yet there can be little doubt that, in relation to American interest, the major damage of the Yalta papers may be done in France, where the whole future of Western policy hangs on the upcoming debate on ratification of the Paris treaties by the French Senate.

No one would predict that the Yalta texts by themselves could defeat the treaties. But it is hard to think of anything the American Government could have done to make the verdict more doubtful or embarrass the French Government more in its efforts to force an unpopular measure through Parliament.

INSULTING TO FRENCH

In France the suspicion of malice is particularly strong. No one has failed to notice the fact that the "censored" portions of the papers are gratuitously insulting to the French, and that a number of these passages can be clearly read through hastily inked deletions. These comments, quite naturally, have been produced in full in every French newspaper.

Specifically the French seize on three portions of the Yalta papers which bolster the case against the Paris treaties. They start with the most obvious: The overwhelming hostility to the Germans which obsessed Western leaders at the end of the war, and the harsh measures of repression then considered, which stand in such dramatic contrast to demands for German rearmament now being pressed on the French people.

Second, much emphasis is given to highly cynical statements of the Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill regarding France's status as a member of the great-power team and the dependability of France as an ally. Sir Winston's comment to the effect that France deserved no place in the club and should be satisfied with such small crumbs as participation on the German Control Council has drawn fire from all sides.

NO HELP TO FAURE

Interesting as they may be, these historic recollections are no help to French Prime Minister Faure in his present job of convincing the French Senate that France's position as a respected member of the free world depends on ratification of the Paris treaties. Says Le Monde: "For those who still cherish delusions as to the love and attention given us, the publication of this text will erase any kind of doubt."

Finally, the late President Roosevelt's merciless judgment of Gen. Charles de Gaulle and his lack of sympathy for the French problem in Indochina provides grist for the opposition mill. It is an unfortunate fact, perhaps that ratification of the Paris agreements depends on the dubious support of certain followers of General de Gaulle in the French Senate, most of whom base themselves on a strongly nationalistic philosophy.

Behind European criticism of the release of these documents there lurks a dark suspicion. They ask themselves: Are the Yalta papers an attempt by our State Department to discredit big-power conferences as such?

Soon after the Paris treaties are ratified the United States can look forward to a concerted move from its European allies for talks with the Russians. Sir Winston has not abandoned his hope of a top-level agreement on control of atomic weapons. The French and Germans—for widely diverging reasons—will plug for a broad overall settlement to remove major causes of friction between East and West, agreements which might conceivably make German rearmament unnecessary.

Until now the attitude of the State Department to these suggestions has been chilly. If there should in fact be any thought that they can be headed off by the publication of 10-year-old documents, someone has made a very poor guess.

[From the Washington Star of March 20, 1955]

FRENCH ARE BITTER—CENSORED PORTIONS OF PAPERS PUBLISHED

PARIS.—Here, as quoted in French papers, are censored portions of the Yalta papers which have caused particular bitterness in France:

From page 614 of the RECORD: "The Prime Minister (Sir Winston Churchill) replied that he felt that he could anticipate what would be French opinion and repeated that he did not wish France to be included in the present club which he felt was very exclusive, at least for a while. He added, however, that he felt the fact of permitting France to join the Control Commission would keep them quiet for a while."

From page 621 of the RECORD: "Prime Minister: I do feel that if the French are given this little sop it will keep them quiet, for I feel strongly that they should not be at this table. This is an exclusive group (smiling) and the entire subscription is at least five million soldiers or the equivalent.

"Stalin: At least three million."

In the documents as released in Washington, these pasages were lightly inked out. It is understood the deletions were respected in the American press. French correspondents, however, featured them in their dispatches. The censor's ink merely saved them the time they otherwise would have had to spend looking for the offending sentences.

[From the Washington Star of March 20, 1955]

EAST GERMANY CHARGES "PLOT" IN YALTA RELEASE

BERLIN, March 19.—The party newspaper of Communist East Germany said today the United States State Department released the Yalta documents to overcome worldwide opposition to West German rearmament.

Neues Deutschland claimed it was part of a plot to prove that Russia is responsible for the division of Germany.

"Unluckily for the liars, there exist undisputed documents which tell the truth," the paper said. "Authentic" documents—"signed by leading Western statesmen"—prove that Stalin was the only man who fought plans to divide Germany, the paper said, adding that Stalin did this at the Potsdam conference, 5 months after Yalta.

[From the Washington Star of March 20, 1955]

INDIAN PRESS CRITICIZES RELEASE OF YALTA PAPERS

NEW DELHI, INDIA, March 19.—The Indian press continued sharply critical today of United States State Department release of the Yalta papers. The influential Times of

India said "neither Dulles nor anyone else in the State Department is able to provide a coherent explanation of why the documents, rich with potential embarrassment and misunderstandings and which undoubtedly place the Western Powers in the darkest possible light, should be released for the edification, if anyone, of the Communists. * * *"

The nationalistic Hindustan Standard said "the suspicion hardens that perhaps some domestic need for damaging the Democrats lies at the back of these disclosures."

State Department's Blunder in Yielding to Political Pressure on Yalta Papers Could Have Bad Effects on Future International Negotiations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on March 18, 1955. Titled "Yalta, Yesterday and Today," the editorial follows:

YALTA, YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Although the prospect of independent newspaper publication probably made the action inevitable, the State Department hardly merits congratulations on its on-again-off-again handling of the massive collection of documents covering the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin talks at the 1945 Yalta Conference. For the sudden decision to release these papers, even though not likely to be nearly so harmful as some overseas reactions suggest, certainly has rekindled national and international controversy in a way that promises to be less than helpful to American foreign policy in the present delicate and dangerous world situation.

Thus, to begin with, Prime Minister Churchill, our best and most powerful friend abroad, has not only challenged the accuracy of this American version of Yalta, but has also indicated that he and his government regard the State Department's action as a blundering departure from normal diplomatic usage—a departure that could have a bad effect on future international negotiations. Further, wholly apart from the propaganda howls to be expected from the world behind the Iron Curtain, there can be little doubt that some of the released documents—since they will be read out of the context of the temper prevailing in 1945—will stir up resentment against our country among the free Germans, and perhaps to a lesser extent among the French, the Chinese, the Japanese, and others. And finally, in terms of our own domestic situation, it seems obvious that the papers will revive a lot of demagogic "politicking" at a time when nothing could be more important than bipartisan cooperation in foreign affairs.

Yet, in fairness to the State Department, which has been under extremely heavy pressure in this matter, certain other facts need to be kept in mind. After all, for one thing, the released documents—which contain deletions and fall far short of being a precise stenographic account of the Yalta proceedings—have been published at this time, instead of some months from now, primarily because of an apparently inescapable forcing action. More than that, as far as substance is concerned, they actually disclose nothing that has not been disclosed before in piecemeal fashion. Their chief significance is that they supply much greater detail than the earlier revelations. But beyond that—at least on the first reading—they do not seem to offer basic new material impressive enough to settle the long-standing controversy over whether or not the late President Roosevelt, who was then entering upon his last sickness, sold out to Stalin and thus paved the way for the Kremlin's present menacing position in both Europe and Asia.

In other words, the American version of the fateful Yalta Conference does not substantially affect the pro and con arguments that have already been heard at great length. That is to say, depending on one's viewpoint and preconceptions, the papers just released by the State Department can be read in support of either side without really settling anything. In truth, because there is no way of exactly measuring what went on in the minds and hearts of the principals involved, it would seem that this issue can never be satisfactorily resolved. For the simple fact is that nothing has been revealed to date to destroy the pro-Roosevelt theses (1) that Yalta's provisions for free elections in Poland and neighboring East European countries failed only because of the Kremlin's bad faith and (2) that the concessions granted Russia for entry into the struggle against Japan were based on the urgent feeling that otherwise the war would cost a tremendous amount of American blood.

Hindsight, of course, is a wonderful illuminator of past events, and most of us know now, with its help, that the late President—who did not have it at his disposal—could have been much tougher, much wiser, and much more farsighted in his dealings with Stalin. But yesterday is dead, its opportunities lost beyond recall, and what we must chiefly think of at this stage is today, the present—a period so full of devasating and harrowing potentialities that resolute unity is imperative among all Americans and like-minded peoples everywhere. The publication of the Yalta documents should not be allowed to distract anybody in the free world from that overriding central reality of our time.

The Way of Reason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. William E. Dickinson, Spring Street, Deep River, Conn., has brought to my attention a thought-provoking editorial printed in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on Sunday, February 27, 1955.

At Mr. Dickinson's request, I ask permission that the editorial may be printed in the RECORD so others may have the opportunity to read it.

The editorial follows:

THE WAY OF REASON

A disarmament conference opened in London Friday. It is a measure of the jaded state of world opinion that nobody seems to be taking it very seriously.

Yet if men could behave the way reason tells them to behave, every one of the five powers participating in this London conference would be treating it as the first order of world business, an indispensable condition for the survival of civilization. All other matters, national and international, would be laid aside until the world's leaders worked out an agreement for enforceable general disarmament.

Consider the meaning of the Atomic Energy Commission's belated report on the devastating character of radioactive fallout from hydrogen bombs. Is it not the most wicked kind of self-deception to pretend to ourselves, after thus contemplating the dreadful power of hydrogen and atomic weapons, that a war fought with these weapons is a practical, thinkable, feasible instrument of national policy?

It is utterly fantastic to think of engaging in a war in which hundreds of millions of people try to live off the countryside while their cities are being destroyed, and then, after waiting for the fallout to decay, creep back among the blasted craters and the windrows of corpses to take up the production of more hydrogen bombs for the devastation of more continents.

We can talk all we like about contriving new plans of civil defense, about radar nets and yellow alerts, about grandiose plans for urban dispersal (a peaceful way of accomplishing what the war would accomplish), about evacuation plans and shelters and fighter interception. But all this talk only conceals the basic fact.

The basic fact is that a war of atomic-hydrogen weapons is inherently irrational, a stratagem of madness. So long as men make any pretense to being reasonable beings, nuclear warfare must be ruled out of the range of consciously willed possibilities.

Yet it is not ruled out. On the contrary, nuclear warfare is made the keystone of military planning—in this country, among our allies, among our potential enemies.

Some Americans, like Elmer Davis, believe that the world has already gone beyond the point of no return—that nuclear warfare cannot now be avoided, that our only hope is to make sure that we win it. But the evidence is abundant that "victory" in a nuclear war would be almost indistinguishable from defeat. We dare not accept the counsel of despair which regards such a war as inevitable.

Some Americans believe that the possession of nuclear weapons by both sides creates a balance which neither side will dare upset. The belief has much sound backing. But there is always the risk of miscalculation, of the trigger being pulled by accident. Nuclear stalemate would be safe only so long as no one were foolhardy enough to break it. We dare not stake so much on the hope that all men will be uniformly wise and prudent.

And so there are really only two alternatives—either continue the nuclear arms race with all its risks, or find a way to disarm the world.

Within the framework of a national struggle for power, of course the arms race must continue. When national security rests entirely on national strength, and no instruments of enforceable international law have yet been forged, of course national armaments must exist. Unilateral disarmament would be folly. Disarmament without international inspection and supervision would be folly.

What is needed, however, is some way of changing the emphasis—of making disarmament the primary object, rather than a remote ideal subordinated to the immediate goal of more and bigger weapons. We need to break out of the propaganda arena, where each side tries to prove that it favors disarmament without actually disarming, onto a new plane of action.

Is civilized mankind really incapable of the effort it would take to achieve a workable and safe disarmament plan? We do not know. We only know that an effort of the magnitude required has not yet been made. There has been much talk of disarmament,

but not enough facing up to the truly basic changes in attitude required to achieve it.

All nations would have to be willing to revise their military thinking in a drastic and revolutionary way. All would have to consent to thoroughgoing international inspection and supervision. All would have to give up the weapons in which they excelled, as well as those in which they lagged—disarmament must be general and universal. At every point, national decisions would have to be subordinated to international agreement. As every major nation's military power would be reduced, the major nations would have to rely less upon power and more upon persuasion to express their influence.

Yes, it would be an extraordinary task. But no more extraordinary than the weapons which create the crisis. Surely the human powers which created hydrogen bombs can create means to control them, if only they are given the chance, and the needed political leadership.

Why should not that leadership come from the United States Government?

Why should it not come from President Eisenhower?

Why should not the American people call on their Government and their President to make a supreme effort to lead the world in the way of reason?

Roosevelt Was Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the March 18, 1955, issue of the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser:

ROOSEVELT WAS RIGHT AT YALTA

The uncorking of the Yalta papers is causing a misbegotten effort to discredit the war leadership of Franklin Roosevelt * * *.

The current controversy over Yalta is an effort to prove that our troubles with Russia would not exist had Roosevelt not made unnecessary concessions to Stalin in order to get Russia to come in against Japan.

Many mistakes were made concerning Russia, and you can argue to good effect that Roosevelt's enormous vanity led him to suppose that he could handle the Russians. But making concessions to get Russia into the war against Japan was no error. He could not have done otherwise without betraying a million and more American soldiers and their families.

It must be remembered that at the time of the Big Three meeting at Yalta, Germany had not been vanquished. The A-bomb success was 5 months off. As Churchill records in his Yalta memoirs, American war planners thought it would take 18 months after the surrender of Germany to defeat Japan.

It was further thought that the storming of the Japanese islands would be one of the bloodiest events in the history of warfare.

But it would be much less bloody if the Russians joined in, assailing Japanese forces on the one hand and preventing the large and powerful Japanese Army in Manchuria from marching to the defense of Japan.

This reinforcement with Russian forces was a great prize to be won, and we should not forget how anxious we were in those days over whether Russia would come in. With the frightful vision of the bloody Japanese beaches before him, Roosevelt would have registered a colossal failure indeed had he not nailed down the help of the Russians. He owed that to every American soldier, sailor and airman.

There are a lot of wise ones today croaking and rasping that Japan was by this time already used up and hence it was not necessary to entice Russia into the fray. Such was the case, but the same military leaders who had provided the brilliant victory in the ETO were convinced that Japan would slaughter many Americans in her death convulsion.

There are those who contend that, actually, there was no way to keep Russia out of the war on Japan. Probably that is true, but there never was a time when any man, not even Churchill, knew what the Russians would do in a given situation.

As for the Yalta Agreement, what matter is it what Russia might have been induced or coerced to sign? Russia would not have honored the agreement in any event.

New Era Dawns for Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of March 20, 1955:

NEW ERA DAWNS FOR PHILADELPHIA—CITY GAINS REPUTE AS HONEST AND PROGRESSIVE—SERVES AS MODEL OF CIVIC REFORM

(By William G. Weart)

PHILADELPHIA, March 19.—Once known as corrupt and contented, Philadelphia today is gaining a reputation as honest and progressive.

That has been the view of officials and civic leaders who have come here from many cities to "pick up ideas that could be used back home." These observers have complimented the metropolis on its recent achievements.

Delegations from New York and Detroit were impressed with steps taken to keep traffic moving through narrow center-city streets, most of which were laid out in the horse and buggy era.

Chicago and Newark have studied the advantages of Philadelphia's new home-rule charter, a set of ground rules designed to modernize local government. A delegation of 60 from New Haven noted the empnasis being place on the "urban renewal" problem.

Officials of the city's first Democratic administration of the century contend that if a 275-year-old city, such as Philadelphia, is to survive, it must renew itself. Thus far, the main advances in this field have been in slum clearance and construction of low-cost housing.

The switch from what Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., calls "Republican misrule" to "good government" has been attributed largely to a suicide note left by a city-hall official in May 1948.

In the note, William C. Foss, head of the amusement-tax office, named himself and eight others as thieves. Subsequent investigations disclosed widespread graft, corruption, mismanagement, and outright thievery. These revelations brought arrests and convictions.

FREE HAND FOR MAYOR

In the municipal elections of 1949 and 1951, Philadelphia voters uprooted the Republican machine that had ruled city hall for 67 consecutive years. Mr. Clark, a Harvard graduate with a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania, and Richardson Dilworth, a crusader with a law degree from Yale, carried the Democratic standard to victory at both elections.

In 1949, they were elected city controller and ity treasurer, respectively, and in 1951 they were elevated to 4-year terms as mayor and district attorney.

Under the new charter, Mr. Clark had a free hand in the election of subordinates. He recruited department heads with outstanding records in other communities. The GOP called them "carpetbaggers" and patronage-minded Democratic politicians took up the cry in vain.

Today, Mayor Clark feels that his administration, all things considered, had done a good job. What is more, he is convinced the people like the way things have been going. To impartial observers, that appears to be so.

Mayor Clark contends, without contradiction, that the municipal government has been restored to the people, that the spoils system has been abolished, and that the alliance between corrupt politicians, the police department, and organized crime has been broken.

Among other accomplishments, Mr. Clark lists increased services, the redevelopment of many blighted areas, the erection of a $15,000,000 airport terminal building, increased port business and facilities, a greatly expanded recreation system, traffic and parking improvements, and the establishment of a civil service that prohibits political activity by city workers.

Also the adoption of the 40-hour week for some 26,000 municipal employees along with a pay and classification plan that enables the city to compete with private industry for personnel of ability.

There have been complaints of waste, extravagance, and an increase instead of a promised decrease in the number of employees on the payroll. Also the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Philadelphia has been especially bitter over a 3-mill mercantile tax on gross business.

Walter P. Miller, Jr., president of the chamber and an independent candidate for the Republican mayoralty nomination in 1951, said the mercantile tax had driven business firms from the city.

SHORTCOMINGS ADMITTED

The mercantile levy and a 1-percent tax on real-estate transfers were passed by the Democratic-controlled city council in 1953. Together, Mr. Miller charged, they have provided surpluses that will get the administration through this election year without additional taxation.

Mayor Clark agreed that the mercantile tax was a bad one. But, he insisted that under the State constitution there was no other method of making business, in general, and corporations, in particular, pay their fair share of city taxes.

He also asserted that his administration, now in its final year, had fallen short in some areas. Generally, he said, the shortcomings have been due to the inadequacy of city resources or the fact that crime, traffic congestion, air and water pollution, and similar problems ignore city, county, and State lines.

Mr. Clark said he was getting a little tired of repeating for the benefit of the paid staff at the chamber of commerce that many more than 2,000 drones have been dismissed or have resigned.

He explained a 2,875 increase in the city's payroll by noting that 1,012 new workers were required by the installation of the 40-hour week and 589 represented women guards for school crossings. The remainder, he said, resulted from the expansion of services and additional hiring to eliminate overtime and thus save $65,000 this year in the streets department.

Reappraising Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Youngstown Vindicator dated March 20, entitled "Reappraising Yalta":

In the renewed discussion of the Yalta conference two factors must be kept constantly in mind. One is that the meeting took place during the most terrible war in world history, with Germany our foe and Russia our ally. The other is that the destruction of liberty which followed Yalta was wrought, not by Roosevelt and Churchill, but by Stalin.

Anyone old enough to recall the violently agitated days of World War II can remember their atmosphere. Tremendous, history-making events were taking place on the battlefields and in the governments of nations. The psychology of the time was molded by fervent determination utterly to destroy Hitler's Nazi regime and all it stood for.

The men who met in the Crimea had the paramount goals of completing what General Eisenhower later called the Crusade in Europe, and then of winning the war against Japan. The general belief was that both purposes required wholehearted cooperation by Russia. In this conviction Roosevelt and Churchill went further than they should in granting Stalin's cold-blooded demands.

Even so, there was no handing of territories and peoples to Russia on a silver platter. The western leaders exacted from Stalin pledges of free governments based on fair elections in Eastern Europe. In the Far East, Stalin was to assist Chiang Kai-shek's government, and a time limit was put on the concessions he was given in Manchuria, which was to be governed by Chiang.

Russia held a dominating position which the western powers could not modify. Her armies were on the spot in Eastern Europe and Manchuria. The Yalta pacts may in fact have limited the extent of Russian gains.

The damage came after Yalta, when Russia broke all her pledges. The central fact is that liberty was destroyed, not by Roosevelt and Churchill, but by Stalin. The seizure of China and the enslavement of Poland Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria were the evil work, not of the democratic West, but of the Communist east.

Later events of 1945 (the Yalta Conference was held in February of that year) offer a greater cause for American self-reproach. Churchill, highly suspicious of the Russians, urged Eisenhower to take Prague and Berlin in order to reduce the Russian advance into Europe. When Eisenhower refused, Churchill went to Truman. The new President had come into leadership wholly unprepared. He took the advice of his military leaders and allowed the Red army to march into the heart of central Europe. Yet this decision, too, must be appraised in the light of the time when it was taken.

All this was known before the Yalta records were published. The dismay and anger abroad over the publication are aroused by details—remarks made in passing or in jest which now look serious in cold print. Also there is anxiety that such revelations may hamper ratification of the Western European union.

Yet now there is to be more of the same. The State Department announces it will publish records of the Teheran and Potsdam Conferences, and a statement intended to refute the white paper issued by the Truman administration, which laid heavy blame on Chiang for the loss of China.

Particularly in respect to China, the intention seems unwise. If the paper is factual it will have to tell of gross corruption and incompetence in the wartime Nationalist Government. If it glosses over the Nationalist abuses which impelled the Chinese population to welcome the Reds, it will be unrealistic. Now that the Chiang government has been reformed and we are supporting it to the point of war, the old scandals should not be raked up.

Because of these considerations, publication of the Yalta and other memoranda in these times seems to have mainly a political motive. This view is supported by the demands of Republican politicians for the Yalta record, Secretary Dulles' obvious unhappiness over it, and Senator KNOWLAND'S demand that the new revelations be made next year, during the Presidential campaign. From this view the matter has the aspect of a fresh attempt by some Republicans to win an election against Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Hidden Profits in Dixon-Yates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial entitled "Blue Sky in Dixon-Yates," which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on March 1, 1955. The editorial follows:

BLUE SKY IN DIXON-YATES?

A startling new objection to the Dixon-Yates contract—that its recipients might obtain $5 million to $10 million a year in hidden profits on a $5,500,000 equity investment—has been brought forward. The objection comes from Walter von Tresckow, of New York, head of a group of 8 financial, engineering, and legal interests which tried to compete for the Atomic Energy Commission contract but was brushed aside.

Mr. Von Tresckow explains the possibility of these exorbitant and hidden earnings thus: Dixon-Yates is allowed under the terms of the contract to sell its operating companies all power produced at the new steam plant which TVA does not require to supply the city of Memphis. The Memphis demand will amount to only about 60 percent of the plant's capacity.

The remaining 40 percent of capacity would thus be available for sale by the two holding companies in the Dixon-Yates combine to their operating companies. Mr. Von Tresckow says the contract allows Dixon-Yates to sell this surplus at a price exclusive of overhead costs, since overhead would be paid for out of the amount required for Memphis.

This would mean, the financier says, that Dixon-Yates could sell 40 percent of the plant's capacity to its operating companies for less than 2 mills a kilowatt-hour, and that the Dixon-Yates operating companies would resell it at 5 or 6 mills or more a kilowatt-hour and pocket the difference for their holding companies.

This difference is what Mr. Von Tresckow estimates as possibly amounting to $5 million or $10 million a year. Such hidden profits, he said, would not be affected by a fixed ceiling of $600,000 a year which the contract puts on profits from the plant. For these hidden profits, the fixed ceiling would be the sky.

Mr. Von Tresckow's charges deserve the closest examination by the Senate-House Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, headed by Senator ANDERSON, of New Mexico. Here is a new reason, on top of plenty of old ones, why this committee should go into Dixon-Yates with a fine-tooth comb, and why the contract meanwhile should be held up.

Ike Should Repudiate Hoover's Banker Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an article from the editorial page of Labor under date of March 19:

IKE SHOULD REPUDIATE HOOVER'S BANKER BILLS

Just as Mike and Ike used to look alike in an old cartoon series, the Hoover Commission and the Eisenhower administration now seem not only to look alike but to think alike—to have the same policies and the same philosophy of government.

That adds to the significance of a report issued this week by the 12-man Commission, which is headed by former President Herbert Hoover. He and three other members were appointed by President Eisenhower. The other eight members were picked by Vice President NIXON and Congressman JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Republican, of Massachusetts, when he was Speaker of the House.

Judging by the Commission's report to Congress, the banker bills proposed by the administration up to now were only warming-up practice for more and bigger such bills still to come.

In general, the report recommends: First, that Uncle Sam stop lending money at low interest rates to farmers, rural electric coops, small-business men, and other groups; second, to let private bankers do all the lending at higher interest rates than Uncle Sam now charges.

If Congress enacts that program, it would largely undo historic reforms and humanitarian legislation passed since 1913—in the Woodrow Wilson administration, even in Hoover's administration, and particularly during the New Deal and Fair Deal years.

For example, farmers could no longer get Government loans to tide them over periods of low farm product prices. Farm mortgages would be turned over to the tender mercies of the bankers from whom Uncle Sam rescued debt-crushed farmers in the depression 1930's. The low-interest loans which help farmers get cheap electric power through their REA systems would end, and control be handed back to the bankers and the power trust.

All sorts of housing loans would be stopped, particularly the public-housing loans which help poor families get decent homes at rents they can afford. Uncle Sam would still assume the risk of slum-clearance loans, but bankers would get all the profit. War veterans' housing programs would be allowed to die as soon as possible.

Those are only a few boiled-down samples of the 48 recommendations in the report.

Mixed in with them are some proposals which would end a few of the private profit at public risk schemes which Labor has been pointing out and criticizing. In these cases, however, bankers would get more control and bigger profits in return for giving up Government guaranties.

Four members of the Hoover Commission dissented on a few of the recommendations, particularly one which would reduce Government short-term loans to exporters, and leave this foreign-trade field exclusively to bankers.

The only member who registered a sweeping dissent was Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, liberal California Democrat. He acknowledged that some of the report's proposals may have merit, but then added this:

"By and large, the recommendation would make it harder for American citizens to buy homes or to get loans for their farms or businesses. The recommendations would tighten agricultural credit, slow down housing construction, restrict rural electrification, and limit aids provided by the Federal Government.

"These programs intimately concern the affairs and well-being of millions of Americans and the strength of the Nation's economy.

"Congress created the Hoover Commission to study the organization of the Government. I do not believe Congress wanted advice from the commission on public policies of every sort. This report indicates that the commission is willing to roam far and wide in the field of public policy."

Holifield pointed out that the Hoover Commission—while charging that Uncle Sam's loans are "subsidizing" ordinary people—made not a single proposal to end the multi-billion-dollar Government subsidies to "manufacturers, publishing firms, ship operators, airline companies and other big business interests."

The California Congressman recalled that "Congress has authorized subsidies throughout our history, to develop the Nation and keep it strong. The Hoover Commission made no systematic study of the whole subject of subsidies. It compains only of 'subsidies' which bring widespread benefits to all the American people, particularly those of modest means."

Labor hopes President Eisenhower will make it clear to Congress just which parts of the Hoover report he approves and disapproves. Hoover left the White House as the most discredited President in American history. No President can afford to have the country think the policies of his administration are being dictated by Hoover.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—"It is doubtful if the American people understand the powerful influence Herbert Hoover exerts on the Eisenhower administration," Columnist Thomas L. Stokes said this week, "Hoover has come back strong. He offers advice in many fields to the Eisenhower regime. The latest Hoover report recommendations would turn back credit control, with a nice profit, to the bankers. More and more, this administration is taking on the colors of a bankers' administration.")

United States Constitution Stands Tests of Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I was impressed with an editorial expressing faith in the Constitution of the United States which appeared February 17 in the Cullman (Ala.) Tribune, a newspaper published in the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama. I believe Members will get a renewed inspiration in the Constitution from reading it. The editorial follows:

STANDING THE TEST

The way a plan works after it has been drafted and put in operation is the important test.

One is impressed with the bigness and the greatness of the plan—the Constitution of the United States—that has endured for more than a century and a half. During this period has been the industrial revolution, two global wars, and the coming of the atomic age.

And the strength of the United States, built on the Federal Constitution, is the greater when one considers Russia, France, and China. The Soviets, with their one-party system and dictator, changed leaders a few days ago. They are trying to find someone like Stalin. The French, with their many political parties, are organizing another government. And the Chinese are cursed with civil conflict.

Effect of Imports of Japanese Tuna on the American Tuna Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the hard-hit tuna industry, which has been imperilled by a flood of imported frozen tuna, has just received disconcerting reports that Japanese interests are now planning to flood the country with tuna packed in brine. It is my understanding that the administration does not intend to let established domestic industries go down the drain because of foreign competition, yet this danger exists today unless official steps are taken immediately to protect this vital food-producing industry.

Under unanimous consent, I include as a portion of my remarks the following letter on the subject from Mr. Harold Cary, spokesman for the great tuna fishing fleet of California.

AMERICAN TUNABOAT ASSOCIATION,
San Diego, Calif., March 15, 1955.

The Honorable BOB WILSON,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR BOB: Upon leaving Washington I promised that I would keep you currently advised as to the trend of events in the tuna industry. I think there are a couple of items which have a direct bearing upon the statement I made before the Committee for Reciprocity Information and before the House Ways and Means Committee in regard to H. R. 1. This latter statement contained a restatement of the material presented to the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

The deliveries of tuna to Southern California canneries are an item of interest and a measurement of our activity. For the first seven weeks of 1955 domestic vessels have delivered 9,936 tons to these canneries. In 1954 domestic vessels delivered 20,369 tons. Therefore, we have had a decline in deliveries of 10,433 tons.

Imported fish has shown a completely opposite trend. In 1954 deliveries for the 7-week period were 2,453 tons, while this year they totaled 6,516 tons. Therefore, there is an increase of 4,063 tons in the amount of fish imported by southern California canners.

In the aggregate, therefore, canneries have received 6,370 tons less than the comparable period of 1 year ago, although that reduction of fish purchases by them embraces an increase of 4,063 tons in imported fish and a decrease of 10,433 tons in fish bought from domestic vessels.

The decline cannot, of course, be attributed to a necessity to purchase abroad in order to supplement suplies, inasmuch as somewhere between 8,500 and 9,000 tons of tuna is in the holds of fishing vessels in the ports of San Diego and San Pedro at the present time awaiting purchase. The canners thus far have not been interested in negotiating an agreement to take this fish and, inasmuch as we went out on a gamble that they would take it, thus far no solution has been reached.

Another important development has been the release of statistics by the Japanese Fisheries Agency. I believe you have in your files a copy of my statement before the Committee for Reciprocity Information. On page 30 of that statement there is an item entitled "Tuna Fleets—A Comparison." The statement is made there: "In November of 1954 it is reported that there are 30 large tuna vessels in the 300–500 gross-ton class now under construction in Japan." The Japanese Fisheries Agency figures indicate that for vessels ranging from 101 gross tons upward (from approximately 50 tons carrying capacity and upward) there have been 31 wooden vessels added to the fleet, totaling 4,559 gross tons, and there have been 17 steel vessels added to the fleet, totaling 6,746 tons.

If, then, the figures given in the presentation to the Committee for Reciprocity Information are updated it will show that as of December 31, 1954, the Japanese tuna fleet of roughly comparable size to our own totaled 436 vessels and 89,989 gross tons, as of December 31, 1954.

This may be compared with the trend in our own fleet. Since December 31, 1941, we have declined a total of 42 vessels and something over 6,400 tons. The Japanese, in the meantime, have increased 164 vessels and something over 49,000 tons. In fact, their fleet has more than doubled in this period of time. If this represents any need for concessions to Japan to stimulate her tuna industry I would like to have that proved to me. If it demonstrates that our fleet is in a healthy condition I would likewise like to have that demonstrated. I believe it appropriate that that question be asked of the Department of State and of the Trade Agreements Committee people.

A further comment on the activities of the Japanese Fisheries Agency is that it has a currently effective policy (that is, effective until July 1955) to encourage the conversion of fishing boats from the inshore fisheries to the offshore and high seas fisheries, which are largely for tuna. Therefore, there is no end in sight of this expansion of the Japanese fleet.

I think these two items of information would certainly be compelling if they were placed before people of reasonable judgment. It is my intention to write to the President and various others pointing out these facts and again pointing out to them the necessity of concluding an agreement with Japan, even though it is informal in nature, which will cover this tuna situation.

I read with interest President Eisenhower's letter to JOE MARTIN and am giving some thought to just how the statements made in there square up with the actions which appear in this set of facts which I

have given you and which have previously been shown in the Committee for Reciprocity Information presentation.

Maybe you ca figure out some type of communication to somebody to ask what they think of all this.

Yours sincerely,

H. F. CARY,
General Manager.

Alabama's Waterways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include editorials which recently appeared in the following newspapers: the Anniston Star, the Montgomery Examiner, the Selma Times-Journal, and the Talladega Daily Home. These editorials are in reference to a meeting held in Montgomery, Ala., on March 5, 1955, and are entitled "Exploiting Coosa Potentialities," "General Pick and Our River," "Alabama's Waterways," and "An Important Meeting," respectively.

The editorials follow:

[From the Anniston Star of March 6, 1955]

EXPLOITING COOSA POTENTIALITIES

While one could have wished for a more positive and definitive approach to the problem by the organization itself, there were hopeful indications that yesterday's meeting in Montgomery of the Coosa-Alabama River Development Association will speed consideration by the Congress of navigation locks in the dams soon to be built by the Alabama Power Co.

The presence at the meeting of Calhoun County's KENNETH A. ROBERTS, as well as Congressmen GRANT and SELDEN, augurs well for helpful assistance from Alabama's congressional delegation. Congressman RAINS, of Gadsden, who has done yeoman work on the project, was prevented from attending because of illness and other representatives sent messages of endorsement and promises of assistance.

Secondly, and highly important, was the presence at the meeting of representatives of Governor Folsom, who promised aid and action in connection with the Governor's industrial development program.

The immense potentialities of the Coosa-Alabama were perceived by pioneer citizens of this area who, despite repeated frustrations and disappointments, never flagged in their efforts to bring their great dream to fruition.

Indeed, it is to their everlasting credit not only that they labored so tirelessly themselves, but also that, in notable instances, they were able to pass on their enthusiasm to younger men who now are carrying forward in their image.

Mr. Everett "Pat" Lay, of Gadsden, heads the organization led for years by his father. Other officers include Mr. Robert Henry, of Montgomery; Mr. James Mann, of Rome, Ga., and Mr. Walter B. Mills, of Gadsden.

The Anniston Star believes the organization should be placed on a sounder economic footing, with sufficient funds to establish a permanent office with a paid official. He would work unceasingly with the agencies concerned with the engineering, land acquisition, political steering, and finally, keep the general public informed with respect to the progress of the overall program.

For this position, we would like to nominate Gen. Lewis Pick, retired, who served 37 years with the United States Corps of Engineers, and who has had direct charge of planning the development of a number of river basins. Personable, capable, enthusiastic in his chosen field, he has many contacts that would be valuable to the Coosa-Alabama organization, and he would lend substance, sincerity, and success to any venture to which he directed his valuable talents.

Alabama has over 2,000 miles of waterways, greater than any State in the Union. The Warrior-Tombigbee development is well underway as the result of efforts of a similar organization in that part of the State. The same results can accrue—but in larger measure—to our own great watershed.

The Alabama Power Co. is proceeding with plans to build a series of integrated dams on the river for generating hydroelectric power, but since the Nation's earliest days, the Federal Government has shouldered the responsibility—and properly so—for providing navigation facilities and terminals on inland waterways.

This newspaper has pointed out time and again that there is no way of assessing the benefits that could be expected from Coosa-Alabama Rivers development.

The hydroelectric potential is enormous, and in addition, the Coosa River area would enjoy the great economic benefit of cheap water transportation, plus improved flood control and greatly expanded recreational facilities.

[From the Montgomery Examiner of March 7, 1955]

GENERAL PICK AND OUR RIVER

After retired Gen. Lewis A. Pick had made his fine speech on the proposed development of the Coosa-Alabama River here on Saturday, Congressman KENNETH A. ROBERTS said to a friend, "I wonder if Alabama realizes how lucky it is to have a man like him living in the State and making his great knowledge available for nothing, when other States and other countries are trying to get him at great expense?"

General Pick is a native Virginian who, on retirement from Chief of the United States Corps of Engineers last year, came to live at Opelika. As one of the Nation's top engineers, he helped build the famous Burma Road in World War II, had much to do with the St. Lawrence Waterway, built the great Louisiana-Texas coastal canal back in 1928. River basins and harbor developments in many places are his monuments.

At Saturday's meeting of the new Coosa-Alabama River Development Association, to which the Montgomery Chamber of Commerce played host, and in which the Alabama Power Co. is taking such a leading interest, General Pick said:

"I, for one, have found romance in studying river basins; I, for one, have found romance in developing our great natural resources; and development of our natural resources is only just beginning."

Plucking from his memories great engineering projects of the past 30 years, he showed how most industries seek abundant water. He quoted amazing figures to show industrial growth which has followed river basin developments. He drew particular attention to the Missouri River Basin billion dollar development, and the results it is already bringing; "and they had much less to work with in Missouri than you have here in Alabama," the general said.

He pointed out the number of industries already huddling along the two rivers from Rome, Ga., to Montgomery. "Open up the river and industries will bloom," he said, admonishing his listeners that they already had spent too much time talking about the project, and that they should by now be up and doing something about it.

Only last week General Pick refused a splendid offer for his services in Lebanon to advise on the development of a river basin in about the oldest part of the old world.

The Examiner thinks we need General Pick in the most rapidly growing part of the New World—Alabama and the Southeast.

But the Congressmen need help before they can get help from the Congress for this proposed development. They need the support of a well administered publicity campaign to acquaint other parts of the Nation with Alabama's needs; what the development of the river will mean to the economy of this whole region, and how important that will be to the entire Nation. Alabama is sold on the project—we've got to sell the idea to other regions, so that Congressmen from all States can justify their votes needed to secure Government aid.

[From the Selma Times-Journal of March 9, 1955]

ALABAMA'S WATERWAYS

Alabama will probably see more industrial expansion than ever before if and when the contemplated system of waterways in the State becomes reality. Indications are that it has at least a good chance.

Strenuous efforts are being made by counties which flank the Coosa-Alabama Rivers from Rome, Ga., all the way down to Mobile, to persuade the Federal Government to install locks for navigation in the dams proposed along that system by the Alabama Power Co. Communities vitally affected include Selma, Montgomery, Childersburg, Pell City, Gadsden, Centre, and Rome, Ga.

The Warrior-Tombigbee system, running from Mobile up through Demopolis, Eutaw, Tuscaloosa, and Birmingport, is being modernized.

North Alabama is already extremely fortunate in having the Tennessee River navigable the entire width of the State. Tonnage each year continues to set new records.

Huntsville, not to be left in the cold, has an industrial committee working on a program to develop commercial dock facilities in the Whitesburg area.

Gen. Lewis Pick, former head of the Army Corps of Engineers, Saturday told a group of river boosters that no large city today can continue to grow without taking advantage of the most economical form of transportation possible—water.

Alabama seems ready to do just that. (The Huntsville Times.)

[From the Talladega Daily Home of March 7, 1955]

AN IMPORTANT MEETING

Of importance to all inhabitants of this region of potential industrial greatness was the meeting at Montgomery last weekend of the Coosa-Alabama Rivers Development Association.

Maj. Gen. Lewis Pick, head of the United States Corps of Engineers, summed up what these important waterways already have meant to the people of Alabama and Georgia.

"Along the rivers at the present time," he said, "are hundreds of textile, coal, steel, and papermaking mills and plants."

And of the era ahead:

"With the opening of the river system from Mobile to Rome, Ga., the production in these plants can be expanded and the cost of shipping the raw materials as well as the finished product cut by 20 percent."

Of primary interest to people of the Coosa Valley now is the giant $100 million development program inaugurated by the Alabama Power Co. under a Republican administration which looks with a kindly eye toward private progress with its resultant rich re-

wards in the form of payrolls and tax payments.

Engineering studies now are well underway and it should not be too many months before the company announces specific plans for building the first of the great dams to be constructed, with the entire project slated for completion in a 10-year span.

Industries already are finding this region attractive.

With the Coosa development this is certain to be within the lifetime of most of those now living in one of the major industrial regions, of the entire United States.

Any agency which works for that end deserves the support and the appreciation of us all.

The 7th Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial which appeared in the January 26, 1955, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The editorial, entitled "As to the 7th Fleet," follows:

AS TO THE 7TH FLEET

While supporting President Eisenhower in his request for a resolution on defense policy in Asia, Congressman PRICE, of East St. Louis, calls attention to an aspect of the message that corrects the Presidential record in an important particular.

In his 1953 state of the Union message, Mr. Eisenhower said: "I am issuing instructions that the 7th Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China." This charge that Harry S. Truman, as President, had sent the 7th Fleet into Formosan waters to protect Chinese Communists was a political statement intended for political consumption. It was spoken in the flush of the GOP victory at the polls in 1952.

As Congressman PRICE points out, the President now takes a different view entirely when he says in his extraordinary message to Congress:

"Our Government was prompt, when the Communists committed armed aggression in Korea in June 1950, to direct our 7th Fleet to defend Formosa from possible invasion from the Communist mainland."

The purpose Mr. Eisenhower now gives was of course the reason why Harry S. Truman put the 7th Fleet on guard duty. Mr. Truman did not want the war in Korea to spread through Communist attacks on Formosa or some abortive attempted invasion by Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese mainland.

It took 2 years to get this record set straight and while it requires each citizen to contrast the President's 1953 statement and what the President says now, straight at last the record is.

This gain can be credited to the change in party control in Congress and the President's desire for bipartisan support of his policy.

As for employment of the 7th Fleet, every American citizen may hope it will not be necessary to consider using our Navy in evacuation of Chiang Kai-shek's troops and supplies from the Tachen Islands. The first evacuees have already arrived in Formosa. If the Chinese Nationalists will get busy and remove their personnel and equipment from these indefensible coastal islands as rapidly as possible an evacuation crisis may be avoided entirely.

Armed Robbery of Government Property

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, early last Friday 2 masked gunmen raided the 107th Light Armored Cavalry Regiment Armory in Shaker Heights, Ohio, and wounded a warrant officer while stealing 4 federally owned machineguns.

The FBI immediately joined local police officials in the search for these desperadoes and a statewide alarm was put out for their apprehension. The FBI should be commended for their swiftness in joining this important search for two men dangerously armed and presumed to be on the path of further robbery and violence.

Mr. Speaker, this is an appalling situation. But it could be even worse if these men were part of a conspiracy to overthrow our Government by force—if they were part of an uprising against civil authority—or if they were bent upon sabotaging our defense effort.

We must take—we are compelled to take—stringent measures to assure that a similar robbery will not be attempted again. There are two ways of obtaining such assurance. One is to increase the criminal penalty for armed robbery of Government property and the other is to increase the security guard of all weapons storage centers.

Today I have introduced two bills. One increases the present penalties for robbery and burglary of Government property and the other provides new statutes providing a stronger penalty for the burglary and roberry of weapons and firearms. The texts of these bills are as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 2111, title 18, of the United States Code, be amended as follows:

"Whoever, within the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States, by force and violence, or by intimidation, takes from the person or presence of another anything of value, shall be imprisoned not more than 25 years."

SEC. 2. Section 2112, title 18, of the United States Code shall be amended as follows:

"Whoever robs another of any kind of personal property belonging to the United States shall be imprisoned not more than 25 years."

SEC. 3. Section 641, title 18, of the United States Code shall be amended as follows:

"Whoever embezzles, steals, purloins, or knowingly converts to his use or the use of another, or without authority sells, conveys, or disposes of any record, voucher, money, or thing of value of the United States or of any department or agency thereof, or any property made or being made under contract for the United States or any department or agency thereof; or

"Whoever receives, conceals, or retains the same with intent to convert it to his use or gain, knowing it to have been embezzled, purloined, or converted—

Shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 20 years, or both; but if the value of such property does not exceed the sum of $100, he shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

"The word 'value' means face, par, or market value, or cost price, either wholesale or retail, whichever is greater."

Be it enacted, etc., That whoever within the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States, by force and violence, or by intimidation, takes from the person or presence of another any firearm or weapon, shall be imprisoned not more than 50 years.

SEC. 2. Whoever robs another of any weapon or firearm belonging to the United States shall be imprisoned not more than 50 years.

SEC. 3. Whoever steals, purloins, or knowingly converts to his use or the use of another, or without authority sells, conveys, or disposes of any firearm or weapon of the United States or any department or agency thereof, or any firearm or weapon made or being made under contract for the United States or any department or agency thereof; or whoever receives, conceals, or retains the same with intent to convert it to his use or gain, knowing it to have been stolen, purloined, or converted, shall be fined not more than $50,000 or imprisoned not more than 50 years, or both.

Mr. Speaker, also, I have dispatched letters to the Secretaries of Defense, Army, Navy, and Air Force asking them to immediately take an inventory of all Government weapons and to increase the security guard on all places where weapons are stored. And I have also asked the FBI to join with the Defense Department in an appraisal of the entire weapons storage problem.

In these days when our national security is threatened from within as well as from without, we must take all steps necessary to prevent any group from taking our own weapons and using them against us. If it is this easy to get weapons out of Government arsenals, then potential revolutionaries would have no trouble at all in arming themselves on the eve of an attack. We must prevent this.

Make Columbus Day a Legal Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my views on making Columbus Day a legal holiday.

Christopher Columbus' name stands supreme among the world's daring explorers. In selfless service to his fellow man, to Spain, and to God, he ventured out on uncharted waters, with a reluctant crew, in frail and tiny vessels, and kept on, through murmurs rising to threats of mutiny, until that glorious moment when a seaman's cry brought all on deck to view a new world shining in the dawn. That is a moment to remember. That is a moment to celebrate. The city of Genoa and the land of Italy are proud to claim Columbus as a native son. Spain counts it among her chief glories that Columbus sailed under her banner. But all we of the Western Hemisphere can look upon him, not as our son or servant, but as father of us all.

In token of this filial reverence, most of the countries of this hemisphere, and most of the States of the Union, already observe Columbus Day as a bank holiday or a school holiday, and as a day for ceremonies in honor of Christopher Columbus and his discovery.

I am glad to add my voice, on behalf of my constituents, to the enthusiastic support being given in this House to H. R. 577, a bill declaring October 12 to be a legal holiday.

Nation's Postmasters Approve Increase of Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Commercial News, Danville, Ill., on March 2, 1955.

I am definitely in accord with the view therein expressed that our postage rates should be made realistic so that our Post Office Department may be operated on a businesslike basis.

The editorial follows:

NATION'S POSTMASTERS APPROVE INCREASE OF POSTAL RATES

For the first time in its history the National Association of Postmasters, including John Wherry, of Danville, went on record in favor of increasing postal rates on first-, second-, and third-class mail to bring the Post Office Department on a more nearly paying basis.

For years politicians of varying philosophies have argued the question of whether any Federal Government Department should be operated at a profit or whether, as a service to the people, its deficits should automatically come from taxes.

Today, official and unofficial opinion leans in favor of operating the Post Office Department on a businesslike basis. It is viewed as a business-type enterprise within the Government, requiring the use of the most modern methods, practices, and policies so that the American people may receive the best possible service at the most economical cost.

At present the Department is being operated on a prewar-price level and a postwar-cost level. Hence, it is losing money at the rate of at least a million dollars every working day. The loss totals $4 billion since World War II. Interest alone on this debt costs taxpayers $100 million a year.

The mailing charges for a letter, magazine, or a book have been called the "biggest bargains on earth." Most other nations, including Canada, run the post office on a breakeven or profit basis.

Raising postal rates is quite understandably not a popular issue. But Americans always face up to financial necessities—when they understand them. The American people are adult enough to know they only deceive themselves by keeping postal rates artificially low, and taxing themselves to pay the difference.

Recent Gallup poll results published on January 23, 1955, show that majority opinion today favors raising the rate on first-class mail from 3 to 4 cents. Other surveys showed substantially the same sentiment. Obviously, somebody has to pay for postal services. Low postage rates are misleading when the difference is paid by the taxpayer. It is fairer to charge those who receive the direct benefit rather than transfer a large part of the cost to the general taxpayer.

With these views in mind, the Post Office Department has proposed to Congress moderate increases on first-, second-, and third-class mail. It has also recommended establishment of a permanent Postal Rate Commission to provide a flexible system of scientific rate adjustments under policy guidance of Congress.

President Eisenhower on January 11 stated that "approval of this program will be in the public interest for it will further assure efficient service by the Post Office Department."

Most Americans do not realize that postage rates on first-class letters are the same today as they were in 1932. Costs since that time have almost doubled. Since 1932 there have been five general wage increases for postal employees and another may be on the way.

First-class mail service under present rates does not carry its fair share of postal costs. In 1954 the cost of handling the average first-class letter was 3.12 cents and the Department predicts it may rise to 3.35 cents in 1955. This contrasts with 1.89 cents in 1932. If the letter rate was fair in 1932, it is obviously too low now.

The proposed 4-cent letter rate will still be a bargain. Compare it with the 5 cents paid in Canada; the 8.5 cents in Sweden; the 9.6 cents in Germany, and 4.17 cents in England.

Proposed legislation would increase postage on first-class letters by 1 cent on the first ounce only. This would hike revenue by $237 million and go a long way toward eliminating the deficit. The proposals also would increased postage on domestic airmail by 1 cent on the first ounce only. Moderate increases also are proposed for second-class mail consisting principally of magazines and newspapers. Rates will remain the same for nonprofit religious, educational, scientific, and like organizations. The increase on second-class mail would increase publishers' rates by about 15 percent per year.

Hard commonsense indicates there is only one way to solve this dilemma—namely to increase postal rates equitably so that the Post Office Department may operate on as nearly a pay-as-you-go basis as is practical—with the actual users of mails paying a larger share of the costs instead of transferring this financial burden to the shoulders of American taxpayers.

New Code of Fair Play For House Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the proper procedure to direct or control the committees of the House in the conduct of hearings of an investigatory character has long been a subject of consideration. The Rules Committee of the House has arrived at a conclusion. We realize the sincerity with which the study has been carried on by the Committee. It is gratifying to realize that it has met with approval. In this latter connection, I include as part of my remarks an editorial appearing in the Courier-Post newspaper, published at Camden, N. J., in the issue on Saturday, March 12, 1955. It reads as follows:

NEW CODE OF FAIR PLAY FOR HOUSE COMMITTEES

The Rules Committee of the House of Representatives has completed the draft of a fair play code for investigating committees which the House will be asked to approve.

The code is the outgrowth of excesses by some committees and subcommittees (of the Senate as well as the House). It would apply to all House committees, including those which (like some Senate committees) have adopted fair play codes for themselves but of course lack the authority to do so for any groups but their own.

The Rules Committee recommendations are mild and moderate. They seek to strike a middle ground between permitting abuse of the investigative power and letting irresponsible or guilty witnesses go undisciplined.

Under the new code, individual committees would still draw up their own rules, but these would have to conform with the minimum standards set forth by it. Some of the regulations that would be generally applied:

Each committee would fix the number of members required to constitute a quorum for taking testimony; this number must be at least two, to eliminate the one-man hearings that have caused such protests in the past.

Witnesses would be given a reasonable idea of what they were to be questioned about, so as to have answers prepared, but the committees could go beyond the original questions as material new angles developed in the testimony.

Every witness would get a copy of procedural rules for his guidance.

Witnesses would be permitted counsel to advise them of their constitutional rights.

Testimony would be taken first in closed session, and closed-session testimony would not be made public without the approval of the whole committee or subcommittee.

Committee chairmen could punish breaches of decorum and legal professional ethics, by citation for contempt of Congress if so determined.

Persons accused in testimony would have the right to appear as voluntary witnesses in their own defense.

Despite the criticism of committee procedures that has been so widespread during the last year or two, and despite the Rules Committee's present report, it is a difficult task to get either the Senate or the House to change their rules in such a way as to restrict the freedom of members or committees. Many members, while agreeing with recent criticism of investigation procedures, do not believe that formal changes in the rules will bring about a cure.

However, the changes the Rules Committee has recommended have a better chance to be adopted than such proposals normally do. There is less likelihood of similar changes in the Senate, though the Democratic members of its Rules Committee are planning hearings on a list of recommendations.

The proposed changes in House and Senate would tend to bring committee procedures more into line with those of the courts. Yet most Congressmen agree with former Senator Guy Gillette (D., Iowa) that committee hearings "cannot be subjected to the rules of evidence, determining this is material and that is immaterial."

Most Congressmen also are aware, as the public is not, that the situations which have given rise to criticism of committees are relatively few in proportion to the thousands of hearings held annually.

In short, most Congressmen, Democrats as well as Republicans, think the problem is a bit more complex than the public realizes. They are inclined to say you can't substitute rules for a sense of decorum and decency.

Nevertheless, most of them want to operate under the best rules possible. The ones

the House Rules Committee recommends seem worthwhile, and it may be hoped both House and Senate will adopt codes approximating at least the minimum safeguards these embody.

Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to have entered my testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee which was considering prospective legislation for Federal aid to school construction.

The testimony follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, may I first say that I greatly appreciate the opportunity to appear before this committee to testify on the very important matter before this forum. I sincerely hope that my request for hearing will not be construed as indicating a personal presumption of my expertness on the varied problems plaguing our educational system. I am sure that this committee has heard, or is scheduled to hear, qualified educators in regards the technical aspects of the question. The message I should like to bring this committee deals with the broader governmental concepts that rest at the base of our important social, economic, and political problems.

This committee has recently heard from our very able colleague from Arizona, Representative STEWART L. UDALL, who very concisely disclosed two very important, as he termed it, "stumbling blocks" that have blockaded much of the thinking in the area of Federal aid to school construction. The clarity of his reasoning, I am sure, has shed a brighter light upon a segment of our thinking made dark by such ominous forebodings of late as: "Get government out of buseiness, get government out of public power," and now: "Keep government out of education." Even the most credulous individual cannot fail to recognize the frailty of these manifestations—it smacks more of emotion than reason; and as such, I fear, unable to cope with the immense problem of properly providing our youth with adequate educational facilities.

In deference to the plan proposed by the administration, which I'm sure this committee is giving arduous study, I feel that its half-way approach falls theoretically to understand this Governments obligations to its citizenry by subjecting the school districts to an unreasonable indebtedness. Our desperate school districts cry for relief, but their supplications, I fear, have been answered by a master bond-issuing program designed, not for their relief, but rather their insolvency. To peg an unrealistic interest rate on our Nation's school districts for the sake of attracting risk capital to the safe confines of municipal securities, which guarantee a safe return, is neither a service to our school system nor a discharge of our responsibility to it. Educating America's youth is a public responsibility historically vested in the local community through the instrumentalities of the city, county and State governments; and, if the situation so requires, ultimately with the Federal Government. When Federal assistance to the health and welfare of the several States falls suspect, then, indeed, the entire edifice of our great constituted system of Federal Government, which has served us well, must be reexamined. I, for one, harbor not such dismal fear those who do have somewhere parted company with a great tradition.

THE GENESIS OF THE PROBLEM—RAPID GROWTH OF POPULATION

We have had occasion to point with singular pride to the robust expansion of our population in the last 15 years. (Approximately 30 million; a yearly average increase in excess of 2 million). Latently contained in this national asset lies the cause of the present problem. The dislocations of one major war, the continuing condition of world unrest which necessitates a priority to national security problems, and the parallel high level of consumer-goods production have diverted our energies to these important areas to the exclusion of schools and their educational plants and facilities. No doubt this fact has been generally regarded as a pre-established axiom with those of us who have concerned ourselves with the question. The significance of this fact, I feel, finds its force in the realization that the stauration point has been achieved; and in many areas superseded, so as to be justifiably termed disaster areas. We have provisions to meet this crisis in the actual physical sense; but have failed to affect like remedial machinery for our educational disaster areas. I see no genuine deterrent in the path of our Federal Government to meet this challenge.

INCREASED COMPLEXITY OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

As populations have grown so have the corresponding accompanying needs of that increased citizenry progressed. The simplified curriculums offered in my grade school days now appear skeletal alongside the courses of study given our youths today. The entire machinery of education has become more complex, and in turn, has required a greater competence of its administrators. The problem is real, complex, and enduring; the need must be answered realistically, intricately, and with far reaching vision. Any legislation that falls short of achieving these minimal requirements must be termed inadequate. Any legislation that makes these considerations secondary to the dreams of certain fincial interests, for the sake of prividing a safe harborage for bond purchasers, misinterprets, I feel, the basic interest of the majority of the American people.

THE PROBLEM FACED IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN AND ITS PLANS TO MEET IT

With the committee's permission, I should like to commend to its study and perusal, without burdening the official record, a report by the Department of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan. It aptly demonstrates the type of efforts which I am sure are being put forth by similar State agencies throughout the country. I am proud to be associated in the service of government with such able and dedicated public servants as we have in our great State of Michigan. As this report indicates, much thought and planning has gone into estimating our State's educational needs in the coming 5 years. Their work is clearly demonstrative of their efforts to seek first a solution to their shortages which took into account the State's own resources before considering direct aid from the Federal Government. I think that this is a fair and honest approach to the matter and commend it as an example worthy of emulation.

Significantly, it will be noticed on page 68 of the report (Michigan Public School Building Needs, 1953–60) that the area of Government financial assistance is only contemplated for "hardship areas." This is a proper concern for the Federal and State Governments, since these hardship areas often exist through forces beyond the scope of the local school district means to afford a remedy. Of our State's 534 school-service areas, 117 are estimated to be hardship cases. Such factors as shifting population, realty devaluation, and lack of adequate local taxing powers have been inextricably intertwined at the base of the school district's inability to raise funds. As a direct result of the presence of these variable determinants, our State faces in the school year 1959–60 a deficit of $50 million for needed school construction. In this predicament, I am quite sure, gentlemen, that the plight of Michigan is neither unique nor singular.

Therefore, gentlemen of this committee, may I commend to your deliberations a course of legislative action that affords expeditious aid by direct grant in participation with the several States to our "educational disaster areas" adequate to meet their critical needs. I further recommend that such plan be so designed as to avoid imposing upon our school districts a continuing financial burden.

We are dealing here in the critical commodity of human resources. Let us afford it the priority parallel to the great role it must play in our Nation's destiny.

Thank you kindly.

Could Dixon-Yates Wind Up With a White Elephant?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial entitled "Memphis' Ace-High Trump," which appeared in the March 7, 1955, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

MEMPHIS' ACE-HIGH TRUMP

Now that the Dixon-Yates combine has its engineers on site and is moving rapidly toward the start of construction on its projected plant at West Memphis, Ark., the next question is what the city of Memphis, Tenn., will do. Mayor Frank Tobey of that city said only a couple of weeks ago that "if the construction of the plant is commenced, Memphis will take immediate steps to build its own plant."

Memphis believes that it has ample reason to be concerned. The contract which the Dixon-Yates combine has signed with the Atomic Energy Commission at President Eisenhower's direction calls for power to be supplied to AEC for the Tennessee Valley Authority. TVA would use this power to supply the growing demands of Memphis.

Memphis is not a party to the contract. Thus, it would be dependent for a major part of its power supply upon a private syndicate which bears no responsibility toward it of any kind.

Mayor Tobey and the president of the city's light, gas and water department, Maj. Thomas H. Allen, do not think that would be a sound business arrangement for Memphis. Moreover, they say they have had conversations with three major Memphis banks and the First Boston Corp. about financing a city-owned plant and that these institutions were ready to go ahead as soon as the city was ready.

If Memphis is not bluffing, the Dixon-Yates plant when built would be that whitest of elephants, a source of supply without a market. Whatever other means might suc-

ceed in stopping the Dixon-Yates project, therefore. Memphis plainly seems to hold the ace trump. Though much of the Dixon-Yates story to date borders on the improbable, it is hard to believe that the Government would go ahead with it under those circumstances. The West Memphis plant would be useless to the Government which would be paying for it, while the private power companies that built it could draw off however much or little power they wanted from it at dump rates, as other private power companies did from Muscle Shoals before TVA. That was a costly mistake which surely no one would want to repeat.

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson Before the Pacific Dairy and Poultry Association, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 19, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAMER H. BUDGE
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, the following is the portion of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson's remarks at Salt Lake City, Utah, on March 19, 1955, which relate to the general farm program:

Now I should like to turn to a matter which concerns not only the poultry and dairy industries but all of agriculture and, in fact, all of the people of this Nation. That is the basic question of what kind of a farm program we are to have. Shall we move forward in our efforts to establish a soundly conceived, long-range program designed to bring about better balanced agricultural production, broader financial stability, and greater freedom for farmers? Or shall be continue the unrealistic, stopgap, emergency program of high, rigid price supports which has already demonstrated its inability to cope with the problems of a peacetime agricultural economy?

Congress clearly rejected this second approach only a few short months ago when it adopted the Agricultural Act of 1954 and voted to permit flexible price supports for the basic commodities to become effective, as scheduled, in 1955. Now the whole issue has been revived. The House Committee on Agriculture has reported favorably a bill which would, among other things, continue rigid price supports at 90 percent of parity for the basic commodities for 3 more years.

The principal argument put forward by the proponents of this measure is that it will halt the steady decline in farm income which has been underway since 1947. What they fail to mention is that this entire reduction has come about while we had rigid 90-percent supports for the basic commodities. What they are recommending, in effect, is another dose of the same medicine that has made the patient progressively sicker.

The fixed price support advocates, reinforced by labor leaders turned farm experts, are shouting from the rooftops that farm prices are being wrecked by flexible supports. It just isn't so. Not 1 bale of cotton, not 1 bushel of corn or wheat, not 1 sack of rice, not 1 pound of peanuts has yet been placed under loan or sold to the Government at less than 90 percent of parity. Flexible price supports don't become operative until the 1955 harvest—still several months away—and even then the levels of support will be unchanged for some commodities and most modest for others, in line with President Eisenhower's recommendation for gradual adjustments.

The attempt to saddle the failures of the old program upon a new one which hasn't even been tested yet is unlikely to meet with very broad acceptance among farmers who know the facts. The issues at stake are of such great importance to every farmer, however, that I believe the record must be set straight for all to see.

Flexible price supports have been a part of our bipartisan farm programs for many years. They have been endorsed at one time or another by every Secretary of Agriculture for the past 20 years and by every major farm organization. They were advocated in the platforms of both major parties during 1948 and by the then occupant of the White House.

In fact, it was from this unanimity of opinion that the agricultural acts of 1948 and 1949 were distilled. Both of these measures called for flexible price supports for basic commodities. The effective date of the flexible program was repeatedly postponed, however, the last time until 1955. This year we are finally scheduled to employ the flexible price support provisions which almost everybody once agreed were essential to the effective operation of a long-range, peacetime agricultural program.

For some time now, many would-be political leaders have been using high, fixed price supports as a smokescreen to cover up one indisputable fact—the fact that it was the unprecedented demands of war, together with inflation, that kept farm prices high during the 10 years following Pearl Harbor. The parity ratio averaged between 100 and 115 during those years. Actually, it was ceilings, fixed by law at the top—not the 90 percent floor below—which set farm prices. Every farmer knows he would have received even more for his products during this period had there been neither ceilings nor price supports.

Mounting surpluses, increasing costs, and declining farm prices are evidence enough that high, rigid, emergency supports offer no solution to our peacetime agricultural problems. If they were the solution, there would be no problems. Even though farm prices have declined under the program which we inherited from the preceding administration, this administration is willing to assume its share of the responsibility. But let me make it very clear just what our share is.

Between February 1951 and January 1953, when this administration assumed office, the parity ratio tumbled from 113 to 94. This is a downward plunge of 19 points. Since January 1953 the parity ratio has declined from 94 to a current level of 87—a change of 7 points. It has averaged about 90 over the last 2 years.

Thus, it will be seen that nearly three-fourths of the drop in farm prices which has occurred since the Korean war peak in 1951 came under the preceding administration. So, as I have said, we are willing to assume our share of the responsibility. Let our predecessors face up to theirs.

Today it seems to me that the situation which has developed with respect to wheat pinpoints the major fallacies and contradictions of high, rigid price supports. Wheat is a most important crop, not only in this area, but over much of the United States. And wheat is also the Government's biggest problem in the field of price supports. Here is a commodity which actually has been supported at about 105 percent of modernized parity. And still it is in worse trouble than any other crop.

The United States had on hand for the current marketing year an all-time record supply of 1,878 million bushels of wheat. At the present rate of disappearance, this unprecedented supply is enough to meet all our domestic and export requirements for more than 2 full years.

The Commodity Credit Corporation today has investment in more than 1 billion bushels of wheat—660 million bushels owned outright in inventory and the rest held as security against price-support loans. This involves a commitment of approximately $2.7 billion of CCC funds. It represents well over one-third of the CCC funds now invested in all price-support activities.

For 1955, the national wheat acreage allotment has been reduced to 55 million acres, the minimum provided by law. This compares with a 1954 allotment of 62 million acres and represents a cut of 30 percent from 1953, when no acreage allotments were in effect. Without the minimum amount provided by law, the allotment for 1955 would have been sharply below the 55 million total. In view of the record supplies of wheat on hand for this year, the formula in the law called for a national allotment of only about 19 million acres if no minimum had been provided.

The very substantial cut in our national wheat acreage creates serious operating problems for many farmers. Even after this sharp reduction for 1955, the minimum national acreage will, with average yields, produce almost as much wheat as we are now moving into domestic consumption and foreign markets in a year. Insofar as exports are concerned, we need to keep in mind that at our present level of price support, wheat shipments to foreign countries are made possible only by active programs of United States assistance. United States sales of wheat abroad will involve subsidies of at least $175 million for the current crop year.

One fact that stands out is that this Nation's carryover of wheat next July 1 will be larger than it was a year earlier despite everything we are trying to do to bring about a reduction. Although we have succeeded in boosting wheat exports somewhat during the current crop year, there are limitations upon what the world markets will take even at the wheat agreement price or under the new program which permits sales abroad for foreign currencies. There are legal restrictions upon selling wheat in the domestic market at less than 105 percent of parity, plus carrying charges.

With total wheat supplies increasing in spite of production controls last year, it now appears that our carryover in 1955 will approach 1 billion bushels, for a new all-time record. It is expected that CCC will own some 850 million bushels of this vast surplus. The yearly storage charges alone on this inventory, not counting interest or deterioration, will be near the $140 million mark.

In talking about this wheat surplus problem, we lump all wheat together—spring and winter—hard and soft—red and white—high protein and low protein. Yet farmers know there can be at least as great a difference between different types of wheat as there is between Holstein and Hereford cattle.

At a time when we have a record-breaking surplus of wheat in the United States, there is an acute shortage of durum wheat and a tight situation with respect to high protein milling wheat. Flour has been selling at the highest prices since 1920.

Farmers in some parts of the country have been concentrating upon exceptionally high-yielding wheat, rather than upon quality wheat. Since the grain is produced for sale to the Goverment at a fixed, guaranteed price, rather than for conversion into bread, the sole objective is to grow as many bushels as possible on the allotted acreage.

Unrealistic price supports have brought about a sharp rise in wheat production outside the area we normally think of as the commercial wheat country. The Corn Belt has become the source of more wheat. So have the grasslands of the Southern Great Plains and the dairy regions of the northeast.

In Illinois the 1953 wheat acreage was 51 percent above the 10-year average. In Michigan it was up 46 percent. Even in New York the increase was 36 percent. One

"dust bowl" county of eastern Colorado, which reported a mere 5,000 acres of wheat in 1939, had 365,000 acres in this 1 crop by 1952 as the "suitcase" farmers and speculators moved in.

Now, farmers in the low-cost areas where most of our wheat has been produced in recent decades find themselves in the same production straitjacket as growers in States less favorably suited to efficient wheat production. The man who has been growing quality wheat for the market gets cut back on the same basis as the man who grows wheat for the Government loan.

I would like to see us produce wheat in the regions where it can be grown most efficiently. Many of these areas are not well adapted to the production of profitable crops other than wheat.

Wheatgrowers understandably are dissatisfied with the conditions which have been forced upon them under this system of high, rigid supports. Perhaps more than any other major producer group they are actively seeking a new approach to the whole problem. They want a program which will give them greater freedom—a chance to utilize more fully the potential of their land.

I am sympathetic to those wishes. Recently I requested the National Agricultural Advisory Commission to review the entire wheat situation, giving special attention to possible means of expanding consumption, as well as to grades and classes of wheat and land-use programs. The study will also be directed toward the merits of production controls established on a bushel rather than an acreage basis.

I believe the flexible price-support program which becomes effective with this year's harvest will help to bring wheat supplies and utilization into better balance. But it is going to take time because of the mountainous surplus built up under high, rigid supports.

Certainly agriculture has had its problems during this period of adjustment from war to a peacetime economy. Yet it is also true that we are making the changeover this time with far less hardship than farmers experienced in the years following the First World War.

The flexible price-support provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1954 can be of real assistance in making an orderly transition from an emergency program to a permanent, peacetime farm plan. Let us not turn back the clock at this point. Instead, let us give the new program a fair chance to operate.

Let us work toward a well-balanced agriculture—one in which farmers themselves will make most of the management decisions right on their own farms. Let us seek to build a thriving farm economy in which dairymen, poultrymen, and all other segments of agriculture will share fairly and fully.

Our national economy is sound and prosperous. That, in the long run, is the best guaranty of a brighter tomorrow for American agriculture.

Let us push toward those horizons beyond.

Let us continue resolutely to work toward a stable, prosperous, and free agriculture here in this choice land which God has blessed above all others.

The Ramparts We Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one of my distinguished constituents has recently, for the third time, been accorded the George Washington award by the Freedoms Foundation for an outstanding address in the cause of freedom. He is Rear. Adm Leslie E. Gehres, United States Navy, retired, a distinguished career naval officer who fought gallantly to defend our freedoms during World Wars I and II, and who now speaks eloquently of the need to continue the fight in these perilous times. Admiral Gehres was the skipper of the carrier U. S. S. *Franklin*, which was seriously damaged during the Pacific campaign. Although ordered to abandon ship, Gehres and his gallant crew stayed with their mortally damaged carrier and brought her safely home, saving the lives of hundreds of men trapped below the decks. He has received the Navy Cross, Purple Heart, and many other commendations. He knows whereof he speaks. Under unanimous consent, I include his award-winning speech as a part of my remarks:

THE RAMPARTS WE GUARD

(Speech by Rear Adm. Leslie E. Gehres, U. S. Navy, retired, to the 34th annual convention of the Military Order of World Wars, at Pasadena, Calif., October 1, 1954)

Commander in Chief Clark, officers, and companions of the Military Order of the World Wars, ladies, and gentlemen, I am tremendously complimented to be accorded the privilege of being the speaker at this 34th annual convention banquet of our order. When our general chairman, Colonel Younglove, invited me I accepted instantly. Now that I am here I have a feeling that maybe I had better heeded the sage advice of an old hand when I first went into the Navy as a seaman. He told me that the way to get along in the outfit was to keep my eyes and ears open, my mouth shut, and never volunteer. While I did not exactly volunteer for this detail, I certainly did open my mouth so now I stand here before many men who were my seniors in the service, and many of whom, I am sure, are better qualified to address you than am I. What I bring here tonight those of you from San Diego County have already heard me say, and I expect that all of you have lately heard much of it from many sources.

You see, ever since it became apparent that our fighting men were not going to be permitted to take the victory they had won in blood and suffering in Korea, that our hard-won position in the Far East was endangered by a spirit of weak-kneed appeasement I have been speaking about war and communism and foreign policy and the vital import of the Asian struggle to the safety of our Republic, in whose service you and I spent most of our lives.

When I started there were not many important people except men like General MacArthur and Senator KNOWLAND who appeared deeply concerned with the course of events in Asia. But now, since the dramatic and tragically unnecessary disaster at Dien Bien Phu spotlighted the impending loss of Indochina at Geneva, everybody has gotten into the act. Men of the highest authority have been sounding the warnings which in my own small way I was trying to do. Now I feel like a minor prophet whose cries have been taken up by the majors. That is very gratifying in a conceited sort of way, but I am beginning to know how an echo feels.

Be that as it may, what started me on this personal campaign was hearing so many people who should have been informed talking about communism with no idea of what communism really is; talking about peace and peaceful coexistence as though the temporary cessation of shooting meant that we were not at war; criticizing our foreign policy on the assumption that the purpose of foreign policy is to win the love of other natons; nodding approval to vast giveaway programs in the belief that bought allies will stay bought; hoping that someone else would guard the ramparts of the freedom they took for granted.

So I took it on myself to try to make what people I could reach think seriously on these subjects—to create in my own small sphere a climate of public opinion which would support our national leaders in their efforts to forge new and firm policy weapons to defend our fortress America.

When Colonel Younglove called me for the title of my speech (he insisted he must have a title for the program), I was looking at an advertisement which was illustrated with a picture of Francis Scott Key standing on the deck of a British vessel in Baltimore harbor watching through the night the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Last month, you know, was the 150th anniversary of that action. Of course, Francis Scott Key could not foresee that the verses he composed under the title of "The Defense of Fort McHenry" would become the national anthem of a great Republic, stretching from sea to sea. He could not have even dreamed that one of his phrases, "the ramparts we watched," would in time become the watchword of a people whose spiritual devotion to human liberty would be the last rampart protecting not just a single fort, not a single Nation, but all men who claim freedom as a divine gift.

Francis Scott Key watched the rockets' red glare from afar—but not so those within the besieged fortress. Theirs it was to man and guard the walls. Today we Americans are in an analogous situation. We cannot stand apart and watch others, even though they be on the other side of the world, fight for freedom. We ourselves must stand to the ramparts and fight through the long night of Communist attack. It is becoming ever more crystal clear that no one else will guard these ramparts for us.

You men, by the very nature of your profession, have had intimate contact with the basic facts of life and death. You know that human beings in trouble, in sorrow, in fear, in the face of death, are sustained by the most part by faith. Faith that there is meaning to life, faith that there is a divine plan by which our human destinies are guided, faith that man is the child of God and that freedom and dignity are his proper environment.

It was this faith by which was built this country which we love so much and which we have been so proud and privileged to serve. The ramparts of freedom were laid up, not with the material resources of this magnificent continent but by and with faith and trust. Trust in God, trust in the integrity of our fellowmen, trust that each generation would fulfill its obligation to pass on to its posterity the heritage of freedom which it had received in trust from its own forebears.

Neither our Nation nor any other free community could long endure in a world in which that quality of faith had been erased from man's character, a world in which trust had been crushed under the heel of atheist brutalitarianism. Yet that is the great central danger which we face today and too many of our people do not understand it, cannot believe it, or are distressingly apathetic about it.

We Americans are such a hopeful and optimistic people. We are friendly. We believe in honesty and truthfulness and in helping others. Because we are like that, too many of us allow our hopes to run away with our understanding of what we face in the war for survival in which we are engaged—and this struggle with the worldwide Communist conspiracy is a war for survival. The winning of this war will call for hard decisions and firm action, supported by all the patience, all the fortitude, and all the understanding of which we are capable. In this

bitter 37-year-old war there can be no easy escapes, no cheap victories. Appeasement accelerates disaster, peaceful coexistence is just the digestive period of the nation-eating Communist tiger.

I think it has been the widespread, popular misunderstanding of the nature of communism, and the nature of war, which has made it possible for our enemy to win battle after battle until today, only a few short years after the successful conclusion of a world struggle to eliminate another agressive tyranny, we face the catastrophic fact that a third of the world's people are now captive to our enemy and millions more in southeast Asia are being readied for the same fate.

This lack of understanding is natural enough and in a way does credit to the basic idealism of Americans of which I spoke. We know we seek peace, and when we say "peace" we know we mean living in a world of honest good will. We know we covet no other people's lands or goods. We bear no enduring hatreds from one generation to another. So we find it hard to believe that other people can pervert the meanings of beautiful words like "democracy" and "peace" to tyranny and death; and exalt as the highest morality any deceit or treachery, or base strategem which will advance their voctory in the class war they force upon the world.

Yet that, exactly, was Lenin's exposition of the Communist ethic before the Young Communist League in 1920. It is today still the Communist ethic. Just as they reject religion and defiantly proclaim their disbelief in God, so do they reject any ethical or moral concepts which do not derive from the necessities of the class struggle. You see, their words are not our words. We can place no trust in them, for they have no God by whom to swear truth or faith.

With us, truth is an attribute of Deity. Acknowledging no Deity, the Communist must accept as absolute truth whatever the party decrees. This is basic to the nature of communism and we must keep it always in the forefront of our minds if we are to correctly evaluate the enemy's moves in this life-and-death struggle. It is vitally important that we remember this now, when the momentarily satiated conqueror preaches trade and peaceful coexistence.

Too many among us have in the past accepted, and today still contend, that communism is an economic theory, or a political belief, whose proponents could be loyal to our constitutional Republic, faithful in public office, and trustworthy teachers of our youth.

Despite the Communists' derision of all religion, communism today is itself a form of religion seeking to establish its concept of socialist materialistic morality upon all mankind. It has been advanced with the same crusading fervor, the same ruthless determination back by military power which marked the sweep of Islam over the same portion of the world which is the Communists' immediate target—Asia.

This atheistic religion has for its devotees a body of revealed incontrovertible scientific "truth"—the writings of Karl Marx. It has had its messiah—Lenin. It is an orthodoxy—and heresy is punished with quick death. Like all crusaders, the Communists have the conviction of ultimate victory. They firmly believe that time and history are on their side. They are willing to endure, and make others endure all manner of hardships for their belief. They are in no hurry. They are willing to go slow, even to back up, when they must. By constant but carrying pressure they weary and frustrate the free world. They exploit the fears and hopes of the impatient west, playing one against the other. Subversion, treachery, sabotage, the enormous lie, are their preferred and most effective weapons.

Their revolutionary strategy, like their revolutionary theory, are long-term concepts little concerned with short-range goals. Such are in the field of tactics. Their strategy embraces the application of their revolutionary theory to the world situation as it may exist at any given period. It takes into account favorable and unfavorable situations, and directs when and how to shift to defensive or offensive tactics as a particular campaign may require. Advance and retreat; blow hot, blow cold; a threat here, a concession there—they zigzag toward their ultimate goal just as a battleship zigzags in enemy waters but always making a percentage good along the base course.

As military men you know there are times when it may be necessary to liquidate an unfavorable situation to cut losses to an acceptable figure. But even in retreat you try to salvage some advantage. The Communists are experts at applying this principle to political situations and they are ruthless in their use of it. They ease off the pressure when they encounter firmness—lay it on when they detect weakness and indecision.

The abrupt abandonment of the war in Greece, the lifting of the Berlin blockade, the apparent softness toward the revolts in East Germany in June 1953, the truce in Korea, and their repeated but always deceptive pre-conference willingness to meet and talk—these were and are loss-cutting tactical moves to improve their position in what the Communists have always recognized as a global struggle.

You and I, whose profession was war and strategy, must help our neighbors understand that Russian imperialist communism is a predatory conspiracy dedicated to the destruction of freedom. Like the spotted leopard, it camouflages itself by ceasing to move when it scents danger, but it does not change its spots thereby. Neither does the communist predator's objective ever change. It is and always has been world domination and they know that these United States are the citadel they must ultimately reduce. The ramparts we guard are the last barriers between them and the free world's desolation.

Most Americans, despite three wars in one generation, have not understood the nature of war, nor their intimate daily concern with foreign policy. Foreign policy is essentially an extension of domestic policy. For a free self-governing people it must reflect their will, their ideals, and moral values if it is to be viable. To be successful it must promote their wellbeing. It must be based on enduring principle, not bent and twisted by the winds of political expediency.

It must be so stated that other nations will know what we mean and know we mean what we say.

You officers, out of your knowledge and experience and your proven devotion to our country, can do much to build public interest and understanding of these matters in the communities where you make your homes. Too many of our breed, out of the long habit of silence on public matters, fail in retirement to speak up when they should but, instead, content themselves with private grumbling.

We have seen in recent months how an administration attempting to develop and express a strong and positive foreign policy has been forced to backtrack and hedge, to the delight of our enemies, because the public and our wavering allies have protested even the acknowledgment of danger. The appeasers, the world-first-and-American lasters have been vocal enough but where have the patriots been? Not all dead surely, but certainly silent while the frightened summer soldiers surrender another section of the world's freedom.

I believe that had he been backed by the understanding support of the Nation, Mr. Dulles' strong and forthright statements made earlier this year could have stopped the Communists cold at Geneva. They came there fearful of American strength and what seemed to be determination. But those who have so little faith in freedom that they fear war more than they do slavery pulled the rug from under him. They made it apparent to our enemy that our statesmen were not leading from strength, but from the weakness of irresolute allies abroad and a people at home not yet awake to the meaning of southeast Asia to their own future safety. Mr. Dulles' apparent strong hand became a bluff, and the Communists promptly called that bluff at Dien Bien Phu and forced us to throw in our cards at Geneva. Red China emerged as an acknowledged world power with a contract of conquest signed, sealed, and delivered and which we have promised not to upset by force of arms. So there is sealed, also, the ultimate fate of Thailand, and Burma, and, eventually, Indonesia, and the enemy gathers strength and moves a little closer to the ramparts we guard.

What we are faced with, as I see it, is the natural result of a long-continued tragic misconception of the principle and purpose of all successful foreign policy. The basic principle is intelligent self-interest. Starry-eyed altruism, a burning desire to do good to other people, always so expensive to satisfy, have no proper place in the development of foreign policy.

Doing good to others requires a skill far beyond that possessed by most humans, if possessed by any at all. If we will refrain from doing others harm and let them decide what is their own good, we will accomplish something.

In the field of foreign policy if we intelligently pursue our own national self-interest (and that, of course, rules out greed and aggression) and refrain as best we can from doing harm to those who mean us no harm, allowing them to do good to themselves according to their own ideas of what is good, we would get along a lot better in the world. We might be no better loved, but we would be far more respected, which is far more important. Everybody understands self-interest. They can and will believe that a nation will act thus. They will not believe the opposite.

We are distrusted and actively disliked around the world today for the simple reason that the recipients of our vast bounty cannot believe that we are altruistically motivated and not because, as some of our disappointed politicians say, we are reappraising our commitments abroad and taking vigorous action to flush out the traitors inside our home ramparts.

There has been too much of this business of highly placed Americans, of both sexes, going abroad and apologizing for the growing and quite proper feeling that the allies we have supported should support us. There is very real danger in these returning travelers taking to the stump and telling us and the world that our principles are too rigid, that we should be more flexible, more willing to compromise with what we know is evil, that because we are growing intolerant of treason our prestige abroad is falling and we are no longer loved.

Prestige attaches to the individual or the nation which stands firmly for the right as God gives them to see the right. The strong and the wealthy are never loved. To seek love with gifts and surrender of principle, by giving largesse to those like the Indians who comfort our enemy, is to find only scorn and envious hatred.

Both respect and prestige will be ours if we apply these primary tests to all our policies—"is this good for America?" Not "is this good for England, or good for China, or good for Germany, good for India, the Arabs, or the Jews"—but "is this good for America?"

Nothing will be good for America if it does preventable harm to any of those others, or if it makes liberty anywhere less secure. Refraining from doing harm to those who mean us no harm is something we may be able to do if we work carefully and intelligently at it. Deciding and then attempting to others what we think is good for them is beyond our wisdom and capacity—and too often turns out to be bad for America. Witness the tragic results of our deciding that it would be best for China if Chiang Kai-shek were persuaded or coerced to take into his government the Chinese agrarian reformers. He knew such a course was definitely not for the good of China, but we decided otherwise. So we lose China to the Communists, suffer bloody defeat in Korea, followed by disaster in southeast Asia.

We who guard the ramparts of freedom can best help others to hope to hold or regain their freedom by preserving our own strength and vigor. We will do them irreparable harm if through profligate waste of our men, money, and materials around the world we sap our own strength and destroy their self-esteem.

Of course, we should help our friends when they really need help, and when helping contributes to our own welfare. But in the interest of mutual respect there must be a mutuality of benefit. Mr. George H. Wilson, president of the California Farm Bureau Federation, after returning from an extensive tour throughout friendly Asia as a member of a Presidential commission, testifies to this. He found appreciation for our past generosity but also a real desire for nongovernmental trade and finance relationships. As one Indian businessman put it, point 4 and things like that are very nice, but when they are discontinued they leave behind no enduring personal or business contacts in the United States. It is business and banking and trade arrangements between private enterprises which build enduring relationships and understanding.

In the 9 years since the end of World War II we have given away, in one form or another, $80 billion. After the straight altruistic thrill of giving for the sake of giving had worn off, the ostensible purpose was an investment in allies, to build strength to match our own.

What dependable allies have we won with this extended giveaway program? England? France? India?—they who have had the greatest share? England in whose Parliament the United States is almost daily attacked; England, trading with the enemy while her sons were engaged in combat in Korea, that England who should know better than any other that any goods and services which a people need or can in any way use adds to their warmaking potential, and on this knowledge enforced the tightest of blockades and worldwide embargoes through two world wars. France?—incapable of stable self-government, unwilling to face up to her own internal weaknesses, smothering her own child, EDC, and still hedging and blocking the substitute Brussels treaty extension? India?—accepting our grain, our money, our point 4 help while incessantly lecturing us on our uncouth belligerence while playing up to the Communist tiger which will most certainly eat her up in turn.

How different the case in Greece, Turkey, Spain, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Korea, and Formosa. There is the full rollcall of the ones we can really count on to fight beside us when the chips are down. With these nations we have traded what we had that they needed for what they had that we wanted and the bargains are bound with the cement of mutual self-interest and mutual respect.

Foreign policy, either in its application or development, is not some esoteric mystery to be left to the State Department alone. It is not something outside the lives and interests of ordinary people. It is the most important thing in their lives, for to a large degree, the kind of life they and their children and grandchildren will live, yes; even if they are to live at all, depends upon the wisdom, the success, or failure of their Government leaders in this field.

Among the wisest things our present Secretary of State had done have been his nationwide reports by radio and television following each of his more important foreign meetings and conferences. Here, truly, has been an example of taking all the people into partnership, acquainting them with progress and the problems of international affairs.

Yet, on many occasions when I have asked some friend the following morning, "What did you think of Dulles' report last night on television?" the usual answer has been to the effect that he didn't hear or see it—he was watching the fights or I Love Lucy. How many of you officers here have ever written to Mr. Dulles after one of those broadcasts and expressed your opinion, your approval or disapproval? Our leaders need support and constructive criticism and you should give it and encourage others to do likewise.

Although we've had three major wars in our time, most people, except the professionals (and some of us) mistake the nature of war. War is commonly thought of in terms of shooting when, in fact, big shooting is a last desperate resort in modern war.

War is an extension of policy by means other than peaceful. It is a business of pressures. The pressure can be political, psychological, economic, or violently physical, or any combination of these elements. The Communists, with their long-range strategy, their inhuman patience and their understanding that the whole world is their field of battle, have developed this war of varying and combined pressures to a point where what remains of the free world seeks not victory, but only a lessening of tension. The perfect correlation of the violence at Dien Bien Phu to the Geneva Conference, of Quemoy to Brussels, are perfect examples. Dien Bien Phu was unimportant as a military position but the psychological effect of victory there was decisive at Geneva in winning a new and uncontested foothold for further Communist advances into southeast Asia.

For 37 years the Communists have waged this war against us. Every time we've shown signs of recognizing the struggle for what it is and stiffened our resistance, they have eased the pressure; offered a concession here, another there; made new promises to replace the old broken ones, made big talk of peace and disarmament, and peaceful coexistence.

David, King of Israel, described them perfectly in the 55th Psalm, "The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart; his words were softer than oil, yet they were drawn swords."

And we have listened. In our hopeful optimism, in our belief that because we hold to truth and honesty and faith, others must also. We have over and over again permitted ourselves to be deceived, to be lulled into believing that a compromise with evil is possible to sustain. Our European allies are today under this spell, their leaders drinking the toasts of friendship with the executioners of freedom. There is an increasing number among us who would have us do likewise.

As we have belatedly come to realize, our enemy has his fifth column within our ramparts working in devious ways to convince us that Russian and Chinese communism is something we can coexist with, the while they prepare us for nonexistence. Britain, France, and India, with their tired and weary voices, tell us—and there are Americans who repeat it—that we are too firm in what we believe to be the right. We are told that the door to the conference room is the sure door to peace if only we will enter and give enough.

The door to Yalta opened on Korea. Potsdam sealed the doom of Poland. The door at Panmunjom led to the loss of victory for which 40,000 young Americans spilled their blood and lives to win twice over. Berlin and Geneva consolidated the Communists' political and military victory in Korea and confirmed their conquest of new lands and millions more humans in Indochina.

We must not let our people deceive themselves with the belief that if we will just once more sit down in sweet reasonableness the enemy will grant the weary world what was not forced from him in the trial at arms. That is just childish wishful thinking.

The shooting and the dying is ended in Korea and Indochina, for the time being at least. And that is good, for victory in Korea was made impossible by our U. N.-directed foreign policy and in Indochina we had fallen into a false position of supporting a European colonial regime which had too long dragged its feet in granting freedom to a people asked to fight for the free world.

But let us not deceive ourselves that either of these struggles ended with honor to us, or that the United Nations "threw back the aggressor" in Korea or "contained" communism in the south. You and I, as military men, know only too well that the Communist forces threw us out of North Korea, back to the line of the 38th parallel where the war started and that in Indochina we suffered the gravest political and strategical defeat in all Western history. Truly, General MacArthur said, "In war there is no substitute for victory."

These things are not pleasant to recall. They are not nice to think about. I repeat them as I have been doing for the past year because you may be sure that all Asia remembers them.

Our President has repeatedly told the country that the struggle in southeast Asia was a farflung flank of the battle we fought in Korea, linked also to the threat in Europe. If we consider Japan and the Philippines vital to the security of the United States, and in this transonic-hydrogen-fusion age they most certainly are, then what happens to Formosa, Indochina, Thailand, Burma, and Indonesia is equally the concern of our intelligent self-interest. And now comes a man who may well be the next Prime Minister of Britain proposing that we give Formosa to the Communists and incarcerate our faithful ally of many years, the Generalissimo, in "some safe place." Truly, this is the counsel of despair to offer to a people who believe that human aspirations for individual freedom and dignity are of Divine origin, and on whose coins appears the motto "In God we trust."

A year ago last June the masters of Russia were off balance. They sat uneasily on the departed dictator's pedestal. They faced a united West strengthened by new and firmer leadership in America. For a time it appeared we had at last gained the initiative, that at long last we could call the tune and make the bear that walks like a man dance to it. But the spirit failed us. Peace and trade in our time, any lessening of tension, seemed so much easier than the sacrifice and self-denial which might be the cost of insuring to our grandchildren the freedom into which we had been born.

We have been outmaneuvered because we lack the enemy's single-minded intentness on the ultimate goal, because we have been unwilling to recognize that we live in an age of danger and that the joys of peace are not for us while evil incarnate stalks the world with power in its godless hands. Having released the awful genie of neuclear power, we cower in its towering shadow. "No Place To Hide"—was not that the title of a recently best-selling book? What a motto for the land of the free and the home of the brave. As though men who sought only a place to hide could ever gain or deserve freedom, let alone deserve it.

But the enemy now has the dread hydrogen bomb cry the fearful ones. What does that mean except that he can now threaten us with the same weapon with which we have long threatened him? Shall we now surrender? Shall we abjure the principles by which we have lived? Shall we run from the ramparts of freedom and abandon our children's and their children to the horrors of a godless Communist world?

We of the armed services know the value of tradition, the inspiration of past great deeds. Out of our history we find the answer in the burning words of Patrick Henry: "They tell us, sir, that we are weak, unable to cope with so formidable enemy and adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effective resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies have bound us hand and foot?"

Terrible as war is, and you and I have seen more of it than most of us like to remember, there are worse things. Slavery is worse. The mental, spiritual, and physical slavery imposed by communism is worse than death to men who believe that freedom is a divine principle. That is the rampart upon which freemen must stand and fight or forever surrender all claim to kinship with divinity.

Our forefathers manned that rampart in their time and guarded it with their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. We have a greater obligation than they for we have lived and grown great in the freedom they won for us and men of good will everywhere look to us now to keep liberty alive upon the earth.

We Americans profess to believe that our way of life is in accord with the will of God whom the signers acknowledged in that first great Declaration as the giver of our rights and freedoms. Communism denies all this which we hold to be self-evident truth. So, between us there must always be conflict until one or the other prevails.

With the Communists this is dogma. With us it must be intelligent but passionate conviction.

At this point you may say "these are fine words, but what do you propose—that we shall go to war, send our young men into the jungles of southeast Asia?" The answer is, of course, that we are at war and have been since 1917. The first step is to realize that fact, and then to develop and adopt for ourselves a long range strategic plan to fight and win this new kind of war. Coexistence, containment, the status quo will never do it. For when it suits the enemy's purpose they will move again along their long planned road. Our grand objective must match theirs in scope and imagination. It can be nothing less than the destruction of the tyrannical governments of Russia and China. Any objective short of that will end in our defeat and the destruction of all governments which foster free capitalism and genuine democracy.

Every move we make, every policy we adopt at home or abroad, should contribute something to this plan. We should start now by correcting that tragic mistake of 1933 by which our enemy established within our ramparts a privileged headquarters for their campaign of sabotage and subversion in the United States, Mexico, and Central America. What little advantage we may gain from having a restricted and shadowed embassy staff in Moscow is nothing compared to the value of their Washington Embassy to the Communists.

Will serving our diplomatic relations with Russia bring on world war III? Nonsense. We are at war and it is time we ejected the enemy spies from our camp. I urge every one of you to actively and vocally support Senator KNOWLAND in his demand for the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from this Government which refuses to even accept our protests when they diplomatically shoot down our aircraft over neutral seas.

We must press firmly for the expeditious rearming of a soverign West Germany so that they may reassume the mission of the ancient Teutonic Knights, guarding the eastern marches against the barbaric Slavs. We should put what troops we may find expedient to maintain in Europe on a realistic war footing, and bring home those thousands of dependents—potential hostages all.

We must not only stand resolutely firm in opposing the admission of Red China to the United Nations but we must move to reform that organization. Russia and her satellites have persistently and flagrantly violated every condition prescribed for membership in the U. N. They have used it as a sounding board for their lying propaganda. From its rostrum they have reviled every free and peaceful member nation. They have made open and shooting war against the forces of the very body of which they claim to be a rightful part.

If the United Nations are ever to be in fact united, if the organization is ever to be in reality a force for peace and an effective instrument of collective security, if the exasperated people of the United States are going to much longer consent to belonging to and supporting it, then the nations dedicated to violence and conquest must be expelled. The Communist plan for dominating the world turns upon the eventual isolation of this Republic. It is time we moved toward isolating Russia and China by excommunicating them from the congregation of civilized states.

We can make this moral isolation still more effective by using the force available to us to physically isolate these predatory aggressors. China is vulnerable to a blockage by sea. We have the naval forces, the air wings and the bases ready now to strangle China, make her dependent upon her tenuous rail connections with Russia for the machinery of war which is beyond her capacity to produce. South Korea and Nationalist China should be brought into the Asian anti-Communist pact. They are real allies who will stand firm when the chips are down.

On the island of Formosa there is the third largest, best equipped and trained anti-Communist army in existence. It was created and exists for just one purpose—to regain their homeland and set it free. Time runs against them. The men grow older while the Chinese Reds fasten their terroristic grip ever more firmly on the restless and rebellious farmers. In a few more years the army of Nationalist China will be an army of old men. For them the tide will have run out, and Formosa will fall unless we then go all out to defend it. When Formosa falls, the Philippines will not be far behind and Japan will be helplessly exposed between the Kurilles and Formosa. I do not need to point out these elementary strategic facts to you who have studied and conducted war—but you are needed to explain them to those to whom the far Pacific seems another world.

After all, China is the Nationalists' own country. They have a right to put their cause to the test. We have no right to prohibit them—in fact, we have an historic obligation to assist them. If they win, Asia is safe and the world is saved for long time to come. If they lose, the free world is little worse off than it is bound to be after a few more years of inaction.

Will any of these courses bring on the dreaded World War III? There is no reason to believe so and every reason to believe the contrary. Of course, the Russians threaten, and so far they have bluffed us out. They proceed according to plan, and their plan does not include the risk of all-out war with the United States until they have accomplished our isolation, spent us weak, and reduced us to a lone island of beleagured freedom in a hostile, Communist dominated world. Their own base of power at home is still too shaky to risk giving the restless and conquered people who still remember freedom any opportunity for successful revolt.

But men cannot revolt against machine-guns and tanks, it is said. Revolts have always been against seemingly insuperable odds. In the long struggle for human freedom the tyrants have always had the heaviest armament, the greatest hordes of marching men. But freedom has survived all the tyrants. There is something in the soul of man, planted there by his Creator, which makes him aspire to freedom as the sparks fly upward. And so far, there have always been some who have kept the faith and surrendered not to fear.

Behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains there are millions who would give their lives if they thought that by so doing their children would inherit the freedom they remember. How better assist our enemy and extinguish what hope remains in the hearts of those sad prisoners than to continue to compromise, to appease the unappeasable, to prop up their masters' regimes by providing so-called consumer goods so that their industry need not be diverted from munitions production? How better, indeed, to mock the sacrifices of 40,000 young Americans, dead in Korea, than to recognize or admit to the community of civilized nations the obscenely inhuman government which encompassed their tortured deaths?

The road to the peace and security for which we hope and pray is long and hard and rocky, an uphill haul all the way. But that long file of men in whose footsteps we have marched and whose best examples we have striven to emulate left unfading route markers for us to follow. The first is recognition of the danger in which we live. The second calls for courage to face it. The third demands determination to build and maintain our strength, regardless of immediate costs to us, so that no foe will dare assault our ramparts nor attack those who take shelter under the banner Key sang of 150 years ago. Fourth and most vital of all is the personal rededication of every one of us to the principles upon which this Nation has stood; a fundamental belief in God; of firm adherence to the right as He gives us to see the right; and end to the false and cowardly hopes that there can be any lasting, successful compromise with evil.

You are all men who subscribed to a solemn oath to defend our Constitution and this Republic against all enemies, foreign and domestic. There was a period put to your term of service but no term to the binding nature of your obligation which you carry all your life. When you go home from this convention, don't just fadeaway. Use your influence, your prestige in your communities to build firm support for our Government's policies of strength and firmness. Help teach the youth of our country to be proud to be Americans. Instill in them the courage to stand with the patriots against those who would surrender our God-given sovereignty, our freedom, and our country's future for some surcease from struggle—"peace and trade in our time."

Teach them that guarding the ramparts of freedom demands courage and sacrifice, some surrender of the ease and comfort of our lives. Teach them that freedom is a heavy load and liberty a heady wine, fit only for men strong in courage and faith. Make them see with Patrick Henry, who I will quote again, that "millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty—are invincible by

any force which our enemy can send against us. We shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of men and of nations. The battle, sirs, is not to the strong alone. It is to the active, the vigilant, the brave." Like those men of our Nation's infancy, we have, as Henry said, "no election—it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery."

We started this meeting tonight with a prayer, by pledging anew our allegiance to the flag and to the Republic. We stood at attention while the music sounded off with the ever-stirring strains of the Star-Spangled Banner. Let us go out from here, determined as ever, to keep that banner flying high and beautiful above the ramparts we guard.

One Hundred and Four United States Lending Agencies; Surely a Few Too Many

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Hoover Commission has performed an important service in pointing up inefficiency, overlapping, and wasteful practices in the operation of our Government. Its latest report in dealing with the great number of lending agencies is one that can prove highly controversial, but the fact remains that the condition it complains of does exist and should be remedied.

I include as part of my remarks a very well written and logical editorial appearing in the Courier-Post newspapers, published at Camden, N. J., that makes plain there is a justification for some, if not all, of the recommendations that the Commission has made. It reads as follows:

ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR UNITED STATES LENDING AGENCIES; SURELY A FEW TOO MANY?

The latest report of the Hoover Commission covers a great amount of territory and will require a great deal of legislating if all its recommendations are to be put in effect.

It is entirely safe to say this will not be done.

"Certain parts of the report * * * appeared certain to stir up much controversy," says the dispatch from Washington which summarizes it. And that is an understatement if there ever was one. It is interesting that 5 members of the 12-man Commission dissent from various parts of the report.

Broadly speaking, the report urges that the 104—that's right, 104—lending and insuring agencies of the Government be reorganized, with many of them being abolished and those that are retained being made to pay their own way.

Lending or insuring loans "is a function which the Government should undertake only when private enterprise cannot or will not perform the function, and then only in furtherance of a justifiable governmental purpose," the Commission says.

The report specifically asks the liquidation of more than a dozen Government agencies which, it says, have served useful purposes but are no longer needed. It urges the reorganization of a number of others, including such big ones as the Federal Housing Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration, so that they will be self-supporting, better managed, and integrated with the private-enterprise system.

On some other agencies, the report refuses to pass judgment. For instance, it offers the opinion that the Small Business Administration has outlived its usefulness and should be abolished, but recommends that its life be extended for 2 more years to demonstrate its worth or lack of same.

The report is conservative in its financial policies.

For example, it praises the FHA for a significant contribution to home financing and to the sustained high level of construction activity in this country.

But it questions the adequacy of its mortgage-insurance reserves and also questions its practice of permitting extremely low payments on the purchase of homes, a criticism which has been made frequently in recent months. The report says low downpayments on homes have not yet caused any trouble, but might do so in the event of a period of deflation or general decline, and goes on to recommend that the President be authorized to increase such payments on mortgages insured by the FHA.

The report criticizes the Export-Import Bank for making commercial short-term loans and says it should confine itself to long-term loans to foreign governments, financed through congressional appropriations.

The Commission skirts the issue of flexible versus rigid farm-price supports but proposes changes in the methods by which prices are supported, the basic change being designed to have farmers' loans made by private sources instead of by the Government. It also wants the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation to charge premiums sufficient to cover administrative expenses and losses and to provide reserves, advice not likely to be heeded by a politically minded Congress which at present is trying to reinstate high, rigid supports for the flexible system.

Federal loans, guaranties, and commitments through its lending and insuring agencies now total an astronomical $244 billion, the report says. The Commission says its recommendations would effect substantial reductions in the national debt and governmental operating expenses.

Another result of following the recommended program, the report says, would be to restore control of the purse to Congress—something which ought to appeal to that body.

But probably there will be objections raised to every one of the many recommendations in this report.

All the agencies whose abolition or merger is proposed will have their friends and defenders who will fight for them to the last ditch.

It is startling to think that 42 years ago we had not a single 1 of these 104 financial agencies, however, and it is reasonable to suppose we could get along without some of them, as the report urges.

Gibbering Yalta Ghosts Can Now Be Laid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Louisville Courier-Journal of March 18, 1955:

GIBBERING YALTA GHOSTS CAN NOW BE LAID—PAPERS BEARING ON THE CELEBRATED PACT, NOW SUDDENLY, GRACELESSLY RELEASED, SHOW ERRORS OF JUDGMENT, NOT BETRAYAL

Raymond Gram Swing noted back in 1949 that "Yalta has almost ceased to be the name of something historically measurable and has become a byword for failure, folly or treason."

That was the year when the late Senator Taft raised the charge that it was the Yalta pact that "divided the world into two sections." Neither he nor the chorus of critics who joined his outcry ever discussed Yalta in terms of honest human error. They presented it instead in terms of human perfidy, of dark and secret betrayal. It never disturbed such orators that a Roosevelt "plot" to sell out the West to communism at Yalta would have involved perforce a joint crime on the part of Winston Churchill.

Yalta has been used as a club to demolish the memory of Franklin D. Roosevelt as a leader of America and of the free world.

Now at last the Yalta papers are released. The action of the State Department is sudden, awkward and graceless, giving to the press the task of digesting a 500,000-word record to meet an immediate deadline.

Yet at least the record is now in the public domain, so that Yalta can become "something historically measurable." Even from the hasty stories huddled together by Washington reporters, some facts begin to emerge out of the poison vapors that have so long shrouded the conference on the Black Sea.

1. The secret sections of the agreement are shown to have related only to the terms by which Russia was to enter the war against Japan, and to the acceptance of Stalin's demand that Russia be granted 3 seats instead of 1 in the U. N. General Assembly.

The Far Eastern arrangements had to be kept secret because Chiang Kai-shek, whose interests were plainly involved, was unhappily not at Yalta as he had been, by Roosevelt's insistence, at the Cairo Conference. Russia was granted return of territories wrung from her by Japan in 1904, plus the Kuriles, some rocky islands with a population of 4,400, which had long been in dispute between the two nations. These arrangements and an agreement on Russian rights in Manchuria were later cleared with Chiang, who ratified them in a treaty of friendship with the Soviets.

These concessions were made to Stalin against a background of grave doubt about the war against Japan.

The first atom bomb was not successfully exploded at our desert testing grounds until 4 months after Yalta. The British-American Chiefs of Staff had advised their principals that they expected another 18 months of war with Japan after Germany surrendered. American plans for an invasion of the rugged Japanese home islands carried a military estimate of a million United States casualties on the landing beaches. Japan had 1,950,000 men still on the mainland of Asia. Only Russia could tie them up there in the event of an allied invasion of Japan.

As to the concession to Russia on General Assembly seats, it was not announced because F. D. R. freely admitted that he found it "embarrassing." He wanted time to explain it to congressional leaders of both parties. It was this concession that Stalin insisted upon in return for Russian entry into the United Nations. No American has ever liked the agreement, but it would be idle to argue that the two extra votes have had the slightest effect on U. N. decisions from that day to this.

2. The agreements affecting the nations of central and eastern Europe were never secret from the beginning. The Yalta pact pledged the earliest possible establishment, through free elections, of governments responsive to the will of the people in these countries. It was Russia's later refusal to honor the

pledge, not the pledge itself, that caused the Iron Curtain to fall around the western edges of the satellite nations.

This is the painful truth that faced the Eisenhower administration in 1953. The new government tried to carry out a campaign pledge to renounce secret understandings with foreign governments which permit enslavement. A look at the Yalta pact showed that the agreements on Europe were not secret. There was nothing in their terms to permit enslavement. It was Russia's repudiation of her Yalta pledge that led millions of Europeans into Red bondage.

3. The idea that Stalin got everything he asked for at Yalta is dead. The papers show that he caterwauled for Russian rights in the Dardanelles and in Iran, without getting the slightest result from F. D. R. and Winston.

4. The theory that Alger Hiss was the secret master at Yalta is exploded. The documents show that Roosevelt did not want Hiss or any other State Department advisers at his level on the trip, but was persuaded to take them by Edward R. Stettinius, former board chairman of United States Steel, who became Secretary of State. "Nowhere do the documents indicate that Hiss was a policymaker," writes W. H. Lawrence of the New York Times. "He was there as a technician."

The very name of Yalta has become heavily encrusted with myth and mystery since 1945. But when the pact was first announced, Herbert Hoover rose to tell a Lincoln Day audience in New York that Yalta was a strong foundation on which to rebuild the world. Governor Dewey hailed it as a real contribution to future peace. Churchill's report on Yalta drew a vote of confidence of 613 to 0 in the House of Commons.

It was later that the foundations of peace which Roosevelt and Churchill tried to establish at Yalta were undermined by Stalin's breaking his word.

It is easy to say now that the western leaders should have anticipated Russian perfidy and forestalled it by sending in their troops to occupy all of Central Europe. It is more difficult to see how they could have kept them there after the end of the war, in the joyous atmosphere of "bring the boys home" that prevailed. It is downright impossible, in the light of the papers now released, to argue with honesty that Roosevelt or Churchill willfully betrayed the West into Stalin's hands at Yalta.

What is left in the papers, then? There are fascinating tidbits for nibbling by future generation of historians. There are evidences of indiscretion, such as Roosevelt's tasteless remark about Wendell Willkie's death and Churchill's easy comment that "I don't much like the Poles myself." But there is at least equal indiscretion from the stony lips of Stalin. His scorn of France and his insistence that the whole nation "opened the gates to the enemy" in 1940 will not make happy reading for French Communists even today.

Beyond that, there is a fascinationg if not edifying picture of three historic figures sparring with each other, letting down their hair, voicing their personal prejudices, riding their pet hobbies. There is an air of joshing intimacy between Roosevelt and Churchill that must have left Stalin sometimes staring in disbelief at his translator. There is proof that the two leaders of the West had very different views about the future of colonialism after the war.

There are human foibles and failings in plain evidence in the actions of two men who bore the weight of the West on their shoulders. There are mints of Stalin's deep and soulless cynicism, of his ruthless, but also, at moments, of a rugged humor that makes him seem human after all.

These and many other matters of interest, but not of great significance, will be dredged up from the long-submerged depths of the Yalta record. There are evidences here of miscalculations, easy to condemn with the 20-20 vision of hindsight. But traces of treason on the part of the chosen leaders of the West? None whatsoever.

Protesting Comptroller's Approval of Bank Mergers—Letter From Comptroller of Currency Approving Proposed Merger of National City Bank-First National Bank of New York and Nine Other Bank Mergers in Nearby Long Island

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under date of March 2, 1955, I protested to the Comptroller of the Currency regarding the contemplated merger of the Nation's second largest bank, the National City Bank of New York, with the First National Bank of New York. I also asked him to withhold his approval of the proposed mergers of the Franklin National Bank with the First National of Mineola, First National of Glencoe, Roslyn National, and Nassau County Trust; and the merger of the Meadowbrook National Bank with the New Hyde Park, National City Bank of Long Beach, Baldwin National Bank, and People State Bank of Baldwin.

I pointed out that the National City-First National merger together with the recently announced merger agreements of the Chase-Manhattan-Bronx, and the Bankers Trust-Public National—all of New York City—constituted the three largest in the history of our country in terms of total deposits. I argued that such mergers tended to create a monopoly and to substantially lessen competition in that section of the country and that such mergers were, therefore, at odds with the whole intent and policy of our antimonopoly and antitrust laws.

I also pointed out to the Comptroller that the Franklin National mergers and the Meadowbrook mergers would give those 2 banks control over 60 percent of all the banking deposits in Nassau County. This percentage figure is inordinately large, and accentuates the comparative weakness of the remaining smaller banking institutions and points up how increasingly difficult, if not impossible, it would be for them to compete.

The text of the letter of Comptroller of the Currency Ray M. Gidney and my answer to him follows:

COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY,
March 14, 1955.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CELLER: I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of March 2, 1955, which has been read with interest. I appreciate having your views on a matter that has been receiving our serious attention. Your letter raises the question of whether certain proposed bank mergers in the metropolitan area of New York City will violate the intent or policy expressed in section 7 of the Clayton Act or other antitrust laws.

In determining whether the approval of this office will be given to any merger or consolidation, the Comptroller considers, among other things, how the proposed merger will affect the particular banks involved, the soundness of the national banking system, and the convenience and needs of the community concerned. There may be a technical question as to the specific application of section 7 of the Clayton Act to these mergers. However, it has been the practice of the Comptroller before giving his approval to determine whether the effect of the merger, "in any section of the country * * * may be substantially to lessen competition, or to tend to create a monopoly."

The Comptroller is aware of the recent mergers both within and beyond his jurisdiction and has studied the mergers presented for his approval to determine whether individually or collectively they tend to establish or give impetus to any existing trend which would have an adverse effect upon competition among banks.

The competitive area of the merging banks in Nassau County to which you have referred may for all practical purposes be defined as including all of Long Island and the Borough of Manhattan in New York City. However, in the case of the proposed merger of National City and First National, we have considered the problem as it may affect both the metropolitan area and nationwide competition among banks.

Our examination of the proposed National City-First National merger indicates that this merger would add vitality to competitive banking in New York by combining the diversified operations of National City with the specialized operations of First National.

Essentially, these two banks conduct different types of business. First National has specialized in a relatively small number of large corporate relationships and has not engaged in providing banking services to businesses and individuals of more moderate financial means. It has no domestic or foreign branches. National City, on the other hand, has 71 domestic and 57 overseas branches and is engaged in extensive foreign banking transactions. It finances trade and other commercial activities. A significant portion of its business is in the field of consumer credit and other banking services to individuals and small businesses. The competition between these two banks, in character of business and in services rendered, is minimal.

The attached schedules show the competitive position of the banks concerned, both prior and subsequent to the proposed merger. For example, in the metropolitan area, National City has 10.52 percent of the total deposits as against 11.7 percent after the merger, an increase of only 1.18 percent.

In comparison with other banks engaged in a nationwide business, National City's deposits amount to 7.5 percent of the total deposits of such banks, while after the merger the combined deposits will amount to 8.34 percent of the total, an increase of 0.84 percent. (For the purpose of this study only banks with total assets of over $500 million were assumed to be engaged in nationwide banking; there are, of course, other banks which are in competition for nationwide business with National City, in varying degrees.)

In the New York area, National City has outstanding, 8.59 percent of the total loans. This figure refers to bank loans and does not include loans made by other types of competing financial institutions. The addition of First National loans to those of National

City will increase the latter's percentage to 9.58 percent of the total, an increase of 0.99 percent.

In comparison with banks engaged in a nationwide banking business National City has 7 percent of the total loans and with the addition of those of First National the continuing bank will have 7.81 percent, or an increase of 0.81 percent.

It should also be noted that as a result of the proposed merger the National City bank will add only 1 banking office, and will, as a result, increase its total number of banking offices to 73 out of a total of 732 offices in the city of New York alone.

Accordingly, upon a study of the pertinent facts, the Comptroller has concluded that the proposed National City-First National merger will not violate the spirit or policy embodied in section 7 of the Clayton Act or other antitrust laws of the United States.

The mergers in Nassau County to which you refer do not either individually or collectively establish any substantial lessening of competition nor do they tend to create a monopoly. In fact an analysis of the banking business in that area discloses that the growth of certain banks in Nassau County was a necessary development if any local banks were to meet the competition of the larger New York City banks for the expanding industrial business of the Long Island area.

While it is true that the 2 largest banks in Nassau County have 60 percent of the deposits of all county banks, this figure does not indicate a true picture of the competitive situation as it affects these banks. Nassau County banks are in direct competition for deposits, and all banking business, with banks in New York City. The deposits in these banks as compared to the total savings and commercial deposits of all Nassau depositors in all banks would not approach 60 percent. It is our opinion that but for the mergers involving the two large Nassau County banks of which you speak, local banks would have a considerably smaller percentage of the banking business originating in Nassau County than they now enjoy. The increase in size has increased the ability of these two banks to compete with the larger New York City banks both in service and loaning ability.

An examination of the attached Schedule E indicates that Franklin National has 0.66 percent of the deposits and 0.77 percent of the loans of banks in its competitive area, while the Meadowbrook National had (before its two most recent mergers, which were effective on March 4) 0.34 percent of the deposits and 0.33 percent of the loans. After the proposed mergers those percentages will be 0.78 percent and 0.88 percent for the Franklin bank. After the recently completed and proposed mergers these percentages for the Meadowbrook bank will be 0.44 percent and 0.42 percent. These figures, and particularly the small amount of the increase, indicate to us that there will be no substantial lessening of competition as a result of the mergers.

Any consideration of the state of competition in the field of banking must take into account the vogorous competition offered by financial institutions other than banks, such as savings and loan associations and insurance companies. For example, savings and loan associations in Nassau County had loans of $265,718,000 on December 31, 1954, as compared to commercial bank loans of slightly over $404,000,000. When the impact of their activities is added to the competitive situation shown in the annexed schedules, it is even more apparent that the possible effect of these mergers upon competition is unsubstantial.

It is our conclusion that the proposed New York City and Nassau County mergers will contribute significantly to the ability of the banking institutions affected to serve the increasing needs of expanding economic activity and the millions of people who benefit by such expansion. This means the mergers should prove advantageous not only to the people of the respective areas, but also to the population of the entire metropolitan community.

There is nothing to indicate the mergers will substantially lessen the present healthy competition among banks in the New York area, or tend to create monopolies.

We share sincerely your interest in keeping abreast of the implications of current bank mergers as they pertain to the possible substantial lessening of competition in the field of banking. We shall continue to remain alert to our responsibilities to all the people of the Nation in this connection. We are constantly concerned to see that the law on this subject is strictly observed and shall give our best endeavors to keeping all mergers in which we have authority on a sound, healthy, and businesslike basis and consistent with the welfare of the greatest number of people who are served.

These particular marger proposals have been studied so exhaustively that we doubt enough new and pertinent information could be developed by hearings to justify the expense they would require. However, we would, of course, be pleased to meet at any time with you to discuss these matters further.

We value highly your views, realizing that we have the common purpose of maintaining a national banking system of unquestioned soundness and of the utmost effectiveness of its service to the public.

Yours very truly,

R. M. GIDNEY,
Comptroller of the Currency.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
March 16, 1955.

Hon. RAY M. GIDNEY,
Comptroller of the Currency,
Department of the Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GIDNEY: This is to acknowledge your letter of March 14, 1955 relating to my letter concerning the recent announcements of bank mergers in the New York City area. I wish to thank you for the illuminating material which accompanied your letter and for the courtesy and thoughtful attention you gave to my request.

As I am sure you will agree, we are both interested in having a strong, competitive banking system. Sometimes, in order to obtain banks that can stand on their own feet and provide the public with the services needed, various small, weak banks need to merge, for the purpose of forming stronger, independent banks. The reasons underlying such mergers are well known. Early in our banking history we had thousands of banks which were too small, with too little capital, with inadequate diversification of loans, and lacking specialized personnel, and as a result they were unable to weather economic storms of even moderate magnitudes. In order to secure more capital, greater diversification of loans, and better managements, these small banks either united with other banks or established branches. All of these reasons have been acceptable and recognized ones for bank mergers and no doubt they will continue to be valid reasons.

None, however, seem to apply in the case of the recently announced National City-First National Bank merger. I have looked in vain in your memorandum for evidence on any of these points. You concede that National City is both strong and divers'fied; you include data which shows First National not only to be one of the larger banks in New York City but also one which is getting along so well that it is among the high profit earners in that area. No statement is made to the effect that First National suffered from inadequate capital or lack of diversification of its loans or for lack of well-qualified, specialized personnel. You mention that it will now, as a result of the merger, possess foreign and domestic branches, and that it will be able to go into the field of consumer credit, but you fail to point out that we have hundreds of strong banks with no foreign branches, nor do you indicate assurance that going into the field of consumer credit will add appreciably to the strength of the bank. In these, as in some other respects, I find your letetr disappointingly inadequate.

I am sure your devotion to the American system of free competitive enterprise is as strong as mine and that you wish, in the public interest, to preserve competition. You are as disturbed, I am sure, as I am about the fact that in the New York area there have been 14 mergers in the last 7 years, as a result of which there has been the elimination of many strong, vigorous, competing banks.

A notable example has been the elimination of the Corn Exchange Trust Co., in its merger with the Chemical Bank & Trust Co. Since the first of January we have had the merger announcements of the Chase National Bank with the Bank of the Manhattan Co., the Bankers Trust with the Public National Bank, the National City Bank, mentioned above, with the First National Bank—all located in New York City—which constitute, in terms of total deposits, the three largest banking mergers in the history of our country. If the present mergers are approved, an all-powerful oligopoly made up of the just-enumerated banks and the Manufacturers Trust (itself the result of some 80 mergers and consolidations over the years) will have a stranglehold on New York banking facilities. The businessman and the merchant will be at the mercy of the financial colossi, which, because of the lack of competition, will be able to set the standards providing for their best interest, to the detriment of small banks, small-business men, and other customers. The Chase National Bank, which is presently the second largest bank in New York City, does not need the banking offices of one of its large competitors to render to the public the service for which it was organized. The principal value obtained by a large bank in acquiring a competing bank and merging with it is the elimination of the competitor, and in the instant case, the strengthening of an already all-powerful position of a large banking institution.

Your letter notes that, as a result of their eight recent mergers, the Franklin National and the Meadowbrook Banks of nearby Nassau County, Long Island, will have together over 60 percent of all the deposits of all the banks in that county. While these figures are inordinately large, you feel that such expansion is justified in order that those banks may meet the competition of the larger New York City banks. Such a position seems to me to be incongrous. It would mean that most banks in counties nigh unto New York City could or should merge, regardless of consequences. Your position offers the greatest encouragement for banks in Nassau, Westchester, and Putnam counties and the nearby counties in New Jersey and Connecticut, to merge with each other.

Any banks which control 60 percent of the deposits of a county are breeding, for all practical purposes, a monopoly. It violates the very purpose of our antitrust laws and the underlying policies of the Celler Antimerger Act. I believe you are being negligent in your duty by failing to stop mergers which tend to create monopolies. To my mind, these mergers, taken collectively with the recent gigantic mergers in New York City, can only have an adverse effect upon competition among banks in that area. The present merger trend serves to accentuate the comparative weakiness of the remaining, smaller banking insitutions and

points up how it is becoming increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for them to compete.

If the present trend is not stopped, obviously there will ultimately be but a few banks which, inevitably, as the history of banking in other countries has clearly demonstrated, will wind up in a nationalization of the banking system. We will soon be following in the footsteps of Great Britain. There, the so-called big five banks control about 75 percent of England's financial resources. Competition is not only lessened, but, corespondingly, the economy is depressed and cartelized.

If you, at the Federal level, will step into the breach and arrest this trend toward socialism, you will render statesmanlike service and set a sterling example for the banking officials of our various States, including the State of New York, in alerting them to the dangers inherent in these combinations.

Very sincerely yours,

EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman.

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of this week the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in my State is having a unique celebration. And one of my best friends, a person I have been associated with over a period of years, is a major part of that celebration. He is Harry See, national legislative representative of the brotherhood in Washington, with offices just down the street in the Labor Building.

I have known Harry See for the past 20 years, having first met him when I was a member of the lower house of the California legislature. At that time he was the California legislative representative of the brotherhood.

On March 24 lodge 71 of the brotherhood, located in my Congressional District at Oakland, will celebrate the 70th anniversary of its institution. Simultaneously lodge 1019 of the brotherhood, located in San Francisco, will celebrate its 10th anniversary. To complete the tripartite nature of the commemoration, Harry See will have been a member of the brotherhood 40 years on the same date.

This is a "Harry See affair" in just about every respect, as I learn that he was initiated into the brotherhood by lodge 71, and holds his present membership in lodge 1019, which also bears his name. During the celebration officers of the brotherhood will present him with his 40-year continuous membership emblem.

It has been my pleasure to work with the brotherhood both in California and in Washington on matters of special interest to railroad workers and their families, and I do not hesitate to say that my entire association with the Brotherhood and its officers has been pleasant and fruitful. I think it fitting to pause for a moment to pay tribute to a truly great labor organization, and to one of its outstanding officers.

Thirty-Seventh Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, I include the following address by Mr. Walter V. Chopyk, public relations director, Buffalo chapter, Ukrainian Congress Committee, on the occasion of the 37th observance of the independence of Lithuania, Sunday, February 27, 1955, International Institute of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Mr. Chairman, our distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, this evening, I again bring you greetings, from the Buffalo chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, on your 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence.

Needless to say, we feel with you this day, we know the pains Lithuania has suffered, we Americans of Ukrainian descent have suffered with you. We have not only sympathy and sincere understanding of this great day, we have a very real empathy in a problem of great, immediate, and mutual concern.

This evening, as an American of Ukrainian descent, exercising that cherished privilege of free speech in a free country, I speak both as an individual, and as a spokesman for the millions, and I mean 45 millions, all Ukrainians behind the Iron Curtain. These 45 million people are still hoping and praying for the day of deliverance from Red imperialism, with their millions of brothers and sisters in the Baltic prison of nations. They are all waiting and watching for that ray of hope, that spark of light, they are looking to us, the Western democracies, we who could and should lead the way toward freedom of mind, freedom of soul, and the complete freedom of the human being.

But that beam of light, that ray of hope, is not forthcoming. Let us examine and study our own democracy in the United States. Are we trying to light that spark of freedom for these imprisoned peoples, or are we unknowingly snuffing out the light for which they have been waiting?

1. Let us study for a moment, the Ezra Taft Benson plan, which consists of virtually dumping American agricultural surpluses behind the Iron Curtain; and now, according to the latest reports, the National Grange is concurring in this action. This means simply and logically, that we would indirectly be furnishing food to the Soviet Army and the Red Chinese Army, and not to the peasantry. Do not Mr. Benson, our Secretary of Agriculture, and the National Grange realize that for 12 years, the Soviet hierarchy has felt the powerful existence of nationalism in the Ukraine—exemplified by underground and political propaganda activity—the silent battle—the silent protest—the slow, the subtle, low production of grain in the "breadbasket of the world," a low production of grain for the Soviet war machine. Grain to feed the hungry mouths of the ever-growing Soviet and Red Chinese war machines, is planningfully and knowingly diminishing. What do we mean by this? We mean simply this. The Ukraine underground has planned, and is carrying out this plan, to slow up the production of grain, the one commodity that can successfully finance a war—any war. A hungry man cannot shoot a bullet.

Now do Mr. Benson, and the National Grange know why the Soviets are deeply concerned, and have to focus more attention upon their internal conditions? They know if grain is not produced in sufficient quantities for their armies, they certainly cannot operate tactical warfare on an empty stomach. The Soviets may have the latest atomic weapons, but these are useless, in the hands of a hungry man.

Let us give credit to these underground organizations behind the Iron Curtain. They are producing headaches for the Soviet Union—but not grain.

Fellow Americans, let's face it. That is one of the reasons for the very recent shake-up in the Kremlin. Those boys that were in charge could not shape up—so they were shipped out. They just had to change seats. This past week, dispatches tell of hurried visits into the Ukraine by Soviet agents, who preached to the people on collectivized farms, that more and greater production of grain was urgently and immediately needed. They further emphasized the greater care toward agricultural implements. Is this why there has been such a change of emphasis in manufacturing? Is this why the immediate emphasis in heavy manufacturing is so concentrated and seemingly so urgent? Now do Mr. Benson, and the National Grange wish to spoil the effectiveness of the hard work and careful planning of the underground activities of these freedom-seeking people, by furnishing indirectly, food to the Soviet war machine and the Red Chinese Army camps? Are they unaware that the shipping of these surplus foods and grains will destroy the moral spirit and hope, that spark of light, of these courageous peoples—millions of them, whom some day we will need as our natural allies behind the Iron Curtain? Secondly, another method that our Government unknowingly, and we do hope it is unknowingly, is using in snuffing out that light of hope is by our weak diplomatic strategy in China. Our State Department is floundering, like a cork on the ocean. They don't know whether they are coming or going. Were they to develop a big-fist attitude, there, they would succeed. The Soviets know one thing—strength. An attitude of this type would set them where they belong.

In conclusion, I believe these to be our only courses of action:

1. To protest the shipment of food and surplus grain to the Soviet war machine, which would destroy and upset the timetable of the undergrounds behind the Iron Curtain, and stifle the sources of patriotic resistance in the Red empire.

2. Make a definite statement of a consistent policy of strength in regard to Red China. Show them we mean business.

Now is the time for answers—not later—it might be too late.

I thank you.

The American Legion and the American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ALLEN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ALLEN of California. Mr. Speaker, during the past 8 years in which I have served as a member of the Com-

mittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives, I have come to know the organizations which in the national interest have given constructive, unselfish support to the building of a strong American merchant marine. Among the foremost of these organizations has been the American Legion and its merchant marine committee. It seemed to me very appropriate, therefore, when, on the anniversary of the birthday of the American Legion on March 17, the American Merchant Marine Institute sent congratulatory telegrams to both the Legion and its merchant marine committee. The gratitude of the industry to the American Legion was well earned.

A news release dated March 18 concerning the messages was made by the American Merchant Marine Institute. It reads as follows:

The American Merchant Marine Institute released for publication March 18 two telegrams sent March 17 (Thursday) congratulating the American Legion on its birthday.

R. J. Baker, secretary-treasurer of the shipping trade association, hailed the Legion's efforts on behalf of a strong American merchant marine in the congratulatory messages. The telegrams were sent to Seaborn P. Collins, Indianapolis, national commander, and Henry C. Parke, Brooklyn, chairman of the Legion's merchant marine committee. The telegrams are as follows:

"SEABORN P. COLLINS,
"National Commander, the American Legion, Indianapolis, Ind.:

"The American merchant marine wishes to extend its best wishes to the American Legion today on the anniversary of its founding. The American Legion's birthday is an important date for every American to remember. We take this occasion to repeat our gratitude to the American Legion for its long-time policy of support and encouragement for America's privately owned and operated American merchant marine, vital in peace and in war.

"R. J. BAKER,
"Secretary-Treasurer American Merchant Marine Institute."

"HENRY C. PARKE,
"Chairman, Merchant Marine Committee, the American Legion:

"The American merchant marine is happy to extend its congratulations today to the American Legion as a whole and to you, representing the merchant marine committee of the American Legion. Please accept our most sincere thanks for your tireless efforts and great service on behalf of a strong America and a strong American merchant marine, vital in peace as in war.

"R. J. BAKER,
"Secretary-Treasurer, American Merchant Marine Institute."

To Save the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Frank E. Holman reprinted from the Freeman of March 1955, as follows:

TO SAVE THE CONSTITUTION
(By Frank E. Holman)

Until the organization of the United Nations, the average American citizen—and, in fact, most lawyers—took very little interest in treaties between the United States and foreign countries. This lack of interest was understandable because usually a treaty dealt with some international subject, such as alliances, war and peace, questions of boundaries, trade agreements and like matters. We viewed treatymaking as the sole business of the State Department, the President and the Senate, and assumed that treaties and other international engagements could not result in any substantial infringement of our individual rights as citizens and could not possibly result in changing or destroying the American form of government.

When the United Nations was organized in San Francisco in 1945, there was included in the charter (art. 2, subpar. 7) a proviso as follows:

"Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present charter."

This was a specific limitation upon the powers of the United Nations, and by reason thereof nothing contained in the charter should have been construed as authorizing intervention by the United Nations or its agencies in the domestic affairs of a member State—hence, in the domestic law of the United States or any other member State. Without some such protective proviso, the charter would certainly not have been approved by the American people nor ratified by the United States Senate; and it would not, in all probability, have been approved by many of the other important countries of the world.

When the charter was submitted to the United States Senate for ratification, it was accompanied by a letter from Mr. Stettinius, then Secretary of State, in which he called attention to the foregoing principle and advised the Senate and the American people that they need not be concerned about the United Nations or its agencies interfering in the domestic affairs of the American people.

One of the six "principal organs" specified in the U. N. Charter was the Economic and Social Council. In 1946, as a subagency of this Council, a Commission on Human Rights was appointed. It soon became evident that through the Economic and Social Council and its subagency, the Commission on Human Rights, the Socialists and Communists and the international planners and do-gooders, both at home and abroad, proposed to reform and remake the world along the lines of so-called social and economic equality for all the peoples of the world—and to do this through declarations, pacts, covenants, treaties, etc., and thus to create a body of "treaty law" or world law which would be superior to and override the domestic laws of the member States, including the United States.

TREATIES AS WORLD LAW

The first definite step for creating and establishing this body of world law was taken early in 1947 with the announcement by the Commission on Human Rights that it proposed to draft two documents, a Declaration of Human Rights and a Covenant on Human Rights (the latter to be ratified as a treaty), for the purpose of establishing for all the peoples of the world a uniform system of individual rights regardless of the nature and character of such rights as already established by the national law and usage in each particular country.

This was, of course, a revolutionary program and was so recognized by the first Director of the Commission, Mr. John P. Humphrey, who publicly and boldly declared:

"What the United Nations is trying to do is revolutionary in character. Human rights are largely a matter of relationships between the State and individuals, and therefore a matter which has been traditionally regarded as being within the domestic jurisdiction of States. What is now being proposed is, in effect, the creation of some kind of supernational supervision of this relationship between the State and its citizens." (The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1948.)

This program was, of course, in violation of article 2, subparagraph 7 of the charter and the assurances made by Mr. Stettinius and others for the purpose of securing ratification of the Charter. At the time neither the American press nor the public knew much about this revolutionary plan. Our so-called bipartisan foreign policy was chiefly responsible for preventing the American public from being advised; the leaders of both parties just assumed that because these international proposals had fine, high-sounding names—"Human Rights," "Equality of All Peoples," "Prevention of so-called Genocide," etc.—their purpose and content would not conflict with American concepts of political and economic freedom, as fixed by our own Constitution and Bill of Rights.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOOLED

When the declaration was passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting in Paris in December 1948, there was no copy of the final draft available in this country for study or comment by the press or by responsible nongovernment organizations. In November, as president of the American Bar Association, I wrote the Secretary of State, Gen. George C. Marshall, in Paris, and thereafter wrote and cabled Mr. John Foster Dulles, and Senator Arthur Vandenberg, asking that, before final action in Paris, the United States delegation should request sufficient time for the American people to be advised of what was being approved in their behalf. The naive answer was to the effect that if the American people and American lawyers would think of the declaration as analogous to our own Declaration of Independence, then they would not be disturbed because, like our own Declaration of Independence, the Declaration on Human Rights was only a declaration of principles and not intended to be a legal document. This was not an accurate nor a reassuring answer.

First, there was no possible analogy between a declaration of independence which originated with the people themselves as a recital of grievances and a declaration of principles for which they were ready to fight and die to obtain independence, and a declaration in the form of pious compromises by a multination assembly in Paris assuming to act for the people of this country without the people's knowledge or consent.

Moreover, an examination of the document, when available, disclosed that the provisions of the declaration, particularly of the latter half, constituted an attempt to set up a socialistic if not a communistic concept of government for the peoples of the world, including the United States. In this respect, of course, the declaration failed in any way to conform to the traditions, the laws and sentiments of the American people.

In the dying hours of the same session of the General Assembly in Paris in December 1948, there was also adopted a document known as the Genocide Convention. This was also given little or no publicity by our State Department. On June 16, 1949, it was first submitted by President Truman to the United States Senate for ratification. Largely due to the studies and the opposition of the American Bar Association, it was not ratified. Nevertheless, during his administration, President Truman and the Acheson State Department continued to urge its ratification.

At a hearing in January 1950, before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, members of the American Bar Association committee on peace and law through the United Nations appeared and pointed out the serious dangers and loopholes in its content and also the failure of its language to include "genocide" committed by governments—as, for example, the liquidation of racial and other groups in Russia and Russian satellite countries by merely calling them political groups or enemies of the state. At Russia's insistence all reference to political groups was eliminated from the final text.

It was also established that the document was so badly drawn as to endanger American basic rights. As a result, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee pigeonholed the Genocide Convention. It has remained unratified, but it can be brought forth at any time by any President and submitted for ratification.

Meanwhile, the Commission on Human Rights has been busy drafting a covenant on human rights for controlling the social, economic, educational, and cultural affairs of the world, and for this purpose has held literally hundreds of meetings. In addition, innumerable other "treaty" proposals have been considered, which would change or adversely affect the American concept of basic rights, such as freedom of speech and of press and even freedom of religion. It is of the utmost importance to note that again and again the Commission on Human Rights has refused to approve the inclusion in the covenant of a provision covering the basic American right to own private property and be secure in its enjoyment against its arbitrary seizure by government.

This refusal of itself discloses and proves the extent to which the Commission is controlled by Communists and international Socialists. On March 3, 1954, over only United States and Turkish objections, the 18-nation Commission voted to shelve indefinitely all discussion of property rights. Under our concept of freedom, no man can be truly free who lacks the right to own property and be secure in its enjoyment against arbitrary seizure by government.

The chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, Charles Malik, of Lebanon, had this to say of the Commission's Socialist and Communist approach to its work:

"I think a study of our proceedings will reveal that the amendments we adopted to the old texts under examination responded for the most part more to Soviet than to Western promptings. For the second year an unsuccessful attempt was made to include an article on the right to own property. * * * The concept of property and its ownership is at the heart of the great ideological conflict of the present day * * *. It seems incredible that in these economic matters, which reflect indeed much more than mere economic divergencies, the Western World is so divided itself as to be incapable of presenting a common front against communism."

What are the matters embraced in these U. N. treaty proposals? They cover matters of education, the kind of teaching and textbooks to be adopted in our public school systems; social legislation; health and socialized medicine; and numerous other matters, including a proposal to establish an international criminal court to try American citizens in a court made up to a large extent, if not entirely, of foreigners—a plan under which American citizens could be transported overseas for trial and would be deprived of the safeguards accorded them in the Constitution of this country.

Some will ask, "But do not our Constitution and Bill of Rights now safeguard American rights in all the foregoing particulars?" Unfortunately, no—unless the Constitution is properly amended. Until recent years Americans were entitled to rely on the proposition that, in conformity to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, their laws were made and to be made for them either by act of Congress or by State legislation or local city and county ordinances—to all of which agencies the people have the right to elect their own representatives.

But, since the term "treaty" is not limited nor defined in the Constitution, men in power with ingenious minds eventually discovered that this was a loophole whereby what was otherwise unconstitutional could be made constitutional by first making a treaty on the subject. This new theory or doctrine was affirmed in 1920 by the Supreme Court of the United States—*Missouri* v. *Holland* (252 U. S. 416, 432). The doctrine of this case is simply that if the Federal Government does not have power under the Constitution to legislate with respect to a particular subject (one reserved to the States or to the people), it can acquire that power by the simple device of first making a treaty on the subject—in spite of the 10th amendment's reserving to the States and to the people all powers not delegated by the Constitution to the Federal Government. This decision then and there established "a third legislative branch of government [for the American pepole] composed of the President and some foreign nation, with a veto vested in the Senate, which is authorized to enact local police regulations governing the affairs of our citizens." (11 California Law Review, 242, 1922.)

TREATIES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

When the Constitution was written, and by article VI thereof a treaty was declared to be the "supreme law of the land," it was clearly not contemplated that a treaty could be used to make domestic law or to override the Constitution either by an expansion of Federal power or otherwise.

Jefferson (as stated in his Parliamentary Practice, 1801) was quite clear as to the true meaning of article VI. He said:

"By the general power to make treaties, the Constitution must have intended to comprehend only those objects which are usually regulated by treaties, and cannot be otherwise regulated. It must have meant to except out all those rights reserved to the States; for surely the President and the Senate cannot do by treaty what the whole Government is interdicted from doing in any way."

Jefferson's Parliamentary Practice went through six editions before his death in 1826, and many more afterward. It had a great influence on political thinking and practice, being incorporated in full in Senate and House manuals as late as 1865. Jefferson's view on treaties was followed by the earlier Court cases, as illustrated by the case of *New Orleans* v. *United States* (10 Peters 662 (1836) at page 736, where the Supreme Court pointed out:

"The Government of the United States, as was well observed in the argument, is one of limited powers. It can exercise authority over no subjects except those which have been delegated to it. Congress cannot, by legislation, enlarge the Federal jurisdiction, nor can it be enlarged under the treaty-making power."

Even Hamilton, the great Federalist, said (Hamilton's Works, vol. 4, p. 342), "A treaty cannot be made which alters the Constitution of the country or which infringes any express exceptions to the power of the Constitution of the United States."

Hamilton also stated: "They [treaties] are not rules prescribed by the sovereign for the subject, but agreements between sovereign and sovereign."

CHANGED POINT OF VIEWS

There are enough expressions of opinion in United States Supreme Court decisions prior to *Missouri* v. *Holland* to indicate that up to that time treaties and treatymaking were subject to the limitations indicated by Jefferson and Hamilton. But *Missouri* v. *Holland* repudiated one of these limitations, to wit: that Federal power cannot "be enlarged under the treatymaking power." Once this hole in the dike was opened, the concept of treaty supremacy without limitation began to grow. Thus in 1929, before the American Society of International Law, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes was persuaded to say that there was in the Constitution "no explicit limitation" on the treaty power, and that he would "not care to voice an opinion as to an implied limitation on the treatymaking power; the Supreme Court has expressed a doubt whether there could be any such." His references were to the expression of doubt in *Missouri* v. *Holland*.

Later a strong doubt as to any limitation was expressed by the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in *United States* v. *Reid* ((1934) 73 F. (2d) 153). This doubt was further increased by *United States* v. *Curtis-Wright Corp.* (1936) 299 U. S. 304) declaring that the treaty power does not depend on a grant in the Constitution but is an inherent power of the Federal Government, and indicating that the treaty power is unlimited.

With the organization of the United Nations and the announcement by Mr. John P. Humphrey, Director of the Commission on Human Rights, of the proposal of creating supernational supervision of the relationship between the State and its citizens, a new school of internationalists announced the doctrine that " * * * once a matter has become, in one way or another, the subject of regulation by the United Nations, be it by resolution of the General Assembly or by convention between members states at the instance of the United Nations, that subject ceases to be a matter being 'essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the member states.' As a matter of fact, such a position represents the official view of the United Nations, as well as of the member states that have voted in favor of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Hence, neither the declaration, nor the projected convenant, nor any agreement that may be reached in the future on the machinery of implementation of human rights, can in any way be considered as violative of the letter of spirit of article 2 of the charter." (Moses Moskowitz, American Bar Association Journal, April 1949.)

In 1950, this new school of internationalists in the United Nations succeeded in getting an official declaration from the Acheson State Department that "there is now no longer any real difference between domestic and foreign affairs" (State Department Publication 3972, Foreign Affairs Policy series 26, released September 1950. Forword by President Truman).

It was only logical, therefore, for Mr. John Foster Dulles in 1952 to issue the following opinion and warning with respect to the omnipotence of treaties and "treaty law":

"The treatymaking power is an extraordinary power liable to abuse. Treaties make international law and also they make domestic law. Under our Constitution treaties become the supreme law of the land. They are indeed more supreme than ordinary laws, for congressional laws are invalid if they do not conform to the Constitution, whereas treaty laws can override the Constitution. Treaties, for example, can take powers away from the Congress and give them to the Federal Government or to some international body and they can cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights."

The American people have therefore come full circle and find themselves now faced with an omnipotent instrumentality of nonrepresentative Government: "treaty law." In the steel case we were within an eyelash of the treatymaking power's being successfully used to vest in the President the

uncontrolled power to seize private property when he thought it necessary for the good of the State. That is essentially the doctrine of absolute dictatorship.

As a result of all the foregoing, the basic issue with respect to "treaty law" is simple. The Constitution clearly intended to establish a Government of limited powers. It intended, of course, that insofar as treaties dealt with international relations they should be the "supreme law of the land," but it was never intended that treaties should be omnipotent and be used to govern the American people in their domestic concerns, nor to extend Federal power, nor to override the Constitution. Since it is now boldly declared that treaties are omnipotent and can be used for all the foregoing purposes, it follows that unless this presently omnipotent power of treaties is properly limited by a constitutional amendment, the treaty process will be more and more used not only to make domestic law but to vest in the President dictatorial powers.

In fact, at a press conference on March 16, 1954, Mr. Dulles said that under several presently outstanding treaties the President already had power on his own initiative and without any declaration by the Congress to put the country into war. The principles to be embodied in any adequate amendment are simple and understandable. It should, at a minimum, accomplish the following objectives:

1. Prevent a treaty or other international agreement that conflicts with any provision of the Constitution from being of any force or effect.

2. Place the United States on an equality with the other nations of the world so that a treaty or other international agreement will not become a part of our internal law until and unless implemented by appropriate legislation.

Would such an amendment interfere with the power of the President and the Department of State to negotiate treaties and other international agreements and thus to properly conduct our foreign affairs? In no way. Under such an amendment the President would be as free to negotiate as now; and every treaty so negotiated, when ratified by the Senate, would be immediately effective as an international agreement. Such an amendment would have no restrictive force whatever on treaties as international obligations nor on the power of the President to negotiate them. It would only prevent them from violating the American Constitution and prevent them from becoming internal law within the United States until implemented by appropriate American legislation.

Would the amendment in any way affect the right of the President as Commander in Chief to conduct war, or to negotiate an armistice or perform any other acts rightly belonging to him as Commander in Chief? No. After hearing all the evidence, the Senate Judiciary Committee, by a large majority, found that such an amendment would not affect in the slightest the President's powers as Commander in Chief. Nor would it affect the right of the President to freely negotiate, and the Senate of the United States to freely ratify treaties of peace, of international cooperation, or reciprocal trade, or other beneficial treaties.

During recent years, by changes in judicial concept (both of courts and jurists) and by changed concepts in the international point of view, treaty law has become omnipotent, a kind of Frankenstein which can change and even destroy the liberties of the American people and their form of government. Thus, the need for a constitutional amendment is self-evident—except, of course, to those who believe (honestly or otherwise) that the American constitutional system and American independence are outmoded and, in the interest of mankind, in general, should yield to some form of world government. This is the choice and the issue.

Government by the Military or by Labor?

SPEECH

OF

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3005) to further amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act by extending the authority to induct certain individuals, and to extend the benefits under the Dependents Assistance Act to July 1, 1959.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, conscientious, thinking, patriotic, but anxious and worried constituents ask and write inquiring whether we are to have a military or a labor government, rather than a government of, by, and for all the people.

A LABOR GOVERNMENT

Since 1935, when the Wagner Act, written in the main by a Communist, and enacted by Congress to give employees the opportunity to organize and better their working and living conditions, labor organizations have become politically powerful.

Some of their leaders, instead of confining their efforts to bettering the overall welfare of employees as did the father of organized labor, Samuel Gompers, have used the unions to advance their own political ambitions.

Through the collection of initiation fees, union dues, special assessments, and the sale of right-to-work permits, unions have accumulated millions, if not billions, of dollars. Millions of dollars of these funds have been used in political campaigns to elect to public office individuals who too often accept domination from union officials.[1]

The net result has been that legislation granting special benefits and special privileges to labor organizations and their members has been pushed through State and national lawmaking bodies.

Though rightly and logically taxes can be levied or collected only by governmental organizations, unions have seized and hold the power to levy and collect contributions from employees, the burden in turn being passed along to employers, and through them paid ultimately by consumers—taxpayers.

The merger of the AFL and the CIO will undoubtedly bring on an organizing drive which, using not only argument, but beating and rioting, will result in forcing millions of additional unwilling workers into the union, where they will be governed and taxed by the unions.

Unless forthwith drastic action is taken, through amendment of the Sherman Act and the LaGuardia Act, to confine the activities of unions to their legitimate sphere—that is, an increase in wages, the betterment of the working conditions of employees—we will shortly have here in the United States a political government by labor with resultant legislation enacted primarily to advance the interests of employees, regardless of the effect which it may have upon industry and those who do not belong to the union.

We will then more certainly and with greater rapidity follow along down the road recently pursued by England and which, it has been demonstrated, leads to a destination unacceptable to anyone.

A labor government is on its way.

Whether labor organizations first attain their goal, acquire political control, determine our national policy, before we have a government by and for the military, it is a question the answer to which is not clear.

One thing is certain, and that is, that, though here in America organized labor may at the moment go along with the military, basically their ends are diametrically opposed. Under the military, as has been demonstrated by history, the workingman is but another form of ammunition to be used and expended, as are atomic, hydrogen, and other weapons.

Organized labor's program, and the effect thereof, will be referred to later.

Our people do not want, and the Congress has more than once rejected, universal military training. As the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY] a member of the Armed Services Committee, just stated, we have conscription, and I quote:

> Except for a very limited period of time, a selective service and training act, or a universal service and training act [has been] in force for a period of only months less than 19 years. With the exception of the 1-year period from 1947 to 1948, we have had legislation of this kind in effect for 15 years.

Then he added:

> I do not believe we can learn anything from our experience in the past 15 years that could give us any confidence in hoping that the extension of this act for 2 additional years would relieve us of the necessity.

The gentleman was speaking in opposition to limiting the extension of the act from 4 to 2 years. Apparently, we are here to adopt—and retain control by the military as a permanent policy.

THE PENDING BILL

The bill before us today is a bill to extend the conscription act for a period of 4 years—until July 1, 1959. This bill is but a milestone on the road which leads us to complete universal military training—to a military government.

Among other things, the act as amended will provide for the conscription into the armed service for a period of 8 years, or 96 months, of every physically and mentally qualified young American who has reached the age of 18 years and 6 months, and who has not passed his 26th birthday.[2] For 2 years he will be in the active service. Following that, he will be required for 6 additional years to serve when and where the military may direct. The plan is that he shall, during those 6 years, be required to take active training with the reserves, and be subject to call to combat service if the military determines his service to be necessary.

One of the reasons which impelled our forefathers to leave their homes and friends in the Old World, cross the sea,

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

and endure almost unbelievable hardships in a hostile land, finally declare their independence, create and adopt a constitutional form of government, was their desire to escape compulsory military service under their feudal lords or a king.

Another reason was their desire to be independent, to escape economic as well as military slavery. They created a nation free and independent. The people of that Nation have, as has the Nation itself, prospered.

Our Republic as a nation grew great and powerful. It became a land to which the oppressed throughout the world looked as the one place where they might make their home and be free. It is a nation to which we are told all so-called free nations, when in trouble, look for aid, economic and military. It is the Nation to which the free nations look for military defense when danger threatens.

In the harbor of New York, the Statue of Liberty, with its ever-flaming torch, beckons the oppressed of the world to a land where the lowliest is welcome to an opportunity to be free, prosperous, and happy.

Present trends indicate that beacon will soon be a false guide.

If we are, throughout the world, to create and maintain economic conditions which will secure to other people the material blessings which we here all enjoy, then indeed will we be required to bend our backs, flex our muscles, employ our creative ability, perhaps become economic slaves of the rest of the world.

If we are to assume the obligations of and continue through military might to guarantee the continued national existence as separate and distinct entities of every other nation in today's world, then assuredly our natural resources, our productive ability, are not sufficient, and we must conscript our manpower to fight, as did the mercenaries of old, but without pay except as we provide that compensation.

Since 1942,[4] we have followed a course of action which has finally led us into a surrender of our national sovereignty to an organization [4] whose policies and actions are dictated by nations other than our own. That surrender has destroyed the individual's liberty, made it possible to force us to expend our manpower and our resources in wars throughout the world; wars which, for either the protection of our people or our Nation, were unnecessary.

For 15 years, the youth of America has been forced into universal military service, where they now serve under an international flag—not the Stars and Stripes—under the orders of a one-world organization—the United Nations—an organization controlled, not by the representatives chosen by our people, but by politicians of the Old World.

Under recent policies, our men have fought three wars, none of which brought us either a greater degree of independence, prosperity, individual or national security.

This bill—and hereafter it will be referred to as an act, for undoubtedly it will be adopted by both Houses and signed by the President—gives the youth of America into the control of the armed services for 8 years, which, in turn, in wartime, will be controlled and directed by United Nations to serve the interests of nations other than our own.

The armed services have, in recent years, when engaged in a fighting war, been subject to the control of the State Department. The State Department, in turn, to a remarkable degree, has been subservient to international politicians and foreign interests.[5]

For the first time in our history, we fought a war—the Korean war—in the field under the command of a State Department, rather than under the direction of our military experts.

Our Republic is founded upon the assumption that the Federal Government is the servant, not the master, of the people.

More recently, it seems that the Government is supreme and the people are but puppets of the Government, and, far worse, of a government which accepts and attempts to execute the orders of United Nations.

Our people, who reserved all power not granted to the Federal Government,[6] are now actually and in fact, through their Government's subservient attitude, being committed to the control of the United Nations.

If men or women are needed to maintain the welfare of our people, their independence and their freedom—if manpower or dollars are needed to make secure the future of our Nation—all that is required is that we adopt a national policy designed to attain those ends.

Our youth will fight for home, for fireside, and for the security of our Nation. There is no reason why they should fight for the political aggrandizement of any world politician or aggressor nation.

It is doubtful if there exists an intelligent informed individual who will contend that the power, the wealth, or the productive ability of America, unsurpassed as they are, can successfully put forth an effort great enough to fight and win a war wherever in the world some power-seeking individual, some quarrelsome nation, or United Nations may start a conflict.

It has been said that communism is an ideology—a way of thought. History teaches us that thought control cannot be imposed by persecution [7] or by, from a military standpoint, a successful war.

Advocating the disuse of the sword by using the sword is strange logic.

It is my understanding that General MacArthur recently told us, in substance and effect, that peace could not be established and maintained by war. That being true, the only way that we can overcome communism — establish and maintain our political and economic philosophy—is not by war but for us to declare and establish a line of defense which our resources will enable us to successfully defend; and then, if our policies be sound and workable, our thinking, our way, through teaching and example, will prevail throughout the world, for all nations will find it good.

I will not vote to take 8 years out of the life of every physically and mentally sound young American and make him subject to a policy which calls upon him to risk his life thousands of miles from home in a war declared by and at the dictation of a United Nations organization controlled by representatives of other countries, who, on every single occasion, speak and act for the advantage of their respective countries.

IF OUR CAUSE BE JUST, WE DO NOT NEED CONSCRIPTION

American youth are patriotic.

They are courageous.

They are self-sacrificing.

They love their country, and for home and country they will fight, and to the bitter end.

American youth are independent. They have as great a love for freedom, for independence, for self-government, as did those who, throughout 8 long years, against overwhelming odds, fought for and established their independence; conceived and gave birth to the United States of America.

That the youth of America, of yesterday and of today, are as patriotic, as courageous, as self-sacrificing, as determined, as any whose like qualities are praised in history, can, if anyone doubts, be learned from a knowledge of the record they established in World War I, in World War II, and in world war III in Korea.

If one would learn of individual or group heroism, he has but to read any of the histories put out by the armed services, which in detail and with illustrations record the deeds of the teenagers as well as of those who had passed the voting age.

If one needs inspiration, let him look at the statue, the paintings, the pictures, which show the raising of the flag on Iwo Jima. Let him read the story of that heroic event.

The record of the trained and the untrained men who, since 1914, have fought, and of those who have died, in support of our present foreign policy, is one of which we can all be proud, even though those heartbreaking sacrifices have done little, if anything, to promote the welfare of our people or make secure the existence of our Republic.

But American youth are intelligent. They want to know the reason for a national policy in support of which they are asked to sacrifice all that is near and dear to them and go forth to battle on the far side of the world.

No Horatio at the bridge; no Leonidas as the pass of Thermopylae; no Spartan, was ever more willing to fight and to die in defense of country than in the American youth of today.

Our youth know or they have learned that President Wilson was reelected primarily because he "kept us out of war." Forthwith, we became involved in war. They fought and they died because, so they were told, war was an evil thing. They were fighting a war to end all war, and since that war ended, their sons and grandsons have been fighting World War II and world war III in Korea, while they have been trying to carry the tax burdens imposed by those wars.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

They know that American ships were engaged in World War II months before the Congress declared war. They were told that our frontier was on the Rhine, and that all that stood between us and being overwhelmed by the German armies was the British Fleet; that our armies must travel abroad in order to maintain our own independence. A falsely described situation.

Today, our frontier, we are advised, is in Formosa. The armed services advise that we have some 950 military installations outside of continental United States.

We are told that voluntary enlistments are not sufficient to meet the Army's demand for manpower.

In every other field, before the successful individual or business organization decides upon its need to carry on its program, it determines what it intends to do and the extent of the operation, its ability to carry out the program. There has been no such determination by those in control of our Government.

Yesterday, we had one line of defense and one purpose. Today, we have a different one. Tomorrow, we may have another. Since 1941, we have had no clear, fixed foreign policy.

The purpose of all wars is to protect the individual citizens and the nation as a nation. Today, the first issues before the people and the Congress should be: First, what is our policy; are we an aggressor Nation or do we seek only peace? Second, just what do we intend to do; when and where does a war to protect us from communism or from any nation become necessary in order that the Republic may continue to exist?

The determination of those two questions come first and we must naturally take into consideration our ability to accomplish our objective. Until those two issues have been made clear, it is not my purpose to vote to conscript our young men or to require them to accept what, in effect, amounts to universal military training.

Today we are told that Formosa is the front or the back door to our homeland. Formosa, 10,000 or 15,000 miles away from our base of supplies, depending upon whether we go east or travel west. Formosa, which just a few years ago we were told by our military and by our State Department was of no value to us as a military outpost. Formosa, which today it is said we must defend, no matter how great or even how impossible that task may be.

Sometimes the thought occurs, that if Formosa, under the domination of China as directed by Russia, is the key to our national defense, and if we must, for the future, maintain Formosa as a military outpost, just, militarily speaking, a stone's throw from China's communistic mainland with its hundreds of thousands of potential fighting men, we must be prepared to sacrifice our men for no apparent gain in the impossible task of conquering and holding China subject.

If our real enemy is communism, then Russia is the enemy to which we should look. If we have the military might, the airpower and guided missiles, the bombers, and bombs which our experts say we have; if their destructive force is what they tell us it is, then, if Russia is the undercover aggressor, it is time to use those weapons on the source of our trouble. We waste our energy in fighting a puppet enemy. If, for our national existence, we must fight, let it be against the real enemy.

And let the battle be directed by those who are trained to win wars, not by international politicians, who accept unworkable, security-destroying theories, who turn an eye when they see fool's gold on the horizon.

In World War II Russia was our ally. Before the war was over, and after, through our efforts she became a world power. Through our negligence, Russia gained control of China. With her help, China sent her Communists into North Korea.

And once again we were in a third war. A war in which our Armed Forces were denied the opportunity of winning, a war fought not under our military commanders but under the direction of the international politicians, a war the first in which we ever became involved which we did not win.

The foregoing is only a small part of what the youth of America today knows.

Knowing as they do that we became involved in the last three wars, and especially the last two, because those who formulated and directed our foreign policy have been thinking of trade or dollars or world government, rather than of the independence, the welfare of our people, and the security of our Nation, it is not strange that the young men have not rushed to enlist in an armed service where their destiny is controlled by politicians instead of by military men; where the objective is not a new declaration of our independence as a nation, the making secure their freedom as individuals, nor safe the future of our country, but rather a surrender of many of the principles which guided the men of 1776.

They have no desire to establish a one-world government under which they and their fellow countrymen have been, are, and will be, for time without end, found not only to work and contribute to the well being of many who are unwilling to earn the blessings which we enjoy, but where they and those who come after will be under the command of the representatives of other nations, which fail to carry their fair share of any burden which may be imposed by a one-world government.

The last three wars have gained nothing for our people except an ever-increasing tax burden and an ever greater dictation by United Nations telling us how we should live and die.

We have heard overmuch about free people, free nations. We have contributed in dollars, in munitions, and in human flesh and blood to other nations under the assertion that our sacrifices were being made to protect our national security, to contain communism. And the burden is still on our shoulders.

When we, with tax dollars, give Communists Federal jobs, it is ironic to tell our youth that they must be conscripted to fight Communists twelve or fifteen thousand miles from the homeland in order to protect our country.

It is silly, it is absurd, to tell the farmer boy, the clerk behind the counter, or the young professional man that he is being called to fight a war to make men free when, in his home community, he cannot even go to work as a laborer without paying tribute to a union, or, if he be a farmer, drive his dad's truck with a load of produce to the home market without being required to pay tribute to a union whose boss lives in luxury and spends union dues in an attempt to purchase elections.

This act will call upon every young American who is physically and mentally fit to give 2 years of his life in the military service. In addition, he is required to be at the call of the military services for an additional 6 years.

It is charged that the act is necessary, that is, that our men must be forced to be under the command of the military for 8 years in order that our national existence may be protected.

That argument is an assertion that the youth of today is so lacking in patriotism, courage and determination that he must be forced to fight to defend his homeland. In my judgment, that is a false assertion.

Permit a repetition. The youth of today are as ready to fight in a just cause, to make sacrifices as great as were those of 1776 to 1782 or at any other time in the history of mankind.

NOR WILL THE MILITARY ACCEPT LEGISLATION

A previous conscription act provided for the deferment or exemption of individuals belonging to certain groups. Because exceptionally large amounts of food were needed to implement our foreign policy, those who were exclusively engaged in agricultural production and whose services could not be replaced were exempt from military service. The Tydings amendment was the one which carried that exemption.

The Tydings amendment was openly and flagrantly disregarded and set at naught by General Hershey, Selective Service Director, and those who accepted his advice and acted upon it.

I cite that action for no other reason than that it shows the complete and utter disregard by those in the military services of the will of the people and their representatives' opinion as enacted into law.

If you doubt that assertion, read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of February 2 and February 5, 1945.

Given a situation where the youth of the land are convinced that their welfare and freedom is threatened, the Nation's security involved, they will volunteer.

One of the reasons they do not enlist today in sufficient numbers to satisfy the demands of the armed services and the State Department is because they think the demands are unreasonable, unnecessary, and excessive.

Another is that they are firmly convinced that the threatened war is not a war for the preservation of their country.

Russia conscripts her men for from 24 to 60 months.

This bill today calls for the conscription of every mentally and physically fit man in America for a period of 96 months—24 months in the active service; 72 months in the Reserves but at all times subject to the call of the armed services.

Shortly, there will be—at least so I am advised—a proposal by the armed services for the enactment of further supplemental legislation which will call for universal military training—conscription—for 10 years or 120 months.

I cannot vote for this bill.

---

[1] See hearings before a special subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 83d Cong., November 23, 24, 25, and 27, 1953, Investigation of Welfare Funds and Racketeering, pp. 439–441.

A casual glance at two reports filed by the CIO-Political Action Committee, Washington, D. C., and the UAW-CIO, Washington, D. C., shows Michigan political contributions of something over $200,000 for the 1954 general election campaign.

[2] The proposed bill H. R. 3005.

[3] See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, January 27, 1942, vol. 88, pt. 1, 77th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 744–747; January 30, 1942, supra, pp. 886–889.

[4] United Nations.

[5] See report of the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws to the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 84th Cong., 1st sess., on the Korean War and Related Matters, dated January 21, 1955.

[6] Amendment X to the United States Constitution: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

[7] Roman persecution of Christians.

The Ostracism of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, with the conclusion of the Iraq-Turkey defense alliance, the weighting of the balance of the power in the Middle East area is now one longstep further in favor of the Arab nations. In the name of "impartiality," our State Department policy presently pursued has steadily pushed Israel into ostracism. If there is a defense alliance in that region which excludes Israel; if Egypt is to be permitted in defiance of international law to seal off the Suez Canal to Israeli ships; if the United States is to continue to ship arms to the Arab nations; if the Arab nations are to be permitted to refuse to move toward peace in that area; if the Arab nations, without criticism from this country or any other, are permitted to strangle Israel economically by its boycott; if, without reproach, the Arab nations are permitted to utter their war-whoops directed against Israel—then, I pray you, what manner of impartiality is this?

If the United States is to feed the strength of the hostile Arab nations who make no secret of their enmity toward Israel, then surely it is to the very best interests of the United States in avoiding the outbreak of war in the Middle East to preserve likewise, and to feed likewise the strength of the fledgling democratic state of Israel. Only preservation of balance can best serve the interests of the United States in that area.

Certainly it would be most desirable to keep shipments of arms out of that area. Certainly it would be most desirable that a Middle East defense pact be developed including Israel. Certainly it would be most desirable for the United States to throw all the weight of its prestige and power in the direction of influencing the Arab nations toward an acknowledgement and acceptance of Israel's existence. But since an affirmative policy has already been set by our State Department toward wooing Arab favor, throwing the scales of equity out of line, then counterpart action should follow to set those scales straight and right. The least, the very least, that the United States can do toward the restoration of balance would be: First guarantee the integrity of present Israeli borders; and second, remove the military disadvantage of Israel brought on by shipment of arms to Iraq.

It is not enough for our Department of State to say, as it keeps saying, "Israel has nothing to fear; the Arab nations will not attack." Without United States support of arms and without the United States policy now in vogue of soothing and smoothing the ruffled ego of the Arab nations, they did attack in 1948. With what powers of clairvoyance do our spokesmen now say so assertively and dogmatically that the Arab nations will not attack Israel? The hostile statements of Arab spokesmen continue without abatement. Only recently, Nuri Es Said, Prime Minister of Iraq, stated that his government considered that the Zionist danger takes precedence over the Communist danger. He also stated that he had called upon Pakistan to support the Arabs against Israel in the same kind of treaty Iraq had concluded with Turkey against communism.

It is to be remembered that with the conclusion of the Turkish-Iraqi pact, Iraq can call upon Turkey if she is subjected to aggression by external forces. Similarly, members of the Arab League can band together, weak and torn by strife and jealousies as they are today, to meet acts of aggression. Iraq now has specific affirmation of United States support in the matter of arms, yet the one country which has, within the United Nations and outside it, suported Western ideology, is left standing alone.

There are no treaties, either in the nature of the NATO treaty or the Manila Pact. There is only the tripartite declaration of 1951, which already has had so many of its paragraphs disregarded.

It would have been well if the United States had concentrated its energies upon, first, the fostering of the peace between Israel and the Arab nations; and, second, a program of meaningful impartiality in the encouragement of economic and social growth in both Israel and the Arab nations on the basis of equality.

In the censuring of Israel in the United Nations on former occasions we note the same irony. The steady flow of infiltrees across Arab borders into Israel, the senseless killings, 1 by 1, the slow drip of blood rasping the nerves of Israeli frontiersmen, the destruction of property, the thefts perpetrated by the Arab nations upon Israel, are not presented to the public conscience. The Israeli raids always are.

For months now, the tension between Israel and Egypt has been rising. On the Gaza frontier there have been many incidents involving theft and murder. There are few that know that between September 1 and January 31, the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission censured Egypt 35 times and Israel 15 times for such incidents.

It is high time that our Department of State view this situation in the Middle East more realistically. The fears of Israel are further exacerbated by knowledge of its rejection, by the knowledge of the growing ostracism in which it is being placed. There is little reassurance to be found in the words of our Department of State that the Arabs will not attack. I repeat, a minimum of assurance lies in affirmative acts by the United States, in view of the major role of influence it is undertaking in the Middle East region, to guarantee the integrity of present Israeli borders and to remove the military disadvantage of Israel occasioned by shipment of arms to Iraq.

Postal Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I realize that the committee of this still-new Congress have been demonstrating unusual speed and energy in meeting their legislative responsibilities, so that what I am about to say on the matter of postal salaries is not meant in criticism of the committees handling this legislation.

However, I would urge, Mr. Speaker, that the legislation be so drawn that the pay raises so long overdue are made retroactive—if not to the start of the fiscal year, at least to the start of this calendar year.

We must remember that there was practicaly no controversy here last year over the question of granting a raise in pay to the postal workers. The main issue, as you will recall, was whether such an increase should be made contingent upon an increase simultaneously in the first-class mail rate from 3 cents to 4 cents. A majority of us felt, Mr. Speaker, that these were distinctly separate matters and should not be tied together in the same bill. The President thought otherwise at the time, and so vetoed the legislation.

This was unfortunate from many standpoints. The leadership of the Congress at that time did not feel confident

enough in the merits of the administration bill on postal rates to submit this legislation to the House on its merits, and so that question was never taken up. Thus, in view of the President's position, there was a stalemate on the question of postal pay.

Unless much better evidence is presented this year than was given to us last year on the question of postal rates, Mr. Speaker, it is highly doubtful that this Congress would vote to raise the cost of mailing a letter from 3 to 4 cents. The evidence last year clearly showed that this type of mail more than paid its own way and, in fact, returned something of a profit to the Post Office Department.

During the political campaign last fall, the President indicated to the postal workers of the country that regardless of which party won they could look forward to a well-deserved increase in pay. I am sure he did not mean that in any way as a device to confuse the postal employees.

In view of all of these factors, then, Mr. Speaker, I do again urge upon the appropriate committees of the Congress handling postal legislation that the proposed increase in postal pay be made retroactive, so that the pay increases will be of some consequence.

The postal worker has a tremendous range of friendship in the Congress for the reason that he is and always has been one of the most reliable, conscientious, loyal, and hard-working of all public servants. Let us show our friendship, then, in a way that counts.

Health Reinsurance Bill Supported by New York Young Republican Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, it seems that more and more there is a growing demand for a health reinsurance bill. The failure to pass the bill in the last Congress was the result of a lack of understanding as to the purpose of the bill, and, also because of a personality situation that developed and, as a result, the bill was recommitted to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for further study.

It is gratifying to realize that there is a continuing interest in such legislation and a desire for its enactment at this session of Congress. As evidence of this, I include as part of my remarks a letter I have received from Arthur Rock, Secretary of the New York Young Republican Club. It reads as follows:

NEW YORK YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB,
New York, N. Y., March 4, 1955.
Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLVERTON: If you will recall, I wrote to you last year on behalf of the New York Young Republican Club, urging the adoption of the health-reinsurance bill. We were, of course, very disappointed that the reinsurance bill did not become law at the last session of Congress.

At a recent meeting of the board of governors of the New York Young Republican Club the following resolution was adopted:

"1. Whereas the board of governors of the New York Young Republican Club endorsed the administration's health-reinsurance bill at the last session of Congress;

"2. Whereas the board of governors deplores the defeat of said bill;

"3. Whereas the bill gives people social benefits without socialism and fosters free enterprise;

"4. Whereas this bill will allow insurance companies to experiment in fields of health insurance which they have been reluctant to do in the past, and in that way the majority of the 63 million people who today are not covered by any form of health insurance could conceivably take out a health-insurance policy;

"5. And whereas the bill will require only $100 million of public money to start the program, and from then on will be self-sustaining from premiums received from carriers: Be it hereby

"*Resolved*, That the board of governors reendorses the health-reinsurance bill as proposed by the administration."

Needless to say, we hope that the Congress will see fit to adopt the bill this year.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR ROCK.

California State Board of Agriculture Recommends Amendment to Federal Social Security Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, here is a letter I have received which contains a copy of the resolution hereinafter set forth from the California State Board of Agriculture:

CALIFORNIA STATE BOARD
OF AGRICULTURE,
Sacramento, March 1, 1955.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
Congressional Representative,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DOYLE: Enclosed with this letter is a resolution relative to amending the provisions of the Federal Social Security Act. The resolution, passed by the California State Board of Agriculture at its regular meeting in Sacramento on February 28, 1955, is transmitted with the board's request for your consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

ROMAIN YOUNG,
Assistant Secretary.

RESOLUTION RE AMENDMENT TO FEDERAL SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Whereas the present provisions of the Federal Social Security Act provide that deductions be taken from farm operators and employees when earnings of any employee gross $100 or more in any calendar year; and

Whereas the turnover of agricultural labor, particularly at peak havest time, is very rapid, and such labor is used for the most part on a short-time basis; and

Whereas operations under these conditions create a situation where accurate bookkeeping and accounting are either extremely burdensome or virtually impossible: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the California State Board of Agriculture, meeting at Sacramento, Calif., on February 28, 1955, does respectfully urge the Congress of the United States to raise the minimum social-security provisions covering farm operators and farm workers from $100 to $500, and that deductions commence after the first $500 has been earned from a single employer during a calendar year; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to all the members of the California delegation in the Congress.

A New Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Gov. Averell Harriman of New York has called for a new foreign policy in a speech delivered in New York City before the nationalities division of the Democratic national committee.

Few living men in America are better qualified to assay the zigzags of our present foreign policy, and to suggest new and more constructive courses of action, than is Governor Harriman.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I ask that the full text of Governor Harriman's speech on March 8, 1955, be reprinted.

I am happy tonight to join with the nationalities division of the Democratic National Committee and to salute the splendid work you have done for our party—including your work in the New York State campaign last fall.

And I am glad to join in welcoming to the State of New York our national chairman, who has become so clear and forceful a spokesman for our party in so short a time—Paul Butler.

No 2 men ever deserved recognition more than the 2 you have honored with your awards tonight—2 men who have stood in the forefront of every fight for the rights and progress of minorities and the fundamental civil rights of Americans—Senator GREEN, of Rhode Island, and Senator LEHMAN, of our own State.

We greet the new and capable chairman of the nationalities division, our good friend, the dynamic young Governor of Michigan, Mennen Williams. Governor, you will have the support of all of us in New York for the activities of your division.

It is good to have with us our stalwart neighbors, Governor Meyner, of New Jersey, and Governor Roberts and Senator Pastore, of Rhode Island.

The groups represented here tonight have given us a number of able leaders in the new State administration of New York. I am proud to be associated with them.

We of the Democratic Party must organize and we must educate—and our goal is 1956. It isn't good enough just to have a Democratic Congress to help a Republican President out of his difficulties with his own party. We need a Democratic President, too, for many reasons. One of them is to restore America to her role of full partici-

pation in world affairs and leadership for peace. You who are here tonight have an especially deep and personal understanding of the need for the United States to take its proper place of leadership in the world.

No nation can go it alone—not even powerful America.

From a military standpoint, we cannot.

From an economic standpoint, we cannot.

But over and beyond these materialistic reasons are others just as compelling—reasons of history and religion and culture, of sentiment and emotion. America will always be bound to the lands where all of us, whether recently or long ago, have our family roots.

The sons and daughters of every one of the nations bordering on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and the European seas and rivers have made their contributions to America—contributions of industry and enterprise and character. We have a common heritage. And so we who happen to be on this side of the Atlantic can never forget that we are part of a larger community. And none in that community can be secure unless all are secure.

SLAVERY KEEPS ALL INSECURE

Nor can any of us be truly secure as long as a large part of our community—reaching from the Baltic States through Poland and Czechoslovakia, to the borders of Greece—remains enslaved. We know that the flame of freedom will never be extinguished in those countries, and that they will again one day carry on their proud traditions in liberty and self-government.

So our common goal—and the goal of our Nation's foreign policy—must be to strengthen the ties that bind together the North Atlantic Community, and beyond that the larger community of all the free countries of the world.

I need not tell this audience how injurious to this whole objective is our own immigration policy. Two and a half years ago the President said the McCarran Act had to be revised to eliminate its discriminatory, un-American features. But today the McCarran Act still stands as written—and still proclaims to the world that America does not really practice what she preaches about the equality and innate worthiness of all people of every land and creed.

We can thank Senator LEHMAN and Congressman CELLER and their Democratic colleagues for taking the initiative to revise the act in the absence of the leadership the President has pledged.

Equally injurious is our refugee policy. An act of Congress proposed to admit 209,000 refugees over a 3-year period. Yet, as of January 28, when half the life of the act had passed, fewer than a thousand bona fide refugees had been admitted to this country. The administration of the act has made a travesty of what was to have been a great humanitarian undertaking.

Unhappily, in the last 2 years, there has been a tragic decline in American prestige and influence among our friends and allies throughout the world.

Why is this? Why has it come about?

I believe it can be traced to a basic clause—and that is the unwillingness of the Republican administration to do those things necessary to fulfill the role of world leadership which the circumstances of history press upon us.

The last 2 years have been a period of retreat from leadership. You can see it in our military policy, in our economic policies, and in our diplomacy.

We can better understand this retreat from leadership, I think, if we remember how and when it began. It began in 1952, when the Republican Presidential candidate set out to find a ground for compromise with those Old Guard Republicans who make up what might be called the go-it-alone wing of the Republican Party.

NEW WORD FOR COMPROMISE

The go-it-alone Republican is a complex breed, with varied moods and tempers. Sometimes he is for international cooperation, but only on our terms. If other countries don't unqualifiedly accept our terms, then we hear echoes of the old isolationism. Yet mention the word "Formosa" and he can become the most fearsome jingoist. As for allies, you can hear him reasoning: Why fuss with all these difficult people, they aren't worth much anyway and always wind up costing us money, let's go it alone.

At any rate, with these Republicans, the Republican candidate in 1952 set out to compromise. The word "compromise" disappeared in favor of a new phrase, "middle-of-the-road," but the meaning is the same.

Now, the middle of the road is not a very safe place to drive. It's not too safe even in domestic affairs. But certainly in foreign policy it can be disastrous.

Where is the middle of the road between go-it-alone-ism and international cooperation? It is sometimes consultation and sometimes the taking of unilateral positions without consultation, destructive of confidence among allies.

Sometimes it is reckless speeding on the wrong side of the road, and sometimes it is too little and too late.

In military policy, the middle of the road seems to mean somewhere between strength and weakness. Only a few weeks ago the Joint Chiefs of Staff were again overruled as to our defense needs. And this in the face of evidence that the recent changes in Russian leadership mean an even greater emphasis on heavy industry and military output in the Soviet Union at the expense of consumer goods production.

Let no one think that military retrenchment in the United States is a local matter. Its impact is felt throughout the free world, because our own military program is a measure of our determination. And when we let down, in 1953, then our allies let down, too.

The men who dominate so much of our policy seem to be those who talk not of the opportunities in our search for peace, but of fancied limitations on America's ability. They regard America—the richest nation in the world—as somehow not able to afford to do those things necessary for our survival. They look for shortcuts to peace and bargain devices for the preservation of freedom. And these aren't good enough.

We have just seen another and dramatic illustration of the danger of short cuts.

Last November Secretary Dulles and Mr. Stassen were talking about what was called a bold, new economic program for Asia. Although late, this made sense. Under President Truman's Point 4 program, we had learned much about these countries and what can be done by America to help people to help themselves in developing resources and raising living standards and productivity and morale.

BOLD PROGRAM UNDERSTOOD

In this proposal, the administration seemed to realize that what is needed to counter the external and internal threat of Communist expansion in Asia is a program bold enough to capture the imagination of the people, and vigorous enough to demonstrate that a decent life can be achieved under freedom. They seemed to understand that the cost to us of such an economic offensive would be a tiny fraction of our expenditures for military defense and military aid. And the effects of our help would be multiplied if cooperative undertaking could be developed among the participating countries as was the case in Europe.

So the talk went on. But the men who appear to have had the last word with the President are those who regard this sort of thing as beyond America's capacity—or not worth bothering about. So the idea was laid aside. Great had been the expectations—and equally great was the letdown throughout free Asia.

In this connection, it is significant that a conference of most of the Asian and African nations has been called to convene in Banddung, Indonesia, next month. Red China has been invited to participate—whereas Chiang Kai-shek is excluded. We can be sure that the Communists will try to turn the whole meeting into a "hate America" crusade.

Compounding the effects in Asia of all the lack of understanding has been the incredible story of the "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-shek.

You recall that President Truman, in 1950, ordered the seventh fleet to neutralize the Formosa Strait—preventing attacks upon Formosa by the Communists and forbidding attacks upon the mainland by Chiang. And you remember how President Eisenhower, in his first message to Congress, reversed all that.

I doubt that anyone would now deny that behind this "unleashing" episode was domestic politics and appeasement of members of his own party.

Yet to the rest of the world it sounded ominous. To the rest of the world, it could only mean that we intended to support Chiang's ambition to return to the mainlands; and that, in turn, could only mean world war.

The "unleasing" episode, and the continuing failure to explain or retract it, injured our relations with our European allies, who were quite understandably not ready for such recklessness. And it soured our relations with many countries in Asia.

Last week, Chiang Kai-shek was still asserting that he intended to return to the mainland, with the help of this country. Asked about this, the President finally said "the United States is not going to be a party to an aggressive war." In effect, after 25 months, Chiang was to be leashed again.

The President appears to have realized at long last the wisdom of President Truman's policy of neutralizing the Formosa Strait.

Of course, we should and will defend Formosa. There has never been any doubt about that. But it should also be clear that there is no future in any Asian policy which pays more attention to the objectives of Chiang Kai-shek than to the aspirations of the 900 million people of the other free countries of the East, as well as the peoples of Europe.

I am sure of this: the first thing we must do in the Formosa area is to end our desperately dangerous policy of going it alone. Whenever we take positions alone, it offers a temptation to the Communists to take risks in the hope of furthering their basic objective of splitting us from our North Atlantic Allies and our friends everywhere. We must get our diplomacy back on a basis of collective action. We must internationalize the defense of Formosa, and do this, if possible, through the United Nations.

What we need now is a new spirit in the conduct of foreign affairs—a spirit of humility, of moderation, of partnership and of peace—a spirit which would ring with a new sound in the ears of the world, but which would gain in its strength because it would be a reaffirmation of the finest strains of American realism and idealism—of values which made our Nation so long the refuge of the suffering people of mankind and the embodiment of the hopes of freedom and justice in the light of God, everywhere in the world.

Only as we return to this spirit can we hope to lead.

Only as we return to this spirit can we hope to survive.

Deeper Delaware River Channel Is Not a Partisan Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the deepening of the Delaware River channel is a matter of tremendous importance to the future progress of the Delaware River valley. It is entitled to the support of all without regard to political affiliation. This fact has been well and forcibly set forth in an editorial appearing in the Courier-Post newspaper, published at Camden, N. J. I include it as part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

DEEPER DELAWARE CHANNEL NOT A PARTISAN PROGRAM

Camden County's three assemblymen have introduced a resolution the legislature should lose no time in passing.

The resolution memorializes Congress to appropriate funds at once for deepening the Delaware River channel above Camden to a depth of 40 feet as far north as U. S. Steel's Fairless plant and 35 feet to the Trenton marine terminal.

The resolution calls on Congress to carry out the policy it adopted last year in authorizing the appropriation which has yet to be made. At that time Congress rejected the proposal of the United States Army engineers that "local interests" which would benefit most immediately from the project—meaning U. S. Steel—should contribute $18 million to its estimated $91 million cost.

Congress instead voted that the Federal Government should pay the entire cost of the dredging. Nevertheless, the Engineers have not withdrawn their "local contribution" demand and have succeeded in persuading President Eisenhower to endorse it, in spite of almost 100 percent insistence in the Delaware River Valley that the Government pay the whole cost of the project, in keeping with every past precedent.

The Hyland-Meloni-Werner resolution says:

"Justifiable opposition to this proposal of contribution by local interests and the insurmountable obstacles involved in attempting to administer it have united the various political, civil, management, and labor interests in this and other affected States in a common effort to persuade the Federal Government to return to its traditional policy of financing such projects and to make the necessary appropriations so that this vital program may get underway without further delay."

The resolution also comments that "the development and maintenance of navigable waterways, such as the Delaware River, traditionally have been accepted as the exclusive financial responsibility of the Federal Government."

The facts stated in the resolution are incontrovertible and it is unfortunate that partisan political considerations should have held its passage up at Monday's session of the legislature.

According to Hyland, some opposition developed to it in the assembly Republican caucus, on the theory that it "might be a reflection on President Eisenhower." While denying such an intention, Hyland agreed not to move the resolution until next week, meanwhile attempting to convince the Republicans of its merit. But he says he definitely will bring it up at next week's session, demanding a rollcall vote on it, and is confident of its passage even though it is a Democrat-sponsored measure.

By speedy passage of the resolution, our legislature might have a decisive influence in inducing Congress to pass the $25 million appropriation for a start on the deeper channel this year which now is pending at Washington.

Republican members of the legislature who think that the resolution implies repudiation of the President or a reflection on him, or anything more than a difference of opinion to which no one can take exception, should remember that all New Jersey Members of Congress, including our 2 Republican Senators and our 8 Republican Representatives, support the action sought in the Camden County resolution.

They not only favor it, but have been fighting vigorously for such action. It is anything but a partisan measure, or an anti-Eisenhower measure.

The American Legion's 36th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a letter sent to the Rochester, N. Y., Times-Union, by Mr. Frank G. Jurlen, Monroe County, N. Y., commander of the American Legion.

Mr. Jurlen's letter mentions some of the accomplishments of the American Legion during its 36 years of service to God and country. Among the valuable services rendered by this fine organization has been its assistance to our youth through Americanism and child welfare programs. The Legion has taken care of its own members and their dependents and has benefited our country through its relentless fight against communism and for world peace.

The letter follows:

THE LEGION'S 36TH BIRTHDAY: SERVICE TO GOD AND COUNTRY

The American Legion celebrates its birthday this week and its 3 million members can look back with justifiable pride upon 36 years of distinguished service "for God and country."

Through these many years, the Legion has made vital contributions to the community, State and Nation. It has won recognition as champion of adequate national security and a leading advocate of world peace through American military, economic, and spiritual strength.

Nationally over 1,500,000 boys and girls this year will participate in American Legion sponsored Americanism programs such as Junior Baseball, Boys' States, Boys' Nation, Boy Scout troops and Cub packs, annual high school oratorical contests and school awards. Monroe County engages in every one of these programs and locally about 2,000 girls and boys participate each year.

A living memorial to the Americanism program is the Back to God movement through which the American Legion encourages regular church or synagogue attendance, daily family prayer and the religious education of our children. Locally, during this lenten period, we have installed cards in 200 buses calling attention to children and their need for religious training.

One of our most outstanding programs is child welfare. During 1954 the American Legion and its affiliated groups expended over $6,500,000 in financial aid to needy children, bringing to more than $117,750,000 the amount spent since 1925 for food, clothing, and medical treatment for children.

The American Legion's primary obligation has always been championship of the rights of disabled veterans and their dependents. We are proud of the vast structure of beneficial legislation through which millions of World War II and Korean service men and women have been reestablished in civilian life.

The American Legion served its God and country in time of war and it is still serving.

FRANK G. JURLEN,
Commander, Monroe County American Legion.

St. Patrick's Day Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD my annual St. Patrick's Day address which was broadcast over radio-TV station WXEL, and radio stations WJW and WERE, Cleveland, on Thursday, March 17:

Once again we commemorate the feast of St. Patrick and rejoice in his many wonderful gifts to our civilization.

The greatest of these gifts are of the spirit. They are reflected in those great principles which recognize the special dignity of every man and serve as the steady guide for humanity in time of strife or tranquillity.

The entire history of the United States is replete with St. Patrick's contributions, beginning with our fight for national independence.

The sons and daughters of Ireland, loyal always to the great inspiration of St. Patrick, have come to our shores and have helped us to become the great Nation that we are today.

As a great Nation among the powers of the world we have been called upon to assume grave responsibilities in an up-set world in which the very civilization heralded by St. Patrick is threatened with extinction.

It is therefore fitting on this, his feast day, that we recall to mind some of the signs of our time which carry bad tidings of the future.

It is now 10 years since the end of a war involving most of the nations and people of the world.

That war was costly, in terms of our manhood and our natural resources.

We fought that war against tyranny and for a golden era of peace, freedom, and prosperity for all mankind.

In the throes of that great struggle, suffering mankind was promised that those great goals would surely be attained and that finally there would be comity among all the nations of the earth.

Even before the end of active hostilities, we began to construct an organization for peace in whose councils all the nations would be represented.

At war's end, all mankind held high hopes for, and placed great faith in, a peaceful future.

In the 10 years that have passed, but a moment in the long history of mankind, many events have taken place which have

shaken confidence in our ability to reach those worthy goals.

Our first shock came when it became clear that all the nations of the world would not be included in the United Nations organization.

Some nations were to be severely punished and purged before they would be considered for membership.

Other nations, taking no part whatsoever in the war, and long recognized as peaceful nations, were denied membership because of the objections of the Russians. Unhappily, Ireland, the home of St. Patrick, and the mother of many great leaders in the fight for human liberty, was one of those nations excluded from the councils of the United Nations.

The second great shock came from the Russians who, in violation of all their solemn pledges during the war, brought under ruthless slavery the many nations and peoples our sons and daughters fought and died to liberate during World War II.

It would seem that then we in the free world failed to recognize the terrible significance of these events, because we did little or nothing about them.

We surely did not recognize these events as a threat to peace, because we failed to use the United Nations in order to prevent these acts of aggression.

Our third great shock came when the Russians threatened to overrun Greece and Turkey in their geopolitical drive to split the world. We became aroused at this turn of events, because a great American, President Truman, took a stand against Communist aggression and pronounced the Truman doctrine.

His significant act awakened the West from a deep slumber.

The next great shock came when the Russians attempted to force the western allies out of Berlin by means of a blockade.

This was another test of the determination of the United States to fight for the cause of freedom.

This challenge was met, and the Russian bullies backed down.

Then came Korea.

The Russians, using a small corps of North Koreans and hardened veterans of the Chinese Communist army, invaded South Korea for the purpose of driving the Americans into the sea and enslaving all Korea.

Without hesitation, President Truman met this challenge, and after terrible sacrifices the Communist aggressors were driven back north of the 38th prallel.

Then followed a protracted period of negotiations climaxed by a dubious armistice for which the Communists have shown their complete disdain by breaking it time and time again.

In the process, Red China was branded an aggressor in the Korean war by the United Nations.

Still another blow at the hopes of mankind was the Communist aggression in Indochina. When another Russian stooge, Ho Chi Min, fully supported by the Chinese Communists, brought about more bloodshed and terrible human suffering.

While all these shocks were taking place the United Nations, in one degree or another, became involved, but in none of these instances was the United Nations able to measure up to the reasonable hopes imposed in it by mankind.

Twenty years ago, in 1935, a great Irish statesman, Eamon De Valera, speaking before the League of Nations when that body was considering Mussolini's aggression against Abyssinia, warned that this was its crucial test.

That if it allowed aggression against a small and defenseless country to go unpunished, its days were numbered.

Ireland, unfortunately, is still not admitted to the councils of the United Nations.

She is still blocked by the atheistic Communists of Russia.

The prophetic words of Eamon De Valera could well be spoken in the councils of the United Nations today.

What he said in 1935 fits perfectly the crisis that now faces the United Nations, an organization for peace in which we put such high hopes.

I feel certain that if Ireland were represented, the issue that De Valera raised in 1935 would be raised again in the councils of the United Nations in an effort to reestablish law and morality in the conduct of affairs between nations, and to avoid what, at the moment, seems to be an uninterrupted trend toward world war III.

It seems very strange that today there should be any talk whatsoever about admitting Red China to the United Nations.

Red China, an aggressor and initiator of the Korean war, a violator of every tenet of international law, defiant and disdainful of all pleas made by the United Nations, has no right whatever to membership in the United Nations.

If Red China be admitted to the United Nations there would be no doubt but that the criteria for membership is the ability of a nation to wage aggressive war rather than its hopes and aspirations for peace.

There are some who still believe that it is possible to satisfy the appetite of a dictator.

A good example of this notion is found in the crisis created by the Chinese Communists in their efforts to destroy what is left of free China.

At the beginning of this crisis, certain of the islands of still free China were voluntarily evacuated and turned over to the Communists.

By devious twisting of the facts, this evacuation was built up as a great victory for peace.

It was depicted as a victory because the evacuating force was not attacked by the Communists while they were in the process of handing over to them, territory that belonged to free China.

That is peace at any price.

All liberty-loving people were shocked upon receiving the news that the Chinese Communists held, without foundation, many Americans in their prisons and refused to release them.

Most of these Americans are members of the armed services.

We were horrified to learn how these Americans were being brainwashed and that many of those whose personality had been destroyed were returned to us so that they could cause further confusion and damage to the cause of liberty.

It was not so many years ago that the holding of one single American by a foreign power, without cause, would have been considered a most serious offense and likely to lead to war if not quickly and satisfactorily remedied.

But today it seems that the unchanging values and immutable principles which brought America to its present position in the world, have lost their meaning and their purpose.

It may be that we, as a nation, have been subjected to a brainwashing which has dimmed our fundamental beliefs and confused us as to what is right and what is wrong.

Are we to believe that nothing is black or nothing is white, but everything is grey?

Is this what is happening to us as a nation and a people as we seek to avoid war, and continue our fight for peace, freedom, and prosperity?

That is the fundamental question of our times.

It is not a question of patience, as some would have us believe. Rather it is a question of right or wrong.

We must at all times be impatient to see that right is done in the conduct of all the affairs of mankind.

And we must be equally impatient to prevent and stamp out that which is wrong.

Failing to do this, we will have signed our own death warrant and prepared the way for the fall of our entire civilization.

On this, the feast of St. Patrick, we must begin to reassess our values and to reexamine our mission in a sadly upset world.

We must make it clear that we, as a nation, know the difference between right and wrong.

We must also make it clear that we propose to stand up for that which is right and to oppose with all our vigor that which is wrong.

We must also make it clear that we place the greatest value upon things of the spirit and not upon material gain.

Above all, we must make it clear beyond any doubt to all the people of the world that no sacrifice is too great for us to make in support of those great spiritual values without which our Nation would soon cease to exist.

I believe that adherence to sound moral principles is St. Patrick's greatest gift to America and to all other peoples of the world who have felt the warmth of his teachings.

America has been blessed with an abundance of his favors, and I pray to God we will begin to take full advantage of these great assets.

Compton, Calif., Herald-American Editorial Supports Congressional Pay Raises and Also Post Office Employees Pay Increase

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to herewith present an editorial column by Cliff Smith, the publisher of the Herald-American newspaper in Compton, Los Angeles County, Calif. This newspaper not only circulates in Compton, Calif., but in several other of the metropolitan communities of the great 23d District, which I have the honor to represent this, my 9th year, in this great legislative body.

I am especially pleased that this busy editor emphasized the importance and place of the grassroots expression of opinion for in his splendid editorial, amongst other things, he said:

You, the reader, can help by sending a letter or post card to your Congressman and United States Senator demanding that post office employees' pay be raised.

Mr. Speaker, it would certainly do vast good if more and more of the newspaper editors in our great Nation would stress the fact that this Congress is the Congress of the American people and that it is from the American people at the grassroots of American citizenship that we Members of this great legislative body seek the thinking and considered opinion on all important major problems which come before us.

CONGRESSMEN AND POSTMEN

This writer is all for the raise in salary of our Congressmen. The expenses of running two households properly, representing the district, entertaining, etc., in the past, have made it almost an impossibility for a Congressman of limited or medium means to keep his head above water financially.

The new pay scale which has been set is not high for business executives and, remember, it is subject to ordinary income taxes, which will syphon off about 40 percent of it.

INJUSTICE RESULTS

Unless a man is extremely wealthy, he would do his family and himself an injustice to accept a congressional office. The result has been that a majority of the incumbents in Congress have been chosen from the wealthy class, whether they were Republicans or Democrats. In fact, quite a large number of the wealthy Members of Congress have been Democrats.

This will all be changed by the increase in salary which has been voted by both Houses of Congress. Now, any man with ability, regardless of his financial status, can feel free to run for congressional office. For the above reasons, this writer is strongly in favor of the increase in salary for Congressmen.

UNDERPAID POST-OFFICE EMPLOYEES

Now let's talk about the employees of the Post Office Department, this large and faithful group which expedites and carries the mail. Civilization could not survive in any country without an adequate post office as means of communication. It is a terrible blot upon American conscience, justice, and fair play to expect our post office employees to continue to work for the small pittance they are receiving from the Government. The scale of pay in the Post Office Department has consistently lagged behind the scale of pay in any corresponding private enterprise or other Government employees.

Let's see what concerted action can do—even from a small section of the country. You, the reader, can help by sending a letter or post-card to your Congressman and United States Senator demanding that post-office employees' pay be raised. Following is a list of Congressmen elected from the district covered by the Herald-American newspapers. Write to one or all of them today:

The Honorable CLYDE DOYLE, Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

The Honorable CHET HOLIFIELD, Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

The Honorable CRAIG HOSMER, Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

The Honorable CECIL KING, Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

CALIFORNIA UNITED STATES SENATORS

Also write to our two Senators: They are great men and are doing a great job representing their State:

The Honorable WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, United States Senator from California, Washington, D. C.

The Honorable THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Member of the United States Senate from California, Washington, D. C.

Let's do what we can today to remedy this grave injustice to a large group of our best citizens.

A New Wiretap Law Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a new measure aimed at the control of wiretapping by unauthorized persons. It also follows the language of the bill which passed the House last year permitting the use of wiretap evidence in court, limited to cases involving the national security.

The bill that passed the House last year actually amounted to little more than a new rule of evidence, overturning the Federal court decisions which have prevented the use of wiretap evidence in Federal prosecutions, and providing that such evidence, with certain safeguards, shall hereafter be admissible in a limited class of Federal cases relating to the national security.

The evidence was not really the heart of the matter, as recent shocking disclosures about wiretapping in New York City have dramatically illustrated. I am convinced that there must be a prohibition against reckless and unauthorized tapping by persons who have no connection with law enforcement.

The new bill which I am introducing, therefore, combines the provisions of the House bill of last year with a new section intended to make wiretapping a Federal crime when it is done by blackmailers, snoopers, and all others except properly authorized law-enforcement officials. My bill would rid us of the clandestine listener who has sometimes turned out to be such a terrible threat to the privacy of individuals and the sanctity of their homes.

The new section, tied to the criminal penalties in the old act—1 year and a day and/or $5,000—prohibits all tapping except by the Federal intelligence agencies seeking evidence of subversion and espionage, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, investigating serious Federal crimes, or State and local officers acting in accordance with authority conferred by their own laws.

The text of the new section follows:

SEC. 4. No person shall intercept or attempt to intercept any communication by wire or radio, not being authorized in advance by the sender or the recipient thereof, except (1) authorized agents of the United States seeking evidence in accordance with the provisions of this act, (2) authorized agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation seeking to detect or prevent any felony as defined in chapter 1 of title 18 of the United States Code, or (3) authorized agents of any State, Territory, or possession of the United States acting by authority of a law of such State, Territory, or possession."

As indicated in the following editorial from the Washington Star, the Attorney General has endorsed the principle of this bill:

REMOVE THE STRAITJACKET

Attorney General Brownell chose a good time and place to make his latest comments on wiretapping. New York City has been aroused by disclosures of widespread eavesdropping on telephone lines by nonofficial investigators. A grand jury inquiry is in progress. Mr. Brownell's proposal that wiretapping be outlawed except when authorized in certain major crimes attracted more than ordinary interest. That is encouraging, for the efforts of the Department of Justice in the past to gain public support for controlled Federal wiretapping, with permission to use the evidence in court, have been of little avail.

New York City has had a taste of the dirty business of indiscriminate wiretapping. But, as the Attorney General told the New York Patent Law Association, properly regulated wiretapping has a place in law enforcement. Certainly it is absurd to give spies, saboteurs, and kidnapers free use of wire communications, secure in the knowledge that no information obtained by listening in can be used against them in Federal courts. Under present law the Government is foreclosed from using wiretap evidence to convict known enemies of the country. Thus, as Mr. Brownell said, congressional reluctance to change the law along commonsense lines leaves Government prosecutors in a straitjacket as far as intercepted communications are concerned.

Camden County Mayors Association Calls for Immediate Dredging of Delaware River Channel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the dredging of the Delaware River channel to a depth of 40 feet is recognized as a public works project of tremendous importance in the development of the Delaware River Valley.

The Camden County Mayors Association is one of the long list of industries, shipping groups, municipal and State authorities, and other numerous and varied interests, pressing for action at this session of Congress that will result in the immediate deepening of the Delaware River channel.

The resolution adopted by the Camden County Mayors Association at a meeting held March 16, 1955, reads as follows:

Whereas the Camden County Mayors Association is an organization consisting of the mayors of the various municipalities in Camden County who have banded themselves together so that by the exchange of ideas their respective municipalities may prosper and the area of Camden County may develop and progress; and

Whereas the deepening of the channel of the Delaware River from Trenton to the sea to its authorized depth of 40 feet is vital and essential if the area of Camden County is to develop to its fullest potential; and

Whereas the Camden County Chamber of Commerce is presently waging a vigorous and intensive campaign to have the channel deepened to its authorized depth without any local participation or without exacting tolls from any maritime user of the said river; and

Whereas the Camden County Mayors Association is full aware of and conscious of the fact that it has always been the responsibility of the Federal Government as one of its delegated powers to dredge navigable streams of this country at Federal expense without expecting any local participation from municipalities that may be located along the banks of navigable streams and also without any contribution from industries whose plants abut and are adjacent to the said navigable rivers; and

Whereas the development of the Delaware River to its fullest use by deepening the channel to its authorized depth will open new vistas of prosperity together with industrial and busines growth throughout south Jersey which is unprecedented: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Camden County Mayors Association in a formal meeting on this 16th day of March, A. D. 1955, That the channel of the Delaware River from the sea to Trenton be immediately dredged to its congressionally authorized depth of 40 feet, and that the Congress of the United States immediately appropriate such sum or sums of money as may be necessary to effectuate and complete this project without any local participation and without financing the project by the exaction of marine tolls from the users of the said river, and, further, that copies of this resolution be immediately sent to all congressional and New Jersey State legislative representatives from this area, and to the press.

Nixon Sees No Attempt To Sell Out at Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I set forth the following article which appeared in the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times on Friday, March 18, 1955:

NIXON SEES NO ATTEMPT TO SELL OUT AT YALTA—FALL OF CHINA TO REDS CAN BE LAID AT DOOR OF PACT, VICE PRESIDENT SAYS IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO, March 17.—Vice President NIXON said today in answer to a question that he does not believe there was "any deliberate attempt to sell us out to the Communists" at Yalta.

NIXON made the statement during a question and answer period following a speech before the Executive Club of Chicago.

An unidentified man asked from the floor, "What about Yalta?"

NIXON said: "Of course, it will take weeks and months of intelligent study to determine a correct analysis of the effects of the pact and comment intelligibly on it.

"But I don't believe there actually was any deliberate attempt to sell us out to the Communists."

REASON FOR CONCESSIONS

Nixon said the "reason concessions were made was that the leaders of the free world simply didn't know what the Communist animal was like."

"Another reason," he added, "was that we badly needed Soviet support at the time for the conquest of Japan."

The Vice President said there was no doubt, however, that the concessions to the Russians were detrimental to the United States and the free world.

And, he added, the fall of China to the Reds could be laid directly at the door of the pact.

"All we can say now," he added, "is that it was a fault not of the heart but of the head."

NEED STRONG CANDIDATE

Turning to his views on the 1956 Presidential outlook, Nixon reiterated a previous stand that the Republican Party is not strong enough to elect a candidate but needs a candidate strong enough to elect the party.

Reminded by newsmen of President Eisenhower's statement yesterday that the party could elect a candidate "worthy of being nominated if it develops programs for the benefit of all the people," Nixon stood by his guns.

In his luncheon speech, however, Nixon said "the corollary to my statement is that the Democratic Party is faced with exactly the opposite dilemma.

MORE DEMOCRATS

"As a party," he added, "the Democratic Party is numerically stronger than the Republican Party and, therefore, should be strong enough to elect its candidate for the Presidency. But currently the Democratic Party has no candidate on the scene who is as strong as his party."

Nixon said that any further aggression in the Pacific will be met by force, and with atomic weapons rather than the "obsolete" weapons of Korea and World War II.

He reiterated President Eisenhower's statement earlier this week that in any future war United States forces will use atomic tactical explosives on "military targets with precision and effectiveness."

Farm Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit herewith a letter from Mr. R. V. Petersen, of Watsonville, Calif. In my opinion, Mr. Petersen's letter clearly indicates the thinking of the majority of the farmers in my congressional district:

CALIFORNIA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION,
Watsonville, Calif., March 16, 1955.

Hon. CHARLES S. GUBSER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GUBSER: Since 1948, Congress has been promising the American people a more economical and sounder farm-price support program; however, the chronology of events since that date indicates that there has been a recurring clash between the economics and politics of this program with politics winning out to date.

Last year again we thought we had that program when, after an exhaustive study of the Nation's agriculture problems, the facts and views developed became the basis of a new farm program which the President submitted to Congress. The heart of this program, just as in 1948 and 1949, involved the principle of flexible price supports for the basic commodities.

Now, however, we find ourselves once again faced with the political facet of this program with the House Agriculture Committee reporting out H. R. 12, which would take away this principle of flexible price supports and place us back on a high fixed price support program for basic as well as other commodities. We are told by labor that this is what the farmer needs.

Apparently this committee and labor have forgotten that the net realized loss of this program to the taxpayer from its inception in 1933 to June 30, 1953, was $1,110,000,000 and that the net realized loss for the first 9 months of fiscal year 1954 was $187 million as compared to $61 million for the whole of fiscal year 1953.

They seem also to have forgotten that last year it was necessary to raise the ceiling of money which the Commodity Credit Corporation was authorized to borrow from the Treasury from $6,750,000,000 to $8,500,000,000 in order that it could continue its operations.

Certainly, it would appear that they have forgotten that the great majority of farmers, as represented by the policy of the American Farm Bureau Federation, are opposed to high fixed-price supports, and that they favor the principle of flexible price supports and extension of modernized parity.

H. R. 12 must be defeated.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

R. V. PETERSEN.

To Make Our Security System Secure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEWART L. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, since there is obviously a growing interest these days in the vital question of our Nation's internal security, and a workable method of preserving both security and the rights of our citizens, it seems appropriate that every thoughtful pronouncement on the subject be given widespread circulation. Therefore, I submit the following statement by the well-known and respected scientist-statesman, Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution, which appeared in yesterday's New York Times magazine under the title "To Make Our Security System Secure":

TO MAKE OUR SECURITY SYSTEM SECURE

(By Vannevar Bush)

After a spell of fever the country has now returned to an almost normal temperature as it regards the problem of loyalty on the part of its citizens in high or sensitive places. Key cases have disappeared from the front page, the last of these being so patently absurd that it was ludicrous. Oppenheimer is living a happy and constructive life, contributing to our philosophy if not to our defense. Condon is teaching physics rather than making new kinds of glass, and no doubt teaching well. Ladejinsky is back at work on his specialty.

But no one looks back on the recent imbroglio over loyalty procedures with any pride or satisfaction. For widely different reasons the feeling prevails that the system of loyalty clearance under which we have operated has been defective. We need a new system, not a bit of tampering with the old; we need a 1955 model, not an antirattling device to be attached to a model T.

The new system should be built from the ground up by a competent body of men with an unrestricted assignment. That body should include members who are vigorously alive to the dangers of subversion and others who are equally alive to the rights of citizens. It should not be just a collection of scientists. It must, by all means, be divorced from politics. It need not be hurried at its job, for our present situation is apt to continue a long time. But it should be so thorough that it will bring the whole problem of enemy penetration and disloyalty under control, without again making it a political football and without wrecking the careers of humble public servants.

First, the body should visualize the world conditions under which the revised system is likely to operate; second, it should analyze the objectives and and methods of our enemy in the field of propaganda and subversion; third, it should write down the objectives which the new system is to accomplish; fourth, it should establish a group of prin-

ciples to which the system should conform; and, fifth, it should create a system that is to attain our objectives in accordance with the established principles. Here we can touch only the high spots of this program.

As nearly as we can now see, we are entering a period of technical stalemate, in which great wars are unlikely to occur, though secondary wars fought with limited means may be a common occurrence. This seems, at least, to be the best that we can hope for at present. For no great war can ever again be won; it can only end with the partial or complete annihilation of both contestants.

Our enemy relies chiefly on the weapons of penetration and subversion to weaken us so that later he can destroy us. He tries to steal our secrets, to penetrate our organizations and influence our actions, and, above all, to spread confusion and mutual distrust among us. In this last purpose he has been extremely successful—so successful, in fact, that he need hardly try further; for we are carrying on the process without his aid.

The enemy's success in this respect has had an especially severe impact on the scientific community. For scientists occupy a key position with respect to those secrets that should be most strictly kept. They are an individualistic lot; otherwise they would be of little value as scientists.

While they concentrate in their special fields, they are often extremely naive in others. When we dreamed of world understanding as a means of ending all war, there was a greater portion of gullible men among them than among most other intellectual groups. And there were a few—an exceedingly few—traitors among them.

Much of the recent witch-hunt, therefore, seemed to concentrate on their profession. Yet in no other place could its effects be more disastrous to our national interest. Young men hesitate to enter the scientific professions, and in particular to participate in the scientific programs of the military arms because of the danger to their reputations and success. We must change this situation if we are to compete on even terms with the enemy.

But let it be perfectly clear that scientists ask no special privilege. To restore the principles of the Bill of Rights in all the processes of Government is not to grant special privilege. To urge a revision of our present faulty security system is not to seek special privilege.

The great question now is whether our recent public behavior is a passing phase, or whether we propose to change our part of the free world until it becomes a replica of the captive world which opposes us. If we choose the latter, the struggle will be over, for it will then no longer matter which tyranny prevails.

What, then, should be our objectives as we construct and operate a system for examining into the loyalty of Government servants and those who serve voluntarily on boards or committees?

In the first place, we want to throw the Communists out. If there is a man, of any rank in the Government, who is taking his orders from the Kremlin, we want to get rid of him promptly. If there is a teacher who is imparting to the young principles which are not his own but are dictated to him by the machinery of the Communist Party, we want to see to it that he stops teaching.

There is a point here which needs more discussion. We believe in free speech and a free press and that any man has a right to express his honest opinions and to criticize his government.

We believe with Brandeis that "freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth; that without free speech and assembly, discussion would be futile; that with them, discussion affords ordinarily adequate protection against the dissemination of noxious doctrine; that the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people; that public discussion is a political duty; and that this should be a fundamental principle of the American Government."

We have generally accepted the statement by Holmes that "We should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country."

We hesitate, however, to go as far as Lincoln did when he said, "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

But there is a vast difference between the honest citizen who would change our system of government because he thinks he has a better system—even when his acts border on the violent—and the person who is part of a foreign conspiracy to wreck the Nation. Regarding the latter we have no doubts and no hesitancy. If he is a citizen, he is a traitor. If he is a guest in the land, he is a spy. In either case he must be found out and dealt with according to his deserts.

This alone, however, is not a sufficient objective. We want to make it possible for a humble citizen to serve his Government without fear of powerful men, we want decency in our national life. More than that, we want to establish an atmosphere of trust and mutual confidence among our citizens. Our security system needs to have two objectives, one to get rid of our enemies and their adherents, and the other to encourage, support and protect honest, loyal citizens as they work on matters that are important for our safety and our prosperity.

If a man was once a fool, do we condemn him for life, or do we let him prove that he has outgrown his folly? If we excluded from Government and from other employment all who have sometimes been foolish, we would not have enough left to man our guns or run our factories. But we are concerned here more particularly with the man who once subscribed to or flirted with the Communist philosophy and later, realizing his error, became a loyal citizen.

There are all degrees of involvement, of course. We certainly don't want to welcome with open arms, and introduce into sensitive spots, the man who professes sudden reformation. But neither do we want to exclude permanently from the practice of his trade or profession the man who did no more than attend a meeting of Communists out of curiosity when he was an adolescent.

The best proof of a change of heart is loyal service, and there are plenty of places in the Government where one can serve loyally without having access to military secrets. In the struggle with Russia we shall need all the capable men we can muster.

Quite apart from the question of decent humanity, we cannot afford to waste our most precious resource: the talents of our trained citizens. So, one object of our system should be to give the individual about whom there is doubt a chance—a safe one, certainly, but a path up instead of down, and an opportunity to remove whatever doubt exists.

If a new system is to be built, there are several principles to be kept in mind. A considerable catalog of them is contained in the Bill of Rights.

There seems to be a feeling about that the Government does not impose a penalty on a person unless it fines him or puts him in jail, and two fallacies have emerged from the confusion in this regard. It is said that to work for the Government is a privilege and, therefore, that the Government has a right to terminate one's employment with it arbitrarily.

There is no question of privilege involved. When a citizen serves the Government he is paid a salary and presumably gives capable, honest service in return. He has a duty to serve well and loyally. But the Government also has a responsibility to avoid imposing hardships on any man who has served it faithfully, except on proof of disloyalty or for reasons apart from those we are considering here, such as incompetence.

If disloyalty is not proved, but loyalty is doubted, we need not cut off a man's support and place a stigma on him that will make his employment elsewhere almost impossible. He can be shifted to an insensitive job with little difficulty and no danger. We have already damned for life too many humble employees of the Government merely because there was doubt or because our security system was too clumsy to resolve it.

In our courts we have a complex system of rules of evidence to protect a citizen against unwarranted prosecution, to expose liars, and to arrive at facts as far as is possible in the light of human frailties. Undoubtedly we have at times carried this system to extremes and hobbled our procedure unnecessarily. But the system has evolved as a result of 1,000 years of experience, and we should not abandon it lightly.

We cannot carry it all over into loyalty procedures without rendering them cumbersome. Still, such procedures place a man in jeopardy; not, to be sure, of life or limb, but of his good name, which may be more precious; and, therefore, the best advice of men learned in the law should be obtained if we are to have a sound and fair system embodying the safeguards that have been found essential for wise judgments.

We have had, recently, some very striking and disheartening examples of how far an unscrupulous liar can go and the harm he can do when proceedings are loose and informal, and he does not have to run the gauntlet of vigorous cross-examination.

The Bill of Rights says that a man shall not be twice placed in jeopardy for the same offense. In our loyalty system there is no finality. Important men who could contribute much to the Nation's real security have found it necessary time after time to go through the same rigmarole, filling out forms, appearing before loyalty boards, reassuring their neighbors that constant inquiry does not necesarily mean they are subversive.

Some have also had to spend their own money, time after time, merely defending themselves against ill-founded attacks. This has not generally been the result of new evidence presented. It has just been because we have a clumsy, inadequate system, steeped in confusion. When a man is cleared he ought to stay cleared unless there is new and pertinent evidence that he should not be.

Do we still subscribe to that item of the Bill of Rights? Or do we think it is not jeopardy when a man may lose position, reputation and friends because of the acts of his Government?

The most serious aspect of our system to date has been that it has been used for spite and for thought control. Wholly unsupported charges lodged mainly for spite have been entertained seriously and made the basis for action when a proper court would have completely disregarded them.

The matter of thought control has been more subtle and more disastrous. Apparently the argument goes something like this: A man expressed opinions contrary to those which have been accepted as a Government policy. Perhaps he did so in the interests of Russia. We shall, therefore, examine whether his opinions were sound. What a travesty on the ideals of free speech.

And I am not writing merely of cases that have been in the headlines. I have in mind cases of a number of persons that received no publicity. My information about them is fragmentary, and I could prove nothing; for they have been surrounded with all the paraphernalia of secrecy; they have been the subject of star chamber proceedings.

But I believe there has been altogether too much thought control of this kind; for if it has been practiced in the full light of day, as it has, we may be sure it has been practiced far more in secret—sometimes on no better ground than that a man's arguments regarding policy have been found inconvenient.

Now I do not intend to prescribe an ideal system. I hope very much that a fully competent board will be given the task of doing so before more harm is done. But I have three suggestions in that direction.

In the practice of criminal law we have grand juries. They are part of our heritage from the long struggle of the past against arbitrary power. Their power is to protect the individual against capricious acts on the part of government officials. Before a district attorney can jail a man and force him to defend himself in court against serious charges, he must have him indicted. And no indictment will be returned unless the district attorney can convince a grand jury, made up of the man's fellow citizens chosen by lot, that he has a strong enough case to warrant setting all the machinery of the courts in motion.

Under our loyalty system, on the contrary, a man can be suspended and forced to defend himself at the whim of an official who may have only the flimsiest of evidence against him. We need the equivalent of a grand jury in our security system. Such an equivalent would be made up of men who owe no allegiance to any official who may make charges, and it should be rigorously supported and protected in its deliberations and findings.

It could be selected by lot from men in the civil service, as grand juries are selected from the general body of citizens, which would be a reasonable and democratic way of sharing the burden. No machinery of trial should move unless there are serious charges supported by adequate evidence in the opinion of such a group of men. If this had been a part of our system in recent years, a large number of cases that have caused real distress would never have got started.

The relation of a government to its employees is a different matter than its relations to citizens at large. It is, in some ways, comparable to its relation to men in uniform. There are a dependence and an agreement under which both the men and the Government have obligations and responsibilities.

When a soldier is subjected to court-martial, the Government furnishes him with counsel. Under the present loyalty system, a man who is accused must defend himself at his own expense. When our system is revised this burden should be lifted. The accused should be furnished with vigorous and capable counsel and should have wide latitude in its selection. He can then add his own counsel if he sees fit.

Such a provision would accomplish a number of things. It would protect the man who is without resources and to whom his job may be highly important. It would put an end to the absurdity of preventing an accused man or his counsel from seeing some of the evidence because it is classified. This would be no more than merely decent and fair.

In addition to positive machinery for detecting and excluding disloyal persons in our midst, there should be equally positive means for insuring that the system is not used for improper purposes—for spite, for thought control, or for political advantage.

A grand jury can report to a court, and often does, if it believes prosecuting officers are violating the law. An equivalent of the grand jury should have a corresponding opportunity in connection with loyalty procedures. And it should report to the top in such instances—to the superiors of the offending official as many steps removed as the circumstances and the gravity of the offense warrant, in its opinion. The public would then have some assurance that the practice under the system is clean.

All that I have said has to do with the security system employed in the executive branch of Government. What committees of Congress do is up to Congress and, in the last analysis, up to the public opinion which obtains. Courts, quite properly, refrain from entering into questions of how Congress conducts its business.

But if the executive branch has a really effective system in operation and has cleaned its house, there will be few specific cases to which Congress can usefully direct its attention. We may then arrive at a situation in which Congress examines only into the manner in which the executive branch is operating, instead of attempting, in an exceedingly cumbersome and defective manner, the examination of individual cases, which should be promptly and effectively handled by a system designed specifically for that purpose.

The tide has apparently turned. We are much more sane and less hysterical than a year ago. We are gradually becoming more reasonable in our approach to the problem of subversives. But there is a danger here. Public opinion in this country sometimes swings to extremes: witness the great prohibition experiment.

As the tide turns, we should be on the alert to see that it does not swing too far and leave us complacent. We still, no doubt, have some Communists in our midst; and we still need to be vigilant in finding and removing them from places of trust in Government and industry.

It is time for a new system, one that strikes a proper balance, seeking out and removing enemy sympathizers who are doing us harm, but offering reasonable protection to the innocent as it does so; one that will be decent and just and that will not itself subvert those ancient rights of man which are the essence of his liberty.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

One Hundred and Twelfth Anniversary of The Citadel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address delivered on March 19, 1955, by Hon. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., Governor of South Carolina, to the corps of cadets of The Citadel on the occasion of the 112th anniversary of the corps.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN, JR., GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA

INTRODUCTION

General Clark, gentlemen of the corps of cadets, ladies and gentlemen, I congratulate the corps of cadets on its 112th birthday.

As one who once wore the uniform of The Citadel I am honored to come before the corps as principal speaker on this important day in your academic year.

I congratulate the people of South Carolina for maintaining an institution that has attracted outstanding young men for more than a century.

From its beginning, The Citadel has been in the forefront in the development of young men into respected leaders in the many phases of life in our State and Nation.

As a Citadel man, I regret that one who is a prominent symbol of the strength and the tradition of The Citadel is unable to be with us today. I am sure that he joins with us in anticipating with confidence the continued development of our college. To him, Gen. Charles P. Summerall, I convey our greetings as the college to which he gave so much passes another milestone.

As well as the 112th birthday of the corps, today marks the first anniversary of the association of The Citadel and the man who has succeeded General Summerall.

Gentlemen of the corps, Citadel men around the world, and the people of South Carolina rejoiced at our good fortune when a man known to the world, Gen. Mark Wayne Clark, was inaugurated as the 11th president of The Citadel.

General Clark brought with him established qualities as an administrator and leader. He has shown a great understanding and appreciation of the traditions and aims of the military college of South Carolina. He has assessed accurately the present position of The Citadel and has given his attention to long range planning to maintain and strengthen that position in future years.

The opportunity to address the corps of cadets presents an important challenge.

Although it has been said repeatedly, there is no statement with more truth than to say that the future of our State and Nation rests with young men like you.

RECORD OF CITADEL MEN

South Carolinians are proud of the record made by Citadel men.

The original corps of cadets guarded the arms of the State at Charleston in a fortress known as The Citadel. From that fortress came the name of our college. From the first cadets came the great military tradition of the corps—to train for military leadership while acquiring an academic education; to learn to receive orders and to give orders as a way of developing self-discipline; and to have instilled the conviction that any sacrifice must be made when principle is involved and that truth, honor, and integrity are the basis of character.

Those before you have attained much success. Part of them have made the military a career. Only the academies at Annapolis and West Point, all of whose graduates enter upon active duty, have contributed a higher percentage of men to the military.

Citadel men have attained the leadership and great responsibility in military life. Citadel men have attained the leadership and great responsibility in civilian life. The record of Citadel men is your goal.

THE CADET OF TODAY

When you elected The Citadel for your academic training, you voluntarily turned from the easier road.

You came for a sound education, but you came also for a full-time program of military training.

There is a modern day philosophy holding that we are all equal, that there is no man but the average man. It is a philosophy that I reject. At no time would I reject it more strongly than when I stand before the cadet corps.

You have not taken the easy way. To succeed as a member of the corps of cadets you must apply yourself.

You learn that the hard work you do as a cadet is not an end in itself. You learn that the highest accomplishment comes from the greatest effort. You learn how to use your faculties so that throughout your lifetime you will be, not just an average man, but a leader of men.

THE WORLD CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME

At no time in history has the demand for able men been greater than it is today.

For the larger part of your life, we have been geared for war or the threat of war. We are striving constantly to have available for instant call millions of trained men. Such a military buildup requires leaders. On your shoulders will fall some of the future responsibility for that leadership.

More than two thousand years ago, a Greek named Plato, suggested that the laws of Greece ought to apply equally to everyone.

For this trouble, he was laughed at and scorned by many of the people of his time.

It was unthinkable to them that the laws were meant to apply equally to all.

But that dream remained in the minds and hearts of men.

Today we live in a land in which the right of the individual is fundamental.

Our concept of law is ultimately based on the protection of the individual.

Unfortunately only a small percentage of the peoples of the earth are governed by laws based on that concept.

Another theory, as old as the human race, abounds, and is being retested.

It regards the individual as unimportant. It considers the law as existing not for his benefit and protection but for his exploitation and regimentation.

Those who adhere to this theory are dedicated to the avowed destruction of those who adhere to our concept. They seek their goal by any means, fair or foul, external or internal, by force from without or collapse from within.

There always have been evil forces at work in the world.

These things are not new, but never before has the issue been so clearly put, nor the stakes to the loser so costly as now.

Today we see that men's minds are being fought for and the control of their thinking is being fought for.

We are necessarily aware that we can no longer define war, or total war as it is often called, in terms of explosive destruction alone.

We know that there exists the scientific knowledge and the explosive power to annihilate life on earth.

The challenge which confronts the world is clear.

How we meet that challenge will determine the future course of history.

Should man fail, it could mean the end.

History will eventually give the answer, perhaps in blunt, even brutal, terms as it pursues the course that man will set for it.

THE STATE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME

In South Carolina today there, too, is a great need for young men with qualities of leadership.

From your ranks much of this leadership can be supplied.

South Carolina today offers more opportunity to the young man than ever before in our history.

Our State has made greater strides in many fields of endeavor in recent years than any State in our Nation.

In only 10 years industry has made almost a billion dollars in capital investments within South Carolina. These investments in our future mean additional jobs for our people. New jobs mean new payrolls. New payrolls mean new markets. New markets mean greater prosperity. We are developing daily on these fronts. As we develop we do not exhaust our opportunities. We create additional opportunity.

Since South Carolina was a young colony, it has been the local leadership which has enabled us to develop and move forward.

Local leadership in the ante bellum period made South Carolina the third richest State in the Nation.

Local leadership carried South Carolina through reconstruction and into the greatest period of development in our history. Local leadership in the years ahead will carry our State to heights many of our people would not dare dream of today.

It was the local leadership of William Gregg that established South Carolina's first cotton mill at Graniteville in 1846.

It was the local leadership of James C. Self, of Greenwood, that resulted in better working conditions, better housing, better medical care, higher wages, and a better standard of living. His pioneering gave the industrial worker a new set of basic minimums not only in South Carolina but throughout the South.

It was local leadership that has made our State the textile manufacturing center of the world.

It was local leadership that brought to our State the basic wool plants which will be the foundation on which we will develop as the wool center of the world.

It was local leadership that took the port of Charleston, a dormant installation, and in 10 years developed it into one of the leading ports of the Nation. It is local leadership which is guiding the port of Charleston today as the fastest-growing port in the Southeast.

It was local leadership which recognized the needs in the field of public schools and brought about an educational revolution which has put our State 4 years ahead of the Nation.

It was local leadership which founded and developed our fine system of higher education.

It was local leadership that provided a college for military training at the Citadel. It was local leadership that provided for our State university at Columbia. It was local leadership that provided for mechanical and agricultural education at Clemson College.

It was local leadership working through Clemson College that brought about an agricultural revolution in South Carolina.

It was local leadership that enabled South Carolina to pioneer a statewide highway system.

Local leadership is developing the greatest industrial water supply in our Nation a few miles from Charleston at Bushy Park.

Local leadership through the years has answered the challenge of the times—to build schools or railroads or highways when the progress of our people demanded it.

I ask you to look beyond the opportunity of immediate economic security to the opportunity to accept the great challenge of development.

Our population is increasing and employment for that population is increasing. Because of that, our markets are increasing for agricultural products, manufactured products, and services of many kinds.

In spite of these increases, South Carolina is still 45th in the Nation in per capita income.

In spite of our growing employment, South Carolina offers 114 young men to replace each farmer who dies or retires.

Until the per capita income of our people, white and Negro, exceeds the national average, until every man able and willing to accept employment has a decent job, until every acre of abandoned land has been put into cultivation, until the great natural harbors at Georgetown and Port Royal join the port of Charleston as busy gateways to world trade, a challenge will face the leaders of South Carolina.

Until our peoples are properly housed and properly clothed and properly fed, that challenge will exist. Until our peoples have adequate medical care and a fair share of the comforts of this modern age, that challenge will exist. Until we can provide the best educational opportunities for our youth, that challenge will exist. Until all other services which our citizens expect from the State are brought to the highest standards, that challenge will exist.

CONCLUSION

The challenge which faces you is no less important than the challenge which faced William Gregg as he built his cotton mill.

The way perhaps will be easier.

No longer must you seek the shoals of the river to find power to turn the wheel. Today even the electric-power companies no longer have to seek the perfect hydroelectric site. Steam turbines lend themselves to convenience and efficiency in location.

Transportation is provided by highway, railroad, and air in such a blanket of facilities that no section of South Carolina is isolated.

Improved methods and mechanical tools provide greater yields in manufacturing and in agriculture.

Mankind is seeking utopia. It is not likely that it will be found. But we have achieved much and will achieve more in driving toward a higher goal.

As long as man seeks utopia, there will be an audience for those persons with fancy schemes and shortcut proposals.

But there is no shortcut. There is no plan whereby one man or a small group of men can wish for utopia and simply by wishing bring such a state into being.

The alternative to a government-controlled economy is one built on the energy and initiative of the individual.

It is that alternative which needs you in the ranks of leadership.

How you meet the challenge of your course of study at the Citadel may well determine how well you meet the challenge of the future of South Carolina.

It is my sincere hope that you accept the challenge of South Carolina. If you do accept it, it will not be an easy road.

You will encounter selfish interests who think not of a better tomorrow for our State but only of themselves in the present. Do not let them shake your faith in our future. No man works for the development of our State without working for his own betterment. Man draws more from the expanding economy than from the shrinking economy.

The goal is a better life.

The challenge is there. It is yours to answer.

The International Atomic Energy Program—Address by Hon. Morehead Patterson

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have prepared a statement relative to the International Atomic Energy Agency and negotiations for worldwide peaceful application of this great nuclear force.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement and the attached speech by the Honorable Morehead Patterson be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and appended speech were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

The world has noted with interest the latest example of Soviet duplicity: Izvestia, characteristically, has just denounced President Eisenhower's effort for worldwide peaceful application of atomic energy. Izvestia slandered the historic address made by our Chief Executive on December 8, 1953, before the United Nations General Assembly.

Thus, once more, the Soviet Union brands itself in the eyes of the world as an opponent of all reasonable steps actually to harness this great force for man's benefit, and to prevent it from being used for man's destruction.

The Soviet Union's course with respect to President Eisenhower's efforts represent a typical instance of the Soviet Union's talking out of both sides of its mouth at the same time. This situation proves once more the Soviet tendency to lie unendingly, to propagandize unconscionably.

Nevertheless, we are not disenheartened. We are not discouraged. We are not going to permit Soviet sabotage to impair our efforts in relation to working out with the free nations the great plans which have been spelled out by our Chief Executive.

MANY PROBLEMS LIE BEFORE US

I have noted with deep interest the progress of many of the free nations in their nuclear reactor programs or the beginnings of such programs.

I feel that we are entering upon a new age in which many underdeveloped nations can span the gap toward industrialization with a speed which might heretofore have been inconceivable.

There are, of course, a great many technical and economic problems which must still be resolved before atomic energy can be produced economically for peaceful power purposes. This is not going to happen overnight by waving a magic wand, but that it is going to happen within a reasonable time is certain. We are sure that under the great leadership of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, we will, in concert with freemen everywhere move toward the goals which we have set for ourselves.

ADDRESS BY MOREHEAD PATTERSON

America is fortunate that we have as our United States representative for international atomic energy negotiations an outstanding citizen, a leading businessman (president of the American Machine & Foundry Co.), a man who has already proved his mettle in U. N. conferences on disarmament, Mr. Morehead Patterson.

I was pleased the other day to read the text of an address which Mr. Patterson delivered at the opening of the School of Nuclear Sciences and Engineering in Chicago. In it, he voices many extremely significant observations with regard to the future peaceful application of atomic energy on an international scale. This is Mr. Patterson's first public address in his new capacity.

AN HISTORIC CHAPTER

This overall subject is, of course, no mere passing matter.

I believe that when the history of these times is written, the role played by President Eisenhower in the atoms-for-peace plan will constitute one of the most significant chapters of our times.

I believe, too, that the vital role played by Adm. Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in pioneering in the peaceful application of atomic energy, will likewise stand as one of the outstanding roles of a public servant in our time.

In the flux of day-to-day events, let us keep these immensely significant contributions in mind.

Let us bear in mind, too, that it is the genius of United States free enterprise which is in the vanguard of actually carrying out the technical details of this work.

VITAL WORK OF ATOMIC INDUSTRIAL FORUM

Fortunately, a great many of America's finest companies, including many in my own State, are now laying sound plans to cooperate with our Government in peaceful use of the atom.

The Atomic Industrial Forum is serving invaluably in this overall effort.

American business is thus demonstrating to the world its vision and resourcefulness in opening a new chapter in our free-enterprise system. And Government is giving the "green light" as fast as security considerations and other problems will permit.

Meanwhile, on the international scale, America is acting upon her unparalleled opportunity to serve man's welfare and to strengthen relations with all free nations, as well as trying to come to some meeting ground with the east.

SPEECH AND EDITORIAL

There follow now excerpts from the text of Mr. Patterson's vital address.

It is followed by an editorial from the March 17 Milwaukee Journal, describing the significance of the historic occasion at the opening of the school.

I may note that Mr. Patterson is going to address an important conference in San Francisco on April 4, conducted by the Atomic Industrial Forum and Stanford Research Institute. The theme of the conference is Atomic Energy—The New Industrial Frontier. Other speakers will include Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Nobel prize winner, and Dr. Edward Teller, famed nuclear scientist. This meeting at the Mark Hopkins Hotel is typical of the very significant work being spearheaded by the Atomic Industrial Forum, in acquainting United States business with its opportunities and responsibilities in the atomic age.

MAN'S BENEFITS FROM THE ATOM

(Address by Ambassador Morehead Patterson, United States representative for international atomic-energy negotiations, at the opening of the School of Nuclear Sciences and Engineering, Chicago, Ill., March 13, 1955)

This day will long be remembered by peoples everywhere. It marks the beginning of an extensive, permanent program of international educational exchange applying the knowledge of the atom to the betterment and the improvement of mankind.

You who come from every continent of this earth are true trailblazers in this historic program of peaceful cooperation. Representatives from 19 countries are ready to begin here at the School of Nuclear Sciences and Engineering a most unique and fruitful program.

Each of you is a living testimonial to the desire that burns in all the world's people—to help one another toward greater health, security, and well-being. Through your studies here you will have the opportunity to make a substantial contribution toward that end for your own countries and peoples and for all the countries and all the peoples of the world.

The opening of this school is a true realization of the hope that modern man can learn to overcome his fears and his misunderstandings in much the same way that we have learned and are still learning to fathom the infinite mysteries of nature and to apply them to the benefit of all.

This School of Nuclear Sciences and Engineering equally represents a most remarkable advance along the path of international cooperation. One of the greatest obstacles to the speedier development of the peaceful uses of the atom is the lack of a large enough body of scientists and technicians trained to deal with nuclear materials. We cannot have powerplants operating by atomic fission, for instance, until we have technicians who know how to operate them. As a result, we must train a large body of individuals all over the world who can grasp the problems and know what is required to work safely and effectively with atomic materials. There are substantial numbers of reactor engineers in the United States, in the United Kingdom, and in Canada, and there are quite a few in other lands. Their number must be rapidly increased, especially today. That is exactly what we are trying to do with this school and with this course.

The existence of this school for the exchange of know-how to the benefit of mankind is a typical way in which the American people desire to express their deep and genuine hatred of war and their devotion to peace. History has shown that the American civilization flourishes in peace. War, and especially war in the 20th century, must of necessity bring with it the type of economic regimentation which is destructive of the finest and most productive values in American life.

It is for these simple reasons that the harnessing of the atom for peaceful purposes is a natural and inevitable step for the American people. And this, by the same definition, is an advance which the American people like and prefer to share with their friends abroad. Similarly, it was natural and easy, though admittedly naive, for the American people to disarm rapidly soon after the end of both World Wars. What other country could have demobilized 8 million men in 10 months? It was also natural and easy for the American people to offer to give up their most powerful weapon of war—the atom bomb—and internationalize atomic energy. Despite the fact that the United States had a monopoly of that weapon at that time, the sole condition made was that a foolproof system of safeguards be established. Those were easy, unhesitant decisions for the United States. The difficult and trying decision is to maintain preparedness. While the atom takes on a primary peaceful aspect, we shall not weaken our defenses to the detriment of real security.

The unique course you are about to begin is the natural consequence of another memorable event. On December 8, 1953, the President of the United States delivered a message of hope to the world—a broad plan for turning the atom to peaceful uses.

* * * * *

He thus proposed that the benefits of atomic energy be used for the good of all mankind, and not confined to the few States that by an act of God, so to speak, have atomic know-how.

The impact of the President's thoughts was great. It stirred the imaginations of people all over the world and created a tremendous wave of enthusiasm which even a dash of Russian cold water failed to chill. It was also greeted by some with cynicism and pessimism.

Such was the enthusiam that many were inclined to overestimate and forget the practical difficulties involved in putting the atom to work. Some have concluded that in a very short time—perhaps next month or next year—we would find ourselves in a rose-tinted era of atomic plenty. All of us—in industry, in science, and in positions of public responsibility for the peaceful development of nuclear energy—have contributed in some measure to this excessive public optimism on how much we can expect from the atom, and how soon. Sometimes we compete with one another to see who can take the longest leap into outer space in projecting the overnight transformation of every aspect of human life through the application of atomic power. One could argue that there is nothing drastically wrong with this dreaming.

The free world was not alone in this contemplation of atomic possibilities. What, for instance, have the Russians to say on this subject? Let me quote from a recent article in the Soviet magazine New Generation (Smena):

"The use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes will permit the correcting of many of nature's mistakes * * * the Turgai Gates might be blown up to open the way for Siberian rivers to flow south to Central Asia and Kazakhstan."

Other projects which this article promised are "irrigating such deserts as the Sahara, construction of a colossal powerplant in the Straits of Gibraltar, building a dam in the Bering Straits which would be connected with a series of other structures that would direct the warm streams of the Pacific Ocean to the Arctic Ocean to warm the areas beyond the Arctic Circle."

While the article then indicated that all this could happen immediately, it points out that these "earth-shaking schemes will have to wait for the end of capitalism."

From what we really know, none of these earth-shaking schemes nor, in passing, the end of capitalism is imminent.

So much for the optimists.

Now for the pessimists.

A respected political leader in one country suggests that we give up hope of ever being able to solve all atomic problems; that we turn back the clock and that the United States "throw all its atom bombs into the deep Antarctic and begin a new world free from fear." Of course, this would mean a complete halt to the development of peaceful uses of the atom, since the basic fissionable materials that we would throw into the Antarctic would be the same as the materials used in powerplants.

The road which the United States is presently following is not that of unrealizable earth-shaking schemes; or is it the road of despair which would abandon all hope of progress because of its dangers. We are seeking to move forward constructively and practically with steady steps toward our goal of making the atom a real servant of mankind. We hope and know that each year will show advances over the previous year.

I am deeply convinced that the atom holds limitless potentialities for human good. Science and industry, hand in hand with the Government, will level the barriers that stand between us and its useful application. By focusing increased attention on these problems and the freer exchange of information between countries—which is reflected in the school here—the time for achieving appreciable results will get shorter. Every promise has 3 dimensions, 1 of which is time.

We will bring about only disappointment, and perhaps even disillusionment and despair, if people become persuaded that all this represents a quick or easy assignment.

The Sahara just cannot be made to bloom next year.

The face of the globe cannot be altered to turn the North Pole into a tropic paradise the year after that.

We must realize that great human and material effort must still be exerted before we can tap the atom's full potential; and that, even when we do, it will not be the answer to every problem in every corner of the earth.

This state of mind can easily be described by the old maxim: Before we can run, we must learn to walk.

In the public discussions on the potentials of the atom the aspect that has attracted principal attention until now is the prospect of cheap and plentiful electric power, using nuclear materials as fuel.

So many countries are in need of new fuel sources and the world's energy requirements are rising so rapidly that much of our immediate hope for the atom is concentrated in this field. A good part of your own time at this school will be devoted to certain aspects of this subject.

The countries which you represent hope to realize many benefits from the development of reliable and economical powerplants utilizing nuclear fuels as soon as possible. For each country the timetable of this development will vary. The power requirements of your countries are increasing rapidly each year. For example, I understand that the rise in Portugal amounts to 20 percent per year.

At the same time the conventional sources of fuel—solid fuels, liquid fuels, and water power—are generally inadequate today and can be expanded only with difficulty.

Let us be specific for a moment: In France and Belgium the solid fuels which up until now have been the chief source of energy are becoming more expensive to produce and there is little possibility of rapid expansion

of production. The recent discoveries of oil in France are indeed encouraging but will probably be used for purposes other than energy.

In Switzerland, Sweden, Portugal, and Greece expansion of hydroelectric resources is definitely limited and there is no substantial production of liquid or solid fuels.

Portugal fortunately has rich deposits of uranium. In Spain with its limited hydroelectric and solid fuel resources we look forward to especially rapid increase in the demands for power.

To turn to Asia: The hydroelectric and solid fuel resources of Japan are already entirely inadequate to take care of its highly industrialized economy. There is no oil production.

In the Philippines even today we find a desperate power shortage which impedes the industrial development of the country.

Thailand is completely dependent on imported fuel to meet its power requirements.

In Pakistan domestic production of fuels is equal to only about one-fourth of present consumption requirements.

Indonesia is more fortunate than some of its neighbors because of its nearly unlimited resources in petroleum. However, its vast populations should benefit especially from applications of the atoms in the field of health and agriculture.

Israel has as yet found neither liquids nor solid fuels in its borders.

Australia has large solid fuel resources. Yet its program for expanding its economy should benefit materially from harnessing the atom for peace, especially since Australia is a potentially large producer of uranium.

There are a number of peaceful uses of the atom now being developed which could be extremely helpful to Egypt in solving its unique economic problems. I refer in particular to the tracer techniques as applied to agriculture and to the considerable experimentation now going on to develop economical methods of transforming sea water to fresh water.

To turn to the Western Hemisphere: Of the countries represented in this course only Mexico has at the present time adequate developed fuel resources within its borders; all four states—Argentina, Brazil Guatemala, and Mexico—have embarked on programs of industrial development which can benefit materially from the atom.

I think it is safe to say that every one of you when you return to your homes will find problems in your countries at least in the planning stage to which you can apply immediately and profitably the knowledge and skills which you will acquire in these courses.

To my mind, the best way to illustrate where we stand today in the realm of atomic power is to draw an analogy between the development of aviation in the early years of this century and the present stage of development of atomic energy.

In the late twenties—many here will recall—a wave of enthusiasm engulfed the world in connection with the benefits to be derived by mankind from the peaceful uses of the aeroplane. Up to that time, the chief developments in aircraft had all been military. Little serious thought was given to the commercial use of planes. Suddenly, the world seemed to visualize a tremendous future for civil aviation.

* * * * *

The headway in civil aviation has, of course, been impressive. It has brought material benefits to all of us. And yet very few of us can commute to work by air; even fewer drop out of the skies to visit their friends for an evening. Railroads, steamers, and buses continue to run, and the use of automobiles has increased many times more rapidly than the use of the planes.

The reason why the dreams of the twenties are still only partly realized is a simple one: With aviation, something new was added to the complexities of travel—the law of gravity. Flying is not dangerous. The danger begins when the motor fails and you stop flying. Ever since the Wright brothers made their first flight our ingenuity has been focused in two directions: First, on ways to make planes safer and more reliable; and second, on the training of technicians—the pilots and ground crews. We have made enormous strides in this direction.

Today after 50 years of constant experimentation and improvement, air travel has become so safe that our major airlines fly millions of miles each year without a casualty. They solved the safety problem, just as you, and others like you, will solve the problems inherent in the safe application of atomic power. But it took time.

* * * * *

We are going to get a great deal from the atom, but it is foolhardy to tell ourselves we are going to accomplish this revolution overnight.

I am confident that the will and the ability to solve these many problems will be found. Indeed, an occasion like this one here today represents the best assurance that the thinking of experts from all nations can and will be focused on the prompt and effective solution of problems which man has the ingenuity to conquer. Out of such fine cooperation can come only good.

These past months progress has been made toward international cooperation in peaceful uses of the atom. We have moved forward on the path leading to the creation of an International Atomic Energy Agency as suggested by President Eisenhower. A draft statute for such an agency has been prepared and is presently under active negotiation. Included in this statute are numerous constructive steps suggested during the lengthy and helpful debate on this subject in the last United Nations General Assembly. It would be premature to discuss today the details of the proposed agency. Soon there will be in existence an active international agency to develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy. I hope that many of you will share in the work of this agency.

The opening of the School for Nuclear Science and Engineering is yet another step toward this important path of international cooperation to bring out greater peaceful uses of the atom. So is the forthcoming Technical Conference on the atom in Geneva in August.

Highly significant in the operation of this school is its worldwide representation, spread all over the globe.

We might call the roll to bring out this vital fact:

From Africa, Egypt is represented here; Australia is represented. From Asia we have here students from Japan, Pakistan, Israel, Thailand, Philippines, and Indonesia. Europe is represented by Belgium, France, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. America is represented by Guatemala and Mexico and by Argentina and Brazil.

* * * * *

We certainly should have a good start in developing trained technicians all over the world.

By this school and by joint participation we have made a real move toward international cooperation in harnessing the atom for peace. The message of hope which the President of the United States gave to the United Nations a little over a year ago has become today a reality. More will be done in the future.

In the future when we have an International Atomic Energy Agency, as visualized by the President, I hope that all countries with atomic know-how, including the Soviet Union, will invite citizens of all nations to participate in their training programs on an exchange basis. The International Agency may have training programs of its own; and in any event, it can assist materially in arranging for spreading atomic know-how everywhere.

I congratulate the Atomic Energy Commission for its broad vision in establishing this school. I congratulate the staff of the school for the careful and skillful arrangements which, I am convinced, will make the courses a success.

And I congratulate you, the students from foreign lands, who will go back to your countries as pioneers in this great work. You signify the urgency expressed throughout the world for affirmative action to assure the survival of humanity on this planet—survival in the face of possible widespread destruction from the use of this same atomic energy for war only. I think it is the justifiable hope of the world that as peaceful uses of atomic energy become universal and the power systems of the world become more and more dependent upon it, its destructive use in allout war may become less likely. In this sense the development of nuclear power would have significance far beyond the economic sphere which is the perspective in which it is generally considered today. In this sense your efforts as pioneers in your countries in this field may well qualify you for the blessed reward promised to peacemakers. You will be in that enviable position of making the world we live in better, more secure, and healthier. This represents real hope. By exchanging know-how and ideas all men benefit. The American people by their action in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy have dedicated themselves to that goal.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 17, 1955]

REPAYING OUR ATOMIC DEBT

America this week started sharing with other nations of the world some of the knowledge and skills that have given us preeminence in the realm of atomic science.

At the Argonne National Laboratory, southwest of Chicago, representatives of 19 foreign lands gathered for the opening of the new School of Nuclear Science and Engineering. There they will learn the techniques of operating atomic reactors so they may return home and pass on their knowledge to others. Thus will be created a body of technicians for the constructive use of atomic energy.

One may properly take pride in this example of American generosity. But, in truth, it represents only a partial repayment of the immense contributions made to our earlier atomic effort by scientists of foreign lands.

The roll of these scientists was called, in part, at ceremonies opening the school: Einstein, of Germany; Fermi, of Italy; Bohr, of Denmark; Breit, of Russia; Szilard and Wigner, of Hungary; Zinn, of Canada; they and many others; and before them Hahn and Strassman, of Germany; Cockroft, of England; the Curies, of France and Poland.

Not until the present modest beginning has been vastly broadened can we mark the debt paid. President Eisenhower sketched the outlines in his electrifying atoms-for-peace proposal to the United Nations.

The Uses of Fear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

the Appendix of the RECORD an address on the subject, The Uses of Fear, delivered by Representative JOHN M. VORYS, of Ohio, at the Ohio State University convocation on March 18, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE USES OF FEAR

(By Representative JOHN M. VORYS, of Ohio, at Ohio State University convocation on March 18, 1955)

Midwinter seniors of 1955, I congratulate you upon your graduation. You have not finished your education. You will forget much you have learned and much of it is subject to change by new discoveries, by time and experience; but if you have truly learned to learn, you are ready for your life's work, and are needed.

You are graduating in a period of unparalleled prosperity in the richest country on earth in all history; but this is a time of fear. In 1943 I spoke here a a convocation in the middle of World War II. I said, "How can we win the war? * * * Who keeps score on who wins? We will know we have won, not on the day we march into Berlin and Tokyo, but on the day our troops march out of Berlin and Tokyo, for home, for good, knowing they will not have to return."

Today, 12 years later, our troops are still in Germany and Japan, and we are promising they will stay there, indefinitely. We have extended the draft again. Two-thirds of our Federal budget goes for military spending. The struggle against totalitarian aggression has not been won, and we live in an age of fear because of the threat of totalitarian communism.

The A-bomb and H-bomb have created a new kind of fear, that spreads and deepens as we learn more of the effects of nuclear warfare. I have seen an A-bomb explosion out at Yucca flats in Nevada. It was only a little one, of the size that took only 100,000 lives at Hiroshima. The yield of an H-bomb is far greater. The effects of high-yield nuclear weapons have been described and detailed so thoroughly in the press, the movies, over radio and television, that yield, blast and heat, radiation and fallout are words of common knowledge. Prime Minister Churchill says that by this knowledge "the entire foundation of human affairs was revolutionized and mankind placed in a position both measureless and laden with 'doom'," He said, "the hydrogen bomb has made an astounding incursion into the structure of our lives and thoughts. Its impact is prodigious and profound." The Soviets are making the most of this fear in planning their propaganda.

Another and entirely different kind of fear has been introduced into our lives by the Communist threat. Their conspiracy for overthrowing us from within, by propaganda, subversion, espionage and sabotage, and the necessary counter-measures we must take, cause us to fear each other as we have never done before. A newspaper tells of the nightmarish terror and emotional breakdowns suffered by persons feeling unjustly accused as security risks, as reported to the American Orthopsychiatric Association predicting that the extension of the security program will bring about a mental hygene problem of national proportions. This report has been criticized as exaggerated and unsound, but it calls attention to a new kind of fear in America. It says nothing of the deep, disturbing, well-founded fear of Communist infiltration which underlies our attempts to discover security risks and bar them from sensitive posts. These new fears, creating confusion and suspicion among us, are useful to the Communist conspiracy which is responsible for them.

The Communists have developed other techniques for using fear, improving on Nazi methods they took over after World War II. Ten years ago I saw an underground factory at Nordhausen, Germany, where 30,000 slave laborers were turning out V–2 rocket bombs. We used to believe that mass slave labor was only good for unskilled work. At Nordhausen, however, the Nazis, by a scientifically planned system of punishment and terror, were obtaining skillful, intricate, precision work from slaves motivated solely by fear. The Russians took over this factory and this system.

The Communists use fear, not only to direct men's acts, but to mould their words, their wills, their thoughts. The protracted, ingenious, efficient cruelty of brain-washing has been brought home to us in all its sickening horror by the treatment of Americans in the hands of the Chinese Reds.

These are some of the fears involved in the cold war and some of the uses of fear by the Communists. We have many problems not connected with communism that must be solved, involving hopes and fears, opportunities for success and failure. But fear is contagious, and in an age of fear there is a tendency, a temptation, to state all our problems in terms of fear so as to attract attention.

Widespread fear of mass unemployment of skilled workers due to "automation," the new word for the rapidly increasing use of so-called mechanical-brain machines, is being generated as a result of studies by certain labor groups and others.

On the other hand, there is fear that we do not have enough skilled workers. Secretary of Labor Mitchell said recently that the level of working skills has dropped so dangerously it poses a threat to the Nation's survival. The American Council on Education, advocating a tax credit for college tuition, says: "With national security resting in the balance, the United States is less strong than it might be because * * * the supply of college graduates to meet immediate needs is insufficient in the natural sciences, engineering, home economics, dentistry, medicine, nursing, school teaching and college teaching, and demands are increasing in social science and the humanities."

Sometimes graduating classes fear they cannot get jobs. According to this statement, you need have no such fears, but can help alleviate fears for our national security by accepting these positions that are immediately available.

In this age of fear it is sometimes hard to keep up with all the fears we are told we should have: Fears of no jobs for workers, no workers for jobs, depression and inflation, too much overwork, too much leisure, overweight, and malnutrition. How about lung cancer, tooth decay, halitosis? One antidote for fear is a sense of humor. In this age of fear we need young people who don't take things too seriously. But we cannot laugh off all our fears.

If the Communists can use fear for their ends, if American advertisers can use it, perhaps we need to analyze fear a little ourselves; its power for evil, its power for good.

We are not going to get rid of fear, or escape it, but we can overcome fear as a master, and use it, as Nature and God intended, as a warning, as a stimulus.

Men cannot escape fear for long. Alcohol, drugs, and pseudoreligious hypnosis will do it for a while, but the jitters that follow such jags involve a peculiarly degrading kind of fear that finally fails to respond to heavier doses of escape remedies.

Fear has its uses. Nature built fear into us as a warning system. The burnt child dreads the fire. Fear keeps us from being run over in traffic. The presence of danger brings the quick stop, the rapid mental reconnoiter, the increased heartbeat, the stimulus that is so useful in avoiding trouble or meeting it with skill and strength.

Fear can be trained. We can cultivate our useful fears. As Dr. Johnson said, "Fear is implanted in us as a preservative from evil." We can learn how to ignore useless fears. We can also learn how to resist and overcome real and deadly fears, when this is necessary, with courage.

I think courage is not a rare virtue; it is a God-given quality that is as instinctive and contagious as fear; it can be cultivated and developed, and is very useful. Fearless people, who have no fear at all, are about as scarce as complete cowards, who have no courage, and about as annoying and useless. Most of us have a healthy sense of fear, and also a healthy capacity for courage, which needs development right now, individually and collectively, for the H-bomb era.

Arnold Toynbee, in his study of history, points out that the development of a civilization depends upon challenge and response. When there is no challenge—where things are too easy, the civilization decays. Where the challenge is not met, the civilization is destroyed. It is when the mortal challenge evokes a worthy response that civililization flourishes. These are the virtues of adversity.

Your Government is planning measures to meet the Communist challenge on all fronts, military, diplomatic, economic, propaganda, civilian defense, internal security. As a Congressman working on legislation to implement these measures, I realize constantly that the success of all of them finally depends, not on Congress, not on the President, but on you who are not in government, your state of mind, your spirit. We hope that Soviet fear of our instant, devastating retaliation will deter them from nuclear warfare, but we cannot guarantee it. Should our policy depend on it?

Prime Minister Churchill, in his recent speech on this subject said, "I am anxious to repeat and emphasize the one word which is the theme of my remarks, namely 'deterrent'." After telling how the H-bomb increased the area of vulnerability to mortal danger, how this should certainly increase the deterrent upon Soviet Russia by increasing their fears, how he hopes this would lead to a top-level conference, he said, "Then it may well be that we shall, by a process of sublime irony, have reached a stage in this story where safety will be a sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation."

I have studied this poetic, cryptic phrase. If it means that our only goal is to seek safety from terror by a Big Three conference on the pattern of Yalta and Potsdam, based on a sort of nuclear neutrality, born of mutual fears, then I cannot agree.

Our goal ought to be something more than a perpetual arms race, with the prize going to the side with the greatest scientific development of death-dealing, fear-breeding weapons. Our goal ought to be something more than a stalemate, a double deterrent, based on fear. Our goal ought to be based on doing what is right and just and honorable, undeterred by fear of anything except wrong and injustice and dishonor.

From now on we face an ultimate challenge, not of scientific ingenuity, but of human spirit; not of nuclear behavior, but of human behavior. So do our enemies. The issue will be decided, not in laboratories, in Congress, or on battlefields, but in men's minds, and hearts, and souls. As President Eisenhower said in his state of the Union message, "It is of the utmost importance, then, that each of us understand the true nature of the world struggle now taking place.

"It is not a struggle merely of economic theories, or forms of government, or of military power. The issue is the true nature of

man. Either man is the creature whom the Psalmist described as a 'little lower than the angels,' crowned with glory and honor, holding 'dominion over the works' of his Creator; or man is a soulless animated machine to be enslaved, used, and consumed by the state for its own glorification.

"It is, therefore, a struggle which goes to the roots of the human spirit, and its shadow falls across the long sweep of man's destiny."

In these moving words, the President was speaking to the people, and for the people. A great spiritual awakening is going on in this country, a great religious revival. Church attendance and membership have increased. Religious books are best sellers. It is more than escapism from H-bomb terrors. In this age of fear we are learning how to live and how to die.

I have talked about new fears. Actually, fears of wholesale pain, torture, murder, annihilation, are as old as evil in the human race; and long ago we were told that if we dwelt, not in H-bomb shelters, but in the secret place of the Most High under the shadow of the Almighty, we need not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the missile that flies by day; nor for the pestilence that spreads in darkness; nor for the destruction that blasts at noonday.

America has led the world in scientific development, material progress. Now the world needs spiritual development, moral progress, in a hurry. We led in the discovery of atomic secrets, and our enemies stole them. Can we discover the secret place of the Most High and tell the world the secret? If we did, what chance would there be for Godless, materialistic communism, in war or in peace?

We will need courage, and wisdom, but we are told that, not fear of the H-bomb, but "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." Congress cannot repeal fear or enact faith by passing a law. Force will rule the world, but above military force, economic force, there is a moral force Perhaps among you who are graduating today are those who will lead in discovering, developing, and exporting that kind of force for us, for the world.

Fifth Anniversary of the National Muscular Dystrophy Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRICE DANIEL

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared concerning the fifth anniversary of the National Muscular Dystrophy Foundation.

There being no objection the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NATIONAL MUSCULAR DYSTROPHY FOUNDATION

(Statement by Senator DANIEL)

March 20 was the fifth anniversary of the organization of the National Muscular Dystrophy Research Foundation in my own home town of Liberty, Tex.

Since the Senate was not in session on the anniversary date, I take this, the first opportunity thereafter, to pay tribute to the organization and especially to its founders.

Two young women in Liberty, Tex., Sallie and Nadine Woods, who were afflicted with muscular dystrophy, resolved that they were going to do something about this mysterious crippler. Their sister, Dell, an invalid since childhood, caused them to know what could happen to them and to others stricken with this disease. On March 20, 1950, they founded the National Muscular Dystrophy Research Foundation. It was the first organized effort against the disease and the first national health organization chartered in the State of Texas.

During these 5 years the organization has grown and prospered, but always it has been under the influence and inspiration of its original founders, Sallie and Nadine Woods. Theirs is the story of 2 individuals—not healthy like most of us—but afflicted with a disease whose cause is unknown and for which no cure has been discovered. They are victims of muscular dystrophy, a disease which causes a progressive wasting away of muscle tissue resulting in complete invalidism and often death.

Five years ago doctors knew little about this disease which afflicts some 250,000 Americans. It was passed over in a few paragraphs in the medical books. Doctors were sympathetic but not encouraging. Sallie and Nadine were faced with a future which seemed to give them little hope. I am proud to say that these 2 girls from my home town wouldn't be stopped. Despite the fact that they grew weaker every day, they entered the battle against muscular dystrophy.

Five years later many research projects have been started to study the nature of this disease and to search for a cure. Thousands of victims have sent their case histories to Liberty. Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower is the foundation's national honorary president, and the committee of national sponsors includes Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, Ed Sullivan, and Gov. Allan Shivers.

Sallie and Nadine Woods have accomplished this by faith and sheer willpower. When the foundation began they did part-time secretarial work at home to pay for the postage. They talked to anyone who could be interested in helping and soon raised the funds to give the program a wider scope.

They have now helped Raymond Waller, foundation poster boy, to launch a drive for $1 million in research funds. I visited Raymond shortly after his 18th birthday. He weighs only 35 pounds. But if you could see him, you would agree with Mrs. Eisenhower that his courage is an example to each of us.

Raymond knows that any discovery will come too late to help him but he has asked that everyone send 18 cents or $18 to Raymond in care of the postmaster, Liberty, Tex. He knows these research funds will not come soon enough to save him, but he wants to erase the shadow of muscular dystrophy from the lives of future boys and girls.

The spirit displayed by Sallie and Nadine Woods and by Raymond Waller is an example to each of us. They have demonstrated how we, too, may help make things better for our fellow men. There is more hope in the world for the sick and afflicted because 5 years ago Sallie and Nadine Woods began their crusade against muscular dystrophy.

Regulation of Natural Gas Prices by the Federal Power Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during the past 10 years the use of natural gas for space heat in the Greater Cleveland area has skyrocketed and at the present time approximately 80 percent of the homes in the Greater Cleveland area use natural gas for home heating purposes.

This tremendous natural gas consuming market must depend exclusively upon such gas supplies as are made available through the local distributing company which, in turn, looks to the great gas producing areas of the Southwest. Our people have no other alternative but to use the gas that is brought through the distributing pipelines of the Southwest and there is no other area for competitive gas.

The people of northeastern Ohio are very apprehensive and concerned that the exemption from the operations of the Natural Gas Act of the independent producers and gatherers of natural gas who sell gas at wholesale to pipeline companies engaged in the transportation and sale in interstate commerce of natural gas for resale will only result in increasingly rising costs of natural gas. In addition, the vital industries of northeastern Ohio have a tremendous stake in the availability of low-cost gas so that they can reasonably compete with other industries which are located near other sources of energy.

The City Council of the City of Cleveland in recognition of the tremendous stake and interest of the citizens of Cleveland, on February 21, 1955, passed the following resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to defeat legislation which proposes to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to exempt the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from regulation by the Federal Power Commission:

Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to defeat legislation which proposes to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to exempt the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from regulation by the Federal Power Commission

Whereas the Natural Gas Act was passed by the Congress in 1938 for the primary purpose of protecting natural gas consumers against exploitation at the hands of natural gas companies; and

Whereas the city of Cleveland took the lead among municipalities in obtaining passage of the National Gas Act; and

Whereas the city of Cleveland has a substantial interest in the price of natural gas as its inhabitants are paying approximately $35 million annually for this commodity and an increase of just 1 cent per thousand cubic feet in its price would mean an increase of about $600,000 annually; and

Whereas there is currently underway a heavily financial movement to prevail upon the Congress to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to exempt the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from Federal Power Commission regulation; and

Whereas the effect of such proposal would be exploitation of natural gas consumers throughout the Nation by a handful of large oil companies operating in southern oil and gas producing States; and

Whereas the city of Cleveland has in the past opposed similar legislation which proposed to exempt natural gas production from Federal Power Commission regulation, the last such legislation being the Kerr bill; and

Whereas on February 3 Mayor Celebrezze accepted membership on a steering committee to consider ways and means to present the municipal viewpoint on such legislation before the Congress and publicize this viewpoint, aforesaid committee being composed

of mayors of such cities as Milwaukee, Detroit, Kansas City, Boston, Nashville, and New York; and

Whereas it is in the interest of the natural gas consumers in the city of Cleveland that the Natural Gas Act be not weakened by an amendment similar to that embodied in the Kerr bill; and

Whereas this resolution constitutes an emergency measure in that the same provides for the usual daily operation of a municipal department: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Council of the City of Cleveland:

SECTION 1. That the Congress of the United States be and it is hereby respectfully memorialized not to enact into law any bill similar to the Kerr bill of the 81st Congress, which proposes to amend the Natural Gas Act so as to exempt the production of natural gas sold in interstate commerce from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

SEC. 2. That the clerk of council be and he hereby is directed to transmit a certified copy of this resolution immediately upon its adoption thereof and the signing by the mayor to Senators JOHN W. BRICKER and GEORGE H. BENDER, Representatives FRANCES P. BOLTON, OLIVER P. BOLTON, MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, WILLIAM E. MINSHALL, JR., CHARLES A. VANIK.

SEC. 3. That this resolution is hereby declared to be an emergency measure and, provided it receives the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to council, it shall take effect and be in force immediately upon its adoption and approval by the mayor; otherwise it shall take effect and be in force from and after the earliest period allowed by law.

Adopted February 21, 1955.

JAMES DONNELLY,
President of Council.
THAD FUSCO,
Clerk of Council.

Approved February 24, 1955:

ANTHONY J. CELEBREZZE,
Mayor.

Imports of Pork Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, following complaints from farmers in my congressional district regarding the importations of pork products from foreign countries, with particular emphasis on shipments from Poland, I recently addressed a letter to the Secretary of Agriculture asking for full information. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter received from Earl L. Butz, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, dated March 16, 1955, in reply to my inquiry:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., March 16, 1955.

Hon. CHARLES B. HOEVEN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOEVEN: The following information may be useful in analyzing the present situation as it presently applies to imports of pork products from foreign countries with particular emphasis on shipments from Poland.

In the first place, the United States Government has no authority, under present laws to bar or restrict imports of cured or cooked pork products so long as the duty (3¼ cents per pound in 1953 and 1954) is paid and certain sanitary requirements are satisfied.

Total imports of pork products from all countries in 1954 amounted to 112,574,000 pounds as compared to production of approximately 10,063 million pounds in the United States. The attached tables show United States imports by countries from 1947 through 1954, as well as the 1935–39 average and exports of lard and tallow to the countries involved.

United States exports of pork products (lard excluded) to countries from which pork products were imported in 1954 were 6,000 pounds to Denmark, 9,243,000 pounds to the Netherlands and 11,905,000 pounds to Germany. United States exports of lard in 1954 were 49,584,000 pounds to Germany and 14,294,000 pounds to the Netherlands. Exports of tallow in 1954 were 108,522,000 pounds to Germany and 211,376,000 pounds to the Netherlands. There have been no United States exports of lard, tallow, and/or other animal products to Poland, in recent years.

United States imports of all products from Poland in the first 11 months of 1954 were valued at $17,581,441 while United States exports of all products (mostly tobacco and textiles) to Poland during that same period were valued at $1,636,042.

Value of all United States export and import trade with countries from which pork products were imported during the first 11 months of 1954 is given below.

	United States imports	United States exports
Canada	$2,167,029,000	$2,483,144,000
Denmark	46,079,000	40,301,000
Germany	254,349,000	430,817,000
Netherlands	150,388,000	366,331,000
Poland	17,581,000	1,636,000

According to information furnished by the American Meat Institute on March 9, 1955, wholesale prices quoted on the New York market were 64 cents per pound for American hams, 82 cents per pound for German hams, and 91 cents per pound for Polish hams.

All Polish hams imported into the United States are channeled through one New York export import company.

Sincerely yours,

EARL L. BUTZ,
Assistant Secretary.

Let's Keep the Government Out of Private Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, on behalf of the State of North Dakota, I am pleased to submit a resolution adopted by the North Dakota Industrial Commission protesting Federal encroachment in the sale of natural gas at the production point.

It would appear to me that we have plenty of Government controls and interference with private business now without invading this presently competitive field.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF NORTH DAKOTA, MARCH 18, 1955

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has, after 16 years, held that the Natural Gas Act of 1938 applies to sales at the point of production by independent gas producers where the sale is in interstate commerce for resale for ultimate consumption, and that such sales will, therefore, be subject to the Federal Power Commission's jurisdiction; and

Whereas such Federal Power Commission jurisdiction of sales of natural gas produced in North Dakota adversely affects the conservation of oil and gas within this State and threatens the jurisdiction of this commission over the conservation of the natural gas and oil resources of this State: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this commission is opposed to any control by the Federal Power Commission of sales at the point of production of natural gas produced in this State, and urges that appropriate congressional action be taken to correct this situation; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished to the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the United States House of Representatives and to the United States Senators and Congressmen of North Dakota.

Over 50 Million Cars Need Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, March 19, 1955:

There is one good thing about airplanes as a method of transportation—we don't have to build and maintain roads for them. The air on which they travel doesn't wear out.

We hope the day will never come when there will be as many planes in the air as there are cars on the ground, for then our present traffic problems would seem almost enjoyable by comparison. At least, cars do not break into your TV living room or make you worry about the strength of your ceiling.

But automobiles, while convenient for the individual and indispensable to the national economy, do create new problems as well as satisfactions.

Downtown areas of large cities are being ripped out to make room for cars that are moving and for cars that are standing still.

Among signs of the times, we observe that parking lots cover one-half of the midtown Detroit area. The city of Washington is putting in 3,000 new off-street parking places a year. Cars bed down on the residential streets at night and wall-in business streets during the day. The problem of the empty, waiting cars is a subject in itself.

Our present concern is with the cars that are in motion and how to make way for them before the production of automobiles which exceeds the birth rate leads to a congestion that would slow everything down to a walk.

Many of our streets and highways follow the original cowpaths.

They were built when the automobile was considered to be but a byproduct of our civilization and not one of the dominant factors which it is today.

Dad drives his car to work.

Mother would like to have one to do her shopping.

Junior makes no bones about it. He must have a car of his own to get to high school on time. Besides, who would ever think of asking a girl to walk to a dance.

There are so many cars battling for position on the highways that there are more people killed and injured annually than we suffered in combat casualties during any 1 year of World War II or in any war.

Now, this is not to blame the automobile, which simply does what it is directed to do. Mechanical failures are few. Human failures are many.

But our overstrained and antique highway systems, woefully behind in providing broad, safe, and well-surfaced highways for the mounting volume of traffic, must share some of the responsibility.

Automobiles were never designed to make their own trails like tanks or jeeps.

We must provide the arteries that will enable them to circulate freely, and this service cannot be provided without the expenditures of sizable sums of money.

The question is: Shall we consider this as a major problem, and tackle is accordingly, or permit economizing to freeze our power of decision and let this problem get completely out of hand?

Some people say that other problems deserve priority. Defense, veterans' programs, schools, subsidies to agriculture, etc.

They claim that we cannot do all things at once.

True, but the fact remains that highways demand an increasing share of our attention.

Because not one of these other problems is free from the impact of the automobile and the adjustments that must be made because of it.

What would industry do without parking lots for its workers, or schools without school buses, or agriculture without farm-to-market roads for trucks instead of horse-dawn wagons?

The problem has become so acute that the President deemed it necessary to deliver a special message to Congress calling for a rapid development of our interstate highways.

"Without the uniting force of communication and transportation," the President declared, our country "would be a mere alliance of many separate parts."

He proposed that by expenditures of 25 billion dollars over 10 years, to be financed by special bond issues and with the Federal Government assuming the principal responsibility, this vital connecting system would be brought up to date with the demands of present-day and future traffic.

This was no hasty conclusion.

The President's Advisory Committee on a National Highway Program, after earnest study, made its report to him in January.

Under the heading "Why the System Is Inadequate," it has this to say:

"Reduced to its simplest terms, the highway problem is this: Traffic has expanded sharply, without a corresponding expansion in capacity of roads and streets. As a result, a major portion of our facilities are seriously overcrowded. Moreover, this movement is faster and heavier than in previous years, and continues to increase.

"Simple arithmetic illustrates the dimensions of the task. We now have more than 58 million motor vehicles registered; one for every 700 feet of every lane in both directions on all streets and highways in the Nation. This gigantic fleet traveled an estimated 557 billion vehicle miles in 1954, much of it concentrated on main arteries in urban areas which have become the expensive, hazardous bottlenecks referred to by the President.

"The existing traffic jam is bad enough, but prospects for the future are even worse. Vehicle registrations are expected to continue their upward surge, reaching 81 million by 1965, an increase of 40 percent. Total highway travel of these vehicles will likewise continue to increase as we attempt to meet the transportation requirements of an expanding economy, probably to reach an estimated 814 billion vehicle-miles in 1965.

"This Committee believes that these forecasts, carefully projected on the basis of all available data, are soundly conservative and represent the foundation upon which the Nation's highway improvement programs should be planned. Our population is expected to exceed 180 million by 1965. Our gross national product, which was about 357 billion dollars in 1954, is estimated to reach 535 billion by 1965, an increase of almost 50 percent in the next decade, as recently reported by the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report."

In its conclusion, the Committee states:

"We are indeed a nation on wheels and we cannot permit these wheels to slow down. Our mass industries must have moving supply lines to feed raw materials into our factories and moving distribution lines to carry the finished product to store or home. Moreover, the hands which produce these goods and the services which make them useful, must also move from home to factory to store to home.

"Our highway system has helped to make this possible. We have been able to disperse our factories, our stores, our people; in short, to create a revolution in living habits. Our cities have spread into suburbs, dependent on the automobile for their existence. The automobile has restored a way of life in which the individual may live in a friendly neighborhood, it has brought city and country closer together, it has made us one country and a united people.

"The proposed financing need not be inflationary since the financing is spread over a 10-year period and the program can be planned to fit in with general governmental fiscal policy. Bonds will be retired on schedules from general revenue to be specifically appropriated by the Congress in which the anticipated increase in the gasoline tax alone suffices to service the bond issue while continuing a substantial Federal-State cooperative program on other roads.

"Thus, we will accomplish the objective sought by the President for a grand plan for a properly articulated highway system that solves the problems of speedy, safe, transcontinental travel, intercity transportation, access highways, and farm-to-market movement, paying off in economic growth, and making a good start on the highways the country will need for a population of 200 million people."

This, in concentrated form, is the heart of the President's highway program.

We are grateful that he has met the issue and that he has asked for a bold attack to conquer the problem.

While agreeing with him in principle, the Democrats in Congress will differ as to the details, insisting upon direct and large-scale participation by the Federal Government.

Obviously, the States, the cities, and the towns, limited as the revenue they can raise and struggling with problems of their own, are in no position to carry their share of a big highway program.

And again, the financing method proposed by the President attempts to do the impossible, on the theory that it won't cost anything now.

Some Senate Democrats are thinking in terms of a compromise plan, providing for a sharp increase in the Federal Government's outlay for such a program, to be financed by an increase in Federal gasoline taxes.

Highway officials of 11 Eastern States have already asked for speedy completion of a program to provide a 40,000 network of interstate highways. There is an urgent need, they stated, to meet a growing traffic crush, to provide for military and civil defense, and for the economic advancement of the United States.

The people would rather see highway money go into the actual building of roads rather than interest charges.

If we are to meet the need squarely we must be prepared to pay the cost.

The motorists who use our highways and who want good ones for their own safety and convenience, as well as for the protection of their cars, might agree to a cent or two increase in the gas tax to finance this need on a pay-as-you-go basis.

In any event the issue is a live one and public opinion should act on it without delay.

Meet Mrs. Womanpower: Frances Bolton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, as a colleague of Mrs. FRANCES BOLTON, I share with her other colleagues a tremendous amount of pride in her accomplishments, not only in Congress, but in many walks of life. The following article, which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of March 20, 1955, is a fine tribute to Mrs. BOLTON, and I am sure it will be of interest to all of her other colleagues in the House:

MEET MRS. WOMANPOWER: FRANCES BOLTON

(By Ann Cottrell Free)

WASHINGTON.—FRANCES PAYNE BOLTON represents the 22d Congressional District of Ohio, but she represents a great deal more.

Mrs. BOLTON, now 15 years in Congress, is recognized increasingly as representative of woman as an effective citizen.

During a recent "womanpower" conference here in the capital, a picture of modern woman in the ideal sense emerged from the discussions. Though born in the last century—she is 70 this month—Mrs. BOLTON fits the description. She is, in a manner of speaking, Mrs. Womanpower herself.

She believes in a woman being a woman first. "Usefulness to her family, as a mother, is woman's first duty," Mrs. BOLTON says. She has borne four children. One son, OLIVER, is now in Congress.

STUDENT OF HISTORY

She believes that a woman should fit herself to be self-supporting if need be. Though wealthy through inheritance, Mrs. BOLTON by her frequent reelections to Congress shows she can earn a paycheck.

And she believes that a woman should go as far as she possibly can in being politically effective. In this FRANCES BOLTON excels.

Her range of congressional and extracurricular activity is enormous. Her pace is grueling. "Physical, mental, and spiritual" are the three cornerstones of her life. She exercises, breathes correctly, stands erectly, and eats wisely. She is a serious student of history and political science. And her spiritual life is deep and full.

Well equipped for the living of life, FRANCES BOLTON has distinguished herself as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. She is the third-ranking Republican member. During the war and early postwar years she traveled extensively abroad, including Russia and Poland. She

has had dinner in the Arabian desert with the late King Ibn Saud. She supervised one of the best studies of the nature of worldwide communism. She evolved through the years from an isolationist to an internationalist. In 1953 she represented this country as a delegate to the United Nations general assembly.

To many, the name FRANCES BOLTON means "friend of nursing." Her life-long interest in nurses stems from childhood membership in the Cleveland Brownie Club. The Brownies helped visiting nurses in the Cleveland slums, where FRANCES saw suffering and poverty for the first time. She realized, too, the need for more nurses. Today the Western Reserve School of Nursing, which she endowed, is named for her. It was her bill during the war that set up the United States Cadet Nurse Corps.

Looking back over the years, fair-haired, blue-eyed Mrs. BOLTON says she can't pick out any one thing as her most important accomplishment. "It's the day-by-day work," she says, "the work behind the smoke. The work that doesn't show is probably what counts most."

Looking out for her constituents is a job in itself and it never shows up in the national headlines. But the record shows that she wins a great number of normally Democratic votes.

Being a well-disciplined woman, FRANCES BOLTON sometimes seems a bit stern. But when she turns on an extraordinarily bright and winning smile, it seems to be a very good day indeed.

Federal Regulation of the Sale of Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD a resolution received from the League of Wisconsin Municipalities which urges Congress to reject any legislation that would leave the price of natural gas unregulated by Federal authorities.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE LEAGUE OF WISCONSIN MUNICIPALITIES, MARCH 14, 1955

Whereas certain bills are now pending in the Congress of the United States to exempt sales of natural gas by the producers and suppliers thereof to pipeline companies for resale in interstate commerce from Federal regulation; and

Whereas the great percentage of natural gas sold in interstate commerce for transportation and resale by pipeline companies is by a relatively few major companies; and

Whereas an adequate supply of natural gas reasonably priced to the consumer is essential to the economic stability of the citizens and industries of Wisconsin and many other States and can only be guaranteed by reasonable regulation of sales by producers and suppliers; and

Whereas consumers dependent upon natural gas will be left without adequate protection if there is no Federal control over the price of natural gas as sold by the producer and supplier; and

Whereas the majority of Wisconsin consumers are located in cities and villages: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the League of Wisconsin Municipalities, representing 451 cities and villages in the State of Wisconsin, urges the Congress and President of the United States to reject any legislation which will leave the price of natural gas unregulated by Federal authority.

Attested to:

ED JOHNSON,
Executive Secretary.

Nixon Gets Ike's Vote of Confidence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a fair appraisal of the political future of, and President Eisenhower's regard for, Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON appeared editorially in the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper on March 16, last. The editorial indicates Mr. Eisenhower's esteem of his second in command is based on the real and salutory results arising from placing a man with real ability in the Nation's No. 2 spot:

NIXON'S POLITICAL FUTURE

Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON'S southern California visit last weekend stirred anew speculation as to the political future of this amazing person.

What happens to him in 1956? Will he be second man on the slate again if President Eisenhower runs for reelection? If Ike bows out, will he give the nod to Nixon for the top job?

Perhaps President Eisenhower himself isn't certain as to the answers to those questions at this point. They hinge on the question of his own availability in 1956 and will be subject to influence by events between now and then.

But this is certain. No Vice President in American history has worked as hard at the job. None has been given such opportunities to acquaint himself with the problems which would be his, should fate elevate him to the Presidency.

It is well known that NIXON is a strong and respected figure in White House conferences, which is a sharp departure from the tradition of isolating Vice Presidents from the affairs of state At the same time the Vice President has been given a couple of highly important diplomatic assignments which he carried off brilliantly. One was the 1953 round-the-world tour, the other his recent Caribbean tour, both handled in a way that impressed some of his harshest critics. NIXON has steadily continued to gain stature in the Vice Presidency.

And President Eisenhower doesn't sound displeased about the impression being made by the man second in command. Ten days ago, in fact, at a gathering in Washington, the President went out of the way to say some very pleasant things about NIXON.

The occasion was the White House Correspondents Association annual dinner. Speaking to hundreds of newsman, to many of the high-ranking officials of the administration, and to some top-flight Democrats, the President expressed great admiration for NIXON. It was good, he said, to realize that NIXON was available to take his place if anything happened to the President.

Was Ike trying to make it clear he has no intention of abandoning NIXON? If so, why was there need to make the point clear?

NIXON is a young man who has had a meteoric political career. In 9 years he worked his way from Congressman to Senator to Vice President. He is a big power in the party at age 42. A man does not ascend that quickly without being eyed jealously by older men or, for that matter, by men in his own age bracket.

Again, NIXON is a hard-hitting campaigner who disturbs Democratic leaders so much that one of them recently quipped that it is always nice to see NIXON leave the country on a good-will tour. They have picked him out as a principal target and attempted to portray him as a "smear artist," in hopes that he might become a liability rather than an asset to the administration.

Against this background, the President's remarks about NIXON are interpreted as a significant vote of confidence. Some observers suggest that the President's comment was more than an indication that NIXON will be a satisfactory running mate in 1956. He might have been giving NIXON a boost toward a future presidential nomination.

Whatever it meant, it was clear evidence that NIXON is on extremely good terms with the White House. NIXON'S good-will tours have helped put him on better terms than ever with the people. That's a hard combination to beat.

Hellenic Independence Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including herewith the proclamation issued by Gov. G. Mennen Williams, of the State of Michigan, on the occasion of the anniversary of the independence of Greece:

PROCLAMATION: HELLENIC INDEPENDENCE WEEK

LANSING, MICH.

Each year Americans of Greek descent observe the week that includes March 25 as Hellenic Independence Week. On March 25, 1821, the Greek War of Independence against Ottoman rule began when the Archbishop of Patras unfurled the national flag of Greece. Greece began her fight against seemingly unsurpassable odds but her valiant efforts soon enlisted the sympathy of Europe and the United States. As a result, in 1829, Turkey acknowledged Greece as an autonomous nation, and in 1832, Greece received recognition of its complete independence.

It is more than fitting that we should recognize this great expression of liberty and independence.

Therefore, I, G. Mennen Williams, Governor of the State of Michigan, do hereby proclaim March 20 through the 26, 1955, as Helenic Independence Week in Michigan, and urge all our citizens to join with their neighbors of Greek descent in honoring this great date and paying tribute to the traditions of liberty which Greece has given to the world.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Michigan, this 17th day of March 1955, and of the Commonwealth the one hundred nineteenth.

By the Governor:

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS,
Governor.

JAMES M. HARE,
Secretary of State.

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. F. NORRELL
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and statement:

ARKANSAS AGRICULTURAL
AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE,
College Heights, Ark., March 14, 1955.

Hon. W. F. NORRELL,
United States Representative from Arkansas, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN NORRELL: It is nice to know you have recovered and are back at work representing Arkansas and the United States.

Would you be so kind as to extend your remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and have printed in the Appendix ASCD in Chicago. Thank you very very.

A constant supporter.

Dr. GEORGE S. REUTER, Jr.

ASCD IN CHICAGO

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., Arkansas A. and M. College)

The 10th annual conference of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, a department of the National Education Association, was held at Hotel Conrad Hilton, Chicago, Ill., from March 6–10. The theme was: Crucial Problems of Today's Schools.

The writer represented Arkansas A. and M. College and visited with several old friends. Dr. Glen Barnett, of the University of California, an old Navy friend, recalled some vivid experiences in 1943. Dr. and Mrs. Harry Lion Boren, of Chicago and Highland Park, recalled other naval and political events. Dr. and Mrs. James Riley Patterson, A. B. Churchill, the Robert Livingstons, H. D. Ludlow, the H. D. Jones, James M. Clifton, and the Reverend James Kurtz, of Jackson Park Baptist Church, made the visit outstanding. Yes; and Dr. Alan Redpath, of Moody Memorial Church preaching on Rebuilding for God (X Preparation for Revival) and Thou Shalt Not Kill offered great words of wisdom.

The featured speakers of ASCD were Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of the Methodist church, who spoke on The Struggle for the Minds of Men; Dr. Vivian T. Thayer, of the University of Virginia, who spoke on Today's Challenge to Our Children and Youth; and Dr. Hollis L. Caswell, president, Teachers College, Columbia University, who spoke on Values in Progressive Education That Must Be Preserved.

The writer accompanied 29 other educators for an entire day at the Evanston Township high school. This community is on the northern edge of Chicago and as one of the distinguished old suburban communities on the North Shore.

The high school is in a highly favored position. The community is well-located, wealthy, and well-educated. Evanston ranks first in the median number of years of its citizens' education (12.9 years) and second in the median income ($5,491) of its families. The high school is situated on 67 acres and serves 2,500 children in the 4-year program. It could easily serve 3,200. There is a staff of 160.

This school with a per pupil cost of $625 has only about 3½ percent dropouts and 20 percent leaving the community. It is well known for its core curriculum. A 1953 revised edition of the Harper and Brothers' book The Schools for a New Culture by MacConnell, Melby, Arndt & Bishop tells the story of this wonderful book.

It cost $35,000 to conduct ASCD's recent meeting and 50 weeks of planning. About 3,000 members attended. There were many divisional meetings. Among them were:

1. International understanding: The purpose was to promote among curriculum workers greater awareness of the world context of some of our educational problems and to seek to encourage the development of resource materials in this area. Dr. Leonard Kenworthy, of Brooklyn College, served as chairman.

2. Teaching the core curriculum: What and how? This included the day's trip to Evanston and two other meetings. Dr. Galen Saylor, of the University of Nebraska, was chairman.

3. Organizing schools and school systems for effective instruction: Dr. Benjamin Willis, superintendent of schools of Chicago; Dr. Henry Harup, of George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville; Dr. G. Robert Koopman, of the State department of public instruction of Michigan; and Dr. Jennie Wahlert, of Washington University, St. Louis, was an inspiring panel.

While Accurated Composition Service, Inc., is out of business, Kiddie Korner and A. C. Becken & Co. have moved since 1948, the problems of this phase of education are still staggering and serious, but there was a feeling of steadfastness. The recent death of Mrs. Karl J. Leidinger (March 9) and the influence of Dwight Lynam Moody (1837–99) in Chicago lives on. Thus, a great meeting was held at a critical time in a great city. The writer greatly profited by being present.

Odd Facts on St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of Thursday, March 10, 1955:

ODD FACTS ON ST. PATRICK

EDITOR, TIMES-LEADER NEWS:

In Tuesday's issue of your newspaper under Odd Facts, it was stated that St. Patrick was English or Scotch and sent as a missionary to Ireland. Now these statements are "odd" enough but hardly facts. They represent obsolete viewpoints still persisting in many so-called "encyclopedias" as originally written by biased (English) historians of the "down with the Irish" school of medieval thought.

This annual reprinting of disproven material places upon me the equally regular necessity of setting forth the most scholarly viewpoint on the subject, to wit: St. Patrick was a Roman citizen of the coast of France, a nephew of St. Mastin, the bishop of Tours, who was captured in his youth by raiding pagan Irishmen and brought to the Emerald Isle where he labored as a slave, tending sheep, for 6 years and became so imbued with admiration for the Irish character that upon his escape he went to Rome and eventually won permission from the Pope to come (not "sent") to win the people he loved to the Faith.

That his labors were not in vain has been the proudest boast of 15 centuries of Irishmen since that great life's work.

E. S. D.

ASHLEY.

Oil for the Lamps of China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the current approach of a Finnish tanker into the southeast Asia area with a consignment of kerosene for Communist China, I have received inquiries why the United States is, in effect, attempting to "keep oil from the lamps of China," and whether this Government is prepared to go to war "in an attempt to stop the natural industrial development of a nation of 600 million people." Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith enter my reply.

The rulers of Communist China have publicly announced their intention of extending their regime to the island of Formosa. They have stated that they would invade that island, and they have massed armed forces along the coasts facing this island. Formosa, however, is an important anchor point of our own Pacific defense perimeter, and military leaders as well as political leaders of both parties are in agreement that an attempt upon Formosa constitutes an attack upon the security of the United States.

Now, kerosene may once have been innocuous oil for the lamps of China. Today, kerosene is fuel for jet propelled aircraft. This Government certainly is not prepared to go to war "in an attempt to stop the natural industrial development of a nation of 600 million people," but I believe we are prepared to defend ourselves against further Communist aggression. And furthermore, I believe that this very preparedness may be the biggest deterrent factor for any such aggression to actually happen.

We have contained Russian expansion in Europe by drawing definite lines, and by backing these lines with arms and men. The lines have remained inviolate. In many Asiatic areas, we have been only too vague in defining the points beyond which we would consider ourselves attacked. Then, on January 24, 1955, President Eisenhower sent his message on Formosa and the Pescadores to the Congress, and in subsequent action—and in a fine show of bipartisan unity—the Congress drew a line in that area.

I thoroughly agree that it is better to use every means possible to settle differences through peaceful negotiations, and to avoid interference in the internal affairs of other countries. I believe we are doing both. We are peaceful people who

do not fight unless attacked. We are carrying the principal burden for maintenance and upkeep of the United Nations because we believe that this organization furnishes the platform on which peace can be served in multilateral negotiation and international supervision. We have offered to share our knowledge of the atom with others for peaceful endeavor. We have submitted plans for the outlawing of atomic weapons and a system of international inspection. We are always willing to negotiate if the cause of honorable peace can be served.

In the case of Formosa, we are confronted not with a difference of opinion, but with the announced intention to make war upon a bastion in our own defenses. We have clearly and calmly announced our intention to counter any such attack if it is made. We are all for the oil that can soothe the troubled international waters. The oil that sends jet planes screaming against our own lines must, of necessity, receive different consideration.

Researching for Air Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following enlightening editorial from the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., March 16, 1955, giving long overdue praise to the air researchers in the Navy and Air Force for their studies, decisions, and recommendations in the field of plane accidents.

Much will be gained in preventing these accidents from these well-expended funds in the field of research.

The services of this personnel merits our sincere congratulations for advancement in this field. The editorial follows:

CUTTING THE AIR CRASH TOLL

When a plane caught in a snowstorm or a vicious thunderstorm cracks into a mountain, the only puzzle is why the storm was not avoided. But over the years many mysterious mountain crashes have occurred in weather merely cloudy or sometimes even clear.

Now it is disclosed that the Air Force Research Center at Cambridge, Mass., and the Office of Naval Research have been studying the problem for 4 years and have made a discovery of the highest importance to air safety.

They learned that any mountain range with crests above 300 feet can produce vertical air currents like huge waterfalls. Some flow down, but some flow upward at frightening speed. Others whirl about like giant ferris wheels.

Planes trapped in these varied currents are likely to find their altitude gauges thrown off the track, with resulting peril to the aircraft.

To probe these treacherous air drafts, Air Force and Navy researchers sent piloted motorless gliders right into their midst. Risk to pilots was great. Some who have gone through powerful surges of air around mountain summits report that at times they lost all control of their ships for a short period. Controlled instrument flying was impossible.

A pilot might think he was climbing steadily when actually he was dropping 2,500 feet a minute in apparently smooth air. One of the oddities is that smooth air and turbulent currents seem to exist side by side around mountain peaks.

Heavy gusts might buffet a plane, causing instruments to flutter, and then suddenly the mountain range the pilot thought far beneath him would loom up straight ahead. Unquestionably many a regularly scheduled airplane has found itself in this very predicament just before it crashed on a craggy mountainside.

The fact that cloud caps often hide high peaks further complicates the problem and probably accounts for mountain accidents in otherwise clear weather.

This painstaking 4-year inquiry has produced data and charts of tremendous value to civil and military aviation. These charts might be compared to those used by ships in marking dangerous shoals and reefs. Already made available to the commercial airlines and others, they are considered by air experts to be a prime factor in the greatly improved air safety record of 1954.

Since they have understood the perilous mountain air currents, researchers have steadily advised all fliers to steer clear of them wherever they are known to exist. Evidently the warning has been heeded. If it continues to be, this very puzzling type of plane crash may be largely a thing of the past.

Highest commendation must go to the Air Force and Navy researchers who broke the mystery and thereby contributed so mightily to the country's air safety.

Godless Communism—Resolution Passed by State Legislature of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting at this point a copy of resolution passed by the State Legislature of the State of Texas:

Whereas the conquest of godless communism which has now enslaved a third of the world is always and everywhere propelled and directed by the so-called Soviet Government in Moscow, Russia; and

Whereas the march of communism began years ago with the bloody enslavement of the God-fearing, peace-loving Russian people, who have been held against their wish and will in slavery and, in the case of uncounted millions, in slave camps; and

Whereas the curse of godless world communism will end only when and if it is destroyed at its heart and center, namely, the Kremlin, by the righteous and successful uprising of the oppressed Russian people against the Communist gangsters who have unlawfully seized and perpetrated their ruthless dictatorial power over the Russian people, and have used and are now using this unlawful conquest as a military and spy base for the domination of 800 million human beings; and

Whereas the patient, painful, persistent efforts of liberty-loving, resolute leaders of the anti-Communist Russian revolutionary movement, both inside and outside of Russia, have now at last produced a climate of popular opinion and popular determination in and among the Russian people which makes the day of their revolutionary liberation not merely inevitable but definitely foreseeable; and

Whereas the Soviet Government is now desperately working to counteract this revolutionary sentiment by propagandizing the Russian people to believe that the United States of America hates the Russian people and plans to exterminate them with atom bombs, a fate from which the Soviets insist that only a strong universally supported Soviet Government can possibly defend them: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring), That we of the State of Texas, do now publicly proclaim that while we abhor and will continue to resist by every means the present unlawful ganster Soviet Government of Russia, we nevertheless likewise publicly proclaim our sympathy and friendship for the oppressed people of Russia who are now held in inhuman bondage by their unlawful Communist Government; and be it further

Resolved, That because of the ruthless desperate nature of the criminal Soviet Government, we caution the Russian people against any premature uprising against it and advise them to strike out for their God-given liberty only when they are properly implemented with the means for definite success. We nevertheless, in the spirit of our own great American Declaration of Independence against tyranny, look forward hopefully and prayerfully to the day when the Russian people are ready and able to liberate themselves, and at the same time to liberate the world by the dethronement and destruction of their Communist masters who now threaten the freedom of all mankind.

Is Hoover Commission Out To Liquidate REA?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD the recent letter which Mr. Clyde Ellis, general manager of National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, sent to Members of Congress.

Mr. Ellis' letter is self-explanatory, and I hope that all of my colleagues have studied the letter. If they have not, I urge them to reread the letter again. Mr. Ellis properly raises the question as to whether it is the intent of the Hoover Commission to liquidate the REA and help turn this movement over to the private power companies lock, stock, and barrel.

I believe that the 9th Congressional District of Wisconsin, which I have the privilege of representing, is probably the most highly organized REA district percentagewise in the United States. I am very familiar with the fine work accomplished by the REA cooperatives. For a time, when I was farming, I was a member of one of the REA co-ops in my district. That is why I am concerned

about what the Hoover Commission and its task force is proposing to do to REA.

Mr. Ellis' letter of March 18, 1955, follows:

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., March 18, 1955.

Hon. LESTER R. JOHNSON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The full report of the Task Force on Federal Lending Agencies to the so-called Hoover Commission dated February 5, 1955, has just come to our attention. This report which is a public document, paid for by the taxpayers, is still not available to the people because Mr. Hoover has not given the Superintendent of Documents permission to sell copies.

This Task Force Report is based upon a report by Price, Waterhouse & Co., the big accounting firm which is heavily engaged in accounting for the private power companies and was at last notice official auditor for Purcell Smith's National Association of Electric Companies, the big utility lobbying outfit. The basis for this report, insofar as the report deals with the rural electrification program, is the official word of the power companies and their invesment banker-insurance company owners transmitted through Price, Waterhouse, and adopted by the task force with a dissent from only 1 of its 10 members, Mr. William W. Campbell, of Arkansas, the only member who has any working, personal knowledge of the rural electrification program.

This report shows clearly what we have suspected from the beginning, that Mr. Hoover, repudiated by the American people in an overwhelming election defeat, has returned to a high place in the land as Chairman of this Commission to carry out his earlier aims of serving the vested interests against the common people. Mr. Hoover is out to liquidate all segments of the electric power industry which are not owned and exploited by the Wall Street bankers and insurance companies with which he has had such close connections all his life.

This report, in the section dealing with the rural electrification program which has brought the blessings of electricity to almost 4 million farm families, is another example of the "creeping Hooverism" and "bundles for bankers" philosophy which is so obvious in Washington today. If the recommendations in this report and the subsequent Commission report are adopted by the Congress this is "operation bankruptcy" and "liquidation by commission" of the rural electric program. The investment houses and their chosen instruments, the private-power companies who scorned the task of bringing power to rural people for decades, now hope to move in for the kill. What they would not create, they now seek to seize or destroy.

This task-force report reeks with falsehoods and misstatements and power company propaganda. It recommends a program which would more than double credit costs for the farmers' small electric cooperatives, turn control of their program over to President, and destroy the right of the farmers to tell Congress their own story each year.

This report contains a two-page attack upon the rural electric cooperatives and their national organization, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. It assumes the position that there is something immoral and undemocratic about this farmers' organization and urges that REA be reorganized as a corporation subject to control by the President in order to remove that lending agency from any influence by the people it was established by the Congress to serve.

This report contains a frontal assault upon the right of farmers to generate and transmit their own electric power, insisting that this is "inconsistent with the basic purposes of the REA program, and * * * inconsistent with sound public policy." The right of the farmers to generate their own power is spelled out clearly in the REA Act and has been upheld by the Federal courts. Apparently, the Hoover Task Force has set itself above both the Congress and the courts in determining what is substantive law and which is sound public policy. Such arrogance is conceivable only in light of the career of the man who selected the task force and the vested interests of the members of the task force, a membership recruited largely from the very banking, insurance, and accounting firms which would profit from the looting of rural electric consumers were their policies to be adopted.

The rural people of this Nation organized in our association, 3½ million rural families, repudiate the report of this task force as the work of predatory interests designed to turn the farmers' electric systems over to the big banking houses and the power companies; we urge the Congress to reject this report and discharge the Hoover Commission and withhold any further funds from that Commission. The power lobby has millions to spend for propaganda. Why should the taxpayers be called upon to subsidize their lies and half-truths through the Hoover Commission?

If the final recommendations of this task force to the Congress are accepted, we have amended the Constitution. We now have four branches of Government—the executive, the legislative, the judicial, and the Hoover Commission. I think we have done very well over the years without the fourth branch and that we should retire Mr. Hoover and his comrades for a well-earned rest.

Sincerely,

CLYDE T. ELLIS,
General Manager.

Wilkes-Barre Sesquicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 2, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news article from the Wilkes-Barre Record, of Wednesday, March 9, 1955:

St. Patrick's Day, March 17, will mark the entry of Wilkes-Barre into the 150th year of its existence as a corporate body.

It was on March 17, 1806, the village of Wilkes-Barre was incorporated as a borough by act of the legislature. Its incorporation as a city came May 4, 1871. A new charter was granted in 1898 giving it third-class city status.

Nearly 1,000 persons were living in the village and the township when the incorporation took place, in contrast to the nearly 77,000 now in Wilkes-Barre City.

City, served by networks of railroads, highways, and about to be connected with the Pennsylvania Turnpike, also served by one of the most modern airports in the country, was in the early days an isolated village, walled in by mountains and remote from the great thoroughfares of travel.

It was 2 years after the village became a borough that Jesse Fell first burned anthracite in a grate.

A glimpse into the early Wilkes-Barre is given by this account, given in the March 18, 1905, issue of the Record:

"The region surrounding (Wilkes-Barre) was devoted largely to agriculture, and the surplus products of the farms was marketed principally at Wilkes-Barre. From here it was hauled in sleds or big canvas-topped wagons over the mountains to Easton, 65 miles distant, or else shipped in arks down the Susquehanna to Middletown, in Dauphin County, or to Columbia, in Lancaster County, whence it was conveyed across the country to Lancaster and Philadelphia. Easton being the most accessible town, however, especially after the construction of the Easton and Wilkes-Barre turnpike, in 1802–08, was for many years the chief market town for the merchants of Wilkes-Barre and the principal farmers of the Wyoming Valley.

"The first bridge across the Susquehanna in the Wyoming Valley was erected at the foot of West Market Street, occupying the same site the present bridge does. Work upon the structure was begun in the spring of 1817 and the bridge was completed and opened to the public in the autumn of the following year, 1818."

Address of Robert B. Anderson, Deputy Secretary of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR WICKERSHAM
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Robert B. Anderson, Deputy Secretry of Defense, before the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Houston, Tex., March 10, 1955:

One of the most interesting people alive, Dr. Charles R. Kettering, once told of his experience in developing an automobile spring which would not break. His laboratory started to work on a simple flat spring which was found to break regularly when flexed about 2,000 times. In the process of their experimentation, he and his associates finally developed a process whereby the spring was given a surface treatment of heavy blasts of small steel shot.

In Dr. Kettering's words: "Somehow that punishment makes the molecules in the steel clutch each other with a new fervor, resulting in a tremendously greater overall toughness." The spring so treated was found to withstand over 2 million flexings without breaking.

How very much, indeed, do we stand in need of some such unifying action in human affairs—something which would lead the human molecules of our world society to "clutch each other with a new fervor." The great paradox of our time is that whereas the whole impetus of our science and technology lies in the direction of consolidating and unifying the world, the influence of many of our social and political undertakings seem largely directed toward breaking it apart, and the tragedy of it all is that so often the very things which might have united men have been wrongly understood and wrongly practiced and have thus served only to magnify and excerbate their differences.

I am not talking here about the particular conflict between the free and the Communist worlds, although that, of course, is a part and symptom of the general problem. I am

referring to something far more basic and more enduring than any ephemeral manifestation of the international power struggle. I refer to the fact of the struggle itself and to the coming inability of differing peoples to live together in a stable and enduring order of international relationships.

An uncompromising geography has perhaps been the most conspicuous factor in developing the separateness of peoples. Little groups of people, cut off from one another as they were by time and space for thousands of years, tended to adopt patterns of living peculiar to themselves and to the locale in which they abided. Habits and actions hardened into customs and traditions, dialects into languages, theological concepts into formal religions, and the world became a patchwork of different culture patterns, each more or less compartmented from the others by the walls of its own language, customs, and traditions.

Within the past hundred years science and technology have battered down the barriers of time and space without perceptibly disturbing those of culture and tradition. These latter may also yield at some distant date, but it is beyond realism to expect that they may be softened or dissolved at any time in the foreseeable future. Yet we cannot afford to wait for the prospect of some remote and uncertain eventuality to redeem us from our present danger. We must proceed now to discover the common bases upon which a world of widely differentiated peoples can build a community of interest.

The political result need not be, and should not be a world government or a world state. One of the things which is needed, however, is the development of a capacity within people to see one another as they really are, and which will disclose to them the immense areas of common ideals, beliefs, and aspirations which they all share and support. It shall be my purpose this evening to review with you some of these great universals, these roots of understanding which are capable of breaking through the barriers of suspicion and fear and illwill, and which may provide the working hypothesis upon which any real international accord will have to depend.

I would say something by way of introduction to the general topic of universals. By their very nature they are the most powerful agents in the entire field of human motivation. Precisely because they are universals they at once tend both to unite and to divide the members of the human community. Our difficulty arises, I think, out of the fact that too often men seek their universal application without admitting the possibility of their universal interpretation. Thus different peoples may perceive the same reality in different terms because of their differing points of view. And if they happen to apprehend the reality in universal terms and attempt to impose such a reality upon their neighbors in colloquial terms the result may be discord and division stemming out of the very process which was supposed to unify.

So I think that one of the very first things which we must do if we would mitigate the harmful effects of these cultural differences is to recognize that differences do in fact exist, and that they will continue to exist despite the most persistent efforts to deny them. Notwithstanding the problems they create, these differences remain one of the most interesting and hopeful aspects of the whole human situation. They lie at the base of whatever progress we have managed to make over the past 10,000 years.

We must not be distressed at the fact that our world neighbors may prefer their own theology to ours, that they may remain relatively unimpressed by our cultural achievements, or that they may be reluctant to accept the forms of our political and economic institutions. Mr. Erwin D. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, has put it this way: "Our big job is to convince the people of the world that the system of which we are a part—the millenial system with roots back in Judea and in Christ's teaching and in Greece and Rome and Western Europe—this system has within it values which can be adapted to their needs and experiences and can bring them, too, into the light. One of the mistakes we have made is to assume that our system, both political and economic, can be exported as is. There is much that is universal in our experience. But what we have demonstrated is based upon our experience and our aptitude and our history and our conditions. What we can do today is the result of many centuries of struggle. Hard lessons were learned all along the way. Our precise formula would not work for any other people. The best we can do is to make available to them our example, so that they can choose and experiment for themselves. But we can cooperate in setting up the channels by which experience can flow from nation to nation."

We are thus concerned less with the form than with the substance of these values which we would share with other peoples, and which hold special meanings to the people of each society according to the manner in which they affect, benefit, or have consequences for its members. Our main concern is to find in them the largest possible area of agreement with the other peoples of the world, to the end that we may be united rather than set apart. We seek with a new fervor the roots of understanding which may give meaning and purpose to our common efforts.

First and foremost of these, so important that it might properly be called the taproot, is the subscription of the overwhelming majority of the world's people to some kind of transcendental religion. In whatever form and through whatever means they apprehend Him, most people acknowledge the existence of a spiritual God, all powerful and eternal, who manifests a benevolent concern for the human objects of His creation. And from this fundamental profession of faith there flow two assumptions upon which virtually all human activities in the non-Communist world are in some way based. First, there is the assertion of a Supreme Authority and an independent moral order above and beyond the pale of human affairs. Second, there is the belief in the spiritual identification with an eternal godhead of every human being as a unique and separate individual, which confers upon him a special worth and sacredness in his own right.

These common basic beliefs underlie virtually all the constructs which operate outside the Iron Curtain. They likewise reside in the hearts and minds of those behind the curtain whose social institutions are subordinated to the stultifying effects of Communist regimentation. They make possible the formulations of temporal and spiritual law, of theology and government, of justice and equity, or right and wrong, and the rights and responsibilities which inhere in the individual as a living soul.

From them the peoples of the world have developed their interminably varied social, religious, political, and economic institutions. They have done so imperfectly. They have invested them with the faults and contradictions which inhere in all human institutions and which have often set peoples against one another in the bitterest of idealogical conflicts. But the point to remember is that the fundamental propositions contained nothing in themselves which compelled such action by their separately organized votaries. In these basic considerations people are very much alike the world over. Their differences arise from other sources.

The laws of most peoples, for example, are based upon systems of moral absolutes, derived from the moral order of a willingly conceded Higher Authority. Generally, these absolutes will be found to be the same among people the world over. It is wrong to steal, to lie, to cheat, and to murder. It is right to speak the truth, to honor one's obligations, to be loyal to one's fellow beings. Moreover, these values, being rooted in the higher law, are held to be immutable. There is no place given to relativism here. Deeds are not sanctioned or censured according to whether they help or hurt the prospects of a party, program, or regime. In the profession of the group, as opposed to the practice of certain individuals, right is still right and wrong is still wrong, regardless of the immediate consequences of an act for the individual or the group concerned.

One of the most encouraging signs I know of is the great respect in which moral authority continues to be held in the world, even by its enemies. John Foster Dulles, out of his rich experience in international affairs, says he has noticed two impressive facts—first, the relatively small amount of moral authority available at any given point of time and in connection with any particular problem, and, secondly, the enormous influence which even a little moral authority can exercise, an influence out of all proportion to the number of persons who reflect it. In the United Nations, he has observed, "every nation there is afraid of being caught on the wrong side of a moral issue" and does everything it can to make whatever position it adopts seem morally correct.

Among the values which stem from and depend upon the thesis of the dignity and worth of the individual and his personal relationship of his Creator we find wide areas where differing peoples may find a basis of agreement. Among the most intense and persistent preoccupations of men of all colors and all ages has been the search for freedom and justice. Like other values, freedom and justice vary greatly in their meaning for different peoples. They appear in various places about the earth in all stages of evolution, from the relatively primitive to the relatively well developed. Their political aspects are much better understood and more generally practiced than those applying to economic or social phases. But throughout them all there runs the common thread of their exclusive identity with the divinely constituted human creature possessing an immortal soul.

If men were no more than an accident of the universe, a tiny speck of matter inhabiting one of the smaller planets, he would have little right to or need of freedom, and what we call justice would lack a standard of measurement either for conception or application. If he were only a creature of instinct, an inordinately well-evolved organism, as it were, he would have as little moral claim to such things as the freedom of conscience or the pursuit of happiness as the deer in the jungles of Africa that is attacked by a prowling lion. There would be no justice but that of fang and claw.

Again, if man were no more than a producing agent, a number in a regimented society, inhabiting the earth for a scant 70 or 80 years and then disappearing forever into dust, he could claim no rights which the community or the State might not at any moment take from him. If this were true, then the life of the individual, lasting less than a century, would be of less consequence than the existence of the state, which usually outlives the span of a single human generation. In this situation the individual could hardly claim to have rights which antedate and are superior to the state. His claim to freedom would lose much of its validity, and there would be no right to which he could appeal in the name of justice.

If, however, man is what the world's religions say he is, a moral being, with the responsibility for right conduct and a claim to immortality, then he has certain rights which he must be free to exercise in order to discharge his responsibility for right action. The dispensation of these rights con-

stitutes the essence of justice, and their exercise the essence of freedom. As I have mentioned before, in both the concept and the application differ widely, but both remain deeply and ineradicably rooted in man's personal religion. For it is religion which keeps on insisting that man is more than a highly developed form of animal life, that he is more than the creature of the state; that he is, in fact, a moral and spiritual being with a destiny and with rights and responsibilities which lie beyond the reach of society and of the state. For precisely this reason every type of totalitarianism must by its very nature either eradicate religion or attempt to subvert moral truth to its own designs. As a consequence in such a climate all sense of justice vanishes. It is no longer derived from absolute principles of morality that operate independent of life in society.

The gentler values of tolerance, charity, mercy, and brotherhood, urged upon humanity by almost all the really great teachers and philosophers, and imperfectly practiced by most of the world's people, depend utterly upon this interpretation of the nature of man. As abstractions they are nothing. It is only when they are practiced in the human community that they acquire meaning and purpose.

These are some of the reasons which suggest to me that as a recipe for human society, communism will eventually fail. Its atheism constitutes a denial of most fundamental belief men hold about their place in the universe, and it must perforce deny all the constructs which flow from this belief. It thus places itself irreconcilably at odds with the deepest and most relevant insights men have been able to draw from their thousands of years of experience and reflection. For men do not live by bread alone. The deep and persistently held conviction that they are entitled to something better than the treatment given the beasts of the field will continue to manifest itself in thousands of ways in every land.

Men will insist upon worshiping God in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. They will insist upon thinking in accordance with the dictates of their reason. They will insist upon their rights to equal treatment under the law, to work productively and creatively, and to enjoy the fruits of their earnest efforts. They will insist upon being men.

These are the things that really matter: Freedom, justice, brotherhood, and a sense of the dignity, separateness, and sanctity of the individual. They are the values which all humanity generally accepts. They are the values whose practical extensions have accounted for the making of America, and which our Nation is peculiarly well suited to help make available to other peoples of the world. They are the roots of understanding which may some day support an enlightened, peaceful world.

The great need of our own time is for an atmosphere of honorable peace which would favor the translation of these values into practical, meaningful realities for the world's people. We seek to achieve this condition through such means as an enforceable disarmament, and an understanding acceptance of the diverse forms of society and government of all nations which contribute to our common goal of freedom.

I cannot bring myself to believe that an effective disarmament will stem alone from mere documentation, or that peace will result from the efficacy of words spelled out on parchment or paper.

Disarmament will most likely evolve from the desire—deeply embedded in the hearts of those responsible for the governments of the world who are willing to subordinate their national pride and world power objectives to the practical necessities of inspection and enforcement procedures which will touch many facets of their industrial, military, and political endeavors. A climate of trust, an atmosphere of hope, and acceptance of the universality of justice predicated on the rights of man must precede any documentation of commitments or undertakings.

World peace must be a practice, not a platitude or stated principle. A state of living is the resultant action of all the factors which influence it. Governments reflect the predominant desires of the governed or those who govern. International amity and understanding demand the same respect for the basic facts of truth, reason, justice, and man's immortality as does a comparable climate of a national society composed of differing races, colors, creeds, and cultural backgrounds.

Centuries of time and sufficient effort may leaven us all, but we do not have the time to wait. The possibilities of force for great evil press too closely upon us. Energy must be turned from channels of destruction and waste to the productive service of mankind. To this end the American people and their Government remain dedicated.

At the root of it all is man's acceptance of man—as he is—with all his faults, his own peculiar beliefs and theology—his own inheritance of culture and tradition, but with this basic concept: He is a man, and shorn of all the ornamentation that humanity has heaped upon him he differs little from all others whose hands stretch pleadingly toward the eternity which eludes only the living.

These basic beliefs are nowhere more clearly evident than here, in your great organization, your philosophy, and your work in demonstrating at a practical working level the soundness and enduring vitality of the concept that all men are brothers, loved alike of God, and equal in His sight. May He help us all to an increased understanding that we are all His children, created in His image, and first obligated to His plan of peace on earth, good will toward men.

Permanent Peace in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I included in the RECORD my letter to the Secretary of State on the subject of permanent peace in the Middle East. Today, I submit the reply received from the Honorable Thruston B. Morton, Assistant Secretary of State, and my comments on his interesting information. As I stated yesterday, in view of the imminent consideration by the Congress of appropriations covering the foreign operations field, I hope that my colleagues will find time to give this matter their consideration.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 10, 1955.

The Honorable JAMES ROOSEVELT,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT: Thank you for your letter of February 4, 1955, expressing your views concerning military assistance to Iraq and the other Arab countries. We appreciate your conveying to us your thoughts on this matter.

There is enclosed a statement recently prepared by the Department of State giving United States policy on the question of military assistance to countries of the Middle East and measures taken to ensure that this military assistance will not be used for aggressive purposes.

Sincerely yours,

THRUSTON B. MORTON,
Assistant Secretary
(For the Secretary of State).

UNITED STATES POLICY WITH REGARD TO MILITARY AID TO THE NEAR EAST

The policy of the United States in supplying arms to the Near East is guided by the principles set forth in the tripartite declaration of May 25, 1950, issued by the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. This declaration recognized that both the Arab states and Israel needed to maintain a certain level of armed forces for the purpose of assuring internal security and self-defense, and at the same time emphasized that an arms race between the Arab states and Israel should not be permitted to develop. It further made clear the intention of these powers to prevent aggression among those states.

These considerations have been reflected in the decisions of this Government with regard to (1) issuing licenses for the export of arms purchased by the Near East governments on the commercial market and (2) making it possible for Near East governments to purchase and export certain arms not available on commercial market, under the terms of section 408 (e) of the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, as amended. The United States Government has maintained a position of impartiality with regard to both these types of arms exports, discriminating against neither the Arab states nor Israel.

Sales of arms to the Near East and Middle East under these policies have been limited, and the area remains relatively defenseless against possible outside aggression. This has been a matter of growing concern to the United States Government. The 1st session of the 83d Congress in 1953 authorized, in section 202 (b) of the mutual security legislation for 1954, and appropriated funds for United States military assistance to certain of the countries of this area where the President considers such assistance will serve the purposes of the act.

On February 25, 1954, the President announced the first action taken under this authority—the decision to extend military aid to Pakistan. In the President's statement announcing this decision, there were included the following passages:

"This Government has been gravely concerned over the weakness of defensive capabilities in the Middle East. It was for the purposes of helping to increase the defense potential in this area that Congress in its last session appropriated funds to be used to assist those nations in the area which desired such assistance, which would pledge their willingness to promote international peace and security within the framework of the United Nations, and which would take effective collective measures to prevent and remove threats to peace.

"Let me make it clear that we shall be guided by the stated purposes and requirements of the mutual security legislation. These include specifically the provision that equipment, materials, or services provided will be used solely to maintain the recipient country's internal security and for its legitimate self-defense, or to permit it to participate in the defense of the area of which it is a part. Any recipient country also must undertake that it will not engage in any act of aggression against any other nation. These undertakings afford adequate assurance to all nations, regardless of their political orientation and whatever their international policies may be, that the arms the United States provides for the defense of the free world will in no way threaten their own

security. I can say that if our aid to any country, including Pakistan, is misused, and directed against another in aggression I will undertake immediately, in accordace with my constitutional authority, appropriate action both within and without the U. N. to thwart such aggression. I would also consult with the Congress on further steps.

"The United States earnestly desires that there be increased stability and strength in the Middle East, as it has desired this same thing in other parts of the free world. It believes that the aspirations of the peoples in this area for maintaining and developing their way of life and for realizing the social advances close to their hearts will be best served by strength to deter aggression and to reduce the fear of aggression. The United States is prepared to help in this endeavor, if its help is wanted.

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER."

President Eisenhower further states in his address on October 20, 1954, at the American Jewish tercentenary dinner, that—

"In the Near East, we are all regretfully aware that the major differences between Israel and the Arab States remain unresolved. Our goal there, as elsewhere, is a just peace. By friendship toward both, we shall continue to contribute to peaceful relations among these peoples. And in helping to strengthen the security of the entire Near East, we shall make sure that any arms we provide are devoted to that purpose, not to creating local imbalances which could be used for intimidation of or aggression against any neighboring nations. In every such arrangement we make with any nation, there is ample assurance that this distortion of purpose cannot occur."

On April 21, 1954, an agreement was made for Iraq to receive United States military assistance, such assistance having been requested in March 1953 for the purpose of strengthening Iraqui forces for the defense of the country against possible aggression. In requesting this help, the Iraqi Government linked its national defense with the defense of the vital resources of the free world against the danger of Communist expansion. Included in the agreement is a provision that "assistance will be provided subject to the provisions of applicable legislative authority and will be related in character, timing and amount to international developments in the area."

Evidence of Iraq's determination to deal effectively wtih domestic Communist activities may be found in recent severe measures taken by the Government against membership in the Communist Party and Communist activities. In addition to these measures, the Government is attempting to lessen the appeal of communism by raising the general living standards through land reform and other measures and through an economic development program for which 70 percent of the country's considerable oil revenues are earmarked.

The announcement on January 13, 1955, of the intention of Iraq and Turkey to conclude a mutual defense treaty further demonstrates Iraq's clear realization of the danger which threatens the area and her desire to cooperate with others in meeting that danger. (Public Services Division, Department of State, Washington, D. C., January 18, 1955.)

MARCH 18, 1955.

Hon. THRUSTON B. MORTON,
Assistant Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have carefully gone over the statement of United States Policy with Regard to Military Aid to the Near East, dated January 18, 1955, which you were kind enough to send me in response to the letter which I sent to Secretary of State Dulles.

In my letter I expressed concern over our current programs to furnish military assistance to Iraq and other Arab countries in advance of an Arab-Israel peace. I do not believe that your answer adequately responds to my inquiry or allays my concern in this serious matter.

Your statement declares that United States policy in supplying arms to the Near East is guided by the principles set forth in the tripartite declaration of May 25, 1950. This Declaration, you point out, recognized that both the Arab States and Israel needed to maintain a certain level of armed forces for the purposes of internal security and self-defense and at the same time emphasized that an arms race between the Arab states and Israel should not be permitted to develop. You go on to say that with regard to the issuing of licenses for the export of arms and the purchase and export of arms not available on the commercial market, the United States has "maintained a position of impartiality, discriminating against neither the Arab states nor Israel."

Having thus declared our Government's desire to be impartial and to prevent an arms race, you then proceed to state that arms are being furnished to Iraq but you offer no explanation of the fact that no arms are going to Israel although it is my understanding that Israel requested our arms back in 1952. This is not impartiality—this is clear discrimination.

Furthermore, it is clear that if we are to press our arms upon Iraq and other Arab states and deny them to Israel, we are inevitably provoking a disastrous arms race, which will put a tremendous burden on all the people of the area and which may lead to a renewal of the fighting. Accordingly, it seems plain that our current program does not follow the 1950 tripartite declaration. It flouts it.

You quote a statement of the President to the effect that "in helping to strengthen the security of the entire Near East, we shall make sure that any arms we provide are devoted to that purpose, not to creating local imbalances which could be used for intimidation of or aggression against any neighboring nations."

The President may have the finest of intentions in approving the shipment of arms to these countries, but how can he guarantee the intentions of the recipients?

He goes on to state, "In every such arrangement we make with any nation, there is ample assurance that this distortion of purpose cannot occur." But as I read that portion of the Iraq-United States agreement which you have provided me with and which is relevant to this subject matter, I see no express undertaking by the Government of Iraq not to use our arms for a renewal of aggression against Israel. The language that is used in this agreement is extremely vague—pointedly so. So vague, in fact, that the Baghdad radio hailed the agreement as unconditional. It would therefore seem that the Arab States do not interpret this agreement as you do.

It seems evident that we do not have sufficient influence with the Arab countries to persuade them to agree, as a condition for the receipt of our arms, that they will renounce their aggressive intentions against Israel. If our influence is of such little consequence, would we really be able to halt an outbreak of fighting should it occur?

Nothing you have submitted to me diminishes my fear that we are taking the most reckless gamble with Middle East peace if we continue to pursue these unstable Arab governments, press our favors upon them whether they wish them or not, shower them with lethal weapons whether they can use them or not; secure their signatures on pacts whether they mean them or not; and all without taking the first and necessary step for an effective program for Middle East development and defense, the promotion of peace negotiations between the Arab States and Israel.

It may be that the time is still unpropitious to bring Israel and the Arab States together into direct negotiations looking toward a peace settlement. But if this is still true 7 years after Israel was established; if the Arab States still refuse even to recognize her existence, how can we possibly ignore the efficient threats which emanate from Arab leaders? How can we risk giving them the weapons to translate their declarations into deeds?

All of us agree that we must strengthen the Middle East so that it can resist Communist aggression. But I cannot see how we strengthen this area if we arm one side and ignore the other; if we refuse to recognize threats at their face value; if we continue to condone boycotts and blockades and a flagrant rejection of obligations under the United Nations Charter.

We will not strengthen an area if, as a result of our policy, we keep it in tension and turmoil. As to so many other areas of the world, the need is for bold and positive leadership with an emphasis on peace. First we need a firm declaration of fundamental principles. Next we need action to implement them. When will our Government make clear to the whole Middle East that never will we let Israel suffer from armed aggression, when will it make clear that every treaty, pact, or agreement made in the area to which we are party or to which we have given our approval must include all the nations on an equal footing? When will we openly seek similar action from our allies, such as France, who have influence and interests in the area?

In summary I most earnestly urge that our Government undertake a dynamic program to meet and conquer the root causes of conflict in the Middle East. Certainly the United States, in building its opposition to subversion and aggression, will not ignore or help injure the only really democratic government in the whole area. Surely we will not abandon the ally most dedicated to friendship toward our own ideals and one most ready and willing, if necessary, to fight for them.

Inasmuch as this entire question will come before the Congress shortly during our consideration of the mutual-security program, I trust that a definitive statement will soon be forthcoming from the administration.

Very truly yours,

JAMES ROOSEVELT.

William F. Sullivan's Statement Opposing H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement of William F. Sullivan, president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and of the Northern Textile Association, before the Senate Finance Committee on March 17, 1955, in opposition to H. R. 1.

This is an excellent statement prepared after very diligent and careful study, much thought, tireless research,

and years of experience in the textile industry:

My name is William F. Sullivan. I am president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and of the Northern Textile Association. These associations represent northern cotton and synthetic fiber textile mills, most of which are located in New England.

New England has a very important stake in H. R. 1 and the current negotiations taking place at Geneva because despite her losses the textile industry is still the largest manufacturing industry in the area, employing 170,000 people. In cottons New England concentrates in fine combed goods which have a relatively high labor content—about 43 percent—hence wage difference between ourselves and Japanese or other foreign producers are a serious competitive handicap.

The present economic condition in the industry is set forth in our testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee. Textiles are not a growth industry. Every dollar provided to Japan or other countries by the sale of cloth in this country will be a dollar withdrawn from the present reduced sales of our own mills and will depress an already perilously low market.

Since January 1951 over 260,000 jobs have been lost in the textile industry, of which over 109,000 have been lost in New England. The per capita consumption of all textiles has dropped by 20.6 percent in the same period, and cotton textile prices have declined by almost 33 percent. Production in the cotton and synthetic industry is down 19.7 percent, and woolen and worested production by 27.5 percent. In New England since January 1954, employment has dropped 16.3 percent, and over 15 cotton and synthetic textile mills have permanently closed their doors. Textile mill liquidations resumed as soon as World War II was over.

Textile mill liquidations in Eastern States, 1946–54 [1]

	Total		New England		Middle Atlantic		South	
	Plants	Employees	Plants	Employees	Plants	Employees	Plants	Employees
1946–49	233	49,095	87	24,775	89	11,600	57	12,720
1950–52	200	50,715	72	30,745	115	16,845	13	3,125
1953–54	207	68,135	77	36,315	83	22,800	47	9,020
Total	640	167,945	236	91,835	287	51,245	117	24,865

[1] Includes spinning, weaving, knitting, dyeing, finishing, and carpet plants.

American costs of producing typical fabrics exceed Japanese costs by substantial amounts. This takes into account not only comparative wages, but machine efficiencies, work assignments, and other relevant data—Japan versus United States of America. For example, the cost of producing typical combed goods in the United States exceeds the cost of producing the same fabric in Japan by from 43.2 percent in the case of broadcloth to 60.5 percent in the case of voiles, and over 70 percent in the case of lawns.

We know from actual experience in New England that workers displaced by the closing of textile mills are seldom reemployed by growth industries and that as much as a year and a half after displacement less than half the workers are reemployed at all. In the case of those over 45 years of age only one-third are reemployed. Of those who are eventually reemployed, two-thirds receive less pay, are generally downgraded, and unless reemployed in a textile mill lose the skills to which many years have been devoted.

Assuming that there will be an extension of authority to continue the trade-agreements program, our principal objections to H. R. 1 in its present form are briefly as follows:

1. It fails to provide adequate safeguards against unemployment and injury to textile producers;

2. It fails to establish principles or yardsticks to guide the executive branch in carrying out the trade-agreements program; and

3. Certain provisions of H. R. 1 discriminate against the textile industry.

We wish to emphasize three changes which should be made in H. R. 1:

First, subparagraph (E) of section 3 (p. 5, line 24, et seq.): The general rule in H. R. 1 authorizes the President to reduce the rates of duty in effect on July 1, 1955, by 15 percent "(except as provided in subpar. (E) of this paragraph)" (p. 4, lines 9 and 10).

Subparagraph (E), however, authorizes the President on and after June 12 to reduce rates by 50 percent of those existing on January 1, 1945, on those articles which are currently being negotiated with Japan at Geneva pursuant to the notice of November 14, 1954.

One of the principal industries now being negotiated at Geneva is the textile industry. Over 90 percent of the cotton textile output of this country is currently on the bargaining table. In addition, many items of wool, silk, rayon, synthetic, and other textiles are subject to negotiation. For those of us unfortunate enough to be on this list, H. R. 1 authorizes a greater cut in duties than is allowed for the rest of American industry. It would be more equitable to wipe the slate clean as of now and put us in the same position as other American industries.

The great bulk of staple cotton goods have had no tariff reductions since January 1, 1945, and consequently, the whole 50 percent hangs as a threat over the industry. The principal reductions for the bulk of the cotton-goods industry were made in the United Kingdom agreement of 1939. Only in the higher count goods were duties reduced after 1945 and then by about 17 percent.

The exception of subparagraph (E) goes even further, however, than merely discriminating in the amount of reductions. Subparagraph (E) provides a special test to guide the President. It grants authority to reduce rates by 50 percent "if the President determines that such decrease is necessary in order to provide expanding export markets for products of Japan (including such markets in third countries)" (p. 6, lines 5 through 8, excerpt attached).

The test proposed in this bill to apply to our industry in negotiations with Japan is whether a reduction in our duties will aid Japan in expanding her export markets. The original Trade Agreements Act of 1934 had among its purposes "restoring the American standard of living" and "overcoming domestic unemployment." The Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as well as H. R. 1, have identical purposes—"for the purpose of expanding foreign markets for the products of the United States * * * by regulating the admission of foreign goods into the United States in accordance with the characteristics and needs of various branches of American production so that foreign markets will be made available to those branches of American production which require and are capable of developing such outlets by affording corresponding market opportunities for foreign products in the United States" (p. 2, line 3 et seq.).

The test of subparagraph (E), which the Congress is asked to approve, is at variance with the major purpose of the legislation. It is designed exclusively to aid Japan without reference to the welfare of our domestic industry. It is a principle of statutory construction that specific language such as this will control the general provisions of the legislation. It is patently obvious that decreases in our duties would provide expanding export markets for the products of Japan (including such markets in third countries).

If the Congress were to enact subparagraph (E) with its special test to apply to the particular negotiations with Japan, it is conceivable that the argument would be made that the escape and peril point provisions of the act do not apply in these cases. Even if applicable, the executive branch might well argue if it chose to disregard the recommendations of the Tariff Commission that Congress had directed it in these particular negotiations to provide expanding export markets for the products of Japan (including such markets in third countries).

We respectfully submit that subparagraph (E), being a discrimination against a particular industry, being designed wholly for the benefit of a foreign nation, and being contrary to the purposes of the trade agreements program, should be struck from H. R. 1.

Second, subparagraph (D) (ii) of section 3 (p. 4, line 14 et seq.): This part of H. R. 1 provides that "in the case of any article which the President determines, at the time the foreign trade agreement is entered into, is normally not imported into the United States or is normally imported into the United States in negligible quantities," rates may be reduced 50 percent below those of January 1, 1945. Although the words "normally" and "negligible" have not been explained by the proponents of the bill, it is our opinion that this authority to cut rates by 50 percent would be applied to the textile industry as a whole. It is, therefore, unfair to have a 50 percent rule for us and a 5 percent rule per year for other industries not on the Geneva list. Although in certain categories textile imports have been large and caused severe damage, imports as a whole might well be considered negligible. For example, since 1940 imports of cotton broadwoven goods have varied from one-tenth of 1 percent to nine-tenths of 1 percent of our domestic production. If this special rule regarding goods normally imported in negligible quantities is intended to bring in greater quantities of these goods at the expense of domestic producers by reductions up to 50 percent, unemployment and injury will be caused to American workers and producers in the textile industry.

Third, escape clause and peril point provisions: The escape clause and peril-point provisions of the Trade Agreements Act should be improved to protect domestic producers from unemployment and injury.

(a) Test: The current test or guide in these matters is serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or competitive products. This test is too broad and does not prevent plants in our domestic industries from being driven out of business even though an entire industry may not be seriously injured. The proper test or guide which Congress should establish is whether the operation of the trade agreements program will cause unemployment or injury to American workers producing like or competitive products. This can be accomplished by either changing the words in the escape and peril-point provisions or by defining

industry so as to mean the plants or segments of an industry.

(b) Administration: This test of unemployment or injury should be mandatory in the sense that it should apply to whoever administers the act whether it be the Tariff Commission or an agency of the executive branch of our Government. Although Congress may feel that the carrying out of the trade agreements program must rest with the executive branch, it should, nevertheless, provide principles, guides, or yardsticks under which the executive branch would operate. There should neither be the authority for, nor an invitation to the executive branch or any agency thereof to disregard the principles laid down by the Congress. Only Congress should have the right to change or overrule the application of the principles established in this legislation.

We respectfully submit that H. R. 1 should be amended so as to provide that the administration of the trade agreements program will not result in unemployment or injury to American workers or producers producing like or competitive products and that no one shall disregard these principles without the express consent of Congress.

H. R. 1, subparagraph (E), page 5, line 24, et seq.: "(E) In order to carry out a foreign trade agreement entered into by the President on or after June 12, 1955, to which the Government of Japan is a party and with respect to which notice of intention to negotiate was published on November 16, 1954 (19 F. R. 7379), if the President determines that such decrease is necessary in order to provide expanding export markets for products of Japan (including such markets in third countries), decreasing by more than 50 percent any rate of duty existing on January 1, 1945."

Yalta's Whole Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, now that we have full documentation for the Yalta story, it is clear that Republican propaganda concerning President Roosevelt's alleged "sellout" to Stalin is 100 percent imagination. Though some mistakes were made at the Yalta Conference, these mistakes are much clearer in the light of subsequent history than they possible could have been at that time. The one thing that is most evident from a reading of these documents is the belief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the necessity of Russia's entry into the war against Japan as soon as possible. It was felt that this entry might save millions of American lives in an invasion of Japan which was then seen as the only way of winning the war. The President took the strong advice of his military advisers and made certain concessions to Stalin to insure Russia's participation in the Pacific war once Germany had surrendered. Had he not done so, and had the war with Japan not ended so abruptly, I feel sure that today Republicans would be criticizing him for his failure to assure Russia's participation against the enemy.

That this interpretation of events is not a partisan Democratic view, but one which represents the objective view of thinking people throughout the Nation, may be shown by the editorial which appeared in the Trenton (N. J.) Evening Times on Friday, March 18, 1955, which follows:

YALTA'S WHOLE STORY

The whole story of the Yalta Conference now is told. In view of the bitter controversy its provisions have aroused over the years, the general reaction to the facts revealed is one of surprising moderation. Actually, the record does not alter substantially the impressions that have long been held. The agreements reached at Yalta do not reflect the ultimate in wisdom; but they were made, it must be remembered, on the basis of conditions as they existed at the time and without benefit of prophetic vision.

Criticisms of the Yalta agreements have centered principally upon the concessions made to Soviet Russia. There has been a widely held conviction that Stalin obtained all that he demanded and that Britain and the United States were outwitted by the saturnine master of the Kremlin. The facts do not sustain this theory.

Marshal Stalin sought concessions in Turkey and Iran, also substantial reparations from Germany, which he was denied. He received the Kuriles, southern Sakhalin, and concessions in China. In return, he granted what the United States and Great Britain most urgently desired—participation of Russia in the war against Japan, once Germany was conquered.

It was assumed at the time that Japan would have to be invaded. The atomic bomb was in the making; but that there was no certainty of its success. All preconceptions of the invasion of the Japanese Islands envisioned the most sanguinary military operation in history, one continuing about 18 months, with the possibility of a million casualties.

On the basis of these ominous expectations, the bargain made with Russia was good. And it was made in accordance with the judgment of responsible military leaders at a time when Germany, while facing inevitable defeat, still had millions of men under arms and when Japan possessed an enormous capacity for resistance.

If the war had not been ended by the atom bomb, the price paid for Russia intervention would not have been high. And if Russia had been faithful to the terms of the agreement, rather than treacherous, the fate of Poland would have been a different story.

The record refutes the theory that President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were less than realistic in their dealings with Stalin and were unaware of the danger of betrayal. There was a wholesome skepticism as to the good faith of the Soviet; but it was necessary to hold the wartime coalition together at all costs.

Errors were made at Yalta, and it is possible that some of them could have been avoided; but they were made under conditions of extreme stress and in accordance with what were, at the time, honest and sincere judgments.

Tariff Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by my colleague, the distinguished senior Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS], with respect to his proposed amendment to H. R. 1.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS, OF UTAH, BEFORE THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate, I do appreciate the opportunity you have extended to me of making this statement here today in connection with H. R. 1. I shall try to make my comments brief and to the point.

Several decades ago when changes were needed in our tariff laws the Congress, under its constitutional authority "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises," almost did the job unassisted by the executive branch of the Government.

As the economy grew and developed, it likewise produced a vast number of complex problems involving thousands of economic interest groups. Thus our complex society, as we are only too well aware, has been productive of an ever-increasing volume of legislative concern for the Congress. Limitations of time and the complexity of certain aspects of this legislative concern have in part necessarily forced the Congress to delegate some of its responsibilities to the executive branch of the Government. Tariffmaking, the subject matter of which involves schedules covering thousands upon thousands of products, was one such activity which, over a period of time, has progressively passed by delegation to the executive.

Exclusive tariffmaking by the Congress was plainly no longer tolerable by the time of the First World War, and, in 1916, the Congress created the United States Tariff Commission to assist the Congress. At that time the Commission's activities were limited to the continuous investigation of all economic matters which had a bearing upon tariff policy, and the reporting of its findings to the President and the Congress; it had no independent authority to make changes in the tariff laws or in their administration.

The Tariff Acts of 1922 and 1930, however, gave the United States Tariff Commission the authorization to investigate cost of production differences between domestic and foreign products and required it to recommend to the President, on the basis of its findings, specific increases or decreases in the appropriate tariff rates. The President, in turn, was given authority to readjust tariff rates either up or down within a range of 50 percent. The effect of these two acts was to provide the United States for the first time with a flexible tariff policy which enabled cost differentials between domestic and foreign production to be adjusted without awaiting the necessarily slow and very uncertain results of congressional attention and detailed legislation.

With the passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act in 1934, the Congress began the gradual disintegration of its control, except in theory, over the tariff-making procedure. The United States Tariff Commission in effect has been reduced to a presidential staff agency in the purest sense of the word "staff," for its administrative history indicates that it serves mainly as an informative and advisory agency, an agency whose recommendations are seldom followed. By 1945, trade agreements were in operation between the United States and 28 countries. The result of these agreements by 1945 was that the general tariff level had been reduced almost to that prevailing under the so-called Underwood Low Tariff Act of 1913. More recent extensions as you are aware have given

the President added authority to reduce tariff rates still further.

With respect to present tariff rates, it is important to realize that the United States is not now a high-tariff country. Our average tariff rate, as measured by the percentage of customs receipts to total imports, is the lowest that it has been in this century, and there are indeed few Western European nations whose record is as good on this basis of calculations. As Dr. Jacob Viner, professor of economics, Princeton University, told the Joint Committee on the Economic Report: "In the past 20 years there have been substantial reductions in our tariff rates, and, because of inflation, there has been also a substantial reduction of the ad valorem equivalents of the specific duties of our tariff." (Hearings, p. 991.)

For example, the custom duty on zinc was one-third of the domestic price in 1930 when the Tariff Act of that year was enacted; today, it is only one-twentieth of the 1954 price.

However, in their endeavor to sell the American public a so-called liberal trade policy, low tariff advocates have made the tariff policy of the United States virtually a scapegoat for the economic troubles of the world. It is about time the nations of the world put a halt to the unjustified practice of making this Nation the world's economic whipping boy. Why? Because it is apparent, in light of the expert opinion which has been given this committee and its counterpart in the House of Representatives, as well as the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, that the world's economic ills will not be solved or even appreciably relieved by any conceivable tariff action which may be taken by the United States. Willard L. Thorp, former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and now director, Merrill Center for Economics, Amherst College, put it this way to the Joint Committee on the Economic Report a few weeks ago:

"I cannot feel that there would be major changes that would create a great volume of trade. The American economy will be one in which 90 percent, shall we say, of our goods and services will be produced within the United States." (Hearings, p. 883.)

Dr. Jacob Viner was even more adamant in stating to the Joint Committee on the Economic Report that:

"The amount of change that complete free trade would make in the American economy is not very large. I fear that the amount of gain the American economy can make out of free trade has fairly narrow limits. I 'fear' it only in this sense: The amount of good we can do to the rest of the world through free trade is limited, and the amount of good we can get for ourselves from that avenue, as against the benefits we can get from other avenues of good government, is also limited." (Hearings, p. 969.)

It should be evident that a reduction of American tariffs cannot bring about any spectacular increase of United States imports or be of decisive importance in the world economics picture. Greater United States imports, and successful entry into the American market requires in a great many cases that foreign countries redesign their products, if United States consumer preference is to be created; that they adjust and expand production facilities and establish warehousing and distribution and sales facilities in the United States. This is a cost of doing business. It is exactly the same problem that American exporters face. But even more important: if there is to be an appreciable increase in United States exports, it will depend upon the continued expansion of economic activity in this country. Specifically, what in the main will primarily determine the level of our imports will be technological change in production techniques and the general level of business activity—not the abolishment of tariff schedules.

Simultaneously with the reduction of United States tariff rates to about half of what they were in 1930 by the Executive under the trade-agreements program there arose a growing volume of protest from certain segments of American industry. The complaints have charged that such negotiated agreements contained tariff and other concessions which resulted not only in American producers losing domestic markets but also in the demise of American industries. And as the years have gone by this conflict has grown and magnified, producing in its wake voluminous but conflicting opinions and literature on the subject of trade agreements.

As I indicated in my remarks to the Senate on January 25, 1954, I am in general agreement with President Eisenhower's statement in his special message on foreign economic policy to the effect that all nations should mutually undertake the lowering of unjustified barriers to trade on a mutual basis so that the benefits can be shared by all. But, as I said on that occasion, the "all" must include those efficient domestic industries which are operating in the face of ruinous and disadvantageous competitive conditions with foreign imports.

A great number of these domestic industries are engaged in the production of raw materials, such as our metals, petroleum, and agricultural products, which must be processed. Yet it is exactly these types of commodities which make up the vast bulk of our imports. Is this connection, Mr. Nathaniel Knowles, Jr., Acting Deputy Director, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce, told the Joint Committee on the Economic Report that—

"Some 70 percent of our exports consist of manufactured goods shipped in substantially the forms in which they are finally utilized abroad. * * * Our imports, in contrast, to our exports, consist preponderantly of raw materials and crude foodstuff requiring extensive further processing before entering into consumption channels. * * * Less than one-fifth of our imports enter the country as substantially finished products." (Hearings, p. 930.)

Now, with these facts in mind, it is not difficult to see why the export-minded segments of our economy not only do not fear lower tariff rates on imports but actually favor them. First, foreign imports provide a cheap source of raw materials. Second, with our great advantage in the techniques of industrial production, they have little to fear from competitive imports.

As Dr. Arthur Upgren, dean, Amos Tuck School of Business Administration, Princeton University, told the Joint Committee on the Economic Report a few weeks ago:

"The barrier to a great inflow in imports is largely the $160 billion investment of American plant in new industry.

"With that huge investment American industry would generally meet the price conditions which would be imposed by tariff reduction. What I am saying here is that the proposal of trade, not aid, about a year or two ago, could not have accomplished but a very small amount of the achievement that was dramatized by the visit of two members of the British Cabinet. This was important, but we should not try to persuade the American people that we can do so much more than is possible." (Hearings, p. 891.)

Actually, one is led to suspect that this drive for a so-called trade-not-aid program is an argument that has been advanced not because it will cure the economic ills of the world, but because it serves better the interests of the export-minded segments of our domestic economy. Commodities which enjoy an appreciable export market, it would appear, are in a far better position to be considered for tariff reductions under the trade-agreements program. This would probably include, for example, automobiles and special high-grade production machine tools. Yet, the protection afforded to the steel and automobile industries by way of comparison with lead and zinc, a raw material, is relatively much greater.

I firmly believe that an American trade policy must embody those features that will work toward the enlargement of international trade but in a manner consistent with maintaining a sound domestic economy. Our experience to date, however, seems to indicate that certain revisions in the trade-agreements program are necessary if these two objectives are to be realized. It is evident, I believe, that the Congress must return to itself a larger share of the direct responsibility for tariff-making policy in those areas of intense conflict which has been generated by the trade-agreements program.

This is essential since, although the continued reduction of tariffs will not appreciably result in increased total imports, they can well result in the demise of many American industries. This is because, as Dr. Jacob Viner told the joint committee, "to a large extent the reductions in our tariff which would really lower the effective margin of tariff protection remain to be made." (Hearings, p. 991.)

Because the controversies over further tariff reductions under the trade-agreements program are undoubtedly going to have greater repercussions, it is imperative that the Congress return to itself a larger degree of control than it has had the past few years. Actually the pendulum of tariff-making authority has simply swung too far toward the expediency of administrative negotiation and execution by the executive branch. It has swung so far in fact that it would cause a reasonably prudent person to conclude, I am sure, that the Congress de facto has completely abdicated its constitutional authority in this field.

An analysis of escape-clause applications and their administrative disposal will make this quite clear. The escape clause, as you undoubtedly know, was not an original part of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Rather, it was the product of extensive liberality in granting tariff and other concessions by the executive branch under the trade-agreements program and the result of increasing protest by American industries adversely affected by excessive imports. The function of the escape clause is, of course, to compromise the conflict which arises between the need and desirability of freer international trade and the need for protecting defense and certain other industries fundamental to the economies of certain sections of the United States, the customs and traditions of our people, and for maintaining safeguards which protect wages, industry, and agriculture.

The early trade agreements negotiated under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 contained no general means of providing realistic relief if a particular concession proved unexpectedly injurious to a domestic industry. Although escape clauses had been contained in bilateral trade agreements since 1941 and in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade since 1947, it remained for the Congress, because of the difficulty of foreseeing the contingencies that might arise, to make the inclusion of an escape clause in new trade agreements a statutory requirement. This was accomplished in 1951 by the passage of the Trade Agreements Extension Act.

The facts, however, indicate that the executive branch of the Federal Government and the United States Tariff Commission have not in general interpreted and administered the escape-clause provisions as the Congress so intended. It is interesting to note that of 56 applications, which were filed during the period 1948–54, the Commission recommended relief in only 12 in-

stances, all but 2 of which involved only products of minor importance.

These 12 favorable recommendations were made with respect to—

1. Women's fur-felt hats and hat bodies (unanimous, September 25, 1950).
2. Hatters' fur (unanimous, November 9, 1951).
3. Garlic (4 to 2, June 6, 1952).
4. Watches, movements, and parts (first investigation, 4 to 2, June 14, 1952).
5. Dried figs (unanimous, July 24, 1952).
6. Tobacco pipes and bowls (unanimous, December 22, 1952).
7. Screen-printed silk scarves (unanimous, April 13, 1953).
8. Scissors and shears (4 to 2, March 12, 1954).
9. Ground fish fillets (second investigation, 3 to 2, May 7, 1954).
10. Watches, movements, and parts (second investigation, 4 to 2, May 21, 1954).
11. Lead and zinc (unanimous, May 21, 1954).
12. Alsike cloverseed (unanimous, May 21, 1954).

Rather an unimpressive list, is it not? But why only 12 favorable applications? In part, because the Congress has failed to establish definite criteria for the Commission to follow in arriving at decisions. But primarily it is because the Commission in considering the effect of increased imports on production, profits, and employment has consistently held that an industry is deemed to include, for purposes of escape-clause relief, all the operations of the constituent firm making the application, rather than only those operations that are directly related to the production of the product identified in the escape-clause application.

This interpretation has directly served to nullify the intent of the Congress to give needed tariff relief.

How close has the President followed what we must presume to be the expert recommendations of the Tariff Commission? Of the 12 favorable Commission recommendations I named a few moments ago, you will observe that:

1. Seven were unanimous decisions and included—
   (a) Women's fur-felt hats and hat bodies.
   (b) Hatters' fur.
   (c) Dried figs.
   (d) Tobacco pipes and bowls.
   (e) Screen-printed silk scarves.
   (f) Lead and zinc.
   (g) Alsike clover seed.
2. Four were 4-to-2 decisions and included—
   (a) Garlic.
   (b) Watches, movements, and parts (first investigation).
   (c) Watches, movements, and parts (second investigation).
   (d) Scissors and shears.
3. One was a 3-to-2 decision and was made with respect to groundfish fillets.

In only five instances did the President follow the recommendations of the United States Tariff Commission. These five favorable actions by the President involved the following:

1. Four products which the Commission unanimously believed needed relief. They included—
   (a) Women's fur-felt hats and hat bodies.
   (b) Hatters' fur.
   (c) Dried figs.
   (d) Alsike cloverseed.
2. The other product—watches, movements, and parts (second investigation)—involved a favorable recommendation decided by a 4-to-2 vote of the Commission.

In these other cases the President refused to grant relief even though by unanimous vote the Tariff Commission had recommended such action. These included—

(1) Tobacco pipes and bowls.
(2) Screen-printed silk scarves.
(3) Lead and zinc.

Likewise, he refused relief with respect to three 4-to-2 decisions and one 3-to-2 recommendation, which respectively involved—

(1) Garlic.
(2) Watches, movements, and parts (first investigation).
(3) Scissors and shears.
(4) Groundfish fillets (second investigation).

In these cases, despite the recommendation of the Tariff Commission, an expert body, the President held to the contrary, for reasons which seemed satisfactory to him, that serious injury to the domestic industry had not been established.

It is absolutely useless for the Congress of the United States to create an expert body that is largely investigational in nature and designed to lead to expert recommendation for administrative action in areas where it has delegated to the executive branch extensive authority, as it has done with respect to trade and tariff matters.

A typical case in which the effect is readily apparent of delegating to the Executive final decision with respect to escape-clause recommendations is well illustrated by the lead and zinc case.

During the Korean war foreign production was greatly increased through the support of American aid and by comparatively high domestic prices during a period when domestic production was restricted by price controls. After the war, as a result, excess foreign lead and zinc supplies have continued to flow into our domestic markets at prices well below the average cost of domestic production.

As Mr. Otto Herres, chairman of the National Lead and Zinc Committee, told this committee last week, "Such action has made marginal mines out of once prosperous properties." In the spring of 1953, the mining industry was advised to seek relief through the escape clause provisions of the Trade Agreements Act rather than by legislative means.

This committee, as well as the House Ways and Means Committee, were sufficiently impressed with the problems of the lead and zinc mining industry to direct the United States Tariff Commission, pursuant to the repective resolutions of July 27, 1953, and July 29, 1953, to initiate a general investigation of the industry, including the effect of imports of lead and zinc on the domestic prices and employment.

On May 21, 1954, the Tariff Commission unanimously reported to the President that the importation of lead and zinc was in such quantities as to cause serious injury to the domestic industry. In order to correct the problems, the Tariff Commission recommended that "the rates of duty 50 percent above the rates existing on January 1, 1945, • • • be imposed for an indefinite period."

The President, however, for what were sufficient reasons to him, did not follow the expert recommendations of the Tariff Commission. Instead, on August 20, 1954, the Government initiated a long-term stockpiling program for lead and zinc. And although, by this action, the President recognized in effect that the excessive importation of lead and zinc had injured the mining industry, the results to date indicate that it has not appreciably improved the situation.

Since August 1954, the price of zinc has advanced only one-half cent, from 11 cents per pound to the current quotation of 11½ cents. Why? Primarily, because unlimited imports of zinc and slab zinc have continued to flow into this country. As Mr. Otto Herres, chairman of the National Lead and Zinc Committee, told this committee:

"For the year 1954 on an average of 41,460 tons of zinc a month from foreign ores in addition to an average of 13,444 tons of imported slab zinc, a total of 54,904 tons, entered United States consumption while the output of the mines at home was dropping to an average of 38,750 tons.

"Excessive imports of foreign ores have been taking over a larger proportion of United States smelter production at the expense of the Nation's mines. Domestic mine output of zinc consequently has been reduced to less than 39,000 tons a month from an average of 60,000 tons a month in early 1952. Smelter production of zinc is at an all-time high while mine output of lead and zinc is the smallest since the depression years, 1931–34."

It is evident, I believe, that stockpiling is not accomplishing the purpose it was intended to achieve. To the extent that stockpiling does increase domestic prices of lead and zinc it only serves as a magnet to foreign imports in much the same way as does the price-support program on agricultural commodities. But whereas the American farmer can rely on section 22 to limit imports, the lead and zinc industries have had only the escape-clause provision, which the executive branch has declined to invoke for reasons which appear sufficient to them.

It is quite evident that the pendulum of responsibility for escape-clause actions must swing toward greater control by the Congress. This is a portion of its constitutional authority which should be recalled from the executive branch. At the same time, it should be made clear that we cannot, with respect to the general responsibility for negotiating trade and tariff matters, return to the cumbersome and slow procedure under which the Congress in the early 1900's sought to write detailed tariff legislation.

The amendments which I have proposed to the bill H. R. 1, to extend the authority of the President to enter into trade agreements under section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, are designed to bring the tariff-making procedure of the United States back into equilibrium again. In brief, the proposed amendments are as follows:

1. Section 3 (a) and (c) of the proposed amendment, by extending the trade-agreements program, as requested by the President, would give authority to the President, for a 2-year period, to—

1. Reduce tariff rates on selected commodities by not more than 5 percent per year for 2 years.

2. Reduce any tariff rates in excess of 50 percent to that level over a 2-year period.

3. Reduce, by act more than one-half over a 2-year period, the tariff rates in effect on January 1, 1945, on articles which are not now being imported or which are being imported only in negligible quantities.

The administrative facilities and services of the executive branch of the Federal Government, under the direction of the President, would be continued for the negotiation of trade agreements. The fact remains that the actual negotiation with regard to the thousands of items covered by trade agreements and tariff legislation is better handled by the executive branch of the Federal Government than by the Congress.

2. Section 3 (d) of the proposed amendment would require the President to submit an annual report on the operation of the trade agreements program to the Congress which must include—

1. Information regarding new negotiations.

2. Modifications made in duties and import restrictions of the United States.

3. Reciprocal concessions obtained.

4. Modifications of existing trade agreements in order to effectuate more fully the purposes of the trade agreements legislation, including the incorporation therein of escape clauses.

5. Other pertinent information and data.

3. Section 5 (a) of the proposed amendment to H. R. 1 would require the United States Tariff Commission to submit a report to the Congress on all peril-point investigations.

The Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended, requires the President, before entering into negotiations concerning any proposed foreign-trade agreement under section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, to furnish the United States Tariff Commission with a list of all articles imported into the United States. Upon receipt of this list, the Tariff Commission shall make a study and report to the President with respect to each article—

1. The limit to which such modification, imposition, or continuance may be extended without causing or threatening severe injury to the domestic industry producing like or directly competitive articles.

2. Whether or not increased duties or additional import restrictions are required to avoid serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or directly competitive articles and, if so, the minimum increases in duties or import restrictions required.

Section 5 would require the Tariff Commission to transmit such a report to the Congress as well as to the President.

4. The proposed amendment would amend section 6 (a) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951 so as to provide that no reduction of tariff rates or any other concession shall be permitted to continue in effect when—

1. Importation of increased quantities of any product upon which such a concession has been granted under a trade agreement causes or threatens serious import injury to the domestic industry producing either like or directly competing products.

Heretofore it has not been spelled out clearly that relief is to be granted from the effects of concessions given under trade agreements.

5. Section 7 (c), (f), and (l) of the proposed amendment directs that should the Tariff Commission find that the importation or prospective importation of any product, upon which a concession has been granted under a trade agreement, results in or threatens serious import injury to the domestic industry producing either like or directly competitive products, it shall find and declare the extent to which and the time for which the following actions are necessary in order to prevent or remedy such injury:

1. Permanent withdrawal of the concession shall be made;

2. Modification of the concession;

3. Suspension of the concession in whole or in part;

4. Limitation of the quantity of the product which may enter or withdraw from warehouse for consumption; or

5. Any combination of these four items.

The Tariff Commission's findings would be contained in a plan for their implementation which must be transmitted to both Houses of the Congress on the same day and while both are in session. The provisions of any plan transmitted shall take effect on the expiration of the first period of 60 days of continuous session of the Congress, following the date of transmittal and the expiration of the 60-day period, either House of the Congress, by affirmative vote of a majority of its authorized membership, passes a resolution stating that it does not favor the plan. An essential step in bringing the tariffmaking process back into equilibrium again is to reserve to the Congress, which is more representative of the will of the people, final decision in controversial areas of our national trade and tariff program.

After concluding its investigations and hearings, should the Tariff Commission find that relief is not necessary, it shall likewise make and transmit to the Congress a report of its findings and conclusions.

6. Specific criteria are established upon which the Tariff Commisison is to base its findings under escape-clause proceedings by section 7 (d) of the proposed amendment to H. R. 1.

The Tariff Commission is directed to consider any of the following factors as constituting import injury with respect to a domestic article when caused, or threatened to be caused, in whole or in part by the importation of competitive imported articles:

(1) Unemployment, layoffs, or curtailment of workweek;

(2) Reduction in actual or relative wages, including reduction of fringe benefits enjoyed in lieu of wages;

(3) Decline in prices or sales;

(4) Rising inventory;

(5) Decline in profits of, or operation at a loss by, the manufacturer, producer, grower, or wholesaler;

(6) In the case of an agricultural product, a return to the grower or producer below the established parity price for such product;

(7) Decline in flow of investment into plant expansion, new equipment, or other improvements;

(8) Decline in proportionate share of the domestic market enjoyed by the domestic article;

(9) Increase in the importation of like or directly competitive imported articles accompanied by unused, but available and suitable, capacity to produce, manufacture, or grow domestic articles;

(10) Inability to meet promotion, advertising, and customer services provided for a like or directly competitive imported article, to the extent that such inability is due to the lower landed costs of the imported article or to payments from foreign sources not included in the landed cost of the imported article; and

(11) In the case of any natural-resource industry or to any industry determined to be essential to the national security by the National Security Council, a productive capacity of the domestic industry which is less than the peacetime requirements of the domestic market for the article produced or manufactured by the domestic industry, plus a reasonable reserve over and above peacetime requirements for emergency use.

By providing such criteria, the Congress can insure that its policies with respect to escape-clause actions are carried out as intended.

7. For purposes of escape-clause proceedings a definition of an industry is provided by section 7 (e) of the proposed amendment to H. R. 1.

Where a particular business enterprise is engaged in operations involving more than one such industry, or more than one such segment of a single industry, the Commission shall distinguish or separate the respective operations of such business enterprise for the purpose of determining import injury.

A domestic industry is held to include only those operations that relate directly to the production of the products under investigations.

The Yalta Papers' Net Effect: A Warning Against Secret Diplomacy

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a refreshing viewpoint on the Yalta papers has appeared in the Long Beach Independent newspaper. Written by editorial columnist Larry Collins, whose location some 3,000 miles from the Nation's Capital serves as insulation against the political crosscurrents and riptides so prevalent here in Washington, the article catches the real significance of the Yalta papers, namely, a warning against the perils inherent in secret diplomacy:

THE YALTA PAPERS

There is little revealed in the Yalta papers that had not been widely rumored for many years. But they confirm the fact that President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin paved the way for the downfall of the Chinese Nationalist Government. It is an example of secret diplomacy which shocks the world. It also is evidence of the ruthless demands by Russia and how the Communists broke faith on about every agreement made. It is unfortunate their perfidy was not revealed when the Korean war opened. It might have brought us greater cooperation from other nations.

The timetable of events is important. The Yalta meeting was held in February 1945. At that meeting Russia was promised the Japanese islands of Sakhalin and the Kuriles, lying north of the Japanese mainland. Russia was also promised rail control across Manchuria and ports then held by Japan. For this, Russia agreed to join in defeating Japan as soon as Hitler was defeated.

Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945. On August 6 the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. It was apparent Japan would surrender within a few days. We had, for 3 years, carried on the fight in the Pacific. Okinawa was in our hands. But Russia had not kept her word. Then 3 days after the bomb was dropped and the Japanese in Manchuria and China were demoralized, Russia stepped in.

Five days later Japan surrendered. The Russians swept over Manchuria and took all the Chinese possessions which had been held by the Japanese. Russia kept moving into North Korea until we stopped her at the 38 parallel. It was a sordid breaking of faith which should be remembered whenever anyone talks of agreements with the Communists.

At the meeting, President Roosevelt was already a very sick man. He knew then we were about ready to use the atom bomb. But seeking to end the war quickly, with the help of Russia, he made concessions which destroyed China's hopes of ever holding Manchuria again. It appears he agreed to give Russia more votes in the U. N. than we were to have.

As Secretary Dulles has said—this debate will go on forever. But of importance to the peoples of the world is this demonstration of secret diplomacy. It is understandable that there must be much secrecy in dealing with other nations. But when three men can sit down and divide greats part of the world, without telling the people what is being done, it cannot be called the democratic processes of government.

It seems terrible that the details of this meeting have been held secret for 10 years. During that period Russia has taken over Poland and most of Eastern Europe in direct violation of Mr. Roosevelt's plan for free elections. It caused us to have 150,000 casualties in Korea.

What has happened is history. But its effect has been that the world is continually facing war instead of the peace that was promised. It should be a warning to the people that secret diplomacy endangers them. The people of the world have a right to know what their leaders agree to. Any agreement that cannot be entrusted to the people is dangerous to free people everywhere. The Yalta agreement is an example of what can happen when leaders set themselves so high above the people. When it is known that the people are to be informed of what has been agreed to, much more care will be taken in dividing up the lands of this or other nations.

L. A. C.

Folly of Abandoning Research Work in the Textile and Apparel Fields

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following news release furnished me by Mr. Solomon Barkin, director of research, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO:

NEW YORK, N. Y., March 20.—The Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, has lodged a bitter protest with Secretary of Agriculture Benson against the Government's plan to abandon its research work in the textile and apparel fields. News of the plan leaked out of a closed congressional hearing two weeks ago and has since been verified.

In a letter to Benson, William Pollock, the union's executive vice president, said abandonment of the 25-year-old research activity "comes at a time when the textile industry is in its greatest need of assistance in broadening its markets to stimulate business and restore employment."

"The continued dismantling of the Federal agencies necessary to keep our industries virile and alert and to stimulate invention can only spell further blight upon the textile industry, already beset by many other difficulties," Pollock continued.

"As you must know we have for the last 2 years been pressing the Federal Government to take action toward alleviating the persistent textile depression. As a result of your order the industry will get less help than ever. We cannot too strongly express our dismay."

The text of Pollock's letter follows:

"DEAR SIR: We read with great astonishment that you have ordered the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics to abandon its research in the field of fabrics and apparel. This order comes at a time when the textile industry is in its greatest need of assistance in broadening its markets to stimulate business activities and restore employment.

"Many of the Bureau's investigations provided invaluable information for the textile and apparel industry and they have offered insights and information necessary for reconstruction of the industry on a sound basis.

"We urge immediate reconsideration of your action and the restoration of the activities performed by the Bureau in the field of apparel.

"The continued dismantling of the Federal agencies necessary to keep our industries virile and alert and to stimulate invention can only spell further blight upon the textile industry, already beset by many other difficulties. We cannot have a full employment economy if these aids are not provided.

"As textile workers, we believe this action is improper and unwise. There is as much justification for research in the apparel and textile field as in the field of human nutrition. Human clothing and nutrition have been the primary concern of this Bureau and its work must be fostered in the interests of the well-being of the American people. All groups—consumers, workers, manufacturers, and the Government—need an agency providing the objective data which has been furnished by this Bureau at a modest cost.

"As you must know we have for the last 2 years been pressing the Federal Government to take action toward alleviating the persistent textile depression. As a result of your order the industry will get less help than ever. We cannot too strongly express our dismay.

"The restoration of the project in textile and apparel research is imperative.

"Very truly yours,

"WILLIAM POLLOCK,
"Executive Vice President."

Why Sell the Delaware?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, last year the Congress passed legislation authorizing the deepening of the channel of the Delaware River. In his budget message this year President Eisenhower included approval of such deepening only with the proviso that private industry benefiting from such deepening help pay the costs. This is, of course, a radical and remarkable departure from established and workable procedures in such matters. In this connection, I should like to include as part of my remarks an editorial appearing in the Trentonian on March 16, 1955. The editorial follows:

WHY SELL THE DELAWARE?

"This new concept of local financing for a national interest project is one that should cause concern to the people throughout the country. This is no mere local issue. It will have a real meaning to every port in the country. It is a complete reversal of a traditional Federal role, one that can have a lasting and harmful effect on our shipping lanes. * * * The idea is so novel and ridiculous that it shouldn't be given a moment's thought."

Those are the words of Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, Representative from the First New Jersey District, covering Camden, Gloucester, and Salem Counties. He is a Republican. We wonder how he feels today about the action taken by his fellow Republicans who control the New Jersey State Assembly from the basement of the state house.

Those members of the lower chamber on Monday were offered an opportunity to give backing to the tri-State drive for a deeper Delaware, to be paid for entirely by Federal funds. They have before them a resolution petitioning the Federal Government to provide all the necessary funds for the project.

Appropriately enough, the Republican assemblymen assembled in the basement, and, in one of their time-honored caucuses, voted to kill the resolution. They thus supported resident Eisenhower who, contrary to congressional recommendations, holds that private interests should pay part of the bill.

A spokesman for New Jersey's basement clique said the GO was afraid that deepening the river would allow salt water and sand to seep into the drinking water of cities along the river, despite engineering reports to the contrary.

Lined up solidly behind the proposition that the Federal Government should pay all the costs of deepening the Delaware are Governors Meyner, of New Jersey, Leader, of Pennsylvania; and Boggs, of Delaware.

Supporting it actively in Congress are Congressmen FRANK THOMPSON, JR., and WOLVERTON, of New Jersey; SCOTT, KING, GREEN, BYRNE, and BARRETT, of Pennsylvania; and Senators DUFF and MARTIN, of Pennsylvania.

They are not the only ones who think the project should be paid for exclusively out of Federal funds.

On January 20 we observed that "Congress obviously did not want to sell any part of the Delaware—one of those navigable streams over which the Federal Government exercises control—to any private interest. * * *"

The Camden Courier-Post remarked on February 7 "that in no projects similar to this one have local interests ever been called on to share in the cost, and they should never be. * * *"

What it all boils down to is this: While our Congressmen, public officials, and newspapers are fighting tooth and nail for the Federal Government to undertake its just obligations and provide a channel to the sea for the great and growing Delaware Valley, New Jersey Republican members of the assembly are dragging their heels. Their deplorable action Monday has hurt the drive for a deeper Delaware, but they have not stopped those farsighted people who are convinced that a ship channel will make the Delaware Valley an important adjunct of our Nation's defense and economy.

Need for Restoration of Appropriations for State Maritime Academies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. BALDWIN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, in California, Maine, New York, and Massachusetts the State governments have been operating Maritime Academies for the training of Merchant Marine officers. The students have graduated with their papers as deck or engineer officers and have also in the past been commissioned in the U. S. Naval Reserve. On this basis the Congress has appropriated Federal contributions to the budgets of the academies since 1911. In fiscal year 1955 the amount for the four schools was $660,000. The budget as presented for fiscal 1956 contains nothing for this purpose.

Consequences of a serious nature could result from abandoning the program at this time. The international situation, which apparently will be tense for many years to come, emphasizes the importance of this resource for training officers. The enrollments in the academies at the end of the last school year were 495 at the New York academy; 224, Maine; 180, Massachusetts; and 130, California.

It would appear particularly inappropriate to terminate this program at a time when we are simultaneously considering an expansion of other Federal assistance to State educational programs. First consideration should logically be given to the continuance of existing programs. I most sincerely hope that the Appropriations Committee and this House will amend the budget to provide an appropriation of $660,000 for the support of these academies for fiscal year 1956.

In this connection, I have received the following letter from the chairman of

the board of governors of the California Maritime Academy stressing the urgent need for restoration of this appropriation:

CRISIS—CALIFORNIA MARITIME ACADEMY
ACTION NEEDED—IMMEDIATE

CALIFORNIA MARITIME ACADEMY,
March 2, 1955.

Hon. JOHN F. BALDWIN, Jr.,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BALDWIN: A serious crisis now exists at the California Maritime Academy which endangers its very existence, and your help is urgently needed.

The academy was founded in 1929 and is an educational institution of the State of California for educating young men to become merchant marine officers. There are three other State maritime academies: New York (founded in 1874), Massachusetts (founded in 1888); and Maine (founded in 1941).

Congress, in its wisdom and foresight, enacted a law in 1874 which, as amended, has been in effect ever since and which empowers and authorizes the Federal Government to aid States maintaining maritime academies.

In full reliance and solely upon this Federal law, the maritime academies were founded by the four States and, in continued reliance upon said law, have expended millions of dollars in maintaining these academies year after year and in the construction of facilities and buildings. At the California Maritime Academy right at this moment we are completing 2 new buildings at the sole cost to the State of approximately $750,000.

Total Federal aid last year to the four State academies was $660,000, of which California received the benefit of about $100,000. We have always received this Federal aid, year after year, and were informed on December 10, 1954, by the Maritime Administration, that the budget now being considered by Congress contained this sum of $660,000 for State aid. However, when the budget was submitted, all money for State aid of the academies had been eliminated. A representative of the Department of Commerce informed me personally that the Department had no objection to the restoration of these funds in the budget.

We have already prepared and submitted to the State legislature our budget for the year commencing July 1, 1955, which was prepared with the expectation of the usual Federal aid that had always been forthcoming.

Under our budget as submitted to the State legislature, and without the usual Federal aid, the California Maritime Academy cannot operate for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1955.

Attached hereto for your ready reference is a complete statement of the facts.

Will you please use every effort to get the appropriations for all State maritime academies restored to the budget?

Set forth below are the names and addresses of the other board members.

Anxiously awaiting your reply, I am,

Respectfully yours,

R. D. SWEENEY,
Chairman, Board of Governors, California Maritime Academy.

Senator Luther E. Gibson, 516 Marin Street, Vallejo, Calif.; Dr. J. Burton Vasche, department of education, Sacramento, Calif.; Mr. Hugh Gallagher, Matson Navigation Co., 215 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.; Mr. Gene M. Harris, 1220½ State Street, Santa Barbara, Calif.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

The California Maritime Academy is an educational institution of the State of California and is located near Vallejo, Calif., on San Francisco Bay. It was founded by an act of the State legislature enacted in 1929.

The purpose of the academy is to train and educate young men for the ever-increasing technical and difficult profession of a merchant marine officer. It is the only educational institution west of the Atlantic coast devoted exclusively to the teaching of nautical sciences and marine engineering so as to afford within its confines all instruction necessary for a well qualified merchant marine officer.

Each graduate receives a B. S. degree and upon passing the required Coast Guard examination (which they all do) also receives either a license as a third mate or a third engineer officer, depending upon which branch the graduate has chosen. Those graduates who can pass the required physical examination also receive a commission as an ensign in the United States Naval Reserve. The Navy Department maintains naval personnel at the Academy for the purpose of instructing the students in allied naval sciences.

The academy and it graduates have an excellent standing and reputation with the maritime and shipping industry, the Propeller Club, American Legion, and other civic organizations.

Excellent and similar maritime academies are maintained by the States of New York (founded 1874), Massachusetts (founded 1858), and Maine (founded 1941).

These academies fulfill a great need to private industry and in the educational, economic, national and international life of this country, and students are accepted from any State in the Union.

Congress in its great wisdom and foresight enacted a law in 1874 which as amended has ever since been an honored law of this Nation (34 USCA 1121–1130) and which basically empowers and authorizes the Federal Government, in order to promote nautical education.

(a) To furnish a State a suitable vessel to be used for the benefit of any nautical school established in certain named ports upon condition that there shall be maintained a school for the instruction of youths in navigation, marine engineering, and all matters pertaining to the proper construction, equipment, and sailing of vessels or any particular branch thereof;

(b) To repair or recondition and equip said vessel;

(c) To detail naval officers as instructors to said schools.

The Federal law authorizes the appropriation of $50,000 annually by the Federal Government to each such State school for the purpose af aiding in the maintenance and support of such nautical school. Of this $50,000 up to $25,000 thereof is to be paid to each State if it admits students who are residents of other States, said payment to be on a per capita cost basis.

In full reliance and solely upon this Federal law and with the right to believe that the Government would abide by its own word as solemnly expressed in this law, the maritime academies were founded by the above four States and which States in continued reliance thereon have each expended millions of dollars in maintaining these academies year after year and in the construction of facilities and buildings. At the California Maritime Academy, right at this moment, we are just completing 2 new buildings at the sole cost to the State of approximately $750,000.

These four States have fulfilled all of the conditions of the Federal law entitling them to this aid which, because of the permanent character of the academies, is of a continuing nature.

Each year the Federal Government, except as hereinafter set forth, pursuant to said law, has furnished and still furnishes each of said States a ship and pays the annual overhaul thereof, which is paid direct by the Government to the private shipyard which performs the work. Each State provides the cost of and performs the usual routine maintenance and repair of these vessels which are kept in excellent operating condition and which otherwise would be rotting at anchor. Title to these ships remains vested in the United States.

Each year the Federal Government has appropriated and paid to each State the sum of $25,000 as authorized in said law and also the proportionate part of the additional $25,000, depending upon the number of out-of-State students and the per capita costs and also money toward subsistence, and an annual allowance of $200 each for uniforms and textbooks for a certain limited number of students.

This long course of conduct between the Federal Government and the States having maritime academies has construed the Federal law and the intent of the parties and has permitted each State to rely upon this aid.

For the fiscal year which ends June 30, 1955, the Federal Government, with respect to the California Maritime Academy, appropriated and will pay:

Annual overhaul of ship	$37,450
Annual grant	25,000
Toward subsistence	22,675
	85,125

The annual uniform and textbook allowance of $200 each to a limited number of students, which is paid direct to the student, will amount to about $20,000.

The total annual appropriation of all money by the Federal Government, with respect to all 4 State academies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, is $660,000, which, I believe, is the same amount appropriated in the several previous years. There are a total of about 1,100 students in the 4 State academies, which is an annual cost to the Federal Government of about $600 per student, and this includes the costs of repairs by the Government to its own ship.

The inclusion of the above funds in the Federal budget for many years last past has been under and is the duty of the Maritime Administration of the Department of Commerce. Each year it has been included.

Suddenly, and without any notice or warning to the State academies, and for the first time that memory of man runneth not to the contrary, including depression years, and in complete disregard of the intent of Congress as expressed in its laws, the annual grants were entirely eliminated from the present Federal budget now under consideration by Congress.

Each year the State academies, as a matter of course and to be sure we are not forgotten, inquire of the Maritime Administration if the money for the State academies has been included in its budget. This we did this year on December 10, 1954, and were informed that the same amount, $660,000, for the State academies was in the budget as was in last year.

You can imagine our astonishment, indignation, and despair when we were informed for the first time by reading in the newspapers that the appropriations for the State academies had been eliminated from the President's budget and there were inferences that the President himself had done the eliminating. Of course, no President knows the detail of every item in the budget and it is not fair to place the stigma upon him of doing something contrary to the intent of Congress and its laws and of participating in misleading the States.

On January 26, 1955, I telephoned Mr. Louis S. Rothschild, the then Maritime Administrator, and he affirmed that the appropriation was in the budget when we inquired on December 10, 1954, but had been later taken out. He stated he was not at liberty to say why or by whom. He did say that he would have no objection whatsoever to have the appropriation restored to the budget and would not oppose any action by the State

academies in so doing. He suggested that we request our Representatives in Congress to restore it to the budget.

If the appropriation of the $660,000 were in the budget, it would undoubtedly have passed without question. The Department of Commerce cut it out of the budget. The Department of Commerce now says it has no objection to its restoration. Hence, restoration should be simple with no Government opposition.

Our plight at the California Maritime Academy is very serious. We operate on a very tight budget. We have already prepared and submitted to the State legislature now in session our budget for the year commencing July 1, 1955. This was prepared with the expectation of the usual Federal aid which had been forthcoming for years.

Under our budget as submitted and without the usual Federal aid, the California Maritime Academy cannot operate for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1955.

We have kept faith with the Federal Government—we have fulfilled the conditions on our part to be performed under the Federal law entitling us to this aid.

If the appropriations are not restored to the budget for State academies, we feel that the Federal Government has not kept faith with us and our youth. It is needless to state the results which follow from such procedure.

As our chosen Representatives, who are our only salvation from wrongful governmental acts, we urgently request your assistance in getting the appropriation for State maritime academies restored to the budget.

Not only is our academy endangered, but so also is the soundest principle of good government—integrity and fairness in its dealings with its citizens.

This is a long letter, but the case is a hard one, and even more could be said.

Your help is anxiously awaited.

Sincerely yours,

R. D. SWEENEY,
Chairman, Board of Governors, California Maritime Academy.

Birthday Anniversary of Robert E. Lee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by a young friend of mine. It appeared in the Sewanee Purple, his high school paper, on the anniversary of the birth of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

QUEM TE MEMOREM, LEE?

A TOWN, THE SOUTH, January 19, 1895.—There is a festive air prevading the town. The school children will be dismissed at noon so that they will be able to walk in the afternoon parade. All the stores will be closed. Confederate flags are flying from the buildings and the houses. It is one of the most significant celebrations of the year for the people of our town.

The Confederate veterans will march in the parade in their gray uniforms. A speech platform decorated with the stars and bars has been erected in the courthouse square. After the speeches honoring Lee there will be a box supper served in the square by the Daughters of the Confederacy.

The last speaker of the day is always Major Anderson, who served under Lee for 4 years in the Army of northern Virginia. He always gives the same speech, one part of which I have almost memorized.

"Robert E. Lee epitomized nobility and honor. He was a gentleman without peer. He fought valiantly for 4 years, but when the war ended he returned home without bitterness. He asked his soldiers to bear no malice toward the North, but to devote their energies to the rebuilding of the South by all of its people. To Lee, the war for southern independence ended at Appomattox.

"On the anniversary of the date of his birth we should rededicate ourselves to his principles of honor and duty—we should forget all bitterness—keeping the memory of the Old South as a glorious heritage and remembering neither the cruelty of the war nor the horrors of reconstruction, but only that we acted nobly and without dishonor."

A TOWN, THE SOUTH, January 19, 1955.—Today is Lee's birthday. The only recognition of the event is the closing of the banks and the resulting inconvenience. Only one group is keeping the memory of Lee really alive. That is the League for the Preservation of Southern Anglo-Saxon Americanism. I will never forget the speech I heard in their meeting hall today. It was made by Jake Buckey, the manager of Smith's Department Store.

"What a terrible condition the South is in today. All our troubles are coming from the damyankees and their Communist ideas. They are trying to destroy the South and the ideals of Robert E. Lee. The Supreme Court decision is going to make dirty mongrels of us all. We got to fight it. Fight it with our last drop of blood. We owe it to our children to preserve the Anglo-Saxon race and the Protestant religion. It is up to we southerners to keep our land free of foreigners and Communists. We all got to fight socialist and internationalist schemes to destroy the South. This is what Lee would have done."

Look away, look away, Dixieland.

Mr. Stassen and the Arms Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Mr. Stassen and the Arms Race," published in the Washington Evening Star of March 21, 1955, dealing with the appointment of Harold Stassen as a Special Assistant to the President dealing with the question of disarmament. I believe that this appointment holds hope and courage for the future disarmament of the world.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. STASSEN AND THE ARMS RACE

In the unprecedented new assignment he has handed to Harold Stassen, President Eisenhower has strikingly reemphasized his profoundly earnest desire—which is shared by the Nation as a whole—to make this a far safer and much happier world through general disarmament and great international cooperative projects like his atoms-for-peace plan.

Mr. Stassen, who now will begin winding up his duties as Director of the Foreign Operations Administration, will henceforth have full cabinet rank as the President's special assistant charged with the "responsibility of developing * * * the broad studies, investigations, and conclusions which * * * will become basic policy toward the question of disarmament." In that capacity, retaining his present membership in the National Security Council, he will occupy the first post of its kind in the history of our own or any other country—a post dedicated exclusively to the task of trying to figure out ways and means, if such ways and means are really possible, of ending what has shaped up into incomparably the costliest and deadliest arms race of all time.

As made clear in his statement on the matter, the President has been moved to create the new post because of his long-standing "deep concern" over the terrible actualities and potentialities of this race. He has been moved to do so, too, because of the fact that Soviet intransigence—which apparently is being displayed once again at the current "secret" five-power disarmament talks in London—has rendered impossible a genuinely effective agreement on the reduction and control of arms and armed forces of every kind, including principally atomic-hydrogen weapons and other instruments of mass destruction. In Mr. Eisenhower's words, there has been "no progress and no clear crystallization of thinking on this subject", and so it will be Mr. Stassen's job—in cooperation with other agencies of our Government—to see what can be done, assuming that anything can be done, to promote peace by breaking the present deadlock.

Speaking for himself, Mr. Stassen has accepted his potentially history-making responsibility with a pledge to conduct "a more thorough and penetrating study of disarmament than has ever been made." In effect, he has thus suggested—as has the President himself—that the time has come for a complete reappraisal of all our past and present positions on the problem. And such a reappraisal would seem to be very much in order not merely because the Kremlin appears to be adamant in its totally unacceptable views on the subject, but also because our own American views may need to be modified and recast in terms of the following fact: That there is now at least a little reason to doubt, from the standpoint of the mechanics of control, that there is actually any possibility of establishing a foolproof check against clandestine manufacture or surprise use of mass-destruction weapons.

Here, probably, is the most important problem that Mr. Stassen will have to deal with on his new assignment, and obviously there are no easy solutions. But the President, simply by the act of drafting him for the job, has demonstrated before the whole world that the United States is determined to do everything possible to prevent the universal cataclysm inherent in the current uncontrolled situation.

That $20 Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "That $20 Bill," published in the Washington Daily News of Wednesday, March 16, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THAT $20 BILL

Almost any of us could use a spare $20 bill, if it came our way.

But if you found one of those double sawbucks on the street, and you knew one of the children had lost it on the way to the corner store to pay the grocery bill, you hardly would figure it a real find.

You would go right ahead and pay the grocer.

That's the way it was with the so-called tax cut the Senate voted down yesterday.

The political masterminds among the Democrats in the Senate proposed to knock $20 off each taxpayer's income levy next year, plus $10 more for each dependent—except the wife.

It was a vote-chasing sop. And it would not have amounted to much in the first place, and nothing at all to some taxpayers. In the second place the taxpayers would have been tapped for this much, and more, later on to make up the extra deficit it would have created in the Government's books.

The whole idea was to give you back $20 of your own money next year, an election year, and then take it away from you later—with interest.

Only 5 of the 49 Democrats in the Senate voted against this give-little-and-take-back-more proposal. They were Senators BYRD and ROBERTSON, of Virginia; GEORGE, of Georgia; ELLENDER, of Louisiana; and HOLLAND, of Florida.

All other votes against the proposal came from Republicans, in support of President Eisenhower.

We would have thought there were more statesmen among the 49 Democrats.

Goodwill Tour to Beirut, Lebanon, by Mayors of Seven United States Cities Named Lebanon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, to cement relations with the strategic Middle East and the people of Lebanon, the mayors of seven United States cities named Lebanon, including Lebanon, Oreg., have been participating in a goodwill tour of their cities' namesake.

Lebanon, Oreg., in the foothills of the Cascade Mountains in the fertile Willamette Valley, with its strawberry festival, and home of the world's biggest shortcake, is a progressive community and a rapidly growing lumber and distribution center.

It is a pleasure to salute Mayor Ralph Scroggin and the people of Lebanon, Oreg.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Lebanon Mayors Cited in Beirut," published in the Oregonian of March 16, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEBANON MAYORS CITED IN BEIRUT

BEIRUT, LEBANON.—President Camille Chamoun awarded Lebanon's gold medal of merit to seven mayors of United States towns named Lebanon.

The ceremony climaxed a 15-day visit of the mayors as guests of the Lebanese Government. The president's wife presented them with samples of embroidery from the Lebanon mountains.

The visit will end Wednesday. The mayors are from Tennessee, New Hampshire, Indiana, Missouri, Oregon, Ohio, and Nebraska.

Atomic Energy: A New Renaissance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, on St. Patrick's Day, before the British Empire Club—strange as that combination may seem—our esteemed colleague, the distinguished junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] delivered an address entitled "Atomic Energy: A New Renaissance." This address is of exceptional and timely interest, especially in view of the remarks on this subject which we have heard on the floor this afternoon.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATOMIC ENERGY: A NEW RENAISSANCE

(Remarks of Senator PASTORE before the British Empire Club, in Providence, R. I.)

My fellow Americans, I deeply appreciate the invitation to spend this special night with the members of the British Empire Club. As one who can boast of being familiar with Providence and its amenities, I realize that it is rather difficult to distinguish whether you are being invited to the British Empire Club by Spencer Over, or being invited by Spencer Over through the British Empire Club. Whichever the case may be, and you may choose sides as you like, I am truly happy to be with you tonight.

I said this was a special night, and it may be likely that I am not being modest enough, but as you well know, one of the hardest things for a man in public life to do is to hide his day of nativity, and this happens to be mine.

Originally I had a notion that March 17 was a very exclusive and personal possession of my own; then I began to discover that I had to share it in large measure with my Irish playmates for ancient and honorable reasons connected with their race. Later, as I grew older, I learned that there was an annual friendly struggle between my Irish and Anglo friends, to prevent the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick from having a monopoly on the 17th. And in time, too, I became familiar with the superfriendly spirit in which two great assemblies have exchanged felicitations on this memorable night.

Therefore, whether I spend this night with my Irish or British friends, we are all brought together by the same inspiration and example of St. Patrick—the one-time slave boy, claimed by many lands, whose fame rests on his conquest of Ireland—in peace and without bloodshed—to the greater glory of God and man.

That type of conquest seems to be a lost art in our day and age, for if we are indeed enjoying peace, it is a peace that leaves an uneasy feeling in the hearts of all men.

Here we are expected to gain a sense of security in rockets that can send out threats to their targets, even across thousands of miles of open sea, and in the same breath, that security and assurance is shaken by the undeniable fact that these same weapons in the hands of a barbarous and brutal enemy could, with one stroke, devastate 7,000 square miles of our own populace and prosperous America.

You, who know the dimensions of the British Isles, have been treated recently to a discussion of some of these dangers. But you, who also understand the human dimensions of the British people—the determination, the devotion, and dedication to destiny—are able to see all of this in the true perspective of history, and for this reason are not easy to despair.

I know that I know something of the dimensions of the danger, too. For it has been my senatorial privilege—arising from my membership on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy—to witness and to study, and, I hope, to understand, some of the destructive might of this instrumentality which is only 10 years young—yet seems to be born almost daily with terrifying additions to its tremendous power.

But it has also been my privilege to know something of the benign and beneficent possibilities and achievements of atomic development. And for this reason it makes me a man of heart and hope.

It seems to me that the miracle of conquest, without bloodshed, is a little bit closer than we are able to see today. For today our vision is a little fogged with fear; and despair could interfere with our true sense of direction.

When we think the world is grasping for the depths of despair—who knows but that we may be really reaching for the heights of happiness.

The very power which could carry the seed of destruction for our civilization can, if man so wills it, be the source of the material improvement and the spiritual strength of all men—indeed, the means by which man would prefer to live at peace with his neighbor and with the world—in an era of a new renaissance.

For in this I can see an economy of abundance for the whole world. I can see the extinction of labor slavery in all of its forms. Poverty and hunger, which now make men jealous of their neighbors, would become outmoded in a spirit of true charity and brotherhood.

This is not the pollyanna philosophy of a pacifist. It is the practical opinion of a man who doesn't believe that a nation is going to risk its life for a prize that it can gain more readily through peaceful progress—than it can hope for through the sweat and scars of war. Indeed, there are prizes that modern war, with its vigorous and vicious retaliations, would destroy for the aggressor whatever the event. The calculated risk would have to be, at best, victory without salvage. That could be no better than defeat, and utter destruction.

I take the premise that our rivals have in their mind, too, thought for their personal survival. I think they feel as we do, that we are at once the possessors and the prisoners of a destructive force so final that neither they nor we can afford to let it loose.

If my reasoning is wrong, then all logic must take wings. If we are going to use

the products of our intelligence to destroy the civilization it has taken centuries for that intelligence to create, then I say, What price intelligence?

This is not an attitude that would neglect the cautions of a confident and competent country.

I do not mean that the Western Powers should take their policemen off the international streets. I certainly do not mean that we should let our guard down.

Tonight—on the British Isles—together with English forces—50,000 American airmen are at their posts. They are not daring any common enemy. Their only purpose for being there is to deter such an enemy from a hostile surprise blow. Our men have no chip upon their shoulder but, by the same token, they will not be a sitting target for treachery against their friends.

We mean no breach of international peace, but we do mean business. Our intentions are peaceful. We will keep them that way. But we can keep them that way at the moment only so long as our defenses are powerful.

And, at the same time, America does invite the world—the whole world—to peaceful development and exploitation of the possibilities of this atomic age. America points the way to a prosperous common possession of all the means to a peaceful living together.

America does not pretend to have a monopoly of nuclear wisdom and nuclear production. America does not want to have such a monopoly. We have already expressed our desire to share, to help, toward peace and plenty. Indeed we have written it into our law, and now we are only too eager to translate it into concrete, friendly acts.

Only last week it was my privilege and honor, as chairman of the Subcommittee on International Agreements of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, to meet and to break bread with 31 young scientists and physicists from foreign lands. These young men were invited here by the United States Government for a special advanced course in this important field of peaceful development of atomic energy.

The people of the world know—as well as we do—the miraculous benefits that can accrue from our nuclear progress. We want them to know. We want them to have these benefits for peaceful pursuits. We want these benefits for ourselves, too. But more than wanting them, we want them in peace, for ourselves and for the rest of the world.

This is not a field of power alone. By this time, all of us are fairly familiar with the promises of atomic power in peaceful industry. Uranium 235 is a familiar name of fissionable material. We know that the heat released from a pound of such uranium provides 2,600,000 times the heat produced by the burning of a pound of coal. That makes sense to us. That is something we can use.

Atomic power as energy in the field of every-day electricity is only a part of the possibilities. In agriculture, in medicine, in manufacture, in every facet of living, the processes that are the byproducts of our nuclear studies put us on the threshold of an existence that materially and spiritually can be the rebirth of the human race.

"Radioisotopes" is a difficult word—yet one that is becoming more and more familiar to all of us. These are the elementary materials made radioactive by exposure in an atomic reactor.

Only a few years ago these materials were limited to those of radium and its decay products. They were costly. Today, out of new processes and new materials we can produce for $10,000 what used to cost $100 million. We can understand those odds of 10,000 to 1. We certainly can use this kind of progress.

If I say we lead the world in atomic progress, it is not by way of boasting—but to state an acknowledged fact. Authorities readily admit that whatever superiority we have we owe to our enormous and industrial resources and to the immense effort exerted in devising ways of handling fissionable material on a colossal scale.

Yet—I say we owe it equally to the American state of mind, our principles, our policies, our democratic purposes.

We are not concerned with external plunder but with internal peace and progress. We wish the same for men of good will everywhere. The sheepherder of New Zealand has already benefited no less than the peanut grower of the Carolinas. When New Zealand flocks began to fail radioactive tracers were able to determine the element missing from the diet of the herds. Airplanes were called upon to dust the pastures with the needed cobalt, and because of this the flocks were restored to good health.

Here in America a million dollars a year were saved by peanut planters of the Carolinas when a blight was irradiated.

Last week the National Food Conference was told by Dr. Urbain, researcher for Swift & Co., that meat, bombarded with gamma rays from an atomic pile, will stay fresh indefinitely without refrigeration or any other form of expensive storage.

Potatoes will not sprout and will retain their freshness through 2 years of storage.

These may seem humble examples to us, but to industry it constitutes its lifeblood.

Soon the fishing fleets will no longer need countless tons of ice on their journey to the banks and back.

Fresh water will come from salt water—abundant foods from the plant life of the sea. What a boon to mankind.

This is not a dreamer's dream. All of these accomplishments are on the horizon, if some are not already in the full grasp of our scientists as I speak to you now.

A thousand new processes are born in industry from the uses of irradiation. New plastics are produced—new methods of vulcanizing rubber—new means of measurement and identification of materials—a whole new world of electronics.

Just as this new science has solved the mysteries of plant life—and just as it has solved the puzzles of animal ailments, so, too, the human medical field has made great strides through the use of radioactive materials. The attainments in goiter and cancer studies thrill and enthrall the student—and beckon him on to unmeasured accomplishment in putting atomic energy to use in the processes and problems of medicine.

Hours and hours would be required, just as books and books have already been written in the infancy of atomic progress, as a precursor of the promise of tomorrow's miracles.

We have been witnesses or students of great changes in the economic life of our country. We have seen periods when we seemed to have reached our topmost limit, and the only change could be downward. Then came man's invention: The automobile, the airplane, radio, and television. Each seemed to come at the right psychological moment to rescue man from economic doldrums, and to spur him on to the new heights of luxury and happiness.

If I say that the electronics age is yet another chapter, another step up the ladder for our American economy, I will not be expressing an original thought. It is already the promise of our scientists. It is already the expectation of our men of business.

But if we stop there, if this is to be purely a material gain, just an economic profit, just a lift up for luxurious America, the idea would be unworthy of us. It would be unworthy of our post and power in this hour of the world's existence. It would be unworthy of the hopes that the world has placed in us, whether we have sought the responsibility or not.

Today, in the Congress, we have reports from the world over—of the hunger of all peoples for this energy and progress in the medical and biological fields—so that plagues and famines will become unused words in any language. It is a hunger that will not be appeased with paper performances, but if we do not rise to our responsibilities, those people will get their help elsewhere. It may be from Europe. If Europe, too, fails, then it could be from Russia.

Let us not for a moment think that atomic discoveries have been exclusively American. On the contrary, we know that many of the great fundamental scientific revelations of the atomic age have come to us from minds that were born in the British Isles, France, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, Denmark, and Italy. What we have contributed, as I said before, in addition to our own great scientific minds, is our immense experimental effort through our superb and superior industrial resources.

There is an Achilles' heel, however, in our atomic progress.

Our development of scientists is not in keeping with our great American tradition and with our needs of tomorrow. I regret to say that, in my opinion, our human mental factor is not getting the attention it requires.

Last year, Russia graduated 54,000 engineers.

American schools graduated 20,000. The experts tell us we must resurvey our educational ideas.

On the high-school level, there must be teachers competent in the standards of this electronic age. There must be, above all, guidance and direction for those who have the talent to meet the challenge in this new field. We must find out why so many high-school graduates of college caliber never go to college. If it is our manpower policies, they must be restudied, also. If we are delinquent in giving direction to the studies and inspiration of youth, if we are not giving the dollars and the drive—to the promotion of this basic knowledge in our high schools, our colleges, and our universities—then this, too, needs to be corrected.

In our minds, our hearts, and our souls, we must be attuned to this great help and this great hope to the world.

As the deserts of the almost forsaken lands may be made to bloom again—so, too, the dreams of people in despair can be brought to life once more.

No small group of plotters can keep millions and millions of human beings chained forever to the pangs of hunger. No purge can drive them to the slaughter of distant battlefields, when peace and plenty can be theirs, instead.

"God is not dead in Russia"—is the simple phrase of a humble priest. The echo of this admonition brings the knowledge that men cannot drive an understanding of the Creator out of the souls of His creatures.

We know that man craves the dignity of his human nature—he craves all the freedoms that we have cataloged for hand and heart and mind. Man will have them. Man can have them.

These great powers that we extract from the atom today have always been there since the dawn of creation. Man adds nothing new to their substance. His great achievement has been that through his God-given genius and intelligence he has, in good time, succeeded in analyzing and devising and dividing the simplest elements of nature.

Our civilization is only entering upon its grandest era—a new Renaissance. This last half of the 20th century will be written in history as the age of the atom—that out of the smallest element we have drawn the formula for the world's biggest dream—man's happiness in a world of plenty, under an umbrella of God's peace.

International Trade Fair in Bangkok

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, Mr. Jim Bormann, director of News and Public Affairs of radio station WCCO, of Minneapolis, Minn., broadcast on March 8, 1955, a news item regarding the International Trade Fair in Bangkok. I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Some time ago, I reviewed on this program a problem that had been outlined to the President by Senator EDWARD THYE—a problem involving our prestige in the Far East. The Senator attended the International Trade Fair in Bangkok, during a visit to Siam in 1953, and he said what he saw in the Soviet exhibit put America to shame. The Russians had turned out a dazzling display of industrial production for peace, and had actually outshone the scattered exhibit of American products. Soviet tractors and automobiles were more impressive than ours. They had on display fine cutlery, chinaware, radios, phonographs, surgical supplies, and household appliances. Our exhibit contained none. The Soviets cleverly pointed out that America was unable to show this kind of peaceful production because its industry was stoking up to produce the implements of war. It was a telling blow—though a false one—in the Communist campaign to stir up hate for America among the peace-loving countries.

That's the story Senator THYE told President Eisenhower, and the President called in business advisers and advertising men to help him do something about it. He reasoned that a nation which produces the implements of peace in abundance should find a way to export at least enough of these to prove the Communists were lying.

With this background, it is interesting to read in the Information Agency report an account of the spectacular showing America made this year at the fair in Bangkok. A picture in the report shows a multicolored balloon tower atop which floats the Stars and Stripes. Behind it, and above the entrance to the United States exhibit, was a huge sign which proclaimed in Siamese: "The Fruits of Freedom." And inside the exhibit area were vast throngs intently watching Cinerama on a giant curved screen beneath the sky.

Perhaps a few paragraphs from the report will demonstrate that Senator THYE'S urging for broader American participation in these international exhibitions produced solid results.

"In few areas has the United States suffered more consistently unfavorable comparison with the Soviet union than in the international fairs held throughout Europe and Asia." The report goes on to say: "During the past 6 months, however, this situation began to improve.

"At the Damascus International Trade Fair in September. This Is Cinerama drew huge crowds which surged past the Soviet exhibit and jammed the entrance to Cinerama. This display was presented through the cooperation of private United States industry, and was equipped with an Arabic sound track by an employee of the United States Information Service in Damascus. Cinerama has been described, because of this, as America's secret weapon.

"In 1953, at the famous Constitution Fair in Bangkok, the Communists display of consumer goods won first prize. The United States was not officially represented. But in 1954, the United States won first prize with its exhibit "The Fruits of Freedom." This exhibit was developed by the United States Department of Commerce in cooperation with the United States Information Agency and more than 100 private business firms.

"The Soviets provided a measure of America's impact at these fairs by complaining that Cinerama was unfair competition, and by claiming that it was an inferior imitation of a 15-year-old Soviet invention.

"But even more significant was the fact that the Soviets didn't want to compete in a contest they knew they would lose. Faced with Cinerama and the concerted efforts of American industries in the Bangkok exposition, the Russians withdrew their exhibit."

Tariff Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which was published in the Washington Evening Star of March 21, 1955. It deals with the sad experience which many Congresses and Presidents have had in the past in trying to write tariff bills on the floor of the House and of the Senate. The article has particular pertinence at this time in view of the fact that a number of Members of Congress feel that we should resort again to the practice of trying to write tariff bills on the floor of Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The longer the hearings on the proposed Trade Agreements Act are drawn out, the greater is the impression that the Nation may be in for an old fashioned row over protection of the American market.

Probably Congress and the country will be spared the ordeal of the writing of a tariff bill with specific duties on the floor. But the hearings before the Senate Finance Committee, and the earlier hearings on the House side, are developing demands for quota restrictions on certain imports.

It is likely that some of these will come up on the Senate floor. It is also possible that the proposed act to extend trade agreements authority for 3 years and to permit the President to negotiate moderate tariff reductions may end up quite different from what it was originally.

Records of tariff legislation offer instances where tariff revision started out in one direction and ended up in another. The course of the present bill so far offers an interesting parallel to the early history of the Tariff Act of 1894. That was in Grover Cleveland's second administration.

The present bill got through the House without amendment, chiefly due to the efforts of Speaker RAYBURN. Similarly, the bill of 1894 got through the House handily. It was a bill of moderate reductions. It was introduced December 19, 1893. It was passed by the House February 1, 1894.

Then the Senate took over.

It took 5 months for the Senate to produce its version of the bill. First, in response to a Democratic caucus, moderate tariff protection was given sugar, coal and iron ore.

Then there started a parade of representatives of industries. The shirt and collar manufacturers of New York wheeled into the fray. There came the iron and steel men of Pennsylvania and the glass and pottery interests of New Jersey.

The Democratic majority in the Senate was slim. The leadership figured it had to give some ground to win votes for the bill.

The yielding reached the proportions of a general retreat. In May 1894 a caucus decided to support 408 amendments. One Member of Congress is said to have remarked, "This is a free-lunch counter; walk up and help yourself." In the end the bill, after being amended 600 times, finally passed the Senate in July. Many of the House-scheduled tariff reductions were revised upward. The then sugar trust got such sweet treatment it was a scandal.

President Cleveland hoped that in conference the House would prevail to restore the bill to something like its original appearance. He was disappointed. The House gave way and the measure was finally adopted in August. The disgusted President wouldn't sign it; he let it become law without his signature.

That tariff writing can have political repercussions was well known in 1894. The high-tariff McKinley Act had been passed in 1890 during President Harrison's administration. Prices advanced even before the provisions of the McKinley Tariff Act took effect. Those who put up their prices said the tariff was to blame. Even such a traditionally American industry as the manufacture of wooden nutmegs for the Connecticut trade advanced the price of the product—and blamed it on the tariff.

The act became law in October 1890. Next month came the off-year elections. In place of the Republican majority, the voters elected 235 Democrats to the House and only 86 Republicans.

Similarly in 1894 the Democrats lost the control they had gained in 1892 when Cleveland was elected over Harrison. The 1894 elections returned 244 Republicans to the House and 104 Democrats. The Republicans won a slim lead in the Senate.

President Hoover, too, had an unhappy experience with tariff legislation. The Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930 was the result.

At that time there was no real demand for a tariff revision, up or down. There was a demand to do something to relieve the plight of the farmers. A special session was called in June 1929. That was a boom period, but not for the farmers who had been put through the wringer. The President suggested to Congress only that duties on agricultural products be raised to help the farmers and that where manufacturing industries were depressed, they, too, might be helped.

The special session dragged into the regular session, which began in December in those days. The House Ways and Means Committee started out considering a "limited revision." But the bill it reported went far beyond that and on the floor there were more revisions upward.

In the Senate, Reed Smoot, chairman of the Finance Committee, was a real protectionist. He also wanted good treatment for the beet sugar of his State, Utah. To get it he had to allow other Senators what they wanted for their States.

"Limited revision" had now disappeared. Prof. F. W. Taussig remarks in his tariff history that Mr. Hoover might have headed off what occurred had he announced early that

if the measure went beyond the bounds of a limited revision he would veto it.

The agricultural forces, when they saw what was happening, became angry. The measure which was to have helped them was turning into a measure to raise the prices of the things they had to buy. The protectionists appeased them with even higher duties on agricultural products in exchange for higher duties on manufactures.

The bill was finally enacted in June 1930. Many urged Mr. Hoover to veto it. He didn't.

Meanwhile, the stock market panic had occurred in the fall of 1929 and the depression had set in. Senator Smoot predicted the tariff act would cause smoke again to billow from the chimneys of manufacturing plants. It didn't.

The Democrats captured the House in the November elections.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me before the Dunklin County Teachers' Association, at Kennett, Mo., on Monday, March 14, 1955, on the subject of Federal aid for elementary and secondary school construction.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BEFORE THE DUNKLIN COUNTY TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, KENNETT, MO., MONDAY, MARCH 14, 1955

It is a great pleasure to be with you in Kennett today, and because this audience is one most interested in schools, I plan to discuss that problem from the standpoint of the Congress.

Federal aid to education is not new. It began with early land and monetary grants for the support of education in States formed from the public domain.

Antedating the Constitution, these grants were authorized in an ordinance adopted by the Congress of the Confederation, in 1785—the first Northwest Ordinance. The grants were used both for school construction and for maintenance and operation.

In his first annual message to the Congress, January 8, 1790, President Washington said:

"Knowledge is, in every country, the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionately essential."

In recent years, the Federal Government has assisted in school construction, through WPA and PWA assistance during the depression, and in areas of intense defense activity during war and national emergency years.

The Federal Government has spent many billions of dollars since World War II for the education of its veterans. It now has thousands of research contracts with colleges and universities throughout the country.

The entire concept of public education, that is, free schools to be maintained at public expense, is founded on the belief that the cost should be allocated according to ability to pay. (The man without any children may, and often does, pay more than the man with 10 children—because all benefit from public education.)

When public schools were first established in this country, ability to pay was measured by ownership of real property—land and buildings.

At the time our Government was established, 94.9 percent of the people lived on the farms. In April 1954, only 13.5 percent lived on the farm.

With a great percentage of our Nation's wealth now in intangible property, real estate can no longer be expected to meet the mounting costs of education.

There is a large variation in the wealth in school districts. For example, Sugar Creek, a small school district in Jackson County, Mo., with a multi-million dollar oil refinery, has an assessed valution of $26,000 behind each school child.

But an adjoining school district, Independence, a growing residential community, has an assessed valuation of only $4,000 per child.

By comparison, Kansas City has an assessed valuation of $12,000 per child.

It is small wonder that the Independence school district has a local tax rate over double that of Sugar Creek.

The State governments now pay 40 percent of the cost of maintenance and operation of school districts; but the cost of construction is still borne almost entirely by the local districts, through real-estate taxes.

In many school districts where the need is greatest for school buildings, nevertheless the districts in question have reached the constitutional limits on the amount of bonds that can be sold.

These districts go into debt—sell bonds—to build schools.

Is it unreasonable that the Federal Government should help out in such districts?

Factors such as the location of railroads, oil wells, industrial plants, slums, office buildings, housing developments, wastelands, etc., cause great variations in the ability of local districts to construct school buildings from taxes on real estate.

There is almost as much difference in the ability of States to pay for the costs of school construction as there is between individuals and school districts.

In 1953 income payments per capita of total population ranged from $834 in the poorest State to $2,304 in the richest State.

In 1952 income payments per child of school age (5 to 17 years) varied from $3,008 in the State having the least ability to support public education to $11,294 in the State having the greatest ability.

Elementary and secondary school enrollments this year total 30,200,000, an increase of 1,300,000 over last year.

There is a shortage today of 370,000 classrooms in the United States, and another 50,000 classrooms will be needed each year to take care of the growing school population resulting from unprecedented birth rates since the war.

But only 60,000 classrooms are scheduled for completion this year.

No one denies the need for additional school facilities.

In 1952 a nationwide survey by the Office of Education showed a shortage of 312,000 classrooms.

By 1954 this Department reported the need had grown to 370,000 classrooms, even though during those years the States and localities had spent nearly $4 billion on school construction.

The 1952 report estimated the cost of building the necessary classroom facilities at $10.6 billion, with local and State resources able to put up only $5.9 billion.

This left a deficit of $4.7 billion.

The 1954 cost of clasarooms was placed at $12 billion, with $30 billion needed for the next 10 years.

During World War II many of our leaders in industry, the armed services, and in community life began to see the importance of schools more than ever before. Yet the shortage of classrooms has been increasing constantly.

Thomas Jefferson said:

"If a people expect to be both ignorant and free, they expect what never was and never will be."

During World War II, some 17 million men were examined under the Selective Service System. Of this number, 5 million were rejected as unfit for military service.

In 6 States, close to 50 percent of the draftees were rejected; and the highest rates of rejection occurred in States with the lowest per pupil expenditures for schools.

Where the public schools were strong and adequate, there was order in the community. Delinquency and crime were at a minimum. The children were under good supervision, even though their parents were busy at war work. Absenteeism at the plants was much less.

Where the public-school systems were weak, children were running the streets; and youthful misdemeanors and crimes rose to new heights.

Recently the United States Commissioner of Education reported to the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee of the Senate that there were 385,000 legally delinquent children in the United States in 1952—about 2 percent of all the children between the ages of 10 and 17. Of this group, 61 percent were not enrolled in any school, including 32,000 under the age of 14.

Experts in the field report it costs $3,000 a year to take care of each of these legally delinquent children, not including the thousands of emotionally disturbed children in institutions.

For less than $300 a year a child can be furnished an excellent education. As one Missouri county school superintendent recently reported, it costs much less to keep a child in school than to hire a babysitter.

The charge has been made that "much of the tax money for the support of Federal aid for school construction would be wasted on the way to and from Washington."

Actual cost of levying and collecting Federal taxes is only one-fifth as much as cost of levying and collecting real-estate taxes.

Another charge frequently made by opponents of this program is that "Federal aid to education would result in Federal control of education."

But the bill that would really result in Federal control is the now proposed bill of this administration. In fact, in it is so much control, and so little aid, that 42 of the 48 principal State school officers have publicly declared their opposition to the plan.

This administration advertises the program as a $7 billion one. Actually, it is $67 million a year for 3 years. The remainder is "State put up"—or lent at higher rates.

The other five bills now being considered by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee specifically forbid Federal domination.

I believe especially in the Hill bill and the McClellan bill, 2 great school bills introduced by 2 great southern Senators.

Dr. Edgar Fuler, executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, has said: "There is no possibility whatever for Federal control of educational programs in these bills."

Under them, aid to school construction would be distributed by the Federal Department of Education to the State departments of education.

Dr. Fuller, a former administrative official in the United States Department of Education, is author of the statement that any one of these five proposed laws could be ad-

ministered by only a half dozen persons in the Department of Education.

The President's program, on the other hand, would:

1. Increase the cost of interest on school bonds from one-half to 1 percent in Missouri;

2. Freeze the burden on real estate;

3. Provide a maximum of $67 million a year for 3 years in Federal grants.

It would take at least 2 or 3 years before any school could even be built under its complex regulations.

Not a single one of the 48 chief State school officers has endorsed the President's program, because not a single one of them believes it would help build schools.

The Rhode Island chief State school officer even went so far as to say that the President's program is "abhorrent to American tradition."

Based on the number of children from 5 to 17 years of age, under the Hill plan, for a billion-dollar program, Missouri would pay in $24,630,000, and get back $24,80,000.

Pretty close to even.

Under such a plan, New York, at the top of the scale, would pay in $1.92 for each $1 received back. Mississippi would pay in 23 cents for each dollar it received back.

In recent years, generous Federal aid has been provided for unemployment compensation, social security, roadbuilding, agriculture—to mention only a few. But no comparable Federal aid is being provided for education—perhaps the most important of all requirements for the future security and well-being of our country.

As a result of the lack of any real program, only 8 cents of the total tax dollar—Federal, State, and county—is now being spent for public schools, as compared to 16 cents before World War II.

This country now has a population of about 160 million people. There are some 300 million modern slaves under control of the Communist leaders of Soviet Russia; and 600 million under control of the Communist leaders of China.

The future of the free world depends on the leadership and ability of these 160 million Americans—1 out of every 5 of whom are in our schools today, training for the future.

In all too many cases those schools are inadequate, poorly built, poorly financed, with underpaid teachers.

As the able commentator, Walter Lippmann, said recently:

"Our educational effort * * * has not yet been raised to the plateau of the age we live in. * * * We must measure educational effort as we do military effort, * * * not by what it would be easy and convenient to do but by what it is necessary to do in order that the Nation may survive and flourish. We have learned that we are quite rich enough to defend ourselves, whatever the cost. We must now learn that we are quite rich enough to educate ourselves as we need to be educated."

Winston Churchill has often referred to the period in which we live as "the terrible 20th century."

The first half of this century justified that designation.

What will the second half bring? That depends on whether we follow the guidance of those who believe money is more important than people, or those who believe our greatest obligation and potential asset, for the future, is the proper education of our children.

One real step forward to the goal of an adequate educational system which would measure up to the age in which we live would be the adoption of a sound Federal aid to school construction law in this Congress.

To that objective most of my Democratic colleagues are dedicated. We will see what we can pick up on the other side of the aisle.

The battle against Communist invasion will be fought by military preparedness, by production, and by ideas. In all of these fields the education of our youth is of vital importance.

We cannot ever hope to hold our own against the Communists on a quantitative basis. Our future security depends on the quality of our brainpower, the sincerity of our purpose, the devotion of our youth.

In each of these fields, our schools must play a leading role, supported by the American home, and our belief in God.

Yes; the quality, rather than the quantity, of our manpower will determine whether the second half of this century will be terrible or glorious.

Federal Control of Natural Gas Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ORVIN B. FJARE

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. FJARE. Mr. speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following resolution of the Oil and Gas Conservation Commission of the State of Montana, which was endorsed unanimously by the commission, and represents the position of the State of Montana officially and Hon. J. Hugo Aronson, Governor of Montana, personally. My own personal position is in accord with the views expressed in the resolution of the Montana Oil and Gas Conservation Commission.

The natural gas producers of Montana and the Nation are in a highly competitive field, and they have no guaranteed return and no assured market. The life of the entire industry depends upon vigorous exploration, and if government control is allowed to stifle or retard such exploration, then the industry and the consumer will both suffer. In my opinion, price control is apt to discourage the producers so that they will make little effort to expand their business, and provide the necessary gas reserves for an expanding economy in these United States.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has held (*Phillips Petroleum Company v. Wisconsin* (98 L. Ed.) (Advance, p. 695), decided June 7, 1954) that the Natural Gas Act of 1938 requires the Federal Power Commission to exercise regulatory control over the price at which gas is sold by independent producers to purchasers who transport the gas in interstate commerce; and

Whereas the Federal Power Commission has assumed this jurisdiction by its Order 174–A; and

Whereas the assertion of this authority by the Federal Power Commission as a result of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, as aforesaid, will be detrimental to, impede and burden regulatory enforcement for the conservation of oil and gas in this State by this Commission: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oil and Gas Conservation Commission of the State of Montana does hereby express its opposition to regulatory control by the Federal Power Commission of sales at the point of production of natural gas produced in this State and respectfully petitions Congress to amend the Natural Gas Act of 1938 so as to correct this situation; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished to the Governor, and all Members of Congress from this State.

OIL AND GAS CONSERVATION COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF MONTANA,
D. E. HAGEMAN, *Chairman*.
JOE H. FRERICH, *Vice Chairman*.
GLAYDE W. YODER, *Commissioner*.
TED HAWLEY, *Commissioner*.

Attest:

JAMES F. NEELY,
Executive Secretary.

Trip to Soviet Russia by William Randolph Hearst, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, last Wednesday, Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Jr., delivered a stirring address, concerning his recent trip to Soviet Russia, before the Advertising Club of Baltimore, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF MR. HEARST'S SPEECH

(Following is the text of Mr. William Randolph Hearst Jr.'s speech before the Advertising Club at the Emerson Hotel today:)

Gentlemen, it is a genuine pleasure for me to have the opportunity and the privilege of speaking to you today.

First of all, let me tell you a little about how this trip to the Soviet Union happened to take place.

I can assure you that we had no invitation to Russia, no advance tip of any kind that important things would be taking place while we were there, and no assurances that we would be able to talk with any of the Soviet leaders.

My reason for wanting to go was simply to get a firsthand glimpse of the country, its rulers, and its people.

It was my father's conception of journalism that it could and should be—and he made it—an audacious and exciting enterprise.

When we applied to the Soviet Embassy in Washington for visas, I stated that I wished to be accompanied by Joe Kingsbury Smith, European general manager of International News Service, and Frank Conniff, my editorial assistant.

Joe, with nearly 20 years' experience as a foreign correspondent, was familiar with the Soviet problems and knew his way around diplomatic circles.

Frank Conniff had served as a war correspondent in Europe and Asia. In addition to this citywide experience as a reporter and rewrite man for the New York Journal-American, he is a student extremely well informed on history and military affairs. He is also my right hand here at home. With these two close friends and associates, I felt we could handle any curves they might throw at us.

To my surprise, the visas for the 3 of us were approved within 7 days. We flew to Paris, talked with General Gruenther, picked

up Joe, and proceeded to Berlin, where we boarded a Soviet plane for the flight to Moscow. It was a twin-engine Convair type of plane which flew most of the time at about 8,000 feet, made 1 stop at Vilna, capital of Lithuania, and landed us gently just after dusk in a snowstorm at the Moscow Airport. The flight took 7 hours.

LIST OF CELEBRITIES

The next morning we sent to the Soviet Foreign Office a letter, written in the Russian language, listing the prominent personalities we wanted to see in the religious, cultural, and scientific life of Moscow.

The subjects of our interviews ranged from Communist Party boss Khrushchev to Shostakovich, the composer; from Premier Bulganin to Ulanova, the ballerina; from Marshal Zhukov to Patriarch Alexei, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church; and from Molotov to Svetlana Stalin, the late dictator's daughter.

In addition, we literally spent hours in discussion with the leading Western Ambassadors, checking our impressions and gaging our reactions against the experience of these diplomatic experts.

And on our way home, when our party reached London, after a day of flying from Moscow, I experienced the sentimental climax of the whole trip as far as I was personally concerned.

I spent an hour with Sir Winston Churchill in the historic Cabinet room at No. 10 Downing Street.

That hour with Sir Winston was something really special. He listened closely while I gave my impressions of the Russian leaders and swapped a few thoughts on the significance of Russian moves.

He spoke with great clarity and seemed to be in good health and spirits. I left with the strengthened conviction that this grand old man is one of the really great figures of history.

WAR QUESTION

I assume that one of the questions uppermost in your mind must be whether the new leadership in Russia is more or less likely to precipitate war with us one of these days.

I must say, as I have written, the strongest hope for peace that I found in the Soviet Union during my 3 weeks' visit was the shrewdness of these new rulers of Russia.

These men can be ruthless. Certainly no humanitarian considerations would cause them to hesitate to wipe us out if they thought they could get away with it.

They believe the end justifies the means. And for them the end remains Communist domination of the world. Krushchev said so to me quite frankly. He said communism is invincible and predicted that the future would belong to the Communist order.

Nevertheless, these men are cold, calculating realists. I don't believe they are possessed by the madness that drove Hitler to bring Germany down in ruins. Nor by the recklessness that led Mussolini to tie Italy's kite to the shooting star of Nazidom's short-lived conquest.

They know the destructive power of nuclear weapons. Even if they possess the H-bomb—which some British officials doubt—and even if they use it first, they know America has superiority in these weapons and the means to deliver them.

Furthermore, as Eden put it to us, and we agree with him, the Soviets have now become the bourgeois of the Communist world. They have established an empire extending from the heart of Germany to the borders of China. They are becoming property owners—cars, television sets, ice boxes, even country homes. They have vested interests to protect.

As long as they feel they are not going to be directly attacked, as long as they know they cannot themselves attack without the certainty of the swift and terrible retaliation, I seriously doubt that they will deliberately precipitate an atomic war with us.

TEMPTATION STRONG

If America was to let down its guard, if the day were to come when the Soviets thought they could deliver a knockout blow that would neutralize the United States, then the temptation would be strong and I would give no odds on them not doing so.

For the present, however, I think they realize they could not pull an atomic Pearl Harbor on us without getting back a nuclear punch that might well knock the Red daylights out of them.

That is why I say here—have written in our papers and told President Eisenhower when I reported to him on my return, that we felt the present American policy on firmness without provocation, of keeping up our guard and maintaining a strong retaliatory force in readiness—was the right one.

We must never make the mistakes that were made before and think that we can base our relations with the Soviet Government on trust in their good intentions.

The present leaders were all part of the top echelon of the regime during the period when Stalin broke faith with us.

These men were in the Kremlin, or close to it, during the bloody purges. We must not be misled by their smiling, benign appearances, when they wish to be friendly in order to serve their own interests.

FORTUNETELLERS

The history of Soviet Russia during the past 30 years has shown that one can never be sure what is going to happen, especially within the inner circle of the Red hierarchy. As Marshal Zhukov said to us: "Fortunetellers, you know, can go wrong."

Nevertheless, I feel rather certain that if another Stalin is to emerge on the Russian political scene, it will not be the new Premier.

Bulganin, with whom I talked for over an hour, did not impress me as the type who could be capable of seizing power and making himself the absolute ruler as Stalin did.

He lacked the dynamic personality and forcefulness of Khrushchev. He did not seem to possess the cunning that would be required for victory in a struggle for power with the tough ones in the Kremlin.

Bulganin struck me more as a front man for the principle of collective leadership that I think, for the time being, at least, continues to be the basis on which the Soviet system is now being run.

Of the four top leaders we met, Khrushchev was in many ways the most impressive. If any of the 4 were to grab power to build himself up into a Stalin-like dictator, my guess is it would be this boss of Russia's 7 million Communist Party members.

DOMINATED SCENE

A bullnecked, blunt, and rugged individual, this heavy-set little man with the beady blue eyes and aggressive vitality gave the impression of being the boss of the Kremlin show at the moment and knowing it.

On the day Georgi Malenkov publicly lost his job as Premier, it was Khrushchev who dominated the scene in the Supreme Soviet. He nominated Bulganin as successor, and as he did so he remarked that he was sure the deputies would accept the suggestion. There was more than an expression of hope in that remark. It was clear that the boss was speaking. No one else was nominated, and no one else spoke for or against Khrushchev's candidate. The vote was called and the hands of some 1,300 deputies shot automatically into the air. They remained up only a few seconds, then came down. The chairman glanced quickly over the room, said there were no dissenters and no abstentions and no other candidates. Unanimous. It was interesting to watch Soviet democracy at work.

During our private interview with Khrushchev, he made no bones about the hope of the Communists to gain the upper hand in the world one day. But he sought to convince us that the Soviet leadership wants to confine the global struggle between the Communist and capitalistic systems to measures short of war.

Unlike American Communists, he and most of the other Soviet leaders we met displayed a sense of humor. He laughed, joked, and showed flashes of wit. He would doubtless order you liquidated without batting an eye if he thought it would serve Soviet interests. But he can be amiable.

LONG TABLE

We sat at the end of a long conference table with him in his office in the headquarters of the central committee of the Communist Party.

At one point, when we were pressing him as to just what the Soviet Government meant by coexistence, he leaned over, put his hand on my arm and, with a cold twinkle in his eyes, said, "You are a capitalist. I am a Communist. We are coexisting around this table, why can we not coexist in the world?"

At another point he said he would like to see Russia and the United States compete in growing the best corn, rather than producing the most destructive atomic weapons.

He spoke with admiration of American agricultural methods and said he would like to see Russia copy many of our ways of doing things.

At the conclusion of our visit, he said with a smile, "If, when you return to the United States, you are summoned before Senator McCARTHY, let me know and I will be glad to come over and testify that you represented the interests of your country very ably."

As for Molotov, he seems to have become the elder statesman of the Soviet Government. Always the professional diplomat, he was cautious in his statements and quick to give us the propaganda line. He talked at length about American military bases surrounding the Soviet Union and referring to our protection of Formosa, labeled it, "United States interference in the internal affairs of China."

AIR OF CONFIDENCE

He spoke with an air of self-confidence as though he was supreme in the handling of Soviet diplomacy.

However, I had much the same feeling about him that I did about Bulganin. I could not quite picture him as developing into another Stalin. He, too, seemed to lack the flair for lone wolf leadership.

Of all the four top men with whom we talked, Marshal Zhukov was the most pleasant. He received us alone except for our interpreter guide, and greeted us warmly when we arrived in his office in the National Defense Ministry. Here was the old soldier who had been on such friendly terms with General Eisenhower in the closing period of the European war and for a short time thereafter.

This husky, forthright military man who commanded the defense of Moscow, prepared the Soviet stand at Stalingrad and led the Red army to victory against Germany, gave me the impression of being sincere in his expressed hope for improved relations with the United States and the warm sentiments he voiced about General Eisenhower.

Not that I think there is any likelihood of Zhukov exerting a dominant influence on Soviet policy. He struck me as a soldier, likely to carry out the orders given to him. He also gave me the impressions of being a dedicated Communist. Speaking rather proudly of being a member of the Central Committee, he said: "We soldiers follow the party line."

With these four coldly realistic men at the top in the Soviet Union, I could not help feeling that any immediate threat to world

peace is more likely to come from Red China than Russia.

COMMONSENSE

Khrushchev told us he was confident that the Chinese Communist leaders would show commonsense in this respect. Now if that is so, and we are not going to have war in the foreseeable future, then I believe we are going to face a struggle that may prove more difficult for us to wage successfully than a military conflict. In the long run, however, this struggle will involve the survival of our way of life just as much as war would.

I am referring to the conflict of competitive coexistence. This is intended to be an ideological and economic struggle aimed at achieving Communist domination of the world by measures short of an allout East-West war. That is what we face now. It will be much less terrifying and much less destructive in a material way than a military conflict. It will be far more suitable than the cold war was under Stalin. But its ultimate objectives, as far as we are concerned, will be the same.

The second half of this 20th century will determine whether Khrushchev was right when he told me that communism would ultimately gain the upper hand throughout the world.

He said it confidently and matter-of-factly, although acknowledging my right to believe that our way of life would become the stronger force.

This states the challenge of the future as clearly as any other occurrence that happened during our 3 weeks' visit to Russia.

The faith of the sharp, shrewd, and aggressive little boss of Russia's Communist Party must be matched by a belief just as strong and just as deep on our part.

TIME WILL TELL

Time alone will tell whether the free world is equal to the sacrifice, the self-denial, and the courage required to first control and then turn the tide against rampant communism.

That means keeping our guard up. It means being prepared for the next 5, or even 20 years to risk war at any moment to check Communist imperialism from resorting to military conquest, just as we are doing today in respect to Formosa.

We must not let coexistence lull us into a false sense of security.

Unless and until Russia, Red China, and the rest of the Communist world accepts a really effective system of international control and inspection of armaments of all types, including the nuclear weapons, we must maintain in a state of constant combat readiness a powerful retaliatory force.

The western program of building armed strength, while fundamentally the correct one, should be widened into a more flexible and imaginative strategy for competitive coexistence with the Communists in every field and on every front.

While in Moscow I gained the impression that communism was moving ahead in many fields which the present western strategy overlooks.

The arms race is not the only event in which they are competing with us. They have taken sports and culture and the impressionable years of youth and transformed them into arenas of the cold war.

By inviting to Moscow picked delegations from the satellite countries and wavering neutrals, like India, they strive to convey the impression that Soviet customs are superior to those of the West.

LIMITED VIEW

The delegations are carefully chaperoned, of course. They only see what the Communists want them to see. On that basis the good things of Moscow can be impressive—the splendid Moscow ballet, the mosaic-adorned subway, the up-to-date classroms of towering Moscow University, the new apartment buildings, and the progress that has unquestionably been achieved in the industrialization of a backward, almost primitive agricultural nation.

Sports is another front on which the commissars are moving full steam ahead.

On one frigid night while we were there 75,000 Moscovites jammed Dynamo Stadium—the local Kezar Stadium—to watch the home team humble West Germany in a hockey game, 10–3.

The United States is likely to have a tough time at the 1956 Olympic games in Melbourne, when Soviet Russia fields a team which even now is being painstakingly prepared for the big test.

America has dominated the modern Olympic games since their inception and has taken great pride therefrom. It has also been a source of prestige throughout the world, especially with sports-conscious young people.

PROFESSIONALS

How would the sports-minded youth of the world feel, especially in doubtful areas, if the Russian team should end American's long sway at Melbourne in 1956? Of course, these Russian athletes are not really amateurs. They are professionals. They are trained under government guidance, with government help. They receive bonuses and money prizes.

We should find some way of making sure that our Olympic contenders get everything they need in the way of training opportunities.

The lively arts are another field wherein the commissars are operating with the professed intention of proving to the young people of the world that Russian achievements far surpass the West.

We have so much more to offer than the Communists that any comparison must show up in our favor.

We should seek to convey to the world—to our allies, to the uncommitted countries especially, and to the Russians if possible—the idea that America has more to be proud of than its motor cars, its bathtubs, and other material benefits.

I believe that any cultural exchange between Russia and the United States is certain to tip the balance in our favor. Within limits, I think such exchanges should be encouraged.

PLANNING BOARD

What I would like to see is the establishment of a permanent planning board commissioned to formulate an all-fields, all-fronts strategy for winning the conflict of "competitive coexistence."

This board should be scrupulously nonpartisan. It should be culled from the finest minds and talents available, both in public and private life.

It should coolly survey the whole global scene and develop plans for getting the people of the world on our side. Sports, the theater, educational exchanges—no field should be neglected in this competition of two diametrically different systems.

Who can doubt that America would emerge on top in any such competition?

My suggestion is not blueprinted. It may even be a little vague, but formulating and implementing it would be the job of the planning group of men and women, each one devoting time and energy to developing an overall nonmilitary American strategy for 1955—and for the next generation, and the rest of this century.

We have a National Security Council. I would like to see a national competitive coexistence council to combat communism.

One side or the other is going to win the battle of competitive coexistence.

It had better be our side.

Everyone and everything we love and cherish is at stake.

I thank you.

Matthew Alexander Henson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, on April 6, 1909, 2 Americans and 4 Eskimos reached the North Pole—the first and only time an expedition has ever reached the North Pole over the ice by dog sled. Those Americans who thrilled the world were Adm. Robert E. Peary and his personal attendant, Matthew Alexander Henson.

Admiral Peary died in 1920. Mr. Henson survived him by 35 years, dying March 9 last, at the age of 88. The death of this last survivor of that famed expedition to the North Pole should not go unnoticed here in the Congress of the United States. Matthew Henson was an American hero. He was a credit not only to the Negro race of which he was a proud member, but to our entire Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Matthew Henson's obituary from the New York Times of March 10, together with an editorial from the Portland Sunday Telegram of March 13, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of March 10, 1955]

HENSON, WHO REACHED POLE WITH PEARY, DIES; SERVED 22 YEARS AS ADMIRAL'S VALET ON TRIPS—HE WAS THE ONLY AMERICAN WITH EXPLORER ON THE LAST DASH TO 1909 GOAL

Matthew Alexander Henson, the man Adm. Robert E. Peary termed indispensable in his final 5-day dash to the North Pole, died here yesterday at St. Clare's Hospital. The 88-year-old explorer, the only American to accompany Admiral Peary to the Pole, succumbed of a cerebral hemorrhage.

First reports indicated that Admiral Peary had been accompanied only by Eskimo helpers. When the party reached Labrador Mr. Henson's achievement also was recorded.

Mr. Henson, who had been hired by Admiral Peary as a valet, accompanied the explorer on all of his expeditions over a 22-year period. In interviews after the completion of the mission on April 7, 1909, Admiral Peary praised him highly as a sledge-maker, dog-sled driver and expedition companion. He said:

"This position I have given him primarily because of his adaptability and fitness for the work; secondly, on account of his loyalty. He has shared all the physical hardships of my Arctic work."

The commander also said he could not have made the dash without Mr. Henson.

Mr. Henson kept a diary of the trip. He described the arrival of the party at the Pole just before noon on April 6. He explained that because of weather conditions, readings were not taken until the next day when the American flag was planted at the Pole shortly after noon. Thus it was that Mr. Henson found himself "sleeping one night at the North Pole."

Of the flag raising, he reported:

"The commander merely said in English: 'We will plant the Stars and Stripes at the

North Pole'—and the Stars and Stripes were planted. Speaking in the Eskimo language, I then proposed three cheers, which were heartily given."

He said that he had coached the natives before-hand in this particular art. Of his own feelings, he wrote in his book, "The Negro at the North Pole:"

"As I stood there at the top of the world and thought of the hundreds of men who had lost their lives in the effort to reach it, I felt profoundly grateful that I, as the personal attendant of the commander, had the honor of representing my race in the historic achievement."

When the expedition ended, Mr. Henson was in good health, but had lost 20 pounds during the 68-day march and return.

After his adventures, he seemed almost relieved to settle down in an office job. By an executive order from President Taft in 1913, he was appointed a clerk of the New York Custom House, a position he held until his retirement on pension in 1936.

Later, he lectured on, or just chatted about, the expedition.

Just as reports of his presence on the final dash came late, the more tangible honors, exclusive of his civil service appointment, eluded the man for many years. Many bills were presented in Congress on his behalf. They specified a pension and a medal, pointing out that Admiral Peary had received a $5,500 pension and a medal.

On January 28, 1944, Mr. Henson received a medal—one authorized by Congress for all members of the Peary Expedition of 1908–09. In 1948, at the age of 81, he received the gold medal of the Geographical Society of Chicago and he was made an honorary member of the Explorers Club in New York. The club had honored him in 1934 at a smoker, where he spoke on the expedition.

His biography, "Dark Companion," was published in 1947 by Bradley Robinson. Last April, on the anniversary of the expedition, Mr. Henson and his wife met President Eisenhower in Washington.

Even before he met Admiral Peary in a haberdashery store in Washington, when he was 18 years old, he had charted a life of adventure and travel for himself. He had gone to sea as a cabin boy and had made a voyage to China before he was hired by the admiral as a valet.

Mr. Henson had made his first expedition on the admiral's second trip to Nicaragua in 1887.

He was born in Charles County, Md., August 8, 1866. His mother died when he was 6 and he lived with an uncle in Washington for several years. He received his formal education—6 years at the N Street school—during this time.

Surviving are his widow, Lucy, of 246 West 150th Street, and a sister, Mrs. Eliza Carter of Washington.

A funeral service will be held Monday at the Abyssinian Baptist Church. The Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, the pastor, will officiate.

[From the Portland (Maine) Sunday Telegram of March 13, 1955]

MATT HENSON

So Matt Henson has gone, at the ripe age of 89. He had been the only American with Adm. Robert E. Peary on the dash to the North Pole, April 6, 1909; and Admiral MacMillan called him "altogether the most efficient man with Peary."

In fact, according to MacMillan, Henson was actually the first man to reach the pole. Admiral Peary, whose feet had given out, was forced to ride on a dog sled, while Henson went on ahead and, when he judged that he had gone far enough to have arrived at the goal, sat down to wait. Presently, Peary arrived, made his calculations, and found that he was at 89°, 57', and was able to write in his log, "The pole at last." The little company of Peary, Henson, and four Eskimos built the usual cairn, raised the flag, and Henson led three cheers.

That cairn presumably still stands, though the flag, of course, long since blew into shreds and nothingness. No other expedition has been able to reach it, though Roald Amundsen in May of 1926 got as far as 87° and 44'. But it is a commonplace now for airplanes to fly over it. Could Admiral Peary's cairn have been built of something other than ice, no doubt it would have been sighted by aviators.

It is possible that Henson was familiar with Portland. If he ever accompanied Admiral Peary to the Eagle Island home down Casco Bay, he certaintly was familiar with our city. But New York was his home, and there he lived and worked during the years following the great North Pole expedition as a customshouse messenger, a position secured for him through his admiral's influence with President Taft.

He was the recipient of the Navy medal and of the Chicago Geographical Society's gold medal. On the 45th anniversary of the Peary success, Matt Henson was received by President Eisenhower in the White House, a fitting last public appearance of one who had contributed so materially to the conquest of the North Pole. In him Portland and all Maine have had especial interest as they have had in everyone and everything associated with the heroic figure of the great Adm. Robert E. Peary.

Automobile Pricing Deception

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HINSHAW
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Wall Street Journal published March 21, 1955, entitled "Auto Prices":

AUTO PRICES—CONSUMER GETS CUTS ON MOST MAKES, BUT SIZE OFTEN IS ILLUSORY—HOW A $713 DISCOUNT ON A CHEVVY IN DALLAS SHRANK TO ONE OF $213—NINETEEN OF TWENTY DEALERS PACK PRICE

Shopping for a new car these days is more akin than ever to Alice's trip to Wonderland—wonderful, of course; but mighty confusing also.

Car prices have perhaps never been more subject to dickering. To get some idea of just how susceptible they are as the big spring auto buying season approaches, the Wall Street Journal sent reporters on shopping expeditions in six major cities and three representative small towns across the United States.

One finding: All but 1 of the 20 dealers checked offered some concession from his original asking price—including a $696 "discount" proffered by a Buick dealer in St. Louis.

Another discovery: Only 1 of the 20 dealers quoted at the outset the list price which his factory suggests as enough to guarantee the normal 24-percent dealer profit. The other 19 asked more—including $435 more that same St. Louis Buick dealer.

FORDS, MERCURYS

For example, a New York Ford dealer quoted a price of $2,611 for a 4-door Customline V–8 model; the factory suggests a price of about $2,370, or $241 less.

On a Mercury Montclair convertible, a Boston dealer originally asked $3,728, or $331 more than the factory suggests as the list price.

In each case, the dealer had a printed list of prices for auto and accessories, which totaled up to a figure the factory says exceeds the suggested "list" price. (Description of the factory prices below.)

This practice, of "packing" prices, is not illegal, of course. An auto dealer, like any worker or businessman, can charge anything he can get for his goods and services. A midwestern dealer explains frankly why he packs his prices: "The buyer has come to expect a dealer to quote a discount of several hundred dollars. That's okay by me so long as it doesn't come out of my pocket. So I just lift the price I quote for the car by a few hundred—the buyer gets his so-called discount, I get my reasonable profit, and everybody's happy."

Many dealers, of course, deplore packing as being a calculated deception of the public. An eastern Ford dealer believes price-packing—once people catch on to it—will eventually make it difficult "to convince people that they should ever again pay a regular list price."

DISILLUSIONMENT IN DALLAS?

A glance at the price-pack history of a six-cylinder Chevrolet Bel Air sport coupe, as offered by a Dallas dealer, shows how a buyer could well become disillusioned. On this car, on which the factory suggests a price in Dallas of $2,573, as equipped by this dealer there was a pack of an even $500. Every item on the invoice offered the shopper was packed, including a $378 addition to the factory recommended price of the basic car with automatic transmission and a $4.15 pack atop the price of $5.85 backup lights.

Shopper, studying invoice: "So that all adds up to $3,073?"

Salesman, doing a rapid calculation on a note pad: "Yes. But I can let you have it, ready to drive off the lot, for $2,360."

Shopper: "Gee. That's a discount of $713." Then, referring to the invoice's "delivered in Dallas" base price less accessories of $2,532: "How can you let me have the car for $2,360?"

Salesman: "We're just in the business for the fun of it. We don't make any profit on the car. Just another mark on the wall. What profit we do make comes from the accessories."

Of course, the dealer was making quite a bit of profit, though absorbing some actual discount. The discount of $713 from the packed price shrank to one of $213 from the factory's suggested list price.

THE DISCOUNTS VARY

Discounts from the factory calculations of delivered list price vary rather widely—from no discount at all to one of as much as $512, offered by a New York City dealer on a heavily equipped Oldsmobile series 98 Deluxe Holiday (hardtop) coupe.

This dealer had packed his prices enough that the actual $512 discount could be presented as one of $666 from a quoted price of $4,016.

Shopper: "I noticed in your ad in the morning paper that you're supposed to be offering 'sensational deals' on Holidays. Is that $4,016, then, a sensational deal?"

Salesman: "Oh, no. That's the list price. We have a discount price of $3,350. That saves you $666."

Shopper: "Hmm. That sounds better. Do you think $3,350 is the best price I can find?"

Salesman: "Oh, if you look long enough and far enough, you might find a dealer that's $25 or $50 under that. But, remember, the almighty dollar isn't everything. Service still means something, you know."

Then, after a lengthy sales talk on service: "But, to get back to our price here. If, to exaggerate, some dealer offers you a price of $100 or $150 below ours, we can look it over, and, depending on supply and demand, perhaps match his deal."

HOW DISCOUNTS SHRINK

In some cases the Wall Street Journal reporter-shoppers found that what appeared to be a whopping discount was almost no discount at all after the pack had been taken into consideration.

For example, a San Francisco Buick salesman quoted a price of $3,404 for a four-door Special, then quickly offered a $450 discount. The factory's suggested price for the same auto revealed the dealer actually was cutting the price only $26.

On a Dodge four-door Royal V-8 in Dallas a "discount" of $555 turned out to be one of $96. On a Plymouth V-8 Plaza Club sedan in New York a $325 "discount" shrank to $84.

On the Mercury Montclair convertible inspected by a shopper in Boston, a possible $300 cut from the asking price turned out to be no discount at all. In fact, it left the dealer's price some $30 above the factory's idea of what he should get for this car and its wide variety of equipment.

This Mercury dealer indicated that folks who shop for Mercury convertibles don't quibble about prices. But a dealer, who offered a somewhat more expensive Mercury Monterey station wagon, to a suburbanite in New York, indicated the opposite.

Salesman: "Yes, that's the green one out back, $4,065, including the power steering."

Suburbanite: "What's my 1953 Chevvy worth?"

Salesman: "On that car with that equipment * * * hmmm. How does $1,800 sound? That would leave $2,200 more or less. Payments to suit your budget."

Suburbanite: "My wife would kill me."

Salesman: "Just a minute; I'll talk to the boss." Returning a couple minutes later. "On your 1953 Chevvy, $2,200."

The Chevvy cost $2,400 new, has a current wholesale market value of about $1,300. So the dealer was overallowing by $900.

THE UNSHAKABLE CADILLAC

To keep their calculations simple, the shoppers generally asked for a straight discount on a deal which involved no trade-in. The only make on which no discount was offered was Cadillac. Shoppers found a Cadillac, series 62, 4-door sedan, and a spate of equipment offered in Boston at the suggested factory price, with a wait of at least 90 days for delivery. A supplementary check in another city turned up the same set of facts.

The survey found that dealers in small towns were offering smaller discounts from the packed prices than were comparable dealers in metropolitan areas where the competition is more severe.

Take the case of the Oldsmobile 98 Holiday which could be had in New York for $512 less than the factory's idea of list. At a small New Jersey town 60 miles from Manhattan the discount was only $70.

A Chevrolet dealer in a Missouri town of 1,200 population offers a discount from the factory prices, but $116 less than the discount offered on a comparable Chevvy in St. Louis.

The survey indicated that the biggest packing comes in the base price. But such accessories as automatic transmissions and power brakes were widely quoted by dealers at above factory-suggested prices, too. Items which are relatively cheap by factory standards often get a high-percentage pack.

For example, a $19.35 2-tone paint job for a Ford is quoted at $50 by 1 dealer.

The turn indicator lights on a Studebaker which the factory suggests at $19.90 in Boston are quoted by the dealer at $26.

The buyer generally won't take a big dollar wallop on accessories.

But glance at the table in the adjacent column. It gives a rundown of how base prices of representative models are being packed by dealers in some United States cities.

Here are some sample price packs:

Make, model, city shopped	Factory suggested basic local price [1]	Dealer's basic price	Pack
Buick, 4-door Special, San Francisco	$2,460 including $169 freight	$2,783	$323
Buick Special Estate Wagon, St. Louis	$3,051 including $77 freight	3,530	479
Cadillac Series 62, 4-door, Boston	$4,090 including freight	4,090	
Chevrolet, 4-door Bel-Air, V-8, St. Louis	$2,097 including $66 freight	2,263	166
Chevrolet Bel-Air Sport 6, Powerglide, Dallas	$2,381 including $136 freight	2,759	378
Chrylser, 4-door Windsor Deluxe, Dallas	$2,762 including $158 freight	2,790	28
Ford Customline, 4-door, V-8, New York	$2,017 including $72 freight	2,213	196
Ford Ranch Wagon, V-8, San Francisco	$2,293 including $150 freight	2,518	225
Ford Sunliner Convertible, V-8, Newark	$2,500 including $76 freight	2,532	32
Nash 4-door Statesman, Custom 6, Dallas	$2,518 including $133 freight	2,800	282
Oldsmobile Series 98 Deluxe Holiday Coupe, New York, including Hydramatic.	$3,345 including $98 freight	3,390	45
Plymouth, V-8 Convertible, San Francisco	$2,481 including $155 freight	2,756	275
Plymouth Plaza Club Sedan, V-8, New York	$1,888 including $72 freight	2,141	253
Studebaker, 2-door Commander Deluxe V-8, Boston	$2,053 including $84 freight	2,204	151

[1] Without optional equipment unless noted otherwise.

MANUFACTURERS AND PRICES

DETROIT.—Fathoming what an auto manufacturer means by the prices he publishes in advertising and publicity is no easy chore.

The manufacturers have varied nomenclature to designate such prices. Chrysler Corp., Ford Division, Nash and Packard usually dub their prices "factory delivered retail." But Studebaker calls them simply "delivered prices." For Willys and Rambler autos it's "suggested retail"; for Mercury, "suggested list." Then there's Lincoln with "suggested factory delivered retail charges." Chevrolet, Buick, Oldsmobile, Pontiac, and Cadillas refer to "list prices."

You have to plod slowly through the footnotes for further clues to just what is meant by these labels. For example, some include the 10-percent Federal excise taxes, others exclude it. An auto manufacturer may change his position on this from year to year. Chrysler Corp. brought out its prices via the press last November excluding excise taxes. But on January 10 this year it worked up lists which include such taxes.

As it now stands the following manufacturers include the Federal excise tax, which must be paid on every car sold: Plymouth, Dodge, DeSota, Chrysler, Imperial Hudson, Nash, Packard, Ford, Studebaker, Lincoln.

These exclude the excise tax in announced prices: Mercury, Buick, Cadillac, Chevrolet, Oldsmobile, Ramblers. Pontiac's first press story on its 1955 models said prices excluded excises; but a spokesman last week said they are included.

None of the prices posted by the factories include freight to the various points of sale.

(Federal tax and freight charges have been included for all makes in the table on this page.)

There are other descriptive areas of auto pricing which are hard to fathom. Chrysler now includes a "DEH" item. This is described as the costs of "delivery, excise, handling." But "delivery" doesn't mean delivery of the car from factory to the dealer; it's the cost to a dealer of preparing a car for delivery to the buyer.

There's another item some use, called EOH. One company says it is "excise tax and other handling" charges. Another scribes it as "excise on handling."

There are other items not included in the factory prices: State and local taxes, license, and title fees. These are excluded from calculations in the table.

The Farm Problem and Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Up to Old Tricks," published in the White River Valley (Vt.) Herald of March 17, 1955; an editorial entitled "Rigor Mortis," published in Business Week for March 19, 1955; an editorial entitled "Ninety Percent Politics," published in the Washington Post of March 21, 1955; and an article by John O'Donnell published in the New York Daily News of March 21, 1955, all dealing with the farm problem and the question of price supports.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From White River Valley Herald of March 17, 1955]

UP TO OLD TRICKS

The current session of Congress is disclosing that the leopard hasn't changed his spots, at least so far as the majority of the Democratic membership of the House is concerned. In two major fields, taxation and farm price supports, the Democratis House majority is making it quite plain it is not above playing politics with vital issues.

The House move to cut income taxes $20 per person, across the board, has no justification except political justification, at a time when the Federal budget is still unbalanced, and when the Nation is facing very heavy defense expenditures, both military and economic.

The same can be said of the move now picking up steam in the House to restore fixed price supports for farm products—a device which has not solved the farm problem, but which has only piled up huge surpluses at the expense of the general taxpayer as agricultural producers, many of them huge corporate enterprises, produce not for the market but for Government storehouses.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson has urged that the new system of flexible price supports be given a fair chance to operate; resistance to a return to the fixed price supports will probably be led in the Senate by Vermont's Senator AIKEN. If necessary, President Eisenhower is expected to veto such a bill, which would result in bringing into effect the flexible provisions adopted by the 1948 Congress and still held in abeyance.

On both these issues, the Democratic majority of the House is obviously playing for votes along the lines followed so successfully during the New Deal-Fair Deal period, when the slogan was "spend and spend, elect and elect." That is the policy which has given the country a 50-cent dollar. House Democrats now would start the country on its way to a two-bit dollar. Certainly the present session of Congress has given disturbing indications that the Democratic Party, with a few stalwart exceptions, still favors a continuous mild inflation as a national and political policy.

The fact is disturbing because the experts appear to be agreed, Democratic and Republican alike, that Republican prospects for regaining majority control of the next Congress are not bright, to put it mildly. The prospects, in fact, are for heavier Democratic majorities in both branches following the 1956 election.

It appears to be recognized that President Eisenhower is his party's only hope in 1956. Indeed, the President's continuing popularity at midterm is something of a political marvel. If Ike lives and runs for a second term, the prospect is he will be reelected—but with a Democratic Congress.

The outlook is not an encouraging one to those who believe devoutly that the Eisenhower course is best for the country. Unless the Republican Party in the various States can identify itself with the Eisenhower policies and principles in the minds of the voters, the present administration may well turn out to be merely a temporary break between two long Democratic reigns. The second Democratic dynasty is liable to begin not much later than 1960 in that case.

If that happens, the GOP, and the country, will have lost a golden opportunity to capture the support of the majority of voters which has rallied so remarkably to the Eisenhower program.

[From Business Week of March 19, 1955]

RIGOR MORTIS

The House Agriculture Committee's approval of a bill restoring rigid price supports at 90 percent of parity throws an additional burden on an already overworked Congress. In that sense, the action is unfortunate. But it may have a useful purpose, too—in a way its sponsors do not now suspect.

Democrats seeking to revive 90 percent rigid supports in place of the present system of flexible supports ranging down to 82½ percent are, of course, angling for political advantage in 1956. But by forcing the House to vote this year, instead of next, they are going to encounter an uncomfortable fact: The old political appeal of 90 percent supports is dead as far as national farm policy is concerned.

Eisenhower and his Secretary of Agriculture, by getting Congress to adopt flexible supports last year, took the first step in killing it. Farmers, by their votes last November, finished the job. Iowa farmers, for example, defeated former Senator Guy Gillette, a 90 percent supports man, and elected a new Senator who favored flexible supports.

This was a clear test on the issue. It proved that in the Corn Belt, at least—ranging from Ohio west through Nebraska—rigid supports have lost their glitter. They may still be favored by many Southern producers of cotton, tobacco, and peanuts, and by dairy producers in such States as Michigan and Minnesota. But these are sectional appeals.

Farmers in general seem ready to turn to something else—if not flexible supports as now in the law, at least to something more inviting than 90 percent supports, with their inevitable stress on production controls, and their inevitable piling up of surpluses in Government hands. By voting out their bill, the Agriculture Committee has given every Member of the House a chance to reflect this feeling, without the heat of a Presidential campaign year.

We think that the results will show that it is no longer possible to make political hay with rigid supports. It is plain they do not solve the farm problem. Agricultural policy now must move forward to something better, and not backward to something that farmers have tried, and found seriously wanting, as a broad, national policy.

[From Washington Post and Times Herald of March 21, 1955]

NINETY PERCENT POLITICS

More political mesmerism than economic logic is reflected in the bill approved by the House Agriculture Committee to raise mandatory basic farm price supports to 90 percent of parity. The committee makes a convincing case that farm income has gone down 22 percent since February 1951, that the January parity ratio was the lowest since 1941, and that farm debt is increasing. This is all true. What the committee neglects to point out, however, is that these conditions developed during a period when basic price supports were pegged at 90 percent. The new law permitting flexible supports down to 82½ percent this year had nothing to do with these conditions because it will not take effect until new crops are harvested.

No one ought to be deluded that flexible supports are a complete answer to the problems in agriculture. The law came too late to prevent the accumulation of $7 billion worth of surpluses and it may not be flexible enough. We should like to see the Department of Agriculture give more attention to the problems of low-income farmers through retraining and resettlement. But rigid price supports in the main have helped big farmers, not little ones; and it is the little farmer who is hurt the most by the acreage restrictions that inevitably stem from high fixed supports. High income, in other words, does not necessarily accompany high supports.

Rigid supports, moreover, produce other bad consequences. A good example is the bastardization that has taken place in wheat. Only about one-fifth of the present billion-bushel carryover is millable wheat; the remainder is inferior quality fit only for feed—but still eligible for support. So long as this inferior wheat is commingled, it is doubtful how much more wheat the country could expect to export even under the two-price system the committee recommends. The investigation in Texas has amply demonstrated that a racket has developed in the commingling of inferior wheat with quality wheat for export purposes. The committee might well give some attention to curbing such abuses by requiring the Department of Agriculture to recognize quality as a basis for acreage quotas under the price-support system.

But while there is plenty of room for improvement in the price-support operation, it makes no sense to argue that the remedy for today's distress is the same system that helped cause the disease. That is what the House committee is arguing, and we hope that the House will understand the fallacy when it considers the bill this week. Even opponents of flexible supports ought to recognize that the flexible principle cannot be tested until it has a chance to work.

[From the New York Daily News of March 21, 1955]

CAPITOL STUFF

(By John O'Donnell)

WASHINGTON, March 20.—A year ago, President Eisenhower won an important victory for every American who eats three meals a day and/or pays income tax. He won a victory for the city housewife by giving her some budget relief when she buys at the corner grocery and butcher shop.

Now it appears that the administration will have to win the battle all over again in the next week or 10 days. The Eisenhower administration faces tougher odds than a year ago.

The victory that Ike won last year was the passage of the highly controversial farm bill which wiped out the fixed price supports (paid for out of income taxes, natch) at 90 percent of parity for basic farm products—wheat, corn, rice, and (this a political sop to the South to line them up with the Midwestern farm bloc) tobacco and peanuts.

The administration bill, drawn up by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, substituted a sliding scale of Government support for the mandatory 90 percent. For example, wheat farmers got support this year at 82.5 percent of parity instead of the previous 90 percent.

Now the House Agricultural Committee, with HAROLD D. COOLEY, Democrat of North Carolina, sitting as chairman in the spot held last year by Republican CLIFFORD R. HOPE, of Kansas, has reported a bill which will go gack to the old New Deal-Fair Deal doctrine of rigid guaranties for the farmers, regardless of how it hits the city dweller.

The high-parity advocates hope to win this time by getting on their side the big-city Democrats who voted for the Eisenhower-Benson plan a year ago. This may well happen. CIO's President Walter P. Reuther in particular and the powerful labor lobby on Capitol Hill in general have promised to deliver the votes of Democrats in the big industrial districts to the farm bloc in exchange for a pledge from the farm lobby to boost the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour. The administration proposes a 90-cent an hour minimum.

M'CORMACK AND CELLER WITH FARM BLOC

Reuther is credited with telling the farm bloc: "Last year you couldn't get the consumers to go along with you. Now, I'll deliver them."

When the vote was taken last year, 34 of the big-city Democrats in the House voted to support the Eisenhower-Benson plan despite the pressure by Americans for Democratic Action, the Political Action Committee of the CIO and the Farmers' Union. Directing the fight for the latter group at present is Truman's Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. (Baldy) Brannan and Truman's top economic adviser Leon Keyserling.

In the earlier battle, these forces swung to their side such Congressmen with large city constituencies as Brooklyn's Emanuel Celler, Manhattan's Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and Boston's present majority leader John W. McCormack. Junior Roosevelt is no longer with us but McCormack and Celler (neither has so much as a truck farm in his district) will line up with the farm bloc and against the housewife with the market basket—and do their best to swing their city Democratic colleagues with them.

Regardless of how the present fight comes out, the new alinement of farm and labor is a significant political signpost pointing toward the 1956 White House campaign. Now looms the possibility of a closely united farm-labor party with Reuther in the driver's seat, attempting to dictate the platform and candidates of the Democratic Party or, if this fails, to go it alone.

As Chairman COOLEY, speaking for the farmers, declared: "This is the first time in the 20 years I've been in Congress that we've had clear-cut labor support. If the farmers were as united as the city workers, there would be no question about the outcome."

IKE AND BENSON WARNED LAST SUMMER

That's one of the political catches, of course. A lot of farmers are opposed to a return to the old rigid theory of price support. Both Eisenhower and Benson were gloomily warned last summer that their farm bill would mean the loss of the farm vote in November's congressional elections.

It didn't work out that way.

Take the great farm State of Iowa for example. The administration's farm bill was the one important issue in the Senate battle last November. Veteran Democrat Guy Gillette, who came to the Senate in 1936, damned it from one end of Iowa to the other in his fight for reelection. The then Representative THOMAS E. MARTIN, Gillette's Republican opponent, gave the bill his warmest support. Iowa sent Gillette back to private life and MARTIN to the Senate.

In the coming fight, despite the party division in the committee, the Democrats cannot count on their full majority to back up the effort to ditch the 1954 measure.

FARM BLOC ELATED BY SUPPORT

What the administration now needs, confronted with the sudden and critical danger to one of its pet measures, is time to organize its forces. The Fair Deal farm bloc, elated by the CIO-AFL offer of support (for a political price), had hoped to rush the measure to a House vote by midweek.

Were this done, it is probable that the left-wingers would have jammed the bill through by a comfortable margin. But now it appears that the powerful House Rules Committee, which alone can give the green light to any legislation, wants time to think it over. Its conservative Democratic chairman, Representative HOWARD A. SMITH of Virginia, who belongs to the same school of economic thought as his apple-growing colleague, Senator HARRY BYRD, can be slow and deliberate when the feeling moves him.

The betting tonight is that there will be no hasty House vote this week. Ten days or a fortnight hence is more likely. By that time the administration's leaders will have a chance to deploy their forces.

Civil Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain has conscientiously applied itself to the problems of civil aviation since this exciting new field came into existence. In aviation reporting Scripps-Howard has invariably led the field. What this great organization has to say about aviation editorially is certainly worthy of note and study by Members of this body.

The Washington Daily News, a Scripps-Howard paper, carried a projective editorial last Saturday entitled "Pioneers' Penalty." In this editorial many inconsistencies which cause hardships to our civil airlines were pointed up in striking fashion.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the Washington Daily News editorial of March 19.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PIONEERS' PENALTY

Time was when a flight of a couple of hundred miles in a commercial airplane was a pretty far piece. Then planes were built that could go 500 or even 1,000 miles. That was the period of the pioneer airlines' greatest growth. The great airlines were established.

More recently, we have witnessed dramatic increases in the range and speed of high-flying big planes. This has made technically possible the joining together by nonstop flights big population centers which heretofore were served by airplanes which by necessity put down at intermediate cities for fuel.

Now you'd think that this would result in the already established airline simply laying on a longer range flight between the points it serves, as the newer, more efficient equipment became available to it.

But no; it doesn't necessarily work out that way. The vigorous and continuing hassle over air routes reveals how bureaucracy—which likes to expand, and politics—which likes to play with taxpayers' money, join hands to make air routes cost as much as possible.

For instance, one airline (United) pioneered transcontinental flights, and had to put down at Denver for gas. Now, although its planes will fly just as far and fast as its rivals, it is forbidden to run nonstop transcontinental flights. It's stuck with Denver.

Pan American Airlines pioneered across the Pacific. It was necessary to make the flight in stages: Honolulu, Wake, etc. It is now possible to fly a great-circle route nonstop, but Pan-Am is forbidden to. Its newer rival can, though, even though both companies use the same kind of equipment.

Several United States airlines fly into Mexico City, but an American citizen who wants to go from New York to Mexico City nonstop must fly Air France. If he wants to fly in an American airliner, he must hop on and off airplanes at least twice, and, on some routes, four times. You see, United States airlines were the pioneers, and so they're stuck with their original short-range routes, and are forbidden to use their newer equipment the way it can be used. They are finding themselves slowly being pushed into the role of feeder lines, in many places, as airplanes get steadily bigger and faster, and more and more big population centers can be joined directly, nonstop.

The pioneers don't think this is fair. On the other hand, the newer lines can see no reason why they shouldn't take the air-subsidy gravy away from the pioneers if they can.

All we say is, it does seem silly to ask the taxpayer for a subsidy to establish something, and then ask him to subsidize something else to knock the first subsidized outfit down.

Education in South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address delivered on March 17, 1955, by the Honorable George B. Timmerman, Jr., Governor of South Carolina, to the South Carolina Education Association, at Columbia, S. C.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN, JR., GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mrs. Medlin, Mr. Coates, ladies and gentlemen, a few dozen years ago I would have been delighted to give you my views on public education. I would have recommended less homework, more recess periods, and longer holidays.

The opportunity to tell you how schools should be run is mine tonight. I am not equal to the opportunity. I am no longer of public-school age. In fact, I think you are doing an excellent job.

Some of the things that I will say tonight I have said before. This is my fourth major speech since January. My inaugural address and my first annual message contained comments on public education. I also discussed our schools recently in New York City. Some repetition is therefore inevitable.

OUR TWO PROBLEMS

Our State faces two major problems. Both directly concern our school system.

One is temporary; the other, the crisis of our time.

One can be solved. The remedy is financial.

For the other, there is no easy solution. It involves the many elements of human relationships.

EDUCATION

The course of wisdom is to provide the best education we can afford for our children. It is essential to their future. It is essential to the future progress of our State.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The public education and training of our children is properly and traditionally a local responsibility.

With the consent of parents, our State and its political subdivisions have assumed that responsibility.

PARENTAL RIGHTS IN EDUCATION

The parent is the natural guardian of the child.

The parental right to determine what is best for the child is fundamental. It is a divine right. It is a basic law of nature that no man, no group of men, can successfully destroy. It finds expression among all living things.

THE PURPOSE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The public school exists for one basic purpose. It is to help the parent in the education of the child.

Educational assistance is the only justification for taking the child from the home and placing him in the public school.

Every hour that the child spends in the classroom is an hour away from the protective care and guidance of the parent.

This places a tremendous responsibility upon the teacher and the school administrator.

The public school possesses no monopoly on education. It is only one of several means available for the education of the child.

The surest way to undermine the public school is to deny the right of the parent to choose the educational environment for the child.

Without the parental right to choose, there can be little parental support for the public school.

Without parental support, the public school cannot survive.

When a public school degenerates to the level of the experimental laboratory, the purpose for its existence as a public school comes to an end.

There is a great need in public education for more realistic thinking in terms of parental rights and less academic speculation in terms of sociology.

SOUTH CAROLINA LAW

Our law, which has parental approval, requires that separate schools be provided for the children of each race and that no child of either race shall attend the schools for children of the other race. Our law applies equally to both races at the same time. It does not require that schools for one race be better than schools for the other race.

The opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation cases holds for the first time in judicial history that equality of treatment is discrimination.

When schools are unequal, the remedy is not to destroy the schools or the law. The remedy is to require that the schools be made equal.

THE INTEGRATIONIST

The integrationist, seeking to abolish parental rights in education, utilizes men of talent and little character to bombard the public with a barrage of false propaganda designed to lynch the character of a fourth of our Nation.

Never before has anyone seriously proposed that the children of two biologically different races should be compelled to mix socially.

The originality for that unique proposal belongs exclusively to the integrationist.

Precedents can be found in the pages of history for almost every other plan.

No precedent, no parallel, can be found for compulsory integration.

It is new. It is novel. It is contrary to the divine order of things.

Only an evil mind could conceive it. Only a foolish mind can accept it.

OPPOSING FORCES

Man today stands on the brink of destruction. He has attained this unenviable position through the scientific development of weapons that are powerful enough to wipe life from the face of earth.

This power to destroy all life is held by two opposing groups.

God-fearing men who accept and defend the dignity of the individual are opposed by materialistic men dedicated to dominating and controlling the lives of all other human beings.

Those who seek to dominate the world seek first to weaken our Nation from within. Their goal is internal social unrest, discord, and dissension. They are not concerned with the progressive development of school advantages for children in the South or in any other sections of the world.

If these forces of evil are able to force on South Carolina the choice of no public schools with peace and friendly relations or public schools with hatred and strife and discord, it will be the first time a State has had to make that choice.

The seeds of dissension can be planted unwittingly by individuals and groups who are unrelated to those who seek our destruction.

Our enemies are resourceful.

The spark of more dissension than many like to admit was struck in May 1954, by the unwitting stroke of a pen.

Outside efforts to cripple our educational program should be opposed by the combined efforts of us all.

CLARENDON CASE

A fanciful fallacy has it that the integrationist is seeking judicial aid to protect a downtrodden minority race.

In the Clarendon County School District there are in round figures 2,800 Negro pupils and only 250 white pupils.

The integrationist is not seeking judicial aid for a minority race. He is seeking judicial aid to compel a handful of white children in the Clarendon County School District to attend schools that will be predominantly filled with Negro children. I mention this to keep the record straight.

FINANCES

A State-supported system of public schools is not an isolated entity. It is one of the services rendered by our State government. It is closely related to other State functions.

Our economic health is vital to every State service. It determines in large measure the amount of revenue available for State services. It directly concerns all who work in our school system.

When I took office in January, revenue collections for the current fiscal year were below authorized expenditures. The unprecedented drought, coupled with Hurricane Hazel, had reduced the income of many of our people.

I do not believe that this slump indicates a permanent disorder in our economy. It does present a problem to the general assembly as it seeks to allocate anticipated funds to essential services.

They must provide for necessary State services and must provide funds to pay for those services. That task is not enviable.

EXPANDED ECONOMY

We can expand our ability to finance the things that are beneficial to the extent that we raise the income of our people.

It was that belief that carried me 2 weeks ago to New York City to encourage the location of future plants in South Carolina.

New industries will mean new jobs and payrolls.

You have been of great benefit to our program of industrial development. In the years ahead, your work will become more evident.

The industries that provide the best jobs and the biggest payrolls need the services of men and women who are capable of attaining a high degree of skill. Education plays a large part in developing ability of that kind.

Some of the industries which have come here from other sections have found executives among our people. This is a sincere compliment to the work of our schoolteachers.

As more industries come, and as industrial experience lengthens, the number of South Carolinians who become industrial executives will increase. If these men and women succeed in the opportunities that are being established for them, it will be because of the training that our public-school system has given them.

Your profession, more than any other, will determine how far we will go. The development of our State depends on the development of our people.

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The development of public education in South Carolina has been outstanding.

I do not subscribe to the negative view that we do not do much for public education.

I prefer to accept the more positive approach which says that we have done much and, working together, we will do more.

Too often we hear negative thinkers say that there is more to education than school buildings. That is true, but the implication that this is all that has been accomplished is not true.

In 1937 State aid for teachers' salaries averaged $250 a year. Today it is $2,312. During this same period the number of teachers had increased by 4,000.

State aid today accounts for all but $18 of the average yearly salary of the classroom teacher.

In 1945, recertification of teachers was established, a new salary schedule was adopted, and the Retirement Act was passed.

During my first year as lieutenant governor, the 1947 general assembly increased teachers' salaries approximately 26½ percent and wrote into law the first permanent professional salary schedule for teachers in the history of our State.

Each year our teacher certification program is providing annual salary increases for many of you.

This year the budget and control board has recommended an appropriation of more than $40 million for State aid to teachers' salaries. Their recommendation is more than double the entire appropriation for education 8 years ago.

Our school progress has not been limited to increases in aid to teachers' salaries.

In 1936 the rental textbook act was passed.

In 1943 the school-lunch act was passed.

In 1944 the 12th grade was established to take effect in 1948.

In 1951 the legislature passed the new school law, which provided a 3-percent sales tax pledged to education.

School districts have been reduced from more than a thousand to 103.

Seven hundred and ninety-seven school projects have been approved, which involve expenditures totaling $127 million. Fifty-nine percent has been allocated to Negro projects. Forty-one percent has been allocated to white projects. These projects include 450 new schools.

These projects have provided 8,000 new classrooms, enough to house 44 percent of the pupils now attending public schools in South Carolina.

Since 1951 transportation has been provided at State expense for all children who live too far from school to walk. The number of buses has been increased 79 percent. This year, almost 4,000 buses transport 240,000 pupils each day. A majority of these are Negro children.

Our school bus operating efficiency compares extremely well nationally. By latest reports, South Carolina is the second State in the Nation in operating efficiency.

We are building a school system equal to any in the Nation.

Our schools for Negroes are now superior to any in the Nation.

By sound planning and sound financing South Carolina has accomplished an educational revolution, while other States continue to face a crisis. The critical school situation in other States has been recognized by the President of the United States. He has advocated a $7 billion program in an effort to correct the lack of school facilities. We are at least 4 years ahead of that program, despite the fact that our State ranks only 45th in the Nation in per capita income.

Our financial condition is so sound that we could not qualify for Federal aid under the school program proposed by the President.

That report sounded impressive when I gave it in New York City. I believe it would be impressive anywhere. We can be justly proud of what we have done.

And what of the future?

The general assembly has this year enacted into law a plan whereby you will be asked to vote on whether or not you and other members of the State retirement system wish to be included under Federal social security. If a majority of those in the retirement system vote "aye," you will be brought under that system.

Instead of 4 percent of your salary, you will contribute 5 percent.

But your benefits will be increased.

The full benefit of social security will be yours along with Federal survivors insurance, a feature not now included in the State retirement plan. You will retain the better part of State retirement. You will lose nothing that you contribute to the retirement system.

For many low-salaried school employees and those employees who joined the school system late in their working careers, it will mean higher retirement benefits than the State system can provide.

SCHOOL BOND CEILING

The general assembly has been requested to increase from one hundred million to one hundred and thirty-seven and one-half million dollars the limit on bonds for school construction.

When this ceiling is increased, it will provide an additional $81 million for school construction.

SCHOLARSHIPS

The general assembly is considering a bill to provide scholarships for those persons who wish to prepare themselves for the teaching profession.

GRESSETTE COMMITTEE BILLS

There have been enacted during this session of the legislature six measures recommended by the Gressette committee. This action is not a final plan. These measures, however, clarify our present law and will increase the efficiency of present administration.

They give to your school trustees more authority and vest in county boards of education the powers of trustees in those counties having only one school district.

Those additional powers for trustees include the authority to regulate school terms, the power to dispose of real estate with the consent of the county board of education, and the authority to decide when children living in another county shall be admitted to schools.

The most controversial part of the Gressette committee recommendations had to do with school attendance. I assure you we have not weakened ourselves in this respect.

The compulsory public-school attendance law was not widely enforced. Few if any cases were ever made. In practically every school district there were children who should have been in school who were not.

Under the new law, visiting teachers are provided. It is the duty of these teachers to encourage children to attend school.

The visiting teacher has been given authority to accept cash assistance, clothing, shoes, books, and similar articles for those children who are not now attending school for the lack of such articles.

Those parents who themselves were deprived of the benefits of formal education are anxious to have their children attend school. If our educated citizens fail to send their children to school, then I fear it is an indictment of our system.

The courts of our State have authority to deal in cases where parents fail to discharge their obligation to educate their children.

CONCLUSIONS

For many years our public-school system depended on teachers who were dedicated to their profession and our youth. They were underpaid, their equipment was substandard, their school terms often short and irregular.

We have no solved all of our problems. Our school system has not reached perfection. But we have become more conscious of our shortcomings.

I hope those dedicated teachers will be always with us. I hope that their number will increase.

For them, and for all of those men and women connected with our public schools, conditions will improve.

I have outlined here tonight some of the improvements which have been accomplished. I have told you of some of the plans for the future.

I assure you of the importance with which our State views public education. I pledge to you our efforts to meet our problems squarely and solve them to the best of our ability.

Together we will go forward.

Fund Raising by Citizens of Powell Butte, Oreg., for Construction of Community Church

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most informative and inspiring article from the Sunday Oregonian of March 6, 1955, written by Mr. Wally Hunter, describing the successful efforts of the people of Powell Butte, Oreg., to raise funds for the construction of a community church in Powell Butte. The article demonstrates how public-spirited and courageous people can overcome obstacles to accomplish their goal.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HARVESTING THE LORD'S ACRE

(By Wally Hunter)

Rising out of the sagebrush flats at the tiny community of Powell Butte between Redmond and Prineville is a trim and beautifully appointed church financed entirely through funds raised at one of Oregon's most unique events—the Lord's acre sale.

Powell Butte's community church, a $61,000 structure unquestionably one of the prettiest in central Oregon, was completed and dedicated last summer, just 8 years after the first Lord's acre sale was held. Since the initial effort it has become a harvest-time tradition.

The unusual theme for the sale, tailor made for for the rural congregation, came from a custom started in the Southern States where the farmers, who found cash hard to come by, supported their churches by annually pledging the produce from one acre of land, or its equivalent, to the Lord.

Powell Butte's 230 member, nonsectarian congregation, under the leadership of Rev. Devere Penhollow, took this idea, added a staggering amount of hard work and imagination, and reached an overall 8-year total of $40,000. This money has been used solely for the building fund. All other church functions and Reverend Penhollow are supported through other channels. This year's Lord's acre sale, held just before Thanksgiving, was the most successful. It netted a record $5,400.

Just what crop can be produced on the Lord's acre? A glance at the various items donated by the farmers, townspeople, and merchants of central Oregon would provide several eye-popping surprises.

Among the more unique contributions were 120 gallons of boiling water delivered for the barbecue by a Redmond creamery, and several dozen jars of sourdough starter with a history dating from the stagecoach era. And typical of the personal sacrifices made was that of Charlie Smith, who travels round trip from Tulare, Calif., at his own expense each year so he can preside over the afternoon auction.

Activities start with the opening of the "country store" in the school gym, which adjoins the church. A bevy of church ladies is its proprietors, and customers are folks from all over the Bend-Redmond-Prineville area.

Goods for sale in the good-sized auditorium include the variety found in a supermarket, but the atmosphere is as homey as that of a crossroads cracker-barrel grocery.

Booths and counters lining the walls are crammed with everything from homemade soap and pickled pigs' feet to potted petunias. And it all sells.

Starring in the toy department each year are the score or more old-fashioned jumping jacks hand-carved by 89-year old Arthur Page. Grandfatherly Page devotes full time to his private project and is always surrounded by admiring kids at sale time.

Great, white piles of homemade soap is another fast-selling regular item. Manufacturer is 76-year-old Mrs. Mary MacDaniel, who is far ahead of the soap pros in one respect. Her total supply is sold each year sans the tearful efforts of Our Gal Sunday or John's Other Wife.

In just 3 hours the meat market was sold out. During that feverish period the market crew sold the steaks, roast, and hamburger from 4 king-sized steers and 3 hogs. In addition, they moved 100 chickens, 96 ducks, 200 pounds of sausage, and several hundred pounds of lard.

The candy counter, whose calorie count would equal the national debt, netted the treasury a sweet $275, and more than 250 pies, 50 cakes, 50 dozen cookies, and 25 dozen doughnuts shuttled out of the bakery.

By noon the country store was bare, and male church members donned white aprons and caps to serve the annual noon barbecue. Biggest attraction were 2 cooking pits which held 3 prime steers and 9 hams baked to their juicy finest after 24 hours underground.

Consumed, along with the meat, were 1,500 baked Deschutes Netter Gem potatoes, 120 gallons of coffee, plus 250 pints of milk, donated by the same dairy which contributed the coffee water.

Final event starred Auctioneer Smith, who fast-talked his audience out of $1,300 while calling such items as hogs, heifers, hay, afghans, pillows, blankets, 4,000 board-feet of lumber, and a 3-year-old gelding.

This year the Powell Butte Church met its building loan payment, bought additional pews, and installed a pipe organ. Next year plans call for a new parsonage, but the dreaming won't end there. Possibilities are unlimited for the parish with the will and willingness to harvest the Lord's acre.

Ole! to the University of San Francisco "Dons"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday night was a great night for San Francisco, for devotees of the west coast brand of basketball, and for me personally when the University of San Francisco "Dons" sewed up the national collegiate basketball championship by winning the NCAA tournament finals at Kansas City by a handy margin. It was a great night for me because USF is my alma mater, and it was a great night for San Francisco and the west coast because a great team from a great little

school of 2,500 enrollment showed that it could go all the way against the best brand of basketball the rest of the country had to offer. That is why I say "Ole! to the 'Dons' and to their great coach." The evening must have been particularly sweet to Coach Woolpert, since he himself was a star player on the USF team which won the national championship in 1949, the last previous basketball crown won by the "Dons."

Although the USF boys had ranked first in the national standings during the regular season, the NCAA crown was the clincher which removed all doubt as to whether they were real champions, and the green and gold colors came through flying high. I am sure that all of my colleagues, be they from East, West, North, or South, will be glad to join me in congratulating the boys, the coach, and the school on their sweet victory.

This national championship is a fitting crown for the university, now about to celebrate its 100th anniversary. From little St. Ignatius College, founded in May 1855 by the Jesuits, the school has grown until it is now a splendid university. At the time I attended law school there the transition from college to university had just taken place, but even then we had a basketball team, on which I played, and we also played a little football. We did not win any national championships, but we had a lot of fun. As president of the student body in those days, I know what kind of a celebration we cooked up whenever we won a routine game. I can just imagine how bright the bonfires burned on the campus last Saturday night when the news of the final victory hit town. I only wish I had been there to throw another log on the fire and to join in a chorus of the USF victory song in my Irish tenor.

Mr. Speaker, I propose a toast to the University of San Francisco "Dons," national collegiate basketball champions for 1955. Long may they reign!

Turning Victories Into Defeats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Turning Victories Into Defeats," written by Constantine Brown and published in a recent issue of the Washington Evening Star.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TURNING VICTORIES INTO DEFEATS—YALTA OFFERS US ABUNDANT PROOF THAT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES SHOULDN'T BE HELD IN MIDST OF WAR

(By Constantine Brown)

Publication of the Yalta papers may serve, if nothing else, to support the view long held by many political men in Washington that international conferences should not be held in the midst of a war.

When Secretary of State Hull appeared before executive sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1943 and 1944 and was asked about our policies after the shooting was over he invariably replied: "Gentlemen, our only concern at present is to win the war. We shall cross the diplomatic bridges when we get to them after victory."

It is safe to say the world, and particularly this country, would not be in the present predicament if President Roosevelt and his advisers had followed the Hull horsesense principle. Teheran, Yalta, and Postdam would never have occurred.

We won a resounding military victory in World War II, and suffered an even more resounding diplomatic defeat.

The Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam meetings were not used to discuss military strategy as they were advertised. Military strategy was discussed only in the light of political deals between the then three allies. At Teheran the long and fruitful association with Britain was shaken because President Roosevelt and some of his advisers, such as Harry Hopkins, decided that it was best for the United States and the world to side with Stalin.

Britain appeared to our leaders then as a brave but wornout and crumbling empire, while the U. S. S. R. was viewed as a power of the future. And in order to enlist Stalin's good will for a "better world," which he alone could help establish with his despotic power over an enormous land mass containing 180 million people, he was appeased and given everything he wanted.

We gave Stalin everything he wanted at Teheran and confirmed and added to these give-aways at Yalta. As a matter of fact, all our military efforts and victories were nullified at the political conferences of the Big Three which none of the lesser allies who were fighting gallantly on our side, were permitted to attend. They had only hearsay information on what was discussed and decided.

The most successful diplomatic gathering of the "big" powers was the Vienna conference, at the end of the Napoleonic wars. The wars were over, Napoleon was defeated, and the military power of France had been crushed. It was only after all military objectives had been attained that the representatives of the then "big four" gathered in the Austrian capital and decided on carving up Europe in a manner which prevented the outbreak of another war of many nations for 100 years.

The Vienna Conference also marked the most prosperous postwar era in the history of Europe.

Nothing of the sort happened after the last World War. Had it not been for what is commonly believed to be the inexhaustible resources of this country, Europe and the rest of the world would have gone completely to pieces. The Soviet Union, after having been saved from military disaster and helped to victory by its Western allies, proceeded to enlarge the gains made at the expense of the free nations and expanded both in Europe and Asia. Tens of billions of American tax funds and much of our substance had to be poured into military expenditures in an attempt to arrest this movement. It is by no means certain that we have yet succeeded.

Stalin took advantage of the emotional frame of mind of our wartime leaders at the wartime conferences and succeeded at least partially in creating a split between the British and Americans.

The postwar conferences were held during the period known as the cold war. And we lost our shirts. The Berlin Conference in 1954 is a typical example. We went there to discuss with the Russian dictators peace treaties for Germany and Austria. They had other ideas. They wanted Indochina for their Chinese Communist allies. After 10 days of talking we yielded and agreed to go to Geneva to debate that issue. Nothing was done about Germany and Austria. Northern Vietnam was surrendered by the French to the Communists.

The unchallengeable fact is that our military victories have been turned into diplomatic defeats mainly because we went to the conference table while fighting was going on to discuss purely political matters with a temporary associate whose overall aims were in ideological opposition to those of the American people.

The results of these conferences were so distasteful that our then leaders decided to cover up by hiding from us the actual concessions they made to the Reds. They have been partly revealed after 10 years in which the American people shed blood, sweat, and tears without actually knowing the real origin of their hardships.

The division of Korea at the 38th parallel was arranged by our representatives at Yalta. It resulted in the Communist aggression of 1950 which cost us 165,000 casualties and some $15 billion. And we have not yet seen the end of that conflict.

Robbing Peter To Pay Paul

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Sylvia Porter:

It's hard to rob Peter to pay Paul—even when Peter doesn't know he's being robbed.

It well may be impossible to rob Peter to pay Paul when Peter does know what you're up to.

It was last July, you recall, that the President hiked the tariff on Swiss watch imports as much as 50 percent. The President admitted he did it reluctantly. But he did it; he ordered the first change in the watch tariff in 18 years. And the move was headlined around the world as a shocking example of how little our high-sounding phrases about freer world trade really mean.

Well, after the administration had hiked the tariff, it discovered it was into a new dilemma. For under the trade agreement we have with Switzerland, we must offer compensation for losses she suffers because of the watch-tariff hike by reduction in tariffs on other goods.

We have therefore offered to talk tariff reductions on a long list of goods Switzerland sells us—including a wide variety of textiles, surveying instruments, chemicals, cameras, etc.

A conference between us is set for April in Geneva.

Now comes the ironic Peter-Paul twist.

For the textile industry isn't even waiting for the hearings to indicate what it thinks. Says William Pollock, executive vice president of the Textile Workers Union of America (CIO):

"It is unfair, immoral, and contrary to the national interest for the Federal Government to trade off one group of our citizens against another. * * * We do not concede that the American textile industry must be sacrificed to preserve the American watch industry. * * *"

That isn't mincing words and it's just the beginning.

The photographic industry certainly can plead that it is essential to our national defense and that it is getting plenty of competition from imports of German, Swiss, and Japanese cameras.

"When the hearings start, you'll hear some fancy fireworks from top men in this industry," forecasts an informed source.

The chemical companies are among the most vigorous, unreconstructed protectionists.

"Do you think we're going to agree to a cut in tariffs just to subsidize the watch people?" said one chemical corporation officer when I called to ask the reaction. "Huh. Not us."

Peter knows he's being robbed to pay Paul—and he has no intentions of standing for it.

The whole miserable chain of events was set off by the tariff hike. And more and more miserable links will be added until the President breaks the chain by canceling the increase. Eventually the hike will be reversed. The sooner the better.

Tribute to Congressional Medal of Honor Winner, Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this coming Saturday there will occur the reinterment of the mortal remains of Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., of Hatfield, Wis., who was awarded posthumously the Congressional Medal of Honor for gallantry on the field of action in Korea.

I send to the desk the text of a letter which I have addressed to the pastor of his church, along with the text of a newspaper article from the Milwaukee Journal on the award, and the official Army announcement.

I ask unanimous consent that this material be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD by way of my personal sincere tribute to this valiant American.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
March 22, 1955.

Pastor MITCHELL WHITERABBIT,
Winnebago Indian Mission Church,
Rural Route 5, Black River Falls,
Wis.

DEAR PASTOR WHITERABBIT: Thank you very much for your kind invitation to me to convey a communication which could be read at the burial ceremonies of Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., who will be reinterred this coming Saturday.

It is an honor for me to submit the enclosed message.

May I advise that it will be my privilege also to include the text of this letter to you, along with the official Army notice of Corporal Red Cloud's winning of the Congressional Medal of Honor and a newspaper writeup thereon, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I only regret that the pressure of official duties prevents my being on hand in person to convey my own personal sincere respects to this great patriotic American.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

ALEXANDER WILEY.

A TRIBUTE TO MITCHELL RED CLOUD, JR.

No man can adequately do honor with mere words to what another man has achieved by unforgettable deeds, particularly a deed which has earned for a departed hero the Nation's highest military award.

The sacrifice which Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., of Hatfield, Wis., made near hill 123 in Korea on November 5, 1950, is too great and too lasting for myself or any other man to attempt adequately to praise.

A mere recall of the facts regarding his actions against a numerically superior foe will convey to all who see or hear the epic gallantry of Mitchell Red Cloud.

This 28-year-old lad was the descendant of warriors of old who fought with courage in every fray in which they participated. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., was worthy of that unbroken tradition. He symbolizes the heroism of the innumerable Americans of Indian descent who have shed their blood and given of their lives in the service of native soil which they themselves had owned long before the coming of the white man, and to which they have, nonetheless, given their patriotic devotion ever since.

To the bereaved mother of this courageous boy, Wisconsin and the Nation convey deepest sympathy in her great loss. She may speak in the Winnebago tongue more readily than in English, but the deed which her son performed speaks with a universal eloquence which no man in any tongue can match.

It is a deed which confirms once again that the color of a man's skin, the accent of a man's tongue, or that of his family or of his loved ones or of his forebears, is meaningless beside the true quality of a man's heart and the grandeur of a man's eternal soul.

Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., Wisconsin's most courageous modern Indian warrior, will be laid to rest in an ancient ceremonial ground among his ancestors. But in truth, he has consecrated too that far-distant spot in Korea where his lifeblood drained into the ground. And by that consecration he has signified to all free mankind that the sons of America, as dearly as they love their own land, have proven their willingness to die for a universal cause—peace and freedom—in lands far distant from their native shores.

It is the prayer and faith of free men everywhere that the selfless deed of Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., and of 30,000 of his countrymen and of other boys under the United Nations banner who made the supreme sacrifice in Korea, will not have been in vain. May it have marked a turning point in the age-old quest of man for a world in which right makes might and in which aggression shall no more occur.

May Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr.'s final resting place be a shrine to patriotic Americans of our State and Nation; and may it serve as a shrine to all free men's dedication to a warless, slaveless world.

The noble red men who fought for freedom on this continent against any odds have had a proud descendant in this fighting marine and Army infantryman who breathed his last on a far-distant continent.

May his matchless deed be an inspiration to us all. Thus, whenever our spirits may flag, whenever we may become discouraged in the quest for peace, whenever voices of pessimists and mongers of gloom are heard throughout the land, may we remember the sight of Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., critically wounded near Chonghyon, Korea, pulling himself to his feet, using a tree for support, and continuing to fire to halt an onrushing enemy.

With that type of dauntless spirit, we cannot fail in our efforts, and we will be worthy of his eternal valor.

God rest his gallant soul.

MEDAL OF HONOR (POSTHUMOUS)

Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., Company E, 19th Infantry Regiment, distinguished himself by conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action against the enemy near Chonghyon, Korea, on November 5, 1950. From his position on the point of a ridge immediately in front of the company command post he was the first to detect the approach of the Chinese Communist forces and give the alarm as the enemy charged from a brush covered area less than 100 feet from him. Springing up he delivered devastating point blank automatic rifle fire into the advancing enemy. His accurate and intense fire checked this assault and gained time for the company to consolidate its defense. With utter fearlessness he maintained his firing position until severely wounded by enemy fire. Refusing assistance he pulled himself to his feet and wrapping his arm around a tree continued his deadly fire until again, and fatally, wounded. This heroic act stopped the enemy from overrunning his company's position and gained time for reorganization and evacuation of the wounded. Corporal Red Cloud's dauntless courage and gallant self-sacrifice reflects the highest credit upon himself and upholds the esteemed traditions of the Army of the United States.

Published in Department of Army General Order No. 26, April 25, 1951.

Date of award: February 19, 1951.
Place of birth: Hatfield, Wis.
Entered military service from Wisconsin.
Station: Chonghyon, Korea.
KIA November 5, 1950.
NOK: Mrs. Nellie Red Cloud (mother), Route No. 1, Merrillan, Wis.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 13, 1955]

CPL. RED CLOUD TO GET A WARRIOR'S FUNERAL—CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL WINNER WHO DIED IN BATTLE TO BE BURIED THIS MONTH

HATFIELD, WIS.—Wisconsin's most courageous modern Indian warrior will be laid to rest among his ancestors this month in a cemetery so ancient that some graves still have the ceremonial boxes from which tribal spirits were "fed."

The warrior was Cpl. Mitchell Red Cloud, Jr., cut down by Communist bullets on November 5, 1950, on a ridge near Chonghyon, Korea. For preventing the enemy from overrunning his company, he was posthumously awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the eighth man to win it in the Korean war.

The medal representing the Nation's highest military honor was bestowed upon the hero's graying mother in a solemn ceremony at the Pentagon in Washington, D. C., in 1951 by soft spoken Gen. Omar Bradley. Some say she swept away a tear. She said later that Indians don't cry, but bear their grief better than that. She finds it easier to speak in the Winnebago tongue than English.

BORN AT HATFIELD

Mrs. Nellie Red Cloud, now near 60, bears her pride well, too. A faint smile slips across her face when honors are bestowed on her son, as many have been.

Already two veterans' organization posts have been named after him—the Veterans of Foreign Wars unit at Black River Falls and the American Legion post at Adams-Friendship. Mrs. Red Cloud has often spent winter months at Friendship.

Young Red Cloud, 28 when he died, was born near this Jackson County community, where the family has always owned its own home on Indian lands. He is the most distinguished alumnus of Black River Falls high

school. A bronze wall plaque at the school pays tribute to his gallantry.

This descendant of warriors served in the Marine Corps for 4 years during World War II. He was one of Carlson's Raiders in the 1st Marine Division. He left Jackson County in 1941 as a junior in high school to fight at Midway and Guadalcanal. His father tried to follow him into the corps but was rejected. Mitchell, Sr., a World War I veteran and a writer, died in 1946.

LAID LOW BY MALARIA

Red Cloud was a match for the Japanese but not for malaria. He left Black River Falls weighing 195 but returned to the Indian mission near here at 115 pounds. He got his high-school diploma while in service. When he recovered his health, he joined the Army in 1948.

James Smoke, Tomah, of the Wisconsin Winnebago Veterans' Association, is not surprised at Red Cloud's valor. He says that the hero's great-grandfather was a fine soldier in the Civil War, and Red Cloud's relatives, not even citizens, fought in the Spanish-American War and World War I. Only one Winnebago mission youth was drafted in World War II, Smoke says, the rest volunteered.

On his mother's (Winneshiek) side, Chief Adam Thundercloud still has a silver medal presented to his ancestors (and Mitchell's) by George Washington in 1789, Smoke says.

STOOD IN BREACH ALONE

Red Cloud's rendezvous with death came in the first big battle between United States troops and Chinese Reds. His outfit was dug in near Hill 123 while the numerically superior enemy probed for a weak spot in its bridgehead.

At daybreak on November 5, 1950, the platoon commander, 1st Lt. John A. Anderson, Superior, heard Cpl. Red Cloud shout a warning and open fire on a large enemy force bearing down upon him. Then the corporal fell, critically wounded by burp gunfire, but pulled himself to his feet, wrapped his arm around a tree for support, and continued firing.

The enemy finally overran his lifeless body, but Red Cloud's company had been given time to reorganize. The Winnebago Indian's valor prevented heavy casualties. The enemy turned his body over to United Nations forces and it was buried at Sukchon, North Korea, prior to its return to the United States.

HONOR GUARD PLANNED

A military escort will bring his body from Oakland, Calif., to Black River Falls, arriving March 23. An honor guard of Winnebago Indians will remain with the casket at the Langlois-Galston funeral home there, where a short service will be held at 1:30 p. m., March 26. Services will be held at 2 p. m. at the Evangelical Reform Church at the Indian mission with the Reverend Mitchell Whiterabbit officiating.

The body will be interred near those of the hero's father and brother, Randolph, killed when only 18 on Army maneuvers near Fort Lewis, Wash., in 1949. Another brother, Merlin, of Black River Falls, will stand at his mother's side. He was a Navy Seabee in World War II.

Use of Helicopters in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, in a dispatch from Vienna which appeared in the Portland Press Herald on March 19, 1955, May Craig described the extensive use of helicopters in Europe and an American exhibit on atomic energy in Vienna. This country is far behind Europe in the use of helicopters for commercial air traffic. In order that all of the members of Congress may have an opportunity to read these interesting observations by May Craig, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUROPE AHEAD IN HELICOPTER USE
(By May Craig)

VIENNA.—Europe is ahead of us in using helicopters for passenger service between cities, for short hops. In West Germany we saw it. In Bonn there is no commercial airport. You must get there by boat, road, or train—unless you are lucky enough to get a seat in one of the small helicopters that will set you down in Cologne, for instance in 20 minutes. Here in Vienna I wish we had helicopter service from the airport, which is 20 miles from Vienna.

Belgium's Sabena lines have the first network of passenger helicopters in Europe, and they have hauled 13,000 passengers this summer. Great advantage is that expensive runways and airports are not necessary; therefore the helioports can save the passenger time. The airline saves money; the countries where land is so precious are saved the requisitioning of farms for airfields. Helioports are so small, snow removal is no problem. Some of the largest cities in Europe, previously impractical for air service, are now linked by helicopter.

This Sabena fleet has Brussels as the hub. Businessmen, diplomats, tourists who are lucky enough, use these copters all the time, coming right down on a roof or in the heart of a city on the ground—home by dinnertime. The Sabena says it is arranging for big 40-passenger copters, but that will be some years from now. The Sabena is experimenting with service across the English Channel. Now it takes so long to get from a London hotel to the big conventional airports that it exceeds time of crossing the channel. Air traffic across the channel is taking most of the passengers away from the little steamers that used to toss seasick passengers all night. Flying time across the actual channel is 17 minutes. The conventional airports are not near the channel either.

Helioports are being planned now near the heart of London, Paris, New York, the dawn of a new era of convenience for travelers. London will have its first one near Waterloo Station. So much of Europe has been bombed that getting sites for helioports is no problem, as it will be in New York.

Amazing exhibit of atomic energy for peaceful uses in industry and medicine and the daily life is now here in Vienna. The exhibit is American, by our Government. It is part of our propaganda of atoms for peace. This exhibit has been in Berlin and goes from here to Hamburg. Crowds jam the street for a block, waiting to get in. It is free.

In the lobby are pictures of the men and Madame Curie, who discovered and developed what is now nuclear energy utilization. Several of them are Americans, of course.

In the first room of the exhibit, painted all black and darkened, there hangs from the ceiling a radiant replica of what an atom is like, with proton and neutron, a whirling ball of gleaming wire with its heart varicolored. One remembers how short a time it is since we believed the atom to be the smallest particle of matter, indivisible.

In the second room is a fine picture of President Eisenhower and a quotation—in German; this whole exhibit has German captions, of course. He said: "Our country does not intend to destroy, but to build." This is good propaganda, and worth the money we spend on it.

Throughout the exhibit there are demonstrations. For instance, one shows a plant taking radiation and sending it into the leaves, eaten by a cow, lights show how it goes through the digestion, the blood, and down into the milk in the udder. Physical processes can be followed by the radiant particles. It shows how functioning of the human being can be followed, how healing can be applied.

Resolution by Serbian Organizations of Cleveland, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the city of Cleveland is proud to number among its population a considerable number of people of Serbian extraction. They are well known in Cleveland for their dedication to the principles for which the United States has beem symbolic since the days of its inception. All these loyal Americans of Serbian extraction have a deep concern for the welfare of their homeland which is now occupied by the Communists. They have very definite views on Tito which should be of interest to all Americans.

The following resolution was adopted at the regular meeting of representatives of 10 Serbian religious, fraternal, human, cultural, and educational organizations of Cleveland, Ohio, consisting of over 2,000 members, held March 5, 1955, at St. Sava Church hall, 1565 East 36th Street, Cleveland, Ohio, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include it herewith:

Whereas the official representatives of dictatorial Communist regime of Joseph Broz-Tito, and their known and unknown agents and followers in this country, are spreading news and propaganda of a necessity of invitation of said Joseph Broz-Tito to be guest of this country of ours; and

Whereas the American press is publishing stories about invitation of said Communist leader of Yugoslavia, which are disturbing the members of undersigned organizations; and

Whereas the Communist regime of Joseph Broz-Tito does not in any way differ from rest of the Communist regimes, tutored and supported by Soviet Russia; and

Whereas the political, religious and personal freedoms are nonexistent since the inception of the Communist regime of Joseph Broz-Tito in Yugoslavia; and

Whereas Americans of Serbian extraction are not unmindful of the fact, that their relatives in Yugoslavia are daily persecuted and tortured for their religious and political convictions by the order of Joseph Broz-Tito; and

Whereas the dignity and honor of the American mothers, whose five sons were brutally murdered by the order of said dictator Tito, when they were performing military duty in peaceful mission, will be offended if said Communist dictator was invited to visit this country of ours; and

Whereas the Communist regime of Yugoslavia refused to cooperate with the Western

Powers in defense of western civilization and the peace of the world, and by doing so, proved to the rest of the world its place is and always was with the rest of the Communist countries and regimes; and

Whereas Tito's coming here would result in completely opposite effect from that which was outlined by President Eisenhower in his recent address over the TV program "Crusade for Freedom of the Radio Free Europe," that the masses of enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtains, represent the main obstacle of Soviet aggression against the West, as long as they are reminded of the fact that the free world has not forgotten them: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we hereby appeal to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, to reject every attempt of the official and unofficial Communist representatives who are trying to bring dictator Joseph Broz-Tito, to hold a speech in the greatest democratic institution and tribunal of liberties and human rights, the American Congress.

We trust that Mr. President will consider our reasons and remove the possibility of an insult to our great democratic country.

It was further resolved that copy of this resolution be sent to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Hon. John Foster Dulles, Hon. John W. Bricker, United States Senator from Ohio, Hon. George H. Bender, United States Senator from Ohio, and Hon. Michael A. Feighan, Hon. Frances P. Bolton, Hon. Charles A. Vanik, and Hon. Oliver P. Bolton, Members of the Congress from Cleveland, Ohio.

St. Sava Serbian Orthodox Church, Tom Simich, President; Serbian National Defense, N. J. Vurdelja, President; Fraternal Unit Lodge 15 of SNF, Bosko Zailac, President; St. Sava Lodge 1 of S. B. F. U., Sinisa Djokich, Secretary; Circle of Serbian Sisters, Ana Uzelac, President; Serbian Brothers Help, Inc., Sinisa Djokich, President; Serbian Cultural Club St. Sava, D. Lazarevich, President; Serbian-American Women Club, Zora Herkley, President; Serbian Singing Choir "Njegosh"; Anna Julylia, President; Serbian Chetniks, Dragan Chupkovich, President.

A Long-Range Program Is Needed To Preserve Our American Shipping and Shipbuilding Industries

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the importance of providing a long-term program to preserve the American shipping and shipbuilding industries was recently brought to my attention in a letter received from L. S. Blodgett, editor of Marine Engineering. The conditions he relates in his letter and the facts that support them are astounding. It clearly shows there is a need for remedial legislation at the earliest possible day. It cannot be delayed without resulting in irreparable damage to our shipping and shipbuilding industry. There is a clear and distinct duty to provide action in the matter at once.

The letter to which I refer and the open letter that is mentioned in the letter to me reads as follows:

MARINE ENGINEERING,
New York, N. Y., February 28, 1955.

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE WOLVERTON: For the postwar period, ship orders placed abroad have resulted in losses to the United States industry, employment and purchasing power totaling $1,800,000,000, and these losses affect every one of the 48 States.

In fact, right now only 14 merchant vessels of the 1,347 under construction in the world's shipyards are being built in this country. To bring this problem and its serious consequences into sharp focus, Marine Engineering has published in its March issue an open letter to you and all other Members of the United States Congress, calling attention to the need for long-range legislation that will:

1. Encourage American ship owners to build and operate ships under the American flag. (In 1954 United States flag ships carried only 29 percent of this Nation's foreign trade.)

2. Insure a modern American-flag fleet, adequate shipbuilding facilities, and an effective force of trained professionals to meet a national emergency.

3. Expand the market for the wide range of materials used in shipbuilding which originate in every one of the 48 States.

Attached you will find a reprint of this open letter, together with a detailed summary of the more than 6 million deadweight tons of shipping ordered by American interests from foreign yards.

We hope you will give this national problem full thought and consideration in terms of long-range remedial legislation. After you have had an opportunity to read the attached reprint, we shall appreciate having any comments you may care to evpress.

Yours very truly,

L. S. BLODGETT,
Editor.

[Open letter from Marine Engineering of March 1955]

LONG-RANGE REMEDIAL LEGISLATION FOR THE MARINE INDUSTRY IS NEEDED NOW. ADEQUATE MERCHANT MARINE AND SHIPBUILDING FACILITIES ARE ESSENTIAL TO SUPPORT THE NATION'S WORLDWIDE COMMITMENTS FOR DEFENSE. ACTION TO HELP THESE VITAL INDUSTRIES IS IMPERATIVE

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Marine Engineering, which has served the United States marine field for 77 years, views with concern the future of this vital industry. The major roles played by shipping and shipbuilding, both in war and peace, are being neglected. This matter affects you and your constituents, Mr. Congressman, as the marine industry uses materials and products of all 48 States.

At the present time this crucial problem needs your attention. The fate of the United States maritime industries hinges on its solution. In the past, Congress has rushed to the aid of these industries as a fireman does to a fire. When the fire is out, it is forgotten until the next alarm is sounded. Such stopgap procedures must be replaced with long-range planning to assure an efficient American merchant fleet needed not only for the safety of the country but for economic reasons as well.

No peacetime industry is adaptable so readily to the needs of war. The same skills are employed to man cargo vessels as naval anxiliaries. The same facilities and skills are used to build warships as are employed in the construction of merchant ships.

The tense world situation could turn into an all-out war in a matter of hours. The turning point of World War II occurred when our shipyards were able to produce ships faster than the enemy could sink them. This was accomplished by the mass-production methods undisturbed by enemy bombings. God forbid we find ourselves engaged in another world war, but if it does happen you can be certain that our shipyards will be prime targets for enemy attack. Yes, we have a surplus of World War II ships in our reserve fleet, which even in 1943 were no match for enemy subs. Russia's concentration on submarine construction of improved design is ominous. All of America's industrial might will be of little avail unless our fleet and shipbuilding facilities are geared to such an effort.

One of your big headaches in any future all-out mobilization, Mr. Congressman, will be to offset the handicaps imposed on merchant marine industries in recent years.

It costs money to maintain an American merchant marine, just as it costs money to maintain the Defense Department. Actually, the cost to the Government to support a merchant marine is about 1 percent of the cost of the Defense Department. It is the only "arm of defense" which private capital finances.

From the beginning of our history the need for a merchant marine has been recognized. George Washington urged Congress to offer "such encouragement to our own navigation as will render our commerce and agriculture less dependent on foreign bottoms." This need has increased many fold since then. The United States is not as self-sufficient now as it was in earlier years. Raw materials must be imported. Manufactured goods and agricultural products must be exported if we are to maintain a high rate of production.

We firmly believe a strong United States-flag merchant fleet and a well-equipped, continuously producing shipbuilding industry is not only a national asset but also a national necessity. Some of the questions posed with regard to the merchant marine are outlined below. Volumes of testimony at congressinal hearings and articles are available on each of these questions. We believe simple statements can answer most of them and have given our views on them.

"Can the United States depend upon foreign-flag vessels in time of war or emergency?"

The experience of two world wars and the Korean emergency should have taught us that we cannot depend on foreign-flag ships when most needed. No future wars will be localized affairs between us and one other nation. Foreign countries will need all their ships to serve their accelerated production and to supply their fighting forces.

President Eisenhower has stated: "We were caught flat-footed in both world wars because we relied too much upon foreign-owned and operated shipping to carry our cargoes abroad and to bring critically needed supplies to this country."

The availability of American-flag vessels during World War II and the cooperation of the owners resulted in time-charter rates for freighters of $4 per deadweight ton instead of the world rate of $10.20 with an estimated savings of $500 million to the Government.

"How important is a United States-flag merchant marine to national defense?"

President Eisenhower has called the merchant marine the "fourth arm of defense." The Army, Navy and Air Force could not long survive in foreign stations without a steady flow of supplies. The merchant marine is the blood stream of the three armed services.

"Is the United States merchant marine costing the taxpayer too much money for value received?"

More money is spent on many individual commodity price supports than is spent on merchant marine subsidies.

A United States-flag fleet on the high seas, serving our industries to and from every part of world, is a protection to all United States business firms. It helps insure against discrimination of the United States exporter in foreign markets by foreign shippers.

World War II saw the staggering total of $17 billion spent on new ship construction.

Experts have estimated that if these ships had been built prior to the war, $13 billion could have been saved in construction costs plus a $390 million a year interest charge. We are spending each year in interest slightly less than is needed to maintain our ships and shipyards at the required levels.

During the first 14 years of operation under the 1936 Merchant Marine Act, the subsidized lines paid $130,503,000 in direct Federal income and profit taxes. Operating differential subsidy payments for the same period totaled just $16,655,324 above this amount. When indirect taxes are considered, tax revenues to the Government far exceed the amount spent in operating subsidy payments. Foreign lines do not pay these taxes.

As of March 31, 1954, the total postwar operating subsidies after recapture amounted to approximately $380 million. Figures submitted by the present Maritime Administration indicate higher payments because the Government was behind in payments. When arrears are adjusted, the subsidy appropriations will appear in a better light.

"How is the Government deterring shipping and shipbuilding?"

Many minor and major factors enter this picture. The basic deterrent is the lack of a continuous well-charted program of merchant marine development. The inability of the Government to adopt a comprehensive program and to carry it out affects all phases of the maritime industry.

Disagreement between various governmental agencies on maritime policies has highlighted this lack of a continuous policy.

Nonsupport of our merchant marine on the part of the Department of State has been noted in many instances. The State Department can and should work to aid exporters in developing new markets. Diplomacy can do much to remove restrictions blocking currency exchange and trade imposed by foreign governments.

"Has the United States Government subsidized foreign shippers and shipbuilding?"

The Ship Sales Act sold World War II built vessels to American and foreign operators at the same reduced price. Foreign operators purchased nearly 1,100 of these vessels. Thus, the United States subsidized competitors by nearly $2,500,000,000.

Millions of dollars of United States money have gone into the rebuilding of German and Japanese shipyards. From 1946 through 1951, the United States spent $23 million to rehabilitate Japan's merchant fleet. Conservative estimates indicate that $36 million of United States economic aid went into European nations to repair war-damaged shipyards, shipping and fishing industries, between 1948 and 1951 only.

American shipowners had to fight vigorously before they received from Congress a guaranty that 50 percent of United States-financed cargoes be shipped in American bottoms. They had every right to request 100 percent of such cargoes. No other nation is so generous to foreign competition.

"Does a subsidized fleet aid other United States industries and the Nation's economy as a whole?"

A ship operator, by signing a subsidy contract, guarantees the American exporters that there will be ships sailing on a definite schedule to deliver his goods to the world's markets. The ship operator must sail on assigned routes on schedule. He cannot flit about as his competitor can, using ships in a trade which happens to be more lucrative. Undue dependence upon foreign ships renders the American shipper vulnerable to excessive rates and inadequate service when shipping conditions are tight.

Further, a subsidized operator must buy his supplies in the United States. He must have all repairs to vessels made in American yards even though foreign yards are cheaper.

American-flag ships purchased over $100 million worth of food supplies in the United States during 1953. Out of the over $100 million in wages paid to seamen on subsidized vessels each year, approximately $20 million of this is returned in taxes.

"Is it necessary to have tramp ships?"

Over 50 percent of our foreign commerce moves in ships employed in tramp operations, of which 83 percent is carried in foreign tramp vessels. Tramp ships move the bulk commodities: iron ore, coal, wheat, etc., that are so necessary to industry and agriculture. Tramp ships provide the flexible and balanced shipping services that the Military Sea Transportation Service deems essential to national defense. The tramp fleet provides the nucleus merchant fleet to meet immediate military demands in an emergency.

"Should tramp-ship operations be subsidized?"

The tramp-ship operator is faced with the same high cost of labor as the subsidized operator. Industry requires the available ships to carry bulk cargoes to and from wherever it is needed.

Subsidies are, in effect, an adaptation of the tariff system generally available for the well-being of most American industry. Because the shipping industry is international in scope, it is not susceptible to regulation by tariff legislation. Subsidies are the only way to equalize the differential between American and foreign living standards. Therefore, if applied to one segment of the industry, it should be applied to all segments facing the same problems.

"Should the Government require vessel owners to replace their vessels prior to obsolescence so as to avoid block obsolescence of the merchant fleet?"

The Nation's shipyards are not geared now to build a quantity of vessels equal to that which will become obsolete in 10 years. When that period is reached, they will be less able to do so unless given steady work now. By a steady replacement program, planned now and scheduled for years ahead, the shipyards can plan their work. Competent personnel can be trained and retained. Construction costs will remain at a minimum. A modern merchant fleet will be assured.

However, inducements must be offered to the private shipowners to make it advantageous to them to replace their aging vessels. Ship-construction costs have risen since the present vessels were built. These vessels are being depreciated at what is now a below cost figure. New ships will increase capital expenditures and increase over-all costs.

A realistic program can be worked out so that all ships will be replaced in an orderly manner, the reserve fleet up-graded and the shipyards kept busy.

"Is the revival of coastwise and intercoastal shipping vital?"

In World War II better than 50 percent of all war-material tonnage shipped from this Nation was petroleum products. The bulk of the vessels used were those withdrawn from coastwise service. Fuel and gasoline rationing testifies to this condition.

The coastwise cargo vessels supplied the needed bottoms to carry war materials. We do not have this reserve to call on now.

A Government-sponsored revival of coastwise shipping can be started. Industry now is preparing a study on this subject for the Maritime Administration. We urge you to study this report carefully when submitted and take the necessary action.

"Are foreign ships going to be allowed to steal the Great Lakes trade?"

The Great Lakes' ports have witnessed an alarming increase in foreign vessels carrying waterborne export and import cargoes. Due to present restrictions in vessel sizes, the United States does not have vessels that can compete on an economical basis with these small ships. When the St. Lawrence seaway is completed, the influx of foreign vessels will increase. Our present type of ship will not be able to compete even then on an economical basis because the Seaway still will be too shallow. Foreign owners are building now for this trade, we are not.

An essential trade route must be established which includes the lakes ports as an incentive for United States lines to build for this trade.

Accidents are occurring on the lakes at an alarming rate due to the unfamiliarity with lakes regulations by foreign captains. A treaty with Canada should be drawn up that will require qualified pilots on all vessels.

"Is our reserve fleet satisfactory for emergency conditions?"

Ships become obsolete because of age in the same manner as any other equipment. The sight of 2,012 vessels in the reserve fleet give a false feeling of security. Most of them are slow Liberty ships unsuited for present day military logistics. The Maritime Administration is working on methods of improving the Liberty ships plus maintenance of other vessels. However, the reserve fleets must be upgraded continually. Useless ships should be scrapped.

"Has the maritime industry done its share in promoting the merchant marine?"

One Congressman who has supported the merchant marine stated that there are so many divergent opinions within the shipping industry itself that it is a wonder how any fair legislation has been passed. The maritime industry must resolve its differences so that one spokesman gives an overall report of legislative needs.

The shipping industry has overlooked the value of public relations. It spends far less on this item than other comparable industries. The industry is composed of many groups each having divergent views as to what the industry needs. Each is fearful for its own existence. If Congress were more sympathetic to maritime needs, there would be fewer partisan views to confuse Congress.

United States shipping lines have failed to convince industry that it pays to ship in American-flag vessels. Many traffic managers do not realize that it is just as cheap to ship in American-flag vessels as foreign vessels. Only 29 percent of our waterborne export-import trade was carried in United States-flag ships during 1954.

"Has labor a share in the process of building a strong merchant marine?"

The maritime-labor situation must be stabilized. Labor costs represent approximately 60 percent of the total ship-operation cost. In many instances high labor costs are forcing the American-flag ship from the seas. Labor demands must be moderated by the tight competition facing the American shipowner today.

Excessive demands by labor groups on a shipowner confronted with a depressed market will act to the detriment of all. Not only will it reduce the size of the merchant fleet, but will increase the number of trained personnel without work.

Management, labor, and Government must share the responsibilities in achieving maximum efficiency in ship operation and maintaining a strong United States-flag merchant marine. The Nation as a whole has a very large stake in the survival of the American shipping and shipbuilding industry. Therefore, since national interests are paramount, the Government must provide the strong leadership needed. There is no one solution. We hope, Mr. Congressman, that you will give these assorted but related problems the attention they warrant.

Yours very truly,

MARINE ENGINEERING.

Implications of Federal Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the News Leader of Richmond, Va. The article is entitled "This Was the House of Our Fathers: The Implications of Federal Housing."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS WAS THE HOUSE OF OUR FATHERS: THE IMPLICATIONS OF FEDERAL HOUSING

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Not very long ago the manager of a public-housing project in the little town of Hopewell, Va., passed an uncomfortable hour upon the public stage. He had issued a certain regulation, in a spirit of economy and social uplift, by which he proposed to maintain his project efficiently and to lead his tenants to the better life. Toward this end, he ordained that henceforth his charges could keep no pets; he decreed that no light bulb of a greater power than 60 watts could burn; and then he laid down the mandate that no tenant could consume intoxicating liquors in his own living room, or for that matter, in the kitchen or anywhere else.

Now the first of these might have been defended as a reasonable restraint upon one's liberties, for man's noblest friend can be a confounded nuisance; and the second of these might possibly have been defended in the name of economy, although this is doubtful. The tenants soon enough would thoughtfully have screwed in two 60-watt bulbs where a single 100-watt bulb had burned before, and the project's light bill would have soared by a full 20 percent.

But there was no defense for the third edict from the manager's office, as a vigilant press made clear forthwith. Virginia editors nailed the villain to a cross of scorn; local radio commentators took up the cry; a national television program found Hopewell and peered myopically into the project. From time to time we scribes and pundits are a little vague toward infringements upon individual freedom; often we overlook some subtle encroachment of the welfare state. This time we were alert. This time we were keen. A man's freedom to take off his shoes and drink beer was at stake, and this high freedom, though it seems not to have been enunciated with the other 4 or 5 in the fog-shrouded Atlantic, is the sort of freedom one defends to the death. We gave him the works.

The upshot of all this was that the Hopewell Housing Authority nervously rescinded the order, or so much of it as applied to light bulbs and bourbons; the project manager, brooding over the unwillingness of fallen man to be uplifted, went back to collecting his rents; the local press went victoriously on to the basketball games. It was a 2-day story.

But unhappily, it seems to me, the real story was missed, for the Hopewell decree spoke eloquently of the evil abroad in our land; these petty, domineering regulations spoke of statism in terms the ordinary man could comprehend. Talk of governmental controls or warn of infringements upon individual liberty, and the talk and the warning are largely lost. But a 100-watt bulb is a tangible thing, and a can of beer may adorn the humblest home. Here was the hand of the omnipotent state reaching into a citizen's living room, cutting off his lights and corking his bottle; here in Hopewell, in the person of an earnest if misguided Sunday-school teacher, big brother was watching us, and to contemplate the incident was to sense a sudden chill along the spine.

The lesson to be drawn in Hopewell was the lesson that some of us, beating in cheerful futility at our Underwoods, are forever attempting to draw, that governmental controls inevitably must accompany governmental subsidies, that the authority of the state inevitably will be used to curb the liberty of the individual, that as bureaucratic powers are extended, bureaucratic abuses must be extended also. But we do not often find a lesson in a light bulb. Here we did.

The same cold shadow of statism is to be found not merely in one public-housing project in Hopewell, Va., but in 450,000 public-housing units across the country; and not only in public housing, but in housing generally. It is doubtful if 1 person in 10,000 grasps the fantastic magnitude of the Government's operations in the field of housing and mortgage finance, or pauses to consider where current housing acts are taking us.

So-called low-income public housing offers merely the most obvious manifestation of the statist philosophy at work in the field. We have 3 such public-housing projects in my own city; they include 1,200 one-to-four-bedroom apartments, though they are not often called apartments. They are called units. These units are occupied by 1,200 families whose sole discernible qualification for the bounty of the taxpayers is that their incomes, or at least their reportable, discoverable incomes, are not above certain fixed amounts.

A man and wife may apply for admission provided their incomes do not exceed $2,200 a year; a family of 4 is eligible up to $2,400; a family of 5 up to $2,700 a year. Hereabouts the tenants pay rent that may range all the way from $14 a month to $50 a month, depending upon a baffling table of values and factors. So long as they pay up by the sixth of the month and keep their incomes at a deserving sociological level, they are set: Stove and refrigerator furnished, all utilities included in the rent.

In theory, these rentals are supposed to be fixed at a scale one-fifth less than comparable private apartments would command; in practice, we found locally that apartments in the public-housing projects are renting for about half what comparable private property would rent for. Nationally, the American taxpayers put up a subsidy of $63 million a year to close the gap between rental income and project operating costs. Locally, the figure can be pinned down to something more comprehensible: The taxpayers provide $370 a year for each of the 1,200 families in our local projects. For every dollar in rent paid by the tenants, the taxpayer pays $1, too. This is called the taxpayer's contribution to the public-housing program.

The interesting thing is that while low-income public housing is widely recognized and frequently resented (the House of Representatives is forever killing off the public-housing program, only to bow grumpily to the senior wisdom of the Senate), other governmental housing programs continue to expand to the sound of large, approving applause. What so proudly we hail as the boom in private-residential construction is a boom with a faintly hollow sound, for it stems entirely from the proliferate programs of Federal loan insurance.

You do not build a subdivision in America any more without Federal loan insurance; you scarcely build a single house without Federal loan insurance. The first question that is asked of an architect is not if his plan is sound, or if his stresses are properly computed; the first question is whether his design meets the MPR, or to spell out the abbreviation, whether it meets the minimum property requirements of the Federal Housing Administration. Woe betide the builder whose kitchen shelf is 10½ deep instead of 11 inches, or whose closet is 35 inches wide instead of 36. Let us use steel cut nails on the flooring. Let us use steel cut nails, or there will be no insurance; no insurance, no loan; no loan, no house.

The building industry, that citadel of the free-enterprise system, has seen the light; it worships at the shrine of FHA. And strange to say, the builders who wax indignant at public-housing subsidies are marvelously warm to loan insurance. It is plainly wrong for the taxpayer to pay the tenant's rent, but somehow plainly right for the taxpayer to assume the lender's risk.

What does the risk amount to? The Hoover Commission, in its report of March 14, put total loans, guaranties, commitments, and authorizations of all agencies in the housing field at $59 billion. Senator BYRD, in a separate study, has placed the figure at $61 billion. Whatever the accurate figure is, the contingent liability for housing loans alone evidently is now larger than the entire national debt of just 12 years ago.

No one assumes, of course, that all of these loans will suddenly go bad. Although the number of foreclosures is increasing, the number of foreclosures is still exceedingly small. Yet contingently and potentially, ownership of the vast bulk of housing erected in the past 10 years lies in the hands of the Federal Government.

They are far off, those hands, but they are busy hands. They are writing manuals, prescribing specifications, dispatching emissaries, issuing regulations. They are conducting research, they are testing materials, they are defining standards. They are binding and loosing controlling and directing. And many a responsible builder and banker and real-estate man, aware of this pervading influence from on high, admits an occasional uneasiness toward it all. It is faintly humiliating, somehow, for a good craftsman to submit his blueprints to officialdom; it is a bit enfeebling, in a sense, for a prudent lender to qualify his pledge of financial support on approval of Federal loan insurance. The homeowner, ready to sell his property, feels a sense of helplessness when he finds that the responsibility for fixing his price has been taken effectively out of his hands: No GI loan can be insured on property sold at a price higher than the GI appraisal, and the word of the appraiser is decisive.

To be sure, there is present, demonstable good to be found in the housing program. Many families move out of the slums and into a public-housing project, find there a measure of fresh dignity and hope, and then move out of the project as family income increases. In the field of loan insurance, it is doubtless true that Government support has stabilized the money market and opened new and profitable opportunities for builders and lenders. Many a young veteran, buying his house like rent, will make a go of the venture and find a source of pride, an inspiration to personal industry, in the sense of homeownership.

But goods and benefits must be weighed in terms of the price one pays, and the price is to be reckoned in much more than dollar subsidies and Government salaries. We pay for the housing program in terms of responsibilities surrendered and authorities granted; we pay in the extension of Government into the housing business, which is no business of Government; we pay in the abuses of privilege and the corruptions of power; we pay in a fantastic bubble of 40-year loans on small equity or no equity at all; and we pay, almost unknowingly, in the diminishing of those qualities of thrift and personal sacrifice and hard achievement that once

made the purchase of a home a thrilling and prideful milestone for the family.

The loss is not a loss of money. It is a loss calculated in the vitality and integrity of the enterprise system. When the notion takes root that whole groups of citizens have a right to be subsidized in their rent by their brethren, something happens to old standards of family incentive and personal initiative. When builders and bankers alike surrender their responsibilities so that remote taxpayers may hold the risk, there is a weakening of the fiber, a little tarnishing of the spirit.

And when the presence of Government pervades the whole structure, counting the lightbulbs and measuring the shingles, we let down the moat, we open the castle. This was the house of our fathers. Soberly, one raises the question: What have we made of it now?

Indian Winter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, Harold E. Fey, executive editor of the Christian Century, has been making a personal survey of the Indian reservations in the West.

His first article is an interesting report of an objective observer and merits the thoughtful consideration of all Members concerned with legislation affecting the American Indians:

INDIAN WINTER

(First of a series of eyewitness articles on the present situation of the American Indians)

(By Harold E. Fey)

During the past frigid month I have circled the western two-thirds of the United States, visiting the major areas of Indian life and talking with Indians and whites about what the future holds for the 400,000 descendants of the original Americans. Almost without exception, I found Indian leaders full of foreboding. The present attitude of the American people, including that of the people who seek to do the Indians good, worries them. They have long memories. They recall other periods like this one and remember what happened then. The actions of recent Congresses fill them with alarm. When Glenn L. Emmons, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, visited the Northwest on January 21, 1955, the official representatives of the numerous Indian tribes in that area presented him with a written statement. One sentence reads: Indian affairs are in a crisis more acute than any that has faced the Indians at any time."

When it is recalled that this was said by representatives of a people which less than a century ago seemed to be headed for extinction, its gravity is apparent. If not all Indians would attach such urgency to their appraisal of the immediate situation, it is because pressures affecting all Indians have reached their greatest intensity in the resource-rich Northwest. But even in the Southwest, Indian leaders with whom I talked were aware that they will not be spared for very long, and realize that they must make common cause or be overwhelmed. And near the Canadian border a tribal chairman said Indians are preparing to fight with all their might against present trends in Washington, trends which reflect the attitudes of average Americans in all parts of the country. He said that until recently his people believed they would do better just to throw themselves on the mercy of the Government. The results convinced them that the Government has no mercy, that slambang tactics are the right ones even though white men tell them this approach is bad.

HUMAN RELATIONS ARE PRIMARY

It is right that the American people, whose turn toward walking humbly with God has been the subject of so much recent comment, should also do justily and love mercy. Justice and mercy should be exercised in relation to their Indian minority as well as in other relations. No question of human relations involves our spiritual integrity more deeply than this one. At no point does the relation between the "white" and "colored" races more clear pose the issue of social justice. In no situation on this continent could an awakened conscience do so much good, and do it so quickly. The means to correct ancient and recurring wrongs are at hand. It is possible for us to make our actions more nearly consistent with our Christian professions. All we lack is knowledge of a situation that exists here in our own country right under our noses, humility to confess our sins, and the will to repent of them.

It is expedient as well as right that we should move now for justice and help for American Indians. Nearly every day some refugee from Europe or Asia assures us that the United States is the hope of the oppressed people of the world. We could dismiss these statements as self-serving rhetoric except for evidence that these widespread hopes govern the policies of a good share of the governments of the world. Faith and hope in America is a political fact of inescapable significance. Whether we like it or not, whether we are prepared for it or not, history has laid this faith and hope on our shoulders. Our burden of responsibility compels us to ask ourselves: Are we as just, compassionate, careful and wise as we should be to bear this burden with fidelity? The answer to that question depends on the answer to another: Have we achieved at home what we are asked to do abroad?

ONE POLICY NOT TRIED

Honesty requires us to admit that we have largely bungled our relations with the original inhabitants of this continent and their descendants. In more than three centuries of association with this race, we have tried nearly everything. Some of the early European invaders tried enslavement, and that failed. Others tried to divide and rule, and that did not accomplish the desired results. From time to time there have been local attempts at extermination. These did not succeed, although they came closer than we like to think. Then many people, including some missionaries, tried to make the Indian over in our own image, without conspicuous or lasting success. The policy followed by our Government with most persistence has been to isolate the Indian, first in underdeveloped parts of the country, and then on reservations. But that has not worked either.

Since the beginning of this century our Government has spent more than a billion dollars to improve the economic condition of this minority. But the simple materialistic faith that filling stomachs solves all other problems, which seems to underlie our policy toward underdeveloped countries threatened with communism, has not solved the problem of our relations with the Indians. The only policy we have not tried consistently, determinedly and on a large scale is the policy of study of the Indian heritage, respect for the Indian as an individual and for his social groupings as essential to his way of life, and persistent, long-term cooperation on the basis of full Indian understanding and consent toward the realization of a good life for both races in the continental home we occupy together.

Perhaps one reason we shy away from the discipline of understanding Indian attitudes today is that we fear to see ourselves as others see us. We should confront that necessity, in the present situation of the United States in world affairs, and recognize that it applies at home as well as abroad. We should examine the assumptions Indians have concerning American Indian affairs. Such an inquiry will help us do our part to improve relations with the Indians by establishing them on a basis of consent and mutuality. It will also help us understand something of the assumptions which dominate the thinking of people in India, Indonesia, Latin America, and many other places whose destiny is linked with our own. It may even help us understand ourselves better.

In February 1954 the editors of the American Anthropologist worked up a list of the basic assumptions underlying our national approach to what is sometimes inaccurately referred to as the "Indian problem." (The problem is at least two-sided, but we will not discuss that now.) These assumptions were circulated among more than a score of scholars and administrators, who made their comments and corrections. The corrected version was then discussed in a conference held at the University of Chicago on February 24, 1954, and the results appeared in the June issue of the American Anthropologist. Part of the record is a tentative list of Indian assumptions concerning American-Indian affairs. Ruth Hill Useem, who presented these to the conference, did not venture to assert that these assumptions were held by all Indians, but based her statement on what she knows of the Sioux. However, I found them echoed many times among the dozen tribes I visited in a swing from Santa Fe to Tacoma to Bismarck.

WHY DO THEY FEAR?

Mrs. Useem started by observing that "most Indian assumptions are negative, unenthusiastic and fearful—the outlook of a beaten people." Nevertheless the first Indian assumption reveals a certain thoughness. It is that "the Indian in the foreseeable future will remain a series of separate and identifiable groups, despite the fact that some individuals are absorbed into the dominant population." This contrasts sharply with the assumption which the conference found to underlie white American thinking and Government policy: That "assimilation of the American Indian into the normal stream of American life is inevitable," that "Indian tribes and communities will disappear." This fundamental contradiction helps to explain centuries of failure and fustration in Indian-non-Indian relations.

Here the anthropologists side with the Indians. They point out that while there is continuing adaptation of Indian groups to the non-Indian society around them, "forced or coercive assimilation is self-defeating in practice, tending to antagonize and drive underground in the Indian groups those leaders who might develop constructive and cooperative attitudes toward • • • non-Indian society." They believe Indian communities will continue to maintain themselves as cultural islands, of which many already exist in the stream of American society. And plain Americans who are not anthropologists may well ask themselves: Why not? What is so wrong with self-determination that we cannot tolerate the thought that anybody should be different from ourselves, who differ so much from each other?

The second Indian assumption is that "over the years, the Indian can expect no consistency in policies concerning him. No

matter what the policy is today, tomorrow it will be different, even opposite." History sustains this dour opinion. Following the American Revolution, Indians were driven over the Alleghenies and told they might live and hunt there freely. Then President Andrew Jackson headed the movement which pursued them across the Mississippi, where they were told they might roam undisturbed. Then gold was discovered in the Far West, and the reservation system was started so that Indians would not endanger the wagon trains bound for California or Oregon. Next the Government, without consulting its wards, decided to make farmers and stockmen out of them. Beginning in the eighties, it allotted reservation land for individual holdings.

The result was that land in Indian hands shrank from 130 million to 52 million acres in less than 50 years, and Indian population reached the lowest point since long before Columbus. In 1934 the Government reversed itself again and passed the Indian Reorganization Act, which stopped sales of Indian land to non-Indians. Conditions improved for the Indians, although they were still the most disadvantaged group in American life. Then last year came another turn. Congress announced that the policy of the United States was to terminate the responsibilities the Federal Government had assumed in a long series of treaties and agreements written to endure "so long as the grass shall grow and the waters run."

A third Indian assumption is that "the interests of the dominant society will take precedence over the interests of the Indians in any policy decision; Indian interests will be considered only when they coincide [with] or do not contradict white interests." The assumptions of white people are that the Government coddles the Indians, that they receive more consideration than they deserve. But what can we reply to the Three Affiliated Tribes of North Dakota when they ask us to witness what happened to their reservation lands when the white people of that State and of the Missouri valley decided to build Garrison Dam? As usual, the Indians were not consulted by the Congress which in 1944 authorized construction of the dam. Today their reservation is cut into five segments, with all the best land gone and their former homes, schools, and churches inundated. Or what shall we say to the Pimas and Papagos of Arizona, whose irrigation water—assured by solemn agreements supported by acts of Congress, which built dams and impounded water on which Indians held prior claim—is being taken by white farmers? Or to the Klamaths of Oregon or the Menominees of Wisconsin, whose valuable timber resources are in jeopardy?

NOT SO HELPLESS

The fourth Indian assumption is that "the Indian can do little to affect decisions concerning" his own rights, and that "non-Indians who are most sympathetic to Indian interests are individuals who have little power either to make or to influence decisions." These sympathetic but ineffective people conspicuously include churchmen and university people. But two factors contradict this gloomy prognosis. All over the country there is a wholesome beginning of organization by Indians to do just what most Indians assume cannot be done—to affect decisions concerning Indian rights. And today the organizations of people friendly to the Indian have come closer to agreeing on what to do in his defense than ever in the past. These friendly forces include the leadership of Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, which do have considerable power to influence decisions if they choose to exert it.

There can be no doubt that the fifth Indian assumption is correct: "That whatever the policy enacted, the Indians will be told that such policy is in his best interests, or is for his own good." The sixth is much more important: "That the turning over of Indian affairs to the States is inevitable." There are many signs that this is coming. In the beautiful council house at Window Rock, Ariz., I heard an agricultural-extension agent tell the 73 men and 1 woman on the Navaho tribal council what he thought this was going to mean to the 75,000 people in this largest of the Indian tribes in the United States. Faces were tense as he spoke, and prolonged discussion ensued when he had finished. Some spoke in Navaho and others in English, but each language was translated into the other. There was general agreement that there was no way to stop the development and that certain things, which were also laid down by Mrs. Useem, would follow:

"(a) That a State administration is more likely to be hostile to Indians than is the Federal administration. There is more patterned hostility toward Indians locally. (b) That State administrations will be less able to render health and welfare services (e. g., hospital care, relief, rehabilitation). Local State governments have fewer resources to run these programs than have the Federal agencies. (c) The State administrations will be run by persons with whom the Indians are in direct competition for land, tax dollars, services, etc., and therefore, even though they may understand the Indian more, they will be less likely to take Indian interests into account."

A SACRED TRUST

Two other Indian assumptions remain. One is that the stated goals of a policy may be and usually are quite different from the consequences of a policy, and that the goals are usually more favorable to Indians than the consequences. It is possible that this assumption applies to all human purposes, but the Indian finds difficulty in detecting the principle of universality in his particular situation, which makes him especially sensitive to hypocrisy. Finally, he assumes that some type of governmental agency should and will be responsible for Indian affairs, no matter what is said. He knows that Senator MALONE, of Nevada, will continue every year to introduce his perennial bill to abolish the Indian Bureau, but he expects the Bureau to survive in some form. He will continue to berate the Indian Bureau for its failures to come up to his hopes. But in spite of innumerable betrayals, he cannot believe that the people of the United States will finally and irrevocably violate what he regards as a sacred and perpetual trust.

These assumptions help explain the negative, unenthusiastic, fearful mood of our Indian fellow citizens today. It remains to ask to what extent they are justified. Some interesting light was cast on this question by a farmer from Washington State—a fellow passenger on a bus northward bound in California. At a luncheon stop I learned that he had been basking in the sun at Phoenix, but had not seen a large cotton farm run by Indians in that vicinity. He was skeptical about my report concerning the success of the farm, which is managed and operated entirely by Indians. "I haven't heard of an Indian working since I was a boy," he said. "They're no good. When I was young two Indians came and helped us shear sheep and butcher, but they weren't spoiled as they all are today. Now the more you do for them the less they do for themselves. I hear the Government has given the Yakimas $15 million because the Dalles Dam will spoil their fishing rights on the Columbia River. It doesn't make sense. They have the best land in Washington and don't have to pay taxes on it. They just lease it to white farmers and live in idleness. Imagine grown men dressing up in feathers and dancing. Now I'm told they are trying to claim the fishing rights on the whole Yakima River just because the lower river flows through their reservation. What brass. Some Congressman has put in a bill that would make them all leave their reservations and go out and work like other people. It would be a good thing if it passed. We are certainly not getting anywhere the way we are going."

It is not difficult to see the relation between this farmer's mood and the apprehensions of Indians in the United States today. For it happens that the views held by this farmer, with their explosive mixture of truth and error, are politically powerful in Washington and Olympia and other capitals. If they prevail and become the basis of public policy, they will only compound centuries of tragedy and frustration. To keep that from happening and to open the way for a new and mutually rewarding day in the relations between Indians and non-Indians, we must seek a deeper insight. The next article will look into Indian experience with Anglo-Saxon law and customs.

Resolutions of the Free Sons of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith two resolutions passed by the Free Sons of Israel at their recent conference held in New York:

Whereas one line of American policy has depended upon the erroneous assumption that West Germany could be made into becoming a dependable ally of the free world against totalitarianism; and

Whereas it appears from the growth and resurgence of nazism within Germany that she is not effectively interested in adopting an American form of political democracy; and

Whereas in spite of enormous financial and other inducements, there is a great lack of unanimity in Germany of support for any form of political or military alliance with countries of the Western World: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this conference urges upon the Government and the people of the United States, and all right-thinking people of the organizations with which they may be connected, that the Government of this country ought to engage in an immediate reappraisal of any and all policies concerning our relationship with Germany and any and all policies dependent upon any anticipated military or political support from Germany in situations involving conflict between the interests of the free world and the totalitarian governments.

Whereas investigations conducted by an official committee of the United States Senate 4 years ago disclosed that an enormous illicit trade had developed between West Germany and the Iron Curtain areas, in spite of Allied regulations to the contrary:

Whereas current trade statistics show that West Germany has become a major exporter of manufactured articles to countries in the Soviet area of control: Be it

Resolved, That the United States of America immediately exert its authority to forbid the continuation of such trade between West Germany and countries in the Soviet area.

H. R. 4644

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the inadequacy of the bill, H. R. 4644, providing for pay increases relating to postal employees according to my appraisal is insufficient in its provisions. I cannot support this bill, which is said to be the committee's best composite effort, because I am committed to a straight across the board increase of 10 percent. I was, I believe, the first Member of the House to introduce a bill providing for a straight 10-percent across-the-board increase, and I do not like this 6½ or 7½ percent. I thought that this time the committee and the House would go "whole hog" and for once try to come abreast of the pay problem and that it would be done without quibbling or procrastination. Unfortunately, the majority of the committee did not see their way clear to do this.

Many of the committee members felt they must go along with the Eisenhower proposal of 5 percent or a little bit above that figure; others on the committee were browbeaten by the administration to go along with the program under threat of a Presidential veto. As a party man I would not permit the chiefs in my party ever to dictate to me in this instance or in any other. They never have and they never will.

I have no fear about a Presidential veto either. In the first place, I do not think the President will have the courage to attempt to veto this early in the session. I did not think it was smart or courageous when the President waited until Congress went home in the 83d session before he vetoed the previous pay raise. Not having that advantage in this session he will not take the risk of a veto, but even if he should I would be the first one to vote to override it, because the demands of the postal employees and of the Federal employees generally for a 10-percent increase is not, according to my mind, too much, but I would rather have it too much than too little. I joined with my good friends, Senators NEELY and JOHNSTON, and introduced an identical bill in the House, H. R. 2117, for the purpose of eliminating differences and controversy between the two Houses, and thus expediting the earliest possible pay increase law.

As a matter of principle I cannot vote for this bill. I do not believe the House will sustain the passage of the bill under suspension of rules, nor do I believe that the distinguished chairman of the committee should have made such an attempt, because it is obnoxious and offensive for the reason that it bars amendments and does not allow a sufficiency of debate. So on the double score of niggardliness and because the average Member is being denied the privilege of expressing an opinion or offering an amendment for a higher rate of pay, I repeat, Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against the bill. Should the bill be defeated, there will be an opportunity to vote on the Senate bill which provides a retroactive clause at a higher rate of pay, and is in every respect more generous and desirable. If worse comes to worst, any attempt to bottle up the bill to give the President another chance at postadjournment veto can, and I am sure will be circumvented by the initiation of a petition which will blast my companion bill to the Senate Johnston-Neely bill out of committee. That is, of course, a last resort, and I would prefer not to undertake it, but there may be no choice nor any other alternative.

At any rate, I am voting against the Murray bill, H. R. 4644, and am urging my colleagues to do likewise.

Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the bogy of undue Federal control over education if Federal aid for school construction is given is discussed by John K. Norton in the NEA Journal for March 1955. Dr. Norton is head of the department of educational administration, Teachers College, Columbia. He effectively dispels any fears of infringement on traditional American educational policy by the enactment of legislation for Federal aid for school construction.

The complete article follows:

FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION
(By John K. Norton)

Probably the most frequently voiced objection to Federal aid to public education today is that American education is by tradition strictly a State-local function with which the Federal Government should not be concerned.

Is this objection valid? History gives us the answer.

In the ordinance of 1785, 2 years before the Constitution was drafted, the Continental Congress reserved lot No. 16 of every township in the Northwest Territory for the maintenance of public schools. The same action was soon extended to the Southwest.

The ordinance of 1787 set up a clear policy of Federal aid for education, a policy which was subsequently followed by the Federal Government.

The Federal aid provided in the early period of our history was no mean amount. The 175 million acres set aside for school support was the greatest grant for the development of education in all history.

It is a historical fact that the Federal Government played a substantial role in the establishment of our State school systems and in providing for their support.

This decisive action of the national Government in promoting public education was consistent with the viewpoint of our Founding Fathers.

Washington advocated the establishment of a national university. Franklin, Adams, Madison, Jefferson, and many others emphasized the necessity of popular education as a foundation for a free society.

Since 1785 no less than 50 major bills concerning education have been enacted by Congress.

In 1862 Abraham Lincoln signed a bill providing for the establishment of a college of agricultural and mechanical arts in every State. This action, along with the supplementary acts of 1887 and 1914 providing for the experiment stations and the extension service, brought into being a remarkable program of collegiate and adult education. Federal legislation established this program, and Federal aid ever since 1862 has provided for its partial support.

In 1917, Woodrow Wilson signed a bill providing for the establishment and continuing support of a program of vocational education at the secondary level in all States.

Fifty-six major educational activities are now financed by the Federal Government at an annual cost of more than a billion dollars.

Federal interest in education and Federal aid for its promotion are definitely a part of the American tradition. Those who oppose Federal aid for school-building construction on the basis that education is solely a State-local matter are disregarding historical fact.

A second reason given by some people for opposing Federal aid for school buildings is that the need is not great enough to justify Federal assistance.

And yet to correct present housing conditions in the public schools within a 5-year period would require over $5 billion a year. In an 8-year effort, close to $4 billion annual expenditure would be necessary.

Unless decisive action is taken, the classroom shortage will become more acute on the basis of children already born but not yet of school age. The annual enrollment increase will be well over a million a year in the immediate future, and—unless the stork gets wing weary—will continue to rise in the more remote future.

There are children now graduating from the eighth grade who have never attended school except on a part-time basis. More than a million and a half children are attending school in rented churches and garages and other makeshift quarters. Many are crowded into basement rooms, hallways, and obsolete firetraps.

Some people insist that the States can meet the need for school construction solely on their own resources. They say that the United States is merely a summation of the 48 States.

To these people we should say that there is a vast difference between action by each of the 48 States individually and Federal action. For example, industries and other taxpaying entities seeking to dodge their just share of the cost of schools and other public enterprises are able to move from one State to another, bribed by the prospect of a tax-free status. Such maneuvers are not possible when the Federal Government is concerned.

But, say opponents of Federal school aid, the way to meet the need is to slash Federal expenses and thereby make revenue available to States and localities.

This is a disarming argument, but the facts are that in spite of much fanfare about reducing Federal taxation, the cuts made thus far have been relatively small, and estimates indicate that in 1956 the Federal Government expects to collect more revenue than in 1955. Nor is there much promise of substantial future cuts, considering the world situation.

A variety of proposals for action in the States is being made by those who at any price would deny Federal assistance to education.

We are told that the local property tax should be reformed. This is true. But today the local property tax—which falls primarily on homeowners with modest in-

come—is raising more than half of the total public-school bill. Would the opponents of Federal aid burden these taxpayers further?

Then, we are told that more State aid should be raised for education. This is true for some States. However, for the country as a whole, there has been a substantial increase both in the amount and proportion of State aid for education. In 1920, 14 percent of public-school funds came from the States. In 1954–55, the figure is 38 percent. Would that the Federal Government had been similarly responsive to school needs.

The States differ substantially in ability to finance education. Sole reliance on State fiscal capacity promises in the future, as in the past, to result in shocking inequalities of educational opportunity among the States.

We are also told that the States should reorganize their local school districts. This is still true of some States. No State, however, has reduced expenditures by consolidating school districts.

There are two other points that are likely to be raised by those who place money high and children low in their scale of values.

The first is: Why do anything to increase Federal taxes—why not reduce them instead? We can and should afford public expenditures which are clearly essential to the progress and security of the United States. If these can be assured on a reduced tax bill, that will be fine. But if essential services such as education require increased funds, it would be folly not to provide them.

Another objection raised by the opponents of adequate school support is that we are too poor—our economy cannot afford the cost. This objection is perhaps the most unsound of all.

Gross national production exceeds $355 billion a year. Disposable personal income, which is what individuals have to spend after personal tax payments, is at an alltime high. Disposable personal income per capita increased 45 percent in purchasing power between 1939 and 1954. Personal savings, approximating 20 billions a year, far exceed those of any other period.

Beardsley Ruml in a recent report of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools estimates on the basis of reasonable assumptions that: "The gross national product in 1965 can hardly be less than $525 billion."

It is ridiculous to claim that such an economy cannot afford to spend whatever is necessary to house satisfactorily its school children.

Objectors to Federal assistance for school buildings always conjure up the bogeyman of Federal control.

Federal control of education does not result from mysterious forces which creep out of the night. The nature of the educational legislation is the determining factor.

If detailed specifications are contained in educational legislation, if special Federal authorities are created, if Federal agents are given both supervisory authority and discretion to determine how much money each State or locality is to receive, then Federal control of education is foreordained.

But, we have many examples of Federal aid for education which have not resulted in control.

Witness our program of higher education, research, and adult education established by the act of 1862. How many people think of our State land-grant colleges as under Federal control? And yet the Federal Government appropriates about $50 million a year for the support of these institutions and their related activities.

Federal control has been avoided in this and other examples because the legislation did not specify in detail how the States were to use the funds in developing educational undertakings, and did not set up Federal authorities with general supervisory and discretionary fiscal powers.

As a result, the people in the States took charge and went beyond original conceptions as to the educational programs to be developed and the amount of support to be provided from State and local funds.

This experience seems to justify a basic conclusion: Federal aid properly allocated to education in the States strengthens rather than weakens State-local initiative, and this is the surest safeguard against control at the Federal level. Federal control is most likely to result from Federal fiscal starvation of the schools, which so weakens them that eventually the Federal Government feels obliged to take over.

The fear that supplementary Federal aid for such an essential purpose as school buildings will result in loss of local initiative finds little basis in past experience.

Most of the States now have offices in their State departments of education qualified to provide overall leadership in developing local school-building programs. This provides an additional means of resistance to possible Federal domination.

Furthermore, the area of school building is one of the least open to the dangers of Federal control. Even if some control were exercised in this area it would not lead to the capture of public education by the central Government.

In reviewing past experience, we find the considerations and principles which may well govern future Federal-State relations in education.

It should be a cooperative relationship. The Federal Government should promote and financially aid educational activities which are of fundamental national concern. Legislation to bring this about should be the type which inhibits centralized, bureaucratic control, and which places the expenditure of the supplementary Federal aid in the hands of the legal educational authorities of the States and localities.

The allocations to the various States from the Federal appropriation for assistance to school construction should be determined in the legislative act according to an objective formula; and one which anyone who can do arithmetic can calculate.

By these means we could eliminate the school-building shortage in from 5 to 10 years. This would not solve all the problems of education, but it would be a major and desirable step in this direction.

Utilization of Surplus Property

SPEECH
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

May I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts a question: This being a bill that he has introduced and that has the approval of the departments, all of them, is it not a fine example of the complete harmony that prevails here between the Democratic leadership and the Republican administration?

Mr. McCORMACK. I think this is a very excellent illustration of harmony.

H. R. 4644

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was disappointed to again see a postal pay raise voted down by this House. I was firmly of the opinion that H. R. 4644 was the limit to which we could go without inviting a Presidential veto. The employee organizations, led by the national leaders for the clerks and carriers, were, from all indications, extremely active in promoting yesterday's refusal by the House to suspend the rules and pass this 7½ percent postal pay increase. If a better bill emerges as a result of yesterday's defeat, they will have made the right decision. For the good of more than 300,000 clerks and carriers who sadly need a raise, I hope they did.

I cannot help but compare this situation with the one which existed in the closing days of the 83d Congress. If you will remember, the House refused to suspend the rules and pass a 7-percent increase last year. Some will say that the reason for last year's refusal was because a postal rate bill was tied to the pay measure. I am convinced that the same pressure from employee groups which was evident in the Halls yesterday, and the same hope that a better bill would result out of the defeat, was what caused failure of the 7 percent postal pay bill last year. You will remember the statement made by the present majority leader, Mr. McCORMACK, that if the 7-percent bill were defeated under suspension of the rules, the House would have another chance to vote on a pay bill. Mr. McCORMACK'S prediction proved true. We did have another chance to vote on a pay bill, but it was not a better bill. If you will remember, instead of giving the employees 7 percent, it called for a much lower figure of 5 percent. It was overwhelmingly passed, and President Eisenhower vetoed it.

Thus, last year, we saw a 7-percent bill defeated for the purpose of waiting for a better one. What happened was that we passed a bill far less favorable to the employees, and this was vetoed. The employee leaders gambled and lost. They are gambling again. Will they win this time? Let us hope history does not repeat itself, because if it does, the leaders of the postal unions made a very unwise choice yesterday.

In order to avoid a repitition of last year's events I therefore urge both sides of this controversy to cast aside politics and personal feelings. I urge them to earnestly consider the question, "What is the highest possible pay raise which can become law?" When the question is answered, there is no reason why we cannot all join together in a bill which will give much needed relief to our postal employees. Personalities and politics must not enter when the welfare of human beings is being considered.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army: Prime Symbol of Freedom in the Russian Communist Empire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 23, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, students and observers of developments in the Communist empire have for a long time marveled at the patriotic tenacity and national exploits of the Ukrainian insurgent army in its heroic fight against Russian occupation of Ukraine. For 10 years, without any assistance from the free world, it fought the Communist enemy, both militarily and politically.

Since 1952, because of tremendous odds, it has continued its underground, patriotic struggle politically and through various propaganda channels. Periodic reports on its successes still continue to filter through the Iron Curtain. Not so long ago the British veteran soldier, William Piddington, who spent years in the Russian slave labor camps, attributed the widespread strikes in the Vorkuta camps to the Ukrainian underground movement—United Press release, Berlin, July 9, 1954. That such reports amply show the Ukrainian Insurgent Army to be truly in the vanguard of freedom's struggle behind the Iron Curtain, there can be no doubt.

Being intimately familiar with the imposing record of patriotic, national heroism on the part of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, it was my privilege last year to provide the introduction to the fascinating and informative book entitled "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom." This compact and factually packed work has furnished countless Americans with a genuine insight into the liberation struggle of the large Ukrainian nation against the domination of imperialist Moscow.

It is my pleasure now to insert in the RECORD, under leave to extend my remarks, an address on the subject of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, delivered by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown University and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, before the Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in United States of America, at the Hotel Commodore, New York City:

THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY: PRIME SYMBOL OF FREEDOM IN THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST EMPIRE

Anyone who has honestly and objectively reviewed the concrete and tangible evidence provided by the Ukrainian insurgent army in its truly heroic struggle against the tyranny of Moscow-centered communism can arrive at only one conclusion—that the Ukrainian insurgent army is the prime symbol of freedom in the Russian Communist Empire. The imposing record that it has built up in behalf of the forces of freedom behind the Iron Curtain is the object of respect on the part of many leading Lithuanians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Poles, Slovaks, and Hungarians. It is the object of keen interest on the part of numerous West European nations and many leading Americans. Above all, it is a shining tribute to the invincible urge and aspiration of the highly important Ukrainian nation to cast off the yoke of Russian Communist rule for genuine self-government, sovereignty, and independence.

Many notable events and developments over the past 12 years lend themselves to much sober reflection and appraisal of our own political behavior as a nation. It is significant that while the forces of the Ukrainian insurgent army were fighting since 1942 both the German Nazis and Russian Communists, the Western democracies, whether out of necessity or no, were incautiously allied with the totalitarian forces of the Soviet Union which, to add vinegar to salt, were widely publicized by some of our governmental agencies as being essentially democratic. The threat of the Red totalitarian menace had not yet struck home. But those whose national homes had been invaded, pillaged, and ravaged well knew that the struggle for freedom would not cease with the defeat of Nazi Germany and the elimination of its brand of totalitarianism. Those, like yourselves, who joined the ranks of the Ukrainian insurgent army to wage battle against both Russian Communist totalitarianism and the Nazi German type were in every sense of the word in the vanguard of the continued struggle for national and individual freedom. The patriotic sons and daughters of Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Poland, Slovakia, and others who aided and collaborated with the Ukrainian insurgent army, who were inspired by its tremendous truth that the Soviet Union is not and cannot be monolithic, are united in this vanguard of freedom.

In full and essential reality, the glorious Ukrainian insurgent army is the manifest historical projection of the continuous struggle of the large Ukrainian Nation for independence. Its spirit is the spirit of the patriot, the spirit of enlightened nationalism, the spirit that every true, patriotic American can easily recognize, sense, and uphold. Its will is one of natural resistance to a dehumanizing force that through skillful technologic means of systematic genocide is unalterably bent upon the destruction of nations, including our own country. The military battles that it fought during and after World War II, even to the point of necessitating the tripartite agreement among Moscow, Warsaw, and Prague to stamp out its military resistance, are feats of human glory that no historian of the contemporary fight for freedom will be able to ignore. The irresistible force of enlightened nationalism, so brilliantly and heroically crystallized in the unassisted exploits of the Ukrainian insurgent army, cannot be extinguished by the Red empire builders of Moscow. It is the basic force of freedom throughout the world today. It is the natural force that Russian Communist imperialism fears most, and seeks to destroy every form of its evidence, as in the case of the Ukrainian insurgent army. Enlightened nationalism—patriotism for God and country—is the preserver of our own nation. And it should be clearly understood that anyone who deliberately plays down the gallant expressions and evidences of enlightened nationalism in either the free world or in the slave world of the Russian Communist empire deserves to be questioned as to his true loyalty. The freedom of nations is as important as, and oftentimes a prerequisite to, the freedom of persons.

Despite the increasing disclosures of the aboveground and underground operations of the Ukrainian insurgent army in the 1940's, disbelief prevailed in the free world as to its very existence. Much of this was dispelled by the appearance of several of its members in Western Germany in 1947, living proof that under extreme hazards made its way from the depths of the Carpathian forests to convince the skeptical free world of the freedom fight being waged in the very front yard of imperialist Moscow. Still, as you and I know, there were some in this country who continued to disinform the American people as to the existence, no less the performances of the Ukrainian insurgent army. Curiously enough, representing themselves as anti-Communists, they repeated here the denials of Stalin and the Kremlin as to the existence of any such army and its resistance forces in Ukraine and elsewhere. It is this same Russia-first clique in this country, made up of certain Russian emigre writers and politicians, their unwitting American friends, and the most loyal followers of Mr. Kennan, that today argues against any utilization of the powerful centrifugal forces, as represented by the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, for the defeat of Russian communism. By their words and deeds, they appear to be Russia first, in its basic territorial empire and its present power, rather than America first, in its proclaimed universal independence of all nations.

The perseverance and continued existence of the Ukrainian insurgent army, now an underground in political rather than military warfare, is a thorn in the side of Kennanism and its advocates of the myth of peaceful coexistence. Despite the change in the administration of our Government, this breed is still heavily entrenched in the State Department, and influences greatly the foreign policy of our Nation. It would like to see no policy formulated toward the Soviet Union other than the one of status quo. But so long as resistance continues on the part of the Ukrainian insurgent army and on the part of other non-Russian groups in the Soviet Union, the day cannot be long postponed when such a formulation will become necessary. The opportunity and capacity for resistance, as exemplified by the Ukrainian insurgent army, constitute also the basis of justification for a sound policy of liberation which, sooner or later, must come to pass. It it should come to pass too late, it might well fall short of success.

The expansion of national political undergrounds in the Russian Communist empire is in the crucial interest of our Nation. Aid and assistance for such expansion can only be provided through a policy of liberation interpreted solely as a continuous process of political warfare on the terrain of the Russian Communist empire. Given time—the chief commodity they are seeking today with their New Look of peaceful coexistence—the Russian Communists can attain to a superior advantage of position over us, in spite of all of our alliances, in spite of all of our nuclear weapons. Once their empire is consolidated and the sources of national resistance with leadership reduced to a shell, this position will have been formed for aggression with reasonable expectation of success. Present containment facilitates this: the policy of liberation, with its premium on resistance groups, can obstruct this and save nations from destruction.

Lest They Forget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include text of an editorial entitled "Lest They Forget," appearing

in the March 12 issue of the Army Times, relating to a most important spot in Arlington National Cemetery, namely, the Trophy Room. This room is visited by literally thousands of people each year who go to see the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and to visit the graves of loved ones.

It is hope that this room can and will be maintained in proper order and repair so making it a fitting place to hold the collections of those items which mean so much to our American history.

The editorial follows:

LEST THEY FORGET

The Quartermaster Corps of the Army was more than a mite unhappy this week when it was learned that we had taken a series of pictures of the entranceway trophy room at Arlington National Cemetery. We were even more unhappy when we got a look at the pictures.

A spokesman for the Quartermaster Corps told us that the Army had been working for 2 years on the problem of submitting to Congress a proper request for enough money to repair the long-neglected damage. The request—in the amount of $179,000—appears for the first time in the 1956 budget approved in January by President Eisenhower's Budget Bureau but not yet acted upon by the Congress.

Somewhat in conflict with the Army's 2 years of work to get an appropriation request before Congress, Representative PETER RODINO, Democrat, of New Jersey, has charged that maintenance of the building "has been neglected for 7 years."

We know from long experience the difficulty sometimes encountered by Government agencies in their attempts to get repair items approved by the House Appropriations Committee. But we know also that the Army easily could have made satisfactory temporary surface repairs to replace the broken plaster and peeled paint so that the appearance of neglect and unconcern for our No. 1 national war memorial would not appear so obvious.

Relatively speaking, the distressing neglect of the trophy room at the near-sacred memorial, might appear to some as a minor matter. But to us, it is one more example of the official who cares? attitude toward the memory and problems of those who served with our Armed Forces.

We don't know who is to blame and we aren't going to point a finger at anyone. When the Department of the Army is partly responsible for fighting a hot war or streamlining itself to be at the ready throughout a long cold war, a paint and plaster job in a memorial trophy room undoubtedly rates no priority. But we've seen too many nonpriority jobs of less merit done simply as a matter of convenience.

This newspaper has been receiving complaints about the slum-like appearance of the trophy room. We never ignore that type of complaint, but we confess that we didn't believe the appearance of the Arlington Cemetery room could be as bad as it was "painted." Then we saw the actual photos taken by our own cameraman.

Newspaper photographers notoriously are pretty thick-skinned guys (they have to be), but even our Sam Morris was shocked by what he saw and pictured.

The story and pictures about the trophy room—which is a full-page feature on our back page this week—is published not to needle the Army for its neglect, but in the hopes the pictures will be helpful in getting Congress to appropriate without a lot of fuss the funds necessary to make permanent repairs.

We hope it works out that way.

Children in Trouble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent radio address on the subject of juvenile delinquency delivered by Charles Eliot Sands, assistant chief probation officer of the Boston juvenile court, delivered over radio station WVOM on February 4, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADIO ADDRESS BY CHARLES ELIOT SANDS, FEBRUARY 4, 1955; MORGAN MEMORIAL CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS, OVER STATION WVOM, 1600

As a probation officer for some years at the Boston Juvenile Court, I have observed quite a large number of so-called bad boys and their families, over a considerable period. These boys have been individuals, and some of them individualists, no two alike in mental ability, physical power, family upbringing, emotional adjustment, or experiences. However, if we leave out of consideration the children who get into trouble only once, or perhaps twice, and consider only the delinquents who more or less continuously break the law, we find that this group has certain characteristics which I should like to discuss briefly.

The most commonly observed trait and one which I believe to be basic, is that they are unhappy. A fair number have really good mental ability, but they are not really good at anything—in school, in athletics or competitive games, in craftsmanship or in art. In most forms of activity they tend to be mediocre to poor. Physical and mental deficiencies in some cases contribute to this, but not in general. A second contributing cause to this feeling of unhappiness may be the sense of insecurity resulting from discordant and irregular family life. Children need from their families essentially regular attention—warm affection and encouragement, and kindly but firm control and discipline. Children are not mature enough to be permitted to go their own ways; they must be guided and supervised. The parent who neglects his family for the bottle is no worse than the parent who from pressure of affairs or business has so little time to spend with the family, that the children grow up without necessary parental attention. Neglected children are unhappy children whatever may be the cause of the neglect. A third factor sometimes contributing to the delinquents' unhappy state, is the development within him of a feeling of hostility, merited or unmerited, against some member of his family or less unusually, an outsider, a teacher, a policeman, or perhaps a probation officer. The working out of this resentment may take the form of delinquent acts of all sorts, and against people completely different from the original object of the resentment.

The conclusion is forced upon me that a large number of the boys and girls whom we see, misbehave for reasons of prestige or getting attention. They want to be considered as amounting to something by somebody. They don't want to be ignored. They greedily snatch the newspapers to read accounts of their crimes, even though names of juveniles are not printed. One of my most pathetic—and aggravating probationers, only recently is alleged to have remarked when he saw the account of the shooting of the filling station owner north of Boston—"I'll make the headlines yet." It is this desire to be noticed—for standing in the group to which they belong, which is their own undoing. There would be no point in "pulling a job" as they say, unless they told others about it—and that is usually what brings about their arrest. Policemen presenting complaints against children in court frequently begin their statements with: "As a result of a conversation," and continue perhaps, "I went to the home of the defendant who was in bed, but got up and showed me where he had hidden the articles he had stolen from so and so." In very few cases is the culprit able to refrain from bragging about his job; and prosecutions continue to be begun "as a result of a conversation." Among other characteristics frequently met within our delinquent population is an apathetic attitude, a lack of thought for the future, a sense of futility and discouragement, with regard to work involving sustained effort and interest, largely the result of irregular upbringing and lack of parental attention. The necessity of military service has been used by many of these boys as an excuse for not seriously attempting to find a steady employment. Many of them have actually found themselves in the service and acquire the maturity they lacked—in the regular life—duty and opportunity for recognition afforded by the Armed Forces.

Some of the boys are influenced by hero worship. It is not uncommon for one boy to state that if his friend is to be "sent away," he should go too. Recently a bright youngster whom I knew, though he was not on probation, came to the office where my probationers report each week, to inquire about his friend who, already on probation, had got into more serious trouble. He wanted to be committed if his friend was, and to prove his right to be committed recited a list of three breaks in which he had taken part, though no complaints had been made to the police. I subsequently verified that he had been telling the truth.

For those of us who are parents, there is much to be learned from observation of children such as these. First we learn the necessity of spending time with our children, of recognizing their actions by appropriate praise and reprimand as the case may be, of checking on their whereabouts—and their companions, but principally finding the time to be with them. It is important to set and maintain standards of honesty, truthfulness, duty, and consideration for others, to inculcate reverence for the spiritual values and truth which religion has passed on down through the ages. Such a task is difficult enough for both parents working in harmony to accomplish. When one of the parents is missing, or unable or unwilling to perform his duty, the burden on the other is greatly increased. I have the greatest admiration for the valiant efforts being made by those mothers who are handicapped by the loss of the husbands, to bring up their children to be God fearing and law abiding They deserve every help, and our social agencies, Department for the Aid to Dependent Children, the Big Brother and Big Sister organizations, Guidance Centers, the Family Society, Morgan Memorial Goodwill Inn, and many others do a great deal to lighten their load.

In the last analysis courts such as the one I serve, and criminal courts in general, are a measure of our own inadequacy in the bringing up of our children. Courts or similar institutions we shall always have with us, but I find it somewhat shocking to contemplate that general observance of the Golden Rule would render all criminal courts obsolete.

Props Change Emphasis on Kansas Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Chicago Tribune of February 28, 1955:

PROPS CHANGE EMPHASIS ON KANSAS WHEAT—QUANTITY SOUGHT, NOT QUALITY

(By Russell Freeburg)

A change has occurred in the last decade in the varieties of wheat covering the plains of Kansas, the leading wheat producer in the country. Grainmen point to the shift as a prime example of the bad habits encouraged by the Government's price support program for farm commodities.

Kansas wheat production from 1944 through the 1954 harvest each year was based less on quality and more on bigger yields and earlier maturity, Charles Pence, vice president of the Kansas Wheat Improvement Association, said in an interview in Chicago.

NO DEMAND FOR QUALITY

The Government loan program makes no distinction as to quality of wheat. Anything goes if the wheat meets normal grading standards such as cleanliness and moisture content.

Pence said as a result, the production of medium gluten wheat in the State rose from 15.6 percent in 1944 to 70.2 percent last year, while output of strong gluten wheat in the same period fell to 16.7 percent from 52.2.

Gluten is the sticky, tenacious substance which gives adhesiveness to dough. Medium and strong gluten wheats both can be used for bread, wheat's best customer, but the top heavy medium production has caused a shortage of the high quality which wheat bakers prefer and which makes better bread.

Also, some producers have concentrated on growing undesirable baking varieties strictly for the loan program, said Pence. These varieties are cheap to grow.

OFFER TWO EXAMPLES

He gave two counties in the western part of the State, a region long known for premium wheat, as examples.

In Finney County, located in what is considered the heart of the State's premium wheat belt, 49 percent of the wheat sown for the 1954 harvest was of the undesirable varieties, Pence said. In Meade County 58 percent of the 1954 planting was of the undesirable varieties.

The large increase in production of the medium varieties was attributed by Pence to the bigger yields, increased test weights, and earlier maturity they provide. The earlier maturity is advantageous in the annual scramble for storage space, now limited because of the surplus.

EASTERN WHEAT RISE

Pence said there has been an upswing of wheat acreage in eastern Kansas, where feed grains such as corn formerly were raised. The farmers there make more money raising wheat for the Government than in raising feed grains, he said.

The wheat grown in eastern Kansas doesn't make baker's flour, but family flour for which there is little demand, said Pence.

Despite about 500 million bushels of wheat in storage in Kansas, millers in the State have been importing the bread grain from Nebraska and Wyoming, where producers have concentrated more on quality.

Because of the shortage of high quality wheat, the higher prices it has been bringing, and an educational program, Pence thought the harvest in many areas of Kansas this year would show an increase in high quality milling wheat.

Resolution in Commemoration of Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the text of a resolution passed by 1,000 Americans of Lithuanian descent on Sunday, February 13, who were gathered at Webster Hall in New York City, to commemorate the 37th anniversary of Lithuania's independence:

We, Lithuanian Americans, citizens of the city of New York, gathered together upon the occasion of the observance of the 37th anniversary of the declaration of independence by the people of Lithuania, at a commemoration sponsored by the Lithuanian American Council of Greater New York, at Webster Hall, in said city on the 13th day February 1955, duly noting that Lithuania had proclaimed her independence on February 16, 1918, after 120 years of unceasing struggle against foreign domination, which had brought to Lithuania a most brutal enslavement and the prohibition of the Lithuanian language press in violation of the most sacred rights of the Lithuanian people as human beings and as a sovereign nation. Lithuania had played a long and honorable part in the destinies of Europe and had been traditionally blessed with internal liberty and tolerance of religious and political beliefs.

Noting that the same ruthless tyrant returned in 1940 to forcibly enslave Lithuania again, do now and here declare the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union as unlawful, as are the continuing deportations under the guise of volunteer work to unknown and remote regions of the Soviet Union; and

Taking into consideration the Soviet propaganda line of peaceful coexistence and noninterference in internal affairs of sovereign nations, obviously aimed at perpetuating the Communist satellite regimes over the enslaved peoples of Lithuania and other similarly situated nations of Europe and Asia, we do here and now respectfully request the Government of the United States of America to demand in international conferences, to which the Soviet Union be a party:

1. That the Soviet Union live up to its international commitments heretofore solemnized in international treaties of peace and nonaggression concluded between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Lithuania, as well as other states of central and eastern Europe, and the Soviet obligations, as signatory of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter;

2. That the Soviet occupation troops and Soviet administrative personnel be withdrawn from Lithuania and other similarly situated countries;

3. That the Soviet Union return to their homes from the Arctic tundras and Siberian exile, the nationals of those countries;

4. That unless the Soviet Union complies with such demands, that it be declared an aggressor, and be so branded, so long as the Soviet armed forces and Soviet Communist Party officials remain in occupation of those countries; and we do further respectfully request

5. That a new committee to investigate the facts, circumstances, and techniques of Communist aggression be appointed by the 84th Congress in order to continue and complete the work already commenced during the last Congress by the special House committee to investigate the forced seizure of the Baltic States by the Soviets, later called the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression; and we do further respectfully request

6. That the Genocide Convention be immediately ratified by the Senate of the United States, so that Soviet Russia may be declared criminally responsible for the Genocide perpetrated by it in the Baltic States and other countries behind the Iron Curtain; and we do further respectfully request

7. That the Government of the United States do not fall under the illusion of so-called peaceful coexistence, for the Soviet Russian meaning attached to said phrase means consent and a resignation to the enslaved control by the Soviet Union of hundreds of millions of people behind the Iron Curtain and as Abraham Lincoln expressed it so aptly nearly 100 years ago: "America could not endure permanently half slave and half free," and so, too, today the world at large cannot be half slave and half free.

P. J. MONTVILA,
Chairman.
STANLEY J. GUXLAS,
Secretary.

Termination Bill Should Be Revised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in the 83d Congress a concurrent resolution was adopted (H. Con. Res. 108) declaring it to be the sense of Congress that certain Indian tribes be freed from Federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians.

Among the Indian tribes designated for termination were the Klamath Tribe of Oregon and the Flathead Tribe of Montana. The so-called termination bill passed for the Klamaths. Recently the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian published an editorial calling for revision of the Klamath bill. The Glacier Reporter at Browning, Mont., called attention to this editorial and noted its application to the Montana Indians. The comment of the Glacier Reporter and the editorial from the Oregonian follow:

[From the Glacier Reporter of February 25, 1955]

TERMINATION BILL SHOULD BE REVISED

A lucid explanation of the dangers involved in the administration's so-called Indian termination bill appeared in the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian as a lead editorial in the issue of Sunday, February 20, under the caption "Revise the Klamath Bill."

While the editorial had to do particularly with the situation as it would affect the Klamath Reservation in Oregon, it is equally

applicable to all reservations, as the termination bill, with few exceptions, is aimed at all Indian reserves. The editorial is reprinted herewith in full:

"Congress should amend the act (Public Law 587) that sets up a 4-year program for termination of Federal controls on the Klamath Indian Reservation. There are several things wrong with the law, but we will examine herein only one of them, the withdrawal provision.

"Congress provided that after an appraisal of the tribe's wealth any adult member may decide to withdraw and require that property be sold to give him his cash share of the commonly held property. The act provides, further, that heads of family may make this decision for their minors.

"If the reservation is not to be wrecked, Congress must take a realistic view of this matter of withdrawals. Is it the wish of Congress to spoil completely the prospects of the Klamath Indian tribe? As it stands, this provision of the termination bill will do just that. It is pointless to argue that if the Klamaths are ready for termination of Federal controls, they are ready to break up the reservation. They are what they are and it is the United States Government that has made them dependent.

"Should the withdrawal provision be left unchanged, the future of the tribe collectively and of most of its members individually could easily be forecast. There are 2,070 members of whom 1,053 are minors. Of these, one-third, 690, live off the reservation. They will want their money, whether the reservation is continued or not. There is na firm record of how many of the other 1,380 actually live on the reservation, or merely use it as a place to stay between per capita payments. But enough are in this category to raise to about half the tribe those who would immediately demand a lump settlement of their shares of the tribe's property.

"The Klamaths own about 800,000 acres of land on which stand billions of board feet of virgin timber. There are thousands of acres of grazing lands, mineral rights, an irrigation system and good farm land. The reservation is worth more than $40 million by any estimate.

"Each share would be worth upward of $20,000. If 1,000 Indians want out, the tribe must pick out and sell property appraised at $20 million. What would be left when the smoke cleared away? It is doubtful if anything like full value would be realized in a sale—or a closely-spaced series of sales—in such magnitude. The market would be glutted. And the reservation would be spoiled for development as a well-balanced agricultural-forestry unit to support the 1,000 Indians who wanted to stay.

"One or two—or even five—out of every 10 Indians who withdrew might realize something like maximum benefit from receiving a lump sum of $20,000. But it is more likely that at least half of them would wake up with deep, throbbing headaches in a few weeks, their money gone and no reservation to go back to live on.

"Congress should give the tribe some control over liquidation of its assets beyond those flimsy controls in the termination bill. It is doubtful if 1 in 10 of the Indians on the roll is capable of going out to make his way unaided. Every one of them for many years past has grown accustomed to receiving per capita payments of up to $800 a year from sale of tribal timber.

"We have no quarrel with the philosophy of termination of the Indian Bureau's control of the reservation. We support the switch in thinking in the Indian Bureau under the Eisenhower administration, a switch we would describe as a change in view: The American Indian is no longer an anthropological curiosity; he is an American of Indian descent.

"But we doubt that the provisions of Public Law 587 would accomplish the purposes sought. Rather, we believe that it would serve to destroy the good things inherent in the Klamath Reservation system and to perpetuate the bad things. We foresee a time when Klamath county's public welfare lists would be burdened with destitute Indians. The income to be derived from taxing the reservation when it becomes possible to do this would not come near balancing the extra welfare costs that could be created by the uninhibited withdrawal discussed here."

Nixon Sets a Precedent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial written by Mr. George Putman and published in the Salem (Oreg.) Capitol Journal:

NIXON SETS A PRECEDENT

Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON has set a new precedent for his office as an ambassador of good will, in which, according to all reports he has been most successful in creating friendship for the United States in foreign lands.

NIXON and his wife have just returned to report to President Eisenhower from a 7,500-mile friendship mission to Central America and the Caribbean. Before that he made a similar successful trip to the troubled lands of southeast Asia.

NIXON visited 10 republics on his month-long swing. He was warmly received by government officials and the man in the street in Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti.

In each he talked and listened to the heads of state, industrialists, farmers and workingmen. He acted as an unofficial go between to help ease the years-long tensions between Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza and Costa Rican President Jose Figueres.

NIXON wound up his tour with a strong appeal to the countries he visited to form a strong regional coalition to insure their political stability and economic prosperity. Such a Caribbean bloc, he said, would thwart any Communist design to infiltrate the Western Hemisphere through the smaller republics.

The Vice President throughout the long history of the Nation has been a sort of glorified fifth wheel in government, an onlooker whose duties were principally social, and played no part in government, but recently has been permitted to attend Cabinet meetings as observer. His was an emergency office to keep the Government in orderly operation in case of the demise of the President.

The NIXON tour in Asia is admitted, even by Democratic critics as fully important in psychological effect as that to Central America. His cooperation, friendliness, tact, and sociability were appreciated and most effective, and he showed an unusual grasp of their problems, and won him cheering applause.

There is already talk of another such good will NIXON expedition next fall perhaps to the Middle East. Anyway, he has set a fine example as to what a Vice President can do to make himself useful to his Government. The era of stuffed-shirt figureheads, partisan stooges, and fat calves Vice Presidents has, it is hoped, passed away.

G. P.

Youth Aliyah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, when I survey only the cold statistics of Youth Aliyah, 65,000 youths from 72 countries have been brought to Israel in the past 20 years by Youth Aliyah; 45,000 Youth Aliyah graduates have formed 40 new Kibbutzim during this time; 31,000 youths have been trained within the past 5 years; 13,000 are training this year; 500 children are being integrated each month; 235 Youth Aliyah centers educate, house, and prepare young people for life in Israel; 160 of these are agricultural settlements.

I repeat, when I view these cold statistics, there emerge from them 2 figures—one, the youth itself who, by virtue of these statistics, can throw off the shackles of the past to enter into a new life of promise and fulfillment; and the other of the giver whose vision and heart compel him to remember the preciousness and promise of youth. As youth is served, so shall youth serve.

Perhaps no one would blame us if the young ones entered into Israel to take their chances in finding a new way of life, not receiving the proper training; if, hit or miss, they struggled to adjust to the culture of Israel; if, untrained and uneducated, they turned haphazardly in any and all directions to make their way in life. But it was the same foresight, the same intensity of imagination that brought Israel into being that fathered the birth of Youth Aliyah 21 years ago. No country can reckon without its resources, and the youth of the country are the most valuable, the least expendable, the most significant, of a country's resources. How the country will fare ultimately, how a country looks toward peace, toward liberty, toward the welfare of its citizens depends on the quality of its youth.

Youth Aliyah is a dramatic concept, and those who share in its work are participants in a drama as large, as poignant, as significant, as life itself.

Let me illustrate. A few months ago, I returned from a trip to North Africa. Today about half of Youth Aliyah children come from North Africa. French Morocco has a population of 8,500,000. Of this number, roughly 214,000 are Jews. There are two divisions of Moroccan Jews: The Berbers, who live in the southern part of Morocco in the neighborhood of the Atlas Mountains, have been there for centuries—even before the Jews were banished from Spain. It is thought that they are the descendants of the Israelites driven out of Palestine by Joshua. The others are the Sephardim Jews—descendants of those who fled from Torquemada.

The Berber Jews are nomadic and live chiefly in Saharan mountain villages. They are conspicuous by their black cloaks, black skull caps, and round black

hats. They hold steadfastly to the customs and faith of their ancestors.

In addition to these Jews, there are some tribal Jews, a fanatical sect who live deep in the Sahara Desert and in the Atlas Mountains. They are warlike and are a fierce-looking people, and are known as the fighting warrior Jews of Morocco. They are said to be able to trek for hours and hours across the Atlas Mountain ranges with their children strapped across the backs of their women.

There are also some albino Jews residing in the mountain fastnesses along the coast. The, are blind as moles, with yellowish hair, pinkish eyes, and a reddish complexion.

The Sephardic Jews, to a great extent, live in the mellah or ghetto. A mellah is found in every Moroccan city—Casablanca, Rebat, Marakeesh. In the mellah, thousands of Jews have lived and suffered, persecuted for centuries. In the old days, they never ventured forth. To remain within the mellah was their best protection from the onslaughts of the Moors. The Jews have suffered and still suffer injury, misery, and humiliation. They are not even second-class citizens in Morocco. The very word, "mellah," means salt. The Moor Caid, in the old days, were wont to decapitate the "infidel" or "unfaithful," or non-Moor, and place the head upon a pike to be exhibited in the public square. The head, however, was first salted and pickled in vinegar. This was done by the Jewish butcher, and the word "mellah"—salt—was finally applied not only to the place or abode of the Jewish butcher, but to the ghetto where they all lived as well.

Algeria is a part of metropolitan France, and its inhabitants are citizens of France. Under the Cremieux decree, Jews have been citizens of France since 1870, and this includes the Algerian Jews. The protection of Jews in Algeria parallels the period during which France has been in possession. The French have had a protectorate over Morocco only since 1914, but they have been in Algeria since the early part of the 19th century, and in Tunisia since 1870. The longer the French have been in control the greater has been the security of the Jew.

The position of the Jews is strongest in Algeria and weakest in Morocco. There is little or no evidence of any independence movement in Algeria. There was a flareup of Fellaghas or outlaws, who operated in the southern part of Algeria—in the Province of Constantine, as well as in the western part of Tunisia. They seek independence for Tunisia and Algeria. As far as Algeria is concerned, the movement is quite negative.

There are about 140,000 Jews in Algeria, most of whom live in Algiers and are happy and contented. A small number have gone to Israel. The Jews in Algeria have great faith in the French.

Hence, these newcomers from North Africa have had very little, if any, opportunity for education or training. Beds, shoes, forks, books, schools, pajamas—all items which we ourselves take for granted, are alien to them.

I would say that in the main the oriental parents object to the education of the children. Into the sensitive area of familiar relationships. Youth Aliyah steps cautiously and constructively to win over the parents to these new concepts. Youth Aliyah, then, I shall say, is a magnificent act of husbandry, insuring the richest harvest for the future of Israel itself.

Which brings me to thoughts of Israel's future general. Israel today lives in military isolation, through no act, through no fault, through no desire of its own. Inclusion in the Middle East Defense Alliance has been denied her. Shipment of arms is denied her. Export licenses for the purchase of arms from the United States are denied her. Her avowed enemies, the Arab nations, are wooed and soothed by present administration policy. The only answer given to Israel's question is "You have nothing to fear," and all the while the arms are shipped to the hostile Iraqui Government, and all the while the economic boycott of Israel by the Arab nations continues, and all the while the infiltrations, the marauding, the thefts, and the murders continue on Israeli borders, and all the while the Arab nations will take not one little step forward toward peace with its democratic neighbor. "You have nothing to fear," say American policymakers, and yet will make no move to insure the territorial integrity of Israel's borders. What manner of answer is this, as Israel lives daily in a sea of hostility, outnumbered and without powerful friends. Even a child can understand that an equation of arms plus hatred equal disaster. The Arab nations are in possession of arms and are possessed with hatred. Is it, therefore, the conclusion of our policymakers that Israel is expendable? Are our policymakers subject to the blandishments of the Arab nations, who say, "Let mine enemies be thine enemies and we shall be friends"? Is this ever, in all the world's history, the base for any trustworthy friendship?

Let there be economic aid to both the Arabs and Israel. Let there be mutuality in a regional defense alliance based upon an earnest wish for peace. I have repeated again and again in previous statements, and I say it once more, if the United States is to feed the strength of the hostile Arab nations who make no secret of their enmity toward Israel, then surely it is to the very best interests of the United States in avoiding the outbreak of war in the Middle East to preserve likewise, and to feed likewise, the strength of the fledgling democratic State of Israel. Only preservation of balance can best serve the interests of the United States in that area.

Certainly it would be most desirable to keep shipments of arms out of that area. Certainly it would be most desirable that a Middle East defense pact be developed, including Israel. Certainly it would be most desirable for the United States to throw all the weight of its prestige and power in the direction of influencing the Arab nations toward an acknowledgment and acceptance of Israel's existence. But since an affirmative policy has already been set by our State Department toward wooing Arab favor, throwing the scales of equity out of line, then counterpart action should follow to set those scales straight and right. The least, the very least, that the United States can do toward the restoration of balance would be, first, guarantee the integrity of present Israeli borders; and second, remove the military disadvantage of Israel brought on by shipment of arms to Iraq.

I note that the Secretary of State indicated a few days ago at a press conference that the Gaza incident would delay new United States guarantees of Israel's integrity. The Tripartite Declaration of 1950, in which the United States, Britain, and France pledged themselves to avoid an arms race between Israel and her Arab neighbors and to uphold the status quo in the Middle East, it is apparent from Mr. Dulles' statement, has no meaning in law. Now, using the Gaza incident as a further excuse for delay, Mr. Dulles makes no mention of the bitter tensions in that area which led to that incident.

Egypt has been censured 35 times by the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission for its activities on the Gaza frontier. These censures are blandly ignored in a press conference where it is made to appear that the whole burden of guilt rests on Israel. That the Arab nations will not make peace is not of sufficient importance for Mr. Dulles to note this in a press conference. Naturally, Mr. Dulles failed to state anything at all about Egypt's efforts to wreck the Turkey-Iraq Pact. Mr. Dulles knows as well as you and I know that the one, the only answer to the tension of the Middle East is the conclusion of a peace. He knows that sooner or later, in the best interests of the United States, such a peace must be established. He knows as well as you and I that the Arab nations will not make peace, and he knows as well as you and I that the United States will have to bend, ultimately, all its efforts in the direction of making that peace. There is no other answer.

Is it some fanciful wishful thinking that if the United States woos the Arab nations long enough, the Arabs will yield to the pleas for peace? Does he want to believe, as a child believes, that if he shuts his eyes to the unpleasantness the facts themselves will disappear? Does he wish to believe that the Arab nations, once cradled in the security of United States protection, will consent to a peace? If so, what is his estimate of time—a month? a year? 5 years? 10 years? a generation? a lifetime?

In the meantime, the tensions grow, the economy of Israel suffers, the democratic growth of Israel is impeded, the welfare of the Arab peoples themselves, diseased and poverty stricken as they are, is held back, the fires of hostility are fanned—and yet the United States confesses that it waits.

Our policy in the Middle East is at odds with history, is at odds with our own moral principles, and serves only the fitful winds of expediency, and, at that, an expediency that has never been thoroughly thought through nor dared to state toward what end it reaches.

But the people of America will not desert Israel; we see that daily. We see it in the work of all the friends of Israel, and we see it concretely in the work of Youth Aliyah, a work that projects itself into the future and harvests for Israel the potential of youth, its buoyancy, its vitality. Through and with its youth, Israel will endure.

From Where I Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 8, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following words of Rabbi Harry Halpern are well worth reading; they appeared in the Bulletin of the East Midwood Jewish Center, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

FROM WHERE I STAND

The desire to get ahead and to succeed in life is understandable and praiseworthy, but it must be watched very carefully lest it deteriorate and become an overpowering drive which can ruin the highest ideals of life. In intimate relationship with the desire for success stands the love of honor. That we should crave recognition is perfectly natural but that this craving should be satisfied at the cost of riding roughshod over others is both irreligious and inhuman.

If one becomes interested in a cause, we have a right to assume that he is convinced that it is worthwhile. Beyond the satisfaction of knowing that one is helping achieve some great objective, there should be no expectation of any other reward. If honors come they should be regarded as a bonus which one is glad to receive but cannot claim as a right.

It is pathetic to see how often people are offended because their name is not mentioned at a public function or because their names are unintentionally omitted from a program. The fact that their feelings are wounded by such petty things could be overlooked and forgiven if these people did not make the state of their feelings so obvious. One observes these people and is impelled to laugh at their strategy in calling attention to themselves.

Poor, unhappy men and women, who are not content until they are sure you know whose hand they have shaken and which celebrity they can call by a first name. And, if you don't know these facts, they do not hesitate to tell you about them. The important thing is that you must be impressed. These seekers after honor do not realize that they betray their pitiable insecurity and feelings of inferiority by their attitude. They do not understand the words spoken by Emerson, "I cannot hear what you say because what you are speaks so loudly."

When one gazes upon a beautiful stage set, he is impressed by the ingenuity involved in fashioning the sight before our eyes. But if we were to walk behind this scenery and see the struts and the props, the rags and the paint—the materials of which it is made—I am sure that much of our delight in it would vanish. Similarly, the sight of a person who plays an active role in communal affairs is a sight which makes us rejoice. However, as soon as we get behind them and discover the mechanism which impels people to work, our enthusiasm wanes. Wisely did the rabbis of old say that honor eludes him who chases after it, for, if one pursues it, it ceases to be an honor.

The Communist Program—Article by Louis F. Budenz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the students of the International Relations Club of the Mount Marty, S. D., High School, have formed the commendable practice of studying and analyzing current magazine articles dealing with the tricky world situation.

The Mount Harty International Relations Club recently sent me an article entitled "Scaring Us to Death," written by Louis Francis Budenz, and published in the February number of the St. Anthony Messenger, which it felt was outstandingly good, and which it recommended to the consideration of Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCARING US TO DEATH

(By Louis Francis Budenz)

Anyone whose duties compel him to read Communist literature regularly, as mine do, is struck by one current dominant Red note. It is like a tom-tom beat in a jungle, incessantly repeated. Frequently it breaks out in the Daily Worker in words that shriek.

"The H-bomb danger grows!" "Halt the danger of war!" "Stop the atom-maniacs!" runs the refrain.

There is being worked up the same frenzy in regard to fear of war that was brought to a hysterical height by the Soviet fifth column in the "battle against McCarthyism," which paralyzed the American Government so successfully. We Americans are to be made to cringe in our homes, frightened by the possibilities of atomic warfare upon us, in order that our leaders can be persuaded to surrender once more to Soviet demands—this time by again betraying Nationalist China.

Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets, containing the program of the Communist Party have been mailed to non-Communist citizens in many American cities and have even penetrated into small communities. The center of that program is the danger of war. The make-believe picture which it presents can be summed up in this quotation from its pages: "Wall Street has done all in its power to build a worldwide coalition against the Soviet Union. But this coalition is now falling apart. Wall Street has no real allies. Even its present so-called allies cannot deliver on its commitments. The people of the world, including the American people, do not intend to goosestep to the martial music of Wall Street. They are tired of constant war tension, unbearable armament burdens, the threat of atomic devastation, and of both hot and cold wars. They want peace."

United States leadership is presented as aggressive, thirsting for a war, and over against it is depicted the Soviet Union, mighty and invincible but set upon peace.

This description of the present state of affairs is such a caricature that it would be laughable if it were not the basis for such possible tragedy to the American people. The leadership of the Government of this country has been timid, hesitant, constantly weakening before Soviet pressure under the plea that this was the only means by which we could hold "our allies." If we are today uncertain as to who are with us and who are against us, it is because our Government has refused to take a firm stand. It is our planes which are shot down, and all that our Government can do is to send notes which are in effect thrown into the Soviet wastebaskets. This weakness and vacillation was no better indicated than by a brief but important sentence in the statement of Secretary of State Dulles, at the Cabinet session presented over television on October 25.

It was then that Mr. Dulles said, in discussing the Paris agreement to rearm Germany partially, that this agreement was designed "to protect Russia as much as it protects anybody else against the possible resurgence of German militarism." When I heard this statement, I could not believe my ears. Therefore, I turned to the copy of the full transcript of this Cabinet session as presented in U. S. News & World Report of November 5. And the amazing sentence, believe it or not, was there.

Such an attitude indicates the lack of a realization in Washington of the nature or objectives of Soviet communism. It tells us that the Government is still pursuing the policy of "peaceful coexistence," a term invented by Stalin in 1927, to throw dust in the eyes of non-Soviet nations and to aid Soviet world conquest. Our leaders are living in the make-believe world that the German people have on them permanently the mark of the beast, instead of understanding that they can become our greatest and stanchest allies. That they are likely to do so becomes all the more probable since the West Germans can look across the border and observe in East Germany the slavery and degradation to which their fellow countrymen are subjected under Soviet rule.

This Dulles' statement is a concession to Soviet propaganda against German rearmament for our defense. It is more than ironic that our State Department felt the necessity of stating that we must "protect" the Soviet dictatorship from these Germans. Has he forgotten that the Soviet is the very dictatorship that is committed fundamentally to our destruction? I cannot but recall once more that for the Kremlin the present period of history is "the period of world revolution," that is, of Soviet conquest. It is in this period, as Stalin has written in his Foundations of Leninism, that the dictatorship in Soviet Russia is to be used as the base for the overthrow of all other governments.

But this "overthrow" and world conquest are not to be advanced by a direct military attack on the United States by Soviet Russia in the days immediately at hand. The Kremlin knows better than we do our physical strength, our productive capacity, and our pre-eminence in physical science. It was this which caused Stalin to underscore "American efficiency" in his writings and speeches. During World War II, it was "American productive capacity" to which Stalin referred as being the great asset to the Soviet dictatorship in its death struggle with Hitler.

The Kremlin also knows better than we its own weaknesses. These are expressed in the widespread slave labor, the unrest of the people in the satellite regimes, and the labor passport system. Under this last, no "free" worker dare leave his job without the consent of the government bureaucracy. Under such gross conditions of slavery, it is no wonder that the constant plaint in the Soviet press and in the solemn statement by Dictator Malenkov last spring concerns "the lag in production." Slave labor and the machine system do not work together, and slave labor is a weak instrument upon which to rely in time of military conflict.

There is a real H-bomb that the Kremlin has in its possession and to which the Communists do not refer in their feverish efforts to frighten us to death. It is the continued penetration of American public opinion by

the Communist line, making use of the general press, television, and radio as "transmission belts" for that line. It was by this means that the United States was persuaded to agree to its own defeat on occasion after occasion. That was the road followed in our betrayal of China and Poland to Moscow. That is the means which has been employed to win such great Red victories over the American Nation in "the battle against McCarthyism." That is why the titular heads of the Republican and Democratic Parties have now mouthed, along with Winston Churchill, the Stalin-created slogan of "peaceful coexistence." And most tragic of all, it was the Communist influence in our own media of information which led to the policies which lost the war in Korea, a war that we now know could have been won.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we note in the general press many items referring to "the growing strength of Soviet Russia," while at the same time the prospect of durable peace is held out to us if we only continue negotiations with the Kremlin.

It is quite evident that these echoes in the general press of the outcries of the Communists are not dictated by any apprehension that a general war is imminent. They are handed out to us, in order to stampede us into new surrenders to Moscow, this time by a deal with Red China.

Several times during the month of November, the commentator Walter Winchell has warned all America that the State Department is preparing to betray Chiang Kai-shek and to make an arrangement with Mao Tse-tung. On November 9, the well-informed New York Daily News declared editorially: "How about the disquieting rumors again cropping up that the administration is inching around to a sell-out of Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Chinese Government on Formosa?" To which the editorial adds: "Appeasement of Communists never has worked yet. Some of the Eisenhower administration's current moves look alarmingly like appeasement."

The Communists, when writing for themselves and for their own instruction, blandly let us know that these assumptions are correct. Nothing shows the fraudulent character of peaceful coexistence more than the article by William Z. Foster, leader of the Soviet fifth column in this country, on that subject. It appeared in the August issue of Political Affairs, official theoretical organ of the conspiracy in the United States. Falsely holding out peaceful coexistence as the only alternative to a general war, Foster then relates the conditions on which this coexistence can be assured. They tell their own story.

In order that the United States may carry out this coexistence, Foster declares that this Nation must give up all defense preparations, establish such trade relations as will build up the Soviet war machine, encourage Communist-led revolutions in all countries, and abandon NATO and the defense of Europe. Primarily and immediately, this whole chain of events must be set off by the seating of Red China in the United Nations.

Look those conditions over again, and you will come to realize their arrogance and the contempt they indicate for the intelligence of the American people. The whole scheme is quite clear. We shall be persuaded to enter into negotiation after negotiation, first coming to an arrangement with Red China under the name of peace, and then being compelled to go on and on, until the United States has surrendered completely.

There is nothing new about all this. On August 8, 1953, Dictator Malenkov laid down similar conditions, starting off with recognition of Red China, as the sole means whereby there could be "an easing of international tensions." That is simple enough, is it not? The United States can win peace by capitulating, step by step, to Soviet demands—until our Nation is so undermined that Soviet Russia can readily attack and conquer us. If anyone wants a Soviet-controlled America, the path of peaceful coexistence is the way to get it.

As early as May 1, 1952, I wrote in my book, The Cry Is Peace: "In Soviet terminology, the cry for peace is but a cover for expanding war. This has tended to bewilder the American mind. And the bewilderment has increased when the forces of appeasement in our midst have used peace and the averting of general warfare as their excuse for yielding to Soviet aggression. This has prevented us from taking that firm stand which would have halted a foe bent on world domination and only thus opened the road to real peace."

Every experience that we have had since those words were written has confirmed them. It was by the claim that we would bring on a general war if American forces bombed beyond the Yalu that Gen. Douglas MacArthur was forbidden to win the war in Korea. That immediately released the Kremlin's armies in Asia to assault Indochina. Thereupon, in the name of a "durable peace," we were inveigled to go to Geneva, where the European Defense Community was destroyed, France left our side completely, and a new area in Asia was turned over to Red control. That arrangement now makes it possible for Red China to threaten Formosa, with Moscow declaring in the New Times and other international Red sheets, that there will be no more peace until Mao Tse-tung takes over that island.

This method of procedure is quite logical from a Communist viewpoint. To the Kremlin and its followers, the only peace that can ever be established is after the world Soviet dictatorship is set up and then withers away into the earthly paradise, the Communist society. That is why Foster, while urging the comrades to plug for peaceful coexistence, also advises them that both Stalin and Lenin warned that the only way to get rid of the danger of war is to get rid of American imperialism—that is, by overthrowing the American Government.

The contention, which is heard in the most unexpected quarters, as the result of Communist stimulation, that the only alternative to peaceful coexistence is a general war turns out to be the height of folly. The big alternative the United States has is to stand on its own feet, to face Communists squarely by breaking off relations with Soviet Russia and its satellite regimes. That would lead to disturbance in the countries under satellite control, would compel Soviet Russia to retreat, would complicate the Soviet dictatorship's problems, and eventually lead to its collapse. If anyone doubts that, he should sit down some quiet evening with Prof. James Burnham's book, Containment or Liberation, and learn what the ingenuity of America could do if we actually moved politically against Soviet aggression.

Professor Burnham could sum up our peril—that is, our real peril—in a single sentence. It holds even more weight today than when his book was written 2 years ago. And it is this: "If the Communists succeed in consolidating what they have already conquered, then their complete world victory is certain. * * * The simple terrible fact is that if things go on as they now are, if for the time being they merely stabilize, then we have already lost."

Is it any wonder, then, that Moscow and its agents are doing all in their power to throw fear of atomic war and general military conflict into the American mind? They have everything to gain, if they merely succeed in making us stand still. But as things now shape up, they are doing better than that for themselves and for their proposed world Soviet dictatorship.

The worst thing that we can do is to throw up our hands and give up hope. We can yet upset the Soviet plans. To do so, it is necessary that we proceed unafraid, unaffected by the synthetic warnings of the danger of war. We will have to look realities in the face, and understand that to save the United States and the world, it is essential that we give hope to the peoples of the world by cutting off all relations with Soviet Russia and those regimes which it dominates.

We are in a big battle on the home front, to win the American mind to a courageous and intelligent position. In that battle, resolutions in organizations, letters to the press, letters to Senators and Representatives, talks to community groups, are as vital as hand grenades and bullets in military contests. As a result of her trip to Moscow, Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, of Maine, who has hitherto had a quite contrary opinion, added her voice to those who have already urged President Eisenhower to take this step. She now sees no other alternative but to break off relations between Moscow and Washington. If it has to be done—and it does—then it is much better that it be done now.

Pricing Formula

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Manitoba Co-Operator of February 17, 1955:

PRICING FORMULA

A modernized method of formula pricing for the establishment of support prices for agricultural products was submitted to the annual convention of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture at Edmonton the last week of January this year. The recommendations of the policy committee were approved by the board of directors of the CFA and the Government will be asked to include the formula pricing in the Agricultural Prices Support Act.

The pricing formula is unique. It is free from rigidity and suggests a range of 65 percent to 85 percent of the basic price established for a number of agricultural commodities. It differs greatly from the United States parity price formula in that the support price should never become an incentive one. Under normal conditions it offers some measure of guidance over the production of various commodities although crop hazards or exceptionally favorable growing conditions must naturally influence the production picture.

The support price formula recommended by the Canadian Federation of Agriculture appears economically sound. It is tempered by moderation and under conditions that can be considered normal can prove to be a definite insurance to the efficient producer. At the same time it is not intended to sustain the man operating a poor farm or the inefficient operator. The formula is a pattern that can be followed by the Government in its price-support program. It also narrows what might be considered speculation in establishing a support level to a 20-percent range—that is, of 65 percent to 85 percent of the basic price.

This pricing formula is the only one that has ever been submitted for the consideration of the Government of Canada and it has the support of Canada's national farm organization from coast to coast.

A Lesson in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to introduce the following editorial from the Oceanside Daily Blade-Tribune, Oceanside, Calif., of February 28, 1955. This editorial most clearly points out the great difficulty in retaining good men in public office. I believe it is especially timely in view of the recent controversy over the raise in pay for Members of Congress:

A LESSON IN GOVERNMENT

The resignation of John Bemis as Oceanside's mayor is regrettable because the city will lose the services of a man who has won respect for his integrity. The resignation also affords an interesting study in American government.

Here you have a man who had a proud career as a Marine Corps officer, retiring as a general, but who never intended to be a politician, and was certainly not one in any sense that the word usually means. He is not a handshaker, not the hail-fellow-well-met type. He expected to be elected and was elected because he had an honorable career and people respected his education, his background, and his quality of uprightness.

John Bemis probably didn't know, when he ran for office—or if he did know, he didn't fully understand—the manner in which the American public is accustomed to treating its elected servants. For the sum of $25 per month—not enough to pay half the expenses of the banquet and luncheon tickets he had to buy—John Bemis worked at the public business conscientiously and well. He worked all day, and most nights, and he took the decisions that had to be taken, most of them unpopular with one group or another. From the time of his election until he resigned last Friday, very few people ever said to him, "Good job." Nobody ever thanked him for his service to the city. Most people who called him at his home called to swear at him. In the last few months no friend dropped in to see him just to be friendly. Throughout the town he heard the second-hand gossip that some decision he had made or was about to make would put money in his pocket. With a sense of shock that cut deep into his pride he heard himself and his fellow councilmen referred to on the streets as "the gang at city hall."

A few weeks ago John Bemis began to think that he had no friends, and that what he had hoped would be honorable retirement had become a life of calumny. So he quit.

His resignation is not altogther the fault of Oceanside. Americans learn in their schools the respect that is due to public officials, but anyone who knows anything about politics knows that this respect seldom gets communicated to the politician himself. It may be that John Bemis ought to have known. Nevertheless, the abuse which we Americans are inclined to communicate to our public officials has come as a shock to many of them, and some who reach high-office coudn't stand it. It broke Ulysses S. Grant, and it has made an old man early out of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

But to some extent the Bemis resignation is Oceanside's fault. We are a small city and a growing one, and so we subject our public officials to greater scrunity than larger populations do. We are a growing city and not a settled one, and we witness constant fighting and bickering among each other about which road to take, what way to grow. There's nothing wrong in this. What is wrong is that in our arguing and fighting we are inclined to forget that government of the people, whether city, State or Nation requires both governors and governed. We are inclined to forget that if a government is to function, the relationship between the governors and the governed must contain the element of mutual respect.

Effects of Imports of Foreign Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 15, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am including as a part of my remarks a statement made by Robert L. Williams, of Wichita, Kans., representing the Kansas Independent Oil & Gas Association, to the Finance Committee of the United States Senate on March 15, 1955. This statement, in my judgment, represents rather clearly the position of the independent oil and gas industry in Kansas. Excessive imports of crude oil from foreign countries has become a serious problem in the oil-producing industries of our country.

Mr. Williams' statement follows:

I am an independent oil producer of Wichita, Kans., and I submit this statement as a representative of several thousand independent oil producers and small investors in the Kansas crude oil industry who are dependent upon a demand for a sufficient quantity of domestic crude oil production which will permit them to continue their operations and investments on a reasonably profitable basis.

The oil and gas industry is the second ranking industry in Kansas, exceeded in dollar volume only by agriculture. Kansas is the fifth ranking oil-producing State in the Nation—exceeded in daily production only by Texas, California, Louisiana, and Oklahoma. Thus, the future of the Kansas oil industry is important, not only to the State of Kansas, but to the economy and safety of the Nation as a whole.

I wish to recall to your attention the chart submitted in the record to this committee on Friday, March 11, by Mr. Eugene Holman, chairman of the board, Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), which graphically portrays the static position of Kansas oil production for the past 8 years at approximately 100 million barrels per year. This chart does not disclose that national consumption of crude oil has increased more than 40 percent during this same period, nor that unrestricted imports of foreign oil have increased by 140 percent. Obviously, then, our Kansas Proration Department has been unable to increase the allowable rate of crude-oil production in the State during these past several years as imported oil has acquired the market created by the expanding national consumption.

The Kansas per well allowables have already been reduced to an irreducible minimum allowable (barring another complete shutdown similar to October 1953) of 25 barrels daily, which does not permit the small producers and small investors sufficient profit margin to adequate expand their exploratory operations in the search for new oil reserves, nor does it encourage the development of known oil reserves.

If imports of foreign oil are restricted by congressional action, thus eliminating a portion of this unfair competition, Kansas would receive a share of the accumulative increased domestic demand for crude oil over the past several years and also a part of any increase or decrease in future national demand.

The subsequent increased allowable rate for the Kansas wells would then permit the small independent producers to initiate more aggressive exploratory programs which would contribute to the economy of Kansas and make available more of the State's oil resources in peace or war. This would be in the best interests of the national economy and national defense.

Conversely, if imports of foreign oils are not restricted by quotas imposed by Congress, the small independent producers of Kansas, who in the past have discovered the preponderance of new oil fields in the State, will be faced with the danger of ever-increasing imports of foreign oil, and our State's allowable production must necessarily be reduced. Only the major oil companies, particularly the five large importing companies who also produce substantial quantities of oil in our State from oilfields usually discovered by an independent producer, and possibly the larger and stronger independent companies, could well survive such a condition of a further reduction in allowable production. The small producers, who must be relied upon to discover the largest percentage of this Nation's future oil reserves, many of whom are already burdened with financial arrangements that require minimum monthly payments from their crude oil runs, would not be in a healthy position to risk capital in the search for new oilfields or develop their proven fields.

It becomes readily obvious that congressional action in imposing quotas on imports of foreign oils is both desirable and necessary in the interests of the national economy and national defense.

"Lameduck" Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 14, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert an editorial appearing in the Shreveport Journal, Shreveport, La., of March 17, 1955. Civil defense is important to each individual in the country and I take this means of bringing this editorial to the attention of the Congress. The editorial is as follows:

"LAMEDUCK" CIVIL DEFENSE

One week we are told there is only one defense against the hydrogen bomb, and that we must prepare to evacuate the cities and towns within a hundred miles of any prime target area because the fallout will spread out over an area of 7,000 square miles.

The next week we are told to build some sort of underground shelter, right now, and stock it with sufficient food and water to last for 5 or 6 days as the most that any individual citizen can do for his own and his family's protection.

These two conflicting advices were issued by the same man, Federal Civil Defense Ad-

ministrator Val Petersen. At the same time, he announced a nationwide civil-defense test to be held, not right now, the time he was urging individuals to dig their shelters, but next June, 3 months hence. This, though he rightly said, "No man has any way of knowing when an actual attack may come. We hope it may never come. But it may come sooner than later."

This was in testimony before a Senate Armed Services Subcommittee. It was prompted by the appearance before the committee of Gov. Christian A. Herter, of Massachusetts, who told the committee State governments are in the dark as to what should be done to protect their populations in case of an attack.

If the truth be told, so is everyone else in the dark. One reason is that civil defense has been a matter of political patronage from the start. President Truman appointed a lame duck Governor of Florida the first civil-defense administrator. President Eisenhower followed the same political pattern by appointing Petersen, former Governor of Nebraska, to the post.

Civil defense today is part of the military defense of the country. Foreign invaders may come to this land by air for the first time since our independence. The Congress has shown a realistic understanding of the role of civil defense by giving the Armed Services Committee jurisdiction over it. The Executive should be no less realistic. There are enough retired, well-trained and experienced high officers of the Armed Forces to head up and give the country the awareness, discipline, and organization needed for the civil-defense effort necessary for survival in a hydrogen age. They should be in charge now.

Arab Border Attacks Continue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following news item which appeared in the March 4, 1955, issue of the Israel Digest:

ARAB BORDER ATTACKS CONTINUE

JERUSALEM.—Arab attacks against Israel from across the border have continued unabated in the past 2 weeks. Following is a partial list of the incidents:

On February 14 a tractor driver from the settlement of Shamir in the Hule Valley was fired at from across the Syrian border.

On February 14 the settlement of Sh'ar Yashuv in the Hule Valley was attacked by Syrians.

On February 15 a tractor driver from the settlement of Bohan, in central Israel, was attacked by shots fired from across the Israel-Jordan armistice lines.

On February 17 an Israel patrol was attacked north of Duweima in the Negev.

On February 17 an Israel patrol encountered Egyptian marauders north of Nir Izhak in the western Negev. The marauders fled into the Egyptian-controlled Gaza strip.

On February 17 Syrians penetrated into Israel territory and fired at the settlement of Gonen in upper Galilee. The attackers were repulsed. The same day Syrian marauders opened fire at a border patrol in the area. Later in the day the settlement of Gonen was again fired at.

On February 18 an Israel patrol southeast of Duweima in the Negev was attacked by Jordanians. One Israel soldier was wounded.

On February 19 Syrians fired at a boat belonging to the settlement of Gonen in the Hule.

On February 20, Syrians opened fire from across the border at a group of harvesters from the settlement of Gonen.

On February 22, shots were fired from across the Israel-Jordan Armistice Lines at an observation post in Ramat Rahel, a settlement on the outskirts of Jerusalem.

On February 23, Jordanian infiltrators attacked an Israel patrol near Beit Govrin in the south.

On February 24, shots were fired from across the Israel-Jordan Armistice Lines at Magal, a village in the Sharon.

On February 24, Jordanians attacked an Israel patrol east of Beit Nabalia in the Shefela.

On February 25, an Israel cyclist was killed by Arab infiltrators near Rehovot. The next day, an Israel patrol encountered three infiltrators near Yad Mordecai in the south. The infiltrators escaped across the Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip border. Investigations of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization revealed that the footprints of these men matched those found near the man murdered in Rehovot.

On February 25, two police vehicles were attacked by Arab infiltrators south of Yavne, in the Shefela.

On February 27, 3 students—two Israel Arabs and a young Jewish woman from the United States, were kidnaped by members of Jordan's Arab Legion near Beit Tsafafa, south of Jerusalem. They were returned to Israel the next day after having been interrogated by legion officers.

A Positive Approach to Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit an article which appeared in the December 1954 issue of Federal Probation, an official publication of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts in cooperation with the Bureau of Prisons of the Department of Justice. The author is the Reverend John Edward Coogan, S. J., of the University of Detroit, where he is chairman of the department of sociology. Father Coogan is recognized as one of our leading contemporary sociologists who has been most articulate in the field of corrective penology. The article follows:

RELIGION A PREVENTIVE OF DELINQUENCY

(By the Reverend John Edward Coogan, S. J., chairman, department of sociology, University of Detroit)

Only religious faith, perpetually renewed, President Eisenhower has warned us, "is equal to the challenge of today's tyrants."[1] Of the absolute need of religion to control one of the most menacing of those tyrants, the spirit of lawlessness in American youth, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation grimly agrees. Speaking from 30 years' experience in his office, Mr. Hoover declares:

"Invariably when you analyze the reasons for such (criminal) actions, certain facts stand out stark and revealing—the faith of our fathers, the love of God, and the observance of His Commandments have either been thrust aside or they never existed in the heart of the individual transgressor. • • • The secular way of thinking must give way to the spiritual if our Nation is to stand. • • • What we need most in this country are the things unseen—spiritual development, moral power, and charter."[2]

But is even "religious faith," the "faith of our fathers," so urged by our President and Mr. Hoover, "equal to the challenge" of this lawlessness? The casual attention commonly paid to its possibilities by academic criminologists and penologists would not seem to indicate much hope. As Pauline V. Young remarks in her impressive volume, Social Treatment of Probation and Delinquency, "It is significant that little space is devoted to the church and religion by writers on delinquency. • • • Not a single paper is listed under "Church" or "Religion" in the 1947 and 1948 Yearbooks of the National Probation and Parole Association—volumes dedicated to Redirecting the Delinquent and Bulwarks Against Crime.[3] The three subsequently published yearbooks are as silent on religion. The Gluecks include "religion and ethical instruction" among the means that must be used if we are to make much progress in delinquency prevention.[4] Yet they all but ignore the striking evidence (included in their own findings)[5] for such need, preferring to give us a thousand exquisite details of physical measurements in their study of erring youth.[6]

PLACE OF RELIGION IN DELINQUENCY PREVENTION GIVEN LITTLE ATTENTION BY CRIMINOLOGISTS

A more interesting study of the importance of religion for delinquency prevention and control is that proposed and generously financed by the late Richard Clarke Cabot, Harvard professor of social ethics and clinical medicine. We mean the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study,[7] employing 84 investigators in all during a period of 9 years, and resulting in a record of 22,000 single-spaced typewritten pages. The study was meant by Dr. Cabot to test his theory: "In every case of criminal reform known to me, someone has come to know the man in so intimate and friendly a way that he comes to a better understanding of himself and to a truer comprehension of the world he lives in."[8] Could not then—Dr. Cabot asks—such a "sustained ego-ideal for boys in trouble" turn them from delinquency?

Authors of the study are inclined to conclude that Dr. Cabot's theory failed in their test. But he had stipulated that religion be central to the preventive treatment used, a stipulation almost completely ignored during the 9 years of the test. Only a single counselor, Dr. Cabot's personal appointee, followed his directive regarding religious emphasis. Her success was the highlight of the entire experiment. Otherwise, as one boy remarked, "They taught us the names of snakes, what to do in case of fire, how to make a boat, and how not to steal and hop trucks."[9]

EVIDENCE OF REFORMATIVE POWER OF PERSONALIZED RELIGION

In ou surmises as to the importance of religion for delinquency prevention and control, are we left to the reluctant findings of such formal research projects? Has life itself and the reformative efforts of society given us no real evidence on which to go? We think that there are many such examples of the power of personalized religion. To confine myself to a single example with which I have had some special acquaintance, let me point out the worldwide system of

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

the Good Shepherd homes with their reformative efforts for girls and young women. This example is in a sense denominational. But few religious efforts go very far or very deep on any other basis. Moreover, the nobility of the objectives and the absence of denominational barriers among the beneficiaries of the Good Shepherd efforts should win for the efficacy of those efforts a sympathetic scrutiny.

In the work of the Good Shepherd Sisters, the first evidence of the reformative power of religion is shown in its gathering of so many dedicated volunteers pledged for life to its labors. Begun in France in 1835, the order had spread to every continent in the world by the time of the death of its foundress. In 1952 it carried on its work of prevention and correction in 389 houses. In a spirit of religious dedication, its now sainted foundress had proclaimed:

"You will go forth, my daughters, and pitch your tents from one end of the earth to the other. Your zeal must comprise all lands and all peoples. I do not wish any longer to be called French. I am Italian, English, German, Spanish. I am American, African, Indian. Every country is my own where there are souls to be saved."

Today there are nearly 10,000 of these Sisters carrying on their work, largely among young women. Seventy-seven of their institutions are in North America. Essentially the same methods are used everywhere; but let us, in order to be concrete, single out for study one of their homes. Vista Maria is in the midst of a beautiful campus of 87 acres on the outskirts of Detroit. It comprises 10 modern buildings, including 5 student residences, a clinic, school, and auditorium. This impressive institution was built a dozen years ago, largely by general subscription from the entire Detroit community. The interdenominational response was the consequence of an appreciation of the spiritually reformative results achieved during nearly 60 years in Detroit with much less suitable surroundings and facilities.

THE PROGRAM OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD HOME

Admission is by court placement or personal application and is without restriction of race or creed. Religion is the animating and coordinating spirit of the entire project, but religious instruction is obligatory only in accordance with the faith of the participant. Non-Catholic students are under the instruction and attend the services of a minister appointed by the Detroit Council of Churches. Catholic students have classes of religion four times weekly. The formal day begins with chapel services for those who wish to go (two-thirds of the students are there), only the Sunday service—lasting about 1½ hours—being obligatory, and that only for Catholics. Short prayers morning and evening are held in the residence halls, sometimes in common, sometimes alone. Group religious exercises are made interesting and beautiful—music, lights, flowers, artistic vestments, all combining to emphasize that God is Himself both beautiful and good. Reception of the sacraments is always encouraged, but is a personal matter, never of obligation. Habitual confession, available normally once a week, is the preparation.

The importance given sacramental confession in the Good Shepherd scheme makes advisable here a somewhat extended discussion. Tributes to the value of confession for mental and emotional normalcy are today being found on all sides. Thus Pierre Janet, the unbelieving French psychiatrist, has declared: "Regular confession might have been instituted by some mental specialists of genius. * * * Confession acts upon all states of despondency like a healing balm to pacify trouble and quicken dying hopes." [10] The American psychiatrist, Dr. Edward A. Strecker, remarks, too, that while "confession is good for the soul" may be a hackneyed phrase, "it is a very true one. Confession at once decreases and devalues anxiety and tensions. It does this in many way. * * * Frightening, concealed ideas and emotions are robbed of much of their terror by objectifying them in a frame of words. At the same time, confession both lessens and punishes built." [11] The insistence of Alcoholics Anonymous upon the frank and habitual avowal of fault is, of course, well known. Finally, as William James has declared, "For him who confesses, shams are over and realities have begun." If one has not actually gotten rid of his faults, "he at least no longer smears it over with a hypocritical show of virtue—he lives at least upon a basis of veracity." [12]

Such tributes are paid by experienced scientists even to confession as a mere human act. Sacramental confession, sincerely believed in, stands on an essentially higher level. Here the confessor is conceived of as the human instrument of a divine pardon, so that the penitent who acknowledges his faults with regret for the past and a firm determination to make the future worthy, has the conviction that—as Isias put it: "If your sins be as scarlet, they shall be made white as snow." Girls admitted to the Good Shepherd homes are advised, in preparation for the general confession of previous misdeeds, "Look into your hearts, but with cheerful eyes." Even a misspent past has its uses: "We can use all our past in the service of God, even our sins." Moreover, "Whatever my past has been, I can still do my best; and neither God nor man can ask more from me." After such a sacramental confession, the girls are taught to treat the past as dead. They are not to look upon themselves as something unworthy; rather, "In many things we all offend." And as for the future, "There are 40 million reasons for failure but not a single excuse. So, my dears, laugh up to God and try again."

The confessors provided for the girls of the Good Shepherd homes are priests picked for their long experience and sympathetic understanding. They are surprised at nothing and ingenious in finding reason for hope. They know not merely what faults to expect but what are the likely causes and their remedies. Confessions are made as anonymously as the girls may wish, through gratings and a curtain such that not even a kindly eye is the witness of such embarrassment as may be. On the other hand, the penitent may wish from week to week to be guided in her reform of life by the confessor who retains the memory of past difficulties. The past need never be mentioned yet should not be looked upon as a "chamber of horrors" that will not bear a helpful backward glance.

IMPORTANCE OF A CLEAN-CUT CODE OF MORALS

Both in preparation for her first general confession and in her subsequent religious formation, a girl in a Good Shepherd home is given a clean-cut code of morals. It is built up on the foundation of the natural law, the law declared by the Founding Fathers in our Declaration of Independence to be "self-evident"; the law promulgated by the Creator through reason, binding upon all men, and largely summarized in the Ten Commandments. In addition to this code, Good Shepherd girls are given a strong sense of personal worth. They are taught to look upon themselves not as spontaneously generated adolescent female anthropoids, but as divinely created, "a little less than the angels." Loved children of Almighty God, made to "praise, reverence, and serve Him in this life, and to be happy with Him forever in the next." And such virtuous service is to win for them "an hundred-fold, even in this life." They are taught, again in the words of Scripture, that "a holy and modest woman is grace upon grace." And no matter how sordid the past, the sweetly striving girl of today is a thing of beauty. As Lionel Johnson declares:

"Fair though it be, to watch unclose
The nesting glories of a rose,
Depth on rich depth, soft fold on fold:
Though fairer be it, to behold
Stately and sceptral lilies break
To beauty, and to sweetness wake;
Yet fairer still, to see and sing,
One fair thing is one matchless thing:
Youth in its perfect blossoming."

"I CAN DO ALL THINGS IN HIM"

No matter what bad habits the past has known, the girl striving to reform is given complete assurance that "I can do all things in Him who strengthens me." She is taught the fact of free will; that no matter what may be the pressure of temptation arising from abused nature and soiled memory, given full advertence of mind to the evil character of the suggested conduct, she can stand firm in her virtuous resolves. She is convinced, too, that the God who gave us His morality code will give clarity of mind and firmness of will to those who in their crises cry out to Him from prayerful hearts. (Of course all that is the sheerest nonsense to the aprioristic academician who has never made the test; but then, as the Episcopalian Canon Bernard Iddings Bell has declared: "I have heard more astonishing absurdities about Christianity from grave dons in faculty clubs than in any other place where men and women of intelligence meet together." [13]

In addition to this conviction of personal power and divine assistance, the girl is taught to live under the eyes of an ever-present God: "I am never as little alone as when I am alone." She learns that it is not what man thinks of one that counts, but what God thinks; and "I am what I am in the dark." This loving living under the eyes of God urges to aversion from unchastity even in thought. A truly virtuous life, she is taught, cannot tolerate deliberate compromise even about its fringes. "He that contemns trifles shall fall by little and little." And "He that loves danger, shall perish in it." The search for virtue, therefore, is not for the Good Shepherd girl a matter of playing with temptation, followed by a belated suppression of half-fomented desires. It is a determined living in a purer atmosphere, with a gaze deliberately averted from corrupting sights and memories. Of course there may frequently come weaker moments and perhaps deliberate and serious fault. But the firm, clean standards are there and can quickly be returned to.

This concept of a life lived under the eyes of God is quite other than some skeptics have pictured it, showing Him, "spending every moment of His eternity in eavesdropping and spying on immortal man, haunting every bedroom and listening to every obscene story, and equally observant of the murderer with his bloody chopper and the child with its fingers in the jam." The religious concept is that God, because He is by nature infinite, cannot fail to know; but His purposes are benevolent and "His mercies are above all His works." When to the claims of God the Father upon the Good Shepherd girl are added the claims of the Son, the suffering Redeemer, the girl is readily brought to ask, "What shall I give to the Lord for all He has given unto me?" The quick answer is, "Love never says, 'it is enough'."

PRECEPTS ARE SUPPORTED BY EXAMPLE

Those being trained to a better life in the Good Shepherd Homes have held before them, in addition to the life of Christ—

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

"fairest of the sons of men"—His blessed mother. As Christ upon the cross gave her to St. John, saying, "Son, behold thy mother," so these girls are taught she is given as a mother to each of us. They are assured of her continued interest in them and readiness to help at the mere asking. For them, too, the example of St. Mary Magdalen, the sinful woman raised to sainthood because "she has loved much," has its personal lesson. The Good Shepherd girl has only to imitate the Magdalen in her love and devotion to Christ, then all will be eternally well with her.

But it is not only through faith that the girls of the Good Shepherd come to see and believe in supreme virtue. They are surrounded by women who have left home and human aims to give themselves for life to the ennobling of young women misused by the world. Of such consecrated women, even Lecky, the rationalist, was forced to confess: "In the Sisters of Charity the religious orders of Catholicism have produced one of the most perfect of all types of womanhood." [14] From much more intimate experience, Florence Nightingale adds her tribute, begging to be permitted a nun's training in preparation for her own nursing career: "For what training is there compared with that of a Catholic nun? Those ladies who are not Sisters have not the chastened temper, the Christian grace, the accomplished loveliness and energy of the regular nun." [15] At the continued sight of such lives, devoted without recompense to an unceasing service in their behalf, these girls cannot maintain the cynicism that scoffs, "Everybody's got his racket." What wonder that in daily association with such beauty of character the blighted maiden grows to sweet and modest womanhood?

Such, then, is the religious formation of these girls. In other respects their Good Shepherd training is much that of any good girl's boarding school, with the one exception that these girls seldom leave the spacious grounds, and then only for home visits as a reward for good conduct. Academic instruction is given from grades 7 to 12. The graduates have been trained to competence in cosmetology or office work. Music is much used even in school hours, filling minds and memories with haunting, wholesome melodies.

BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL KNOW THEM

All this with what final result? Is conduct improvement notable and firm? The Sisters frequently regret that the average stay with them is only 14 months, often a pitiful little while for lives so badly scarred. But most of the girls are committed by the courts and over their removal the Sisters have no control. These court cases are returned to the court caseworkers to whom they had been assigned and remain under their care until at 19 they pass out of the age group with which we are concerned. A lack of financial resources has made it impossible to maintain individual check on graduates; but many remain in friendly contact with the Sisters, happy to tell of subsequent jobs, marriages, and children. And while no adequate followup can be maintained, there is much testimony from unbiased and professional sources that the resuults are good, indeed.

In preparation for this article a letter was sent to the 27 juvenile courts in the United States making principal use of Good Shepherd homes. The presiding judges were asked whether the homes were a help to them in their efforts; how much, and why—if helpful at all. Of course, their answers would be matters of opinion, but intelligent, informed, reflective opinion. Where is anything better to be had? Despite the fact that the inquiry was made in the heart of the vacation season, there came these following 15 prompt replies. From Marion K. Mathews, probation officer of the Peoria court: "The Sisters and their program have impressed me enormously. * * * In no case have I ever heard any epression but warmth and regard for them from the girls themselves. * * * In the girls I am working with the moral, ethical, and spiritual teaching has made very real inroads and is a positive influence in their behavior."

By Judge John J. Wingrave, of the New Orleans juvenile court, we are told: "* * * In 95 percent of these cases the Sisters are able to work wonders with these girls, because of religious training and general spiritual atmosphere." From the Nashville juvenile court, Judge D. F. Blackman writes: "I have always found the spirit of cooperation and attitude of the institution most pleasing. * * * The convent is a very valuable asset not only to this court but for the State as well." A Helena district judge, Victor H. Fall, reports that the girls he commits are often too far gone to be much impressed; however, "I know of girls of that age who have been affected by, and, of course, helpfully, being brought face to face with active practicing Christianity." From the Cleveland juvenile court, Judge Harry L. Eastman reports: "On the whole, very good work is being done at this school. The influence of the Sisters has been helpful and few girls who have completed their period of training are returned to court."

A Seattle judge of the superior court, William G. Long, is equally impressed: "Every contact with the management impresses me with their earnestness and devotion to the best welfare of the children. * * * Accordingly, I consider the Home of the Good Shepherd one of our most valuable resources for rehabilitation and redemption." The St. Louis juvenile court judge, James F. Nangle, adds his praise: "You may be assured that I cannot praise the good work of the Sisters too highly. Without their help we would find it quite difficult to function in this community." A judge of the circuit court, Kansas City, Mo., Henry A. Riederer, feels he has too recently assumed office to speak with other than an interested citizen's experience of many years; he believes that the sacrifices of the Sisters are a great boon to the communities fortunate enough to have their services.

The Omaha juvenile court, through Judge James T. English, reports: "Our overall experience with the local Good Shepherd Convent has been most satisfactory. * * * Without the facilities offered by the Good Shepherd, the court's work would lose much of its effectiveness." The Portland, Oreg., juvenile court judge, Donald E. Long, says that the convent is "one of our major resources for older adolescent girls having difficulty making an adjustment. Our working relationship with it is very close, and I might add a most happy one." We have two reports from the magistrate's courts of New York City. Judge Abraham M. Block says, "The religious teachings, the warmth and the understanding of the good sisters are a significant contribution to the moral reawakening of many of our girls." And Judge Peter M. Horn: "I have worked with the Sisters for over 14 years. Our record of achievement would not be possible were it not for the cooperation of the sisters. * * * It is my firm conviction that in the planning of training schools of the future, we should encourage their establishment under religious auspices."

The Louisville Juvenile Court uses its Good Shepherd home for difficult placements. Of it Judge Louis H. Juil says: "The results speak eloquently of the good work of the Sisters. * * * To me the success of the Sisters is amazing. I would not take time to argue with one inclined to the contrary view." From Cincinnati Juvenile Court, the chief probation officer, Harold R. Muntz, reports "a most enthusiastic response" from his staff regarding the corrective work of their local home: "* * * There are a few failures and if the Sisters are allowed to retain the girls until adjusted, the results have been most gratifying." Judge George Edwards of the Detroit juvenile courts tells much the same story: "There is no question about the importance of religion in the rehabilitation of wayward children. * * * Vista Maria and Villa Maria have proved excellent answers for the future of many wayward girls sent there by this court whose lives otherwise would have continued in a criminal and immoral pattern."

We have kept to the last the response of Philip B. Gilliam of Denver, given as president of the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, with 17 years of judicial experience:

"In my opinion the Home of the Good Shepherd has been a great assistance to the juvenile court * * * the guidance given to the young girls is excellent. I am not of the Catholic faith and you may be assured that this is a strictly unbiased report. Many girls have written me thanking me for placing them in the care of the convent. * * * Frankly, I would be at a loss if I did not have the convent to help solve these more difficult problems."

Not content with that testimony, Judge Gilliam has sent the enthusiastic comments of a Mormon girl from Utah, at 14 years of age guilty of long distant and repeated flights from home, and of parental defiance. The following is from her story.

"My probation officer had previously recommended delinquent girls to the Home of the Good Shepherd and many of them had come back with outstanding qualities in their character makeup toward becoming good citizens. * * * My mother was greatly impressed since she thought the one principle I needed was religion and it was definite that I was in need of a change in environment. She knew, too, that the thought and practice of religion were almost completely absent within our home as a result of long years of negligence. It was decided I be sent to the Good Shepherd Home in Denver. * * *

"The warm welcome from the first Sisters I ever met deeply impressed me, and it was something I will never forget. On the third day of my arrival I was placed with the girls some of whom were not very sociable. Because of this I frequently kept to myself and was absent from recreation. I occupied my spare time reading. Because I was homesick and repenting for my previous occasions of wrong-doing, I found a great deal of comfort in reading religious literature, and novels. This was certainly to my advantage, for I learned a great deal of what religion was and what it meant. * * *

"The wonderful sisters took great interest in my ambitions and tried to accommodate me in every way, and I am deeply grateful for their kindness. I, too, tried to help the sisters in every possible way; although I did little, I always felt happy for what I could do, and I felt I received ample grace for my generosity in helping them do God's work.

"The letters I wrote to my family were always on the spiritual order. I found so much happiness in learning to know and love God that I wanted my family to share a little of the joy I possessed.

"In my senior year I made the final decision of wanting to be a registered nurse. At this time I also received the $25 war bond from the Honorable Philip Gilliam as the most outstanding student of our graduating class.

"I feel that my progress has been largely due to the religious environment in the Home of the Good Shepherd, and has contributed greatly toward the development of my character. It has also played an important part in regards to my outlook on life—namely, the spiritual side."

Footnotes at end of speech.

To sum up: In our use of the Good Shepherd homes as examples of the delinquency-preventive and corrective force of religion we have shown religion as the force that attracted and welded together the 10,000 dedicated women who are giving their lives to this work in the Good Shepherd Order around the world. We have shown religion, too, as the force that inspired the donors of funds for the erection of their institutions. We have finally shown religion as the means and final end of the retraining of each problem girl. Our testimony has been to the power of religion as religion, the "spirit of reverence of the individual for Almighty God." Thus our claim for religion is something quite other than the concession of the secularist to the reformative powers of religion acting as a mere welfare institution maintaining asceptic swimming pools, character-building rumpus rooms, and dairy bars. Religion can and should use such things. But religion has its own unique contribution to make over and beyond.

CAN SECULAR METHODS (OR SECULARISM) SUCCEED IN DELINQUENCY PREVENTION?

But, we are asked, aren't such results of delinquency prevention possible from secular methods? From methods consistent with the naturalistic concept of man as a product of blind materialistic evolution from a life cell spontaneously generated on the shore of a Paleozoic sea at low tide, from sun-kissed slime? In reply it should be remembered, as Reinhold Niebuhr has well said, that secularized morality "lives parasitically upon the religious convictions of the past." [16] What, in fact, is morality in a frankly secularized social order? Dr. Millard S. Everett, of the University of Minnesota, makes bold to give us his manmade earthbound sex code:

"Any desire whether powerful or weak, or any end whether chief or small, may with perfect morality be realized, and should be realized, providing it does not interfere with the realization of other desires to the extent of reducing the sum total of human satisfaction." [17]

And Dr. Donald Taft, of the University of Illinois, is somewhat more specific in his description of what—with no word of approval—he conceives to be the current sex code of the secularized college campus:

1. Though "necking" is permissible and even advocated, it should stop short of actual intercourse.

"2. "Heavy necking" should be confined to a couple who are "going steady." Though generally excluding intercourse this implies:

"3. A sort of temporary monogamy.

"4. Married couples should ideally be true to each other." [18]

No wonder Dr. Kinsey has found so many hard-eyed coeds who count the day lost that has not known its orgasm. Such casual campus queens would be quarantined from the honest unwed mothers of a Good Shepherd home.

The embarrassment of the consistent secularist in his work of developing character even among nondelinquents is clear from probably the outstanding plan of the kind, the Children's Morality Code inculcated through the Iowa plan, both projects of the Character Education Institution, Washington, D. C. The authors were faced with the task of developing character within a framework which could allow no reference to God, to religion, to spiritual soul, or free will. The motive for morality should be "to be a good American." The ultimate urge to morality lay in "the earth life in which we live and move and have our being." The person is morally safe, we are assured, "who has reverence within his inner parts." (What are the inner parts of a mere anthropoid, we are not told.) Characteristically vague, too, and at most half true, are such generalizations as, "Admiration for comely objects is schooling in the highest act of worship." (Flo Ziegfeld with his Follies built better than he knew.)

But whatever the merits of the secular scheme, its possibilities are all available to the religious. Religious character training gives point and spirit and compelling motive to the finest product of secularism. With some chosen spirits, as George Washington has said, secular motivation may perhaps suffice; but "reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." With the added wisdom of a century and a half of national experience, President Eisenhower reminds us again of that truth: "Only religious faith, perpetually renewed, is equal to the challenge of today's tyrants."

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] America, September 27, 1952, p. 616 ff.
[2] Brooklyn Tablet, May 15, 1954, p. 3.
[3] New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952, p. 445.
[4] Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, Cambridge; The Commonwealth Fund, 1950, p. 287.
[5] Ibid., p. 166.
[6] Ibid., pp. 183–197.
[7] Edwin Powers and Helen Witmer, An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency, New York; Columbia University Press, 1951.
[8] Ibid., p. vi.
[9] Ibid., p. 154.
[10] Raphael McCarthy, Safeguarding Mental Health. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1937, p. 254n.
[11] Basic Psychiatry. New York: Random House, 1952, p. 349.
[12] Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 462.
[13] Atlantic Monthly, October 1938, p. 511.
[14] History of European Morals, vol. II, chapter V, p. 370.
[15] James J. Walsh, the History of Nursing, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1929, p. 224.
[16] Contributions of Religion to Social Work. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, p. 37 ff.
[17] The Need for Birth Control. New York: Vanguard Press, 1938, p. 17.
[18] Criminology (rev. ed.). New York: Macmillan Co., 1950, p. 280.

The California Avocado Crop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to advise that I have just received a report from the avocado growers of my congressional district in southern California, which indicates that this year's crop is reaching an all-time high in production. Ten to twelve carloads are being shipped to all parts of the United States each day. Prices are now 25 percent lower than last year's crops, and the quality is of the best. The avocado is appreciated not only for its wonderful flavor but for its practicability and high protein content. For economy and value, I am urging that Government agencies give consideration to purchasing avocados while they are so plentiful.

St. Patrick's Day Address by Judge Leonard P. Walsh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Leonard P. Walsh, chief judge, municipal court for the District of Columbia, March 17, 1955, before the Ancient Order of Hibernians:

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle, Your Excellency Bishop McNamara, Right Reverend and Very Reverend Monsignori, Reverend Fathers, the Honorable Oren Harris, of Arkansas, and his learned colleagues, distinguished guests, members of the Ladies' Auxiliary and of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and friends, it is a signal honor to be invited by the Ancient Order of Hibernians to say a few words on this anniversary of the death of the patron saint of Ireland. St. Patrick's Day is a traditional occasion in America when everyone becomes Irish.

Would that I had the eloquent accent of a Robert Emmett or of a Daniel O'Connell to bring to you some new expression or new description of a day set aside in the hearts of the Irish.

St. Patrick's Day is synonomous with laughter, gaiety, and a common expression of an inward feeling for a land that most of us have never seen, but which gave birth to those closer than all others in the world—our own mothers and fathers.

At a tender and impressionable age we came to know and love that land, its habits, traditions and history, from a most authoritative source—the oral recitations of our parents. Undoubtedly many of the sorrows and painful experiences of an oppressed and poverty ridden people were described through eyes and recollections that dimmed the sadness and enhanced the gladness of their recollection. For no land could be as beautiful as painted by them.

And so it is that we are gathered here tonight as representatives of an ancient order—an order that reaches back through the centuries to an early period when the Knights of the Golden Charm and the Bardic Order gathered around the ancient kings. Their basic concepts of social ideals were expressed in patriotism to Ireland.

As we know, the order itself was part and parcel of the ancient island, and was in existence and receptive to the presence and the teaching of the patron saint. The Ancient Hibernian Order of Knighthood was consecrated by the early Christian priesthood. The form was enriched with religious ceremonies, and its close alliance with the mother church has continued to the present day.

OUR MODERN DAY

As we know, because of political oppression and religious persecution many of the Irish scattered abroad—not only to America, but to Spain, to France, to Austria.

The Sons of Erin—loyal sons of the mother church—joined together in the modern order with the basic concept of pledging friendship, unity, and true Christian charity. The ancient order was transferred to our friendly shores in 1836. The charter is clear and expresses the basic concept better than any other words:

"You must love, without dissimulation, hating evil, cleaving to the good. Love one

another with brotherly love—let the love of brotherhood abide in you, and forget not hospitality to your emigrant brother that may land on your shores, and we advise you, above all things, have natural charity among yourselves."

In 1838 our society became known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and since that time its members have remained steadfast in loyal service to the King of Kings.

The ladies auxiliary is not the least of this order and has in the past and is at present the heart of our organization. The auxiliary in the District has been paid great honor by having among its members, Miss Lillian Fay, a national president. We pay our respect to the ladies of our order and to their patronnesses, the Holy Mother and St. Bridget.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians is this year signally honored by having as its national president that fine man who bears the name Michael Dowd, whose only interest in life is to be helpful to other people. We are proud of his accomplishments and success.

But, why do we cling to the memories, and why are we so proud of a land that is so small, so lacking in world importance, with no wordly goods, no great place in the seat of nations, no great political influence?

We are proud, and we are gathered here tonight, because the people of that land have ideals of liberty and freedom that predominate and persevere. They are God-given ideals and are kept alive by families from one end to the other of our land. There is no division in these ideals, they merge one into the other, they go to make up an entity. These ideals of liberty and freedom are best exemplified in

1. Love of God and the Holy Mother the Church.
2. Love of home and family.
3. Love of country.

Tonight we pay tribute to that land's patron saint. St. Patrick took with him into Ireland, and handed to posterity, two great and related ideas, faith and freedom.

We know St. Patrick was born in what is now Wales, late in the fourth century, the son of a Christian deacon. At the age of 16 he was captured by pagans and taken to Ireland as a slave, and tended swine. After 6 years of slavery, he escaped to England and then went to France and studied in a monastery and was ordained. About 432 A. D. he returned as a missionary to Ireland. While studying for the priesthood he received the call for his missionary work, to return to the land of his captivity.

St. Patrick's time was an era of confusion. The Roman Empire was disintegrating and with it the political structure of the civilized world. Britain was no longer protected by Roman troops and was invaded by pirates. There was fear and uncertainty where once had been the order of the Roman Empire.

It should be remembered that Ireland was not a part of the Roman Empire; it was beond the limits of the Roman order and civilization. St. Patrick returned to the land which had held him a captive, where there were few Christians, and no ordered society existing.

As an apostle of the Christian faith, St. Patrick made Ireland dominantly Christian, and for the next 700 years Ireland was a center of learning, and a center of missionary activity. From Ireland went missionaries to Scotland, to northern and central Europe, and to all parts of the world.

As an apostle of freedom, St. Patrick, the former slave, endeavored to make people free. He inspired the people of Ireland to live under laws and to purify the literature in their schools. St. Patrick loved the Irish character and he sought to save their ancient language and literature and to reconcile them with Christian character. He enabled the Irish folk to throw off their ancient pagan beliefs and to establish a national life and government according to Christian principles, and instilled in them an ideal of freedom and good government based upon a spirit of justice and enlightenment for which the Irish have fought and died throughout the past 15 centuries.

The Irish have carried on the fight for their ideals of liberty and freedom in a bold imaginative manner. Their humor, wit, and fighting qualities have always been used to accomplish these fundamental ideals.

This heritage has been handed down through the heroes of other days—Cormac, Finn and Brian Boru, Tyrone, Red Hugh, Hugh O'Neil, Robert Emmett, O'Connell, Parnell, Collins, our own Barry—and untold thousands of leaders in our own land up to the present day.

That ideal has spread throughout the Western World and to America. It is not necessary to note that the Irish were numerous in the colonization of America and brought with them ideals of freedom—of religion, speech, and assembly. There were Irish among the pioneers of American liberty and they have remained vigorous defenders of the rights and liberties of the common man. They brought with them and have maintained a loyalty to ancient spiritual sanctions and a strain of poetic tenderness in the American life.

As we all know, the Irish have made outstanding contributions to the American scene and history—as signers of the Declaration of Independence; Members of the Continental Congress; soldiers under George Washington; in the settlement of the West; in religion, professions, industry, politics, and government; and in our culture, entertainment, humor, and sports.

Just to deviate a moment, let us reflect on one of the great institutions of learning and its history. Even the lineup of the Norwegian-started "fighting Irish of Notre Dame" lists 1 or 2 Irish names.

We Americans of Irish descent, with our inheritance of faith and love of freedom in all things, must carry on in the tradition of St. Patrick and his followers against the evils of the present day, at home and in the world. We must keep alive those God-given qualities of love of God, the Holy Mother the church, love of home and family, and love of country.

The sons of Erin are well equipped in personal qualities to carry on as leaders in any and all fields—warmth and enthusiasm; a sense of humor, no matter how great the adversities of life; a fear of God; the ideal of family life, with the mother as the personification of the Christian virtues inspiring the entire family to purity, integrity, and unity. With these, we cannot fail. We are citizens of the country that is the fairest flower in God's great garden and we must preserve our ideals and history.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

Meeting the Communist Menace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Meeting the Communist Menace," delivered by Hon. Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, before the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, in Boston, Mass., on March 21, 1955. The address is a fine exposition of what his Department and the Government are doing with relation to that problem.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEETING THE COMMUNIST MENACE

(Address by Hon. Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, before the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, Boston, Mass., on March 21, 1955)

Nearly a year ago, at President Eisenhower's request, I reported to the American people on the threat of Communist infiltration here at home and what the Federal Government is doing about it. I said that the menace of communism was very real; that it would be foolhardy to minimize the dangers it posed; that we should not have exaggerated fears of those dangers; that our Government was well aware of them and was meeting them in an orderly and effective way.

We have made a great deal of progress in the past year—progress which I shall outline to you today along with new problems which have arisen. But it is clear from the intelligence information provided to me by the FBI that we cannot lower our guard. We cannot relax our vigilance. The dangers—even many of the same problems—still exist, because of the very nature of the Communist conspiracy. It is a worldwide plot, directed by scheming, ruthless men who would bend the whole world to their selfish will. They cannot rest, they cannot succeed, until they have enslaved all the world. When repulsed in one area, they try another. When one plot is exposed, they hatch another.

The hard core of Communists in this country are cast in the same mold. They are willing to devote their lives to destroying in this country the very freedoms which allow them to speak and write and act.

The Communist Party, U. S. A., is like an iceberg. Only a small part can be seen, but the bulk is beneath the surface. The exposed part of the Communist conspiracy in this country is shrinking but there continues to be much activity beneath the surface. The members of the Communist Party resort to secret meeting places, secret schools, even secret symbols or numbers in place of names. They use an Aesopian language in describing their aims and functions, an admittedly protective form of expression which most of us consider just plain doubletalk.

The Communist Party line has not varied much in the past year. The Communists still use any available issue or incident to vilify the United States and glorify the Soviet Union. They oppose rearming West Germany; they advocate admission of Red China to the United Nations. At home, they seek repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954. They advocate merger of Communist-dominated unions with others affiliated with the CIO or A. F. of L. Stress is laid on infiltrating non-Communist groups to advance Communist objectives, on penetrating basic industries and on recruiting members, particularly Negroes, youths, and industrial workers. They have attempted to step up Red propaganda. Last fall, for example, they distributed more than half a million copies of a pamphlet carrying the party program. That pamphlet was entitled innocently enough. It was called the American Way to Jobs, Peace, and Democracy.

But I can report to you that the Communists are having their troubles, too. They are not having much luck recruiting, or even maintaining their membership. We know their fund-raising drives are falling short. They are hard pressed to keep an active leadership intact and functioning in the face of Government actions. They have set up their own internal security apparatus to offset infiltration by the FBI. That apparatus has not only been ineffectual, it has spread fear and distrust within Communist ranks, and created disorder in party communications. The party's schooling program is dwindling. Its largest school, the Jefferson School of Social Science in New Yorfi, has been disrupted by the Subversive Activities Control Board hearings. These have resulted in a recommendation the school be required to register as a Communist front.

The SACB hearing examiner held that the school was established by the Communists to teach both Communist ideas and work. The school trustees have been trusted party members. The Communist organization supplied funds to run the school and provided quotas of students. Instruction ranged from Marxist theory to such more practical subjects as recruiting party members.

Similarly, proceedings brought before the Board of the Department of Justice against the Labor Youth League has hampered Communist efforts to recruit members and spread hate propaganda among our youth. After other lengthy hearings, the Board has ordered the Labor Youth League to register with the Attorney General as a Communist front, so the public may know its officers, its financial support, and the objects to which its resources are devoted.

Evidence shows that the Labor Youth League has never deviated from the Communist Party line. It can't, because it has been supported financially and otherwise by the Communist Party; persons who directed and led youth activities of the party became the leaders and officers of the league. The evidence showed that these persons were subject to Communist discipline and that the league personnel and funds have been devoted consistently to furthering the aims of the Communist Party.

Meanwhile, we have continued to strike at the Communist conspirators with a number of other legal weapons. Another 250 subversive aliens have been deported or ordered deported since last April 9. Six persons have been convicted of lying to the Government about their Communist affiliations and another six indicted for the same offense. Four persons were convicted of harboring fugitive Communist Party leader Robert Thompson, who was himself jailed with an extra penalty for jumping bond.

The Smith Act, which makes it a crime to advocate the violent overthrow of the Government, remains a most effective legal weapon to strike at the leadership. Nine party leaders and organizers were convicted at Philadelphia and five others at St. Louis in the past year. Seven were indicted at Denver, eight at New Haven, and eleven in Puerto Rico. Four leaders have been apprehended on indictments under the membership count of the Smith Act. One of these four has become the first person to be convicted for membership in the party, knowing that its aim was overthrow of the Government. He was Claude Lightfoot, of Chicago.

Lightfoot, as our evidence showed, was a member and leader of the Communist Party for 20 years. In recent years he had joined other leaders in the party underground. He was indicted last May 14, apprehended by vigilant agents of the FBI in June, tried and convicted in January, and sentenced in February to 5 years in jail. At his trial, his own counsel conceded that Lightfoot was a member of the party; conceded that Lightfoot had held offices ranging from local organizer to alternate member of the national committee, the Communists' highest governing body. He conceded that Lightfoot understands communism and has taught its meanings in classes and in writings. Lightfoot told students in a secret party school in 1947 that the party would spill blood, if necessary, in carrying out its objective of overthrowing our Government.

Two new laws are added deterrents to those who would play the Communists' game.

The first of these is the so-called immunity statute. One case under it already is before the courts. It involves William Ullman, a man identified in sworn testimony before a congressional committee as a member of a World War II Communist spy ring. Ullman was called before a grand jury and refused to testify. Under the new law, a Federal judge was asked to grant him immunity from self-incrimination and order him to testify. The judge did so, but Ullman persisted in his refusal. The judge sentenced him to 6 months in jail for contempt of court. Ullman has served notice of appeal.

The second tool comes in the Communist Control Act of 1954. It utilizes machinery of the Subversive Activities Control Board to determine if Communists have subverted a legitimate business or labor organization and to enable members to free themselves from such domination.

It is no secret that the Department of Justice is reviewing and updating files on various unions which were thrown out of the CIO some time ago on the ground that

they had fallen under Communist domination. When those reviews are complete, we will bring whatever proceedings are warranted by current facts.

Meanwhile, some of the unions which might be involved have made moves to do 1 or more of 3 things:

1. Take action to cleanse themselves of Communist domination, which is exactly what Congress wants them to do.

2. Attempt to conceal such domination.

3. Seek affiliation with other unions which which are members of the A. F. of L. or CIO and thus gain exemption from the act. This, recall, is one of the new facets of the Communist line and responsible leaders of the major unions have warned their member unions to look very cautiously at such affiliation proposals and to insist on certain safeguards to insure that they will not be allowing themselves to be infiltrated through affiliation.

Perhaps the heaviest blow which this administration has dealt the Communist conspiracy has been to dry up sources and potential sources of information in Government, to virtually eliminate the opportunity of setting up a fifth column within the Government. This has been done by establishing a realistic employee security program.

The Civil Service Act of 1912 established minimum procedures for dismissal of permanent employees for the good of the service, but left much discretion to agency heads.

During the early years of World War II several attempts were made by Congress to obtain better security precautions in the executive branch. Summary removal powers for national security purposes were enacted late in 1942.

Then, in 1947, Executive Order 9835 initiated an employee loyalty program. But only when an employee was held to be currently disloyal was any action generally taken under that order until 1951 when it was broadened to include reasonable doubt of an employee's loyalty. It made no allowance for the fact a person might be a risk to our national security even though his loyalty was unassailable.

Congress, in 1950, passed Public Law 733, after pointing out that persons subject to blackmail, those who talked too much and those with unsatisfactory associations or habits, could constitute a serious security danger as well as traitors. During hearings, one high official testified that a single act of a disloyal person and a single act of an indiscreet employee can do equal damage to our security.

When President Eisenhower took office, he established the present employee-security program to carry out the purposes of the 1950 law enacted so overwhelmingly by Congress. As the law demands, the head of each department or agency is made responsible for effective security within his department or agency. The order requires investigation, in varying degrees, of all appointees to Federal positions. It establishes criteria for judging whether employment is consistent with security. It requires suspension and, after review, termination of employment of those deemed security risks. And, right here, let me quote a little of Public Law 733. It says:

"To the extent that such agency head determines that the interests of the national security permit, the employee concerned shall be notified of the reasons for his suspension and within 30 days after such notification any such person shall have an opportunity to submit any statements or affidavits to the official designated by the head of the agency concerned to show why he should be reinstated or restored to duty.

"The agency head concerned may, following such investigation and review as he deems necessary, terminate the employment of such suspended civilian officer or employee whenever he shall determine such termination necessary or advisable in the interest of the national security of the United States, and such determination by the agency head concerned shall be conclusive and final."

The law, and the machinery under the order, provide for written statements of charges to suspended employees, an opportunity for them to answer, a hearing upon the employee's request, a review of the case by the agency head or his representative, and a written statement of final decision.

An example of the effectiveness of the employee security program is the case of Joseph Sidney Petersen, Jr. He was a trusted employee of the National Security Agency, one of our most sensitive agencies. In the course of a security check, allegations arose which could have led to his dismissal under the Executive order. In the ensuing investigation, information was obtained indicating Petersen might have illegally in his possession certain highly classified documents. Under the order, the investigation immediately was referred to the FBI. Petersen admitted having stored such documents in his apartment, where they were recovered, and also admitted furnishing contents of the documents to representatives of another government. He was arrested and indicated on three counts of the espionage laws. He finally entered a plea of guilty to one count and was sentenced to 7 years in prison.

The tremendous job of checking the 2,300,000 Federal workers is almost completed. Ahead, then, the big task will be only to screen applicants for Government jobs. This administration is dedicated to a policy not only of getting security risks out of Government, but also we propose to keep them out of the Government as long as we are in office.

As a result of all this progress in the fight against communism, resulting from our new Internal Security Division under Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins, the Communists themselves have recently made a major shift in the emphasis they place on their various programs. It is becoming increasingly clear that the current violent attack against Government witnesses and against the FBI's confidential sources of information has many of its roots in a Communist effort to stem the successful campaign against subversion.

The Communist Party has sought for years to uncover, to smear, to destroy the informant system of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Communists call the FBI the enemy. The party's Manual of Organization, published in 1935, discussed how to "safeguard the party organization against stool pigeons" and "how to expose stool pigeons." Those "stool pigeons," included anybody who worked for the FBI, who provided information to the FBI, or who testified in court against the Communist Party. Other articles in Communist publications have repeated this attack year after year.

A young man named Harvey Matusow has become the current focal point of the attack. Harvey Matusow testified for the Government in two criminal prosecutions. He also appeared before the SACB and before congressional committees.

Matusow now claims that virtually everything he said in those appearances was a lie. The Department of Justice, 2 Federal courts, a grand jury and a Senate committee have been investigating and 1 case has come to a conclusion which I believe is well worth reporting today.

Fourteen months ago, Clinton E. Jencks, an official of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, was convicted of filing a false affidavit to the National Labor Relations Board in that he denied being a member of the Communist Party. Seven witnesses, including Matusow, testified concerning Jenck's Communist connections. Jencks himself, when confronted with Matusow's testimony by a Senate committee, invoked the fifth amendment and to this day has not denied, under oath, any of Matusow's testimony.

Despite this, Matusow filed an affidavit in the United States district court at El Paso, Tex., where Jencks was convicted. Matusow claimed in that affidavit that his original testimony was false. Jencks simultaneously filed a motion for a new trial, based on the affidavit.

District Judge Robert E. Thomason, who had presided over the original trial, held hearings for a week on the Jencks' motion.

Presented in evidence at the hearing was a tape recording made by the publisher of Matusow's recent book of a conversation between himself and Matusow. In that conversation, Matusow declared of his original testimony:

"I knew Jencks was a party member and I said so."

Then Matusow added:

"I can't say here that Jencks wasn't a party member after he signed the affidavit (to the NLRB) because I know that he was."

And yet Matusow went into court and tried to convince the Judge that Jencks was not a Communist. Evidence also showed that the original book outline prepared by Matusow did not even mention Jencks, the El Paso trial or false testimony in any criminal prosecution. The Government showed that material prepared by Matusow differed markedly with the finally published version in other respects and that the mine-mill union of which Jencks was an official advanced several thousand dollars to the publishing house in connection with the book, some of which in turn was advanced to Matusow, before and after he signed his affidavit claiming he had lied.

Judge Thomason denied a new trial, stating that "there has been nothing developed" in the hearing "in the way of evidence or testimony that has caused the Court to have any doubt" that Jencks was guilty as charged.

The judge then ordered Matusow before him and declared:

"By recanting your former testimony, given in this court, which I believe in substance was true, you have, in my opinion, deliberately, designedly and maliciously attempted to obstruct the justice of this court."

Judge Thomason found Matusow in contempt of court. Last Wednesday, he sentenced Matusow to 3 years in jail. I think the statement Judge Thomason made at that time sums up that phase of the Matusow case as well as is possible at this time. Let me read it to you:

"I am firmly convinced from the evidence of the witnesses, including that of Matusow, not only that the evidence offered, in support of the motion, is not worthy of belief, but that Matusow alone or with others, wilfully and nefariously and for the purpose of defrauding this court and subverting the true course of the administration of justice and obstructing justice, schemed to and actually used this court of law as a forum for the purpose of calling public attention to a book, purportedly written by Matusow, entitled 'False Witness.'

"This court finds the fact to be that as early as September 21, 1954, responsible officials of the IUMMSW under the guise of seeking evidence in Jencks' behalf, subsidized the writing and publication of this book by authorizing the expenditure of union funds for that purpose. This at a time when, from the evidence, Matusow had no intention of writing any such book as was here exhibited or of changing his testimony given in the Jencks trial. I find that this subsidization was deliberately done the more easily to persuade Matusow to lend himself to the perpetration of a fraud on this court by

means of the filing of his recanting affidavit and his testimony given herein. I find that Matusow wilfully and with full knowledge of the consequences, lent himself to this evil scheme for money and for notoriety. "It is my firm conviction, moreover, that this hearing was deliberately brought on for the purpose of attacking the judgment of this court, attacking the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Justice Department, in a carefully thought out scheme to generally discredit by these means the testimony of undercover agents and former Communist Party members who give evidence against the Communist Party of the United States and its adherents. Matusow, by his action, conduct, and testimony, had, and done in my presence during this period, obviously made an effort to convert these proceedings into a trial of the Department of Justice rather than of the issues before this court. Nothing that Matusow has offered in his defense has persuaded me otherwise."

As you see, while the fight against communism goes on, the tactics of these diabolical conspirators change. But the important thing is that we are making great progress in our fight against them.

Release of the Yalta Papers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, in the New York Times of today there appears a most revealing story by Drew Middleton as to the manner in which the State Department dealt with the British Government in regard to the release of the Yalta papers.

It has been said here that Sir Winston Churchill reluctantly and finally agreed to the publication of these documents. If Mr. Middleton's dispatch is accurate, and we can hardly doubt that it is, we are forced to place a new interpretation on the word "agreement."

Mr. Middleton refers to revelations by Sir Winston in the House of Commons as to his part in the matter. Sir Winston informed the Commons that on February 11 the British Government had been informed by the Department of State that our Government had decided not to publish the documents. Four days later, the Prime Minister said, "we were told publication could not be resisted any longer."

I submit that being told that publication could be resisted no longer is vastly different from being asked to agree to publication.

It must have come as something of a shock to the British Prime Minister to learn later than the State Department had been forced to release the Yalta documents because this same State Department had deliberately leaked the full text of the documents to the New York Times.

This, it seems to me, is duplicity compounded. And when the victim of this duplicity happens to be our most important ally, it becomes all the more shocking.

I ask that the full text of the article in the New York Times be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHURCHILL CHIDES UNITED STATES ON YALTA CASE—SAYS PUBLICATION OF PAPERS WAS UNTIMELY—VANDALS SMEAR ROOSEVELT STATUE

(By Drew Middleton)

LONDON, March 22.—The United States Government changed its mind over the untimely publication of the Yalta Conference documents, Price Minister Churchill told the House of Commons today.

The British Government was informed March 11 that the administration in Washington had decided not to publish its record of the Three-Power meeting, Sir Winston said. Four days later "we were told publication could not be resisted any longer," he added.

The concern of both the Conservative and Labor members of Parliament over the publication of the Yalta papers was emphasized by the cries of astonishment and dismay that greeted Sir Winston's statement.

In the view of Government and opposition spokesmen, the release of the papers may prevent a meeting between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. By giving the Russians a pretext to make the proposed meeting a platform for their propaganda, publication of the Yalta documents may impede any real progress toward a relaxation of the tension between the East and West, these sources say.

BRITISH PUBLICATION OPPOSED

British opinion in the highest circles is opposed to the publication by this country of its record of the Yalta meeting. These sources are critical of the United States plans to release the minutes of the Potsdam and Teheran conferences.

"Where will publication end?" a senior British official inquired today.

"Won't the Republicans now ask for the minutes of the secret sessions of the Council of Foreign Ministers since the war and if these provide no ammunition for the minutes of all other meetings we have held with the Russians or even among ourselves?

"Do they really believe in Washington that the United States can negotiate with any country successfully if everything said in private meetings is to be thrown open to public?" the source added.

The British policy, as put forward by one of the Nation's most respected statesmen, is: Open covenants secretly arrived at.

Sir Winston's distaste for the whole affair, obvious to anyone in the Commons, was heightened by news that the words "Traitor of Yalta," had been scrawled across the base of the statue of President Roosevelt in Grosvenor Square.

The writing was in red oxide paint, and, according to official of the Ministry of Works, it may do irreparable harm.

The statue was erected as a memorial to Roosevelt "as a great war leader, a great man of peace, and a great citizen of the world." It was unveiled by Mrs. Roosevelt in April 1948 in the presence of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, the present queen mother.

At the time of the Yalta conference, Churchill doubted the wisdom of Roosevelt's policies, and he does today. But these doubts do not outweigh in his mind the debt of gratitude owed to Roosevelt for his help in 1940 and 1941.

Although there is much criticism of the issuance of the Yalta documents there is little of Roosevelt in this country. The defacing of the statue introduced a note of blind hatred that is alien to public opinion here.

The Prime Minister gave the Commons a detailed account of the exchanges between his Government and the administration in Washington about the Yalta documents.

These began last summer when the British were informed of the administration's wish to publish papers relating to the big power conferences at Yalta and Potsdam and the United States-British meeting at Malta that preceded the Yalta Conference.

GALLEY PROOFS SENT TO BRITISH

The British received galley proofs of the Yalta documents in December. But Sir Winston said sharply it was not the duty of the British Prime Minister or his Foreign Secretary to read through such a vast amount of material about the past.

"I was consulted on a few points of detail," Sir Winston conceded.

Sir Anthony Eden, the Foreign Secretary, with the Prime Minister's agreement, sent a message to Washington deprecating on general grounds detailed record of important international documents being published so soon after the event.

The Foreign Secretary told Secretary of State Dulles, January 12, that while he did not suggest the abandonment of publication he thought it most undesirable at present, the Prime Minister added.

"On March 11 the United States Government informed us they had decided not to publish," Sir Winston continued. "But on March 15 we were told publication could not be resisted any longer. Twenty-four hours later it occurred.

"The British Government has not decided whether to publish its own reports of plenary meetings and the foreign ministers conferences at Yalta," Sir Winston declared. "These reports are being carefully examined to see whether publication is necessary," he added.

The Prime Minister said that, although in his opinion the British representatives—that is he and Sir Anthony—came out of the Yalta report very well, this did not alter his conviction that publication was untimely.

Taxed by a Laborite member about a remark attributed to him in the documents to the effect that he did not like the Poles, Sir Winston said he did not remember having made any such remark and "if so, it must have been completely out of context."

Anyone who cares to read the documents can see how "again and again I fought for the interests and rights of Poland at Yalta and Potsdam," Sir Winston asserted.

Clement R. Attlee, opposition leader, asked Sir Winston to negotiate an agreement with the United States to prevent the release of documents on future international meetings.

Sir Winston replied that the Yalta documents might have been influenced by accidental circumstances and their release should not be judged as definite United States policy.

Other ministers and senior civil servants fear the United States Government, at the request of the Republican right-wing Senators, will continue to issue documents on international conferences. They believe that, as a result, the prospects of talks with the Soviet Union or any sort of serious diplomatic negotiation will be reduced.

Public Power Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the distinguished broadcaster, Edward P.

Morgan, made some very pertinent comments on the attitude of the President of the United States toward public power projects.

These observations were included in the March 16, 1955, program of Mr. Morgan, under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor, over the network of the American Broadcasting Co.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Morgan's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

President Eisenhower doesn't like to see the Federal Government in the power business. He thinks the idea creeps, socialistically and otherwise. He prefers what he is fond of calling partnership—letting local communities and private utilities work out their power problems together. If something gets too big for them, Washington can lend a hand but it prefers to beam a sort of big brotherly encouragement at a distance. The implication is that partnership is a package bargain: Power at the cheapest price, in the best tradition of free enterprise, plus a kind of insurance policy against creeping socialism.

But somehow at his news conference this morning, the President made both the partnership and the price features of this package seem a little less than real, or at least a little less than a real bargain.

The city of Memphis, Tenn., is growing fast and needs more electric power. But Mayor Frank Tobey announced defiantly last month that Memphis would built its own plant before it would buy private power from Dixon-Yates. Queried on the subject, Mr. Eisenhower gave Memphis, in effect, his blessing, "Local private ownership of power," as he termed it, could be not only a good thing but very effective. But, the President added, referring to building powerplants, "when the Federal Government does this, they can print money to do the job," and that means, he added, cheapening money, taking something out of every dollar in a taxpayer's pocket.

You couldn't help wondering how this squared with things in Memphis and whether the Federal Government had ever explored these things in a partnerlike way with the city before telling Dixon-Yates to go ahead and build a powerplant; after all it was Memphis' expansion that produced the main need for more power in west Tennessee. It was easy to get Mayor Tobey on the telephone and this reporter did. No sir, he had detected no gesture of partnership. "We were never consulted by Dixon-Yates or the Federal Government at any time," he said.

Memphis buys power from TVA now and is a satisfied customer except that it wants more; it doesn't really want to build its own plant. But Mayor Tobey said, "Before Memphis accepts power from a Dixon-Yates plant, directly or indirectly, it will build its own."

Why was the mayor so opposed to private power? Memphis had it, he said, before 1938, and doesn't want to return to the extreme high rates of those days. But what about President Eisenhower's statement that you had to print money to finance public power?

Why, Mayor Tobey said, "When the President says it's taking money out of the taxpayers' pockets he is wrong. * * * TVA is a self-supporting institution. * * * Dixon-Yates can't possibly supply electrical energy as cheap as TVA can supply it."

"I'm just afraid," Mayor Tobey of Memphis said, "that the President is determined to defeat TVA."

So much for partnership and price in Memphis. As for projects in the Pacific Northwest, Senator NEUBERGER, a Democrat from Oregon, quotes figures from Secretary McKay's Interior Department to the effect that Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River is some $65 million ahead of schedule in repayment of its capital investment. In 11 years of full operation, NEUBERGER says, Bonneville has returned $48 million to the Federal Treasury in power revenue, from a total capital outlay of $128 million in construction, maintenance, and operation.

Against that not exactly creepy figure, NEUBERGER calculates that under the administration's proposal to build highways by the bond-issue plan, for every dollar spent on roads, 55 cents will go to banks to pay the interest—which would total $11½ billion over the life of the program. It makes you wonder whether this business administration can really get it for you wholesale.

Address by Hon. Pat McNamara, of Michigan, to the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, of Rhode Island, had the rare privilege and opportunity on St. Patrick's Day of hearing a speech by the distinguished junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], who now occupies the chair, and thus is presiding over the Senate at this moment. I ask unanimous consent that the speech made by him on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, because of the rare vision and spirit of prophecy and understanding it displays.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR PAT MCNAMARA BEFORE THE FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK, PROVIDENCE, R. I., MARCH 17, 1955

I feel truly privileged to have been chosen to reply to the toast to the United States. And to respond to that particular toast here in Rhode Island is a real challenge, for it was in these parts that so much of American history was made.

I pride myself on the fact that I was born and grew to manhood in New England. And I am made happy by the fact that today, as a Senator for the State of Michigan, I feel myself at home, really at home, whether I am in Michigan or here. Maybe I should add, at this point, that if ever I feel as much at home in Washington as I do here, why, that really will be something.

We have come here tonight to honor the land of our fathers and the patron saint whose kindness and wisdom shone like a beacon light through the pagan atmosphere of early Ireland. It was the good St. Patrick whose deeds and example have done so much to make the Irish into the militantly kindly people that one associates with Ireland. I do not know whether I have the skill or anyone else has the insight to put into words the deep feelings that move us on St. Patrick's Day. It might sound a little like a paradox if put into words—at least, it might to anyone who has no Irish blood. But anyway, let me say it plainly—we all feel somehow that what is truly Irish is truly American. I am sure we don't feel that this is just an accident of history. I think we feel that America is good fruit of the Irish spirit just as the Irish spirit has always had in it a yearning of which America is the best expression.

I think we are proud of our ancestry, but we really did not come here tonight just to glory in it. I do not think the true American lives or wants to live in the shadow of his forebears. I say to you tonight as I would say to any American worthy of his citizenship: "Never mind who your grandparents were—that does not prove you are a good American. Think of what your grandchildren will be—there is the test of your Americanism. You have earned no credit for your grandparents, for who can choose his ancestors? But you do have it in your power to deserve credit for your grandchildren.

I cannot help but think of the great faith of the men and women who put their imprint on America, and through America—on the world of today and of tomorrow. They were prophets, as was St. Patrick, who transformed a hundred pagan tribes into a great people. You know, we often misunderstand the function of the prophet. The true prophet is not one who foretells the future as by magic or through a crystal ball. The prophet is not the man who foretells the future—he is the man who makes the future.

It is easy to have the gift of hindsight. Who among us is not sure that, listening to a St. Patrick, he would have forsaken the heathen idols of his fathers and embraced the true faith? Who among us is not sure that, faced with the challenge of the Revolution, he would have rallied to the call of the Continental Congress and offered his life that a new nation might be born?

But let us consider the times and the circumstances of the rebellion which brought forth the United States of America. If you or I had then lived, could anyone have blamed us if we had said: What kind of delusion are you trying to sell the colonists? You are asking them to rebel against constituted authority for the pursuit of life, liberty, happiness, democracy, and equality. But is it equality which denies the vote to anyone who is not a property owner? Is it democracy which denies to the women of America the right to vote? Is it liberty which denies the slave or the bondsman the right to be free? Is it life or happiness which conceives it to be the duty of government to stand aside while the strong devour the weak?

Such questions would have been honest questions. They would have been pertinent questions in that day. Indeed, we are still in the process of finding the answers to some of these questions.

But if one knew enough about the American people—if one were wise enough to realize that America was more than just the defined quantity—if one understood the yearnings of the American people, the silent philosophy of the Catholic, the Protestant, the Jew, the longings of the Negro and the white, the worker and the farmer, he would have anticipated the answer to these questions.

He would have known that in every society, as in every individual, there is a gap between the self-expressed ideal and the reality. He would have known that progress is the process of closing that gap. He would have known that within a few years the franchise would be extended to all men. He would have known that four score years after the Declaration of Independence a bitter and bloody civil war would be fought to free slaves. He would have known that a century and a quarter after the adoption of the Constitution women would get their vote. He would have known that the time would come through a century and a half of slow prog-

ress after the Revolution that first one great political party, and then by precept and example another great political party, would accept the idea that it is not the proper role of government just to act as an umpire, or to stand with folded hands at one side while vast parts of the Nation live in misery.

But to know all this he would have needed faith, faith in the ideals of America and faith in the upward thrust of the American people toward the realization of those ideals. He would have needed faith, not just faith in the Colonies as they were at the time of the Revolution, but faith in America for what she would become if enough Americans had faith.

When you stop to think of it, wasn't this just what St. Patrick started going in Ireland? Isn't this the Irish spirit? This was the Irish spirit—and this is the American spirit.

So it seems to me that the lesson of this day for all of us may well be—that America is a land in the making. That America will always be a land in the making. A land in which the noblest flowering of the human spirit will find finer expression than ever before. A land with a constant challenge—the challenge of better living and a measure of basic security for more and more people; the challenge of translating into reality the teaching of all the saints whose destiny it has been and always will be, to mold a better world. And the greatest challenge of all—the challenge of that great faith in mankind, which, as age follows age, hammers the world into the prophetic concept of the Kingdom of God.

My friends—this is my reply to the toast to the United States: Let us strive to make the world all the things our hearts desire.

The Stock Market Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Why Is the Stock Market So Sensitive?" published in the Arkansas Gazette for Thursday, March 17, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY IS THE STOCK MARKET SO SENSITIVE?

Throughout the Senate Banking and Currency Committee's study of the stock market, Senator HOMER CAPEHART, of Indiana, has shown himself to be more interested in turning the issue to partisan advantage than in reaching the essentially nonpartisan goals fixed by Chairman J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas.

Senator FULBRIGHT'S announced purpose is to find out whether existing legislation is adequate to prevent repetition of the 1929 crash. This secondary purpose is to find out whether the present laws, if they are adequate, are being properly administered by the Federal agencies established during the recovery era to ride herd on the market.

These goals may be difficult of attainment. The questions they involve will get as many diverse answers as the more immediate question of whether the Senate committee study itself was primarily responsible for the break in the market earlier this week. Nevertheless they are legitimate goals of congressional inquiry, and a lot of people besides Senator FULBRIGHT have decided that it is time the questions were asked.

However, Senator CAPEHART took off on a partisan tangent on the very first day of public hearings and has never returned to earth. The ranking Republican member had barely got his seat warm before he attempted to lead the president of the New York Stock Exchange into an affirmation of the thesis that the soaring market was sound as a dollar used to be and represented nothing more nor less than a feeling of confidence in the Eisenhower administration. The witness refused to bite, but Senator CAPEHART didn't give up.

Unfortunately, Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey now has chosen to give Senator CAPEHART the partisan answer he's been looking for.

Mr. Humphrey says that the market's rise in recent months has represented a rebirth of confidence in the functiong of our free-enterprise system. There is no need for concern over the extent of that rise, he contends, but there is ground for fear that any inquiry into other possible causes of the rise may jeopardize that reborn feeling of confidence.

However, the Treasury Secretary's answers lend themselves to some interesting new questions.

If the reborn child is so rachitic as to be knocked off its feet by the kind of conservative, low-keyed inquiry that Senator FULBRIGHT is given to conducting, then there is that much more reason to believe that the study was necessary.

In his testimony before the committee last week, Benjamin Graham, the chairman of a New York investment house, put it another way:

"If this study puts the market down, then the market was due to go down and should go down."

Secretary Humphrey, and of course Senator CAPEHART, obviously feel differently.

However, if Mr. Graham and others are right, and Senator HUMPHREY and others wrong, it just may be that the people will be better served by getting the shakedown news from a Senate committee rather than by waiting for one of Mr. Walter Winchell's advance tips.

The Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most informative article published in the Missouri Conservationist, paying tribute to the United States Forest Service on its 50th anniversary.

This great organization, founded half a century ago by Gifford Pinchot, has done more to save the resources of our country for all the American people than any other agency of Government. As a resident of the State of Oregon, which has 15 percent of its area in national forests, I have been in a position all my life to appreciate the morale and ability and public-spirited service of the men of the United States Forest Service.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTY CANDLES FOR FOREST SERVICE
(By Dan Saults, editor, in the Missouri Conservationist)

It was just 50 years ago that the United States Forest Service was born. Its sire was Gifford Pinchot and its dam was Intelligent Planning; its god father was Theodore Roosevelt and its godmother was Congress.

The Service has had a distinguished life since then, and it would appear to be in a state of vigorous maturity today. It was reared, nurtured, and educated according to a basic precept enunciated by Godfather Teddy: "Forestry is the preservation of forests by wise use." And wisdom has been a pretty good guide to behavior even though men change the legends by which they live.

Gifford Pinchot became the first chief of the Forest Service; he was also the first native American to have professional training in forestry. And the Service has been run by professionals ever since. This seems a reasonably sound idea, too, in fields as widely separated as medicine and baseball.

Forest Service has a lot of children, now. Nearly all States have their agencies working in the field, just as Missouri has its Forestry Division in the Conservation Commission. Thirty universities and colleges, among them the University of Missouri, offer full instruction in forestry. (Pinchot had to go to Europe to learn.) Forty-five States, including Missouri have extension programs in forestry conducted by the State agricultural colleges. And today, some 5,000 professional foresters are employed by private industry.

Back in the days of its callow youth, Forest Service wasn't quite socially acceptable and frequently got snubbed by local people. But at 50 years of age, Service has become not only respectable but even a romantic hero, subject of movies, novels, and radio programs.

How times do change in 50 years. Too bad the men who dreamed the great dreams, who birthed the idea, aren't around to see people accept their scion.

Just consider the matter of public forests, pretty much taken for granted today—although attacks are still being made on them by interests who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the turn of the century. Ever think what would have happened to our national forests if a protecting hand hadn't been laid on them a half century ago?

Those public forests—nearly 1,500,000 acres of them in Missouri—are big lumbering operations on the controlled-use principle, though our acreage here is only now developing into the harvest stage. Apart from sustained yield, they were visited by 35 million people last year—not just visited but used by those people for hunting, fishing and outdoor recreation.

The Service is helping educate a lot of people, too. The most dramatic example of that is the development of Smokey Bear as symbol of cooperative forest fire prevention, a program jointly conducted by the State foresters and the Service.

It has been a good 50 years, despite two world wars and an amazing growth in population and industry, which meant tremendous pressure against the Forest Service. But what will the future bring?

The Service doesn't know any more than in 1905 it could foresee 1955. But it guesses there will be steady growth for forest recreation and for timber needs; that the forest's protective role on the watersheds will become even more important. Perhaps forestry research will develop new and better kinds of trees and other concepts of timber management.

Fifty years can be a long time to men, but it isn't much to a redwood or even to a Missouri white oak.

So the 18-year-old Conservation Commission of Missouri wishes the 50-year-old Forest Service of the United States a cheery golden anniversary and many, many happy returns of the day.

New Story of Masaryk's Fall Again Denies Suicide Version

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 20, 1955, the Baltimore Sun published a remarkable story about the death of Jan Masaryk, in which the Communist version of Masaryk's suicide was denied according to a new evidence which came from the intelligence sources of the Slovak underground.

In the cold war which is being waged between the East and West the underground intelligence is to us of inestimable value. Due to its day-by-day knowledge of what the Communists did in the past or what the Communists are doing and planning now, it serves us, the people of the West and many times it gives us an efficient weapon or instrument to refute the big Communist lie. Would we support the underground intelligence more fully it could very well be one of the decisive factors in preserving freedom and peace in our world. Reds comes from various sources. It is only at the end of the line that all bits of information are pieced together into a comprehensive picture and then coordinated and evaluated. This is necessary because the underground intelligence is not one, but several networks which work independently. In the Slovak underground intelligence, certainly one of the best behind the Iron Curtain, there are some networks whose operations were conducted with the neatness and finesse of a highly successful and well-organized group. Their deep knowledge of everything connected with the Communist domination of their homeland makes these networks or the men who head them an asset on our side of that cold war. One such network was that of Dr. Michal Zibrin or that of Col. J. Muran, and more recently the group headed by Capt. M. Baar or the one of Col. Jan Bukar. It is safe to mention at least these few as concrete examples because the Reds in their native Slovakia know about them and it cannot harm them any more since other Slovak patriots are carrying on the work started by these active opponents of communism.

The denial of Masaryk's suicide published by the Baltimore Sun is a good illustration of the value of the underground intelligence. Knowing the truth about Masaryk's death is not only important to us here in the West, but more so to those who are still oppressed, because knowing the truth gives them one more reason to defy their masters who deprived them not only of freedom and prosperity, but who—for obvious reason—perverted even the meaning of the truth itself.

The article referred to is as follows:

NEW STORY OF MASARYK'S FALL AGAIN DENIES SUICIDE VERSION

WASHINGTON, March 19.—On this ninth anniversary of Jan Masaryk's death a local outpost in Czechoslovakia's anti-Communist underground released today a new version of it, contesting the Prague regime's report of suicide.

Almost simultaneously, American authorities here made available a study of how the Communists, having got rid of Czechoslovakia's last anti-Communist Foreign Minister, have since been striving to eradicate both him and his father, the late Thomas G. Masaryk, from the memories of Czechoslovak peoples.

This has involved them in, among other things, a repudiation of pledges they made immediately after their February 25, 1948, coup d'état, the study showed.

MASARYK'S STATE

It noted that shortly thereafter—on the 98th anniversary of the elder Masaryk's birth—the late Klement Gottwald, then premier of the Communist regime, laid a wreath on the grave of the Czechoslovak Republic's founder and Vice Premier Nejedly, also a Communist, broadcast on that same occasion this assurance to the Czechoslovaks:

"Today's republic is Masaryk's state and, in regard to safeguarding his great liberation, it is even much more protected now than before. * * * If anyone claims that the present people's democracy is not Masaryk's, it is an insult * * * to Masaryk, the founder of this state and one of the last great democrats of the Old World."

NO SUCH CEREMONIES NOW

There were no similar ceremonies in honor of the elder Masaryk this month and none in honor of his son who was found dead beneath the windows of his suite in Prague 12 days after his father's rites in 1948.

The only comparable event the Communist regime has celebrated was the second anniversary on March 14 of the death of Gottwald, billed in its memorial preachments as our first workers' president.

The new account of how the younger Masaryk died was made available by V. Stefan Krajcovic, local representative of the National Committee for Liberation of Slovakia.

Slovaks have a special interest in the Masaryks, for, though Masaryk pére was a Czech, he was born near the edge of Slovakia and, beside speaking a dialect close to Slovak, was so sympathetic as to be called the lonely Slovak at Prague.

The gist of Krajcovic's report is that the younger Masaryk did not commit suicide but, instead, was "killed by a Major Sram" of the Communists' State Security Police and that Sram was "himself liquidated" 2 months later. The report, relayed from a spot on the Iron Curtain's fringe, is the work, Krajcovic attested, of two of his committee's "experts on Communist methods."

Most of its circumstantial details are of a physiological and unprintable nature.

TESTIFIED FOR UNITED STATES COMMITTEE

Krajcovic identified the reports' authors as Col. Jan Bukar, who testified before a congressional committee here in May, 1953, and Stefan G. Lukats, who, he said, is now in Munich but coming to Washington next month.

According to their report, a Dr. Teply, the first police surgeon to reach the spot where Masaryk's body lay, made findings that controverted those of a Dr. Hajek, who performed the subsequent autopsy on which the Communists' suicide charge was based.

The Bukar-Lukats report says Dr. Teply found that Masaryk had died hours before the 6 a. m., discovery of his body plus multiple evidence that he had not jumped from a palace window but, instead, had been clinging desperately to its ledge before he finally fell, feet first, to the ground.

DOCTOR CALLED SUICIDE

It also says that Dr. Teply stuck by his findings in opposition to the Communist verdict and committed suicide on Christmas, 1948.

It adds that Dr. Hajek, who underwrote the Communist verdict, had previously been imprisoned by the Russians for serving the Nazis on the international commission they organized to investigate the so-called Katyn massacre of Polish officers by the U. S. S. R.

The Bukar-Lukats report asserts, in addition, that whereas other Communist officials hastily summoned to the Masaryk death scene were so roughly clothed as to indicate they had been roused from bed, Vlado Clementis, who was Masaryk's deputy and became his successor as foreign minister, showed up not only promptly but impeccably dressed.

SAYS CALLS WERE TRANSFERRED

It asserts, too, that Clements, who was later involved in the Slansky espionage trial and executed by his Communist confreres, had ordered all Masaryk's calls transferred to him during the night that ended in Masaryk's death.

The foreign ministry's day book showed that, the report says.

The study by American authorities of how the Communists have been going about eradicating memories of Masaryk among their subjects links their efforts to the U. S. S. R.'s "hate Americans" campaign and notes that those efforts extend to more than tearing down all statues commemorative of "Masaryk's state."

ELDER MASARYK ACCUSED

They have extended, instead, the study says, to the issuance of a book Masaryk's Antipopular Policies, in which the Czechoslovak Republic's first President is accused of:

1. Plotting to murder Lenin.
2. Warmongering against the U. S. S. R.
3. Selling his country to American, English, and French imperialism.
4. Wallowing in a mud of lies, larceny, and corruption.

"Documents allegedly found in Masaryk's archives are published to back the charges, but," the study says, "they are so flimsy as to suggest that those responsible for the book may have had in mind sabotaging the endeavor.

"If they meant what they said, they have committed a despicable act of national self-abasement.

"They have committed it in their desire to kowtow before the Kremlin and to inveigle the young generation by painting the Masaryk republic in the blackest black and the Communist era in the purest white."

The 5,250-word study, from which the above is quoted and which is attributable only to American authorities, undertakes to dissect and disprove seriatim each charge the official Communist publication has made in derogation of the Masaryk who, born in 1850, died in 1937.

Opining that "Masaryk's American connection may have heightened the desirability of removing him from his pedestal, literally and figuratively," it notes that "he married an American girl and used her maiden name—Garrique—as his middle name" and adds: "The hate-America campaign in the Soviet world has thus engulfed even a Czech hero because of his relatives."

Deserved Honor for George Meany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in the 73-year history of the annual presentation of the Laetare medal by the Notre Dame University, this high honor was bestowed upon a man drawn from the ranks of organized labor—the president of the American Federation of Labor, George Meany.

It is, indeed, fitting that Mr. Meany should have been selected to receive this, the highest honor bestowed by the Notre Dame University on a Catholic layman. His distinguished record of untiring activity on behalf of American labor has won the respect and recognition of people throughout the Nation.

In presenting Mr. Meany with the Laetare medal, Notre Dame University has honored him both for his personal integrity, and for his considerable contribution to the task of raising the entire labor movement to a position of new importance.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Meany upon this deserved recognition of his accomplishments. At the same time, I should like to include in the RECORD two editorials which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal of March 20, and in the Washington Sunday Star of that same date, commenting on the 1955 Laetare medal award.

[From the Milwauke Journal of March 20, 1955]

DESERVED HONOR FOR MEANY

Notre Dame University has chosen wisely in selecting George Meany to receive its Laetare Medal for 1955.

The award, announced on each mid-Lenten Laetare Sunday since 1883, is made to Catholic men and women whose genius has ennobled the arts and sciences, illustrated the ideals of the church, and enriched the heritage of humanity.

As the first labor leader to receive the award, the president of the American Federation of Labor is honored both for his own achievements and in recognition of the position of importance to which he has helped raise the entire labor movement.

In the 30 years he has held offices of leadership, George Meany has fought hard for labor. His ability has been universally recognized, his integrity never questioned. He has struggled to rid labor of racketeering influences and protect it from subversive elements. He has also stanchly defended the free enterprise system, for as he himself has said:

"Where there is no individual liberty, there is no free trade union movement, either. We are dedicated to freedom, not only political but also economic, through a system of free enterprise. We believe in the American profit system. We believe in free competition."

As fitting as is the award, so is it timely, because the AFL president is destined to head the larger federation that will result when the CIO returns to the AFL fold as the result of the merger efforts he so largely initiated.

It is reassuring to know that a man whose faith and stature are now so properly recognized will be at the helm of labor.

[From the Washington Sunday Star of March 20, 1955]

LAETARE MEDAL WINNER

The University of Notre Dame has turned for the first time to the ranks of organized labor in naming George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, as 1955 winner of the Laetare medal. The award is considered the highest honor bestowed by the university on a Catholic layman and Mr. Meany joins a distinguished list of men and women in the 73-year history of this annual presentation.

In selecting the AFL head this year, Notre Dame has recognized Mr. Meany's service not only to the labor movement but to his church and to his country. It made particular mention of his militant opposition to communism, and its attempts to infiltrate the labor movement both in this country and abroad. There is a timeliness, too, in selecting Mr. Meany in the year when he is scheduled to become president of the largest labor organization in American history, resulting from the pending merger of the AFL and the CIO. It is a deserved recognition.

Newsprint From Bagasse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to hail a new era in the industrial development of Louisiana and in the production and processing of sugar cane, one of our major crops.

As Representative in Congress from Louisiana's famed Sugar Belt, I am particularly pleased to call attention to the fact that 25 weekly and daily newspapers in my home State recently joined in issuing their publications on newsprint made from bagasse, heretofore generally considered a waste product of the sugar mills, but which now offers unlimited possibilities.

The Valentine Pulp & Paper Co.'s plant at Lockport, La., becomes the first in the world to use both the pith and the fiber of sugarcane to make paper. This outstanding achievement climaxes a research and experimental program which Valentine began in the 1930's and which has been watched with intense interest by the publishers of newspapers and the printing industry as a whole.

In addition to the new product, the Valentine plant produces fine writing paper, book paper, mimeograph paper, and tablet paper. A large part of the company's output is sold to the United States Government. The $4½ million facility at Lockport was completed last year.

Having been in close touch with the progress of the research and experimental program, I am especially pleased and gratified over the successful culmination of the efforts expended by those who have worked so hard to make the production of paper from bagasse a reality. The action of 25 newspapers in using the newsprint obtained in this process is a fitting tribute to those who have pioneered in this movement, as well as a practical demonstration of the project's value.

The successful use of bagasse in the production of newsprint is of tremendous and vital importance to the sugarcane industry which centers in the Third Congressional District of Louisiana—the Sugar Bowl. This development has brought enthusiastic comment from public officials and leaders in the industry who see a far-reaching effect on the future welfare of this phase of agriculture and upon the economy of the entire State of Louisiana.

The fine plant at Lockport was constructed and engineered by Brown & Root, Inc., of Houston, Tex. The Valentine Pulp & Paper Co. was formed by Brown & Root, and the Valite Corp. of Lockport and New Orleans. Will J. Gibbens, Jr., president of the corporation, has been a pioneer in the utilization of bagasse in the manufacture of a variety of products. For instance, Valite produces industrial synthetic resins from bagasse. These resins are widely used by the major domestic phonograph record companies and are used in Europe, Australia, and South America.

Board members of the new paper company are Mr. Gibbens and T. M. Barker, the latter of Lockport; Herman Brown, George R. Brown and Herbert J. Frensley, all of Houston. The executive vice president and general manager of the company is W. A. Zonner, a nationally known and widely experienced figure in paper-mill operations. W. L. Hendrix, formerly general superintendent of Herty Laboratory in Savannah, is general superintendent. Consulting engineers are Edwin L. Powell, of Chattanooga, and Thomas R. McElhinney, vice president and technical director of Valite, an affiliated company of Valentine Sugars, Inc. of Lockport.

Valite revealed just a few years ago that it had patents pending on a process of making pulp from bagasse. Tests were proven to be very satisfactory and this was verified by independent observers. Mr. McElhinney played a leading part in developing the Valite process. In 1948 the paper engineering firm of Merrit, Chapman & Scott investigated the process and declared that it was economically feasible. Following the Korean war the program was accelerated and the company firmly established the fact that economical white, unbleached pulp could be made from bagasse.

In 1953, Brown & Root, Inc., and Valite announced formation of the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co., to build a paper mill at Lockport capable of manufacturing 50 tons of finished paper products daily. Fine grade writing paper, newsprint, mimeograph paper and book paper were produced by the plant, and the Government contract secured. The demand for paper products was such that the company has revealed it is launching an expansion program that will increase the capacity to 80 tons daily.

Sugar cane has now created year-round employment in the Lockport area of Louisiana and we can forecast the apparent development that will follow in other parts of the 13 sugar-producing

parishes—counties—of Louisiana which together produce 300,000 tons of bone dry bagasse, less than 40 percent of which is now used for industrial purposes.

The paper mill at Valentine employs 180 persons. During the regular harvest season an additional 200 persons are employed in the sugar factory.

To me the brightest and most important aspects of this new industry are twofold. First, it was conceived, developed and financed through private sources under our system of free enterprise. And second, this new outlet for bagasse, a by-product of sugarcane, is an argument which speaks with more force than mere words in favor of the adoption of an amendment to the Sugar Act to increase the mainland area sugarcane quota.

Elsewhere in today's RECORD I have exposed the propaganda by paid Cuban-minded lobbyists who would deprive our domestic sugar industry of the right to a fair share of our expanding domestic sugar market, due to yearly population increase. No one should hesitate to encourage an industry which has shown not only willingness but ability to increase and expand its efficiency; and to those who put out such propaganda I say, "Look at the new plant at Valentine and think twice before you presume to speak against the best interests of our farmers."

The Louisiana newspapers which have so well demonstrated the value of bagasse newsprint by printing on this product include the Abbeville Meridional, Bastrop Daily Enterprise, Bunkie Record, Clinton Citizen-Watchman, Colfax Chronicle, Coushatta Citizen, Denham Springs News, DeRidder Beauregard News, Donaldsonville Chief, Eunice News, Franklin Banner-Tribune, Houma Courier, Jena Times, Jefferson Parish Times, Morgan City Review, Napoleonvillion Assumption Pioner, New Iberia Daily Iberian, Opelusas Daily World, Port Allen West Side Journal, Ruston Daily Leader, St. Martinville Teche News, Sulphur Southwest Builder, Thibodaux Lafourche Comet, Ville Platte Gazette, White Castle Iberville Parish Times.

The cooperative project of these newspapers in making use of the newsprint produced from bagasse has received widespread publicity in their columns and in other publications. Among editorials summarizing the outstanding effects of this development and the great future it forecasts are the following from three of the participating newspapers published in the Third Congressional District of Louisiana, in their issues of February 24, 1955:

[From the Franklin (La.) Banner-Tribute]

THE SUGAR BELT MAKES HISTORY TODAY

Thursday, February 24, 1955, will go down in history as one of the most momentous days in the economic revolution that is taking place in the Sugar Belt of Louisiana.

All over the 18-parish area in which sugarcane is grown, and even in some sections of Louisiana that do not cultivate and harvest the tall, sweet grass, small-town weekly and daily newspapers are going to press today with a special type of newsprint.

The cooperating publications are publishing their regular editions on paper that has been made from Louisiana sugarcane bagasse by the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co., of Lockport, La.

This significant announcement means that at long last a byproduct of the principal crop grown in southern Louisiana is being put to use for the manufacture of one of the most important commodities consumed in a free country. Over one-half of the 700,000 tons of bone-dry bagasse that has been produced in the State has largely gone to waste. Now it is going into newsprint and other paper products to help to satisfy the needs of a dynamic, growing population.

There are many far-reaching aspects to this official announcement. For one thing, it means that now the sugarcane farmer will be growing a crop that will be used in its entirety. It marks the beginning of an era when year-around employment will be realized in the cane patch, supplanting the uncertainty of the seasonal cane grinding. The Valentine properties at Lockport substantiate this statement. The new paper mill adjoins the sugar factory, canefields, and research department of the company. There are jobs to be had in the sugar mill and the fields and in the laboratory, and now there are 180 more men and women employed in the paper mill.

This has resulted in a boom in the Lockport community and throughout the parish of LaFourche. A big new housing development is now going into Lockport, and the new payrolls will mean new families and new homes and a higher standard of living and a bigger and better town.

What the smokestacks of Valentine have done for that area will be accomplished throughout the sugarcane-growing part of the State just as sure as night follows day. St. Mary and her sister parishes are bound to benefit from this program.

This is a rich and diversified agricultural area but cane is king in the land. The farmer can grow sugarcane better than he can grow any other kind of crop. He has proven this for over a century now, overcoming every conceivable type of obstacle from disease to world politics. He has developed new varieties of sugarcane and by sound farm practices he has been able to realize a higher yield per acre with each passing year. Now he will be growing cane for sugar, sirup, molasses, feed—and paper.

It there has even been any doubt in the mind of the cane planter about the value of research the Valentine mill should erase it forever. This new development was due to hours and months and years of patient, painstaking work and experimentation in the laboratory of the Valite Corp., an affiliate research company of Valentine's. The work began back in the 1930's and was accelerated after the Korean war. In 1952 newsprint was made from 100-percent bagasse by the company on an experimental basis at the Herty Laboratory in Savannah, Ga.

After economic feasibility was established Valentine interests banded together with Brown & Root, one of the world's greatest construction firms, to form the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co. A mill capable of producing 50 tons of paper products daily was built at Lockport. The success of this mill is attested to by the fact that hardly had it been completed but what the company announced that it was being expanded into a $4½ million facility capable of manufacturing 80 tons of paper a day, including newsprint.

Small town newspapers in Louisiana and all over the Nation have been confronted with a problem that parallels the problem of the cane farmer in magnitude. Newsprint has been a scarce and expensive commodity. Most of it had to be imported. Financially unable to build their own mills or even enter into long-range contracts the small newspapers have had to fight for newsprint in the open market on a catch-as-catch-can basis. During wartime the situation had been particularly acute and the black-market operators thrived.

The newsprint market has improved considerably, but the future for the small town newspaper had been in doubt. Now, with the mill at Lockport able to supplement established sources the nonmetropolitan press can face the future with confidence. Newsprint is the basic commodity on which the free press is printed and if it is cut off the real victims will be the American people because without the newspaper for the dissemination of news and advertising freedom would die on the vine.

Member newspapers of the Louisiana Press Association look on the mill at Lockport as "their mill" because for almost 4 years now the LPA has been working hand-in-hand with the Valentine company on this project. The ultimate benefit to the economy of the State of Louisiana is beyond the imagination.

There is one last conclusion that can be drawn from this development. The Farm Bureau of Louisiana, the American Sugar Cane League, Louisiana Congressmen, and other agencies have fought a hard but discouraging fight for an increase in the mainland quota of sugarcane. If there had been any hesitation on the part of the Congress or the national administration to justify this increase that question should now be resolved in favor of the increase. There are about 120 small town newspapers in Louisiana and over 8,000 in America. They won't all use bagasse newsprint but this new source may one day mean the difference between success or failure to many of them.

This story is being told in Louisiana today, but in a few days it will be known all over America and in most foreign countries. Great industries are built over a long period of time. The south Louisiana paper manufacturing industry will be built around bagasse. The only way to insure its full growth is with an ever-increasing supply of sugarcane now and in the years that lie ahead. The only safe and sure way to obtain the product needed by the American farmer and American publisher is to have it grown on the same ground that gave birth to the red, white, and blue.

[From the Lafourche Comet, of Thibodaux, La.]

SUGAR HAS NEW ALLIES

Along with the accolades which will pour into the office of the Valentine Pulp and Paper Co. this week, we, of course, want to offer ours.

Out of the expressions of congratulations and best wishes which will be given to the company, we sincerely hope there will come the real recognition of the tremendous accomplishment of the men who had the courage to carry out an idea.

The $4,500,000 paper mill built in Lafourche Parish is an important addition to the industry of our locale, but its true significance can only be measured in what it has done for two major industries in the United States. It has brought together for the first time the mainland sugar industry and the paper industry. It has also brought the Nation's greatest disseminators of news, the weekly and daily newspapers to the side of the sugar growers and processors.

Through their foresight, the men who built the Valentine paper mill, have given the sugar people powerful allies which must stand alongside them in the fight for the continued expansion of the mainland sugar crop.

Just a few months ago the newspaper publishers of this country were at the mercy of the Canadian paper manufacturers and just a few years ago all paper manufacturers felt the pinch of a serious paper shortage. With

this country continually at odds with an ever more powerful Red menace, it is not too hard to conceive of other periods of paper shortage unless we take advantage of the important development in the use of bagasse by Valentine.

We know the wood pulp paper manufacturers are always confronted with a lengthy growing period ranging from 12 to 40 years for their main ingredient but with the use of bagasse, this country can have an inexhaustable supply of pulp for its paper.

Today the 18 sugar producing parishes of Louisiana produce approximately 800,000 tons of dry bagasse annually. Of this amount about 35 percent is purchased for the manufacture of wall board, fertilizer, and feeds.

While Valentine will not use the balance of the bagasse available this year, or the next, it is not beyond the realm of belief that other paper mills similar to Valentine will be built in just a few years in Louisiana, in Florida, and possibly in Cuba and Puerto Rico. A half dozen more mills like Valentine Pulp & Paper Co. will soon put bagasse in short supply.

Action in Congress this year can provide for the future. Congressional action in amending the Sugar Act to increase the mainland quota by 100,000 tons this year will not only aid the sugar farmers but will protect the tremendously important paper industry.

An increase of 100,000 tons of sugar over the regular quota will give the industry an additional 150,000 tons of dry bagasse annually. And bagasse properly stored does not spoil.

The mainland sugar quota of 500,000 tons has been in effect for a number of years. Even though the sugar industry has spent thousands of dollars perfecting improved varieties of sugarcane for greater productivity, Congress has continually curtailed the growth of the industry by the flexible quota.

Today this country uses in excess of 8 million tons of sugar annually and during the past 5 years the population of the country has grown substantially. However, the sugar quota for the mainland producers has been at a stalmate. No consideration has been given to population growth, nor to improved productivity in the industry.

This week, through the use of bagasse newsprint by some 25 Louisiana weekly and small daily newspapers in Louisiana, it becomes apparent that our mainland sugar crop is tremendously important to not only a small area in Louisiana and Florida but to the entire Nation, and it must be allowed to expand.

[From the Daily Iberian, of New Iberia, La.]

BAGASSE NEWSPRINT A REALITY

Today's issue of the Daily Iberian and Jeanerette Enterprise are printed on a new kind of newsprint, produced from sugar cane waste known as bagasse, and made at Lockport, La., by the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co.

Production of this fine quality newsprint from a fiber that has experienced difficulty in being utilized, may well lift the economy of the mainland sugar-producing States to a higher level.

Sugar cane farmers will welcome this new product that makes a brand-new industry for Louisiana which means additional employment and the utilization of a raw material into finished product.

Member newspapers of the Louisiana Press Association have played a big part in keeping alive the interest in developing a newsprint plant for Louisiana to help break the stranglehold that Canada has always had on the manufacture of newsprint.

Newspaper publishers can well remember how the price of newsprint zoomed upward from $40 per ton before the First World War to the present level of $130. The same publishers can recall during the war that they often had to buy newsprint on the black market which cost as high as $300 per ton.

The use of bagasse will have a tremendous effect in keeping Canadian mills in line, if nothing else.

Since it opens up new opportunities for employment, it is highly possible that Secretary Benson, and Congress, will listen with a sympathetic ear to the pleas of sugar farmers for an increase in the mainland quota.

As the market for the bagasse paper continues to grow, it will need larger and larger amounts of bagasse, which means more and more sugarcane.

It is only reasonable to assume that as the bagasse newsprint catches on that additional mills will be built. One of the additional mills could conceivably locate in Iberia Parish where there is an abundance of sugarcane bagasse. This would give mill operators and eventually farmers more return for their sugarcane.

We salute this new industry and the courageous and pioneering executives and owners of the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co.

Louisianians will live to see the day when most of her vast supply of natural resources will be processed here as finished products and build the economy to its rightful position.

Sugar Quotas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, we have under consideration a proposal to renew the Sugar Act and at the same time to amend it so as to increase domestic sugar quotas.

Let me hasten to point out that the proposed amendment will simply permit domestic producers to participate in our expanded sugar market in the United States as our population increases in the future. In other words, under the proposed amendment Cuba, in the future, will not receive a pound of sugar less than she received in the past.

To understand this we must realize that under the present law Cuba gets a regular quota; then she gets 96 percent of the unused quotas of other areas, and finally she gets 96 percent of the annual increase of domestic sugar consumption. Our population increases by approximately 2,500,000 every year, and as a consequence our annual consumption increases by about 125,000 tons of sugar every year; and Cuba has been receiving 96 percent of this windfall. Thus in the last 10 years Cuba has received at least 1,250,000 tons of sugar, over and above her regular quota, under the formula of the Sugar Act, and over and above her lion's share—96 percent—of the unused quotas of other areas.

On the other hand, under the terms of the Sugar Act, the domestic sugar quotas are rigid, the mainland area cane quota being fixed at 500,000 tons per year. But that is not all. While the mainland area arcreage has not varied over 2 percent in the last 5 years, greater yields have been achieved due to better farming and milling practices, under the guidance and encouragement of the Department of Agriculture. And instead of being rewarded for good performance, the farmers' acreage was cut on an average of 10 percent in 1954 and an additional 8 percent has been ordered for 1955. Therefore, while Cuba has been enjoying an annual increase from our consumption, our farmers have been suffering a cutback. This, in short, is what the current proposed amendments seek to correct, by devoting to our own farmers a fair share of the annual increased amount of sugar it takes to feed our own babies, without deducting from or taking away a pound of Cuba's present quota. What is wrong with that?

Any fairminded person will admit that the proposal under consideration is fair and equitable. Since a just cause cannot be fairly combated, paid Cuban-minded lobbyists have resorted to propaganda. I brought this out in a speech on the floor recently and I pointed out that these lobbyists had resorted to veiled subtle threats and big talk. Now I find that they have been trying to use the poor-mouth strategy, by means of a letter inserted in Investor's Reader, a publication of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner, & Beane. As a complete answer to this poor-mouth strategy, I wish to call to your attention the reply of a group of responsible people engaged in the domestic sugar industry. The people who signed this reply represent the beet-sugar industry, but their problems are common to the domestic sugarcane industry in Louisiana and Florida. Their reply, which appeared in the March 9, 1955, issue of Investor's Reader, follows:

GENTLEMEN: In your issue of January 26, space was given to the publication of a letter from a paid publicity man for certain Cuban sugar interests. This being so, we assume that you will give at least equal prominence to this letter from us.

Part of the Cuban sugar industry has set itself against any consideration of changes in the Cuban share of the United States market decreed by existing law. To accomplish this objective it is part of the Cuban strategy to talk poor mouth.

For example, the writer of the letter which you published complains that Cuba no longer can fill the Philippine sugar quota in this market, a backhanded protest against the rehabilitation of the Philippine sugar industry. Cuba knew that the privilege given her of filling the Philippine deficit was only temporary and that she could not hope permanently to augment her output at the expense of the Philippine industry.

Cuba protests that out of her quota some relatively small increases in the shares in the United States market of Peru, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico were made in 1951. What was done was approved, in fact, initiated by the State Department. It comes with poor grace for Cuba to protest any transfer to other foreign countries, many of whom are also friends of the United States and numbered among its best customers. That Cuba today receives approximately 96 percent of the entire share of the United States market set aside for foreign suppliers shows how generous the present situation is to her. That large percentage also explains why other sugar-producing countries to the south of us have initiated a determined claim to part of Cuba's share.

The present law was enacted in 1947. From that year to 1954, United States annual consumption has increased over 1 million tons. Neither the domestic beet industry, the mainland cane industry, or the Hawaiian indus-

try received 1 ounce of this large increase in consumption. Not only that, but the way the law was framed and stands today, foreign suppliers, with Cuba getting 96 percent, will continue to get the entire and complete benefit of the increase in consumption sure to take place in the future. The domestic industries complain that they should not be foreclosed from a share in the growth and progress of this country. They are helping to make this growth possible. Actually, Cuba's basic quota—disregarding deficits—increased between 1948 and 1954 from 26.7 to 33 percent of the total quotas of all areas supplying sugar for United States consumption. The fixed-tonnage quota of the domestic industry obviously results in gradually reducing the percentage of the expanding United States market which the domestic industry is permitted to supply. The domestic beet-sugar quota, for example, was 25 percent of the total quotas in 1948, and now is less than 22 percent.

The sugar brought by consumers from the domestic area is produced with less manpower and greater efficiency than that which reaches us from foreign sources. Finally, it takes fewer minutes of the average workingman's employed time to buy a pound of sugar in the United States today than at any other time in history or in any other place in the world today.

Very truly yours,

J. A. SUMMERTON, *President,*
American Crystal Sugar Co.
FRANK A. KEMP, *President,*
The Great Western Sugar Co.
MERRILL E. SHOUP, *President,*
Holly Sugar Corp.
DOUGLAS SCALLEY,
Executive Vice President,
Utah-Idaho Sugar Co.

Elsewhere in today's RECORD I commented on the fact that 25 weekly and daily newspapers in my home State of Louisiana recently joined in issuing their publications on newsprint made from bagasse, heretofore generally considered a waste product of sugarcane, but which now offers unlimited possibilities. The story of the Valentine Pulp & Paper Co.'s plant at Lockport, La., as unfolded elsewhere in today's RECORD, is a tribute not only to our free-enterprise system but is an argument in favor of the proposed amendment to the Sugar Act, as a well-earned encouragement to an industry which has shown itself capable of ever-increasing efficiency.

National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include herein several communications relating to a National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week:

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC.,
Toledo, Ohio, March 21, 1955.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, JR.,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am enclosing a letter from C. C. Furnas, chancellor, University of Buffalo, N. Y. which was sent to Chester LeVine, president, Niagara Frontier Chapter, American Material Handling Society, Inc.

The letter refers to a check for $1,000 presented to the university for the purpose of establishing a fund for the purchase of books for a material handling library and for awarding a series of prizes to students presenting the best papers on the subject of material handling.

This gift, proceeds of conference and exhibit staged by the Buffalo group, is only one of the many such gifts to institutions of learning throughout the Nation by the men of the material handling industry and profession to help promote the advancement of the art and science of material handling.

In the interest of the effort to establish a National Better Material and Packaging Week, may I request that this letter be included in the record as beneficial to the program.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL,
National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO,
Buffalo, N. Y., February 25, 1955.

Mr. CHESTER LE VINE,
Niagara Frontier Chapter, the American Material Handling Society, Inc., Buffalo, N. Y.

DEAR MR. LE VINE: I am very happy, indeed, to acknowledge the check for $1,000 which you presented to the University of Buffalo on behalf of the Niagara Frontier Chapter of the American Material Handling Society, Inc.

It is a pleasure to express my thanks and appreciation on behalf of the university to you and to the members of your chapter for this substantial evidence of your interest in the continuation and strengthening of engineering education at the University of Buffalo. This check is a symbol of the interest which the members of your society have in the continued growth and welfare of the University of Buffalo. It is a demonstration of the kind of interest which we believe the citizens of this community will be demonstrating in ever increasing numbers in the active support of university education at the University of Buffalo.

Sincerely yours,

C. C. FURNAS,
Chancellor.

AMERICAN MATERIAL HANDLING SOCIETY, INC.,
Toledo, Ohio, March 21, 1955.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr.,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RODINO: I am enclosing for your information a letter, written by Mr. G. C. Stewart, general manager, National Safety Council.

It is with extreme pleasure that I ask that the letter from this organization, devoted only to the increased safety of every human being, be included into the record as a part of the effort to establish A National Better Material Handling and Packaging Week.

Very truly yours,

J. W. HALL,
National Secretary, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

NATIONAL SAFETY COUNCIL,
Chicago, March 7, 1955.

Mr. J. W. HALL,
National Secretary, American Material Handling Society, Care of Westinghouse Electric Corp., Meter Division, Newark, N. J.

DEAR MR. HALL: Your letter of February 24 inviting the National Safety Council to endorse a proposed National Material Handling Week was received with much interest.

The increased use of material handling equipment has been a factor in the reduction of occupational injuries. Further, we know of the good work of equipment manufacturers in fostering safety training for employees using their equipment.

We are, therefore, happy to endorse and commend your effort to draw attention to the safety, as well as economic benefits often derived from material handling equipment.

Cordially,

G. C. STEWART,
General Manager.

This Is Your Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a series of three articles written by my very good friend, Louis Bromfield. As usual, these articles are well worth reading:

THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY

(By Louis Bromfield)

No matter what action Congress takes with regard to the proposed dangerous program for universal military service or even for the extension of the so-called Selective Service Act, it would be well to consider how this act has operated in the past, its many faults and its failure to carry through its original intent and purpose. This failure and the muddled situation arising from its loose and varied administration can be laid primarily at the feet of Congress itself which never had the courage to put through a law which had reality of purpose and the necessary explicitness which would have produced the results originally asked for by President Roosevelt and the writers of the bill.

In Congress there were too many men without courage and character who, realizing that an unpopular forced military service act was a necessity, ducked their responsibilities and simply tried to produce a law which would make them as little unpopular as possible. The result was to leave the law wide open to any interpertation of it the Armed Forces chose to make and to shift onto the shoulders of the longsuffering, self-sacrificing and honorable citizens who served on the local draft boards all sorts of responsibilities for decisions and interpretation which Congress itself should have set forth definitely in the first place.

The very name of the act, which eventually came to have no meaning owing to the way it was interpreted, implied its original purpose and the soundness of that purpose. It was not meant to be simply a draft such as was imposed during the War Between the States. Its original purpose was to set up a law under which every citizen within certain age limits would be put to a task in which he could be of the most use to his country under conditions of total war. Until World War I there had never been any such thing as total war in which civilians were killed and maimed in greater numbers than the actual troops, conditions under which it was necessary, as in the case of this country, for one agriculturally rich Nation to provide food, not only for its own population and Armed Forces but for the nations which were her allies, conditions under which frequently a skilled scientist or food producer

or technician had the value of dozens of enlisted or conscripted soldiers.

Well, as we all know, that original purpose became lost all together. Because the law became subject to virtually any interpretation any village draft board saw fit to give it, the whole program merely degenerated into a helter-skelter conscription of every man, regardless of his ability or talents or contributions, into the ranks of the infantry where nobody in particular wanted to serve.

There has been much talk about the necessity for providing a large and permanent army and reserve force for defense, but there has been very little talk of creating such a force selectively and with a purpose. In other words, the fact that we live in the atomic age, in which total war is more total than ever before and when malnutrition or actual starvation for millions lies only a few days behind the outbreak of war, there is still no intelligent program under which every citizen can serve in the place in which he can contribute most to the welfare, defense, safety, and victory of the Nation. Selective Service has never existed in this country, does not exist today and apparently is not even being considered. Where the intent of the law has been carried out, it has only been through the wise judgment and commonsense of an individual draft board or of officers here and there in the armed services.

In European nations and even in those Latin-American countries which have long suffered the blight of forced military service, the laws governing conscription have been based largely upon the fact of total war and administered and carried out on the basis of putting the citizen where he can contribute most. In Britain, when a man is doing a valuable work, from raising food to atomic research, he is frozen into the job he is doing for the period of his military service and is so listed in the reserve forces. Even in Soviet Russia, the man or woman making an authentic contribution economically, scientifically or even culturally, to the nation, is left free to continue his work and encouraged to do so. Exactly the opposite occurs in this country and there are already protests from those with proper knowledge and authority, that we are failing to produce engineers, doctors and dentists, scientists and agricultural producers in sufficient numbers to meet the needs of peace let alone the extremely urgent needs of total war.

Moreover, there is little evidence that any effort has been made to round up the draft evaders who have never even taken the trouble to register for the draft. I should think it probable that, if any effort were made in this direction, the pool halls, the beer saloons, the dance halls would yield up a whole army of idle and shiftless young men who have never bothered to register or make any contribution whatever toward the welfare of the Nation.

The whole Selective Service Act and its administration has been from the beginning an inefficient, unscientific, ramshackle, hit and miss affair, which has contributed as much as any other single factor in the production of juvenile delinquency and crime since it has made impossible for countless young men to plan steady work or undertake a steady job or career or to be employed by any employer who wants to count upon steady solid help which is not going to be snatched from him at any moment by the draft.

Nor is it possible to say that the discipline of the Armed Forces has been on the whole beneficial to delinquents; the record, the evidence and the statistics are altogether on the other side as indeed they are in any European country where conscription has long been in practice. I suggest that every citizen think twice about the whole problem of conscription and universal military service and then write to his Senator and Representative.

THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY

(By Louis Bromfield)

During the coming few weeks Congress will have many serious things to consider but perhaps the most serious of all in its effects upon the freedom, welfare, and future of the Nation is the question of military service in one form or another by its young people. This is a difficult and complex problem yet it can be solved, and solved I think without resorting to the blight which Europe has long endured because for centuries there have existed side by side nations poised to attack one another. In the past, in Europe, conscription in some countries was a barbaric necessity and sometimes in the poorer countries it served to solve economic problems of low living standards and unemployment. None of these conditions have ever existed here and do not exist today. The need for large armies of foot soldiers to protect us from Mexico or Canada is obviously nonexistent and the idea absurd.

Why then are there advocates in Congress and elsewhere for large land armies? There can only be one reason—that these same advocates would send our conscripted American young men as cannon fodder into such messes as that in Korea or the potential mess in Indochina or that we must continue to draft our American young men to provide an army for the defense of Germany and Western Europe which has a total population about three times as great as this Nation.

Why do these same advocates want to draft our young men for a period of 2 years when in most European countries the conscription period, in the case of the young men who are drafted, is much shorter than that for American boys?

We maintain in Europe today more than six divisions of young Americans, most of them in Germany, where there is no conscription and where there is great agitation at the moment among the younger men against any military service at all. You cannot blame the Germans for this. Why should they endure the hardships of conscription so long as the American Government will supply an army of drafted young Americans equipped by and paid for by American taxpayers. Why should young Germans want to undergo compulsory military service, or the taxpayers and industrialists pay the heavy taxes for armament and defense when the Americans will take care of all of this?

The truth is that if our troops were withdrawn from Europe and the job of defending Europe and Germany was left to the Europeans and Germans, there would be no need for compulsory military service in this country and the budget might be balanced and taxes reduced. The situation is especially grotesque considering the fact that only recently Germany was a cruel and bitter enemy and, as not a few wise Europeans fear, might easily become again within a generation.

We poured more than $2 billion into Indochina to force the French to continue a colonial domination from which they were only eager to free themselves. There was left behind for the Communist-dominated enemy hundreds of millions worth of war material paid for by you and me—a fact which the Armed Forces and the interventionists are not mentioning. Yet there are still generals and admirals who advocate continuing this kind of policy in what remains of Indochina, where conditions are worse now than they were at the time of our earlier intervention.

General Ridgeway himself has voted consistently against any further military intervention in Asia because we "do not have sufficient ground troops to carry out such extended operations." The implications of this statement are worse than if the general had voted for intervention because it implies that in our Armed Forces there are generals and admirals who would be willing and even eager to involve us in the intervention everywhere in the world and even to start the most evil of all maneuvers—a preventive war—such a policy would mean that from now on we should conscript cannon fodder year after year to be fed into such tragic messes as Korea and Indochina as well as for the defense of a Europe and a Germany which drag their feet.

The recent reductions in the Army and in the draft quotas were not made by an irresponsible and inexperienced or political President angling for votes as other Presidents during the past generation have done. They were ordered by a man who is probably the most able and experienced military man of our time, who is not only a great tactician but a great executive, as any man who carried out the Normany invasion had to be. He is also a man with greater experience in international politics than any other American. He is also a good man. The biggest reproach brought against him from some quarters is that he does not understand politics and that he refuses to act from cheap political motives. Why then should we doubt the wisdom of his decisions as against those made by hotheads or old men in Congress and in the Armed Forces who are living in a world which no longer exists, planning war in terms of the Battle of Bull Run?

The truth behind all of this is that if Congress and the Armed Forces chose to make a career in the Armed Forces attractive enough, with the rewards worthy of skilled intelligent and able men, we should not need conscription at all in any form. We should have a volunteer Army, Navy, Marine, and Air Force of the very highest type trained in truly modern warfare with modern weapons • • • indeed an organization very nearly invincible in offense and defense. And it would cost us all much less money and fewer lives. And who can doubt the superiority of a volunteer, professionally trained army over one made up of reluctant, poorly trained temporary conscripts?

THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY

(By Louis Bromfield)

The acceptance by any nation of permanent conscription and forced military service in peacetime is a step downward and backward and one which should certainly not be considered or accepted by a free people who have never before suffered this blight upon the life of its young people.

Forced military service in time of peace, when there is no real necessity, is an actual abrogation of the Bill of Rights which involves involuntary servitude. But other equally important rights—those of a trial by jury or a legally constituted court are abrogated at the same time. And at the present time the Armed Forces and especially the Army are operating under regulations, traditions, and even codes of discipline which are archaic and barbaric with little or no relationship to advances in civilian codes of law and justice. Actually the code of the Army is that set up for the British Army in 1732. Very few changes have been made and under such a code every sort of injustice can occur either to conscript or volunteer who had been forced to give up the major portion of his rights as a free American citizen.

In time of peace such servitude and abrogation of rights is unspeakable and should not be considered by a free people. Yet this

is exactly what is being asked under any program of conscription, universal military service, or even by an extension into peacetime of conscription under the existing absurdly unreal name of selective service.

It is abundantly clear that if opportunities, honors and rewards were made worthy of the object in view—that of creating an expert, professional, modern Armed Forces, there would be no difficulty whatever in finding a sufficient number of vigorous, intelligent and even skilled volunteers to supply all the needs of the Air Force, the Navy, and the Marine Corps. If there is a difficulty at the moment in producing sufficient manpower for the Army, it is because great armies of foot soldiers have become obsolete and are needed in this country only if we propose as a permanent policy to intervene in every sort of border war throughout the world or to supply conscripted cannon fodder for the defense of other nations unwilling to defend themselves.

If this is the kind of permanent policy which the advocates of conscription and big armies of footsoldiers have in mind, let them come out honestly and say so. There is no other condition which could possibly justify large armies of footsoldiers in the atomic age. But even in the case of the Army, it is probable that if conditions of military service were modernized and the rewards increased by Congress and the Armed Forces, there would be little difficulty in finding a sufficient number of young volunteers willing to take up the Army as a permanent career.

Outside the admirals and the generals—and one cannot include some of the wiser ones among these—the advocates of universal service or of extending conscription are the world savers, the warmongers, the hotheads, and those who are amazingly ignorant of international politics, economics, and world conditions.

Conditions of freedom, of decency, of living standards in Soviet Russia have not improved over those existing in the time of the Czars and in some fields conditions are actually worse today. Many observers believe Russia to be weak even as a military nation. The principal reason is that for nearly two generations the biggest part of the Soviet budget has been expended upon military might and land armies. The youth of Russia, which might have been contributing enormously to her industrial and agricultural production and to her advance politically and culturally has been conscripted into military service. Yet if war broke out tomorrow it is possible that this vast and hideously expensive army of foot soldiers might be completely useless.

Soviet Russia may choose to live under conditions of the 18th century but there is no reason why we should imitate the Communist Russians. Who can believe that in any modern atomic war or even in a war of planes, any war would last long enough to require the use of infantry in great numbers or even the use of infantry at all? Or who can believe that under modern conditions large armies or Russian infantry would have time enough to invade the United States or even Western Europe.

There has been a great deal of talk about the New Look at the Armed Forces and much of it has come from those whose profession is war or from old and middle-aged men in Congress and out, who are in no danger of being conscripted. The only fault has been that the New Look has not yet been new enough or extensive enough. Certainly under conditions of modern warfare, large armies of foot soldiers armed with rifles and machineguns have become as obsolete as the cross bowmen at Agincourt—unless we are going to conscript young Americans to provide the rest of the world with a police force.

No intelligent European would consider universal military service or conscription anything but an evil in every sense of the word and there is no European nation today which would not be delighted to be freed of its blight. It seems to me therefore that the American people and their representatives in Congress should think a long while before voluntarily establishing an evil which may not and probably is not ncessary in this modern world.

Admitting Hardship Cases of Single Persons To Public Housing Projects—What Hardship Really Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is hard for a person who is well-fed, well-housed, and in comfortable circumstances, as most of us are today, to realize what the grim tragedy of inadequate housing means in old age, especially in obtaining decent housing at a price you can afford to pay. Sometimes this lack means the difference between continuing living and almost committing suicide.

So, before I comment upon a bill that I wish to present to this body on the vital question of admitting aged single persons in hardship cases to low-rental, federally aided housing projects, I would like to indicate briefly, the importance of this matter by giving you a dramatic case in point. It is nothing unusual, and could be duplicated many times during my terms in office, and I assure you each one is always a heart-rending experience.

I shall clothe the name of my constituent in anonymity to spare his feelings by merely calling him Mr. Smith. For many years Mr. Smith and his wife lived comfortably in a modest home until the years crept up upon both of them. Then, after a prolonged illness and great medical expense, she died and Mr. Smith was left all alone, an old, forlorn householder.

Their home was now too large, and it was beyond his economical and physical abilities to maintain. Nevertheless, it was rich with memories. Every piece of furniture and each object in the household was clothed with loving memories that recalled the many happy years they lived together. Gradually, work fell off, his income dropped, and he no longer could afford to keep up their former home. For months on end, he continued the long and dreamy rounds of seeking, through the newspapers and the real-estate offices, a simple place where he could move to and live with some of his cherished household effects and their treasured memories. It was in vain. The rents were all prohibitive.

So he turned to me as the Representative from his district and begged me to see if I could not possibly help him to get into a public-housing project. It was a forlorn, dejected, and desperate man who pleaded with me. I was visibly moved.

I approached our Public Housing Administration and was advised that under the present law only couples could be housed in low rent public-housing projects that were aided by the Federal Government. They were right. The present law leaves them no other alternative.

When I gave Mr. Smith that tragic news, it was mere chance that kept him from taking his life. I resolved from that day forward that the same law which was designed to help families of low income should also assist aged persons who are the helpless victims of circumstances and cannot afford to pay the high existing rentals from private landlords.

Are we to cast them out upon the streets? Are we not all concerned as our brother's keeper in providing decent housing for the aged, and handicapped, the crippled, the disabled veteran, the widower, at a price that they can afford to pay? How can we hold our heads high when we attempt to rehabilitate the decrepit shacks and villages in South Korea, in Japan, or Indochina at the same time that we neglect our aged at home, who, unlike these Asiatics are able and willing to pay rents within their financial means?

While the original purpose of the Federal Public Housing Act was to provide decent housing in a good environment so that the families and children could get out of the slums and live in healthy surroundings, there is no logical reason why this same philosophy should not be extended to aged people who by chance or circumstances now find themselves unable to pay the high prevailing, existing, private rentals. Under the general-welfare clause of our Constitution we are trying to promote a form of Government which advances the general welfare of all the people. This means not only those who can afford it but those of lesser means as well. Assuredly, this concept of promoting the general welfare includes the aged and the less fortunate in our midst.

Moreover, aged couples now commonly occupy units in the low-rent federally aided public housing projects. Shall we deny to an aged, single person that which now is afforded to those who are couples? By what form of twisted logic are the benefits to be withheld from a handicapped or elderly person merely because his spouse is no longer alive?

Actually, in many public housing projects throughout the Nation, it is now the policy of the administration to permit the remaining spouse to live in such property where the other one passes on. So the reality is that such elderly persons are actually now living alone in such housing.

Shall we again draw a distorted distinction between an elderly single person who remains in public housing because he or she formerly had a spouse, and a similar person who is trying to get in there in the first place?

Moreover, the most compelling reason of all why a single person in hardship cases should be admitted to low-rent housing projects is to be found in the fact that under the existing law en-

acted by Congress in the last session, tenants displaced from slum clearance projects have first priority to public housing. Likewise, they cannot be displaced from their present slum residences until such public housing is provided for them. As a result, in large cities like New York and Chicago, single persons are now obtaining first priority, in federally aided, low income housing projects. This should be precedent enough for my bill which provides similar opportunities for other elderly hardship cases.

All of these facts and precedents point to one inescapable conclusion, sound public policy requires that we treat all aged hardship cases alike. This is simple justice to the individual and to the community in which he lives. To this end, I have this day introduced a bill which will authorize the Federal Public Housing Administration in its dealings with the local public housing authorities, to permit, in hardship cases, elderly single persons and related hardship cases to be admitted to federally aided low-rent housing projects.

St. Jude's Parish Federal Credit Union: A Study in Self-Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I should like to report a visit I made recently to the St. Jude Parish Credit Union of East Side Detroit, Mich. I was very impressed by the spirit and cooperative attitude of the members of this organization and the financial institution they have organized for their mutual self-help. It reemphasized the Latin proverb "Multae manus onus levius faciunt"—many hands make the burden light. So it is with the community-spirited parishioners at St. Jude's, a cooperative enterprise designed to lighten the financial burdens of its faithful. The following is a short history of this organization's development and a description of its method of operation.

The St. Jude credit union is the first parish credit union on the east side of Detroit to operate on a full-time basis and in January of last year opened an office to serve its members. The credit union has a membership potential of 3,000 and is presently serving over a third of this group with loans, a shares depository and free credit life insurance. Since its inception 4 years ago with paid-in share holdings of $1,700, the credit union has made 1,038 loans for $539,043.13 and has presently on its books $210,240.58 in loans and $182,240.62 in shares deposits.

On the occasion of my visit to this fine organization, I presented the first claim paid under the credit unions free credit life-insurance program with the Credit Union National Association mutual life-insurance program. Under this program all loans and shares deposits up to $1,000 are insured free to members, and the premiums are paid by the credit union. I presented Mr. John Jacobs a check for $500, which represented the amount equal to the shares deposited with the credit union by his mother, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, deceased.

The credit union is under the general auspices of Father J. J. Ording, pastor of St. Jude parish, and the business management is attended to by an able board of lay parishioners having a president, vice president and treasurer. All administrative offices of the organization are elective and for a term of 1 year. This permits greater group participation and serves to make a greater number of the community familiar with domestic problems of finance and credit. At present the credit committee members are making a study of the differences between Federal and State regulated credit unions which should be very helpful to all legislators concerned with such problems.

Secretary for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, when President Eisenhower assumed office, Frank E. Gannett, president of the Gannett newspapers, wrote him urging that he establish a Department of Peace. For more than 20 years, Mr. Gannett has advocated such a step in newspaper editorials and public addresses. Peace, he has pointed out many times, is not merely the absence of war; it is the presence of justice. Nations sometimes blunder their way into war; they cannot blunder their way into peace. It must be planned for, nurtured, promoted, and everlastingly protected.

In urging the creation of a Department of Peace, Mr. Gannett was, of course, giving voice to thoughts which have been shared by millions of people. The Reverend David Rhys Williams, of Rochester, N. Y., foresaw, with prophetic vision, that such a dream might materialize under President Eisenhower. In a sermon during the Christmas season of 1952, Dr. Williams said:

> Some day, some soldier of commanding genius is going to have the imagination to test the Christian principle of overcoming evil with good on a grand enough scale to succeed.
>
> Could it be that President-elect Eisenhower has come to power to play some such prophetic role for our time? Having reached the pinnacle of fame in the field of war with no further military luster to gain that could be greater than what is already his, could it be that he has undertaken the arduous and exacting responsibilities of the Presidency to see what he can do to establish some measure of peace among all nations?

Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower has indeed played such a prophetic role, ever since he assumed office. With firmness, with dedication, with restraint, he has labored patiently but resolutely to foster peace among the nations. This week he took the further dramatic step of appointing FOA Administrator Harold E. Stassen as, in effect, Secretary for Peace, a post with Cabinet rank.

Mr. Stassen's task is of enormous dimensions. So also are his opportunities. There is no more vital work to be done in the world today than that of halting the current deadly arms race, and replacing it with a truly just and lasting peace, a dynamic peace that will channel men's minds and energies into the building of a better world.

It is an undertaking that will capture the imagination of all mankind. Certainly it will be welcomed by those like Frank Gannett and Dr. Williams who have yearned for, and prepared the ground for, such an eventuality. Mr. Stassen's appointment, and the considerations which led up to it, may prove to be one of the most historically significant events of our time.

Modesto and Turlock Irrigation Districts Oppose Engle Bill, H. R. 2388

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in 1913 a very important bill was passed through the Congress which became known as the Raker Act. The law gave San Francisco certain rights-of-way in the Yosemite National Park and permitted the city and county of San Francisco to construct dams and appurtenant works on the Tuolumne River. The reservoirs which impounded the water behind these dams are known as Lake Eleanor and Hetch Hetchy Reservoirs.

The Raker Act recognized the prior rights to water under California law. This recognized the rights of both districts to 2,350 second-feet of water and 4,000 second-feet after April 15. This represented from 600,000 to 1,200,000 acre-feet a year.

From the revenue from this power and by direct taxation, the districts became two of the most successful in California. Practically all of the bonded debt of both districts has been paid off.

The result of these operations was also to furnish water at a very cheap rate to the irrigators—perhaps the cheapest rate of any of the irrigation districts in California where we have over 150 irrigation districts.

The Turlock Irrigation District and the Modesto Irrigation District and the city and county of San Francisco entered into an agreement in 1949 with the Federal Government to operate their reservoirs on the Tuolumne for flood control, the Federal Government to pay for flood-control benefits only.

These districts not only developed the water resources for their members of the districts who were irrigators but they also developed an electric system which provided cheap electricity for the area served by the districts.

These irrigations districts, as well as their officers and members, are practically all in my congressional district—the 11th District of California.

The leading newspaper in the area comprising these districts is the Modesto Bee, a McClatchy newspaper. It is an aggressive and intelligent publicity organ and in a recent issue of the paper summed up the case in its editorial columns very well.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including this editorial, which follows:

DISTRICTS ACT WISELY IN OPPOSING ENGLE BILL

The Modesto and Turlock Irrigation Districts have set forth clearly the seriousness of attempts being made to amend the Raker act, national legislation which protects Tuolumne River water and power rights of the districts and the city of San Francisco.

In a well worded resolution, the irrigation districts have declared themselves unalterably opposed to any such proposition as is being made by Congressman CLAIR ENGLE, Democrat, of the Sierra and Mother Lode Counties. ENGLE wants to take from the city of San Francisco a power site which it owns and give it to another agency.

Such action would cut to the heart of the cooperative use of Tuolumne River power and water resources by the districts and San Francisco. Already $250 million has been spent on this highly beneficial development.

If this program is jeopardized it will have a lasting detrimental effect upon the irrigation and electrical operations of the two districts.

Recognizing this threat, the boards of directors of the two irrigation districts have instructed a delegation to go to the Nation's Capital to press the fight against it.

With them will go the resolution which outlines the basic arguments of the irrigation districts.

The Modesto and Turlock Irrigation Districts, which even now are using privately generated power because the Tuolumne generating capacity is used up, have an urgent need for all the electrical energy which can be manufactured at power sites now under consideration.

In order to guarantee satisfactory irrigation conditions for every year regardless of drought, the two irrigation districts need increased holdover storage capacity which can be realized only through the construction of the greater Don Pedro Dam. Should this power site be taken from the city of San Francisco, the districts declare "the entire program or plan for the construction of new Don Pedro Reservoir will be greatly delayed, if not abrogated, and the districts will be deprived of the great benefits resulting to them in the form of increased holdover storage and the additional quantities of electrical power that would otherwise be made available."

And finally in fairness, the districts argue, that the city of San Francisco should not be deprived of the site which is of value only because of the city's $20 million investment in the Hetch Hetchy Reservoir a short distance upriver from the disputed site.

Tampering with the Raker Act is dangerous under any circumstances and the proposition now being considered poses a special threat to the irrigation districts.

It is well that officials of the two districts are aware of the hazard and are carrying their fight against modification of the Raker Act to every battlefield necessary.

The fight must be fought with all the vigor the districts can muster. Loss of water or power rights would mean a loss of the lifeblood of the region which has made it one of the Nation's richest agricultural areas.

Medicine for a Hangover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I offer a recent editorial from the Wall Street Journal which comments upon current proposals for disposal of surplus wheat:

MEDICINE FOR A HANGOVER

Normally, the American economy consumes about 700 million bushels of wheat a year. The American farmer grows in excess of a billion bushels. The problem: What to do with the other 300 million or so bushels.

The answer might seem quite simple since there is a vast market for wheat in other countries of the world. But it is not so easy as that because the world price of wheat is considerably below the domestic price of wheat. And the domestic price of wheat is above the world price of wheat because the United States Government makes it so.

Why should anyone sell wheat abroad for a low price when the Government will take it for a higher price?

Ever since the Government started helping American farmers with price supports, world prices and United States prices for the major crops have been getting further out of line. Foreign production, quite naturally, has been encouraged to increase to take advantage of this. The war brought a brief respite, but now the plight of United States growers of wheat, cotton, and other commodities is so bad that the farmers' friends in Congress have decided to do something about it.

The proposal—in the case of wheat—is an export subsidy to help the wheat farmer recapture the foreign markets lost by the domestic subsidy. The House Agriculture Committee wants the Government to keep wheat prices high for the United States consumer; wheat would then be sold abroad at the lower world price with the Government making up the difference to the farmer.

Since this would take care of the export problem, the committee concludes it can also hike the domestic support price even higher without losing the farmer any world markets; it wants a return to rigid 90-percent-of-parity price supports for wheat and other basic crops.

And, of course, with all the marketing problems thus neatly disposed of, there would be, the committee thinks, no need for any production limitations. Under this plan there would be no acreage restrictions; a farmer could grow as much as he liked so long as his excess was sold abroad.

Well, we doubt if the House committee members will be much bothered by what this dumping operation will do to the economies of our foreign friends. But they might reflect on what it will do to United States consumers and taxpayers—and to United States agriculture.

As it is, the United States consumer is penalized twice for his wheat; once in taxes to support the support program, and again in the higher price which is the result of the support program. How much extra it will cost to have this new program for subsidizing exports is hard to estimate, but it will be considerable.

More importantly, this is a program for making the United States farm problem worse, not better. The root of the present trouble is that the support program encourages production without any regard for the demand in the marketplace. A program which puts support prices higher, which then dumps the surplus abroad to make way for more surpluses and which at the same time encourages still more production—all this intensifies the very ills that are the present sickness.

The hair of the dog that bit you may give brief respite to a hangover. But it's the kind of medicine that long repeated gives the patient delirium tremens.

Partnership in Power and the Public Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRIS ELLSWORTH
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, political opponents of the administration proposal for expediting the construction of badly needed multiple-purpose river development projects which include power by permitting local participation have distorted the meaning and intent of the partnership plan. In an effort to set the record straight on this important subject, I prepared an article which was printed in a recent issue of the Reporter magazine. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article which follows:

PARTNERSHIP IN POWER AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

(By Representative HARRIS ELLSWORTH)

In an attack on the Eisenhower administration's partnership policy which appeared in the Reporter of February 24, Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER of my home State, Oregon, closed with the sentence: "The public good must come first."

I agree.

But what is the public good?

For power development in the Pacific Northwest, the public good is to get the job done—so that the people and industries of that rapidly growing area will have the electrical energy they need when and on the scale they must have it and at a cost they regard as fair. The Pacific Northwest has only one-tenth of the land area of the United States and only one-thirtieth of its total population, but it possesses 40 percent of the Nation's hydroelectric power potential—and only one-seventh of this has been developed so far. The potential of the Columbia River system alone is about 34 million kilowatts, of which more than two-thirds remains to be developed.

Even though much has already been accomplished, all agree that the abundant remaining water resources of this region must be harnessed to human use. The remaining question is how we are going to do it.

ACTION VERSUS NO ACTION

For 20 years the Federal Government has been in the field of power development on a large scale, and there are those, Senator NEUBERGER among them, who claim that only the Federal Government can do this enormous job. But what is the record?

History demonstrates that exclusive reliance on the Federal Government for the development of power resources has too often meant no development at all. The Government just does not have the tax money to develop all the projects that have been proposed for all the rivers of our land and do the other things it must. In a number of instances Congress has been unable in good conscience to authorize or to appropriate money for new power development around the country. As a consequence, the result in particular regions has frequently been no action at all.

The problems inherent in exclusive development by the Federal Government are emphasized by the fact that the projected power needs for the Pacific Northwest during the next 10 years will require an investment in the Columbia River Basin area alone of roughly $2 billion. Even though the Northwest has received a most generous share of total appropriations for public works, it would require new funds out of all proportion to past appropriations to meet the future power-development needs of the Pacific Northwest area alone. We, in the Northwest, cannot be so foolish as to sit back and make plans for the future in the hope that Federal appropriations will be forthcoming on such a lopsided scale.

Thus we are presented with a clear choice between a serious slackening of industrial development or the rapid evolution of a dynamic new program realistically designed to meet projected power needs.

Faced with the stark reality of this situation, the men in the Pacific Northwest began to explore the possibilities of local interests cooperating with the Federal Government in financing multiple-purpose projects. This was the germ of the partnership idea.

THE PARTNERSHIP POLICY

In August 1953 the Eisenhower administration formally set forth a new, constructive, forward-looking policy of partnership in power development. This policy was designed to promote the fullest possible local participation in power development. Only by bringing every possible resource to bear, private and governmental, can we expect to accomplish the job that has to be done. The policy is also advocated by the President because, as he has said, partnership will permit the American people in their communities and homes throughout the Nation to "reserve to themselves as many of the basic decisions as possible. In this way, our people will remain free to carve out their destinies as their predecessors did."

The partnership idea of power development means people working together. It means that local interests will be encouraged by the Federal Government to go ahead with necessary power projects on their own. It means further that the Federal Government will continue to sponsor those projects which because of their scope and cost cannot be undertaken locally. It means also that in certain instances, where feasible, the Government will share the cost of a project with local interests.

In other words, the Eisenhower policy means that no method of supplying the power needs of the Nation will be arbitrarily eliminated; it means that all sources of financing will be utilized—private, State, and Federal—to meet this enormous challenge. It means, finally, that we shall not have to rely solely on the Federal Government, which, as history demonstrates, is too often without tax money for allocation to this purpose.

When President Eisenhower dedicated McNary Dam in the Pacific Northwest last fall, he said: "Where local enterprise can shoulder the burden, it will be encouraged and supported in doing so. But where local action cannot or should not fully meet the need, we shall have Federal action." We can therefore be assured that the Federal Government will continue its active participation in the development of our water resources.

There is a complete determination on the part of the Eisenhower administration to boost power development in accordance with the Nation's requirements. By encouraging the maximum possible local cooperation and partnership with the Federal Government, the vast amount of work that remains to be done will be most rapidly accomplished.

ALTERING COUGAR DAM

To illustrate concretely how this policy is working, Congress, some time ago, authorized the construction in the district I represent, of the Cougar Dam for flood control. By altering the design of the dam slightly and increasing its height, it was found that 37,000 kilowatts of power could be produced in addition to the millions of dollars that would be saved in flood damage to farmlands and buildings in the area. Congress, accordingly, modified the authorization to include construction of these power features at an additional cost of $11 million. The Eugene Water and Electric Board, a publicly owned electric utility system operated by the city of Eugene, Oreg., finding itself in need of additional generating capacity, offered to construct the power part of the Cougar project and thus obtain the power it needs for the people it serves.

Under the partnership legislation introduced last year, the city of Eugene proposes to pay the entire $11 million cost of the power facilities, and in addition, to contribute $500,000 toward constructing the flood-control part of the dam. Further, it would pay 15 percent of the cost of operating the flood-control portion of the project throughout the 50-year life of its license with the Federal Power Commission. That payment will total another million dollars.

The water board believes this to be a good proposition because its system will acquire an additional 37,000 kilowatts of power which it needs. The cost of construction per kilowatt will be about on a par with its other capital investment for such facilities and the type of power generated can be integrated into the rest of its system.

This partnership project will also be of distinct advantage to the Federal Government. The people will get the flood control and power they need, but the cost of installing and maintaining the power facilities will not be an unnecessary burden upon the Federal taxpayer.

All partnership proposals have the same purpose—to get additional power as quickly as possible and at the least possible expense to the Federal Government.

And how is the Eisenhower administration's partnership policy working out? Is it getting the job done? Results to date have been eminently rewarding. They indicate conclusively that industry and local government are more than willing to assume their share of the responsibility. Since the administration's announcement of its partnership program, the kilowatt capacity represented by applications made to the Federal Power Commission has increased by 50 percent.

The President, in his Economic Report to the Congress this year, said: "During the last 2 years applications to the Federal Power Commission for permits to survey potential hydroelectric developments represented a larger total of kilowatts than was covered by the applications during the prior 7 years." He went on to say: "At the end of last year the volume of such permits outstanding was by far the greatest in the history of the Commission. The workings of the partnership policy are also illustrated by six multipurpose projects for which provision has already been made or is contemplated in the coming fiscal year. It is estimated that these projects will result in a Federal expenditure af about $200 million, while an additional $800 million may be expended by local interests, private or public."

Fourteen Federal Power Commission license applications by local interests plus another project to be built on a partnership basis would mean an additional 4 million kilowatts for the Pacific Northwest.

This would be the equivalent of two Grand Coulee Dams and would mean an investment approaching $2 billion, not supplied unnecessarily by Federal taxpayers but by private savings.

Illustrative of savings produced by the partnership approach are four projects which would have cost the taxpayer $575 million if authorization for their construction by the Federal Government had not been withdrawn. Private and local government development of these projects will not only relieve the United States taxpayer of the burden of their initial cost, but as to those projects constructed by private industry, it will mean additional tax revenue and thus a corresponding lightening of the citizens' tax burden. These economies are another example of the broad benefits that result from the application of the Eisenhower partnership policy.

One of the four projects is the Alabama-Coosa River project, authorized for Federal construction in 1945 under legislation sponsored by Senators JOHN SPARKMAN and LISTER HILL of Alabama. During the next 9 years, however, no funds for the project were appropriated by Congress. Last year Senators SPARKMAN and HILL supported new legislation which took the Federal Government out of the picture. The Federal Power Commission has already granted a preliminary permit to the Alabama Power Co. to build a 239,500-kilowatt project. The Federal project would have developed only 200,000 kilowatts and would have cost the Federal Government $114 million which it was apparently unable to make available.

REVIVAL OF INITIATIVE

One of the most heartening developments that the President's partnership policy has produced is a noticeable improvement in attitude. No longer are our local people, whether in private or public activities, waiting for the Federal Government to take care of their needs and spoon out power to them.

Renewed vigor and initiative are now abroad in the land. Local groups interested in power are exhibiting a new independence, a willingness to provide for themselves. They see now that only in this way can they get what they need, when they need it, and on their own terms. Eloquent testimony to this fact can be found in the recent action of the Oregon Legislature memorializing Congress to approve three partnership projects.

Another important point that must not be overlooked is that the savings made possible by the partnership power policy will make money available for other pressing responsibilities of the Federal Government for which there are no alternative sources of funds.

In his article Senator NEUBERGER made the rather startling observation that partnership over the years will deny to the Treasury hundreds of millions of dollars. Apparently he assumes that once the cost of a project has been paid the Government will maintain rates at the same levels and thus produce a profit for the Treasury.

Nowhere in any act of Congress, however, is there any general authorization for the Federal Government to go into or conduct a power business as such. The Bonneville Power Administration in the Department of the Interior, for example, operates the great Bonneville system into which power from all Northwest projects is fed. It sells the power at wholesale to publicly and privately owned distributing systems. The Bonneville Act of 1937 spells out how the rates shall be made: "Rate schedules shall be drawn having regard

to the recovery of the cost of producing and transmitting such electric energy, including the amortization of the capital investment over a reasonable period of years."

There is no provision in that law for the Government to make a profit for the Treasury from the Bonneville system. After the people who use the power have paid for the system, they may and probably will enjoy a reduction in rates when the amortization charge ends. The Treasury gets its money back with interest. That is all. Thus, unless Senator NEUBERGER proposes that the power business be socialized and turned into a profit-making enterprise for the Federal Government, his assumption that the partnership program will "deny the Treasury hundreds of millions of dollars" is palpably false.

The Senator also makes the strange argument that the Federal Government under the partnership plan will be "saddled with the apparatus that returns no cash dividends—locks and fish ladders." He neglects to mention that his apparatus has long been considered a Federal obligation and that even the TVA specifically excludes these costs in determining its power rates. Does the Senator want only the people of Oregon and the other Northwestern States to pay for flood control and navigation in their electric bills? His comparison to the department store with its revolving doors and sales counters is cute but misleading.

Remember also that where power is developed by private companies the public interest is always fully protected. Private and local power projects must be licensed by the Federal Power Commission, and before the Commission grants a license it must see evidence that the project makes maximum use of the developed resources. And, as President Eisenhower has made clear, when a project is licensed it is not removed from public control. Rates and services remain under regulation, State and Federal. Moreover, as Senator NEUBERGER has failed to mention despite his burning interest in adding to Federal revenues, every privately operated electrical utility, like any other corporation, pays a corporate income tax of 52 percent if it earns a net income. In the year 1953 the Federal treasury collected $875 million in income taxes paid by electrical utilities.

STEVENSON, SPARKMAN, AND HILL

But let us get back to the fundamental issue that is involved here: The problem of meeting the enormous and increasing power needs of our growing Nation.

The real question is whether we are going to use every available resource, private, State, and Federal, to get a job done that has to be done, or are we going to flounder around, moving at reduced speed, because some dogmatically insist, with Senator NEUBERGER that water resources should remain undeveloped unless the Federal Government does it alone?

The answer, it seems to me, is clear. It is also clear to many others, I submit, regardless of party lines. For example, two leading Democrats, Senators SPARKMAN and HILL, of Alabama, have recognized that Federal spending alone is not the answer. And in Portland, Oreg., in May of 1952, Adlai Stevenson, later leader of the Democratic Party and its chief spokesman, said, "Where private enterprise can and is willing to do the job, I think it should be left free to do so. It seems to me that Government enterprise should be primarily addressed to the maintenance and enforcement of competition in our economic life, not its destruction."

Senator NEUBERGER, on the other hand, prefers to take his stand with the past and with former Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who in 1941 predicted that the Pacific Northwest would in due course be a public power domain.

On the strength of these facts, I am compelled to conclude that Senator NEUBERGER is out of step with the new needs and conditions of our times and with the leadership and other important members of his own party. The evidence equally compels me to suggest that Senator NEUBERGER, liberal though he may claim to be, is certainly, on this issue at least, a reactionary.

Diplomatic Papers—Historical Political Weapon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post of March 22, 1955:

HISTORICAL POLITICAL WEAPON

(By Irving Brant)

To get a proper perspective on Secretary Dulles' release of the Yalta papers, one needs to go back to a time when diplomatic dispatches were the principal weapon in American politics. That was in the first decade of the 19th century, when politics and diplomacy were really boiling in the United States and the world was as much of a madhouse as it is today.

In that decade—near the high point of Napoleon's colossal power—England and France were engaged in a hot war with each other and each of them in a cold war with the United States. Charges of French influence were hurled at leaders of the Democratic Party (then called Republican) as zestfully as "20 years of treason" is today. Diplomatic dispatches were held back or published with one eye on Europe and the other on American politicians and newspapers, but with differences more important than the resemblances to the Dulles pattern.

The campaign literature which was used to elevate James Madison to the Presidency in 1808 consisted of diplomatic letters, about half of them written by himself as Secretary of State. These letters were given to Congress and the press in two batches—one of them so voluminous that it filled the newspapers for 2 months. And all were written within a year, not held back 10 years. However, everything that would have betrayed confidential talks with European officials was pared out, as such material was in a dozen other releases of papers by the Presidents in that era—releases regularly made in connection with their annual messages to Congress.

Individual Senators were as irresponsible and unethical then as now. To emphasize the wickedness of Bonaparte and the treason of Democratic officials, Federalist Senators surreptitiously secured the publication of dispatches from Paris sent to the Senate in confidence—an action which made Minister Armstrong's position at Napoleon's court almost untenable. Again, a British diplomatic dispatch mysteriously appeared in the American press. It looked as if British Minister Erskine had slipped it to a newspaper to hurt the President. But he had a simple and convincing explanation. To protect himself against Federalist criticism, he had shown the dispatch in confidence to 2 Senators of that party and 1 of them secretly copied it. Such incidents, however, were not the official acts of responsible officers of Government.

Had some counterpart of the Yalta papers been given to the press in 1810, with all the circumstances corresponding to the course pursued by Mr. Dulles, the manner of it—not the presumed motive—would have shocked the country. It would have been shocking on four accounts, all deeply grounded in American politics:

1. Not one of the Presidents who held office in that decade—John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison—would have dreamed of disclaiming responsibility for the action of his Secretary of State. Any one of them might have called it a Cabinet action, in which he shared, but to say publicly that he had no part in it would have lowered him in the eyes of every American.

2. Lumping Presidents and Cabinets together, not one of the Executives in that decade would have published such a set of papers under pressure from Congress, or to gain political advantage, if such action adversely affected the country's interest or its international standing.

3. Not one of the Secretaries of State in that period—not even the incompetent Robert Smith—would have said at one moment that the papers would not be released and released them the next.

4. Not one of those Executives would have released the papers in opposition to the wishes of a friendly European statesman concerned in them, or even, one could safely say, in violation of the amenities toward an unfriendly statesman.

The year 1810 is taken as an example because such an issue arose at that time. In the preceding fall, President Madison cut off all diplomatic relations with British Minister Francis Jackson—in effect ordering him out of the country—because he felt personally insulted by that Minister's conduct. The political heat that followed was terrific—Federalists supporting Jackson and Democrats upholding the President. And everybody asked: How would England react to the dismissal?

Sailing ships sped eastward across the Atlantic and beat their way slowly back. Four months passed without a word. Crucial spring elections lay just ahead—elections of State legislatures which would choose United States Senators.

Then, on March 12, the administration's chief newspaper organ published a little item. The Secretary of State had received a private note from the American minister in London, saying that Lord Wellesley "did not attempt to vindicate Mr. Jackson," but admitted he was in the wrong and would recall him.

Here was a statement which upset the Federalist election campaign. They called the letter a forgery, a thing which did not exist. Produce it, they cried. The House of Representatives, coerced by the minority, passed a resolution asking the President to transmit late dispatches from London. Madison replied that none but this private note had come, and "personal considerations of a delicate nature" forbade its disclosure.

After Congress adjourned the cries of "forgery" became a veritable scream when it turned out that Wellesley, in recalling Jackson, gave him praise instead of censure. Every political consideration now demanded publication of the private note. Continued silence would cast doubt on the President's integrity and imperil Democratic chances in the congressional election.

Why not publish this brief record of a confidential talk, which furnished evidence that a British foreign minister had said one thing and one the opposite in a controversy with the United States? Why not add American Minister Pinkney's later statement that Wellesley had changed his attitude when he learned that the Federalist Party in the United States was supporting the ousted British diplomat? There were two reasons

for not doing so: It would weaken Pinkney's position in London and would be a discourtesy to the British foreign minister.

The President said nothing. The Federalists were still crying "forgery" when Madison received this personal note from Pinkney:

"I am glad you refused to lay my private letter before the Congress. The publication of it, which must necessarily have followed, would have produced serious embarrassments."

In that same decade, European diplomats called the United States a nation ruled by public opinion. So it was, but it was a nation ruled by the opinion of an informed public, wise in political ways and contemptuous of men who lacked the nerve to stand firm against political clamor.

The Merchandise Mart of Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I am always pleased to read the stimulating pages of the noted magazine, Think, published by the International Business Machines Corp., a great business organization which has contributed invaluably to American growth.

Among the many articles of deep interest in its current March 1955 issue is one on that fabulous institution, the world's largest commercial building, generally described as the greatest showcase on earth—the famed Merchandise Mart of Chicago.

This enormous enterprise, the foremost display center for wholesale business in the Midwest and in the Nation, is representative of the miracle of American distribution, which has brought costs down so low for mass sales in this country, the greatest market of the world.

The Merchandise Mart, too, represents the vision and enterprise of its forward-looking owner, Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr., father of our distinguished colleague from Massachusetts. Mr. Kennedy, Sr., has, within a decade, regenerated the Merchandise Mart and brought it to its present peak of efficient, modern service to the great heartland of America and to the United States free enterprise system.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the Think article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD'S GREATEST MARKET PLACE

(By Irving Wallace)

In the heart of Chicago and, strangely enough, on a site where Indians once brought their wares to trade with the white men, stands the world's largest market place, the Merchandise Mart. This mammoth building was conceived and built by one of the greatest names in the merchandising world, Marshall Field & Co. When it was opened in 1930 to tenants and the public it was the largest structure, in actual size, in the entire world. Today, only the huge Pentagon Building in Washington, D. C., is larger than the Merchandise Mart, but it still has the distinction of being the world's largest commercial building—with no close second.

This structure covers 2 entire city blocks, having a gross area of 4,023,400 square feet—equivalent to 93 acres. The constant stream of humanity through the main halls (there are 7½ miles of corridors), entrances, and transportation facilities makes one think of a busy railroad depot at the height of a holiday rush period. Yet all moves in orderly fashion.

Literally, the Mart is the largest showcase on earth. No other single structure has such an amazing example of merchandise display methods. The very latest in lighting effect, use of color, material and design is here for the storekeeper anxious to increase his business back home. More buyers and more stores order more wholesale merchandise from firms located in the Mart than from any other market in the world.

Consulting the directory, one sees that there are 700 pages devoted to goods available and to the 3,200 manufacturers offering them for sale. In alphabetical order—from acetate fabrics to yarns—one finds items ranging from airplane kits to waste baskets, from baby boots, balloons, and barometers to wheel goods. There are 1,209,000 items on display.

From every corner of the world come buyers of merchandise, seeking the latest in everything. The children of India now play with metal toys fabricated in America because businessmen of Bombay and Calcutta trekked to the Merchandise Mart and placed their orders for shipment to the Orient.

But this is strictly a market for wholesale business. No huge stock of individual goods is stored here, only samples of the newest and finest products made. Here are some of the goods displayed: 948 lines of china, glass, pottery, and gifts; 205 lines of furniture; 407 of housewares, appliances, radios, and TV sets; 348 of men's and boys' clothing; 174 of curtains, draperies, and fabrics; 133 of floor coverings; 125 of toys, games and wheel goods; 224 of lamps, shades, and lighting fixtures; 817 of women's, children's and infants' wear; and 161 of linens, bedding, and domestic goods.

Though only registered buyers from recognized stores are permitted to make purchases, the general public is cordially invited to visit. During the week, Monday through Friday, specially trained personnel conduct tours on a half-hour schedule, and hundreds of people each day pay a nominal fee to take the 1¼-hour tour to see the city under 1 roof. Surveys have shown that, as a direct result of the tours, a large percentage of tourists placed orders through their merchants at home for items seen in the Mart.

Here is truly a "city under 1 roof," with a daily working population of more than 20,000 people, and another 20,000 or more who come each day on business. Robert Ripley of "Believe It or Not" fame astounded the readers of his newspaper feature when he revealed that all the people of Chicago could be placed in the building at one time.

Housekeeping at the Merchandise Mart is on a gigantic scale, with a staff of over 300 and an annual budget of $1,500,000. The locksmith must keep track of the keys to 15,000 locks, and there are over 10,000 telephones to take care of. Washing windows isn't a seasonal chore but a year-round job, for there are 6,500 windows to keep clean. Last year they used 30,000 gallons of paint, and this figure didn't include a carload of a water-soluble variety. Nearly all the rooms and corridors are air-conditioned. Equipment for this plant weighs over 7,000 tons.

Those who are appalled by winter fuel bills may take consolation in reading that as much as 27,000 tons of coal have been used in a single year to heat the Mart, and as much as 225 tons have been consumed in a single day. New heating equipment has been installed, making it possible to use gas, oil or coal, or any combination of these fuels.

The huge building also has its own police force and traffic officers on duty round the clock. Mail carriers assigned there aren't bothered by rain, sleet, snow, biting doks nor the chilly wind from Lake Michigan. For they need not leave the building as they deliver some 40,000 pieces of mail and approximately 1,000 parcel post packages on their 4 daily trips. The post office has an average annual revenue of $2 million, making it the fifth largest in Chicago.

Many of the Nation's outstanding industrial companies maintain their home or regional offices on the lower floors or in the tower. Yet it is not an office building. But it is only in such an amazing structure that the entire office force of a huge corporation could be placed on just a part of a single floor in an area comprising almost three acres, as are the general offices of the Pullman Co. Other outstanding companies to take advantage of the facilities offered include Quaker Oats, United States Rubber, Borg-Warner Corp. (Norge division), Dearborn Chemical, and Westinghouse, whose offices have cost as much as $700,000 to design and construct. The upper floors have both the National Broadcasting Co. and the American Broadcasting Co. studios and executive offices, as well as television studios. The major space, however is allotted to display rooms with floor after floor of showrooms, beautifully decorated, and filled with the finest products in the Nation.

One of the Nation's leading commercial banks is located on the main floor. The Merchandise Mart National Bank has deposits in excess of $74 million. On the first two floors there are 11 eating places where more than 30,000 people dine each day. These restaurants range from coffee and sandwich bars to the swank Fantasy Room operated by Henrici's, a popular restaurant name in Chicago. Also on the lower floors, employees—as well as the public—find firms giving all the services expected in a small city. There are 40 independent retail establishments selling groceries, drugs, gifts, cameras, tobacco, liquors, food for pets, shoes, sports equipment, radio and television supplies, appliances and housewares. Personal services include doctors, dentists, barbers, beauty parlors, and travel information.

The Mart is a magnificent structure, dominating Chicago's entire Loop area from the northern end. The main portion is 18 stories high, and the tower continues to 25 stories, 353 feet high. It has a 577-foot riverfront between Orleans and Wells streets. The building was erected on 458 caissons which go down into the earth 100 feet.

It is difficult to comprehend the large amount of material needed to construct a building this size. Some of the important items needed were: 3,915,000 cubic feet of concrete; 9 million feet of steel reinforcing wire for floors; 5 million feet of lumber; 20 million bricks; 54,000 tons of steel; 380 miles of wiring; 60 miles of plumbing; 35 miles of pipe for heating; 142 miles of piping for sprinklers; 132,000 square feet of glass; 7,000 tons of granite; 16,000 tons of terra cotta; 200,000 cubic feet of stone; 70,000 sprinkling heads and 40,000 lighting fixtures. The original cost was $32 million. Actually construction started in 1928 and the first tenants moved in during 1930. (Eighty-two percent of the original tenants are still there.)

There are 30 large electrically controlled passenger elevators to accommodate the thousands of employees, businessmen, and visitors. Officials estimate the elevators carried more than 25 million people last year. Five freight elevators, each capable of carrying a 5-ton load, handle the tremendous amount of incoming and outgoing merchandise.

Few buildings, if any, in the United States have freight transportation facilities comparable to those of the Mart. It is served by railroad, water, air, and highway. Trucking facilities play the major role in today's business. There are truck-loading platforms on two levels, and the largest can handle as many as 80 vehicles at one time. There are 6 railroad tracks running under the building where railway cars can deliver fuel and merchandise right to the freight elevators. On the river front are docks 2 blocks long and on the roof is a landing area for helicopters.

For passenger transportation facilities, Chicago's elevated trains come into a depot on the second floor, making it possible for the traveling public to reach any point in Chicago. The North Shore electric trains, serving suburban cities north of Chicago all the way to Milwaukee, use this same depot, where more than 2 million fares are collected annually. The Mart is but a few minutes ride from any of the major rail terminals. There is easy access for buses and taxis.

The building was sold 10 years ago to Joseph P. Kennedy, Boston banker, and former United States Ambassador to England. "Chicago's Merchandise Mart brought me a challenge and an opportunity," Mr. Kennedy said. During his ownership he has carried on a steady development program for the convenience of tenant firms and customers. Even so, the Mart is something to be watched, for Mr. Kennedy says he has only started.

The Yalta Conference and President Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Roosevelt Was Right at Yalta," published in the Montgomery Adviser of March 18, 1955.

Mr. President, I should like to call attention to the fact that the four editorials which I am presenting for the RECORD on the subject of the Yalta Conference are taken from newspapers which supported the Republican ticket in 1952. Therefore I am certainly not introducing any partisan material. I believe they are very objective views on this perplexing and complex subject.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROOSEVELT WAS RIGHT AT YALTA

The uncorking of the Yalta papers is causing a misbegotten effort to discredit the war leadership of Franklin Roosevelt.

Though Roosevelt was often a slick and dishonest hornswoggler, he was undeniably great in war.

His vision and realism concerning communism were not of the order of the supreme prophet, Churchill, but this country owes a great debt to Roosevelt for his splendid war leadership.

The current controversy over Yalta is an effort to prove that our troubles with Russia would not exist had Roosevelt not made unnecessary concessions to Stalin in order to get Russia to come in against Japan.

Many mistakes were made concerning Russia, and you can argue to good effect that Roosevelt's enormous vanity led him to suppose that he could handle the Russians. But making concessions to get Russia into the war against Japan was no error. He could not have done otherwise without betraying a million and more American soldiers and their families.

It must be remembered that at the time of the Big Three meeting at Yalta, Germany had not been vanquished. The A-bomb success was 5 months off. As Churchill records in his Yalta memoirs, American war planners thought it would take 18 months after the surrender of Germany to defeat Japan.

It was further thought that the storming of the Japanese islands would be one of the bloodiest events in the history of warfare.

But it would be much less bloody if the Russians joined in, assailing Japanese forces on the one hand and preventing the large and powerful Japanese Army in Manchuria from marching to the defense of Japan.

This reinforcement with Russian forces was a great prize to be won, and we should not forget how anxious we were in those days over whether Russia would come in. With the frightful vision of the bloody Japanese beaches before him, Roosevelt would have registered a colossal failure indeed had he not nailed down the help of the Russians. He owed that to every American soldier, sailor, and airman.

There are a lot of wise ones today croaking and rasping that Japan was by this time already used up and hence it was not necessary to entice Russia into the fray. Such was the case, but the same military leaders who had provided the brilliant victory in the ETO were convinced that Japan would slaughter many Americans in her death convulsion.

There are those who contend that, actually, there was no way to keep Russia out of the war on Japan. Probably that is true, but there never was a time when any man, not even Churchill, knew what the Russians would do in a given situation.

As for the Yalta agreement, what matter is it what Russia might have been induced or coerced to sign? Russia would not have honored the agreement in any event.

The Yalta Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Yalta Papers Should be Studied in Relation to 1945 Conditions," published in a recent issue of the Birmingham News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YALTA PAPERS SHOULD BE STUDIED IN RELATION TO 1945 CONDITIONS

It is no secret to anyone now that the late President Roosevelt was unwise in agreeing to Asian concessions to Stalin's Russia, at Yalta; or that it was unwise to allow Russia to have 3 U. N. votes to 1 for the other powers; or that Roosevelt and Churchill thought they had a reliable agreement with Stalin as to free postwar elections in East Europe. And it is not news about a great many other things discussed at the Conference held in February 1945.

What well might be remembered with respect to a principal decision, that involving concessions to bring Russia into the war with Japan, is that when it was made Russian troops were on the east bank of the Oder, Allied forces were at the Saar, in Italy the fighting continued tough below Balogna. Manila was afire. And when Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt were meeting, United States planes were bombing Iwo Jima daily—as they had been for more than 2 months—in preparation for the Marines' attack, which came the next week. There was still very much war going on.

Military representatives at Yalta, the papers show, thought the European war could run until the end of 1945. It was estimated by them that the end of the war with Japan would come 18 months after Germany's defeat. This was the estimate Mr. Roosevelt had to rely on when he considered whether to try to win from Russia agreement to join in the Japanese war. It ought to be remembered, also, that Operations Olympic and Coronet—the Japanese islands invasion—were in the early stages of planning at that time. Okinawa was not even ours. In brief, a good case can be made that there was reason to want Russia to share part of the expense in blood and arms apparently to be required before the fanatical Japanese were brought to surrender.

No atomic bomb had been exploded, and there was vagueness about that weapon. A report of the period by Maj. Gen. Leslie Groves, of the Manhattan project, obviously did not forecast anything like the destructiveness which Hiroshima showed possible.

So hindsight, for some, has brought a view which is wholly critical of most of what was decided at Yalta. But, as has been said, that is due not so much to faulty decisions—some undoubtedly were—as to the fact that Stalin and Soviet Russia as we later learned had no intention of respecting such agreements. In the warm glow of wartime friendship and common purpose in arms, we let our guard down. But it is hard to keep a guard up against a friend and use his support in conflict.

The British are reported much disturbed. But the British have known—knew then—the American view was that Hong Kong should be turned over to China (it was then Nationalist China), and we cannot see much grounds for affront because Mr. Roosevelt felt British aid would not be needed in the postwar Korean situation.

The release of the papers manifestly brings conditions which are almost certain to put new strains on diplomacy. Mr. Dulles apparently is already reacting to pressures certain to come, as demonstrated by some testiness when asked in Washington why he had elected to release the papers now. He had, in fact, said only a few days ago they wouldn't be released. One explanation offered by an unidentified State Department source is that a New York newspaper already had a copy of the report. But that is not a good explanation—inviting only further inquiry as to how copies of the report were guarded.

Our American debate about Yalta ought not to be weighted by political considerations. Some Republicans long, now, have sought to use the Roosevelt decisions as a weapon against the Democratic Party. This has placed an unfortunate burden on foreign policy.

The Yalta Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Yalta After 10 Years," published in the Christian Science Monitor of March 18, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YALTA AFTER 10 YEARS

At Yalta in one fateful week, Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt attempted to shape the postwar world.

Yalta was from the first indictable for secrecy, and the secrecy on its major decisions was too long maintained. But Sir Winston Churchill declares that the release of details in the State Department's report is even now unwise. He also adds that there are serious mistakes in the American version. So the report may easily start more controversies than it will settle.

Indeed reactions at home and abroad suggest that a Pandora's box has been opened, and that once more domestic political considerations have been placed above the Nation's position in the world.

Yet its publication has one great value. It helps to place the Yalta decisions more clearly in the context of 1945 events. The Soviet Union's breaking of Yalta agreements has made the whole arrangement appear much worse than it was. But even in 1945 voices of warning were raised against the assumption that those agreements—particularly on Eastern Europe—would hold.

Commenting on President Roosevelt's report to Congress, this newspaper said March 2, 1945:

"We are less confident than Mr. Roosevelt appeared to be that the arrangements made or planned will end spheres of influence or the balance-of-power system. The results of the pledged cooperation to set up free governments will have to be seen to be judged."

We added that they would be tested by whether elections were honest.

History will not excuse Franklin Roosevelt for seriously misjudging the Kremlin's postwar purposes. He was so intent on winning the war he failed to plan adequately for peace. He disregarded Sir Anthony Eden's good advice on concessions to Russia. But the light shed by these documents sharply jolts the easy hindsight of recent years which has explained Yalta in terms of treason or incredible naivete.

We acquire clearer views merely by noting that Yalta's agreements were made when the American Army, recovering from the "Bulge," was just entering Germany, that Russian troops were within 40 miles of Berlin; that in the Pacific American power had only reached Manila, and that the atomic bomb was still only a promise.

The report reminds us of several other factors which are essential to fair judgment of Yalta. The ghost of Brest-Litovsk peeked over the shoulders of western diplomats—they remembered that agreement with Germany in 1918 by which Russia withdrew from World War I. They greatly feared a repetition. The Joint Chiefs of Staff were saying it would take 18 months to subdue Japan after Germany was beaten—and urging efforts to win Russian aid.

Yalta did not give Stalin all he sought, and in only a few cases did it give him anything his forces did not already hold. Finally, it should be remembered that much of the postwar expansion of Soviet power followed not so much from gifts at Yalta as from a retreat of American power caused by disbanding armies to bring the boys home.

We have misjudged Yalta by forgetting some of the circumstances surrounding it. But in another sense we are too close to it—and too partisan about it. Even now our information is not complete. Yet the disclosure of these records might well give us wisdom for today:

1. To seek a clearer line of action based more on enduring moral principles, less on temporary military urges, so that today's friends will not become tomorrow's enemies.

2. To base peace planning on a deeper sense of brotherhood and effective cooperation with like-minded peoples.

3. To avoid talking beyond our power to perform; to take positions carefully, and then support them vigorously by moral, military, and economic strength.

The Yalta Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial on the Yalta Conference, published in the Washington Evening Star of yesterday.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YALTA POLITICS

One feels impelled to agree with Senator BRIDGES that the Republicans are at liberty to discuss the "mistakes" made at Yalta, and that "by studying the mistakes of the past and trying to avoid them in the future we can help our country."

It is not so easy, however, to reconcile this high-level pronouncement with the news that Senator BRIDGES has instructed the Republican Policy Committee, which he heads, to compile information from the Yalta documents, for use by GOP speakers.

This has all the earmarks of an attempt to pounce upon the Yalta texts for partisan, vote-getting purposes. If so, the move is one which should and which probably will meet with little success.

Of course, mistakes were made at Yalta. They ought to be studied at a responsible level with a view to guarding against repetition in the future. But this is no job for stump speakers armed with vest-pocket editions of oversimplified speeches lifted, in all probability, out of context by a vote-conscious policy committee.

After all, the mistakes at Yalta were made 10 years ago in the closing stages of the world's costliest war. This, of course, does not excuse the mistakes. But it does suggest that the Republicans are not going to be able to squeeze much political advantage out of them at this late date—especially since there is no apparent way of rectifying the errors except through another war, which the GOP is not likely to advocate.

It is to be hoped that responsible Republican leaders will balance the slim prospect of political gain in this business against the potential injury to the national welfare if the Yalta agreements should become the subject of a cat-and-dog partisan fight. Nor should the possible extent of this injury be underestimated.

The Christian in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, during a conference last fall of the Blair County, Pa., ministerium held in the city of Altoona, Pa., it was my privilege to deliver the following address on the subject the Christian in Politics:

THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS

(Address by the Honorable JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania)

In speaking to you on the subject the Christian in Politics it is appropriate to consider briefly some of the definitions or statements defining politics.

We are told for example by Webster that "politics is the art and science of government."

James Freeman Clarke says: "A politician thinks only of the next election—a statesman of the next generation."

And finally Daniel O'Connell admonishes that "Nothing is politically right that is morally wrong."

To these definitions I wish to add the following statement attributed to Andrew Oliver of Boston and written over 155 years ago. It summarizes, in telling fashion, what I think is a brief and comprehensive word picture of the term "politics" and is as true today as when uttered over a century and a half ago. Andrew Oliver said "Politics is the most hazardous of all professions. There is not another in which a man can hope to do so much good to his fellow creatures. Neither is there any in which by mere loss of nerve he may do widespread harm. Nor is there another in which he may so easily lose his own soul. Nor is there another in which a positive and strict veracity is so difficult.

"But danger is the inseparable companion of honor."

With all the temptations and degradations that beset it politics is still the noblest career any man can choose.

When I decided to become a candidate for Congress I was told in a jovial manner, and then again by some serious minded friends that in entering the political arena I was choosing a career in life that has been described by careless slanderers as a cesspool of inquity.

How often have we heard the caustic remark, "that politician," or "its just politics," or "I'm not going to vote for any of them, they're just a bunch of politicians."

Such unworthy remarks are directed daily at persons in public life by thoughtless people that it is little wonder that many good men and women shun public office.

President Eisenhower in a public pronouncement, warmed the hearts of the great army of honest public servants when he admonished those who have an active interest in political affairs "to wear their political badge with considerable pride." He continued: "For politics ought to be the part-time profession of every citizen who would protect the rights and privileges of free people and who would preserve what is good and fruitful in our national heritage."

"Politics," said the President, "must be the concern of every citizen who wants to

see our national well-being increased and our international leadership strengthened. In that combined sense politics is the noblest of professions."

The Chief Executive of this great Republic seems to have echoed the thoughts of Andrew Oliver, of Boston, uttered 155 years ago, thoughts that are as applicable in this hydrogen-atomic age as they were in the infant days of the Republic.

It is a serious setback to the millions of American citizens interested in good government to reflect upon the widely publicized results of a Gallup poll published in 1953. This poll revealed that 70 percent of the persons interviewed stated they would not like to see their sons go into politics as a career.

This attitude is disturbing because the poll was not sectional or confined to any group of partisans.

The expressed opposition to politics as a career was nationwide and extended to all walks of life. Since politics should be, and essentially by nature is, an honorable profession inseparable from the welfare of society, such a nationwide indictment is not to be dismissed lightly.

When it is revealed that a profession that touches the life of every man, woman, and child is regarded as having fallen into disrepute, it is imperative that an explanation must be sought for such an unwholesome situation.

It is true that in politics there are found weak-kneed persons who are not as Ceasar's wife "above suspicion."

Yet considering the constant temptations that confront even the most virtuous, it would be too much to expect that in the field of politics all men would be paragons of virtue endowed with infinite wisdom and actuated by a sincere desire to fully justify the confidence placed in them.

In all segments of American life we have misfits who do not measure up to their responsibilities. Yet we refrain from denouncing their profession or vocation in life and charging it as being wholly responsible for harboring such misguided mortals.

By the same token we should, in exercising Christian charity, recognize the frailties of human nature and refuse to be stampeded into subscribing to the wholesale indictment of corruption and moral degradation leveled collectively at all persons in political life.

We should, on the other hand, examine such a sweeping indictment and try to find the reason for such widespread criticism. In so doing, we will find that among the chief causes for the scornful attitude directed toward those in political life is the fact that some unscrupulous and irresponsible politicians, by their conduct, have reflected discredit on all public servants and have cast the stigma of suspicion and distrust on them as a class.

In addition to corrupt public officials who are few in number, due to the high and exacting standards required of men in public affairs, there is the regrettable tendency on the part of the public to characterize every politician as demogog and a knave, thus judging all of them by the misconduct of a relatively few who have fallen by the wayside in violating the public trust. Such sweeping criticism is unjust and can serve but one purpose, and that is to discourage good men and women from entering politics.

For the few corrupt politicians that are exposed from time to time, there is a vast army of loyal and faithful public servants who should not be made to suffer by careless criticism directed at the sins of the few.

A Senate committee report on ethical standards of Government published in 1951 contains the testimony of Comptroller General Lindsay Warren, recognized as a militant crusader for higher moral standards in the public service. While testifying before the Senate committee he expressed his opinion that "an overwhelming majority of Government people are honest, capable, and conscientious."

The Senate committee, in its conclusions, went so far as to say "the ethical standards of public officials are probably higher than those prevailing in business and other walks of life."

It is convincingly evident from the results of the Gallup poll and the tendency to degrade politics that it is time the American public must begin to discriminate between the good and bad politician. This is difficult to do, however, when public apathy is so prevalent on election day, that only about half of the American people qualified to vote exercise their precious franchise.

Herein lies the solution to this distressing indictment of those in political life who, in Webster's definition, are engaged in a career in that lofty profession defined as "the art and science of government."

Undoubtedly many interviewed in the Gallup poll exercise their right to vote. Yet when we realize that a recent report stated there would be over 100 million Americans privileged to vote on November 2, based on the previous voting records of the American people, it will be a modern miracle if the 1952 vote which was recorded at 61½ million will be equaled, let alone surpassed.

The point I wish to make is that when only about half of the American people go to the polls are we not guilty, by comparison, of only a half-hearted effort in electing capable and honest public officials to administer the affairs of government? Are we not indicting ourselves when we complain of "that bunch of politicians" when half of us refrain from exercising the precious privilege of voting for public officials who literally hold our future as American citizens in the palms of their hands?

If we cry out against "stuffed ballot boxes" are we not aiding the culprits in political life by "starved ballot boxes"? Clean and honest government will never be achieved by half-hearted efforts on our part.

When only half of us vote it shows that we only half care about how our Government is operated. Such an attitude of indifference is certain to permit the election of persons we later criticize.

Yet, if we spent an hour on election day in casting our vote we could have helped to avert such a calamity.

The churches of the Nation are of utmost importance in the crusade for good government because they are eternally dedicated to the seemingly endless struggle against the forces of evil. Therefore, as spiritual laboratories, they watch over, nurture, and develop the inner man from the time his name is inscribed on the cradle roll until the day that he is summoned for a final accounting by the same God who made him.

In the interim the Christian mode of living becomes ingrained on his heart and in his soul as he absorbs the eternal truths taught him regarding his purpose here on earth. Fortified with the Christian way of life it follows that any man devoted to his faith in Almighty God is certain with the help of divine grace to lead an exemplary life, and in so doing merit the respect of his men. Such a man is an asset to his community and a force for good in its civic life. If he has the inclination and the will to enter politics the community, State, or Nation is richer by his presence for he is capable of rendering public service of the highest order based on the Christian ideals which have been indelibly inscribed on his heart and in his soul.

How often in recent years when the very foundation of our form of Government has been menaced by sinister and atheistic forces, have we heard repeated over and over again the stirring prayer of the poet as he implores divine providence:

"God give us men!
A time like this demands strong minds,
great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor;
Men who will not lie."

The churches of America from their spiritual reservoirs of manpower, have supplied such men and will continue to do so.

From personal experience I know that the thousands of God-fearing men I have met have elevated public life by their services to mankind. Their edifying conduct and spotless reputation have served to rout the scoffers who jokingly, or in earnest, regard politics as a questionable and disreputable means of making a living.

The church can gain nothing from becoming engaged in partisan politics, yet it fails in its mission if it hesitates to take an unmistakable position on any moral issue affecting the spiritual welfare of its members. Such a solicitous attitude does not require that the church identify itself with any particular political party for it would be folly to attempt to destroy the freedom of its members to select the political party of their choice.

The point is that a good Christian will practice his faith in everyday life and by so doing, he transmits his sense of moral responsibility to others, regardless of whether he is an elected public official or prefers to portray the role of the average American citizen.

With the granting of the franchise to women in 1920 and since some 30 million of them voted in 1952 as compared to over 31 million men, the family now plays an important part in deciding political issues. The Christian family, therefore, can wield the balance of power in any election, provided its members become informed on the issues and above all vote.

It is inspiring to realize that there is a mounting interest in Washington in the spiritual side of official life. Such increased interest is edifying and is a good example to the rest of the Nation. Prayer breakfasts attended by President Eisenhower are held at frequent intervals in the Mayflower Hotel and the response to the invitations extended greatly exceed the fondest expectations of the sponsors. In addition, a prayer room has been erected in the United States Capitol where Members of Congress may retreat to a chapel-like atmosphere and engage in silent meditation.

During the 83d Congress legislation was approved adding the words "under God" to the pledge of allegiance to the flag. This spiritual attitude that is being publicly displayed in official circles in Washington, reveals that despite the stereotyped and baseless slanders against politicians as a class, there are countless men in public office who are concerned not alone for the material needs of the Nation but they are convinced, like our forefathers, that Almighty God has dominion over the affairs of this Nation. They know that the inscription on the great seal of the United States when translated from Latin says: "He has favored our undertakings." They know, too, that on our coinage the founders of this Republic inscribed, "In God we trust," and that Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, expressed the same basic idea when he said that this Nation's "new birth of freedom" would be "under God."

Holy Scripture also reminds us of the Master's majestic and dramatic words in defining our duty to God and to the state, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's."

Our Divine Lord was making it crystal clear that the church and state should work in harmony—each in its proper field for each has rights over man and both have common origin in God.

With this divine interpretation of the relationship of government to God, Christian men and women, because of their dedication to the religious ideals upon which this Nation was founded, can serve their country well in political life because they are aided by their love of God and love of their neighbor.

With such an abiding faith in their country, their neighbor, and their God they are the instrument through which, by their interest in politics, public office can be elevated to its proper place in our everyday lives, thus refuting the accusations of those who degrade it when they speak of it as a career to be shunned.

The Day We Celebrate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the annual St. Patrick's Day celebration of the 154th anniversary of the Hibernian Society of Charleston, S. C., on March 17, 1955, the Most Reverend John J. Russell, bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of South Carolina, delivered a magnificent and most thought-provoking address. He reviewed, with a masterful voice, the events at the time of St. Patrick, the events of today and the challenge confronting each of us in the present mortal strife beween Christianity and international communism. He reminded us of our responsibilities.

Mr. Speaker, he spoke for countless millions of Americans.

Mr. Speaker, he spoke for my people—he spoke for me.

THE DAY WE CELEBRATE

Hibernians all. On this day we celebrate, I am both honored and happy. Honored to have the privilege of speaking to this distinguished gathering of friends and fellow Charlestonians. Happy, here in our charming city where we hear much of St. Michael's steeple, St. Philip's churchyard, St. Cecelia's Society, St. Andrew's Parish, happy to put in a word for St. Patrick's feast day. The French Society, the German Society, the Scotch Society, the New England Society, all take a back seat today for on St. Patrick's Day we Irish take over completely.

"So, come all o'ye; and share our jubilation!
Oh, the music in the air
An' the joy that's everywhere—
Shure the whole blue vault of heaven's wan
grand triumphal arch,
And the earth below is gay
Wid its tender green the' day
Fur the whole world is Irish on the Seventeenth of March!"

The whole wide world over, March 17 is St. Patrick's Day. Shamrocks suddenly blossom, and green ties or little green ribbons are worn with belligerent pride or a casual self-consciousness or with teasing good nature. Even for a lone Irishman in any city or nation, St. Patrick's Day is a grand holiday. Where two Irishmen are gathered it becomes a celebration. If there are three, naturally there is a parade. You cannot have a parade with less than three, for there must be a grand marshal, the main marching body and the rear guard. Here we have more than a mere parade—we celebrate the 156th anniversary of the Hibernian Society—Charleston's 156th celebration of St. Patrick's Day.

The usual pattern is for speakers on this occasion to turn the warm and mellow phrase to the glories of St. Patrick and an Ireland no proper Irishman believes is anything, but solely and exclusively a land of saints and scholars. There is much that is justified and some that is extravagant, and mixed with it all is many a story to lift a banquet hall high in mirth. Too much does St. Patrick's Day oratory sing of the past, too little of today and tomorrow. And so tonight I speak not of Ireland's past, but of her present, and of America's use of our Irish heritage.

The world hangs under a cloud today, a cloud of apprehension occasioned by the threat of totalitarians. The Republic of Ireland shares that apprehension, and yet in many respects the situation there on this St. Patrick's Day is better and more encouraging than it has been at any time since the invader first set foot upon its shore.

Ireland's place among the nations of the world is what previous generations there, and previous generations of those of Irish extraction elsewhere, hoped and prayed for. They never for a moment doubted that one day Ireland's hope would be realized, but the obstacles were so great, that they sometimes were tempted to think that the day of achievement would be far, far in history.

Today, however, Ireland exercises all the powers of a sovereign nation, with Hon. John J. Hearne, chief envoy in the United States, having the rank of ambassador, and with the United States represented in Ireland by Ambassador William H. Taft, III, the grandson of a former President and Chief Justice. In as disturbed a period as the world has seen short of war, Eire is enjoying internal peace; there have been fewer changes of government there since Ireland's independence was restored than in any major country in the world.

Only one more development is needed to fulfill Ireland's hopes, and that is the end of partition—the partition of the nation into two political entities, not by majority will of all Irishmen but by outside force—and this in the face of statesmen's pious preachments on a small nation's right to self-determinataion. With our objection to partition of Korea and Indochina by enemy invasion, Americans particularly should understand that justice requires the ending of the partition of Ireland, where northern Ireland, 5,238 square miles in extent, is artificially separated from the 27,137 square miles of the republic. May this be one of the last of the St. Patrick's Days observed in an Ireland that is partitioned.

So much for Ireland—now how about America—does St. Patrick's Day have a lesson for us? St. Patrick's great contribution to the world was that he taught his followers faith and patriotism, love of God, and love of country. These have been the chief characteristics of Irishmen down through succeeding centuries.

Suppose St. Patrick were to land on our shores today, 1955, in the atomic age, what would be his message to America?

He would call upon our leaders and our citizens as he summoned the Irish rulers and people to accept, to profess and practice the same principles of righteousness—to adore and obey Almighty God. He would say, "You will not find the lasting peace you crave which like every good and perfect gift cometh down from the Father of Lights unless you live like the sons of God." We call ourselves a Christian Nation, we invoke the blessing of God upon the sessions of Congress—our public meetings are opened and closed with prayer to the Almighty; the seal of our Nation bears the words "In God we trust", yet out of deference to atheists we acquiesce in leaving God out of the deliberations of the United Nations. Half of our citizens acknowledge no religious affiliation and take no part in any religious exercises.

"What God has joined together let no man put asunder," yet nearly 1 out of 3 marriages in our country ends in divorce, family life is declining, juvenile delinquency increasing, scandals, treachery, and treason in high places no longer shock us. As a nation, we seem to have squandered our birthright; to have lost along with our faith in God, our patriotism and even our sense of shame. Patrick, who saved Ireland, would save the United States by the same means—faith in God—the faith which is the salvation of men and of nations.

As he tore down the false gods whose shrines dotted the emerald isle, so he would tear down the false gods that men have placed upon pedestals in our own midst—the gods of lust and luxury, worshiped by defiling the home and family, by the pagan immorality of much of our entertainment; of our reading matter, of the gods of avarice worshiped by injustice in business, in industry, in government, the gods of ignorance worshiped by spending millions of dollars on the education of millions of American children, teaching them nothing about the God who made them, so that many of the present generation do not even know the Ten Commandments. He would remind us that of the 19 civilizations the human race has known, 16 of them perished from within, from decadence resulting from disregarding the moral law established by the Supreme Lawgiver. Patrick would say, If you want God's blessings upon America, make America less unworthy of God's blessing. If you want peace and security against the forces of atheistic communism, if you want God on your side, first be on God's side.

As he did of old with the pagan Irish, he would take what is good in our national character, our native courage, energy, resourcefulness, our inventive genius, our mechanical know-how; he would elevate and strengthen, but he would root out whatever is weak and wrong and venal and dishonest and pagan in our American way of life.

Let the lesson of this day we celebrate be for each of us this—that just as one man under God saved and reclaimed a nation, so each of us as individuals, if we have the courage and strength of conviction and fortitude and moral fiber of Patrick, can make a mighty contribution to the salvation and redemption of America. That my friends is the first lesson and the first message and the first inspiration of the day we celebrate.

And the second is this: Patrick taught love of God and love of country. I am afraid he would be ashamed of us on both counts. We have secularized our society and our government, our national life to the point where we no longer put God first—and in our dealings with other nations we do not put America first. At Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam we surrendered the countries of Eastern Europe to Stalin, then we refused the necessary help to the Chinese Nationalists and let the Communists take over the mainland of China. We have been witnesses if not accomplices of the development of atheistic communism into a force controling the destinies of one-third of the human race, and atheistic imperialism goes on enslaving people in Europe and Asia, determined, if possible, to enslave all free people. Meanwhile, we lack the courage, the fortitude, the free and patriotic spirit of our forefathers.

We have thrown away everything we had built up over a century of effort on the mainland of China. More than 500 million Chinese were firmly convinced that the United States was the most powerful nation

in the world and regarded America as their friend and protector. Now we have lost face and they have lost faith in us and hope. A small group of pro-Communists and pseudo-intellectuals have effected, in a few years, one of the greatest turnovers in history. Now we send a foreigner to talk with the Chinese reds, begging them to release American citizens and soldiers from prison and we even seem to be content to remain ignorant of the answer that was given.

The west (our friends and allies to whom we give lavish gifts) trade with China and other Red countries and thus feeds the workers who produce the guns to kill Americans. How Mr. Churchill, Mr. Dulles and other negotiators of lesser stature in the free world can contemplate dealing with these men who come to the conference table with hands reeking with the blood of our soldiers is beyond comprehension.

How low must burn the feeble flicker of our self-respect, before our American spirit blazes forth once more a beacon of light, and hope in the world and a warning to those that would assail us? And yet it is better to light one candle than just to curse the darkness, so from reflecting on the virtues and teachings of a man dead 1,500 years who in his day changed the world in which he lived—let each of us determine to do what we can—I am only one, I cannot do much, but what I can I must do and with God's help I will do—to live right in God's sight and to put my country, America first.

That, my friends, is the lesson of the day we celebrate.

To Make Our Security System Secure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an article from the New York Times magazine of March 20, 1955, entitled "To Make Our Security System Secure," by Vannevar Bush:

WASHINGTON.—After a spell of fever the country has now returned to an almost normal temperature as it regards the problem of loyalty on the part of its citizens in high or sensitive places. Key cases have disappeared from the front page, the last of these being so patently absurb that it was ludicrous. Oppenheimer is living a happy and constructive life, contributing to our philosophy if not to our defense. Condon is teaching physics rather than making new kinds of glass, and no doubt teaching well. Ladejinsky is back at work on his specialty.

But no one looks back on the recent imbroglio over loyalty procedures with any pride or satisfaction. For widely different reasons the feeling prevails that the system of loyalty clearance under which we have operated has been defective. We need a new system, not a bit of tampering with the old; we need a 1955 model, not an antirattling device to be attached to a Model T.

The new system should be built from the ground up by a competent body of men with an unrestricted assignment. That body should include members who are vigorously alive to the dangers of subversion and others who are equally alive to the rights of citizens. It should not be just a collection of scientists. It must, by all means, be divorced from politics. It need not be hurried at its job, for our present situation is apt to continue a long time. But it should be so thorough that it will bring the whole problem of enemy penetration and disloyalty under control, without again making it a political football and without wrecking the careers of humble public servants.

First, the body should visualize the world conditions under which the revised system is likely to operate; second, it should analyze the objectives and methods of our enemy in the field of propaganda and subversion; third, it should write down the objectives which the new system is to accomplish; fourth, it should establish a group of principles to which the system should conform; and, fifth, it should create a system that is to attain our objectives in accordance with the established principles. Here we can touch only the high spots of this program.

As nearly as we can now see, we are entering a period of technical stalemate, in which great wars are unlikely to occur, though secondary wars fought with limited means may be a common occurrence. This seems, at least, to be the best that we can hope for at present. For no great war can ever again be won; it can only end with the partial or complete annihilation of both contestants.

Our enemy relies chiefly on the weapons of penetration and subversion to weaken us so that later he can destroy us. He tries to steal our secrets, to penetrate our organizations and influence our actions, and, above all, to spread confusion and mutual distrust among us. In this last purpose he has been extremely successful—so successful, in fact, that he need hardly try further; for we are carrying on the process without his aid.

The enemy's success in this respect has had an especially severe impact on the scientific community. For scientists occupy a key position with respect to those secrets that should be most strictly kept. They are an individualistic lot; otherwise they would be of little value as scientists.

While they concentrate in their special fields, they are often extremely naive in others. When we dreamed of world understanding as a means of ending all war, there was a greater portion of gullible men among them than among most other intellectual groups. And there were a few—an exceedingly few—traitors among them.

Much of the recent witchhunt, therefore, seemed to concentrate on their profession. Yet in no other place could its effects be more disastrous to our national interest. Young men hesitate to enter the scientific professions, and in particular to participate in the scientific programs of the military arms because of the danger to their reputations and success. We must change this situation if we are to compete on even terms with the enemy.

But let it be perfectly clear that scientists ask no special privilege. To restore the principles of the Bill of Rights in all the processes of government is not to grant special privilege. To urge a revision of our present faulty security system is not to seek special privilege.

The great question now is whether our recent public behavior is a passing phase, or whether we propose to change our part of the free world until it becomes a replica of the captive world which opposes us. If we choose the latter, the struggle will be over, for it will then no longer matter which tyranny prevails.

What, then, should be our objectives as we construct and operate a system for examining into the loyalty of Government servants and those who serve voluntarily on boards or committees?

In the first place, we want to throw the Communists out. If there is a man, of any rank in the Government, who is taking his orders from the Kremlin, we want to get rid of him promptly. If there is a teacher who is imparting to the young principles which are not his own but are dictated to him by the machinery of the Communist Party, we want to see to it that he stops teaching.

There is a point here which needs more discussion. We believe in free speech and a free press and that any man has a right to express his honest opinions and to criticize his Government.

We believe with Brandeis that "freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth; that without free speech and assembly, discussion would be futile; that with them, discussion affords ordinarily adequate protection against the dissemination of noxious doctrine; that the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people; that public discussion is a political duty; and that this should be a fundamental principle of the American Government."

We have generally accepted the statement by Holmes that 'We should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country."

We hesitate, however, to go as far as Lincoln did when he said, "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

But there is a vast difference between the honest citizen who would change our system of Government because he thinks he has a better system—even when his acts border on the violent—and the person who is part of a foreign conspiracy to wreck the Nation. Regarding the latter we have no doubts and no hesitancy. If he is a citizen, he is a traitor. If he is a guest in the land, he is a spy. In either case he must be found out and dealt with according to his deserts.

This alone, however, is not a sufficient objective. We want to make it possible for a humble citizen to serve his Government without fear of powerful men, we want decency in our national life. More than that, we want to establish an atmosphere of trust and mutual confidence among our citizens. Our security system needs to have two objectives, one to get rid of our enemies and their adherents, and the other to encourage, support, and protect honest, loyal citizens as they work on matters that are important for our safety and our prosperity.

If a man was once a fool, do we condemn him for life, or do we let him prove that he has outgrown his folly? If we excluded from Government and from other employment all who have sometimes been foolish, we would not have enough left to man our guns or run our factories. But we are concerned here more particularly with the man who once subscribed to or flirted with the Communist philosophy and later, realizing his error, became a loyal citizen.

There are all degrees of involvement, of course. We certainly don't want to welcome with open arms, and introduce into sensitive spots, the man who professes sudden reformation. But neither do we want to exclude permanently from the practice of his trade or profession the man who did no more than attend a meeting of Communists out of curiosity when he was an adolescent.

The best proof of a change of heart is loyal service, and there are plenty of places in the Government where one can serve loyally without having access to military secrets. In the struggle with Russia we shall need all the capable men we can muster.

Quite apart from the question of decent humanity, we cannot afford to waste our most precious resource: the talents of our trained citizens. So, one object of our sys-

tem should be to give the individual about whom there is doubt a chance—a safe one, certainly, but a path up instead of down, and an opportunity to remove whatever doubt exists.

If a new system is to be built, there are several principles to be kept in mind. A considerable catalog of them is contained in the Bill of Rights.

There seems to be a feeling about that the Government does not impose a penalty on a person unless it fines him or puts him in jail, and two fallacies have emerged from the confusion in this regard. It is said that to work for the Government is a privilege and, therefore, that the Government has a right to terminate one's employment with it arbitrarily.

There is no question of privilege involved. When a citizen serves the Government he is paid a salary and presumably gives capable, honest service in return. He has a duty to serve well and loyally. But the Government also has a responsibility to avoid imposing hardship on any man who has served it faithfully, except on proof of disloyalty or for reasons apart from those we are considering here, such as incompetence.

If disloyalty is not proved but loyalty is doubted, we need not cut off a man's support and place a stigma on him that will make his employment elsewhere almost impossible. He can be shifted to an insensitive job with little difficulty and no danger. We have already damned for life too many humble employees of the Government merely because there was doubt or because our security system was too clumsy to resolve it.

In our courts we have a complex system of rules of evidence to protect a citizen against unwarranted prosecution, to expose liars, and to arrive at facts as far as is possible in the light of human frailties. Undoubtedly we have at times carried this system to extremes and hobbled our procedure unnecessarily. But the system has evolved as a result of a thousand years of experience, and we should not abandon it lightly.

We cannot carry it all over into loyalty procedures without rendering them cumbersome. Still, such procedures place a man in jeopardy—not, to be sure, of life or limb, but of his good name, which may be more precious; and, therefore, the best advice of men learned in the law should be obtained if we are to have a sound and fair system embodying the safeguards that have been found essential for wise judgments.

We have had, recently, some very striking and disheartening examples of how far an unscrupulous liar can go and the harm he can do when proceedings are loose and informal, and he does not have to run the gantlet of vigorous cross-examination.

The Bill of Rights says that a man shall not be twice placed in jeopardy for the same offense. In our loyalty system there is no finality. Important men who could contribute much to the Nation's real security have found it necessary time after time to go through the same rigmarole, filling our forms, appearing before loyalty boards, reassuring their neighbors that constant inquiry does not necessarily mean they are subversive.

Some have also had to spend their own money, time after time, merely defending themselves against ill-founded attacks. This has not generally been the result of new evidence presented. It has just been because we have a clumsy, inadequate system, steeped in confusion. When a man is cleared he ought to stay cleared unless there is new and pertinent evidence that he should not be.

Do we still subscribe to that item of the Bill of Rights? Or do we think it is not jeopardy when a man may lose position, reputation, and friends because of the acts of his government?

The most serious aspect of our system to date has been that it has been used for spite and for thought control. Wholly unsupported charges lodged mainly for spite have been entertained seriously and made the basis for action when a proper court would have completely disregarded them.

The matter of thought control has been more subtle and more disastrous. Apparently the argument goes something like this: A man expressed opinions contrary to those which have been accepted as a government policy. Perhaps he did so in the interests of Russia. We shall, therefore, examine whether his opinions were sound. What a travesty on the ideals of free speech.

And I am not writing merely of cases that have been in the headlines. I have in mind cases of a number of persons that received no publicity. My information about them is fragmentary, and I could prove nothing; for they have been surrounded with all the paraphernalia of secrecy; they have been the subject of star chamber proceedings.

But I believe there has been altogether too much thought control of this kind; for if it has been practiced in the full light of day, as it has, we may be sure it has been practiced far more in secret—sometimes on no better ground than that a man's arguments regarding policy have been found inconvenient.

Now I do not intend to prescribe an ideal system. I hope very much that a fully competent board will be given the task of doing so before more harm is done. But I have three suggestions in that direction.

In the practice of criminal law we have grand juries. They are part of our heritage from the long struggle of the past against arbitrary power. Their power is to protect the individual against capricious acts on the part of government officials. Before a district attorney can jail a man and force him to defend himself in court against serious charges, he must have him indicted. And no indictment will be returned unless the district attorney can convince a grand jury, made up of the man's fellow citizens chosen by lot, that he has a strong enough case to warrant setting all the machinery of the courts in motion.

Under our loyalty system, on the contrary, a man can be suspended and forced to defend himself at the whim of an official who may have only the flimsiest of evidence against him. We need the equivalent of a grand jury in our security system. Such an equivalent would be made up of men who owe no allegiance to any official who may make charges, and it should be rigorously supported and protected in its deliberations and findings.

It could be selected by lot from men in the civil service, as grand juries are selected from the general body of citizens, which would be a reasonable and democratic way of sharing the burden. No machinery of trial should move unless there are serious charges supported by adequate evidence in the opinion of such a group of men. If this had been a part of our system in recent years, a large number of cases that have caused real distress would never have got started.

The relation of a government to its employees is a different matter than its relations to citizens at large. It is, in some ways, comparable to its relation to men in uniform. There are a dependence and an agreement under which both the men and the government have obligations and responsibilities.

When a soldier is subjected to court-martial, the Government furnishes him with counsel. Under the present loyalty system, a man who is accused must defend himself at his own expense. When our system is revised this burden should be lifted. The accused should be furnished with vigorous and capable counsel and should have wide latitude in its selection. He can then add his own counsel if he sees fit.

Such a provision would accomplish a number of things. It would protect the man who is without resources and to whom his job may be highly important. It would put an end to the absurdity of preventing an accused man or his counsel from seeing some of the evidence because it is classified. This would be no more than merely decent and fair.

In addition to positive machinery for detecting and excluding disloyal persons in our midst, there should be equally positive means for insuring that the system is not used for improper purposes—for spite, for thought control, or for political advantage.

A grand jury can report to a court, and often does, if it believes prosecuting officers are violating the law. An equivalent of the grand jury should have a corresponding opportunity in connection with loyalty procedures. And it should report to the top in such instances—to the superiors of the offending official as many steps removed as the circumstances and the gravity of the offense warrant, in its opinion. The public would then have some assurance that the practice under the system is clean.

All that I have said has to do with the security system employed in the executive branch of government. What committees of Congress do is up to Congress and, in the last analysis, up to the public opinion which obtains. Courts, quite properly, refrain from entering into questions of how Congress conducts its business.

But if the executive branch has a really effective system in operation and has cleaned its house, there will be few specific cases to which Congress can usefully direct its attention. We may then arrive at a situation in which Congress examines only into the manner in which the executive branch is operating, instead of attempting, in an exceedingly cumbersome and defective manner, the examination of individual cases, which should be promptly and effectively handled by a system designed specifically for that purpose.

The tide has apparently turned. We are much more sane and less hysterical than a year ago. We are gradually becoming more reasonable in our approach to the problem of subversives. But there is a danger here. Public opinion in this country sometimes swings to extremes: witness the great prohibition experiment.

As the tide turns, we should be on the alert to see that it does not swing too far and leave us complacent. We still, no doubt, have some Communists in our midst; and we still need to be vigilant in finding and removing them from places of trust in government and industry.

It is time for a new system, one that strikes a proper balance, seeking out and removing enemy sympathizers who are doing us harm, but offering reasonable protection to the innocent as it does so; one that will be decent and just and that will not itself subvert those ancient rights of man which are the essence of his liberty.

The Presidential Campaign of 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "A Democrat, if Lucky, Could Win," written by Carroll Kilpatrick, and

published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 22, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DEMOCRAT, IF LUCKY, COULD WIN

(By Carroll Kilpatrick)

I would like to defy all the political experts and say that a Democrat, if his name is Stevenson, does have a chance of winning against President Eisenhower next year. I do not say that the Democrat will win. But I do not believe that President Eisenhower is as certain of victory as a superficial reading of Dr. Gallup might lead us to think.

If the two parties were evenly matched, nothing could stop Mr. Eisenhower but a depression, or a preventable war. But he belongs to the minority party. From his point of view, there are just too many Democrats for comfort. The President's popularity is almost sensational, but he has not succeeded as F. D. R. did, in remaking his party into a dominant coalition. The President is popular; his party is not.

The most persuasive and compelling argument in 1952 was that it was time for a change. Many Democrats accepted that slogan and cast their votes for General Eisenhower. Will not a great many of them next year return to the fold?

In 1952, also, the South—the stronghold of the Democratic Party—was badly split. It liked Mr. Eisenhower very much indeed, but it disliked Mr. Truman even more. Next year it will not be voting against Mr. Truman.

As far as the race issue is concerned the two parties are not far apart, and in the minds of southern voters it will make little difference which party controls the Government. In 1952, many voters, including Governor Byrnes, erroneously though it made an enormous difference.

No doubt President Eisenhower will go into the campaign with substantial southern support, but despite his popularity below the Potomac it will be more difficult next time than last to win southern electoral votes.

If you tick off the issues that were controlling in 1952 you find that many of them will have been forgotten by next year or at least will not carry the same wallop. The time for a change argument is one. The Communists-in-Government issue is another. The Korean war is a third. Senator Taft will not be present to rally the dissident right wing. Some farmers and many workers who voted Republican in 1952 may vote Democratic in 1956.

By next year, Governor Stevenson will be better known than in 1952. He will be a more experienced campaigner. He will have more political conditioning. Some of the magic will have worn off the Eisenhower name. The President may be handicapped by an unpopular running mate.

A recent Gallup poll said that Democrats outnumber Republicans by some 20 million potential voters. If every American adult declared his party preference, the survey said, there would be 34.3 million Republicans, 54.3 million Democrats, and 9.4 million undecided. While these figures are subject to many qualifications, and are politically unrealistic, the final tabulations of the 1954 congressional election returns also suggest that Democrats do hold a wide lead. Last year the GOP lost by 2.2 million votes.

In 1952, Mr. Eisenhower won by 6.4 million votes. To win next year, it would not be necessary for Democrats to make a net gain of 6.4 million votes but of slightly more than 3.2 million.

The shift between 1952 and 1954 from 6.4 million plus to 2.2 million minus was a whopping reversal of fortune for any party in such a short period of time—at a time when its leader's popularity stayed extremely high. In 1952, General Eisenhower won 442 to 89 in the electoral college. In 1954, Democrats ran ahead in 28 States with a total of 342 electoral votes while Republicans ran ahead in 20 States with a total of 189 electoral votes.

Of course, there are intangible factors that weigh heavily in President Eisenhower's favor. The American people have seldom refused a President a second term. Mr. Eisenhower has become fixed in the minds of the people as a man of peace. No doubt he is planning to run on the Democratic slogan of 1916: He kept us out of war. No President in this century has been able to hover so high above partisan controversies as Mr. Eisenhower. Any Republican is fair game for Democratic criticism except the President.

So the odds are heavily in favor of the President's reelection next year. As of the moment, the only thing he has to fear is the fact that he heads the minority party. His tremendous personal popularity should pull him through. But those who remember that Mr. Truman did not have a chance in 1948 will not count out the Democrats until the votes are tabulated.

By Hindsight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Daily News of March 18, 1955, expressing a sane and sensible view respecting the premature disclosure of the Yalta documents.

The editorial reads as follows:

BY HINDSIGHT

Now that the Yalta documents have been published—and we were among those who insisted they should be—it is clear that nothing beneficial is likely to come from their publication. No new official agreements were disclosed. Just some off-the-record side remarks of the principals involved—which do not read well 10 years later.

We hope nothing harmful will come from their publication.

In charity, what was said by Messrs. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin should be considered in the context of the time. There was bloodthirst and vengeance in the air at Yalta, and it was understandable, although deplorable. The Germans had ravaged Russia, laid waste England's cities, violated all rules of human decency in their concentration camps. So with the Japanese, in their attacks on China, the Philippines, and the United States. There had been nothing in the conduct of our enemies to endear them to us. Our goal then was to impose unconditional surrender.

By hindsight we expect of our leaders that they should have shown more foresight. But they were riding the crest of the waves of hatred, and were so intent on a Carthaginian peace that they thought not enough of tomorrow. All, that is, except Joe Stalin, who got just the kind of peace he bargained for—his enemy to the west, Germany, and his enemy to the east, Japan, prostrate, and his former allies weakened, bickering, and distrustful.

What happened at Yalta can no more be undone than what happened at Appomattox. President Eisenhower may, if he wishes, repudiate the Yalta agreements, as Senator MCCARTHY urges. But it will have no more effect than if the Governor of Georgia suddenly should disclaim the terms of General Lee's surrender to General Grant. The Soviets already have ignored all their Yalta promises, just as the Northern reconstructionists ignored those fundamentals that General Grant tried to assure to General Lee.

Why compare Yalta to Appomattox? In the latter, conqueror met the conquered; in the former, only conquerors gathered to plan and plot.

To show the contrast, and to illustrate the truth of the old saying that men learn nothing from history except that they learn nothing from history, we quote from a recent article in the Saturday Review of Literature by that scholarly Richmond editor, Virginius Dabney. He reviews what happened at Appomattox:

"Lee * * * arrived before Grant. When the latter hurried in he was still in his mud-spattered field uniform, for he did not wish to keep Lee waiting.

"The men had met 17 years before when both were officers in the Mexican War. The conversation turned to those days, and Grant became so engrossed that Lee had to remind him that they had met to discuss the surrender. * * *

"Grant thereupon proposed that officers and men who gave their paroles not to take up arms against the United States be allowed to return to their homes.

" 'This will have a very happy effect on my army,' said Lee, as he saw that his men would not be marched off to prison.

"Grant then inquired whether Lee had any suggestions and the latter asked if the Confederate cavalrymen and artillerists, all of whom owned the horses they used in the fighting, would be allowed to take their mounts home for the spring plowing. The Union commander readily agreed.

"Lee again expressed deep appreciation."

That was 90 years ago. It had been the bloodiest war of all time, a fratricidal strife engendering bitterness almost beyond belief.

But the leaders of the men who fought held their heads above the mobs.

Mr. Churchill has written that the conflict of our North and South was "the last war fought between gentlemen."

The documents of Yalta do not dispute that thesis.

Adequate Increase for Postal Employees

SPEECH

OF

HON. GORDON CANFIELD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to a suspension of the rules to permit consideration of H. R. 4644. I wish to record myself in favor of an adequate pay increase for postal employees. I am in favor of a bill reported under a rule permitting debates and amendments in accordance with the wishes of the Members of this House. It is apparent from all the discussion that has already taken place on the economic status of our almost 500,000 postal employees that failure to grant an increase that may justly be called adequate would inflict an injustice on our demonstrably deserving Government workers.

The raises granted to the postal workers, as statistical studies show, have always fallen more or less behind living costs, and have given on the whole scant consideration to the improved efficiency of the postal employees.

I hold it therefore time that the postal employee be given his due by an adequate salary increase. And I earnestly hope that the committee will report out a bill calling for adequate salary increases and that this bill will be reported under a rule permitting Members of the House to work their will thereon.

Losing Asia To Save Quemoy Would Be a Rotten Bargain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Courier-Journal of March 21, 1955:

LOSING ASIA TO SAVE QUEMOY WOULD BE A ROTTEN BARGAIN

What sort of a place is Quemoy, the obscure little dot on the map where World War III might begin? A reporter for the Times of London has described it, after making the 2-hour flight over from Formosa:

"Quemoy is a rocky island of 70 square miles (as against 52 in the city of Louisville), barring the entrance to Amoy, formerly the most important South China port, like a cork in a bottle neck. It is surrounded by gently sloping sandy beaches, easy to assault and separated from the mainland by a shallow arm of the sea which does not allow free passage for deep-draft shipping. Whereas the capture of the Tachen group would have required a full-scale amphibious operation, an assault against the Quemoys would be more like a large-scale river crossing, practicable at night with a landing force of small vessels."

Could anything be less promising from a defense standpoint? Yet this is one of the related positions to whose defense we are getting daily more deeply committed. Here is the blind alley into which we are so rapidly moving.

1. Secretary Dulles has repeatedly stated that we would defend the offshore islands of Quemoy and the Matsus if a Red attack on them were clearly aimed at the conquest of Formosa. Peiping propaganda daily chants the formula that the offshore islands and Formosa itself must and will be taken. The Reds obviously have no intention of leaving us room to back off from Quemoy when the assault occurs without appearing to run in the face of open Communist defiance.

2. Admiral Radford has often said that Formosa and the Pescadores can be successfully defended by American air and sea power. This at least commits us only to the sort of limited war which many Americans seem willing to accept on the theory, expressed by Elmer Davis, that "only foot soldiers have mothers." But it is painfully obvious that the fleet could not operate in the shallow waters off Quemoy, 6 miles from a Red shore bristling with big guns. Such an attempt would be plain suicide.

3. The alternative, then, is to defend Quemoy by the use of tactical atomic weapons. Both Mr. Dulles and the President have spoken of using such missiles against military targets on the mainland opposite Quemoy. It is argued that these weapons would pose no problem of radioactive fallout and would not extend to centers of civilian population.

But here is a plan of military strategy that completely ignores the facts of politics and human psychology. Any type of nuclear weapon, no matter what its exact nature, is an engine of special terror to most of the people of the world. We have only to imagine what Americans would feel if any sort of atomic shell or bomb were headed in our direction.

Whenever American forces aim a nuclear weapon of any kind at the mainland of Asia, the most powerful propaganda bomb in the world will explode. Everybody in Asia has heard the story that America used its atom bombs in World War II against the Japanese because they are a yellow race, instead of against the white Germans. Even if the engagement near Quemoy could be limited to the exact area and the precise type of weapon we would choose, the simple fact that we were turning our atomic power once again on Asian people would lose all the rest of that vast continent to our cause.

The day may come when we will have to go to war with all the weapons we can command, and with a prayer that ours will prove more powerful than the weapons of our enemies. But why risk the ultimate test of strength over such a position as Quemoy? Walter Lippmann has rightly called the offshore islands "a strategic and political liability."

A great many Americans subscribe to the idea that we must draw a line somewhere against aggressive communism, and put a sign on it saying: "Thus far and no farther." But why in the name all that is holy should we choose to draw such a line 6 miles off the China shore, to include a position of no genuine importance which can only be defended by the use of atomic weapons?

There is still time, though barely time, for President Eisenhower to bale us out of this perilous situation. It will be his personal decision whether or not to reply to a Red assault on Quemoy or the Matsus. But if he waits until the attack begins, he puts himself in the position of deserting an ally under fire if he decides against American intervention. That could easily be the straw that would break the camel's back of Chinese Nationalist resistance on Formosa.

All of our European allies are against a defense of the offshore islands. That is important to us, but not nearly so important as the fact that we cannot defend them except by use of the one type of weapon we should withhold for a final test with Communist aggression.

In trying to shield 43,000 peasants and some Nationalist troops holed up on Quemoy, we will risk losing the moral support of virtually every human being on the continent of Asia. That is a rotten bad bargain. President Eisenhower should pull out of it at once while there is still a blessed margin of time.

The Proposed Big Power Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Maybe it Would Help," published in a recent issue of the Washington Evening Star. It deals with the very excellent idea advanced by the distinguished and able chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] on the possibility of holding a big power conference.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAYBE IT WOULD HELP

As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator WALTER GEORGE has spoken from an authoritative background and position in advocating that the major powers hold a top-level conference sometime this year. Of course, whether anything will come of the proposal, or whether it will just die aborning, remains to be seen, but the State Department's broad endorsement of the idea strongly suggests that both Secretary Dulles and President Eisenhower are willing to try it out in one form or another.

Mr. GEORGE, for his own part, has made clear that he regards such a conference as an undertaking needed to lessen international tension and head off the danger of another general war. Accordingly, he would have France, Britain and the United States meet in talks with the Soviet Union—on a heads-of-government level—as soon as practicable after full ratification of the Paris accords on West Germany. Further, although he seems to share Mr. Dulles' view that Peiping may now be impervious to counsels or restraint from either the Kremlin or any other quarter, he feels that a get-together of this kind could help to promote peace despite the bleak history of similar gatherings in the past. Thus, as he has put it, "I believe we have reached a point where there is real hope of making some final adjustments, of moving toward a more normal world."

Perhaps this is an excessively optimistic view. But if Mr. GEORGE—who is not disposed to be a wishful thinker and whose position in the Senate is a highly informed one—has substantial reason to feel that real hope actually exists in the present situation, then his call for a full-dress meeting of the big powers certainly should receive the most serious attention. True, as he himself has conceded, the record of all postwar negotiations with the Communists serves as a warning that such a meeting would expose the West to a number of pitfalls. However, in his judgment, that is a risk that would be well worth taking because the proposed talks—at which our side would surely be alert enough not to fall for the old Red tricks—could be genuinely helpful in decreasing the threat of war. In any case, it may be assumed that the conference, if the Kremlin agreed to take part, would not be held without thorough advance preparation and some evidence of Soviet willingness to play a constructive role instead of merely propagandizing.

If conditions of this sort can be met satisfactorily, the State Department, as it has just indicated, would welcome favorable action on organizing some kind of meeting with Russia. And that is as it should be. For although such a meeting would fall far short of ending all tension, and although it might bog down in futility, it could hardly worsen the present bad situation, and it might even result in agreements sufficiently encouraging to justify the real hope that Mr. GEORGE feels. In any event, the idea deserves careful consideration as one of the possible ways of making today's peace at least a little bit less precarious than it is.

The Late Senator Burnet R. Maybank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 17, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, on September 1, 1954, I was on an official military inspection trip with my then chairman of the Armed Services Committee, DEWEY SHORT. Our duties carried us to the Headquarters of the United States Army in Europe located in Heidelberg, Germany. On the particular evening of this date we had just finished a dinner given in our honor by the High Commissioner of Germany, the Honorable James B. Conant, when a note was handed to me by the Department of the Army telling me of the untimely death of Senator Burnet R. Maybank. I was shocked and grieved at this tragic news and immediately dispatched my condolences to Mrs. Maybank.

I knew it was impossible for me to return in time for the funeral, accordingly I continued my trip and completed my responsibilities incident to the itinerary set by the chairman.

Upon arriving home in late September, I released to the press my feelings on the tragic loss which South Carolina suffered as a result of Senator Maybank's death.

No South Carolinian whom I can recall had more important assignments as a United States Senator than did Maybank at the time of his death. When the Democrats were in power, Maybank was the chairman of the very important Banking and Currency Committee. This committee has jurisdiction in the Senate over almost every phase of our economic life—the banking, the housing, the money market, the securities business—and those things which vitally touch the living mechanism of our breathing economy. Consequently, the working man and the financier alike were affected by the deliberations of this committee.

It was not unnatural that Maybank should head this committee. He distinguished himself early in life at my alma mater, the College of Charleston, as one peculiarly adept in mathematics and economics. He was awarded the mathematics prize at the College of Charleston for excellence.

In the early 30's, Maybank gained national prominence when he solved the financial problems of the city of Charleston during the early days of the greatest depression ever to hit this Nation. For this unusual feat he was called upon to perform important tasks throughout South Carolina during this era when the New Deal was in its infancy. Maybank was loyal to the precepts of the New Deal throughout his political career. He was a liberal in the true sense of the word, but he was a constitutional liberal. However, he never let his enthusiasms for the new order dim or alter his basic philosophy of believing in states rights.

At the time of his death, Maybank was also a member of the important Appropriations Committee of the Senate. He was a member of the Subcommittee on Military Appropriations. He was my greatest help on money for our military, when the Committee on Armed Services authorized projects for the Nation and South Carolina particularly. I recall, vividly, last year it was Maybank alone who assisted me in getting the Navy appropriation raised, thereby assuring the money for the important Navy construction program in South Carolina, notably the Beaufort Air Base.

Mr. Speaker, there has to be teamplay between the House and the Senate. Neither branch can operate effectively without the aid of the other. Each branch is a coequal of the other; unless the House acts, the Senate is helpless; and, conversely, without the Senate's aid the House is powerless.

Mr. Speaker, despite the great work on the committee on which I hold membership, the obligations and authorizations for construction of the vast military enterprises in my State without the money to carry these on, they would never become realities. In the partnership necessary to effectuate these worthy objectives for our national security, I lost a comrade in Burnet Maybank, whose place it will take many years to fill.

Mr. Speaker, it is not an easy task to serve in the Congress today. The manifold duties and multiplying demands made on Members of Congress in and through all the vast ramifications of this complex and intricate modern day government increasingly draw upon our strength and endurance, adding yearly to the terrific toll of human genius and human life. Anyone who, like Burnet Maybank, survives a political campaign in which his life's history is reviewed in detail and during which he moves constantly and uninterruptedly under the pitiless searchlight of publicity, must of necessity possess some virtue. Maybank remained sweet when accused falsely. He was silent to the tongue of slander. He never once, despite the heat of the campaign, dignified his opponent by answering him according to his kind. He rose to distinction in the Senate because of his personal worth, his mental capacity, untiring industry, and absolute honesty. On such an ascent to the top, the path is steep and rugged. Thorns instead of roses, Maybank endured them all.

Out of this turbulent strife and clash of opinion, out of the heat of debates and conflicting interests, out of the atmosphere of uncertainty which we are all forced to breathe, there come the priceless compensation and the immeasurable joy of mutual confidence and respect, of lasting friendships. In no other body of men do I believe one could possibly find such a fine spirit of generous and wholesome friendships in such a splendid feeling of comradeship.

I suppose this is due to the fact that each of us realizes the baptism of fire which we all daily endure in the performance of our responsibilities in the public interest. When death comes, jealousies are forgotten, individual interests and purposes are buried with the comrade whom we memorialize today. Beneath it all, personalities and eccentricities are subordinated to unity and interests of mankind.

Maybank died at his post of duty, as he would have it. In the words of the poet he would have said:

Let me live out my years in heat of blood
Let me die drunken with the dreamer's wine
Let me not see this soul-house built of mud
Go toppling to the dust—a vacant shrine.
Let me go quickly like a candlelight
Snuffed out just at the heyday of its glow
Give me high noon—let it then be night
Thus would I go.
And grant me, when I face the grisly thing,
One haughty cry to pierce the gap, perhaps
O let me be a tune-swept fiddle string
That feels the master melody—and snaps.

He "felt the heat of blood" and went "quickly like a candlelight snuffed out just at the heyday of its glow." At last he has gained rest from his exacting labors and has gone to his reward for having served God and country well.

Mr. Speaker, to Burnet Maybank, in life's relentless journey to the sunset:

But such a tide as moving seemed asleep;
Too full for sound and foam
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turned again home.

Prizewinners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, on the 8th of March we had a group of young people from Arkansas visit Washington on their way to the Columbia Scholastic Press Association meeting at Columbia University, New York City. Included in the group were Patty Bonds, Carolyn Clark, Carole Crockett, Jane Davidson, Jane Donovan, Bettye Fleming, Drew Flora, Richard Forster III, Shirley Gibbs, Margie Giblon, Carol Griffee, Richie Hobbs, Richard Jones, Jr., Mary Elizabeth Lewis, Lucy Ann McAlister, Bob McHenry, Virginia Moellers, James E. Newton, Kay Norman, Syble Owen, Larry Randolph, Vonda Robinson, Ralph Starr, Kathryn Stewart, Chrissy Trusler, Louise Turner, Rose Ann Valenti, Ann Voss, Jerry Voss, Jo Wilbourn, and Mary Youmans. Their sponsor was Miss Hazel Presson. Also accompanying them were Mrs. G. L. Presson and Mrs. Guy Dean.

The Grizzly, newspaper of the Fort Smith (Ark.) High School, won first prize in its class. During the meeting at Columbia University, Miss Carol Griffee, editor of the Grizzly, conducted a student roundtable on Making News Interesting. Drew Flora, who is president of the Arkansas High School Press Association, was chairman of one of the group sessions. Miss Presson spoke at a sectional meeting on Ways To Avoid a Gossip Column.

Carol Griffee and Drew Flora were invited to appear on Dave Garroway's television program. Along with Larry Randolph, they were invited to have lunch in the press bar at the United Nations.

Miss Presson was named a charter member of the National Council of Scholastic Press Associations. This organization is being formed to coordinate the work of scholastic press associations.

Washington was one of the points of interest on the group's trip. It was a pleasure to have them here. They are a credit to all America.

Era of Opportunity in South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Era of Opportunity in South Carolina Has Only Begun," written by Charles E. Daniel, formerly a Member of the Senate, and published on March 15 in the State, of Columbia, S. C.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ERA OF OPPORTUNITY IN SOUTH CAROLINA HAS ONLY BEGUN—STATE IS A SPEARHEAD IN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH; MIGRATION OF MANUFACTURERS TO BE GREATER; UNHEARD-OF PROSPERITY IS PREDICTED

(By Charles E. Daniel)

This country, according to all reports, has just seen its second biggest business year ever. Businessmen, bankers, and Government, working together, rode out a mild adjustment in the economy, recouped and went on to reach new heights of prosperity. The end is not foreseeable and in 1955 this will be topped.

The South was caught in the general upswing—actually we helped to propel it. For we here are riding the crest of an economic and technological tide that can be described only as an industrial revolution, 1954 was a booming banner year for the South.

BRIGHTER 1955 OUTLOOK

The region has been pulled up by its roots. Agriculture, so long the chief means of subsistence, is giving way to industry in many areas and therefore new concrete roots are being planted in the soil. Normal seasonal unemployment and a drop in agricultural income were recorded. Some of this was to be expected. However, the situation was aggravated, as farmers know all too well, by a drought that took its toll of key crops and pastures. However, agriculture has a brighter outlook for 1955. Increased foreign purchases will boost export demand in 1955 and the innumerable new textile plants will reflect greater prosperity for agriculture.

The construction boom offers an insight into the industrial expansion here. Builders have done their share to stimulate it. Public confidence in business has kept construction more than steady; in fact, it is on the increase. In the Southeast, as best we can tell, construction contracts in 1954—industry, residential, industrial, roads—exceeded 1953 by one-sixth. This should continue through 1955.

CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

Business has confidence and that confidence comes from good government. We have good government now, both in Washington and in South Carolina.

Statistics show that the general increase in business is magnified in the South, which is catching up with some sections in per capita income and leaving many areas behind. The southern people, with larger incomes, now are their own best customers for their own products. Therefore, industries are building more and more plants in the South where they can be close to raw materials, markets, and capable, easily trained, loyal labor.

Looking at textiles, I see more cause for hope and optimism this year than ever before. Like the other phases of our economy, the textile industry, which is the South's most important industry, has experienced a year of adjustment. With the remarkable expansion of textiles in South Carolina to one of the top areas in this industry in the world, we are working hard to keep our newly won position. We outproduce and outsell any other State in this respect.

WOOLEN FIRMS ARRIVE

We became proud hosts last year to a multi-million dollar group of firms in the woolen industry, among the world's biggest and best:

The Wellman Combing Co., recently completed and now operating in Johnsonville.

Santee River Wool Combers, division of Amedee, Prouvost and Sons, Roubaix, France, under construction at Jamestown.

Runnymede Mills, a division of Kent Manufacturing Co., manufacturer of worsted goods, Pickens.

Dixiana Mills, division of Mohawk Carpet Co., Dillon.

Alexander Smith, Inc., carpet manufacturers, Liberty.

The Starr Mills, Starr, S. C., a new synthetic weaving plant.

In addition, there were extensions of consequence to many of our existing plants; all providing many new industrial jobs and additional opportunities for commercial development.

HIGH ECONOMIC HONORS

The list is distinguished and the companies will bring high economic honors to South Carolina—and the South.

The synthetic fiber industry is centered in the South because this region's vast textile industry provides the greatest single outlet for chemicals—about 20 percent of production. Again, last year we welcomed to South Carolina a leader in the field—Owens-Corning Fiberglass Corp., which erected a huge new plant in Anderson. Major additions to the Celanese plant in Rock Hill were finished. The Allied Chemical plants at Hopewell, Va., are now nearing completion.

There are many new industries, greatly diversified in their nature, seeking new sites for their manufacturing operations. I am predicting that the South, especially South Carolina, will get its share of these new plants and that the next 2 years will show a migration of manufacturers to the area greater than any preceding year with an unheard of period of prosperity to the region.

SO FAR THIS YEAR

So far in 1955 the following new industries of consequence have awarded contracts for the construction of multimillion dollar manufacturing plants in South Carolina:

Kendall Co., Bethune, complete finishing plant.

Dewey & Almy Chemical Co.

Division of W. R. Grace Co., Simpsonville plant for the complete manufacture of Cryovac plastic bags used in the processing of poultry, meats, cheese, vegetables, etc.

James Dunn Manufacturing Co., division of Asten-Hill Manufacturing Co., Walterboro, plant for the manufacture of asbestos covering used in the manufacture of paper.

Many others are under consideration.

The area of opportunity has only begun.

A Comparison of Armed Forces and Merchant Marine Personnel's Benefits Accrued During World War II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in the past, as well as during recent months, I received a number of inquiries about the compensation and benefits accrued to merchant marine personnel and to the personnel of our Armed Forces during World War II.

Information of this kind has not always been readily available in a summarized, convenient form. For that reason, I requested the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to prepare a memorandum on this subject.

The following study has been prepared by Mr. Julius W. Hobson, of the Economics Division of the Legislative Reference Service. I was very favorably impressed with the results of Mr. Hobson's work, and I wish to commend his report to the attention of my colleagues. Being desirous of sharing this information with the membership of this body, I am inserting the study in the RECORD. It will undoubtedly prove a valuable reference when pertinent legislation will be considered.

I should like to note at this point that the study does not purport to be all-embracing, because there are many other factors which enter into consideration when one wishes to compare the status and the benefits of merchant-marine personnel with that of our armed-services personnel during the war.

The major factor is, of course, that merchant-marine men were civilians. In general, they were given the opportunity to become members of our Regular Armed Forces. Many of them did not choose to avail themselves of this opportunity. As merchant-marine men, they were not subject to the same degree of strict military discipline which governed all the actions of military personnel. They had more liberal shore-leave rights. They could choose their ships, and sign on a different ship upon the completion of a given voyage. They received higher pay and various bonuses which were not given to members of the Regular Armed Forces.

These and other considerations were pointed out in the course of various hearings held during the past decade before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. These factors do not take anything away from the vital service performed by the merchant marine dur-

ing the war. They merely point out that, before comparing the compensation and benefits accrued during the war to merchant-marine personnel and to the Armed Forces personnel, it should be borne in mind that the two did not have the same status, any more than did the defense workers in our factories—who were essential to the war effort—have the same status as the servicemen.

With these reservations, I am pleased to commend the Library of Congress study to the consideration of the membership of this House:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENTS ON COMPENSATION AND BENEFITS ACCRUED TO MERCHANT MARINE PERSONNEL AND PERSONNEL OF THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES DURING WORLD WAR II

(By Julius W. Hobson, Economics Division)

INTRODUCTION

Compensation to the Armed Forces personnel and veterans' benefits are not new either in theory or in practice. Since the early days of organized warfare, governments have made special grants of one kind or another to men and women who have performed honorable military service—not as pay, but in token of their fellow-citizens appreciation.

The people of the United States have been generous in this respect. They have recognized throughout the Nation's history that although military service in the defense of the country is an obligation, it calls forth a return obligation especially when the service has been rendered in time of war.

The men of the Mechant Marine have also earned the Nation's gratitude. In every war in the history of the country, merchant seamen have paid a heavy price. During World War II this Nation lost 1,554 merchant ships. Of the men who manned these and other ships, some 5,600 were listed as dead or missing, 500 were prisoners of war and an estimated 12,000 were injured at sea or wounded by enemy action.

Merchant marine personnel were paid on a civilian wage scale during World War II, while Armed Forces personnel received a much lower rate of pay for military service. However, benefits to veterans exceeded by far those extended to merchant seamen.

It is in the light of the comparable service rendered the country during World War II by the Armed Forces and the merchant marine that the controversy exists regarding the differences in compensations and benefits accrued that service.

The following is a comparison of these compensations and benefits:

PART I. MERCHANT MARINE PERSONNEL

1. Pensions to merchant personnel: No provision has been made by the Federal Government for the payment of pension benefits to merchant seamen with the exception of those men who suffered permanent total or permanent partial disability as the result of the risks of war or certain marine catastrophes involving their vessels. After exhaustion of the insurance benefits, which will be explained later, no provision existed for further payment, and in order to prevent these permanently disabled seamen from becoming public charges, the Congress enacted Public Law 449, 78th Congress, which amended Public Law 17, 78th Congress. The applicable provision of the former statute read as follows:

"The Administrator, War Shipping Administration, is also authorized to make payments, in accordance with rate schedules provided by the United States Employees' Compensation Act, to a master, officer, or member of the crew of, or any persons transported on, a vessel owned by or chartered to the Maritime Commission or the War Shipping Administration or operated by, or for the account of, or at the direction or under the control of the Commission or the Administration, for permanent total or partial disability as long as such disability resulting from causes related to the war effort whether heretofore or hereafter arising exists; such payments to commence if and when insurance benefits provided by the War Shipping Administration for such person shall have been exhausted."

Between the dates of October 1, 1941, and March 24, 1943, seamen employed on vessels owned by or under bareboat charter to the War Shipping Administration and/or United States Maritime Commission were eligible for benefits under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act of 1916, as amended, on account of injury or illness incurred in line of duty, and in the event of death due thereto, their dependents were entitled to benefits under that statute. Public Law 17, 78th Congress, which was approved on March 24, 1943, took these benefits away from the seaman and his dependents, and since that time no pension benefits have been payable to such dependents. The pertinent portion of this statute follows:

"That (a) officers and members of crews (hereinafter referred to as 'seamen') employed on United States or foreign-flag vessels as employees of the United States through the War Shipping Administration shall, with respect to (1) laws administered by the Public Health Service and the Social Security Act, as amended by subsection (b) (2) and (3) of this section; (2) death, injuries, illness, maintenance and cure, loss of effects, detention, or repatriation, or claims arising therefrom not covered by the foregoing clause (1); and (3) collection of wages and bonuses and making of allotments, have all of the rights, benefits, exemptions, privileges, and liabilities, under law applicable to citizens of the United States employed as seamen on privately owned and operated American vessels. Such seamen, because of the temporary wartime character of their employment by the War Shipping Administration, shall not be considered as officers or employees of the United States for the purposes of the United States Employees Compensation Act, as amended; the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended; the act of Congress approved March 7, 1942 (Public Law 490, 77th Cong.); or the act entitled 'An act to provide benefits for the injury, disability, death, or detention of employees of contractors with the United States and certain other persons or reimbursement therefor,' approved December 2, 1942 (Public Law 784, 77th Cong.). Claims arising under clause (1) hereof shall be enforced in the same manner as such claims would be enforced if the seaman were employed on a privately owned and operated American vessel. Any claim referred to in clause (2) or (3) hereof shall, if administratively disallowed in whole or in part, be enforced pursuant to the provisions of the Suits in Admiralty Act, notwithstanding the vessel on which the seaman is employed is not a merchant vessel within the meaning of such act. Any claim, right, or cause of action of or in respect of any such seaman accruing on or after October 1, 1941, and prior to the date of enactment of this section may be enforced and upon the election of the seaman or his surviving dependent or beneficiary or his legal representative to do so shall be governed, as if this section had been in effect when such claim, right, or cause of action accrued, such election to be made in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the Administrator, War Shipping Administration."

War risk insurance was provided for merchant seamen and this matter will be covered under that caption. In addition to that insurance, seamen and their dependents have the right to bring suit for damages under the Jones Act (title 46, U. S. C., sec. 698). However, unless the negligence of the vessel can be established, no liability exists and accordingly no recovery can be had.

2. Education benefits: No provision has been made by the Federal Government for the granting of education benefits to former merchant seamen.

3. Any comparable housing benefits: No provision has been made by the Federal Government for housing benefits for merchant seamen.

4. Insurance benefits: In December 1941 meetings were held in Washington between representatives of the maritime industry, labor organizations, and the War Shipping Administration, and as a result of such meetings the President established the Maritime War Emergency Board. This Board promulgated the insurance coverage and forms of policy hereinafter described.

As a result of decisions of the Maritime War Emergency Board, and effective as of December 7, 1941, all seamen employed on vessels operated by or for account of the War Shipping Administration and/or United States Maritime Commission were protected in accordance with the provisions of the crew life and injury policy against the risks of war involving their vessels by insurance in the amount of $5,000. This insurance, which was furnished without cost to the seaman, covered loss of life, injury, and disability. The amounts payable for injury and disability are as follows:

"Schedule 2

"Injury: The assurer will pay, in case of loss, an amount to be determined by applying the percentage shown below to the principal sum for which the master, officer, or member of the crew is covered for loss of life under schedule 1.

	Percent
"Life	100
Both hands	100
Both arms	100
Both feet	100
Both legs	100
Both eyes	100
Hand	50
Arm	65
Foot	50
Leg	65
Eye	45
Total destruction of hearing	50

"The indemnities referred to above are payable, provided loss results directly and exclusively from bodily injuries, within 90 days from the date of accident. Loss shall mean, with regard to hands and feet, arms, and legs dismemberment by severance at or above wrist or ankle, knee, or elbow joints, or the complete and irrecoverable loss of function, with regard to eyes, complete and irrecoverable loss of sight. With regard to hearing, total and irrecoverable loss of hearing in both ears.

"Schedule 3

"Disability: For accidental bodily injury not described in schedule 2 which, within 90 days from date of accident from a cause hereinbefore set forth, results in total disability and which necessarily and continuously prevents the person injured from performing any and every kind of duty pertaining to such person's occupation, the assurer will pay compensation in monthly installments at the rate of 2 percent of the principal sum, beginning with the date of return to a port within the continental United States, during such time thereafter as the total disability persists or until such time as the total of compensation, so paid, shall amount to the principal sum provided for the injured person in schedule 1. This insurance, however, does not cover illness or disease of any kind (except pyogenic infections which shall occur through an accidental cut or wound), nor any disability due to or arising from mental and/or nervous disorders. Nothing herein shall be construed to cover

claims by any member of the vessel's personnel arising from his own willful misconduct.

"This policy is made and accepted subject to the foregoing stipulations and conditions and to the printed conditions on the following pages, which are hereby specially referred to and made a part of this policy, it being understood and agreed in the case of any conflict or inconsistency the foregoing shall prevail over those which follow.

"In witness whereof the War Shipping Administration has caused this policy to be signed by the Administrator, but it shall not be valid unless countersigned by or on behalf of the Director of Wartime Insurance."

Since this policy was limited to loss of life, injury, and disability, it was necessary to issue additional policies covering other obligations to the seamen, such as loss of personal effects, wages, and bonuses, after the casualty and until repatriation to the United States, and the furnishing of emergency clothing, medical and hospital expenses, housing and subsistence, and other incidental expenses incurred while awaiting repatriation. To provide the means of covering these obligations, the crew effects policy, wages, and bonus war risk policy, and the war risk protection and indemnity policy were issued.

It was found desirable to make certain changes in the insurance protection, and the above-mentioned policies were superseded by the second seamen's war risk policy, effective as of March 15, 1943, which was a part of decision 1A of the Maritime War Emergency Board.

This policy as originally written was limited to war risks, and effective as of April 24, 1943, it was amended to cover certain marine catastrophes; also to include any waterborne conveyance used to transport the seaman to and from the vessel on which he was employed, and any airborne conveyance used to transport him pursuant to instructions or permission of the War Shipping Administration or its agents.

The second seamen's war risk policy also included coverage of personal effects and the wages and bonuses due after the casualty.

One of the more important changes in this policy, as compared with the crew life and injury policy, was the provision in article 12 A (3) allowing an additional $2,500 in monthly payments in those cases where a seaman was disabled through an insured risk to the extent that he was incapable of performing, for remuneration or profit, any work or engaging in any business or occupation.[1]

During the period April 1943 to December 31, 1946, additional insurance covering loss of life only due to the risks and perils described in the second seamen's war risk policy, as amended, could be purchased for a nominal premium by the seamen protected by that policy. This additional insurance could be purchased in units of $1,000 up to $15,000.

At the present time, the collective bargaining agreements under which American-flag vessels are manned require that the crews of such vessels shall be protected by insurance in the form of the second seamen's war risk policy, as amended. While the face value of the policy is $5,000 the amount payable for loss of life and loss of personal effects in certain areas can be increased through collective bargaining.

5. Medical benefits: The following classes of seamen are entitled to the benefits and facilities of the United States Public Health Service without charge, provided they have had 60 days' employment abroad ship and apply for such benefits within 90 days after leaving their last vessel:

(a) Seamen employed on United States registered, enrolled, and licensed vessels, other than canal boats engaged in coasting trade.

(b) Seamen on State school ships or on vessels of the United States Government of more than 5 tons' burden.

(c) Cadets at State maritime academies or on State training ships.

(d) Seamen on vessels of the Mississippi River Commission, and upon application of their commanding officers, officers and crews of vessels of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

(e) Enrollees in the United States Maritime Service on active duty and members of the Merchant Marine Cadet Corps.

The seamen who were disabled during World War II are, therefore, precluded from the benefits of the Public Health Service. However, the Public Health Service will admit to their facilities, on a reimbursable basis, those seamen who are receiving disability benefits under the Maritime Administration's war-risk insurance program and Public Law 449, 78th Congress, upon presentation by them of a letter from this Division asking for the seamen's hospitalization and medical treatment and stating that the Maritime Administration will pay for such service. Other seamen who may have suffered an injury or disability during wartime employment but which is not compensable under the Maritime Administration's war-risk insurance program must bear their own medical expenses at private institutions.

Dependents of merchant seamen are not entitled to the benefits of the Public Health Service.

There are no institutions operated by the Federal Government to provide domiciliary care for disabled and aged merchant seamen.

6. Compensation during World War II: There were many factors determining the amount of compensation to merchant seamen during World War II. The following table is representative of the average monthly earnings of a crew of a commercially operated Liberty cargo vessel, Southwest Pacific area. These figures are also very close to the amounts received by merchant personnel serving in the Atlantic area.

Average monthly earnings of crew of commercially operated Liberty cargo vessel, southwest Pacific area (rounded to nearest dollar)

Department and rating	Number in rating	Wages	Bonus				Overtime	Total	
			Total	Voyage	Area	Attack		Each man	Each rating
Deck department:									
Master	1	$398	$406	$357	$43	$6	----	$804	$804
First officer	1	231	252	203	43	6	$113	596	596
Second officer	1	202	224	175	43	6	95	521	521
Third officer	1	184	209	160	43	6	83	476	476
1st radio operator	1	175	201	152	43	6	14	390	390
2d radio operator	1	165	193	144	43	6	10	368	368
Purser-pharmacist mate	1	152	181	132	43	6	----	333	333
Boatswain	1	113	147	98	43	6	59	319	319
Carpenter	1	113	147	98	43	6	53	313	313
Able seaman	6	100	137	88	43	6	51	288	1,728
Ordinary seaman	3	82	137	88	43	6	52	271	813
Cadet	1	82	137	88	43	6	----	219	219
Engine department:									
Chief engineer	1	363	363	314	43	6	----	726	726
1st assistant engineer	1	231	252	203	43	6	85	568	568
2d assistant engineer	1	202	224	175	43	6	80	506	506
3d assistant engineer	1	184	209	160	43	6	75	468	468
Deck engineer	1	120	151	102	43	6	25	296	296
Oiler	3	110	145	96	43	6	46	301	903
Fireman-watertender	3	110	145	96	43	6	44	299	897
Wiper	2	88	137	88	43	6	12	237	474
Cadet	1	82	137	88	43	6	----	219	219
Stewards department:									
Chief steward	1	155	184	135	43	6	63	402	402
Chief cook	1	138	167	118	43	6	42	347	347
2d cook and baker	1	122	156	107	43	6	42	320	320
Night cook (3d cook)	1	138	167	118	43	6	20	325	325
Messman	4	88	137	88	43	6	33	258	1,032
Utilityman	2	88	137	88	43	6	30	255	510
Total	43	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	14,873
Weighted average each man	----	134	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

Source: U. S. Congress. House. Hearings before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. U. S. House of Representatives, 79th Cong., 1st sess. Benefits to Merchant Seamen. Oct. 18-19, 1945, p. 262.

PART II. UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL

The following is a brief comparable outline of the major benefits and compensations administered by the Veterans' Administration for World War II veterans, their dependents and beneficiaries in the United States, its possessions and Territories, and in foreign countries.

1. Pension to United States Armed Forces personnel

(a) Pension for service-connected disability—World War II veterans.

Basis of eligibility: Disability must result from disease or injury incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service in line of duty, and discharge must be under other than dishonorable conditions.

Nature of benefit: Rates range, according to degree of disability from $17 for 10-percent disability to $181 per month for total disability. Additional amounts payable for specific conditions, such as $47 for the loss of foot, hand, eye or creative organ. Minimum rate for arrested tuberculosis $67 per month. Helplessness, blindness, multiple amputations, etc., carry rates from $279 to $420 per month. Additional amounts payable to veterans 50 percent or more disabled for wife, children, or dependent parents. Peacetime: All rates are 80 percent of the wartime rates for the same conditions.

(b) Pensions for non-service-connected disability—World War II veterans.

Basis of eligibility: Veteran must be permanently and totally disabled, credited with 90 days or more service, unless discharged sooner for line of duty disability, and discharge must be under other than dishonorable conditions.

Nature of benefit: The rate is $66.15 per month, increased $78.75 on attainment of 65 years, or after continuous receipt for 10 years; regular aid and attendance, $135.45. Annual income over $1,400 is bar if veteran has no wife or minor children, otherwise $2,700 limitation.

2. Education benefits

(a) Education and training—World War II veterans (Public Law 346, 78th Cong., as amended).

Footnote at end of speech.

Basis of eligibility: Ninety days' active service, some part of which must have taken place between September 16, 1940, and July 25, 1947. Less than 90 days if discharged for actual service-incurred disability. Discharge must be under conditions other than dishonorable. (The right to initiate a course of education or training under Public Law 346 lapsed for most persons on July 25, 1951.) Persons discharged from World War II service until 4 years after such discharge to commence a course. No training may be afforded beyond July 25, 1956.

Nature of benefit: One year of education or training plus the time the veteran was in the service between September 16, 1940, and July 25, 1947, up to 4 years maximum. All expenses of tuition, books, etc., paid at rate of $500 per year. Monthly subsistence allowances of $65 for the veteran without dependents or $90 for the veteran with dependents. For full-time institutional training—$75 if no dependents; $105 for 1 dependent, and $120 for more than 1 dependent. Lesser amounts for part-time training. Limitation on wages and subsistence under which the combined amounts cannot exceed $210 for the veteran without dependents, $270 for the veteran with 1 dependent, and $290 for the veteran with 2 or more dependents. In event these amounts are exceeded, a proportionate decrease in subsistence is made.

3. Housing benefits

a. Preference in housing purchase or rental—F. H. A.

Basis of Eligibility: (1) Public Low Rent Housing: Service in World War I or World War II or on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to date determined by President, with discharge or release under conditions other than dishonorable. (2) War and Veterans Housing (Lanham Act): Service in World War II or on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to date determined by President. (3) FHA-Aided Cooperative Housing: Service in World War II or on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to date determined by President.

Nature of Benefit: (1) Preference in occupancy of public low rent housing projects to families of veterans. (2) Preference in rental of certain housing transferred to non-Federal agencies and of rental or purchase of certain temporary housing available for long-term use. (3) Special mortgage insurance benefits for cooperatives having 65 percent veteran membership.

b. Special Housing—Veterans Administration.

Basis of Eligibility: Service-connected disability due to war or peacetime service entitling veteran to compensation for permanent and total disability due to loss, or loss of use, by reason of amputation, ankylosis, progressive muscular dystrophies, or paralysis, of both lower extremities, such as to preclude locomotion without the aid of braces, crutches, canes, or a wheelchair.

Nature of benefit: Grant up to 50 percent of a suitably equipped housing unit and necessary land therefor. Grant may not exceed $10,000.

c. Loans guaranteed, insured, or made by Veterans' Administration.

Basis of eligibility: (1) World War II: 90 days' active service, some part of which must have taken place between September 16, 1940, and July 25, 1947. Less than 90 days if discharged for service-incurred disability. Guaranty available on loans made by July 25, 1957. Unremarried widow of eligible veteran who died of service-connected causes also eligible.

Nature of benefit: VA guarantees payment of loan made to eligible borrower by lender of own choice. Loans guaranteed if made for purchase or construction of homes, farms, or business property or farm or business equipment. VA will guarantee 60 percent of residential property loan (maximum guaranty $7,500); or 50 percent of other real-estate loans (maximum guaranty $4,000); or 50 percent of non-real-estate loans (maximum guaranty $2,000). Direct home or farmhouse loans not exceeding $10,000 by VA authorized until July 1, 1955, under certain conditions in areas where private capital unavailable.

4. Insurance benefits

a. National service life insurance.

Basis of eligibility: Insurance was granted to persons in active service after October 7, 1940, and prior to April 25, 1951. Also, prior to April 25, 1951, insurance was available to a person after separation from service if he had active service between October 8, 1940, and September 2, 1945, both dates inclusive. Lapsed insurance may be reinstated at any time upon payment of required premiums and submission of evidence of insurability. A term policy in force at the expiration of the term is automatically renewed for a successive 5-year period at the premium rate for the attained age. No new insurance issued after April 25, 1951, except to (1) persons who are thereafter released from active service, have a service-connected disability, do not have a non-service-connected disability that would render them uninsurable, and who apply within 1 year from VA finding of service connection; (2) persons ordered into active service for 31 days or more with service since June 27, 1950, who apply within 120 days after separation from such service; (3) persons who surrendered permanent plans of NSLI or USGLI while in active service after April 25, 1951, and who may reinstate or secure new insurance, under certain limitations, upon application within 120 days after separation from such service; and (4) persons whose NSLI or USGLI term policies expire while they are in active service after April 25, 1951, and who may apply within 120 days after separation from active service for term insurance in the same amount at a premium rate for the then attained age. Insurance under (1) and (2) is nonparticipating and involves new premium and annuity tables; insurance under (2) is renewable 5-year level premium term insurance.

Nature of benefit: Death benefits payable in 1 sum (policies maturing on or after August 1, 1946), or under monthly installment plans, as selected. Waiver of premiums during continuous total disability (commencing before insured's sixtieth birthday) which continues 6 or more consecutive months. For an additional premium, total disability income of $5 per month per $1,000 of insurance under certain conditions (not applicable to insurance referred to under (1) and (2) of "Basis of Eligibility" column).

5. Medical benefits

a. Types of medical benefits.

Hospitalization: World War II veterans, if discharged or separated under conditions other than dishonorable may be entitled to VA hospitalization under the following priority system:

First. Those needing hospitalization because of injuries or diseases incurred or aggravated in line of duty.

Second. Those with nonservice-connected disabilities who state under oath that they are financially unable to pay hospital charges elsewhere. These veterans must wait until a bed becomes available.

For purposes of hospitalization, World War II veterans who develop an active psychosis (mental illness) within 2 years from the date of their separation from active service are deemed to have incurred the disability in active service and fall under the first priority group above.

Patients requiring emergency medical treatment may be taken directly to the nearest VA hospital but, if possible, the veteran, or someone acting for the veteran, should communicate with VA by telephone or telegraph beforehand.

In all other cases, the veteran, his nearest relative or his guardian or representative should fill in the proper form for hospital care. These forms are available at any VA office.

If admission to a hospital has been approved for treatment of a service-connected disability, Government transportation may be provided to the hospital and, upon completion of treatment, to his or her home. This service may be provided for treatment of a nonservice-connected disability if applicants state under oath they are financially unable to pay for the transportation.

Domiciliary care: Domiciliary care is designed to provide a "home" for those veterans who have disabilities which incapacitate them from earning a living and who require minimal attention.

Eligibility requirements for admission to a home are essentially the same as for hospital treatment. Transportation at Government expense, as a rule, is provided only for the initial admission.

The veteran or his nearest relative, guardian or representative should obtain pre-admission approval from the nearest VA installation having facilities for domiciliary care.

Outpatient medical treatment: Outpatient medical care is available for veterans in need of treatment for service-connected disabilities.

Under this benefit, eligible veterans may receive treatment at VA outpatient clinics or from authorized private physicians. Each veteran's eligibility must be determined by VA before treatment of this type can be authorized.

Necessary drugs prescribed by the physician authorized to give outpatient treatment to the veteran may be obtained from "home town" druggists at Government expense.

Outpatient dental treatment: Outpatient dental care for veterans may be authorized by VA for three types of cases providing the application for dental treatment is filed within 1 year subsequent to enactment of Public Law 149, 83d Congress, approved July 27, 1953.

The three types of cases are:

1. Those having service-connected compensable dental conditions or disabilities.

2. Those having service-connected noncompensable dental conditions or disabilities where the dental condition or disability is shown to have existed at time of discharge; and,

3. Those having a dental condition whether or not service-connected by medically determined to be aggravating a service-connected physical disability or injury.

The authorization for treatment may be rendered either by a fee basis "home town" participating dentist or in a VA dental clinic.

Outpatient treatment for presumed service-connected disabilities. Several laws provide for outpatient treatment of certain disabilities that are deemed or may be presumed to be service-connected if they existed within a specified time after the veterans' discharge or separation from World War II service. These veterans must have been discharged or separated from such service under conditions other than dishonorable.

For active psychosis, the disability is deemed to be service connected if it existed within 2 years of the veteran's discharge.

For active tuberculosis, the disability may be presumed to be service connected within 3 years of the veteran's discharge, providing he had 90 days of active service.

For multiple sclerosis, the disability may be presumed to be service connected within 2 years of the veteran's discharge, providing he had 90 days of service.

For all other disabilities resulting from chronic diseases, the disabilities may be pre-

sumed to be service connected within 1 year from the veteran's discharge or separation.

Those retired from the Armed Forces for disability and receiving disability-retirement pay from the Armed Forces must first elect to take compensation from VA before they become entitled to outpatient treatment.

Prosthetic service: A veteran's eligibility for prosthetic appliances may be established if (1) he has a service-connected or service-aggravated disability requiring an appliance, or (2) if an appliance is determined necessary as a part of hospital treatment or domiciliary care.

Complete information and necessary forms for procuring needed appliances, equipment and repairs are available at any VA office.

Examination: Freed medical examination, if required, will be given to veterans filing claims for compensation or pension.

Veterans needing a physical examination for Government life insurance purposes may receive a physical examination free of charge at any VA medical office.

Free medical examinations also are given at any VA clinic or hospital to veterans filing applicaiton for hospital treatment or domiciliary care.

6. Compensation of Armed Forces personnel during World War II

Since we dealt with the seagoing merchant marine personnel in the pay schedule of merchant seamen above, a comparable pay schedule for the same type of vessel operated by United States Navy personnel is presented below. This pay schedule can also be compared with the United States Army and United States Marine pay schedules. Personnel of the same rank in the armed services during World War II received approximately the same base pay as Navy personnel.

Monthly pay and average allotment of complement of Navy-operated Liberty cargo vessel

Branch and rating	Duties	Number in rating	Base pay	Base pay plus sea duty pay	Average allotment	Total	
						Each man	Each rating
Officers:							
Commander	Commanding	1	$292	$321		$321	$321
Lieutenant commander	Executive officer	1	250	275		275	275
Lieutenant	1st lieutenant	1	200	220		220	220
Do	Navigator	1	200	220		220	220
Do	Engineer officer	1	200	220		220	220
Lieutenant (jg.)	Gunnery officer	1	167	183		183	183
Do	Communications officer	1	167	183		183	183
Do	Watch and division officer	1	167	183		183	183
Lieutenant	Medical officer	1	200	220		220	220
Do	Supply officer	1	200	220		220	220
Boatswain	Assistant 1st lieutenant	1	150	180	$51	231	231
Machinist	Assistant to engineer officer	1	150	180	51	231	231
Pay clerk	Assistant for disbursing	1	150	180	51	231	231
Enlisted personnel:							
Seaman branch:							
Chief boatswain's mate		1	138	166	51	217	217
Boatswain's mate, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Boatswain's mate, 2d class		2	96	115	51	166	332
Coxswain		7	78	94	51	145	1,015
Gunner's mate, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Gunner's mate, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Gunner's mate, 3d class		1	78	94	51	145	145
Quartermaster, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Quartermaster, 3d class		1	78	94	51	145	145
Signalman, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Signalman, 3d class		1	78	94	51	145	145
Seaman, 1st class		30	66	79	51	130	3,900
Seaman, 2d class		32	54	65	51	116	3,712
Artificer branch:							
Radioman, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Radioman, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Radioman, 3d class		2	78	94	51	145	290
Radio technician, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Radarman, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Radarman, 3d class		2	78	94	51	145	290
Carpenter's mate, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Ship fitter, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Ship fitter, 3d class		1	78	94	51	145	145
Engine room:							
Chief machinist mate		3	138	166	51	217	651
Machinist mate, 1st class		3	114	137	51	188	564
Machinist mate, 2d class		3	96	115	51	166	498
Machinist mate, 3d class		4	78	94	51	145	580
Motor machinist's mate, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Motor machinist's mate, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Electrician's mate, 1st class		1	1,114	137	51	188	188
Electrician's mate, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Electrician's mate, 3d class		1	78	94	51	145	145
Chief water tender		1	138	166	51	217	217
Water tender, 1st class		2	114	137	51	188	376
Water tender, 2d class		2	96	115	51	166	332
Water tender, 3d class		2	78	94	51	145	290
Fireman, 1st class		7	78	94	51	145	1,015
Fireman, 2d class		8	66	79	51	130	1,040
Special branch:							
Yeoman, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Yeoman, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Yeoman, 3d class		1	78	94	51	145	145
Chief storekeeper		1	138	166	51	217	217
Storekeeper, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Storekeeper, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Storekeeper, 3d class		1	78	94	51	145	145
Chief pharmacist's mate		1	138	166	51	217	217
Pharmacist's mate, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Commissary:							
Chief commissary steward		1	138	166	51	217	217
Ship's cook, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Ship's cook, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Ship's cook, 3d class		1	78	94	51	145	145
Baker, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Steward's branch:							
Steward, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Steward, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Cook, 1st class		1	114	137	51	188	188
Cook, 2d class		1	96	115	51	166	166
Steward's mate, 1st class		2	78	94	51	145	290
Steward's mate, 2d class		3	66	79	51	130	390
Total		167					25,516
Weighted average each man				105			

Source: U. S. Congress. House. Hearings before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. U. S. House of Representatives, 79th Cong., 1st sess. Benefits to Merchant Seamen. Oct. 18–19, 1945, pp. 260–261.

SOURCES

1. United States Department of Commerce. Maritime Administration, Division of Insurance.

2. Veterans' Administration, Office of Legislation. World War II Fact Sheet, October 1, 1953.

3. Veterans' Administration, Office of Legislation. Federal Benefits Available to Veterans and Their Dependents as of November 1, 1954.

4. United States Congress. Hearings before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. House of Representatives, 79th Congress, 1st session. Benefits to Merchant Seamen, October 18–19, 1945, part 1, pages 260–264.

5. United States Statutes, volume 56, page 359. Public Law 607.

6. United States Statutes, volume 58, page 648. Public Law 392.

---

[1] ART. 12. Disability and dismemberment:

A. Disability: "Disability" as that term is used in this policy means incapacity because of injury proximately caused by the risks insured against herein which necessarily and continuously prevents the insured from performing any and every kind of duty pertaining to his occupation at the time of injury.

In the event the insured elects after such determination to accept payments for such disability under subdivision (2) (a) hereof and if when the total of $5,000 has been paid him as therein provided, the insured claims in writing, and establishes to the satisfaction of the Administrator, that because of the same injury he is incapable of performing, for remuneration or profit, any work or engaging in any business or occupation, then he shall be paid further benefits at the rate of $100 a month until the Administrator determines such incapacity has ceased or until a total of $2,500 is paid, whichever first occurs.

Economic Conditions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excerpt from a broadcast by Mr. Edward R. Murrow, over the CBS radio network on March 15, 1955, dealing with the President's report on economic conditions and the report of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS—CBS RADIO NETWORK, TUESDAY, MARCH 15, 1955

One of the standard procedures of government in this country is for the President each year to make a report to Congress on economic conditions. Then subsequently a joint congressional committee makes a report on this report. The unanimous report of such a joint committee of 14 was published yesterday. Because it was about economics, and not particularly dramatic reading, it did not attract a lot of attention, but it deserves more than it got.

For one thing, it included a bipartisan diagnosis of the Nation's economic health, which in days when stock-market prices have been taking a beating, is timely. All 14 Congressmen agreed that we had a recession last year. They called it that, but they agreed that conditions have improved since late 1954. They found that employment and production has regained about half the ground lost, and unemployment had gone down about one-third. The present recovery, they stated, is sparked by automobile and steel production, home building, and inventory reversal. But they called the advance uneven and stated that certain regions continue to be in very serious economic straits. That is frank language. So is the description of farm income. The 14 agree that the decline in it is expected to continue, though more slowly.

Whether this situation justified the boom in the stock market late last year, or justifies the recent slump in prices, is not for this reporter to say. But the joint committee, after noting that we have not recovered all the lost ground, agreed that more must be done than recover lost ground. "Because of our growing population and technological development, it is not enough," the report said, "just to maintain present levels of employment and production." The 7 Democrats on the committee issued a separate statement in which they criticized the President's report for creating a more highly favorable impression of conditions than facts justify. They also cautioned that the major fields—automobile and home construction—on which the President based confident expectations, may not be sustained during the year. But they emphasized that they were not forecasting a depression or recession.

This separate democratic comment also played up differences over tax and farm policies with the Republicans. And that seems to give the report a formal partisan look. At first glance, this is politics as usual. But it is not. In foreign policy we have something like bipartisanship, and its achievement has been one of the milestones in the history of Congress.

Here is something that goes far toward being bipartisanship in economic principles. There are disagreements, out they are chiefly over details, like methods and timing. Anyone with a recollection of the bitter cleavage between New Dealers and anti-New Dealers in the early Roosevelt days, or remembering the story of the McKinley and Wilson eras, will know that basic economic differences provided the driving power of party rivalry, as, indeed, they have throughout much of our history.

But now the two parties agree that the Nation is growing, and that if it is to be healthy has to go on expanding, and they agree on what in the past had divided them most bitterly, on the desirability of a public-works program, not one to stave off disaster, but to assure expansion. They want a public-works program already in existence, that can be accelerated when private employment requires. They say that the needs of the Nation have not been met because of war restrictions, and there should be construction now of schools, highways, hospitals, and other community facilities, including slum clearance and public housing. And these, the report says, should go forward more rapidly during the years ahead. In addition, the committee notes that distressed conditions persist in certain industries and regions, even while the economy is expanding, and that much can be done to assist these communities through public works, and that this action is required now.

The report does express the failure to agree about tax adjustments at this time. But it is unanimous on basic tax policy. The object, it says, should be to balance at least the cash budget at maximum employment and production levels. It recommends postponement in the reduction of corporate and excise tax rates. And as to the distribution of the tax burden, it says that "we should continuously strive to improve the distribution of the tax burden in the interest of economic stability and rising living standards." In other words, the differences over the present tax adjustments are only as to when and how.

Of course it is no discovery of today that many Republicans and Democrats think alike on basic economic questions. This is so, despite the vocal high-tariff enthusiasts, the advocates of balancing the budget at any cost, and those for whom all public spending is anathema. But I suggest that there are about as many such individualists in the realm of foreign policy too. Bipartisanship does not mean unanimity. But with bipartisanship in both foreign and economic policy, the biggest guns of party rivalry are silenced. No doubt it is a good thing, but will make a big difference to party politics.

Cry of Freedom

SPEECH
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, fourscore and 100 years ago today a great Virginian stood in a pew in a small church in my native city of Richmond, Va., and made a speech which will never be forgotten as long as freedom is secure in the world. In St. John's Church, which still stands, Patrick Henry proclaimed:

I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.

That proclamation became the foreword of our early Republic and is today an accepted tenet of our political faith.

The premier performance of the play Cry of Freedom, based on the remarkable career of this great American, will be given next Monday evening at the Lisner Auditorium, here in Washington, under the sponsorship of the District of Columbia Department of the American Legion.

Today, in commemoration of the 180th anniversary of Patrick Henry's famous speech, Mr. Benjamin E. Hinden, coauthor of the play, will deliver an address over radio station WOL.

I take pleasure in inserting Mr. Hinden's speech at this point in the RECORD:

CRY OF FREEDOM

For many years millions of patriotic Americans have been greatly disturbed about the international Communist threat to freedom and the future of our country. Robert Clark and I decided that something must be done to counteract the poisonous lies being spread by brutal dictatorship and godless tyranny. We are convinced that we have undertaken a project which will prove highly beneficial to all who share America's cause in the battle for the minds of men, a battle we are forced to fight.

As writers, we turned to authentic sources for research and information about these United States—the history book, the National Archives, and the Library of Congress. We searched for an answer to this question: What started our country on the road to freedom? As we progressed, we confided to each other a slight feeling of shame at reaching this stage of our lives, living here in our Nation's Capital, among the very symbols of America's struggle for freedom, and understanding so little of the dramatic story behind these United States.

We soon became conscious that our Founding Fathers furnished a light to guide us. That light was sparked through the efforts of a man determined to be free—a man who inspired his countrymen to rise above subjugation, to assure Americans, then and now, the God-given rights of freeborn people. How many people realize that it was the pioneering work of this man, almost alone, who started the movement for freedom that brought about these United States? That man was Patrick Henry, of Virginia.

Patrick Henry had to battle his own friends in the House of Burgesses, against his contemporaries whom he admired and respected. They agreed the tyrannical rule of King George III must cease, but they disagreed violently in debate as to what course to pursue. During his first term in the Virginia House of Burgesses, Patrick Henry astounded the colonial leaders of his day with resolutions to the King, demanding termination of the infringements of the rights of freeborn British subjects in the Virginia colony. For 10 long years he led his fight calling for action against ever-increasing violations by the British of their own constitution, designed to protect the liberties of British subjects. His popularity spread like wildfire, not only through the colony of Virginia, but throughout the other 12 colonies as well. He was their champion, their spokesman for what was just and right, a man of action, a true leader.

We set out to tell this story in a way that would be most noticed, because this is a story of supreme importance to all Americans, and to all freedom-loving people. All who are truly interested in the fundamental principles of our Government and its dramatic origin, sooner or later, visit the Nation's Capital. The play, therefore, will be staged in Washington, D. C., not only because it ties in directly with the historic sites of this area, but because it also vividly demonstrates the reasons behind the marble and bronze statues that mark the landscape of the Nation's Capital.

For more than 2 years we continued our effort—research, writing, more research, more writing, inserting, cutting the script. We knew we had to have the best play possible for the American public. If it were less than the best, we would be letting down the public, as well as the very people whose lives we were endeavoring to portray in dramatic fashion. At last we had the script. It was warm and human; it was strong with the fierce conflict of debate, enriched with humor—with the tenderest love story ever told. And Patrick Henry is given his due credit at long last.

This play Cry of Freedom will move audiences. Its strong emotional appeal, its deep conflicts, and, most of all, its patriotic inspiration for each of us today will be long remembered.

The script was finished and we searched for a competent director. Many applicants were considered. The best was selected—a man who has directed outstanding stage plays, as well as acted in them, and who realized the challenge presented by the dynamic theme of Cry of Freedom. He is John X. Ward, creator of the role of Patrick Henry in the production presented in Washington a few years ago—Faith of Our Fathers. We have an excellent cast of actors and actresses with professional experience, including such players as James Ward and Theodore Zarpas, who are TV directors; Edgar Ford, radio and television; and Mary Ford, performer on the Olney Theater stage; and an excellent choir under the direction of Eleanor Starr. Miss Starr has written an original composition called The Ballad of Patrick Henry, especially for this production, and previews of the song indicate that it may catch on as the Ballad of Davy Crockett has captured the American public.

The opening night performance is sponsored by the District of Columbia Department of the American Legion who will receive the entire net proceeds of this performance. Our cast, the director, the stage manager, the authors, the sponsors, are all confident that we are working on a project of importance as a means of entertainment and that it is a device for carrying the patriotic message.

Cry of Freedom was the cry of Patrick Henry and the colonists against tyranny. It will be shown at Lisner Auditorium, opening on Monday, March 28. This patriotic theme based upon the American precedent becomes more and more important and timely. The Communist conspiracy with which we are now forced to grapple desires to humble us in a cold war. This play will fortify the minds that are politically immature to clearly understand the true meaning of our heritage and inspire greater devotion to the fundamental principles of our Government.

The Fallacy of Rigid Agricultural Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it occurs to me that as we prepare to again explore the fallacy of 90-percent parity as a gadget for maintaining the income of our farmers we should never lose sight of the documented fact that farm prices have fallen some 22 points, while rigid supports were in full force and effect. I want to promote high farm income and agricultural stability, but I shall never accept a program that hides behind high prices engendered by war as a justification for its continuance.

I cannot help but note with some amusement the proposed nuptials between the 90-percent supporters in the farm group and the $1.25 minimum-wage proponents in the ranks of labor. When Mr. Walter Reuther was before the House Committee on Agriculture he received what amounted to a standing ovation from those who favor the Cooley bill, H. R. 12, and I could only conjecture as to what his reception has been and will continue to be when he invades the districts of those applauding Congressmen for the purpose of organizing his labor groups.

The unnatural alliance between organized labor and the farm organizations supporting H. R. 12 is explored in the news item which appeared in the issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer for March 20, and is included in these remarks as a prognostication of what we may expect in the House when the pending bill is brought up for legislative action:

CITY DEMOCRATS SEEN KEY TO PROP PRICE REPEALER

(By Paul J. McGahan)

WASHINGTON, March 19.—"Will they stand hitched?" That is the $64 question to be answered by the House late next week when it is expected to vote on the Democratic farm bloc move to repeal flexible price-support farm legislation.

The Eisenhower-Benson forces won a substantial victory last year in the change from rigid price supports for five basic agricultural commodities to a flexible basis which becomes effective this year.

Secretary of Agriculture EZRA T. BENSON, fully backed by President Eisenhower, waged a vigorous fight to put the flexible price-support plan through the House last year by a vote of 223 to 170, a margin of 58.

This year, the Democratic majority of the House Agriculture Committee headed by Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, Democrat, of North Carolina, with the outspoken support of Speaker SAM RAYBURN, Democrat, of Texas, is out to jam the repealer proposal through the House next Wednesday and Thursday. They assert they will win by 40 votes.

Encouraged by seeming support from both Republicans and Democrats which would assure another split vote, some of the leaders assert that the Senate, where action on farm legislation has not been expected until the next session of Congress next year, will take up and pass the repealer before adjourning.

Both sides admit that city Democrats who voted with the administration last year, may desert next week under the pressure of the Democratic leadership.

That is why the question "will they stand hitched?" holds such current interest.

Organized labor has swung into the new picture with unusual vigor. The heads of the two major organizations, Walter P. Reuther, president of the CIO, and George Meany, the AFL president, both gave testimony favoring a return to fixed price supports at 90 percent of parity.

Reuther charged the administration with an unprecedented effort to divide the city worker and the farmers.

Leaders on both sides in Congress have become aware that organized labor leaders are actively seeking to change the votes this week, particularly those of the city Democrats who joined with Eisenhower-Benson forces last year.

Labor leaders want to get the Nation's farmers more actively identified with their organizational activities. But more especially they want to gain the support of farm bloc legislators for the increased minimum hourly wage of $1.25. Labor also is concerned about falling employment in industries dependent on the farmer's buying power.

The National Farmers Union recently declared: "Less support for 90 percent is probable from the Republicans this year than last, when only 23 voted against the sliding scale. The outcome apparently will depend on the city Democrats.

"Last year over half of the city Democrats backed 90 percent, with 34 against. About 35 to 40 city Democratic votes for 90 percent are needed from the 34 who voted against it last year and 25 others who are new to Congress or were absent during the 1954 vote.

"Both AFL and CIO are buttonholing city Congressmen to urge votes for 90 percent of parity supports."

Delaware Valley, U. S. A., Congressmen, and others in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware are under heavy pressure. Last year the Republican Members from the three States supported the flexible program. They totaled 19 in Pennsylvania, 8 in New Jersey, and 1 in Delaware. Five Pennsylvania Democrats voted against flexible price supports.

Last year six Pennsylvania Democrats supported the Eisenhower-Benson program. These were Representatives BARRETT, BYRNE, GRANAHAN, and GREEN, of Philadelphia, RHODES, of Reading, and WALTER, of Easton. In New Jersey, of the 6 Democrats, 5 voted with the Republicans, excepting Hart, who

was paired and is no longer in Congress. The other five were Representatives Addonizio, Howell, who is no longer in Congress, Rodino, Sieminski, and Williams, Jr.

Philadelphia has five Democratic Members of the House. Representative CHUDOFF last year voted against the administration measure, which had the support of his four Democratic colleagues.

These four, together with Representatives RHODES and WALTER, are obvious targets for the farm bloc-labor drive for the return to rigid price supports.

The position of Representatives THOMPSON, Democrat, of New Jersey, and TUMULTY, Democrat, of New Jersey, new Members this year, is not known. Last year the Congressman-at-large from Delaware was a Republican who supported the administration. This Congress has Delaware represented by HARRIS B. MCDOWELL, Jr., a Democrat.

Three Pennsylvania Republicans who voted last year are no longer in Congress. They were Representatives Graham, Bonin, and Stauffer. Their successors, all Democrats, Representatives CLARK, FLOOD, and QUIGLEY, are included in the farm-bloc list of potential supporters of the Rayburn-Cooley repealer.

Thus the advocates of rigid price supports in the farm bloc and labor Democratic groups are working hard to persuade this tri-State group of a dozen or more Members to vote with the forces seeking to repeal flexible prices.

Two Delaware Valley, U. S. A., congressional Representatives, both Members of the House Committee on Agriculture, are standing firm with the administration. They are Representatives PAUL B. DAGUE, Republican, of Pennsylvania, and KARL C. KING, Republican, of Pennsylvania. Each signed the minority views filed against the majority report submitted by Chairman COOLEY. And each will participate in the floor debate next week for 2 days before the showdown vote.

Address by Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, American Federation of Labor, to Labor's League for Political Education, Philadelphia, Pa., February 26, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

I want to state at the outset that I am here to receive, rather than to give, inspiration and instruction on matters political. Success is the best advocate, and the success of your campaign to bring better govment and a better Governor, to the State of Pennsylvania speaks very highly, indeed, of the performance of your league.

You have helped to deliver your State, at least in part, from the grip of one of the most deeply entrenched, as well as one of the most backward political machines, in the Nation. If we had done half so well in those States where our friends were defeated by the narrowest of margins our gains would have been sufficient to guarantee a great stride forward toward a better life for every American, rather than the prospect of 2 more years of minimum action and virtual statemate at the national level.

Whatever I may have to offer in the way of advice or admonition, therefore, is directed, not at any particular situation of your own, but at the larger scene. However, I did just happen to note an interesting item in the New York Times about an event that occurred here last week, which seems to contain a small lesson for all of us—a lesson as to one of the reasons why we must concern ourselves with political affairs in the first place. This news item, under a February 22 dateline, states as follows:

"President Eisenhower was boomed for a second term today by speakers at the 46th annal meeting of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association.

"One of the speakers was G. Mason Owlett, Republican national committeeman from Pennsylvania. * * *

"Mr. Owlett, president of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, predicted that 'Pennsylvania will join a national vote of confidence for President Eisenhower in 1956.'

" 'Dwight D. Eisenhower is no mere party leader; he is one of the great spiritual leaders of our times,' he said."

I do not know Mr. Owlett, his qualities, or his record as a corporation official, or as a political boss. I do not know whether he is as competent a judge of spiritual values or of spiritual leadership as he is of company balance sheets and precinct returns, but I have my doubts. I may be wrong, but I am inclined to suspect that most people would prefer to seek spiritual guidance from some other source than upon the advice of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association.

I do not know whether the sovereign people of Pennsylvania have grown so docile, dependent, and predictable that they can be safely pledged to any camp nearly 2 years in advance, or delievered wholesale like, so many cattle, to the particular political market that the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association prefers. But here again, I have my doubts. In the elections of last November they demonstrated their independence of reactionary bossism and PMA politics, and I cannot believe that, having had the experience of good government, they will so soon revert to the old.

But I do give Mr. Owlett and his PMA cohorts credit for this: That they know their own kind and are willing to fight for their own. Therein lies the lesson for us. Unless we are able to demonstrate at least an equal degree of active interest and concern in the character of our Government, we can expect nothing from it. When the people neglect the basic responsibilities of citizenship, the Pews, the Grundys, and the Owletts are always there, ready and eager to assume those responsibilities. It is clearly up to us, as individuals and as trade unionists, to work and to fight for the kind of government that we prefer, for if we do not, no one else is going to do that work for us. Yet, there are those who can hear and read about such exhortations as that which Mr. Owlett addresses to his fellow corporation bosses with great approbation, but who will then turn about and challenge or deny the right of unions of working men to participate effectively in the political life of this democracy.

If we require other reasons to justify our program of political education and action, we need only consider some of the things that happen when the large employing interests of the country gain a stranglehold upon the instruments of government, as demonstrated in the record of this and other big business administrations.

Such administrations never take over on their own merits, frankly presented. The deliverance of Government to the captains of industry and finance is always accomplished under some such guise as the pretense of "bringing the best brains to Washington" or getting the Government out of private business, or introducing business management methods, or in that most recent version, "partnership." Yet, somehow, the best brains always seem to come from the board room, the countinghouse, and the realm of the money changer. Getting the Government out of business always seem to involve a giveaway of priceless natural resources to an affluent few, while the people get the business only in the sense of the slang expression. The introduction of business management methods leads us to an NLRB packed with company lawyers and a rich man's tax bill granting billions in tax relief to stockholders and corporations at a time when the budget deficit requires a new increase in the debt ceiling. And "partnership" becomes a deal somewhat like the joint ownership of a cow, in which the public has to buy all of the feed while private interests get all of the milk.

When the people went to the polls in 1952, I am sure that they were under the impression that they were voting for a responsible Government administration. Had they known that they were in fact going to elect, not an administration, but a national brokerage agency, I believe that their decision might well have been different. Yet that is the role that our Government is performing today—not accepting and acting upon, but shifting the burden of its constitutional responsibilities.

When power needs arise in the Tennessee Valley traditionally served by public power, the Government no longer permits the TVA to fill those needs, but acts instead as a broker for the privileged firm of Dixon and Yates. In the face of a grave national emergency arising out of the shortage of educational facilities and resources, the administration today holds out no real hope or promise of timely aid for the school children of America, but serves instead as the agent through which our urgent needs for a vital public service are to be converted into profitable grist for the financial mills of investment bankers.

This is indeed a new philosophy of government, this moderate progressivism or dynamic conservatism, or whatever the expression in current White House vogue happens to be—when bankers and stock-market sharpers, rather than educators, are brought in to testify in support of the administration's so-called school-construction program before a Senate committee. If this philosophy is to prevail much longer, perhaps the teaching methods now practiced in the public schools will have to be revised. Instead of teaching our children about the birds and the bees, perhaps they should be taught about the "bulls" and the "bears." If the administration plan prevails, then maybe the primary curriculum should also be changed from "reading, writing, and arithmetic" to "hedging, margin, and arbitrage" so that our children may be appropriately equipped for a life of dynamic conservatism.

I may be wrong, but I cannot believe that this is what the people voted for in 1952. The current administration practice of advancing unworthy causes under gaudy, liberal-type labels, as well as the present division of control between the executive and the legislative branch in Washington, serve to illustrate the paradoxical nature of the political situation we face today.

The voters of America have shown, time and again and most recently in 1954, a preference for liberal, humane and responsible government. Where a clear choice has been presented to them, unobscured by false or diversionary issues, they have in the great majority of cases chosen the course of

progress as opposed to reaction. Even the most hidebound of politicians acknowledge this preference of the public for they never dare to present a retrogressive, special-interest program under its true colors. They recognize that in order to succeed they must adopt a camouflage of pious pretenses, high-flown slogans and glowing promises—a tactic that reached its fullest development in the 1952 campaign.

There is, I believe, another tendency of the public which, unfortunately, serves often to nullify this preference and to play into the hands of the political promoter and manipulator. That is the tendency to believe what one would like to be true, to follow the minstrel with the siren song and the golden promise, to take appearances at face value and to accept the popular myth without critical examination.

These, I believe, are the conflicting forces that have led us into this paradox, and a condition of political stalemate. In the 1952 Presidential campaign, the people were sold on a popular personality, universally known and admired for his record as a military figure, possessed of an engaging manner and no visible enemies, and advertised as possessing the magic cure for all of our troubles and fears. Taken at face value, such a proposition was hard to resist, and the people were not made aware of the fact that it had to be a package deal.

They have found out the hard way that the package they won when they went for Ike was not quite what they had been led to expect—that it contained a lot of things they had not bargained for. All wrapped up in the same bundle were Dixon and Yates, Beeson and Benson, McLeod and McCarthy, Jenner and Bricker, Weeks and Reece, lay-offs and bird-dogs, giveaways and the "numbers game"—yes, even Natvig and Matusow, and who knows what to come.

There may still be those who think it is possible to take their Ike straight, as advertised, and who prefer to believe that these less attractive aspects of his administration can be safely overlooked, as misfortunes for which he should not be held responsible. The outcome of the last elections would seem to indicate that many of those who voted for Eisenhower in 1952 cannot quite stomach the team he has assembled or the political shysters who cluster about his coattails. There are even those who keep looking for and expecting the "new Ike, the real Ike" to emerge one of these days, to dump the old guard off his back, and to lead a rejoicing people into the promised land. In the light of the record, the persistence of such a dream represents a triumph of hope over experience, of ballyhoo over reality. The great crusade is over—it never got past the feed trough.

But today, almost 2 years before the next elections, the old guard politicos are busy getting the saddle, the bridle and the dope-gun ready for another ride to victory on the back of their favorite. The owletts and company have taken full charge of the same man whose advocates at the 1952 Republican Convention accused their old leader, Senator Taft, of theft and of violating the commandment "Thou shalt not steal", and are hailing him now as their "spiritual leader". This much at least can be said of the old guard politician—he is always ready to rise above principle in order to maintain his place at the public trough.

This, together with the type of campaign waged against liberal candidates in many States in 1954, provides ample evidence of the complete bankruptcy of old-guard conservatism as a political philosophy. The members of that school no longer possess the courage to face the public squarely on the merits of the issues. To gain and maintain their positions of power, they now engage in the promotion of a blind idolatry or, through an assortment of fronts, in the exploitation of unthinking passions and hatreds.

The necessity of combating the techniques of the huckster, the political medicine man, and the smear artist so prevalent today present our league for political education with a tremendous task, and a great responsibility. There is always the temptation to reply in kind—to exchange low blow for low blow—but we must resist that temptation. We are not in the smear market. Leave that to the professional poison mongers. In our choice of methods and approaches, let it always be said that we played this political game hard, but we played it straight. If we cannot honestly feel that we have, through our educational efforts, helped to improve the character of American political life, then we have no business in it.

Besides, over the long run at least, the approach that we have adopted is not only better, in the ethical sense, than the technique of smear and vilification. It is, I am convinced, also smarter in the political sense. The progress that is achieved through education, slow and tedious though it may be, endures. That which is achieved by playing upon unreasoning passions and emotions will surely evaporate in the course of time. To believe otherwise is to lose all faith in the democratic processes.

Looking ahead to 1956, I believe that the final decision will depend upon the ability of the public to make the important distinction between the attributes of personal popularity and those attributes which are necessary to the highest performance of the arduous requirements of the most responsible public office in the world. We have absolutely no desire or intent to injure, to degrade, or to detract in any way from the personal popularity or repute of one who has earned—and who has, indeed, received—so much from his countrymen as has the present occupant in the White House. We are concerned, and vitally concerned, with the content of the policies and programs that issue from the White House, and we intend to speak our minds fully and freely on that score.

I have no interest in the personal life or habits of anyone in public office. A President who stands up and fights for the rights and interests of the people when the occasion demands it would draw nothing but praise from me, though he played golf, tennis or poker from sun to sun. I am interested in where his heart and mind are, and not his person. And when he speaks the language of liberalism, I want to see him put his budget where his mouth is before reaching any final judgment.

But, regardless of what the Gallup polls, or any index of personal popularity may show, when a person in public office, regardless of rank or party, becomes involved or associated with a position on public issues which we consider to be detrimental to the best interests of the Nation at large, we intend to pull no punches. We shall exercise our right to place responsibility at the door where it properly belongs. In a healthy democratic order, no responsible elected official is entitled to immunity from public criticism, or to the privilege of blind support. We, at least, shall never extend that privilege or that immunity.

We can draw a great deal of encouragement, though we can afford no complacency, from the results of the 1954 elections. Against great obstacles, including a late all-out rescue campaign—with the President taking the high road and NIXON the low road—we made important, though not decisive, gains in both the House and the Senate.

But by far the most significant were the successes that we achiebed at the State and local levels, in the gubernatorial races and in the election of State representatives. These gains are significant because these are the areas where we have been weakest in the past, where the obstacles arising out of undemocratic systems of apportionment are the greatest, and where the most work needs to be done.

We cannot hope to achieve success by working from the national level down; we must work from the local level up. National politics grows out of State and community politics, and its character is largely a reflection of the character and make-up of the centers of political power in the State houses and city halls of America. The trade union movement and its membership can never hope to grow as a factor to be reckoned with in the political life of the Nation until we develop and use the tools and techniques of effective action in the arena of State and local politics.

Furthermore, the "right-to-work" campaign that is now being waged against labor has made it clear that employers have shifted the battleground from Congress to the State legislatures, having prepared that battleground in advance through section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. So long as we must live and defend ourselves under an administration which holds a fictitious set of "States rights' in higher regard than basic human rights, we have no alternative but to endeavor to secure adequate representation in the State legislatures of the Nation.

I believe that we are better equipped today to function effectively under this set of circumstances than we have been in the past. The principle of decentralization has been introduced into the structure of Labor's League for Political Education, with the appointment of area directors to work more closely with State and city branches of the league. This should help to make possible a much greater degree of collaboration and cooperation between the various functional parts of our league, as well as to enable us to adapt more realistically to the varying conditions and circumstances that exist in different patrs of the country. The 1954 results were, I believe, to some extent, at least a vindication of the soundness of this approach.

I doubt that we can expect soon to balance the degree of influence that the great corporations now exert upon the economic and political life of the various States, but we are certainly justified in working to that end. We cannot hope to compete with their fat purses and open moneybags, but I believe that we have a much broader appeal—one that merits the support of the rank-and-file citizen and of other public-spirited groups. As one sample of the big business approach, I understand that one of the officials of the United States Steel Co. serves simultaneously as chairman of important committees of the chamber of commerce of at least three different States—at each of which, of course, he expresses his deep devotion to the principle of "States' rights" and local self-government. We do not engage in that type of hypocritical multilateral carpetbagging. The affairs of our local organizations are conducted by local citizens.

I am highly optimistic about the future of our trade union movement. I am encouraged by the positive, vigorous, and healthy manner in which we have responded to the challenge presented by a hostile political environment and by vicious, punitive legislative enactments. I have traveled extensively about the country during the months since I assumed my present post. I have visited many international and State federation conventions, and have talked with hundreds

of those who bear the responsibility of local, State, and international union office. Nearly everything that I have seen and heard has served to reenofrce that sense of optimism and that feeling of encouragement.

I have observed a new spirit and a growing enthusiasm at all levels within the American Federation of Labor. Everywhere there has been a drawing-together, a closing of ranks, and a gathering of strength and vigor. Many factors have contributed to this new spirit. Despite all the obstacles thrown in our way by our adversaries in public and private life, our membership has risen to a record level. Our affiliated unions are sound and stable with larger resources than they have ever had before. The consummation of a no-raiding agreement has served to release energies, resources and organizers hitherto tied down to the unproductive task of defending past gains. International unions are revamping their organizing departments and appointing directors whose sole function it is to organize the unorganized, without the wasted time and talent involved in a host of unrelated tasks.

Union officials and members throughout the country are attending educational, social security, collective bargaining and legislative conferences more frequently, in greater numbers and with more interest than ever before. More local unions, who had previously remained outside the fold, have become properly affiliated with State federations and city central bodies. Our international and State conventions are drawing delegates in increasing numbers. The feeling is becoming general that at last we are on the move again.

At this high point of interest and enthusiasm, the logical climax has now been achieved—the successful negotiation of a merger agreement with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The agreement was reached at a time when most of the writers, reporters, and outside observers were busy explaining all of the reasons why it could never happen. Now these same gentlemen, faced with the task of putting their dope stories together, are having trouble in conceiving and predicting what a united labor movement will mean to the working people and the citizens of America.

But we know what it means. We have for years experienced the whipsaw tactics whereby one side has been played off against another to the disadvantage of both by opportunistic employers and politicians. We have seen the waste and duplication of effort, time, and resources, and the lost opportunities occasioned by disunity. We know that disunity drains the energies of labor, for unity is the lifeblood and the heart of the trade-union movement. Unity means the difference between a future bright with hope and promise, and one of perpetual internal conflict, division and weakness.

Labor's league for political education has a vital, central role to play in a united labor movement, if we are to make the most of our opportunities. This role will demand much of you who are most directly responsible for the league's success where that success has first of all to be achieved, locally in the precincts and polling places of the Nation. Yours is a task which requires a higher degree of unselfish dedication and understanding than any other trade-union function—for it may involve no personal advancement, or direct and immediate bread-and-butter gain. It will involve many disappointments. The only reward we can or should expect is the reward that all citizens will share, regardless of their contribution to the effort—the reward of enlightened, liberal, and humanitarian government, dedicated to the welfare of all of the people.

The State of the Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "State of the Economy," published in the Washington Post of Sunday, March 20, 1955. It is a very fine exposition of the President's economic report and the report of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

The Joint Committee on the Economic Report is justified in its complaint that the President's economic report failed to include a sufficiently clear statement on the goals needed to assure maximum economic opportunities in 1955. The excellent qualities of the President's report, prepared for him by the Council of Economic Advisers, were clouded by this failure to be sufficiently self-critical and to face up to the inadequacies of the present situation. The joint committee agrees with him that there has been a substantial recovery since the low point of a year ago and that most indices are up. Employment and production have regained about one-half of the ground lost and unemployment has receded about one-third. But the committee is concerned about the prospects for the second half of the year. It properly argues that if the President's report had examined the danger signals more carefully the country would be better prepared for any eventuality.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the report is that Republican and Democratic members are in agreement on so many things. The Democratic majority wrote a supplemental statement emphasizing its views, and three Republicans had a statement of their own. But the full membership agreed on the essentials—a signal tribute to the educational value of service on the committee.

Instead of boasting about what has happened, the joint committee concentrated its attention on the reasons why recovery has not been more substantial. It agreed that more attention must be given the problem of distressed industrial areas and the unfavorable trends in agriculture. Democratic Members made a telling argument against those who have been fighting an inflation straw man at the expense of what should be the primary objectives of economic policy—maximum employment and purchasing power. With more than 3 million persons idle in a Nation with the productive capacity of this one, the primary problem at present is not inflation.

In this connection, the report expresses concern over prospects for the second half of the year when automobile production will be at a much lower level than present. It says the administration and Congress should be ready with a public-works program in support of schools, roads, and hospitals and be prepared to adopt a more flexible tax policy. It is significant that all members of the committee support the President's request for a 1-year extension of the corporate and excise taxes in the interest of a balanced cash budget. Unlike the Ways and Means and Finance Committees, this committee also unanimously supports the President's request for an increase in the Federal debt limit.

With these criticisms at hand and with the benefit of the joint committee's extensive hearings—and because there are widespread doubts about the economic prospects for the second half of the year—the Council of Economic Advisers should resume the practice of its predecessors and issue a mid-year report. Such a report could be of substantial value in promoting an expanding economy throughout 1955.

A New Era in South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "A New Era"—referring to the State of South Carolina. The editorial was published on March 15, 1955, in the State, of Columbia, S. C.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEW ERA

South Carolina truly is enjoying a new era.

Our industrial growth stands out because it so readily can be seen and because it can be reduced to revealing figures, but it is only one phase of the remarkable development that has taken place in our State in the last decade. Our strides forward in education and agriculture, in transportation, in good government, in better living, in religious life, in providing better housing, etc., have kept pace with the marvelous manufacturing expansion that has taken place.

We have often quoted statistics showing that at the end of World War II we had industrial investments of $500 million whereas now the total is 6 times that amount or, in round numbers, $3 billion. This total, of course, includes the H-bomb plant, which it should, since it is equipped for peacetime as well as wartime production and has created jobs—well paying positions—just the same as any privately developed project.

With growth comes problems.

With more people comes the need for more housing facilities, more schools, more to eat—in fact more of everything. That South Carolina has been able to absorb this increase is a tribute to our people.

Our great school revolution has set a standard that other States might well emulate. As the Governor said the other day, we are 4 years ahead of the President's plan for relieving school shortages—so far ahead, and the building program so soundly financed that, small as we are, and poor as we are, comparatively speaking, we would not be eligible under the proposed Federal aid bill for assistance.

Frankly the segregation issue speeded up action on making South Carolina's school facilities second to none in the Nation. But regardless of the reason why, the fact remains that a revolution has taken place, and without endangering one whit the enviable double-a rating of our bonds.

In higher education, too, this State has gone forward. More and more our young people are going to college. More and more they are able to find in the institutions of our State the courses which they need. More and more, thank goodness, they are realizing that while the distant hills look green they have no greater opportunity than right here at home.

In agriculture steady advancement has been recorded. New and improved methods have been introduced and other steps taken to meet the increased demands. We are behind in irrigation, which proved its worth in last summer's drought to those who have it, and the proposed water control law is badly needed, but we have every reason to be proud of our agricultural accomplishments for the past 10 years.

From time immemorial the day has been anticipated when South Carolina, still an agricultural State, would not be dependent upon the success or failure of her crops. The year 1954 proved that this happy day has been reached since the heavy financial loss suffered by many engaged in agriculture did not upset our general economy. Time was when we could have stood last year's farming losses.

It is good also that, while cotton is still king, it is no longer an absolute monarch. We now have diversification. Many acres formerly in the fleecy staple have been made available to other use because of improved seed, improved methods of culture. On a normal year we can grow as much cotton now as we did previously on twice the acreage. We have developed new cash crops, the peach being an excellent example. Thirty years ago (or later) we didn't grow a sufficient number of peaches for them to be listed as a commercial crop. Now we are the greatest peach-shipping State in the Union. And so on.

It is important that we absorb our growth instead of letting the growth absorb us.

South Carolina has individuality that must not be sacrificed, has standards that must not be lowered, has qualities that must be retained. In this, so far, so good, but we must ever be on guard lest we lose otherwise while winning commercially. Those assets which we would preserve are the very assets that make us attractive to industry. If we lose those assets, we may lose our appeal.

Right after the last World War was the time of most rapid industrial expansion. This is explainable because of a backlog that had been built up while the conflict was raging. In addition, there was a new appreciation of our advantages. Since then the influx while continuing has tapered off. This year, however, from the way it has started, looks as if it might set some kind of a record. In the first 2 months of 1955 there was more than half the plant construction underway as built during the full 12-month period of 1954.

We now have a double argument. In addition to our natural advantages as a desirable place for manufacturing, there has been developed in this area a sizable market that manufacturers should like to be near. Ten years ago that market did not exist in sufficient volume to be a factor.

For years the economy of the South, and particularly that of South Carolina, was plagued because we had to send our raw materials north and buy them back as finished products. This difinitely upset the trade balance. Now it is different. We are finishing the raw materials right now at home and selling the finished product.

This is not a development that has taken place in the last decade. The change has been taking place over the years, but the influx of industry since 1945 has definitely established, securely, the balance which we so long have needed.

Another progression which is of importance is the change that has come about in financing. There was a time when we were absolutely dependent on banking centers outside the South for capital. Now this is no longer true. Here in South Carolina we have financial institutions capable of providing funds for worthwhile concerns to be established or expanded. Nothing has bolstered our economic independence any more than this.

By any measure, South Carolina has a good State government with a fair attitude toward business, which is all that the high-class industrialist asks. He is not seeking favors, but he does want reasonable protection for his investments. That its situation is healthy is best evidenced by the fact that so many companies that have cast their lot with us have seen fit later to increase their holdings.

We appreciate big corporations, and we hope more of them will locate with us, but frankly nothing beats small concerns locally financed using local products and employing local people. We have many such plants in this State and we hope the number will increase.

There is no place here for the fly-by-night promoters who wish to impose upon a community and conduct business affairs in a shoddy manner. Every now and then such a person wants to locate in this State, but we have kept remarkably free from such intrusions.

We could go on citing developments such as those in forestry, which are well worth writing about or in conservation, but we shan't in this article attempt to deal with everything. Suffice it to say that our progress has been on an even keel and South Carolina is still South Carolina despite the many changes that have taken place.

This newspaper hopes that it has done its share in bringing about the new era and that it may be privileged for many years to come to exert its influence for a South Carolina that is a good place in which to live and in which to make a living.

Echo Park Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

CIO VOICES SUPPORT FOR CONSTRUCTION OF ECHO PARK DAM IN COLORADO

CIO support for the construction of the Echo Park Dam in Echo Park, Colo., as part of the upper Colorado River storage project, has been voted by the CIO committee on power, atomic energy, and resources development, it was announced today by Chairman O. A. Knight.

Mr. Knight, who heads the CIO Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union, said the decision followed an extensive meeting of the committee in Denver late last month.

In reversing its previous stand of opposition to the dam, Mr. Knight said the committee now supports the dam project as a means of securing maximum benefits of water for irrigation and municipal purposes, as well as the development of electric power for expansion of the upper Colorado Basin area.

Mr. Knight's statement:

"From a careful study of the facts which have been presented to me and my committee, I am persuaded that the maximum benefit to mankind will result from the earliest possible completion of the upper Colorado storage project, including Echo Park Dam. The engineering prospects provide facilities for recreation for those now interested in the scenery and wildlife aspects of this area, as well as substantial regulation of the water flow in the river and a head of water for the production of electric power. This power is needed for the expanding population and industrial growth in the Mountain States. Salt Lake City, Utah, and Denver, Colo., and the total area between these two growing cities will greatly benefit from the earliest possible development of the total upper Colorado storage project."

John R. Mott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES I. DOLLIVER
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, John R. Mott, a native son of Iowa, was a great Christian statesman of our time. As part of my remarks, I include an address by Dr. Ralph Dockman, of New York, delivered at the John R. Mott memorial service on February 25, 1955:

JOHN R. MOTT, APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST

In front of Trinity Church, Boston, is a statue of Phillips Brooks, the rector who made that parish the preaching peak of his generation. The sculptor depicts the commanding figure of Brooks with another form standing behind and overshadowing him. The other figure is that of Jesus Christ. Phillips Brooks, towering above the pulpit masters of his time, humbly felt himself the servant of his Lord.

John R. Mott has been, and will be, memoralized in many places. His portraits hang on uncounted walls and will be hung on countless more. His life has been incorporated in many books and will be immortalized in many more. But if the portrayals are true to the primary purpose of his life, the figure of the Christ will always be standing over him. He was an apostle of Jesus Christ.

John Mott was prepared for his apostleship by pioneer parents. He was the scion of sturdy stock who left the more settled and sheltered valleys of New York for the more open and isolated plains of Iowa. His alert mind was sensitive to the lengthened horizons of the West. He once said: "I have long thought that is was life on these boundless plains which profoundly kindled my imagination and was a great factor in making me responsive in later years to worldwide visions and plans."

Typical of so many American youth, his mind was awakened by the touch of a local minister who inspired him to read and later influenced him to go to college. His family had become Christian under the influence of a Quaker evangelist, J. W. Dean, State secretary of the Iowa Young Men's Christian Association. Thus was formed the first link in Dr. Mott's life-long connection with the great organization which was eventually to honor him with its highest offices and which he was to lead to worldwide achievements.

The first college to which John Mott went was Upper Iowa University in Fayette. While he was a student there, a Young Men's Christian Association was formed and he became

a charter member. Though active in religious work, he looked toward law as a preparation for a political career. One is tempted to let his imagination picture what positions he might have filled had he turned his amazing talents toward public office.

But at Cornell University, in which he next enrolled, the direction of his life was changed. To that campus came J. E. K. Studd, famous English cricketer and a member of the Cambridge Seven formed under the influence of Dwight L. Moody. Young Mott went to hear Studd. Let Dr. Mott describe the experience: "The first 3 sentences I heard him speak revolutionized my life." Hear them: "Seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not. Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." Later a member of his staff was to say: "What I have seen of Mott's leadership in 50 years is convincing evidence that he always lived by the text that changed his life."

Having gotten a new sense of direction, John Mott's dynamic and creative mind would not let him stand still. He set to work. He joined a Bible class in an Ithaca church. He initiated work among prisoners in the town jail. He was elected vice president of the Student Christian Association. Later he became president. And in his senior year was largely responsible for raising the funds to house the student Christian work in Barnes Hall on the Cornell campus.

The stream of John Mott's life, which had risen in the uplands of high personal spiritual experience, was now headed toward the wide sea of God's service. Then a mighty tributary came in to swell the stream. John R. Mott met Dwight L. Moody. How priceless would be the photograph of their first meeting! The bearded Elijah of Northfield must have realized that he was laying his mantle on a young and powerful Elisha whose prophetic work would carry the eternal gospel to the ends of the earth.

John Mott, the enlisted follower of Jesus Christ, was now to begin his work as the ambassador of Christ. The Creator had seemingly put the stamp of leadership on his commanding figure and regal bearing. At his graduation from Cornell in 1888, he became student secretary of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, but only after prolonged soul searching, for other opportunities beckoned him. In this office he traveled over America, becoming a familiar and electrifying figure on our Nation's campuses.

In 1891 John R. Mott made his first visit to Europe as a delegate to the World Conference of YMCA's at Amsterdam. Fifty-seven years later I had the privilege of seeing and hearing him in that same city of Amsterdam as he led in forming the World Council of Churches. As I recall him standing majestically in his red academic robes looking out over the assembled throng in 1948, I wonder what memories filled his mind as he thought of the movements in which he had served since his first visit to Amsterdam over a half century earlier. Every great religious cause and every significant ecumenical conference during those 5 decades had felt his leadership.

His first visit to Europe kindled his enthusiasm for foreign nations. He often admonished young men, "Keep your eyes on the ends of the earth." The lad who lifted his gaze to the broad fields of Iowa was on his way to becoming a world citizen. Personally I have to confess that whenever I looked into the eyes of Dr. Mott, they somehow suggested to me the gaze of an eagle. An eagle seems to look through you and beyond you. So did Dr. Mott. His piercing eyes looked straight at you and yet seemed to see long vistas beyond you. His vision became adjusted to vast distances.

He repeatedly circled the globe traveling over two million miles visiting the leading universities of all lands. I have heard him say humorously that he often felt like asking his traveling companions to place a board at the foot of his bed each morning bearing the name of the country in which he was waking up.

Dr. Mott is credited with having influenced more young men than any other man of his time. May I testify for myself. I saw him first at the student volunteer convention held in Rochester in 1910. John Mott at 45 years was a figure a student never forgot. He looked like a statesman. He spoke like a statesman. He was a statesman. If a man like Mott felt that Christian service and foreign missions were big business, they were big business. He captured my imagination. He was no small factor in shaping my choice of work.

John R. Mott was an ambassador of the young King of Calvary to the youth of America and to the students of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For over half a century he riveted the attention of the Christian world on youth and helped to rivet the mind of youth on the making of a Christian world. As Prof. Kenneth Latourette has said, "There have been many great missionaries, but no one else has been the means of bringing together in cooperation in the spread of our faith so many diverse ecclesiastical groups or on so extensive a geographic scale."

John Mott was an ambassador of Christ to kings as well as to campuses. He visited with the statesmen of the world. He was welcomed in the councils of governments. In 1916 and 1917 at the request of President Wilson he was a member of the Mexican-American Joint Committee and a member of the Commission sent by the President to Russia. His cooperation was sought by governments not only because he was head of the vast and potent Young Men's Christian Association but also because he was John R. Mott.

And we must remember, too, that Dr. Mott was a global worker before we had global wars. And if the churches and peoples of the world had adequately responded to his missionary appeals, the chances are that the last World War would not have occurred. Dr. Mott saw the needs of Japan and if we had heeded his call to Christianize that land, there would have been no Pearl Harbor. If we had shared his ecumenical spirit, there would be no Iron Curtain between Orient and Occident today.

But for us to look back pensively and picture what might have been is hardly in keeping with Dr. Mott's character. I do not know of his ever speaking in the recriminatory vein of "I told you so." I never heard him bemoan the passing of "the good old days." He was always looking forward to the golden age ahead. Like "Rabbi Ben Ezra" his invitation was always out:

"Grow old along with me,
The best is yet to be,
The last of life for which the first was made.
Trust God, see all, nor be afraid."

He never complained, saying, "What's the world coming to." He was ever proclaiming what had come to the world in Christ. He was an ambassador of Jesus Christ.

And not only did John R. Mott follow Christ as a humble servant and represent him as an ambassador. He was a creator with Christ. Some persons write books which serve to prolong their memory. Others erect buildings which continue their work. But Dr. Mott is memorialized in living movements. If institutions are but the lengthened shadows of men, then his shadow is immeasurable because it is ever growing. Ponder the organizations and movements listed in this program: the Student Volunteer Movement, the World Student Christian Federation, the International Missionary Council, the World Alliance of YMCA's, the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, the Inter-Seminary Movement, the United Student Christian Council—all these and many others were blessed by his leadership and many more born of his brain. The Young Men's Christian Association was his first love because it was his spiritual parent, but with that as a fulcrum and Christ-like love as a lever he helped to lift the world. The Methodist Church was his ecclesiastical home, but he belonged to the Church Universal, the Body of Christ.

The inclusiveness of his spirit and the immortality of his influence cannot be better expressed than by the citation given to John R. Mott at the Centennial International Convention of YMCA's in 1951:

"Devoted servant of the cause of Christ, pioneer of worldwide Christian movements, brother of men of all races, ceaseless worker in behalf of world peace, welcome guest on all continents, renowned long-time leader and honored statesman of the Young Men's Christian Associations of all countries, friend of youth of all lands."

How could one man's magnetism be felt in so many directions and to such vast distances? There can be only one answer to the secret. He was so superbly a master of men because he was so truly a servant of God.

Dr. Mott demonstrated the double principle of divine trusteeship. He was so successful in handling the talents committed to him that he was made trustee of ever larger interests. But he also illustrated that other principle which Christ expressed when he said, "If you have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give you that which is your own?" By his fidelity in guarding the interests of others, he received the rich blessings which belonged to him. A score or more of universities honored him. He was given the Distinguished Service Medal by his own beloved country and was decorated by 15 other governments. He richly deserved the Nobel Peace Prize awarded him in 1946 because he had worked for unity within the churches as well as between governments. He recognized that a divided church could not honestly call for a united world. And he realized that religion offers the greatest channel of hope for world peace because it reminds men of their common membership in God's family.

Some years ago Henry Van Dyke, speaking at the Hall of Fame, gave this definition: "Fame is durable good renown, won by service, approved by the wise, applauded by the common voice." When we look at John Mott we see the embodiment of what the thoughtful American mind calls fame. We see beyond Mott, the man, the mighty movements which he served. We see towering above him the figure of Christ whose apostle he was. We catch a vision of the better world he dreamed. And the world which can produce a John R. Mott must be God's world.

Silly, Isn't It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, because I think the following letter from my good friend Art Wallhausen, editor, owner, and publisher of the Enterprise-Courier, a newspaper printed and published at Charleston, Mo., sets forth very clearly the desirability, if not the neces-

sity for a change in our postal law, I am inserting it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. We all remember that some time ago, many of us supported legislation which we thought was in the general public interest, and which especially would help employees of the Railway Express Co. to maintain their jobs, only to find that the express company immediately knocked out any advantage that they might have had from this legislation by immediately increasing rates to drive this business away.

Experience has taught us that the legislation which was passed and which became Public Law 199 was not in the interest of the general public, and that it should be repealed as quickly as possible. Mr. Wallhausen's letter calls attention to the silly procedures which are being followed now, and I hope the members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, as well as those officials in the Post Office Department, who make recommendations for changes, will read this letter.

I have been disappointed to learn that no hearings have been scheduled on bills which would restore some sanity and commonsense to the operation of the Post Office Department, but still have hopes that the chairman and other leaders will soon realize that it is time that Congress acknowledge the mistake it made during the 82d Congress. What seemed to make sense at that time has certainly proved to be asinine.

The above-mentioned letter follows:

THE ENTERPRISE-COURIER,
Charleston, Mo., March 14, 1955.

Representative PAUL C. JONES,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR PAUL: Now that you folks have managed to raise your salaries sufficiently to make your work worth your time expended, you might settle down and unpass a bit of legislation which has caused no end of trouble and confusion in business circles.

I have reference to Public Law 199.

This law, passed specifically for the Railway Express boys, places an arbitrary and silly limitation on weight and size of parcel-post packages mailed between post offices of the first class.

So what happens?

Yesterday one of my customers, for instance, hauled his printed matter from Charleston to East Prairie in order to mail the stuff. His postage bill was $115.

Then what happened?

A star-route truck picked up the packages (which had originated in Charleston) in East Prairie, hauled them back over the same route, deposited them on the back porch of the Charleston post office, from which place they were dispatched to Chicago, New York, and elsewhere.

Same silly routine is repeated over and over again. We carry our oversize packages to Wyatt or Bertrand or to East Prairie. Then the Government hauls it back to Charleston and redispatches the items. Same holds true of incoming mail.

Not long ago a customer of mine from Wyatt came storming into my office carrying a large parcel. It was a banjo or mandolin which he had ordered from a Chicago mail-order house. It was large and bulky. He had received it via parcel post. (Chicago can mail anything, any size, to Wyatt, which is a third-class post office.

He did not like the instrument, and had driven to Charleston where the said instrument was wrapped and packaged for him. He took it to the Charleston post office, where he was blandly informed that the package was too bulky to be mailed.

Naturally the man was mad and confused. I don't blame him.

After an hour or so of trying to explain this goofed Public Law 199 to this gentleman, he calmed down, hauled it back home and mailed it from Wyatt.

A few hours later a star-route carrier picked up the Wyatt mail, carted it into Charleston, and the same banjo was dispatched from Charleston, which happens to be a central distribution point.

It just doesn't make sense.

It does mean that the Postoffice Department is being deprived of much business it is geared up to handle, and under the present system it means double handling, and useless handling of many items. It would be a great convenience, which almost amounts to necessity, for most businesses to restore regulations in force prior to the enactment of Public Law 199.

If you, my good friend, would concern yourself with this down-to-earth problem, and would get the job done, it would amount to a damn sight more good than a lot of the social "do-gooder" legislation with which Congress is constantly meddling.

Yours very truly,

ART L. WALLHAUSEN.

Cost of Mail Delivery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting an editorial from the Thayer News, of Thayer, Mo. Mr. R. H. Williams, editor, has some timely observations regard our postal service:

COST OF MAIL DELIVERY

There has been much talk in recent years that the Post Office Department should be put on a paying basis. It is true that the post office annually builds up quite a deficit and that it is an annual cost to the Federal Government of considerable proportions.

It is also true that Congress has made it possible for newspapers to be delivered at a very low postage cost, has provided for very cheap mailing cost for books, and has provided other services which will never pay for themselves.

Another service which will never pay for itself is rural mail delivery. The post office will probably never be put on a break-even basis as long as free rural mail delivery is given to the rural citizens of this country. We are completely in favor of such delivery, but note that it cost $192,430,434 in 1953—the last year on which figures are available.

The same can probably be said about second-class newspaper delivery. The newspaper—which is the greatest buy available in the United States today—is almost a necessity and the fact that Americans can enjoy low-cost mail delivery of newspapers is one of the praiseworthy features of our society today.

No doubt some postal rates will need to be increased ever so often by the Post Office Department. However, we would like to see increases in second-class mail come very slowly, are in favor of continuing free rural mail delivery even though the Post Office Department loses money on such operation, and are in favor of low-cost mailing privileges for books and other such material.

Considering the money the Government spends for various less needed programs, we believe a reasonable deficit in the Post Office Department can be tolerated and should be, as it has been for many years.

Greek Independence Day, March 25

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the celebration of Greek Independence Day is of especial significance for a number of reasons. In the first place, the ancient Greeks, who are renowned for the very high premium they placed on freedom and independence, were, in a sense, the first citizens of the West. They showed the world that they preferred to fight for the preservation of their independence rather than willingly submit to conquering oppressors. In the second place, when eventually they were forced to submit to alien tyrants, the Greeks proudly maintained their spiritual independence for many centuries. Finally, in 1821, when they saw a chance of regaining their national independence, they staged a revolt, which in the course of several years of warfare led to the birth of modern Greece.

In that year, when Archbishop Germanos raised the standard of the cross in his monastery at Patras, few people outside Greece realized that the insurrection started by this intrepid church leader was to bring about complete political independence. But as Greeks of all classes closed their ranks and rallied to the cause of their freedom the world began to see the dawning of a new day in Greece, that cradle of western civilization.

At times the course of the struggle seemed uncertain. Even with considerable outside aid the cause of Greece suffered some setbacks. But as these brave Greeks braced themselves in a do-or-die fight, and as the amount of outside aid was increased, doubts as to the outcome vanished. In October of 1827 when the enemy's fleet was destroyed at the naval battle of Navarino, Greece's independence was assured.

It is simple enough for us to relate in a few sentences what the Greek warriors accomplished in the course of a strenuous and bloody decade. It is easy for us to view those events from a distance and marvel at the brave deeds of those Greeks against their oppressors. But the few words we say here cannot do them adequate justice. Neither time nor distance can dim the admiration with which we regard everything the Greeks did for the realization of their national dream, for the attainment of their national political independence.

In recent years Greek independence has been seriously endangered by aggressors or other evil forces. The memo-

ries of World War II and postwar events are still fresh in our minds. If we have learned a lesson from those tragic events, it is that national independence demands constant national vigilance, and it entails supreme sacrifices from all. The Greeks of 134 years ago, as well as those of our own day have proved equal to the task at hand. They have made a remarkable record for themselves by the courageous defense of their national independence. They will deserve the overflowing benefits which hard-won freedom bestows.

I am glad that we in the United States have been in a position to help the Greeks in their ceaseless fight against forces of tyranny and oppression. We are now closely linked to the Greek people in a common defense system, and they can be sure that we will do our utmost to support and protect their freedom. In this fraternal spirit we salute our allies and happily join in the celebration of Greek Independence Day.

The Outlook for Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Akron Beacon-Journal of March 9, 1955:

THE OUTLOOK FOR CONSUMERS

There was a hint of bad news for the Nation's consumers of natural gas in a dispatch out of Washington reporting the recommendations of a Cabinet level committee named by President Eisenhower.

What seemed to be the most important recommendation was one calling for a voluntary limiting of oil imports to 1954 levels. The committee tied this to national defense on the ground that larger imports of oil would force more coal mines to close down, with possible serious consequences to the defense effort in the event of war.

Almost incidentally, it seemed, the committee added that as far as natural gas is concerned, "sound conservation practices" should prevail, but that Federal regulation should apply only after the gas has entered "an interstate transmission line."

That is what the gas producers have been saying for years.

This is also what the present Federal Power Commission said—until the United States Supreme Court ruled that the Natural Gas Act compelled the FPC to regulate field prices. The FPC had tried to discard this power, but a suit filed in behalf of gas consumers finally forced the Commission to start regulating again.

From the point of view of gas consumers, the recommendation of Mr. Eisenhower's Committee is a discouraging sign. It suggests that, since the President is taking advice from men who subscribe to the gas producers' unlimited-free-enterprise philosophy, he might not veto—as former President Truman did—a bill to exempt field gas rates from Federal control.

The Congress as now constituted is one which seems likely to be more responsive to pressures from the gas-producing Southwest than to pressure from the gas-consuming North and East. The odds are, therefore, that the present Congress will pass a bill directing the FPC to stop regulating field gas prices. One House or the other has approved such bills before, and once both Houses gave approval. That time, President Truman's veto saved consumers from the rate increase which would have been the inevitable result of decontrol of the all-important field price.

President Eisenhower has never said, so far as we know, that he is in favor of leaving public utility consumers entirely to the tender mercies of the producers. But he appointed the Committee which made that recommendation. The Committee was of Cabinet level, which means that the President will give serious and perhaps sympathetic consideration to its recommendations.

The outlook for consumers is not good.

Let's Send MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the New York Journal-American of Sunday, March 19, 1955:

LET'S SEND MACARTHUR

On his return from the Far Eastern conferences Secretary of State Dulles pungently described the propaganda strategy of the Chinese Communists.

The strategy is to persuade the Asian peoples that the United States lacks the fortitude to risk another war, no matter what the provocation or aggression may be, and also lacks the fighting strength to win such a war.

"They," Mr. Dulles said, "are persistently trying to belittle our power and throw doubt on our resolution.

"Chinese Communist propaganda portrays the United States as being merely a paper tiger."

Mr. Dulles emphasized the sheer necessity of our convincing the east Asians, and the Chinese Communists in particular, that we are not bluffing in the Orient, that we will not capitulate to any aggressive postures, and that war can bring only disaster to our enemies.

Obviously, our weakness in the Far East is not a weakness of spirit nor of military ability.

What we lack over there is unified leadership at the scene of danger. We need the essential symbol of armed strength and moral courage. We need a commanding figure at the scene who can speak wisely in councils and lead effectively in the circumstances of war.

That kind of man is available.

It would be a master stroke were our Government to appoint Gen. Douglas MacArthur as American High Commissioner to Nationalist China. He has the military ability required. The Japanese respect him, the Filipinos venerate him, the Southeast Asians admire him—and the Communists fear him.

Perhaps General MacArthur could not accept the mission, though we know not why. Perhaps the administration would not ask him to serve, though we wonder why.

But questions aside, with General MacArthur on duty, America would have a dominating American voice in the critical area, and the Communists would know beyond any doubt that America means business.

For Communists understand just one kind of language, and Douglas MacArthur personifies the kind of language they understand.

The Inquiry Into the Stock Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Economics, Politics Meet in Probe," written by Mr. J. A. Livingston, and published in his column Business Outlook in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 20, 1955.

The article has reference to the very able study that is being carried on by the Committee on Banking and Currency under the direction of our distinguished colleague, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the chairman of the committee. It is a very fine article, and it commends itself to the attention and careful reading of every Senator.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUSINESS OUTLOOK—ECONOMICS, POLITICS MEET IN PROBE

(By J. A. Livingston)

In Washington, economics is politics. From that, there's no escaping. Consider these stock-market hearings by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey declares that the testimony might precipitate a wave of misconfidence. It might endanger business, cause unemployment.

President Eisenhower seconds the motion.

Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the committee, protests. The hearings are having no such deleterious consequences.

And Wall Street—the hero or the victim in the case—can't make up its collective mind.

At one time this year, Wall Streeters went wild about General Motors even as oldtime singers went about Harry. They paid $107 a share. Yet, on Monday, they were willing to pay only about $90—a change in their wildness—their esteem—of $17 a share, or about 15 percent.

A. T. & T. AND U. S. STEEL TOO

Part of this diminution in esteem is real—a result of the issuance by General Motors of new stock. Earnings per share would be slightly diluted. But it was primarily a measure of Wall Street's changeability—its capacity to swing from extremes of hopeful anticipation to pessimism.

Yet, Wall Street can swing back. General Motors sells at about 94. It's come back a sound part of the way. American Telephone & Telegraph, a comparatively stable widows' and orphans' stock—a security which brokers solemnly proclaim to possess superlative investment merit—has swung since the hearings began from 186 to 176 and back to 180. United States Steel has dropped from above 80 to 74 and then climed to 77.

Senator FULBRIGHT didn't alter the state or condition of United States Steel in any way.

its magnificent new works at Morrisville, Pa., still blast away rolling out steel; the Irvin works near Pittsburgh manages to feed midwestern automobile, machinery, and farm equipment plants. Production schedules didn't suddenly melt away because witnesses were being questioned.

FUNSTON TO GALBRAITH TO MARTIN

No, indeed. U. S. Steel was the same U. S. Steel on March 3 when Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, testified that he had been buying stocks; on Tuesday, March 8, when Prof. John K. Galbraith, of Harvard (who subsequently broke his ankle), warned that the effervescence in Wall Street and the enthusiasm about the growth of the country could not be dissociated entirely from the spirit of 1929; and on Monday, March 14, when Wall Street seemed to be giving up. Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., of the Federal Reserve Board, was that day's witness.

On Funston's testimony, stocks rose. The Dow-Jones industrial average climbed to its all-time high of 419.68. After Galbraith the market faded fast—falling to 409 and subsequently to 391.36. Sounds horrendous—28 points. Actually it's only 7 percent. Martin, a pillar of fiscal and financial respectability, did not stop the downward swish of sentiment. He was on the stand when the market broke nearly 10 points.

In perspective such swings in sentiment are not extreme. The number of points—28—seems violent. When newspapers proclaimed that on March 8 stocks plummeted 7.7 points and on March 14, 9.7 points, the end of Wall Street's little world seemed at hand. Nineteen twenty-nine came close. Don't be fooled.

The Dow-Jones industrial average is around 400. A 7-point drop is less than 2 percent. That's no different from a 4-point decline when the average was around 220. The magnitudes are not revealing. The percentages are.

A READYMADE SCAPEGOAT

But this doesn't help Senator FULBRIGHT. He is pictured as a destroyer of confidence. If automobiles don't sell, if manufacturers, who have been expanding commitments for new plant and machinery, decide to curtail, if building contractors suddenly determine that they've overbuilt and had better slow down—if that sequence of events develops, Mr. FULBRIGHT is the culprit. He held hearings which upset Wall Street's equanimity. He gave senatorial prestige to the statements of witnesses—some bearish.

To my mind, the hearings are salutary. As I said in last week's column, they caused a reappraisal—made people wonder: Have we gone too far? Has the increase in security loans (see chart) proceeded too rapidly?

EISENHOWER OWES THANKS

So far as President Eisenhower, Secretary Humphrey and the administration go, this is all to the good. Early in January, the Federal Reserve Board jacked up margin requirements. For a few days, it affected the market. It was a psychological warning—if speculation gets out of hand, the Government will act.

The Fulbright hearings have underlined this warning.

The administration ought to be doubly grateful to Senator FULBRIGHT. First, because he has contributed to the caution—to the appraisal—the administration wanted. Second, because if business is hollow underneath, if unemployment should result in the latter part of the year—Republican politicians can say, "See, FULBRIGHT—the Democrats—did it."

The hearings have slowed down the boom temporarily. They've prevented a rise to a higher level and then a fall from that level. Better a recession in March 1955 than a recession—and from a higher level—in March 1956.

Not only does Eisenhower now have a self-appointed scapegoat, FULBRIGHT, but also, if a drop comes, he will have more time to bring about recovery before November 1956.

Economics is economics and politics is politics. And in Washington, always the twain shall meet.

Tabulation of Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, early in January of this year, I mailed out a questionnaire to approximately 100,000 of my constituents seeking their views on major national issues. Approximately 9,000 questionnaires have been returned. These have been tabulated for me by the International Business Machines Corp. Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the complete questionnaire and the tabulated returns:

TABULATION OF REPRESENTATIVE FRELINGHUYSEN'S QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Do you favor granting Federal financial assistance to the States for school construction?

Yes, 72.7 percent; no, 22.9 percent; no opinion, 4.4 percent.

II. A citizen's Commission has recommended major salary increases for Congressmen, Supreme Court Justices, other Federal judges, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Vice President. Would you vote for legislation favoring such increases?

Yes, 57.0 percent; no, 33.2 percent, no opinion, 9.8 percent.

III. The administration has announced support of a pay increase for Federal employees, including military personnel. Do you think this is a good idea?

Yes, 72.0 percent; no, 18.7 percent; no opinion, 9.3 percent.

IV. Do you favor continuing the selective-service program as long as there are not enough volunteers to meet quotas of the armed services?

Yes, 87.1 percent; no, 8.9 percent; no opinion, 4.0 percent.

V. Do you favor universal military training (UMT) for all American boys?

Yes, 76.3 percent; no, 18.8 percent; no opinion, 4.9 percent.

VI. The following have been cited by various persons as threats to the security of the United States. Please check the answer which best describes your opinion of each:

Armed attack by an enemy: Extreme threat, 35 percent; unlikely threat, 53.4 percent; no opinion, 11.6 percent.

Internal subversion and sabotage: Extreme threat, 60.2 percent; unlikely threat, 30.5 percent; no opinion, 9.3 percent.

Curtailment of civil liberties through efforts to prevent subversion: Extreme threat, 31.4 percent; unlikely threat, 53.0 percent; no opinion, 15.6 percent.

Regimentation of the United States economy by excessive expansion of the Federal Government: Extreme threat, 35.6 percent; unlikely threat, 48.0 percent; no opinion, 16.4 percent.

Economic depression: Extreme threat, 16.8 percent; unlikely threat, 72.3 percent; no opinion, 11.9 percent.

Inflation resulting from an unbalanced budget: Extreme threat, 35 percent; unlikely threat, 51.2 percent; no opinion, 13.8 percent.

VII. Which of the following best expresses your view as to what United States trade policy should be? Please check one:

We should lower our tariffs and trade barriers in order to increase world trade and strengthen the economies of our friends abroad. Trade, not aid, is a good policy, 70.6 percent.

We should raise our trade barriers in order to protect our industries from foreign competition, 18.6 percent.

No opinion, 10.8 percent.

VIII. Which of the following viewpoints best expresses your views on immigration policy? Please check one:

Congress should modify the McCarran-Walter immigration law along the lines suggested by President Eisenhower during the 1952 campaign, and increase the number of people who can settle in the United States, 35.8 percent.

Congress should make our immigration laws more strict and reduce the number of immigrants allowed to enter this country, 30.5 percent.

Congress should leave our immigration laws pretty much as they are, 27.7 percent.

No opinion, 6 percent.

IX. Which of the following viewpoints expresses your views regarding the Taft-Hartley law? Please check one:

The Taft-Hartley law is a slave-labor law which is unfair to unions and the average workingman. Congress should repeal it or completely amend it, 9.5 percent.

The Taft-Hartley law is not strict enough in prohibiting monopolistic, unjust, and dangerous practices by unions. Its provisions regulating union practices should be made even tougher, 19.7 percent.

Experience has shown the Taft-Hartley law to be fair and just. It has contributed to the improvement of labor-management relations. The law may need some amendments, but from an overall standpoint, it is a good law, 62.6 percent.

No opinion, 8.2 percent.

X. (a) Do you favor further tax reductions?

Yes, 52.2 percent; no, 37 percent; no opinion, 10.8 percent.

(b) If your answer to (a) is "yes," how far would you go to reduce taxes?

Would you cut the military budget? Yes, 22.9 percent; no, 58.4 percent; no opinion, 18.7 percent.

Would you oppose increasing dollar aid to Asia? Yes, 72.7 percent; no, 16.6 percent; no opinion, 10.7 percent.

Would you continue a deficit in the Federal budget? Yes, 22.1 percent; no, 54.1 percent; no opinion, 23.8 percent.

Number of questionnaires mailed, 100,000.

Number of questionnaires returned, 8,959.

Irish Cultural Olympics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 7, 1955:

IRISH CULTURAL OLYMPICS

Formal opening yesterday in the new library of Villanova University of the first Irish Cultural Olympics ever to be presented in the United States starts something of immediate and powerful appeal to the hundreds of thousands of Americans of Irish extraction living in Delaware Valley, United States of America.

But the series of nightly events scheduled from tonight through April 1, except on Saturdays and Sundays and March 16 and 17, includes features that cannot fail to interest many without antecedents in the Green Isle.

The event tonight is devoted to the "Irish Contribution to the American Way of Life," an intriguing subject. Those to follow range through aspects of Ireland past and present; its vivid history, its religious character, its philosophy, drama, music, dances, sports, literature, and industries.

Back of all this, as we know, is a culture that has grown great through long ages. Occurrence of the olympics in St. Patrick's month is occasion for deep satisfaction here where one of the oldest organizations of its kind, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, has flourished since colonial times, a sign of the strong impress of Irish-Americans on the life of this community. The olympics will be a welcome reminder of the Ireland whose culture they celebrate.

Retreat From Farm Sanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, because in the immediate future H. R. 12 will be under consideration by the House, I would like to call to my colleagues' attention an editorial published by the Salt Lake Deseret News and Telegram. The editorial calls attention to the fact that the vote in the House Committee on Agriculture was 23 for rigid supports as against 11 in opposition. I agree with the News that H. R. 12 is a retreat from sanity and that the least we can do is to give the flexible supports a chance to operate, which this bill does not do. The editorial follows:

RETREAT FROM FARM SANITY

By any sort of unbiased standard, the recent vote of the House Agriculture Committee to return to high rigid farm price supports is a step away from sanity in government.

The committee action shouldn't be given undue importance, of course. The vote was 23 to 11. But it should be remembered that by its very nature, the Agriculture Committee is made up of Representatives mainly from farm States who are subject to farm-bloc pressure. Of its 33 members, 24 are from Midwest or Southern States where opposition to flexible supports has been most bitter.

Nevertheless, it is a straw in the wind and a particularly unfortunate one at a time when what is sorely needed is not less flexibility but more.

What does a vote to return to high rigid supports mean?

It means, first of all, a vote to scrap something that hasn't even been tried yet. The 82½ to 90 percent of parity plan voted by Congress last year only goes into effect with the marketing of this year's crops. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that the flexible program is being abandoned because of any degree of failure.

It means, secondly, a vote to return to a program that was a ruinous failure by every measure. Consider the elements of that failure:

1. High fixed price supports did not keep the incomes of farmers high. The net income of farm operators (including supports) fell 25 percent between 1947 and 1954.

2. High fixed price supports created tremendously wasteful and unmanageable surpluses. It is an unchangeable law of nature that an artificially high price is going to increase production and decrease consumption. It is also going to discourage exports, because the only way to export successfully is to underprice foreign competition. All that means surplus. In this country today, despite the most strenuous efforts to cut it down, the crop surplus on hand still runs close to seven billion dollars. In the past 9 months the Government has managed to give, sell, or barter away 800 million dollars' worth of surplus products—at a tremendous loss to the taxpayer. But in the same period new surpluses have piled up more than twice as fast as we could get rid of the old.

3. High fixed price supports have compelled production controls that hamper the freedom of the farmer. These controls, in turn, have invariably diverted acreage to other crops, which in turn have resulted in other surpluses and other demands for supports.

4. High fixed price supports have brought thousands of acres under the plow that should never have been touched. A new Dust Bowl is building on the Great Plains as a result. The Soil Conservation Service right now is getting reports from States and counties on damage to be expected from the March winds now beginning to blow. We will analyze these reports as they are released in a day or two.

All this represents incontrovertible evidence that the only solution to our farm problem is to go forward with an increasingly flexible support program. It would be the height of folly for the House to follow the lead of its Agriculture Committee.

Inaccurate Story of Hiss Yalta Probe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following open letter from Mr. Hearst to Mr. Sulzberger, which appeared in last Sunday's Journal American, brings out once more the caution with which we should read our morning newspapers, and others.

Slanted news is the order of the day and even newspapers who claim to be on the highest plane now indulge in it.

We now no longer get "all the news that's fit to print" but we get "all the news we think you should read, as we see fit to print it."

INACCURATE STORY OF HISS' YALTA ROLE

Mr. ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER,
President and Publisher, The New York Times.

DEAR ARTHUR: I want to add my congratulations to the many others you have undoubtedly received on the great job members of your staff and you yourself did in publishing a true copy of the Yalta document.

It has at long last forced the obvious reluctant State Department to make them available to the American public, whose right to know about them after our immediate security was no longer involved should never have been questioned.

The Times coverage of this story was magnificient, in general, and in many particulars, but as one newspaperman to another, I must say that in one instance the coverage was less than magnificient. In fact, it was far below the standards and editing and objectivity the American people have the right to expect from all responsible American newspapers.

To my mind and in my copy of your paper it was an example of slanted headline writing and slanted news writing.

Now, if this were one isolated instance I would not bring it up because I know how feverish things must have been in the Times building that night.

But the reason I am writing this letter to you is to point out that it is not an isolated instance.

Examples of slanted heads written by the copy desks and slanted news stories written by Times reporters and slanted book reviews by people hired by Times editors have been all too frequently pointed out by at least two writers I can mention—Westbrook Pegler for one, and John T. Flynn for another.

Granted similar distortions have crept into other newspapers; they are one of the journalistic pitfalls of our era. I call the New York Times ones to your attention principally because of the high esteem in which many people regard almost everything that you print.

By the same token your responsibility to see that everything that you do print is accurate and as your masthead puts it "Fit to Print" is that much greater.

Now, I want to be completely fair about this. I received my copy of the Thursday Times in Hot Springs, Va. My copy was an early edition. The Hiss story was on page 27. The main headline says, "Hiss Parley Role was Minor One."

The story carries a Washington dateline and no reporter's byline, although there are the bylines of three other Times men in Washington on the same page. The Hiss story is simply "Special to the New York Times."

It tells how Hiss nearly didn't get to Yalta because President Roosevelt originally opposed taking along any advisers. It explains how the then Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., asked Harry Hopkins, then Mr. Roosevelt's chief assistant and, one might almost say, alter ego, to intercede with the President, with the result that Hiss went along.

By the way, Arthur, a news clipping dated June 25, 1953, has been called to my attention. It relates how a former State Department official, J. Anthony Panuch, wrote a memorandum in 1946 warning that Hiss "exercises Svengali-like influence over the mental processes of Junior Stettinius." I mention this parenthetically for your perusal.

Seven paragraphs down in the Hiss story this appears: "Nowhere do the documents indicate that Hiss was a policymaker at Yalta. On the contrary, the records show him as a technician, usually representing the United States Government at a working level with Sir Gladwyn Jebb, now British ambassador to France, and Andrei A. Gromyko, now a deputy Soviet foreign minister."

But the chief point I want to make is that the headline and the story, particularly that clause saying Hiss was only a technician (whatever that means) carry the implication to the reader that he had no influence, that he was sort of a spear carrier in the Yalta opera.

In my opinion, Arthur, that is inaccurate and I cannot help but think that it was a deliberate distortion on somebody's part.

HISS' ACTIVITIES

My reason for saying that is this: Earlier in the same story the statement is made that President Roosevelt had banned all advisers from making the trip. Stettinius reopened the question and specifically succeeded in getting President Roosevelt to permit Hiss to go along as "an adviser to the Secretary of State."

The incomplete text of the Yalta papers which was in my edition cites the following appearances and activities of Hiss:

1. Hiss is listed as present (with President Roosevelt-Stettinius and company, the top echelon of the United States mission) at the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh formal meetings of the Yalta Conference, which were, I gather, the kickoff for the big show.

2. Hiss is listed as attending three top-secret meetings of Foreign Ministers at Yalta, where the groundwork was laid for discussions and decisions at the plenary meetings. The meetings he attended considered such things as dismemberment of Germany, reparations, the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, integration of France into German control machinery, world security organization, Yugoslavian frontiers, control commission in Bulgaria and Hungary.

3. Hiss is listed as attending the third, fourth, and fifth plenary meetings where the really big stuff went on. These took up the Polish question, dismemberment of Germany, Zone of Occupation in Germany for France, membership of the United Nations and what states should be admitted.

I am informed that in the complete Yalta text in your late city edition, Hiss is listed as having attended 5 formal meetings, 5 meetings of Foreign Ministers, and 6 plenary sessions—16 in all.

I claim this is pretty good going for a man your side story identifies as a mere "technician." I would also say it disproves the headline "Hiss Parley Role Was Minor One."

If this were merely a passing mistake, I could shrug it off. But I submit, Arthur, that it is more than that.

Four years after Yalta, this man Hiss was convicted of perjury and sent to prison. He was convicted for denying he passed secret documents to Whittaker Chambers, confessed member of the Soviet spy apparatus. So, although Hiss technically was convicted of perjury, really he was guilty of trading with the enemy. Isn't that so?

LINGERING SYMPATHY

Continuing along this line of thought, when the Hiss-Chambers controversy was hot, quite a few members of the Washington press corps, and newspapermen elsewhere, I am sure, were on the side of Hiss. I am not speaking now of the Times, but generally. And I think some of this sympathy for Hiss remained during and after his trial and remains to this day.

What I am suggesting is that at least some of the slanted news stories about Hiss cannot be attributed to a temporary absence of news competence. I am suggesting that some of them, at least, are deliberate and that responsible newspapers are taken in by them from time to time.

To write that Hiss played a minor part at Yalta is a misstatement of the facts.

In fact, I am informed that in the late city edition of Thursday you subordinated the Washington story, although retaining the paragraph about Hiss being a simple technician, and carried a local story in which Hiss himself acknowledged he did play a considerable part at Yalta as concerns the formation of the U. N. as well as at San Francisco, as we know. He is quoted by you as saying "My position at all times was pro-American."

You will excuse me if I swallow hard at that.

The side story on Hiss, I submit, is an example of slanted news against which all papers should be perpetually on guard and which has been creeping into the columns of the Times disturbingly too often of late.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, Jr.

Salty Water Made Drinkable at Buckeye Experimental Plant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include the following article from the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette of Friday, March 11, 1955, in the RECORD. The article, is entitled "Salty Water Is Made Drinkable at Buckeye Experimental Plant," follows:

SALTY WATER IS MADE DRINKABLE AT BUCKEYE EXPERIMENTAL PLANT

(By C. M. McMillen)

They're making good fresh drinking water out of the salty kind down Buckeye way.

Most crops, too, will do better under irrigation with this demineralized water, if it ever becomes commercially feasible. At present it's an expensive process.

The fresh-water-making plant is being operated about 20 miles west of Phoenix for the United States Department of the Interior under contract by Ionics, Inc., Cambridge, Mass.

Site of the portable plant is next to a well of the Buckeye Irrigation Co. along Buckeye Canal.

E. H. Sieveka, representing the Department of the Interior, and John H. Powell, project engineer of Ionics, gave a chance to see the inside workings of the experimental plant and told how it operates.

The salty water is taken from the regular supply pumped by the irrigation well by a suction line and starts it tour through a maze of pipes. This water, however, is not as salty as sea water. Hopes have been expressed that a process to utilize sea water may be developed.

Sieveka and Powell removed the complications from the process—like it takes the excessive mineral from the water.

Picture sheets of a plastic membrane, one atop another, but separated to make a flat cell or box.

The engineers are going to shuffle the dissolved salt particles around in that cell electrically.

In the Buckeye testing they are putting water into the plant that has around 4,000 parts per million of dissolved salts. In the fresh water output the salts have been reduced to 350 to 500 parts or more per million, depending upon how the flexible unit is being operated.

Many municipalities are serving up water with 350 to 500 parts of dissolved salts per million, and it is good to taste, good for household and industrial use, say the engineers.

Costs in the experimental stages of the pilot plants of various processes are high, but Douglas McKay, Secretary of Interior, has announced in Washington that the goal set on costs is in sight.

At the start the Government program began its work of conversion of saline waters to useful water on both sea water and inland waters that are termed salty, brackish, or alkali in various parts of the country.

Costs of converting sea water at the start were about $400 to $500 an acre-foot.

Goals in treating either the sea water or inland salty waters to accepted standards were $125 an acre-foot for municipal use, $40 for irrigation.

McKay reports:

"The work accomplished so far indicates that attainment of the first goal of winning fresh water from sea water at a price which municipal users and some industries might pay, and the conversion of brackish waters to irrigation uses, seems to be in sight although much work will be necessary before either can be brought to realization.

"The task of converting sea water for irrigation is more difficult, but the researches continually produce new ideas and one of these may well point a way to its attainment."

Release of Yalta Papers "Debunk" Republican Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article by Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald this morning, March 23, 1955:

YALTA ANGERS FRENCH AT BAD TIME

(By Drew Pearson)

The fallout from the Yalta explosion is like the hydrogen. Its devastating diplomatic effect continues long after the original blast. Today the French Senate debates ratification of the German arms agreement, which Dulles for two years has made the cornerstone of his European policy. He took 4 trips to Europe to urge, threaten, cajole French participation, yet just 6 days prior to French Senate debate on ratification, he released a document quoting Winston Churchill as saying: "No solution has been found for controlling the French while they are controlling the Germans. If the French wish to be tiresome they could produce trouble in their zone which would cause trouble in the other zones. If we decide to be strict they could be lenient. If we decide to be lenient they could be strict." French diplomats working for ratification of the German arms agreement were dumfounded, the French press furious. Before the State Department released the Yalta explosion stenographers hastily crossed out certain passages with pencils. However, French newsmen could see right through the penciled censorship, including the Churchill quote: "I do feel that if the French are given this little sop it will keep them quiet, for I feel strongly that they should not be at this table. This is an exclusive group (smiling) and the entrance subscription is at least 5 million soldiers." Naturally this was headlined in Paris.

What flabbergasted the British was that the Secretary of State himself should leak the documents. They knew, as the entire press and Diplomatic Corps now knows, that it was none other than John Foster Dulles who authorized that two huge volumes be planted with the New York Times, a technique calculated to satisfy right-wing Republicans yet let Dulles tell the British he

was against publication. "If that happened in England," remarked one British diplomat, "Eden would face questions in Commons next morning and might have to resign." One Yalta line that especially irked the British was the Churchill quote: "It would be a pity to stuff the Polish goose so full of German food that it would have indigestion."

YALTA WISECRACKS

With the weight of the war on their shoulders, the old gentlemen at Yalta were full of wisecracks, which is one reason Senator KNOWLAND demanded publication. However, Churchill and Roosevelt always wisecracked, war or no war. Here are some Yalta cracks: Churchill: "We are pursuing the Atlantic Charter. I sent a copy of this interpretation to Wendell Willkie." Roosevelt: "Is that what killed him?" Roosevelt "recalled there had been an organization called the Ku Klux Klan that had hated the Catholics and Jews, and when he had been on a visit to a small town in the South he had been the guest of the president of the local chamber of commerce. He had sat next to an Italian on one side and a Jew on the other and had asked the president of the chamber of commerce whether they were members of the Ku Klux Klan, to which the president replied that they were, but that they were considered all right since everyone in the community knew them. The President remarked that it was a good illustration of how difficult it was to have any prejudice—racial, religious, or otherwise—if you really knew people." Roosevelt told this in supporting a Churchill toast for peaceful cooperation with Russia "that the common danger of war had removed the impediments to understanding and the fires of war had wiped out old animosities."

DEMOCRATIC MISS

The Democratic National Committee was either too dumb or too busy playing bridge or unable to read. For the Yalta papers contained good political ammunition. GOP mouthpieces, including David Lawrence's U. S. News, also Newsweek, had leaked the story that Joe Lash, one-time friend of Mrs. Roosevelt, and former member of a Communist-front youth group, was to be United States delegate to the United Nations. It now develops that Ed Stettinius, then Secretary of State, didn't know how to spell "Lausche," the name of the Governor of Ohio, and anything but a Communist. Stettinius also listed Harold Stassen to be a delegate. The Yalta papers also show that the chief sponsor for Alger Hiss was Stettinius, former head of United States Steel and former vice president of General Motors, a company not without influence in the Eisenhower Cabinet. Stettinius was brought into the Roosevelt administration as a wartime gesture of cooperation with big business. Though Senator KNOWLAND cited the Yalta papers as evidence, F. D. R. wanted Alger Hiss to go to Yalta, careful reading shows just the opposite. Here is a memo from Stettinius' diary, written when the Yalta Conference was being organized: "The Secretary [Stettinius] told Mr. Harry Hopkins that the purpose of his 12:30 appointment with the President was to 'bring with him people who will be involved in the forthcoming conference.' The President, Mr. Stettinius explained, did not want anyone to accompany him in an advisory capacity, but he (Stettinius) felt Messrs. Bowman and Alger Hiss ought to go. Hopkins promised to discuss the matter with the President that afternoon."

One document in the Yalta record which neither MCCARTHY nor NIXON is likely to quote is a memo the State Department attributed to Hiss showing he opposed giving two extra votes to Russia in the United Nations. When Stalin wanted the Ukraine and White Russia to get extra votes Hiss wrote this argument to help his superiors: "On further thought we have become impressed with the Soviet view that the initial members of the United Nations organization should be the signatories of the United Nations declaration. As none of the Soviet republics are signatories of that declaration, Mr. Molotov's proposal that two or three of these republics be admitted to additional membership would be contrary to that principle."

Conserving and Developing Specialized Technical Skills in American Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a very discerning and able statement before the House Ways and Means Committee by my friend and constituent, Mr. Henry Woodbridge, of the American Optical Co., Southbridge, Mass.

Mr. Woodbridge's views are particularly pertinent at this time because they relate to the very vital question of conserving and developing specialized technical skills in American industry. His well-documented statement is a distinguished contribution to the discussion of this important subject:

STATEMENT OF HENRY S. WOODBRIDGE, VICE PRESIDENT, THE AMERICAN OPTICAL CO., SOUTHBRIDGE, MASS., BEFORE THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 3, 1955

The American Optical Co., of which I am a vice president, is the largest optical company in America and also the oldest, having been in business since 1833.

As matters of national defense will be the most important subject that I will discuss, I ought to mention that from 1942 to 1954 I have been concerned with military-procurement matters and Government relations on behalf of the company.

This experience has convinced me that there is no single responsible authority to make effective the preservation of skills that are essential to our national security. This is the Achilles' heel of our defense program.

Failure to make provisions for the preservation of vital skills is nothing short of disarmament. In the final analysis scrapping of skills is far more serious than scrapping guns or planes. Unlike ships, these skills cannot be mothballed. Without certain vital skills our country could find itself at a serious military disadvantage in a time of emergency.

There is no responsible person who does not believe that our security requires the preservation of certain vital skills. Statements and evidence to this effect can be obtained from those Government departments and agencies which are concerned with our defense. But, as a practical matter, there is no single place in Government, save in Congress itself, where such a determination can be made effective.

Among these vital skills are those optical hand skills without which the optics for bombsights, rangefinders, periscopes, fire control, and other military optical instruments cannot be made. These are skills: (1) Which require years to acquire; (2) which are lost if not used; and (3) which are found only in the optical industry.

If it were not for defense orders it would be impossible at this very moment to maintain these skills in the face of foreign competition, particularly in the field of microscopes which is the main source of these vital skills.

At this point I would like to emphasize that I am speaking only for my own company. Nevertheless, I think I can say with confidence that what I have to say is probably representative of the thinking of the companies comprising the optical and ophthalmic, glass, lens, and instrument industry. It ought to be made clear that there is a direct and binding relationship between the various divisions of the industry. In the final analysis this small, vital industry must be considered as a whole and not in part. The manufacture of optical glass and the manufacture of optical products are so interdependent that they must be treated together.

I emphasize this as we are entering a critical phase in the industry. The question we are now facing is: How much longer will we be able to manufacture microscopes and other precision optical instruments in this country? Commercial binoculars are no longer made in any quantity in this country, and if microscopes follow the same route the backbone of the precision optical industry in this country will have been broken. And when that occurs, skills vital to the defense of this Nation will be lost.

* * * * *

Foreign competition is growing more acute. The question will naturally come to your minds as to whether or not this competition is a greater factor than it was 7 or 8 years ago, or even before the war. The figures I am furnishing the committee give the data since the war, and based on these statistics the foreign share of the American market during those years has grown tremendously.

I am unable to give you the competitive figures before 1942, as there are no records available. I cannot personally testify as to the foreign proportion of the microscope market before the war as I was then not working in this industry. I am told by those who were that it was generally considered that foreign microscopes comprised between 10 to 15 percent of the American market. At that time, for all practical purposes, the only foreign microscopes that were imported were those from Germany. Since the war in addition to German microscopes, there have been large importations from Italy and Japan, which countries are new additions to the export field since the war.

The German optical industry, which has been completely revived in West Germany is now, from all the evidences we have, as large if not larger than it was for all of Germany prior to the war. The optical industry behind the Iron Curtain in East Germany, we are informed, is today as large or larger than it was before the war. The total German optical output is conservatively estimated as being twice what it was prior to the Second World War. East Germany's products play no part in the American market directly. Obviously they have an indirect effect because of their taking a share of the world market outside the United States, which, in turn, makes the United States' market of more significance and importance to the West Germany optical companies. The added competition of Italian and Japanese exports into the American market, which obviously is growing more attractive as the world market becomes more competitive, only increases the difficulties with which we are faced..

I would like, if I may, to comment on the fact that Japan and Italy followed Germany's lead by developing optical industries between World War I and World War II because of obvious military necessities. The English, which prior to World War I had been dependent on Germany for most of its optical

goods, learned from experience that it was necessary to have an optical industry.

There can be no question that the optical industry is essential to any nation which has to prepare itself to meet a military emergency. Russia, we have been informed by sources in our industry which operate behind the Iron Curtain, has developed an optical industry and a machine-tool industry that in the judgment of competent observers is considered to be the equal of those same industries in the free world.

Those nations which are friendly to us and with whom we want to and with whom we must increase our trade look to us as their main source of defense should another world war develop. It is impossible to conceive that any of these friendly nations would object in the slightest to our maintaining in this country those special hand skills that are vital to meet a military emergency. If we permit ourselves to scrap these skills, which, as I have said before, is a form of disarmament, they will not thank us should we fail them in a military emergency. It seems to us that the best interests of the free nations of the world will be served by stating frankly that for military purposes that affect not only our safety but their safety it is necessary for this country to maintain skills vital for military purposes. We do not believe that there could possibly develop any misunderstanding as to our country's intent as to the development of trade by meeting this problem openly and frankly. It is our conviction that we will be respected for taking this position that is for the benefit not only of ourselves but of the very nations with whom we are anxious to increase trade. * * *

We have been told by many Government officials in many different departments of the Government that there is no question but that certain vital skills must be preserved, but that it is a difficult thing to do without creating an umbrella that will result in the inclusion in the list of so many skills that the increased trade that is essential will be defeated. These skills: (1) Must take a long time to learn; (2) will be lost if not used; and (3) should not be found in any other industry except its own.

We are more than willing to present complete data and information to whatever board, agency, commission, or individual that Congress may establish to make determinations in this matter and accept whatever finding is made. We say this because it would be very difficult for you to decide between conflicting testimony that has been given before in this committee without investigation, which is certainly not a matter in which Congress would wish to become involved. I mention this question of conflicting testimony because there appeared before you a representative from the photographic industry who advised you that optical workers had been developed by his company in 6 months during the last war and that his company in case of another war could make optical workers in 3 months. I am sure that his testimony was sincere and given by him in the hope that his testimony would help you to better understand this problem of skills. We are thoroughly familiar with what was done in breaking down many of the optical skills into component parts thereby reducing the training period needed for learning. In fact, we are proud of the job our company did in this very field. Unfortunately, his testimony is not the complete story. There are, to be sure, certain jobs in the optical industry that can be learned in comparatively short times as compared with other optical jobs. On the other hand, there are optical skills that can be learned only over a period of years, and it is these skills that provide the nucleus from which men and women can be picked to teach the lesser skills so that an emergency can be met. In peacetime it is not possible to break down optical jobs into separate parts because the volume of business will not permit it, and, furthermore, it is a costly procedure that cannot be afforded in peacetime.

* * * * *

To return for a moment, if I may, to the gentleman from the photographic industry. He said in his testimony before you, and I quote, "I am willing to believe that in special instances there are industries so vital and strategic to our national defense program, that they must be kept alive * * *." We heartily endorse this statement and appeal to you to pass an amendment such as we propose so that the preservation of the skills of these industries may be made effective. This same gentleman from the photographic industry went on to say that he believed such industries should be subsidized. Our purpose in appearing here before you is not to advise you what to do, but rather to bring to you facts and information that may be helpful to you in reaching the decisions you will have to make. I can only speak for our own company although I do add that I think what I have to say may well represent the feeling of the precision optical industry. Beyond that I do not feel qualified to report to you. I do not, therefore, feel it is proper for me to discuss the general economics and philosophy of industrial subsidies. I hope you will forgive me, however, if I make a few comments on the subject of subsidies. I can testify to you that so far as we know subsidies will not work in our industry. In the first place, subsidies cannot be guaranteed over a period of years and are subject to change and, therefore, it is almost impossible to plan ahead if you are dependent on subsidies that are subject to change. Second, subsidies require the choosing of individual companies, as you could not afford to subsidize the whole industry. I imagine that our company would have to be included in a subsidization program. As a result some other company would not get the subsidy and would thereby be forced out of business. This, in turn, will reduce or, in fact, eliminate competition with all its incentives. Subsidies are a good deal like playing poker for fun instead of for money—the incentives are limited and there are no penalties, which result in sloppiness. Frankly, it is our genuine belief that subsidies will weaken the industry and that the right way to handle the situation is in a competitive climate. This has always provided the incentives which have resulted in the extraordinary achievements of American industries.

In conclusion, may I say that we are reaching a critical point in our industry which, in turn, means that the situation is growing critical as regards the preservation of vital optical hand skills. To some extent these skills are being protected by Government business. Government business, however, is uncertain and cannot be counted on on a continuous basis over a period of years. The only true way in which to preserve these skills is to have a domestic market which will permit their employment. Even assuming that some of these skills can be broken down, we will still need these highly skilled people, not only for certain highly specialized production work but also for training others in the event this industry is again called upon to expand to the extent it has in past emergencies. And if another crisis should arise, we know we will not have 2 years' warning.

May I say, and I hope you will understand that this is said without any intention of being rude, that our company is not appearing here before you begging for help for financial reasons. If we are forced out of the domestic market in the precision optical field, we will not go out of business. We are fully capable of manufacturing in foreign countries or importing products from outside the United States and using our large and effective distribution organization, and we are in an excellent position to profit by so doing. Our plea to you is to take steps to preserve domestic markets for precision optical products so that we and other companies in our industry can employ the vital hand skills that are essential to the defense of this Nation. It is right that we should make this plea. In our American democracy this is as it should be. There is no possibility for our Government to know all the details and all the facts about all the industries in this country, and, therefore, it is our duty and obligation to do what we can to bring to the attenion of the Government facts and data that we are genuinely convinced will help the Government in making the decisions it has to make to prepare for any national emergency. It is in that spirit that our company has appeared before you, and we are confident that you who represent the people of this Nation are fully capable of making the right decisions if you have all the facts. And may I say that if there is any further information or detailed data that you would like, our company to the fullest extent of its ability will be glad to furnish them to you.

The Inquiry Into the Stock Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Demand To Call Off Market Investigation Proves It Was Due," written by Sylvia Porter, a very fine writer on economic subjects, and published in the Birmingham News of March 18, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH—DEMAND TO CALL OFF MARKET INVESTIGATION PROVES IT WAS DUE

(By Sylvia Porter)

The very demand of Republican Senator CAPEHART that the Senate Banking Committee call off its investigation into the stock market—because it is "frightening" the public and it "caused" the recent violent sell-off in stock prices—proves conclusively how much this investigation was needed.

Senator FULBRIGHT's committee actually may now bid for a place in history as helping to avert a future collapse in Wall Street, a repetition of the dread "1929"—just because it has flashed the warning signals to gamblers and get-rich speculators now.

For these are the facts about the multibillion-dollar slump in stock prices of the past fortnight:

1. The crack-up—which wiped out billions in paper profits in stocks before a recovery—never would have happened had the market not been unhealthily loaded with in-and-out speculators.

The "big boys," the institutional investors who own vast amounts of stocks, don't dump stocks on moves of this kind. The jittery gamblers do. And the get-rich-quick boys have no place in a sound stock market to start with.

2. After an almost perpendicular, record-breaking upsurge for 16 months, a decline in prices—what the professionals call a "correction"—was long overdue.

The investigation didn't cause the crack. It simply was seized upon as an excuse for the crack.

3. The probe hasn't brought out one weakness in the economy or the market of which informed people haven't been fully aware.

It has, though, underlined the fact that we are not into a "new era" in which everything is wonderful, prices go constantly up and any buyer of stocks automatically can make money overnight. It was about time this was underlined.

4. The suggestion by CAPEHART and other critics that the testimony caused investors to sell because they are afraid of new controls is downright nonsense.

The Federal Reserve Board has made it unmistakably clear all along that it would not hesitate to clamp down harder on borrowing-to-buy stock if speculation persisted at the frantic rate of November-December 1954. In fact, the statements of Reserve Board Chairman Martin and Treasury Secretary Humphrey—who are the men who count—were reassuring because both policymakers indicated they thought controls right now were quite sufficient. This is good news, not bad.

Since the market slump and the growing condemnation of the investigation, I have gone all over Wall Street asking professionals and objective observers for comments. Here are revealing quotes:

"I'm relieved that the decline has happened. Now that prices are getting back to more normal levels, I feel more comfortable and can start watching for a place to buy."

"The testimony never would have had the slightest effect if the market hadn't been too high and vulnerable. The weak holders were looking for an excuse to get out and they got it."

"The real factors behind the decline were: Prices had gone too high too fast; the talk of repealing some of the 1954 tax cuts has been very unsettling; holders of stocks in companies getting big defense orders naturally were worried when the Senators asked for a list of these orders; war talk is always a force. The investigation? In my office, we have hardly paid attention to it."

"It's a good thing the rise was halted. If it had continued at that rate, I would have run for cover."

All these are quotes from Wall Streeters—hardly men to grind any political or financial ax for FULBRIGHT, the Democratic Senator from Arkansas, who heads this inquiry.

Of course, if the price slump were to resume and intensify, it would be a threat. For them, as Humphrey emphasized, it could make confidence—a most delicate thing. Then it might scare people who plan to buy cars or houses into holding off on their purchases because they might fear something was really wrong in our land.

But I've found no responsible observer who expects this sort of collapse. Rather, they are now revising upward their forecasts for 1955, beginning to hint 1955 may be the best economic year of all time. Hardly a background for a stock market bust.

If anybody is hurt by this investigation, it will be the Senators themselves—and the more that politics intrudes itself into these hearings, the more open to attack will be the Senators playing political tag on the dangerous battleground of Wall Street.

As for the public—you and me—we are not being hurt.

The market has had a shakeout which was long overdue. Investors who own stocks have lost nothing but paper profits.

The speculating fringe has properly warned against reckless gambling, reminded Wall Street is no playground or one-way street.

Confidence has not been undermined.

The violent uprush of prices—which if it had continued at the late 1954 speed could only have led to disaster—has been halted.

All this is healthy. All this is sound for our futures.

Panama Canal: The Crack on Contractors Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in a significant statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 12, 1949—volume 95, page A2228— the late distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Hon. Schuyler Otis Bland, of Virginia, commented at some length on Slide Problems of the Panama Canal and quoted a technical discussion by Dr. A. Casagrande. Judge Bland stressed the most treacherous formation in Isthmian terrain as of "sinister fame"—Cucaracha.

At that time, however, neither the Congress nor the American public knew of the existence of a crack in Contractors Hill that had been discovered in 1938. Nor had this crack been mentioned in any of the published sections of the annual reports of the Governor of the Canal Zone.

The dramatic disclosure early in 1954 of this crack as indicating a grave hazard to the security of transit produced a national sensation and, for a time, attracted world attention. Panama Canal administrators thereupon took action to meet the threat of closure. Notwithstanding these measures, the fact remains that remedial action was not initiated until the situation had reached critical proportions.

The entire record of the crack in Contractors Hill further emphasized the point stressed by Judge Bland, and other congressional leaders, of the importance of thorough, up-to-date, and objective study and review of all aspects of the canal question before making final decisions on Isthmian policy. The recommendations for constructing a new Panama Canal of sea-level design contained in the 1947 report under Public Law 280, 79th Congress, which was prepared under the direction of routine administrative officials with what appear to have been predetermined objectives, clearly calls for a reassessment in the light of subsequent developments including the H-bomb. The previous failure of the 1931 and 1939 studies on the Panama Canal, which also were prepared under the direction of routine administrators, is conclusive evidence of the necessity for an independent investigation under congressional authorization.

Such an inquiry, it is submitted, can be accomplished only by a broadly based and independent Interoceanic Canals Commission, composed of men of the highest qualifications and character who may not be dominated by administrative controls and who can view all the aspects involved in a purely objective manner. That type of organization does not now exist. To provide one, Hon. Thomas E. Martin and I, early in the present session, introduced identical measures, S. 766 and H. R. 3335, 84th Congress. It is a matter of grave regret that such a body had not been created and in operation before the recent treaty negotiation with Panama was concluded. Had such been the case, the Congress and the executive branch of our Government might have had a wealth of information for use in and about the formulation and approval of the new treaty.

A summary of the present status of the Contractors Hill situation by Charles McG. Brandl was published in the March–April issue of the Military Engineer, volume XLVII, page 93. The issue contains the following sketch of its author's engineering experience:

Charles McG. Brandl, the assistant project engineer for the Contractors Hill project, is superintendent of Maintenance and Construction for the Southern District of the Maintenance Division of the Panama Canal Company. He has had wide engineering experience in Panama and is a frequent contributor to the Military Engineer. He is a native of North Carolina and a registered engineer in that State.

To make Mr. Brandl's article available to the Congress and other agencies of the Federal Government, under leave accorded, I include its text:

THE CRACK ON CONTRACTORS HILL
(By Charles McG. Brandl)

When DeLesseps and the French began their attempt at building the Panama Canal, they chose the low point in the Continental Divide as the place to dig through. This location, while a natural one which was later used successfully by the Americans, was chosen apparently without very extensive knowledge of the geology of the area. The low point, which is a saddle between the hills now known as Gold (elevation 650 feet) on the east and Contractors (elevation 410 feet) on the west, is in, and is a part of, an unstable soil area. It is surrounded by the treacherous cucaracha formation, a material so unstable that it has many times closed the Canal channel. This mixture, of weak clay shales, sandstone agglomerate, conglomerate, welded tuff ash flow, and other volcanic ejections, is interspersed with an appreciable percentage of bentonitic matter which, when wet and exposed to air, swells and flows freely on slopes steeper than 3 to 1. Embedded in and supported by this cucaracha are the rock masses of the two hills. Although basically both are apparently stable ,a part of Contractors Hill recently endangered the Canal.

In 1938 a survey party discovered in the tall grass covering the top of the hill a slight crack or fissure. It was noted, and monuments for checking future movement were set astride the crack. In 1939 they showed a total movement toward the Canal of 0.06 foot. This was considered unimportant and no further measurements were made until 1949. Through the years the crack had grown and widened, so in 1949 a schedule of monthly readings was established. These were continued and in the early part of 1953 it was observed that the crack was extending in both directions and additional check monuments were established. By early 1954 the action and development of the crack had progressed to such a stage that the stability of the hill was questionable and the future safety of the Canal became of grave concern.

Earlier survey work establishing points in the canal's triangulation system had, fortunately, located two control points on Contractors Hill. By using these and other check measurements, it was readily determined that the hill had an irregular crack or split over 8 inches wide along its face. Soundings indicated that the crack was nearly 600 feet deep. It was definitely proven that the mass breaking away was the smaller part of the hill to the east of the crack, moving toward the waters of the canal. (The mass was estimated to be about 4 million tons.) This was found out at about the start of the rainy season. With the coming of the rains a curious action of this free mass was noticed. When water partially filled the crack there was an immediate further movement toward the canal, roughly proportionate to the depth of water. When the rain ceased the water drained away and the free mass moved back toward the main hill. But always the return movement was less than the original outward one so that the cumulative effect of the rains was to push the free mass farther toward the canal. Meanwhile, the canal authorities had begun core drilling to ascertain the exact size and nature of the hill itself. Experts in the fields of geology and soil mechanics were assembled by Gov. John S. Seybold to study the conditions and make recommendations. While the watchers above probed and studied, the commerce-laden vessels of the world's maritime nations passed serenely below them in the calm waters of the canal, unconcerned about the looming rock mass above.

Yet, if this mass were suddenly to slide or fall into the narrow Gaillard (Culebra) Cut, it would so dam the canal that months of marine drilling, blasting, and dredging would be required to clear it. And there would be no short cut for ships—only the long voyage around the Horn, costly in time and money. The serious effects of a forced closing of the canal from the military standpoint are obvious.

From the reports of the experts, the engineers developed a plan for removing as much of the rock mass of the hill as was deemed threatening. This plan was sketchy in detail as it had to be, considering the relatively limited data available at that time. Final plans called for the removal of the rock in a series of steps or benches 40 feet high rising up from the 150-foot elevation (the water of the canal is approximately 86 feet) to the crest of the hill which would be cut off to elevation 390 feet on the north end, and to 350 feet on the south end. To be included would be the removal of a certain amount of the shale or cucaracha formation at the north and south ends of the hill.

Since the time element was vital, the canal authorities resorted to limited bidding rather than the usual contractural procedures. Accordingly, some of the outstanding construction firms in the United States and Panama were invited to send representatives to inspect the site and to submit proposals for the removal of the requisite amounts of rock and cucaracha. These proposals were to indicate a bid price for the items based on different quantities which it would be the option of the Government to stipulate; were to include a mobilization schedule for placing men and equipment at work on the site; and were to indicate a method of removal. The Government reserved the right to accept the proposal which it deemed best suited for the successful completion of the project. The initial contract called for the removal of 2 million cubic yards of rock and 350,000 cubic yards of shale. These figures were later amended and, as of February 1, 1955, call for the removal of 1,700,000 cubic yards of rock and 350,000 cubic yards of cucaracha. The contract was awarded in the latter part of May 1954 and by the middle of July equipment was on the site.

Prior to the arrival of the equipment, two items were added to the contract by supplemental agreement: the construction of a crack inspection and drainage tunnel and the removal of a commemorative memorial plaque. The tunnel, a 5-foot by 7-foot arched roof section, approximately 120 feet long, started on elevation 92 feet at the face of the cliff near the canal prism line and ran approximately perpendicular to the canal axis and cliff face of the hill until it intersected the crack. Here an inspection gallery and pumproom were to be built and check points located for measuring any movement in the hill mass after the excavation on top had destroyed the original check points.

The commemorative plaque is the 9-foot by 11-foot bas relief bronze sculpture, weighing 1 ton, which was installed in the face of the cliff about 103 feet above the canal waters at the time Culebra cut was renamed in memory of Lt. Col. David D. Gaillard, the engineer in charge of the excavation there from 1907 to 1913. The plaque will probably be reinstalled on the regraded face of Contractors Hill.

Work on the supplemental items proceeded at once and was satisfactorily completed well ahead of schedule. The effectiveness of the tunnel as a drainage facility was such that no pumping or other disposal of the water in the pit floor was required throughout the rainy season. The water seeped through the crack into the tunnel and out into the canal. The removal of the hydrostatic pressure eliminated this force from further adverse pressure against the broken rock.

The actual work of rock removal started ahead of schedule and has proceeded without major interruption following a fixed routine of drilling, loading, firing, and excavating 20 hours a day 6 days a week. The 4-hour interval between the two 10-hour shifts daily is used to check and service equipment as is all the daylight shift on Sunday. As of the 1st of February, the contractor was nearly 2 months ahead of schedule, and barring unforeseen events, should have the 1,700,000 cubic yards of rock and 350,000 cubic yards of cucaracha removed by August 1955. However, the routine nature of the operation was not achieved without careful planning and constant vigilance.

The nature of the rock and its proximity to the narrow cut precluded the taking of any chances. Each blast had to be planned; each element had to be coordinated with the special and peculiar conditions of the exact area or pattern. Each fracture in the rock either natural (the whole hill mass is proving to be a heterogeneous crazy quilt of seams and fissures, or those caused or enlarged by blasting, must be studied and evaluated in relation to the diameter of the hole, its depth, the kind and amount of dynamite in it, the detonator sequence (millisecond delays are used almost exclusively) and these data considered for each of the 20 to 150 charges which may constitute a pattern. When blasting astride the crack or between the crack and the cliff face, additional elements of safety must be considered. For example, nothing is allowed to delay or cause alarm to the ships that pass below. No rock must fly when a ship is close nor can any blast, no matter how carefully planned, be fired until any approaching ship has cleared the cut. There must be no possibility of an accidental dislodgment of rock falling into this narrow passage ahead of an oncoming ship. These factors place the operation in a unique and special field of interest and concern. There cannot be, and there have not been, any attempts to make short cuts in the elemental safety of the procedures. The contractors' forces have been as careful in this respect as have the Government personnel. Together they are bringing to a successful conclusion an enterprise which will be a credit to American construction skill and a fitting supplement to the similar work done long ago in the same location by the original Canal builders. The material now removed, more than 900,000 cubic yards, has so lessened the upper burden of the rock mass as practically to insure the overall stability of the mass until the job is completed.

To make the texts of the bills, which are identical, readily available to the Congress in connection with the study of Isthmian Canal Policy by its various committees, I quote H. R. 3335:

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the "Interoceanic Canals Commission Act of 1955."

SEC. 2. (a) A commission is hereby created, to be known as the "Interoceanic Canals Commission" (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"), and to be composed of 11 members to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as follows: One member shall be a commissioned officer of the line (active or retired) of the United States Army; 1 member shall be a commissioned officer of the line (active or retired) of the United States Navy; 1 member shall be a commissioned officer of the line (active or retired) of the United States Air Force; and 8 members from civil life, 4 of whom shall be persons learned and skilled in the science of engineering. The President shall designate 1 of the members from civil life as chairman, and shall fill all vacancies on the Commission in the same manner as are made the original appointments. The Commission shall cease to exist upon the completion of its work hereunder.

(b) The Chairman of the Commission shall receive compensation at the rate of $20,000 per annum, and the other members shall receive compensation at the rate of $18,000 per annum, each; but the members appointed from the Army, Navy, and Air Force shall receive only such compensation, in addition to their pay and allowances, as will make their total compensation from the United States $18,000 each.

SEC. 3. The Commission is authorized and directed to make and conduct a comprehensive investigation and study of all problems involved or arising in connection with plans or proposals for—

(a) an increase in the capacity and operational efficiency of the present Panama Canal through the adaption of the Third Locks Project (53 Stat. 1409) to provide a summit-level terminal lake anchorage in the Pacific end of the canal to correspond with that in the Atlantic end, or by other modification or design of the existing facilities;

(b) the construction of a new Panama Canal of sea-level design, or any modification thereof;

(c) the construction and ownership, by the United States, of another canal or canals connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans;

(d) the operation, maintenance, and protection of the Panama Canal, and of any other canal or canals which may be recommended by the Commission;

(e) treaty and territorial rights which may be deemed essential hereunder; and

(f) estimates of the respective costs of the undertakings herein enumerated.

SEC. 4. For the purpose of conducting all inquiries and investigations deemed necessary by the Commission in carrying out the provisions of this act, the Commission is authorized to utilize any official reports, documents, data, and papers in the possession of the United States Government and its officials; and the Commission is given power to designate and authorize any member, or other officer, of the Commission, to administer oaths and affirmations, subpena witnesses, take evidence, procure information and data, and require the production of any books, papers, or other documents and records which the Commission may deem relevant or material for the purposes herein

named. Such attendance of witnesses, and the production of documentary evidence, may be required from any place in the United States, or any Territory, or any other area under the control or jurisdiction of the United States, including the Canal Zone.

SEC. 5. The Commission shall submit to the President and the Congress, not later than 2 years after the date of the enactment hereof, a final report containing the results and conclusions of its investigations and studies hereunder, with recommendations; and may, in its discretion, submit interim reports to the President and the Congress concerning the progress of its work. Such final report shall contain—

(a) the recommendations of the Commission with respect to the Panama Canal, and to any new interoceanic canal or canals which the Commission may consider feasible or desirable for the United States to construct, own, maintain, and operate;

(b) the estimates of the Commission as regards the approximate cost of carrying out its recommendations; and like estimates of cost as to the respective proposals and plans considered by the Commission and embraced in its final report; and

(c) such information as the Commission may have been able to obtain with respect to the necessity for the acquisition, by the United States, of new, or additional, rights, privileges, and concessions, by means of treaties or agreements with foreign nations, before there may be made the execution of any plans or projects recommended by the Commission.

SEC. 6. The Commission shall appoint a secretary, who shall receive compensation fixed in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, and shall serve at the pleasure of the Commission.

SEC. 7. The Commission is hereby authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such engineers, surveyors, experts, or advisers deemed by the Commission necessary hereunder, as limited by the provisions in title 5, United States Code, section 55a (1946 edition); and may make such expenditures—including those for actual travel and subsistence of members of the Commission and its employees—not exceeding $13 for subsistence expense for any one person for any calendar day; for rent of quarters at the seat of government, or elsewhere; for personal services at the seat of government, or elsewhere; and for printing and binding necessary for the efficient and adequate functions of the Commission hereunder. All expenses of the Commission shall be allowed and paid upon the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the Chairman of the Commission, or such other official of the Commission as the Commission may designate.

SEC. 8. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions and purposes of this act.

The Horizons Beyond in Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech by the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, entitled, "Horizons Beyond in Agriculture" before the Pacific Dairy and Poultry Association, Salt Lake City, Utah, on March 19, 1955:

THE HORIZONS BEYOND IN AGRICULTURE

I deeply appreciate this opportunity to appear before this 31st annual convention of the Pacific Dairy and Poultry Association. It is always a real pleasure for me to come home to Utah. This visit is doubly enjoyable because so many of my friends in the dairy and poultry industries are here for these sessions.

It seems to me most appropriate that you have selected as the theme for this year's convention "Horizons Beyond." Truly agriculture's horizons of today hold great promise for our farm people and, indeed, for everyone. The forward strides we have made in the broad fields of agricultural research, education, marketing, and technology are unmatched in any other nation. Output per man-hour on our farms nearly doubled in the last two decades as agriculture adopted new and vastly more efficient production methods.

Yet in some new developments, such as the application of nuclear science to farming, we have barely scratched the surface. As we add to our fast-growing fund of agricultural knowledge we become even more acutely aware of the fact that there is still so much that is not known.

It is this constant challenge of the unknown which spurs man ever onward toward these horizons beyond. And however far he travels he finds that there are still new horizons.

The future of American agriculture is closely linked to the future of the Nation itself. I find it impossible to believe that future can be anything but bright.

As all of you know, both the dairy and poultry industries have been going through a rather painful period of readjustment. In both instances, major troubles developed when production outran effective consumer demands. There is another and happier parallel. The dairy and poultry situations both have shown sharp improvement recently. Not all of our problems are behind us yet, but we are headed in the right direction—toward better balance between production and demand and toward the greater price stability which such a balance insures.

It is encouraging to note that the dairy and poultry industries have shouldered the responsibility for making the necessary production adjustments. At the same time they have done an outstanding job of expanding consumption through better merchandising and vigorous promotional campaigns. The evidence of this lies in the fact that consumption of poultry and eggs has been running at record levels while there has also been a marked upturn in the use of most dairy products.

All of this has been accomplished without Government production controls of any kind. In the case of the poultry industry, it has been done without resort to price supports. In fact, the poultry industry rejected Government assistance programs last fall even when prices were at their lowest levels. The wisdom of this decision is confirmed, I believe, by the rapid improvement in the overall situation.

The dairy picture is immeasurably better today than it was a year ago. Here again I believe this improvement has largely come about because both the industry and the Government chose to face the facts. An unrealistic level of price support was adjusted almost 1 year ago. Despite some dire predictions that this move would bankrupt dairymen, there is enough evidence now at hand to prove that the action was fundamentally sound and in the real long-term interests of the industry.

Sometimes we have to look back to see how far we have come. A year ago the Government was getting into the dairy business at an unprecedented rate. Milk production was booming to new seasonal highs month after month. Consumption, particularly of butter, was moving lower, while huge surpluses of dairy products continued to pile up in Government hands.

All of this was happening under a program of price supports at 90 percent of parity. Obviously the continuation of the very program which had helped to get us into this situation would never get us out of it. Supports at 75 percent of parity for the new marketing year which began last April 1 were set in accordance with the law which directs the Secretary of Agriculture to fix supports at a level that will assure an adequate supply of dairy products. This adjustment was designed to help to close the gap between production and consumption of dairy products.

Now, nearly 1 year later, we are in position to evaluate the results. To me the most significant thing is that dairy production has leveled off, while consumption has been steadily increasing. Government purchase of dairy products are down sharply and, at the same time, we have been able to move large quantities of previously acquired surpluses into channels of consumption.

Milk production in January and again in February of 1955 was slightly below that for the same 2 months of 1954. This was the first time since 1952 that January and February milk production had failed to show an increase over the previous year. Milk production in December of 1954 was also below the corresponding month for a year earlier. This leveling off indicates that milk production during the current year will be about the same as in 1954—around 123.5 billion pounds.

This conclusion gains further support from the fact that the number of milk cows 2 years old and over on January 1, 1955, was 1 percent less than for a year earlier. Numbers of young stock, however, remain large in relation to numbers of mature cows, with heifer calves showing a 1 percent increase over the preceding year on January 1, 1955. More milk cows were culled from the Nation's dairy herds during 1954 than in any year since 1948—both in actual numbers and in relation to the number of cows on farms. This is concrete evidence that the intensive culling program sponsored by the industry, with the cooperation of the Department of Agriculture, has strongly taken hold.

Now that we are on the right road, I sincerely hope that dairymen will not relax in this campaign to rid their herds of poor producing cows—the "boarders" which do not pay their keep. Even though average milk production per cow reached an all-time record of 5,512 pounds per year in 1954, this figure falls far short of the output achieved on our better dairy farms. We still have far to many 3,000-, 4,000-, and even 5,000-pound producers which place a heavy drain upon the farmer's resources and time and which contribute nothing to his profits. This same uneconomic production, however, is a major cause of our surplus-milk problem.

In the last two decades, average milk production per cow has increased by about 1,500 pounds—more than one-third. The increase has been substantially greater for cows under test in dairy herd improvement associations. With present known breeding, feeding, and handling techniques, the average milk output per cow could conceivably be doubled over a period of time. Right now California dairy cows are producing well over 50 percent more milk, on an average, than those for the Nation as a whole.

No one can say just what the new developments of tomorrow will add to efficiency in dairying. But certainly there are "horizons beyond." I am convinced that the great gains in the dairy industry tomorrow will come, as they have in the past, through research and education and improved production and marketing methods.

Although milk production today has leveled off at a high point, we are closing the gap between output and consumption. And I know that all of you in this great industry would infinitely prefer to see a balance at-

tained in this way, rather than through a distasteful system of production controls which would have been inevitable had price supports been continued at unrealistic levels.

Per capita consumption of fluid milk during 1954 increased by 2 pounds over the preceding year. We anticipate a further upturn in 1955. Coupled with this is the fact that the population of the United States is increasing by about 2.7 million persons each year. This annual growth alone supplies a new market for nearly 2 billion pounds of milk every year.

The special school lunch program, now operating in all of the 48 States and the District of Columbia, has been especially helpful in expanding milk consumption where it is most needed—among our younger people. By mid-February nearly 46,000 of the 160,000 schools in the Nation had been approved for participation in this project and this total will increase further. Preliminary reports show that schools operating under the program had increased milk use by about 58 percent over normal monthly consumption. In some States the increase was more than 100 percent—indicating what I have long believed: that if milk is made easily available, people will drink it in much larger quantities.

We have yet to see the full effects of the vigorous promotional campaign which the dairy industry launched last year in an all-out effort to spur increased consumption of the healthful dairy products. Through every advertising medium the public is being told the story of milk—that it not only tastes good but that it is good. Here we have had the finest beverage in the world, but until recently we haven't been trying to sell it. Instead we have been depending upon the consumer to acquaint himself with its merits. In this competitive age, the market goes to the man who creates a demand for his product and then aggressively merchandises it. I am happy to see the dairy industry adopting some of the techniques of its competitors.

Until a few months ago, except at certain hours in the cafeterias, it was impossible to buy a drink of milk in the Department of Agriculture buildings in Washington. Vending machines there are now doing a thriving business. And virtually all of these sales represent additional consumption.

Only a few days ago I observed with considerable interest that milk vending machines had been installed in the cloakrooms of the House of Representatives in Washington. In those very rooms through the years the problems of the dairy industry must have been discussed upon thousands of occasions. Now Congressmen have the means of attacking the dairy surplus problem through consumption as well as legislation.

I am told that there were approximately 16,000 milk vending machines operated in the United States last year. That represents only 1 machine for every 10,000 people. In contrast there were 210,000 chewing gum machines and 695,000 soft drink vending machines in this country last year.

Saleswise, vending machines handled $65 million worth of coffee, $210 million worth of candy, $393 million worth of soft drinks, and $690 million worth of cigarettes and—get this—only a little more than $22 million worth of milk. Now I do not contend that milk vending machines alone are the answer to all of the dairyman's problems. But the figures I have just cited do illustrate the possibilities of market expansion in a field which has barely been tapped by the dairy industry. Personally, I am not going to be satisfied until I read that sales of milk through mechanical vendors are approaching the totals recorded for competing beverages. We can reach this goal if we have the will to do it.

I believe most of us agree that increased consumption of fluid milk offers the best hope for a thriving, prosperous dairy industry. We must not leave unexplored any avenue which will lead to this objective. We need to know more about what can be done to increase sales through use of larger milk containers and through additional price incentives to the consumer who takes an extra quart or two at the doorstep or at the store. Perhaps we need to reexamine some of the restrictive marketing practices which bar outside milk from certain areas under arbitrary health regulations. Certainly we must constantly strive for the increased efficiency which stimulates increased milk consumption through the factor of price.

Meanwhile, per capita consumption of some other dairy products has been trending higher during the last year. Reversing the long-time downward move, butter sales during 1954 were some 5 to 6 percent higher than for the preceding year. The average American also consumed a little more cheese and nonfat dry milk last year than he did in 1953. On the other hand, consumption of condensed, evaporated and dry whole milk declined to the lowest per capita rate during the postwar period. Ice cream consumption was slightly lower, too.

Nevertheless, the constantly improving balance between milk supply and demand is indicated by the fact that recent Commodity Credit Corporation purchases of dairy products have been far below those of a year ago—after being much higher in the first months of the new marketing year. During the first 11 months of the current marketing year, we bought only about half as much butter as we did during the full 1953–54 marketing year. We bought only one-third as much cheese and about three-fourths as much dry milk in those 11 months as in the preceding 12 months.

Government purchases of dairy products dropped substantially by mid-summer of 1954 and the downward trend continued throughout the year. During the month of December 1954 we bought not a single pound of butter. With the flush production season ahead of us, we may reasonably expect to purchase substantial quantities of dairy products again, though at a far lower rate than a year earlier.

For the calendar year 1954, the surplus production which found its way into Government hands in the form of various dairy products amounted to the equivalent of 9.1 billion pounds of milk—about 7.4 percent of the total production. Nevertheless, this meant that CCC became the owner of 22 percent of all creamery butter produced in the United States in 1954, 35 percent of the cheese production and 50 percent of the nonfat dry milk output. This illustrates how the Government becomes the market for processed dairy products when milk production moves up or demand moves down by only a few percentage points.

Increasing consumption of fluid milk has, of course, resulted in reduced production of butter and cheese during recent months. As I indicated a few months age, we must continue to emphasize this approach as the only effective solution to the dairy problem.

We have made real progress in moving dairy products from CCC inventories into channels of consumption, both at home and abroad, through a variety of methods including commercial sales, welfare donations, and school-lunch programs. At the beginning of this month we had on hand 253 million pounds of butter. Seven months earlier we owned 466 million pounds of it.

Unsold cheese inventories of CCC have declined from 435 million pounds at the end of last September to 334 million at the beginning of this month. Last April we had 600 million pounds of nonfat dry milk on hand. That had been reduced to 72 million pounds by March 1. Altogether, CCC has disposed of more than 1.6 billion pounds of these products during the last 11 months.

These sales and donations involved substantial losses, in most instances. But the products were moved from storage into channels of consumption.

Pricewise the improving dairy situation is illustrated by the fact that for several months the average wholesale price received by farmers for all milk has been ranging between 84 and 86 percent of parity. Just 1 year ago, when dairy supports were still at 90 percent, the average price received by farmers for all milk was 86 percent of parity.

I am convinced that there are better days ahead for the dairy industry. The many encouraging signs unmistakably point up this fact. It would be most unwise at this juncture—when production and consumption are moving toward a balance—to increase dairy price supports by legislative action. Many of the impressive gains of the past year would be swept away almost overnight. We would only be postponing until another day the readjustment which the industry inevitably had to make—a readjustment which is now well on the way to completion.

It is gratifying to me that the Nation's vast poultry industry, in which so many of you have a direct interest, is also emerging from the price problems which plagued it for many months. Despite the rapid recovery in egg and poultry prices, I would strongly urge the industry to move with some caution at this point. As was demonstrated so emphatically last year, even the broad and constantly expanding market which the industry has built will not absorb at profitable prices the entire output of eggs and poultry which existing facilities are capable of producing.

Producers must voluntarily exercise some restraint upon overexpansion and excessive production if we are to have a stable and prosperous poultry industry. We must seek to avoid the violent ups and downs which have too often characterized the egg and poultry markets in the past.

As you know, the current upturn in egg prices began about 2 months ago at a time when production was increasing seasonally, although egg receipts at terminal markets were declining. Egg production estimates for January and February showed a 3-percent increase over a year earlier for the country as a whole. There were weather factors, perhaps, plus stronger consumer demand stemming from improving general business conditions, which tended to offset this.

Another underlying source of strength in the market—and it may be the most important one of all—is the general belief that there will be a smaller supply of eggs later this year. In each of the last 5 months, fewer pullets were started for laying-flock replacements than for the corresponding months a year earlier. As of Febuary 1, farmers indicated intentions of buying 18 percent fewer chicks for laying replacements than last year. Stronger egg prices may lead farmers to purchase more replacements than they had originally planned. This could have later repercussions.

With the number of layers on farms March 1 slightly above the same date for last year, egg production also may be expected to run a little higher than a year ago during the next 2 or 3 months. The rate of lay per bird is expected to be about the same as in 1954 for April and May.

Broiler prices into March continued high enough to induce increased placements. The broiler-feed price ratio in mid-February stood at 4.9, as compared with an average of 4.3 for 1954. Chick replacements and eggs set in incubators in specialized broiler areas during recent weeks have been almost up to the levels of a year ago. And all of us remember the broiler industry got into serious price troubles in 1954.

The Department of Agriculture has already asked turkey growers to reconsider their production plans for 1955. As you know, an 11-percent reduction in light-breed turkeys had been indicated for this year by

producers. On the other hand, intentions were to produce about the same number of heavy turkeys as last year. If these plans are followed through, the total tonnage of all turkeys in 1955 would be reduced by only about 1.5 percent below the record output of 1954.

While I have expressed some concern here over what could happen to poultry and egg markets if production gets too far out of line, I realize that this entire problem is foremost in your minds, too. In similar situations in the past, the poultry industry has moved effectively to avert further overexpansion. I am confident the industry again will act with foresight and resolution.

The poultry industry has made outstanding progress in recent years. The heavy emphasis upon greater production and marketing efficiency has brought poultry and egg consumption in the United States to new record levels through the years. I firmly believe this trend will continue, as a result of these constant efforts. Great as the record of the industry has been, there are still horizons beyond.

Now I should like to turn to a matter which concerns not only the poultry and dairy industries but all of agriculture and, in fact, all of the people of this Nation. That is the basic question of what kind of a farm program we are to have. Shall we move forward in our efforts to establish a soundly conceived, long-range program designed to bring about better-balanced agricultural production, broader financial stability, and greater freedom for farmers? Or shall we continue the unrealistic, stopgap, emergency program of high, rigid price supports which has already demonstrated its inability to cope with the problems of a peacetime agricultural economy?

Congress clearly rejected this second approach only a few short months ago when it adopted the Agriculture Act of 1954 and voted to permit flexible price supports for the basic commodities to become effective, as scheduled, in 1955. Now the whole issue has been revived. The House Committee on Agriculture has reported favorably a bill which would, among other things, continue rigid price supports at 90 percent of parity for the basic commodities for 3 more years.

The principal argument put forward by the proponents of this measure is that it will halt the steady decline in farm income which has been underway since 1947. What they fail to mention is that this entire reduction has come about while we had rigid 90 percent supports for the basic commodities. What they are recommending, in effect, is another dose of the same medicine that has made the patient progressively sicker.

The fixed price support advocates, reinforced by labor leaders turned farm experts, are shouting from the rooftops that farm prices are being wrecked by flexible supports. It just isn't so. Not 1 bale of cotton, not 1 bushel of corn or wheat, not 1 sack of rice, not 1 pound of peanuts has yet been placed under loan or sold to the Government at less than 90 percent of parity. Flexible price supports don't become operative until the 1955 harvests—still several months away—and even then the levels of support will be unchanged for some commodities and most modest for others, in line with President Eisenhower's recommendation for gradual adjustments.

The attempt to saddle the failures of the old program upon a new one which hasn't even been tested yet is unlikely to meet with very broad acceptance among farmers who know the facts. The issues at stake are of such great importance to every farmer, however, that I believe the record must be set straight for all to see.

Flexible price supports have been a part of our bipartisan farm programs for many years. They have been endorsed at one time or another by every Secretary of Agriculture for the past 20 years and by every major farm organization. They were advocated in the platforms of both major parties during 1948 and by the then occupant of the White House.

In fact, it was from this unanimity of opinion that the Agricultural Acts of 1948 and 1949 were distilled. Both of these measures called for flexible price supports for basic commodities. The effective date of the flexible program was repeatedly postponed, however, the last time until 1955. This year we are finally scheduled to employ the flexible price support provisions which almost everybody once agreed were essential to the effective operation of a long-range, peacetime agricultural program.

For some time now, many would-be political leaders have been using high, fixed price supports as a smokescreen to cover up one indisputable fact—the fact that it was the unprecedented demands of war, together with inflation, that kept farm prices high during the 10 years following Pearl Harbor. The parity ratio averaged between 100 and 115 during those years. Actually, it was ceilings fixed by law at the top—not the 90 percent floor below—which set farm prices. Every farmer knows he would have received even more for his products during this period had there been neither ceilings nor price supports.

Mounting surpluses, increasing costs and declining farm prices are evidence enough that high, rigid, emergency supports offer no solution to our peacetime agricultural problems. If they were the solution, there would be no problems. Even though farm prices have declined under the program which we inherited from the preceding administration, this administration is willing to assume its share of the responsibility. But let me make it very clear just what our share is.

Between February 1951 and January 1953, when this administration assumed office, the parity ratio tumbled from 113 to 94. This is a downward plunge of 19 points. Since January 1953 the parity ratio has declined from 94 to a current level of 87—a change of 7 points. It has averaged about 90 over the last 2 years.

Thus, it will be seen that nearly three-fourths of the drop in farm prices which has occurred since the Korean war peak in 1951 came under the preceding administration. So, as I have said, we are willing to assume our share of the responsibility. Let our predecessors face up to theirs.

Today it seems to me that the situation which has developed with respect to wheat pinpoints the major fallacies and contradictions of high, rigid price supports. Wheat is a most important crop not only in this area but over much of the United States. And wheat is also the Government's biggest problem in the field of price supports. Here is a commodity which actually has been supported at about 105 percent of modernized parity. And still it is in worse trouble than any other crop.

The United States had on hand for the current marketing year an all-time record supply of 1,878,000,000 bushels of wheat. At the present rate of disappearance, this unprecedented supply is enough to meet all of our domestic and export requirements for more than 2 full years.

The Commodity Credit Corporation today has investment in more than 1 billion bushels of wheat—660 million bushels owned outright in inventory and the rest held as security against price support loans. This involves a commitment of approximately $2,700,000,000 of CCC funds. It represents well over one-third of the CCC funds now invested in all price support activities.

For 1955, the national wheat acreage allotment has been reduced to 55 million acres, the minimum provided by law. This compares with a 1954 allotment of 62 million acres and represents a cut of 30 percent from 1953, when no acreage allotments were in effect. Without the minimum amount provided by law, the allotment for 1955 would have been sharply below the 55 million total. In view of the record supplies of wheat on hand for this year, the formula in the law called for a national allotment of only about 19 million acres if no minimum had been provided.

The very substantial cut in our national wheat acreage creates serious operating problems for many farmers. Even after this sharp reduction for 1955, the minimum national acreage will, with average yields, produce almost as much wheat as we are now moving into domestic consumption and foreign markets in a year. Insofar as exports are concerned, we need to keep in mind that at our present level of price support, wheat shipments to foreign countries are made possible only by active programs of United States assistance. United States sales of wheat abroad will involve subsidies of at least $175 million for the current crop year.

One fact that stands out is that this Nation's carryover of wheat next July 1 will be larger than it was a year earlier despite everything we are trying to do to bring about a reduction. Although we have succeeded in boosting wheat exports somewhat during the current crop year, there are limitations upon what the world markets will take even at the Wheat Agreement price or under the new program which permits sales abroad for foreign currencies. There are legal restrictions upon selling wheat in the domestic market at less than 105 percent of parity, plus carrying charges.

With total wheat supplies increasing in spite of production controls last year, it now appears that our carryover in 1955 will approach 1 billion bushels, for a new all-time record. It is expected that CCC will own some 850 million bushels of this vast surplus. The yearly storage charges alone on this inventory, not counting interest or deterioration, will be near the $140 million mark.

In talking about this wheat-surplus problem, we lump all wheat together—spring and winter, hard and soft, red and white, high protein and low protein. Yet farmers know there can be at least as great a difference between different types of wheat as there is between Holstein and Hereford cattle.

At a time when we have a record-breaking surplus of wheat in the United States, there is an acute shortage of durum wheat and a tight situation with respect to high-protein milling wheat. Flour has been selling at the highest prices since 1920.

Farmers in some parts of the country have been concentrating upon exceptionally high-yielding wheat, rather than upon quality wheat. Since the grain is produced for sale to the Government at a fixed, guaranteed price, rather than for conversion into bread, the sole objective is to grow as many bushels as possible on the allotted acreage.

Unrealistic price supports have brought about a sharp rise in wheat production outside the area we normally think of as the commercial wheat country. The Corn Belt has become the source of more wheat. So have the grasslands of the southern Great Plains and the dairy regions of the Northeast.

In Illinois the 1953 wheat acreage was 51 percent above the 10-year average. In Michigan it was up 46 percent. Even in New York the increase was 36 percent. One Dust Bowl county of eastern Colorado, which reported a mere 5,000 acres of wheat in 1939, had 365,000 acres in this 1 crop by 1952 as the "suitcase" farmers and speculators moved in.

Now, farmers in the low-cost areas where most of our wheat has been produced in recent decades find themselves in the same production strait-jacket as growers in States less favorably suited to efficient wheat production. The man who has been growing

quality wheat for the market gets cut back on the same basis as the man who grows wheat for the Government loan.

I would like to see us produce wheat in the regions where it can be grown most efficiently. Many of these areas are not well adapted to the production of profitable crops other than wheat.

Wheat growers understandably are dissatisfied with the conditions which have been forced upon them under this system of high, rigid supports. Perhaps more than any other major producer group they are actively seeking a new approach to the whole problem. They want a program which will give them greater freedom, a chance to utilize more fully the potential of their land.

I am sympathetic to those wishes. Recently I requested the National Agricultural Advisory Commission to review the entire wheat situation, giving special attention to possible means of expanding consumption, as well as to grades and classes of wheat and land-use programs. The study will also be directed toward the merits of production controls established on a bushel rather than an acreage basis.

I believe the flexible price support program which becomes effective with this year's harvest will help to bring wheat supplies and utilization into better balance. But it is going to take the time because of the mountainous surplus built up under high, rigid supports.

Certainly agriculture has had its problems during this period of adjustment from war to a peacetime economy. Yet it is also true that we are making the changeover this time with far less hardship than farmers experienced in the years following the First World War.

The flexible price support provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1954 can be of real assistance in making an orderly transition from an emergency program to a permanent, peace-time farm plan. Let us not turn back the clock at this point. Instead, let us give the new program a fair chance to operate.

Let us work toward a well-balanced agriculture—one in which farmers themselves will make most of the management decisions right on their own farms. Let us seek to build a thriving farm economy in which dairymen, poultrymen, and all other segments of agriculture will share fairly and fully.

Our national economy is sound and prosperous. That, in the long run, is the best guarantee of a brighter tomorrow for American agriculture.

Let us push toward those "horizons beyond."

Let us continue resolutely to work toward a stable, prosperous, and free agriculture here in this choice land which God has blessed above all others.

Who's Being Irresponsible Now?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I present a letter received from Walter P. Reuther, president, UAW-CIO, accompanied by his reply to Secretary Weeks. The correspondence is self-explanatory, but I think that the membership of this House will not fail to notice a now familiar strategy of this administration demonstrated in the past congressional election. Has the reckless tactics of the Vice President in the last campaign now carried its contagion to a member of the Cabinet? For now in the person of Mr. Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, we hear such terms as "scaremongers" and "bogeyman of automation," appellations attributed to Mr. Reuther in his efforts to bring to light a very crucial problem that only dispassionate reasoning will afford a solution. Name calling only serves to cloud the issues behind the smog of catch phrases which are designed to confuse rather than clarify.

My district is in the heart of the automobile industry. The welfare and peace of mind of my constituents, as well as the entire population of the Detroit area, lies heavily in the balance of the outcome of the labor-management negotiations that will take place in the next 2 months. I consider it a disservice to the American people for a highly placed public official to make irresponsible statements that will interfere with the orderly negotiations that must take place if we are to have industrial peace and prosperity. The careless statements of many individuals must sometimes be tolerated by ignoring them; but I feel occupants of high public office should speak in the measured language consonant with the dignity of their position.

The above-mentioned letter follows:

DETROIT, MICH., *March 18, 1955.*

The Honorable LOUIS C. RABAUT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RABAUT: I enclose a letter and pamphlet which I have forwarded to Mr. Sinclair Weeks. I respectfully urge that you take note of the reckless and irresponsible behavior and statements to which I refer on the part of the Secretary of Commerce.

Such distortion of the truth on the part of a Cabinet member in an attempt to divide and disunite our people deserves Presidential and congressional attention.

I think you will agree, as I suggest to Mr. Weeks in my letter to him, as Americans we should stand together to protect and respect our right to differ but our differences should be based on facts, not fancy; on knowledge, not prejudice.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER P. REUTHER,
President, UAW-CIO.

DETROIT, MICH., *March 11, 1955.*

The Honorable SINCLAIR WEEKS,
Secretary of Commerce,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your remarks on automation in a recent speech in New York are a startling and shocking demonstration of reckless irresponsibility on the part of a Cabinet officer.

In your references to "scaremongers" who are trying to frighten automobile workers with the "bogeyman of automation," you spoke either in ignorance of the facts or with willful distortion of the facts, as other reckless propagandists, with less stature than your position gives you, have done before.

As a Cabinet officer, it is your responsibility to get the facts and, having got them, to state them accurately and truthfully. It is also the responsibility of a public official of your rank to devote his energies to pulling the people of our country together on the basis of a sound, constructive program of united action to meet and overcome the economic, social, and political problems that confront Americans and the free people of the world generally. The objective results of your uninformed or untruthful remarks on attitudes toward automation are to divide our people into warring economic groups.

While you did not mention the UAW-CIO or any of its officers by name, it is obvious you were referring to us because the distortions you uttered coincide exactly with the false propaganda which has emanated from other sources.

The truth about our position on automation was and is available to you from Government as well as from union sources.

Let me quote to you certain passages from an introduction which I wrote to a recent UAW-CIO publication on automation:

"Automation must be met sanely and constructively so that the miracle of mass production—and the ever greater economic abundance made possible by automation—can find expression in the lives of people through improved economic security and a fuller share of happiness and human dignity.

"Sensibly, rationally, scientifically we intend to harness this radical new force in our lives, using its potential to produce an era in which well-being, justice, and peace will be the universal possession of all mankind.

"Historically, the problems of mankind have been set in conflict between people, groups, and nations each engaged in a struggle to divide up economic scarcity. We have had a world divided between the haves and the have-nots—those who were fed and those who were starving. Now science and technology have at last given us the tools of economic abundance, and we are confronted no longer with the need to struggle to divide up scarcity.

"Economic abundance is now within our grasp if we but have the good sense to use our resources and technology, fully and effectively, within a framework of economic policies that are morally right and socially responsible.

"The UAW-CIO and its 1,500,000 members welcome automation, technological progress, and the promise of the peacetime use of the atom. We offer our cooperation to men and women of good will in all walks of life in a common search for policies and programs within the structure of our free society that will insure that greater technological progress will result in greater human progress.

"We in the UAW-CIO believe that we can solve the problems of UAW-CIO members as wage earners only as we work with other people in our free society in the common effort to find answers to the problems of all the people in our country—and ultimately in the world, for only as we learn to work with people everywhere in finding answers to the problems of the world community can we find answers to our own. As citizens of the atomic age, we have the tools of abundance at our disposal. We are confident that the free people of America, in cooperation with freemen everywhere, will demonstrate the good sense and courage to use the tools of abundance for constructive and moral purposes."

For your convenience, I am enclosing a copy of the publication from which these quotations are taken.

I would also like to refer you to the transcript of both my prepared statement and my oral testimony before the Agriculture Committee of the House of Representatives on February 25, and also my prepared statement and my oral testimony before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress on February 10, where I elaborated in greater detail on the position of our organization on this subject. I am sure a transcript is available to you. One would think that a Cabinet officer would avail himself of the information compiled by congressional hearings before speaking on matters covered by those hearings. In fact, it would seem obvious that an official with the rank of Cabinet member would find it incumbent upon him-

self to check all possible sources of information and find out what is going on in particular areas of American life before making public pronouncements that carry the weight and authority of that high office.

The difference, Mr. Secretary, between you, like other critics who have misrepresented our position, and us in the UAW–CIO, is that you are trying to run away from the problems attendant upon automation, trying to sweep them out of sight under the rug, while we are stepping up to our responsibilities by exploring all the problems and possibilities and, within our abilities, taking positive action to assure the maximum social good.

It is our considered judgment that you owe to the UAW–CIO and to the American people a public apology for your intemperate and untruthful statements.

Let us as Americans stand together in fully protecting and respecting the right to differ. Let us act responsibly and base our differences upon facts, not fancy; upon knowledge, not prejudice.

Sincerely,

WALTER P. REUTHER,
President, International UAW–CIO.

Newsletter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I enclose herewith a newsletter sent by me and published in the East Side News, a weekly newspaper published in my district:

Washington is a busy place these days. There is, of course, always the important and sometimes complex program of legislative action. There is also always and inevitably the clash of party politics. And as background to both, there is the still tense international situation and the concern that many of us feel about our internal affairs, particularly our internal economy.

One of the more ironic indications of party politics was the recent publication of the Yalta papers. There was a great deal of excitement about it, and a sly injection of political motives was apparent. The way I see it, the Republican administration once again yielded to the pressure of its extremist faction in the hope that the revelation of the Yalta diplomatic papers would be good grist for the political mill; and I am sorry to have to say that I think they did it without any regard to the effect of the publication of the papers upon our delicate international relations.

In all, I think their plan will backfire. There is nothing in the published correspondence that has not already been general public knowledge. There is nothing to show that this is anything more than the hindsight wisdom of Monday morning quarterbacks.

I don't think the American people can be fooled. Little by little, I am sure, they will realize that what the American delegation, headed by President Roosevelt, tried to do above all was to act on the unanimously given advice of the President's military advisers: That, at the time of the conference, there was no certainty of the effectiveness of superior weapons such as the atom bomb, that the invasion and defeat of Japan was likely to cost hundreds of thousands of American lives, and that it was, therefore, in the American interest to work out some deal that would save those lives. Surely it is ironical that an American President should be attacked posthumously for having done his level best to save American lives and to spare the agonies of hundreds of thousands of wounded soldiers, sailors, marines, and aviators, and the torments of their mothers, wives, sweethearts, and families.

If there were less of politics in our international affairs, the publication of the Yalta papers, no matter what is revealed by hindsight, should have evoked a solemn tribute to the American representatives for their concern with American lives.

One of the early acts of the Congress this session was to increase the pay of Federal judges, Senators, and Congressmen, and a few others in the Federal service. Here again is a case where there has been something of an artificial outcry, but the commonsense of the American voters will no doubt prevail in the long run. They realize, of course, that no matter how big American industry is, there is no business, none in the whole country, that is as important as the business of our Federal Government, and that its compensation must be somewhat in line with the payments in general industrial and mercantile life. No conscientious Congressman serves his constituency only because of congressional pay. But it would be an act of folly to penalize those public servants by compensation that is out of line with general practice. The plain fact is that every committee of inquiry has recognized the inadequacy of Federal pay and has recommended a substantial increase. Without such fair compensation the tendency would be to have as representatives only men of wealth who could afford the luxury of congressional service. And nothing could be more destructive of the American purpose to avoid rule by class than a procedure that would automatically make the men of wealth the only representatives of the people in the United States Congress.

Meanwhile, there is much that is still in the process of public discussion. The Democratic proposal for a $20 reduction to the small individual taxpayer was completely in the spirit of the Democratic Party's concern for the individual wage earner, small-business man, and farmer, as against the Republican Party's concern last year for the big corporation and the fortunate stockholder.

The senatorial inquiry into the stock market is another indication of the same broad concern for the general public. The last time that Wall Street was looked into was after the event when a crash had already impoverished millions of Americans. The Democratic purpose was to look into the situation in advance so as to have safeguards against such calamity.

The McCarran Act continues to plague us, as it should. A recent television program under the auspices of Edward Murrow brought out again the iniquities of that legislation. With these in mind, I introduced a bill to wipe the slate clean, to return to the state of affairs before the McCarran Act was passed, and to codify our immigration and naturalization procedures along sound and fair lines.

One thing must be clear in this regard: That the national origins quotas, used as the basis for our immigration, are indefensible. Whatever else may be valid about the bill, this aspect, basing our immigration on an archaic and racially minded national origins quota, must go. They are an affront to scores of millions of American citizens. I am sure that as they express themselves a change will be made, and I, for one, am ready to fight for such a change.

Recently I also introduced into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement expressing my concern at a report published in the New York Times that the United States might return the Nazi archives before a full study will have been made. In my remarks in Congress I said—and I stand by—the following:

I am, frankly, very much concerned with the subject with which that story deals. It seems to me that, if what it reports is accurate, it will mean that the United States will give up an invaluable resource in our knowledge of totalitarian conquest. If so, our present efforts to combat another version of totalitarianism, that of international communism, will be seriously handicapped and our intentions thwarted.

The German archives contain, no doubt, material that can shed a powerful light on the goals, methods, and processes of the Nazi conquest of one country, Germany; material about the unutterable plans for the destruction of what they called inferior people, first in their own land and then in neighboring countries. It, no doubt, sheds light on their Machiavellian propaganda techniques, including those by which they contemplated the division of our own country and the weakening of our material and moral strength to resist totalitarianism. Such material is of incalculable historical importance. It must not be jeopardized or lost to us by its casual return to a country where its nationalist forces may be disposed to destroy the full record or to conceal it forever from the scrutiny of the civilized world.

This record must be kept and, in due course, be made available to American scholarship as the all-important source material by which we can learn from the dread recent past and be strengthened by that knowledge to deal with problems that we may well have to meet in the imminent or far future.

I believe this subject is one that ought to be of great concern to all of us. I for one mean to explore it fully so that no step will be taken that will prevent American scholars and historians, the American universities, and the American people as a whole from having access to data that is so important for our understanding of recent world events, and so essential for our own strength in any trials that may lie ahead.

Dinosaur National Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the district in Illinois which I have the honor to represent there is a keen sense of awareness of the danger now facing our superb national park system. My mail is heavy with letters from my constituents protesting legislative action by this Congress that would lead to the destruction of the Dinosaur National Monument. At the suggestion of Kenneth C. Sears, professor of law at the University of Chicago and nationally renowned as educator and author, I am extending my remarks to include an article by John B. Oakes in the New York Times of March 6, 1955. Those of my colleagues, if any, who are not acquainted with the high standing of Mr. Sears, I refer to page 2380 of volume 28 of Who's Who in America.

The article by Mr. Oakes follows:

CONSERVATION: SAVING WETLANDS—IMPORTANCE IS STRESSED OF PRESERVING MANY SWAMPS AND MARSHES

RENEW DINOSAUR FIGHT

Of all the unwise and unnecessary governmentally sponsored schemes to destroy an irreplaceable natural resource, the proposal to build Echo Park Dam inside Dinosaur National Monument in northwestern Colorado is—as readers of this column are well aware—the No. 1 national threat. The Upper Colorado River storage project—a billion-dollar baby of extremely doubtful economic value which includes the controversial dam and for which the entire Nation is expected to pay—was turned down in the last Congress. It is coming forward again under a heavy head of steam.

The Department of the Interior, which is fighting hard for the project with strong support of Members of Congress from the immediately affected areas, has produced evaporation figures showing the superiority of Echo Park Dam over proposed alternatives. But the figures have repeatedly been shown to be erroneous, and have had to be scaled down by 90 percent, so that the differential now—even according to the Bureau of Reclamation's own questionable figures—is relatively slight. Probably the most effective conservation group in this battle has been the Sierra Club, of California (1050 Mills Tower, San Francisco). Its president, Richard M. Leonard, has pointed out in a recent statement the fallacy of the argument now being presented by proponents of the dam that it would actually improve the recreational if not the scenic potentialities of the Dinosaur National Monument. Mr. Leonard says:

"The reservoir behind Echo Park Dam would be a vast, unslightly, fluctuating reservoir which would be full only once every 30 or 40 years, drawn down to dead-storage level in the same period, and fluctuating between those levels the rest of the time."

Low-water hazards

"Horizontally, the drawback at periods of low water would be as much as 25 miles on the Green River arm of the reservoir and 13 miles on the Yampa arm. This area would be the primary deposition zone for silt, sand, and clay; it would be ooze when wet and cracked mud when dry. About 34,000 acres of stained, drowned, and eroded landscape would be periodically exhumed.

"No permanent vegetation would grow within the fluctuation zone. Fish and wildlife would suffer accordingly. The bottom lands and river shore which now constitute a natural setting would be permanently obliterated.

"It is not necessary to guess about the aftermath of an Echo Park Dam. The situation at Lake Mead, where progressively new low-level records are being set since the one time (1941) it nearly filled, speak for themselves.

Last year, Congress was asked for $128,000 to adapt beach development there to the retreating lake in which growth of harmful bacteria required closing some beaches. The lowdown then was 88 feet. It is now 120 and is dropping toward a predicted 150 feet. Some lakeshore development has had to be abandoned. Silt averaging about 200 feet deep extends the 40-mile length of once-striking lower Granite Gorge.

"The Secretary of the Interior has said: 'What we have done at Lake Mead and in the Great Smokies is what we have in mind for Dinosaur.'"

On the desirability of subsidizing reclamation projects in this area, Mr. Leonard observes:

"Whether additional farm lands should be brought under irrigation at the average mile-high, short growing season elevations of the upper basin States at an estimated cost ranging from $500 to $2,700 per acre for getting water on the land is a question for the agricultural experts to answer."

Productivity figure

"Dr. Paul B. Sears, president-elect of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in a recent study indicated that the productivity of millions of acres of land east of the Rockies could be doubled at a cost of less than $30 per acre.

"Can the American people afford to bring into production relatively poor agricultural lands at a cost as high as $2,700 per acre when the same effect can be produced on other lands for $30 per acre?

"Do the American people want to do this at the price of losing one of the most beautiful units of their superb national park system? We do not think the people will permit this if they know the facts. That is why we are asking conservationists all over the country to jump into this fight as never before to prevent the inclusion of Echo Park Dam in the upper Colorado River project."

Isthmian Canal Policy of the United States—Documentation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, since the modification, by order of the Secretary of War—now Army—in May 1942 of the additional facilities for the Panama Canal authorized under Public Law 391, 76th Congress, approved August 11, 1939—Fifty-third Statutes at Large, page 1409—all construction toward the modernization of that waterway has been in abeyance. Meanwhile, the broader problem of Isthmian Canal policy has become a matter of a growing public interest and congressional concern.

Discussion of the entire question of interoceanic canals received a great impetus on December 1, 1947, when the President transmitted to the Congress a report of the Governor of the Panama Canal—now Canal Zone—under Public Law 280, 79th Congress. This report recommended only the so-called sea-level project for major canal construction at Panama.

Significantly, the report was forwarded without Presidential approval, comment or recommendation. The Congress took no action thereon and the report was not published. Congressional leaders, however, recognized the issues presented by its recommendations as affecting policies of the highest national and international importance, with grave implications for the future welfare of the United States.

The first step in the congressional consideration of the canal problem was the passage on February 28, 1949, of House Resolution 44, 81st Congress, authorizing a full and complete study by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the financial operation of the Panama Canal.

For this task, its distinguished chairman, the late Honorable Schuyler Otis Bland, of Virginia, designated a special subcommittee, of which I was chairman and Representatives Tom B. Fugate, of Virginia, and Edward T. Miller, of Maryland, were members.

After an extended investigation, which included numerous consultations with officials of the Panama Canal, Army, Navy, and merchant marine, and a visitation in the Canal Zone, April 18 to 22, 1949, it became apparent to the subcommittee that the adequate resolution of the canal question could not be limited to statistical studies but would ultimately require consideration of all phases of Isthmian Canal policy. Its studies and recommendations eventually led to the reorganization of the entire canal enterprise under Public Law 841, 81st Congress—the first basic improvement in the administrative setup in the Canal Zone since the Panama Canal Act of 1912.

The subcommittee realized, however, that this administrative improvement was only preliminary to the resolution of more fundamental elements in Isthmian Canal policy that still remain to be redetermined. As an aid in that direction, I prepared a selected bibliography on this policy, which was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—81st Congress, 1st session, volume 95, part 16, August 25, 1949, page A5580. The subsequent publication of much additional information requires that this list be revised.

First in importance are the writings of recognized authorities on the Panama Canal. Among these are:

Abbot, Henry L.: Problems of the Panama Canal (2d ed.). New York: MacMillan Co.; 1907.

DuVal, Miles P.:

Cadiz to Cathay: The Long Diplomatic Struggle for the Panama Canal (2d ed.). Stanford University Press, 1947.

And the Mountains Will Move: The Story of the Building of the Panama Canal. Stanford University Press, 1947.

The Marine Operating Problems, Panama Canal, and the Solution. American Society of Civil Engineers. Proceedings, volume 73 (February 1947), page 161; Transactions, volume 114 (1949), page 558.

Goethals, George W., et al. The Panama Canal: An Engineering Treatise. New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1916 (2 volumes.).

Johnson, Emory R.: The Panama Canal. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1916.

Sibert, William L. and John F. Stevens: The Construction of the Panama Canal. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1915.

The great constructive engineering contributions of General Abbot, Chairman, 1907, and chief engineer, 1905–07; John F. Stevens, of the Isthmian Canal Commission; General Sibert, Chairman and chief engineer, 1907–14; and first Governor of the Panama Canal, 1914–16, George W. Goethals; the well-known historical and marine operational studies of Captain DuVal; and the original and fundamental economic studies of interoceanic commerce of Prof. Emory R. Johnson, entitle the writings of these authorities to universal consideration by both professional interests and the general public.

The principal governmental documentation of the Panama Canal, 1901 to 1954, is as follows:

LAWS AUTHORIZING ACQUISITION OF CANAL ZONE, CONSTRUCTION AND OPERATION, OF THE PANAMA CANAL, 1902–12

Act to provide for the construction of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Approved June 28, 1902 (Spooner Act).

Act to provide for construction of a lock canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and the method of construction. Approved June 29, 1906.

Act to provide for the opening, maintenance, protection, and operation of the Panama Canal, and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone. Approved August 24, 1912 (Panama Canal Act).

CANAL TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS, 1901–36

Treaty between the United States and Great Britain to facilitate the construction of a ship canal of November 18, 1901 (Hay-Pauncefote Treaty).

Treaty between the United States and the Republic of Panama of November 18, 1903 (Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty).

Boundary convention between the United States and Republic of Panama of September 2, 1914 (Price-Lefevre convention).

Treaty between the United States and Republic of Colombia of April 6, 1914, proclaimed March 30, 1922 (Thomson-Urrutia Treaty).

General treaty of friendship and cooperation between the United States and Republic of Panama of March 2, 1936, proclaimed July 27, 1939 (Hull-Alfaro Treaty).

United States Army Interoceanic Canal Board, investigation and survey, 1929–31: Public Resolution 99 (S. J. Res. 117), 70th Congress. Approved March 2, 1921.

Report of the Chief of Engineers and United States Army Interoceanic Canal Board, 1931 (H. Doc. 139, 72d Cong.).

Third locks project for increasing canal facilities, 1939–42: Public Resolution 85 (H. J. Res. 412), 74th Congress, authorizing and directing the Governor of the Panama Canal to investigate the means of increasing its capacity for future needs of interoceanic shipping. Approved May 1, 1936.

Report on Panama Canal for future needs of interoceanic shipping (H. Doc. 210, 76th Cong.).

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Hearings on H. R. 180, H. R. 201, H. R. 202, H. R. 2667, and House Joint Resolution 112, 76th Congress, on March 14, 15, and 16, 1939, concerning additional interoceanic canal facilities.

Senate Committee on Interoceanic Canals: Hearings on S. 2229 and H. R. 5129, 76th Congress, on July 20 and August 3, 1939, concerning additional facilities for the Panama Canal Zone.

Public Law 391, 76th Congress, authorizing construction of additional facilities for the Panama Canal substantially in accordance with plans set forth in a report of the Governor dated February 24, 1939, and published as House Document 210, 76th Congress. Approved August 11, 1939.

Secretary of War's letter of May 23, 1942, directing modification (suspension) of third locks project.

ISTHMIAN CANAL STUDIES UNDER PUBLIC LAW 280, 79TH CONGRESS, 1946–47

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Executive hearings on H. R. 4480, 79th Congress, on November 15, 1945, concerning investigation of additional Panama Canal facilities.

House report on study of additional Panama Canal facilities, November 16, 1945 (H. Rept. 1213, 79th Cong.).

Senate report on study of additional Panama Canal facilities, December 19, 1943 (S. Rept. 862, 79th Cong.).

Public Law 280, 79th Congress, authorizing the Governor of the Panama Canal to investigate the means of increasing its capacity and security to meet future needs of interoceanic commerce and national defense. Approved December 28, 1945.

House Resolution 36, 80th Congress, passed February 10, 1947, authorizing continuation of investigation by Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries begun under House Resolution 281, 77th Congress.

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Report on Operations and Future of Panama Canal, July 2, 1947 (H. Rept. 781, 80th Cong.).

Report of the Governor of the Panama Canal under Public Law 280, 79th Congress, transmitted by the President to the Congress, December 1, 1947, without Persidential approval, comment, or recommendation.

INVESTIGATION OF FINANCIAL OPERATIONS AND REORGANIZATION, PANAMA CANAL, 1949–50

House Resolution 44, 81st Congress, passed February 28, 1949, authorizing an investigation of the financial operations of the Panama Canal by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and submission of a report by June 30, 1949.

House Resolution 337, 81st Congress, extending time for submission of the report under House Resolution 44 to January 31, 1950.

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Hearings before Special Subcommittee To Investigate Panama Canal Tolls, under House Resolution 44, 81st Congress on March 14, April 6 and 19, May 23, and June 6 and 14, 1949.

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries:

Interim Report on Investigation of Panama Canal Tolls, August 23, 1949 (H. Rept. 1304, 81st Cong.).

Second Interim Report, March 2, 1950 (H. Rept. 1728, 81st Cong.).

Third Interim Report, August 25, 1950 (H. Rept. 2993, 81st Cong.).

President of the United States: Report and Recommendations on Organization and Operation of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, January 31, 1950 (H. Doc. 460, 81st Congress).

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Report on Reconstitution of Panama Canal, August 16, 1950 (H. Rept. 2935, 81st Congress).

Senate Committee on Armed Services. Report on Reconstitution of Panama Canal, September 8, 1950 (S. Rept. 2531, 81st Congress).

Public Law 841, 81st Congress, establishing the Panama Canal Company and Canal Zone government, approved September 26, 1950 (64 Stat. 1038).

OPERATION OF PANAMA CANAL UNDER CORPORATE ORGANIZATION, 1951–54

Comptroller General of the United States: Audit report. Fiscal year, 1952 (H. Doc. 207, 83d Congress).

Comptroller General of the United States: Audit report. Fiscal year, 1953 (H. Doc. 473, 83d Congress).

Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Hearings on execution of Public Law 841, 81st Congress, June 9, 14, 18, and 28, July 6–7, 1954.

House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Interim Report on Operation of the Panama Canal under Public Law 841, 81st Congress, August 4, 1954. CONGRESSONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 149 (August 4, 1954), page A5766.

The principal articles published since 1945 that are applicable or pertinent to the Panama Canal specifically, interoceanic canals generally, and other aspects of Isthmian Canal policy, some of which have been included in extensions of remarks of distinguished Members of Congress, are listed in a form convenient for reference, as follows:

ISTHMIAN CANAL POLICY

ALLEN, Hon. JOHN J., JR.:

Trans-Isthmian Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Marine Progress, February 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 12 (March 19, 1951), page A1526.

Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Capt. Frederick L. Oliver in Christian Science Monitor (Atlantic edition), November 26, 1952, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (February 12, 1953), page A605.

Bennett, Ira E.:

Panama Canal Must Remain American. National Republic (Washington), XL (June 1952), 17.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (March 2, 1953), page A1006.

Panama Canal: Today and Tomorrow. National Republic, XLI (August 1953), page 15.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 12 (July 30, 1953), page A4857.

Bland, Hon. Schuyler Otis: The Panama Canal: Operations or Engineering? Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in the USNI Proceedings, December 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 9 (January 6, 1948), page A19.

Bowles, James T. B., et al.:

The Panama Canal Problem: A Memorandum to the Members of the Congress. Hopewell, Va., William R. McCann, consulting engineer, 1954.

Same. Civil Engineering, volume 24 (July 1954), page 460.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 79 (April 29, 1954), page 5491, and No. 154 (August 10, 1954), page A5912.

Bradley, Hon. Willis W.:

Let's Have an Interoceanic Canals Commission. Extension of remarks quoting a resolution of the American Coalition. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 9 (January 27, 1948), page A451.

The Panama Canal Question—Bibliographical List. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, par. 11 (June 15, 1948), page A3890.

DuVal, Capt. Miles P.:

The Interoceanic Canals Problem. Address before the Explorers' Club of New York, November 13, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 8 (January 15, 1952), page A163.

Summary of same. The Retired Officer (Washington, D. C.), volume 8 (January-February 1952), page 10.

Isthmian Canal Policy—An Evaluation. United States Naval Institute Proceedings (Annapolis), volume 81 (March 1955), page 263.

Freeland, Stephen L.: New Plans for Panama. Popular Science (New York), volume 151 (July 1947), page 66.

Fugate, Hon. Tom B.: Panama Canal Question. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in the National Bulletin of the Military Order of the World Wars, September 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 17 (September 19, 1950), page A6653.

Godsoe, Charles H., editor:

A Panama Canal Commission. Marine Progress (New York), volume 18 (April 1950), page 6.

Trans-Isthmian Canal. Marine Progress (New York), volume 19 (February 1951), page 9.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 12 (March 19, 1951), page A1526.

Harding, Earl:

Will Panama Be Next? Economic Council Letter 341, August 15, 1954. New York. National Economic Council, Inc., 1954.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 163 (August 20, 1954), page A6236.

Hobbs, William H.: The Problem of a New Trans-Isthmian Canal. USNI. Proceedings

(Annapolis), volume 76 (February 1950), page 129.

KEOGH, Hon. EUGENE J.:

Panama Canal Construction Engineers Favor Interoceanic Canals Commission. Address quoting memorandum to the Members of Congress transmitted by Consulting Engineer William R. McCann, March 24, 1954. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 79 (April 29, 1954), page 5491.

Panama Canal: Today and Tomorrow. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Ira E. Bennett in National Republic, August 1953. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 12 (July 30, 1953), page A4857.

The Panama Canal Must Remain American. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Ira E. Bennett in National Republic, June 1952. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (Mar. 2, 1953), page A1006.

Little, Captain H. H.:

Let Us Build the Best Canal at Panama, American Society of Naval Engineers Journal (Washington, D. C.), volume 58 (November 1946), page 560.

Same. Marine News (New York), XXXIV (March 1948), 21.

Little, H. H., Arthur Stanley Riggs, and E. B. Small.:

Panama Canal: Operations or Engineering?—Discussion. USNI proceedings (Annapolis), volume 74 (July 1948), page 894.

MARTIN, Hon. THOMAS E.:

An Interoceanic Canals Commission, the Best Solution of Panama Canal Problem. Extension of remarks commenting on a news story by Jules Dubois in the Chicago Tribune, June 13, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 14 (July 18, 1951), page A4480.

Oliver, Captain Frederick L.:

Panama Canal Seeks Ear of Congress. Christian Science Monitor (Boston), (Atlantic ed.), November 26, 1952, page 16.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (Feb. 12, 1953), page A605.

Modernized Canal Put Off. Christian Science Monitor (Atlantic ed.), September 3, 1954, page 10, columns 6–8.

Panama Canal Could Be Improved; We Don't Need a Brand New One. Editorial, Saturday Evening Post (Philadelphia, volume 225 (Mar. 7, 1953), page 12.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (Mar. 5, 1953), page A1102.

Panama Canal Question (editorial). Military Order of the World Wars National Bulletin (Washington, D. C.), XXXI (Sept. 1950), 4.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 17 (Sept. 19, 1950), page A6653.

Riggs, Arthur Stanley:

The Panama Canal: Operations or Engineering? USNI proceedings (Annapolis), volume 73 (December 1947), page 1455.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 9 (January 6, 1948), page A19.

SMITH, Hon. LAWRENCE H: Panama Canal: A Much Neglected Waterway. Extension of remarks quoting a memorandum to the Congress published in Civil Engineering, July 1954. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 154 (August 10, 1954), page A5912.

Thatcher, Hon. Maurice H: Panama Canal. Remarks introducing Hon. Willis W. Bradley before the Engineers Club of Washington, D. C., February 24, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (March 9 1949), page A1304.

THOMPSON, Hon. CLARK W:

Isthmian Canal Policy of the United States—Bibliographical List. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (August 25, 1949), page A5580.

Interoceanic Canals Problem. Extension of remarks quoting addresses of Capt. Miles P. DuVal and Mr. John Frank Stevens, Jr., at the Explorers' Club of New York, November 13, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 8 (January 15, 1952), page A163.

Practical Solution of Canal Problem Requires Interoceanic Canals Commission. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in the Saturday Evening Post, March 7, 1953. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 9 (March 5, 1953), page A1101.

Panama Canal: Memorializations and Modernization. Extension of remarks quoting a Nevy Department press release published in the Canal Record (St. Petersburg, Fla.), December 1953. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 30 (February 17, 1954), page A1324.

ATOMIC BOMB, SECURITY, AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

Baldwin, Hanson W.:

What Kind of War? Atlantic Monthly (Concord, N. H.), volume 184 (July 1949), page 22.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 95, part 15 (July 14, 1949), page A4627.

Betts, A. W., Lt. Col., Corps of Engineers, United States of America:

Nuclear Weapons. The Military Engineer (Washington, D. C.), XLI (March-April 1949), 104.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 24, 1949), page A1713.

Bradley, Gen. Omar N.:

A Balanced Military Establishment. The Military Engineer (Washington, D. C.), XLI (March-April 1949), 101.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 95, part 15 (August 18, 1949), page A5402.

Bradley, Hon. Willis W.:

St. Lawrence Waterway, Panama Sea-Level Project and National Defense. Statement before House Committee on Public Works. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 97, part 12 (April 11, 1951), page A1950.

Bush, Dr. Vannevar:

Modern Arms and Free Men. Readers' Digest (Pleasantville, N. Y.), volume 56 (February 1950), page 151.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d Sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 9, 1950), page A1986.

The Weapons We Need For Freedom. Readers' Digest (Pleasantville, N. Y.) volume 58 (January 1951), page 48.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 97, part 11 (January 23, 1951), page A349.

Collins, General J. Lawton:

Panama Canal Would Not Be Greatly Threatened in War. Public statement of Chief of Staff, United States Army. Star and Herald (Panama, Republic of Panama), May 13, 1953.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 99, part 11 (June 11, 1953), page A3408.

Groves, Lt. Gen. Leslie R.:

Can New York Hide From the Atomic Bomb? Cosmopolitan (New York), volume 126 (January 1949), page 41.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 13, 1949), page A169.

Hessler, William H.:

The A-Bomb Won't Do What You Think. Colliers' (New York), volume 124 (September 17, 1949), page 17.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (October 11, 1949), page A6190.

Hopkins, Frederick W.:

Security of the Panama Transit in the War. USNI proceedings (Annapolis), volume 75 (March 1949), page 321.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 15 (August 5, 1949), page A5085.

Lear, John:

Hiroshima, U. S. A. Colliers' (New York), volume 126 (August 5, 1950), page 11.

MARTIN, Hon. THOMAS E.:

The Atomic Bomb and the Isthmian Canals. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves in Cosmopolitan, January 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 13, 1949), page A169.

The Atomic Bomb and the Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Maj. Gen. C. F. Robinson in the Military Engineer, January–February 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 14, 1949), page A755.

The Panama Canal and Nuclear Weapons. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Lt. Col. A. W. Betts in the Military Engineer, March–April 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 24, 1949), page A1713.

Panama Canal Security Against Atomic Attack. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Lt. Comdr. H. B. Seim in the USNI proceedings, April 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (May 2, 1949), page A2639.

Isthmian Canals and National Defense. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Hanson W. Baldwin in Atlantic Monthly, July 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 15 (July 14, 1949), page A4627.

A Balanced Military Policy for the United States. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Gen. Omar N. Bradley in the Military Engineer (March–April 1949). CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 15 (August 18, 1949), page A5402.

Interoceanic Canals—The Atomic Bomb and National Defense. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Comdr. Robert C. Wing in the USNI proceedings, September 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (October 11, 1949), page A6197.

Isthmian Canals and Atomic Defense. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Lt. Col. Richard D. Wolfe in the Military Engineer, November–December 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 7, 1950), page A1725.

Isthmian Canal and Atomic Bomb Defense Plans. Extension of remarks quoting a statement by Dr. Vannevar Bush in the Associated Press, February 9, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 8, 1950), part A1754.

Interocianic Canals—Modern Arms and National Defense. Extension of remarks quoting a condensation of a book by Dr. Vannevar Bush in the Readers' Digest, February 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 9, 1950), part A1986.

Panama Canal—Propaganda for Sea-Level Project. Extension of remarks commenting on an Associated Press news story by Luis B. Noll, of Panama, July 9, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 16 (July 13, 1950), page A5087.

Apropos of Interoceanic Canals: Atomic Bomb and National Defense. Extension of remarks quoting a statement by Dr. Vannevar Bush in the Washington Daily News of December 18, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 11 (January 22, 1951), page A283.

Re Panama Canal: Modern Weapons and National Defense. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Dr. Vannevar Bush in the Readers' Digest, January 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 11 (January 23, 1951), page A349.

Army Chief of Staff Minimizes Threat to Panama Canal in Major War. Extension of

remarks quoting a statement of Gen. J. Lawton Collins, Chief of Staff, in the May 13, 1953, issue of the Star and Herald, Panama, Republic of Panama. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 11 (June 11, 1953), page A3408.

McEvoy, J. P.:

Panama Canal: Our Most Insecure Outpost. Readers' Digest (Pleasantville, N. Y.), volume 64 (March 1954), page 91.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 42 (March 5, 1954), page A1778.

Potts, Hon. David M.:

The Panama Canal in the Atomic Age. Radio address over the American Broadcasting Co. network on December 8, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 13 (December 11, 1947), page A4682.

Defense of the Panama Canal. Radio address over WMCA in New York City on December 27, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 9 (January 6, 1948), page A23.

Robinson, Maj. Gen. C. F.:

Industrial Vulnerability to Bombing. The Military Engineer (Washington, D. C.), XLI (January–February 1949) page 1.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 14, 1949), page A755.

ROGERS, Hon. BYRON G.: Panama Canal: Our Most Insecure Outpost. Extension of remarks quoting an article by J. P. McEvoy in Readers' Digest, March 1954. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 42 (March 5, 1954), page A1778.

Seim, Lt. Comdr. H. B.:

Atomic Bomb—the X Factor of Military Policy. USNI proceedings (Annapolis), volume 75 (April 1949), page 387.

Same CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (May 3, 1949), page A2639.

Shalett, Sidney: Can We Defend the Panama Canal? Saturday Evening Post (Philadelphia), volume 221 (October 9, 1948), page 15.

THOMPSON, Hon. CLARK W.: Security the Panama Transit in the War. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Frederick W. Hopkins in the USNI proceedings, March 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 15 (August 5, 1949), page A5085.

VAN ZANDT, Hon. JAMES E.: St. Lawrence Waterway, Panama Sea-Level Project, and National Defense? Extension of remarks quoting a statement before the House Committee on Public Works by Capt. Willis W. Bradley. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 12 (April 11, 1951), page A1950.

Velie, Lester: The Panama Canal Is Wide Open to Attack. Colliers (New York), January 20, 1951, page 13.

Wing, Comdr. Robert C., United States Navy:

Potentialities of Atomic Warfare Against the United States Petroleum Industry. USNI proceedings (Annapolis), volume 75 (September 1949), page 983.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (October 11, 1949), page A6197.

Wolfe, Lt. Col. Richard D.:

Atomic Defense—A Constructive Approach. The Military Engineer (Washington, D. C.), XLI (November-December 1949), 417.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 7, 1950), page A1725.

TERMINAL LAKE-THIRD LOCKS PROJECT

Bland, Hon. Schuyler Otis: The Marine Operating Problems, Panama Canal, and the Solution. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Capt. Miles P. DuVal in ASCE proceedings, February 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 10 (March 21, 1947), page A1176.

Bradley, Hon. Fred:

The Panama Canal. Radio address of March 24, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 2, 1947), page A2597.

The Panama Canal. Radio address of March 31, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 3, 1947), page A2632.

Bradley, Hon. Willis W.:

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a radio address of Hon. Fred Bradley, March 24, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 2, 1947), page A2597.

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a radio address of Hon. Fred Bradley, March 31, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 3, 1947), page A2632.

What of the Panama Canal? Address before the Cosmos Club of Washington, D. C., April 19, 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 10 (April 21, 1948), page A2449.

The Whys of the Panama Canal. Address before the Engineers Club of Washington, D. C., February 24, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (March 4, 1949), page A1303.

Don't Overdo on Panama Canal Changes. Editorial, Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram, April 4, 1951, page A18.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 12 (April 23, 1951), page A2212.

Cole, Harry O.:

What Should Be Done To Improve the Panama Canal? CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 10 (May 4, 1948), page A2743.

Panama Canal. Letter to the editor. Marine Progress (New York), volume 17 (January 1949), page 22.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 14, 1949), page A760.

Panama Canal-Sea-Level Project—Discussion. ASCE proceedings, volume 75 (January 1949), page 143.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 9, 1949), page A662.

DuVal, Capt. Miles P.:

The Marine Operating Problems, Panama Canal, and the Solution. ASCE proceedings (New York), volume 73 (February 1947), page 161.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 10 (March 21, 1947), page A1176.

Same. Marine News (New York), XXXIV (August 1947), 41.

Same. ASCE transactions (New York), volume 114 (1949), page 558.

The Marine Operating Problems of the Panama Canal Involved in Its Modernization and Their Solution. Address before the District of Columbia section of the American Society of Civil Engineers in the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, April 15, 1947. Available at the general headquarters of the society in New York.

Summary of same. Christian Science Monitor (Atlantic edition), May 28, 1947, page 9.

Godsoe, Charles H., editor:

The Panama Canal Modernization. Marine Progress, volume 14 (April 1946), page 16.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (79th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 92, part 11 (May 9, 1946), page A2563.

Panama Canal. Marine Progress (New York), volume 14 (September 1946), page 16.

Ship Operation—The Panama Canal. Marine Progress (New York), volume 15 (January 1947), page 18.

The Canal Question and Shipping. Marine Progress (New York), volume 15 (June 1947), page 7.

The Panama Canal Modernization. Marine Progress (New York), volume 15 (June 1947), page 22.

Isthmian Plan. Marine Progress (New York), volume 16 (August 1948), page 18.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 9, 1949), page A2168.

Panama Viewpoint. Editorial quoting a letter by Harry O. Cole. Marine Progress (New York), volume 17 (January 1949), page 22.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 14, 1949), page A760.

KEOGH, Hon. EUGENE J.: The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Marine Progress, April 1946. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (79th Cong., 2d sess), volume 92, part 11 (May 9, 1946), page A2563.

Kirkpatrick, Ralph Z.:

Panama Canal—Sea-Level Project—Symposium Discussion. ASCE proceedings (New York), volume 75 (January 1949), page 151.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 14 (May 27, 1949), page A3331.

MARTIN, Hon. THOMAS E.:

The Panama Canal Problem. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in Shipmate, May 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 11 (May 28, 1948), page A3399.

Panama Boondoggling. Extension of remarks quoting article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in Work Boat, November 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 5, 1949), page A44.

Waterway Improvements. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Marine Progress, January 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 14, 1949), page A760.

MCGREGOR, Hon. J. HARRY: Panama Canal Changes. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial by Hon. Willis W. Bradley in the Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram of April 4, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 12 (April 23, 1951), page 2212.

Oliver, Capt. Frederick L.:

United States-Built Ditch Is Found Inadequate, Christian Science Monitor (Boston) (Atlantic ed.), April 15, 1952, page 3, columns 1–3.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 10 (May 1, 1952), page A2659.

Pepperburg, Roy L.:

The Battle of the Levels. Sea Power (New York), volume 7 (spring 1947), page 18.

The Panama Canal. Our Navy (Brooklyn, N. Y.), XLIII (Mid. November 1948), 4.

Bottleneck at Panama. The Rotarian (Chicago), LXXIV (March 1949), 26.

Potts, Hon. David M: Alternative Canal Routes. Extension of remarks quoting a letter of William G. B. Thompson in the Wall Street Journal, June 4, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 12, 1947), page A2826.

Rich, Hon. Robert F.: The Panama Canal—Stop, Look, and Listen. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in the Commonweal. September 9, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (September 26, 1949), page A5867.

Riggs, Arthur Stanley:

The Panama Question. Shipmate (Annapolis), volume 11 (May 1948), page 7.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 11 (May 28, 1948), page A3399.

Panama Boondoggling. Work Boat (New Orleans), V (November 1948), 46.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 5, 1949), page A44.

Panama Canal Prospect. The Commonweal (New York), L (Sept. 9, 1949), 526.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (September 26, 1949), page A5867.

Snyder, Hon. Melvin C.: What Should Be Done To Improve the Panama Canal? Extension of remarks quoting two statements by Harry O. Cole. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 10 (May 4, 1948), page A2743.

STAGGERS, Hon. HARLEY O.: Panama Canal—Sea Level Project. Extension of remarks quoting a technical discussion by Harry O. Cole in ASCE proceedings, January 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (February 9, 1949), page A662.

Stevens, John Frank, Jr.: Views of the Late Chief Engineer John F. Stevens of the Isthmian Canal Commission. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 8 (January 15, 1952), page A163.

THOMPSON, Hon. CLARK W.:

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. Willis W. Bradley and proceedings of the Engineers' Club of Washington, D. C., February 24, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (March 9, 1949), page A1303.

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Marine Progress, August 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 9, 1949), page A2168.

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a technical discussion by Ralph Z. Kirkpatrick in ASCE proceedings, January 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 14 (May 27, 1949), page A3331.

Weichel, Hon. Alvin F.:

Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. W. L. Fiesinger in the Sandusky Register-Star-News, May 9, 1952. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 10 (May 16, 1952), page A3050.

Same. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. W. L. Fiesinger in the Erie County Reporter (Huron, Ohio), June 27, 1952. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 11 (July 5, 1952), page A4865.

Woodruff, Hon. Roy O.: Improvement of Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Capt. Frederick L. Oliver in the Christian Science Monitor (Atlantic ed.), April 15, 1952. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 98, part 10 (May 1, 1952), page A2659.

PROPOSED SEA-LEVEL PROJECT

Bland, Hon. Schuyler Otis:

A Sea-Level Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Brig. Gen. Hans Kramer, United States Army (retired), in the Pacific Marine Review, March 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 29, 1949), page A1864.

A Sea-Level Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in the Pacific Marine Review, February 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 5, 1949), page A2018.

Bowman, Waldo G.:

Puzzle in Panama. Engineering News-Record (New York), volume 138 (May 1, 1947), page 740.

Same. Reprinted in Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution, 1947, page 407.

Claybourn, John G., et al.: Sea-Level Plan for Panama Canal with discussions. ASCE transactions, volume 114 (1949), pages 572–606.

Department of the Army: The Panama Canal—Vital Link in Hemisphere Defense. Armed Forces Talk No. 253. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1948.

King, Donald D., editor: Sea-Level Panama Canal Dictated by New Weapon Dangers. Civil Engineering (New York), volume 18 (February 1948), page 17.

Kramer, Brig. Gen. Hans:

A Sea-Level Panama Canal. Pacific Marine Review (San Francisco), volume 46 (March 1949), page 49.

Same. CONGESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 29, 1949), page A1864.

Kramer, Hans, and Philip G. Nichols: Panama Canal—the Sea-Level Project—Discussion. ASCE procedings (New York), volume 74 (June 1948), page 1015.

Kramer, Hans, and James H. Stratton: Sea-Level Plan for Panama Canal—Discussion. ASCE proceedings (New York), volume 74 (June 1948), page 921.

MacMullen, T. Douglas, editor:

A Sea-Level Panama Canal. Pacific Marine Review (San Francisco), volume 46 (February 1949), page 51.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 5, 1949), page A2018.

Secretary of Defense: The Panama Canal—An Outpost of Hemisphere Defense. Armed Forces Talk 373, May 18, 1951. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1951.

Stratton, Col. James H., et al.: Panama Canal—The Sea-Level Project—A Symposium. ASCE transaactions (New York), volume 114 (1949), pages 607–906.

COST ESTIMATE RELIABILITY

Bland, Hon. Schuyler Otis:

Panama Canal—Symposium Discussion. Extension of remarks quoting a technical paper by Capt. H. H. Little in ASCE proceedings, March 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 30, 1949), page A1887.

Slide Problems of the Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a technical paper by A. Casagrande in ASCE proceedings, March 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 12, 1949), page A2228.

Casagrande, A.:

Panama Canal—Sea-Level Project Symposium Discussion. ASCE proceedings (New York), volume 75 (March 1949), page 421.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 12, 1949), page 2228.

Little, Capt. H. H.:

Panama Canal—Sea-Level Project Symposium Discussion. ASCE proceedings (New York), volume 75 (March 1949), page 417.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (March 30, 1949), page A1887.

Rich, Hon. Robert F.: Panama Sea-Level Canal—An Engineer's Day Dream and Giant Bonanza for Machinery Manufacturers. Extension of remarks quoting a statement by Hon. W. L. Fiesinger in the Sandusky Register-Star-News, November 11, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 13 (January 12, 1950), page A238.

DIPLOMATIC AND HISTORICAL

ABBITT, Hon. WATKINS M.: Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Human Events, June 23, 1954. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 123 (July 2, 1954), page A4819.

ALLEN, Hon. JOHN J., Jr.:

The Panama Canal and Theodore Roosevelt Inseparable in History. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. Willis W. Bradley before Panama Canal Societies of the United States, Washington, D. C., May 3, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (May 6, 1947), page A2127.

Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a 10-year overhaul program. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 10 (March 31, 1953), page A1689.

Bland, Hon. Schuyler Otis:

Panama Canal—John F. Stevens and the High-Level Type. Extension of remarks quoting the report of Chief Engineer John F. Stevens of January 26, 1906 recommending the high-level-lake and lock type. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95 part 16 (Oct. 13, 1949), page A6282.

Panama Canal—President Theodore Roosevelt's Decision. Extension of remarks quoting President Roosevelt's message to the Congress of February 19, 1906, recommending the high-level-lake and lock type. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (October 13, 1949), page A6286.

Panama Canal—William Howard Taft and the High Level Lake Type. Extension of remarks quoting the letter of Secretary of War Taft of February 19, 1906, forwarding the report of the International Board of Consulting Engineers to the President. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 16 (Oct. 18, 1949), page A6440.

Bowman, Waldo G.: Random Lines (editorial on Panama Canal). Engineering News-Record (New York), volume 138 (April 3, 1947), page 492.

BOYKIN, Hon. FRANK W.: John Frank Stevens, Engineer, Pioneer, Discoverer, Railroad Builder, Statesman, and Basic Architect of Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Mildred Beedle Fossett in the magazine section of the Lewiston (Maine) Journal, January 27, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 13 (June 18, 1951), page A3657.

Bradley, Hon. Fred:

The Panama Canal. Press release, April 10, 1947.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.) volume 93, part 11 (June 5, 1947), page A2674.

Bradley, Hon. Willis W.:

The Panama Canal and Theodore Roosevelt Inseparable in History. Address before Panama Canal Societies of the United States, Washington, D. C., May 3, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (May 6, 1947), page A2127.

The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a press release of Hon. Fred Bradley, April 10, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (June 5, 1947), page A2674.

Cole, Harry O.:

Tribute to the Late Sydney B. Williamson. Address before the Panama Canal Societies of the United States, Washington, D. C., May 8, 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 11 (May 21, 1948), page A3190.

Summary of same. Engineering News-Record (New York), volume 140 (May 13, 1948), page 692.

Davies, Wallace, editor: Something's Going To Happen to the Canal—But What? Army Transportation Journal (Washington, D. C.), volume 3 (May–June 1947), page 20.

Dubois, Jules: Problem in Panama. American Mercury (New York), LXXVIII (March 1954), 79.

Fossett, Mildred Beedle:

Maine's John F. Stevens Among the Nation's Greatest Engineers. Lewiston (Maine) Journal, magazine section, January 27, 1951.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 13 (June 18, 1951), page A3657.

Fugate, Hon. Tom B.: Panama Canal Memoralization. Extension of Remarks quoting a letter of C. L. Chapin in the Washington Post, April 22, 1952. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d Sess.), volume 98, part 10 (May 7, 1952), page A2803.

Kent, John L.: Have We Outgrown the Panama Canal? Popular Mechanics (Chicago), volume 85 (June 1946), page 120.

KEOGH, Hon. EUGENE J.: Pacific Locks, Panama Canal—Views of Sibert and Stevens. Extension of remarks quoting chapter IX in The Construction of the Panama Canal by

William L. Sibert and John F. Stevens, published by D. Appleton & Co., 1915. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (84th Cong. 1st Sess.) volume 101, No. 37 (March 1, 1955) page A1340.

Lisle, B. Orchard, editor: Panama Canal Losing Major Oil Artery Status. Oil Forum (New York), I (May 1947), 138.

MARTIN, Hon. THOMAS E.:

The United States and Panama. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in the Star and Herald, Panama, Republic of Panama, December 13, 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st Sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 17, 1949), page A219.

Isthmian Canals: The Panama Canal and Diplomatic Relationships. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in Forum November 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d Sess.), volume 96, part 13 (January 18, 1950), page A353.

Panama Sea-Level Project Apparently Ditched. Extension of remarks quoting a news story by Jim G. Lucas in the Washington Daily News (noon ed.), March 29, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d Sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 31, 1950), page A2413.

Trans-Isthmian Canal Problem: Tehuantepec Ship-Tunnel and Ship-Railway Proposals. Extension of remarks quoting a professional discussion by Arthur Stanley Riggs in the USNI proceedings, August 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d Sess.), volume 96, part 17 (August 15, 1950), page A5871.

Will Panama Be Next? Extension of remarks quoting an article by Earl Harding in Economic Council Letter 341, August 15, 1954. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 163 (August 20, 1954), page A6236.

O'Neill, J. J.:

Planning the New Panama Canal. New York Herald Tribune, March 16, 1947, section II, page 10, columns 1–3.

Condensation of Same. Science Digest (New York), volume 21 (June 1947), page 6.

Pitkin, Robert B.: How Secure Is the Panama Canal? American Legion magazine, volume 57 (October 1954), page 16.

Potts, Hon. David M.: The Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a news story by S. H. Scheibla in the Wall Street Journal, May 27, 1947. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (May 28, 1947), page A2516.

REVERCOMB, Hon. CHAPMAN: Tribute to the late Sydney B. Williamson. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Harry O. Cole before the Panama Canal Societies of the United States, Washington, D. C., May 8, 1948. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 2d sess.), volume 94, part 11 (May 21, 1948), page 3190.

Riggs, Arthur Stanley:

Panama Futility. Catholic World (New York), CLXIV (January 1947), 298.

Panama Railroad. Railway Progress (Washington, D. C.), III (April 1949), 25.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (May 5, 1949), page 2706.

The Bridge of Fear. Forum (Philadelphia, CXII (November 1949), 267.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 13 (January 18, 1950), page A353.

Understanding Panama, Catholic World (New York), CLXIX (September 1949), 418.

Trans-Isthmian Canal Problems. Discussion USNI Proceedings (Annapolis), volume 76 (August 1950), page 911.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 17 (August 15, 1950), page A5871.

Salomon, Lt. Comdr. Henry, Jr.: Isthmian Interlude. USNI Proceedings (Annapolis), volume 76 (March 1950), page 269.

Scheibla, S. H.:

Big Ditch Debate. Wall Street Journal (New York), May 27, 1947, page 2, column 1.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (80th Cong., 1st sess.), volume 93, part 11 (May 28, 1947), page A2516.

STAGGERS, Hon. HARLEY O.:

Harry Outen Cole: A Builder of the Panama Canal. Address to the House quoting a eulogy by Hon. MAURICE H. THATCHER. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 3 (March 3, 1950), page 2853.

Harry Outen Cole, interoceanic ship-canal engineer and builder of the Pacific end of the Panama Canal. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 14 (March 9, 1950), page A1821.

Steese, Col. James G.: Panama Canal in World War II. Military engineer (Washington, D. C.), XL (January 1948), 20.

Stevens, John Frank, Jr.: President William Howard Taft. Address before Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., May 19, 1951. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, page 13 (May 24, 1951), page A3072..

Thatcher, Hon. Maurice H.: Harry Outen Cole: An Outstanding Builder of the Panama Canal. Address before the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., May 27, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 15 (June 1, 1950), page A4147.

Thomas, Hon. J. Parnell, as told to Stacey V. Jones: Reds in the Panama Canal Zone. Liberty (New York), volume 25 (May 14, 1948), page 14.

THOMPSON, Hon. CLARK W.:

Centenary of Panama Star and Herald. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in that paper, February 24, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (March 10, 1949), page A1361.

Panama Railroad: A Historic and Epoch-Making Institution. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Arthur Stanley Riggs in Railway Progress, April 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (May 5, 1949), page A2706.

May 4, 1904: Canal Zone Acquisition Day. Extension of remarks quoting a news story in the Star and Herald (Panama, R. P.), May 5, 1953. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 11 (June 3, 1953), page A3188.

WOLVERTON, Hon. CHARLES A.: Panama Canal Society Honors William Howard Taft. Address of John Frank Stevens, Jr. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 97, part 13 (May 24, 1951), page A3072.

Woodruff, Hon. Roy O.: Harry Outen Cole: An Outstanding Builder of the Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. Maurice H. Thatcher before the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., May 27, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 15 (June 1, 1950), page A4147.

PANAMA CANAL AND TRANSIT TOLLS

ALLEN, Hon. JOHN J., JR.:

Panama Canal Reorganization. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Marine Progress, March 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 15 (May 2, 1950), page A3191.

Panama Canal Tolls. Address to House quoting correspondence with the president, Panama Canal Company, April 1952. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (82d Cong., 2d sess.), vol. 98, part 4 (May 13, 1952), page 5131.

Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a letter of the President of the Panama Canal Company concerning formula for tolls, March 20, 1953. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 10 (May 4, 1953), page A2341.

Panama Canal: Interim Report. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 100, No. 149 (August 4, 1954), page A5766.

Association of American Ship Owners: Our National Investment in the Panama Canal. Shipping Survey (New York), volume 4 (April 1948).

Bailey, Frazer A.: United States Shipowners Oppose Increased Toll Charges. Lykes Fleet Flashes (New Orleans), September 1948, page 6.

Bland, Hon. Schuyler Otis: The Case Against Present Panama Canal Tolls. Extension of remarks quoting an article by Charles L. Wheeler in Pacific Marine Review, April 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 14, 1949), page A2307.

Bradley, Hon. Willis W.: What's Ahead for the Merchant Marine. Address before the Rotary Club, Baltimore, Md., January 11, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (January 27, 1949), page A395.

DAVIS, Hon. GLENN R.: Study of Panama Canal Tolls. Extension of remarks quoting a study on tolls addressed by the president of the Panama Canal Company to the Speaker of the House, March 5, 1954. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 2d sess.), volume 10, No. 49 (March 16, 1954), page A1995.

Dodge, Wendell Phillips, editor: Panama Canal Tolls versus a Long Range Toll Policy. Marine News (New York), XXXIV (March 1948), 28.

Godsoe, Charles H., editor:

Panama Canal Tolls. Marine Progress (New York), volume 17 (September 1949), page 11.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 96, part 13 (Jan. 6, 1950), page A50.

Panama Canal Tolls. Marine Progress (New York), volume 18 (January 1950), page 14.

Panama Canal Reorganization. Marine Progress (New York), volume 18 (March 1950), page 12.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 15 (May 2, 1950), page A3191.

HAND, Hon. T. MILLET: What's Ahead for the Merchant Marine. Extension of remarks quoting an address by Hon. Willis W. Bradley before the Rotary Club, Baltimore, Md., January 11, 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 12 (Jan. 27, 1949), page A395.

MacMullen, T. Douglas, editor:

Pacific Coast Ports and the Panama Canal. Pacific Marine Review (San Francisco), XLVI (September 1949), 34.

Suppose Canal Tolls Were Shown on Freight Bills. Pacific Marine Review (San Francisco), XLVI (December 1949), 78.

Memo from the Panama Canal. U. S. News & World Report, April 9, 1954, page 78

Morse, Murray, editor:

Who Pays for the Panama Canal? The Log (New York), volume 42 (July 1947), page 36.

Fiscal Fallacies of the Panama Canal. The Log (New York), volume 44 (September 1949), page 44.

Rankin, Hon. John E.: Restoring the Panama Canal Toll Exemption for Coastwise Trade. Extension of remarks quoting a statement by Hon. Charles L. Wheeler. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (Apr. 9, 1949), page A2163.

Riggs, Arthur Stanley: What Panama Canal Proposals Mean to Tanker Operators. Oil Forum (New York), volume 2 (April 1948), page 151.

Sandusky, Lawrence, editor: Panama Canal and the Pacific Coast. Nautical Gazette (New York), volume 143 (December 1949), page 18.

THOMPSON, Hon. CLARK W.:

Panama Canal Tolls. Extension of remarks quoting an editorial in Marine Progress, September 1949. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 13 (January 6, 1950), page A50.

Emory R. Johnson and the Panama Canal. Extension of remarks quoting a eulogy in the Star and Herald, Panama, R. P., March

15, 1950. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 2d sess.), volume 96, part 14 (April 5, 1950), page A2602.

Panama Canal Tolls. Remarks in House. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (83d Cong., 1st sess.), volume 99, part 4 (May 27, 1953), page 5739.

Wheeler, Hon. Charles L.:

The Case Against Present Panama Canal Tolls. Pacific Marine Review (San Francisco), April 1949, page 60.

Same. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (81st Cong., 1st sess.), volume 95, part 13 (April 14, 1949), page A2307.

Mr. Speaker, as emphasized in the first report of the Special Subcommittee on the Panama Canal under House Resolution 44, 81st Congress, House report 1304, the history of that waterway has been featured by a series of crises. These, at times, have required vigorous interventions by the Congress and the President. On those occasions, the Government had the benefit of advice by independent canal commissions not dominated by routine administrative agencies. The Panama Canal is now in another critical period in which the toll question and the physical form of the future canal are definitely linked.

In line with historical precedent and to provide the Congress with the best means for obtaining disinterested advice on the gravely important questions of Isthmian Canal policy, Representative THOMAS E. MARTIN—now junior Senator from Iowa—and I introduced or supported measures in both the 82d and 83d Congresses to create an independent Interoceanic Canals Commission. Like measures—S. 766 and H. R. 3335—are now pending before the 84th Congress.

Camp Pickett, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I called to the attention of the House a number of typical comments which were being made by editors of newspapers in Virginia relative to the proposal to dispose of Government holdings at Camp Pickett, Va. These views, in my opinion, represent the overwhelming majority of the people of Virginia who feel that the Government is unjustly disturbing the economy of Southside, Va., by its continued uncertainty as to the future of Camp Pickett.

The Army has taken the position that Camp Pickett represents one of the best training areas available to the Army and yet, on a number of recent occasions when the necessity arose for the expansion of training facilities or the utilization of existing facilities, Camp Pickett was bypassed in favor of other camps in various parts of the country. I refer particularly to recent notices in the press regarding the utilization of facilities at Camp Breckinridge, Ky., and announcements concerning the use of certain other areas for National Guard training.

As I have previously called to the attention of the House, Camp Pickett is presently lying dormant, slowly rotting away and, in the meantime, the economy of a large section of southside Virginia is suffering immeasurably by this uncertainty. I do not feel it incumbent upon myself to dictate to the Army or any agency of the Government as to the use it intends to make of any Government facility. I do not propose to offer the suggestion that one single soldier be sent to Camp Pickett merely for the purpose of strengthening the economy of a civilian community. I do feel, however, that the Army and the Department of Defense owes it to the civilian communities surrounding Camp Pickett to make it clear once and for all what use, if any, it is contemplating for Camp Pickett in the foreseeable future. As the situation now exists, there is gross uncertainty on the part of all of the business interests of the entire Southside, Va., area, due to the fact that the Army says one day that Camp Pickett is the best military training camp it has and the next day that they foresee no immediate use of these facilities.

The Members of the House are certainly familiar enough with the military situation to know that we must maintain a strong reserve position in order to protect the future of our county. I feel that in the case of Camp Pickett or any other camp that the Government should take it upon itself to specifically and expressly advise the governing officials of these communities adjacent to military camps exactly what they can look forward to in the way of military activities in the future. It is not fair to the economy of any community to not know from one day to the next whether they will be flooded by the emergence of military personnel or whether their economy is to be drained by periodic deactivations.

Camp Pickett has been opened and closed three times within the past 8 years and I feel very strongly that unless the defense officials can make an announcement with some degree of certainty that Camp Pickett will be utilized in the foreseeable future; then, I feel it only fair, just, and proper that the Army get out and stay out of Pickett so that the economic blight hovering over this great section can be removed, our people allowed to work out their own economy and once again have growing and strong communities as we had before Pickett.

To support this view, I wish to insert a splendid article prepared by Mr. A. L. Singleton, Jr., for the Progress-Index of Petersburg, Va., which appeared on Sunday, March 20, accompanied by illustrations of the many facilities at Camp Pickett:

BLACKSTONE AREA LEADERS CONTINUE CAMPAIGN TO MAKE PERMANENT, PRODUCTIVE USE OF CAMP PICKETT SITE

(By A. L. Singleton, Jr.)

There's a "ghost town" in Southside Virginia, and a number of residents are trying to do something about it.

One mile from Blackstone, concrete and macadam roads run in neat patterns through an area covered with buildings, including:

Some 500 houses, mostly pre-fabs; 35 warehouses, with railway sidings and unloading ramps at the end of spur tracks; several libraries and club houses; six fire stations; a bakery; a laundry plant capable of handling 100,000 pieces of clothing daily; three 10-ton incinerators; 13 chapels; seven movie theaters; a bus terminal; an outdoor amphitheater (seating capacity 8,000); an indoor arena (capacity, 5,000); a sewage disposal plant; a refrigeration plant; motor repair shops; a 2,050-bed hospital; and an airport with control tower and four runways 5,300 feet long and 300 feet wide.

Most of the facilities were heated by a giant central plant, supplied electricity through a Virginia electric and power company sub-station and gas by underground distribution, given telephone service through an exchange handling 2,000 dial phones; and provided water out of storage tanks holding 900 million gallons and purified by a filtration plant with a daily capacity of 6 million gallons.

Today, the buildings are unoccupied, few vehicles move along the streets, and motors and engines are idle.

Around this developed area, thousands of acres of land lie fallow. The total acreage of the tract is 46,000.

This is what is left at Camp Pickett, 3 times a booming Army post, and 3 times a ghost town. It originally was 503 separate tracts, covering 6,500 acres of Brunswick County, 15,116 acres of Dinwiddie County, 50 acres of Lunenburg County, 24,438 acres of Nottoway County, and 269 acres of Blackstone.

The camp was first occupied in 1942 (to house about 80,000 troops). It was deactivated in 1946; reactivated in June 1948; deactivated 10 months later; reactivated in August 1950; and deactivated last year.

Government and business leaders of Blackstone and the four neighboring counties protested often to Federal authorities that the openings and closings of Camp Pickett severely damaged the economy of their communities. After the third closing, they launched a campaign.

R. D. Maben, Jr., town manager of Blackstone, and a leader in the campaign, said it started in earnest January 22, 1954, a date he remembers well.

"It was my 12th anniversary as town manager, we had a terrible snow and sleet storm, and we got the news that Camp Pickett was closing for the third time."

Blackstone area people want the Defense Department to reactivate the camp or sell it as surplus property. Fourth District Representative Watkins M. Abbitt is sponsoring a bill to that effect before the Congress, and the State legislature already has approved a measure permitting establishment of area redevelopment authorities, which could buy and use inactive military reservations for commercial, industrial, agricultural, or institutional purposes.

"Here we have a self-supporting place equal to a city to take care of 15,000 people. If the Federal Government does not want it, why shouldn't the State of Virginia or a civilian agency be able to use it?", Maben asked last week.

A tall, agile, energetic man, he summed up his case for utilization of Camp Pickett last April before members of the Senate Armed Services Committee in Washington. Among those present, were Senators Flanders of Vermont, Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, and Byrd; Maben, Blackstone's Mayor W. I. Moncure; and Secretaries of the Army, Stevens, and Air Force, Talbott.

"We never solicited the camp, we never opposed it, we are not opposing it now," declared Maben, "but we are opposing, and think we are justified in opposing, the constant opening and closing, boom and bust, tail-tied-to-the-kite idea. No community can stand it indefinitely."

Secretary Stevens commented that Camp Pickett had to be held by the Army on stand-

by basis because 10 percent of the potential mobilization force of 375,000 men could be trained there, and because the National Guard needed it, Maben recalled.

Now, the Blackstone manager pointed out, "they are planning to cut the Army in size, and the National Guard is being encamped at Breckinridge, Ky., and Indiantown Gap, Pa."

This indicates to Maben that Secretary Stevens' reasons for holding on to Pickett no longer are sound. Other indications, he explained, are plans for disposing of housing units there. This month, 238 prefab dwellings are to be sold on the site, and 250 others soon are to be moved west to Indian reservations under control of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, according to Maben.

"That's a vicious part of this thing," he said. "If they don't need the housing, why do they need the camp?"

For months, Maben has visited officials of State organizations, seeking reaction to Federal handling of Pickett. He reported that county boards of supervisors, town and city councils, fraternal and civic groups throughout southside Virginia have passed resolutions urging the sale or reactivation of Pickett. The latest resolution came Thursday from the Virginia Ports Authority.

Maben said he hopes the camp will be declared surplus property and sold for $1,183,000—the sum the Federal Government paid for the land—or less.

"Of course the land has been developed by the Army," he declared, "but when the Government bought it, farmers in the area moved out," and Blackstone and nearby communities thereby suffered severe losses agriculturally.

He also pointed out that private investments of more than $5 million and capital outlays of some $1,500,000 (by Blackstone) had been necessary to provide services for an expanding population resulting from activation of the camp.

(In 1940, Blackstone's population was 2,700; now it is more than 7,000.)

Maben revealed last week that two small industries had moved into the Blackstone area to take up some of the slack from the latest Pickett closing, but he said that did not alter the area's major problem.

He recently told the State capital outlay study commission that Virginia could realize a 20 percent saving if it obtained some of the Pickett land for institutional use, because streets, water and sewer lines, railway spur tracks, and land already are provided.

"What North Carolina did with Camp Butner, Virginia could do with Pickett," he said.

Camp Butner, about 15 miles from Durham, was acquired as surplus property by the State of North Carolina in 1947. The property encompasses some 41,000 acres, 5,000 fewer than Pickett.

In operation now on the Butner site are 4 State institutions—a mental hospital, an alcoholic rehabilitation center, a youth center (reformatory), and a school for feebleminded adults and childrens—employing some 750 persons, and 5 industries with about 450 on payrolls.

Maben has reminded Virginia authorities that recommendations for new mental hospitals, penal institutions, and other public service facilities are being considered by the capital outlay study commission.

Maben, Mayor Moncure, and other Blackstone area citizens are pleased with the support for their campaign pledged by people and organizations in other parts of Virginia.

They had special praise last week for Virginia legislators—in the Congress and the general assembly—who have proposed or supported bills to solve their economic problem.

Representative ABBITT's bill is still before the House Armed Services Committee. If approved there and finally enacted, the State law permitting establishment of an area redevelopment authority could go into effect. The authority would be composed of one representative each of Blackstone and the counties of Nottoway, Dinwiddie, Brunswick, and Lunenburg, and two at-large members.

Blackstone's Manager Maben, speaking for the southside groups hoping the campsite will be used, said:

"The Army does not intend to use it, but they are fighting against turning it loose. They fought turning loose (Camp) Butner, too. But we do not intend giving up our fight, either."

What if Panama Canal Is Knocked Out?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, a very interesting and well-considered article dealing with the Panama Canal appeared on the 20th of this month in the bilingual newspaper published at Miami, Fla. It was written by Harry W. Frantz, of the United Press. Mr. Frantz is a veteran writer-reporter on Latin American affairs and stands high in his knowledge and judgment as to United States and Latin American relationships and the Panama Canal. The newspaper referred to is Diario Las Americas—Spanish section—and the Americas Daily—English section. The article is carried in Americas Daily and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT IF PANAMA CANAL IS KNOCKED OUT?

(By Harry W. Frantz)

Fundamental shifts in expert opinion concerning the United States Atlantic-to-Pacific canal policy are indicated by preliminary discussion of bills pending in Congress, according to well-informed transportation authorities.

The concept of sea-level canal at Panama is believed to be losing ground partly because of recent revelations that the "fall out" from atomic explosions affects an area as large as the entire Canal Zone.

The cost estimate of a sea-level canal is now raised to $10 billion which would necessitate very high transit tolls for repayment.

The arguments for an improved lock canal at Panama with a future third set of locks competent to handle the world's largest ships has gained support among experts who consider that prospective expansion of world commerce should be the chief criterion in formulation of future policy.

Meanwhile, everyone that studies the question speculates as to whether the exigencies of atomic warfare would justify the construction of an entirely new canal at a distance from the Panama Canal, in order that there would be a second waterway if Panama transits were interrupted by a bomb or a major landslide.

Another school of experts favors a general restudy of all of the transportation methods, such as old and new highways, the Panama Railroad, a transcontinental trunk highway system in the United States, and South American transportation routes.

The theory is that numerous alternative routes and methods would be used to service interoceanic traffic in the event of a knockout to canal facilities.

There's a rapidly mounting volume of unofficial discussion of the canal problem in trade, engineering, and service publications. This public interest is inspired partly by bills introduced in the Senate by Senator THOMAS E. MARTIN, of Iowa, and Representative CLARK THOMPSON, of Texas, for the creation of a trans-isthmian canal commission which would review all phases of policy affecting an enlarged or new canal.

The interest also reflects the negotiation of a new United States-Panama treaty pertaining to relations between the Canal Zone and the Republic of Panama, including increased annuity payment to Panama. This treaty has already been ratified by the Republic of Panama, and will be considered later by the United States Senate.

For more than a decade, Congress has been willing to accept views of Defense Department and executive branch of the Government concerning future canal policy.

President Truman sent to Congress in 1947 an engineers report which contained strong arguments for a sea-level canal at Panama, but Congress took no action.

The big question for the early future is the nature of the recommendations which the Government departments will make to Congress concerning the creation of a new trans-isthmian canal commission. If the White House and Pentagon give approval to this project, it would have good prospects for action in present session of Congress, and a "great debate" on long-term policy would logically follow.

The long-range study, if undertaken, would certainly reveal endless ramification in the fields of diplomacy, engineering, the commercial utility of various routes, and problems of defense.

To illustrate the complexity of this problem, the United Press correspondent asked various experts the hypothetical question: What would happen to approximately 35 million tons of cargo which now moves annually through the Panama Canal if transit should be interrupted by war, sabotage, or a major landslide before an alternative waterway is built?

Experts suggested that with great difficulties and delays that immense traffic would be rerouted substantially as follows:

(1) United States intercoastal traffic would move in large volume and at greater cost on transcontinental railways and projected new trunk motorways.

(2) If the Suez Canal remained open a large amount of Asiatic, Australian, and European traffic would be diverted from Panama to Suez—such a possibility must take into account, however, the fact that in a third world war an enemy of free nations would presumably try to wreck both canals.

(3) A large volume of traffic which now moves via Panama, as for example that of South American west coast countries, would resume the historical route between Pacific and Atlantic by way of the Magellan Straits or around Cape Horn.

Such rerouting if long continued would raise major international questions of shipping security. British war vessels protected this route in earlier decades, but both Argentina and Chile now have greater power in the area.

Antarctic bases probably would become necessary to the defense of the straits between Cape Horn and Palmer or Graham Land, and the Antarctic area would have a vastly increased strategical importance, with greater intensity of rival territorial claims.

(4) Peru would have a special problem because of frontiers on both the Pacific Ocean and the Amazon Basin, presently serviced by ships moving through the Panama Canal. Peru would have an obvious interest in improving overland communications across Peru.

(5) The overland routes in Central America, Mexican isthmus of Tehuantepec, and between Chile and Argentina, would attract an increasing volume of transportation on rail and motor routes.

(6) The Panama Railroad, which presumably could be restored before the canal could be reconstructed, would have a tremendous utility and could be supplemented by motor transportation.

God's Answer to Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include a radio talk by a constituent of mine, the Reverend Clay Cooper who wrote this from Saigon, Vietnam.

The Reverend Cooper conducts the Church of the Air in Spokane, Wash., and I feel that his reactions to what he sees as he visits in one of the truly distraught areas of our globe is worth reading. His solution is one with which we can all agree and undoubtedly the solution he suggests is the one that will succeed.

The address follows:

GOD'S ANSWER TO COMMUNISM
(By Rev. Clay A. Cooper)

"The only solution is Christ. We should not waste our time on anything else. Theoretically, Christians believe the only solution is Christ, but in actuality they often go overboard on other ideas and panaceas," is the studied opinion of former Communist Helen Sigrist.

That Christianity holds the only real answer to communism is a conviction being shared more and more by the greatest champions of human rights which our generation knows. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, whose men fought it to a standstill in Korea; Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who first embraced its tenets to later repudiate them as a fraudulent scheme to enslave the world; Syngman Rhee; President of United States Dwight Eisenhower. The list grows impressively with the passing of time.

Tragic indeed that such a simple and workable solution is not implemented by those who "go overboard on other ideas and panaceas." What fools we mortals be, to keep on believing that regimentation, militarization and a host of other substitutes can provide the universal remedy.

In our current struggle with the hammer and sickle we could learn valuable lessons from the recent past. In pulling down the Swastica, and the emblems of Fascism and the Rising Sun, we put forth monumental efforts and sacrifices. Yet where is the elusive peace? Just try to imagine the state of our world today if but a portion of the price of World War II ($4 trillion in money and 40 million casualties in men) would have been devoted to foreign missionary enterprises prior to 1939. What poor economists we are to invest trillions in munitions and trifles in missions.

This is no pacifist's plea, however. It is certain if our world is not staffed with missionaries, it will have to be policed with marines. Our youth will either go to the ends of the earth with God or guns and if our professedly Christian America does not soon come to regard foreign nations as mission fields she must continue to deal with them as battlefields. Still, it is not so much a choice between Chapels or cruisers, Gospels or grenades, Bibles or bombs. At the end we shall learn that even released nuclear energies can never liberate minds and hearts but that it is Truth, in the person of Jesus Christ, that "makes men free."

What is God's answer to Communism? Is it the launching of an international crusade against this monstrous evil? No; A thousand times no. Such an approach is entirely too negative and too late. Simply getting down to the business of giving Christ to the world is God's plan and purpose. I have seen this method work on hundreds of mission fields in foreign lands the world around, even where Christ's cause was understaffed, underfinanced and underequipped. Yet where in spite of such needless limitations the superiority of the Christian message and its dynamic in human experience triumphed over every obstacle. I challenge, I defy, anyone to sell a Communist bill of goods to any nation or any people once the Gospel of Christ has effectively taken root in a sufficient number of individual hearts and lives. The two are diametrically opposed.

God's answer to communism is the same as His answer to other isms stalking our world. Both it and they will disappear like dew before a Sahara sunrise once His church, like a sleeping giant, awakes from her torpor, takes His marking orders to heart, marshalls her men and materiel for the world objective of propagandizing the earch with Truth, of preaching the Gospel to every creature.

Yes; for communism, the handwriting is on the wall. Light is stronger than darkness, love than hate, and Jesus Christ is alive and Karl Marx is dead. Since it is foredoomed and on its way out, let's hurry it on its way. It's our generation that needs deliverance. Christ promised the "might of hell" should not prevail against His allies when dedicated to such tasks, how much less the might of Moscow. A militant program of prayer, of sacrificial giving, going, and sending; a stepped-up foreign missionary progression to an unprecedented pace, can and will solve the Communist-created chaos in our world and at the same time make its inhabitants "heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ" eternally. Christianity, to quote an apostle, holds the "promise of this life and that which is to come."

Finally, communism being the true enemy of the people is the enemy of God and as such is destined to destruction. There is no question but that sooner or later the Biblical pronouncement will be realized and His enemies "shall lick the dust" (Micah 7: 17). If eventually, why not now?

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

Stop Driving Our Best Soldiers Out of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLIFTON (CLIFF) YOUNG

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, it was recently my good fortune, although perhaps not entirely my pleasure, to spend some time at the Naval Medical Center at Bethesda, Md. During my confinement there, I was impressed with the quality of medical care and overall excellence of this outstanding institution. It reflects favorably on the men in charge and is a credit to our naval forces.

While such care is partly the result of fine facilities, it also depends upon the skill and training of the personnel involved. Evidence of these qualities, I might say, was manifest at all levels—doctors, nurses, and corpsmen. As I observed some of the more highly trained experts performing their duties, several questions came to mind. What are the attractions of military service for such well-trained men who could obviously receive more remuneration in a civilian status? Are we losing the services of such men at a dangerous rate? What needs to be done, if anything, to improve their position and insure a sufficient number of such personnel in the future?

Upon several occasions I talked with some of these men to determine their attitudes on a military career. It was pointed out to me that already some of the highly trained medical personnel have left the service and that others are dissatisfied with their present status and military hopes for the future. While the dissatisfaction results in part from the pay differential, this is not the entire story.

During my study of this problem, I encountered an article by Col. Oliver G. Haywood, Jr., which appeared in This Week magazine on March 28, 1954. This article very forcefully presents reasons why some of our best soldiers are leaving the services. With world conditions so unsettled, the need of highly trained personnel in the armed services, not only in our medical centers but in other units, is extremely important. While the House of Representatives has recently taken steps to raise the pay of military personnel, there are other aspects of this problem which merit attention. I commend this stimulating article to those who are interested in maintaining the strength and efficiency of our national security program.

STOP DRIVING OUR BEST SOLDIERS OUT OF SERVICE

(By Col. Oliver G. Haywood, Jr.)

I have recently resigned by commission in the United States Air Force because I believe this Nation is imposing conditions of second-class citizenship on its professional military force.

My resignation was not prompted by any feeling of personal hardship. It was one individual's protest against policies which I consider a threat to the safety of every American. Now that my lips are no longer sealed by military regulations, I am free to speak of these policies of expediency, indifference, and discriminatory legislation which are making military careers less and less attractive when our Nation most needs top-caliber leadership.

It is my deep conviction that if present trends continue our country will enter any future conflict with a second-class Army, Navy, and Air Force, regardless of how many billions we pour into defense. And may God protect the Nation. The Armed Forces will not be able to.

My resignation from the military—an act by which I chose to forfeit all retirement pay and other benefits—follows 22 years of service. It was a hard decision, for my military service has been interesting and varied. I graduated from West Point in 1936. I have known the life of a line officer, having served as a company and battalion commander. I have soldiered in places as far apart as Germany and Bikini. In the scientific line, I have had tours of duty working on atomic-energy problems at the Los Alamos Laboratories and in the Manhattan engineer project.

I resigned not because I was personally dissatisfied but, as I wrote in my letter of resignation, because, "As a senior officer I must impose on able and patriotic subordinates conditions of second-class citizenship. • • • The degradation of military status must lead to a decline in the quality of our Military Establishment."

SERVICE CAREERS FALLING OFF

I believe that to remain in such a career merely helps to conceal a condition more dangerous to the future security of our Nation than any number of Russian bombs. This is the declining attractiveness of the military career—a situation which is causing trained officers and men to leave the service and forcing young men to refuse service careers.

I intend to document here some ways in which this Nation has whittled away at military careers. But I'd like to emphasize that no single example is in itself decisive. Each example is important only as a development in a general trend. Soldiers are aware that as times change certain traditional advantages may be taken away.

But if the services are to represent careers that will attract and hold capable young men instead of mediocrities, the loss of certain benefits should be compensated by the creation of some new ones. The last 20 years have certainly seen a substantial increase in the standard of living of the civilian population. But for the military—and this is provable statistically or any way you want—the last two decades have seen all the major advantages of military service reduced or eliminated.

Let's take the question of retirements. It is a good example of the way Congress has repeatedly welshed on its agreements with the military. When I came into the service, one of the advantages of a military career was the promise that officers could retire with a pension after 30 years' service, enlisted men after 20. Recently Congress began a series of changes in retirement regulations that were so bewildering that it has become impossible to plan for the future.

For instance, Congress decided 2 years ago that no officer could draw retirement pay even after 30 years' service unless he had also reached his 60th birthday. Under this provision a man like Gen. Lucius D. Clay, former military governor of Germany who retired at 52 years of age, would have left the service without benefit of pension.

There were a number of exceptions to this ruling. One exception provided that a 30-year man could retire with full pay even if he was still under 60 years of age—providing he had proved himself an incompetent officer. In other words, if an officer does his work poorly enough to be judged incompetent he receives retirement pay for life. It is only those who do their work well who are released with nothing.

NO CHOICE

In my letter of resignation I observed that loyalty should go down as well as up, and it's an important principle to me. The soldier has no choice but to live up to his end of the contract with Uncle Sam. Why should Uncle Sam be entitled to break his promises once the soldier is committed to a military career?

In civilian life, a man can quit or go to court if his boss violates his contract. In the military there have been periods when you couldn't even resign your commission. My own resignation was in process exactly 1 year. At the time I submitted it, military authorities were not accepting resignations of regular officers except in hardship cases. After many months and a change of policy my resignation was accepted. But I know several officers whose resignations have been summarily rejected. For these men military life has become involuntary servitude of indefinite duration.

Congress has over past years been making frequent assaults on so-called fringe benefits—commissaries, post exchanges, dependent medical care, etc.—which in effect formed part of military pay. Because military pay has always been low in comparison with civilian salaries the Nation traditionally has tried to bridge part of the difference by providing essentials such as staple foods, drugs, etc., at virtually cost prices.

ITS OWN COMMUNITY

Also, because soldiers are frequently transferred from area to area—and this is particularly true of combat pilots in such vital duties as the Strategic Air Command—officers and men rarely have opportunity to adjust to the community around them. In fact communities have been known to be

mighty hostile to a sudden influx of military personnel. So the military tries to create on its military posts its own community—its own clubs, doctors, food stores, theaters, etc.

Let's take the fate of the commissaries—food stores which primarily benefit married enlisted men. Yielding to lobbying by retail-store associations, Congress passed legislation intended to close down the majority of these stores. By so yielding to the pressure of the retailers the Congress made plain its willingness to aid civilian merchants at the expense of individuals in the military service.

Since I entered the service, this congressional attitude has taken many forms. The post exchanges—which have always been operated without expense to the taxpayer—have become of little value because outside pressure has reduced the variety and quantity of goods available. In line with this trend the quality of military housing has declined; retired pay for the physically handicapped has been reduced; recreational and social facilities on military bases have been curtailed, and dependent medical care has been made uncertain.

The impact of all of this is clearer if you look closely at military salaries. A second lieutenant graduating from West Point receives $338.58 a month, including all allowances. This is a little more than base pay of an able-bodied deckhand. An Air Force captain with 8 years' experience, including Korea jets, draws $593.25 a month. An airline pilot with 8 years' seniority averages over $1,000.

The take-home pay of an Air Force major general is less, dollar for dollar, than it was 30 years ago. Let me repeat, in dollars—with no adjustment for the way dollars have shrunk to a fraction of their former value. Income taxes and lowering of flight pay have taken away far more of the general's salary than has been provided by infrequent pay raises.

In fact, if you adjust for the cost-of-living index, the modern-day Air Force general has less than a third of the purchasing power possessed by his counterpart of 30 years ago. And he has no expense account. Is such a statement true for the top leadership of any other profession?

ARBITRARY CHANGES

There is an interesting test of congressional attitude when you compare Uncle Sam's treatment of his soldier employee and civilian employee. Concerning the very vital matter of pay, civil-service employees back in 1951 were granted a 10-percent increase, with retroactive features. A year later Congress gave the military an increase averaging 5 percent and with no retroactive provisions. Thus the benefits granted the civilians averaged just about double those granted the men in uniform.

Sudden arbitrary changes in regulations can hurt officers and their families in ways that would probably surprise civilians not accustomed to the hazards of a profession which as part of its duty must move long distances from post to post. (In my 17 years as an officer my family moved 11 times.) Consider the impact of the recent ruling reducing from 12,000 to 9,000 pounds the amount of household furniture a senior officer and his family could transport at Government expense. Nine thousand pounds constitutes 4 rooms of furniture, and not even that if you include a refrigerator, a home freezer, or a piano.

Look what happened to the military personnel in Japan who were on duty in 1950, the year the war in Korea exploded. All the families had traveled to the Orient under the old regulations permitting the transfer of 12,000 pounds of furniture. Then in 1952, when many of the officers were fighting for their lives and ours in Korea, the weight allowances were arbitrarily reduced. On transfer back to the United States these officers had to sell their excess goods locally or bring them back at their own expense, in either case at a substantial loss.

This business of always getting the short end of the stick is probably most irritating when it results from the indifference of your own military leadership or of the Defense Department. I am thinking of an incident in my last 2 years of service when I was Chief of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research.

MATTER OF POLICY

I selected three young officers to go to Belgium for some scientific work. There was transport available to take their families, and housing was available at their destination. But my requests for orders for their families were denied. Now it is my firm belief that individuals are entitled to dignified and considerate treatment, even though they are in the uniform of their country. I, like many others in the service, like to assist my wife in the complicated business of breaking up one home and moving to the next. So I offered to delay the orders of the three officers until their families could go with them. But the Pentagon said it was a matter of policy that families could not travel as units. The husband went first and the family followed after—often long after. Why? We could never figure it out. For in the same period State Department and other Government officials were having no difficulty traveling to overseas posts with their families.

Because of prolonged overseas assignments without families, the divorce rate in the Strategic Air Command recently shot up to a record of 1 breakup in every 3 marriages. Surely there is enough separation of military families in war and cold war without inflicting it on them unnecessarily and in peacetime.

I hope that in outlining some of the grievances of the military I have not sounded petulant or one-sided. I certainly have no personal axe to grind, as I could not go back into the regular service even if I wanted to. But it is my belief that the justified problems of a military career have not been clearly placed before the American public, and that this is one reason the grievances remain. What it all comes down to is this: a profession either attracts competent people by offering a respected and worthwhile life or an attractive salary, or the promise of great reward to the successful few who reach the top. Today the military offers none of these advantages.

ARMY OF EXPERTS

Just what is the role of the professional soldier? As distinguished from the man who obtains a commission during an emergency or for a specific assignment, the professional or regular military man devotes the prime of his life and skill to preparing for the day of crisis. Today the breadth of knowledge these professionals must possess is unprecedented. They must be experts in science, management, procurement, public relations, budget, atomic energy jet engines, psychological warfare, etc.

As we learned during the occupation of both Germany and Japan, today's officers must know not only military strategy but must understand economics, the structure of government, and political theory. Remember that one of our greatest soldiers, Gen. George S. Patton, was relieved of his command in Germany not because of a military blunder but because in a thoughtless moment he commented that, "This Nazi thing—it's just like a Democratic-Republican election fight." General Patton stubbed his toe on political theory.

The importance of America's corps of regulars was pointed up in World War II. In that era just over 11,000 Regular Army officers developed a ground force that successfully fought the Germans and the Japanese on many fronts. This small nucleus of professionals trained, administered, supplied, and deployed a mammoth army that eventually totaled 930,000 officers and 12 million men.

Although public ignorance and national apathy are partly responsible for the state of affairs in the professional Military Establishment, Congress obviously cannot escape a large share of the blame. The open hostility of Congress to the regular-officer personnel has been expressed in speeches, press releases and in legislation such as I have described. There have been many instances when discriminatory legislation was voted into law without reference to the congressional committee that the Congress itself had set up for the purpose. Congressional hostility in itself would have been enough to make me desire to leave the service.

Although the congressional speechmakers invariably mention the so-called "brass"—that is, the generals and the admirals—much of the discriminatory legislation hits hardest at the young officers and enlisted men. A rider in the 1952 appropriations bill was announced to the press and public as slowing down the promotions of the "military brass."

BLAMED THE PENTAGON

The rider was so ill-conceived and poorly worded as to have little effect on senior officers, but it made a drastic impact on promotion opportunities of young officers. Several thousand Navy lieutenants would have had to be demoted if the next session of Congress had not taken prompt action to correct the more glaring errors in the original wording. But the Congressman who authored this "rider" was not at all embarrassed by his error. He blamed the Pentagon. He felt the Pentagon should have told him how to word his rider so that it would hurt only the "brass," as he had intended.

Now, as this Nation faces new crises, what are the overall effects of a policy of constantly whittling away at the military profession?

Here are some statistics that help to tell the tale.

Resignations of cadets at West Point reached 109 in 1952 and 95 in 1953, with many youngsters frankly stating that they were leaving because of better career opportunities in civilian life.

The Air Force is having difficulty retaining its skilled technicians. These airmen, who are expensively trained and invaluable in the jet age, are turning down offers of reenlistment at the rate of 200,000 a year.

Another spectacular example of young Americans' attitudes toward professional military careers is afforded by the Navy's Holloway plan. Under the plan the Navy provides financial assistance and naval training to selected college students in return for the pledge by these students to serve for 2 years after graduation, as Reserve officers. After the 2 years of Reserve training are over, the students are offered commissions in the Regular Navy. A year ago the first group of 800 Holloway plan officers completed their required 2 years. Nearly 90 percent rejected careers as Regular officers in the Navy.

The question before Congress and the people, as I see it, is whether this is the time to subtract additional prerogatives and prestige from the Regular Military Establishments, or whether the time has come to make military careers more attractive than ever.

Can we risk the kind of Military Establishment that for want of better must take in a large proportion of mediocrities?

Does America want its military leadership of tomorrow to come from the bargain basement?

More Secret Conferences Yet?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "More Secret Conferences Yet?" written by David Lawrence and published in the Washington Star on March 22, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORE SECRET CONFERENCES YET?—PROPOSALS FOR TOP-LEVEL WORLD PARLEYS VIEWED AS INCREDIBLE AFTER CASE OF YALTA, WHERE PRINCIPLES WERE TRADED

The news continues to be incredible. One would have thought, after the publication of the Yalta papers, that the world would have had its fill of secret conferences at which statesmen trade away the principles of international morality for which American boys gave their lives. But just the same, the proposal now is being made that some more "top-level" conferences be held—this time between Marshal Bulganin of Soviet Russia, President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Churchill and the Premier of France.

Senator GEORGE, of Georgia, venerable Democrat, who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has brought the idea of a top-level conference into the headlines, though he frankly says the conference shouldn't be held till after France ratifies the new European agreements to permit Germany to rearm.

This is substantially what Secretary of State Dulles has outlined as a possibility after the Paris accords with Germany are ratified. But Mr. Dulles qualifies it a bit by pointing out that America would have to see a demonstration of good faith and tangible evidence that a conference would be able to accomplish something.

Again and again the argument for top-level conferences has been advanced by political factions in Europe on the Socialist side who feel that the peace urge of the people everywhere can be satisfied politically by conferences with the Communists. The idea is that there is some magic in personal meetings between heads of states—as if the ambassadors regularly assigned to world capitals cannot negotiate when there is something to negotiate.

Prime Minister Churchill, long accustomed to the deals of diplomacy, has sponsored the conference idea on the assumption that something might possibly be accomplished. He knows, of course, that the chances of any worthwhile agreement are practically nil, but he favors a meeting anyway, if only to placate the elements in opposition to him in his own country which keep bringing up the subject. Similarly leftwing groups in Germany and France continue to harp on the proposal.

The Communist propaganda all over the world, moreover, emphasizes that it is the Western World which refuses to sit down to talk things over. This intensifies a feeling among so-called neutral nations like India that the West is bellicose and unwilling to make agreements to solve world problems.

What the Moscow government knows, of course, is that international meetings such as were held in Berlin and Geneva afford a big opportunity to divide the Western allies. For the Communists can count on the pressure of the Labor-Socialist group to keep the Conservative government of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden at odds with America. What finally results is a conference for the purpose of wearing down the adherence of the United States to moral principles.

The Yalta Conference was a secret affair. It tore to pieces the Atlantic Charter. The Congress of the United States knew nothing about its details or its giveaways until it was too late to do anything about them. It now is proposed that secret diplomacy be utilized to make a deal with the Communists and that the heads of the major powers sit down to try to appease the Soviets in their drive of world dominion. The hopes of millions of people in satellite countries would thereby be crushed. The end result might well be further manifestations of arrogance by the Communists which could only be resolved by an atomic war.

The Soviets have gained in the cold war through the conference method. They won their biggest victory at Geneva last year, and they were aided in that victory by the weakness of Great Britain and France.

The idea that 3 or 4 men can barter away the ideals of the world for expediency's sake is not new. It happened at Munich because of a craven refusal to face the facts of an aggressor's insatiable thirst for power. And yet, after the exposure of what went on at Yalta, the suggestion of more "Yalta Conferences" now is seriously advanced. It is incredible news and can be explained only on the theory that many people here and abroad have been so frightened by the Communist propaganda about atomic war that they are ready for peace at any price. This is the way to bring on world war III, just as World War II came 1 year after the Munich Conference gave encouragement to the aggressor.

More Shipbuilding on West Coast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALAN BIBLE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, on March 22, the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, delivered a very informative and factual address to the Western States Council at San Francisco, Calif. I ask unanimous consent to have a report on this address, which appeared in the New York Times, March 23, 1955, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORE SHIPBUILDING ON WEST COAST IS PREDICTED BY A SENATE LEADER—MAGNUSON TELLS 11-STATE COUNCIL HE IS "VERY HOPEFUL" THE ADMINISTRATION WILL REVISE POLICY NOW FAVORING THE EAST

(By Lawrence E. Davies)

SAN FRANCISCO, March 22.—Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, predicted today a brighter era for west coast shipbuilding.

The chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee told the Western States Council he was "very hopeful" the Administration would revise its present policy and give the West greater opportunities.

This would be done, he said, by allocation of a specific number of vessels in any Government-financed shipbuilding program to the Pacific Coast, to be bid upon by West Coast yards.

"At present," he asserted, "we are penalized 15 to 16 percent of the cost of ships, in bidding against East Coast yards, because of labor and materials prices."

Senator MAGNUSON forecast the construction on this coast of 3 to 4 big new tankers. They would be part of a program of 10 to 12 tankers soon to be authorized by the Federal Maritime Board, he said. They would be built for private operators, with the Government insuring up to 100 percent of 87½ percent of the cost and retaining the right to buy them back in 10 years.

His committee, the Senator announced, would report out tomorrow or Thursday, bills to provide:

That the Civil Aeronautics Board give permanent certification to feeder air lines, most of them west of the Mississippi River. Thirteen of them, he said, now are operating under three-year permits, giving them no opportunity for permanent planning.

That the Civil Aeronautics Board have jurisdiction over what airlines will fly to United States Territories. This would deprive the President of the right of veto over Board decisions in this respect.

EASING OF PROBLEMS SEEN

Senator MAGNUSON said the White House welcomed this prospective legislation because of the headaches it would save President Eisenhower. Pressures were tremendous, he indicated, prior to recent issuance of Presidential directives as to what lines should fly to Hawaii and Alaska. Actually, the present law was not intended to give the President the right to say what lines should operate to our Territories, but only to foreign countries, he said.

The Senator defended subsidies, both for steamship and airlines. Total subsidies to the whole American merchant marine this year, including some back obligations, did not exceed $60 million. He said, adding:

"That literally is less than the subsidy we pay for peanuts."

He told the council members, who include executives of State, county, and local chambers of commerce of the 11 Western States, that unpublished census figures he had just seen in Washington gave these estimates:

A present population of 23,400,000 for the Western States, compared with 19,600,000 in 1950. This 19 percent increase is more than double the national growth rate.

A population in 1960 of 30 million, or a gain of more than 28 percent in the next 5 years. This would be double the estimated national rate of growth, he said.

TRANSPORT CRISIS CITED

"The East is in a deep freeze on transportation problems," Mr. MAGNUSON declared. "We can't afford to let that happen to us, with these great problems we face accompanying enormous population gains. We ought to have a political-economic revolt on questions affecting us in a nonpartisan way."

The council adopted resolutions reiterating its positions on shipbuilding, mining, air transportation and other matters after hearing testimony on these subjects.

The 134th Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. MCNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement

prepared by me on the 134th anniversary of Greek independence be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MCNAMARA

Tomorrow will be the 134th anniversary of Greek independence. It was on March 25, 1821, that the Greek people began their struggle for freedom in the modern world. As His Excellency, the Ambassador of Greece to the United States, George V. Melas, said just a few days ago, "The 25th of March could readily be compared with that other great date in history, the Fourth of July. For similar ideals, that same craving for liberty, that same yearning for independence, that same determined love of democratic institutions have been the bases of the erection of both countries, America and Greece, into independent states."

The contributions Greece has made to the pattern of western civilization cannot be overestimated. Plato and Aristotle in the world of philosophy, Homer and Sophocles in the realm of literature, Phidias in the field of architecture, Euclid in science and Pericles in the field of statecraft are only a few of the examples of Hellenic influence on our history.

As the Greek people fought against tyranny in the 19th century, so too in this country, they battled courageously against Communist attacks in Korea. As an American I am proud that our country, at the initiative of President Truman in 1947, sent military and economic aid to help the Greeks in their struggle to recover liberty for themselves. I am glad to recognize Greece as our staunch ally in the Mediterranean region and as a member of NATO.

Here in the United States, Americans of Greek birth and blood have continued their heritage of leadership and have enriched our Nation by their activities both as individual citizens and through their great fraternal organization, the Order of Ahepa.

I am sure that we are all glad to join the valiant Greek nation and people of Hellenic origin everywhere in the celebration of Greek Independence Day.

The Columbia River Dams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the completion of Bonneville Dam in 1937 laid the foundation for the opening of a vast new inland waterway down the Columbia River, with river tonnage increasing 30 times over the last 18 years. The completed McNary and Bonneville Dams, along with the Dalles and John Day Dams yet to be completed, will open the Columbia River to ocean and river tugs to Pasco, Wash., the year round. The Columbia Basin irrigation project has greatly increased the need and use of this great inland waterway. The great wisdom which prompted the construction of the Columbia River dams, planned and begun during the Roosevelt Administration, has shown itself once more in the development and use of our great inland waterway.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most informative editorial from the Sunday Oregonian of March 20, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIFEBLOOD OF COMMERCE

Bonneville and McNary Dams have removed some of the thrills that steamboatmen once knew on the upper Columbia. The Dalles Dam will remove some more, when it is finished within the next 3 years. John Day Dam, above The Dalles, will complete a planned series of pools that will back up water from Bonneville to the lower Snake.

Today the Columbia is carrying immense loads of cargo, not by steamer but by diesel tugs and barges. Through Bonneville locks last year went 1,377,819 tons of goods, including 642,159 tons of petroleum products. In 1937, the year before Bonneville was finished, the total through Cascade locks was only 52,473 tons. This is about the same as the annual quantity of anhydrous ammonia alone which Shell Chemical Corp. and Tidewater-Shaver Barge Lines plan to carry by ocean and river tugs and barges from Pittsburg, Calif., through Portland to the new distributing plant dedicated the other day at Pasco, Wash.

When the Dalles Dam is finished, it will be possible to move the 252-foot seagoing ammonia barge, Ammonia Mariner, which can carry nearly 1,700 tons at a time, all the way from California to Pasco 4 months of the year. When John Day Dam is built the seagoing rig will be able to reach Pasco the year round. Now the load is transferred at Portland to a specially constructed river ammonia barge for shipment to Pasco.

Meanwhile a trip down the Columbia on a tug and barge rig, which a representative of this page was able to make recently, is both a revelation of the Columbia's importance as a natural artery of commerce, and an adventure which still contains some of the thrills experienced by pioneer steamboatmen.

From the windows of the high pilot house of the tug *Rampant*, not only the river itself was revealed as a vital carrier of commerce. From midstream one sees also the railroad on either side of the river, over which long trains roll on the easy water-level grade, and the highways over which trucks carry commodities and supplies to and from the rich Inland Empire. The river and its two banks all are part of the artery which gives Portland and other lower river communities a big trade advantage.

The adventure comes from riding a 90-foot tug and a 158-foot barge—nearly 250 feet of powerfully engined metal—through the rapids and narrow passages between rocks which have challenged rivermen for a century. Capt. Wayne (Bud) Bateman named off the stretches of fast water and cuts through the rock as he steered his vessel through them. Squally, Canoe, Indian, John Day, Hell Gate were some of the names that boatmen over the years have given these difficult sections.

One fast-water stretch is known as Miller's Drift. The story is that the name of an old-time pilot on the Columbia, Charlie Miller, became associated with this sharp turn below Blalock island because he stopped the paddles and drifted around it. The tug boats of today slide around the bad spots. It takes skill and years of experience to know when to stear off a range so that the current will swing the long tow just right to avoid the rocks.

All manner of transportation appears to be prospering in the Inland Empire. At Pasco, near the two large anhydrous ammonia spheres built for Shell Chemical Co., Tidewater-Shaver has a farm of 40 petroleum tanks, other ammonia-storage facilities, and cement tanks, all built within the past 3 years at a cost of several millions of dollars. Oil pipelines from Utah and to Spokane are tied in with the petroleum tanks. Rail cars and trucks distribute the various products over a wide area in the Inland Empire. There are many other upriver installations also. Inland Transportation Co. operates a barge service of comparable size. Increased barge and pipeline transportation does not appear to have hurt the railroads. The Northern Pacific is constructing a $5 million hump freight yard at Pasco.

The transportation investments are indicative of the effect the Columbia River Basin irrigation project is having on the Northwest's economy. The ammonia, of course, is used to considerable extent on the constantly growing irrigated area, as well as on wheatlands, to add nitrogen to the soil, and to improve and increase the yield.

The consumption of gasoline and oil is tremendous. Despite the newly come pipeline, barging of petroleum products through Bonneville locks increased in 1954 over 1953, from 582,242 to 642,159 tons. Last year's barged petroleum was not far from the peak of 749,991 tons in 1952.

Growth can be expected as land continues to be placed under water in the Columbia Basin. Portland will be affected favorably as it comes. For the Columbia with its barges, railroads, and highways make our city the natural outlet and inlet for the wide country that is shedding its sagebrush for crops.

Diplomatic Papers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Diplomatic Papers," written by Irving Brant and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 22, 1955. Mr. Brant is a distinguished historian, and the article is most interesting and timely.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIPLOMATIC PAPERS—HISTORICAL POLITICAL WEAPON

To get a proper perspective on Secretary Dulles' release of the Yalta papers, one needs to go back to a time when diplomatic dispatches were the principal weapon in American politics. That was in the first decade of the 19th century, when politics and diplomacy were really boiling in the United States and the world was as much of a madhouse as it is today.

In that decade—near the high point of Napoleon's colossal power—England and France were engaged in a hot war with each other and each of them in a cold war with the United States. Charges of French influence were hurled at leaders of the Democratic Party (then called Republican) as zestfully as 20 years of treason is today. Diplomatic dispatches were held back or published with one eye on Europe and the other on American politicians and newspapers, but with differences more important than the resemblances to the Dulles pattern.

The campaign literature which was used to elevate James Madison to the Presidency in 1808 consisted of diplomatic letters, about half of them written by himself as Secretary of State. These letters were given to Congress and the press in two batches—one of them so voluminous that it filled the newspapers for 2 months. And all were written within a year, not held back 10 years. However, everything that would have betrayed confidential talks with European officials was pared out, as such material was in a dozen other releases of papers by the Presidents in that era—releases regularly made in connection with their annual messages to Congress.

Individual Senators were as irresponsible and unethical then as now. To emphasize the wickedness of Bonaparte and the "treason" of Democratic officials, Federalist Senators surreptitiously secured the publication of dispatches from Paris sent to the Senate in confidence—an action which made Minister Armstrong's position at Napoleon's court almost untenable. Again, a British diplomatic dispatch mysteriously appeared in the American press. It looked as if British Minister Erskine had slipped it to a newspaper to hurt the President. But he had a simple and convincing explanation. To protect himself against Federalist criticism, he had shown the dispatch in confidence to two Senators of that party and one of them secretly copied it. Such incidents, however, were not the official acts of responsible officers of government.

Had some counterpart of the Yalta papers been given to the press in 1810, with all the circumstances corresponding to the course pursued by Mr. Dulles, the manner of it—not the presumed motive—would have shocked the country. It would have been shocking on four accounts, all deeply grounded in American politics:

1. Not one of the Presidents who held office in that decade—John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison—would have dreamed of disclaiming responsibility for the action of his Secretary of State. Any one of them might have called it a Cabinet action, in which he shared, but to say publicly that he had no part in it would have lowered him in the eyes of every American.

2. Lumping Presidents and Cabinets together, not one of the Executives in that decade would have published such a set of papers under pressure from Congress, or to gain political advantage, if such action adversely affected the country's interest or its international standing.

3. Not one of the Secretaries of State in that period—not even the incompetent Robert Smith—would have said at one moment that the papers would not be released and released them the next.

4. Not one of those Executives would have released the papers in opposition to the wishes of a friendly European statesman concerned in them, or even, one could safely say, in violation of the amenities towards an unfriendly statesman.

The year 1810 is taken as an example because such an issue arose at that time. In the preceding fall, President Madison cut off all diplomatic relations with British Minister Francis Jackson—in effect ordering him out of the country—because he felt personally insulted by that Minister's conduct. The political heat that followed was terrific—Federalists supporting Jackson and Democrats upholding the President. And everybody asked: How would England react to the dismissal?

Sailing ships sped eastward across the Atlantic and beat their way slowly back. Four months passed without a word. Crucial spring elections lay just ahead—elections of State legislatures which would choose United States Senators.

Then, on March 12, the administration's chief newspaper organ published a little item. The Secretary of State had received a private note from the American Minister in London, saying that Lord Wellesley "did not attempt to vindicate Mr. Jackson," but admitted he was in the wrong and would recall him.

Here was a statement which upset the Federalist election campaign. They called the letter a forgery, a thing which did not exist. Produce it, they cried. The House of Representatives, coerced by the minority, passed a resolution asking the President to transmit late dispatches from London. Madison replied that none but this private note had come, and "personal considerations of a delicate nature" forbade its disclosure.

After Congress adjourned the cries of forgery became a veritable scream when it turned out that Wellesley, in recalling Jackson, gave him praise instead of censure. Every political consideration now demanded publication of the private note. Continued silence would cast doubt on the President's integrity and imperil Democratic chances in the congressional election.

Why not publish this brief record of a confidential talk, which furnished evidence that a British Foreign Minister had said one thing and done the opposite in a controversy with the United States? Why not add American Minister Pinknew's later statement that Wellesley had changed his attitude when he learned that the Federalist Party in the United States was supporting the ousted British diplomat? There were two reasons for not doing so: It would weaken Pinkney's position in London and would be a discourtesy to the British Foreign Minister.

The President said nothing. The Federalists were still crying "forgery" when Madison received this personal note from Pinkney:

"I am glad you refused to lay my private letter before the Congress. The publication of it, which must necessarily have followed, would have produced serious embarrassments."

In that same decade, European diplomats called the United States a nation ruled by public opinion. So it was, but it was a nation ruled by the opinion of an informed public, wise in political ways and contemptuous of men who lacked the nerve to stand firm against political clamor.

Program of Northeast Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in order to show that a valient effort is being made by the leading citizens of the coalfields of northeastern Pennsylvania to help solve the economic problems of the area, I sumbit the following statement of program of the Northeast Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission on the occasion of a visit to the Atomic Energy Commission in Washington today:

REGIONAL OBSERVATIONS ENTERED BEFORE THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION AND THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY, CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, BY THE NORTHEAST PENNSYLVANIA INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION, SEEKING CERTAIN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CONSIDERATION FOR DISTRESSED AREAS IN PENNSYLVANIA AND ELSEWHERE, MARCH 24, 1955, WASHINGTON, D. C.

(NOTE.—Release of atomic energy has changed the whole of mankind; imaginative industrial development through atomic energy can insure stable manpower conditions throughout the Nation.)

I. DISCUSSION

In a copywrited story in the March 18, 1955, issue of U. S. News & World Report, entitled the "Atomic Revolution Is Here," John J. Hopkins, president of the General Dynamics Corp., builders of the first atom submarine, declared: "There is a tremendous economic revolution involved. And we've got to look at it as much more of a revolution than the industrial revolution was, because you are dealing with many more hundreds of millions of people. You had a handful of people to deal with in the old days of the industrial revolution. Now you have a really serious situation."

We are all aware of the universal and national importance of our nuclear future. We know and feel, as Mr. Hopkins, that our economic and social future is dependent upon atomic energy.

It is this awareness that prompts a civic group from northeastern Pennsylvania to make these observations.

(a) Future industrial development: Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, there appears latitude for AEC to continue the rapid pace of Government research and production and authorization to additional installations. Likewise, the congressional effort to stimulate greater private industry participation under the act also provides many new and expansive industrial development opportunities.

(b) Manpower in northeastern Pennsylvania: In a population pool of 1 million people, there are upwards to 100,000 idle but willing workers. In 5 counties alone, there is in excess of 12 percent unemployment, thereby listing this area in the Department of Labor's "very substantial labor surplus" category, or on the technical map, a class 4-B region.

Last May 11, our Northeast Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission pleaded with President Eisenhower for some Federal assistance to alleviate the growing economic paralysis that is gripping our section of Pennsylvania as well as other distressed areas in the Nation.

On August 10, Under Secretary of Commerce Walter Williams, who coordinated President Eisenhower's recommendations to NPIDC, reported among other objectives that "it is the policy of the Atomic Energy Commission to give consideration to labor-distressed areas when letting contracts, and they have instructed the prime contractors to give the same consideration when letting subcontracts."

II. PROBLEM

Our problem before both the AEC and the joint congressional committee is simply this—we want to link the industrial development of nuclear energy with our heavy unemployment surplus and substantially reduce the great number of thousands of our idle workers. We feel that employment through atomic energy projects—government or private, or subcontracts—holds great social, economic and military significance. We know that a nation is weakened where great pockets of chronic idleness continue to exist when the Government can provide assistance and guidance. We are not making this plea without calling attention to the great community efforts that are being made in this region toward industrial diversification—accomplishing a shift from coal mining, an industry that is now being further impaired by thorough increased utilization of atomic power.

III. CONCLUSION

We ask the Atomic Energy Commission and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy to give "distressed areas" utmost consideration in planning and executing all future Government projects. We

ask both groups to implement the President's recommendation by positively suggesting to all prime and subcontractors or licensees that they consider "distressed areas" and in our particular situation, northeastern Pennsylvania, when they contemplate new construction and placement of additional installations for both research and production.

We are in great need of assistance and we feel that our Government's atomic agencies can, in a large measure, provide at least a partial solution to our unemployment problem—one whose "chronic condition" deserves the immediate attention of the research and industrial development groups of the nuclear energy program.

BERNARD B. BLIER,
Chairman.
HARRY L. MAGEE,
Vice Chairman.

Yalta Repudiated by Release of Documents, Lane Declares

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an article entitled "Yalta Repudiated by Release of Documents, Lane Declares." The article is based on a statement made by our former distinguished Ambassador, Arthur Bliss Lane, and was published in the Washington Evening Star of March 22, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YALTA REPUDIATED BY RELEASE OF DOCUMENTS, LANE DECLARES—EX-DIPLOMAT SAYS ACT SIGNALS END OF APPEASEMENT

(By L. Edgar Prina)

Former Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane said today that publication of the Yalta papers is an implied repudiation of that wartime Big Three agreement by the United States.

He asserted that "this thought, if properly conveyed" by the Voice of America and our overseas information programs, could have a profound effect behind the Iron Curtain.

"It would indicate to those sad and silent peoples that the United States no longer stands for a policy of appeasement, containment, or peaceful coexistence, whatever that last expression means," he said.

Mr. Lane was named Ambassador to Poland by President Roosevelt in 1944 and served until 1947. He then retired, after 31 years in the Foreign Service, so that he could speak out against what he calls "the gravity of the crime of Yalta."

INDEPENDENT IN POLITICS

He has been especially concerned with the effect the February 1945 agreement had on the Polish people. His book, I Saw Poland Betrayed, was published early in 1948. He is an avowed political independent, although a vigorous supporter of the Eisenhower foreign policy.

According to the former envoy, publication of the Yalta papers has this educational value: "It will teach the American people that the executive branch should not be allowed to take action in changing frontiers and peoples without the consent of the Senate."

Mr. Lane's principal criticisms of the Yalta Agreement are that the United States signed a pact "putting millions of Poles into the Soviet Union" (by changing that nation's frontiers) and "giving Poland a Communist government without consent of the Polish people."

LACKS DEMOCRATIC GUARANTIES

While the Soviet Union pledged free elections for Poland at Yalta, Mr. Lane said that the United States did not exact the guaranties to assure such a democratic proceses.

"It is not enough to say that Stalin violated the agreements," Mr. Lane declared.

He recalled that he pointed out to Secretary of State Stettinius in December 1944, that the United States was contributing millions of dollars' worth of military equipment to Great Britain and the Soviet Union and had the most powerful army, navy, and air force in the world. Therefore, he told the Secretary, the United States should and could see that the Polish people were given the chance to select their own government.

PEOPLE WERE STUPEFIED

Mr. Lane branded as preposterous the Soviet concession to broaden the Moscow-dominated Lublin regime in Poland by including other political parties. He said that "once you have a Communist core in the government you have a nation controlled by Communists."

He disclosed that he found the Polish people stupefied by Yalta, adding:

"They wondered why the principles of the Atlantic Charter—for self-determination by peoples—were violated by that pact."

The U. S. S. R., while not an original party to the Atlantic Charter, later said they agreed to its principles.

The retired diplomat said that he hoped the American people realized "that we cannot give up certain basic principles • • • merely for the sake of expediency. • • • We cannot sell into slavery millions of people or be a party to the wiping out of freedom of the press, religion or thought."

Expatriated Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 5186, which provides for certified copies of citizenship to be furnished to repatriated American citizens who voted in an Italian election or plebiscite during the years 1946 and 1948.

Under the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act, those citizens who so voted may be repatriated under certain conditions, but under the provisions of law they are not entitled to certified copies of their citizenship once repatriated. There are now thousands of persons awaiting this documentation which would enable them to be registered voters, or to qualify for employment where citizenship is essential, and for countless other activities in which positive American citizenship must be established.

There appears to me to be excellent justification and a basis for this legislation caused by the recollection that great numbers of prominent and nationally known groups and civic organizations put on a tremendous campaign between 1946 and 1948, for American citizens in Italy, to cast a vote against the Communist candidates in these elections and plebiscites.

Through the dissemination of millions of letters, telegrams and circulars and other material to Italy, the Christian Democrat Party led by Alcide de Gasperi was able to defeat the Communist and other radical left wing parties in the opposition and preserve Italy to the free world. One such organization in the United States, the Order Sons of Italy, during its annual convention in California in 1946, was one of the spearheads in the nationwide efforts to defeat the Italian Communists. Many thousands of dollars contributed by this organization and its members were used during these 2 years to contact friends, relatives, and countrymen and urge them to cast a vote against the Communist candidate.

There were also many broadcasts made to Italy during this time as a direct appeal to Americans to vote in the elections. Certain officials of the United States Government did, in fact, appear on these broadcasts in strong support of this move.

Following such action, those who had participated in these elections lost their American rights but they were later repatriated by legislative action. My bill would enable repatriated citizens to obtain upon request, an exact copy of the certificates of citizenship which are supplied to the Department of Justice and State Department. This would end a great deal of confusion which exists today for these people, and would entitle them upon request to immediate documentary proof furnished by our Government of their American nationality.

I trust that the appropriate committee to which this legislation will be referred will take immediate action and that this legislation will receive the wholehearted support of my colleagues.

Greek Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with my colleagues to once again, on Greek Independence Day, pay a tribute to a gallant people.

Tomorrow, March 25, is the 134th anniversary of Greek independence. The great Hellenic culture has had a profound and lasting effect on the freedom-loving nations of the western world. The Greeks, as did the Americans, fought hard and long for their independence, and they are ready and willing to fight just as hard and long to retain it. We Americans are proud to have the Greek Nation as a true and stanch ally in the continuing struggle for freedom for all

peace-loving people throughout the world.

The history of the valiant Greek Nation reveals that its life has not been any easy one. Greece maintained its freedom from foreign domination from 1827 to 1941, and the world will not soon forget the heroic struggles of the Greek people against fascism, and how they overcame great odds in driving back Mussolini's army in 1940. When the Nazis joined the fray, however, the Greek Nation was overwhelmed, its people subjugated, its earth scorched, and its economic resources systematically destroyed by Hitler's hordes.

The Greek Nation was once again liberated, through the assistance of the British in 1944, but over 400,000 Greeks died of starvation during the period of this ruthless occupation.

After World War II, liberated Greece found its chief ports in ruins, three-fourths of its merchant fleet destroyed, the vital Corinth Canal blocked by mines, major rail lines torn up, and with more than 1,500 villages and towns destroyed. Thousands of people were homeless, and living standards reached an almost impossible low level.

It was in this moment of Greek national weakness that the Communists struck. Unable to win a strong voice in the Greek Government, the Reds formed guerrilla bands, to terrorize the villagers and to prevent them from carrying on their essential task of rehabilitation. This Communist move was intended to deal a death blow to the war-torn economy of Greece and to force the country to accept its orders from the Kremlin.

Early in March of 1947 the Greek Government appealed to the United States for assistance. With a great example of courage and foresight, and in full recognition of not only the humanitarian needs of the Greek people, but also of the danger of international communism to the security of the free world, and to the United States, President Truman responded boldly, with the initiation of what is now known as the Truman doctrine for Greece and Turkey.

The President then secured from Congress his initial request for $300 million which went into guns and equipment for the Greek army, as well as foodstuffs and other necessities for the population, and the Greek people were again on the way to the establishment of decency and freedom.

Aided by an American military mission, a revitalized Greek army defeated the Communists and established peace and order in October of 1949. Continued United States aid has helped rebuild Greece's economy and has enabled the Greek people to strengthen their army against another Communist attempt to seize power.

It is also significant that the Greeks, having defeated the Communists at home, had a military unit fighting with other United Nations forces in Korea.

Greece and the United States share defense responsibilities as NATO partners. With some 200,000 men under arms, Greece has a larger percentage of its population in active military service than any other European NATO nation, and this force, we are told, can be doubled on short notice.

Today Greece stands as a fortress of freedom in the Mediterranean. She is of great importance, strategically and geographically, to our own national defense and security. She is a true and staunch ally, and the investments of the United States in this cradle of western civilization were wise and judicious. Our firm stand and financial assistance to Greece has resulted in uniting Greece, not only internally but also with other freedom loving countries in their stand against aggressor forces.

Here, in our own country, the Greek-American community has made a great contribution to our culture, to our economy, and to our democratic spirit. We owe a great debt to the Greek mind and to the Greek spirit.

On this 134th anniversary of the independence of Greece, we join in its celebration and hope that this anniversary will always be celebrated in peace and freedom.

The Farm Problem and Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am happy to direct the attention of the House to strong and unwavering opposition of the Illinois Agricultural Association to H. R. 12. I hope that every Member will read the following sane analysis made by Mr. Otto Steffey, president of the Illinois Agricultural Association, and note how unqualifiedly this great agricultural association of Illinois goes on record in favor of continuing flexible price supports:

ILLINOIS AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill., March 21, 1955

Hon. MARGUERITE S. CHURCH,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN CHURCH: The House Agricultural Committee has voted out House Resolution No. 12. It is my understanding that the bill will be discussed on the floor and acted on within the next few days. The bill contains in part the following features:

1. Provides 90 percent mandatory price supports for wheat, cotton, corn, peanuts and rice through 1957.

2. Provides a choice of two systems for supporting wheat prices:

A. Return to 90 percent supports with marketing quotas—the same program which was in operation prior to the Agricultural Act of 1954.

B. A multiple price plan whereby bread grain would be supported at 100 percent of parity and wheat for export and feed at some lower level.

3. Provides for raising the minimum level at which dairy prices must be supported to 80 percent of parity.

In regard to point No. 1, concerning the continuance of 90 percent of parity on basic commodities we have had such a program since the war. It has tended to stimulate production while depressing markets, has led to the greatest surplus situation in the history of the country and, at the same time, it has failed to maintain farm prices. In the light of this unfavorable experience it seems to me that we should give the 1954 Agricultural Act an opportunity to work. You are, of course, aware that nothing has yet been sold under this program.

Point No. 2, providing for a choice of two systems for supporting wheat prices, in my opinion would encourage further unneeded production. The current wheat surplus of 1,100 million bushels (quantity held by CCC, both inventory and loans, as of January 31, 1955) is one of the most baffling problems before us today. If this bill should pass and large quantities of wheat were released on the feed market, it would create disastrous conditions for corn and feed grain producers. As you perhaps know, grain prices are already weak because of extremely heavy supplies.

In regard to point No. 3, concerning 80-percent support on dairy products, it appears that milk production and demand are currently moving toward a better balance but we are still in a surplus situation. It would be unwise at this time to take any action which would reverse this trend.

In the interest of a strong and prosperous agriculture in Illinois, I trust you will use your utmost influence to prevent the passage of this bill. This action would be in complete accord with the policy of this organization as established through 1,200 local policy development meetings held over the State of Illinois during 1954 and adopted by the voting delegates at the annual meeting in November.

Sincerely yours,
ILLINOIS AGRICULTURE ASSOCIATION,
OTTO STEFFEY, *President.*

Comments by Hon. John J. Dempsey, of New Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD comments of my colleague, the Honorable JOHN J. DEMPSEY, in his weekly newsletter for release to the press tomorrow on the subject of the Yalta documents:

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM YOUR NATION'S CAPITOL
(By JOHN J. DEMPSEY, Congressman from New Mexico)

WASHINGTON, March 24.—Nearly three centuries ago one William Shakespeare provided the most fitting title for the now subsiding Yalta papers episode in the Nation's Capital—Much Ado About Nothing—at least about nothing new. It is a combined comedy and tragedy. The bungling, inept handling of the whole affair by the State Department, coupled with the all too apparent political motive which inspired it, has backfired as far as American public opinion is concerned. Only the political alarmists sought to blow up the revelations to elephantine proportions. Their efforts have been providing the comedy but have resulted also in tragedy insofar as this Nation's world relationships are concerned. There is no question, in my

opinion, but what our diplomacy has suffered a serious setback.

Secretary of State Dulles, who admits there is nothing new in the disclosures, allowed himself to be maneuvered into a leak of the Yalta records—somewhat expurgated, he explains—to a New York newspaper. He could not have been naive enough to believe, having ordered dozens of copies of the 500,000-word Yalta dossier runoff for confidential distribution, that such a leak would not occur. If he was he should not be Secretary of State of our great Nation. He knew it would leak and that the demands of his political cohorts would be satisfied.

What the Secretary of State, of all men in our public life, did not appear to foresee was the worldwide repercussions that would follow. Sir Winston Churchill and the British people in particular waxed angry. They had a right to do so. The loss of confidence we have suffered in Britain alone may well be incalculable. The facts of the Yalta agreement were known to the British, as well as to our own people, but the informal—and admittedly rather tactless—discussions among the Big Three leaders at Yalta were not common property. Making them so accomplishes no peace-advancing purpose. It has nullified in no small part the friendships we have been spending billions of dollars to build up in all of the free nations.

Sir Winston also charges that the released Yalta papers are erroneous in many instances. That is understandable in view of the admitted fact that they are not stenographic transcripts, but rewrites from hurriedly made notes and jottings from memory—a very fallible source. Their value, therefore, is dubious.

The grins in the Kremlin are wide, indeed, over the loss of face America has suffered by this diplomatic faux pas. The Communists are enjoying the comedy and chortling over the new strain we have placed on our free-world relationships, not to mention the threat to congressional bipartisan accord on foreign affairs. My own conclusion is that Mr. Dulles' State Department efforts could be better devoted to keeping alive the spark of international peace rather than snuffing it out in the ashes of the dead past.

Growing Nationalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PERKINS BASS
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Concord Monitor, Concord, N. H., of March 22, 1955, entitled "Growing Nationalism." This is a timely and thought-provoking editorial on one of the biggest and most important issues facing the country today, namely, international trade:

GROWING NATIONALISM

The Congress still has not completed final action upon extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act, and shortly it must take up consideration of revisions negotiated in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, better known as GATT.

These two instruments are the foundation of a conscious effort by the Government to establish some rules or principles as to the imposition of tariffs in order to remove this problem from legislative logrolling. Long experience revealed the inadequacies of trying to write tariff schedules in the Halls of Congress. That way the national interest came last.

Neither the Reciprocal Trade Act nor GATT are perfect organisms. Their past acceptance, and their present status, is based upon exceptions to the general rules established, whereby they are made sufficiently acceptable to be approved by the Congress. There are signs that these exceptions may not at present be enough to win their extension.

Should these two instruments of trade and tariffs be defeated in the present Congress a backward step will have been taken which can become an additional breeder of world conflicts.

Trade between nations upon this earth is still beset by many problems. A principal irritant is the nonnegotiability of many currencies. Outside the Iron Curtain there are dollar and sterling areas, and little else. Many nations still have multiple exchange rates. Economic sanctions operate as part of the cold war. Our own subsidy of agricultural products for export is an exception to the general rule. Commonwealth concession not granted to third nations is a British exception. Import and export controls other than tariffs are more or less commonplace.

Despite this confusion the situation is more stable than it would be without the two implements whose extension is being considered at this session of the Congress.

Normally, trade is the principal consideration of international diplomacy. If international trading arrangements are satisfactory as between nations the dangers of war are greatly reduced. So is the tendency to resort to political extremes involved in totalitarian policies adopted by "have not" nations.

Without some general rules international trade becomes almost anarchial. It is every nation for itself. Strange alliances become commonplace. Unrealistic balances of power are generated. Unsound economies are developed by almost all nations. Corrective and progressive national economic development is delayed everywhere. Politics gain priority over national productivity.

Unfortunately, political pressures adverse to maintenance of an ever-increasing orderliness in world trade, with mutual benefits to all nations, seem to be on the rise again in this country.

Part of this pressure is a result of the failure of those associated with declining industries to recognize the impact of new industrial forces which are, as they always have, constantly expanded the economy of this Nation. So the attempt is made to save what must inevitably recognize change by international trade barriers, whereas such barriers will not prevent oil and natural gas from causing further declines in the use of coal, for example, or the use of substitute materials devised by chemistry as a substitute for cotton or woolen goods.

This is a strange Nation. It has undergone more changes than any other on earth in less time. But the vast adjustments it has made in this perpetual process of development of the highest standard of living upon this earth are now being forgotten in more and more quarters and the resistance to further expansion is increasing in a false effort to preserve the status quo in industry after industry.

This is the sort of reaction which comes following periods of excessive international strain. It is a nationalistic reaction not uncommon elsewhere on this earth, but of which we are critical except as we ourselves indulge in it.

The Independence Day of Byelorussia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on March 25, 1955, Americans of Byelorussian origin and Byelorussian immigrants in the United States are solemnly celebrating the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Byelorussian National Republic.

Byelorussia, a country of 250,000 square miles and 18 million population, is situated in eastern part of Europe, between Poland and Russia—Ukraine, Lithuania, and Latvia. Byelorussia has become better known to the West as Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, a charter member of the United Nations since 1945.

In the past Byelorussia was an independent nation and played a great part in the medieval history of eastern Europe. Under the conditions of the time Byelorussia appeared under the name of Kryvia and later on—the 13th century—it was known as a Grand Duchy of Lithuania; since 1795 forcibly incorporated into imperial Russia.

For several times Byelorussians have tried to reestablish their sovereignty; in 1912 with the help of Napoleon, in 1831 and 1863 by armed uprising in alliance with Polish insurgents. With the start of the First World War Byelorussians again took the opportunity to liberate themselves from the Russian slavery. Through the coordinated effort of all Byelorussian organizations a general national representation, consisting of 1,167 delegates from all the corners of the country, gathered in Minsk on December 14, 1917. This first all Byelorussian Congress became the actual constituent assembly of Byelorussia, it elected the Rada—Council—and its Presidium as its executive bodies, which have assumed the responsibility for the fate of the nation.

On March 25, 1918, Rada of the Byelorussian National Republic solemnly proclaimed the independence of Byelorussia and published its third constitutional act containing the official text of the proclamation. That was the birthday of the new Byelorussian State under the name of Byelorussian National Republic.

Byelorussian Government quickly set to work to expand its activities in all fields of the national life. In spite of great difficulties connected with the war and the devastation of the country the Government made significant advances in the fields of economy, defense, education, culture, social protection, etc. Byelorussian National Republic was recognized de jure by Austria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine and de facto by Bulgaria, Denmark, France, and Yugoslavia.

The new republic could not resist for too long a time the pressure of Russian

imperialism without any help from outside and soon fell the victim of new occupation, this time by Red army. It was finally liquidated by the Riga Treaty of March 1921, and its territory divided between Poland and U. S. S. R.

The Russian sponsored B. S. S. R. took her place, created on January 1, 1919, in Smolensk as a Communist counterweight to the democratic republic established in Minsk in 1918. This union republic with its puppet government is still in existence within the structure of the Soviet Union.

Ever since the Russian Communists took over the country its population has been subjected to a violent and ruthless persecution for its unabating love of freedom—in soviet official language, "national-democratic" deviation—in addition to the "normal," social, and economic experimentation and irresponsible manipulation with people's property and life by Communists. But in spite of this, and in spite of thwarted uprisings, trials, shootings and deportations, the people of Byelorussia did not accept the government forced upon them, they still resist it.

The legal Government of Byelorussian National Republic was compelled to go into exile in order to continue the struggle against communism for restoration of the Byelorussian democratic independent state. After 34 years of difficult life the Government is still in existence and leads the best forces of the nation in the fight for freedom and justice.

The Yalta Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting and truthful editorial on the release of the Yalta papers which appeared in the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., Monday, March 21, 1955:

THE YALTA PAPERS

Release of the mammoth 500,000-word State Department account of the famous Big Three conference at Yalta in early 1945 likely will fuel more controversies than it settles.

For years some Republicans have been assailing the historic meeting as a "sell-out" to the Russians which opened the floodgates to the spread of communism across Asia and Eastern Europe.

They have demanded to see the full record. Now we have all the record that was kept except for a few parts deleted by the Department in the national interest or to avoid undue offense to certain nations.

This was the conference, remember, at which President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill handed Premier Stalin the Japanese-held Kurile Islands, the southern half of Sakhalin Island, and large rights in China, particularly Soviet access to the warm-water Manchurian port of Dairen.

In addition, plans were made for the postwar partition of Poland, and for establishment of democratic regimes in other eastern European lands, now under Soviet domination.

The documents do not appear to support the allegations of a sellout. Even hastily scanned, they make it abundantly clear that the great aim at Yalta was to bring World War II to the quickest possible end and with the least cost in allied lives.

Toward that goal, American military and diplomatic officials were convinced it was absolutely essential to bring Russia into the war against Japan. They felt it would take 18 months after Germany's surender to subdue Japan. Actually, Japan fell 3 months after V–E Day.

Time and again, before, during and after Yalta, the record shows that when Mr. Roosevelt and others felt concern over puzzling Russian attitudes and behavior, the military advised caution, advised doing nothing to upset the prospect of drawing Russia into the Far Eastern war.

At Yalta the United States representatives knew we might have an A-bomb by August 1, 1945, but they could not be sure. Not even the scientists knew it would work until one did actually explode in New Mexico on July 15, 1945, 5 months after Yalta.

Thus all war calculations left the A-bomb out of account. This is the context in which the Yalta concessions must be read.

So long as we believed we needed Russia against Japan, we were in a weak bargaining position at Yalta. As it was, we resisted some Soviet demands, but we felt we had to give enough to assure Soviet entry into the Asian war.

It is a tragic fact that it turned out we did not need Russia. But it has not been shown that this misjudgment was a deliberate sellout. Our leaders were acting always on the military's advice. The documents make plain that Alger Hiss, former State Department officer convicted of lying about Communist affiliations, played only a notetaker's role at the conference.

Evidently we had poor intelligence or badly evaluated intelligence on the matter of Japan's capacity to continue fighting.

Other than this, the great fault at Yalta seems to have been not only our misplaced trust in Russia (a fault shared by millions at that time), but the rather glib, naive notion of our leaders that they and their wartime allies could in effect make over the world in a week's time.

Greek Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of Greek Independence Day, March 25, it is well that we salute our many great Americans of Greek origin and to point out that the United States of America and Greece have always been closely bound by ideals of liberty, freedom, and democracy.

When Congress assembled in December 1823, President Monroe made the revolution in Greece the topic of a paragraph in his annual message, and, on December 8, Daniel Webster moved, in the House of Representatives, the following resolution:

Resolved, That provision ought to be made, by law, for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, whenever the President shall deem it expedient to make such appointment.

Our Nation, and particularly this House of Representatives, can take pride in the fact that these were the first official expressions by any government supporting the independence of Greece and that these few official words contributed immensely in creating a feeling throughout the civilized world which led eventually to the liberation of a portion of Greece from Turkish domination.

On January 19, 1824, this House of Representatives resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, took the above resolution into consideration and listened to a speech by Daniel Webster on the resolution and the revolution in Greece. That speech contained many remarks apropos today.

Webster's interest in the revolution of Greece was motivated not by the glories of ancient Greece but rather as an American question. He said:

What I have to say of Greece, therefore, concerns the modern, not the ancient; the living and not the dead. It regards her, not as she exists in history, triumphant over time, and tyranny, and ignorance; but as she now is, contending, against fearful odds, for being, and for the common privileges of human nature.

* * * * *

We are called upon, by considerations of great weight and moment, to express our opinions upon it. These considerations, I think, spring from a sense of our own duty, our character, and our own interest. * * * Let this be, then * * * purely an American discussion; but let it embrace, nevertheless, everything that fairly concerns America. Let it comprehend, not merely her present advantage, but her permanent interest, her elevated character as one of the free states of the world, and her duty toward those great principles which have hitherto maintained the relative independence of nations, and which have, more especially, made her what she is.

The self-interest Webster spoke of is strikingly similar to that of our own age, the contest between absolute and regulated governments. At that time the continental European powers were reiterating the divine right of kings theory and advocating a forcible maintenance of the status quo, including denouncements of the Greek revolt against Turkish oppression.

The force of Webster's speech is felt even today, for our official statements of support in 1823 have brought us dividends of the highest order. Greece's entry into World War I in 1917 with Greek troops winning an important victory on the Balkan front helped speed the end of that war; her defeat of Mussolini's troops for 7 months in the winter of 1940–41 necessitating Hitler's sending in panzer divisions to subdue the Greeks fired the imagination of the free world and is cited by many military analysts as the key to the eventual defeat of the Axis; and most recently Greece, in defeating Communist aggres-

sion in a bitter war, again dealt tyranny and governments based on absolute power a severe blow. It should be noted that this was the first and only time the Communists have been completely defeated by force of arms.

The history of Modern Greece is the history of the gradual liberation of Greek inhabited territories. For example, the Ionian Islands were ceded by Great Britain to Greece in 1864 after a prolonged period of constant struggle; Crete and the Aegean Islands were liberated from Turkish yoke after the victorious Balkan Wars, 1912–13. The Dodecanese were ceded by Italy after World War II and the currently publicized struggle on Cyprus dates back to the days of the Turkish occupation. Today Cyprus represents the only Greek island still not free. Webster, in his speech, actually commented on the Turkish massacres in Cyprus in which the ranking members of the Greek community were executed on the charge of conspiring with the insurgents in Greece.

American-Greek relations from the 1820's until the present have been of the highest order. The principles of our own revolution and its flames were carried over into Greece and she is today one of our most ardent champions on the Continent. This also explains her disbelief in our failure to support the principle of self-determination for Cyprus and the ensuing demonstrations.

The United States can look back on 1823 as an act of statesmanship which has brought us great dividends from a moral as well as a realistic viewpoint. Today the United States has a continuing interest in the future of modern Greece. As a military bastion of NATO and as the pivot in the Balkan alliance, Greece is our one tried and true ally in the eastern Mediterranean. As the only nation to have defeated the Communists by force of arms, she stands on Russia's doorstep as a symbol of freedom and determination.

It is only natural that the United States salute the freedom-conscious people of Greece on this occasion. We join with them in celebrating their independence and we are not only aware of Greece's ancient glories but we recognize her contemporary importance to a free world. Greece has influenced all aspects of civilization and she has been a brave and noble ally. She adds proof to the contention that the support of free institutions can hold us in good stead today.

Lithuanian Appeal to the Pope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of an unusual letter from the Lithuanian people which was addressed to our Holy Father, the Pope. Six men carried the letter on a dangerous route through East Prussia, Poland, and the East German Zone into the free world in 1948. Four sacrificed their lives on the mission. The message contained herein is a sign of the times and needs no further commentary:

[From the Catholic Standard and Times of Philadelphia]

Holy Father, shepherd of all Catholics: we Roman Catholics from the Republic of Lithuania humbly entreat Your Holiness' intercession. Faced with extermination, subjected to a reign of terror, hungry, naked, accustomed to much bloodshed, deprived of all rights and cut off from the rest of the world, we ask your protection and assistance.

During the past 9 years we have lived under an occupation of terror and violence. With our lives at stake, we send this message to Your Holiness about the sufferings of our people and herein render an account of the 20th century merciless godlessness that is communism and unveil the manifold lies concerning religious freedom in the Baltic lands. As long as the great oppressors have not liquidated us entirely, we will continue to proclaim the clear truth about the impending tragedy of our people. This is the testament of our dying fatherland. Fortunate are those who have not lived to see what is happening to our country.

Holy Father, forgive us if we who are alive seem to be jealous of the dead. No man can ever imagine what we have lived to see—no man shall ever be able to imagine it. There is no comparison even with the dreadful assaults of the Tartars. In June 1940, within the space of 3 days, almost 40,000 Lithuanians, men, women, and children, the aged and the sick, without any respect for condition and without any judgment or court sentence being passed, were herded into crude carts and taken away to Siberia.

We can still hear the cries of the dying from those carts. The persecution that began in blind fury has today become a well-planned extermination of our country, a crucifixion under the Russians. It is estimated that it will take 10 years to carry out this plan in all its details.

Five years have already elapsed and we exist no longer as a nation. Eighty-seven percent of the Lithuanian people are Catholics and the influence of religion on our people was, and is today, very great. Communists know all too well that as long as the influence of religion remains unimpaired, our people will be able to offer resistance. The newly appointed priests are difficult to distinguish from political agents. Their god is a god who has borrowed his strategy from Lenin.

On the other hand, the priest who is free from blame is stamped as a thief, a murderer, a robber whom a court of justice "out of respect to his holy orders" sentences to 15 years of hard labor in Siberia.

Eighty percent of our priests have either been banished to Siberia or are living in various hiding places throughout the land and belong to the underground movement in our forests. The corpses which are thrown from the carts or even lie in front of the church are only imaginary representations to the outside world, while the naked, scarred bodies of men and women which lie here for days—until their mothers or children identify them—are dread realities to us.

Holy Father, we ask ourselves day by day: Where are the Nations of the civilized world, where are the hundreds and millions of Christians? Do men exist who will fight for truth and the rights of humanity? Are these men found no longer? Have the Christian nations of the world been asleep in a dream of a false sense of security? Do they think that the hordes from the East will stop with our extermination? Communism is preparing to lay waste the entire world, our civilization, culture, and Christianity itself.

No one can afford to let himself be blinded to this fact: Communism waits only for the the opportune moment. When this letter reaches Your Holiness, perhaps we may no longer be alive; when it reaches the outside world, many of those who carried it on their person will have fallen before Communist bullets. Holy Father, grant us, who are dying for our faith, for our country, your blessing. Praised be Jesus Christ, Lord of the living and the dead. The Roman Catholics in the Republic of Lithuania.

Coming to Grips With Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the President has recently asked for an appropriation of $12 million for civil-defense planning, and the request will soon be before this House for approval. We shall certainly make no mistake in making these funds available. Just as our Armed Forces have been faced with the necessity for developing new strategies, as result of nuclear weapons, so our Civil Defense Establishment is faced with vast new and complex problems, which must be analyzed and solved at the earliest possible moment. Congress can expedite that vital task by making available the funds the President has requested.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an editorial from today's issue of the New York Herald Tribune, bearing on this important matter:

COMING TO GRIPS WITH CIVIL DEFENSE

President Eisenhower's request for $12 million for civil defense planning is a necessary first step toward meeting a swift-changing problem. World War II proved that many previous ideas on this subject needed revision in the light of experience. The atomic bomb forced a drastic alteration in plans based on conventional bombing. The hydrogen bomb and the development of guided missiles have introduced new factors of great importance into the equation.

The first defense against the H-bomb, of course, is to make certain that it will not be used. But given the character of the Communist regime, no final reliance can be placed on efforts to end war or the use of weapons of mass destruction. Cities must have the ability to mitigate the effects of bombing; the technical skills that have made nuclear war possible must be applied to protecting threatened populations against its effects.

This is a huge and complex task. To evacuate an island city like New York (where only one borough is on the mainland) would require the most careful planning, with due allowance for all the changes that might be necessary under different circumstances—a warning period shorter or longer than might be anticipated, the loss of one or more means of transportation, uncertainties of weather and of the time of day or night. New means of departure, strict control of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, ac-

curate estimates of the personnel essential to maintain services during an evacuation, food and quarters for the displaced, are all parts of the problem. Much has been done in this direction, but revision and refinement are always necessary, particularly since it is only recently that the scope of the H-bomb threat has been known.

Congressional committees, under Democratic leadership, have been critical of lack of centralization in civil defense spending. It is perfectly obvious, however, that many agencies must take part in the actual work of civil defense, and the Democratic cuts in appropriations for this purpose cannot be justified. Centralization in planning is necessary and this will be provided if the President's request is granted. Congressional consent to the appropriation cannot be withheld without jeopardizing national security.

Sermon of Archbishop Cushing on Feast of St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following text of the sermon delivered by the archbishop of Boston, the Most Reverend Richard J. Cushing, on a subject matter which is close to the hearts of all persons of Irish extraction and one which His Excellency has given a great deal of thought and study.

On several occasions Archbishop Cushing has made pilgrimages to Ireland gathering up on these occasions information and facts concerning the history of St. Patrick and the traditions, customs, and habits of the Irish people. Since he is well versed on this subject matter, I submit his interesting remarks for the attention of the Members of Congress.

The complete text of Archbishop Cushing's sermon delivered at a pontifical Mass in Holy Cross Cathedral on March 17, appeared in the Pilot, Saturday, March 19, 1955, and is as follows:

ARCHBISHOP HAILS SPIRITUAL GENTLENESS OF IRISH—TRAIT NATIVE TO IRELAND STRONGER ENHANCED BY FAITH AND TRIBULATION

"To no man rendering evil for evil. Providing good things not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of all men. * * * Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good." (Words taken from the Epistle to the Romans, ch. 12.)

* * * * *

Each nation in Christendom rejoices in a dominant characteristic by which it may be identified. That characteristic represents the nation in its highest and best aspects. A people may have faults, serious and glaring, but those who love them, and particularly their brethren in the faith, think of them gladly in terms of their outstanding favorable characteristics.

Thus in the family of Christian nations Spain is no doubt distinguished for her flaming, holy pride in the uncompromising possession of the faith. Italy is perhaps best loved for her humanity in the genial living out of Christian values. France is beloved for the chivalry of her catholicism. Catholic England lays just claim to the recognition of her enlightened practicality in piety and in the profession of the faith. The typical characteristics of other ancient Christian nations are familiar; that of our own Nation is perhaps not yet formed, at least in its final pattern.

The national personality of Ireland among the nations which comprise the Christian commonwealth is the proper subject of our affectionate meditation on the feast of the patron of the Irish people. That personality warrants our speaking of Ireland as the nation of spiritual gentleness and our hailing the gentleness of the Irish tradition as the dominant trait of Erin's spiritual portraiture.

Gentleness is probably not the first characteristic which one might expect of a people whose history is so filled with violence as is that of the Irish nation. So much bloodshed, so many exiles, such cruel hardships have the Irish people suffered that one might easily expect to find them a militant people, even a valiant people, but a spiritually hard and unbending people withall. Yet I venture the thought that it is precisely their sufferings and the injustices to which they have been subject which have produced the spiritual gentleness which is the characteristic of St. Patrick's people.

That gentleness is in accord with the lofty ascetical ideal which Paul preached to the disciplined Christian community in Rome: "Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good." Thus does cruelty beget gentleness and does gentleness conquer adversity.

We discover the character of a people not so much in their occasional moments of conspicuous greatness as in the everyday routine of their lives. By this test the spiritual gentleness of the Irish people reveals itself at every turn. One sees it in the modest demeanor of the people at prayer in the pro-Cathedral of Dublin or in any of the churches of Ireland. One hears it in the soft speech of the marketplaces and the streets. It is almost tangible in the deference and quiet manners of crowds like those we met at Droghera, Armagh, and Galway, crowds which were characterized, as crowds elsewhere rarely are, by great gentleness, the gentleness that is everywhere in Ireland.

NATURAL DISPOSITION

The gentleness of the Irish people has acquired its spiritual overtones and its almost ascetical quality from centuries of patience under suffering. But it corresponds to something almost native to the Irish temperament, something which must have been in the Irish character long before the conqueror came or even the gospel. Perhaps this gentleness is a byproduct of the very climate and geography of a country where rain, rolling hills, the colors of the land, lake, and sky all blend to produce the effect of "softness" in the sense of gentleness, but not in the sense of weak or undisciplined. Nature herself predisposed this people for the gentleness that God's grace has perfected in them.

GENTLE TEACHER

The grace of God came to Ireland chiefly through the preaching of St. Patrick. Gentleness pervades that preaching. St. Patrick is one of the few major apostles to Christian peoples who has left behind him an authentic self-portrait. The self-portrait of Patrick comes down to us in the religious autobiography called the Confession of St. Patrick. It is an intensely personal document and forever reflects the personality of the man and the saint. It is also a fountainhead of inspiration for later Irish literature. The quality of gentleness, so marked in the man and his writing, entered Irish Catholicism with the preaching and influence of Patrick.

Patrick began his account of his life and the declaration of his credentials to be heard as God's spokesman with words of disarming humility: "I, Patrick, a sinner, most ignorant. * * *" So he began and then he told of his calling by God, his vigils and austerities, his holy aspirations for the people to whom he had been sent. In all his writing and in anything he said, we seek in vain for violent words of rebuke or upbraiding. Authority is there, and also the dignity of one who speaks of Christ, for Christ, and in Christ. But the all-prevailing spirit and the least letter of what the apostle preached are warm with that gentleness which adversity was later to deepen, not destroy, in Patrick's people.

That same quality of spiritual gentleness is echoed in the writings of the religious and literary children of St. Patrick. One of the earliest Latin hymns in the Irish church is also one of the earliest Eucharistic hymns still extant in the Universal Church. Whoever writes of the Blessed Sacrament writes with gentleness; it cannot be otherwise. So with those who write of the Blessed Mother, and nowhere are her praises sung so early and so tenderly.

The monks who went from Ireland in the days of St. Columba, and later Columbanus, brought the Faith back to whole areas of Germany, Gaul, Italy, and the East. They did not go as chaplains accompanying military chieftains or political conquerors. Their sole weapon was the gentleness with which, in the faithful pattern of St. Patrick, they preached the Gospel to rude peoples whose refined descendants remember them still for the meekness and clemency of their ways.

This typical gentleness of the Irish spiritual tradition is mirrored in the story of St. Columbkille, sometimes hailed as the supreme type of Irish genius. He was a scholar as so many of his race have been. He was an administrator, a diplomat, and a born leader. He was of course, a saint. But it is his gentleness which stamps him with the authentic seal of characteristic Irish spirituality.

WORK OF RECONCILIATION

His mighty missionary enterprise did not begin as a heroic response to a glorious call from God; neither was it launched as a campaign conceived in overpowering ambition to accomplish a resounding victory for the church. It began as a quiet man's effort to atone for an injustice, to repair by gentleness the damage done in a battle. His work, conceived in a spirit of gentle reconciliation, began in suffering and in sacrifice. It eventually bore its fruit in a spiritual harvest which probably has no parallel in history. But the point is that all the historic accomplishments of Columbkille, his chain of monastic foundations and his unique record of administration, began with the gentle decision of a peace-loving man to devote himself as best he could to a work of reconciliation, not of reform and least of all, of revolution.

Who can fail to see how this is typical of the saga of Irish spirituality from Patrick professing his sinfulness and ignorance down to Matt Talbot, the gentle, penitent recluse of our own generation? Whether we test it in the stories of the missionary monks, in the cheerfully accepted privations of the Irish exiles, in the penitential austerities of a Father Willie Doyle—it is always the same.

The gentleness, the invincible meekness of characteristic Irish spirituality, finds its inspiration in the words of Jesus: "Amen, Amen, I say to you, unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground, die, it remaineth alone. But if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." It is taught in the line which sums up that school of Catholic asceticism which the Irish have always found so congenial: "If you wish to conquer, first learn to suffer." It is proclaimed in the phrase of St. Paul with which we began, a phrase which sums up at once the history and the spiritual portrait of St. Patrick's people: "Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good."

May God give us generously of the grace to be gentle in good times as in bad. May St. Patrick, patron of our people, preserve in us the gentleness that we have loved in him.

Washington's Big Brawl: Dixon-Yates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, just what is the real meaning and real purpose of all this political frenzy created by the Democratic Party leadership over the Dixon-Yates contract?

Nothing has been more deliberately and more grossly misrepresented than this particular matter. They have misrepresented the facts in order to conceal the real issue.

William Hard, one of our very best political reporters, who has been an observer of the Washington scene since Woodrow Wilson's administration and is a profound student of national politics and public affairs, has written an article on this subject. It is entitled "Washington's Big Brawl: Dixon-Yates," and appears in the April 1955 issue of the Reader's Digest.

He makes a keen and penetrating analysis of this issue. He takes the facts, and only the facts, and explains clearly and concisely exactly what they mean. This article should be read by every American that he may know the truth.

The article follows:

WASHINGTON'S BIG BRAWL: DIXON-YATES

(By William Hard)

Poor Mr. Dixon, poor Mr. Yates. A year ago they were reasonably obscure, private businessmen operating successful electric-utility companies westward and southward from the Government's Tennessee Valley Authority electric-service area.

There was a crisis, though, in that area. Congress had declined to make an appropriation to the TVA for a new electric-generating plant at Fulton, in western Tennessee. The Memphis region was threatened with a power shortage. Mr. Dixon offered to relieve the shortage by selling power to the TVA out of his own nearby system at a rate satisfactory to the Government's Federal Power Commission. Mr. Dixon thought this offer obviously fair. The TVA did not accept it.

Then, at the instigation of the Government's Budget Bureau, Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates signed a contract with the Government's Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates (meaning, of course, their companies) together would build a plant to supply power to the TVA's power-hungry Memphis region; and the TVA would thus be enabled to continue supplying large-scale power to the AEC's installations at Paducah, Ky., and Oak Ridge, Tenn.

So now the hot air rising from Washington's political furnaces has wafted Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates from reputable obscurity to the heights of oratorical infamy.

We are assured that the Dixon-Yates contract is a scandal, a steal, and a multimillion-dollar giveaway. Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, of California, Democrat, a member of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico, Democrat, now chairman of the committee, are so shocked that they have promised vigorous committee action against the contract. State Senator Foutch, of Tennessee, Democrat, has proposed a State appropriation of $100,000 for the hiring of criminal investigators to ferret out the improper pressures brought to bear upon Washington officials by Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates—or others.

Clearly, Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates are now political personalities of the largest magnitude. So let us take an awed look at their contract, as it reads at this writing, even though its ultimate fate is uncertain.

Mr. Dixon's company, Middle South Utilities, operates through a subsidiary in Arkansas, right across the Mississippi from the TVA. And it is in Arkansas, at West Memphis, that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates plan to build their new plant under the name of a new joint company called Mississippi Valley Generating Co.

A year ago Mr. Dixon was wholly unknown to the head of the AEC, Lewis Strauss. He was also unknown to the head of the Budget Bureau, Joseph Dodge. Yet his contract was approved by all the present members of the AEC, and passed on by the Budget Bureau, and also by the Federal Power Commission, the General Accounting Office, the Department of Justice. Surely no unknown has ever before subverted so many Federal Government agencies in so short a time.

Let us therefore look at the principal "smart tricks" that Mr. Dixon is accused of having put over on these agencies. There are four.

Trick 1: It is charged that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates persuaded the AEC to give them the contract through negotiation without any competitive bidding.

What is the explanation? Last August Mr. Stephen Mitchell, then chairman of the Democratic National Committee, thought he knew. You see, Mr. Yates, of Dixon-Yates, is chairman of the Southern Co. And the Southern Co., through a subsidiary, sells power and light in Georgia. And President Eisenhower plays golf at Augusta, Ga., and knows Bobby Jones, who is reputed to have played golf quite well himself. And Bobby Jones is a director of the Southern Co. The conclusion seemed to Mr. Mitchell to be obvious. Here was corruption at the White House level.

If Mr. Mitchell had really believed his appalling charge, he would have sought the President's impeachment by the House of Representatives for high crimes and misdemeanors. He didn't. His charge fell to the ground.

What, then, is the true explanation of the lack of competitive bidding in the Dixon-Yates contract?

In 1950 and 1952, under President Truman's administration, the AEC signed contracts with two groups of private electric companies for power to be delivered to its installations at Paducah, Ky., and at Portsmouth, Ohio. These contracts were negotiated. In neither case was there any competitive bidding. And the Democrats were quite right.

When you want electric power, the customary thing is to get it from the nearest companies. These companies already have generating capacity which can be used to pump power to you in an emergency. And there are always emergencies.

Consider, for instance, the new plant that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates are going jointly to build. It will have 3 generators. From time to time 1 of them is bound to be out of commission for repair. Then Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates will be able to make up for the incapacitated generator by supplying the authority with power from their presently existing nearby generating systems. And they are obligated under the contract to do so. The TVA is thus protected in its power requirements from the new plant.

Trick 2: It is charged that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates persuaded the AEC to allow itself to be overcharged for the new power from the Mississippi Valley Generating Co.

Let us compare the charges made to the AEC under its Democratic contract at Paducah, Ky., and under its Democratic contract at Portsmouth, Ohio, and under its Republican contract with Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates' new company at West Memphis, Ark. With the same cost of coal the charges per kilowatt-hour stand thus:

	Mills
Democratic Paducah	4.08
Democratic Portsmouth	3.97
Republican West Memphis	3.99

The Democrats at Portsmouth get power for the AEC two one-hundredths of a mill cheaper than the Republicans at West Memphis. On the other hand, the latter are going to get power for the AEC nine one-hundredths of a mill cheaper than the Democrats at Paducah. Surely it will take an extremely good political mint to change hundredths of mills into political dollars.

Trick 3: It is charged that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates persuaded the AEC to give them a contract under which they are guaranteed a profit on the $5,500,000 of stock which their companies are going to put into the new Mississippi Valley Generating Co. But what does the contract really say and do?

It puts a ceiling on the company's profit and then it goes further; it puts the profit on a descending escalator. The contract's target estimate of the cost of the project is $107,250,000. If Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates can keep the cost down to that estimate, the return on the company's stock will be 9 percent, which (as the Federal Power Commission's figures show) is less than the average stock profit of electric companies in the United States. But the cost of construction has risen considerably since the target estimate was fixed, and it may well continue to rise. If then the cost of the new project rises to $113 million, the profit of Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates, under the contract, will sink to 6 percent. If it rises to $120 million, the profit will sink to zero. What sort of guaranteed profit is this?

It would certainly seem that Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, Democrat, and liberal, had ample justification for telling the Senate: "The Dixon-Yates contract has been unfairly and viciously and erroneously attacked."

There must be some impelling background-force behind attacks so erroneous. Now we are beginning to come to it.

Trick 4: It is charged that Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates persuaded the AEC to let them include taxes in the rates to be charged to the Commission by the new Mississippi Valley Generating Co. Well.

The Republicans on this point are again admiringly imitating the Democrats. Taxes are included in the rates charged to the Commission under its Democratic contracts with private companies at Paducah and Portsmouth. And taxes are taken into consideration by all private companies as an element of cost in the prices of all things that they sell to the Government. Basic question: Should the Government buy anything from private companies?

"Not electric power for use by us," say multitudes of enraged citizens in the TVA's electric-service area. "This Dixon-Yates contract is with the AEC," they say, "but it is for power that we are to consume. We want no private power. We want public power only."

And that is the true vortex of all the hurricane that is beating upon the Dixon-Yates contract. The big thing that is being decided is the TVA's future. That future will profoundly affect the whole nationwide struggle between public power and private power. Let us try to forecast it.

The TVA is no "inefficient governmental bureaucracy." From the engineering point of view it is admirably operated.

There are few people in public life who have any idea of legislating TVA out of existence. Nor has that idea any influential support among the managers of adjacent

privately owned electrict utilities. I have heard Mr. C. Hamilton Moses, chairman of the board of the Arkansas Power and Light Co., say: "We must learn to live with—and work with—the TVA." The TVA will thereupon remain, I calculate, as a public "yardstick" with which to measure the performance of the privately owned utilities.

What, then, is the real complaint against the TVA? It is increasingly voiced by moderate men in both public and private life. The TVA yardstick is unfair, for two reasons:

1. The TVA, except on a relatively tiny bond issue bought by the Government, pays no interest on the immense sums of money advanced to it by the Government for the construction of its powerplants. Those sums will presently amount to approximately $1 billion. A privately owned electric utility, when it raises construction funds, pays interest averaging over 3 percent. How can it match its kilowatt costs against a virtually interest-free TVA?

2. The TVA pays no Federal income tax; it pays local taxes to the extent of 5 percent of its gross receipts from private customers. Middle South Utilities, by contrast, pays to the Federal and local governments 23 percent of its gross receipts. Again, how can a privately owned electric utility match its kilowatt costs against so lightly taxed a TVA?

This is what makes it easy for TVA to attract new business customers into its area, and what makes it difficult for private-power areas to win those customers away from TVA. Arkansas recently tried to attract a new atomic-energy undertaking. Arkansas' Senator FULBRIGHT reports: "We had everything the undertaking needed—except one thing. The TVA power rate. TVA got the plant."

Surely that kind of competition is what the Federal laws expressly condemn in private enterprise: unfair competition.

By such unfair competition the TVA could undoubtedly supply Memphis with cheaper power than can be supplied to it by the interest-paying, tax-paying Mississippi Valley Generating Co. of Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates. That is, it could do so if the Congress would give it money for the new steam-plant it wants to build near Memphis. Why is it, then, that it has repeatedly failed to persuade the Congress to appropriate that money? The reason is, I think, that in Washington an "agonizing reappraisal" of TVA is underway.

This reappraisal has two forms. Both have been expressed by President Eisenhower.

First. "If," says the President, "the Federal Government assumes responsibility for providing the TVA area with all the power it can accept, it has a similar responsibility with respect to every other area and region and corner of the United States."

Such a responsibility, extended to the whole country, would involve outlays of scores of billions of dollars. The Congress would never enact it. Accordingly, in the President's view, the Government's policy in the TVA area itself should be reexamined.

Second. Could not the Federal Government make the TVA yardstick fairer? The President's answer to that question, the first that any President has ever attempted, has historic significance. It appears in his recent message to the Congress. Summarized, it is as follows:

The President will send legislation to the Congress for obliging the TVA to pay "an adequate rate of interest" to the Treasury on construction funds advanced to it by the Congress. And the President has said that TVA is studying "the possibilities of financing further expansion of its power system by means other than Federal appropriations." Which means, presumably, that the TVA would raise further expansion funds by issuing "revenue bonds" and selling them, just as is done by numerous public "bridge authorities" and "turnpike authorities."

These reforms would not make the TVA yardstick completely fair. But they would make it immensely fairer.

It is horrifying, though, to think of the anguish that they will cause in the Tennessee Valley area. The inhabitants of that area have not gone "Socialist." They are just like the inhabitants of every other area. Once accustomed to any kind of Federal stimulant, they become addicts and feel "just awful" when it is taken away. And they realize that the Dixon-Yates contract is a symbol of the President's inclination to take it away from them and prescribe unstimulated local exercises.

That is the real root of the convulsive opposition to the Dixon-Yates contract. The TVA, in the course of the years, has bought billions and billions of kilowatt-hours of electricity from adjacent private utilities. It has bought millions from Mr. Dixon's own Middle South Utilties. But those purchases did not portend any change in TVA's essential nature. The policy behind the Dixon-Yates contract does.

Let us imagine that Dr. Eisenhower's prescription has been accepted by the Congress. Where would the TVA be then? Why, it would merely be in the position already occupied by hundreds of American municipally owned electric-power systems and by Nebraska's public utility districts which cover the whole State. Those public-power organizations get no Federal appropriations. They raise their own funds. TVA would do likewise.

In other words, Dr. Eisenhower, who has a degree in middle-of-the-road philosophy, is not prescribing the death of public power. He is simply suggesting that it should walk more on its own local feet.

And that is all that there is to the furor over the Dixon-Yates contract.

Coal Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

COAL FACTS

(By the National Coal Association)

Delivering many millions of tons of coal a year requires an intricate pattern of transportation systems. However, the high freight rates of these systems and the resultant high cost of delivered coal have priced coal out of many traditional markets. This situation is paradoxical. While income from coal freight contributes greatly to the welfare of coal's transportation systems, the rates required by those systems are injurious to the point where coal traffic actually decreases.

Take railroads, for example. Tonnagewise, coal is the most important commodity hauled by rail. Approximately 80 percent of all coal produced in the United States is moved by this method, making up the railroads' largest single source of freight revenue. Now, railroad freight rates account for about 40 percent of the delivered price of industrial coal. Due in great part to these rates, the percentage hauled by rail has been steadily decreasing over the past several decades. Forty years ago, 97 percent of United States coal mined was hauled by rail. Despite the fact that railroads offer not only flexibility but a capacity to haul coal difficult to duplicate in another system, the present cost structure of hauling coal by rail will probably cause railroads to lose even more tonnage in the future.

Coal has proved a substantial source of revenue for trucking companies, also. Trucks now move over 10 percent of total coal production. Although State regulations restrict their operation, trucks offer the advantage of great flexibility and speed. However, trucking costs are high, even higher per ton-mile than by rail for long hauls. Because of this, truck haulage is limited principally to short hauls and small lot deliveries.

About 8 percent of all coal mined is transported by inland waterways. This is a slow method and, unless supplemental transportation is used, coal moved in this manner can reach only users close to water routes. However, coal is becoming a bigger user of the waterways. Of necessity, new powerplants being planned will locate near water sources and thus be in a position to use coal moved by water, taking advantage of the lower transportation rates.

Naturally new and better means of transportation are under consideration. One such technique is to use conveyors which could carry coal many miles on a moving belt. Another possible transportation medium is pipelines through which a mixture of crushed coal and water would be forced. Either method would reduce transportation costs while offering speed and flexibility, and are regarded with great interest by the coal industry.

There Is Widespread Sentiment Among Members of the Legal Profession in Favor of the Van Zandt Bill (H. R. 855) Designed To Extend Coverage Under the Social Security Act to Lawyers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, because of the numerous requests I received from lawyers in the State of Pennsylvania that members of their profession be included for coverage under the Social Security Act, I introduced H. R. 855 on January 5, 1955, when the 84th Congress convened.

Since the introduction of H. R. 855, which is now pending before the House Ways and Means Committee, I am amazed at the many letters I have received from attorneys in various States expressing warm approval of my legislative proposal. In addition to individual communications, I have received favorable letters and copies of resolutions adopted by county bar associations and State bar associations in the several States which disclose that there is a lively interest on the part of lawyers throughout the Nation that social security coverage be extended to members of their profession.

At this point in my remarks, I should like to call attention to the provisions of H. R. 855, which reads as follows:

H. R. 855

A bill to extend the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system to individuals engaged in the practice of law.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 211 (c) (5) of the Social Security Act and section 1402 (c) (5) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 are each amended by striking out "lawyer,".

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this act shall be applicable only with respect to taxable years ending after 1954. For purposes of section 203 of the Social Security Act the amendment made by the first section of this act to section 211 (c) (5) of the Social Security Act shall be effective with respect to net earnings from self-employment derived after 1954; and the amount of net earnings from self-employment derived during any taxable year ending in, and not with the close of, 1955, shall be credited equally to the calendar quarter in which such taxable year ends and to each of the three or fewer preceding quarters any part of which is in such taxable year. Net earnings from self-employment so credited to calendar quarters in 1955 shall be deemed to have been derived after 1954.

As stated previously, H. R. 855 is pending before the House Ways and Means Committee and because of the keen interest manifested by lawyers in securing its approval, I am hopeful that the legislation will be scheduled for early consideration.

What Secretary Humphrey Said

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting the editorial appearing in the March 17, 1955, St. Louis Post-Dispatch correcting the injustice done Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey in a previous editorial, to which I referred in my remarks made during the debate on H. R. 4725, a bill to repeal sections 452 and 462 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954:

WHAT SECRETARY HUMPHREY SAID

We are indebted to Congressman THOMAS B. CURTIS, of Webster Groves, for calling our attention to an injustice to Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey in these columns last Sunday.

We took Mr. Humphrey to task for seeming to duck responsibility for the "blooper" which has turned up in last year's tax bill, by which corporations can get double deductions for certain expenses. Mr. Humphrey has admitted that the loophole was an error which should be corrected, but the Associated Press quoted him as telling members of the House Ways and Means Committee:

"You gentlemen passed the law. We did not. If you made a mistake, I'm sorry."

This quotation, on which we based our comment, evidently was taken out of context and did not accurately express the full sense of Mr. Humphrey's testimony. Representative CURTIS tells us that the unrevised transcript of the hearing shows the Secretary as saying to Representative WILBUR D. MILLS, of Arkansas:

"ANSWER. Well, Mr. MILLS, I don't know what it is you are trying to dive at. You gentlemen passed the law. We did not.

"QUESTION. That is the point I am driving at, Mr. Secretary.

"ANSWER. If you made a bad error, I am jurst sorry. For our participation in it, I am sorry. I regret that it happened, and I am trying to correct it as quickly as possible. And I am not trying to pin it on you.

"QUESTION. Mr. Secretary, my point is this, exactly the point you make. You attempt to lay the blame and the responsibility on this committee.

"ANSWER. No; I am not."

At another point in the hearing, Representative CURTIS reports, Mr. Humphrey referred to the loophole as "a mistake that we made in the Treasury in the first instance * * * a mistake that you gentlemen and all of us participated in as we went along." Again he said: "We will take our full share of responsibility for it. I think we are all involved." We are glad to set the record straight, and we thank Mr. CURTIS for helping us do so.

Georgetown Founders Day Convocation To Hear Clare Boothe Luce; Three Honorary Degrees To Be Awarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a Georgetown University news statement:

GEORGETOWN FOUNDERS DAY CONVOCATION TO HEAR CLARE BOOTHE LUCE; THREE HONORARY DEGREES TO BE AWARDED

Georgetown University will celebrate the 166th anniversary of its founding at a special Founders Day convocation on Friday, March 25, at 3 p. m., in McDonough Memorial Gymnasium on the university campus, 37th and O Streets NW.

The Very Reverend Edward B. Bunn, S. J., Georgetown president, will confer three honorary degrees at the convocation—on Clare Boothe Luce, United States Ambassador to Italy; Dr. Michael X. Sullivan, noted chemist and professor in the university's Graduate School, and Dr. Thomas J. Tudor, heroic "country doctor" from the mountain area of southwestern Virginia.

Ambassador Luce will deliver the convocation address.

The convocation will open with an academic procession of faculty members garbed in caps and gowns of universities from many parts of the world. Among those present will be numerous righ-ranking members of Washington's diplomatic corps.

Also to be honored at the ceremony are 9 members of the university's faculty and administrative staff who will receive the vicennial medal, denoting 20 years of service to the institution. The gold medal for full-time service will go to Prof. Leon E. Dostert, director of Georgetown's Institute of Languages and Linguistics; Dr. Charles B. Murto, professor of crown and bridge at the School of Dentistry; Margaret C. O'Byrne, Medical-Dental School librarian; and Dr. James F. Leahigh, political science professor in the Foreign Service School.

The silver vicennial medal, for part-time service, will be awarded to Dr. Garnet W. Ault, professor of surgery in the Medical School; Drs. Philip A. Caulfield, and Leo B. Gaffney, associate professors of surgery; Al Philip Kane, professor of medical jurisprudence; and Francis C. Nash, professor of law.

Certificates of merit, also denoting 20 years' service, will be presented to Bernard C. O'Leary, superintendent of buildings at the university's Medical Center, and J. Russell Rice, superintendent of buildings at the Law Center.

Ambassador Luce, who took up her duties at Rome in April 1953 has supervised American participation in the numerous programs being operated by the United States and Italy, especially those involving military and economic assistance, and immigration. Before her appointment to Rome she had served as United States Congresswoman from Connecticut for two terms.

Mrs. Luce has achieved fame as a playwright, scenarist, author, and magazine correspondent. Among her better-known works are the play, The Women, the movie, Come to the Stable, and a series of articles, The Real Reason, published in McCall's magazine in 1947, describing her conversion to the Catholic Church the year before.

Dr. Sullivan, research professor of chemistry, has been at Georgetown since February 1931. He has the bachelor of arts from Harvard University, and the master of arts and doctor of philosophy from Brown. He has conducted research for the Bureau of Soils and the United States Public Health Service, and is a recognized world authority on sulfur metabolism in health and disease. He was a pioneer in the study of pellagra and has done important research in muscular dystrophy. He is now doing research in the relation of biochemical amines to health and disease. He has published 190 research brochures covering practically the entire field of biochemistry.

Dr. Tudor, for 45 years by day and night, has been a man of medical mercy to the isolated families in the mountains and valleys of the area around Norton, Va. He is the very symbol of the ideal American doctor. He is 75 years old.

The community of Irish-born nuns of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, conducting St. Marys Hospital at Norton, went into that hostile country 6 years ago with just their stout hearts and bare hands. They met with so much opposition that they were on the verge of defeat. The suspicious mountain people would not be patients at St. Marys Hospital.

It was Dr. Tudor who turned defeat into victory by sending all his patients to St. Mary's. His prestige as a great doctor and a great man in that vicinity, and the confidence which people had in him, turned the tide. Dr. Tudor is not a Catholic.

When the nuns sought exemption from State and town taxes, the town of Norton opposed them and the case was taken to court. Dr. Tudor—alone among the local doctors—came to court to testify in the sisters' favor.

Now the scene has changed and all the doctors, with one or two exceptions, send their patients to St. Marys.

Dr. Tudor has been diligent in searching out Catholics in the mountains who needed a priest and the Sacraments, and has been equally diligent in searching out priests to minister to their spiritual needs. Three years ago he insisted on bringing a Hungarian priest from 220 miles away at High Point, N. C., to hear the confession of a Hungarian mountain women.

The Virginia physician is a man of substantial wealth which he uses for such charitable purposes as putting poor boys through college and professional schools. He asks no medical fees from the poor people of the mountains, and sometimes takes a gift of food along when calling on the very poor.

Many Masons Among Americans Who Signed Declaration of Independence and Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD H. BAKER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the Knoxville Journal, written by Mr. E. E. Patton, a distinguished historian of Tennessee, entitled "Many Masons Among Americans Who Signed Declaration of Independence and Constitution."

The article follows:

George Washington, our first President, became a member of the Masonic Order when he was barely 21 years of age and 14 of his successors were also Masons. There has been much discussion, pro and con, in regard to the number of Masons who signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. It is my purpose to give the exact number in each instance of the Masons who participated in the formulation of those great documents—the bulwark of our safety and security as a Nation.

Paul Revere, who warned the patriots at Concord and Lexington, was one of the leading Masons of Massachusetts, along with John Hancock and Samuel Adams, two firebrands of the Revolution. One of the many favorable features of Masonry is that it never permits politics to enter the lodge rooms. One Mason who was the nominee of his party three times was defeated twice by one Mason and the third time by another member.

The Presidents who were members of the Masonic fraternity were: Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, Andrew Johnson, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, Warren G. Harding, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry Truman.

It is true that it is not known where some of those men belonged—where their lodge was. Take Andrew Jackson, for instance. He was, at one time, the Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Masonic Lodges of Tennessee, yet it is not on any record that has been found where he became a Mason. However, we know that he was made a Mason in due form.

The names of Masons who signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution will be given, but there is a strong belief that some not listed as Masons were members of the order. Quoting from a memorandum of the Masonic lodge, it might be stated as follows: "It must be remembered that 18th century records of Masonic membership bear no resemblance to the complete records maintained by the fraternity today. In the Colonial period many lodges worked for a short time only. During the Revolutionary War there were numerous so-called Army lodges which conferred degrees, but purposely kept no records or destroyed their records for lack of a safe place to keep them."

Fifty-six Members of the Continental Congress signed the Declaration of Independence. Some of the signers were not Members of the Congress on July 4, 1776, when it was adopted, but were Members in the following September when it was engrossed for signature. Charles Carroll, of Carrolton was one of them. Strictly speaking, he had no right to sign. But here is the list of the signers who were Masons:

Lyman Hall and George Walton, Georgia; William Hooper, North Carolina; James Hewes, North Carolina; John Penn, North Carolina; John Hancock, Massachusetts; Richard Henry Lee, Virginia; Thomas Jefferson, Virginia; Thomas Nelson, Jr., Virginia; Francis Lightfoot Lee, Virginia; Robert Morris, Pennsylvania; Benjamin Rush, Pennsylvania; Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania; George Read, Delaware; Thomas McKean, Delaware; Philip Livingston, New York; Francis Lewis, New York; Richard Stockton, New Jersey; John Witherspoon, New Jersey; Josiah Bartlett, New Hampshire; William Whipple, New Hampshire; Samuel Adams, Massachusetts; Robert Treat Paine, Massachusetts; Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts; William Ellery, Rhode Island; Roger Sherman, Connecticut; Samuel Huntington, Connecticut; Oliver Wolcott, Connecticut; Matthew Thornton, New Hampshire. Of those signers the following were born in foreign countries: Francis Lewis, Wales; Robert Morris, England; and John Witherspoon, Scotland.

I now list those who were signers and some of whom may have been Masons, but it is not definitely known that they were members: Button Gwinnett, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton, Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, George Wythe, Benjamin Harrison, Carter Braxton, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross, Caesar Rodney, William Floyd, Lewis Morris, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark, John Adams, Stephen Hopkins, and William Williams.

Seventy-four men were elected as delegates from 12 States to help frame a constitution. Rhode Island sent no delegates. Several of the appointed delegates never attended a day and I give here the entire list and the States from which they came: Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Thomas Nelson of Virginia; Abraham Clark and John Neilson, New Jersey; Richard Caswell and Willie Jones, North Carolina; George Walton and Nathaniel Pendleton, Georgia; Henry Laurens, South Carolina; Francis Dana, Massachusetts; Erastus Walcott, Connecticut; John Pickering, and Benjamin West, New Hampshire. But Maryland has the record on elected delegates who did not attend this great convention: Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Gabriel Duvall, Robert H. Harrison, Thomas Sim Lee, and Thomas Stone.

There was another group of delegates who took the oath of office, but who did not remain until the convention adjourned on September 17, 1787. There were 13 of them, as follows: James McClurg and George Wythe, Virginia; William Houston, New Jersey; Alexander Martin and William R. Davis, North Carolina; William Pierce and William Houston, Georgia; Robert Yates and John Lansing, New York; Caleb Strong, Massachusetts; Oliver Ellsworth, Connecticut; John T. Mercer, and Luther Martin, Maryland.

The following remained in the convention until its final adjournment, but they refused to sign: Edmund Randolph and George Mason, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts. It is well to speculate on what the descendants of the nonattenders and the nonsigners think of them. The members of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sons of the Revolution have pardonable pride in the loyalty and bravery of their ancestors who fought for our independence, and well they may.

Wherever masonry is free, religion is free. Wherever one is restricted, the other is outlawed. Wherever religion is controlled or directed by the state, there freedom is unknown.

A dictator knows no law. His will is the law, and he who refuses to submit to the orders of the dictator is foully and ruthlessly murdered.

The very fact that Washington, Franklin, and scores of other Revolutionary heroes were members of the Masonic Lodge is enough to recommend it to all intelligent people who want a stable government. You can control a man's body, but you cannot control his mind or his conscience. Masonry means freedom of religion, freedom of the courts, a clean conscience, loyalty to the flag of America, and the supporter and the defender of our public schools, America's safeguard.

Every Mason can truthfully and conscientiously repeat the pledge to the flag: I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Difficult To Understand General Vogel's Position

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Florence Times, one of Alabama's outstanding daily newspapers:

DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND GENERAL VOGEL'S POSITION

We have never had the opportunity of meeting Brig. Gen. Herbert D. Vogel, the new Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, but we have come to the conclusion that he must be a rather difficult man to understand.

During the past 6 months of his chairmanship, we have attempted to follow his statements and lines of reasoning regarding a number of things affecting TVA and the people it seeks to serve, and, we admit, some of his statements have left us suspended in mental midair. We just don't know exactly what he means.

Now, he has come forward, in a copyrighted interview with the Knoxville News-Sentinel, a Scripps-Howard newspaper that is friendly toward TVA, suggesting that he would be willing to resign his chairmanship in favor of appointment of a large board of directors, presumably dollar-a-year men, to run the Authority.

"* * * I can see considerable merit in the idea of a large board such as that which heads up the New York Port Authority and most large corporations," he said. "The members of such a board could be selected from among topflight citizens of the Nation and could be expected to work without salary, being paid only for attendance at monthly meetings and in reimbursement of expenses. Speaking solely for myself, I would be happy to resign in favor of such a group."

It is difficult for us to believe that any improvement would be wrought in TVA principles and policies, insofar as they affect either the valley or the Nation, by turning the vast regional agency over to a body of dollar-a-year men.

The first question that arises is who would these men be?

No doubt, in line with thinking of the present Eisenhower administration, those to be named to any board would be big-busi-

ness men thoroughly acquainted with the power business and possibly actually engaged in it all over the country. We can well imagine what such a board would do to TVA if they ever got their hands on it. These kind of businessmen have always fought TVA and the TVA principle and, in our opinion, this time the "Little Red Riding Hood" of TVA would surely be gobbled up by the private utilities who would play the role of "Grandma."

To further complicate our effort to understand General Vogel, we find him saying in the same interview that "TVA is, of course, responsible for a large share of the development which has taken place within it (the valley) during the last 20 years, but I am inclined to think that too many people give too small a share of the credit to the folks of the valley. I have never met more industrious, independent, friendly, and sound-thinking people anywhere. They ask odds of no one, and stand ready to help others when and wherever possible. I cannot see them standing still under any condition."

In the face of this statement from the TVA Chairman, it is veritably impossible for us to understand his approval of the Dixon-Yates contract. The sound-thinking people of the valley, to whom he refers, have almost unanimously expressed their opposition to any such contract as Dixon-Yates.

It certainly seems strange to us that one who credits the valley's people with such sound thinking would so lightly cast aside their opposition to Dixon-Yates.

Or is General Vogel just "soft soaping" us?

The Nixons in Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, a letter to the editor of the Christian Science Monitor, published in Boston on Friday, March 11, 1955, has expressed in a few words the significance of the recent visit of the Vice President and Mrs. Nixon to the Caribbean area. Because of the importance of this journey to the citizens of this country and our southern neighbors, I would like to bring this letter to the attention of the Members of Congress:

The Honorable RICHARD M. NIXON did a remarkable thing here in Puerto Rico, an act of great credit to him, to his Nation, as well as to the people of Puerto Rico.

Twice in a day Mr. NIXON stepped off his car and walked freely among the people of San Juan. We say this is a brave act because it is hardly possible that all the terrorists of the island are in jail. The overwhelming majority of the people of Puerto Rico reject terror as an instrument of political action, but it has never been possible to lock up for good all those who would bring discredit and disaster to the people of this island, and insanely at that.

Mr. NIXON took the problem into his own hands; he just mingled freely with the street spectators of San Juan. He showed remarkable courage in doing that, and nothing is as admirable as a courageous action. His gesture implied likewise a confidence in the good sense and patriotism of the people of Puerto Rico.

Mrs. Nixon on her part went all over the island, graciously saluting the children and parents of Puerto Rico.

We appreciate all of this; we admire it greatly. We appreciate the just confidence Mr. and Mrs. Nixon showed in us, and we want all the people of the United States to know that their Vice President and his gracious lady have contributed immensely to the respect and affection we have for the best in the United States.

JOSEPH I. PUENTE,
Rio Piedras, P. R.

United Labor Council of Blair County, Pa., Endorses H. R. 4943, Amending the Natural Gas Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on March 23, 1955, at Altoona, Pa., there was held a field and transportation conference during which time the plight of coal, railroad, and other industries in the central Pennsylvania area was considered. In attendance at this conference were representatives of the fuel and transportation industries, as well as spokesmen for labor organizations whose membership depends upon these industries for employment.

Among the resolutions approved at the conference is the following, which I received in the form of a telegram from Mr. C. B. Crumm, chairman of the United Labor Council, Altoona, Pa., which comprises affiliates of the A. F. of L., CIO, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

The telegram referred to is as follows:

MARCH 23, 1955.

Congressman VAN ZANDT,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

From the United Labor Council of Blair County, AFL, CIO, and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen:

The interested labor councils at the fuel and transportation conferences are very much concerned with the outcome of proposed natural-gas bill, H. R. 4943, and similar bills; also any proposed bills on the residual oil which concerns our membership from Pittsburgh, to Harrisburg, and from Clearfield to Bedford, Pa.

In conjunction with the petitions of signatures presented on behalf of our unemployed members, group 4 distressed areas, to Dr. A. S. Flemming, Director of Defense Mobilization, we concur wholeheartedly with resolutions passed at the conference meeting in Altoona, Pa., on March 23, 1955.

RESOLUTION

Whereas bills have been introduced in the Congress of the United States for the purpose of amending the Natural Gas Act; and

Whereas one of such bills is H. R. 4943, originally introduced by Congressman STAGGERS, of West Virginia, with similar bills proposed by Congressman SAYLOR (H. R. 4959), CARRIGG (H. R. 4981), KELLY (H. R. 5034), MORGAN (H. R. 5035, VAN ZANDT (H. R. 5068); and

Whereas H. R. 4943 would amend the Natural Gas Act in such manner as to further protect the Nations' fuel-consuming public from depletion of an essential and highly valuable fuel source, result in equalizing distribution of natural gas transmission costs, and assure the Nation's economy in time of war or defense of stable and readily available sources of energy to power our industrial machines; and

Whereas the provisions of H. R. 4943 and similar bills are in keeping with suggestions for changes in the Natural Gas Act contained in the Cabinet committee on energy supplies and resources policy, issued by the White House, and in the annual reports of the Federal Power Commission: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Pennsylvania Fuel and Transportation Conference in meeting at Altoona, Pa. on March 23, 1955 by this formal resolution, unanimously adopted, approves and supports the Natural Gas Act amendments as contained in H. R. 4943 and similar bills; be it further

Resolved, That the chairman of the conference be instructed to bring this action to the attention of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's congressional delegation in House and Senate; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Chairman and Members of the House and Senate Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and to the governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and both houses of the Commonwealth's legislature; be it further

Resolved, That appropriate notice of action of the conference be given the press wire services, the press of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the trade and organizational publications serving groups represented in the conference, all associations of the coal industry, the United Mine Workers of America, the Association of American Railroads, the presidents of the interested railroads, and the headquarters of all railroad brotherhoods and other employee groups.

We will appreciate anything that can be done on the above matter.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. CRUMM,
Chairman,
JOHN HORON,
Vice Chairman.
L. J. HANELLY,
Secretary.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Byelorussian National Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, March 25, 1955, is the 37th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Byelorussian National Republic. At the request of the Byelorussian-American Association, Inc., 33 Norfolk Street, New York City, I include an article commemorating this anniversary:

COMMEMORATING THE 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF BYELORUSSIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC

Each year on March 25 the Byelorussians all over the world commemorate the anniversary of the short-lived independent Byelorussian National Republic.

The whole story of the perennial fight of the Byelorussian people for their independence is a tragic one. However, their unshaken belief in justice and their great desire for the blessings of freedom encourage them to continue the struggle.

In the past Byelorussians enjoyed their own indepndent statehood for centuries. Already in the 9th century the most powerful of the Byelorussian-Slavonic tribes, the Krivichi, formed several extension states, such as Polotsk and Smolensk princedoms, which embraced almost the whole of today's Byelorussia. In the 13th century, urged by the growing strength of the German Teutonic order in the west, and the menace of Mongols in the east, Byelorussians created the great Lithuanian princedom, in original—Litva,[1] which in the 15th century stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Byelorussians never succumbed to the Mongolian yoke, as Moskovites did. Litva successfully resisted the onslaught of Mongols on Europe and finally arrested their progress toward the west. In Litva Byelorussians were in great majority even after the annexation of the devasted southern princedoms (Ukraine). Byelorussian was both the state language and the language of the educated and ruling classes. The first Byelorussian (White Ruthenian) printed book, a translation of the Bible by Dr. Francis Skaryna was published in 1517. Vilna, the capital of Litva, got its first printing press in 1525, some 80 years earlier than Moscow. The most noteworthy of the Byelorussian printed books of that time was the Litouski Statut, i. e., the code of the princedom's laws. Thus Byelorussians of today justifiably consider the Great Lithuanian princedom (Litva) a truly Byelorussian state.

Since 1385, under the pressure of external enemies from east and west, Litva entered into an unstable personal union with Poland. In 1569, the union was strengthened and the Polish-Litva Commonwealth was created, but actually each state retained much of its political, economic, and military independence. Byelorussian state lasted in this manner till the end of the 18th century. At the partition of the commonwealth (1793–97), the Russians overran it against the will of its people, in the same way as Russia has devoured hundreds of other peoples of quite different races both in Europe and Asia.

Ever since, the Russians have tried to eradicate all traces of the Byelorussian national life and political traditions. The language was continually suppressed and finally prohibited in press and court (1867); schools and churches were under strict Russian control, and there was a continuous stream of forced exiles to Siberia. But the czars never did succeed in extinguishing the spirit of the Byelorussian nation. With the collapse of the czarist empire following World War I, the Byelorussian people roused to fight for their independent state following the principle, put forth by President Wilson, of the right of every nation to self-government.

In December 1917 the first Byelorussian Congress assembled in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia; 1,872 duly elected representatives from the entire country participated. With an overwhelming majority, the Congress accepted a resolution calling for the creation of the Independent Byelorussian Democratic Republic.

Using their customary methods, the Russian Bolsheviks dispersed the session of the congress by force of arms. However, the delegates succeeded in electing the RADA (National Council) of 71 members and to grant it full powers to proceed with the establishment of the free Byelorussian National Republic.

On March 25, 1918, the RADA announced to the whole world the birth of the independent Byelorussian National Republic. Turkey, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Finland, and two Republics of Caucasus—Georgia and Armenia—recognized the Byelorussian state de jure, while many of the governments of the world recognized it de facto.

The Byelorussian people, having restored their own state on the ruins of the despotic tzarist empire, were forced to defend the young republic exclusively by their own forces, which by far proved insufficient to counteract the new form of Russian imperialism, that of bolshevism. The West turned deaf ear to repeated appeals for help. At this very time Poland decided to attack Byelorussia from the west. So, by 1921, through the interference of Byelorussia's neighbors the new formed republic was again devoured. By the peace treaty of Riga in 1921, the living body of Byelorussia was dismembered—Poland got about one-third, the rest remained under the Russian occupation. The democratic Byelorussian government, along with the majority of the members of the Rada of Byelorussian National Republic (BNR), were forced to go into exile. After 33 years, both the government and the Rada still exist and continue to operate under difficult circumstances of exile.

The so-called Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (B. S. S. R.) of today occupies only three-fifths of the Byelorussian territory with about 10 million inhabitants. The most eastern part of Byelorussia with about 7 million inhabitants is still within the boundaries of Russian Federal Soviet Socialist Republic. The Byelorussian S. S. R., proclaimed in Smolensk on January 1, 1919, is a creation of Bolsheviks, primarily aimed at counterbalancing and substituting the Byelorussian National Republic (BNR). It was established by the Sixth Northwestern Regional Conference of the Russian Communist Party. According to its written constitution, B. S. S. R. is an independent state which can even make separate treaties with other governments, and retains the right to sever its connections with Moscow. In actual fact, the B. S. S. R. government is a puppet of Moscow, deprived of all major attributes of sovereign government. The present chief delegate to the U. N. O. from Byelorussia S. S. R., Kusma V. Kisjelov, is a born Moscovite.

Thirty-three years of Communist terror in Byelorussia have caused the country greater losses than the most keen war could have done. About 3 million of Byelorussian people were executed or starved to death in various concentration camps throughout the worker's paradise, many of them were leading personalities of Byelorussian culture, science, and literature. At present, Byelorussians are suffering the worst national persecution, economic exploitation, sovietization, and russification their history has ever known. The people are continually kept at the subsistence level. Russians, not Byelorussians, occupy all positions of trust and importance. Byelorussians are reduced to a second-class people. Freedom is unknown; neither freedom of speech or freedom of the press. No one is master of himself in any sense, for everyone is under constant fear of arrest and prosecution.

Yet, all indications unmistakably prove that the ultimate aim of Moscow has not been achieved. On the contrary, it flared up with an unexpected and fierce revival. On his native soil, in the Soviet labor camps and prisons, in the underground movement, and in exile, everywhere the Byelorussian continue to oppose the Kremlin regime with mounting rigidity. Deliberate genocide, deportations and russification—nothing can shake his firm conviction that the only way to secure freedom and justice for himself is through self-government and independence.

In this unequal struggle for freedom and national independence the Byelorussian people sincerely hope for the moral acknowledgment and support on the part of the free world, the United States in particular. The world cannot achieve a lasting peace without a firm adherence to the principles of justice and morality by which freemen and free nations, large or small, must always be governed.

We, Byelorussians, living in the United States, sincerely believe in the very fundamental principle upon which the United States has been founded, namely, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Also, we believe in the pledge of President Eisenhower who affirmed in his inaugural speech his dedication to peaceful liberation of the nations oppressed by Russian communism. We hope that through the Voice of America and through the efforts of voluntary organizations, which try to penetrate the Iron Curtain, this good news will reach the Byelorussian people and strengthen their hope for freedom. With this hope they will stand firm like a thorn in the sick body of Soviet Russia, thus contributing to the internal weakness of the Soviet colossus and to the eventual downfall of the Communist tyranny.

[1] There is a definite need for the important precaution: Historical Lithuania (Litva) and Lithuania of today (Letuva) are two different things which have solely that much in common that the latter was an insignificant small part of the former, and at that time had the separate name of its own, namely that of Samogitia. The present confusion of names is truly misleading.

The Tariff on Swiss Watches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, at times there seems to be a great lack of cohesion in our interdepartmental functions. As my record will show, I was opposed to a tariff increase on Swiss watches, due to the fact that it would adversely affect the sale of Maryland tobacco in European countries. Now it seems the increase was hardly necessary from the standpoint of national defense, even though some proponents claimed it was needed for national-defense reasons.

To illustrate this lack of cohesion, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD the text of an article which appeared in the March 24 issue of the Baltimore Sun.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL SECURITY, SWISS WATCHES, ETC.

National security, in today's immensely complicated world, is difficult to define. It is not simple. Its ramifications are all but infinite. Nevertheless, an effort should be made not to speak too loosely of the national security.

The effort is not being made with sufficient thought and determination.

Early last week we were told by a spokesman for the Department of State that to publish the Yalta papers now would be contrary to the interests of our national security.

The public assumed from that statement that the Department of State had made a careful appraisal of the question and had reached a decision based on the country's

security. What else should the public have assumed?

Yet the papers were released almost immediately, for reasons unclear, unless they were political.

Let us go back 8 months and think about Swiss watches. Last July, following a recommendation of the Tariff Commission, President Eisenhower increased the tariff on Swiss watches. The action caused widespread doubts abroad as to our sincerity on "trade not aid." One argument for the higher tariff was that the Nation needed the American watchmakers' skills, and a White House statement spoke of an important collateral effect of the tariff boost on the national defense.

The public assumed that the Department of Defense had thought the matter over and decided that it needed protection for American watchmakers. What else should the public have assumed?

Now it turns out that the Department of Defense did, indeed, think the matter over, and that it decided that the watch industry needed no special or preferential treatment, from the standpoint of defense needs. Its report, written in April of last year, has just been made available.

Incidents like these are damaging to the national security. They tend to make the public skeptical of the very phrase. At a time when we are engaged in one of history's great struggles, it is more important than ever that language be used with some precision, and that the broad general concepts within which we perforce think as a community be not irresponsibly debased.

President Syngman Rhee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday of this week, Syngman Rhee, the President of Korea, will celebrate his 80th birthday. Americans everywhere will wish him many happy returns.

Like America's Patrick Henry, President Rhee has had one dedicated objective in his long life—namely, to free his country from the yoke of foreign oppression, and plant the love of freedom—and the determination to fight for it—in the hearts of his countrymen. Among all the questions and doubts enshrouding the future of Asia, Syngman Rhee stands today, as he has throughout his long life, a man of no compromise where freedom is concerned.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the April issue of Korean Survey, which pays a highly deserved tribute to President Rhee on the occasion of his 80th birthday. As it well says:

Americans hail President Rhee because his achievements have been not alone for Korea but for global freedom as well.

The editorial follows:

PRESIDENT SYNGMAN RHEE: HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY

On March 26 nationwide celebrations will be held in Korea (extending surreptitiously, we hay be sure, behind the Communist front in North Korea) honoring the 80th birthday of President Syngman Rhee—who is the father not alone of Korea's independence but of its modernity and democracy as well.

Syngman Rhee merits the admiration and has won the gratitude of the entire free world. On June 25, 1950, he led his nation into a war of resistance against the overwhelming surprise attack launched by the Communist Empire and thereby made possible effective action by the United States and other Allies to save the United Nations from the danger of dissolution and to prevent the rapid spread of Communist imperialism through all Asia.

The first President of the Republic of Korea, elected on July 19, 1948, and reelected in July 1952, Dr. Rhee was also unanimously elected President of the revolutionary Provisional Republic of Korea established in exile in April 1919. From his youth as a leader in the movement to reform Korea's ancient monarchy (as a consequence of which he was imprisoned from 1897 to 1904), Syngman Rhee has devoted his entire life to the liberation, democratic advancement, and reunification of his nation. As a prophet warning against the imperial ambitions of Japan in the 1930's and of Russia in subsequent years, he has rendered tremendous services to the free world. Under the inspiration of his leadership, the people of Korea have served as an impregnable bastion of democracy in north Asia.

Born March 26, 1875, Dr. Rhee was educated soundly in the ancient culture of the Far East, then studied English and democracy in the Pai Jai Mission School in Seoul. In 1904 he came to the United States to earn his A. B. degree at George Washington University, his M. A. at Harvard and his Ph.D. at Princeton. Specializing in international relations, and writing his doctoral dissertation on American Policies of Neutrality in the Far East, Dr. Rhee developed an unusually sound background for clear-visioned statesmanship in dealing with the problems that have beset his people and the democratic world.

In a book entitled "The Spirit of Independence," which he wrote in prison in 1904, he set forth his basic creed as follows: "If your own heart is without patriotism, your heart is your enemy. * * * Do not wait for others to lead or to do what must be done, but arouse yourself. If you do not do it, it never will be done."

With the advent of self-government for south Korea in 1948, President Rhee led in the accomplishment of a remarkable program of democratic reforms.

Suffrage and full equality were granted to women as well as men. Universal education was encouraged and assisted. A land reform system practically wiping out farm tenantry was enacted. Freedom of speech was encouraged and over 90 newspapers of divergent editorial policies were established. A multiparty political situation has gradually evolved into a strong two-party system. Independence of the judiciary and of the legislature has been balanced by popularly supported executive leadership. Among all his great achievements, President Rhee will be remembered for his success in firmly emplanting the roots of genuine democracy on the continent of Asia.

Americans hail President Rhee because his achievements have been not alone for Korea but for global freedom as well. In the world struggle between the democracies and the totalitarian Communists, his people have been the severest sufferers and his courageous leadership has been a rallying point for the Allies. It is the deep hope of countless millions that his long life will be climaxed by seeing his country reunited and his people secure and prosperous in their independent democracy.

Some of the Tourist Attractions of the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 21, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama is coming to realize and to develop its scenic and tourist attractions with each passing year. The miracles that will soon be wrought on the Warrior River, and particularly in its headwaters, will, in time, provide a natural playground which should attract tourists, as well as the people who live in the area itself.

The New Hope Dam, designed to be approximately 300 feet high, will be the second highest dam east of the Mississippi River.

The large steam, electric-generating plants at Gorgas, Ala., along with the adjacent mines, and together with the world-famous experiment in underground coal gasification are beginning to attract large numbers of visitors.

While these attractions are classified as being partially man-made, the natural wonders of that area of Alabama are most absorbing. Some that come quickly to mind are the Natural Bridge of Alabama, located in Winston County, 10 miles south of Haleyville on State Highway 195; the Cheatham Road—State Highway 36—Natural Bridge with a 70-foot span in the William B. Bankhead National Forest in Winston County; and the 80-foot Sandstone Natural Bridge, located 10 miles east of Phil Campbell in Franklin County, Ala. Others are the Underground Lake at Belgreen, and the Dismal Falls in Franklin County.

The Ave Maria Grotto in Cullman County is nationally known.

Very little has been written about these scenic attractions of this area of Alabama. There are many more than I have named.

My neighbor, Mr. W. M. Massey, of Jasper, Ala., published a story, entitled "Bridges What Come Naturally," dealing with the natural bridges of the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama, plus one in Tennessee. The article was published in the March 1955 issue of Ford Times.

The article follows:

BRIDGES WHAT COME NATURALLY

(By W. M. Massey)

In northwestern Alabama, a farmer likes to build his home on a ridge. It tickles his fancy to think that water falling on one side of his roof will reach the Gulf of Mexico via the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, while raindrops sliding down the other side will travel via the Sipsey, Warrior, and Tombigbee.

The varied topography that allows this indulgence is also responsible for some very satisfactory scenery that is not widely known. The hinterland of the Muscle Shoals area, where thousands of vacationers an-

nually enjoy the man-made dams and lakes of the Tennessee Valley system, is replete with cliffs, gorges, waterfalls and an assortment of natural bridges.

About 50 miles north is the Natural Bridge of Tennessee, on U. S. 64 near Waynesboro. Here twin arches of limestone are set at right angles and joined on both ends by a semicircular bluff, on the Buffalo River. Terraces in the eroded rock form a natural amphitheatre in which, for some 40 years before the Civil War, the courts of Stone and Hardin Counties held sessions. A sign announces that David Crockett was a magistrate here in 1812. This is a resort area, with an admission fee.

The traveler southbound from Muscle Shoals may be startled to encounter the sign, "You are now entering the Free State of Winston * * *" It is a matter of much local pride that this county refused to secede from the Union in the War Between the States. It set up its own government, issued its own currency, and raised 5 companies of infantry for the Union Army. Its scenery is further cause for pride. A report by the Geological Survey of Alabama described it in these considered terms: "The topographical features are varied, grand, wild, and picturesque. It has abrupt chasms 200 to 300 feet below the general level of the county. These have perpendicular and overhanging rock cliffs 75 to 100 feet high * * *"

One of those "abrupt chasms" is traversed by the Natural Bridge of Alabama, claimed to be the longest rock span in the East. It is 10 miles south of Haleyville, on State 195. Fifty years ago excursion trains brought city folk from Birmingham and Sheffield to marvel at this natural wonder and to picnic in its shadow. People are still coming—but in automobiles. The bridge is privately owned and admission is charged.

There are 2 other natural bridges nearby. One is an 80-foot sandstone arch hidden in a heavily wooded area of Franklin County, 10 miles east of the town of Phil Campbell. The other is in the national forest, on Cheatham Road (State highway 36). This 70-foot span is suspended half-way up nearly-vertical canyon walls.

To the dyed-in-the-wool nature lover, Bee Branch Scenic Area is the top attraction of the forest and the entire region. This deep box cayon, with vertical sandstone walls 60 to 125 feet high, shelters one of the last stands of virgin hardwood in Alabama. Its giant tulip trees, hemlocks and pines have been untouched by man or fire. The largest is a tulip tree 80 inches in diameter and 150 feet high. Roads and trails in the area are meager—by design. This 1,140-acre plot is to be preserved to show future generations a bit of genuine wilderness. The public is welcome but, as the local ranger puts it wryly, "Nothing is done to make access easy."

"Bowing to Red Gangsters"—Editorial From the Manchester Union-Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Bowing to Red Gangsters," which was published in the Manchester (N. H.) Union-Leader on March 21.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOWING TO RED GANGSTERS

It is distinctly baffling to see the British and fellow-traveling Americans talking about the rights of the Red government in China and urging that Chiang Kai-shek should be eliminated.

The Red government in China is not a representative of the Chinese people but only a bunch of freebooters. The Yalta papers which took Soviet Russia into the Far Eastern war less than a week before it ended, enabled the Soviets to rush into Manchuria where a heavy supply of Japanese arms and ammunition was surrendered to them.

These military supplies were then turned over to the Chinese Communists, who used them in their war against National China. Meanwhile, the Nationalists were crippled by the withholding of American military supplies, after nearly 15 years of struggle against the Japanese invaders.

This gave the Reds the advantage and Chiang Kai-shek was driven out of China to Formosa, where he was able to establish his defenses. The Chinese people were turned over to a band of gangsters which has kept its foot on their neck since then. There has been no election to test the peoples' reaction to the Red government. Fifteen million have died from Red persecution, it is estimated.

Are these gangsters going to be accepted now as the legitimate rulers of China and received into the fellowship of free peoples? Surely such a proposal is absolutely crazy. Meanwhile Chiang Kai-shek is the man who unified China—the man who led the defense of China against Japanese aggression. He is the true representative of the Chinese people. In Formosa he has established a democratic system that has won wide approbation. Now he awaits the opportunity to restore freedom to China.

For nations that claim to be defenders of freedom to turn Chiang Kai-shek down and talk about receiving the Red Chinese gangsters into their fellowship is not only an insult to justice, but it is a deliberate outrage against the Chinese people, whose dream of freedom is being destroyed. It is time the American people awakened to the seriousness of this situation. Surely we don't want a repetition of Yalta in China today.

Look Before Leaping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues here in Congress an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post under date of Wednesday, March 23, 1955, entitled "Look Before Leaping." I recommend for your consideration this editorial which follows:

LOOK BEFORE LEAPING

The revolt in the House against the 7.5 percent average-pay raise for postal employees recommended by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee was another manifestation of that body's reluctance to face fiscal realities when it considers pay bills and taxes. The House voted 302 to 120 against taking up the bill under a rule forbidding amendments only because it was not considered generous enough. A majority appears to favor 10 percent increases even though a bill carrying that figure is likely to encounter a Presidential veto. The result might be no increase at all for postal workers.

Postal workers and other Government employees are undoubtedly entitled to higher pay. The question is how much should be granted. So far as postal workers are concerned, Congress could deal with the problem more realistically if it had increased postal rates to cover the wage and salary boost. The administration has sent its recommendations to Capitol Hill, and they have been embodied in the Murray bill to adjust postal rates temporarily and create a commission on postal rates. But no hearings have yet been scheduled on the bill. If the new rates favored by the Post Office Department are approved, they will bring in an additional $342 million. But if Congress should add more than $200 million to the Department's paryroll and then decline to increase rates, much of the progress that has been made toward reducing the postal deficit would be wiped out.

It is necessary to bear in mind also that incentive pay raises ought to be voted for the Armed Forces and that more than a million classified Federal employees are entitled to an increase. With Congress driving hard for tax reduction—a demand that will be repeatedly pressed during the next year and a half—legislators should take time to see where they are heading. No one needs to be a financier or a budget expert to see that pay increases must be kept moderate if spending in excess of income is not to be substantially increased at a time when the country ought to be paying its own way.

One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, March 25 will mark the 134th anniversary of Greek independence.

Over a century ago the Greek people recovered their freedom and emerged once again an independent nation.

We here in America are happy to pay tribute to this great country and to her courageous people. Ancient Greece was the cradle of democracy and her culture formed the cornerstone of our western civilization. We know from history of the past glories and achievements of Greece; and we are forever indebted to her for the heritage she has handed down to us—love of liberty and concern for our fellowmen.

Since her reestablishment among the community of free nations, Greece has been beset by many enemies. In spite of those difficulties she has contributed far more than her share to the cause of world peace by her magnificent participation in World War II and in the recent Korean conflict.

Her determined opposition to nazism and communism, despite the sufferings and persecution of her people, has demonstrated to all how much freedom means to her. We have been proud to have the Greeks as our allies in the past,

and we shall consider it an honor and a privilege to continue our associations with her in the future as guardians of democracy.

Chief Judge Albert Conway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on February 17, 1955, the Brooklyn Lawyers Club of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies honored one of Brooklyn's—no—one of New York's greatest citizens, the Honorable Albert Conway. My first contact with the distinguished gentleman was when I sat at his feet as a student in classes taught by him at the Brooklyn Law School. I soon learned to respect and admire him as a fine teacher, an excellent lawyer, a truly high minded public servant, but most of all as a real friend.

He has served with distinction as a district attorney, State superintendent of insurance, county court judge, supreme court justice, associate judge of the court of appeals, and now as chief judge of that court, the highest in the State of New York.

Despite the heavy demands upon his time by official duties, he has always found time to devote to every worthwhile civic and charitable endeavor of our community.

Little wonder then, that among the many fine tributes to him that night were the following communications from the highest and most respected of our public officials:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D. C.

DONALD FREUND,
President, Brooklyn Lawyers Club:

Please convey my congratulations to the Honorable Albert Conway on the honor which the Brooklyn Lawyers Club extends to him on February 17. To all his friends who thus join in tribute to an eminent jurist, I send best wishes.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DONALD FREUND,
26 Court Street:

May I tell you again how deeply sorry I am that official engagements of long-standing have made it impossible for me to attend the dinner in honor of Judge Conway at Union Temple. It would have given me the keenest pleasure to have joined his many other friends in this well-deserved tribute to Judge Conway, for whom I have great admiration and affection. I have known Albert Conway for more than a quarter century, and had the great privilege of appointing him to the court of appeals in 1940. He has made a wonderful record and I rejoice that he is now serving as chief judge, the highest judicial post in the State of New York. Will you please give Albert my congratulations and my affectionate regards?

HERBERT H. LEHMAN.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., January 26, 1955.

DONALD FREUND, Esq.,
President of Brooklyn Lawyers Club,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR PRESIDENT FREUND: I greatly appreciate your thought of me in connection with the testimonial dinner, which is being given in honor of Judge Albert Conway, on the evening of Thursday, February 17, at Union Temple. Because of my great admiration and high regard for the guest of honor, I should like very much to be present and thus to pay tribute to him in person. Unfortunately for me a long-standing engagement for that same evening, which I shall be obliged to keep if possible, is going to prevent me from being in New York at that time.

Please convey to Judge Conway my deep regret that I cannot be on hand. His has been an unusual, long, and distinguished career in his noble profession and in public service. No one more than he deserves the tribute being paid to him by the Brooklyn Lawyers Club. Please express to him my hearty congratulations upon a tribute so richly deserved and my every good wish for all that is best in health, happiness, and success in the years ahead.

Again thanking you for inviting me to be present, I am

Sincerely yours,

IRVING M. IVES.

ALBANY, N. Y.

DONALD FREUND, Esq.,
President, Brooklyn Lawyers Club:

My warmest greetings to the Brooklyn Lawyers Club and to the renowned jurist, Albert Conway, whom you are honoring this evening. I deeply regret my inability to join personally in the tributes being paid to Chief Judge Conway, for his many years of service to the State and his contributions in the field of jurisprudence. All good wishes for the continuing and increasing vigor of the charitable, communal and civil activities of the Brooklyn Lawyers Club.

AVERELL HARRIMAN.

Judge Conway's remarks that evening have important significance and though addressed to a lawyers group, would be as apropos if delivered to a group of legislators. I, therefore, commend them to the attention of our colleagues.

They follow:

THE OBLIGATION OF THE LAWYER

(Address by Hon. Albert Conway, Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals on February 17, 1955, before the Brooklyn Lawyers Club)

I must tell you, first and foremost, how much I appreciate the thoughtfulness and kindness of the Brooklyn Lawyers Club of the Jewish Federation of Philanthropies in tendering this dinner in my honor as chief judge. I appreciate that you are honoring both the office and me but I, as a Brooklynite, shall treasure the memory of it. I have lived here in Brooklyn all my life and practiced law here all of my life as a lawyer. I believe that it is much easier to be well-liked and acclaimed in cities away from one's neighbors and so I have always wished to be liked in my borough among the people with whom I have grown up and with whom I have lived. Thus, I especially appreciate this dinner and thank you for it.

I should like to leave one thought with you this evening. I shall take as my text words of wisdom uttered by Mr. Bernard Baruch last year at a dedication ceremony:

"Government is only an instrument for regulating society. A limited democracy—the political form we live under—is bound to have its faults since none of us who make up this democracy is perfect. But this democracy has given each of us the opportunity to better his own condition by his own striving—and more than that no government can give us. * * *

"We in this country have succeeded because we have made Americanization synonymous with expanded opportunity. We have sought our goal of equality for all not by pulling everyone down to the same level, as has happened elsewhere, but by giving everyone the opportunity to rise."

In a measure, lawyers are set apart as members of a learned profession. I have always looked upon them as trustees of the rights of the residents of their communities. Those rights are life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness and the opportunity to rise commensurate with one's capacity and capability as received from his Creator. The correlative duties of such residents are to be good citizens, to see that justice under law prevails, and to support all worthwhile projects contributing to the good of their communities. Lawyers are thus as a group set apart. There is no other group which is the trustee of our community rights and must step forward to protect those rights when to fail to do so would be injurious. The people look to us in addition for leadership. If you will consider for a moment you will realize that the people continually display not only their acceptance of the fact that we supply the leadership but also their expectation that we will live up to our heritage in that respect for in this country we have supplied the leadership since the days of the Founding Fathers. That entails more obligations than those of any other profession. A profession, as we know, is not a business. It is only for high minded individuals of character who work assiduously, not only in their preparation for a degree and for a license to practice but also for their clients during the balance of their lives as practicing lawyers. The old adage tells us that the law is a jealous mistress. Indeed, the practice of the law takes precedence even over family obligations if the rights of a client hang in the balance.

Again, if you will consider, you will realize that there is no other profession where the people in every community, whenever any worthwhile endeavor is to be initiated, require that there be a member of our profession on the executive board, by whatever name it may be called. We are the uncommon men from whom those in our community demand service, far and beyond that which they require of business men or of men in any other profession except that of religion. When I speak of the uncommon men I refer to those men to whom much knowledge and ability has been granted and, therefore, men from whom much is to be expected and by whom much must be returned to their neighbors. It is not enough, however, that we as lawyers be trustees of the rights of our neighbors and that we as organized groups, such as this, are ready to spring to our neighbor's aid when his rights are in danger. Take freedom, for instance, freedom is the most important of our possessions and one easily lost. The Chinese have a proverb to the effect that when a man losses his freedom he has nothing else to lose. Mr. John Lord O'Brian, of Washington, a distinguished lawyer, speaking in December last put it clearly when he said:

"All of us agree that freedom for the individual is the most important and precious of our possessions. What we often forget, however, is that freedom cannot be created by law. All that the law can accomplish is to protect the rights of the individual from interference either by other individuals or by government. As Justice Brandeis once

observed, the American Constitution 'conferred, as against the government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the one most valued by civilized man.' In America we constantly advocate respect for the dignity of man and the sanctity of the individual. But dignity cannot be conferred upon the citizen by law. The qualities that give dignity to the individual and sanctity to his personal beliefs are qualities that must be developed within the inner life of the individual himself."

While then we are trustees of the rights of those who reside in our respective communities, we can accomplish little unless those residents fully understand the fact that our government is unique in the history of mankind. The great contribution of America has been to make law the sovereign by means of a written constitution binding equally the government and the governed. Also, we can make little progress if it be not understood that freedom is not created by law. Laws are not self-executing. The public opinion which is the great law enforcer can come only from those who understand the problems which the specific law, whether common law or statute law, was meant and intended to solve. Education then in the philosophical theory of and basis for our government and education is the meaning of freedom under law, since freedom presupposes law, must also come from the organized bar, whether it by the Lawyers' Club, such as this, or a bar association. You have a double duty, but it should not be too difficult if you teach it at your community level and thus make it leaven. It seems to me to be your duty as lawyers and mine as a judge to endeavor to do this to the best of our ability and thus to justify the confidence which has been reposed in you and me by our respective communities.

Repeat Performance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I voted to suspend the rules of the House to permit consideration of H. R. 4644, the postal pay bill. In the last Congress I voted for the only postal pay bill which had a possibility of becoming law.

I voted to suspend the rules for H. R. 4644 because I believe we should not further delay the passing of this pay legislation by incorporating provisions which would threaten the pay increases proposed in H. R. 4644.

As for the classification features of the bill, much study has been given to them and I believe they should be given a trial. Then after a fair test has been given, we can make the needed adjustments in later legislation covering classification.

The Washington Star presented its readers an editorial last night, warning of a "repeat performance" of what happened last year when postal employees lost their increase and pointing out that the course now being pursued is heading in the same direction. It follows:

[From the Evening Star of March 23, 1955]

REPEAT PERFORMANCE?

It is beginning to look as though Congress is headed for a repeat performance of past errors in handling postal and classified pay legislation. Last year Congress ignored warnings of a Presidential veto and passed legislation unacceptable to the administration. As a result Federal employees lost their pay raise. Now there are new warnings of a possible Presidential veto if a postal raise of more than 7.5 percent is voted. But the House has gone right ahead with plans to exceed that limit. And the Senate Civil Service Committee has reported a bill calling for a 10-percent increase.

The House rejected an opportunity Monday to pass a bill that would have lifted postal pay to the ceiling which President Eisenhower insists is necessary to keep the cost within reasonable bounds. Instead the House preferred to follow a course which will permit amendment of the committee-approved 7.5 percent bill when it reaches the floor. Of course, if the House eventually should vote for an 8- or 10-percent raise for postal workers, fair play would dictate a like increase for all Government employees in the classified service.

The President, in a letter to Chairman MURRAY, of the House Civil Service Committee, last week, said he was concerned about the fiscal impact of even a 7.5-percent increase. "In fairness to you and your colleagues," he wrote, "I must make it clear that any additional increases in postal salaries above your committee's action would give me the gravest apprehension." It is hard to see how he could have made his warning any plainer, short of actually mentioning a veto. In fact, the language has been interpreted at the Capitol as being tantamount to a veto threat. If Congress continues to ignore the Presidential warning, it will be subjecting Federal employees to the risk of more shattered hopes. For there is no assurance that advocates of higher raises would be able to muster the two-thirds vote in each House necessary to override a veto.

A Fair Basis for Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, 83d Congress, under the chairmanship of Hon. CARROLL D. KEARNS, held hearings on the need for Federal aid for school construction. In an unanimous report the subcommittee acknowledged the urgency of the need and recommended "that legislation be enacted providing for Federal payments to enable the States and local communities to expand their school construction program."

On the first day of the 84th Congress Mr. KEARNS and Hon. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY, the ranking Democratic member of the Kearns subcommittee, introduced identical bills—H. R. 14 and H. R. 15.

One of the features of the Bailey-Kearns bills was the proposal to distribute the Federal aid to the States on a flat-grant basis. Money appropriated by the Federal Government would be allocated to the States on the basis of the ratio of school age population in the State to the total school age population in the Nation. Then each State, in order to secure its allotment, would match the Federal allocation on a statewide 50–50 basis.

Other bills have been introduced providing different formulas for distribution. A modification of the principle of the Hill-Burton Act for hospital construction has been suggested, and population-taxation formulas have been advanced.

The equity of the Bailey-Kearns approach has support in the following article by Dr. Samuel M. Brownell in the Nation's Schools, March 1946, written before Dr. Brownell became Commissioner of Education. Dr. Brownell's article follows:

A FAIR BASIS FOR FEDERAL AID—DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PUPILS WOULD AVOID OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES OF OTHER PLANS

(By Samuel M. Brownell, Department of Education, Yale University)

It is of national concern that each child receive an education which is reasonably adequate; yet, measured by any standards, there are now many children receiving an education which is entirely inadequate.

Present economic and tax conditions make some communities and States unable to meet even low standards of education. State and local educational consciences in other localities are so low that they permit patently inadequate educational conditions to continue.

THE FEDERAL CONTROL FACTOR

These statements record conclusions that have been made from and are supported by research investigations and the study of individuals and groups that avocate Federal financial aid to schools. But, as pointed out in the timely and important document, "Federal-State Relations in Education," [1] these facts must be considered in relation to certain others, as for instance, the fact that the foundations of democracy would be jeopardized by centralized control of education which might result from certain types of Federal financial support of schools.

Furthermore, a tremendous and needless waste of resources has been observed where there are uncoordinated Federal, State and local educational enteprises, notable particularly because some federally supported enterprises ignore, compete with or dominate State and locally supported educational programs.

Recognizing the foregoing issues and problems is one thing. Developing a program which will resolve them is another. For years professional groups have proposed that Federal aid be granted but these proposals have not been accepted. Instead, Federal funds and programs have "come in the back door." In addition to recognizing the undesirability of and dangers in the present situation, it is perhaps proper that we examine some of the reasons for the nonacceptance of past Federal-aid proposals.

Without attempting to be exhaustive, we suggest three possible factors contributing to their nonacceptance.

1. Confusion has existed as to what is meant by equality of Federal interest in the education of each child and as to the provisions for Federal contributions to the States. Local communities long ago abandoned the practice of providing education supplementary to whatever parents could or would provide. Rate bills were abolished as were special schools for indigents.

SCHOOLS PROVIDED FOR ALL

The principle upon which schooling was furnished was, in general, this: because the community has an interest in the educa-

[1] Federal-State Relations in Education, Educational Policies Commission and Problems and Policies Committee, March 1945.

tion of each child, it will establish schools for any and all who wish to and can utilize them. It makes no difference whether a child's parents are wealthy or poor, white or black, live close to the school or a long distance away, the means of education are provided to all equally.

The claim for a Federal stake in the education of each child is based on the importance to the preservation and advance of democracy of having each child receive an adequate minimum or basic education. The Government's stake or interest would, therefore, seem to extend to all children regardless of the financial status of their parents or their commuuity. A plan for contrbuting Federal funds equally to each public school child would be in accord with long-established local school policy and would eliminate the contention held by many who have opposed one or another plan for Federal aid because they considered it discriminatory.

ECONOMIC NEED NO CRITERION

2. Educational need is tied inseparably with economic need in most proposals for Federal aid. Economic need, i. e. lack of sufficient tax resources to provide good education, in reality has little to do with educational need. The obtaining of adequate resources is a fundamental economic problem which is as basic to the support of public health, good roads and other governmental services as it is to the support of schools.

The Federal Government may and does recognize this through a tax program which, in general, collects most heavily from individuals and localities which have a high economic capacity and least heavily from those with the least capacity. It also attempts to aid States and communities to become economically self-sufficient through development of their resources or discourages the continuance of economically poor areas through resettlement and so on.

A permanent policy of Federal aid to poor communities does not strike at the basic problem. Furthermore, it draws opposition from those who recognize it as a form of double taxation, that is, a method of taking the most from those communities which have the greatest capacity to pay and distributing to them the least because of this capacity.

Clear recognition that economic need is a tax problem which should be separately considered from educational need would lend further support to those who accept the fact that the Federal Government has an interest in the education of all pupils alike. Educational need from the Federal point of view would be reckoned in terms of the number of pupils in school membership in any and all parts of the Nation.

3. Proposals for Federal support profess to want to eliminate Federal control but seek to incorporate certain types of control. A genuine faith in the effectiveness of the democratic process and in the ability of the community and the State to provide adequate education for all pupils is consistent with the position that education is a State and local function. Full acceptance of this principle would recognize that in providing funds for education the Federal Government needs no control beyond a report to show that as much money has been spent by the State on public education as has been allotted to it.

State and local leadership and educational conscience would be relied upon to see that more adequate education was provided by utilizing the combined Federal, State, and local resources than was possible through State and local resources alone. Federal leadership could be devoted to assisting the State and local leaders and to stimulating a more enlightened educational conscience throughout the Nation.

A proposal which makes Federal aid supplementary to State and local support of education involves the determination by the Government of how much or what kind of education and educational support is required before the Federal grant is made. Distribution of Federal funds on the basis of the "pauper oath" or economic need calls for Federal control sufficient to determine the economic status of the State or community.

Acceptance of these controls opens Pandora's box. Those who distrust local and State leadership are in good position to press for controls to insure that school support will increase if Federal aid is given, to seek some means of preventing "misuse" of the money, to see that there is a State plan for using the money for teachers' salaries, to require equal distribution of funds to all races, or to require that the money be spent only in elementary schools and so on. These demands would make easier the opening of the way for further controls. They would evidence a lack of faith in local and State leadership and in democracy.

DOLLARS PER PUPIL PLAN IS FAIR

It may well be that educators could profit most from the nonacceptance of previous proposals for Federal aid to education by supporting a plan to appropriate and distribute to each State a given number of dollars per pupil in average membership in public elementary and secondary schools. This plan would provide a simple and easily understood basis for recognizing the Federal stake in the education of each child, would treat educational need as separate from economic need and would permit the distribution of funds to be free from all Federal control beyond a State affidavit that the amount of money received had been spent on the public schools.

The proposal has other merits; objections to it can be raised also, but it certainly offers a remedy for a number of conditions which past proposals have overlooked.

Yalta and History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Yalta and History," written by George Sokolsky, and published in the Washington Post of March 24, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

History has a curious way of asserting itself despite the efforts of vain men and powerful politicians to suppress the truth. Those who rewrite history to suit their private ends fail to suppress the whole truth because always somewhere, even hidden in desert sands, is another record which, in time, is uncovered.

Thus, for 10 years, the errors of Teheran and Yalta have covered the political battlefield with the reputations of men who believed that they were wholly safe from the light of truth.

Before the Yalta Conference took place, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, East Finland, East Poland, Bessarabia, and Bukovina had already become absorbed in the Russian Empire. Stalin had erected Communist governments in Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Albania prior to the Yalta Conference. He had also forced Communist participation in the governments of West Finland and Czechoslovakia and imperiled our position in Asia by maintaining a Chinese Communist military force in China.

The Yalta documents need to be read in this framework. It is not possible to believe that Roosevelt did not know the pattern that Stalin was cutting out of paper maps. Also, Roosevelt knew about the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, and it should have been a guide to Stalin's weltanschauung. In fact, in the very first conversation between Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta, Stalin made his position clear: The earth was to be managed by the three great powers and he was taking no back talk from any of the little nations. This is the conversation as reported by Bohlen:

"Marshal Stalin made it quite plain on a number of occasions that he felt that the three great powers which had borne the brunt of the war and had liberated from German domination the small powers should have the unanimous right to preserve the peace of the world. He said that he could serve no other interest than that of the Soviet state and people, but that in the international arena the Soviet Union was prepared to pay its share in the preservation of peace. He said that it was ridiculous to believe that Albania would have an equal voice with the three great powers who had won the war and were present at this dinner. * * *"

This policy Soviet Russia has pursued to the present day. Roosevelt is not reported to have protested against this principle of international conduct. Bohlen's notes say that he commented as follows:

"* * * The President said he agreed that the great powers bore the greater responsibility and that the peace should be written by the three powers represented at this table."

It was Winston Churchill who raised his voice, as apparently he often did, for the smaller countries, particularly for Poland. Bohlen gives this credit to Churchill:

"The Prime Minister said that there was no question of the small powers dictating to the big powers but that the great nations of the world should discharge their moral responsibility and leadership and should exercise their power with moderation and great respect for the rights of the smaller nations. * * *"

But Roosevelt said nothing about the Atlantic Charter, about the rights of small nations, about justice for friend and foe. This kind of talk was for the people; the hardheaded, practical men who sat in the Livadia Palace, on the Black Sea, had no time for petty talk. They were making history—by enslaving millions to Stalin's chariot.

It is not a pretty picture, but it is one that will undoubtedly be painted in even more lurid details when all the documents are available.

Congressman Dollinger's Report to His Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, at the close of the first session of the 84th

Congress, I shall prepare and include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my report to my constituents. I make this statement now so that the people I represent may know that the report will reach them shortly after the close of the session, and that they will be advised of progress made and the status of legislation of interest to them.

Why Should America Stand Last?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 14, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the strongest statements in behalf of the American merchant marine and our shipbuilding industry appears in an article written by James A. Brownlow, president of the A. F. of L. metal trades department. I hope that Members of Congress will have an opportunity to read it, for it is most timely.

The article follows:

WHY SHOULD AMERICA STAND LAST?

(By James A. Brownlow, president, A. F. of L. metal trades department)

America's shipbuilding industry and merchant marine are vital links in our national defense. On the strength and readiness of the shipbuilding industry and the merchant marine the safety and economic well-being of all Americans depend to a considerable degree. We should have learned this lesson well—the hard way—from our experiences in World War I, World War II, and, more recently, the Korean conflict.

Each time our shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine were completely unprepared to meet the emergency. Each time our shipbuilding industry had to perform its tasks in a great rush and at great cost. Each time the industry had been allowed to stagnate until the next emergency hit us.

It is high time that all Americans, regardless of where we live or what we do for a living, awake to this national problem. We must see to it that our elected spokesmen in Congress are aware of our concern and of our insistence on legislation to meet this critical situation effectively.

What has happened to our once vast shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine is a sad saga hidden in statistics. Seldom does the story make the headlines. The reports and the releases of the Maritime Administration and the various shipbuilding and merchant marine associations tell a tale all Americans should know and do something about.

Lloyd's latest report indicates that the United States has dropped to last place among the major shipbuilding nations of the free world. During the last quarter of 1954 our country fell from 6th to 12th place. On January 1 the gross tonnage on the ways in our private United States yards was less than half of that on October 1 of last year.

Lloyd's report is based on all vessels under construction having a gross tonnage of 100 gross tons or more. The Shipbuilders' Council of America collects figures on merchant vessels of 1,000 gross tons or over and which are under construction or on order. The council's report for January 1 reveals the same shocking story.

On that day the shipyards of the free world had under construction or on order 1,347 vessels of 11,249,398 gross tons. Of this total only 14 vessels of 193,660 gross tons were in American yards. The United States had dropped to 10th among the major shipbuilding nations. On January 1 we had only 1.7 percent of the total tonnage building or on order.

What were other countries doing? Here is the picture:

Country:	Percentage
Britain	35.1
Germany	12.6
Sweden	12.3
Holland	9.8
Japan	7.0
France	5.3
Norway	4.8
Italy	3.9
Denmark	2.7

While the United States has been slipping rapidly in ship construction, other countries have been experiencing remarkable gains. During the last quarter of 1954 the yards of the United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, Holland, and Italy all rolled up substantial increases in new-tonnage construction. Japan nearly doubled her tonnage during the last quarter of 1954. She claims that during the last three quarters of 1954 she had more ships on order than in 80 years of shipbuilding. Japan now claims to be third in the world in shipbuilding capacity. The yards of Western Germany turned out 920,000 gross tons in 1954—the largest tonnage since World War II. And British yards have a backlog of 4,250,000 gross tons, the president of that country's shipbuilding conference has announced.

Meanwhile our own American shipbuilding industry is in a distressed condition, and it is indeed a sad commentary that this condition has been aggravated—and to a large measure caused—by American firms and their affiliates. They have aggravated the condition by placing ship construction orders in foreign shipyards.

While American yards and their skilled work forces are suffering from lack of work, United States companies and their affiliates have seen fit to build large numbers of ocean-going vessels in the busy shipyards of foreign countries which have been rolling up substantial tonnage.

As of last June 30 United States companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in foreign yards and for foreign registry 57 vessels, totaling 888,687 gross tons—roughly, four times the entire merchant ship tonnage which all our United States yards had building or on order as of that date.

The orders for 57 vessels to be built in foreign yards included 41 tankers of 678,252 gross tons, 10 ore carriers of 187,150 gross tons, and 6 dry-cargo vessels of 23,285 gross tons.

These orders of American companies and their affiliates placed in foreign shipyards amount to almost five times the total tonnage under construction or on order in our American yards on February 1. As of that date our yards had on the ways or on order only 13 seagoing or inland merchant vessels of 1,000 gross tons or more. These 13 vessels, 7 for Government account and 6 for private United States flag account, total only 188,960 gross tons.

These foreign shipbuilding orders of American companies and their affiliates would have assured employment for 1 year for more than the 36,000 skilled-worker nucleus which the Maritime Administration figures we need to maintain our private yards in a position to meet the needs of rapid expansion in the event of full mobilization.

If we include our coastal, Great Lakes, and inland waterways and the repair facilities, 130,000 workers are needed in the shipyards of the Nation. These workers and yards should be distributed in the proper ratio on the three coastal fronts, and also inland and Great Lakes waterways.

A few weeks ago another large American oil company (Tide Water Associated Oil) announced that it had ordered four 50,000-ton supertankers, the largest such ships ever built, to be constructed in France and delivered in late 1956 and early 1957.

The Maritime Administration has estimated that the construction of a considerably smaller supertanker of 35,500 deadweight tons provides approximately 750 manyears of shipyard work. On this basis, it would appear that these 4 supertankers alone would have supplied our shipyards with at least 4,000 manyears of shipyard work.

Each of these vessels ordered abroad is a direct loss to our shipbuilding industry. As all of them are to be operated under a foreign flag, they will also constitute a loss to our American merchant marine. It is through such practices that these companies fail to sustain our American standard of living and the purchasing power of American workers, which is principally responsible for the broad American markets for their products.

These companies are American companies. They have a moral obligation to support American industry and our standard of living. It is unfair of them to ignore the plight of American workers. The patronage of American workers has made their success possible.

Trade unionists are well acquainted with the tactics of the runaway shop and farming-out of work. What is this practice of American companies in placing their ship construction work in foreign yards and then operating the vessels under foreign flags but another form of this same old problem?

It is true that construction costs in foreign yards are substantially less than in our own. The American standard of living is higher. Direct and indirect costs are greater. Therefore, even though our shipyards are more efficiently operated than those in foreign lands, the end-product costs more.

The construction of a large ocean-going vessel is not nearly so susceptible to the techniques and economies of mass production which have enabled so many American industries to meet foreign competition and constantly improve American living standards. It is still essentially a construction operation requiring specialized skills and large amounts of hand labor.

The fact that a merchant vessel is an instrument of foreign commerce makes it particularly vulnerable to cost advantages of foreign construction. Foreign construction is further stimulated and encouraged by the savings which accrue through foreign flag operation. Foreign flag construction and operation under a foreign flag constitute a runaway from the decent living standards established over many years of struggle by American shipbuilding workers and merchant seamen through their respective trade union organizations. The saving on construction averages at least 30 percent, and thereafter foreign flag operating costs are only about one-fourth of the costs of operation under the American flag.

Ten short years ago the United States led the entire world in ship production. Between 1941 and 1945 our yards produced 5,280 ocean-going ships totaling 54 million deadweight tons. For every 100 workers employed in our private yards during the wartime peak, less than five are employed today. Today the United States is fighting for its life as a shipbuilding Nation. We stand in last place—not first—among the major shipbuilding countries of the free world.

America's shipbuilding facilities are a vital part of our national defense. The success of any wartime overseas operation depends directly on the availability of speedy modern vessels to transport men, equipment, and supplies. Prompt and adequate action by Congress on a program, including subsidies, to offset advantages of foreign yard construction and foreign flag operation is essential if we are going to maintain the necessary hard core of our shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine.

The merchant marine and the shipbuilding industry go hand in hand. The merchant marine picture is dark. For the first time since 1939 we have lost our world leadership in the volume of privately owned oceangoing tanker tonnage. As of the close of last year, according to the American Merchant Marine Institute, our privately owned oceangoing tanker tonnage had decreased by 38 vessels and 320,000 deadweight tons. This left us at the start of 1955 with 6,624,658 deadweight tons, as compared with the United Kingdom's 7,054,000 deadweight tons.

United States petroleum imports in 1954 were a little above 1953, and 5 times those of 1938. However, our American-flag tankers hauled only 33 percent of this oil in the first 9 months of 1954, while in 1938 American tankers hauled 53 percent of our incoming oil and in 1946 they hauled 76 percent.

Our tanker fleet tonnage is at its lowest level in 6 years. The standing of the leading tanker nations on January 1 was as follows:

Country:	*Deadweight tonnage*
United Kingdom	7,054,000
United States	6,624,658
Norway	5,693,000
Panama	3,578,000
Liberia	2,609,000
Italy	1,642,000
France	1,442,000
Sweden	1,166,000

The American people are the largest users of petroleum in the world. A vast portion of this petroleum comes from overseas. Recent testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee indicated that 6 companies import 70 percent of the foreign oil used in the United States. Five of these are American companies. These 5 are purported to have 89 percent of their proved oil reserves and 64 percent of their present oil production outside of the United States.

Increasingly these American companies are resorting to foreign ship construction and foreign-flag operation (frequently through their foreign-controlled affiliates). Foreign construction gives them an initial cost advantage. Often this is supplemented by a healthy-sized construction subsidy, accelerated cost-writeoff allowances and, in at least one country (which has now passed us in construction tonnage), a complete exemption from income tax of all revenue derived from new ships for the first 3 years of their operation.

Tonnage itself does not tell the whole story. The American Merchant Marine Institute estimates that about 75 percent of our American tanker fleet was built during World War II and only 12 percent since the war. By contrast, only 25 percent of the foreign flag tankers were built during the war and more than 50 percent of foreign trankers are relatively new, having been launched since the war.

About 85 percent of our tankers will face the problem of obsolescence within the next 10 years. Replacement of our tankers as they reach the 20-year age limit will require careful planning of industry and Government and the availability of large sums of money if our privately owned and operated tanker fleet is to be maintained.

During the last 12 months increasing numbers of American merchant seamen have been beached. These Americans are jobless because of generally slow conditions in our shipping industry, the transfer of more than 130 ships to foreign flags and the construction of new vessels for foreign flag operation.

On January 1, according to the Maritime Administration, our merchant fleet offered 58,800 berths. This was 7,550 fewer than a year earlier. Unemployment rolls and union waiting lists "reflect the sad state of the Nation's seagoing force," says the New York Times. According to this newspaper, the A. F. of L. Masters, Mates and Pilots report only one-third of 12,000 members at sea. This union supplies deck officers for virtually all of the Nation's deep-sea shipping. The other unions of seagoing workers report longer-than-usual waits for jobs.

America's shipbuilding industry and America's merchant marine operate directly in the national interest. They are part and parcel of our national defense. Last year Congress enacted various measures designed to bolster the shipbuilding industry and the merchant marine. These included:

The so-called 50–50 cargo bill, requiring that at least one-half of all cargoes financed by the United States Government—whether inbound or outbound—must move in American-flag ships; a ship mortgage insurance law. A law providing for the private construction of 15 tankers for long-term Navy charter and the building of 4 by the Navy. The Liberty-ship-conversion program, providing for the experimental conversion of four of these vessels. The tanker trade in and build program. The passenger-cargo ship replacement program providing for the replacement of four passenger-cargo vessels for South American and Caribbean trade. The Navy (MSTS) special-ship program, involving seven special-type ships. The emergency-repair program providing $12 million for repair of vessels from the laid-up fleet.

These programs are helpful. They mitigate—but do not solve—the national crisis in shipbuilding and the merchant marine. The long-term merchant ship construction program, which the 83d Congress failed to act on, is sorely needed. This proposal called for the construction in American shipyards of 60 cargo and cargo-passenger ships per year.

Adoption of this program would be a long step toward meeting the block obsolescence which faces our merchant fleet and would assure a nucleus of about 36,000 skilled workers employment in our merchant shipyards for our oceangoing ships. According to the Maritime Administration, this is the minimum peacetime employment which must be maintained in our merchant ship construction program as a mobilization nucleus if our private yards are to be in a position to meet the needs of rapid expansion in the event of full mobilization. The 84th Congress, which is now in session, should take prompt and favorable action on similar legislation.

The present growing trend toward foreign construction and foreign-flag operation is sapping the strength of our shipbuilding industry and our merchant marine. Our national safety, which demands the maintenance of our shipbuilding at least at the mobilization nucleus level and a speedy modern merchant marine fleet with the skilled men to man it, is endangered.

Our merchant marine is our lifeline in wartime overseas operations. It must be ready and available to transport men, equipment, and mountains of supplies, should the need arise.

We must keep our American corporation-controlled ship construction work in our American yards. We must see to it that American-owned vessels operate under the American flag. Effective action to solve these problems must be taken promptly by the 84th Congress.

Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the full text of fact sheet No. 2 on fair labor standards for American workers from the CIO committee on fair labor standards. It is deserving of place in the working files of all Members of this body and of all persons interested in a subject that strikes at the very foundations of our national welfare.

Perhaps more than any other Member of the Congress, I have a personal interest in the minimum wage stemming from associations and activities in the era of the legislative birth of the concept that the least of our workers in the quality of labor required was entitled to a minimum wage sufficient to meet the demands of keeping body and soul together. As late as 1913 this concept was bitterly fought and stubbornly resisted in legislative councils.

FIRST STATE MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

In 1913 it was my privilege to chairman a committee from the State Senate of Illinois that attracted wide national attention. The revelations of that committee of the low wages paid to workers in even the most prestiged establishments, running from a dollar and a half to $5 a week, aroused the conscience of the Nation, and resulted in the passage of the first State minimum-wage laws in our history.

In the 979-page report of the committee of which it was my privilege to be chairman, printed by the State of Illinois in 1916, will be found the full text of the testimony of many of the largest employers of the period and of other witnesses; testimony that stirred the conscience of the Nation, enlisted the active support of President Woodrow Wilson and of the governors of 35 States, including the great Hiram Johnson, of California, and resulted in the enactment of 6 State minimum-wage laws in 1 year. On page 52 of this report appears the recommendation of the committee for the immediate enactment of a minimum-wage law prohibiting the payment of less than a living wage, and stating:

To remove the deficit between cost of living and income from service is in the power of the legislature. Until it is done and everyone who has to work is assured of the minimum of a reasonable living, the State not only has fallen far short of the legitimate demands of plain justice, but has failed to deal with a situation in economics interminably interwoven with deep moral problems. After nearly 3 years of study and inquiry, seeking statistics and viewpoints, reducing arguments to mathematics, applying accepted rules of economics and logic, your committee is arrived at the firm conclusion that the enactment of the proposed minimum-wage law is the essential initial step in the intelligent treatment of the problems under survey.

THREE DECADES LATER

More than three decades after those words were written and the start of the minimum-wage program on a State level which had resulted from the investigations and public hearings in 1913 of a select committee from the Senate of Illinois, there came to me the great satisfaction and privilege as a member of the 81st Congress to vote for a Federal minimum wage law assuring the least of our workers a wage not less than 75 cents an hour. Since that time the cost

of living has increased greatly, and it is imperative that this Congress should increase the minimum wage to $1.25. There is now pending a bill to that effect. I am happy to be among its many cosponsors.

The statement from the CIO committee on fair labor standards follows:

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS FOR AMERICAN WORKERS

INDUSTRY ADJUSTED FAVORABLY TO HIGHER MINIMUM WAGE RATES 1933–35, 1939, 1941, 1950

1. *Under the National Industrial Recovery Act industry successfully increased minimum wages and compensated for shortened workweek*

Under the President's reemployment agreement, June to October 1933, workers in half the 159 industries for which data are available increased their hourly earnings from 7.5 to 20 percent. The lowest paying industries showed the highest increases in wages. Earnings increased by 50 percent in industries with average hourly earnings of 20 to 25 cents in June 1933; by 42.5 percent in industries with average hourly earnings of 25 to 30 cents; and by 30 percent in industries with average hourly earnings of 30 to 35 cents. Industries with the highest average hourly earnings, 75 to 80 cents, showed an increase in earnings of 8.8 percent.

In the code period from October 1933 through the first months of 1935, when the NRA was in effect, industries still further increased their wages as a result of improvements in the wage provisions of the codes. Again, the industries with the lowest wages made the greatest increases. Increases from 15 to 20 percent were recorded in the low-paying industries as compared with 5 percent in the highest paying group.

2. *The 1938 act set a 30-cent minimim in 1939 directly affecting 6 percent of the American workers with constructive results*

The actual distribution was as follows:

Workers under 30 cents—April 1939

Area	Number of employees earning less than 30 cents	Percent of employees	Percent of total employees covered earning less than 30 cents
Total	650,000	100	6
Southern States	427,200	66	12
Northern States	207,300	32	2
Western States	15,520	2	1
Industry:			
Manufacturing	460,000	71	6
Wholesale trade	79,000	12	5
Motor carriers	54,000	8	6
Railroads	19,000	3	2
Other nonmanufacturing industries	38,000	6	2

In fact, employment increased from October 1938 through May 1939 by 680,000 workers with the rise in the minimum to 25 cents.

Business failures were greater in number before the act became effective than later. Highly competitive industries, such as cotton textiles, seamless hosiery, apparel, and paper products were stabilized and wage cutting as a competitive device was eliminated.

3. *The 40-cent minimum became effective by end of 1941 long before the act was contemplated (October 1945)*

In September 1938, some 13 percent of all employees covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act were earning less than 40 cents. By the end of 1941, this group had been reduced to minor proportions.

When the 40-cent wage orders were issued by the Administrator, 1.6 million were receiving less than 40 cents. The percentage of workers directly affected by all wage orders was as follows: under 5 percent, 8 wage orders; 5 to 10 percent, 15 wage orders; 10 to 20 percent, 10 wage orders; 20 to 30 percent, 19 wage orders; 30 to 40 percent, 7 wage orders; and 40 percent or more, 11 wage orders. Of the 55 minimum wage orders for which estimates are available on the direct increases in the wage bill effected by them, 9 effected less than a 1-percent increase; 7 effected an increase of 1 to 2 percent; 16 in increase of 2 to 3 percent; 8, 3 to 4 percent; 5, 4 to 5 percent; and 10 effected increases of 5 percent or more in the wage bill. In several instances the 40-cent orders applied to industries in which wages had been raised in 2, or sometimes 3, stages, so that the total increases amounted to more for them than for other industries. Three successive wage orders were applied to the textile and seamless hosiery industries.

These wage increases were made, industry absorbed them, and business prospered.

4. *The 75-cent minimum wage absorbed with constructive effects in 1950*

(a) Six percent, or 1.3 million, of the 21 million covered employees earned less than 75 cents at the time of the adoption of the 75-cent minimum. In manufacturing industries, there were 875,000 production workers earning less than 75 cents in November 1948, or 6.6 percent of the total employed.

(b) Increases in average hourly earnings in manufacturing industries were negligible. The rise from January through April 1950 was 1.6 cents.

Employment in manufacturing industries as a whole increased by 148,000 during this period, while total nonagricultural employment rose by 801,000.

(c) Manufacturing industries where increases in average hourly earnings, from January through April 1950, exceed 2 percent were 23 in number and employed approximately 2 million persons, or 14 percent of all manufacturing industries. (See table I for list of industries and percent increase in average earnings.) Total employment in this group of industries was quite stable in the period immediately after January 1950, and by January 1951 the number of production workers had increased by about 6 percent.

(d) Manufacturing industries in the following States showed increases in average hourly earnings in excess of 2 percent from January to April 1950:

State	Average hourly earnings		
	January 1950	April 1950	Percent increase
Alabama	$1.12	$1.17	4.5
Arkansas	.96	1.01	5.2
Florida	1.02	1.06	3.9
Georgia	1.03	1.07	3.9
Louisiana	1.20	1.25	4.2
Mississippi	.91	.96	5.5
Missouri	1.33	1.37	3.0
New Mexico	1.29	1.35	4.7
Tennessee	1.13	1.16	2.7
Texas	1.30	1.33	2.3
Vermont	1.16	1.19	2.6
Virginia	1.14	1.17	2.6

Total manufacturing employment in the above States increased by 5,000 between January and April 1950 in spite of a seasonal decline in Florida, which was the only one of these States recording a decline in manufacturing employment of as much as 2 percent. By January 1951, manufacturing employment in all these States had risen substantially and the total number employed had increased by 10 percent.

(e) The United States Department of Labor survey, Results of the Minimum Wage Increase of 1950, reports as follows:

1. The greatest effect of the 75-cent minimum was felt in the lowest-paying regions of the lowest-paying industries. Thus, in southern sawmilling, a 20-percent increase in average earnings was granted in the lowest-wage southeastern division as compared with a 5-percent increase in the highest wage border States.

2. The short-run effect of the 75-cent minimum in highly affected industries was to concentrate workers at the new minimum. Employers "did not try to maintain wage spreads between low-, middle- and high-wage occupations. These spreads were narrowed. • • • The short-run indirect effect of the amended minimum on wages already equal to or higher than 75 cents an hour • • • was not great."

3. The "75-cent rate appeared to have had only minor effects on such variables as employment, plant shut-downs, prices, technological change, hiring policies, and overtime work."

(f) In his Annual Report for 1950 the Secretary of Labor published the following findings on the effects of the 75-cent minimum:

1. "Effects on employment • • • a listing of the information available • • • suggests a probable maximum (effect) of very small dimensions. • • • Much of the unemployment reported appears to have been temporary in nature. In any case, the rising wage level already has tended to make the 75-cent minimum wage unimportant as a factor of any kind in most areas of the country, and negligible as a cause of unemployment. • • • Most of the layoffs were made by establishments that were affected by seasonal decreases in activities. A large proportion of those laid off were rehired when activities again increased."

2. "Effects on industry • • • not only were plant closing few in number, but any changes in competitive conditions and dislocations in industry that might have resulted proved very temporary in nature."

3. "Effects on prices • • • prices for products of low-wage industries affected substantially by the necessity for the payment of higher wages do not seem to have risen as a group any higher than prices of other products • • • prices were not as a rule immediately increased by passage of the 75-cent minimum wage rate. Increased efficiency of production, particularly through mechanization and high volume of operations • • • apparently absorbed much of the increased costs."

TABLE I.—*Manufacturing industries in which average hourly earnings increased by more than 2 percent between January and April 1950*

Industry	Average hourly earnings		Percent increase
	January 1950	April 1950	
Food and kindred products:			
Canning and preserving	$1.182	$1.221	3.3
Prepared animal feeds	1.196	1.232	3.0
Confectionery	1.074	1.106	3.0
Bottled soft drinks	1.098	1.127	2.6
Tobacco manufactures:			
Cigars	.911	.951	4.4
Tobacco and snuff	1.088	1.122	3.1
Tobacco stemming and redrying	.899	1.030	14.6
Textile mill products:			
Seamless hosiery	.907	.969	6.8
North	.944	.981	3.9
South	.900	.966	7.3
Knit outerwear	1.097	1.127	2.7
Apparel:			
Men's and boys' furnishings and work clothes	.929	.986	6.1
Women's household apparel	.894	.956	6.9
Women's and children's undergarments	.994	1.029	3.5
Children's outerwear	1.048	1.080	3.1

TABLE I.—*Manufacturing industries in which average hourly earnings increased by more than 2 percent between January and April 1950*—Continued

Industry	Average hourly earnings		Percent increase
	January 1950	April 1950	
Lumber and wood products:			
Sawmills and planing mills:			
General	$1.257	$1.330	5.8
South	.864	.915	5.9
Millwork, plywood, and prefabricated structural wood products	1.324	1.372	3.6
Wooden containers	1.037	1.098	5.9
Miscellaneous wood products	1.088	1.111	2.1
Chemicals and allied products:			
Vegetables and animal oils and fats	1.057	1.164	10.1
Leather and leather products:			
Leather footwear	1.090	1.129	3.6
Leather products, excluding, leather footwear	1.108	1.140	2.9
Stone, clay, and glass products:			
Brick and hollow tile	1.166	1.212	3.9
Miscellaneous:			
Jewelry, silverware, and plated ware	1.325	1.363	2.9
Toys and sporting goods	1.223	1.250	2.2

Educational Facilities in South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "South Carolina Enters New Era in Public Education," published in the Columbia, S. C., Record of March 15, 1955. The subheading is "Sales Tax Boosts Building of New Facilities; School Districts Are Consolidated." The article is written by Dr. E. R. Crow, director of the South Carolina Educational Finance Commission.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTH CAROLINA ENTERS NEW ERA IN PUBLIC EDUCATION—SALES TAX BOOSTS BUILDING OF NEW FACILITIES; SCHOOL DISTRICTS ARE CONSOLIDATED

(By E. R. Crow, director of the South Carolina State Educational Finance Commission)

In 1951 the general assembly enacted a law that provided for what is usually referred to as the new school program.

It is the purpose of this article to review the main features of this law, to report on its administration to date, and to some extent attempt an evaluation.

The 1951 act provided for State aid for school construction and for a transportation system to be financed and supervised by the State. The State educational finance commission was created to administer the new program. This commission is composed of the governor, who is chairman, the State superintendent of education, and five other members who are appointed by the governor and confirmed by the senate.

APPROPRIATION PER PUPIL

To finance the building program an appropriation was made of $15 per pupil per year in average daily attendance. This was increased in 1953 to $20 per enrolled pupil. Provision was also made whereby school districts could anticipate their annual appropriations for 20 years and borrow from the State up to 75 percent of this total, the funds to be secured from the sale of State bonds up to a maximum of $100 million. The 1951 act also provided for a 3-percent retail sales tax.

Other significant provisions of the act were (1) that funds expended on building projects are subject to the approval of the commission, and (2) that the commission should supervise the consolidation of school districts.

The foregoing statements, a summary of the provisions of the 1951 act, do not in themselves indicate the far-reaching nature of this legislation or the revolutionary effect it has had and will have on the public school system.

TO AVOID EVILS

The first problem that faced the commission was that of effecting such changes in the organization of the school system that would avoid the evils of which the State was a victim and avoid the use of a new source of revenue to perpetuate them. The law had recognized the inadequacy of the existing organization and had provided that county boards of education should be reconstituted and given power to consolidate school districts by direct action under the supervision of the commission thus effecting "desirable consolidation of school districts throughout the entire State." Since the General Assembly did not define what was meant by desirable consolidations it became the duty of the commission to do so.

DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

Why was it necessary to reorganize school districts as the first phase of the building program?

A State-wide survey made in 1948 had revealed the fact that there were in South Carolina more than 1,700 school districts, a number greater than the total number of school districts in all the other southern States south of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi, the State of Mississippi being excepted. This fractionalization of the State made it impossible for any responsible board to plan an educational program over any considerable area. These school districts very often operated one- and two-teacher schools. Some had schools for one race, some for both. In fact there were districts that operated no schools at all and in which the sole function of the trustees was to transport pupils to another district.

To illustrate the confusion, we mention the number of districts in a few counties: Greenville, 82; Laurens, 49; Orangeburg, 43; Horry, 76; Chesterfield, 50; and Sumter, 26. In general, the story was the same throughout the State, although in 1950, as a result of the survey, a few counties had effected some consolidation.

Nearly all of these districts were elementary school districts. High school districts in the rural areas were superposed upon these according to a plan whereby each component district retained its identity. Thus these high schools, as well as the elementary schools, had their separate boards of trustees. In this manner, since the high school and the elementary school were under separate administration, any real coordination was impossible. The possibility of a unified school program was rendered impossible by the very nature of the school district system then in effect.

RURAL SCHOOLS ARE VICTIMS

In the operation of this system it was the rural schools that were the victims, for the conditions described generally did not apply to school systems in cities and in the larger towns.

Another obvious weakness in the small-district system was the absence in many districts of sufficient tax resources to support a good program. Hence general absence of competent administrative and supervisory personnel.

In carrying out the mandate to effect desirable consolidations, the commission adopted certain criteria for the guidance of county boards of education, in whose hands the specific authority to effect consolidations had been lodged. The following are the most important items:

1. Separate elementary-school districts shall be consolidated with high-school districts and placed under the same administration.

2. Elementary schools shall be so planned as to have enrollment enough to provide a teacher for each grade taught, except where sparse population, natural barriers, or other considerations make the application of this requirement unwise.

3. New high schools shall have a minimum potential enrollment of 250 in the last 4 grades, with exceptions as noted above for elementary schools.

4. Each school district shall provide high school as well as elementary facilities within the district for both races.

NUMBER IS REDUCED

As a result of the application of these criteria, the number of school districts was reduced to 102 by the end of 1952, with an average enrollment of a little more than 5,000. Thus the reorganization had laid the foundation for the development within the new districts of better educational opportunities.

As reorganization was completed, surveys were made by districts. These surveys evaluated existing physical facilities, made recommendations as to the consolidation of individual school units, and estimated the cost of new construction or renovation. These surveys represented the unbiased opinions of the survey teams as to the best course to pursue. The survey reports were made and reported to the local boards of trustees for their consideration.

The actual program of school construction was then in order. As surveys were completed and as local school districts developed a districtwide building program, applications for approval of specific projects were submitted to the Commission for its action. The Commission has examined applications submitted and has given its approval as funds are available when they are judged to be consistent with the standards and objectives of the program. As projects are approved, funds are provided to the local district. It is the district that presents the application and it is the district not the State that awards the contract and through its architect supervises the construction. There is no prescribed architectural pattern. However, due to the influence of current architecture there is much similarity as to general pattern though much variation in detail. Economy and function are chief considerations. The new buildings are fire resistant, thus eliminating fire hazards.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVEN MILLION DOLLARS APPROVED

To date the Commission has approved projects at a total estimated cost of $127,030,993.21. Of this $75,289,965.92 has been allocated to Negro schools. This is approximately 60 percent of the total.

In accordance with the purpose of the act of 1951 the Commission has given priority to Negro school projects with the result that now the State is in sight of substantial equalization of school facilities. It is estimated that the total building program will be about two-thirds completed when buildings already approved have been constructed.

TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

The second major function of the Commission is that of supervising the transportation system. The 1951 act required the Commis-

sion to acquire buses then owned by districts or contractors and to purchase additional ones through funds received from a $7,500,000 bond issue. The law set forth limitations as to pupils to be served and prescribed that the Commission should issue regulations for the administration of the program. Wholesale purchase of school bus equipment on bids submitted was provided for and the highway department was given the responsibility for maintenance and for providing fuel and other supplies necessary for operation. Student drivers were authorized and a rigid program of training was given by the highway department.

The chaotic situation as to school districts had had its effect on transportation with the result that there was much duplication and confusion. Under the new system most of this has been eliminated. Significant savings have resulted from State purchase of school bus equipment and supplies, the use of high school students as drivers and better utilization of school-bus capacity. The student-driver program has been a success.

COST IS REDUCED

The reduction in the per pupil cost of transportation has been pronounced. In 1950–51, the last year of the operation of the old system, this cost was $24.77. In 1953–54, the last year for which complete figures are available, this cost was $17. This is a reduction in the per capita cost of 31.4 percent.

The number of busses in operation has increased from 2,200 in 1950–51 to 3,700 during the current year. The number of pupils transported has increased from 142,037 in 1950–51 to an estimated 241,200 during the present school year. Most of the additional service provided during the first years of the program went to meet the deficiency then existing for Negro pupils. As of the end of the last school year the percentage of all enrolled pupils of each race that were transported was approximately the same. It is, therefore, possible to say that we have reached the point of substantial equality in providing transportation. As the consolidation of small schools with larger units proceeds, additional transportation will be needed, for consolidation and transportation are tied together.

LESS THAN 4 YEARS

The foregoing brief account is dramatic when it is noted that it has been accomplished in less than 4 years. It is probably true to say that no State has ever done so much in so short a time. The program has had the support of the State government. It was launched in the first year of Governor Byrnes' administration and is being supported wholeheartedly by the administration of Governor Timmerman. The general assembly, since 1951, has done more for the public schools than at any previous time in the history of the State.

As this is being written the houses of the general assembly have passed separate but identical bills raising the limit on State bonds that may be outstanding at any one time from $100 million to $137.5 million. This will enable the commission to proceed according to a projected schedule and approve projects totaling $218 million by 1960.

WILL IT BE ADEQUATE?

Will this be adequate? For the average district, yes. But not for those districts in which the enrollment increase is phenomenal. The larger cities cannot hope to meet their capital outlay needs from State funds. For it is the cities and not the rural areas that are increasing in population. The combined effect of the increased birth rate and of population shifts from rural to urban areas will mean that the latter will have to supplement State funds from their own resources to a considerable degree. School enrollment figures projected by P. C. Smith, assistant director, indicate an increase of 93,000 pupils in the next 5 years. This compares with 91,000 increase during the last 9 years. By far the greater part of this increase will be in the towns and cities.

A significant feature of the program is that of equalization of educational opportunity as between the cities and the rural areas. With few exceptions school districts embrace both rural and urban areas and will, of course, offer the same educational advantages to all. Already more than 1,000 small substandard schools have been abandoned and the pupils transferred to modern schools. Practically all of these were rural schools.

This program represents an unprecedented effort by the State to provide better education for all its citizens.

Considered in relation to the economic progress we are now experiencing it can be truly said that South Carolina is going forward.

Farm Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT D. HARRISON
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorials:

[From the Washington Star of March 23, 1955]

APPEAL FOR RESPONSIBILITY

A persuasive appeal for responsible House action on farm price supports has been made to that body by a bipartisan minority of the Agriculture Committee. It is an appeal to defeat legislation which would restore mandatory 90 percent of parity supports for 5 basic crops—corn, wheat, cotton, peanuts, and rice—and it is an appeal that should be honored.

By law enacted last year, the Government is authorized to apply a flexible support formula within a range of 82½ to 90 percent of parity on these 5 commodities. Initial application of this authority would apply to 1955 crops and there has been no opportunity yet to establish claims that the flexible formula will be injurious to the farmers or to the national interest. There has, however, been ample opportunity to recognize the damaging impact of a high, rigid price-support program that was adopted originally as a temporary wartime formula. The committee minority has summed up this evil result in one effective paragraph, as follows: "Rigid 90 percent mandatory price-support programs have failed to keep farm income from declining, created surpluses that have forced farm prices downward, held commodities off the market at great cost to the Government, undermined public support for sound farm programs, lost foreign and domestic markets, assisted foreign competitors to take our markets, and have taken the right to produce away from both small and large farmers."

Effectively, too, the committee minority drew some parallels between price structures for the commodities "favored" by the rigid supports and those for so-called nonbasic commodities. "It is an interesting and significant fact," they pointed out, "that the average price for nonbasic (unsupported) commodities has been higher (as measured by parity-price relationships) in every year since 1940 except one than the price of so-called basic commodities." As a consequence, the outlook today for the nonbasics is better than that for those which have been covered by high supports.

The flexible-support theory is a keystone of the Republican administration's program for dealing with the farm problem. Influential Democrats in both branches of Congress have favored it, at least to the point of urging that it be given a trial. Disposal of some of the huge Government-owned surpluses, expansion of research and educational work in agriculture, and some pending recommendations for helping the small low-income farmers are other major parts of the administration blueprint. At this stage it appears to have much greater merit than a retreat to a program that already has been proved costly and unsuccessful.

[From the Kansas City Times of February 19, 1955]

WHY ASK FOR MORE TROUBLE?

Farm prices have fallen appreciably since the end of the Korean war. All of that drop occurred when prices on basic crops were supported at 90 percent of parity. Meanwhile, huge surpluses were built up which have served to hold prices down and make the Government's bolstering efforts more difficult than ever.

The new flexible price farm law did not go into effect until January 1 of this year. It has had no chance as yet to operate. For reasons rather difficult to understand, the opponents of flexible price supports blame that system for the fall in farm prices that came while the fixed, 90-percent supports were in effect.

Secretary Benson has proposed to Congress that the flexible price program should be given the chance to prove its worth. Certainly this is a logical proposal, at least until the opponents offer something better than going back to the old system under which prices fell and the surplus pile mounted.

SPANISH DAIRYMEN IRKED OVER UNITED STATES GIFT OF SURPLUS

MADRID, SPAIN, January 13.—The United States has donated nearly 10,000 tons of powdered milk, butter, and cheese to the Spanish poor in the last 5 months and Spanish milk producers say they are being ruined.

A statement published today after a meeting of the Syndicate of Milk, Butter, and Cheese Producers said milk sales in the Valencia region have fallen off 25 percent and the budding powdered-milk industry in the Santander region is in danger of being put out of business.

The American program tentatively calls for shipment to Spain of 80,000 tons of powdered milk, 3,000 tons of butter, and 3,000 tons of cheese over a 3-year period from surplus farm products.

Welfare officials said the dairy products are being distributed only to persons unable to afford them except in the case of school children. At the same time, they added, Spanish powdered-milk producers have been assured that if they have any unsold surpluses as a result of the program they will be purchased at slightly below market prices by the Spanish Catholic welfare organization. Caritas.

Damage to the Total Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, high, rigid price supports for farm products help create unemployment.

Under rigid 90 percent price supports surpluses have been created, markets have been destroyed, resulting in the loss of net farm income. Since 1947, net farm income has shrunk from $16.5 billion to $12.5 billion in 1954. The main reason for the shrinkage is the loss of markets and the taking of 38 million acres out of production.

With smaller production and smaller markets farmers have less to spend, which means less opportunity for employment for laboring men. The road to full employment is an expanding, dynamic, competitive economy with improvements in production and expansion of markets by the device of lowering prices.

High, rigid price supports in themselves create unemployment. They shrink business activities in the rural villages and towns. The effects reach back into manufacturing centers and all through the economy.

When a large part of farm production is closed down it not only cuts farm profits but damages all those dependent upon agriculture for employment and business.

Some 53 to 40 million acres of the Nation's highest profit crops have been cut back under the conditions created by high, rigid 90 percent price supports. These include some of the most fertile and productive lands.

It will tend to slow down the expansion of the total economy. That is why leaders in all 48 States share the concern about this great problem.

There will be less profits for farmers.

All those who sell to, or serve farmers, will transact less business—sell less farm machinery, fertilizers, chemicals, gas and oil, and all other supplies and services that are required to keep farms in full production.

There will be less for labor to do—less crop work, harvesting, processing, transportation, storage, and sales.

Prices have been supported at artificially high levels in cotton. There may be a direct connection between this fact and the fact that in 1948 there were 1,387,000 persons employed in textile mills and on January 1, 1955, textile mill employment was only 1,079,000. Likewise, flour prices have been held at artificially high levels. Employment in flour mills in 1947 was over 39,000, and in 1953 it had dropped to 31,000.

Similarly, with from 35 to 40 million less acres devoted to the high-profit crops, all farm machinery manufacture has declined proportionately.

This has all occurred under 90-percent price supports and reasonably explains why we have less employment in industry.

Just the opposite has happened in Florida in the case of oranges. We have expanded production, kept price low—often 50 percent below parity, and expanded consumption, which has resulted in more employment. We did not have price supports for the citrus industry. The consumption of frozen orange juice has increased from less than 1 pound per person in 1935–39, to about 7.5 pounds per person in 1954.

To the extent farm production is cut back and restricted, it tends to weaken the consumer demand and national prosperity on which profitable farm markets depend.

Agriculture should be making its full contribution to the future national welfare. Farmers are greatly dependent upon full employment, and a vigorous, productive, and prosperous America. The degree to which we have such is to no small extent dependent upon the rate at which farms produce.

Operation of the high, rigid price-support laws has diverted more than mere acres.

It is diverting a big capital investment in farmland, buildings, machinery, and equipment to a lower level of use or to idleness.

It is diverting and disrupting crop rotation and proper land use.

It is reducing farm family labor to less profitable employment and in some cases partial idleness.

It is diverting employed farm workers and laborers in industries to other jobs or less employment.

It is cutting business for those who sell to or buy from farmers—and from all those who share in the business generated by production from the farms of the Nation.

To get more farm profits there must be increasing production and increasing consumption. Beware of the philosophy of scarcity. Agriculture must produce—and produce in large volume to be most profitable.

Labor, too, must have full employment in productive enterprises. Full agricultural production helps maintain full employment. When workers have good incomes it helps insure strong markets for farm products.

America did not become great on an economy of scarcity—nor will it remain great under such an approach. Restricted production is not the road to prosperity over the long pull. As we have learned through the years, a dynamic economy requires increased production and increased consumption. This is the way to more enjoyment of the better things of life by more people—the way to maintain a high level of living.

House Member Says Pentagon Knifes Reserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES B. BROWNSON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BROWNSON. Mr. Speaker, shortly, Members of the House will be asked to consider the national Reserve plan advocated by the Department of Defense.

This plan or any other military manpower proposal cannot and should not be considered except in the overall concept of effective manpower utilization. In that connection a thoughtful observer is bound to ask, What is the matter with our present Reserve program? Why do the very generals charged with responsibility for the success of the Reserve program spend hours testifying that it is a virtual failure?

My distinguished colleague from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] has a direct and forthright way of thinking which often cuts through extraneous matter and arrives at sound, if unconventional, conclusions. His thinking on military problems dates back to his not inconsiderable World War II experience and his careful observation of present-day events. Under unanimous consent, I include an account in the Daily Oklahoman of Saturday, March 19, of a speech and interview given by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] at the Oklahoma City Life Underwriters in the RECORD.

HOUSE MEMBER SAYS PENTAGON KNIFES RESERVES—CONGRESSMAN SAYS LEADERS WANT ONLY BIG STANDING ARMY

(By Elwin Hatfield)

The Nation's high military leaders are sabotaging congressional efforts to develop a workable Reserve program in favor of a large standing Army, a United States Congressman charged here Friday.

"The Military Establishment," Representative THOMAS CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, said, "is determined that no Reserve program will work." CURTIS, here to address a meeting of the Oklahoma City Life Underwriters, made his statement on the Reserve program in an interview.

A member of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, Representative CURTIS said that "until the Military Establishment determines to make a Reserve system work, it won't matter at all what laws Congress makes."

These leaders, Representative CURTIS said, "don't want the National Guard to be made attractive" or, for that matter, any organization which isn't a part of the regular, active duty establishment.

SEVERAL PLANS CONSIDERED

Congress now is trying to write a Reserve program which will correct inequities of present and past systems. Several have been proposed and are now under consideration.

At the same time, Congress is writing the next 2-year budget which, in concert with presidential recommendations, would cut the size of the Army and other services. This has brought testimony from the Army Chief of Staff, General Matthew Ridgway, that if anything, the Army must be increased.

Representative CURTIS, though, believes the armed services should be cut down to a fighting force by turning over housekeeping-type services to private industry.

"Why should we send mechanics in uniform to Panama when we can hire mechanics there who are just as well trained?" he asked.

ONLY 20 PERCENT FIGHTS

That such functions as auto maintenance, kitchen duty, and barracks scrubbing can be better and more cheaply performed by local civilians and local industry has been proven, he pointed out, in Japan and elsewhere.

Representative CURTIS, a Navy lieutenant commander during World War II, estimated that during that war only 20 percent of the total Armed Forces personnel were used in combat while the remaining 80 percent performed duties which could have been better handled by civilians and private industry.

"It's that 20 percent which they use to sell us on a large standing Military Establishment," he said.

"The men in the fighting forces should be trained and trained better than we have been training them," he said.

SYSTEM HURTS ECONOMY

"If we can get these admirals and generals out of the coffee-roasting business and the optical business," he continued, the Nation can give that training under a budget it can stand.

The economy of the country can't stand the present system he said, nor, he added, can military efficiency stand it.

The Seabees of World War II had the right idea, he said.

Those units—Navy construction battalions—hired men already trained to do civilian-type jobs in combat.

"If they wanted a bulldozer operator, they didn't call up a kid and send him to boot camp and then to bulldozer school."

OLD METHODS RETURN

"Instead they hired a bulldozer operator and put him to work."

The Seabees had to fight to be permitted to do that, he said. And now that the Regulars are back in control the old system is also back in effect.

CURTIS also charged Armed Forces leaders will destroy anything in the way of a reserve program that looks good.

He said he and two other World War II veterans in the House proposed a reserve training program based on extension of high-school Reserve Officers' Training Corps program.

"We used the Army's own statements about the worth of the high-school ROTC to present our program," he said.

"Right after that, funds for the high-school ROTC ogram were cut.

"The conclusion is rather obvious—anything that looks good, they'll destroy. The high-school ROTC, the National Guard, or what have you."

The Role of the College Library

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, the State of North Carolina, and especially the city of Greenville, was delighted to have Dr. Lawrence Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress and president of the American Library Association, make the principal address at the dedication ceremonies of the J. Y. Joyner Library on the campus of East Carolina College, Greenville, on March 8, 1955.

I have read with interest Dr. Mumford's address and I am confident that the people throughout the length and breadth of this Nation will find much enjoyment in reading his speech:

THE ROLE OF THE COLLEGE LIBRARY

(Address by Dr. Lawrence Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress and president of the American Library Association, at Founders Day, East Carolina College, March 8, 1955)

This, for me, is more a homecoming than it is a speaking engagement. I was born just a short distance to the south, and as one of Pitt County's most loyal alumni I can say with enthusiasm that I am delighted to be here. The occasion has an added personal significance because several members of my family have been closely associated with East Carolina College. It is a pleasure not only to come back to home ground and renew acquaintance with old friends but to bring all of you the greetings of the American Library Association and the Library of Congress.

I am one of those who subscribe to Carlyle's dictum that the true university is a collection of books, and to the modern principle of educational thinking that the heart of a university is its library. The importance of having a good collection of books as part of an institution of learning has been recognized since the founding of Harvard College in 1636; Yale University, in fact, started as a group of books even before it came into being as an institution. To strengthen the supports of the college library, as we are doing today, is not only increasing our opportunities for educating the student but following one of the most time-honored of American traditions.

Although libraries have been an integral part of our colleges and universities for more than three centuries, it has only been within the last hundred years that they have begun to realize their full potentialities. If you take a look at the college library of the early or middle 19th century, and contrast it with one like this we are dedicating today, you will see a great difference.

The library then was a much more restricted institution, a kind of storehouse where books were accumulated and access to them was severely controlled. At the University of Virginia, for example, the rules adopted in 1825 provided that no student could have more than three volumes out on loan at one time. To borrow books at all he had to show authorization from a professor. Fines for overdue books were graduated—in accordance with the size of the book detained. If a student lost a book, he had to pay three times its value. For this magnificent service, the library was open 1 whole hour a week.

The 19th-century college librarian was regarded chiefly as a custodian of the material interests of his library. He kept the books, preserved them from loss or injury, and used every means in his power to increase their number. But he was not expected to offer people any great encouragement to use them; this was not his job. A story is told about John Langdon Sibley, chief librarian of Harvard University from 1856 to 1877. Perhaps it is apocryphal, but I think it well illustrates this older concept of the librarian's function. The president of the university is said to have come upon Sibley one day locking the door to the library, and noticing that he seemed to be in unusually good spirits, asked why he was so happy. "Well," replied Sibley, "every one of my books is in its proper place on the shelves except two, and I am now on my way to Professor Agassiz's house to get them back."

The librarian of today has quite a different outlook. He still, to be sure, is a keeper of books; he is still concerned with preserving them from loss or injury, and none of us can possibly deny that he exercises every device in his power to increase his possessions. If I were asked to sum up in a few words wherein the difference lies, I would say simply that he thinks of books as tools for active use and that he is engaged in getting them into the hands of as wide a public as he can. It is a business—to pursue this comparison a little further—that has a multitude of shareholders, has large capacities for expansion, and never fails to pay dividends. Our huge complex of libraries, large and small, is dedicated to the proposition that books are not inanimate objects, to be stockpiled and stored, but rather are instruments of information and enlightenment—the common property of all.

We see this reflected in the library we are dedicating today, which has been created by the joint endeavor of many hearts, many heads, and many hands. We see it in the readily accessible catalog, the bibliographical aids, the reference books—and in seeing them it is hard to realize what a struggle Henry Adams had with Librarian Sibley to get him to set aside special shelves for books which he assigned to be read by his students. We see it in the recreational reading room where students may browse, in the special reading rooks for periodicals and newspapers and North Caroliniana, and in the seminar rooms where students, teachers, and books are brought together. But, still more, we sense it in the very atmosphere—in the way the building has been planned to make it as inviting as possible not only for the student to carry on his work but to learn to know and to value books.

In dedicating this library, therefore, we take real pride in accomplishment. But a dedication is a pledge toward continued accomplishment, and, from this point on, you have every right to expect this library to take on an even larger role in the life of the university.

How does your college library carry out this role? It does so in many ways, some of them obvious, some of them intangible. It supplies materials needed for classroom instruction and, in fact, is the necessary extension of the classroom in the educative process. Some like to refer to its facilities as a workshop, the laboratory for the humanities and the social sciences. It also furnishes the means by which the student may broaden his knowledge beyond his field of specilization, increasing his resources for learning about nonacademic subjects. And it serves as a reservoir of knowledge upon which the advanced researcher may draw to make his contribution to learning.

But there is one intangible function that is perhaps more important than any of these. In the college library the student develops the ability to use tools of learning and thereby acquires the means of educating himself, quite apart from what he is required to learn in prescribed courses. I would not go so far as to say that all students acquire this ability and carry it away with them when they leave the college halls; in fact, it is rather a tragedy that so many of our college graduates are not more devoted to serious reading. It is sufficient to say that, at the time of life when young minds are most receptive to learning, the college library offers them the means of acquiring the reading habit. And it is a challenge to the college library, as it is to the faculty, to see that the habit becomes so firmly rooted that it flourishes—for, as we all know, education is a process on which an entire lifetime is well spent.

Your college library has other challenges to meet, many of them shared, in one way or another, by all academic libraries. As an essential part of the machinery of education, it must shape its services, from year to year, so as best to aid the college's educational program. It must, in other words, be responsive to new needs and to considerations that bring current practices into question. Improved methods of teaching, changes in the activities and composition of the academic community, and the development of new scientific techniques for scholarly research—these are some of the things that must be taken into account in its planning. Particularly important, in my opinion, is seeing that the professional competence of its staff continues to measure up to the library's resources. I am sure that you are all determined that the collections here, which now total nearly 100,000 volumes and will doubtless rise to many more, will continue to be adequately manned.

Another knotty problem for all libarians is the provision of ample bibliographic aids to the use of the library's resources. Justin Winsor, who followed Sibley at Harvard, said that a library without a catalog is a mob of books. Today few libraries are without some means of control over this mob, but unhappily there are few that can claim either that their catalogs are completely up to date or adequate in other ways.

Some problems can be solved, at least partially, through cooperation. By such means much has already been done in de-

veloping and improving college and university library service in North Carolina. The exchange, 20 years ago, by Duke University and the University of North Carolina of their catalogs, and their cooperative selection of books illustrate interlibrary cooperation. The addition of cards representing the holdings of college and public libraries has created at Chapel Hill a North Carolina Union Catalog of great value. We can take pride, in fact, that representatives of North Carolina have played a major role in regional planning for higher education in the South. It has been said of this development of regional cooperation that the Southeast, traditionally book-poor, has, however, admirably advanced its position in recent years by the leverage of its own bootstraps. In enlightened cooperative efforts and intelligent exploitation of existing resources no other region can quite match the Southeast.

Further ideas for cooperation may be found in a plan proposed last summer for improving college library services in New York State. Intelligent self-interest prompted the comprehensive program suggested by an advisory committee of college librarians reporting to the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York.

Recognizing at the outset that no modern college or university can act as a completely independent unit, the committee emphasized the educational and economic importance of institutional cooperation. It hoped to develop scholarly resources on a planned basis that would still respect both the common and special interests of each school. Noting that New York's church-supported colleges and its liberal arts and technical colleges each had special library requirements, the committee sought ways to promote greater integration of efforts and of resources. Although college libraries in the State had overcrowded shelves, their librarians did not share the problem of university librarians, who were primarily concerned with storing extensive holdings of infrequently used materials. The chief difficulty of the college librarians seemed to be rendering service with limited resources. No one suggested a substitute for good library service on each college campus, but the committee did specify the type of books college libraries should supply as well as those considered beyond their capacity. It concluded that these libraries needed to have the New York State Library strengthened to serve them as a "library's library," supplying certain materials and services beyond the reach of many of the separate colleges but possible for all if provided on a cooperative basis through the State library.

But I see that I am venturing into the realm of possibilities, into questions that the Joyner library will want to explore for itself. Let me close, therefore, by saying that the library world, with East Carolina College, welcomes this occasion both for what it is—the achievement of another landmark in your history—and for what it symbolizes—another step in enriching and strengthening our democratic system of education. Long may this building stand to serve you, and serve you well.

Increasing Minimum Wage to $1.25 an Hour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT ZELENKO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present two resolutions adopted at the shop stewards conference conducted by the New York City CIO Council in New York City on March 19, 1955. The first resolution calls for the increase of the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour, and the second resolution for the extending of the minimum wage coverage to retail industry. They follow:

RESOLUTION ON INCREASING THE MINIMUM WAGE TO $1.25 AN HOUR

Whereas the United States, so richly endowed with natural resources and an able and industrious population, should insure to all its working men and women a fair day's pay for a fair day's work; and

Whereas this Nation suffered a serious recession in 1954, which caused nearly 3.5 million able-bodied men and women to be unemployed in 1954 and unable to maintain for themselves and their families a decent standard of living; and

Whereas the labor force increases steadily each year; and

Whereas in order to insure full employment, a rising standard of living for all and a stable, rapidly expanding economy, it is necessary materially to increase the purchasing power of all the people; and

Whereas the minimum wage as provided for by Congress in the Fair Labor Standards Act has remained unchanged at a level of 75 cents an hour since the year 1949; and

Whereas the cost of living has been steadily and inexorably rising since the year 1949; and

Whereas the present minimum wage of seventy-five cents (75c) per hour is totally inadequate and no longer provides a minimum acceptable standard of living for the working men and women of this Nation; Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That the New York City CIO Council calls upon the Congress of the United States immediately to enact bills now in Congress amending the Fair Labor Standards Act and raising the minimum wage from 75c an hour to $1.25 an hour, and be it further

Resolved, That the New York City CIO Coucil calls upon all its affiliates and all the members of CIO in the metropolitan area to make the drive for the enactment of $1.25 an hour minimum wage the major activity of CIO in the coming weeks, and be it further

Resolved, That the executive officers and Executive Board of the New York City CIO Council be empowered to take all measures necessary to secure the passage of the Federal minimum wage law including the following program:

1. A mass letter writing campaign to Congressmen from this area and to the Labor Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives.

2. A petition campaign calling upon all those interested to sign CIO petitions to Congress calling for enactment of the $1.25 an hour Federal minimum wage law.

3. The executive officers of the New York City CIO Council to be authorized to seek a joint meeting of AFL and CIO in New York City for the purpose of furthering the campaign for the $1.25 an hour minimum wage law.

RESOLUTION ON EXTENDING MINIMUM WAGE COVERAGE TO RETAIL INDUSTRY

Whereas there are more than 7 million men and women employed in the retail industry in the United States; and

Whereas they are without exception paid at a lower rate than their brothers and sisters in the productive industries; and

Whereas until now these retail workers have been denied the guaranties of subsistence wages provided by the Federal Wages and Hours Act; and

Whereas the continued payment of substandard wages to retail workers is a direct threat to the wage standards of all workers; and

Whereas the present minimum wage of 75 cents an hour applicable to those now covered by Federal law is insufficient to maintain a healthful and proper standard of living: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this conference of shop stewards representing workers of both productive and retail industry declare itself in favor of the Federal minimum wage being increased to $1.25 an hour, and be it further

Resolved, That this group representative of many industries unite in a determined effort to win inclusion of retail workers under the provisions of the Federal law, and be it finally

Resolved, That the New York City CIO Council take the leadership in inviting all other labor bodies and local unions to participate at this time in an aggressive campaign designed to win public support from all the workers in this area and from our representatives in both Houses of Congress.

Resolution on Housing Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of the resolution on housing discrimination adopted by the American Veterans Committee at their Eighth convention in Boston, Mass., on December 5, 1954. The resolution follows:

Whereas the American Veterans Committee has continuously affirmed its unqualified belief in the fundamental democratic concept of equality of opportunity for all people in this Nation; and

Whereas we believe that the realization of the right of equal access to housing facilities without restriction or discrimination based upon race, religion, color, or national origin is of singular significance, because in practical effect, the realistic achievement of equality in many phases of human activity will be shaped and determined by the elimination of or nonelimination of discrimination in housing: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the 8th annual convention of the American Veterans Committee, in convention assembled, call upon the President of the United States to enunciate as the policy of this Nation, that the functions, programs, and services of the Government must not and shall not be used to aid in the fostering, maintenance, and perpetuation of discrimination by segregation or otherwise, in housing.

Urge that the President direct that all Federal agencies offering aid to private developers or to local communities for the development of housing and the acquisition, ownership, or assembly of land for redevelopment or housing construction, establish a policy that all such Federal aids are to be extended only to those who commit contractually that multiple dwelling and multidwelling housing developments and related facilities under their control, and made possible by Federal funds, subsidies, insurance, guaranties, or other aids are not to be denied to any eligible families because of their race, religion, color, ancestry or national origin,

and that this policy of nondiscrimination and nonsegregation also be pursued by all Federal agencies directly engaged in the sale, leasing, or other disposal of homes or housing units.

Further urge that State and local governments declare discrimination, by segregation or otherwise, in housing to be against their public policy, and enact fair housing practices legislation, relating to housing developments as above described, with adequate provision for enforcement and sanction, and that their licensing and regulatory taxing, enforcement, planning, condemnation, and relocation functions be used to facilitate the elimination of racial separation and discrimination.

Walter White, Leader, Dies—President Eisenhower Joins in Recognition of His Devoted Service Over a Period of 40 Years

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to place before you and the other distinguished Members of this great legislative body newspaper recitals and editorials of facts, and also statements by distinguished American leaders, with reference to the life of Walter White, the distinguished leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, commonly known as NAACP.

I shall always remember with pleasure and benefit to my attempt to understand the problems which I have to consider and vote on the fact that I had the privilege of hearing Mr. White speak on occasions, and also the privilege of meeting him personally.

It should also be noted that President Eisenhower paid high tribute to Mr. White in a personal telegram to the widow, wherein he said:

His devoted service to his race over a period of 40 years was tireless and effective. Permit me to express to you my personal sympathies in your loss.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 23, 1955]

WALTER WHITE EULOGIZED BY LEADERS

With President Eisenhower in the forefront, leaders throughout the Nation yesterday joined in mourning the death of Walter White, ardent champion of Negro rights, who at 61 succumbed to a heart ailment on Monday in his New York home.

Mr. White was executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Funeral services will be held at noon Thursday in St. Martin's Episcopal Church in New York. The body will be on view at the church from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m. today, and between 10 a. m. and 11 a. m. Thursday.

President Eisenhower paid high tribute to Mr. White in a personal telegram to the widow. The President wired:

"His devoted service to his race over a period of 40 years was tireless and effective. Permit me to express to you my personal sympathies in your loss."

NAACP President Arthur Spingarn declared Mr. White's leadership had developed the NAACP from "a small society into its present position as the Nation's largest civil-rights organization."

Mr. White's death brought a statement of sorrow and salute on behalf of Freedom House by Whitney North Seymour, chairman of the board, and Herbert Bayard Swope, chairman of the executive committee. Mr. White was a member of the directorate.

From the halls of Congress came these statements:

Senator HERBERT H. LEHMAN, Democrat, of New York: "The country has lost a great leader. Walter White was a courageous and unflinching fighter for freedom and justice."

Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican, of Massachusetts: "He was an ardent and sincere proponent of his cause."

Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois: "Mr. White was a highly cultivated, able and very honorable man, not only a splendid member of his race, but also a true American. The country has been richer for his life and it is much poorer because of his death."

Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, said Mr. White "literally gave his life for the welfare of his people. He was truly a fine citizen and an American."

[From the Washington Star of March 22, 1955]

WALTER WHITE, NAACP LEADER WHO FOUGHT SEGREGATION, DIES—ONLY ONE SIXTY-FOURTH NEGRO, HE CHOSE TO WORK FOR RACE HE CALLED OWN

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and lifelong champion of Negro rights, died last night in New York at the age of 61.

Ill for several years, he died of heart disease in his home.

Mr. White's career, devoted to improving the lot of colored people, was climaxed by the Supreme Court's ban against segregation in public schools last year.

He had been a determined fighter against segregation, and despite ill health had been in the front ranks of those pressing the suit that finally resulted in the Supreme Court ruling.

FAMILIAR FIGURE HERE

Mr. White was a familiar figure in Washington. Several years ago, in 1939, he helped stage an open-air concert for Marian Anderson after she had been refused the use of Constitution Hall by the Daughters of the American Revolution on the grounds she was a Negro.

Then Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes made the mall in front of the Lincoln Memorial available for the concert. More than 75,000 persons attended.

White in complexion as well as in name, Walter White was black by sympathy and on the basis of a diluted strain of Negro blood. He might have had a career as a white man; he chose a career as a colored man to work for the race he claimed as his own.

FITTED SPECIAL JOB

He became assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1918. The organization employed him because it wanted a colored man who could pass as white to investigate lynchings. In 1931 he became secretary of the organization.

In the opinion of many, he provided the chief spark in the organization's drive to end discrimination on the basis of color. He lived to see segregation in housing, schools, interstate travel on trains, restaurants, all banned by court orders, and a general decline in distinctions based on color alone.

Fair skin, blue eyes, and blond hair made him more distinct from Negroes than from whites. E. A. Hooten, Harvard anthropologist, estimated Mr. White was one-sixty-fourth Negro, which would mean a Negro ancestor five generations back.

Mr. White was born in Atlanta on July 1, 1893. His father, George White, was a mail collector who is said to have suffered an injury and then to have died of neglect due to his being a colored man.

RACE RIOT SHAPED CAREER

In 1906 there were race riots in Atlanta. From the White's neat, 8-room house, contrasting with the rest of the rundown neighborhood, young White saw a mob turned back by gun-fire. He wrote later that then, at the age of 13, he fully realized he was a Negro.

"I look like a white man and can pass for a white man," he said once, "but there is nothing that makes me want to. My sympathies are those of a black man."

He is said to have shown marked ability at his studies as a youth. He entered Atlanta University and received his A. B. degree there in 1916. Two years later, he went to New York and to the NAACP job.

During the next 30 years he was to travel 2 million miles in the interest of his race, investigating 41 lynchings and 8 race riots. He also brought hundreds of legal battles over civil rights and liberties to the courts.

WATCHED FATE OF LEGISLATION

He was a steady occupant of a seat in the Senate and House galleries when there were debates on legislation affecting the Negro. He fought for anti-lynching bills and watched from a gallery seat Senate filibusters which sidetracked them.

On July 2, 1937, he was awarded the NAACP's Spingarn medal for his services on behalf of that legislation. The presentation was made by the late Frank Murphy, then Governor of Michigan, at the organization's 28th annual conference in Detroit.

In 1949 there was a filibuster in the Senate over civil rights legislation. It resulted in a wordy dispute with J. Howard McGrath, then Senator from Rhode Island, in a Capitol corridor. The basis was a NAACP letter to its branch presidents in which Senator McGrath was accused of "turning tail before the Dixiecrats." The Senator admitted using some strong language and charged Mr. White with attacking not his enemies but his friends.

Mr. White also attacked the late Senator Taft, Republican, of Ohio.

PRESSURE FOR CAUSE

All this was part of his policy of militant action and constant pressure to advance his cause.

His political activities began when he was appointed a delegate to the Second Pan-African Congress, held in Europe in 1921. When Franklin Roosevelt became President, Mr. White was appointed a member of the Advisory Council for the Government of the Virgin Islands but resigned after a year.

Among the many positions he held were these: Member of the board of the New York State Training School for Boys, chairman, in 1935, of a Harlem low-cost housing project; member, in 1938, of the Governor's Commission on the Constitutional Convention of New York.

In 1939, he received an honorary doctor of laws degree from Howard University.

ACTIVE DURING WAR

During World War II, he fought for the breakdown of segregation of Negroes in the military services and for equal job rights in war materials factories.

Early in his career he turned to writing to advance his cause. He wrote Fire in the Flint, published in 1924, which tells the story of a Negro doctor in Georgia. It has been published in a half-dozen countries abroad.

On the publication of his second novel Flight in 1926, he received a Guggenheim Award and spent 1927 and 1928 in France. There he worked on a study of lynching, published in 1929 under the title Rope and Faggot. His autobiography A Man Called White, appeared in 1948.

He has also written for magazines and newspapers.

In 1922 he married Leah Gladys Powell of Ithaca, N. Y. They had a daughter, Jane, an actress, and a son, Walter Carl Darrow, and were divorced in June, 1949. The next month he married Poppy Cannon, a white woman and magazine writer.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of March 24, 1955]

WALTER WHITE

It was given to Walter White to enter and experience much of the promised land to which he led his people. As a boy in Atlanta, Ga., he knew at first hand the horror of race rioting and the ugliness of a lynch mob. He lived through racial discrimination in housing and schooling and recreation. But before his death the pattern of race relations in the United States had undergone a tremendous transformation. Violence against the Negro had virtually disappeared from the South. And segregation in public facilities had been declared by the courts of the land to be in contravention of the Constitution.

As executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Walter White played a dynamic part in effecting this change. And as a man, Nordic in appearance and predominantly of Caucasian ancestry, who chose freely to identify himself as a Negro, he played a dramatic part in helping his fellow Americans to understand the folly of race prejudice. He gave his life to a heroic cause now well on its way to triumph.

Growing Ranks of the Aged Pose Grave Social Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the New York Times of February 21, 1955. It is the first in a series of 5 articles written by Edith Evans Asbury on the problems of the aging:

GROWING RANKS OF THE AGED POSE GRAVE SOCIAL PROBLEM

(First of five articles on the problems of the aging)

(By Edith Evans Asbury)

Modern American society, with its emphasis on industrialization and the glorification of youth, has swung so far from the veneration of age characteristic of ancient cultures that a crucial situation has developed.

Thanks to medical science, larger and larger numbers of men and women survive long past the Biblical "3 score and 10."

For a great many men and women in their 70's, 80's and 90's, the "gift" of longer life is more a punishment than a blessing. They pay for it in physical and mental suffering. Their families, incomes strained to the breaking point by the financial burden, hearts wrung by the slow physical and mental crumbling of a beloved parent or grandparent, also pay heavily. And the enormous drain on public funds threatens to strike deep into the taxpayer's pocket.

One in every twelve persons in the United States is over 65 years old. In New York City the ratio is 1 in 11. One million of the city's 8 million are past 60.

Fifty percent of those admitted to mental hospitals in the New York area last year were over 60 years old. Thousands of chronically ill aged crowd the city's hospitals. Hundreds of these are in general hospitals using facilities far more expensive than they require, because they were intended for the short-term care of the acutely ill.

Social workers and other specialists have been observing and discussing the rising proportion of the aged in our population for the last 10 years. The problems created by it are so urgent now that alarm is spreading far beyond professional welfare circles.

In Washington, Congress appropriated $180 million last summer to encourage construction of hospitals and other medical facilities for the chronically ill aged.

A report on the care of the chronically ill aged throughout the Nation is being prepared at the direction of the conference of State governors, to be presented at its next annual meeting at Chicago in August.

The resolution calling for the report, adopted by the governors at their 1954 convention, says:

"Increased life expectancy should provide more meaningful rewards than mere prolongation of life itself. Our older citizens are entitled, in their advancing years, both to healthful living and to opportunities for useful and satisfying activity."

Governor Harriman appointed Philip M. Kaiser last month to be a special assistant to handle problems concerning the aged and aging.

STATE BILLS OFFER AID

Bills proposing to provide more housing for the aged, stimulate golden age clubs, remove antiage legislation and promote jobs for workers over 45 are before the State legislature. They were introduced January 24 by Senator Thomas C. Desmond, chairman of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging.

In New York City, numerous means of coping with problems created by our aging population are being considered and set up by city departments and private welfare agencies.

Dr. Basil C. MacLean, commisisoner of the department of hospitals, wants to convert two city hospitals on Welfare Island into nursing homes for the infirm aged. They are the old metropolitan and city hospitals, which will be vacated when new hospitals being constructed to replace them are completed.

A survey is being made of chronically ill patients in all the city hospitals to ascertain how many of them do not require expensive hospital care.

The department of hospitals also has asked the budget director for additional inspectors to keep tabs on the city's commercial nursing homes, for which it adopted a more stringent code of standards last fall.

Commissioner Henry L. McCarthy of the department of welfare wants to establish "homesteads" for aged men and women on Ellis Island, which was recently abandoned as an immigration station.

Additional day-care centers to provide recreational activities for the aged who still live in their own homes are being sought by the welfare department.

The city health department wants to establish counseling centers for the aged offering service similar to that given for the last 3 years on an experimental basis in the Kipps Bay area of Manhattan and recently extended to East Harlem. Private agencies, too, are mobilizing to remedy the current situation and prevent its getting worse.

HEALTH COUNCIL STUDIES

The Welfare and Health Council is conducting a series of institutes to study ways of improving proprietary nursing home care. To bridge the gap between crowded institutions for the aged and the rising aged population, private nursing homes have opened rapidly in the last 10 years. New York City now has 100, some of which have been harshly criticized as being more interested in profits than in giving adequate sympathetic care to their patients.

An information service about nursing homes is about to be opened by the Welfare and Health Council. It will provide information about facilities, type of service, and fees.

The Community Service Society, whose director of services for the aged, Miss Ollie Randall, is also national president of the Gerontological Society, is embarked on a $225,000 survey of the aged financed by a grant made last month by the Rockefeller Foundation.

On the surface, the distressing aspects of the latter years of today's aging men and women would appear to be the result of medical science's success in keeping so many people alive so long. Because of miracle drugs, antibiotics, the virtual elimination of many childhood diseases, the drastic reduction in infant and maternal deaths, modern sanitation, and dietary knowledge, millions now live much longer than they would have a generation ago. Even after chronic illness afflicts them, modern medical treatment keeps them alive much longer than was possible formerly.

Closer examination and deeper thinking reveals equally significant reasons for the physical, mental, and financial hardships so often incurred as the result of longevity.

At what age does a person become old? A witty answer is that an old person is anyone 10 years older than you are. For retirement purposes, the answer is usually 65, frequently 60 sometimes 55, though rarely 70. Statisticians lean to 65, but use 60, too, as the boundary between middle and old age. Employment advertisements often set a ceiling at the age of 40, and commonly drop it to 35 or 30 years. We all know persons who seem young at 80 and others who seem old at 40.

WHERE IS THE DIVIDING LINE?

The impossibility of setting a precise year at which old age begins, or defining exactly what old age is, is a basic factor in the situation that has developed.

A companion factor contributing to the predicament of the older person is the attitude of our energetic, young, production-minded American culture that the 60-year-old, no matter how alert mentally and physically, is no longer a fit wage-earner, and is therefore useless.

Psychiatrists, physicians, psychologists, and social workers believe that much of the long-term mental and physical illness of the aged could have been prevented.

They argue, citing convincing evidence, that older men and women, demoralized by society's tacit scorn, break down mentally or physically, or both.

Men forced to retire while they are still able and eager to work, women deprived of their previous importance as wife, mother, and homemaker, feel relegated to the bottom of the social structure. Reduction in income and standard of living deepen the misery of empty days and lonely nights. Normal lessening of vigor and occasional illness, aggravated by frustration and fear, become more serious than need be and often the oldsters lapse into chronic physical or mental illness through sheer despair, these experts say.

Practical minded business and government administrators as well as theorizing "do gooders" are convinced of the truth of this argument. For financial as well as for humani-

tarian reasons, they are banded together to devise ways of keeping older men and women happier and healthier longer.

Some ways have been found and are being put into effect. Actual dollar and cents savings, as well as gains in human health, dignity, and happiness, have been achieved.

Those preoccupied with the problems of aging consider their present progress a mere finger in the dike against which population statistics press fiercely.

Since 1900 the number of persons over 65 has quadrupled. During the same period, the United States population in general merely doubled. The number of persons 45 to 64 tripled, however, indicating that the proportion of older persons will continue to swell.

Many now happily unaware of darker aspects of the increased span of life probably will live past 65 and for many years thereafter. And there will be a great many more others over 65 than there are now, with whom they must share whatever blessings or misfortunes old age brings.

Care Inadequate for the Sick Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 16, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the New York Times of February 22, 1955. It is the second of a series of five articles written by Edith Evans Asbury on the problems of the aging:

CARE INADEQUATE FOR THE SICK AGED—MOST INSTITUTIONS ACCEPTING THEM WERE NOT DESIGNED FOR THAT PURPOSE—PROBLEM IS INTENSIFYING—INCREASED LONGEVITY ADDS TO BURDENS CAUSED BY SENILITY AND CHRONIC ILLNESS

(By Ruth Evans Asbury)

Thousands of New York's aged already are mentally or physically ill and live in institutions. More than half of these ailing aged are supported at public expense.

Two city infirmaries, a city nursing home, 11 State mental hospitals, and 100 commercially run nursing homes house and care for the aging ill from this area. Additional hundreds are being cared for in 91 homes for the aged operated by religious and philanthropic organizations. Nobody, including the city's commissioner of hospitals, knows how many chronically ill aged men and women languish in general and voluntary hospital beds, not because they need expensive care, but because there is no place to send them.

Most of the havens in which these men and women have found refuge for their declining years were not designed to handle their problems.

Bird S. Coler Infirmary, a 1,920-bed institution on Welfare Island, is an exception. One of the most modern and best equipped facilities in the Nation, it was planned to meet today's needs of the infirm aged. It was completed 2½ years ago, and already is filled nearly to capacity.

Creedmore Hospital, for the mentally ill, on the other hand, was designed to accommodate a higher proportion of younger and ambulatory patients than it now has. When it opened as a separate institution in 1935 only 28 percent of the patients in New York State mental hospitals were senile. Today this group constitutes 36 percent of the inmates of State hospitals.

Because most of Creedmoor's aging patients are bedfast or have limited mobility, they cannot, for instance, go to centrally located dining rooms in other buildings.

Replanning of food service for patients who cannot climb stairs, or even leave their beds—and some of the very old have to be spoon-fed like babies—is just one example of the adoption required at Creedmoor.

HOMES FOR AGED EVOLVING

Similar changes, usually at great expense, have become necessary in homes for the aged. Originally planned as rest and retiremen places for ambulatory, and sometimes healthy, oldsters, many of these homes are gradually evolving into infirmaries or hospitals.

There are two major reasons for the evolution. First, their original inhabitants lived for many years after entering, became chronically ill, and continued to survive for many more years. Secondly, men and women enter homes for the aged now at the age of 75 or 80, usually for health reasons.

A generation ago, the average age at admission to a home for the aged was 60 or 65, and the reason was usually a need for shelter and food.

Nowadays, men and women in their sixties have the wherewithal to buy food and shelter in their own communities, thanks to social security, old-age assistance, pensions, and the like. And they show an overwhelming preference for remaining independent, and outside an institution, as long as possible.

The old idea that retired men and women romp joyously into homes for aged, or sunny colonies in Florida to rest and relax after years of happy anticipation, has been disproved by recent surveys. They want to stay in their own homes in their own neighborhoods, near friends and relatives, regardless of the rigors of climate or penury.

Eventually, because of the increased life span, illness and enfeeblement overtake many of the aging, and they have to enter some kind of institution when they can no longer take care of themselves.

When aging men and women begin to deteriorate they are prey to a variety of diseases, and sometimes suffer from more than one at the same time.

THE DISEASE OF SENILITY

One of the most distressing illnesses to befall the aged and their families is senility. Medical science has not found its cause or cure. It can last for many years, during which the patient gradually grows increasingly feeble physically and mentally, requiring more and more care. The cost, over a period of years, of providing for a severely senile relative is utterly beyond the means of the average family.

Mildly senile persons can remain with relatives if there is someone to keep an eye on them. They cannot be left alone for long. They are forgetful, may wander away, may turn on the gas to make coffee and forget to put a match to the gas. At this stage their medical needs are likely to be few.

New York's small families, usually living in small apartments, often with husband and wife both working, face a problem not to be underestimated even with mild senility. The situation is the more crtical if teen-agers in the family feel shamed by grandmother's behavior, or a daughter-in-law resents the burden of caring for her.

As the disease progresses the senile person grows more forgetful, more vague, more childish. Physical and sanitation needs, as well as personality disturbances, become extremely difficult for the average family to cope with. At this point some kind of custodial care elsewhere is usually necessary to keep the rest of the family from being blown apart.

Senility, while it affects the mind, has physical, not mental, causes. In nontechnical language, it is the result of hardening of the arteries. The aging, thickening arteries permit less and less blood to flow to the brain, which becomes undernourished, starves, and fails.

The disease can occur in any person, regardless of how satisfying his occupation, physical health, mental, and emotional stability were during his active, mature years.

ALL GROUPS AFFECTED

All income groups are struck. Wealthy families can hire companions or nurses, and keep the patient at home when the disease becomes severe, or they can obtain suitable institutionalization—at great expense.

If the family is supported by welfare funds or demonstrably unable to pay for the care of the senile relative outside the home public agencies will assume all or part of the burden.

The average, self-supporting, middle-income family, however, finds it virtually impossible in New York City to solve the problem of long-term custodial care for a senile relative in a way commensurate with its pride and self-respect.

In a nursing home—if one can be found that is willing to take a senile patient—fees will be at least $150 a month for bed, board, and nursing care alone. Medical treatment, when needed, will be billed separately.

Homes for the aged are extremely reluctant to accept senile patients, because of the more intensive, therefore more expensive, attention they require. Their financial resources are already strained to the breaking point by the unanticipated greater number of years their present population has survived, and by the resultant increase in chronic illness among them.

Another reason for the reluctance to accept a senile is that his childish behavior sometimes disturbs other patients.

By reducing their own standard of living, some middle-income families, at great financial hardship, manage to maintain a senile parent or grandparent. But the senile can survive for years. Usually, as things are now, the senile from the middle- and lower-income family eventually goes to a tax-supported institution, despite his family's financial sacrifices and pride.

Usually that institution is a mental hospital, to the further demoralization of the family and drain on the taxpayer.

STATE HOSPITALS OPPOSED

Many students of the problems of the aged believe that the majority of the senile do not belong in State hospitals for the mentally ill. They believe the care there is more expensive than need be for this type of patient.

According to State law, senile psychotics must be committed to a hospital for the mentally ill. Many welfare workers believe the law is sometimes loosely interpreted in order to commit nonpsychotic senile men and women because there is no place else to put them.

In the opinion of this group, the law should be rephrased to distinguish between psychotic and nonpsychotic senility. They advocate separate institutions, more like nursing homes than hospital for the senile.

If this were done, they argue, the senile's care would be less of a burden on the taxpayer, his last years could be spent more comfortably, and his descendants would be spared the stigma of mental illness.

Administrators of the State department of mental hygiene are outraged by the latter argument. They declare that no more stigma is attached to illness of the brain than to bodily illness.

Dr. James A. Brussel, assistant commissioner, insists that "no patient is in a State hospital for the mentally ill who is not mentally ill."

"Our mental hospitals are so overcrowded now that we are hard pressed for space," Dr. Brussel declares.

"Don't you think we would be delighted to empty our beds of older people if they were not mentally ill?" Dr. Brussel demands. "Then we could reduce overcrowding and concentrate our efforts and facilities on the younger person who would receive more benefit from treatment and perhaps be cured."

A spotlight was thrown on the situation last December, when Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Brenner declared that he was sick and tired of sending old people to mental institutions simply because there is no place else to put them.

Referring to four elderly persons appearing before him for commitment, Justice Brenner said: "Since denial of custodial care and hospitalization to these people would probably result in their death, I find myself compelled to certify them as mentally ill."

Miss Ollie Randall, national president of the Gerontology Society, applauded the jurist's outburst as a welcome shock. It underscored a problem that deserves a high, if not the highest, priority in the community—planning for old age, Miss Randall said.

Commissioner Brussel's retort is that after a thorough clinical study—"and you can be sure it was thorough"—all four of the persons to whom the jurist referred were found to be definitely very psychotic.

Miss Randall and scores of others, including physicians and psychiatrists as well as welfare workers, believe there is merit in drawing a sharper distinction between psychotic and nonpsychotic senility, and in providing separate facilities for them.

Even a distinct wing of a mental hospital, with a different name, which would appear on the death record handed down to his descendants, would be a humane step in the right direction, declares Justice Brenner. He also proposes that a new term, "helpless aged," be used in commitment proceedings.

No layman is qualified to diagnose psychosis. Qualified psychiatrists themselves may vary in their judgment as to when the borderline has been crossed from emotional disturbance and neurosis into psychosis.

To the untrained observer, mere erratic behavior may be deemed psychotic, or outward calm of a true psychotic may be mistaken as proof of normality.

PSYCHOSIS IS DEFINED

Dr. S. Bernard Wortis, professor of psychiatry and neurology at New York University College of Medicine and director of psychiatric and neurological services at University Hospital, New York University-Bellevue Medical Center, says there is no dispute about the exact definition of psychosis.

A psychotic, Dr. Wortis says, is an individual of normal intelligence in such a state of mind as to be unable to care for his own needs, unable to deal with the ordinary requirements of his normal environment, and devoid of insight into the consequences of his actions.

The city's psychiatrists base their decision on commital recommendations on whether the senile person has reached this state, Dr. Wortis says. He denies that they take into consideration any lack of other facilities for the patient's care outside a mental hospital.

The same definition, incidentally, almost applies to a baby. And, indeed, senile men and women revert to childishness as their disease progresses. As their memory fails, they forget acquired habits of self-control. This means diapering, constant change of clothing and bed linen, and sometimes resistance to being bathed and fed.

One of the most tragic sights imaginable is the wasted, feeble 90-year-old, a great-grandmother, crying piteously in her bed for, "Mamma, I want my mamma."

Not all the aged become senile. The percentage is small. However, the numbers are large, and are bound to increase as our aged population increases. Unless some answer is found to the problems posed by their need for specialized care, its expense will continue to engulf an evergrowing number of families, and the taxpayer.

Rise in Age Adds Burdens on Young

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the New York Times of February 23, 1955. It is the third in a series of five articles written by Edith Evans Asbury on the problems of the aging:

RISE IN AGED ADDS BURDENS ON YOUNG—LONGER SURVIVAL BEYOND POINT AT WHICH HEALTH BEGINS TO FAIL PILES UP MEDICAL BILLS—HOME CARE IS PROBLEM—CITY AND AGENCIES HERE PUSH PLAN TO KEEP THE FEELING OF "BELONGING" ALIVE IN ALL

(By Edith Evans Asbury)

The increase in the population of the aged is piling hugh medical bills on the younger wage earners and taxpayers.

Medical science has not only increased man's life expectancy, but it also has made it possible for him to survive longer after his health begins to fail.

One in every 11 persons in New York City is over 65. Men of 65 have a life expectancy of 14 years, and women 17. At some time during the added later years, many, though by no means all, aging men and women acquire infirmities that slowly waste their minds, bodies, and financial resources.

The situation has developed so swiftly that the makeshift, emergency measures marshaled to cope with its medical aspects often cost more than necessary in terms of human dignity and money, in the opinion of experts concerned with the problems of the aging.

Many of the infirm aged, supported for years in hospitals and other institutions, could have remained healthier and happier longer, and at much less expense, if they had stayed longer in their own homes, these experts say.

In an effort to use funds as efficiently as possible, public and private welfare agencies have developed a plan for keeping the aged in their own homes as long as possible.

CARE FOR PAY IS LIMITED

Self-supporting families, too, can benefit from the procedure developed by these agencies for the care of the indigent aged. Unfortunately, facilities for this kind of care for the paying family are limited, and many who could benefit do not know about them.

But a beginning has been made. As awareness of the plan spreads, services on a fee basis will undoubtedly increase to meet the demand that is expected.

"Continuity of care" could be an overall name applied to the method devised by the welfare agencies for meeting, as humanely and economically as possible, the needs of the aged when they begin to fail in health.

The agencies have also developed a preventive program to combat the emotional and physical ravages of old age. This will be discussed in a subsequent article.

The system of continuity of care, while it has preventive aspects, is a remedial procedure. It was developed to cope with the rising medical costs of failing health brought on by the increased proportion of older men and women in our population.

In this city, there are a million residents over 60 years old. More than 700,000 of these are past 65. Seven and three-tenths percent of the men and women over 65 are supported by the department of welfare.

Some of these elderly relief clients have good health, but are unable to find, or perform, work. The welfare department maintains them in their own homes, with relatives, or alone. If their health begins to decline, they receive medical treatment as needed at clinics, or from doctors sent to their homes.

Visiting nurses are also sent when needed. Visiting homemakers go to the home of the old person or couple, to assist with cleaning up, marketing, and planning.

MORALE OF AGED STRESSED

Keeping the older person in his own home, in his own community, among familiar sights and near friends, is far more beneficial to his morale than uprooting him and putting him into an institution, with its regimentation and lack of privacy.

The cost to the taxpayer is also a great deal less, according to Miss Charlotte Authier, director of the Bureau of Special Services of the Department of Welfare. Care outside the home, she says, ranges anywhere from a minimum of $3 a day to $20.

The Welfare Department budget for a person living alone in his own home is $110.42 a month, not including medical or nursing care, or other special health needs. Homemaker service averages $10 a week, for 3 half days.

If an elderly welfare recipient is no longer able to remain at home because of need for continuous supervision, the department places him in a boarding home. Here, where, at the most, 4 older persons are quartered, a "foster mother" provides homelike conditions matching those from which her boarders came.

The oldster can still feel a part of a family, have a private room, go about the neighborhood, attend church, shop, and act as a part of the community. He is relieved of housekeeping responsibilities, although he can make his bed or putter around the house if he feels like it. When he is ill he can be served a tray in bed, and if he needs occasional medical attention a physician can be summoned.

FOUR HUNDRED HOMES FOR CITY CASES

Four hundred such boarding homes are utilized by the Department of Welfare at a cost of $94.50 a month for a single room or $89.50 for a shared room. "And we could use four or five hundred more such homes," Miss Authier says.

Some borderline seniles are placed by the department in these boarding homes, along with other kinds of ambulatory but infirm aged persons.

The oldsters whose infirmities require more attention than can be provided in a boarding home, is placed in a nursing home, a home for the aged, an infirmary or a hospital, depending on his needs.

In a nursing home, he receives continuous nursing care and medical treatment as needed. Approximately 3,000 welfare clients receive this care in 70 proprietary nursing homes licensed by the department of hospitals. Rates range at costs ranging from $150 to $200 a month.

Those in need of custodial and medical care may be moved to a privately operated home for the aged equipped for this type of patient. The department uses 66 of these homes, paying fees ranging up to $150 a

month, plus clothing and personal incidentals.

When the patient's illness progresses to the point where he needs more intensive medical treatment, the department moves him to infirmary accommodation. These include some of the homes for the aged and the publicly operated Bird S. Coler Infirmary on Welfare Island and Farm Colony on Staten Island. Here the cost averages $6 a day, still well under the $20 a day cost of beds in general hospitals.

The same type of continuity-of-care program is carried out by Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant welfare agencies, other private welfare agencies, and by the social-service department of the department of hospitals. Homes for the aged, crowded to capacity, give the same service to prospective residents eligible for admission but still able to stay in their own homes.

MUCH CASEWORK IS NEEDED

Extensive knowledge of available facilities, intensive social casework with the individuals and families involved, and alert awareness of the whole field of problems connected with aging are required to carry out this program.

Perforce, the public and private welfare agencies have acquired the necessary information and skills, in order to deal effectively with their own clientele.

Some of this expert knowledge, counseling, and skill is available also to self-supporting families. Religious and privately financed welfare agencies will, on request, supply it on a fee basis.

One commercial counseling service—Adult Counselors and Home Finders, at 33 Fifth Avenue—has been in business for 3 years to serve the paying public. It is operated by two former social workers who saw the need in the middle-income group for the same service they were giving the indigent, and decided to provide it.

Homemakers for the aged in their own homes can be obtained in the metropolitan area from three commercial organizations. As can be inferred from their names, they originally served families in a wide variety of emergencies, including those in which a young mother needed someone to care for her children while she was in the hospital, or just after her return with a new baby. All three report an increasing demand, within the last year, for help for aging men and women.

The 3 are the Gotham Registry for Family Nurses, 100 West 72d Street; the Maternity Service Nurses Registry, 814 East 13th Street, Brooklyn, and the Suburban Agency, 130 Leverich Street, Hempstead, L. I.

VISITING NURSE SERVICE HELPS

Visiting nurse service, too, can be obtained by the self-supporting family for its aged. It is available from the Visiting Nurse Service in Manhattan at 107 East 70th Street. This office also serves Queens and the Bronx. In Brooklyn there is an office at 138 South Oxford Street, and in Staten Island at 61 Stuyvesant Place.

Fifty percent of the Visiting Nurse Service's work is supplied free to those unable to pay. However, the agency also provides service for those able to pay part or all of the cost. Fees begin at $3.50 for a 45-minute visit.

A registered nurse will give the patient a bed bath, and treatments or injections ordered by a physician. The nurse will teach the family how to give the patient insulin for diabetes, and will work with both patient and family to help rehabilitate the victim of a stroke.

In addition to medical, nursing, and housekeeping help enabling the aging person to remain in his own home at much less than the cost of hospitalization, counseling is available to middle-income families as well as to the indigent.

This advice, based on knowledge of community facilities and techniques advisable for retaining and rehabilitating the mental and physical health of the aging, can be obtained on a fee basis from the voluntary family agencies and from the adult counselors and home finders mentioned above.

Families driven to the limit of endurance emotionally by an older member who is difficult to get along with, can get advice about various ways of handling the problem.

CASE OF GUILT-RIDDEN GIRL

Often the guilt-ridden daughter who can no longer bear to live in the same house with her domineering, but physically helpless mother or mother-in-law feels like a moral leper.

The explanation may be that the older woman is irritable and demanding because she is demoralized and terrified by old age and dependency.

Both women can be reassured by learning from expert counselors that they are not alone in their dilemma and that socially acceptable, economically feasible, and personally satisfactory solutions are possible.

These agencies offer counseling, too, to the bewildered older person unable to adjust to retirement, idleness, and income reduction. They may steer him toward new kinds of work more in keeping with his declining strength, part-time work at his acquired skill, or social activities and hobbies that will revive his interest in life and restore his pride in achievement.

Concrete evidence of the urgent need for more counseling and continuity of care is offered by the results of a study made of 95 aged patients at Goldwater Memorial Hospital on Welfare Island.

The study, begun in 1953, is a joint project of the New York University-Bellevue Medical Center and the city department of hospitals, with financial aid from the New York Foundation. A similar survey under the same auspices is being made of the chronically ill in all the city's general hospitals, to determine how many of the patients do not belong in hospitals, and how they got there.

A recently published report of the survey characterizes the chronic disease and disability resulting from an aging population as the Nation's No. 1 medical problem. Ninety percent of the group studied at Goldwater, the report says, had no medically justifiable reasons for continued hospitalization.

Yet some of the 46 men and 49 women studied had been in Goldwater as long as 13 years. Unable to ascertain the exact cost of the lengthy hospitalization of the group, the report nevertheless declares that "an outlay of millions of dollars is directly involved."

"In any event," the report says, "the cost of neglect is high and should be faced frankly. If we cannot act out of compassion and maturity, we will still have to act out of economic necessity."

Aids to Morale Needed for Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the New York Times of February 24, 1955. It is the fourth in a series of five articles written by Edith Evans Asbury on the problems of the aging:

AIDS TO MORALE NEEDED FOR AGED—AS OVER-65 POPULATION RISES, EXPERTS ARE CONCERNED OVER WAYS TO KEEP IT OCCUPIED

(By Edith Evans Asbury)

While public and private agencies seek frantically for means to cope with the soaring cost of illness among the aged population, they quake at the prospect of the future.

The over-65 population in the United States has quadrupled since 1900; the number of persons 45 to 64 years old has tripled. This middle age group is passing into the over-65 group at the rate of about 400,000 a year.

One need not be an Einstein to deduce from these statistics, and from the rate of speed at which medical science achieves new victories over disease, that the aged are destined to form a much larger proportion of the population than they do now.

Today, 1 in every 12 persons in the country is over 65 years old, and the ratio in New York City is 1 in 11. It is estimated that by 1980 1 in 7 of the Nation's population will be over 65.

It is true that a great many men and women live to a hearty, happy old age, and die with merciful speed. Many of our most distinguished figures in government, industry, arts, and sciences are way past 65 and still active.

Prime Minister Winston Churchill is 80. T. J. Watson, chairman of the International Business Machines Corp., is 81. Former Vice President ALBEN BARKLEY, who recently got himself elected to the United States Senate after an arduous campaign, is 77. Arturo Toscanini was still vigorously directing the N. B. C. Symphony Orchestra up to last April, when he retired at the age of 87.

Carl Sandburg is still turning out literary and scholarly masterpieces at 77. Grandma Moses, at 95, is still busy painting, an art she took up when she was 78 years old.

Former President Herbert Hoover, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Albert Einstein, and many, many others can be cited who continue to contribute their wisdom and skill to the Nation long after passing 65.

MANY WORKING AFTER 75

In many walks of life, men and women continue working after they reach the age of 65. It is estimated that 23 percent of those over 65 years old in the United States are employed and supporting another 7 percent who are their wives. Several hundred thousand past 75 are still working, usually for themselves (farmers, for instance) or at part-time jobs for others.

Experts concerned with the problems of the aged believe that many of the remaining 70 percent could be employed if it were not for mandatory retirement practices. They believe much of the debilitating, expensive illness among older men and women can be prevented in the future, if steps are taken now to revise the attitude of society that decrees retirement at a chronological, rather than physiological age.

That a happy person is a healthy person is the thesis underlying this belief. Eliminate the cruelly scornful attitude of society toward older men and women, and their costly mental and physical deterioration will be reduced sharply.

The United States, hewed out of a wilderness by young, vigorous men and women, built into industrial eminence by efficient production methods, glorifies youth and has little respect for those who do not contribute to the national economy. This attitude is accentuated by our culture's strong Puritan tradition, in which work has a unique value.

So long as its citizens are self-supporting members of the economy, they find the American way of life worth living, no matter how much of a struggle it is at times. They fight for their jobs and advancement, they fight for their children, for the causes in which they believe, and for prestige, with whatever weapons are at hand. They refuse

to acknowledge that they are old until confronted with irrefutable, shocking evidence.

VERDICT SHAKES MORALE

When the stunning verdict is forced upon them it staggers their morale. Unless some way can be found to rescue and preserve the older person's morale he will begin to deteriorate mentally and physically, in the opinion of physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and Government administrators concerned today with problems of the aging.

Men forced to retire by their chronological age while they are still physiologically able, energetic women who have outlived their role as mothers and homemakers suffer keenly at being relegated to the shelf. Unless they can find some new means of bolstering their egos by activity and achievement, they wither away in the face of society's judgment that they are useless.

Expelled from the battlefield, where, during all their thinking years, they gloried in the challenge, they cower in a no-man's land between the army of fellows that has ostracized them, and death.

"We are wasting our most precious human resources, wisdom, by our present social attitude toward our aging population," declared Dr. Howard Rusk, chairman of the Department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation of New York University-Bellevue Medical Center and associate editor of the New York Times.

"People are not born wise," Dr. Rusk says. "They may be born brilliant, but wisdom comes only with experience, and experience comes only with time."

Distinguished members of his own profession furnish examples of the folly of arbitrary retirement because of age. As one of many similar cases, he cited the late Dr. Harvey Cushing, the first and one of the greatest neuro-surgeons, who was retired by Harvard University. Dr. Cushing promptly moved over to the Yale faculty, and continued teaching until he was 68.

JOBS HARD TO GET AFTER 40

The age barrier to employment begins to rear itself long before 65. Jobs are frequently advertised as offered only to applicants under 40. Sometimes the limit is placed at 35 or at 30.

"We have a terrible time persuading personnel managers to even interview workers over 40, no matter how well qualified those applicants are," says Mrs. Marguerite Coleman, supervisor of special placement service for the New York Employment Service.

The difficulty of finding employment for those over 60 is inordinately greater. Yet many could be placed, Mrs. Coleman says, if a larger staff could be assigned to the task. At present only four persons in the New York office serve the over-40 group, and they are able to handle only 10 percent of the applications.

"It is really a tragic business," Mrs. Coleman says.

The only other agency that offers special assistance to the older worker in finding full or part-time work in the city is the federation employment service, operated by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

Many of the idle, older men and women, are perfectly capable, physically and mentally, of continuing full time at the same kind of work they always did, Mrs. Coleman says.

Others could work part time. For example, the New York office placed a 70-year-old retired librarian in a 3-day-a-week post in the records department of a hospital. Retired bookkeepers are placed with small firms whose books need attention only 1 or 2 days a week. Retired teachers can be part-time tutors.

The employment service also operates a training class for older office workers. Here women who were stenographers or secretaries before they were married can, now that they need to return to work, brush up on their typing and shorthand.

Not only does the employed older person save the taxpayers money by supporting himself, but he is a contributor to the national economy and is paying taxes.

During November, 1954, the most recent month for which statistics have been completed, 79,000 men and women filed new applications for employment throughout the State employment service. Of these, 22 percent were between 46 and 64 years old, and 2 percent were over 65. Already pending were applications from 93,000 men and women between 46 and 64, and 22,000 from persons over 65.

"Somebody has to support these people," Mrs. Coleman said. "The community cannot afford to have that many unproductive people."

Senator Thomas C. Desmond, chairman of the State joint legislative committee on the problems of the aging, has a bill before the legislature that would appropriate $50,000 to be used for employment counseling for older workers. He has introduced it perennially, several times, and so far it has been defeated each year. He has also offered a measure that, if adopted, would remove anti-age legislation.

Pointing out that the life expectancy of a 65-year-old man is 14 years, and of a 65-year-old woman is 17 years. Senator Desmond asks: "What do we expect these forcibly retired people to do all that time, sit on their hands?"

Another bill introduced by Senator Desmond would provide paid recreation leaders to work with the aged. These leaders would help organize and direct "senior citizens clubs," "golden age clubs" and other recreational activities that would get the aged out of their lonely rooms more often and give them something to live for.

In the city, 14 day-care centers for older men and women are operated by the department of welfare. They are an important link in the department's "continuity of care" program designed to keep older relief clients in their own homes as long as possible.

NEW INTERESTS PROVIDED

Here, older men and women, widowed, lonely because most of their friends have died, can make new friends, develop hobbies, participate in study groups. New Yorkers from all walks of life attend these centers, which have libraries and workshops as well as lounges and meeting rooms.

Similar recreational programs for older men and women are offered in some churches, and some homes for the aged provide them for older people in the neighboring community.

More such centers should be established by churches, civic clubs, and various organizations, declares Harry A. Levine, director of the welfare department's centers.

Many churches and synagogues are open all day and could provide space for activities for older people, Mr. Levine says.

According to Commissioner McCarthy, the centers pay off in dollars-and-cents savings to the taxpayers, as well as in emotional benefits to the aging. He has asked the budget director for money to open additional centers, which, he says, "can cut down referrals to mental hospitals.

"We don't get mental breakdowns to the same degree among the aged if they are kept busy," Commissioner McCarthy declares.

The large number of widowed women among the aged poses a special problem. Women tend to outlive men, whether married or not.

The widowed women suffer as keenly from loss of status and feelings of futility as do men and women forcibly retired from employment outside the home.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN CITY

In smaller cities, and on farms, there is usually room in the home for a grandmother or aging aunt, and plenty of things for her to do around the house and in the community. In New York, with its small apartments and mobile population, this is less likely to be true.

Depressed at being crowded out of the general scheme, many of these women take solace in recollections of the past, when they were important. This group is especially in need of help, if mental breakdown is to be prevented.

As has been pointed out earlier, 30 percent of the over-65 population in the Nation are employed or supported by their husbands. Nearly all of the remaining 70 percent must subsist on sharply reduced incomes, whether the source be pension, annuity, social security or old-age asistance. Adjustment to a reduced standard of living intensifies all the other misfortunes of this group.

Despite the gloomy shadows thrown across their latter years, most old people manage to adjust to their hardships.

Assistance in making that adjustment is given at two adult counseling centers in Manhattan, operated jointly by the city departments of health and welfare, with a grant from the New York Foundation.

The centers are the outgrowth of a survey made in 1952 of 500 men and women over 60 living in the Yorkville-Kipps Bay area. The department of health, Cornell University Medical College, the New York Foundation and the Russell Sage Foundation arranged the study.

All income levels were represented by the 500, who were selected at random. Some lived in luxurious Park Avenue apartments, others in very poor homes on Second Avenue. The area covered was between 34th and 90th Streets, and between Fifth Avenue and the East River.

Some kind of counseling to plan for and adjust to old age was revealed as being one of the greatest needs of the aged.

As the result of the study, an experimental counseling center was established at 411 East 69th Street in 1953. A second center was opened early this year in East Harlem, at 312 East 109th Street.

At both centers the service is available to all the aged, regardless of income. It is rendered by a staff that includes a physician, psychiatrist, a public health nurse, social case worker and clinical psychologist.

Less than half the problems brought in by the troubled older men and women are related to health. But its sponsors believe that the expansion of the service would be one of the most effective preventive health measures possible.

"Their main, besetting problem is not health, but morale," says Dr. Theodore Rosenthal, Assistant Commissioner of the Health Department.

"And if you can keep old people occupied they keep out of hospitals. Mental health has an important effect on their physical health."

Europe Leads United States in Assisting Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the

New York Times of February 25, 1955. It is the last article in a series of five written by Edith Evans Asbury on the problems of the aging:

EUROPE LEADS UNITED STATES IN ASSISTING AGED—OBSERVERS FINDS THIS COUNTRY SUFFERS BY A COMPARISON WITH AID GIVEN ABROAD—RESPECT FOR OLD CITED—BUT RISING PROPORTION OF THE ELDERLY IS CAUSING A BIG PROBLEM IN SOME AREAS

(By Edith Evans Asbury)

The proportion of the aged in the population is rising in Europe as well as in the United States.

In Great Britain 10.83 percent of the population are 65 years or older. In Germany 9.28 percent are over 65. The percentage in the United States is 8.118.

Both Germany and Britain had about the same percentage of over 65 population as this country in 1900. In Germany it was 4.88, Britain had 4.69, and the United States 4.05.

France, Sweden, and Norway had large number of aged in 1900, their percentages being 8.20, 8.37, and 7.90, respectively. Today in France 11.80 percent of the population are over 65, in Sweden 10.31, and in Norway 9.70.

The Europeans began planning for the welfare of the aged long before we did. That was partly because their populations have been aging gradually over a longer period. Also they showed concern earlier because older persons in those countries receive more deference from their families and the public.

UNITED STATES SUFFERS IN CONTRAST

A report on a tour made last summer to observe how the aged are cared for in Europe and Scandinavia has been made by Miss Ollie A. Randall, national president of the American Geronological Society. She said:

"We sensed above everything else a feeling that nothing was too good for the old people. It is something that we in this country have not acquired to the same degree."

Miss Flora Fox, director of the Central Bureau for the Jewish Aged, who also made the tour said she was "deeply impressed by the acceptance of the aged as people and entitled to special housing. It puts to shame the meager efforts in this country," she added.

Government-sponsored retirement systems were well established in Germany and the Scandinavian countries when we established ours, largely patterned after theirs, in 1935.

Bismarck introduced social security in Germany in 1873. Britain established a noncontributory pension plan, involving a means test, in 1908. A contributory plan, without means test, was started in 1925.

In early times the Swedes, or rather their Viking forebears, solved the old-age problem by pushing their old folk over the nearest precipice. Today, their old-age pension system is so inclusive it covers every Swede at his 67th birthday, irrespective of financial status.

The King is excepted, but the Queen is not. She, being 67 this year, will receive the pension.

Government-subsidized low-rent housing planned especially for older couples, or for unmarried men and women, has also been constructed on a large scale in Germany and the Scandinavian countries.

OTHER GRANTS BESIDES MONEY

Besides money payments, some European countries provide other benefits for the retired aged. In France, some cities grant coal, milk, sugar, and other food allocations as well as hospitalization.

Denmark, in addition to subsidizing low-rent apartments that house 5 percent of the country's pensioners, pays rent subsidies to those living in other housing.

Sweden, too, either provides specially built low-rent housing, or rent subsidy to the aged pensioners.

With their entrenched systems and their experience in administering them, it might have been expected that those far-sighted countries would be better prepared than the United States to handle today's aging population.

The European countries are, however, as perplexed and bedeviled as the United States by the mounting costs of chronic illness among the aging. They are learning, as we are, that pensions are not the final answer for the aged. And in many of the countries the retirement insurance structures have suffered from devaluations, war-devastation and other blows to national economies.

As rapidly as possible, the European countries are making adjustments. There is a trend toward changing from fixed pensions to flexible ones tied to the cost of living. The Scandinavian countries already pay cost-of-living pensions. That system is being considered by the Governments of England and Germany.

DOUBTS ON MANDATORY RETIRING

The medically increased span of life, with its lengthened period of retirement, and the higher incidence of chronic illness have resulted in Europe as here in a trend away from institutionalization. It is also raising doubts about the desirability of mandatory retirement.

In some of the European countries older men and women who prefer to continue working are spared the hardship of enforced idleness and reduced income that is suffered by many American men and women past the mandatory retirement age.

Older persons are encouraged to stay on the job in England and Denmark. They receive larger pensions as a reward for delaying retirement, because in those countries there are more jobs than there are workers to fill them.

A third of the men and women over 70 in Sweden are still working. In Germany those retired on social security are permitted to earn money, and the majority do.

In France, on the other hand, it is reported that it is the lifetime dream of nearly every state employee to retire on a pension as soon as possible—at 50 or 55. Frenchmen, perhaps, feel less of a call to prove their worth to society by continuing to work. Older men and women are an integral part of the family in France, commanding respect and often obeisance.

In Europe, as here, strenuous efforts are being made to keep ailing older persons in their own homes as long as possible, both for their own morale and to avoid higher cost of hospitalization.

Since Britain has socialized medicine, the aged are entitled to free medical care, including drugs and hospitalization. Homes for the aged are available, but about 95 percent of the aged maintain their own households or live with their children. This is approximately the same percentage as in the United States.

Officers of the National Assistance Board visit pensioners who need help, and the board contributes financially to voluntary agencies providing recreation, meals, or other services for the elderly in their own homes.

CLUBS ALSO OFFER SERVICES

More than 2,300 clubs, providing recreation, handicraft classes, and above all, companionship, are run by local groups affiliated with the National Old People's Welfare Committee, in which voluntary and statutory bodies are represented.

Mobile food services provide many old persons with hot meals in their homes.

Prosperous Sweden, which has not engaged in a war since 1814, provides handsomely for the aged. That country's national health program, effective this year, supplies hospital and medical care and free medicine for everyone, including the aged.

In addition, there are many state and municipal services for ailing older persons. Visiting nurses and homemakers are sent without charge.

About 23,000 low-priced apartments and 210 modern houses for the aged with 8,800 beds, the bulk in single rooms, also have been built for Sweden's aged.

Less blessed with prosperity, Germany and France face a more severe problem. West Germany's own people have aged earlier, physiologically, because of the rigors of war. And the country has been flooded with large numbers of aging refugees from East Germany and the Balkans. Medical care, drugs, and hospitalization are free for Germans receiving pensions under the compulsory insurance system.

PROBLEM IS ACUTE IN FRANCE

France's problem is acute, because it has the oldest population in the world. The average age of the French is 35, compared with 30 in the United States. The percentage of men and women over 60 in France is 16.2 as against 0.9 in the United States. Many of France's aged are war widows.

As France also has had a high increase in the birth rate, she has a disproportionate number of persons either over 60 or recently born. This places a heavy burden upon persons in the producing years, whose numbers have been cut by the casualties of two wars.

So far the problem of an aging population has not arisen in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, but it is expected to develop there, too, within the next 20 years. The benefits of medical science that extend the life span are easily exportable. Already mortality rates in some of those countries have fallen sharply.

It may be that by the time their aged populations assumes larger proportions, the underdeveloped countries will be better prepared to grapple with the problem than were the United States and Europe.

For one thing, larger numbers of children in their traditionally larger families will also survive, thanks to medical science. Secondly, their predominantly agrarian society provides more space and opportunity for older men and women in the family.

And last, but not least, the Asian family pattern protects older men and women from the demoralization so often at the root of their dilemma in our modern, industrialized society.

Many of the so-called underdeveloped countries have preserved, along with other antiquated customs, the belief that a family includes not only parents and children, but grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins to the second and third generation.

These older members remain in the household, sharing in its work, its play, its poverty or prosperity, and its love.

Federal Participation in the School Lunch Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following letter from Mr. Harvey K. Allen, of the bureau of school lunches, Board of Education of the City of New York, so that my colleagues may consider the remarks on the necessity of increased Federal participation in the school-lunch program:

BOARD OF EDUCATION
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
BUREAU OF SCHOOL LUNCHES,
Brooklyn, N. Y., March 21, 1955.

Hon. FRANCIS E. DORN,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DORN: For the past several years the Federal appropriation for the national school-lunch program has remained unchanged. During the same period, however, the number of children in the program has increased greatly, and so, of course, has the cost of serving a school lunch. The Federal aid has had to be spread more and more thinly, with the result that the rate of Federal assistance per lunch has steadily declined. In consequence, the States and local communities, already hard pressed to meet the heavy costs of constructing and operating new schools, have been obliged to bear the entire increase in the cost of the school-lunch program.

Claims of the Secretary of Agriculture have led some Members of Congress to believe that donations of surplus commodities and the special school milk funds provided by the Agriculture Act of 1954 make an increase in the school-lunch appropriation unnecessary. The facts, however, do not support these claims. On the contrary, the testimony adduced in the recent hearings of the House Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations by public witnesses provides ample evidence of the compelling need for an increase of at least $25 million in the Federal school-lunch appropriations for 1956.

There is a strong move now under way to obtain a substantially larger school-lunch appropriation than the $84 million authorized for the current year. It is proposed that the additional funds be provided either by increasing the school-lunch appropriation or by requiring that a portion of the customs receipts available to the Secretary of Agriculture be apportioned among the States as cash assistance to be expended under the provisions of the National School Lunch Act of 1946. This proposal has the special merit of being equally beneficial to consumers and producers of agricultural products. Not only would it provide urgently needed additional funds to expand the national school-lunch program, but it would also promote the domestic consumption of agricultural commodities of all kinds.

On behalf of New York City parents and their children, may I urge that you join other interested Members of Congress in vigorously seeking an increase in Federal cash assistance for school lunches by whatever method appears to be most suitable and feasible.

Please accept this renewed assurance of my high esteem, and believe me.

Sincerely yours,

HARVEY K. ALLEN.

Our Defense Policy—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article in two parts entitled "Mission for the Army: The Winning of World War III," which appeared in the February 1955, issue of the Army Journal.

Herewith is part I:

MISSION FOR THE ARMY: THE WINNING OF WORLD WAR III

(This article is the product of discussion and study by a number of soldiers whose interest in their profession goes far beyond their daily duty. Its purpose is to suggest a program of action that the Government of the United States can profitably delegate to the United States Army in the interest of national security. It is also designed to reassure those few soldiers who have expressed concern about the future of their profession. We believe this article shows them that the Army is and must continue to be a dominant military force.)

We must recognize the creeping aggression that we call the cold war for what it is: world war III. If world war IV—the nuclear and thermonuclear war—comes it will be because of our failure to meet and defeat the present Soviet challenge.

We believe it demonstrable that United States concentration on preparing for thermonuclear war has weakened our power to resist creeping aggression. Our reluctance to face up to the fact that we can be destroyed piecemeal as well as in one overpowering assault threatens us with defeat in world war III.

In the next few paragraphs we "brief" some evidence that shows how our preoccupation with war with a "big bang" has limited the execution of plans and operations that will protect us from defeat in world war III.

Our reliance on nuclear weapons and strategic air-delivery systems has been a clear signal to the Communists that our real preparations are for a final showdown and that we are largely unprepared to stop limited aggression.

Our success in building military strength in Europe has given the Communists the opportunity to move in Asia. Communist success in Asia may mean the eventual encirclement of Europe via the Middle East and the isolation of Europe from the United States. "The road to London lies through Peiping," Lenin said many years ago. That road may also lead to Washington.

The inhibitions and frustrations of the Korean war should not paralyze us into inaction. Asia is the active theater of world war III, and such phrases as "the wrong war in the wrong place" and "we should never let our armies become bogged down on the mainland of Asia" will not change this situation. We do not necessarily have to let the enemy choose the battlefield, but we do have to counter his moves directly or indirectly, and up to now our only indirect counter has been the threat of massive retaliation—which he considers a massive bluff on our part.

We must face up to the fact that creeping aggression is military aggression as well as internal subversion and propaganda. Greece, Korea, and Indochina make that clear. The ultimate aims of subversion and propaganda are to pave the way for armed aggression. Indeed, we have that from the mouth of a key Communist spokesman who, at a policy conference in Peiping in 1949, said: "Armed struggle can, and must, be the main form in the people's liberation struggles in many colonial and semicolonial countries. But this does not mean that armed struggle does not need the coordination of other forms of the struggle."

In a brilliant analysis in this magazine last month Lt. Col. Robert B. Rigg demonstrated that the "parallel between tactical patterns and growth of the Viet Minh and of the Red Chinese in the Chinese civil war is so precise that even the circumstances of today's truce predict tomorrow's trouble."

"Today's truce predicts tomorrow's trouble"—that phrase is a clear warning that we must take steps to stop aggression in Asia—or lose world war III.

THE ARMY: DECISIVE ARM IN WAR

Unlike the Air Force, the Army cannot concentrate on one kind of warfare. National security requires the Army to prepare to fight in all kinds: general and limited, conventional and thermonuclear.

It is not a downgrading or belittling of the Army's vital roles in Europe or in an atomic war to say that the Communist bid for Asia is an important and significant challenge to the Army. In the words of the latest edition of FM 100–5, "The continued possibility of such limited wars requires the maintenance in being of Army forces fully organized, trained and equipped for combat, and at the same time possessing a capacity for strategic mobility."

Thus the Army must build an alternate military force capable of checking creeping aggression in the era of nuclear parity. If such an army is not created and maintained we will be postponing the ultimate decision to times and places and means of the Soviet's own choosing. If we do create such forces and win world war III, world war IV may never happen. The stakes are high.

To win world war III we must overcome inhibitions that now chain us. It has generally been concluded that a military deployment capable of coping with nibbling aggression would result in an undesirable dispersion of United States forces in a thin line around the Soviet periphery. The task is frequently presented as impossible. The specter of unlimited Communist manpower is always raised whenever the recurrent issue of confronting Communist aggression in Asia arises. The fact that the monolithic Soviet bloc can exploit the advantages of its interior lines position is also advanced to explain why nothing can be done to check the Red tide.

It would be the height of military folly, of course, to try to contain the Soviet orbit by dispersing a thin line of men around the Red periphery. Even the original containment policy recognized this fallacy in recommending the creation of selected positions of strength. However, in the implementation of the containment policy few such positions were created.

The geographic realities of Asia belie the interior lines advantage which the Communists reputedly possess. Asia is a whole series of vast terrain compartments, communication between which is far more difficult by land than it is by sea. By exploiting sea and air power the free world, partciularly the United States, has a great capability to concentrate at a particular point on the rim of Asia. In terms of effective manpower, the Communist hordes do not enjoy the overwhelming numerical superiority commonly attributed to them. Even unlimited manpower must be trained and must be supervised by skilled noncoms and officers. These requirements set a very real limit on the amount of men the Communists can place on the field. Difficulties of supply and of communications further reduce the effective forces which the Communists can support in any one area. Neither the Russian nor the Chinese Communists have demonstrated a capacity or a desire to conduct two military campaigns simultaneously.

The cards are not completely stacked against us. We should not avoid fighting a limited war just because it happens to be in Asia, particularly if it could be advantageous to us. The decision to fight in Korea was an immense gain for the free world. A limited victory in Korea, one that resulted in a peace involving a withdrawal of Chinese Communist support from the Viet Minh, would have been even more useful.

The Communist challenge in Asia can be met and frustrated if the United States, in concert with its Asiatic allies, devises a

method and creates forces for defeating overt aggression. Taking into regard the strategic situation in Asia, land forces of moderate size, of high tactical mobility and capable of using air and naval support, could effectively block Communist aggression.

This aspect of the problem is receiving recognition outside the Government. In a study, The Requirements of Deterrence, prepared at Princeton University's Center of International Studies, William W. Kaufmann concludes: "If we are to reduce our dangerous dependence on massive retaliation and the instrumentality of SAC, we must strengthen the other arms of the services. The most obvious need is the ground forces. • • • The tactical air forces probably suffer from undernourishment as well."

To check Communist expansion in Asia we must have military forces and a strategy for their employment. Simultaneously we must help these countries counter Communist subversion and internal insurrection. These efforts must be designed to march in harness or both may fail.

Territorial conquest by communism has never occurred without the application of force despite the illusion that the military goal of conquest can be attained by propaganda and other nonviolent pressures. This illusion has led us to give more consideration to economic and technical assistance than to creating and maintaining the military shield which will alone insure the success of our assistance programs. Communist strategic planners have never believed that they can win their aims without ultimate resort to military action. If the Communist strategy of the future is consistent with that of the past, subversion will be only a prelude to the ultimate use of force.

We must therefore be prepared to check overt aggression as well as subversive infiltration. If it can be demonstrated that it is possible to stop limited aggression by limited wars without an extraordinary drain on our resources, the security position of the entire free world will be enhanced.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Korean war we began in earnest to train free Asians to defend themselves. The most striking illustration of this program was in Korea, where some 20 divisions were organized and trained. The cost of maintaining these forces into the indefinite future runs into hundreds of millions of dollars a year. The strain of keeping so many men under arms is too much for Korea itself. Thus, considerable additional economic assistance is necessary. An effort to create equivalent forces in all the threatened countries of Southeast Asia would be stupendous and expensive. This has been recognized and the trend now is toward placing limitations on the size of indigenous forces that are supported by us. Massive retaliation is supposed to take up the slack. It has been advocated that we should build up constabulary type forces designed primarily to maintain border security and assure internal control against Communist agents. Such a counterswing of the pendulum, however, would not solve the problem. Security forces, comparable to those maintained in Korea prior to 1950, would not be able to take the shock of overt aggression.

A compromise provides the solution. If, in each threatened country, a few suitably organized divisions are formed, the nucleus of resistance to external attack would be on hand. These divisions could also serve to train an indigenous reserve force to be called up in the event of hostilities.

Two or three indigenous divisions by themselves would not be able to check the Communist forces that could be pitted against any country of southeast Asia. But if they could be rapidly reinforced by mobile United States task forces situated within the general area, they should be adequate to withstand the early Communist concentration. The necessity of providing such reinforcement was stated by President Eisenhower in a published letter to Secretary Wilson on January 5, 1955:

"To provide for meeting lesser hostile action—such as local aggression not broadened by the intervention of a major aggressor's forces—growing reliance can be placed upon the forces now being built and strengthened in many areas of the free world. But because this reliance cannot be complete, and because our own vital interests, collective security, and pledged faith might well be involved, there remain certain contigencies for which the United States should be ready with mobile forces to help indigenous troops deter local aggression, direct or indirect."

Mobile forces organized and located regionally can provide a demonstrable capability to defend the threatened areas. United States and allied forces already exist in the Korea-Japan area. Elements of similar task forces are already on hand in various parts of Southeast Asia. Additional United States Army divisions, located perhaps in the Philippines, could provide the deterrent force needed for Southeast Asia. Subsequently, a comparable force could be organized for the Middle East to assure protection to that exposed region.

These task forces could be designed to use atomic weapons, even though under certain circumstances the weapons themselves might not be used. Whether or not atomic weapons were used, we should devise a concept for meeting aggression on a limited basis without invoking general war, but without precluding limited retaliation against the source of the aggression. In general, we should seek to limit the area of the conflict without necessarily limiting the means we use to check aggression. Some will object that any employment of atomic weapons in a limited war will necessarily bring about a general nuclear war. According to this view, an aggressor will widen the conflict if defeat seems inevitable. The logic of this argument does not stand up in the thermonuclear age. It implies that a loss of face resulting from a setback to limited aggression would be less acceptable to Communist leaders than the nuclear destruction of their own countries. Communist rulers probably have just as much interest in preventing a general nuclear war as do the leaders of the West. Whatever limitations may be imposed, we must be able to defeat the aggressor and every effort must be made to save the victim country from utter ruin. If these general principles are adopted, this concept would be given support by the free peoples of Asia. A few of the countries located along the arc stretching from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Japan might be able to develop forces in excess of their immediate needs and also make a contribution to the mobile U. N. task forces established to deter aggression in the various threatened regions.

THE ARMY'S PARAMOUNT ROLE

Although these task forces will comprise elements of all the services, the Army's contribution would be paramount. This confirms the axiom suggested by Raymond Aron that "regular armies have no substitute as instruments of the cold war." When the army adopts the blocking of creeping expansion as a basic mission, it can take the many practical steps. Many of the problems we ran into in Korea resulted from our efforts to remake Korea into a Western European or American type of theater of combat. The engineer effort required in Korea was prodigious, but was it all necessary? It is possible to fight and fight well in Asia without all the impedimenta and logistical detail to which we have become accustomed. This squares with the growing conviction that atomic weapons will demand an army able to live in austerity.

Certain of Field Marshal Montgomery's recommendations for an army required to fight a general nuclear war are quite in line with what we need to fight limited wars in Asia. Let's check off some of them.

"Armies must develop a more lively and opportunity type of battle leader than exists at present, in both junior and senior ranks. Such a leader must have the imagination, the daring, and the resources to seize fleeting local opportunities; he must be trained to act independently and immediately within the framework of a general plan, rather than on precise and detailed orders or only after reference to a superior.

"Land forces must become less dependent on roads and more capable of cross-country movement.

"The supply system of land armies must be streamlined. They must become much less dependent on fixed lines of supply such as roads and railways.

"Armies need a simple line of supply based on an airlift. Today, when supply lines are cut by enemy action, armies cease to operate efficiently. The system of the future should provide air supply to forward maintenance areas from base depots many miles to the rear, and well dispersed.

• • • • •

"The airlift from base depots to forward maintenance areas must be by some type of vertical lift aircraft, which can take off and land vertically, and which fly at a fast speed like an ordinary aircraft in level flight.

• • • • •

"There is clearly a tremendous future for vertical lift aircraft, and it must be exploited for the benefit of land forces."

The Army must have the new, light weapons that are easy to handle and effective in Asian combat. In setting requirements for equipment, transport, ordnance, and supply, the Army must continue to stress simplicity, and lightness. Every item of equipment should be designed to make it easier to train indigenous troops to use it. Services and facilities which are desirable but not necessary for fighting effectiveness must be eliminated. In training we must stress the adverse terrain and weather conditions which are encountered in most Asian areas. Only an army with the highest standards of proficiency, discipline, and general military effectiveness can stop creeping aggression.

There is no room in this discussion for comment on tactics. It is well to observe, however, that many valuable objective lessons can be gleaned from our experiences in Greece, Korea, the Burma campaign of World War II, British operations against the Communists in Malaya, and the long conflict in Indochina.

Our Defense Policy—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 18, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include part II of the article entitled "Mission for the Army: The Winning of World War III," which appeared in the February 1955 issue of the Army Journal:

A highly important part of this total concept for stopping creeping aggression—and winning world war III—is the example, guidance, and leadership the United States can give the free nations with whom it is working. It is important that soldiers assigned to MAAG missions always be carefully selected and trained for their task. Proficiency in the language of the country is necessary and the intellectual ability to acquire an insight into the real motivations of the people of the country is desirable. Highly trained, knowledgeable men assigned to MAAG missions do much more than merely give advice on military matters. They can contribute to activities that will stabilize the internal affairs of the country and thus make it less susceptible to Communist subversion and propaganda. But the most important task of these cadres will be in training military leaders.

The Communists have made headway in Asia because they long ago recognized the importance of selecting and training men capable of organizing revolutionary armies. As Lenin once expressed it, "We see innumerable examples of how the better organized, more class-conscious, and better armed minority forces its will upon the majority and vanquishes it." Because Communist warfare cannot be treated in isolated pockets, a new approach to the problem of leadership training in the threatened countries of Asia is essential. The United States Army will have vast numbers of potential indigenous leaders passing through its training establishments, and thus it can play an important role in developing men capable of coping with a wide array of Communist maneuvers. This training must not be satisfied solely with technical proficiency (how many Chinese fighting against us in Korea were trained in United States operated schools?); it must also be designed to build a mental bridge between America and Asia.

Our experience in Korea is most revealing here. We had little success in building effective Korean military units until we were able to concentrate on creating a strong corps of Korean officers and noncommissioned officers. Success in this activity can in time overcome failures in other activities for intelligent, knowledgeable indigenous leadership will support our objectives not only within their own military forces but within the whole government. For the best of these United States trained leaders will almost invariably become important governmental officials.

In short, the infinitely complex and difficult task of our MAAG missions cannot be overstressed. It is an important task that demands the best efforts of our Army leadership. The Army has the competence to perform it—providing it receives the full support of our entire Government leadership.

THE SUMMING UP

The power vacuum in Asia can be filled only by the United States Army. If it is given the task, military strategy will truly serve diplomacy. Once we demonstrate that we have a powerful and effective alternate to nuclear war, communism will be thrown on the defensive and many of the fears and tensions which now fret the free world alliance will disappear.

The problem is both a political and a military one. The absence of effective, flexible free world military forces in Asia makes Communist subversion easier. The Communist threat has military, social, and economic facets. The closest coordination will have to be effected between civilian agencies coping with the social and economic challenge of communism and the military men assigned to develop means, including indigenous forces, to close the door against "local wars."

Our Korean experience has demonstrated that Asian nations will welcome United States participation in the defense of their independence. Collective security for Asia is possible when it becomes evident that we are prepared to put appropriate military flesh on the bare bones of any political commitments we may make.

The designation of the Department of the Army as the executive agency for the Government for developing the military answer to local aggression would be a forward step. Responsibility for planning and action in the cold war must be clearly fixed. Of all the services, only the Army is capable of combating creeping aggression. Occupation duty in Japan and Germany, experience of its constabulary in Germany, anti-Communist campaigns in Greece, the war in Korea, and farflung MAAG missions have given the Army a large reservoir of experienced men who are able to develop a program against creeping expansion.

Such a military program demands a more vigorous defense effort than is currently planned. We must also face the reality of the conflict which is now being fought to our disadvantage and make military preparations that will not only stop creeping aggression but will also be an insurance policy against the holocaust of thermonuclear war. The Army's immediate duty is to furnish information which will be a basis for public understanding of the issues involved. When our citizens understand why creeping aggression must be stopped, they will make provision for an army adequate to discharge this mission.

The point of view represented in this article has some differences from that expressed in the state of the Union message: "The forthcoming military budget * * * emphasizes modern airpower in the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps. * * * It provides for reduction of forces in certain categories and their expansion in others, to fit them into the military realities of our time."

Closely related to the Army's ability to check creeping expansion is the proposed plan to enlarge and invigorate the Ready Reserve forces. This desirable objective is to be attained in part by means of funds made available by a big reduction in the Army's standing forces. Presumably the forces to be cut are "in excess of the Nation's immediate needs." If we are to maintain the balanced and flexible Armed Forces required to block creeping aggression, the decision to cut down active forces in order to build up the Reserves merits the closest scrutiny. The Reserve program should be designed to fulfill military needs beyond those of meeting creeping aggression now and the initial tasks of a possible general war. For the first purpose the United States presently lacks adequate means in terms of ready Army divisions, and the cuts will only enlarge this critical deficiency. As for the second point, most expert military opinion agrees that more is to be gained by having an adequate Regular force ready when hostilities begin than to depend on "trained" Reserves.

A policy which does not recognize the danger of limited aggression or will force the Army hastily to improvise combat formations if called upon to fight (Korea, June 1950) is not sound policy. It does not fit into the military realities of our time. Creeping aggression must be checkmated as rapidly as nuclear attack if it is to be checked at all.

Finally, this is not an argument for cutting down the Strategic Air Force. On the contrary, it is a plea for SAC plus the forces we need to stop creeping aggression. Nor is it an argument for lessening the Army's vital interests in Europe and elsewhere. It is a challenge and a plan for meeting communism wherever it threatens. It can assure victory in world war III and very possibly make world war IV unnecessary.

The Port of Baltimore—A Truly Outstanding Magazine Report by the Baltimore Sunday Sun on the Second Busiest Port in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest magazine-publishing efforts I have seen in a long time was accomplished recently by one of our Baltimore daily newspapers, the Baltimore Sun, in its Sunday magazine of January 9. The entire issue of this "metrogravure" section was devoted to the great port of Baltimore, and it was, as I said, a truly outstanding job.

It described in remarkable photographs and interesting, comprehensive fact-filled special articles the history, the work and the workers of the port of Baltimore, and did so in such a way that the true scope and impressive magnitude of our great port were finally and dramatically brought home to even the most casual reader.

While all of us in Baltimore know thoroughly well that our port is, as Miss Helen Delich described it in 1 of the 5 outstanding feature articles she wrote for the Sun magazine "the heart and the lifeblood of the city of Baltimore," the facts as they are developed in this excellent special report give a rounded picture of Baltimore's port which impressed every one familiar with the story. And for those who are not already aware of Baltimore's position as second most active port in the Nation and of the great advantages it provides for shippers, the Sun magazine tells a startling and convincing story.

Because of these attributes, many of the articles in the Sun magazine of January 9, deserve to be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the attention of all of those citizens and officials of the Nation interested in maritime matters.

I only wish it were possible to incorporate in the RECORD some of the great photographs also contained in the Sun magazine, particularly the fine shots of the port and of its workers, taken by A. Aubrey Bodine and Hans Mark, the Baltimore Sun magazine's photographers. Unfortunately, that is not possible. But I do hope that those shipper and maritime executives who find themselves newly impressed by the advantages of Baltimore's port as a result of reading some of these articles in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will arrange to see and read the magazine in which they appeared originally, for the cold type of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD cannot begin to reflect the dramatic effect of the magazine itself.

For myself, I want to congratulate the Baltimore Sunday Sun, its editors, and advertising staff for the excellent job they combined together to accomplish in

putting out this outstanding magazine, and also all of those staff members who had any part in preparing the magazine. Miss Helen Delich, who regularly reports marine news for the Sun papers, and is one of the best maritime reporters in the Nation, deserves special praise for the five articles in the magazine which carry her byline.

Every article and every photograph in the section are excellent, from the opening article by Richard K. Tucker entitled "Baltimore's Giant—Our Port Sprawls Along 40 Miles of Patapsco River Shoreline," to the historical piece by Miss Delich at the end entitled "Baltimore's Growth as Port Began in 1706," which traces the port's days from clipper ships, through steamboat service, and the ever-changing years of the past century as Baltimore's port, at the beginning of the atomic age, prepares for new improvements and the challenge of tomorrow.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 2—Colorful Article, "Baltimore's Giant," by Richard K. Tucker, in Special Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine, Recreates the Atmosphere of a Great Port

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the first article in the Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9 devoted to the Port of Baltimore captures the scene, the color, and atmosphere of the giant which is a port named Baltimore, which, as Richard K. Tucker wrote it, "sprawls along 40 miles of Patapsco tidewater shoreline, fed by all the seas of the world. He is sometimes untidy, sometimes rough, but he is rich."

Under unanimous consent of the House, I include the text of that article, as follows:

BALTIMORE'S GIANT—OUR PORT SPRAWLS ALONG 40 MILES OF PATAPSCO RIVER SHORELINE

(By Richard K. Tucker)

Sometimes, in an early morning fog, the giant lies misty and half hidden. At first there is only the gray-green of the water, the flash of a light, the warning sound of a bell.

Then, beyond the thin curl of foam at the bow, beyond the stolid white seabird that perches on the close red channel marker, the giant rises slowly, and sprawls against the sky and shakes the smoky mist from his limbs.

He has visitors today, as every day; visitors from Japan and Malaya and the South China Sea; from Africa and the Mediterranean; from the storied Gulf of Persia and the ancient waterways of northern Europe.

The giant who feeds on saltwater does not rise sparkling and clean-limbed to greet them. He shows them what they need. He shows great black smokestacks, huge gray elevators, weathered buildings. He shows soot and black tar and rust and a jumbled, crowded shoreline where dirty weeds sometimes struggle for survival. He smells of chemicals and fertilizer.

But he is also fragrant with spices from the Indies and with freshly roasted coffee. If he churns smoke at one point, he pours bright golden streams of wheat at another.

With one great rusty arm he operates a mammoth junk yard, and with another builds the newest and biggest oil tankers afloat. While dirty weeds may tangle one leg, a national shrine green with well-kept grass surrounds another.

There is the harsh clank and crash of freight-car couplings as the giant comes to life; and the groan of winches and the savage roar of faster machinery.

But there is also the soft sound of a concertina, and there are the songs of the Italian, the Greek, the Frenchman; and the quiet Mohammedan rites of a Turk thousands of miles from the mosques of home.

The giant is a port named Baltimore. He sprawls along 40 miles of Patapsco tidewater shoreline, fed by all the seas of the world. He is sometimes untidy, sometimes rough, but he is rich.

He greets no movie stars arriving from Paris. Except when they need him in dire emergency, no luxury liners seek his aid. The fancy ships with the names of queens sometimes come to him only once—to die in a scrap yard.

He greets men who work. And he greets instead of perfumed ladies in mink, great cargoes of ore, oil, chemicals and lumber. He gives back coal and wheat and machinery, a tractor for a field in France, an automobile for an executive in Venezuela. He also gives weapons for the survival of freedom.

In the evening, as the men walk from the great ships into a tangle of water-front streets, the city sees the dusky Lascar, the quiet Oriental, the Frenchman in his beret, the sturdy, pink-cheeked Scandinavian, the Englishman whose ancestors may have sailed with Drake.

More often it sees the sailor from Maine or California, or the young man from Nebraska who never smelled sea water until he was 20 years old.

Where do they come from, these sailormen whose uniforms range from sweaters and berets, to navy blue, to dungarees, to gray flannel suits? Or that skipper in sturdy dark wool and gold watch chain, looking not unlike a Peoria railroad man?

Well, they are in from Mombasa, Lulea, La Guaira, Karachi, Demarara, Tarafa, Lobito, Izmir, Mena al Ahmadi and Las Piedras.

Or they may have sailed from Oran, Bangkok, Calcutta, Cebu, Liverpool, or Halifax. Or, maybe, just from Houston, Tex.

Some have drunk sake in Yokohoma, or sat in the teahouses of Osaka a few weeks ago; they have tasted the wines of Marseilles and the pastas of Italy, and heard temple bells in Malaya. Or maybe the last time ashore was Chester, Pa.

When they have had their beer, and their steaks, and danced with a girl or two, or maybe only after they have been to the YMCA, or the union hall, they will go back to the ships, and back to the sea.

But the giant port is more than sailors from faraway places with strange-sounding names. It is the husky muscle of the longshoreman who perhaps never travels beyond Highlandtown; the sweat of the man who makes steel at Sparrows Point, and the man who builds great ships.

It is the chemist in his laboratory, the shipping executive in his uptown suite; the trucker, the railroad man, the Coast Guardsman, the customs man.

It is the tugboat man on the sturdy little boat with a name like Elmer or Justine, and the man who operates a piledriver with the unlikely name of Mary. It is the pilot waving farewell as he drops off a ship into a small boat after his trip up from the Capes, and the fireboat man pouring streams of water from big brass nozzles on red boats called Torrent and Cataract.

Sometimes it is grim-faced men in police boats grappling for a body beneath the gray surface of tides that suck and whirl around old bulkheads.

To some, it is the boatman from Virginia or the Eastern Shore, tied up along Pratt Street, with oysters in December and watermelons in July. Or, nearby, the trim ships that are whiter than gulls, unloading bananas from Central America.

The giant that feeds on salt water, and on coal and iron ore and oil, has something for everyone. Although he would cost more than $400 million to recreate tomorrow, he keeps growing. His work is never done.

He is always busy—but sometimes in the dusk of a summer's day the giant relaxes and watches the gay lights of an excursion boat headed for the bay. Sometimes at noon he pauses to chuckle at the joke of a dockhand, and sometimes of an evening he dreams a little to the sound of a Spanish guitar.

And, always, he carries bright flags in his hands and wears white seabirds on his shoulders.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 3—Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine Article "The Port is the Lifeblood of the City," by Miss Helen Delich, Tells What Baltimore's Port Means to Baltimore, to Maryland, and the Nation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the first of five outstanding articles under the byline of Miss Helen Delich in the Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9 devoted to the port of Baltimore tell how the port "accounts for the biggest wedge of Baltimore's economic pie."

The port is responsible for the employment of 90,000 persons in the Baltimore metropolitan area and, indirectly, for the employment of an estimated 400,000 throughout the State.

She reports.

About 40,000 of these people earn their daily bread at jobs connected with the movement of ships and cargoes—longshoremen, shipyard workers, tugboat operators, lighterage men, chandlers, agents, and surveyers. The other thousands work in chemical plants which are here because the port supplies their raw materials; for the railroads, whose 500 acres of Baltimore yards serve the port; in steel mills, served by the ore piers; in tire plants, such as one in Cumberland, which depends upon Baltimore to supply its East Indian rubber. • • •

Indirectly dependent on the port are, for example, the canneries of the State; they use tin that comes to Baltimore factories from Bolivia. Soft-drink producers depend upon Puerto Rican sugar for their pop—and upon Portuguese cork to line the bottle caps.

The full text of this article is as follows:

THE PORT IS THE LIFEBLOOD OF THE CITY—IT GIVES JOBS TO 90,000 HERE, INDIRECTLY TO 400,000 OVER THE STATE

(By Helen Delich)

The port of Baltimore is the heart and the lifeblood of the city of Baltimore.

The second busiest port in America, it is the thing that has made Baltimore the Na-

tion's sixth largest city. To it, from world ports, come ships laden with the thousand raw materials that feed mills, furnaces, and factories. From it the ships sail away with American goods, American grain and coal, for the markets of the world.

The business of the port accounts for the biggest wedge of Baltimore's economic pie. Almost 70 cents of every dollar spent in Baltimore can be traced back to port activity—and so can 60 cents of every dollar spent in the State of Maryland. The industries dependent upon the port spend a little more than 25 percent of the State's buying income every year. That is about $325 million.

Those figures do not include the ocean freight revenue to steamship lines, which, in turn, is distributed here, or the rail and truck freight income, or the wages of ships' crews, or the amount gained through the manufacture of the items.

What makes the port big business? It's copra from the Philippines, raw sugar from Cuba. It's iron ore from Liberia, chrome from Turkey, potash from Spain, perch fillets from Germany. It's a mountain of manufactured items ranging from Japanese binoculars to Calcutta cloth to English sports cars. It's the shipping out of the wealth of America's farms and forests and mines—and of Baltimore's factories, too.

Tied up in it though they are, an amazing number of Baltimoreans are unaware of the magnitude and the importance of the port. They do not realize, for example, that the port is the city's biggest single industry. They think of it, rather, as a few banana boats tied up along Pratt Street, or an occasional rusting freighter glimpsed beneath the Bay Bridge.

A few boats? Some 400 ships move up the Patapsco every month to unload cargoes along the Baltimore waterfront—a waterfront which is 40 miles long and contains 270 berths, capable of handling everything from a Chesapeake bugeye to a 63,000-ton ore carrier.

It includes such facilities as four giant ore discharging piers, which supply steel mills in Youngstown and Chicago as well as in Baltimore; grain elevators which can hold 12 million bushels of midwestern and Canadian grain until ships come to carry it to such places as Yugoslavia and Germany and India; three intricate automatic coal piers that load coal for the free world and the vast industries that the port built in Baltimore.

These industries include the Nation's largest copper refinery, its largest alcohol plant, its largest tidewater steel mill, its largest straw hat manufacturer—and a dozen other operations that demand superlatives to describe their size and scope.

But one of the adjectives that port experts like to use is "diversification," and indeed the industries supplied by the port are nothing if not diversified. Television set manufacturers are on the list; so are soap factories, umbrella makers, broom plants, tin decorating establishments, spice packagers, oil refineries.

In terms of people, that adds up. The port is responsible for the employment of 90,000 persons in the Baltimore metropolitan area and, indirectly, for the employment of an estimated 400,000 throughout the State.

About 40,000 of these people earn their daily bread at jobs connected with the movement of ships and cargoes—longshoremen, shipyard workers, tugboat operators, lighterage men, chandlers, agents and surveyors. The other thousands work in chemical plants which are here because the port supplies their raw materials for the railroads, whose 500 acres of Baltimore yards serve the port; in steel mills, served by the ore piers; in tire plants, such as one in Cumberland, which depends upon Baltimore to supply its East Indian rubber.

And that Cumberland plant, significantly, exports finished tires through the port, typifying the two-way aspect of the traffic. A pump manufacturer in Salisbury exports pumps, too, and a leading paper straw producer in Prince Georges County ships all over the Caribbean through Baltimore. Countless more examples could be drawn from about the State.

For instance, paints, manufactured spices, portable electric tools, military equipment, automobiles, sulfuric acid, glass bottles, steel switch boxes and covers, oak lumber, scrap brass and scrap iron, electrical insulators—all these things are exported.

Indirectly dependent on the port are, for example, the canneries of the State; they use tin that comes to Baltimore can factories from Bolivia. Soft dring producers depend upon Puerto Rican sugar for their pop—and upon Portuguese cork to line the bottle caps, which, to add another link to the chain, are made in a Baltimore factory.

So the port of Baltimore, a reality because of one of the world's greatest natural harbors, is more than a few graceful ships glimpsed during a Sunday drive. It is a web of railroads, fleets of trucks, a forest of smokestacks, a growing city with 1 million population.

Without the port, Baltimore probably would be about the size of Frostburg, Md.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 4—Labor Peace, Rail Facilities, Frequent Sailings Win Favor for the Port, According to Reports From New York, Chicago, and Pittsburgh Field Offices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD another of the outstanding articles contained in the special Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9, devoted to the port of Baltimore. This article, entitled "Seeing Ourselves As Others See Us," contains a factual appraisal by officials of the port of Baltimore's field offices in Pittsburgh, New York, and Chicago on the factors which impress shippers in the Midwest with the port of Baltimore's tremendous advantages over other ports.

The field office officials were instructed to "please omit the booster stuff" and provide the facts as seen by "outside interests who have no local ax to grind or no local sentimentality." The result—and this is true of every article in the Sunday Sun magazine on the port—is an impressive story of Baltimore's maritime position.

The full text of the article is as follows:

SEEING OURSELVES AS OTHERS SEE US—LABOR PEACE, RAIL FACILITIES, FREQUENT SAILINGS WIN FAVOR FOR THE PORT

What does the Midwest shipper think about the port of Baltimore?

To get the answer, the association of commerce asked its three port of Baltimore field offices, located in New York, Chicago, and Pittsburgh, to sound out interior shippers, on an entirely objective basis.

"Please omit the booster stuff," the association told its field-office managers. "What we want is a factual appraisal of the port from outside interests, who have no local ax to grind or no local sentimentality."

The three field offices, as well as solicitation in Washington and nearby areas, are operated as a part of the port-promotion program of the association's export and import bureau.

That bureau is a direct descendant of the export and import board of trade formed here in 1919 to promote the port in the long-range planning program for Baltimore's economic development which was set up following World War I.

In the 35 years since, the port work has had only four directors—the late William M. Brittain, G. H. Pouder, Joseph L. Stanton, and the present director, Stacey Bender, Jr. The late Austin McLanahan was the first chairman of the port program, and the late Van Lear Black was the first chairman of its finance committee.

PITTSBURGH

"I tried to give it the hard-boiled approach," said Harry R. Capps of the Pittsburgh office, "and made a close check with some of the larger shippers in this teeming Pittsburgh-Cleveland area. These included new shipper accounts we have secured in the last year or two, as well as some of the older ones.

"Undoubtedly the first and foremost reason prominent traffic men are turning to the port of Baltimore is the wonderful labor record that we have established.

"They tell me it would now be downright silly to trust some of the other North Atlantic ports, which seem to be always on strike, with the responsibility that is involved in the handling of a large export order. They know full well that a prolonged port tieup spells disaster for any company whose cargo is involved.

"The next most important reason for an obvious trend toward Baltimore by the export traffic managers is the practical one of savings in freight rates from the Pennsylvania and Ohio territories. While these savings have been in effect a long time, some of the larger shippers are just beginning to pay attention to them as competition becomes tighter.

"I am told that even though the freight-rate saving does not in many cases reflect a greater profit for the shipper, it does tend to make a satisfied customer when the freight-rate saving is turned back to the consignee.

"Another thing I want to stress is the shippers' feeling that the honest, friendly, cooperative services rendered by the Baltimore forwarders are unparalleled. This has proved to be a factor in many cases. There are no hidden charges and every case is open and aboveboard.

"The ability to load directly from open-top cars to the vessel at Baltimore's piers, with the absolute minimum of damage, is another important point out here. To this I might add that our shippers have noticed the sharp absence of pilferage in Baltimore as compared to some competing ports.

"While it may sound like an overstatement, I have been told by some shippers recently that the only reason the port of Baltimore was not used in all cases was due to circumstances beyond the shipper's control.

"All this, of course, does not mean that we can take anything for granted. We have our work cut out in this vital territory, which is a natural for the port of Baltimore. The squeeze of competition is growing all the time. However, we were in on the ground floor in Pittsburgh and that has counted for a lot."

NEW YORK

"Up here on the opposition's grounds," reported Charles C. Rock from the New York office, "and in a place where so much shipper control is located, it has been a tough job to combat the New York fixation. We

have had to sell the Baltimore port efficiency and economy idea hard, and to try to get it into the minds of management's new cost consciousness.

"The idea that labor is on the port of Baltimore team has been the biggest factor here in gaining confidence for our port's handling of New York-controlled cargoes. There has been plenty of skepticism to overcome in this field, too, with the port labor troubles here still fresh in everybody's mind.

"Many New York traffic managers now tell me that the port of Baltimore is their choice because it offers savings that cannot be found at any other port on the eastern seaboard.

"One traffic manager stated a few days ago that the considerable savings experienced by his company since diverting cargo to Baltimore are so compelling that they cannot do otherwise than continue.

"He gave me the following rundown of Baltimore's port advantages, as he sees them:

"1. Direct loading of cargo from railroad cars to ships' holds.

"2. Excellent geographical location of the port, with freight differentials giving savings of 80 cents per ton or more.

"3. Absence of cartage charges within the port, and heavy lift charges.

"4. Free dockage for ships calling at Baltimore, affording shippers assurance of frequent and dependable steamship service.

"5. Efficiency in cargo handling, which eliminates unreasonable handling costs and possibility of damage.

"6. Availability of three trunkline railroads and a terminal railroad, affording expeditious and dependable freight service to and from the interior.

"I guess the majority opinion in the New York area, in respect to use of the port of Baltimore, can be summed up in our stable labor force and the above-listed advantages. Together they spell 'economy.' These two factors form the most attractive asset which our port has to advertise."

CHICAGO

"Increased steamship sailings from Baltimore, both by the long-established lines and those which recently have entered the port, represent the strongest appeal to shippers in this area," said A. LeRoy Johnson of the Chicago office.

"Don't let's forget that the impressive increase in the production of semi-finished and manufactured products within the greater Baltimore region, for which worldwide markets exist, has played a large part in bringing these increased sailings to the port, and making it profitable for ships to call at Baltimore to handle shipments of these home territory industries.

"The resulting increased sailings and services have importantly heightened the interest in Baltimore of central western shippers, to whom sailing frequency is a vital consideration.

"I am trying to say that the industrial expansion in the port of Baltimore and its surrounding region in recent years has been a major key factor in augmenting the export and import tonnages being handled through our port for the account of international traders in the Central West territory.

"I checked back on our sailing schedules for 1946, when this office was established, and compared them with current 1954 schedules. The contrast was amazing. This, after all, is the best evidence of the reaction of shippers and receivers of foreign cargo to Baltimore's overall port promotion. Port steamship service is the magic word out here.

I should like to mention the pool-car operations now offered between the Midwest and the port of Baltimore, some of which use our port exclusively, as well as the growing list of freight forwarders. Somebody has to create the offerings of cargo and the railroads and forwarders are key factors in that job. The old word-of-mouth method has contributed immensely to the Baltimore port job in this territory.

While Baltimore did not actually pioneer in the establishment of field offices for port promotion, only a very few were in existence when Baltimore's were opened. Subsequently, there has been a great rush in this direction. Chicago offices now include New Orleans, New York, Mobile, Charleston, Portland (Oreg.), San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Hampton Roads.

In addition to day-to-day solicitation of cargo, both general and bulk, the offices function as information centers on Baltimore. The association credits them with producing 500,000 tons of new port cargo in 1953 and predicts as much or more in 1954 when the figures are in.

However, the association does not like to make too many claims in this respect. The work of the offices is naturally confidential, for competitive reasons, and it is therefore difficult to give a satisfactory picture of results.

In any case, the field offices keep the port up to concert pitch.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 5—Baltimore Offers Midwest Shippers Savings Running as High as 8 Cents per 100 Pounds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the background of Baltimore's advantages as a port also explains why some other port cities are carring on a relentless drive to break the freight differential which favors Baltimore.

The following article Lower Freight Rates a Port Advantage, by Helen Delich, traces the development of Baltimore's special shipping advantages as "the most western of the eastern seaports, and the most southern of the northern ports, and the most northern of the southern outlets to the Atlantic Ocean," and is another of the excellent reports on Baltimor'e port contained in the Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9:

LOWER FREIGHT RATES A PORT ADVANTAGE—BALTIMORE OFFERS MIDWEST SHIPPERS SAVINGS RUNNING AS HIGH AS 8 CENTS PER 100 POUNDS

(By Helen Delich)

The port of Baltimore is often described as the most western of the eastern seaports, the most southern of the northern ports, and the most northern of the southern outlets to the Atlantic Ocean.

At other times it is referred to as "the port for Pittsburgh," and "the port of Akron," and the port of other industrial centers in the Midwest, because it is the closest port to them and handles the majority of their ore imports and their heavy steel and machinery exports.

Because of its location in relation to the Midwest, this port has been able to offer cheaper freight rates on all commodities that are both exported and imported. Some of the rates are from 1 to 8 cents per 100 pounds cheaper on general-cargo items than Philadelphia or New York can quote. And on bulk cargoes, the freight rates are 20 to 60 cents a ton cheaper through Baltimore.

In the highly competitive picture today, every cent saved is important to a traffic manager, so the port of Baltimore means more to him than ever.

For example, this port, as compared to Philadelphia, represents a saving of at least $2,000 in freight rates alone on 10,000 tons of manganese ore moving to Pittsburgh, or $3,000 if it is going to Marietta, Ohio.

Fifty carloads of tinplate can be exported from Steubenville, Ohio, with a $500 saving on freight rates if handled through Baltimore instead of Philadelphia, and a $2,000 saving over New York.

This does not take into consideration the money saved through more efficient longshore operations and faster turnaround of ships.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the rival ports want to take this important asset away from Baltimore and are fighting harder now than at any time since 1877, when the present lower freight rates first went into effect.

The most recent step to break the differential was inaugurated by Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania Railroad about 3 years ago on import iron ore moving to 17 points west of Pittsburgh. Philadelphia's victory inspired Boston and New York to seek the same rates.

The case now is in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission, with Baltimore not only defending itself against New York and Boston, but also trying to have the ICC remove the parity from Philadelphia and recreate the differential between this port and that one.

The principal fear in Baltimore waterfront circles is that once a break is made in the freight-rate differential, more will follow until the entire differential collapses.

Actually the equalization of the import iron ore rate with Philadelphia has already made a difference in the movement of that commodity through this port for considerable tonnage bound for the Midwest has passed through Philadelphia since parity became effective.

The only other loss this port has suffered on its differential concerns ex-lake grain (grain moved from the Midwest across the Great Lakes by boat and then shipped to the Atlantic Ocean by railroad for export).

For many years Baltimore shared the lowest rate on this particular grain only with Philadelphia, but finally Albany, New York, Boston, and Portland succeeded in having the difference of one-half cent per 100 bushels removed. Although the ex-lake grain rate is not considered too important to the port tonnagewise, the principle of a dent in the differential is of the utmost importance.

For this reason, many local businesses and industries have united to help fight the import iron ore case before the ICC.

As G. H. Pouder, executive vice president of the Baltimore Association of Commerce, says:

"No more vital issue confronts the port of Baltimore than the preservation of its differential freight-rate structure. Based on our primary port asset of location, it is a basic advantage which through the years has been of immense importance in building and sustaining the business of the harbor.

"Rival ports have launched attack after attack on this rate pattern in the last half century, but the Interstate Commerce Commission has always reaffirmed its validity and the attacks failed. Our competitors consider this a very juicy morsel.

"They are now gathering their forces for another major effort, one phase of which is the current ore case, and Baltimore is fighting back with all of its resources. Our economic future will be profoundly influenced by the results.

"The preservation of our port rate advantages should enlist the interest of every citizen and the support of all fields of business as well as of the city and State. It

calls for our best skills and most concentrated effort."

Maintenance of the freight rate differential on foreign-trade cargo is considered of particular importance now that the St. Lawrence Seaway is to become a reality in 6 or more years. At that time, 27-foot-draft oceangoing ships will be able to sail into the Midwest from which Baltimore now draws quantities of its commerce.

Ships going all the way into the Midwestern ports will take several weeks longer than if discharging in Baltimore, but this factor alone is not expected to particularly deter shippers of bulk items like grain and ore.

Therefore, local port interests are concentrating on general-cargo movements, particularly on exports because their producers can be contacted so easily and emphasis placed on the money-saving use of the port of Baltimore.

The seaway may help Baltimore in another way—by making shippers more conscious of cheaper costs once they use a seaway port; they may be shocked at the difference between New York and the budding Midwest "ocean" ports. Therefore, they will search for the cheapest North Atlantic port during the winter months when the seaway will be frozen over. Naturally, Baltimore will rank high in consideration because its overall costs already are cheaper than New York's.

Actually, the seaway's effects are so uncertain that no experts will hazard a prediction. Some persons believe that the increased foreign trade of the Nation on the whole will provide enough business for all ports, and so none will feel any detrimental effects of the inland waterway.

The construction of the seaway doubly emphasizes the importance of maintaining the freight differential, which can be traced back to 1869, when the railroads granted a 10-cent advantage to Baltimore due to its proximity to the West. The next year this was reduced to 5 cents per 100 pounds of grain.

In 1876 the railroads decided to adopt a tariff based upon the relative distance of the Atlantic ports from western points, rather than base the rates upon those of New York. The 13 percent advantage to Baltimore and 10 percent to Philadelphia from Chicago lasted only 6 weeks; then a rate war was begun by the New York railroads.

Prospects of bankruptcy within a few months resulted in the differential rate agreement of April 5, 1877, between the trunkline railroads themselves. On eastbound freight to Baltimore, there was a differential of 3 cents on all classes, and on westbound freight a differential of 8 cents on the first 2 classes and 3 cents on the others.

Along with the struggle to maintain the hold on midwestern business, local port interests are watching the expansion of southern ports as the industrial boom in the South broadens, calling for more waterfront facilities in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, and along the gulf coast. Because southern rail rates are cheaper, some ports there already have the same freight rates to the Midwest as Baltimore on certain commodities.

The leading local interests are also alert to the widespread promotion programs which New York, Hampton Roads, and Philadelphia are engaged in.

These combined pressures upon the port, Maryland's most important asset, have resulted in the city and State supplying funds for an up-to-date study of port needs.

This survey is expected to call for the establishment of a Port Authority of Maryland, with the legislation being introduced in the current session of the general assembly.

In the meantime, the local interests are rallying to obtain deeper channels into the port to accommodate the mammoth ore carriers and tankers being constructed around the world, and fighting to widen and deepen the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. Congress has authorized the latter project, but has not yet provided funds.

When these channel changes are completed Baltimore will have two unbeatable connections to the Atlantic Ocean—an asset no other North American port can claim.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 6—Helen Delich Article in Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine Tells About Baltimore's Longshoremen "Noted for Fast, Efficient Work"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, longshoring is one of Baltimore's biggest industries. It is also a hazardous occupation. In the Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine of January 9, Helen Delich reports on the methods used by Baltimore's stevedores—that is, waterfront employers—and longshoremen to give Baltimore's port such an outstanding international reputation for efficiency of loading and unloading operations.

This article represents the findings of one of the outstanding maritime correspondents in the country into a calm and peaceful field of management-labor relations in Baltimore which, in some areas of the country, is extremely controversial, explosive, and unstable. The text of the article is as follows:

NOTED FOR FAST, EFFICIENT WORK—BALTIMORE SYSTEM OF OPERATING IS TERMED IDEAL FOR ALL PORTS

(By Helen Delich)

The port of Baltimore's international reputation for no corruption, no wildcat strikes, and no constant work stoppages, but for efficient, fast cargo handling is credited to its longshoremen and stevedores.

The 3,400 longshoremen and 20 stevedores have done their job here so well that favorable word is broadcast throughout the world by steamship executives and such groups as the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee investigating waterfront rackets, the New York Anticrime Commission and the Waterfront Commission of New York.

In fact, these groups, after considerable study of the subject, look upon the Baltimore system as the ideal one for all ports.

The activities of the Baltimore longshoremen caused the Senate subcommittee to say it "was favorably impressed with the Baltimore system and its apparent benefits. Its chief advantage seems to be that it gives the stevedore—employer—a direct voice in the selection of his employee, while at the same time providing a system where integrity and efficiency among the men are encouraged, recognized, and rewarded.

"Conscientious members of the labor force appear to have substantial job security, and the system has eliminated the goons and racketeers, as well as the incompetent loafers, who are so much in evidence elsewhere."

Testimony presented to the Senators described the Baltimore longshoreman as hard-working, a family man, a homeowner, and one proud to bring home a pay envelope every week. His family and home traits were held to be among the principal reasons he towers far above the New York longshoreman and is not interested in conniving and racketeering.

Most persons erroneously use the words stevedore and longshoreman interchangeably. The stevedore is the employer, the owner of the company. The longshoreman is the workingman.

The longshoreman's occupation is listed by insurance companies as the most hazardous in the Nation, but still many sons follow in their father's footsteps. The men range in age from 17 to 75. Some of the older ones decline to stop working even though a pension system has been worked out between the International Longshoremen's Association and the Steamship Trade Association.

In Baltimore, three-fourths of the longshoremen are Negroes; the rest are principally of Polish and Irish extraction. All work under a system of gangs.

Sixteen men form the basic gang. Headed by a gang carrier, the others are a deckman, 2 winchmen, 8 hold men, and 4 wharfingers. The same men compose the same gang year in and year out.

The gang carrier is the leader of the group; he has been given that position because the 15 men under him signed a paper petitioning that he be. Their request has to be approved at a general union meeting.

The deckman signals the winchmen, who operate the mechanical winches that lift and lower cargo. The safety of the men in the hold and on the dock depends on the deckman's accurate signaling; a wrong move by him could plant tons of cargo right on top of a man. The hold men hold and discharge the pallets inside the vessel's cargo holds, and the wharfingers perform the same task on the pier.

On certain cargoes, designated in the contract, a gang must get extra men. Some of the extras belong to no gang at all, while some are members of gangs not working on that particular day.

The longshoreman's work is sporadic.

He may go days without a job because shipping is slow, and then he may work 16 hours a day for several days in a row.

Every morning he goes to the union hall with the rest of his gang, hoping that his gang carrier's name will be called out, for that means at least 4 hours' work that day. However, he is seldom certain when he leaves home whether it will be.

Often, under the present method of operation, his gang is placed "on the hill"—told to stand by—the evening before by a stevedore, but that doesn't guarantee him work the next morning—the ship may fail to arrive or bad weather may prevent work.

Even though it is "on the hill," the gang has to go to the union hall the next morning for confirmation of the order for that day. Sometimes it loses the opportunity of working for another stevedore by standing by for one whose ship didn't show up.

Perhaps the standby gang will only begin working at 1 p. m. that day for the original stevedore, which means it will have sat around the union hall 5 hours until the ship was ready.

In 1954, out of 3,200 men who had more than 700 hours of work, 1,800 put in more than 1,200 hours or averaged 30 hours or more a week.

The hiring of longshoremen in Baltimore by the gang system dates back to 1913, when the ILA was first formed. The Polish longshoremen who formed the majority of the water-front labor at that time inaugurated this system by selecting certain men they wanted to lead them.

Most of the time a gang works for the same company, which has first choice on that gang. However, when that stevedore doesn't have any work the gang works elsewhere,

or it may split up and work as extra men with other gangs.

But as soon as the original steamship line has work again, it uses its priority and takes its gangs back. The company port captain calls up the union hall, designates the gang by giving the name of the carrier, the number of tractor drivers and usually their names, and the number of extra men needed.

The union delegates pass on the orders over loudspeakers in the hall by calling, "Phillip's gang, pier 8, Port Covington, United States Lines"; "Eady's gang, pier 6, Locust Point, Ramsay, Scarlett with four extra men; tractor drivers Sam, Jones, and Petey"; "Bender, pier 5, Port Covington, Robert C. Herd"; "Hurd, with eight extra men, Sparrows Point High Pier, for Rukert Terminals."

Gang Carrier Steve Phillip has been longshoring for about 30 years, Howard Eady for 28 years, and Harm Hurd for 50 years, specializing in steel. William Bender, after 50 years, is breaking his son in as a deckman in his gang. Then there are "Big Jeep," "Little Jeep," S. O. Thomas and Gus Price. Altogether there are 137 gangs in the port—32 belonging to local 829, the white local, and 105 to local 858, the Negro local.

Not all longshoremen are engaged in the actual loading and discharging of cargo on ships, and not all belong to gangs.

These exceptions include the foremen, who help supervise the gangs for the companies; the checks and tally men, who count the goods going on and off the ships; the stowage planners, who lay out the cargo plans; the gearmen, who take care of all the equipment in the shanties; the carpenters, who build bins in grain ships and short heavy pieces of machinery in position in the holds; and the line handlers, who help dock and undock ships.

Then there are the specialized gangs engaged only in the trimming of grain and coal in ships' holds, and those used in cleanholds and ships.

Each longshoreman in Baltimore is issued a number by which he works and which is engraved on a brass check, which must be shown whenever he goes to work and gets paid. This prevents a man from assuming 2 or 3 names and working under them for several companies—as the longshoremen in New York have been doing. Also, he cannot draw unemployment compensation under one name while working under a different one.

Hurd and Bender can both remember when a longshoreman's wage was about 25 cents on nour.

Today the wage is $2.35 an hour, with pension and welfare benefits.

The wages and the number of hours for which a man is paid are the same all along the North Atlantic coast, so Baltimore is no worse or better off on these issues.

As for the excellence of their work, the local longshoremen are said to be able to handle general cargo nearly three times as fast as others, even though bulk cargo is supposed to be their real field.

One stevedore executive recently remarked that in New York the longshoremen move only 14 tons of cargo an hour, compared to 40 tons an hour of the same type cargo in Baltimore.

The excellence of the work continuity in Baltimore speaks for itself from the records.

In 1953, New York had 152 wildcat strikes—typical of that port. The 1954 record was not far behind.

Philadelphia has averaged three port tieups annually in the last several years.

An unwritten agreement between union and management here helps prevent pilferage on a major scale. The union does not condone it any more than does the steamship agent or owner or railroad at whose terminal the ships dock and the cargo is worked. In fact, in several instances locally, the union leaders have permitted stevedores to refuse to work a gang because of stealing. Usually the other men in the gang then force the return of the goods.

But in New York pilferage takes place on a grand scale.

Both management and labor also are credited for the healthy local situation along these salient points:

1. The local longshore leaders—August Idzik, William Haile, Stephen Mach, John Barry, Mickey Hughes, Tom Wilkerson, Andy Lutz, and Edward Jones—have refused to follow the racketeering pattern of New York.

2. The longshoremen have perpetuated the long-established stability by refusing to strike.

3. A longshoreman can work only by turning in a brass check number designated by the Steamship Trade, and almost all payments are by check.

4. Truck drivers and their helpers are permitted to do their own loading and unloading, and call for assistance only when needed. This caused the Senate committee to say: "Baltimare is free of the vicious extortions of the public loaders."

5. The use of union halls for hiring men here eliminates the dock payoffs that existed in New York previously, and the expensive (paid for indirectly by the shipper) Waterfront Commission hiring halls, the present rule-of-the-day in that racket-ridden port.

A close alliance has always existed between the union and the steamship trade to which most of the employers belong, as well as the few other companies which negotiate individual contracts with the ILA.

The Steamship Trade Association of Baltimore is composed of steamship agents, maintenance concerns, stevedoring companies, watchmen and ship ceilers. That organization acts as the management and makes all the contracts with labor for them. Ten other companies negotiate privately with the union, following the pattern set by the STA.

It is a combination of all these circumstances, with the longshoremen serving as the hub, that has given Baltimore its place as the second busiest port in the country, along with labor stability and efficiency.

Actually, longshoring—the lifeblood of the port—is one of Baltimore's biggest industries. As many men are engaged directly in it as are employed by the Baltimore Transit Co., or are engaged in shipbuilding, repairing and scrapping.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 7—Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine Picture Story Tells of Port's Preeminence in Building, Repairing, Scrapping Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in another of the excellent illustrated stories of Baltimore's great port in the Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9, the article We Build Ships, Repair Them, Scrap Them, by Helen Delich, reports on Baltimore's preeminence in these three fields. From the Revolutionary War until the present day, Baltimore's shipyards have been vital to the Nation's defense in turning out the vessels which have been the backbone of our merchant marine, as well as many naval combat ships.

The Nation's first steam tanker, the world's first submarine, 49 ships used in World War I, and the largest number from any one port—609—were built for World War II, at Baltimore's facilities.

Miss Delich tells this story, and also the story of the great ships scrapped at Baltimore, in the article which follows:

WE BUILD SHIPS, REPAIR THEM, SCRAP THEM—BALTIMORE TODAY IS A WORLD CENTER OF ALL THREE OF THESE ACTIVITIES

(By Helen Delich)

Maryland has been a shipbuilding center ever since the colonists found abundant stands of virgin timber to use in building wooden vessels and copper ore for sheathing the bottoms. Oxford and Grays Inn Creek were among the Chesapeake Bay towns that vied with Fells Point to produce the best ships.

As the industry gradually concentrated in the Baltimore area, repair yards sprang up, and later dismantling facilities, so that today Baltimore is a world center of all three of these activities.

From their earliest beginnings, Baltimore shipbuilding and repair yards have achieved countless firsts to establish all kinds of worldwide records—for total tonnage produced, for new types of ships, for largest ships and for fastest ships.

Baltimore led the Nation in construction from the mid-18th century through the Civil War, and as recently as 1953 the Sparrows Point yard led the world in the production of new ships, delivering 10 with a total deadweight tonnage of 216,138.

Shipbuilding in Maryland was begun on Kent Island, in 1634, by Capt. William Claiborne, who needed pinnaces and shallops for his bay trading activities. In 1662 it was begun at Baltimore by Abraham Clark, who settled in the area of Fells Point. But it was not until nearly 80 years later, when William Fell became interested in shipping, that there was planted the real seed of "Baltimore—World Shipbuilding Center."

Fells Point was ideal for producing log canoes, brigs, brigantines, and barkentines, for yellow pine and oak could easily be brought from the Carolinas and Georgia by water and Maryland itself had white oak, locust, and red cedar. The State's numerous iron works supplied metal for guns and ship parts. Also Baltimore was easily accessible to the linseed-oil manufacturers and the cordage and naval stores suppliers.

The pride of workmanship has been evident throughout the entire 200 years of major shipbuilding—since 1752, when the brig *Philip and James* became the first square-rigger to be built here.

"Maryland started out right and it has been on the right path ever since as far as shipbuilding is concerned," says an international maritime executive. "The people engaged in the industry in this area seem to have a natural talent and the inclination to produce a superior job.

"Only the most skilled immigrants and shipyard workers seem to come here."

Baltimore's shipbuilding reputation first came from the rakish topsail schooner that was developed in the last quarter of the 18th century and that was a big factor in the outcome of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. During the Revolution 248 vessels, most of them built at Fells Point, sailed from Baltimore, and in 1812 Baltimore produced 126 speedy privateers.

In 1832 the renowned Ann McKim marked the end of the Baltimore clipper age and the advent of the clipper ships—the principal difference between the two types is that the latter were bigger; they could carry more than 600 tons of cargo.

The California gold rush motivated Baltimore yards to produce clipper ships still more rapidly; the most famous of these were the *Seaman* and *Seaman's Bride*. Then came

the *Mary Whitridge*, which completed a trip to Liverpool in 13 days 7 hours.

With the outbreak of the Civil War shipbuilding dwindled. However, ship repairing—of both foreign oceangoing vessels and domestic paddle-wheelers—mounted in importance. Columbia Iron Works was founded. Its $375,000 graving dock, large enough to accommodate a ship 470 feet long, was a far cry from the screw dock erected in 1828 on Mr. Ramsay's wharf.

Three large Navy craft—the gunboat *Petrel* and cruisers *Montgomery* and *Detroit*—were built there, as was the Nation's first steam tanker, the *Maverick*.

But the Columbia yard went into receivership in 1899. A group of prominent Baltimoreans formed the Baltimore Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., in an effort to save the port's reputation and finish the leftover construction on the ways. When that company, in turn, was forced into receivership in 1904, the century-old William Skinner firm bought it and combined the two properties.

During this period the world's first submarine, the *Argonaut*, was built at the foot of Federal Hill, a rival commercial shipyard at Sparrows Point was progressing, and the United States Coast Guard selected Curtis Bay as the site of its only shipbuilding yard.

While it was owned by the Maryland Steel Co., Sparrows Point's most spectacular achievement was constructing the floating drydock *Dewey*—500 feet long, 99 feet wide, and 30 feet deep—for the Navy in 1905. The *Dewey* was towed 13,000 miles to the Philippine Islands in what was described as the greatest feat ever attempted up to that time in transoceanic navigation.

Most of the ships built around Baltimore before World War I were Navy destroyers and ferry boats. By the time the United States was involved in the war, Bethlehem Steel had brought Sparrows Point. It contributed 49 ships for World War I use.

With passage of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act calling for a strong American-flag fleet, the local yards were expanding and modernizing just in time to supply 609 major ships—the largest number from any one port—to help win World War II. Of these, 101 were specialized types, ranging from troop transports to team combat vessels, built at Sparrows Point. The 508 others were Libertys, Victorys, and LST's, built at the Bethlehem yard at Fairfield.

This outstanding record of production was achieved by J. M. (Jack) Willis, who has launched more than 1,000 ships and is considered the Nation's foremost shipbuilder. At present he is general manager in charge of shipyards for Bethlehem in the Baltimore district.

Sparrows Point produced the world's first supertanker in 1948, the 18,000-ton *World Peace*, and in 1953 established a world record for overall production. Now it is preparing to construct three 32,000-ton tankers—each of these larger than the total registered tonnage of this port a century ago.

Each of these mammoth ships will provide about 850,000 man-hours of employment for shipyard workers and 1,700,000 more in supply industries. Today when a ship is built at Sparrows Point, the entire Nation is involved in its production.

It takes about 5 months from the time a keel is laid for a ship to reach the launching stage. Even before the keel-laying mold loft workers and patternmakers have laid out the templates and made life-size wooden patterns of every section of the vessel.

And at the launching only the vessel's outer steel structure and 10 percent of her engines and insides go down the ways. Tugs tow the powerless hull to the fitting-out dock where her engines, turbines, electrical wiring, furnishings, and navigational gear are installed during another 5-month period.

Both the construction and repair yards here get some foreign-flag work, but this Nation's higher standard of living and naturally higher costs tend to route foreign owners to yards where labor is cheaper.

The port's two principal repair yards are Maryland Drydock and Bethlehem-Key Highway, whose keen rivalry has built them up to the topmost level of ability and now induces many ships to come to Baltimore in ballast just for their repairs.

Smaller local yards are General Ship Repair, Baltimore Marine Works, Chesapeake Marine Railway, and Booz Bros., the last named still operating under the name it started with nearly a century ago.

In 1922 Maryland Drydock replaced the 2-year-old Globe Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. During the last war, this yard performed endless mammoth conversions for the Navy and Maritime Commission on all types of vessels, repaired tankers with half of their sides torpedoed out. Later, it converted five 12,000-ton general-cargo carriers into Great Lakes ore ships.

Recently, Maryland became the first commercial yard to be awarded a contract for applying a special type of plastic coating (saran) to all tank surfaces of a gasoline-carrying tanker.

Under the supervision of President George H. French, Maryland Drydock is countering the general downward trend in ship repairing by resorting to industrial production in order to keep its skilled workmen and yard shops busy. It is producing things for the power, petroleum, and chemical industries.

The Key Highway yard grew out of the old Skinner yard, which followed its predecessor into receivership and was bought by Bethlehem from the Baltimore Drydock and Shipbuilding Co.

Now Key Highway—which initiated the construction of Great Lakes ore carriers outside the Lakes—is experimenting for the Maritime Administration to see whether the World War II Liberty can be transformed into a desirable fast ship.

At the present time, both major yards are dependent somewhat on the emergency repair and conversion of Government ships to help keep their facilities and drydocks—10 are available in this port—in operation and to prevent their skilled men from turning to other crafts. Because it takes at least 10 years for a man to become a top-scale, skilled shipyard worker, the yards feel they cannot afford to lose many.

The scrapping of ships is related to the building of them and, surprisingly, requires special knowledge. The scrapping must be done piece by piece in reverse procedure from shipbuilding. All of the interior fixtures are removed and then gradually the vessel is cut down, deckhouse by deckhouse, and on down to the keel plates.

Boston Metals Co. and the Patapsco Scrap Corp. are Baltimore's scrapping yards. Smaller ones have folded up because of the sharp drop in scrap steel prices.

Started in 1904 by Morris Shapiro, a young immigrant who could hardly afford to feed himself when he started to gather junk iron and sell it, Boston Metals has destroyed almost as many famous ships as the local shipyards have built or repaired.

The vessels which ultimately helped make Mr. Shapiro into a multimillionaire and racetrack owner include the *Kron Prinz Wilhelm II*, *George Washington*, and *Kron Prinzessin Cecilie*, the aircraft carriers *Wake Island*, *Attu*, and *Reprisal*, and the *Pennsylvania*.

In 1925 this yard won international acclaim for Baltimore by being the only one to make a bid to scrap 200 War Shipping Board vessels, at a price of $1,370,000.

Patapsco Scrap was created by Bethlehem after World War II on the old Fairfield building site, and has demolished many destroyers and old cruisers, along with ferryboats and merchant ships, including the liner *Veendam*.

The 3 shipyard industries, which at their peak employed about 80,000 people in this area, now are down to about 5,000. The building and repair yards particularly are arguing for an American merchant marine to help preserve their own status as well as that of the Nation.

The firmly believe that American-flag ships—built in Baltimore or any other port—are vital as the Nation's fourth arm of defense, besides being paramount to United States industry.

And new construction naturally would make more old ships available for the scrap yards and conversion into new steel for the modern craft.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 8—The Fascination of Baltimore's Great Port to Those Who Watch Its Teeming Activities

---

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in putting together the excellent magazine of January 9 devoted to the port of Baltimore, the Sunday Sun included a curious camera feature devoted to interviews with various Marylanders who were asked "What do you find most interesting about the port?"

These answers, I think, go far toward demonstrating the fascinating attraction which the port of Baltimore holds for all of us in Baltimore and for our friends in neighboring communities. They speak of the romance of the place, the excitement, and the interesting atmosphere. One Baltimorean sums up the magnitude of the port's commerce with the provocative question, "Who eats all the bananas that come in?"

These thumbnail impressions of a great port and of its tremendously varied sounds, sights, smells, and activities follow:

CURIOUS CAMERA

Question: "What do you find most interesting about the port?"

Mr. Norman Ruckert, Jr., Catonsville, Md.: "I've been around the port for 24 years and every job is different; that's what makes it interesting. That's also what keeps men around the water. I've done everything from crating firebrick to grinding and bagging fish scrap."

Mrs. Irene Spatafore, 7445 Edsworth Road: "The big boats are fascinating. I never realized they were so huge until I went down to Pratt Street. There is a certain romance about foreign ships, and the passing thought of traveling to foreign ports upon them."

Mr. Willis B. Hedges, Essex, Md.: "I find the great variety of commodities that enter the port of Baltimore most interesting. I'm around the water every day and have seen chestnuts from Turkey, broom corn from Greece, and horseradish from Germany. Every ship brings some strange cargo."

Mrs. Mable Altmeyer, 7507 Lange Street: "The unloading of boats is probably the most interesting thing. There's so much activity that you think of ants swarming over a box, each carrying away his share. It also amazes me to think who eats all the bananas that come in."

Mr. Charles C. Schroeder, 1615 North Milton Avenue: "The most interesting sight is the large ships arriving so low in the water that their Plimsoll marks are on the waterline. That means the ships are loaded to capacity and there'll be lots of work for everyone connected with the port."

The Port of Baltimore, No. 9—Some Figures on Baltimore Exports and Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the Baltimore Sunday Sun, in pictures and text, told the exciting and impressive story of Baltimore's great port in its metrogravure magazine section of January 9. As impressive as anything in that magazine were the somewhat dry but convincing statistics on the port's commerce reported in the following article, Some Figures:

SOME FIGURES

The value of exports handled through Baltimore annually has increased 215 times since 1790, the first year for which complete statistics are available.

The 1790 exports were valued at $2,027,000; they included 223,062 bushels of wheat, 127,234 barrels of flour, 5,533 barrels of bread and thousands of pounds of tobacco.

The 1953 exports were worth $430 million; these included 70,773,693 bushels of grain and 1,486,127 tons of coal. The remainder were fertilizer and chemicals, steel and heavy machinery, and general cargo.

The total foreign tonnage of 21,420,300 shipped from this port in 1953 was valued at $913,400,000.

Other interesting old figures contained in various historical sources show that in 1689, when Joppa was a leading Maryland port, 25,000 hogsheads of tobacco were transported to England. Tobacco was the most important commodity this State exported until 1750, when grain began entering the picture.

In 1761 Baltimore's tobacco shipments were valued at £140,000, and all the other exports at £80,000.

In 1799, as the third commercial port of the country, Baltimore saw its exports rise to a value of $16,610,000. Imports had not yet become a prime factor in the picture.

Through the years, the value of cargo increased along with tonnage. In 1853 the total tonnage was 262,685; of this, 143,596 was exports and the remainder imports.

The 1873 tonnage jumped to 411,161 in exports and 397,167 in imports. By 1877 the value of the port's foreign commerce was $62,025,641—a rise from $17,381,591 since 1872.

In 1883 imports overtook exports, with 795,524 tons, compared to 662,542. And within a decade the total foreign tonnage had risen nearly fourfold to 4,607,176 as Baltimore expanded industrially and its ties spread to more corners of the world.

The 1913 total foreign tonnage of 5,408,544 was valued at $149,369,677; in 1923, 6,620,691 tons were valued at $185,272,267; in 1933, 3,634,878 at $71,516,060; in 1943, 4,202,742 tons at $902,254,000.

The port's record tonnage was made in 1947, when it led the Nation with 24,611,490, most of which was coal. The value of that huge quantity, however, was only $737,631,998, because of the low value attached to the bulk coal.

The value of an average ton of exports last year was $89, compared to $29 for the average ton of imports. About half of the imports were ores, which have a low value.

In 1860 the value of a ton of imports had been $47 and of exports $50.

Baltimore's lead as a grain-exporting port for many years is further emphasized by the fact that in 1879, nearly 60,000,000 bushels were shipped out of here to foreign points. This figure is only 10,773,693 bushels less than the port's total in 1953.

The Port of Baltimore, No. 10—Helen Delich Tells How Baltimore's Fine Natural Harbor Gave It Ascendancy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the final article in the Baltimore Sunday Sun magazine of January 9 devoted to the port of Baltimore is another in the fine series written for this section by Helen Delich, and portrays the historical development of the port from the time when Capt. John Smith first visited the Patapsco, which he called the River Bolus.

A great port long before that day in September 1814 when our national anthem was inspired by the defense of Fort McHenry, Baltimore's growth as a port began, as this article reports, in 1706, with steamboat service beginning in 1813.

How the people of Baltimore, the railroads, the merchant leaders, and men of vision down through the years joined in building up the port of Baltimore to its present position of leadership, is told in this article, as follows:

BALTIMORE'S GROWTH AS PORT BEGAN IN 1706—OUR FINE NATURAL HARBOR GAVE US ASCENDANCY OVER ALL RIVALS IN THIS AREA

(By Helen Delich)

Five ports once flourished simultaneously within the boundaries of what is now the port of Baltimore.

Humphreys Creek, Whetstone Point, Jones Town, Baltimore Town and the town of Fells Point—all within a 4-mile radius—competed with one another for trade during the early 18th century.

Then there were also the old, established ports of Annapolis on the Severn River and Joppa on the small, winding Bush River.

The trade of all these small colonial ports was exclusively with England.

Ironically, Baltimore Town, which because of its extremely shallow harbor was engaged in less actual shipping than any of its rival ports, was destined to absorb its four closest neighbors, prosper far beyond the others and two and a half centuries later rank as a major factor in world commerce.

The history of the port of Baltimore begins with Capt. John Smith, the first white man to set foot on the shores of the Patapsco, or River Bolus, as he named it. One of his souvenirs was said to have been a sample of red iron ore, which was plentiful on the virgin shores; that ore one day was to become the area's largest import.

Midway in the 17th century, David Jones was among the few white settlers along the Patapsco River. He built in the area later called Jones Town. And Thomas Cole obtained a warrant for 550 acres which he called Coles Harbor. Sixty-one years later part of that land was designated Baltimore Town.

However, most of the activity of that period was taking place elsewhere in Maryland: the *Ark* and *Dove* had landed the first real Maryland settlers at St. Marys.

Joppa Town and Humphreys Creek—the latter near the present Sparrows Point—were made ports of entry in 1683. But the broader and deeper Patapsco soon proved to be a better natural harbor than the silting-in Bush River, and trade moved down to it.

Whetstone Point, now known as Locust Point, was officially recognized as a second port in 1706. Because the first two attempts—one in Dorchester County and the other near Joppa—to honor Lord Baltimore by naming a town after him had failed, his name was selected in 1729 when the General Assembly provided $600 to buy 60 acres on the north side of the Patapsco in Baltimore County and named it Baltimore Town.

In the beginning, Baltimore Town served chiefly as an industrial site; the shipping centers were Jones Town, Gwynns Falls and the newly founded Fells Point. For in 1730 William Fell, a ship carpenter, arrived from England, built a home at the foot of Lancaster Street and opened a store. Before long, however, he began building bay craft.

With every farm put to producing tobacco, the earliest exports from the area consisted principally of this product.

Ships with imported cargoes provided the earliest stores by anchoring out in the harbor and advertising their wares along the shores by word of mouth.

Baltimore Town mushroomed to 113 acres by merging with Jones Town in 1745, the same year Irish-born Drs. John and Henry Stevenson settled in the area.

At that time, there was a shipyard on Jones Falls at the location Mercy Hospital now occupies.

While his brother Henry established the Nation's first smallpox hospital here, Dr. John Stevenson abandoned medicine and concentrated on the port's trade potentials. He foresaw the value of the Patapsco River branches, and he inaugurated grain exporting and brick importing.

He persuaded some of his Irish friends to send a ship here in 1750 for a cargo of wheat. The venture resulted in a handsome profit and a new trade had started—the first of the big bulk movements for which the port was to become famous.

Finally some Baltimoreans owned vessels and could begin trading elsewhere than in England. The West Indies and other Colonial seaboard cities received most of the early trade.

Just before the Revolutionary War, Fells Point was absorbed by Baltimore Town. Because this port was never blockaded by the British, a considerable amount of Annapolis' trade was diverted here permanently, and Baltimoreans were able to build and produce ships to help fight the war.

Afterward—the events came within a few years of each other—John O'Donnell bought and established Canton, nine port wardens were appointed to ascertain the depth and course of the channel, the first marine-insurance company boomed, wealth Baltimoreans formed the Charitable Marine Society to provide a rest home for their hardy seamen, and in 1797 Baltimore was incorporated as a city.

Soon after the advent of the famous Baltimore clippers the United States again went to war with Great Britain. Baltimore's greatest moment in this conflict came September 14, 1814, when Francis Scott Key was inspired to write the Star-Spangled Banner by the British bombardment of Fort McHenry.

Some historians believe that the Baltimore clippers can be credited to a great extent with the defeat of the British on the seas, for over half of the American-used ships were constructed here.

While the War of 1812 was in progress the first steamboat to operate out of Baltimore—the *Chesapeake*—inaugurated a service to Frenchtown. That was in 1813. A few years later the Weems Line placed five side-wheelers in service.

After the war Baltimore spent time reestablishing its trade routes. Then, in 1827, the railroad train Tom Thumb was invented as a defense for this port against the Erie Canal and other proposed canals leading from the West to rival eastern seaports. Baltimoreans felt that they had to have a real connection to the West or they would lose their trade of coffee, grain, and tobacco.

In 1828 a company was formed to make a screw dock—the first version of a floating drydock—for the repairing of ships' bottoms here; this was erected on Mr. Ramsay's wharf. The Canton Co. was formed by Peter Cooper to build up the eastern adjunct to Baltimore.

The lack of cargo space in the Baltimore clippers resulted in an innovation in these sleek, fast vessels, and the *Ann McKim* was established in the China trade. She is said to have been the last of the Baltimore clippers and the first of the clipper ships, which had cargo space as well as speed. Some Baltimore clippers were sent to South America to help those countries free themselves.

For the next three decades Baltimore, New York, and New Orleans vied for first position in the Nation for overall tonnage handled across the piers.

In 1840 the Baltimore Steam Packet Line, more popularly known as the Old Bay Line, began operating down Chesapeake Bay; today it is the only overnight steamboat line in the Nation. In 1854 the Merchants & Miners Transportation Co. started a coastwise service that was popular until the beginning of World War II.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was developing the Locust Point terminals by this time as an outlet for its western freight.

Channel depths and widths became extremely important when the larger steam vessels came into use. Although some dredging around the wharves had been going on for decades and a main channel 12 feet deep had been dredged from the inner basin past Fort McHenry, it was not until 1858 that deep-draft vessels could enter the harbor.

The first Federal Government channel authorization, granted in 1836, did not become a reality until 1866, when work was started on the Craighill Channel; it was enlarged to 24-foot depth and 250-foot width at a cost of $400,000.

The famous cigar ship of Ross and Thomas Winans was built in 1858, at a $2 million loss.

Next, the port became embroiled in the Civil War, with trade coming to a virtual standstill. The armor for the Monitor was forged at the Abbott Iron Works in Canton.

It was several years after the Civil War ended before Baltimore's trade approached its normal activity. However, in the meantime the Union Railroad had built tracks from Relay to the Canton waterfront, because the Northern Central was never able to complete its Canton extension.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, not satisfied with operating marine terminals, purchased three wooden propeller ships for use in ocean trade. But these ships could not compete with foreign lines, and soon the B. & O. negotiated with the North German Lloyd to bring its ships into Locust Point. Other foreign lines started regular routes to Baltimore, and this once again became a big port.

In 1873, the Pennsylvania Railroad bought the controlling stock of the Northern Central, and thus began its association with Baltimore in the Canton area.

Baltimore's standing as a principal grain and flour exporting center was regained in the 1870's, when the B. & O. and the Union Grain Elevator Co. constructed grain elevators.

Sugar was lost as an import when four local refineries went bankrupt in 1879, and did not become a major factor again until 1922.

In 1887, the Maryand Steel Co. located at Sparrows Point, began the importation of iron ore from Cuba.

In the 1880's, the cruisers *Montgomery* and *Detroit* were built at the Columbia Iron Works, located between Fort McHenry and the B. & O.'s Locust Point. The first marine hospital for seamen was established in Wyman's Park, and the city replaced the port wardens with a harbor board.

By this time immigrants began pouring in through Baltimore at the rate of nearly 50,000 a year, to reach a total of 1,542,000 by 1938.

Ferries and small bridges connected the various sections of the harbor; the channel was deepened to 30 feet, and the first submarine, the *Argonaut*, was built here.

At the turn of the 20th century, the Pennsylvania Railroad built piers 6 and 7 in Canton, and the Western Maryland Railway—which had stretched westward to West Virginia and Pennsylvania—began building up Port Covington to extend its railroad across the seas.

Passenger lines connected Baltimore with many foreign lands, steamers sailed out of here for all of the Chesapeake Bay tributaries and other United States seaports.

By the time this Nation was involved in World War I, the Bethlehem Steel Co. had purchased the Sparrows Point plant, the three railroads were building modern coal piers, and the Western Maryland had set the pace for a multimillion bushel grain elevator, to be followed by the other two railroads.

The port flourished during the war, helping to supply the Armed Forces abroad and also building large ships.

The Port Development Act was passed in 1920, with $50 million made available. The only major user of this loan has been the Western Maryland Railway, which built the port's most modern general cargo facilities at Port Covington in 1928.

Also between the two World Wars, the Canton Railroad constructed its pier 11 and later leased it to the Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania built pier 1. The Maryland Drydock Co. bought out the 2-year-old Globe Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., and the Bethlehem interests absorbed several small uptown shipyards. These two together have given Baltimore the reputation of having the best ship repairing facilities in the Nation.

The Export and Import Board of Trade was established to stimulate commercial growth of the port, and Rukert Terminals Corp. became an important factor as the port's independent operation.

The port's leading export in 1934 was scrap metal to Japan. Now truck freight was beginning to change the complexion of port operation.

And then for the first 10 months of World War II this port was virtually starving because the military would not send any freight through here.

Loud and hungry wails reversed this situation, and before long the piers were jammed with cargoes of all types. This port led the Nation in shipbuilding, with 542 vessels turned out by the Bethlehem interests at Fairfield and Sparrows Point. All of the repair yards were busy working on torpedoed tankers and freighters. New industries sprang up.

Right after peace returned, 11 Liberty ships loaded with heavy equipment—turbogenerators, dam sluices, blast-furnace parts—sailed out of Baltimore for Russia.

Shipbuilding dropped to almost nothing, and soon foreign-flag ships once again began taking over most of the cargoes in and out of the port.

A survey of the port's needs was made by an outside engineering firm in 1949. As a result, the Port of Baltimore Commission was inaugurated and various facilities have been modernized.

In 1953 the Bethlehem-Sparrows Point Shipyard led the world in production, and Baltimore led in ore importation and grain exportation.

And now, at the beginning of the atomic age, the port of Baltimore is undergoing another survey, with discussion centering on improved general cargo facilities and a port authority.

A Cuban View of Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an excerpt from the writings of Dr. Emeterio S. Santovenia, a Cuban historian, giving his views regarding Abraham Lincoln.

Dr. Emeterio S. Santovenia was born at Pinar del Rio, Cuba, May 23, 1899. He served as Presidential secretary, 1934; senator, 1940–48; Minister of State, 1943–44; since March 1952, president of the Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank of Cuba; has been for several years vice president of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History; author of innumerable books, the majority of which are on historical questions. He is the only author who has published three books in Spanish on Lincoln: Lincoln, Buenos Aires, 1948; Lincoln en Marti, Habana, 1948; Lincoln, El Precursor de la Buena Vecindad, Habana, 1951.

These facts should be of more than ordinary interest to all Americans. The publication of his books in the Spanish language will do much to spread the life, character, and public service of one of the world's great men. It will have a happy and beneficial effect in cementing the ties of friendship among the Latin American countries and the United States.

The excerpts follow:

LINCOLN IN MARTI: A CUBAN VIEW OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(By Emeterio S. Santovenia, with an introduction by Manual Pedro González)

INTRODUCTION

In 1953 this Hispanic world commemorated the first centennial of the birth of José Martí (January 28, 1853). The celebration culminated in an international Congress of Martian Writers held in Habana from February 20 through the 27th, which was attended by writers and scholars from the United States, from all Latin America, and from France and Spain. There is hardly a newspaper or literary magazine or an academic center of higher culture throughout the Hispanic world that in one way or an-

other did not contribute to the solemnity of that event. Even the Senate of the United States, the Department of State, and the august New York Times took notice of the occasion and paid tribute to the greatness of José Martí, frail little man of genius.

The sad paradox—for all our years of good-neighbor policy and all the millions spent in fostering cultural relations with Latin America—is that before January 28, 1953, probably no more than a small fraction of 1 percent of the population of the United States had ever heard or read the name of José Martí or knew who he was.

The almost universal ignorance prevailing in the United States about Martí is all the more inexcusable—and regrettable—because he was born less than a hundred miles from the shores of Florida and spent the last 15 years of his life in the United States. Furthermore, he contributed in various ways to the cultural development of that country and became the most sagacious foreign interpreter of North American intellectual life toward the end of the century. American cultures, both Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic, had in him a brilliant interpreter and the strongest link between them that has appeared so far. Both are profoundly indebted to him.

José Martí was born in Havana, Cuba, on January 28, 1853, of Spanish parentage. His activities in behalf of the independence of the island were manifest at an early age and at 17 he was sentenced to 6 years of hard labor in the quarries near Havana. After he had served part of the sentence, the penalty was commuted to exile in Spain.

In spite of great hardships Martí completed his academic training in Spain and received his diplomas of licenciado in philosophy and also in law. He settled in Mexico City in 1875 and remained there until the revolt of Porfirio Díaz against the liberal government forced him into exile. From Mexico he went to Guatemala, where he taught literature and philosophy, but again a despotic rule drove him from his home.

An amnesty proclaimed by the Spanish crown permitted Martí to return to his fatherland; but revolutionary activities soon brought him to the attention of the authorities, and in 1879 he was again exiled to Spain. He escaped to France and after a few days in Paris sailed for New York, where he arrived in January 1880. After a short stay in Venezuela in the same year, he returned to New York and, except for short trips to Mexico, Central America, Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, he lived there until 1895, when he left for Cuba. On May 19 of that year, he was killed in battle.

During the decade and a half that Martí lived in the United States, he worked off and on as bookkeeper, translator, teacher, editorial writer for the New York Sun, and consul of Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Until 1892 he was a regular contributor to the most important newspapers of Spanish America, especially to La Nación of Buenos Aires. His articles about life in the United States made this country better known in Latin America than it had ever been before or has been since. At the same time he was a sort of cultural ambassador at large and a spiritual symbol of the other America in New York.

The most exhausting of all his enterprises was the founding and directing of the Cuban Revolutionary Party. Into this organization he brought the Cubans living in exile and scattered all over the Atlantic coast from Key West to Boston, and in the Caribbean countries. Over a period of years of patient waiting and preparation, he educated Cuban residents in the United States to the point where they ardently desired independence for Cuba. He kept the patriotic fires burning and instilled hope in the hearts of Cuban patriots in Cuba and abroad.

Because everything he wrote was inspired by deep sympathy and tenderness, coupled with a boundless love of humanity, because in the apostolic crusade that was his life he proved himself to be always pure and disinterested and wise, Martí has become one of the most beloved heroes of Latin America. In the United States, on the other hand, he is practically unknown despite the fact that he interpreted and spread abroad its culture and extolled the merits and virtures of its great men and institutions.

The author of Lincoln in Martí, Emeterio S. Santovenia, is one of the most prominent historians of Cuba today. He is both a serious scholar and a prolific writer. The list of his publications is impressive, containing as it does more than 80 titles, most of them books. His intellectual curiosity transcends the field of historical studies and the national boundaries of Cuba. In addition, he is a lawyer by profession and has been an active figure in the political life of his country. For a time he was a member of the senate and later secretary of state. He is one of the few men in Cuba today who came out of the corrupting game of politics clean and enjoying the esteem of honest people. Dr. Santovenia has long presided over the National Academy of History, a position that attests the high regard in which he is held by his colleagues.

Abraham Lincoln has been the subject of Dr. Santovenia's intellectual pursuits for many years and the theme of several of his most ambitious works. The same year in which the Spanish edition of the present volume appeared in Habana (1948), he published in Argentina a voluminous biography of the Great Emancipator. A third volume entitled "Lincoln, Precursor of the Good Neighbor Policy," was published in Habana in 1951. José Martí excepted, no other historical figure has held Dr. Santovenia's prolonged and deep interest as Lincoln has.

In the following pages the reader will find ample evidence of the author's devotion to these two heroes. There is a great deal in common between them in spite of their many differences in idiosyncrasy, genius, and achievement. Both men epitomize and, to a large extent, symbolize the very best of their respective peoples and cultures. Both are—Martí even more than Lincoln—infinitely superior to the aggregate mass of their social environments. They represent the sum total of the finest intellectual and moral qualities to be found in the Spanish as well as in the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Emerson would have called them "representative men."

This small volume is not one of Dr. Santovenia's more ambitious studies of either Lincoln or Martí, but it is the only one in which he has brought them together, interweaving their respective lives and ideologies. In it the reader will encounter a Lincoln as seen through the idealizing eyes of Martí—and those of Dr. Santovenia. The author has inevitably blended his own ideas and interpretations of Lincoln with those of Martí. In fact, the fusion is so complete at times that the reader is not always certain whether the ideas expressed are those of Dr. Santovenia or of Martí. It is clear, however, that in such cases the two are in complete agreement, and Dr. Santovenia's carefully planned use of quotation marks prevents any confusion as to Martí's exact words when they are given.

Writing as he did for a public familiar with the life and historical role of both Lincoln and Martí, the author in his original Spanish text doubtless assumed more knowledge of Martí than exists among the readers of this English translation. Also, in stressing the similarities of the two men, he has tended to ignore their great divergencies, but this is intrinsic in his thesis—the divergencies could be taken for granted; the similarities have never been stated, and so may rightly be stressed. It is believed, therefore, that the North American reader will find his conception of Lincoln enriched by the combined views of these two distinguished Cubans. He will realize that Lincoln belongs not only to the United States but to the Spanish-American world as well, that he has been an inspiration far beyond the borders of his own country, and that the idealization here presented may well be a valuable counterbalance to the factuality of today's scholarship.

Since Martí was a devoted admirer of Lincoln, it is surprising that he never wrote an extensive study of him. Perhaps, as Dr. Santovenia suggests, he was too immersed in the spirit of Lincoln and revered him too much to write a lengthy essay on him as he did on so many American public figures of the time. Nevertheless, in the dozens of direct references and allusions to him to be found scattered all through Martí's writings, we have indisputable proof of his veneration for the Emancipator. The author's difficult task has been to present a coherent account of Lincoln based on Martí's statements and passing remarks written on different occasions during a long literary career. The integration of these fragmentary conclusions or passing references into a coherent study has been the author's purpose throughout. More than his own views on the subject, he has been interested in presenting Martí's, and he had subordinated his own ideas and his great erudition to the design—and the desire—of making known Martí's opinion of the great leader.

Professor Fogelquist has given us a careful and accurate translation of a book that is far from easy to render into English. Without betraying the original, he has endeavored to present Martí's and Dr. Santovenia's ideas and style in a correct and precise version which at no time detracts from the merits of the Spanish text.

MANUEL PEDRO GONZÁLEZ.

MAY 1953

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The study of the lives of Abraham Lincoln and José Martí has been one of my habitual pursuits for many years. Through my investigations I have learned that Martí had a profound knowledge of the life and work of Lincoln. This conclusion has led me to another, equally important: Each of these eminent men, morally of the same lineage, resembled the other in intelligence, temperament, personality, fair-mindedness, and charity. What is more, Martí had yearnings, disappointments, sufferings, and readiness for useful sacrifice similar to those which have made Lincoln stand out in space and time.

It will be readily apparent why I have chosen the title which the present pages bear: "Lincoln in Martí. Martí admired the fine qualities of Lincoln's character, and it was his fondest aspiration to be like him. This goal he indeed attained. Lincoln occupied a place of eminence among all the men of universal greatness who entered into Martí's faith. And this preference had a very close relationship with the fact that Martí combined within himself qualities similar to those which Lincoln cherished and which he placed at the service of human betterment.

Martí did not produce a single extensive work on Lincoln, a notable difference from what he accomplished with respect to some of the contemporaries of the Great Emancipator. The reason may have been that Lincoln's example was already a part of the faith whereby he lived, for the life of Lincoln was rooted in that of Martí. But he mentioned him and referred to him so repeatedly and so eloquently that what he said touched on every phase of Lincoln's life. It inspired him particularly in times of stress and when he was engaged in creative activity. With a paragraph from here and a phrase from there, with what I have drawn from an essay or

gleaned from a journalistic note, throughout Martí's extensive works, I have put together what I am so bold as to consider a new historical sketch of Lincoln—one that we owe to José Martí.

In addition to gathering the many quotations from Martí's works, my task has consisted in arranging and adapting them. I have used each quotation because of its application to some aspect of Lincoln's life or to events that occurred after his death.

EMETERIO S. SANTOVENIA.

Habana, 1948.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Opposition to Closing of Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "A Hospital Fights To Survive," written by Claude A. Brown, published in the Arkansas Democrat, of Little Rock, on Sunday, March 13, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A HOSPITAL FIGHTS TO SURVIVE

(By Claude A. Brown)

Without legislation or Government expenditure, Hot Springs' Army and Navy Hospital could be transferred immediately from the Defense Department to the Veterans' Administration.

This transfer, which is the fervent hope of all those interested in the rehabilitation institution that overlooks the Nation's oldest spa, would accomplish two things:

1. It would prevent the closing of the general medical and surgical hospital and its subsequent deterioration through lack of use; and

2. It would offer greatly needed physical medicine and rehabilitation facilities, as well as facilities for research of chronic organic disorders so essential to the Veterans' Administration program.

In addition, it would prevent a great psychological loss to Hot Springs, since the hospital's abandonment might create in the public mind the impression that the Government considered the thermal waters of no therapeutic value. It would destroy the faith sustained for more than a century by thousands of health seekers who annually visit this famous medical center.

In October 1953, the Defense Department ordered the hospital closed. Loud protests by Arkansas managed to get this order canceled. But last January, the Defense Department again issued the closing order—and declared that the hospital must be closed by June 30 this year.

Protests were again made by Governors Cherry and Faubus, Congressmen, veterans' organizations, and leading citizens. But the Defense Department insisted that the hospital, which was built 72 years ago, must be shut down as an economy measure.

Congressmen then turned to the Veterans' Administration and prevailed upon them to take over the plant. A medical team from the VA central and area offices came to the hospital early in February to conduct a survey.

The writer of this article was formerly a national field representative of the American Legion, and as part of his job he visited 45 Veterans' Administration hospitals in 14 States and Puerto Rico. In this writer's opinion, no VA hospital has facilities that are better for physical medicine and rehabilitation than the Army and Navy Hospital in Hot Springs.

After much research, this writer has found that by virtue of investments over the years, the Veterans' Administration already has a great financial interest in this hospital.

This plant, which consists of 59 buildings, is valued at $20 million. Of that figure, the Veterans' Administration is responsible for at least one-fifth, or 4 million. Chiefly through the legislative efforts of the American Legion, the Rogers hospital-construction bill No. 234 was passed by Congress in 1929, which gave $1,050,000 of the Veterans' Administration appropriation to the Army and Navy Hospital for rebuilding.

From 1933 to 1950, the VA spent $3 million for the care of veterans in that hospital at rates that varied from $3.75 to $10.50 a bed per day.

In this writer's opinion, there are many reasons why it would be desirable and practical for the VA to take over the Army and Navy Hospital. This article is an attempt to point up these reasons and to trace the history of the Army and Navy Hospital, one of the oldest in the Nation.

By transferring the Army and Navy Hospital to the Veterans' Administration, 412 general medical and surgical beds would be ready for occupancy at once, affecting a savings of more than $22,000 per bed, according to the price the Veterans' Administration now pays for the construction of new hospitals.

On January 1 of this year, the Veterans' Administration had about 110,000 beds in 163 hospitals, classified as follows: Tubercular, 15,217; neuropsychiatric, 56,711; neurological, 3,929; and general medical and surgical, 34,128. An additional 16,775 domiciliary patients were in VA homes set up for that purpose.

The 34,128 general medical and surgical and 16,775 domiciliary beds total 50,903 now available for more than 21 million veterans of World War I, World War II, and Korea. This is only one-fourth of 1 percent of the war veterans entitled to Government hospital care when beds are available.

Although the hospital has been designated as Army and Navy, its supervision is directly under the Army Surgeon General. For more than 67 years, many high-ranking Army officers, including Gen. John J. Pershing, have occupied rooms in officers' quarters, utilizing separate dining and bathhouse facilities. Under Veterans' Administration procedure, all patients would be accepted on a common basis, without distinction as to race, class, or rank.

Adequate VA hospital facilities exist in Little Rock and Fayetteville for emergency and acutely ill veterans, since the turnover of beds is about 20 days for each patient. A VA medical center at Hot Springs could provide, however, greatly needed beds for chronic patients requiring extensive physical medicine and rehabilitation and relieve other hospitals of patients who require prolonged hospital care.

The proposed transfer would be a mutually agreeable procedure, requiring no legislation. There are numerous precedents for such action. The new 500-bed Navy hospital completed in Houston, Tex.—one of the few completely air-conditioned installations—was turned over by the Navy to the Veterans' Administration even before it was opened. In San Juan, Puerto Rico, the San Patricio, a 200-bed naval hospital, is being operated by the Veterans' Administration subject to return to the Defense Department in the event of hostilities.

Many military installations, such as the Kennedy Hospital, Memphis, Thayer Hospital, Nashville, Tenn., and Winter Hospital, Topeka, Kans., are included in the 163 hospitals and domiciliary homes now under the jurisdiction of the Veterans' Administration. In the event of national emergency any of the Veterans' Administration facilities are subject to transfer to the Defense Department.

In view of the existing problem of treating chronic patients who require prolonged hospital and domiciliary care, continued operation of the Army and Navy Hospital by the Veterans' Administration would be an investment in national defense.

The most vital need filled by the hospital transfer, however, would be the establishment of an outstanding medical center for physical medicine and rehabilitation. This relatively new program, which is gaining momentum as an essential adjunct to surgery, could make history in Hot Springs. Through physiotherapy, muscles and nerves are stimulated following surgery, eliminating bed sores and blood clots during convalescence. Hydrotherapy, from radioactive thermal springs, is applied in therapeutic pools, in conjunction with whirlpool, hot and cold alternating needle showers, sun bathing, and medicinal water baths. These treatments concern the patient's entire body rather than specific parts afflicted by diseases or injuries.

Army and Navy became a polio treatment center in December 1943, when an epidemic of infantile paralysis struck Army camps. More than 1,000 patients received treatment, and several classes for physiotherapists were trained to apply the Elizabeth Kenny method of nerve and muscle stimulation. The hospital maintains a thermal pool. Wheelchair patients are lowered into this pool so that their limbs may be manipulated under warm water by aides.

More than 275 former patients have formed thte Army-Navy Hospital Polio Veterans' Association, comprising service men and women from all 48 States, and are making vigorous protests against closing the hospital. Miss Frances Hallfrisch, of Flint, Mich., association founder, is a former therapist at the Army and Navy.

Another paramount service that could be provided at Hot Springs is research study of chronic organic diseases. Prior to World War II, there was no adequate research program in VA hospitals. At present, $385,892 is being spent annually for 617 specialists and clinical assistants in VA general medical and surgical hospitals. None of these hospitals has more varied nor greater volume of medical data for clinical studies than the Army and Navy Hospital.

There are more than 4,000 volumes in the medical library comprising the most complete collection of medical data on rheumatism and orthopedic disorders in existence.

The hospital likewise has research facilities for study and treatment of various forms of arthritis, neuritis, genito-urinary diseases, chronic metallic poisoning, skin infections; certain metabolic disorders such as gout, diabetes, nephritis, and chronic gastrointestinal ailments, hepatitis, dysentery,

stomach ulcers, cancer, and other organic diseases requiring extensive treatment.

There are seven VA paraplegic centers to provide intensive physiotherapy for the completely paralyzed war veterans. One of these centers is the Kennedy Hospital, Memphis, where 250 of these patients have filled the wards to maximum capacity. Since the Kennedy Hospital lacks permanent treatment facilities, a new paraplegic center could be established at the Hot Springs hospital for new patients requiring complete physical medicine service, and for outpatients requiring temporary treatments.

Most of the paralyzed patients are nonservice connected, drawing $135.45 monthly pensions except when hospitalized. Those whose paralysis resulted from misconduct receive no monetary benefits, hence require continuous hospital care.

More than 11,000 deep and skin cancer treatments by X-ray and radium were provided during a single year by the staff in Hot Springs. Army and Navy is 1 of 3 Army hospitals in the Nation with comparable facilities for such treatments.

There is a woman's ward, now being used for maternity cases, which would provide adequate beds for women veterans with maximum privacy. Under regulations, women veterans are entitled to non-service hospitalization in private hospitals at Government expense if VA beds are not available.

When the Eastman Hotel was old for $510,000 to the Defense Department in 1942, the Army and Navy hospital was filled to overcapacity with more than 1,000 patients. There were 2,000 Veterans' Administration applications for hospitalization on the waiting list. At considerable expense, an enclosed overhead ramp was erected to connect with the hospital. Three firewalls were constructed, dividing the structure, and airtight barriers were placed in corridors to close automatically in case of fire. The building, renovated throughout, was made highly fire resistant.

After hostilities ended in World War II and Korea, the Eastman annex ceased to be essential for hospital operation. Its chief function now is to provide low-cost housing for personnel, auxiliary services, canteen, recreation, and quarters for retired officers and enlisted men as pay patients for short periods. Under Veterans' Administration management, the annex could be put to proper domiciliary use, and would become a needed adjunct to the hospital.

No domiciliary homes are within 500 miles of Hot Springs. The nearest are at Wadsworth, Kans.; Biloxi, Miss.; Temple, Tex.; Mountain Home, Tenn., and Wood, Wis. Veterans seeking domiciliary care must be able to walk, must require minimum institutional care, and have no gainful employment. Under the occupational therapy program, many of the members train themselves in furniture repairing, plastic and woodcraft, shoe repairing, rug making, and other crafts and become gainfully self-employed. Some qualify as employees in these homes, and thereby reduce the overhead cost of domiciliary service.

Hot Springs has as high a percentage of professional medical talent as any city of comparable size in the Nation. Despite a shortage of VA medical personnel, adequate consultant and attending specialist service would be available. Operation under the dean's committee of the University of Arkansas Medical School as is provided for VA hospitals in Little Rock and North Little Rock would present no problem, since Hot Springs is only 57 miles from Little Rock.

The hospital personnel at present comprises 300 civilian and military employees. Adequate housing for staff personnel is available, which is not the case in some new VA installations. It is likely that housekeeping quarters for staff personnel in the Eastman annex would prove an incentive to recruit employees.

Therefore, it would appear that the Veterans' Administration has a vested right and an opportunity to acquire by transfer, at no cost, a modern, completely equipped hospital plant for 412 patients and 300 domiciliary patients. It would require more than $20 million and 2 years' construction to replace this facility.

The Safeguarding of Political Liberty and Social Justice in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on March 20, 1955, Mr. William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, made a very incisive and compelling address before the annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action.

This speech by Mr. Schnitzler should be widely read. It should be read by every Member of Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, BEFORE THE AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION CONVENTION, SHOREHAM HOTEL, MARCH 20, 1955

Except for the season, there is very little in the atmosphere of Washington today to stimulate or to inspire the advocates of democratic action. The political forces entrenched here are deaf to your resolutions and hostile to your philosophy. The executive branch is now but a countinghouse, and the budget a baffle against the expansion of human rights and the attainment of practical human goals.

The situation illustrates the old rule, which says that the richer the prize, the harder is the struggle and the more determined the opposition. If your goals are limited, your opinions safe, your principles flexible and your program meager, success is cheap and easy—but then the game is scarcely worth the candle. As a matter of national policy, this approach is known as dynamic conservatism. Reduced to more basic English, it means getting nowhere fast and is characterized by an apparent shortage of burning public issues. It may serve to create an illusion of security and of effective government, which can last just so long as our national store of luck holds out against the mounting pressure of problems unmet, decisions avoided, and needs unfilled—after that, the deluge.

But if, on the other hand, you have higher goals and bolder projects in mind, the odds increase in like degree. You become controversial, and therefore unpopular in important circles. The timid depart, when the wolves begin to howl. The spirit and endurance are tried by long periods of frustration, sustained only by the conviction that the future is on your side—that the trials of today are a necessary prelude to the gains of tomorrow.

The experience of the trade union movement bears witness to the resistance that stands in the way of social and economic progress. The protection and encouragement of the interests of business and the institution of private profit are accomplished as a matter of routine by the courts, legislators and public officials of the land, and are regarded as an altogether proper function of government. But the achievement of a fair distribution of the fruits of labor, and the protection of the standards of labor, are arduous and endless tasks—and are constantly assailed as an interference with natural law.

Each modest gain that we have made—whether the elimination of child labor and the exploitation of women, the 40-hour week, decent health and safety conditions or reasonable wage scales—came only as the product of years of agitation and organization, demonstrations of protest on the part of multitudes, and personal sacrifice on the part of individuals.

If the timing of these gains had been left to the discretion of such leaders and great brains as those who hold the reins of government today, they would never have been achieved, and our children would still go down to the mill or the pit, instead of to the school or the playground for the day. The arguments, expert opinions, and responsible judgments which they now employ in opposition to the dollar-and-a-quarter minimum wage, negotiated employment guaranties, aid to education, and other proposals for the benefit of the many, are the same arguments that were used against the enactment of child labor laws, the first public schools, the 40-cent minimum wage, and the first negotiated wage increase. When they tell us that such measures are economically unsound, will disturb the confidence of investors, impose a ruinous burden upon industry, destroy individual initiative and sap the moral fiber, we can truthfully say that this is where we came in. We have heard it all before.

Time and experience have shown that we were right in our advocacy of these reforms, and that the best brains of big business were totally wrong. The Nation is far better off today because the efforts of organized labor succeeded in some degree than it would be had the viewpoint of our opposition prevailed. And I believe that we are still right today, and that they are just as wrong as they were 50 years ago.

In the struggle for human betterment, there is no sharp dividing line between economic and political affairs. One conditions the other. The same forces, arguments and pressures are arrayed in opposition, right across the board. In your own efforts to advance a progressive program in the spheres of local, State and national government, I am sure that you have found attached to your task many of the same conditions that we encounter.

If the going seems particularly difficult to you today, and the headway slight, let yourselves be reminded that the price you seek is a priceless one—worth any challenge and any effort. That prize is the attainment of a truly liberal society, in which all men can live together in peace, security, and freedom, with an equal opportunity to develop their skills, talents and ideas to their fullest capacities—using their government neither as an instrument of repression nor of mere bookkeeping, but as a legitimate means for the attainment of their mutual ends.

Such a society requires a government which concerns itself actively with the problems and needs of human beings as well as of corporations, and which is most concerned about those whose problems and needs are greatest. It seeks the broadest expansion, rather than the narrowest interpretation, of the rights of individuals. Any resemblance between such a government and the present administration is, of course, purely rhetorical.

It is during just such times as these—when your counsel is least appreciated and the things that you stand for are most cold-

ly rejected by the powers-that-be—that the activities, the energies and the enthusiasm of liberal organizations such as your own are most sorely needed, if the ideals that once made this Nation the best hope on earth are to be kept alive. When those ideals are abandoned by public officialdom, the people themselves must accept the burden of their defense. If groups like your own do not take up that burden, you may be sure that no one else will.

This is no imaginary danger. The official guardianship of our liberties is in the hands of men who seem to be far more anxious for convictions than for fair trials, far more interested in compiling an impressive total of victims than in due process, far more concerned about headlines than about the caliber of their witnesses or the reputations of the innocent. The Department of Justice today devotes its talents to the discovery of loopholes in the Bill of Rights, to the narrowest possible construction of our civil liberties, and to the invention of new ways to get around the protections of the constitution. Such progress has been made along this line that the attorney general now offers the startling argument that due process of law is a privilege reserved only to indicted criminals, and that those whose reputations and livelihoods are wrecked on the unproven word of a phantom informer have no rights of redress in law.

If the defense of our liberties and our security is in the hands of men such as these, then who will defend us from the defenders? This I do know—when the shield of the Bill of Rights is stolen from the guiltiest criminal it is stolen in like degree from every citizen. When railroading by accusation is accepted as an adequate legal substitute for concrete evidence and proof—when those who make use of their constitutional rights are denied the right to sell second-hand pianos, to operate an insurance agency, to work in a plant, or are subjected to other arbitrary penalties and discriminations—then few of us are entirely safe unless we remain all alone, without a telephone. Idle gossip and irresponsible slander become as damning as guilt itself.

In the eyes of the administration's lawyers, the Bill of Rights is apparently viewed as a limitation upon, rather than an expression of, our civil liberties. It is argued that one's reputation or employment do not fall within the strict letter of those rights which are specifically spelled out in the Constitution. I am not a lawyer, but I would suggest to the Attorney General an occasional reference, for guidance as to the spirit of the law, to the ninth amendment, which states as follows: "The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disperse others retained by the people." Is the "pursuit of happiness," free from snares and entrapments engineered by an arbitrary bureaucracy, no longer one of the rights "retained by the people"?

Aside from the injury to civil liberties, there is the very real danger that the obvious blunders, inequities, and political vices inherent in the administration's approach to the security problem may serve to discredit the entire cause of security and thereby contribute unwittingly to the ends of America's enemies. To be truly effective, a security program must be scrupulous, fair, and honest—not only for the sake of civil liberties, but for the sake of its own and of the Nation's strength and integrity.

At this stage in your history you have, no doubt, grown inured to most of the tired epithets that come your way, seeking to brand you in the public eye as "leftwingers," "radicals," or "Socialists." Those terms have been directed at the trade-union movement for generations, and have long since ceased to disturb us. I do not believe that anyone who tries to find any substantial degree of real leftism or socialism among our printers, plumbers, potters, bricklayers, and boilermakers can remain very much impressed by the accuracy of such labels.

Besides, the history of progress in this country indicates that the gap between left and right can be measured more readily by the calendar than by the violence of the debate on any given day. Time makes believers of the most hardened skeptics. The main difference between the liberal and the conservative seems to be that the liberal endeavors to keep ahead of the times, while the conservative eventually catches up with the times long after the issue has been settled over his strenuous protests.

A good case in point may be found in the current efforts of the American Bar Association to gain admission for lawyers into the old-age and survivors insurance system. The only reason why they are not in the system already, of course, is because of the hitherto bitter opposition of the bar association. As recently as last year, when the program was extended to other groups, social security was still, in the eyes of the stately members of the bar, a diabolical plot to undermine our liberties, and they would have none of it. This year, apparently, some sober second thoughts have finally begun to penetrate and they have decided to have a slice of that Socialist pie after all.

This is one contribution at least that we can credit to the Eisenhower administration. By clutching this old New Deal reform to their bosom, the Republicans have at last endowed it with the virtue of orthodox respectability. There are still a few such as Manion and others who subsist on the vague fears of the tired businessman, who continue to raise an occasional cry of alarm against social security—but then that is their profession and I would be the last person to take the bread out of the mouths even of those in the doomster trade.

There is another unwitting service that can be credited to this administration. By subjecting it to the test, they have shaken the credibility of one of the most treasured myths of the old guard—the legend of the big-business man as a superman and the ultimate savior of government.

We have been exposed to the ex-boss of General Motors as Secretary of Defense for some time now, and if his performance in this capacity has shown anything remarkable, it is a pair of size 14 feet of clay. Another big brain from business has presided over the Department of Commerce for many months with results not visible to the naked eye, except for an occasional jurisdictional raid on the Labor Department. His attitude on those occasions leads one to the conclusion that he serves on the Cabinet as Boston's protest against the 20th century.

As for the pride of the M. A. Hanna Co., Secretary Humphrey, his zeal as the guardian of the Nation's Treasury is exceeded only by his eagerness to distribute largess to his big-business admirers, their corporations and stockholders. If you believe that there is some inconsistency there and that people with low incomes should be cut in on any benefits or incentives that are being passed out, then you are just irresponsible, political, and silly.

I cannot help but wonder how the M. A. Hanna Co. could have survived the type of management that the Treasury now enjoys—one that is so loose in its distribution of special favors to the wealthy that it not only gave away billions on purpose but threw in another billion by mistake, by allowing corporations to deduct the same expenses twice. I doubt if any old-line New Dealers would have been guilty of such a blunder. We hear a great deal of fine talk about statesmanship and responsibility and the importance of balancing the budget, but when the sums are totaled up we find that, once again, the rich got the gravy and they gave the deficit to the poor. If this is the way that businessmen govern our affairs, then I can only say: "Bring back the bureaucrats and politicians."

We sometimes hear it said today that there is a shortage of good political issues. I do not believe this. Under an administration that does nothing for the general public interest without seeking to divert it in some way into the channels of private profit, there can be a shortage of issues only among those who believe that nothing should be done. If you have a positive program to offer as an alternative to both inaction and reaction, there will always be plenty of genuine public issues.

Labor, as you know, is moving surely in the direction of unity. We intend to use the added strength thus engendered for no selfish purpose, but for the enhancement of the general welfare, in the cause of social, economic, and political progress. In approaching the great issues of the day, labor will endeavor to exert all of the influence that is due it as the representative of millions of workers and their families whose interests are affected by the outcome of those issues. A united trade-union movement will function, not as an instrument of "bossism" in any sense, but as the only instrument through which it is possible for the workers of America to bring their just and proper share of the weight to bear upon the scales of political and economic decision.

In approaching the next elections we expect to play the game hard, but we shall play it straight. We shall not emulate the tactics of the smear artists and the professional poisonmongers employed so loosely by the leaders of the Old Guard.

But we do intend to exercise our right to place responsibility directly at the door where it properly belongs. In a sound and healthy democratic order, no individual is entitled to the privilege of blind support or to immunity from public criticism. We, at least, shall never extend that privilege or that immunity.

We have absolutely no desire or intent to injure, to degrade, or to detract in any way from the personal popularity or good repute of the present occupant of the White House, for we deplore the slanders that were circulated by many of the members of his own party about previous occupants of the White House. We are concerned, and vitally concerned, with the content of the policies and programs that issue from the White House, and we intend to speak our minds fully and freely on that score.

I have no interest at all in the personal life or habits of anyone in public office. A President who is willing to stand up and fight for, as well as to talk about, the rights and interests of the people when the occasion demands it would draw nothing but praise from me, though he played golf, pool, or poker from sun to sun. I am interested in where his convictions and his policies are, and not his person.

And when he speaks in a liberal or humanitarian vein I want to see if his budget is in line with what he says before reaching any final judgment—for the road to perdition is paved with pious statements and good intentions.

If it is to survive at all, the cause of human progress must be served, not only at home, but abroad as well. The trade-union movement is endeavoring to live up to that responsibility. Through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and through our participation in and support of the International Labor Organization, we are trying to extend to ordinary people everywhere the means with which to attain their legitimate aspirations by democratic means. We are engaged at close quarters with the forces of Communist tyranny in the battle to determine who shall lead the workers of the world.

That battle is in a crucial phase today. The Soviet Union has fully realized something that our own Government has almost

totally ignored—the importance of the International Labor Organization as an avenue to the minds and loyalties of the plain people of the world, whose attitudes, in the long run, will count for far more than the friendship of kings, generals, diplomats, and foreign ministers. The Soviet Union has now gained admission into the ILO and is endeavoring to frustrate its campaign against slave labor, and to pervert its important operations to the service of its own ends. The only enlightened way in which we can respond to this challenge is to expand and to make more meaningful our own role in the work of the organization. This requires a far greater degree of public understanding and appreciation of the work of the ILO than now exists. The ADA, as well as other liberal groups, can do a great deal to help us bring this about.

The liberal movement in this country, like our trade union movement, has been plagued by disunity. I hope that in the months to come you will direct yourselves to the task of laying the necessary groundwork for success, by working to bring about a greater measure of unity of purpose and action among all of those who are in agreement with your principles and your program. Only then can you hope to center the attention of the public upon the needs that require attention and the shortcomings that demand reform, and to create the kind of an atmosphere in which, once again, social progress is posible.

Integration in the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which was published in the Indianola (Miss.) Enterprise on Thursday, March 17, 1955, which included a letter by Mr. T. M. Pitts, mayor of Indianola, Miss. The letter is an answer to a magazine article which recently appeared in Look magazine, which was written by Mr. Hodding Carter, editor of a newspaper at Greenville, Miss.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAYOR PITTS PROTESTS CARTER ARTICLE IN RECENT LOOK MAGAZINE IN LETTER

In a letter to Lawrence K. Grossman, of Look magazine, Mayor T. M. Pitts cites some facts which failed to appear in the article which recently appeared in the widely circulated magazine.

The letter is as follows:

"Reading Mr. Hodding Carter's article in the March 22 issue of Look magazine, A Wave of Terror Threatens the South, is like starting in the middle of a book. The wave of terror which followed the War Between the States is perhaps the reason the South is now opposed to integration of the races.

"With the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, the best friend the South had in those days, little men came into power and there followed the darkest pages in American history this section has ever known, the reconstruction period. Able and honest men in governmental positions were replaced by irresponsible, thieving rascals, renegates from the North who used the Negroes of the South to further their ends. With the backing of a friendly Congress, a subservient Federal Court, and the bayonets of the Federal troops, conditions reached the state where white people were unable to secure justice in any court. They were afraid to walk the streets, even in the daytime, for fear of being attacked, robbed, or killed.

"A similar situation threatens today. Little men are now in power; there is a subservient Federal Court; only an order need be given to have Federal troops in our midst. Carpetbaggers and scalawags, with the aid of such organizations as the NAACP, could soon have the reconstruction period in full operation again.

"Perhaps this introduction explains why the South, and especially Mississippi, became alarmed when the Supreme Court handed the decision on integration last year. It was evident that concerted action would be needed in order that all legal courses be used. So was born the Citizen's Council.

"Mr. Carter is letting his imagination run wild when he compares the purpose of the council with the Ku Klux Klan of 1920. The purpose of the citizens' council includes preserving separation of white and colored races, working out problems on a local or State level without interference of outside agitative groups, and obtaining these ends through legal measures and court actions. One of the purposes of the council is to prevent such hot-headed action as Mr. Carter attributed to some fictitious town marshal.

"Economic pressure to the extent that Mr. Carter infers has not been used. Our local Negro physician is still carrying on his practice in the county hospital. Credit has not been denied where credit was due and there have been no mortgages foreclosed as a punishment for opinions. The Federal Government has already practiced more economic pressure than the citizens' council ever had in mind. Accepted labor-union practices of using strikes, boycotts, or goon squads, to put their ideas over have not been used by the citizens' councils.

"In order to understand the man, Hodding Carter, a little better I would recommend that you read his autobiography, Where Main Street Meets the River. This book is well written and very interesting, but it leaves the reader with no doubt that Mr. Carter has been a knight in shining armor, crusading for this or that, or criticizing someone all his life. As a result he has achieved fame and fortune. To me he is a fanatical demagog with an egotistical and arrogant bearing. He has set himself up as an interpreter of conditions in the South and in so doing resorts to misstatements and twisting of facts.

"You can see in this article that Mr. Carter is attempting to aline the Jews and Catholics against the citizens' council. Our local chapter has both Jews and Catholics as members. One of the most surprised persons to read that the citizens' councils were against Catholicism was a young stenographer in the council office, herself a Catholic. The council does not hold any ill will toward any individual regardless of race, creed, or color, so long as there is no advocation of integration or mongrelization of the races.

"I should like to call to Mr. Carter's attention that it is against the law and customs in Mississippi to stage mixed athletic events. If the people desire to stage such events they should first get the law changed instead of letting Mr. Carter or some promoter take the law into his own hands.

"Mr. Carter was misinformed regarding the program of the meeting of the Sons and Daughters of the Knights of Tabor. The primary purpose of this organization is to take care of the sick in their membership and to maintain a hospital at Mound Bayou, supported by their membership dues.

"The local chapter of this organization asked me as mayor of Indianola to give the address of welcome. When I saw listed on their program "Modern Youth and Present Day Education," I told them I would not welcome any group where racial agitation was discussed or advocated. In conference with their State officers, Mayor Green, from Mound Bayou, the superintendent of colored schools, Hollandale, a member from Greenville whose name I cannot recall, Mr. Arthur B. Clark, Sr., and I were assured that the subject in question had nothing to do with the recent Supreme Court ruling. This organization was not told that they could not meet in Indianola but that they would not be welcomed by the mayor if their program was to foster racial discord. I gave the welcome address and I understand they had a successful meeting. We shall be glad to have them return whenever they wish.

"It seems to be all right for organized and well-financed racial agitating groups to operate in Mississippi, but when the white people of the South form a counter organization it is all wrong. The South, Mississippi in particular, is determined not to have a modern reconstruction period where the NAACP and kindred organizations force their will upon the people.

"Our crusading knight in shiping armor from Greenville is still raking in the cash from this crusade. The Citizens' Councils are passing laws to protect the interest of the people of Mississippi and the South. Both sides are happy at present.

"T. M. PITTS,
"Mayor of Indianola."

Playing Politics With Value of the Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the March 19 issue of the Magazine of Wall Street entitled "Playing Politics With Value of the Dollar." This article was written by Mr. McLellan Smith, Washington correspondent for the Delaware State News, of Dover, Del., and a frequent contributor to nationally circulated financial and business periodicals.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLAYING POLITICS WITH VALUE OF THE DOLLAR

(By McLellan Smith)

When President Eisenhower labeled the Democrat-inspired proposal to cut income taxes as "some kind of height of fiscal irresponsibility," he was not indulging in the rhetoric of partisan political attack.

An examination of the surrounding circumstances, including the facts of national fiscal life, the country's debt position—and not forgetting the partisan motivation—shows that the President's term was more descriptive than condemnatory.

As of March 1 we had a dollar worth 52.1 cents (1926=100) and were moving toward a balanced budget. Last year the dollar was worth 50 cents as the budget deficit was around $2 billion higher than now. There is a direct relationship between budget deficits and the value of the dollar; when the

former is high, the dollar moves downward, when the deficit is low, the dollar buys more.

The politically inspired $20 slash for everyone, effective next January 1, would have meant that receipts would be slashed by $2.4 billion in a single year, about $800 million of which would be clipped from fiscal 1956 receipts. Further, it would have removed around 5 million individuals from the Federal income-tax rolls, making them parasites except for their payments of excise levies and indirect tax payments through their purchases of goods and services from tax-paying industries—all of which include their Federal taxes in the prices of those goods or services.

Wisely, President Eisenhower has proposed no further tax cuts until they can be justified by reductions in spending and increased revenue derived from the Nation's economic growth. This economic growth seems reasonably assured, although not at the rate many economists deem necessary. Reductions in spending appear to be remote as Congress prepares to hike the cost of the Federal civilian payroll, give substantial pay boosts to the Armed Forces, and is confronted with a not-so-cold war in Asia which may flare up white heat at any moment.

THREAT IN PREMATURE TAX CUT

The politically inspired tax slash is in direct opposition to the administration's successful efforts of the past 2 years to reduce deficit financing in an approach to a balanced budget. Such cuts impose a direct threat to the welfare of everyone—rich and poor alike. It could only bring about inflation, an evil which has left a trail of wrecked nations in the pages of history.

In brief, the cut would be nothing more than the individual lending to himself. And, in making the loan to himself, he would become responsible for principal and interest. For example, for every $20 the taxpayer does not pay into the Treasury, the Government would have to borrow a like amount. This would cause a further imbalance of the budget and hike the public debt. When the public debt mounts and the budget gets further out of kilter, the value of the dollar moves downward, the cost of living moves up. We have inflation. Thus the $20 slash would hurt those who can least afford it. Inflation hits the little people much harder than it hits the rich.

Let's take a brief look at what budget deficits do to the value of the dollar. The estimated budget deficit for fiscal 1955, which ends next June 30, is $4.5 billion. As the current fiscal year opened, the dollar had a purchasing power slightly in excess of 50 cents (1926=100). As the year wore along, the dollar inched up. When the fiscal 1956 budget went to Congress last January, the dollar had moved close to 51 cents. When it was fully understood that the estimated deficit for fiscal 1956 was $2.5 billion, an almost 50 percent decline from the current year, the dollar moved up to 52.1 cents as of March 1.

Reverse the situation, that is, through a premature tax cut, bring about a larger budget deficit, and the dollar will start cellarward again. And any ill-advised cut could very well bring the 1956 budget deficit up by several billions more and project a 1957 budget deficit quite out of hand.

Here's how it could happen.

A $20 slash—or its equivalent—would deprive the Treasury of $2.3 billion in a single year, $800 million of which would be whittled from fiscal 1956 revenue. The Armed Forces are slated for $750 million in pay hikes beginning July 1. Half the impact of this will be on fiscal 1956 disbursements. Congress now proposes to raise the civilian payrolls by approximately $900 million annually, half of which would be chargeable to fiscal 1956. Add the three items—tax cut, Armed Forces pay increases, and increased civilian payroll—they come to $1.625 billion, swelling the 1956 budget deficit from $2.4 billion to slightly more than $4 billion.

MORE DOLLAR DEPRECIATION?

There is no absolutely accurate way to project fiscal 1957, first full year in which the Treasury would feel the total impact of new cuts. However, with fiscal 1956 as a base, and assuming that revenues in 1957 will be approximately at fiscal 1956 levels, we see an even greater budget deficit, a larger public debt and more inflation, and a further depreciated dollar.

Still using fiscal 1956 and its $2.4 billion budget deficit as a base, and assuming that fiscal 1957 revenues are at the fiscal 1956 level, we find as follows:

	Billions
Revenue lost through $20 slash	$2.300
Increased civilian payroll	.900
Increased Armed Forces pay	.750
Budget deficit	3.950

To be remembered, Congress is months away from the end of the current session. It is considering increased appropriations for highways, for educational facilities, and for public-works projects. Next year is an election year. All of these may be hiked—highways, education, and public works. The hikes will be politically motivated, but their effect on the budget imbalance will be just as bad as if they were spiritually inspired. These 3 may tote up to another $400 million—not tabulated or accounted for here.

Why is the proposed $20 cut—or any cut like it—contrary to the public interest?

The answer is not too complicated. The cut would reverse the successful trend of the administration during the last 2 years in reducing deficits and working toward a balanced budget. The 1953 fiscal deficit was nearly $9.5 billion, while the projected deficit for fiscal 1954 inched close to $10 billion.

ADMINISTRATIVE TAX CUTS

Planned spending for fiscal 1954 was slashed by more than $10 billion, reducing the 1954 deficit by $6 billion. This moved two-thirds of the way toward a balanced budget. Hard on the heels of this accomplishment, the administration, with the help of Congress, cut taxes by $7.4 billion. The administration envisages other tax cuts, but only at such times as it can see them justified by lowered spending and increased revenue from an economic growth which would broaden the tax base.

In his last state of the Union message, President Eisenhower said, "I am hopeful that such tax reductions can be made next year," but only if the economic growth of the Nation and spending cuts justified such reduction. Cuts at the present time, without indication of where substitute revenue will come from—except through borrowing—are nothing more than irresponsible gestures, patently designed to have its effect at the 1956 ballot box.

Here are some of the fiscal facts of life and of the present administration:

Last year's $7.4-billion tax cut helped the "little people" more than it helped those in the higher brackets. In brief, the cut amounted to around 10 percent for the small taxpayer, around 2 percent for the wealthy. There was a $1-billion cut in excise levies on goods in everyday use, and the so-called little people reaped most of the advantage.

WHEN TAX CUTS ARE CONSTRUCTIVE

The tax slashes of a year ago promoted the investment of more money in plant equipment and tools. Investments of this type create jobs. Not to be overlooked is the resultant increased confidence in Government as it moves toward the balanced budget. And bear in mind, as the budget imbalance moves down the value of the dollar moves up.

Several weeks ago the Bureau of Labor Statistics released its report on the cost-of-living index for the month of January. That report revealed that the dollar has stopped its downward trend. Will the dollar move up or down in value with relation to food, clothing, and shelter? There are two potential answers—maintain our present tax structure, and the trend will be upward; kick the tax structure in the teeth with unwarranted slashes, and the trend will be reversed.

In the words of Treasury Secretary Humphrey, "Inflation, rampant for the past several years, has been checked. The cost of living has not increased now for over 2 years as compared with the fact that it almost doubled in the 15 previous years. This has been worth billions of dollars to millions of Americans. This checking of inflation has protected * * * the full value of savings * * * and savings in insurance policies and pension funds."

It would not be amiss to have a brief survey of things the administration has done in the past 2 years to effect savings for the taxpayer. In fiscal 1953, the Federal civil payroll, set by the previous administration, stood at $9.9 billion. President Eisenhower moved into the White House in January of that year, consequently he could slash only the fiscal 1954 civilian payroll. This he did, bringing it down $400 million to $9.5 billion. In the current fiscal year it is estimated at $9.3 billion, another $200 million saving.

COMPARISON OF GOVERNMENT COSTS

When this administration came in, it cost $173 a year to clothe a soldier. This year the cost is down to $159, a $16 saving per man; or, on the cost of Government doing business, around $48 million a year. This has been brought about through efficient, business-like methods in purchasing, not through any lowering of the quality of the soldier's apparel. Similar savings have been effected in Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps.

Elsewhere in the military picture, despite the 20-percent increased cost of fighting aircraft and other attendant increased costs, the Defense Establishment, working under the direction of the President has kept many costs down. In fiscal 1953, and President Eisenhower took office in January of that year, it cost around $60,000 to train a fighter pilot. That cost has not risen one dime.

Through General Services Administration (GSA), the Government's overall purchasing agency, annual savings, through centralized buying, now runs close to $700 million a year. It would be possible to fill far more pages than are available here, simply cataloging the annual savings effected through businesslike procedure, as compared with political expediency, in Federal spending.

The Late John W. Davis

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, a disagreeable task faces me at this time. The ticker has just announced the death of John W. Davis, in a hospital at Charleston, S. C., from a sudden attack of pneumonia.

Mr. Davis, one of West Virginia's best known citizens and one of the Nation's outstanding legal minds, it will be recalled, served West Virginia and the particular district I have the honor to rep-

resent at the present time in the Congress of the United States, from 1910 until some time in 1913, when the late President Woodrow Wilson appointed him Solicitor General of the United States, in which capacity he served with great brilliance.

Mr. Davis, it will be recalled, was the Democratic nominee for President in 1924. He will also be remembered in more recent days—and I am sure somebody else will want to pay tribute to him for this service—as representing the State of South Carolina in the recent case in the United States Supreme Court on the question of segregation. May I say that it is unfortunate that this matter was just now brought to my attention, because I know there are many of his friends who served with him years ago in Government who would want to pay tribute to him.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who desire to do so may have the privilege of extending their remarks on the death of John W. Davis at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The Brooklyn Eagle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of March 19, 1955, dealing with the passing of the Brooklyn Eagle.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EAGLE IS SILENCED

The 114-year-old Brooklyn Eagle is the latest victim of an attempt to make labor conditions apply uniformly within an area or an industry without allowance for the individual company's financial ability to meet them.

Although the Eagle was the only daily newspaper in the largest community in America (nearly 3 million residents), it was no match either in size or resources for the seven metropolitan giants across the river in Manhattan. Still, the American Newspaper Guild, representing the paper's news and business office employees, insisted that the Eagle should match the wage pattern set by the Manhattan dailies. In support of that demand, it struck the Eagle 7 weeks ago.

Now the paper's publisher, Frank D. Schroth, has bowed to the inevitable and shut the paper down, throwing 630 people out of work and leaving Brooklyn without a major daily specializing in local coverage.

The passing of the Eagle is tragic, we feel, not only for its effects upon its employees and the community it served but because it follows an ominous trend. We have seen the trend develop in other industries, such as steel and automobiles, where a powerful union imposes the same conditions upon marginal producers as upon industry leaders. If the marginal producer falls by the wayside, it's just too bad.

We cannot see what labor has to gain by encouraging the trend toward monopoly situations which must inevitably require Government controls as onerous to labor as to management.

Federal Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, recently the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a most respected and responsible organization, issued a statement dealing with the Federal security program.

The statement is so cogent and so compelling that I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 15.—The arithmetic of the Federal security program, showing that in at least 9 out of 10 cases Government workers had been suspended on groundless charges, were cited today by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in testimony urging a total reexamination of the Federal loyalty-security program.

Appearing before the Subcommittee on Reorganization of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, Judge David A. Rose, of Boston, chairman of the league's civil-rights committee, reported that a survey made by his organization pointed up the unnecessary hardship and heartache resulting from current security procedures.

These could be avoided, he said, if regulations were revised so that it would not be mandatory to suspend an employee against whom formal charges are filed until his case is adjudicated.

He also expressed the opinion that security officers were guilty of passing the buck instead of properly evaluating security cases. Stricter training and qualifications for such officials are needed, he said.

Judge Rose's testimony was in support of Senate Resolution 21 which calls for establishment of a bipartisan commission of Congressmen, administration leaders, and private citizens to review completely the Federal loyalty-security program. He told the subcommittee, of which Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, is chairman, that "disquiet over the operation of the program makes an independent reexamination almost imperative."

The jurist recited the details of a survey made by ADL among 8 Washington law firms which, he said, have handled more than 450 security cases under the Truman and Eisenhower directives.

"The most striking finding is that these lawyers won more than 90 percent of the cases," he testified. "In other words, in 9 cases out of 10, the formal charges brought by the Government against an employee proved to be groundless. This arithmetic reveals some of the unnecessary hardship and heartache of the security program, because the present policy and practice are that the employee against whom charges are filed must first be suspended.

"In the overwhelming majority of cases, if past experience is a guide, he will ultimately be reinstated with back pay. But that will take an average of 6 months. . . . Meanwhile, the employee will have been severed from his job. A wall of suspicion will have been erected between him and his neighbor and his fellow employees. Demoralization will have set it. Reinstatement with back pay cannot completely undo the damage wrought by the practice of suspending first and hearing afterward."

Judge Rose said there was justification and need for a Federal security program. However, he recommended a workable standard to replace the current principle that a government worker's continued employment must be, as required by the Eisenhower Executive order, "clearly consistent with the interests of national security." He quoted the "unanimous opinion" of the lawyers interviewed by ADL that the existing principle "places too severe a burden on the Government employee."

His criticism of security officers was that "they have failed to stop a thin or hollow case in its tracks, but have preferred to let the issue go to a hearing board for determination.

"We expect a district attorney to have the decency and sense of duty to refuse to take a case to court if it is too thin. We expect a judge to toss out a case without letting it go to the jury if thte evidence has raised no real issue of fact. We should expect no less of security officers," Judge Rose said.

He recommended that security officers be held responsible for passing along "untenable charges" that a preliminary examination or face-to-face meeting with the employee would have exploded.

Changes in the security program which were announced last week by Attorney General Brownell were characterized by Judge Rose as improvements which did not go far enough to remedy "existing injustices and hardships."

"Any security program which confuses honest dissent with disloyalty inflicts grave injustice on loyal Americans and impedes rather than advances the basic objective of protecting the American Government from its external and internal enemies," he said.

Can Small Business Prosper?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 25, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent address entitled "Can Small Business Prosper?" delivered by John W. Douglas, president of the Republic Foil & Metal Mills, Inc., of Danbury, Conn., before the Harvard Business School Club, at Hartford, Conn., on February 16, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN SMALL BUSINESS PROSPER?

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Patten and gentlemen, under any circumstances it would be a pleasure to meet with you here this evening. However, this is a very special occasion for me since I have always dreamt that I, a Yale man, might have a captive Harvard audience. Of course, the dream did not contemplate discussing

such a dry subject as small business; nevertheless, any port in a storm.

The Small Business Act of 1953 defines a small business as one which is independently owned and operated and which is not dominant in its field of operation. This seems to be as good a definition as any I have seen. I will direct my remarks, however, to typical small industrial corporations as differentiated from partnerships, distributors, and merchandisers whose problems are often substantially different from those of manufacturers.

As a preface to my remarks, I wish to emphasize that I have no ax to grind and advocate no special favors. In short, my objective is the discussion of the broad aspects of industrial problems as they relate to small manufacturers rather than special problems of specific divisions of our economy.

My qualifications—such as they are—for tackling this assignment are primarily derived from practical experience gained in organizing a small aluminum foil rolling mill in 1945 in a highly competitive field and guiding it through a maze of pitfalls until today it is a successful company which enjoys an enviable reputation for quality and service, a steady record of earnings and a sound financial position although producing less than 5 percent of our national output and employing approximately 125 persons.

Our company is typical of thousands who purchase semifabricated products from suppliers and then compete with these same suppliers in the further processing and sale of fabricated items: I assume, therefore, that our problems are representative to a greater or lesser degree of those of other manufacturers who fit into this broad industrial classification.

It is a well-established fact that the commencement of a business is a hazardous undertaking and at best the chances against success are great. I have often been asked what motivated me to raise a sizable sum of money and start a manufacturing enterprise in the face of such heavy odds. Quite frankly, there were times when I wondered this myself. However, most of us have forgotten that in the afterglow of World War II, the future promised a great big beautiful world of comparatively low taxes and real incentive to risk money. These horizons have since become so shrouded in fog as to discourage the employment of pioneering initiative and risk capital in new manufacturing enterprises. It is this condition which so alarms me and must be corrected if we are to enjoy a sound competitive economic growth.

COMPETITION WITH BIG CORPORATIONS

It is popular to attribute a large share of the blame for small companies' problems to big business monopolies. This is a favorite explanation because it has undeniable political and emotional appeal. However, it has been my experience that the vast majority of large corporations are responsible organizations staffed by able and experienced executives who clearly understand that their selfish interests—if you will—lie in the growth of a healthy competitive economy.

From time to time, there are instances of large corporations exercising their power to destroy small companies either by design or chance. There are also instances of the employment of unethical and irresponsible practices by small companies. Until the Judgment Day, no segment of our industry will ever be entirely free from wrongdoing nor will the degree of bigness or smallness ever establish a just measure of responsibility and the right to do business. Certainly, determination as to whether a corporation constitutes a monopoly should be based upon its record in meeting its obligation to its industry and the public and not upon its size alone.

While mass producers display marked superiority in certain phases of industrial production and merchandising, small companies often offer services, quality, and prices which their large competitors cannot hope to meet. Consequently, the various segments of our industrial society have their own important niches and under normal conditions live together profitably.

THE EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON SMALL CORPORATIONS

Where should the principal blame rest for the spreading stagnation of small corporations and the abnormal rash of mergers and acquisitions which are throwing our economy out of balance? The evidence points clearly to Federal policies, laws, and regulations. It would be foolish to state that the Government has created this condition by design. However, the planning of the very economists, tax experts, and politicians who claim to champion the rights of the little man, has fostered big government, big business, and big labor unions, who in turn make natural, if quarrelsome, bedfellows.

The Government's basic responsibility is to make equitable laws and to police them. However, commencing in 1933, the Government passed a series of regulations relative to matters normally considered to be within the province of private industry. These regulations disturbed the equilibrium and in turn led to more Government tinkering. They also afforded opportunities for pressure groups, including industries and corporations, to promote their self-interests which further aggravated the condition. Needless to say, World War II served to compound the confusion which the administration did little to unsnarl in the following years.

The result of this policy has been the creation of an unhealthy and unnatural business climate. On top of this condition, the sharply increased tax burdens struck at the very foundations of small business.

THE EXCESS-PROFITS TAX

Taxes, of necessity, attained enormous heights during World War II and remained at a sufficiently high level during 1946 through 1949 to discourage the adequate siphoning of risk capital to new manufacturing enterprises. However, it was the reenactment of the excess-profits tax following the start of the Korean war in 1950 which dealt new, small, and marginal corporations a staggering blow. This act was levied at the rate of 30 percent on all corporate earnings in excess of 83 percent of base-period earnings where the base period was the 3 most profitable years for the 4-year period, 1946–49. Special provisions were included to give recognition to new enterprises and the needs of certain others to whom the overall formulas could not be applied. Unfortunately, in most instances, the so-called relief provisions afforded little or no relief.

During World War II, the principles of this form of taxation were demonstrated to be unsound and discriminatory and to work undue hardships on small and growing corporations. Yet within 5 years of its original expiration, the political appeal of the magical misnomer "excess profits" heavily outweighed this knowledge on the part of the administration, Members of Congress, and Government tax advisers. Once passed, Congressmen wept crocodile tears and vigorously concurred to the injustice of the tax. However, it was this tax which was extended 6 months beyond its original expiration date at the insistence of the Secretary of the Treasury in the same breath in which he termed it "an iniquity as well as an inequity."

Mark Twain is credited with the observation that everyone complains about the weather but no one does anything about it. This seems to have been a reasonable description of Washington's approach to excess-profits legislation. Volumes of testimony and numerous congressional reports have now built an ironclad cause against this form of taxation. Let us sincerely hope that the Government has at last learned a lesson.

THE EFFECTS OF ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION

Along with the excess-profits-tax provisions and an increase in the taxable base, the Revenue Act of 1950 made provision for accelerated depreciation of facilities constructed or installed to promote defense production through investment of private capital. This amortization was made effective through the issuance of certificates of necessity which permit a company to amortize various percentages of a new facility over a 5-year period instead of over its normal useful life. The underlying principle behind certificates of necessity is to expand private industry's productive capacity to meet mobilization goals while holding Government ownership of defense facilities to a minimum. While this objective is undeniably sound, certificates, in many instances, have permitted companies to build facilities applicable for peacetime use on cheap tax dollars. As the law now reads, at the end of the 5-year grace period, these corporations will be penalized by higher taxes because of the accelerated amortization. However, pressures are already mounting in Washington to grant these beneficiaries extended tax relief or additional certificates of necessity for facilities which would normally be built without need for special tax benefits. This can be detected in the growing tendency to stretch the definition of facilities to promote national defense—a broad description under any circumstances.

Below are listed the dollars of certificates authorized 1950 through 1954:

1950 (November-December)	1,353,525,000
1951	11,433,867,000
1952	12,639,496,000
1953	4,807,211,000
1954	1,823,877,000

The total has tapered sharply since the peak in 1952. However, the volume remains considerable.

In addition to defense certificates of necessity, the Government is offering tax amortization certificates to companies who build in labor-surplus areas. This dangerous plan presents endless opportunities for political wirepulling and can compound regional and corporate injustices. It is an intrusion upon State and local rights which will do nothing to bolster the prestige of the Federal Government.

THE DUAL STANDARD OF TAXATION AND ITS RESULTS

The net effect of special tax benefits has been the establishment of a dual standard of taxation—one often applying to large, well-established corporations, the other to new and small companies.

This condition can lead to very serious results. For example, for the past 4 years, some integrated producers of basic raw materials have enjoyed tax rates as much as 20 percent below those of competitors, who, of necessity, may also be customers. The tax advantages and other incentives offered by the Government to increase basic production now tend to discourage new companies from entering competition unless sharp price increases are assured. However, such price increases on basic materials might enable established producers to lower prices of finished products, thereby driving their nonintegrated competitors out of business. Thus the Government has created a Frankenstein monster which presents a real challenge to industry.

THE 1954 TAX ACT

During the 1954 session, Congress introduced several tax reforms, the most important of which are referred to herewith.

1. The law permits more rapid depreciation of assets acquired during 1954 and thereafter and allows more area of choice in computing depreciation of all assets. These provisions will be of considerable aid to growth corporations.

2. Dividend credit provisions take out some of the sting of double taxation and improve the climate for investment capital.

3. Liberalized treatment is provided for net losses, organization, research, and development expenses, accumulation of surplus and reserves for estimated expenses.

4. The law tightened provisions relating to acquisitions of net-loss companies and closed certain other loopholes. Perhaps this section of the act was inspired by the following advertisement which appeared in the March 6, 1953, edition of the Wall Street Journal:

"Wanted, to buy profit-making corporation, by corporation with $600,000 tax loss; existing management retained. Write full particulars to Box A-178, the Wall Street Journal."

Whereas these changes are noteworthy steps in the right direction, they are not the final answer. Small business is forced to rely to a very major extent upon retained earnings and depreciation allowances for its capital needs, since the floating of new security issues and borrowing proves very difficult. Under the circumstances, excessive taxation can become a prime weapon of destruction.

Let us look at how lethal that weapon has proved to be since 1950. During the 3-year period of 1951 through 1953, the working capital of all manufacturing companies increased approximately $6,300,000,000. However, while companies having assets of $100 million or more added to their working capital by more than $5 billion, the working capital of those having assets of less than $1 million shrank by $550 million. While total assets of manufacturing corporations increased by $25 billion, assets declined among those having total assets of less than $1 million. Earned surplus and surplus reserves of all manufacturers increased approximately $9 billion. Yet those of an asset size of less than $1 million increased by only $27 million.

The serious decline in the fortunes of small business can be reversed only through broad tax relief granted promptly. In spite of steadily mounting inflation, the $25,000 surtax base has remained unchanged since 1950 and is now of inconsequential assistance to any except the smallest companies. Assuming this principle of taxation to be sound, a substantial increase in the surtax base is long overdue and would afford wide relief without discrimination against any group. However, no segment of our corporate economy can absorb 52 percent taxes indefinitely. The administration should not fail in 1956 to make good on its 1952 pledges to reduce corporate taxes.

UNIONS AND SMALL BUSINESS

Another matter which is of grave concern to small business is the rapid trend toward industrywide wage bargaining on a national scale. Nearly all businessmen recognize and accept the fact that unions occupy a vitally important position in our economy. However, investors, the public, and workers have every right to expect the same legal protection against irresponsible, unbridled and monopolistic union practices as they now have against such practices on the part of corporations. Yet very few legal restrictions have been placed upon union activities nor are they subject to the antitrust laws applicable to business.

It goes without saying that mass production groups such as automobiles and basic steel can pay workers more than less mechanized producers. It is equally true that large, well established, and prosperous industries are in a position to pay rates and fringe benefits which might well destroy new and small corporations or marginal producers. However, in spite of the economic facts and democratic principles involved, unions are pressing for labor bargaining on a national scale using industry-crippling strikes as their weapon to club key producers into submission. We need only turn to Europe to see the disastrous results of nationwide politically dominated wage agreements. Our Government well knows the consequences of unbridled power in the hands of any group. We have every right to expect congressional action to place proper restrictions upon the activities of this segment of our economy.

THE TARIFF AND SMALL BUSINESS

The problems relating to the tariff are highly complex and controversial. Proponents and critics are equally emphatic in their opinions depending upon the effects of international trade upon their interests. We do not have time here to debate the pros and cons of this issue. However, it is worth noting that heavy industry which once was the champion of protection, can now, in many instances, be counted among the strongest supporters of reduced tariffs while industries which have heavy labor costs per sales dollar, including most small businesses, oppose tariff reduction.

It is most unfortunate and may prove very costly that tariff agreements have become an international bargaining medium on the part of the State Department whose past record indicates a certain lack of Yankee shrewdness, ingenuity, and hard-headedness. I feel sure that foreign friendship cannot be bought by gifts and favors. Nor do I believe that industries and corporations should be used as pawns to international agreements. I am confident that tariff reductions which unduly injure any segment of our domestic economy will be contrary to the best interests of the United States.

Finally, I have noted proposals on the part of responsible Government officials to the effect that industries and corporations injured by tariff reductions should be granted special subsidies or tax concessions. This represents bureaucratic muddling at it confused worst and doesn't warrant intelligent argument beyond the observation that it typifies the kind of Government thinking which really frightens business.

THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Before closing, I wish to mention the Small Business Administration, which was established by act of Congress in July 1953 to assume not only the functions of the defunct Small Defense Plants Administration and the Reconstruction Finance Corp., but also to offer a broad scope of Government assistance to small business. Whereas I have had no contact with this group, I suspect that Government agencies of this type serve more of a political than a practical purpose. It is my understanding that to date the Small Business Administration has not justified the substantial appropriation allotted for its operation. Whether it will be reconstituted upon its termination date of June 30, 1955, remains doubtful.

Basically, small business must stand on its own feet. Companies which are undercapitalized, lack sound management experience and engineering ability, or enter a marginal field of endeavor should not look to the Government for special favors. There is no law which forces a company to start in business. There should be no undue protection against self-inflicted failure.

CONCLUSION

To summarize, our national economy can be compared to an expensive watch. Tinkering harms its timing, and its value will ultimately be destroyed unless it is repaired by an expert and then permitted to operate smoothly without undue disturbance.

The Government has been tinkering with business for more than 20 years, until we have lost our balance and our sense of values. The time is long overdue for a complete overhaul of tax and other laws for the purpose of reducing inequities and restoring proper balances. This goal can be achieved only by the substitution of vigorous leadership for the jigsaw approach of the past. Such leadership would replenish the confidence needed to encourage risk capital and permit the prosperous growth of small corporations. Washington holds the key to the future.

Destroy Yalta and You Destroy the Possibility of a Free Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 23, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, printed below is a letter from a friend which might well have been captioned: "Political Pygmies: Destroy Yalta and You Destroy the Possibility of a Free Poland."

In it, American-born, American-reared George Otlowski, president of the American Publishing Co., of Perth Amboy, N. J., cautions those who had no ideas for victory and who became political giants with their hindsight when the war was won, to study the implications involved in vitiating the Yalta accords. The letter follows:

AMERICAN PUBLISHING CO., INC.,
Perth Amboy, N. J., March 22, 1955.

Hon. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: For the longest time, in and out of Congress, much was made of the supposed insidiousness of Yalta. There were many Congressmen who used this agreement as a catch-all phrase to get votes in Polish-American districts.

The so-called secret agreements at Yalta were supposed to have sold Poland and the Eastern European countries down the river to communism.

Many Congressmen rode this political horse until it was exhausted the other day by the public revelation of the Yalta agreement.

This so-called secret and insidious document reveals nothing else but the sincere and honest efforts of Roosevelt and Churchill to try to establish a free and independent Poland at Yalta. The fact that Stalin agreed to this document, and after it was signed threw it in a Red barbage can, does not detract from the high purpose of the instrument itself.

If Poland is ever to be free, its freedom will rest upon the Yalta agreement. Destroy Yalta and you destroy the possibility of a free Poland. It's as simple as that. This is what you must tell the Congressmen who used the Yalta agreement as a political subterfuge to try to fool the American people that this agreement was a sellout.

For years these Congressmen were having a good time on a political hayride, mouthing and hollering about this "sellout of democratic countries." Tell them that this was cheap political trickery that has come to its own end now.

They based appeals to the Polish-American voters upon this trickery. Tell them that that will no longer work. These Americans are politically mature and they cannot be fooled by the insinuations that were made about Yalta. The Yalta document can now be read by all.

The Yalta agreement as revealed merely covered four essential points:

1. Russia's entry into the war against Japan.

2. Dismemberment and control of Germany.

3. The establishment of a free and independent Poland.

4. The formation of the United Nations.

The fact that the Russian Government never lived up to this agreement does not detract from its high purpose even when it is viewed today, and even though it has been perverted and scuttled by the Communists.

The political pygmies who were quiet during the war and who had no ideas for victory became the political giants with their hindsight after the war was won as to what should have been done at Yalta. After the war, these same political pygmies would have the American people believe that the war was won, that the Nazi and Japanese war machines were crushed by a series of mistakes, instead of the great leadership that won the war—the leadership represented by Roosevelt and Churchill.

Tell these political pygmies of doom to go back to their holes to fight their small fights, to raise their soiled standards with squabbling and bickering among lesser people—lesser people than Americans, who by their nature have always set their sights for bigger tasks in the full light of the sun. Tell these political pygmies that they have squeezed the Yalta sponge dry. The record now speaks for itself.

America must constantly remind the Russian Government of the promises that they made at Yalta and it must insist that the Russian Government keep these promises to reestablish freedom in Eastern Europe.

Yalta is the instrument by which a free and independent Poland must be resurrected.

The freedom and independence of Eastern Europe rests with Yalta. The free world must be constantly reminded of this and our State Department must constantly strive to have Russia live up to the real and full meaning of Yalta.

Sincerely,

GEORGE OTLOWSKI,
Publisher, Glos Narodu, American Citizen, Polish American Weekly.

Burley Tobacco Acreage Allotments and Marketing Quotas

SPEECH
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4951) directing a redetermination of the national marketing quota for burley tobacco for the 1955–56 marketing year, and for other purposes.

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Chairman, for sometime—in fact, since its inception—we have been very proud, indeed, of our tobacco problem. It has worked well because the growers have been willing and anxious to follow the recommendations of the Department as to production. They have acreage allotments and marketing quotas. They have at all times in the burley tobacco, flue-cured tobacco, and dark fired type governed themselves according to the marketing quotas and acreage allotments in line with the recommendations of the Department and because they have kept their supply in line with the needs, the program has worked well. But for the past several years the production of burley tobacco per acre has increased tremendously. The farmers, by very careful planning and following the advice of experts, have increased their yield. We find that last year, in the fall, when the Department of Agriculture estimated the supply of burley tobacco, they were wrong by a considerable percent. They estimated that we would have a production of approximately 532 million pounds, but when the crop was sold it was actually 670 million pounds. So we find that we now have a carryover of a 3½-year supply.

Mr. PERKINS. What is the normal supply?

Mr. ABBITT. Heretofore, before now, the normal supply was 2.6 years; but we find now that the disappearance is not nearly as much as over the 5-year period. Due to our good doctor friends, our ladies, and perhaps some others, not as much tobacco is being consumed now as in the past.

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ABBITT. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. BURNSIDE. Is it not true that at this time there are 3.5 years' usings based on current levels of disappearance according to the Department of Agriculture 1954 statement—Commodity Stabilization Service, Tobacco Division—which would be seven-tenths of a year above desired level, or 2.8 years.

Mr. ABBITT. That is if you went by the old disappearance formula, but if you go by the true disappearance formula, the actual disappearance formula, you have far more than that on hand. What we have to do is face realities.

Mr. BURNSIDE. The gentleman will recognize that according to the statement of the Department of Agriculture at this time there is seven-tenths of a year's supply on hand?

Mr. ABBITT. Is the gentleman saying that we should not have any reduction in our tobacco quota?

Mr. BURNSIDE. No. I am basing it on the statement that the Department of Agriculture has put out.

Mr. ABBITT. I do not controvert what the gentleman says. I would like to know whether he says we should have any reduction?

Mr. BURNSIDE. Yes; I agree with the reduction. As a matter of fact, I agree with every recommendation that the eight State committee reported, but they do not recommend getting under seven-tenths or six-tenths.

Mr. ABBITT. The gentleman was in favor of increasing the minimum to 1 acre and introduced a bill to that effect.

Mr. BURNSIDE. At one time, that is true.

Mr. ABBITT. Does the gentleman think that is wrong?

Mr. BURNSIDE. I would like to see it at 1 acre because our small farmers have so little to live on, but we have to face facts.

Mr. ABBITT. I wish we could have 2½ acres or more. What I am saying here is that if we want to continue any program, if we want to have a burley-tobacco program, if we believe in a farm program, we have to have this bill, in my opinion.

It does a number of things. We find that in the burley-tobacco sections, as well as possibly some other sections, more tobacco is being raised by the farmers than they were allotted. When they sell this excess tobacco, they pay under the present law a 50-percent penalty, but they get credit in their history and in establishing future allotments for this excessive tobacco. So, the Department at the beginning of the year, when they found out that they had underestimated the supply, held meetings in the burley-tobacco section and tried to ascertain what could be done to improve the program. They held two such meetings. Then word came to our subcommittee that something needed to be done for the tobacco program. We called a meeting of our subcommittee and called the Department officials down, and they made five recommendations.

One was that the act be amended to permit the Department to make a redetermination of the allotments for 1955. Under the present law, once the allotment has been announced, it cannot be cut. So, if we are to have a redetermination, we have got to have this act, and apparently everybody agrees that we have to have a redetermination if we are going to keep our program.

In addition to that, they recommended that the penalty on excess tobacco be raised from 50 percent to 75 percent. That is in this bill, and apparently everybody agrees on that.

They also recommended that no longer could any excess tobacco harvested be counted in future history. This bill takes care of that, and apparently everybody agrees on those three features.

Now, the controversial provision was explained by our able chairman, who knows the tobacco program so well. In the burley-type program we have minimum allotments. The minimum is seven-tenths of an acre. That means a vast number of growers, when the others take cuts, cannot take any. The Department pointed out to us that this was one of the big problems, and it was suggested by a number of people—as a matter of fact, the majority of those who testified—that we eliminate the minimum acreage-allotment provision. As a matter of compromise, this bill drops the minimum acreage from seven-tenths of an acre to five-tenths, and that is the controversy.

Now, in addition to that, here is the crux of the matter as I see it. This bill provides that if it goes into law, after the Secretary makes a redetermination of the allotment and after the new allotment has been announced—and, by the way, the bill also limits it to 25 percent—after the allotment has been announced, then the growers are given the privilege and opportunity of voting as to whether or not they will accept the allotment as announced by the Secretary, and with one exception all of the growers that appeared before our subcommittee approved that proposal.

I hope that you will save our tobacco program and go along with the committee on this bill.

H. R. 12

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, after our Easter recess the House will have before it for consideration H. R. 12, a bill reported out of the Committee on Agriculture, which would rescind the action of the 83d Congress wherein a system of sliding-scale parity was written into the Agriculture Act of 1949, as amended.

The reasons advanced by the majority committee report for taking this action are based on the relatively low level of farm income. Farm costs remain high.

The inconsistency in the reasoning of the majority report accompanying H. R. 12 should be obvious. The restoration of the 90 percent of parity, as H. R. 12 seeks to do, would perpetuate the situation which has led to present difficulties.

No system of supports for agricultural products can operate successfully without accompanying controls. The higher the support the more rigid the controls. We have already seen this type of support program sag of its own weight. Diminishing returns to the farmer, mounting surpluses and continued high cost of food to the consumer have been to a large extent due to the present price-support programs.

It is my opinion, Mr. Speaker, that the answer lies not in continued high rigid supports, but in better distribution and merchandising of our farm products to the consuming public which provides the farmer his fair share of the cost of his product without Federal subsidies. A better job of selling can help the farmer. Rigid supports mean rigid production controls and the little farmer is all too often forced to reduce his operation to one of unsound economic practice. The sliding scale of supports adopted last year may not be the complete or final answer, but does it make sense to discard it before it has even had a chance to operate for one crop season?

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert an editorial on this subject from the New York Times of March 13, entitled "Farm Surpluses":

FARM SURPLUSES

The magnitude of the problem faced by Washington in dealing with farm surpluses is revealed in the latest figures on Government-owned farm products. At the end of 1954 the Government held title to some $4,230,000,000 worth of farm surplus food and fiber and was incurring a daily bill of $700,000 to store them. Moreover, there was almost $3 billion outstanding in farm product loans. Thus more than $7 billion in Federal funds was committed to the farm price support program and this figure represented an increase of $1,500,000,000 in 1 year. Put another way, each American had a $44.50 stake in the farm problem by the end of last year.

The present administration has made strenuous efforts to reduce the staggering surplus inventory, but so far has been able to dispose of only relatively small amounts. The Government's disposal program has been slowed by the necessity to avoid depressing farm product prices in the world market since this would alienate friendly nations who must sell their own agricultural products abroad. An attempt is being made to open and to develop new markets for our surpluses, but this at best is a difficult, long-range project. Meanwhile, it is anticipated that the Government will have to take over many of the agricultural products on which it has granted loans, and that its total investment will run to $9 billion before any leveling off begins.

Clearly, farm surpluses remain one of our major domestic problems. Lower price supports becoming effective this year and increased Government disposal activities should tend to check our mounting storage of crops. However, it is plain that the farm price support program will burden the American taxpayer for years to come.

Is There Adequate Medical Training in the United States?

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, when I first came to Congress in 1951, the Korean war was at high tide and one of the first disappointments many of my constituents experienced was their inability, through me, to use the good offices of the House of Representatives to help gain admission for their sons and daughters to out-of-State medical or dental schools. New Jersey had neither. It does now. Therein lies the tale of this talk: "Is there adequate medical training in the United States?" I suggest that my colleagues read the following and judge for themselves:

IS THERE ADEQUATE MEDICAL TRAINING IN THE UNITED STATES?

I. HOW MANY MEDICAL SCHOOLS ARE THERE IN THE UNITED STATES?

1. There are 74 approved medical schools and 6 approved schools of basic medical sciences in the United States, including 1 approved medical school in Puerto Rico.

II. HOW MANY STUDENTS ARE THEY TRAINING?

1. Twenty-seven thousand six hundred and five students were enrolled in the country's medical schools and 438 students in schools of basic sciences in 1953–54, making a total of 28,043 persons now preparing to fill the Nation's need for doctors.

2. Six thousand eight hundred and sixteen students graduated from medical schools in the United States during the year ending June 30, 1954. However, it is estimated that about 4,000 doctors are lost each year through death and retirement, so that the actual net increase of doctors was only 2,816.

III. HOW MANY APPLICATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO MEDICAL SCHOOLS ARE RECEIVED?

1. Fourteen thousand six hundred and seventy-eight individuals applied for admission to American medical schools for the college year of 1953–54.

(a) Forty-three percent of these applicants came from 6 States (New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, Illinois, and California).

(b) Applicants from the following 7 States (Delaware, Maine, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Wyoming) represented only 1.4 percent of all persons submitting applications for admission to our medical schools.

(a) Among these 7 States there is only 1 approved medical school—in Vermont.

2. In contrast, a total of 20,000 individuals applied for admission to American medical schools during the college year 1951–52. This drop in the number of applications reflects three things:

(a) The increasing cost of medical school tuition is pricing thousands of potential medical school students out of the market. (New York University recently raised its medical school tuition to $1,000 a year.)

(b) The end of eligibility under the GI bill of rights.

(c) A general feeling among college graduates that it is just too tough to get into medical schools.

IV. HOW MANY OF THESE APPLICANTS WERE ACCEPTED?

1. Fifty-three percent of the 14,678 applicants, 7,489, were admitted as freshmen to the medical colleges in the United States in 1953–54.

(a) 41 percent of all first-year students in 1953–54 in the United States came from the 6 States listed above (New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, Illinois, and California) in which are situated 36 percent of the approved medical schools.

V. WHAT ARE THE DIFFICULTIES ABOUT GAINING ADMISSION TO OUR MEDICAL SCHOOLS?

1. Large numbers of qualified applicants are unable to gain admittance to any medical college in this country because of geographical restrictions.

(a) Thirty-eight percent of the State and municipally owned medical colleges (15 out of 39) restrict enrollment of 1st-year students to residents of the State in which the school is located.

(b) Twenty-three schools limit the number of out-of-State residents to less than 10 percent of the positions in the entering class.

(c) Only 22 schools admit out-of-State residents in numbers equal to more than 50 percent of the positions in the entering class.

All but one of these schools is privately supported.

2. As a result of these geographical restrictions, some medical schools are forced to take nearly everyone who applies, while others can accept only 1 out of every 10 or 15 applicants.

(a) The State medical schools, because of their restrictions against out-of-State students, have fewer applicants than the private medical schools.

(b) Thirty-six percent of all applications (17,434 of 48,586) were made to the 22 schools admitting out-of-State residents to more than 50 percent of the positions in the entering class.

(c) Of the 7,489 freshmen admitted to our medical schools in 1953–54, 1,889, or 25 percent of the total, were admitted to these 22 schools.

3. The basic barrier to increasing the number of physicians is actually the limited capacity of our medical schools. This means that the proportion of students who enter medical school has remained almost constant for the past 20 years, whereas the proportion who receive a college education has more than quadrupled, and the proportion entering engineering has increased sixfold.

VI. HAS THE NUMBER OF MEDICAL SCHOOL GRADUATES INCREASED TO CORRESPOND WITH THE INCREASE IN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES?

No.

1. In 1910, there were 4,440 medical school graduates when the United States population was about 92 million.

2. In 1954, there were 6,816 medical school graduates when the estimated population was 160,927,000.

3. In other words, since 1910 the population has increased 75 percent, yet the annual number of medical school graduates has only increased 54.5 percent.

4. Based on the generally accepted ratio of one active doctor for every 750 people, our

net rise in population in 1954 demanded a net increase of 3,333 new doctors, yet our actual net increase of new doctors was only 2,816 in 1954, a deficit of 517 in 1 year alone, excluding any consideration of the existing shortage of some 20,000 doctors.

VII. HOW MANY DOCTORS ARE IN PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES?

1. As of December 31, 1953, the total number of physicians in the continental United States was 218,522. This includes: 156,333 engaged in private practice; 6,677 in full-time research and teaching and physicians employed by insurance companies, industries, and health departments; 29,161 interns, residents in hospitals, and physicians engaged in hospital administration; 17,040 in Government services; 9,311 retired or not in practice.

VIII. HOW MANY MORE DOCTORS DO WE NEED TO BRING THE REGIONS OF THE NATION WITH THE LOWEST RATIOS OF PHYSICIANS TO POPULATION UP TO THE CURRENT AVERAGE FOR THE NATION?

1. The report made in 1952 by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation stated that in 1960, in order to bring the regions of the Nation with the present lowest ratios of physicians to population up to the current average for the Nation, it would require 22,000 aditional physicians over and above the predicted supply for that year.

(a) This means that between 1952 (when this estimate was made) and 1960 our existing medical schools must train about 2,750 more physicians per year (or roughly 50-percent more medical-school graduates per year than are currently being graduated yearly in order to have these additional 22,000 badly needed physicians in 1960.

IX. HOW MANY MORE DOCTORS WILL WE NEED BY 1960 FOR REASONABLY COMPREHENSIVE MEDICAL CARE FOR THE WHOLE CIVILIAN POPULATION?

1. The report of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, made in 1952, stated that by 1960, the United States will need 30,000 additional physicians over and above the predicted supply for that year for reasonably comprehensive medical care to the whole civilian population, for the pressing needs of public-health services, industrial medicine, mental and tuberculosis staffs, faculties of medical schools and schools of public health, and to meet all the requirements of the Armed Forces at present mobilization levels. This estimate, however, would still leave the physician-population ratio for the country as a whole well below that which prevails in some sections of the country today.

X. HOW MANY MORE DOCTORS WOULD WE NEED BY 1960 FOR THE WHOLE NATION TO HAVE THE SAME PHYSICIAN POPULATION RATIO OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE CENTRAL ATLANTIC STATES?

1. The report of the President's Commission on the health needs of the Nation, made in 1952, stated that in 1960, in order to bring all regions of the United States up to the average physician-population ratio of New England and the Central Atlantic States, it would require 45,000 additional physicians over and above the predicted supply for that year.

(a) This means that between 1952 (when this estimate was made) and 1960 our existing medical schools must train about 5,625 more physicians per year (or roughly twice as many more medical school graduates per year) than are currently being graduated yearly in order to have these additional 45,000 badly needed physicians in 1960.

XI. HOW MUCH MONEY DO DOCTORS EARN YEARLY IN THE UNITED STATES?

1. In 1949 (latest figures available), United States doctors (excluding interns and full-time teachers) averaged $11,058 net. General practitioners of all ages averaged $8,835.

2. In 1950, the average physician earned $11,538.

3. In 1951, the average physician earned $12,518.

4. Among full specialists in independent practice in 1949, the fields in which the largest incomes were made are the following:

	Average net income, 1949
Neurological surgery	$28,628
Pathology	22,284
Gynecology	19,283
Orthopedic surgery	18,809
Roentgenology-radiology	18,540
General surgery	17,765
Obstetrics and gynecology	17,102
Neurology and psychiatry	16,476
Urology	16,370
Cardiology	15,589

5. Among salaried full specialists in 1949, the fields in which the largest incomes were made are the following:

	Average net income, 1949
Roentgenology-radiology	$12,326
Pathology	11,745
Multiple specialties	10,742
Ophthalmology-otolaryngology	10,644
Industrial practice	10,271
Anesthesia	10,034
Orthopedic surgery	9,580
General surgery	9,283
Urology	9,218
Physical medicine	8,500

XII. WHICH ARE THE LARGEST MEDICAL SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES?

The first 10 medical schools with the largest enrollments for 1953–54 are:

	State	Enrollment	Graduates
1. University of Tennessee	Tennessee	750	159
2. University of Michigan	Michigan	728	155
3. University of Illinois	Illinois	667	169
4. Jefferson Medical College	Pennsylvania	666	163
5. University of Texas, Galveston	Texas	599	132
6. Indiana University School of Medicine	Indiana	575	139
7. Ohio State University College of Medicine	Ohio	575	136
8. State University of New York, New York City	New York	573	131
9. Northwestern University	Illinois	533	136
10. Harvard Medical School	Massachusetts	531	148

XIII. HOW MANY NEW MEDICAL SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THE LAST 20 YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES?

1. Only five medical schools have been established since 1935:

(a) Medical College of Alabama, division of University of Alabama, Birmingham, Ala., established 1943;

(b) Southwestern Medical Foundation, Dallas, Tex., established 1943, which became a branch of the University of Texas on September 1, 1949, and changed its name to the Southwestern Medical School of the University of Texas.

(c) University of Washington School of Medicine, Seattle, Wash., established in 1946;

(d) University of California at Los Angeles, established in 1951, will admit its fourth class in 1954;

(e) University of Miami School of Medicine, established 1952, will admit its third year class in 1954, and plans to have all 4 years in operation by the fall of 1955.

2. There were 1,136 students enrolled in these five medical schools for the year 1953–54. There were only a total of 227 graduates in the year ending June 30, 1954, from the Medical College of Alabama, Southwestern Medical School, and the University of Washington School of Medicine. The University of California at Los Angeles Medical School and the University of Miami School of Medicine have not as yet graduated any medical students.

XIV. ARE ANY NEW MEDICAL SCHOOLS BEING PLANNED?

1. If medical-school development plans, as outlined in the Journal of the American Medical Association of September 11, 1954, are carried through, four 4-year medical schools will be added. These new schools would be:

(a) The Albert Einstein College of Medicine at Yeshiva University anticipates that progress on construction will be sufficiently rapid to permit admission of a first-year class in 1955.

(b) The University of Florida at Gainesville has received a $5 million appropriation from the 1953 legislature to develop the medical-science building that will constitute the first unit of the college of medicine. According to current planning, the school will admit its first class in 1956.

(c) A new medical school—Seton Hall College of Medicine and Dentistry—has just been incorporated in New Jersey. It is hoped that the new college will be ready to accept students for the fall of 1955. This new college will be at the Jersey City Medical Center.

(d) University of Kentucky's board of trustees has sanctioned the establishment of a medical school in Lexington to cost about $25 million. This will not get underway constructionwise until about July 1, 1955.

XV. ARE ANY 2-YEAR SCHOOLS PLANNING TO EXPAND TO 4-YEAR MEDICAL SCHOOLS?

1. The following 2-year schools have plans to expand to 4 years:

(a) The University of Mississippi is completing the construction program of its new hospital and medical-school building at Jackson. It is anticipated that the first regular third-year class will be registered in the fall of 1955.

(b) The legislature of Missouri has appropriated $13,500,000 for the building program now underway at the University of Missouri, and it is hoped that the developmental program will permit the 1953–54 entering class to continue on into its third year of training at the University of Missouri.

(c) At West Virginia University, planning for their new medical center continues, but no definite date has as yet been advanced for registration of the first third-year class.

(d) In North Dakota, the legislature has directed that the school of medicine admit a third-year class by 1955, and that a full 4-year program be in operation by 1956.

It is impossible to predict the number of students who will graduate from these new 4-year schools and the 2-year schools planning to expand to 4-year schools in the next 6 years. For example, the University of Florida at Gainesville will only enroll 50 freshmen. This means a first graduating class of only about 45 doctors. By 1960, when it is estimated we will need at least 22,000 doctors over and above the predicted supply of new doctors graduating each year (about 6,800), most of these schools will have been able to turn out only 1 graduating class toward meeting this deficit.

XVI. HOW MUCH MONEY DO MEDICAL SCHOOLS SPEND EACH YEAR FOR TRAINING NEW DOCTORS?

1. Estimated funds available to our medical schools in 1954–55 totaled $148,645,201.

Budgeted funds and appropriations	$93,408,312
Funds for miscellaneous projects	4,978,812
Research grants from outside agencies	43,383,666
Teaching grants from outside agencies	6,874,411
Total	148,645,201

2. The $93-million estimated basic budgets of the medical schools represent an average budget of about $1,167,604 for each of the 80 schools if the money were evenly distributed.

(a) Thirty-eight schools report 1954–55 budgets of over a million dollars; six of the 4-year schools report budgets of less than $500,000, with one such school having a budget of less than $400,000.

3. Of the $93-million estimated basic budgets of the medical schools, about $18,182,000, or only 19.5 percent, of the budgets is provided by students' tuition.

XVII. WHAT ARE THE MEDICAL SCHOOLS SPENDING FOR CONSTRUCTION?

1. An estimated $110,013,846 is budgeted for capital expenditures at the present time for construction and equipment of basic medical science, hospital and clinic, dormitory and other facilities.

(a) During 1953 projects of this nature totaling $64,115,574 were completed.

2. In 1947–48 medical schools estimated a need of about $330 million for construction of facilities over and above operating-fund needs and research-fund needs. All but 4 schools out of 79 reported a need for additional or improved space.

3. The Journal of the American Medical Association of September 11, 1954, states: "Medical schools indicate that large sums are still needed for construction of new buildings, remodeling and modernization of existing facilities, and the purchase and installment of new permanent equipment."

XVIII. HAVE THE COSTS OF EDUCATING A DOCTOR INCREASED?

1. The average cost of educating one doctor has increased more than 100 percent in the last 20 years, and is estimated today at more than $13,000. Epoch-making advances in scientific knowledge in the past few decades have made the essential curricula for a medical student much more complicated and costly, as well as a steadily rising cost of living due to inflation.

XIX. HAVE THE TUITION FEES INCREASED FOR MEDICAL STUDENTS?

1. Tuition fees for resident students have increased 62 percent since 1940, and tuition fees for nonresident students have increased 76 percent during the same period. However, they pay only about one-fifth of the cost; and the fees cannot be raised without seriously narrowing the groups from which our future doctors can come.

Average tuition fees for resident students:

1940–41	$391
1953–54	633
1954–55	645

Average tuition fees for nonresident students:

1940–41	$445
1953–54	772

XX. WHAT IS THE COST TO A STUDENT FOR A MEDICAL EDUCATION?

1. The average annual expenditure by a student for 1 year of medical school in 1953–54 was $2,380, a total of about $9,520 for the entire undergraduate period. This included tuition, special fees, equipment, books, and essential living costs.

2. Minimum costs reported averaged approximately $1,690 per year, or $6,760 for the entire 4 years.

3. Of the $3,000 to $4,500 a year it costs the medical school to educate him, the medical student pays $600 to $900 a year in tuition, or about one-fifth of the cost.

XXI. IS THERE A SHORTAGE OF QUALIFIED PERSONNEL TO FILL TEACHING POSITIONS IN MEDICAL SCHOOLS? TO FILL INTERNSHIPS? TO FILL RESIDENCIES?

1. Yes. Out of 80 schools, for the year 1954–55, there were 258 vacant full-time positions. Of these 258 vacancies, 107 were in basic medical science faculties and 151 were in clinical departments.

2. In 1954, 22 percent of the 10,542 available internships in 844 hospitals were unfilled. This shortage of more than 2,000 interns is a serious crippler of hospital services throughout the county since interns are the backbone of emergency and routine medical services in many hospitals. This shortage poses a serious threat to good patient care.

3. In 1954, 21 percent of the residency appointments in the various medical specialties were not filled. Of 23,630 approved residencies in internal medicine, surgery, obstretics, pediatrics, etc., 5,011 were not taken. The resident, who takes an average of 2 years training in a specialty after having completed his internship, is a valuable and key part of any hospital staff.

4. The New York Times reports that in their 1952 nationwide survey it was found that "45 percent (of the Nation's medical schools) find it difficult to get a sufficient number of qualified faculty members."

XXII. ARE THERE SHORTAGES OF NURSES, AUXILIARY NURSING WORKERS AND TECHNICIANS?

1. Yes. According to latest available figures taken from the 1952 report of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, it is estimated that the shortage of nurses for this country as a whole in 1960 may exceed 50,000.

(a) In 1951, about 27,000 nurses graduated from 3-year programs and less than 2,000 from 4- or 5-year programs which lead to a college degree. The expected supply of nurses in 1960 will not meet the increased demands of new hospitals and expanding community health services, nor will it make up present deficiencies.

(b) In public hearings before the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, community leaders pleaded for more nurses to staff their essential health services. Hospital administrators testified to large numbers of wards closed because they cannot obtain nurses to staff the beds. Mental and tuberculosis hospitals need more nurses, public health units are begging for them, industrial health programs suffer for want of them. Nursing schools and nursing education suffer from a lack of qualified teachers.

2. There are almost 300,000 auxiliary nursing workers in hospitals, and perhaps another 100,000 elsewhere. The need in 1960 for these workers is estimated at more than 450,000.

(a) Most auxiliary workers receive poor training. This training should be developed and intensified so that these workers can take over routine housekeeping and bedside tasks to release the graduate nurses to use the special skills in which they have been trained.

3. The technician shortage is a serious bottleneck in the provision of medical service. Hospitals in the United States recently reported about 18,000 vacant positions for workers in 7 major fields allied to medicine (i. e., laboratory technicians, therapists of all kinds, X-ray technicians, hospital administrators, clinical psychologists, etc.), and an expected need for 35,000 additional workers in these allied fields in another 5 years. The opening of new hospitals and the increasing demand for more comprehensive medical services will aggravate these deficiencies.

4. President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message to Congress on January 7, 1955, stated as one of his medical recommendations: "To reduce the gaps in medical service, I shall propose: New measures to facilitate construction of needed health facilities and help reduce shortages of trained health personnel."

XXIII. DO OUR MEDICAL SCHOOLS NEED FINANCIAL SUPPORT?

1. In a nationwide survey conducted by the New York Times in 1952 it was found that "30 percent of the Nation's medical schools report that they are unable to get sufficient funds to meet their operating budgets."

2. Brig. Gen. James S. Simmons, the late dean of the Harvard School of Public Health, states that the Nation's 10 schools of public health are in a precarious financial position with student tuition fees paying less than 10 percent of the cost of training these students. "The financial plight of these 10 public-health schools is such that their total output of specialists is now only one-fifth of the number needed to operate the Nation's peacetime health program."

3. The medical colleges absorb approximately 30 percent of the total budgets of the universities of which they are a part, although they enroll only 10 percent of the total university population. "Many university trustees are wondering whether they can afford their medical schools," said a recent statement of the National Fund for Medical Education.

4. In 1948, as the result of surveys compiled through the American Medical Association, the Surgeon General's Office and the Association of American Medical Colleges, the National Fund for Medical Education states that the Nation's medical schools had a deficit of $10 million and that by 1955 the deficit will probably be $20 million.

(a) The Surgeon General's committee goes even further and states that $30 million additional was needed (in 1948) in annual income to adequately perform the existing functions of our 79 medical schools, over and above the $10 million yearly needed to compensate for existing annual deficits actually on the books in red ink.

(b) None of the foregoing takes construction needs into consideration. In 1947–48 medical schools estimated a need of about $330 million for construction of facilities, over and above operating-fund needs and research-fund needs. All but 4 schools out of 79 reported a need for additional or improved space.

5. Medical-school budgets have already been trimmed to a point where any further reduction would endanger the quality of the product; that is, of medical teaching and research, and eventually of medical practice and medical care. Faculty time per student today is already 7 percent lower than it was 10 years ago; some schools have had to reduce teaching staffs to bare minimums. Current deficits now make it difficult to retain capable faculty members and make needed additions to the faculties impossible to consider.

XXIV. WHAT IS THE MEDICAL PROFESSION DOING TO HELP ITSELF FINANCIALLY IN THE MATTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING?

1. The National Fund for Medical Education was founded in 1949 as a central fundraising agency for the Nation's medical schools. From its inception until July 1954, the fund distributed $6,941,056 to the medical schools. Of this amount, roughly, 45 percent, or a little over $3 million, was raised by the American Medical Education Foundation (an arm of the American Medical Association).

(a) The $6,941,056 expenditure by the National Fund for Medical Education represents a per annum average allotment of a little more than $1 million since the establishment of the fund. This contrasts with the goal of the national fund, which is to provide the medical schools of the Nation with funds approximating $10 million annually to aid in meeting the operational cost of their educational programs and to the annual deficits of our medical schools which is estimated to be between $10 million and $30 million.

2. This $10 yearly goal of the national fund includes no funds for construction, research, or scholarships. In January 1954 a sum of $154,296,214 was requested for the construction of research facilities alone by medical schools, hospitals, and institutions throughout the United States from the National Institutes of Health, United States Public Health Service, Bethesda, Md.

XXV. HOW DOES EXPENDITURE FOR MEDICAL EDUCATION COMPARE WITH MONEY SPENT ELSEWHERE BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE?

1. In contrast to the $93,408,312 to be spent for medical education in the academic year 1954–55, the American public spent approximately in 1953: $5,310,000,000 for tobacco products and smoking supplies; $377 million for parimutuel net receipts; $105,960,000 for makeup bases, face powder, and lipsticks; $96 million for face creams.

Mr. Speaker, we in New Jersey are no strangers to the problem of adequate medical training as my opening remarks and certain research data cited below indicate.

In 1951, during my first term in Congress, I sent letters to every medical school in the United States and Canada on behalf of my constituents and their aspiring young men and women. Letters of regret from the deans of those schools said, in effect, "sorry, we're filled," or, "as our medical school is State controlled we are obliged to accommodate our own cititzens first; sorry."

Data concerning medical or dental schools in New Jersey shows no dental schools in being up to 1954. The first dental school is reported to have been established in December 1954 in Jersey City by Seton Hall University.

According to the New Jersey History Committee's Outline History of New Jersey, a rival medical society to the New Jersey Medical Society established in 1790 a school at Elizabethtown which was closed in 1807. In addition to this, Queens College, later Rutgers, permitted a school to be opened in New Brunswick, under its charter. This school was attended mostly by New York students and in 1811, when the New York Legislature refused to license its graduates, it closed.

The American Medical Association Directory, 1950, lists the following medical schools as having operated in New Jersey until 1891 when all of their charters were revoked—why, is not disclosed: Hygieo-Therapeutic College, Bergen Heights; Medical and Surgical College of the State of New Jersey, organized 1888; Livingstone University, Haddonfield; Central University of Medicine and Science, Jersey City.

Then came the 20th century with its three wars. Each stepped up the need for medical and dental doctors and operatives—World War I, World War II, and Korea. In December 1954 Seton Hall University, of New Jersey, established a medical and dental school, open to all, in Jersey City.

In America, we are reared with the spirit of standing on our own feet, to hold our own. As one of the first of the Original Three States to join the Union in 1787, it is fitting and proper that with its new medical and dental school, the State of New Jersey, at long last, can take its place in the ranks of those who can more adequately look after their own, and others, too, if need be.

The below cited article of January 15, 1955, from local New Jersey sources, tells more on this score, and adds, I think, information for the benefit of the House on the question, "Is there adequate medical training in the United States?"

DEAN OF MEDICINE NAMED FOR SETON MEDICAL SCHOOL

SOUTH ORANGE.—A long-awaited announcement was forthcoming this week when the identity of the dean of medicine in the Seton Hall College of Medicine and Dentistry was announced by Seton Hall University's president, Msgr. John L. McNulty.

Heading up the medical side of New Jersey's first college of medicine and dentistry will be Dr. Charles L. Brown, presently dean of the Hahnemann Medical College, Philadelphia.

The dean of the dental school, according to previous announcement, has also been selected and he is expected to be named in the near future.

Dr. Brown's resignation at Hahnemann will be effective July 1. Prior to that time, he will act as consultant for the Seton Hall College of Medicine.

Monsignor McNulty identified Dr. Brown as "a man with an unbroken span of over 20 years' experience in medical education with some of the best medical schools in the country. He has," Monsignor McNulty continued, "demonstrated an organizing and administrative ability that could be equaled by few and that has gained for him national recognition as an authority in medical education."

The Seton Hall president said that Dr. Brown will begin right away the determination of admission policy and procedures; the formulation of curricula; the screening of candidates for faculty appointment; and the overall pattern of organization for the Seton Hall College of Medicine.

The new dean will also represent the Seton Hall College of Medicine in consultations on the transformation of the 16-story clinical building in Jersey City Medical Center into a medical education unit with classrooms, laboratories, conference rooms, and library facilities. He plans to take up residence in Jersey City after July 1.

Dr. Brown received his bachelor of science degree from the University of Oklahoma in 1919 and his doctorate in medicine from the same school in 1921. In 1923 he joined the faculty of the Harvard University Medical School as an instructor in pathology. He participated in a teaching fellowship and served as an instructor in internal medicine at Harvard until 1928 when he joined the faculty of the University of Michigan Medical School as an associate professor of medicine.

In 1935, he left Michigan to become head of the department of medicine at the Temple University Medical School in Philadelphia.

His association with Hahnemann Medical College began in 1946 when he was appointed dean. In 1948 he assumed additional duties as head of the division and the department of medicine at Hahnemann.

Correlative with his experience as a medical educator, Dr. Brown has held many hospital positions. He has been resident pathologist at the Children's Hospital, Boston; chief of the department of medicine, Philadelphia General Hospital, and head of the department of medicine, Hahnemann Hospital.

Dr. Brown is a fellow of the American College of Physicians, and a diplomate of the American Board of Internal Medicine. He is a former president of the Philadelphia County Medical Society and received the Strittmatter award from that organization in 1951. In the same year he received an honorary doctor of law degree from Temple University.

As dean of the Seton Hall College of Medicine, Dr. Brown will retain the position of chief consultant in internal medicine to the Chief Medical Director of the Veterans' Administration in Washington.

He has contributed many scientific papers to the journals of the profession and is a member of the editorial board of the J. B. Lippincott Publishing Co. He is currently engaged in writing a textbook on medical treatment in general practice.

The Seton Hall College of Medicine and Dentistry, New Jersey's first, was incorporated on August 6 last year. On August 11 ceremonies marking the formal establishment were held in the Medical Center and attended by public officials and prominent educators and professional men. The new medical-dental college received its charter from the State board of education on November 17, and a formal lease for the use of the clinical building was signed by the college on December 11, 1954.

Burley Tobacco Acreage Allotments and Marketing Quotas

SPEECH

OF

HON. M. G. BURNSIDE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 24, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4951) directing a redetermination of the national marketing quota for burley tobacco for the 1955–56 marketing year, and for other purposes.

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Chairman, later I shall introduce an amendment that will take care of part of the trouble that we are faced with here.

I have here with me at this time the recommendations from all of the tobacco leaders of the United States. They did not make one single iota of recommendation to cut to five-tenths. They have made some very good recommendations. I want to read them. They are splendid recommendations which come from the leaders of all the tobacco growers of the United States.

This is to the Secretary of Agriculture:

The Eight State Burley Tobacco Committee recommends and respectfully requests you to recommend to the Congress that legislation to be enacted—

A. To discourage production of excess tobacco:

1. Provide that production of nonquota tobacco shall not give any entitlement to a quota.

2. Provide that excess production by an allotment producer shall result in a penalty of allotment reduction in an amount equal to the excess production in a year.

3. Provide for a civil penalty that will constitute—

I want to compliment the gentleman for the statements he made a few moments ago. This will do something toward correcting the type of things he wants to see corrected.

3. Provide for a civil penalty that will constitute a more effective deterrent to excess production.

One of the reasons why we are in this trouble, this serious trouble, is that a few people started taking over excessive amounts of acreage in the last few years by paying the penalty. The farmers realized that so they are increasing the penalty, as is indicated further on in this statement.

a. Increase the penalty on marketing excess tobacco to 75 percent of the previous year's average market price.

That is a very good suggestion.

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURNSIDE. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. FORRESTER. I would like to ask the gentleman what would be the case if the penalty were 100 percent?

Mr. BURNSIDE. It would be even better.

Mr. FORRESTER. What would that do toward solving the excess-tobacco problem?

Mr. BURNSIDE. It would keep them from taking the penalty for a few years and then going on and producing a large acreage.

Mr. FORRESTER. But would that not materially reduced this surplus tobacco of which the gentleman is speaking?

Mr. BURNSIDE. It would do this. Each year we found a few people dropping tobacco. It would take care of part of it in that way. This is not the whole answer. I will give some other suggestions to take care of the situation.

To improve measurement by statutory provision for it with standards and penalties clearly defined.

One of the troubles we had was actually having overacreage by the old methods, and by improper methods of checking.

Require aerial surveys annually.

That is another way to check it, to see that they will not overproduce.

Eliminate tolerance in calculations of acreage.

That is another way to cut down on it, to eliminate tolerances in calculations of acreage.

Provide for criminal punishment as a misdemeanor of not more than 1 year or not more than $10,000 or both for willful inaccurate measurement, making the penalty cover the Government employee only.

To amend title 7, United States Code Annotated, section 1315, to establish a minimum allotment of 10 percent rather than 25 percent of the cropland.

This is another way we can cut down this excess. I know some cases where a fellow will plant in his backyard, have a half acre in his backyard in a city or town or village. He is certainly no farmer, but he has been sponging on the farmers. So that, too, will cut down on this acreage.

To provide that whenever there is an increase in quota, the increase shall be shared only by those having taken a decrease in quota in a prior year until all decreases have been restored. As far as the foreseeable future is concerned, this would benefit only those growers who have taken curtailments within the past two crop years, but, in any event, every segment of the industry ought to recognize that restoration of cuts should be shared only by those who have suffered cuts until original quotas have been fully restored.

To authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to redetermine and set marketing quotas for 1955.

This is respectfully submitted by the Eight-State Burley Tobacco Committee, and is signed by John M. Barry, chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I call attention to this fact, which many of you do not realize, that 1,850 farmers, that is, five-tenths of 1 percent of them, produced 27,500 acres of tobacco. That is more acreage than the gentleman from Ohio has in the entire State of Ohio. That is more acreage than the gentleman from Virginia has in his entire acreage. That is more acreage than the gentleman from North Carolina has in his entire acreage, just in that five-tenths of 1 percent of the tobacco farmers about as many acres as all of these States put together.

Listen to these figures. They are startling when you start to look into them, when you start crying about these big tobacco farmers that have over 100 acres, when we are worrying about five-tenths, so a man can buy his food and his clothes.

From 20 to 50 acres, there are 400 of them, and that is only one-tenth in percentage of the tobacco farmers, and they produce 14,000 acres, more than the entire State of Ohio, more than the entire State of West Virginia, and many of the other States like Georgia, Arkansas, and all those thrown in together.

Three one-thousandths, mind you, produce 1,500 acres of tobacco. One farmer with about 350 acres, 9 other farmers with over 100 acres of tobacco. And then we cry crocodile tears about some of these big boys.

I want to tell you this: It is not their tenants they are worrying about, because in the last few years—and I have gone through the tobacco country for a number of years—they have been consolidating and telling their tenants to go find a job somewhere else in some city. They have been concentrating these acreages.

I am reading from the official tobacco report that I got from Mr. WATTS.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURNSIDE. I yield.

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman made a statement that there were 1,000 farmers in America farming 100 acres of burley tobacco.

Mr. BURNSIDE. No; if I made that statement it is in error.

Mr. COOLEY. That is what the gentleman said. I have it right here on this paper.

Mr. BURNSIDE. There are 1,850 tobacco farmers, five-tenths of 1 percent of the farmers, that produced 27,550 acres.

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman said there were 1,000 farmers who had 100 acres of burley tobacco each.

Mr. BURNSIDE. If I said that, I am mistaken. But I did say this, and I will repeat it again if the gentleman will permit me to go on. I will explain it to you again and I am glad to go over it because I want the Members of Congress to know what is happening under this law.

Mr. COOLEY. Will not the gentleman yield for a correction? According to the paper which has been handed to me, there are only 10 in the United States.

Mr. BURNSIDE. I will go back over it and I will state further that if I made a mistake, I will be glad for it to be corrected. I will give you this information. One tobacco farmer produced about 350 acres. Then 9, I think I used the figure 9, others which represents only three one-thousandths of the tobacco farmers who produced 1,500 acres of tobacco. That is the statement I thought I made.

Mr. COOLEY. I know the gentleman wants to be fair. Do you not know that no one man cultivates that tobacco, but that it is divided among the tenant farmers and this would be putting the tenant farmers out on the road.

Mr. BURNSIDE. If the gentleman will wait just a moment, I will explain that situation. You know and I know that due to new methods, they have been reducing the number of tenant farmers and sending the others to the cities. I know it because I have seen it. I have seen it happen over and over again.

Mr. COOLEY. How many acres of tobacco do you think one man can cultivate and harvest?

Mr. BURNSIDE. At least 8 or 9 acres.

Mr. COOLEY. Well, then, they must be better in West Virginia than they are down in North Carolina.

Mr. BURNSIDE. They are much better because of these modern methods. As a matter of fact, they have a new method of catching the tobacco bugs which produce the worms. They are using a sonic method to catch the tobacco bugs. You know that and I know that. That was a source of great trouble a few years ago to the tobacco farmers and required a tremendous amount of labor.

But let us go on with these questions. Here is the problem that we are facing. I want to read to you a telegram which I received from the tobacco farmers of West Virginia:

March 21, 1955, the burley tobacco growers of West Virginia are opposed to reducing minimum allotments below seven-tenths of an acre. We fear that program will be voted out in referendum if minimum is reduced. Red-card tobacco creation surplus. Your support requested.

All of you in the other tobacco programs do not want to see it voted out, and they tell me positively they are going to vote it out. They have met this week and they say they are going to vote it out.

This telegram is signed by Clayton Stanley, secretary of the West Virginia Burley Tobacco Grower's Association. I want to say, the gentleman who signed it produces 1.4 acres and he will be cut, and he knows it is necessary to keep from cutting the lower producing farmer. Why? Because they would have these mountain farmers, as you have had the other small farmers, living on less than $300 per year.

About Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 17, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the New Era, of Reading, Pa., which is the official publication of Conference of Eastern Pennsylvania Central Labor Unions, AFL:

ABOUT TAXES

Could you use a $20 tax cut?

The Republicans say you are irresponsible for answering "Yes," even though stockholders got theirs last year in the omnibus tax-revision bill.

What makes a $20 cut for workers irresponsible when a more liberal reduction for stockholders was not irresponsible?

Marriner Eccles, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, says that an extra $20 in every consumer's hands would go a long way toward a healthy growth of our economy.

Eccles believes it would help the little fellow by stimulating economic consumption and thus creating more jobs to make more goods to fill up the shelves.

Unfortunately, the Republican philosophy is that things are in good shape just as long as big business makes money, stockholders are well taken care of, and unemployment is maintained at a normal rate of between three and five million.

And make no mistake about this—despite his deceptive smile and flowery speeches, President Eisenhower is just as guilty as the rest of his party for penalizing the "little guy" to maintain prosperity for the big campaign contributors on top of the heap.

It's about time that the President is forced to accept his responsibility. And even more important—it's about time the daily press of America instructs its reporters in Washington to ask the same sharp questions they used to put to President Truman and Roosevelt. The days of pussyfooting and sheltering of President Eisenhower should now end and truth in reporting once more should return to the "free press."

The truth in this tax issue is that Democrats actually beat President Eisenhower to the punch by insisting the people get a break his year—instead of next year—as the President planned.

Wrapped up in the picture, of course, is the time-honored trickle-down theory on which the Republican actionaries hold a patent. It is a variation of the Charles "Bird Dog" Wilson theme that what's good for General Motors is good for the country.

Workers are supposed to look up to the big brass of the Republican regime and bask in the benevolence of their paternalistic rule, thankful to grab the crumbs thrown them under the table.

It is interesting to note that while the administration boasts of the Nation's good economic health, the Republican barometer of prosperity, namely the stock market, has plummeted sharply in the past week just because a couple of Senators asked a few questions in public about market operations.

True, this decline could be caused by any number of factors, but it gives support to the theory that administration economic and fiscal policies have enhanced the role of manipulators and speculators at the expense of the great mass of workers.

From where we sit, and viewing present trends from a perspective of the great GOP depression, it makes much more sense to give a $20 tax relief to a consumer who will spend it than to reserve such a tax relief for stockholders who will gamble with it.

History is on the side of those asking for the $20 tax cut to stimulate consumer spending. President Eisenhower and his administration would do well not to ignore this precedent.

"Simplified" Income Tax Forms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial by Mr. Elmer Price, in the Lincoln County (Oreg.) Leader:

"SIMPLIFIED" INCOME TAX FORMS

A low, sullen murmur of desperation is spreading cross country.

It is rising from citizens who have carefully digested the phrase: "After reading these instructions you should be able to prepare your own return," and spent futile hours grappling with the new "simplified" income-tax forms.

Despite all the propaganda regarding their simplicity, the new tax forms seem to many to be far more complicated (if that is possible) and more exasperating than any in the past.

From every section of the country this criticism is being heard.

And all of this, too, after so-called experts spent months working out an income-tax return which they finally described as so simple and easy that any moron could handle it.

Someone the other day had what is probably a good suggestion: it was an amendment to the tax laws which would require every Member of Congress to prepare his own return without any outside help whatsoever, and that every other year, his wife be required to take over the job—without help.

While undoubtedly many in Congress do make out their own returns, most of them are as incapable as you and I of understanding all of the malarky and legal phraseology which get into such things. It might help the situation as quickly as anything we can think of at the present.

The Late John W. Davis

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, speaking for myself and the Members of the West Virginia delegation and I am sure every living West Virginian, I should like to say that we deeply appreciate the very fine remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. TUCK].

Mr. Speaker, at this time I ask permission to revise and extend my remarks, because there is very much more that I would like to say in tribute to one of the greatest West Virginians, and certainly one of the outstanding Americans of the past century.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There is no objection.

Burley Tobacco Acreage Allotment and Marketing Quo'

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 24, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4951) directing a redetermination of the national marketing quota for burley tobacco for the 1955–56 marketing year, and for other purposes.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, you will recall that some 2 or 3 days ago this same question came up under suspension of the rules of the House for action, which was refused. So my colleague from West Virginia and the gentleman from Ohio who has just addressed you and others who are interested in the distribution of allotment acreage of burley tobacco really have a problem. It was enough of a problem to prevent the suspension of the rules. Now we are here trying to improve it in the form of an adjustment, in the form of an amendment. I understand that the gentleman from Tennessee will follow the amendment of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BURNSIDE] should it lose, with another amendment proposing to fix the minimum acreage at six-tenths of an acre.

There was no reason why there could not have been, and I thought there was to be, a compromise here so that this floor fight could have been avoided. Now, if we cannot have seven-tenths of an acre minimum base, then we will be willing to take six-tenths, since the argument is that we have to have a reduction and it must apply to all categories in the burley field. We feel that the seven-tenths existing minimum is the deadline below which no reduction should be made, because these little fellows, let me say to you, my colleagues, are the fellows that have been struggling along with this small allotment.

Let me remind you that today no State in the Union is in worse economic condition than the State of West Virginia. In our State the big industry is coal, and it is practically dead. We have no income, and you are proposing to reduce the income of some 2,000 or 3,000, maybe 2,400, small tobacco growers in this same area where the Government is already feeding 75 percent of the people with surplus food.

Nothing should be done that would further reduce the income of the people in that section.